GUIDE TO THE AC7 OKINAWA FILE

[The AC7 Okinawa file contains specific data on Okinawa and its inhabitants, includingIe, Iheya, Izena, the Kerema group and other lessor offshore islands. Okinawa is the largest and most populous island in the Ryukyu Archipelago. It lies southwest of Japan and northeast of Formosa between the East China Sea and the Pacific Ocean. In 1970, the island had a population of 839,787. Until 1879, Okinawa was a semi-independent kingdom with its own royal house. However, at various points in history, both China and Japan claimed suzerainty over the kingdom and exacted tribute. From 1609 until the 1870s, the kindgom was under the control of the Lord of Satsuma (Japan). In 1879, Japan formally annexed Okinawa and made it a prefecture. Under the Japanese, a program was instituted to make Okinawans into Japanese nationals and to suppress native culture. This was largely accomplished through the institution of a national school system which indoctrinated children with Japanese language and culture. Japanese is now the official language of Okinawa; however, Okinawan is still used, especially in rural communities, in family and everyday life. Okinawan is a dialect of Ryukyuan which constitutes a sister language to Japanese in the Ryukyuan-Japanese language family.

Until World War II, Okinawans derived most of their livelihood from agriculture, growing mainly rice, sugar cane, sweet potatoes, and soybeans. However, following World War II, Okinawa was placed under American administration and a good deal of land was appropriated for American bases. 3: Pitts et al. estimated that in mid-1950 more that 25% of the total Okinawan labor force was employed on military bases or in subsidiary occupations.

The family is the basic social, economic and ceremonial unit. Each family belongs to larger kin groups, lineages and sibs, which consist of households whose heads are related through the male line. The continuity of the family is maintained over time through the practice of ancestor worship which is still an important part of Okinawan life.

There are three sources in the Okinawa file, all based on fieldwork carried out after World War II. Sources 1: Glacken and 3: Pitts et al. were the products of research sponsered by the SIRI (Scientific Investigations in the Ryukyu Islands) program. The objective of the program was to gather information which would assist the post-war authorities in administering the islands. 1: Glacken is a study, by a geographer, of three Okinawan villages which were selected to represent the three main types of village economies -- agriculture, fishing-stonecutting, and forestry. The author focuses on the relationship between man and the natural environment and on family systems. However, there is comprehensive coverage of other cultural aspects. 3: Pitts et al. examines pre- and post- war culture patterns in order to evaluate the impact of the American occupation on native culture. It was prepared by two ethnologists and a geographer. 2: Maretzki and Maretzki is a study of child rearing practices in an Okinawan village. It was carried out as part of Whiting's six-culture study which was designed to explore, cross-culturally, the relationship between different patterns of child rearing and subsequent differences in personality. The first section of the source consists of a general description of the culture. This serves as background data for the second section which consists of a chronological account of child training from pregnancy to preadolescence.

The following are marking decisions for the entire file:

Ryukyus and Okinawa AC7

	Category
Social Structure -	
honke/ bunke - mainhouse/ branch house as a system -	613
for description of households -	594, 596
munchu (ichimung) - patrilineal sib among the peasants -	614
uji - patrilineal sib among the gentry -	614
chuchooree (hito-kyodai) - a lineage -	613
Religious Organization -	
nuru (noro) - priestess -	793
yuta - shaman -	756
ekisha (sanjinsoo) - diviner -	791

kaminchu - religious functionary who leads worship - for a kin group or assists the nuru 794

mannasaa - person who uses magical spells in curing - 791

Yabuu - medical practitioner using Chinese methods - 759

mabui - a kind of soul
- ichi-mabui - soul of a living person 774
- shini-mabui - a type of ghost 775

shii - supernatural force within a person - 778

shiji - a sort of supernatural power - 778

manna - spell, formula - 788

ugwanju - shrine, place of worship 778

mogusa (moxa) - medical treatment, moxicautery - 757

juri - hostess, singer, dancer, and prostitute - 548

ryotei - restaurant-brothel - 265 or 548

Womens' Association and Young People's Association - 575

yago (yaanaa) - house name (name given a "lineage") - 613

jiwari seido - land redistribution - 423

ward warden, clerk - 624

moai - mutual loan association - 452

This file was processed between 1962 and 1975.]

home country. Nevertheless, many aspects of Okinawan life still suggest an earlier phase in which independent developments gave the islands their own particular culture.

The Okinawan people, approximately 655,000 as counted in 1954, live in an area of about 454 square miles. Their major economic activities have traditionally been agriculture and fishing. In 1945 a long, peaceful existence was brought to an abrupt end during the final battles of World War II in the Pacific. As a result of world conditions Okinawans have been placed under American administration for an indefinite period of time. Today large numbers of men—and some women—find employment as unskilled and semiskilled laborers with the American forces. Gradual training for highly skilled jobs widens these opportunities for employment. Indirectly Okinawan life is influenced by Americans through stimulation of trade, building, and improved health conditions. Land requirements of the American forces in some areas also have influenced the settlement pattern. While these changes have affected the entire island to some degree, the greatest changes are noticeable in the central part around Naha where American administrative and military personnel are located. The village of Taira in the northern province of Kunigami, where the present study was located, had been subject to relatively few of these postwar changes in 1954. Isolated since earliest times because of mountainous terrain, this part of the island participates, as it probably always did, marginally in cultural influences which affect the center of the island. A great deal of cultural stability has therefore been preserved until the present day.

Nevertheless, it is useful to remember that the population of northern Okinawa is linked with the rest of the island by an efficient communications system. Roads connect almost all settlements in the north with the central island, and a bus transportation system extends its service into the remote areas. But long before all villages were connected by road with the center of Okinawa, people of Kunigami province traveled by foot over the many trails which traverse the mountains, and, since the turn of the century, many have left their home villages. Some went to Japan as laborers; others settled in the Japanese-controlled Islands of the Pacific, and some families joined the numerous Okinawan settlements in South American countries.

LANGUAGE

Taira people are bilingual. Okinawan, which linguists consider a separate language, has many regional dialects, some of which are not

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

is one of the rare, desired body attributes. It was the opinion of some that the descendants of the noble families who came from Shuri, however, are taller and slender, with a prominent, curved nasal ridge. 142

Until they feel confident in the presence of strangers, Taira people appear quiet and restrained. It is considered a virtue not to show one's emotions, and Tairans consider the expressiveness of Americans childish. Actually they are gay, talkative, and given to laughter, especially the women. Men are quiet unless stimulated by alcohol, but both men and women may lose their composure in emergencies. A notable exception is their placid reactions to the threat of disaster from the ever recurrent violent storms. 152 153 [81]

THE COMMUNITY, ITS HISTORY AND NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

621 101 [131] [162]

Taira is one of the northern villages on the northeast coast of Okinawa in Higashi township (see map 1). Today it is home to over 700 people who make their living—as did their ancestors since early times—from the surrounding fields, forests, and from the sea. The Okinawan name for the village, Taira, means "sloping fields." The character used for writing the prevalent Japanese version, Taira, means "flat, plain, good."

Since the family records were lost during World War II, it is necessary to depend on oral traditions for reconstruction of the history of Taira. Unfortunately, the desire of many Okinawans to establish a relationship between their local families and the former royal courts casts some doubt on the accuracy of these traditions. 173 621 [14]

According to these traditions, the first village to be settled in the vicinity of Taira was the neighboring community Kawata. After the Hokuzan kingdom in Nakijin (on the northwestern Motobu Peninsula) was conquered by the southern Okinawan kingdom of Chuzan in the fifthteenth century (Kerr, 1958:85), the second son of the Lord of Hokuzan is said to have escaped northward into Kunigami province. Unitokogami, the fleeing nobleman, arrived near the present site of Kawata and established himself in a cave around the year 1477. He is still revered today as founder of the village in a yearly spring ceremony when prayers are said in front of the cave. The oldest Taira families trace their descent in the male line from Nizenya, the "main house," he founded. Taira was settled around 1550 by two families tracing descent from this "main house." The descendents of these settlers are [182] [69]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

the community is dispersed. In the outlying parts, as far as 2 miles from the center (see map 1), the houses are scattered between the paddies or farm lands in sections which form subvillages or wards. As mentioned above, settlers from the south took up residence in these areas. Recently families from the main village have also moved to the more remote parts of the community, such as Udenaha, because they can reach their fields more conveniently. Although the name Taira refers to the political unit of main village and outlying parts, including Udenaha and Izena, most references in this study pertain only to the central community. Its 60 households, with about 330 individuals, form the primary social unit from which the sample of 24 children was chosen.

Central Taira nestles along the inner shore of Taira Bay, which opens into the Pacific Ocean. At this point the median range mountains recede from the coastline. Behind the village, rice paddies spread in a crazed pattern at the bottom and on the terraced sides of several valleys which are separated from each other by sparsely wooded hills. Here and there the red earth of an eroded section shows like a scab through the green slopes.

In traveling by road from the south, most people choose the highway along the East China Sea coast, which is connected with the road which crosses the island. Higashi township is entered through a low saddle in the mountains which separate the two coastlines. To the right and left begins Taira's forest. Central Taira is reached through a winding lane bordered by pine trees. To the left the view opens into one of the neatly cultivated rice fields, backed by the hills on whose flat tops and terraced sides village people cultivate their farm lands.

The central village itself lies on a sand bluff, separating the valley from the ocean, so that there is a slight drop toward both sides (see map 2). The main road runs the length of the village. Except for the thoroughfare, which is dirt and gravel, the side roads are not surfaced, and after heavy rains puddles form and remain for more than a day, to the delight of children who play in them.

When Taira was destroyed during World War II, along with its houses went much of the foliage which once served as a windbreak. A few fukugi trees * line the main street, and hibiscus hedges here and there hide some of the houses from a first inspection. There are bushes around the edges of the village.

The war-time destruction is hardly apparent on a first walk through the village. Along the main street, lined by houses, one finds the rice mill, a substantial new building of concrete and wood, the police sta-

* A small- to medium-sized evergreen tree with a narrow, upright, very dark green crown of leaves.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 377]

PREFACE

114 This report is based on nine months of field research which was con-
122 ducted under the auspices of the Pacific Science Board of the National Academy of Sciences with Department of Army funds granted by a subcontract with the Human Resources Research Office of The George Washington University. The project was considered a part of the long-range SIRI (Scientific Investigations in the Ryukyu Islands) program developed by the Pacific Science Board "...to advise and assist the administrative authorities of the Ryukyu Islands in problems of rehabilitation relating to the health and economy of the Ryukyu
121 Islands." The objectives of this study were set forth in a broad outline presented by the Pacific Science Board prior to our departure into the field. In brief, it called for a description and assessment of the impact of the United States military occupation on Okinawan culture. Certain aspects of the project outline were later amended to meet the exigencies of the field situation. In the preparation of this report the authors' primary aim has been to inform those actively concerned with Okinawan-American relations; hence, a time limitation largely imposed by the necessity of presenting information while it is still pertinent has precluded a fuller treatment of certain aspects of our data which ordinarily would have been included in a complete ethnographic account.

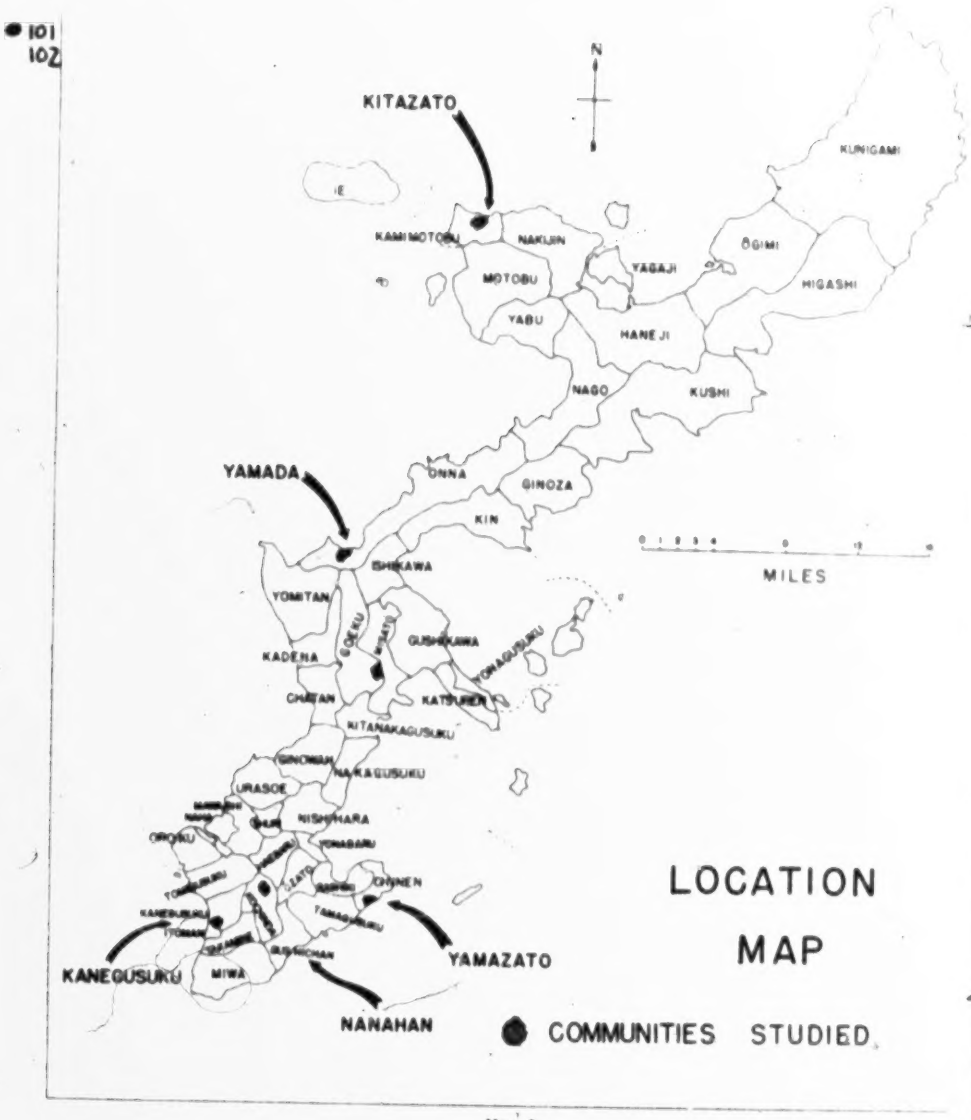
114 Field time covered the period from September of 1953 to June of 1954.
● 101 One of the authors remained on Okinawa for an additional month to compensate for time lost due to illness and hospitalization,

128 Although each of us worked on several aspects of culture, in writing up our material we divided it roughly according to the major field of interest of each. Thus, though each chapter, or section of the last chapter, bears the name of the writer only, it was written from an outline that was discussed by all three and all three contributed both data and ideas to it.

We have tried to keep Okinawan and Japanese terms to a minimum, that is to use them only when there is no clear English equivalent or to add them (usually parenthetically) only as linguistic evidence for the existence of an object, practice, or concept. Nevertheless, they will be found scattered throughout the report. Although each term is defined, we hope, where it first appears, we have identified each again in a glossary. The distinction between native Okinawan terms and Japanese terms is worth preserving; we have done so by underlining the Okinawan terms and enclosing the Japanese terms in single quote marks. Some inconsistency in the Okinawan terms is due to differences in dialect and differences in recording.

101 Although we spent a bit of time in a number of communities on Okinawa, the major part of our work was in six: Pitts in Nanahan (Tomoyose), Kochinda-son, Goeku-son; Lebra in Kanegusuku, Kanegusuku-son and Kitazato, Kamimotobu-son; and Suttles in Yamazato, Chinen-son and Yamada, Onna-son. The locations of these communities is shown on Map 1.

3: Pitts et al. E,K-5 (1953-1954) 1955 AC7 Okinawa AC7



Map 1

[facing p. ii]

105 A munchu was made up of a number
197 of households or families united through the male line, descended from a common
[619] ancestor, and sharing a common tomb. Village endogamy was an obligatory mar-
[582] riage practice and violations did not pass unpunished; in addition kin group
endogamy was a preferred practice, though not necessarily an obligatory one.
[628] Intervillage contacts and ties, consequently, were held to a minimum. These cus-
[178] toms were followed by the majority of the oldest generation now living, and
even today such practices tend to persist in rural areas. A survey in Kanegu-
[582] suku revealed that fifty percent of the marriages were between members of the
same kin group and sixty-six percent of the marriages were between residents of
[178] the same village. Such practices, to be sure, are breaking down, and this be-
comes evident when the above data are analyzed on an age basis, but in view of
the fact that these customs still prevail, though to a more limited extent than
formerly, it is not surprising that so considerable a diversity of dialects
should also be preserved.

197 Another facet of Okinawan dialect geography is the occurrence of small
621 speech-islands exhibiting dialects distinct from those of the surrounding areas.
184 These are the so called yaadui settlements founded during the 18th and 19th cen-
turies by migrants from the Naha-Shuri area; the newcomers were usually the
younger sons of gentry families seeking their livelihood in the country. Such
settlements not only enjoyed a political independence from the larger surround-
ing communities but also were never incorporated into the formal religious
system centering on the nuru priestess and unifying the rural areas. These
factors together with previously-mentioned marriage practices enabled such set-
tlements to preserve their identity. Kitazato in Kami Motobu-son serves as a
good example of this type of village, having been settled seven generations
ago by the younger sons of gentry families residing in Naha and Shuri. The
larger neighboring villages never absorbed Kitazato, and to this day it pre-
[194] serves a dialect quite distinct from theirs. The most notable contrast be-
tween them centers on the p and h sounds in the two dialects, for all p sounds
of nearby Gushiken are rendered h in Kitazato; thus, the word for "fire" is pi
in the dialect of the former and hi in the latter's.

197 Undoubtedly this dialectic diversity is decreasing as the old customs
178 die out and the isolation of the village disappears. The war uprooted many
communities and scattered their inhabitants about the island, and nearly all
villages now have a number of families new to the village since the war. New
communities like the entertainment center of Koza have no characteristic dia-
lect of their own, containing as they do a heterogeneous population recruited
from all parts of the Ryukyus. The vast improvements in roads and transporta-
tion services since the end of the war have given the people a mobility un-
dreamed of in the prewar period and have done much to destroy the isolation of
the rural areas.

192 "Uchinaaguchi" Okinawans call their dialect uchinaaguchi and themselves
[101] uchinaanchu. The terms 'Okinawago', Japanese for Okinawan
language, and 'hōgen', Japanese for dialect, are also in common usage though
the latter term is resented by some who feel that it carries the connotation
"rustic". Today all Okinawan speech contains many loan words from Japanese;
this obtains for those who know no Japanese as well as for those who are bi-
lingual. Intimate contact with Japanese coupled with this word borrowing has

mean the same thing, village, although the term 'aza' tends to be geographical in connotation whereas 'ku' refers more to the political community. Official land maps use the designation 'aza' and the same term is used for one's postal address. Conversely, the 'koseki' (household registry) kept in the township office is labelled as the 'koseki' of a certain 'ku', and the political head or mayor of a village is referred to as the 'kuchō' ('ku' leader or head). The villagers never use the term 'ku' in referring to their village; instead the terms 'aza', mura, or 'buraku' are used. The township of Kanegusuku-son located in southern Okinawa approximately three miles south of Naha on the west coast is subdivided into eight villages or 'aza', each of these comprising a separate settlement surrounded by its fields. 621

Every 'aza' consists of a number of haru (cognate to the Japanese hara) which best translates as "field". Kanegusuku, one of the eight villages of Kanegusuku-son and the one from which it takes its name, consists of eight haru, though the number in a given village is completely arbitrary. These haru or fields are local designations for the various areas of a village and are well known to all the villagers. The haru names are fairly similar from village to village throughout Okinawa though occasionally local geographical features or place names, particularly those of streams, are used. Names like wii haru (upper field), agari haru (east field), iri haru (west field), kushi haru (back field), mee haru (front field), shicha haru (lower field) are found in nearly every village. It is interesting to note that the names north field and south field rarely occur, and where they do occur, the author suspects that they have been put in use quite recently, for in the old, typical Okinawan village all of the houses face south, and the field names are usually ordered around this orientation. Thus, mee haru (front field) is usually south of the village while kushi haru (back field) is usually on the north side. This carries over into the household naming system (yago) employed by the villagers to designate each of the house lots within the settlement. 621 103

Each haru is broken into many small parcels or plots of land. On the village land maps every plot is assigned to one of six categories---house or building land, irrigated land, dry farm land, grass land, forest land, and miscellaneous, including tomb land. Each plot is also given a number on the land maps and in the land registry ('tochi daichō') for the purpose of identification, though oftentimes the villagers refer to them by local names. 621 311 [423]

2. Political Organization[1]

There are three levels of government (exclusive of military government) existing on Okinawa today---the central government (Government of the Ryukyu Islands), municipal governments ('shi-chō-son'), and 'ku' (ward or village) governments. The structure of government is pyramidal, there is a hierarchial chain of command, and each echelon of government exceeds in authority the unit immediately below it. There is no allocation of rights and powers as exists among the various national, state, and local segments of American government, since the state operates as a highly-organized and heavily centralized unitary whole. Variation in the form and function of local government from one area to another is slight. Individuals appear to play but a small role in this 642 [634]

[1] A major part of the information presented in this chapter derives from the author's study in the township of Kanegusuku-son and particularly in one of its villages, Kanegusuku-ku. This has been supplemented by data gathered in briefer studies in other parts of Okinawa. 101

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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OKINAWA ISLAND
Place Name Identification Map
Ie Island
Hedo Point
Yoka
EAST CHINA SEA
Kadena
Ginowan
Naha
Tomigusuku
Yonabaru
Nakadomari
Zahichoon
PHILIPPINE SEA
Kinasa I.
Tenkam I.
Tomiyo
Kochinda
Kochinda Point
Kochinda I.
Kiyan
Hamahiga
Kiyan Point
Hamahiga I.
Kiyan I.
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Kiyan I.
Kiyan Point

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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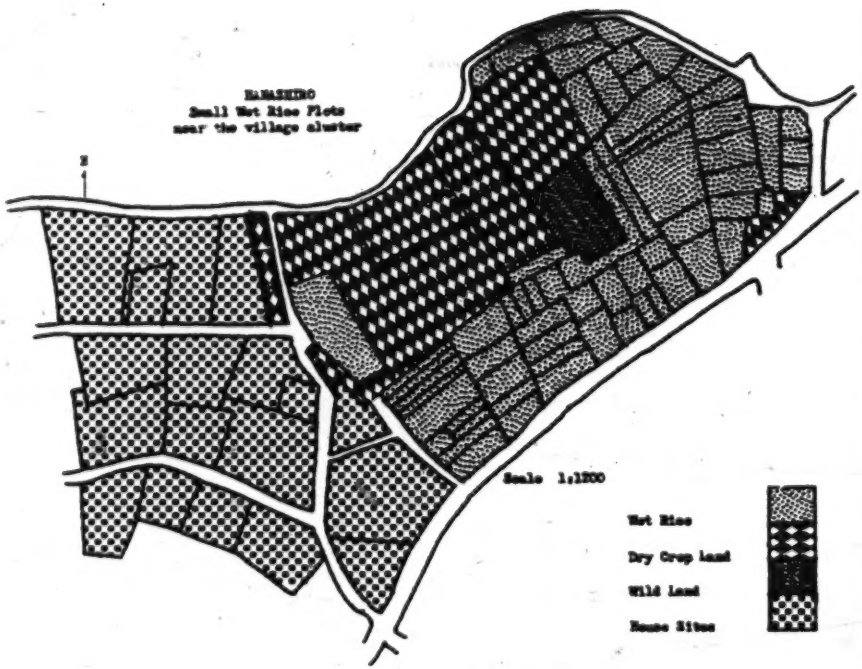

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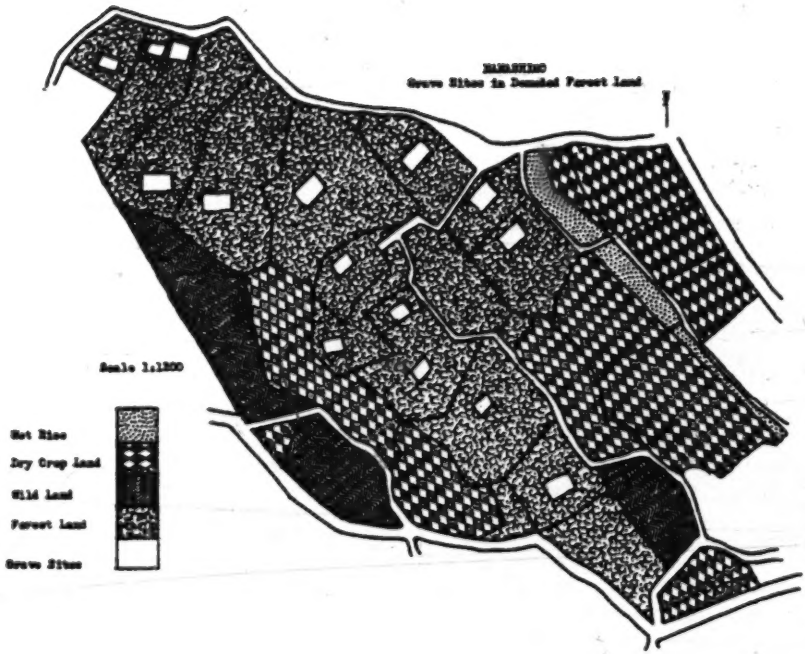
HAMAHIGO
Grave Sites in Denuded Forest Land
Scale 1:1200
Wet Rice
Dry Crop Land
Wild Land
Forest Land
Grave Sites

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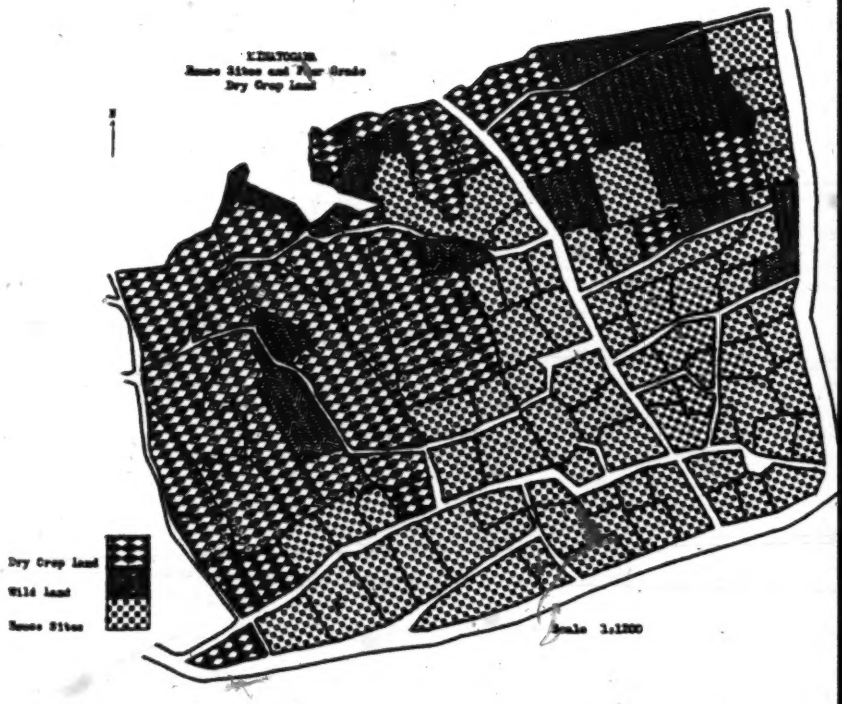
KINAGOKIN
House Sites and Poor Grade
Dry Crop Land
Dry Crop land
Wild land
House Sites
Scale 1:1200

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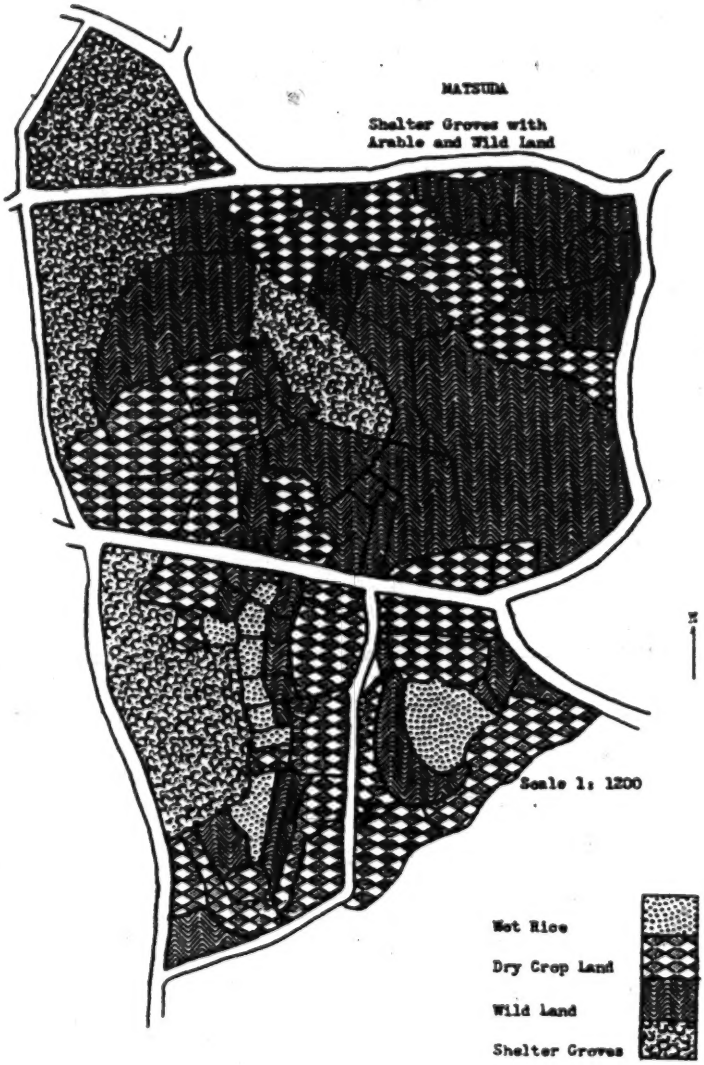
MATSUDA
Irregular Wet Rice Plots
in Wild Land

Wet Rice

Dry Crop Land

Wild Land

102
311


MATSUDA
Shelter Groves with
Arable and Wild Land
N
Scale 1: 1200
Wet Rice
Dry Crop Land
Wild Land
Shelter Groves

173 the two main "houses," or family lines in Taira, and for several cen-
621 turies Taira must have been a small, closely knit community of in-
errelated people.

Between 1875 and 1895, when the court life at the old capitol of

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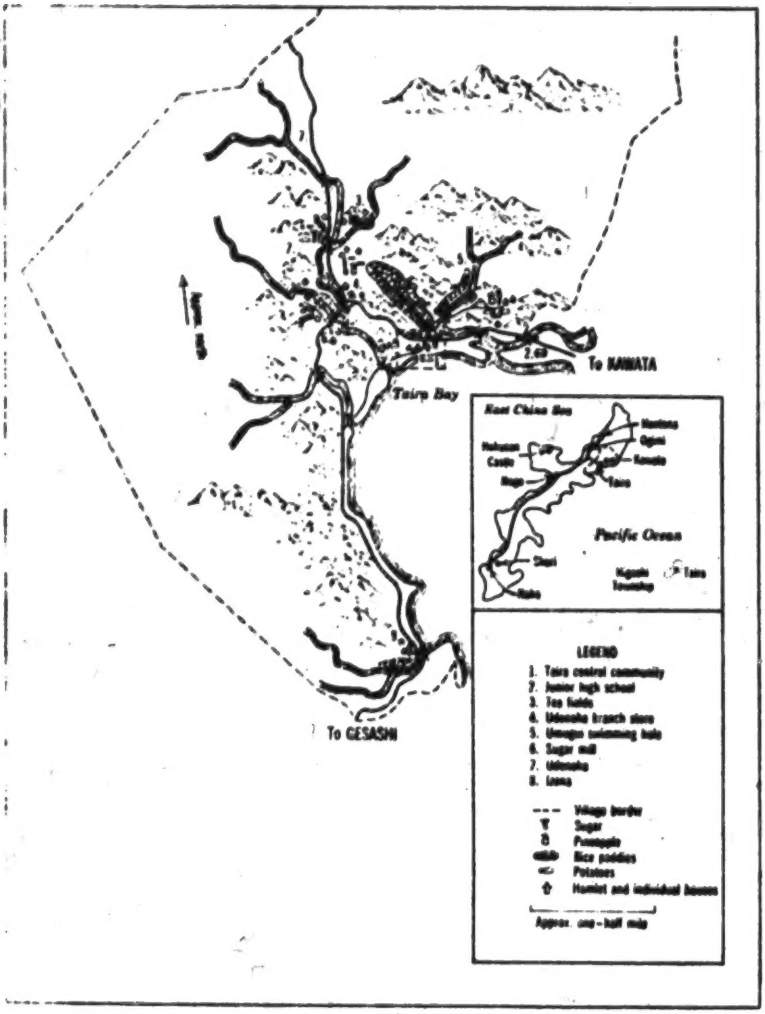

Map 1. Taira village (Higashi Township).

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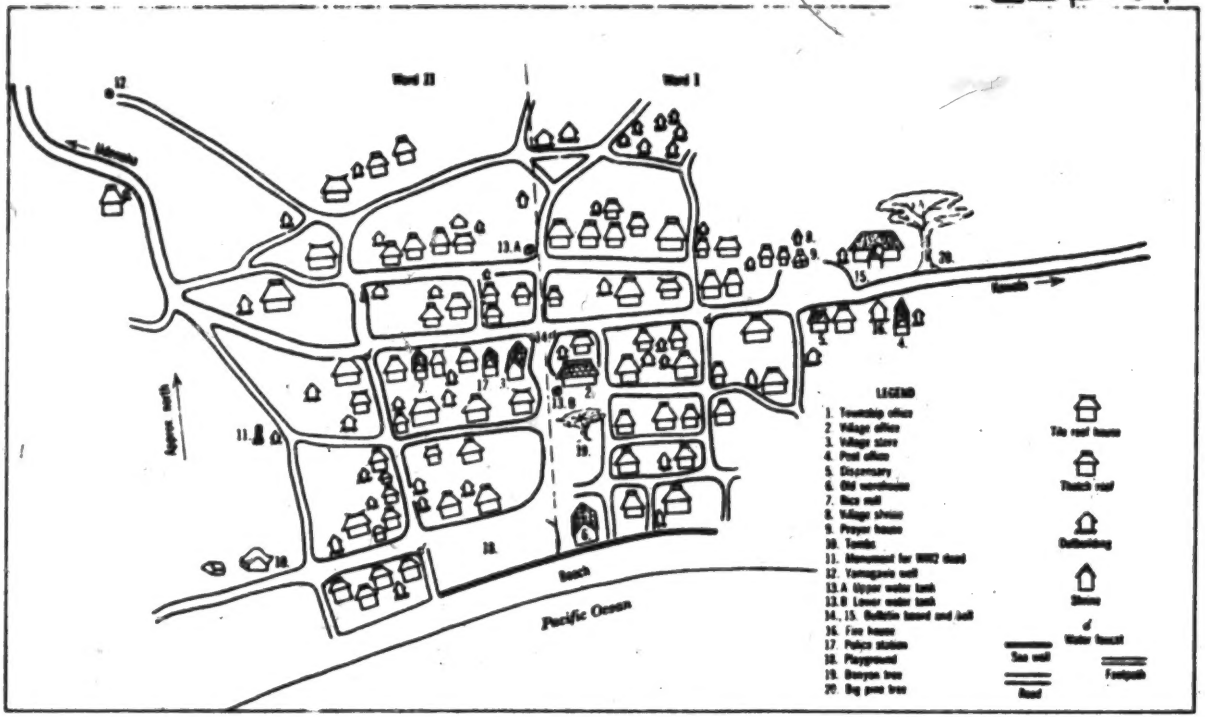

Map 2. Taira, central community.

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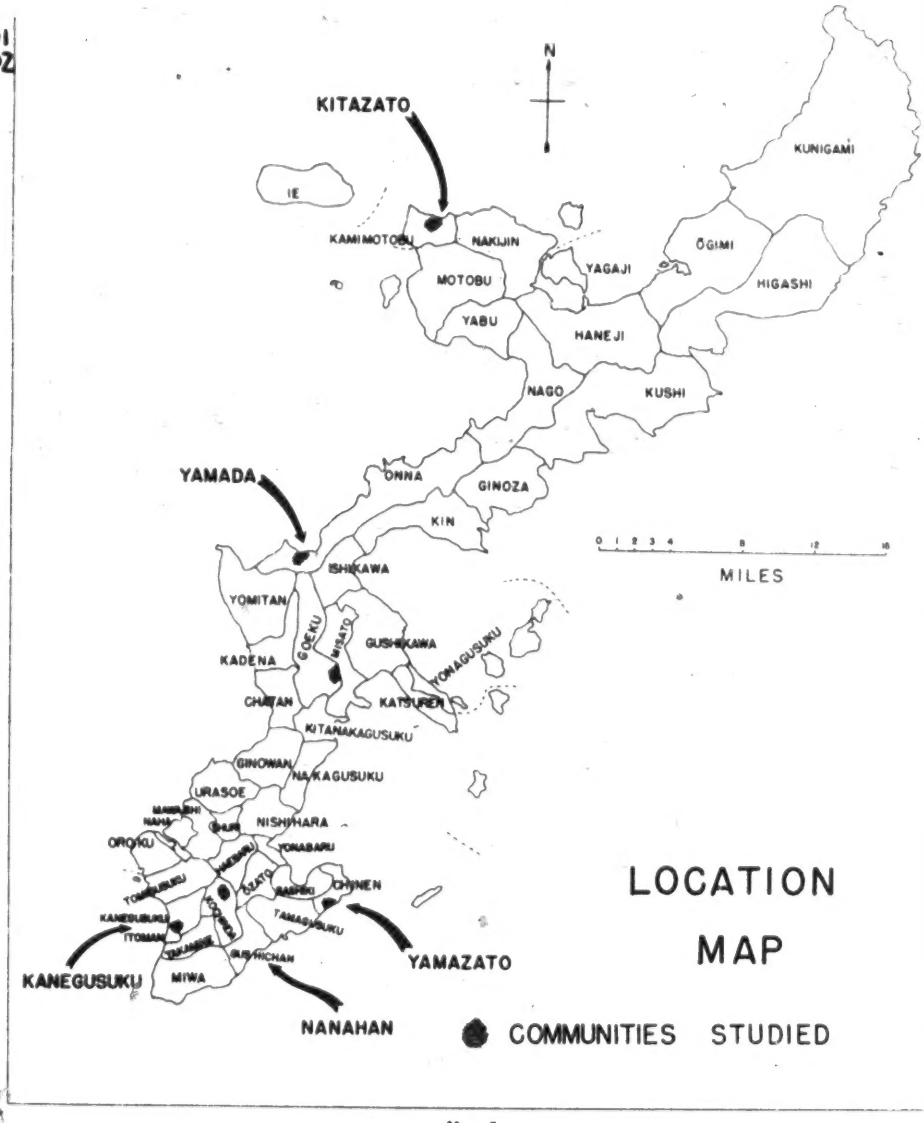

Map 1
[facing p. ii]

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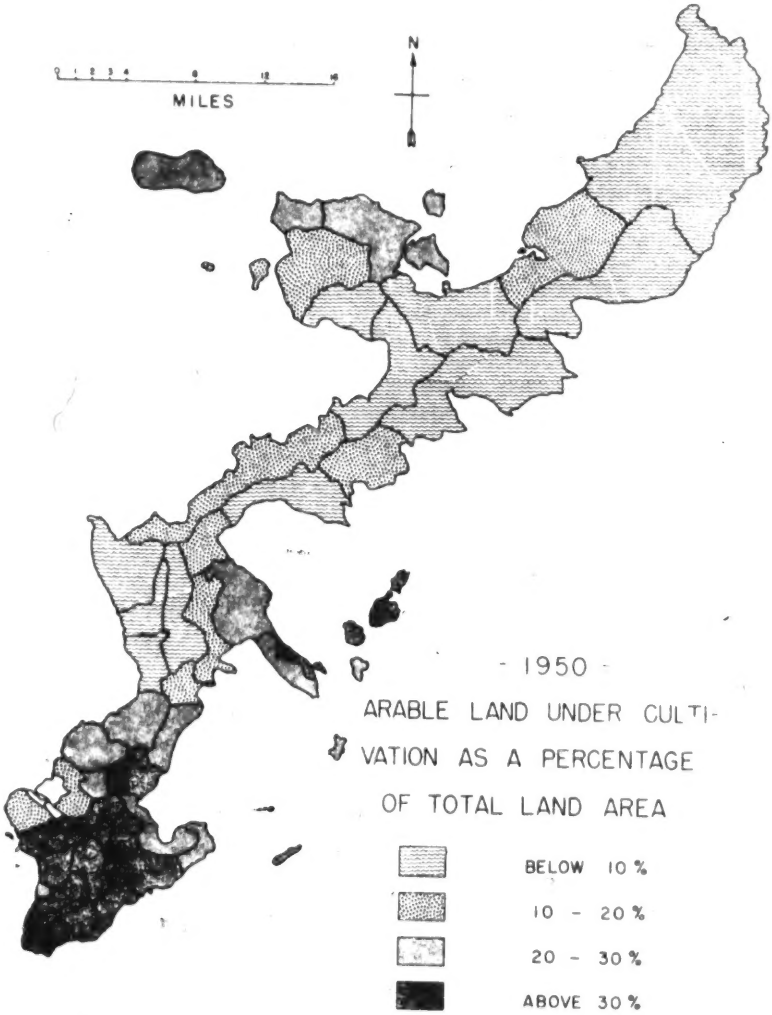

Map 2 [1]

[P 2-A]

[1] [See pages 222-224 for data upon which this map was based--Analyst]

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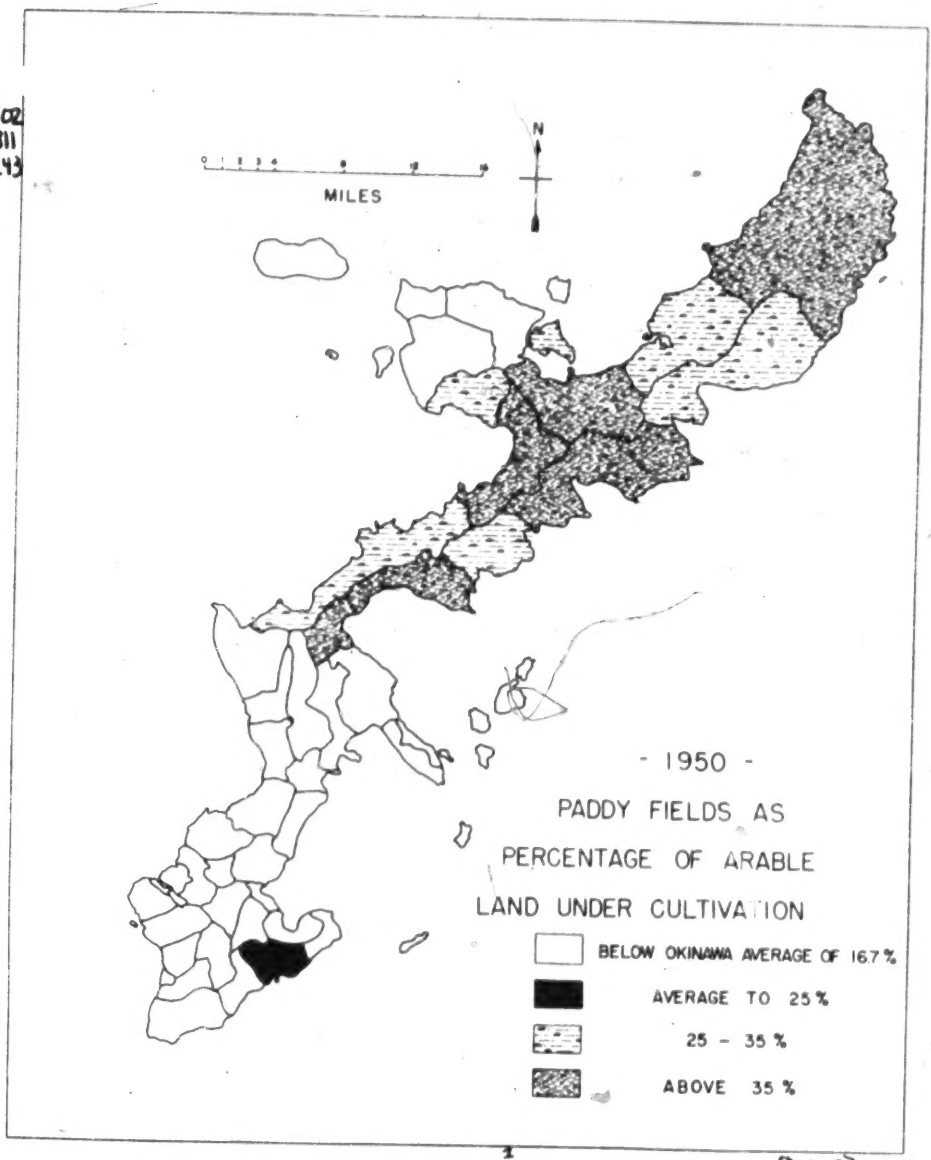
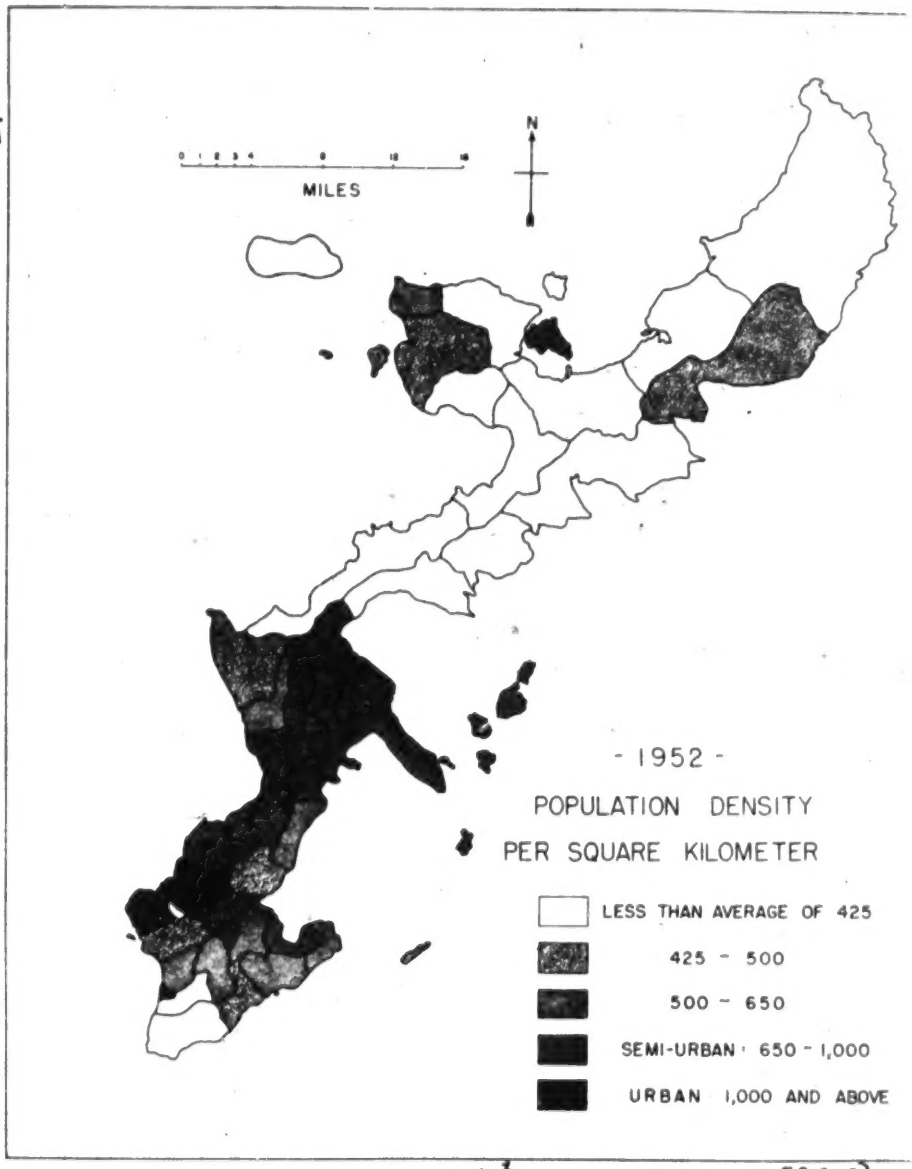


Map 3 [1]

[P 2-B]

1. [See pages 222-224 for data upon which this map was based--Analyst]

102
161



Map 4-$\frac{1}{A}$ [P.2-C]

1, [See pages 222-224 for data upon which this map was based--Analyst]
$\frac{1}{A}$

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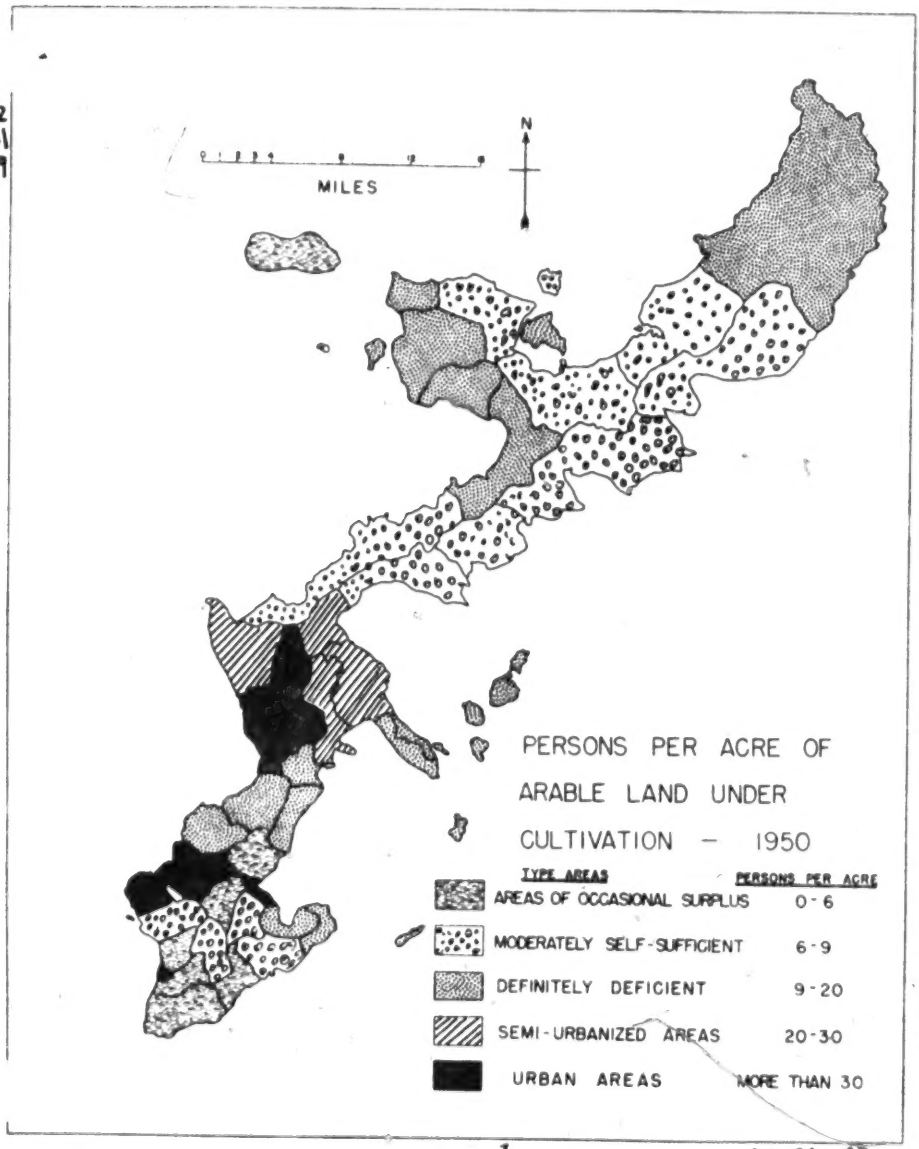

Map 5 [1/A]

[P. 96-A]

[1/A] [See pages 222-224 for data upon which this map was based--Analyst]

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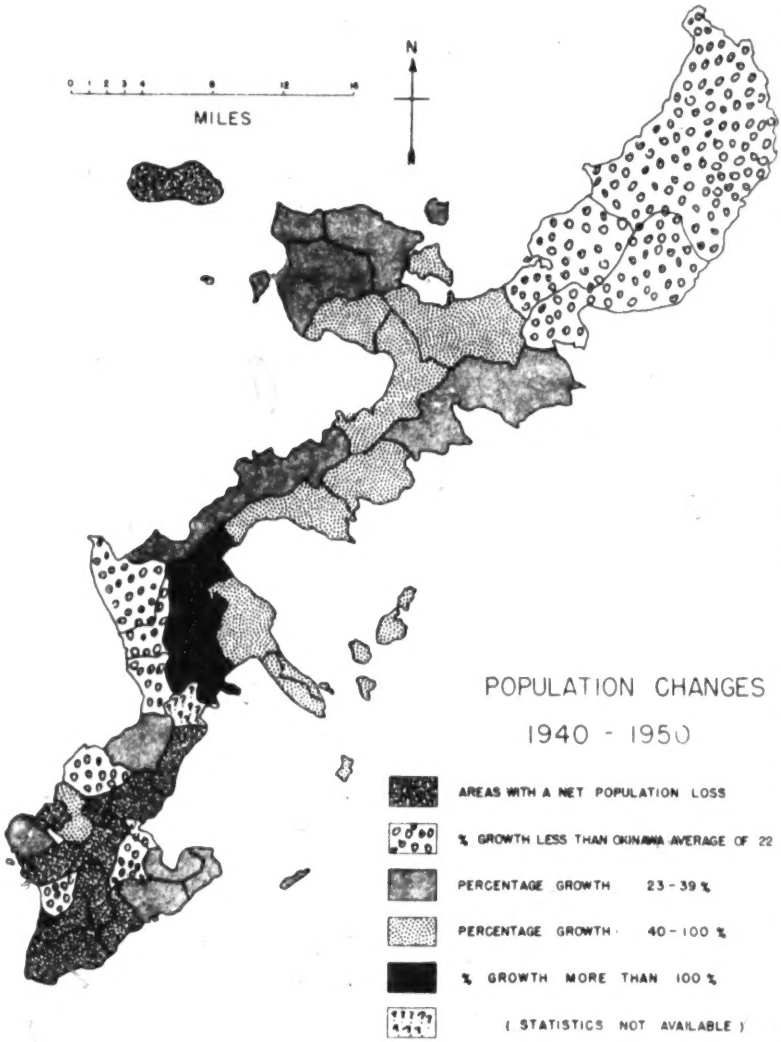
161



Map 6 [1A] [P. 96-B]

1A. [See pages 223-224 for data upon which this map was based--Analyst]

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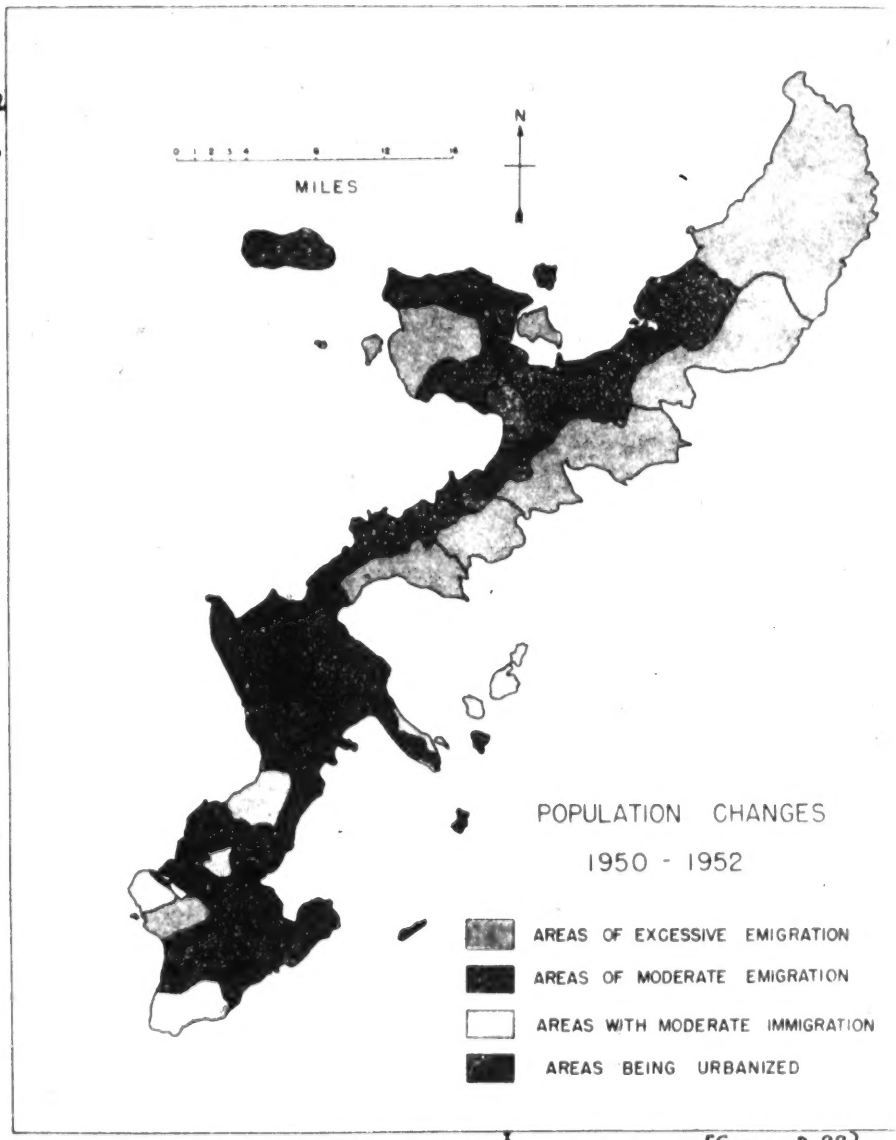
161
166



Map 7 1/4 [facing P 98]

1/4 [See pages 222-224 for data upon which this map was based--Analyst]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

102
103
131
361

EAST CHINA SEA
PHILIPPINE SEA
Tokuno I.
Tonaki I.
Kerama Retto
Ie Island
Tokashiki
Zamami
Aniseo
Tomigusuku
Kochinda
Naha
Tomari
Kitanagusuku
Nagusuku
Shuri
Yaeju Dake
Kitanagusuku-Nagusuku
Yonashiro
Nishihara
Tamagusuku
Chinen Penin.
Kudaka I.
Kyan
Kitaya
Ginowan
Nakagusuku
Yomitan
Zanpa
Tobe
Onna
Kadena
Chatan
Kin
Kanegusuku
Shimajiri
Yaeyama I.
Miyako I.
Ryukyu Islands
Okinawa Island
Place Name Identification Map
Naha (Port Deleville)
Motobu Penin.
Ryukyu Penin.
Kunigami
Nakadomari
Ishikawa
Kaneda
Kadena
Camp Sun
Sukiran
Kerama I.

361 175 Perry's men, the aspect of these villages was one of rare and romantic beauty.[3]

2

Hanashiro

361 103 [491] Hanashiro is a small village of the cluster type in Gushichan township (Gushichan-son) in the southeastern part of Okinawa.[4] It is on the present Highway 64 which begins on the Chinen peninsula, travels southwesterly, following the coast at a distance to Mabuni in the southeast, then crossing the island to Nagushiku town, a village south of Itoman.

361 241 443 256 162 The village and its surroundings are small in area, the actual town site including various village owned properties, taking up slightly over 22 acres. This is an agricultural village, with the exception of minor activities such as storekeeping and rice milling. As of December 31, 1951, it had a population of 589 (269 male, 320 female), living together in 120 households, an average of 4.9 persons per household.

361 [103] [491] 175 349 631 The village is believed to have been founded about 400 years ago. By Okinawan standards this is not very old. It is off the main historical road which ran from Naha to Shuri to Kochinda, Gushichan, Minatogawa, through Tamagusuku township to the Chinen peninsula, probably the road travelled by Okinawan kings up to the latter part of the seventeenth century when they prayed at the altars on Kudaka Island.[5] There were in this area a series of castles on the tops of hills commanding the road and its approaches, the castles, the rough determinants of various regions formerly under a regional mobility. To the west there was Kochinda castle, Tamagusuku on the east, Gushichan castle near Hanashiro, where a surviving stone fence can still be seen, and the castle site of Itokazu. There is reason for believing, as we mentioned in Chapter 1, that this is in the general area of oldest settlement in the island.

[Text continues on P. 49 --analyst]

3 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, Vol. I, 163, 164, 179-80, and an illustration of a "cung-qua" on p. 180. On the older village with granaries and storehouses, see Green's remarks in Hawks, Perry's expedition, as cited, Vol. II, 34, 36, and illustration in Vol. I, 178.

[103] [192] 4 The village is also known as Hanagusuku; the meaning is the same, as shiro is the Japanese, gusuku the Okinawan word for castle. Many Okinawan place names have the suffix, —gusuku.

5 Spencer, The Noro, or priestesses of Loo Choo, as cited, 107.

standing. At one time, the Hinatogawa beaches were seriously considered for the initial landings in Okinawa, and later as a possible second landing. After the campaign for the south had begun, Hinatogawa became a forward loading point.[10] The present village has been completely rebuilt, and the newer buildings, with few exceptions, are frail and undistinguished. The war shows its effects, too, on the southern part of the village where there is a barren acreage, formerly the site of an army camp, its top soil so shallow that the bulldozers in levelling it soon reached the rock beneath.

Nearby Nagamo is a village of a different type. It is divided into two distinct quarters, also a result of the war. The old part formerly was to the north in the main stonecutting area, but following the destruction, a new settlement was started in the farm land a few hundred yards south. Cultivation is marginal on the shallow soil of the sloping valley before it descends into the flat coastal area in which the fishing village is located.

Minatogawa, which means River Port, is a distinctive village reminiscent of the famous fishing town of Itoman, though without its size, beauty, or color.

4

Matsuda

Matsuda is a here-and-there type of village. The village area including the community owned forest is over a square mile. The countryside is dotted with several small sub-settlements. Within each sub-settlement, the houses also are scattered about and separated from one another by large trees, thick growths of shrubbery, grasses, stone fences, and cultivated fields.

The village is located in Ginoza township (Ginoza-son) on the northeast side of the island. This township is in the northern district (Kunigami, or Yambaru). The village is on Highway 13, which winds along the northeast coast through Ishikawa, Kin, Kanna, and Ginoza villages.

Though near the sea, a typical site of a northern Okinawan village, it is a settlement engaged in agriculture and forestry. Its name suggests its nature. Matsuda is a compound of the characters for pine tree, matsu, and rice field, ta, da. Though there is some fishing in the sub-settlements along the Pacific shore, it is casual and a part time occupation for farmers on the coast. The families exclusively

[Text Continues TOP of P. 55 -- Analyst]

10 The statistics on village destruction are taken from accounts of the villagers. They are estimates. For operations in this area, see Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 68, 74, 426-27, 436, 439.

mean the same thing, village, although the term 'aza' tends to be geographical in connotation whereas 'ku' refers more to the political community. Official land maps use the designation 'aza' and the same term is used for one's postal address. Conversely, the 'koseki' (household registry) kept in the township office is labelled as the 'koseki' of a certain 'ku', and the political head or mayor of a village is referred to as the 'kuchō' ('ku' leader or head). The villagers never use the term 'ku' in referring to their village; instead the terms 'aza', mura, or 'buraku' are used. The township of Kanegusuku-son located in southern Okinawa approximately three miles south of Naha on the west coast is subdivided into eight villages or 'aza', each of these comprising a separate settlement surrounded by its fields. 621

Every 'aza' consists of a number of haru (cognate to the Japanese hara) which best translates as "field". Kanegusuku, one of the eight villages of Kanegusuku-son and the one from which it takes its name, consists of eight haru, though the number in a given village is completely arbitrary. These haru or fields are local designations for the various areas of a village and are well known to all the villagers. The haru names are fairly similar from village to village throughout Okinawa though occasionally local geographical features or place names, particularly those of streams, are used. Names like wii baru (upper field), agari baru (east field), iri baru (west field), kushi baru (back field), mee baru (front field), shicha baru (lower field) are found in nearly every village. It is interesting to note that the names north field and south field rarely occur, and where they do occur, the author suspects that they have been put in use quite recently, for in the old, typical Okinawan village all of the houses face south, and the field names are usually ordered around this orientation. Thus, mee baru (front field) is usually south of the village while kushi baru (back field) is usually on the north side. This carries over into the household naming system (yago) employed by the villagers to designate each of the house lots within the settlement. 621 103

Each haru is broken into many small parcels or plots of land. On the village land maps every plot is assigned to one of six categories---house or building land, irrigated land, dry farm land, grass land, forest land, and miscellaneous, including tomb land. Each plot is also given a number on the land maps and in the land registry ('tochi daichō') for the purpose of identification, though oftentimes the villagers refer to them by local names. 621 311 [423]

2. Political Organization[1]

There are three levels of government (exclusive of military government) existing on Okinawa today---the central government (Government of the Ryukyu Islands), municipal governments ('shi-chō-son'), and 'ku' (ward or village) governments. The structure of government is pyramidal, there is a hierarchial chain of command, and each echelon of government exceeds in authority the unit immediately below it. There is no allocation of rights and powers as exists among the various national, state, and local segments of American government, since the state operates as a highly-organized and heavily centralized unitary whole. Variation in the form and function of local government from one area to another is slight. Individuals appear to play but a small role in this 642 [634]

[1] A major part of the information presented in this chapter derives from the author's study in the township of Kanegusuku-son and particularly in one of its villages, Kanegusuku-ku. This has been supplemented by data gathered in briefer studies in other parts of Okinawa. 101

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[In his discussion of kinship Glacken uses the term "extended family" to mean the patrilineal sib (ichimon or munchu)].

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

GLOSSARY OF JAPANESE WORDS

This glossary includes only the most commonly used words appearing in the text. Specialized words may be found in the appropriate chapters. Okinawan words are followed by an O in parentheses.

akiue	fall planting
bakemono	an evil spirit
bōchi	tomb area, grave
bōfurin	shelter belt or grove for typhoon protection.
bōkasen	fire lane
bōzu-san	a Buddhist priest
bunke	branch family
chō	2.45 acres
chōnan	first son
daisu	soy bean
dake (O)	tattooing
dakkoki	rice treadle thresher
dōnen	same year (see also dōsei).
dōsei	same age, used as a synonym for classmate.
fujinkai	women's association
futon	comforter or quilt
gakka	subject (in a school course)
gan	a funeral hearse or palanquin
ganya	a building housing the gan.
genya	non-arable, wild or stony, but useful land
geta	wooden clogs
giri	duty, obligation
go	.04756 gallons liquid
gochisō	a feast, treat, or any meal out of the ordinary
hafu	a gable; the gable type Okinawan tomb
haisho	religious site
haka	tomb
han	a subdivision, or neighborhood, into which a village is divided.
hanchō	the head or leader of a han.
haru ue	spring planting
hatake	dry crop land
hazukashii	to be shy
hera	trowel or spatula
hi no kami	god of fire
higan	the Buddhist spring and autumnal equinoctial holiday
hinpun (O)	protective stationary barrier gate at the entrance of a house compound.
hoanrin	groves of trees for typhoon protection (collective term).
honke	main family
hotoke-san (sama)	a god, usually in the Buddhist pantheon
hyakujō	import store
ichimon (munchu O)	extended family
ido no kami	god of the well
ihai	red lacquered pieces of wood used as memorial tablets

•104

	for the dead on the Buddhist home altar
ireizumi	tattooing
jinpun (O)	night soil
jiru	hearth, also refers colloquially to convalescence after childbirth
jiwari-seido	the old land allotment system
Jōdoshu	the Jōdo Buddhist sect
joshiseinen	young women's association
joyaku	vice-mayor
Jūgoya	festival of the full moon held around the time of the autumnal equinox
Jūrokunichi	16th day. Holiday of 1st lunar month. See Chap. 17, Sect. 2
kachiku	domestic animals
kagami	mirror
kago	palanquin
kaibatsu	clearcutting (of a forest)
kaikon	a clearing
kaitaku	land reclamation
kakemono	hanging scroll
kama	a small sickle or bill knife
kamekokata	a designation for the turtle back tomb
kanbatsu	overcutting (of a forest)
katabui (O)	here and there rain, an Okinawan term for local scattered showers
kaya	any wild grass, usually refers to miscanthus.
kaya	a mosquito net
kazoku-seido	the family system
kasura	a slip, a clone
kekkonshiki	the marriage ceremony
kokugo	mother tongue
koseki	family register kept in the township office
ku	a hamlet. In the text, village has been used as the equivalent word.
kuchō	a village headman
kumiai	an association, a co-operative
Kunigami	northern district of Okinawa
kuwa	the all purpose short bladed hoe
kyoiku	education
kyūreki	the lunar, literally the old calendar
kyūsaisaku	forest conservation
magwa (maga O)	harrow
makura	the Japanese pillow
marugari	close clipped haircut (of young boys)
matsuri	a festival
mi-ai	arranged marriage, literally "seeing-meeting"
minshushugi	the doctrine or idea of democracy
miso	bean paste
misoshiru	bean paste soup
mo-ai	mutual loan group. See Chap. 12, Sec. 2
mochi	rice cake
mochigome	rice-cake-rice, glutinous rice

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moto ni kaeru	return to the source. See Chap. 16, Sect. 2
mukajari (munaan O)	celebration on the naming of a child, usually on the 5th or 6th day.
mukoyoshi	groom adoption
mushiro	a straw or reed mat rolled up when not in use
naidoko	a seed bed
nakōdo	go-between
natsu ue	summer planting
nōgyō	agriculture
nōgyōkumiai	agricultural association
noro	an Okinawan priestess. See Chap. 20
nōson	an agricultural village
nuka	rice chaff
obi	sash
O-Bon	a holiday of the 15th and 16th of the 7th lunar month. See Chap. 17, Sect. 4.
Okinawa	Okinawa Island, the Great Loochoo Island of the 19th Century Western explorers
Okinawago	Okinawan language or speech
onbu	term for the custom of carrying the child on the back
Ōmisoka	last day of the lunar year
ren-ai	free choice in marriage; sometimes translated as romantic love.
rinsaku	crop rotation
rishi	interest (on money)
sabishii	lonesome, lonely, loneliness mixed with melancholy
sakai	boundary
sake	in Okinawa, a strong distilled alcoholic drink like Japanese shōchu. Also called awamori. Not the same as Japanese sake.
sakizumi (O)	engagement (prior to marriage)
samisen	a stringed instrument
samba	a midwife
sanjinsō	fortune teller
sanpatsu (dan-pachiya O)	a barber
sanrin	forest land
san-san-kudo	3-3-9 times. ceremonial sake drinking at the marriage ceremony.
satokibi	sugar cane
satsuma imo	sweet potato
seimaisho	rice mill
seimei	full name, given and surname
seinendan	young man's association
seireki	solar, western calendar
seitojo	sugar mill
sensei	teacher
shaku	0.994 feet
shinrui	relatives
shinseki	relatives, used in Okinawa synonymously with shinrui
shiriushi	hand mill or quern for polishing rice

104 shiseiji	illegitimate child
shisoku	nobility, gentry
shōgatsu	lunar New Year
shoki	a (village) clerk
sobodan	(volunteer) fire brigade
sōdan suru	to discuss, consult with
son or mura	a township
sonchō	the mayor of a township
soroban	abacus
sōsoku	inheritance
suisankumiai	fishermen's co-operative
suki	plow
sukiyaki	Japanese dish with vegetables, bean curd, etc., with or without a meat or fish base
—sun	bound form, indicating linear measurement. 1 sun (issun) equals about 1.2 inches.
ta, tambo	a paddy field, wet rice plot
taiban	afterbirth
takubatsu	selective cutting (of a forest)
takuchi	house site
tansu	chest of drawers
tatami	a flat mat, about 3' x 6'
tōfu	bean curd
tōkyu	classification, such as land classification
tsubo	unit of land measurement. About 4 square yards, 0.000817 acres, 1/3000 of a chō
tsunahiki	rope tug of war. See Chap. 17, Sect. 5
uino	engagement (prior to marriage)
ujigami	the patron deity of a locality. Also used to include the place or building where the patron deity is worshipped.
undōkai	athletic meet
utaki	sacred grove
wakamizu	new or young water. See Chap. 17, Sect. 1
wara	rice stalks
waratsuna	rice straw rope
waribiki	discount (on a loan)
ya	house, dwelling
yagō	a secondary naming system based on house rank order. See Chap. 6, Sect. 8
yabu	native doctor
yadori (yadui O)	settlements characterized by isolated homesteads, as contrasted with the clustered village
yakuba	the township office
Yambaru	the Northern District of Okinawa, synonymous with Kunigami
Yambaru take	Yambaru bamboo, a dwarf bamboo
yashiki	a house site, synonymous with takuchi.
yashinaoya	special form of adoption in which a sickly child has
yashineoya (O)	a growing up parent but continues to live with his own parents
yōtonkumiai	a pig raiser's co-operative

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yuta	fortune teller
zaisan	family estate
sōrin	afforestation, reforestation, or loosely, care and maintenance of forest lands

GLOSSARY

104 As in the text native Okinawan words are underlined and Japanese words are enclosed in single quote marks.

aji	(sometimes Japanized 'anzu') a feudal lord under the former monarchy.
'awamori'	a strong distilled liquor.
'aza'	a subdivision of the 'son' or "township"; the territorial equivalent of the 'ku'.
'bunke'	"branch house"; a house established by a second or younger son upon leaving his father's house; the eldest son stays in the father's house which then becomes 'honke', "main house", to the branch house.
'buraku'	"village" in the sense of a settlement.
'butai'	"military unit", at present used for any U.S. installation, as, 'kazoku butai', literally "family unit", for a dependent housing project.
chinju	(Japanese cognate 'kinjo', "neighborhood") a native subdivision of a village, used in some areas.
'chō'	an incorporated town, co-ordinate with 'shi', "city", and 'son', "rural township".
chuchooree	(Jap. cog. 'hito-kyōdai', "one siblinghood") in some areas, a lineage which forms a local subdivision of the larger kinship group.
'ekishn'	(in Okinawan sanjinsoo) a type of diviner who casts horoscopes and predicts the future using a system based on the Chinese classic, the I Ching.
fii-nu-kang	('hi-no-kami') the fire god, represented by an incense burner behind the oven in most Okinawan homes.
'gen'ya'	grassland; a class of land that is uncultivated but not forest.
'gun-sagyo-	military employment.

'han'	a subdivision of a 'ku', which may be either a rural village or an urban ward. 104
'hanchō'	the headman of a 'han' (Note: during World War II the term 'han' was applied to work details and their leaders were called 'hanchō'; the term with this meaning was introduced into GI jargon and has come to mean any kind of important person regardless of rank.)
baru	(Japanese cognate, 'hara', "field") an area of cultivated land; often the second element in the names of 'ko-aza'.
'hatake'	a dry or upland field, as distinguished from 'ta' or 'tambo', a wet field.
'hōgen'	"dialect", the term formerly used in the schools for the Okinawan language; Japanese was called 'hyōjungo', "standard speech", and thus Okinawan was made subordinate to Japanese. In contrast the native terms are Uchinaa-guchi, "Okinawa speech", and Yamatu-guchi, "Yamato speech", making the two co-ordinate.
'honke'	"main house"; see 'bunke'.
hyakusoo	(Japanese cognate 'hyakushō', "farmers", equated with Japanese 'heimin', "commoners") the peasantry under the former monarchy.
ichimung	in some areas, the larger common descent group, more commonly munchu.
'imo'	the generic term for root crops, usually used to mean sweet potatoes.
jituree	an official appointed to the administration of a district under the former monarchy.
'jiwari seido'	under the former monarchy, the land allotment system, whereby the greater part of the cultivatable land was owned by the state and periodically reapportioned among the peasantry.
juri (-gwaa)	a trained female who functions as hostess, singer, dancer, and prostitute, there being no distinction between 'geisha' and 'jorō' as in Japan.
jurinuyaa	a juri house.

• 104 kaminchu — ('kami-no-hito', "deity person") a religious functionary who leads worship for a munchu or other larger kinship group or assists the nuru in worship for the village.

'ken' — prefecture.

'kin' — a unit of weight, equivalent to 1.32 pounds.

'ko-aza' — a unit of land, a subdivision of the 'aza'.

'kóseki' — the family register kept at the 'son' office and by the 'kuchō'.

'ku' — a subdivision of a 'son', 'chō', or 'shi'; as a subdivision of a 'son' the 'ku' is a rural village, the political unit equivalent to the land unit of 'aza'; as a subdivision of a 'cho' or 'shi' it is a ward of a town or city.

'kuchō' — the headman of a 'ku'.

'kumi' — literally "group"; in some villages a subdivision of the 'han', in others the equivalent of the 'han'; the term may also be used for a temporary unit formed for the purpose of pressing sugar, etc.

'kumiai' — an association or union.

mabui, mabuyaa — a supernatural entity that goes into the making of a human being; a kind of soul, which if lost causes its owner to become ill. The mabui of a living person may be called ichi-mabui, that of a dead person shini-mabui; the latter is a type of ghost.

majiri — (sometimes Japanized 'magiri') the administrative unit under the former monarchy corresponding to the present 'son'.

manna — (Japanese 'majinai') a "spell", that is, a verbal formula which if recited perfectly will magically cause the desired effect; these are used in curing. A person who can use spells is called a mannasaa.

'miso' — a food stuff made of bean paste.

'moai' — (also muyee, yuuree-gwaa, 'mujin') a mutual loan association.

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'mogusa'	a plant, dried particles of which are burned on the skin as a treatment for various diseases and disorders. The Japanese name has been Latinized as "moxa" and the treatment is called "moxibustion" or "moxicautery".
moo-ashibii	literally "playing in the fields", a type of nocturnal picknicking practiced by young persons in some rural communities.
munchu	a kin group composed of a number of households the heads of which trace their descent from a common ancestor in the male line, thus a patrilineal sib; it is non-exogamous and has only ritual functions. This term is used by descendants of the former peasant class in Southern and Central Okinawa; elsewhere the term ichimung is used; among descendants of the former gentry the corresponding unit is called the uji.
mura	(In Japanese also 'mura') "village" in the sense of settlement, and thus the equivalent of 'buraku', but also an alternate reading of the character usually read 'son', meaning a rural township.
'museki'	a person or family that nowhere appears on a 'koseki'; such persons may be thought of as legally nonexistent.
nuru, nuuru	(often Japanized 'noro') a village priestess, one of the hierarchy organized by the former monarchy.
'ryōtei'	a restaurant-brothel.
'sake'	a fermented rice wine, the usual Japanese drink; the Okinawan cognate term saki is used for the much stronger distilled drink called 'awamori' in Japanese.
'samisen', 'shamisen'	a three-stringed musical instrument.
sanjinsoo	a diviner, same as 'ekisha', which see.
'seinenkai', 'seinendan'	the Youth Organization.
'sen'	a former coin; 100 sen equalled 1 yen.
'shi'	an incorporated city.

104 'shi-chō-son'	the three co-ordinate administrative units of city, town, and rural township.
shii	a supernatural force within the human being, the decline of which causes illness.
'shiseiji'	"illegitimate child", one not recognized by the father and therefore registered with the mother, as distinguished from the next term.
'shoshi (-dan, -jo)'	"common-law (son, daughter)", a child born out of wedlock but recognized by the father and registered on his 'koseki'.
'son'	a rural township (since the character may also be read 'mura', which in coloquial usage means "village", it is probably preferable not to translate the term at all).
'sonchō'	the mayor of a 'son'.
'son-yakuba'	the administrative office of a 'son'.
'ta', 'tambo'	a seasonally flooded field used for rice, rush, taro, etc., as distinct from 'hatake', a dry or upland field.
'tan'	a unit of land, equivalent to .245 acre.
'tatami'	a Japanese style floor mat.
'tōfu'	bean curd, made from soy beans.
'tsubo'	a unit of area; 1 'tsubo' equals 3.95 square yards; 1224 'tsubo' equal 1 acre.
ugwanbusuku	insufficiency of worship, of the ancestors or of the fire god, thought to be a frequent cause of misfortune and illness.
ugwanju, uganju	a place of worship, a shrine, often marked only by a tiny stone.
uji	the larger kin group among the gentry class, see munchu.
yaarui, yaadui	(Japanized 'yadori') a small settlement removed from a village; most were pioneered by unemployed members of the gentry class and urban commoners in the last century.

yabuu	a type of medical practitioner who uses moxibustion, acupuncture, and other techniques derived from Chinese medicine.	104●
'yagō'	(in Okinawan yaanaa) "house name"; in most villages all houses are distinguished by a system of house names.	
'yen'	at present (1954) 120 type B yen equal 1 US dollar.	
'yōshi'	a son adopted in order to provide a man with an heir.	
yuta	a type of shaman, usually a woman, who functions as diviner and medium.	

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

Part I

The Ethnographic Background

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Chapter 1

The Setting

THE ISLAND

105 ●
131

Okinawa lies a day's voyage by steamer to the southwest of the Japanese island of Kyushu. Leaving Kyushu, the ship passes along the Ryukyuan chain until it reaches Okinawa, the largest of the islands. Land is never completely out of sight until the ship enters the port of Naha, capital of the southern Ryukyus.

The Ryukyus are part of a long string of islands which, beginning in the north with the Kurile Islands and Sakhalin, run all the way south, including Japan, the Ryukyus, Formosa, the Philippines, and the Indonesian archipelago. In their offshore position on the Western rim of the Pacific Ocean, the Ryukyus are within access by small craft from Japan, Korea, and China. This geographic position of the Ryukyus puts them within the sphere of influence of several countries, [133] [648]

131 a fact which has been a determinant in their historical development
648 and an important factor in speculations about prehistoric events.

105 Until further archaeological evidence permits greater certainty, the
174 original settlement of the Ryukyus is believed to have taken place predominantly from the Asiatic mainland, with occasional influx from the southern islands, Formosa, the Philippines, and Indonesia (Kerr, [172] 1958). Surviving culture elements of great antiquity support these theories. Most frequently cited are a basic form of Shinto, characteristic of the religion, and the shamanistic role of the priestesses. Specifi- [177] cally, the "curved jewels," formerly worn by all priestesses, are mentioned as apparent links with the neolithic cultures of Japan.

105 On the other hand, sporadic contact with the islands to the south
177 is evidenced by culture traits, such as raised houses of tropical design
174 (common to all of Japan) and perhaps the practice of "mother roast- [846] ing," a period of recuperation after the birth of a child during which the mother is kept near a fire. This custom is widespread in Malaysia (Cole, 1945:155).

[197] Linguistic evidence points to a separation of Okinawan from a common proto Japanese language about 1500 years ago (Hattori, 1954). This may indicate a southern movement of peoples from Japan under the pressure of the Yayoi people who introduced the wet rice complex into southwestern and central Japan at this period. That this was not the earliest settlement of the Ryukyus, however, is evidenced by remains in the Ryukyus of the earlier Jomon period.

105 From the first mention of the Ryukyus in Chinese annals of 605 A.D.
648 until the end of the nineteenth century when Japan formally annexed
175 the islands, they stood in a curious relationship of dependency toward China and Japan. Both nations claimed suzerainty over the kingdom of Okinawa with its royal court in Shuri and extracted tribute. Eventually the Lord of Satsuma in southern Japan extended his sovereignty over the Ryukyus. But with ties to China remaining, Okinawa participated in both Chinese and Japanese culture, which disseminated through the urban trading center of Naha into the outlying areas. It is this intermediate cultural position which still gives Okinawa a peculiar character, although it long ago became part of Japan and abandoned direct contacts with China.

105 In 1872 Japan formally declared its claims on the Ryukyuan king-
175 dom, and after deposing the last king in 1879, made the Ryukyuan
177 islands a province of Japan, with the capital at Naha. Between this
648 time and the present, intensive contact with Japan has led to an overwhelming absorption of Japanese culture, a willingness on the part of Okinawans to adopt Japanese ways and to identify with Japan as their

home country. Nevertheless, many aspects of Okinawan life still suggest an earlier phase in which independent developments gave the islands their own particular culture.

The Okinawan people, approximately 655,000 as counted in 1954, live in an area of about 454 square miles. Their major economic activities have traditionally been agriculture and fishing. In 1945 a long, peaceful existence was brought to an abrupt end during the final battles of World War II in the Pacific. As a result of world conditions Okinawans have been placed under American administration for an indefinite period of time. Today large numbers of men—and some women—find employment as unskilled and semiskilled laborers with the American forces. Gradual training for highly skilled jobs widens these opportunities for employment. Indirectly Okinawan life is influenced by Americans through stimulation of trade, building, and improved health conditions. Land requirements of the American forces in some areas also have influenced the settlement pattern. While these changes have affected the entire island to some degree, the greatest changes are noticeable in the central part around Naha where American administrative and military personnel are located. The village of Taira in the northern province of Kunigami, where the present study was located, had been subject to relatively few of these postwar changes in 1954. Isolated since earliest times because of mountainous terrain, this part of the island participates, as it probably always did, marginally in cultural influences which affect the center of the island. A great deal of cultural stability has therefore been preserved until the present day.

Nevertheless, it is useful to remember that the population of northern Okinawa is linked with the rest of the island by an efficient communications system. Roads connect almost all settlements in the north with the central island, and a bus transportation system extends its service into the remote areas. But long before all villages were connected by road with the center of Okinawa, people of Kunigami province traveled by foot over the many trails which traverse the mountains, and, since the turn of the century, many have left their home villages. Some went to Japan as laborers; others settled in the Japanese-controlled Islands of the Pacific, and some families joined the numerous Okinawan settlements in South American countries.

LANGUAGE

Taira people are bilingual. Okinawan, which linguists consider a separate language, has many regional dialects, some of which are not

Amami Oshima, Okinawa, Miyako, and Yaeyama.[1] Although they appear to differ widely, mutual intelligibility prevails, and informants from other islands assured me that they had managed to understand Okinawan in a short time though most preferred to use Japanese rather than attempt the new dialect. 197

Okinawan Dialects The Okinawan dialect area, Okinawa and its offshore islands, contains many sub-dialects or local speech groups, all of which are easily mutually intelligible. It would be an exaggeration to state that there is a distinctive dialect for each community; yet the variety and diversity of local speech forms constantly impresses one. Nakasone has distinguished five dialects in the Kunigami area alone, and this does not include nearly a dozen and a half distinctive speech islands within the same area.[2] These local speech peculiarities are often pointed out with considerable pride and seem much prized as symbolic of a community's identity. [621]

The dialects of Naha, Shuri, and certain of the larger towns such as Itoman and Yonabaru, are quite distinctive and easily recognized by the Okinawans. Naha dialect is most widely spoken and easily understood throughout the island, and because of its association with the capital carries the greatest prestige among Okinawan speakers. Old residents of Naha complain that their dialect has deteriorated and become coarsened since the war due to the heavy influx from other areas of people who speak the dialect imperfectly. By this they refer to the loss of certain polite forms and the inundations of Japanese. Some Shuri people will contend that the "best" Okinawan is spoken in their city. In the past this was undoubtedly a widely accepted point of view, but with the advent of Japanese administration---exile of the king, removal of the capital to Naha, abolition of the upper classes---Shuri's prestige as a cultural center rapidly declined. A number of informants, rural and urban, felt that the "purest" Okinawan was heard in the Naha theaters, particularly at the Naha Gekijō, where daily performances of modern and historical dramas are presented. Itoman dialect is considered to be very coarse and rough by the people of other communities, and hence is accorded a low prestige. This is in part due to certain prosodic features of the dialect which render it unlike other Okinawan dialects, but more likely it is due to the fact that this town largely derives its livelihood from fishing, an occupation regarded with opprobrium by farmers and urbanites alike. The neighboring farm village of Kaneguswku, though less than a quarter of a mile away and long associated with Itoman, preserves a dialect distinct from it. [554] [177] [648] [177] [545] [554] [326]

This dialectic diversity on Okinawa reflects to a certain extent the physical isolation of the typical village, a tightly-nucleated cluster of dwellings surrounded by fields. It is also a product of the social structure in the Okinawan kingdom. Prior to annexation by Japan (1879), farmers were little more than serfs bound to the soil and forbidden to leave their native village, while the gentry and nobility were for the most part concentrated in the urban Naha-Shuri district. Rural villages tended to be isolated, self-sustaining units; most were composed of a dominant kin group (munchu) and several smaller and possibly remotely related kin groups, or of several unrelated kin groups more nearly equal in size. A munchu was made up of a number [361] 197 105 [566] [565] [621]

[1] Miyanaga /Miyara/, 1950, p. 39.

[2] Nakasone, 1937, pp. 242-258.

195 A munchu was made up of a number
197 of households or families united through the male line, descended from a common
[619] ancestor, and sharing a common tomb. Village endogamy was an obligatory mar-
[582] riage practice and violations did not pass unpunished; in addition kin group
endogamy was a preferred practice, though not necessarily an obligatory one.
[628] Intervillage contacts and ties, consequently, were held to a minimum. These cus-
[178] toms were followed by the majority of the oldest generation now living, and
even today such practices tend to persist in rural areas. A survey in Kanegu-
[582] suku revealed that fifty percent of the marriages were between members of the
same kin group and sixty-six percent of the marriages were between residents of
[178] the same village. Such practices, to be sure, are breaking down, and this be-
comes evident when the above data are analyzed on an age basis, but in view of
the fact that these customs still prevail, though to a more limited extent than
formerly, it is not surprising that so considerable a diversity of dialects
should also be preserved.

197 Another facet of Okinawan dialect geography is the occurrence of small
621 speech-islands exhibiting dialects distinct from those of the surrounding areas.
184 These are the so called yasdui settlements founded during the 18th and 19th cen-
turies by migrants from the Naha-Shuri area; the newcomers were usually the
younger sons of gentry families seeking their livelihood in the country. Such
settlements not only enjoyed a political independence from the larger surround-
ing communities but also were never incorporated into the formal religious
system centering on the nuru priestess and unifying the rural areas. These
factors together with previously-mentioned marriage practices enabled such set-
tlements to preserve their identity. Kitazato in Kami Motobu-son serves as a
good example of this type of village, having been settled seven generations
ago by the younger sons of gentry families residing in Naha and Shuri. The
larger neighboring villages never absorbed Kitazato, and to this day it pre-
[194] serves a dialect quite distinct from theirs. The most notable contrast be-
tween them centers on the p and h sounds in the two dialects, for all p sounds
of nearby Gushiken are rendered h in Kitazato; thus, the word for "fire" is pi
in the dialect of the former and hi in the latter's.

197 Undoubtedly this dialectic diversity is decreasing as the old customs
178 die out and the isolation of the village disappears. The war uprooted many
communities and scattered their inhabitants about the island, and nearly all
villages now have a number of families new to the village since the war. New
communities like the entertainment center of Koza have no characteristic dia-
lect of their own, containing as they do a heterogeneous population recruited
from all parts of the Ryukyus. The vast improvements in roads and transporta-
tion services since the end of the war have given the people a mobility un-
dreamed of in the prewar period and have done much to destroy the isolation of
the rural areas.

192 "Uchinaaguchi" Okinawans call their dialect uchinaaguchi and themselves
[101] uchinaanchu. The terms 'Okinawago', Japanese for Okinawan
language, and 'hōgen', Japanese for dialect, are also in common usage though
the latter term is resented by some who feel that it carries the connotation
"rustic". Today all Okinawan speech contains many loan words from Japanese;
this obtains for those who know no Japanese as well as for those who are bi-
lingual. Intimate contact with Japanese coupled with this word borrowing has

1: Glacken, Clarence J. Studies of Okinawan Village Life. Scientific Investigations in the Ryuku Islands (SIRI) Report No. 4. Washington, D.C.: Pacific Science Board, National Research Council, 1953. (mimeographed)

Pp. [ia-e] ii, 382; preface; introduction; 8 photographs; ca. 50 text figures and diagrams; numerous tables; 6 maps; glossary; bibliography.

HRAF Copy

/This monograph is a more extensive version of Glacken's later book published under the title of The Great Loochoo: A Study of Okinawan Village Life (1955). In his review of the publication, Wayne Suttles considered it to be "the first major work in English on the Ryuku Islands" (American Anthropologist 58: 750, 1956). In any event, the present work will undoubtedly long remain a basic source on Okinawan ethnography. It is based primarily upon six months of field work in three sample villages chosen as examples of the main different types of economies--agriculture, fishing, stonecutting, and forestry. The coverage of

1: Glacken, Clarence J.

cultural aspects is comprehensive and detailed. In addition to the primary focus on man-land relations, there is very detailed information on such topics as economic organization, kinship (including the kinship terminology omitted in the book), marriage, family life, socialization patterns, formal education, religion, festivals, funerals and mourning, and the community. In spite of a lengthy discussion of what is called the "family system"--which includes the entire network of kin groups, this is probably the least satisfactory part of the monograph. The structuring of the patrilineal kin groups remains ambiguous, although it may be suggested that they seem to constitute a segmentary lineage system. Again, the description of the political system is rather sketchy and unsatisfactory. Unfortunately, there is no index, but the table of contents is fairly comprehensive.

On the basis of previous listings, Glacken has been classified as an ethnologist in the heading of the file slips. Actually, however, as he specifically states in the preface of his publication, he is a geographer. --Analyst/

Field date: 1951-1952
Analyst: Robert O. Lagacé

Evaluation: Ethnologist, Geographer - 5
Processed in 1962

2: Maretzki, Thomas W. and Hatsumi Maretzki. Taira: An Okinawan Village. In Beatrice B. Whiting, ed., Six Cultures: Studies of Child Rearing. Introduction by Beatrice B. Whiting. Pp. 1-13, 363-539. New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1963.

2 maps; 1 figure; 16 photographs.

Yale Nqd60.963W. DLC card no.: 63-8908.

[This is an ethnographic report of Taira, a northeastern Okinawan village, based on field work conducted by a husband-and-wife team during 1954-55. It is part of the series of six comparative studies undertaken by a group of social scientists from Harvard, Yale, and Cornell Universities to explore cross-culturally the relationship between different patterns of child rearing and subsequent differences in personality. This source is presented in two parts: (1) a description of the adult world as background data, and (2) a chronological account of child training from pregnancy to preadolescence. Part 1 includes, in addition to a general description of economy, polity, religion, family and kinship, education, and social organization, such special topics as social control, theory of disease, and leisure-time activities, in order to test patterns of succorance, nurturance, self-reliance, achievement, responsibility, obedience, dominance, sociability, and aggression (nine behavioral system hypotheses developed by Whiting and Child). Throughout the test, an attempt is made to compare the situation as it existed

2: Maretzki, Thomas W. and Hatsumi Maretzki.

before World War II, during the War, and as it is today.

Standard ethnographic techniques, especially participant observation and interviews, were intensively applied to a sampling unit of about 100 families and 24 mothers of a homogeneous group. This source is meant to be only a preliminary testing of the hypotheses developed by Whiting and Child, and does not contain any comparative analysis or generalizations concerning personality and culture or the socialization process. It is an objective and succinct ethnographical account of an Okinawan village, which will serve as good orientation material for the culture.

The introduction by Whiting on the comparative studies of six societies has also been processed to provide the theoretical orientation and methodology of the source.]

Field date: 1954-1955
Analyst: Hesung C. Koh

Evaluation: Ethnologist-5
Processed in 1965-1967

3: Pitts, F. R., William P. Lebra and Wayne P. Suttles. Post-war Okinawa. Scientific Investigations in the Ryukyu Islands (SIRI), SIRI Report, 8. Washington, D.C., National Research Council, Pacific Science Board, 1955.

8, 232 p.; 4 illustrations; 7 maps.

HRAF copy.

[This source is a post-World War II description of Okinawan culture. It was prepared by two ethnologists and a geographer under the auspices of the Pacific Science Board of the National Academy of Science and was funded by the Department of the Army. The objective of the study was to evaluate the impact of the American military occupation on Okinawan culture. In order to document that impact, pre- and post-war culture patterns were compared. The authors discuss social organization, political organization, religion, economic activities, diet, land use and tenure, population trends and health, and sanitary habits. In addition, they evaluate Okinawan-American relations and provide recommendations for improving relations and for stabilizing the Okinawan economy. The study was based on nine months of field research, as part of a contract with George Washington University.]

Field date: 1953-1954
Analyst: Helen Gunsher Bornstein, marker

Evaluation: Ethnologists, Geographer - 5
Processed in 1975

Zabilka, Gladys, compiler. Customs and Culture of Okinawa. Hong Kong: Orient Publishing Company, 1955.

Pp. v, 197; sketches; music

Library of Congress: DS895. 04Z3

/This small volume was originally compiled for the use of American school children on the military base of Okinawa. It is a fairly typical tourist guide written with some ethnocentrism, but containing some interesting information. -- Analyst/

175
648 This nineteenth century conception of the Ryukyus as remote and isolated islands in a part of the world in which travel and trade had reached a high degree of development continued unabated to the beginning of the war in the Pacific. The reasons were entirely political. The Ryukyus were part of that walling off process which characterized Japan's policy and strategy toward its island mandates and possessions since the end of the first world war. Okinawa might well have become, as some of the English and American explorers of the nineteenth century hoped, a crossroads of importance in world trade. If it had, it would only have repeated a role it played centuries before.

Since the invasion of 1945, worldwide political realignments have given it a new, and perhaps its most important significance. Its general geography has remained the same. It is the history since the war, and the shaping of ideologies that have brought about this change. Before 1945, Okinawa was regarded by the Japanese as the outer fort and protector of the home islands; during the war, it became the important strategic spot, from the American point of view, for the contemplated invasion of Japan. With the Korean war, it has been transformed from a small outlier in the Pacific to an important strategic center off the Asiatic mainland.

2

Regional Differences in Okinawa Island[3]

131 -
133 Okinawa, the largest of the islands in the Ryukyu chain, is about 485 square miles in area, 510 including its offshore islands, such as the Keram

[TEXT CONTINUES ON TOP OF P. 12--ANALYST]

114 3 A cultural geography of Okinawa is a real desideratum. But this is outside the scope of this work. Many materials have been brought together in memoranda, published and unpublished, surveys and the like, since the close of the war and the beginning of the American occupation. Lacking a newer synthesis, it seemed foolish to lengthen this report by merely repeating the published materials already available. The intention in this chapter is merely to indicate some of the general considerations helpful in understanding the history of the island and of contemporary life in the villages described. For the pre-war
114 geographical materials see Civil Affairs Handbook, Ryukyu (Loo-choo)
113 Islands, OPNAV 3-13, 3-38, the sections on geography and resources, and passim. Interesting information regarding local geography is scattered through the pages of Okinawa, The Last Battle, and for a general statement, see pp. 7-14. See also Walter R. Hacker's chapter on the Kurils and the Ryukyus in Geography of the Pacific, edited by Otis Freeman, New York and London, 1951, and M. Y. Nuttonson, Ecological Crop Geography and Field Practices of the Ryukyu Islands..., 11-58. For the geology, see, the CA Handbook, 11-12, Nuttonson, 29-36, and Engineering Geology, Okinawa (Prepared by Military Geology Branch US Geological Survey for Intelligence Division Office of the Engineer, GHQ, FEC, April 1951). This contains an Engineering Geology map of the island. For general relationships in this area see Trewartha, Glenn. T. Japan. A Physical, Cultural, and Regional Geography, v-ix, 3-4, and the map on the arcs and nodes, 8.

of Okinawan prehistory will probably depend on research throughout a wide area and on the comparison and collation of discoveries already made in western Japan, south Korea, Quelpart Island, the Shantung peninsula, the Ryukyu Islands, Formosa, and China, particularly concerning the role of Fukien province in later times, to say nothing of determining the sources and routes of influences from southeastern Asia on Japan and the Ryukyus. Links with Polynesia and Hawaii have been suggested. Obviously present day political conditions are unfavorable for this type of inquiry. 174

The suppositions of which we have been speaking have led to the belief that the Ryukyu people, like the Japanese, are composed of the North Mongoloid, South Mongoloid or Malayan, and the Ainu type, but that the proportions are different, since there seem to be larger elements of the Malayan and Ainu types in the Ryukyu Islands. Whether these reconstructions are correct or not, the significant fact is that the islands owed their peopling to migration and invasion, and that culture mixture and contact is of very ancient origin.[2] [144]

The Ryukyuan creation myth is a crystallization of ideas that must have been long dominant at the time they were recorded. There are two versions of this myth, one simple, the other, as Spencer points out, more complex and probably reflecting the influence of new and foreign ideas. The first of these versions appears in Ryukyu Shindoki, written about 1603 A.D., the second in the Kyu Yo, a Chinese translation of a work by Haneji Tomohide entitled Chusan Seikan (1650).[3] 173 [175]

[Text continues top of p. 28--Analyst]

2 Bishop, C. W. The historical geography of early Japan. Geo. Rev. 13 (1923), 40-63. See also this author's, The geographical factor in the development of Chinese civilization. Geo. Rev. 12 (1922), 19-41. For a recapitulation of the theories regarding the peopling of the Ryukyus, see Marshall T. Newman and Roman L. English, The Ryukyuan people: a biological appraisal. Amer. Journ. of Physical Anthropology, 5 (1947), 114-24, and Binkenstein, R. Okinawa-Studien. Monumenta Nipponica, 3(1940), 196 ff. and the literature there cited. Chamberlain's ideas are summarized in The Luchu islands and their inhabitants. Geo. Journ. 5 (1895), 316-19. R. S. Spencer, The Noro, or priestesses of Loo Choo, Trans. Asiatic Society of Japan. 2d Series. 8 (1931), 94-112, especially p. 94. For a recapitulation of Ryukyuan history, see C. A. Handbook, as cited, ~~29-31 and~~ John R. Potter, A Preface to Liu Ch'iuan history: an analysis of the basis for establishing a United Nation's Trusteeship. (Unpublished Master's Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1948. Leavenworth, Charles S. The Loochoo Islands. Shanghai, 1905. [174] [113]

3 This discussion is based on the article by Spencer cited above. Partial translations of the myths from the sources are reproduced here. See also Binkenstein, Okinawa-Studien, as cited, 198.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1.

The Family System, Inheritance, and Succession

The family system is distinct from the inheritance of property. But in the succession of the first son to the house and in the establishment of branch families, the operation of the family system shows its effects on the practices involved in the inheritance of land and other property. 602 428 [182]

The family system can, and actually has operated in Okinawa independently of a system of private ownership in land, and, at present its obligations are as strong on a landless villager as on one who has many fields or other property. Succession in the family system is succession to a series of rights and duties and responsibilities, much watered down, it is true, from what they once were. These rights and duties may involve the disposition of rice fields, a house site, or personal and movable property, such as the majority of Hinatogawa fishermen possess in a boat, nets, hooks, and other fishing equipment. [423]

Since agriculture and the employment of land are fundamental to the life and economy of Okinawan villages, practices involving the inheritance of land should receive the greatest emphasis. In this chapter, land is considered in a general way, reserving for the following chapter a detailed analysis of types and grades of land based on the Okinawan township system of land classification. 428

Since the first son and his succession to the house are so important to the continuity of the family, one might expect outright primogeniture in inheritance of real property. Such is not the case. The present system of inheritance of property was defined in Japanese law which provided for inheritance by sons other than the first and by daughters as well. This is based on Japanese law as it stood prior to the passage and promulgation of the Japanese land reform law of October 1946 and prior to the post-war revisions of the Japanese Civil Code.[1] [421] [177]

1 In this and in the following chapters, words in parentheses are, unless otherwise designated, Japanese equivalents of English terms. For an interesting historical discussion of the concepts of katoku-sōzoku (succession to house headship) and isan sōzoku (succession to property), see Hozumi, Nobushige, Ancestor worship and Japanese law. Third and revised edition, Tokyo, Osaka, and Kyoto, 1913, 170-87, esp. 181-82. Hozumi notes that in old Chinese history, katoku (house authority) was used as a synonym for eldest son, 172-73. On the Japanese reforms following the war, see Arthur F. Raper et al., The Japanese village in transition, (GHQ, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, Natural Resources Section Report No. 136), Tokyo, 1950, 161-70, 258-61, and Laurence I. Hewes Jr., Japanese Land Reform Program (GHQ, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers. Natural Resources Section Report No. 127), Tokyo, 1950, 9-36. [113]

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inevitable in the field of social science and that progress comes from 121
being willing to state hypotheses, test them, derive new theories and plan new research to test these.

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Taira

worthy that so few women marry before they are twenty and that many marry in their middle and later twenties. For those whose formal education ends at the age of 15 there may, therefore, be an interval of five to ten years until matrimony.* 582

One might ask whether sibling position affects marriage age, either because first-born must marry first or because of the inheritance pattern, young sons seldom inheriting either a house or land. The record of 59 marriages in central Taira shows no clear pattern in this respect; oldest sons and daughters do not seem to marry earlier more frequently than those in lower ordinal positions. A more plausible explanation for late marriage is that young men tend to spend some time after school outside the community and, prior to the war, even outside the country. The rationale for a period abroad is in part economic, but "wanderlust" or curiosity undoubtedly contribute. Furthermore, there is no doubt that the period between the end of school and marriage is an extremely enjoyable one, for now work and duties are mixed with comradeship and amusements in contrast to the new duties and responsibilities one assumes with marriage and children. This is especially true for women. [428] 582 885

The most striking fact concerning Taira marriages is that among the total of 59 unions, 18 wives were older than their husbands. Marriage records from the other parts of Taira reveal the same age discrepancy. In comparison with Western countries, and what we know of most other societies, this discrepancy is unusual. Similar findings were suggested from studies in Japan. Here, however, the explanation seems to be that such marriages tend to occur between a first son and a woman who is older than he because a mature woman is desired to take over responsibilities as an oldest son's wife. In Taira only nine (one half) of the age reversals involve marriages of oldest sons. Since there are 29 first-born males included in the sample of 59, the proportion of age reversal marriages of oldest sons is no greater 582 593

* There were no dependable data to indicate whether the present trend toward a relatively late marriage represents a change from a previous pattern. Informants' statements suggest that marriages took place at an earlier age in past times, perhaps prior to the turn of the century. Other references to marriage in Okinawa would support this information. The *Civil Affairs Handbook, Ryukyu Islands*, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, 1944, states that: "The usual age of marriage as reported in 1925 was 18 or 19 for men, 17 or 18 for women. An analysis of the marriage statistics for 1934, however, indicates that the average age at marriage was about four years older. In 1937, the average was reported as 27 years for men and 24 for women" (page 64). The rapid increase in age between 1925 and 1937 suggested by this source can only be accepted with reservations. 582 178 [113]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

857
515
512

the household have had theirs. By 10 o'clock children have finally disappeared from the street and paths.

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To explain these things properly requires a sense of the conditions which have produced them, an appreciation of the historical depth of the culture. In some areas, one perhaps might neglect history, relying on the interesting present to furnish the correct details. Such an approach would be fatal in any study of this part of the world, and neglect of history is responsible for the fatuous doctrine of the "unchanging East." While this is an investigation of contemporary life, indeed that is the purpose of the program under which the study was made, I have felt impelled to point out historical events and conditions which have brought the culture to its present state, not with any assurance that this has been adequately done, but at least to make clear that these historical problems exist, and that the contemporary culture must be seen as the end product of its historical antecedents, including the hints that can be collected of the modifications of the environment by human agency. The present geography of the island is to be seen, for example, not as something given and unchanging. The forested north and the deforested south are in all probability the direct result of the history of human settlement. 121

An approach of this type, I felt, could best be served by comparative study. Concentration on one village would have resulted in a deeper understanding of the way of life in that village and closer friendships with the villagers, and these advantages cannot be sensibly minimized. The selection of two or three villages might offset this disadvantage and offer some compensations of its own. One of these was comparison, even though it cannot be assumed that merely because three villages instead of one have been studied that a more valid interpretation of the whole culture has been obtained. Even in this small island, each "typical" village seems to grow less and less so as one learns more of the details. But at least the three situations can provide insight into three basically similar but different ways of living. If this is true on an island barely sixty miles long and eighteen miles wide at its widest point, how great this diversity must be in China, Japan, and Korea!

Upon arriving in Okinawa, I spent the first few days talking with officials who had, in the course of their duties, travelled widely throughout the island. From them I was able to obtain an idea of the different types of villages, those like Oku in the north that were exceptional, those that had come under direct American influence due to proximity to civil and military installations, and those that departed from the pattern of agricultural life. With these guides in mind, I determined to select one village whose economy was based on agriculture and this meant primarily the growing of rice, sugar cane, sweet potatoes, and soybeans. The number of villages that could meet this broad criterion was large, and it did not seem advisable in view of the shortness of the assignment to spend too much time in selecting a village, because the criteria of what was typical might be just as obscure at the conclusion as at the beginning. 121 184 [241]

Accordingly, I spent a day or so travelling in the general area south of the Chinen peninsula in the townships of Tamagusuku and Gushichan. These were close to Naha, and yet distant from the main centers of American influence. I was concerned here to select a village which would reflect as 114 121 184

114 121 184 much as possible the customary ways of doing things, and though one could not hope for an unchanging or an isolated village, one could find a village relatively so, even if, as was the case with all the villages, they had felt the effects of the deadly campaign for Okinawa.

On one of these trips, I talked with the headman of the village of Hanashiro and then with the officials in the nearby village office of Oushichan, and concluded on the basis of what I saw of the agriculture and the conditions described by these officials, that this small village would be a satisfactory selection. In the beginning, an epidemic of encephalitis made it wise to be away from the village at night and for [164] the first month the investigations were confined to daytime work. This was a serious handicap which I tried to overcome later in the tour by living in the village.

While working in Hanashiro, I had frequent occasion to pass the villages of Minatogawa-ikku and Minatogawa-niku, and I was impressed with the opportunity to study the life of a village in which agriculture [226] did not predominate, and in which the chief emphasis was on fishing and [324] stonecutting. I therefore decided to include the fishing village, and took up residence there late in August 1951, making frequent trips on the side to Hanashiro.

As interest and awareness increased, I became convinced that another type of village should be added to the agricultural and fishing selections. It should be one in the northern forested area (the Kunigami region). [361] After discussing this with American and Okinawan forestry officials, I followed their suggestion and lived in the village of Matsuda in Ginoza township. It proved to be a good choice, with the possible reservation that Matsuda is somewhat of a model village whose conditions might be better than the average.

The villages needed to be small enough for one man to study. And they proved to be admirable communities for realizing my original intention of showing similarities and contrasts in an agricultural village, a fishing village, and a village in a forest setting.

121 The results do not constitute a complete ethnography of each of the villages. Such was not my intention, and this could not have been done in the time available. The material has been organized around four central subjects: (1) the nature of the family system and its influence through [128] inheritance on land tenure and land use, (2) ways of life as illustrated in the studies of the agricultural, fishing-stonecutting, and forest communities, (3) daily family life as a concrete expression of the family system, and (4) wider community relationships, including political and cooperative organizations, education, and religion.

The basic theme is that a fruitful approach to the study of modern cultures lies in the borderland area between the social and the natural sciences, and that, in the case of these Okinawan villages, the study [311] would take the form of discovering in what ways the people are using their natural environment and the manner in which the culture has changed and

175
648 This nineteenth century conception of the Ryukyus as remote and isolated islands in a part of the world in which travel and trade had reached a high degree of development continued unabated to the beginning of the war in the Pacific. The reasons were entirely political. The Ryukyus were part of that walling off process which characterized Japan's policy and strategy toward its island mandates and possessions since the end of the first world war. Okinawa might well have become, as some of the English and American explorers of the nineteenth century hoped, a crossroads of importance in world trade. If it had, it would only have repeated a role it played centuries before.

Since the invasion of 1945, worldwide political realignments have given it a new, and perhaps its most important significance. Its general geography has remained the same. It is the history since the war, and the shaping of ideologies that have brought about this change. Before 1945, Okinawa was regarded by the Japanese as the outer fort and protector of the home islands; during the war, it became the important strategic spot, from the American point of view, for the contemplated invasion of Japan. With the Korean war, it has been transformed from a small outlier in the Pacific to an important strategic center off the Asiatic mainland.

2

Regional Differences in Okinawa Island[3]

131
133 Okinawa, the largest of the islands in the Ryukyu chain, is about 485 square miles in area, 510 including its offshore islands, such as the Keram

[TEXT CONTINUES ON TOP OF P. 12--ANALYST]

114 3 A cultural geography of Okinawa is a real desideratum. But this is outside the scope of this work. Many materials have been brought together in memoranda, published and unpublished, surveys and the like, since the close of the war and the beginning of the American occupation. Lacking a newer synthesis, it seemed foolish to lengthen this report by merely repeating the published materials already available. The intention in this chapter is merely to indicate some of the general considerations helpful in understanding the history of the island and of contemporary life in the villages described. For the pre-war
114 geographical materials see Civil Affairs Handbook, Ryukyu (Loo-choo)
113 Islands, OPNAV 3-13, 3-38, the sections on geography and resources, and passim. Interesting information regarding local geography is scattered through the pages of Okinawa, The Last Battle, and for a general statement, see pp. 7-14. See also Walter R. Hacker's chapter on the Kurils and the Ryukyus in Geography of the Pacific, edited by Otis Freeman, New York and London, 1951, and M. Y. Nuttonson, Ecological Crop Geography and Field Practices of the Ryukyu Islands..., 11-58. For the geology, see, the CA Handbook, 11-12, Nuttonson, 29-36, and Engineering Geology, Okinawa (Prepared by Military Geology Branch US Geological Survey for Intelligence Division Office of the Engineer, GHQ, FEC, April 1951). This contains an Engineering Geology map of the island. For general relationships in this area see Trewartha, Glenn. T. Japan. A Physical, Cultural, and Regional Geography, v-ix, 3-4, and the map on the arcs and nodes, 8.

4

The Disappointing Soils

Okinawa is small and has a large population. Agriculture has been and will continue to be the main source of livelihood for the people. For this reason, a consideration of the nature of its soils has practical interest. The soils of Okinawa fortunately have recently been surveyed, classified, mapped, and computations made of the approximate areas of each soil type.[7]

134 [241]

Estimated Acreage on Okinawa Island

134 133 [311]

1. The alluvial soils of the coastal flats and flood plains (Akamaru and Aha soils). About 80% of these are the gray clays given over to rice fields, and 20% in the brown and well drained Aha soils. These soils have no distinct profile, average more than six feet in depth, are slightly to medium acid. Deep and fertile, they are composed of loam, clay loam, and sandy loams. They are scattered over the island, frequently at the heads of bays or inlets where the short rivers come to the sea. The most conspicuous occurrences are in the Northern region, including the Motobu peninsula. They are much less frequent in the central district, and scarce in the southern district, with the most conspicuous spots along the Minatogawa river and the headwaters of a small stream south of Minatogawa. These soils are level or almost level (surface gradient 0-1.3%). The water table is seldom more than two feet below the surface. 10,900

[Text continues on top of p. 19 -- Analyst]

7 The following materials have been used: (1) Soils of Okinawa, 11 sheets, controlled photomaps, with soil map overprint, prepared under the direction of the Engineer, Far Eastern Command, by various staff members of the US Geological Survey, Dept. of the Interior, and the Soil Survey of the USDA. (2) Okinawa Soils, a more generalized map, on one sheet (1:1,000,000) prepared by the Military Geology Branch, USGS, for the Intelligence Division, Office of the Engineer, GHQ, FEC, 1951. This is a map of dominant soil types. The analysis here is based on this unclassified map. See also the discussion in Nuttonson, as cited, 37-48. The writer wishes to acknowledge the courtesy and assistance of Mr. Sherman Neuschel, Chief, Military Geology Section, FEC, and Mr. Carl Stensland, Soil Scientist, who participated in the survey of Okinawan soils. In Tokyo on my return, I profited from my discussions with Dr. Stensland, who also furnished me with grid computations for the village areas in which I was interested.

134 114

000

Approximate area in square miles	454	161 133 311
Population density per square mile	1139	
Assumed area in cultivation in square miles a/	134.4	
Population density per square mile of arable land	3851	

a/ See discussion above. The 134.4 square miles is an approximation derived by adding the areas in wet rice, dry land crops, and 18,200 acres which includes land in cultivation, in town sites, military installations, and in idle land, a total of 86,335. An arbitrary approximation of 80,000 acres (134.4 sq. miles) was then taken, very probably too high a figure. Nuttonson, op. cit., p. 12, gives the cultivated area as less than one-fourth of the total area, or 67,200 acres. One of course must distinguish between cultivated land and land that can be cultivated, but 80,000 acres still seems a reasonable approximation.

If we look at the geography of Okinawa from the point of view of the total physical environment and not merely from the point of view of the amount of arable land available to support the people, we are forced to the conclusion that as a result of long settlement, a growing population and the destruction of the war, combined with periodic and inevitable property and crop damage from typhoons, that the environment is not suited for the comfort and well-being of large numbers of people. Intense fertilization will keep the good soils growing crops. Increase of trade and some industrialization may help as long as they do not lead to destructive exploitation of the forests, and some small help may come from the reclamation of unused or cut over land. 178 311 511

5

Conclusion

Almost one hundred years ago, one of the observers on Commodore Perry's expedition wrote, 114 174

> "That the island has been peopled for many ages, is evidenced by the graded roads and deep cuts, the structure and manifest age of the bridges, the antiquity of the villages, the great amount of stone-work in the towns and in the fortresses--some old and dilapidated, some modern and in repair; but, above all, by the incalculable amount of labor done in grading the land for culture. That which is now so perfect, could only have been made so by degrees, like structures reared by the ant or bee."[8]

8 Hawks, Perry's Expedition, as cited, II, 36.

1

Introduction

Okinawan history is the story of inertia and change. Basil Hall Chamberlain, the distinguished Japanese and Ryukyuan scholar of the last century and grandson of Basil Hall who visited the island in 1816, said rightly in 1895 that "the general assertion may safely be hazarded that Oriental stagnation exists only in Occidental fancy."[1] 178 [114]

One of the reasons for this fancy is that there is a certain stability in parts of the culture, and from this circumstance it is often concluded that changelessness and lack of variety have characterized the historical experience of the people. Agricultural methods seem to have changed little with the centuries, though some of the tools are new. This stability in agriculture is another way of saying that a fine technology based on experience and empiric observation, had been developed, and that in the absence of modern scientific knowledge of soils, crops, plant pathology and fertilizers, it was the best technology possible under the circumstances. The tombs, introductions from China over five centuries ago, add to this impression of the changelessness of rural life. But this is more apparent than real when we look into the history of burial customs more closely. [242] [177] [164]

This view of Okinawan history in terms of inertia and change has meaning for the present. The American influence on Okinawa is not a new way of life that is conditioning a static society, but an important, forceful, and new intrusion in a culture that already has undergone fundamental changes in the past. Those who think within the framework of Western European and American history, those whose minds are trained to recognize the changes which have come about as a result of the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the beginnings of theoretical science in the seventeenth century, tend to neglect the rest of world history as relatively unchanging, or to see only those changes coming about from Western intrusions. This one sided interpretation, often expressed in the idea of the Europeanization or the Westernization of the world, should be supplemented with the insight that Oriental cultures have influenced and changed one another greatly and have still maintained their own distinctive features. Chinese influences have been strong in Korea, Japan, and the Ryukyus. But each of these cultures is separate and distinct, although, as one might expect, contemporary Okinawan society bears the strong imprint of long cultural and economic associations with Japan. 178 177

1 The Luchu Islands and their Inhabitants. Geo. Journal 5 (1895), 311.

2

Conjectural Minglings of Prehistoric Times

174 There seems to be little doubt that the settlement of these islands is the result of migration and invasion, and that in the early ages their history was one of contact, not of isolation. These contacts, a consequence of migration and invasion, whether direct or indirect, may have spread over two or three thousand years. This is important to bear in mind, for often in theoretical reconstructions of cultural history it is assumed that a culture has its origin in a period of early isolation and that is subsequent experience to the present is the history of the gradual blurring of its original features which have become increasingly influenced by the international community.

The two chief theories regarding the peopling of the Ryukyu Islands and of Japan are (1) that the southeastern and northeastern Asiatic influences came from the continent, probably by way of Korea. Advocates of this theory emphasize relationships with Korea, Manchuria, and Mongolia. (2) The island stepping stone theory, that the peopling came northward, perhaps via Formosa and the Ryukyus to Japan, is advanced by those who point to affinities with Indonesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia.

Presently held views, following the early lead of Chamberlain, are predominantly in favor of the first theory. Like Japan, the Ryukyus are thought to have been originally settled by peoples from northeastern Asia, perhaps similar to the Ainus of Hokkaido. The ancestors of the present Ainu are believed to have reached Japan "in at least three successive waves perhaps separated by long intervals of time." (Bishop).

This early Ainu settlement was followed by invasions of Mongoloid peoples, the effects of which were to force the Ainus north and west, with a few going south into the Ryukyus. While the original settlers of the Ryukyus are thought to be related to the Ainus, the evidence admittedly is meagre and has been questioned. Bishop has accounted for the southeastern Asiatic influences in Japan (and by inference in the Ryukyus, for he rejects the island stepping stone theory) by assuming areas of contact on the east Asian coast among the cultures of northeast China and those of the southeast, although the latter were not yet part of the Chinese culture. Cultural influences were transmitted along the Asian littoral, across Korea, or possibly the Shantung peninsula, to the Japanese islands.

The study of the Ryukyu Islands from the standpoint of modern Western standards of scholarship started with Basil Hall Chamberlain. His writings on Japan, and to a lesser extent on the Ryukyus, date from [114] the latter part of the nineteenth century. Since his time, further scientific investigation has been and will continue to be inhibited by political conditions in this part of the world. Advances in knowledge

Since the war, the old narrow one lane roads have been broadened, 363
permitting heavier auto traffic. Land ownership has been undisturbed, 403
for it is not in an area in which the military has required land. 511
Since the war, the villagers have tried to return to their former way of life, but this has been done with poorer houses and fewer possessions.

3

Minatogawa

Minatogawa, the second village studied, formerly was a shoe 361
string type of settlement. Houses, shops, drinking places were along
the seawall road. This pattern is now altered as a result of the war. [275]
Scattered areas have been relocated and houses built on lands formerly [311]
used for sweet potatoes. It is now an indeterminate type of village,
retaining some indications of its old settlement pattern along the main [244]
road, with additions of clusters of houses in the newly settled areas.

Like Hanashiro, this village is in Gushichan township, and located 361
on Highway 64. It is directly on the main historical road, previously 133
mentioned, which led from Naha to the Chinen peninsula. The road, along
which its houses are built, parallels for a distance the estuary of the [491]
small Minatogawa river. This narrow estuary, called Usaregawa, which
connects the river mouth with the Pacific Ocean, and the small river
itself (Yuhigawa) is a boundary between Gushichan and Tamagusuku town-
ships. On either side there are steep cliffs, the sites of the best [316]
known stone quarries of Okinawa.

The settlement and the adjoining lands have an area of about 256 621
acres. It is a mixed economy village with three distinct occupational 463
groups: fishermen, stonecutters, and farmers. There is a second village
whose borders blend with those of Minatogawa. These two villages are
now known officially as Minatogawa-ikku and Minatogawa-niku. The two
terms can be awkwardly translated as Minatogawa first ward, and
Minatogawa second ward. But popularly they retain their older names:
Minatogawa for the fishing village, and Nagamo for the agricultural
second ward. These two separate but adjoining villages were until
1925 a single village.

The division was the result of distinct differences in outlook and [226]
occupation between the two sections. Minatogawa is a fishing village
and has strong ties with Itoman, a town on the East China Sea shore [241]
about 4 1/2 miles away. Nagamo is an agricultural community originally
settled from Naha and Shuri. Stone-cutting operations spread over both [324]
areas. While the fishing village of Minatogawa was given the emphasis
in this study, it will be necessary occasionally to include Nagamo in [128]
the discussion.[8]

8 The writer did not realize until he lived here that two villages 114 ●
were involved, thinking that the two wards referred to a single
administrative unit. By this time the work on Hanashiro had been
well started, and time did not permit the intensive study of Nagamo.

842 need of succession is met, birth control measures might be accepted. There is, it is true, a widespread feeling that many children are a happiness which artificial control should not destroy. But this feeling, especially true with women, is often lost after the fourth or fifth child when mothers may dread further child bearing.[7]

[177] In the villages studied, there is an awareness of birth control. This awareness comes from conversation and reading, the primary sources being Japanese magazines and newspapers. I did not meet anyone who admitted practicing birth control or who desired to do so. According to the informants, it is not practiced at all. There may be some instances.

[167] But birth control methods are not widely understood, and even if they were, it is doubtful that people would use them on their own initiative. The present apathy toward birth control methods may be due to the fact that only recently has the question been of any significance. In the past economic difficulties within a family were relieved by emigration. There was thus little need to think of a limited family. On the contrary, there was pride in a family that might spread over continents.

[183] Historically, the whole emphasis in the family system has been on a large or a medium sized, not a limited, family, and this, even today, is tied in with family pride coming from having children and grandchildren. [567] If families have girls to begin with, the feeling is all the stronger. Though unusual, it is not unheard of to have a family of girls, and even if there are sons, there should be enough of them to take care of the hazards of death.

5

Conclusion

185 Among some villagers--and this seems to be independent of the degree of education--there are now more realistic appraisals of what the soil and the land can make available to a growing population and to their own children. Emigration for the time being is not possible. And, even if it were on a broad scale, it would not only have to skim off the present excess population, but take continuing care of future natural increases as well.

134 There were in all the villages several considerations that have influenced these appraisals. Land is insufficient, even in quantity, though in local areas such as Matsuda, it might suffice for local demands. The arable land is also poor. The poor and insufficient land,

[TEXT Continues Top of P. 69--Analyst]

[114] [208] 7 This dread of continual child bearing is discussed as an attitude, not as a general truth. The statement is based on conversations with men and women in each of the villages. Many women in Okinawa would not agree with this, but the attitude, I am convinced, if not a prevailing one, is at least frequent enough to be worth recording as something more than individual distaste.

combined with the destructiveness of typhoons, make for an unproductive life in terms of rewards for work done. To these, there is now being added a fourth realisation, that there are too many people in Okinawa. Greater mobility has increased this awareness.[8]

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8 These remarks, too, are based on impressions. Neither would I claim that they represent a majority opinion. Polls with samples competently chosen could only determine these attitudes. But complaints about the poorness of the land are proverbial among Okinawans. So are the discouragements coming from the typhoons.

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179 423 have been affected by roads and trails which have now disappeared.

[115] Old residents[5] of Matsuda and neighboring villages were able to furnish more specific clues regarding the old system and its relation to other phases of village life. These old people estimated the [161] population of Matsuda at the close of the old system at about 360 persons, compared with the present population of 1368. The system operated under much less acute population pressure than exists today. [165] Deaths, especially from malaria, and a high infant mortality kept the population down, although introduced Japanese hygienic measures helped.

[311] Under the old system in Matsuda, there was a continual clearing of land, mostly around the settlement. There seems little doubt that land reclamation and clearing has been going on slowly from the earliest historical times in Okinawa. The land cleared remained under village ownership, but the persons who cleared the property were allowed to hold it for use without giving it up for periodic redistribution. Technical ownership remained with the village.[6] Fences and stone barriers were erected as a protection against the wild boar. But the large scale reclamation and the private ownership of genya land seems to have occurred after the close of the old system.

The dividion of lands at the beginning of the new system has set the boundary pattern of many plots. In Matsuda there were instances of land which has retained the same boundaries that it had under the old system. There was general agreement among the old that the form, boundaries, and areas of land plots have changed very little since the times of the jiwari-seido. This would be par- [428] ticularly true in the case of property which had passed down through the first son. Changes came from the establishment of branch families, [425] and sales and purchases. In these areas, however, buying and selling have been infrequent.

195 The history of land tenure in Okinawa, therefore, is different 423 from that of Japan with its long history of tenancy, whose accumu- [171] lated problems finally led to the land reform of 1946 during the Allied occupation. The present system of land tenure in Okinawa is a little over 50 years old.

178 The chief influences of the old system were to set in a form 423 recognizable to the present, the pattern of land holding, to estab- 311 lish land classification, and apply it on a very localized basis.

[115] 5 I am indebted here to Shinzato Zensuke of the village of Sokei (Oinoza-son), and to Oshiro-san of Matsuda village (Oinoza-son) both over 70 years of age for their recollections of the history of the system in Matsuda.

[114] 6 This differs from Goldschmidt's account, cited above, in that in this case the land became a usufruct, in the other actual ownership.

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3

Care and Conservation of Land

One of the significant tasks of our time is the study of the relation between population growth and density and the exploitation of renewable and non-renewable resources: the effects of a culture on the land, the forests, the soils and the vegetation must be considered in ethnographic and geographic work. If this is not done the culture is studied as if it rested, like a plate on a table, on a geographic base, without bothering to discover the nature of the environment or what the culture is doing to it. 121 114

Nineteenth century studies of primitive and advanced societies emphasized the influence of the physical environment in molding a culture. This crude fallacy, often known as geographic determinism or environmentalism, was exploded by studies made of cultures in all parts of the world in which it became clear that the physical environment is not the cause of cultural differences.

But the reverse of this approach, the examination of what a culture is doing to its physical environment, its soils, its vegetation, and its forests has not been carried on with the vigor with which other aspects of culture have been studied. This point of view has practical significance in day to day administration. Economic matters such as foreign trade or the labor force requirement should not be a separate and independent segment for study. Changes in inheritance should not be viewed solely with reference to the family system. Forest conservation should not be regarded only as a technique and a necessary department in the government.

The effects of the devastating typhoons, for example, need no elaboration: the destruction of life, crops, houses, of boats, and breakwaters. But their effects are also influenced by other factors. The two southern villages were in the midst of some of the violent fighting of the Okinawan campaign. Large numbers of houses in both communities were destroyed by the war. The new buildings to replace them are so frail that in typhoon times they are often destroyed. This rebuilding requires more wood and more grass. Thus, such factors as the war, the inability to reconstruct permanent housing, typhoons, and the natural growing of miscanthus grass are joined together in a close relationship. 731 727 367 824 182

In the south the relationship of typhoon destruction to deforestation is striking. There is need for tidebreak groves and shelter belts along the coast to protect crops from wind and saltwater spray, a need which fortunately the Ryukyuan Forest Agency is attempting to meet. Deforestation in the south seems inescapably tied up with long occupance. The center of population has always been in the southern part of the island. Not only should there be trees, but they should be planted in the right places. The deforestation of 731 137 [313] [361]

241 occasionally, but by no means universally used. This failure to use
514 night soil may vary from locality to locality, and from farmer to farmer. In my opinion, it has not the importance it has in China and Japan. Neither is night soil used as a food for pigs, though
231 this seems to have been the case in some parts of Okinawa as late as
514 the 1920's.[2] But feeding human faeces to pigs was not observed in any village.

241 Normally in certain parts of Matsuda, night soil is used, though
514 infrequently, in places near the house. It is not carried far. Applications are made to cultivated land and land not presently in use. In the Nagamo area, it is occasionally used on sweet potatoes and sugar cane. Night soil, gathered from the outside toilets, is
[547] allowed to dry out before being applied to fields. It is often placed around ornamental plants. The fresh liquid form, carried on
[482] the shoulder in two buckets on either end of a long pole, may be applied directly to the fields, ladling out a little of the liquid around
[463] each plant. The professional collector of night soil is uncommon in the areas visited. Only one instance was found. Two brothers, who hired themselves out, cleaned the toilets for Yen 130 per day, plus meals. They spread the night soil on the owner's fields. These two brothers served the Gushichan area.

In Hanashiro, night soil is used occasionally, and then, it was said, only by the old. Its main use was on sugar cane. As a general rule, in all the villages, night soil is most frequently used around plants already growing and around each plant individually, rather than mixing it with the soil when the field is being prepared. Its use on rice fields was not observed.

The sparing use of night soil is indicated also by the infrequency with which one meets its characteristic odor in the countryside. An observation of a traveller, almost 100 years ago, lends some
[114] credence to the thought that night soil has not been extensively used in Okinawa. "How-night-soil is disposed of is not known; certainly it does not obtrude itself on the senses, as it does in China, nor is it
[117] applied in the same way."[3] In Hanashiro, the decline in use since the war was ascribed to American influences: the dangers to health, and the increased availability of artificial fertilizers.

241 (5) Commercial fertilizers. These are now substantial proportions of the expenditures of an Okinawan farmer. These fertilizers generally are broadcast over the rice and dry crop lands. The writers of a

2 Richard Goldschmidt, Neu-Japan, as cited, 135.

3 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, II, 35. The author was Dr. Green.

The writers of a recent report on Okinawan economy have emphasized that the combination of generally poor soils, the rapid decomposition of organic matter in a near tropical climate, and excessive leaching make the problem of fertilization very difficult--[4] to say nothing of the trace elements. 241 [114]

(6) Other substances are used for fertilizers. In Matsuda the barber gathers the cuttings from the luxuriant hair of his clients and places them around his sugar cane--and recommends them highly. Acacia leaves are also used for this purpose here. Leaves and miscellaneous plants are often considered to be especially good fertilizers. [305] [302] [824]

Crop rotation (rinsaku) practices differ by district. In the Hanashiro area, the sugar cane, soy bean, and sweet potato (or vegetable), sugar cane rotation is common. Rotation of paddy with another crop does not occur. Rice succeeds rice in the double cropping system here. In Matsuda, a common rotation is either (1) the sweet potato, soy beans (or grain, millet, or green peas) and the sweet potato, or (2) the soy bean, sweet potato, grain (barley or millet) rotation. Here rice is not rotated with other crops. (This however does occur in Okinawa).

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Simple Rotations
Hanashiro and Nagamo

One Year

After the sweet potato harvest, the plot is planted in soybeans in the first lunar month.

The soybeans are harvested in the fifth lunar month.

Sweet potatoes follow the soybeans in the sixth lunar month

or

Vegetables alternating with the sweet potato for a year.

Two Years

Sugar cane is sown in the sixth lunar month.

Harvested two years hence, followed by ordinary beans or vegetables, again followed by cane.

4 Agricultural and economic reconstruction in the Ryukyus. A report. Agricultural mission to the Ryukyus, Nov. 1949, 46-47.

common and indispensable tool. It has many uses, including cutting rice stalks at harvest, brush, and sweet potato tops. 412

3. A small sharp pointed hoe, with a short handle, used in sweet potato planting.

4. A two pronged hoe, the futamata, used mostly with sweet potatoes. The two pronged hoe is used in softer soils. It is much more common in Matsuda than in the southern villages.

5. The three pronged hoe, the mutsumata, also used in sweet potato cultivation and in digging. These prongs, with skilful use, do not cut the potato. It is also much more common in Matsuda than in Hanashiro or Nagamo.

6. The common all purpose hoe (kuwa). It has a thick, solid, wide blade. The handle (about 3 1/2 feet long) is stout. The hoe is much sturdier than the ordinary American garden hoe.

7. Another hoe, longer and with a sharper angle between the handle and the blade. It has a variety of uses.

8. A long handled hoe with a heart shaped blade. It is used for making furrows.

9. An ordinary rake.

10. A cultivator and weeding tool for rice paddies. (The pole in back near the handle of the pitchfork is a prop to hold the tool upright for the picture). Only the more prosperous farmers possess this tool. Rice weeding is done almost entirely by hand. [434]

11. An ordinary pitchfork.

12. The plow (suki) 407

13. The harrow (maguwa), and

14. The waku, a hexagonal wooden frame used in laying out a rice field for transplanting. The last three tools or devices, which are not shown in the picture, will be described under rice cultivation. 413

3

The Annual Work Cycle

The following charts show the annual work cycle by lunar month of two farmers, one in Hanashiro, one in Matsuda. The Western calendar equivalents for 1951-52 are shown below the lunar month. Because the lunar year is shorter, there is a gap, as the period actually covered is from February 6, 1951 to January 26, 1952. These materials are based on observation and conversation with the farmers concerned. 221 241 [805] [114]

In addition to these varieties, cultivated locally, imported rice is distributed through the import stores. These rices generally are from Egypt, Siam, and Burma. They are not well liked and are considered to be tough (katai). Whether this is because the variety itself is disliked or because the imports were of a poor quality is hard to say, but Egyptian, Siamese, and Burmese rice are unfavorably compared with Japanese, Formosan, or the locally grown products. Okinawans are very sensitive to the types of rice. There is no such thing as "rice." Long habituation and fondness for special kinds have induced tastes and preferences which each villager is quick to express. 439 262 [443]

In Hanashiro, the main type of rice planted is also the Taichu 65, a variety which originated in Formosa, and is generally preferred. The red variety, mochigome, does not do well here, according to local farmers, and just a little is grown. Mochigome (literally, rice-cake rice) is used in making the doughy and gummy rice cakes. 243 262

5

The Sweet Potato

The cultivation of the sweet potato (satsuma imo) is a much simpler undertaking than rice culture. Fields are prepared by hand hoeing. The plow and the harrow are not used. In sweet potato cultivation, seed potatoes are first planted in a small plot. This furnishes slips or transplants for other fields. Slips are multiplied by using the tops of one field to plant another. Propagation thus is by clones, and this vegetatively reproduced plant is the mainstay of the diet. 244 [262]

The potato seed bed, well hoed and fertilized, is generally planted in the spring. The tops to be used as slips (kazura) are cut off and planted in rows. Practice has brought deftness in this transplanting. A small amount of soil is lifted up by the spatula, (hera), and held so that an opening rather than a hole appears. The slip is shoved into the aperture and quickly pressed down by the left heel, as the farmer moves to the next planting.[5] Few tools are used in the cultivation of the sweet potato. Only the hoe and the spatula are really needed. Occasionally one finds a special hoe with a sharp angle between the blade and handle or a heart shaped hoe with a long handle. In the Hanashiro and Nagamo areas, the solid bladed hoe is the commonest tool. Two and three pronged hoes are less often used because of the hardness of the soil. [412]

The cultivation of the sweet potato, as we have said, is a year round operation, though planting may slacken off during the winter months. [221]

5 Methods of cultivation have changed little in the past 100 years. The same operation is described in Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 31-32. [114]

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Conclusion

311 184 In the comparative study of these villages, certain distinctions are worth summarizing. (1) In the southern villages, which lack forest land, there is much more dependence on the uncultivated wild land (genya) which supports the grasses. (2) The forest, in Matsuda as elsewhere in the north, is a reserve for necessities like firewood, thatch, charcoal and building materials, both for local use and southern trade. (3) The shelter belts and groves have been preserved in the north. (4) Tidewater plantings of shelter belts are needed in the south. Plantings of the Ryukyuan Forestry Agency, under American Civil Administration encouragement, have begun in the south as protection from wind and salt water spray damage. These include the mokumao, the pandanus, the hibiscus (Albiszia julibrissum Durazz, in Japanese the nemunoki) and the hirugi (Brugleria spp.)[12] (5) Ecologically, the situation is more balanced in the north where a good start seems to have been made in arresting progressive deforestation. (6) This balance, if Matsuda is a representative village, can only be maintained by constant appraisal of the relationships of the forest to agriculture, to the growing population, and to the economic demands to which this leads, unless the wood and timber demands of the island are to be met in large part by imports.

[245] [647]

114 648 636 An occupying power like the United States, rich in modern techniques, can do much to improve the life of a small island people. If it is mindful of the history and the present features of the culture, it can suggest improvements without destroying the bases on which the culture rests.

313 114 One of its greatest accomplishments could be an aggressive and continuing program of conservation and afforestation. The present administration, through the Forestry Section of the Food and Natural Resources Department, has started a program which, if permanently pursued, could have far-reaching consequences. An emphasis on selective cutting, conservation, fire control, tidewater plantings, and many other measures could only be a credit to American administrators and foresters as well. The costs, as such things go, would be moderate.

From personal experience in village life, I have no doubt that the co-operation of villagers in all parts of the island could be readily obtained in advancing a large scale afforestation program. The readiness of the people of Matsuda cannot be an exception. These things could be accomplished without an unwieldy administrative apparatus. I have been continually struck with the ability of the Okinawans, with their skill in local organisation, to accomplish

12 I am indebted to Mr. Richard Varney of the Department of Food and Natural Resources, USCAR, for this information.

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things quickly and simply. One need not think of large centralized programs but of many small efforts, working through the simple channels of local government.

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In the decades to come, a thriving and self-supporting forest, with shelter belts and tidewater plantings, will be a great asset to the Okinawans, an accomplishment in which the American people can share with pride.

is bending and stooping, or while his older brother or sister is 854
running or jumping. The ease with which adults sleep is equally remarkable. On buses in Okinawa, I have seen men and women with their heads against window sashes, while the bus bounces over the 513
rough roads. Sharp cracks on the head are unavoidable, and to one unaccustomed to it, would be very painful. But people sleep like this, with their heads knocking against the hard surface of the bus, for miles.

This carrying of the child continues regardless of season. 854
In the winter, coats are put over or around the child's body. One of the obvious and most important facts about Okinawan child rearing is this custom of carrying the child on the back. But it is difficult to say precisely what this importance is. Certainly in this way the child has continuous contact from earliest infancy with the life around him. He is not accustomed to being alone, except for an occasional hour during the day when he may sleep on a blanket. At night he sleeps with his mother. A child does not have to be introduced to the world. He is not shielded in a crib. From early infancy he has seen and been almost every place in the village and learns to know many whom he will know throughout life.

This "public" and community life from earliest infancy is one 571
of the outstanding features of Okinawan culture, a characteristic 177
which it shares with-and which is derived from-Japan. One of the surprises is that despite these contacts with all phases of village experience, the child, as it grows older, becomes quite shy. This 157
is true of boys and girls, and continues in my observation from the age of puberty up to marriage. No person who has had any contact with Okinawans fails to notice this shyness. The Okinawans use the Japanese word hasukashii to describe it, and, in this connection, the meaning is something between a feeling of shyness, self-consciousness, and shame. The shyness often does not disappear until marriage or even until the birth of the first child, when father and mother take their place as mature and responsible adults.

Two recent observers who analyzed the reactions of Okinawans 155
under the stress of war have thought that early and continuous 114
breast feeding is largely responsible for giving the child, from earliest infancy, a sense of security. While this theses was advanced out of intimate experience (mostly in the wartime hospital at Ginoza village), it must, in my opinion, be qualified considerably.[8] The period during which the child is breast fed is but one period in the formative years of childhood. Besides breast feeding is no monopoly of the Okinawans. Neither is carrying on the back confined to them. The period immediately after the child is taken off the back and begins to walk is a difficult one for most children. This

8 See Moloney, James C. Psychiatric observations in Okinawa Shima. The psychology of the Okinawan. Psychiatry 8 (1945), 391-99. Moloney, James C. and Biddle, Charles R. A psychiatric hospital in military government, ibid, 400-01.

155 is an impression, and I doubt that Okinawan mothers would agree
with me. The toddler stage, in my opinion, is a difficult one for
114 the Okinawan child. It is an abrupt change from the continuous care
and physical contact of infancy. This transition need not necessarily
be abrupt. A child may be carried some and walk some. As he learns
to walk, his mother is near him.

857 When the child is no longer carried, he ceases to be an observer
and becomes a participant in play. Formerly he watched the activities
of the older children and smiled to the attention when it was given.
Now he wishes to catch up with them as they walk down the lanes; he
is often left behind and is not fast enough nor expert enough to keep
up. This is a problem of childhood everywhere, but I believe here
155 that the transition from one type of activity to another is more
drastic. The child also receives less attention from his parents,
855 especially from his mother. This most mothers would deny. But I
have often seen parents walking along a village lane, a toddler behind
them crying and trying hard to keep up with them. They showed less
solicitude and patience with him than they had when he was being
carried. The mother gives less attention to the child during this
period, particularly if she has had another child. In this, I do
not mean to imply any lack of kindness or tenderness in the treatment
of children, but to point out a change of emphasis. There is much
more crying in the 2 to 3 year age groups than among infants who cry
very little because they are entertained so much.

The toddler not only has the problem of becoming a participant
in play, but of getting along without the close attention of the
mother, his elder sisters, and possibly brothers.

855 Children are rather regularly spaced. The middle child of the
[842] lower three is most likely to be neglected. The baby is on the
mother's back; he gets his breast feeding and is always with the
mother. The older child has started to school or is leading an active
play life. The middle child, too young for school and only tolerated
by the older child who has his own interests, is too old for the breast
and the back. The successful transition from the back carrying and
breast feeding stage to walking and to the stage of independent play
seems most successful when there are many children of the same age
in the village, and consequently absorption in play can replace the
intimate attention of parents and older siblings. A father may fill
in this gap, allowing his young child to accompany him to work, but
this experience generally belongs to a later period of childhood.

853 As the infant grows, nursed by the mother, he gradually receives
262 other foods, but the variety depends on the economic status of the
family. The first food (other than the mother's milk) is rice water.
Later rice is made into a gruel. The rice is soaked and mashed up in
a quern. Families who have rice fields, or who can buy rice, may
delay feeding the sweet potato to the child until the third year.
Among the poor, sweet potato feeding begins much earlier. One

585 following the marriage, there is another ceremony, the day this time for relatives and perhaps a few close friends. The couple go to the bride's house where there is food and sake. This means the husband has really and finally accepted the daughter of the house and is thanking her parents for her.

But these events also are not observed uniformly. On the second day, there may be a gathering of friends and relatives, to be followed on the next day by visits of the bride, groom, and the groom's friends and relatives to the bride's home to give thanks for receiving the girl in marriage.

585 The food served at weddings depends on the economic circumstances
262 of the family. But at today's prices food which would be considered acceptable costs at least Y100 per person including sake. This feast had many extras and consisted of a buckwheat (soba) noodle soup, slices of beef and pork, eggs, tenpura, a fritter without a fish or meat filling, sweet potatoes, a vegetable salad of raw radish, green onion and sea weed shoots, bean curd, a boiled fish paste, rice cakes, and a sweet round fritter (sato tenpura) very much resembling the doughnut in taste, various cakes, and a sponge cake (kasutera).

585 The marriage ceremony is performed only when the tide is coming in,
[823] for the same reasons that were noted with the birthday celebration of the child. Marriage is a time of bounty and fulfillment, not of diminution and withdrawal.

585 There was a "very ancient" Okinawan custom, cited by Spencer on
114 the authority of Shimabuku Genkichi, the student of Okinawan history, of the bride remaining in the home of her parents even after marriage, and the husband coming to her home to spend the nights with her. This Spencer ascribed to the high economic value of the woman and the custom at the time of Spencer's writing (1931) was still said to exist in parts of the northern district (Kunigami) of Okinawa.[3] The temporary return of the wife to her home after her marriage, while the husband
[548] went to a public brothel was also an old custom.[4]

585 The preceding description of a wedding ceremony in Hatsuda may be
184 compared with one seen in Oushichan village close to Hanashiro. (Rural weddings are not so easy to see as one might think. There may be only one or two in a year in a village; when the parties are from different villages, the number in any one village is also reduced). In this

3 Spencer, as cited, 96. In my studies at Hatsuda (which is in the Kunigami district) and in visits to Oku on the extreme northern part of the island, I did not encounter any indication of the survival of this custom. But unfortunately I was unaware of their previous existence and there may well be survivals in some of the villages.

4 Simon, Beitrage zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, 97.

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The native medicine, including the use of plants and fish as medicines, the native doctor, the use of cauterization, the golden needle, slashing, and acupuncture, seem to be disappearing in favor of modern patent medicines and drugs, and scientific medicine, nursing, and midwifery. Of all the traditional practices (ultimately derived from China), slashing and burning with moguso seem to have the greatest vitality. 75 178 [177]

10

Tattooing

Tattooing (ireizumi in Japanese, dake in Okinawan) is a subject of great historical interest in the Ryukyu chain. In Okinawa, it exists now only among elderly women (in the late sixties and seventies), as it was forbidden by law when the Japanese annexed the islands. Tattooing usually was done on the back of the hands, including the fingers, parts of the wrist, and the knuckles. The design was put on by spreading India ink (often with sake or awamori added) on the surface, pricking out the design and wiping off the surplus, repeating the operation for the lighter parts. To my knowledge, there was no facial tattooing. 304 [636] [386]

Until quite recently tattooing was practiced on men as well. Basil Hall in 1816 wrote of a landing in the south of Okinawa island. "Most of these people had fish spears tatooed on their arms in the form of a trident, with rude barbs." On the right arm it was called (in Hall's transcription) "oodeemaw," and on the left, "tooga." Apparently this was confined to fishermen. Furness in his account of the Luchus (1899) observed such markings among young and mature men in Itoman. The explanation given him was that they were a protection against evil spirits. Furness also discussed the theory that tattooing was historically connected with weaving. Simon, in an interesting speculative discussion, based on the designs of cloth in Miyako and their correspondence with house or family markings thought that the tattooing was a means of identifying women's membership in a family.7 304 114 [531] [789] [602]

This interesting idea unfortunately did not occur to me while in the villages, but the notion that tattooing may have been related 119 304 602

7 Hall's Voyage, as cited, Vocabulary (no pagination). Hall includes sketches of the marks. Furness, Life in the Luchu islands, as cited, 9. See also Simon's extremely interesting discussion, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, as cited, 134-150. Furness and Simon are especially valuable because they personally observed instances of tattooing at a time when it was much more commonly seen. Both authors reproduce patterns which show differences among the islands and among individuals.

114 to the family system, the extended family, or to the household
304 order naming system is well worth exploring. No tattooing was
602 observed among the Hinatogawa fishermen, but this may have been an oversight. According to an old women there, it did exist. One would expect it from the close relationship of Hinatogawa to Itoman. It is quite probable, in my opinion, that tattooing of men and women have different origins.

304 According to the early observers, tattooing of women took place around puberty, although Furness puts the age at 4 or 5 years. Patterns differed distinctly by island.

In Okinawa, everywhere one hears the same explanation for the origin of women's tattooing. Although there are variants, the core of the explanation is that the Ryukyu islanders (presumably after the Satsuma conquest of 1609) tattooed their young girls to prevent
[698] their being carried off to brothels in Japan. The tattooing was supposed to have made the girls so unattractive that they were untouched. Other variations are that the tattoo indicated marriage and thus kept the girl from being taken away. An old woman of Hinatogawa told of a legend (not seen or heard from any other source) in which the tattooing of women was an act of thanksgiving for a rescue at sea. A boat was sinking, and the survivors swimming saw
[773] two hands in the sky. They stopped the waves and the storm passed, permitting the swimmers to reach shore easily. The families were told, and after that the hands of the women were tattooed.

[119] This subject needs considerable research. It would be of great interest to know the relationship, if any, to the family system, the extended family, and the household order naming system, whether it is comparatively recent in the islands, and whether the tattooing
[177] of the fisherman is a result of Chinese or Portugese influences and a consequence of the early Pacific trade described in Chapter II.

11

Knuckle Cracking

157 One of the most puzzling of Okinawan mannerisms is the frequency of knuckle cracking. It may be observed in young children from 5 to 6 to old men and women in their seventies. It is done on so many occasions that cataloging them would be a real chore. The knuckle is cracked crisply and sharply. Young boys and girls may talk a whole evening, cracking their knuckles incessantly. It occurs in ordinary conversation, at lively parties, and during periods when a conversation lags. Children say they learned it from their mothers.

It seems a habit acquired very early. Perhaps it is an indication of tension, but I am inclined to be less specific. One Okinawan explained it as a continuation of childhood habit and ascribed it to the limberness of the fingers coming from early training on the abacus,

the tomb shaped like a horseshoe or the Greek letter, omega. A great deal of popular lore has accumulated around this type of tomb. Okinawans believe that the shape of the tomb symbolizes the position of a woman giving birth to a child. This is related to another idea, "returning to the source" (moto ni kaeru in Japanese). 764 [811]

Four different but related meanings seem to be involved in the idea of "returning to the source": (1) that life here is but a momentary experience. One's real and permanent life is in the afterworld. At death one returns to his permanent home. (2) After death a person becomes a god (hotoke-san) in the Buddhist sense. He reaches this state 49 days after death, according to some explanations, though there is much confusion on this point. This godhood is a "return to the source." (3) At death one returns to a state of peace, and (4) one returns to a former state or to a former place. It is with this last meaning that the turtleback tomb is associated in popular lore with "returning to the source." 761 775

On death one returns to the womb of nature from which he came. (Similar lore has collected around the Buddhist coffin in which the corpse is put in a position like that of a child in the womb). Whether the popular explanation is the true one is very hard to say. It certainly should not be accepted without critically evaluating the questions which such an explanation raises. Early European and American observers were quick to point out the similarities between those tombs and those of China, though the fact that they were introduced from China does not rule out the symbolic meaning they might have. Many Okinawans regard these tombs as indigenous. But the Okinawan antiquarians, who so love to find symbols in everything, would be loathe to surrender this lore. It is generally agreed that the tombs were introduced from Fukien province in China. Captain Basil Hall was the first western traveller, I think, to notice the similarity between Okinawan and Fukien tombs. M'Leod also mentioned it. 775 764 811 [114] [171] [177]

The gable (hafu) type of tomb is very common. There are also small temporary tombs of masonry, more often built of rocks. The tombs of Hinatogawa are of this type. There are also very old tombs, hollowed out of the rock of a hillside. These were rare in the villages. Only one was seen in the dense vegetation and undergrowth at the bottom of a deep ravine in the center of Hatsuda. Large tombs hollowed out of hillsides are a commonplace, but the small ones apparently were the tombs of the very poor. Recently a new small tomb is being built by families unwilling to undergo the expense of the larger tombs. Tombs, though appearing to be haphazardly placed on mountains or on rocky hillsides, are on privately owned land. 764 [565]

The tombs may also be classified as to use, that is, whether they are intended for a single or the extended family. In Hanashiro, tombs are of the extended family type, located on land owned by the main family. They are the responsibility of the head of the main family. Branch families may contribute to the purchase price of the land, construction materials, and to maintenance. 764 602

000 construction materials, and to maintenance.

614 In an earlier chapter, a villager's remark was quoted to the effect that Minatogawa was a branch family of Itoman. This is well illustrated
766 in the burial customs of this village. Both children and adults are placed in a simple, temporary tomb, usually along the coast near the stonecutting area. Later the tomb is opened, the bones washed, and sent to Itoman. The transfer of the remains from the temporary tombs of the village to the extended family tomb in Itoman may be done at a time when it is necessary to open the Itoman tomb because of the death of a member of the extended family there. There is no second funeral. The cleaned bones are put in a box. There are short prayers before the opened Itoman tomb, the bones placed inside, and the box discarded.

764 In the adjoining village of Nagamo, burial customs are similar to
602 those of Hanashiro. Nagamo has three different kinds of tombs: (1) large gable and turtleback extended family types, (2) a similar large tomb for a single family, and (3) small tombs for individual families.

The tombs of Hatsuda also are mainly of the extended family type. There are examples here of the turtleback, the gable, and the new small tomb. They are scattered throughout the village area, sometimes on the summit of a hill whose slopes are given over to terraced rice fields or dry cropping. Not all families own tombs; for reasons of economy, the small tomb for individual burial is becoming more frequent.

765 In all the villages, after the coffin is put inside the tomb, it is left there for about three years. The tomb is reopened, the bones are removed from the coffin, washed, and put back in the tomb, tasks done by
[462] female relatives of the deceased, usually women over 40 years old. This three year period is not a set one. If a later death occurs in the family, the coffin may be opened at that time. An old custom of placing
[178] the bones in an urn after they are taken from the coffin has been abandoned. Basil Hall has some interesting comments on these old
[114] Okinawan urns.

3

Observances in Memory of the Dead

765 Observances in memory of the dead are held in all villages on the
769 1st, 7th, 14th, 21st, 28th, 35th, 42nd, and 49th day after death, and on the 1st, 3rd, 7th, 13th, 25th, and 33rd anniversary of death.

The simple observances and prayers at the tomb on the day following
765 burial have already been mentioned. At the home, temporary memorial tablets made of white paper (shiroihai) are prepared to be replaced later with permanent red memorial tablets on the Buddhist god shelf. Both at home and at the tomb only relatives or close friends participate in the prayers and food offerings.

3

Celebrations Through the Festival of the Fifth Month

796 The 15th day of the second lunar month (March 22, 1951) is the Buddhist holiday, higan, celebrating the spring equinox. Here it is a home festival of thanksgiving. Barley (Omugi) or barley cakes [262] with brown sugar are offered with prayers for continued good fortune. Other grains, such as rice, millet (awa) may be offered, though the cakes (mugimochi) are of barley. In Matsuda, this is not a home ceremony. An offering of white rice cakes is made by the village [193] head man, with the assistance of lower orders of the former priestess system, at the site of the village patron deity.

527 The third day of the third month is the festival of the dolls, (hinamatsuri). It is not important in Okinawa and is spottily ob- [524] served. In Minatogawa, it is a woman's holiday. Women and children [562] make dolls. Gifts of dainties and candies in red lacquer boxes are prepared. People from nearby villages come to Minatogawa, bring their lunches, and gather shells and catch fish.

The fifth day of the fifth month is Boy's Day. This Japanese holiday is not significant in the villages. There may be banners with a picture of a carp (koi no bori) displayed, visits to the place of the patron deity, some visiting and samisen playing, and perhaps a play.

527 The 14th day of the 5th month (June 18, 1951) is the festival 526 of the Gods of the Sea and is observed only in Minatogawa. It is this village's greatest celebration. The boat race, held on this day, attracts many from the interior villages. In Hanashiro, most activity ceases while everyone goes to the boat races. Before the [178] races, the villagers go to the religious sites to make small offerings [182] and to pray. The races are held in the estuary of the river. In their excitement, children with infants on their back often wade out in the water to cheer their favorite boat.

796 The Festival of the Fifth Month (Gogatsumatsuri) is held on the 15th day of the 5th lunar month (June 19, 1951). Like the festival of the spring equinox, it is a day of thanksgiving. Thanks are given for rice [193] instead of for barley. In Matsuda, the ceremony is conducted by the village head man and former members of the priestess system.[2]

2 According to a Matsuda informant, women should not sew on this [114] day. It is a rest day. If work is done, including gathering [825] plants for fertilizer, the dreaded poisonous snake, the habu, will come. These customs were not encountered in the other villages.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

who upset the tea cups and the sake flasks. 000

A public parade and celebration was held in Itoman in 1951, and a short digression to describe it may be worth while. The main attraction was a parade, which halted frequently so that participating groups could perform dances, acts, or skits. In these there were several themes: (1) dances by female groups of all ages from beginning school girls to old women in their seventies. Many women wore artificial turtles on their hats, the younger children having paper outlines of turtles. The young girls were led by an older man who kept time either by playing the samisen or by clapping his hands. The very young girls beat small tin cans with sticks. The dances of the older girls and women were of two kinds: one symbolized the crane and the turtle (tsurukame). The turtle is a symbol of longevity. The second is the pine-bamboo-plum tree triad (shochikubai) symbolizing long life and beauty. (2) Female impersonators imitated both the traditional Japanese woman with her costume and hair arrangement, and the modern woman with a chignon wearing a bright kimono, sun glasses, and smoking a cigarette. Their antics depended for their humor on the gracelessness of the men: they included mock flirtations and rejections, kicking of the heels, slapping with a fan, and other clowning. (3) Various balancing acts with long poles done by boys and young men. (4) Skits of individuals dressed as savages from the south seas. (5) Humorous acts showing the people of the northern district who were portrayed as jolly country bumpkins. Their caps, with tassels, looked like a cocoanut shell. The long false hair and beards were made of palm fibre. They carried ludicrous looking saws and axes while dragging a log. 527 541 [535] [533] [825] [824] [536]

One feature of the Itoman celebration was the well-known rope pulling contest (tsunahiki). The giant rope, made of rice straw, is at least 100 yards long, and about two feet in diameter. Each end has a loop. These loops, joined by a heavy piece of wood, are above the center line. The men of the town divide into two groups. The tug of war began about 5 in the afternoon and was soon over, but one has been known to last until one or two o'clock in the morning. It is found in all villages, but there is no set date for it. The tug of war is an old diversion in Okinawa.[5] 527 526

In former years, Minatogawa people participated in the Itoman festival. In 1951, they held their own evening celebration. This is a time of great beauty, with the light of the full moon illuminating the Pacific, the coral coast, and the mountains. The evening entertainment consists of some acts, similar to vaudeville, and a longer play. Crowds came from the surrounding villages, bringing their own mats and their own sake. Most of the officials of the township attended. 527 [628]

5 Goldschmidt, Neu-Japan, has reproduced an interesting painting showing a tug of war in Naha around the end of the 18th century. It shows an audience of court officials, the Chinese ambassador, as well as the various participants. Facing p. 179. [114]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

873 [368]

Hanashiro the children take the short walk to primary and junior high school at Gushichan village; for senior high school they go to Chinen, 5 or 6 miles away. Most of them walk. Matsuda has an elementary school with the junior and senior high schools at Ginoza village, about 1 1/2 miles away. In senior high school, there is more specialization. The general science course is divided into physics (butsuri), chemistry (kagaku), and biology (seibutsu). Mathematics is split up into geometry (Rika) and algebra (daitsu). There is further instruction in agriculture for the boys, some for the girls. The girls continue with domestic science, including sewing.

In the secondary schools, vocational education is well represented in the curriculum. The courses are planned as a preparation for the type of work students will do as adults in a village. The instructors seem competent although the subject matter does not include modern advances. There should not, in my opinion, be a further growth in vocational at the expense of general education, except after careful study of long term requirements. The great masses of people will continue to depend on agriculture, forestry, and to some extent on fishing for their existence, and vocational education should be built around a recognition of these facts. It should concentrate on supplying new knowledge related to these main fields. [875] 114

New technical skills that we desire to develop should be governed by these considerations: (1) the improvement of agriculture, forestry, and fishing. (2) The long range plans of the military and civil administration and the skills they will require. (3) New skills that will be needed with any development of foreign trade or of local industrialization.

Vocational education also should be developed along lines consistent with the type of professional training we are prepared to encourage. If biologists, botanists, agriculturalists, soil scientists, foresters, statisticians, social scientists are being trained, vocational and technical education should also follow along these general lines to create a source both of initial interest and of possible technicians to assist the professional workers. This would also apply to the public health fields, such as nurses' aides, midwives, laboratory technicians.

The distinguishing feature of the new education (shinkyoiku) is the introduction of democratic ideas (minshushugi). The status of girl students and of women teachers has also changed. Before the war, the children were taught in the same room, but the boys and girls were separated. Now there is no segregation. Women teachers' salaries, formerly about 20% less than the mens', are now the same. 871 [562] [875]

/ 3

Schools and the Teacher

358

There is much more to a school day than actual instruction. The

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

This desire to learn English is more than a wish to communicate with Americans. Opportunities are open for those who know English, and people of all ages realize that theoretical and applied science and improved techniques come from the West, and that English is a means of understanding and applying this knowledge. Channelling this desire, through competent instruction in the schools, which will result in efficient self-guidance afterwards, is one of the significant problems of Okinawan education. But the techniques to be used on a permanent basis should be left to the professional linguist.

Should for example the methods of Basic English be adopted as a matter of policy and be encouraged in private study? Or should language study be based on the principles set forth by the rapidly advancing field of linguistics? Or should we accept the guidance of doctors of education who are specialists in curriculum construction and language training? My own bias is toward the manuals developed by the linguists, such as Spoken Japanese (EI 561-62). This approach, with its pattern sentences, is based on an analysis of the structure of the language itself. Basic English poses the problem whether the English taught is really basic. In my opinion, the crux of the matter is to study the presuppositions underlying these approaches and not the subject matter they produce. American learned societies, with the co-operation of the Army and the Navy, and the subsequent university programs in language study, have made great strides in these fields, both theoretical and applied. They represent the most advanced thinking in the world on these subjects, and the body of knowledge which they have should be most useful.[4]

5

Home, School, and Village

There are strong bonds between the home, the village, and the school. Parents help their children with their elementary readers. There is homework and classmates may stay at one another's houses over night. Parents are interested in children's school problems, but they do not visit the schools often, except at times arranged by the officials. PTA's have been organized, but it is still too early to tell how successful they will be. Since the PTA, like the Women's Association and the Young Men's Association, fits in the culture, it probably will thrive.

On entering school, the child is introduced to a new language which he has not spoken to any extent in childhood. Okinawan is the language of the pre-school child. Beginning school, therefore, is a bigger break than it is with most cultures.

The schools usually draw on several villages for their student body

4 It is only fair to say that my own bias in favor of the approach developed by the technical linguists grows out of instruction I received in Japanese in the Army's Civil Affairs Training School Program in 1943-44.

871 and the more advanced the school, the truer this is. Friendships are made early with children of nearby villages. Marriage may be
572 the result of early school acquaintance, encouraged by the acceptance of free choice in marriage. A young adult has a scattering of friendships in the villages of his township. These class friendships are strong in school, in the teens, and early twenties. By the late twenties, the circle of friendships has broadened.

182 One of the most significant links between the family, village,
526 and school is the annual athletic meet (undōkai). It is held in the fall. Preparations for this event are long and involve almost everybody.5

526 About a month before it is held, the meet is the topic of innumerable conversations. School children practice singing and
[875] athletic dancing drills at home. School teachers, who do most of the organizational work, practice with painful cacophony on their trumpets and
[534] clarinets. On the streets and lanes of Minatogawa, young men from 17 to 23 practice broad jumping late into the night. Shortly before the meet, all normal school activities stop. The teachers paint signs, mimeograph programs, and plan the order of the various events. The school officials have interminable committee meetings.

There is much bustle, laundering, hair washing, and cooking in a village the day before the meet. Special lunches including rice dyed
[262] red, bean curd, slices of fish paste, beef or pork are prepared. This field day is the closest approach to a picnic the Okinawans experience.

In good weather, the meet has a large attendance. A reserved area, with school desks and chairs is set aside for special guests. A person entering the reserved section to take his seat bows to the mayor and the
[576] group, steps forward a few paces, bows again, and takes his seat.

The mayor of the township presides over the meeting relieved by the vice-mayor or other school or village or township officials. On one day of the autumn meet, the mayor remained seated throughout the morning and afternoon in a drizzling rain. It was his duty, assisted by the principal and the teachers of the school, to give out the prizes.

Relay races, girls' dances, races and dashes for various age groups are endless. At present, the meeting is not confined to school children, but the younger men and women are included as well. The Young Men's Association is very active. Special events are included. In the Women's Association event, there was a mother and child race. In one case, a mother who entered the race with a child on her back and her young son as

[119] 5 These remarks are based on observations in Minatogawa, Oushichan, and Hanashiro villages, and on attendance at the Oushichan meet in November 1951. From discussions, I am certain they are very similar in Matsuda, in fact all over the island.

771 Buddhism, as an organized religion, is of no importance, even
though most villagers say they are Buddhists. Buddhist symbols and
practices inspired by Buddhism remain, but that is a different matter.
183 The universal use of the Buddhist god shelf or household altar, the
observance of Buddhist holidays, such as higan, are matters more of
custom and tradition than of religious fervor. This is significant be-
177 cause the Okinawans, for almost 70 years, were a part of the Japanese
homeland, the greatest Buddhist nation on earth. During my stay in
Okinawa, I thought that the recent war had caused the decline in Buddhist
influence. This is only partly true. Subsequent reading of the older
178 literature made it clear that in modern times, Buddhism has not been a
living force. The ethical and political systems were primarily Con-
fucian. The priestesses had a greater influence on daily life and at
death ceremonials, at least in rural Okinawa.

A variety of practices concerned with the worship of natural phenomena, such as the summits of mountains, groves of trees, wells and springs and the sea survive, but they are not strong.

There is little evidence of Shinto beliefs, except in a few
177 families who were long resident in Japan. Shrine Shinto, closely
tied in with emperor worship, has been abolished.

177 Villagers are acquainted with Christianity, but I encountered no
adherents. The name of the 19th century missionary, Dr. Bettelheim,
797 is still remembered by people in Minatogawa and Hanashiro. Dr. Bettelheim,
a Jewish convert to Christianity, came to Okinawa in 1846. He was both
ineffective and unhappy, but his ineffectiveness was probably due more
to the lack of enthusiasm of the Okinawan rulers than to personal in-
adequacy.

3

Buddhism

771 Buddhist formalisms and home observances exist in all the villages.
But the religion is not practiced. The people do not attend services or
183 temples, nor do they support or seek out priests. This present situation
is apparently little changed from the recent past. Captain Basil Hall
● 114 (1816) mentioned the apparent low status of the bonse. Charles Fahs, on
Perry's staff, said that, "The people, however, appear to be indifferent
to it, and do not seem to have much veneration for it. Basil Hall
Chamberlain wrote in 1893 that Buddhist influence was almost extinct.
In 1910, Simon spoke of the weakness of Buddhism and that priests often
did not participate in funerals. Goldschmidt in 1927 made similar obser-
vations.[1]

1 Hall, as cited, 98-99; Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 49.
Chamberlain, On the manners and customs of the Loochooans, In: Trans. of
the Asiatic society of Japan, 21 (1893), 274. Simon, Beitrage zur
Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, 103-04, 177. Goldschmidt, Neu-Japan, 145.

727 In the post-war period also roads have increased, and they
178 have been widened. More vehicles are on the roads. One can travel
184 through the villages of Okinawa over widened roads which before the
[491] war probably differed little from those described by Captain Hall
[484] in 1816 and by his grandson Basil Hall Chamberlain in 1895. This extension of the highway system has increased the mobility of Okinawans. Perhaps ultimately the cultural differences among villages will give way to wider uniformity induced by these innovations.

119 There is something enthralling in reading the chapters on "Lew Chew"
178 in Francis Hawks' Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan, which he compiled from the notes and journals of Commodore Perry, and the pages of Bayard Taylor's work, along with Okinawa, The Last Battle, which the Historical Division of the Department of the Army published in 1948. These give some measure of the change that has been brought about not only in the Great Loo Choo but in the world.

121 It has been my purpose here to tell part of the remaining, the contemporary story of the people whose islands early ethnologists were so fond of referring to as an anthropological museum.

The End

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7

[pp. i-vii not processed]

Introduction

121 This volume is the first of a series of publications reporting research undertaken in 1954 by a group of social scientists from Harvard, Yale, and Cornell universities. In its broadest conception, the research was aimed at exploring cross-culturally the relation between different patterns of child rearing and subsequent differences in personality. It was designed to study the degree to which the treatment a child receives in the first years of life determines his behavior and in adult life influences his perception of the world, his philosophy, religion, and code of ethics.

Theories of the relationship between specific types of treatment in early childhood and subsequent personality difference have been advanced by psychologists and anthropologists. This project was set up with the hope of being able to test some of these hypotheses on the basis of material collected in a standard manner in six parts of the world where families have divergent ways of life and theories and methods of training young children.

121 In tracing the history of this project one should begin with the work
127 of Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, Edward Sapir, Ralph Linton, Abram Kardiner, John Dollard, and other pioneers in the field of culture and personality whose work formed the foundation of this study. Such an account, which would demand an essay on the entire new discipline that grew out of the integration of anthropological and psychological theory, is not practical in this introduction.

121 Specifically, the impetus for this study came from the cross-cultural
114 work on socialization done by two of the senior investigators, John W. M. Whiting and Irvin L. Child, while they were colleagues at the Institute of Human Relations at Yale University. The results of this research were published in *Child Training and Personality* (1953). Using

theories of disease as measures of adult personality, the authors attempted to test certain psychological theories relating the treatment of the basic behavior systems in infancy and childhood to adult personality characteristics.

The data on the 75 societies used in these studies were taken from published ethnographies which varied greatly in the detail and areas of coverage. The dream of the investigators was to send field teams out to get comparable detailed material on 100 societies. As a first step in accomplishing this aim, the present study was planned.

In 1953 the Committee on Social Behavior of the Social Science Research Council sponsored a seminar * and a conference † to discuss cross-cultural work on socialization. As a result, a *Field Manual for the Cross-Cultural Study of Child Rearing* was prepared (Whiting et al., 1953), and Whiting and Child persuaded William W. Lambert of Cornell University to join them in seeking funds to carry out a comparative study of child rearing. A generous grant from the Behavioral Science Division of the Ford Foundation made it possible to carry out these plans. The fieldwork and part of the analysis and writing of five of the six reports in this volume were financed by this grant. Later analysis and editing were supported by a grant from the United States Public Health Service.

Intensive planning for the study was carried on at Cornell, Harvard, and Yale during the following year under the direction of the senior investigators, William W. Lambert, Irvin L. Child, and John W. M. Whiting. During June and July of 1954, a Social Research Council Summer Conference was held at the Laboratory of Human Development at Harvard. All the research personnel, with the aid of David Aberle of Michigan, Alfred Baldwin, and James J. Gibson of Cornell, and Robert Sears of Stanford, wrote the *Field Guide for a Study of Socialization in Five Societies*. This volume presents in detail the research plan, the hypotheses to be tested, and the research devices which were agreed on by the field teams and senior investigators.‡

The five original field teams started fieldwork in the fall of 1954 and

* The contributing members of this seminar were Barbara Chartier Ayres, Hildreth Geertz, George Goethals, Charles Holzinger, Edgar Lowell, Eleanor E. Maccoby, Kimball Romney, Richard Salisbury, William Stewart, and John Thibaut.

† Attending this conference were Robert R. Sears (Chairman), A. L. Baldwin, R. A. Bauer, Irvin L. Child, L. S. Cottrell, Jr., Leon Festinger, J. L. Gewirtz, A. Inkeles, Harry Levin, Gardner Lindzey, Eleanor E. Maccoby, Carson McGuire, G. P. Murdock, B. Paul, J. M. Roberts, T. R. Sarbin, Pauline S. Sears, M. Brewster Smith, R. L. Solomon, John W. Thibaut, and John W. M. Whiting.

‡ Published in mimeographed form by the Laboratory of Human Development, Harvard University, 1954.

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B 866 girls during this period, the rewards and punishments for good or bad performance or omission are an index of the training in this behavior system. The age at which different types of chores are assigned gives a clue to the age at which a society considers a child to have "sense," to be capable of reason, and it indicates the beliefs about the nature of the learning process. It will be observed, for example, that the Khalapur Rājpūts believe children learn primarily by observing, and hence they do little direct instructing. One type of responsibility is training children to care for younger siblings or cousins and neighbors. This training may start very young, as in Taira and Nyansongo, or may be late and unimportant, as in Orchard Town.

B 155 561 The size and composition of play groups and the attitudes of parents on friendliness are described for each age grade. It was hypothesized that sociability would be related both to training in nurturance and to the treatment of succorance, but initial comparisons would indicate that nurturance is probably more closely related to training for responsibility and dominance than to friendliness.

O 121 In planning the research the senior investigators were also interested in discovering age and sex differences in behavior which might be universal (Barry, Bacon and Child, 1957). Is it true that in spite of radically different treatment in infancy and early childhood in the six societies, boys and adult men are always more aggressive physically than girls and women and that girls and women are always more affectionate than men? Are there regularities in behavior which hold across cultures? Does succorance always decrease with age and dominance always increase? Although these are questions which cannot be answered from a comparison of the six societies alone, consistent age and sex differences should be followed up by further research.

O ● 114 The reader will be aware that in spite of the research design, the data are not always comparable, that in the different areas studied, some monographs have better coverage than others. These variations are due not only to the personalities, interests, and training of the fieldworkers but also to the nature of the culture of the societies they chose to study.

O 121 Although this volume concentrates on the material that the researchers felt was theoretically relevant, it is hoped that readers with different conceptual systems and different hypotheses concerning human behavior will find it possible to make some relevant comparisons between the six societies. Those who were concerned with the project have developed new insights and new hypotheses. Some of these can be studied, but for many, the relevant data are not detailed enough and must await further studies. It is our belief that this is

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

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About the Authors

Thomas and Hatsumi Maretzki chose the village of Taira on the 114 ●
northeast coast of Okinawa. Thomas Maretzki was an advanced graduate student in Anthropology at Yale; his wife, a graduate of the University of Hawaii who had worked for one year on the staff of the Gesell Institute's nursery school in New Haven, Connecticut. The Maretzkis rented half a house in the village. They were assisted in their work by Nariyuki Agarie, a graduate of the State University of Iowa and subsequently a graduate student in psychology at Yale University, and by Kiyoshi Yogi of Naha. Although the Maretzkis did not have [123]
children to speed their participation in community life, Mrs. Maretzki's knowledge of Japanese and her exceptional gift with young children were invaluable aids. She seldom moved about the village without an entourage of small, devoted children.

The Maretzkis returned to Okinawa in 1960. Unfortunately time did not permit the incorporation in this monograph of any data collected on this later expedition. Thomas Maretzki is now teaching at the University of Hawaii.

2:Maretski & Maretski E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

is one of the rare, desired body attributes. It was the opinion of some that the descendants of the noble families who came from Shuri, however, are taller and slender, with a prominent, curved nasal ridge.

Until they feel confident in the presence of strangers, Taira people appear quiet and restrained. It is considered a virtue not to show one's emotions, and Tairans consider the expressiveness of Americans childish. Actually they are gay, talkative, and given to laughter, especially the women. Men are quiet unless stimulated by alcohol, but both men and women may lose their composure in emergencies. A notable exception is their placid reactions to the threat of disaster from the ever recurrent violent storms.

THE COMMUNITY, ITS HISTORY AND NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

Taira is one of the northern villages on the northeast coast of Okinawa in Higashi township (see map 1). Today it is home to over 700 people who make their living—as did their ancestors since early times—from the surrounding fields, forests, and from the sea. The Okinawan name for the village, Taira, means "sloping fields." The character used for writing the prevalent Japanese version, Taira, means "flat, plain, good."

Since the family records were lost during World War II, it is necessary to depend on oral traditions for reconstruction of the history of Taira. Unfortunately, the desire of many Okinawans to establish a relationship between their local families and the former royal courts casts some doubt on the accuracy of these traditions.

According to these traditions, the first village to be settled in the vicinity of Taira was the neighboring community Kawata. After the Hokuzan kingdom in Nakijin (on the northwestern Motobu Peninsula) was conquered by the southern Okinawan kingdom of Chuzan in the fifthteenth century (Kerr, 1958:85), the second son of the Lord of Hokuzan is said to have escaped northward into Kunigami province. Unitokogami, the fleeing nobleman, arrived near the present site of Kawata and established himself in a cave around the year 1477. He is still revered today as founder of the village in a yearly spring ceremony when prayers are said in front of the cave. The oldest Taira families trace their descent in the male line from Nizenya, the "main house," he founded. Taira was settled around 1550 by two families tracing descent from this "main house." The descendents of these settlers are

PREFACE

114 This report is based on nine months of field research which was con-
122 ducted under the auspices of the Pacific Science Board of the National Academy of Sciences with Department of Army funds granted by a subcontract with the Human Resources Research Office of The George Washington University. The project was considered a part of the long-range SIRI (Scientific Investigations in the Ryukyu Islands) program developed by the Pacific Science Board "...to advise and assist the administrative authorities of the Ryukyu Islands in problems of rehabilitation relating to the health and economy of the Ryukyu
121 Islands." The objectives of this study were set forth in a broad outline presented by the Pacific Science Board prior to our departure into the field. In brief, it called for a description and assessment of the impact of the United States military occupation on Okinawan culture. Certain aspects of the project outline were later amended to meet the exigencies of the field situation. In the preparation of this report the authors' primary aim has been to inform those actively concerned with Okinawan-American relations; hence, a time limitation largely imposed by the necessity of presenting information while it is still pertinent has precluded a fuller treatment of certain aspects of our data which ordinarily would have been included in a complete ethnographic account.

114 Field time covered the period from September of 1953 to June of 1954.
101 One of the authors remained on Okinawa for an additional month to compensate for time lost due to illness and hospitalization.

128 Although each of us worked on several aspects of culture, in writing up our material we divided it roughly according to the major field of interest of each. Thus, though each chapter, or section of the last chapter, bears the name of the writer only, it was written from an outline that was discussed by all three and all three contributed both data and ideas to it.

We have tried to keep Okinawan and Japanese terms to a minimum, that is to use them only when there is no clear English equivalent or to add them (usually parenthetically) only as linguistic evidence for the existence of an object, practice, or concept. Nevertheless, they will be found scattered throughout the report. Although each term is defined, we hope, where it first appears, we have identified each again in a glossary. The distinction between native Okinawan terms and Japanese terms is worth preserving; we have done so by underlining the Okinawan terms and enclosing the Japanese terms in single quote marks. Some inconsistency in the Okinawan terms is due to differences in dialect and differences in recording.

101 Although we spent a bit of time in a number of communities on Okinawa, the major part of our work was in six: Pitts in Nanahan (Tomoyose), Kochinda-son, Goeku-son; Lebra in Kanegusuku, Kanegusuku-son and Kitazato, Kamimotobu-son; and Suttles in Yamazato, Chinen-son and Yamada, Onna-son. The locations of these communities is shown on Map 1.

212 177 Writing Okinawa never developed an independent system of writing; in the old kingdom both Japanese and Chinese were used. Literacy was largely 829 confined to the upper classes, and it is said that students were sent to both [571] countries for study. Apparently the literati held the Chinese language and culture in high regard while disdaining that of the Japanese; yet, Bettelheim noted in 1851 that Japanese books were very popular in spite of this contempt of the literati.[1] He also stated that the Okinawans always preferred biblical texts written in Japanese to those in Chinese. In view of the political paramouncy of Japan from 1609 and the close linguistic and cultural ties between the two peoples this popularity of Japanese is not surprising. It also should [538] be noted that although the literati are reported as preferring Chinese to Japanese, the major literary achievements of Okinawa were written in Japanese. Thus, for example, the Omorosōshi, sixteenth century collection of songs which the late Dr. Ifa has called the Ryukyuan scriptures, was recorded in a Japanese style of writing; the same is true for the annals of the old kingdom and for the first dictionary of the Okinawan language.

212 177 With the advent of a Japanese administration and educational system, the study of Chinese ceased, and today Japanese is used exclusively. Most Okinawan place names and family names as they are written in Japanese can be given two interpretations, the Japanese and the Okinawan; in a majority of cases the Japanese is given preference. Occasionally when Okinawan speech is transcribed as in the case of lyrics accompanying phonograph records, the Japanese syllabary is used. This is not a suitable devise for transcribing Okinawan speech, which contains many sounds unfamiliar to Japanese. Unfortunately much of the early [114] linguistic research conducted in this area was rendered virtually worthless by the employment of this syllabary. In recent years scholars like Miyanaga and Kinjo have recorded Ryukyuan using the International Phonetic Alphabet.

197 191 177 178 Conclusion At the present time Okinawan speech enjoys widespread use throughout the whole of the island. It is still the language of the home, and as such it is a more common medium of expression than the official language, Japanese. The latter, backed by the government, schools, and all the forces of modern life, is gradually supplanting Okinawan, but it would be an over-statement to say that the language is dying out. It may be expected that the majority of Okinawans will remain bilingual as they are today until such time when a whole adult generation will speak only Japanese and transmit only Japanese to its offspring.

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[1] Bettelheim, n.d., p. 31.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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When one has completed a work such as this, he realizes, even more forcefully than at any other period of his activity, that its sources in reality lie in the kindness, cooperation, knowledge and patience of others. It is a pleasure to acknowledge this indebtedness at this time.

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Funds were made available by the Department of the Army to the Pacific Science Board of the National Research Council. I received every courtesy from the military and civilian personnel of the Department of the Army both in Tokyo and in Okinawa. Brigadier General James A. Lewis and the staff of the U. S. Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands showed a continuing interest, and it was possible to work easily in Okinawa through their efforts.

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I also wish to thank Mr. Richard Varney of the Department of Food and Natural Resources and Taminato Choyō of the Ryukyuan Forestry Agency at Nago, Okinawa, for their advice and assistance in matters relating to forestry. Mr. Taminato was most liberal with his time and showed me personally several areas in the northern forest. He should not be held responsible however for errors or misinterpretations in the text.

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In Hanashiro: Nakasato Ushikichi, a farmer and member of the Gushichan township council; Shiroma Kichiji, the present headman and a farmer; Sakemoto Genichi, former headman and operator of the rice mill; Nakasato Masao and his wife; Tokumori-san, a teacher of the Gushichan Junior High School and a resident of Hanashiro; Tamaya Yukio, a school teacher at the same school.

In Minatogawa: Moromizato Shinji, a school teacher of Aragusuku; Tamashiro Kamei, headman of Minatogawa-ikku and a fisherman; Uehara Shōichi,

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115 head of the Minatogawa Fishermen's Association; Kokuba Jūshin, a farmer and the village clerk; Moriye-san, the headman of Minatogawa-niku and a farmer; Irei Tokujun, principal of the Gushichan Junior High School and a resident of Minatogawa-niku.

My grateful thanks must go also to Mayor Usa and vice-Mayor Miji of Gushichan township, public officials of whom any people could be proud, and to Nakama Chichō of Minatogawa-ikku, Tokumoto-san, and Kokuba-san, also on the township staff.

In Matsuda: Ikehara Seiyei, a farmer, and his wife; Matsuda Kiyoshi, a young farmer; Nagamine Yoshihiro; Urasaki Kokichi, principal of the Matsuda primary school; Yoshida Yoshikatsu, a farmer; and Higa Hataaki and his wife, and Ushiro Tokuye, headman and his assistants in the village office.

I am grateful also to the many residents of these villages with whom I talked and from whom I received hospitality. Without their patience in explaining many points, elementary to them often difficult for me, I could not have accumulated the data that are presented here.

121 The study was begun on July 15, 1951, and I returned to the United States on January 25, 1952. The period from July 15 to August 25 was spent in Hanashiro; from August 26 to October 20, in Minatogawa with frequent visits to Hanashiro, and from October 21 to December 10 in Matsuda. Later the three villages were re-visited for periods of a week to ten days each, following a preliminary analysis of the materials already gathered.

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174 423 have been affected by roads and trails which have now disappeared.

[115] Old residents[5] of Matsuda and neighboring villages were able to furnish more specific clues regarding the old system and its relation to other phases of village life. These old people estimated the [161] population of Matsuda at the close of the old system at about 360 persons, compared with the present population of 1368. The system operated under much less acute population pressure than exists today. [165] Deaths, especially from malaria, and a high infant mortality kept the population down, although introduced Japanese hygienic measures helped.

[311] Under the old system in Matsuda, there was a continual clearing of land, mostly around the settlement. There seems little doubt that land reclamation and clearing has been going on slowly from the earliest historical times in Okinawa. The land cleared remained under village ownership, but the persons who cleared the property were allowed to hold it for use without giving it up for periodic redistribution. Technical ownership remained with the village.[6] Fences and stone barriers were erected as a protection against the wild boar. But the large scale reclamation and the private ownership of genya land seems to have occurred after the close of the old system.

The dividion of lands at the beginning of the new system has set the boundary pattern of many plots. In Matsuda there were instances of land which has retained the same boundaries that it had under the old system. There was general agreement among the old that the form, boundaries, and areas of land plots have changed [428] very little since the times of the jiwari-seido. This would be particularly true in the case of property which had passed down through the first son. Changes came from the establishment of branch families, [425] and sales and purchases. In these areas, however, buying and selling have been infrequent.

175 423 [171] The history of land tenure in Okinawa, therefore, is different from that of Japan with its long history of tenancy, whose accumulated problems finally led to the land reform of 1946 during the Allied occupation. The present system of land tenure in Okinawa is a little over 50 years old.

178 423 311 The chief influences of the old system were to set in a form recognizable to the present, the pattern of land holding, to establish land classification, and apply it on a very localized basis.

[115] 5 I am indebted here to Shinzato Zensuke of the village of Sokei (Ginoza-son), and to Oshiro-san of Matsuda village (Ginoza-son) both over 70 years of age for their recollections of the history of the system in Matsuda.

[114] 6 This differs from Goldschmidt's account, cited above, in that in this case the land became a usufruct, in the other actual ownership.

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Every parcel of land with its grade and type is mapped, a thoroughness in land classification which has not yet been approached in the United States. While the mapping is recent, the information was always available in the village records. Village owned lands are also a survival of this system, especially the forests in the north. Community owned property is much more modest in area in the south and confined to small parcels of forest or pre-war forest, school and public building sites, community ponds, and the like.

2

Present Land Tenure and Land Classification

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The present method of land holding based on Japanese law went into effect at the end of the old land allotment system. The head of the family registered all lands, previously held as shares, in his own name. Apparently in the last distribution before the abandonment of the old system, men and women over 52 years of age received their property for life with the right to pass it on to their children. At the beginning of the new system, also, the wild land was still publicly held, but further clearing and reclamation got under way, and the genya land also began to be divided up and became part of private holdings about ten years after the new land law went into effect. [888]

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The new system of private ownership of land introduced buying and selling (baibai), tenancy (kosaku), and land speculation. There had been some tenancy under the old system apparently however it was on a village basis with one community renting from another. There has therefore been insufficient time to develop in Okinawa the widespread abuses associated with the Japanese land tenure system prior to the land reform of 1946.[7]

In all the villages studied, individual ownership is the rule with some informal tenancy. How an owner is not paid for the use of his land, the result of a Civil Administration measure to encourage maximum food production. Tenancy, as it was observed in the villages was usually an informal lending of the land: the use by a friend, relative, or neighbor of an unused plot.

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The present system of land use and land tenure is a result of practices and customs developed under the old allotment system, combined with the introduced Japanese system of inheritance. The family system plus these two influences have brought about the modern customs of land inheritance, the distinctions in types of land, and the fragmentation and lack of contiguity in holdings.

7 Based on conversations with villagers in Hatsuda. Uyehara, Yukuo made the same point in accounting for the low percentage of tenancy and the high percentage of independent farmers in Okinawa-ken. Ryukyu Islands, Japan. Economic Geography 9 (1933), 395-405. Reference on 399. [115]

793 or her granddaughter might succeed her. In earlier times, priestesses
423 were unmarried. But with private ownership in land the fields owned by
428 the priestess were divided according to the new laws and fell into possession of the priestess' family.

Spencer pointed out in his discussion of their status in 1931 that
793 they still had considerable influence. There was one in practically every
[791] village, although they were losing out to the female fortune tellers (yuta). Spencer cited the case of the principal of the primary school at Itoman who could get controversial plans adopted readily if a priestess sponsored them. This was over 30 years after the abolition of the old allotment system, and their economic power had vanished. But they were important figures in festivals and holidays. Their private services included advice and prayer on journeys and business undertakings. This brief summary of their past history will make the discussion that follows clearer.

793 The Japanese discouraged the priestess system, regarding it as a
178 superstition. In the years immediately preceding the war, the priestesses seem to have prospered more in the northern district of Okinawa. By 1951, the noros were virtually forgotten, victims of a long decline, Japanese discouragement, the war, public indifference, and the conviction, among the young and middle aged people, that the priestesses taught only superstitions (meishin) like the fortune tellers and the soothsayers.

Hanashiro had a priestess before the war; when she died, there was no young female relative to replace her. Now there are none in Hanashiro, Nagamo, or Hinatogawa. Their failure to revive after the war is attributed by the villagers to the influence of education among the people. In Hatsuda, there are some last survivals of the system, but the Ginoza priestess has also died, and there was no one to replace her.

793 Before the war, the priestess (noro in Japanese, nuru in Okinawan) and her assistants conducted services in Hatsuda.[6] The priestess, who was then about 60, lived in Ginoza village, and was carried by two men on a palanquin (kago) from her village to Hatsuda. The high priestess and her assistants constituted a ten woman group. The first in rank after her lived in Ginoza, and the other eight in Hatsuda. These participants in the festivals and religious ceremonies were known as kannushi-san (Japanese) or kamichuyu (Okinawan). The priestess was assisted by a second woman, first in rank after the noro herself (uchigami in Okinawan), a third (nigami in Okinawan), and the fourth (yurashigami in Okinawan). The fifth to ninth women were learners and followers. They could be either young or old women. All ranks wore a simple garment, similar in cut to a kimono, made of white gauze-like material. For a head covering, a piece of the same material was wrapped around the head like a towel. Four men attended the priestess and her women assistants but only at public ceremonies.

6 The material which follows is based on information from a lady about 50, a resident of Hatsuda, who was a second ranking assistant (nigami) to the noro. She now operates a tiny store in Hatsuda.

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SCIENTIFIC INVESTIGATIONS IN THE RYUKYU ISLANDS (SIRI)

STUDIES OF OKINAWAN VILLAGE LIFE

by

Clarence J. Glacken
Field Associate in Anthropology

[Title Page]

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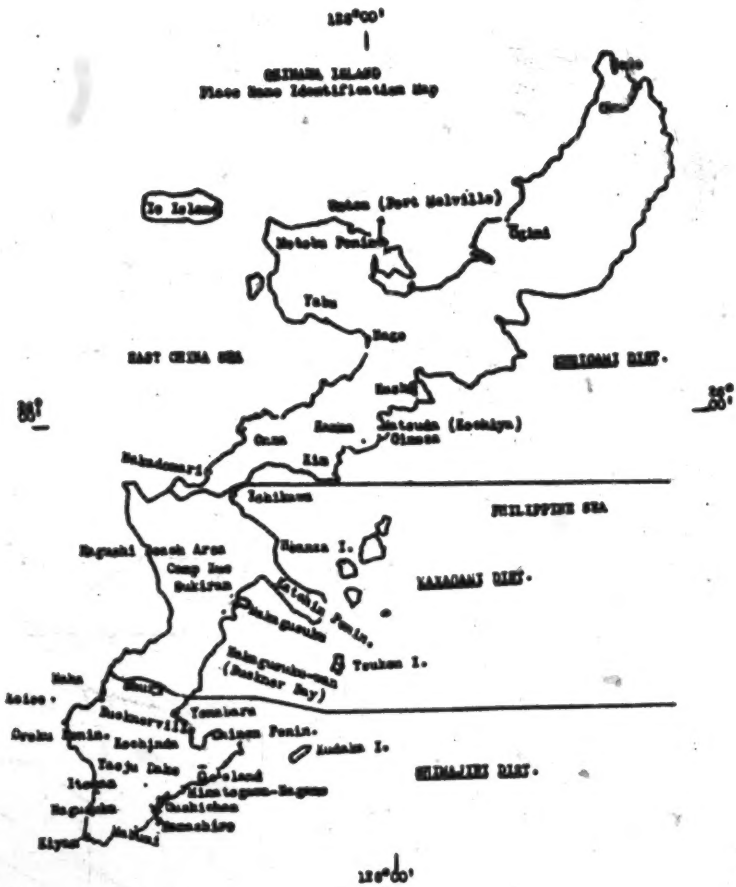

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115 head of the Minatogawa Fishermen's Association; Kokuba Jūshin, a farmer and the village clerk; Moriya-san, the headman of Minatogawa-niku and a farmer; Irei Tokujun, principal of the Gushichan Junior High School and a resident of Minatogawa-niku.

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In Matsuda: Ikehara Seiyei, a farmer, and his wife; Matsuda Kiyoshi, a young farmer; Nagamine Yoshihiro; Urasaki Kokichi, principal of the Matsuda primary school; Yoshida Yoshikatsu, a farmer; and Higa Hataaki and his wife, and Ōshiro Tokuye, headman and his assistants in the village office.

I am grateful also to the many residents of these villages with whom I talked and from whom I received hospitality. Without their patience in explaining many points, elementary to them often difficult for me, I could not have accumulated the data that are presented here.

102 The study was begun on July 15, 1951, and I returned to the United States on January 25, 1952. The period from July 15 to August 25 was spent in Hanashiro; from August 26 to October 20, in Minatogawa with frequent visits to Hanashiro, and from October 21 to December 10 in Matsuda. Later the three villages were re-visited for periods of a week to ten days each, following a preliminary analysis of the materials already gathered.

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INTRODUCTION

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The study of human cultures reaches far back into antiquity, and the reasons for the study have remained much the same. Herodotus was interested in the history of Greece and to elucidate this history he found it necessary to discuss the history and the customs of such peoples as the Persians, the Scythians, the Egyptians, and the Babylonians. Like a modern administrator, Strabo in the first century of the Christian era, felt that a knowledge of the geography and of the various peoples living throughout the known world was indispensable to the rulers of the Roman empire. These ancient writers, and many more, sought to explain the differences observed among peoples, and found their explanations in differing physical environments, customs, laws, and religions, or combinations of these.

The moral philosophers of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, devouring the travel accounts from the New World and the Asiatic mainland, and later of the South Pacific, used this new information to discover, so they thought, the way mankind had developed. When Edmund Burke wrote to William Robertson complimenting him on his History of America he spoke feelingly of the opportunity open to him and his contemporaries of seeing all races and types of mankind revealed in a panorama of the present.

In the nineteenth century, the opportunities for scientific travelling were greatly expanded. Alexander von Humboldt in the early years had done much to convince men of the unity of nature amidst all its diversity. Primitive peoples were visited and described, and theories of cultural evolution and of primitive society multiplied. Darwinism brought to the study of man an increased emphasis on adaptation to the environment. The results were that a literature was developed which stressed the growth and progress of peoples and cultures and employed various explanations, some environmental, some racial, to account for these differences. There were great advances in anthropology. To this century also belongs the beginnings of an impressive literature, developed by a very few men, on the great role of human agency in modifying the natural environment, an inquiry associated with the works of the distinguished American, George Perkins Marsh.

In the increased specialization of the twentieth century, many of these older themes and ideas have become the province of separate disciplines. Scholars are both more and less ambitious. The attempt to understand the development of culture in an ideal series of stages has had to be abandoned by critical scholarship. So have environmental influences and explanations based on racial qualities or endowments. Broad generalization has given way to a more detailed examination of a culture. The traits found there are significant in their own right to be used, not for reconstructing a hypothetical and universal cultural evolution, but for interpreting a whole culture and the patterns which seem to characterize it. In a sense, this attitude has paralleled a similar point of view in biology,

121

121 in the growth of ecological thinking, though this history is older.

But when we say that it has paralleled ecological thinking, we do not mean that the approach should be identical or even similar. In ecology, the plant or animal, as an individual or in association, is studied as part of the community of plants and animals, whose own growth may be encouraged or hindered by the growth and competition from others. When we study human cultures, this functional approach breaks down. It is not enough to show the context of each cultural trait in the whole, indispensable as this may be. This might produce a satisfying interpretation but it would suffer from important omissions. These are the history of the culture and the periods of contact and isolation that may have characterized it and the changes that the culture has made in the physical environment in which it is placed. No place in the world offers such fruitful illustrations over so great an area and over so long a period of time as Southeast Asia, with the exception of the Mediterranean. The great changes in the soils due to paddy culture and the long fertilization from human excreta and plant residues, soil erosion, deforestation, the minute changes of land from mountain tops to the cultivated valleys can be found in abundance here.

121 181 182 This study of three villages on the island of Okinawa is concerned with many of these themes. As the inquiry progressed and during the period of reflection that followed the collection of materials, it seemed that the most significant characteristic was the existence of the family system, and that this had meaning not only in the places where one would expect it, such as family and daily life, and in the desire to respect the memory of the dead and to guard against extinction of the family line, but that its influence was the key to an understanding of the way in which the culture had changed and modified the natural environment and utilized the resources available to it.

The connecting link between the family system, on the one hand, and the use of the natural environment, on the other, is the system of inheritance, and through the inheritance system on land tenure and land use. And when speaking of land tenure and land use, the reference is not merely to the agricultural land, but to all land, including the forest soils of the north, the uncultivated land scattered over the island, but so vital in its production of grasses to the livelihood of peoples.

121 181 824 One of the most striking aspects of this culture is its dependence on plants, not only for food, but for uses other than food. Houses, their roofs and sidings, plank floorings, excepting only the stones; fibres or wood for sandals or clogs; grasses, cane stalks, shrubbery for fuels; imported cottons for clothing, which have replaced an earlier dependence on reeds or banana leaves; fibres and reeds for rugs and floor mats; rice stalks or other grasses for making carrying baskets; rope of palm or of rice stalks; wooden poles, are but a few illustrations of this close dependence on plant life. It is a culture based on the utilization of plants for all purposes to which are added the multifarious and skillful employment of stone and of water.

To explain these things properly requires a sense of the conditions which have produced them, an appreciation of the historical depth of the culture. In some areas, one perhaps might neglect history, relying on the interesting present to furnish the correct details. Such an approach would be fatal in any study of this part of the world, and neglect of history is responsible for the fatuous doctrine of the "unchanging East." While this is an investigation of contemporary life, indeed that is the purpose of the program under which the study was made, I have felt impelled to point out historical events and conditions which have brought the culture to its present state, not with any assurance that this has been adequately done, but at least to make clear that these historical problems exist, and that the contemporary culture must be seen as the end product of its historical antecedents, including the hints that can be collected of the modifications of the environment by human agency. The present geography of the island is to be seen, for example, not as something given and unchanging. The forested north and the deforested south are in all probability the direct result of the history of human settlement. 121

An approach of this type, I felt, could best be served by comparative study. Concentration on one village would have resulted in a deeper understanding of the way of life in that village and closer friendships with the villagers, and these advantages cannot be sensibly minimized. The selection of two or three villages might offset this disadvantage and offer some compensations of its own. One of these was comparison, even though it cannot be assumed that merely because three villages instead of one have been studied that a more valid interpretation of the whole culture has been obtained. Even in this small island, each "typical" village seems to grow less and less so as one learns more of the details. But at least the three situations can provide insight into three basically similar but different ways of living. If this is true on an island barely sixty miles long and eighteen miles wide at its widest point, how great this diversity must be in China, Japan, and Korea!

Upon arriving in Okinawa, I spent the first few days talking with officials who had, in the course of their duties, travelled widely throughout the island. From them I was able to obtain an idea of the different types of villages, those like Oku in the north that were exceptional, those that had come under direct American influence due to proximity to civil and military installations, and those that departed from the pattern of agricultural life. With these guides in mind, I determined to select one village whose economy was based on agriculture and this meant primarily the growing of rice, sugar cane, sweet potatoes, and soybeans. The number of villages that could meet this broad criterion was large, and it did not seem advisable in view of the shortness of the assignment to spend too much time in selecting a village, because the criteria of what was typical might be just as obscure at the conclusion as at the beginning. 121 184 [241]

Accordingly, I spent a day or so travelling in the general area south of the Chinen peninsula in the townships of Tamagusuku and Gushichan. These were close to Naha, and yet distant from the main centers of American influence. I was concerned here to select a village which would reflect as 114 121 184

114 much as possible the customary ways of doing things, and though one could
191 not hope for an unchanging or an isolated village, one could find a vil-
184 lage relatively so, even if, as was the case with all the villages, they had felt the effects of the deadly campaign for Okinawa.

On one of these trips, I talked with the headman of the village of Hanashiro and then with the officials in the nearby village office of Gushichan, and concluded on the basis of what I saw of the agriculture and the conditions described by these officials, that this small village would be a satisfactory selection. In the beginning, an epidemic of encephalitis made it wise to be away from the village at night and for
[164] the first month the investigations were confined to daytime work. This was a serious handicap which I tried to overcome later in the tour by living in the village.

While working in Hanashiro, I had frequent occasion to pass the villages of Minatogawa-ikku and Minatogawa-niku, and I was impressed with the opportunity to study the life of a village in which agriculture
[226] did not predominate, and in which the chief emphasis was on fishing and stonecutting. I therefore decided to include the fishing village, and
[324] took up residence there late in August 1951, making frequent trips on the side to Hanashiro.

As interest and awareness increased, I became convinced that another type of village should be added to the agricultural and fishing selections. It should be one in the northern forested area (the Kunigami region).
[361] After discussing this with American and Okinawan forestry officials, I followed their suggestion and lived in the village of Matsuda in Ginoza township. It proved to be a good choice, with the possible reservation that Matsuda is somewhat of a model village whose conditions might be better than the average.

The villages needed to be small enough for one man to study. And they proved to be admirable communities for realizing my original intention of showing similarities and contrasts in an agricultural village, a fishing village, and a village in a forest setting.

121 The results do not constitute a complete ethnography of each of the villages. Such was not my intention, and this could not have been done in the time available. The material has been organized around four central subjects: (1) the nature of the family system and its influence through
[128] inheritance on land tenure and land use, (2) ways of life as illustrated in the studies of the agricultural, fishing-stonecutting, and forest communities, (3) daily family life as a concrete expression of the family system, and (4) wider community relationships, including political and cooperative organizations, education, and religion.

The basic theme is that a fruitful approach to the study of modern cultures lies in the borderland area between the social and the natural sciences, and that, in the case of these Okinawan villages, the study
[311] would take the form of discovering in what ways the people are using their natural environment and the manner in which the culture has changed and

altered that environment to its own uses. I hope that this will result 121
in a broader and a deeper understanding of the manner in which an old 311
culture, subject to frequent changes, with a long history of settlement, has, through its social organization, used and is using its chief resources, the cultivated land, the fish in the seas, the deep stones imbedded in its earth, its forests, and its waters.

There were certain obstacles in carrying out this plan. As everyone 121
knows who has attempted such tasks, after the first few days the apparent simplicities of village life vanish before one's eyes, and he is left with a mass of observations whose ramifications lead in every direction. There is simply no limit to the courses of inquiry which these "simple" villages open up.

There was the problem of distinguishing between what was customary 121
and carried on for this reason and what was of basic living importance in 183
the culture. This difficulty disappears for those who believe that every 184
trait has some significance if it has survived, but this neglects the point that many beliefs and customs belong to segments of a population. To one group what may be done as a matter of form may be of close personal importance to another. Both points are significant, for to do what one is expected to do, even if a pure form, is in itself a fact of importance. This applies especially to religious observances and anniversaries in honor of the dead. In some cases, they seemed perfunctorily performed, particularly among the young and the better educated. The survival of certain beliefs is due to their preservation by segments of the [560] population, and women seem to be the chief carriers of the devotional and religious tradition. Real differences, too, seem to lie in age groups, [561] with the dividing line at about fifty-five to sixty years. Many under this age have little understanding of the history or traditional culture. The old, and particularly the old women, have carried on.

Observation in itself is deceptive. Even the grasses, shrubs, and 121
pine trees on the hillsides seem to be a more or less permanent part of the natural environment. Yet these were greatly changed during the war and in local areas grasses have succeeded to places formerly occupied by the pines.

The information was obtained in the following manner. (1) Personal 12
conversations in the Japanese language with residents of the villages. Much of the information was secured by accompanying people to their work, attending their parties, visiting shops, rice and sugar mills, and asking questions about the things seen. (2) Direct personal observation, supplemented by conversations to check the accuracy and the significance of these observations. (3) Information gathered from village land records, statistics, land maps, and family registers. Later there was considerable difficulty in securing comparability in the statistics. For this reason the attempt to present quantitative data was in some cases abandoned in favor of a general qualitative description. (4) General discussions with the personnel of the Civil Affairs Administration and with Okinawans.
(5) Personal impressions, but these have been included only when they 127
are based on repeated observation. (6) In the historical and general

127 material, I have depended on published works to supplement my own findings. These sources are acknowledged throughout the work.

128 The organization of the study follows the main topics which have been outlined in the preceding paragraphs. The first chapter is a discussion of the geography of the island, including climate, soils, physiography, and regional differences that exist. This is included for the specific purpose of indicating limiting factors in agriculture and land use, and to make clear that the geographical relationships with continental Asia and Japan have varied throughout history and with the changes in international relations. The voyages following the Age of Discovery, the events leading up to the opening of Japan, the Japanese wars with China (1894-95) and Russia (1904-05), the events following World War I, World War II, and the unexpected emergence of Korea as a major post-war battleground have produced their reverberations in the Ryukyus, especially in Okinawa. We are dealing with an old culture, long settled in the area, and, as a consequence, with modifications and changes of the natural environment dating back millenia. Okinawa has developed by an intensive and widespread conversion of the forests, the soils, the plants, and the small rivers to human use.

In the historical chapter, this idea of a culture modifying the natural environment over centuries is supplemented by a discussion of the intrusive influences which have been brought to bear on its history. [129] These influences range from the introduction of the family system and of the sweet potato to the American Coco Cola. The cultural history is a product of these influences from continental Asia, Japan, and the United States in addition to the changes coming to an environment in which people live close to the land and have sometimes carefully, sometimes carelessly modified,it to suit their needs and tastes.

Within the framework provided by the geographical and historical chapters, the main body of the report begins with a discussion of the types of villages found in Okinawa, a description of each of the villages studied, the physical and historical differences that seem to distinguish them. Following this, there is a discussion of village populations, the effects of settlement, pre-war emigration and post-war displacement and repatriation. The last chapter of this part is concerned with housing. This could have been considered elsewhere, but housing is really a more detailed study of the elements of which a village is composed. Housebuildin and construction are, except for the primary occupations, the most common of all village activities. It seemed logical to follow the technical discussion of housing with the ceremonies of housebuilding, though this too could have been placed elsewhere in the work.

The third part begins with an exposition of social organization as embodied in the family system, a discussion of the small and the extended family, devices such as adoption, and the significance of the household order, or secondary family naming system. The discussion is then shifted to the nature and the effectiveness of inheritance and the manner in which inheritance actually works out in an area of fragmented land holdings.

The nature of the land itself is then explained with emphasis on the historical significance of the old communal land system (jiwari seido) and on the system introduced by the Japanese, slightly over fifty years ago, of private ownership of land. Here I have tried to show that one of the central facts of the culture is the intimate knowledge which the people possess of their land and its capabilities, and that this knowledge is based on experience of farmers, expressed in the system of land classification. 128

Once the land tenure system and land classification are understood, it becomes necessary to show in what way the land and the soils are being used and conserved. It should be obvious that large populations living off a small island could only have subsisted, as they have in the agricultural lands of China and Japan, by intensive fertilization, minute care of the arable land, and conservation measures. This is extended here to the non-arable lands, for these have an extraordinary significance in the lives and well-being of the people.

With these facts before us, we are in a better position to understand the manner in which agriculture is pursued. In the chapter on agriculture I have been concerned with describing it as something more than a mere technique, a routine of planting and harvesting, but as a way of life bound up with the family system, inheritance, subdivision and fragmentation, land classification, and soil conservation.

Agriculture certainly is the normal way of life in Okinawa. But fishing, stonecutting, the use and the exploitation of the forests are not exotic exceptions. They are important, if secondary occupations, and the materials from Hinatotawa-Nagamo and Matsuda are used to illustrate the use of the waters, the quarries, and the forests. With respect to the forests, I have tried to show their intimate relation to the welfare of the whole island, perhaps neither so intimate nor so crucial as in Japan, but meriting the emphasis which I have given them.

Following the discussion of these topics, I have described in some detail the everyday life of villages, pointing out similarities and differences between villages when these seem to have significance. The main theme here is that in daily life from infancy to old age, the sense of belonging to a culture is never lost, and that it is this fact that probably has brought about the emotional security of Okinawans which has struck many foreign observers. This sense of belonging, I feel, is much more important than the various single explanations, such as breast feeding, that have been urged as causes of the development of a sense of security. Without trying to make sharp distinctions, I have tried to show how the daily life changes with different ages and to follow in the experience of the individual from infancy to the observances which take place at his death, and to make clear that the distinctions between the individual, the family, and the community experience are more literary conventions or devices for convenience in exposition than realities, for there is such a blending of the three that it would be highly artificial to deal with these as separate areas of experience. The two month infant carried on the back of his sister through [181]

128 the village is molded and conditioned to society and the culture in which he will live as effectively in the [illegible] the crossroads, and the playgrounds of the village as he is [illegible] the [illegible]me in which he is nursed and put to sleep.

The blending of family life with community life I have tried to document in the last part which concerns both official and unofficial community functions, such as political organisation, neighborhood groups, and associations, education, cooperation, religion, entertainment, and extra-village contacts. While it would be foolish to argue that community life is but an extension of family life as conditioned by the family system, neither can the influences of the family system on the wider community life be ignored, especially when the villages are composed of so many related family groups.

121 Even though the SIRI program was devised with the practical object in mind of furnishing, by this type of investigation, materials upon which a sound civil administration could be based, an objective with which I am of course in sympathy, I felt that this practical value could best be achieved by producing a work which would cover as much of the field as possible and in a manner as if it were not being done for these practical considerations. A dispassionate account of what I saw, the historical and geographical data that could be assembled, the interpretations which seemed to be valid, I considered to be the best possible way of contributing to the end in mind.

By presenting as much as could be gathered, as accurately as possible, I felt that the answers to many questions, which I could not anticipate, would be implicit in a work which otherwise might lose value by too narrow a focus governed by the interests of the moment. For the same reason, while the work covers many aspects of Okinawan life, it is not directed toward specialists. On the contrary, my attempt has been to present a picture of the life of these villages, trusting that those who use it or read it will find suggestions or points of view or relationships which I had not suspected, and thus indirectly open up new avenues of inquiry.

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PART ONE

THE GREAT LOO CHOO

CHAPTER ONE

CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY AND THE NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

1. Okinawa, Asia, and the Pacific
2. Regional Differences on Okinawan Island
3. General Climatic Conditions
4. The Disappointing Soils
5. Conclusion

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1

Okinawa, Asia, and the Pacific

The Ryukyus, of which Okinawa, the Great Loo Choo of the nineteenth century explorers, is the largest island, is an arc, really the summits of submerged mountains, extending in a southwesterly direction from the Kyūshū node almost to the island of Formosa. The arc is bowed outward and the archipelago forms a tenuous boundary separating the East China Sea from the Pacific. 131

The islands may be thought of as a link in a chain of peninsulas and archipelagos shaped like a rough semicircle from Korea to Kyūshū, the Ryukyus and to Formosa, thence to the mainland of China. These peninsulas and the island chains and the coastal mainland, together with the Wei, Lo, and Fen valleys in the Huang-ho northward bend, have been the scene of cultural intermingling from ancient times, but the area still awaits comparative study as a whole.

The direct and indirect influences which, considering its geography and insular position, have done most to fashion the culture of Okinawa have come from China, Korea, and the Japanese islands, in early times southwestern Japan, especially Kyūshū. With the exception of the visits of European missions and squadrons in the nineteenth century, Western ideas came from Japanese sources. Okinawa, in the great era of the expansion of European ideas and influence in the nineteenth century, was exposed to Westernization indirectly through Japan. 179

Geographical relationships change with the times, shifts in the power of empire, and changes in trade. To the late nineteenth century observer, and indeed to the twentieth as well, Okinawa seemed one of the most isolated and unexplored spots in a part of the world which had been known to the West for centuries. This isolation was more a product of history than of geography. "Each year," wrote William Furness in 1897, "finds the Luchu Islands more and more important, commercially, to the Japanese government, although as yet, they are but little known to the busy world which sails past them to and from the markets of China, Japan, and the Far East."[1] Yet, from the middle of the fourteenth to the second half of the sixteenth century, Naha in Okinawa was a port of call in a trade route which included Korea, Japan, Siam, and Malaya. Malacca was the central port of this trade. It has been estimated that there were at least forty-four voyages out of Naha to these lands in the 138 year period from 1432 to 1570.[2] 131 175

1 William H. Furness III, Life in the Luchu Islands. Bulletin of the Free Museum of Science and Art of the University of Pennsylvania, 2 (1899), 1.

2 This trade will be discussed further in the next chapter with sources cited there.

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175
648 This nineteenth century conception of the Ryukyus as remote and isolated islands in a part of the world in which travel and trade had reached a high degree of development continued unabated to the beginning of the war in the Pacific. The reasons were entirely political. The Ryukyus were part of that walling off process which characterized Japan's policy and strategy toward its island mandates and possessions since the end of the first world war. Okinawa might well have become, as some of the English and American explorers of the nineteenth century hoped, a crossroads of importance in world trade. If it had, it would only have repeated a role it played centuries before.

Since the invasion of 1945, worldwide political realignments have given it a new, and perhaps its most important significance. Its general geography has remained the same. It is the history since the war, and the shaping of ideologies that have brought about this change. Before 1945, Okinawa was regarded by the Japanese as the outer fort and protector of the home islands; during the war, it became the important strategic spot, from the American point of view, for the contemplated invasion of Japan. With the Korean war, it has been transformed from a small outlier in the Pacific to an important strategic center off the Asiatic mainland.

2

Regional Differences in Okinawa Island[3]

131
133 Okinawa, the largest of the islands in the Ryukyu chain, is about 485 square miles in area, 510 including its offshore islands, such as the Keram

[TEXT CONTINUES ON TOP OF P. 12--ANALYST]

114 3 A cultural geography of Okinawa is a real desideratum. But this is outside the scope of this work. Many materials have been brought together in memoranda, published and unpublished, surveys and the like, since the close of the war and the beginning of the American occupation. Lacking a newer synthesis, it seemed foolish to lengthen this report by merely repeating the published materials already available. The intention in this chapter is merely to indicate some of the general considerations helpful in understanding the history of the island and of contemporary life in the villages described. For the pre-war geographical materials see Civil Affairs Handbook, Ryukyu (Loo-choo) Islands, OPNAV 3-13, 3-38, the sections on geography and resources, and passim. Interesting information regarding local geography is scattered through the pages of Okinawa, The Last Battle, and for a general statement, see pp. 7-14. See also Walter R. Hacker's chapter on the Kurils and the Ryukyus in Geography of the Pacific, edited by Otis Freeman, New York and London, 1951, and M. Y. Nuttonson, Ecological Crop Geography and Field Practices of the Ryukyu Islands..., 11-58. For the geology, see, the CA Handbook, 11-12, Nuttonson, 29-36, and Engineering Geology, Okinawa (Prepared by Military Geology Branch US Geological Survey for Intelligence Division Office of the Engineer, GHQ, FEC, April 1951). This contains an Engineering Geology map of the island. For general relationships in this area see Trewartha, Glenn. T. Japan. A Physical, Cultural, and Regional Geography, v-ix, 3-4, and the map on the arcs and nodes, 1.

114
113

chain, Ie, Iheya, and Kudaka islands. The main island is about sixty miles long, its length running generally northeast to southwest. It has an irregular coast line, peninsulas which jut out into the sea, and two isthmuses, one near present Camp Kue, the other farther north at Ishikawa. The width of the island varies from two to eighteen miles. 133 131

Okinawa may be divided into three geographical regions, which also roughly correspond to the ancient division of the island into a northern district (Kunigami or Yambaru), a central district (Nakagami), and a southern district (Shimajiri). [631]

The northern district takes up about two-thirds of the area of the island. It begins at the northern isthmus which runs from Ishikawa town on the Pacific side to Nakadomari on the East China Sea side. South of this line, the island runs more or less in a north-south direction; north of the line, the island is situated in a pronounced northeast-southwest direction. Certain features distinguish this northern area from the two southern parts of Okinawa. A mountain ridge, almost entirely forested, runs down the center. Drainage from the short streams which rise in the mountains is down the east and west slopes. Villages and towns are on or near the coastal flatlands or on the coastal rolling hills. There are few settlements in the interior of the northern part of the island. 131 631 133 [137] [361]

The central region of the island extends south from the Ishikawa-Nakadomari isthmus to the Naha-Yonabaru line. A corridor beginning on the eastern side at Yonabaru on Buckner Bay (formerly Nakagusuku-wan) connects with a long valley beginning around Naha. This provides a natural route cutting across the southern part of the island. The central region is the area of oldest settlement. It and the region to the south were the areas of the most intensive warfare during the campaign for Okinawa. The central region has a patternless physiography. Low rolling eroded hills, stony hills with sharp relief, dissected uplands and escarpments alternate with small alluvial valleys and flatlands. On these and on the lower slopes of the less stony hills cultivation takes place. Limestone sinks and caverns are commonplace. The most rugged terrain in this area is the region around Shuri and its northern approaches, the scene of the most prolonged fighting of the war in Okinawa. Unlike the north, settlements are scattered throughout the countryside, usually on the low lands at the base of hills, along the coasts, or in narrow winding valleys with low passes leading from one to the other. [487] [361]

The third region of the island extends from the Naha-Yonabaru line to the southern tip of the island. It is like the central part in the haphazard distribution of its land forms but somewhat flatter. Part of it is a limestone plain. The highest elevations are around the hills and mountains along Buckner Bay, with its narrow flat coastal strips, and along the southern portion of the Chinen peninsula, which also has flat beaches and beach ridges. It is an area of small plains, long, narrow but steep limestone mountains, and of rolling hills, escarpments which often abruptly end on the water's edge. In the area of one of these escarpments, Yaeju Dake, the final battle scenes of the war took place. The settlement

131 The Settlement
631 pattern is similar to that of the central part. Villages are scattered
133 throughout the area with population distribution comparable with the cen-
36 tral area. Before the war, the densities here were over one thousand per
[161] square mile, actually considerably more if the uninhabitable lands are subtracted.[4]

How long this settlement pattern and these regional differences have
311 existed is difficult to say. In studying contemporary environments, like Okinawa, which bear the imprint of long human settlement, it is useful to try to reconstruct the nature of the landscape before the interference of man. At one time, the whole island, with the exception of stony, rocky, and shallow soils and beach and marsh land was covered with forest. There are now no virgin stands. "It is evident that the present forest has been cut over many times. There seems to be no part of the island in which the forest cover has not been disturbed in some way by man."[5] In this light, the regional differences between the forested north and the deforested south are the work of man.

361 The oldest settlements are thought to have been in the Naha and Shuri areas. Kudaka Island, off the southeast coast, according to one
[173] legend, was the site of the supernatural creation of the Okinawan people. The town of Unten, the Port Melville of Captain Hall and Commodore Perry,
[174] was, in one version, the scene of the landing of the Japanese warrior, Tametomo, but this was in the twelfth century. Northern areas were in-
[161] habited prior to the unification of the island in the twelfth century because they had their own regional chieftans before this. But the population of the north, at least up to the war, has been sparse and scattered. If the forests are any indication, it has been the central and southern regions which have been the scenes of longest settlement. Probably the
[177] settlement pattern had not changed much until the Japanese interventions
[178] of the nineteenth century and the great changes coming with the recent war, and with the extensive modifications which the Americans have made in the landscape of the central region.

3

General Climatic Conditions

132 In the Köppen system, Okinawa has a humid subtropical climate. It is a rainy climate with no marked dry season; it has a mild winter and the temperature of the warmest month is over 71.6°F. The average annual temperatures in Naha range from 61° for January and February to 82°F for July and August, and the range from the mean minimum of 55° in February to the

[Text continues top of p. 14--analyst]

4 See the population distribution maps in CA Handbook, Ryukyu (Loo-choo Islands, 48-49.

5 Okinawan Forests. (Prepared by the USGS, Military Geology Section under the direction of Office of the Engineer, GHQ, Far East Command), 1948, 2.

mean maximum of 89°F in August is only 34°.

Rainfall in Okinawa, though variable, is heavy. On the average there are at least 16 rainy days each month in Naha, but there are pronounced seasonal differences in the amount of precipitation. The rainiest season is from May through August, with a slight drop during July. The months of lowest rainfall are from December through March, with a slight increase in January.

These averages conceal significant fluctuations in the amount and distribution of rainfall, which are brought out to some extent (though these too are averages) by the statistics on maximum and minimum fall per month. The figures for maximum fall in 24 hours show that heavy rains can occur at any time of the year. (See Table 2).

This pronounced annual rainfall and the green vegetation which it produces were no doubt the reason that earlier voyagers were convinced of the luxuriance and fertility of Okinawa, just as similar mistakes were made with the fertility of the tropical rainforest soils.

From the standpoint of agriculture, these reservations must be made about the rainfall. (1) There is, as explained above, a marked seasonal variation for the island as a whole. (2) Though the island is small, there are significant variations from place to place. The regime for Naha may be similar to Nago in the north, for example, but the distribution and the quantity may vary. (3) There are significant monthly variations in the same locality from year to year, a fact obscured by averaging monthly precipitation for a twenty or twenty-five year period. This is clearly brought out in the following table of rainfall of Kochinda, chosen because it was closer than Naha to Hanakaina and Hinatogawa.

Table 1

Precipitation at Kochinda
(In Millimeters)

	1921	1925	1930	1935	Ave. 1921-35
Jan	201	143	331	118	137.5
Feb	246	84	103	161	145.2
Mar	287	227	250	259	183.2
April	95	160	61	339	155.9
May	323	98	382	223	212.1
June	230	120	156	314	282.4
July	27	153	355	159	148.0
Aug	416	141	97	91	267.4
Sept	137	273	240	292	211.8
Oct	43	178	578	179	140.3
Nov	71	74	96	72	125.1
Dec	152	72	91	121	114.0

Source: Meteorological Office, Naha, September 1951. Since the point illustrated is the probability of monthly variations by year, the whole 15 year series has not been reproduced.

132 There are further local variations. Thundershowers often occur over a limited area. This precipitation is described by Okinawans as katabui, by which they mean a scattered, here-and-there rainfall.

[131] These variations in rainfall throughout the year and from year to year are the source of complaints of drought, frequently heard in the summer growing and fall harvesting season from July to October.
[217] Dr. Green of Commodore Perry's staff mentions that droughts were spoken of in an official Loochoo document.

[134] There is also hidden drought caused by the rapid runoff of water and the absorption of water by permeable soils and quick subterranean drainage.
[133] Water for crop growth is thus immediately dependent upon rainfall which must be immediately used before it becomes inaccessible. There are no snowy mountains to store the water for gradual use.

Since it is in a zone of mixture of warm and cold air, Okinawa is cloudy a great deal of the year. The days with the highest percentage of sunshine occur from June to October. There is very little condensation near the surface and fog is uncommon.

Relative humidity is high throughout the year. On the average, it does not fall below 74% (in December), and the highest average is 85% in June. This condition produces a hot humid summer, often with overcast skies and it also brings about a felt or sensible temperature much colder in winter than the temperature would indicate. Okinawan winters may be cold, especially with the winds from the northeast and east northeast. Blankets and heavy clothing do not hold the bodily heat. The insulating value of clothing and blankets seems to be reduced.

Okinawa is also affected by monsoonal influences in southern Asia. In the summer, the basic factor is the heating of large masses of continental air, the creation of low pressure areas, and the transport of air from the ocean to the continent. Prevailing winds are from the east, south, or south south east, or east south east, but here the prevailing should be stressed. Actually in a given period winds may shift and flow from varying directions.

In the winter, it is the air over the ocean that is warmer and the dry air from the cold high pressure areas blows out over the island. Prevailing winds from October through January are from the northeast. Though the mean velocities are modest, strong winds are recorded for every month in the year, winds either from the continent, or typhoons originating in the oceans north of the equator.

132 Another modifying factor is the Japanese current (Kuroshio). This
133 current is really part of the North Equatorial current thought to have its origin on the Pacific side of Central America. As the current crosses the Pacific, it gets added colder water from the California current, and is further mixed with tropical and north Pacific waters, and later with western North Pacific waters. The North Equatorial current divides east of the Philippines, its northern arm going along the east side of the

northern Philippines and Formosa. From Formosa, these warm waters continue northeast between the Ryukyus and the shallow parts of the China Sea. In August the current flows on both sides of the islands. The behavior of the Japanese current in this area is strikingly similar to that of the Florida current of the Gulf Stream.[6] 132 133

The Ryukyus are in one of the great typhoon areas of the world. The season is from May to October, times of low atmospheric pressure, when the average range is from 1007 to 1015 millibars compared with a November-April range of 1015 to 1021 millibars. The period usually described as the typhoon season actually represents minimum expectations, for, as the table shows, typhoons have occurred in every month of the year, with the lowest incidence in April. The range from a minimum of twelve to a maximum of forty-five shows the reasons for uncertainties and the uneasiness with which the weather is regarded in the islands. The period of most frequent typhoon incidence coincides with the growing season, and violent typhoons can be expected as a matter of course prior to the winter rice harvest. 132 [731]

In typhoons, heavy winds, and gales, damage from salt water spray, especially in cultivated strips along the coast, can be expected. Local topography has a determining influence on the direction and area of spray damage, but some farmers in the Nagano area estimated that spray damage had extended inland in some cases for two miles. There is also the problem of the saline content of rainwater. 132 133 [311]

Okinawa has a marine climate modified from what one might expect of its latitude by the monsoon regime which affects southeast Asia. When we understand this, the nature of the rainfall and its distribution, the possibility of drought, and of typhoons and their destructiveness, we are in a better position to appreciate the difficulties under which agriculture must be practiced. 132

6 Sverdrup, Johnson, and Fleming, The Oceans, 718-22 and the literature there cited. Wüst has pointed out in detail the similarities between the two currents. One difference is that the salinity of the Kuroshio is less and its waters are subject to excessive cooling in winter by the cold winds from the continent. See also Nuttonson, as cited, 20.

TABLE 2, CLIMATIC DATA, NAHA CITY

Weather Element	Ann	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec
Ave. Temp. °F a/	72	61	61	64	70	74	79	82	82	80	75	69	64
Mean Maximum	78	67	67	70	76	80	85	89	88	87	81	75	70
Mean Minimum	66	56	55	59	64	68	75	77	77	75	69	64	58
Relative Humidity a/	79	75	75	77	81	83	85	81	82	81	78	76	74
Mean Precip. inches a/	82.8	5.3	5.4	6.1	6.1	8.9	10.0	7.1	10.0	7.1	6.6	5.9	4.3
Max. Fall, 24 hours b/	16.8	5.9	3.5	7.8	13.9	8.1	7.2	9.1	9.7	7.3	9.8	16.8	4.2
Max. Fall, month c/	28.01	6.4	12.1	13.4	20.3	18.6	28.0	15.3	22.6	15.7	24.9	20.9	9.9
Min. Fall, month c/	0.6	1.2	0.7	1.7	1.4	1.3	1.3	1.2	1.4	0.9	0.9	0.6	1.7
Rainy Days a/	202	19	17	18	16	17	16	16	19	17	16	16	17
Cloudiness, % a/	70	75	79	78	76	77	76	60	59	55	60	71	73
Cloudy Days	171	17	17	19	17	18	16	9	9	8	10	15	16
Clear Days	20	1.0	0.6	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.9	2.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	2.0
Sunshine, % in Daylight	43	30	30	32	37	38	50	64	58	58	49	38	34
Foggy Days	0.8	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1
Atmospheric Pressure a/ in millibars	10141	020	1019	1017	1015	1011	1009	1008	1007	1009	1015	1017	1020
Prevailing Winds: d/													
Mean Direction	ENE	NE	NNE	NE	E	E	S	SSE	ESE	ENE	NE	NE	NE
Mean velocity	8	10	10	8	7	6	6	6	7	8	8	10	10
Strongest Wind Recorded													
Direction	ENE	NNE	N	N	N	NNW	W	ENE	ENE	ENE	NNE	NW	NNW
Velocity, mph e/	100	39	40	54	50	44	53	58	52	100	76	74	38
Thunderstorms, No. of Days	20.6	0.2	0.8	2.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	4.0	1.0	0.7	0.8	0.1
Gales, Ave. No. of Days	8.4	1.0	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.5	1.2	1.0	1.4	1.2	1.0
Gales, Max. No. of Days f/	28	4	2	1	0	0	1	4	4	2	5	3	2
Min. No. of Typhoons g/	12	0	0	0	0	2		1	3	2	1	0	0
Max. No. of Typhoons	45	3	3	3	1	5	3	5	6	5	5	3	3

a/ Data compiled over period of 30 unspecified years, b/ 39 unspecified years, c/ 40 unspecified years, d
d/ probably 30 unspecified years, e/ over 20 unspecified years, f, over 8 year period, g/ period not given.
Source: CA Handbook Ryukyu Islands, 5.11.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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4

The Disappointing Soils

Okinawa is small and has a large population. Agriculture has been and will continue to be the main source of livelihood for the people. For this reason, a consideration of the nature of its soils has practical interest. The soils of Okinawa fortunately have recently been surveyed, classified, mapped, and computations made of the approximate areas of each soil type.[7] 134 [241]

Estimated Acreage on Okinawa Island 134 133 [311]

1. The alluvial soils of the coastal flats and flood plains (Akamaru and Aha soils). About 80% of these are the gray clays given over to rice fields, and 20% in the brown and well drained Aha soils. These soils have no distinct profile, average more than six feet in depth, are slightly to medium acid. Deep and fertile, they are composed of loam, clay loam, and sandy loams. They are scattered over the island, frequently at the heads of bays or inlets where the short rivers come to the sea. The most conspicuous occurrences are in the Northern region, including the Motobu peninsula. They are much less frequent in the central district, and scarce in the southern district, with the most conspicuous spots along the Minatogawa river and the headwaters of a small stream south of Minatogawa. These soils are level or almost level (surface gradient 0-1.3%). The water table is seldom more than two feet below the surface. 10,900

[Text continues on top of p. 19 -- Analysis]

7 The following materials have been used: (1) Soils of Okinawa, 11 sheets, controlled photomaps, with soil map overprint, prepared under the direction of the Engineer, Far Eastern Command, by various staff members of the US Geological Survey, Dept. of the Interior, and the Soil Survey of the USDA. (2) Okinawa Soils, a more generalized map, on one sheet (1:1,000,000) prepared by the Military Geology Branch, USGS, for the Intelligence Division, Office of the Engineer, GHQ, FEC, 1951. This is a map of dominant soil types. The analysis here is based on this unclassified map. See also the discussion in Nuttonson, as cited, 37-48. The writer wishes to acknowledge the courtesy and assistance of Mr. Sherman Neuschel, Chief, Military Geology Section, FEC, and Mr. Carl Stensland, Soil Scientist, who participated in the survey of Okinawan soils. In Tokyo on my return, I profited from my discussions with Dr. Stensland, who also furnished me with grid computations for the village areas in which I was interested. 134 114 000

Estimated Acreage on Okinawa Island

134
133
[311]

2. The alluvial clays of the coastal flats and flood plains (Awase clay). These are also deep and fertile. Lack of water prevents extensive rice cultivation. About 60% of the area is in sweet potatoes and other dry land crops, another 30% in settled areas or military installations, and 10% in rice. These are olive, gray colored soils, of calcareous clay. They also have a low surface gradient. The water table is close to the surface, about two feet on the coasts, and near the surface in the interior valleys, except that in dry periods, it might be five feet below the surface or entirely absent. The soils are slowly permeable and slowly drained. They are almost absent from the north, common but scattered in the central and southern regions. About three-fourths of the area is found on coastal flats and one fourth on the bottoms of inland valleys. The greatest area is the coastal strip along Buckner Bay from the Katchin peninsula to Yonabaru, Bucknerville, most of the perimeter of the Chinen peninsula, a narrow strip in the Sukiran, Camp Kue coastal area, and another strip along the coast south of Naha. 16,200

3. The grayish brown loamy soils (Shioya loamy sand) with limestone grains, minor impurities and some organic matter, usually resting on coral sand. The soils, too porous for rice culture, have low fertility, and are nearly level on the raised beaches. They are widely scattered along the entire coast, but the individual patches are very small. Due to low fertility and the small area, the soils are not important. 2,650

[311]

4. The clay loams and the stony clays (Okinawa clay loams and Chinen stony clays). Both occur on limestone plains. These are fertile and well drained. "Both are very crumbly, or strongly granular; although clayey and plastic, they are porous, permeable, and of good tilth." Generally these soils are neutral with a tendency toward acidity when depth to limestone exceeds ten or fifteen feet. Seventy percent of this group is the Okinawan clay loam, with a top soil of a dark brown clay loam five to ten inches thick. Of the clay loams, totalling 30,500 acres, 22,400 have a surface gradient of 2-8%; 5200, 8-15% and 2900, 15-25%. 30,500

The stony clay (Chinen stony clays), "the shallow stony soil occupying 30% of the unit, consists of dark-brown to brown clay or clay loam with loose fragments and outcrops of the limestone bedrock." Stone occupies 10-30% of the surface of these soils. Over half of the 12,000 acres is gently sloping (2-8%), the remainder being steeper (8-15%) 12,000

Estimated Acreage on Okinawa Island

These soils on limestone plains are found chiefly in the central region, the extreme south, and along the northern coast of the Motobu peninsula. There are sizeable individual units throughout the island and on the offshore islands. These soils were found in the environs of all the villages studied. 134 133

5. The gently sloping Shuri clays. They are olive colored calcareous clays, slowly drained and moderately fertile. They are scattered in the central and southern regions. 9,300

6. The Upland Shuri Clays and rough broken land. The crumbly clay soils are "over bedrock of compact impervious clay." Sixty percent of the unit resembles the Shuri clays, but the soils are shallower and the slope is steeper. The steep areas are even shallower, and there are frequent outcrops of raw clay bedrock.

Sloping and hilly upland	18,200	
Steep escarpments	11,200	29,400

These soils dominate the landscape of the eastern part of the central region and much of the south. They are not found to any degree in the northern area. The gentler sloping parts are in dry land crops, but much is also idle land. The steep parts are in grass or in brush, the familiar genya land. [311]

7. The Ishikawa loams. These are deeply drained acid soils of low fertility. The thin surface is of a pale brown friable loam. It is an area suited to forestry. Of the 42,780 acres in the unit, 4480 are moderately steep, 3400 hilly, and 34,900 steep. 42,780

8. The shallow and acid soils of the mountains and hilly upland. These are the soils of low fertility of the northern forested area. They are shallow light colored acid loams with a prevailing gradient of 50-100%. 119,000

9. Rough stony land of limestone mountains and steep slopes. These patches occur in narrow ribbons throughout the island, but are most conspicuous along the Motobu peninsula, and the central region. The finger like ridges of the extreme south are notable examples. 14,900

311

If these acreage estimates are summarized showing the approximate areas for different types of land use, the

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

311 magnitude of the land problem stands out clearly:

Type of Use	Acreage
Total	287,630
Rice Fields	10,420
Dry Land Crops	57,715
Town Sites, Military Uses, etc.	19,595
Shrub, Grasses, Stony Land, Escarpments	27,800
Forest	153,900
Not Broken Down a/	18,200

a/ Probably mostly cultivated land with some in town sites, some idle, some in military installations.

What stands out is the high percentage of land in forest, shrub, grasses, stony land and escarpments that has little promise for future utilization. These soils now probably enjoy their best utilization.

[108] With a growing population and more economic activity, it is likely that areas in man made installations and settlement will increase, not decrease, and that further land for these purposes will come, not from the stony or forested soils, but from the arable land.

The soil survey documents what is apparent to general observation that the soils suitable for rice, and having water for its successful growth, are a minor percentage of the total area. The chief foods, it is apparent, must continue to come from dry land crops and slope cultivation.

134 311 Even though agriculture is and will continue to be the basis of the islanders' economic life, the lack of suitability of the soils for this purpose is especially striking. Improvement of agriculture, introduction of better methods of farming, the increased use of fertilizers, while effective, could only be a palliative when the total arable land for over five hundred thousand people is in the magnitude of 86,000 acres, if we include all the 18,200 acres in the above table which are not broken down. Even if this figure is too low, the mere fact that over 180,000 of the 287,630 acres is in forest, or shrub, grass, or stony land, and of low fertility is sufficient indication of the land use problem. These facts are supported by farmers' own appraisals of the nature of the soils of their island.

161 133 311 The following table, even if inaccurate, certainly states the problem in its proper magnitude:

Table 3

Population of Okinawa Island, 1950	517,600

Approximate area in square miles	454	161 133 311
Population density per square mile	1139	
Assumed area in cultivation in square miles a/	134.4	
Population density per square mile of arable land	3851	

a/ See discussion above. The 134.4 square miles is an approximation derived by adding the areas in wet rice, dry land crops, and 18,200 acres which includes land in cultivation, in town sites, military installations, and in idle land, a total of 86,335. An arbitrary approximation of 80,000 acres (134.4 sq. miles) was then taken, very probably too high a figure. Nuttonson, op. cit., p. 12, gives the cultivated area as less than one-fourth of the total area, or 67,200 acres. One of course must distinguish between cultivated land and land that can be cultivated, but 80,000 acres still seems a reasonable approximation.

If we look at the geography of Okinawa from the point of view of the total physical environment and not merely from the point of view of the amount of arable land available to support the people, we are forced to the conclusion that as a result of long settlement, a growing population and the destruction of the war, combined with periodic and inevitable property and crop damage from typhoons, that the environment is not suited for the comfort and well-being of large numbers of people. Intense fertilization will keep the good soils growing crops. Increase of trade and some industrialization may help as long as they do not lead to destructive exploitation of the forests, and some small help may come from the reclamation of unused or cut over land. 178 311 511

5

Conclusion

Almost one hundred years ago, one of the observers on Commodore Perry's expedition wrote, 114 174

> "That the island has been peopled for many ages, is evidenced by the graded roads and deep cuts, the structure and manifest age of the bridges, the antiquity of the villages, the great amount of stone-work in the towns and in the fortresses--some old and dilapidated, some modern and in repair; but, above all, by the incalculable amount of labor done in grading the land for culture. That which is now so perfect, could only have been made so by degrees, like structures reared by the ant or bee."[8]

8 Hawks, Perry's Expedition, as cited, II, 36.

198
199 There is something to add to the statement of Dr. Green. The fortresses have now disappeared. The same labor, the same minute care of the land which makes them gardeners instead of farmers in their fields, and conservationists of their cultivated and their wild land exists today. The changes of the landscape since that time have come within the last ten years, first through the destruction of war, which affected cultural installations as well as the natural environment, and the changes which have been made in the physical environment by the Americans. The bulldozer works alongside the hoe; the airplane takes off in sight of a horsecart. The new American homes overlook the thatched roofs of an ancient way of living. The water system of an army camp or military reserve, using thousands of gallons daily, exists beside the well, the community faucet, or pond with individual families using six or seven bucketfuls a day. The island has come a long way in the transformation of the natural landscape by the hand of man, beginning, one may suppose with the earliest interferences by fire and in the clearing of trees to the contemporary scene, where transformations, a combination of age old tools and of modern machinery, continue before our eyes.

121 It is in this ever changing physical environment, itself the product of long settlement and the intense change of a most recent past, that we must see the growing population, the everyday village life, the continuance of agriculture and soil care, the land, and the forests.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

CHAPTER II

INERTIA AND CHANGE

000

1. Introduction
2. Conjectural Minglings of Prehistoric Times
3. Events of the Early Historical Period
4. Inertia from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Centuries
5. Western Awareness of the Great Loochoo
6. Okinawa Island, the Capital of a New Japanese Province
7. Okinawa in World War II
8. Okinawa After the War

1

Introduction

Okinawan history is the story of inertia and change. Basil Hall Chamberlain, the distinguished Japanese and Ryukyuan scholar of the last century and grandson of Basil Hall who visited the island in 1816, said rightly in 1895 that "the general assertion may safely be hazarded that Oriental stagnation exists only in Occidental fancy."[1] 178 [114]

One of the reasons for this fancy is that there is a certain stability in parts of the culture, and from this circumstance it is often concluded that changelessness and lack of variety have characterised the historical experience of the people. Agricultural methods seem to have changed little with the centuries, though some of the tools are new. This stability in agriculture is another way of saying that a fine technology based on experience and empiric observation, had been developed, and that in the absence of modern scientific knowledge of soils, crops, plant pathology and fertilizers, it was the best technology possible under the circumstances. The tombs, introductions from China over five centuries ago, add to this impression of the changelessness of rural life. But this is more apparent than real when we look into the history of burial customs more closely. [242] [177] [269]

This view of Okinawan history in terms of inertia and change has meaning for the present. The American influence on Okinawa is not a new way of life that is conditioning a static society, but an important, forceful, and new intrusion in a culture that already has undergone fundamental changes in the past. Those who think within the framework of Western European and American history, those whose minds are trained to recognize the changes which have come about as a result of the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the beginnings of theoretical science in the seventeenth century, tend to neglect the rest of world history as relatively unchanging, or to see only those changes coming about from Western intrusions. This one sided interpretation, often expressed in the idea of the Europeanization or the Westernization of the world, should be supplemented with the insight that Oriental cultures have influenced and changed one another greatly and have still maintained their own distinctive features. Chinese influences have been strong in Korea, Japan, and the Ryukyus. But each of these cultures is separate and distinct, although, as one might expect, contemporary Okinawan society bears the strong imprint of long cultural and economic associations with Japan. 178 177

1 The Luchu Islands and their Inhabitants. Geo. Journal 5 (1895), 311.

2

Conjectural Minglings of Prehistoric Times

174 There seems to be little doubt that the settlement of these islands is the result of migration and invasion, and that in the early ages their history was one of contact, not of isolation. These contacts, a consequence of migration and invasion, whether direct or indirect, may have spread over two or three thousand years. This is important to bear in mind, for often in theoretical reconstructions of cultural history it is assumed that a culture has its origin in a period of early isolation and that is subsequent experience to the present is the history of the gradual blurring of its original features which have become increasingly influenced by the international community.

The two chief theories regarding the peopling of the Ryukyu Islands and of Japan are (1) that the southeastern and northeastern Asiatic influences came from the continent, probably by way of Korea. Advocates of this theory emphasize relationships with Korea, Manchuria, and Mongolia. (2) The island stepping stone theory, that the peopling came northward, perhaps via Formosa and the Ryukyus to Japan, is advanced by those who point to affinities with Indonesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia.

Presently held views, following the early lead of Chamberlain, are predominantly in favor of the first theory. Like Japan, the Ryukyus are thought to have been originally settled by peoples from northeastern Asia, perhaps similar to the Ainus of Hokkaido. The ancestors of the present Ainu are believed to have reached Japan "in at least three successive waves perhaps separated by long intervals of time." (Bishop).

This early Ainu settlement was followed by invasions of Mongoloid peoples, the effects of which were to force the Ainus north and west, with a few going south into the Ryukyus. While the original settlers of the Ryukyus are thought to be related to the Ainus, the evidence admittedly is meagre and has been questioned. Bishop has accounted for the southeastern Asiatic influences in Japan (and by inference in the Ryukyus, for he rejects the island stepping stone theory) by assuming areas of contact on the east Asian coast among the cultures of northeast China and those of the southeast, although the latter were not yet part of the Chinese culture. Cultural influences were transmitted along the Asian littoral, across Korea, or possibly the Shantung peninsula, to the Japanese islands.

The study of the Ryukyu Islands from the standpoint of modern Western standards of scholarship started with Basil Hall Chamberlain. His writings on Japan, and to a lesser extent on the Ryukyus, date from [114] the latter part of the nineteenth century. Since his time, further scientific investigation has been and will continue to be inhibited by political conditions in this part of the world. Advances in knowledge

of Okinawan prehistory will probably depend on research throughout a wide area and on the comparison and collation of discoveries already made in western Japan, south Korea, Quelpart Island, the Shantung peninsula, the Ryukyu Islands, Formosa, and China, particularly concerning the role of Fukien province in later times, to say nothing of determining the sources and routes of influences from southeastern Asia on Japan and the Ryukyus. Links with Polynesia and Hawaii have been suggested. Obviously present day political conditions are unfavorable for this type of inquiry. 174

The suppositions of which we have been speaking have led to the belief that the Ryukyu people, like the Japanese, are composed of the North Mongoloid, South Mongoloid or Malayan, and the Ainu type, but that the proportions are different, since there seem to be larger elements of the Malayan and Ainu types in the Ryukyu Islands. Whether these reconstructions are correct or not, the significant fact is that the islands owed their peopling to migration and invasion, and that culture mixture and contact is of very ancient origin.[2] [144]

The Ryukyuan creation myth is a crystallisation of ideas that must have been long dominant at the time they were recorded. There are two versions of this myth, one simple, the other, as Spencer points out, more complex and probably reflecting the influence of new and foreign ideas. The first of these versions appears in Ryukyu Shindoki, written about 1603 A.D., the second in the Kyu Yo, a Chinese translation of a work by Haneji Tomohide entitled Chusan Seikan (1650).[3] 173 [175]

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 28--ANALYST]

2 Bishop, C.W. The historical geography of early Japan. Geo. Rev. 13 (1923), 40-63. See also this author's, The geographical factor in the development of Chinese civilization. Geo. Rev. 12 (1922), 19-41. For a recapitulation of the theories regarding the peopling of the Ryukyus, see Marshall T. Newman and Roman L. English, The Ryukyuan people: a biological appraisal. Amer. Journ. of Physical Anthropology, 5 (1947), 114-24, and Binkenstein, R. Okinawa-Studien. Monumenta Nipponica, 3(1940), 196 ff. and the literature there cited. Chamberlain's ideas are summarized in The Luchu islands and their inhabitants. Geo. Journ. 5 (1895), 316-19. R. S. Spencer, The Noro, or priestesses of Loo Choo. Trans. Asiatic Society of Japan. 2d Series. 8 (1931), 94-112, especially p. 94. For a recapitulation of Ryukyuan history, see C. A. Handbook, as cited, 13-31 and John R. Potter, A Preface to Liu Ch'iuan history: an analysis of the basis for establishing a United Nation's Trusteeship. (Unpublished Master's Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1948. Leavenworth, Charles S. The Loochoo Islands. Shanghai, 1905. [194] [113]

3 This discussion is based on the article by Spencer cited above. Partial translations of the myths from the sources are reproduced here. See also Binkenstein, Okinawa-Studien, as cited, 198.

793 In the first version, a male person (Shinerikyu) and a female person (Amamikyu) descended from Heaven. Amamikyu without sexual intercourse gave birth to three children: the first son became the first ruler; the first daughter, the first priestess; and the second son, the first farmer.

In the second version, the male and female deities gave birth to a child. "They carried stones and earth to the edge of the sea and planted trees to keep back the waves." Mountains and forests thus made, "mankind sprung up." Knowledge was attained and one person divided mankind into classes. This man, Tenteishi, had five children: Tensonshi, the first son and first ruler; the second son, the first noble (ansu); the third son, the first farmer. The eldest daughter became the first kikoe-oh-gimi who later headed the institutionalized noro religious system. The second-
[793] daughter became the first priestess (noro).

173 The dynasty established by Tensonshi, according to tradition, lasted for twenty-five generations, 17,802 years, or until 1187 A. D. During this period, Okinawa was divided into three districts (magiri), Kunchan in the
[631] north, Nakagami in the center and Shimajiri in the south, divisions which remain to this day.[4] The districts were divided into mura or townships.
[243] "Wheat and millet were raised at Kutaka /a name of a magiri/ and rice was grown at Chinen and Tamagusuku."[5] There is reason to believe that Tensons
174 dynasty had its greatest control over what would now be the area of Naha, Shuri, Tamagusuku township, and the Chinen peninsula area.

793 In both myths, a female priesthood, as Spencer points out, is placed at the very beginning of Ryukyuan history. A king, lesser nobles, a female priesthood, and farmers were the basis of the culture.

3

Events of the Early Historical Period

175 Not enough is known of the early historical contacts between the Great
197 Loochoo and the Chinese and Japanese to warrant any conclusions regarding
648 influences which these countries could have exerted.

Chinese punitive expeditions took place in the early seventh century A. D., but the consensus of opinion is that the invasion of Great Loochoo resulted in no prolonged cultural contact or influence. Some Japanese

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 29 -- ANALYST]

4 Chamberlain, The Luchu Islands and their inhabitants, as cited, 306.

5 Leavenworth, Charles S. The Loochoo islands, 15. Quotation is from the manuscript history translated by Leavenworth, ibid, 77.

contact with Okinawa may have taken place in 743 A.D., but this may have been confined to the island of Kume, west of Naha, and not involved Okinawa itself.[6] 175 177 648

The modern Japanese contact with Okinawa which brought about the fall of the Tenson dynasty is associated with the arrival at Unten of Tametomo in the latter part of the twelfth century. Some have regarded this as historical, others as perhaps legendary.

Unten, on the Motobu peninsula, is one of the important places in the historical geography of Okinawa island. This is the Port Melville of the Western explorers, Hall and Perry, both of whom charted the bay and its harbor.

Tametomo, of the Minemoto clan, exiled after the final defeat of the Minemoto by the Taira clan in Japan, ultimately reached Unten and there married the daughter of one of the regional nobles, and after a period of civil war, the Tenson dynasty collapsed. In 1187 A. D., the son of Minemoto Tametomo by his Okinawan wife became King Shunten. Shunten, the first of three "Japanese kings," was followed by his son Shunna Junki (1238-1248), and his grandson Gihon (1249-1260). In 1260, the legitimate dynasty was restored under king Eiso.[7]

After his succession, Eiso toured the islands and is credited with setting regular boundaries to rice-fields. "It has been said that this greatly attracted the people so that they started to look after farming." Graves, according to a manuscript history, were first built in the island, at Urasoye, and the Buddhist temple, Gokurakuji was constructed with an officiating priest named Jenkan in charge of the temple.[8] 1764 [346]

The Japanese syllabary may have been introduced at this time. Buddhism apparently did not take hold. Chinese attacks on the islands in connection with the Mongol wars and the attempted invasion of Japan seem to have left no mark on the island. [218] [119]

The year 1372 is the beginning of the period of relationships with the Chinese, in this case, the Ming dynasty. This is contemporary with the growth of a vast trade network involving Korea, Japan, China, the Ryukyus, and Southeast Asia. It is not clear whether the trade voyages under King Satsudo (reigned 1350-1399) to South China, Malaya, and the Philippines were instrumental in stimulating the Ming dynasty to engage in the Pacific trade, or whether the forced alliance of the Ryukyus with the Chinese 175 648 439

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 30 --Analyst]

6 CA Handbook, as cited, 41, and Chamberlain, as cited, 306.

7 Chamberlain, as cited, 308

8 Manuscript history in Leavenworth, The Loochoo islands, 80. On the Japanese syllabary, see Chamberlain, as cited, 308.

1195 648 1439 empire provided the incentive. The central district of Okinawa became an entrepot in the triangular China-Ryukyuan-Japan trade. In the beginning the cultural interchange was a consequence of sending Chinese ambassadors to assist in the investiture of Ryukyuan kings and the travels of Ryukyuan emissaries to Peking. Naha in Okinawa and Foochow in Fukien were ports of entry and exit for the travellers.

The Ryukyuan emissaries left Naha for Foochow on the Min river in Fukien and then began the trip north to Peking. Ryukyuans brought copper, tin, and sulphur and received brocades and silk in return. The Ryukyuan as well as ambassadors from Korea, Annam, Burma participated in this official reception at Peking.[9]

The first contact with Chinese learning has been dated at 1392, when the son of the king and the son of his master of camp were allowed to attend the Imperial College. The usual route from Naha to Foochow became a cultural corridor joining China and Okinawa. This contact with Chinese learning and writing lasted until the Japanese annexation in 1879. Hall in 1816 and Perry's staff in 1853 mentioned the devotion among the higher [565] classes to Chinese learning, and though this no doubt was confined to those residing in Naha and Shuri, it was this Chinese educated class that ruled the island. With this learning too, there came the ideals of the [641] Confucian state and its five relationships, parent-child, husband-wife, [533] friend-friend, younger brother-elder brother, and subject-sovereign, which were reflected so forcefully in the family system and in the state as well. This coloring of the whole government, composed of men with Confucian ideals gradually changed, says Spencer, following Iha, "the whole mental outlook of the male population, at least around Shuri. This would, per- [562] haps, not extend inland, and was not given to the women." In the country-side the influence of women, through the noro system, was still strong. This Confucian ideal of the state, as Spencer and Iha have suggested, [999] probably had a great deal to do with the dis-establishment of the noro system as a state religion in the seventeenth century.[10]

In the reign of Sho Shin (1477-1526), there were further foreign contacts and domestic consolidations. Buddhism was encouraged and in [999] fact reintroduced, this time from Korea. The Okinawans requested from their Korean "suzerain" the sutras, the Buddhist canon, and religious objects in 1462, 1479, and 1483.[11] Chinese artifacts, books, and other articles were imported, and palaces on the Chinese model were constructed at Shuri. Chinese customs, dress by rank order, and the Confucian ideal of the state became part of the culture of Naha and Shuri, probably less so in the other parts of Okinawa.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON TOP OF P. 31 -- Analyst]

9 Binkenstein, Okinawa-Studien. Monumenta Nipponica 3 (1940), 201-02. Binkenstein, Zur Frage der Ryūkyū Gesandtschaften. Monumenta Nipponica 4 (1941), 264-67. For the route to Peking, see p. 266.

10 Spencer, as cited, 108-09. Quotation is on p. 108.

11 Haguenauer, Relations du royaume des Ryūkyū avec les pays des mers du sud et la Corée. Bulletin de la maison franco-Japonaise. Série française. T 3, No. 1-2. Comptes rendues, 114.

These foreign introductions were accompanied with the reinforcement of a native institution: the elevation of the female priesthood to what amounted to a state religion. This institutionalizing of a native religion did not mean the exclusion of foreign religions or foreign ideas. The king used the noro system to bind his realm together: at the same time, he reintroduced Buddhism, himself becoming an adherent. The priestess of the Sho household, that is the royal house, was removed "to a place without the palace, but near the main gateway" of the palace at Shuri, signifying the closeness of the chief priestess to the royal house, the extension of the system to all the islands, and the centralization, both of religious and political life. Political institutions, borrowed from China and in a Confucian mold, with the dominance of the male in the family and in the government, now existed side by side with the hierarchy of priestesses whose power rested not only on royal patronage but on an economic security whose basis was ownership in land. With the passage of time, it was the order of priestesses that gave way to the male dominated Confucian ideal. This Confucian idea of the state, a combination of the individual morality of Confucius with the ideas of statecraft of the legists developed in the Han dynasty, retained its hold until the Japanese did away with the monarchy.[12]

175 178 793 799 640 [199] [562]

The new government with its capital at Shuri, a port at Naha, a royal granary at Kung, and the town of Tomari, was rigidly departmentalized along Chinese lines.[13]

175 199 640

The Ryukyuan kingdom, from the middle of the fourteenth to the second half of the sixteenth century was part of a great trade network. This included the Great Loochoo, Korea, Japan, China, Siam, and with the port of Malacca as the center of the trade. The normal route was from Naha[14] along the coast of Fukien province, stopping at Foochow, up from the mouth of the Min River, along the coast of the Campa (modern Indo-China), thence to Malacca. From here, it was possible to trade with the islands of the Sunda (Java) seas, Siam, and with the province of Pataai on the east coast of the Malay peninsula, south of the isthmus of Kra. From Naha, the products of Japan, Korea, and Central China were brought to Malacca; from Malacca, essences, various woods, pepper, sugar, ivory, and articles of Portugese and Arab manufacture were brought north. The various traders brought back to the Great Loochoo Chinese money, Ming porcelains, and silks of south China. There were Korean, Chinese, and Japanese colonies

175 439

[Text Continues TOP of P. 32--analyst]

12 Spencer, as cited, 103. On the role of the legists in political Confucianism in China, see Fitzgerald, China: a cultural history, 103-04,156.

13. For interesting details, see CA Handbook Ryukyu (Loochoo) Islands, 103.

14 The age of Naha, I believe, is unknown. Under King Satsudo in the late fourteenth century, and in the period of trade of which we are speaking, Naha had a sudden expansion. There were three channels into the harbor, the northern "Yamatoguchi," used by the Japanese, a center one, "Karefuneguchi" (literally Chinese ship terminus (mouth)), and a "Miyakoguchi", the south channel which was used by the ships engaged in trade with the Sakishima group. Simon, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, 36.

115 439 at Naha, and junks from the south seas touched at that port. Loochoeans in this manner became known to the Portugese.[15]

115 648 Political relationships with countries other than China had accompanied this trade. Following the establishment of relations with China in 1372, there were contacts with Korea in 1389 when the woods from the southeastern trade, paper, and other articles originating in Indo-China and the East Indies were presented by King Satsudo of the Ryukyus to the Korean court. Those relations with Korea were renewed in 1392 under the new Yi dynasty. The usual route north was from Naha to Hakata in Kyūshū to the Korean port of Pusan on the southeast coast, thence overland to the capital city of Seoul. Relationships between the two peoples finally broke off in 1500, although Koreans actually were settled in Okinawa and some were evacuated in 1574.

This was therefore a period of considerable cultural contact with China, Japan, Korea, and with the countries of Southeast Asia, and indirectly with the arts and manufacture of the Mahomedan world and of the Portugese in the crossroads port of Malacca.

115 648 439 This lively and important trade was brought to an end through three situations: the existence of Japanese pirates, necessitating, at a period toward the close of the era, hiring Japanese Buddhist priests as ambassadors and cargo protectors, (2) the appearance of the Portugese in the East China Sea, and around 1542 at Tanegashima, one of the northern islands of the Ryukyus southeast of Kyūshū, and (3) the maritime expansion of Japan in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the coup de grace to the Ryukyuan trade.

115 109 369 It is likely that many of these outside contacts, even up to the end of the nineteenth century, really affected Naha and Shuri, and that the rural areas were essentially unchanged. This would mean that the two cities had a culture revealing a strong Chinese influence, but also of Japan and perhaps indirectly of other nations, while the rural areas languished in the older elements of the folk culture, such as the priesthood dominated by women. Other facts which will be brought out in the chapters to which they belong tend to substantiate this interpretation that we cannot speak simply of a homogeneous Okinawan culture.

115 648 [439] The conquest of the islands by the Japanese in 1609 was a consequence of the growing trade that had developed with Japan, first with the Shogunate, later, more specifically, with the Satsuma clan. Ultimately the Satsuma clan succeeded in displacing the Shogunate in the Loochoo trade and with the conquest of 1609 the kingdom came under Satsuma influence,

[TEXT Continues TOP of P. 33--Analyst]

15 On this trade, which is much too complex to treat in a short summary, see Haguenauer, as cited, 4-16. Much new material appeared in two articles by R. Binkenstein, Zur Frage der Ryūkyū Gesandtschaften, Monumenta Nipponica, 4(1941), 256-69, and Die Ryūkyū-Expedition unter Shimazu Iehisa, ibid, 622-28.

Amami Oshima and the northern islands being directly ceded, the others agreeing to vassalage. 175 648

From this time until the seventh decade of the nineteenth century, the Ryukyu kingdom existed, acknowledging both suzerainty of China and vassalage to Satsuma in a twilight of sovereignty which statecraft and the political realities of the time did not find it necessary to resolve.

During this period of contact with other countries, an intrusion of an entirely different order, but what must have been of revolutionary consequence, was the introduction of the sweet potato in 1605. "In the 10th year /1605/ Hoguni Tsunkwan imported sweet potatoes from China. Mashi Oima Uyakata Shinjo obtaining them, planted them in the fields, and in a few years they were raised all over the islands.[16] In view of the widespread reluctance of peoples to adopt new foods, the swift acceptance of the sweet potato is noteworthy. It must have furnished the means of subsistence for a much greater population. The topography, the soils, the fewness of valleys, alluvial plains, and marsh land could not have permitted the growth of rice to feed great masses of people as in China and Japan. This dependence on the sweet potato has persisted to this day. Modern accounts mention the reliance of the ordinary Okinawan on the sweet potato, and in times of stress on the sago palm, or cycad. Rice is seldom if ever mentioned as the food of the common people. 175 177 267

Scarcely had the sweet potato reached Okinawa, when it was carried to Japan. At first it was known as the kara-mmu (Okinawan) or Karaimo (Japanese), that is the Chinese potato. When it reached Satsuma in Kyūshū, it became known as the Luchuan potato; as it spread northward and eastward in Japan, the Japanese, believing the plant to be a native of southern Japan, called it the Satsuma potato (satsuma imo), and it is by this last name that the sweet potato is known in Okinawa to this day.[17]

4

Inertia from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Centuries 175 178

The period 1609 to 1871, when the Japanese took their initial steps toward the eventual incorporation of the island of Okinawa within the empire, was a quiescent one, continuing a pattern of life already set. The ideals of the Confucian state were strong. In the 17th century, it [642]

16 Quoted from a manuscript history in C. S. Leavenworth, The history of the Loochoo Islands, 88. "Native historians," says Chamberlain, "inform us that it was acclimatized in Luchu and passed into common use within the short period of four years after its first introduction." No further sources are given. Chamberlain, as cited, 302.

17 On the fortunes of the sweet potato in Japan, see Rein, The industries of Japan, London, 1889, 65.

succeeded in shearing the noro system of much of its political power. During the early part of the 18th century, there was an improvement in agricultural methods and in forestry conservation, associated with the name of the statesman, Hozui Saion (1682-1761).[18] Saion was a descendant of a Chinese who had settled at Kune near Naha. He is said to have planted several kinds of trees, including the pine, the Japanese redwood (sugi), and the maki (in Japanese; podocarpus ssp.) Saion is well remembered in Okinawa. In Matsuda, I was shown trees which were said to have been planted along the road to Ginoza during Saion's lifetime and at his inspiration. There are stories told in the forest areas like Matsuda, crediting Saion with intentionally inventing superstitions to prevent people from cutting down the trees. In 1951, a Saion commemorative stamp was issued, and his name is used frequently in forest conservation literature and in posters. Whether Saion was the medium through which agricultural techniques of Japan or China were introduced, or whether these improvements came from his own initiative and study of local conditions, I have been unable to determine. In any case, the teachings of Saion on agriculture and forestry must have reached to the rural areas, improving the agricultural possibilities and encouraging planting trees and preserving the forests, constantly subject to destruction through fire, carelessness, and merciless cutting for firewood, as has been the case in many parts of China. These improvements, with the advantages from the introduction of the sweet potato one hundred years earlier, took place within the framework of a political and social and religious system that had now been well established.

5

European Awareness of the Great Loochoo

The Loochooans were known to the Portugese through the trade centering at Malacca. The Portugese explorer Pinto had visited Tanegashima around 1542. Captain Broughton had been shipwrecked on Miyako to the south in 1798. But the western exploration of Okinawa itself was reserved for later times. During the nineteenth century, the Europeans, then the Americans, became aware of the people of the Great Loochoo.

The first detailed observations based on personal contact date from the works of Captain Basil Hall, and his surgeon, William M'Leod, who

[Text continues top of p. 35--Analyst]

18 In the manuscript history reproduced by Leavenworth, there is this passage: "In the 20th year of Kyoho [1735], Hozui Saion fixed a system for the protection of forestry, and a forestry office and shipping office were established." Op. cit., 89. Saion's famous work, Eight Volumes of Forest Administration, I am told was destroyed in the war. Chamberlain, as cited, p. 310, says that Loochooan polity in the 17th century crystallized in a form it wore from then on.

had been directed by the British government, at the conclusion of the Napoleonic wars, to discover and chart waters and routes in the Far East, especially along the China shore. 175 648

Hall found in Okinawa a people who knew nothing of the English or the French. They were acquainted only with the Chinese, the Japanese, and the Koreans. The Okinawans of his day apparently had forgotten any memories of their seafaring in the centuries and this ignorance of their neighbors was reciprocated by the Filipinos.[19]

Halls book describing his journey along the west coast of Korea and to the Great Loochoo, with its engravings and a vocabulary of Loochooan words, is written with spirit and great charm.

Hall's and M'Leod's accounts were very favorable to the Okinawans. They describe an honest, peace loving, unworried people, with neither money nor arms, kindly and hospitable, without guile. According to him, they were gentle and kind, secure within the classes in which their society was organized (and the social distinctions that went with it), adhering with tenacity to their own customs, gracious to those of others, an island of quiet beauty, fertility, and repose. In the manner of the voyages and travels of the times, there are wisps of information about many things, exhaustive accounts of none. Hall described the agriculture, the square plots of rice fields divided from one another by small banks of earth, the picturesque villages with their hedges, arbors, and the creepers over the bamboo, the dress according to rank, the casual attitude toward religion, domestic animals, the lack of carts and wheeled vehicles, the horseshoe tombs, and the tattooing, not of the women, but of the fishermen. [187]

Considering the difficulties Hall and his men had in landing, the endless importunity and cajolery required to get permission to walk along a village road, for the Okinawans were willing to feed, provision and entertain the travellers but were in no mood for guided tours, he has much of interest to record of the island and its people. The expedition travelled around the southeastern and eastern part of the island, made a poor map of the Great Loochoo, and named the town of Unten--called by him Conching or Winching--Port Melville, after the first lord of the Admiralty.

M'Leod's book covered much the same ground. He wrote also of the priestesses (the noros), of the irrigation systems, the Loochooans' lack of money, their use of ginseng, and mentioned the extensive forests.

[Text Continues on Top of P. 36--Analyst]

19 Hall, Voyage to Corea and the Great Lew Chew, 184: "At Manilla [sic] we found that the Great Loo-choo Island was known only by name. There appeared to be no intercourse between the two places." Page 184, footnote. There was some memory of Broughton's shipwreck on Miyako.

175 648 In April 1844, the French corvette Alcemène landed at Naha to open up negotiations for trade with France. The local official protested to the French commander that the islands were sterile, provided only a little rice, had no gold, copper, or iron, and that from antiquity they had engaged in a modest trade in rice with the neighboring islands, if drought or floods did not interfere. He implored the French not to land because of the unhealthy climate. The French response was gracious, but a landing was made and a friendly interchange followed. This visit was the beginning of the French [199] missionary effort in the Ryukyus.[20]

175 Belcher's Narrative of the Voyage of H. M. S. Samarang (1848) describes some explorations in Okinawa, but his materials for this island are disappointing.

These earlier travellers generally concerned themselves with casual observations, as they came to the eye, on such subjects as marriage and burial customs, hairdress, religion, and clothing, but on the less colorful and more commonplace but just as important subjects as the family system, land tenure, and land use there is virtually no mention.

The Perry expedition, which first arrived at Okinawa and anchored at the port of Naha on May 26, 1853, made outstanding contributions.[21] The expedition explored large parts of the island. Previous observers had only touched the coasts or described the areas around Naha and Shuri and Unten. A series of technical papers on such subjects as agriculture, ethnology, and plant and animal life were prepared. Observations were made of court, town, and everyday village life. It is the last document, based on personal observations and exploration, and written from a modern point of view, which appeared before the Japanese formally took over the island and introduced the changes in the last two decades of the century [177] that were to affect the daily life both of the villages and towns and alter the culture fundamentally.

The land explorations of the Perry expedition, as far as can be determined from the various place names and landmarks which in the account can be identified, included the south, the central, and parts bordering on the northern district of Kunigami. The exploration started from the home of the unhappy Dr. Bettelheim, a converted Jew and the resident missionary in Naha. Bettelheim told the members of the party what he knew of the language, Okinawan knowledge of arms and of money, and of their religion. From Naha, the explorers went to Tumai, subsequently

[text continues top of p. 37 -- analyst]

20 Cordier, Henri. Les français aux iles Lieou K'ieou. Mélanges d'histoire et de géographie orientales. Tome 1, 296-317.

21 See Hawk's Narrative of the Expedition, especially Vol. I, chapters 7-9, 11, and 17, and Vol. II which contains the specialized articles on various aspects of the exploration. See table of contents for the Loochoo articles.

175

a suburb of Naha, thence to Shuri. They turned north, passed the ancient fortress of Nakagusuku, went over to the east coast, proceeding to the vicinity of Kanna. In Matsuda, which the exploring party apparently did not reach, there is still a story about Perry's expedition. It concerns a carving on stone placed on the top of a dramatically shaped rock on the seashore. According to local residents, this carving remained in place until it was shot off by an American soldier during the war.

Roughly around Kanna, the party crossed the island to the South China Sea or western side, and reached the village of Un-na (modern Onna), an engraving of which appears in the narrative and also in Bayard Taylor's India, China, and Japan. The return trip was down the coast, and the road led through Hachinato back to Naha. Coastal explorations were extensive. A new chart was an immense improvement over Hall's. Special attention was given to the Unten (Port Melville) and Shah Bay (Miyagishima and the area south of Ogimi).

Bayard Taylor, the famous traveller who had joined the expedition and wrote parts of the narrative, spoke of the interior of Okinawa in 1853 as a "terra incognita," and he was not exaggerating as far as Western knowledge was concerned.[22] This probably applied to the Japanese as well, for their stations were in Naha and an administrator or scholar of the Tokugawa era probably found little in agriculture, plant life, land tenure, and local history and ethnography to interest him.[23]

Upland agriculture, the hoeing of sweet potatoes, the planting and transplanting of rice, the manufacture of sugar were described much as they can be observed to this day in parts of Okinawa. They noted a sameness and a lack of variety in plant life, the planting of pines along the highways, the fences used as protection against the wild boar. The communal land system was remarked upon, the writers thinking it a "metayer system," that is a form of share-cropping in which the proprietor of the land and the cultivator receive equal, or agreed upon proportions. They described houses built on small stilts, the compounds, and the village granaries. They strolled through villages, poked their heads into huts, and wrote about the utensils in the kitchens. They theorized about the possible origins of the people and their connections with other races, discovered lingams which were interpreted as the ruins of "ancient Hindoo idolatry." They spoke of the glossy upswept hair and the hair pins according to rank. [241] [137] [421] [342] [302]

The village granaries are gone; so has the land system and the costumes, and the long swept up hair of both sexes. Agricultural techniques and the care of the land have remained. [198]

[Text Continues Top of P. 38 -- Analyst]

22 See Bayard Taylor's A visit to India, China, and Japan, in the year 1853. Chapters 30, 33, 36.

23 In the early 17th century the Japanese explored the island, took a census, and reorganized political administration. CA Handbook Ryukyu (Loochoo) Islands, 40.

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195 This last document, written prior to the complete absorption of Okinawa into the Japanese social and political system is still worth careful study. The conditions it describes were probably true for the ensuing thirty or forty years. It is a last glimpse of a culture before being exposed to Western influences indirectly through the Westernization of Japan, which was then just beginning. The Okinawa of 1853 was a terra incognita, but the intervening years have brought many new changes and circumstances throughout the world, and the terra incognita of one age has become a household word of another.

6

Okinawa Island, the Capital of a New Japanese Province

195 177 648 One might well ask why the Japanese changes beginning in the latter part of the nineteenth century were so revolutionary, when Japan had exercised an influence in the twilight zone of sovereignty over the islands with China since the early seventeenth century. The answer, I think, is that in the earlier period, Japanese influence was confined largely to the upper level of government, particularly to the handling of foreign relations and trade, and to supervising any contacts between the Okinawans and the Western nations. The members of Perry's expedition mention that there was spying everywhere and that these spies were Japanese in Loochooan dress, an observation about internal espionage not made by Hall about forty years earlier, though it existed from the Japanese conquest of the seventeenth century.

195 177 After the Japanese made the Okinawan king a Japanese marquis, their influence, though gradual, reached down into the masses of the people. A systematic effort was made to replace the old life with the new Japanese ideas, themselves a compound of traditional practices and innovations derived from the west.

Although the Ryukyuan monarchy was restricted in 1871, the prefecture was not actually established until 1879. But the cultural domination of the islands, as distinct from political and police control, must be dated, inexactly, later. The readiness of Okinawans to abandon Chinese customs and to accept Japanese customs seems to have increased after the success of the Japanese in the sino-Japanese war of 1894-95. After the war, the former king of the islands cut his hair, a symbol of acceptance of a more modern way of doing things.

In this period, whether we date it from 1871, 1879, or 1894-95, to the beginning of World War II in Asia, the Japanese made several fundamental changes in Okinawan society. These early changes coincided also with a period in which the Japanese were most hospitable to Western influences. The changes within Japan ranged from the reorganization of the government, a new educational system, the inauguration of a Western calendar, the establishment of post offices and telegraphs to erases and

fads of Western inspiration. Vaccination, the calendar, European dress for officials, photography, edicts against long hair belong to the late 1870's. Chamberlain has spoken of the years 1885-87 as the "years of the great foreign fever."[24] Japan was the medium through which Western ideas were brought to bear on the old Okinawan culture. This new intrusion, indirectly set off both by the Perry expedition and the determination of the Japanese to change their own country, was modern Japan, compounded of traditional and Western ideas. When we speak of the "Japanization" of the islands, we must remember that some of this is also Westernization. 195 197

Foremost among these changes was the introduction of the new Japanese education. Education came to the rural areas and provided the basis, as in Japan, for mass literacy. This was not an easy task. Nor was it accomplished at once. Chamberlain in 1895 tells of the signs at the entrance to each village, giving the population, the number of children of school age and the number of children actually attending school, a "device not used in Japan itself, but resorted to here with the object of shaming parents into sending their children to school. To get the girls sent there has been found very difficult--the Further Isles almost impossible." The extent of this change can be appreciated by Chamberlain's further remark that few outside of Naha understood Japanese, and that the language was taught the first year so that it could be used later in instruction in other subjects.[25] Before World War II, as now, Japanese was spoken and understood by all, except the very old, the Japanese language existing side by side with Okinawan which remained the language of children, intimates, and of the village. The adoption of Japanese dress, the cutting of the hair, the learning of the Japanese language were the avenues to official employment. 195 197 812 [191] [464]

Another great change was the abolition of the old system of land tenure, something we shall dwell upon at length later. By a series of laws over the period 1899-1903, the old system of village communal ownership with a periodic distribution of the rice lands and the dry crop land was abolished and private ownership and inheritance of land were instituted. The abolition of the old land allotment system must have changed the aspect of the villages, for village-owned granaries, were part of the central area of a village.[26] This change in land tenure, as Spencer has suggested, contributed to the further economic decline of the native religion of the noro priestesses whose lands, still retained, were now subject to different laws of inheritance.[27] 195 197 423 [343] [093]

[TEXT CONTINUES ON TOP OF P. 40 — ANALYST]

24 Basil Hall Chamberlain. Things Japanese, 238. See his comments on "fashionable crazes," 155-57.

25 The Luchu islands and their inhabitants, as cited, 457-58. Chamberlain adds, page 457, an interesting table showing school attendance by district which indicated that eligibles going to school were in a distinct minority.

26 Hawks, Perry's Expedition to Japan, as cited, I, 314; II, 34.

27 The Noro, or priestesses of Loo-choo, as cited, 109. This is an interesting example of the relation of an old religion to economic changes brought about by a revolution in land tenure induced from above.

175 167 Another departure from the past was that Okinawans, soon after the turn of the century, were provided with opportunities for emigration. The history of Okinawan emigration is not well known. But in the twentieth century, the people of Okinawa changed from an almost complete ignorance of the outside world to one of the most widely travelled and informed peoples of the Orient. Okinawan settlements in the twentieth century were scattered in many parts of the world, such as Peru, Argentina, Brazil, Hawaii, and the Japanese mandates of the Pacific, Singapore, Japan, Manchuria, and Korea. The cessation of this historic emigration is an event pregnant with meaning for the future. The population and its natural increase now must subsist on the island.

175 487 [238] [161] Late nineteenth and twentieth century improvements in roads and communication, modest as they were by American standards, broke down some of the isolation of the three districts of Okinawa. The forests and the lack of roads to the north had always discouraged contact. Much of the trade in firewood between the north and the south, even up to the recent war, was done by ship. Elsewhere there were only paths and in the north, not even these. In 1895 Chamberlain wrote of the sparsely inhabited northern (Kunigami) forest area whose inhabitants were "despised for their poverty and rough speech by the natives of the central and southern provinces." Later on he remarked about the "groans of Japanese officials when obliged to go their country rounds," and, that, in the north it was necessary for them to carry a tent.[28]

175 190 240 As the main island in the newly created province (ken) of Japan, Okinawa benefitted from the scientific approach to agronomy pursued enthusiastically by the Japanese, in contrast with the Chinese and the Koreans before their annexation. Concentration on the development of suitable varieties of rice, the study of sugar cane, plant disease and agricultural techniques represented a body of knowledge that could be applied with local adaptations to all parts of the empire.

175 178 565 [511] Direct Japanese annexation meant also the disappearance of the top heavy native nobility or gentry (shizoku) to be displaced by the Japanese elite, although membership in the Okinawan nobility continued to be recorded in the family registers up to the recent war. The displacement of the old higher social classes resulted in a certain levelling of all the people, a levelling which continued up to the war, and was accentuated in an economic way by the widespread impoverishment of rich and poor alike in the campaign for Okinawa.

7

Okinawa in World War II

175 648 The terra incognita described by Bayard Taylor in 1853 became the

28 Chamberlain, as cited, 294, 459

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scene of the final campaign of World War II. American landings were made on the Kerama Islands, about 15 miles west of Okinawa on March 26, 1945. By March 29, they had been conquered. The occupation of Keise Island, about eight miles west of Naha, followed soon after.

Plans for the invasion of Okinawa were centered on two areas, the Higashi beaches north of Naha, and the Minatogawa beaches in the southeastern part of the island. The Higashi beaches were finally chosen. On April 1, the invasion began with a simultaneous feint landing above Minatogawa. The invasion was immediately successful, and by the second of April, the American force had patrols on Nakagusuku Bay and occupied the highlands in its vicinity. American troops, athwart the island, had effectively cut it in two. Thenceforth, the main fighting was in the south. The Japanese forces had also been divided.

By the 4th of April, the United States Tenth Army held an area 15 miles long and from three to ten miles wide. The Japanese plan was to concentrate the defences around and north of the ancient capital of Shuri, with the other principal defenses at Naha, Yonabaru on Nakagusuku (Buckner) Bay. The initial fighting was concerned with American attacks on outposts to the north of the Shuri defense area, and with severe and unsuccessful counter-attacks by the Japanese.[29]

While the attacks on the Shuri defenses were going on, the Motobu peninsula, extending westward above Nago, was cut off and conquered on April 16-18. Ie Shima fell after the attacks of the 16th and 17th, and was declared secure on the 21st of April. In the south, the "Shuri defense ring," was breached between April 19 and April 24. "If any doubt remained about the kind of fighting that lay ahead before Okinawa could be won, it was dissipated by the heavy combat and high casualities experienced from 19 to 24 April in penetrating the first main ring of the Shuri defense zone."

General Buckner, however, rejected a proposed second landing on the Minatogawa beaches because of the difficulties in supply. In the 2nd Shuri defense ring, the Maeda escarpment was captured and a Japanese counteroffensive failed. The Americans were able to make an opening to the east of the Shuri line and thus could penetrate into south Okinawa. "At the end of the third week of May the fighting had penetrated to the inner ring of the Shuri defenses." Toward the end of May, two circumstances were clear: "Most of the big prizes--the port of Naha, the big anchorage of Nakagusuku Bay, Yonabaru, Shuri,

29 Appleman, Roy E., Burns, James M., Gugeler, Russell A., and Stevens, John. Okinawa, the last battle. (U.S.Army in World War II. Historical Division, Dept. of the Army). Washington, 1948. 51-52, 57, 68, 74, 76-77, 83, 93, 125ff.

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648

Naha airfield, and the flat coastal ground of Southern Okinawa were still effectively denied to the Americans, long after they had expected to capture them. / By the end of May, however, the flower of General Ushijima's forces on Okinawa had been destroyed."[30]

As American pressure continued, the Japanese command could choose between staying at Shuri, retreating south, or retreating to the Chinen peninsula. The second of these was chosen. The retreat of Japanese soldiers, dressed as civilians, from Shuri is believed to have started on May 22. The ruse was discovered by the Americans on the 30th; Japanese headquarters left Shuri castle around May 29, and by May 31, the destroyed capital was occupied.[31]

After the fall of Shuri, for the Americans the campaign became a task of pushing the Japanese into the sea, and, for the Japanese, one of exacting as many casualties as possible in a struggle the Japanese commander realized to be hopeless.

In the conquest of the south of Okinawa, Minatogawa, one of the villages studied in this report, became a forward unloading point. On May 31, the army boundary extended along the road joining the villages of Chan, Iwa, and Gushichan. Three major areas remained to be conquered. The Chinen peninsula was occupied "against light opposition that indicated an absence of enemy plans for a defense of that area." The Oroku peninsula, south of Naha, and commanding that port, fell on June 15. The last remaining stronghold was in the south. "With the elimination of possible defensive terrain on Chinen Peninsula and in central southern Okinawa, it was becoming evident by the evening of 3 June that General Ushijima intended to stage his final stand on the southern tip of the island, almost certainly on the Yaeju-Dake Escarpment..."

Using the port of Minatogawa, the fighting leading up to the attack and conquest of Yaeju-Dake proceeded through the villages of Gushichan and Hanashiro, the second village studied here, and including the dramatic struggles for Hill 95 in the vicinity of Hanashiro. "The battle for the southern tip of Okinawa blazed with orange rods of flame and became a thunderous roar of machine guns, shells, rockets, and bombs." Finally on Hill 89 near the village of Habuni, the campaign came to an end, 18-21 June 1945.

30 Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 146-48, 156ff, 181, 258 (Quoted), 262-63, 281, 301, 351, 360 (Quoted), 383 (Quoted).

31 Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 388, 392, 394, 400. For a dramatic description of the appearance of Shuri, see 400-02.

With the suicide, by harakiri, of General Ushijima and his Chief of Staff, General Cho, whose stars "have fallen with the setting of the waning moon over Mabuni,"[32] the island was conquered, and though it was not known at that time, this was the "last battle" of World War II.[33] 175 648

Unlike the Japanese, the Okinawans seemed unwilling to die when the alternative was death or surrender. They apparently did not take the emperor cult and State Shinto seriously, and though they were conscripted in the Japanese army, they did not identify themselves strongly with the war or its successful conclusion.[34] [103]

The Okinawan people showed remarkable ability to stand up under physical and mental strain. Many lived in caves for long periods, subsisting on whatever food could be obtained. Aside from filth diseases and lice infestations, the death of many of the very young, and some of the very old, they suffered little deterioration and recuperated under care of military government teams with the help of American foods and clothing. Professional observers were struck by their lack of mental collapse and breakdown, and one observer has suggested that prolonged breast feeding and free access to the mother's breast in infancy had given the people the emotional security to withstand the trials of the war.[35] [722] [727] [155]

8

Okinawa After the War

The war brought catastrophic upheavals to the civilian population, especially in those areas of greatest military activity. One consequence 175 727

[Text continues top of p. 44--Analyst]

32 Quoted from Okinawa, the last battle, from the account of a prisoner of war, 470.

33 The campaign was declared ended on July 2, 1945. Sources for the statements in this and the preceding paragraphs will be found on pp. 407, 422, 425 (Quotation), 426-27 (Quotation), 437-42, 441 (Quotation), 470 of Okinawa, the last battle.

34 These statements are based on personal conversations with Okinawans who lived through the war, either as soldiers or civilians.

35 Materials in the first part of the paragraph are based on personal conversations. The interesting thesis about breast feeding, which I believe has serious defects, will be commented upon in the section on family life. See James C. Moloney, Psychiatric observations in Okinawa Shima. The psychology of the Okinawan. Psychiatry 8 (1945), 391-99; and, with Charles R. Biddle, A psychiatric hospital in military government, ibid, 400-01. Of great interest are the first hand observations of the authors made at Ginoza hospital. For other comments on the behavior of Okinawans during the war, see Okinawa, the last battle, 48, 415-17, 463, 468.

175 was that large numbers of refugees from the south were sent to the
227 northern area. The destruction of the heavily populated south and cen-
[166] tral areas, with their many villages, gave new prominence to the nor-
thern district whose villages, much less damaged and less densely
populated, were now in the best preserved part of the island. The
roles of the two regions had, in a sense, been reversed. The northern
region was no longer a rustic hinterland.

In 1945, the Okinawans came under the direct military government
[648] of the Americans, and from these early beginnings, which in the heat
of conflict were scarcely more than compounds for the relief and care
of refugees, there has evolved the extensive present civil administra-
tion and the native government.

175 The Americans have thus been the most recent arrivals on an island
177 with a long history of inertia and change. The results of this last,
and probably greatest intrusion into the culture of Okinawa cannot yet
be predicted. This cultural influence is a stronger, certainly a
much different one, than the great changes which came about when the
Japanese set on their course to make over Ryukyuan, especially Okinawan
life.

The war years, with conscription and service in the Japanese army
[727] in other parts of the empire, the disruption and deaths in the war, were
[178] effective in preventing the handing down of the traditional culture from
one generation to another. This may mean a more ready receptivity to
newer influences. It will be clear in the pages that follow that many
aspects of the culture, familiar to the old, are now unknown to the young.

177 Whether the American influence will be a conservative one, in the
sense that the fundamental attitudes and framework of the culture as it
existed before the war, will be retained, or whether it will be a revo-
lutionary intrusion remains to be seen. Will, for example, the individualis
of the American culture tend to break down the structure of the family
system? Or will American influences assert themselves within the frame-
work of the culture, and will the flexible family system absorb only sur-
face influences, leaving the basic culture as it is?

175 On a preceding page, the point was made that in the earlier periods
there probably was not a homogeneous Okinawan culture, that its centers,
177 Naha and Shuri, were under strong contemporary Chinese and Japanese
influences, and that in the rural areas an older culture existed rela-
184 tively unmolested. This gap was narrowed after the island became the
seat of a province of the Japanese empire, through such measures as
the new land law and the introduction of mass education, direct inter-
ferences were made in the traditional life of the rural areas.

175 In my opinion, the American influence so far has been to close this
184 gap even more, but for different reasons. The Americans have made no
648 direct interferences in the lives of the villages, except in those cases

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in which villages have been moved and land preempted for military purposes. The devastation of the war, the mixing of the people, their dispersion as refugees throughout the island prepared the way for greater uniformity. Since the war's end, increased mobility, ease of transportation, the widening of the roads have done much to further obliterate sectional differences in this small island, scarcely sixty miles long.

During historical times, and probably during times now lost to an undocumented past, this island, far from being isolated, has been influenced strongly by other cultures. From the examples which have been given, one can at least gain an intimation of the stability and change that have characterized its experience, and some insight, no matter how slight, into the historical depth of a culture with which the Americans, in one form or another, and for some time to come, will be associated.

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PART TWO

THE OKINAWAN VILLAGE

CHAPTER III

VILLAGES AND THEIR SURROUNDINGS

1. Introduction
2. Hanashiro
3. Minatogawa
4. Matsuda

1

Introduction

In contemporary Okinawa, there are four distinct types of village settlement. The first and the most common is the village cluster. Houses are grouped in a central area, usually along or on both sides of a road, surrounded by farm lands and rice fields. The second, the shoe-string type, is less common. Here houses are lined along either side of a main street. The third is a here-and-there type of settlement. This has been called a yadori (Japanese) or yadui (Okinawan) village, translated as plantation, but this is too exalted a word.[1] These villages may have sub-settlements. Houses are scattered among intervening plots of cultivated land. In the fourth category are the modern improvisations: land formerly in forest, grass or shrub which has been reclaimed and used for houses and nearby cultivation, or former agricultural land now taken up for house sites, a result of increased population or of war time destruction of other parts of a village. 361 [311]

The basic type of Okinawan village is the cluster, a village small in area whose houses, close together, and on irregular winding lanes, are separated from one another by stone or rock walls, or by boundaries of trees or shrubs. The front part of the house compound usually is cut off from the road by a stone fence, running part way across, with the opening to the road obstructed by a stationary barrier, sometimes of stones, often of woven grasses. [351] [363]

In the village of a bygone age, there were large open spaces like a common on the outskirts "often appearing as glades in the forest." In this area, rice was laid out to dry, horse racing and other sports took place, the village council met, goods were bartered, justice administered, and festivals celebrated.[2] When approached from a distance, the older villages seemed literally buried in foliage. In the last century the larger villages still had rest huts (cung-qua) for travellers, usually government officials to use from one overnight stop to another. The older village also had a series of small buildings on stilts three to six feet long. These were granaries and food storehouses. Some houses were also on stilts. Older accounts have stressed the concealment of the Okinawan village, its houses separated from one another, its lanes lined or embowered with bamboo, with banana trees, or with arbors. To 361 175 [526] [35] [485] [343] [342]

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 48--ANALYST]

1 Higa, Shunchō. Structure of the Ryukyuan rural community. The Japanese journal of ethnology, 15 (1950), 63-66. In Japanese with English summary, 151.

2 The Luchu islands and their inhabitants, as cited, 457. See also Basil Hall, Account of a voyage of discovery to the west coast of Corea and the Great Loo-Choo island, 123, 124.

361 195 Perry's men, the aspect of these villages was one of rare and romantic beauty.[3]

2

Hanashiro

361 103 [491] Hanashiro is a small village of the cluster type in Gushichan township (Gushichan-son) in the southeastern part of Okinawa.[4] It is on the present Highway 64 which begins on the Chinen peninsula, travels southwesterly, following the coast at a distance to Mabuni in the southeast, then crossing the island to Nagushiku town, a village south of Itoman.

361 291 443 256 162 The village and its surroundings are small in area, the actual town site including various village owned properties, taking up slightly over 22 acres. This is an agricultural village, with the exception of minor activities such as storekeeping and rice milling. As of December 31, 1951, it had a population of 589 (269 male, 320 female), living together in 120 households, an average of 4.9 persons per household.

361 [103] [491] 175 349 631 The village is believed to have been founded about 400 years ago. By Okinawan standards this is not very old. It is off the main historical road which ran from Naha to Shuri to Kochinda, Gushichan, Minatogawa, through Tamagusuku township to the Chinen peninsula, probably the road travelled by Okinawan kings up to the latter part of the seventeenth century when they prayed at the altars on Kudaka Island.[5] There were in this area a series of castles on the tops of hills commanding the road and its approaches, the castles, the rough determinants of various regions formerly under a regional nobility. To the west there was Kochinda castle, Tamagusuku on the east, Gushichan castle near Hanashiro, where a surviving stone fence can still be seen, and the castle site of Itokazu. There is reason for believing, as we mentioned in Chapter 1, that this is in the general area of oldest settlement in the island.

[Text continues on P. 49 --analyst]

3 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, Vol. I, 163, 164, 179-80, and an illustration of a "cung-qua" on p. 180. On the older village with granaries and storehouses, see Green's remarks in Hawks, Perry's expedition, as cited, Vol. II, 34, 36, and illustration in Vol. I, 178.

[103] [192] 4 The village is also known as Hanagusuku: the meaning is the same, as shiro is the Japanese, gusuku the Okinawan word for castle. Many Okinawan place names have the suffix, —gusuku.

5 Spencer, The Noro, or priestesses of Loo Choo, as cited, 107.

The village is one of a series of settlements in a long narrow valley, on a limestone plain, bordered on the east by a steep ridge, up to 300 feet in elevation and running in a northwest and southeast direction, which divides the valley from the sea. On these cliff like formations, large outcrops are covered with shrubs and miscanthus grass. Lanes and roads lead from the valley floor to the summits of these hills, where villagers collect their firewood and grass for roof thatch. On the rocky, steep slopes of this seaward ridge, above the line of cultivation, is the tomb area. Precipitous and stony hills prevent cultivation, but occasionally a sharp tongue of land reaches far up the slope, its end protected from the rains and wash by a short stone fence. 361 133 [137] [491] [824] [764] [417]

Between Gushichan and Hanashiro village, there is a bridge over a small stream, its upstream course obscured by its dispersion in the rice fields. The dirt road, gradually ascending, cuts through the main rice growing area of the village, on a gentle slope, reflected in the bench cultivation of the rice fields. Here and there are large rocks and stony outcrops, with an occasional scrub pine, cycad, or a covering of miscanthus. Cultivation goes around these large stones. 491 133 [243] [137]

The road, about one-fourth of a mile from the bridge, soon leads into what looks like, from a distance, a densely wooded area. This is the settlement. 361

With the exception of the rough stony land of the limestone mountains and steep slopes, the soils of the area are the Okinawa clay loams and the Chinen stony clays lying on the limestone plains. The farm and village area takes up approximately 427 acres, of which 257 are in gently sloping Okinawa clay loams, a deep, well drained, neutral to slightly acid and very fertile soil. Another five acres is of the same type but these are in slopes, of a gradient ranging from 8-15%. There are 80 acres in gently sloping Shuri clays, shallow, moderately fertile, an olive colored, crumbly, calcareous clay; another 35 acres in the Awase clays, deep fertile, crumbly, calcareous clay of olive-gray color, and 14 acres of rough stony land. 134 133 311

The hillsides and the summits are free of densely growing trees and shrubs, and the lowlands are given over to cultivation. There are no groves of trees to protect the crops from typhoons. The trees and the protection they give are confined to the village. This is typical of many villages of southern Okinawa, where the hills and mountains have few trees, and dense growths are associated with habitation. 311

Inside the village, winding lanes branch off the main dirt road. The older houses are on the north side of the road. On the opposite side, the houses, newer or rebuilt since the war, adjoin the cultivated area. In the older section, the dense shrubbery, the tree lined lanes, broken occasionally by stone fences, wind through the village with footpaths branching off, sometimes past an open field, a reminder of a failure to rebuild after the war. On the northern outskirts is the village office, its gong in the yard, the open field, a playground for the children. 361 363 [417] [487] [367]

361
351 The village is a group of houses, each with its own compound, and these give it an inclosed look. There are few if any gardens or vegetable patches either in the compounds or within the village settlement.

363 The lanes resemble quiet winding country roads. The rock fences, or the lines of trees or shrubbery often conceal the houses. There is an appearance of loneliness in these lanes and roads, except at busy times of the day when the children return from school. The lack of commercial [482] activity, except for the women carrying rice on their heads to the mill [462] and for the small village stores, contributes to this impression of quiet, which one would expect from the routine of agriculture. At night, when [354] the doors are drawn, and when the flickering and smoky oil lamps are lit, the loneliness and quiet of the village is even more pronounced. The [493] lanes and the roads are deserted, save for an occasional passing truck, bicycle, or three wheeled cycle, and in one of the favorite words of all [192] Okinawans, the place is sabishii.[6]

366 Since there is little activity in the village other than farming, neighboring villages and distant towns supply the additional needs. At 368 nearby Gushichan village, there are the primary and junior high schools, the post office, the township and agricultural association offices, a barbershop, and some small stores. At Minatogawa, about one and one half miles away, there is a public bath, and across the river from this village, in Horikawa, an occasional play from the Okinawan stage, or a movie. Buses run through the village twice a day and one can make connections to Naha or Itoman, the two most likely places for buying [494] or selling. Or one can take the three wheeled cycles which pass through more frequently.

727 Physically, the village was much affected by the war. On June 11, 1945, the front line ran through the cultivated area between Hanashiro 362 and Gushichan villages. Hill 95, the scene of fierce fighting was in the vicinity of Hanashiro.[7] One can still see an occasional tank track, abandoned helmets and scattered fragments of war materials in the fields. The village was affected by the war in ways which are now observable indirectly in the makeshift houses, improvised shacks, the roofs of half [355] tile and half thatch, the odd additions to the older buildings partly destroyed, and the lack of drain pipes and water catchment tanks. Houses, which to superficial appearance, have existed for generations, have been rebuilt since the war with grass substituting for the tile roofs. [311] War operations over the cultivated areas also resulted in some loss of land. A long mound in the rice areas, with paths along its ridge, was formerly a road built by the Americans in the final drive toward Mabuni. Almost all the houses in the village were destroyed.

6 This Japanese word suggests both loneliness and melancholy.

7 Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 437 (illustration), 434-42 on the struggle for Hill 95.

Since the war, the old narrow one lane roads have been broadened, permitting heavier auto traffic. Land ownership has been undisturbed, for it is not in an area in which the military has required land. Since the war, the villagers have tried to return to their former way of life, but this has been done with poorer houses and fewer possessions. 363 403 511

3

Minatogawa

Minatogawa, the second village studied, formerly was a shoe string type of settlement. Houses, shops, drinking places were along the seawall road. This pattern is now altered as a result of the war. Scattered areas have been relocated and houses built on lands formerly used for sweet potatoes. It is now an indeterminate type of village, retaining some indications of its old settlement pattern along the main road, with additions of clusters of houses in the newly settled areas. 361 [275] [311] [244]

Like Hanashiro, this village is in Gushichan township, and located on Highway 64. It is directly on the main historical road, previously mentioned, which led from Naha to the Chinen peninsula. The road, along which its houses are built, parallels for a distance the estuary of the small Minatogawa river. This narrow estuary, called Usaregawa, which connects the river mouth with the Pacific Ocean, and the small river itself (Yuhigawa) is a boundary between Gushichan and Tamagusuku townships. On either side there are steep cliffs, the sites of the best known stone quarries of Okinawa. 361 133 [491] [316]

The settlement and the adjoining lands have an area of about 256 acres. It is a mixed economy village with three distinct occupational groups: fishermen, stonecutters, and farmers. There is a second village whose borders blend with those of Minatogawa. These two villages are now known officially as Minatogawa-ikku and Minatogawa-niku. The two terms can be awkwardly translated as Minatogawa first ward, and Minatogawa second ward. But popularly they retain their older names: Minatogawa for the fishing village, and Nagamo for the agricultural second ward. These two separate but adjoining villages were until 1925 a single village. 621 463

The division was the result of distinct differences in outlook and occupation between the two sections. Minatogawa is a fishing village and has strong ties with Itoman, a town on the East China Sea shore about 4 1/2 miles away. Nagamo is an agricultural community originally settled from Naha and Shuri. Stone-cutting operations spread over both areas. While the fishing village of Minatogawa was given the emphasis in this study, it will be necessary occasionally to include Nagamo in the discussion.[8] [226] [241] [324] [108]

8 The writer did not realize until he lived here that two villages were involved, thinking that the two wards referred to a single administrative unit. By this time the work on Hanashiro had been well started, and time did not permit the intensive study of Nagamo. 114

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The main road through Hanashiro. This is an unposed picture. The children happened to be playing along the road. Scars can barely be seen on the close clipped heads of the young boys. The poor non-descript clothing is typical. There is a high rock hinpun or stationary gate at the entrance to the compound. The tile roof here is out of the ordinary. The gajimaru tree, used for typhoon protection, is on the left. This is also Highway 64.

[P. 51 (A)]

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Treeless Minatogawa. This is the business district of the village. The buildings are small village shops. The building in the upper left is the village inn. The road winding toward the right is Highway 64 leading to Gushichan. Minatogawa stone is visible on the back of the store on the right of the picture. The low stone hedges in the foreground are typical of Minatogawa.

[P. 51(B)]

The people of Nagamo are farmers. The seat of their extended families is in Naha and Shuri, and they have their own local deity places (ujigami in Japanese). The people of Minatogawa are fishermen, their extended family seats are in Itoman. They too have their local deities and many of their religious ceremonies are centered around the gods of the sea and the dragon of the sea god's palace. 596 776 778

The population of Minatogawa, as of December 31, 1951, was 1108 (515 males, 593 females) in 213 households, an average of 5.2 persons per household, and of adjoining Nagamo, 564 persons (262 males, 302 females) with 113 households, an average of 5.0 persons per household. 162

The fishing village of Minatogawa is believed to be about 250 years old. It was founded, according to local residents, by the fishermen of Itoman who were accustomed to fish off shore near the islands around the southeastern and southwestern parts of Okinawa. The place was first established as a temporary location for the fishing boats and later permanent settlement took place. The tombs of Itoman are still the ultimate burying ground for large numbers of the Minatogawa fishermen. After 250 years the ties with the parent town are still strong. 361 173 [764]

The village has two traditions involving contacts with other peoples. The first is concerned with the Chinese. One is a spot on the shore where some Chinese are said to have landed over 200 years ago. Many fishermen pray to it on certain occasions of the year. Little is known of what happened to the Chinese, but supposedly they were buried high up the side of a steep mountain nearby, inside a cave with stalactites. Bones said to be of these Chinese may still be seen there. The cave is difficult of access. 173 177 [978]

There is also the tradition of London sailors said to have been shipwrecked at the port of Kiyan on the southwest tip of Okinawa. A child was born of the union of one of these sailors with an Okinawan woman and the sailor later returned to England. The tomb of the woman and the child is revered as a religious site. It is now a small shrine on the outskirts of Itoman called Rondongama, Rondon for London.[9] Old women of Minatogawa sing a song of this old love called Michinakankai. The theme of the song is the unashamed love of the woman for her departed London lover, an Okinawan anticipation of Madame Butterfly. [978] [533]

In this area the low, bare hills form in a haphazard way a series of valleys, some long and narrow, others like an amphitheatre with an open face to the sea. Low passes connect the valleys. One such pass, about 150 feet high, now on Highway 64, leads from the valley of 133 361

[Text Continues on Top of P. 53--Analyst]

9 The writer visited both the cave and the site near Itoman town in August 1951. The shrine is now situated on a small hill on the outskirts of Itoman. The bones were moved here during the war from Maisato village to escape Japanese bombing. A large cave nearby, associated with the mother and the child, is overgrown and very dangerous to enter because of the danger of snakes.

133 Hanashiro and Oushichan villages to a broad semi-circular valley, the
361 Oushichan plain, with a gentle gradient sloping to the sea. Shortly before the coast is reached there is a sharper drop, and it is in this depression along the shore and the coastal strip that the fishing village lies.

134 The Okinawan clay loams and the Chinen stony clays are also the
133 predominating soils of the area. There are about 85 acres of the gently sloping clay loams, 155 acres of the gently sloping Chinen stony clays. While moderately fertile and well drained, these soils are also shallow and stony, with obvious defects for the pursuit of agriculture. There are 10 acres of deep, fertile poorly drained, slightly acid alluvial soils. These occur along the river and its estuary and in a small former river mouth to the south. There are about six acres in rough stony land.

731 The village has very little storm protection. There are no shelter
133 belts around it, nor are there many trees within. It is open to storms
417 and typhoons, and the water, lashed by the sea, is sufficient to break and scatter the large stones of the seawall. At present, inside the village there is none of the privacy typical of the agricultural villages
361 and their compounds. There are few trees, shrubs, or fences. In the
351 older part of the village, the houses are closely set together. Fishing
225 nets hang on the lines of the yard. In season, the yard is covered with drying fish, fish fins, and fish backs. The yards and the shore are dotted with men cleaning or repairing their boats.

362 The lack of natural beauty of the place is accentuated by the poor-
512 ness of the houses and the other buildings. Its atmosphere is unmistakably
484 different. The village is more commercial and more lively than the quiet and concealed agricultural village. Life is not so much of a routine, for much depends on the weather and the sea. The village has people who have travelled widely. Some of its fishermen have been in the waters of Java, of the South Seas, of the Andaman Islands, the Philippines, and Indo-China.

438 The village's main commercial contacts are with the remaining
[311] agricultural villages of the township from which it must obtain much of its food, for the area is not suited to agriculture, nor is much land available. For wider contacts, there are Itoman about 4 1/2 miles, and
494 Naha about 8 1/2 miles away. Buses go through the village twice a day.
368 The three wheeled cycles are irregular but come and go more often. Fish is sold at Naha. The theatre for the travelling troupe of actors from
574 Naha and for movies is in Horikawa across the river. Many visits are also made to Itoman to see relatives and friends.

727 The war was even more catastrophic for Minatogawa than for Hanashiro.
[361] Before the war, Minatogawa was a thriving, prosperous and well built up small town. About 70% of its buildings had a tile roof and 30% had thatch roofs. There were about 30 stores, sake shops and drinking places, including a geisha house, along the road, serving the fishermen and the stonecutters. Of the 430 buildings in the area, only three were left

standing. At one time, the Hinatogawa beaches were seriously considered for the initial landings in Okinawa, and later as a possible second landing. After the campaign for the south had begun, Hinatogawa became a forward loading point.[10] The present village has been completely rebuilt, and the newer buildings, with few exceptions, are frail and undistinguished. The war shows its effects, too, on the southern part of the village where there is a barren acreage, formerly the site of an army camp, its top soil so shallow that the bulldozers in levelling it soon reached the rock beneath.

Nearby Nagamo is a village of a different type. It is divided into two distinct quarters, also a result of the war. The old part formerly was to the north in the main stonecutting area, but following the destruction, a new settlement was started in the farm land a few hundred yards south. Cultivation is marginal on the shallow soil of the sloping valley before it descends into the flat coastal area in which the fishing village is located.

Hinatogawa, which means River Port, is a distinctive village reminiscent of the famous fishing town of Itoman, though without its size, beauty, or color.

4

Matsuda

Matsuda is a here-and-there type of village. The village area including the community owned forest is over a square mile. The countryside is dotted with several small sub-settlements. Within each sub-settlement, the houses also are scattered about and separated from one another by large trees, thick growths of shrubbery, grasses, stone fences, and cultivated fields.

The village is located in Ginoza township (Ginoza-son) on the northeast side of the island. This township is in the northern district (Kunigami, or Yambaru). The village is on Highway 13, which winds along the northeast coast through Ishikawa, Kin, Kanna, and Ginoza villages.

Though near the sea, a typical site of a northern Okinawan village, it is a settlement engaged in agriculture and forestry. Its name suggests its nature. Matsuda is a compound of the characters for pine tree, matsu, and rice field, ta, da. Though there is some fishing in the sub-settlements along the Pacific shore, it is casual and a part time occupation for farmers on the coast. The families exclusively

[text continues TOP of P. 55--Analyst]

10 The statistics on village destruction are taken from accounts of the villagers. They are estimates. For operations in this area, see Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 68, 74, 426-27, 436, 439.

226 463 engaged in fishing are permanent or transient families originally from Itoman, a place name which comes up whenever fishing is mentioned anywhere in Okinawa. Agriculture and the care and utilization of the community forest make up the significant economic activities of the village.

162 Matsuda had a population of 1370 individuals (604 male, 766 female) as of November 30, 1951. There were, at this time, 243 households, an average of 5.6 persons per household. The village is said by local residents and antiquarians to be about 600 years old. If the age is 361 correct, it must be one of the older settlements in northern Okinawa. Before the war, this village was known as Kochiya.

173 Matsuda also has its lore regarding shipwrecks and foreigners. There are old men who believe Perry's party came to the village and that they left carvings on the top of a picturesque rock in the Burushii district along the coast, a not unbelievable story since the explorers certainly were not far from here.

Near the seashore, but in a very remote area, there is a natural bridge, concealed by large trees. Roots of the banyan grow through the [137] thirty or forty foot drop from the top of the bridge until they find root in the soil below. On a ledge under this bridge, there are two [164] old and open boxes which were used to collect the skulls and bones of unknown persons. Locally it is believed that they are the remains of shipwrecked sailors, possibly Hollanders. There are still 25 or 30 skulls there, and many of the bones are scattered on the ground. The place is seldom visited.

361 133 The village rests on low rolling hills. The combination of the hills, the depressions, the caves and the sinks give the topography an uneven almost rugged character. There are few flat places and these are seldom wide. They are the narrow meadows or valleys between the hills. 241 The hilly nature of the surroundings determines to a large extent the manner of cultivation, and historically probably has had much to do with 311 the shapes of the individual parcels themselves. One does not see in this area the plains or small valleys with rice cultivation that is observed in Haneji township near Nago or around the island of Ü in Tamagusuku township, or even in the Hanashiro area of Gushichan township. In these communities, the normal pattern of cultivation is that the rice is on the lowlands, with the slopes and upland areas devoted to sugar cane, the sweet potato, or other crops, or left to native grasses. Here in the hundreds of small hills, all of these may be observed in close proximity, hard work and minute tillage comprising with the topography.

361 The village is subdivided into several distinct areas: (1) the main 311 part of the village where most of the houses, the village office, the small stores, the rice mill, the sawmill, the power plant, and the barbershop are located, (2) a reclaimed area known locally as the kaikon, newly settled and with a different type of land use due to the poorness of the land and to the fact that it is a deforested area, (3) a district near the sea coast and along the sea with scattered settlements, isolated houses, and some cultivation, and (4) the forest lands, which in the

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In the center of Matsuda. Large trees growing in the settlement. Small garden plots are near the houses and sheds. These houses have thatched roofs except the tile roof in the left center of the picture. A freshly hoed plot is in the foreground.

[p. 56]

361 traditional attitudes that the north was a culturally rude and physically
311 inhospitable place. The highway which now goes through the center of the main part of the village is a good, hard surfaced, dirt road, widened
[491] since the war. A lively traffic of trucks and buses and the three wheels cycles contrasts with the narrow pre-war roads, traces and abandoned
[494] sections of which can still be seen. The frequent buses supply transportation to the larger cities and towns of the island: to Nago across the island and slightly to the north, to Ishikawa on the south, and to distant Naha, about 31 miles away.

727 Matsuda, unlike the southern villages, was not destroyed by the war. There were some air raids, some bombing out of the houses, but nothing like the destruction in the main areas of conflict. Early in the Okinawa campaign, the north was cut off and isolated and the struggle for the
[362] island took place in central and southern Okinawa. As a consequence,
[342] many of the old houses, sturdily built with tile roofs, have been preserved
[166] Numerous refugees from the south gathered in this area during and after the campaign. In nearby Ginoza (Jinuza) village, slightly over a mile to the southwest, also on Highway 13, the Americans operated a hospital
[193] for Okinawan refugees. It is still in use. This relative lack of war destruction in the northern villages has, to a degree, reversed the roles
184 of the north and the south. The opening up of the north, its prosperity, the survival of many of its old homes, give the impression of comfort and well being conspicuously lacking in most of the makeshift villages of the south.

The descriptions of these three villages perhaps make clear the diversity that can be expected among Okinawan settlements. Hanashiro, the small village cluster, with adjoining rice fields on the valley floor, its other crops on the terraced slopes, is the most typical. Minatogawa, the fishing village in an impoverished countryside of stony or shallow soil, is dependent on the seas and its catch for its livelihood and the wherewithal to buy the foods which cannot be grown in sufficient abundance. Matsuda, a collection of small settlements, scattered here and there from the coast inland, with its large preserve of community forest, is an example of agriculture in a forest setting, and of the use of the forest in daily living. This by no means exhausts the diversity. The village of
136 Oku to the north, with its tea, its rice, its fences for wild boar pro-
[292] tection, its cycads planted on the hillsides to prevent erosion, is still another example. But our task here is not to catalogue all diversity, but to indicate that it exists and to a much greater degree than would appear to superficial observation.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

CHAPTER IV

VILLAGE POPULATIONS AND POST-WAR ADJUSTMENTS

1 Generalities on the Population History of Okinawa Island

2 Village Populations and their Characteristics

3 What Happened with Repatriation

4 Attitudes on Birth Control

5 Conclusion

1

Generalities on the Population History of Okinawa Island

Virtually nothing is known, to my knowledge, of the growth of population in Okinawa in historic times. Early travellers made some estimates, but they gave no basis for them. In a previous chapter, it was mentioned that the introduction of the sweet potato in the early 17th century must have allowed a greater population on the island than had hitherto been the case. No doubt also malaria and other diseases kept the population down, at least until the latter part of the 19th century. This ignorance of population growth extends down to recent history.[1] 161 174 [177] [164]

There seems to have been very little immigration to the Ryukyus and the population has probably been homogeneous for long periods of time. There were many Japanese in Okinawa, but these were largely in the towns and main cities. Most of them left after the war.[2] This meant that the population of Okinawa continued to be made up of preponderantly the native born, though in recent years there has been some immigration of Amamians. 167 [563] [162]

Emigration during the 20th century has been the outstanding fact in the population history of the island. Little is known of the nature of this emigration, but it is believed to have started in the early years of the twentieth century. Until World War II, emigration was the answer to the problem of a population that was growing beyond the ability of the island's resources to support it. It has been estimated that the emigration from Okinawa prefecture in the period 1920-1940 was over 193,400 persons. This represented a loss of 98% of the estimated natural increase for the 1920-1940 period. It was 34% of the prefecture's total 1920 population.[3]

The Okinawan campaign, also, was accompanied by large scale displacements of people who remained on the island. It was estimated that in a pre-invasion shifting of the population, over 3/4 of the people 177 166

[Text continues on top of p. 60--analyst]

1 Dr. Green in 1853 estimated the population of Okinawa at 150,000 or possibly 200,000. But this was only a crude guess. Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 36. For population estimates prior to World War II, see CA Handbook, as cited, 45-51.

2 As of Nov. 30, 1946, 57,345 Japanese, 1,755 Koreans, and 21 Formosans had been repatriated from the Ryukyus, with 3,706 Japanese remaining to be repatriated. See note 3 following.

3 Newman, Marshall T. and Eng, Roman, L. The Ryukyu people, a biological appraisal. Amer. Journ. of physical anthropology, n.s., 5 (1947), 113-57. Reference on pp. 135-36. This estimate was made by subtracting the estimated natural increase from the total increase, 1920-40, making allowances for the under registration of births. On post-war population history immediately following the war, see pp. 135-46 of this article.

727 were in the north and central portions of the island.[4] During the cam-
166 paign, the displacements of people and the destruction of villages in the south were particularly striking. Large numbers were sent to the Kunigami region. "There they overwhelmed the local inhabitants and all suffered great privations, despite the efforts of U. S. personnel to properly feed, clothe, and house them." By June 1, 1946, 138,000 had been resettled, and as of July 1 of the same year, there were still 125,000 displaced persons on the island.

167 The war and the subsequent occupation have stopped the historic
728 emigration of Okinawans. Repatriation began in 1946. By November 30, 1946, a year and four months after the conclusion of the Okinawan campaign, 183,077 Okinawans had been returned, 142,713 from Japan, 26,003 from the Pacific islands, 12,154 from Formosa, 1954 from Hawaii, and 253 from Korea. An additional 36,720 were awaiting repatriation at this time. The result was that "by November 30, 1946, repatriation brought the population up to within 40,000 of its early 1944 level." The total
161 population of the Ryukyus on February 22, 1944 was given as 857,019, and 817,160 on November 30, 1946. In this short period of 16 months, the war losses had been largely made up. While these figures are Ryukyu totals, Okinawa island, as the largest and most populous island in the chain undoubtedly reflected these trends.[5] According to the 1950 census, the population of Okinawa island was 517,600.

The twentieth century history of the population of Okinawa is therefore one of large scale emigration up to the war, wholesale displacement of people within the island during the campaign of 1945, the repatriation of considerable numbers of Ryukyuans following the conclusion of the war, and the present period of growth of the population under conditions of peace, health measures, and without the historic outlet of emigration.

2

Village Populations and Their Characteristics

162 One can only surmise what has happened to the population structure
727 of Okinawan villages as a result of the war. The old records which would furnish materials for detailed comparisons have been destroyed; hence, one can know only vaguely how the present characteristics of village populations compare with the pre-war conditions. The contemporary characteristics of the population of each of the villages studied and for the totals of each of their respective townships are shown in the accompanying population pyramids and in the tables illustrating sex and age distribution at five year age intervals (Western age count).

In the totals of the three villages and the two townships females substantially outnumber males, though there is considerable variation in the numbers and proportions within the age groups.

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 61 -- analyst]

4 Ibid, 137. Quotation is on pp. 140-41.

5 Neuman and Eng, as cited, 140-41, 143. See also the very interesting article of Henry S. Bennett, The impact of invasion and occupation on the civilians of Okinawa. United States Naval Institute Proceedings, 72 (1946), 263-75.

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There are noticeably fewer children of both sexes in the 5-9 age group. These are the children born from about 1942 to 1946. If these statistics are presented in further detail for the age groups under twenty, further distinctions are clear. These are shown in the following table:

Totals	Hanashiro Village			Minatogawa Village			Gushichan Township			Matsuda Village			Ginoza Township		
	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F
Under 5 years	118	70	48	198	101	97	1153	606	547	230	120	110	849	446	403
Under 1 yr.	24	14	10	22	12	10	215	112	103	50	30	20	171	89	82
1-4 years	94	56	38	176	89	87	938	494	444	180	90	90	678	357	321
5-9 years	50	25	25	111	63	48	566	285	281	166	79	87	638	306	332
10-14 yrs.	72	32	40	128	53	75	818	393	426	182	84	98	704	336	368

In Gushichan-son, an active theatre of the war, the proportion of the children under 5 to those from five to nine is 2:1. In Ginoza-son, a much less active theatre, the proportion is 1.3: 1. The corresponding figures for the villages are:

Hanashiro (Gushichan township) 2.4 : 1
Minatogawa (Gushichan township) 1.8 : 1
Matsuda (Ginoza township) 1.4 : 1

In every case the totals of the age group of 10-14 are greater than in the 5-9 year group. In all villages, and in both townships, males are more frequent than females in the age group under one year.

The greatest imbalance in the sex ratios is in the age group from 20 to 49; here the females outnumber the males. During the war years, these groups ranged in age from approximately 10-15 to 39-44 years of age. This group now includes the main child bearing part of the population.

After 50 years of age, the balance between the sexes is somewhat restored and, with some minor deviations, they tend to be about equal, with women predominating at the highest age levels, 80 years and over.

These village statistics indicate that the effects of the war were shown in a shortage of males of young and middle age, an excess of women, to which pre-war emigration of men probably also contributed, and the lowered birthrate during the war years and the probable high infant mortality during the Okinawan campaign. The present broad base, represented by those under 5 years of age in the pyramids is indicative of what might be expected under the Occupation, with public health measures and no emigration. The pyramid for Gushichan township is especially striking in the comparison between the under 5 and the 5-9 age group.

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If these figures are typical of Okinawa island, they furnish a hint as to the trend toward population increase, a combination of such circumstances as peace, lack of conscription and foreign service, repatriation,

[Text Continues top of P. 65--Analyst]

162

DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX

Age Group	Hanashiro Village			Minatogawa Village			Gushichan Township			Matsuda Village			Ginoza Township		
	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F
TOTAL	589	269	320	1108	515	593	6267	2898	3369	1370	604	766	5360	2440	2920
Under 5	118	70	48	198	101	97	1153	606	547	230	120	110	849	446	403
5-9	50	25	25	111	63	48	566	285	281	168	80	88	638	306	332
10-14	72	32	40	128	53	75	819	393	426	182	84	98	704	336	368
15-19	83	43	40	107	57	50	741	365	376	152	75	77	633	302	331
20-24	52	22	30	102	50	52	526	237	289	82	28	54	383	150	233
25-29	38	13	25	86	35	51	401	176	225	69	22	47	288	112	176
30-34	32	10	22	68	28	40	398	157	241	53	11	42	256	84	172
35-39	29	17	12	64	33	31	328	141	187	65	20	45	263	103	160
40-44	28	8	20	50	16	34	280	118	162	71	29	42	246	103	143
45-49	18	3	15	46	19	27	250	94	156	50	16	34	232	88	144
50-54	22	7	15	38	19	19	225	93	132	73	40	33	228	127	101
55-59	15	8	7	35	18	17	205	93	112	47	24	23	186	101	85
60-64	18	5	13	26	10	16	150	64	86	35	11	24	145	58	87
65-69	9	5	4	19	10	9	99	42	57	31	15	16	110	46	64
70-74	1	1	0	14	1	13	67	22	45	31	14	17	90	37	53
75-79	3	0	3	6	1	5	33	9	24	16	5	11	55	20	35
80-84	1	0	1	7	0	7	19	2	17	13	9	4	42	17	25
85 & over	0	0	0	3	1	2	7	1	6	2	1	1	12	4	8

Statistics for Hanashiro, Minatogawa, and Gushichan-son are as of December 31, 1951. Those for Matsuda and Ginoza-son are as of November 30, 1951. Source: Township offices (yakuba) at Gushichan and Ginoza villages.

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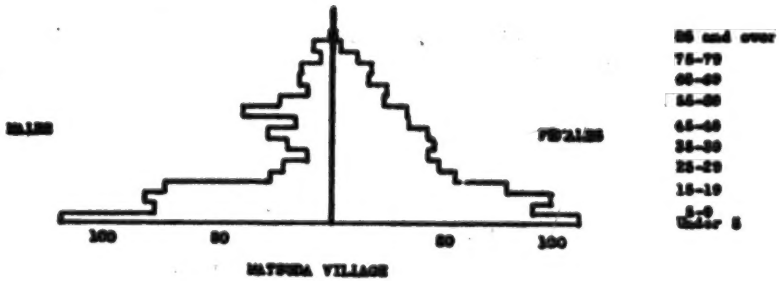
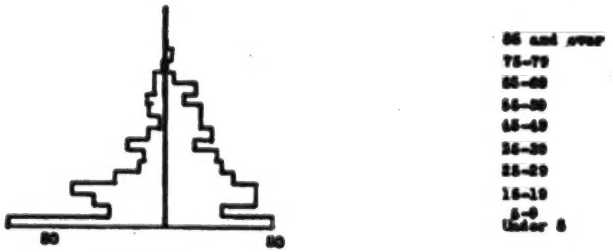
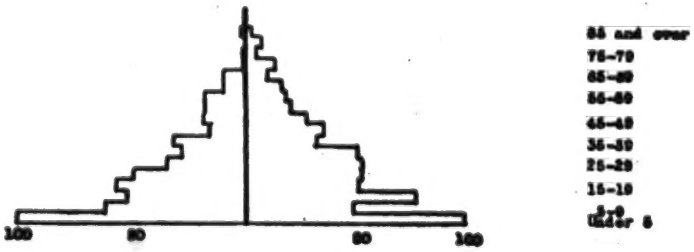
DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX
(Pyramids based on previous table)



MATSUDA VILLAGE



HANASHIRO VILLAGE



MINATOGAWA VILLAGE

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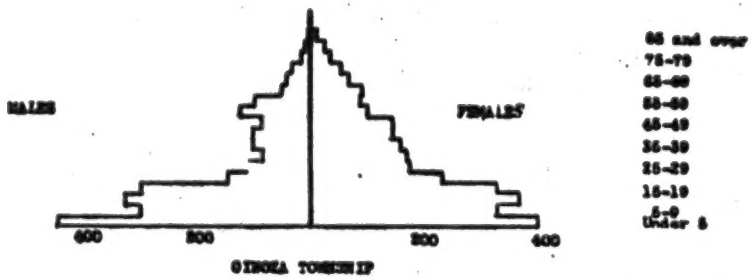
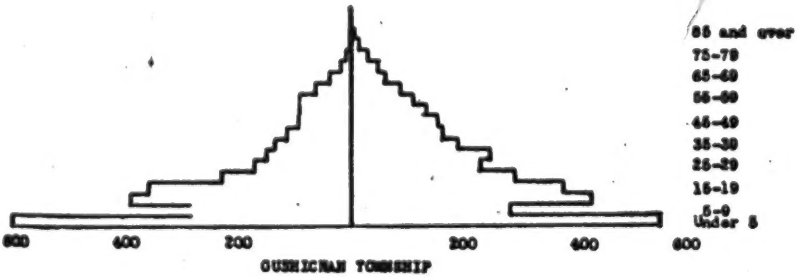

MALES
FEMALES
85 and over
75-79
65-69
55-59
45-49
35-39
25-29
15-19
5-9
Under 5
600
200
200
400
GINOWA TOWNSHIP


85 and over
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600
GUSHICHAN TOWNSHIP

stoppage of emigration, and public health measures. While the following statistics are worthless from a demographic point of view, they may nevertheless indicate the village trends. 161

Matsuda Village, 1951 163 165

	Births	Deaths
Total	46	11
Male	26	5
Female	20	6

In Gushichan township, where individual village totals were not available, the statistics show a similar trend:

Gushichan Township, 1951

	Births	Deaths
Total	263	52
Male	140	26
Female	123	26

3

What Happened with Repatriation

In the peace time emigration before the war, the intention to return was almost universal. Typically a first son, as the future responsible person for his parents, emigrated as a young man, before marriage, with the intention of accumulating savings and supporting his parents during his absence, later returning to marry if he had not acquired a wife abroad. People in the villages now say that the desire to return has declined sharply with the economic hardships and the threat of renewed warfare, and that Okinawans in foreign countries will probably remain there for the rest of their lives. Okinawans living abroad, according to family registers in the villages, are now mostly in Peru, Brazil, Argentina, and Hawaii. 167 [593] [454] [587]

The effects of repatriation on the township level can be seen from the following statistics for Gushichan township. Comparable statistics were not available in Ginoza-son. 161 728

Pre-war population, 1940	6445
Deaths resulting from the war	1700
Repatriates	1030
Population, December 31, 1951	6267

Despite the fact that deaths resulting from the war must have been between 20% and 25% of the total population of the township, repatriates [727]

161 plus the excess of births over deaths were sufficient six years after
728 the conclusion of the war to bring the post-war population of the village within 200 of the pre-war level.

167 Okinawans returning to Hanashiro came largely from Japan, the Philippines, Manchuria, Formosa, the South Seas and a few from Hawaii. From Hinatogawa, the areas of former settlement were broader, probably reflecting a wider activity of the fishermen. They came from Java, Palau, Singapore, the Philippine Islands, and Taraua. Some had previously returned voluntarily from Hawaii and Peru before the war. The largest segments came from the Philippines and Taraua, the smaller groups from Hawaii and Peru. The repatriates to Matsuda also came from Japan, the Philippines, Hawaii, and the South Seas.

571 One consequence of the pre-war emigration and of the repatriation
[168] that followed was that each village after the war had a group of people who had been in foreign countries or had relatives still residing in foreign areas.

[578] In the villages studied, according to the residents living there now, repatriation was not accompanied by the tensions and the ill feeling that was so conspicuous in post-war Europe, especially Germany.
[573] There were no cliques between those who had stayed during the war and those who returned to live beside them.

[423] The reasons for this are probably these: many of the repatriates even though absent a long time owned land in a village. This was true of Hanashiro and Matsuda, the agricultural villages, and to a lesser extent of Hinatogawa. Some adjustments were necessary. The land owned by these people had not been idle during their absence. If a first son
[592] returned, in most cases his younger brother was cultivating the fields and occupying the family house. He, in the absence of his eldest brother,
[593] acted as head of the house. When the first son returned, he received the possessions and assumed the responsibilities of the head of the house, and in turn gave his younger brother land to establish a branch household. When the returned member of the family was a second son, the adjustment was easier. The first son, if possible, gave his younger brother a house site and fields to cultivate.[6]

Other relatives, parents, younger or older sisters, nephews, or nieces were absorbed within the family, the parents or grandparents
[602] resuming a retirement which they would have had in any case, while the younger relatives became working and contributing members to the family. They did not come back to an altogether strange place. They or their parents had been born there, and their names had remained in the village family register.

6 The reasons for these acts will be made clear in Chapter 6 on the family system.

The strong ties of the family system are probably the fundamental reasons for this lack of strangeness. One is a member of the family, even if in another part of the island or of the world. This sense of belonging, to be emphasised later, is not only an emotional feeling but is a basic fact of social organization. Relationships, regardless of their geographic spread, are a binding force. It is true that these become weaker with the remoter relationships of the extended family, but they are still strong enough to blunt the edge of individual frictions that might otherwise be expected. 571 [602] [156] [578]

There was a niche into which a returning person might fit, whether he was a parent, a first son, an elder brother, an uncle or niece of the head of the household. The repatriates who had been long absent were, in turn, able to make an adjustment to conditions in the island of their birth because they had continued the same social system in their foreign residence. They now had to function in a more restricted and less well endowed natural environment. Dissatisfactions took the form, as they still do, of longing for better economic opportunity which they hope will be realized through further opportunities for emigration. They make comparisons, unfavorable to Okinawa, regarding the ease of making a living in other countries. Repatriates from Japan, who have returned to Okinawan rural life, miss the cities and the more exciting life of that country. Among those who have travelled, there is also a more noticeable discontent and dissatisfaction with the loneliness of rural life. The word sabishii is often on their lips. [554] [178] [511] [156]

The ideas of the repatriated Okinawans, furthermore, are not a new phenomenon in contemporary village life. They did not bring back points of view unknown before. In the past these had been communicated by letters and rare visits to the homeland. The reports of the repatriates were richer, more detailed, and more concrete, but not completely different. They have--and this is probably one of their chief influences on post-war village life--stimulated the strong desire of the villagers to emigrate. Life is hard on the island, and their accounts of greater return for the same expenditure of work have quickened hopes of future emigration. These hopes are confined to the New World, Japan, and the Pacific islands. There is no enthusiasm for migration to other islands in the Ryukyu chain.

4

Attitudes Toward Birth Control

There is little in the religious belief or in the cultural tradition that would induce, in large segments of the population, a strong antipathy to birth control on religious grounds, but these beliefs and traditions are not favorable to it either. Respect for ancestors and the need for the continuance of the family system are the most important of these. It is the duty of each generation to provide this continuity between the past and the future. The links in this chain are male children. Once this 842 [602] [611]

842 need of succession is met, birth control measures might be accepted. There is, it is true, a widespread feeling that many children are a happiness which artificial control should not destroy. But this feeling, especially true with women, is often lost after the fourth or fifth child when mothers may dread further child bearing.[7]

In the villages studied, there is an awareness of birth control.
[177] This awareness comes from conversation and reading, the primary sources being Japanese magazines and newspapers. I did not meet anyone who admitted practicing birth control or who desired to do so. According to the informants, it is not practiced at all. There may be some instances.

But birth control methods are not widely understood, and even if they were, it is doubtful that people would use them on their own initiative. The present apathy toward birth control methods may be due to the fact
[167] that only recently has the question been of any significance. In the past economic difficulties within a family were relieved by emigration. There was thus little need to think of a limited family. On the contrary, there was pride in a family that might spread over continents.

[183] Historically, the whole emphasis in the family system has been on a large or a medium sized, not a limited, family, and this, even today, is tied in with family pride coming from having children and grandchildren.
[562] If families have girls to begin with, the feeling is all the stronger. Though unusual, it is not unheard of to have a family of girls, and even if there are sons, there should be enough of them to take care of the hazards of death.

5

Conclusion

185 Among some villagers--and this seems to be independent of the degree of education--there are now more realistic appraisals of what the soil and the land can make available to a growing population and to their own children. Emigration for the time being is not possible. And, even if it were on a broad scale, it would not only have to skim off the present excess population, but take continuing care of future natural increases as well.

134 There were in all the villages several considerations that have influenced these appraisals. Land is insufficient, even in quantity, though in local areas such as Matsuda, it might suffice for local demands. The arable land is also poor. The poor and insufficient land,

[TEXT Continues TOP of P. 69--Analyst]

[114] [208] 7 This dread of continual child bearing is discussed as an attitude, not as a general truth. The statement is based on conversations with men and women in each of the villages. Many women in Okinawa would not agree with this, but the attitude, I am convinced, if not a prevailing one, is at least frequent enough to be worth recording as something more than individual distaste.

combined with the destructiveness of typhoons, make for an unproductive life in terms of rewards for work done. To these, there is now being added a fourth realization, that there are too many people in Okinawa. Greater mobility has increased this awareness.[8]

134
031
511
161

8 These remarks, too, are based on impressions. Neither would I claim that they represent a majority opinion. Polls with samples competently chosen could only determine these attitudes. But complaints about the poorness of the land are proverbial among Okinawans. So are the discouragements coming from the typhoons.

114
208

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

CHAPTER V

HOUSING: THE STORY OF WOOD, GRASS, AND STONE

000

1 Historical Notes on Housing

2 The Courtyard or Compound

3 Types of Houses

4 Building a Simple House

5 Tools

6 Co-operation in Housebuilding

7 Housebuilding Ceremonies

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

Historical Notes on Housing

In all villages, much time is spent, in addition to agricultural or fishing tasks, in housebuilding, either for one's self or for friends and neighbors. Housebuilding is the most time consuming of a man's tasks after his primary occupation. Repairs to or reconstruction of the poorer houses are continuous. The man with a good house and a tile roof has little to worry about. But he will often be found helping someone less fortunate. 342 461 [476]

The traditional houses of Naha and Shuri showed both Chinese and Japanese influences. The traditional house and compound of the rural village has been compared with the ancient Japanese house, and it bears some similarities with houses found among the Ainu. 342 171

It would seem from the observations and researches of earlier students that the house was always built above the ground without excavation, and sometimes on stilts. The supporting posts making up the rectangular house were either placed in holes or on stones on the ground. The supporting posts, the ridge poles, the cross beams were branches or trunks of trees trimmed and cut for length. Roofs of thatch had the apex of the roof covered by a saddle or arch shaped thatch made, like the rest of the roof, of grass. Smoke escaped either through an aperture in the ceiling or through a window, as it still does in many of the poorer houses. The houses were filled with smoke. The oldest rural houses apparently had only a dirt floor with scattered mats, though some had a raised floor. 175 342 [352]

The food storage sheds or small granaries were raised on stilts. Engravings of these have appeared both in Perry's writings and in Bayard Taylor's works. There is some question whether this granary (now disappeared) was indigenous or a borrowing. The purpose of the raised granary was probably to protect against dampness and to prevent infestation by rats and vermin. These granaries were open sided with no boarded up walls, and, in Okinawa, were circular.[1] 175 342

Animal pens or stalls were not attached to the house, but were always separate. In the courtyard, earthen rain water vessels were inbedded half way into the ground to catch the rain water. There were stalls for goats and pig pens, and the pig pens were used also as a toilet. This is no longer practiced to my knowledge, although the outhouse with its holes in the ground is found under the same roof as the pig pen. The entrance to the courtyard was oppositie the front of the house. The protective stationary gate, the hinpun (in Okinawan), made of reeds or stones, stood at the entrance inside the court, as it does now, to shield the people of [417] [415] [364] 417

1 For drawings of the granaries, see Satow, E. M. Notes on Loochoo. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 1 (1882), 1-8. The drawings follow the text. See also Simon, Beitrage zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, as cited, 75-85.

417 the house from the glances of the curious. It has been suggested that the stationary gate at the entrance of the courtyard is of Chinese
[177] origin, that its purpose originally was to scare away spirits, and that its former presence in the tomb compound indicates that it was intro-
[164] duced along with the turtleback or horseshoe tomb from Fukien province in China.[2]

175 Captain Hall described Okinawan house exteriors and the surrounding
351 buildings, including those of the common people. The house was "buried in foliage" and hidden from view. It was surrounded by a light fence of
340 rods, about one foot apart with creepers on top. These rods were probably stalks of miscanthus grass, or of the dwarf bamboo. The site had a wicker gate, possibly meaning the hinpun made out of the dried grass stalks. One house which he described was divided into two compartments, eight feet square, with a small veranda at one end. The floors, made of bamboo, and about six feet above the ground, were covered with a straw mat. The walls, about five feet high, were wattled with split bamboo, and the house had a pointed thatched roof.

[352] In the interior, there were shelves for bowls and cups, and in a
[354] loft or garret tools, nets, or baskets were stored. These installations now are often found in the kitchen. In the middle of one side of the house there was a fireplace, sunk below the level of the ground.

[343] Outside, in the compound, a pigeon house, poultry yard and spinning
175 wheels were observed. In another passage, Hall describes a cottage of
342 "wattled rattans" with a light open bamboo roof with thatch and creepers, one wing of which was occupied by goats. The compound consisted of a stable, a pig sty, and a poultry house. There was also a mill. The granary was on posts about six feet above the ground with firewood
[325] piled below. There was an anvil with a forge of masonry but no bellows.[3]

The houses of the poor, said Fahs in his report to Commodore Perry, were made of bamboo and had no floors.[4] Accounts around the turn of the century say that houses and granaries were supported by corner posts of considerable height. Schwartz said these posts were about five feet high. The house walls of straw thatch were held in place by bamboo grass matting with a space two feet in width acting both as a door and a window, a matting curtain covering the aperture.[5]

[text continues TOP of p. 73 -- Analyst]

2 Simon, as cited, 80. C. W. Bishop has suggested that the stone houses of the Ainus of Hokkaido point to contact with southern insular peoples. Also, the primitive Japanese hut which was illustrated resembled the one we have been describing for Okinawa. It had a thatched roof and a courtyard which was cut off from the outside view by the hinpun. The historical geography of early Japan. Geo. Review, 13 (1923), 40-63. Note especially Figures 5 and 6. (This article was reprinted in Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1925).

3 Captain Basil Hall, Voyage to Corea and the Great Loo Choo, as cited, 124, 141, 142-43.

4 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, Vol. II, 50.

5 Henry B. Schwartz, In Togo's country. New York and Cincinnati, 1908, 148-49.

2

The Courtyard or Compound

The usual present day Okinawan dwelling is in an inclosed courtyard or compound. This varies in size. The average size of these house sites (yashiki in Japanese) is shown in the following table: 351

	Area in Tsubo a/	Approximate Equivalent in Acres
Hanashiro	184.3	0.15
Minatogawa	70.7	0.06
Matsuda	116.4	0.10

a/ Computed from lists of village house sites in the land registers of each township. The conversion figure of 1210 tsubo (about four square yards) to the acre has been used.

The traditional house site has definite characteristics, obscured in present day Okinawa because of the war destruction. In the rebuilding, much of the housing and the outlying sheds were of poor quality. They are difficult to classify, except in a general category such as shacks or shanties. [362]

The house site, surrounded by its shrubs, trees, or stone fence and with the hinpun at the entrance, or the open side, forms a private courtyard with the buildings arranged around the three sides. There are a large number of possible combinations. A compound in which the house is located across the back part of the site, its front facing the hinpun and the road or lane is typical. On either side, there might be a combined outside toilet and pig or goat pen, or separate buildings for the toilet and the pigs or goats, a food storehouse, and a tool shed. The auxiliary buildings are small, and more correctly should be described as sheds. The outside toilet, with a dirt, stone block, or cement floor, is usually small with one or two holes in the floor. It is used in a squatting position. [343]

All kinds of variations from this description can be observed at will. In the fishing village of Minatogawa, the compound is open. Little hedges a foot or so high or small rock borders take the place of the dense shrubs and trees of another site. Lines are stretched out in the yard. Nets are hanging, and fish are drying on the mats in the courtyard. Sometimes, more out of convention than practical utility, there is a hinpun in front of a house that has no other construction to seal it off from view. And these hinpun might even be made of stray boards or of corrugated iron.

It is not unusual in a compound, in cases in which the house is small, for a young man of the house to have a small separate building. Here he has his blankets, personal articles, pictures clipped from 592 342

592 342 magazines and pasted on the wall, and here he entertains visitors who come for conversation or study.

3

Types of Houses

342 In all the villages studied, the houses may be divided into three general categories: (1) the Japanese style house with the thatch or tile roof, (2) the smaller stone house with the Japanese type floor plan, and (3) various shacks resembling in some details the simple structure of the old Okinawan rural house.

[313] [439] The sturdy Japanese type house is made of excellent hardwoods imported from Japan or brought from the forests of northern Okinawa. This house was often constructed without nails. It was put together [335] by mortise and tenon joints, and also with a piece of wood, square on the edge and about three inches long which functions like a dowel. This is known as a kusabi. In modern houses, both of the simple and more complex types, nails are more commonly used.

[355] The eaves of this house are supported by strong poles, unfinished, usually from the Japanese redwood (sugi in Japanese, Cryptomeria [417] japonica, D. Don) or the ihumaki (Podocarpus macrophyllus D. Don). The poles are placed on flat triangular stones for foundation support. The houses have plank floors. Both the tile and the thatch roof types (to be [352] described later) have the same floor plan with the size of the rooms determined by the number of mats (tatami in Japanese) desired.

The half tile, half thatch roof is not uncommon, an indication either of a roof partially destroyed by the war which has been repaired by thatch, or athatched roof gradually being replaced by tile. This is a slow process, as tile is costly. Basically, all of these houses have the same general plan, except for differences in roof materials.

[355] The older Japanese type houses with a tile roof and the newer ones being built on that model are provided with a drain pipe for rain water catchment. This pipe, running along the length and the width of the [415] roof channels the water into a large tank on the ground, reducing the [312] labor involved in carrying water from village ponds or central springs. Many of these rain water catchments disappeared when the old houses were destroyed in the war. Drain pipes cannot be attached to the thatch. In general, rain water is not now a plentiful source of supply in the villages, though buckets and tube are frequently put out during a heavy downpour, and this water is used for drinking and cooking until it begins to spoil. It may supplement the water carried from a central village faucet, the well, or a pond.

The construction of the Japanese type house is complex. Basically, the design of the house is derived from the arrangement of three rooms,

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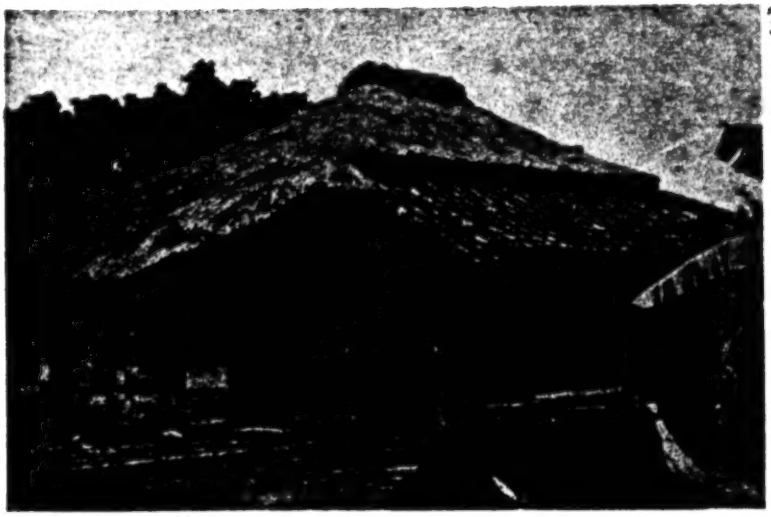

A house in Hanashiro. This was partly destroyed during the war. The left side of the house is a post-war improvisation. The owner of this house is replacing the kaya, or grass thatch, with tile as he is able to afford it. The cap of the roof is one of the many variant styles. The opening to the left of the picture leads to the kitchen.

plus a sort of veranda, or inside hallway, an inner small porch paralleling it, and an outer porch--but in some cases there is only a stepping stone. The outer walls are usually of Japanese redwood. The houses are unpainted. 342

A narrow porch runs around the front and the side of the house opposite the kitchen. Between the porch and the room proper, there is a space for a paper sliding door (shōji in Japanese) and a connecting corridor (or veranda) known as an en (in Japanese). This corridor is about 35 sun, or almost a yard wide. The sliding doors covered with paper, so familiar in the houses of Japan, have all disappeared, though provision is made for them in the construction. Before the war, some houses had them; in others they were never installed. The rooms, therefore, are usually open, joined in front by the corridor. Partitions may cut off the whole room or be built up to face level. The outer porch (haji in Japanese) is in the courtyard in front or on a line with the poles which support the eaves. It may be off the ground about a foot; sometimes a cemented area or a stone walk two or three feet wide and on the ground acts as a substitute for this porch.

The pre-war house, of which a few remain in the southern villages, more in the north, normally has three rooms and a kitchen, with a back part for storage. The size of the house is determined by the number of mats which each room will have, and this Japanese convention produces uniformity and regularity in house construction. Actually only a small minority of houses have these mats. They were more common before the war. The pre-war ones have largely been destroyed or worn out, but during winter months or occasionally at parties or celebrations those remaining are taken out and used. A more modest mat, called a mushiro (in Japanese), made in Okinawa, often in the home or in the village, has taken the place of the tatami. It has the same function as a throw rug, but is rolled up when not in use. [352]

The names of the rooms also follow Japanese custom. The first room (ichibanza in Japanese) is the best. It contains the alcove, or recessed part, suitable for hanging a scroll (kakemono in Japanese), or for ornamental and religious objects. This is the room for guests; at parties or celebrations the men gather here, the women meeting in the second room. 342 353

The second room (nibanza in Japanese) has the Buddhist god shelf, universal in all houses except the very poor or makeshift ones. This shelf has the memorial tablets (ihai in Japanese) of the dead of the family. At parties and celebrations, the second room is the gathering place of the women. [769]

The third room (sanbanza) which adjoins the kitchen is a dining room. It has a small, low table for meals, perhaps a wall shelf. All of these rooms are also sleeping rooms (nema in Japanese). [352]

[Text Continues Top of P. 78--analyst]

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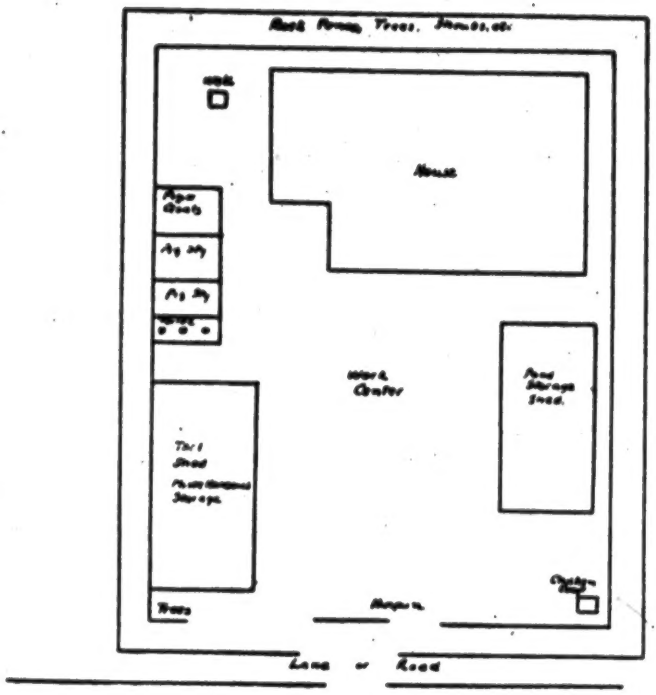
343

DIAGRAM OF A HOUSE COMPOUND



These rooms, opening on the front of the house along the corridor, do not run the full length of the house. A fourth, a back room, running across the back part may open on to the kitchen. Sometimes this room is only roughly finished and used for storage or sleeping purposes or both. A grandmother often takes the grandchildren (other than the infant) to bed with her in this room. 342 [353] [513]

The kitchen is set off from the rest of the house by being on a lower level, perhaps one step. The kitchen usually has a hard dirt floor. Occasionally it is cemented. Sometimes it has a chimney, sometimes a hole in the side of the wall, which the curious smoke rejects in favor of a leisurely diffusion throughout the other rooms of the house. The kitchen is not part of the house in the sense that the other rooms are. The shoes are not removed when entering it. The kitchen opens out on to a stone or dirt path. Women frequently still eat in the kitchen because of its convenience and the need of going in and out to get water, or to wash vegetables, or to get food from the shed during the preparation of a meal. [576] [264]

The stove is basically an open hearth with a hole at the top for the cooking pan. There is also a hole directly below this into which the fuel can be placed. More elaborate stoves may have three tiers: one for the cooking, one for putting the fuel in, the lower for the ashes. The most simple, in the very poorest houses, are little more than a circular group of stones laid on the ground built up so that a pan can be placed on top. The most elaborate, made of stone, might run across the width of the kitchen and have several openings. Fuel, such as odd branches, sticks of firewood brought from the northern (Kunigami) region, crushed and dried sugar cane, or miscanthus grass of varying length is put part way into the fire and pushed further in as the ends are burned off. 354 [372]

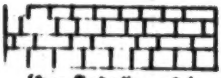
The all stone house is smaller than the wooden house. It invariably has a tile roof, for those able to afford the stone can also buy the tile. The stone blocks used in house construction are usually about nine feet by one foot on the edge.[6] The stones used as posts are buried two feet in the ground leaving seven feet for the upright. These blocks, called ishibashida when used for house construction, have the same width and breadth; they can be cut to any desired length to even off the sides. The stones are layed like bricks with mortar to form the walls of the house. The all stone house is not common, and is usually seen in the south, where the stone is quarried, in Minatogawa, and in adjacent villages. These houses are more modern, and often bathing facilities are built in. The stone house has the advantage of being cool in summer, warm in winter. 342 [333] [184] [515]

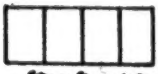
Finally, there are the simple structures, resembling shacks or shanties more than houses. These are, as one would expect, more frequent in the areas of the war's operations. There are three main varieties, though the combinations are numerous: (1) the all grass house, now uncommon. The sides of this wattled house are usually of [362]

6 Actually they are 9 x 1 x 1 shaku. A shaku is 0.994 feet.

TYPES OF HINFUN

417





ARRANGEMENT OF THE ROOMS

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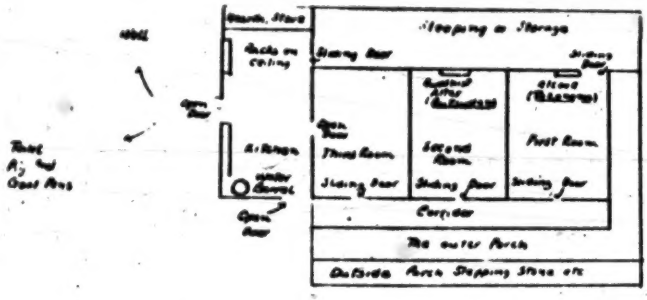
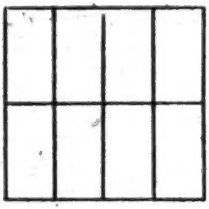
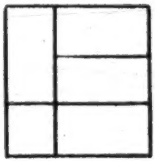


8 Mat Room



Size of mats
3' x 6'

4 1/2 Mat Room [352]



an interwoven diagonal weave of miscanthus whose hollow stalks at maturity are strong but brittle, resembling in appearance a very small piece of bamboo. (2) The house with a simple thatch roof with walls of various sized rocks or small pebbles cemented together with mud taken from the yard, and (3) a thatch roof house whose frame is built with small rough hewn poles, over which a thin cheap pine siding is nailed. The construction of this house will be described in some detail below because, with the exception of the modern pine siding to replace the straw or diagonal weave, it is, according to the Okinawans, the oldest type of native rural house. 342

The house must have heat during the winter. The kitchen hearth is not used for this purpose. The kitchen fires are allowed to die down and are only started at meal times. It would be too expensive or wasteful of gathered fuel to do otherwise. Room heat is provided by a brazier (hibachi in Japanese). This may be a large square box with an inset lined with metal in which ashes and charcoal are placed. Some winter cooking may be done here. The hibachi may also be a large earthenware pot in which coals of charcoal are placed. 354 [415]

In some old homes, another device suitable both for heating and cooking, can still be seen. This was observed in Matsuda, but not in the southern villages. This is also a sort of hearth (jiru in Japanese). The jiru consists of a hanging bamboo pole one end of which is secured by a rope tied to a lattice in the ceiling. On the other end of the pole, about three feet long, there is an iron hook with another device, like an arm bent at the elbow, allowing the height of the hook above the fire to be adjusted. The handle of the pot is placed on this hook and the pot hangs at any desired distance over a bed of coals and ashes. This hearth is not in the kitchen, but at one corner of the dining room, usually where the two open rooms adjoin. The jiru is rare in the villages at the present time. It is from this device that the former practice of a mother and a new born infant "roasting" themselves takes its name; both the mother and the new born child were exposed, in a closed room, to heat from the jiru or from a brazier, even in the intensest heat of summer.[7] [184] [852]

4

Building a Simple House

The following description is based on observations made of the construction of a simple house in Hinatogawa. The steps are given in some detail because it was said that this house was being constructed in the manner of the traditional rural Okinawan house. 342

Rough hewn poles were used. The traditional method of putting on

7 This will be discussed in Chapter 13 on family life in the section on the rearing of children.

BUILDING A SIMPLE HOUSE

342
335

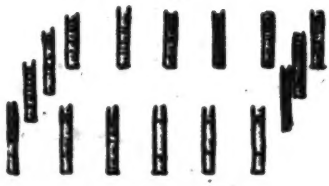


Fig. 1

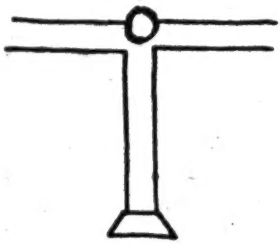


Fig. 2

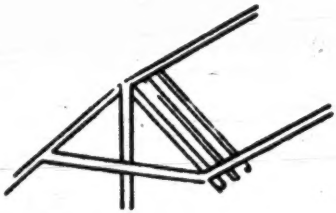


Fig. 3

Fig. 4

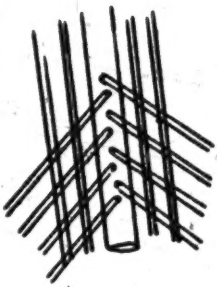


Fig. 5

Fig. 6

the thatch is old and the pine siding obviously has replaced the diagonal wattle, but in other essentials it is a simple peasant hut built in rural Okinawa for generations. 342

(1) The upright supporting poles for the frame of the rectangular house are set on flat stones. In Minatogawa, where they are quarried, they are especially cut for this purpose. The uprights are set about six feet long, and 3 1/2 inches in diameter. The poles are set so that there are four on the sides, six in front and rear, the end poles serving a dual purpose. (Fig. 1) 342 335

(2) On the front and back, cross poles, or tie beams to support the roof are nailed on to the cut end of the upright. The poles on the sides are fastened by making a simple groove the diameter of the pole. (Fig. 2)

(3) With the frame completed, the box like structure is ready for the ridge pole and its supports. These uprights are longer, perhaps 9 or 10 feet, and provide the slant of the simple gabled roof. They are also set on stones, but inside the area inclosed by the upright supporting poles. The ridgepole is now nailed to the ends of the center posts.

(4) The problem now is to provide a frame on the slanting roof for rods of miscanthus which in turn support the thatch. For this purpose, smaller poles, like rafters, run from the peak of the roof to project over the eaves. (Fig. 3)

(5) These rafter poles, set about one foot apart, jut out over the eaves on the front and back of the house about 1 1/2 feet. The ends of these small rafter poles are joined together with a longer horizontal pole. This horizontal pole is nailed on top of the ends. (Fig. 4) These poles may not be long enough for a whole side. They are rough, often crooked. If they are not long enough, the ends of two poles may be lashed together with rope.

(6) These rafter poles are not fitted or grooved into the ridge pole. Neither are the ends mitred. Instead the poles' ends alternate with one another. (Fig. 5)

(7) Horizontal poles are then laid across the rafter poles and nailed down. These brace the structure and divide the roof into a series of rectangles.

(8) The frame of the house is now completed and it is ready for the roofing and the siding. To help in nailing the rafter poles, women prepare a braid of rice straw or miscanthus and nails are inserted into the loops of the braids. The braid is handed up to the workman who puts it between his teeth, providing a continuing source of nails, as he tacks down the poles of the roof. Old men and old women prepare the nail braid. [283] [887]

342 (9) While the stones are being set and the uprights are being
[462] put on them, the women of the house and their female friends and
[476] relatives have brought in miscanthus grass and have begun making
[824] sheaves, tying each sheaf with a piece of grass. This goes on while the rafter poles are being nailed down. It is over this that the thatch is placed. The grass may be green or dry. In December it is in blossom, and when it is used, it gives the roof a snowy, fluffy appearance.

342 (10) A series of short rods of dwarf bamboo or dried miscanthus
335 stalks is then prepared to fit over the checkerboard made by the intersecting poles of the roof. The ends of these, which are about 7 feet long and 1/2 inch in diameter, are inserted into the braid of two lengths of rope about 5 feet long. These rods are placed at about 3 inch intervals. These frames are laid end down slope. They
[284] are lashed to the poles and to other bracing material beneath. All
[462] this is the work of men. While some of them are on the roof, others have begun nailing the siding. (See Fig. 6 for a sketch of the frames).

This is a very cheap lumber about 6 feet x 1 inch x 3/8 inch. The sides are boarded up like shingles except that the boards have uniform thickness. Each board overlaps the next lower one by 1/2 inch, a space of about 3 inches is left from the top of the upright poles to which the siding is nailed. The siding is sufficiently thin so that one side need not be thicker than the other.

(11) The triangular odd corners formed by the cross beams, the rafters and the center post are filled by fitted pieces instead of the rows of parallel rods used for the larger and more regular areas.

342 (12) The roof is now ready for sewing the thatch on. First,
284 the women throw several sheaves of miscanthus on the roof. They are tossed by hand or pitched by a rude pitchfork made by lashing a short branch to a long pole to form a Y. This is the kishi. (Fig. 7).
[413] One workman goes inside the dwelling. He has a pole about 6 feet long (s hari, the Japanese word for needle) pointed at the end with a hole near the point. (Fig. 8). Starting from the eaves and working up, the man on the roof unties the sheaves and spreads a layer of grass along the length of the roof. This layer is held in place by a horizontal pole placed over it. The man inside has threaded the needle with stout twine; he pushes the long needle with the twine up through the network of the roof. This is taken by the workman on the roof who feeds the needle with its twine back again. This sewing continues until the three layers, the checkerboard, the parallel rods which have been lashed to it, and the grass with the poles to hold it down have been finally sewed together. As each strip is completed the workmen move up the slope a little. The grass is about 3 1/2 feet long and about one foot is allowed loose on the end to overlap the layer below. That portion of the grass which is not free is tied and sewed very securely. There is much tugging, pulling, and grunting to make the knot as tight as possible.

000 (13) As the top is reached, another operation is necessary to cap

(13) As the top is reached, another operation is necessary to cap the peak of the roof. The two layers of grass require, when they meet, something to cap over them. This is done by laying down over the peak a rectangular frame of poles to form the base for the cap. The grass is then heaped up on this bed. It is held down by long rods of dwarf bamboo or miscanthus, forming a rough arch and running lengthwise. These rods with the grass underneath are sewn on to the ridge pole and the surrounding network of poles underneath with heavy twine or rope. Often also sharp sticks are placed cross ways. These are known as kansashi and derive their name from the pin used by Japanese women to fasten up their hair when they wear the traditional headdress. These sticks in fact perform this function; perhaps even better, they can be compared to the long hat pin. A thatched roof so constructed will last a long time, often 5 or 10 years, though it may be changed more often if damaged. Very often if the house has a thatch roof and the sides are made of a weak material, the house, including the roof is bound around with a heavy thick wire, cable or rope to protect it from typhoons. (Fig. 9 for a sketch of the roof). 342 335

The interior of the simple house which we have been describing is finished off in a simple manner with flooring and siding, also of cheap quality.

It may be added, parenthetically, that there are two different methods of laying the tile roof. In the hipped type, the tile slants from the roof to the eaves. The variant is the hipped type with a small gable. Occasionally, on the tile roof, an ornamental lion shaped terra cotta figure is placed for decorative purposes. 342 [532]

Tile is set over a foundation of long rods of small bamboo, dwarf bamboo or mature large size miscanthus. Rice straw is used to tie these rods together and to the frame. Mud, usually found in the yard and often containing considerable clay, is placed over this rod base and the tile is set so that the crests of the two pieces of tile which meet on the bottom are cupped by a tile on top. (Fig. 10).

5

Tools

Carpenters' tools are Japanese imports, although local blacksmiths make tools based on the Japanese design or repair them. The common tools are: 413 [439] [326]

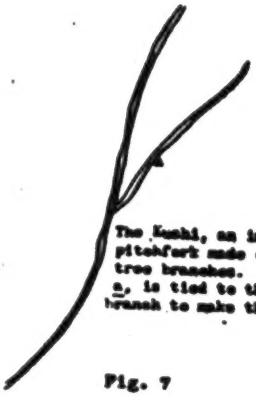
(1) The plane (kanna in Japanese). The plane iron is set in a rectangular block of wood. In working wood, the plane is drawn toward the operator.

(2) A smaller plane

342

[413]

BUILDING A SIMPLE HOUSE



The Kushi, an improvised pitchfork made out of tree branches. The piece, a, is tied to the main branch to make the fork.

Fig. 7

The Hari

Fig. 8

[335]

CAPPING THE ROOF

Fig. 9

TILE SETTING

Fig. 10

413

(3) Chisels (nomi in Japanese) of various sizes.

(4) The hand saw (nokogiri in Japanese). There are two kinds: a single edge for cross cut, or a double edge, the second for rippling. The saw has a short blade and a long handle.

(5) A kind of hatchet (te-ono in Japanese).

(6) A rabbet plane (motoichi)

(7) The square (kanejaku)

(8) A gimlet, the large hand operated boring tool with a T shaped handle (Ōkii ana in Japanese, bōtō in Okinawan).

(9) The common brace and bit.

(10) The hammer, both claw and ball pein.

(11) The sumi tsubo (in Japanese). This is a reel with a string. As the string is drawn out from the reel, it passes through an India ink paste which is in a shallow flat dish situated at the point where the string comes out. The inked string is made taut along the line to be cut, snapped sharply, resulting in a black line along the desired cutting edge.

(12) The sumisashi (in Japanese), a short stick, dipped in ink, which is used for drawing a cutting line by hand usually with a square or rule to join longer lines made by the inked string.

(13) A plane for use on curved surfaces (the maruka in Japanese.)

(14) A sandshaker. When mortar is needed, an improvised sandshaker may be constructed. Long poles are set up wigwam fashion. One end of a wire is fastened to the apex of the poles, the other to the end of a wire net. The other end of the wire net is held in the hands. Sand is put on the mesh, and the device is then shaken so that the fine sand goes through. Long poles such as those used for the sandshaker or in building construction are called maruta (in Japanese). [417]

6

Co-operation in Housebuilding

342 476

In Okinawa, co-operation among villagers in larger tasks is not conspicuous.[8] Housebuilding is an exception. Depending on the size, any number of people in a village may participate in building a house. If the house is small, only friends or immediate relatives are likely to assist. But if it is a large house, friends or neighbors may work one or two days, and relatives three or four days.

8 The nature of village co-operation will be discussed in Chap. 18

342 Co-operation often takes the form of a division of labor. In
476 building an elaborate permanent house with cement foundations, siding,
plank flooring and a tile roof, greater skills than the handyman
463 techniques of a smaller house are required. In the building of a house,
men with special skills, such as a carpenter, a cement mixer, a stone-
cutter, or a mason participate; others bring lumber and wood from the
mountains, as in Matsuda, or lay the grass on the tile roof. In some
[464] cases, all the labor may be donated; in others, the carpenter, the cement
mixer, the stonecutter may be hired, with helper's work done by volun-
teers. In simpler construction, the carpentry may be done by anyone
who has this secondary skill but is primarily a farmer or a fisherman.
People who have those skills are said to have half and half occupa-
tions (hannohangyō in Japanese).

7

Housebuilding Ceremonies

342 In building, a distinction is made between a temporary and a permanent
house. A temporary house may be built following a typhoon or a fire,
or it may be constructed for a poor man and in fact be a permanent house
for the family, the good house to come being more an aspiration than an
early reality. The marks of a permanent house are construction with
beams, instead of poles, good siding, a good roof, now mostly of tile,
a design based on mat size, and a cemented kitchen. Housebuilding cere-
ies and celebrations apply only to the permanent house.

[184] Ceremonies or observances during stages in the building of a house
differ from place to place and among people in the same village. In
342 Matsuda before the house is started, the owner, his friends, and
782 neighbors gather and offer a prayer that the house be a good and a happy
one. Before construction, and once each year following completion, rice
cakes (mochi in Japanese) and sake are placed in each of the four corners
[262] of the house site. Three rice cakes are put on the smallest of three
saucers which fit into one another. Two of these saucer sets with the
[203] rice cakes, together with a sake bottle and a small cup are placed on
a tray. The east, north, west, and south corners are visited in that
[415] order. Sake is poured from the flask to a small cup. There is a short
prayer. A piece of white paper, attached to a stick of dwarf bamboo
(Yanbaru take) about one foot long is burned. The sake is poured over
the embers. The top rice cake is placed on the corner; the other two
remain on the small plate. Prayers are offered for protection against
[825] the deadly snake (habu). The rice cake is then picked up. On the next
corner, the ceremony is repeated.

When the ridge pole is put up, the carpenter prays that there will
be no injuries. Observances at the raising of the roof (muneage in
[183] Okinawan) seem to be universal in the villages. Three parcels, one of
salt, one of bean paste, and one of charcoal are wrapped in a leaf--any
[262] will do--and these are tied with a string and suspended from the inner
side of the crossbeam or from the ridge pole. There are no prayers at
This Time.

this time. Upon completing the house, the owner gives a party for those who helped him. During the last day of work, with the party scheduled for the evening, the workmen strive feverishly to complete the house on time. This is a party to celebrate a task completed. Sake flows freely. Occasionally on the last day, a man walks around the house talking to himself and throws salt toward the inside of the house. His words are not formalized and not known to the hearers. After finishing throwing the salt, he bangs the back of the house three times with a stick. This custom is said to be gradually disappearing, and is only occasionally practiced in Matsuda.[9] 342 527 788 [273]

In Hanashiro, there is a similar custom that differs in details. On the date the house is started, there is a small ceremony. A plate containing boiled rice, bean curd, a kind of fritter (tenpura in Japanese) and meat, together with a flask of sake are placed in the center of the site on which the house is to be built. Prayers are offered that the house be a good one. The ceremony of raising the roof is identical with that previously described in Matsuda. This applies only to the raising of the ridge pole, no ceremonies taking place with the erecting of the side poles. The center board, near to or nailed to the ridge pole, and from which the articles wrapped in a leaf or in sea weed are suspended, is inscribed with the word, shibiranka. Its meaning is unknown to me. One villager said it was the name of a legendary Chinese protector of houses. 342 782 [262] [273] [192]

In one instance from Minatogawa, instead of the salt, charcoal, and bean paste, only a bit of charcoal (tsumi in Japanese) was suspended and wrapped in seaweed (kombu in Japanese).

About 20 years ago in Hanashiro, the celebration on the day of completion was much more elaborate than now. A pig was killed, fish purchased, and a large feast was prepared to which the whole village was invited. The celebration now is confined to relatives, friends, and helpers, including the carpenter, whether hired or a volunteer. 342 527

In Minatogawa, when a good house is being built, there is the custom of going to a fortune teller (sanjinsō in Japanese) to discover the lucky day for commencing construction. This may be repeated to find the lucky day for putting up the poles and supports or putting on the roof. Here also a son about to establish a branch household and to build his own house takes a food offering to his father's house, places it on the Buddhist god shelf, gives thanks, and prays for good fortune before construction starts. When the house has been completed, similar offerings are made, either before the god shelf of the new house, if it has been installed, or again at the father's house. In this village, the usual observances are confined to the raising of the roof and to the celebration following completion of the home. 342 [091] [077] [082]

One last custom observed in all the villages is that one does not move into a new house unless the tide is coming in. Other occasions in which the tide is taken into consideration will be discussed later. The idea here seems to be that one moves at times of growing fullness and increase not at times of ebb and withdrawal. [823]

9 I was unable to secure any explanation of the reason for this and the other practices beyond the familiar statement that "it is a custom." (shukan)

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PART THREE

THE FAMILY AND THE LAND

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CHAPTER VI

THE FAMILY SYSTEM

1 Introduction

2 Kinship Terminology and the Kinship System

3 The Extended Family and its Branch Families

4 Individual Families and their Branches

5 The Pivotal Importance of the First Son

6 Adoption

7 The "Growing Up" Parent

8 The Household Order Naming System

9 Conclusion

1

Introduction

Everyone knows that the family is a most important social institution in Asiatic countries such as China, Korea, and Japan. What is not so well, nor so widely understood, is that the idea of the family is deeply involved not only with obligations and duties within a family, but also with such matters as ancestor worship, inheritance and succession, land tenure, public and private holidays, and in certain phases of community organization and of government. It is better therefore to abandon the expression family and substitute for it a term which at the outset suggests the implications and ramifications of the idea of the family. This term is the family system (kazoku seido in Japanese). The Ryukyu Islands have felt the influence of China, Korea, and Japan in many different ways and at different times. Perhaps the most important of these borrowings, ultimately from China, is the family system. 602 171 [182] [171]

The family system is a series of mutual obligations and duties which members of a living generation of a family owe to one another, to those who have lived before them and who have been responsible directly or indirectly for their present condition and status, and owe also to those who will come after them to perform for their time the tasks now imposed on the contemporary generation. 602

The family system embraces the same family relationships found in countries of the west. Here as in the west, the biological family, composed of the husband, the wife, and the children, is the fundamental unit of social organization. In American society, family ties beyond the immediate biological family tend to become more fragile, and indeed often become so within the biological family itself—due in part at least to a strong tradition of individualism and greater mobility. [594]

In Okinawa, the biological family is but a segment of a wider system of family relationships. These spread out not only into the contemporary extended families but find expression also in reverence for those who have lived in the past and in a feeling of responsibility for the continuation of the family into the future by assuming one's duty to prevent extinction of the family line. In the so-called ancestor worship, there is this expression of the extension of the family system throughout time. Ancestor worship, the conventional term, is not quite correct, but it conveys the general meaning desired. Actually it is not only the ancestors but all deceased relatives, including child descendants, whose memory is revered. [569]

The family system is a great chain of responsibilities and obligations which extends from the remote past to the remote future and of which the living generation is the responsible contemporary representative. It is this aspect of the family system that makes it more a philosophical, ethical, or social concept than merely the descriptive term for a system

of contemporary relationships. The family system does not mean only family life, or a set of obligations, or a family. It is all of these, and, in addition, a historical continuity. It is an institution in which the past is constantly intruding on the present and in which the present is a combination of acts to secure one's own livelihood and well-being as well as to perpetuate the family in the future. A simple illustration will make this clear. One of the obligations of living members of a family is to observe the death anniversaries of close relatives. The last, the most important, and the most sumptuous of these observances occurs on the 33d year after the death of the relative who is mourned. Thus a grandson, most likely the first son of a first son, may end this period of memorial observances for a grandfather whom he may never have seen. There is a constant intrusion of obligations coming from the past. These, often onerous and expensive, are honored in a positive manner.

In the present, conscious plans are made for the continuance of the family. These are achieved through three closely inter-related devices: the succession of the first son to his father's house and, on his marriage, taking up residence at the father's home, the system of inheritance which favors the first son, and the establishment of branch households for other sons, awarding them, if the family's wealth permits, a house site and field for cultivation.

In this way, the continuance of the main line and collateral branches of the family is provided for. If we pursue the illustration of inheritance a little further, we can think of the division of the land as an expression of the family system applied to the use and to the sharing of the available natural resources. The system of agriculture, the scattered ownership of small holdings, the attempts at land conservation and reclamation are best understood as reflections of duties and obligations to the present and future generations in the family system. If they are not seen in this way, they may appear to be isolated practices best discussed as techniques or as aspects of law and custom.

Not only in family observances but in public holidays as well, the subtle influences of the family system can be observed. Public holidays and festivals are centered on two main themes, sometimes both together: thanksgiving for good crops and reverence for those who have passed away. The holiday of O-Bon in the seventh lunar month, in which the departed dead are invited to return for a visit to the homes of their living descendants and the celebrations at lunar New Year are good examples of this.

In village life, the family system is strengthened by the high incidence of intermarriage among local kinship groups. A general lack of mobility in the villages studied has also led to the increase of immediate relatives living in the same village. This lends to community, and even to local government some of the characteristics of a wider family life. The establishment of branch families in the village of their parents

by sons other than the first reinforces this, although there are examples of branch families being established in villages away from the parental home. This intermarriage among kinship groups and the settlement of first sons and other children in the same village brings about a situation in which blood relatives or relatives by marriage are exceedingly numerous. It gives to village life cohesion and solidarity. This was very noticeable in the villages studied. Specific illustrations later will show the influences of these situations on many phases of village life. 621

It is no wonder then that the family system has a strong influence on community organization and on formal government. The semi-official organizations such as the neighborhood groups (han in Japanese), the young men's association (seinendan in Japanese), and the women's association (fujinkai in Japanese) are made up of blocs of relatives, friends, and neighbors. These circumstances blur the distinctions between the private and the public life of the family. The same is true of village government and probably accounts in large measure for democratic village government. At a wedding, at a funeral, at a birthday celebration for a child, the head of the village (kuchō in Japanese), and often the mayor of the township (sonchō in Japanese) will be present, not for political or vote catching reasons, but because he is a relative, by blood or marriage, or a personal friend of his hosts. This theme will be developed later, but it should be pointed out here that the family system, in its contemporary operations, is not only the mould for shaping the outlines of obligations and responsibilities for individuals, but that it is an important guiding principle in the conduct of community life and of formal government. 602 621 [595]

2

Kinship Terminology and the Kinship System

We can now explore in more detail the mechanisms by which the family system operates. To do this, it will be well first to list the common kinship and related terms. These are the terms most often met with in conversation and which appear in the family registers (kosoki in Japanese). Kinship terminology follows the Japanese practice. Like Western usage, many terms such as grandfather, grandmother, uncle, aunt, nephew or niece refer to relatives both on the paternal and the maternal side. The chief differences lie in the rank order in which sons or daughters of a family are designated. A child ordinarily is not referred to as a son or as a daughter but as a first or second son, or a third daughter, or whatever the case may be. The most common terms, with their Japanese equivalents are listed below. The first word is the honorific term and the word in parentheses is the equivalent but less polite form. In general, the honorific is used in speaking of another's relatives, or in speaking to one older than oneself. The less polite term refers to one's own family or is used in speaking to persons younger than one's self. 601 [217]

601

Parent	go-ryōshin (ryōshin)
Father	otōsan (chichi)
Mother	okāsan (haha). Young children often address their mother as okā.
Boy, and general term for son	musuko-san (musuko)
Girl, and general term for daughter	musume-san (musume). This word is often used in the same sense of "miss".
First son	chōnan
Second son	jinan
Third son	sanan
Fourth son	yonan
Fifth son	gonan
First daughter	chōjo
Second daughter	nijo
Third daughter	sanjo
Fourth daughter	yonjo
Fifth daughter [1]	gojo
Elder brother	niisan (ani)
Younger brother	ototo-san (ototo)
Elder sister	nēsan (ane)
Younger sister	imoto-san (imoto)
Brothers and sisters	kyōdai
Twins (general term)	futago
Grandfather	ojii-san
Grandmother	obaa-san
Grandchild	mago
Uncle	oji-san (oji)
Aunt	oba-san (oba)
Nephew	oi
Niece	mei
Cousin (usually, first cousin but used loosely also for the second cousin)	itoko
Husband	go-shujin (shujin)
Wife	oku-san (tsuma)
Father-in-law	yoji
Mother-in-law	yobo
Son-in-law, bridegroom	muko
Daughter-in-law, bride, or young wife	yome-san (yome)

1 Subsequent ones are formed by adding the number prefix to the bound form nan or jo. The cho in chōnan and chōjo does not mean first, but head or chief.

601

Step-mother	keibo
Step-father	keifu
Adopted son	yōshi
Adopted daughter	yōjo
Illegitimate child	shiseiji
Person living with a family but not a relative	dōkyonin

Descent is reckoned through the male line. Normally the first son succeeds to the headship of the house, and this is actually true in the great majority of cases, although the failure of the first or later sons to survive to maturity, or the death of sons in the war, have resulted in many household headships being held by sons other than the first, or by daughters. This is brought out in the following table which shows the relationship of the present head of the household to the preceding head. 611 592

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Relationships may be obscured to simple observation because the head of the household (koshu) may reside in a foreign country. This was a common occurrence before the war during the widespread Okinawan emigration, but repatriation since the war has reduced the number of heads of households who live in foreign countries. At present most absentee heads live in Peru, Brasil, or in Argentina. In the absence or disability of the first son, the second and succeeding sons assume his place, not legally, but in practice, and should the elder son return, his younger brother would relinquish the headship and establish a branch family. The family register, however, is not changed to show the temporary head. But his absence may be indicated by a notation. [167]

592 562

A woman, either a wife or a daughter, is not considered in the succession if there are eligible male heirs, but in their absence, she may succeed to a house. The war produced many instances of this. A mother with minor children is the head of the house and has disposition of the family property, but custom and usage circumscribe her freedom of action. In custom, a mother with minor children, especially if one of them is a boy, is regarded as the trustee and caretaker of a house and its fields during the minority of her children, the eldest of whom, if he is a son, will become head when he reaches maturity. In practice, widows with minor sons do not sell or dispose of their property except under strong economic compulsions, and then only after discussion with representatives of the extended family.

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The real place of the woman in the family system is to become part of the family of her husband. If she marries a first son, she enters the home of her husband's parents. If she marries a second or a third son, she is part of a branch family established by her husband. There is general agreement among Okinawans with whom I consulted that the residence of a young wife with the husband's family does not result in the prolonged quarreling and bickering which have made the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law relationship so legendary a topic in Chinese and Japanese society. Disagreements exist, but according to residents in [591] [606]

[Text continues top of p. 95--analyst]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS NOW RESIDING IN HANASHIRO AND MATSUDA
(Classified according to their relationship to the previous head)

Relationship	Hanashiro	Matsuda
First Son	81	61
Second Son	16	41
Third Son	6	16
Fourth Son	2	11
Fifth Son	0	6
Sixth Son	1	1
Seventh Son	0	1
First Daughter	11	29
Second Daughter	1	8
Third Daughter	0	7
Fourth Daughter	0	5
Fifth Daughter	0	0
Sixth Daughter	0	2
Illegitimate Son	0	1
No Data	3	18
Totals:		
Male	121	207
Female	106	138
No Data	12	51
	3	18

Source: Analysis of village family registers (koseki in Japanese) as of August 1951 for Hanashiro, December 1951 for Matsuda. The figures for Matsuda are incomplete and represent 207 of the 243 households in the village. One volume of the Matsuda family register was lost or not available at this time. Minatogawa data are not available from the new register compiled following the destruction of the old one in the war.

each of the villages, they seldom reach real intensity or a point where the husband sends his wife back to her parents and obtains a divorce. 592 606

A special problem, ordinarily calling for adoption as the solution, is the situation in a family with no sons. During the child bearing ages a family tries very hard to get a son. The man with a family of daughters will resort to adoption of a male child of a relative, if at the end of a child bearing period, no sons have been born to him. But adoption, while available as a device for insuring the continuity of the family, is uncommon and does not have the importance historically attached to it in Japan. Adoption is discussed in more detail in Section 6. 597 [842]

3

The Extended Family and its Branches

The extended family (ichimon in Japanese, munchu in Okinawan) consists of all families in the main and collateral line of descent from the common ancestor.[2] This ancestor, who founded the house, is an historical, or at least a supposed historical person. The descendants of the founder of the family, themselves united in a family group, are thus related to one another, though the older the family, the more remote these relationships become. Many villagers recognize that they are related to one another, but the relationships are seldom clearly defined beyond the second cousin. After this people become relatives, (shinseki or shinrui in Japanese). These words, used synonymously in Okinawa, indicate an awareness of a relationship without knowing offhand its exact nature. This problem is solved in part, as will appear later on, in Section 8, by knowing the household order name of each family, but even here individual relationships are difficult to trace. 614 596 602

Contemporary lack of precise knowledge of family genealogies is due in large part to the destruction of many family records during the war. The keeping of genealogies was common, especially among the families who belonged to the old Okinawan nobility. The genealogies lost in the war are irreplaceable. The same is true of the official family registers which were also destroyed. They were replaced with ones prepared by officials personally interviewing the families involved. While this procedure succeeded in recording contemporary data with a fair degree of accuracy, it could not duplicate the minute details, going back for generations, which were recorded in the old registers. 601 217 [565]

2 Dictionaries usually define ichimon as clan, but I have avoided using this term because of ambiguities in usuage. In American practice, clan has been applied to groups in which descent is reckoned through the mother. See R. H. Lowie, Primitive society, New York, 1920, 111-12. Father-sibs (Lowie's term) or family groups could be used, but the latter term suggests more a collection of families than a large unified family with many sub-families.

614 Each contemporary extended family has two main divisions: the main family (honke in Japanese) represented by the families in the direct line of descent, and the branch families (bunke in Japanese) which represent families not in the direct line. The terms, main family and branch family, are also used in a narrower sense to distin-
592 guish, within an individual family, between the family of the first son who will succeed to his father's house, and other sons who will establish branch houses.

614 The extended family has a main house whose head is the living
621 representative in direct succession of the original founder. The seat of each extended family is a definite site in a village or town. The degree of scattering of the collateral families is dependent on the mobility of people throughout time and the manner in which the original villages were settled. Hanashiro, for example, is considered to be about 400 years old. Sixteen of the main houses are in the village. In Minatogawa, founded as a secondary port for the fishermen of Itoman town, perhaps 250 years ago, the main houses are predominantly in Itoman. In the neighboring village of Nagamo (Minatogawa-niku), an area of recent settlement, the main house of the village families is generally in Naha or in Shuri. Matsuda in the north has family seats not only in the village but some of its collateral families are from adjoining areas, the Motobu peninsula, and also from the south. The location of the main family seats of any village is an indication of the areas from which the place was originally peopled. Considering the
[13] smallness of the island and the even more restricted inhabited area--settlement in the northern two-thirds of the island is along the coastal rim which borders the forest--and the general lack of mobility until recent times, it is apparent that each village is composed in varying proportions of kinship groups whose original ancestral house is either in that village or from other villages or towns, most likely from adjoining areas, or from such larger centers of dispersion as Naha, Shuri, Nago, or Itoman.

It is difficult to say how important the extended family is in the culture. It may be spread over many villages in the island. Distance and lack of contact does not create the strong ties that exist within the village among relatives, friends, and neighbors. The following illustrations, drawn from each village, may however furnish some clues regarding the nature and importance of the extended family.

614 In Hanashiro, there are sixteen head houses. These with their collateral branches total 75 families; in other words, of the 121 families in the village, the head house of 75 is located in the village itself. The head houses of the remaining 46 are in other villages or towns.[3] This situation makes for closer ties of the individual families

3 Parallel information was not available for the other two villages; it was apparent through discussion that the same situation existed, although the proportion of main and branch families might be different

to the extended family, even if in some cases relationships are very distant. This point may be illustrated by discussing the relationships among six families named Shiroma in Hanashiro. The first family is the contemporary representative of the main family line. It is a main family. Its present head is an adopted child, but that does not change the situation. The second family head is a descendant of the younger brother of the grandfather of the head of the family; he is the grandson of the main head's great uncle, and therefore a second cousin of the head of the main family. The third and fourth families are branch families established by his father's younger brothers and are his first cousins. The fifth family is a very old branch family, going farther back than the grandfather. The sixth, in turn, is a branch family of the fifth. The present head of the main family does not know the relationship of the present heads of these two households to himself. 614

The fact that there are 16 main families with their 75 branches in the village of Hanashiro does not mean that there are not other branches of these main families. There are more than 75 families in the extended family. These are merely the branches of these 16 main families which reside in the village.

The head of a main house has responsibilities which are not shared by the heads of the branch families. He is the custodian of the tomb of the extended family. The head house is the meeting place of the extended family reunions. These normally take place on the 15th day of the 7th lunar month, the festival of O-Bon, and on lunar New Year. The extended families, or representatives that may reside in a village which is also the seat of the extended family decide questions of concern to the extended family as a whole. Such a question might be the case of a widow with minor children. For economic reasons, she seeks to sell her property. Since the disposal of property in land is intimately connected with the present and future fortunes of a family, the members of the extended family, especially if many reside in the same place, discuss this matter and give advice which the young widow in practice follows. [764] [527] [769]

Hanashiro is a good example of an old agricultural community in which descendant families have tended to remain in the same place as the original founder of the family. Those collateral families with main houses elsewhere are, in the main, from adjacent or nearby areas. 621 614

When this situation is compared with Minatogawa, certain differences are at once apparent. The fishermen of present day Minatogawa are descendants of settlers originally from the large fishing town of Itoman. Many of these fishing families are related by blood and intermarriage. Not only this, but there is a web of interrelationship which includes Itoman and its daughter village of Minatogawa. Of the 213 households in Minatogawa, 53 had the surname of Tamaki (or Tamashiro), 47 of Uehara, 21 of Oshiro, and 20 of Kanashiro, the four surnames accounting for 141 of the total households. People with the same surname who live in the same village are almost invariably related.[4] Compared with other [628] [551]

4 In sample checks made personally this turned out to be true, but the relationship was often so distant as to be unknown. All informants stated that people living in the same village who had the same surname were relatives.

621 614 villages studied, these frequencies of families with the same surname are very high. The seat of these extended families of the Hinatogawa fishermen is in almost every instance the town of Itoman. The tombs of Hinatogawa are entirely different from those of the neighboring [764] agricultural communities. They are small and temporary tombs for keeping remains that will later be removed to the large, often dramatically situated extended family tombs of Itoman. One resident of Hinatogawa aptly described his village as a "bunke (branch family) of Itoman."

463 621 614 This is an unusual situation and can not be fully explained except by a study of Itoman and the smaller fishing villages scattered throughout Okinawa Island. One explanation might be that historically Okinawans have been farmers, and that, while they are excellent fishermen, they have not as a people participated in large numbers in fishing, leaving this activity to definite groups, such as the people of Itoman town. The passing down of occupations of the father to the son, the infrequency of change in occupation, especially from agriculture to fishing, the establishment of daughter villages, such as Hinatogawa, might account for the fact that fishing is the occupation of a compact group of families who have intermarried and continued in their traditional occupations. Even in Matsuda, to the north, the temporary colonies of fishermen are either Itoman people or are their descendants. (There are of course a few local farmers who do some fishing). The close ties between Hinatogawa and its parent town of Itoman illustrate the persistence of occupational and social relationships over a period of two and a half centuries.

614 Certain exceptions to the usual practice in Hinatogawa accentuate the closeness of extended family relationships between Itoman and Hinatogawa. As an illustration, we may take the case of three related families in Hinatogawa who are not fishermen. The head of one family is a retired farmer, his son is a school teacher, and a third is a distant relative is a stone cutter. These people, formerly members or descendants of members of the nobility, came from Shuri. The main house of their extended family is in Shuri. This contemporary extended family now has so many members that the places for reunions and meetings have been increased, since the site of the main house in Shuri, founded by the original ancestor, can no longer accommodate all the members. The places of worship are divided into the main place, (umuta in Okinawan) and intermediate places [778] (nakamutu in Okinawan). Some of these secondary places of worship are in nearby Naha. The number of these cases is small compared with the closely knit ties of the fishermen's families with Itoman town.

In Matsuda, the extended family operates as it does in Hanashiro. In the former town, there is an illustration of another point regarding the extended family system: the identity of a family name with a village name. Historically, the family took the name of the place; the place did not receive the name of the family. Though the situation is not clear, it would seem that when the king made grants of land to nobles that they [565] adopted the name given by the king to the place, while commoners did not receive surnames, but were known by their household rank order -- to be explained in Section 8. The village of Matsuda, for example, is the same

of the head of the extended Matsuda family. In the extended family reunions at this home, which is on the presumed original site of the first house, on New Years and on O-Bon, there are member families not only from Matsuda itself, but from villages in the Motobu peninsula, Nakagusuku, and the Nakijin areas. There are about 180 persons in the present extended family group of the Matsuda family, of whom about 80 attend the reunions. In these extended family reunions, the heads of the branch families who reside in other villages may send money--about 10Y--for charcoal sticks (senko in Japanese) and sake to be used in the observances. These meetings occur at New Years, on the birth of a child, at the celebration on the naming of a child, for the worship at the family tomb in the third month of the lunar year, and on O-Bon in the seventh month. Another practice in this family illustrates a variant in extended family customs. In the Matsuda family, the members of the main family, every seventh year, hold worship at the homes of branch families at Nakagusuku and Nakijin during the festival of the fifth lunar month. 614

The importance of the extended family, it would seem, varies somewhat with the families comprising the larger kinship group. While in the extended family, the ties are not so close as those of the immediate family, and even of friends and neighbors, these ties though sometimes tenuous are really a geographical network of relationships that provide the basis in fact for belonging and for being part of a wider community.

The force of this fact should not be underestimated. It is part of the personal security and of being a link in the chain that is so integral a characteristic of the family system. It is not unusual for a person to go to another village or to the larger towns and to have his relatives in the extended family receive him and take care of him for long or short periods. The head of the extended family and his custodianship of the family tomb, and his leadership in the reunions further cement these wider relationships. With some, it is true, extended family observances are perfunctory. A school teacher, for example, said that when his beliefs in religion and in the worship of ancestors were stronger, he visited the site of the main house quite often; now his visits were perhaps once or twice a year, and these were done as a matter of form. But still they were done, and the indirect effect, if not to deepen religious conviction, was to maintain personal ties with the wider kinship group. There is little doubt that the extended family reinforces and solidifies the family groups, especially when several branch families are located in the village of the seat of the main family, or with those, like the fishing community of Minatogawa, whose family seat is in a common parent town. There does not seem, however, to be that strong sense of extended family loyalty that has been remarked upon so often in the traditional Chinese family system, especially among the gentry class. [574] [183]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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Individual Families and Their Branches

614 Up to this point, we have been describing the extended families which are composed of the main and the branch families which have descended from a common ancestor. The discussion may now be carried one step further to describe the individual family and its branches.

592 [599] The individual family is the basic unit of village life. Normally this individual family is the biological family, composed of the parents and the children. But it is surprising how often family units or households are made up of relatives other than the biological family to create many varieties in family composition. The numerous deaths, as a result of the war, have added to this variety.

An attempt has been made in the following table to hint at the variation of family composition in the villages and to show this in further detail according to the number of individuals in a family. This table is a compromise, for with so many combinations, it cannot show the full detail without reproducing the composition of each family in each village.

In this analysis, family units have been broken down into three main groups: (1) those with single heads, usually but not always representing older people, (2) those with male heads, and (3) those with female heads.

The grouping of male heads has been further broken down into seven sub-groups: (1) the husband and wife, (2) the husband, wife, and child or children, (3) families with a husband, wife, children, plus other relatives, (4) families with a husband and wife, no children, but with other relatives, (5) the male head with children only, (6) the male head with children and other relatives, and (7) the male head with other relatives only.

Those family units having female heads were subdivided into three groups (1) the mother with a child or children, (2) the mother with child or children, plus other relatives, and (3) the female head with other relatives.

The general category of other relatives was necessary in order to present the materials in compact form. Other relatives most commonly are younger brothers and sisters, parents, grandparents, uncles, aunts, nephews, or nieces.

The table shows how widely the families vary from the normal biological family. In Hanashiro, only two of the ten units with two in the family are composed of a husband and a wife. Four have female heads with other relatives, meaning generally that women are taking care of

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a younger brother or sister, a parent, grandparent, or another relative. In Minatogawa, 13 of the 41 units with three in the family are widows with children only or widows with a child and another relative. Women are frequently heads of families and this incidence ranges from two to nine in the family. This is striking in Minatogawa, where twelve of the 38 units having four members of the household are composed of women and children, or of women and children and other relatives.

The table is not able to show the composition of large families except in general terms. This can be indicated in a different way by two or three actual illustrations of the family composition of larger units. These examples also indirectly illustrate the force of the family system in the care of close and more distant relatives.

(1) A Family of Twelve, Matsuda Village.

The head, a first son, born in Matsuda, 1914
His wife, also born in Matsuda, 1916
Father of the head, born 1894
Mother of the head, born 1892
Younger sister, 6th daughter, born 1934
Younger sister, 7th daughter, born 1937
First son of the head, born 1937
First daughter of the head, born 1939
Second daughter of the head, born 1943
Second son of the head, born 1945
Third son of the head, born 1945
Third daughter of the head, born 1949

(2) A Family of Eleven, Hanashiro Village.

The head, a second son, born in 1895
His wife, born in 1894
Second daughter of the head, born 1923
First son of the head, born 1927
First son's wife, born 1924
Third daughter of the head, born 1933
Grandchildren (children of the first son and his wife):
First son, born 1945
Second son, born 1948
Illegitimate first daughter of the first daughter, the latter not in the household.
Illegitimate second daughter of the second daughter.
First son of the second son, the latter not in the household.

(3) A Family of Fourteen, Minatogawa Village.

The head, age 27
His wife, age 25
First son, age 7
First daughter, age 4
Second son, age 2

[Text continues on p. 105 -- Analyst]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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FAMILY COMPOSITION OF THE VILLAGES

FAMILY HEAD	NUMBER IN THE FAMILY 1			2			3		
	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu
Single Heads:									
Male	4	10	11						
Female	4	12	12						
Male Heads with:									
Wife only				2	23	19			
Wife and Children Only							8	19	20
Wife, Childr, Other Rels									
Wife and Other Rels								3	1
Child or Children Only				1	1	2			1
Children and Other Rels						2		3	
Other Relatives Only				2	2		9	3	
Female Heads with:									
Child or Children Only				1	8	8		9	13
Children and Other Rels					1	1	2	4	
Other Relatives Only				4	1	1	1		1

	4			5			6		
	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu
Male Heads with:									
Wife only									
Wife and Children only	13	20	10	7	13	16	3	10	11
Wife, Childr, Other Rels		1	4	2	8	6	1	9	4
Wife and Other Rels	1	1		1			1		1
Child or Children Only	1			1					
Children and Other Rels	1	1		1	2				
Other Relatives Only	6	3	2	6			1	2	1
Female Heads with:									
Child or Children Only		9	5		7	8		2	1
Children and Other Rels		3	2		4	1	1	5	
Other Relatives Only	1		1						

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FAMILY COMPOSITION OF THE VILLAGES, con't.

FAMILY HEAD	NUMBER IN THE FAMILY 7			8			9		
	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu
Male Heads with:									
Wife only									
Wife and Children only	3	7	8	4	3	4	1	1	2
Wife, Childr, Other Rels	5	7	4	1	5	3	4	3	6
Wife and Other Rels									
Child or Children Only	1								
Children and Other Rels	2	1		2		1			
Other Relatives Only	1				1				
Female Heads with:									
Child or Children only		1	4		1			2	
Children and Other Rels									
Other Relatives only					1				

	10			11			12		
	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu
Male Heads with:									
Wife Only									
Wife and Children only	1								
Wife, Childr, Other Rels	3	1	2	3	3	3	1		3
Wife and other Rels									
Other Relatives Only									
Female Heads with:									
Child or Children only									
Children and Other Rels						1			
Other Relatives only									

	13			14		
	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu
Male Heads with:						
Wife only						
Wife and Children only						
Wife, Childr, Other Rels	1	1			1	
Wife and other Rels	1					
Other Relatives only						
Children and Other Rels	1					

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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SUMMARY

	Total	Single Heads	Male Family Heads	Female Family Heads
Hanashiro	120	8	102	10
Hinatogawa	238	22	158	58
Matsuda	207	23	137	47

Note: This and the preceding tables represent: (a) 120 of the 120 households of Hanashiro as of December 31, 1951, (b) 207 of the 213 households of Matsuda, since one volume of the register was not available, and (c) 238 listings from Hinatogawa, while there are only 213 households. As far as could be determined, there are 238 heads of a family (koshu) who are living in 213 households (kosu). There is thus some doubling up, probably among the female heads who are living in the houses of relatives. A house or a residence in the physical sense may thus have one or more heads of houses or families, just as two families might live in the same house anywhere. No attempt therefore has been made to reconcile the differences.

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Mother of head, age 48
Grandfather of head, age 65
Younger brother, age 25
Younger brother, age 16
Younger sister, age 9
Younger sister, age 11
Younger brother's wife, age 25
Two nieces, ages 4 and 2, daughters of the eldest younger brother and his wife.

These examples, of which many more could be given, illustrate several points regarding the family system. It is not uncommon to have as many as four generations in a family unit, the present head, his parent, the children, and the grandchildren of the head. There are four generations in illustration #3. The combination of a first son and his wife, with his parents, his younger brothers and sisters, and the head's own children, a common composition, illustrates the responsibilities of the first son both to his parents and to his siblings. Responsibility for illegitimate children is with the family of the girl. Occasionally [848] a husband will accept an illegitimate child born to his wife either before or during the marriage, but it is more usual for the illegitimate child to be reared in the household from which the mother came. In the second illustration, one illegitimate daughter lives with her grandparents and the mother is not in the household. The third illustration shows an unusual situation in which the young head and his wife have their children, his mother, his grandfather, minor younger sisters and brothers, and, in addition, a married younger brother and his wife and their two children. Ordinarily these would have established a branch family and not have been part of the older brother's household.

At present, the commonest family compositions are (1) the biological family, (2) the family with a young eldest son as the head with the widowed mother and other minor brothers and sisters, a type of composition which has increased as a result of the war, (3) uncles, aunts, cousins, and occasionally unrelated persons may live in the house, (4) often grandparents are found with their grandchildren, (5) widows with minor children are also common, an incidence increased by war.

The percentage of widows in Hinatogawa, in addition to the casualties [62] of war, is due to the loss of fishermen at sea, a not uncommon tragedy [65] as the typhoon season coincides with the best fishing seasons. Since [58] widows with children seldom remarry, the family composition remains the same until the first son assumes the leadership of the family and the mother resides with him.

Each of the families making up the extended family is either a 596 main or a branch family. This arrangement is repeated in the individual [582] families as well. If we take as an example a family with both parents, a first son, a second son, and a first daughter, we may expect as a [591] normal development that the eldest son will marry between 24 and 27 and live with his wife at the home of his parents, that the father will

596 live with his wife at the home of his parents, that the father will
[887] formally retire from active management of his property--but not from physical labor--at the age of 60, that both parents will continue living with their eldest son, the daughter-in-law, and the grandchildren, and that the second and any succeeding sons, when they reach marriageable age, will marry, and at this time--if it has not been done before--the father or the eldest son will provide a house site and some land, permitting the establishment of a branch family. The
[591] first and succeeding daughters will marry first or other sons of other families, leave their parents' home and accept a position in the main or in a branch family of the husband's house.

613 The parallelism in structure between the extended family and its
596 member families and the individual family with its branch families established by sons other than the first can be seen in the following diagram:

All of the families, except those designated with the numeral 1, are branch families of the extended family. Family #7, is a branch family of a branch family. Family #5 (itself a branch) is the main family of Family #7 as far as the immediate descendants in Family #7 are concerned.

In the following illustration, the second son has established a branch family of Family #7, while the head's own son will inherit the main house, leaving his second son to establish a branch. Family #7 is a branch of a branch, but with relation to succeeding houses in the direct line, it is a main family.

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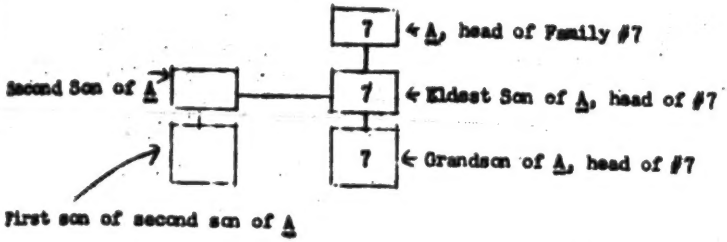
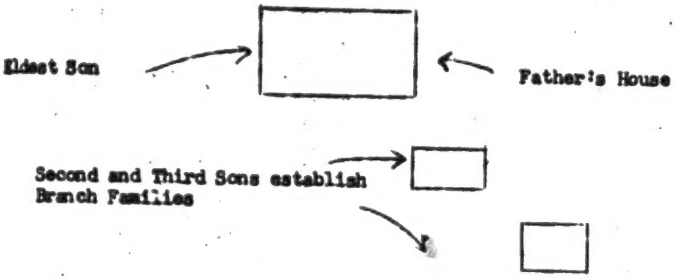
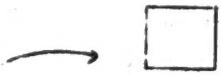




Daughters marry and go to Husband's Father's House or to Branch Families established by their husbands. [591]



The family system, through the succession of the first son to his father's house, prevents the extinction of the main family line, and at the same time creates branch families with close ties with the parent family. [611]

Lacking a son, adoption (to be discussed below) is available to provide against extinction of any family, but in Okinawan villages it has seldom been necessary to use it. [597]

The emphasis in the family system is on providing for the eldest son who succeeds to the father's estate. The sons other than the first must be prepared to accept little or nothing, in the case of the very poor, when they marry and separate themselves from the parental house. [428]

In these Okinawan villages, the second and succeeding sons (or younger brothers if the head of the house is the eldest brother) remain in the family until marriage, usually around 25. They do not live in separate houses, but may have separate rooms, or a small shack in the compound for sleeping purposes. Unless they live in another town or work 593 [582] [513]

593 in a military installation which keeps them away from their homes, they
remain there, helping in the fields, or go out on the fishing boats, as
[582] the case may be. If a son other than the first remains in the family
after the age of marriage, it is generally for some physical or mental
disability. Under the normal operation of the family system, there is
591 no time in a person's life in which he is not part of some family unit
and living in the same house with his parents, an elder brother, or
with a wife and his children, or with his grandchildren.

727 The war enforced many exceptions to this normal life cycle, as the
593 discussion of the previous table brought out: conscription and military
service, deaths in battle or as a consequence of the campaign, widow-
hood and the orphaning of children. In the villages studied, the post-
war situation was not disrupting family life further by the movement of
younger unattached men to Naha or the larger towns, or by their separation
from daily life while doing work for military camps. At least it was not
sufficiently frequent to result in a deterioration of normal family life.
591 In these villages branch families were established for the most part
in the village of the parent family. There are two reasons for this:
first, the desire to remain near the parents and siblings, and second,
[423] that the property which the father, or elder brother, has at his disposal
is normally real property and land holdings in the village. Cash, which
[435] agricultural or fishing family might have at its disposal, would usually
be insufficient at present prices for a second or succeeding son to be
given money to purchase land and a house site elsewhere. Occasionally a
[425] father sells land in the village to provide his son with money to purchase
a house site and fields elsewhere, but this is not usual.

The mechanics of establishing a branch household may be illustrated from practices observed in each of the villages, though the procedure is essentially the same.

Hanashiro is a settlement in the center of a cultivated area of dry
[361] field farming and rice paddies. The cultivated area begins on the outer
rim of the village. The father, or the elder brother, gives a field
(hatake in Japanese) to the son, or younger brother, if it is suitable
for a house site. If the land owned is too far away--there are no
[425] isolated homesteads--an effort is made to exchange with a neighbor, friend
or relative, the far off property for a parcel closer in. If this is
not possible, the remote piece is sold and the proceeds used to purchase
a suitable plot in the residential area. If the family is too poor to
[426] give money or land, an attempt may be made to borrow the money for pur-
chase. If none of these arrangements is possible, the son may simply
start out on his own, or less commonly, may live with his wife in the
home of his parents, or delay his marriage. But it is uncommon for a
second or succeeding son and his wife and children to live in the house
of the parents or of the elder brother.

311 In this way, the residential area gradually replaces the cultivated
591 areas which surround it. One consequence of the establishment of branch
families in agricultural villages is that it gradually decreases the

arable land available for cultivation. House sites cannot be set up on rocky or mountain land away from the village. Whether on the island as a whole the increase in population, the repatriation and the stoppage of large scale emigration will in the future seriously diminish the amount of land available for agricultural uses is an interesting question, but there certainly is a direct relationship between population growth and land taken up with house sites.[5] Not only will a growing population enforce greater demands on the land, but it will inevitably cut down on the amount.

Among the fishermen of Minatogawa, there is a little more fluidity in the establishment of branch families. There are seldom enough lands to subdivide, and only about 50% of the fishermen own land in addition to their house site. The branch household is established according to the son's taste, and the father may give money if he can afford it so the son can set himself up in Itoman, Naha, or elsewhere. The usual procedure here is to give land in a former agricultural area of the village, land which was developed in the southern part of the village as a result of the destruction of the war in other parts. Here formerly arable land was taken over directly for residential use.

In Matsuda, it is possible to use newly developed areas. This community, unlike the other two, is a series of sub-settlements. In two of these, branch families have settled, one near the seashore, and the other on reclaimed forest land. In both of these areas, the pattern of settlement is different; the clusters of houses give way to the scattered houses, some standing out alone on the top of a knoll or hill, some near the forested slopes of the hillside. In these areas, there is an atmosphere of pioneer settlement. As in Hanashiro, the buying of near land and the selling of far off land and exchange of land are practiced. Since the reclaimed area is considered to be less productive and less desirable, the poorer families are able to purchase land here for their second sons.

5

The Pivotal Importance of the First Son

The key person in the family system is the first son. He normally succeeds to the house at the death or retirement of his father. The father may not legally retire before 60. In rare cases--none were encoun-

5 In general, house and village sites are on arable land, but the quality of this land naturally varies from place to place. See any of the 11 sheets of the Okinawan Soils Map and the discussion in the Remarks column of the legend with reference to the types of soils on which village sites are found.

513 tered in the villages--a first son may be passed over in favor of a
596 second son because of mental disability, gross incompetence, or excessive drinking, or the father, by selling his land to his other sons may in effect disinherit his first son. These actions involve
[428] the courts and it is rare for villagers to engage in litigation. In
[691] practice, the first son almost invariably succeeds. On his marriage, the first son and his wife live in the home of his parents. There are some exceptions to this. Since the war, some first sons in agri-
[464] cultural communities have found opportunities in business in Naha, in larger towns like Itoman or Nago, in military government or in Okinawan government positions. In this case, the first son does not live with his parents, but he continues with this new work in the strange town, the
[591] parents on their retirement, or as they become more helpless, joining the son. But in cases where the first son continues in the occupation of his father, this is the usual and expected practice. Only long standing incompatability between father and son prevents such an arrangement.

593 One point regarding the future of the family system that may assume
464 importance in Okinawa is that the responsibilities of the first son increase with any decline in opportunities for succeeding sons. The
166 traditional outlet for sons other than the first in Oriental countries has been migration to the cities, to lands of new settlement, or emigra-
167 tion to foreign countries. In Okinawa, emigration to various parts of the world, the South Seas, Hawaii, Peru, Brazil has been the most important of these outlets. Its history cannot be understood without appreciating this fact. Both first and succeeding sons have emigrated. With the virtual stoppage of emigration, the only solution for second and succeeding sons would seem to lie in opportunities coming from military installations, government work, industrial and urban development, in addition to the present opportunities in agriculture. If with a growing population, the family system begins to break apart, it will probably be first noticed in the inability of the first sons to bear increased responsibilities.

593 For this reason, it is interesting to record some observed atti-
596 tudes of first and other sons in the villages studied. These attitudes are personal ones. No inter-village comparisons can be made. The first is one of pride in being a first son and in assuming the headship of the house but dislike of the responsibility of providing for siblings, especially when the estate is not large. Dislike of the responsibilities of being the first son was most observable in Minatogawa. Here the lack of land, succession merely to a house site, a boat or fishing gear, but with the same responsibility for care for younger brothers and sisters, parents and grandparents put the clearest burden on the first son. The financial burden of paying for anniversary celebrations on the death of a relative is especially onerous. There is only minor help from younger brothers. This fact is not resented as a lack of generosity of the younger brothers who by now would have branch houses of their own; it is part of the family system. Younger brothers might contribute, as one first son jokingly said, fifty yen to a celebration that cost two thousand.

Some villagers also pointed to the reluctance of young women to marry first sons. There were two reasons for this: the financial responsibilities of the first son, and the joint living with his parents. These young women had the attitude that the second or the third son enjoyed greater freedom. The position of the first son is more secure in an agricultural community, especially if the father has some means. The reluctance of some young women to marry first sons may be offset by marrying into a well established family and by the prestige that comes with such a marriage. One also encounters an attitude of indifference regarding one's position in the family hierarchy: no pride in being the first son and no feeling of resentment at being a second or succeeding one. 593 581

Among parents and grandparents, there is strong pride in a son. The birth of a son in early marriage and his survival simplifies the life of every individual in the family. It points to the desired succession, to care in old age and a normal family experience within the framework of the family system. 562

6

Adoption

As in other Oriental countries, the emphasis placed on the first son, or one standing in his place, reflects the concern of the family for its continued existence. Extinction (danzetsu in Japanese) of the family must be avoided. Adoption is the traditional method of preventing extinction. While there are instances of adoption in all villages, it is not common, nor does it have the importance which is attached to it in Japan. 597

The need for adoption arises when a family does not have a male child to succeed to the father's house. Two types of adoption are recognized: the adoption of a male child or the adoption of the prospective husband of a daughter. No instance of the latter form was encountered in any of the villages. Unlike Japan, where an adopted child might be unrelated to the family, Okinawans, when they resort to adoption, always choose a relative in the male line, perhaps a nephew or a distant relative of the male head. The preferred alternatives are two: a first or second son of the brother of the head of the adopting house is taken, or a second son may be adopted by his uncle and will succeed to the main family line on the death of his uncle.

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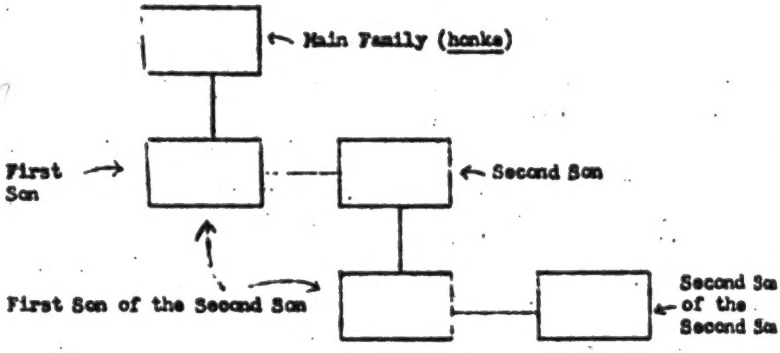
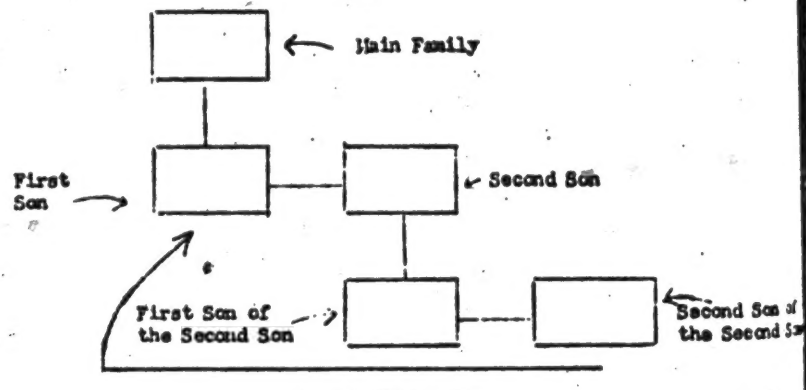


First Alternative

The first son of the second son is adopted by his uncle, the first son of the original head.



Second Alternative

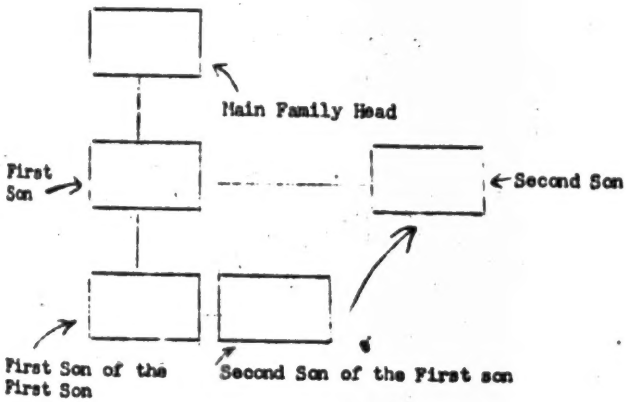
The second son is adopted by his uncle and succeeds to the main family line.

In view of the importance of the first son to the immediate family, it might appear contradictory that a first son would be adopted out. The answer is, I think, that it is more important to secure succession to the main family than it is to the branch family. 597

Since adoptions are so few, it is not possible to say which of these two mechanisms is most frequently used or to make distinctions among villages. Hanashiro informants said that the commonest practice is to adopt the second son of a brother. In Minatogawa, the same situation held, with the added statement that if the brother had only one son, that son would not be adopted by the uncle.

In Matsuda, informants mentioned most frequently the first method, that is the adoption of the first son of the second son to succeed to the family line. In either case, the continuity of both the main and the branch families is provided for.

Adoption may also work in the reverse situation, that is when there is no male heir to the branch family. This would be solved by adopting the second, but never the first son of the brother in direct line of succession:



The adoptions of which we have been speaking are of minor children and independent of marriage arrangements for the daughters of the family. It is possible to adopt a daughter's prospective husband and thus to provide both an heir to the house and a husband for the daughter.

This awkward device is out of keeping with the family system. It places a man in the position of a woman and violates the basic assumption that sons carry on the family of the father. This type of adoption is [183]

597 known as groom-adoption (mukoyoshi in Japanese). No instances of this form of adoption were found in the villages. The husband-to-be is adopted into his wife's family and, at the same time, becomes successor to his wife's father's estate. The adopted man is placed in a similar position to a daughter to be married: he forsakes his own family, his name is taken off the family register of his father, and he becomes, like the bride in a normal situation, a member of his wife's family.

597 183 [171] Common in Japan, this device is considered a humiliating position, both in Japan and in Okinawa,* for the bridegroom, since he puts himself in an unfavorable position regarding the women of the adopting family and leaves his own. Even though unused, reactions to this form of adoption are unreservedly negative in the villages. "It is very distasteful," said one man. "The boy deserts his own home and enters his wife's home." Occasionally however it probably will be used. There are a few families with five or six daughters and no sons. In one instance, a family with six daughters, the eldest of marriageable age, the parents were considering groom adoption.

597 171 In Okinawa unlike Japan, the maintenance of the family system is not contingent upon an elaborate and widely used system of adoption. This is one of the important distinctions to be made between Okinawan and Japanese culture, for in Japan adoption has been used by the royal family, in business and professional circles, as well as among the ordinary classes of people.

7

The "Growing Up" Parent

597 608 855 734 There is also a special form of adoption in Okinawa. It is debatable whether it is directly concerned with the maintenance of the family system, or is a more general aspect of the culture and part of the care and rearing of children. This is known as yashineuya (in Okinawan), yashinaoya or morawako (in Japanese). It is not adoption, but an arrangement that is considered helpful for the survival of sickly children who, the parents feel, might not live to maturity. The verb, yashinsu in Japanese means to rear, adopt, or support. It is also used in referring to raising animals.

[791] [787] The first step is to consult a fortune teller (sanjinsō in Japanese). Hanashiro people can go to nearby Gushichan; Minatogawans to Itoman or Naha, and the parents of Matsuda to Ginoza or to Nago to consult the

* This situation has changed since the war. See The Japanese village in transition, as cited, 213.

fortune teller. The purpose of this visit is to discover who would be a good adopting parent. The fortune teller advises the parents to select a person born under the same year sign as the child. These year signs roughly correspond to the signs of the zodiac. The twelve signs with their Japanese equivalents are: rat (ne), ox (ushi), tiger (tora), hare or rabbit (u), dragon (tatsu), snake (mi), horse (uma), sheep hitsuji), monkey (saru), bird (tori), dog (inu), and hog or boar (i). The year 1951 was the year of the hare; 1952 is the year of the dragon (tatsudoki). 597 608 855 734 787 [805]

The adopting or "growing up" parent is older, in multiples of 12, than the child. After consulting almanacs and other materials, the fortune teller advises the parents to find a person in the village born under the same year sign as the child. Prospective adopting parents are then sought out and the matter is discussed with them. Both parents may do this, but most often the discussions are carried on by the mother. When the selection is made, the child is "given" to the adopting parent, and there are prayers before the Buddhist god shelf in the home of the adopting parent. [782] [778]

Actually the child continues to live with its own parents, but makes frequent visits to the home of the adopting parent. There are no stated intervals at which these visits are made, except for New Years and O-Bon. The adopting parent may on these visits give food and presents to the child. [574]

The arrangement thus seems to be a form of sponsorship and guardianship without special responsibilities on the part of the adopting parent, to bring good health and long life to the child. It has only slight resemblances to the godfather and godmother in Christian countries who sponsor a child at his baptism and theoretically at least undertake to be responsible for his Christian training. But the sponsorship and guardianship features are somewhat similar.

Adoption of this type may be done in Okinawa by either sex. Generally old women are the favorites and they may have many such adopted children. But old or older men may also assume this obligation. This form of "growing up" adoption existed in all the villages studied in substantially the same form. [887] [184]

8

The Household Order Naming System

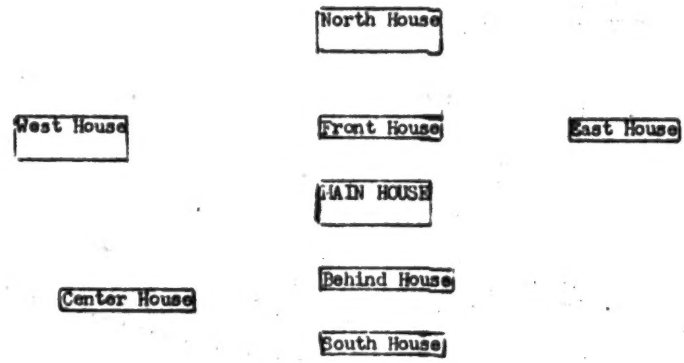
Families in a village have, in addition to their own surnames, secondary names by which individual families are known. This secondary naming system is a device to distinguish related families with the same surname from one another. 614 551 592 613

The secondary naming system is known as "the household order," or yagō in Japanese. To introduce this discussion, it might be well to 000

000 state the idea in rough outline first so that it can be grasped immediately. Let us suppose that in an American small town of about 1000 people, there are 200 families, 75 of which are named Smith; another 75, Jones; 25, Brown; and 25 of assorted surnames of less frequency. These people are neighbors; they are an agricultural people; they have not had much education. It is difficult to remember everyone's surname and distinguish, when talking to others, one family from the other. So the 75 Smith families are given various designations, such as "the Milwaukee Smiths," "Smith, the barber," "the second son of the Milwaukee Smiths. The same is done with the Jones, the Browns, and the other families. These families then become known by their secondary names rather than by their Christian and surnames. A child, instead of being known as Bobbie Smith, would be the child of the Milwaukee Smiths. The parallel between this situation and the household order naming system is inexact, but the example conveys the general idea.

592 The household order name given to any single family shows the
614 place of this particular family in the hierarchy of the extended family.
613 Families belonging to the same extended family have the same surname. But each has a different household order name to distinguish one from the other. In Minatogawa, for example, there are 53 families named Tamaki but each of these families has a distinct household order name. [193] These names are built up in an agglutinative fashion by using a root word and then by adding prefixes and occasionally a suffix to show distinctions among families.

614 Historically, the household order system seems to have grown up
613 as a result of the building of houses for branch families around or
592 near the house of the original ancestor. In the following illustration, the house of the original founder of the family is shown in the middle.
621 Perhaps his eldest younger brother, when he established a branch house, built his home in front of his brother's home and another younger brother built his home in back of the founder's house. These two houses would then become the "front" and the "behind" houses.



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The founder's first son remains in the main house. But his other sons and their sons take up positions to the north, south, east, or west; subsequent descendants might take up other positions. It is possible to relate any family in this manner to the head family. The prefixes (and one suffix) used in making the various designations are:

Japanese	Okinawan	English
mae-	me-	before, front
ushiro-	kushi-	after, behind
ue-	ui-	top
shita-	shicha-	bottom
higashi-	agari-	east
minami-	fe-	south
nishi-	iri-	west
kita-	nishi-	north
atarashii	mi- miya-	new
naka		center
	ufa-	big, great
	-gwa	diminutive, opposite of ufa, and a suffix.

Let us assume, to use an actual illustration from Hanashiro, that the household order name of a main house is Ganiku. This word has no known meaning; it may be a place name or some local landmark near the site of the original house established perhaps centuries ago. Other families in Hanashiro which are branch families of this main extended family would have the word Ganiku in their house order name with the addition of prefixes and suffixes to show that it was a branch family. There are 14 families in which the word Ganiku appears in the household order name. These are (in Okinawan):

1	Ganiku	The Main House
2	Nakaganiku	Center-
3	Kushiganiku	Behind-
4	Ganikugwa	Little Ganiku
5	Iriganiku	West-
6	Miganiku	New-
7	Miyameganiku	New front-
8	Nishiganiku	North-
9	Nishiganikugwa	Little north-
10	Iriganikugwa	Little west-
11	Meganikugwa	Little front-
12	Meiriganikugwa	Little front west-
13	Mimeganikugwa	Little new front-
14	Meganiku	Front-

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In this Hanashiro example, a man's real name might be Shoichi Shiroma, but he is known also as Iriganikugwa, the Little Western Ganiku family. All of his children, while in his family, have the same secondary name.

551 They are referred to as the son or daughter of the Little Western
590 Ganiku house. When the sons grow up, the first son retains the same
614 house order name, as he is perpetuating the house of his father. When
613 his younger brothers establish a branch household, they may add another prefix and become known, for example, as the New Little Western Ganiku family.

The manner in which the household order names may be applied to
592 successive generations is illustrated in the diagram which follows on the
614 next page. Three things should be pointed out about this diagram:

613 (1) There is no established order in the choice of branch family designations. In column five, for example, the prefix iri for west was chosen. Any other direction could have been selected if it were not already taken. Subsequent directions or space relations taken might be east, west, south, front, behind, etc. In this illustration, the order of relationship to the main family is (a) Little Fukuji, column 2, and New Little Fukuji to show the branch family of a branch family. Succeeding branches are then indicated by repeating the previous pre-
[193] fixes and adding one more. Fukuji plus gwa (little), plus mi (new), plus agari (east), then substituting iri (west), to be alternated with other directional terms such as fe (south) for iri in column 6.

(2) Some branch families are of great antiquity, such as the Fukujigwa.

[602] (3) All these people are related but it is difficult to determine the precise relationship. It is easy to see that without an exhaustive and well kept up genealogy, even in this simplified diagram, the relationship of the last individual in the first column to his contemporary, the last individual in column 6 would be difficult to trace. This is one reason that, in all the communities, people know they are relatives but do not know the precise relationship.

On the other hand, the household order system, much more than given and surnames, is a very easy device for keeping general family relationships in mind, especially when these spread over several villages. At least the Okinawans find it so. A person with the house order name of Miagarifukujigwa would know the general relationship in the extended family of his line to the main and other branch houses, whether these were located in his own or in another village.

There are additional refinements of the household order naming system. Other prefixes denoting the rank order of sons may be added, as indeed they must if the family is old and has many generations. The
[193] root word in the household order name may occasionally be identical with the surname. Some household order names may also depart from this pattern and be descriptive of previous occupations in the family history. These points are illustrated from the household order names of some

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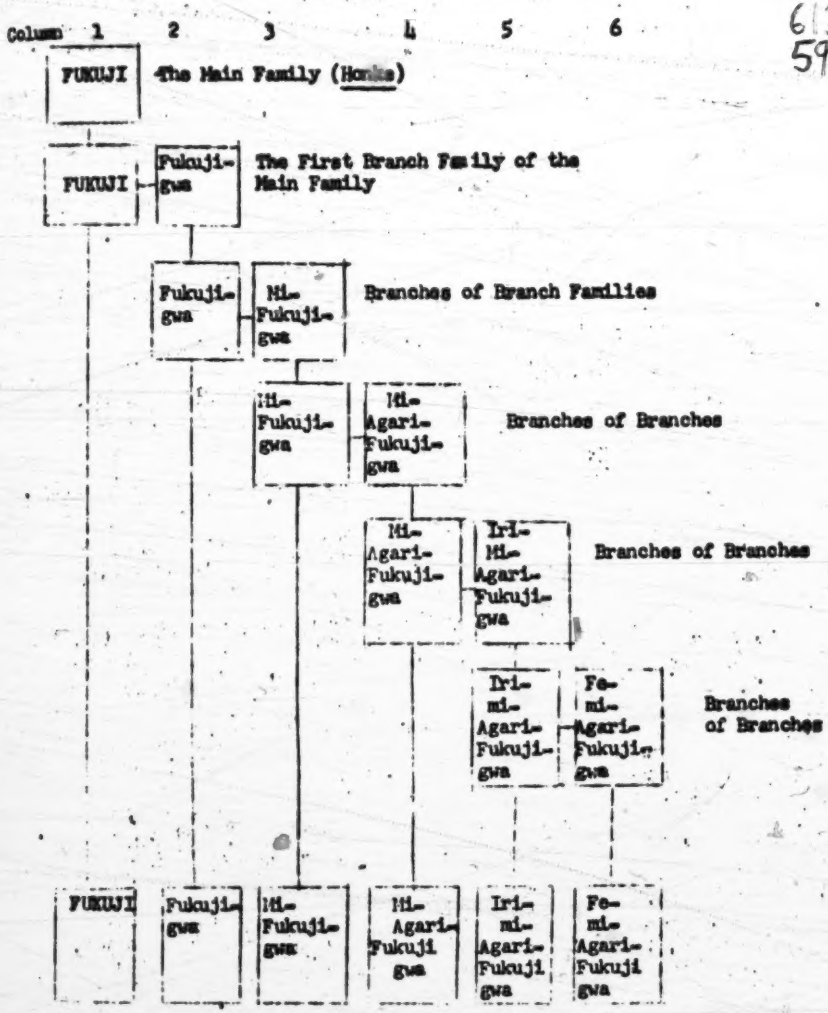
FOUNDING DATE SOMETIME IN THE PAST



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Minatogawa families:

1 Jinaniritamagusuku. Second Son Western Tamagusuku, for the name Tamashiro Bunkichi. Here the surname and the root word in the household order name are the same because Tamagusuku is the Okinawan equivalent of Tamashiro, gusuku being the Okinawan and shiro the Japanese reading of castle.

2 Gonanfugoshi. Fifth Son, Fugoshi. Actual surname is Uehara.

3 Yonanagarisakaigwa. Fourth Son Little Eastern Akai, actual surname, Kanashiro.

[193]

4 Ufuyagwa. This illustrates the use of the prefix ufu (ufa) meaning great or big, to show the main house and the suffix, gwa, meaning little, indicating it is a branch family. The actual surname is Tamashiro.

5 Jinanufuguchigwa. Second Son of Little Great Ouchi, actual surname, Tamashiro.

6 Inaminegwa, Little Inamine. Actual surname, Inamine.

7 Sannantarunagaminegwa. Third Son of Little Taru Nagamine. Actual full name, Nagamine Tarō, the Japanese equivalent of Nagamine, Taru.

8 Danpachiya. The House of the Barber. Actual surname is Oshiro. The Okinawan word for barber is danpachi.

9 Asato. A household order name based on a place name. Asato is a village in this township. Meaning is The House of Asato, actual name, Asato Shinkichi.

Some of the household order names are occupational in character, such as the barber in the above list. According to Minatogawa informants, there was also a navel household order name. Navel is hesso in Japanese, tembusu in Okinawan. If a person had a conspicuously large navel, the house was named after him and became Tembuya, House of the Navel, although it is not clear whether this was a hereditary household order name or merely a temporary one, more resembling an individual nickname. The occupational household order names apparently were both temporary and hereditary. For example, the household order name, Nakama, a surname, might have the prefix kajira (Japanese) or kanja (Okinawan) meaning blacksmith, for one son, and Danpachiya Nakama, Barber Nakama, to distinguish by occupation one son from another.

There are instances, but not in the villages studied, of household order names following the name of the official position of an ancestor. Descendants, for example, of the first head man (kuchō in Japanese) of a village might, if their surname were Moromizato, add the word kuchō making Kuchōmoromizato, Family of the Head Man Moromizato. These however

seem to be either supplementary names or household order names held during one's lifetime only, but in some instances became hereditary. Household order names taken from places seem to have become hereditary, if present lists of these names are fair indications. Even today if an American should settle in a village in Okinawa, he would probably be given a household order name and be known by this name outside the circle of friends and acquaintances who knew his surname. Such a house name would be something like Amerikaya, House of America. Ya means house or abode. The American's presence would be well known; his name, too difficult to pronounce and to remember, would be forgotten even if ever learned, and he would be the house of the man from America. 614 613 592 [609]

Each family in a village has this secondary name whether it is in the main or a branch family line. In Minatogawa, some exceptions were found to this, but it is not quite clear what interpretation to put upon them. In this village there were many individuals--mostly single persons living by themselves--who did not have a household order name. Of the 213 households, 20 either did not have such a secondary name, or it was not known to them nor to the residents of Minatogawa. Of these at least 8 were females.

Household order names do not appear in the official family registers (koseki) maintained in the village office (yakuba). Historically, the household order name apparently preceded the giving of first and surnames. In villages the mass of people were not known by their full names. They were designated in the fashion already described. Even up to the beginning of the war, often only important and conspicuous people, such as officials and school teachers, were known by their given and surnames (seimei); the rest were known by their household order name. [217] 551 592 184 614 613

Of all the villages studied, the household order name seemed to be of greatest living importance in Hanashiro. This naming system is used only in contacts within the village. In contacts with the outside, in schools, and in official dealings, a person's full name is used. Young children, from about ten on, know families by their household order name, and one can inquire for a family by asking either for the surname or the household order name. There were instances in all villages, confined however to the old, of people knowing individuals only by their household order name. According to informants here, a person's household order name is still better known than the given and the surname. Residents are often called for village, community, and official duties by their secondary family names. Here the double naming system, one for contacts within the village, the other for the outside is still strong.

A similar situation existed in Minatogawa. The household order system here might be expected to persist longer, at least for use within the village because of the high frequency of a few surnames. The same ability of young children to know household order names of

551 their own and of other families was also noticeable.[6] Often the two
592 were used interchangeably. From an individual point of view, and this
184 is true of all the villages, the household order name is still impor-
614 tant because it is an indication of relationships to dead relatives
613 whose names are on the family tablets, and to relationships, at least in general, to other families of the same main family in the village or in other villages and towns.

[178] In Matsuda, the household order naming system seems to be dying out more rapidly than in the other communities. Children here did not know the secondary names so well, and some young people did not know their own. As in Hanashiro, up to the beginning of the war, families were called together for village duties by their household order name, but this practice has been abandoned since the war. Given and surnames are now used. The household order name is still occasionally used on letters to indicate the exact person desired, another indication of the distinctions needed in the confusion of identical surnames.

[178] It is probable that the household order naming system will decline in importance because the growth and universality of education and the constant need for using given and surnames have weakened the hold of the old. As the present old people die off, many of whom know the household order name only, every segment of the population will be accustomed to the use of given and surnames.

9

Conclusion

602 The family system binds one generation to another, and, even more, gives unity to the past, present, and future of the family. It involves a well defined system of rights and obligations. It is a conservative institution in which the rights of individuals are subordinated to the welfare of the group.

602 171 The conservative nature of the family system in other Oriental cultures, especially when combined, as in old China with a Confucian ethic and ancestor worship, has often been emphasized. But Confucianism, ancestor worship, and the family system are three different things.

6 I tested this in all communities by asking for directions to family houses using the family's yagō. Its present vitality is shown by the fact that in Hanashiro a native of the village and a member of the township council was able to list all the 121 yagō's without hesitation. The clerk of Hinatogawa village did the same. There was not an opportunity of getting the detailed lists of the Matsuda household order names, but samplings were made.

In Japan, as well as in Okinawa, the system has been maintained without the ultra-conservative duties and regulations and the severe subordination of women associated with Confucianism in its political and social aspects. This is true at least for late nineteenth and twentieth century Okinawa, though some Confucian survivals no doubt persist. 602 171

But the family system is also an admirably flexible institution. It need not depend for its survival on a Confucian ethic, the subordination of women, or on the arranged marriage. It does require a continuing reverence for the dead and care to insure the existence of generations to come. There is room for free choice in marriage within the general framework of the family system. There is in the family system a sense of belonging from early infancy to death, a sense of identity with the past as well as sharing in the future, an emotional security, free participation of the old in village life, mutual reinforcements coming from the performances of these obligations. These are striking characteristics of Okinawan village life. It is true that the family system in Japan has been unable to avoid many deep lying insecurities and conflicts. But in Japan there have been in recent times strong competitive situations along with the harnessing of the nation's energies to war. In Okinawa, these conditions have been lacking, at least in an intense form, until the Okinawans were in the midst of the fierce fighting of the war. The sense of security and of belonging is unmistakable in the great majority of villagers, and while this does not mean there is no dissension or that everything is serene, it does mean that the system as it has developed here has permitted a certain personal flexibility and freedom within the system. The culture also has not encouraged strong individual competition. [769] [582] [156]

The family system, with its obligations and duties, both in the individual and the extended families, is the key to an understanding, not only of the non-material, but much of the material culture as well. The social organization as it has developed within the family system has strong influences through inheritance on land tenure and land use, and on agriculture and other occupations, in addition to its influences on daily family living, religious observances, public recreation and holidays. These will be explored in the chapters to come. 602 182

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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CHAPTER VII

INHERITANCE AND SUCCESSION

1 The Family System, Inheritance and Succession

2 Essentials of the Inheritance System

3 Mechanics of Land Division

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

The Family System, Inheritance, and Succession

The family system is distinct from the inheritance of property. But in the succession of the first son to the house and in the establishment of branch families, the operation of the family system shows its effects on the practices involved in the inheritance of land and other property. 602 428 [182]

The family system can, and actually has operated in Okinawa independently of a system of private ownership in land, and, at present its obligations are as strong on a landless villager as on one who has many fields or other property. Succession in the family system is succession to a series of rights and duties and responsibilities, much watered down, it is true, from what they once were. These rights and duties may involve the disposition of rice fields, a house site, or personal and movable property, such as the majority of Hinatogawa fishermen possess in a boat, nets, hooks, and other fishing equipment. [423]

Since agriculture and the employment of land are fundamental to the life and economy of Okinawan villages, practices involving the inheritance of land should receive the greatest emphasis. In this chapter, land is considered in a general way, reserving for the following chapter a detailed analysis of types and grades of land based on the Okinawan township system of land classification. 428

Since the first son and his succession to the house are so important to the continuity of the family, one might expect outright primogeniture in inheritance of real property. Such is not the case. The present system of inheritance of property was defined in Japanese law which provided for inheritance by sons other than the first and by daughters as well. This is based on Japanese law as it stood prior to the passage and promulgation of the Japanese land reform law of October 1946 and prior to the post-war revisions of the Japanese Civil Code.[1] [421] [177]

1 In this and in the following chapters, words in parentheses are, unless otherwise designated, Japanese equivalents of English terms. For an interesting historical discussion of the concepts of katoku-sōzoku (succession to house headship) and isan sōzoku (succession to property), see Hozumi, Nobushige, Ancestor worship and Japanese law. Third and revised edition, Tokyo, Osaka, and Kyoto, 1913, 170-87, esp. 181-82. Hozumi notes that in old Chinese history, katoku (house authority) was used as a synonym for eldest son, 172-73. On the Japanese reforms following the war, see Arthur F. Raper et al., The Japanese village in transition, (GHQ, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, Natural Resources Section Report No. 136), Tokyo, 1950, 161-70, 258-61, and Laurence I. Hewes Jr., Japanese Land Reform Program (GHQ, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers. Natural Resources Section Report No. 127), Tokyo, 1950, 9-36. [113]

428
592 There is a distinction between succeeding to the headship of a house and inheriting property which the head of a house may possess. In the first case, the first son assumes the direction of the family; in the second, he receives property which will enable him to do this. This old distinction is still maintained.

[171] One of the striking differences between post-war Japan and its former province in the Ryukyus is that in the latter inheritance and succession were left untouched, while in Japan a thorough going revision of traditional laws and customs completely altered the system of inheritance and, in effect, abolished the operation of the family system in matters of land tenure and inheritance.[2]

428 In present day Okinawa, property, real or personal, may be passed from father to sons, or daughters, in the absence of sons, in two ways: by personal disposition of the property on his retirement, or by division of the property on the father's death. In either case, the function of inheritance in the culture is to insure, by a system of preferential inheritance in favor of the first son, or his successor, the maintenance of the family house on its site, of the family estate in land, and at the same time, to provide either during the father's lifetime or after his death, sufficient property given before or at marriage, to enable younger sons to establish branch houses. This property given to sons other than the first, includes a house site (yashiki, takuchi) arable dry land (hatake) and the non-arable but highly useful genya land. These dispositions parallel the distinctions between a main family (honke) and its branch family (bunke).

428
592 Parallels Between the Family System and Inheritance of Land

Family System	Inheritance
First son becomes head of the house on death or retirement of the father.	First son inherits the family house site and has preferential status in obtaining other parcels of land.
Second and other sons establish branch households on marriage.	Second and other sons receive from the father, or elder brother, a house site, a paddy field, dry crop land, or genya land, if available

The first son by remaining in the home of his parents keeps at least part of the family estate (zaisan) within the main family, with the hope that sufficient lands will be left over to insure the well-being of the branch families that spring from it.

2 For some Japanese reactions to the new system, see The Japanese village in transition, as cited, 211-12.

Daughters are not considered in inheritance matters if there are male heirs. A daughter's share of family possessions normally comes to her as a marriage present: a kimono, a chest, a mirror, a pillow, and a quilt-like blanket (futon), and other personal articles, or money, depending on the economic abilities of the father. In the absence of male heirs, women (either as wives or daughters) can and do inherit the house and property. In a family without sons, the head has several alternatives: he may allow the daughter to inherit, or adopt a bridegroom for his own house, the first distasteful to the father because there is no one to continue the family line, the second distasteful to the groom who must desert his own family. A third alternative is to adopt a young male child of a relative. 428 [562] [583] [597]

The passing down of property in these villages is governed in large part also by custom and the individual desire of the parents. In the villages, there were no instances of which I knew in which disputes over inheritance and the disposition of property had been carried to court for settlement. Quarrels among a father and his sons or the first sons and his younger brothers are said to be rather common. Much depends on the temperament and the generosity of the first son who controls the property on the death or retirement of his father. The problem was often put in this way: the first son must look after his younger brothers and give them land, but he must also keep his eye on the estate.he will be able to pass down to his own children. [692] [578]

2

Essentials of the Inheritance System.

The essentials of the inheritance system, as it was found to be working in these villages, were substantially the same. (1) In the division of property on the death or retirement of the father (or the head of the house), the house site itself is never divided. The family residence, the buildings in the compound remain intact. The house is a symbol of a family's existence and its future. If it is also the main house of the extended family, it is the site of the original founder and is even more inviolate.

An interesting question arises when the first sons are male twins. An old practice, now abandoned, was that the second of the twins inherited as the first son. This was based on a belief that the last child out of the womb was the first one in, and therefore the older. In the villages, one still hears this explanation from older people, but now the universal practice is for the first born to become the first son.

(2) The rest of the property is divided, in varying proportions, among the remaining sons. The first son gets the money, but he is expected to share this. He normally gets at least half the property, the remaining half being divided up among the other sons, either in the

428 form of fields or of house sites so they may establish branch families.

(3) The inheritance and the division of land cannot be considered abstractly. It is in this area that custom and individual desire have the greatest play. A village farmer does not simply have land. Normally he has a series of scattered land holdings, varying in area, type, and productivity. A farmer does not have a compact area of rice or sweet potato land which can be easily subdivided, but a few small rice plots, of varying grade, some fields for growing sugar cane, sweet potatoes, or vegetables--also of varying grades--and parcels of genya land from which he gets firewood, grass for his thatched roof, or feed for his animals. When speaking of inheritance and division of land, one should think in concrete terms of the various types and grades of land subject to disposition. Under these circumstances, it is meaningless to say that an Okinawan farmer has an average of so many acres of land unless we are prepared also to add its category of productivity or use. The mechanics of land division are therefore directly related to land use and to the fragmentation of land.

[311]

(4) There is a tendency to give the second and other sons the scattered holdings and to subdivide these parcels if they are large enough, preserving the land closer to the house site or parcels that adjoin one another for the head of the house.

(5) Generally speaking, the first son does not subdivide a specific parcel of land with his brothers. He will take a whole piece as his own, leaving other parcels to be subdivided among his brothers.

425 (6) Inherited land can be sold, but the customarily approved reasons for doing so are few. This applies with special force to the holdings of the first son. Property can be disposed of without the sale being considered dishonorable when it is associated with a change of occupation involving moving to another place, or with acute economic distress. A man who decides to give up farming and to move his family to the city may sell his land; a man who is physically unable to work his land and has no children of sufficient age to help him may sell his land and set up a village store; a widow with minor children, already in debt, may sell her property. Sellers consult with the members of the extended family who live in the same or in nearby villages and only sell with the consent and advice of these relatives. This is conspicuously true of widows.

592 (7) If the first son dies without issue, he is replaced by the second son who becomes head of a house. If the first son is in a foreign country, the second son at home lives in the house, but this does not endanger the succession rights of the first son abroad. If the first son returns, he succeeds to his house, and the second or other sons living in the house will be obliged to set up a branch family. Occasionally, a second son remains in the main family, even though he cannot succeed to the house; this is during the minority of a deceased elder brother's first son who will take over the house when he is of age.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

(8) Inheritance practices tend toward a slow but continuous fragmentation of land due to the need of establishing branch households. This tendency toward fragmentation is seldom overcome by reversing the process in favor of some form of land consolidation. The major obstacles to consolidation will be dealt with in the next chapter. Fragmentation is more likely to occur in the holdings of the more well-to-do who have property to divide. Among the very poor, whose holdings are small and scattered, there is an enforced primogeniture. It is not possible to divide land indefinitely. The smaller a piece of land, the more likely it will be surrounded by land owned by others, and these isolated islands are difficult either to sell or trade. 428 423 [565]

(9) Among the fishermen of Minatogawa, practices applied to real, personal, and movable property, are similar to those of the agricultural villages (nōson). Here the influence of the family system is more on the disposition of personal than of real property, but the effects, if not the rewards, are similar. If a fisherman has dry crop fields--there is no rice land--the elder son receives all, or most of the land. All informants stressed the weight of the individual desire of the father, whose division of property is influenced by the spirit, sobriety, and dependability of his sons. Here there is also the same social disapproval of selling inherited land. The fishermen attempt to supply second sons with small boats, nets, hooks, and other gear, just as the farmer attempts to give land, domestic animals, and agricultural tools. With the very poor, second and third sons may have to be content with nothing or with a few articles of clothing. Among those fishermen who have land, the principle is established that the first son gets the greater part, if not all, of the real property. 428 423 422 [425]

3

Mechanics of Land Division

Ownership is scattered; individuals own different types of land in varying proportions and in varying grades within types. Plots of land are small in area. Rice plots are normally the smallest, followed in general in ascending order by dry crop fields, and the wild land (genya). It is from such conditions as these that the difficulties in fairness of division arise. 423 311

The following illustrations show the manner in which division is usually carried out. Let us for simplicity first assume four parcels of land:

#1, a house site
#2, a parcel of 700 tsubo third grade dry crop land (hatake)
#3, 500 tsubo of grade one dry crop land, inconvenient and far away from the home, and
#4, 1000 tsubo of grade two hatake.

428 A possible distribution is shown in the following diagram. (Fig. 1). In this arrangement, the first son gets the house site and parcel #4. The second son gets 600 tsubo of the 700 tsubo in parcel #2. The third son gets 600 tsubo in two different places, 100 from parcel #2 and all of parcel #3.

423 311 Now let us take a more complicated situation, one that more closely parallels an actual division. The land of the head of the house is distributed in the following plots:

#1 19 tsubo of first grade rice land. This is a minute holding, roughly equivalent to a rectangle 20' x 34'. The fact that it is first class paddy and very small indicates that it is a rice seed bed (naidoko).

#2, 3, 4 are parcels of rice land, second grade, of 150 tsubo each.

#5 A plot of 3d grade rice land, 300 tsubo.

#6 A plot of 150 tsubo of dry farm land (hatake). This is first grade, but far from the house and in a different area from other family holdings.

#7 One plot of 2d grade dry farm land, 350 tsubo of medium quality but close in.

#8 A plot of 500 tsubo of dry farm land, 4th grade, hence rather poor, but close to the house.

#9 A plot of 400 tsubo dry farm land, 5th grade and barely usable for cultivation, almost like genya land.

428 423 The possible distribution is shown in Fig. 2. In this arrangement, the first son gets the house site, the seed bed (#1) and the three nearby rice fields (#2,3,4), the 500 tsubo of 4th grade dry crop land (#8), and the 350 tsubo of grade 2 dry crop land (#7). The second son receives 150 tsubo of rice land through the subdivision of plot #5, 150 tsubo of first grade dry crop land (#6), and one-half of the 400 tsubo of fifth grade dry crop land (#9). The third son gets the second half of the rice plot (#5), and the second half of the dry crop land (#9).

Summarized, the totals are:

	Total Tsubo*	Rice (Ta)	Dry Crop Land (Hatake)
Total	2169	769	1400
First Son	1319	469	850
Second Son	500	150	350
Third Son	350	150	200

[809] * A tsubo is about four square yards

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MECHANICS OF LAND DIVISION

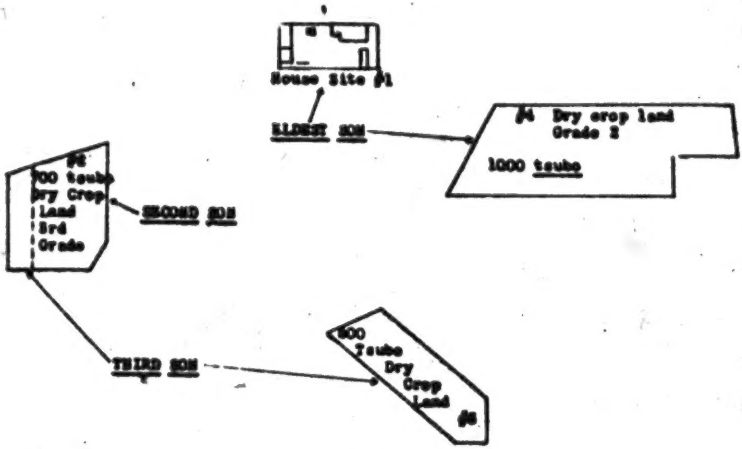

Fig. 1

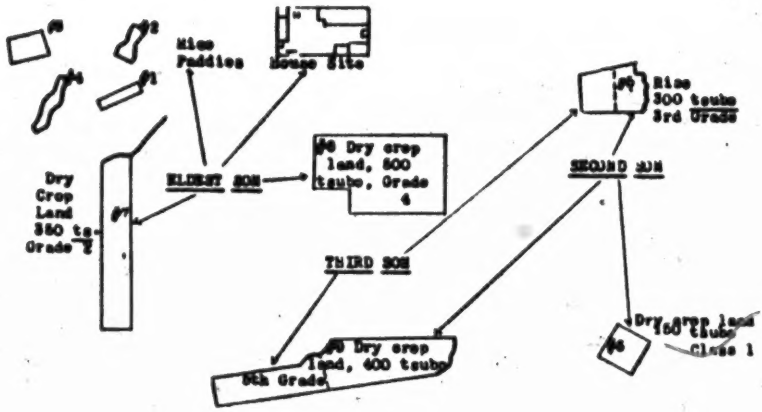

Fig. 2

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In this illustration, the first son receives slightly over 60% of the land, ignoring type and grade within type. There was general agreement in all villages that the grade of land within each classification (grades 1 to 4 in dry crop land, for example) had little significance in inheritance matters. The grade is more important for tax purposes. [242] [651]

The example also illustrates two other principles: the natural desire to keep contiguous or close in land within the main family, using inconvenient or far off land where possible for house sites for branch families, or for arable land for second and other sons. In this illustration, the shares of the second and of the third sons could be equalized by subdividing plot #6, although its small area would not make it worth while, as 75 tsubo is a very low average size for dry crop land. [241]

Another practice, noted in Hanashiro and in Matsuda, is that the first son receives everything on the retirement of the father. This may be contrasted with a situation in which the father divides the property before younger sons marry and establish branch families. In such cases, the father might take the income from part of the property. But the more general practice is for the father to give all to the first son. Fathers may also make a will. When the first son receives all, it is the custom for him to hold property which the younger sons will need in establishing their branch families. It is in cases where the first son is given full disposition of the property that quarrels are most likely to occur, for much depends on the generosity and sense of fairness of the elder brother.[3] [593]

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In Hanashiro and Minatogawa, it is important that younger brothers receive genya land. Genya is often translated as wild land. In Japan the term is usually used to describe treeless, waste, hilly, rocky, or rolling land unsuitable for cultivation. In Okinawa, the genya land may be in the center of a rice field; it may be a rocky mound with cultivation around it. It may be land in the mountains. It is almost invariably in grass (miscanthus) with an occasional cycad or scrub pine. It is not owned in large tracts. In Hanashiro, the largest single parcel is 4564 tsubo (3.77 acres), in Minatogawa 1333 (tsubo) (1.9 acres), and in Matsuda 6398 tsubo (5.28 acres), but these are far above the average. In Hanashiro it is important because grass is constantly needed for thatched roofs and other uses. The importance of genya and its grass was well illustrated in Minatogawa after the typhoon, Ruth, of October 13-14, 1951. These villagers own little land and many have no genya. They were obliged to buy the grass to replace the roofs of many of the frailer houses which had been partially or completely destroyed by the typhoon. Genya is also used for family tombs. In Hanashiro, the genya [137] [423] [824] [131] [432] [764]

[Text continues top of P. 133--Analyst]

3 The problem can be appreciated by analyzing the acreage areas of each classification of land and the grades within it, bearing in mind that the average farmer has hatake, genya, and often rice paddies. These statistics will be given in the following chapter.

423
134 In Hanashiro, The genya
[824] grass and shrub are essential as a substitute for firewood. In Matsuda with large areas of community owned forest, this genya is not so important to the individual family.

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311 In considering the inheritance of land, it is essential to understand that a family needs different types of land. Not everyone has rice paddies, but parcels of dry crop land and genya in the south are necessary to existence.

428
593 If the practices of these three villages are indicative of the division of family holdings in general, the first son obtains between 50% and 60% of the land in addition to the house site. The remainder is divided, often equally, among the other sons. In the poorer families, if the sons are widely spaced, there may be enough left over for the second son, but when the third son reaches marriageable age, there may be nothing for him. Instances of this type were observed in the villages. One young farmer of Minatogawa, a third son, said he received nothing, and set out by himself, first through wages, and then through small purchases to acquire his present modest land holdings.

This discussion may suggest a greater rigidity in the system of inheritance than is actually the case. It may give the impression of a series of families headed by the first son with most of the property and with younger sons and their branch families struggling along on what land can be spared for them. There has been, for historical reasons, more fluidity than this. The large number of heads of families who themselves are not first sons indicates that many second to fifth sons as well as daughters ultimately come into control of a family estate.

There have been four main reasons for this. (1) Emigration of first sons before they became of age. They left to earn a living in foreign countries to support their parents in the villages, became established and postponed to an indefinite future their return to Okinawa. Since the end of the war, according to relatives who are living in the village, many of these have no intention of ever returning except to visit. (2) Deaths of first sons without issue, and the succession of other sons or daughters. (3) Heavy war losses, especially of males. Some of these naturally were first sons, opening the way for the succession of young widows or second sons in the case of the unmarried first sons. (4) Deaths from catastrophes like typhoons, and in the case of Minatogawa, the losses of fishermen at sea.

428
602 Inheritance practices with private ownership of land follow logically
180 from the family system. They are a means of providing the economic base by saving the estate for future generations, at the same time providing where possible for sons not in the direct line of succession. Inheritance is a connecting link between the family system and land use and land tenure. Present land use and land tenure are an interesting example of the modifications that a system of social organization, the family system, has made on the natural environment.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

CHAPTER VIII

LAND TENURE AND LAND USE

1 The Old Land Allotment System

2 Present Land Tenure and Land Classification

3 . Care and Conservation of Land

4 Fragmentation and Consolidation

5 Conclusion

1

The Old Land Allotment System

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[177]

Okinawa became part of a province of Japan in 1879 and in the late of 1899-1903 fundamental changes were introduced in the land laws. Present land use and tenure is a result of (1) the family system with the original influence from China, with Japanese and Okinawan modifications, and (2) the Japanese system of inheritance, as outlined in the old civil code.

Prior to the Japanese reforms of 1899-1903, which introduced private ownership and private disposition of land, arable land in Okinawa was communally owned by a village and periodically redistributed to villagers for their use. This was known as the allotment system (jiwari-seido).

Until 1899, the arable land was owned by the village. Peasants had the right of cultivation, but not of ownership. Land was redistributed by village elders at stated intervals. These apparently varied among villages, as intervals of two, four, and ten years for the periodic redistribution have been mentioned by old men who, as youths, lived under the old allotment system. In the Gushichan area, according to one old man, this redistribution took place every ten years. It was found that there was much more awareness of the old land allotment system in the northern village of Matsuda than in the southern villages studied. [184]

In each redistribution, every living member of the family, from the newest born infant to the oldest person, was given a share. Apparently there were also local variations in determining each share. In the Gushichan area, according to the same old man, allotments were made according to the strength and competence of individuals. A distinction was made between a full grown male and a woman or a child, and there were differentials between the rich and the poor. The head of the house in practice received and controlled the shares of his family. There are no parallel data for Matsuda on this point. At each redistribution, additions or deductions in shares were made for births or deaths, though there is some doubt that this practice was universal. Matsuda old men mentioned this, and the Gushichan informants said the practice was not followed here; presumably a family share prevailed.[1] [184]

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 136--ANALYST]

1 This discussion is confined to the two agricultural areas studied. Conditions apparently were the same for a whole township; since the areas are now roughly the same as they were, Hanashiro as part of the Gushichan township would have the same conditions. No information was available in the fishing village of Hinatogawa. The very old here had only a vague memory of the old system. "Until 1899-1903, when the Land Reform Law was enacted, land was owned communally by the village, which divided the land among peasants at regular (contd. on next page)

175 423 592 Under this old system, when a branch family was established upon the marriage of a son other than the first, his share was made available to him, although it is not clear whether he received this as a legal right, or whether, at each redistribution the father received the branch family share, later passing it on for the use of the son. In any case, provision under the old system was made for branch families in the redistribution just as in contemporary Okinawa this land is supplied, when possible, out of the private holdings of the father. The old and the new illustrate the operation of the family system under two types of land tenure.

175 423 311 Both in the Gushichan area and in Matsuda, there was agreement that the system applied only to rice lands and to dry crop land. House sites were not included in the biennial, quadrennial, or decennial redistribution. Neither were the parcels of genya land which were reserved for tomb areas (bochi, or haka). The forest lands (sanrin) or the genya lands were also communally owned. The reclamation or much of genya land in Okinawa for agricultural uses seems to be a late development, probably a direct consequence of the increase of the island's population. Fifty years ago the island of Okinawa was more heavily forested than it is now. This applies even to the south, if the statements of old people resident in the area can be accepted. Both in the northern and southern communities, pine stands in the forest and in the genya land were publicly owned, and there was a system of tree allotment. Trees, in the publicly owned areas, could be cut according to the number of shares of land one had. Then in September and October of each year, [313] each family replanted a number of trees equivalent to the number it had taken.

In these redistributions, apparently the land was not allotted to individual families directly, but first allotted to family groups (kumi) and then in turn to the individual families. There were special [571] allotment groups (jiwari-gumi). It is not clear whether this initial distribution to groups and then to individual families was universal in Okinawa, as this information comes only from Gushichan township.

This system of community ownership, with periodic allotment of rice and dry crop land, naturally called for a system of land classification. Excellent land was rare; good land was not plentiful, poor land was most abundant. The topography was rough and all good land was not in the same

1 (continued from previous page) intervals, the amount in proportion to the number of family members and their work and tax-paying capacities. It was called ji-wari (land-division). Peasants had no right to possess land, but only the right to cultivate, and taxes were imposed upon a village as a whole, not upon individuals." Higa, Shuncho. Structure of the Ryukyuan rural community. The Japanese journal of ethnology, 15 (1950), No. 2, 63-66. English summary (from which this is taken), p. 151.

place. Then, as now, paddy and dry crop land might lie together, depending upon local factors. In the periodic redistribution, each family received shares of each in non-contiguous fragmented parcels. In the nature of things, they received small shares of the excellent, moderate shares of the good, and large holdings in poor land. 175 423 311

The old classification of lands was simple and did not go beyond three general divisions of good, fair, and poor. Apparently the Japanese after 1879 introduced more refinements and increased the number of classifications to six. Land classification, then as now, was empirical. It was based on observation, local knowledge of present and past yields, and known dangers to the land. It was not based on scientific knowledge of the soils, nor is it today. 175 311 [177] [242]

Several dangers to land and crops were considered: (1) the danger of the wild boar (inoshishi). These reddish brown wild boars have disappeared from large parts of Okinawa, though occasionally one is seen in the northern forest. The boars destroyed crops by night feeding. Remnants of old fences can still be seen in the area around Matsuda. In Oku, in the extreme north, fences are still used and many can be seen along the hillsides. (2) Dangers from floods and salt water spray. Local flooding is common and often confined to a narrow area. Salt water spray and salt water in the air, especially in typhoon times, are still menaces to crops. The danger from typhoons did not enter directly into the determination of land classification because the area of destruction was so wide that it was not a factor distinguishing one plot from another. (One can however observe areas of differential damage in a village as an aftermath of typhoons). 175 241 [136] [417] [731]

This old land allotment system is now forgotten except in a few isolated areas where its main features are still apparently preserved. The best known of these is Kudaka Island off the southeastern shore of Okinawa. If the system has disappeared, except for a few isolated survivals, its influence remains to the present: it determined the pattern of land use still in effect today, the pattern of small, discontinuous parcels, and set the precedents for the mechanics of land classification. The basic classifications such as rice land, dry crop land, community forest were Japanese and are of great age. The old land allotment system is also considered to be of great antiquity.[2] 178 423 [189] [177]

2 It was a matter of considerable disappointment that I was unable to spend two or three weeks on Kudaka to study the land system there. Neither has time permitted an investigation (of great inherent interest) of the historical antecedants of the old Okinawan system. Land classification, such as we will be discussing in the next chapter, is very old in Japanese culture. The old Okinawan system bears some resemblances to the "mouth-share-land" (ku-bu-den) system of old Japan which appears in the Taihō code (702 A.D.). This was a system of distribution of communally owned land, but I have not been able to determine whether the distribution was periodic. See Wigmore, J. H. and Simmons, D. B. Notes on land tenure and local institutions in old Japan. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 19 (1891), 77 on land classification, (continued on next page)

175
423 Commodore Perry and his staff noted the land tenure system of the Great Lew Chew but did not get any details and were not quite certain what it was.

"Another obstacle in the way of their improvement is the impossibility of their ever procuring a vested right of ownership in the land. As far as the Commodore could gather information on the subject, it would appear that the soil is held by the government, and its agents are employed to collect and consume its produce. According to the best accounts that could be obtained, the actual cultivator receives not more than two-tenths of the produce. Of the remainder, six-tenths go to the lord of the soil, or ruler, and two-tenths for the expense of supervision of the land, costs of collection, etc. The peasant has thus no stimulus to exertion. Wretched, however, as this system is, and degraded as is the condition of the operative, it is astonishing to see the large
[433] returns from agricultural labor." These returns are attributed by the authors to a combination of skill, soil, and climate.[3]

Goldschmidt (1927) wrote that under the old system the land was the property of the villages and was divided by the elders of the village "according to ancient precept," into equal parcels, considering its location, and that every individual received a parcel. "Large families had therefore correspondingly more parcels; daughters who married took at marriage their parcels with them. Every six years there was a new division, so that everyone received another plot of land and no one could complain, in the long run, over an unjust distribution."

[178]
[423]
[171]

2 (continued from previous page) 86 on communal ownership, 157 on mouth-share-land. The old Okinawan allotment system also is similar to the practice of masha' in the middle East. A village maintains its lands in common and apportions them among villagers periodically. This is found in parts of Iran, Jordan, Arab Palestine, and Syria. See Tannous, Affif I. Land tenure in the middle East. Foreign agriculture (U.S. Dept. of Agriculture), 7 (1943), 171-77.

3 Elsewhere the narrative remarks that, "All the land in Lew Chew is held by government and rented to large tenants, who, in their turn, sub-let it to smaller ones, who are the direct cultivators of the soil." And in another place, it is said that the lands were held by the government as a "metayer system, brought down almost to individuals (or possibly upon an allotment system)." The metayer system, as described by Dr. Green, was a "plan of paying (in this instance as 'taxes') a certain proportion of the produce." Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, I, 220; II, 25-26, 28. See also I, 311.

Goldschmidt then remarks that the peasant in the last years of his possession thought only of the parcel to come in the next allotment and did nothing for his land, and that in consequence its productivity fell. There was private ownership at that time only of newly reclaimed land or land filled in along the seashore, and this land went to the person who had done the work. The Japanese, when they abolished the system, divided land among families by number of members and since this time large holdings have not been created. Goldschmidt adds that "the land still suffers now from the consequences of this old system."[4] 175 423

To discover precisely the nature of the influences of the old system cannot be done with accuracy because of the destruction of local records, the vagueness of recollection among the old and of the inability to reconstruct old boundaries. What follows therefore is partly speculative, but nevertheless useful in suggesting the reasons for the present shapes and areas of individual land parcels. One of the striking aspects of the land maps of these areas is the odd and irregular shapes of land holdings. This is not true of all Okinawa. In some areas, plots on the hillsides are symmetrical, often rectangular or square. In the areas studied, there are plots of this sort, but also many that have very irregular shapes. 174 423 423

It is possible that after the abolition of the old system, some areas in the island were resurveyed, while others were not. Such surveys could have approximated the old areas but created a more regular rectangular pattern. In Hanashiro resurveying apparently was not done. The historical reasons for the present boundaries are not known because of decades of cultivation and because the land has not always been used for the same purposes. One of the large rice growing areas in Hanashiro is a recent development. The changes from paddy to dry crop land, or the reverse, seem to have followed the fluctuations in sugar and rice prices. It was quite probable that formerly the land was less level, that it was more heavily forested, and that odd shapes were due to the cultivated areas winding around large outcrops, patches of stony land, clumps of trees, uncultivated slopes which have now been reclaimed, leveled and cultivated. 174 423 [435]

Conditions like this are a commonplace in Okinawa today. Some of these boundaries also may be following the lines of old streams. Rivers, or more properly creeks, are not numerous in Okinawa and their presence is often hidden: a stream rising in a nearby mountain and ultimately going to the sea eight or ten miles away may be lost in a wide paddy area and trickle off again in its stream bed after several hundred feet of dispersion in the paddies. The boundaries may also 174 423 [133]

4 Goldschmidt, Richard. Neu-Japan. Berlin, 1927, 131. (My translation). The same criticism appears of the system in the middle east. See footnote 2 above.

174 423 have been affected by roads and trails which have now disappeared.

Old residents[5] of Matsuda and neighboring villages were able to [115] furnish more specific clues regarding the old system and its relation to other phases of village life. These old people estimated the [161] population of Matsuda at the close of the old system at about 360 persons, compared with the present population of 1368. The system operated under much less acute population pressure than exists today. Deaths, especially from malaria, and a high infant mortality kept [165] the population down, although introduced Japanese hygienic measures helped.

Under the old system in Matsuda, there was a continual clearing [311] of land, mostly around the settlement. There seems little doubt that land reclamation and clearing has been going on slowly from the earliest historical times in Okinawa. The land cleared remained under village ownership, but the persons who cleared the property were allowed to hold it for use without giving it up for periodic redistribution. Technical ownership remained with the village.[6] Fences and stone barriers were erected as a protection against the wild boar. But the large scale reclamation and the private ownership of genya land seems to have occurred after the close of the old system.

The dividion of lands at the beginning of the new system has set the boundary pattern of many plots. In Matsuda there were instances of land which has retained the same boundaries that it had under the old system. There was general agreement among the old that the form, boundaries, and areas of land plots have changed very little since the times of the jiwari-seido. This would be par- [428] ticularly true in the case of property which had passed down through the first son. Changes came from the establishment of branch families, [425] and sales and purchases. In these areas, however, buying and selling have been infrequent.

175 The history of land tenure in Okinawa, therefore, is different 423 from that of Japan with its long history of tenancy, whose accumulated problems finally led to the land reform of 1946 during the [171] Allied occupation. The present system of land tenure in Okinawa is a little over 50 years old.

178 The chief influences of the old system were to set in a form 423 recognizable to the present, the pattern of land holding, to estab- 311 lish land classification, and apply it on a very localized basis.

[115] 5 I am indebted here to Shinzato Zensuke of the village of Sokei (Ginoza-son), and to Oshiro-san of Matsuda village (Ginoza-son) both over 70 years of age for their recollections of the history of the system in Matsuda.

[114] 6 This differs from Goldschmidt's account, cited above, in that in this case the land became a usufruct, in the other actual ownership.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Every parcel of land with its grade and type is mapped, a thoroughness in land classification which has not yet been approached in the United States. While the mapping is recent, the information was always available in the village records. Village owned lands are also a survival of this system, especially the forests in the north. Community owned property is much more modest in area in the south and confined to small parcels of forest or pre-war forest, school and public building sites, community ponds, and the like. 178 423 311 [217]

2

Present Land Tenure and Land Classification

The present method of land holding based on Japanese law went into effect at the end of the old land allotment system. The head of the family registered all lands, previously held as shares, in his own name. Apparently in the last distribution before the abandonment of the old system, men and women over 52 years of age received their property for life with the right to pass it on to their children. At the beginning of the new system, also, the wild land was still publicly held, but further clearing and reclamation got under way, and the genya land also began to be divided up and became part of private holdings about ten years after the new land law went into effect. 423 [888]

The new system of private ownership of land introduced buying and selling (baibai), tenancy (kosaku), and land speculation. There had been some tenancy under the old system apparently however it was on a village basis with one community renting from another. There has therefore been insufficient time to develop in Okinawa the widespread abuses associated with the Japanese land tenure system prior to the land reform of 1946.[7] 423 427

In all the villages studied, individual ownership is the rule with some informal tenancy. How an owner is not paid for the use of his land, the result of a Civil Administration measure to encourage maximum food production. Tenancy, as it was observed in the villages was usually an informal lending of the land: the use by a friend, relative, or neighbor of an unused plot.

The present system of land use and land tenure is a result of practices and customs developed under the old allotment system, combined with the introduced Japanese system of inheritance. The family system plus these two influences have brought about the modern customs of land inheritance, the distinctions in types of land, and the fragmentation and lack of contiguity in holdings. 178 423 311 428

7 Based on conversations with villagers in Hatsuda. Uyehara, Yukuo made the same point in accounting for the low percentage of tenancy and the high percentage of independent farmers in Okinawa-ken, Ryukyu Islands, Japan. Economic Geography 9 (1933), 395-405. Reference on 399. [115]

311 Land appraisal made by people with long experience with the
[242] capabilities of their soils under traditional methods of farming, fertilization, and land reclamation is very old in the culture. This in itself is a very significant fact about the culture aside from the obvious technical utility of a land classification system.
[556] Land classification is important as a tangible indication of wealth
[651] as appraised by representatives of the village. This classification is the basis of taxation of land. A grade two rice paddy pays a
[433] lower tax than a grade one. The system of land classification also provides a basis for estimating probable yields.

[632] Township officials are responsible for land classification on a township basis, but each village does its own. In Gushichan township (Hanashiro and Hinatogawa) the elected mayor and his appointed subordinates and local farmers who know the land well have set up the system based on classes and grades of land. In Ginoza-son, the mayor performs a similar function. Since each village has its land classification, a table of correspondences makes possible the comparison of equivalent grades. A composite system for the township can then be made. Grade three rice land in Matsuda, for example, may be equivalent to grade two rice land in Ginoza village. By listing all these together, a village wide classification is made.

The main classifications (tōkyū) of land found in all communities are: (1) Rice lands, (ta, tambo), (2) dry crop land (hatake). It is very difficult to translate the word hatake. So far the expression dry crop land has been used. This land may be contrasted with the wet rice fields; it is dry farming land, usually on rolling slopes or upland. It is land used for cultivation of domestic plants except rice and one or two other minor crops. Rice and dry crop land are the two main classes. (3) Genya land. This word is also difficult to translate. It is variously rendered as wild or waste land, but it is neither wild nor wasteland in an economic sense. It is best described negatively as land not suited for cultivation. Despite its low value, it is important land for its production of grass, reeds, firewood and plant shoots for domestic animals. It is vital in land
[185] conservation. The genya land, sometimes on steep or gentle mountain slopes, sometimes cropping out in the midst of cultivated fields or rice paddies, with its dense growth of grass, its occasional pine tree or cycad effectively binds the soil and prevents disastrous run off and flash floods. Around the village of Hanashiro, genya land is rocky and most of its vegetation consists of grass with some shrubs. Before the war, this genya land had more pine and cycads than at present, and the disappearance of the cycad and pine furnished greater opportunity for the omnipresent miscanthus, though there are occasional regrowths of the pine. In Matsuda, the genya land often is indistinguishable from the forest. But the trees are less dense and the privately owned genya is interspersed with the small cultivated paddies and fields. (4) House sites (yashiki, takuchi). There are usually two classes: the first class site is convenient and on a main road or lane; the second class is inconvenient, a rear house, or one

off a main road or village lane. (5) Forest lands (sanrin). This is an important classification in Matsuda, but of minor significance in Hanashiro and Minatogawa. In the latter villages forest land is not recognisable because so many of the trees have been destroyed. In general, forest lands are community owned. (6) Shelter belts or groves of trees along the seashore or on crests of hills for typhoon protection. These are known as bōfurin. The trees are distinct from the forest lands; often they stand in isolated groves. In the south trees for typhoon shelters are confined to the settled area. There are no large groves surrounding and protecting the whole cultivated countryside. (7) Religious sites (haisho). These are small in area, the sites of buildings devoted to the local tutelary deities (ujigami). (8) The village community property (kyōchi). This may include the village office site and school grounds. (9) A miscellaneous classification (zashuchi). This is also public property, including vegetable plots, small public squares, very small parks, ponds, road meeting places and the like. These combined areas are usually small. (10) In the Gushichan area, there is one further classification: destroyed land (tsuborechi). This is land in the war area which has not been or cannot be restored. The pieces are not large. During the war a bulldozer may have made a road out of this land; it may be filled with stones or the shallow top soil of the land may have been scraped off in leveling for an army post or camp. 311 [927]

The bases for grading land within each class are different. In Gushichan township, the main consideration in grading rice land is the availability of water. First class rice land is where the water is. In this township, there are seven grades of rice land, although any one village may have only four or five. The first five grades in the township are rice lands with two yields a year. Grades one through five are determined by the yield of the plot, through past experience. Grades six and seven are one crop areas. The distinctions between the grades can be seen in the following table: 311 243 [312]

Grade of Rice Land	Expected Yield in Koku per Cho
1	24
2	18
3	15
4	12
5	7.5
6	6.7
7	6.0

[433]

A koku is 5.12 US dry bushels. A chō is 3000 tsubo, about 2.45 acres. [804]

If there is a drought in any year, the grades of land are not changed the following year, but the estimate of expected yield may

311 243 be lowered. If the rainfall is unusually low, the estimated yields may even be cut in half. Grade differences are also shown by the Gushichan tax table on rice land:

[651]

Class	Rate in Yen (per tsubo)
1	37
2	34
3	31
4	28
5	25
6	22
7	19

311 The grading of dry crop land is not so simple because various crops can be grown and there are difficulties in making equivalences of yields. The grading is more subjective and vague, with gradations based on the judgment of the land committee. It might seem that the grades of dry crop land based on subjective judgment would be difficult to agree upon. This is not the case. Farmers who have lived in the village all their lives, and who as children remembered the experience of their fathers, know their own and their neighbors' land well. Representatives from the village who suggest the grades are chosen by the farmers for their honesty, skill in agriculture, and knowledge of the land.

311 134 133 Depth of the soil, flatness, degree of stoniness and accessibility are the most important criteria. The first three of these follow naturally from conditions widespread in Okinawa. There often is very little topsoil. One can observe cuts in roads or sharp declivities which show soils only an inch or two deep before meeting the consolidated or unconsolidated rock below. The hilly and mountainous nature of the island enforces cultivation on slopes, summits, and rolling hills. Stoniness, whether large boulders or small pebbles or both is common. One of the occupations of the old in Minatogawa and Nagamo is to convert stony to arable land by tediously picking up the stones and throwing them into piles for subsequent sale in road building. But often the boulders are so large that cultivation must curve around them. These conditions can be seen to good advantage in Nagamo. In Hanashiro, the soils are flatter, less stony, and deeper. Matsuda has wide areas of poor shallow and stony soils. First class hatake land, then, is flat, deep, with few or no stones, and suitable either for sugar or the sweet potato and the various common vegetables.

[887] [241]

311 With this standard of first class hatake land, the other grades are judged, mostly by inspection and through consultation and agreement by the committee. In the Gushichan township, there are ten such grades of hatake land, the tenth grade being so poor that it is virtually genya land. In dry crop land, probably the most important

single criterion is nearness, providing the land has possibilities. Good land, unless of substantial area, if remote and far from roads, is very time consuming and inconvenient. 311

Genya land in the Gushichan area has two grades. The criterion here is the presence of grass and small shrubs that can be used for firewood. Grade two genya grows little or nothing either because of the large boulders or because it has too many small stones or unconsolidated rock with little vegetation. If it were not for stones or such topographical factors as steepness or ruggedness, some genya land could be classified as poor grade dry crop land. There are, as in rice land, tax differentials according to grade of hatake and genya land: [824] [134] [133]

Grade	Dry Crop Land Tax in Yen	Wild Land (Genya) Tax in Yen
1	13	2
2	12	1.80
3	11	
4	10	
5	9	
6	8	
7	7	
8	6	
9	5	
10	4	

[651]

In Ginoza-son, the land classification system is substantially the same. There are six different grades of land classified according to yield in go per tsubo. (A go is 1/1000 of a koku, a tsubo about 4 square yards). [804]

Grade	Yield	Remarks
1	5	Two annual plantings.
2	4	Two annual plantings.
3	3	Dependent entirely on amount of estimated rainfall.
4	2	
5	1.5	
6	1.0	Mountain paddy, very uncertain, depending on rainfall; occasionally two crops a year are possible.

[433] [241]

Dry crop land is judged by criteria similar to those in Gushichan-son. Grade 1 is good soil and convenient to water with good yields as shown by experience. Grades 2 and 3 are convenient to water, but soils are of lesser quality. The classification is also based on experience. Grade 4 is in low places, generally narrow ravines between steep wooded slopes. Grades 5 and 6 have little or no water, are stony, and inconvenient. [134] [312] [133]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

311 Land classification in Okinawa proceeds from the village to the township and then to the whole island. Each class of land in a village has its own grade. By combining these grades a township classification is made. This is done first by village committees determining the grades for each of their classes of land, and then by setting up a table of equivalences after discussion by the committee representing the whole township. Matsuda's first grade dry crop land might be considered by the land classification committee to be equal in quality to Ginoza village's second class land. While there might be only six classifications for any one village, when all these are combined, there may be ten grades for the township. This is shown by the table of correspondences for Matsuda and neighboring villages in Ginoza-son, as of November 1951.

In this illustration, Matsuda's first class rice land is considered second grade on a township wide basis; its sixth grade dry crop land is grade nine, and its first and second class houses are by comparison, grades three and four in the whole township.

311 623 632 With minor variations, the procedures in classifying land are the same in both townships. Each village makes the classification of its own land. This is done by five villagers, chosen by the people for their knowledge and integrity. In Gushichan township, village experts are designated to serve on the township committee.[8] Seven men from the villages are joined by the mayor (sonchō), the vice-mayor (joyaku), the trade and industry section head, the agricultural section head of the township office, a total of eleven men, who then determine the township classifications. These committees make inspections of doubtful cases, often after working hours. The field trips usually end up with a sake party. [574]

In Ginoza-son essentially the same procedures are followed. Each village sends representatives, the number being determined by the area of the village. In late 1951, this village-wide committee had 24 members with the township mayor as chairman. Each village prepares its own land classification map. The local classifications, later combined to make a township-wide classification, have the advantage of limiting the range of grades in a small area and of comparing parcels close together.

Occasionally the grade of a plot is changed to correct an error or to make it consistent with an improvement. A new road may make a plot of land more accessible and thus change its grade.

311 651 433 556 In all the villages studied, land classification was important for the same reasons: for tax purposes, for estimating future production, and for the individual farmer, a means of demonstrating tangible wealth.

8 One representative each is chosen from the villages of Gushichan, Aragusuku, Koshihara, and Nakaza villages, one from Oton and Hanashiro combined, one from Asato and Yoza combined, and one from Hinatogawa-ikku and Hinatogawa-niku combined.

311

TOWNSHIP LAND CLASSIFICATION
(Correspondences)

1. Rice Land (Ta)

Township Grade	Villages of: Kanna	Sokai	Ginosa	Matsuda
1	1			
2			1	1
3	2	1		
4				2
5	3	2	2	
6			3	3
7		3		
8	4	4	4	4
9	5	5	5	5
10	6	6	6	6

2. Dry Crop Land (Hatake)

1		1	1	
2			2	1
3	1	2	3	
4				2
5	2	3	4	
6		4		3
7	3		5	4
8	4	5		5
9	5	6	6	6
10	6			

3. House Sites (Yashiki)

1			1	
2	1	1		
3			2	1
4	2	2		2

4. Wild Land (Genya)

1				1
2	1	1	1	
3	2	2	2	
4				2

5. Forest Lands

1	1	1	1	1
2	2	2	2	2

666

6. Miscellaneous (Zashuchi)

1	1	1	1	1
2	2	2	2	2

311 487 363 One feature typical of these villages is the boundary path (sakai) sometimes only a foot wide. The path is a boundary and a means of access. Roads and lanes are in the main areas of the village. They do not checkerboard a whole area. Too much land would be sacrificed. The farmer leaves his home, walks along the road or lane, and then takes a winding boundary path to his own field. In the aggregate, considerable land is taken up by boundary paths. Often the sides of the plot along the path are cut perpendicularly to take as full advantage of the soil as possible. There is little slope from the path to the field, and the paths of the rice paddy often look like miniature levees.

311 423 In his Narrative of a Voyage of the Ship Morison, which appeared in The Chinese Repository for 1838, S. Wells Williams wrote concerning Okinawa: "Indeed the Lilliputian minuteness with which the country is subdivided is singular." The tables and the land use maps which follow document this observation. The tables, which show the [217] number of plots and their average size, for each village, were computed from land registers in the two township offices. The three main classifications, rice, dry crop, and wild land, have been selected. To appreciate the size of these plots, one should bear in mind that a 40' x 80' lot has over 88 tsubo and that an acre contains about 1210 tsubo.

[217] The maps represent a tiny portion of those cadastral maps collected from the township offices and of which tracings were made. They also illustrate the complete and painstaking subdivision of a village area and the general uses to which each parcel is put.

Rice Land (Ta)

a. Hanashiro

Grade	No. of Plots	Average Area in Tsubo
Total	201	140.4
1	59	52.9
2	36	160.8
3	44	182.6
4	58	179.8
5	4	212.5

b. Matsuda

Total	560	137.2
1	30	60.5
2	76	140.0
3	178	132.1
4	175	154.9
5	101	136.3

311
423

Dry Crop Land (Hatake)

a. Hanashiro

Grade	No. of Plots	Average Area in Tsubo
Total	497	327.1
1	51	320.2
2	73	357.0
3	140	327.9
4	108	335.7
5	98	293.3
6	27	343.5

b. Minatogawa

Total	207	256.5
1	0	—
2	3	394.0
3	24	316.2
4	41	309.1
5	139	227.7

c. Matsuda

Total	1155	162.4
1	30	148.0
2	106	174.8
3	300	159.4
4	436	174.2
5	207	148.9
6	76	131.3

Wild Land (Genya)

a. Hanashiro

Total	360	462.6
1	81	378.9
2	279	486.9

b. Minatogawa

Total	71	244.3
1	20	184.2
2	47	275.7
3	2	140.0
4	2	209.5

c. Matsuda

Total	1140	327.8
1	36	560.3
2	1091	320.5
3-6	13	301.5

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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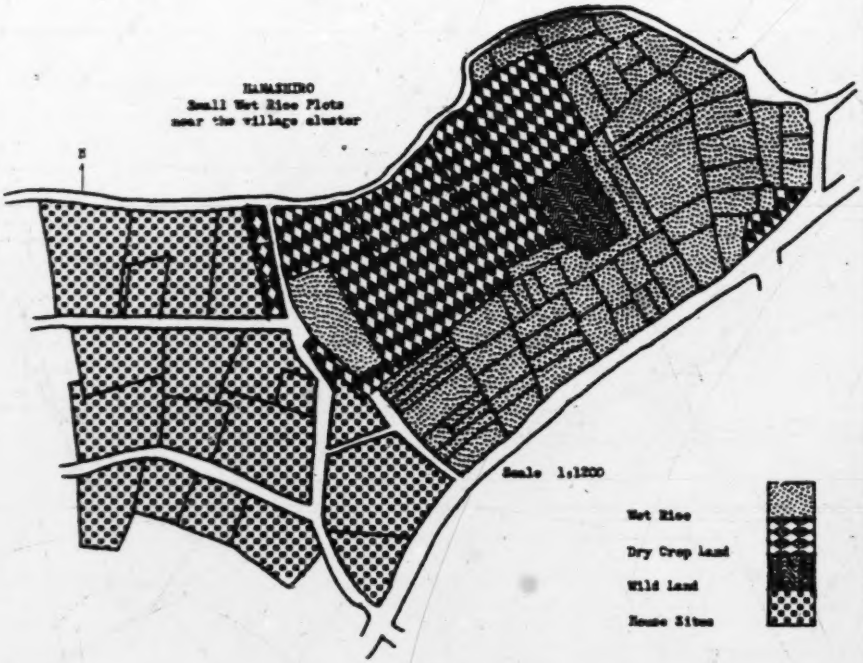

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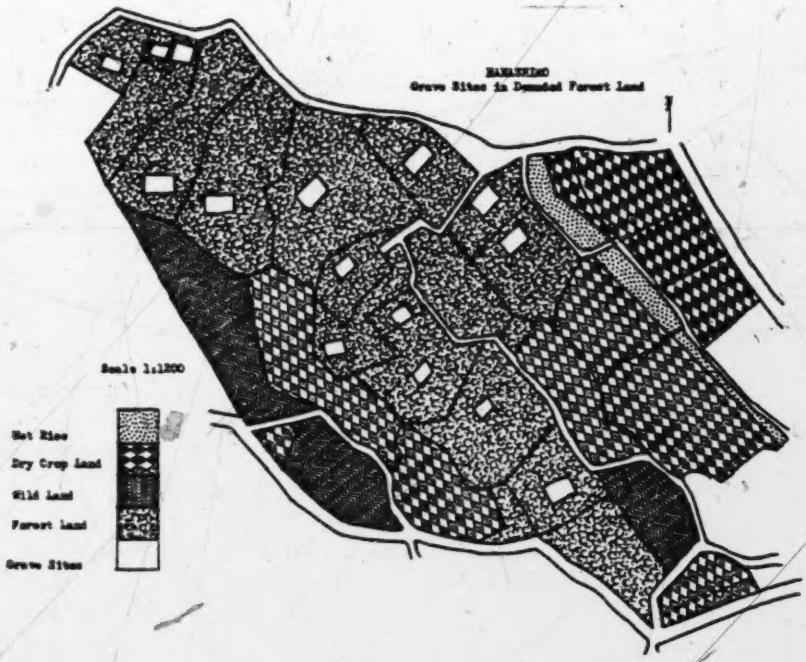

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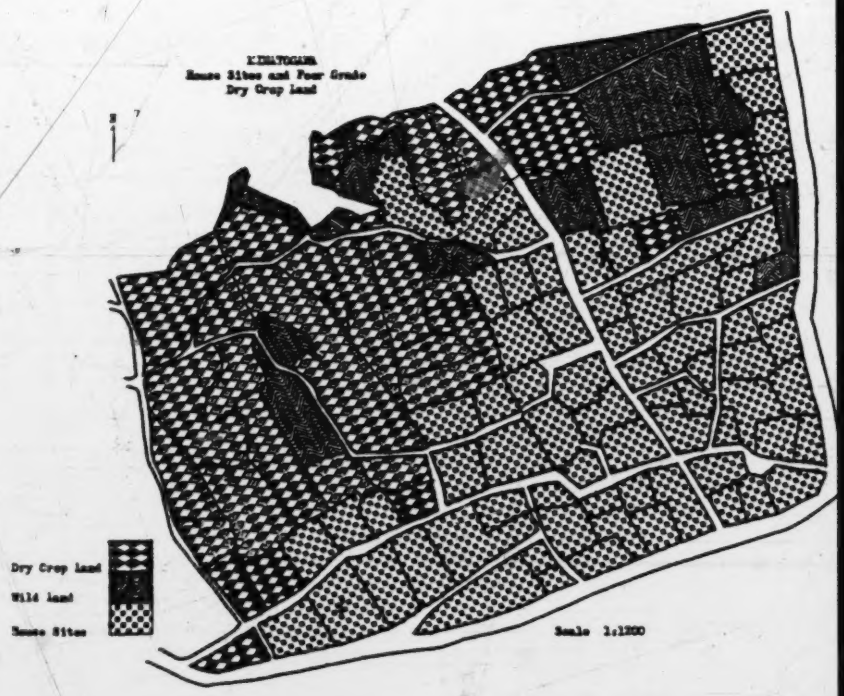
KINAGAWA
House Sites and Poor Grade
Dry Crop Land
N
Dry Crop Land
Wild Land
House Sites
Scale 1:1200

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MATSUDA
Irregular Wet Rice Plots
in Wild Land

Wet Rice

Dry Crop Land

Wild Land

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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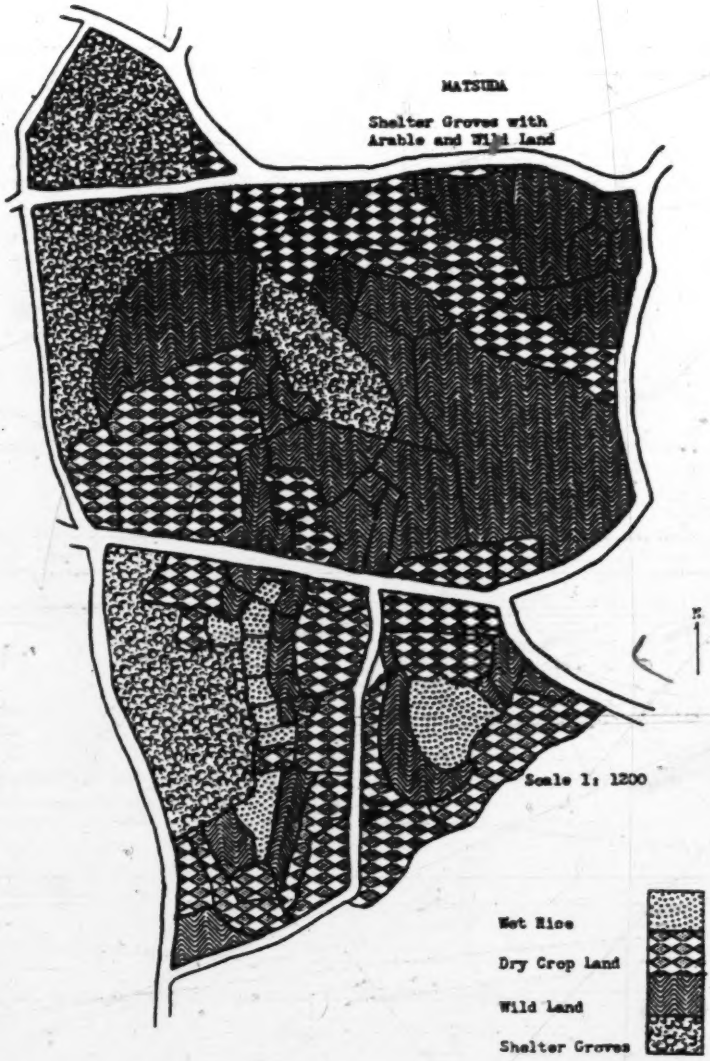

3

Care and Conservation of Land

One of the significant tasks of our time is the study of the relation between population growth and density and the exploitation of renewable and non-renewable resources: the effects of a culture on the land, the forests, the soils and the vegetation must be considered in ethnographic and geographic work. If this is not done the culture is studied as if it rested, like a plate on a table, on a geographic base, without bothering to discover the nature of the environment or what the culture is doing to it. 121 114

Nineteenth century studies of primitive and advanced societies emphasized the influence of the physical environment in molding a culture. This crude fallacy, often known as geographic determinism or environmentalism, was exploded by studies made of cultures in all parts of the world in which it became clear that the physical environment is not the cause of cultural differences.

But the reverse of this approach, the examination of what a culture is doing to its physical environment, its soils, its vegetation, and its forests has not been carried on with the vigor with which other aspects of culture have been studied. This point of view has practical significance in day to day administration. Economic matters such as foreign trade or the labor force requirement should not be a separate and independent segment for study. Changes in inheritance should not be viewed solely with reference to the family system. Forest conservation should not be regarded only as a technique and a necessary department in the government.

The effects of the devastating typhoons, for example, need no elaboration: the destruction of life, crops, houses, of boats, and breakwaters. But their effects are also influenced by other factors. The two southern villages were in the midst of some of the violent fighting of the Okinawan campaign. Large numbers of houses in both communities were destroyed by the war. The new buildings to replace them are so frail that in typhoon times they are often destroyed. This rebuilding requires more wood and more grass. Thus, such factors as the war, the inability to reconstruct permanent housing, typhoons, and the natural growing of miscanthus grass are joined together in a close relationship. 731 727 362 824 182

In the south the relationship of typhoon destruction to deforestation is striking. There is need for tidebreak groves and shelter belts along the coast to protect crops from wind and saltwater spray, a need which fortunately the Ryukyuan Forest Agency is attempting to meet. Deforestation in the south seems inescapably tied up with long occupance. The center of population has always been in the southern part of the island. Not only should there be trees, but they should be planted in the right places. The deforestation of 731 137 [313] [361]

The deforestation of
731 the south over a period of centuries thus is related to water spray
313 and wind damage, relationships which a wise administration cannot neglect.

121 The natural tendency is to think in terms of population and land and of the food which it can produce. But if the population is envisaged in terms of forest, the land, both cultivated and uncultivated, and the role of the uncultivated land in protecting the soil, broader understandings are possible.[9]

231 It is a significant fact, to use another example, that goats are tethered and not allowed to graze. They do not roam the hillsides, nor crop off the shoots of young plants. If they did, it is possible that legislation controlling the goat might have to be enacted such as has been done in the island of Cyprus.

311 It is important therefore, to ascertain how a culture makes
731 use of its natural environment and also how it takes care of it.
185 Typhoons cannot be controlled. Neither can periods of drought which often produce water shortages, prevent the planting of sweet potatoes, or the harvesting of a good rice crop. In areas where control is possible, the Okinawans have developed conservation measures. Almost one hundred years ago, Dr. D. S. Green, Fleet Surgeon attached to the
175 frigate Mississippi on Perry's expedition to Japan, wrote:
185

> "Two objects seem to influence the islanders in all their operations, viz: the retention of water or moisture, and the avoidance of surface-washing. To effect these desirable ends, especially in a rolling country, a great quantity of grading is required, besides very deep culture; and here both of these have been done."[10]

000 In the areas studied, no serious sheet erosion was observed.

[Text continues top of P. 157 -- analyst]

9 The general ideas and points of view expressed by Edward Graham in his Natural principles of land use, London, New York, and Toronto, 1944, are pertinent here.

10 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, II, 26-27. The emphasis is in the original. Green continues with further details of grading around streams, along ravines, and on the uplands. His description today would still fit many parts of Okinawa. He was particularly impressed with the lands on a journey between Nugah (i.e., Nago) and Tanegah, southwest of Unten. His whole passage is well worth reading.

Two other forms of land conservation and maintenance, crop rotation and fertilizers, will be discussed under agriculture.

In the areas studied, no serious sheet erosion was observed

No doubt this may be a problem in parts of Okinawa, but it is doubtful that this menace will threaten the habitability of the island. Occasionally one can see a freshly hoed field on a slope that is losing its soil during a downpour. But the fact that the hills and mountains are covered with vegetation, are not too steep, and that grasses and shrubs are cut off allowing the stubble with the roots to remain in the soil effectively binds the soil of the hills and at the same time prevents flash floods. With the exception of stony soils, the land of the areas studied had a plant cover. This statement is not inconsistent with the previous remarks regarding deforestation, as the disappearance of the pine, the cycad, and the pandanus has been offset by the spread of kaya (miscanthus) grass. Boundary paths also keep the soil in place. They often roughly follow the slope and are sufficiently crooked and winding and of sufficient depth to prevent washing away of large quantities of soil. While there is no complex irrigation system in these areas, the small ditches which carry the water down the slope are winding and covered on their borders by weeds. Occasionally one can see a farmer shovelling up the soil accumulated in a natural catchment in a bend of one of these ditches and restoring the lost soil to his land.

134 133 137 185 [987] [312]

In all areas, equally simple devices to protect the soil could be observed. Roadside borders of stone, like the stone of a rock garden, often line the fields adjoining main roads. (One could write a long essay on stones and the part they play in the culture of the people). These stones come from the fields. If fields do not have stone borders, weeds are left to grow. They are cropped, but the roots are left in the soil. In Hanashiro, stone fences on slopes and contour breaks are a common sight. Sometimes these have the appearance of blunt wedges, the end of the wedge going up the ravine. These stones have been painstakingly gathered from nearby areas.

185 417

Terracing is practiced in a crude form in these areas. It really is step or bench cultivation, the plots being above one another in step like order. The function of terracing is, in the case of the dry crop land, to bring more land under cultivation, protecting it from washing away; in the case of the rice fields, it supplies flat land for cultivation at different levels. In the areas studied, terracing did not go all the way up the mountain side, although this practice can be observed in parts of Okinawa.

185 241

Very frequently the ledges of the terraces are covered with a border of weeds or cropped grass which prevent soil runoff down the hill. In the Matsuda area, rice is grown up a narrow mountain valley, or ravine, with trees and shrubbery on the hillsides growing to the very edge of the cultivated plots. In rice terracing, the boundary paths often divide one step from another with openings in the ditches to allow the passage of water to the level below.

311 Slow conversion of land to arable fields is constantly going on in situations in which the amount of labor involved is not even considered. One such activity in the Hinatogawa area is typical. [134] Originally the field could not be worked because of the large quantities of smaller boulders, stones, and pebbles, all small enough to be carried off, too numerous to encourage hopes for quick transformation. With difficulty this land is worked with the short [412] handled broad bladed hoe. The hoes with two or three prongs are [462] used for softer soils. This hard hoeing is often done by women. The surface stones are thrown aside into little piles along the road. [491] These can now be sold for use in road construction. The vegetation on the surface is also turned under. Later in the year, after the rain has gone into the loosened soil, it is hoed again, and this time it is possible to go in deeper. Weeds, rice straw, unused miscanthus, straw from the pig or goat pen may be added, and this is allowed to rot in the soil. Then the field is hoed again, and the deeper rocks and stones, and those left behind before, are unturned and the process is repeated. In the end, and this period may vary from one to several years depending on the quantity of stones, the farmer has a plot of [134] land, of a rich chocolate brown color, of fair texture and fertility, suitable for growing sweet potatoes.

133 In Matsuda, there is a slightly different situation. The
311 topography here has a different character than that of the south. Hills, caves, sinks, and slopes are everywhere, and as a consequence, cultivation is more scattered. In the southern villages, land use follows a more recognizable pattern. The low flat areas are used for rice, the higher parts of the flat land and the slopes and the rolling upland for dry crop land, while the highest parts on the hill or mountain summits are in grasses, shrubs, and scattered scrub trees. In Matsuda, these are all mixed up. Rice may be growing in a genya area. In another part of the village, sweet potatoes may, in a similar situation, be the rule. This crazy-quilt pattern of rice, genya and dry crop land, all adjoining, stimulates the gradual conversion of genya to arable land. When rice is made out of the genya land the converted plot is known in Okinawan as gata. It is a laborious process of clearing, removing stones, hoeing, cutting perpendicular sides, making a hard surface to contain the water for the rice that will be grown. In some sections of Matsuda, the very small valleys have been converted to S-shaped rice plots.

311 Casual observers often see unused land and conclude that large
134 amounts can be reclaimed. They do not see the stones, or the hard-rock which may be an inch or two below the surface. They would do well to look at village maps to see how these lands are regarded by the villagers who have tilled them. Probably more efficient conversion and reclamation could be carried on with machinery and with the generous use of fertilizers.

311 In the desire for more land, it should not be overlooked that
185 the great conservation value of genya land and the poorer upland

plots lies in their being as they are, separating one cultivated area from another, binding the soil, and that they are probably serving their best purposes now, as they have in the past, in furnishing this protection. 311 185

The conservation practices of the Okinawans are at least in part a consequence of the topography. The care of upland areas and rolling hills is imperative. For a great deal of cultivation takes place here. Unlike China, there is not a strong contrast between large scale paddy rice in alluvial soils and the relative neglect of upland areas with deforestation and erosion. In China the meticulous care of the transported soils of the lowlands and the neglect of the uplands is a striking aspect of the attitude toward land. This is true, perhaps to a lesser degree, of Japan.[11] 185 133 311 [191]

In Okinawa there are insufficient delta plains and alluvial soils to provide these contrasts between lowland and upland agriculture. The scarcity of river deltas and alluvial plains means relatively little rice and the use of the rolling hills and the steeper sides of mountains. This necessity has enforced a care of the uplands. It is true that one often sees sweet potatoes or other dry crops growing in rows up and down a hill instead of along contours, and that there seems often to be a lack of appreciation of the consequences of misuse of forest land through clear cutting. But in the main in the use of the uplands for cultivation, the weed borders or rock fences, and other simple devices keep the soils from erosion. The relatively gentle topography has also contributed to this achievement.

4

Fragmentation and Consolidation

Fragmentation of land is common in Okinawa. Ownership of contiguous plots of land is not the general rule. It is a basic fact of land tenure and influences land use and agricultural practice. This fragmentation is a deterrent to the use of machinery, unless cooperatively owned or unless certain individuals specialize in the 423 241

11 See James Thorp, Geography of the soils of China, Nanking 1936, especially Chapters xii-xiv. Gourou, Pierre. The development of upland areas in China, and Trewartha, Glenn T., Utilization of Upland areas in Japan. In: The development of upland areas of the Far East, Vol. I. (Institute of Pacific Relations), New York, 1949. Trewartha describes his surprise in his earlier studies of Japan and his acquaintance "with the fact that the Japanese, like most Orientals, greatly deprecate the value of upland or non-irrigated sites for agricultural land use." (p. 59). This choosiness is not possible for the Okinawans.

423 241 business. Fragmentation means inconvenience, loss of time and effort in the simultaneous cultivation of different fields. The situation is the same for the well-to-do and the poor alike. Large holdings do not mean single pieces of land within a large area, but many small parcels of land, of different classification and grade, scattered like those of a less prosperous farmer. There are offsetting advantages. The greatest of these is that crop destruction through typhoons, salt spray, or flooding may be less catastrophic to the individual owner with small scattered holdings than if a family has a single large plot of land.

423 425 Another effect of fragmentation is that it makes a particular plot of land difficult to sell. If one has a small plot of land, an island in a sea of other ownership, the prospective buyer is in the same position as the seller, unless the buyer owns contiguous land and has the money to make the purchase.

423 The natural question at this point is: what are the possibilities of consolidation of ownership in the interests of more efficient and convenient agriculture? The general answer, I believe, is that fragmentation is almost inevitable, consolidation only possible.

In both of the agricultural villages studied, some voluntary consolidation (kokanbungo) has taken place, but it is not of major proportions. It occurs chiefly for two reasons: (1) clustering one's land near the house site, or having two or more parcels of contiguous land is universally desired. Going to and fro is considered troublesome and onerous. (2) When branch families are established, farmers wish to exchange a distant plot for one in the village for a house site. This is often difficult to do, for such an exchange must be mutually advantageous to bring about a transfer.

423 731 Typhoons are a major obstacle to voluntary consolidation into large holdings. It is perhaps possible to exaggerate this, but personal experience and conversation with villagers who have lost the entire crop of one parcel but have salvaged part of the crop of another convince me of its force. A typhoon damages a whole area but the scattered holdings provide the chance that something might be saved. The total damage is the same in any event regardless of ownership. It is the distribution of loss that varies. If in the future, land consolidation were attempted on a broad scale, either by voluntary individual effort, or cooperatively, crop insurance or some form of sharing losses would seem to be necessary.

423 311 407 The present system of land ownership and of land use and the fragmentation of land would seem to preclude any extensive mechanization of agriculture. Even with consolidated holdings, the nature of the landscape might make the effort uneconomical, though this is a question for technicians in these fields.

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5

Conclusion

The sources of the present land tenure and land use practices are to be sought in the old land allotment system. The original fragmentation of land was due to the land classification based in turn on the fact that excellent, good, and poor lands were not in one area, but were scattered. Further fragmentation has come from land division because of the establishment of branch families. With each generation a further fragmentation will take place. The present system of land tenure and of land use is to be explained, therefore, as a result of the ancient family system working first within the framework of the old allotment system, and then within the introduced Japanese system of inheritance, with practices of land use retaining some of the influences of the old. 423 311 428

The experience of the next few years in Japan will be interesting to observe. With equal inheritance for each child, will there be a hopeless splintering of land or land speculation in the sale of small holdings? Before any changes are made in the present Okinawan inheritance laws, the possible effects on land use and agriculture should be studied. Considerations should not be confined to a legalistic or sociological approach to the family itself. Besides of what value to the heirs would splintered, minute, and fragmented holdings be? 000

000

PART FOUR

WAYS OF LIVING

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

CHAPTER IX

AGRICULTURE

000

1 Introduction

2 Methods and Tools

3 The Annual Work Cycle

4 Rice Cultivation

5 The Sweet Potato

6 The Planting of Sugar Cane and Sugar Making

7 Other Crops

8 Native Uncultivated Plants of Use to Man (Other than Forest Trees)

9 Domestic Animals

10 Conclusion

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1

Introduction

The basic occupation of the Okinawans has been and continues to be agriculture. The agricultural, not the fishing, wood gathering, or stonecutting community is typical. Fishing, stonecutting and forestry have been the occupations of certain villages or areas, or of certain groups within a village. This and the following chapter describe these ways of living. 463

Agricultural practices gathered from Hanashiro, Nagamo (to some extent), and Matsuda will be presented in this chapter. Hinatogawa has been omitted because it is primarily a fishing and stonecutting community, and there is nothing distinctive or unusual in its agriculture. This presentation avoids the repetitive description of similar activities that would follow from a discussion of each village separately. Significant differences, where they appear, will be mentioned, and in this manner, I hope, the identities of the individual villages will not be lost, despite the topical arrangement. 128

Okinawan agriculture is basically the story of four crops: rice, sweet potatoes, the soy bean, and sugar cane. Rice is a minor crop. Not all farmers grow it, and rice consumption rests both on homegrown products and imports. Individual farmers occasionally grow both to sell and for home use. Today it is less of a luxury than it was before the war because of the imports and the home grown crop. In Okinawa two crops a year are possible. 241 862 433 [439]

The sweet potato is the main crop. Cultivation continues throughout the year. Potatoes often are dug on a day to day basis as required for human or animal consumption. At any one time, the patches of sweet potatoes owned by a farmer may represent all stages of growth from a fresh transplanted field to a patch ready for digging. The sweet potato is the cheapest all purpose food, both for human and animal consumption. Okinawans tire of it because poverty enforces such frequent consumption. Since the war, the increased availability of rice for home use, and the opportunities of purchasing rice have relieved this complete dependence on the sweet potato. Among some families, though these are still few, the sweet potato has become the food of animals, with only select ones used at the table. But for the great majority the sweet potato still is the basic article of diet. It is cheap and easy to cultivate either by men or women. Little can be realized from its sale.

Soy beans are grown for home consumption. Making bean curd in the home is universal. Brown sugar is produced as a cash crop. Some is used in the home as a confection both for adults and children. [432] [263]

241
262 These crops do not exhaust their agriculture. Wheat and barley are grown, but not in significant quantities. Varieties of beans other than the soybean are important. Pumpkins and gourds of various kinds make valuable food supplements. The onion, the carrot, and the giant horse radish are grown for home use, occasionally for sale. More unusual products, such as the taro, are grown less frequently and then only for side dishes at meals.

221
805 In their agricultural work, farmers prefer the lunar (kyūreki, literally, old calendar) to the western, solar (seireki) calendar. The lunar calendar was abolished for official purposes by the Japanese in 1874. While this change was introduced into Okinawa, the lunar calendar still has vitality in the countryside. The present published calendars show with a large numeral the day in the western count, but in each block, in smaller script, is the corresponding lunar date:

JANUARY	1952
1	
12th Month	5th day

Births, deaths, official correspondence are recorded in the western count. The farmer, however, thinks in terms of the lunar calendar. When he says he plants his sweet potatoes in May, he means May by the lunar count.

805

Western Solar and Lunar Day Equivalents

Western	1951, Year of the Hare	Lunar Count 1952, Year of the Dragon
Jan 1	Nov 24	Dec 5
Feb 1	Dec 25	Jan 6
Mar 1	Jan 24	Feb 6
Apr 1	Feb 25	Mar 7
May 1	Mar 26	Apr 8
Jun 1	Apr 27	May 9*
Jul 1	May 27	May 10*
Aug 1	Jun 29	Jun 11
Sept 1	Aug 1	Jul 12
Oct 1	Sep 1	Aug 13
Nov 1	Oct 3	Sep 14
Dec 1	Nov 3	Oct 15

* The period from May 24 to June 21, 1952, western calendar, corresponds to the lunar May 1 to May 29. The fifth month is then repeated beginning June 22 and ending July 21, western count. This intercalary month is necessary because the lunar year is about 355 days long. As a consequence about 11 days are lost each year, and an additional month is required every third year.

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Some young farmers are now breaking away from the traditional lunar month and using the western calendar in describing their annual activities.[1] 221 805

The use of the lunar month is not confined to farmers. Fishermen, describing their work year, speak in terms of lunar months. For this reason, it is essential in talking to farmers or fishermen to establish at the outset what reckoning they are using. The names of the lunar month and the western month are identical. Following the Chinese, there are no distinctive names for the months. They are numbered from one to twelve. The months have to be distinguished by saying, for example, "sixth month, old calendar," or sixth month, Western calendar." [177]

An interesting minor detail of agriculture and the timekeeping connected with it is the reliance of Okinawan farmers on Japanese almanacs. These are printed and may be purchased throughout the island. One of these printed almanacs is in almost every house, or is readily available from a neighbor. Often, if one asks what is planted or harvested in any particular month, the farmer reaches for his almanac and produces the desired information. If the inquirer is not careful, he will obtain not what a farmer does during the year but what the almanac says he does.

2

Methods and Tools

In the chapter on general geography, it was pointed out that, despite a high annual rainfall and precipitation every month of the year, there is a problem of water shortage and of drought. This is especially serious in the summer months in all three communities. 132 731

[Text Continues Top of P. 167--Analyst]

1 The 24 seasons, borrowed from the 24 Chinese solar terms, into which the lunar year is divided, are also retained on the modern calendar, largely for the use of farmers. For example, Shōkan (Little Cold) begins about Jan 6, Chūkei (Insects Awaken) on March 6, Bōshu (Grain in Ear) on June 5, Ritto (Beginning of winter) on Nov. 7. These 24 seasons, in my experience, are not used much. Farmers think more in terms of the four seasons instead of the 24 little seasons. In Okinawa, they must be revised mentally to suit the humid subtropical climate. "Light snow," and "Heavy snow" are inapplicable in Okinawa; they would simply be small seasons in which one would expect the greatest severity of winter. For a list of the small seasons with Chinese characters, see The five thousand character dictionary, 5th ed., with additions and revisions by George D. Wilder and Chien Hsien Tseng. Peking, 1940, xxxi. [177]

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132 March through June is the season of greatest rainfall and therefore
731 of greatest flood danger. September and October rain is often light, and it is during this period that there is the greatest likelihood that the sweet potatoes will dry up. During the rainy season, there is flood damage to the rice and dry crop fields, especially if they are in the narrow ravines, or along small stream beds.

132 In Hanashiro, dependence on rainfall is immediate and direct.
312 There is no way of storing water in the mountains by accumulations
241 of snow. Runoff from the hills into the small streams is rapid. Short periods without rain are serious. The planting of the sweet potato is very sensitive to this factor. If one asks a farmer when he plants sweet potatoes, he always qualifies his reply by beginning, "If there is enough rain..."

241 There is in these villages no complex irrigation (kangai). In
312 Hanashiro, the flow of water through rice fields and its division are controlled by simple means. Water comes from the nearby hills, either in rivulets or in slightly wider ditches. In the former case, the water is divided by allowing the owner on one side of the stream to get water one day, diverting it on the next to the other side. The larger streams may be forked.

[133] Streams soon lose their identity as they descend from the hills to the lowlands, where they become the water of the paddy. The streams of Okinawa are hidden in the rice fields.

241 In Matsuda, the flow of water down the hillsides is controlled
311 largely by bench cultivation. Rice paddies go far up the narrow valleys
312 and ravines. When these have been converted to rice fields, the water flows into the highest level. A small aperture on the opposite side allows it to fall into the next lower paddy until the water reaches the level of the valley or lowland, where it may be further dispersed throughout rice fields, or trickle off again as a stream. In this way, the flow of the water, not too fast, not too sluggish, provides continually fresh water with its nutrients from the hillsides for each field, and makes possible the irrigation of large areas.

It is for these reasons that terracing is practiced. Cultivation is easier. So is irrigation. Soil runoff is avoided. Terracing is the only way that a ravine or a small slope can be used for paddies, for which a flat and level piece of land is required. Otherwise, the water necessary for the plant runs off.

241

Not all of the upland or slope cultivation is done by terracing, as we have seen. Crops other than rice are often grown on hillsides, or up slopes, less often following the contour of the land. The precautions here are also suited to the cultivation: weeds or grasses grow along boundary lines or divide off sharp drops, or small stone fences may be used.

In Nagamo, where there is no rice grown, there is little water from these sources. It comes from rainfall and amounts of sugar cane and sweet potato that are grown depend on its quantity and regularity. Water regardless of crop is a constant problem. [312]

In Okinawan agriculture, constant fertilization is necessary. There are too many people to leave land fallow in ordinary times. Each plot must be used if the farmer has the time and energy to do so. Since the island is in a humid subtropical climate, the organic materials in the soil (humus) are quickly oxidized. Porous soils encourage the leaching of minerals from the top soil, especially with torrential rains. The fewness of domestic animals increases the dependence on plant residues and artificial fertilizers. One of the commonest complaints of the Okinawan farmer, in addition to the poorness of his soil and crop damage from typhoons, is that it must be unceasingly fertilized. It is a treadmill. He must walk fast to stay in the same place. [134] [231]

There is very little difference in the use of fertilizers in the communities studied. Fertilizers most frequently used are:

(1) Composts. A typical mixture (though there are many combinations) may be composed of dried miscanthus, or any kind of grass, ashes and cinders, perhaps some pieces of charcoal, and goat droppings. This is left a month outside in a pile and put on the fields and hoed under.

(2) Plant residues. These are put on the soil, both of paddy and dry crop land, and hoed under. Plants are the greatest single source of fertilizer. The cut over rice plant is turned under in the paddy field. Tops of the sweet potato, if not used as slips or for food for animals, miscanthus grass, and burned rice hulls are other sources of fertilizer. [824]

(3) Animal manures mixed usually with pen grass. Animal fertilizers are not abundant, an indirect effect of the war which greatly reduced the number of horses, cattle, pigs, goats, and the smaller domestic animals. When available, goat, pig, or horse manures are used. Pig or goat pen grass is gathered up and spread on the fields. Pig manure is the best source of animal fertilizer, for pigs are the most numerous of the larger domestic animals. [727] [237] [231]

(4) Night soil. The use of night soil, called jinpun in Okinawan, has declined from pre-war times. It is often said that it is not used at all. But this statement must be qualified. It is [514]

24| occasionally, but by no means universally used. This failure to use
514 night soil may vary from locality to locality, and from farmer to farmer. In my opinion, it has not the importance it has in China and Japan. Neither is night soil used as a food for pigs, though
23| this seems to have been the case in some parts of Okinawa as late as
514 the 1920's.[2] But feeding human faeces to pigs was not observed in any village.

24| Normally in certain parts of Matsuda, night soil is used, though
514 infrequently, in places near the house. It is not carried far. Applications are made to cultivated land and land not presently in use. In the Nagamo area, it is occasionally used on sweet potatoes and sugar cane. Night soil, gathered from the outside toilets, is
[247] allowed to dry out before being applied to fields. It is often placed around ornamental plants. The fresh liquid form, carried on
[482] the shoulder in two buckets on either end of a long pole, may be applied directly to the fields, ladling out a little of the liquid around
[463] each plant. The professional collector of night soil is uncommon in the areas visited. Only one instance was found. Two brothers, who hired themselves out, cleaned the toilets for Yen 130 per day, plus meals. They spread the night soil on the owner's fields. These two brothers served the Gushichan area.

In Hanashiro, night soil is used occasionally, and then, it was said, only by the old. Its main use was on sugar cane. As a general rule, in all the villages, night soil is most frequently used around plants already growing and around each plant individually, rather than mixing it with the soil when the field is being prepared. Its use on rice fields was not observed.

The sparing use of night soil is indicated also by the infrequency with which one meets its characteristic odor in the countryside. An observation of a traveller, almost 100 years ago, lends some credence to the thought that night soil has not been extensively used
[114] in Okinawa. "How night-soil is disposed of is not known; certainly it does not obtrude itself on the senses, as it does in China, nor is it applied in the same way."[3] In Hanashiro, the decline in use since the
[177] war was ascribed to American influences: the dangers to health, and the increased availability of artificial fertilizers.

241 (5) Commercial fertilizers. These are now substantial proportions of the expenditures of an Okinawan farmer. These fertilizers generally are broadcast over the rice and dry crop lands. The writers of a

2 Richard Goldschmidt, Neu-Japan, as cited, 135.

3 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, II, 35. The author was Dr. Green.

The writers of a recent report on Okinawan economy have emphasised that the combination of generally poor soils, the rapid decomposition of organic matter in a near tropical climate, and excessive leaching make the problem of fertilization very difficult--[4] to say nothing of the trace elements. 24 [114]

(6) Other substances are used for fertilizers. In Hatsuda the barber gathers the cuttings from the luxuriant hair of his clients and places them around his sugar cane--and recommends them highly. Acacia leaves are also used for this purpose here. Leaves and miscellaneous plants are often considered to be especially good fertilizers. [305] [302] [824]

Crop rotation (rinsaku) practices differ by district. In the Hanashiro area, the sugar cane, soy bean, and sweet potato (or vegetable), sugar cane rotation is common. Rotation of paddy with another crop does not occur. Rice succeeds rice in the double cropping system here. In Hatsuda, a common rotation is either (1) the sweet potato, soy beans (or grain, millet, or green peas) and the sweet potato, or (2) the soy bean, sweet potato, grain (barley or millet) rotation. Here rice is not rotated with other crops. (This however does occur in Okinawa).

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Simple Rotations
Hanashiro and Nagamo

One Year

After the sweet potato harvest, the plot is planted in soybeans in the first lunar month.

The soybeans are harvested in the fifth lunar month.

Sweet potatoes follow the soybeans in the sixth lunar month

or

Vegetables alternating with the sweet potato for a year.

Two Years

Sugar cane is sown in the sixth lunar month.

Harvested two years hence, followed by ordinary beans or vegetables, again followed by cane.

4 Agricultural and economic reconstruction in the Ryukyus. A report. Agricultural mission to the Ryukyus, Nov. 1949, 46-47.

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These illustrations, while suggesting the common practice, are oversimplified. Rotation is more complicated because all of a farmer's scattered holdings may be involved in an overall rotation, and one plot may serve several different purposes. In the following example of a plot divided up into five small parcels, the planting and transplanting of the sweet potato is part of the mechanism of rotation:

Time: September 1951

Newly hoed. To be planted in beans (sora-mame), Sept. 1951. 1	Planted in Sweet Potatoes in July 1951. To be harvested in Jan. 2	Soy beans harvested in May Now in weeds and grass 3	Now being freshly planted with slips from Parcel 4. Hoeing Completed.
Planted in Sweet Potatoes on Sept. 20, 1951. Slips from this parcel are vegetatively reproduced on parcels 3 & 5. 4			5

In the following illustration, sweet potatoes and beans provide rotation both of crop and of field:

1 Sweet Potato Seed Bed Potatoes planted in Feb. May and July cuttings supply 2, 3, 4, 5	2 Planted in Soybeans in January. Harvested in May. Sweet potato cuttings planted after the soy bean harvest. The plot is entirely in sweet potatoes by May.

Planted With Sweet Potato Slips or Clones:

3	4	5

A crop rotation with sugar cane depends on whether it is a spring (harue) or a summer (natsue). In the spring planting, lunar calendar:

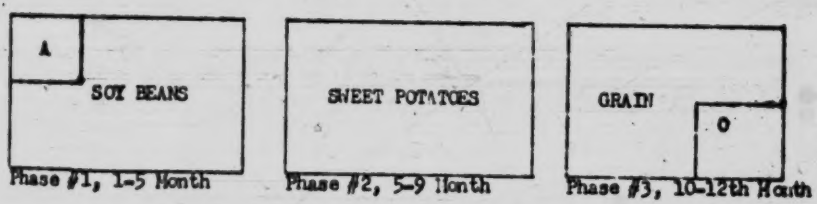
> Sugar cane cuttings are planted in the second month, to be harvested one year later. At that harvest, the plants are not torn out, but the stubs are allowed to sprout (the stubble or ratoon crop), the

resulting growth being harvested in the second or third lunar month one year hence. After this second cane harvest, the plant is torn and soy beans or sweet potatoes are grown. This is a two year period for the cane, followed by one year in vegetables or other crops.

In the summer planting, lunar calendar:

Cane cuttings are planted in the seventh month. This crop is harvested about a year and a half later, in the twelfth lunar month of the following year, then to be planted in soy beans or sweet potatoes.

In Matsuda, crop rotation is confined to crops other than rice. The rotation, as in the south, centers around the sweet potato, sugar cane, vegetables and grains. The rotation in a parcel of land may be the sweet potato, then the soy bean, green peas, or a grain such as barley, wheat, or millet, followed by the sweet potato. In this rotation, small segments of land are reserved for sweet potato seed beds. When they are not used for this purpose, they may be left fallow for about three months of the year. The following diagram shows the same plot of land at three different times of the year:



Phase #1, 1-5 Month Phase #2, 5-9 Month Phase #3, 10-12th Month

In phase 1, the plot is planted to soy beans. A small corner of this plot (A), is devoted to a sweet potato bed. After the soy beans are harvested, slips from the plants in the sweet potato bed are transplanted and the whole parcel is in sweet potatoes. After the sweet potato harvest, the plot is put in a grain, perhaps millet, or barley, leaving a small plot to be hoed and prepared with composts, manures, or plant residues for another sweet potato bed.

Sugar cane is used in Matsuda crop rotations in two ways:

Rotation #1, Matsuda

First year, 2nd month	Spring growth cane slips, often the ratoon crop)
11th month	Harvest sugar cane, plant soy beans
Second year, 4th month	Harvest soy beans, plant sweet potatoes
9th month	Harvest sweet potato, plant grain or vegetables.

Rotation #2, Matsuis

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First year, ninth month: Autumn planting of sugar cane
Second year, twelfth month: Harvest of sugar cane. Followed by: Soy bean, sweet potato, or vegetables.

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Land is seldom allowed to lie fallow intentionally for any length of time. At any one time of the year, a farmer may have idle land for which there may be a variety of reasons. He may have other tasks and be unable to cultivate all his land, or have no need of doing so, or some of his land may be so poor that he will not cultivate it unless necessary. Much depends on the individual farmer and his holdings. The village records indicate that in Hanashiro 97.2% of the rice and 83.1% of the dry crop land is under cultivation. From the preceding discussion of land classification, it is clear that many parcels are of marginal quality, and these areas may be left uncultivated, at least part of the year. During the post-war [426] period there has been some informal lending of land, free of rent, to friends and neighbors, if the farmer is not using it himself.

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Manual labor with hand tools is the dominant method of cultivation. Domestic animals are not uncommon, but their use in farming is minor. The war increased the dependence on manual labor through the loss of domestic animals. Only cattle are now used in rice cultivation for plowing and harrowing and this is infrequent. The man or woman and the hoe are far more common. Crops are carried from the fields by human labor. The basket or the straw container, or the tied rice sheaves on either end of a pole over the shoulder, and not horse carts, push carts, or wheel barrows are the main means of transport from field to courtyard. The barefooted farmer, with his hoe and a pole or a basket does the greatest part of the work. The common tools of agriculture are hand tools and adapted to the intensive cultivation which so often has more properly been called the work of a gardener rather than that of a farmer.

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The basic all purpose tool is the solid bladed hoe. The hoe, since deep cuts are possible with its heavy blade, takes the place of the plow. The hoe also replaces the spade, and even the rake, for it can be used to break up and smooth the soil. A poorer farmer may lack many of the tools in the following list, but he will have two or [434] three of the solid bladed hoes.

The accompanying illustration shows the most common agricultural tools:

1. The hera, a spatula or trowel, used for transplanting tops of the sweet potato. Its wooden hand grip curves toward the end of the tool. The hera is also used as a scraper to remove brown sugar from the sides of the cooking pans during the sugar making season.

2. The kama, a small sickle. Next to the hoe, it is the most

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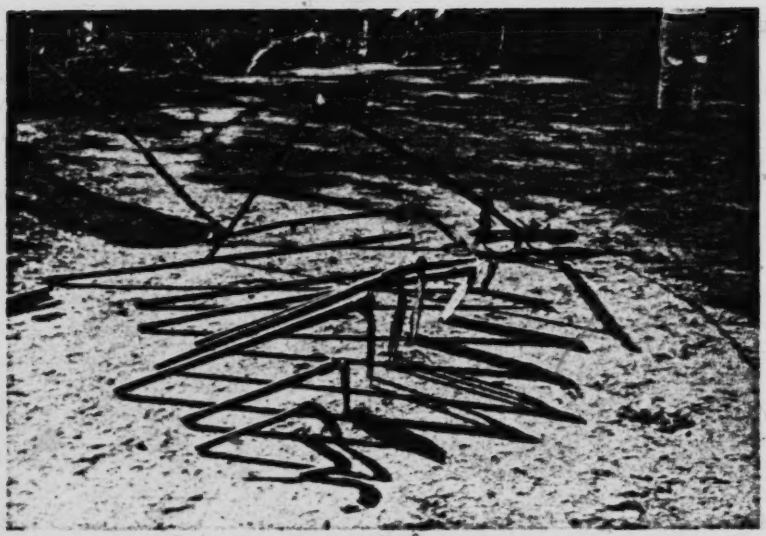

Agricultural Tools

From front to rear:

The hara, a spatula or trowel
The kama, a small sickle
A small sharp pointed hoe
The futamata, a two pronged hoe
The mutsumata, a three pronged hoe
The kuwa, the all purpose hoe
Another hoe, long handled
A heart shaped hoe
A common rake
A hand rice cultivator (propped up in back)
An ordinary pitchfork

common and indispensable tool. It has many uses, including cutting rice stalks at harvest, brush, and sweet potato tops. 412

3. A small sharp pointed hoe, with a short handle, used in sweet potato planting.

4. A two pronged hoe, the futamata, used mostly with sweet potatoes. The two pronged hoe is used in softer soils. It is much more common in Matsuda than in the southern villages.

5. The three pronged hoe, the mutsumata, also used in sweet potato cultivation and in digging. These prongs, with skilful use, do not cut the potato. It is also much more common in Matsuda than in Hanashiro or Nagamo.

6. The common all purpose hoe (kuwa). It has a thick, solid, wide blade. The handle (about 3 1/2 feet long) is stout. The hoe is much sturdier than the ordinary American garden hoe.

7. Another hoe, longer and with a sharper angle between the handle and the blade. It has a variety of uses.

8. A long handled hoe with a heart shaped blade. It is used for making furrows.

9. An ordinary rake.

10. A cultivator and weeding tool for rice paddies. (The pole in back near the handle of the pitchfork is a prop to hold the tool upright for the picture). Only the more prosperous farmers possess this tool. Rice weeding is done almost entirely by hand. [434]

11. An ordinary pitchfork.

12. The plow (suki) 407

13. The harrow (maguwa), and

14. The waku, a hexagonal wooden frame used in laying out a rice field for transplanting. The last three tools or devices, which are not shown in the picture, will be described under rice cultivation. 413

3

The Annual Work Cycle

The following charts show the annual work cycle by lunar month of two farmers, one in Hanashiro, one in Matsuda. The Western calendar equivalents for 1951-52 are shown below the lunar month. Because the lunar year is shorter, there is a gap, as the period actually covered is from February 6, 1951 to January 26, 1952. These materials are based on observation and conversation with the farmers concerned. 221 241 [805] [114]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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Planting dates, types of crops vary slightly from farmer to farmer, even in the same area, depending on individual caprice, the nature of the land, and the types of crops the farmer prefers.

ANNUAL AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITIES
of
TWO REPRESENTATIVE FARMERS OF HANASHIRO AND HATSUDA
By Lunar Month

HANASHIRO	HATSUDA
FIRST MONTH (Feb 6-Mar 7)	
Work begins on 3d day. On 4th and fifth day plant soy beans. Planting may continue next month. Make Sugar. Transplant rice from seeds sown in seed bed in 11th month. Weeding of soy beans.	Work day begins 3d day after New Years. From 4th or 5th until 20-25th prepare soil for soy beans. Sow rice in seed bed. Make sugar in leisure hours.
SECOND MONTH (Mar 8-Apr 5)	
Soy bean planting continues if necessary. Sugar making continues. Planting of sweet potatoes, using slips or tops of plants. Plant cucumbers, Chinese lettuce (hakusai) Sow sugar cane cuttings, slant-wise or part out of the ground. Harvest small patch of Irish potatoes.	Soy bean planting stops about middle of the month. Transplanting of rice from seed bed begins. Weeding and care of soy beans.
THIRD MONTH (Apr 6-May 5)	
In the main, a continuation of second month activities. Planting sweet potato bed. Spring planting of sugar cane continues. Weed rice field by hand.	Plant the sweet potato in seed bed for future slips. Planting season lasts until the 25th. Weed rice fields. Sowing of sugar cane-horizontal plant--about middle of the month.
FOURTH MONTH (May 6-June 4)	
Spring planting of sugar cane continues. Usually finished early part of this month. Continue weeding rice fields. Sow a little dasheen, the satoimo, like taro.	Weeding of rice fields completed about middle of the month. After rain, sow sweet potato, through the 5th month. Sown by slips or transplants. Finishing up weeding of rice plants.

HAMASHIRO	HATSUDA
FIFTH MONTH (June 5-July 3)	
This and succeeding month the busiest of the year. Harvesting and threshing of soy beans. Plant sweet potato slips.	Busiest month continuing through the sixth month. Soy bean harvest. Plots formerly occupied by soy beans put in sweet potato slips which were sown in the 4th month. Heaviest sweet potato planting of the year.
SIXTH MONTH (July 4-Aug 2)	
This and the previous month the busiest time of the year. Continue with soy bean harvest if required. Harvest of red beans, kidney beans (ingenmame). Plant sweet potato slips. Beginning of sugar cane which continues until the 8th month. The rice harvest. Rice threshing. Begin digging up the wet and drained fields. Beginning of transplanting preparations.	This and the previous month the busiest time of the year. Sweet potato planting. Rice harvest begins about 10th of the month. Rice threshing with the treadle thresher (dakkoki). Rice land with cropped plants turned under. From 10-20th preoccupation with rice. Replanting of rice seed beds after testing. From 20th to 30th rice planting. Other rice lands fertilized, prepared for transplants. Beginning of transplanting.
SEVENTH MONTH (Aug 3-31)	
Planting of rice in the seed bed. Beginning of transplanting of rice shoots from seed bed (about 20 days for growth). Continues through 8th month.	Transplanting rice continues until the 10th. Plant sugar cane. Plant sugar cane slips if there is rain. Begin weeding rice fields about the 10th.
EIGHTH MONTH (Sep 1-30)	
Plant onions, tomatoes, carrots, lettuce. Plant wheat (komugi), barley (ōmugi), and naked barley (hadaka mugi). Plant sweet potato slips. Continue and complete the rice transplanting. Begin weeding the rice plants.	Rice field weeding continues. Done three times in three weeks until about the 15th. Plant sweet potato slips if sufficient rain.
NINTH MONTH (Oct 1-29)	
Sow horse beans (sora-mame) and barley	If rain, sow sweet potato slips, sow wheat, radishes, tomatoes, leafy vegetables (ha no yasai) and Chinese cabbage (hakusai)

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1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

HANASHIRO	MATSUDA
TENTH MONTH (Oct 30-Nov 28)	
221 241 Possible beginning of second rice harvest, though this is early. Planting rice in seed bed. Sow sweet potato slips.	Sow peas (endō-mame) and beans. Plant sweet potato slips if rain. Sow giant radish (daikon), tomatoes, barley. Weeding of radishes, and vegetables planted previous month until the 25th. Rice cutting begins.
ELEVENTH MONTH (Nov 29-Dec 27)	
Continuation of the rice harvest. Threshing and milling. Planting of sugar cane, slantwise. Sow cabbage seed. Rice seed planting begins, or continues if begun in the 10th month.	Rice cutting and harvest. Threshing and milling. Rice fields dug up. Preparation of new fields.
TWELFTH MONTH (Dec 28-Jan 26)	
Sugar making. Sow Irish potatoes (bareisho) but in small quantities	Continue digging up rice fields. Rice sown in seed beds after seed testing. Sugar making may begin.

YEAR ROUND ACTIVITIES

Sweet Potato Planting, Transplanting and Harvesting continues throughout the year, depending on time and distribution of rainfall.

4

Rice Cultivation

243 Growing rice is a most exacting task. The period from the time the seed bed is prepared until the final milling is one of tedious work and continuous apprehension. The reaction of Okinawan farmers to rice cultivation perhaps was best summed up by a Matsuda farmer who said, "Everyone dislikes the work, but rice is delicious."

[461] [262] Assuming that the field is already in existence, the cultivation of rice may be divided into the following stages: (1) preparation and laying out of the seed bed, (2) selection of the seed, (3) transplanting

of the young shoots from the seed beds to the paddy field, (4) the care of rice until its maturity, (5) the harvest, (6) threshing, milling, and hulling, (7) the uses of rice and its byproducts, and (8) types and preferences of rice.

The preparation and laying out of the seed bed. A seed bed (naidoko) is a plot of first grade land, well watered, specially chosen for this purpose. It is very small in area, often around 15 tsubo, or about 540 square feet. The seed bed also may be a portion of a larger field set apart for seedlings. In this case, small boundaries are made by earthen walls, apertures left for water to flow in and out, and the little plot is then prepared for the seedlings. Considerable care is taken in the preparation of the seed bed. The soil here must be finer and more carefully worked than the paddy field, since it receives the rice seed, not the seedlings. The soil is painstakingly worked, and, with the water added, becomes a thick smooth mud. Commercial fertilizers, composts, and less commonly, night soil are then applied. After the seed is sown, water, perhaps 2 1/2 inches deep is allowed in the bed. During germination, a slow steady irrigation, a washing by new water is maintained by controlling the water trickling in and out of the openings on either side of the field.

The selection of the seed. The seed is taken from the harvest immediately preceding. After fall harvest around December, the rice fields are dug to prepare for the new planting in January or February. The seed used from this crop is tested in one of two ways.

In Matsuda, it is common for a farmer to fetch a bucketful of sea water. To this he adds a little more salt until the density of the water is sufficient to float an egg. The rice seed is put in the water. The light and undesirable grains rise to the surface. This salt water density method is apparently very old and originally came from China.

Another method, based on the same assumption that the lighter grains make undesirable seed, is used in both villages. The rice is tossed in a round, shallow, winnowing basket, and the breeze carries off the undesirable seeds to the chickens. In the summer planting the seed, after this testing, is ready to sow. In the fall and winter planting, there is one further step. After the seed has been selected by the winnowing or the density method, it is soaked in water for four or five days. Following this, it is removed from the water, put in a tub, and covered. Warm water is added, the mixture is stirred and allowed to stand for another four or five days. The water is then poured off and seed has begun to germinate. The seedlings can now be planted in the seed bed.

Transplanting the young shoots from the seed bed to the paddy field. In the meantime, the paddy fields have been prepared. After the harvest, the field is drained. Small clumps of cropped rice stalks stick up two or three inches where they have been cut with the small sickle or hill knife. This stubble is turned over either by hoeing, the usual way, or

243 by plowing.

There is water on the land when it is dug and harrowed, but it is not flooded. Not all rice land is harrowed. If it is not harrowed, the same result is accomplished by further hoeing. The harrow (maguwa [407] in Japanese, maga in Okinawan) is partly a home made tool and looks like a large clumsily constructed rake. Essentially it is a piece of timber with a row of strong spikes. This timber ordinarily is made of pine, but other woods may be used. Twelve nails, spaced at about two inch intervals, are driven into the board. These nails or spikes, [414] about 8 sun (almost 10 inches long), square at the head, and with a [326] sharp point, are made by a blacksmith for about Yen 20 each. The [231] harrow is drawn by cattle; two shafts, with a yoke over the animal's [435] head complete the simple implement. The plow is used in the preparation of the field, but far more commonly, the work is done with a hoe.

In the fall and winter planting of rice, the seedlings remain in the seed bed for about 40 days. In the summer, the period is only 20 days and may be less. The winter shoots are from 7-8 inches long, the summer shoots from 4-7 inches. The length is important, for if the seedlings are too long, losses in transplanting will, according to Hanashiro farmers, increase to almost half. In rare instances, due to adverse conditions, seedlings in the seed bed reach 15-20 inches in length. The losses here are said to be considerable in transplanting.

[462] The hoeing or the plowing and harrowing of a field is almost exclusively done by men. It is tiring, uncomfortable, and heavy work. It is much more common to see women hoeing the dry crop land. But transplanting is done by men, women, and the older children. A handful of seedlings in the bed is pulled out and bound with straw, grass, or a rush. There is a knack in pulling these out. They must be jerked quickly, but dexterously to avoid root damage. The bundle is tossed either into a central place or into the paddy field to be planted, if it is adjoining. In the latter case, the bunches are tossed to various parts of the paddy.

243 The seedlings are generally set out in rows. For this purpose, a 804 string with small markers like buttons (shirushi) is used. These are 7 sun (about 8.4 inches) apart. Both the rows and the hills are 7 sun apart. Differences between rows and hills may vary considerably. In these localities, the distances were generally the same. The string is stretched from one end of the row to the other. Each seedling is planted at the interval indicated by the marker on the string. This method of planting is not universal. When there is little time, the seedlings might be scatter planted.

243 Another method of obtaining the checker-board pattern is by means 804 of a home made hexagonal frame, the waku (literally, a reel or a frame). 413 Each of the six sides is divided into nine squares, 7 sun on the side. The overall length is over six feet. The frame is set along the outside border, or at any desired starting point. When in place, the

bottom will imprint nine squares on the wet soil, and as it is turned another nine will be imprinted so that when continued the field is laid out in tiny squares. Three or four seedlings are planted on the corners of the square made by the waku. 243 804 413

Men operate the frame. As they turn it, making the square pattern on the damp soil, women follow behind with the seedlings. The frame has been in use in Matsuda for about fifteen years. An Okinawan agricultural school student is said to have invented it. It was not used in the southern villages studied, an interesting sidelight on the slowness of innovation even on a small island like Okinawa, for many farmers in the south expressed surprise at its use and had not heard of it. The device is helpful to those with large plots. In Matsuda, there are not many of these frames, but borrowing is frequent. [462] [176] [184] [426]

In contrast with recent introductions, such as the universal treadle thresher, the frame seems to be confined to one geographic area. The reason for this may be that the use of the thresher was actively encouraged by the Japanese as a successful time and labor saving device, while the frame was not similarly publicized. 243 804 [407]

Another method, a more traditional one, is to use a piece of wood the same length as the waku with seven little knobs and the two ends to give the nine spaces. This is the jiyogi. A piece of string stretched from one end of the field to the other is used to get a straight line along a row. When the planting has taken place along one row, the jiyogi is used to measure off one space between rows, the guide line is moved over and the operation repeated. This achieves the same purpose as the frame or the string with the markers. Men are more likely to handle these operations, the women following along with the transplanting. But the division of labor is by no means hard and fast. [462]

Care of rice until its maturity. Rice set out in squares is easier to cultivate, weed, and harvest. During its growth, it will be necessary occasionally to loosen the soil or to break up clods which escaped the initial working. There may be some temporary drainage of water off the fields at these times. 243

Weeding rice is usually done by hand, though once in a while a farmer has a hand cultivator. Weeding the rice field is an unrelenting job which is done about once a week. More attention is given to this task when the plants are younger. Weeding is worked in with other daily chores, and all members of the family may participate.

The rice is now allowed to grow with the hope that strong winds or a typhoon will not blow over the slender shoots or submerge them. If the rice is submerged when the shoots are still fairly young, they will gradually right themselves. Farmers say that attempting to upright the plants by hand will not work. The quality of rice once submerged is poor and sometimes half the rice in the plot is lost. If the submersion occurs when the plants are near maturity and the stalks are 20 or 25

243 inches high, the bottom of the paddy becomes a tangled mass. Farmers walk disconsolately away from a field like this, often without even attempting to harvest the crop. The seeds once soaked will produce inferior rice. In this case, the farmer may turn the whole crop under or salvage some for pig food. The growing of rice is one long gamble with the wind and with typhoons, and there is seldom a year in which some rice is not destroyed.

[221] The harvest. The cutting of rice at harvest time, July and November in the western calendar, is done in a uniform manner. (Harvest times may vary somewhat from place to place). A bunch of the long stalks is grasped in one hand and cut off with the small sickle. A stubble of a few inches is left in the field. The sheaves are tied up with a piece of rice straw and thrown in piles. The commonest and [482] most convenient way of carrying the sheaves from the field is to tie several together. A large bundle of these is carried on either end of a pole which rests on the shoulder. The ends of the pole are cut like tenons and stuck in the bundles below the binding. The rice is carried to the courtyard to be threshed. If necessary, it will be allowed to dry for a few days.

243 407 Threshing, hulling, and milling. Rice is threshed either in the courtyard of the home or in a flat place near the house. During rice harvest, the threshing machines can be heard all over the village, the noise suggesting the sounds of cars on a railroad track, heard from a distance. The device now universally used for threshing rice is the dakkoki.

This has a foot treadle, similar to an old fashioned sewing machine. Working the treadle up and down causes a drum, set at about waist length, to revolve. This drum has a series of wires set in rows and bent over, appearing like large staples. These staples are parallel with the line of rotation of the drum.

A conveniently handled bunch of stalks (wara) is held on the revolving drum, the rice seeds touch the staples, which knock the kernels off. They drop to the floor of the device. Often the top has a canvas cover to catch the flying rice kernels and the machines is set in the middle of a large piece of canvas so that the grain can easily be recovered. Both men and women do this work, although women seem to do [462] more of it. They are free to work while at home, alternating the task with other chores. They keep up with the man and the elder children who are carrying the rice bundles in from the fields. After threshing, rice straw is thrown aside. It has many subsequent uses.

[177] The dakkoki, an introduction from Japan, is new in Okinawa. In Hanashiro it has been used scarcely 15 years. Prior to this, more primitive methods were used which can still be observed in Matsuda today. These old methods are no longer important, but they are of interest because they were used, instead of the treadle thresher, up to pre-war times.

One of these, the shisha (nnihija in Okinawan) is essentially a concave forked piece of metal set on a frame, which in turn rests on four props set up in sawbuck fashion. The rice sheaves are drawn through the teeth, causing the kernels to drop below. The sawbuck may be any desired height. Usually the top of the fork is waist level. The only significance of the shisha today is that it provides diversion and occupation for the old women, many of whom are too weak or too unsteady to operate the treadle thresher. The same is true of an even simpler device for threshing. Two short pieces of bamboo, or any piece of round wood, a little longer and with a slightly greater diameter than a pair of chopsticks, are loosely tied together on one end with straw or a strong blade of grass. The tied ends of the two sticks are held in the right hand, leaving the free ends to strip off the rice kernels from the straw. This labor is done by very old women. Age is no deterrent to work as long as people are able to get around. But, as in the south, the treadle thresher is universally used. This device was widely distributed by the Japanese agricultural specialists of the government throughout the empire in the years immediately before the war. In Matsuda, it is also thought to be about 15 years since its introduction.

As in Japan, from which the terms were borrowed, rice in various stages of cultivation and processing is known by different names. Rice in the hull is momei; unpolished rice is genmai, and polished rice is hakumai. Rice stalks are known as wara.

Hulling and polishing rice by machinery are also new in Okinawan villages. In Hanashiro, those machines driven by an open belt are about ten years old. A hand mill, the shiriushi, to be described shortly, was in general use for polishing rice up to 1940.

At present everyone, no matter how poor, pays for hulling and polishing of his rice. The mill owner in Hanashiro estimated that the machinery processed in ten minutes the amount of rice that formerly took a day to hull and polish by hand. Poor families do not try to effect savings by hand work. They pay the fee, sell the polished rice, and eat sweet potatoes.

Unpolished rice is disliked and is never eaten. It is described as hard and bitter in taste. The machinery in a rice mill varies from place to place in quality and modernity. The mill (seimaisho) has two machines: a hulling machine (momitsuriki) and a polishing machine (seimaiki). One simple type of a hulling machine is an endless chain type of mechanism. The rice is put in little buckets on the chain which carry it to rubber layers. As the rice is forced through the layers, the hulls are cracked and pinched off, and are then blown out on a pile in back. After being hulled, the rice goes through the shaft of the milling machine. The shaft housing is grooved. As the shaft revolves, it polishes the rice which is going through it. The shaft also gets heated, and this makes the polishing easier. In the older machine in Hanashiro, the rice was put through the shaft ten times

256 until the desired white shade was obtained. After the milling, the rice is quite warm, and both the chaff and the rice have an odor similar to brewer's yeast.

[462] Women carry the rice to the mill. It is heaped up in baskets set
[482] on their heads. Rice straw or a braid of rice stalks is placed over the small towel which rests directly on the head. On this the woman
[415] sets the basket with its rice. When the milling is over, the women pick up a handful, blow off the chaff, inspect the rice for wholeness and whiteness, and then put it in a large gunny sack. The chaff is placed in a smaller one. Hulls, occasionally taken, are usually left at the mill to accumulate in a pile outside the mill and there, at
[824] frequent intervals, are burned. Sometimes the hulls or the ashes are taken for fertilizer.

Bringing rice for milling is a social occasion for the women.
[521] They often have a child on their back. While waiting for their rice to be hulled and milled, they exchange greetings and news with their neighbors or with women from adjoining villages.

As a result of the war, quality of machinery for rice milling
[727] differs with villages. Most now have access to a mill. The machinery at Matsuda, being more efficient than the older machines at Hanashiro is able to polish the rice satisfactorily after going through the mill three times. These mills are very busy during the harvest seasons.

252 There are also survivals of older methods of hulling and polishing rice. These are no longer used, though many of the old have not lost their skill. Before machine polishing was introduced, the hulls were
[412] removed by pounding the rice in a mortar, usually with a long bamboo pole narrowed in the center for a grip. After the hulls were removed, the rice was put through a quern, or a mill known as a shiriushi. This has two working parts: a base about a foot in diameter and perhaps a foot in height. It looks like a smoothed off log. In the center, there is a wooden pin, perhaps 1 1/2 feet long. Over this part, which looks like an upright piece of a log with a rolling pin stuck in its center, the upper part, made of wood and of the same diameter is fitted. A bar across the inside of the top of the upper part has a hole for the pin. On the outside, wooden plugs provide places for attaching ropes.
[462] These are pulled back and forth by women sitting opposite one another. The rice is poured in at the top, the quern is moved first clock- and then counterclockwise, the rice coming out in the rough crevice where the two pieces join. The rice is put through the quern as many times as is necessary to effect the polishing. In some querns, the inside of the upper part is grooved to quicken the polishing.

In polishing rice in this way, the mill is placed on a mat and the rice is gathered up periodically and put in baskets. It is then winnowed by tossing in a flat basket. Many of the farmers in the villages still have a shiriushi in their sheds, but it is seldom used.

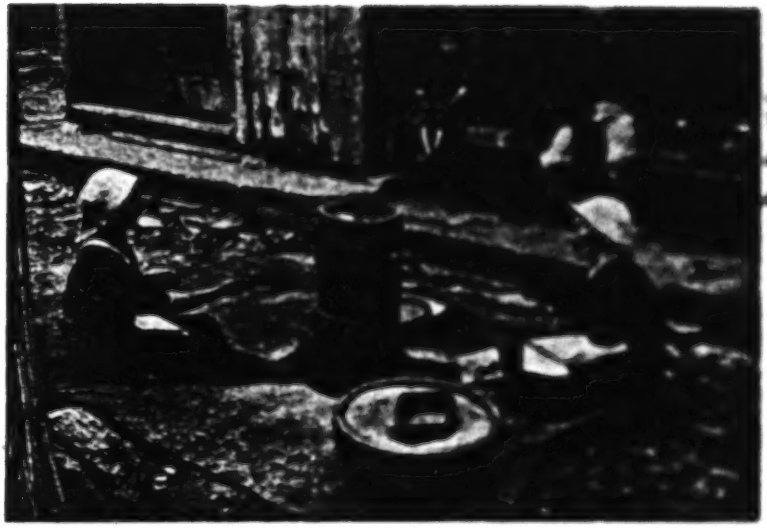
Rice may also be polished by the use of rude wooden mallets. These have a handle about 3 feet long and a head about 1 1/2 feet long. Rice is placed in a mortar with straw on top. It is pounded, often by two or three women swinging alternately. After the hulls are removed, the rice is winnowed, and put back in the mortar until a rough polish is secured. 252 [412]

Uses of rice. Every part of the rice plant has a use. The stubble, left in the ground, becomes a part of next season's fertilizer. The chaff and waste dust (nuka) is saved for pigs, cows, and other domestic animals. The hulls often are used for fertilizer, before or after burning. Rice straw has a variety of uses. The most frequent and important of these is for making rope. 824

After threshing, the straw is dried two or three days. Three or four stalks of about the same length are taken and rolled between the palms. The lower palm, usually the left, is open and up. The right palm rolls the straw into a twist. As the rope grows, new stalks are inserted one at a time, and, when needed, a new length of straw is added. This is not a strong rope, but it has a variety of uses, such as tying down the grass thatch to the roof poles, children's swings, and clothes lines. Mats and pads shaped like a life saver and used to set the sugar pots on after the sugar has been boiled, are made out of rice straw. Another use is in the making of the Ōda (Okinawan). This is a mesh about one foot wide and two feet long. There are loops on each corner. The end of a pole may be inserted in these loops when gathered together. The pole is carried over the shoulder, and sweet potatoes, straw, or other articles may be easily transported. Simple brooms without a handle, little more than a bunch of straw tied together in three places are also made of rice straw. Twisting and braiding rice straw is likely to be rainy day work. These articles are most often made twice in the year, corresponding with the harvests. [283] [285] [482] [412]

At typhoon times, if rice is not completely destroyed, the damaged rice may be used for pig food. The preparation of this rice is women's work. The rice is put in a mortar and pounded with a mallet in the manner already described, although a single operator usually does the work. [731] [231] [462]

Types and preferences. As a general rule, the selection of varieties of rice for planting depends on taste, the nature of the soils, and individual judgment of the expected yield of each type. In Matsuda, it is estimated that about one half of the rice is the Formosan variety, Taichu 65 (Taichu rokujugo), in Okinawa known as horai. Another variety, Kunigami 31 (Kunigami ichigo) represents about one-fourth of the crop. Mochigome (akaho) takes up about another one-fourth. This glutinous rice has a brown reddish rust colored kernel and is used for rice cakes. A fourth variety, horai-mochimai, is also well liked. No black rice is grown here. 243 [262]



Matsuda. Polishing rice with a hand mill. This is a posed picture, but rice was polished this way up to shortly before the war. The grass mat prevents wastage. On the left is some Yambaru bamboo. The women are barefooted. The towel-like headdress is not uncommon.

[P. 185(A)]

In addition to these varieties, cultivated locally, imported rice is distributed through the import stores. These rices generally are from Egypt, Siam, and Burma. They are not well liked and are considered to be tough (katai). Whether this is because the variety itself is disliked or because the imports were of a poor quality is hard to say, but Egyptian, Siamese, and Burmese rice are unfavorably compared with Japanese, Formosan, or the locally grown products. Okinawans are very sensitive to the types of rice. There is no such thing as "rice." Long habituation and fondness for special kinds have induced tastes and preferences which each villager is quick to express. 439 262 [493]

In Hanashiro, the main type of rice planted is also the Taichu 65, a variety which originated in Formosa, and is generally preferred. The red variety, mochigome, does not do well here, according to local farmers, and just a little is grown. Mochigome (literally, rice-cake rice) is used in making the doughy and gummy rice cakes. 243 262

5

The Sweet Potato

The cultivation of the sweet potato (satsuma imo) is a much simpler undertaking than rice culture. Fields are prepared by hand hoeing. The plow and the harrow are not used. In sweet potato cultivation, seed potatoes are first planted in a small plot. This furnishes slips or transplants for other fields. Slips are multiplied by using the tops of one field to plant another. Propagation thus is by clones, and this vegetatively reproduced plant is the mainstay of the diet. 244 [262]

The potato seed bed, well hoed and fertilized, is generally planted in the spring. The tops to be used as slips (kasura) are cut off and planted in rows. Practice has brought deftness in this transplanting. A small amount of soil is lifted up by the spatula, (hera), and held so that an opening rather than a hole appears. The slip is shoved into the aperture and quickly pressed down by the left heel, as the farmer moves to the next planting.[5] Few tools are used in the cultivation of the sweet potato. Only the hoe and the spatula are really needed. Occasionally one finds a special hoe with a sharp angle between the blade and handle or a heart shaped hoe with a long handle. In the Hanashiro and Nagamo areas, the solid bladed hoe is the commonest tool. Two and three pronged hoes are less often used because of the hardness of the soil. [412]

The cultivation of the sweet potato, as we have said, is a year round operation, though planting may slacken off during the winter months. [221]

5 Methods of cultivation have changed little in the past 100 years. The same operation is described in Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 31-32. [114]

244 [132] months. The amount of sweet potatoes grown is not closely related to the season. It depends much more on rainfall.

[131] The effects of typhoons on the plant are most noticeable after transplanting. Salt water spray shrivels the transplants up and they [131] die without developing. These conditions are more noticeable near the seashore in areas like Nagamo that lack trees and tidewater shelters.

824 Like rice, all of the sweet potato plant is used. Plant residues are turned under to fertilize the soil. This turning under of the vines or their use in composts is a doubtful blessing if the plants are diseased. The good potatoes are reserved for human consumption. [231] The poor or the diseased ones are mashed up in a stone mortar with a long pole, used like a pestle, for pig and goat food. Besides using the tops as slips, women constantly cut them off for fresh greens for the pigs. [262] The sweet potato is the basic food because it is cheap, can be grown the year round in lowlands and uplands, and can be cultivated by all members of the family. As pig food, it is a means of inexpensively raising animals which later have cash value. [962] The feeding and care of pigs is usually one of the incidental chores of women.

244 184 The varieties most commonly found in these Okinawan villages are the Okinawan #100 (Okinawan no hyakugo) and varieties known locally as the benté, a small round tuber, and the bokuto. The two chief differences between the northern and southern villages in cultivating the sweet potato are (1) the two and three pronged hoes are much more in evidence in the north. With practice, they can be used advantageously in quickly weeding a plot while not cutting the potato itself. (2) Matsuda appears to be less dependent on the [262] sweet potato as a human food. The farmer here has more rice for himself and a greater proportion of his sweet potato crop goes for [231] animal food.

6

The Planting of Sugar Cane and Sugar Making

249 Sugar cane (kibi) is grown on dry crop land, its rows often alternating on the same plot with the sweet potato. Cane may be started with cuttings, or it may be a second growth (ratoon) from the stubs of the old plant after it has been cut down for crushing. Cuttings may be purchased or selected plants from another planting are used. The slips are cut to leave three buds. These cuttings may be planted in three ways: (1) all horizontally, (2) horizontally with the cutting which comes from the topmost part of the stalk planted slantwise, or (3) all cuttings may be planted slanting.

The soil must be thoroughly worked with the ever present hoe. Plowing and harrowing are rarely done. The earth must be thoroughly fertilized. In addition, small amounts of compost may be placed under the cutting, and less often liquid night soil might be used.

In Matsuda, the stalk is cut up with a large knife. In Nagano and Hanashiro, the oshikiriba (literally, push-cut-machine) is common. This is a device with a fixed blade, curving upward, on a stand. The cane is laid on the top of the blade. The handle is pressed down, forcing the cane stalk through the stationary blade. The use of this device is not universal. In the north, the hand cutting machine was a casualty of the war. 249 184

It is worth a slight digression here to add that, in considering various techniques as evidences of a departure from or adherence to traditional methods, the effects of the recent war must constantly be borne in mind. Sugar making is a good example. Primitive methods of making it today are a return, out of economic necessity, to earlier ways because of lack of capital to replace the former machinery. In Matsuda, the continued use of the horse drawn crushing rollers is not an expression of conservatism but of improvisation and return, in lieu of anything better, to old methods previously in use. Such devices as the oshikiriba are not good examples of this because it is not a decisively superior tool. A skilled farmer can cut the cane very efficiently with his knife. 178 727 249

Cane cuttings are made when the plant is about six months old and before it is mature. When year old plants are used for cuttings, only the top, or the youngest part is taken. The slip used may have two or three joints or buds. The length of the cutting apparently is determined by the number of joints. In Matsuda, slant planting seems to be favored because the plant is said to receive more water and to be able to withstand typhoons better. Flat planting is faster than slope planting. From one stalk usually five or six transplants are made. 249

There are two plantings of sugar cane, the spring (haru-ue) and the fall (akiue). Cane planted in the spring planting, from January to March, is harvested in April of the following year. In the fall planting from July to September, the cane is harvested a year from the following December. The cane of the fall planting is harvested but the stumps are allowed to sprout and grow again. Following this harvest, the whole plant is torn out and the field is replanted with slips. Though the ratoon crop could be continued longer, the general practice is to tear up the plants after the second growth. 249 221

The slips are about 8 sun (9.6 inches) long. In Hanashiro, they are generally planted flat with the exception of the slip nearest the top of the cane stalk, which is planted at about a 45° angle, the theory being that this part of the stalk has less vitality than the others. These slips are planted about 6-8 inches apart, 8-12 inches deep in rows about 4 feet apart. 249

In Hanashiro, at harvest time, the sugar cane is carried on the shoulder or by horsecart and stacked in piles outside the sugar mill. Though an effort is made to crush it immediately, cuttings may remain overnight or be stacked for a day or two outside the mill. The mill [482] [493]

249 [474] The mill is owned and operated as a co-operative enterprise of the village. This is the only co-operative phase of sugar growing and processing; all other operations, such as planting, harvesting, the actual making and marketing of the brown sugar are done by individual growers. In Hanashiro, the steps in sugar manufacture are (1) the crushing of the cane, (2) the boiling of the juice, (3) the handling, cooling, and packing of the brown sugar.

The cane is crushed by running it through a roller driven by a gas engine. Before the war, there were two of these rollers. The juice is channelled along small concrete conduits at the base of the roller to a cement hole in the floor. This hole is about two feet in diameter and one foot deep. From this storage hole, it is ladled into the pots for boiling. In pre-war days, the machinery was better, and instead of the small concrete hole, large vats were used. The place where the sugar is boiled adjoins the room in which the crushing is done. The dirt floor of this room has two levels: one on which the pots are placed, and under which there is a trench open at the lower level for the fuel. A man standing on the lower level, in back of the building, shovels or pitches fuel into the trench. Formerly coal was used for this purpose; now plant residues and miscanthus are [372] used. Grass is fed into the fire with a pointer on a long stick. Above this trench large pans about 4 feet in diameter are set in holes.

Pan 4	Pan 3	Pan 2	Pan 1
	Trench		Fire

The cane juice is first strained through a cloth or wire mesh to remove large pieces of stalk and leaves. Once in the pan, a little lime (sekkai) is added to bring out the impurities. The juice is brought to a boil and the mixture skimmed. The scum (gomi) is ladled off and put in a piece of fine cloth. This is tied up and allowed to drip in the pot and then added to the other syrup. The juice is boiled for about 2 1/2 hours. It is frequently stirred with a pan attached to a long sugar pole (satonibu). The syrup is tested by allowing drops to fall from a bamboo stick to see if it has been boiled down enough.

When the boiling is completed, the syrup is ladled out into a deep round pan, about 3 feet in diameter. It is placed on a grass mat whose center piece, made of rice straw, resembles a life saver. The bottom of the pan fits into the hole. This mat with the pot is dragged outside the building into the open.

The sugar is now vigorously stirred with long poles. The hardening syrup on the sides of the pan is scraped with the hera, the same tool used in the transplanting of the sweet potato tops. The mixture is stirred about 15 minutes with frequent testing. The harder layer is scraped off the sides, being mixed with the more liquid syrup in the bottom of the pan. These hardened scrapings speed up the hardening

of the rest of the syrup. With the stirring finished, the sugar for contemplated home use is spread out in pans to harden. That intended for export is put in specially prepared boxes, furnished by Naha export firms, stencilled and ready for shipment. 249 [439] [415]

In Matsuda, the harvesting of the cane is the same as in Hanashiro. But the old Okinawan and Japanese method of crushing the cane is still used because the destroyed machinery has not been replaced. The cane is crushed outside. Three large steel rollers are placed side by side in a frame, with gear teeth on the top meshing. A sweep about 30 feet long is attached to the center wheel.[6] A horse draws the sweep, revolving the wheels. The cane is fed into the left roller, caught as it comes out, and then fed back into the right roller. The juice is caught below. The residue (kibikasu) is left outside to dry to be used later for firewood. The juices which have been caught are taken in a low lying building with a tile roof, put in a large round pot (marunabe) or a rectangular pan (kikunabe). An open fire place is used for boiling the juice; the fire place is sunk in the ground and lined with stone, with a small opening at the bottom for putting in firewood. This mill is privately owned, the property of an association (kumiai) of about twenty men who rent it out for individual processing. As in Hanashiro, sugar is the production of the individual small farmer from its first planting until its sale for export or for home use. [727] [423] [427]

7

Other Crops

The most important of the other crops commonly grown in the villages remain to be considered. 241

(1) Soy beans (daizu in Japanese, Glycine max Merrill). In all the villages, soy beans were planted once a year, sowing in the first or second month, and harvesting in the fifth month. The field is prepared by making furrows and putting a mixture of chopped up green grasses and some animal manure, or a commercial fertilizer, in the hole in which the seed is planted. The farmer then waits for rain. After rain, he plants the seeds about three feet apart in rows from one shaku five sun (about 18 inches) for very good land to one shaku one sun (about 13 inches) for usual land. The plant is harvested with the small sickle. The beans are threshed by a flail (gurumanbo in Okinawan). The residues are used either for fertilizer or fuel.

6 This device is also relatively unchanged since Perry's time. The only difference is in the wheels which were formerly of wood, geared together by mortise and tenon joints. Stone crushers were also used formerly. In Hanashiro, I saw one of these stone rollers lying in the yard of a villager. For sugar making operations in the 1850's, see Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 20, 30.

824 Soy beans have three main uses: soy sauce which is seldom made
[262] in the home, bean curd (tōfu) and miso, a bean paste, both always
[432] home made. For this reason, soy beans are grown mostly for home use,
[462] with the surplus sold. In Hanashiro, where the surpluses are greater,
[494] the beans may be sold in Naha, Shuri, or Itoman. Women do the selling, taking the beans to market on the buses, trucks, or three wheeled vehicles.

(2) Other types of beans such as the red dwarf bean (asuki)
241 (Phaseolus angularis Wight), the kidney bean (ingen in Japanese,
262 Phaseolus vulgaris L), the broad or horse bean (soramame in Japanese, Vician fabia L), and peas (endō in Japanese, Pisum sativum L) are grown for home use, usually in parcels which are closest to the house.

(3) The giant radish, (daikon in Japanese, Raphanus sativus L)
[263] is, after the soy bean, the most important of the minor crops grown for home use. This is the vegetable most favored either as a condiment,
[252] or as a side dish. It is eaten sliced raw, pickled, or fried in strips in soy sauce. When eaten boiled, its flavor resembles that of a turnip.

(5) The pumpkin (Cucurbita pepo L) called nanka or kabocha, the latter name being derived from the word Cambodia from which the pumpkin was introduced into Japan. They are harvested in summer, and one crop a year, generally for home use, is grown. If the flesh
[231] becomes too ripe and turns reddish and sweet, it is not relished and the pumpkin is fed to the pigs.

(6) The cucumber (kiuri in Japanese, Cucumus sativus L) is a very minor crop. In none of the villages were they generally grown, and then only for home use.

(7) The hechima or tōgwa in Japanese, subui in Okinawan.[7] This is very large and cylindrical. In exceptional specimens, its outward appearance is indistinguishable from the water melon. Its flesh is
[184] white. In the two southern villages, the tōgwa is grown very sparingly. In Matsuda and the surrounding villages, it is more common. Here it is used to fill in during times of food shortage. Some specimens I have
[221] seen weighed over 100 pounds. It is planted after lunar New Years, harvested in the 6th or 7th lunar month, a period reaching from about January to May. From April to July, when other vegetables are scarce,
[252] it is often used as a substitute. The flesh when boiled is rather tasteless; it is commonly boiled and served with chunks of meat. The tōgwa, in the northern villages, is often stored in dark cool places
[251] away from the sunlight, often under the house. If not cut open, the melon can be saved for a year.

7 I am not certain whether this is Luffa cylindrica Roem, Luffa petola, Ser, the Luffa sponge, rag gourd, etc., whose pulp disappears when ripe to be replaced by a web of fibres.

melon can be saved for a year. It is also served raw with vinegar and sugar dressing, often mixed with another vegetable to make a salad called namasugwa in Okinawan. 29/ 26/ [252]

(8) The burdock (gobo) is also very minor and usually grown for home use. It is boiled when eaten.

(9) The carrot (ninjin) is a minor crop.

(10) The trumpet or bottle gourd (yūgao) is only grown in Matsuda and for home use as a summer food. [184]

(11) Spinach (hōrensō), onions (negi), Chinese lettuce (hakusai) are not uncommon. Spinach, lettuce (chisi), and onions do not have the importance either as a crop or a food that they have with us.

(12) The taro (satoimo in Japanese, Colocasia esculenta Schott) can occasionally be seen growing in Hanashiro or Matsuda, often on the edge of a rice field. It is known locally also as taimo and apparently is the same as the Japanese dasheen. The taro is used as a side dish.

(13) The Irish potato (bareisho) is occasionally grown for sale. [432]

(14) Cabbage (tamana) is partly a cash, partly a home use crop. It is also minor. Some Okinawans like cabbage and grow it for their own use, but many dislike it and sell the crop.

(15) The grains are an unimportant part of village agriculture. The most common are barley (ōmugi), wheat (komugi) and millet. (Mugi is a general term for grain. The ō means large, the ko, small, referring to the kernels of the two grains). [193]

Although comparable statistics were not available for each of the villages, the following table from Hanashiro clearly shows the relative importance of the major crops: 24/ 31/

HANASHIRO
Crop Acreages, 1950

Crop	Area in Chō[a]	Percent of Total
Rice	10.89	100.0
Total Dry Crop Land	59.88	100.0
Sweet Potatoes	35.86	59.9
Soy Beans	13.63	22.8
Sugar Cane	5.41	9.0
Beans and Peas (excluding soy)	2.30	3.9
Wheat	1.80	3.0
Millet	0.50	0.8
Vegetables	0.38	0.6

241 a/ A chō is 3000 tsubo, or about 2.45 acres.

31 Source: Agricultural Section, Oushichan Village Office, Oushichan-son, [804] Okinawa, September 1951.

In Ginoza-son, statistics for crops on an individual village basis were only obtainable in part. Some Matsuda figures which were available indicate that rice, the sweet potato, and sugar cane were the most important of the crops:

Rice lands		82,151 tsubo (about 27.4 chō)
Summer planting:	50,000	
Fall planting:	62,000	
	112,000 tsubo, including double cropping.	
Dry Crop Land		188,305 tsubo (about 62.8 chō)
Sugar Cane:		
Summer planting	2170 tsubo	
Spring planting	6840 " "	
	9010 tsubo	

The greater part of the remaining dry crop land is believed to be in sweet potatoes.

8

Native Uncultivated Plants of Use to Man
(Other than Forest Trees)

824 In the south, trees such as the banyan (gajimaru), the Japanese redwood (sugi), and the usuki are important within the village as windbreaks. The importance of miscanthus sinensis, often called kaya or susuki, has already been mentioned. Certain plants, used for medicinal purposes, are becoming scarce and are being displaced by modern drugs, but have some interest. Other plants, formerly used in home industries for weaving and making straw sandals, have also declined in importance in the villages.

In the south one of the most interesting associations is that of the Ryukyuan pine (Pinus ryukyuensis), the cycad (cycas in Japanese, Cycas revoluta, Thumb.) and Chinese silver grass (miscanthus sinensis). The Ryukyu pine in this area is little more than a shrub. It has some uses for firewood and for minor construction, but the lumber for substantial houses comes from the northern forests.

The cycad, now rather uncommon in this area, has had several uses. The whole plant may be a windbreak or be used for firewood. A form of starch (rennun in Japanese, kusu in Okinawan) is made from this plant, [262] a food traditionally used in time of great hardship or crop failure.

The starch comes from two sources: the large oval seed, ranging from orange to Chinese red when mature, and the stalk. Use of the stalk involves destruction of the plant. According to Gushichan area residents, the starch of the cycad seed was used for food in 1945, 1946, and parts of 1947. Timing is an important part of the starch making because at certain stages of development the cycad is poisonous. Today in areas where the cycad is plentiful, the seeds are still gathered and dried in large quantities. Toward the end of November in Ora and in the nearby mountain village of Hedo, and in other villages of the far north of the island, large quantities of cycad seeds can be seen drying in the compounds. In the Hanashiro and Hinatogawa area, the cycad is not plentiful enough and is too scattered for these uses. 824 262

The main uses of miscanthus are: (1) roof thatch, including the saddle back which caps the roof, (2) firewood, (3) the younger shoots for animal food, (4) fertilizer, (5) a raw material for home weaving of baskets and slings for carrying vegetables. 824

Miscanthus can be seen to best advantage in December when it is in full bloom and covers large areas of the uncultivated countryside. Considering the present economic situation in the south, these plentiful grasses are indispensable to daily living. One must see, from day to day and with his own eyes, the dependence on these wild grasses to appreciate the force of this statement.

In the southern area studied, one consequence of the war on the natural vegetation was the spread of the grasses at the expense of the pine and the cycad. Residents of the Hanashiro, Gushichan, and Hinatogawa areas have said that prior to the war, the Ryukyuan pine was plentiful and covered hill and mountain sides now quite bare, save for an occasional scrub tree. These trees were destroyed by bombing and firing. There are occasional evidences of regrowth due to natural seeding, but the clumps are small, and nothing like a stand is growing. The stands even before the war, however, must have been inconsequential compared with descriptions of the area fifty years ago given by old residents of the area. The present deforestation of large parts of southern Okinawa seems to have accelerated in the recent past. 137 727

The cycad had a similar fate in the south. The plants are numerous in the sense that one can always be observed on a walk. They grow in clumps, often alongside the pandanus. The grasses seem to have displaced the cycad and the pandanus as well. The dense settlement, cultivation, use of trees for firewood, and the recent war account for the uncultivated hillsides in which the grasses now predominate, and on some of which not a single tree or shrub is to be observed. The original native vegetation, perhaps, may still be preserved in the limestone sinks which occur here and there in this area. 137 [311]

In Hanashiro, the absence of trees and shrubs except in the settled areas has already been noticed. This is a characteristic of villages in the south. The treelessness of Hinatogawa is exceptional.

824 The most common of the Hanashiro trees are (1) the banyan or gajimaru, or yōsu. This tree is a common sight with its long roots growing around and through the stone fences. The tree with [731] its roots bracing the stone fences is excellent typhoon protection for the village. (2) The mukku (Japanese scientific name, the akou) resembles the gajimaru in appearance and serves the same purpose. The furugi (Darcinia spicata Hook) and an occasional cycad are common windbreaks. These trees are almost invariably in combination [417] tion with stone fences, made of blocks, or with fences made of loose stones which have settled and been bound together by small plant roots. Village typhoon protection is a simple but effective combination of stone, shrubs, and trees. There is also an occasional kurchi [534] (kurchi in Okinawan), from whose trunk the sanisen, the stringed musical instrument, is made, and the pala (shure).

There are wild plants in each of the areas but their importance has also declined. Among these is the pandanus (the edan, Japanese scientific name, the takonoki). This plant was plentiful before the war, but is now scarce except in the mountain area. It can occasionally be seen in genya land or in small clumps on an outcrop. The blades of the pandanus are long and hard, with a row of spines from both sides of the blade. It has had several uses. Formerly it was the common material for making slippers (sori), hats, cigarette cases, and hand [463] bags. These home industries have all but disappeared, but old people [887] occasionally do a little. In preparing the pandanus blades for use, the thorns are removed and several strips are made. These are then boiled, dried, and smoothed out. Then they are woven into the desired pattern. A first class pandanus blade is about 5 feet long. In the [782] celebration of O-Bon, the fruit of the pandanus may be offered as food to the ancestors.

Another plant occasionally used is the getto, known also in Okinawa as sannin or muchigasa. Its chief use is in the festival of the 8th day of the 12th lunar month. At this time, rice cakes (mochi) are wrapped up in its long and wide and flexible fibres. These wrappings, often made by children, are hung from the ceiling or from the wall. The stem of this plant was much used in the past for rope.

824 The nigana (njana in Okinawan, Ixeris dentata Nakai) is still
262 used in this area as a food and medicine. It has an exceedingly bitter
757 root, about 1/8 of an inch in diameter in a mature plant. The root is put in hot water, and the liquid drunk as a stomach medicine. The leaves, not so bitter as the root, have a sour, slightly bitter taste. They are often served with the white cuttlefish (shirui-ika).

The Obako (known in Okinawan as the hirumakuma or hirumagusa, Plantago Asiatica L, "Japanese ribwort") is used as a medicine and as a food. When vegetables are scarce, it is eaten as a green. As a medicine, the leaf is heated over a fire and the hot leaf is then pressed over a swelling.

Moxa (mogusa in Japanese, fuchiba in Okinawan) in the traditional Chinese and Japanese pharmacopoeia, had considerable former importance. In powdered form, it is placed on a swelling or painful part, which is cauterized by burning the moxa with a charcoal stick or a hot piece of metal. Moxa can be bought, packed and prepared in Japan, at most Okinawan village stores. But wild moxa is not used for this purpose. Formerly a brew was made of the wild plant and drunk for bringing down a fever. It is still used with the yugi, another plant, as a broth. Now aspirin, also obtainable at village shops is commonly taken for these ills. 804 951

These plants are now nearly forgotten. In Hanashiro only the nigana and mogusa were remembered. In Minatogawa, the situation was the same. In Nagamo, a few slippers from the pandanus are still made. The virtual disappearance of home industries based on the pandanus is the result of a diminished supply and in part to loss of skills and failure of a younger generation to acquire them either because of the attraction of more exciting occupations or to lack of interest. This is not meant as a generalization. Home industries based on the use of uncultivated plants, has not vanished from all parts of Okinawa. Activity changes from locality to locality, even when these are close together. Slipper production from the pandanus has practically disappeared in Minatogawa, but across the river in the village of Nerikawa they are still made. 824 178 184 [491]

Plant	Hanashiro	Minatogawa-Nagamo	Yaeda
Pandanus (adan)	Scarce, not used	Some slippers made	Not used
Nigana	Root boiled and used as a medicine		Broth for stomach and headaches.
Obako	Not used	For swellings; hot leaf used as a poultice.	Not used [957]
Moxa (mogusa)	Used as in Minatogawa	Wild plant boiled, brew used for bringing down fever. Powdered form purchased.	Used in combination with another plant, the yugi, resulting broth used for general complaints. [957]

Domestic Animals

231 [727] The effects of the war are still to be seen in the scarcity of domestic animals (kachiku). The domestic animal population is increasing. Horses were far more numerous before the war. The same is true of cattle and oxen which, however, are more numerous than horses. All are used as draft animals, with the greatest frequency in Hanashiro. Cattle and oxen are used for plowing and harrowing in the rice fields; horses for pulling carts and wagons. Horse meat is not eaten. All larger animals are tethered or in stalls. They are not allowed to graze or to roam freely around the villages or on the hillsides. Since each bit of land is owned, grazing would deprive someone of needed grasses, either the young shoots or the matured fibres. Chickens are generally kept in coops. Ducks have a little more freedom. [492] [267] 235

231 235

DOMESTIC ANIMALS

Animal	Hanashiro	Nagamo	Minatogawa	Nakazato
Cattle and Oxen	40	5	0	1 (80)
Horses	2	1	0	80 (90)
Pigs	125	100	150	115
Goats	50	50	40	171
Chickens	a/	30	a/	706
Ducks	0	50	a/	10
Rabbits	0	0	0	6

Source: Village clerks of each village and township records. Figures are approximate as of January 1952. Pre-war estimates where known are shown in parentheses. Villages try to keep an accurate and up to date animal census. a/ Not available, village has none

231 In all the villages studied, pig raising is the most important secondary occupation of the individual farmer or fisherman. Pig raising is old in the culture. According to Chamberlain (1895), under the old kingdom every household by law had to raise goats and pigs. Pigs were fed in part on human excrement. This practice in my observation has not been abandoned.

[434] Pigs are raised for sale. They are the most significant single source of cash for the farm family and they supplement the fisherman's cash income.

cash income. Pigs are seldom eaten by the family that raises them. On New Year's, a family will slaughter a pig or three or four families might co-operate in sharing one. Pork may also be served at O-Bon and at Jūgoya, the autumn equinoctial holiday season.

A family often gets its start in pig raising by obtaining a loan from a mutual loan group. (These groups will be discussed later). A young pig may cost about Y2000. Male pigs intended for market (nikubuta in Japanese, shishiwa in Okinawan) are castrated two months after birth. Keeping breeding pigs (tanebuta) is a special business. Men engaged in this business bring the boar to the pig raiser's home. Each village has such a businessman or at least has convenient access to one in a neighboring village. The fee usually charged is Y300. If the first attempt at breeding is unsuccessful, a second opportunity is given free. On the third try, the dealer claims his fee again. In Matsuda, there is a belief among the old that as the tide is coming in, if a sow is in heat, the male will be able to perform, but that in the ebb tide he cannot.

Great care is taken in housing pigs adequately, if the family is able to do so. The pig sties made of stone or coral may be better than the houses of their owners. This is by no means so shortsighted or ridiculous as it might seem. Pigs are the means, one of the very few means, by which an agricultural family may acquire substantial sums of cash. To protect this living bank account, considerable sums are invested in fine stone, or cement floors and an adequate roof. The pen must be strong to withstand typhoons. With a good pig pen, a sow, and a good litter, a family can look forward to improving the financial condition and its own housing. There is great variety in the quality of pig pens. The pen may be in combination with the outside toilet, but with the two places completely separate; it may be part of a larger shed which also houses the goats, the cattle, or the horse. If a family can afford it, the pig is housed in a stone pen with stone floors, or with other sturdy materials.

The day to day care of pigs is mostly the work of women. While the husband is at work in the fields, the wife, as an incidental part of her duties, goes to the nearest plot to cut sweet potato tops, or mashes sweet potatoes in the stone mortar in the compound, often with her infant child on her back. There are three favorite varieties of food for pigs: (1) the leaves of the sweet potato plant not suitable for human consumption or not needed for transplanting, (2) the potato itself. The poorer grades of potato are put in a stone mortar and are mashed with a long pole, or pestle. (3) A cloudy liquid consisting of the sweet potato, waste bean curd (tōfu no kasshu) and water. This is always given warm. The pig may also get poor rice, or rice spoiled for human consumption by submersion as a result of a typhoon, or miscellaneous left overs from the table.

There are no ceremonies in any of the villages associated with slaughtering the pig. Villagers seldom kill their own except on

231 special holiday occasions. Pig killing or the killing of any animals
[825] is distasteful. The pig generally is driven out of the pen to a
[943] waiting truck or horse cart and hauled squealing off to market.

232 Considerable interest is being shown (early 1952) in the scientific
[197] breeding of pigs from stock imported from the United States. Charles White is a well known word among the farmers of Hatsuda. In this area, regional meetings of pig breeders and raisers from the northern part of Okinawa and the Motobu peninsula are held to discuss the care, breeding, and marketing of pigs. These farmers have come a long way from the earlier days, even 25 years ago, when the toilet and the pig pen were the same. A farmer going from one of his fields to another often stops home to look at the pigs and perhaps to discuss his problems with
[474] a friend. In Hatsuda, a pig growers' association has now been started.

231 Domestic animals, especially the pig, can be expected to increase and to reach at least their pre-war level, if the villages studied are typical. This development will be all to the good. The pig consumes food not fit or not used for human consumption. It does not compete with humans for food. It is unlikely that land now devoted to the production of human food would be diverted to animal food. In my observation, there is not a strong competition between animals and man for the products of the land. Domestic animals really assist in the agriculture and consume food that otherwise would not be used.

[311] The lack of grazing land, except on the hill sides and mountains, means that domestic animals must be fed with food grown and prepared and fed to them by the farmer. Grazing also would be out of the question since the land on the hills is privately owned and split up in small parcels. The young plants are valued too highly to permit indiscriminate grazing.

[435] Goats are cheaply raised. The only expense is the labor of
[262] getting leaves, grass, and tender shoots from the family's private land on the hills. In the market, goat is the cheapest of all meats. There are also sharp differences in taste among villagers for goat's meat. The milk is not used as a food. Goats are tied up or kept in stalls for their entire life. They are never allowed to roam through the village or to graze on the hill sides. They are not given water and depend entirely on the water in the grasses and shoots which they are fed.

Horses, cattle, and oxen are fed grasses, mashed sweet potatoes, and waste bean curd. Though occasionally used in rice fields, the
[492] chief use of horses is in drayage. In Hatsuda, the horse and the two wheeled cart make frequent trips to the mountains to transport the longpoles, firewood, and charcoal.

235 Chickens are fed anything that might be on hand. Often they
[262] are given the chaff from the rice or the rice that is blown off in winnowing. Occasionally chickens are eaten, but they are kept primarily

for eggs, which are reserved more for sale than as a food, though this varies with the well-being of the family. 235 562

10

Conclusion

The agricultural village, with its sweet potatoes, rice, soybeans and cane, its domestic animals, and its dependence on wild grasses illustrates the complex relationships between man and the land, bound together by the family system. The pattern of land ownership, a product of past land tenure, and inheritance, has been created by the family system. The land everywhere bears these traces of the work of man. Not even the barren mountain tops are exempt from his activities, for these supply the fresh grasses for his animals, grass for his roofs and for fertilizer, odd brush for his fires, stones for his fences and boundary ridges. The scarcity of land, the ownership of small scattered plots have induced a local care, through traditional conservation practices and fertilization and crop rotation to maintain a continued economic base for the future of the main and the branch families. 182

Within the family system, there is a tendency toward the persistence of the same occupation from generation to generation. Agriculture has the widest range of possibilities. The extremely old and the extremely young can engage in it. There is a place for the 80 year old grandmother cutting sweet potato tops, and for the nine year old boy to help in weeding the rice paddy. Agriculture demands no retirement from work as long as one has physical strength. Agriculture may readily become a secondary occupation. A stonecutter or a fisherman can tend his land in leisure hours or in off season. The reverse is not nearly so common. Only with difficulty can the farmer acquire the skills and tolerances demanded of a fisherman. It is an occupation known to all, for by maturity a storehouse of information has already been filled, almost unconsciously, by watching and doing. [463] [857] [857]

CHAPTER X

MINATOGAWA-NAGANO

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Part 1
Minatogawa, the Fishing Community

1 Introduction

2 Types of Boats

3 Common Fish and How They are Caught

4 Division of the Catch

5 Sale and Distribution of Fish

6 Other Activities Associated with Fishing

7 The Rough Language of Minatogawa

8 Daily Life of the Fishing Village

9 Conclusion

Part 2
Stonecutting of Minatogawa and Nagano

1 The Quarries of Minatogawa-Nagano

2 Acquiring and Working the Land

3 Tools and Types of Stone Cut

4 Restoring the Land

Part 1

Minatogawa, the Fishing Community

1

Introduction

Fishing families are a closely knit group. They are usually interrelated. For the most part, the main houses of their extended families are in the fishing town of Itoman. Fathers, sons, wives, daughters, grandparents participate in some phase of fishing activity. 226 [596] 602

In an agricultural community, the first son remains in the home working the fields of his father. In fishing, through long custom, there is an avoidance of teamwork among close relatives. Members of the immediate family will not go out on the same fishing boat. A father will not take his son, an elder brother will not take a younger. Partners and working teams on boats are more distant relatives or friends. If a father and a son are on the same boat and it is lost, the present and the succeeding head both perish. To this incontrovertible possibility, there has been added the belief that if two persons of the same immediate family go to sea together on the same boat, there will be a disaster. And actual and near disasters are frequent enough to make both points of view understandable. The sons of fishermen, who are learning the ways of the fish and of the sea, go on the boats of others. Many younger fishermen regard the belief that it is inviting disaster to have two members of the same immediate family together on the same boat as a superstition (meishin), but to my knowledge, no fisherman ignores the custom. 226 593 [183]

In Minatogawa, about one half of the fishermen have fields of their own, usually small and poor. Perhaps twenty men in the village may be classed as half farmers and half fishermen, but even in these cases it is the wives and the children who have the continuing responsibility for the fields. 226 [241] [423]

Neither is it rare for a fisherman to be a stonecutter. Perhaps another twenty men are engaged in the summer in fishing, and in stonecutting in the winter, or on unfavorable fishing days. The three main occupations of the village, including Nagamo, are thus found in varying combinations. Fishing is the most exacting and offers few opportunities for amateurs. Stonecutting requires strength and endurance. For those who have land, agriculture offers possibilities of growing one's own food and of avoiding cash outlays. 226 324 463

In an average summer month, there may be about 20 good fishing days. But because of unusual or unexpected rains or typhoons opportunities may be fewer. In 1951, there were only about ten working days in each of the summer months. In winter fishing days average about a week in a 226 [41] [132]

226 month. The decline in opportunity is due, not to the weather, but to
461 the scarcity of fish, which are said to move from these coastal waters during the winter season.

226 The fishermen follow the lunar calendar. The type of fish caught
221 is determined by the season. There is some specialization based on age and experience. Only the skilled and relatively young can successfully make a living diving for the lobster and disengaging him from the rocks
[434] below. The most intense activity is during the summer months, and the cash earnings of the fishermen are greatest at this time.

226 Fishermen pay attention to the weather and to the moon. Part of
821 their weather knowledge comes from traditional lore, part from observation, part from the modern storm warning systems. Fishermen do not go out if there are storm clouds overhead, especially if they are moving fast. The worst sign is an increase in the height of the waves, even if the weather is good. The phases of the moon are also considered. The half moon is the best, the quarter moon is good, but neither a full moon nor a moonless night is considered favorable. The exception is fishing for white cuttle fish, caught on winter moonlit nights. At present, official storm warning signals are universally observed. The red flag flying from a pole on the main street near the breakwater is enough to keep every fisherman at home. This faith in meteorology has not always existed. Even in recent years, fishermen have disregarded the warnings because of disbelief, or ignored them when storms did not appear following a previous warning.

226 Fishing in the Hinatogawa area is coastal (if we include distances up to twelve miles out) and is on a small scale. Much of the gear is improvised by the fishermen themselves. The methods are simple and effective, and the boats are small. This is not one of the most important fishing areas in Ryukyuan waters.[1]

226 Men become fishermen by imitating their skilled elders. Knowledge
868 of the fish and of the waters is imparted by word of mouth. The old men are the sources of the detailed knowledge of the currents and of the main fishing grounds, and this knowledge, held in the memory, is also
[813] transmitted orally. There are no maps or charts. Usually it takes a beginner about two years to become acquainted with the fishing areas, and about three years to have a working knowledge of the currents.

1 For a general discussion, see Aquatic resources of the Ryukyu Area. (U.S. Dept. of the Interior. Fish and Wildlife Service. Fishing Leaflet 333), Washington, 1949. This work has an interesting collection of maps and drawings of various types of nets. It is not concerned with particular areas in Okinawa, nor with customs connected with fishing.

The time at which a young man becomes a full fledged fisherman depends on his own ability and progress. Age is not a criterion of skill after a young man has had experience. Perhaps when he is 24, a young man can handle every phase of the work, including catching the swordfish. It is common for a young and an old man to work together, the one as master, the other as novice. There is no stated apprenticeship period. In bad weather, or in rough seas, only the unusually apt young fisherman is allowed to bring in a large fish by himself because of the danger of capsizing. 226 868

2

Types of Boats

All boats are now motor driven. There are 42 in the village, 41 of which are small skiffs. Three types of boats are distinguished: (1) the hatsudōki. This is little more than a good sized motorboat with a cabin. It carries about 8 men. There is one in the village. The small scale individualized character of fishing here is indicated by the smallness of the remaining craft. (2) the kuribune (literally, "hollowed out boat," from the verb kuru, to carve or to hollow out). Properly speaking, it is a boat carved out of a log, usually of the Japanese redwood (sugi) imported from Japan, but the term is extended to mean any small boat. This type has largely disappeared, and only one remains in the village. The hollowed out boat seems, in this area at least, to have become a lost art. It has been displaced by (3) the hagibune (jointed, pieced together boat). This is also made from the Japanese redwood and is constructed, often by the fishermen themselves, out of planks about 2 1/2 inches thick. There were 40 of these hagibune in January 1952. The number is never constant due to new building, losses at sea, or on shore from typhoon destruction. 501

These small boats do not require much maintenance. At typhoon times, they are lifted from the shore up over the breakwater and lashed down on the side of the road. This may not avoid destruction. If the breaking waves are high and strong, they crush the breakwater, hurling its stones against the boats. Every two months, the boats are thoroughly treated by rubbing with shark oil. Cracks and small holes are repaired with small wooden plugs, called fundu in Okinawan. These are shaped like a stylized butterfly. They are inserted in the bottom of the sides of the boats across the running planks, that is, against the grain. 504 [731] 501 322

3

Common Fish and How They Are Caught

In this area, many different kinds of fish are caught, but the following discussion is limited to the most plentiful and economically 226

226 most important.

226 136 [227] (1) The sword or spearfish (kajiki in Japanese, akitori in Okinawan). This fish (some specimens reach 450 pounds) is caught from May through September. Fishermen go about 12 miles out for the catch. A wire leader 15 feet long with a hook is attached to a 1400 foot braided cord line about 3/16 of an inch in diameter. The line is gradually played out after the initial 700 feet are lowered. Swordfish fishing is done in the daytime. The fish is said to be scarce at night. The hook is about 2 1/2 inches long. 262 [435] [432] The swordfish is considered the most delicious of fish. It is expensive, selling from Y50 to Y100 per kin (slightly over 1.3 pounds) depending on season and supply; consequently, fishermen sell rather than eat it, except in times of oversupply. Large fish are usually cut up before being sent to market; the small ones are sent whole. The swordfish is ordinarily eaten fresh. The favorite method of [252] preparation is to fry it after dipping a slice in a batter of flour, dried milk and water. Occasionally it is eaten raw as sashimi. Dried swordfish is considered a delicacy. Unlike the shark, the fins (hane) are not dried.

226 136 [227] (2) The tunny (subinouo in Japanese, subi in Okinawan). This fish is caught between April and November. There there are two ways of catching the fish, depending on the type of boat. If the large boat, the hatsudōki, is used a long line with as many as 200 hooks set 75 feet apart is used. At intervals of every three hooks, there are buoys with flags (hata). These flags, alternately white and red, are about the size of a large handkerchief. In another arrangement, the buoys may also alternate with the flags. The same line and wire leader used for the swordfish are employed with tunny catching, but the hook is smaller. When submerged the hooks are at various depths, their paths describing semi-circles from buoy to buoy. Lines may be pulled in from one to four times a day, depending on the biting. The bobbing of the buoys and the flags indicates the biting and the probable catch. A fishing party remains out for three days, leaving at five in the evening, returning about ten in the evening of the second day.

The small boats use two lines, the longer going down from the center of the boat, the shorter near one end. The method of catching the tunny is the same as that for the swordfish. In night fishing, the line might be lowered fifty feet, gradually playing out ten feet at a time. Tunny fishing is mostly a night catch. The line during night operations may be let out 700 feet, and, in the day 350 feet.

(3) The shark (fuka in Japanese). This fish is caught in the same way as the tunny. Fishing takes place both during the day and night. On the small boats, the line and its 15 foot leader with one hook, is about 840 feet long, and the entire length is let out.

(4) The mackerel (hishissaba). The main season for catching the mackerel is from March through May. These fish, usually weighing about 30 pounds, are caught by divers who seek the fish out while it is sleeping under stones. A strong line is tied around the tail and the fish is pulled up on board. There it is killed with a short

handled round-bladed knife, the mackerel knife ([illegible]). The fish is caught in the daytime. The diver does not use a flashlight. He uses thick goggles and he may dive to a depth of fifty feet. Fishermen usually are able to continue in this work until they are about forty, after which they stop diving.

(5) The red snapper (akatai in Japanese, [illegible] in Okinawan). This is a winter catch from September to April. Little is caught in the summer, as the fish spoils too easily without ice. It is also a daytime catch, the fisherman usually going about six miles out and fishing from 8 in the morning until 5 at night. Large fish average about 7 pounds, small 2 pounds, with a 100 pound catch for one boat considered a fair catch. The fish is caught with a hook and line. Lines in the skiffs go about 1000 feet down to the rocks.

(6) The flying fish (tobiuo in Japanese, [illegible] in Okinawan). The season extends from October to April. Flying fish are very numerous in March and April. A large specimen is about one pound, a small one about half a pound. This is also a night catch. The net (tobiuami) is about 4000 feet long. It consists of about 16 small nets, each about 250 feet long, joined together. The top of the net has small pieces of wood made from a tree locally called the angi, the same tree from which the wooden clogs (geta) are made. These small pieces of wood are about 7 sun (8.4 inches) long with about one shaku (about one foot) interval between. In the bottom of the net are small lead weights or shells. As the fish fly, their heads strike the net, and are caught in its loops and held there.

(7) The cuttlefish (ika in Japanese and Okinawan). This fish is sought at night during the late summer and early fall. It is attracted by an ika lamp (ikarampu), placed on the bow of the boat. These lamps may be bought in the small shops of the fishing villages. The fish, attracted to the light, are caught with hooks, 8 of which, arranged like the petals of a flower, are attached to a bamboo stick about 3 feet long. (Fig. 1).

(8) The white cuttlefish (shiroika in Japanese, [illegible] in Okinawan). This fish is caught from fall to spring on moonlight nights. The season lasts from the 8th to the 3rd lunar months. It is caught with a home made lure (yaza). This particular kind of lure is known as the ikauo in Japanese, the [illegible] in Okinawan. (Fig. 2). Sometimes the lure is painted blue and white; sometimes it is a dark brown. On the tail are two sets of 8 painted hooks in petal formation, like the cuttlefish hook, though very much smaller. These lures are made by the fishermen during winter nights. It takes about 4 hours to carve one. Two woods are favorites for the lure: camphor (kusanoki) whose supply imported from Formosa is now being gradually exhausted, and the shagi (Okinawan), a tree from the northern district of Okinawa.

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136

(9) The lobster, (ebi in Japanese, ibi in Okinawan). Catching the lobster is the work of young men, usually up to 24 years of age. A man over 35 may be too old for the hard work involved. Occasionally in summer older men engage in part time lobster catching. The fisherman secures a flashlight, covered with sheet rubber, around his left wrist with a strong rubber band. The rubber casing for the flashlight is often an old bicycle inner tube. The light can be turned on or off without removing the tubing. In his right hand, the diver holds a hook (ebikake in Japanese, ibikakiya in Okinawan) over 25 inches long, which he uses to dislodge the lobsters from the rocks below. Often fishermen remain in the water for three hours, the period depending on the season, the potential catch, and on how cold the fisherman becomes. The diver wears only a pair of shorts. The lobster is a year round catch, though there are few in winter. The full moon is considered bad for lobster fishing. It is not known exactly how lobster were caught in the days before flashlights. Some old men said that nets were used.

[207]

[432] [474] [435] [434] [262]

On a good day, one small boat with three or four men, can catch 150 pounds of lobster. It is not eaten frequently by the villagers, but sold to the large fishing co-operative association (Suisanmiai-rengokai). The hard and disagreeable work makes the lobster expensive. At present the local market is sensitive to the tastes of the Americans in Okinawa. Weekly estimates of probable demand are furnished by the central office of the association to the local head of the fishermen's association, who in turn informs the fisherman. The lobster is considered a delicacy and is eaten only when there is a large catch and the demand is low.

[227]

(10) The seabream (taisakana in Japanese, akamaru in Okinawan). The seabream is caught with a home made device shaped like a Y with a top bar: Ȳ. The base of the Y has a loop for the hook and line. These wire devices are known as yamaguchi in Okinawan though the younger fishermen call it the sarukan. The fish are caught by a series of these wire devices strung along a line with a sinker at the end. The success of the catch can be judged by lifting the line. An ordinary catch will bring fish on 3 out of the 5 hooks.

These are the main fish caught in this area. There are small catches of the bonito (katsuo), the dolphin or porpoise (iruka), and the shrimp (zakoebi), and a small octopus (tako). But these are rather infrequent. There are hundreds of other fish caught, especially of different smaller sardines (amaishi).

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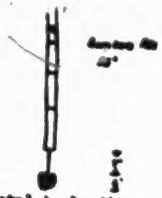
The wire devices used for catching the seabream can be used in varying sizes to catch many different types of fish. Some, such as the ones described, are used for the bonito, and very small ones are employed in catching sardines.

227

MIYATOGAWA FISHING GEAR

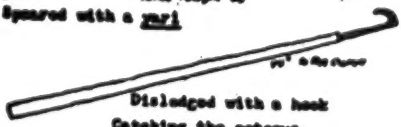


An 8 pointed petal hook, the Hapukiyu

The Tsum, a fishing lure

The Yamaguchi

Speared with a yari



Dislodged with a hook
Catching the octopus

Yamaguchi on a line

A fish knife, the sakinatana

Lobster hook

A flying fish (tobiuo) net

3

Division of the Catch

226

The division of the catch and the division of labor between the sexes in catching and distributing the fish are based on custom. In the memory of old grandmothers in the village, these customs today are substantially the same as they were in their childhood. The innovations since that time have been technical improvements such as flashlights for underwater diving, motors instead of sails or oars, boat building out of planks using modern hand tools rather than carving out logs, and manufactured fish hooks and gear.

[178] [227] [501]

The mechanics of dividing the catch depend on whether the boat is a small or a large one. In Minatogawa, all the boats except one are small so that the division is simple. With the larger boats, the custom is more involved, as more factors have to be considered.

226 476

In the case of the small boats, let us assume that there are two fishermen, the owner and a friend or relative. The value of the catch is Y3500 with Y100 expenses for gas and oil. The net value is thus Y3400. This is divided three ways. The boat gets one share, and each of the fishermen gets a share. In this illustration, the boat owner gets two-thirds of the proceeds, one share as the owner of the boat, one share as a participating fisherman.

These partnerships are very fluid. No agreements are made in writing. Neither are there oral agreements to fish together for any definite period. The partnerships continue as long as the fishermen are compatible and form and dissolve without ceremony or formality. But a practical question does arise in the event of the illness of one of the fishermen.

In this case, a substitute is found for the duration of the regular fisherman's incapacity. This is informal and may be another friend or relative free to help out. The substitute gets the full share of the regular fisherman. In these partnerships, the owner of the boat pays for all repairs that cost money. The other gives his labor for repair and maintenance, such as oiling with shark oil, putting plugs in the holes or in weak spots, or assisting in carrying the boat to a safe place during typhoons.

The division of the catch in larger boats is also best explained by an example. Let us assume an eleven man crew with the corresponding shares:

A The Boat's Share
B The Captain
C The Engineer
D-J Fishermen
K The Cook

226 476 The boat, as in the previous example, is considered a person. The cook is usually a boy about 16 or 17 years old. If we further assume a catch valued at Y10,000, with a deduction of Y1000 for gas and oil, there is a remainder of Y9,000 to be divided. The boat's share, A, is 30%, or Y2700, with Y6300 for further distribution. The following formula is then applied to this remainder:

Captain	1.5 shares
Engineer	1.5 shares
Fishermen	7.0 shares, one for each of 7 men
Cook	0.7 shares
	10.7

The value of each share is Y588.78 (Y6300 divided by 10.7). If the amounts are rounded off, the final distribution is:

Captain	Y883	(1.5 x 588.78)
Engineer	883	(1.5 x 588.78)
Fishermen	4121	(1 x 588.78 x 7)
Cook	412	(0.7 x 588.78)
	Y6300	

The distribution takes place at the conclusion of a voyage. Obligations (giri) between the owner and the others, on these larger boats, are also based on custom. If a crew member is injured on a voyage and prevented from going on the next one, he receives a share for the voyage he was on, and some money, depending on the catch but not a full share, during convalescence. If a fisherman is ill and has been injured outside of his work, he does not receive this consideration.

5

Sale and Distribution of Fish

443 [962] [435] The sale and the distribution of fish is the work of women. Men occasionally do this, but their function is to catch the fish, maintain the boats and gear, and make the lures. The bulk of the fish is sold at Naha because the highest prices generally are paid there. This makes it difficult for adjacent villages to obtain fish, even in season. When the fish is especially plentiful and low in price at Naha, the women go to the agricultural villages of the interior. Fish are carried in baskets. The pre-war custom of carrying the fish [915] basket on the head and walking from village to village, or to the rail [482] road station at Kochinda, thence by rail to Naha, has given way to [994] truck, bus, or the three wheeled cycle. Often in the evening, these cycles, which can seat six comfortably, are filled with eight or ten laughing and voluble women, and their fish, the vehicle chugging slowly and painfully up and then coasting down the grades.

000 One can infrequently observe women walking from Minatogawa to

One can infrequently observe women walking from Minatogawa to nearby villages to sell their fish. Women and young girls also sell fish locally, standing somewhere off the main street with their hand scale (hakkari) and a basket or bucket of fish. Housewives come up, price the individual fish, often weighing it for themselves on the hand scale. 443 804

Like the Chinese scale, this is simply a round piece of wood on one end of which there is a weight. The fulcrum is a string, held in the hand, which holds the scale. The item to be weighed is put in a basket and placed on the other end. The weight is ascertained by moving the counter-weight till both sides are in balance. Markings along the piece of wood show the exact amount. Every village shop has one of these scales.

There is very little haggling over prices, although the housewife is choosy and will inquire the cost of different individual fish before deciding which one, if any, to buy. 443

Usually the night's catch is marketed the following morning. Women, by custom, receive a fee for selling fish. A woman who takes her husband's and his partner's fish to market (the catch being insufficient for both wives to participate) is paid her fee by weight. 443 465

[804]

25 kin (about 33 pounds) sold at Y30 per kin	Y1500
Woman's share, at Y5 per kin	- 150
Remainder	Y1350
Each Partner's Share	675

The Y5 per kin is a selling commission. If more than one woman goes, the fee is split between them. Women pay all expenses and their bus fare from the commission. Occasionally wives alternate in taking the catch to market.

When the woman of a fishing family takes fish to market, she is doing more than performing an errand. Her skill in bargaining and general knowledge of prices, of the catch and the demand for various kinds of fish determine whether she gets a good or only a fair price. Generally, mature women sell the fish. Younger women, in the late teens and early twenties, often accompany the older women as helpers and gradually are initiated into the tricks of the trade. Young women, not being skillful, are more likely to accept the first offer, or to sell below the highest price obtainable. One source of family quarreling (fufukonka) is the anger of a husband when his wife has sold at a lower price than his neighbor's wife. Women who have children leave them with a relative, or an older daughter. When the wife of the family is unable to sell the fish because her children are too young, the chore is taken over by a woman relative. In Minatogawa, this substitute work also is often done by widows who, in addition, might sell fish caught by male relatives. 443 562 [578] [855] [589]

The money earned by women in the marketing of the fish, after 880

434 593 earned by women in the marketing of the fish, after The money deduction of travel expenses, becomes part of the family funds. Women in the fishing village have custody of the family money, due to frequent and prolonged absence of their husbands. This is an unusual practice, for in the agricultural and stonecutting areas of the village the husband handles the money, with the exception of a few yen which the wife may have at home to meet incidental expenses. The custody of the money (much made over by some observers) has no special cultural significance in my observation. It is merely a convenience, based on custom and occupation. Most earnings of husband and wife are in a common fund, though older children may handle their own money.

6

Other Activities Associated with Fishing

251 [439] There is some local drying of fish for home use and export. Of the common fish, the most frequently dried are the mackerel, the swordfish, and the shark. Shark fins are dried for export to Japan; before the war, they were also sent to China. The small amounts dried in local villages are accumulated in places like Naha for shipment. Drying processes are of the simplest. The fish may be laid out on a piece of canvas on the ground in front of the house, an operation which creates a stench and an overwhelming concentration of the blow fly population. Racks may be improvised. Their ends, made of odd pieces of wood, support thin bamboo poles laid parallel, on which the fish are put to dry. Sometimes fish are hung on a line. If the weather is good, they dry in two or three weeks, but rain quickly produces spoilage if the fish are not taken in immediately. The mackerel when dried may be heated up by placing a piece over the open fire, then rolled between the palms to see if it has been heated enough, torn into shreds, and put on a plate. Occasionally a poor family of non-fishing people, or a widow, purchases whole fish or backs or fins to dry for home use or resale.

278 825 Certain fish are valued as medicines. Their scarcity in agricultural villages prevents any but the most casual use. In Minatogawa, the commonest fish used as medicines are the lobster, the white cuttle fish, and the carp (koi), though the latter fish is rare here.

[252] 759 The whole lobster is put into boiling water. After a few minutes this broth, which is the medicine, is drained off, and the lobster is cracked open and heated, this time for preparation as a food. The broth, which is regarded as very disagreeable, is taken for a variety of ailments. Its commonest use is as a laxative, although it is also used for swellings, boils, or gatherings of any kind (hareemono), for pains in the small of the back and the loin, or for a cold. The lobster broth is regarded as a very effective medicine. A white cuttlefish soup is put to similar use. The carp is boiled in water and the broth is drunk for fevers. The carp may also be grown in village ponds.

In Hanashiro, the fish were raised for sale by the young men's association. The supply of fish is too uncertain and too seasonal for these remedies to be an effective part of the traditional medicine. Like the native plants, and many of the traditional medical practices, they are yielding to the drugs which can be found in the small village shops: stomach and headache powders, eye lotions, aspirin, and other pharmaceuticals and patent medicines.

The economic and occupational organization of village fishing is very informal. Partnerships are made on a basis of friendship and continue so until one party, for any reason, decides to leave. There are about 40 of these partnerships among the 120 odd adult fishermen.[2] The fishermen of the village also have a fisherman's association (suisankumiai) similar in function to the agricultural associations which the Japanese instituted throughout the empire. This association has a head (suisankumiaichō). Like so many official and administrative jobs in a village, these offices are thrust upon the man. He seldom seeks them. In the larger places where there is more remuneration, the man might seek the job. The head of the association is chosen by the fishermen of the village. He receives Y10 a month for each fisherman he represents. This is a supplementary job, as he could not exist on this sum. Lack of cash prevents any ambitious services to the membership. The association buys and sells gas and oil, nets, lines, hooks, and other necessary items which have been imported either from the United States or from Japan. Occasionally, the association has sufficient funds for small temporary loans for purchasing imported gear, loans from Y100 to Y 500 for a period of a week or two. The main function of the association is the exchange of information between the local head and representatives from the larger association in Naha. This becomes a study of the daily market demands; the information provided is a guide to fishermen in meeting the demand. This is all very informal. The head of the association circulates among the fishermen, giving them tips on what to expect and how prices are going.

7

The Rough Language of Hinatogawa

The Hinatogawans have one characteristic which is not shared by their agricultural neighbors of Nagano, nor indeed by any of the agricultural villages. This is their rough (arai) language, so described by Hinatogawans with a certain amount of pride. This language, if used in the other village, would be considered insulting. It is notable for the freedom with which nicknames, some funny, some disparaging, some pointed at infirmities, are used.

2 The word used here is kumiai but actually these partnerships do not have the organized co-operative character that this word usually implies when used in an economic sense.

551 Sometimes they are nicknames like "Fat" or "Slim," or those used ironically like "Curly" for a bald headed man. No offense is taken by the fishing people at these nicknames, though they would be used by people in other villages only to very close friends, if at all. The commonest of these Okinawan nicknames are:

(1) Migua. This is applied to persons who are squint-eyed or to those whose eyes have the appearance of being only partially open. Persons with this formation of the eyelid are not uncommon, and after one is alerted to the word, he can appreciate the frequency with which it is used. It applies to old and young alike.

(2) Another very common name is gappai. Sometimes this seems to mean a person with a pronounced dolicocephalic head, or one with a high bump in the back of the head, or a person with a high forehead and long head, rounding off high in back. In any event, one can soon recognize the distinctive features of the gappai when he sees a person who has that nickname. Migua and gappai may supplant the person's own name. One 15 year old boy was universally known as gappai, even by old grandmothers who would use the nickname in much the same way as would say "Sonny."

Less common are (3) akabe or akaba, referring to children with many boils and swellings. Names given in childhood often stay with a person through adulthood after the cause for which the names were bestowed has disappeared. (4) Naga, for tall and slender, corresponding to "Slim." (5) Kuru (from kurui, black). This refers to children who a little darker than most. It does not mean people deeply tanned, almost blackened by the sun, as many local fishermen are. (6) Kiga, meaning dirty and used of people who do not wash themselves. It is applied to old women, such as hingabachii, a dirty old woman. (7) Sakikuu, a drunkard, one who consumes too much sake. (8) Butanbu, big belly, corresponding to "Fat" or "Fatty." (9) Mikka, a one-eyed man. It is also applied to a person one of whose eyes droops. (10) Tigua, no hands, (11) hanahaga, bump on the nose, including a wart or a growth, (12) shippiru, "Shorty," (13) mintama, large eyes, presumably popping eyes, and (14) magura. This applies to extremely curly hair, like peppercorn hair. This is unusual among Okinawans, but one occasionally sees it, thick and abundant, with coarse, dry, and very tight curls.

[184] These terms were known and recognized in the other villages studied, but they were not freely used. There seems to be a genuine distinction here in the behavior of the fishing people and the more restrained agricultural villagers. One Minatogawan explained the rough language as a carry over from the language of the sea, but he emphasized that the nicknames would give no offense in Minatogawa, while they would be insulting to the neighboring people of Nagama.

8

Daily Life of the Fishing Village

512

Fishing families may have informal gatherings toward the end of the day. On a late summer afternoon, the family may sit in the open doorway of the house, for hedges, fences, the barriers, and trees are rare. The wife may be nursing her naked child. Her husband, a fisherman, has changed into his indigo blue and white striped kimono, a tall, broad, deeply tanned man. Next to him sits his mother, over 70 years old, her hands tattooed, as are those of all the old women. She is wearing a kimono of the same color, but of a dot pattern. They sit on unrolled mats. On the veranda, three or four men, unwashed and still in their work clothes, discuss the events of the day. A lacquer tray with tea cups is on the floor near them and the tea (as it so often is) may be cold. There is brown sugar to eat along with the tea. The grandmother may be economically smoking a half or a third of a cigarette in the typical Japanese pipe. As it grows later, the wife gets up, pours some water in the stone mortar, and smashes the sweet potatoes with the long wooden pole. The men continue talking for a while, then take their leave. The wife, her work at the mortar finished, goes into the dirt kitchen to start the evening meal.

[351] [353] [291] [304] [285] [415] [263] [306] [252]

152

The wife of the fisherman has worries that do not bother the farmer's wife. There is always the danger that her husband, or son, will not return, a real possibility, of which the frequency of widowhood in Minatogawa is proof. Every season, there is at least one instance of a fisherman who has either been lost, or whose delay in returning has provoked intense worry. If crews are still out when an unexpected storm arises, there is considerable tension in the village. Since the war, rescues at sea are more likely than before. The village headman quickly reports overdue boats. The American forces have created much good will in seeking fishermen lost at sea.

[165] [41]

562

Women, on the other hand, have opportunities for leisure when the catch is light, or weather is unfavorable. At these times, they can busy themselves with other tasks, in the field, gathering stones, getting miscanthus, but they do not have the unremitting activity of the woman in the agricultural village. There is more visiting during the day than one observes in an agricultural village.

[84] [519]

231

The fisherman, with or without land, tries to keep pigs and perhaps a few goats. In Minatogawa, the pens are often made of sandstone quarried here. Not only the floors and the sides, but the stalls are made of this material. One reason for this is the openness of the village and the danger that pigs will be killed in a storm. A typhoon may carry away the house, its owners having gone to the stronger house of a friend or relative, but pigs are an investment and an asset to be guarded.

[343]

512 A fishing village has a different kind of regularity than an
821 agricultural village. Activities in both are determined by the weather. During a heavy rain, everyone is in his house. But the farmer, even with a dark angry sky, can work up to the storm, and often continues working in a mild rain. The fishing village is guided both by bad and anticipated bad weather. On a fine fishing day, the village seems deserted with the men gone, and the women in the homes. But several days of rain or unfavorable weather keep the men home, and the village is alive with other activities, such as repairing nets, boats, and houses. Much of the fisherman's work at sea is at night, either in the actual fishing or in going and coming.
[513] For this reason, there is considerable daytime sleeping among them. On off days, the young fisherman loll around, often finding it difficult to pass the time away.

9

Conclusion

226 Fishing has become the occupation of a few places, such as
184 Itoman town, some villages on the Motobu peninsular, and Hinatogawa. Ryukyuans have achieved considerable fame for their skill in fishing in waters other than their own, such as their drive-in net fishing in the East Indies and around Singapore.[3] Possibly it is the fewness of good ports, the necessity of adapting requirements to varying local geographical conditions, such as the coral reefs, or the long period of emigration that have prevented the large scale development of fishing on this island and insured the dominance of an agricultural life.

262 It is also a striking fact that, on this small island where no
village is far from the sea, fish is an uncommon article of the diet. The explanation is simple. It is a problem of distribution in which
[435] two considerations are involved: the higher prices obtainable in Naha,
[251] and the difficulties of preserving fish while distributing them through
[439] the rural villages. More often than not, the fish in a farmer's diet is the dried sardine or a canned fish from Japan, not the local catch.

Part 2

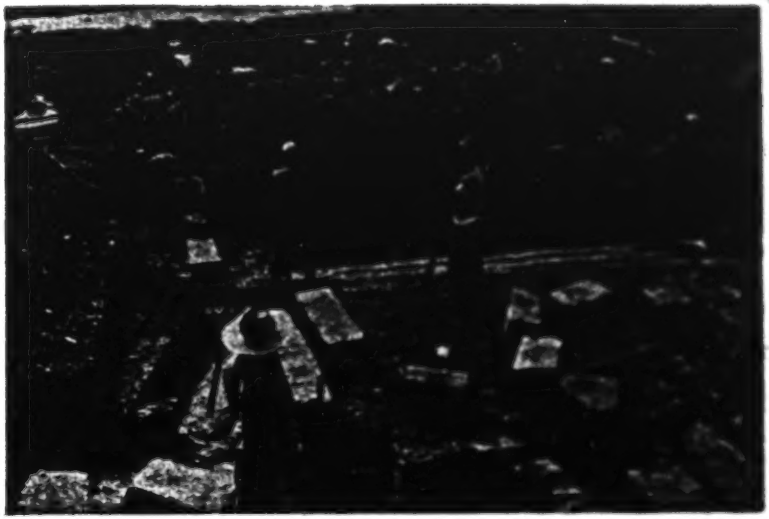
The Quarries of Hinatogawa-Nagama

1

Introduction

324 Hinatogawa is famous throughout Okinawa for its stone. Stone
from the village and its environs may be seen in many towns and villages
[438] of the island. Before the war, there was a flourishing boat trade in wood and stone between Hinatogawa and the northern region. The fine

3 For a recent statement, see Aquatic resources of the Ryukyu area, op cited, 7-9.



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291

Stonecutting in Minatogawa along the seashore. The long slabs are for building construction. The top left is the estuary of the river leading out to the open sea. The stance of the man in the left center of the picture is usual in cutting the stone. Note the long crow bar type tool for making the cut. The men are barefooted. Most stonecutters are quite young. There is no uniformity in headgear. The stone in the background is dark and streaked and will not be used.

sandstone one sees in the new buildings of Naha often is from the quarries of this area. Stone quarries are scattered in various parts of Okinawa, but the Minatogawa stone is considered the best.

Sandstone quarrying started, according to older settlers, about sixty years ago. Cutting began on the coast, gradually working up slope over rolling stony land. It is an interesting example of the transformation of a landscape by man. Now with the old methods still in use, the cutting has extended beyond the village. Stonecutting operations in the main are in the steep bluffs around both villages, although there are numerous cuttings in the newer settlements of Minatogawa and along the seashore. Frequently the cut stone blocks lie near the temporary Minatogawa tombs which dot the rocky coast. By the simplest methods, large quantities of stone have been and continue to be removed. All work is done by hand; machinery was installed by the Americans after the war, but it is out of working order and stands idle.

Before the war, stonecutting in this vicinity was a more thriving industry than now. Quarries are also found in neighboring Tamagusuku township and there is a distributing outlet in Nerikawa, the village across the river. Before the war from 300-500 men are said to have engaged in stonecutting. Now there are about 120 in both villages. Many of these stone workers had come from other parts of Okinawa and the Ryukyus: men from the offshore islands, Ie-shima, the Kerama chain, and Iheya, and on the south east, from Kudaka, Tsuken, and Yaeyama islands. Most of those settlers from the offshore islands have left. A few, born on Ie-shima, or from the northern district still remain.

Since the war coastwise shipping of lumber and firewood from the north and stone from the south had declined sharply. Trucks have largely displaced the boats. Transport costs are high and the stone is in demand in closer markets.

2

Acquiring and Working the Land

Customary practices govern the quarrying of stone. These eliminate the need for written agreements. Interested persons know the properties and the possibilities of each site. These customary practices are concerned with the acquisition, the working and the restoration of land. Techniques for working the stone have remained nearly the same for at least sixty years.

The stonecutter purchases rights to the stone, not the land itself. When the stone has been extracted, the land is returned to its owner. This is unimproved land, but after the stone has been quarried, a house may be built on the site. When a stonecutter (seiko) wishes to acquire a certain holding, he calls on the owner of the land. Following oral negotiations, the price is agreed upon. A good price

316 (1951-52) is from Y300-400 per tsubo (about four square yards), much
425 higher than ordinary agricultural land. The price varies with exposed
435 quality. The good judgment of the purchaser is necessary for success. He must estimate the quantity of stone, its depth, whether there may be cracks, fissures, or black streaks below, and the effect of underground water as he cuts down deeper. In a year, a good stonecutter can remove stone from about four tsubo of land. If he has extra capital, he may hire help.

316 The types of employment found are either the single operator or the
472 small operator who has one or more employees. The industry is not suitable for large capital outlays, or many employees of a single operator. A simple partnership is common. There may be some division of labor, with the owner of the rights doing all the cutting, while a friend or relative who does this as a secondary occupation assists in the removal of the stone and in loading it on a horse cart. The operator who has a piece of land too large to work by himself may hire someone. The employee (yatoi in Japanese, ninpu in Okinawan) is paid according to skill: Y100 a day for a beginning 17 or 18 year old boy, Y150 to the experienced,
[465] and Y200 to the worker who can do all phases of the work quickly and skillfully.

Much depends on the nature of the stone being worked. This varies
[804] by locality and with moisture content. It will require 8 hours for a man to cut a six shaku (about six feet) length of hard rock 1 shaku
[461] 2 sun (14.4 inches) deep, but he may be able to make three cuttings of moist or wet rock in the same period. Working time naturally varies with the strength and skill of the cutter. For this reason, piece
[465] work payment is common. The employee, however, may work unused portions of the holdings, receiving two-thirds of the value of the stone cut.

3

Tools and Types of Stone Cut

413 Six tools are used in cutting and extracting the sandstone: (1) the hichi (Okinawan). This tool, about six feet long, resembles a crow bar, but has a sharp chisel edge for cutting the stone. (2) A sharp hand axe (ono in Japanese, yuki in Okinawan) for chipping and finishing, (3) the ishiyuki, a smaller axe, used like the yuki, for chipping and finishing but principally in shaping pyramidal stones (kenchi). The tool is also used to knock off the rough edges of the stone, where it has been split, an operation often performed by old men. (4) The kusukacha (Okinawan). This resembles one of a small light golf iron. It has a handle four or five feet long with a metal strip attached at an angle to one end. It is used to rake off chippings and dust that accumulate in the groove while the cut is being made with the long chisel. (5) Wedges (iya in Okinawan), and (6) sledge hammers are used to split off the stone after the cut has been made.

316 Methods of working with these tools are very simple. The surface dirt is cleared away until the stone to be cut is visible and clean.

A cutting line is then drawn over the surface of the stone. The worker straddles the cutting line, lifts the long bar up and down, making the cut along the line to the desired depth. It is slow and tedious work. 316

When the stone has been cut along a length of 6 or 9 feet and to a depth of about 14 inches, small holes along the bottom of the cut are made with a pick. These provide a hold for the wedges. Shavings or pieces of wood are put on either side of the wedges, three of which are used for a 6 foot length. The wedges are then struck seriatim with a sledge hammer and the stone is cracked across the bottom. When cracked, it is pried loose by the long bar, using the wedge as the fulcrum.

The cutting continues all day, or until the desired length and depth is reached for that particular cut. As the top layer is removed, the cutters go down deeper until they reach water, or until the seepage is too great to permit further cutting. Many times they cut 10 or 15 feet below the level of the surrounding land, stopping when the quality of the stone becomes poor. It may be black streaked, crazed, or have large fissures.

The long chisel is a relatively new addition to the tools of stonecutting. About 60 years ago, only the hand axe was used. This made the cut much rougher, compared with the clean cut of the bar chisel. After removal the block is rough on the lower edge. (Fig. 1) With gentle and slow chipping, this rough edge is smoothed off by the hand axe and the stone is ready for use. [413] 324

Three different types of stones are cut: (1) foundation stone (ishiji in Okinawan) used in housebuilding. This is the stone on which the poles supporting the eaves rest. At its base, the stone is about 16 inches square, at the apex about 14 inches, with a height of 9 inches to one foot. (2) Pyramidal stones with a square base (called hanchi both in Japanese and Okinawan). These are made from larger and imperfect cuttings or from odd shaped stones. They are chipped down and finished to the desired size. They are extensively used in breakwaters, and, occasionally in stone fences. When used as a breakwater, the stones are placed with the base toward the water, the apex being outward. The interstices may be filled with cement or clay. [333]

The block is the most important cut. It may be any length. When used in building construction, the blocks are generally about 9 feet long, one foot wide, and from 10-12 inches thick. These are called ishibashida (Japanese and Okinawan). In housebuilding stone, the width and the thickness are about the same, from ten inches to one foot on the side. In housebuilding the blocks are laid like bricks, so that joinings are not in the same vertical line. [333] 324 432

Cutters normally do not use the stone for personal use. There is to be gained by selling. This is done on an individual basis.

324 The truck or horsecart of the buyer comes to the stonecutting area,
432 the blocks are loaded and taken away. Prior to sale, for convenience,
[494] stone may be taken from the cutting area. It is loaded on horse carts,
[483] the men carrying the heavy blocks by means of ropes looped around the
[804] ends of the stone and over poles which in turn rest on the shoulders.
[435] A six foot length (1 ken linear measure), one foot wide and about ten inches thick sells for Y140 (1951-52).

Foot injuries are the chief hazards of this occupation. The
316 toes may be accidentally cut by the long chisel, and there is danger
[164] of bruising or crushing by accidentally dropping the block, or by rolling when it is being dislodged. Very hard and calloused hands are the mark of the stonecutter; his hands are especially conspicuous for the hard, raised areas on the palm around the base of the fingers, the
[142] result of the constant lifting and pounding of the long chisel. There is also danger to the eyes in flying chips but few use glasses or goggles.

Like some phases of fishing, this work is for the young and the
[561] physically mature men. After the middle forties or early fifties, a man no longer does the heavy work and confines himself to lighter chores. The very old and the retired may chip and finish the foundation and the pyramidal stones.

472 If a cutter is unable to extract all the stone in a plot whose stone he has bought, there are also customary solutions. When the father dies, his son continues the workings and returns the field to the owner. If a stone worker moves to another village when only half the work has been done, he arranges for a friend, relative, or neighbor to take over the remaining part.

4

Restoring the Land

185 Formerly excavations (which might be 10 or 15 feet deep and the
311 size of a large room) were refilled by the buyer of the stone rights. Rocks, pebbles, and miscellaneous trash were used as fill, but following the war there has been a heavy demand for rock and stone for road
[499] construction. As a consequence, many excavations are now only partly refilled. After refilling, houses are built on the sites of formerly excavated land. Here and there one can see sweet potatoes or vegetables growing on land which formerly was covered with stone. The original state of the land, its appearance after excavation and its restoration may be seen in Figure 2. Evidences of this reclamation may be seen throughout the stoneworking area.

324 Minatogawa, because it lacks vegetation for protective and decorative purposes, is a good example of the use and adaptation of stone to local needs. There are still stone fences, waist or shoulder height, and many small stone boundary lines, a foot or two and of uneven height. Coral stones, weathered by the sea, honeycombed and pocked, are seen everywhere.

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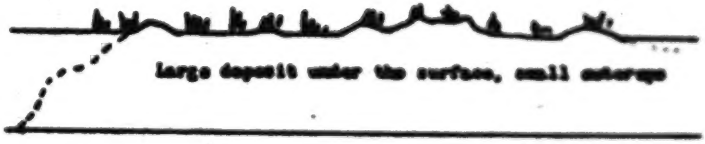
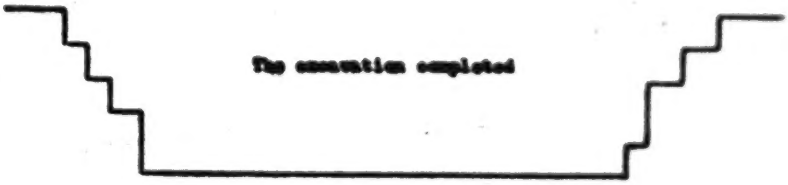
MIMATOGAWA-HAGANO STONECUTTING OPERATIONS

Fig. 1





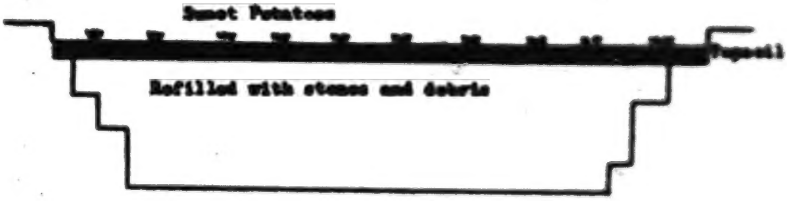


Fig. 2

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

CHAPTER XI

THE FOREST SETTING OF MATSUDA

1 An Historical View of the Okinawan Forest

2 The Forests and the Trees of Matsuda

3 The Uses of the Forest

4 An Example of Reclamation

5 Conservation

6 Conclusion

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

An Historical View of the Okinawan Forest

Northern Okinawa is the woodshed of the island, and there is a steady stream of lumber for building, poles for a variety of uses, charcoal, and of small bundles of wood for the people of the south. In the village of Hatsuda, the forest is part of the daily life and economic well-being of the people. 313

Little is known of the past history of the Okinawan forest. 137 174

"Though it is impossible now to determine the nature and distribution of the original forest cover, it seems reasonable that the major part of Okinawa was originally covered by trees. The forest was probably absent from the beaches, a few marsh areas behind the beaches, rock ledges upon which trees could gain a foothold, and perhaps some areas of Regosols (shallow soils) from calcareous clays in the southern part of the island. It is evident that the present forest has been cut over many times. There seems to be no part of the island in which the forest cover has not been disturbed in some way by man."[1] [311]

The virgin stands have disappeared and left few clues, these authors continue, but it is likely that the original forest cover was comparable to the present stands in composition of species. The authors point out the relationship of cutting to settlement. Cutting must have been a continuing process. In Saion's time, in the 18th century, there was considerable tree planting and measures were taken to protect groves of trees for their value as windbreaks. Excessive cutting could hardly have taken place in olden times in the central areas of the north, whose trees, even today, can be reached only by footpath. No doubt in the past cutting has spread out from village sites and travelled roads. Fire may have been one cause of deforestation, as it has been used to clear land. There are still instances of this. 137 311 174 [245]

In Okinawa, the period from 1879 to the end of the Russo-Japanese war seems to have been one of widespread deforestation. (This was contemporary also with the reckless deforestation in the New World). The period after 1906 reflected Japanese concern with forest preservation, especially of the nationally owned forests, a program pursued with varying degrees of success. [185]

1 Okinawa forests (U.S. Geological Survey. Mil. Geol. Sect., Office of the Engineer, GHQ, FEC), 1948, 2.

000 varying degrees of success.[2]

311 Another period of recklessness began in 1935 and reached its climax in 1940-41. This deterioration was simultaneous with the increase in the acreage of cut over forest land in Japan beginning in 1941.[3]

313 [72] In Okinawa, exploitation of the forests immediately before and during the war were due, according to residents who lived through the experience, to unrestricted cutting for troop shelters and to the large Japanese military requirements for wood. The war's end brought no relief to the forests. Housebuilding and firewood are continuing challenges to forest conservation in Okinawa. The destruction of houses in the populated south caused continuous cutting for building and firewood. In 1947, rates of cutting were estimated to exceed replacement, the main drains being for housebuilding, firewood, and charcoal.[4]

2

The Forests and the Trees of Matsuda

423 311 Matsuda has a large area of village owned forest within its borders. These village owned lands are a survival of the old land allotment system when the arable, the forest, and the wild (genya) lands were community owned.

[Text Continues Top of p. 226 --Analyst]

2 Civil Affairs Handbook Ryukyu (Loochoo) islands, 143, gives these dates as 1879-1906. For a published summary of Okinawan forests, their pre-war and post-war problems, and the role of the Ryukyuan Forestry Agency, see H. Y. Nuttonson, Ecological crop geography and field practices of the Ryukyu islands, as cited, 49-58. Nuttonson, following E. H. Walker, makes interesting comparisons of the islands of the Ryukyus. See the remarks on Miyako, Ishigaki, and Irimote, 54-56. For a short and forceful statement of the problem as it applies to Japan, see A report on Japanese natural resources, Tokyo, 1948, 347-59. Many of these remarks apply mutatis mutandis to Okinawa.

3 Nuttonson, as cited, p. 57. Based on B. O. Hughes, A forest policy for the Ryukyu islands. (Food and Natural Resources Department, USCAR), 1951.

4 Okinawan forests, as cited, 5.

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Hatsuda
Land Classification

Type of Land	Area in Tsubo	Approx. Acreage Equiv.
Rice (ta)	82,151	67.9
Dry crop land (hatake)	188,305	155.6
House sites (yashiki)	17,056	14.1
Village Owned forest (sanrin)	1,259,104	1040.6
Wild land (genya) a/	376,660	311.3
Village Owned shelter belts, groves	33,654	27.8
Religious sites (haisho)	2,883	2.4
Public building sites	81	b/
Miscellaneous	3,183	2.6
Total	1,963,077	1622.3

a/ Includes village and privately owned, but almost all is privately owned.

b/ Less than 0.1 acre

Source: Ginoza-son township office, Ginoza village, Okinawan Island. Dec. 1951.

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The coniferous forest (shinyōjurin) is along the shore, reaching inland short distances in those areas not given over to cultivation. Pine stands are valuable for typhoon protection. Inland, about half a mile to a mile from shore, the coniferous stands give way to a dense mixed forest of deciduous trees and shrubs. The predominant species in this broadleaved forest (kateyōjurin) is a live oak, the shii. Ordinarily the shii grows to be quite large, but here in the dense stands its growth is stunted. While not impenetrable, it is difficult to go through these stands once one is off the foot path. Along these paths, there are huts where one may drop in for rest or shelter, charcoal kilns, stacked firewood (maki), and piles of long poles which have been cut and stripped to be carried down the mountain paths to the road for loading in trucks. [485]

The woodlands of this area may be classified, according to use, into two categories: (1) stands, groves, or clumps of trees which provide typhoon and windbreak protection (hoanrin). Shore shelter belts or groves are known as bōchōrin, those inland or on mountain tops as bōfurin. (2) The forests, maintained and used as a resource, for such materials as firewood, lumber, and charcoal.

In Hatsuda, trees are used both for protection of houses in the

137 settled area and for protection of the surrounding crops. Around
311 houses, there are common stone fences, bamboo fences and trees.
Stone fences, though solid may be toppled over. Bamboo, or dwarf
[417] bamboo fences, seemingly slight, resist the winds and remain intact because of their flexible loose weave.

137 The trees on the ridges of the low lying hills or on high places
133 of ground are tall, and sturdy and jealously protected. The villagers
185 take great pride in them. Today this pride is based on the realization of their effectiveness; in former times, their protection was associated with the worship of the gods of the sacred groves (utaki). There were
[018] beliefs, which now seem to be dying out, that cutting these trees
[017] would bring bad luck. Many villagers say that Satoh in the 18th
[173] century intentionally invented superstitious concerned with the cutting of the trees in order to save them. Now these trees are no longer in danger of cutting, even though the penalties of the old beliefs are no longer feared.

The following short list does not exhaust the kinds of trees and plants found in this area. It is confined to those trees, shrubs, and grasses which are most frequently found and which have the greatest local importance.

824 (1) The Ryukyuan pine (Shishi-matsu in Japanese, Pinus luchuensis
313 Hayr). This tree is still one of the commonest sights on the island, even in southern Okinawa. At present, it is a source of firewood, cheap lumber, and siding. It is not considered good housebuilding material because of termites (shiroari). Pine was used for fishing boats within living memory, but now they are made of much harder wood. In this area, the coniferous groves are along the seashore. The large stands are not cut. Scrub pine on individually owned wild land may be cut for firewood.

(2) The fukugi (Garcinia spicata Hook.). The fukugi is used around homes and on mountain ridges as a typhoon protection. It is fairly plentiful here and prized as a building material (hongawara). The hard studs, beams and cross beams and the wide plank floors in the older and better houses are often made out of this wood.

(3) The iju (Schima luchuensis Hak.). This tree, common here, is used as a building material and is considered to be better than the Japanese redwood (sugi). It is not regarded as a good firewood.

(4) The inumaki (Podocarpus macrophyllus D. Don). This tree is not well known here, and there are no large specimens. But it is regarded as the best building material when available. Often the large, hard, rough beam poles which are placed on stones and support the eaves of the older houses are made from this wood.

(5) The shii (Shiia cuspidata). The dense stands of this tree in the village owned forest restrict the size of the specimens, though

in isolated spots the tree grows to a considerable height. This is a favored wood for housebuilding materials. It is also used for firewood. 824 313

(6) The mokumao (Australian pine, Casuarina equisetifolia L). This is a fast growing tree and quite plentiful in this area. The mokumao is commonly a shelter belt tree here. Along with the pine, and the shii, it is used for firewood.

(7) The shuro (Trachycarpus excelsus Wendl. Var.). Individual specimens of this palm are scattered through the village. It is found in local ravines, sinks, and near the natural bridge. When it was more plentiful, rope was made from its fibres. Before the war, it was the standard material of the farmer's raincoat. Rope making continues on a very restricted scale.

(8) The soshiju (Acacia confusa Merr.). Individual acacia trees are numerous but scattered. Frequently the tree grows on the house site as a typhoon protection. It is also used for firewood. Branches of the soshiju are often placed over or around young vegetables and other plants to shield them. Its leaves are placed on the dry crop lands and on paddy fields as a fertilizer.

(9) The gajimaru (Ficus retusa). This banyan tree was noticed by earlier travellers. It is a picturesque tree. The exposed roots twine around lesser shrubs, stumps, and stones. Specimens are scattered, and its chief use, here and in the southern villages, is for typhoon protection. Smaller trees, their roots growing in an around the stone fences, are a common sight. The leaves may be used for fertilizing the soil of rice fields.

(10) The cycad (sotetsu in Japanese, Cycas revoluta). This plant has already been discussed. While more frequent here than in the south, it is not plentiful. One must go farther north before the cycad becomes important in the daily economy. In Matsuda, the fronds are used to protect young growing plants, the leaves as a fertilizer for plants other than rice. Occasionally starch and a bread are made from the seed. Fermented drinks were once made from the cycad. There is no present market, as there was in the past, of fronds used in funeral wreathes. 824 [273]

(11) Susuki (Miscanthus sinensis, Chinese silver grass), commonly referred to as kaya, upon which we have already commented so frequently. This grass is not so important here as in the southern villages because of the availability of superior wood and fibres from the forest. It is not used as a major fuel, nor to any great extent for roofs, since the dwarf bamboo is available. The grasses collectively known as susuki are used as a fertilizer. The young shoots are often given to horses, cattle, and goats. One does not observe here the dominance of this plant, such a conspicuous part of the landscape of the south.

824 (12) The pandanus (adan or takonoki, Japanese scientific name, Pandanus odoratissimus L.) is also scattered. Formerly the pandanus was widely used in Okinawa for slippers and a Panama type hat was made for export. This home industry has disappeared from Hatsuda, as it has from the south.

(13) The i (Juncus effusus, Linn. var. decipiens Buch). This rush is used in the better quality home made mats (mushiro). The i is generally the warp of these mats, with some other grass the weft. It is occasionally cultivated when rice paddies are not in use, as it requires much water. There are two varieties of i, the round, and the three cornered (sankaku). The three cornered variety is used in cheaper quality mats. The round variety with cotton string as the warp, is used in weaving the best mats.

(14) The Yambaru bamboo (Yambaru take). This I believe is the same as, or at least very similar to the Japanese sasa, or dwarf bamboo (Arundinaria communis Mak.). Yambaru take means "northern district bamboo" and throughout Okinawa the term is used to describe this valuable plant. In appearance, it resembles the susuki grass, but its stalks are much woodier, have a greater diameter, and the plant is much taller. In an uncleared forest, the Yambaru bamboo grows six to nine feet high and has a foothold wherever there is the slightest room in the forest. Patches often are intermingled with the shii, pine, and the numerous shrubs. This is the roof thatch material of the north. Its other uses include the weaving of stationary barriers (hinpun) in front of the house compound. The stalks are closely woven diagonally while still green. The plant has innumerable uses, depending on individual improvisation. While green, charcoal containers may be made out of it; it may be woven into rough baskets (zaru) for carrying sweet potatoes, or to bind up the small bundles of firewood which are sent south. In general, the smaller diameters of Yambaru bamboo are used for roofs; the larger for bamboo fences (takegaki) and the face level hinpun. Bundles of Yambaru bamboo are sent to Naha and Shuri for weaving.

[285] [415]

3

The Uses of the Forest

313 Clearcutting seems to be the curse of traditional Oriental forestry. Starting at the convenient base of a hill or mountain, every tree has been cut up the hill until a steep or inaccessible part is reached. This destructive exploitation has been an established Japanese forestry practice despite the obvious inducements to soil erosion.[5]

The results of clearcutting observable near Hatsuda now are a product of the overwhelming war and post-war demand for lumber and

5 A report on Japanese natural resources, as cited, 357.

fuel. The usual practice here too is to clear cut up a steep hill or mountain, the lower and more convenient the spot, the more efficient the clearcutting. Weeds, shrubs, grasses, and the Yambaru bamboo have quickly taken the place of the trees. The man induced climax vegetation is grass and shrub. 313 [137]

Forest destruction in Okinawa does not seem to have reached the alarming proportions observed in Japan.[6] The destruction of the war increased the demand for lumber and firewood. This demand accelerated the dangerous practices and led to widespread waste.[7] Fortunately, if Matsuda is a good example, the roads were poor and underdeveloped, and the mills small. There was some brake on uncontrolled deforestation.

In the accompanying photograph of the Matsuda forest area, there was access to the summit and the trees there were cut down. For some reason, probably the steepness of the mountain side, the pine and shii on the slopes were not cut. The result was that tall stands of dwarf bamboo took over the spaces on the summit left by the trees, while the trees continued to grow on the mountain sides. [137]

Since the forest is owned by the village, any resident may cut trees for his own use. This custom has few dangers because it is a large forest with a small population in the environs. The cutting is scattered. The villager selects the tree with the consent of the village official in charge of forest control, cuts it and takes it to his courtyard. There is a charge of Y1 for each large tree, or Y1 for five small trees. This money goes to the village office. Villagers' personal needs are a small drain on the forest resource. [423] [624] [651]

The village government also sells wood. In lulls in farming, or when the farmer needs some cash, he may cut trees for the village. Wood cutting for lumber is a year round activity. September to December is the season for cutting firewood. There are two common practices in commercial dealings with wood and lumber. For cutting and gathering firewood, the village office pays Y5 a bundle, Y4 goes to the person cutting the wood, and Y1 to the village office, 60% of which it retains and 40% going to the township office. 313 655

Cutting and gathering wood is by no means an easy task. The walk to the forest may take an hour one way, though there may be truck transportation part way. The trees must be cut, the wood chopped up and made into the familiar bundles tied with a stout rush (often the i) and carried back or put in a central location to be picked up later. This marketing of wood on an individual basis is casual and intermittent. More continuous and larger scale exploitation takes place when the village office sells a certain area for cutting. The village takes 60%, the township 40% of the proceeds. 313 [655]

6 Ibid, 285-87. [Text continues on p. 232 --Glacken]
7 Okinawan forests, as cited, 2-3, 5-8.

133

A part of the Matsuda forest. There has been access to the summit and clearing has taken place there. The trees are on the slope. The light area on the summit is a growth of Yambaru bamboo which has replaced the trees.

40% of the proceeds. The trees thus sold are all cut down. After clearcutting, the area is left to natural reseeding. About twenty years hence, the clearing will again be sufficiently forested to permit repetition of the same procedure. This follows an established Japanese pre-war practice. This was known as the five year period share (gonenkanbun). The forest is divided into subdivisions, each 110 chō in area. (A chō is 2.45 acres). These 110 chō plots are in turn subdivided into five parcels of twenty-two chō each. Each year one of these five subdivisions may be cleared. 313 [804]

Throughout the forest, divided up into these plots, there may be a five year cycle of cutting, but not all the plots are available every year. If this were so, the forest could be cut over in five years. The system is planned so that there will always be parcels being cleared, those in various stages of regrowth, and mature stands. During and after the war, this practice broke down in favor of uncontrolled cutting.

If a family has little cash, a villager may pay his taxes in part by cutting wood. The village office pays Y4 for a bundle of firewood (late 1951), Y2 going to the villager as a cash payment, and Y2 being applied to his taxes for the year. [651]

The farmer makes frequent excursions to the mountains to obtain firewood or poles to make improvements in the compound, such as repairing a tool or food shed. Men do this work, especially when the distances are far, but the participation of women is by no means exceptional. Along the roads of northern Okinawa, one can frequently see old women walking down from the mountains carrying bundles of firewood on heavy poles. Much of the wood is hand carried from the mountains; if the farmer has a horse and cart or a truck, the wood is carried to a convenient road for loading and transport. [462] [482] [887] [494]

Charcoal is manufactured in the forest area. In Okinawa charcoal has many uses, mainly for heating and cooking, and for charcoal sticks (senko). Lumps of charcoal are placed in braziers and the sticks are used as touchwood in place of matches and in ceremonial and religious observances. Charcoal containers (tangu) are often constructed on the spot. These are round or box-shaped and made out of the dwarf bamboo. 314 [372] [396] [416]

Charcoal kilns are privately owned. They are of the simplest sort. The kiln may be covered with a rude housing, built up by poles and a thatch roof. A mound of large boulders and dirt is built with an opening on the dirt floor running the length of the firing area. Poles which have been stripped and cut in various lengths, from five to nine feet, are shoved in the opening and moved forward as they burn. The smoke comes out the back.

Forest maintenance and improvement is, in part, a result of community endeavor. With some exceptions, each person in the village from 16 to 60 participates one day a year in forest improvement (sōrin). The participants are boys past school age, unmarried girls, and all men up to the age of 60. These people work without personal remunera- 313 476

8 The usual meaning of sōrin is afforestation or reforestation. In Matsuda it is used in the sense of care and improvement of the forest.

313 tion, but the village receives payment, through the township,
47% from the central government for this labor. In November 1951,
[465] the rate was Y80 per day for each male, and Y50 for each female.
Married women do not participate, except to take the place of a
husband who cannot attend. This community project is a continuation
of pre-war custom. On the day set aside for this work, the partici-
pants are taken part way by truck or bus. A half hour walk over the
paths, often leading through dense thickets, brings them to the site
selected. Everyone brings his own lunch, perhaps in a little metal
box, or merely wrapped in banana leaves. Around noon, the girls take
their buckets, go down hill to the stream, and carry up the water for
the tea. Weeds and grasses, especially miscanthus and the dwarf
bamboo are cleared out from the predominating shii and pine. A shii
is known here as the shiigi or shiija. When work begins the area is
almost an impenetrable thicket. The grasses and the thick dwarf
bamboo have grown up in dense stands among the trees. Only these
grasses are cut. Trees are not touched, except for the very young
ones in overcrowded spots, or the malformed and dying trees. With
the brush and grasses cut, the stand of trees is still dense.

When the undergrowth has been cut down, one can walk through
the area. The cuttings, as well as the litter on the forest floor,
are not removed. This wise practice keeps the soils at least at
their normal productivity. In this area, the relatively low density
of population, the scattering of settlement, the large areas of
[311] forest compared with the cultivated areas have not brought about con-
ditions requiring the removal of forest litter for fertilizing fields
and for fuel, a practice which creates acute problems in Japan.[9]

The work is supervised by a forestry official living in the
[637] village but an employee of the township. His supervision is nominal,
as everyone knows what is to be done and how to do it. Like all
officials of a village, he is a friend, neighbor, or relative of
those who participate. He checks off the names of those who have
reported. On returning from the forest at five in the afternoon,
most of the villagers bring back some wood, perhaps a long pole, a
bunch of dwarf bamboo, or miscanthus to make an outdoor broom.
They are lighthearted as they return single file along the winding
paths back to the village.

Pine cones are gathered for their seeds by the co-operative
effort of the villagers. The cones are soaked in water so the seeds
can be removed more easily. The village office takes the seeds,
[C55] gives them to the township office which sells them to the central
government for planting purposes. Once a year, the village receives
10% of the amount of seeds it collected for its own planting purposes.

9 A report on Japanese natural resources, as cited, 358.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Every three years, the villagers thin out the dwarf bamboo and other grasses in the pine stands along the coast. Late in December or in early January, there is a community planting of pine seeds. 313 316

The tools used in forest work are: the hand sickle (kama), a bill or hook knife, the tool so familiar in agriculture; an ordinary long knife resembling a butcher knife or a machete (here called a yamakatana, or "mountain knife"), and a hooked knife on the end of a long handle (sōringama). 412

Forest care goes well back into Okinawan history and antedates more recent Japanese methods. This care probably was an obligation in the old system of land tenure under which villagers had access to forest lands with the corresponding obligation to replant. 313

4

An Example of Reclamation

There are cut-over tracts in Matsuda village. The Japanese government, according to local residents, tried to convert these cleared areas into agricultural land. This land reclamation (kaitaku) began about 1935. The land was cleared of its remaining trees and shrubs mainly by firing. (Fire has been used in Okinawa, possibly from early times, in the clearing of land. In 1947 the use of fire in clearing and the hazards in creating forest fires were pointed out by observers who blamed carelessness in firing as the cause of the forest fires in the dry season).[10] Firing was easier and some nutrients from the ash were available to the poor soils. 185 311 [372]

In Matsuda, the cleared land was hoed and the rocks were removed. It had to be hoed deeply to make cultivation possible. The land was enriched with composts containing horse, pig, and goat manures. The original plan was to promote a more extensive type of agriculture on the reclaimed land because it was poorly adapted to the cultivating methods on the better and more accessible soils. A here-and-there (yadori type) settlement was planned. The houses were to be scattered on hillsides, or in the valleys, to provide sufficient land, admittedly poor, for the settlers to cultivate. The size of the contemplated holdings precluded hand labor of the intensity characteristic of the usual agriculture. The use of draft animals, plows, and harrows was part of the plan. [241] [361] [241]

The war and the disappearance of so many of the draft animals prevented its realization. Before the war, it was intended that each family should have a 3000 tsubo tract (2.45 acres). Today the residents on these lands cultivate only about 1000 tsubo, about the limit of manual cultivation considering the soils and the stone that remains. As a consequence, parts of the area are returning to weeds, grasses, and shrubs.

10 Okinawa forests, as cited, 7.

361 [167] After the war, this cleared land was further settled, with American encouragement, by families returning from abroad. This subdivision of Matsuda, a here-and-there settlement, is called "the clearing" (kaikon). Its houses are few and far apart, and with its isolated farmsteads is in contrast with the thickly settled cluster of a typical agricultural village.

5

Conservation

313 [647] In Matsuda, the preservation of the forest is constantly encouraged. This awareness, inspired by officials of the Ryukyuan Forestry Agency and its American advisors, reaches down to the school children. Before any burning is done, a permit must be secured. Fire lanes (bōkasen) are cut to prevent the spread of fire. These lanes are circular, and an area on the lee side is burned to prevent spread of the fire in the direction of the wind.

Fire Lane (Bōkasen)

In addition to the fire protection, officials of the Ryukyu Forestry Agency and specialists in the American Civil Administration are trying to discourage overcutting (kanbatsu) which in this area has affected the most numerous species, the pine, the shii, and the Japanese redwood. Since clearcutting (kaibatsu) so easily leads to overcutting, the former practice is also being discouraged. The newer emphasis is on selective cutting (takubatsu).

[803] School children participate in forest conservation. The children attending high school at nearby Ginoza village take part in forest improvement. An active campaign for conservation and forest fire prevention could not begin immediately after the war. In the post-war confusion, it was not until about 1950, with the establishment of [647] the Ryukyuan Forestry Agency, that active supervision on a central government level could be seriously instituted. On an island wide basis, posters and literature pointing to the dangers of forest fires [208] have tried to bring this message to the Okinawans as well as to the Americans. The name of Saion has been used to tie the preservation of the Okinawan forests in with the history and traditions of the people. The famous "Smoky" appears on posters as well.

[727] In the Matsuda area, the recent periods of relaxation or loss of control, according to local residents, were (1) about 1940 when

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

wood and lumber for Japanese army uses and for air raid shelters were in demand, (2) the burning in the course of the war, and (3) the intense cutting after the war for firewood and rebuilding.

Okinawan traditions relating to forest care have a positive value and it is worth while to recapitulate them here. Local old men and antiquarians in Matsuda give credit to Saion who wrote a long treatise on agriculture and is said to have intentionally devised superstitions to save trees. Death or misfortune would come to him who cut the trees, especially those in sacred groves or on the tops of mountains. Some local residents have said that the gods of the mountain are really not of religious inspiration at all, but had their origin in the conscious desire of Saion to save the trees. While there does not seem to be any truth in this assertion, since these deities of the sacred groves and mountain tops reach far back into antiquity, there is no doubt that sacred groves and houses of the mountain gods saved trees that otherwise would have been cut down. (In China and Japan, religious shrines and holy places have also been areas of the preservation of trees).

Present attitudes were summarized by a Matsuda school principal who said that beliefs in mountain gods and in death and misfortune following cutting trees were dying out, and that these old beliefs had been replaced by awareness of the scientific reasons for preserving the trees.

In Matsuda, pride in the trees, in the groves that line its hill tops and overlook the narrow valleys and ravines planted to rice and other crops is a conspicuous part of village experience. There are trees along the main road near the town that are said to have been planted in Saion's time under his inspiration.

These favorable traditions are helpful. They do not guarantee the preservation of the forests. Previous experience has shown this. From what may be surmised of the history of Okinawan forests, the destruction of modern times has been correlated with war and the expansion of economic activities. We may speculate, too, that previous deforestation was slow, inexorable and related to the clearing of accessible stands near settlements, and the extension of these settled areas as they grew. "Most of the accessible primitive forests have been exhausted," Dr. Green wrote in his report to Commodore Perry.11 The need for fuel increases with population. In China, Japan, Korea, and Okinawa, the relation of forests, either as a source for lumber or fuel, to population growth and settlement is a very intimate one. This is a basic consideration in discussing not only the "patterns of culture" but the relation of culture to the natural environment in this part of the world.

11 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, Vol. II, 35

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Conclusion

311 184 In the comparative study of these villages, certain distinctions are worth summarizing. (1) In the southern villages, which lack forest land, there is much more dependence on the uncultivated wild land (genya) which supports the grasses. (2) The forest, in Hatsuda as elsewhere in the north, is a reserve for necessities like firewood, thatch, charcoal and building materials, both for local use and southern trade. (3) The shelter belts and groves have been preserved in the north. (4) Tidewater plantings of shelter belts are needed in the south. Plantings of the Ryukyuan Forestry Agency, under American Civil Administration encouragement, have begun in the south as protection from wind and salt water spray damage. These include the mokusao, the pandanus, the hibiscus (Albizzia julibrissen Durazz, in Japanese the nemunoki) and the hirugi (Bruguiera spp.)[12] (5) Ecologically, the situation is more balanced in the north where a good start seems to have been made in arresting progressive deforestation. (6) This balance, if Hatsuda is a representative village, can only be maintained by constant appraisal of the relationships of the forest to agriculture, to the growing population, and to the economic demands to which this leads, unless the wood and timber demands of the island are to be met in large part by imports.

[245] [647]

114 648 636 An occupying power like the United States, rich in modern techniques, can do much to improve the life of a small island people. If it is mindful of the history and the present features of the culture, it can suggest improvements without destroying the bases on which the culture rests.

313 114 One of its greatest accomplishments could be an aggressive and continuing program of conservation and afforestation. The present administration, through the Forestry Section of the Food and Natural Resources Department, has started a program which, if permanently pursued, could have far-reaching consequences. An emphasis on selective cutting, conservation, fire control, tidewater plantings, and many other measures could only be a credit to American administrators and foresters as well. The costs, as such things go, would be moderate.

From personal experience in village life, I have no doubt that the co-operation of villagers in all parts of the island could be readily obtained in advancing a large scale afforestation program. The readiness of the people of Hatsuda cannot be an exception. These things could be accomplished without an unwieldy administrative apparatus. I have been continually struck with the ability of the Okinawans, with their skill in local organization, to accomplish

12 I am indebted to Mr. Richard Varney of the Department of Food and Natural Resources, USCAR, for this information.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

things quickly and simply. One need not think of large centralized programs but of many small efforts, working through the simple channels of local government.

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In the decades to come, a thriving and self-supporting forest, with shelter belts and tide-water plantings, will be a great asset to the Okinawans, an accomplishment in which the American people can share with pride.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 ACT Chinese ACT

CHAPTER XII

VILLAGE COMMERCE AND TRADITIONAL FINANCING

1 Village Shops and Businesses

2 Mutual Loan Groups

3 Associations

4 The Cash Economy of Rural Villages

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Village Shops and Businesses

Village stores, small in number and modest in size, furnish their own people many essential services, but the offerings differ from place to place in number and kind, so that there are always commercial contacts of a sort with nearby villages or towns. This is brought out in the accompanying table of business and personal service establishments in each of the villages. 443 628

348 365 366 368

Village Shops, Businesses, Personal Service Enterprises

Type	Number of Enterprises in:			
	Hanashiro	Hinatogawa	Nagamo	Hatsuda
Rice Mills	1	a/	a/	1
Sugar Mills	1		1	3
Small Retail Shops	3	5	3	5
Power Plant		1	b/	1
Import Store	c/	1	b/	1
Saw Mill				1
Blacksmith	d/	d/	1	
Retail Butcher Shop		1		
Motion Picture Theatre	e/	e/	e/	f/
Public Bath House	h/	2	h/	g/
Village Inn		1		f/
Eating Places		1		
Barbershop	g/	e/	a/	1

a No need for rice mills, no rice grown
b Served by Hinatogawa
c In nearby Asato
d Nagamo serves these and other villages in the township
e In Horikawa, opposite Hinatogawa
f Served by Ginoza village
g Served by Oushichan village

Rice mills (seimaisho) are recent in rural Okinawa. The mill in Hanashiro was installed in 1940. It serves nearby villages. The mill in Hatsuda, also a recent introduction, is more modern. In each case, the mill has two machines of Japanese manufacture, one for hulling, the other for polishing. 256

Sugar mills (seitojo) vary in quality in the communities. Hanashiro has a machine for crushing cane. In Hatsuda, war destruction 249

249 forced a return to crushing the cane by the use of rollers driven by a horse at the end of a sweep. Before the war, Matsuda had sugar mills driven by machinery. Mills may either be village 423 owned, as in Hanashiro, or owned by small co-operatives, like that [427] in Matsuda whose members rent it to others when not using it themselves.

443 Village stores generally occupy the front part of a family's living quarters. They are operated mainly by women. A woman past [462] middle age sitting on the floor of her shop, talking with visitors or reading the paper, is a familiar sight in an Okinawan village. A village may have several tiny stores. They do not compete with one another in the commercial sense of the word. Prices are the same. Their inventories are the standard ones. The chief dif- [273] ferences are in size and variety. Some sell the strong alcoholic drink (awamori) called sake in Okinawa.

Each storekeeper has a clientele of friends and relatives, but one is not under social obligation to repeatedly trade at the same place. Relatives sometimes own adjoining shops. In Japan, [171] it is said that once a person starts trading at a shop he continues to do so. To switch would deprive the shopkeeper of business that could be counted on, and imply dissatisfaction with the service rendered. The first purchase creates mutual obligations between the storekeeper and his customer which are not broken casually.[1] This is not the case with these village stores. One patronizes the shop that is convenient, that is open when one wants to buy, that has the desired article. There is an informal atmosphere and lack [434] of bustle in these tiny shops because so many are operated for supplementary income by wives or female relatives of the breadwinner. A wife may sit in her shop, as I have often seen her in Hinatogawa, [404] taking care of her baby, sewing on her treadle sewing machine, and interrupting her work when necessary for a customer. The cash involved is small, often only a few yen, and money is carefully accounted for. These shops satisfy a surprising amount of the village demand for food, food supplements, notions, clothing, and household goods. Larger, more expensive, or more specialized items such as books, suits, furniture are in the towns like Itoman or Naha in the south, or Nago and Ishikawa in the north.

An inventory of one of these village stores indicates the types of articles in frequent and constant demand. In one typical store in Hinatogawa the following purchases could be made:

Foods

[262] Starch
[272] Condensed milk for children

1 I was told this by Japanese and by Nisei who were in Japan during the occupation. I do not know how widespread or how characteristic this practice is of all retail trade there.

Japanese canned fish: mackerel, bonito, clams, whale meat hash 443
Noodles, buckwheat spaghetti and macaroni type pastes 262
Cookies, stored in glass jars, and sold singly 212
Sweet rolls (manju) from a town bakery, and sweetened bread (pan)
Tea
Aji no moto
White sugar
Soy bean oil

Soft Drinks and Candy

443
[212]

Bottled lemon and orange ades
Cocoa Cola
Gum
Various candies sold by the piece, also stored in glass jars on the counter.

Notions

Needles and thread
Buttons of various sizes
Trimmings and ribbons
Braids for making and trimming kimonos
hair pins, and combs

[412]

Clothing

Clogs (geta)
Undershirts
Fibre sandals

[291]

Toilet Articles

Perfumes and toilet waters
Shampoos, liquid and powdered.
Pomades and brilliantines
Toothbrushes
Soaps
Toilet paper

[302]
[515]

Stationery

School tablets and notebooks
Pencils
Comic books (in Japanese)

[212]

Medicines

Aspirin
Stomach powders
Eye lotions

[218]

Alcoholic Beverages

443 Japanese and American canned beer
[273] Japanese type sake (a light rice wine resembling sauterne)
Okinawan sake (awamori)

Miscellaneous

Charcoal sticks
[276] Brass and nickel plated Japanese pipes
Small dishes
[415] Sake bottles
Oil burners to keep mosquitos away
[416] Flashlights, bulbs, and batteries
Matches
Japanese and American tobaccos
Fishing lamps and the ika lamp (fishing villages only)

[437] Transactions are usually on a cash basis, although some customers pay at the end of the week. In one such store, the gross sales averaged ¥600 a day with a net profit of about 10%. (The yen is pegged at 120 to the US dollar). During the day and the early evening, the village
[366] stores are meeting places, especially if, like Hinatogawa, several together make up a small business center.

443 Supplies are delivered to village stores by truck or sometimes by bus. Often the owner goes to the larger towns to buy. Young boys are
444 an important cog in the distribution system. They deliver candies, cookies, and other small articles which are carried in five gallon lard
[850] tins on racks over the rear mudguard of their bicycles. They ride up to the store, count out their candies or cookies, receive payment, and cycle on to the next store over a route which includes several villages. These boys work out of larger towns like Itoman and Nago. Baking goods,
[262] bread (pan) really a sweet dough with a jelly-like filling, cookies and candies are distributed in this manner. Sometimes housewives make cookies and cakes to sell to village stores.

443 There is not much house to house selling or soliciting. Occasionally women come to the villages with a selection of ready made clothing or cloth. In Hinatogawa, an itinerant drug vendor periodically goes through the village ringing his bell, selling various Japanese patent medicines mainly for colds, headaches, constipation, and stomach aches.

444 Import stores (hyakuyo), also operated privately, are a different kind of enterprise than the village shop. They have been set up under
262 the American occupation. Larger wholesalers supply the village re-
511 tailers. These stores deal in a restricted number of commodities, such as rice, flour, soy bean sauce, wheat, and cooking oils. Sales are made to villagers on a rationing system based on the number in the family, its age distribution, pregnancy, and whether the head is engaged in heavy
[442] work. The intent of the import stores is to make food available, at reasonable cost, to those who cannot grow their own, or whose own produce

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

needs supplementation. Hence, a farmer cannot buy so much as a fisherman. A rice farmer, if he is eligible at all, cannot purchase so much as a sweet potato grower. These stores fill a genuine need. They have alleviated hardship and done much to improve the monotonous pre-war diet. In the villages, they are a concrete reminder of direct American contact. There is not a store in every village, but each village has ready access to one. 444 262 511

The rural blacksmith takes care of the needs of farmers and stonecutters. One such shop in Nagamo serves many villages in the Gushichan area. The forge is of simple construction. The air is blown by a sort of box bellows. The operator sits down, as if he were in a row boat, and by pushing and pulling the handle (which has a T-end grip like a hand pump) moves the piston horizontally back and forth. The blacksmith repairs agricultural and stonecutting tools and makes new tools, chiefly hoes and spikes for the harrow. 326 413

There are no good inns, restaurants or tea houses in the villages. In Hinatogawa a Japanese inn of rude construction and comfort caters to parties for the entertainment of visitors who have business with local people. 265

Getting a haircut or a bath may involve going to another village. Like the stores, barbershops are little social centers, especially during bad weather when villagers are not working and take the opportunity to have their hair cut. 305

2

Mutual Loan Groups

In China and Japan, mutual loan groups have had a long history. In essence, they are groups associated for the purpose of borrowing and lending money, the capital being derived from contributions of the membership. There is an element of chance when members bid against one another or draw lots for a loan.[2] 474 426 [171]

Each member of a loan group advances an agreed upon share. The total amount is then available as a lump sum to one of them as a borrower. The borrower repays principal and interest in monthly installments. The remaining members advance the same amount each on the following month to another borrower. In this way, there is a continuous cycle of lending

2 They are known variously as mo-ai (Japanese), mu-e (Okinawan) tanomoshi and yūrei (Japanese). Groups organized on a monthly basis are tsukikiyurei or tsukimoai (Japanese), and on an annual basis as nimu-e (Okinawan), nimmo-ai (Japanese). At present there are no annual groups because of uncertainties regarding the future value of money. Now loans are normally for a 10-12 month period.

474 426 and repayment of principal and interest. Members are involved in these transactions out of different motives. The organizer is usually the one most interested in borrowing money. Other participants may wish to earn interest on spare cash. They are the bankers of the group. Between the person who needs immediate cash and the bankers are those who would like to borrow money during the life of the group but are indifferent as to the precise time, hoping to bid and obtain a loan at a favorable rate to buy a pig or to repair a house.

The most complex of these loan groups were found in Minatogawa. A group may have any number of members; usually there are from 10 to 15, but there may be only five to nine. Each group has a set of regulations (no-ai no kisoku). In Minatogawa money is borrowed for house or boat building, for buying pigs, or for other business purposes.

The first meeting begins with a party given by the persons most [574] interested in starting the group. On the following months, more modest parties given at the homes of other members are in conjunction with the bidding and distribution of the money. The entertainments of the first and last meetings include pork or goat meat, bean curd, [262] tea, and sake. At the first meeting the organizer is the host. Rules are established as to whether the indebtedness shall be put into writing and as to guarantors. (Before the war, occasionally a borrower ran off to Japan or to one of the other islands and was never heard of again). Now a guarantor is required, but this is a formality. The [476] system really rests on mutual trust and on the co-operation of friends [507] and relatives of known honesty. One person may belong to several groups. Multiple membership is naturally confined to those with plenty of ready cash who have no immediate use for it. A group whose membership is poor will subscribe from Y100 to Y300 a month, a moderately well-to-do one from Y2000-3000. There are now about 30 in Minatogawa. Members usually are present or former residents of the village. Men and women participate. These gatherings combine business with a friendly social atmosphere so typical of Okinawan business transactions and official contacts. The mats of the room are arranged to form an empty square in the center of the room, and this square becomes a [353] combination counting board and refreshment table.

In one type, the loan is awarded after secret bidding (usually by writing on a piece of paper), the award going to the lowest bidder, for he is offering the highest discount. For example, Y20,000 are available for a loan to be repaid in ten installments of Y2100 each (Y2000 principal and Y100 interest). If a member wants the money badly enough, he may bid Y17,500, accepting that amount and paying back on the basis of Y20,000 plus interest. He thus would get the award over a man who bid at a discount of Y2000 or Y18,000.

In one form of the discount type, the organizer automatically gets the first loan. He does not bid and does not lose by discounting. He has started the group for this purpose. On the second and succeeding months, the bidding is secret and competitive. Assuming ten members pooling Y2000 each the first month, in the second nine members advance

Y2000 each to make Y18,000 available. If the lowest bid is Y1800 per share, the borrower accepts a discount (waribiki) of Y200 for each Y2000 advanced and will repay Y2100 a month, which includes Y100 interest (rishi) 424 426

Amount of the loan	Y18,000 (2000 x 9)
Less Discount	- 1,800 (200 x 9)
Actual Amount Received	Y16,200
Interest paid	900 (100 x 9)
Actual Cost of the Loan	Y2700 (Y1800 plus Y900)

The proceeds from the discount may be distributed as a dividend to those who furnished the money, or it may be held in the group for additional loans.

The essentials are summarized in the accompanying tables. There are 11 members, A through K. The first month, A, the initiator, gets Y20,000, and by the end of the period (the beginning of the 11th month) has repaid Y21,000 in ten monthly installments of Y2100 each. In the seventh month G is the borrower. He bid Y1880 for Y2000 loan from each of the remaining members and received Y7520 (Y1880 x 4) and repays Y8400 (Y2100 x 4). In this example, K is the man with the money. He has advanced Y18,385, the sum of column K, and has received principal, interest, and discount payments of Y21000 (total of line 11, A through J), making Y2615 for himself).

This type of mutual loan group was found only in Minatogawa. There is a three time rule for the initiator (hakkinin) of the group. He is expected, after the life of the first one, to start two more, whose membership may or may not be the same. It is considered unlucky for him to fail to do this. He will suffer misfortune, such as illness, poverty, or death. Whether these eventualities are feared is hard to say, but the three time rule is always observed. The initiator also is responsible for calling on guarantors to pay amounts in default. [184] [177]

Since these groups are composed of individuals who trust one another, there is flexibility in handling the funds. Generally one meeting a month is held. But there may be 15 in a year. If extra money is picked up in the summer months, two meetings might be held in July, August, and September. Certain fictions are recognized. If A needs more than Y20,000, he may, when it is D's turn, and with his consent, act as if he were D, and get an additional loan in place of D. These maneuverings depend on consultation and discussion within the group. Very short term loans are seldom made. But the same object can be achieved by splitting a loan with the actual borrower, the silent borrower assuming the interest and repayments for his portion of the total.

The discount type is more adapted to a cash economy in which fishermen or business men have available money, and borrowers are willing to pay substantial amounts for immediate loans. The agricultural [184]

[Text continues top of P. 248 -- analyst]

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Minatogawa Loan Groups--Loans and Repayments

Period	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
1st Month	*	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000
2nd	2100	*	1800	1800	1800	1800	1800	1800	1800	1800	1800
3rd	2100	2100	*	1825	1825	1825	1825	1825	1825	1825	1825
4th	2100	2100	2100	*	1850	1850	1850	1850	1850	1850	1850
5th	2100	2100	2100	2100	*	1770	1770	1770	1770	1770	1770
6th	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	*	1840	1840	1840	1840	1840
7th	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	*	1880	1880	1880	1880
8th	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	*	1810	1810	1810
9th	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	*	1910	1910
10th	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	*	1700
11th	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	---
Amount of Loan	20000	18000	16000	14000	12000	10000	8000	6000	4000	2000	0000
Loan less Discount	20000a	16200	14600	12950	10620	9200	7520	5430	3820	1700	0000
Amount Paid Back	21000	18900	16800	14700	12600	10500	8400	6300	4200	2100	0000

The Asterisk represents the borrower.
Amounts to the right of the asterisk represent loans to him.
Amounts below the asterisk represent his repayments
Amounts above the asterisk show his loans to others.

a The examples are the assumed highest bids. A received the loan without discount.

Monthly Balances and Final Settlement
(Based on Previous Table)

	Amount Returned	Amount Paid Out
1st Month		20,000
2nd	2,100	16,200
3rd	4,200	14,600
4th	6,300	12,950
5th	8,400	10,620
6th	10,500	9,200
7th	12,600	7,520
8th	14,700	5,430
9th	16,800	3,820
10th	18,900	1,700
11th	21,000	
Total	115,500	102,040
Difference (Value of Interest and Discounts)		Y 13,460

villages have the simple interest type, with or without the bidding feature. The order of borrowing may be determined by discussion, and, if more than one person wishes a loan at the same time, lots are drawn. 424 426 184

In the interest (rishi) type, a man borrows, for example, Y2000 with ten men contributing Y200 each and repays Y2200 in ten monthly installments. (Here the interest is Y10 per month for each Y100 advanced). If a borrower cannot meet a payment, the members make up the deficit which then becomes an additional obligation on the part of the borrower. 424 426

Mutual loan groups were found in Hatsuda and Hanashiro, though they are not so strong as in Hinatogawa. The amounts involved are less, reflecting the poorer cash standing of the farmer. Guarantors (hōshōnin) are not required since the members know one another well. Loans are generally made for the construction or repair of houses, pens, sheds, or stalls, for hiring a pig breeder, to buy a domestic animal, or to tide one over a crop failure. A group may be organized for the specific purpose of enabling each member, during the life of the loan group, to purchase a small pig.

Women may have their own groups. In Hanashiro the only group known to me was composed of women. Again, assume twenty members who advance Y100 each, a total of Y2000 initially, and who have agreed upon an interest rate of Y10 per month on each Y100 borrowed. The life of the group is twenty months. The progress of the loans and monthly repayments is shown in the following table. It illustrates the continuous turning in of principal and interest payments to furnish capital for new loans. The multiplications in parentheses show the number of members times the amount involved per member in each transaction. In Hanashiro, there are three of these women's groups. This is said to be a decline from the pre-war number. [562]

In Hatsuda these groups are not important in financing the farmer. It is estimated that there are five groups, with 15-20 members each, operating in Hatsuda. Bidding may be dispensed with, the interest is divided among the borrowers and not turned back for further loans, and the sequence of borrowers is determined either by discussion or by lot. These were Y500 groups, higher monthly advances than in Hanashiro, but the principle is the same.

The limited use of these mutual loan groups in the agricultural villages may be temporary, and may not be typical of all Okinawa. According to residents of Hanashiro and Hatsuda, they were not widely used before the war. They have now further declined in importance except in Hinatogawa. It is rather difficult to account for this, considering the need for money and the reluctance of villagers to go to banks and institutions for loans. The fear of red tape and entertainment costs is the chief deterrent to institutional borrowing. Perhaps the failure is merely indicative of insufficient money to lend, and inability to repay what is borrowed. Farmers have little money to advance, little surplus to repay loans from others. [934] [953]

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Hamashiro
Women's Mutual Loan Group
The Cycle of Loans and Repayments

Borrower of the:	Advances Made by Members	Repayments Made by Borrower-Members	Amount Available For Lending Each Month
1st Month	Y2000 (100 x 20)		Y 2000
2nd	1900 (100 x 19)	Y110 (110 x 1)	2010
3rd	1800 (100 x 18)	220 (110 x 2)	2020
4th	1700 (100 x 17)	330 (110 x 3)	2030
5th	1600 (100 x 16)	440 (110 x 4)	2040
6th	1500 (100 x 15)	550 (110 x 5)	2050
7th	1400 (100 x 14)	660 (110 x 6)	2060
8th	1300 (100 x 13)	770 (110 x 7)	2070
9th	1200 (100 x 12)	880 (110 x 8)	2080
10th	1100 (100 x 11)	990 (110 x 9)	2090
11th	1000 (100 x 10)	1100 (110 x 10)	2100
12th	900 (100 x 9)	1210 (110 x 11)	2110
13th	800 (100 x 8)	1320 (110 x 12)	2120
14th	700 (100 x 7)	1430 (110 x 13)	2130
15th	600 (100 x 6)	1540 (110 x 14)	2140
16th	500 (100 x 5)	1650 (110 x 15)	2150
17th	400 (100 x 4)	1760 (110 x 16)	2160
18th	300 (100 x 3)	1870 (110 x 17)	2170
19th	200 (100 x 2)	1980 (110 x 18)	2180
20th		2090 (110 x 19)	End of Period

The twentieth member, the banker gets Y2090 from the other members, which, when added to the Y100 plus Y10 interest which he would have paid had he borrowed the money, equals Y2200.

[655]
[177]

The availability of government loans for homes, part of the American program for the rehabilitation of the Ryukyus may point the way to an acceptable type of financing in which resistance to institutional borrowing is lowered. The mutual loan groups and bank and government loans, however, operate in different spheres. The sums involved in the small loan groups are too modest for a major undertaking, but they are substantial enough to help with minor, yet otherwise difficult, purchases or improvements.

3

Associations

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Associations and co-operative groups of farmers, fishermen, and animal breeders, part of the Japanese program for the organization

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

and improvement of rural life, have continued to function. The most important of these are the agricultural associations (nogyōkumiai). In Okinawa, they are organized on a township level. The agricultural association is usually near the township office. It is both a buying and a selling concern. It buys and sells agricultural tools and simple farm machinery. The association may also buy and introduce into the agricultural village new techniques, tools, insect and pest control preparations, and other supplies imported from America or Japan. Buying and distribution for sale are at present more active functions than making loans. In any one year, a borrower may obtain a Y200 loan, but the chief difficulty (Dec. 1951) is that the association has little money. In Gushichan village, the association buys and re-sells firewood, imported from the northern mountain region.

The fishermen's association in Minatogawa has already been described. It may buy and distribute fishing gear, gas and oil, and other marine necessities.

Within the village itself, there are co-operative groups. The sugar mill co-operative of Hanashiro is typical. This has about 125 members, both men and women, and includes most of the families of the village. Each member pays to the association a fee for the use of the mill including the machinery and the cooking vessels. Of the fee, 60% goes to care and maintenance, 10% to the head of the co-operative who handles the administrative details, while 30% is held in reserve and redistributed as a rebate to members after the end of the season, if there is a surplus. The sugar is individually produced and sold. The village co-operative is concerned only with the care and maintenance of the mill and its facilities.

In Matsuda a pig raiser's co-operative (yōtonkumiai) has been started. The main emphasis is on breeding rather than on marketing. The group, which has about 61 members, is a result of the intense interest which has followed the introduction of American breeds. The head of this group is chosen by the membership. The organisation is interested in the diffusion of information on the care and breeding of pigs and its membership participates in regional meetings of pig raisers.

4

The Cash Economy of Rural Villages

The use of money in Okinawa seems to be recent. Hall and M'Leod in 1816 wrote that they observed no money, and that the Okinawans did not know its uses. Commodore Perry, who had a crisp reaction both to the Okinawans and to Hall's descriptions of them, said they knew "the value of gold and silver very well, and they traffic for the Chinese 'cash', of which from twelve to fourteen hundred are equivalent to the Spanish dollar." Chamberlain (1895) said that the Okinawans had

436 175 no native money and used the Japanese cash, and that the Japanese did not permit a native coinage.[2]

436 Up to the war, only bills of low denominations circulated in the villages. In Minatogawa, an old lady, now about 73, said that before the war she had never seen a Y100 note, which at that time was worth slightly over US$25. But since the 19th century, new conditions have pried the farmer loose from barter and self-sufficiency. There is little to warrant a belief that rural villages are self-sufficient. The most elementary obligations, such as sending one's children to school, require cash. An average rural family of five may require from Y40-60,000 a year. 434 511

Cash outlays include: (1) Entertainment, including the purchase of sake. Entertainment is an integral part of the culture and cannot be dismissed as a luxury. (2) Clothing. (3) Fertilizer. (4) Tobacco. (5) Soap. No soap is made in the home. American soap flakes are highly prized, but generally are not purchased because of the cost. (6) Hair cutting. (7) Food and food supplements, such as noodles and vermicelli types of paste, cooking oils, salt, soy sauce, meat, fish, seaweed (kombu), rice, if not grown and purchases from the import store. (8) Fuel, charcoal, charcoal sticks. (9) Transportation for business or pleasure. (10) Newspapers. Many subscriptions are cancelled when the price goes up. (11) Tools and tool repairs, but maintenance is small after the original investment. (12) School books and contributions to schools for purchasing special items. (13) Medicines and mid-wives' fees. (14) Occasional purchases of lumber, stone, or tile. (15) Taxes. [574] [388] [262] [204] [872] [651]

434 In the farming areas, sugar and pigs are the only significant sources of cash income. Sweet potatoes, rice, eggs, and soy beans may be sold, but the amounts are either too small or the selling price too low to provide substantial amounts of cash. Occasionally younger sons may have jobs which bring in money, and a farmer or his sons may have a horse cart for hire.

In Minatogawa, cash outlays, in addition to the items already mentioned, are required for nets, gasoline, and oil. Cash comes from sales of fish, pigs, and stone. The lack of rice, an insufficient sweet potato crop for year round needs, imports of firewood from the north and the occasional need to purchase grasses for thatch make this community more dependent on cash than the agricultural community. [511]

434 511 184 The economic problem of the fisherman is also different from that of the farmer. Both the farmer and the fisherman must pay cash for medicines, fertilizer, alcoholic drinks, clothing, various special but traditional articles of the diet, taxes, tools, and supplies. The farmer, however, can produce much of his food. He can exist on sweet potatoes, bean curd, and bean paste soup, and if need be may spend little money on food. The fisherman cannot exist on fish alone. Fishermen without fields must depend on cash earnings to buy the

2 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, Vol. I, 160, 220-21. Chamberlain, The Luchu islands and their inhabitants, Geo. journal 5 (1895), 313.

434 511 184 [437]

necessities of life. Fishermen are more accustomed to dealing in currency transactions and these are more frequent and freer than in the farming village.

The economic history of the average Okinawan agricultural village from the late 19th century when Japanese control became firm to the present is largely an account of the fluctuations in rice, sweet potato and sugar cane production. This history is difficult to reconstruct on a local level because of the destruction of records and inexact memories. The point is nevertheless worth making, if only to stress again that these villages are not isolated rural economies. The general experience seems to have been that crop acreages have contracted and expanded in response to local needs and to the demands of trade with Japan.

433 [439]

In the Hanashiro area, to use one example, there is a current interest in rice production because of its high value, and sugar cane seems to be displacing some sweet potato acreage. Sugar, even though coarse and unrefined, has a market in Japan strong enough to warrant production for the cash income at the expense of the cheap and plentiful sweet potato.

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One of the most significant facts of economic life in these villages has been the maintenance of individual farms and crop variety. Plantation monoculture, subject to international price fluctuations and often conducive to local impoverishment, has not developed.

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Private ownership in land, the inheritance of land within the family system, individual farms, tiny as they are, have undoubtedly been a stabilizing influence on these village economies.

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PART FIVE

FAMILY LIFE

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

CHAPTER XXXI

FROM INFANCY TO EARLY ADULTHOOD

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1 The Okinawan Midwife

2 Birth Customs and Convalescence

3 Naming the Child

4 The Early Years

5 The School Child

6 Young Adulthood and the Engagement

1

The Okinawan Midwife

Children are born under the care of a midwife (samba). Physicians do not attend at birth, but they may be called later if complications develop. Native doctors (yabu), who have now largely disappeared, are not consulted. One midwife may serve several villages. She is engaged some months before the expected birth. Midwives are highly respected. The older ones have added to their initial training a wealth of knowledge based on experience. A midwife in Ginosa village takes care of the expectant mothers of Matsuda and one in Gushichan village serves those of Hanashiro and Hinatogawa. Midwives long resident in an area are beloved by the children they have delivered. The children when adult visit her, or she is invited to the homes of those at whose birth she has assisted. 844 [059] [554] [574]

Prenatal examinations are made by the midwife in the 3rd, 5th, 7th, and 9th month of pregnancy, the most thorough of those being the last three. The mother goes to the midwife for the examinations, but the birth takes place in the home. A birth other than in one's home is considered bad luck. [843] [000]

Starting with the 5th month, the belly is wrapped around with a flannel sash (a haraobi). On the 5th month, it may be 7 shaku (about 7 feet) long and about 8 inches wide; by the ninth month, a 9 shaku length is used. The sash is not needed, in one midwife's opinion, during the last month of pregnancy, but it may be left on. While the sash is worn, it is taken off three times a month for laundering. The purpose of the binding is to keep the child in its natural position and to prevent it from turning and causing an abnormal delivery. 843 292

After birth, the child may be slapped on the backside if the mother has been in labor 17 hours or more. According to one midwife, the usual labor for a first child is about 17 hours, and 7 for the second. The midwife cuts the umbilical cord and may, but not always, dispose of the afterbirth (taiban, iya in Japanese). 844

In the villages, this may be disposed of by women relatives or by the father. It is buried, following an old custom, behind the house in a place where it does not rain. In Matsuda, women relatives wrap the placenta in a cloth and bury it, while friends, relatives, and children gather around and laugh. There are variants of this custom. In Hinatogawa, the afterbirth is wrapped in a cloth and buried back of the house by the father. Neighboring children gather and laugh while this is going on. The reason for the laughing is that the new born child may always smile and be gay. In another variant, the father alone does the laughing. In all villages studied, this custom in its variants still has vitality. [184]

According to a Ginosa midwife, maternal death in child birth is unusual. Hanashiro women said the same. Miscarriages in early 165 843

843 pregnancy are also said to be rare, although miscarriages in later pregnancy up to two or three months before the birth are more numerous because of the continuing heavy work of the mother in the fields. The mother in the agricultural village normally works up to the time for
844 the birth. She eats her normal diet. After birth, the child is placed on a large comforter (futon) beside the mother.

The midwife, after delivery, goes once a day for a week to the mother's home. Her fee is not decided upon before hand, but according
[841] to custom, averages Y350 for a normal and Y500 for a difficult birth,
[965] a low fee probably enforced by the poverty and lack of cash of farm families. (In Naha corresponding fees are said to be Y1-2000).

853 There is no uniform way of feeding the child after birth. In most cases the child is not breast fed until after the third day due to the fact that mothers have little milk at this time. The first, second, and the third days it is fed warm water with small amounts of white sugar, but this is by no means universal. Some mothers have said that they give the child the breast 4 or 5 hours after birth. In any case, the child very quickly becomes accustomed to feeding at the breast, and this continues for an indeterminate period, depending on the mother and the child. It may be for two years, or until the next
[862] child comes. In all communities studied, other arrangements are made in the unlikely event that the mother does not have milk of her own. The child may be given evaporated cow's milk or friends or relatives nurse the child. In Minatogawa, if a woman has special duties or takes a trip out of town and cannot take her child with her, she can pay to have it nursed.

843 One belief regarding pregnancy still exists among the old in the Ginoza area. If a new house is being built during the pregnancy of the woman of the house, the cap of the roof is not put on until after the birth has taken place.

2

Birth Customs and Convalescence

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[184] In Minatogawa, and to a much lesser extent in Hanashiro, birth customs are related to certain beliefs about the pig pen. These were not known in Hateuda. In the two southern villages they have virtually disappeared, except among the old. According to a Hanashiro farmer's
[189] wife, the child on the day of its birth is washed, dressed in new clothes, and carried to the pig pen, which is supposed to frighten away evil spirits (bakemono).[1]
[See footnote 1, bottom of p. 257--analyst]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

away evil spirits (bakemono).[1] From the pig sty the child is then taken to the kitchen, where a pot of rice has been cooking. Soot from the outside of the pot is taken up with the middle finger of the right hand and a round black spot pressed on the forehead above the bridge of the nose between the eyebrows. The reason for this could not be ascertained. 844 852

Beliefs in the power of a pig sty to ward off evil spirits are still held in Minatogawa and the customs were generally practiced up to the beginning of the war. But these beliefs were related more to celebrations following the birth of the child than to the birth itself. The elements of these beliefs seemed to be that the afterworld was close to this world. If a child were not protected, the spirits of the afterworld would steal the child and take him back. The party celebrating the birth lasted a whole week, usually starting each evening about 8 and ending at 8 the following morning. Guests stayed up all night to prevent the child from being stolen, for if anyone went to sleep, the spirit would enter. Spirits followed behind the guest and were especially dangerous after 10 at night. The spirits however were frightened by the pigs; guests arriving during the danger hours went to the pig pen first to scare off the spirit following them, before entering the house. There was no evidence, in the parties I attended, of any present observance of this custom by young parents. The week of all night parties is no longer held. 854 776 231 [572] [574] [183]

These beliefs were found in Minatogawa. Hamashire informants had heard of such customs, but were vague about them. While their seeming absence in Matsuda may be due to incomplete data, there may be another explanation. These beliefs may have been picked up by fishing people from other sources. [184]

One other birth custom known as jiru belongs to the recent history of the island. Jiru, as explained in Chapter V, is a fire place sunk in the floor of an Okinawan house, often in the corner of the dining room which adjoins a hall or a sleeping room, and near the kitchen. Convalescence was called jiru because mother and child warmed themselves by the device. Today convalescence may be called jiru, though it has nothing to do with the old custom, which in the literature has been referred to as "roasting." 846 [354]

1 When I discussed this and the following beliefs relating to pigs with people in Matsuda, they ridiculed them and said there was no truth in it, implying that people in the south did not know what they were talking about. Subsequent rechecking convinced me that this was not so and that the beliefs in Minatogawa represent differences in the rural culture. 184

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In Matsuda, the jiru used after childbirth was either a small fireplace about three feet square set in the floor or an ordinary brazier (hibachi). The mother and the child were put in a dark sleeping room outfitted with the warmer. Sometimes the entire body of the mother was heated; in other cases, she seems to have placed herself so that the vagina received most of the heat. This was done regardless of season and happened in the hottest summer. The mother and child stayed in this room for 20 days. Attending female relatives went in and out only to keep things clean and to take care of the laundry. This form of jiru is said to have been practiced in Matsuda until 10 or 15 years ago.

In Hanashiro, this custom of warming was substantially the same. Regardless of season, the mother with her child retired to a dark room heated with a stove or a brazier. The mother nursed the child and no one entered or disturbed the two except for necessary attentions. No special portions of the body were heated. According to one Hanashiro woman, this custom existed up to 1940.[2] In present day practice, the mother rests for about 9 days including the day the child is born. During this period, the two are left alone. Necessary changes of clothing are put out and washed by female relatives. Following the rest period, the mother gets up, female friends and relatives clean the place thoroughly, and the house is back to normal.

In Minatogawa, warming is said to have disappeared about 20 years ago. The present period of convalescence lasts also about 9 days, with visits by grandparents on the day of birth, friends of the father on the second day, and those of the mother on the third.

[M]
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These customs seem to have died out because of the introduction, through Japan, of modern medicine and the growth of midwifery. The knowledge of a Japanese trained midwife is based on a study of anatomy and a thorough exposition of child birth and child care. Some lore, such as lucky days, and the reckoning of the tide enter, but her techniques are based on medical practice.[3]

2 An old man, a village official, said warming had disappeared 30 years ago, but in this matter the mother's testimony is probably the more reliable. In either event, both point to the relative recency of the practice.

3 One Japanese midwife uses as her guide two volumes by Kinoshita, Seichu. Sanbagakukogi (Lectures on the Science of Midwifery), 1923. Vol. I deals with normal, Vol. II with difficult deliveries.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Naming the Child

On the day of his birth, the child is given a name, but this is not the one it carries throughout life. The latter name, sometimes called the school name, may be given 5 days after birth, counting the date of the birth. This custom of double naming is still used in Hanashiro and Hinatogawa, though, according to local residents, it disappeared from Matsuda ten years ago. It is hard to discover the reasons for this double naming. Perhaps the first name is a temporary one to be used for the first crucial days of the child's life. If he survives, he receives his permanent one. This name, while known to the child, is not ordinarily retained when he gets his second name. Among the very old, however, some of these first names have been retained through life.[4] In Hanashiro, young and old alike may be known by both names, but the younger are apt to use the full given name. Adults and the old are known by both names. 553 [184]

The names given on the birth day are often the occasion of laughter, as some have the same pronunciation as common names of household utensils, agricultural tools, or domestic animals. The following list was obtained in Hanashiro but the same names were equally familiar in the other villages. (1) Ushi, given to males and females. Ushi is also the word for cattle. (2) Kame, also the word for a turtle or a tortoise. (3) Tsuru, also a stork or crane. (4) Nta, given to both sexes, the Okinawan word for pig. (5) Handu, also a water barrel. (6) Kama, also a sickle. (7) Nabi, a pot.[5] 551

These are homonyms. The name is written in hiragana or katakana (the Japanese syllabaries), not with the Chinese character of its homonym. Hence it would be incorrect to say that the child is named "Cow," "Pig," "Pot," etc. [212]

In Matsuda, up to about 30 years ago, according to one informant, if a wife gave birth to a child in the husband's absence, the eldest relative present gave the child a name of the sex opposite its own, apparently to avoid bad luck by resort to contrariety. When mothers gave birth to a child in the toilet, it was named nta or nta, apparently referring to the identity of the toilet and the pig pen. 849 553 [111]

4 This is apparent in analyzing the family registers (koseki)

5 Other names are Tamachi (female); Umato (female in Hanashiro); Makatu (f); Chiru (f); Taru (male and female); Jiro (m); Saburu (m and f but scarce); Miyo (m); Ume (f); Kanashi (f), and Kana (m and f).

553 The first naming of children is done at a ceremony on the day of birth, or on the following day, if the birth took place at night. It is known as uibari. There is a small gathering of
[262] relatives. Soup, rice, and a little sake may be served. Ordinary rice or rice cakes (mochigome) may be prepared and put on the
[780] Buddhist god shelf. If a boy, the relatives and parents pray for his strength, if a girl for her good health. Uibari, an Okinawan word, is also known as ichiban no iwai (Japanese). The ceremony precedes the burying of the afterbirth.

553 One important element in the naming of a child on its day of
823 birth is the state of the tide. The child is named only if the tide is coming in. It is not necessary that the tide be high. Perhaps midpoint is the best, though high tide is considered good. Practically everyone can calculate the time when the tide is coming in or out; since they all know the lunar calendar with a cycle completed in 15 days, it is a simple calculation.[6] The explanation always given for calculating the tide on this and other occasions is that when the tide is coming in, fortune and happiness will enter in the new life or the new situation. When the tide is ebbing, everything goes out and away.

852 The real celebration of the birth of a child occurs several days after birth. It usually occurs on the 5th or 6th day counting the birth day. This is known as nansan (Okinawan) and is in honor of the good health of the mother and the child. In Japanese, it is also called muikajari.[7] In all communities studied, the week long all night celebration has disappeared, though the celebration of nansan might last well into the night.

One celebration, observed in Hinatagawa, is probably typical of the thousands that take place every year in rural Okinawa. The guests came early in the evening to the parents' home, or, as in this case, to the home of the child's grandfather, since the father, a first son, lived in his parents' home. The men sat in the first room (ichiban),
[562] the women in the second (nibanza), following custom in parties in which both sexes are present. The head of the house, the grandfather, sat in front of the alcove (tokonoma) of the first room. The child's father
[576] sat next to him. Each guest went on his knees, bowed, congratulated the father and presented him with a small money gift. The usual gift
[931] is about Y20. This was accepted by the father, who then responded with a short speech. Sometimes these are formal and stiff, sometimes like a simple conversation. The guests also congratulated the

6 The method of computing times of high and low tide will be given later. The tide is important in the marriage ceremony, when moving into a new house, or when moving, in the case of a second or succeeding son, from a main house to establish a branch family, and at a child's party on the first anniversary of its birth.

7 The day was variously given me as 4-5th, 6th, and 7th day after birth. Muika in muikajari means 6th day.

grandparents. The food was then served: noodles cooked with vegetables, with a slight fish flavor; rolls; tempura, a sort of fritter; a fish cake known as kamobuko with a red border symbolizing happiness, and plenty of sake (amamori). A streamer hung from the ceiling near the alcove, announcing the name and date of birth of the new born child, together with the written wish that she might live any number of 10,000 year periods. There are no special ceremonies on these occasions. Some guests drop in for a few minutes, others remain for the whole evening. The women and the children go home early, while the men continue talking and drinking. This celebration is the first of a series that continues through a person's life, and if his descendants are devoted, will end 33 years after his death. After this celebration, things settle down until the child's first birthday. 852 [262] [212]

At present a child's age is reckoned in the same way as the Western custom. A child is one year old one year after the date of his birth. This is a recent innovation in force since January 1, 1950. Formerly age was reckoned in the Chinese and Japanese manner. A child born during a year was one year old and on the following New Year became two years of age. Thus a child born on December 27 would be two on January 1. The difference between the Chinese-Japanese and the western reckoning is that the former counts the years during which a person lives with New Years as the date for increasing the age, the latter counts the number of one year periods in which a person has lived. 805 [M]

The old system of reckoning age is inconvenient and conceals age differences. A one day difference might mean a year's difference in age in the case of a child born on December 31, and another on January 1. Determining the actual age of a person was troublesome. When children started to school, they might be 6, 7, or 8 years old and still be about the same actual age.

4

The Early Years

In all the villages studied, the women returned to their normal tasks about a month after childbirth. When the mother returns to the fields, the grandmother may accompany mother and child to the fields, the grandmother watching the child, while the mother nurses it at 10, 1, and 4. If the grandmother is too old and disabled, the child might stay home with the grandmother and the mother return from the fields to feed the child. Lacking help of this kind, the mother remains at home until the other children have returned from school. 846 854 853 603

But arrangements of this sort need not last long, for very early in life the child is strapped on the back and carried around 854

854 wherever the mother goes. The age at which this begins varies, some saying 20 days, others two months. But on the average, it probably is about one month.

[171] This custom, known as onbu in Japanese, is identical with the practice in rural Japan. The child is strapped on by crossing the sash in front of the mother, crisscrossing it above the baby's [482] buttocks, and then bringing the binding around the mother's waist where the sash is securely tied in front. In the summer, the child may only wear a diaper-like garment. The child is carried on the back until he begins to walk. But there is often a long transition period, and the child is carried at times long after he has learned to walk, perhaps until he is 3 years of age. I have seen boys of 4 still being carried on the mother's back.

At one time or another, the infant is carried by every member of the family physically able to do so, the child accommodating itself effortlessly to the activities of his elder. Its longest continual contact is with the mother. A mother does most of her chores with the child on her back. The child is with her when she is scrubbing the plank floors on her knees, carrying in firewood, building a fire, cooking, when she is turning the quern to make bean curd, shopping, or doing the laundry. If occasion requires, she unstraps the child, changes the diaper-like cloth, for diapers are unusual, and allows it to sleep a while on the thick comforter.

[857] When school is out, the mother may get a rest. The baby is taken over by the eldest girl. In communities where there are many girls, few young boys are seen carrying their young brothers or sisters, although carrying by boys is very common in the absence of elder sisters. Sometimes older children begin so young that they look small under the load of a fat or plump baby. In the fishing village, a father might walk around in the evening either with the child strapped on his back, or if the child is big enough, he puts his arms around the father's neck and his legs around the father's waist. Occasionally in the agricultural villages, a father carries a small child around in his work basket. The basket is tied to the end of a pole which rests on the shoulder. Children enjoy this.

Children who carry the babies around do not allow this to interfere with their activities. They play games, such as tag, hide and [857] seek, and a kind of hop scotch. They walk surefootedly along the sharp, and often dangerous, coral rocks of the seashore, along narrow hill or mountain paths, wherever inclination leads them.

The ability of the infant child to sleep under these circumstances is remarkable. Once the child is strapped on the back, he is given little further attention. He seldom cries unless in discomfort. Most often he goes to sleep. His head in sleep frequently falls at right angles with the shoulders, and he sleeps like this while his mother

is bending and stooping, or while his older brother or sister is 854
running or jumping. The ease with which adults sleep is equally remarkable. On buses in Okinawa, I have seen men and women with their heads against window sashes, while the bus bounces over the 513
rough roads. Sharp cracks on the head are unavoidable, and to one unaccustomed to it, would be very painful. But people sleep like this, with their heads knocking against the hard surface of the bus, for miles.

This carrying of the child continues regardless of season. 854
In the winter, coats are put over or around the child's body. One of the obvious and most important facts about Okinawan child rearing is this custom of carrying the child on the back. But it is difficult to say precisely what this importance is. Certainly in this way the child has continuous contact from earliest infancy with the life around him. He is not accustomed to being alone, except for an occasional hour during the day when he may sleep on a blanket. At night he sleeps with his mother. A child does not have to be introduced to the world. He is not shielded in a crib. From early infancy he has seen and been almost every place in the village and learns to know many whom he will know throughout life.

This "public" and community life from earliest infancy is one 571
of the outstanding features of Okinawan culture, a characteristic 177
which it shares with-and which is derived from-Japan. One of the surprises is that despite these contacts with all phases of village experience, the child, as it grows older, becomes quite shy. This 157
is true of boys and girls, and continues in my observation from the age of puberty up to marriage. No person who has had any contact with Okinawans fails to notice this shyness. The Okinawans use the Japanese word hasukashii to describe it, and, in this connection, the meaning is something between a feeling of shyness, self-consciousness, and shame. The shyness often does not disappear until marriage or even until the birth of the first child, when father and mother take their place as mature and responsible adults.

Two recent observers who analyzed the reactions of Okinawans 155
under the stress of war have thought that early and continuous 114
breast feeding is largely responsible for giving the child, from earliest infancy, a sense of security. While this thesis was advanced out of intimate experience (mostly in the wartime hospital at Ginosa village), it must, in my opinion, be qualified considerably.[8] The period during which the child is breast fed is but one period in the formative years of childhood. Besides breast feeding is no monopoly of the Okinawans. Neither is carrying on the back confined to them. The period immediately after the child is taken off the back and begins to walk is a difficult one for most children. This

8 See Moloney, James C. Psychiatric observations in Okinawa Shima. The psychology of the Okinawan. Psychiatry 8 (1945), 391-99. Moloney, James C. and Biddle, Charles R. A psychiatric hospital in military government, ibid, 400-01.

155 is an impression, and I doubt that Okinawan mothers would agree
114 with me. The toddler stage, in my opinion, is a difficult one for the Okinawan child. It is an abrupt change from the continuous care and physical contact of infancy. This transition need not necessarily be abrupt. A child may be carried some and walk some. As he learns to walk, his mother is near him.

857 When the child is no longer carried, he ceases to be an observer and becomes a participant in play. Formerly he watched the activities of the older children and smiled to the attention when it was given. Now he wishes to catch up with them as they walk down the lanes; he is often left behind and is not fast enough nor expert enough to keep up. This is a problem of childhood everywhere, but I believe here
155 that the transition from one type of activity to another is more drastic. The child also receives less attention from his parents,
855 especially from his mother. This most mothers would deny. But I have often seen parents walking along a village lane, a toddler behind them crying and trying hard to keep up with them. They showed less solicitude and patience with him than they had when he was being carried. The mother gives less attention to the child during this period, particularly if she has had another child. In this, I do not mean to imply any lack of kindness or tenderness in the treatment of children, but to point out a change of emphasis. There is much more crying in the 2 to 3 year age groups than among infants who cry very little because they are entertained so much.

The toddler not only has the problem of becoming a participant in play, but of getting along without the close attention of the mother, his elder sisters, and possibly brothers.

855 Children are rather regularly spaced. The middle child of the
[842] lower three is most likely to be neglected. The baby is on the mother's back; he gets his breast feeding and is always with the mother. The older child has started to school or is leading an active play life. The middle child, too young for school and only tolerated by the older child who has his own interests, is too old for the breast and the back. The successful transition from the back carrying and breast feeding stage to walking and to the stage of independent play seems most successful when there are many children of the same age in the village, and consequently absorption in play can replace the intimate attention of parents and older siblings. A father may fill in this gap, allowing his young child to accompany him to work, but this experience generally belongs to a later period of childhood.

853 As the infant grows, nursed by the mother, he gradually receives
262 other foods, but the variety depends on the economic status of the family. The first food (other than the mother's milk) is rice water. Later rice is made into a gruel. The rice is soaked and mashed up in a quern. Families who have rice fields, or who can buy rice, may delay feeding the sweet potato to the child until the third year. Among the poor, sweet potato feeding begins much earlier. One

mother, for example, fed her child rice gruel (okayū) at eight months and at the age of one year the child began eating sweet potatoes. By the time the child is ready to walk and play, he often carries with him a piece of sweet potato, and, in season, a piece of sugar cane. 853 262

A party is held on the first birthday anniversary of the child. This is more elaborate than the one which honored his birth. Birthdays are not celebrated each year. After the first anniversary, the next are on the 13th, 25th, 37th, 49th, and 61st birthdays, that is, at twelve year intervals. 852 527

The party for the first birthday of a child is particularly tender and affectionate. At one year, he can walk or stumble, and answer or smile to the calls of his parents and grandparents. He can pick up things, throw them, and make his presence felt. The exhibition of these skills becomes part of the celebration. It is customary to invite both relatives and friends, who bring a small money present, from Y20 which is usual to Y100 which is uncommon. [856]

During the party, the child is given several symbolic gifts. These are placed on a low table in the middle of the room which the child can easily walk to and reach. Usually the gifts are a book, a fountain pen (or a writing brush, fude), an abacus (soroban), and a stack of paper money. These symbolize the wish that the child will become proficient in learning, writing, counting and mathematics, and will become rich. The child is eagerly watched as he unsteadily toddles to the table to see which article he picks up first. While the act is not taken seriously, the article which the child picks up first is supposed to indicate the field of endeavor in which he will be most fortunate. 527 852 431 [212] [802] [554]

These parties, small or large, include men, women, and children, but the majority of the guests usually are men. After the child has gone to bed, the party continues. In more formal and larger parties, the guests first come up to the father, go on their knees, bow, and make a short speech of congratulation. Sometimes these speeches sound as if they are prepared beforehand, other times as if they are spoken spontaneously. There is an exchange of sake between the father and his guest, both sipping from the same cup, the usual custom. The mother and the female relatives during this time are in the kitchen preparing the food. 852 527 [576] [537]

Women sit by themselves. This is true of all celebrations when the sexes are together. Women do not drink. (In a similar party near Matsuda, the old women--usually over 60--drank a little). The jolly old women also love to dance solos in the traditional style. They dance with grace and vigor. The evening progresses without any planned entertainment. There is talking and drinking, singing, and samisen playing. Men, with a repertoire of Okinawan songs, sing in [562] [535] [887] [533]

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a harsh, often rasping voice. Only men play the Okinawan samisen, a stringed instrument slightly different from its Japanese counterpart. Men also join in the dancing.

In a village parties on the fifth or sixth day after the birth of a child and on his first birthday happen frequently. They are an important part of social life. A relative or a friend is always celebrating one or the other occasion, either in the village or in a neighboring one. These celebrations increase, especially for the men, the number of social occasions and recreational opportunities during the year in a culture where holidays and rest days are comparatively few. (There are no weekly rest days or week ends).

After the first birthday, little attention is paid to the succeeding ones until the thirteenth. The child's experience from the time he begins to walk until he reaches school comes from family
861 life and neighborhood play. In my observation, there is no rigid, customary way of bringing up the child. It is toilet trained around one year of age. This does not seem to be forced. Training comes
863 through imitation. Parents do not punish the child for indiscretions, though they are quick to lift him off the mat if he begins wetting. With young boys, the father may make a hissing sound while the child's penis is out. One has the impression that it is a gradual transition, mostly effected by imitation or gentle suasion.

304 Male children are not circumcised. Circumcision is known only to those who have learned of it through books, foreign residence, or from others who have this information.[9]

867 In early training, boys are not taught that they are superior to girls. But when she reaches school age, the girl is likely to be kept
562 busier around the house. Before the war, there may have been a greater subordination of girls to boys. But any conscious training of girls to subordinate themselves to boys is unnecessary. The child grows up in a culture in which the father is waited on, the sons favored in inheritance, and in which the men have a richer social life.

855 Parents are kind to their children. They seldom spank a child,
593 though an exasperated parent may give the child a sharp slap. There is little nagging or shouting at children in anger. In my opinion,

9 Two young men, school teachers about 23 years old, expressed great astonishment when asked about circumcision. They did not know it existed.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

there is little forcing of children,[10] In my opinion and this might be just as significant in accounting for the easy going security of Okinawans as that coming from breast feeding and carrying on the back. But a single element explanation is not a fruitful approach to this complex subject. 861 155

The chief factors in child development, in my observation, are the child's early and continuous contact with the mother, and the "public" life of the child[11] and its early exposure to the activities, the admonishments, the corrections, the admiration, and the fondling of others. Older women of the village have a major part in this, but young men and women look after a child, advise it, correct it, perhaps feed it. This "public" life is made easier because a child carried on the back, or toddling, or, later, in walking is seldom out of the view of a relative. It is common to talk with a villager in a public place and to discover that two or three of the children playing there are cousins, nieces, nephews, or more distant relatives. It is this combination of impressions and pressures, in my opinion, rather than planned training, which induces conformity and makes a child part of the village life. Certainly the standards of public and private behavior, transmitted from the parent, is reinforced at a much earlier age than in American society, by community approval, disapproval, and assistance. Part of this is due to the fact that a village, even its government, takes on some of the attributes of a large family. 861 [867]

Okinawan rural children grow up speaking Okinawan (Okinawago). There is no standard Okinawan and local dialectical differences are very marked. The chief distinctions seem to be in accent and 197

[text continues top of p. 268 -- analyst]

10 There is an interesting passage in Captain Hall's voyage. Hall's party observed a boy tumbling. He stopped when he saw he was observed and could not be induced to continue. Hall's company asked an Okinawan friend to get the boy to continue. This he did without success, and feigned anger when the boy would not go on. Thereupon the persuasion stopped, the Okinawan observing, "It was for his own amusement that he began, and probably for his own amusement he will do so again." The boy resumed his tumbling when he was ignored. Hall wrote that the Okinawan showed good sense in not compelling the boy to continue "that as a task, which he had begun as an amusement, and which he had discernment enough to know would be unpleasant for us to witness in any other way. By this treatment of their children, mutual cordiality and freedom of intercourse are encouraged. It was probably owing to this mode of education that the children became at once familiar with us." Account of a voyage to west Corea and the Great Loochoo, as cited, 211. [861] [155]

11 This happy phrase, I believe, was first used by Miss A. M. Bacon in her still excellent book, Japanese girls and women, New York, 1907.

197 pronunciation. The people in Matsuda could distinguish and identify villagers from other places, even though the villages were close to one another.[12] Okinawan is the language of social and everyday life. In Matsuda, it seemed to be supplanted by Japanese more than in the
191 other two villages. Japanese is used in official contacts and in dealing with foreigners. Pre-school children know very little Japanese. Their parents do not teach them the language, and they grow up speaking the village dialect. The only exception is that parents teach the child a few Japanese words of greeting, formalities, and expressions of thanks.

524 Children lack the toys and playthings they had prior to the war. At present they are a miscellaneous collection of rocks, pieces of wood, tin cans, twigs, branches, and anything which circumstance or childish improvisation can provide. In play, there is a great deal of running and catching, hide and seek, and games like hop scotch.
[526] After beginning school, play has a more formal character, with dances, games, and organized athletics.

857 Sleeping habits, especially those of children, are in part the result of circumstance, in part of custom, and it is difficult to
513 separate the two. Children, often up to the age of 14 or 15, sleep with an older member of the family. In one Hanashiro family, the last born sleeps with the mother and the father until the next child comes. The older children sleep in another room with the grandmother or grandfather. If there are no elder relatives, the whole family may sleep together. This practice frequently is forced by economy and necessity. The war destroyed homes and the rebuilt ones are small. Blankets are expensive. In the better homes before the war, if there were plenty of blankets, rooms, and mosquito nets, children 8 years and over had their own sleeping rooms, or at least their own heavy blanket or cot. The farmer or fisherman does not use a bed or a cot. Now and then they are used by younger adults with a taste for western beds. But even before the war, 15 and 16 year olds often slept with parents or grandparents.

Children from different houses also sleep together after they have begun school. Children come to a house to play, and, when bed time comes, they go to sleep in the house of their playmates. These sleeping groups are common when classmates meet during the evening for study. The village is so small that there is no alarm at a child's absence. An old grandmother living by herself may have many children sleeping with her overnight, spreaded out in various positions on a comforter, protected by the very large mosquito net (kaya) so universal in Okinawa.

12 No attempt was made to study language, linguistics, or dialectical differences. To be profitable, these subjects must be studied by technically trained linguists.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

The custom of a whole family sleeping together was common, if not universal, before the war. It is the mother or the grandmother, rather than the father or a male relative, whose company is sought after. This does not imply strained relationships with the father. Fathers are not stern. They often take care of infant children, or hold them while the mother tends to household tasks.[13]

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In western industrialized nations, we are so accustomed to the division of labor between the father and the mother, in which the father's work is away from home and the mother takes care of the home and has continuous daily contact with the children, that we might overlook the fact that similar conditions exist in less complex cultures as well. In these rural villages, the father is absent a great deal of the time. He may be in and out of the house several times during the day, he may eat his noon meal at home, or he may stay home several hours at a time doing chores in the courtyard. But the greater part of his time is spent away from home, in the paddy field, the sweet potato patch, at the quarry, or at sea, as the case may be. The father frequently is absent in the evenings, for he has the evening social life. Except for infrequent bus trips to shop in a larger town, a mother's absences from the house are of very short duration. The Okinawan wife and mother is almost always at home, or in a nearby field where here children can find her. A child's chief attachments seem to be to the mother. Though this is an impression, there seems also to be a long period of dependence on the parent. This does not mean dependence for food and shelter, for young men and women soon acquire skills which make them self-reliant. It is a more subtle dependence, but the post-war period may be changing this to some extent because of newer opportunities for leadership among the young.[14]

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The School Child

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The child enters primary school when he is around 6 years old. His teacher, more likely than not, will be a young man. The child now begins learning the required basic knowledge: the use of the brush or the pen in writing the Chinese character, elementary arithmetic,

13 In Matsuda, in a conversation with six boys ranging in age from 13-15, one of them asked if boys their age in America had separate rooms for sleeping. When told that they did, if this were possible, their response was unfavorable. They said they would be too far away from their mother. All of them wanted to sleep in the same room with their mother.

14 A 70 year old retired school teacher in one village complained that Okinawan children and young people have no independence and are not always relying on their parents for decisions. Age had not brought Confucian orthodoxy to this old man. He could not be accused of blindly insisting on filial obedience.

872 calculating on the abacus, and a variety of other subjects. (These topics will be discussed in the chapter on education.

292 The pre-war school childrens' uniform is no longer obligatory.
291 Children wear what they have and what their parents can afford. The
302 girl frequently wears the familiar blue serge smock but more often her clothing is varied. Her hair has bangs in front and is cut straight, about on the level with the ear lobe. Neither do the boys wear prescribed clothing. With them too, it is a matter of what they have. A boy's hair is closely clipped to his head and will remain cut this way until he leaves junior high school, although this style also is no longer compulsory. He may have a school boy's cap, but this is not officially designated. It may be tan, white, blue, or olive drab, resembling either a military or a baseball type cap. Above the brim there is a metal tag with an abbreviation of the school name written in a Chinese character.

857 Three important new experiences come to him as a result of his
883 school life. The first of these is participation in school maintenance and upkeep. One of the commonest sights in any Okinawan primary, junior high, or high school is to see children working around the buildings and grounds under the supervision of their teachers. After typhoons, which destroy many of the rude, temporary, and rebuilt buildings, they 15 straighten out the debris, and help in putting on a new thatched roof. The tasks done by school children and their teachers are those customarily performed by janitors and custodians in our school system. In junior or senior high school, if the child lives far away from the school, he may board there as well.

526 His second experience is with organized athletics. Much of this instruction is pointed to the annual athletic meets (undōkai) which have a remarkable hold in Okinawa on students, teachers, parents, and the rest of the villagers alike. This organized athletic training is a
[177] Japanese introduction, but earlier accounts of a period when Japanese cultural influence was more nominal point to a love of games, races, and ball among the people.

572 The third of these new experiences is the formation of attachments with children in his own class. These friendships exist throughout life. The words, dōnen or dōsei, meaning the same year or the same age, are used by mature men and women to describe these early friendships. Close friendships almost invariably have had their origins in early close association in the same grade at school.

15 As is true of school boys the world over, truancy is not unheard of. Every once in a while, especially in junior high school, three or four boys report to the principal or his assistant because of absence from this work--but not from classes.

During the primary and junior high school years, no exacting demands are made at home. Young girls after school strap the baby on their back and go out to play, or they may fetch water from the well, pond, or faucet, carrying it home in buckets hanging from a pole resting on their shoulders, or they may help in preparing the evening meal. Younger boys, 12 and over, help with feeding the pigs or run errands, but they have more leisure than the girls. There is night study at home, including practice on the abacus and reading to which the parents listen, correcting the errors. Formal education, for a large majority, ends with the completion of junior high school. 857 883 [482] [871]

As children grow older, they continue in off hours to help around the home, help which follows the lines of the male and female division of labor of adulthood. This is not a strict division, as there are many areas in which both sexes do common chores. In the agricultural villages, girls continue to help around the home, carry water, and hoe in the sweet potato patches. In the fishing village, they also carry water, help with the laundry, and start helping the older women in selling and distributing fish. The boys work more in the paddies. In the fishing village, they may make trips to the sea, but as a rule, this does not begin until later. [462]

For those who go to senior high school, there is a noticeable change from the earlier school experience. They enter at about 14 or 15 and remain in high school 3 years. It is a period of growing maturity, and the older they get the shyer they seem to become. Girl's hair is allowed to grow longer, perhaps to neck or shoulder length, less often in long braids, and the bangs remain. A big change takes place in the hair styles of the boys. The close clipped haircut is abandoned and the hair is allowed to grow long. Often it is not cut at all on the top, so that in two or three years, it has acquired considerable length. 873 856 302

The child who leaves school at the end of primary or junior high school is more quickly absorbed in the daily work life and traditional occupations of the family. The senior high school student has teaching, clerking, translating, or other white collar work in mind. The boy who leaves school earlier might drive a truck or a horse cart, or adopt the occupation of his father. This is likely to be a time killing period for those young men who live in the fishing village or whose families lack land. 463

6

Early Adulthood and the Engagement

In early adulthood and before marriage, a son of the house might be given a separate room or a small outlying shed which he fixes up for himself. The young girls, more and more, assume full time duties in the home, relieving the mother. Often the mother and her young daughter work together in the fields. These mature young girls also may take over the care of younger children. Young men from 17 on are 885 868

885 well accustomed to the routine of the occupation they will follow.
888 The young fisherman has gone to sea for his beginning lessons. The young farmer knows most of the skills of planting and cultivating. The young stone worker, requiring little training to begin, is already at work.

885 593 A64 Young men maintain close relationships with their families prior to marriage. In the villages studied, there is little movement to the larger towns. Since the war young men or women have found employment, at various times, in government and military government offices as account clerks, maids, translators, clerks at post exchanges, officer's clubs, restaurants, bars, and the like. But there were few instances in these villages.

A young man does not leave the village ordinarily, nor does he rent separate living quarters. These continuing family ties up to marriage may account for the boyishness and lack of maturity noticeable in so many young men in the age group from 17 to 25. The young school teacher, the truck driver, fisherman, or farmer may turn over part of his earnings to the parents. In rural Okinawa, residence in the home and attachment to the family last well into the years of younger maturity. This does not mean that there are no personal dissatisfactions with their situation.

834 There are few outward signs of personal attraction among young men and women during the teens and the years before marriage. In public, boys and young men of the same age group usually are seen together. This is true of the girls. Clandestine meetings among young men and young women take place. A mutual attraction is often communicated by a young go-between trusted by both. This secrecy does not come about from a desire to conceal the attraction, but because both parties are shy (hazukashii). This public reticence, so old in [178] Oriental cultures, is gradually breaking down. It is a convention, based on public repression of one's feelings. This does not mean that people dislike personal and physical contact and lack demonstrativeness. [159] Okinawans are emotional and demonstrative, and do not avoid physical contact, as anyone who has seen them at their parties has discovered.[16]

But young men and young women may meet quite openly. A young man in his early twenties may visit a girl's house, stay all day with her and her parents, and part of the time be alone with her. The young,

16 It is too early to tell the effect of ideas of sex equality on rural Okinawan society. That the supposed high position of the American woman has made an impression on many rural Okinawan women there can be no doubt. The influence of young American soldiers and sailors, their catering and thoughtfulness toward Okinawan girls to whom they [177] are deeply attracted has spread beyond the range of those with the immediate experience. The soldiers are responsible for the adoption of the word, "honey." Okinawan boys use it in the same sense as [832] Americans: as any very attractive girl, or as a girl deeply loved personally.

who are less shy, can meet and enjoy one another's company under socially approved conditions. 834

The engagement (uino in Japanese, sakimui in Okinawan) varies with individuals and villages. In this respect it is like the marriage ceremony. A one year engagement period is considered long. In one instance of a formal engagement taken from Hanashiro, the young man goes to the girl's house, taking a small amount of sake with him. The parents of both principals are present. The group makes a short prayer, before the Buddhist god shelf, that the two will be a happy couple. The sake is placed on the god shelf. In Hinatogawa, the prospective groom's parents prepare a small feast, and they and the boy go to the bride's house. The food offering is put on the god shelf. The two young people promise to marry. In another variant, from Hatsuda, the boy takes a food offering and sake to the girl's house. The two eat together and promise to marry at a drink exchange (kampai) in which they alternately sip, as is the custom in Okinawa, out of the same cup. From Hatsuda there was still another variant in which the boy was not involved. His mother met the girl's mother and her female relatives in the girl's house. Sake was given to the relatives of the girl. The girl's mother agreed to give her daughter up, the boy's mother agreed that the prospective daughter-in-law would be received in his family. 584 184 [illegible]

All these variants have this in common, that the engagement symbolizes an act that is more than the decision of two young people. It involves the families as well.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

CHAPTER XIV

MARRIAGE

1 Marriage Customs

2 The Marriage Ceremony

3 Contemporary Attitudes Toward Marriage

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Marriage Customs

There are two ways of entering into marriage. One of these, the traditional form, found in China, Korea, and Japan, is the arranged marriage (mi-ai in Japanese). The selection of the partner, the betrothal, and the marriage are conducted by the families as principals, although the young people may be consulted. The second is free choice in marriage (ren-ai), in which young people decide for themselves. Ren-ai is often translated as "romantic love," but a more accurate, if more sedate meaning is free, but not unrestricted, choice in marriage. 581 [171]

The arranged marriage and the use of a go-between in the negotiations exist in the villages studied. But the arranged marriage began to decline before the war, more rapidly since its end. A go-between (nakôdo), either a man or a woman, or sometimes both, act as intermediaries in negotiations between families until a mutually satisfactory decision is reached, or, lacking this, until negotiations can be broken off without embarrassment to either side. 581 584 [178]

The arranged marriage still prevails in families where parental authority is strong and the obedience of the children is demanded and received. Personal observation and the statements both of the young and old leave little doubt, however, that free choice in marriage is now the accepted custom. A go-between is often used in courtship and is still an honored participant in the wedding ceremony. Latterly, the go-between is less a matchmaker, more a repository of confidences for mutual exchange. The present status of the go-between can be summarized in these illustrations from Hamashiro: (1) if the couple live in the same village, a go-between is not used, but one is sought out if the young man wishes to court a girl in another village. (2) The go-between is not used at all. (3) The go-between may be a relative or a friend of either party used to sound out another's feelings. In Hinatogawa, it is said that the go-between acts for a bashful suitor, but that the couple make their own marriage arrangements. In Matsuda, he is occasionally used in courtship, but his function is mostly the formal one of officiating at the marriage ceremony. With the acceptance of free choice in marriage, the go-between as an adult, skilled, respected, and understanding negotiator has been replaced by an individual with more nominal responsibilities, who may be a mutual friend, probably a contemporary of the young people whose marriage he is encouraging. 581 [593] 584

The arranged and free choice marriages are not at opposite extremes. Free choice does not mean there has been a rebellion against parental authority. Parents' consent to a marriage is still sought for, even though the betrothal is decided upon by the young principals. If the parents do not consent, the alternative is elopement. If the parents withhold consent, the traditional wedding ceremony cannot take

584 place, as it requires the participation of the principals and their families. Young country people are likely to hesitate before going against their parents' wishes, dispensing with a ceremony and the celebration which follows, and eloping to Naha or to some larger town.

In practice, events seldom reach this stage of differences in opinion. Some one will give way. An actual happening illustrates this point. A young man, a third son, about 20 years old, fell in love with a girl, aged 23, a bus driver's assistant. The boy wished to marry her, even though by present day standards he was young for marriage.[1] His parents objected to the match, not because of antipathy to the girl whom they liked, but because she was three years older than the boy. This is an interesting objec-
[587] tion because formerly many wives were older than their husbands, although too great an age differential was considered a trifle ludicrous. Apparently in the older arranged marriage, parents intentionally selected a bride older than the husband. In the family registers, among the very old, the wife is often older than the husband. At present the girl is either younger or about the same age.

The boy acceded to his parents' wishes and did not marry the
[848] girl but kept on seeing her. Later the girl became pregnant. His parents discussed the matter among members of the extended family resident in the village, and, in much distress, consented to the marriage. Once the marriage was decided upon, there was no objection to the two living together.

836 Some premarital living together is found in Okinawa. The boy works on his own parents' fields and helps the girl's parents. The
[583] girl reciprocates by helping at the boy's parents' home. During this time, the boy lives at home but spends the night with the girl at her home.

582 Young men normally do not get married until their 24th or 25th year, though there are cases of earlier marriages. Girls are in their early twenties. Earlier marriages may be an indication that a child is on the way. This relatively late age for marriage is not old in the culture. In older times, young people were married in their 13th
[117] and 14th year. This practice gradually changed under Japanese rule.[2]

1 The Japanese word for <u>love</u> is <u>ai-suru</u>, but now one frequently hears the Japanese word <u>rabu</u> borrowed from the English <u>love</u>.

2 Writing in 1910 from personal observation, Simon said that with the "Japanization" of the islands and the increased difficulty and expense in making a living, the time for marriage was postponed and that a marriage at 15 years was now an exception. Beitrage zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, 88 and 90. Schwartz, In Togo's country, 1908, writing of conditions around the turn of the century, says that marriages are contracted between the 14th and 17th year, p. 150.

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Husband and wife usually are from the same village, but there are many exceptions. Marriages of persons from different villages have increased in the past decade. This probably should be ascribed to the greater mobility of the people and to the acceptance of free choice in marriage. It is common, for example, for a Hatsuda boy to marry a Ginosa village girl. It is also common for a boy in Minatogawa to marry a girl from the nearby agricultural villages of Hanashiro, Asato, or Gushichan. This apparently is a distinct change from earlier practices. 582 621

If the family registers are accurate, the great majority of the men living in a village were born there; it is the wives who are more likely to be the newcomers. In the social structure of village life, it is the men who provide the continuity; the women are more likely to be strangers. The husband may point to his father and grandfather who live or have lived in the village; fewer wives can do the same. 591

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The Marriage Ceremony

In my experience, no two marriage ceremonies in Okinawa are alike. Marriages take place at any time of the year, but in all three villages, they were more commonly held in the late fall or in winter. The reasons given are that the heavy clothing and elaborate headdress of the bride are not suited to the hot and humid summer and that these can be more comfortably worn in the cool winter months. The marriage feast with its fish cakes, meats, vegetables, and a variety of other perishable foods can be more easily prepared and kept in winter. In the agricultural villages, the ceremony usually takes place after the day's work; in the winter the reception may start by 5 and the main ceremonies are over by 8 in the evening. 585 [262]

Description of a ceremony at Hatsuda. The party began about 5 in the afternoon. Because of the large number of guests, the primary school was used for the ceremony. At the head of the first room, the grandfather and grandmother of the groom, the groom, his father, and the go-between were seated. Other relatives of the groom found places around the sides. Later the father of the bride, who arrived shortly before his daughter, joined this group. The go-between, a young man of 24, was a friend of the couple, and his wife was a member of the groom's family. 585 576

In the other rooms, opening into one another, about 300 guests, mostly men, were assembled. During the reception and before the beginning of the ceremony, guests representing their families entered the first room to congratulate the father, the groom, and the grandparents. In this period of congratulation involving the father, the groom, and the guest, there was an exchange of sips of sake from a common cup. As in other instances of congratulation, some speeches were long, some short, some well prepared, others extemporaneous. [537]

585 During his speech, the guest remained in the most polite kneeling
576 position, resting his weight on the heels with the toes pointed downward toward the floor. His head was bowed during the talk. The father and the groom acknowledged the compliments by nodding their heads and then made their responses.

When these preliminaries were almost over, an uproar followed the announcement that the bride was arriving. The lights of a vehicle could be seen from a distance. It turned out to be a truck. In former days, the bride came in greater style: she either walked preceded by young boys bearing lanterns or rode in a palanquin (kago),
[493] or in a specially decorated horse cart.

All Okinawan brides, from the time they enter the house of the groom until they leave shortly after the completion of the ceremony, have an expression of indescribable gloom. The bride's face is set. Her eyes are downcast. She takes no notice of the guests, and responds silently to the acts which convention demands. She never smiles. This is a very serious occasion and any show of lightheartedness is considered in poor taste. The groom is not so wooden as he awaits his bride and goes through the ceremony.

585 The bride is dressed in a Japanese costume. She has a wig, usually
[292] rented for the occasion, the traditional Japanese headdress with masses
[177] of stiff lacquered hair. It is heavy and bulky and the need of keeping it on straight may account for some of the bride's immobility. She also has a bright colored Japanese style kimono with sash (obi) which may be her own, her mother's, or grandmother's. The bride's face is
[302] heavily powdered with white powder and this makes her face look like a mask. Her lips, reddened slightly, accentuate the unnatural whiteness of the face. The groom is simply dressed in a black silk kimono.

The ceremony of san-san-kudo (literally, 3, 3, 9 times) conducted by the go-between then began. It is so called because both of the principals drink 3 times from each of three different cups which are made in progressively smaller sizes so that they fit into one another. There are variations, both in the way in which the 9 sips are taken and in the cups used. Since the war, the special sets of three cups have disappeared from many homes, and three small sake cups may be used. In this ceremony, the go-between served the first cup to the groom who took 3 sips, the go-between then refilled for the bride who took 3 sips. The other two cups were presented to each principal in the same way. This ceremony was very short, lasting only as long as it takes to sip the drinks in the proper order. When the marriage ceremony (kekkonshiki) was over, the bride and the groom arose and went to the front part of the room to be presented to the guests.

585 The bride retained her sad immobility. This is all the more
576 remarkable to see when one knows the bride in daily life, vivacious and jolly and anything but impassive. The groom allowed himself a little more naturalness. The go-between spoke to the guests briefly about the couple. He told where the bride and groom were born, the

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date of their birth (using the Japanese reign date), where they had gone to school and their present occupations. This was done separately for each. After this was over, the bride and groom stood silently and politely, but without outward expression, while three guests in turn, previously chosen, made speeches, offering their congratulations and best wishes. On this particular occasion, the principal of the school at which the bride was teaching, the principal of the school at which the groom was a teacher, and a mutual friend of the couple spoke. 585 576 [537]

These proceedings do not receive the undivided attention of the guests who have been drinking sake for some time. On the tops of the tables, dancing in the traditional Okinawan manner and the accompanying singing have begun. The dances and songs, usually performed by men in their forties and fifties, were done with grace. These are part of all social gatherings of any consequence. 585 [273] 535 533 [562]

The sober attitudes of the work day are cast aside. The best clothes have been put on. There is a great contrast between the barefooted partially clothed farmer or fisherman of the daytime and his appearance at social occasions. These events are conducted with dignity and poise, at least until the sake consumption has risen to a high point. The party then becomes a noisy melee of dancing, singing, and talking, but without quarrelling or fighting. There is little self-consciousness in entertaining others. Talented guests do not have to be cajoled into performing. Dancing, singing, and samisen playing continue spontaneously, with another performer beginning after one has finished. The wedding party lasts from about 5 to 8, but many of the guests stay much later until the sake is gone. [292] [534]

Following the san-san-kudo, another but more private ceremony took place while the guests were entertaining themselves. In the wedding room, colored cakes and tea were placed on a small table. The female relatives of the bride and groom, mothers and sisters mostly, sat opposite one another and ate cakes and drank the tea together. This ceremony indicated the willingness of the bride's family to give up the daughter, and of the groom's family to receive her. After this ceremony, the bride's gifts from her parents were carried in. These vary with the family's wealth. In this case, they were a chest of drawers, a mirror, a heavy comforter, pillows, and a mosquito net. Before the war, gifts were more lavish than now. The usual presents now are a large chest of drawers (tansu), two heavy quilts or comforters (futon), a mirror (kagami), two Japanese type pillows (makura), and a large mosquito net (kaya). A poor family would be most likely to omit the chest of drawers. A new kimono and money may be included. [262] 583

A Y20 note is the usual gift of an ordinary guest at a wedding. Closer friends will give about Y100. There is no uniform practice about gifts from the groom's to the bride's family. About Y1000 may be presented prior to marriage. The bride's family uses the money to purchase the wedding gifts. 431

The day following the marriage, there is another ceremony, this 000

585 following the marriage, there is another ceremony, the day this time for relatives and perhaps a few close friends. The couple go to the bride's house where there is food and sake. This means the husband has really and finally accepted the daughter of the house and is thanking her parents for her.

But these events also are not observed uniformly. On the second day, there may be a gathering of friends and relatives, to be followed on the next day by visits of the bride, groom, and the groom's friends and relatives to the bride's home to give thanks for receiving the girl in marriage.

585 268 The food served at weddings depends on the economic circumstances of the family. But at today's prices food which would be considered acceptable costs at least ¥100 per person including sake. This feast had many extras and consisted of a buckwheat (soba) noodle soup, slices of beef and pork, eggs, tenpura, a fritter without a fish or meat filling, sweet potatoes, a vegetable salad of raw radish, green onion and sea weed shoots, bean curd, a boiled fish paste, rice cakes, and a sweet round fritter (sato tenpura) very much resembling the doughnut in taste, various cakes, and a sponge cake (kasutera).

585 [823] The marriage ceremony is performed only when the tide is coming in, for the same reasons that were noted with the birthday celebration of the child. Marriage is a time of bounty and fulfillment, not of diminution and withdrawal.

585 114 There was a "very ancient" Okinawan custom, cited by Spencer on the authority of Shimabuku Genkichi, the student of Okinawan history, of the bride remaining in the home of her parents even after marriage, and the husband coming to her home to spend the nights with her. This Spencer ascribed to the high economic value of the woman and the custom at the time of Spencer's writing (1931) was still said to exist in parts of the northern district (Kunigami) of Okinawa.[3] The temporary return of the wife to her home after her marriage, while the husband [548] went to a public brothel was also an old custom.[4]

585 184 The preceding description of a wedding ceremony in Matsuda may be compared with one seen in Oushichan village close to Hanashiro. (Rural weddings are not so easy to see as one might think. There may be only one or two in a year in a village; when the parties are from different villages, the number in any one village is also reduced). In this

3 Spencer, as cited, 96. In my studies at Matsuda (which is in the Kunigami district) and in visits to Oku on the extreme northern part of the island, I did not encounter any indication of the survival of this custom. But unfortunately I was unaware of their previous existence and there may well be survivals in some of the villages.

4 Simon, Beitrage zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, 97.

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ceremony the set of three cups (sakazuki) was used. The go-between, a man and a close friend of the groom, poured sake into the top cup. The groom drank; the go-between then refilled the cup, giving it to the bride. The same procedure was repeated with the remaining two cups. 585 184

In this ceremony, after the san-san-kudo, the go-between dipped a pair of chopsticks into salt, putting a bit on the open palm of the bride who then put the salt in her mouth. This was repeated for the groom. The go-between then dipped his finger into a cup of water, touching first the forehead of the bride, then that of the groom.

The presentation of the newly married couple to the guests was also done in a different way. Because of his close friendship with the groom's father, the mayor of the township introduced the bridal pair to the guests. This was a tender and affectionate speech in which the mayor told of the birthplaces of the young man and his bride. He asked the guests, as friends and relatives of the new couple, to teach them how to live well together, how to make a living, and ended by asking everyone present to have a good time. The celebration, the sake drinking, the dancing following the ceremony were essentially the same as in Matsuda. A ring was not used in either ceremony. When used, it is ordinarily given to the bride, not placed on her finger as part of the ceremony. [576] [537] [301]

A custom followed in Hinatogawa illustrates a variation in the preliminaries before the marriage ceremony. The groom (hanamuko) and the go-between or a friend go to the bride's home. They are given refreshments. The groom acknowledges his bride. He returns to his home to await her coming. This may take some time if the tide is not right. Before the war children from 7 to 10 years of age carried long lanterns (chōchin) with candles to light the way for the bride, as she walked to the groom's house. Each child carried two lanterns, which they held very tightly, as it was considered bad luck for them to change from one hand to the other. The lanterns have now been abandoned (when the ceremony is performed) in favor of flashlights, in another triumph of the Industrial Revolution. But the children enjoyed participating because they were given small amounts of money and food. [857] [416] [177]

In the Hinatogawa custom, everyone stepped over the threshhold. Even now, if houses do not have one, a long step is made from the outer stone or ground into the room. Among the guests, there is usually a jokester who humorously announces in a loud voice the arrival of the bride.

In Hinatogawa, the groom's family presents a gift of about Y5-6000 to the bride's family. (This family would have to be in moderate circumstances to do this). Gifts from the guests are from Y20-40. The groom's friends may give money to the groom's parents to defray the heavy expenses of the banquet, and the girl's friends give money to her, presumably for the purchase of wedding articles. [431]

There is one further variation in a custom from Hanashiro. On

585 184 the day of the wedding ceremony, preparations are made at the bride's home. Food is served for relatives and friends, and the party then proceeds to the groom's home for the ceremony.

[431] Gifts from the groom's family depend upon economic circumstances, but usually range from Y50 to Y100 up to Y1000. In Hanashiro, something, no matter how small, is always given by the groom's family to the bride's family. Since the war, gifts of chests of drawers and blankets are less common because of high prices.

On the third day, in this Hanashiro custom, the bride and the groom with relatives and friends visit the bride's parents during the day. On the same evening, the visit is returned by the bride's family.

585 178 727 435 There is a general agreement in all the villages that as a consequence of the war, the preliminaries to marriage, the ceremony, the gifts, and the events following the ceremony have become simpler. Part of this is due to the high cost of food and entertainment. In the competition with other ceremonies and celebrations, the tendency has been, in the interest of economy, to simplify the old customs, or when this is not possible, to combine celebrations coming close together in the year. One frequently hears the word keisai (economy) used in this connection.

3

Contemporary Attitudes Toward Marriage

58 178 Marriage customs today are different from those of even 20 years ago. From information collected from the villages, the chief changes in marriage customs have been: (1) the preliminaries and the ceremony have been simplified, (2) marriage takes place at a much older age, (3) marriages between individuals of different villages are more common, (4) there is a shorter engagement period and its significance has declined, (5) the custom in which the bride temporarily returns to her home has disappeared or become rare, (6) the go-between, formerly a respected elder negotiating a marriage, is now a friend, generally the same age as the principals, offering help and advice, and (7) the arranged marriage has given way to freer choice in marriage in which the parents' consent has become largely a formality.

581 582 [586] [562] [177] Judging by the statements of residents of all villages, many of whom were married under the old arrangement, there is almost universal approval of free choice in marriage. Divorces were said to have been common under the old system, mainly because of the wife's barrenness or unattractiveness. The chances that the marriage will be a happy one are thought to be greater under the new. Among women, it harmonizes with ideas of equality which they have heard of or read about in Japanese magazines since the occupation.

Free choice in marriage does not mean that the family system will disintegrate because parents have lost control in selecting mates for their children. The family system is much more likely to break down if the head of a house must assume greater responsibility for the support of relatives, or if the young leave their homes and are scattered in the towns. 582 602

Trial marriage is said to be uncommon in Okinawa, but there does not seem to be any disapproval when it appears. Perhaps trial marriage is an inappropriate word, and living together prior to an intended marriage is a better term. In one case, a young man lived with his intended wife; sometimes he brought her to his parents' home. As his duties required some travelling, the girl often went with him. In Hanashiro, this custom is not practiced. When young people live together before marriage, with the parents' consent, they help one another's families with the daily chores. 583

Some married men have relations with other women, usually widows or unmarried girls, and have children by them. This is not rare, but it is by no means considered correct behavior. In one village, the first son with his wife and children live, as is customary, with his parents, but he continues to have relations with two unmarried women by whom he has had children. All three women live in the same village, know the situation, and manage to avoid one another fairly well. Naturally the wife is much disturbed by the arrangement. The man, now about 33, has 11 children by the three women. The children of the second and third women are classified in the family registers in the mother's family as illegitimate (shiseiji). This is an extreme case. 837 [848]

In another community, there was an instance of the effects of war and repatriation on a marriage. Before the war this man and his wife had emigrated to Saipan. She was afraid of the bombing and decided to return to her parents' home in rural Japan, to which her husband consented. He remained in Saipan and later lived with and married the girl who was his personal servant. They returned to Okinawa; he had a child by her and is now living with her. The new family register, made up after the war, does not show the old marriage. His first wife, whom he still admires, has written him, but he has not replied. While he expressed no regrets about the loss of the first wife, he talked about the second as if she were still a servant.

In the villages, the cases of a married man living with another woman, without any formal estrangement from the real wife, are in my opinion not uncommon--with the exception of Hanashiro. As one lives in a village and gradually hears confidences, departures from strict fidelity seem more frequent than appear on the surface. There is general agreement too that illegitimacy has increased since the 848

848 [127] [160] war.[5] The reasons given by the villagers are the increase in the number of widows and the present disproportion between young men and young women in the marrying ages.

One cannot generalize about attitudes toward illegitimacy. In two of the communities, Hinatogawa and Hatsuda, my impression was that there had been a change from disapproval to tolerance. The current reaction was often described in the famous Japanese phrase which covers thousands of situations: shi kata ga nai ("It can't be helped"). In Nanashiro, opinion seemed much stronger [837] [184] against extra-marital relations and having an illegitimate child. One housewife said that any married woman or single woman who has an illegitimate child is dirty (kitanai). This was not so much a moral condemnation as the notion that she was unclean. Such a woman is spoken to but is not liked. There is also the problem that in the family system there is no place for an illegitimate child, unacknowledged by the father, except to grow up in the household of his mother. There is no public concealment. The village family register has the shisei ji entry for any illegitimate child--and some of them are now very old men.

5 These and the following statements are necessarily qualitative as statistics were not available. Illegitimacy here refers to Okinawan parents. To my knowledge, in these villages, there were no children whose fathers had been members of the occupying force. Some apparent illegitimacy may occur when the marriage is recorded after the birth of a child (a common practice) and the register is not corrected. For this reason, it was difficult to evaluate the illegitimate entries in the family registers.

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CHAPTER XV

MATURE LIFE AND OLD AGE

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1 The Daily Diet

2 The Division of Labor

3 Daily Work Habits

4 Clothing

5 Laundering and Bathing

6 Hair Styles

7 The Nature of Social Life

8 Public Health

9 Native Medicine

10 Tattooing

11 Knuckle Cracking

12 The Tide

13 Home Industries, Arts, and Crafts

14 Activities of Old Age

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The Daily Diet

There is little variation in the basic diet in any of the villages. Among individual families, the chief difference is in the proportion of sweet potatoes to rice; this depends on economic status and the possession of rice fields, the poorer the family, the greater the reliance on the sweet potato. Except for seasonal foods, the diet is uniform throughout the year. Neither is there much variation in the three meals. The basic foods are: 262 [511] 262

For breakfast: A soup made out of hot water and bean paste, perhaps with bits of fish or meat added, sweet potatoes, and tea. 264 272

For lunch: Rice or sweet potatoes, raw, boiled or fried vegetables, and tea.

For dinner: Bean paste soup, rice if possible, or sweet potatoes, bean curd, and tea.

The foods which supplement these basic items are: (1) Fresh fish in season, uncommon for the reasons given in Chapter X. Imported dried sardines and canned fish from Japan are more common in agricultural villages than fresh fish. Even in Hinatogawa, fresh fish is scarce when the catch is light. In summer, the fish is too valuable to eat and only unsold fish is eaten. (2) In Matsuda village, rice and pork are more frequently eaten than in the two southern villages. Rice and pork consumption is indicative of a higher standard of living. Many families have rice twice a day. Beef may be boiled, and with vegetables added, made into a soup. In the winter, the Japanese dish sukiyaki may be eaten, but the meat in this dish is often meagre. 262 [184] [511] [252]

There are many occasional foods or side dishes of which the following are the most common: (1) bean curd (tōfu). This is made at home by women. (2) Taro (sato imo) boiled and eaten as a side dish. (3) A sweet or unsweetened fritter (tenpura). Japanese tenpura usually is shrimp or other fish fried in batter. Okinawan tenpura may or may not have a filling. Frequently the filling is a paste of brown sugar, or a slice of sweet potato. At celebrations, they may have a meat or a fish filler. (4) The rice cake (mochi) made of glutinous rice (mochigome). (5) Buckwheat paste (soba), and (6) noodles (sōmen). These are fairly cheap and are always purchased. (7) Bread (pan). This is a slightly sweetened large bun, normally with a little jam or jelly filler. The bun is baked in the large towns and distributed generally by boys on bicycles to the village stores. (8) Boiled or pickled radishes, boiled pumpkin cut in small squares and served with a piece of fish or meat. (9) Onion tops and spinach boiled with a seasoning of fish, chicken, or beef. (10) Various vegetables in season. 262 252

000 vegetables in season.

262 On special occasions, cookies, cakes, and more fresh fish and meat are served. In Okinawa any food out of the ordinary is called a feast or a treat (gochisu). Fresh fish, fish cakes, beef, pork make up a feast, for these are seldom served in the routine meal. Fish, pork, and beef are universally liked, but fish is hard to get, beef is expensive, and pork is a source of cash income. Many families eat pork only at New Year.

By almost any standard, including their own, the daily Okinawan diet is monotonous and unappetizing. Nevertheless the present diet is an improvement over the pre-war one. Most villagers said that before the war, the diet consisted of the sweet potato and bean paste soup. Bean paste soup usually has a few shreds of meat or fish in it. In times of scarcity, or if the family is very poor, only the paste is used, and when this is dissolved in hot water, it makes a kind of clear bouillon which is jokingly referred to as "mirror soup" (kagami miso) because one can see his face in it. In Okinawan, it is also called "nothing in it soup" (nnshiru). Since the war, the rice imports from Java, Siam, Egypt, and other foods sold through [939] import stores have provided more variety.

Goats are a cheap source of meat, but many do not like goat's 272 meat. The milk is not used for human consumption.

Tea is served at all hours. Many Okinawans, however, have acquired a taste for coffee. Tea is steeped in a large pot and [415] placed on a tray with the cups. Once made, tea stays in the pot until it is drunk. Frequently it is lukewarm or cold. Callers are [574] served tea and small chunks of brown sugar, picked up with chopsticks. Sugar is never used to sweeten tea. There is considerable eating [364] between meals, especially if visitors drop in. Women prepare a bowl of noodles, of cooked vegetables, fry an egg, or slice up some bean [262] curd. Villagers eat enormous quantities of food.

574 The people are very hospitable, but hospitality does not take the form of inviting friends to dinner except on special occasions, like a birthday celebration or a wedding. One family does not entertain another at dinner, but an individual member of a family who has worked at a friend's house may stay for an evening meal. Or a child may eat with the family of his playmates. Entertaining does [562] not include a man and his wife. The wife normally stays at home.[1]

1 In Minatogawa, I was told that the beginning of the preparation of the meal was a sign for the visitor to return home. This was not due to the broad hint of the host but to the reserve (enryo) of the visitor. "Hnn ni wariu" (Okinawan) "to be pressed by food" is said by those returning home at these times. One goes home at meal times.

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The Division of Labor

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In all the villages there is a division of labor between the sexes. There are, however, wide areas in which men and women do the same work. In Matsuda and Hanashiro, the usual tasks of the women were the care of the children, maintaining the house and its surroundings, excluding heavy work or repairs, laundering, making foods like bean curd and bean paste, taking rice to the mill, hoeing sweet potatoes and gathering tops for the pigs.

Men, in the main, plant and transplant rice, hoe, plow, and harrow the rice field, cut the rice, make house and compound repairs, and help others in housebuilding. Men carry the main burden of agriculture, though women frequently give a great deal of help. In Matsuda, men get firewood from the mountains. Wood and other fuel from nearby spots are gathered by women. Both men and women may take care of pigs, or operate the rice treadle thresher. Daily feeding of the pigs and the smashing of sweet potatoes in a stone mortar with a long wooden pestle is usually the work of women.

The small shops are generally operated by women. Men who do so are likely to be in poor health or disabled for heavy work. Weaving grasses and rushes for rugs or baskets is done by men. If the farmer has a surplus, the wife generally sells it. The produce for sale is carried in baskets on the head. (Head carrying is more common in the southern villages than in Matsuda). [482]

887

This division of labor between the sexes becomes indistinct among the old. Old men and women, if able, work at some task until they die. In the south, they may often be seen gathering grass on the mountain sides. The very old do many of the tasks of their prime, but they neither work so long or so hard. This is especially true in agriculture.

462

In the fishing village, a division of labor also takes place. The men are responsible for catching fish and for maintaining the boats and the gear, the women for the sale and distribution of the fish. The old fisherman contents himself with repairs and general maintenance; the old stonecutter does the chipping and the bevelling.

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Grandmothers assume the care and supervision of older children, while the mother is preoccupied with the baby. The old woman may also do cooking, house cleaning, laundering and feed the pigs. Care of pigs is often an incidental chore in a woman's daily routine.

3

Daily Work Habits

512 The people of a village are continually busy. Their daily work habits depend on the season and the type of work. The work day of the fisherman is the least predictable because his activities are more sensitive to the present and anticipated weather. Most farmers continue working in their fields in a slight rain, but activity ceases with heavy rains. While the farmer works steadily and hard, there is a certain elasticity in his schedule. He does not go to the fields every morning at exactly the same time. Neither does he feel compelled to put in a full day's work every day; he is guided more by the tasks to be done. Work is interrupted by an occasional smoke or conversation with friends or neighbors passing by. There is a routine in daily life, but it is not strictly adhered [264] to. Meal times vary from day to day sometimes by an hour. Time may be taken out from the fields to gather firewood, make bean curd, to dry out bean pods, or to fix up one's house. Three or four days in a row may be devoted to helping with another's house. The sun is [476] the guide to time. Most houses have clocks but few are running and [805] they are not well regulated. Perhaps the chief distinction between agriculture and fishing work is that in the former, the tasks of all blend together.

A farmer's work day in summer begins about 8 or 9 in the morning and ends almost the same time in the evening. Full advantage is taken of the daylight hours. In summer, the evening meal is not eaten until 9 and often later. By the time the meal is finished and the table cleared, it is ten. After short visits within the family, or with neighbors, the farmer retires about 11. In the winter, the routine is the same, but the day's work stops earlier, and the evening meal is at about 6 P.M. The fishermen do not have this unbroken routine. There is often night work and the day may be used for sleeping. Intense activity is followed by periods of greater or less leisure.

4

Clothing

175 The history of costume in Okinawa is full of interest, but it is
292 too broad a subject to deal with here. In the old Okinawan kingdom,
565 clothing and its color, hair pins, caps, and other articles of men's
[286] wear were used to designate rank. The clothing of the commoners had much less variety. Until quite recently, banana fibre was used in farmers' clothing. A dyed indigo kimono, stripes for men and dots
291 for women, is still worn.
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Present day clothing is of a non-descript character. The war

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clothing is of a non-descript character. The war Present day destroyed old stocks and villagers have been unable to buy much new clothing. Many farmers and fishermen have one western style suit, shirt, necktie, and a pair of shoes, but these are worn only on rare occasions, such as having one's picture taken. Most of the women still have a Japanese style kimono in storage. An article of army clothing, mostly American but occasionally Japanese, often is the basic garment whether it be a pair of trousers, a shirt, or a field jacket. Older women still wear a cheap cotton kimono usually indigo blue with white dots. 291 [292] [177]

In work anything at hand is worn. Fishermen, farmers, workers in the forest generally go barefoot the year round. Girls and young married women are increasingly wearing cheap and attractive house dresses which they prefer to the inconvenient kimono. Children's clothing shows similar improvisation in the use of what is available. 291

In leisure hours, clogs (geta) are often worn by men, women, and children, particularly in the evenings as a protection against snakes. Some men wear shoes consistently, but they are most commonly worn by officials, school teachers, or men in business.

There is no standard headdress. Hats are few. A few cone shaped hats are worn in the rice fields. These are made from straw or rush. An ordinary cotton cap with a visor is common. Men and women frequently wrap a cloth, usually a piece of towelling, around the head. A towel hanging from the back pocket of the trousers of a young man is part of his summer equipment.

5

Laundering and Bathing

Laundering is done by women. There are no set customs about doing it. Neither is it a community affair. In Hanashiro those who have wells do their laundry in their own compound. Those without wells either do it at a neighbor's well (without charge), or at one of the community ponds designated for this purpose. In Hatsuda, the small stream, a pond, or wells are also used. 296 [312]

Clothes are rubbed, washed, and rinsed by hand. The custom practiced in Hatsuda up to 20 years ago of beating clothes against stones has disappeared. If laundering is done in a spring or small stream in the summer, it is common to take a bath after the washing is done. In Hinatogawa, the women collect around an open faucet, or the public water tank. These are in continuous use for laundry, hair washing, and washing vegetables.

The passion for bathing, conspicuous among the fastidious Japanese, is less in evidence in these villages. But it is also difficult to bathe. Villagers must content themselves with washing with a cloth, like a sponge bath. In Hanashiro villagers may go to 515

515 the Japanese style public bath at Minatogawa. There are separate rooms for men and women. The body is soaped; then the soap is washed off. One gets into the hot watertub to soak. In this arrangement, all the advantages lie with the first comers. In the winter, the Minatogawans use their public bath houses. But in the summer, they soap themselves thoroughly and rinse off under a public faucet, keeping on a pair of shorts or a light skirt, depending on sex. In Matsuda, an outside tub is frequently used. This is bullet shaped, about three feet in diameter and about the same depth. Generally it has a rudely constructed roof. The bath water, not so hot as the Japanese like it, is only moderately warm.

In family tub bathing, there is an order in which the bath
[516] is taken. Guests are first, followed by the head of the house, then by other males in order such as first, second, or third sons, and finally the woman of the house, starting with the eldest. Many people in Matsuda go, usually about once a week, to the neighboring village of Ginoza for their bath.

6

Hair Styles

302 In the days of the old kingdom, men and boys wore the hair long. A patch on the crown was shaved, and the long glossy hair was gathered on all sides and made into a tight knot and pinned with two hair pins. Satow mentions that between the ages of 16
[115] and 19 the ceremony of genbutsu took place. The central part of the head was shaven, and the long hair was then put up. According to this author, the custom dated back two centuries.[2] Various oils were used on the long hair to keep it in place. This hair dress for men and boys was described by Basil Hall in 1816; Commodore Perry's staff made similar observations, and the reports of Furness (1896) and Simon (1910) indicated that there had been no changes in the style.

The cutting of men's hair is said to have begun about 40 years ago. While some thought the Japanese forced this, it seems to have been done voluntarily. A high school principal, now in his late forties, told me of his childhood remembrance of crying at seeing his young father willingly shearing off his own long and luxuriant hair.

The clipped (marugari) head for young boys is a Japanese intro-
[117] duction. It was required for health reasons by the Japanese school teachers. The clipped cut, for young boys, has persisted, and it is

2 Satow, E. M. Notes on Loochoo. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 1 (1882), 1-8.

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uncommon to see young boys up to 12 or 13 without the clipped head.

After the abandonment of long hair, men followed the Japanese custom which resembled the Western style. Unless man went into the army, where the hair was severely clipped, they wore their hair at moderate length. [177]

From infancy to graduation from grammar or junior high school, the hair of boys is clipped to the scalp. After 14 it is allowed to grow, sometimes to considerable length. The longest and the fullest hair (either by neglect or intention) is found in the group from 17 to about 23. There is some influence from Japanese and American movie hair styles. The word "all-baku" is used to describe this style, mostly referring to long hair parted or combed straight back and full on the sides. The young man has his choice between a short crew cut type and long hair because the hair is very thick and sticks up and is difficult to train unless long. After the early twenties the young men are likely to cut off their long hair and adopt a more conventional haircut. This lasts until old age when many, but by no means all, of the men over 55 or 60 have their hair clipped short again. [177]

In the 19th century, women's hair, according to accounts describing styles at the close of the century, was long like the men's, but differed in the manner of putting the hair up. The crown was not shave.. The hair of the ordinary woman was worn long with a pug, placed indifferently on the left or right side of the head. Okinawan young women, around the turn of the century, adopted the Japanese headdress (which they still retain at their weddings), either the elaborate traditional coiffure, or the simpler and more severe style of drawing the hair straight back with a pug at the nape of the neck. Okinawan women at this time had long hair and took great pride in it, universal long hair, according to the villagers, lasting until quite recently. [175]

Before, during and after the war, great numbers of Okinawan women, except the very old, cut their hair. Present hair styles depend on the age group. Young girls up to 7 or 8 have the hair cut on the level of the ear lobe or a little higher, with bangs in front, and a high shingle in back. The hair of a young girl through high school reaches an inch or so below the neck line, she has bangs in front, but the hair is not shingled in back and hangs freely.

The late teen age group and the younger married women have become infatuated with the permanent wave. It is much admired by the younger people of both sexes, but is often unbecoming on the young women because it gives the hair a frizzled appearance. The permanent wave is much less common among the village women over thirty whose hair, almost shoulder length, is tucked in a sort of roll at the back of the neck. Old women in their sixties and seventies have quite long hair. It is done up rather severely with a top knot on the crown held by skewers, somewhat similar to the old Okinawan style.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

305 302 Persons of both sexes and of all ages, including infants, visit the barbershop. With boys and men, the price includes a haircut and a shave. The upper edge of the eyebrows is always shaved to make a straight line. The eye lids are also invariably shaved. The shaving of the eyebrows and eye lids of infants is commonplace. When women go to the shop to have the neck hair trimmed, the face, the eyebrows and the eye lids may also be shaved.

7

The Nature of Social Life

562 The social life of the women is severely restricted by convention. This restriction is closely tied up with the obligations of the family system and does not imply a conscious and selfish attempt by the men to keep their women at home and distanced from society. These restrictions are the result of custom in which the women acquiesce. The few discontented exceptions are women who [177] read Japanese magazines and learn of American ideas about the position of the women. But in general women accept their status. The men have a social life quite unconscious of any obligations of this sort to the women. The point was well brought out when I asked two Okinawan teachers why it was that women had so little social life and seldom went out with their husbands. They said the subject had never occurred to them.

The center of a woman's working and social life is her home. The range of a man's activities is the village and may extend to neighboring settlements. A large part of a woman's recreation is with other women. A man's social life is spent mostly with men.

[574] A woman's opportunity to spend a social evening with men comes when her husband brings guests to their home. Here she participates in the conversation, though she usually retires earlier. With older couples, the wife is most likely to greet her guests, serve them with tea, later perhaps with sake, and then unobtrusively retire.

[593] In my observation, there is a friendly relationship between husband and wife in the home. Younger wives participate frequently in conversation. Part of a woman's social life is centered around daytime activities, like taking care of the children, running an errand, carrying rice to the mill, chores which she does in the company of other women with like duties. Her working and social life blend together more than the man's. Among the very old women, day time visiting and strolling throughout the village are very common.

A husband and a wife are not often seen together in public, except on some special occasion, such as a child's birthday party, a school athletic meeting which the whole family attends, or a

shopping trip to a larger town. In the very common evening visiting among men, women participate very little. 562

There has been some improvement in the social position of women since the war. In Hanashiro, for example, before the war, the husband, children, and grandparents ate in the second or third room, while the wife and sometimes the eldest daughter ate in the kitchen. (The Okinawan kitchen, though part of the house, differs from the other rooms in that it has direct access to the outside, is generally on a level with the ground, and has a dirt, cement, or stone floor). The wife in preparing the meal can go back and forth readily and need not take off her clogs or wash her feet if she goes barefoot when she goes up into the rooms. Her meal is a slight interlude between duties. 562 264 [342]

In most homes now, the women eat with the family in the main house. Some old women still spend most of their time in the kitchen watching the fire and eating their meals there. One of the reasons given for the change in attitude toward women is that many of the repatriated Okinawans brought newer ideas with them and did not practice segregation at meal times. [178]

Another important fact about social life is the drinking of the men and the abstinence of the women.[3] Young men usually begin drinking sake around the age of marriage. It is exceptional for a young man in his teens or early twenties to drink. But once this dividing line is passed, it is the exceptional man who does not drink. In each village one finds a few lifelong teetotalers. Drinking is always done in company, as the climax of a task completed, because of some happy turn of events, or because there is a party or celebration. As a general rule, the village men do not drink every day, but only when a suitable occasion arises. While there is drunkenness, I did not observe the solitary, prolonged drinking commonly associated with alcoholism in western societies. Prolonged drinking at night has the expected effects the next day, but there is very little remorse, unless a man has done something of which he is subsequently ashamed. Men who have drunk too much the night before do not hesitate to lie in bed 273 [512] [133]

[Text continues top of p. 295 -- analysis]

3 In Okinawa, the commonest and cheapest alcoholic drink is sake. This is not the same as Japanese sake, the light rice wine, slightly resembling sauterne, that is usually served warm or hot. Okinawan sake is awamori, a much stronger drink of distilled rice spirits, a variety of the Japanese shochu. The alcoholic content of awamori ranges from about 25% to 30%. It is a raw liquor with an unpleasant taste. It is not the favorite, but it is the cheapest drink. Awamori is made from rice in small distilleries throughout Okinawa, bottled in large jugs and distributed to village shops. Most shops carry it. Sometimes there are special sake shops. Awamori or sake is sold for about 14¢ per go (.318 pint). The normal intake for an evening is considered to be 2 go. Most men are fairly inebriated after drinking this much. The American army canteen, when available, is the favorite sake container. Japanese and American beer and Japanese sake are liked, but too expensive. 279 435 804

273 the greater part of the following day until the effects are worn off.[4]

There is tolerance of drinking and of behavior while under the influence of alcohol—with the exceptions to be discussed below. This nonchalance extends to children and young people. When an elder and highly respected friend or neighbor, perhaps their own grandfather, is drunk, they laugh indulgently at him, passing off his behavior as foolish because he is drunk.

[576] The custom of drink exchange (kampai) certainly does not keep drinking to a minimum. Drink exchange is perpetual at parties. A small cup of sake is offered to a friend. He drinks, gives the cup back to his friend who holds it while the other refills the cup. The exchange goes on again. Often three or four men are involved in this reciprocity.

[277] Drinking, like an aperitif or cocktail before a meal, is not common. Sake may be drunk with or after the meal. Often it is served along with tea. Throughout the evening the two may be drunk alternatively. In this case, the tea is served first. Unless there are special occasions, there is very little day time drinking.

273 562 In this drinking, the Okinawan woman has no part. There are a few minor exceptions. But in all the villages these exceptions were older or very elderly women. The young wife or girl in rural Okinawan villages simply does not drink. Furthermore, she seems to have no desire to. Occasionally a woman in her late forties or early fifties takes a few sips. In the southern villages, an old woman may drink a small amount with a little added sugar at a celebration. In Hatsuda, shortly before New Years it is customary to give a party at village expense to all people in the village over 70 years of age. On this occasion, both the old men and old women are liberally [888] supplied with and liberally drink the sake.

These distinctions in drinking between the sexes, in my opinion, are closely tied in with the responsibilities of men and women, as they have grown up historically under the family system. The distinctions certainly cannot be explained in terms of contemporary attitudes. If [154] drinking is an outlet for the tensions of the man, a way of relieving the boredom and monotony of every day life, how can one explain the

4 There is little real violence or fighting, but there may be noisy quarrels and some shoving about. Some mild men become very quarrelsome. [578] The only instance of violence I observed was the case of a young man about 25 who drank quite a lot, became angry with some girls in the Young Women's Association for not doing chores he thought they were responsible for. He slapped one severely. The following day he was very remorseful. His mother went to the girl's house and personally apologized for the boy's behavior.

absence of need of a similar release from the boring and monotonous life of the women. Yet I noticed little in the behavior of village women to indicate they were overwhelmed by monotony or bored with life, though perhaps longer residence in the villages would have proved this observation false. Might one say that the culture does not fulfill its promise to the men, even though they are favored and catered to and that the drinking is the result of this disappointment? This neglects the fact that drinking is old in the culture and is almost always done in the company of others. If personal frustration and disappointment were the cause, one might expect more compulsive and solitary drinking and more alcoholism. 273 562 154

The sources of this distinction between the drinking men and the abstemious women, I think, lie in the values held by the culture. In the first place, sake drinking is age old in Japan, and probably in Okinawa as well. Drinking sake is associated with ceremonies, such as marriage, with religious observances, with social and public life. The public life of an official, a shopkeeper or business man, a farmer, a fisherman is not divorced from entertainment. Men have an outside life. In their dealings with other men, they are accustomed to drinking. Women do not have this outside life. They have inside duties of which the care of the children and of the house are the most important. Historically, the source of the abstemiousness of the women may be the obligations of being a mother, to be ready at all times to care and provide for or nurse her children, obligations considered incompatible with drinking. Women are expected to be polite, refined, and quiet. These ideals may be difficult to maintain in drinking. 273 562 181 [577]

At times a husband and wife may participate in social gatherings as a couple. These gatherings may either be (1) an informal, often casual, event when guests drop in and spend part of the evening, and (2) the formal affairs, such as a marriage, a birthday celebration, a holiday, an extended family reunion, or the observance of a death anniversary. On these occasions, the men occupy the first room, the women the second. The entertainment and conversations of the evening are for the most part governed by this segregation. 562 574

Though women are tolerant of drinking, domestic difficulties are often caused by the drinking of the men. Frequent drinking with its noise and late hours may result in family quarrels (fufukanka). Quarrels involving the wife and the husband's female relatives, especially the mother, are said to be uncommon. In the southern villages, the war did away with one cause of family quarrels. Men no longer go to the geisha quarter. There are naturally tensions coming out of individual antagonisms and dissatisfactions: the husband's mother who ignores her grandchild because she dislikes her daughter-in-law, pressure on a woman to produce children to satisfy the pride of the husband and of the grandparents, and failure to bear children, which usually leads to divorce initiated by the husband. Divorces, in these rural villages, were found to be uncommon.[5] 593 273 578 [586]

5 No reliable statistics could be found. These remarks and those in the next paragraph are based on personal observation, impressions and conversations.

593 The husband or father is not a tyrant. Nevertheless the wife is unlikely to challenge her husband directly on any important matter. If she is scolded, she may continue with her work in silence, ignoring her husband.

562 177 Women who have lived abroad in places like Hawaii or who have experienced the metropolitan life of Japanese cities are more likely to be dissatisfied. Occasionally one meets a woman who thinks this is a man's world (otoko no tenka) and that women should have more privileges than they now have. This attitude has been sharpened through American influences, directly by contact with American soldiers and civilians, indirectly by discussions which appear in Japanese periodicals of the life of American women. How widely this attitude exists is difficult to say, though I believe that at present (January 1952) it is not a strong force among women in the villages.

562 Though her place is at home, the woman is by no means removed from the wider aspects of village life. She may take an active part in the Women's Association. She may handle the family money or part of it. She may operate a little store to supplement her husband's income from the fields, or if she is a widow, to provide for her own support. She may participate in mutual loan groups. And she may be the head of a household.

8

Public Health

The people of the villages are conscious of health and sanitation, an awareness gained under the Japanese. This awareness and desire for cleanliness and sanitation meet major obstacles in the lack of running water, the distance to public baths, the expense and trouble (or both) of heating quantities of water, the cost of soap, the poorness of the outdoor toilets especially in the devastated areas.

515 511 751

An analysis of village health problems requires the specialized knowledge of the physician or doctor of public health. The observations of a layman however may have some interest.

511 [364] 751 The general sanitary conditions are not good. The weak spots are (1) Poor outdoor toilets and their haphazard location with relation to wells. (2) The dirty and smoky Okinawan kitchen. Many have dirt floors and little effort is made to keep them clean. The situation is better with the stone floor or cemented kitchen. Women complain about smoke smarting and injuring their eyes. All of the rooms of an Okinawan house, especially in winter, are likely to be very smoky around meal times. (3) Food preparation and dishwashing are often done in dirty surroundings. Foods are fried or boiled, and this is all to the good. In making tea, the water is seldom boiled; more often it is only brought to a boil or allowed to get hot.

Nevertheless, to superficial observation at least, villagers seem to enjoy good health. Most of them are energetic. Obesity is very unusual. The average man or woman of any age has little spare flesh. The most frequent complaints are of dysentery, constipation, colds, boils and swellings, and intestinal parasites. There are signs of malnutrition in the distended bellies of some small children, probably due to the unrelieved and starchy diet of the sweet potato,[6] with extremely few animal fats and proteins. 146 [164]

The sores and scabs on the heads, faces, arms, and legs of infants and young children are still the curse of childhood, conditions made worse by the flies which swarm around them. (In summer, I have seen as many as 20 flies on the face of a sleeping child without a trace of any muscular reaction). There are few Okinawans today who do not bear the scars of these sores of infancy, especially on the scalp. (Young men are sensitive about this and it is one reason also for keeping the hair long). Younger parents now are beginning to use various disinfecting powders and talcs to prevent these sores (which look like impetigo) and seem to have abandoned the attitude of a previous generation that these were childhood experiences to be endured. Much could be done to eliminate these diseases of childhood by a campaign in which local groups like the Women's Association and the public health authorities joined. 164 [751] 000

In the summer months, Jap B encephalitis (known as nūen) is very much dreaded. Some villagers had only a vague idea that it was a brain fever and a few knew that the mosquito was the vector. 164 [753]

According to residents of each of the villages, no cases of leprosy had been discovered in recent years. This disease is also dreaded and I doubt that an attempt would be made to conceal a case.

Young people have uncommonly beautiful, evenly spaced, white teeth. This seems to have been an Okinawan characteristic for a long time, as Basil Hall commented upon it 135 years ago. Around the late teens or early twenties, the teeth decay, and there are many extractions and replacements with gold or steel false teeth. Some extractions are intentional, especially among young girls who believe that a gold tooth sets them apart and adds to beauty. But I am convinced that this is of minor importance as an explanation. Okinawans [145] [757] [832]

6 I am not acquainted with any analyses of the composition of the Okinawan sweet potato. In laboratory tests of an improved high-starch American variety, the composition when ground for starch was: moisture, 64.5%; starch, 25.5%; sugars, 2.8%; crude protein, 1.5%; pectic substances, 2.2%; crude fat, 0.6%; mineral matter, 0.9%; other, 2%. Sweet potato carotene can be readily converted to Vitamin A. See Dawson, P. R., Greathouse, L. H., and Gordon, W. O. Sweet potatoes: more than starch. In: Crops in peace and war. (U. S. Dept. of Agric., The yearbook of agriculture 1950-51) Washington, 195-203. Ref. on 195, 201. [146]

164 Okinawans
[153] blame tooth decay on the brown sugar. It may be diet or water.
[515] Use of tooth brushes varies considerably with individuals and families.

515 The standard of cleanliness in Okinawan homes is not high,
511 but this cannot be ascribed to indifference. One should constantly bear in mind that it is easy to keep clean with plenty of soap, showers, hot running water, washing machines, and flush toilets.

9

Native Medicine

278 The native medicine has already been referred to in the discussion of fish and wild plants used as medicines. Their use has declined with growing reliance on manufactured drugs and pharmaceuticals.

[150] The golden needle (kinbari) is still used by rural doctors (yabu)
[159] in the treatment of inflamations of the joints and rheumatism. There was one such doctor in Hinatogawa, but ordinarily he is called only when real medical attention is not available.

[413] The needle is scarcely thicker than a horse hair. It is encased in a shaft about 2 3/8 inches long. The grip or base of the needle is 3/4 of an inch long and the needle itself 1 7/8 inches. The needle is tapped and gradually worked into the affected part, and a length from 3/4 to one inch is broken off and allowed to remain in the body and circulate to effect its curative powers.

Blood letting is still practiced, often by the individual himself. Thin cuts are made with a razor, generally on the forehead above the eyebrows and slanting toward the bridge of the nose. This is done to relieve headaches and general pains and may be resorted to after aspirin has failed to relieve a headache. On a close look, one can often observe the slight, thin, long scars, which look like tiny wrinkles, resulting from these slashes. During the operation, a sake cup is held up to the place being cut. The cup may even have a little sake in it. When done by a native doctor, the blood may be sucked through a small tube and allowed to drip into a sake cup.

Cauterization using mogusa (moxa) also is still common. One can frequently see scar tissue, the results of burning mogusa on the flesh, usually in the area around the wrist. Mogusa is applied with glowing charcoal sticks, burning thread, or tobacco. It is used for no specific complaint, but as a counter-irritant cureall for a wide variety of ailments.

Acupuncture apparently is little used now. Formerly an area was pricked with a needle, or a series of needles brought to a point, and
[386] an indigo dye applied. One can observe these round spots, circles of dots, occasionally on the shoulders and the backs of older people. These should not be confused with tattooing.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

The native medicine, including the use of plants and fish as medicines, the native doctor, the use of cauterization, the golden needle, slashing, and acupuncture, seem to be disappearing in favor of modern patent medicines and drugs, and scientific medicine, nursing, and midwifery. Of all the traditional practices (ultimately derived from China), slashing and burning with mogusa seem to have the greatest vitality. 75 178 [177]

10

Tattooing

Tattooing (ireizumi in Japanese, dake in Okinawan) is a subject of great historical interest in the Ryukyu chain. In Okinawa, it exists now only among elderly women (in the late sixties and seventies), as it was forbidden by law when the Japanese annexed the islands. Tattooing usually was done on the back of the hands, including the fingers, parts of the wrist, and the knuckles. The design was put on by spreading India ink (often with sake or awamori added) on the surface, pricking out the design and wiping off the surplus, repeating the operation for the lighter parts. To my knowledge, there was no facial tattooing. 304 [636] [386]

Until quite recently tattooing was practiced on men as well. Basil Hall in 1816 wrote of a landing in the south of Okinawa island. "Most of these people had fish spears tatooed on their arms in the form of a trident, with rude barbs." On the right arm it was called (in Hall's transcription) "oodeemaw," and on the left, "tooga." Apparently this was confined to fishermen. Furness in his account of the Luchus (1899) observed such markings among young and mature men in Itoman. The explanation given him was that they were a protection against evil spirits. Furness also discussed the theory that tattooing was historically connected with weaving. Simon, in an interesting speculative discussion, based on the designs of cloth in Miyako and their correspondence with house or family markings thought that the tattooing was a means of identifying woman's membership in a family.7 304 114 [531] [789] [602]

This interesting idea unfortunately did not occur to me while in the villages, but the notion that tattooing may have been related 114 304 602

7 Hall's Voyage, as cited, Vocabulary (no pagination). Hall includes sketches of the marks. Furness, Life in the Luchu islands, as cited, 9. See also Simon's extremely interesting discussion, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, as cited, 134-150. Furness and Simon are especially valuable because they personally observed instances of tattooing at a time when it was much more commonly seen. Both authors reproduce patterns which show differences among the islands and among individuals.

114 to the family system, the extended family, or to the household
304 order naming system is well worth exploring. No tattooing was
602 observed among the Hinatogawa fishermen, but this may have been an oversight. According to an old women there, it did exist. One would expect it from the close relationship of Hinatogawa to Itoman. It is quite probable, in my opinion, that tattooing of men and women have different origins.

304 According to the early observers, tattooing of women took place around puberty, although Furness puts the age at 4 or 5 years. Patterns differed distinctly by island.

In Okinawa, everywhere one hears the same explanation for the origin of women's tattooing. Although there are variants, the core of the explanation is that the Ryukyu islanders (presumably after the Satsuma conquest of 1609) tattooed their young girls to prevent
[698] their being carried off to brothels in Japan. The tattooing was supposed to have made the girls so unattractive that they were untouched. Other variations are that the tattoo indicated marriage and thus kept the girl from being taken away. An old woman of Hinatogawa told of a legend (not seen or heard from any other source) in which the tattooing of women was an act of thanksgiving for a rescue at sea. A boat was sinking, and the survivors swimming saw
[773] two hands in the sky. They stopped the waves and the storm passed, permitting the swimmers to reach shore easily. The families were told, and after that the hands of the women were tattooed.

[119] This subject needs considerable research. It would be of great interest to know the relationship, if any, to the family system, the extended family, and the household order naming system, whether it is comparatively recent in the islands, and whether the tattooing
[177] of the fisherman is a result of Chinese or Portugese influences and a consequence of the early Pacific trade described in Chapter II.

11

Knuckle Cracking

157 One of the most puzzling of Okinawan mannerisms is the frequency of knuckle cracking. It may be observed in young children from 5 to 6 to old men and women in their seventies. It is done on so many occasions that cataloging them would be a real chore. The knuckle is cracked crisply and sharply. Young boys and girls may talk a whole evening, cracking their knuckles incessantly. It occurs in ordinary conversation, at lively parties, and during periods when a conversation lags. Children say they learned it from their mothers.

It seems a habit acquired very early. Perhaps it is an indication of tension, but I am inclined to be less specific. One Okinawan explained it as a continuation of childhood habit and ascribed it to the limberness of the fingers coming from early training on the abacus,

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

discounting the idea that it was a sign of nervousness or of being ill at ease. Certainly it occurs equally with strangers, relatives and life-long friends, and it may well be nothing more than an extremely common mannerism. 150

12

The Tide

Scattered throughout the previous discussion there have been references to the importance of reckoning the tide on certain occasions. At these times, it is necessary that it either be high tide or that the tide is coming in. Though doubtless there are many more instances than have been mentioned, the following were found to be the most common occasions in which high tide or the beginning of flood tide was considered: (1) The marriage ceremony of san-san-kudo, (2) giving a child a name on its birth date, (3) when moving from a main house to a branch house, (4) when the child is given symbolic gifts at his first birthday party, (5) when carrying salt, the Buddhist god shelf and other articles into a new house. 823

Under these circumstances it is necessary to be able to compute the tide quickly and easily. For this purpose, the lunar month is divided into two periods of 15 days each. From an almanac a figure is obtained which gives the number of hours to be added to 12 o'clock on the first day of the 15 day lunar cycle. This is 0.8 hours or 48 minutes for low tide. (Everyone seems to have this at his finger tips). On the first day of the fifteen day cycle, low tide is 48 minutes after 12 o'clock. High tide is obtained by adding or subtracting 6 hours. The computation is shown in the following table. 805 823

Lunar Day at 12 o'clock (15 day cycle)		Multiplied by:	Equals Period of time in Hours to be Added to 12 o'clock.	Or, Low Tide at:
1	x	0.8 hrs	0.8 hrs.	12:48
2	x	0.8	1.6	1:36
3	x	0.8	2.4	2:24
4	x	0.8	3.2	3:12
5	x	0.8	4.0	4:00
6	x	0.8	4.8	4:48
7	x	0.8	5.6	5:36
8	x	0.8	6.4	6:24
9	x	0.8	7.2	7:12
10	x	0.8	8.0	8:00
11	x	0.8	8.8	8:48
12	x	0.8	9.6	9:36
13	x	0.8	10.4	10:24
14	x	0.8	11.2	11:12
15	x	0.8	12.0	12:00
16 (or 1)	x	0.8	12.8	12:48

To obtain high tide add or subtract 6 hours.

Home Industries, Arts, and Crafts

438 Home industries, arts, and crafts are not a conspicuous part of the life of the villages studied. Even before the war, home crafts, training in dancing, singing, landscape gardening were not cultivated to any degree.

252 Certain foods, like bean curd and bean paste, are made in the home. There is a standard method of preparing bean curd. The soy beans are soaked until soft and then mashed in a hand operated stone mill or quern. This mill has two round stones. The top stone, turned by hand, rests on the stationary bottom stone. The crushed beans, thinned by frequent dashes of water, ooze out of the space between the two stones. This liquid is collected and strained through a cloth drawn over the top of a frame box. The residue in the cloth is saved for pig food. The liquid is boiled. After it curdles, it is strained. The curds remain in the cloth, the liquid [231] is also used for the pigs. The curds, of the consistency of a soft cottage cheese, are wrapped in a cloth and put in the frame box. A tight fitting lid is put on the box and pressed down hard to expel the rest of the liquid. After the curd has been thoroughly pressed, the frame box is turned upside down, the curd taken out, and the cloth wrapper removed. The smooth mold can now be sliced. It is a common sight to see women operating these mills in the villages before a family celebration or a public holiday. Bean curd, fried, boiled in a soup, or in a mixture with vegetables, or as an ingredient [574] of sukiyaki is always served at a party.

25 Bean paste (miso), an even more important food, is also made
252 in the home. Most families serve bean paste soup (misoshiru) every
[264] meal every day. It has four basic ingredients: soy beans, rice (or barley), salt, and water. Recipes differ considerably among families. In one recipe, 8 sho of rice are boiled, after which it is spread out on a large flat basket to drain, and then placed on a mat and allowed to ferment for about one week. An equal amount of soy beans, crushed in a stone mortar, is mixed with the rice. Salt (about 7 go, one go being 1/10 of a sho) is added and the mixture is boiled.[8] The salt retards fermentation and is a preservative. If obtainable, an American hand food grinder is preferred to the mortar and pestle. The mixture is put in a large jar (tsubo) which is placed in the kitchen or in a storeroom and allowed to stand at least a year, sometimes for three. With age, the paste becomes sweeter and is considered to be better. A woman may make three large jars of bean paste 3 times a year, the frequency depending on the size of the jars. Some are 5 1/2 feet high. Occasionally the cycad is an ingredient of miso. Every house has a supply of bean paste. When ready for use, it is very soluble in water.

[804] 8 A koku equals 10 to equals 100 sho equals 1000 go, 47.96 US gallons liquid, 5.12 US dry bushels.

Few articles for wear or general household use are made in the home. In Hanashiro and Hatsuda, different kinds of ropes are made from the palm or from rice straw. The fibre of the palm is pulled apart and carded with the hands. Lengths of the fibre are twisted by rolling between the palms of the hand. These ropes are very strong, but the palm fibre is now scarce. 283

Weaker articles made of rice straw are far more common. The chief ones are ropes (waratsuna), mats (mushiro), a rope mesh (ōda in Okinawan) carried on the ends of poles, twine, and swings (buranko) for children. Braided rice twine is used to tie the dwarf bamboo down to the roof before putting on the tile on top. In Hinatogawa, very few articles of home manufacture are made. Some mats, a very few slippers, and fishing lures are the chief articles. 824 438

The people of Hatsuda have better plant fibres and more mat making is found here. Two families specialize in making mats, one using a foot operated loom from Japan, the other a very simple hand loom. Mats are made from two plants which are indigenous: the i rush and the pandanus. Two kinds are used, a three corned (sankaku) and the round (maru), the latter considered superior. In Hatsuda, there are four types of mats distinguished by the materials employed: (1) the pandanus mat, (2) the pandanus as the warp, the i rush as the weft, (3) cotton string as the warp, the i as the weft, and (4) an all i rush mat. The best quality is the all rush mat. It is a strong, closely woven and attractive mat. Weaving is done by men in their spare time, or as a full time occupation by those physically unable to do hard work. Occasionally women weave, but it is uncommon. The market is mainly local. 285 [462]

In the simple upright hand loom, the warp beam is attached to the top board of the loom. The warp is stretched taut and fastened to the bottom board of the loom (corresponding with the cloth beam). The cotton strings, which make up the warp, are alternately set forward and backward, and when the weft is pushed in it goes over one string and under another to make the weave. The weft once in place is pushed down to the bottom by a movable board, with holes which guide it up and down the warp, to make the weave. In lieu of a shuttle, the rush strips used as a weft are guided through the cotton strings of the warp with a piece of bamboo about 4 feet long notched in the end like a bottle cap opener. One end of the rush is put in the notch and the stick is pushed alternately through the threads of the warp. The ends of the weft are tied to the warp to make a fringe and secure the mat against ripping. The rush is wet with a brush before using. It takes about 12 hours to make a 3 x 6 feet mat on this type of loom. 285 286

Men in Hatsuda also make rough baskets, mainly for carrying vegetables and the stationary barriers (hinpun), made of the dwarf bamboo. These are woven diagonally when the plant is green and moist. 285

In the villages there is little effort to beautify the courtyard, train trees, or to cultivate shrubs and flowers. Now and then one sees a flower bed in the compound or the remains of a rock garden with shrubs and a small pond. But there is little to suggest the Japanese skill in these matters. 351

543 these matters. In township exhibits of arts and crafts, there are evidences of these skills, such as the training of a chrysanthemum, a favorite choice, but these are not part of daily life.

532 Yet there is evidence of artistic talent and interest which teachers and parents encourage in the young. Okinawan children draw and copy well. It is not unusual to see an otherwise bare room of a [353] poor farmer's home decorated with the paintings or drawings of a son or daughter. While clearly the work of novices, they often show feeling for line and color. School buildings, houses, and landscapes are the favorite subjects. Drawing skills come as no surprise because of the close relationship, in countries using the Chinese character, 875 of calligraphy and art. Teachers of drawing and art in the schools 212 are skillful in rapid sketching, and part of this skill must be the result of early training in the sequence of strokes and in writing the Chinese character with confidence and boldness.

535 Dancing and samisen playing are learned by imitation and self-instruction. Music is learned by ear, the dancing by observing the old 533 and skilled. Parents do not instruct their children in these arts; they pick up the skill themselves. There are no village teachers nor 868 do the schools teach native dances, songs, or samisen playing. (In recent years instruction books have been furnished when a samisen is [562] purchased). Samisen playing is a monopoly of the men, many of whom also have a repertoire of traditional dances. These performers are always in demand on social occasions. Both old and young men dance, but only the old women feel free to do so. Seeing a seventy or eighty year old grandmother dancing at a party is commonplace, but I have never seen a young girl or a young woman in her thirties doing this. (Young girls and young women may participate in formal dances in processions and on holidays). Among the younger people, there is considerable interest, but little facility in American dancing.

532 Hanging scrolls (kakemono) are often purchased by the villagers. But these are dashed off affairs, following Japanese art conventions, such as the jolly Japanese patron saint, tigers, the bamboo-plum blossom-cherry triad, and the turtle and the cormorant, etc.

181 One has the impression of latent talent in music, dancing, and drawing but that the cultural conditions have not been favorable to [533] their development. Social events and parties are unthinkable without [535] singing, dancing, and samisen playing. Good drawing and calligraphy [532] are admired. But none of these seem to be highly developed folk arts. [868] Possibly one reason is that the transmission of the skills has been purely imitative, and that a body of knowledge has not accumulated in books, organized teaching, or through apprenticeship and hereditary occupations by which ideas can be improved upon by wider dissemination. [369] The cultural isolation of rural villages may have prevented the building up of a tradition in art and handicraft. Naha and Shuri, the historical cultural centers, have produced the fine examples of lacquer ware, [636] ceramics, and paintings. Possibly also Japanese repression of the native culture has been the main reason. Whatever they are, the lack of advance-

ment in these arts, in my opinion, is not due to absence of feeling and talent, but to conditions unfavorable to the development of ability beyond the stage of extemporaneous entertainment or for simple practical ends. 181

14

Activities of Old Age

In old age there is no distinct break with the activities experienced from childhood. Around the age of 55 a man or a woman is considered old. He or she has left the middle age, and henceforth may be called grandfather or grandmother. 888

A man legally retires at sixty. But this is retirement from house headship not from active work. The retired father remains in the background but he is respected and consulted. Men and women in their fifties, sixties, and seventies work much more leisurely and sporadically at their tasks, if they can. In the eighties, if they are still able, they confine themselves to strolls throughout the village. There are afternoon naps. The old go to bed very early. But they do not, if physically able, lose contact with the life around them. 887

This lack of retirement from active life, among the old, is most pronounced in agricultural villages because there are so many simple and easy chores to be done. In non-agricultural occupations, the opportunities for continuing work in old age are not so great. But there are compromises. In Hinatogawa, the old men often repair the fishing nets, help take care of the boats, dry fish, and cut grasses. The old stonecutter does light chipping and bevelling. The old women may gather rocks.

There is no formal legal retirement for a woman, unless she is the head of a house. One of the striking activities of old women is their frequent travelling on buses. They may be merely visiting a nearby village, or they may have a basket of fish, vegetables, eggs, or perhaps a chicken to sell. They add humor and gayety to a bus journey. An old woman does not hesitate to tell a young person politely but authoritatively to give her a seat or to ask the passengers to make way for her. Old women make humorous comments, and talk freely to total strangers. Okinawans of all ages are courteous to the old and to women with children and readily give up their seats, even on a long bus journey. 888 887

In these villages, one cannot fail to notice the good humor, the interest in life, and the honored place of the old. It is not uncommon for a young man or a young woman from another village, in leisure hours, to visit an old person: a grandparent, an uncle or an aunt, the midwife who attended at his birth, his "growing up" parent, or the elderly relative of one of his friends. These visits are not mere formalities, and they may sit talking an hour or two over tea. Old men and women 888

888 alike take part in conversations, discussing such topics as the price of rice, fish, or the market for village products, and other current happenings in the village.

One of the most pleasing, one might even say touching, aspects of the life of the old is the mutual respect between the elderly and the young. A young man in his late teens or early twenties talks to a retired village elder with respect, but not exaggerated deference, nor does he hesitate to express his own opinion. The elder man or woman listens as if the opinion of the young were worth hearing and there is no condescension in his reply.

The reasons for these fine relationships, I am convinced, are that both the old and the young meet one another as active participants in the culture in which they both live. The old, whether in poverty or affluence, are not shoved aside or ignored as persons no longer directly concerned with the questions, even the decisions, of an active life.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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CHAPTER XVI

DEATH AND MEMORY OF THE DEAD

1 Death and Funeral Services

2 Burial Places and the Family System

3 Observances in Memory of the Dead

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

Death and Funeral Services

Okinawans, as so many have thought, are not preoccupied with death, burial customs, and their tombs. The popular criticism that they extravagantly spend all their money building tombs is unjust and comes from a superficial understanding of their function. Memorial observances, not the tombs, are the real sources of expense to surviving relatives. 761 181 [769]

The same basic customs were found in all the villages. On the death of an adult, the eyes are closed, the body washed, and fresh clothes are put on it. There is no embalming. The finger nails and hair are cut. (Haircutting is not universal). The body is then placed in a small wooden coffin. This is about 19 inches wide and about 22 inches deep, with the length varying according to height. An average length would be slightly over 4 feet. This is the traditional Buddhist coffin. Placing the body in a coffin this size requires doubling it up. The head rests on a small Japanese type pillow (makura). The legs are bent to bring the knees near the chin, and the hands folded over the chest. Articles for use in the afterworld, okurimono ("sending away things"), are also placed in the coffin. Though the articles vary, they generally include a pair of slippers, a kimono (for a woman), a kimono or western style pair of pants for a man, tobacco and tobacco cases, a towel, and sake in one flask, and water in another. Seven needles are stuck on each side of the kimono or the lapel of a coat. In Hanashiro, clogs and slippers are not placed in the coffin, but in front of the tomb at interment. When the coffin is closed, it is turned with the head facing west.[1] 764

On death, close relatives up to first cousins are first summoned, followed by relatives in the extended family living in or near the village. There are no hard and fast customs about taking care of the body. First or other sons may take care of a father's body; brothers and cousins of a young girl's; the first son of the mother's; the eldest younger brother of an elder brother's; the first son or the father of a second or succeeding son's. Sometimes female relatives take care of the body. A husband or wife does not perform this duty for the other. The father or the mother prepare the body of a younger child.

Burial follows death very quickly. By law a body must be buried within 24 hours, but the interment is often quicker than this. An adult

1 There is confusion whether the head is placed to the north or to the west because the Okinawan word for north is the Japanese word for west.

764 dying in the evening or during the night is buried the next day, one dying in the morning will probably be interred by nightfall.

766 Burial customs for children differ from those of adults. The immediate burial of a dead child seems to be general in the villages, even if, according to one informant, it dies at 12 or 1 o'clock in the morning. With the death verified, relatives are called, and the child might be taken away within 15 minutes. Certain distinctions are made depending on whether (1) the child is still-born or dies shortly after birth, (2) the child is under 8 years old, and (3) the child is 8 years or older. A premature, still-born child, or an in-
[845] fant dying shortly after birth is buried almost immediately in the compound, usually behind the house. The child under eight is buried in a temporary grave near the family tomb, remaining there until the family tomb is opened upon the death of an adult. The infant's bones are then gathered up and put in the tomb. The temporary grave is prepared by a younger man of the family. The dead child is carried by the mother, an aunt or other female relative. The tomb, in general practice, is opened for a child over 8 years of age.

These are general statements and the details vary. In Minatogawa, for example, a child's funeral is similar to an adult's, but the body is not put in the coffin until the tomb is reached. The mother, or a close female relative, carries it in her arms. The coffin is carried by other mourners. The explanation given is that it was formerly believed that the child might revive on the way. In a child's funeral here, there is no banner announcing the name and death date, at the head of the procession. Neither is a hearse or funeral palanquin (gan) used.

In Matsuda, this palanquin also is not used for children 8 and under. Whether a tomb is opened for a child seems to depend on individual family custom. In one case, an extended family tomb was not opened for a child; in another it was. The child is carried to the tomb and then placed in the coffin. In this village, children are not buried immediately. The custom is the same as for adults.

764 Judging by descriptions which villagers gave of pre-war customs,
178 funerals and burial customs have been simplified in the post-war period. The services of Buddhist priests have been almost completely dispensed with. Offerings are more modest. Priestesses (noro) and their assistants
[793] seldom officiate. The contemporary rural Okinawan funeral is simple. The following description of a funeral observed near Gushichan village probably is typical.

764 The deceased, a woman of 40, died about eleven in the morning. The funeral procession passed the village office at 5:30 on the same day. There were no special ceremonies before the funeral. The body, washed and dressed, had been placed in the coffin which was put on the funeral palanquin or hearse. This red palanquin is normally owned by the village. Since the war, not all villages have an gan.

The hearse was carried by four young men. (There may be 8 pallbearers,

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four for relief if the tomb is at a distance). At the head of the procession, there was a group of older men, some relatives, some close friends of the family. Behind them was the hearse, followed by the immediate female relatives of the deceased. One of these, a young daughter, crying softly, was helped along by an aunt. At the end were the rest of the women, both friends and neighbors.

The procession left the road and wound up a narrow path leading to the tomb, located on the summit of a rocky hill with a magnificent view of the nearby mountains, the valley and the sea below. The ringing of a bell could be heard as the hearse approached the tomb. A small stone in front of the tomb had been removed. Above the opening, a white cloth, about the size of a large handkerchief fluttered in the chill wind. On it there was written (in Chinese characters) "The spirit of _____" (_____ no rei). Friends and relatives went in the tomb area. Others remained outside its entrances, standing in the grass near a sweet potato patch, reclaimed from the stony soil. When the hearse arrived, the pallbearers immediately took the coffin out. It was shoved into the aperture of the tomb, one or two men going in first to guide it in straight. The point of the final farewell had now been reached. The women relatives who had gathered around the hearse now sobbed and cried more audibly. The men did not assemble as a group. Neither was there any outward sign of grief among them. During this short period of final prayer, everyone kneeled. The stone was replaced over the opening. Charcoal sticks were lighted. The prayer over, everyone walked silently down the path from the rocky hill with its high miscanthus grass. There was a high wind and the dusk was deepened by the low dark thunder clouds.

Several comments are worth mentioning regarding the preceding description. At the head of the procession there may be a small banner (hata) with the name of the deceased and the date of death. This practice has fallen into disuse. When used, either a white or red (the color seems to have no significance) banner is carried by a grandchild or other child relative of the deceased. Hinatogawa was the only village in which the banner was still used.

The method of selecting pallbearers may also vary. In Hinatogawa, they are usually chosen from among friends and relatives. In Hanashiro, the young men from the neighborhood group (han) in which the deceased lived become the pallbearers. Here also adults representing each family in the village assemble as a mark of respect in front of the house of the deceased.

The order of march in the procession is fairly standardized: (1) the banner if used, (2) the male mourners. In some instances, male relatives precede the others. (3) The palanquin with the coffin, (4) the close female relatives of the deceased. This group occasionally may include parents and children, although it is more usual for the adult male relatives to be in the leading group, and (5) the women, without regard to relationship.

764 The beginning of a funeral procession is announced by a gong in the yard of a village office. The head man and other leaders and elders of the village attend the funeral. The mayor of the township or his representative joins in the procession.

[793] A Buddhist priest (bōsu-san) did not officiate at this funeral. Priests are scarce in rural Okinawa. Most of them were Japanese who returned to Japan after the war. Families can also save by dispensing with the Buddhist service. The participation of Buddhist priests, already nominal before the war, has now in the villages studied, virtrally disappeared.

764 431 It is customary at a death to give a ten or twenty yen offering to the family. The money is put in a small envelop with an expression of sympathy written on it. (In Okinawa money is the usual gift at marriage, birthday celebrations, and at death. The gift may be put in a small envelop but it is common also to give a loose bill).

765 [782] Early on the morning following the funeral, the tomb is visited by members of the family. Food offerings of rice, tea, sake, and a flower may be placed in front of the tomb. A charcoal stick is burned. These visits with the offerings and prayers on the following morning are associated with a belief, still held by the old, that the dead person might still be alive and that the pounding of an adult on the wall or the crying of a child might be heard so that the living could be rescued from the tomb. The belief that the person might still be alive and possibly could be heard seems to persist in Hanashiro and Hinatogawa. It was not encountered in Matsuda, although it might well exist.

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2

Burial Places and the Family System

764 Okinawan tombs have excited the interest of foreigners from the earliest days of European contact. There are no cemeteries in the usual sense of the word, but areas scattered throughout the countryside, usually on the tops of hills, or on the stony sides of mountains, are given over to burial grounds. Tombs are not located on land suitable for agriculture. It has been said that the Japanese forbad using agricultural land for tombs, but the practice in Okinawa seems to antedate these Japanese interferences in the culture of the rural areas. In the interior, the tombs are always on wild (genya) land. But one can also see tombs along the seashore and on offshore rocks. The outstanding exceptions to this are the royal tomb area in Shuri, now largely destroyed, and the large and dramatically placed tombs in the center of Itoman town. In the case of Itoman, it is quite probable that the growing town has surrounded the areas taken as tomb sites.

[311] [565]

Of the several types of tombs, the turtleback (kamekokata) is the most famous. It has been variously described by European travellers as

the tomb shaped like a horseshoe or the Greek letter, omega. A great deal of popular lore has accumulated around this type of tomb. Okinawans believe that the shape of the tomb symbolizes the position of a woman giving birth to a child. This is related to another idea, "returning to the source" (moto ni kaeru in Japanese). 764 [811]

Four different but related meanings seem to be involved in the idea of "returning to the source": (1) that life here is but a momentary experience. One's real and permanent life is in the afterworld. At death one returns to his permanent home. (2) After death a person becomes a god (hotoke-san) in the Buddhist sense. He reaches this state 49 days after death, according to some explanations, though there is much confusion on this point. This godhood is a "return to the source." (3) At death one returns to a state of peace, and (4) one returns to a former state or to a former place. It is with this last meaning that the turtleback tomb is associated in popular lore with "returning to the source." 761 775

On death one returns to the womb of nature from which he came. (Similar lore has collected around the Buddhist coffin in which the corpse is put in a position like that of a child in the womb). Whether the popular explanation is the true one is very hard to say. It certainly should not be accepted without critically evaluating the questions which such an explanation raises. Early European and American observers were quick to point out the similarities between those tombs and those of China, though the fact that they were introduced from China does not rule out the symbolic meaning they might have. Many Okinawans regard these tombs as indigenous. But the Okinawan antiquarians, who so love to find symbols in everything, would be loathe to surrender this lore. It is generally agreed that the tombs were introduced from Fukien province in China. Captain Basil Hall was the first western traveller, I think, to notice the similarity between Okinawan and Fukien tombs. M'Leod also mentioned it. 775 764 811 [114] [171] [177]

The gable (hafu) type of tomb is very common. There are also small temporary tombs of masonry, more often built of rocks. The tombs of Minatogawa are of this type. There are also very old tombs, hollowed out of the rock of a hillside. These were rare in the villages. Only one was seen in the dense vegetation and undergrowth at the bottom of a deep ravine in the center of Matsuda. Large tombs hollowed out of hillsides are a commonplace, but the small ones apparently were the tombs of the very poor. Recently a new small tomb is being built by families unwilling to undergo the expense of the larger tombs. Tombs, though appearing to be haphazardly placed on mountains or on rocky hillsides, are on privately owned land. 764 [565]

The tombs may also be classified as to use, that is, whether they are intended for a single or the extended family. In Hanashiro, tombs are of the extended family type, located on land owned by the main family. They are the responsibility of the head of the main family. Branch families may contribute to the purchase price of the land, construction materials, and to maintenance. 764 602

000 construction materials, and to maintenance.

614 766 In an earlier chapter, a villager's remark was quoted to the effect that Hinatogawa was a branch family of Itoman. This is well illustrated in the burial customs of this village. Both children and adults are placed in a simple, temporary tomb, usually along the coast near the stonecutting area. Later the tomb is opened, the bones washed, and sent to Itoman. The transfer of the remains from the temporary tombs of the village to the extended family tomb in Itoman may be done at a time when it is necessary to open the Itoman tomb because of the death of a member of the extended family there. There is no second funeral. The cleaned bones are put in a box. There are short prayers before the opened Itoman tomb, the bones placed inside, and the box discarded.

764 602 In the adjoining village of Nagamo, burial customs are similar to those of Hanashiro. Nagamo has three different kinds of tombs: (1) large gable and turtleback extended family types, (2) a similar large tomb for a single family, and (3) small tombs for individual families.

The tombs of Hatsuda also are mainly of the extended family type. There are examples here of the turtleback, the gable, and the new small tomb. They are scattered throughout the village area, sometimes on the summit of a hill whose slopes are given over to terraced rice fields or dry cropping. Not all families own tombs; for reasons of economy, the small tomb for individual burial is becoming more frequent.

765 [462] [078] [114] In all the villages, after the coffin is put inside the tomb, it is left there for about three years. The tomb is reopened, the bones are removed from the coffin, washed, and put back in the tomb, tasks done by female relatives of the deceased, usually women over 40 years old. This three year period is not a set one. If a later death occurs in the family, the coffin may be opened at that time. An old custom of placing the bones in an urn after they are taken from the coffin has been abandoned. Basil Hall has some interesting comments on these old Okinawan urns.

3

Observances in Memory of the Dead

765 769 Observances in memory of the dead are held in all villages on the 1st, 7th, 14th, 21st, 28th, 35th, 42nd, and 49th day after death, and on the 1st, 3rd, 7th, 13th, 25th, and 33rd anniversary of death.

765 The simple observances and prayers at the tomb on the day following burial have already been mentioned. At the home, temporary memorial tablets made of white paper (shiroihai) are prepared to be replaced later with permanent red memorial tablets on the Buddhist god shelf. Both at home and at the tomb only relatives or close friends participate in the prayers and food offerings.

The tomb is revisited on the 7th day. Rice cakes, bean curd, and a little sake may be taken as offerings. The food items vary. Pork, rice, and tea may be added or substituted. The offering may consist of a variety of favored foods (a gochisō, a feast or a treat). The observances on the 14th, 21st, 28th, 35th, and 42nd day are like the preceding ones, though beginning with the 35th day, the prayers and the food offerings may be more elaborate. 765 [262]

The 49th day has special significance. At this time, the temporary white memorial tablets are removed from the god shelf and burned, and the permanent tablets hung there. This god shelf has the tablets of the immediate family in the male line: the father, grandfather, the mother and grandmother, or of deceased children. A son who establishes a branch family has a god shelf in his own house. While I found no unanimity on the point, many interpreted the 49th day as the day on which the deceased is presumed to have become a god (hotoke-san). Others have said this did not take place until the 33rd year after death, certainly a more logical time, since the observances cease at this time. On the 49th day, there are visits to the tomb and prayers before the god shelf at night. As the last of a series of observances which follow closely after death, the food offerings and the food served to guests are much more sumptuous than those of previous weeks. [778] [776]

In the annual anniversaries, differences depend on family piety and economic status. With some families, observances become more elaborate as the years go by. The prayers and the feast of the 1st and 3rd years are usually the same as that of the 49th day. Beginning with the 7th year the rice may be dyed red. Rice dyed red is used as the years from the date of death increase. In all cases, the 33rd year is the last and the most luxurious of the celebrations. The occasion begins with prayers at the god shelf, the food offering, sake, followed by a banquet for the guests, most of whom are relatives. This 33rd year celebration is the final recognition of a person's life on earth as a member of the family and ends the responsibility for observing the anniversary of his death. 769

Though rare, a family may call on a Buddhist priest to officiate at one of these memorial observances. One service, in memory of a fourth son who had died in the Philippines in 1944, was observed in Minatogawa. The priest received from the father the name, age, and place of death of his son and wrote this information on a piece of paper. The chant began with the tapping of a small bell (inkin), ringing which was repeated frequently throughout the service. The chant, which lasted about 25 minutes, was sung in an archaic Japanese which no one understood. Toward the end, the priest read the paper on which he had written the information regarding the deceased. These were the only words which could be clearly understood. The purpose here was to inform the Buddha of the name of the dead. The priest wore a black robe with gold trimming. Around his neck was a string of beads (zuzu) with a pendant purple tassel. He sat in the front of the first room with the father of the dead boy on his right. The women guests were in the second room. As the long chant continued, people began talking to one another, and when the priest 769 793 788 [292]

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769 finished the restless children already had become noisy. The ceremony
793 completed, the priest exchanged a few courtesies, explained the sig-
788 nificance of the chant to the father, received a gratuity and left shortly after. The women and the children soon retired, and the men were served sake, but the party was more subdued than the usual social affair.

769 These ceremonies in memory of the dead are the responsibility of
511 the head of the house. These, and not the family tombs, are the real financial burdens. Since the war, village and township governments, and community organizations have tried to persuade the people to spend less on these and to spread what good food they have more evenly throughout the year.

829 They have tried to standardize gifts at marriage, on birthdays,
511 and at deaths, and to cut down the cost of food by simplifying the banquets. In this they have been at least partly successful because everyone recognizes the difficulties. Villagers do not like to spend all their resources on celebrations, and yet, there is an obligation which cannot be avoided. Two sensible adjustments have been made. Economies have been effected in the food served, and, whenever possible, celebrations or holidays that come close together are combined. The 7 year memorial service, described above, was combined by the family with the festival of the autumnal equinox (higan).

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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PART SIX

THE WIDER COMMUNITY EXPERIENCE

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

CHAPTER XVII

PUBLIC CELEBRATIONS AND HOLIDAYS

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I

The New Year

Two basic themes are expressed in public celebrations and holidays. 527
The first of these is remembrance and respect for the dead. The holidays are in part public observances of basic obligations under the family system. In the second place, holidays are occasions of thanksgiving. In a year there are not many official holidays or rest days. The work year is not interrupted, as is our custom, with week ends which may provide from one to two days of leisure. Sunday is not a day of rest. Officials and school teachers do not work at their official duties on the week ends.

The traditional public holidays are based on the lunar calendar. [805]
In the discussion which follows, some holidays have been included, even though they involve only some of the people.

The western New Year is observed perfunctorily. It is observed [199]
only by present and former officials and honored elders of a township. The custom, about 40 years old in Gushichan-son, is known as New Year Banquet Party (Shinnenenkai). Headmen from each of the villages, members [554]
and former members of the village councils, and respected elders, the mayor and his subordinate officials and members of the township assembly are the chief participants. It is a social event, held in a public building or at a school, a "meeting for conversation" (hanashiai) at which food and sake are served. The event begins early in the afternoon and is generally over by early evening.

Lunar New Year (shōgatsu), the first day of the first lunar month and O-Bon in the seventh lunar month, are the two most important holidays. Lunar New Year falls in late January or early February. (In 1951 it was on February 6; in 1952, on January 27). This is a time of new beginnings, of thanksgiving, family reunions, and observances in honor of the dead. It is a three day holiday, with much prior preparation, and on the third day, there is either a symbolic or a partial return to work.

The new year is preceded by a series of activities on the last day of the 12th month (ōmisoka). Before the war, these preparations were more elaborate than they are now. In Hinatogawa, bamboo and pine poles with [789]
a rice straw rope (shimenawa) hanging across the top were placed at the compound entrance. The purpose was to scare off evil spirits and devils. A piece of charcoal wrapped in sea weed and an orange hung from the rice rope. This custom now is also rare in Hatsuda. Only one rice straw rope used for this purpose was observed, and this had been put up some time before the new year.

Other customs of preparing for the new beginning are still observed in all the villages: the house is cleaned; a bath is taken; old debts are paid; the New Year pig is slaughtered, or in the interests of economy three or four families may share a pig. The day before the New [577]
Year is the occasion for recalling one's bad deeds and of resolving on

527 577 better behavior. In one instance from Matsuda, the members of the family talk over their good and bad acts and resolve henceforth to do good.

527 [823] In all the villages, the custom of new or young water (wakamizu) has survived. In Hinatogawa, at 5 or 6 o'clock in the morning of the New Year, young children take fresh water in a tea pot to the homes of relatives. The new water is poured into a cup, placed on the Buddhist god shelf, or on the shelf of the fire god in the kitchen. The children are given Y5 or Y10 by the relatives, who are then supposed to stay young themselves. In Matsuda, new water is taken from a well early in the morning, and some is put on the god shelf. The first tea of the New Year is made with "young water".

A parent may also give a piece of pork with salt on it to his child announcing that he is now one year older. This custom is still observed, even though ages officially are now reckoned in the western manner.

In all the villages, the morning observances are family affairs; the public nature of the holiday is evident later. Tea and sake are [769] placed in front of the ancestral tablets on the god shelf. A fresh kimono is put on and the offering is made before breakfast. Then the [782] father takes the sake from the god shelf, offering sips first to his wife and then to the children.

[778] Later there are visits to the place of the patron deity or first ancestor of the village (ujigami). In Hanashiro, all of the people make this visit. In Hinatogawa, it is also a village affair, but is more involved because there are more places to go: a local religious site of unknown origin, the palace of the gods of the sea (ryūgū), the supposed place of the mountain god, the three wells with their god places, and finally to the places of the two patron deities. In Matsuda, the village head man, accompanied by surviving minor [793] priestesses (formerly in the noro order) make visits to the place of the patron deity. But whether all the villagers or only their representatives take part, the visits have the same meaning: to offer thanks to the founders of the village.

The New Year is a time for extended family reunions. If the home site of the extended family is not in the village, the family or a representative may go to the reunion in another village, if it is not too far away. Only members of the extended family attend these celebrations.

With early morning observances in the home, the public ceremonies, and the extended family reunions over, the gay, informal and public [594] part of the holiday begins. Hospitality is offered on all sides, and there is much drinking among the men. The celebration continues for the rest of the first day and through the second. The third day is a transitional day whose theme is the need of returning to work. This is hachibaru (to begin farming). The day is given over to more feasting and drinking and to some actual or token work.

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By the 7th day, the reminders of New Year have been cleared away. The old offerings are taken from the god shelf and replaced by new food. The rice straw rope, if any, has been removed. 527

Of all the holidays New Year is the most eagerly anticipated and the most varied in its activities. It combines ideas of renewal and new beginnings with worship of the dead and of the founders of the village, as well as being a means of making closer ties with more distant relatives of the extended family. It is a time of work and some pleasure for the women, a time of relaxation and drinking for the men.

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Jūrokunichi

The second public holiday, Jūrokunichi (literally 16th day) is on the 16th day of the 1st lunar month (February 21, 1951). This is a holiday of devotion and prayer at the family tomb. Worshippers go singly or in a group. The tomb is cleaned and food is left for the dead. 769 [196]

In Hanashiro, food is taken in two lacquer boxes (jūbako) the first of which contains rice cakes, the second, fritters, meat, bean curd, and other food depending on the resources of the family. For the first observance after death, two boxes are taken on this holiday. On succeeding anniversaries only the box containing the fritters, meat, bean curd and other foods is taken.[1] The purpose of this offering is to comfort the dead. The food, usually with tea and sake, is left before the tomb for about two hours and taken home, where it is eaten. (Offerings at tombs or at home are only temporary; later they are removed and eaten as ordinary food). The lacquer boxes may also be taken on New Year, at the spring equinox, and at O-Bon. [262] [415]

In Minatogawa, descendants of the former nobility or gentry (shisoku) take four boxes, two of rice cakes, two of the miscellaneous foods, while descendants of commoners take two boxes, one of the rice cakes, and one of the assortment. Every year the same offering is made. It is not reduced to one box after the first. In Matsuda, any kind of a flower is placed by the tomb. A lacquer box with food is prepared for all who died during the preceding year, but it remains on the god shelf in the house and is not taken to the tomb. The contents of the two boxes are as previously described. On succeeding anniversaries after the first, plates instead of lacquer boxes are used. [565] [262]

1 The idea behind this is not clear. Possibly in the first year the dead person requires more food and comfort than in succeeding ones. As they do with so many other practices, most Okinawans explain it by saying that it is shikan (the custom).

3

Celebrations Through the Festival of the Fifth Month

796 The 15th day of the second lunar month (March 22, 1951) is the Buddhist holiday, higan, celebrating the spring equinox. Here it is a home festival of thanksgiving. Barley (Gangi) or barley cakes
[262] with brown sugar are offered with prayers for continued good fortune. Other grains, such as rice, millet (awa) may be offered, though the cakes (mugimochi) are of barley. In Hatsuda, this is not a home ceremony. An offering of white rice cakes is made by the village
[193] head man, with the assistance of lower orders of the former priestess system, at the site of the village patron deity.

527 The third day of the third month is the festival of the dolls, (hinamatsuri). It is not important in Okinawa and is spottily ob-
[524] served. In Hinatogawa, it is a woman's holiday. Women and children
[562] make dolls. Gifts of dainties and candies in red lacquer boxes are prepared. People from nearby villages come to Hinatogawa, bring their lunches, and gather shells and catch fish.

The fifth day of the fifth month is Boy's Day. This Japanese holiday is not significant in the villages. There may be banners with a picture of a carp (koi no bori) displayed, visits to the place of the patron deity, some visiting and samisen playing, and perhaps a play.

527 The 14th day of the 5th month (June 18, 1951) is the festival
526 of the Gods of the Sea and is observed only in Hinatogawa. It is this village's greatest celebration. The boat race, held on this day, attracts many from the interior villages. In Hanashiro, most activity ceases while everyone goes to the boat races. Before the
[178] races, the villagers go to the religious sites to make small offerings
[182] and to pray. The races are held in the estuary of the river. In their excitement, children with infants on their back often wade out in the water to cheer their favorite boat.

796 The Festival of the Fifth Month (Gogatsumatsuri) is held on the 15th day of the 5th lunar month (June 19, 1951). Like the festival of the
[193] spring equinox, it is a day of thanksgiving. Thanks are given for rice instead of for barley. In Hatsuda, the ceremony is conducted by the village head man and former members of the priestess system.[2]

[114] 2 According to a Hatsuda informant, women should not sew on this
[825] day. It is a rest day. If work is done, including gathering plants for fertilizer, the dreaded poisonous snake, the habu, will come. These customs were not encountered in the other villages.

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O-Bon

The festival of O-Bon takes place on the 15th and 16th of the 7th lunar month (August 17-18, 1951), or from the 13th to the 16th, if preliminary preparations are included.[3] This very important holiday lacks the variety of themes which appear in the celebration of New Year. O-Bon is a festival to entice the spirits of the dead to their earthly home, and then, what is just as important, to induce them, after their visit, to return to the other world. O-Bon is an occasion for extended family reunions. 796 775 769

Generally on the 7th day of the month, about a week before O-Bon, the family or representatives of the family visit the tombs, take an offering of sake, and clean up around the tomb. At this time, the dead are asked to come back on O-Bon. This is the tanabata matsuri.[4]

On the evening of the 13th, two candles are placed within the compound entrance to guide the spirits back. This act of welcome is known as unke or omukaebi.

In Hanashiro, on the 15th there are prayers and offerings to the dead. Candles are then relit at the compound entrance and the spirits beseeched to return to the afterworld (ukui in Okinawan, okuribi in Japanese, meaning sending back). This may also be done on the 16th. Members gather at the home of the head of the house of the main family. The 16th is passed in rest and recreation. In Hinatogawa, observing the holiday may require a visit to Itoman. The Matsuda custom is like that of Hanashire.

O-Bon is a colorful holiday. Lanterns are freely used. Whether the people believe that the spirits of the dead return is a question to which there is no easy answer. Many observe the formalities and the customs of O-Bon without believing that the spirits have actually returned. There is formal compliance, but in my opinion real belief is to be found mostly among women of middle age and older. [916] [183]

3 O-Bon has been variously translated as "The Lantern Festival," "Festival of the Dead," "All Souls Day," but I prefer here to retain the Japanese word, as these translations are only misleading approximations.

4 For an interesting discussion of the origin of tanabata in Japan, see Chamberlain, Things Japanese, 436-37. In Okinawa one occasionally hears this referred to as a "star festival."

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Festival of the Full Moon

527 The autumnal equinox, called, like the spring festival, higan, is the last big celebration of the lunar year. It is held during the full moon around the 15th day of the 8th lunar month (September 15, in 1951). It is called jugoya. The date varies each year, and the actual time for the festival is decided upon by each village. The climax of the festival is the night of the full moon. This, a Buddhist festival, is a time for respect to the dead and of thanksgiving. It is not celebrated in all villages of Okinawa. If it has been a good year, the inducements for local celebrations are greater. The ceremonies are similar to those of the spring equinox on the 15th day of the second month, when thanks are given for barley, and to the 14th day of the 5th month, a day of thanksgiving for rice. The differences seem to be that the festival of the second month is primarily thanksgiving for barley, that of the fifth for rice, and that of the autumnal equinox for all crops. Ceremonies occur within the homes, but public celebrations may not be held in all the villages.

527 788 In one private observance, an old woman placed two bowls of rice, dyed pink (someiko) on the alcove of the first room. After placing the rice on the alcove, she went to the Buddhist god shelf in the second room where she lit charcoal sticks. Then, sitting before the god shelf, she ignited three strips of paper with a charcoal stick. These provide pocket money for the dead. The paper had previously been prepared by placing an aluminum Japanese 10 sen coin (minted before the war) on the paper and tapping the coin sharply with a hammer to make the impression on the paper. The embers were quenched with a little sake. A wash basin with two strips of wood laid diagonally across its top was used for the burning to eliminate the danger of fire. The old lady's granddaughter held the paper on the wood strips with a pair of chopsticks. The old lady then offered three prayers in a scarcely audible voice, the first two with bowed head, the last with her face to the god shelf. Then she served a meal of rice, dyed pink, fish fritters, and sake, though she did not partake of the drink.

[769] Providing pocket money for the dead by tapping an impression of a coin on a strip of paper is now practiced only by the very old. In Hanashiro and Hatsuda, this custom is rarely observed. Formerly in Hanashiro, everyone offered pocket money on New Year, O-Bon, and the equinoctial festivals.

In observances which include a party, the ceremonies are likely to be simpler. In one such ceremony observed in Minatogawa, white rice cakes and an assortment of miscellaneous foods, tea, sake, and charcoal sticks were placed on the god shelf. The charcoal sticks were lighted. The rest of the evening was like a normal party, with its segregation of the sexes, noisy conversation, and the running children who upset the tea cups and the sake flasks.

who upset the tea cups and the sake flasks. 000

A public parade and celebration was held in Itoman in 1951, 527
and a short digression to describe it may be worth while. The main 541
attraction was a parade, which halted frequently so that participating
groups could perform dances, acts, or skits. In these there were several
themes: (1) dances by female groups of all ages from beginning school [535]
girls to old women in their seventies. Many women wore artificial turtles
on their hats, the younger children having paper outlines of turtles.
The young girls were led by an older man who kept time either by playing [533]
the samisen or by clapping his hands. The very young girls beat small
tin cans with sticks. The dances of the older girls and women were of
two kinds: one symbolized the crane and the turtle (tsurukame). The [825]
turtle is a symbol of longevity. The second is the pine-bamboo-plum
tree triad (shochikubai) symbolizing long life and beauty. (2) Female [824]
impersonators imitated both the traditional Japanese woman with her
costume and hair arrangement, and the modern woman with a chignon
wearing a bright kimono, sun glasses, and smoking a cigarette. Their [536]
antics depended for their humor on the gracelessness of the men: they
included mock flirtations and rejections, kicking of the heels, slap-
ping with a fan, and other clowning. (3) Various balancing acts with
long poles done by boys and young men. (4) Skits of individuals
dressed as savages from the south seas. (5) Humorous acts showing the
people of the northern district who were portrayed as jolly country
bumpkins. Their caps, with tassels, looked like a cocoanut shell. The
long false hair and beards were made of palm fibre. They carried
ludicrous looking saws and axes while dragging a log.

One feature of the Itoman celebration was the well-known rope 527
pulling contest (tsunahiki). The giant rope, made of rice straw, is at 526
least 100 yards long, and about two feet in diameter. Each end has a
loop. These loops, joined by a heavy piece of wood, are above the
center line. The men of the town divide into two groups. The tug
of war began about 5 in the afternoon and was soon over, but one has
been known to last until one or two o'clock in the morning. It is
found in all villages, but there is no set date for it. The tug of
war is an old diversion in Okinawa.[5]

In former years, Minatogawa people participated in the Itoman 527
festival. In 1951, they held their own evening celebration. This is
a time of great beauty, with the light of the full moon illuminating
the Pacific, the coral coast, and the mountains. The evening enter-
tainment consists of some acts, similar to vaudeville, and a longer
play. Crowds came from the surrounding villages, bringing their own [628]
mats and their own sake. Most of the officials of the township attended.

5 Goldschmidt, Neu-Japan, has reproduced an interesting painting showing [114]
a tug of war in Naha around the end of the 18th century. It shows an
audience of court officials, the Chinese ambassador, as well as the
various participants. Facing p. 179.

[529] Young girls with pots of hot tea circulated in the audience. The
[272] stage performance was a combination of local amateur talent and
[535] professionals from Naha. Normally the entertainment begins with a traditional Okinawan dance by a professional woman dancer, followed by a short skit. Conversations in Okinawan between an educated man
[536] and a stupid rustic are favorite subjects. Acts of this type are greatly enjoyed and cause laughter, mainly I was told because the jokes had sexual overtones. The shorter acts are followed by a play. (The theme of this play will be discussed in the following chapter).

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Other Holidays of the Year

Chrysanthemum day, the ninth day of the ninth month (October 9, 1951), is a very minor holiday. A chrysanthemum is put in sake, and
[824] the flask is placed on the god shelf. A leaf of the plant is put in the sake when it is drunk. People at this time wish one another good health. The festival is only spottily observed.

There is a minor public holiday, the rice cake festival (mochi no matsuri), said to be native to Okinawa, on the 8th day of the 12th lunar month (January 4, 1952). On the day before, women prepare red
[262] and white cylindrical rice cakes, about 4 inches long and one inch in diameter. These are wrapped in the leaf of the sannin plant or in the
[252] leaves of sugar cane. The glutinous rice cake is made by first soaking rice in water and then mashing it in a hand mill. The rice is put in a cloth bag to allow excess water to drip out. The following morning the rice is boiled and shaped and wrapped in the leaves. The cake is doughy and insipid to taste. On the morning of the 8th, the cakes are placed on the god shelf and after prayers the cakes are removed. They are served during the day to guests. Sometimes children attach strings to these cakes and hang them about the room. The holiday is not observed by every family in the village, but it was recognized in all the villages studied.

The festival of the winter solstice, the longest night of the year (tōji) is known, but Hinatogawa was the only place in which its observance was noted. It is a home festival with prayers and the
[769] familiar offering of assorted foods to the ancestors.

Western Christmas is not observed in any of the villages. It
[177] would not be surprising if it should become a holiday, with gift giving, feasting, and drinking, but without the religious connotations. Since the occupation, Okinawans have become conscious of Christmas.[6]

[797] 6 I was told that in certain villages of the northern district, such as Kushi and Higashi near Ogimi that there is a Christmas festival, without the gift exchange, a survival of earlier missionary teaching. Time did not permit me to verify this, but there seems little doubt that a Christmas festival does exist in some Okinawan villages, judging by the frequency with which I heard of it in Hatsuda and Ginoza villages.

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Near the end of the lunar year, Matsuda gives a party (keirokai) for all persons over 70 years of age. In 1951, the party began in the middle afternoon and ended at dusk. In the early or speech making phase, the mayor, introduced by the village headman, congratulated the old people on attaining their age. The headman, bowing low before the elders, then thanked the mayor. The primary school principal told them how American old people were able to drive automobiles, basing his remarks on a Japanese magazine article, and needlessly told his elders how to live a long life. His audience was much amused at the talents of the American old people. The men and women sat separately. A few children accompanied the old ladies. This is also an occasion for giving children born during the year a little money. After the speeches, both the old men and women drank sake in liberal quantities. The dances of the old were done with grace and agility. This custom is followed in the Gushichan area and may be widespread in Okinawa, though the dates for the occasions may vary.

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CHAPTER XVIII

THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

1 Community Recreation

2 Obtaining News of a Larger World

3 Village Co-operation

4 Village Leadership

5 Community Organisations

6 The Democratic Government of the Township and Village

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Community Recreation

Were it not for the public holidays and festivals, the family 529
celebrations and informal social gatherings, opportunities for
recreation would be very limited. Seeing a Japanese motion picture [368]
usually involves going to another village. Young people, especially [177]
those studying English, go to American movies in Naha when they can
afford it. Many went to see Hamlet when it played there.

A Naha troupe presents plays in the rural villages. These ap- 545
pearances are advertised by a sound truck travelling throughout the
countryside. Plays are of two main types: the historical drama and 536
those of domestic life and manners. The historical plays are usually
based on the heroic age in Okinawa, and are so filled with episodes
and sword play that it is difficult, even for an Okinawan, to follow
the plot. All plays are given in Okinawan.

The plot of a play of manners is of more interest, since it is
concerned with the conflicts of obligations, duties, and personal
desires. One such play, The Chaste Woman and the Dutiful Son, con-
cerns a married couple who have one son. The husband drank too much and
went with another woman. The wife objected, the husband tells her he no
longer wants her and desires a divorce. The divorce attained, he takes
the other woman as a second wife and moves with her to Nago, where he
lives. Twenty years after, the second wife becomes ill, and dies, and
the husband finds it increasingly difficult to earn a livelihood. The
first wife, in the meantime, anxious to bring up her child well, has [875]
sent him to school. At the age of 20 he has become a school teacher.
The successful young man--becoming a teacher is a great success--marries.
The young couple have a child and everyone is happy.

The father in Nago earns a precarious living selling firewood. One
day he reads of the success of his son in a newspaper. (This provides
the actor with an opportunity for exaggerated astonishment and much
staggering around). More soberly, the father decides to visit the
first wife and their son. Lack of pride and poverty permits him to
do this.

The first wife gives him an angry reception. When he has forced
his way into the house, there is a loud quarrel. The successful young
school teacher returns home, sees the quarrel, and asks his mother the
identity of the man. The mother replies that she does not know him.
The son inquires the reason for such a violent quarrel between his mother
and a stranger. The mother had previously told her son his father had
died. She now says she lied, and in the ensuing revelations, the son
weeps a little. The father implores his son to intervene in obtaining
the forgiveness of his former wife. But she will not forgive--neither
will she forget--and does not want the old man around at all. The son

536 reminds his mother that he is a school teacher, that if he does not permit his father to enter the house, he can no longer teach school. The mother yields; the son and his wife bring their child to the new found grandfather, and the play closes with the overjoyed grandfather fondling and holding the child in his arms.

In the play, the conflict is resolved by a balancing of obligation with pride. A real father would have been so ashamed that he would [829] never have returned, but then there would have been no play. Only a poor, lonely shameless and crafty fellow would have come back. But once he was back, the son had no alternative but to accept and honor him. The woman's power in the house and her devotion to her son are demonstrated, but she too must yield to the obligation of her son's filial piety, though she does this only after a determined and dignified resistance.

545 Plays on the rural circuit start about 9 and end about 11 in the evening. The entertainment generally consists of an opening traditional dance by a woman, followed by a comedy skit, and a longer play, such as the one just described. Comedy skits usually depend on clumsiness or 536 obtuseness as the sources of their humor. One skit, for example, involved a thief entering a house at night. Clumsy and unsure of his way, he stumbled over everything, made loud noises, and was constantly in fright to see if some fresh stumble had awakened the house. Finally he manages to hide under a table, near which the members of the family are seated discussing a problem. His discovery, due to further awkward motions and noises, the chase, and his final apprehension close the skit.

545 Rural audiences are critical. Some actors cause laughter because their Okinawan pronunciation is considered poor, and the laughter often carries over to the serious parts. Delays between the acts are met with impatience, and there is some prompting from the audience. The admission is Y20 for adults and Y10 for children. The audience sits on the ground. These plays do not attract a large crowd unless the offering is a well liked play.

526 Sports and athletic meets are favorite recreations both for participants and observers. The sports mentioned by travellers 50 or 60 years ago, such as horse racing, boat racing, tugs of war, archery, and boxing have given way to a more organized athletic activity, inspired by the Japanese example. Only the boat racing and the rope tug of war have survived in these villages. Hinatogawa's boat race each year attracts villagers from miles around. All villages, at various times of the year, have a rope tug of war. The annual athletic meets, which will be discussed under education, were introduced into Okinawa about 50 or 60 years ago.

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Obtaining News of a Larger World

While it is an error to think of villages as isolated social and economic units, it would be a mistake also to fail to mention the existing obstacles to communication and the dissemination of news. 203

There are virtually no radio sets in any of these villages, except in the schools and sometimes in a village office. Home radio sets invariably need repairs. In Hanashiro, which has no electricity, there were 3 radios, two of which did not work. There were 4 in Hinatogawa, with one at least not working, and six in Hatsuda, three of which were in the primary school, one in the village office. In these villages there is electricity from about 6:30 to 10:30 in the winter and from 7 to 11 PM in the summer. The radio is not an important direct medium for obtaining news. If they can, villagers tune in Japanese stations for news, music, and entertainment. There is a need for simple and cheap means of reaching rural areas by radio. 207

Newspapers are more important media. But in late 1951 and early 1952, there were 5 newspaper subscribers in Hanashiro, one going to the village office where it could be read by all, 14 in Hinatogawa, and about 20 in Hatsuda, reduced from a previous 40 by an increase in the subscription rate. The barbershop in Hatsuda had a newspaper. Schools and the township and village offices subscribe. It is difficult to estimate actual circulation. My own observation is that newspaper reading under these conditions is casual and intermittent, that newspapers are read consistently only by the village officials, school teachers, and the regular subscribers. News from Naha, the other Ryukyu islands, and from international sources is disseminated largely by word of mouth. Local readers make their reading a subject of conversation. There is no lack of interest in broader questions and in international events. The negotiations leading up to the Japanese peace treaty were followed with great interest by many villagers in Hatsuda. 204 [203]

Japanese magazines, particularly movie magazines, are popular despite their high cost. They are widely read not only by the young, but by older men and women, including school teachers.

Telephones are not a part of home life. There were two privately installed field telephones in Hinatogawa, but no private telephones in the other villages. The village office, the post office are equipped with phones. 206

The possibilities of obtaining more direct knowledge of other parts of Okinawa Island have increased since the war. One can travel by public transportation from the southern part of the island to the extreme north in a reasonable time and not too uncomfortably. Provincial attitudes still remain. Persons in the southern villages 484 [494]

484 studied remarked on the discomfort of the rustic north. Many
[829] people in Matsuda thought the people of the northern district more honest than those of the south. This attitude is partly due to knowledge of crime in Naha. Direct or personal knowledge of other islands of the Ryukyus is exceptional. Few people know more than travelers' tales about Yaeyama, Miyako, or Amami.

562 Men are better informed about current events than the women.
Women do not participate so much in social life, nor do they read
521 so much. Conversations at small gatherings are often on a very serious level. A local antiquarian telling of vanished customs and conditions has a very attentive audience. So has a returned traveler
814 from Japan. These people have a sense of history, curiosity, and respect for knowledge and education.

3

Village Co-operation

621 One of the most important things to learn about a culture is
476 the nature of its co-operative endeavor. It is useful knowledge in understanding the transition zone between individual and family living and participation in community activities. In these communities, co-operation involves considering the relation of families resident in the village to one another, to their community organizations, and to local government. These relations are stronger than the tie of an individual to an extended family. The nature and the limitations of co-operation can best be described by pointing to examples from each of the villages.

In Hanashiro, mutual help is mainly found, as one might expect, among close and distant relatives of the same family of families related by marriage, who are living in the village. There are extended family ties, which may involve several villages, but this does not
[619] mean that tasks are done co-operatively within the extended family. It is uncommon to go to another village to help a relative with his harvest or his housebuilding--and the distance would increase the unlikelihood. Immediate ties to friends, relatives, and neighbors are stronger than those to the more distant members of the extended family.

Within the village, organized co-operation is not conspicuous. Help is given in the form of labor not in money. There is no accounting on a reciprocity basis. At any harvest time--the rice harvest is usually the most urgent--a relative, neighbor or friend may help one day and receive the same aid on the following day. The whole village does not turn out to help each farmer in turn until the crops are in. This work is done by individuals or by very small groups. Since the nature and the amount of help is known and acknowledged, no bookkeeping is needed or desired. The closest approach to villagewide help to
[342] an individual family occurs in housebuilding. All residents of the

village volunteer to help if they have the time; each day a group of 5 or more appear, to be replaced the following day by another group until the house is finished. This type of help is more characteristic of the construction or repair of a simple house with a thatched roof than it is with a more expensive and elaborate house which requires specialists. 621 496 342

No days are specifically set aside for community projects, but these are done through co-operative effort. The amount of time given depends on needs as they arise. The care and maintenance of roads and lanes are the most frequent projects. If a road or lane is needed, the village headman and the council discuss the matter, consult the villagers, and the task is then undertaken. Road and lane maintenance includes cutting weeds and clearing away brush to cut down the danger from snakes. These procedures apply also to the construction and care of community owned buildings, such as the village office and the sugar mill. Hanashiro is small enough so that elaborate plans are not required and the desired ends can be accomplished by casual forms of mutual help. 621 496 [991]

The problems of Hinatogawa are different, but the type of co-operation is essentially the same. Because of its situation, typhoon damage is often severe. Cleaning up and repairing after a typhoon is a co-operative enterprise, since there is so much damage to community property such as roads and breakwaters. In the typhoon "Ruth" in 1951, the wind driven waves lashed the breakwater with such violence that the stones were dislodged and scattered over the main road. Repairing typhoon damage is partly a community, partly a family affair. Many of the frailer houses are blown down and must be reconstructed from their foundations. Help in beaching and lashing down boats in anticipation of a typhoon is given by relatives and friends. Road maintenance and construction, village building, the laying of stones around a community water tank or faucet are tasks accomplished by community effort. House-building is done mostly through the co-operation of friends and relatives. There may be visits to Itoman to help members of the extended family there. The ties with Itoman are close. [731] [619]

Matsuda is a larger village whose scattered settlements and community forests have resulted in a more planned community co-operation than exists in the southern villages. Three general forms can be distinguished: (1) officially supervised co-operative work on the roads and in the forests in which every male over school age and the unmarried girls are expected to work a stated number of days in a year. Records are kept of this work. One might regard this as obligatory, but it is more correct to say that it is a universally acknowledged duty requiring no enforcement procedure. (2) Voluntary co-operation in the building of a house, and (3) less formal and more casual help, among relatives and friends in a wide variety of daily tasks, including harvesting, carrying wood, threshing rice, and the like.

In the officially supervised co-operative work, the participating

621 individuals give one day each year to forest maintenance and planting.
476 Twice during the year one day is given to cleaning up and repairing village roads and paths, to improve village cleanliness, and to reduce the danger from snakes. These clean-up activities, which take place in March, April and November, include cutting the grass and weeds along the roadside, cleaning off accumulated debris, and filling in ruts, holes, and rough spots.

621 The closest approach to village-wide co-operation in private
476 undertakings is in housebuilding. Regardless of the financial standing
347 of the owner, whenever a new house is being built, there are volunteer helpers from the whole village. This is the only area in which this co-operation exists. It does not occur in agriculture or at harvest times. Each day a different crew helps, but this assistance does not
[463] apply to the more specialized tasks. The skilled work on the larger new houses requires carpenters, masons, and tile setters. There is no rigid system of reciprocity nor does a villager keep a record of the days he has worked for the others and the days due him. Many who help already have substantial houses themselves and have no need of reciprocal aid. Following a custom in all the villages, when the
[594] building is finished, the owner gives a housewarming party, with plenty of sake and food. Both hired and volunteer workers are invited.

476 If we may judge by these villages, the Okinawan is individualistic in his approach to his work. Aside from the work on the roads and in the forests, help in emergencies, and the special case of housebuilding, the circle of mutual help is confined within the family or close associates. In no case, did the co-operation of a whole or a substantial part of the village extend to agriculture.

This preceding discussion does not exhaust the field of cooperative endeavor. The co-operative associations and mutual loan groups have already been discussed. Community organizations and neighborhood associations will be considered in Section 5. But these are either more restricted in membership or have a more planned organisational character.

571 In closing this discussion, a further point should be made to avoid misunderstanding. The farmer, fisherman, or stonecutter, the worker in the forest approaches his task as an individual. But group consultation and the sharing of responsibility in other activities is a positive characteristic of the culture. The principle of prior discussion, arriving at a decision acceptable to the group, is a conspicuous part of family life and is implicit in the family system. The same attitude appears in group and community organizations, and in the conduct, as we shall see, of village government.

4

Village Leadership

565
[727] The recent war brought about a levelling in village life. Before

the war, the upper stratum of society consisted of Japanese plus a few highly placed Okinawans. With the departure of the Japanese, there was no well developed class structure among the Okinawans to succeed to the Japanese hierarchy. Today in these villages, there are inequalities in economic well-being, and certain individuals or groups have greater prestige than others. But these, I am convinced, are not to be traced to a class structure. Any division of the village into upper, middle, and lower classes would be artificial and would put a strain on the facts. Differences, where they appear, are the result of individual qualities, such as age, the possession of land or money, or personal character. 565 [563] [511] [554] [554]

In the old Loochooan kingdom, there was a rigid class stratification based on the Chinese model. The Japanese abolished the Loochoo nobility after the islands became a province, but, according to Furness (1899), "the people still cling to the old custom."[1] Despite the abolition of the nobility, distinctions between noble and commoner were made up to the recent war. In the family registers, descendants of the Loochooan nobility (shizoku) were so designated. But all villagers agreed that these distinctions had no meaning or value, either for preferment in the Japanese service, or for one's social standing among his countrymen. For all practical purposes, everyone was a commoner. Since the war, the fact that one is a descendant of the Okinawan nobility is, if possible, even more inconsequential. No notation is made in the family register. Most men over 35 can tell instantly whether a given surname is of noble or common origin. 175 565 183 565

The number of these descendants of nobles must be very great. Chamberlain in 1895 reproduced a table, which he said he had every reason to believe was accurate, showing an absurdly high proportion of nobles to commoners. These statistics were from the census of 1891 and for the entire Ryukyus:[2] 565 162

	Household Heads	Families
Princes	2	35
Nobility and Gentry	22,567	95,082
Common People	57,981	235,213
Total	80,550	330,330

1 Life in the Luchu islands, as cited, 7. For rank distinctions based on caps, stockings, sashes, and hair pins, see Simon, as cited, 155, 156-59. Hawk's Perry's expedition, as cited, Vol. I, 224, Vol. II, 48. Basil Hall also gives rank orders in an appendix. Perry considered government by this nobility very oppressive. The CA Handbook Ryukyu (Loochoo) Islands gives the historical background of the class structure and its manifestations in government.

2 In the article cited from the Geo. jour. 5 (1895), 298.

565 553 A common device among noble families was to vary the second character of the Chinese compound which made up the given name. This custom still remains, but has no significance beyond individual family pride. The following case illustrates this naming device:

Relation to Present Head of House	Given Name
Grandfather	Chohyo
Father	Chokan
Present Head	Choyo
First Son	Choko
Second Son	Choshin
Third Son	Chokeii
Fourth Son	Chosei

554 Before the war, the village hierarchy consisted of the headman and retired elders and officials, the school principal and teachers if resident there, the well-to-do farmer, followed by the ordinary farmers or fishermen.[3] These distinctions are now blurred and have been affected by other changes. The school principal and the school teacher retain their prestige, but they have lost their relatively high economic status. Their clothing and the appearance of their homes are indistinguishable from those of a farmer. The ordinary farmer who works his field during the day and whose wife raises the pigs is in a better economic position. The same applies to village and township officials. Many distinctions based on wealth have disappeared because of the destruction and general [556] impoverishment of the war. Neither are distinctions possible in dress, for everyone wears makeshift clothing. Post-war circumstances have put the old at a disadvantage in dealing with new situations. Present day village life is fluid. The war and its aftermath have blurred many of the former distinctions based on age, occupation, or wealth.

621 208 Village leadership is based on individual qualities, but is limited by group opinion which all individuals respect. Decisions of any character, personal, familial, or political, emerge from consultation and discussion. One constantly hears the word sōdan, meaning a discussion or a consultation, with reference to decision making.

555 212 What types of individuals assume leadership in village affairs? First, leadership comes from a group that is literate. This limits the people available for responsible positions. Occupations such as the

3 According to old residents in Matsuda, there were in their youth, classes whose occupation made them inferior. Examples were bell ringers [461] ringers at funerals and pig killers. Pig killing is still considered [565] a low occupation, but this has no relevance to village life, for no [963] commercial slaughtering is done in the villages. In the villages, there is no suggestion of the existence of groups looked down upon because of their occupation, with the possible exception of a collector of night soil—and this occupation is infrequent.

conduct of a local business of any size, employment in official and 555
semi-official organizations, and teaching require facility in reading 212
and writing Japanese, that is, the use of the Chinese character and
the two Japanese syllabaries, katakana and hiragana. It is true
that under the Japanese and the present system of education, everyone [872]
learns the characters. But after school is left behind, there must
be continued practice in reading and writing, or one's fund of
knowledge gradually disappears and he remembers only a few of the
simpler or more common characters. For responsible leadership, this
school vocabulary must at least be maintained. A village headman
today must hold his own in reading and writing. Reports have to be [622]
made to the township office. The frequent conferences and meetings
require note taking. Storm warnings may be received, correspondence
and simple record keeping are continual tasks. In one village, the
criticism made of the headman was that his knowledge of characters
was too elementary.

If a person has leisure, this makes him available for positions of 556
leadership. A poor farmer could not ordinarily accept the position 622
of village headman except at a great sacrifice. Public duties, even
in a small village like Hanashiro, require that a headman be on call
most of the time for meetings, or to hear personal problems and com-
plaints of the villagers. It is significant that the former village
headman of Hanashiro and the current headman of Hatsuda both are
operators of rice mills and do not have the exacting dawn to dusk
duties of a farmer. In Hanashiro and Nagamo, the present headmen
are operating farmers who are able to combine their private and public
duties, but both places are small. The headman of Hinatogawa, a
fisherman, has had to forego many fishing trips because his duties
kept him in the village.

Leadership is also assumed by those who have had foreign experience, 554
either in the Japanese administrative hierarchy abroad or simply through 484
foreign residence. These people generally have a broader point of view
and know more.

The last factor is age. It is often thought that village life in 554
Oriental countries under the family system is dominated by the older 561
and respected males. It is true that the opinion of retired elders is
sought for and respected, but not merely because of age. In addition,
there may be a life of successful farming, teaching, office holding,
possibly a combination of these, behind them. Leadership comes from
young men too, usually the result of experience in the young men's
association. Energetic leadership, often accompanied by organisational
ability, is noticeable in the age group from about 24 to 27. Women [562]
have fewer opportunities but can show their abilities in their work in
the Women's Association.

Village leadership rests both on the respected elders and the 554
promising young men, on those who have kept and increased their skill
in language, who have occupations that relieve them from the unremitting

554 labor of agriculture or fishing, or those, finally, whose life includes travel and foreign residence. Some of these are old, some new. The ideas coming from the repatriates are new. The influence of the young men is also to some extent a response to new conditions and to new ways of looking at things, which they, more adaptable than their elders, are in a better position to understand.

5

Community Organizations

575 [190] [571] Community organizations fill in the gaps between family life and the formal mechanics of village government. Though Japanese imports, they also fit in the culture, which, like Japan, is accustomed to doing things in groups. The most important of these organizations are the Women's Association, Young Men's Association, Young Women's Association, volunteer fire brigades, and the neighborhood associations.

The Women's Association (Fujinkai). The Women's Association, an island wide organization with subordinate township and village branches, is primarily an organization of married women, but unmarried young women, too old for the youth organizations, and widows may belong. The village head of the association is elected, generally for one year, by the membership.

The interests and activities of the membership are an indication of the problems of village life as seen by the women. There may be, as in Hanashiro, house to house inspections with advice on how to improve sanitary conditions, making clothes, or teaching better ways to cook food, improving the dirty and smoky Okinawan kitchen to eliminate eye irritations (a common complaint), attempts to induce people to spend less money on holidays and to spread their luxury and meat buying throughout the year. They might discuss the custom of squatting on the floor and its possible effects on bodily health and stature, or the desirability of replacing the heavy blankets on the floor with western style beds, or individual family problems, such as the family with all daughters, or girls without husbands. The trouble is that the conditions which the women as members of an organization are trying to improve are the very ones which, as wives, they are unable to correct. As a consequence, many of the plans do not go beyond the discussion stage, not because the women lack the will, but because the cumulative problems are overpowering. These groups however have positive accomplishments. They are influential in maintaining existing standards. They are trying with some success to eradicate the scabby sores that cover the faces, hands, and arms of infants and young children.

The Young Men's Associations (seinendan) fill in the gap between school and marriage when the adult male really takes his place in the village community. They are a training ground for working with others and for demonstrating leadership. Like the Japanese originals, the organization is for young men between 17 and 25. Their specific activities

vary according to the problems and conditions in a village. The first meeting of the year is usually held around Jan. 2, when there is a party. The young men, even those of 17 drink sake at this time. Young women, who do not drink, contribute gifts of candy and soft drinks. 575

In Hanashiro, the young men cultivate a field of their own and sell the produce. They maintain a carp pond. (Before the war, there were two such ponds). They also work out for wages. Every morning rotating groups work for two hours either in the association's field or for wages. This is done before the daily work. Their earnings of Y8 an hour, low by Okinawan standards, are accumulated for special projects, such as the annual athletic meet. Occasionally they help with road maintenance, though this is a job for all the people of the village. The carp in the pond are sold to the villagers, normally in July, for medicinal purposes. [465] [825] [278]

In Minatogawa, the young men's and the young women's association are combined. The head is a young man, the second in charge a young woman. They help in times of emergency and with repairing of typhoon damage. Since there are no fields or carp ponds, they are not so active as the young men of the agricultural villages. Sometimes they do night guard duty around the village, though this practice now has fallen into disuse.

In Matsuda, the association performs tasks similar to those in Hanashiro. Rotating groups, arising at 4 in the morning, do two or three hours work before starting their own. Absentees are fined Y20 and tardy members Y5. The young men grow sugar cane on land loaned free of charge by farmers. The purpose of the project is to increase sugar cane production by providing transplants. The Matsuda group also works in the forests, for which they receive Y100 per day per person. With the permission of the village headman, they get firewood from the forests, sell it to provide funds for their projects. They stand by during typhoons. But they also have discontinued the custom of providing a 3 or 4 member patrol to walk around the village in the early morning hours. Since thievery is uncommon, the patrolling is no longer required. When the village gong sounds a fire alarm, all the young men assemble. At the harvest festivals, such as the autumnal equinoctial holiday, the young men may present a play, do Okinawan dances, and supply the motive power for the village lion. [249]

The leader (danchō) of a young man's association usually is from the older age group. Meetings are held twice a month, normally on the 1st and 15th. The annual parties are either at the beginning or the end of the year. In all the villages, the young men's associations have a leading part in the annual athletic meetings. Most of their accumulated funds are expended at this time. They not only participate, but do much of the preparatory work in co-operation with the school teachers.

One result of membership in the young men's associations is that the age range (an 8 year span) of one's acquaintance is broadened.

575 [592] Friendships formed here and in school are the basis of later lifelong associations.

Young Women's Associations (joshiseinen) are not so well developed. Hanashiro has none. In Minatogawa the young men's and the young women's groups are combined. Matsuda has a separate organization of girls from 17 to 23. The latter age is considered the probable date of marriage, when the young woman will enter the Women's Association. Their duties parallel those of the young men: village maintenance, selling firewood, planting sugar cane, taking part in harvest ceremonies and participating with the young men in the New Year's party.

In the villages, a volunteer organization is responsible for fire [368] fighting. The fire brigades (sobodan) usually are under the direction of the young men's association. The village gong is sounded, the volunteers assemble, and the fire is put out by using a bucket brigade.

[177] Parent Teacher Associations, after the American model, have been formed in the rural area, but it is too early to form a judgment of their effectiveness.

575 621 There are also the neighborhood associations. A village is divided into areas or zones (han), each with its own head (hanchō). Neighborhood groups had existed before the introduction of the Japanese neighborhood association (tonari gumi) in about 1935 or 1936. These older groups (kumi) had from 30 to 70 families, each with a head (kumichō). These groups often assisted in a family crisis, with housebuilding, or furnished pallbearers for a funeral.

Before and during the war, the Japanese used the neighborhood associations in their rationing, food distribution, civil defense, and other programs.

The neighborhood associations remained after the war, but they are now known as hans. The leader of each neighborhood group is a link in the chain of communication from the township office to the individual [632] villager. The township mayor transmits a new regulation or a directive from a higher governmental authority to each village headman who informs the heads of each of the neighborhood groups, who can then tell the people living in his area. The people within a neighborhood group may also co-operate with one another in housebuilding. The young men may be pallbearers for a deceased resident of the neighborhood. The group head also informs the people of village meetings (jōkai). These heads may be elected, but usually they serve by rotation (kotei), with a change every three months. In Matsuda, the group head is selected for one year and household heads service under him for one month in rotation to perform stand-by (tōban suru, to be on duty) duties and help the neighborhood head in his work.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

HANS

Hanashiro	5
Hinatogawa	9
Hatsuda	16

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6

The Democratic Government of the Township and Village

The description of local government has intentionally been delayed to this point because its operation and functions can be seen to greater advantage after an acquaintance with family life and the various forms of group activity. We can see it, not so much a formal structure to be described in legalistic terms, but as an expression of many of the characteristics of the culture we have already found in the family system, group activity, and individual leadership. 128

Okinawa and the various smaller islands of the Central Ryukyus (Okinawa-gunto) is one of the four main political subdivisions of the chain. The gunto is divided into townships, and within each township, there are several settlements (buraku, ku, asa) which we have consistently called villages. Township government is the channel for the enforcement of laws and regulations from higher governmental agencies and the source of local measures which govern the several villages of the township. 631

The seat of the township government is one of the villages of the township.[4] In Gushichan township, the village office (yakuba) is at Gushichan village, while in Ginosa township, the office is in Ginosa village. 632

At the head of this government is a mayor (sonchō) elected for a four year term. There is no strenuous campaigning for the office. Friends may induce a well known man to run, then visit the villages, and ask the people to vote for him. A reputation for being kind, fair, and refined (otonashii) goes far in electing a man. Once in office he is extremely busy, and like the village headman, usually looks forward to the end of his term rather than to re-election. A new mayor appoints his own or reappoints the old staff. He chooses a vice-mayor (joyaku) with the approval of the village assembly (gikai). 632 622 [666] [577]

A township office generally has the following administrative sections: (1) a treasury and disbursing office (shūnyūyaku), (2) a general affairs (shomu) sections. The head of this section is in charge of the family registers (koseki) and of the registry of seals. These two important functions require a little elaboration. 632

4 The government actually described here is that of Gushichan township. It did not seem worthwhile to repeat essentially the same information for Ginosa and then to make minute comparisons and contrasts between them.

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The family register is a basic official document recording officially all the family data for each household. These have been compiled since the war. The old registers which gave the family history in great and accurate detail were destroyed as a consequence of the war or intentionally by the Japanese. The standard form for the register contains (1) the place of permanent domicile of the family head (honseki), (2) the place of present residence (genjūshō), (3) the name of the previous head of the family (senkonushi), (4) the head of the family (koshu), his birthdate, and his relationship to the preceding head, (5) the name of the father and mother of the present head, (6) the name of the wife, her birthdate, whether she is a first or succeeding daughter, the names of her parents, (7) the date of the marriage, (8) names of each family member with birthdate and relationship to the head. All matters pertaining to the family are recorded in one place. The register contains information about births, deaths, marriages, and additions, deletions, or notations as to foreign residence. If a second son establishes a branch family, a line is drawn through his name on the register and a notation refers to a new sheet set up for his family. Deaths are shown by drawing a red line through the name.

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The registry of seals (inkanbō) is a list of the seals of everyone in the township. The individual stamps his seal in the registry himself. The registry shows the date on which the seal is registered, the present address, permanent address, and the name and birthdate of its owner. Seals (han) are used whenever a signature would be required here. When used they are pressed into an India ink paste and stamped on the document requiring the seal.

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Following general affairs, there is (3) the tax collection (saisei) (4) school affairs (kōmu), (5) a section devoted to agriculture, industry, fishing, or other important occupations in the township (sangyō), (6) health and sanitation (eisei) concerned with community sanitation, health and vital statistics, and (7) a relief and welfare section (shakaijigyō) which administers relief to the indigent.

[423]

The village office also issues to each landowner a certificate of ownership (shoyukenshōmeisho) with the seal of the mayor for each parcel a villager owns. These sheets, a separate one for each parcel, are bound up in a small book.

[622]

The mayor and his staff hear complaints from individual taxpayers regarding assessments, the amount of the tax, or the classification of land. The atmosphere of a township office is friendly and informal. Callers bow on entering. The mayor is readily accessible. (In my experience, mayors and headmen are very high types of individuals). Most members of the staff bring their own lunches. Each office has a young girl or boy to serve tea and to watch the fire.

The legislative functions of township government are performed by an assembly (gikai), whose members, elected at large, enact ordinances and approve the mayor's appointment of a vice mayor. The mayor, his administrative staff, and the township assembly administer the township.

Their acts are enforced in each of the villages by the headman. 632

The village headman (kuchō) is an intermediary between the people and the township government. He listens to complaints from his people, carries them to the township government for a hearing, and has supervision over official community projects and activities. The headman, like the mayor, is a busy, hardworking man. His pay, insufficient to live on, is midway between a salary and an honorarium. The headman of Hanashiro, for example, received ¥720 per month, Hinatogawa ¥950, and Hatsuda ¥2000 a month.[5] The headman usually has a paid clerk (shoki) who works full time and may receive more pay than the headman. The clerk compiles reports of the village population, assists the headman at meetings, and is a general administrative assistant. 622 622 [465] [624]

The village headman is elected for a period of one year. There is no campaigning. The election generally is preceded by discussions among the heads of households, village elders, the young men's association and the women's association. These discussions reveal the candidates who are able to do the work and have the leisure and the money to undertake the responsibility. [66]

A village headman usually leads a harried life. Most of them regard their term as a duty to be discharged rather than a beginning of a career in office holding. A former village headman of Hanashiro said that, in addition to the formal meetings he attended at the township office, he had to visit the village office at least 15 times a month on some village problem, such as taxes, health and sanitation, or individual complaints. The village headman of Hinatogawa had a constant succession of problems: reports on overdue fishermen, getting water pipe lines from the mountains to the water tank repaired, taking charge of typhoon damage repair, and trying to have small improvements made in the village. The headman is caught between the township officials who need tax money and the villagers who complain that they have so little money with which to pay them. In Hatsuda, there was the same multiplication of problems involving taxes, need for extra school supplies or repairs, and road maintenance. [651]

Village headmen belong to no special age group. In one township, they ranged in age from 30 to 52. Age is not a decisive factor in their selection, but reputation, literacy, and friendliness are. Though there is a change in administration each year, the incumbent headman stays on one month after the close of his term until the new one has become accustomed to his duties. In some villages, the clerk is elected at the same time as the village headman. [624]

The village headman does not have, nor does he desire, complete responsibility for administering the village. Two groups are available for advice. The headman will not make decisions on important non-routine matters without consulting them. The first of these, the village council 623

5 For comparative purposes, the minimum wage for young Okinawan girls employed as maids for US personnel was about ¥100 ($9.17) per month. [465]

623 (hyōgiin) is an elected body, while the other, composed of village elders and public spirited men (yūshi) is a more honorary group. Sometimes the council is composed of one man from each neighborhood association. The elders are an unofficial body which because of its prestige is consulted when the headman and the council have an emergency problem and wish to get the advice of the respected men of the village. [554] This group is composed of former village headmen, former members of the village council, and well-known residents, such as retired school teachers or farmers.

The village council, composed of about 10 men, is elected from the male heads of a household. Before the war, members were elder men, but they now include young men as well. The council advises the headman on matters for which he is reluctant to assume full responsibility. If the decision is important enough, the village assembly, composed of all the heads of families over 18 years of age, is consulted. A headman may use the village council to help in defending himself against unpopular decisions. The village headman and the council generally make the final decision on village matters, but any decision involving the expenditure of money is referred to the assembly of household heads.

621 623 622 Village government is democratic. The people know their elected leaders personally. The problems with which the people and their officials are concerned are concrete, and seldom matters of abstract principle. They usually are concerned with local improvements, taxation, and schooling. The people participate in local government through the village assembly, at which they elect the headman and the council members. They can criticize and question decisions and approve proposals for spending money.

A headman can conceal neither his strong points nor his faults. Village government utilizes the principle of group responsibility without sacrificing the principle of individual leadership and a strong respected headman can do much to prevent the formation of cliques within a village. This does not mean that individual antagonisms and differences of opinion do not exist, but they seem to be resolved before they reach the stage of organized opposition.

Village government is not an extension of the family system. The village headman is not the head of one large family. But there is individual leadership, consultation and discussion, and mutual agreement both in the family system and in village government. Family experience has both a private and a public character. The public influences of family life takes the form of tempering the formality and mechanics of government.

621 591 A village is composed of single families. Many have intermarried. All of these families have a certain relationship to one another. They may be friends; they may live in the same neighborhood. Their children are known to one another as classmates, later as members of youth organizations. The families may have other associations, based on a common economic interest in agriculture, fishing, or pig raising. They

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

have traditional, though restricted, forms of village co-operation. This meshing in of activities, either among families or groups, when combined with individual leadership brings about a situation in the village which is comparable with the experiences in the family system. 621 591

These individual and family relationships which are the real content of village administration are also felt, though in a diluted form, in the township government. The influence of inter-village marriage, of the school whose pupils come from several villages, and of the annual athletic meets make for informality and elastic government. Township officials generally are drawn from each of the villages which make up a township. These elements provide both in village and township life a feeling of participation and a sense of belonging, already so strongly developed within the family system. 632 628 591

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CHAPTER XIX

EDUCATION AND THE VILLAGE

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1 Introduction

2 Courses of Study

3 Schools and the Teacher

4 Leaning English

5 Home, School, and Village

1

Introduction

The modern history of Okinawan education falls into three periods, which correspond with the cultural influences of three different nations: (1) the traditional education borrowed from China, (2) the Japanese system of education, and (3) the introduction of American concepts of education following the war.[1] 871 177

The Chinese influences ended in the latter part of the 19th century. Education was confined to the upper classes. "Aping China in everything, Lew Chew has also its three yearly examinations, which, for the time being, make quite a stir in the learned world, but hold out no prospect for high station, as in China. At most, the fortunate candidate gets, beside a good fill of honor, a rice pension or a schoolmastership."[2] [565]

The new Japanese education also introduced western ideas into Okinawa through a Japanese sieve. The Meiji Rescript on Education (1890) codified the principles of this new pedagogy. It was a method of inducing conformity to the ideals of the new Japan. The most important point was that education became a mass program.[3] This new education, according to Chamberlain (1895), took hold gradually.

Before the war there were two policies in public education. Up to 1940, primary school (shōgakko) was an eight year course. In addition to the usual studies, the curriculum from grades one through six emphasized duties and obligations (gimu) to one's parents, relatives, friends, and to the emperor. The national school (kokumingakko) system, which lasted until the end of the war, replaced the old primary school. Instruction in duties and obligations extended over eight years with intensified emphasis on nationalism and emperor worship.

1 Education is a large, complex, and technical subject. Time did not permit spending a large amount of time in classrooms. My purpose here is to show how education is related to village and family life and to explain the general nature of the problems as I observed them. [121]

2 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, I, 223-24. The words are those of Dr. Bettelheim.

3 The modern school system in Japan dates from 1872. Many of the Okinawan schools seem to have been started in the eighties and nineties. The first school in Okinawa is said to have been started in Shuri in 1798.

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Courses of Study

872 During 1946 and 1947, primary schools (shotogakko) were established along lines of the old primary school, but with the Japanese nationalism and the emperor worship deleted. Beginning about April 1948, a new primary school system with six grades was instituted. Ideas of democracy were introduced to displace the Japanese ideal of the state.

The subjects (gakka) in this new primary school curriculum are: (1) Japanese, referred to as the "mother tongue (kokugo) or the "standard language" (futsu no go). This instruction includes the two Japanese syllabaries, hiragana and katakana and beginning instruction in Chinese characters (kanji). (2) Beginning English, (3) arithmetic and computation on the abacus, (4) a general introductory science course (rika), (5) an introductory social science course (shakkaika), including geography (chiri), history (rekishi), political science (seiji), and economics (keizai). The old ethics, duties, and obligations courses have been absorbed into the new social science course which also includes duties and obligations to one's family, friends, and associates, and the need for international friendship. During primary school, the subjects remain essentially the same with each year's courses increasing in difficulty.

In 1948, the three year junior high school (chūtogakko) was started. Two years were taken off the old primary course and one year added. In junior high school, some of the subjects become more specialized. Instruction in literature (bungaku) replaces the formal grammar of primary school. This course, which formerly emphasized Japanese literature, now includes selections from English, American, and world literature. A course in Ryukyuan history, hitherto untaught in the schools, has been added. All teaching is conducted in Japanese. There is no instruction in the Okinawan language, though it is still the language of the preschool child and of social life and daily talk. In adult speech, there is an effortless switch from the one language to the other. Instruction in English 5 or 6 hours a week continues.

[191]

The present junior high school curriculum includes literature, social science, English, Okinawan history (in the 3rd year), algebra and geometry combined, music, general science, manual training, drawing, agriculture for the boys, and domestic science and sewing for the girls. There may be some instruction in carpentry and pottery making. Boys specialize in agriculture, girls in domestic science. Girls however receive some training in agriculture and boys in domestic science, mainly in cooking and mending.

873 There is a break between junior and senior high school (kōtōgakko). Entrance in senior high school is by examination, the severity of which seems to be governed by vacancies available. Senior high school is also a greater break from home life. The schools are fewer. In

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Hanashiro the children take the short walk to primary and junior high school at Oushichan village; for senior high school they go to Chinen, 5 or 6 miles away. Most of them walk. Matsuda has an elementary school with the junior and senior high schools at Ginoza village, about 1 1/2 miles away. In senior high school, there is more specialization. The general science course is divided into physics (butsuri), chemistry (kagaku), and biology (seibutsu). Mathematics is split up into geometry (kika) and algebra (daitsu). There is further instruction in agriculture for the boys, some for the girls. The girls continue with domestic science, including sewing.

In the secondary schools, vocational education is well represented in the curriculum. The courses are planned as a preparation for the type of work students will do as adults in a village. The instructors seem competent although the subject matter does not include modern advances. There should not, in my opinion, be a further growth in vocational at the expense of general education, except after careful study of long term requirements. The great masses of people will continue to depend on agriculture, forestry, and to some extent on fishing for their existence, and vocational education should be built around a recognition of these facts. It should concentrate on supplying new knowledge related to these main fields.

New technical skills that we desire to develop should be governed by these considerations: (1) the improvement of agriculture, forestry, and fishing. (2) The long range plans of the military and civil administration and the skills they will require. (3) New skills that will be needed with any development of foreign trade or of local industrialization.

Vocational education also should be developed along lines consistent with the type of professional training we are prepared to encourage. If biologists, botanists, agriculturalists, soil scientists, foresters, statisticians, social scientists are being trained, vocational and technical education should also follow along these general lines to create a source both of initial interest and of possible technicians to assist the professional workers. This would also apply to the public health fields, such as nurses' aides, midwives, laboratory technicians.

The distinguishing feature of the new education (shinkyoiku) is the introduction of democratic ideas (minshushugi). The status of girl students and of women teachers has also changed. Before the war, the children were taught in the same room, but the boys and girls were separated. Now there is no segregation. Women teachers' salaries, formerly about 20% less than the mens', are now the same.

3

Schools and the Teacher

There is much more to a school day than actual instruction. The

358 children, whether in primary, junior, or senior high school, clean
up the grounds and do repair and upkeep work. Young teachers, many
[875] of whom are single, supervise the work, and often stay during the
evening hours to plan the day's work or to study. Male teachers
are night watchmen at the school, sleeping there in rotation.

346 The main problems of education are (1) adequate school buildings.
Their condition reflects the haphazard tragedies of war. Schools vary
in quality from place to place. The high school at Ginosa and the
elementary school at Matsuda, for example, are excellent buildings; in
other places, such as Gushichan village, the classroom buildings are
little more than shanties with thatched roofs, and a siding of boards,
[358] corrugated iron, or other materials at hand. At typhoon times, some
of these are flattened, and it is normal to see school children helping
to clear the grounds and putting on new thatch. It is my impression
[727] generally that conditions are worse in southern Okinawa than in the
northern area where war destruction was much less. The Civil Adminis-
tration is well aware of these problems and the school construction
program is, to all appearances, progressing. (2) Much the same situation
[352] and for the same reasons, exists with regard to school equipment. Rickety
chairs, old benches, bad blackboards contrast with the equipment of the
new schools or of the old which escaped destruction.

875 (3) The post-war period has made a difference in the status of the
school teacher (sensei). The destruction and disruption of the war,
scarcity, high prices and low salaries have made his position in most
[727] cases a precarious one. Before the war, the school teacher had prestige
and money. Only the prestige remains. One high school principal esti-
[465] mated that the post-war prices have increased 100 times, the teachers'
salaries about fifty times. Immediately before the war, the starting
[435] salary of a beginning teacher was Y45 a month. (The value of the pre-
war Japanese yen was about US $0.27). A school principal received Y100
a month. Now the beginning salary for school teachers is about Y2200 and
for principals Y5000. (The present value of the Okinawan yen is officially
pegged at 120 to the dollar). Increases averaging about 30% went into
effect in October 1951.

The school teacher has little or no money for clothing; his dress
is the same nondescript combination of old civilian and army clothing
that one sees on everyone else. This situation, serious in any country,
is particularly so in a culture that has always regarded the teacher
with such honor. The teaching profession is the source of many careers
[555] in public office. Even in casual observation, one frequently finds
that mayors, vice-mayors, former members of the Japanese civil service,
started life as teachers.

The Okinawan teacher works hard and enthusiastically, but new
attitudes are appearing which must be recognized. There is a desire
to leave the profession, particularly noticeable in the male teachers under
30. Economic difficulties are reflected in frustration and discouragement.
Okinawan school teachers, if the ones I knew are representative, have
enthusiasm for ideas of democracy and freedom and for reforms that have

been made in their school system, but this enthusiasm would be more permanent if it were based on a solid foundation of economic well-being. 875

Though this may not be representative, teachers in these townships were in two main age groups: those under thirty, and those forty and over. There are few in the 30-40 age group. In one school, 6 teachers were under 30, one a woman was 35, and the principal was over 40. In a group of 15 teachers in the Oushichan school, 7 were 25 or under, one 32, 3 from 32-40, and 5 in the 40 and over group.

The dependence of the Okinawan school teacher on Japanese culture is still strong, and understandably so, since he must rely on Japanese books and magazines for intellectual stimulation and knowledge. Japanese continues to be taught, as indeed it must, if the culture is to function. Those who have studied English do not know it well enough to comprehend discussions involving ideas of any sophistication or complexity. [177]

In these schools, the majority of teachers were young men. Teaching in the primary school is a combination of class and individual recitation. Children are not pressed and are corrected gently, treatment, I was told, which was also true of the pre-war primary school instruction. The improved status of women teachers may attract more to the profession, but now masculine influence is dominant in the schools observed. [876]

It is my impression that Okinawa is in a transition period with regard to the technical qualifications of its teachers and to the improvement of teaching methods. The younger teachers are high school graduates, some with further teacher training. The older ones, who served under the Japanese, seem to have considerable flexibility and to have adapted themselves to the new conditions. There is a fine relationship among teachers and students, with none of the barking, authoritarian approach. Teachers, who in the emergency are working in a grade for which they are not certified, seem anxious to get the proper certificate. Because of the low salaries, the possibilities of turnover among the younger teachers who might take other opportunities should be watched. [876]

From personal experience in attending classes, I would say that teachers are generally competent; they certainly have native intelligence and interest in their work. Teaching methods are conventional, but there is a lot of informal instruction connected with the many outside tasks around a school, performed by teachers and students alike. (One however should not be blind to the disadvantages of teachers and pupils participating in so much outdoor maintenance work). 876

4

Learning English

The desire to study and to learn English is practically universal. This respect for knowledge frequently is not matched by a realization 191 555

191 555 of the difficulties involved. Ambition is directed toward practical ends, such as a business or government clerkship or becoming a teacher.

876 194 It is probably too early to judge the effects of post-war instruction in English. The question is whether students will acquire working knowledge beyond the stage of conventional expressions and simple constructions. Pronouncing English is difficult for Okinawans, partly because the Oriental tradition in education has been so largely visual rather than oral, partly because students, consciously or unconsciously, convert English sounds into their rough Japanese equivalents, and proceed from there.

875 [214] In the primary and high schools, English, with few exceptions, is taught by teachers who themselves have learned English from Japanese teachers. They have added to this knowledge, by private study, often far into the night, of the dreadful English-Japanese phrase books, grammars, and other compendia which the Japanese love to publish. English still reaches the student through this Japanese sieve. So many teachers have learned English this way that the ordinary English of a native speaker baffles them, and they are easily thrown off by "intonation." Correction of this will have to be very gradual. The best teacher of English I saw was a young man who had been taught by an older Okinawan teacher who had in turn been taught by an Englishman. These teachers are devoted to their subject. But it is distressing to see them at study: trying to learn the language by mastering the uses of "nothing but," or "in order to," or "so that," or poring over those phrase books with their headings, "At the postoffice," "At the purser's office on the boat," etc., etc. Much of this is due to the fact that until recent times they have had little or no contact with native English speakers. In the rural areas this contact is still rare. [177] A young man in one of the villages, an addict of the phrase books, one afternoon was studying hard to master the courtesies of a newly 876 appointed ambassador calling on the Japanese foreign minister in his garden! He had been studying English for years, and finally one day got a job as a clerk in a military installation. But he was not a clerk; as he told it, he was a clarku. It is undeniable that these students learn an English that can be understood. Many of them would be able to use the language, and improve rapidly, if chosen as exchange students or national leaders. But the misdirected effort and the wasted eyesight are pitiful.

In the primary schools, English is taught in a conventional way. The teacher reads a sentence or a passage. The class reads after him, and the individual pupils recite. Much the same procedure is followed in the high schools, but there is more conversation. This system turns out many who know some English, but are very hesitant about using it, and a few who have some real understanding. The failures should not be emphasised too much; the point is that as soon as possible English should be taught by teachers who have learned the language from native speakers.

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This desire to learn English is more than a wish to communicate with Americans. Opportunities are open for those who know English, and people of all ages realize that theoretical and applied science and improved techniques come from the West, and that English is a means of understanding and applying this knowledge. Channelling this desire, through competent instruction in the schools, which will result in efficient self-guidance afterwards, is one of the significant problems of Okinawan education. But the techniques to be used on a permanent basis should be left to the professional linguist.

Should for example the methods of Basic English be adopted as a matter of policy and be encouraged in private study? Or should language study be based on the principles set forth by the rapidly advancing field of linguistics? Or should we accept the guidance of doctors of education who are specialists in curriculum construction and language training? My own bias is toward the manuals developed by the linguists, such as Spoken Japanese (EI 561-62). This approach, with its pattern sentences, is based on an analysis of the structure of the language itself. Basic English poses the problem whether the English taught is really basic. In my opinion, the crux of the matter is to study the presuppositions underlying these approaches and not the subject matter they produce. American learned societies, with the co-operation of the Army and the Navy, and the subsequent university programs in language study, have made great strides in these fields, both theoretical and applied. They represent the most advanced thinking in the world on these subjects, and the body of knowledge which they have should be most useful.[4]

5

Home, School, and Village

There are strong bonds between the home, the village, and the school. Parents help their children with their elementary readers. There is homework and classmates may stay at one another's houses over night. Parents are interested in children's school problems, but they do not visit the schools often, except at times arranged by the officials. PTA's have been organized, but it is still too early to tell how successful they will be. Since the PTA, like the Women's Association and the Young Men's Association, fits in the culture, it probably will thrive.

On entering school, the child is introduced to a new language which he has not spoken to any extent in childhood. Okinawan is the language of the pre-school child. Beginning school, therefore, is a bigger break than it is with most cultures.

The schools usually draw on several villages for their student body

4 It is only fair to say that my own bias in favor of the approach developed by the technical linguists grows out of instruction I received in Japanese in the Army's Civil Affairs Training School Program in 1943-44.

871 and the more advanced the school, the truer this is. Friendships
are made early with children of nearby villages. Marriage may be
572 the result of early school acquaintance, encouraged by the acceptance
of free choice in marriage. A young adult has a scattering of friend-
ships in the villages of his township. These class friendships are
strong in school, in the teens, and early twenties. By the late
twenties, the circle of friendships has broadened.

182 One of the most significant links between the family, village,
and school is the annual athletic meet (undōkai). It is held in the
526 fall. Preparations for this event are long and involve almost every-
body.[5]

About a month before it is held, the meet is the topic of
526 innumerable conversations. School children practice singing and
athletic dancing drills at home. School teachers, who do most of the
[875] organizational work, practice with painful cacophony on their trumpets and
clarinets. On the streets and lanes of Minatogawa, young men from 17
[534] to 23 practice broad jumping late into the night. Shortly before the meet,
all normal school activities stop. The teachers paint signs, mimeograph
programs, and plan the order of the various events. The school officials
have interminable committee meetings.

There is much bustle, laundering, hair washing, and cooking in a
village the day before the meet. Special lunches including rice dyed
[262] red, bean curd, slices of fish paste, beef or pork are prepared. This
field day is the closest approach to a picnic the Okinawans experience.

In good weather, the meet has a large attendance. A reserved area,
with school desks and chairs is set aside for special guests. A person
entering the reserved section to take his seat bows to the mayor and the
[576] group, steps forward a few paces, bows again, and takes his seat.

The mayor of the township presides over the meeting relieved by the
vice-mayor or other school or village or township officials. On one day
of the autumn meet, the mayor remained seated throughout the morning
and afternoon in a drizzling rain. It was his duty, assisted by the
principal and the teachers of the school, to give out the prizes.

Relay races, girls' dances, races and dashes for various age groups
are endless. At present, the meeting is not confined to school children,
but the younger men and women are included as well. The Young Men's
Association is very active. Special events are included. In the Women's
Association event, there was a mother and child race. In one case, a
mother who entered the race with a child on her back and her young son as

[119] 5 These remarks are based on observations in Minatogawa, Oushichan, and
Hanashiro villages, and on attendance at the Oushichan meet in Novem-
ber 1951. From discussions, I am certain they are very similar in
Matsuda, in fact all over the island.

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a running mate was vigorously applauded. The infant on her back was sleeping! 526

Four teams, the village officials, the teachers, high school students, and members of the Young Men's Association competed in a relay race. Later the teachers, and the mayor, participated in a rope and loop race. A rope about 20 feet long was tied to a stake driven in the ground. On the other end of the rope was a large loop. The trick is to run from a starting point, put the loop over the head, let it drop down and then step out. In the meantime, the opposing team has been trying to prevent the player from getting the loop by jerking the rope away, or throwing it at a distance. Other comedy events based on groping blindfolded to selected goals or objects were part of the program.

The races produce the greatest excitement, especially in the inter-village competition. A team from each village competes in a relay and runners representing their village participate in various dashes. In these competitive events, the old women become very excited, [628]

On this occasion the township gives a present to all people present who are 70 years old or over. The gift is now a plain towel; formerly the towel was embroidered with characters expressing wishes for a long life, but this practice has been abandoned for reasons of economy. [431]

The prizes, presented by the mayor to the contestants, are modest and generously given. The young men get four cigarettes, the women a paper of tooth powder, and the children, small school notebooks. The prize winners line up; each one steps up, makes a bow, receives his prize, lifts it up slightly, a typical Okinawan gesture of thanks noted by Basil Hall in 1816, bows again and retires. [576]

Though it centers around the school, the athletic meet is one of the strong forces bringing both families and village communities together. It would be hard to exaggerate the interest in the meet or the work that goes into its preparation. The fact that the mayor of the township, his staff, the village headmen, the principals of high schools, every parent and all the children who could possibly come, were present is enough to show its importance and vitality. 526 182

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CHAPTER XX

RELIGION

600

1 Introduction

2 Contemporary Religious Belief

3 Buddhism

4 Ancestor Worship

5 Survivals of the Priestess (Noro) System

6 Gods of the Fire, Wells, and Sacred Groves

7 Other Religious Observances

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1

Introduction

The study of religious ideas in Okinawa quickly involves one in a quagmire of beliefs, formal observances, and conventions, of various origins, often grafted on one another, so that it is almost impossible to disentangle them. There is a vagueness among the people, a lack of distinctions among various types of belief, and this makes the analysis even more uncertain and subject to error. When after death, for example, does the deceased become a god (hotoke-sama) in the Buddhist pantheon? At the end of the 49th day when the temporary white tablets are burned and replaced by the permanent red ones? Or at the end of the 33rd year when the dead person is no longer mourned, and the anniversary of his death no longer observed? And is he regarded as a god in the Buddhist pantheon or simply as a god? I was unable to find satisfactory answers to these questions. 771 128

Religious beliefs, such as ancestor worship, are closely related to the underlying ideas of the family system. Praying to the ancestors at the god shelf ties Buddhism in with the family system, but worship at the Buddhist alter and the god shelf would, if accepted at its face value, give an erroneous idea of the vitality of Buddhism and the degree to which it has become a religion of the people.

The student of these matters must also make certain that this vagueness and mixing of religious belief is an actuality and does not arise out of faulty comprehension. I became convinced, however, that the vagueness, the compounding of beliefs from different sources, the uncertainty are realities, and this point of view was later reinforced in reading the works of students of an earlier age.

There is a noticeably sharp cleavage in belief between the old and the young, with the dividing line around the age of 55. Furthermore, among the old, it is the women who believe and worship. The old men are much less serious, and, except for the few antiquarians, are much more poorly informed. 771 184

2

Contemporary Religious Beliefs

The religious tradition of Okinawa is a feminine one. Women appear in the creation myth as the practitioners of religion. The priestess (noro) system became an institutionalized religion in the early 16th century. From that time until the very recent past, the priestesses have been strong and influential because, for one thing, they had property and the economic power that accompanied its possession. These priestesses have now largely disappeared. But women remain the chief repositories of religious knowledge and belief. 771 773 793 562

771 Buddhism, as an organized religion, is of no importance, even though most villagers say they are Buddhists. Buddhist symbols and practices inspired by Buddhism remain, but that is a different matter.
183 The universal use of the Buddhist god shelf or household altar, the observance of Buddhist holidays, such as higan, are matters more of
177 custom and tradition than of religious fervor. This is significant because the Okinawans, for almost 70 years, were a part of the Japanese homeland, the greatest Buddhist nation on earth. During my stay in Okinawa, I thought that the recent war had caused the decline in Buddhist
198 influence. This is only partly true. Subsequent reading of the older literature made it clear that in modern times, Buddhism has not been a living force. The ethical and political systems were primarily Confucian. The priestesses had a greater influence on daily life and at death ceremonials, at least in rural Okinawa.

A variety of practices concerned with the worship of natural phenomena, such as the summits of mountains, groves of trees, wells and springs and the sea survive, but they are not strong.

177 There is little evidence of Shinto beliefs, except in a few families who were long resident in Japan. Shrine Shinto, closely tied in with emperor worship, has been abolished.

177 Villagers are acquainted with Christianity, but I encountered no adherents. The name of the 19th century missionary, Dr. Bettelheim,
797 is still remembered by people in Minatogawa and Hanashiro. Dr. Bettelheim, a Jewish convert to Christianity, came to Okinawa in 1846. He was both ineffective and unhappy, but his ineffectiveness was probably due more to the lack of enthusiasm of the Okinawan rulers than to personal inadequacy.

3

Buddhism

771 Buddhist formalisms and home observances exist in all the villages.
183 But the religion is not practiced. The people do not attend services or temples, nor do they support or seek out priests. This present situation
114 is apparently little changed from the recent past. Captain Basil Hall (1816) mentioned the apparent low status of the bonse. Charles Wahs, on Perry's staff, said that, "The people, however, appear to be indifferent to it, and do not seem to have much veneration for it. Basil Hall Chamberlain wrote in 1893 that Buddhist influence was almost extinct. In 1910, Simon spoke of the weakness of Buddhism and that priests often did not participate in funerals. Goldschmidt in 1927 made similar observations.[1]

1 Hall, as cited, 98-99; Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 49. Chamberlain, On the manners and customs of the Loochooans, In: Trans. of the Asiatic society of Japan, 21 (1893), 274. Simon, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, 103-04, 177. Goldschmidt, Neu-Japan, 145.

The only Buddhist priest in the areas studied was at the small village of Maegawa, within walking distance of Minatogawa and Hanashiro. He was a priest of the Jōdo sect (Jōdoshu), one of the important sects of Japan, and stressing salvation by faith. The sect of the priest in this village is of no importance, since the rural people now or before the war had neither the interest nor the capacity for doctrinal distinctions. The temples of this sect were burned during the war, including one in the village of Kochinda, a junction point between Naha and Gushichan. 793 [795] 346 727

Before the war the colors of the robes varied with the sect and with the position of the priest in the hierarchy. In the Jōdo sect, the lowest grade wore black, followed up the scale by orange, blue or green, a chocolate reddish brown, and purple, the highest. This contrasts sharply with the priest's present improvisations. His is the black robe of the Shinshu sect. It is a summer garment, made of soft light silk called shiya and resembles a man's kimono, but is longer and sweeps the floor. The garment hangs straight down and is not gathered or tucked. The only other religious possessions were a bell and a badly soiled print of the Buddha (oshaku) which hung in his room. 793 295 292 [778]

Before the war, some people in the Gushichan area requested the services of a priest at funerals. After the war, the people of Hanashiro, and other villages as well, decided because of the expense, to forego the services of a priest. 793

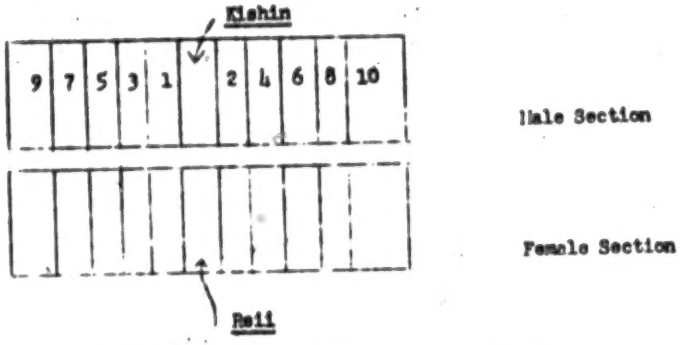
Occasionally this priest officiates when the bones in the temporary tombs of Minatogawa are moved to the extended family tomb at Itoman, or in a ceremony honoring a death anniversary. Few Okinawans became priests. This priest is a native of Japan, one of the few remaining Japanese priests in the island. At eleven, he entered a Buddhist temple (tera) and has been engaged in religious activity ever since. Now about 50, he has a wife and two children; his head is unshaved and the hair is of a conventional cut. He does not depend on the priesthood for a living, but is employed as an official in a village office. [797]

The situation with regard to Buddhism was quite similar in Matsuda, although there is no priest in the vicinity. There is little doubt, if the villages studied are typical, that this already moribund religion is disappearing altogether here, choked off by lack of temples, lack of priests, and by indifference. 771 178

It is not so with household Buddhism, if this term may be used to describe ceremonies and beliefs centering around the Buddhist god shelf or family altar (butsudan). This household altar is in the second room of every home. Around it collect the sentimental memories of the past, such as family pictures, photographs of young soldiers and dearly loved relatives. Prayers and offerings of food and drink to the dead are made before it. 771 778 183

An important part of the Buddhist altar is a frame holding the memorial tablets for the family dead. These tablets (ihai) are pieces 778 769

768 of wood lacquered red and lettered in gold. The frame has an upper
769 section for the male dead and a lower for the female. The date of death is written on the back of each tablet. In the center of each section is a strip with a Chinese character written on it. The upper or male section has the character, kishin, with a meaning similar to returning to the source (moto ni kaeru). The lower or female section has the character reii, suggesting that your spirit is in this place. The tablets are placed in an order, the first to the left of the middle character, the second to the right, so that the last placed ones are toward the outer edge.



(Arrangement of the Memorial Tablets (ihai)

778 The frequent occasions throughout the year when devotions are made
782 at the altar have already been described in many of the preceding pages. These can be summarized by saying that offerings and prayers are made (1) to commemorate important dates in an individual's life, like birth, the first birthday, engagement, marriage, death, and the anniversary of a death, (2) during holidays and festivals in which honoring the dead and thanksgiving are dominant themes, and (3) at times of individual and private religious worship or prayer. Some women pray daily after placing a cup of tea, a bowl of rice and a burning charcoal stick on the altar. Others observe the 1st and the 15th of the lunar month.

791 This household Buddhism, centering around the altar, has no institutional basis. There are no Buddhist temples in any of the villages. Family worship at the altar is both an honoring of the ancestral dead and also, it would seem, an acceptance of the merciful and humane doctrines of the Buddhist faith. Buddhism traditionally is the religion of consolation at death. The fact that ancestor worship takes place at the
[182] Buddhist altar, however, does not mean that this is a religion in a doctrinal sense. One has been grafted on to the other.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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Ancestor Worship

"Ancestor worship" has been used to describe the devotion to the spirit of the dead and the long continued remembrance of them by the living. While it is too deeply intrenched to be changed, the term is not satisfactory. It is really the worship of those who precede one in death, and these may be ascendants or descendants. The term, "ancestor worship," also conceals the fact that there is a partnership of the living and the dead, which, continued by the living generation in the production of children, will carry over in the future, so that family continuity from the remote past to the remote future is never broken. It is, in the phrase of John Hubbard, "a chain of worship,"[2] not merely the worship of the past and of the dead. But whether in the popular mind these two conceptions, worship of the dead and the family as a continuity, are closely and consciously related is impossible for me to say. The two ideas exist side by side on the level of feeling: to respect one's ancestors and to have children. 769 602

Another form of ancestor worship occurs in observances honoring the first ancestor or the founder of the village. Each village has a place of the guardian god (ujigami), located on the supposed site where the founder of the village first settled, which perpetuates the memory of the founder, who may, in some cases, also be the first ancestor of a family living in the village. (It has been suggested that the ujigami also might be related historically to the fire deity). Ceremonies at the place of the village guardian god have a public character and were often conducted by the priestesses. 776 778 [193]

Hanashiro. The place of the guardian god, a small building, is located on a plot of village owned land, off the main road at the edge of the settlement where the cultivated land begins. It is not well kept up. There is no attendant or caretaker. When necessary, it is reconstructed by volunteer village effort. Broken stone stairs lead up to the small tile roofed building. Inside, there are 5 stones, about 10 inches on the side and 4 inches thick. Some have thought these also represent the primitive hearth stones associated with worship of the fire god. One villager described it as a woman's deity place. Before the war, emigrants to the South Seas, South America, Manchuria, or Japan and their relatives prayed here for the good health and early return of those departing. [346] [358] [167]

Now there is public worship at the place on several occasions during the year. On the 3rd day of the 3rd month, a woman's holiday, women and children go to the seashore around Minatogawa, and, on returning, pray at the place of the guardian god. On O-Bon, the village lion appears in front of this site. There is sanisen playing and the whole village offers a prayer. (Not all villages have the lion costume. 778 796 [536] [825]

2 Quoted in L. Cranmer-Byng, The vision of Asia, New York, 1933, 42.

778 One person in front fills in the head and forelegs, another in back
796 provides the rear and hindlegs. The lion, with its human mechanism,
536 is a common sight at festivals and parades. It is a symbol of health
825 and strength worthy of imitation). In the Festival of the Full Moon, during the autumnal equinox, the lion appears again and the whole village participates in prayers before the festivities begin.

778 On the 1st and 15th of each lunar month, the headman goes to the
796 place of the guardian god and makes an offering of tea, burns a charcoal
[764] stick, and says a prayer. On the 9th day of the 9th lunar month, the
[825] village council and the elders assemble before the village burial palanquin (gan), offer prayer at the founder's site and then before the village office where the lion is standing.

Minatogawa. This village has three deity places and various explanations are given for this. Some believe that two of them represent
778 sites of co-founders, a first son, and his younger brother, the second
796 son. The third site is vaguely known as a village god place. It is a small outdoor place of worship on the main village road, with a step and a shelf for charcoal sticks. The founders' sites are located in the center of the settled area, but on different sides of the road. In the site of the second son, there are three stones, shaped like life savers but with a bottom for placing the charcoal sticks, three glasses for tea, and three bottles. The site of the supposed first son, less well kept, has a small altar, four stones, tea cups, and cans for the burning of incense.

778 On New Year and at O-Bon, the whole, or substantial portions, of
796 the village pray first at the supposed first son's site, then at the
[782] second son's. Prayers are offered also at the roadside deity place.
[358] Some of the younger villagers hope that as the older residents die off, the expenses of providing offerings and upkeep for all three can be eliminated and that simpler observances can take place at the roadside shrine. The situation now is complicated by the fact that many people regard themselves as descendants of one or the other co-founder.

778 Matsuda. In this village, the founder's site is reached by stairs
189 leading up a hillside. It is in the settled area near a dense growth of trees and shrubs. Close by there is a shed in which the lion skin
[993] is kept. In this village the founder's site seemed less important than another religious place, on the main road, in which women of lesser rank in the former priestess system participate in ceremonies. In this village there seems to be less participation by all the people of the village at the place of the guardian or founder deity, and, instead, representatives, like the headman, elders, and the former priestesses
[796] conduct the ceremonies at New Year, O-Bon, and at the equinoctial holidays.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Survivals of the Priestess (Noro) System

The origin of the priestess system has been traced to primitive fire or hearth worship. A woman was a priestess to the God of Fire (hi no kami) represented in the hearth stone. A set of three rather long stones sometimes set in a triangle often represented the hearth. (These stones in the place of the guardian gods of the village may have the same meaning. In the poorer kitchens, stones set in this manner for the hearth are common to this day). In every house there was a primitive hearth (kanaio). "Here, before this hearth, the ancestors of the household are worshipped, the Fire coming to summarize the ancestors who have sat before the hearth in past generations."[3] Each household of a village, each village, and each township had a hearth attendant. The priestess (noro) of the whole township "represents the original worship of the predominant hearth of that region." The duties of the rural priestesses included worshipping at the ancestral shrines, deciding the lucky days for planting, and officiating at marriage and burial ceremonies.

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This priestess system was made an institutionalized state religion by King Shō Shin (1477-1526). Their political power was broken by Shō Soku, a prime minister of King Shō Tei (1669-1709). The most logical explanation offered for their fall from political power is the influence of Confucianism with its standards of male dominance and the subordination of women. By the end of the 17th century, its economic and political power were declining, but its influence on individual worship, especially, in rural Okinawa, lasted down to the beginning of the recent war.[4]

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The priestess system had a place in inheritance customs of the old land tenure system. "Under the ancient system," said Spencer, "certain valuable farm lands were the possession of the Noro, the remainder of the land being held by the community and reassigned at various periods."[5] Inheritance within the system insured the handing down of these properties in the female line. This succession could be accomplished in a number of ways. The female child of the brother of a priestess might succeed her. This is believed to be the method of succession in ancient times. In later times, the noro married and succession was traced in the male line. The wife of a son of the priestess,

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3 This material is based on the article of R. S. Spencer, Noro or Priestesses of Loo-Choo, as cited. The quotation is on p. 97.

4 Ibid, 98, 108.

5 Ibid, 109. The material following is to be found on p. 110.

793 or her granddaughter might succeed her. In earlier times, priestesses
423 were unmarried. But with private ownership in land the fields owned by
428 the priestess were divided according to the new laws and fell into possession of the priestess' family.

Spencer pointed out in his discussion of their status in 1931 that
793 they still had considerable influence. There was one in practically every
[79] village, although they were losing out to the female fortune tellers (yuta). Spencer cited the case of the principal of the primary school at Itoman who could get controversial plans adopted readily if a priestess sponsored them. This was over 30 years after the abolition of the old allotment system, and their economic power had vanished. But they were important figures in festivals and holidays. Their private services included advice and prayer on journeys and business undertakings. This brief summary of their past history will make the discussion that follows clearer.

793 The Japanese discouraged the priestess system, regarding it as a
178 superstition. In the years immediately preceding the war, the priestesses seem to have prospered more in the northern district of Okinawa. By 1951, the noros were virtually forgotten, victims of a long decline, Japanese discouragement, the war, public indifference, and the conviction, among the young and middle aged people, that the priestesses taught only superstitions (meishin) like the fortune tellers and the soothsayers.

Hanashiro had a priestess before the war; when she died, there was no young female relative to replace her. Now there are none in Hanashiro, Nagamo, or Hinatogawa. Their failure to revive after the war is attributed by the villagers to the influence of education among the people. In Hatsuda, there are some last survivals of the system, but the Ginosa priestess has also died, and there was no one to replace her.

793 Before the war, the priestess (noro in Japanese, nuru in Okinawan) and her assistants conducted services in Hatsuda.[6] The priestess, who was then about 60, lived in Ginosa village, and was carried by two men on a palanquin (kago) from her village to Hatsuda. The high priestess and her assistants constituted a ten woman group. The first in rank after her lived in Ginosa, and the other eight in Hatsuda. These participants in the festivals and religious ceremonies were known as kannushi-san (Japanese) or kamichuyu (Okinawan). The priestess was assisted by a second woman, first in rank after the noro herself (uchigami in Okinawan), a third (nigami in Okinawan), and the fourth (yureshigami in Okinawan). The fifth to ninth women were learners and followers. They could be either young or old women. All ranks wore a simple garment, similar in cut to a kimono, made of white gauze-like material. For a head covering, a piece of the same material was wrapped around the head like a towel. Four men attended the priestess and her women assistants but only at public ceremonies.

[115] 6 The material which follows is based on information from a lady about 50, a resident of Hatsuda, who was a second ranking assistant (nigami) to the noro. She now operates a tiny store in Hatsuda.

The group sat in a circle. The priestess occupied the highest spot, her female assistants somewhat lower places, and the men, for once, in the lowest position. The priestess, her women and the male entourage held public worship on the 15th day of the 5th, the 15th and 16th day of the 6th, and the 10th day of the 8th lunar months. On these days there were prayers for good crops, for freedom from disasters and typhoon damage. On the 10th day of the 8th month, there were special prayers that neither diseases nor epidemics enter Hatsuda. These three periods may be rest days on which the villagers may assemble at the place where the prayers are being offered. Because there is no priestess, these ceremonies are now conducted by former assistants. The meetings are attended by fewer and fewer people and the ceremonies may disappear altogether. 793 796 [782]

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Gods of the Fire, Wells, and Sacred Groves

There are also other forms of worship which still survive. These are (1) the god of fire (hi no kami), (2) spirits of the sea, of wells, springs, and groves, and (3) types of fortune telling which blend into religious belief. 776 [787]

Gods of the Fire. In every Okinawan kitchen, there is a place above the stove or hearth dedicated to the kitchen or the fire god. There is no image or personification of the god. Usually the place is a very small shelf on which charcoal sticks are burned for the god of the hearth. This is done by women exclusively. The women may light the sticks daily, but it is more usual for the housewife to perform the observance on the 1st and 15th of the lunar month. This was true of all the villages, and I have never seen a kitchen which lacked a place for the fire god.7 776 778 372 782 [562]

Gods of the Well (ido no kami). In Hanashiro, prayers are offered in front of the two public wells on lunar New Year. The whole village does not participate. Two or three older men from each extended family perform the rite. The gods of the well are told that the villagers need water; they are thanked for what they have had, and asked to continue to furnish a plentiful supply. 776 778 796

7 The Shinto god shelf (kamidana) is extremely rare. In my observation, it was present only in the homes of Okinawans who had lived in Japan. One in Hatsuda, located in the first room, had two shelves, on both of which a small urn for burning incense sticks was placed between two flower vases. The place on the left represents the founder, the one on the right, his immediate descendant. The family prays to the Shinto god on the 1st and 15th of the lunar month. The husband and wife pray first, followed by the children. A rice offering is placed on the shelf. On it there was a small figurine of the fox god (inari-san) and a mirror, both Shinto symbols. 177 184

778 Similar worship may take place at a spring (isumi). Near
796 Oushichan village there is a large spring. Stone stairs have been built up, amphitheatre-like, around it. Prayers are offered by villagers, or substantial numbers of them, on New Year and on the 5th day of the 5th lunar month. In daily life, the spring is a favorite place for laundering and bathing.

796 There are three well gods in Hinatogawa, and they are worshipped
778 at the three public wells scattered throughout the village. The people of the village, or large numbers of them, assemble at these wells for
796 prayer at various times of the year, the most important being on New Year and on boat racing day. Sake and a box of candy are placed before the well as offerings of thanks for water.

This village has also a place for the worship of the sea god. This is a simple stone on a small shelf, on a barren spot of the seashore, scarcely distinguishable from the rocks scattered in natural disarray by the waves. In a high wind, the remains of the offerings and the charcoal sticks are swept out to sea. The most important observance here occurs on the 4th day of the 5th month, the day of the sea festival and the boat races. Fishermen come to the place by boat and make offerings of sharks' fins. On this day, the whole village assembles twice to pray at the spot, once before, and once after the races and the celebration. Individual or family worship is common on New Year and at O-Bon. On the equinoctial holiday of the full moon, the headman, the heads of the neighborhood groups, the council and retired elder men assemble, offer thanks and pray for continued plenty from the sea. Very close to the palace of the sea god, a short round stick of bamboo or of thick miscanthus may be stuck in a pile of rocks. Near the top, a dried fish (usually the ika) tail is placed in a slit. In the center there is a slit for another but larger part of the dried fish.

796 The palace of the mountain god, though its identity is uncertain,
778 is near the palace of the sea god. It is under an overhanging rock along the seashore. This seems an unusual place for the home of a
178 mountain god, but seafarers may have prayed to the god in thanks for guiding them safely in. It seems now to have fallen into disuse. It is now partially overgrown with pandanus and little is known of the place.

796 Hatsuda. In Hatsuda, there are beliefs in well, mountain top, and
778 tree grove spirits. There are 8 wells here and family groups usually divide up and worship at one of the wells. After drinking some of the
782 water, thanks are offered to the well god.

The gods of the mountain top and the tree groves are difficult to
796 understand. Little seems to be known about them locally, and it is
128 difficult to disengage historical from religious elements.

One popular explanation is that these gods were the intentional
[796] invention of Saion, the 18th century statesman and authority on forestry and agriculture. But this seems highly unlikely. It is more likely
784 that Saion capitalized on the ancient interdict against cutting down
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trees of the sacred grove and used old beliefs to preserve the forests. Formerly it was believed that misfortune would come to him who cut a tree in groves sacred to these gods. If the trees were cut, the god would become angry, the person cutting the tree would be the victim of self-induced illness and by worrying about his deed, gradually would become ill, and perhaps die. These sacred groves, whose religious significance is now almost ignored, are arranged to enclose the village from three directions, with the open side on the south. On the north was the sacred grove in the back (ushiro no utaki) or the grove of the white gold mountain (kinpuku utaki in Okinawan). The mountain gods were supposed to live here. On the west was the grove in front (mae no utaki) on the white silver mountain. This was also known as the fire shrine. 789 778 185 778 823 [976]

The priestesses also had a hand in this worship of the mountain gods. There are about seven of these places of worship now, and there is still a voluntary caretaker, an old woman with tattooed hands, a family priestess (nigami) in the old system. Occasionally one sees an old woman going to a grove to pray. The only other visitors are the farmers who walk along the paths of the grove on their way to the fields. 778 793

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Other Religious Observances

There are a few other observations which may have some interest. Old women use patches of grass or knotted rice straw to ward off the spirits on days when they are thought to be abroad in great numbers. At the festival of the autumnal equinox, knotted or braided grass (shiba) is placed in various parts of the house. In some houses, bunches are suspended from the cross beams, perhaps three or four bunches to the side. They may be placed in the toilet, at the entrance to the house compound, on the water barrel in the kitchen, on the front and back of fishing boats, or in the interior of the house. Blades of miscanthus grass may be tied around the neck of a bean paste jug (misogami). Spirits, plentiful at this time, are frightened away by the patches of grass and will not enter. The young, while not believing in this, acquiesce to avoid making the old angry. 789 824 [184]

When a death anniversary is being celebrated, there may be a blade of miscanthus, a rice straw, or a knotted blade of grass on the top of a box of candies or sweet meats to prevent the intrusion of evil spirits. A blade of grass (the san) is occasionally tied around the handle of a tea pot. For the first week after a family death, tea is served from a pot which has this blade of grass. But these are almost invariably the observances of the old and are only infrequently seen. These customs, observed in Hinatogawa, are said to survive among the very old in the other villages. [769] [776] [184]

In Matsuda, a rice rope (shimenawa) was observed at one home. The rice rope, a Shinto symbol, is not common in Okinawan culture. This [777] [184]

789 824 rope was hung across the entrance of the family compound two times a year, on the 9th day of the 8th month, and on the 8th day of the 12th month. Along the rope, there were knotted blades of grass, also the san plant. The purpose is to frighten away evil spirits and evil doers. One peculiarity of this twisted rice rope is that 283 it is made in a different manner from the ordinary rope. The usual rope is a twist made by rolling the fibre between the palms to the right or away from the body. In this special rope, the roll is reversed and is to the left or toward the body. It is difficult for a person already skilled in the regular method. This villager told of going to two noro [193] priestesses in the village of Yabu who specialized in teaching this method of making ropes. The husband and the wife received instruction, paying about Y40 for it because the wife believed in the efficacy of the practice. Each year at the proper times, the husband now makes the special rope himself.

787 791 184 Some fortune telling practices shade into religious beliefs, just as religious customs have also included soothsaying and divination. The noros and the Buddhist priests formerly practiced some fortune telling. There were no fortune tellers in any of the villages studied, but villagers occasionally consult them. Here, too, the patronage comes largely from the old and from the women. Younger people, if they know about them, regard these practices as superstitions unworthy of belief. The word meishin (superstition) is frequently heard among the young in describing customs and beliefs of the old. The sign of the fortune 791 [212] teller (sanjinsō) is the Chinese charactor for three written three times. These characters are said to signify the three states of existence, pre-natal, the present, and the afterlife, on all of which the fortune teller is well versed. Those in Hanashiro and Hinatogawa who wish to consult a fortune teller go to Itoman; those in Hatsuda go to Nago. The cost is usually from Y40-50 a visit. Typical reasons for a consultation with a fortune teller are: (1) to find out if an ill person will become well, (2) among the fishermen, to find out if the fisherman will return when an unexpected storm has arisen, (3) to discover if a present unhappiness has been caused by the evil deed of an ancestor and if this can be corrected, and (4) to find out the lucky days for such undertakings as marriages, building a house, or beginning new phases of construction.

782 774 Old women may utter a prayer on seeing a child fall, fearing that the child's spirit might escape because of surprise or fright. (This was observed in Hinatogawa).

778 In Hatsuda, there were shelves for burning charcoal sticks in some of the numerous caves in the area. The nature of the worship could not be ascertained, but they may be offerings to deities of the cave.

514 [776] 782 178 Worship and prayers in the toilet seem to have completely disappeared. There were no personified toilet gods. The toilet apparently was the place in which thanks were given that a place for excrement had been provided. In all the villages, it was said to be an old belief which has now died out. There was no shelf or special place of worship in The Toilet.

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in the toilet.

Religious beliefs shade into other aspects of village life, such as honoring the dead, the obligations of the family system, and the celebration of public holidays and festivals. The war has hastened the decline of many of the old beliefs we have been describing. The inability of the old, during the war and its aftermath, to communicate a body of belief to the newer generation has meant that now, even more than before, religious beliefs and customs are dying out rapidly and henceforth will appear only in vague outlines to inquiring scholarship.

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1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

CONCLUSION

The description of village life presented in the preceding pages is not the delineation of an ancient way of life essentially unchanged from the remote past. Neither is it the study of an old way of living which is now passing away. Rather it is a glimpse of a culture, at a particular moment in time, which has been changing, sometimes slowly, sometimes with great rapidity. The theme of inertia and change, developed in the second chapter, furnishes an opportunity for understanding the culture in the perspective of history. Even though the changes of the last decade have been impressive, they are less striking when placed beside some of the great changes of the past. 128 178

This small island, known to Oriental antiquity and to the Western world after the Age of Discovery, is an excellent illustration of the combination of influences from the outside and of the progressive changes made in the natural environment as a consequence of long human settlement. This theme, imperfectly documented, has repeatedly appeared in this work in order that the affinities of soil and land conservation and forest care with social and cultural questions, such as organization of government, the family system, and economic problems may be recognised. 177 311 182

This idea of a changing culture, in a physical environment of meticulous tillage and of minute subdivision, enables us to see more clearly the inter-relationships of the family system, inheritance, land tenure, the care and conservation of the land, and the methods of agriculture. It is the values within the family system that have given content and meaning to the natural resources, to the tiny paddies, the stony sweet potato patches, and the barren wild land. The tombs and the grave sites also find a place in this minute appraisal of the value and the use of land. 178 182 311

This minute knowledge of the land, obvious as it is to observation, is one of the outstanding cultural characteristics of the people. Indeed this is true of other Oriental peoples as well, even though their preferences have been for the transported soils of the alluvial plains and the deltas. This detailed knowledge of land, of its productivity as gauged by the farmers' patient success in tilling it, is used to build up the system of land classification. 311 181

No less striking is the intimate knowledge of small localities. A tiny village may have five or six of these localities, dignified with a name which, in our culture, would be given to a portion of a large city. Every little spot has a name, even though the origins and the circumstances of the naming are lost in hazy memory.

In this use and tillage of land, perhaps the most important comparison to be made is that, unlike China, Japan, and Korea, dry land and upland agriculture is the chief reliance of the people. There are no Yangtse river deltas and no Kanto plains in Okinawa. The care, conservation and use of land have crept up the hillsides over the most settled [171]

311 parts of the island, and the small deltas, the tiny alluvial plains,
18 the short and narrow valleys are left to produce what little rice can be grown.

Okinawa is not Japan and perhaps it is unrewarding to attempt
171 comparisons between the Okinawans and the Japanese. Okinawa is an island whose rural life is but little disturbed by urban development.
369 Only two places, Naha and Shuri, could be classified as small cities. Important places like Nago, Ishikawa, and Yonabaru are only small towns.

Japan is a culture rich in both its rural and its urban life. The investigation of the life of the great metropolitan cities of Japan is more scattered in specialized studies, more casual, perhaps more impressionistic than the study of some of its villages. Japanese and Okinawan rural life have many things in common, though the Japanese experience may now be distinctly different because of the land reform.

But along with the rural village, there are the great cities of Tokyo, Yokohama, Kyoto, Osaka, Kobe, and Nagoya, and these circumstances make an appraisal of Japanese culture even more complex and elusive.

177 Certainly the long cultural ties with Japan have left their impressions on the people of Okinawa. The Japanese language, the Japanese system of education, altered after the war, Japanese tools, and Japanese literature are clear examples of this direct influence. But there are differences too. Adoption is much less common in Okinawa. The Buddhist influence, except for the altars of household Buddhism, is weak. The Okinawans, during the war, seemed less inclined than the Japanese toward fanatical self-sacrifice in behalf of the emperor cult.

157 In this work, I have avoided discussing the popular subject of
128 the "psychology" of the people. After a few commonplaces, one embarks on a series of impressions which may or may not have validity and which most certainly would be subject to endless qualification. I have therefore, for the most part, left the characteristics of the people to emerge from the descriptions of their historical experience, their social organization, and their family and community life, trusting that from these details one can form an impression of the way in which a people are living and how they meet the manifold problems which confront them.

156 In my own studies, I have been impressed with the feeling of belonging which seems to be the possession of the individual from infancy until his children lay him to rest in the family tomb. There is also a stability in family life, and this stability does not seem so pivoted, as in our culture, on the continued mutual love and affection of the father and the mother. There also seems to be little stress on personal competition.

The infant as well as the mature adult are conditioned to conformity both by the historical obligations and duties under the family

system and by the public life which they lead. There is a blending and shading of the private life of the home with the public life of the lanes, the shops, and the homes of others. The process is so subtle that one can live among them and be unaware of it. But children do more than grow up. They grow and reach maturity impressed with their duties and obligations. It is this cultural environment, rather than single element explanations such as breast feeding, which in my opinion accounts for the politeness, the essential gentleness, and the sense of security of the people. These characteristics can best be understood by knowing history, by knowing how people live within a family, how families live together, what these groups of families do to their arable land, their plants, their stones, their trees, and their forested and wild land, and how the private life of an individual or a family blends in with the wider public experience of the community. 156 [155]

The recent war has been a powerful agent of cultural change in Okinawa. The destruction of the south, the comparative well-being of the north have equalized the roles of the two great divisions of the island, and the north is no longer a rustic hinterland. The years of military service in the Japanese army interfered with the transmission of the traditional culture from the old to the young. One of the striking aspects is the differences in types of information possessed by the old and the young. Men fifty years or over speak of things of which younger men and women have never heard. What is part of one man's culture is foreign to the other. 727 178 184

Before the war success in transmitting the traditional culture to the young depended to a great extent on the hierarchy of the family system and its scale of values. Women were subordinated to men and the younger deferred to the elder. Obedience of children and acknowledgment of parental leadership were said to characterize the pre-war society. In many ways, all these things still do. But there are indications of a growing dependence of the older on the advice and knowledge of the young. [867] [593]

The war and its aftermath produced conditions favorable to the leadership of younger people, especially younger men. It was easy for them to drive trucks. It was no chore to become acquainted with Americans and adapt themselves to their ways. They could learn, and comprehend more easily, some of the Western concepts implicit in governmental change. A twenty year old is not impressed with skill at typing. A sixty year old person looks upon this skill with a certain wonder. [177]

The destruction of pre-war housing and its replacement by inferior makeshift housing have had an unsettling effect on village life. Sleeping habits and living arrangements were disrupted. The destruction even affected the use of rainwater coming from the drains on the tile roofs. It converted villages with their houses and an occasional garden into a camp-like atmosphere. [362]

The post-war repatriation often brought to villagers a more personal awareness of the outside world. Those who returned, especially from the non-Oriental countries, created an atmosphere congenial to change. [167] [177]

727 In the post-war period also roads have increased, and they
178 have been widened. More vehicles are on the roads. One can travel
184 through the villages of Okinawa over widened roads which before the
[491] war probably differed little from those described by Captain Hall
[484] in 1816 and by his grandson Basil Hall Chamberlain in 1895. This extension of the highway system has increased the mobility of Okinawans. Perhaps ultimately the cultural differences among villages will give way to wider uniformity induced by these innovations.

There is something enthralling in reading the chapters on "Lew Chew"
119 in Francis Hawks' Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to
178 the China Seas and Japan, which he compiled from the notes and journals of Commodore Perry, and the pages of Bayard Taylor's work, along with Okinawa, The Last Battle, which the Historical Division of the Department of the Army published in 1948. These give some measure of the change that has been brought about not only in the Great Loo Choo but in the world.

It has been my purpose here to tell part of the remaining, the
121 contemporary story of the people whose islands early ethnologists were so fond of referring to as an anthropological museum.

The End

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:04

GLOSSARY OF JAPANESE WORDS

This glossary includes only the most commonly used words appearing in the text. Specialized words may be found in the appropriate chapters. Okinawan words are followed by an O in parentheses.

akiue	fall planting
bakemono	an evil spirit
bōchi	tomb area, grave
bōfurin	shelter belt or grove for typhoon protection.
bōkasen	fire lane
bōzu-san	a Buddhist priest
bunke	branch family
chō	2.45 acres
chōnan	first son
daizu	soy bean
dake (O)	tattooing
dakkoki	rice treadle thresher
dōnen	same year (see also dōsei).
dōsei	same age, used as a synonym for classmate.
fujinkai	women's association
futon	comforter or quilt
gakka	subject (in a school course)
gan	a funeral hearse or palanquin
ganya	a building housing the gan.
genya	non-arable, wild or stony, but useful land
geta	wooden clogs
giri	duty, obligation
go	.04756 gallons liquid
gochisō	a feast, treat, or any meal out of the ordinary
hafu	a gable; the gable type Okinawan tomb
haisho	religious site
haka	tomb
han	a subdivision, or neighborhood, into which a village is divided.
hanchō	the head or leader of a han.
haru ue	spring planting
hatake	dry crop land
hazukashii	to be shy
hera	trowel or spatula
hi no kami	god of fire
higan	the Buddhist spring and autumnal equinoctial holiday
hinpun (O)	protective stationary barrier gate at the entrance of a house compound.
hoanrin	groves of trees for typhoon protection (collective term).
honke	main family
hotoke-san (sama)	a god, usually in the Buddhist pantheon
hykujō	import store
ichimon (munchu O)	extended family
ido no kami	god of the well
ihai	red lacquered pieces of wood used as memorial tablets

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	for the dead on the Buddhist home altar
ireizumi	tattooing
jinpun (O)	night soil
jiru	hearth, also refers colloquially to convalescence after childbirth
jiwari-seido	the old land allotment system
jōdoshu	the Jōdo Buddhist sect
joshiseinen	young women's association
joyaku	vice-mayor
jūgoya	festival of the full moon held around the time of the autumnal equinox
jūrokunichi	16th day. Holiday of 1st lunar month. See Chap. 17, Sect. 2
kachiku	domestic animals
kagami	mirror
kago	palanquin
kaibatsu	clearcutting (of a forest)
kaikon	a clearing
kaikaku	land reclamation
kakemono	hanging scroll
kama	a small sickle or bill knife
kamekokata	a designation for the turtle back tomb
kanbatsu	overcutting (of a forest)
katabui (O)	here and there rain, an Okinawan term for local scattered showers
kaya	any wild grass, usually refers to miscanthus.
kaya	a mosquito net
kazoku-seido	the family system
kazura	a slip, a clone
kekkonshiki	the marriage ceremony
kokugo	mother tongue
koseki	family register kept in the township office
ku	a hamlet. In the text, village has been used as the equivalent word.
kuchō	a village headman
kumiai	an association, a co-operative
Kunigami	northern district of Okinawa
kuwa	the all purpose short bladed hoe
kyoiku	education
kyūreki	the lunar, literally the old calendar
kyūsaisaku	forest conservation
maguwa (maga O)	harrow
makura	the Japanese pillow
marugari	close clipped haircut (of young boys)
matsuri	a festival
mi-ai	arranged marriage, literally "seeing-meeting"
minshushugi	the doctrine or idea of democracy
miso	bean paste
misoshiru	bean paste soup
mo-ai	mutual loan group. See Chap. 12, Sec. 2
mochi	rice cake
mochigome	rice-cake-rice, glutinous rice

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moto ni kaeru	return to the source. See Chap. 16, Sect. 2
muikajari (mensan O)	celebration on the naming of a child, usually on the 5th or 6th day.
mukoyoshi	groom adoption
mushiro	a straw or reed mat rolled up when not in use
naidoko	a seed bed
nakōdo	go-between
natsu ue	summer planting
nōgyō	agriculture
nōgyōkumiai	agricultural association
noro	an Okinawan priestess. See Chap. 20
nōson	an agricultural village
nuka	rice chaff
obi	sash
O-Bon	a holiday of the 15th and 16th of the 7th lunar month. See Chap. 17, Sect. 4.
Okinawa	Okinawa Island, the Great Loochoo Island of the 19th Century Western explorers
Okinawago	Okinawan language or speech
ombu	term for the custom of carrying the child on the back
Ōmisoka	last day of the lunar year
ren-ai	free choice in marriage; sometimes translated as romantic love.
rinsaku	crop rotation
rishi	interest (on money)
sabishii	lonesome, lonely, loneliness mixed with melancholy
sakai	boundary
sake	in Okinawa, a strong distilled alcoholic drink like Japanese shōchu. Also called awamori. Not the same as Japanese sake.
sakimui (O)	engagement (prior to marriage)
samisen	a stringed instrument
sanba	a midwife
sanjinsō	fortune teller
sanpatsu (danpachiya O)	a barber
sanrin	forest land
san-san-kudo	3-3-9 times. ceremonial sake drinking at the marriage ceremony.
satokibi	sugar cane
satsuma imo	sweet potato
seimaisho	rice mill
seimei	full name, given and surname
seinendan	young men's association
seireki	solar, western calendar
seitojo	sugar mill
sensei	teacher
shaku	0.994 feet
shinrui	relatives
shinseki	relatives, used in Okinawa synonymously with shinrui
shiriushi	hand mill or quern for polishing rice

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shiseiji	illegitimate child
shizoku	nobility, gentry
shōgatsu	lunar New Year
shoki	a (village) clerk
sobodan	(volunteer) fire brigade
sōdan suru	to discuss, consult with
son or mura	a township
sonchō	the mayor of a township
soroban	abacus
sōsoku	inheritance
suisankumiai	fishermen's co-operative
suki	plow
sukiyaki	Japanese dish with vegetables, bean curd, etc., with or without a meat or fish base
--sun	bound form, indicating linear measurement. 1 sun (issun) equals about 1.2 inches.
ta, tambo	a paddy field, wet rice plot
taiban	afterbirth
takubatsu	selective cutting (of a forest)
takuchi	house site
tansu	chest of drawers
tatami	a flat mat, about 3' x 6'
tōfu	bean curd
tōkyu	classification, such as land classification
tsubo	unit of land measurement. About 4 square yards, 0.000817 acres, 1/3000 of a chō
tsunahiki	rope tug of war. See Chap. 17, Sect. 5
uino	engagement (prior to marriage)
ujigami	the patron deity of a locality. Also used to include the place or building where the patron deity is worshipped.
undōkai	athletic meet
utaki	sacred grove
wakamizu	new or young water. See Chap. 17, Sect. 1
wara	rice stalks
waratsuna	rice straw rope
waribiki	discount (on a loan)
ya	house, dwelling
yagō	a secondary naming system based on house rank order. See Chap. 6, Sect. 8
yabu	native doctor
yadori (yadui O)	settlements characterized by isolated homesteads, as contrasted with the clustered village
yakuba	the township office
Yambaru	the Northern District of Okinawa, synonymous with Kunigami
Yambaru take	Yambaru bamboo, a dwarf bamboo
yashiki	a house site, synonymous with takuchi.
yashinaoya	special form of adoption in which a sickly child has
yashineuya (O)	a growing up parent but continues to live with his own parents
yōtonkumiai	a pig raiser's co-operative

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yuta	fortune teller
zaisan	family estate
sōrin	afforestation, reforestation, or loosely, care and maintenance of forest lands

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[In his discussion of kinship Glacken uses the term "extended family" to mean the patrilineal sib (ichimon or munchu)].

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[For information on mutual loan associations or mutual finance groups see pp. 244-249.]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7.
Taira

Six Cultures

Studies of Child Rearing

Edited by Beatrice B. Whiting

Laboratory of Human Development

Harvard University

New York and London

[Title Page]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7

[pp. i-vii not processed]

Introduction

121 This volume is the first of a series of publications reporting research undertaken in 1954 by a group of social scientists from Harvard, Yale, and Cornell universities. In its broadest conception, the research was aimed at exploring cross-culturally the relation between different patterns of child rearing and subsequent differences in personality. It was designed to study the degree to which the treatment a child receives in the first years of life determines his behavior and in adult life influences his perception of the world, his philosophy, religion, and code of ethics.

Theories of the relationship between specific types of treatment in early childhood and subsequent personality difference have been advanced by psychologists and anthropologists. This project was set up with the hope of being able to test some of these hypotheses on the basis of material collected in a standard manner in six parts of the world where families have divergent ways of life and theories and methods of training young children.

121 In tracing the history of this project one should begin with the work
127 of Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, Edward Sapir, Ralph Linton, Abram Kardiner, John Dollard, and other pioneers in the field of culture and personality whose work formed the foundation of this study. Such an account, which would demand an essay on the entire new discipline that grew out of the integration of anthropological and psychological theory, is not practical in this introduction.

121 Specifically, the impetus for this study came from the cross-cultural
114 work on socialization done by two of the senior investigators, John W. M. Whiting and Irvin L. Child, while they were colleagues at the Institute of Human Relations at Yale University. The results of this research were published in *Child Training and Personality* (1953). Using

12 114 theories of disease as measures of adult personality, the authors attempted to test certain psychological theories relating the treatment of the basic behavior systems in infancy and childhood to adult personality characteristics.

[127] The data on the 75 societies used in these studies were taken from published ethnographies which varied greatly in the detail and areas of coverage. The dream of the investigators was to send field teams out to get comparable detailed material on 100 societies. As a first step in accomplishing this aim, the present study was planned.

12 122 In 1953 the Committee on Social Behavior of the Social Science Research Council sponsored a seminar * and a conference † to discuss cross-cultural work on socialization. As a result, a *Field Manual for the Cross-Cultural Study of Child Rearing* was prepared (Whiting et al., 1953), and Whiting and Child persuaded William W. Lambert of Cornell University to join them in seeking funds to carry out a comparative study of child rearing. A generous grant from the Behavioral Science Division of the Ford Foundation made it possible to carry out these plans. The fieldwork and part of the analysis and writing of five of the six reports in this volume were financed by this grant. Later analysis and editing were supported by a grant from the United States Public Health Service.

121 Intensive planning for the study was carried on at Cornell, Harvard, and Yale during the following year under the direction of the senior investigators, William W. Lambert, Irvin L. Child, and John W. M. Whiting. During June and July of 1954, a Social Research Council Summer Conference was held at the Laboratory of Human Development at Harvard. All the research personnel, with the aid of David Aberle of Michigan, Alfred Baldwin, and James J. Gibson of Cornell, and Robert Sears of Stanford, wrote the *Field Guide for a Study of Socialization in Five Societies*. This volume presents in detail the research plan, the hypotheses to be tested, and the research devices which were agreed on by the field teams and senior investigators.‡

The five original field teams started fieldwork in the fall of 1954 and

* The contributing members of this seminar were Barbara Chartier Ayres, Hildreth Geertz, George Goethals, Charles Holzinger, Edgar Lowell, Eleanor E. Maccoby, Kimball Romney, Richard Salisbury, William Stewart, and John Thibaut.

† Attending this conference were Robert R. Sears (Chairman), A. L. Baldwin, R. A. Bauer, Irvin L. Child, L. S. Cottrell, Jr., Leon Festinger, J. L. Gewirtz, A. Inkeles, Harry Levin, Gardner Lindzey, Eleanor E. Maccoby, Carson McGuire, G. P. Murdock, B. Paul, J. M. Roberts, T. R. Sarbin, Pauline S. Sears, M. Brewster Smith, R. L. Solomon, John W. Thibaut, and John W. M. Whiting.

‡ Published in mimeographed form by the Laboratory of Human Development, Harvard University, 1954.

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spent from 6 to 14 months in the field. Although the original design of the study called for a sample of societies whose culture had been already studied by ethnologists, the temperament and motivation of young anthropologists are such that they tended to choose groups who are relatively unknown and who, often for some personal reason, appealed to their interests. The actual groups chosen represented a compromise between the advantages of previous coverage and these personal interests, in addition to providing the great range of differences desired by the project planners. Kimball and Romaine Romney of Harvard chose a group of families in the Mixtecan barrio of Santa Domingo in the town of Juxtlahuaca in Oaxaca province, Mexico. Leigh Minturn Triandis and John Hitchcock of Cornell selected a group of families of the Rājpūt caste in the town of Khalapur in Uttar Pradesh in northern India. William and Corinne Nydegger, also of Cornell, chose a group of Ilocano-speaking families living in hamlets in northern Luzon in the Philippines. Thomas and Hatsumi Maretzki of Yale chose the village of Taira in Okinawa. And John and Ann Fischer of Harvard moved into a neighborhood in Orchard Town in New England.

In 1955 a sixth team, Robert and Barbara LeVine, left for Kenya, Africa. They were financed by a Ford Foundation fellowship and a National Science Foundation predoctoral fellowship.

To help insure comparability of data, a central clearing house was set up at the Laboratory of Human Development under the supervision of Beatrice B. Whiting. Field notes were mailed in periodically, and field problems were discussed by correspondence. To prevent bias, the sample of children for each team to observe was picked by the staff at the laboratory from the census material.

The research design, agreed on by all the field teams, was set up to measure as accurately as possible the child-training practices and the hypothesized individual and cultural differences in personality, particularly in the areas of aggression, dependency, and the internalization of various mechanisms of behavior control—areas of particular theoretical interest to the senior investigators at Cornell, Yale, and Harvard universities, respectively. Previous research had been done in these areas at the Institute of Human Relations at Yale, at the Iowa Child Welfare Station under the direction of Robert Sears, and subsequently at the Laboratory of Human Development at Harvard University. The research conducted at the last two institutions had focused on a study of individual differences among groups of mothers and children in Iowa, Massachusetts, and among three different cultural groups in the Southwest. Cross-cultural research on aggression was conducted by

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121 Lambert and Triandis at Cornell (1959), on self-reliance and responsibility at Yale by Barry, Child, and Bacon, (1959) and on socialization techniques in the Southwest at Harvard by Whiting, Chasdi, Antonovsky, and Ayres (in press).

In designing the research reported in this volume, an attempt has been made to assess individual as well as cultural differences. This is one of the unique aspects of the design. The hope was to test hypotheses concerning the relations of child-rearing practices and consequent personality, both intraculturally and cross-culturally. In the first instance, 24 mothers in each society were studied as individuals in their relationship to one of their children, and each of the 24 children (ages 3 to 10) was observed and interviewed in a standard manner in the hope of detecting behavioral and personality differences. The cross-cultural measures included material on child-training practices and also religious beliefs, theories of disease, recreational activities, and so on collected by standard ethnographic techniques.

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124 A word should be said here concerning the nature of the unit which each field team chose to study. It was decided to choose a group large enough to yield an adequate sample of individual families. For our design this meant a group of at least 50 families would be needed to draw our sample of 24, since at least half the families would have grown-up children or children under 3. On the other hand, we wanted a group who knew each other and shared beliefs, values, and practices. Furthermore, the ethnographic techniques which we intended to employ—to be used with maximum efficiency—require a small group. Each team therefore chose a community of between 50 and 100 families, which was for them their unit of study.

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121 Implicit in the research design is a general concept of the relation of
B personality to culture, which may be presented as follows: The ecology
155 of the area determines the maintenance systems, which include basic economy and the most elementary variables of social structure. In other words, the type of crops grown, the presence or absence of herding, fishing, and so on, depend on the nature of the terrain, the amount of rainfall, the location of the area *vis-à-vis* centers of invention and diffusion. These basic economic conditions determine in part the arrangement of people in space, the type of houses, and household composition. These in turn set the parameters for child-rearing practices.

It is obvious that ecology does no more than set gross parameters for the social structure. Within these parameters, the nature of the composition of households, neighborhoods, and other social groups will lead to variance in child training. Whether or not a grandmother lives

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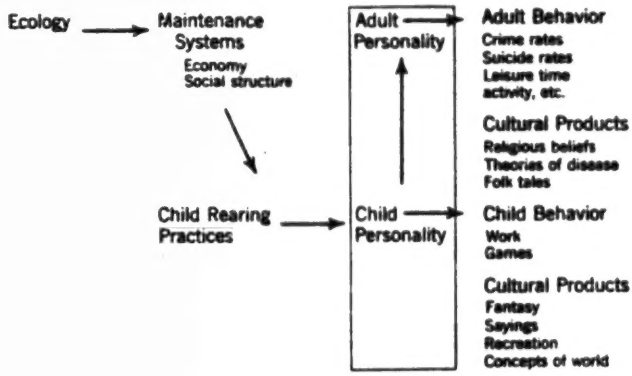
in the house, or whether other relatives are close at hand, will influence a mother's behavior toward her child.

It is assumed that different patterns of child rearing will lead to differences in the personality of children and thus to differences in adult personality. Since personality may only be inferred, the problem of measurement is difficult on both the individual and the cultural level. Individual children may be given tests of various kinds, interviewed or observed. On a cultural level, one may analyze the patterning of child or adult behavior, for example, the games and recreational activity, the rituals or ceremonial life, or one may assess the beliefs about the supernatural, theories of disease, or popular folk tales in terms of personality dimensions.

The chart presented below indicates this conceptual system in a simple manner.



To summarize the conceptual background in another way, the researchers viewed ecology, economics, and social and political organizations as setting the parameters for the behavior of the agents of child rearing. They viewed child behavior as an index of child personality and adult behavior and beliefs and values as indices of adult personality. The causal relationships implied in this scheme are open to discussion, and such discussions, with present available knowledge, ultimately end with a problem similar to that of the priority of the chicken or the egg.

This volume presents the cultural material. Subsequent publications will present the analysis of the individual measures: the mother inter-

121 views, child interviews and Thematic Apperception Tests, and the child behavior protocols. It is worth noting, however, as stated in the *Field Guide,* that "One of the hallmarks of the research project is the emphasis on systematic observation of behavior and the development of flexible questionnaire methods which focus upon concrete actions, with projective techniques taking a clearly secondary, but related place." The choice of these methods for assessing personality was the result of the senior investigators' previous disappointment in their attempts to relate doll play and other projective tests to other measures of behavior.*

The cultural material presented in this volume will be used to make a preliminary test of our hypotheses. Further tests will be made on the basis of the individual differences in the behavior of children and the methods of child rearing reported by the individual mothers. Both these analyses will be presented in later publications. A preliminary report of the analysis of the mother interviews by Triandis and Lambert has already been published (1961) and their detailed analysis is near completion.

128 The outline of each of the six monographs included in this volume is organized around the conceptual system presented above. There are two main parts: one a description of the adult world into which the child is born—*the ethnographic background,* the second an account of how the child is trained—*child training.* In Part I, each account starts with a description of the environment and the local setting, with descriptions of the village plan, the houses, and their interior arrangements. The account then moves on to a description of the daily routine of living and the economic pursuits of men and women. A chapter on social structure follows. In other words, these chapters describe the maintenance systems, the parameters which set the stage for child rearing. The selection of material for the remainder of Part I is also theoretically determined and includes either descriptions of adult behavior or the cultural products which seem to be the best indices of adult personality.

121 In order to explain the selection of behavior and cultural products, it is necessary to return to the discussion of the dimensions of personality selected for focus by the senior investigators. As noted, the hypotheses to be tested were focused on aggression, dependency, and the internalization of various mechanisms of behavior control. William Lambert and the Cornell group, because of previous research, were most interested in aggression, Irvin Child in dependency, and John Whiting and the Laboratory of Human Development in the

* For a detailed discussion of behavior observation, see Lambert (1960).

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problem of the development of internal controls which have been variously labeled as guilt, conscience, and super-ego.

It was the conviction of the researchers that the areas of study had to be limited and clearly defined if standardized material was to be collected. Chapter 1 of the *Field Guide* is a description of the "systems" of behavior which were chosen for study and the hypotheses which the investigators hoped to test. It is impossible to include a detailed description of the theory in this introduction, but in order to understand the material presented in this volume it is necessary to at least present a summary of the behavior systems and the nature of the hypotheses.*

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The nine behavioral systems include succorance, nurturance, self-reliance, achievement, responsibility, obedience, dominance, sociability, and aggression. In the most general terms, succorance is defined as asking others for help; nurturance, as giving help or emotional support; self-reliance, as doing things for one's self; achievement, as striving to meet internal standards of excellence; responsibility, as performing one's expected role duties; obedience, as attempting to meet the demands of others; dominance, as attempting to change other's behavior; sociability, as making friendly approaches to other individuals; aggression, as hurting others. It was assumed that each of these systems of behavior would exist in some form and degree in every society in a recognizable form and could best be identified as responses to specific universal situations. For example, given a situation in which an individual encountered difficulty, whether he asked for help or solved the problem himself would indicate the relative strength of his succorance or, in contrast, his self-reliance. A measure of nurturance would be the frequency of the spontaneous giving of help or the reaction to requests for help or the perception that others need help.

Returning to the present volume, in describing the adult culture of each society we have included material which we consider relevant to these nine behavior systems.

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The chapter on social control is included because it gives information on the frequency of brawls, fights, crimes, and other conflicts and describes the techniques which the society has devised either for preventing such conflicts from arising or for stopping existing conflict. Comparison of this material gives indices of the expressed aggression of the adults and the existence and type of internalized controls. It will be noted, for example, that the incidence of rape is high in Nyansongo, that litigation is frequent in Khalapur and Nyansongo,

* For a full discussion of behavior systems see Child (1954).

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O 121 B 626 and that there are few cases of physical violence in either Taira or Santa Domingo barrio, Juxtlahuaca.

The chapter on medical practices and theories of disease is included because variations in such belief systems were found useful indices of personality by Whiting and Child (1953) in their cross-cultural study and in later studies by Whiting (1959). Similarly, the analysis of man's relation to the supernatural was fruitfully analyzed by Spiro and D'Andrade (1958), Whiting (1959), Lambert, Triandis, and Wolf (1959). Mourning behavior and death ceremonies have also been studied cross-culturally (Friendly, 1956).

O 128 B 155 157 It was hoped that the analysis of the use of leisure time might be made along dimensions relevant to the nine behavior systems. The man who prefers to be alone in his spare time would be rated less sociable than one who always seeks the company of others. The amount of teasing or playful wrestling in leisure settings, or even the amount of pleasure derived from cock fights, might be used to rate the degree of preoccupation with aggression. The amount of time spent practicing skills might indicate the need for achievement. Whether or not men seek the company of women, men and women, or only men, is of interest in assessing personality; similarly, whether a man chooses to smoke, eat, talk, drink, dance, or play games. The nature of popular games can be analyzed along lines suggested by John Roberts (1957).

O 128 Part II of the ethnographies is organized chronologically, beginning with pregnancy and childbirth and continuing through preadolescence. The time spent on the observation of this age span made it impractical to study systematically the lives of the adolescent children. The only exception to this is the monograph on the Nyansongo group in Kenya. The LeVines were particularly interested in the effect of initiation ceremonies on the Nyansongo boys and girls. For this reason they selected three age groups for study: the 3-to-7, the 7-to-10-year-olds, and the postinitiation boys and girls. The Nydeggers included a brief chapter on adolescence in their monograph. The other field teams did not feel that they had enough knowledge to include such a description.

The age span covered in the individual chapters of the six descriptions of socialization differs, each division being made on the basis of the age groups and the transitions recognized by the members of the society. Thus in Khalapur, India, where socialization is not broken by clearly defined stages, there are only three chapters. In Taira, Okinawa, on the other hand, there are named stages and sharp transitions, and the Maretzkis have followed this pattern in describing socialization.

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socialization. Weaning from the breast and back is an abrupt change in an Okinawan child's life. The transition from kindergarten to school age is also clear and dramatized. Before school age a child is "senseless," according to the mothers, and cannot be properly trained.

Within these chapters an attempt has been made to cover the parent's or parent surrogate's treatment of the nine behavior systems and the child's response to socialization. Obviously some of the behavior systems are not relevant in infancy. In general, the early chapters concentrate on the handling of succorance, the mother's early contact with the child, the number of other individuals who share in the early care of the child, and their responsiveness to the demands of the infant. Among the hypotheses advanced in the *Field Guide,* several concern the consequence of indulgence in infancy. As stated: "Indulgence in infancy, a large number of nurturing agents, and mild transition from infantile indulgence into childhood will produce: (1) a trustful attitude toward others, (2) general optimism, and (3) sociability." It is also stated that training with respect to succorance will tend to influence sociability.

It is hoped that, on the basis of the information presented in the chapters on infancy, the reader can compare indulgence in infancy and the number of nurturing agents. The comparison of weaning from the breast and from complete dependence on caretakers should make it possible to evaluate the severity of the transition. For the consequent measures one may turn either to the description of the behavior of older children or to the behavior and belief systems of adults. Is it true that, comparatively speaking, the Juxtlahuacan Mixtecan child is more friendly and sociable in later life than the Nyansongan? In infancy, the Mixtecan is constantly held or carried close to the mother's body, enveloped in a shawl. The Nyansongo child is tended for periods of time by a less consistently responsive 5-to-8-year-old child. In adult life, are the Juxtlahuacan Mixtecan adults more optimistic and trustful than the Nyansongans?

With the onset of weaning, other behavior systems become important. Training for self-reliance and the associated punishment for succorance are universal problems, but the degree to which this new behavior is expected of 3-year-olds varies from one society to another. The Orchard Town 3-year-old is feeding and dressing himself while the Khalapur Rājpūt child of the same age may still be dressed and fed by his mother. Similarly, as mentioned earlier, the abruptness of the shift in expected behavior varies. The handling of aggression against parents, siblings, and peers is also a universal problem which

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B 155 all parents and socializers must face at this time. Probably closely associated with this behavior system is training for obedience and respect.

O 121 B 155 157 The *Field Guide* contains many hypotheses about the antecedents of aggressive behavior in children and adults and stresses the techniques used by parents in the handling of aggression as well as their model behavior. Specifically, one hypothesis advanced is that permissiveness on the part of parents for teasing behavior should be reflected in the increase of observable unprovoked aggressive behavior on the part of children and adults. Is it indeed true that the Tarongan child who is "playfully" teased by his parents and other adults from early childhood instigates aggressive behavior more frequently than a Rājpūt child whose parents do not "playfully" tease their children?

O 121 B 155 A second hypothesis concerning the handling of aggression states that children will be less apt to retaliate to aggression if parents and socializing agents punish any expressiveness with regard to anger. Again, the Khalapur Rājpūt child whose mother dislikes all expression of emotion, even excessive joy, and the Juxtlahuacan Mixtecan child who is taught that he will sicken and die if he eats while angry should be less aggressive when provoked than the children of Orchard Town.* It will be noted that a distinction is made between unprovoked and provoked aggression. A further distinction is made with regard to instrumental aggression, where a person tends to select aggressive means for attaining his ends. Comparisons between the handling of aggression in childhood may also be used to explore hypotheses as to the conditions which lead to the displacing of aggression to others, the use of fantasy to express anger or the projection of one's own desires to hurt others. Here for consequent measures one can turn to theories of disease and the nature of the supernaturals. The theory would predict that those societies which punish aggression most severely would project their anger into the supernatural world and believe in dangerous and malevolent beings or attribute superhuman evil capacity to humans and believe in sorcery or witchcraft. To date, the best socialization variables for predicting the belief in witches and sorcerers is a combination of polygyny and the severe punishment for sex and aggression (Whiting, 1959). Of our societies, the Nyansongans are the most ridden with the belief in these superhuman individuals. Their treatment of aggression is therefore of particular interest. It is also of interest to speculate whether there is some relation between the Tarongan parents' treatment of aggression and teasing behavior and

* For further discussion of the hypotheses regarding aggression, see the *Field Guide for a Study of Socialization in Five Societies*, pp. 18–22.

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their belief in whimsical spirits who must be avoided and not annoyed. O 121

Each monograph on socialization also includes an extended section on techniques used by the socializing agent. Our theory stresses the importance of rewards and punishments for the specific types of acts included in the nine behavior systems. It includes, however, theories as to the differential effect of various types of rewards and punishments and the conditions under which they are administered. Rewards may be material, such as food or money, or immaterial, giving love and acceptance or praise and prestige. Privileges may also be used as rewards. All types may be given after good behavior or used to incite desired behavior. B 155

Punishments depend on two types of sanctions: injury or abandonment which may have as referents several types of agents—parents or authority figures, peers, the self, or supernatural agents.

These rewards and punishments may be given for different reasons. The locus of evaluation may be a specific response of the child, some consequence of his action, or the child himself as a person. In other words, one may praise a child because he does a chore well, because he has helped his mother by doing the chore, or because he is a good boy.

The nature and strength of internal controls—mechanisms which keep an individual from breaking the rules of a society—are thought to be related to techniques and agents of socialization as well as to the strength of a child's identification with the same and opposite sex parents (Whiting and Child, 1953; Whiting, 1960; Burton and Whiting, 1961; Bacon, Child and Barry, in press). To determine the strength of these internal controls we hoped to observe the differences in children's behavior in the presence and absence of socializing agents. On a societal level, we predicted that when a boy's identification with the same sex parent is weak, there will be a higher incidence of crime. O 121 B 155 626

We expected to find that authority figures would be important as sanction agents in the adult culture: when there was marked differentiation of authority within the nuclear family; when discipline was carried out by or in the name of the head of the house; and when responsibility and obedience training were emphasized. We expected peers to be important agents when there was little differentiation of authority within the family, when the right of discipline was not focused and self-reliance training was emphasized. If these hypotheses are correct, we would expect consequent differences in the social control systems.

For most of the societies, the period from 6 to 10 emphasizes responsibility training. A comparison of the chores assigned to boys and B 866

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B 866 girls during this period, the rewards and punishments for good or bad performance or omission are an index of the training in this behavior system. The age at which different types of chores are assigned gives a clue to the age at which a society considers a child to have "sense," to be capable of reason, and it indicates the beliefs about the nature of the learning process. It will be observed, for example, that the Khalapur Rājpūts believe children learn primarily by observing, and hence they do little direct instructing. One type of responsibility is training children to care for younger siblings or cousins and neighbors. This training may start very young, as in Taira and Nyansongo, or B may be late and unimportant, as in Orchard Town.

155 561 The size and composition of play groups and the attitudes of parents on friendliness are described for each age grade. It was hypothesized that sociability would be related both to training in nurturance and to the treatment of succorance, but initial comparisons would indicate that nurturance is probably more closely related to training for responsibility and dominance than to friendliness.

O 121 In planning the research the senior investigators were also interested in discovering age and sex differences in behavior which might be universal (Barry, Bacon and Child, 1957). Is it true that in spite of radically different treatment in infancy and early childhood in the six societies, boys and adult men are always more aggressive physically than girls and women and that girls and women are always more affectionate than men? Are there regularities in behavior which hold across cultures? Does succorance always decrease with age and dominance always increase? Although these are questions which cannot be answered from a comparison of the six societies alone, consistent age O and sex differences should be followed up by further research.

114 The reader will be aware that in spite of the research design, the data are not always comparable, that in the different areas studied, some monographs have better coverage than others. These variations are due not only to the personalities, interests, and training of the fieldworkers but also to the nature of the culture of the societies they O chose to study.

121 Although this volume concentrates on the material that the researchers felt was theoretically relevant, it is hoped that readers with different conceptual systems and different hypotheses concerning human behavior will find it possible to make some relevant comparisons between the six societies. Those who were concerned with the project have developed new insights and new hypotheses. Some of these can be studied, but for many, the relevant data are not detailed enough and must await further studies. It is our belief that this is

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inevitable in the field of social science and that progress comes from being willing to state hypotheses, test them, derive new theories and plan new research to test these. 121

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Taira

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Taira:

An Okinawan Village

Thomas W. Maretzki

Hatsumi Maretzki

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Taira

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About the Authors

Thomas and Hatsumi Maretzki chose the village of Taira on the 114
northeast coast of Okinawa. Thomas Maretzki was an advanced graduate student in Anthropology at Yale; his wife, a graduate of the University of Hawaii who had worked for one year on the staff of the Gesell Institute's nursery school in New Haven, Connecticut. The Maretzkis rented half a house in the village. They were assisted in their work by Nariyuki Agarie, a graduate of the State University of Iowa and subsequently a graduate student in psychology at Yale University, and by Kiyoshi Yogi of Naha. Although the Maretzkis did not have [123]
children to speed their participation in community life, Mrs. Maretzki's knowledge of Japanese and her exceptional gift with young children were invaluable aids. She seldom moved about the village without an entourage of small, devoted children.

The Maretzkis returned to Okinawa in 1960. Unfortunately time did not permit the incorporation in this monograph of any data collected on this later expedition. Thomas Maretzki is now teaching at the University of Hawaii.

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Part I

The Ethnographic Background

Chapter 1

The Setting

THE ISLAND

105
Okinawa lies a day's voyage by steamer to the southwest of the Japa- 131
nese island of Kyushu. Leaving Kyushu, the ship passes along the Ryukyuan chain until it reaches Okinawa, the largest of the islands. Land is never completely out of sight until the ship enters the port of Naha, capital of the southern Ryukyus.

The Ryukyus are part of a long string of islands which, beginning [133]
in the north with the Kurile Islands and Sakhalin, run all the way south, including Japan, the Ryukyus, Formosa, the Philippines, and the Indonesian archipelago. In their offshore position on the Western rim of the Pacific Ocean, the Ryukyus are within access by small craft from Japan, Korea, and China. This geographic position of the [648]
Ryukyus puts them within the sphere of influence of several countries,

131 a fact which has been a determinant in their historical development
648 and an important factor in speculations about prehistoric events.

105 Until further archaeological evidence permits greater certainty, the
174 original settlement of the Ryukyus is believed to have taken place predominantly from the Asiatic mainland, with occasional influx from the southern islands, Formosa, the Philippines, and Indonesia (Kerr,
[172] 1958). Surviving culture elements of great antiquity support these theories. Most frequently cited are a basic form of Shinto, characteristic of the religion, and the shamanistic role of the priestesses. Specifi-
[177] cally, the "curved jewels," formerly worn by all priestesses, are mentioned as apparent links with the neolithic cultures of Japan.

105 On the other hand, sporadic contact with the islands to the south
177 is evidenced by culture traits, such as raised houses of tropical design
174 (common to all of Japan) and perhaps the practice of "mother roast-
[846] ing," a period of recuperation after the birth of a child during which the mother is kept near a fire. This custom is widespread in Malaysia (Cole, 1945:155).

[197] Linguistic evidence points to a separation of Okinawan from a common proto Japanese language about 1500 years ago (Hattori, 1954). This may indicate a southern movement of peoples from Japan under the pressure of the Yayoi people who introduced the wet rice complex into southwestern and central Japan at this period. That this was not the earliest settlement of the Ryukyus, however, is evidenced by remains in the Ryukyus of the earlier Jomon period.

105 From the first mention of the Ryukyus in Chinese annals of 605 A.D.
648 until the end of the nineteenth century when Japan formally annexed
175 the islands, they stood in a curious relationship of dependency toward China and Japan. Both nations claimed suzerainty over the kingdom of Okinawa with its royal court in Shuri and extracted tribute. Eventually the Lord of Satsuma in southern Japan extended his sovereignty over the Ryukyus. But with ties to China remaining, Okinawa participated in both Chinese and Japanese culture, which disseminated through the urban trading center of Naha into the outlying areas. It is this intermediate cultural position which still gives Okinawa a peculiar character, although it long ago became part of Japan and abandoned direct contacts with China.

105 In 1872 Japan formally declared its claims on the Ryukyuan king-
175 dom, and after deposing the last king in 1879, made the Ryukyuan
177 islands a province of Japan, with the capital at Naha. Between this
648 time and the present, intensive contact with Japan has led to an overwhelming absorption of Japanese culture, a willingness on the part of Okinawans to adopt Japanese ways and to identify with Japan as their

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home country. Nevertheless, many aspects of Okinawan life still suggest an earlier phase in which independent developments gave the islands their own particular culture.

The Okinawan people, approximately 655,000 as counted in 1954, live in an area of about 454 square miles. Their major economic activities have traditionally been agriculture and fishing. In 1945 a long, peaceful existence was brought to an abrupt end during the final battles of World War II in the Pacific. As a result of world conditions Okinawans have been placed under American administration for an indefinite period of time. Today large numbers of men—and some women—find employment as unskilled and semiskilled laborers with the American forces. Gradual training for highly skilled jobs widens these opportunities for employment. Indirectly Okinawan life is influenced by Americans through stimulation of trade, building, and improved health conditions. Land requirements of the American forces in some areas also have influenced the settlement pattern. While these changes have affected the entire island to some degree, the greatest changes are noticeable in the central part around Naha where American administrative and military personnel are located. The village of Taira in the northern province of Kunigami, where the present study was located, had been subject to relatively few of these postwar changes in 1954. Isolated since earliest times because of mountainous terrain, this part of the island participates, as it probably always did, marginally in cultural influences which affect the center of the island. A great deal of cultural stability has therefore been preserved until the present day.

Nevertheless, it is useful to remember that the population of northern Okinawa is linked with the rest of the island by an efficient communications system. Roads connect almost all settlements in the north with the central island, and a bus transportation system extends its service into the remote areas. But long before all villages were connected by road with the center of Okinawa, people of Kunigami province traveled by foot over the many trails which traverse the mountains, and, since the turn of the century, many have left their home villages. Some went to Japan as laborers; others settled in the Japanese-controlled Islands of the Pacific, and some families joined the numerous Okinawan settlements in South American countries.

LANGUAGE

Taira people are bilingual. Okinawan, which linguists consider a separate language, has many regional dialects, some of which are not

197 mutually intelligible. The speech differences are so great that even
191 two neighboring villages have noticeable dialectical variations. Japanese is the second language.

Okinawan is spoken in almost all households. The first words learned by the child from his mother or others around him are Okinawan. The child is praised or scolded in Okinawan; he learns Okinawan terms for numbers, names for plants, tools, and other implements used around the house. A curious exception in this pattern is the use of
[601] kinship terms. Taira children start using Japanese kinship terms in
[177] infancy with one exception—in some families the grandmother is addressed by the Okinawan term.

[648] Knowledge of the Okinawan language is said to have been helpful to Americans during the war in distinguishing the local people from Japanese. Japanese has been the official language in Okinawa for over 60 years. It is taught and used in schools exclusively until the upper grades, when foreign languages are introduced. Everybody who has gone to school learns Japanese, and only the oldest persons in Taira speak Okinawan exclusively.

197 Young children, even though they learn to speak Okinawan first,
872 soon pick up Japanese words and phrases. While their Okinawan
191 vocabulary is limited to everyday experiences, the child's horizon is widened gradually by the use of Japanese terms. First formal efforts to teach Japanese are made in kindergarten, and teachers quickly succeed in eliminating the use of Okinawan in class. Even in play groups of
[626] school-age children, Japanese is usual. Children frequently censure each other for occasional slips or shifts to Okinawan.

191 Taira adults vary in the use of language. Simple, routine matters in
197 daily living are mostly discussed in Okinawan. This language is also predominant in small, informal social gatherings and in emotionally tense situations, such as domestic quarrels. Furthermore, the priestess and her assistants conduct all religious ceremonies in Okinawan. People resorted to Okinawan in our presence when they did not want to be understood. On the other hand, village meetings and gatherings of village leaders or visits of teachers and other officials are conducted in Japanese.

THE PEOPLE

142 The majority of the Taira people are of short, stocky build, with heavy bones. Their hair growth is strong, their skin dark. A light skin

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is one of the rare, desired body attributes. It was the opinion of some that the descendants of the noble families who came from Shuri, however, are taller and slender, with a prominent, curved nasal ridge. 142

Until they feel confident in the presence of strangers, Taira people appear quiet and restrained. It is considered a virtue not to show one's emotions, and Tairans consider the expressiveness of Americans childish. Actually they are gay, talkative, and given to laughter, especially the women. Men are quiet unless stimulated by alcohol, but both men and women may lose their composure in emergencies. A notable exception is their placid reactions to the threat of disaster from the ever recurrent violent storms. 157 153 [81]

THE COMMUNITY, ITS HISTORY AND NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

621

Taira is one of the northern villages on the northeast coast of Okinawa in Higashi township (see map 1). Today it is home to over 700 people who make their living—as did their ancestors since early times—from the surrounding fields, forests, and from the sea. The Okinawan name for the village, Taira, means "sloping fields." The character used for writing the prevalent Japanese version, Taira, means "flat, plain, good." 101 [131] [162]

Since the family records were lost during World War II, it is necessary to depend on oral traditions for reconstruction of the history of Taira. Unfortunately, the desire of many Okinawans to establish a relationship between their local families and the former royal courts casts some doubt on the accuracy of these traditions. 173 621 [114]

According to these traditions, the first village to be settled in the vicinity of Taira was the neighboring community Kawata. After the Hokuzan kingdom in Nakijin (on the northwestern Motobu Peninsula) was conquered by the southern Okinawan kingdom of Chuzan in the fifthteenth century (Kerr, 1958:85), the second son of the Lord of Hokuzan is said to have escaped northward into Kunigami province. Unitokogami, the fleeing nobleman, arrived near the present site of Kawata and established himself in a cave around the year 1477. He is still revered today as founder of the village in a yearly spring ceremony when prayers are said in front of the cave. The oldest Taira families trace their descent in the male line from Nizenya, the "main house," he founded. Taira was settled around 1550 by two families tracing descent from this "main house." The descendents of these settlers are [182] [169]

173 the two main "houses," or family lines in Taira, and for several cen-
621 turies Taira must have been a small, closely knit community of in-
errelated people.

Between 1875 and 1895, when the court life at the old capitol of

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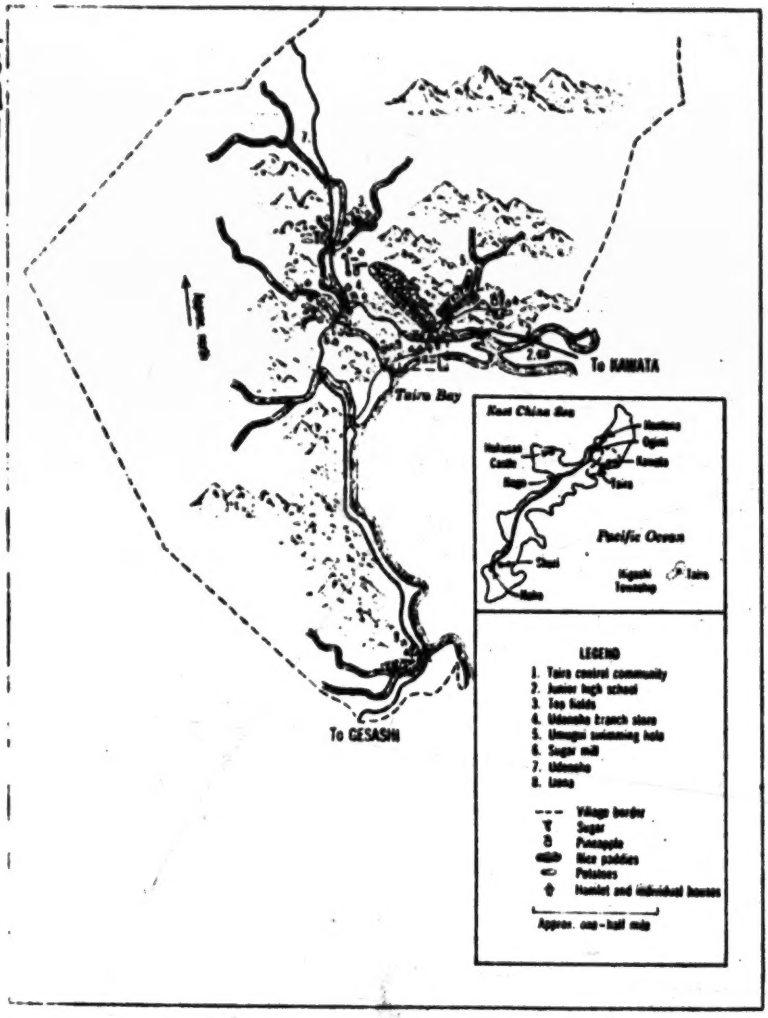

Map 1. Taira village (Higashi Township).

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

Between 1875 and 1895, when the court life at the old capitol of Shuri was broken up under Japanese influence, many families of noble origin moved into the country to become farmers, and the village grew in size. These people settled mainly outside the central village in areas where land was available. One family moved into Taira proper, forming the third "main house." Although it still maintains feeble ceremonial connections with Shuri, it gave up its noble title shortly after coming north and moved its ancestral tomb to the community. The noble families who settled in the valleys and hills preserved their distinctive traditions until the end of World War II. Their noble descent was noted in the population register, and intermarriage with commoners was discouraged. 621 173 565 166 [177] 621 173

Except for these Shuri migrants, few outsiders seem to have settled in Taira prior to World War II. The residents on the southern part of the island, especially the residents of Naha and Shuri, consider northerners rustics. Although this part of the island was often used as a hiding place by political and criminal refugees from the south, who are said to have founded nearby villages, none of them made their home in Taira. [186] [287] [166]

The original settlers of Taira were reluctant to accept later arrivals in their midst. Because of the fear of spirits, foreign to the village, they prohibited the burial of the newcomer's dead near the tombs shared by the members of the "main houses." To this day the funeral urns of a family who came to Taira about 60 years ago and later intermarried with settled villages are kept in a cave, away from all other tombs. [176] [164]

Higashi township was established in 1922. The area had previously belonged to Kushi township to the south, but the great distances between villages and the mountainous character of the country made efficient administration very difficult. Furthermore, some Higashi inhabitants felt that because of temperamental differences and divergent interests they should separate from the southern township. Since 1922 contacts have been predominantly with Ogimi township to the northwest and the town of Nago, 16 miles away. Once the road connecting the two coastlines was completed in 1936, Taira's isolation decreased considerably, and it became the administrative seat of Higashi township in 1946. 632 173 621 [628] [491]

Taira also became the home of the high priestess. In the period prior to direct Japanese administration, her office was under the jurisdiction of the Shuri court (Lebra, 1958), and her predecessors must have been appointed by the Okinawan kings. Taira may have been chosen as the seat of the high priestess in lieu of Kawata because Kawata lacks the good rice land which traditionally went to the high priestess by royal decree. Some of this rice land is still in the hands of the living priestess. 173 793 621

778 Although a number of important shrines and worship places are located in the Kawata area, the main shrine is in Taira.

173 To this tranquil area the activities of World War II brought a great
648 upheaval. Although the main stream of refugees from the south, fol-
727 lowing threats of United States troups' invasion, did not reach this
621 northern area, Japanese guerilla forces settled in the hills of Higashi township. This, and the constant warnings from the Japanese of the "terrors" of American occupation, caused the population of all villages to take refuge in the mountains, carrying along what few possessions they could, including livestock. Families were separated and individuals lived in constant fear of soldiers from both sides. Nightly excursions to the fields to harvest whatever could be found helped to maintain a meager diet. It is characteristic of the stresses of this period that among the children of central Taira only one was born in 1945.

173 The war ended for Taira people when American troops had cleared
648 the northern areas of Japanese troops. In this action several villages
727 were destroyed, among them Taira. The present economic struggle of
621 Higashi township, an area which was always handicapped by lack of farmland and poor soil, is partly due to the war. On the other hand, the demand for lumber for an island-wide reconstruction program lent a temporary boom to the economy. In the process, however, forests
[185] which had been heavily cut before the war fell prey to rapid and poorly planned cutting. At present the whole township is in the throes of economic readjustment.

173 In the past 50 years, Taira, like the rest of Okinawa, has sent some
167 of its overflow of population to various areas in the world, including
621 Japan, and especially to the industrial areas of Kobe and Osaka, Saipan, and Brazil. At least five of the families in central Taira lived either in Japan or the Pacific Islands and returned shortly after World War II. Emigrants to Brazil have stayed with the exception of one prominent person who returned to Taira several years before the war. Some of the families lived as many as 18 or 20 years abroad, and several children in the study were born in Japan and returned to the village as infants. Among the villagers are many who have served in the Japanese Army in Asia or in the South Seas.

The repatriation of these families does not seem to have caused any serious disturbances to the village, since many people were killed during the war and several families moved to the city. An exodus to the
[311] outlying areas of the village also provided room for returnees, so, although rice land is scarce, there is still some uncultivated farmland, admittedly mostly of poor quality.

The community is dispersed. In the outlying parts, as far as 2 miles

the community is dispersed. In the outlying parts, as far as 2 miles
from the center (see map 1), the houses are scattered between the pad- 361
dies or farm lands in sections which form subvillages or wards. As mentioned above, settlers from the south took up residence in these areas. Recently families from the main village have also moved to the more remote parts of the community, such as Udenaha, because they can reach their fields more conveniently. Although the name Taira [101]
refers to the political unit of main village and outlying parts, including Udenaha and Izena, most references in this study pertain only to the central community. Its 60 households, with about 330 individuals, [162]
form the primary social unit from which the sample of 24 children was [124]
chosen.

Central Taira nestles along the inner shore of Taira Bay, which 361
opens into the Pacific Ocean. At this point the median range moun- 133
tains recede from the coastline. Behind the village, rice paddies spread [243]
in a crazed pattern at the bottom and on the terraced sides of several valleys which are separated from each other by sparsely wooded hills. Here and there the red earth of an eroded section shows like a scab through the green slopes.

In traveling by road from the south, most people choose the highway [49]
along the East China Sea coast, which is connected with the road which crosses the island. Higashi township is entered through a low saddle in the mountains which separate the two coastlines. To the right and left begins Taira's forest. Central Taira is reached through a winding lane bordered by pine trees. To the left the view opens into one of the neatly cultivated rice fields, backed by the hills on whose flat tops and terraced sides village people cultivate their farm lands.

The central village itself lies on a sand bluff, separating the valley 361
from the ocean, so that there is a slight drop toward both sides (see map 2). The main road runs the length of the village. Except for the [363]
thoroughfare, which is dirt and gravel, the side roads are not surfaced, and after heavy rains puddles form and remain for more than a day, to the delight of children who play in them.

When Taira was destroyed during World War II, along with its 363
houses went much of the foliage which once served as a windbreak. A 137
few fukugi trees * line the main street, and hibiscus hedges here and 727
there hide some of the houses from a first inspection. There are bushes around the edges of the village.

The war-time destruction is hardly apparent on a first walk through 36
the village. Along the main street, lined by houses, one finds the rice mill, a substantial new building of concrete and wood, the police sta-

* A small- to medium-sized evergreen tree with a narrow, upright, very dark green crown of leaves.

[Text continues on p. 377]

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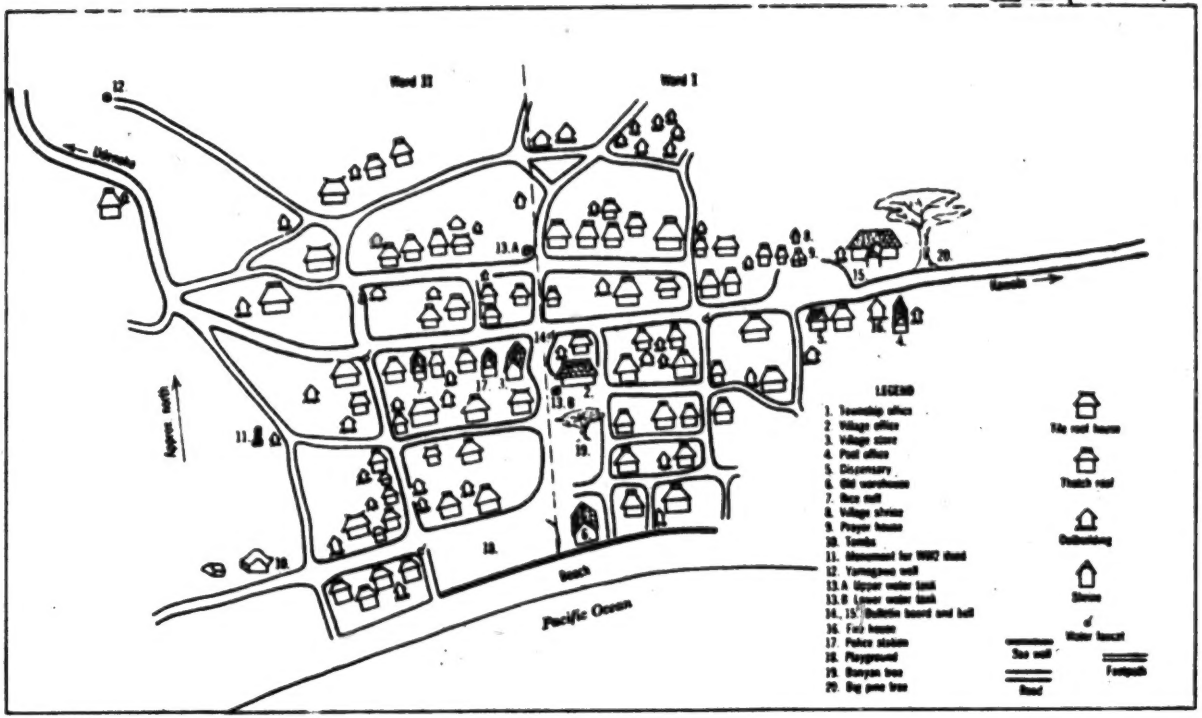

Map 2. Taira, central community.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

tion, a frame wood building, and the main store. On the eastern end of the village the road opens into a little square in front of the simple, open prayer house with a small concrete shrine in back, housing three sacred stones. Beyond these is the township office crowned by a mighty pine tree of tremendous and symmetric proportions, acclaimed by Taira people to be the oldest existing pine in Okinawa. Across from the office are the post office and the dispensary. 36

Closer inspection of the village shows former house sites which were not rebuilt. Some still have empty concrete shells or single concrete walls and abandoned pigsties or storage sheds. Some of the vacant lots are used as potato fields, others as play areas, the favorite being a large house lot surrounded by a concrete wall, near the main store. 361 727 [311]

Houses are set back a short distance from the roads and paths, and most face south. In spite of the hedges and trees, the house is easily accessible from the street—its orientation is therefore toward the community as a whole and, as will be seen later, open to visitors who can enter freely without going through winding garden paths and knocking on doors or entering through long corridors and passages. Each house lot is small, ranging from 1300 to 6050 square feet. Houses are set so close to each other that neighborly conversations from one to the other can be conducted without leaving one's premises. Although some privacy is attained by the hibiscus hedges and fences, few secrets can be kept from neighbors. 361 351 [521]

There are several focal areas where people frequently meet and interact. The main store is a geographical center. Its two bulletin boards make it a natural congregating point. The banyan tree, overshadowing the village office and the lower water tank, is another such place, and on any day of the year scores of children can be found on or under it. In prewar times it was flanked by important structures, but now the empty lots, which are adjacent, form a green which is used on good days for village meetings. 361 [203] [139]

South of this green, and close to the water, stands the old warehouse, a concrete structure with tile roof which once served as a storage center for agricultural products shipped south by boat; now it serves as a village meeting playground, especially on rainy days. The open space around it, bordering on the sea wall, is also used as a play area and as a gathering place for young adults. Here people prepare firewood for sale and stack it to be picked up by the village truck. Houses once stood near the 10-foot sea wall but were not rebuilt after the war. [251] [344]

To the north of the store lies the upper water tank. Until several standing faucets were installed in 1955, this used to be another place where people met frequently. Water is diverted from a stream a mile 312 365

312 water is diverted from a stream a mile
365 above the village and piped into the upper and lower tanks where
[482] people fill their buckets which they carry home on a shoulder yoke.
[857] Both tanks always attract children. Before faucets were installed, the two spigots on each tank were closed with a wooden stopper which the children often pulled to get a drink or water to play in. An open lot surrounding the upper water tank is another popular play area.

361 On the eastern side of the village below the main road lies a flat sandy plain, separating the actual beach from the houses above. Children are frequently found playing there or walking along the beach to the mouth of the Noro Mata and Fukuji rivers, which reach the sea
[764] about 400 yards away. To the west of the central village lie the tombs
[211] and the monument for the war dead of the village.

487 Many hills around the village drop off vertically toward the south;
[133] these drops are partly effects of the geological conditions, such as karst depressions, partly caused by erosion of drainage during the heavy rains. Narrow paths, leading up the steep claylike hillsides, are slippery
[491] and very treacherous during rains. On the way to school in Kawata, the neighboring village, children have to pass a section of the road where river and rains have washed away the bank so badly that a misstep on the edge of the road could lead to a fall of more than 50 feet.

312 The little river which runs through parts of the valley behind Taira
[857] is another gathering place of children. A path alongside it leads into
[487] the hills and mountain forest lands. Seven minutes walking along this path takes one to Umugui, a natural swimming hole which also serves as one of the favorite laundry places. During the summer the river offers several other popular swimming spots downstream from Umugui.
[296] There is also a little concrete bridge in the rice fields beyond the houses, where adults and children go to wash laundry and sometimes pots and pans. Yamagawa well is a water hole, lined with concrete, near the northwestern part of Taira. Before water faucets were installed, girls frequently went there to wash their hair and do laundry.

857 Children go to the fields to look for flowers and berries or, in the
[484] case of older boys, to cut grass for animals. Distances covered by any child depend, of course, on the age. Younger siblings under 5 accompany the older ones to places beyond the area, but no expeditions extend to areas that are not also regularly traversed by adults in the course of their daily duties. Perhaps because of the multiple rivers and water sources, the beach offers less enticement than one might expect. On some days a group may decide to play on the beach, but since sand is also available throughout the village, everybody will soon shift back to some other area inland.

137 Tropical plants, bushes, and trees grow at sea level. At higher ele-

vations one finds temperate zone forests. Typical for the area are numerous grasses growing along the mountainside and on top of hills. Among them, the most permanent in appearance and use are miscanthus grass and a dwarf bamboo. Panadanns bushes line the beaches and areas close to them. Pine trees are common. Fukugi trees grow in the village but also in the hinterland. Here and there cycad palms lend the scenery a special tropical touch. Wild flowers grow almost all year. 137

The heavy underbrush is the habitat of several species of poisonous snakes for which the Ryukyu Islands are notorious. The most common, the *habu*, a pit viper, feeds on rats and other small animals and often enters the actual village area. Since rats outnumber humans in Okinawa by an approximate ratio of three to one, these snakes find ample food. Their search sometimes takes them into the rafters of thatch-roofed houses. This danger is present from March until October. People are bitten if they happen to step on the hidden reptiles or sometimes while they sleep. Children are taught by their elders to be careful, and during our study no children were bitten. 136 [164]

Insects are another source of irritation. Mosquitoes attack quite viciously during the summer; fleas, which live in the sand and in straw or reed mats, inflict bites at any time but are seldom carried in clothes. Flies do not seem to annoy the villagers although they are thick wherever food is left in the open and near the pig pens and outhouses.

The number of motor vehicles passing through Taira is small. A few heavy lumber trucks and an occasional U.S. Army vehicle drive through the main street. Four buses daily, two in the morning and two in the afternoon, connect Taira with other villages in Higashi township and the rest of the island. Because traffic is sparse, and it is difficult to catch a ride, persons intending to leave the community in the middle of the day often take the 50-minute walk to the other side of the island where buses pass every 30 minutes on the coastal highway. Villages frequently take trips to the nearby provincial market town of Nago or even to Naha, the capitol. 489 493 494 [484]

THE CLIMATE

In spite of Okinawa's subtropical geographic position, it has distinct seasonal differences demanding appropriate adjustments in living routine and clothing. Temperatures in the Taira region may reach a minimum of 38 degrees in January and February and a maximum of 96 degrees in July or August. The average daily mean temperature, 132

132 however, shows much less variation. From the low 50's in early winter it rises to the low 80's in midsummer. The relative humidities, having daily means of 70% in January and February and 82% in July and August, may often reach an uncomfortable 96% preceding or following one of the many rain squalls in the hot season.

From January through March, winds blowing from the northwest to north carry cold, damp air from the Asian continent across the East China Sea. Although many houses in Taira are somewhat protected by bushes separating them from the open valley behind, nevertheless, house doors are often kept shut during this coldest part of the year.

March and April offer a pleasant, balanced climate. Winds are east to southeast, rainfall is low, and temperatures reach the high 60's. The rainy season begins in late May and lasts until late June. During these [964] four weeks it sometimes rains steadily for one or two days, and adults are forced to give up working.

Children take shelter during the worst downpours, but they reappear outside even before the rains are over to play in puddles or little streams running down the streets. During this time floods and landslides occur.

Midsummer is often so hot and humid that villagers frequently comment on their discomfort. This is one of the busiest agricultural sea- [961] sons, but exhaustion causes many people to take naps during noon [513] hours. Work efficiency decreases, and fewer daily trips are made to the mountains. Children also stay at home in the afternoon. It is believed that the heat causes severe headaches. The hot season gradually gives way to a few weeks in late October, November, and early December which correspond in climate to an early fall in northeastern United States.

132 Typhoons are known to have hit Okinawa at almost any time of 731 the year. The most dangerous season for these violent storms, however, with wind velocities of over 50 miles per hour, is from late June [206] until October. An extensive warning system exists, and Taira, though remote and without radio, is notified immediately by telephone of storm warnings, sometimes days in advance. Taira people hardly need such warnings. They can sense the oncoming storm and often predict one correctly before the official forecasts confirm that a storm is approaching the island. Since 1955 was one of the rare years in which no major storm hit the island, no firsthand description can be given. The damage is always considerable, not only to crops and trees but also to houses and other property.

CLOTHING

Today the clothing of Taira people is predominantly Western. Until World War II some fine silk materials for dress were woven in the village, but work clothes were bought in the stores in Nago and Naha. Men and women wear simple, drab, patched, or torn clothes which are laundered frequently. Almost everybody still has a few pieces of U.S. Army fatigues which were handed out immediately after World War II; some have Japanese uniforms. 291 [177] [296]

Women wear cotton skirts and blouses, men cotton trousers, rolled up to the knees for work in the fields, and shirts. During the cold months old jackets are added. Men almost always wrap towels around their heads to hold back their long hair or, as they say, to absorb perspiration. Women also cover their heads with towels during work. Most men and women wear some underclothes; both wear pants, and most women wear slips.

Young girls are more fastidious about their daily dress than older women and all men. An adolescent girl is always well covered, unlike an older married woman who may leave her blouse open to give the baby easy access to the breast. During the heat of the summer, when men take off their shirts, old women follow their example. Most married women just work in their slip and skirt during the hottest part of the summer.

On special holidays or for trips to the city, people have better clothes. Many of these are bought by both men and women from the itinerant, secondhand clothes peddler who visits Taira several times a year before the major holidays. Some old women and a few old men still wear the dark, silk kimonos of prewar days for dress, but usually women wear one-piece dresses or two-piece suits with blouses and men Western suits with white shirts and sometimes ties. Not everybody has shoes to go with special outfits. Wooden clogs are worn by both men and women, even with Western clothes, more commonly than sneakers and shoes. 292 443

Although a Western-style hairdo as pictured in magazines or seen on American women in the central part of Okinawa serves as a model to the younger Taira women, few can afford to have their hair done in the city. Sometimes a teacher or the wife of an official returns from a trip to town with a permanent wave. Most older women wear their long hair tied in a bun at the back of the head. Younger girls who have finished school wear their hair short and straight. The priestess' daughter cuts hair in a barber chair outside her house. Men go to her 302 [177] [305]

302 for a shave; but since this happens only about once a week or less, they
[305] have a stubbly beard much of the time. Men have their hair cut infrequently. From adolescence on they prefer long and unwieldy hair, combed to one side.

Almost no women use lipstick, but a few put on rouge for special occasions. More and more of the younger women use some make-up when they travel to the city, in spite of rather rude teasing from other villagers that they look like prostitutes.

291 During the hot summer most people have straw sun hats which can
293 be bought at the local store after the rainy season. They cost little and last until the end of the heat. Umbrellas are the only rain protection during wet days, since the raincoats and hats formerly made of palm thatch have almost completely disappeared.

DWELLINGS

342 All but two houses in Taira are postwar structures. The first postwar structures were small and hastily built of local, mostly inferior materials. In the last few years families have built more elaborate houses with several rooms, substantial walls and roofs, and made of quality Japanese hard woods, which will resist rapid deterioration. Only a few of the present houses, however, compare in size and workmanship with the large prewar farmhouses.

[362] On the whole, housing in central Taira is inferior to outlying parts of the community and other surrounding villages. Two house types are found: the simple, temporary house or hut with two or three rooms and a kitchen, covered by a thatch roof; and the larger, more substantial house with either thatch or tile roof, four to six rooms and a kitchen.

[251] All houses have common characteristics. They are elevated from the ground so that a 20 to 24 inch space is left underneath the floor, which is sometimes used for the storage of potatoes and firewood. The floor plan is uniform for all houses of either type (Figure 1). Living rooms, also used for sleeping, are always located in the front part of the house. A smaller room located at the right rear of the house is used as a bedroom or for sick people and parturient mothers. The kitchen is on level ground so that a step has to be taken to enter the eating corner from the kitchen. Even the simplest huts have a thin wall which separates the rear bedroom and kitchen from the front part. All outside doors are sliding panels which move in a wooden track so that the whole front of the house may be opened. A visitor can tell immediately if somebody is home and, if an informal caller, will sit on the elevated

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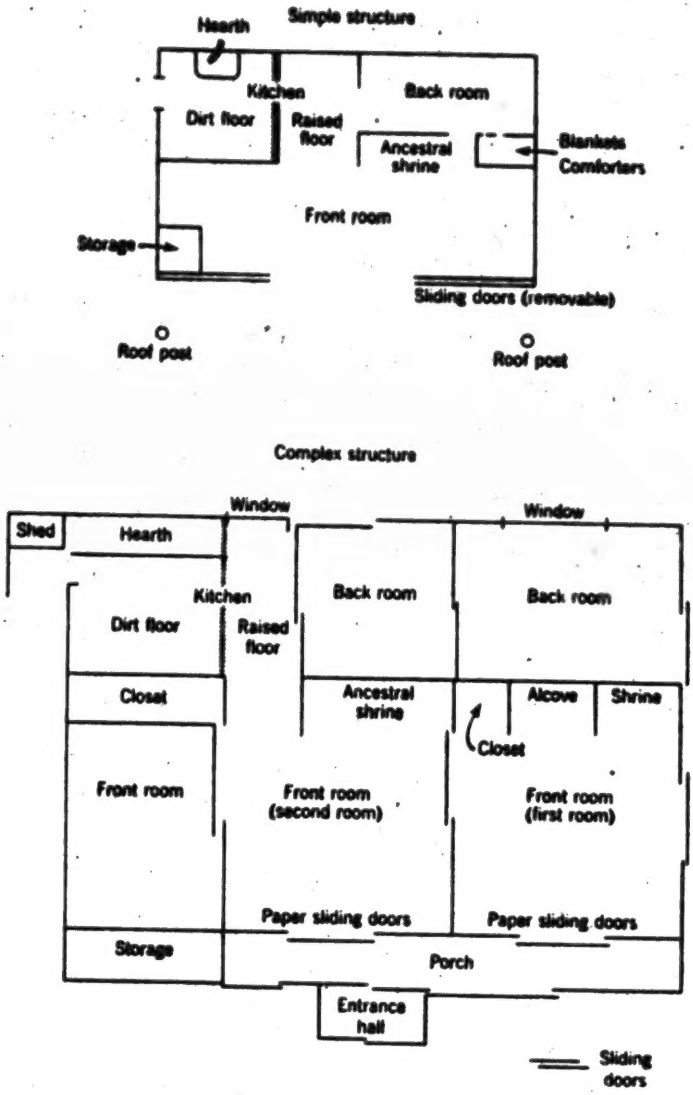

Figure 1. House plan showing simple and complex structures.

342 floor, resting his feet outside on the ground. An overhanging roof protects him from the rain. Larger houses have an entrance hall and a porch running along the front. Since these porches also have sliding-door panels, few people bother to use the entrance except on formal visits.

The simple structures have a framework which is basically the same [335] as that of the more complex ones. Neither is constructed with nails but held together by mortise and tenon joints. Thick layers of thatch or a tile roof give adequate protection from rains. Thatch roofs need re- [356] placement every few years, but they keep the house cooler than the more permanent, more expensive clay or cement tile roofs. House walls are made of very thin, cheap wood which weathers fast and cracks, allowing winds to enter freely. Only the new houses have solid double walls. The floor in the simple buildings consists of planks which in many houses are not nailed down; during the winter months the cold penetrates through the wide slots between the boards. Better houses have ceilings and doors to separate the "first" and "second" room in the front of the house, as well as solid floors.

Smoke from the open fireplace in the kitchen rises into the roof and [151] seeps through the thatch. Poor eyesight, common among children, is believed by the villagers to result from smoke-filled houses and poor lighting. In the evening, dim light is provided by one or two kerosene lamps.

342 The ancestral shrine, a built-in shelf for the ancestral tablets, has 353 its place in the "second" room. This shrine is only found in the homes 769 of oldest sons. It is not treated with special reverence. Photographs of the deceased as well as of living relatives are kept there as well as personal belongings—a letter, money, a bottle of sake, or gifts. During [822] religious holidays of ancestral worship, red hibiscus flowers, the color for the dead, are placed on the shelf. Since the shelf is high from the floor, small children cannot get at it.

352 The only furniture in all houses is a low table on which food and [516] drinks are served. Everybody sits on the floor, legs crossed and feet tucked under their thighs in the case of men or put behind to one side in the case of women. Very few houses in Taira have the thick, padded straw mats found in the homes of more well-to-do people in Okinawa. But every family has several thin mats of woven reed standing in one corner of the room; these are spread out for guests to sit on or for a member of the household who lies down during the day. Storage 353 shelves are used in simple houses, but in the better houses mattresses, comforters, and hard pillows are kept in a built-in closet space during [356] the day. On sunny days women air the bedding by spreading it over walls, fences, or in the grass.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

There are no uniform sleeping arrangements. The larger the family, the more corners of the front rooms and rear room are occupied. Since the number of comforters is limited in most families, two or three members of the family share one. Father and mother do not always sleep together, and, even if they do, an infant may sleep between them. When there are several children, another child may sleep next to the father, so that in one row there may be mother, a baby, father, and an older child. One or two children usually sleep with the grandmother in another corner. In several families an older sister may sleep with younger brothers; in others, two elder brothers, or an older sister and an older brother, may sleep next to each other. Children do not usually sleep at other people's houses, but when they reach junior high school age, a girl may stay with a girl friend or a group of boys may sleep together at one house. 513

A simple desk and chair are kept in each house where children go to school. These are put in one corner of the front room, except in large houses with a third room in front, which is reserved for schoolchildren of the house, who also sleep there. Around the study corner, books are kept on a crate or shelf. Only the biggest houses have a niche in their "first" room. Paintings and scrolls, used to decorate alcoves before the war, have been lost, and few people have acquired replacements. Many families decorate rooms by pasting pictures from magazines and newspapers on the walls. Some have reproductions of the Japanese Crown Prince Akihito, others scenic pictures from Japan. 352 353

Only a few recent buildings have inner sliding doors with paper screens. The paper is often left off during the hot season and put on before New Year. If children or cats are around, the splendor does not last long, and even an adult's hand frequently punctures the screen in trying to open the door. Holes are left unrepaired for the remainder of the year. 342 356

The eating corner between kitchen and rear room is the place where most families gather in the evening, especially during the winter. An informal caller may join them there. If it is cold, a brazier is put in the center, filled with pieces of charcoal on top of old ashes to provide heat for those sitting around it. These braziers vary in type: the poorest families use the bottom of an oil drum filled with ashes; others use pottery jars or small wooden boxes lined with metal. 342 264 354

Crockery used in most houses is of a simple type. If breakage occurs, as it often does, a cup or bowl can be replaced for a few yen at the grocery store. Well-to-do families may have an extra set of teacups, which are used for guests. Several families also own lacquer ware, but it is not in daily use. Like cups and bowls, chopsticks are simple and inexpensive. They last a long time and are seldom lost. Children do 415 [412]

415 not use household equipment in their games. Instead they find broken Children do
857 dishes, old cans, and other discarded items in the trash heap.

354 The kitchen has no equipment other than the open fireplace with
[716] three hearth stones and a shelf above it on which a salt column, sym-
[654] bolizing kitchen deities, is kept. During the last few years, the Ryukyan government Home Extension Service has been trying to introduce brick stoves into farmhouses. Several families now have this kind of stove although it is expensive to build.

356 As far as can be superficially discerned, the home is kept clean. A visitor usually finds the floor of the house free of dirt. Footgear is taken off before entering, and children are reminded to wash their bare feet before going into the house. Less care is given to the area around the kitchen.

312 Outside the kitchen stand one or two jars to store water. A dipper is
415 kept nearby, and children playing in the vicinity or adults often walk to one of these jars for water, which they drink out of a dipper. There may also be an array of pots, pans, crates, baskets, and other equipment piled up around the kitchen. Knives and hatchets are openly left around among the equipment behind the kitchen.

351 The courtyard is an important place for domestic activities. Here women and girls wash dishes, mix pig food in large kettles, make bean paste in a hand stone grinder, and prepare grain for storage. There are
[514] vegetable patches in one corner of the yard, chicken coops, pigsties,
[364] goat pens, and an outhouse in another. Most garbage is fed to the pigs; the rest is thrown over the sea wall to roll down onto the beach.

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Chapter 2

Daily Routine

805 There are few clocks in central Taira. Except for the township office,
512 post office, and village store, only two or three families own a timepiece. Twice a day, at noon and 10 o'clock in the evening, a clerk strikes

an empty oxygen bottle with a wooden mallet to mark the time. The noon bell tells people in the fields and mountains that it is time for the midday meal and helps those who have a clock to compare the time. The evening bell indicates that it is time to end the day. Schoolchildren do not need a clock, since they get up early in the morning and go to school soon after, knowing that they are probably early. For most adults, daylight and sun position are enough to tell the approximate hour of the day. Some take arrival and departure of the bus, four times a day, as a point of orientation. 805 512 [464]

Old women are the first to rise in the morning. Long before dawn during the winter, or with the first light of the summer day, they get up and start a fire to boil sweet potatoes and heat the soybean soup. Blue smoke rising through the thatched roof into the early morning sky indicates that life in the village has begun. Children soon awake. The door is pushed open and a sleepy child appears to urinate off the edge of the house. Men are the last to rise. Considering the effect of the sake which they may have consumed on the preceding evening, it is remarkable that they are able to wake up so soon. By 6:30 the sleepiest person has risen. 512 [887] [252] [514]

The addition of outer clothes to the underclothing in which most people sleep is simple. Cold water splashed over the face and a quick turn at the toothbrush is all the toilet needed to begin a new day. [513] [515]

The task of folding comforters and taking down the mosquito net falls to one of the older children or to the mother. Older children and young girls help to carry water from the tank, the first task that has to be done after getting up. After breakfast, women feed the pigs. By about 7 o'clock everybody is ready for work. On a good day people leave for the mountains or start toward their fields—schoolchildren are on their way, too. [857] [462]

By 8 o'clock, except during very poor weather, the village is left to the old people and young children. Little boys and girls hang around, waiting for kindergarten to start at 9 o'clock. Play begins for them after they leave the house in the morning and does not end until evening. [855] [872]

For men and women, the routine of work in fields and forests is prescribed by seasonal activities which demand their special attention, but there are daily chores, such as digging potatoes, picking vegetables, and collecting feed for the animals and firewood for cooking. Only a few men who go to the mountains, taking their midday meal along, are away all day. The rest come and go during the day from the rice paddies, potato fields, or forests, so that there is repeated contact between children and their parents. A young child, even if left in the 512 461 [855]

512 care of an older sibling or the kindergarten teacher, therefore has a
461 chance to see the mother. Men and women who have gone to the
[855] mountains return with their first load of wood around 10 o'clock. The
[862] mother will return again around noon and prepare the midday meal: noodle soup, fried cabbage with dried shrimps, perhaps rice, and always sweet potatoes. After lunch there is a short rest period. During the hot summer months this rest extends to an hour or more, and on the hottest days people lie in their houses sleeping during the noon hours. Midday is also a time for social interaction. There is some visit-
[574] ing back and forth. Old people always seek each other's company, and younger ones back from the fields or forest may join them for a while.

512 Toward evening blue smoke indicates again that food is being pre-
[231] pared. Pigs are fed by the women in late afternoon. Then women,
512 young girls, or boys fill water buckets and carry them home. After 5
515 there is a heavy run on the tank or faucets, and this is often the time when families start preparing a bath. It takes until dark to warm up an oil drum filled with water and heated underneath by scraps of wood and twigs. People take their bath after dark. Since the bath house was destroyed during the war, ablutions take place outside near the tank under a faucet or in an old oil drum in one's backyard.

512 Young men who return from the mountains wash their horses in the
[231] sea. The women who sell fish call on each house at this hour to peddle
[938] their wares. The village store, which has only seen a few customers in the morning and during noon, now has its busiest hour. Mothers send their children to buy noodles, kerosene, rice, or seaweed or else they come themselves, a baby on their back or the toddlers following them.

[889] This is also the hour when the young men and women gather to do joint work in the fields of their association or to play volleyball on the playground. Meanwhile, all forest workers have returned and busily cut the last pieces of firewood, bundling them before the store clerk comes along to buy the load. Some adults sit near the playground and watch the children.

512 Work goes on until dark. Only then do families gather for the eve-
264 ning meal. During the summer this may be as late as 8 o'clock. For many families this is the only time during the day when everybody gathers in the family circle. At this time family affairs may be discussed and plans made for the next day's work or other pending matters.

512 The evening meal consists of rice, a bean paste or noodle soup, and
262 some fish. Meat is served occasionally if a goat is killed or on holidays
264 when someone has slaughtered a pig. Most families cannot afford to buy more than small portions of meat, which are fried or made into

soup. Nothing is wasted and leftovers are kept for the next meal. The majority of people are fast eaters, and chopsticks move from bowl to mouth quickly and deftly. Some families eat silently, others enjoy talking during the meal. 512 [262] [269] [521]

Before and after full moon, people like to go out after supper and gather in small groups by the store to talk and smoke or to visit each other. Less running back and forth is observed during dark nights. There is also a seasonal variation in that respect. On cold winter nights, or when it rains, doors are closed early, and visitors slip into the house by the side kitchen door. On warm nights all houses are open, and one can see people sitting in their living room by the light of a kerosene lamp; passers-by just call over and then go in for a chat. Guests are served tea, bits of brown sugar, and other sweets. Men get together at this time and start talking over a cup of sake. A relative or neighbor, bottle in hand, walks in and joins the party. Here and there somebody pulls a samisen out of the corner and starts singing. 512 574 [521] [262]

Evenings are also the time for village meetings, finance group meetings, family gatherings, and other formal get-togethers. Several times during the week a light shines from the village office or the store office, where some of the village leaders meet to discuss community affairs. In the winter, household-head meetings or other general meetings are called for 8 o'clock; in the summer they do not start until 9 o'clock. In the absence of clocks, few meetings ever start on time. 512 623

The young men and women have their get-togethers at the clubhouse in Udenaha. Both sexes attend, sometimes for lectures by a village official on village affairs, sometimes for lessons in bookkeeping and the use of the abacus in business, for which one village leader dedicates his time, or for other educational purposes. Once a week they have a social evening with discussion and sometimes folk dances. On nights when no meetings are scheduled, young men gather at someone's house to smoke, drink, or sing together. If enough sake is available, parties can become noisy. Occasionally a fight or quarrel starts later in the evening after everybody has drunk steadily. Such interruptions on quiet evenings are rare and seldom occur more than once or twice a month. Loud singing at midnight or later, a group of gay men knocking on somebody's door, these are the only disturbances an early sleeper may experience if a party is held somewhere. 512 883 571 [544] [578]

By 11 o'clock mosquito nets are hung in the rooms and comforters spread on the floor. Except in the house where men gather to drink, quiet descends over the village around that time. Individuals, however, may be seen until long after midnight. Taira goes to sleep late, and although people claim that everyone gets eight hours of sleep, it 512 513

512 513 is more likely that the majority of adults have to be satisfied with six and a half hours.

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Chapter 3

Basic Economy

INTRODUCTION

241 433 Taira depends on its fields and forests for a living. Rice and the sweet potato are the principle staple crops; wheat, beans, and vegetables are additional subsistence crops. Firewood and building materials, sugar, pineapple, and silk are main sources of cash. Tea is raised for home consumption.

311 [243] [244] Since the few rivers around Taira are short and the valleys narrow, the area available for wet rice cultivation is limited. Farm land for sweet potatoes is also not too abundant in this mountainous region and is located either on the gently sloped hills or on a few plateaus between valleys. Here and there it rises on skillfully terraced steps along the steep sides of mountains.

311 423 241 [433] The size of land holdings and the quality of soil partly determine whether a family is able to grow additional cash crops or merely subsist. The average holding for each family is about 5 acres of rice land and 6 acres of other farming land. Yet it is important to note that the range and quality of this land vary widely. Some families own only 1½ acres of rice land and an acre of other farm land, while others own as much as 14 acres of rice land and 12 acres of other farm land; good rice paddies produce three times the quantity of poor ones and are wet enough to allow for two crops per year. Of the 141 families questioned, [511] only 15 grew enough rice to be self-sufficient; 123 had to buy extra [433] rice, and only two families raised a surplus for sale. All families grew enough vegetables for home use, and only 18 bought sweet potatoes. Sixty families grew a surplus of vegetables and 16 a surplus of sweet potatoes.

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But actually no family is entirely self-sufficient, for each needs to purchase foodstuff as well as ready-made clothes, manufactured mostly in Japan, more substantial building materials, such as better grades of wood, tiles, and cement, tobacco, alcoholic beverages, sweets, toilet articles, some medical supplies, and other luxuries. Farmers buy their tools; students their books and writing materials. Finally, cash is needed to pay taxes. 433 438

In addition to the utilization of sugar, pineapple, firewood, and building materials for cash, Tairans also raise pigs for sale to slaughter houses, and some families derive an income from raising silkworms and producing tea. Fishermen sell fish inside and outside the village, and a small group of people are salaried workers or have an income from specialized services. [231]

Village leaders fear dependence on rapidly dwindling forest resources, still the main source of ready cash. They realize that the present modest living conditions of all families could be much improved if Tairans concentrated on increasing the cultivation of subsistence crops and farmed more intensively to raise cash crops. Most people lack this insight, however, and live on a day-to-day basis without much thought of the future. This is an island-wide problem which has the attention of central government agencies, and a great deal of educational propaganda comes to the village through government channels. 433 241 [313] [185] [654]

AGRICULTURE

The productivity of the land varies not only with its quality but also with the industriousness of the owners. Farmers who show foresight, those who seem to be under less pressure for immediate cash, take off more time from forest work to cultivate fields during planting season. The village headman and council members remind everybody during village meetings and informal discussions that work in the fields should not be neglected. With the approval of the whole community, the first and 15th of each lunar month have been set aside for farming. On these two days it is forbidden to go to the forests to cut wood. Such agreements are usually observed (as a rule), and they help to achieve their purpose but are not completely effective. 241 185 [433] [623] [313]

Rice is planted and harvested twice a year. The first rice is prepared in January when seeds are put into special beds where they are left to grow into young shoots until March. Until about 30 years ago it was said that all people seeded rice on the same day while prayers were 243 [782] [793]

243 offered at the village shrine by the priestess. Today key agricultural
[782] events are still marked by small ceremonies in which the priestess be-
[793] seeches or thanks the gods, but the actual day for planting is determined by weather and the condition of seed.

When the rice is transplanted in March, the whole family spends long hours in the paddy. Then the paddies swarm with people; some prepare the soil by spreading fertilizer, others stand in the ooze to set
[476] the seedlings. Transplanting is done by mutual assistance groups, which will be discussed later in this chapter. They guarantee everyone a sufficient number of helping hands during the painstaking, rapid work, which has to be finished within a limited time. In a few days the whole paddy area suddenly turns from brown into the tender green of the young shoots. Once planted, intermittent weeding is all the care that is needed.

[261] In July the rice turns brown and is ready for harvest. This is an event of joy for the whole village, for young rice is most delicious and
[857] loved by everyone. By then vacations have started, so that schoolchildren can help to cut rice and carry bundles to the spot where it is threshed in treadle-type machines, located either near the field or behind one's house. As soon as the rice is threshed, the grain is carried to a place in the village where the wind blows freely. There a woman holds a flat winnowing basket filled with grain at an angle to let the
[782] breeze separate the chaff from the grain. The first rice is cut by men
[264] and offered at the family shrine before the whole family eats a specially
[251] prepared gruel. Rice is usually stored in one or two oil drums in the kitchen-side corner of the front room. Better houses have a metal-lined
[256] storeroom. Once a week a supply is taken to the miller to be hulled and polished.

Those whose fields are sufficiently wet plant a second crop, and the cycle is repeated once more in midsummer, with the second harvest falling in late December.

244 Sweet potatoes can be planted throughout the greater part of the year if the soil is not too dry. They take from five to seven months to
[262] grow to full size. Although less popular than rice, no part of the plant
[231] is wasted. The large tubers are consumed, the small ones are usually fed to the pigs; the young leaves are used as vegetables, the older ones cooked into pig food. Slips are cut and used for planting a new crop.

The preferred variety of potato (*tadushi imu*) is grown in the dry paddies during the second rice season. To plant this potato, the soil must be piled up to form a long, narrow, flat-topped mound. One of the hardest jobs for farmers, this is done by men in the humid heat of a midsummer day. Women set the slips after the earth has been moved.
[251] These potatoes are the only variety which are thought to improve with

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storing and are kept under the house or on a special shelf on the rafters. 244

Onions, giant radishes, beans, and cabbages are also raised on farm lands. Night soil is rarely used for such vegetables nowadays but is still used on potatoes. Several of these vegetables as well as others are raised by women in small "home-garden" plots. 251 514 462

The hardest working period during the year is in July and August. Within a few weeks after the rice harvest, the soil must be made ready for the second rice crop or the soil must be prepared for dry paddy potatoes. This is also the time for planting the chief sugar crop. All this takes place during the hottest time of the year, when efficiency is greatly reduced by heat and humidity. 244 243 249

Sugar harvest and processing fall in the period between January and March. One field after another is harvested by the owners after arrangements have been made for a date when the cane can be processed. Such arrangements are made with the director of the Taira cooperative, who supervises operations of the sugar mill which is owned by the cooperative. The whole family helps on the day of processing. Women carry bundles of branches and light firewood to heat the kettles. The operation requires the help of someone to feed cane into the small, diesel engine driven press, some to carry the pulp away, and others to watch the kettles in which extracted juice is boiled down to molasses. Finally, a few persons stir the brown residue in wide, open pots until it becomes stalted. Then it is put into tubs that hold about 132 pounds. 249 474 402

The agricultural market for cash crops was totally disrupted at the end of World War II. There was no immediate outlet for sugar products; crops had been destroyed or neglected, and the sugar mill was demolished in the fighting. But by this time most people were too satisfied with the great returns from forest work to invest much time and energy in a crop which takes a year and a half to show any material results. Nevertheless, sugar was the first crop to find a market again. 433 249

Pineapple, introduced recently in Taira, has a promising future. Tea is still grown in small quantities, but few families grow more than they need for their own use, although it is a good potential cash crop for this area. 245

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

Raising pigs is an important source of cash income for all households in the village. Even the poorest families own at least one, but few families have more than two; in the central village the average is about 1.2 per household. Pigs are given special care and attention. 231 434

231 Before a piglet is bought, its feeding habits are carefully observed by
the buyer to determine future growing potential. It is then kept in a
[417] sty: pigsties are either in the yard near the house or in a cluster of
stables on the north edge of the town. Twice a day women cook the
food in large kettles and ladle the liquid food into a trough. Nowadays
[262] pork is rarely consumed in the village except for special holidays, when
several families may slaughter pigs and sell part of the meat to every-
[438] body through the local store or preserve some of it by salting. Most
251 farmers, however, wait for the meat buyer from the southern part of
[442] the island from whom they receive a good financial return.

Goats are raised for home consumption. They are never left to graze
[417] but are quartered in a goat pen near the pigsty and fed on grass cut
from uncultivated land. Seven families in the central village have
[492] horses. Their main use is to carry firewood from the mountains. The
small breed looks like a cross between a horse and pony and seems
especially adapted to climb the steep trails. They are also used for
plowing and for pulling two-wheeled carts. The owner of a horse
[434] may more than double his income from forest work. Horses are fre-
[427] quently rented out for half the day's income from wood carried by
them.

Silkworm raising, an important source of income in Taira before
the war, is only now being resumed by some Tairan families. The
[474] larvae are supplied through island-wide silkworm raising associations,
which repurchase the cocoons after they are spun. To raise silkworms,
a substantial house is needed so that rats cannot enter and eat the
worms. The temporary postwar structures with holes and cracks in the
walls and roof are inadequate. Only a few recently built houses can be
used. One family keeps growing worms on shelves in the front room.
[137] Most of the mulberry trees were lost during and after the war. Plans
have been made to plant new trees. Young girls feed the mulberry
[462] leaves to the gluttonous worms who require constant attention. When
the worms are ready to create their cocoons, they are taken off their
diet, and the cocoons are cleaned and sorted out. Silkworms can be
raised four times a year if there is an adequate supply of mulberry
leaves. Their sale brings a good income, which can become a substitute
[434] for cash earned in forest work.

FISHING

226 Fishing is a much less important source of livelihood than one would
[554] expect in a coastal village and is a low-prestige occupation. Only two

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of the permanent Tairan families fish; the majority of the fishermen are migrants from the surrounding islands who come for a season, leaving their families behind. A few families have moved in permanently. The fishermen supply Taira, but most of the catch is peddled in the Nago market by the fishermen's wives. Some of the more enterprising and mercantile-minded women in the village buy up fish and peddle it for a profit.

Two or three times a year, during February or March, large fishing boats from Henza Island land in Taira with whale meat. All the able women look forward to making extra cash at this time, for whale meat is considered a delicacy in homes where meat is rare. Blubber is eaten and used as frying fat. The distribution of whale meat is arranged by one village woman whose fishermen relatives from Henza supply it in response to her request. She acts as agent, distributing the meat to the women on consignment.

LUMBERING

The main source of immediate cash for most families is firewood. Forest land in the mountains is owned by the township and the village, except for some woods near the fields, which are personal property. The township permits the village to exploit a certain region surrounding the community in return for payment of a forest tax. This tax is levied on firewood bundles or on lumber sold by villagers. Everyone in the village is free to cut wood in the designated area in any amount he desires. This, however, does not imply that unlimited cutting is possible, for resources have been utilized so heavily that most forests near the village are almost cleaned out, and it has become increasingly difficult to find wood. Reforestation has only recently been introduced on a serious scale. Often villagers are found trespassing on land owned by the central Ryukyan government in order to cut from the less depleted forests there. Government officials are sympathetic to the villagers' plight, and they tend to dispose of such transgressions with a stern warning.

Men and women, and during vactions, some children over 12 years, go to the forest. Most people prefer to walk and work in small groups. To reach a place high up in the hills, they may have to hike almost a mile from the center of Taira. The steep, narrow paths made by woodcutters traverse the mountains. Following the approach trails during the day, one can hear voices and the sawing of wood from many directions. All lumber people carry a short handsaw and a heavy bush knife

313 which they use interchangeably. After sufficient trees have been cut and
[412] cleared of branches, a large bundle of firewood is carried to the village. Most forest workers make four or five trips a day into the hills—two or three during the hot summer season. As the afternoon ends, they sit down along the road in the village or nearby to prepare firewood
474 bundles. Pieces of wood are inserted through a bamboo loop of stand-
313 ard size, prescribed by the cooperative store, until a tight, uniform bundle is obtained. The last piece has to be driven into the bundle by force. All over the village one can hear the knocking of wood pieces
[592] which marks the end of a forest worker's daily labor. Each household works independently and sells firewood to the cooperative. A store
[436] clerk travels around the village in late afternoon, checks all bundles, and issues credit slips to each household; these can be changed into money at the store. The following morning the truck, owned by the
[438] cooperative, carries the firewood to Naha or Itoman where it is sold to a dealer who redistributes it to individual consumers or public bathhouses. The northern part of the island has always supplied firewood to the population of southern Okinawa to be used for kitchen hearths
[354] and bath stoves. In recent years kerosene kitchen stoves have become so popular that the depletion of wood resources tends to coincide with decreasing demand.

TRADES AND PROFESSIONS

463 Other ways of making a living exist. A few artisans in Taira derive part of their income from wage labor. A number of Taira men earn their living by carpentering, although they do most of their work in the south. They return occasionally when their services are needed for local house building. When working on local construction, they are
[465] paid in money, free lodging, and meals. There are also a few part-time resident carpenters who, whenever they are not employed in house building or repairs, spend their time farming and cutting wood. New
[342] buildings are usually put up between the beginning of the second rice crop and the New Year.

463 Several persons are salaried township or village officials. They are paid monthly and work a 44-hour week, not counting many extra meet-
466 ings and duties connected with their work. All office workers however
[647] have fields, either their own or those of their parents, where they spend Sundays helping in agricultural pursuits. During rice planting season, they are given special time off to attend to their fields.

Also among the salaried workers are store employees, a full-time

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director with assistants and clerks. The clerks are always young people 463
just out of school who receive nominal wages in return for a seven-day 466
work week. The township office employs as janitor a girl who keeps
the office in order, serves tea at any time during the day, washes dishes, [647]
and helps to cook meals for entertaining. Her family owns one of the largest houses in the central village and more land than most others. No social stigma is attached to her job; in fact, most Taira girls would consider it a privilege to exchange their mountain work for her kind of employment even though they would earn no more. Another girl, employed by the local "doctor" as nurse and maid, lives with the family, eats with them, and sleeps with their children. Only one farmer employs a hired hand, a man from another township.

Among others living on a salary is the postmaster. His father held 463
the same office, and his son is now trained to succeed him as the third [205]
in line. The rice miller, a man from outside the village and married to
a Taira woman, and the "doctor" also depend for most of their in- [759]
comes on specialized services. The latter owns his dispensary and small [657]
hospital. He receives some financial support from the township government. His services to people are compensated for either in cash or [465]
kind. Patients who are unable to pay at once will bring rice to his
house after the harvest. These remunerations, pig raising, and other [556]
side activities make him, along with the rice miller and the postmaster,
the wealthiest person in Taira. Local male school teachers also own [875]
fields, to which they give time in the afternoons and Sundays to help their wives.

The priestess and her assistants, although they are religious spe- 463
cialists, are not paid in money for their services. They participate in 793
daily work like the rest of the village. Only when performing services
outside the community is the priestess paid a small fee. Within the 465
village she receives the food and sake which are offered in the cere- [782]
mony, whether she is called by a family or prays at the village shrine on a general holiday.

DIVISION OF LABOR BY SEX AND AGE

Men and women are equal partners in everyday economic activities, 462
both in agricultural and forest work. Only a few occupations are clearly differentiated by sex: fishing, the handling of horses, and the carrying of night soil are done exclusively by males; housework and the care
and feeding of pigs predominantly by women. Some agricultural work [241]
is considered too heavy for women, for example, the turning of the

462 heavy sods in the rice paddy; nevertheless, women and younger girls
[241] often do this work along with the men and boys if time runs short. There are some women who prepare their farm land without the help of their husbands.

[313] In mountain work, women produce almost as much as men except that they do not handle the large logs. Even pregnant women make
[843] three or four daily mountain trips, sometimes up until the day of childbirth. Only the mode of carrying wood, like any load, differs for
[482] the sexes: a man uses a carrying stick supported on his shoulder, with two bundles attached to each end; a woman carries bundles on her back, tied and held in place by a tump line tied over her forehead. Women can carry loads of 100 to 120 pounds in this manner.

[312] Men seldom carry water from the tank or faucet to the house; this is considered women's work, although younger boys are expected to
241 help at times. Work in the potato fields is mainly women's respon-
462 sibility. Their hands are also preferred in rice transplanting, where dexterity is needed in pulling out the tender shoots from the seed bed and replanting them in straight rows at measured intervals. Occasionally a young man helps, and boys sometimes try to work along with their sisters when they learn transplanting. Both men and women sow the seed beds. In special activities, such as house building, a more dis-
462 tinct division of labor can be observed. In any building activity, men
[342] do the structural work and women carry materials and cook for the
[653] men. The same division of labor is found on community projects, road building, fencing against wild pigs, or repairing the water pipes. In general, however, no special comment is made if either a man or woman performs work usually done by the opposite sex.

887 Men and women work in the fields and forests from ages 15 to 60.
462 When they approach 60, men like to "retire." If possible, they turn over their responsibilities as household heads to their eldest sons. From
[464] then on, they tend to stay home more and more. They can still help with less demanding work, making bamboo rings for firewood bundles, sawing wood, or doing odd jobs around the house. Approaching old age, most men become economically useless and in other ways contribute little to society. For old women, quite the contrary is true. Even grandmothers who are well over 60 seem strong and active. Most of
[241] them go to the fields to plant or harvest potatoes or other vegetables. One woman, well into her sixties and bent over from arthritis, took long walks to distant potato fields, with a heavy load of slips or potatoes in a basket on her back, a hoe on top of it, supporting herself on a
[855] stick. Other grandmothers look after the youngest children, thus freeing the mother for work. Old women also cook, help bundle firewood,

and look after the sick. Even if they are too old for any work, like two oldsters over 80 years, they can still hold the youngest grandchild. Two exceptional old men, brothers of almost the same age, pass their time by making rope bags and mats from the fiber of the fan palm. Both are active as financial experts, investing money here and there and lending it for high interests in various shrewd transactions. 887 462 [855] [285] [454]

INFORMAL AND FORMAL COOPERATION

Cooperation plays a prominent part in Taira economy. Assistance is always given for major tasks, such as preparing grass land for farm use or house building, or for work which must be done quickly, such as transplanting rice or harvesting and milling sugar. In fact, since wet rice cultivation depends on assistance in any culture that works its paddies by hand, it is noteworthy that the term *iimarū*, used in Taira for labor exchange in planting and harvesting, is also extended to other mutual assistance. The term, literally translated, means "gathering by rotation." A family who plans a project that needs the help of others makes an informal arrangement with relatives or neighbors to help for one or more days. This is simply done by notifying individuals that such help is needed. No one, unless he has urgent reasons, would refuse to comply with a call for assistance. If it is a small task, a few close relatives are asked. In most larger undertakings, it is the neighborhood group that lends a hand. These mutual-assistance groups usually form within the central village and within each of the geographical clusters of the outlying village, although close relatives from other parts of the community may be called. However, the most recent arrivals in Taira, all present members of one family line who have the same surname, act jointly in reclamation of neglected fields to strengthen their economic position. 476 241 [621]

Return services are expected, but nobody would admit that there is any thought of equal compensation and would not even joke about the matter. There is a strong feeling that calculated thinking is unseemly not only among relatives but also among unrelated neighbors. One man, when asked what would happen if a person refused to comply to a request for help, answered, "There is no such dirty person, and if there were one, he would be an outcast." During the rice planting season, persons helping in another's fields will shortly be helped themselves. In housebuilding, a long time may pass until those who aided will need aid in return. 476 241 577

Except for people over 56, pregnant women, and mothers of chil- 653 464

653 dren under 3 years, every adult past school age, male or female, is re-
[464] quired to work on community projects if called by the village head. Officials may pay the village for exemption from this duty. There are two kinds of community corvées, those in which every adult and qualified member of a household has to participate, and those in which only one household representative is required to attend. As many as 12 days a year may be spent by each villager on road construction, clearing of village land, improvement of village-owned tea fields, or in similar projects. In some cases, where the central government has granted support, this work may be compensated by a small payment. More often, however, it is a free contribution to the village effort.

474 The strength of deeply rooted cooperative behavior seems to have been an essential factor in introducing formal cooperatives successfully in this area. The northern village of Oku is credited with being the first community in Kunigami province to organize a cooperative store in 1906. Initiative for this organization was provided through the Japanese administration. Taira was the first village in present-day Higashi township to establish a cooperative. In 1918 the village was poverty stricken, and village leaders, the president of the Young People's Association, one of the teachers, and others, made a study of the Oku organization. They then convinced the Taira headman of the great possibilities. Over the years the Taira cooperative supported by the majority of Tairan households, through buying of mountain products, marketing, running the store, and sugar production, tried to improve the village economy. One immediate result was that the indebtedness to money lenders from outside the village, especially to the owners of sailing junks which transported mountain products south, could be avoided. Up until the war the cooperative flourished and improved economy.

The end of the war found the village cooperative totally defunct, and it took several years to restore the organization. At present it owns the store, the sugar mill, and the truck. It also controls the use of the
[245] village-owned tea fields in which everybody has the right to grow at least one row of tea bushes.

474 Shares in the cooperative are held by households, and almost every-
621 one in Taira is a member. The two directors and several officers are elected by shareholders. Actually the directorship does not change often, and the most influential leaders usually hold the office. They may initiate measures which will aid the village economy, but they have no absolute power: a check and balance system protects the people. As one person put it, "It is always necessary to have a few persons outside the business so that they can check what is going on. If people of the

highest status are all engaged in it, there is no one who can check it 474
and nobody who would dare to." The accounts are checked and 621
audited, and reports are made to the members.

It is characteristic of the cooperative that it works closely with the political organization of the community and that it is an integral part of the village. In certain ways it has taken over some financial functions of the village, supplying it with funds which would otherwise have to be raised through village taxes.

The cooperative buys all firewood that has been produced by the households at a uniform price, thus giving families a great deal more security than they had in days when selling was done on a competitive basis. Since the firewood market fluctuates, the cooperative often takes a loss which would be hard for individuals to bear alone.

The truck which takes the forest products to the city returns with 474
goods for the store. All shareholders' purchases are recorded. Dividends are issued once a year. They are actually small. Part of the profits are used to finance new shares for each household. Every shareholder now owns an equal number of shares. A limited saving system has also been [454]
resumed by the postwar cooperative. The small amounts which have accumulated (few families are able to lay aside money for long periods of time) are withdrawn around New Year or on other occasions when special purchases are made.

Although the cooperative would like to finance individual projects, such as building, buying livestock, and agricultural expansion, sufficient funds are not available. Mutual finance groups are formed to extend this type of credit. A person who needs money to finance a project asks others in the village to form a partnership in which everybody who agrees to participate pays the same amount monthly, on a prearranged date, into the common fund. A different person takes a loan each month. It usually goes to the lowest bidder, except that the first loan is given to the person who asked to form the group. The difference between the bid and the actual amount collected is paid out as interest. Each person has a guarantor who is made responsible in case the actual participant is unable to make his monthly payment toward the fund.

Mutual finance groups are formed between any persons, based on 621
their willingness to participate at a certain time, either because they 452
themselves need a loan or, as happens in a few cases, because they hope to make some money from the interest. The obligation to pay is taken very seriously, although it can create tremendous hardships on individuals who have to make quick temporary arrangements to borrow money elsewhere in order to meet their monthly payments. Since

Since
621 several finance groups are formed simultaneously in the village, and
452 an individual may belong to more than one, this system can create
474 more problems for the community than it helps to redress. Village leaders therefore think that the cooperative could take over the loan functions at low interest rates more effectively.

433 Concern about improving village economy is genuine and foremost.
621 Since the whole island has common economic problems, many sug-
[654] gestions for developing sound village economy originate from the central government. There are many associations and movements which all aim at the same result. Their number is staggering and bewildering to the outsider. In Taira, concern for improvement of conditions is a program of the Women's Association and the Home Improvement Group, associations who try to introduce such changes as better stoves, making of bean paste by villagers, and saving during feasts. There is also an Agricultural Promotion Association which is concerned with improvement of agricultural practices, promotion of cash crops, and
[474] reduction of forest work. All these organizations, along with the co-operative and the village government, work together. An individual may be a member of several. Persons with enough knowledge and experience to assume responsible positions are limited in number, and the same persons appear as leaders in various groups. This puts a heavy burden on them, since few days pass during which their attendance after work is not required at one meeting or another.

Taira assumed a leading position in the township in improving agricultural and general economy, especially by promoting sugar development, pineapple growing, and tea raising in recent years. Mean-
154 while, low income and general poverty are a constant concern to every-
571 body but do not seem to result in constant anxiety. Security, as will be pointed out in other contexts, is provided by being a member of the kinship group and, in the wider sense, of the village as a whole. This helps to share burdens and thus reduce their weight.

Chapter 4

Property

Rice paddies, farm land and some grass land, trees on private land, a house site and house, as well as livestock and tools, are owned by the heads of households. Land is registered in the household head's name, and he has sole right to dispose of it. Ordinarily younger sons have no right to their father's property, but a man may will property to them. If there is no will, however, everything reverts to the eldest son. Despite this, several families of younger sons were found to have land holdings equal to those of eldest sons. 423 [428]

A widow with young sons may hold land in trust for her sons or, if there are no male heirs, may inherit the land outright. Divorcees and spinsters may also acquire land by purchase, and there are several women in Taira who are household heads and owners of real estate. [589] [428] [592]

Because of the war and a general shift in population, much land and many house sites have changed owners, and former wealthy families are no longer the largest landowners. When they returned, several families with small prewar land holdings were able to raise the necessary cash to buy land. [556]

There is little sentimental attachment to a particular plot of land, and households have never been associated with particular plots. Rather, land is considered a necessary commodity, and thus it frequently changes hands. This sentiment may derive from the communal land-holding system with its periodic redistribution of plots to individuals, which was found throughout Okinawa until abolished under Japanese administration at the turn of the century. 423 592 [177]

Forest land from which villagers derive an income is owned by the village. Being a member of the community confers the right to use village forests, subject to regulations made by the village. Of particular interest is the village-owned tea field, which the village cooperative controls. The field has been subdivided, and each household in the 423 621 474

423 community is entitled to the use of one of the equal-sized lots. A small
[621] yearly payment is made to the cooperative, which passes these proceeds
[474] on to the village to pay salaries for officials and other expenses.

[427] Tenancy was never a problem in the Taira area. Under the old system everyone was entitled to land. The final distribution in the change to individual ownership gave everyone sufficient land. Although many new landowners sold and mortgaged their property in other parts of Okinawa, one source states that "in the villages of Kawata, Taira and Miyagushiku . . . none of 348 families was found landless . . ." (Tamura 1927:292 translation). Today several families hold mortgages
[426] on their land, usually for loans to put up new buildings or some other capital investment. Nevertheless, a shortage of rice paddies is obvious, since a part of the land around Taira is owned by people from the neighboring village, and an extension of paddy land in this mountainous district would be feasible only with the aid of irrigation projects.

427 The renting of property from persons who have moved to the city is not uncommon and is a means of bolstering one's own rice or farm land. People who move out of the community, either temporarily or for longer periods, may rent their land or let relatives and even non-relatives use it. In most cases no compensation is paid for the use of farm land, although in rare cases where the owner continues to live in the village, some agreement is made to share the harvested crop. Rice paddies, however, are rented for half the crop. The owner returns from the city during harvesting time to help in cutting and threshing the rice. If unable to return, he may hire a person to help or to make adjustments in the division of the yield. Taira people do not rent their paddies or farm lands for money. An exception may be made in the case of outside fishermen who move into the village and who may rent a small area of land from a villager. In a few cases land has been left in the care of a family member by a relative who went overseas. One of the most substantial farmers in Taira holds several such properties, part of which he owns and part of which he holds in custodianship for a relative overseas. In such a case he is entitled to exploit the land without any compensation for the departed family member.

[423] Almost all local families own their houses and house lots. The
[122] thought of renting a room or house for money is somewhat foreign to the village, and in the case of the authors, "rent" for two rooms, as originally suggested by the owner of the house, was nominal. Fishermen, however, have to rent a room or a whole house. Their rent is an informal arrangement of payment in kind, fish, or other sea products.
[875] In addition, bachelor teachers from outside the community who re-

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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quire room and board are sometimes put up without compensation, and they agree, perhaps, to give some help with studies of the landlord's children. Only the village "doctor" takes transient guests, mostly visiting officials from the city, who pay for lodgings. 427 [875] [485]

Although the household head is a legal owner of the family property, there is a feeling that it belongs to the family and everyone in the household identifies himself with his land and house. This is expressed in the language. A person who is asked, "Whose rice paddy is this?" would answer that it is the household's or "ours." 423 592

In addition to the communal land holdings and the property of the cooperative described earlier, the following items are shared. The government supplies a breeding boar to each village; it is then left in the care of one farmer. This animal is available to pig owners for studding on request, and a small charge is made for the upkeep of the boar. A few tools are jointly owned by several households. Threshing machines were bought jointly after the war by two or more families to defray the high cost of such equipment. These families could be neighbors or relatives. Today many are complaining that joint ownership works hardships during the busy harvest season when there is heavy demand for the machines. As a result, everybody wishes to own his own machine as soon as he can afford to. For tea harvesting, special clippers are owned by the village cooperative and loaned to people as they need them. Since tea harvesting, though seasonal, is not done by all families during the same day, sharing of these tools presents no difficulties. 422 [231] [654] [476] [474]

Property of others is very much respected. Stealing among villagers is almost unheard of, except for some pilfering of green vegetables and fruits by children. Only one case was reported during the field-work period—a person tried to take some goods without payment from the community store. When a village meeting was called, and it was announced that the person's identity was known to the store manager, the merchandise was later replaced. Willful damage to fields is similarly strictly forbidden. No child would really think of doing such damage. But there are no formal rules about trespassing. Movement across other people's property is completely free and unchallenged. 421 685 [627] [867]

Chapter 5

Political Organization and Social Control

THE TOWNSHIP

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631 Administratively Taira village is part of Higashi township, an area of
[131] approximately 30 square miles with six independent villages spread over a distance of about 15 miles along the coast. Taira is centrally located and since 1946 has been the seat of the township administration. Higashi is one of several townships in northern Okinawa. It is responsible to the central Ryukyuan government at Naha which has branch offices at Nago, the nearest town to Taira. Control over communities such as Taira by a central government is of ancient date. The Okinawan king levied taxes throughout the island and held political control over the villages until establishment of Japanese administration.

632 The township office is headed by a mayor who is elected for four years by popular vote. He nominates an assistant mayor who must be confirmed by the township assembly, a council of 16 representatives who are elected from all the villages. The Assembly meets two or three times a year to enact local ordinances, to confirm the mayor's appointments, and to approve the annual budget.

632 The administrative organization of the township consists of five
647 departments, which are responsible for carrying out central government policies. The Finance and Education Department is concerned with tax collection and general school affairs. The Industrial Department acts as controlling and advising agent in all matters of subsistence and cash production. Financial help for farmers is channeled through this department. Attached to it is an Agricultural Extension Division agent who is concerned with individual farmers' problems. A General Affairs
[217] Department is in charge of office administration; it is also responsible

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for keeping the population registry, with vital statistics and relevant 632
information on all township residents.* The Welfare Department in-
vestigates relief cases and receives applications for support from the [217]
poorest families. The Health and Sanitation Administration is primarily concerned with preventive work. Representatives from these five departments are supposed to visit all the villages in the township frequently to inspect and to discuss regulations. The officials and personnel of the five departments are drawn equally from all the villages and commute daily by foot, bicycle, or bus.

The township administration links the central government and in- 631
dividual villages. Numerous requests for central government aid, originating in each community, are sent through the township office. The government in turn deals with each community through the township administration. Contact between township and the villages is maintained by weekly meetings of all village headmen with the mayor and his staff. The village headman is responsible for carrying out township and central government ordinances.

THE VILLAGE

The village headman is elected once a year, in June, from a slate 622
agreed on beforehand during informal discussions by villagers. There 666
is no campaigning; in fact, the elections are treated more as a necessity than a politically important event, and neither before nor after do they incite much public discussion. This democratic process of elections is [177]
of post-World War II date. Before the war, the council of village leaders accepted a new headman only if the choice pleased them, so that the headman at that time was virtually appointed. Villagers remarked that "listening to public opinion is a recent change."

The village is still experimenting with the mechanics of a free 666
election. Votes are still restricted to household heads, but the Taira
Women's Association and Young People's Association tried to change [592]
this in 1955. Although they did not succeed, a concession was made by [575]
permitting "representatives" to vote for their household in the absence of a household head, provided the voter was 20 years of age. The elec-

* The old registry was totally destroyed during the war. A new one is being prepared with the help of the people. It no longer differentiates between persons of noble and common descent. Information on crimes committed by people, sentences passed by courts, and other information, such as diseases in the family, like mental illness, is also omitted now.

666 tion itself is arranged and supervised by an *ad hoc* committee. In 1955 written ballots were cast and counted immediately so that the result was known within a few minutes after the last ballot was in.

622 In contrast to a position in the township administration, which carries high status, equivalent to that of a teacher, the village headman's job is considered a community service and carries little prestige. This does not mean that the headman should not be an individual of high qualities. He must be at least 25 years old; he has to have sufficient education, especially knowledge of Japanese writing characters, to read government documents and to do the required clerical work; he has to be a good accountant and must be proficient in working with the abacus, since all tax collections are supervised by him; he must be community minded and able to enforce regulations in a friendly but efficient way. The rewards are small, the salary less than that of most township officials. The office is held most frequently by young men who have not been out of high school too long. Most recent headmen are between 25 and 30 years of age. Serving in this office may mark the beginning of an administrative career, either in the township office, in the village store, or in business outside Taira. The clerk, appointed
624 by the headmen to assist in village administration, is also a young man. He too is likely to be headed toward an administrative career.

621 Each village is subdivided into wards, set up originally by Japanese
624 administration to effect greater control over families through the warden. He is a subagent of the headman, and at present he functions
[203] mainly as a channel for communications, a useful function in a village like Taira, which covers a large geographical area. Regulations, village meetings, and special events are announced through the warden, and he is often called on to collect delinquent taxes. However, he has little authority and functions more as a neighbor who takes care of necessary contacts between residents and the village administration. Ward members elect him to his honorary office for a one-year term.

623 Village affairs are discussed and legislative action concerning the village initiated by the village council. This group is now partly elected, partly composed of holders of essential offices, such as heads of associations, members of the township assembly, and township officials who live in Taira. The 26 members of the Council are responsible for measures affecting the community, and the headman relies heavily on their advice. Most councilmen are middle aged; few are over 50 years
[575] old. Since the head of the Women's Association and the nurse are members, there are at least two female representatives. The youngest councilman is usually the head of the Young People's Association.

623 It is apparent that leadership in the community is always exercised
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2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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by a limited group. The council represents almost all potential leaders. 623
Education and experience in the outside world are the most important 555
qualifications. This is a change from the old days when wealth was also an important factor. An example of a member of township assembly and village council is the man who lived for many years in Brazil (see Chapter 1, p. 374). His leadership is widely recognized and partly due to his successful use of modern farming techniques. Another village leader is a graduate of an agricultural high school, a man of superior intelligence and qualifications who ranked high in an island-wide civil service examination. Another former headman, and now a council member, was born and raised in Japan of Okinawan parents. Although unfamiliar with local dialect and practices, he is well versed in things Japanese and is a financial expert.

The full village council seldom meets. Instead, local matters are 623
discussed among a core of its most active leaders. Noncouncil members, such as the postmaster, policeman, or teachers, may be invited to some meetings. A discussion may start because several villagers want to set aside a special day during which nobody is permitted to go to the mountains to cut firewood, so that more work can be done in the fields. Such a proposal, if approved by the committee of council members, need not be brought before the entire council. Since no formal vote is taken by the council as a rule, friendly discussions decide the issue. Such a decision is then taken directly to a meeting of registered [592]
household heads which is held monthly or whenever there are a number of matters to be discussed and voted on. They are presented point by point, first by the headman, next by one or more council members; then discussion is opened to the whole meeting and eventually a vote is taken. This is done in a very relaxed manner and without actually counting the votes, since discussions have continued until there is a general consensus in the group.

Minor matters of immediate importance, such as tax collections, 622
plans for celebrating a holiday, or maintenance work on roads and 624
ditches in parts of the village, are taken up between the headman and wardens in weekly meetings.

The household head meeting is attended by many women who are 623
either registered household heads or have been sent by their husbands [592]
or fathers as representatives. Some men may actually be unable to [681]
attend; others are disinterested. Failure to send any family representative over 18 years old to a village meeting results in a fine of 20 yen. At one meeting when it seemed as if more women than men were present, the headman joked, "Let's call it a Women's Association Meeting." The women answered, "We are just nice to our husbands, so we

623 attend." As on all occasions women usually sit together on one side or in the rear. Few of them participate during discussions. The most active spokesmen for the women are the head of the Women's Association and one or two of her close assistants. If a discussion concerns such matters as liquor and food for celebrating certain holidays, a woman may speak [854] up. Mothers bring their infants along[1] and hold them in their arms or nurse them when they get restless. Sometimes a child feels uncomfortable and starts crying, and the mother is forced to leave the room.

554 In general, Taira people do not enjoy being leaders or playing a 157 dominating role. There are no bosses who attempt to force issues or 621 dictate policies. Even people who have definite ideas on how to effect changes would not attempt to assume full responsibility by disregarding the advice of others. "Power" is not associated with responsible positions and village leadership. The headman and clerk perform a duty, often loathed by them and never too highly rewarded by others. A man commands respect for his education, age, sound advice, and exemplary behavior, not for the office he holds. Moreover, all villagers are friendly neighbors, and the man who is presently headman still remains a relative or neighbor to everybody. There is more prestige [632] associated with township offices. The mayor, who holds the highest position, is a man of age and experience; he commands a great deal of respect and has been elected to that office because of the high esteem in which he is held. Occasionally one hears of power hungry persons who are unscrupulous and authoritarian, but they are rare.

FORMAL CONTROL

625 Formal control of law and order is in the hands of the police. A detachment of the Hentona district police is located in the village, and one policeman is constantly stationed there. He lives with his family in [206] a building which also has a small office. Recently a telephone with direct connections to Hentona was installed. The policeman and his wife are from another township.

[166] The policeman's main duty, according to villagers, is to protect them from the occasional outside burglars or from fugitives from the south who come north to hide in the woods. The announcement that such a person is on the loose creates much excitement and anxiety. A second important duty is the control of the shore line. Smugglers and [167] illegal entrants from the Japanese island of Yoron, just to the north of Okinawa, land along the coast. Although one man with only a bicycle can hardly control effectively several miles of coastline, since the only road to the outer world leads through Taira, the policeman

1 [ie - to the household head meeting - ANALYST]

can at least check all transients. Another important duty is to prevent the use of explosives by fishermen, a difficult if not impossible assignment, for he must catch the fisherman *flagrante delicto* when he lands with fish killed in this way. There is no indication that villagers assist the policeman in detecting offenders. 625 [226]

Policing the village itself is not a difficult job. The absence of crime and the low incidence of quarrels, disputes, and brawls would seem to make policing unnecessary. Nevertheless, the policeman interferes at times in disputes. He considers it his duty when actual blows are exchanged and somebody is hurt. In such a case he "investigates," takes notes, and makes a report to the police department. During the entire field work, reportable incidents occurred at about the rate of one a month; in the two or three cases where violence occurred, the matter was settled peacefully later, although the policeman kept a record of it. The rare quarrels which do occur are usually the result of drinking or domestic disagreements, generated by financial problems. 625 578 [674] [273]

The policeman plays the role of judge and jury. In one case a young man hit a woman and was temporarily detained by the policeman until he made apologies to the victim. In disputes over business transactions, the policeman often arbitrates. In a dispute in which a Taira woman was accused of cheating a trader from another village, the policeman heard the case and ordered the Taira woman to make refunds over a period of time. The villagers seem to accept such arbitration. Serious disagreements seem to be unthinkable, and everyone fears public censure and ostracism. Court action is extremely rare and is referred to the provincial courts in the town of Nago. 625 627 [692]

The policeman is given high status by the villagers and commands respect. He remains, probably by his own choice, a neutral person in village affairs. He attends village functions, where he is given a place among village leaders. Being friendly with many families, he visits and is visited by other men. It was noted that fishermen sometimes send a special catch to the policeman. But since this is a courtesy which is also common among farmers with regard to nonfarming people, such as teachers, one should not think of such actions as bribery. Mothers use the policeman as a threat in disciplining children. "If you do such a bad thing again, I'll take you to the police station." This, however, does not seem to instill any fear of his person, but rather a respect towards the general area in which the policeman lives. Village children play freely with the policeman's children, but his courtyard is entered less frequently by children than that of other villagers. 625 [554] [662] [861]

The head of the General Affairs Department at the township office is charged with supervision of public order. It is not clear how much this is a self-assigned task. During several occasions, when an alarm 632 647 625

625 went out for fugitives from the south, he would accompany the police-
[632] mar or investigate himself. In cases of death, both he and the police-
[647] ma- have to make a report.

The Young People's Association may serve as a vigilante in emer-
[575] gencies such as fires, floods, tornadoes, and other disasters. When a
[731] military jeep was reported to have been stolen near Naha and driven on the dead-end road running north, the young people in all villages on the way erected road blocks and were ready to help catch the thief. The group would act together in a similar fashion at any threat from outsiders.

622 The headman can only enforce local ordinances insofar as he is
681 able to persuade people to comply. He is not concerned directly with crime or disturbance of the peace. Exceptions are such matters as stealing sugar cane or letting chickens run loose so that they enter every yard. For such acts, money fines can be imposed. One warden still has a tag which used to be given to the man whose chickens ran around freely. The offender had to pay the fine and keep the tag until he detected someone else's chicken running loose. Then he could pass the tag on to that person. Such measures are no longer used. But the un-
[626] derlying principle of public censure and fear of ridicule continues to operate in village social control.

623 Public censure is used along with fines to ensure attendance at vil-
626 lage meetings. Roll call is taken before each meeting so that the ab-
[681] sence of individuals is made known to the whole group. Similarly, when tax collections became more and more delinquent, it was decided to have ward meetings in which everybody would be reminded in public to pay his share. Those who were unable to do so would have to state their reasons. As soon as this new plan was announced, several people got up during the meeting to pay outstanding amounts to the head-
872 man. The school uses similar devices to achieve better attendance and scholarship. During home visit week, about once a year, a meeting is held for all parents and the statistics for attendance for each village are read as well as scholastic performances for each community.

INFORMAL CONTROL

156
626 What other people might think is uppermost on everybody's mind.
[867] Children are reminded by their mothers not to play alone lest people would think they are unpopular. They are told not to fight lest others think badly of them or make them responsible for the consequences. Censure by gossip is common, but criticism is seldom made directly to a person's face, and the target of extensive gossip is often unaware of it.

An exception to this was the case of a junior high school girl who left her mother and stepfather and went to live in the city. The incident was known to all villagers within a short time, and gossip was rife, but referring to the case directly in the presence of the mother was avoided. When the mother finally heard the gossip, she contended that the story had been circulated by a certain family, singled out the woman of that house (who happens to be one of the few Christians in Taira) and told her in no uncertain words that she, as a Christian who wants to do good and others to be good, should know better than to spread evil gossip. 626 156

Concern with the affairs of other villagers is, of course, a result of the general intimacy between people. Not only one's immediate family but also anyone in Taira is aware of what happens to others in the community, and the right to such knowledge of private and family matters does not seem to be denied by anybody. People ask and receive answers, and news travels rapidly from one house to another. In considering the fear of censure and its effectiveness in social control, however, one should not forget that, conversely, the concern of others for one's life leads to a feeling of belonging and the expectation of help and affection.

Children are part of the gossip channel in that they are talkative and report news. They do not seem to invent malicious stories but do join in fun making at other people's expense. [867]

Being too malicious is censured. Older people still remember that they heard in their youth about old wicked women who could bring a curse on others. The term for curse still connotes a person who is disliked or who snoops excessively in other people's affairs. [754]

If possible, nobody is deliberately made subject to public exposure in case of wrongdoing. A township official, who by virtue of his office was also a member of the village council, showed little interest and responsibility toward the community. When the village meeting deliberated whether township officials should continue to be made members of the village council, his name was not mentioned, although the case was discussed at length in public. The final decision was to give him another chance. This, too, is characteristic of community behavior. Ostracism and complete rejection of serious offenders against the community would be a most serious punishment. This in itself would give the community a bad standing. A common front toward the outside is preferred, so that all drastic actions are left only for extreme cases. Rather, one tries to get along, even with a deviant person. Individuals between whom disagreement exists act friendly toward each other in public. 626 627 156

A deep sense of mutual obligation and duty not only toward imme- 626 156

626 diate relatives but also toward members of the entire community, and
156 even certain strangers, appears in many contexts. Any villager feels
[479] a sense of obligation to participate in mutual assistance, and someone who fails to live up to this obligation is severely criticized. A person who commits a crime is said to have no feeling of obligation, and it seems clear that the infrequency of transgression, either the violation of mutual help codes or more serious infractions, is held in check by fear of censure.

626 The Japanese moral code, which stresses obligations and feelings of
577 indebtedness and gratitude toward those from whom favors have been
867 received, is obviously related to such social control forces or is in fact
[177] identical with them. Japanese ethical training was part of school training before World War II, and it is still deeply valued and followed. That any close-knit community tends to foster such forces of control is
[571] common knowledge. Yet the positive attitude toward obligations and their elaboration in interpersonal relationships is noteworthy and characterizes an important aspect of Taira life. It is learned early, as we found out when one mother said about her 4-year-old daughter: "She understands the idea (of obligations and indebtedness), although she does not know the concepts." When the family receives a gift, the little girl asks, "Shall we take some fish (a counter present) to them?" In spite of the positive value mentioned, there seem to be few compulsions connected with obligations. Actions appear spontaneous rather than forced. Of course, these obligations are of importance in determining contributions of individual households at weddings, funerals, and other occasions where interpersonal ties are cemented.

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Chapter 6

Social Organization

571 In every society an individual belongs to a number of groups, overlapping in membership and differentiated by function. A resident of Taira is no exception. Some groups are open, that is to say, new mem-

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1983 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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bers may be recruited and present members expelled. In others, which are closed, membership is automatic and inevitable, depending in no way on the behavior of the individuals involved. We are here concerned with these latter groups whose membership is determined by sex, age, kinship, and rules of residence. Whether an American male lives in Connecticut or California, in the city or the suburbs, is to a large degree a matter of his personal preference. This is not the case for everybody in Taira, although there are people who at any time may leave the village to seek their fortune. 571

There are two types of households in Taira: those of oldest sons, who live in the house of their parents, and those of younger sons, who establish a nuclear household of their own, which may be near the house of their father. Many young sons, however, leave the central village and settle in its outlying districts or move to the southern part of the island. Whereas formerly many younger sons moved to Japan or to one of its prewar South Pacific mandates, or to Hawaii and South America, since the end of World War II employment opportunities around U.S. Army installations absorb many such migrants. The oldest son is required to live in his parents' house and eventually take over the duties of a household head. Unmarried younger sons remain in the household until they marry or leave the parental home for work elsewhere. 596 594 [166] [167]

For a woman it is customary to move to her husband's home if he is an older son or into a house in his village if he is a younger son. In the old days this usually involved simply a move in the village, since the preference was to marry a woman from the same community. Nowadays there is no clear-cut preference; a woman from central Taira may become the bride of a man from that part of the village, from one of the outlying parts of Taira, or from another village, usually to the north. Of a sample of 55 marriages, 26 of the wives were from Taira, 29 from other villages, five of which were immediately adjacent. 591 582

The composition of the household, therefore, changes for the individual during his lifetime, and it is not the same for all persons in the village. Several children not only have their parents and at least one paternal grandparent but also paternal aunts or uncles who live under the same roof. If the father is a younger son, only one's parents and siblings are household members. Since houses are small and space is very limited, all these members of the household live in close face-to-face relationship. Women tend to outlive men, so that there are many more old women living with their married sons than old men. This is why children have a grandmother more often in the home than a grandfather (see Table 1). 592 593 [165]

592 [727] Table 1 shows the composition of 60 households in central Taira. It is probable that the effects of war dislocation have increased the number of nuclear households and account for at least one of the matrilocal extended households. Some of the fragmentary households, classed as nuclear, consist of just a widow or widower and an unmarried son or daughter.

Table 1 Household Composition in Central Taira

Total population	328
Number of households	60
Nuclear households	36
Patrilineal extended households * (3 generations)	18
Matrilocal extended households	4
Not classified	2

* In households classified as extended, grandparents of the youngest generation present are distributed as follows: grandmothers 14, grandfathers 4, both grandparents 4.

593 554 [562] Relationships and status within the household are ordered according to generation, age, and sex. As will be discussed later, the status of women in general is high. High status of males, especially the first-born male in the family, must be considered as representing an ideal which is not reflected too distinctly in day-by-day interpersonal relationships, although birth order and sex are significant in ancestor worship and in representation of households. Ideally the younger generation members defer to the older people. Normal behavior, however, more frequently reflects a warm, personal relationship that, although not devoid of respect, tends to minimize differences and stress familiarity rather than distance.

613 Besides his membership in a household, the individual is part of a larger descent group, a "main house" in which all the members are related through the male line. Most of the "main houses" in the village trace descent to the founder of Taira. They represent three old lineages. The remaining belong to two more recent and unrelated lineages.

The houses of older and younger sons are distinguished, the term "stem" referring to the house of the founder and the descending line of his oldest sons and the term "branch" to those of younger sons who have set up separate households in the village or elsewhere. Through

the decades, as the branches grow into unilineal descent lines of their own, new "main" houses are formed. 613

Originally descriptive names were given to each household. These names indicated a "stem" family or one of its branches. The "Big East House," a reference to the lineage as well as to the homestead itself, probably split into several branches. These, the homes of younger sons, were known as "Little East House," or by a further derivative, "Behind Little East House." Sometimes the rank order of a younger son was used to name his house, such as "Second East House." This house order system is no longer in existence in Taira, but a few of the names are still in use to indicate houses, and individuals are frequently referred to as "the person of such and such a house," for instance, "the grandmother of the East House." *

Although every individual is aware of his membership in a "main house," these descent groups have little importance except in religious life and death ceremonies. Members of the same "main house" revere common male ancestors and share in the upkeep of a common tomb in which their remains are placed at death. Funerals and the veneration of deceased members of the "main house" bring the kin group together several times a year. Women, although entombed with their husbands, visit the "main house" of their father to pray before his ancestors' tablets and make offerings. If they were born in Taira, they may first take offerings of rice and sake to the shrine of their husband's paternal ancestors; then later in the day they prepare for a ceremony in their own "main house." 613 769

The descent group also functions in other religious contexts. The oldest woman of the main house acts as priestess for the lineage, and she or another older female may visit the sick and assist their relatives with prayers and practical help. Descent group affiliation does not affect such daily concerns as lending help to others in economic tasks, though some of the descendants of early Taira settlers seem to feel more obligation in this respect than members of the more recently arrived lineages. Lineage affiliation does not determine the choice of a marriage partner. However, although members of the same "main house" or lineage may marry each other provided they are not first cousins, such unions are rare. Marriage with maternal first cousins is also forbidden. 613 [794] [476] [582]

An individual also holds membership *in other kin groups* which have only a loose structure and few functions. These are the relatives 602 [476]

* Individual surnames among commoners are of recent date, introduced after the Japanese assumed administrative control and required their adoption to establish a population registry. Family names had been in use among the Shuri gentry. 551 177 217

602 on one's mother's side and, after marriage, the wife's family. In seek-
476 ing mutual assistance for rice planting, house building and other undertakings, such relatives may be approached. In other words, kin, neighbors, and members of the same geographical section of the village participate almost equally in mutual assistance groups. Maternal relatives join in family celebrations and in the discussion of family matters. Since many decisions are made jointly with the help of relatives, there are frequent occasions for the kindred to gather in the evening at one house or another.

561 Each Okinawan also belongs to an age group. As will be described in the section on socialization, beginning at kindergarten an Okinawan becomes associated with a group of boys and girls who will remain his
575 companions through school. As a member of junior high school he
653 will join the formal Student's Association, which is responsible for certain community projects. High school students and all unmarried young adults belong to the Young People's Association, which is both a social group and a cooperative work group.

575 After marriage there are several associations which one may join.
185 Adult married women who are under 57 belong to the Women's Asso-
[562] ciation, which is affiliated with an island organization dedicated to "modernizing" women's lives. The organization is lead by a few women who are in contact with the district and island organization. They attempt at semisocial gatherings to introduce changes aimed at easing
[262] the burdens of daily life and the pressure of poverty. For example, they are trying to influence the women to return to making their own bean paste rather than spending precious cash. The leaders show the women how to make bean paste and encourage them to set aside one work-free day a month to catch up with neglected housework. Many of the efforts of the organization, however, are not too successful. Most women go back to their homes and find that the accustomed ways are easier to follow. One has learned to live with economic pressures and tradition and established custom is a strong force. So the few forward-looking women have a difficult task in rallying others.

Both adult married males and females may also join an organization similar in objective—the Home Improvement group. Although the men who are village leaders belong to this association, the majority of the members are the same women who are leaders in the Women's Association.

575 Before World War II there was an association of older men.* Al-
887 though this group seldom, if ever, meets, it still sends a representative
623 to the village council and to a few village functions.

* Apparently of relatively recent origin.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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Both adult men and women also belong to mutual assistance groups, 571
mutual loan associations, and to the work groups described in Chapter
3. All individuals between 16 and 57 are expected to cooperate in com- [653]
munity work projects. All households are members of the village [474]
cooperative. Since most villagers look to the cooperative for help in
improving their economic conditions, this draws them together in a
familial way.

It will be noted that age and marital status are prerequisites for 575
membership in most of these associations and that only one is ex-
clusively for women and one exclusively for men.

Taira culture is essentially egalitarian. Personal status is not ascribed 554
by membership in social classes or achieved by the accumulation of
wealth. Furthermore, although power and respect are the attributes of
certain village offices, such as headman and school teacher, these only
give rank *ex officio*. An ex-headman has no higher status than one who
has never held such an office.

There are factors, however, which do differentiate Tairans as to
personal status. Men have somewhat more power and command more [562]
respect than women; adults must be addressed respectfully by children;
older siblings have more authority and privileges than younger; and in
recent years the educated are somewhat more respected and are more
likely to be chosen to hold office than those with the minimum re-
quired amount of schooling. And since education often leads to better
jobs, greater wealth is sometimes associated with status, though not a
necessary prerequisite.

The status of women in Okinawa, although, ideally, inferior to that 554
of men, is in reality relatively high. Many cultural forms are based on
the principal of male superiority, which Japanese values tend to rein- 562
force, but there are numerous indications in daily life that women com- 177
mand a comparatively high degree of respect and power. It is difficult
to assess to what degree status differences have been influenced by
contact with Japanese; the importance of women in religious affairs
suggest their higher status prior to the introduction of the Japanese
school system in Taira.

As will be discussed in the chapter on religion, although the venera- 769
tion of one's father's ancestors is the core of one part of Okinawan
religion, the ceremonies are run by the women. The oldest male of 782
each main house and the household head in each household are nomi- 562
nally responsible for keeping the tablets of the ancestors on his house
shrine, but the actual upkeep of this ancestral shelf and the bimonthly
offerings are performed by the women. If no direct male descendant is
available to keep the ancestral tablets, a widowed woman retains them

782 in her house until a male can assume the responsibility for them. The
562 propitiation of the natural deities is lead by the village priestess—and
[769] she is assisted by a group of women.

Taira women are essential to the financial well-being of the family.
562 Their role in both agriculture and lumbering is equal to that of the
462 men. Since there are few kinds of work which women cannot do and
592 do not engage in, a widow or single woman, although handicapped, can
[589] support herself and her family. Several women, whose husbands died during World War II or who have been divorced, support themselves and their children. One Taira woman supported her four children while her husband left for Japan to help a sick brother. She worked the household fields and sold fish. Her husband, who was expected to return after three weeks, remained away for six months. Once or twice he wrote his family to ask for money; his wife and sister obliged. Even old women remain active members of the family. They contribute to the household economy by working in the potato fields, cutting firewood, and doing other useful work around the house.

593 Such economic independence gives women a place in the family
562 which cannot easily be challenged by a male who theoretically can
[462] claim preferential treatment. Perhaps a man is more dependent on his wife than she is on him. Men never cook. They expect the womenfolk to look after house affairs. A wife, although she does not usually own the land on which she works, has the same rights as her husband to the village forest lands. There she cuts firewood like the men, cooperating with the husband in preparing it for sale. Most of all, pig raising is her concern, and this gives her an important hold on the purse strings.

There is no uniform rule as to who keeps the money in the family. In some households the husband takes care of all financial matters and hands over small sums of money to the wife for daily use. In these
[156] families it is either found that the wife does not contribute heavily to subsistence or that she is from another village and is somewhat intimidated by her husband and unable to find security in having relatives close by. Such women are meek or at least restrained and solicitous of their husbands.

There are numerous cases, however, in which women handle all money affairs. In one such home the husband is a township official. His wife, although from a distant village, is a forceful character and follows economic pursuits independent of her husband. He is glad to let his wife handle finances, although he retains ultimate control over them. The more common situation, however, is almost equal responsibility in economic matters between the sexes. Where this is the case,

the wife takes charge of household funds while her husband controls larger spendings. 593 562

Many quarrels between couples originate from financial matters. Disagreements happen frequently when a husband returns home intoxicated late at night. His wife may blame him for using money which she has put aside for a special purchase; from this incident the argument turns to family finances in general. As words become more heated, the woman holds her own, telling her husband in no uncertain terms that he is a squanderer. Some husbands settle such an argument by hitting their wives. [273] [578]

Decisions are seldom made by one person in the family. The more important the issue involved, the more people within the family are consulted. A husband and wife may discuss whether to buy or sell a pig and make a joint decision. They also decide mutually on the buying of seed rice and other agricultural matters. Men concern themselves with the building of new structures or the addition to old ones. On the other hand, women make decisions affecting the daily life of children. They determine if a child needs new clothes, if he should be taken to the doctor, or accompany the mother on a shopping trip to the city. Some fathers take an interest in their children's study habits and accomplishments at school, but few are consistent in supervising their children in this respect. Here, too, mothers seem to have a much greater influence. Girls are likely to receive even less attention from their fathers than boys. In cases of decisions that can vitally affect the future of the whole household, members of the husband's and wife's family, if they live in the village, gather to discuss plans. 593 [602]

Although women are less active politically than men, they participate in village meetings as representatives for their families. With the exception of the Women's Association leaders, their participation is more passive than that of the men. But although they seldom speak in public and sit together at the back of the meeting, women nevertheless exert a great deal of influence on community affairs. Their influence is felt even more in meetings of mutual finance associations. 575 562 623

It is unlikely at this point that a woman in the village would run for political office. Several recent developments, however, indicate a steady increase in their political participation. The headman who was elected to office in 1955 is responsible for an innovation which reflects this trend. He selected his clerk by means of a competitive examination which was open to both young men and young women. Two girls who had graduated from high school were among the candidates. They were defeated by a young man to whom the job was given because of 562 666

562 his high score. Under American influence, universal suffrage and
666 equal representation have been introduced and formally adopted in some village affairs, although the household head vote—traditionally mostly male—is still maintained in many cases.

562 The Women's Association is the main force behind the attempts to
575 give women greater equality. The spokesmen for this group do not proclaim equality for women as such as the important goal but express hopes that women's life can be made easier by reducing their work load and providing more conveniences for them, such as better stoves. Attempts are made to give a woman more time to spend at home instead of in forests or fields and to reduce the expenses involved in preparing for holidays and special celebrations. The opinions of the Women's Association carry weight in village affairs. This, as one old woman pointed out, is a considerable change from earlier times. There had been a Women's Association before the war, but
[623] women were still barred from participation in village meetings at that time, and the only place where they could make themselves heard in village matters was at the meeting of the individuals required to do periodic labor for the village.

562 The situation at the time of fieldwork with regard to the attempts
527 of women to gain more recognition and the role which men play in
575 this respect is illustrated by a celebration of Mother's Day—an event which came to Taira quite recently from the outside. The women de-
[177] cided to observe it by taking off from their daily duties during the afternoon. The Women's Association made all arrangements, so that it was not a day dedicated by children or adult men to the mothers, but a day that the mothers celebrated themselves. Nevertheless, for the meeting at the old warehouse, where mats had been spread and food prepared, there were also tables arranged for the male village officials, such as the headman, village council members, and the policeman. They started the affair by treating the women to a few speeches in which the importance of motherhood was eulogized by such observations as: "A man can be great only if he has a mother who is making him great," and (from the policeman): "Mothers are an important factor in preventing juvenile delinquency." After this initial hour-long introduction, the leader of the Women's Association declared that festivities could now begin and that she "did not care how much sake the women drank as long as they were happy on this day." The children, who had been told by their teachers to help their mothers on this day by cleaning house and freeing them from some of their chores, gathered near the building, received some feast food and played as usual, and men—with the exception of the invited officials—worked

527
as usual. It was an affair organized by the women leaders, which, though 562
a little slow in starting, turned into a gay carousing for the older 575
women, who were less inhibited than the younger ones and needed [888]
little encouragement to drink and dance.

The daily life of a woman is more monotonous than her husband's 562
and she has less leisure and recreation. After a day of hard work, men 512
sit down alone or in groups to spend the evening in relaxation with a [273]
bottle of sake. After a short time they show signs of pleasant intoxication and all burdens of life seem to disappear. Such recourse to carefree diversion is generally denied women. Instead, they are loaded down with household chores and care of infants and guests after a day of work in fields and forests. They spend their little free time exchanging news with other women or talking with other family members or visitors who assemble around the charcoal fire in the back room during [273]
winter evenings. Only women of advanced age feel free to join the men [888]
in drinking at home.

Men have greater sexual freedom. They are at liberty to have affairs 562
with other women outside the village and on trips to the city may 837
visit tea houses and afterwards enjoy the favors of a prostitute if their pocket books allow.

Status differences based on age are reflected in the social structure 561
and clearly denoted in the kinship terms. There is a special term of 554
reference and address for "first son" and "first daughter" and for 593
"older brother" and "older sister." As mentioned, ideally the oldest son assumes responsibility for the household, for his parents, and for the ancestral tablets. Even if he leaves his parental home temporarily or permanently for the city, where economic prospects are better, he remains the nominal household head and sends money back to his family. Theoretically the oldest male may retain authority until death, 887
although in practice most men retire from this position at the age of 561
61. Their retirement is made official by an entry in the population 554
registry. They continue to live with their oldest son and act as advisors [596]
and critics. A man's loss of authority with age occurs around his late fifties and early sixties and is evidenced not only by his retirement but also by his loss of the right to vote in village meetings. Veneration for age itself therefore, does not exist. Actual behavior toward the grand- [576]
parental generation, all the members of which are addressed as "grandmother" or "grandfather" regardless of actual kinship, is warm, mildly playful, and indulgent. Disrespect, however, is absent.

It is characteristic of the relationship between children and grand- 603
mothers that in addressing nonrelated old women, the suffix *-san*, 601
which denotes respect, is most often dropped for the "grandmother"

603 601 term. As the child gets older, the familiar suffixless form of address is used less and less frequently, though girls seem to retain it longer than boys.

601 The strength of one's ties to the community as a whole regardless of 156 actual kinship is seen not only in the use of the term "grandmother" 576 and "grandfather" in addressing all members of this generation but also in the similar use of the terms "uncle" and "aunt" for all members of the parental generation. Those who are not known well or who have high status are addressed by the appropriate kinship term with the suffix -san added.*

554 576 Achieved status is recognized by special terms of address. The teacher, school principal, the doctor, the village headman or mayor are addressed by their titles. Taira people combine familiarity with formality by calling a young teacher from the same or neighboring community by the first name, then adding the title "teacher." †

621 156 571 In summary, although affiliation with a patrilineal descent group and kinship ties with kindred influence certain aspects of life, over and above these ties is the identification with the community, which is drawn together by bonds of economic and social interdependence. Individual leaders serve their term of responsibility and then return to [157] the egalitarian community life, which is comparatively free of competitive strife.

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Chapter 7

Courtship, Marriage, and Sex

582 Most marriages in Taira take place when both men and women are in their early or middle twenties (see Table 2). It is perhaps most note-

* This refers to the use of Japanese kinship terms which are prevalent in Taira—see Chapter 1, p. 370.

† The use of first names may also help to identify individuals since many persons have the same surname—this explanation, however, is not in contradiction with the statement concerning familiarity.

worthy that so few women marry before they are twenty and that many marry in their middle and later twenties. For those whose formal education ends at the age of 15 there may, therefore, be an interval of five to ten years until matrimony.* 582

One might ask whether sibling position affects marriage age, either because first-born must marry first or because of the inheritance pattern, young sons seldom inheriting either a house or land. The record of 59 marriages in central Taira shows no clear pattern in this respect; oldest sons and daughters do not seem to marry earlier more frequently than those in lower ordinal positions. A more plausible explanation for late marriage is that young men tend to spend some time after school outside the community and, prior to the war, even outside the country. The rationale for a period abroad is in part economic, but "wanderlust" or curiosity undoubtedly contribute. Furthermore, there is no doubt that the period between the end of school and marriage is an extremely enjoyable one, for now work and duties are mixed with comradeship and amusements in contrast to the new duties and responsibilities one assumes with marriage and children. This is especially true for women. [428] 582 885

The most striking fact concerning Taira marriages is that among the total of 59 unions, 18 wives were older than their husbands. Marriage records from the other parts of Taira reveal the same age discrepancy. In comparison with Western countries, and what we know of most other societies, this discrepancy is unusual. Similar findings were suggested from studies in Japan. Here, however, the explanation seems to be that such marriages tend to occur between a first son and a woman who is older than he because a mature woman is desired to take over responsibilities as an oldest son's wife. In Taira only nine (one half) of the age reversals involve marriages of oldest sons. Since there are 29 first-born males included in the sample of 59, the proportion of age reversal marriages of oldest sons is no greater 582 593

* There were no dependable data to indicate whether the present trend toward a relatively late marriage represents a change from a previous pattern. Informants' statements suggest that marriages took place at an earlier age in past times, perhaps prior to the turn of the century. Other references to marriage in Okinawa would support this information. The *Civil Affairs Handbook, Ryukyu Islands*, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, 1944, states that: "The usual age of marriage as reported in 1925 was 18 or 19 for men, 17 or 18 for women. An analysis of the marriage statistics for 1934, however, indicates that the average age at marriage was about four years older. In 1937, the average was reported as 27 years for men and 24 for women" (page 64). The rapid increase in age between 1925 and 1937 suggested by this source can only be accepted with reservations. 582 178 [113]

582 than one would expect, and we may conclude that the oldest son ex-
[593] planation does not hold for Taira.*

Table 2 Marriage Statistics for Central Taira

1. Age of men and women at first marriage
Total cases: 59
For the period: 1904–1953

AGE OF MARRIAGE	MEN	WOMEN
16	—	2
17	—	2
18	2	4
19	4	4
20	5	11
21	4	3
22	10	5
23	3	8
24	7	3
25	2	4
26	2	1
27	3	2
28	4	2
29	1	3
30	2	—
31	1	—
32	—	—
33	—	1
34	—	1
35	1	—
36	—	—
37	1	—
38	1	—
39	—	—
40	1	—
Not listed	5	3

584 In the old days, apparently, there were many gay and unrestrained
178 courtships of men and women on the beach after dark. During our fieldwork we did not observe open courtship. The expression of affec-

* Unfortunately, we did not recognize the large number of these cases while in the field; hence we failed to ask informants for their explanations and rationalizations. The age reversal[1] tends to underscore the relatively high status of women
[562] vis-a-vis men and may be instrumental in perpetuating it.

1 [i.e. where wives are older than their husbands – ANALYST]

tion between couples is not seen in public. Men and women are teased 584
by the community if they are seen standing and talking together. One 178
or several boys teasing a girl would be the boldest advance seen in public. Although, even at night, we never observed couples pairing off in or near the village, we were told that a boy and a girl would arrange private meetings. It is our impression that there is more self-consciousness about love-making than there used to be.

Although there is little occasion for intimacy between a couple dur- 584
ing times when other villagers are around, young men and women asso- 575
ciate frequently in larger groups during the week in community-wide activities of the Young People's Association. During the many hours which are spent in club meetings, work projects, and other social activities, there is a comraderie between young men and women which effectively neutralizes the formal social distance that is maintained in the traditionally separate seating arrangements. There is, nevertheless, a certain embarrassment and almost clumsy behavior of young men toward the better poised and adroit girls, at least in the presence of strangers like ourselves.

Young men may seek intimacies with girls of other villages, but in 584
doing so they risk the ire of the young men there. It is also possible 836
that a Taira girl agrees to an intimate relationship with someone in 562
another village where she may feel safer from detection. Young men are more likely to seek a girl with whom an arrangement for a meeting away from her home can be made. The girl, of course, suffers public disapproval if the couple is detected, while a man is not subject to the same criticism. In contrast to girls, men have many more opportunities for sexual relationships without public censure.

Sexual attraction does not seem decisive in selecting a mate for mar- 581
riage, although beauty is appreciated in a woman with long, black 584
hair, a dark arched eyebrow, fair skin, a prominent nose, small mouth, 826
and large eyes. Younger people are beginning to adopt some of the 177
American standards of beauty, which are introduced through movies 831
and magazines via Japan. Although the concept of romantic love is gaining in popularity, arranged marriages still outnumber love mar- 584
riages in Taira. Even if a young man and woman reach an agreement about marriage, there follows a formal arrangement by their parents with the help of go-betweens, a trusted neighbor or a friendly couple, or a person who commands status and respect. If a man or his family are interested in arranging a marriage with a girl, the go-between notifies her family. Eventually word will reach the girl. If the suitor has not previously indicated his interest to the girl, she may voice her feelings and wishes to her mother, father, or to some other relative. If

584 she objects violently, the matter may be dropped. If the go-betweens
[851] succeed in making arrangements, they become the special friends and patrons of the young couple, officiating at the marriage ceremony and attending the rituals during the first week after the birth of all the couple's children.

The first engagement event is a small family affair at the bride's house, attended by a few close relatives of the couple, who ceremonially eat rice from the same bowl. The food is contributed by the groom's family. From this time on the groom may spend evenings and nights at
[836] the bride's house, where he is permitted to have sexual intercourse
[583] with the girl. For a man whose girl lives in the same village, the day is now divided between work for his own household and helping the girl's family in the field. The groom receives supper from the girl's family, who encourage him to stay for the night. The couple is never seen together in public, although the girl also helps occasionally at her groom's house.

The second engagement party is held some later time, also at the girl's house. All the relatives of the bride whom she wishes to introduce to the groom and his family are invited. The groom also invites his relatives and friends. Food and drink are supplied by the groom. Since this may be quite a burden, the bride urges him not to hurry in planning for this party. At this engagement ceremony, relatives and friends congratulate the male members of the bride's family and some of the close female relatives, the mother and sometimes an aunt, or the grand-
[537] mother. Short speeches are exchanged. The girl's father, in response to well-wishing, may point out that the girl is inexperienced and that she needs guidance and education from the groom's family. The groom also toasts his father-in-law, tells him that he will do his best, and thanks him and his wife for their permission to marry.

585 The actual marriage ceremony may be postponed until much later.
[584] One reason for the long engagement period is to see whether the girl becomes pregnant, or as one person said, "To see if the seeds match."
[842] There are also economic considerations. The ceremony takes place at the groom's house. The go-between, his wife, and a few friends go to the bride's home to accompany her and her relatives and friends to the
[178] groom's house. The elaborateness of the celebration depends on the wealth of the groom's family, but since the war, all families have economized in this as well as in other ceremonies. The cost of the wedding is carried by the groom, but it is to some extent offset by small money gifts which guests contribute. The groom gives the bride's family a certain amount of money—in one case about 2000 yen (approximately $17.00) or two thirds of a well-to-do Taira family's monthly

cash income, earned by several adult members in joint work, or equal 585
to about one half of a teacher's monthly salary. The girl brings a dowry [583]
consisting of furniture, household utensils, and other things, so, as one
person said, the groom is repaid in one form or another. In former [582]
times the men had to pay a fine to the parents of the bride if she married out of the village (Suttles, personal communication; Tamura, 1927 translation:44).

Even under present conditions the wedding ceremony is colorful
compared to most other private ceremonies. All guests attend in their [292]
best clothes and the bride wears a special kimono and a special wig
hair dress. She is seated next to the groom, who wears Western-style clothes instead of the traditional silk kimono. The whole ceremony is presided over by the go-betweens. While preliminaries take place, the bride sits almost motionless. Her face expresses what Glacken describes as "undescribable gloom" (1955:218). This continues even through the climax of the event, the ceremonial exchange of wine which symbolizes the union of the participants. During this part of the ceremony the guests, who have been enjoying food and sake and talking amicably, give this moment a solemn meaning by their silence. [537]
Speeches by the go-between and other notables follow. The virtue of the bride and her family and of the groom are told and acknowledged by a thank-you address by the groom. Parents of the couple sit close to them but have no other function than to accept congratulations. The bride then goes around introducing herself to the guests.

Children are not present at this event. They line up outside the [852]
house and peek through openings to see the bride and watch the guests, who start dances as soon as good food and wine take effect. After the formal part of the wedding, the feast ends like any such event in the village—with great gaiety. The bride acts as hostess; she changes from her kimono and heavy hair dress into more suitable clothes and sees that the guests are well taken care of. The length of this feast depends, of course, on how much food and drink the family is able to provide. Finally, when all guests have left, the bride and groom
retire to the bedroom which has been reserved for them, sometimes [352]
furnished with one or two pieces, a chest of drawers or a Western-style
closet supplied by the bride's family. The bride also provides the [513]
comforter for the marriage bed. Friends of the groom may play a prank and replace the normal-sized comforter with a small one, "so that the marriage is consumated quicker," as they say.

Sexual relations between husband and wife are not discussed in 833
public except in jocular references. In spite of the intimacy of house- 831
hold members in the confinement of a small house, one attempts to

831 keep others from noticing sex activities. Keeping sex a private matter
833 does not mean that there is a feeling of shame or guilt. It is considered a natural function, and although they do not discuss marital relations, men feel free to mention sex and its pleasurable aspects. Such conversations seem to cause some embarrassment among the younger women but are thought entertaining by older ones.

To men, sex, like food and drink, is to be enjoyed and indulged in. Women, too, enjoy sex but are more reticent and give much less overt expression to their desires. There are stories about women who are sexually aggressive, but they are either characters in the folklore or women of a neighboring village who are said to be this way "because they don't work hard enough." Men enjoy sex activity until an advanced age. One man over 60 whose wife had long been dead twice took a young woman as second wife; in both cases the women left him after a short period, but dissatisfaction with his sexual capacity was supposedly not the cause. Several children in Taira were fathered by
[278] men who had passed their sixtieth birthday. People believe that potency depends on physical well-being and age, but that it can be
[262] produced by a special drink consisting of sake in which a poisonous
[273] snake, the *habu*, is steeped. As soon as one finishes drinking this brew, its effects should be felt. Sake, meat, and eggs are also thought to increase potency.

833 Women's breasts are considered sexually stimulating. Men like to caress the breasts and the skin in general. Kissing occurs during foreplay only among some younger couples; older people do not care for it. In a room or house, shared with others, few couples undress fully for intercourse. Moving the baby to one side of the mat or mattress, a husband joins his wife.

834 There are no pre- or postparturition taboos; relations continue
[843] throughout pregnancy and are resumed about a week after childbirth,
[846] when the wife has taken her first bath. Men tend to disregard the public health nurse's urging that women be given a little longer rest.

837 That extra marital affairs do occur is evidenced by the presence of
848 illegitimate children. But the mothers are likely to be widows or girls
732 who for one reason or another did not get married at the usual age. Deformity may be a reason for not finding a husband. Two children
[835] in Taira were claimed to be the issue of an incestuous relationship
[581] between a man and his widowed daughter. Although the children were conceived and born outside the village, people became suspicious after the family returned to Taira. Because the putative father failed to deny paternity strongly, villagers felt certain that their suspicions

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

were justified. Both children were slightly retarded, and people believed that this fact added even more proof. 848

An illegitimate child is loved by everybody and treated like any legitimate child. The bastard's name is listed in the registry under his mother's and his illegitimacy noted. Since World War II the distinguishing red ink mark is no longer used in recording these children. Unless the mother marries the child's real father, the offspring has no legal rights of inheritance. If she marries another man, the child may receive affectionate treatment from the stepfather, but he remains legally her son. Socially such a child does not suffer any form of ostracism, but adults make references to his status within his earshot. One such girl proudly said that people had told her that she was half-Japanese. [837] [732] [217] [428] [554]

Legally a man cannot have more than one wife, but there are cases of multiple marriage even in Taira. It takes a substantial income for such an arrangement, since a second wife is given a separate place to live. A younger "wife" is usually taken if there is no male heir born by the legal wife or if the marriage remains childless altogether. A man, formerly a resident of the village, took a young concubine late in life after his sons were killed during the war. She bore him a son, apparently with the consent of the first wife, since there was amicable interaction between the two although they lived separately. The husband registers such children as his legal offspring. 595 842

Two modes of divorce are possible. A couple may agree to separate and call a family council of parents and relatives on both sides. The township office is then notified and separation acknowledged. Once children have been born, such divorces are not too frequent, at least there were few cases of divorced women with children in Taira. A husband may initiate a divorce by telling his wife of his desire to separate. Extra-marital relationships of the wife would be sufficient cause, as would be sterility, which is interpreted as her fault. In Taira a settlement within the family is the more frequent mode of divorce although relatively rare. One official estimated that the rate of divorce for the whole township is two per year. Among the 59 marriages we found listings for five subsequent divorces. During fieldwork, many debates about modernizing divorce laws were held among members of the Women's Association, which advocated the abolition of the unilateral emphasis that gave husbands all the rights and wives almost none. Only a crime committed by a man would be sufficient cause under existing law to permit the wife to initiate a divorce. 586 [837] [842] [671] [575]

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Chapter 8

Religion

771 The religious beliefs of people in Taira and their ritual practices rec-
177 ognize the existence of two different sources of supernatural forces.
[776] The old Okinawan religion, which is still practiced by many persons
in the village, centers on beliefs in a host of nonhuman spirits that
[769] inhabit certain localities. A historically more recent Confuscian-
Bhuddist influence from China and Japan has added to these beliefs
the veneration of ancestors who, in their divine state after death, con-
[782] trol many activities of the living. Under the influence of these two
forces, the animistic and the ancestral, life must be conducted in such
[784] a way that both remain appeased at all times by proper worship and
performance of ritual as well as by avoidance of actions which might
offend these supernatural forces.

771 Even though many younger people laugh away the adherence to
[154] beliefs, especially in animistic deities, there is much evidence that the
life of almost all people is controlled by fears, anxieties, and desires
for appeasement stemming from these religious beliefs. Although his-
torically the animistic and ancestral religious beliefs were separate,
they are synchronized at present so that it is not always possible to
make a clear distinction between each system (Lebra: 1958).

776 The supernatural beings of nature live all around the village. There
are mountain deities, deities of the sea, of the well, of trees, and other
places. Any localities connected with productive activities, such as the
store, the sugar mill, the sugar press, and the village truck, have their
[372] own deities. There is also the Deity of Fire, associated with the hearth
and the house. He is represented in three hearth stones found in most
simple kitchens. Three upright small stones, resembling the hearth
stones, are the divine symbols in the village shrine where all these
supernatural beings are worshipped.

[782] The supernatural beings living in and around the village appear

like "owners" of the concrete objects which they inhabit. These objects can be made subservient to human needs if care is taken not to offend the deities. As long as proper ritual observances are performed, humans need not fear their hostility. They are addressed in prayers and chants, and people make offerings to them at several ceremonies during the year. No one in Taira, including the priestess, has any exact knowledge about their characteristics, and there is no theological dogma, but people know that when building a house, for example, one must announce his intention to the deities and pacify these spirits who have been carried with the lumber from the mountains or with gravel from the beach and the sea. They must be thanked for letting the builder use such materials and sent back to their natural abode. Before the house is finished, the surrounding plot of land must be cleared of all evil spirits. Neglect of such ceremonies can turn supernatural beings into adversaries. One family who neglected proper rituals on their house lot when they built their home tried to appease angry deities by holding a ceremony a year after the house was finished because bad luck had befallen members of the household. Although most supernatural beings can be pacified by proper observance of rituals, there are some who are inherently malevolent. These ogres may be seen in the form of fire balls or in some other shape or physical appearance.

776 782 776 782 342 [777] [821]

The worship of these nature deities and the observance of ceremonies in their behalf are in the hands of the high priestess and her female assistants. In former times each main house, later each village, had its own priestess. The present high priestess in Taira derives her office from a much later institution, a nation-wide hierarchy of religious officials established by the Okinawan king in an effort to combine religion with political influence and supervision in the villages. Today the high priestess has no association with the central government; the Japanese abolished the system. The hierarchy of female religious officials (see Lebra: 1958), those representing main houses, and the chief village priestess is no longer clearly delineated in Taira, since representatives of several offices have left the island or died, and the vacancies have not been filled. The high priestess has taken over most of the religious functions. Her chief assistants are older women from the two main houses. While these three women officiate, several other women are in attendance as helpers. In spite of the diminishing role of animistic religion in the daily life of younger people, the high priestess still enjoys prestige in the community. She is exempted from communal labor in recognition of her status.

793 562 794 [177] [613] [554] [653]

The present high priestess is a woman in her fifties who works and 793

793 lives like other villagers, spending most of her time in the fields and around her home. She has children and grandchildren, but the father of her children no longer lives in Taira. She regards the continuation of the old ceremonies as her holy duty even though she has to do without most of the accustomed material support from the village and [358] in spite of disbelief and lack of participation. She has sought in vain [346] to have the village make necessary repairs on the simple village shrine near the township office and on the little hut where the ancestral tablets of her predecessors are kept.

793 While many of the former ceremonies have been discontinued, the 782 priestess is still called on to officiate at house-building ceremonies, to purify the lot, to offer prayers when the beams are raised, and to con- [342] duct the dedication when the house is finished. If the owner is mov- [776] ing out of an old house, the priestess notifies the fire deity so that he [778] will follow to the new abode. On other occasions the priestess conducts prayers at the village shrine or at one of the other sacred places near the village. Many of the prayers are succorant—requesting the aid and blessing of the gods in accomplishing a certain goal. In general, as Lebra has pointed out (1958), ceremonies of asking for help are more numerous and elaborate than thanksgiving ones.

[312] On New Year's morning the priestess prays at the water well. Since [178] so many ceremonies have been abbreviated and are no longer carried out in traditional detail, the priestess apologizes for short cuts in her prayers. If she fails to offer prayers in all prescribed spots, she pacifies [794] the deities by facing in the direction of the sacred place where the [787] ceremony should have been conducted. Although the priestess is clearly best qualified to enter into communication with the deities, many older women seem to possess such power also, and if the priestess' assistants are not present, another older woman can function as her helper.

782 For these ceremonies food for offerings is contributed by the village. 788 The priestess, in a white gown, kneels, flanked by her assistants, also in white, in front of a tray of sake, rice, or other food for the deities. [262] Charcoal incense sticks are burned while brief prayers asking the deities for a successful crop, thanking them for a harvest, or whatever [533] is appropriate to the occasion are mumbled. On certain occasions the women sing chants. After these ceremonies, the priestess, her assistants and the few others present, usually old women, share the food offerings.

796 One of the most dramatic ceremonies is held on Boat Race Day in 793 lunar June. Priestesses from several villages gather near Taira. During the ceremony the Taira priestess stands in the middle of a circle formed by the other priestesses and helpers, beating a drum as the

women chant. The tempo becomes more and more frenzied, and at a certain moment a bell rings. Nobody knows who rings it, and no amount of questioning elicited any information other than that this was done by divine action. 796 793

Ancestral worship is equally important in the life of Taira people. Each house of an oldest son has a shelf with a shrine in the main living room. On this shelf the family keeps the ancestral tablets, each representing a deceased ancestor of a recent period. The tablets for whole family lines are kept on the shelves of the main houses. Through this system a family maintains continuity between the living and the dead. Although a deceased person is believed to become a buddha or a god who ascends to heaven, his presence is still felt by the living relatives. If they fail to make the required offerings on the first and fifteenth day of each lunar month, or otherwise neglect religious duties toward the ancestor, misfortune may come to the family. At the same time, the worship of common ancestors holds branches of the larger kin groups together. 769 592 [778] [775] [782] [613]

No village adult died during our stay, but the funeral practices for adults described by Glacken (1955) and Pitts et al. (1955) for other villages in Okinawa are similar. Seven years is the age limit for a child burial, which is simple and does not require attendance of people other than immediate relatives and perhaps one or two neighbors.* During the study an 8-year-old boy died from an illness and was given a full funeral, which is similar to that of adults. 764 766

The funeral must take place at the first outgoing tide after the body has been prepared and dressed. Accompanied by family, residents of the ward, and mourners from other parts of the village whose number depends on the prominence of the dead, the body is carried on a simple, open litter to the tomb area just west of the central village (see map 2). Women feel free to show their emotions, while men remain outwardly calm. Until decomposition takes place, the body remains in a tomb used by the whole village for temporary entombment. Like other village ceremonies, funerals are less elaborate now than they once were, perhaps to the relief of all concerned, since death is highly anxiety provoking, and nobody feels comfortable during the prayers and the ritual farewell to the corpse at the tomb. The participants receive a cup of sake before leaving the tomb area to cleanse them of the pollution of death. Some people still prefer to return to the village by a different route so that the spirit of the dead person will be fooled and unable to follow. 764 [152] [154] [783] [784]

* The reason for this is possibly that the younger child has not yet fulfilled his filial obligations.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

765 After death, memorial services are held in the home of the deceased
769 every seventh day until the 49th day when a more elaborate ceremony
782 concludes this period, and a permanent tablet is installed on the house shrine. On this day, too, offerings to the deceased change from white rice to red-colored rice, indicating the end of the mourning period. From now on, observances in memory of the dead are held on the first, third, seventh, thirteenth, twenty-fifth, and thirty-third anniversary of death. These are small family affairs at which special food is prepared and offered at the shrine before it is consumed.

765 The body is left in the tomb for at least three years until a propitious day when the whole village decides to wash the bones of all those who have died within the preceding three to seven years. On Bone Washing Day little groups of family members gather around the coffin. They take out the bones, clean them, wrap them in a white cloth and place
[778] them in an urn. Women do all the cleaning of bones because it is be-
[152] lieved that they have more power to expel the evil. They weep freely,
[852] and even some men find it hard to restrain their emotions. Young children are kept away from the tomb area at this time. The urns are then placed inside the family tomb, which has been opened for this purpose. Remains other than bones are burned with the coffin.

769 Every lunar March ancestral services take place at the tombs, at-
782 tended by many members of the kin groups to whom each tomb belongs. Some come from the city or other villages for this occasion, including women who have married into another kin group. This celebration of the dead is more serious than other religious events. Offerings of sake and special delicacies are made and then eaten by the family group. One family, sitting in picnic style around the tomb after their prayers, even began to sing and dance—probably to the delight of the ancestors who in their life must have enjoyed many a good feast and dance. Tombs of other relatives may also be visited for short prayers and other offerings.

775 Spirits of the dead are harmful only if the deceased is not from the
784 village. For this reason new residents formerly could not bury their
766 dead near the village. Even now, recent settlers in the central village have no tombs and keep their dead in urns in a cave, and the residents
[764] of outlying houses or field houses have a separate tomb area altogether. If a stranger happens to die in the village, measures are taken to prevent his spirit from doing harm. The body of a fisherman from southern Okinawa was brought to shore after a storm. There it was left for several hours on the beach under a tent in the hot sun until relatives arrived in a hired car to take the body home. Even then peo-

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

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ple did not carry it through the streets but along the shore to a spot 784
nearby where the car could pull up.

Communication with ancestral or family spirits lies in the hands of [766]
individual households or the larger kin group. In general, as with the 782
nature deities, women maintain the relationship. The oldest woman 794
in the house prays and makes offerings in front of the divine shelf or by 769
the tombs. Sometimes the high priestess, whose only regular role in the [562]
cult of ancestors centers around the mythical founder of the village
to whom vague references are made, is asked to conduct a special [793]
prayer for a family at its ancestral shrine. Such invitations are usually
the result of consultation with another religious practitioner to whom [756]
one turns in case of misfortune.*

Those who are considering a special undertaking, such as building a 791
new house or moving to another one, or transporting ancestral tablets
from one home shrine to another, seek the advice of a diviner, the [342]
sanjinsō or *yekisha*. This expert, always a man, consults books on the
workings of the universe, special astrological calendars from which he
can predict events by using a horoscope calculated on the birth date of
the person seeking advice.

Although it would seem from the attendance at ceremonies that 771
older people, mostly women, are the supporters of religion, even the
most modern of the Tairans seem to share beliefs in the power of the 182
supernatural forces and are loath to make an open break with traditions. One may verbalize that the old religion is just "superstition," but when it comes to dealing with adverse events, when somebody suggests that perhaps the *yuta* should be consulted, or a special offering is in order, or when the old special wine of the gods is prepared from rice for Boat Race Day, then many of the apparent apostates cooperate. To some extent this is done to appease the older people, but fear of neglecting duties, especially toward ancestors, is probably much stronger in general than people's behavior would suggest. Religious in- [621]
fluence, then, which controlled so many facets of village life in former days, still acts as a strong force in uniting the members of families and descent groups as well as in binding together the community as a unit separate from other communities.

* See Chapter 9 for description of the *yuta* or shaman.

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Chapter 9

Disease and Medical Practice

164 From a world-wide point of view, Okinawa is not one of the most diseased and famine-ridden areas. Still, the statement referring to pre-World War II times that "the inhabitants of the Ryukyus do not enjoy particularly good health" (*Civil Affairs Handbook, Ryukyu Islands*, 1944, p. 145) applies as well to the present. Although Okinawans have been subject to the special concern and control of both Ryukyuan and American authorities since World War II, general health conditions, particularly in the area of some major diseases, have not materially improved in the past five years. In 1954, 13,318 new cases * of communicable diseases were reported for all of the Ryukyus (Civil Affairs Activities in the Ryukyu Islands, vol. II, no. 2, 1954, pp. 176–177), or approximately one person in every 60 was affected. Among these, tuberculosis rated second highest (after venereal diseases), accounting for 2307 new cases or one in approximately every 333 persons. To these figures must be added patients from previous years whose cases are still active, in order to comprehend the severity with which this and other diseases affect the island. A further constant threat is dysentery and Japanese encephalitis, which occasionally affect villages like Taira with sudden epidemics. Another slightly less severe disease of constant concern is trachoma (1583 new cases reported in 1954). Less serious but quite prevalent are skin diseases and intestinal parasites. There are still several new cases of leprosy reported annually for the Ryukyus.

Taira, during our study, was spared any of the dangerous epidemics just mentioned, and even tuberculosis seemed to have a relatively low incidence in the village. There were several cases of pleurisy among some older students, some of whom had to stay home from school for an extended period of time. On the whole, serious communicable

* For a total population of 782,564

diseases seemed to be below the expected rate for Okinawa, in general, and we had the impression that Taira people are healthy on the whole. Only one case of leprosy, which had been removed to a special hospital on the island of Yagaji, was reported from Taira. 164 [743]

Among the children there were frequent complaints of intestinal diseases. Most children seem to lodge a variety of parasites, mostly hookworms and tapeworms, and many were subject to skin ailments. One girl had a severe case of what was thought by the nurse to be congenital syphilis. The skin of her whole body was covered with sores which were a constant source of irritation. This 4-year-old never appeared in the company of children other than her younger sister. She would stand in front of her house, her face swollen, her head stooped from discomfort and embarrassment. Almost all children have impetigo and various kinds of rashes. During the summer these cover their faces and parts of the body. Almost all have marks of boils which have plagued them in the course of years.

Because sickness is always a threat, it creates fear, and any explanation which may restore some hope is important knowledge. Although some Western or modern theories about disease have been introduced recently through the school and the village nurse, they filter into every house only slowly and do not materially affect what has been handed down as popular knowledge from older members of each household. Most Taira people are probably quite eclectic in their beliefs as well as in their choice of treatments, so that it would be difficult to ascribe to them any single body of theory of disease. 753 [152]

Home remedies, often applied by old women, are widespread. The most popular ones are blood letting and the use of *moxa* cautery. Whenever people agree that there is "bad" blood in an adult's or child's system, it must be removed. There are many phenomena which are accounted for by the presence of "bad" blood. Visible signs such as eczema of the skin or swellings are such indications, but malfunctioning of certain organs, the stomach, liver, kidneys, can also call for the removal of "bad" blood. Mothers expose infants as young as five days to the treatment, which may be preventive as well as curative. Pointing to a bluish green area on the infant's back (not the mongoloid spot), whether real or imagined, the mother swabs the area with sake before she or the grandmother make numerous ¼-inch incisions with a razor. After the blood starts to ooze out of the tiny wounds, more sake is rubbed into the skin. The mixture of blood and sake is caught and rubbed on again and again until all the undesirable blood has been drained. 757 753 [751] 757

So many Taira babies have eczema that this treatment takes place [854] [164]

757 frequently and may be repeated as many as four times during the
[854] first year of a child's life. An older child occasionally undergoes this
[164] treatment for a case of violent impetigo. Even a horse may be bled in this way for loss of appetite or other symptoms of disease.

[232] A woman whose face had been struck in an unusual display of temper
[578] underwent a blood letting soon after a swelling appeared. Her neighbor from across the street, a farmer like everyone else, sterilized her cheek with iodine and then cut it with a razor until the blood flowed freely. After a night's rest, the woman appeared outside her house without any signs of swelling and seemingly recovered.

753 As was pointed out previously, many diseases are believed to be
776 caused by supernatural forces: the ancestor spirits, spirits of those who
769 have just died, and natural deities and evil spirits who wander around
775 at night. The ancestors expect proper respect and attention and in gen-
[764] eral are benevolent unless neglected. Spirits of those who have recently died are most dangerous if the deceased is from another village. For deceased villagers one is careful to purify oneself after the funeral. The doors of each house are shut at night to protect against the evil spirits of the night air. Disease is less frequently caused by natural deities who have been neglected or mistreated.

755 In case of sickness or other unfortunate events in the family, some-
756 body may go to consult the *yuta,* a shaman who communicates with
[787] the supernatural. She discovers the cause of misfortune with the help of rice oracles and through powers of divination received through visions and hallucinations. There is no *yuta* living in Taira now, so that people have to travel to the other side of the island, an hour or more on foot, if they want to learn about the source of some evil. Taira
[769] people make many such trips to consult this shamanistic specialist. The most common cause of misfortune discovered by the *yuta* is neglect of ceremonies to the ancestral gods or, less frequently, the neglect of cere-
[793] monies to the natural deities. Although the *yuta* stands in no direct connection with the high priestess, she may suggest that her client ask the priestess for special prayers to rectify the negligence. In such cases, then, the competence of individuals in the family may not be adequate to deal with the ancestral world, and the priestess enters into family religion.

597 Some Taira parents still find an adoptive parent for a sickly child in
755 the belief that his own ancestors have caused bad health, and that this
769 can only be remedied by making a formal arrangement which transfers ancestral responsibility for the child to another family. The child re-
[796] mains with his own parents and only visits his foster parents during the New Year and the midsummer Buddhist *Bon* Festival, which honors ancestors, and perhaps at one or two other occasions during the year.

year. On these occasions his parents take gifts of tea, noodles, and whatever else they can spare to the foster parents. During their visit the foster parents present the gift as an offering on the ancestral shrine and pray to their own ancestors, the guardians of the foster child. It is believed that this may help to offset the adverse effects of the child's own ancestors. 597 755 769

In spite of some treatments, such as blood letting and moxa cautery, which seem harsh to the unaccustomed observer, Taira people are extremely concerned about their sick. Illness, and most of all the need to remove the patient to the local dispensary or to a hospital in town, involves the whole family. No one likes to leave a sick person alone. His family and friends attend to him in such numbers that the small rooms are never large enough to hold all. The security given in everyday life by the presence of relatives and neighbors in the village continues during the critical period of illness. In the case of a fisherman from the south who was washed ashore in his boat after a storm, township officials kept the man continuous company in his dispensary room even though he was close to death. Female relatives cook meals and look after the comfort of a hospitalized person. This means that a young girl or an older woman will leave her usual work for days or weeks to attend the patient. 758 [156]

Because of intimacy in the home and visits to the sick, children are quite familiar with illness. A mother who has to go to the hospital takes her youngest child with her. After burning moxa weeds on her skin for two weeks had failed to cure a nephritic condition, one woman went to the hospital in town, taking her 8-months-old daughter although she did not have enough milk to nurse. The infant had to be given bottled milk prepared from cans. Meanwhile the older children remained under the care of their father. [757]

There is, however, little concern with children who have minor ailments. A school child may be excused from attending classes. In one case a boy stayed home from school with stomach pains. He was happily playing with younger children in the street. One of the adult villagers walked past, stopped after seeing him, and inquired: "Why aren't you in school today?" When told by the boy that he had an upset stomach, the man ordered him to go home right away and stay inside or go to school. The boy's mother, although aware of her son's discomfort, did not pay any special attention to it. 757 855 872

Preventive medicine is officially the responsibility of the public health nurse. She advises people on proper preventive care, inocculates children against whooping cough, diphtheria, and other diseases. She also acts as an advisor to mothers on child care and occasionally helps with a birth if the doctor is unavailable. If a case is diagnosed as 744 [751] [759] [844]

744 tuberculosis, the public health nurse teaches the family how to treat the patient in the home by giving him rest and drugs provided through her. Isolation, though recommended, is not carried out effectively, as might be expected from the general treatment of sick in the village.

744 759 Like most public offices in Okinawa, the nurse's carries with it a large load of administrative duties. Between these and attending meetings and lectures at Nago hospital, there is relatively little time to cover the long distances between villages. Taira is fortunate to be the residence of the nurse, and when occasionally a nurse from another township comes to help her with inocculations, the children crowd around her and say "We want 'our' nurse to do it."

743 759 758 [844] The dispensary, or small hospital, in Taira is owned and run by a former medical corps man in the Japanese Army, referred to as "doctor." After the war the government gave permission to a number of former army medical personnel to practice on a limited scale in the villages. The Taira practitioner takes the place of a midwife, gives first aid, and diagnoses simple illnesses. If there are no complications, a patient requesting medical care may be kept at the dispensary, where a family member and the doctor's "nurse," a young female servant, attend to all his needs. If the doctor is confronted with a complicated birth or a case requiring surgical skill, he refers the patient to a private clinic in Nago or to the public hospital there. The township gives financial aid to the doctor to maintain his establishment.

[657]

757 [278] [262] [759] Penicillin has become the doctor's stock in trade, and other antibiotics and drugs are liberally administered via the hypodermic needle. But the doctor does not restrict himself entirely to the use of recognized Western medicines and practices. He may recommend special diets to which people have resorted for a long time, such as goat soup, which is believed to cure colds. Although the doctor has a high status in the community, most persons do not rely on his advice alone but resort to other practitioners and their remedies.

[759] Until a few years ago a popular medical practitioner, the bush doctor, resided in Taira. After his death nobody took over his work, and now many people have to travel far to receive treatment from a bush doctor in another village. His methods primarily include the use of moxa cautery, burning mogusa weed on the patient's skin, and accupuncture by the use of a fine golden needle. He may also prescribe a certain diet and the use of special herbal remedies, which the patient prepares for himself. Those who have great confidence in the bush doctor's competence, particularly older persons, do not consult the Taira doctor at all.

758 In all their dealings with sickness and its prevention, Taira people are severely handicapped by their economic conditions. Even families

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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who have accepted them cannot afford to buy the recommended drugs. 758
Furthermore, the choice between the bush doctor and the trained medical men in town is sometimes determined by lack of money to pay for the more expensive services.

Cleanliness of the village and general sanitation are theoretically 744
under township control. Except for superficial biannual inspections, 575
nothing much is done about them. Perhaps the Women's Association, once they carry out plans to take over this function, will be more effective.

There are several cases of physically deformed, mentally deficient, 158
and mentally ill persons. A young man of about 20 years, born as an 734
idiot or imbecile, lives in the back of his parents' house, protected from 757
the gaze of outsiders. His family provides well for him, and when no stranger is around to embarrass the family, the grandfather may take him out to attend a village event. Another young man, who was normal, one day began to frighten his family and eventually the whole village by outbursts of violence. He attacked other persons and property. Nobody really knew how to cope with the situation, since the single mental hospital in Okinawa could not keep him longer than six months, and everybody realized that he was sick, not evil minded, when he broke bottles and other glassware in the village store. The [755]
family tried religious treatment and locked the man up but never for long, for he had intermittent periods of calm and seemingly rational behavior. Another man, during a busy day, complained of sudden headaches. Soon afterward he became severely depressed and attempted [762]
to commit suicide, quite an infrequent phenomenon in the Okinawan village.

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♣

Chapter 10

Formal Education

The Japanese school system, which was introduced to Okinawa in the 871
1880's, reached Taira by 1891. At that time a small school was estab-
lished in the village. Some of its early graduates are still alive and re- 177

871 call that in their quest for education, adolescents and even adults at-
177 tended the elementary grades. The introduction of a formal school system in the village marked the beginning of changes in the culture; the Japanese language was introduced, and teachers transmitted Japanese culture as part of the curriculum (Kerr, 1958). It is found today
[191] that people too old to have attended school—which in the early years was not compulsory—are the only ones who do not speak Japanese and who are illiterate. Their number is small, probably less than 3%
872 of Taira's population.

346 The school was moved about 40 years ago to nearby Kawata village,
[871] where a substantial schoolhouse was built. Today the elementary school is located there, about a one-mile walk from central Taira, but 3 miles from the outlying subvillage of Izena. The junior high school lies halfway between Taira and Kawata. During the war all school buildings were destroyed, but two new permanent structures for the elementary school were finished in 1954; one of these is a wooden building with a tile roof, the other an all-concrete, flat-roof structure of simple, modern design. Four classrooms and a teacher's room are located in these buildings. The remaining temporary, thatched-roof huts with three more classrooms will disappear as soon as the school rebuilding program is completed.

Built against a hill, the school has spacious grounds in front for sports and play. Classrooms for 30 to 35 students are fairly adequate in size and, in the new buildings, are well lighted by glass windows on sunny days but dark when skies are overcast because of the overhanging roof, which protects the hallway outside the classrooms from frequent showers, and the lack of artificial lighting. A building immediately be-
[514] hind the classrooms houses latrines, separated for boys and girls, although both pass through the same passageway where boys use the urinals. Equipment is extremely poor and a great problem for principal and teachers. Simple, rickety desks and chairs of unfinished wood are bought or made by parents for their children. They are standard in design but differ in height according to the size of the child. Many first graders' furniture is made with future growth in mind, while some older students have outgrown their desks and chairs. An older sibling may pass on his table to a younger one if it is still serviceable after several years of nonchalant treatment.

876 Teaching aids are few. A small organ is available for music lessons
[533] and is carried by several boys on the shoulders to the classroom where it is needed. Sometimes a teacher accompanies a singing class on a mouth organ. Visual aid material, maps, pictures, and charts are displayed in school rooms along with students' physical measurement tables and

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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sometimes a chart indicating their birthdays. There are also exhibits 876
of students' drawings, which enliven the simple rooms. Each classroom
has at least one blackboard built into the wall. By withdrawing re- [346]
movable walls in the new building, individual rooms can be converted
into one large auditorium with a small stage for special occasions.

The personal equipment carried by students, other than books, con- 872
sists of notebooks, pencils, a ruler, abacus, and, for those who can af-
ford it, crayons and drawing paper. Sports equipment is also scanty,
and replacement budgets are too low to remedy the situation. Students
bring their own tools for garden and agricultural work as well as for
work on the school grounds.

The teachers' room has desks for each teacher and the principal and 875
a large table in the center for meetings. A small corner is reserved for 346
a kerosene stove to prepare tea. There are also two cots for the teacher
who remains on duty as night watchmen or for a child who feels ill
during school hours. No privacy is provided for teachers, since students
enter the room on any pretext or crowd around the windows if some-
thing attracts their curiosity.

Upkeep of the school is the responsibility of teachers and students; 872
the only paid help is a girl who acts as janitor, nurse, and servant. The 358
students, supervised by their teachers, tidy up classrooms after school,
scrub walls and floors at regular intervals, take care of the hallway, cut
grass, and weeds, and clear ditches on the school grounds. When school
repairs are needed, teachers and parents help if no specialist's work is
needed, as in repairing the thatch roof of temporary buildings.

The present school system, although under American supervision, 871
follows the Japanese pattern. A six-year elementary school education [177]
and three years of junior high school are compulsory. After graduation
at about the age of 15, students can enter high school if they choose and
can qualify by passing the extremely rigid entrance examinations,
which eliminate a considerable number of applicants. High school [873]
students have to move to Ogimi in a nearby township where they room
and board while attending school.

The curriculum in the Okinawan schools is on the whole similar 871
to that in Japan. Japanese language continues to be the medium, and 177
textbooks, as well as other school materials, are purchased from Japan. [191]
Children therefore continue to be familiarized with the culture of
Japan as were their parents in the days before American administra-
tion. A number of changes have taken place since that time, however.
Since the Ryukyus are at present under an independent administration,
all symbols and paraphernalia pertaining to the Japanese Imperial
House and to the Japanese nation have been removed from the schools.

871 Nevertheless, the school remains, in the eyes of the villagers, as a rally-
177 ing point for ties with Japan.

No attempts have been made until the present to introduce Okinawan culture other than by a few occasional references to Okinawan history or folklore. Teachers, during discussion of reading material, refer to home life, farm work and mountain work to illustrate points made in the books.* School is the first opportunity for Taira children to become acquainted with the world outside their own village and to relate their own experiences to the rest of the island, Japan, and other parts of the world. Since Japan is the dominant subject of reading [186] material, however, it is clear that no awareness of being "Okinawan" is developed.

875 Teachers, many of whom are young, are devoted to their work and to the children, even though their pay is hardly commensurate with their [554] high status in the community and does not represent adequate compensation for the long hours of teaching and administrative work that demand most of their time. In addition, the community in which the teacher lives makes demands on him as one of the educated, able leaders. Both men and women teach. Some of the younger ones who follow the urgent call for teaching positions do not have much training beyond a high school diploma. During the summer, special teacher [874] training courses are now conducted by university professors from Japan and the University of the Ryukyus. Graduates from the University of the Ryukyus Education Department are still too few in number to reach a remote country school, such as the one in Kawata. Most teachers come from one of the surrounding communities; others, mostly bachelors, are from other parts of the island. Children are therefore well acquainted with many of the school teachers, some of whom are neighbors, relatives, or friends of the family.

[554] The extremely modest appearance of teachers does not detract from their status and authority. The relationship between students and teachers is a mixture of respect, as dictated by custom, and intimacy, as a result of mutual affection. A conscientious teacher comes to know his students well during the school year and takes an active interest in them. Children can tell if a teacher is enthusiastic about his work and often establish a warm relationship with him. During our stay, the
872 first two grades were divided into two sections, taught by women, while male teachers taught the upper four grades.

The school day starts at 8:30 with a study period before the formal meeting of the teacher and students on the open grounds in front of

* Some practical work in gardening begins in the upper elementary school classes. Only Junior High School students work in the fields as part of their curriculum.

the school. Classes are held from 9 o'clock until noon with one recess. After an hour for lunch, lessons resume for all grades above first. Classes, sports, and cleanup end between 2 and 3:30 in the afternoon, the highest grades staying the longest. 872

All grades receive instruction in Japanese writing and reading, arithmetic, science, music, and drawing. Social science is introduced in the second grade. Since each class has one teacher for all subjects, shifts from one to the next subject may come in the middle of an hour. The greatest amount of time is spent in teaching Japanese reading and writing. At first grade level the simplified syllabary is taught, followed in the second grade by another syllabary and the first Chinese characters. [871 177 191]

Parents maintain contact with the school through a Parent-Teachers Association, called by the American abbreviation, PTA. Every household is a member. Those with children of school age are regular members who pay 15 yen (12 cents) a month; others are supposed to pay 5 yen but have become so delinquent that their fees have been dropped. The actual PTA work is done by a committee from each village, including the headman and the heads of the Women's and Young People's Associations. The main purpose of the PTA is to support the school in some of its maintenance problems. Attendance of all parents at a general meeting occurs only once a year when elections of officers take place and the PTA budget is discussed and approved. 875 575

The principals of both schools are represented in township affairs and in the associations of their own community. Contact between village leaders and school representatives is therefore frequent. Since education taxes are the single largest tax item which villagers pay (80% of the total tax), this representation of the principals is a necessary but burdensome duty for them. 875 621 [651]

Township education taxes are supplemented by government subsidies. School taxes are paid by all households according to their income and average about 515 yen ($4.30) yearly. Since 1952, government orders require education taxes to be levied separately from other taxes so that people are aware of the amount destined for education; tax collection is one of the main problems in village administration, and school principals are sometimes called on to explain the need for such taxation and the obligations of individuals to carry their share of the burden. 871 658 651

The administration of funds and general school matters are the responsibility of an official in the township finance department. During 1954–1955, 310,344 yen ($2586) were collected by the township in education taxes. The government subsidy amounted to 3,716,397 yen [632]

871 ($30,970) for the four schools in the township. The largest expenses
658 are salaries, construction, and maintenance. Money is also provided for
[651] conferences, supplies, and other items on the school budget. The PTA budget serves to supplement the regular school appropriations, which are always insufficient to cover all expenses.

The concern with educational matters is carried into the community in another way. Taira has established a so-called scholarship incentive fund for which money is contributed by the village store and some prominent Taira businessmen from the city, such as the former mayor. This fund is used to give awards, usually notebooks or pencils, to all students, double amounts to those with outstanding attendance records. Honor students are not singled out. The largest part of the fund is used as financial help to families with one or more high school students and to widows with schoolchildren who have no other breadwinner in their family. This is another example of direct support of education by the community.

871 As with all matters concerning village life, participation of parents in school affairs and an interest in the school's goals and problems depend greatly on the educational and economic background of individual families. For this reason, scholastic standing of children is frequently a reflection of the interest and encouragement they receive at home. Incentive is therefore to some extent passed on from successful parents to their children, and if one can speak of a succession in leadership, it is partly determined by this instruction.

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Chapter 11

Recreation

517 No one can remain in the village of Taira for long without recognizing that its people have a happy faculty for enjoying themselves during those periods which they can spare from their work. The daily routine is broken by a good number of rests and holidays, and the full and unburdened indulgence in social activities at such times, without any ap-

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

parent aftereffects of remorse or physical incapacitation, is a characteristic of this village. Excessive or orgiastic feasting which might interfere with work duties of the following day or days is absent. Leisure events spent in groups are joyful and desirable to all, untinged by hidden motives of social compulsion or conformity, which marks so many recreational activities in a culture like ours. 517

The village calendar does not include a weekly rest day, although government offices are closed on Sunday. Rest and holidays for the majority of villagers are regulated by religious and agricultural events which, in former times, were observed at least once during each lunar month. Although some of these have been simplified or given up in recent times by people whose participation in the old religion has diminished or by those who seek a sounder economy by urging greater production of crops and accumulation of savings, when it comes to observing and enjoying holidays, even the most rational village leader forgets his concern for the time being. The elaborateness of celebrations may be less today, as a result of economic pressure, than in former times—the spirit hardly could be. To know and appreciate the sense of humor and the wit of the people, one has only to attend their parties. During other times these qualities are less expressed—though they are never completely absent. If the naive comment that Okinawans are "childlike"—an observation which Westerners in describing them have permitted themselves—can be taken to have any foundation in fact, it could only be that like many children they are capable of complete absorption and indulgence in fun when the occasion is proper. For the Taira person such indulgence cannot be achieved without food, drink, music, and dance. These are the main components of entertainment which help to elicit gaiety and good humor, whether during holidays observed by families in individual homes, or those of the descent group main houses, or in village-wide celebrations, which are extremely common. These ingredients also appear during more informal hours of relaxation, each day after work, when there are small gatherings here and there, though on a more modest scale. 527 796 157 527 574 [522]

Since calendrical holidays, whether of a family nature or community-wide, have many aspects in common, we may mention some of these in general. Most gatherings begin in the late afternoon and last until late at night although never until daybreak. These are the rare times when people can dress in their best clothes and by doing so shed, perhaps, symbolically all associations with everyday routine. 527 574

The sequence of events at any kind of celebration is somewhat like a veil dance during which one layer of formality after another disappears. A formal period precedes not only all village-wide celebrations

527 —held at the old warehouse, the village office, or, during warm days,
574 outside—but also introduces all family or small group events. This is the time when guests arrive, polite greetings are exchanged with everyone in the order of his relative status, and a seat is found in accordance with it. Everyone sits quietly and politely, men with legs
[576] crossed tightly in front, women resting their buttocks between their heels. The conversation is somewhat stilted and reluctant. Meanwhile the hostess and her female helpers set cups before each guest, and they, or the male host himself, may pour tea.

537 Village celebrations of an official nature, such as "Mother's Day"
527 (see Chapter 6) or the reception of the newly elected mayor, or New
574 Year, are times for oratory of a sober nature. The village dignitaries and honored visitors, frequently seated at tables overlooking the community-on the floor, each give a speech consisting of lengthy inventories of events and accomplishments. Sometimes food and drink are not served until the last one has spoken, but more often the situation is mellowed by the simultaneous serving of food and drink, which add to the inspiration of the speaker and the enthusiasm of his listeners.

527 Special dishes are associated with different holidays, and food, when
574 served, begins to dispel some of the formality. Even if there are no speeches, it gives everybody something to do and talk about, and as we
262 shall see shortly, more effective stimulants follow soon. The ice is broken. The food set before guests may be red-colored rice, which is served at joyful events such as New Year, or white rice, which is prepared when the dead are commemorated. For agricultural holidays the special food is made from the harvested crop, rice or potatoes. A feast plate may also include some pork, cooked in soya sauce, or presented in a mixed dish of vegetables; sometimes, it may be deep fat fried dumplings, either plain or with brown sugar stirred into the batter, or red and white fish cakes, or even several of these together. Less expensive foods, such as noodles and fried fish, are also served during feasts. Tairans have a sweet tooth and eat with relish the pound cakes and cookies which accompany or follow a meal. There is a sufficient quantity of food for the many guests, and whatever they cannot consume during the party, they may wrap up in a newspaper and take home.

527 Once food is set before the guests, the emptied tea cups are refilled,
574 but this time with sake. This helps immediately to loosen the formal atmosphere which still prevails, at least after one or two cups have been
273 emptied. Before this happens there may be, especially during weddings, family affairs, or the Mayor's reception, a polite exchange of cups between two men, who fill each other's and present it with a little ap-

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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preciative statement or an introduction. It is polite to make the rounds in this fashion, to sit before another guest, fill his cup and utter some polite phrases, then wait for a return compliment. 527 574

By the time men—and a little later women—have been served food and drink in some quantity, there is no more stiffness in the room, for with every cup of sake animation and voice volume increase. Speeches that have not yet come to a conclusion show definite signs of inspiration; each speaker who sits down is trumped in eloquence by his successor. Long after serious oratory has been dispensed with, a happy celebrant may get up and sonorously hold forth. During fieldwork the authors were frequently the aim of such addresses. In one of them a farmer, quiet and serious during everyday routine but known for his merriment and wit when in his cups, held forth on a future visit to Taira by these Americans. "There will be skyscrapers," he said in a booming voice, "subways, wide lanes and bright lights," and on he went to the delight of everybody. 273 [537] [123]

On such occasions Tairans display their skill in playing with words and their ability to act and mimic. The assistant to the headman, similarly quiet on ordinary days, several months after our arrival came into a room where the authors were present during one of the many post-New Year celebrations. At an advanced stage of merriment himself, he turned to his host and by way of introduction said that he had just come from Hong Kong. "Oh, from Hong Kong," the host said, "that is why you cough so, kong, kong, kong," adding that he himself came from New York (pronounced in Japanese similar to *nyūyoku*, meaning "a bath"), whereupon the arriving guest went into the motions of someone taking a bath, saying "ah from *nyūyoku*," and so the fun went on, mostly as a take-off on the American guests who were present. This reminded the clerk of another story at the expense of the authors, which he told with gusto. "That first day he came to Taira, Maretzki came up to me when I was carrying pebbles from the beach and asked if he could help since he was going to haul pebbles too. Then he started to introduce himself, and I only understood 'Umaretsuki' (similar to Japanese for 'temperament') . . . I waited and waited for a story, but nothing followed. I did not know what to say." He had never repeated this story during many sober encounters. 527 574 522 123

At another event, when several teachers were present, one of the men, after much gaiety, turned to a female teacher whose husband had left for the city to find a job and called over: "Hey, your mosquito netting must be wide now, huh?" The woman blushed, covered her mouth with a handkerchief and laughed. 522

The evening is never old before one man, or several who are known 574 533 534

574 for their special skills on the samisen (a three-stringed banjolike in-
533 strument covered with snake hide), open the singing and dancing with
the first, traditional song, *Kagiyadefu*, a solemn and slow piece which
[534] is rendered in the forced, nasal voice peculiar to Okinawan song. Im-
574 mediately after this, the tempo changes, the music takes a fast, stirring
beat, and the first dancer, a man, gets up. Dances at social events can
535 be performed by a single man or a woman, or by several dancers of
either sex, but traditional group dances are done by women only. Taira people like to dance some of the many Okinawan dances in which a story, sung by the vocalists, is acted out. For example, a popular dance deals with a fisherman and his catch. A hat, hastily put on, and a basket under the arm suggest the role of the dancer, his body and hand movements the actions. No one is much concerned with accurate or highly artistic rendition of these familiar dances; many performances become simply improvisations in which one male dancer is joined by other men or women who, dancing freely, add their own versions to established movements. There is much applause and laughter from the audience around the dance floor, which sings and animatedly claps hands in rhythm to the music. As all, men and older women, imbibe more sake, they become gayer, and more talents are unleashed. Amusing presenta-
[831] tions of a husband and wife, in which sometimes aggression and sexual interaction are acted out playfully, are received with great hilarity by the audience. If such a suggestive performance is given by an old woman and a young man, it seems to appear even funnier. As they get tired, dancers leave the floor, making room for others.

[562] Not everybody participates with equal lack of restraint. Younger
[273] women do not drink sake and show much more inhibition; they dance established versions of Okinawan dances in group performances if called on, usually before the merrymakers take over. Often a mother, young child in arm, cannot resist. Passing the infant to a relative or a girl sitting nearby, she joins other dancers and becomes carried away by the spirit of the event. On one occasion a young woman, seeing her aged mother display her talents on the dance floor in comical movements to the delight of everybody, angrily demanded that she come home right away, only to be rejoined with a taunting remark by the old lady, who defiantly swallowed some more sake and continued her entertainment.

527 Not a single event that we attended was marred by any serious un-
273 pleasantness. No guest was ever seen to become sick, although some
578 men drank themselves into a stupor. Here and there a paper screen may
be broken as a result of a tumbling body, or a hard bang against a
574 thin panel may set the house shaking. But the end of such a feast

would be nothing more uproarious than a group of singing celebrants seeking further entertainment from house to house. The occasional quarrels after drinking, which are mentioned elsewhere, seemed much more frequent where only a small group of men indulged after work, especially younger ones. No major holidays ended in dissonance. 527 273 574 578

The main events for family celebrations are lunar New Year, *seimei*, a period in spring during which descent group ancestors are revered and *Bon*, a commemoration of the dead in the fall. At these times families are reunited with relatives from other villages or the city. These events are observed in the home or in front of the ancestral tombs. During *Bon* young men and women go from house to house, performing traditional dances for this holiday in front of the assembled families. 527 796 769

Celebration of special birthday cycles and agricultural events, such as the day when ditches in the paddies were cleaned in former times, are observed by villagers as a group. An important religious event for the community is Boat Race Day in lunar June. On lunar August 15, the celebration of the full August moon, some villagers present stage performances and dances at a public celebration. 527

In general, it may be said that families gather as a unit on those days on which ancestors and deceased family members are commemorated. The village jointly celebrates events which are either based on local religion or on agricultural events. The only national holiday which is now in existence was established by the post-war Ryukyuan government. It is observed by school and government offices but not by the people. [769] [621]

Sport events form another category of holidays. The most important one falls in October when both in Japan and all over the Ryukyus athletes compete against each other. Athletic meets take place for several weeks; for the village the biggest event is the competition of all athletes in the township on *undokai* day. Everyone leaves work and takes picnic food to the track at the junior high school where each village competes against the others. This lasts all day. 526 628

Wrestling matches are part of entertainment during outdoor celebrations in the early summer. They are mainly an affair for young men. Occasionally an older man who feels strong enough challenges a younger one. The villagers sit around a large circle near the beach, watching the fights while they eat holiday food and drink sake. On Boat Race Day Taira and the neighboring village of Kawata race fishing canoes against each other. Spectators at this event are enthusiastic supporters of their favorites. After the races this holiday ends like any other, in celebrations with dance and drinking. [262] [574]

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Part II

Child Training

Chapter 12

Pregnancy and Childbirth

The custom of "trial marriage" stresses the importance Taira villagers put on a woman's ability to bear children, for it is imperative that there be heirs to carry on the family line. The first child is usually born within one or two years after marriage. Taira people would be extremely surprised if a child is not born soon, for children, especially male offspring, are desired. A barren wife faces the possibility of annulment of her marriage by her husband or even her husband's parents. Should this action be disagreeable to her husband, she may still be forced to take the lesser role of co-wife. A fertile woman who fails to bear a male child may suffer a situation not unlike that of a barren woman. Pregnancies, however, arouse a great amount of ambivalence in attitude. 842 [583] [586] [595] 843

Most women welcome pregnancy happily, knowing that they are fulfilling their role as a woman. Nevertheless, some women complain 842

842 of the economic hardship incurred as a result of large families. A few
[843] of the more outspoken mothers complain bitterly against the old people who expect them to continue bearing children until three male
[593] heirs are born. Men desire male heirs, and one son is not enough: the favored number is three. Informal interviews reveal that in spite of the cultural preference for sons, mothers welcome daughters, who grow up to be useful helpers. Even if women protest when they feel tired of bearing children, they submit to their husband's demands. Since Japa-
551 nese given names are used today, the practice of naming a girl Sueko
553 (end child), to indicate that one considers her to be the last, is often
842 resorted to. If this proves insufficient and another follows, she might
[177] be called Tomeko (stop child). In one family the wife gave her baby girl the name Sueko to indicate that she did not desire any more children. Her husband, however, disagreed, for he wanted another son, and registered the child without his wife's knowledge under another name.

842 Although the older generation, which has supported large families, looks on birth control measures with distaste, the young mothers cir-
744 culate information published in Japanese magazines and by the Okinawan public health department on this matter, and a few families actually use contraceptives. However, in general, public health nurses
847 have found it extremely difficult to discuss matters like birth control, abortion, and infanticide with villagers. "We suspect that these measures are practiced everywhere. Of course, with the system of registration and public health nursing, infanticide is hardly possible; how-
[732] ever . . . we could not say. . . ." * It is interesting to note that in Taira there are mental defectives but no physical defectives. Abortion
[848] is legal with a doctor's consent, but informants claimed it was not practiced. There are illegitimate children born in the village.

842 "The seeds, they must match. If they do not match, then it cannot be," explain the villagers. They continue, "It is like planting a field, however; if the soil is hostile to growth, nothing can happen." Thus the villagers express their theories of conception.

843 Cessation of menstrual periods signals the start of pregnancy, and the sudden craving for a particular kind of food forces the woman to acknowledge the fact. Informal interviewing and casual observation reveal that morning sickness is not usual. Women rarely miss a work-
[461] ing day in the fields and mountains even in the early stages of preg-
[522] nancy. One male who failed to appear for work with the rest of the male population of the village was the butt of many a joke. "How now, you are taking over the task of your wife?" teased the men and women.

[164] Malfunction of the kidneys is not uncommon among pregnant

* Personal communication from public health nurses.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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View of central village, Taira.

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House and yard.

Preparing rice paddy.

Cultivating rice.

243
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[p. 456-A]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

312
854
296
415

Women washing at water tank.

Women transplanting rice.

243
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Women transplanting.

Carrying wood.

[482]

[p 456-B]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

857
226
854
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Children catching small fish.

Girls washing their laundry.

857
291
302

[296]
[415]
←

[482]
→
[312]

Carrying water while their mother is recovering from giving birth.

[243]
→

Boy harvesting.

[p. 456-C]

854
482
302
←

857
→

Young girl carrying baby sister.

Playing house.

Boys wrestling.

857
291
526
←

853
302
291
→

Mother about to nurse her daughter says, "Now say please."

[p 456-D]

women in Taira. Three young mothers, who continued to work despite the discomfort and pain of swollen extremities, consulted with the doctor in the nearby town, and a fourth described this condition, which had prohibited her from any but the most simple and undemanding work. The old people look upon unusual pregnancies in askance. "Work, good, hard physical labor is what we did and we never had any difficulties. Young people pamper themselves." 843 164 [461]

Special foods and advice are proffered the expectant mother for the benefit of the baby. "Eat this so that you will have lots of milk for the baby. Remember that spicy things are bad for the baby. Do you recall the one who was born with a great patch of hair on its arms? Its mother was frightened by a great big cat while she was carrying that child," comment villagers to the mother. Some husbands indulge their wives' cravings for special delicacies like expensive imported fruits. 843 [262]

To keep the baby in position, a sash is wound several times about the pregnant woman's abdomen by a midwife or some old woman. [292]

In the "old days" it was not unusual for a woman to return from the mountains or fields carrying her newborn. Grandmothers recall with relish the days when "Women paid little heed to their condition, did hard work, and had their babies without a whimper." "The women today pamper themselves," snap the wizened grandmothers watching an expectant mother resting between trips to the mountains. 844 843

As the day of parturition approaches, the expectant mother schedules her work to remain as close to the house as possible. When labor starts, she retires to the back room of the house, which is situated next to the kitchen. The medical practitioner, or in his absence a midwife,* is called to assist in the delivery. The husband's mother, if she lives in the house, or other older related women attend. A man may be present during his wife's first delivery but at subsequent births will wait with some of the women in the front room. In the old days a woman was supported by her husband or someone else in a half-sitting position. Nowadays, however, women give birth lying down. Only rarely does a woman in labor cry out in pain. Soft crying is permissible, but any loud demonstration would elicit contemptuous comments from the older women. "If you had worked hard, the baby would not be so big, then labor would not be difficult," is an often heard retort. 844 [759] [152]

Informal interviewing revealed that birth takes place in a large number of cases during late evening or early morning hours. Usually children of the house sleep on undisturbed. Should they awake, they are kept out of the delivery room, although the youngest may be allowed to enter to visit with his mother shortly after delivery. [858] [593]

The newborn is bathed in tepid water then bundled in blankets,

* At present there is no midwife in Taira.

844 kimonos, and diapers. He is placed under the blanket next to the
[853] mother and given a gauze nipple dipped in tea and sugar to suck, which is often his only food for as long as two days if lactation is slow. Meanwhile the afterbirth is wrapped in straw and left under the floorboards in the kitchen to await the outgoing tide.

846 Tea is now served in the front room, and the birth is discussed by
593 the women who assisted. On one such occasion, the father and grandmother showed a little boy whose sister had just been born a great deal of affection. The father held the boy in his lap, and both adults told him that he was now a big brother.

844 At the first hour of the outgoing tide, old women—the grandmother
851 of the baby, relatives, and neighbors—wrap the afterbirth in rice straw
156 and bury it in a specified place outdoors behind the hearth. The purpose of the ceremony is to ensure that the child will be happy and sociable. To the accompaniment of laughing, loud clanging of pots and covers, and calling to each other, the women circle the house. When the burial is completed, they chant loudly, "May this baby al-
[152] ways laugh and be pleasant." A stone is then placed over the burial mound so that the infant will not be frightened in his sleep, an emotion which is inferred from the jerking of a young infant while asleep.

852 Until about 10 years ago a ceremony was performed by descendants
565 of noble families from Shuri over the newborn to ensure success in his
462 future role. For boys, a winnowing basket was propped up against a hoe on which a clump of soil and grass rested. While the father's mother
[178] held the child in one arm, she shot an arrow with a bow into the basket. This act was to make certain that the child would become a good
[286] hunter (provider) as well as a successful farmer. The grass on the hoe symbolized strength. A girl, on the other hand, received a miniature loom constructed especially for such occasions, which was to assure her success as a weaver of cloth. A spool of banana fiber was presented along with the loom.

852 There is a story that long, long ago an infant was born on the beach.
565 Immediately after he was born, as he still lay on the sand, a crab
538 crawled over his chest. This infant grew up to be a strong, famous man. Shuri descendants still have a custom of grandmothers holding a newborn boy in their laps and releasing a small crab, which scurries over the infant's chest. These practices, however, are absent in central Taira now and are rarely found in the outlying settlements of predominantly Shuri descendants.

846 Formerly mother and child were confined to the darkened delivery
178 room next to the kitchen and at the rear of the house for seven days, while an open fire was kept blazing in the brazier near the mother.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

Today the *yukajiru* ceremony held on the fourth day ends the seclusion. A group of close relatives gather to ask for the good health of the child and to make food offerings to the ancestors.

On the fourth or fifth day a name is selected for the newborn. In the old days rice oracles presided over by an old woman were consulted to ensure that the name consist of the proper combination of Japanese writing characters, an essential for the well-being of the child's personality. Today family elders and the local teacher are consulted. In the pre-Japanese periods, temporary names were used until a permanent name was given. This practice was intended to fool the spirits during the early years when the child was thought to be particularly susceptible to spirits.*

On the sixth day after birth the mother is allowed to take her first postdelivery bath; the room which she has occupied with her baby is cleaned and aired, and preparations begin for the *mansang* celebrations. For this event the mother's parents try to be present, especially if it is a first child. Friends and relatives in the village attend. A female elder of the patrilineal kin group or the priestess prays behind a tray of rice, rice wine, and incense so that the child will sleep peacefully and not cry at night. Thanksgiving prayers are offered to the ancestors and the nature deities for the health of both mother and child.

When the prayers are completed, a man sings the *mansang* song to the accompaniment of a samisen. The father of the baby then rises to dance briefly, sits down, and writes with brush and ink on a white sheet of paper the name and birth date of his child. The paper is then hung on the wall near the alcove. Meanwhile the special song is being concluded:

> Coming from the darkness to light,
> This baby was received as a treasure
> And the mother is being celebrated.

Food is then served, and the guests discuss the name and admire the newborn. Like all parties, the celebration ends with song, dance, and wine drinking.

The *mansang* celebrations mark the end of the most critical period for the infant. From now on he may be taken outdoors. At the month's end, his parents may take him to see his maternal grandparents in their village, to offer food at the ancestral shrine of the mother. This is called the first walk. Sons who have left the paternal village for the city return with their infant to observe this day.

* Hanging an irregularly left-woven rope in the delivery room to keep out evil spirits which might harm the newborn, is no longer done in Taira.

853 There are no food taboos during pregnancy, and after birth mothers
262 can continue to eat what they wish except for certain "hard" foods,
such as octopus, whale meat, and certain kinds of fish which are be-
[843] lieved to stop the flow of milk. To stimulate lactation, the mother is
given papaya boiled with flour and noodles or a medicine made from
herbs.

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Chapter 13

Infancy

858 The infant is considered a helpless, pitiable treasure who is incapable
155 of knowing, understanding, or learning until he is around 6 years old.
If this senseless child is treated affectionately and indulgently, he will
855 grow to be a healthy, happy adult.

177 With the spread of Japanese influence throughout Okinawa, accord-
[861] ing to informants, there evolved another belief, which in Taira is
complementary to the idea of the senseless child. This new belief is
vaguely conceptualized by most young parents but was verbalized con-
cretely by at least two sets of parents. "Children are the gift of gods.*
They are godly until they are 7 years old." Exoneration of misbehavior
on the part of the child under 7 (6 years according to Western count)
conjures up in the mind of the observer a picture of willful capricious
gods who are totally unpredictable. A shrug of the shoulder and a
phrase which completely defines both attitude and resignation in Japa-
nese is, "helpless, against one's will." Because children are godlike in
nature, they do not know any better; because they do not know any
better they are godlike in nature. Just why and how a child outgrows
this temperament could not be explained by the parents. These beliefs
foster the extreme indulgence, protection, and nurturance of young
babies. Their physical and emotional needs are attended to constantly,
with a great deal of affection.

* This notion may well have been influenced by Christian as much as by Japanese ideas.

In addition to meeting with physical and emotional needs, the child must be protected from the nurtured by the numerous supernatural forces in the form of malevolent and benevolent spirits which operate to influence the course of an individual's life. There are lucky and unlucky days, years, and tides, which are believed to determine the fate of a person. Females born in the year of the monkey are considered unlucky, for they are thought to outlive their male contemporaries. Men dislike marrying them. Supplications are made and precautionary measures taken by adults to secure the newborn's life, happiness, and health. 776 777 854 [581]

Ancestral spirits influence the development and fate of the child. Occasionally a child who is the victim of ill health during his early years is adopted by a couple whose ancestral spirits are thought to be more favorable than his own on the dictate of the fortune teller. By mysterious calculations involving birth dates of the principals, the fortune teller uncovers some incompatibility and advises adoption. The child remains with his parents but worships the ancestral spirits of his adoptive parents. In this way parents seek to ensure the well-being of the child. 597 769 755

Mother interview data indicate the awareness of Taira people of the variations in personality among children of one family. Adults do in a large measure adapt their actions in accord with these differences. They recognize hereditary influences, but although a mother may comment on the similarity of temperament with regard to her child and other members in the family or kin group, there are no ideas or beliefs that the souls of deceased are inherited. Usually the mother, in describing the characteristics of the child, rarely goes beyond likenesses which can be attributed to herself or her husband. She is at a loss to explain the "very different child." "My eldest son has my nasty temper whereas my second daughter is not like either of us, very strange. All the others have a little of myself and my husband in them. We often wonder how it is that she is so unlike either of us." 155 828 858 [124]

A child born with two cowlicks predicates a "problem" to his parents. Parents often explain, "Oh, this child is very naughty, for as you can see, he has two cowlicks." Children often search each other's heads, and on discovering two instead of the single whorl, they shout in glee, "Naughty, naughty." One 4-year-old cuddled and hugged his newborn sister after searching her head. "You have two cowlicks just like me! You and I are 'naughty,'" he whispered to her. Turning to the adults in the room, he snapped his small bright eyes and grinned impishly as he reported his discovery joyfully. [826]

Twin births are disliked only because they place a burden on the 845

845 mother and family. "Nursing two babies at once on a diet as meager as ours is too difficult," explain the mothers, and they also point out that multiple births cause great economic hardships.

854 Infancy in Taira, in congruence with the concept of the nature of an infant, is a period of indulgent and affectionate nurturance. Except for a brief period during the initial month of life, the baby is rarely left to lie on the floor to sleep, and during this period the mother or grandmother is always close by to pick him up at the slightest whimper. From the time he is a month old until shortly before the arrival of the next baby, he is constantly carried during the daytime on the back of another, an adult or an older child. At night he sleeps next to his mother. His carriers include parents, paternal grandparents, unmarried aunts and uncles, older siblings in an extended household, and parents and older siblings in a nuclear household.

854 Those mothers who have read or heard that it is good for babies to cry occasionally never have an opportunity to test it. "The old people 178 feel sorry for the baby and insist upon prompt attention," complain 853 young mothers with "modern" ideas. The immediate response of adult and child caretakers to an infant's cry is to take him to his mother, who promptly nurses him. The breast is thrust into his mouth whether he is hungry or not. "Pitiful!" exclaim old grandmothers and rush to pick up the infant. More often than not it is the newborn's father or older sibling who orders the mother to do so with the same expression.

854 There is the belief that the first four months are a trying period in which the "bad" habit of crying is formed; therefore every attempt is 853 made to keep the infant comfortable and quiet. One mother described how she and her husband took turns eating their evening meal because one of the children had formed such a bad habit. "We would take turns carrying him and walking around the yard and eating. There was nothing else we could do. Both of us did not like to have babies cry." Another mother told of how her whole family converged on her every time the infant whimpered. "Hurry and nurse it . . . must be hungry . . . may be sick . . . so pitiful!" they would say to her.

853 It is imperative that a mother have enough milk. She is given special foods and told not to get overtired. She is advised to avoid foods that [262] could pass on properties which might be harmful to the child. Sometimes she has more milk than her infant can consume. One such fortunate mother nursed the baby of a mother whose milk supply had failed. Women who have a plentiful supply of milk are also sought out when mothers find it necessary to work at some distance from the village. In these cases reciprocal arrangements are made so the baby need not go hungry for very long.

There is no specific or preferred posture for nursing. While the mothers are in confinement for the brief period following delivery, they often lie next to the baby and feed him. Sitting while nursing is the most common posture, but mothers frequently nurse while standing or squatting. The baby is held loosely and the mother is relaxed. If others are about, she will carry on a lively conversation and occasionally pat the baby gently on or around the region of the buttocks. When alone, she holds the baby with one arm, talks softly, smiles, and with her other hand tugs gently at the baby's limbs. Each feeding is leisurely; the breast is never withdrawn from the infant's mouth. More often than not he suckles his fill and falls asleep. 853

It is as natural to suckle one's infant at a village meeting as it is to do so in the privacy of one's home. A common sight is that of a mother sitting and listening intently to speeches while cradling her suckling infant loosely in her arms. On buses, in market places, or at large public intervillage gatherings, one is sure to encounter such a scene. [291]

The breast is used to soothe a baby when he is ill, irritable, or in distress from pain. This was quite evident when all the babies in the village were being given a series of innoculations for diphtheria and typhoid. As the injections were given in one large open room, the cries of the infant being innoculated prompted others to cry. Invariably the mother offered the breast to the baby. 853 854 751

After the birth of a child, the mother sits at home during a short rest period, watching happily as neighbors, friends, and relatives continually drop in to admire the newborn. Sipping tea, the visitors offer bits of advice, exchange the latest gossip, ask to hold the infant, and take their leave with the standard phrase: "Take care of yourself." It is a pleasant interlude, but as the family resources begin to dwindle, there is a slight but perceptible change in the attitude of the mother toward her newborn. The constant stream of visitors, for whom tea and some small tidbits must be offered, and her nonparticipation in the regular economic activities prove to be a drain on the family budget, in spite of the fact that the mother and her husband have worked with extra diligence in the months prior to parturition. The mother begins to talk about the approaching feast day and the need to get new clothing for the older children. She asks anxiously about the condition of the firewood market and starts to plan her inevitable resumption of work in the mountains and fields. In spite of her feelings of protectiveness and pity for the young baby, she begins, bit by bit, to reinstate her normal routine. Although she continues to cuddle, kiss, and affectionately nurse the infant, she thinks of the good weather and of how she might have been able to make one more trip to the mountains 846 574 846 461 [843] [594]

before noon but for the fact that she had to return to attend to the infant.

If a grandmother is available, the mother straps the 3-to-4 months old baby onto the grandmother's back in the morning and goes off to the mountains with her husband to haul firewood or to the fields to cultivate sweet potatoes. For the first six months she returns to the house frequently during the day to nurse the infant. It is likely that while the infant demands feeding at short intervals, a mother will work in or around the village. At one of the locations for firewood bundling she can make the bamboo rings, fit the cut wood into them, and stack the bundles.

Throughout the morning hours grandmother, with the infant on her back, wanders about the village. Occasionally she offers her dry breast to the bawling infant who cannot seem to wait until its mother returns from the fields or mountains. If the mother is nearby, she hurries so that the infant does not cry for long. When the hour for lunch approaches, the grandmother hurries home to begin preparations for the noonday meal. As she walks, the infant's head bobs up and down, forward and back precariously, but it continues to sleep undisturbed.

After lunch has been eaten and the infant nursed, the adults in the household sip their tea and rest for an hour or so. Within that hour the mother may play with the infant or nap with it nestled in her arms. Rousing themselves from the noon nap, the adults return to the mountains and fields. The infant is again strapped to the grandmother's back, but this time as she slowly wends her way to the main thoroughfare, she calls out to someone in a house which boasts one of the few clocks in the village. "Hey, what is the time there?" The answer will quicken her pace, for it is near the time for an older sibling to return from school. As she reaches the main street, she joins other grandmothers as well as mothers who are anxiously scanning the direction from which the schoolchildren return. Each admires the infants on the other's back and exchanges timely topics of the day, but as the minutes pass and no children appear, they begin to grumble about the "irresponsible siblings who *must* be playing on their way home." At last the older child returns, and the grandmother hurries home with her charges, promptly transfering the infant onto the back of the older sibling. The old woman rushes to get her hoe and basket, mumbling to herself about the quantity of potatoes she should harvest for the next day's use.

An older child who ignores the crying of his infant charge will be criticized severely by his peers. If the mother happens to be in the

fields and away from the village, the young caretaker jiggles up and down to soothe the baby on his back. As his cries become frantic, the caretaker's peers will pat him on his buttocks and try to placate him by guiding his fingers to his mouth. 854 857 594

For the nuclear family with no other caretaker except the mother, the newborn proves to be a problem. One such mother complained that she could not do anything efficiently with a baby on her back. She was able to go to the fields to harvest potatoes but had to leave the laden basket until the afternoon to carry it home, for at that time the neighbor's child returned from school to look after the baby. In payment for baby-sitting services she had planned on buying the neighbor's child a dress for the next New Year.

In the nuclear family with school age children, the mother works around the house and in the nearby fields in the morning and rushes off to the mountains when her relief returns in the middle of the afternoon. Thus the infant which brought so much joy to the family and gave its mother respite from the rigorous routine for a short time becomes somewhat of a burden to all. Nevertheless, the baby continues to be indulged, pitied for his helplessness, and the object of affection.

It is important to note, briefly, the father's attitude and behavior during this initial period. Although only females were born during this study, interviews suggest that a male birth elicits a somewhat more solicitous behavior on the part of the father toward both mother and infant than a female one. The father will discourage the mother's early resumption of work and may even feel encouraged to carry the male infant despite the fact that children are deemed "women's work." Ostensibly, however, he seems embarrassed and disinterested in the whole matter be it a male or female. Congratulating visitors find that after a few polite exchanges the father will retire to a corner in the house as attention focuses on mother and child. After sitting out what seems a proper length of time, he will mumble some excuse or other and leave the house to do some chore. The observer visiting the household on the occasion of the birth of a fourth daughter found gloom and disgust in the father's expression. A male visitor who sat trying to convince the father that daughters are quite useful, too, received only contemptuous stares. His wife sat dejectedly holding the infant loosely in her arms. In contrast, a visit of the same purpose to another household on the birth of a fourth daughter revealed similar but notably less intense reactions on the part of the father. Perhaps because of the existence of one male heir he felt less threatened. 846 842

There is a tenacious belief in Taira that the female determines the sex of the child. If the woman fails to produce a male heir, the man

846 can take on a second wife. The woman who is delivered of her third
842 son is the envy of others who have none or only one son to their credit, for she has achieved what is considered to be the ideal in a wife. Thus the first mother with four daughters was treated with outright disgust and contempt by her husband, whereas in the second instance the mother was receiving the normal treatment of disinterest with minor solicitation.

593 The constant stream of visitors during the first month gives the
857 other children in the household a sense of importance. Whenever an
854 older child has a chance, he stresses the fact that there is a newborn in the house and reports the identity of the latest visitor to scores of admiring peers. He is the envy of the lot when at last he is allowed to carry the infant and play. But the envy is short lived, and the older sibling's pride withers rapidly when he finds that this is just another baby to be carried and cared for constantly. As the baby gains weight and no longer sleeps quietly for extended periods of time on the back, the older sibling begins to run and hide when he sees his mother approaching with the baby.

593 A few days after the birth of an infant, the fieldworker visited a
522 household and found the older siblings all crowded in the back room
857 with the mother and child. One of the girls, a 5-year-old who was
854 unusually sturdy and large in build, was teased by her mother. "Hey Hanako, let's give the teacher this baby, all right?" said the mother, winking on the side to the fieldworker. The little girl looked anxiously at the fieldworker and slowly edged over protectively toward the infant. She shook her head slowly and deliberately for some minutes, indicating that she would not assent to giving her baby sister away. At this point the grandmother entered the teasing and told the little girl that the baby would only prove to be a burden when she had to carry her later on, but she continued to shake her head. As the mother handed the baby over to the fieldworker, the girl burst into tears and cried out "No! No!" All laughed and assured her that the baby would remain in the household.

593 Several weeks later, Hanako proudly paraded her newest baby sister
857 for all her playmates to see. Many begged to carry the infant "for just a
854 little while" to no avail. When her older sister returned from school, she reluctantly gave up her charge in deference to age and experience. This went on for about two months until one day the fieldworker came on the mother calling frantically around the village for Hanako and the older girl. The older girl successfully evaded her mother, but Hanako was discovered and the baby was strapped to her back. Hanako

frowned and tugged at the straps that were straining at her neck muscles. 593

At a still later date, Hanako, with her baby sister strapped to her back, played on the beach. At one point, when all the children were scattered over the beach and no one else was nearby, Hanako edged up to the fieldworker and asked, "Would you like this baby, teacher? Here, take her," she said wearily. Asked why she had changed her mind, the little girl smiled shyly, squirmed uncomfortably for a moment, then whispered, "She's too heavy." Her 3-year-old sister, off in the distance at that point, began to scream and cry at being left so far behind. Hanako turned to look back once, then walked on as the 3-year-old squatted on the sand and screamed to be carried. At that moment her mother appeared to nurse the infant, and Hanako ran to her. She bounded swiftly away to the 3-year-old as the mother started to nurse the baby. Returning a few minutes later with the 3-year-old on her back, Hanako deposited her disgustedly, panting heavily from the weight. "Shall we give baby to teacher, Hanako?" asked the mother, and without any hesitation Hanako this time nodded "Yes." The mother laughed and said, "Hah, she has had enough of her already. When the baby was tiny and cute, she was so eager to carry her and wouldn't give her to you, but they all get tired of babies in time." And with that the mother began to rock the baby back and forth in her arms. Smiling affectionately, she kissed and hugged the cooing infant and murmured, "Nobody wants you, eh?" Because she was an unusually outspoken mother she confided, "I think I have had enough too, here, I give her to you!" She laughed as she continued, "How can I make money, feed and clothe the children when I have to rush back from the mountains to nurse this baby." 857 854 [594]

When the child is about 6 months old, he is subjected to a painful operation which prepares him for the introduction to solid foods. The area around the navel is moxa-cauterized. Nine little brown dots in three rows of three attest to the practice of burning a special kind of grass on the skin in this area to protect the infant from various digestive complications. The child thus treated, the mother will begin to supplement breast feedings with rice water, milky white in appearance, that is spooned out of the boiling pot of rice. Sometime later, before the child is about one, bits of sweet potato and special kinds of fish mashed between the fingers are thrust into the mouth of the infant as he sits on his mother's lap at mealtime. Gradually he is given more and more solid foods until, finally, at the age of 2 he is eating rice, unmashed fish, potatoes and vegetables, but nursing is continued until 853 [751] [262] 862 855 262

855 the mother becomes pregnant. Usually, however, weaning is not
[262] started in earnest until the mother is three months pregnant.

If the infant has a fever or "bad color," he may be subjected to an-
854 other painful experience, blood letting. Incisions are made on those
757 parts of the body which are thought to be affected, and blood is drawn and caught in a cup. The area is washed with sake. The mother often suckles the baby and holds him while the grandmother or some other older person performs the operation.

854 Babies are diapered and swaddled until they are about a year old. For the first two months their wet and soiled diapers are changed frequently; however, as time goes on, less attention is paid to wet diapers, although those soiled from excreta are promptly changed. Infants are checked often during the raw winter days, but because they are bundled so heavily, there is hardly any danger of their contracting colds as their
[164] mothers fear. Severe urine burns and annoying diaper rash are more common than colds among young babies.

[855] Although care is taken to keep the infant as clean as possible during the first year of his life, this attitude changes as the child grows older.
[594] This is in large part due to the mother's inability to devote much time to her offspring once she has resumed full participation in economics activities. Depending on the season of the year, babies are bathed from every third or fourth day to once a week. They are bathed almost daily
[744] during the first two months of their lives as a result of the insistence of the village nurse. Water is heated on the kitchen hearth and poured into a small washpan. Mothers test the warmth of the water by immersing their arms up to the elbows and adding cold or hot water as they see fit. Soap is gently applied either with a soft washcloth or with the hands and rinsed off by splashing. On chilly winter days the bath takes place indoors, but on the hot sunny days it takes place right outside the kitchen door. In drying the baby, the mother places him in a large towel and pats the dampness from his body. She is careful to dry the skin at the joints where rash is likely to erupt. Except for the very poor, all families keep a bottle of talcum powder, which is applied right after the bath. Throughout the bath, the mother talks softly to the baby, smiling and tickling him. The atmosphere of the bath at this
[855] time contrasts sharply with that of a later time when the child is 2 and 3 years old.

863 Although there is hardly any possibility that the infant at this time would be able to smear himself with excreta, the opportunity for doing so is present later when he no longer wears diapers but is still untrained. It rarely happens, as the child is almost constantly watched by a caretaker. One mother reported disgustedly that her infant smeared

herself from head to toe when she had left her diaperless on the floor 863
for a few minutes. She had assumed that the child had completed elimination and had gone out to rinse the soiled diaper.

When the infant is anywhere from 22 days to 10 months old, the mothers start trying to anticipate urination before the baby wets his diapers. Each mother trains herself to her child's particular cues, squirming, peculiar facial expressions, and so on, or keeps a kind of mental time check. Holding the infant in a semisitting position out over the edge of the porch, and supporting him under his knees with her hands and at his back with her chest, she coaxes gently, repeating "shi-shi" until he urinates onto the ground outside. If the mother is successful in her efforts, she hugs, kisses, and praises the infant. On the other hand, if she does not reach him in time and he is already wet, she will hold the child over the wet diaper and say "shi-shi." This is to ensure that he has fully eliminated, or if the interval between diaper checks has been long, to make certain that he does not need to urinate again before putting on a fresh change. In these instances she does not praise unless the infant does urinate or eliminate at her coaxing, but [861] she does not punish him for urinating in his diapers.

Although mothers may desire bladder control to develop, their statements do not indicate that they conceive of holding the child out as training. In discussing the practice, mothers seemed more concerned about the number of diapers they had to wash or buy. With a great deal of pride one mother reported that she never had to wash a diaper except when it was soiled with feces. Another bragged that she had only had to buy diapers once, and this was for her first child. Treatment of bladder control at a later period raises further doubt that this practice is meant for training purposes. Pertinent here, too, is the belief that children are incapable of learning at this early date. [861]

While a few mothers who have the time to look after their babies 863
continue to avoid wet diapers, most of them eventually abandon the 854
routine and leave it to the child to train himself. When they resume normal activities following childbirth, an older sibling takes over the care of the infant, and the mother does not instruct the older child to continue the practice. Fear for the safety of the baby keeps her from doing so. Once she straps the baby onto the young caretaker's back, she expects him to remain there until she or another adult unstraps him. Teen-age caretakers seldom bother to change wet diapers until it becomes unbearable. If the grandmother is the chief caretaker, however, she will continue the practice. For the greater part of the first year, the infant urinates in his diaper, frequently wetting his caretaker. Just 855
before the child turns one, most mothers will reduce the amount of 863

855 swaddling and diapers. Almost immediately after he has passed his first
863 birthday, she will stop diapering him and substitute a short shirt or a dress during the summer and kimonos during the cold weather. This is the period which proves most trying to the young caretaker. Unless the baby is filthy and evokes much comment from others, however, they ignore the condition. The following examples illustrate common occurrences during this period:

H. (an 8-year-old girl) carrying her baby sister on the back is playing on the beach. She straightens up suddenly with a wry expression on her face. "She urinated, wet," she exclaims, standing up and spreading her dress at the back which is completely soaked. The baby is bare-bottomed and crowing happily at the older children playing around her. The older sister waves her dress briefly in the wind, then squats to continue her play. When asked if she was not going home to change, she exclaims that she would dry soon enough, and, as for the baby, she was dry. The day is warm and windy and the dress dries off rapidly.

K. (a 7-year-old girl), baby sister on her back, is squatting with other girls, drawing in the sand. As they draw figures in the sand, the baby breaks wind and defecates. It is a rather noisy operation, and the other girls watch fascinated and somewhat amused while K. keeps on sitting unconcerned. (The baby's bottom is bare so that the feces drops on the sand.) One of the girls laughs and comments on the feces dropping. K. says, "I will let my mother clean the ground." The other children walk away, spitting,* showing some disgust. All through this K. squats calmly, letting the baby eliminate undisturbed. She tells the baby "Finish defecating quickly," but she is not impatient, rather absent-minded.

863 Probably the earliest cleanliness training is the gentle withdrawal of unclean objects from the child, with statements of "Dirty, dirty." As he begins to respond to facial expression, the mother will show her disgust, shake her head and say, "Dirty!"

864 Infants may be patted or manipulated around the genital area by
854 an adult. Old women like to tweak a little boy's penis and jokingly say, "What is that, what is that?" Female infants are quickly covered with exaggerated expressions of shame whenever they are exposed for diaper changes. Petting of genitals by an adult is used mostly to soothe the child. It would be severely rebuked, however, if attempted by a child caretaker.

852 When the child is a year old, a simple ceremony is held. After a short birthday prayer, the child is offered a tray with food, an abacus counter, pencil, book, and money. The audience waits expectantly to see what the infant will choose. The pencil portends a writer, the money a

[514] * Expectoration at the sight of unpleasant things, such as dead animals or a pile of feces, is common among children and adults. Children pass a pile of dirt, spit at it, and cover it with dirt by a careless kick before continuing on.

financier, the abacus a mathematician, the book a scholar, and food a glutton. The villagers did not seem to place much credence in the choice. Mothers laughed when asked what choices their children made and commented, "It's something to talk about, but many times we can't even remember which child chose what!" 852

The child continues to be carried on the back until the next sibling is born, the interval being between about two or three years. By the time an infant is a year old, he has been taken through every nook and cranny of the village. He has also seen all the adults and children of the village and has witnessed the economic and social-ceremonial activities. Whereas he slept most of the time when he was young, he now begins to participate in what goes on about him. He claps his hands in glee in response to his older sibling's delight over some aspect of play or raises his arm in defiance of another child who attempts to strike at his older sibling. In spite of the fact that he is capable of crawling or learning to walk within the second half year of his life, he is kept on the back. He does not protest or clamor to be put down; he seems to prefer being carried to being left to crawl. 855 854 [856]

Caretakers are too busy with work or play to let the child crawl about freely, so there is no crawling stage in Taira. Older siblings are too involved in play to sit and patiently watch a crawler. The older child would also be severely punished should the infant pick up some object and swallow it or injure himself in his crawling. One 8-year-old found that the 10-month-old sister she toted on her back took to standing on the ground and jouncing up and down every time she squatted to play. After several unsuccessful attempts to stop this annoying behavior, she unstrapped her and allowed her to crawl about freely. The older girl became so engrossed in the game that her mouth dropped open and eyes turned round with fear when one of her playmates shouted, "Hey! the baby put some dirt into her mouth!" Immediately she rushed to "flush" the baby's mouth out with her fingers and promptly strapped her onto the back again and continued playing despite the uncomfortable jouncings. The baby did not protest at being restrapped; she just jounced and played with her hands. 857 855

A mother who sits and plucks sweet potato leaves off the vines for hog feed works more efficiently with the baby on her back. Crawling around on the loose floorboards near the fire pit or over the edge of the raised floor, the child would require constant attention. On one occasion the observer was sitting and talking with a mother who was weaving a bamboo basket in her front room. The floor was littered with bamboo shavings and slats. As the mother worked, she was relaxed. She turned and twisted the sharp ends of the bamboo slats, leaving pointed [231] [285]

855 ends swinging in the air, and dropping the huge knife in a careless
857 fashion on the floor near her. Suddenly there was the sound of a crying
[285] baby and her eldest girl appeared with the 8-month-old on her back. Unstrapping the baby, the girl plopped her onto her mother's lap. Instinctively the mother pushed the basket, bamboo slats, and knife away as she unbuttoned her blouse to nurse the baby. When the baby had had its fill, the mother called to the little caretaker to come and carry her. The older child called out that she was going to get a drink of water and disappeared around the house. She entered through the back and called to the baby to come. The baby crawled over but was attracted on the way by the big knife. Instantly the mother snatched it away, and the baby started to move toward the sharp pieces of bamboo. In desperation the mother picked up the baby and called crossly to the girl to come immediately. The older child obeyed, and the baby was strapped onto her back. "Now go and play somewhere," instructed the annoyed mother.

855 Another instance of similar nature took place in the frontyard of a
863 place which that day was the scene of "house playing." A grandmother watching the activity decided to let the year-old baby on her back down to join in the play. "Eh, go and play with your older sisters," she smiled and said to the child as she put her gently down on the ground. The child started to crawl over to the group but stopped and sat very quietly staring ahead for a minute. The grandmother, who had disappeared into the house, reappeared. "A-yah!" she exclaimed as she looked down to see the baby scratching the damp earth about her. The baby had urinated and was puddling about so that in that brief instant she had thoroughly soiled herself as well as her clothing. Grumbling and scolding, "Dirty, dirty!" she picked up and carried at arm's length the baby, who was smiling and gurgling. The old woman cleaned the baby at the water barrel and, dressing her in clean clothes, promptly put her on her back again.

855 The only children who were allowed to crawl about were the sons
184 of two fishermen. Fishermen's wives, compared to the farmer-woods-
462 men's wives, have a great deal more leisure time. They buy their potatoes and rice with money from the sale of fish. The men send their catch to the market via the bus, so their wives, except when they accompany a catch to the city, have only to care for the house and a pig and are free to watch their children as they crawl about.

854 In summary, the infancy period is characterized by consistent nur-
155 turance. Mothers, grandmothers, and child baby-tenders are helpful and demonstrative in their affection. That they value such behavior is further evidenced by their conscious teaching of young children to

copy their behavior. When several mothers and their children are gathered, a mother of a year-old child will coo, "Cute baby" as she strokes a friend's infant's head. She smiles at her child, takes his hand, and repeats the action. A spontaneous response such as this on the part of a year-old child would evoke admiration and voluble praise from the audience. A year and a half old boy became the pride of his mother when he approached all little children with a highly nurturant attitude. He had learned his lesson so well that he considered children of his own age babies because they were smaller than himself. Walking up to them, he would bend down, pat their heads patronizingly, and take their hands to guide them along. 854 155

Equally important to the Okinawan parent is a friendly child who is well liked by everyone in the village. A happy, smiling personality is ideal, and it is this wish for the child which leads grandmothers and mothers to perpetuate the custom of burying the afterbirth of a newborn to the accompaniment of laughter and appeals to the spirits to ensure this characteristic. Adults constantly try to get infants to smile by talking and making funny sounds and faces. Even young children approach infants clapping their hands together in an attempt to elicit smiles. [156]

Treatment of children during this initial period discourages expression of self-reliant behavior. As described above, except for rare and very brief intervals during the day, a child is strapped onto someone's back from the time he wakes up in the morning to the time he is put to bed at night. The child is carried about in this fashion from the age of one month until he is almost 2 years old. [866]

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Chapter 14

Weaning

When a mother discovers that she is pregnant again, usually about two years after her last delivery, she begins to think of weaning her child. Most mothers nurse the last child until they are about three months 862 853 [843]

862 into their term, but one mother reported that she nursed her first son until the day before the second was born. Curiously, the determination [853] with which mothers wean contrasts sharply with their very indulgent [861] nurturant handling of the young child, who now encounters a period of withdrawal.

There is a month-long period of what seems, to the observer, indecision and vacillation on the part of the mother. The child is refused the breast, but, if he persists and becomes vociferous in his protests, the mother nurses him. She and others present, however, are no longer solicitous and protective. Derisive comments are directed against him, and, finally, at the end of the month drastic steps are taken. When mothers stated in their interviews that it took four or five days to wean, it usually meant after the final drastic measures were taken.

[513] The child who has slept beside his mother from birth is simply put to sleep with an aunt, grandmother, grandfather, father, or older sibling. In some instances an overnight trip to the city proves extremely convenient for the mother, who leaves the child behind instead of taking him with her as usual. If merely denying the breast does not work, big patches of black paper used for toothaches, backaches, and bruises are pasted on the chest, and the baby is told that the mother is suffering from pain there. "The black paper frightens them and we pretend to wince with pain if the child tries to nurse," report mothers. The black paper proves to be very effective. When this device is not used, another similarly drastic in nature is resorted to. Red pepper or bitter medicine is rubbed into the breast so that the child attempting to suckle is promptly punished with a very unpleasant burning sensation. Frequently a combination of these techniques is applied to wean what a mother terms a very difficult child.

[861] Shaming is a technique that is directed not only to the child but also to the mother. "Ah, shame! Hide the breast," says the mother to the child, or, "Hide, hide, drinking mother's milk!" says she, pulling one end of her blouse flap over the suckling child's head.

On one occasion an old man approached a mother who was nursing her 1-year-old. Immediately the mother pushed the child's head down to acknowledge the elder's presence. The old man, on the other hand, pulled the breast, taking the nipple from the child's mouth. "A big baby! You should not be drinking your mother's milk!" he scolded in a growling voice. As the little girl started to scream and cry, he laughed and, squeezing the breast, squirted milk into her face. The mother laughed with him, then mocked an attack on the old man to pacify the crying child.

Another technique which uses threat to the mother was applied very

effectively in the case of a boy who did not respond to red pepper or black paper. The mother described how she tried to fend off the boy one day by simply refusing. As he fussed and cried there was a loud clanging of the pots in the kitchen. The boy stopped crying and looked at the mother who pretended to be very frightened. "Look now! There! It's a big rat coming for your mother's breast, let's hide it, quick, quick!" And with that she buttoned her blouse hurriedly and took the boy in her arms. She laughed as she described how she reminded him thereafter about the rat and how he ran to her and held onto her breasts protectively. 862

For the child, this whole interim period is a stormy one filled with tantrums, whining, and obstinancy. At no time, however, does the child resort to thumbsucking or other breast substitutes. For older siblings who are his caretakers, this period is a very unpleasant one. Many things displease the child. If his caretaker squats, he screams to have him stand; if he stands, he whines to have him walk. Frequently the sibling caring for him reflects the changing attitude toward the child, and, jiggles him up and down impatiently with a frown and curt comment, "What is it!" 856 857

As far as actual nourishment is concerned, weaning should not be so traumatic. Long before weaning commences, when the child is about one, he is given a spoon with which he can learn to feed himself. If families can afford it, they purchase new spoons and special small-sized rice bowls as well as chopsticks for these novices. When the budget is so limited that purchases of new implements are impossible, adult-sized ones are used, and often as not the tablespoon used for cooking and serving proves useful. 853 412 415

At mealtime the entire household sits in the back room, which is next to the kitchen. The head of the family sits nearest to the raised hearth, and the rest of the members form a circle to the left and right of him at a low round or rectangular table. The baby sits on his mother's or grandmother's lap. Usually the mess resulting from this early training period in self-feeding is ignored. The adult holding the novice in his lap occasionally picks up the dropped rice and thrusts small pieces of fish or vegetable into his mouth. Only when he bangs the table excessively with his spoon do his elders mildly chide him. At first the adult holding him will absently reach for the offending arm and slip some food into his mouth. Later they will begin reprimanding him by scowling and glaring at him saying, "Me-me!" (child talk for "eye," meaning "I look at you disapprovingly.") But all this is done in a very gentle way, and often when the novice bursts into tears from fright of the disapproving response, he will be hugged, laughed at, and 853 264 862

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[853] told, "No, no, no." In this manner the child is taught his early table manners.

As the child approaches the age of 2, the mother begins to praise him for eating without messing but still does not scold him if he fails to do so. He is the center of interest at the table, and his grandparents as well as older siblings encourage him with smiles and expressions of approval. At this time he loses interest in the spoon and is attracted to [412] the chopsticks, which everyone else at the table uses. As he struggles to handle the sticks, the adult holding him sets them in his hand. Holding his hand, with the chopsticks held in the proper position, they guide him a few times; then, as he protests and indicates annoyance at being restrained, they leave him to experiment for himself. This ritual is repeated at each meal, but the child is fed from the adult's chopsticks until he has mastered the technique for himself. The child is not hurried along in his experimentations or learning attempts. The adult praises each fortunate action and quickly slips food into the smiling, open mouth, and the child continues without protest.

Before each meal, people in the village raise their bowls and chopsticks slightly and bow their heads momentarily, murmuring, "Itadakimasu" (a polite signal that the meal is about to be partaken). Similarly, at the conclusion of the meal, the bowl is raised with a brief nod of the head, but this time the expression offered is "Gochiso-sama" (to indicate it was a treat . . . feast). Two very outspoken and good-humored mothers would nurse their young babies, then take the little hands, fold them over each other, palm sides up, gently push the bodies forward, and say, "Gochiso-sama!" Serious training in this aspect of eating etiquette, however, is left until the child is learning to feed himself.

862 Weaning, then, does not involve a dramatic change in all aspects of the diet of a child, and in many ways may be most traumatic as a with-
866 drawal of the indulgent nurturance of the mother. With the arrival of the new baby, a further step in the emotional weaning takes place. The child is denied his mother's back, for she now has a new baby to tend and eventually to carry.

Treatment of succorance during weaning contrasts sharply with that of the infancy and early childhood period. Unless there is a grandmother or older siblings in the family, this is the time of real deprivation for the child. He is ridiculed, shamed, and punished for demanding to be carried. It is a time marked with temper tantrums, extended periods of crying, and sullenness. Without doubt, this is the most trying stage in the life of a Taira child. Until the words, "You are a big

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

brother or big sister" take effect, he is the most miserable creature alive in the village. 866 862

Weaning from the back often occurs at the same time as weaning from the breast; if not it occurs within six months. While this study was being done, eight children between 18 months and 2 years were weaned from the back as well as from the breast. Temper tantrums in which the child would sit down and scream his head off, hurl dirt and stones at his mother, older siblings, or adults who stopped to have a kind word with him or to ridicule him, and incessant whining were symptomatic of the repercussions of abrupt withdrawal. Sulkiness, stubbornness, and tyrannical behavior, however, are short lived. The child finds that although this kind of behavior brought immediate and rewarding responses in the past, he now faces further withdrawal or punishment as a result. The mother impatiently screams back at him to stop crying, and siblings simply leave him behind to keep up with his own pace or drag him along forcibly and uncomfortably, with threats of punishment if he refuses to cooperate. As if to heap more abuse on deprivation, he finds the newly arrived baby the center of the household and taking his place at his mother's breast. He is encouraged and discouraged by turns. "You are an older brother or an older sister. You do not drink your mother's milk now. And see how big you are and such a good child," now encourage visitors. "Come here, hurry!" scream older siblings or mother when he fails to keep in step with them on walks. For about three months the child's bleary eyes, tear-streaked face, and woebegone expression are unquestionable evidences of the most unhappy interval of his childhood.

In an attempt to continue "ruling" the family, he goes into frequent rages. He demands anything and everything in sight, concentrating on the breast and on being carried. Desperately he screams and cries. Finally he sits on the ground and refuses to move. If his caretaker does not pick him up at that point, he will simply lie prone and cry hysterically. Usually adults scream back at him and start walking away, whereupon the child quickly picks himself off the ground and runs after the retreating caretaker. In this way the child's control is broken. Furthermore, he is ridiculed, shamed and scolded for his "babyish" behavior. Only the grandmother, with whom he sleeps at night, responds to his dominating behavior. During the day, he whines, wheedles, and makes numerous demands on her. [513]

Obviously family structure determines in part the severity of the deprivation. The child who lives in a household with a grandmother and perhaps older siblings will have someone to indulge him. The 866 887 603

866 first child of a nuclear family, on the other hand, will not have these
887 supports and thus finds this time severely depriving. The child in a
603 nuclear family with a number of older siblings to support and meet his dependency needs will find the transition difficult but will suffer less deprivation. If there is a grandmother or older siblings in the house, he can still claim some infantile support until he is about 4 or 5 years old. They continue to comfort him when he cries, help him in dressing, bathing, and eating. "Go ask your grandmother or older sibling," instructs the mother when the child requests aid. Or, if she happens not to be busy, she will help him herself.

[596] Mothers in extended households complained that grandparents often intervened on behalf of the child and made disciplining very difficult. The kindergarten teacher remarked on the differences between children who have grandparents and those who do not. "Those who do not have grandparents are much easier to handle, they don't cry so easily and do many things for themselves. My child always runs to grandfather whenever I scold her (there is no grandmother in the house) . . . and we mothers end up by being scolded by the old folks," she remarked.

It is not an uncommon sight to see a child crying and running to his grandmother on being reprimanded by his mother. With carrying, hugging, and venting anger against the mother, the old woman comforts the child. Children soon learn that if no one else complies with their demands, grandmother or grandfather will grant them satisfaction.

866 Grandmothers often will protect and indulge children of the vil-
603 lage other than their own grandchildren. One day as the fieldworker
855 sat talking with two mothers and watching their children play, the question of Okinawans' dislike of children's crying, and of overindulgence of grandmothers arose. The year and a half old boy of one of the women at that instant got one foot over the lower rail of a fence. As the child watched others climbing the fence, he tried to lift the other foot. He howled as he discovered the feat too difficult. The mother made no move to go to the boy's aid but instead sat laughing at the "foolish predicament he got himself into." Suddenly from the house across the way rushed a grandmother. She picked the screaming boy up and examined him for bruises. When she spotted the mother sitting within eye and earshot, she rushed over with the boy and started to scold her. "What are you doing sitting there! Just looking at your crying child! Why didn't you go over and help him . . . see what the matter was anyway?" And with this she put the child in the mother's lap and gave her a slap on the back. The old woman then

went home and hysterically reported the incident to her family. The mother, meanwhile, laughed and told her boy, "Just like your grandmother, can't stand to hear you cry even when you are not hurt!" She then went on to say that both she and her husband ignore the boy's crying in situations where he could help himself, but the boy's grandmother immediately runs to soothe and aid him. Generally it may be said that in extended households, grandmothers tend to prolong the dependence period and discourage independence and responsibility. 866 603 855 [596]

The relationship between grandfather and grandchild is more restrained. Although grandfathers may be seen carrying children or doing things for them, there is always a discreet distance between them, the result of early training in respect and deference to male elders. Children do not tease their grandfathers as they do their grandmothers. Older boys, in their late teens, may carry on a superficial joking relationship with their grandfathers, but they must be careful not to show disrespect. The male elders in turn show greater affection for the male child than for the female. When both grandparents are living in the house, the child, whether male or female, is more likely to direct his succorant appeals to grandmother rather than grandfather.* 603 858 866

Mothers, themselves, are often not too consistent in their training for independence. They will feel sorry for the child when he is first weaned and allow him to stay close to them until the birth of the next sibling. On the other hand, they will encourage the little 2-year-olds to imitate older girls and boys, particularly in their baby-tending role. A mother will strap a "doll" on her daughter or son's back. The "dolls" are usually rolled blankets or jackets, for real dolls are expensive and rarely bought in the village. Older children and adults do not fail to comment to a child carrying such a burden. They praise him for being such a good caretaker; they pretend to see the "baby" sleeping and report this to him. If the strapping becomes loose, they call to him and reassemble the "baby" and the pinning. The doll is never played with or manipulated. Thus the 2-year-old gets praised for emulation of the responsible and nurturant behavior expected of older siblings. 866 857 [862] [524] [155]

Perhaps it is this role training that explains in part the absence of aggression toward the newborn sibling, which might well be expected with such a short interval between weaning from the breast and back and the birth of the next child. The fieldworker did not observe one instance of such hostility. If there is any hostility expressed, it is against the mother in outbursts of temper and against those who ridicule or try to comfort the displaced child. The grandmother's aggressive actions against the mother may encourage the child in this behavior 867 593

* Only 4 out of 24 sample children lived in the same house with a grandfather.

867 as well as comfort him. The support and the nurturance of his older
593 brothers and sisters help in softening the blow and may also function as role model behavior. Even children who had shortly been weaned were observed responding very nurturantly and affectionately toward their newborn siblings. It is difficult to rely wholely on the premise that the greater emphasis placed on the child by his grandmother and the constant attention paid to his status as an older sibling would nullify any aggressive intents. The wistful statement made by a 10-year-old in the form of a wish to be his baby sister because she is loved and indulged by everyone certainly indicates envy as well as the child's clear view of the protection and nurturance given to young infants.

866 In summary, this period is an unhappy interlude for the Taira child. He is forced to give up the indulgencies of infancy. He is punished for demanding behavior and must now confine dominating behavior to his grandmother. He must shift his dependence from his mother to his grandparents and siblings and finally to his peers. He does this only after a period of stormy protests.

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Chapter 15

Kindergarten

872 It is necessary to define the term "kindergarten child" as it is used in
858 Taira. The group includes all children from weaning until the age of 6. The younger ones are carried to the morning sessions, whereas the older ones go on their own. Kindergarten may thus be likened to a mass baby-sitting session. An adult, scolding an 8-year-old who smears mud all over concrete walls, by calling him a kindergarten child is belittling his intellectual maturity. Finding a newly planted field trampled, an adult will quickly volunteer: "Oh, it must have been the kindergarten children; they don't know any better."

861 Taira adults feel that children under 6 years "do not have sense." Because of this belief, they are considered uneducable. Serious training and instruction pertinent to the standards and values of Taira society

are therefore generally postponed until the child is believed to be endowed with this mysterious capacity to "understand and know." Kindergarten children pilfer from gardens, have temper tantrums, and attack each other physically, but very little enforcement takes place. "They are only children, we can't expect them to know any better," say adults. 858 861 [872]

In spite of this distinction, there is not a complete laissez-faire handling of the still "senseless" child. On the contrary, the child is subject to a number of restrictions. Adults assiduously attempt to train him to say "Please" and "Thank you," "Good morning," "Good day," and "Good-bye." One mother and her eldest daughter were observed trying to teach the youngest child, an 8-month-old girl, to say "Thank you." A piece of brown sugar was extended, withdrawn, given and taken from the baby until she had twice performed the act indicating "Thank you." Mother and daughter took the baby's hands, folded one over the other, palm side up and raised it, saying at the same time, "Ah-ah," baby talk for "Thank you." The situation was not without fussing and screaming on the part of the young child. 861 867

Adults often push the young child's head down to say "Hello," and, if he lets out screams of protest, all laugh hilariously. The child inevitably joins in the laughter and the adults taunt, "Know-nothing." Three and 4-year-olds playing in the dirt along the lanes are picked up and taken to the faucets for a wash down and a scolding, "Dirty! Cat!" Although such enforcement occurs, it is negated when the child starts crying. "Here, here, don't cry; mother was bad" (for scolding you) placates the adult, hugging and cradling the child. [855]

One mother complained that her tomato patch was constantly being raided. When asked whether she knew who was doing it, she said, "Yes, they are kindergarten children." Questioned further as to why she did not scold them or talk to their parents, she said, "It's no use, they are too young to talk to, and besides, I would not like to talk to their mothers because, who knows, my own girls who are under 6 years old may be doing something like that too."

Playing with water is the favorite pastime of young children. During all times of the day a group of them gather at the water tank or at faucets to puddle and "wash." When the water supply was limited, adults would pause in passing by to scream, "Eeyah!" once, then go on, shaking their heads while the children paused only momentarily to look up and then continued with their play. [857]

In the morning, after adults have departed for the fields and mountains and older children have left the village for school, the kindergarten child leaves home with two or three sweet potatoes in his hand 857 872

857 to gather with others his age under the great banyan tree at the lower
872 water tank. On rainy days he proceeds to the empty warehouse. There is no compulsion to go; he can join another renegade at the upper tank or on the beach, if he feels inclined to. As the group grows, games of tag, marbles, and rope jumping are started. By the time the kindergarten teacher arrives on the scene, the children have organized themselves into numbers of little groups and games. She carries the big drum
872 from the village office to the banyan tree, and, even before she drums
876 to signal the start of the session, little girls are lining up in front of her. The boys, as if to assert their maleness, play on, disregarding her until she calls sternly to them. Soon a line of boys forms next to the line of girls. As the teacher instructs all to straighten the formations by putting hands onto the shoulders of those in front, boys begin tickling each other and slapping in time to the song of the kindergarteners. The teacher frowns at the boys and tries hard to suppress an amused smile, for the sounds of the childish voices are so incongruent with the brazen attitude. With her drumsticks she reaches over to lightly tap a head, a buttock, and an offending arm. Soon there is order, and she bows slightly, saying, "Good morning, students." The children respond with, "Good morning, teacher," the boys exaggerating the politeness with deep bows and shouting voices. The teacher smiles, then instructs all to stand up straight to sing the kindergarten song. Roughly translated it goes, "We are kindergarteners. . . . We play together well. . . ." There are motions to go with the song, and the girls, with their serious concentration to be perfect in their performance, contrast sharply with the improvisations of the boys. The teacher ignores this and interrupts her singing occasionally to laugh and reach over with the drumstick to restrain a particularly disturbing boy.

863 When the song is completed, she comments on the excellent singing
872 performance and then goes on to ask how many children remembered to wash their faces and hands before coming to kindergarten. There is
876 an embarrassed twitter among the girls and a few downcast eyes, but the majority proudly raise their hands. As she examines the children, she comments that those who are negligent should be ashamed. From among their ranks a voice calls out, "Teacher, teacher! I didn't wash my face and hands, and I am not ashamed!" A little girl comments, "Fool thing!" The teacher finally hears his insistent cries and has him repeat his information. She tries hard to look disapproving, but laughs spontaneously instead as she lightly whacks his buttocks with the drumstick, saying, "What do you mean, you have not washed your hands and face and you are not ashamed!" She turns to inspect the children one by one, still smiling and commenting on a dirty ear and unkempt finger-

nails. One or two girls stand fearfully, almost in tears, while others subject themselves to inspection with aplomb. The boys by now are mocking the teacher by inspecting each other and commenting on the failure to meet the test. A few little girls disgustedly say, "These boys, wish we did not have to have them!" 863 872 876

After a brief lecture on cleanliness and orderliness, the teacher asks all to count the number of children present. Immediately there is bedlam as all start to count aloud. She quickly takes a count herself and waits for the first child to answer. As she listens to the shouts, she points out the child who has the right answer and says, "That is right, now let us count together. You, Sachiko, at the head of the line, one, next, Nariko, two. . . ."

Following this counting, the teacher may present a simple lesson in manners. She tells each child down the line to answer with a crisp "hai," then to state his name in full. The oldest girls respond obediently and help their 3- and 4-year-old siblings. As she approaches the line of boys, she frowns and nods. Each boy shouts his answer and name in spite of her protests to the effect that she is not hard of hearing. From somewhere near the end of the line comes a loud voice, "Hai, Taira, Saburo-san!" She quickly moves over to the possessor of the voice and taps the boy on his cleanly shaven head. The noise of the tap is sharp and clear. It induces a hearty round of laughs from all the children. The censured boy stands rubbing his head and smiling at the teacher as she tells him that he knows well one does not use the honorific suffix with one's own name. 872 867 876

The teacher does not attempt to present further lessons. Instead, she asks what kind of games the children would like to play. Shouts of "Race, race!" drown out her instruction to organize into teams. From the back of one 6-year-old girl she unstraps a screaming infant. With one arm cradling the infant, she drums to spur on the runners. From the direction of the village store, a grandmother comes slowly shuffling to join the group. She points out the 2-year-old on the back of his 5-year-old sibling who is starting off on his share of the run. The mother of the screaming infant comes running down the path to relieve the teacher of her burden. She sits nearby on a fence stone to nurse the baby and spur the runners on. Other adult passersby stop briefly to watch the runners, encourage them with shouts to run a little faster, clap their hands to congratulate a winner, and console a loser with advice to try harder the next time. 872 526

After the races the children sit and sing songs with the teacher. In their sitting positions they "act out" the songs with motions of their arms. The teacher releases her hold on the drumsticks as a 4-year-old

872 attempts to hold his hand over hers and he continues to beat out the
526 rhythm of the songs. While finishing the last song, she traces lines for the snail game on the sandy ground. A 5-year-old girl, singing the final words of the song, impatiently tugs at her hand. Taking the stick from her hand, the girl erases the teacher's lines and painstakingly tries to make a perfectly round spiral. She stands back to look at the finished "snail," hands the stick back to the teacher, and returns to her place.

The snail game involves teams of two groups of children. One member of a group takes his position in the inner end of the spiral, while the other stands at the outer end. At a signal from the teacher, both run toward each other as fast as possible to cover as much of the length of the line as possible. When they meet, they play a game [524] similar to the American "rock, paper, and scissors." The loser gives up his turn to another member of his group who has to start at the beginning of the opposite end while the winner runs from the point at which the "toss" took place. At the point of meeting, another toss takes place, and the first contestant to reach the opposite end of the spiral wins a point for his team.

Another favorite game of the kindergarten children is "choosing sides." Two mixed groups stand opposite each other and at the signal one group, hand in hand, moves forward, gaily kicking their feet toward the other members of their group. "We will take, Yoshiko," they sing as they swoop in a semicircle to encircle the chosen one, who attempts to run away while her group tries to run interference. Then the next group has a turn. There is no real "winning" in this game, but the children enjoy the united chasing and united defense.

872 After playing organized games from about 9:30 until 11:15, the
262 children are temporarily disbanded while the teacher goes to prepare the powdered milk, which the children look forward to eagerly. Often the promise of milk serves as a powerful incentive to attend kindergarten for even the most incorrigible renegade. The children all scatter to run home for their small tea cups in which the coveted drink is served. As the teacher approaches the banyan tree from her home, bucket of milk and dipper in hand, she smiles to see the two lines
272 already formed. "Today, we will serve the girls first because the boys
876 were first yesterday," she announces, and immediately there is a shout of disapproval from the boys and a few menacing scowls and upraised
258 arms with clenched fists directed toward the girls. The little girls smile smugly back at the boys, and a few return the hostile threats. The most aggressive boys and girls soon become involved in a tussle, and the teacher serves notice that milk will be withdrawn for the day if order is not restored. The observer feels that in her reprimand to the

guilty parties there is slightly more emphasis in the censure of the female child, whether she is really more responsible for the disturbance or not. There is a tone in her voice which implies that "females do not fight; boys, well, boys can't be helped." The children are quick to sense this, particularly the guilty boys, who strut about brashly when the teacher turns her back to start serving the milk. 872 876 858

When all the milk has been served and drunk, the teacher[2] starts the farewell song for the day. Again the song is fairly shouted out, but for a brief moment serenity reigns when the teacher bows her head slightly to say, "Students, good-bye, until tomorrow," to which the students respond, "Teacher, good-bye until tomorrow." 872 533

In spite of the competitive content of the games and lessons which the teacher presents to the kindergarten, the observer finds few expressions of achievement motivation and competitive spirit. There is little to indicate that children at this age are interested in winning or excelling. Perhaps the remarks of a 4-year-old boy who reported to his mother on the activities of kindergarten are adequate to summarize the attitude of most kindergarten children. "Mother," he said, "Saburo is first in the races, Tetsuo is second and I am third, always third." To which the mother replied, "If you would try a little harder tomorrow, you may be first." The child looked at the mother questioningly, and the next day he reported that while he thought he tried harder he was again third. The mother again encouraged him, but with a broad smile the child said, "But mother (and the mother explains the expression on the child's face as one of 'You don't understand') I am third! Saburo is first, Tetsuo is second . . . and I am third!" The mother went on to explain to the fieldworker that the whole idea was hilariously funny to the child and the fact that the mother would take the subject so seriously was even funnier. 866 872 876

Furthermore, once the winners are determined, the game is concluded *in toto* as far as the teacher and the children are concerned. There are no congratulatory remarks beyond the clapping of the appreciative audience. No references are made to yesterday's winners or today's possible winners. During performances the teacher may encourage a child here with a positive comment, censure an unruly child there with the stick, but the whole atmosphere of child-teacher interactions is affectionate, indulgent, and relaxed. When a child is being reprimanded, the teacher takes no great pains to conceal her appreciation of the humor involved in the situation, and her affection for the "senselessness" of children at this age is expressed while she is making a token effort. [201] [858]

There are no toys to play with in kindergarten, no way in which to 872 876

[i.e. the Kindergarten teacher - ANALYST]

872 876 express one's creativeness except in perfecting and improvising song-dance performances. Lacking paper and crayons or paint, children crouch to the ground with the teacher to trace "pictures" in the sandy ground with their fingers or small sticks. The beach provides a rich playground on days when the teacher suffers laryngitis as a result of a cold and is unable to lead songs and direct the play verbally. Collecting shells, learning their names, examining washed up bits of seaweed and fish, exploring exposed stretches of rivers at low tide are real lessons in nature for the kindergarten child as he discovers these things himself and experiments without the direction of formal lessons. If he desires more information about things, he is free to ask the teacher; if he does not, no pressure is put on him to learn and know.

872 857 [875] The kindergarten phase is a happy one for the child. Under the direction of the teacher, who may be the mother or sister of one of his peers, he passes the two hours, from 9:30 to 11:30, of the morning, then goes on to play in and around the village for the rest of the day. He runs home only when he is hungry or when it is mealtime. And he hurries back to rejoin his peers for free play for the rest of the day.

857 [576] [515] [291] Adults put little restriction on children's movement. They are free to occupy any part of the home and run around at will. Before entering the house, everyone takes off his shoes; a rag lies on the ground to wipe dirty feet. Few children spend any length of time indoors, however, during daylight hours. If weather forces them to stay inside, they are found either in one of the front rooms or in the cooking area to the back.

855 867 Despite the occasional motor vehicle traffic through the village, adults show little concern, for the kindergarten child has been well exposed to rules of safety in this respect. At the sound of warning horns, children run to the side of the main road and into the yards. The few brazen little boys who dare to chase vehicles and attempt to hang on to the rear bumper are severely reprimanded by those nearby.

A 4-year-old boy who had run out of the way of a lumbering truck stood watching as it rounded the curve and entered the village. Adults waiting for the vehicle to pass chatted idly and scanned the passengers to see if there were any familiar faces. Suddenly the 4-year-old leaned forward and threw a small branch he had in his hand under the tires of the passing truck. At once the driver, passengers, and by-standers screamed. "Fool one!" The passengers waved a warning finger at him, and he was berated by the village adults standing with him. "That was a dangerous thing to do. If you do that another time, you will be taken to the police station!" they threatened. The boy looked down at the ground and nodded to acknowledge his wrongdoing.

On the whole it can be said that children seem to decide for themselves how far they can move around. Underlying the action of most is a dislike of venturing into unfamiliar grounds, and this largely restricts the territory commonly covered. Most children travel in groups of more than two, an aspect of Taira children's behavior to which reference will often be made. 857 855 156

The area of tombs is generally avoided by children, except by those who pass there to walk to the mouth of the Udenaha River or over the narrow, fragile bridge across it. While children do not fear the bodies of the dead, they express a fear of spirits. But during ceremonies for the dead, children accompany adults and participate in the social gatherings in front of tombs following the prayer. When the body of a fisherman was brought up on the shores of Taira after a typhoon, scores of children of kindergarten age roamed to the beach to take a peek beneath the canvas which covered the corpse. The policeman who officiated on the occasion impatiently waved away the kindergarteners, and when the schoolchildren returned in the afternoon, they also had to be warned to stay away. 857 769 775 [852]

In the central village itself, few places are closed to children. The village office building, of which only a section is reserved for office space, quite often attracts children. It is a convenient temporary shelter during rain squalls and a cool spot during hot weather. The village headman or his clerk may complain about too much noise and chase a group out, but this does not discourage them from returning soon afterward. The open prayer house, too, is a place for play, and no objections are voiced by adults, including the priestess and her assistants. These buildings are village gathering places, and children, as essential members of the community, have free access to them. The situation is different with regard to the township office and the post office, which children never enter except on special errands. 857 858

Children are familiar with dangerous spots, such as steep hills, and show amazing skill in maintaining balance, even when the ground is wet and the dirt is loose. On a picnic hike of a little under 4 miles, kindergarteners ranging from 3 to 6 years scampered across a frail, wide-slatted bridge, up and down over slippery clay paths and over rocky terrain with only a 30 minute stop to eat their lunches. In a group of about 15 children only two 3-year-olds slipped and cried to be carried down unusually steep inclines and over the rickety bridge. None seemed exhausted although many roamed off the paths to forage in the bushes for berries and laurellike flowers from which they sucked nectar. 855 857

Journeys outside the village are rare for most children. It is usually 857

857 the infant still at the breast who is taken on shopping trips to Nago, the nearest town, or to neighboring townships to visit maternal relatives. When whale meat was marketed from the village on weekends, a school age child was taken along to carry the infant because the mother was burdened with her basket of meat, but this was infrequent. Few children have explored their township beyond Miyagi, a village 5 miles to the east of Taira or Gesashi, 4 miles to the southwest.

[364] Children also rummage through the garbage heaps, where they find useful things like tin cans, bottles, and discarded bits of vegetable with which to play house or store.

857 During the harvest and planting seasons, children accompany adults
241 to the rice paddies and potato fields near the village. Mats are spread out on the dikes and kindergarten children gaily dangle their feet in the oozy mud while "keeping watch over the sleeping infants." Those who whimper to help are given small sheaves of rice to carry to their fathers and older brothers, who thresh them in the dry fields or on the flat grounds bordering the paddies.

855 Many 4-year-olds are adept at handling knives. As implements like
[412] knives, hatchets, pronged hoes, sickles, rakes, and saws were often left within reach of children, it was not unusual for them to use them. Although many cut themselves, adults do not seem to take special care to put them out of reach. Children of kindergarten age are frequently scolded for playing with sharp instruments, but with persistent crying or begging they usually gain reluctant consent.

852 During all holiday events, children participate without much con-
855 trol from adults. Young children are carried by their mothers as they make the visiting rounds or sit on the floor in the building where the
527 whole village congregates. Toddlers explore the surroundings and, finding themselves in the middle of the dance floor, are gently pushed aside and handed back to their mother. Older children hang around while food is served; then they disappear to play games of their own. During sport events, track meets, wrestling, and at dance performances, children are as interested spectators as their parents. Nobody would think of leaving a child at home on a holiday, and nobody would demand that the child sit quietly through lengthy speeches or ceremonies.

868 Children learn dances from kindergarten days on, either by watch-
535 ing or by coaching from an older person, a friend, one's older sister, or mother. Sometimes they are called on to perform for adults, or a
[872] special children's performance is given under the direction of the kindergarten teacher. Adults enjoy these dances as much as if they were done by grownups. They are amused and delighted if a little girl

wiggles her hips and otherwise makes movements that are not permitted in the classical Okinawan dance. 868 535

Kindergarten children are usually asleep by 8:30 in the winter and 9:00 in the summer. They sleep an average 8 hours. Ten o'clock is considered to be proper bedtime for all people. The village bell is rung to remind everyone that the day has ended. The entire family sleeps on the mattresses spread on the floor with wooden pillows. In winter the heavy quilts are taken down. Children vary in their bedtime. Those who feel tired fall asleep soon after the evening meal. Often the grandparents lie down with the small children. If children accompany parents on a visit, they lie down in their father's or mother's lap, or on the floor to sleep. Since not all adults go to sleep at 10:00, older children may stay up longer, particularly during moonlight nights. Few children take naps except during the summer, when the heat makes everyone drowsy and slows down work during midday. Once in a while a young child goes home to lie down for a nap. 857 513

The kindergarten child's day has been an active and carefree one. He is seldom alone. "Do not play alone, go and play with others. If you play alone, people might think that others dislike you," instruct parents in Taira. Anyone passing a child playing alone would remark, "How lonely he seems." Furthermore, mothers worry about a child being alone "because he is more apt to do naughty things or get into dangerous play." 857 155 156

A 4- or 5-year-old may sometimes find himself being a caretaker, but generally he is not considered very reliable, and being a "senseless" individual, he is not held responsible by the village for anything that might happen to his charges. It is the mother who is held culpable and is censured in this case. 857 855 861

One mother was severely criticized by her neighbors when she punished her 4-year-old boy for abandoning his 2-year-old sibling. The children had been sent out to play. When the older boy came home for supper, he faced an angry mother who berated him for thinking only of his own pleasure and leaving his little brother on the main road and to the dangers of passing trucks. She spanked the boy, tied his hands and legs briefly, and left the crying child behind when she went to the village store with his younger sibling.

In another case, a grandmother grumbled about the "laxity" and irresponsibility of the mother. A 5-year-old was carrying her month-old sibling who was sleeping on the back in a twisted position due to loose strappings. "Come here! Your mother, where is she . . . how could she leave this child with you! Almost falling . . . ," the old woman mumbled as she unstrapped the peacefully sleeping baby and 857 854

857 cuddled it in her arms. The 5-year-old in this case was disappointed
854 at being relieved of his charge, but no doubt would have been happy to be absolved of any blame in the event that the baby had fallen and hurt itself.

857 Most 4- and 5-year-olds, therefore, find their nurturant efforts frus-
866 trated, for they are considered too young to carry their younger siblings. They are told that their necks will hurt, they are not strong enough,
[593] and that they will be dwarfs if they started to carry such a heavy bur-
[155] den from such an early age. A sturdy 5-year-old, nevertheless, finds that if he is persistent enough, his mother will allow him to carry his infant sibling for short periods of time with close supervision. It is on these short jaunts that the child basks in the shower of praise and is richly rewarded for his nurturant behavior. Several mothers reported how their 4- and 5-year-olds take pride periodically in mopping up floors, setting tables, and clearing up after a meal. "They don't really do these chores, they help at it, but we let them do it because they like to. And if they don't feel like doing it, we don't say anything," report these mothers.

857 Frequently kindergarten children accompany their mothers to the
241 potato fields in the afternoons. There they play in and around the
866 plants or "help" their mothers. One 4-year-old girl pointed out with pride that she goes with her mother to their fields to "clean dirt off the potatoes" which her mother has dug before placing them in the basket. Boys of 3 and 5 were observed "assisting" by following adults' instructions to drop the seed potato into the hole at planting time. Generally adults dislike taking children to distant fields, for they beg to be carried near the half-way point. Occasionally a young child who has been on such a trip is toted back in the grandmother's empty carrying basket or in one of the suspended shoulder-yoke baskets of his grandfather.

863 During the kindergarten period, constant pressure is put on the
514 child to learn sphincter control. The child goes pantless until he attains this goal, which is usually achieved by the age of 4. There is little formal bowel training. Children simply crouch and defecate. Grandmothers or mothers clean up the feces as soon as they see them. Younger children eliminate all over the village, but by 3 they usually
[887] restrict themselves to their own yards. When there are grandmothers in the family, bowel training seems to be taken over by them. Not infrequently the old woman can be seen standing over a child in the yard or cleaning up both the child and the yard. She is generally the one who gently coaxes the child to use the outhouse when he is old enough and physically able to straddle the opening over the pit. The

practice of allowing the child to eliminate wherever he chooses is necessitated by the structure of the outhouse, a concrete tank covered with a slotted wooden board or loose planks. 863 [514]

Girls may go pantless until they are completely toilet trained but must wear dresses. Since clothing distinguishes those who have been toilet trained, girls proudly compare bright printed panties while boys sport nondescript short pants. Untrained boys wear short shirts or cotton kimonos in summer or flannel ones in the winter. [291]

Accidental wetting of pants and bedwetting do not present much of a problem to parents. Children, however, appear to be embarrassed in such situations. Mothers claim they do not scold or shame the children. It seems to be more of a threat to the child, who realizes his newly gained status and recognizes the accident as infantile behavior. A few children, ranging from 4 to 11, suffer from eneuresis. An 11-year-old, according to the mother, wakes himself and rinses out his wet clothing without waking anyone else. She felt that he was suffering enough and so refrained from saying anything about it.

As seen in the description of the kindergarten session, constant pressure is placed on the child to keep himself clean. A mother seeing a dirty child will laughingly tell him to go sleep with the rats. There is a nasal affliction which is common among children up until the age of 8. Whereas the mother or grandmother tends the infant, sucking the mucus out of his nose, they do not aid the weaned child. During the preschool years, the child, with a well-practiced movement of the arm, smears the discharge over half his face, onto his kimono or shirt sleeves, or wipes it impatiently with his grimy hands. The resulting appearance prompts others to tease, "Dirty faced cat," or to question sneeringly, "Did the rat walk over your face?" It seems, however, that boys are less interested in cleanliness and tolerate dirty and unkemptness for a longer period of time than girls. By the time they are 3 years old, girls are conscious of their appearance, but this may be because they frequently accompany older girls to the wells and rivers when laundering is being done. As it was the usual procedure to end the task with washing heads and delousing, the girls were less soiled than the boys at this age. Five- and 6-year-old girls are praised for going to the well or river to wash their own clothing and heads if they go with older children. If they go alone, they are severely scolded and punished. When the faucets were installed in the village, 4-year-old girls assiduously tended to their grooming, spurred on by the praise and admiration of adults. Girls may be punished, on the other hand, for using too much soap or washing too often. One mother complained that her 8-year-old girl used to be such a stickler for cleanliness and

863 515 [854] [296]

863 good grooming but was at present always a mess. One of us was pres-
ent at the home one day when a group of younger girls came by to
515 call the 8-year-old to accompany them to the river to wash their heads. The girl dashed around the house and yard searching for a nonexistent bar of soap and finally was crossly told by her mother that there was none and that she really did not need washing. Nevertheless, the girl gathered some hibiscus leaves, which she tore and mashed to extract a slimy, soapylike substance, and left with the other girls to wash her hair. Regular bathing between the age of 1 and 5 is sporadic. During
[857] the summer it is more frequent, for the older children take their younger siblings to the rivers for bathing and swimming.

At irregular intervals during the winter young children are bathed behind the house, near the kitchen doorway, by their mothers or older sisters. A little hot water added to the cold eases their discomfort. During the holiday season mothers and older girls were observed dragging and carrying screaming 2- to 4-year-olds to the bath.

864 As children get older, exposure of genitals is much less serious in the case of a boy than in the case of a girl. Little girls are told to sit like their mothers with their legs together and are never permitted to expose their genitals. This is true even for those young girls who are still without pants. Occasionally boys tease a little girl by shouting, "Your vagina is showing." Sexual manipulation between children, either homosexually or heterosexually, was never observed. The following observation illustrates the response of an older sibling to her 1-year-old sister, who attempts to imitate a urinating boy.

> A group of girls were playing with a ball and K. (4-year-old boy) came along. The girls objected to his presence and began to chase him away. K. then reached in his fly and brought out his penis. He began to urinate, pointing his penis up at the girls. The girls screamed and scattered to get out of reach of the urine. K. chased them briefly, urinating all the while, then stopped to finish. Just as he finished, M. (4-year-old girl), lifting the front of her dress, started to urinate in a standing position. Halfway done, she started to squat, but before she started to squat, her sister saw what was happening and yelled out in an angry voice, "M!" . . . then she went over to give the little girl a slap on the head.

Exhibitionism between boys occurs, and a urinating demonstration among boys with an erection is occasionally seen. Such behavior is not condoned by adults. Girls, however, almost always urinate alone at a short distance from the group. Children are shamed if one refers to their genitals as they approach school age. The separation between boys and girls, which increases with greater age, also discourages mutual play or sex experimentation.

855 There are few other demands made of the kindergarten child. He
861

can still try to get his way by crying, and his mother willingly continues to give him food when he asks. One parent remarked that it was much easier to meet the child's demands. Observations confirmed this statement. Many adults simply say "Yes" and promise things to children which they promptly forget. Obedience is not expected except for conformity with safety rules. Until shortly before he starts off to school, the child's disobedience tends to be excused. "No, no!" says a mother to her year-old child who may be waving a piece of sugar cane around her head from his perch on her back. The child continues, and the mother pushes the stalk aside each time she is hit. "Know nothing," she says as she rearranges the stalk, to avoid being hit. "Don't mess the yard," screams a grandmother. "Stop puddling in that mud," shouts a father. "Go and bring me the hoe," commands a mother. To all these requests the child may turn a deaf ear, and chances are that he will escape being punished for not complying. Mothers admitted that they allow their children a great deal of leeway concerning obedience. 855 861

By instilling fear into the child about the dangers of the well, river and beach, the main road and paddies, adults attempt to enforce the rules of safety. Their attempts are negated, however, when they allow children of this age to play in these areas in the company of older siblings. No one coming across schoolchildren trailed by kindergarteners censures or points out the danger of these places; however, should an adult or older child come upon a group of kindergarten children playing alone at the river or beach, a word of caution or reprimand is sure to be offered. 857 855 861

In a village such as Taira with its closely situated houses, dry thatched roofs, and light wood walls, the danger of fire is very real; therefore the rule with respect to playing with fire and matches is stringently enforced regardless of the age of the child. One mother of a 4-year-old boy found smoke rising from the backyard one day. She went to the source of the smoke and found her 4-year-old busily striking matches and trying to whip up a fire. His 4-year-old companion was scurrying about for pieces of brush and paper with which to feed the fire. "I scolded him roundly, spanked him and tied his hands. I threatened to put him in a basket, then suspend the basket from the rafter posts the next time he played with matches. He was so frightened that I doubt whether he will ever play with matches again."

Aggression in children up to school age is generally tolerated although adults do not approve of such behavior. Because they feel that preschool children change their minds and moods so rapidly, adults do not interfere with their altercations. Parents laughingly explain, 865 857 861

865 "Play and fight are children's work." As one mother reported, "It is no
857 use. They fight and then before you know it, they are friends again.
[861] In Japan, parents often interfere with children's fights, but we here in Okinawa don't believe in doing so. It is much better to let them alone unless they injure one another. The way it is, it would make an adult look like a fool to interfere." Some parents attempt to channel aggression by calling a wrestling match between boys who start arguing. In this way, rock throwing and fighting with sticks are avoided, and the boys can work off their anger, but hitting, biting, and pushing, as well as rock throwing, were observed among children of this age. As the children approach school age and gain facility in language, they resort more and more to verbal aggression; however, as will be discussed later, some physical aggression is carried over in the behavior of boys toward girls. At no time is aggression toward younger children tolerated.

[24] Only after exhaustive questioning can one get parents to admit that they train their children to retaliate. "Never fight; if someone hits you, just walk away, for you (in thus showing your strength to resist) will win the fight: fighting is bad," instruct mothers, according to the mother interview. Informal talks nevertheless revealed that parents disliked it if their children are underdogs all the time.

865 Boys are expected to be more aggressive than girls, who are, ideally,
858 docile, gentle mannered, kind, reserved, and considerate. In some ways adults seem to train little boys to be aggressive. Beginning in infancy they tease and bully them, holding their arms and restricting them bodily, withdrawing desired objects and pretending to scold and hit. They glean great amusement at the expense of the child if he screams and strikes out in anger. The adult expresses surprise and mock anger. Finally, when he cries, everyone will laugh while the mother retaliates by playfully slapping the aggressor. While most of this kind of teasing is restricted to male infants and young boys, female children are not exempt.

865 Irritable, pushy children do not exist in Taira. Those who try to get
155 things by "walking over others" do not get far, for children ostracize and avoid them. One 4-year-old, observed over a period of months, altered his methods of acquiring goals from pushing and bullying to socially sanctioned techniques, such as asking, waiting his turn, and sharing. The change was startling. Adults passing on a group of children that included this former bully no longer had to scream warnings at him, and his mother felt she did not have to "look after him" any more. During the time of this study, only the children of a recently arrived fisherman and his wife were ostracized by parents as being far

too aggressive and ill behaved. The children played with them but never sought them out and often deserted them en masse when disagreements arose. Taira villagers blamed the parents in this case for being too lax and quarrelsome with each other. 865 155

Peer groups are another of the major agents of socialization for the young child. Child interview data intimate that censure by peers arouses much more anxiety than censure by parents. Refusal to comply with the demands of his peers in the face of punishment from his parents for complying raises in the mind of the child, the question, "Will he hate me for not doing what he asks?" Consequently the child chooses the support that is available to him the greater part of his day and calculates the risk of adult censure quite logically. 857 861

In despair, one mother described how her 5-year-old boy rushes into the kitchen daily and demands to be given his lunch standing on the dirt floor. Despite his parents' instructions to wash his feet and sit properly on the raised portion of the room to eat, the boy scrambled on all fours and hung his unwashed feet over the edge and shoveled his rice down his throat because "his friends were waiting for him."

As mentioned above, the village as a whole acts as another socialization agent. However, although various members shout warnings in attempts to stop children from disapproved behavior, they do not punish them. Their function seems to be one of casual reminding.

When a child turns 5, he is faced with a dramatic change. Parents now begin to treat him like a school child. New independence and responsibility are expected, and an attempt is made to prepare him for first grade. 858 866

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Chapter 16

First Grade

Entry into first grade constitutes a change of status for the child in Taira. It means more than just less play time and adjustment to strict routines, for now he is considered capable of knowing what he is [872]

858 doing. He is made to feel and understand that all the things he did as
866 a kindergarten child are reprehensible. His long walks to and from
872 school give him a sense of independence in spite of the fact that classmates and siblings accompany him. The adulation of kindergarteners, who hang on to everything he reports about his new experience, creates in him a sense of superiority which he never fails to emphasize. "You don't know how to write your name . . . see, this is how you write . . ." he fairly sneers at the wondering, admiring 3- to 5-year-olds and scratches the syllabary in the sand with his fingers.

MORNING ROUTINE

512 The first grader rises early the morning of his first day of school,
872 rushes out to the pot of water standing in the yard just outside the
857 kitchen door, splashes the cold water over his face, brushes his teeth, and re-enters the house. He shivers a bit in the cold, damp morning air
[291] as he struggles to wiggle out of the clothing he wore the day before and into an outfit specially designated for school. He remembers that he has a new pair of canvas shoes and runs out to wash his feet. Clothed and shod he peers into the darkness of the house, waiting impatiently for signs of stirring. From around the corner of the house his grandmother mutters as she goes about her task of starting the fire under the soup pot.

While his mother and grandmother prepare breakfast, he sits looking through his new books; a reader, penmanship notebook, an art book, a music book, and a nature science book. His father is the last to rise, and as he goes stumbling out to wash, his mother calls for someone to amuse the baby who has meanwhile awakened. His older siblings, who are still preparing themselves for school, feign surprise as the new first grader moves to the baby. "Yah! Look, the first grader is all ready!" they laugh.

As the morning meal of rice and soup is hurriedly eaten, the adults instruct the first grader not to disgrace himself and to listen to the teacher. Already the cries of other first graders are urging him to be off to school. The older siblings leisurely gather books and lunches together, but the first grader runs out to join his classmates. All question each other excitedly for "forgotten things." Their mothers stand admiringly, but a few are disgruntled. "It is still too early to start. You are not to be in school until a half hour before the beginning bell," they warn. A sympathetic old woman volunteers, "Go, it is a long way and you will take longer to walk," she advises as the little group starts

off. One or two anxious mothers accompany the group "to see that they will be all right on their first day of school." 512

Walking down the road to school, the child smiles proudly as adults comment, "Hah! See how he struts, that big first grader!" He moves to the side of the road as a big lumber truck comes rumbling along and remembers the warnings about the steep bank near the river. The older schoolchildren, walking more leisurely, lag behind and keep a close watch on their younger schoolmates. 872 857

SCHOOL ROUTINE

When they reach the schoolyard, the older children run to their rooms to drop their books so that they can play unencumbered, but the first graders cling to their books and lunches. Gathering into little groups according to their villages, they inspect each other at a discreet distance. As the elementary school is situated in the neighboring village of Kawata, which is visited frequently by Taira villagers, the children exchange notes on the extent of their acquaintance with this bigger, older place. 872

At last the bell is sounded by one of the teachers. Immediately there is a cry to gather. Each class forms two lines in front of their respective teachers. There is bedlam in the first-grade lines as the only boy from one village is directed into the boy's line and separated from the three girls with whom he had walked to school. The principal calls out impatiently for all to straighten the lines. He calls out signals, "Extend arms forward, palms down, fingers barely touching shoulders ahead." Teachers survey the lines and call out to those who mar them. Arms are dropped. Girls are instructed to stand with their arms to their sides and boys with their hands folded behind them, their feet slightly separated. [516]

From his perch on a 3-foot-high concrete block, the principal calls out the signals again, and the whole procedure of lining up is repeated; this time, however, he holds them at attention in a formal position. In crisp tones he calls out, "Pupils, good morning!" Instantly the children respond, "Teacher, good morning," bowing gravely. There is some confusion in the first grade lines, but the teachers quickly attend to it. [516]

Standing once more in a relaxed position, the students listen thoughtfully to the principal's message. He welcomes the first graders and commends them for their orderliness but warns them to behave like first graders and not kindergarteners. There is an amused ripple [876]

872 from the ranks of the older children. Instantly the principal turns a
[876] disapproving eye on them. He continues with a long list of rules concerning classroom behavior as well as safety. Finally the students are dismissed to march to their classrooms. In their eagerness the first graders break ranks and are sternly commanded to stay in line.

[346] The first-grade rooms are located in a temporary, wooden, thatched structure. The sides are open, and the dirt floor is hard and swept clean. As the group enters the room, a wild confusion develops as each child searches for his desk. The children with new desks have little difficulty, as they had played with them for days at home until they were brought to school earlier, but those who have inherited outgrown older siblings' desks and chairs are in sad disarray. Amid the screams and shouts of two roomsful of first graders, two high pitched female adult voices call for attention. Gradually the voices diminish on both sides of the thin wall until only the two teachers' voices are audible.

872 Roll call is taken after instructions are given as to how one is to
863 answer, ask to be excused, and to sit. After a brief consultation just outside the door, the two teachers organize their groups into two lines, males in one and females in the other. The observer standing just outside the windows of both rooms hears identical speeches on the merits of using the toilets before school starts. Continuing, the teachers locate facilities for the boys and those for the girls. The boys are allowed to go first, then the girls.

872 Back from the toilets, the little girls obediently march to their places and sit quietly at attention with their hands folded on their desk tops. The boys are noisily making their way to their places. Giggling and
[365] pushing each other, they knock into chairs and tables, annoying the girls.

872 During the first week of school, the teacher's chief task is to make
876 the first graders stop talking and playing in class. On one occasion when numerous appeals, threats, and commands had failed, one exasperated teacher remarked to the fieldworker, "Just like kindergarteners." Then she turned back to the children and called out loudly, "First graders!" "Yes!" shouted the children. "You are first graders, remember that. You are not kindergarten children who don't know anything or don't understand what teacher is saying. For those who cannot understand and do not listen, I will arrange for demotion to kindergarten, understand?" "Yes," replied the children sheepishly.

"Because so much time is taken in orienting the child the first day of school, we can only have a short lesson," explains the teacher apologetically to the observers. The parents nod appreciatively. A printed syllabary hanging to one side of the blackboard becomes the focus of

attention as the teacher raps loudly at it with her pointer. She taps at the first figure and reproduces it on the black board, verbalizing it at the same time. She asks the children to imitate her, using their index fingers to follow the order of strokes. With their arms raised, the children reproduce the figure in the air. Five figures of the syllabary are reproduced in this way, and after reading it off several times, time is called. Just before the children are excused, they are told to learn the five figures. This is their first homework assignment. 872 876

It is 10:35, and from the direction of the principal's office, the recess bell can be heard. The teacher explains that after 20 minutes of play, the class will again convene for 1 hour and 20 minutes. The boys are allowed outdoors first and the girls follow. There is a flurry of excitement as older siblings appear to question the first graders on the activities of the morning. The children are reminded that this is also the time to go to the toilets. 872 [863]

The older boys and girls are already organized, and games of sham battle, volley ball, hopscotch, and marbles are in progress. The first graders wander in and out of other classrooms, then around the playground, where the various games are being played, until the bell signals them to return to their rooms. They return with a newly gained sense of confidence. The boys, who had been surreptitiously turning their heels in the well-worn marble holes on the dirt floor all morning, move the last row of desks and chairs just a few inches to clear the field for the game. The last few returning girls are given a rude shove to hurry along to their seats, for the boys are eager to start the game. With a great deal of shouting, magnified from the first-grade class next door, the boys begin their game of marbles. [526] [524]

While the teacher checks her records and consults numerous slips of paper on her table, the girls call to each other to check on books, contents of their lunch boxes, and plans for the afternoon. Finally the teacher raps for attention. The boys continue their game of marbles unconcernedly, and the girls scurry back to their seats. There is a wave of giggles as the raps reflect exasperation. "Where are the boys?" questions the annoyed teacher. There is no answer, but the few remaining boys and girls who have heeded their parents' and older siblings' advice to behave all turn their heads toward the back of the room. The teacher carefully picks her way through the closely lined and crowded room. The marble players are so engrossed in their games that they do not see her until she taps one head, then two, saying, "I have called you. Don't you know that recess is over?" Sheepishly a few walk off to their seats. A few smile broadly and run off to evade the pointers. Suddenly a high voice calls out, "The principal! The principal!" [876]

872 The principal smiles as he approaches the classroom but soon begins
[876] to frown. He sees that the boys have been misbehaving. Returning the slight bow of the first-grade teacher, he stands just inside the door, looking over the boys with a disapproving eye. Immediately order and quiet reign.

After a short review of the morning's lesson, the teacher picks up each of the books which has been issued to the children. As she explains the contents of each, she names them and lectures on the care and use of books. She interrupts her talk when she notices two children without books. Because they had no older siblings and their parents had failed to appear two days before to pay for and receive their textbooks, these children had none. She quickly jots down their names and the name of the village from which they came and assures them that they will receive their books the next day.

872 At 12:15 the children are sent out to wash their hands and told to
264 eat their lunches. It seems that the most wanted, long awaited event
[863] of the school day has finally arrived, for even the best behaved children break into a run before they reach the door. The teacher's plea to walk out of the room goes unheeded.

Those children with elaborate lunches and containers proudly spread their meals out on the desk. Rice balls, a fried egg seasoned with soy sauce and bits of scallion, a touch of soybean paste, and a sliver of fish, packed by the proud mother of a family of some means, are exhibited freely. With some reluctance another lunch, consisting of rice balls, pickled vegetable, and a bit of bean paste, is shown. Those with three or four sweet potatoes and a small handful of vegetable mixed with soybean paste or with sweet potatoes alone slip out bits of food from their closed containers in quick, shy movements. When the girls have satisfied their curiosity as to the contents of each other's lunch boxes, they begin to exchange bits of egg for pickled vegetables, soybean paste with scallion for a sweet potato or some fish. The boys do not exchange portions of their meal but instead eat silently and swiftly.

872 Standing beside their desks on which lie books and empty lunch
boxes, the children face the teacher. "Students, good-bye!" "Teacher,
855 good-bye!" answer the children in unison. Older siblings and the few mothers who accompanied the first graders to school gather. The questioning is rapid and amusing. "What did you do, did you behave, did you eat all of your lunch, did you learn anything?" Without waiting for answers, the older siblings, who have to remain in school until 2:35, begin to recite the rules on walking home and to reiterate the

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dangers of vehicular traffic, steep banks, snakes, the beach, and the river. 855

RETURNING HOME

The first graders leave the schoolyard reluctantly, but once they reach the road their footsteps quicken. The boys shuffle along to see how much dust they can raise, for they are not so concerned about their new canvas shoes with rubber soles. The girls stop to dust off theirs at regular intervals with such comments as: "When they get very dirty, we can take them to Yamagawa well and wash them," or, "My mother says I cannot have another pair for a long time because they are so expensive," or, "On rainy days I will walk barefoot to save my shoes." 857 291

"Ai! Fool one!" suddenly exclaims one of the girls. The others turn to look at her, then follow her gaze. The boys, who have left the road, thus disregarding one of the cardinal rules of safety, are scurrying about in the bush in search of wild berries. They stand above the road eating their finds on the spot and exaggeratedly mimic the girls' censure on their behavior. There is a rumbling noise, and the girls stop on the side of the road to let the lumber truck pass before continuing their walk. An adult sitting on top of the wood in the back of the truck shouts, "Eh, get out of the bush before the snake strikes!" The girls giggle and watch the shamefaced boys scramble down the embankment to the road. They carry on a lively exchange of stories of snake victims, turning occasionally toward the boys with meaningful glances. 857 855

The midday sun is hot. The dry sandy dirt of the road reflects the heat of the sun, and little beads of perspiration run down the flushed faces of the first graders as they plod wearily homeward. Suddenly one of the girls lifts her wide-brimmed straw hat, "Oh, how cool it feels when the wind blows through the hair!" she exclaims. With a sudden burst of enthusiasm, the other girls lift their hats. Surreptitiously the boys imitate the girls. 857 [291]

The junior high school comes into view and with it the bridge over the Fukuji River, and beyond it the land bridge leading directly into the village of Taira. Spirits immediately lift, and the children's pace quickens. As they enter the village, they assume an assured appearance. Their posture is upright and proud. They parade past the main street where mothers, grandmothers, and siblings wait. Each one is greeted

857 by bystanders. Hurrying home, they put their books away carefully,
[291] change their clothing to that designated for play. The girls, eager to assume their new status and the responsibilities that go with it, hurriedly sweep and mop the floors of the house. The boys, who are less interested, rush out to play. Those with younger siblings are promptly
857 entrusted with caretaking duties, and mothers and grandmothers go
512 off to the fields.

At 8 o'clock each evening, even before the village bell is sounded for schoolchildren to start studying, the first graders are on their way home from their after-supper play time. On a quiet, still night their voices are loud and clear and their recitations spirited in comparison with those of the older children.

OBEDIENCE TRAINING

861 Not only in school is new behavior expected of the first grader. He
865 must now be more obedient toward his elders. Adults, however, differentiate between commands for the performance of tasks and rules of safety. The standard, or more specifically the ideal, would be to command unquestioned obedience in both cases. The practice falls far from this mark, for adults lack persistence and consistency in the
[855] treatment of task performance. Obedience to rules of safety, however, is enforced with greater consistency.

There is, of course, the disposition of the adult at the time when obedience is expected, which the child learns to discriminate very early. Children are more apt to obey their elders when the latter are tired and irritable after a hard day's work than when they are relaxed. It was interesting to observe children teasing parents and escaping obedience when the adults were relatively relaxed. "Bring me those things there," a parent would command a child. The child would laughingly shout "No," and run away without punishment. For this disobedient act a child would be spanked if the parent were tired and harassed. "If you do not listen well to adults, you will grow up to be a good for nothing, a criminal," warns a mother. But adults in their inconsistent handling fail to impress on children the virtue of obedience.

861 It is interesting that, in their relationship with adults other than
865 their parents, children are often more obedient. People of special status and authority enjoy greater obedience from children. Teachers
554 and village officials usually find their orders fulfilled. Shortly after the new water faucets were installed throughout the village, children be-

gan playing with them excessively. Parents scolded, shooed, and threatened the children to no avail. Finally the village headman took steps to enforce the rule forbidding children to play with the faucets. Passing a faucet one day, he came upon a 9-year-old turning the water on and off. "You come to the office later. You know you are not supposed to play there," he said sternly to the boy. Later the boy reported to the office. The clerk, in the absence of the headman, instructed the boy to bring 10 yen and his father to the office. The boy ran home and returned to the office with 10 yen and told the headman, who had returned meanwhile, that his father was not back from the fields, so he was unable to accompany him. The headman's wife, in relating the story to the fieldworker, described how surprised and amused her husband was to find the boy so obedient. Because he had just assumed office a week earlier, he had not expected compliance with his orders. 861 865 554

An obedient child is rewarded with verbal praise and admiration by adults. He is told that he is a good child and that he has "a good head." If he is capable of anticipating commands and quick to comply with hints, parents of other children urge their children to play with him. 865 861 155

TECHNIQUES OF SOCIALIZATION

Although the child has learned many types of preferred behavior by the time he is 6 and has been rewarded and punished for many acts, his entry into first grade is a time of increased discipline and a suitable time to discuss the techniques used by Tairans in socializing their children. 861

Examination of the different techniques reveals that the most important and reliable of these is the denial or withdrawal of love. There is a good share of physical punishment, threatened food deprivation, and shaming. Praise and rewards are inconsistent and haphazard. Reference to a "God" is common, but there exists no complex system of instructive myths, stories, or prayers. Training in skills is highly informal.

The technique of withdrawal of love or support is a curious double-edged one. If we take the position of the child, we would conclude that he shows a deep sense of confidence in the bond between himself and his mother when he "runs away from the house" after a severe scolding or spanking. He runs away in the belief that he will arouse the anxiety of his mother and recover a love or support, which he has temporarily lost as a result of some transgression. This belief is rein-

861 forced when his mother does search for him and takes him home. Furthermore, she serves him the dinner which he was to have been deprived of as punishment. This theme apprears not only in reality [125] but also in the children's projections in the verbal TAT's.

There are, however, threats of withdrawal of love by the mother which evoke great fear of actual loss of love among children. These fears are based on the fact that, in contrast with the foregoing examples, no happy ending can be expected from this threatened punishment. The child is no longer confident that his mother's feelings will soften in the long run when she says to a disobedient son: "We will sell you to the Itoman fisherman." The boy has undoubtedly heard stories of little boys being sold to southern Okinawan fishermen. Such words make him quake with fear, and he promises to obey. Girls, on the other hand, are told they will be "changed for money" and made to live a life of virtual slavery in the house of strangers. These threats [466] have a realistic basis; children know that until recent times boys were [548] sold to fishermen and that girls paid off their parents' debts by working in a house of prostitution or for a farmer who accepted the extra hand instead of money for his debt. At least two persons still live in the village who had such experiences when they were young. One woman can testify to the mistreatment which she received from her masters during indentured labor, and such stories of many cases which are widely known are passed on to children.

At present a new twist has been added to the old theme. Mothers [648] silence a crying child with, "If you don't stop crying, we will give you to the Negroes." Now and then a grandmother will point to a jeep full of soldiers passing by and warn, "Eh! Come home now or we give you to the Americans." The response is usually immediate. The frightened child runs home, clutching onto his grandmother's kimono while the old woman cackles with amusement.

Some mothers threaten their children with running away themselves and leaving them with their fathers. This technique proves just as effective as the former, for a child's concept of support or love with respect to his father is never clearly defined.

One mother, after a particularly exasperating day, thought she would make good her threat to run away from the house. She packed some clothes in a bundle and started off in the direction of the main road. Quickly ducking around houses, she ended up a couple of houses away from her own and sat sipping tea with her neighbor in the back room. Meanwhile, the child, who had been hiding from her mother all day to avoid chores, discovered that her mother was missing. She started to search the village and was told by cooperating adults that

they had seen her mother leaving the village with a bundle of her clothes. The child became frantic and ran around the houses. When she finally found her mother, she was crying hysterically. After this, the mother reported that all she had to do was to threaten to run away and her children would obey. 861

Young children between the ages of 3 and 6 who have frequent temper tantrums are subjected to an experience which is apt to have lasting effects. Since Taira adults like teasing play, when a mother needs the aid of a neighbor to teach the naughty child a lesson, she has no difficulty. A mother who was having trouble keeping her youngest son, aged 4, from whining and crying all the time talked it over with her next-door neighbor. The neighbor, an old grandmother, suggested a plan to put a stop to this nonsense. That night, as the child whimpered and whined to attract his mother's attention, the mother warned, "If you don't stop that, the ghost will come." The boy wailed louder. From between the hedges down the lane, there suddenly came the sound of slow, shuffling footsteps. "There, there! Listen! Here it comes to get you!" called the mother to the boy, who had stopped his whimpering to listen. The boy sat round-eyed watching the clearing in the hedge until suddenly there appeared the apparition. He screamed and ran to his mother, who stifled his cries with, "Eh, now, if you cry, it will take you away, shush!" The fear-paralyzed boy could only nod his head. The next day the old grandmother screamed with laughter as she reported the incident to others in the village. She had worn an old straw hat, a large black coat, and wooden clogs. In the dark she could be distinguished only as a dark, formless "blob" scuffling along. Warnings thereafter to the boy took the form of, "If you cry, we will give you to the ghost." 861 865

A heavily bearded, jolly and well-liked octopus fisherman who carries a large bag and talks with a booming voice was requested to walk past another mother's house when her boy became too demanding. "There, see now, here comes the man with the big bag to carry you away because you are so naughty." As the boy huddled up to his mother, she chose that moment to extract from him a promise to be a good child.

All mothers reported that they talk or scold first, and if the child does not respond, they spank. Only two out of the 24 mothers interviewed disclaimed spanking at all. Usually mothers spanked the child with their hand but seven mothers said they use a piece of firewood or bamboo. One mother laughingly reported that she uses "anything she can lay her hands on at that moment" to punish her 10-year-old boy, because if she did not, he would disappear. 861

861 Physical punishment is much more frequent than the mothers' [124] interview answers would lead one to believe. In parent-child or sib- [593] ling interactions observed by us, the scolding or talking was usually simultaneous with a sharp crack on the head with the knuckles or a slap on the buttocks. It is true that a great deal of leeway is generally given the child, but mothers home from a strenuous day in the fields are more apt to scream and spank at the same time.

Tying of hands or feet for several minutes, or as much as an hour, is considered appropriate punishment for those who trespass into forbidden areas or play with taboo things like matches. Sometimes the child's wrists are tied with a piece of rice-straw rope to the front house posts. One 1-year-old boy wandered down to the beach to play with his 3-year-old cousin despite repeated warnings from his mother to the effect that this area was dangerous. Because he disobeyed this rule, he was tied hand and foot. In addition, he was spanked because at the same time he had abandoned his younger brother in the village to go to the beach with his cousin.

861 Another type of physical punishment, which is often threatened but 857 rarely used, is cauterizing a piece of skin on the neck, back, or hands with moxa. Children in play situations frequently act out giving moxa to a naughty child with a lot of teasing and mock anger. "Come here, you naughty one, we will give you moxa," they scream to each other. A 1-year old girl was cauterized by her father when she threw her chop- [261] sticks on the floor in a fit of anger. Because he believed that food was not only the product of hard labor but also a sort of blessing from the gods, he felt that this very painful enforcement was just.

861 Grandmothers, in particular, use pinching to enforce some rules of 867 etiquette. If a child forgets and extends his foot toward another person, she will take the flesh of the leg between her thumb and index finger, lift it and with a quick twist administer a punishment which is very painful. After the initial experience, all she has to do is to put her hand in position for pinching to her lips and breathe out audibly as if to say, "I'm warming up!" and the child will correct himself.

861 Older brothers and sisters are apt to be "quicker with the hand," ac- 593 cording to mothers. Generally they agreed that this may be the reason [857] for their effectiveness in handling their younger charges. Frequently all an older sibling needs to do is to raise a warning hand, look disapprovingly, or call with a stern voice when his charge is about to misbehave.

Although mothers do most of the spanking, scolding, and talking, children fear their fathers a great deal more than they do their mothers. Mothers claim that this is true in most cases and offer an ex-

planation: "Maybe this is because the children know well our strength. They don't know their father's strength but believe somehow that it could be much more painful." One could, of course, relate this to the cultural concept of maleness as opposed to femaleness as discussed previously. 861 593

Praising and rewarding are techniques that are administered in a very haphazard fashion in Taira. While the child is still very young, up until he is about 2, praise and rewards are lavished on him for almost anything. If he responds to his mother's entreaties to hand over a stick with which he might hurt himself or to bow when meeting someone, he is hugged, kissed, and told over and over, "Good child, good child." 861 [867]

As the child grows older, these extravagant displays of praise and reward lessen. Instead the child may receive promises of something good to eat or a coveted article of clothing in return for some good deed or commendable behavior. Generally the child has to remind his mother many times before he is actually rewarded. By the time the child is of school age he takes these promises with a grain of salt and usually forgets them himself. Only when the children were questioned by us on rewards did it become obvious that parents promised a great deal more than they could ever hope to produce. For, from the plain view of economics, no family could purchase all the goodies pledged for good behavior. Nevertheless, for younger children these promises mean something, and they always look forward to the day when their mothers will color their evening rice red or make them some fried dumplings. Rewarding a child with food proves to be as effective a technique of socialization as threatening to deprive him of food. [124] [261]

Occasionally, in a rare burst of enthusiasm, parents may reward a child to make up for all the empty promises. During one of the rice harvests, a 10-year-old boy worked alongside his parents with as much concentrated effort as any adult. All day he stayed in the fields without running away to join his playmates, as some other boys his age did. At the end of the day his mother prepared some festive food. She colored the rice, and the dinner was a merry one. The man from next door who had helped out that day sat drinking sake with the boy's father. "Here, why don't you have some sake, you did as much work as any of us," offered the father. Neighbor and mother urged the boy on and laughed merrily as the boy sipped a bit of the sake. 857 861

Even before he is able to understand the significance of the words, a child in Taira is praised and censured with "good child," and "naughty child." Especially during infancy, mothers will tease babies by gently slapping them and saying over and over with mock anger, 861

861 "naughty child." When the child is about 5 months and capable of responding to smiles and a disapproving eye, his mother will murmur affectionately, "good child," to encourage and praise. She will open her eyes wide, assume a disapproving look, and scold, "naughty child, naughty child," to discourage and censure him.

A 7-year-old girl was carrying a large winnowing basket filled with potato peelings from her uncle's house to her own. Behind her trailed her 3-year-old brother who was well known for his crying. Suddenly, for no apparent reason, the little boy started to scream and cry for his sister to carry him. The 7-year-old tried to no avail to get the boy to follow her. She shifted the basket to her head, stooped down, and the boy scrambled onto her back. With some effort she stood up, one hand on the basket and the other around the boy's buttocks. The boy clung to his sister's neck and grinned. "Naughty child," murmured the fieldworker's companion, a 23-year-old girl. To the 7-year-old girl she then turned and said admiringly, "Good child that you are!"

"Be a good child and do this . . ." instructs an adult to a child. "Naughty child that you are, making your sister cry," one child is chided by another. Praising and punishing by referring to the person of the child as the locus of evaluation are most frequent. The child's action itself, or his response to a particular situation, is usually not evaluated. Very few adults set a standard which is intended as a guide to the child's performance of a task. Therefore children who have completed a task do not ask themselves: "Did I do it well?" or "Did I do it poorly?" If scolded for inadequate performance, the child may echo reprimands by saying to himself: "I was bad to do it that way," or "I was bad to do that" and not: "That was a bad thing to do."

Words which evaluate the person rather than the action are generally applied only to children under 12, although occasionally one hears a young adult say to another teasingly, "Ah, good child," in praise or "naughty child" in response to being tricked.

861 Of the 24 mothers interviewed, only three reported they did not
776 refer to a deity to control their children's behavior. This deity is al-
[124] ways present, always watching and can be depended on to punish the erring child. To the child, this god is a being to be feared, although he is told that not only his misbehavior is observed but also his good behavior. "The divine being is everywhere. When you are alone and do something bad, you might think that no one knows about it, but the god knows and he will punish you," warn mothers. This technique of control is very useful in Taira, where the children spend a great deal of time without adult supervision.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

In the houses of first sons there are family altars upon which memorial tablets of family ancestors are placed. Children from these homes are told that their deceased grandfathers are now divine beings and are watching them. In one such family a 4-year-old boy was told by his mother that, since he was naughty, the divine ancestor would punish him. She pointed to the picture of his deceased grandfather and the memorial tablets on the altar. The little boy looked up to the shelf and then to his mother. "That's only a memorial tablet," he said sneeringly. 861 778 769

Not many children are as skeptical as this 4-year-old. A hunchbacked storyteller sometimes comes to Taira. This man is a preacher for a Japanese sect which combines Japanese nationalistic teachings and concepts of proper conduct and healthful living with a belief in a supreme being. He appeals to children and reinforces the belief in the sanctioning power of God. Occasionally a Christian missionary visits the village, and the children look forward to his bible readings, which also reinforce the belief. In addition, the children of the two Christian families help to caution others, warning of divine omnipresence and knowledge. 861 776 177

Shaming and ridicule as techniques of socialization are used to a fair extent. An older child's shortcomings may frequently be compared with a younger's achievements. However, some form of verbal lashing is usually accompanied by direct physical punishment, whether it be merely a slap on the buttocks, a crack on the head, or a whipping. 861

Several mothers summed up their flexibility in handling their children by saying, "I have so many children and it seems that each one is different in some way. For some children one thing works and for others you have to think of other ways. You cannot scold this one because she is so sensitive. The boy you cannot scold because he would get so angry he would not be able to understand the wrong he did."

Nevertheless, it is important to point out that mothers in Taira, for the most part, do not spend as much time with their children as do their counterparts in a more wealthy village. Their work day is long and strenuous. They return home exhausted and impatient. During the long rainy spells, when work in the fields and mountains is impossible, mothers have to stay home more often than usual. At such times they manifest an irritability with respect to the numerous demands children make upon them that can be attributed partly to the fact that their long absence from home during a normal work day makes them forget children's cravings for attention; the loss of income during bad weather just increases their impatience. 861 462 [184] [152]

TRAINING IN SKILLS

868 There are no complex systems of training in skills. Adults rely heavily on observation and imitation on the part of children; they seldom "teach" them to do things systematically. Parents were surprised and amused when questions such as "How do you teach children to transplant rice, harvest rice, or otherwise help in the fields?" were put to them. "We don't teach them; why they just learn by themselves," was the usual answer.

Children learn by observing and experimenting. Whatever adults are doing, children are present to watch their activities and overhear their conversations. Although parents do not seem to make any special [852] efforts to have a child attend a function so that he might learn adult ways, they take their children to the fields, parties, public meetings, and rituals long before they consider them ready to absorb any learning.

868 In the fields, children play among rows of vegetables. When a parent, grandparent, or older sibling stops for a rest to have a cup of tea, 857 the little ones pick up a hoe and attempt to imitate their elders. While 243 rice is being transplanted, throngs of children sit on the dikes in the [264] paddies, dangling their legs in the mud. They intently watch adults transplanting and weeding the paddies. Gradually they edge down into the mud to stamp with their bare feet in the ooze as they have seen adults do, until a warning shout arrests their educational water play. During the harvest season, groups of children carry mats out to the paddies and watch infants who need to be near their mothers for their feedings. While the infants sleep, the older children walk along the dikes, watching the work that is going on and clamoring to be of some help. Even a little child of kindergarten age stands by gloomily until an adult laughingly hands him a small bundle of rice sheaves to carry over to the threshing machine. By the time the child is 8, he has learned enough by watching to attempt cutting and tying small bundles of rice sheaves.

868 After the harvest, rice straw can be found in great quantities around the village. Some of the best straw is preserved to be made into rope. 283 If there are rainy days, men will sit and twist the rice straw into rope, [526] while 8- and 9-year-olds sit and watch. In a few days rope games and swings are in evidence everywhere. Little 4- and 5-year-olds stand by watching the older children, and soon they pick up stray bits of straw and twist them to no avail. A younger sibling whines as her move-

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

ments fail to form rope. Her brother quietly takes the straw and without a word demonstrates the deft movement. She watches and tries again when her brother hands it back to her. She is unsuccessful. As she starts to whine again, her brother picks up a length of finished rope and gives it to her. She runs happily toward the playground, waving her rope in the air. 868 [283]

Although young children are not taken to the mountains, they can sit in the village afternoons and watch adults sawing, splitting, and working the bamboo rings used in tying faggots. Boys do not go into the mountains to cut firewood until they are about 10 years old, girls until they are 12, although they may have begged their parents for several years to let them help with cutting and hauling of firewood. But as long as they are still too young for mountain work, they try to use the cutting tools. Tools are left within reach of children so that opportunities for experimentation are almost unlimited. Only their size and weight deter the youngest children. A 2-year-old girl was seen imitating her mother by attempting to whittle off pieces of bamboo with a large 12-inch blade bushknife. A teen-age girl working nearby passed the little girl several times without saying anything. The little girl's father also worked nearby but, like everyone else, was too absorbed in his work to notice his daughter. Finally her mother looked up from where she worked, noticed the huge knife in the girl's hand, and saying in a loud, angry voice, "Why do you carry this, fool?" took the knife away. [313] [412]

Other small children pick up hoes and forks to try them in the yard or in the pigsty. Sickles and knives are used expertly by many 6-year-olds. Bandaged fingers and numerous little scars are evidences of learning and experimentation. Occasionally an adult will say to a 9- or 10-year-old. "Hold the sickle this way so you won't get hurt," but more often than not the child has already learned by himself. One 4½-year-old boy shinnied up the side of a feed box to get a sickle. There was no adult around to peel the long stalk of sugar cane he had been given, so, with expert strokes and handling of the razor-sharp tool, he shaved off the thick, hard skin. By the time his mother arrived on the scene, the child was busily chewing and sucking on a considerable length of the peeled cane. The mother was asked who had taught him to use the sickle, and she was at a loss for a reply. "I don't know! He must have watched us and learned by himself by trying it out!" she said. [412] [264]

Little girls watch their mothers cooking and doing other household work. By watching and asking questions they learn how to light a fire and when to extinguish it to cook a perfect pot of rice. They [252] [296]

868 crouch with their mothers, who are busy with the laundry. It is not
296 long before they pick up a small article of clothing and start soaping, rubbing, and rinsing just as their mothers do.

IMITATIVE PLAY

857 What children observe in adult life is frequently acted out in play
524 situations. Before a girl is old enough to do all the household work alone, she can always find satisfaction for her desire to learn an adult role by imitating it in play. Playing "house" is an activity which all girls from the age of 4 to 9 or 10 indulge in constantly at all times of the year. The beach, yard, empty lots of uninhabited houses serve as locales for this play. Girls "act out" the role of the mother in the household in crude but painstakingly constructed "houses." Boys rarely join in this kind of play, which is not surprising, since males have very little to do with the day-to-day happenings in the house. Invariably there is a play store at which all the "mothers" converge to buy their daily supply of bean paste, noodles, or dried seaweed, but the most concentrated locale of activity is in the "kitchen of the houses." Here elaborate meals are prepared with sand for rice, grass roots for noodles, chopped up pandanus leaves for greens, and hibiscus for red coloring. Frequently during the vegatable season discarded carrots, cabbage, and turnips are used in make-believe dishes. Shells of all kinds serve as plates and bowls and sticks, into which cockle shells are wedged, as spoons. Bamboo pieces serve as chopsticks. An 8-year-old may spirit the real kitchen knife to chop up the "vegetables" if the house-playing takes place near the home. Deftly she slices the carrots and turnips and mixes them into water. If she is fortunate, she and her playmates can use a temporarily uninhabited house in which the hearth stones and wire hung pot still remain, in which case she need not construct one out of small rocks. As she orders her "children" to go to the store for rice or salt, she jogs up and down to quiet the infant that fusses on her back. Finally the meal is ready to serve. The "family" without "father" all sit in the kitchen on their knees as she busily serves the various concoctions. There is a disturbance "outside," and she turns to look as one of her children shouts, "Oh, look what the boys have done!" "Fools! Go away!" she shouts as she runs after the laughing boys who have taken a few of the bamboo sticks that delineate the house walls. "We are robbers, robbers come to rob you!" shout the boys as they run away. After the "meal" is finished and while she is washing dishes, she hears someone

calling, "Good day." She hurries forward and finds a 5-year-old boy standing at her door. "Want anything today?" asks the boy, unloading a bunch of grass. The "mother" smiles, amused, then she sorts through the grass and hands over some "money" and thanks the "peddler" as he goes on his way to the next house. The peddler turns out to be the same boy who was the robber. When his peddling bores him, he returns to robbing and finally leaves the scene entirely. As the "mother" returns to her kitchen to work toward her next meal, one of the "children" returns "home" with a bunch of flowers. As it is the fifteenth day of the lunar calendar, she hurries to put them into a small empty bottle. She places the flowers on the family shrine shelf along with "incense sticks." This done, she goes out to the "store." 857 524

After "marketing," preparations for the next meal begin; but as she works intently, there is a call. "Good day, excuse me . . ." calls a voice in high-pitched tones which are the essence of politeness and femininity. As visitor greets hostess, the etiquette of adult life is enacted with much finesse. "Tea" is brought in by an "older daughter," and polite talk is exchanged over it. Sitting quite properly on her knees, the hostess "bows her guest" out of the house as she has seen her own mother do countless times. And so it goes, day after day, little girls who never seem to tire of imitating their mothers until they approach the age of 10, when unmistakable signs of self-consciousness affect their behavior.

In other respects, too, the play situation is often turned into a valuable learning experience. These are play activities which are in reality beginnings of assuming responsibility toward economic contributions for the home. A kindergarten child follows his older sibling or mother down to the beach. The trip is made to collect seaweed for the pigs, but the young child just goes along for recreation. The young child, unable to discriminate between the different kinds of seaweed, drops into the basket whatever she picks up. She "plays at collecting seaweed." The older sibling silently picks out the undesirable variety and discards it. Many times the portion the younger child has collected is rejected, but before long, through observation and imitation, he learns to pick the particular kind of seaweed which is desired. The older sibling in many cases does not attempt to instruct by saying, "Pick the green, smooth kind that grows thick on the rocks." Instead, he may just nod or shake his head if the younger brings forward some for approval or disapproval. 857 868

On one gathering trip in the fields, a 10-year-old boy devised a game which actually was instructive in nature. He was accompanied by his two male cousins, 3 and 4 years old. They were hunting for

857 a type of milkweed which was to be fed to the chickens. The older boy
868 would walk on a way, carefully searching the ground, stop when he spotted some milkweed, and call to the younger ones, "There are some near the spot on which I am standing!" The two little boys would rush over and start examining the area carefully. With a shout one of them would drop to the ground, uproot the plant, and bear it triumphantly to his older cousin. Then the game would continue with the older boy saying, "Good child."

861 The relatively few restrictions placed on the young child are an important basis for learning. By being able to participate freely, children learn what is going on in their village from day to day. Since adults feel that children do not really understand what they are talking about, conversations are free and not couched in mysterious terms. The 10-year-old who is fully aware of the subject under discussion may giggle uncontrollably, but none of the adults pays attention to this. An adult giving a blow-by-blow description of the latest quarrel may even turn to a 10- or 12-year-old child for aid when he forgets a detail.

SOCIALIZING AGENTS

855 In general mothers continue to be the chief socializers, with the
593 grandmother and older siblings second in importance. From the child's point of view, the mother retains the closest bond with him
861 throughout childhood, regardless of the grandmother's prominent role in his early life, and even though, in terms of time which the child spends with others, the mother gradually assumes less importance. It is to the mother that children turn for ultimate support, and to her is delegated the responsibility of child rearing in Taira. Although much of the responsibility for caring for children is given to siblings, the villagers hold the mother alone culpable, should a child deviate in his behavior.

855 The mother's ultimate responsibility for the child is not reduced
857 by the fact that she may spend a great part of the day away from her offspring. Mothers frequently ask other children for the whereabouts
593 of a son or a daughter. Just as the fieldworkers soon learned in what places they would be most likely to find a particular child, so mothers on the whole are aware of their children's favorite play areas. A
[152] mother occasionally inquires about her children's whereabouts without showing anxiety. The fieldworkers were once asked by a mother if they knew where her daughter, who carried an infant sister, was

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playing. They had not come home for the noon meal, which was unusual. The mother, however, did not search extensively, for the fieldworkers, a little later, noticed the two girls peacefully playing "house" in someone's backyard. They stayed for a good part of the afternoon, and the mother probably continued her usual activities.

The relationship between child and mother remains warm and intimate throughout childhood. A mother may be scolding, impatient, angry, or punishing, but to the child she is the center of the family.

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In households lucky enough to have a grandmother, she becomes recognized as the person who is at home if something is wanted or if help and comfort are needed. It is interesting to note, however, that the relationship between children and their grandmothers changes decidedly as the child starts off to school. As if to assert his independence, the 6-year-old begins teasing his grandmother unmercifully. In response to her suggestions, the child laughingly refuses and pretends to run away or often pretends not to hear her. As she screams all kinds of invectives at the child, he giggles hilariously while running ahead. But he does not run as fast as he could. He allows grandmother to catch him, and there is much laughter from both of them. Actually the child rarely fails to comply with her wishes. Two girls, aged 8 and 10, and a young female adult aged 23 often saved a part of their share of goodies, given them by the fieldworker, for their grandmothers. The 10-year-old lavished further indulgence by taking her grandmother's clothing along with her own to launder on washdays.

Boys seem to differ somewhat in this respect. Although there is a very affectionate bond between them and their grandmothers, there is less of this kind of indulgent pattern. They will, however, at the time they start off to school, meet with the old women's demands to run errands, carry tools, and share with her the care of their younger siblings.

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Because the society feels that child rearing is "women's work," males have little or nothing to do with the handling of children until the time when decisions as to their future have to be made. There need be only one qualification made with reference to the above statement and it is that fathers may serve as "last resort" disciplinary figures in the case of male children. For many mothers the most effective threat is to "report to father."

The father is not so forbidding a figure for the child of preschool age. Many observations show that fathers tolerate the kindergarten child who begs to be taken to parties or on laps while visiting with neighbors; however, an older sibling or mother was called as soon

855 as the child began to fuss or show signs of fatigue. The kindergarten
593 child often directs his succorant appeals to his father, particularly in a nuclear family, but the father in turn directs the child to his
861 mother. Should there be any discrepancy in thought as to the way a child should be handled in specific problematic situations, the mother will defer out of custom to the father. Such cases, however, are rare, for men, in informal interviews, generally felt that "women
[124] knew better" where children's affairs were concerned. Only one out of 24 fathers believed that he should "train and discipline" the male child and his wife should confine herself to the female children.

The school age child seems to have more fear of his father. "If father is at home," reports one mother, "the children returning from school go about quietly putting their books away, clean the yard, study, then take the younger siblings out with them to play." She added, "If father is not at home, they drop their books on the porch and run out to play, leaving the house and yard in a mess and me with the babies!"

593 It should be noted that fathers spend less time at home than any other member of the household. Men who work in the mountains
512 go out after the morning meal and often do not return until dark. A man returning at noon seldom sees the children, who are out playing or at school. Since there are no weekly rest days, children see their fathers mainly in the evening after dark or on holidays. But even then fathers spend their time visiting around or entertaining neighbors and relatives in their own homes. Contact with father is, there-
593 fore, only sporadic and is not affected by a special desire on the part
855 of fathers to spend time with children. It should be noted, however, that the mere presence of the father in the house has an effect on the child's behavior.

Next to mother and grandmother, older children in the household are very important child-rearing agents. These are mostly the older siblings, but occasionally a young unmarried aunt or uncle who lives with the family looks after a child. Children between the ages
[857] of 5 and 12 take care of younger children; adolescent siblings or aunts do so to a much lesser extent. The obvious reason for this is that in the distribution of duties in the home, the care of a younger child falls to those who are not otherwise burdened with such responsibilities as exacting studies during junior high school or economic activities in fields and mountains, which begin after graduation from school. While adults, except for the old folks, are in fields and mountains, a young child spends much of his time on the back of the older kindergarten or school age sibling or as a toddler in tow of an older one.

Both boys and girls are charged with taking care of a younger child, but when possible, boys try to escape this duty by "making a deal" with their sisters. Girls are therefore more frequently seen caring for younger siblings, but when there are no older girls in the family, a boy must assume this responsibility. Often the novelty of having a tiny infant in the home, for instance, the first girl among several boys, causes older boys to volunteer carrying the infant. On the whole, boys are as reliable caretakers as girls. 855 857

The child on the back finds his child caretaker far less sympathetic and indulgent than mother and grandmother and more literal in applying rules of behavior. Young caretakers, under threat of severe punishment, tend to enforce stringently the rules of safety and permit a much narrower latitude with respect to obedience. Boys are inclined to give expression to their impatience with a younger one more easily than girls; nevertheless, a child taking care of a younger one knows that nurturant behavior toward his charge is a virtue, and failure to show indulgence and sympathy toward the little one is subject to severe reprimands by adults. Although a small child may be left with an older sibling for several hours, the older one knows where to find his mother or grandmother in case of a crisis. When the child on the back cannot be put to sleep by the rocking of his carrier, and indicates persistent discomfort by continued crying, the child caretaker knows that the limits of his competence have been reached.

There is some evidence that the young child-rearing agent follows the example of adults in deferring and giving preferential treatment to males. A young caretaker often seems to show more tolerance toward a little boy charge than toward a girl. [858] [562]

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Chapter 17

Latency

By the time a child finishes first grade, he has achieved full membership in the elementary schoolchildren group (age 8 to 12). His associations with kindergarten children are no longer as prevailing or 857 561

857 intimate as they used to be. He has little in common with them, but
561 since he still takes care of a younger sibling or plays games to which younger children are attracted, there remain frequent contacts between the age groups. The transition between first grade and second grade is in no way as pronounced as the drastic status change from
[866] kindergarten to first grade. Children feel it mostly as a gradually increasing pressure toward assuming more responsibility. The transition which takes place at a ritual level * during the early latency period, however, is not reflected in their daily life.

CHORES AND RESPONSIBILITY TRAINING

857 Although adults say that the elementary school student is still very
868 much of a child who only toward the latter part of this stage can seriously be expected to contribute much to the tasks and duties in home and village; the children, in fact, do some work daily. Already in first grade, responsibility is approached with seriousness, girls exceeding boys in this respect. Children beg tasks, and obeying the school's directive to "help one's parents" seems to become the prime objective of first graders who have just proudly attained their new
857 status. They plead to accompany their older siblings who, with much
868 less zeal than the younger ones, gather giant African snails after
231 a heavy rainfall, hunt frogs, dragon flies, and grasshoppers, or wash potatoes for the pigs. Adults consider some of these chores play.
[866] Although frogs and grasshoppers are fed to the chickens, and minnows and seaweed are added to the pig swill, nevertheless, adults would not seriously label expeditions to collect these responsible. On the other hand, if there is no available feed, as occasionally happens, the child will be scolded and berated for "thinking only of play and not of the hungry chickens." Four- to 6-year-olds are discouraged from these foraging trips, for the danger of snake bites and accidents in the paddies and on the beach is very real. Accompanied by older siblings, however, they, too, may participate.

Some tasks, such as fetching water and feeding the pigs, cutting grass for the horse and goats, washing down the horse, and gathering faggots for the hearth, are still too difficult for the first grade child. But some of them are attempted, at least by assisting older children.
866 Once the child starts off to school, he is made aware that he is

[764] * In case of death, the child who has reached the age of 8 must be given a full
[775] fledged burial since in afterlife he becomes a buddha from now on. We had no indication that children were aware of this.

no longer one of the "senseless" by praise for responsible behavior. 866
After a relatively brief period of fairly consistent verbal reward, however, parents assume the attitude that chores are not voluntary but compulsory, and they begin to pay more attention to omissions—reminding, threatening, and checking up on the children. Although punishment is rather inconsistent, a child of 9 or 10 finds his chances of escape very slim if he fails to be responsible. But if he carries out some task spontaneously, he may find himself amply rewarded. Children generally seem to react more responsibly to school duties than home duties. This may be because teachers utilize peer group [861] control to elicit responsible behavior by rewarding and punishing in the presence of the whole class.

Girls assume caretaking of younger siblings earlier and more seriously than boys. A 6-year-old girl may be entrusted with a younger 857 sibling during a whole afternoon. A boy, looking after a younger 866 child, is more likely to abandon or neglect his charge than a girl. 855 In families where there are several children of caretaking age, each is assigned a specific share of time. Inevitably the girls find themselves with the greater or entire portion of this duty, for the boys either simply refuse or evade assuming their share. This shirking of duty is partly supported by the mother, who, by her failure to enforce assignments, displays passive acceptance or approval of the boys' actions. A girl, however, invites censure not only from her mother but also from other girls for similar actions.

The most important factor in differential treatment of boys and 857 girls is a cultural one. Most of the tasks or chores assigned to both 858 are, on the adult level, performed by women. Cutting and gathering 462 grass for horses and goats is men's work, but mopping floors, tidying and sweeping yards, fetching water, cleaning lamps, caring for chickens and pigs, and looking after children are all tasks that are "women's work" in Taira village. It is therefore evident that girls derive some intrinsic reward from them, whereas they may be intrinsically punishing for boys.

The difference in parental expectation with regard to children's 857 increasing responsibility with age is reflected in these selected answers 866 from interviews with mothers to the question: "What chores do you expect your child to do?" The mother of a 5-year-old boy said: "His work is to play down at the beach. But his older brother (11 years) is such a big help. . . . If I am busy, I may ask him to feed the pig, watch H. (baby sister) or clean the house, fetch water or wood, and Y. will do it without saying anything." The mother of another 11-year-old boy put it this way: "His job is to see to it that the chickens are

857 fed every day. This is a job for him, and if he does not do it he gets
866 a scolding. . . . My husband does not believe in letting him play too much, and so K. has to take his job seriously—otherwise he will get scolded by his father."

The mother of a 5-year-old girl, after mentioning that she washes her own hair and shoes, said, "The day before yesterday she helped me clean up the place after eating, and so I told her that if she would do this two times a day for me, she would get one yen. She said she would do it, but I don't expect much because she is still
[861] too young." The girl's father is a township employee, but giving one yen as reward is also done by other mothers when they feel that a child has done more than can be expected at that age. Of her 8-year-old daughter, a mother says that "she can mop the floor, fetch water, watch the baby, and serve rice into the bowls at dinner time. But she does not really have to do these chores regularly. Whenever I am busy I ask her to do these things for me," and she adds that her girl very seldom refuses, but "if she should not do what I ask her to, I scold her." And the mother of another girl, 7 years old, tells that her daughter's job is "to mop the floor every day. She knows that it is her responsibility and she has to do it. When she does not do it,
[861] she gets a scolding until she does it. She usually does it, though, with-
[855] out too much difficulty." Only a few mothers point to care of younger siblings as one of the duties. It simply seems to be taken for granted so much that it is not even mentioned.

857 An enthusiastic 6-year-old girl surprised her mother one day, not
866 long after starting school, by taking the family laundry to the well
296 and washing it. When she returned, she hung out the wash carefully to dry, then went out to join her playmates. The mother came home, examined the wash, and found that it still needed a good scrubbing. Quickly gathering the once-washed clothing, she hurried down to the well. She chose a path around the back of the house to avoid being seen by her daughter. That night she thanked the girl for doing the wash and helping her so much. "I did not want to hurt her feelings by telling her that the washing was still dirty. It was fortunate that she did not see me going down to wash it the second time, for if she did, she would have been discouraged and might never have done it again," reported the mother.

857 The community as a whole also makes some demands on these
866 children of school age. Several times a year they sweep the streets
653 and adjoining public areas in the morning, before they leave for school.

Children seem to have an ambivalent attitude toward greater pres-

sures in responsibility training. When tasks are mere routine, interfering with playing and other favorite activities, they are not always discharged with enthusiasm. We have already referred to this in the discussion of child care. On the other hand, there are many expressions, starting actually at kindergarten level, which reveal identification with adolescents and adults. 857 866 [156]

To the question, "What would you like to do best?" there were such answers from boys as: "I would like to go to the mountains and earn money" (7 years), and "I would like to plant rice" (8 years); and from girls: "I would like to cook, and I would like to transplant rice" (7 years), "I would like to cook rice and soup" (7 years with a wide grin), and "I would like to teach other children calculation if they need help, and take the place of the teacher" (10 years), adding, "Then I can punish boys who bully girls, too." [124]

We learned something more about the identification with older children and young adults, and perhaps a feeling of envy of their status, from answers to questions such as, "Who would you like to be most if you could be changed into anybody by magic?" and "What age would you be if you could be any age?" And, in answering, children also revealed something of their needs, motivations, and goals. A 7-year-old boy stated that, "I would like to be 15 years old, then I can go deep places to swim . . . and then I can go to the mountains and earn money and buy rice, noodles, and help father and mother." He then expressed achievement motivation in his answer: "I would like to become a scholar on plant roots. Then I will know why trees wither and die. I want to save them because otherwise people cannot make money. Then I will be happy and feel good." Although this boy's father is not one of the prominent village leaders, he seems here to express the feeling which, we believe, explains much of the responsible behavior in village leaders. We also see a desire for independence in the answer of a 10-year-old boy, "I would like to be 20 years, then I can go and do work on my own," and nurturance with an almost sanctimonious overtone, perhaps linked to hidden anxiety about aggression, in this response to the magic man query, "I would have him change me into a big, big person. Then I can go and hit anyone who bullies little persons . . . I can look all over the whole village and catch all bad persons and talk to them . . . I can make them all good." This answer, which expresses, again, achievement desires was given by an 8-year-old boy, "I would like to be 16 years old because then studies will be easier and I can wrestle like the *seinen* (young adults)," followed by "Make me into a township official because they have 'good heads' (are intelligent) and they [124]

857 help the people. Then I can buy food with the money I earn and
86 save some for a new house." Other boys, too, revealed a combination of achievement-oriented and nurturant needs and over-all qualities of responsibilities which characterize leading adults in the community. But there are also dependence needs in boys, such as expressed by
[124] this 10-year-old, "I would like to be the youngest baby . . . because everyone loves that one" (in response to the question "If you could be anybody in the family, would you like to be a father, mother, or a baby?") But the answer of a 7-year-old boy: "I want to become father, then I can raise potatoes, rice, and other things" is more typical of the Taira boys in this age group than the previous one.

Girls were quite explicit in their nurturance motivation, but they, too, used answers to reveal other desires. "I'd like to be mother so that I can cook and go to the mountains" (6 years); "I'd like to be 14, then I can fetch water and go on real errands and get money," and by the same girl (7 years), "I would like to be like K. (a girl of about 20 years) because she is an employee of the *yakuba*" (the servant and general helper at the township office). Several girls wanted to be the age of their older sisters, because, as one (6 years) said, "She buys things for me and she can buy all kinds of things for me." A real strong dependence need and a reflection of economic privations in her family, one of the poorest in Taira, was revealed by a 6-year-old girl: "I would like to become someone else's big sister . . . like the Kawata (village) rice miller's . . . because then I can eat a lot of rice," followed by, "I'd like to be Y. (baby sister) because she is small . . . because she is not even in kindergarten and father and mother will take me around with them."

Taira female adults' roles are apparently well recognized and correctly interpreted by these girls, and identifications are appropriate. Only one girl referred to a professional career, open to women, but her answer reveals very practical reasons for achievement striving: "I'd like to be a teacher, then I can do well in studies and do all kinds of studying . . . can earn money. With that money I can buy clothes and hats. And when anyone speaks *hōgen* (dialect), I can hit them with a stick and give them all failing grades. . . . Then I'll feel good!"

SCHOOL ROUTINE

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512 The school, like the parents, expects more of the 8- to 12-year-olds.
[858] The session is longer, lasting until 4:00 in the afternoon and reducing

the time for play, tasks, and homework. A child now spends eight hours in the school setting. Children are more matter of fact about school. They are slower to start in the morning, often playing a quick game before leaving the village. 872 857 512

The school schedule is more routine but still flexible. Some of the students do homework and prepare for classes while others play until the morning school assembly. From their arrival at school until they leave in the afternoon, children are under moderate supervision but by no means subject to severe discipline from teachers. The atmosphere at school is friendly, almost intimate at times. There is nothing to frighten children, and none shows signs of unhappiness or anxiety as a result of being away from home and in another village. Most of the boys behave with little restraint, while girls are much quieter and more responsive to occasional reprimands from teachers seeking order. The classroom atmosphere remains informal through all grades. Children call out answers spontaneously or make loud comments. Some move freely in the room during lessons or leave for the toilet. 872 876 [858]

The informality in the classroom is also illustrated by the occasional presence of a teacher's young child, who is taken along by his parent if no one else can take care of him at home. Off and on, a student's younger sibling also sneaks in and sits quietly through a lesson. Physical privations are not considered conducive to learning. A child who was not able to sleep adequately during the previous night will not be disturbed if he falls asleep in the middle of a lesson. If on a hot, sultry summer day children are sluggish and fail to respond, teachers ease up on their demands accordingly. [875] [857]

The classroom situation may best be described by an excerpt from field notes, taken in the fifth grade.

The male teacher is going through some new expressions from their reading material with the class. Children have their notebooks open and, as the teacher explains, take notes. Boys interrupt by shouting something, a suggestion, an answer, a question. The teacher hardly disciplines at all. He does not object to interruptions. K. (10-year-old boy), who apparently tries to show off as observers enter, shouts as "crowded streetcars" are discussed by teacher, "What would happen if somebody beats you in a streetcar?" Teacher seems to disregard this question. A little later K. interrupts two more times. Boys and girls sit apart; about one third of the students are girls. The girls hardly speak up during the session. In discussing the word "insensitive" one boy shouts as example, "I am insensitve to teacher's scolding." This is accepted as an example. There are three boys who have taken their shirts off on this warm morning. Two put them on as observers enter. After a while the teacher says, "Let's close this now." Somebody shouts, "Arithmetic," and the teacher concurs. He then gives addition problems by rapidly calling for sum-

872 mations, 6 plus 13 plus 8, etc., about six to eight numbers. The difficulty
876 lies in the speed. Boys raise their arms quickly, shout "*Hai* (yes)," and when called on give the answer. If it is wrong, as the first ones usually are, the teacher just points to somebody else and says, "*Hai*," until someone gives the right answers, sometimes not until six students have tried or until he has finally supplied the answer himself. Girls participate less than boys. K. raises his hand twice and twice has the wrong answer. The class then works at problems from the arithmetic book. One problem is read out loud by a girl. Students get up only when called on by the teacher to read from the book or from the blackboard. While listening to the problem which the girl reads in the customary high sing-song reading voice, the class is quiet although not everyone concentrates. The girls seem much more attentive. The teacher puts high numbers, ten million, etc., on the blackboard, which students have to read off. There is no embarrassment about giving the wrong answer. There is no kidding or teasing by others. If one can't do it, another student volunteers information, but there seems to be a lot of pressure provided by the constant raising of hands, which prompts even those who don't know to raise theirs and to make a blind guess.

876 Teachers, after the second grade, are always men. Their relation-
[875] ship with the students is informal, warm, and friendly. Living in the village, they are also a part of the social world in which the student lives. On the whole, they seem to have little difficulty in maintaining control over the class. Girls hardly ever present disciplinary problems. The disciplinary techniques used by the teachers are milder than parental ones. They rarely use physical punishments, limiting them to nose pulling or a light slap; they employ more commonly mild forms of ridicule and ostracism, such as standing a child in the corner. A child who continues to misbehave is scolded roundly in the presence of the class.

In interviews, teachers stressed the fact that they preferred reasoning and explaining to ridicule and shaming. They stated the belief that it was better to ask a child why he had done wrong or discuss his misbehavior with him. They also voiced a preference for positive measures, such as praise. Rewards, not unlike the silver and gold stars given in some American schools, are sometimes used.

872 Rote learning is one of the most important techniques of instruc-
876 tion, but teachers are striving to introduce new methods. A new lesson is first read by the teacher from beginning to end. Afterward the teacher discusses the topic and questions with students. Then various minor aspects of the reading are dealt with, and finally the teacher asks if there is anything that is not understood. After all points have been clarified, the new words used in that day's lesson are written on the blackboard. While writing, the teacher reads the characters aloud. The set sequence of strokes for each character is

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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left for later practice. When all the new words are presented in this fashion, the teacher takes the textbook and reads the passage once more to the class. This is a signal for all to pay close attention to their books. After this, everyone reads to himself. For about five minutes bedlam reigns as discordant voices fill the room. Then a child is called by the teacher to read aloud to the class. The teacher may call on several other students before instructing all to read to themselves once more, for the last time. Should a child make a mistake in reading, the teacher rereads the passage. The lesson is concluded with instructions to study it that night. In the evening, back in the village, one is apt to hear loud, sing-song recitations of the lesson being read and reread. Elementary school students delight in verbal presentations of whole lessons on the spur of the moment during playtime. Talent programs are popular among 8-year-old girls, and at village or school celebrations in which students participate it would be unusual not to have at least two readings offered. The school also promotes oratorical contests in which long, memorized stories are recited. Rote memory, discussion with association of facts, familiar with the unfamiliar, and imitation, therefore, are utilized in these learning situations. 872 876 [537]

Although reading allows for a certain amount of creativity in timing and flexibility of inflection patterns, penmanship is a rigidly controlled practice. As the teacher writes the character on the board, strictest attention is required. There is precise order in the sequence of strokes, as well as unquestionable direction as to how to form them. The teacher counts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, while writing the strokes on the board. All children have to raise their right hand and with the index finger write the character in the air, following the teacher's example. The character is written in this fashion four or five times before the whole class is sent to the blackboard in small groups to demonstrate that they have understood the principles of writing the character. This process uses imitation, repetition, and memorization in learning. 872 876 212

In the area of physical science and social studies, teachers are working toward practical applications of concepts which were presented in the lessons. Resources are very limited and so is the potential of actual experiences which a northern Okinawan village child is likely to have during childhood. Applying concepts mostly remains in the realm of discussion in class and not as much has been done to widen the circle as educators wish. Excursions to the beach and mountains help somewhat to integrate and bring into association those facts, mentioned in textbooks, which have reference to the local environ- 872 876

872 ment. But how should a Taira child grasp, for instance, the meaning
876 of a large hotel in the city, where travelers can stop, engage one or several rooms, have meals served either individually in the room or
[485] at the restaurant? The little Taira guesthouse, run by the doctor and to all extent and purposes a private home, is hardly an adequate model.

876 Learning by doing is, on the whole, an innovation in the school
872 program. To find out what fifth- and sixth-grade students might have learned in the home by actually doing things, the school circulated
857 a questionnaire which covered such items as: "Have you ever tried to make a simple telescope? Did you ever watch a plant grow from the time of seeding and make a scientific description of its progress? Did you ever build a small toolshed or other small structure by yourself? Did you ever make regular observations of weather phenomena and keep a record?" From our previous description of typical activities of Taira children, it is not surprising to learn that very few of these or similar experiences appeared on the answers in the affirmative.

876 At school, participation and learning by doing are found at least in a few instances. The basic skills of cleaning rooms by using rag
868 and mop, as well as maintaining school grounds by cutting grass with
[358] a sickle and weeding with a hoe, may not have high educational value, but they carry over to the home and village situation. In the upper grades, students begin to do some gardening at school. Later in junior high school they work in their own small garden plots on
[241] the school grounds and in school rice paddies under teachers' supervision. Unlike the home situation, where learning also takes place by observation and doing, the teacher lays a foundation for solid knowledge by instruction and demonstration of proper techniques and by criticism of errors. The large number of students who work under guidance of a single teacher limits the practical value of such learning situations. It is evident, however, that there is an important qualitative difference between learning in the home situation and at school. Where the child does a chore in the village without trying to meet standards set by parents, the school child finds that the teacher scrutinizes his work carefully, judges, compares, picks and chooses the best performers from the poorer ones, and imposes standards for all to meet or excel. If a standard is set at all in the village, adults tend to either overlook it or simply fail to enforce it.

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ATTITUDES TOWARD ACHIEVEMENT

Observations revealed there is a contrast between home and school setting in attitudes and treatment of achievement-oriented and competitive behavior. The classroom situation tends to breed competition. Eager attempts to answer questions and to get the teacher's attention by raising a hand and calling out suggest competitive spirit. There was little we observed in the village which seemed to bolster competitive behavior, except for some games and occasional wrestling and athletic practice. Parents discourage boasting in children and in our presence gave little evidence of fostering achievement. However, if we now let the children speak, and then mothers (unfortunately fathers were not interviewed), one might get a different impression of the parental role in achievement training.

In answer to the questions "How do you feel about doing something better than anybody else your age? When you're not the best, do you ever practice so you can do better?" the six boys in our sample agreed that they would like to be first. One 8-year-old answered: "Yes, I would like to be better than my classmates." "But," he adds, "no, I don't practice or study when I am not first . . . only sometimes. If I am last I would practice and study because I would get scolded by the teacher and my parents. . . . I would be ashamed because others would laugh at me. But if I am average, I won't do anything, I don't care." Two other boys implied that they would do little to improve their position if they were in the middle, or as one put it, "I do want to be first, but I don't do anything about it . . . not much anyway."

The fear of being scolded by parents is also expressed in the answer of four others in this group. Shame was mentioned only by one other boy, but among those who fear scolding at home were two whose parents are exceptional in stressing good performance at home and driving their children toward higher standards. They responded, as one might expect, with expressions such as: "Yes, I would rather be better than all others. . . . In the middle? No, I would rather be first." Only one of these two mentioned fear of scolding as an incentive.

Girls' answers differed slightly in the somewhat greater emphasis on performing well and making determined efforts in this direction. One reply, "Yes, I will study hard to become first. Even if I am in the middle, I will try hard so I can be first. I don't feel good being

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866 last," was essentially echoed by the five other school girls in the sample
876 of six. Three, however, thought they would not mind too much being in the middle, though they would prefer to be first, and all seemed to agree with the statement of one that "it is no fun to be the last," and as one said (and the five others put it in similar words): "If I am last, then I would work very hard. . . ." Wanting to be first and doing something about it are, of course, two different things. But the intentions of girls to work hard are stated more strongly than those of boys. And, significantly, none of the girls mentioned fear of scolding or shame.

Does this mean, then, that girls have a higher achievement motivation than boys or are they just more responsible and obedient? At
[858] home girls have been trained to assume responsibilities at a slightly earlier age than boys and have, therefore, been exposed to more rewards for doing their tasks than boys—and also more scolding for doing them only in part or not at all, although the fear of being scolded is not verbalized. It may be that the desire to do well becomes an end in itself for these girls because of previous satisfactions and, possibly, fears. And to some extent, observations of classroom behavior and participation in studies by girls would bear out that they make more determined efforts to perform well in class.

Mothers' replies to the questions "How satisfied do you feel about how well your child does things?" and more specifically, "What do you do if he does poorly?" were uniformly positive expressions. All mothers said that they were not only happy with good performances but also actually encouraged good work at school by giving praise and often special food. Only three mothers of the boys who expected scolding said that they would do so if their child did poorly; two others suggested that they would talk to the child to make him perform better. The mother of one boy who stated that he would feel ashamed to be placed at the bottom said that if her boy "should do something poorly I would tell him that he has become 'useless, hopeless.' " None of the girls' mothers, on the other hand, indicated that she would scold their daughter for poor performance.

Mothers, then, though purporting to be interested in their children's performance in school, are actually using, at best, mild pressures toward satisfactory accomplishments. Although they genuinely feel a pleasure over good performance, we wonder if they express and enforce their sentiments toward children consistently enough, emphatically enough, and frequently enough to make an impact. We rather think that mothers who work in fields and mountains all day

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have little time and patience to concern themselves seriously with 866
their children's schoolwork; and since their daily work is hardly an 876
inspiration to the child to improve his scholastic activities, there is
some question in how much parental influence is relevant here.
Moreover, mothers are always under pressure from the teachers to [124
urge their children to work hard and would respond to such an
obviously weighted question in this fashion to a person to whom they
accorded the same polite title in address, which they use toward
their children's teacher, *sensei* (i.e., the interviewer). It is also a fact
that teachers have had difficulty getting parents to cooperate in
training their children to establish regular home-study habits. Fathers,
on the whole, seem even less consistent than mothers in supervising
schoolwork. The fact that most boys would like to be first but make
concentrated efforts to improve their work only if they perform
poorly suggests that parental discipline usually does not function
effectively until the child has become severely delinquent in his
studies.

If the desire to cheat in school is a measure of competitive pressures, it is interesting to note that there are few such attempts made during the examinations which are held several times a year. Nothing is done to separate the students whose tables are close together. Although the teacher remains in the classroom, he hardly proctors. However, the teacher commented that if a student is suspected of unfair practices, others will report his activities to the teacher.

An impetus for the development of competitive spirit has been [177
the introduction by the Japanese of athletic sports into the schools. [526
The communities participate annually in athletic competitions spon- [527
sored by the schools and other agencies outside the community. One
is impressed, however, that these events have taken on the Okinawan
pattern of a pleasant gathering where the older people can enjoy
being sociable while the young men and women engage in various
sports.

A few students have regularly assigned tasks and offices. Each class 866
selects a monitor. The method of selection varies, depending on the 872
teacher. In one class, candidates were taken at large, and the student 876
who received the largest number of votes took the office. The monitor
is responsible for the class during the morning assembly and during
athletics. He sees to it that students line up and remain orderly. In
the classroom he has the same responsibility, but we observed nobody
discharging his duties in an authoritarian way, although some older
boys liked to show their strength in a playful manner of bullying.

866 Girls could theoretically become monitors, and several votes were cast
872 for them, but it is doubtful whether a girl could be effective among
876 boys, who might be unwilling to follow her lead.

The student Red Cross chapter has a chairman in each class who
[858] makes collections under the teacher's supervision. Somebody may
[231] volunteer for such jobs as pouring milk during lunch hour. Other assignments have to do with the upkeep of a few school-owned goats, which must be fed during vacations too.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BOYS AND GIRLS

858 Differential status of boys and girls, emphasized in child rearing
876 from the time of birth, is clearly defined in many details of school routine. Boys are sent out first when it is time to leave the classroom; they head the lines; and they are given first turn at the equipment.
[177] The promotion of sex equality under American supervision of the educational program has met with only mild acceptance in the classes we observed. Although separate seating is avoided under post-World War II rules, a separation continues in fact.

858 Girls remain on the receiving end of much teasing and horseplay,
876 more, it seems than one observes during associations of boys and girls in the village, which we will describe later. Teachers, like parents,
865 expect the boys to bully girls. In one classroom, for instance, we heard girls complaining that the (male) teacher favors boys by calling on them all the time. This may encourage the dominant, aggressive behavior of boys toward girls. Hardly a day passes in school without several girls crying as a result of assertive boy tyrants. Occasionally a boy is punished, but usually he escapes with distinct pride showing on his face. Recently teachers have resorted to ridiculing those who intimidate girls, but the tradition is so strong that even if bullying on the school ground is curbed, there is a great deal on the road to and from school. Only the most vociferous girls do not seem to be cowed by such boisterous demonstrations and may adequately match in verbal repartee those boys who try to put them into place as well as provoking more teasing and aggression. To illustrate attempts at bullying in the classroom, we quote from an observation record (second grade).

> . . . Whenever one of the girls gives a wrong answer, S. (Taira boy) shouts loudly; he is one of the most vociferous in class . . . Class then starts reading aloud, each pupil for himself . . . A boy in front of K. (Taira girl) turns around, hits her for putting her feet against his chair. K. continues kicking

his chair, doesn't seem to mind boy's slapping. He is not really angry, smiles. Looking at observer, he stops slapping, pinches K. under desk. 858

In none of the observations on schoolchildren's behavior were there examples of Taira boys protecting Taira girls from the teasing of other village boys. Instead, during school hours boys tend to team up with boys, girls with girls, although among each sex there is a tendency to associate more with those from one's own community. 876 865

PLAY GROUPS

By midafternoon all schoolchildren have returned to the village, and play groups can be found in various locations. The more stringent requirements of school seem to have been forgotten. Hardly any students of the elementary grades study immediately after returning from school. For two hours or more they spend their time with peers and younger siblings. 857

A play group comes into existence when two or three children meet in the street, in the corner of a garden, or in one of the many open lots and village places. All Taira children are intimate with each other because since early childhood they have been together during the greater part of the day. There is always a slight preference for one another among some children, either because they are close neighbors of the same age and sex, or cousins, or otherwise congenial. Although these special friends associate more often with each other, they do not exclude other children who want to join their play. Once children attend school, association on the basis of sex and age becomes more distinct. The total composition of a play group, however, shifts from day to day and from locality to locality. If one group starts a game, other children in the vicinity soon join to form a new group to play a similar game nearby. Such a play group numbers from two to ten or more children. Most frequently, however, groups are composed of children of the same sex and similar age.

There are several factors, however, which lead to variations in this general pattern. If a school age girl is the oldest in the family and has several younger siblings to care for in the afternoons, she will frequently be found in the company of younger girls and hence younger boys, the play groups being more mixed at the younger ages.

M., a 7-year-old girl with three younger sisters (ages 4, 3, and 1) was usually found in a large play group composed primarily of younger children. In contrast, S, a girl of 10, was found in smaller groups. Although she has no younger siblings to tend, she frequently cares for a

857 neighbor's child. Her charge, however is an infant who is still carried and does not yet seek the companionship of other young children. S. interacts less frequently with other children not only because of the age of her charge but also because she is older and hence has more duties at home and in the fields. Furthermore, she was born in 1945, a [163] year when few other children were born in Taira.

K., a boy of 10, is similar to S. in that he has no siblings who need care, the youngest being a 4-year-old girl who can travel with her 7-year-old sisters. In contrast to S., however, he interacts more frequently with children of the same sex and same age or older.

AGGRESSION BETWEEN BOYS AND GIRLS

865 We have touched on the relationship between latency boys and girls
857 in school, implying that the bullying which occurs frequently there is
858 less frequent in the community. Boys sometimes tease girls but less persistently and less often than in school. Since boys associate mostly with boys, and girls with girls, and since contact between sexes of the same age takes place mostly in group names, it is seldom unfriendly. Teasing among boys, and teasing among girls, is common, so that it would be hard to maintain that between the sexes it is more frequent. Once in a while, boys will keep girls out of their game, or girls will be annoyed when boys join them. Some of the kindergarten boys, as we have mentioned, like to be the disruptive agents in peaceful housekeeping games by assuming the role of a robber or wild animal. Two 5-year-old boys who generally enjoy teasing others select girls as their target now and then. Sometimes girls are just the objects of generalized aggression, as in the case presented below. M., a 5-year-old boy, first interacts aggressively with another 5-year-old boy, F., and then turns on a girl.

F. has picked up a piece of pink paper and comes carrying it up to M. He holds it against his chest, stands in front of M. and smiles. "Give it to me," says M., and F. just stands smiling, mumbling, "Hmmm, maybe," but does not hand it over. M. rushes him and attacks him with his fist and takes it away from F. who stands laughing. M. rolls the paper around the end of his stick and walks down the lane toward a group of kindergarten-age girls.

Y. (4-year-old girl) comes walking up from behind M. M. turns around and raises his stick menacingly at her. Y. looks anxious, maneuvers quickly around him to join the girls, and laughs nervously. M. smiles smugly, walks back to boys.

When provoked, the girls will often fight back, and they score equally well, especially in verbal aggression. At other times they accept

the teasing good humoredly, as seen in the incident of a 10-year-old girl, S., who is teased by a 7-year-old boy, A., described in the following protocol. 865 857 858

S. is guarding the can in a can-kicking game. A. (who has been playing a rubber band game with another boy nearby) looks up, smiles, goes running over to the can and kicks it with his foot, yelling, "Safe!" S., whose back is turned to him, jumps, turns around and sees him. "You're not playing this game," she laughs and A. laughs and goes back to his own game. [526]

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SIBLINGS

As mentioned above, the caretaking responsibility and the tendency of younger siblings who are beyond the carrying stage to follow an older brother or sister keep siblings together a great deal during play. When an older brother has to mind a younger sister, he is usually not overly protective. He seldom defends his sister from teasing and sometimes is more aggressive to her than he would be to others if she interferes with his activities. There is, of course, a great deal of variation due to personality. A 5-year-old boy (one of the teasers described above) sometimes pushes his younger sister, and she runs home crying. An 11-year-old boy, on the other hand, when he takes care of his four younger sisters, or some of them, is usually quite protective and nurturant. 593 857 [865]

A record of the behavior of T. (7 years), his younger sister H. (4 years), and other boys illustrates a brother-sister interaction. T. and other boys have made a swing and T. is sitting on it while A. (5-year-old boy) and H. try to get turns:

A. tries to get him off the swing. H., who expected that her turn would come next, whines "nisan (older brother)" and while A. tries to get T. off, she keeps on whining, "This should be enough." T. replies, "This is A.'s turn"; while A. is trying to get on the swing, H. starts crying and goes into the house. Apparently an adult is in the house. T. follows, voices are heard, but not understood. T. returns after a moment and helps F. (another boy) push A. on the swing. H. seems to have stopped crying. We heard no adult scolding T. or talking to H. H. returns, no longer crying. She stands behind T. whose body swings back and forth while pushing A. H. pushes T.'s swinging body to help him. A., F., and H. sing in rhythm, "one, two, three," etc. After song is finished, H. says, "Brother, it is my turn next." T. ignores her, but A. gets off the swing and H. sits on it. H. swings by herself. T. orders A. to help him push the door next to the swing open. A. complies. T.'s mother passes, does not say anything. After the door has been opened (and more room gained), T. and A. push H.

593 The presence in the background of T.'s mother may have something to do with his change in behavior toward H., or it may be that he wants her to wait her turn and do it his way. T. is very much in control of this situation, even among the boys. The swing is constructed on the edge of his parents' house. But T., on another occasion, when his aunt asked him to wash her daughter's (T.'s 4-year-old cousin) feet after she had waded in the muddy paddies, complied agreeably and was quite nurturant and indulgent with the younger girl. With [865] H., too, he is more cordial at other times. Perhaps what bothers him, and other boys of his age, is the interference of younger sisters with boys' play.

857 To sum up, between boys and girls of school age there is not a very close relationship, each sex being quite strongly oriented toward mem-
593 bers of its own group. Brothers and sisters, on the whole, fall into this
858 pattern, except that the succorance-nurturance relationship between younger and older continues, though moderately. Although separation of sexes is found in the kindergarten pattern, it is more pronounced in latency, since the activities of peers are more and more differentiated by sex.

RELATIONSHIP TO PEERS

857 We asked the children a question in an attempt to measure how they would resolve the conflict between having to do a chore and the
866 call of friends to join in play. All boys (in the group of six) agreed
156 that they would do their work first, four mentioning fear of being scolded. One boy worried about what his friends might think if he does not join them soon: "Will they not think badly of me?" adding, "Sometimes I have gone out without finishing my work and then I would worry about getting scolded. It's 'bad,' but if my friend persists, I would go and join him without doing my work." And another admitted, "If mother and father are not at home, I would go and play without finishing my work, but then I would worry about getting scolded."

Strangely enough, five of the girls answered that they would do their work first, but if their father and mother are not home, they would go out and play; at least four say so, while the fifth boldly says, "If friends come and call me when I am doing my chores, I will go and play without finishing," but this girl, coming from a poor family, is less secure than others and more anxious to be a part of the group. Several girls mentioned the fear of being scolded. Only one, the sixth, replied,

"I would do my work first and then go out to play, whether my parents are home or not." 857 866

The mother of a younger boy reported that he is so anxious to rejoin his playmates that he barely gives himself time enough at home to eat his meal. It is our feeling that it is not just the desire to play which pulls children away from assigned tasks, but the urge to be with peers. The attitude of mothers encourages play groups. They tell their children: "Do not play alone; go and play with others. If you play alone, people might think that others dislike you." As one mother put it: "It looks so lonely when (my child) is playing alone." Only one mother, whose child-rearing methods in general deviate from those of others because she and her husband set high achievement goals and standards for their child, said that she would like to have her son play alone occasionally. In this way she hoped he would devote some time to educational activities. It is interesting, however, that several mothers mentioned the names of other children whom they considered unsuitable playmates for their child, either because they were too bossy, or too aggressive, or had otherwise undesirable qualities in their judgment. If, however, there is selectivity among children on the basis of their parents' desires, we were not aware of it. 156

Peers assume increasing importance as socializing agents as they grow older. Schoolchildren of the same age watch and control each other so that there is hardly need for interference by adults. Older children remind younger ones who neglect a crying young sibling to attend to his needs. Failure to respond to the succorant pleas of a younger sibling meets with disapproval. Peers rarely interfere directly with the activities of others, but do so by remarks to each other, and by other indirect means through which they achieve compliance or conformity. There are some obvious situations when outright commands by an older child are needed. For example, when a 3-year-old girl pulled the plug from the concrete water tank and was immediately frightened by the stream of water pouring out, a 6-year-old girl nearby called, "Close it," and watched as the little one hurriedly put the plug into place. Hardly ever does one hear children taking the role of an adult in trying to demand conformity from peers with rules set by adults. Only the boy mentioned earlier, whose parents make determined efforts to train him toward responsibility and achievement, occasionally attempts to correct the behavior of peers by talking like an adult. He always does it in a quasi-nurturant, responsible manner, perhaps because he strongly identifies with his father, one of the village leaders. 857 156 861

Parents do not like their children to become "leaders." Almost all 857 866

857 of them disapprove of dominance in their children: "It would be terri-
866 ble if my child would tell this child and that child to do one thing or another and they would get into trouble." The fear expressed here, and in similar statements, is obviously that leadership entails responsibility in case anything goes wrong, and parents do not like to be put in a position where they or their children could be blamed.

865 The Western observer, perhaps, is most impressed with the ability of children to manage their own affairs. Fights occur, and disagree-
857 ments crop up frequently, but almost without exception these matters
156 are settled within the group and without dramatic scenes in which adults become involved. There are no violent fights or quarrels which break up groups and cause prolonged hostile feelings among children. Least of all did we find bullying and harassing of younger children by the older ones, although younger ones are often assigned inferior roles in play by the older children.

ACTIVITIES AND GAMES

857 In part, at least, the tone among these play groups is set by the sur-
524 prising variety of activities that children engage in during the year, innumerable games which come and go in cycles, but which have a village-wide appeal while they last. All of them are played with a minimum of equipment and a maximum of inventiveness and enthusiasm. There are few toys which parents can buy their children, and fewer still which they make for them. This situation is met with great ingenuity. Children use any objects available to them—discarded household equipment, empty cans, boxes, or whatever they pick and gather from trees, bushes, and the ground. Round stones, peas, and seeds serve as marbles; an empty carton becomes a truck or boat. Wooden sticks, bamboo, an old bicycle wheel without a tire find some use. Suddenly one day children run about with helmets made of cabbage leaves, swinging little pistols made of a piece of bamboo, or a stick as a dagger. Girls gather shells and gravel on the beach and carry pieces in their dress pockets. In the absence of dolls, girls have a younger sibling to act the part of "child" in realistic play. Babies, however, are never used in such games.

Boys and girls like to play games of skill. Girls often pull out five stones from their pockets and play a kind of jacks. There are also many versions of ball games in which one girl performs several stunts with a ball while she sings a song. If she makes a mistake, another one

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

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gets a turn. Teams of two girls at a time play hopscotch, which they 524
call "parent and child game."

An old Okinawan game of skill on which early Western visitors have 857
frequently commented is still a favorite of Taira boys, 5 years and 526
older. This is a kind of stick-ball game. A wedge-shaped piece of wood 157
3 to 4 inches long and pointed at both ends and a striking club are used. Children whittle both with a knife. This game is played by two or more players, and the purpose of the game is to get the wedge into a hole. The game requires a series of skillful manipulations of the wedge with the club. It is an exciting and competitive game. Each player is awarded a number of points for certain accomplished acts. Although boys are quite absorbed in this play, there are rarely any arguments and the winner hardly ever shows any pride. Winners seldom boast after a game, and the observers felt that the satisfaction is really gained from the performance, not from having outdone others. Girls sometimes join the boys in this game.

Boys and girls, separately or together, play other games of skill, such 857
as marbles. A challenge by another starts a game, sometimes of two, 524
sometimes of four or six players. There is usually a kibitzer around who becomes involved. Two games in the same play area are not uncommon while spectators wait for their turns later.

Equally common, but frowned on by the school because of its gambling character, is a rubber band game. The store uses rubber bands to tie packages. Children carry a number on their arms. Each player chips in a number of bands, two or more, depending on agreement. The person who starts the game is decided on by tossing. The rubber bands are put on a cement or wooden surface, a step or block with a ledge from which the rubber can drop down. They are placed at some distance from the ledge. Then they are moved toward it, either by hitting the ground with the palm of the hand, slightly cupped so that air escapes, or by blowing. The rubber bands drop over the ledge, and the person whose rubber band first overlaps with another wins the stake. This game continues until one player has won all the rubber bands. Parents object to the game only if the children buy rubber bands instead of collecting them.

Boys like to practice skill in sports. Wrestling, a national sport in 857
Japan and the Ryukyus during spring and early summer, is taken up 526
by boys who copy young men and older students, and for several weeks wrestling matches get spontaneously under way. Prior to the annual island-wide athletic meets in September, boys practice high jump, broad jump, and relay running. There is much practice for the mere [157]

857 fun of it, but few signs of involvement with attaining outstanding per-
526 formance. Losers are not teased or ridiculed, although a good per-
[157] former is occassionally given an encouraging remark by others who practice.

Group games are usually played after the schoolchildren have returned to the village. One of the popular games is a version of prisoner's base similar to that played in the United States. This game is played with much yelling, laughing, and noisy challenging. Equally popular is a version of "kick the can." This game is exciting and fast moving. It is a game which can lead to arguments, since one must trust the honesty of the person who is "it" and claims to have seen another player. Brief arguments arise and are quickly settled. Part of the fun seems to be teasing and challenging the tagger.

535 These are games that children may play on any day in the year.
857 During holidays they are sometimes asked to entertain adults with
[527] dances. Little girls learn the traditional Okinawan dances from kinder-
[871] garten days on, either by watching or by coaching of an older person, a friend, one's older sister, or mother. Neither kindergarten nor school programs include the teaching of such rich Okinawan heritage as classical dances. Boys do not begin to imitate the burlesque dances of their male elders until adolescence. But they are sometimes invited, together with girls, to present group dances or little plays for the adults. Adults seem to enjoy most the performances of Okinawan dances by little girls who may have learned the rhythm and movements but not the restraint of serious adult presentations. They are delighted if a 6-year-old, dressed in bright-colored costume, innocently wiggles her hips in a rather suggestive way.

857 Children who perform for adults show no stage fright. At school,
[156] where little sketches are presented on the stage, there is a complete ease in improvising. Nobody is embarrassed if he forgets a line, a song, or a cue, and the recitation contests which we have already mentioned are carried out with much zest.

[512] Schoolchildren are supposed to remain at home after 8 o'clock in the evening to do their studies. This rule is encouraged by the school but rarely enforced by parents. Many children, boys and girls, appear outside after dark, and on moonlight nights they often resume their playing. Off and on, a couple of elementary schoolboys are attracted to the store where the village truck arrives with goods from the city after nightfall. There they stand in the dim yellow light of the kerosene lamp, watching, helping, or just listening to some of the men who
[515] come to have their sake bottles filled. If a bath has been prepared for
[512] their families, their turn will come sometime after the older males in

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

the household have had theirs. By 10 o'clock children have finally disappeared from the street and paths.

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POST-WAR OKINAWA

by

F. R. Pitts, W. P. Lebra and W. P. Suttles

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Pacific Science Board
National Research Council
Washington, D. C.
June, 1955

[title page]

PREFACE

114 This report is based on nine months of field research which was con-
122 ducted under the auspices of the Pacific Science Board of the National Academy of Sciences with Department of Army funds granted by a subcontract with the Human Resources Research Office of The George Washington University. The project was considered a part of the long-range SIRI (Scientific Investigations in the Ryukyu Islands) program developed by the Pacific Science Board "...to advise and assist the administrative authorities of the Ryukyu Islands in problems of rehabilitation relating to the health and economy of the Ryukyu
121 Islands." The objectives of this study were set forth in a broad outline presented by the Pacific Science Board prior to our departure into the field. In brief, it called for a description and assessment of the impact of the United States military occupation on Okinawan culture. Certain aspects of the project outline were later amended to meet the exigencies of the field situation. In the preparation of this report the authors' primary aim has been to inform those actively concerned with Okinawan-American relations; hence, a time limitation largely imposed by the necessity of presenting information while it is still pertinent has precluded a fuller treatment of certain aspects of our data which ordinarily would have been included in a complete ethnographic account.

114 Field time covered the period from September of 1953 to June of 1954.
101 One of the authors remained on Okinawa for an additional month to compensate for time lost due to illness and hospitalization.

128 Although each of us worked on several aspects of culture, in writing up our material we divided it roughly according to the major field of interest of each. Thus, though each chapter, or section of the last chapter, bears the name of the writer only, it was written from an outline that was discussed by all three and all three contributed both data and ideas to it.

We have tried to keep Okinawan and Japanese terms to a minimum, that is to use them only when there is no clear English equivalent or to add them (usually parenthetically) only as linguistic evidence for the existence of an object, practice, or concept. Nevertheless, they will be found scattered throughout the report. Although each term is defined, we hope, where it first appears, we have identified each again in a glossary. The distinction between native Okinawan terms and Japanese terms is worth preserving; we have done so by underlining the Okinawan terms and enclosing the Japanese terms in single quote marks. Some inconsistency in the Okinawan terms is due to differences in dialect and differences in recording.

101 Although we spent a bit of time in a number of communities on Okinawa, the major part of our work was in six: Pitts in Nanahan (Tomoyose), Kochinda-son, Goeku-son; Lebra in Kanegusuku, Kanegusuku-son and Kitazato, Kamimotobu-son; and Suttles in Yamazato, Chinen-son and Yamada, Onna-son. The locations of these communities is shown on Map 1.

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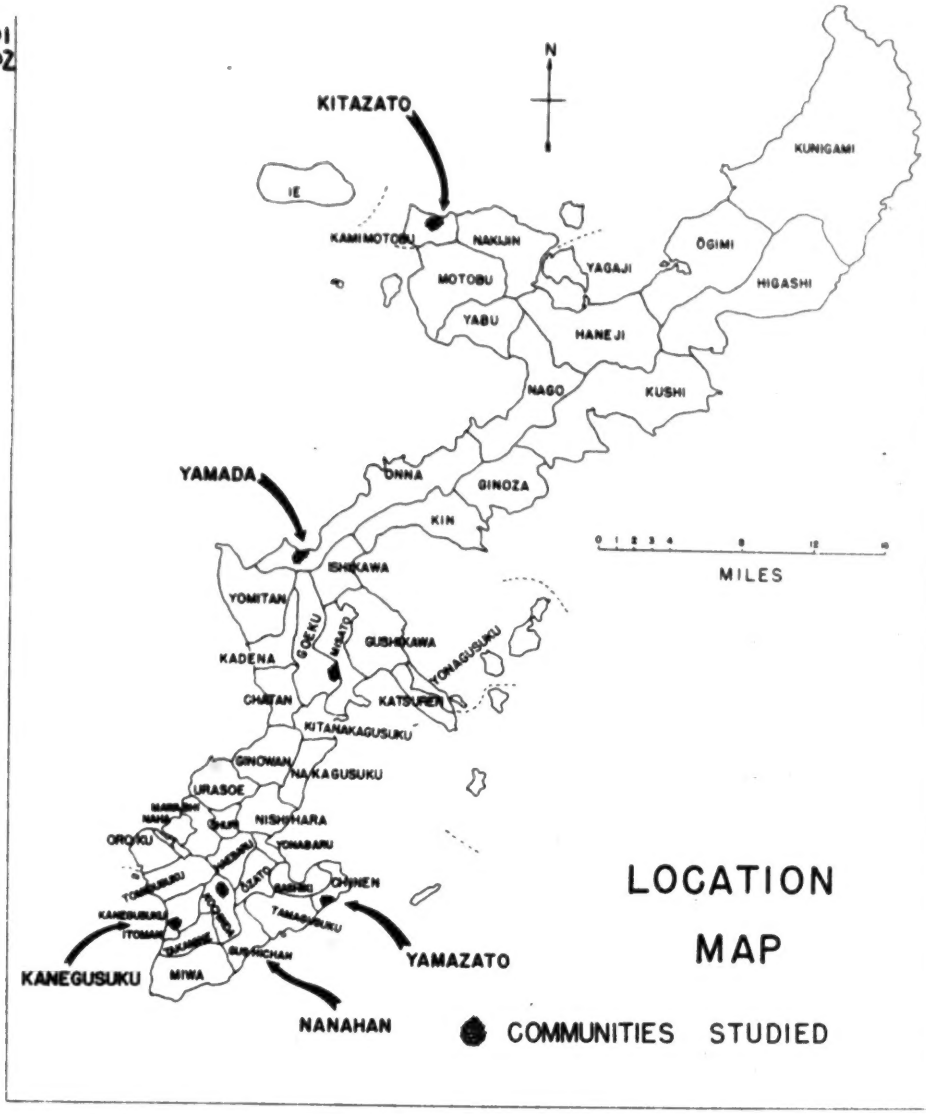

Map 1
[facing p. ii]

We wish to express here our indebtedness to the Pacific Science Board for providing us the opportunity and necessary support to conduct this research. Particular acknowledgement is also due those members of the USCAR staff whose cooperation and logistic support greatly facilitated our work. Lastly, the authors owe their deepest gratitude to the hundreds of Okinawans who by their patience, kindness, and interest in our work contributed so much to its fulfillment.

The conclusions and interpretations derived from this research are those of the authors and do not represent those of any other individuals, groups, or organizations.

F. R. Pitts
W. P. Lebra
W. P. Suttles

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CHAPTER I: GEOGRAPHY

F. R. Pitts

131 Location Okinawa is a longish island, lying about halfway between Formosa and the southern tip of Kyushu. Together with clusters of islands lying both to the east and west, it forms the political unit known as Okinawa Guntō.

133 Along the axis of Okinawa, which trends from southwest to northeast, there is a fairly simple division into a plateau-and-mountain northern half, a central plateau area, and a low rolling southern knob. The Motobu peninsula juts westward from the northern, or Kunigami, half and forms a distinctive area. Between the Kunigami mountains and the peaks of Motobu lies the ricebowl of Okinawa---the Haneji lowland.

311 241 Arable Land In general it can be said that the farm population increases as one proceeds south. Map 2, showing the arable land under cultivation as a percentage of the total land area, illustrates this.[1]

Farms in the mountain and plateau north are found in incised V-shaped valleys. Water is plentiful, and rice paddies cover the valley floor. Villages hug the edges of the flat land, and incredibly small sweet-potato terraces rise [137] up the valley's edge. Atop the plateau one finds only silence, and a dense growth of trees and bamboo. Many of the people in the valleys are part-time [132] foresters. The Motobu mountains guard from the frequent typhoons little settlements famed for growing the indigo plant and pineapples. The peninsula's north shore is a fertile but ever-narrowing extension of the Haneji lowland.

In the central plateau area---Nakagami---sweet-potato fields compete with scrubby forest for space on the plateau. Where sufficient water is available, rice fields cover the tiny valley floors and the low-lying coastal fringes. The triangular southern end of the island is known as Shimajiri in [134] popular terminology. Shimajiri is blessed with the greatest concentration of [132] fertile arable land on Okinawa. But the blessing is somewhat reduced by greater exposure to typhoons and a chronic water shortage. Sweet potatoes and sugar cane rank first among crops here.

311 243 Riceland Okinawans prefer to eat rice rather than sweet potatoes whenever possible. It is a paradox, however, that areas of greatest farm [242] population grow the least rice. The thinly populated north has the greatest amount of riceland. Map 3 charts the distribution of riceland---or flooded fields---on Okinawa. Even in the southern 'son' of Yonagusuku and Kanegusuku flooded fields often contain the mat rush rather than rice. It is a good cash crop, and is sturdier than rice when typhoons roar through the islands.

[128] [1] The figures upon which the maps in this section and the population section are based are found in Appendix A. The figures for Japan and Kagoshima-ken are given for comparative purposes. Of all the prefectures in Japan, Kagoshima most nearly resembles Okinawa in climate and emphasis upon sweet potatoes as a staple food.

Population Density The pattern revealed in a map of population density---Map 4---is approximately the same as that for percentage of arable land. It is somewhat complicated, however, by the urbanization that is going on in Nakagami. A more detailed discussion of the population movements responsible for this situation will be found in a later section of this report. 161

Farming Almost all of Okinawa's rural people farm, and many are engaged part time in home industries which utilize local products. Particularly noteworthy are the vegetable-producing areas. Kitanakagusuku and Ginowan 'sons' are centers of vegetable production for the American military forces.[1] The inland 'son' of Haebaru grows 53% of the gunto's tōgwā, a wax melon that is a favorite Okinawan food. 433 241 [262]

One of the most remarkable agricultural areas, Tomigusuku, lies south of the Naha-Mawashi-Oroku urban complex. It grows many kinds of vegetables for the cities, and ranks high in other production. Tomigusuku stands first in the gunto in acreage of green beans, muskmelons, bananas and eggplant. Almost one-fifth of the latter comes from here. It ranks second in tomatoes, and ties with Yonagusuku for second place in weight of mat reeds produced. Miwa, in the far south, leads the gunto in soybean acreage, while Nishihara occupies a similar position in acreage planted to pumpkins.

The most remarkable 'son' in northern Okinawa is Nakijin on the north shore of Motobu peninsula. It leads in gunto acreage of sweet potatoes, leaf tobacco (76.2%), and cucumbers. In animals it leads in numbers of pigs and ducks. It also produces 76% of the banana cloth, or 'bashōfu', of the gunto. This 'son' is mainland Okinawa's chief wheat producer. [231] [235]

The small Okinawan acreage of Irish potatoes is found in Ōgimi-son to the northeast. Yabu is noted for its pickled giant radishes, or 'takuan'. The offshore islands lead in certain special crops. Minami Daitō leads in sugar cane, wheat and barley. Ie Shima seconds in barley, and Izena seconds in wheat. Ie Shima is far ahead in acreage of Irish beans, or 'azuki', accounting for 41% of the gunto's planted acreage of this crop. Though Ie Shima ranks only 15th in soybean acreage, it produces almost a fifth (18.4%) of the gunto's 'miso', in which soybeans are used as a base. 'Miso' making is one of the main home industries on the island. Ie Shima, Kamimotobu and Nakijin retain some of the old 'awa' (German millet) complex, between them accounting for over a third (34.3%) of the acreage of that crop in Okinawa gunto. Kamimotobu is mainland Okinawa's leader in acreage planted to ordinary millet ('kibi'; Panicum miliceum). [252]

Nakagami has little of agricultural distinction. Yomitan leads the mainland in acres of barley and number of rabbits. Gushikawa is second rank in sweet potato acreage, but produces about two-fifths (39.4%) of the gunto's sweet potato starch. It leads in numbers of goats, and is second though not outstanding in numbers of bullocks. [231]

[1] Most of this and following paragraphs derive from Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku and Okinawa guntō no tembō. Some is based on personal observation and interviewing. [127]

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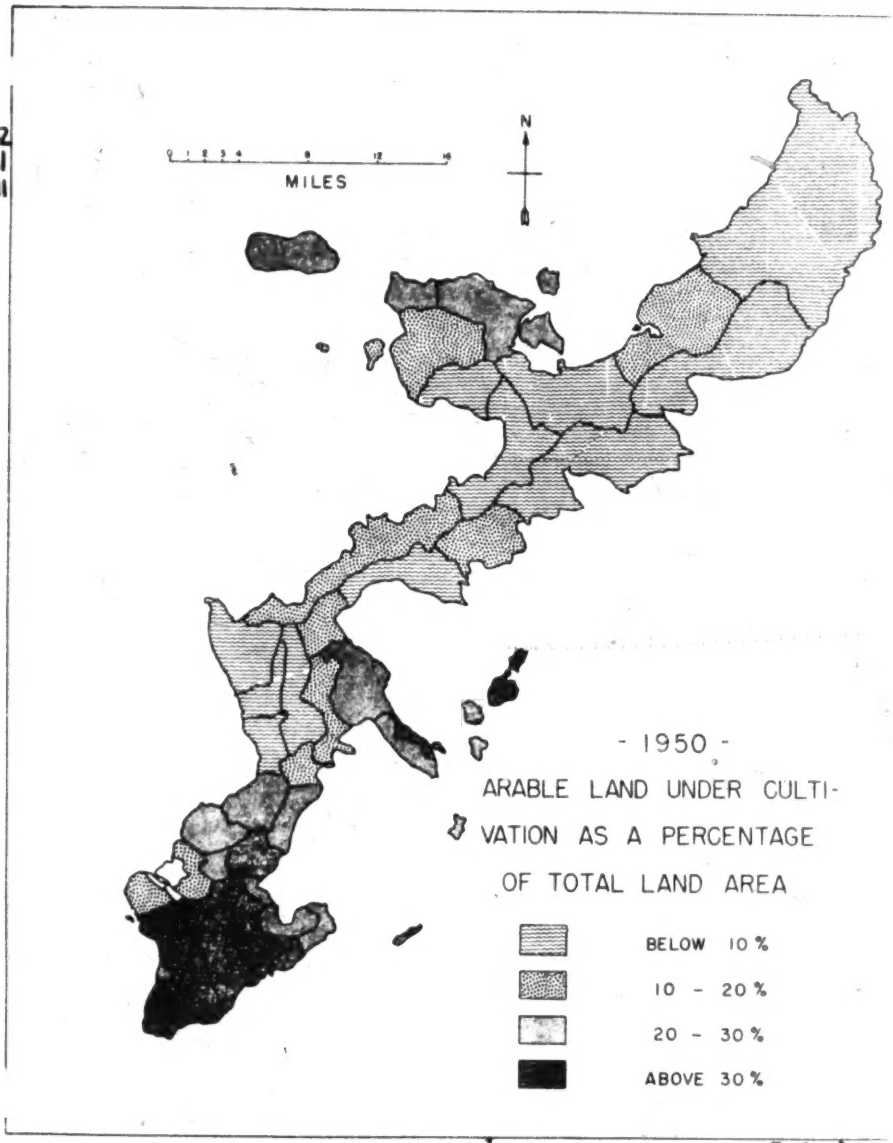

Map 2 [1/A]

[P 2-A)

1/A. [See pages 222-224 for data upon which this map was based--Analyst]

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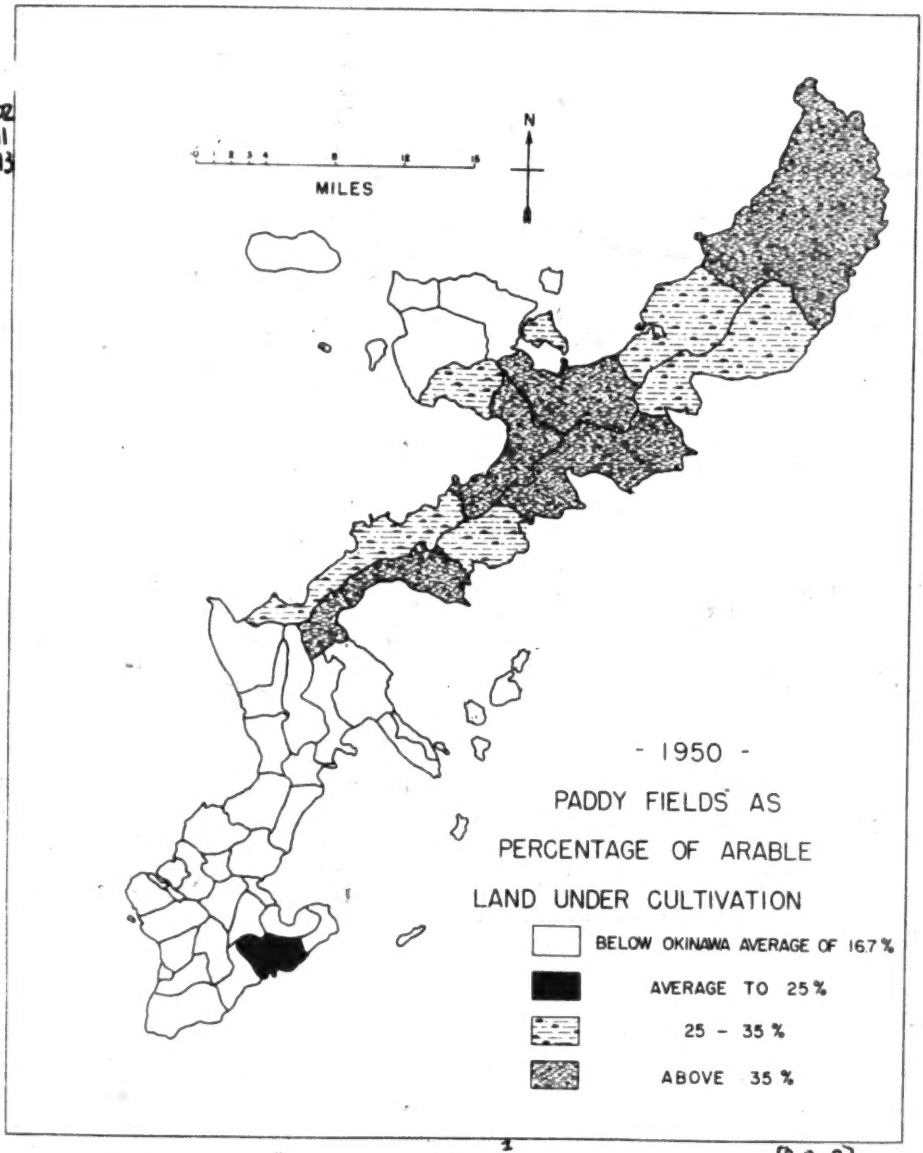

Map 3 [1] [P 2-B]

1, [See pages 222-224 for data upon which this map was based--Analyst]

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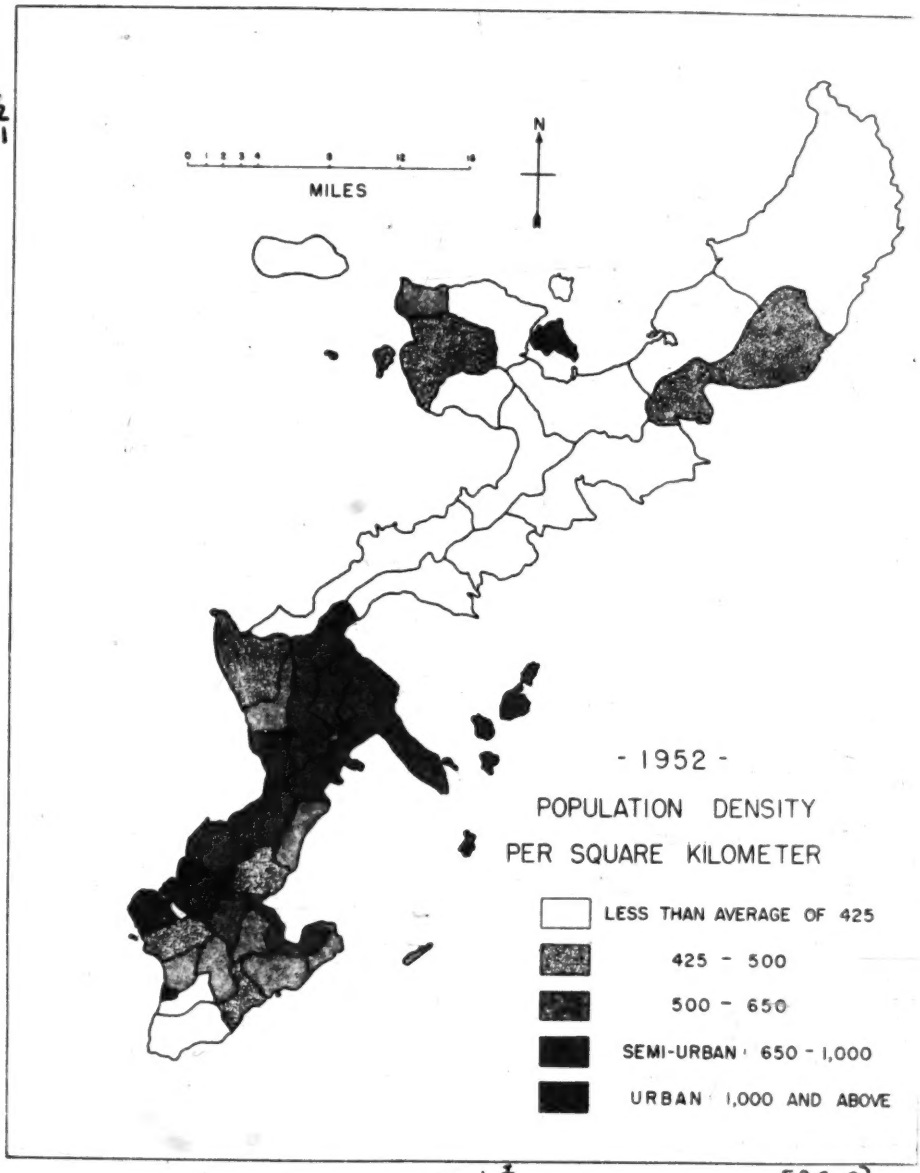

Map 4 1/1 [P.2-C]

1/1 [See pages 222-224 for data upon which this map was based--Analyst]

313 Home Industries and Famous Products The forested northern mountains give rise to small scale lumbering, charcoal making,
314 and firewood gathering. Kunigami-son and Kushi-son emphasize the gathering of
433 bamboo and firewood. On the other hand the making of charcoal is more import-
[369] ant in Nago, Haneji, and Ōgimi. The urbanization of the south combined with
[391] the postwar extension of roads into formerly inaccessible parts of the north have accelerated exploitation of the northern forest resource. Particularly heavy is the demand for long roof poles, or kichigwā, after every major typhoon.
[237] Kunigami-son and Higashi supply the bulk of these. Where wood is plentiful behind a coastal road, one often finds lime kilns, which process the coral of the reefs.

258 The sea is also a major source of material for home industries. Sea
433 salt is made at Yagaji, Urasoe and Oroku on the west coast, at Henza and Awase
[237] on the east. Kunigami-son prides itself upon its production of seaweed. Buttons from seashells are made in Mawashi. Fish cakes ('kamaboko') are made in quantity in Itoman and Naha, with lesser amounts being produced in Ishikawa and Nago. Dried bonito ('katsuoboshi') is a specialty of Tonaki isle to the west. Motobu-chō holds second place, followed by the western isles of Tokashiki and
505 Zamami. For over a hundred years the small cargo sailboats ('Yambaru-sen')
178 of the east coast have carried forest products from the north. The extension of roads into the northern forests has greatly reduced the amount now carried by sea.

433 Horse breeding is a specialty in Nakazato (the eastern half of Kume-
[232] shima), which has 22% of the gunto's production of horses. However, the pro-
[285] duction of horse and cattle hides is concentrated in the urban areas, which
[231] account for 84% of the hides produced. Nakazato is also famous for production of silk cocoons, being responsible for about two-fifths (38.7%) of the gunto's total. The leading mainland producer is Motobu-chō, with 9%.

Although Okinawa is not self-sufficient in tea, the three areas of
[245] Gushikawa, Ishikawa and Kunigami produce over half of the local tea. In Oku
[47] village of Kunigami, the tea factory is a cooperative venture. Gushikawa
[277] and Chatan pride themselves upon possessing 'sake' and 'awamori' distilleries.
[286] Mawashi is the center of production of farm tools, and accounts for some weaving of banana cloth. Weaving of mats from the "seven isles reed" ('shichitō-i') is a local specialty of Kanegusuku.

[314] Travertine quarries are found in Motobu-chō and Katsuren. A sandy limestone is quarried at Minatogawa in Gushichan.

CHAPTER II: LANGUAGE

W. P. Lebra

197 177 **Introduction** Though Japanese is established as the official language of Okinawa, in practice its use is more limited than that of the indigenous language, Okinawan. Since only Japanese is used in the government, press, cinema, radio, schools, and among the leaders of public and professional life, an observer not in intimate contact with the people might easily gain the impression that the native language is dead or dying. Recently an American stationed on Okinawa expressed the opinion, "In the past decades they spoke their own language, Luchuan, but this has almost been forgotten since the Japanese took over late in the last century."[1] On the contrary, however, this [191] language is far from being dead or forgotten, and at the present time the majority of Okinawans may be said to be bilingual. In all communities which the authors studied and visited, Okinawan was found to be more widely used than Japanese. More significantly it has maintained itself as the language of the family in a majority of homes; consequently, most children do not learn to speak Japanese until they commence formal schooling. Fortunately for them this task is somewhat simplified by the close affinity between Okinawan and Japanese.

197 **Relationship** The indigenous speech of Okinawa is, properly speaking, a dialect of Ryukyuan, which constitutes a sister language to Japanese in the Ryukyuan-Japanese language family. These two languages (Ryukyuan and Japanese) are not mutually intelligible although their morphological, phonological, and syntactic correspondence clearly indicates a common parentage. The degree of their kinship frequently has been likened to that of French and Italian. Thus far they stand alone in that a relationship between them and any other language has not been established; yet, the possibility of such a relationship with Korean and Altaic (Tungus-Manchu, Mongol, and Turkic) has been postulated by a number of scholars and seems the most likely possibility.

Areally this Ryukyuan-Japanese language family extends from Hokkaido in the north to the Yaeyama island group in the south. Ryukyuan is found in the area from Amami Oshima to Yaeyama, while Japanese occupies the area north of Amami. Within these two speech regions there exist many dialects, and people from widely separated places would often find communication difficult, if not impossible, were it not for the teaching of a standard speech, the dialect of the Tokyo area, in all the schools. Today this standard language ('hyōjungo') is the lingua franca for those travelling about or in contact with persons outside their dialect group.

Dialect boundaries within the Ryukyuan speech region have yet to be precisely determined. The line of demarcation spearating Ryukyuan from Japanese is itself rather arbitrary, for the dialect of Amami Oshima shares nearly as many features with the dialect of Kagoshima-ken as it does with that of Okinawa. Miyanaga, who has spent many years studying and recording Ryukyuan, recognizes four main dialects coinciding with the four main island clusters,

[1] Major General David A. D. Ogden, 1954, p. 45.

Amami Oshima, Okinawa, Miyako, and Yaeyama.[1] Although they appear to differ 197
widely, mutual intelligibility prevails, and informants from other islands assured me that they had managed to understand Okinawan in a short time though most preferred to use Japanese rather than attempt the new dialect.

Okinawan Dialects The Okinawan dialect area, Okinawa and its offshore islands, contains many sub-dialects or local speech groups, all of which are easily mutually intelligible. It would be an exaggeration to state that there is a distinctive dialect for each community; yet the variety and diversity of local speech forms constantly impresses one. Nakasone has distinguished five dialects in the Kunigami area alone, and this does not include nearly a dozen and a half distinctive speech islands within the same area.[2] These local speech peculiarities are often pointed out with considerable pride [621] and seem much prized as symbolic of a community's identity.

The dialects of Naha, Shuri, and certain of the larger towns such as Itoman and Yonabaru, are quite distinctive and easily recognized by the Okinawans. Naha dialect is most widely spoken and easily understood throughout the [554] island, and because of its association with the capital carries the greatest prestige among Okinawan speakers. Old residents of Naha complain that their [177] dialect has deteriorated and become coarsened since the war due to the heavy influx from other areas of people who speak the dialect imperfectly. By this they refer to the loss of certain polite forms and the inundations of Japanese. Some Shuri people will contend that the "best" Okinawan is spoken in their city. In the past this was undoubtedly a widely accepted point of view, but [648] with the advent of Japanese administration---exile of the king, removal of the [177] capital to Naha, abolition of the upper classes---Shuri's prestige as a cultural center rapidly declined. A number of informants, rural and urban, felt [545] that the "purest" Okinawan was heard in the Naha theaters, particularly at the Naha Gekijō, where daily performances of modern and historical dramas are presented. Itoman dialect is considered to be very coarse and rough by the people [554] of other communities, and hence is accorded a low prestige. This is in part [226] due to certain prosodic features of the dialect which render it unlike other Okinawan dialects, but more likely it is due to the fact that this town largely derives its livelihood from fishing, an occupation regarded with opprobrium by farmers and urbanites alike. The neighboring farm village of Kanegusuku, though less than a quarter of a mile away and long associated with Itoman, preserves a dialect distinct from it.

This dialectic diversity on Okinawa reflects to a certain extent the [361] physical isolation of the typical village, a tightly-nucleated cluster of dwellings surrounded by fields. It is also a product of the social structure 197 in the Okinawan kingdom. Prior to annexation by Japan (1879), farmers were 105 little more than serfs bound to the soil and forbidden to leave their native [566] village, while the gentry and nobility were for the most part concentrated in [565] the urban Naha-Shuri district. Rural villages tended to be isolated, self- [621] sustaining units; most were composed of a dominant kin group (munchu) and several smaller and possibly remotely related kin groups, or of several unrelated kin groups more nearly equal in size. A munchu was made up of a number

[1] Miyanaga /Miyara/, 1950, p. 39.

[2] Nakasone, 1937, pp. 242-258.

105 A munchu was made up of a number
197 of households or families united through the male line, descended from a common
[619] ancestor, and sharing a common tomb. Village endogamy was an obligatory mar-
[582] riage practice and violations did not pass unpunished; in addition kin group
endogamy was a preferred practice, though not necessarily an obligatory one.
[628] Intervillage contacts and ties, consequently, were held to a minimum. These cus-
[178] toms were followed by the majority of the oldest generation now living, and
even today such practices tend to persist in rural areas. A survey in Kanegu-
[582] suku revealed that fifty percent of the marriages were between members of the
same kin group and sixty-six percent of the marriages were between residents of
[178] the same village. Such practices, to be sure, are breaking down, and this be-
comes evident when the above data are analyzed on an age basis, but in view of
the fact that these customs still prevail, though to a more limited extent than
formerly, it is not surprising that so considerable a diversity of dialects
should also be preserved.

197 Another facet of Okinawan dialect geography is the occurrence of small
621 speech-islands exhibiting dialects distinct from those of the surrounding areas.
184 These are the so called yaadui settlements founded during the 18th and 19th cen-
turies by migrants from the Naha-Shuri area; the newcomers were usually the
younger sons of gentry families seeking their livelihood in the country. Such
settlements not only enjoyed a political independence from the larger surround-
ing communities but also were never incorporated into the formal religious
system centering on the nuru priestess and unifying the rural areas. These
factors together with previously-mentioned marriage practices enabled such set-
tlements to preserve their identity. Kitazato in Kami Motobu-son serves as a
good example of this type of village, having been settled seven generations
ago by the younger sons of gentry families residing in Naha and Shuri. The
larger neighboring villages never absorbed Kitazato, and to this day it pre-
[194] serves a dialect quite distinct from theirs. The most notable contrast be-
tween them centers on the p and h sounds in the two dialects, for all p sounds
of nearby Gushiken are rendered h in Kitazato; thus, the word for "fire" is pi
in the dialect of the former and hi in the latter's.

197 Undoubtedly this dialectic diversity is decreasing as the old customs
178 die out and the isolation of the village disappears. The war uprooted many
communities and scattered their inhabitants about the island, and nearly all
villages now have a number of families new to the village since the war. New
communities like the entertainment center of Koza have no characteristic dia-
lect of their own, containing as they do a heterogeneous population recruited
from all parts of the Ryukyus. The vast improvements in roads and transporta-
tion services since the end of the war have given the people a mobility un-
dreamed of in the prewar period and have done much to destroy the isolation of
the rural areas.

192 "Uchinaaguchi" Okinawans call their dialect uchinaaguchi and themselves
[101] uchinaanchu. The terms 'Okinawago', Japanese for Okinawan
language, and 'hōgen', Japanese for dialect, are also in common usage though
the latter term is resented by some who feel that it carries the connotation
"rustic". Today all Okinawan speech contains many loan words from Japanese;
this obtains for those who know no Japanese as well as for those who are bi-
000 lingual. Intimate contact with Japanese coupled with this word borrowing has

Intimate contact with Japanese coupled with this word borrowing has resulted in a tendency toward slight sound shifts in the direction of Japanese 194
phonology; this is particularly true among the bilingual speakers. The same 177
process is operative in the Japanese of these Okinawan speakers in that there is a tendency toward Okinawan phonology.

The real strongholds of Okinawan speech today are the family and the 191
rural areas. In an old and relatively unchanged village like Kanegusuku little 178
Japanese is heard despite the fact that most of the villagers are bilingual. 177
That Okinawan is the language of the family is best demonstrated by the pre- 621
school-age children who do not speak or understand any Japanese aside from a few greetings and polite phrases. Likewise men over sixty and women over fifty-five usually cannot speak Japanese. The remainder of the village, approximately seventy percent of the total, is bilingual; however, this figure is somewhat misleading in so far as actual usage is concerned. A majority of the married women use Japanese infrequently since Okinawan is the language of their daily lives, which are largely confined to the village and home. For the men, a number of whom have seen service abroad in the Japanese forces, there is a greater freedom of movement and a wider range of contacts providing more occasion for the use of Japanese. Yet within the village many of them preferred to use Okinawan, and even the high school students were inclined to shed their Japanese on returning to the village. A number of bilingual informants ascribed this preference for Okinawan to the influence of the old people who understood Japanese imperfectly or not at all. As one informant put it, "The old people in this village just don't like being spoken to in Japanese, and if some person does this, they say he is trying to be big." Undoubtedly their influence is a strong factor, but this preference is also likely attributable to a low degree of proficiency in Japanese. Prior to the postwar period few villagers obtained more than a sixth grade education; consequently, many are not as articulate in Japanese as they are in Okinawan. It should also be noted that within the village a selective factor operates so as to perpetuate the use of Okinawan. Mention is made in another section of this report of a mayor's comment to the effect that all those who receive a good education, high school or university, soon leave the village. Thus, the very group most likely to further the spread of Japanese leaves before its influence is felt. [871] [166]

The resentment of the oldest generation toward the use of Japanese re- 191
solves itself among the younger, bilingual generations into an attitude that 829
Japanese imparts a certain formality to an occasion, and hence situations call- 177
ing for the use of Okinawan or Japanese tend to be rather compartmentalized in their minds. Formal occasions prescribe the use of Japanese and informal ones Okinawan. Village political meetings and elections were always conducted in Japanese, and when the 'son' officials made one of their periodic inspections of the village, only Japanese was used in addressing them. On the other hand the use of Japanese at a party would be regarded as too formal and a bit unfriendly, and, of course, with old people and children only Okinawan is used. Besides the formal-informal dichotomy there exists the feeling among the better-educated bilinguals that Japanese is a modern and sophisticated language whereas Okinawan is backward and rustic.

There are several aspects of Okinawan culture wherein the local lan- 191
guage is used to the exclusion of Japanese; chief among these are the theater 178

191 (mentioned previously), song, and the indigenous religion. Okinawan song and
178 music undoubtedly exceed both Japanese and Western in popularity; in fact, no
191 other facet of Okinawan culture has so successfully withstood the changes of
178 the past seventy-five years. Songs such as the Kagiyadefu (which some Okina-
533 wans liken to a national anthem), Nubui Kuduchi, Hamachidori, Tanchame are known and loved by all. Some of the phonograph record stores in Naha carry as many as several hundred different recordings of Okinawan songs, and vir-
191 tually all of these are recorded in Okinawan. All priestesses of the indigen-
178 ous religion interviewed by the author stated that Okinawan was the language
792 of prayer and ceremony; to some this was a burden, as in the case of one priestess who had spent most of her life in Japan. A few admitted that the language of the ceremonies and particularly that of the old songs or umui (sometime rendered omoro) was rather obscure and not fully understood; these are transmitted orally from the older priestess to her successor and undoubtedly
191 contain many archaic words. Outside the formal religious structure yet inex-
178 tricably linked to it are shamans (yuta) and fortune tellers ('ekisha'). The
756 former, most often a woman, uses Okinawan almost exclusively in rites concerned
791 with divining, exorcism, and curing. The latter, nearly always a male, is usually a fairly well-educated person, as the profession is based on interpretations of certain books used in conjunction with the ancient Chinese Book of Changes (I Ching), and either Japanese or Okinawan, depending on the customer, may be used in giving the reading. Both practitioners are extremely popular, but the fortune teller is usually found in the cities and towns whereas the shaman may be found in Naha or the smallest hamlet.

195 Japanese With the abdication of Shō Tai in 1879 the Japanese government ini-
191 tiated a program designed for integrating Okinawa into the national
177 state as rapidly as possible. An effort was made to stamp out all vestiges of
[648] Okinawan culture, utilizing techniques ranging from education and indoctrination to repressive laws and police measures. Greatest emphasis was given to making Japanese speakers out of Okinawans. Leavenworth quotes Governor Narahara as stating that the creation of Japanese speakers was of more value than
195 all the repressive laws prohibiting certain customs.[1] At the start the Japanese
191 were hindered by a lack of schools and teachers, and so the program moved ahead
177 slowly. An effective national school system covering the rural areas where the
871 bulk of the population was located and taking in both sexes was not fully operative until about the time of World War I. The failure of Japanese to displace Okinawan can be attributed largely to a lack of time and a lack of facilities for education beyond the elementary level. By the time of World War II but two generations were schooled in Japanese, and the majority of these had received no more than six years of education.

191 Though Japanese failed to displace Okinawan, it did succeed in becom-
177 ing a necessity in the lives of most people and in establishing itself as the
554 prestige language. With the government, press, schools, cinema, radio, and high-level commerce utilizing Japanese exclusively, participation in modern life without a knowledge of Japanese became impossible. The incentives towards competence in Japanese were many, whereas there appeared to be little gained

[1] Leavenworth, 1905, p. 37.

by clinging to the native speech. Naturally it became impossible for a student 191
to obtain a higher education or for any Okinawan to secure a government position 177
without an adequate mastery of Japanese. A good knowledge of Japanese became 554
the first prerequisite for those who wished to improve their status.

Nearly all children in the rural areas and perhaps a majority of those 191
in the urban areas first learn to speak Japanese when they enter school. It 177
would seem that the main task of the elementary schools is to provide the stu- 871
dents with an adequate knowledge of Japanese. On Okinawa as in all schools throughout the areas occupied by the Japanese, a standard language is taught; for the Okinawan child this means learning a new language, while for the child in Japan it means learning at the most a new dialect. Obviously a sixth-grade child on Okinawa will not have a proficiency in Japanese comparable to a sixth-grader in Japan. A recent testing of Naha and Tokyo school children indicated that the Okinawan children were far behind in nearly every subject. One informant, an urbanite who had lived for a time in Japan and rather prided himself on his Japanese, remarked that this clearly indicated the deterioration of the schools in the post-war period. When it was pointed out that this more likely reflected a lower educational attainment due to a language handicap, he readily agreed, and subsequent discussion revealed that a "mixture" of Japanese and Okinawan was spoken in his home. In this case the siblings, who had received high-school educations, used Japanese to one another but spoke only Okinawan to their mother, and the child of the house heard mostly Okinawan from her elders! A Ryukyuan scholar now holding a position in a large Japanese university informed the author that most high-school students are very hesitant about their Japanese and fear making a mistake. When this person first came to Japan after winning a scholarship to a higher school, he was startled by the fluency of the Japanese children! It should be noted that the post-war addition of English to the elementary school curriculum (from the 4th year on) serves only to impose another linguistic burden on the Okinawan child. Grade-school children who had studied English were completely unable to understand the simplest printed phrases; mastery was usually limited to counting from one to ten and reciting the alphabet as far as H without error, though the children can hardly be blamed, considering the texts and teaching level. The chief drawback to the texts is the transcription of English sounds in the Japanese syllabary; thus, a child is taught to pronounce ball as "booru", Smith as "sumisu", here as "hiya", etc. A friend who sat in on a class in English related that had he not been forearmed with a copy of the text and the knowledge that the class was studying English he would never have recognized the subject matter.

In the greater Naha area, which serves as the cultural as well as the 191
administrative and commercial center of the island, the use of Japanese is far 177
more common than elsewhere. Prior to the war there was a sizeable Japanese community here, and from Naha things Japanese have diffused into the countryside. However, the Naha informant's home where a "mixture" of Japanese and Okinawan was spoken was not an atypical one, and this can readily be attested to by visiting the playground of any elementary school in Naha and listening to the speech of children. It may be expected that the post-war addition of [871]
three years of junior high school to the compulsory education period will do much to further the advance of Japanese.

212 197 Writing Okinawa never developed an independent system of writing; in the old kingdom both Japanese and Chinese were used. Literacy was largely 829 confined to the upper classes, and it is said that students were sent to both [59] countries for study. Apparently the literati held the Chinese language and culture in high regard while disdaining that of the Japanese; yet, Bettelheim noted in 1851 that Japanese books were very popular in spite of this contempt of the literati.[1] He also stated that the Okinawans always preferred biblical texts written in Japanese to those in Chinese. In view of the political paramouncy of Japan from 1609 and the close linguistic and cultural ties between the two peoples this popularity of Japanese is not surprising. It also should [538] be noted that although the literati are reported as preferring Chinese to Japanese, the major literary achievements of Okinawa were written in Japanese. Thus, for example, the Omorosōshi, sixteenth century collection of songs which the late Dr. Ifa has called the Ryukyuan scriptures, was recorded in a Japanese style of writing; the same is true for the annals of the old kingdom and for the first dictionary of the Okinawan language.

212 197 With the advent of a Japanese administration and educational system, the study of Chinese ceased, and today Japanese is used exclusively. Most Okinawan place names and family names as they are written in Japanese can be given two interpretations, the Japanese and the Okinawan; in a majority of cases the Japanese is given preference. Occasionally when Okinawan speech is transcribed as in the case of lyrics accompanying phonograph records, the Japanese syllabary is used. This is not a suitable devise for transcribing Okinawan speech, which contains many sounds unfamiliar to Japanese. Unfortunately much of the early [114] linguistic research conducted in this area was rendered virtually worthless by the employment of this syllabary. In recent years scholars like Miyanaga and Kinjo have recorded Ryukyuan using the International Phonetic Alphabet.

197 191 177 178 Conclusion At the present time Okinawan speech enjoys widespread use throughout the whole of the island. It is still the language of the home, and as such it is a more common medium of expression than the official language, Japanese. The latter, backed by the government, schools, and all the forces of modern life, is gradually supplanting Okinawan, but it would be an over-statement to say that the language is dying out. It may be expected that the majority of Okinawans will remain bilingual as they are today until such time when a whole adult generation will speak only Japanese and transmit only Japanese to its offspring.

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[1] Bettelheim, n.d., p. 31.

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CHAPTER III: AGRICULTURAL HISTORY, LAND USE AND DIET

F. R. Pitts

121 178 The concept of the unchanging Orient certainly fails to appear true in the case of Okinawa, when the past is examined closely. Indeed, it seems hard to find an area where so much change has been accomplished so fast. The following is designed to show some major aspects of that change, particularly insofar as the farmer is concerned.

1. Agricultural History

175 241 198 **The Early Days** As early as the 1730's when the great Okinawan statesman, Saion, urged the growing of the sago palm 'sotetsu', farmers were already used to orders and suggestions from the gentry as to modification of their traditional ways. But it was not until the growth of population and the money economy that changes were to be brought about, not so much by orders from above, but chiefly by the workings of economic forces.

175 177 433 249 The ultimately most effective agent of change had been the introduction of the sugar cane plant in 1623 and its concomitant technique of sugar manufacture.[1] It was not until a decade after the Japanese took over the islands, however, that sugar production began to increase, and not until after the Russo-Japanese war that sugar really became an important crop in the economy. By 1939 the production of sugar amounted to more than a million tons, and production exceeded consumption by ninefold.[2] By the end of the 1951-1952 winter pressing season, production had declined to 256,000 tons.[3]

175 62 About the time of Commodore Perry's visit the population of Okinawa had begun to grow, and new areas were settled by both commoners and the gentry. Nanahan dates its existence from this period. Of the first three families to settle here, one came from Shuri gentry, and two others were commoners from the main settlement of Tomoyose. Of the seven settlements of the village of Yamada, three were settled by commoners and one by the gentry. All had come from the urban areas of the south in the latter part of the last century. [829] In Okinawa everyone seems to be aware of his place in history, and in the older settlements one often hears the remark, "...they are newcomers; they have been here for only two hundred years."

175 241 178 433 [177] In general the agricultural history of Okinawa falls into three periods. The first saw a self-sufficient economy, in which banana cloth was made in the village. The chief crops were millet, arrowroot, and sweet potatoes. With the introduction of a money economy, and its further intensification under the Japanese, sugar gradually turned from its previous use as a home confection to a full money crop. Rice acreage fell as more sugar was planted, and sweet potatoes found a greater place in the diet. The old crops of millet, cassava, and arrowroot were all but abandoned in Shimajiri, and became less important in the north. The third period is essentially the post-war and still continuing one, in which the growing of vegetables for the

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1 Navy Handbook, p. 240.

2 CAARI, p. 156.

3 Summation of U. S. Army Military Government Activities in the Ryukyu Islands, July-November 1946, p. 25.

military competes with sugar as a primary cash crop, and cane fields are being converted back to rice paddies as fast as the farmer's resources permit. A more detailed discussion of the crop changes in the last two or three decades follows. 175 241 178 433

Chronology of Change in Crops The major changes in crops revolve chiefly around the replacement of rice as a cash crop by sugar cane, and the later reversal of this situation. About fifty years ago, rice was the chief cash crop. It was rarely consumed in the home, but was sold in order to meet the monetary expenses of taxes, and to buy occasionally the new commodities that were beginning to appear in the markets. Then, not long after the Russo-Japanese war had ended, the price of black sugar jumped almost overnight from ¥8.50 to ¥64 for a 150-'kin' barrel. Everyone wanted to get a share of this boom in sugar, and most began to convert paddy land into 'hatake' for the growing of cane. They were stuck with the 'hatake' when the price fell after two months. The Japanese subsidized sugar later, however, and most of the land that had been converted remained sugar land. [654]

When the people began returning to their farms more than a year after the end of World War II hostilities, there was little market for sugar. The subsidy had gone with defeat, and providentially the sugar lands were available for the growing of more sweet potatoes. American canned food and sweet potatoes were the main items of diet until about 1949. Gradually farmers began to convert 'hatake' to paddy fields, and to grow rice again---this time less for sale than for home consumption. [262] [177]

The old "bearded rice" varieties (fijimē and mēdakōja) of the nineteenth century were replaced gradually by the shorter-statured but higher-yielding 'hōraimai'. The bearded rice, planted only once a year, had a yield of about one-third the present variety, and had only five or six stalks per plant. The twice a year modern variety yields more and has on the average fourteen to fifteen stalks per plant. As a result of the adoption of the two-crop variety, at least one traditional ceremony was abandoned. This was the tantui, in which the whole village participated before simultaneously planting their seedbeds. Before the war, two-thirds of Okinawa's rice requirements were imported.[1] Indicative of the postwar change to rice are the figures for area of paddy-fields in Kochinda-son; the 114,142 'tsubo' of paddy in February of 1948 had increased to 306,220 'tsubo' by September of 1952. Field investigation proved that conversion to paddy has proceeded at least as fast since 1952 as it did prior to that date. 175 241 433 243 178

Before the First World War almost everyone in Nanahan raised forty to fifty 'tsubo' of millet. It was boiled with glutinous rice to make millet rice-cakes, or 'awamochi'. None is raised now. The same is true of cotton. "It grew only a foot high, but its fiber was very strong and would last a lifetime." Some other crops lasted into the post-war period. Until about 1950 textile bananas and yams were raised in Nanahan, but they both proved to be too weak in typhoons, and their cultivation was abandoned. 178 175 241 [252]

[1] Summation....July-November 1946, p. 25.

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Many root plants such as the giant radish and carrots used to flower out, and the root would be so stringy that it could not be eaten. About nine years before the war the Japanese brought in many new and better varieties. Nanahan has more vegetables now than the rest of Tomoyose, people say, "...because our houses are scattered and we can get to the vegetable plots easily; they in Tomoyose can't, and therefore pay less attention to vegetables." Of the seven wards of Tomoyose, only Nanahan has an agreement not to keep chickens so that their vegetables will be protected. Before the war the Irish leek and swiss chard were the only abundant vegetables; others were to be had in only small quantities. The "pine mushroom", or 'metsudake', was gathered "when we used to have pines in the neighborhood." Farmers complain that they can grow less green peas now, because of the great increase in number of rats due to loss of the cat population during the invasion.

Okinawa has always been self-sufficient in sweet potatoes except in occasional time of famine. Even then, dried products of the sweet potato are often used. Many varieties are grown the year around, but in Nanahan only five main varieties were mentioned. Okinawa #100 gives the biggest harvest and in fairly fixed amounts regardless of weather. There were many of White #100 before the war, but few now. It was delicious, but the harvest gradually declined from its former high yield. Just after the war there were many of the tumaikuru variety, but recently few have been planted. The yield had been high, but gradually the seed became bad; it was described as the "most delicious of all sweet potatoes." Yaeyamaakagu was mentioned as a variety still grown in small amounts. The variety which brings the highest market price is Kiirumugwa. This "delicious" potato yields only half that of the average, and hence its price is double.

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Perhaps the best way to view the prewar-postwar change in agriculture is to look at the amounts grown by a typical Nanahan farmer. Table I below presents this information.

Table I

Crop	Tsubo Prewar	Tsubo Postwar	Comments
Sugar cane (summer planting) (spring planting)	 500 300	 350 150	Postwar home use amounts to 14-15 'kin' (19-20 lb.) annually. Sells about 100 'kin' (132 lb.). Prewar, sold 1400-1500 'kin' yearly.
Sweet potatoes	700	500	Three harvests per year. Not sold much; make starch only if harvest is plentiful.
Soybeans	300	200	Generally sold about 1/3 of each prewar crop, but only when money was needed at home.
Broad beans	150	70	Prewar variety was a small plant, the postwar one very large.

Table I, Cont'd.

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Crop	Tsubo Prewar	Tsubo Postwar	Comments	
Green peas	80	--	None now due to rats.	
Giant radish	50	50	Sell half; use the rest in soups.	
Burdock root	--	50	Sell 90%; use only at home for feasts.	
Carrots	1	5	Sell half the crop.	
Dryland taro	--	20		
Irish potatoes	--	50	Winter crop; seed from Hokkaido.	
Cucumbers	1-2	50	Prewar, all used at home. Now sell 90% at about ¥10 per 'kin'.	
Chives	1	1	Always use in soup. Raise for home use only.	
Wax melon	50	50	Sold half in Itoman prewar; now sell same amount in Naha.	
Pumpkins	1	1	Entirely for home use then and now.	
Kidney beans	100	100	Then and now entirely for home use, in 'gohan' and 'miso'.	
Cabbage	--	60	Sell 90% at ¥2-7 per 'kin'.	
Eggplant	--	4-5 stalks	For occasional home use.	
Green onion	--	10	Entirely for home use, in soups, etc.	
Chinese cabbage	--	20	Sell over two-thirds.	
Bitter melon	--	5	Mainly for home use.	
Mustard cabbage	--	3	Sell half. Pickle temporarily with salt for home use.	[251]
Swiss chard	5	50	Pigs eat the old and large leaves; people the young and tender small ones.	[231]
Garlic	--	3	It is pickled, and is entirely for home use.	[251]
Shallot	--	2	Entirely for home use.	
Red peppers	--	1-2 stalks	Used with soybean curd, or when one has a stomach ache.	[757]

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Before the war Okinawa imported half its soybean requirements. By early 1951 the prewar acreage had been cut by half.[1] This resulted in the necessity to import soy sauce tax-free from Japan, which brought an ineffective protest from the Legislature early in 1954. 'Miso' paste, which is made of soybeans when they are available, is now made also of corn, broad beans, kidney beans, and various other legumes.

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As early as 1946 the occupation forces reported:

> Rapid restoration of Okinawa's prewar agriculture is hampered chiefly by an arable land shortage induced by military requirements in the southern half of the island, where roughly 30,000 acres are devoted to military use. War damage and migration from combat and, later, base development areas seriously disrupted agrarian economy and early planning was delayed pending disposition of farm tracts affected by military expansion.[2]

That loss of both upland dry fields and paddy land was affected is shown by the following:[3] (figures are in 1,000's of acres)

Table II

Type of Land	1940 Acreage	1950 Acreage	% of 1940
Cultivated land	103.8	67.2	65%
Paddy land	11.5	9.6	83%
Upland fields	92.3	57.6	62%

Even more significant is a comparison of the 1940-1950 figures with those for 1904, which show the situation which existed before any Japanese military installations were built.

Table III[4]

Year	Acres Paddy Land	Acres Dry Fields	Total Arable Acres
1904	15,779.1	93,952.6	109,731.7
1940	11,527.25	82,273.86	93,801.11
1950	9,559.56	57,610.16	67,169.72

---

1 Ryukyu Islands Economic Statistics Bulletin, no. 10, January-March, 1951.

2 Summation...op. cit., p. 26.

3 Ryukyu...., p. 13.

4 The 1904 data are from Summary of the Land Adjustment in Okinawa Prefecture, Tokyo, 1904. The 1940 and 1950 figures are from the reverse side of the large map, Okinawa shotō shōzu.

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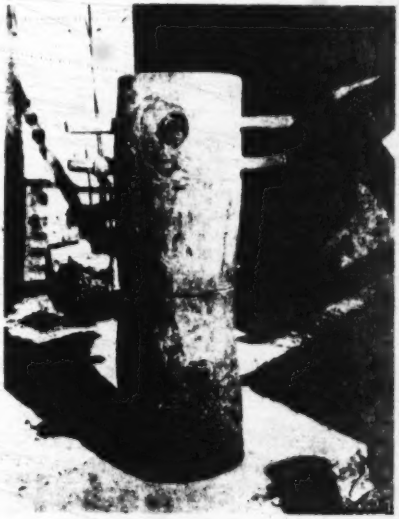
chichiūshi



wooden rotary mill

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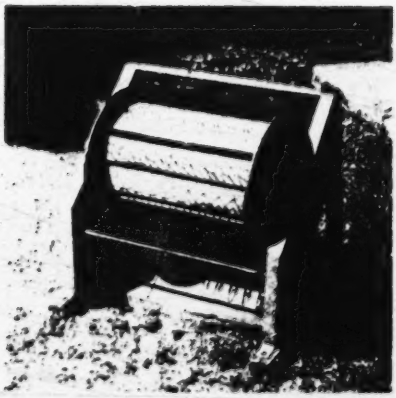
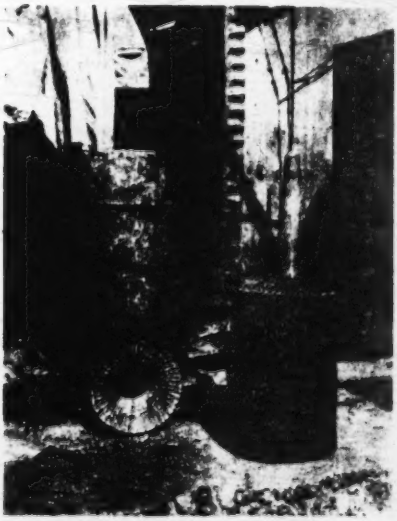


dakkokki



wooden rotary mill

[facing p.17]

In all cases, Kunigami seems to have held up the best, and Nakagami has fared the worst. Again this reflects the military interest of both the Japanese and the Americans. The comparison of 1904 acreage with that of 1950 in each of the three areas is shown below: 178 175 241 727 311

Table IV

Area	1904 Acreage		1950 Acreage		% Decrease	
	Paddy	Dry	Paddy	Dry	Paddy	Dry
Kunigami	6,530.5	28,398.5	5,463.0	20,773.8	16%	27%
Nakagami	3,861.2	34,176.1	1,675.1	14,932.0	57%	56%
Shimajiri	5,370.3	30,978.7	2,443.9	21,904.4	55%	29%
Okinawa Island[1]	15,779.1	93,952.6	9,589.0	57,610.2	39%	39%

Chronology of Changes in Farming Technique It is impossible to give for the whole of Okinawa a schedule showing just when each technical innovation was introduced. Some parts of Shimajiri and Nakagami were in advance of the rest of the island; conversely, one finds on the outer islands practices still carried on that the more progressive areas abandoned more than two decades ago. 178 241

In Yamada the transplanting of rice was originally done by scattering (bara'ii) of the shoots. Shortly before 1930 this method was replaced by planting in rows, with a string to mark the distance. The spaces were filled in by planting while walking backwards. About 1950 people started transplanting while moving forward. This has been replaced in part---at least in areas where the mud is firm and clayey---by the planting frame, the 'waku'. 178 243

Farmers kept the harvested rice in conical stacks (majin) several feet high. The bundles (tabai) had the heads facing inward to prevent attack by rats. The number of these stacks was indicative of the farmer's prestige in the community. The sheaves were removed from the bottom layer always, and only when rice was needed for food. [554]

Removal of the grain from the stalk was accomplished by the kūrashijii. This was a pair of bamboo tongs held in the right hand, while the sheaf was drawn through the tongs with the left hand. When the new variety of rice was introduced, use of the kanabā became common. This iron-comb-like device, through which the sheaves were drawn one at a time, can still be found in use on the isle of Sesoko, off the Motobu peninsula. It apparently did not find 178 243 412

[1] The discrepancy in the 1904 totals for Okinawa Island and grand totals for the three division of the island is accounted for by 17.1 acres of paddy land and 256.7 acres of dry fields in Naha, and 142.6 acres of dry fields in Shuri.

It apparently did not find
178 widespread use in Tomoyose, for that village passed almost directly from the use
243 of bamboo tongs to the rotary thresher, or 'dakkokki' (see photo). Yamada first
412 saw this thresher about 1933, but Nanahan farmers began using it only in 1941.
[407]

Hulling of grain was in the past accomplished---as needed for home use
178 or sale---by using a wooden rotary mill (see photos) called fichiūshi in Yamada
252 and shiriūshi in Nanahan. In Yamada two women sat with their feet braced against it, and pulled straw ropes alternately. In Nanahan men did the hulling, and the rotary mill was lower but was three feet in diameter. In the late thirties motor-powered hulling mills were built in many areas, and farmers took their rice there for hulling and polishing.

Polishing of brown rice in Nanahan was accomplished until about 1935 by use of a mortar, or chichiūshi (see photo), and pestle, or ajin. Most families still have these in reserve, as they were used after the war and were replaced by rice mills only after 1949. People in remote areas still use them exclusively. Nowadays people have their rice hulled and polished in one operation at a rice mill, if it is close at hand.

178 Very little wheat was grown in the three farm villages studied, but
246 it was noticed that on the outer isles wheat was more dominant. On Henza isle, removal of the grain from the sheaf and hull was accomplished by rubbing it upon a piece of bumpy limestone. On Kudaka, separation was by rubbing on a canvas, both with the hands and feet.

178 After the war farmers took advantage of the spread of the lantana bush,
241 which had flourished due to the neglect of the land. It furnished an excellent livestock feed, and also a short pole which they could use in roofing their re-
[342] built houses. Such poles, or kichigwā, had formerly been brought down from the forested north country.

178 Chronology of Change in Livestock Recovery of the land after the war pro-
729 ceeded far more rapidly than replacement
231 of the livestock killed or eaten in the invasion. The following table illustrates the loss and slow recovery (except for swine) in livestock numbers:

Table V

Type of Livestock	1940[1]	1946[2]	1952[3]	1952 as % of 1940
Cattle	22,000	112	6,837	31.0%
Horses	25,000	899	5,110	20.4%
Swine	108,426	1,165	107,077	98.8%
Goats	106,257	1,647	58,472	55.1%

In Kachinda-son the story has been somewhat the same, with the exception that there are many more swine and cattle now than in the thirties. This is due partly to the lesser amount of land in sugar and the planting of more

1, 2 Summation....July-November, 1946, p. 26.

3 Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku, Vol. 3, No. 3, 1943, p. 1. Valid as of 31 Dec. 1952.

swiss chard for pig feed, as well as the greater availability of lantana bushes for livestock feed. The following table compares the 1931 figures with those for 1952: 178 727 231

Table VI

Livestock Type	1931	1952	1952 as % of 1931
Cattle	41	229	558.0%
Horses	1,676	74	4.4%
Swine	1,774	2,490	140.0%
Goats	4,217	1,400	33.3%

The "great rabbit boom" is often spoken of by farmers in an amusing vein. In the winter of 1946-1947 rabbits assumed the form of currency, and in a mad fever people bought rabbits and sold them, never realizing their true value. A Nanahan farmer related: 175 231 [43]

> I hitched a ride on a truck, and went up to the Katchin peninsula. There I bought a rabbit for ¥600. I sold it the next day to B. for ¥1200. He resold it for ¥700 profit to a Gisshi farmer who was waiting to buy one. Then I went up again, stayed overnight, and sold the new rabbit for ¥1000 profit. Again and again I went, and finally amassed ¥5000 in profits. With these rabbit profits I bought what I thought was a pregnant goat for ¥7000. It wasn't pregnant, and I had to sell it for ¥3000, taking a loss. But then I bought a pig from B. for ¥2500 and sold it to 'One-armed K' for ¥3000.
>
> In Tsukazan, which was the center of the rabbit trade in this area, a man sold all of his land to invest in rabbits, but he lost everything on the deal.

2. Land Use

The basic pattern of land use has been described in Glacken's Okinawan Village Studies (SIRI Report No. 4), and in Nuttonson, Ecological Crop Geography and Field Practices of the Ryukyu Islands, Natural Vegetation of the Ryukyus, and Agro-Climatic Analogues in the Northern Hemisphere. Although agriculture is not quite as intensive nor yields so high as in Japan, still much intercropping, double-cropped and rotation of crops is carried on. Because sugar cane takes a year or more to mature, various crops such as kidney beans, giant radish, cucumbers, broad beans, soy beans and mustard cabbage are interplanted with the cane. They mature and are harvested before the cane grows too tall and cuts off the sunlight. Sugar cane is rotated in a two-crop cycle of cane and sweet potatoes; or it is rotated with soybeans and sweet potato in a three-crop cycle. Very rarely is cane replanted in a field which has just produced a crop. In this way the farmers hope to diminish the damage done by worms and insects. 311 241

241 311 312 Yields Per Acre Because Okinawa is a sub-tropical country, crops can be grown the year around. Hence the low productivity of a land subject to natural disaster such as drought and typhoons is somewhat compensated for. In the limestone areas of Shimajiri ground water is scarce except after fairly heavy rains. Nanahan has nine small ponds, or kumui, where people wash [131] clothes and sweet potatoes and in which grows the water convolvulus, or unchēbā. Farmers say that if a drought lasts three months, crops do not yield [132] at all. All remember the great drought of 1895 (Meiji 28-nen) when no rain fell for seven or eight months. Even wells dug in river bottoms dried up. The 23 households of Nanahan at present have eight small wells and one large community well which was dug in 1948. Little ditches on the hillsides lead rainwater to the rice paddies, and are fixed so that the water can be directed into wells. If a paddy field is near the farmer's house, a drainage ditch is dug to it for the disposal of used household water which is considered to contribute to a field's fertility. Tables VII and VIII show the yield of crops in Okinawan and American terms.

241 433

Table VII

Crop	Yield per tan[1]	Bushels per acre[2]
Summer rice	1.10 koku	41.1 bushels brown rice
Winter rice	1.16 koku	43.3 bushels brown rice
Upland rice	.72 koku	26.9 bushels brown rice
Common barley	.51 koku	10.4 bushels
Wheat	.59 koku	12.1 bushels
Naked barley	.52 koku	10.6 bushels
Millet	.38 koku	7.85 bushels
Common European millet	.40 koku	8.17 bushels
Soybeans	.70 koku	14.3 bushels
Green peas	.55 koku	11.3 bushels
Broad beans	.71 koku	14.6 bushels
Kidney beans	.71 koku	14.6 bushels
Peanuts	.83 koku	17.2 bushels

Table VIII

Crop	Yield per tan	Tons per acre
Sweet potatoes	1,762 kin	47.6
Irish potatoes	2,176	58.8
Cabbage	3,540	96.1
Other leafy vegetables	1,669	45.1
Giant radish	2,677	72.2
Carrots	2,439	65.85
Pumpkins	2,090	56.5

[1] Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku, Vol. 3, No. 3, p. 1, 1953 (data for Okinawa Guntō).

[2] Converted according to standard indices, as given in SCAP, Natural Resources Section, Report No. 143, Tokyo, 1951.

Table VIII, cont'd.

Crop	Yield per tan	Tons per acre
Cucumbers	1,570	42.4
Wax Melon	1,859	50.2
Tomatoes	2,789	75.5
Watermelons	1,557	42.0
'I' rush ('Bingo-i')	1,411	38.1
'I' sedge ('Shichitō-i')	1,715	46.3
Tea	197	5.32
Mandarin orange ('mikan')	1,183	31.95
Edible banana	1,629	44.0
Green manure crops	2,994	87.5
Sugar cane (cane weight)[1]	9,000	243.0

Use of Grass, Trees and Brush Southern Okinawa looks barren to the American observer---few trees break the skyline and great fields of long grass cover the hillsides. The comment heard most often is, "Why don't the Okinawans plow up the grass and plant crops, instead of letting all that land go to waste?" The only proper and truthful answer to this query, of course, is that the grass is utilized to the full and that none "goes to waste".

The "ubiquitous miscanthus" referred to by Glacken actually comprises many grasses, chief among which are 'susuku', 'kaya', and one known by the Okinawan name nāichū. 'Susuki' is used mainly for the making of brooms, which occurs in December after the flowering of this grass has turned the countryside from deep green to a cloudy whiteness. 'Kaya' is used mainly for the thatching of roofs, but is also fed to livestock. Among other plants of the wild land, or 'genya', are the 'mogusa' or fūchibā, used for moxibustion and as a vegetable in soups; the hirahāgusa, used to cure leech bites; and the warabinufūnii, or edible bracken fern.

The Japanese butter-bur is found in the 'genya', and is utilized as a tobacco substitute in hard times, and occasionally as food. The flowering ginger, or sannin, furnishes leaves for wrapping rice cakes, and fiber for the tying of bundles of sugar cane. The leaf of the inedible potato or m-bashi (Japanese, 'kuwazu-imo') was used by very poor people before the war as a wrapper for 'miso' paste, which they peddled throughout the countryside. The plant is still used to stop the bleeding of wounds. The lantana---known in Hawaii as "haole-koa"---furnished poles for house roofs, leaves for fodder, and beans for tea during famines. Numerous other grasses and herbs are used by the older generation for medicinal purposes, as can be seen by perusal of Tawada's excellent book, Okinawa Yakuyō Shokubutsu Yakkō, 2nd edition, Naha, 1951.

Almost all trees, which in Shimajiri means essentially those surrounding the houses, are used in some way above and beyond their major function as windbreaks in time of typhoons. The leaves of the yūna tree are a native

[1] This information is from the Kochinda-son Office.

The leaves of the yūna tree are a native
311 substitute for toilet paper, and are still used in some villages, though people
824 deny that the practice continues. When pressed they may intimate that so-and-
[514] so, "the poor family over the hill", retains the practice. Banyan trees fur-
[178] nish leaves for green manure, as do many other varieties. Before the war many
people grew kuroki for eventual use in the making of samisens. The top of the
[534] tree was cut when young so that it would become stubby and thick. The neigh-
boring village of Tsukazan boasts of a samisen-maker whose fame has taken him to Naha. The 'kusunoki' tree is considered to be the best tree to plant near the home, for it discourages termites.

241 Fertilizers Okinawan farmers in most areas utilize the traditional night soil and green manures, as well as the modern synthetic fertilizers.
[514] Almost every house has two toilets. The one not in use is utilized as a
[237] night-soil decay pit. Pig manure is mixed with the human excreta, water added, and the whole let set for about a fortnight before use on the fields. Use of animal manure in the paddies was abandoned with the introduction of the new variety of rice. Animal manure produced good heads on the old variety but makes heavy stalks only on the new.

241 Green manure is extensively used as a plant nutrient in the paddy
824 fields. Indeed, some paddies in winter are devoted to the raising of green manure, which is plowed under before spring planting. Outer leaves of cabbage are fed to goats to become manure for the dry fields, or the leaves are trampled into the mud of the paddy to decay. Thistles, 'kuwazu-imo' leaves, and tree leaves of the yūna and banyan are only a few of the many types of green manure. Compost, or 'taihi', is made for the dry fields and some paddies by mixing animal manure with 'genya' grasses, rice straw, and other plant remains. Before the war, compost was not used for vegetables, because it would cause a shortage in the amount available for the cane fields. Nowadays compost is more available, and many vegetables assume huge proportions. One Nanahan farmer produced a wax melon weighting 97 'kin', or 128 pounds.

241 Commercial fertilizers available to the farmers include ammonium sulphate ('ryusan ammoniya', 'ryūan'), synthesized fertilizer ('kasei hiryo'), ammonium nitrate ('ryusan kari'), nitrogen-lime ('sekkai chisso'), urea ('nyōso'), potassium chloride ('enkakari'), and superphosphate of lime ('Karinsan sekkai'). Ammonium sulphate is preferred for sugar cane. During the last four or five years the Agricultural Federation ('Nōren') in Naha has enforced a tie-in sale so that when a farmer buys two sacks of ammonium sulphate, he must also buy one sack of superphosphate of lime. Farmers in Tomoyose quite often dispose of the latter by dumping it beside the road, as they believe that it is not good for the soil found on their farms. One enterprising Nanahan farmer, who for several years was a member of the Kochinda-son agricultural committee, enquires about the cast-off fertilizer, and when he finds it he uses it to good effect. When he was interviewed concerning this, he expressed anger at what he considered the backwardness of his neighbors.

Okinawans were first introduced to chemical fertilizer in the mid-
[177] twenties, when a black fertilizer appeared. This was later replaced by the various white products, which since some time before the war have been supplemented by soybean waste when available.

Land Ownership and Rental Although Nanahan has only twenty-three houses, the land register lists thirty-five land owners. Two of these are persons who are tenants and who own only the houselots where they live. In addition, three other families live in Nanahan, owning neither houselot nor land, but renting both from the owner. Five families have moved to urban areas, but have kept the land, and have rented it out, chiefly to the settlers in the community. Of the five, one had never owned a houselot. Two sold their houselots and one rented his house out. The remaining one rented his houselot, which was later converted by the tenant into a dry field. 423 427

There is almost no one in Nanahan who is neither a renter nor a rentee. Ten of the registered land owners are minors, most of whom have inherited land from their fathers who were killed in the invasion. Two are sons of the leading landowner, who has apparently registered part of his land in his sons' names to avoid heavy taxes.

The annual rent for grassland in Nanahan is ¥0.30, or thirty 'sen', per 'tsubo'. In the one 'genya' sale for which information was available, a doctor living in Kochinda village sold a Nanahan man 1,000 'tsubo' for a total of ¥3,000. Dry land, or 'hatake', rents for ¥2 per 'tsubo', although better and more fertile land may command a higher rental. Riceland is not rented out for money, but for a portion of the crop. Under the most usual arrangement the renter keeps three-fifths of the crop and delivers to the owner the remaining two-fifths. The renter must furnish all the manure, fertilizer, and labor. The Nanahan land register records nine plots as having been sold since 1947. 423 427 435

The Nanahan farmers say that the best thing the military ever did was to order in 1947 the making of a land survey and the drawing of land ownership maps. They said it is very effective in protecting boundaries and preventing quarrels. 423

3. Diet

Although daily Okinawan cuisine is in general very similar to that of Japan, some difference is seen in the dependence on the sweet potato, and the use of pork. Feast foods have more local flavor and are considerably different from those of Japan. The frequent typhoons occasionally cause temporary famine, and it is during the famines that Okinawan food and food substitutes differ most from Japanese standards. Finally, one major point of difference is in the use of sugar in the household; three centuries of experience with the crop has given rise to many traits and patterns centered around the use of sugar in the home. These four categories are discussed in this section on diet. 262 171 [263]

Ordinary Food The typical Okinawan breakfast is generally boiled sweet potatoes ('imo'), 'miso' (soybean paste) soup and vegetables. The noon meal is boiled sweet potatoes, noodles, and vegetables. The evening meal consists usually of boiled rice, 'miso' soup and vegetables. The most frequently consumed vegetables are mustard cabbage, Chinese cabbage, green onions, wax melon, giant radish, chopped dried radish, carrots and cabbage. Other foods added as occasional variety are wheat fluff, seaweed, soybean curd, and canned fish. 262

262 Sea food eaten differs by the season. Most available in summer are bonito and the sea turtle. Common in October and later are seabream, whitefish, and globefish. Canned mackerel is by far the most common fish food eaten, and seaweed is a staple in all but the poorest homes. Though every [825] adult in the village speaks Okinawan by preference in everyday life, even the old people rarely know the dialect names for various fish, "because we are so far from the sea." The nearest coast is less than three airline miles away. Before the war most of the fish consumed was bought in Itoman, but with the removal of the railroad and the orientation of bus traffic toward Naha, very little is purchased in Itoman.

252 The entire day's supply of sweet potatoes, for man and beast, is prepared by boiling in early morning in a large pot. It takes about an hour to boil fifty pounds. Those for human consumption are placed on top, with those for the animals underlying them. Naturally those eaten by the pigs and other [231] animals are the less beautiful, and often slightly rotten ones. When the family eats 'imo', they peel off both the outer and inner skins and give them to the animals. They realize that the inner skin contains vitamins, but it is too much trouble to peel separately. People regard baked 'imo' as more delicious than boiled, but do not make them in Nanahan as a rule due to shortage of fuel. The children often stick 'imo' right into the fire while their mothers are boiling 'imo' for the day. Sometimes children under ten [857] years of age make baked 'imo' when they collect trash and burn it. When they do this is not determined, but occurs as the children suddenly decide there is enough trash to burn.

262 252 'O-kazu' (Okinawan: katimun) refers in Nanahan to any dish whose basic ingredients are lard, soy sauce, and 'aji-no-moto' (monosodium glutamate). It is generally made about two times a week. First lard is put in a pan. Then either raw 'daikon' or 'sengei' (dried and shredded 'daikon') is added, together with globe onions. Soy sauce is then added, and the mixture salted to taste. If meat is available, it is put in as soon as the lard is melted. 'Aji-no-moto' is added just before serving.

252 The making of 'miso' paste is a home task for the women and girls. The amount made depends on the weather. Good weather for proper mildewing is generally found in the spring and autumn. At the equinoxes, when most of the 'miso' is made if people have a choice in the matter, mildewing takes two or three days. The process involves two steps---the making of malt ('kōji') and the making of soybean flour or paste. For malt one must use broad beans, wheat or barley, kidney beans or, infrequently, soybeans. The malt materials are boiled until the skins come off. Then they are drained, spread out on a straw mat inside the house, and dusted with wheat flour. Rice straw is spread over the mixture to form a hotbed. When the mildew starts the mixture turns yellow, and is then spread out to dry in the sun. When dry it is stored in a box, to be mixed with soybean flour or paste later. The latter is very easily made. Boiled soybeans are ground up in a meat grinder, and dried. The flour may be stored separately, but it is most often mixed immediately with an equal amount of malt. To prevent spoiling, about three parts salt are added [251] to ten of the mixture, now called 'miso'. It is put into a pot for "ripening" during the next six months, and then is used gradually. If stored longer than one year it loses its taste.

'Miso' is used not only in soups, but as a flavoring for other dishes. 262
Jūshiimē is rice fried in oil and 'miso', with green onions added. Tōfu- 252
champuru is made by putting shredded bonito and hot lard in a pan, adding a little 'miso' and some soysauce, and one-inch cubes of bean curd, or 'tōfu'. 'Tōfu' was eaten about every three days in Nanahan before the war, and every day about twenty peddlers from Tsukazan went through the countryside selling it. It is eaten not oftener than once a month now.

A strong rice drink, 'awamori', is in evidence at all parties. It is 273
sometimes diluted with orange soda, but more often it is served full-strength flavored with either garlic or red peppers. Before the war the refuse from [231]
making 'awamori', called kashijii, was very cheap---about two gallons could be had for fifteen sen---and was generally fed to pigs. However, it also fur- [55]
nished the base for kashijē-ēi, made by pouring hot water on half-boiled spinach or swiss chard, and adding the liquid from the refuse. It was said to have been very good for the stomach.

Feast Foods When a person reaches the age of 61, 73, or 85, a celebration 262
known as tushibii is held. This is the occasion for a feast of 574
whatever proportions the extended family's budget can afford. In the spring [561]
of 1954 a Nanahan lady who was a member of the dominant family reached seventy-three. The following was served at the feast:

--Paddy taro boiled in sugar syrup
--Soup containing 'konnyaku', pork, tripe, goat meat and ginger
--Giant radish and carrots, shredded in vinegar
--Several slices of fried bean curd
--Fish cake
--Deep-fried sugar batter
--A dish of 'konnyaku', 'daikon', pork and shredded radish
--Deep-fried whale tripe in peanut butter sauce
--Red rice; noodle soup
--Fried bean curd and pork, with seaweed

In addition, guests were given two boxes to take home, which contained the following:

--Two pieces of pork
--1 piece fried bean curd
--Two pieces of fish, deep-fried in batter
--1 piece of pork heart
--Two pieces of fish cake
--A red-dyed hard-boiled egg
--Two pieces of burdock root, deep-fried in batter
--Two pieces of sweet pound cake
--Two pieces of kujimuchi (a rice cake)
--Two large pieces of deep fried sugar batter
--One deep-fried flour dumpling
--Five cakes of baked rice flour, in shapes of the pine, bamboo, plum, crane and tortoise---symbols of longevity.

261 262 Famine Food and Wartime Substitutes The standard famine foods on Okinawa have always been dried sweet potato chips or refuse from the making of starch, sago palm nuts and the pulp of the same palm. The latter two are eaten with restraint, as they contain small [252] amounts of an alkaloid poison. The sweet potato materials are made into soups, and the sago palm provides a type of flour for deep frying, or 'tempura'.

During the last war, soups were also made from the stem of the plant [137] Ligularia Kaempferia, known as 'tsuwabuki' in Japanese, and chiipappā in Okinawan. One Nanahan farmer related, "The chiipappā which I ate in Kin-son during the war was delicious, and one felt better after eating it. When I came back here, I tried our local variety, but it is bitter and inedible." The giant African snail was used to alleviate famine just before the invasion. It [252] was boiled in its shell, then de-shelled and the "snail juice" washed out with a bitter orange called shiisā. The meat was then fried with vegetables and the white part of a leek.

273 Japanese soldiers during the war taught the Okinawans how to make a 177 strong liquor from sugar cane, as no real 'sake' or 'awamori' was then avail- 276 able. Tobacco was also scarce, and pine tree bark was substituted. Some people preferred to smoke the leaves of the 'mogusa' plant, which is also used for cautery. One very poor family in Nanahan still retains the practice. Tea 272 could not be bought in the late pre-invasion period, and the beans of the lantana bush furnished a palatable substitute.

263 Uses of Sugar in the Home When a guest calls at an Okinawan farmer's home, he is served tea, black sugar chunks, and quite [574] often 'awamori'. Many other uses were related. It is used in batter for deep [757] frying; for cure of headache, sickness, and fainting spells; for a hangover; and when food is not delicious.

CHAPTER IV: RURAL ECONOMY

F. R. Pitts

1. Agricultural Buying, Selling and Labor

436 177 With the introduction of money economy in a more intensive form at the time of the Japanese assumption of control in Okinawa, the farmer gave up many of his oldtime practices and began to adopt through necessity more modern forms of exchange. Because his life remained essentially rural, these newer forms revolved mainly around goods and services connected with farming. Information used in the following discussion is based on notes taken in Nanahan, unless otherwise specified.

434 438 Sale of Farm Products and Livestock Before the war the main cash crop was sugar cane, and the sale of black sugar provided almost the entire money income of a rural household. However, if additional money was needed in emergencies, enough dried soybeans were sold to alleviate the deficit. In the coastal areas of Kanegusku, Tomigusuku and Yonagusuku the sale of reed products supplemented the income derived from sugar.

Because of the decreased acreage of rice after about 1910, rice was not a major money crop. However, the postwar decrease in sugar cane acreage coupled with a rise in acreage planted to rice and vegetables have made both the latter more available as income-producers for the farmer. Farmers with a moderate amount of rice generally sell about half, but use the money thus obtained to buy cheaper but "less delicious" imported rice if they run short---and can afford rice.

In the autumn, women from villages near Naha go out into the countryside buying vegetables and taking them by bus or three-wheeled jitney to the urban market, or to establishments that buy them for resale to military dependents at approved stores. Cabbage, for instance, in late November brings [435] a premium price of ¥8 per 'kin' (1.32 pounds), but a month later the price declines to about ¥4-5 per 'kin'. One woman will carry away about 30 kin at a time.

Poor people and widows often sell cane to the local motor-powered mill, and obtain a little more money by helping to process it. Those who are fortunate enough to afford to do the pressing and processing at a horsedrawn sweep sell directly to the Agricultural Federation, or Nōren, in Naha. For a [435] one-hundred kin barrel they received in 1954 initially ¥1,100 a barrel. Later on, depending upon the grade of the black sugar delivered, they were to receive more. [435] The scale of grade-prices in 1954, as given by one farmer, was: first grade---¥1,530; second grade---¥1,430; and third grade---¥1,330. Before the war each barrel contained 120 kin, but the postwar barrels are smaller and correspondingly more easy to handle. The black sugar of Okinawa sells at a [439] premium in Japan to candy manufacturers, who prefer it to white sugar. This accounts in part for the reluctance on the part of some farmers to sell to the modern sugar mill in Hasebaru-son, which chiefly makes white granulated sugar.

Although animals are generally bought for prices that the community 435
considers as relatively fixed (see below), meat animals sell for a certain rate per unit weight that varies with the market. Old cows and bullocks are generally sold for meat at the rate of ¥60 per kin. Boars, if fat, are sold for ¥42 per kin. Male goats bring ¥20 per kin for eating purposes, and chickens bring about ¥200 per kin. Females of any animals are very seldom sold unless old and almost dying, or unless the farmer finds himself in dire monetary emergency. Nanahan, which has the greatest vegetable acreage in Tomoyose village, has a 'han'-wide agreement not to raise chickens, due to their possible destruction of young plants.

Buying of Livestock and Daily Necessities The war depleted most of the live- 727
stock of Okinawa, and recovery has 231
been slow. Okinawan farmers frequently expressed their gratitude to the Amer- [177]
ican religious organizations which sent goats to them to help in reconstruction.

The reversion of Amami indirectly helped to increase the livestock on 439
Okinawa. A Nanahan farmer described the situation in late November of 1953: 231

> Horses, cows, goats and pigs, together with household furniture come into Tomari port from Amami every day. The Amamians want to get as much Okinawan yen as possible, because it will convert to Japanese yen at three to one, and they think they will be ahead. The accelerated cattle movement started right after reversion intentions were announced. We are very glad to be able to buy the animals, but important people on Amami are afraid that this movement will deplete the island of animals, especially stud horses and bulls, goats and pigs for breeding.

Nanahan farmers have relatively fixed ideas on the prices of livestock. 435
For middle grade, or average, stock the following prices are quoted: horses, ¥13,000; cows, ¥25,000; heifers, ¥10-11,000; calves ¥9-10,000; boars, ¥2,500; sows, ¥2,700; and all goats, ¥300-400.

Before the war there were many people traveling through the country- 438
side selling 'miso' paste and bean curd. Every other day such peddlers would 178
visit even the most isolated settlements. Better roads and increased communi- 443
cations by bus and jitney have oriented purchase of staples urbanward. The only peddlers who now come through Nanahan are basket peddlers. Two small stores in the main settlement provide 'sake', noodles, matches and other small-cost items that are not worth a trip to town.

Sale of Services Farm labor is drawn from the southern islands and from 464
poorer families who are just getting a start in the community. In Nanahan there was only one full-time farm laborer, who was paid [465]
¥2,000 a month, in addition to room and board. He had left Miyako when eighteen, two years before, because of a famine that was being caused by a sweet-potato virus. His employer was a man who managed a good deal of land---indeed the land that belonged to himself and two minor relatives---and sorely needed the extra labor. Another landowner was converting dry land to paddy, and after

464 the bulldozer had done the basic shaping of the field, a new member of the
[465] 'han' was hired to finish the pounding of the paddy walls. He was paid ¥900 for six days' work, and was required to provide his own lunch. His employer had spent the first year after the war in Hokkaido, working for no money but receiving one 'shō' (3.18 pints) of rice a day. Later he rented a horse and cart from its owner at ¥60 a day and pocketed anything above that amount that he earned. During planting and harvest season he worked in the rice fields.

445 Horses are rented out by their owners to other people, but when a cow
426 is rented the owner's services are always included. No farmer trusts anyone
435 else with his cow. A man-and-cow hire out for ¥250-300 a day, depending on
379 the distance they must travel. A horse is most often rented to pull the sweep
299 of a rotary sugar-press, and is paid according to the amount of juice of black sugar produced. Various prices are quoted. ¥100 is paid for each 'chō' (100 kin, or 132 pounds) of black sugar produced. One farmer charges for the use of his horse a flat rate of ¥1 for each gallon of juice squeezed. Another charges ¥60 for 50 gallons of juice if the renter lives in Nanahan or close by, and ¥70 if he lives farther away. Horses were scarce the first year after the war, and fifteen men together pulled the sweeps of the rotary presses.

464 <u>Buying of Labor and Services</u> Many times farmers have need of a great amount
575 of labor in a short period of time. Then they are most likely to call upon the services of the young people's group, the 'seinendan'. One Nanahan farmer in 1952 had this group make a paddy field for him from a dry field. In 1953 another farmer had the group make a 300 'tsubo' dry field for him out of 'arechi', or war-destroyed land. The 'seinendan' also hires its members out to work for people who need help in the busy season. The following daily wage rates were quotes: women and new
[465] members, ¥40; men of 18 and 19 years, ¥50; and men of 20 years and above, ¥60.

445 Abolition of the stringent Japanese regulations compelling farmers
[648] to raise sugar has resulted in the reconversion of many sugar fields to rice paddies. At first this was done exclusively by hand labor, but now bull-
[439] dozers are more in favor. One farmer had 420 'tsubo' of dry land converted into paddy at a total cost for bulldozer leveling of ¥6,300. The rate for machine and operator was ¥600 an hour. The farmer owns 450 tsubo more of paddy, which provides rice for one meal a day. With this newly-converted
[262] field he plans to have his family eat rice twice daily. Labor charges for finishing the new paddy will run about ¥4,000, according to estimate.

One of his relatives is a repatriate from the hemp-growing colony at Davao, in the Philippines. This man bought land from a villager who was dissatisfied with country life, and hired a bulldozer to convert it to paddy.
[435] For conversion of 816 tsubo he paid bulldozer charges of ¥12,000 and ¥8,000 additional for labor. He had bought the dry land ('hatake') originally for ¥65 per tsubo.

About the only other service regularly engaged is the hulling and polishing of rice. Nanahan people take their threshed rice to a neighboring village where there is a 'seimaisho' (rice-cleaning mill), and pay only cash for the service. They return home with the polished rice and the bran, or

'nuka'. The latter is fed to pigs, cows, and chickens. The rice polisher keeps 445
the hulls (mumigara), but the farmers have free access to the hull pile should
they want to use it for stuffing pillows. People in Kanegusuku do not usually [437]
pay in cash, but allow the miller to keep about six percent of the polished rice
as multure.

Exchange of Services In order to lessen the amount of money used in trans- 476
actions, rural folk resort to exchange of labor as [437]
much as possible. However, the exchange is based upon fairly rigorous ideas
of reciprocity, and a person who has been helped is expected fully to return
the favor. A Nanahan man built a house with a tin roof---the only one in the
village---with the aid of his wife's brother, who was a carpenter. In return
he spent a greater number of days aiding his brother-in-law in construction
of a new house---paying back more days because of his comparative lack of
skill. People envy the carpenter, who did not finish high school, but at- [463]
tended a four-month carpentry school instead. "He now makes more than a high-
school graduate, and has four apprentices working for him."

Okinawan youths very early learn the patterns expected in cooperative [383]
labor. The custom of iimarū is one of teen-aged boys' going around in a group
to work the fields of the father of one of the boys, and moving on in turn to
the fields of the other fathers.

Some loosening of patterns of use of horse-drawn sugar mills was re- [178]
corded. For instance, during the prewar period the dominant family in Nanahan [249]
had monopolized one particularly well-located press and boiling shed. Now
they share its use with all the families living in the valley where the dom-
inant family's 'honke' is located.

In Yamada mutual assistance through exchange of labor is called yiisē.
For example, a farmer who wants to transplant rice gets help from among his
relatives. One person comes from each family that can spare one, with the
assurance that it will receive one person in return. If the labor cannot be
returned for transplanting, the people owing a day may fill in with work on a
dry field or aid in building a new house, and so forth. Thatching a roof with [452]
kaya grass is also yiisē, but it partakes somewhat of the nature of a 'moai',
or mutual loan group. People from the whole village may come for this. They
bring bundles of grass---one, two or three---and the amount is written down so
that the same amount may be returned when that person's turn comes. The sim-
ilarity to 'moai' may be only in the fact that there is a written record.

The probationary adoption of a 'yōshi' may be considered a form of [597]
exchange of services. A man without an heir may take into his house a nephew,
say the third son of his brother, with the intention of adopting him should
the boy be serious and hard-working. If the boy should not prove amenable to
the arrangement---one boy said, "I stayed with my uncle two years, but left
because I wanted to get an education"---his labor is considered to have paid
for the expense of keeping him.

2. Rural Industries

178 Generally speaking, it can be said that much less effort is put forth
438 in the countryside now toward home industries than was the case before the
543 war. In Nanahan making of products at home has declined to the point where rather than being made for sale, they are made only for exhibit at the fair given annually at the local primary school. Even here considerable urging is required by the village officials, and entries are forthcoming only by an appeal to pride in one's village's standing at the fair.

249 Sugar Presses and Mills Okinawa has two modern western-style sugar refin-
257 eries, one at Haebaru and one on the isle of Minami Daitō. At the other end of the scale there are the some-400 horse-drawn rotary mills. Between these there are perhaps a dozen or less mills which utilize gasoline-powered motors and are geared to operate on a much larger scale than the rotary presses.

471 In rebuilding the big mill at Tomoyose which had been destroyed in the
257 war, each family that owned stock in the mill contributed the labor of one per-
461 son per day of building. On a typical day they started work at eight, had a fifteen-minute "break" at ten, and returned home for lunch for an hour at noon. After an afternoon "break", the work continued until six. Breaks and resumption of work were announced by pounding on an empty oxygen cylinder of large dimensions. The only break I observed lasted for 24 minutes. Tea was served to everyone, and the men sat around discussing how they would be able to pay for the building---which was made of sandy limestone from Minatogawa---and
471 where they would borrow money. The sugar produced was to be sold to the Ag-
257 ricultural Federation in Naha, as is the sugar produced at the smaller mills. However, the sugar was to be sold in 50 kin (66 pound) bags rather than in
[433] 100 kin barrels. The potential annual output was estimated at 15,000 bags, or approximately one-half the Tomoyose village production.

256 Kanegusuku Rice Mill There is one small rice mill in Kanegusuku. All the villagers who have rice land---or about 70% of the families---utilize this mill for polishing. No one in the village uses the
[439] old-fashioned hand mill. The owner of the rice mill says that most of the villagers cannot afford to pay cash for having their rice polished. Consequently he takes as multure about two-thirds of one 'gō' from each 'shō' of rice. This amounts to approximately six percent of their rice. The villagers evidently trust him completely, for no one was seen standing around watching while their rice was being polished.

The owner says that his machines are old and break down frequently. Three machines are required for the whole process. This is not a full-time job except during the harvesting periods. The young man who is owner regularly works on his family's lands. All operation and maintenance are done by him; he does not hire a helper even in the busiest times.

286 Mat-Making in Kanegusuku The three-cornered sedge ('sankaku-i') is a reed
433 grown in a wet field like rice, and is the basis of 'tatami omote' and 'goza' manufacture, the chief home industry of Kanegu-
[178] suku. Production of the reed in Kanegusuku today is about one-tenth the pre-

war level. This is due to several factors. The local prices for reed products are said to be too low, and access to Japanese markets is difficult today due to the separation of Okinawa and Japan. Since the war local food shortages and changed tastes and diet have influenced change to greater rice production. Many houses in Kanegusuku lost their mat-weaving looms during the war, depriving them of this means of support. In addition, there is some feeling that it is too time-consuming and the young girls do not like it. 286 433 178

One tsubo produces about two bundles of reed, which is worth about ¥10 a bundle when dried. Usually the reed is not sold, but is made by the producer's family into mats. Two bundles of reeds make one 'goza' mat, which sells for ¥65-100 in Naha. One person can make about two of these mats in one day. However, in almost all families this is part-time work, the woman of the house weaving in her spare time. One family in the village fortunate enough to own two looms employs two village girls full time as long as a supply of reeds is available. 286 433 [435] [464]

The covering for the 'tatami' mat is called 'tatami omote'. An individual can make about six of these per day. They are faster-made than 'goza' because the ends do not have to be tied off and bordered. These sell for about ¥45 in Naha, which place people prefer to Itoman as a market for their reed products. However, rice straw to be used in the base of 'tatami' is sold in Itoman because the cost of transporting the bulky straw to Naha would be prohibitive---it is sold for only ¥1 or ¥2 per bundle. The Agricultural Cooperative is trying to arrange for the sale of 'tatami omote' in Kagoshima where ¥85 per mat can be obtained. The first such postwar collection and sale was made early in 1954. 286 433 435

<u>Prewar Home Industry in Yamada</u> Before the war people in Yamada made much of their own clothing, and were self-sufficient in most of the tools they used. Most of the clothing was made by the women of the village themselves. Most women wove, and many wove constantly when not in the fields. Many had their own looms, but those who did not borrowed looms from their neighbors. 294 [296]

The usual summer garment was a kimono of banana-fiber cloth and the usual winter garment one of cotton. The former was made wholly at home, from the tree to the finished garment. For the cotton kimono the threads were purchased, usually at Kadena, already dyed, and the cloth woven at home. [291]

Several families had silkworms. They got the eggs from Japan and fed the worms on mulberry leaves they grew in their yards. These women spun and wove at home but they sometimes had professional dyers at Kadena or Naha dye the threads for them. Silk garments, like store-bought garments, were only for grand occasions. 231 283 292

Before the war some Yamada women made "panama" hats in their homes as piecework for a hat company. The company furnished the materials and bought the finished product. This was one of the few sources of cash available outside the sugar crop. Baskets, carrying bags, and raincapes made of 294 [434]

Baskets, carrying bags, and raincapes made of
294 fiber from the trunk of the chigu palm, raincapes from the excess rice straw,
[285] and hats made from the leaf of the kuba palm completed the list of major items made at home.

291 178 177 Postwar Home Industry in Yamada Before the war many---probably most---Yamada people had never worn Western-style clothing. The few school teachers and a man who worked at the 'son' office were probably the only exceptions. Some of the young men who went to Naichi to work acquired Western clothing there, but the older men and women continued to wear kimono. During the invasion, houses, looms, and other equipment---and much of the clothing---of the people of Yamada were destroyed. At Ishikawa and elsewhere after the battle they received cast-off army clothing. For a time they wore only this and what little they had salvaged from the battle. At present they have supplemented this with Japanese and American-made civilian clothing
[286] in Western types. Probably no one in Yamada weaves cloth today. Only one
[231] cloth loom was located in the whole village, and this had been put away. No one raises silkworms.

178 Basketry is still made, but only for local use. Raincoats of straw
[285] and palm bark are not made in Yamada, but a few are brought in from the north.
294 However, the army poncho has in part replaced this garment. The kubagasa, the
[291] hat made from the kuba palm leaf, is still made and worn in Yamada, but probably not as much as before the war. A variety of store-bought hats, including sun-helmets, are worn by the younger men.

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Canvas acquired

Canvas acquired from the military has in part replaced the ricestraw mat called nukubuku, which is used for drying grain in the sun. There were also several looms for nukubuku in prewar Yamada, but few if any now. Before the war several families had looms for making mushiru, whose weft is reed ('i') and warp is cord made of pandanus root. At the present time one old man still makes mushiru. His loom is a primitive double-bar loom and it takes him more than a day to weave one mat. He cannot compete with the much faster looms used at Kanegusuku. 286 178

3. Rural Finance

The chief money crop is still sugar, and the leading financial institution in the countryside is still the 'moai', or mutual loan group. However, there are innumerable other occasions when the farmer must pay out money or borrow money. These occasions include personal loans, village taxes, levies, payments to officials, contributions of money for prizes at fairs, and occasional contributions for village improvements. Finally, there is the traditional last resort of people in financial difficulties---sale of one or more of their children. 45

Mutual Loan Groups Before the war the mutual loan group, or 'moai' (Okinawan muyē) met only once or twice a year. Each of the forty shares (kuchi) averaged ¥20, and the record book had to have the 'son' office stamp upon it. The record book could not be shown or opened except at each meeting. Almost all postwar 'moai' meet once a month, and usually this is the fifteenth of the lunar month. The reason for this date is not known. It may have some relation to the fact that habu snakes are night feeders, and may feed less on moonlit nights; or it may be due to the need for moonlight to find one's inebriated way home. 452

Since there was no livestock after the war, most 'moai' then were formed with the main purpose of buying livestock, although the winner did not have to use the money for this. Nanahan people have an unwritten rule that 'moai' money may not be used to pay off debts. The amounts of the shares of the three postwar 'moai' reflect the slowly increasing amounts of money available to the farmer. The first 'moai' had twenty shares at ¥200 each; the second one had twenty shares at ¥500 each; the third and still-continuing 'moai'---scheduled to end in April of 1955---has twenty-four shares at ¥1,000 each.

Every 'moai' has slightly different rules, but all are relatively simple. The following are the rules for the Nanahan 'moai':

1. Time of meeting is about 9 P.M. Bids will be received about 9:30, but if a person is late or absent when the bids are read, he will not be able to get the money even if he planned a low bid.

2. Bids: if a written bid is for the same amount as a verbal bid, the money goes to the person submitting the written bid.

3. The money will be collected at the house of the tuinushi (person who was the successful bidder at the last meeting). The tuinushi must get three other persons to sign a guarantee of his reliability.

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4. In case the tuinushi leaves the community, the guarantors have to pay for him. In addition, one of the three guarantors must pay all even if the other two are too poor to contribute their third of the amount.

5. If a person from another 'han' wishes to become a member when a new 'moai' group is formed, he must have a personal guarantor from Nanahan.

6. The person who receives the money (ukuimē) must pay ¥300 out of what he gets. ¥100 is to be contributed to the estimated expense fund or gumuchi, and ¥200 is for sake. The ukuimē must contribute one 'shō' of sake and other edibles for the meeting.[1]

7. When bids are submitted and no name is written on the bid, it is void. The exception: if no name is written, and only one person wants the money, he may get it by identifying the nameless bid as his own.

A man might bid ¥18,500 and win the 'moai'. This is ¥1,000 less than the amount that he will receive when the group next meets. However, he must pay in ¥1,000 at the meeting following the one at which he receives the actual cash. The ¥17,500 is then divided up among the remaining 23 share-holders, or kakimē. This would theoretically be about ¥761. However, the membership likes to deal in round numbers, and everyone is charged ¥765. The excess of ¥95 is added to the gumuchi, which the tuinushi keeps in trust for the next meeting. When it happens that the round number falls short of the required amount, it is made up from the gumuchi.

There are not actually 24 persons involved in the Nanahan 'moai'. Established farmers may own one and a half or two shares, while women and young men may want to own only a half share. On occasion, two persons may make a joint bid, and each must repay ¥1,000 at the next meeting after they receive the cash. A person may receive the pot once during the 'moai' cycle. A person who takes the pot early in the cycle often is too poor to put in his share in later drawings. He then asks one or two close friends, who are called kunū (Japanese, 'hōsōnin'), to put in the money for him. In the Nanahan 'moai' helpers are limited to two persons, although in 'moai' where the capital is greater, the helpers may increase.

The capital of a 'moai' and its period of existence depend upon the number of people and their resources. Frequently the men will have a 'moai' with shares of ¥1,000 and the housewives will have a hearth loan group, or kamadō muyē, with shares of ¥100-200. Sesoko island has such a housewives' loan group. Tenniya village on the northeast coast boasts of two 'moai'; one has 23 members with shares at ¥200 each, while the other has 40 members with shares of ¥500 each. Two groups in Toguchi have ten and eleven merchant members, with shares of ¥5,000 per member in each group. Although 'moai' with a capital of over ¥30,000 are said to be illegal, stories were frequently heard of 'moai' in the Tsuboya section of Naha in which the shares run as high as ¥50,000 each.

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1 The 'sake' of course is bought by the ukuimē out of the ¥200 he has contributed. Last month's successful bidder (tuinushi) does not actually receive the money until this month's meeting, at which time he gives the party for the group and is called ukuimē.

Loans Almost no rural person deals as an individual with a bank for small amounts, as he is embarrassed to deal with strangers and has a tradition of distrust of city people in general. The small 'moai' is the mark of a rather stable agricultural community. Between the 'moai' and the city bank operates the individual loan shark, catering to people who need money desperately---either because of ill health or family troubles---or because with a little capital the borrower hopes to "make a killing" in some enterprise. These needy people are quite willing to contract to repay at the exorbitant interest rate of ten per cent per month. As might be expected, many persons default on repayment of these loans, to the intense and very vocal indignation of the lender. 452

Almost every 'son' has a credit cooperative, or 'Shin'yō Kyōdo Kamiai'. These are operated by the 'son' office, and when the money involved filters down to individuals the amount concerned is much less than one can obtain through a 'moai'. Amounts available for loan generally range from ¥10,000 to ¥15,000 for each village. Then the amount is divided according to the number of households in the 'han', or ward, of the village. Bigger 'han' can borrow about ¥3,000 while smaller ones may borrow ¥2,000. The money is borrowed by the 'han' and then sub-borrowed by individuals or by groups of two or three men. A person may but seldom does borrow directly from the 'son' office as an individual. However, repayment is always made on an individual basis, rather than through the 'han' and village. The village headman, or 'kucho', is the person responsible ('sekinin-sha') for the operation of the fund in his bailiwick. [632]

One Nanahan man has moved temporarily to Itoman. He obtained a GARIOA-subsidized bank loan for ¥360,000 ($3,000) to buy a truck. His success in finding customers in the Naha port area assures that the loan will not be defaulted. 453

'Son' Relief At the end of 1952 there were 335 persons, representing 114 households, who were receiving relief from the 'son' office. Details are presented below: 746 [632]

Class of Aid	From Prewar		Due to War		Postwar		Total	
	Houses	Persons	Houses	Persons	Houses	Persons	Houses	Persons
Orphans	--	--	8	15	--	--	8	15
Aged persons	23	28	14	29	4	5	41	62
Widows	--	--	15	76	12	60	27	136
Sick persons	3	10	5	12	7	26	15	48
Disabled	8	13	3	7	1	5	12	25
Other	1	4	4	18	6	27	11	49
TOTAL	35	55	49	157	30	123	114	335

To obtain relief, old people must fulfill the usual requirements of living alone, being propertyless, ill, and without familial support. In the

746 one case investigated, the village secretary and most of the village people thought that a certain old repatriate should be on relief, if only to receive money to obtain the tobacco he could not buy. The 'son' office was not told about his elder brother's second son, who lives in Osaka. Nor was any check made on the untrue report that he was ill, for no medical proof or witnesses are needed. Upon moving from his sister-in-law's house to a grass shack next door, he was placed upon the relief list to receive the monthly maximum of ¥250 (about $2.08).

746 (77) The 'son' office also supervises the distribution to persons on relief of clothes supplied by the American relief agency RIVAC (Ryukyu Islands Voluntary Agencies Committee). Each person receives free two or three useful items upon signing for their receipt with his chop. These are greatly appreciated by the recipients.

621 427 Rentals of Village-Owned Land Each village generally owns some grassland, some forest land, and a pond or two. These they rent out to the highest bidder. The 'genya' or grassland is rented anew each year, and the person may keep it in grass, or may convert it to dry crop land ('hatake'). The only requirement is that he must not let the grass grow long and shade the nearby crops. The plot owned by Tomoyose village used to be the village horse-powered sugar mill before the better one was built before the war.

Ponds owned by the village are rented out to the highest bidder in a [228] secret bid, for a period of two years. The renter uses the pond to raise [423] carp. Forest land, I was told, is not supposed to be owned by the village, so it is recorded in the land register as the property of a prominent private individual.

65 [632] Taxes The Okinawan farmer is subject to a great number of official taxes. The following is a list of the fifteen 'sonzei', or township taxes, of Kanegusuku-son. Legally these are called district taxes, or 'chihō-zei'.

Tax Name	Translation
Sonmin-zei	Township Citizens' Tax (on all persons who are able to work, except students)
Tochi-zei	Land Tax
Fudōsan Shutoku zei	Real Estate Acquisition Tax
Kaoku-zei	House (or Building) Tax
Kōgyō-zei	Tax for Industry (eg: 'sake' factory)
Gyubasha-zei	Tax for Horsecart or Oxcart
Jidōsha-zei	Auto, Bus and Jitney Tax (Motor Vehicle Tax)
Rajio-zei	Radio Tax
Denchū-zei	Electric Pole Tax
Tochiku-zei	Slaughter Tax
Chikken-zei	Dog Tax
Sempaku-zei	Boat Tax
Jitensha-zei	Bicycle Tax
Denwa-zei	Telephone Tax
Jigyō-zei	Business Tax

In addition to the above, a 'kenkyū-hi' (study charge) is collected to supplement the pay of the school teachers. The most important of the above taxes are the 'sonmin-zei', the 'tochi-zei', and the 'kaoku-zei'. In Kochinda-son there was instituted for the first time in 1953 an Education Tax, or 'kyōiku-zei'. In most cases this amount was about 10% larger than the 'sonmin-zei' amount. All Naraha taxes have constantly risen during the years 1951, 1952 and 1953. In part this may reflect the rising value of the land, especially that converted into paddies. But it is also in part a reflection of the rising cost of government. The average of all taxes per household in Kochinda-son for 1952 was ¥486; the tax amount per individual was ¥104.[1] 651

Payments to Officials From the taxes paid by the 'son' citizens come the salaries of the village mayors and the salaries of those employed at the 'son' office. In addition, the 'son' pays for the transportation costs of township assemblymen ('son-giin') so that they may attend meetings held at the village office. The following is a list of the functions of persons working at the Kochinda-son office in 1954: 632

Title	Translation
Sonchō	Township Mayor
Joyaku	Assistant Mayor
Shūnyū-yaku	Treasurer
Keizai-shunin	Head of the Economic Department
Keizaika-in (2)	Member of the Economic Department (2 persons)
Sōmuka-shunin	Head of the General Affairs Dept.
Sōmuka-in	Member of General Affairs Dept. (doubles as Secretary to the Mayor)
Tōkei-shokuin	Statistics Clerk
Koseki-chōsain	Census Registry Inquiry Clerk
Koseki-seibi-in (2)	Census Registry Arrangement Clerks (2)
Tochi-gakari	Persons in Charge of Land Affairs
Zaimuka-shunin	Head of the Financial Department
Zaimuka-in	Member of the Financial Department
Engojimu-in	Person in Charge of Relief and Aid
Shakai-jigyo-in	Person in Charge of Social Affairs
Shakai-fukushi-shi	Public Welfare Officer
Kōmuka-in	Person in Charge of Industrial Dept.
Nōgyō-kairyō-fukyū-in	Person in Charge of Agricultural Improvement and Diffusion
Shitei	Servant

On the village level there are other taxes that never enter into the official tax figures. Each 'hanchō', or ward head, collects in Tomoyose monthly about 10% of the year's estimated 'sonmin-zei'. This, however, is not that tax, but is used for the expenses of the village. Much of it goes to pay the expenses of the village clerk. 651 621

Levies In addition to the levy mentioned above, designed to supplement the low salaries of school teachers, there are irregular levies made for special occasions. One very informal levy observed during my stay was a collection of money for the reversion movement. Others include levies upon 651

[1] Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku, op. cit., p. 84.

Others include levies upon
651 organizations and families to support the athletic meets, or 'undōkwai',
[526] which are such a popular part of life in Okinawa.

575 Before the war the women's group ('fujinkai') and the young people's
178 group ('seinendan') levied a certain amount of soybeans against each member, and when they were delivered the sale brought in money to finance their activities. These organizations also made up special meals for local athletic
[526] favorites while they were in training, and provided a feast for them at the
526 end of the contests. Today the 'undōkwai' is on more of a monetary basis,
651 and there is a levy called the 'undōkwai no keihi'. In October of 1953, the
632 cost of the grand athletic meeting held in Naha was divided among the 'son' according to the number of champions sent to the contest. Kochinda-son was top grade in Shimajiri, and Tomoyose was a middle-grade village within Kochinda-son. This grade was judged by the amount of arable land, its yield, and the population. Within the village, households in turn are assessed by three grades, according to their income tax records. These three grades were "minimum," under ¥20; "middle", ¥20-50; and "maximum", ¥50-54.

621 <u>Local Philanthropy</u> From time to time the leading household heads are called
741 upon to donate money for improvement of village facilities. Names of contributors and amounts given are written upon a wooden plaque and hung in the village meeting house. The building of this meeting house itself involved the gathering of such a fund, to which Nanahan people gave a total of ¥1,450. Later a request for funds to buy a funeral stretcher brought ¥350 from the household heads, and a road repair campaign netted ¥1,550 from Nanahan.

Somewhat the reverse of the above occurred after the Russo-Japanese war when a particularly handsome soldier from the neighboring village came back from the front. All the leading 'geisha' in Naha had long had the habit of asking him to come to their establishments without charge. His return brought such joy to their hearts that they got together a sum of money and bought him a large plot of land near Nanahan.

52 <u>Prizes at Contests</u> From the time a youngster enters school and participates in his first contest to the time when he shows an animal at his last village or 'son' festival before retiring, all winners look forward to some sort of prize to mark the occasion. In school the prizes are generally beautifully handwritten scrolls, but as one gets older the prizes assume the form of wooden trays and articles of practical use in the home.

858 <u>Sale of Children</u> When the SIRI team first arrived on Okinawa and mentioned
432 that we were interested in finding if the Okinawans still
[183] practiced the sale of children, sophisticated respondents feigned indignation. Later on, as we were able to gain rapport in the countryside, a number of such instances were forthcoming.

In Tomoyose a man got into debt over an effort to make a fortune in sugar along about 1910. He was so heavily in debt to village people that he was socially unable to live in the community, and moved to Itoman. There he sold his son to a fisherman. The son is now a grown man with an Okinawan wife and a mistress from Amami. His business is still fishing, although he also owns a truck.

One of the most respected household heads in Nanahan was sold when a boy. His poor Shuri parents sold him to rich Nanahan relatives, even though he was a first son. His relative, a woman who still lives there, had him work her fields for his support. However, she allowed him to work off-season as a day laborer, and he was permitted to keep his earned money. People commented: "He was and still is honest." 858 432

One of the consistent themes of Okinawan literature is the sale of children to Itoman. The practice continues today, perhaps in less intensive form. A grown man who now lives in Yamada was sold from Yamada to Itoman people when he was a boy. He returned to Yamada when the village was resettled after the war, considering that his time was up. He is one of the men who fish part-time, having learned something of fishing from the Itoman people.

Three boys at least were being held during our stay by an Itoman man. He and the boys move about quite a bit, but he has his home in Itoman. The boys, at least one of whom is from Ie Shima, call him "uncle". The boys are about junior high school age but are not in school. When a woman who knew about the situation was asked why this was not reported to the police, she expressed surprise at the idea. She did not know if the practice were illegal or not, and more or less defended the man---a relative by marriage---by saying that Itoman people had always done this. She added that the man treated the boys well, though she knows the stories about how badly the Itoman people treated the boys they bought in the past. One has run away several times but he always comes back.

One respondent, whose knowledge and intelligence command respect, says that both boys and girls are still being bought regularly from the off-shore islands. The boys are sold to fishermen, and the girls to brothel-keepers. He believes the treatment of the boys may be no better than it ever was but commented that at least they are learning a trade that they can follow when they are freed; the girls are more to be pitied. [548]

It is evident that the child of a very poor family cannot yet regard the traditional disciplinary threat---"If you don't be good, I'll sell you to Itoman"---as an idle one.

CHAPTER V: FAMILY LIFE

W. P. Suttles

1. Kinship Organization

342 The Household and the Family Okinawan homes, both in the country and in the towns, show a surprising uniformity in struc-
[183] ture, in floor plan, and even in orientation. This uniformity reflects the stability of society and at the same time reenforces it. The home of the
[361] Okinawan farmer usually faces south; indeed the older villages as a whole were established on southward-facing slopes.

The house consists of two main rooms separated by sliding doors, a long and narrow back room behind the two front rooms, and a kitchen to one side, usually the west. The measurements are usually in multiples of three feet (the Japanese foot being almost identical with the English foot); the two main rooms are usually the same size, 9 by 9 or 12 by 12 feet, and the others are somewhat smaller. The roofs of most houses are thatched with "kaya", but people who can afford it have wholly or partly tiled roofs. The roof of the kitchen may have a separate peak and ridgepole from that of the main part of the house. Usually the roof of the main part of the house extends beyond the front rooms so that there is a narrow veranda across the front and halfway around the side opposite the kitchen. The house usually has no windows. The kitchen has an outside door and the front rooms have sliding doors all the way around under the veranda; these are usually open except at night or during bad weather.

The main part of the house has a floor of boards but the kitchen often has only an earth floor or else consists of two sections, one floored and one not. The kitchen is thus usually lower than the main part of the house and is referred to as "below" while the main part is "above", but this also implies a difference in status. The room farthest from the kitchen is called the "first room" and the middle room is the "second room". The back room may be
353 a single long room or may be divided into two. At the back of the kitchen is
[354] the oven, usually made of earth or bricks with two or three holes for pots and pans to fit into. At the back of the second room, if the house is a "main house"---that of an eldest son, is the tootoomee (J. 'butsudan'), a cabinet for the ancestral tablets. At the back of the first room there is often an alcove containing a scroll and perhaps a family treasure; this is the u-tuku (J. 'tokonoma').

In the homes of more prosperous families the floors of the front rooms are permanently covered with "tatami", the thick mats used by the Japanese, but in most homes the only mats are the thinner mushiru, which are spread out
352 only when needed. Furniture is simple; the mushiru are the equivalent of chairs
[354] and beds; a low table may be brought out to put food upon at meal-time and a pot of burning charcoal may be brought out in cold weather for a little heat. Usually one sees only a basket of teacups and a tobacco-box. On formal ocas-
592 sions the men sit in the first room and the women in the second, but usually
562 the partition is removed and the family simply lives in the whole space.

The yard in which the Okinawan home stands is also rather uniform in 351
its appearance. It is usually surrounded by a stone wall or a thick hedge for protection against winds. Inside the gate is a himpung, a short wall that prevents one from looking straight through the gate into the house. The space between the himpung and the house is hard earth; this is where mats are spread for drying grain and where many other household tasks are performed. This yard space may be lined on one or both sides with outbuildings for the [343] storage of tools and crops and for housing livestock---two or three goats, [231] and here and there an ox or a horse. Behind the house is a pigsty. There may also be a chicken-coop, but chickens often run loose. There are usually a few trees in the yard, often a clump of bananas. Behind the house is also [514] the toilet; formerly it was combined with the pigsty, but now it is usually an oil-drum. In many villages every house has its own well, but even where [312] wells are fewer there is almost sure to be a cistern beside the house to catch rain-water. The house and yard will be discussed again later in rela- 128
tion to sanitation and health (see Chapter IX).[1]

The social unit that occupies such a house and yard is the family. 592
The structure of the family is also dealt with in detail by Pitts in Chapter VII. Let it suffice to say here that ideally the first son stays with his [591] parents after his marriage while younger sons establish separate households. Thus the family consists of a couple and their unmarried children or a couple with a married first son, his wife and children, and his unmarried brothers and sisters. The deaths of one or more members may reduce the family without breaking it up. Two married couples, parents and grandparents of the youngest generation, is the usual maximum. If two married sons live under the same roof it is usually regarded as a temporary expedient. Thus while the total number of persons in the household may be as many as a dozen, the average number is a little less than five.

The family, that is, the members of the household, is an economic unit, a social unit, and a ceremonial unit. As an economic unit the members of a household work together, producing for and consuming from a common stock. They cooperate with other households on the basis of common interest as neighbors. They form a social unit within the "han", the "ku", and the "son", they are [666] registered as a unit in the "koseki", and may have only one vote---cast by the head of the house---in local elections. As a ceremonial unit they form part of a numbered and graded system based on common descent.

The Structure of Kinship Relations In traditional Okinawan society, as in 593
other societies of East Asia, the funda- 602
mental unit is the family and the basic axis within the family is a vertical one running through the male line, the father-oldest son axis.[2] The basic values that support this structure are unity and continuity. Individuals are of varying importance to the family depending on their closeness to the father-first son axis; females are less important than males; younger sons

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1 For a more detailed account of the house and yard see Glacken, 1953, Chapter 5.

2 I have borrowed this concept from Francis L. K. Hsu, to whose writings I am indebted.

593 are less important than older sons. The security of the individual depends
602 upon his closeness to this axis. Yet most can attain security. Younger sons grow up to establish families of their own. Daughters grow up to marry and become the means whereby other men establish families. If a man has no son he readily adopts one from among his brothers' or cousins' sons and so the continuity is maintained.

593 This structure is in sharp contrast to that of present-day American
171 society. In American society the individual, not the family, is felt to be the basic unit. The basic axis is horizontal, the husband-wife axis. The values are on affection between the married couple, responsibility toward minor children, and impartiality toward them. The responsibility of parents ends when the children grow up. There is little continuity. The individual can expect equal treatment but cannot expect lasting security within the family. He finds his family ties cut once when he grows up, once again when his children grow up. The only permanent tie is with husband or wife and hence the only permanent security within the family is through marital bond. Hence in American society there is an increasing emphasis on romantic love and an increasing tendency to look for security through it.

The relationship of husband and wife in Okinawan society is quite dif-
593 ferent from that in American society with its comradeship and equality. In
581 Okinawan society the traditional marriage is arranged by the family. Its pri-
[589] mary function is to provide for the continuity of the family units and if possible to produce more units like it. The satisfaction of individual needs is only a secondary function. At marriage a woman enters the family of her husband, where she hopes to produce an heir for him and more besides. Her position is subordinate; she must be submissive to him and to his parents. She expects to work hard. Her husband also expects to work hard, for he is obligated to provide his descendants and his ancestors with their needs, but if he also has the means to seek pleasure outside the home he is not only free to do so, but is expected to do so.

593 As one might expect, the relationship between parents and children is
855 very close. Okinawan parents live more intimately with their children than do American parents; they carry them around, sleep with them, and fondle them
[171] a great deal. And from the American point of view they spoil them. At the same time they seem to regard children as not quite human, and treat them at times with what to an American seems like heartless cruelty. Also they differentiate clearly on the basis of future importance to the family and the maintenance of its continuity; the first son, who will inherit his father's status, is given more consideration than younger sons; daughters, who will eventually leave the family entirely, are given less consideration---and more chores, to prepare them for future status as daughters-in-law---than are sons. Children are expected to respect their parents and to care for them when they are old. Parents are expected to love their children and care for them when they are young. The responsibility of a parent toward a minor child is not
[171] as great as in the United States; for example, in an emergency a parent may sell a child (this may be in conflict with the present law but it is not in
593 conflict with the mores of impoverished Okinawan farmers). Buth this responsibility does not end with the child's attaining majority. In the case

of a first son the parents' responsibility toward him may even increase as he 593
grows older, since the continuity of the family depends upon him. Also the
child's duty to obey his parents does not end with his majority, and this
duty also may be stronger for a first son. All this is in sharp contrast [171]
with the situation in American society, where the responsibility of the parent to the child is greatest when the child is small and gradually recedes as the child grows older, where the parents' responsibilities toward minor children are identical regardless of the sex or age of the child relative to others, and where the duty of the child to obey its parents clearly ends when it reaches majority.

The relationship between grandparents and grandchildren is also closer 603
than is commonly the case in the United States. There is greater physical 171
intimacy, there are greater mutual obligations, and there is therefore a greater feeling of security derived from the relationship.

The relationship of siblings too is different from that in the United 593
States. There is no equality among Okinawan brothers; each has his own sta- 171
tus, the first son having the most responsibility and the most privileges. Sisters are inferior to their brothers, but are more nearly equal to each other. But the brothers constitute a single unit even though they are unequal, the very numbering of them, first son, second son, and so forth, sets them apart as a unit separate from other units composed of numbered sons. As adults they are expected to cooperate, and usually do. It seems likely that the American passion for equality, with its resulting arguments among children as to who got the larger piece of pie, may result in greater conflict among siblings than exists in Okinawan society.

I have attempted to indicate briefly some of the main features of the 121
Okinawan family, how it differs from the American family, and how it provides 593
a greater sense of security for the individual. This security, it should be 152
emphasized, is at the expense of freedom and equality. Later, in discussing the life of the individual, I shall examine some of these features more closely. Moreover, I shall also try to show that family life not only provides the individual with a feeling of security, but also provides him with the pattern of relationships that he extends to the rest of the world and is the source of some of his basic anxieties.

<u>Classification of Kin</u> It has long been recognized that the categories of 121
language are likely to be the categories of thought, 601
and that if we are to understand how the members of another society see some aspect of reality---color, plant life, the passage of time, we can well begin by learning how they classify their perception---by studying their color terms, botanical taxonomy, terms for the seasons and other divisions of time. In the study of social organization this method is even more useful because the reality as well as the conception is man-made. Thus the categories into which the members of a society group their kinfolk have proved to be important clues to the organization of that society. I shall therefore describe briefly the kinship terms used by the Okinawans.

The terms themselves do not matter for this purpose. They vary from 601
place to place and from social class to class. But it is significant that

601 But it is significant that
[184] the several lists collected are identical in structure, that is, they all
[177] classify relatives in the same way. Also, everywhere some Japanese terms
[172] are replacing some Okinawan terms. I shall describe the Okinawan system unchanged first and then indicate what the recent changes have been.

As in many kinship systems there is a distinction between terms used primarily in referring to relatives and terms used primarily in addressing them. And as in many societies terms of address are used for all persons older than the speaker, for unrelated persons as well as for relatives. The terms that are used in reference only, never or seldom as terms of address, are terms corresponding to each of the following: parent, child, grandparent, grandchild, uncle, aunt, sibling's child (that is, meaning both "nephew" and niece"), brother, sister, cousin. In addition there are two terms meaning "older" and "younger" and a series of terms meaning "first son", "second son", "third son", etc., which combined with the word for "woman" gives a series meaning "first daughter", "second daughter", etc. Another group of terms is used both in address and in reference, but is probably primarily terms of address; these are in address extended to non-kin, but in their basic meaning they correspond to each of the following: grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, uncle, aunt (these last two are different from those given above), older brother, older sister. To see how these terms are used let us look at each generation in turn.

The terms "grandfather" and "grandmother" are used in addressing one's parents' parents and also in addressing their brothers and sisters, that is, one's great uncles and great aunts and also non-relatives of the same generation as one's grandparents or older. (The term given above as "grandparent" is restricted to actual relatives; its basic meaning is said to be "parent's parent" but in common usage it is extended to mean ancestors above the grandparents' generation as well.) Within the brothers and sisters of one's grandparents the members of each family are further distinguished by relative age. The oldest of several brothers is "big grandfather" and the youngest "little grandfather". Women classified as "grandmothers" are similarly distinguished. These distinguishing terms may also be used in reference. Non-relatives may also be referred to by such terms as "the grandfather of such-and-such a house", using the "yagō" (house name).

The terms for relatives in the parents' generation are likewise extended. Although there are both terms of reference for uncle and aunt and terms of address, the terms "father" and "mother" are (or were) frequently used when addressing the brothers and sisters of both parents and their spouses. And as with the grandparent terms, one's father's oldest brother and mother's oldest brother are both called "big father" and their oldest sisters "big mother". The wife of a "big father" is also a "big mother" and so forth. On the other hand, a parent's youngest brother and youngest sister are called "little uncle" and "little aunt", rather than "little father" or
[574] "little mother". The terms "uncle" and "aunt" are also extended to non-kin, as polite titles of address.

[171] By combining the terms "older" and "younger" with "brother" and "sister", one can express the equivalent of the four Japanese sibling terms,

"older brother", "younger brother", "older sister", and"younger sister". But 601
these terms are never used in address. Two unrelated terms for "older brother" [171]
and "older sister" are used in addressing older siblings and older cousins,
while younger siblings and younger cousins are addressed by name. These two [576]
terms may also be politely extended to non-relatives. One's children, nephews,
nieces, grandchildren, and other younger relatives are also addressed by
name rather than by kinship terms. However, a younger person who is a strang- [576]
er may be addressed as "older brother" or "older sister" out of courtesy.

For in-laws, there are terms of reference: husband, wife, son-in-law, daughter-in-law, and one including spouse's parents and siblings, which can be combined with other words for more specific reference. But none of these terms is used in address. Instead one uses the terms of address proper for one's spouse; the father-in-law is called "father", and so forth, at least until one has children. There is one exception; there is a separate term of address for an older brother's wife. A wife addresses her husband by the polite pronoun "you" and he addresses her by the familiar one.

All that has just been said about terms used in addressing relatives must be qualified by the statement that it is true only until one has children of his own. After the birth of the first child, or perhaps after it begins to understand speech, one begins to call his wife "mother", his father "grandfather", and so forth. He may do this in the child's absence as well. As one informant put it, the whole system shifts to make the child its center.

It will be seen that the Okinawan kinship system is bilateral, that is, 601
it treats the father's relatives and the mother's relatives in the same way; 171
a father's brother and a mother's brother are both "uncles". In this respect it is like the Japanese system and like our own, and unlike the Chinese system, which distinguished father's brothers and mother's brothers by separate terms. It will also be seen that like our own system the generations are clearly distinguished (in some systems relatives of different generations are lumped into the same category), but unlike our system the Okinawan system distinguishes seniors and juniors within a generation. The Japanese system distinguishes older and younger siblings of the speaker but not older and younger siblings of the speaker's parents. The Chinese system also distinguishes older and younger siblings in the speaker's generation and further distinguishes father's older and younger brothers, but lumps mother's older and younger brothers into a single separate category. What the Okinawan system does, and what makes it different from both the Japanese and the Chinese systems, is to single out the oldest in each generation while at the same time, by extending even the terms "father" and "mother" bilaterally, it suggests a unity of all those within the same generation. This accords in a general way, I believe, with the deference [192]
to seniors that is characteristic of all social relationships, with the importance of senior lines in the larger kinship groups, and with the essential unity of the local group despite its division into kin groups.

In the last generation certain changes have occurred in the use of kin- 601
ship terms widely, perhaps everywhere, on Okinawa. The Japanese terms of 177
address, especially those for "father", "mother", "uncle", and "aunt", have 192
begun to replace the native terms. At the same time the practice of extending

601 the native terms for "father" and "mother" to uncles and aunts is going out
199 of use. Thus in structure as well as in the terms themselves the Okinawan
192 system is moving in the direction of the Japanese.

552 Maintaining Continuity: House Names Every house has a name (yaanunaa, Japanese 'yagō').
613 This name, in the case of the older houses, may be descriptive of its location or may be taken from the place of origin of the founder. Insofar as possible a man's first son should succeed him as head of his house. If a man's first son rebuilds the house or even moves it, its name usually remains the same. When younger sons establish their own houses the house of the first son is called the "main house" (muutuyaa, J. 'honke') and the younger sons' houses "branch houses" (tatchiyaa, J. 'bunke'). The branch houses take their house names from the house name of the main house. Thus if the main house is called Taba, a branch house may be called Taba-gwaa, "little Taba". If there are several Taba-gwaa, they may be distinguished by directions such as agari, "east", iri, "west", or by the birth order of their founders, as jinan Taba-gwaa, "second-son little Taba", and so forth. If a family line has been in a village for several generations there may be branch houses of branch houses. In such a case the earlier branch house is a main house to its branch houses while still in the status of branch house to the house of the founder of the line. In such cases new elements may be introduced into the naming system; a branch of a Taba-gwaa might be mii-Taba-gwaa, "new little Taba". If there are several branches and branches of branches the original main house (in Japanese, the 'sōhonke') may come to be called ufu-Taba, "great Taba". Thus the relationship of a number of houses in a village may be shown by the names used for them. The house names of a village are surprisingly well-known by the members of a village, even by the children, better known than either the surnames or given names of the inhabitants.[1]

53 Personal Names Before the Japanese annexation the two main social
199 classes on Okinawa differed in the sorts of names they bore. Members of the
[304] gentry (yukatchu, "superior people", or samuree, cognate of the Japanese 'sa-
[614] murai') belonged to patrilineal common descent groups called uji. These uji each had a name consisting of a single Chinese character, often a Chinese surname. Also, different lineages within each uji each bore surnames that were mainly Okinawan place names; these were taken from the names of villages and larger administrative units where the founders of the lineages served as officials. And in addition, each male member of the gentry class had a given name consisting of two characters read in the Chinese manner (that is, the Okinawan version of the Japanese 'on-yomi'). These were called toonaa, "Chinese names". In each uji the first of the two characters in all names was the same. Thus, to give an example, in the Hyō uji there are three lineages bearing the surnames Moromizato, Itosu, and Higa, but all males in the uji regardless of surname bear given names that begin with the character An. Thus Moromizato Ansei and Itosu Angō are seen to be kinsmen despite the difference in surname. These are the names of two men living today. Had they lived before the annexation they might also have designated themselves for official purposes by what look like proper Chinese names, Hyō Ansei and Hyō Angō.

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[1] For a more detailed account of the house-naming system see Glacken, 1953, pp. 115-122.

At the same time, each person, both men and women, bore a given name 551
that was purely Okinawan. These names are called warabinaa, "child names". They are few in number. Several of them---perhaps all of them---are meaningful, such as Kamii, "turtle", Ushi, "ox". Several of them were given both to males and to females. They were transmitted according to rules that seem now to be not too well understood. According to one old woman, a man should give his name to his sons' first sons and his wife hers to the sons' first daughters. Subsequent grandchildren should receive the names of the grandparents' siblings or other relatives. A younger woman said that a first son got his father's father's name and a woman her mother's mother's. But unfortunately not enough information was obtained to support the last assertion or to reveal any further pattern. [174] (This is a subject that would be well worth further study; the possibility that the naming system is a reflection of a former system of double descent should not be overlooked.)

Among the commoners (hyakusoo, cognate of Japanese 'hyakushō', peasants"), surnames were perhaps not universally taken until after the Japanese annexation. Nor did they have Chinese-style given names. Their common descent groups, usually called munchu, seem to bear names that are place names. They did have house names (yaanuyaa, J. 'yagō'), and Okinawan-style given names. Probably a commoner was known only by these two. Even today among the older Okinawans a man is more likely to be known as Taasachi-gwaa nu Sanree, "Sanree ("Third"?) of the house Taasachi-gwaa ("Little End-of-the-Rice-Field")", than by the name found in the 'koseki'. [565] [177] [614]

Today everyone is registered by and officially known by a surname and 551
given name. The surnames are mainly taken from Okinawan place names but the 177
readings assigned the characters are frequently Japanized. Thus Ufu-gusuku, "great-castle' becomes 'Ōshiro' and Nakandakari becomes 'Nakamura'. Many of the given names for males are of two characters read in the Sino-Japanese manner, like the given names formerly used only by the gentry, but many also are purely Japanese---Masaru, Takeo, Toshiyasu---the last possibly being the Japanese reading of a name that once might have been given its "Chinese" reading. Girls are given such Japanese names as 'Yoshiko' and 'Masako'. And the youngest child recorded in the 'koseki' for Yamada, the first to bear the name, was an infant girl named 'Chiemi', obviously after a currently popular Japanese "starlet".

The Ancestral Tablets In every main house there is a shelf or if 769
possible a cabinet (tootoomee, J. 'butsudan') for the ancestral tablets (ifee, 353
J. 'ihai'). If it is a cabinet it contains three shelves; on the top shelf 592
stand the tablets flanked by a pair of vases, on the second shelf a pair of tea-cups and a wine cup, and on the third an incense burner (u-kooru). The paraphernalia vary somewhat with the means of the family. The tablets are 769
red lacquered slips of wood held in two rows in a black frame. On the upper 592
row are written the names of deceased male members of the family, on the lower row names of deceased females. The ancestral tablets together with the house name form an inseparable unit. The main house of the Taba lineage is the [613]
main house and has the house name "great Taba" because it is the location of the ancestral tablet of the founder of the lineage. The tablets at "new little Taba" contain the tablet for the founder of that house. The tablets are

769 transmitted with the headship of the house. The head of the house, or his
592 wife or mother, has the responsibility of making offerings to them on the proper occasions. On certain occasions representatives of the houses that have branched from a main house come to worship before the tablets in it.

[171] Inheritance and Adoption Inheritance has two aspects, legal and customary. According to Japanese law the headship of a house should pass from a man to his first son or if the first is dead to his second or subsequent son, or in the event that there are no sons or that they are minors, it may pass to his wife. The headship is registered in the koseki. According to Japanese law if a man has no son but a daughter, he may adopt a son-in-law who then becomes his heir and succeeds him to the headship of the house.

In Okinawan custom headship of the house means responsibility for the tablet of the last head and the other tablets that go with it. A woman can [562] do no more than care for the tablets until another male succeeds the last. Moreover, an adopted son-in-law cannot care permanently for the tablets of a man to whom he is not related. Ultimately for every man who lacks a son a male must be found who is a blood relative in the male line. Only such a person can succeed him, that is, care for his tablets after his death and beget [597] descendants who can rightfully care for his tablets. Therefore the man without sons tries to adopt as his heir the second or later son of one of his brothers or of a cousin related through males. If a man dies without an heir one may be adopted posthumously for him. The tablet of a boy who has died unmarried may be kept for a whole generation in a brother's house, until one of the brother's sons or grandsons can become the "adopted son" of the deceased. He then establishes a branch house, which takes the house name the deceased would have had, and becomes custodian of the tablet.

614 The Larger Kin Group: Structure and Variation. Every Okinawan family belongs to larger kinship group and often these larger units belong to still larger units. Such a unit consists of a group of families the male heads of which are or believe themselves to be related in the male line. The size and composition of these groups and the terms used for them vary somewhat.[1]

In Shimajiri among the descendants of the peasant class the larger kin group is called the munchu (in Japanese 'monchū', "within the gate"). It may consist of dozens or even hundreds of families living in several villages and with a total membership of several thousands. The munchu usually takes its name from the house-name of the main house. If it has spread to several villages its members in any one village may be referred to as the so-and-so munchu of that village. Or, as often is the case, the members of a certain munchu in one village may be all branch houses of one main house of that munchu for the village and this house will have been founded according to tradition by the second son or the third son of the founder of the main house of the larger unit, which is elsewhere; in this case the local branch will be called the jinan-bara, "second-son belly", or sannan-bara, "third-son belly",

[1] The statements made in this section are based on information obtained from informants. However, I have also consulted Watanabe, 1947.

as the case may be. The munchu has a common tomb or several common tombs, a 614
circuit of ugwanju (sacred spots for worship, connected in tradition to the founder of the munchu), and several kaminchu (religious functionaries of a semi-hereditary status). Well-established branch munchu may have their own tombs, circuits of ugwanju, and kaminchu. If this is the case the main house of the branch is called the naka-muutu, "middle root", and the main house of the larger unit the ufu-muutu, "great root". In the absence of written records the exact relationship of the different branches of one of the larger units may occasionally be reinterpreted by the kaminchu and by yuta (seeresses).

The members of a munchu need not, and often do not, have the same sur- 614
name. The usual explanation given for this is that a new surname has entered 551
the munchu through a member's having been adopted as a son-in-law. According [171]
to Japanese law a man who married the daughter of a family with no male heirs became an adopted son-in-law and his children bore his wife's surname. But according to Okinawan custom the ancestral tablets of the woman's parents can go only to a male relative in the male line. The "adopted son-in-law" cannot inherit the tablets; they will go later to a brother's son or grandson. And the children of the "adopted son-in-law" belong to their paternal grandfather's munchu, even though by law they had to take their maternal grandfather's surname. This practice goes back only to the end of the last century. Before the Japanese annexation it is not likely that many peasants had sur- [177]
names; those they later took were probably taken from house names. An informant in Chinen-Son, however, gave another explanation why some of the members of his munchu had different surnames. He said that under the old government some had been given surnames for having served as petty officials at the office of the local governor. He named three surnames locally used that were given to officials of the three lowest ranks.

Among the descendants of the former gentry class the largest kinship unit is the uji. This term is identical with one of the older Japanese terms [192]
translated as "clan". The uji have names that are single Chinese characters, [177]
some of them identical with Chinese surnames. The members of an uji may bear different surnames of the native sort; the explanation for this is that under the former monarchy, when a member of the gentry was appointed to the office of governor of a majiri (the present "Son") or appointed official of a village, he was able to take the name of that majiri or village as his surname. Thus the members of an uji may be divided into several lines, each claiming descent from some illustrious official. These divisions may also be named chakushi-firugi, "first-son-lineage", jinan-firugi, "second-son-lineage", and so forth, according to seniority. Despite their different surnames, however, the male members of an uji usually have given names written with two characters read in the Chinese manner (that is, the Okinawan version of the 'on-yomi' of Japanese), the first of the two characters being the same. To give an example, the Hyō uji consists of three lineages with the surnames Moromizato, Itosu, and Higa, all the males of which have given names beginning with the character An.

In the village of Yamada in Onna-Son, many of the kin units of both 613
the commoners and the gentry who settled there late in the last century are small local divisions of larger units the main houses of which are in the

613 southern part of the island. There the term for the local unit, a relatively small lineage with not very strong ties to the larger unit, is chuchooree (literally, "one brotherhood', to translate literally into Japanese, hito-
613 kyōdai). The larger unit of the commoners is called the ichimung ("one gate"),
614 which is equivalent to the munchu of the south. Some of the gentry families refer to the subdivision of the uji having the same surname as their ichimung. Thus a family may belong to a local chuchooree, to an ichimung containing other families elsewhere of the same surname, and to a still larger uji containing ichimung of other surnames.

614 Functions The functions of the common descent group seem to be almost
769 entirely ritual. Just as the members of a family are responsible for helping the head of the family in making the proper offerings before the tablets and the tomb of its immediate ancestors, so the larger unit has such a responsibility toward the remote ancestors. In the family the eldest son bears the greatest responsibility, so in the common descent group the head of the main house bears the greatest responsibility. But the benefits resulting from proper worship and the misfortunes resulting from negligence may extend even to the youngest branch house, and thus all are interested in maintaining the worship.

614 Representatives of the common descent group worship before the ances-
796 tral tablets at the main house on occasions called u-machii (J. 'o-matsuri'),
769 usually the 15th days of the 2nd, 5th and 6th lunar months and during the New Year's season. They worship at the tomb at the shiimii (J. 'seimei') season in April. For this purpose periodic meetings may be held and dues levied for
[769] the expense of the offerings. Many groups send members on pilgrimages every seventh year (shichinin-maari) to pray at remote shrines; many in the south go to Nakijin in the north for this. There may also be special expenditures such as for the repair of a tomb, the building of a new tomb, or even the repair of the main house if its owner has become impoverished.

614 A few common descent groups are said to have a little property from which the income is used for the expense of the worship, but probably none has enough to be of any other value. The common descent group probably has
[576] no economic functions. In a rural community its members may tend to cooperate a little more in farm work; I observed this to be the case in some instances in Yamada, but informants say that kinship is no more important than closeness of residence and that neighbors ought to cooperate.

614 Nevertheless the common descent group occasionally seems to have
666 political functions. In a recent election in southern Okinawa, munchu membership became a factor. A cartoon that appeared in the Okinawa Times of 8 March 1954 shows opposing candidates carrying banners announcing their munchu. In the village of Komesu, south of Itoman, supporters of candidates appealed to members of their candidates' munchu to support their own regardless of political party.

613 The unity of the kin group may appear in time of crisis. In the vil-
722 lage of Yamada, during the battle in 1945, many of the villagers hid out in improved natural caves. According to one informant's account, at first there was some moving around but ultimately people of the same chuchooree clung together. In one instance bad feeling arose between two groups over the sharing of a cave.

It will be seen that for males membership in the common descent group is reckoned strictly patrilineally and this membership is permanent. The status of women is less clear. A woman before marriage worships at the ancestral tablets and tomb of her father's family and lineage. If she dies she is buried in his tomb. After her marriage a woman worships at her husband's tomb, where she will be buried, and if he is an eldest son she knows she will ultimately have the responsibility of preparing the offerings put before his family's tablets; but at the same time she continues to worship at the u-machii before the tablets at the main house of her father's group. She may be called upon to contribute to the fund raised by her father's group for ceremonial expenses. And she may even function as a kaminchu for it. A woman's own tablet, when she dies, will be placed with that of her husband. If a woman is widowed or divorced and marries again, she will very likely be buried in the tomb of the family of her first son, regardless of which husband was his father, and her tablet will be put in his house. A woman without sons may feel uncertain of her future. 614 562

It must also be made explicit that the Okinawan common descent group, unlike most unilateral descent groups, is not exogamous. Even cousins related through the male line may marry and it is said that in some communities they do so frequently. I found one cousin marriage within the kin group in Yamada koseki; Lebra found several marriages within the munchu at Kanegusuku. Informants said it was common in some communities. 614 582

2. The Life Cycle

The Calendar Before a description of the life cycle of the individual can be given, a word must be said about the systems the Okinawans use for reckoning time. Two systems are in use, the "old calendar" (in Japanese 'kyūreki') and the "new calendar" ('shinreki'). The first is the same ancient Chinese calendar that is used throughout East Asia; the second is the Western calendar. 805 177

The "old calendar" is essentially a lunar calendar but combined with the twelve lunar months is a system of twenty-four solar periods and a system of naming days and years by the "Ten Stems and Twelve Branches".[1] The lunar year consists of twelve lunar months, designated as "first month", "second month" and so on, of twenty-nine or thirty days, with the fifteenth or sixteenth of each month falling on the night of the full moon. Since the lunar year is about eleven days shorter than the solar year, an inter-calary month must be inserted every three years to hold the year in place, so that Lunar New Year's usually comes some time in February of the Western Calendar. The principal traditional holidays of the year, except for three, are figured in the lunar calendar. Of particular importance are New Year's (the first day of the first month) and U-bung or Shichigwachi (from the 13th to the 15th of the 7th month; the Japanese 'Bon'). [527]

[1] For tables, etc., see Papinot, 1910, Appendix XII.

805 The Chinese solar year is divided into twenty-four periods of about
177 fifteen days each. All of them bear two-character names, "Spring Begins", "Rain Water", "Excited Insects", etc. This division of the year is based on solar phenomena, so that it remains relatively stable. A solar period therefore does not begin on the same lunar date every year. The three holidays
[527] mentioned above that are calculated by the solar calendar rather than by the lunar are the spring and autumn equinoxes (Fiigang, in Japanese 'Higan') and Shiimii (in Japanese, 'Seimei'; the Chinese Ch'ing Ming, "Clear and Bright"; the period from April 5 to 20). Most farmers, however, do not seem to know even the names of the whole sequence of twenty-four; they merely look at their calendars to see when the important dates fall, much as we look to see when Easter will fall in any given year.

805 The Ten Stems and Twelve Branches (in Japanese 'Jikkan Jūnishi') make up a system of designating both days and years. The ten stems are ten characters named in pairs after the five elements---wood, fire, earth, metal, and water---each occurring twice, once in a senior aspect and once in a junior aspect (or in Chinese "Yang" and "Yin" aspects). The twelve branches are twelve characters named after twelve animals---rat, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, snake, horse, sheep, monkey, cock, dog, boar. The two series run simultaneously, beginning "senior-wood rat", "junior-wood ox", and so on, so that after sixty days, or years, have elapsed, the cycle is complete and it is again "senior-
[787] wood rat". On Okinawa the system is used by diviners (sanjinsoo, in J. 'ekisha') in drawing up horoscopes, but is probably not followed in its entirety by the layman. The twelve branches, however, are of interest to everyone. For many ritual purposes the individual is identified by the year of his birth within this cycle of twelve. A person praying may identify himself as a "rat man" or an "ox woman". The yuta, who are otherwise not concerned with calendrical lore, make it a point to ask the birth year of anyone about whom information is desired. An older person when asked his age may give it not in years but as "Year of the Horse," or the like, explaining which cycle only if questioned further. The term for the cycle is saa, so that a person may explain that he is chu-saa, "one cycle", above or below someone of the same
[7X6] birth year. The twelve animals were even deified; there were twelve images of them scattered through four temples in Shuri. After the new year representatives of Shuri families made offerings before those corresponding to the birth years of all the members of their families.

Age, when it is reckoned in years, is traditionally reckoned not in full years since birth, as in the West, but in total number of years during which one has lived. Thus a child's years are one at birth, two after the following New Year's, three the next New Year's and so on. To know a person's age according to the Western system of reckoning one has to ask "how many full
805 years are you?" Thus what correspond to birthdays in the West are celebrated
527 on New Year's, when everyone simultaneously becomes a year older. The important ones are on the recurrence of the birth year, when one is thirteen, twenty-five, thirty-seven, and so forth, by year-count. These occasions are celebrated on the first occurrence of the corresponding day after the new year. Thus 1954 was the Year of the Horse and so people born during a Year of the Horse celebrated on the first Day of the Horse after New Year's. People are

warned to be careful on days corresponding to their birth-years. A man who was 805
a "bird person" could not go to participate in a bone-washing because it was 527
held on a Day of the Bird. During the recurrence of one's birth-year, he must be cautious during the whole period.

The Western calendar was introduced into Okinawa after the Japanese an- 805
nexation, but it is still referred to as the "new calendar". It is the calen- 177
dar of the schools and government and of business, but not of the farmer. In the city the more important celebration of New Year's is held on the "new" New Year's; in the country it is on "old" New Year's a month later.

Before the Japanese annexation years were named in an absolute sequence (that is, besides being named by position in the cycles of twelve and of sixty) by the reigns of Chinese emperors. After the annexation the reigns of Japanese emperors were used. At the present time the Western chronology ('seireki') is official, but some still speak of the year 1954 as "Shōwa 29", the 29th year of the reign of the present emperor.

<u>Birth and Infancy: Notions about Conception</u> Okinawans recognize that sexual 842
relations are necessary for but do not always result in conception. Younger people have heard of the struggle of the sperm to reach the egg, but their notions may be rather foggy. For example, a woman in her middle thirties, discussing the responsibilities of parents, argued in the following manner: a woman cannot conceive without having an orgasm; she cannot have an orgasm without feeling love ('aijō'); hence conception is the result of love, hence she should willingly take responsibility for her child. The ethical principle involved in this argument may not be typical, but the lack of precise information of physiology probably is. And it suggests two things: first, that women may inhibit their emotions as a contraceptive measure, and second, they may be willing to take chances in having sex relations thinking that they can inhibit conception. But it is worth noting here that young women do not discuss these matters very freely and hence generalizations may be very unsafe.

Condoms are sold in the cities but probably not in the country. A former country woman living in the city believed that country people would use them if they knew of them, but that they do not know. She regarded four children as enough. However, a young unmarried man from the city said that one would use a condom only when visiting a prostitute; it would be insulting to use one with your sweetheart. Some of this attitude may carry over after marriage.

<u>Pregnancy</u> If a woman believes that she may be pregnant she goes to 843
a midwife for a diagnosis. This is usually about three [759]
months after her last menstrual period. The fee is usually ¥50. If she is in fact pregnant she continues to consult the midwife and the midwife attends her at the birth of the child. The total fee is about ¥1,000.

For the good of her unborn child a pregnant woman is urged to be happy [674]
and to avoid situations potentially harmful to it; for example if she were to go to a funeral or a bone-washing the <u>shii</u>, a sort of soul, of the baby might be drawn into the tomb.

848 be drawn into the tomb. Some say the prospective father should also avoid these situations. Another set of observances has an easy delivery as its aim. The woman is urged to work hard and not to overeat so that the unborn child may not become too large. During the fifth month a "belly band" is wrapped tightly about her for the same purpose, especially to keep the head small.

A woman neither hides her pregnancy nor displays it unnecessarily--- if she is married and it is her husband's child. If this is not the case she may attempt to hide the fact. On the other hand if she is bearing what may be her husband's first son , she may be very pleased at the prospect, but she does not go out of her way to show it.

843 No clear statement was given to the effect that the "soul" enters the
774 body of the unborn child at a particular time, but statements are made about dangers to the shii of the child. One informant suggested that this soul-like
[847] entity enters the body of the mother during the third month and that for this reason a moxibustionist had refused to abort a woman after her third month had passed.

847 Abortion Abortions have always been and continue to be performed on Okinawa. The most frequent reason is said to be the desire not to bear an illegitimate child. An old-fashioned home method is to brew camphor-wood leaves and drink the brew or to burn the leaves and breathe the smoke. Experts in cautery are also believed to be able to cause an abortion by burning moxa on the proper areas of the body. But at the present time women are said to be aborted more frequently by midwives. The practice does not appear to be regarded as illegal.

844 Birth A woman tries to work up until the time of childbirth. If she has had several children already she knows when labor starts, how long it is likely to last, and may go out to the fields confident that she can return in time. Delivery is in the kucha, the back room of the house. Women of the family are present and men are not forbidden, though children are sent out. Often a woman's husband grasps her during delivery. Formerly she squatted on the floor holding a rope suspended from a house-beam above her. At present she is usually made to lie down. The labor is spoken of as "pain" but the woman must not cry out; she may only grunt when putting her strength into the ejection of the baby. If she were to cry out because of the pain she would later feel very ashamed---"because it is something that happens to every woman; people would talk about her."

Formerly the newly-born child was neither bathed nor dressed but simply
853 wrapped in an old kimono; now it is bathed in boiled water and dressed. The infant is permitted to nurse from about the fourth day on, after there is milk in the mother's breasts. Before this it may be given a little sugar in water and possibly allowed to suck a little colostrum about the second day after birth.

178
846 Formerly the mother was kept in the kucha for about a week in front
[359] of a fire burning on the jiiru, an open hearth in country homes, a kind of brazier in the city.

brazier in the city. She was kept warm continuously, even in hot weather, so 178
that, it is said, women often broke out in skin eruptions from the heat. At 846
present younger women are not following this practice and many regard it as a
foolish custom. The absence of jiiru in post-war houses may be a factor in [354]
the decline of the custom.

Post-natal Observances During the first year of life the child is 852
the center of several ceremonies. They are in brief:

1) Mbagii suuji, "Red rice ceremony". Held on the day of birth. Relatives, friends, and neighbors come. Rice dyed red and a soup of tar stems (a symbol of many children) are offered to the ancestral tablets and served to the guests. The afterbirth is buried behind the house while the [844] children are made to laugh so that the baby will have a good disposition.

2) Naajiki, "Naming". Held during the first week. Practices vary. [553] In one variety the baby's grandmother releases a crab and a grasshopper and shoots an arrow at a winnowing tray; in another she divines with rice grains [787] to see if the name she has selected is proper. This rite was formerly held to give the baby its native Okinawan name.

3) Mansang, "Full birth". Held on the 7th or 30th day after the birth to celebrate the full term. A feast is served to relative, friends, and neighbors.

4) Naa'njii, "First going out". Held for a boy on the first day of the ten-day cycle, designated as kanii, on the second kanii day for a girl. The baby's grandmother makes it pray to the ancestral tablets and to the oven [769] god, then marks its forehead with soot and takes it out, formerly to pray to [782] the god of the pigsty-privy.

5) Hachi-atchii, "First walking". Held whenever the mother is first able to go to visit her parents and siblings. She takes gifts of food to them and in return they give money to the baby.

6) Tanka, "Birthday". Held on the first anniversary of the birth. [527] A feast is prepared and many relatives and friends come bringing gifts of money. The child's future career is divined by placing a number of objects [787] in front of it---money, a book, an abacus, food, etc. If the child chooses the money he will be rich; if the book, a scholar; if the food, a glutton; and so forth. The odds are usually weighted in favor of a desirable future.

There seems to be some variation in all of these practices. Several [178] may be obsolescent because some of the elements entering into them are no longer in use, the pigsty-privy and the native names, for example.

Infanticide New-born babies may be done away with if they are not 847
wanted, but this is probably not at all common under ordinary circumstances. 783
One example was recorded: An old woman who died recently lay for about a week on her death bed unable to talk. Her children gathered about her, wondering if some sin ('tsumi') were not in need of atonement ('tsugumai').

847 783 Finally one of her brothers told them the reason. When she had been a young woman her husband had been awa for a long period during which she had had relations with other men and had had a baby by one of them. To avoid the disgrace and the anger of her husband, the woman's mother had buried the child alive in the back yard. The story was known to other older members of the family because some time later the bones had been discovered. When the story was told to the children, they told their dying mother that she could now go peacefully. She died soon after. All agreed that if a tablet had been made for the dead infant and incense had been burned, even in secret, the mother would not have suffered when she died. Infanticide thus may be punished by the supernatural, but then the punishment may also be avoided by the proper offerings.

847 Lebra reports that birth statistics from the village of Kitazato suggest that female infanticide has been practiced there recently. Statistics from other communities studied do not give the same skewed sex ration.

853 854 Infant Care Okinawan mothers nurse their babies for a year to a year and a half, though some are said to continue even until the child is three. They keep no schedules but give their babies the breast whenever they seem to want it. They deliberately offer a fretful baby the breast not only to appease its hunger but also to comfort it and it is not unusual to see a grandmother offer her dry breast to a child as a pacifier. I once commented to two Okinawan women that a certain American doctor has argued that Okinawans are happier than Americans because they are breast-fed as infants rather than bottle-fed; the women answered immediately, "But it's not the milk; it's the love ('aijō')."

853 Infants receive no food other than milk for the first nine months. Then they are given a little gruel made by skimming off the top of a mixture of cooked rice and water. This is not given earlier because it is believed that milk and rice do not mix well in the infant's stomach. After the child's first birthday it is given most adult foods, unless it is especially weak. Most children will not eat everything, however, but, it is said, will prefer sweet foods and avoid highly seasoned foods. Mothers do not prechew food for small children as a rule but may do so in some cases, to take the bones out of fish, for example.

863 [54] Toilet training is neither early nor strict. Adults as a rule defecate only in the toilet but are likely to urinate almost anywhere. They do not expect small children to be very careful. A baby wears a diaper until it is a year or a year and a half; then it may wear only a dress or shirt with no pants. At first the mother holds it over the toilet or merely off the edge of the house. In time it is expected to go to the toilet itself to defecate. Children are said to go by themselves when they are three. I have seen children of four still defecating beside the house, too busy playing to go to the toilet. They were scolded for it but received no more severe punishment. [178] This was in the city, however, and I was told that while their mothers did not object much to this behavior, their grandmother objected more strongly and scolded their mothers for permitting it. The change in type of toilet may

possibly have lowered standards of sanitation. Morale may also be a factor; 863
in the instance just mentioned the morale of the grandmother was undoubtedly 178
better than that of her daughter and daughter-in-law whom she criticized.

A very small baby may be carried in the arms, but usually it is car- 854
ried on the back. The mother places it with its belly to her back, its legs spread apart, and its head about at a level with the top of her shoulder. She secures it there with a long sash that runs once under its bottom, makes an X across her chest, passes around its shoulders, and ties in front. A baby is carried most frequently by its mother, but may also be carried a good deal by others, of either sex and any age, grandparents and older siblings being most frequent. The baby may look over the shoulder of its carrier or it may simply sleep, often with its head back and rolling. If it is fretful its carrier may lean forward a bit and jog it to sleep. Larger children may be carried without the sash, by just letting them hang on. Babies are carried about while all sorts of tasks are being performed.

Mothers often carry their babies into the fields when they go out to work, but when they are working in the house they may put their babies to sleep on the floor of the house. If a baby is put to sleep on the floor it is made to sleep on its back. Often the hard floor, which may or may not be covered with a thin mat, will cause the back of the baby's head to become flattened, or if the baby constantly turns its head to one side, the head may become assymetrical, but later fills out to assume its normal shape. Some mothers use a small mosquito net on a frame to protect the sleeping baby from insects, but frequently it is uncovered and flies may alight on it. A few mothers use a hammock-like device called 'burank', as a cradle; these are said to be becoming more popular. At night children, especially smaller children, [513]
sleep with their parents on quilts on the floor, under the one large net.

Children are expected to learn to walk at about 12 to 14 months. 856
Early walking is a sign of good health so that if a child is late to walk, 866
the parents may worry about it. As Glacken points out, there is an important change in the life of the child at this time. Instead of being carried everywhere on his mother's or older sibling's back, the child is now put down and expected to toddle along behind his mother, who is not always sympathetic when he fails to keep up. This change may be a greater trauma to the child than weaning or toilet-training.[1]

Children are said to begin talking at about a year and a half. The 856
first words are usually, nowadays, 'o-kaa', o-tō', 'o-baa', the Japanese equivalents of "daddy", "mommy", and "grandma". Parents do not worry if a child is a little late in talking.

<u>Childhood: Adult Attitudes</u> Okinawans recognize clearly that children are 858
not capable of participating in most adult activities and indeed appear to regard it as undesirable that they do so. Oki- [171]
nawan attitude contrasts sharply with the "modern" American one that takes

[1] Glacken, 1953, p. 264.

858 children to be "little people". From this viewpoint the Okinawans appear to
171 regard children as being not yet quite human. Okinawan children can observe, overtly or covertly, probably a good deal more of adult life than American children can observe and Okinawan adults discuss matters in front of children that American adults would not discuss before children, yet the Okinawan adult appears to expect his children to understand far less of what is done or said than the American does. To illustrate, an Okinawan grandmother may discuss a three-year old's illegitimate origin in its presence, tease it to the point of tears by offering to give it away to the passing American, and then say nothing when it wantonly snatches and breaks something of value. The American is likely to regard the talking as a possible cause of complexes, the teasing as downright cruel, and the tolerance as intolerable lack of discipline.

Small children are free to observe all that goes on in the house and yard during their waking hours. They are not subject to any rules determining when they are to go to bed. There is hardly a formal gathering into which they cannot insinuate themselves for hand-outs. They are taken to the theatre, where they may have to be shooed off the stage by the actors themselves.
864 The only aspect of life that seems to be deliberately withheld from them is
858 sex. They are told that babies come out of their mothers' knees, and although they may overhear a good deal about the sexual relationships of different people and the difficulties that result from them, they are given no notion of the nature of sex. I will discuss this in more detail under attitudes toward sex.

858 Although children seem bold in actions, they are not bold in speech.
856 As a matter of fact they often do not respond when spoken to and seem unwilling to venture to speak at all. I make this statement not merely on the
[184] basis of my own experience as an outsider attempting to talk to them; an Okinawan friend also pointed out how different the children in the north were from those of Central and Southern Okinawa---the Northern children answered his questions when he spoke to them. Some of the children's shyness about speaking may be due to the fact that they usually speak Okinawan in the home and then have to learn Japanese in school. Moreover, they soon learn to feel
[152] that Okinawan is inferior to Japanese as a medium of polite or intellectual expression; they may be shy because they fear to speak Okinawan since it is inferior and because they fear to speak Japanese since they cannot speak it well. But I have the impression that children are also often unresponsive when an adult speaks to them in Okinawan and when the language of the answer
868 is not a factor. I believe that there is another factor that is almost in-
171 herent in the nature of both the Japanese and the Okinawan languages. When
198 speaking to children in Japanese, and also very likely when speaking in Okinawan, adults use a different form of speech than the form they use when addressing adults. Somewhat different forms of speech for children are probably used in every society; they do exist in the United States, but never to such a striking extent as in Japanese. Japanese and Okinawan both have a range of verb forms expressing several degrees of politeness or formality, and to some extent there are also levels of vocabulary corresponding to them. In speaking to a child, the adult uses the simplest verb forms, the simplest words, and then speaks not in whole sentences but rather in a series of phrases each

followed by "nee?", "isn't it so?" In this manner the adult communicates what 858
little that must be communicated to these sub-human beings that are constantly 191
underfoot. To other adults he uses other verb forms, other words, longer and 198
more tightly integrated sentences. He does so, I believe, confident that he is speaking over the heads of the children, though he would deny that this was his motive; his use of different forms in addressing adults would be more likely explained as motivated by respect for the adults. I believe that in this manner Okinawan children are mentally more isolated from adults than are American children, though physically they are in greater contact with them. In time, of course, children learn to understand the conversation of their elders, but they do so without asking questions or overtly showing much interest. Thus very gradually they come into the adult world.

The interpretation just presented is more an hypothesis that seeks to 858
explain some features of Okinawan behavior than a fact that can be indisputably 197
demonstrated. But it suggests a reason, though probably not the only one, for 198
the strong tendency to retain Okinawan as the language of the home, even in families where the adults speak Japanese fairly well, regard it as superior, and use it on formal occasions. Okinawan is suitable for addressing children. Adults unconsciously prefer it because it makes it that much easier for them to differentiate between the speech used in addressing children and that used in addressing adults. Moreover, I believe this interpretation agrees [186]
with what appears to be a marked tendency in Okinawan society for the educated deliberately to talk over the heads of the uneducated. I will discuss this again under the heading education.

Discipline Parents appear to want their children to be agreeable in 860
their relations with others and industrious at school. They praise the gentle (J. 'otonashii') child and the good student. Yet they seem to tolerate noisiness, disregard for property, and to some extent disregard for person, though they may be more tolerant of this sort of behavior in boys than in girls. On one occasion Pitts and Lebra presented an old man with several photographs that they had taken of him and his grandson. As they handed the photographs to the old man, the boy snatched one and in doing so tore it. The old man was visibly hurt at the loss of the photograph, but said nothing to the child at all. On the other hand one of us also once saw a grandmother reach over and pinch a somewhat older girl quite severely because she was lying with her legs apart.

Where behavior thought to be of a more serious nature is concerned, 861
parents do attempt to control their children. They do so by coaxing, bribing, threatening, teasing, scolding, and, for most as a last resort, by corporal punishment. Scolding takes such forms as "dirty!", "shameful!", "You will be laughed at", etc. While being scolded the child need not answer; he may simply look at the ground and remain silent. Since he is not expected to answer he may be less inclined to construct elaborate excuses in the manner of the American child. The threats include such things as "we'll send you away", "we'll sell you to the Itoman people" (to a boy), "we'll sell you to the juri" (to a girl), "we'll give you to the Americans", "we'll call the police", "we'll call a cat (or some kind of bogey) to scare you," "you'll receive divine retribution." Since children are sometimes put out of the house as

[56] punishment, the threat to send a child away is not an idle one. Nor is the threat to sell a child. Children are still sold, though poverty is doubtless the principal reason. The use of the threat to sell in dealing with a recalcitrant child undoubtedly has an effect both on the outlook of the child who because of poverty is actually sold and on the attitudes of others toward him.

Physical punishments include such measures as a slap on the buttocks, a sharp blow on the head with the knuckles---especially with the joint of the middle finger protruding from the clenched fist, a pinch on the fleshy part of the thigh. These last two are particularly used by older women and are rather severe so that after a few experiences the child is likely to be impressed by the threat. Instead of putting the child out of the house, a parent or grandparent may confine the child by tying him to a post of the house or tying him and putting him into a box up on the storage shelf on the rafters. [57] Another treatment is to have moxa burned on the skin. This is a recognized medical practice and its use is interpreted as curative rather than punitive.

The following occurred in a family that occupied a quarter of a city house. The mother was told by one neighbor that another neighbor was telling people that she had observed, through a crack in the wall between their sections of the house, the seven-year old son of the first woman kissing his twelve-year-old sister and displaying his genitals to her. The mother was nearly frantic with worry about the story. She confronted her son and asked him what had happened. He said he didn't know. The mother then said, "Mother saw it, so tell me about it." The boy repeated that he did not know what she was talking about. Then she said, "The kami-sama (gods) saw it, so you can't hide it." He remained silent. Then she said, "Tomorrow we'll go to the police station and then maybe we'll find out what happened." The boy continued to remain silent. Nothing at all came of the matter. The mother later concluded that the gossipy neighbor, with whom she was not on speaking terms anyway, may have made the story up. The mother's statement that she had seen what happened was an outright lie and if the story was false the boy must have known it was a lie, or he could easily have concluded that it was a lie from the very manner in which it was said. The threat to take him to the police of course never materialized; it may have been an old one and therefore also recognized as an empty threat. It is possibly significant that the mother questioned the boy rather than his older sister.

A good example of punishment devised to fit the crime is provided by the following incident reported by Lebra. An old woman lived alone with her grandson, a boy of seven or so. The boy was rather mischievous and on several occasions started fires in the house. The grandmother scolded him for it at first but the last time he did it she used more drastic measures. She caught him, tied him to a house-post, tore two long strips of paper, stuffed an end of each up one of his nostrils, and lit a match to the free ends that dangled down at his waist. As the smoke curled up into his nose and the flames licked nearer, he screamed and promised never to play with matches again. Before he was burned the grandmother removed the burning strips of paper. When she was satisfied that he would reform, she untied him. She

later told the story to Lebra in the child's presence with a good deal of relish, while the boy merely looked sheepish and said nothing. 861

Punishment may be by either parent or by a grandparent. Other relatives may scold. I once observed a four-year-old being scolded long and shrilly by her father's sister. I asked why the mother, who was just inside the house, did not do the scolding and I was told that the child would not mind her mother and so the aunt had had to step in. I was also given the impression that the child's mother would hardly have dared defend her. It seems likely that mothers and grandmothers punish most frequently but that fathers, though they punish less frequently, are more severe; they are certainly more feared. It is said that after a child is punished it is usually comforted by the adult who punished it. There are, of course, individual differences. One man at Nanahan was known to be particularly harsh with his children. Pitts observed him on one occasion chasing one of his children around the village with a strap.

Okinawan adults, especially women, frequently tease children. On two occasions I saw a particularly cocky little boy of three or four teased in a deliberate attempt to make him angry or to make him cry. On the first occasion one of his aunts, his mother's oldest sister, struck the boy's baby sister, pretending to hurt her. He was very fond of the baby and the object of the teasing seemed to be to arouse his sympathy to the point where he would have showed his emotions, at which point, I assume, the crowd of women would have laughed. This time the teasing was unsuccessful. On the second occasion his mother and her sisters told him first that I was going to take him away, then that I was going to take his little sister away, and produced other variations on this theme. After several minutes of this he went grimly over to his mother and began hitting her with his fists. The women all regarded this as great sport. No effort was made to stop him from hitting his mother. This sort of teasing seems to have amusement as its main object, but probably has other functions as well. It may possibly provide women a necessary outlet for feelings of hostility, especially against males. But it may also have the more important functions of producing in the child the desirable emotional responses---sympathy for the little sister, fear of losing her, fear of being separated from home---while at the same time conditioning the child to inhibit the expression of these emotions. 855 [154] [867] [152]

On another occasion I saw the mother of the children just mentioned hold out a lighted match in front of the baby until the baby, after regarding it in wonderment, reached out and was burned. The women watched expectantly and laughed when the baby cried, but in this case the act seemed more like deliberate instruction in the properties of fire than merely teasing. But as in teasing, the discomfort to the child is something not to be avoided but rather to be enjoyed. And as in teasing, the child learns to associate laughter with his own discomfort, or perhaps with his expression of his discomfort. He may thereby learn to avoid being laughed at because it is associated with discomfort, and to avoid the expression of discomfort because it brings laughter. [861] [155]

855 861 Two facts that have been introduced into this discussion should be restated and made more explicit. The first is that Okinawan child-training methods include the use of both verbal appeals and physical punishment. As a result of observations made during and shortly after the battle in 1945, Dr. J. C. Maloney reported[1] that Okinawans were very permissive with their children and did not use corporal punishment. It will be seen from the data just presented that while Okinawans are more permissive in many situations than Americans would be, they do in fact use severe physical punishment on occasion.

152 181 171 861 The second fact has to do with the contrast of "shame" versus "guilt" that has been presented by several writers on the character of the Japanese. Both Gorer and Benedict have asserted that the Japanese conform because they fear the ridicule of others whereas Westerners conform because they fear their own consciences; Japanese culture is a "shame culture" while ours is a "guilt culture".[2] Okinawan culture also seems to be primarily a shame culture. Okinawans clearly fear ridicule greatly, and this fear seems traceable to their early training. But there are also elements in Okinawan child training that would tend to produce something of the Western sort of fear that one may suffer for his wrong-doing regardless of whether he is found out or not. These are to be seen in the phrases "retribution will strike" (Okinawan bachi nu ataaing, Japanese 'bachi ga ataru') and "the gods saw you". Shame and guilt are doubtless not mutually exclusive. Both sanctions exist in Okinawan culture, shame being much the stronger.

857 524 [209] [177] Play Boys play with kites and tops. Girls play hop-scotch. Both, if they can afford it, get one or more of the numerous Japanese children's magazines that are filled with stories, comics, and a variety of make-it-yourself paper toys.

857 Boys catch insects and birds and fasten strings to them in order to jerk them back as they try to fly away, or in order simply to drag them around. They do so quite unconscious of any cruelty in the act. Adults appear to regard living things as proper playthings.

[561] There may be less age-grading among smaller children than among older people or among children in present-day American society. Several boys of different ages were observed playing together on many occasions, mainly, it seemed, because they were related and lived in adjacent houses. The girls who occasionally joined them were also of the same group of related families.

882 178 [881] [877] 877 882 Youth Traditionally, entering one's thirteenth year, for a girl, and fifteenth, for a boy, marks a change in status from that of child to that of youth (niisee, in J. 'seinen', literally "green years"). There was also a later ceremony at which the young man's hair was done in a knot; and the tattooing undergone by a young woman may have been part of a puberty rite. But at present, finishing one's schooling marks the greatest change in the life of a young person. At this time the treatment he receives and the behavior expected of him change markedly. As long as he is in school he is

[1] Maloney, 1945, p. 394.

[2] Gorer, 1943; Benedict, 1946, p. 223.

expected to keep to his studies and not merely to avoid the distractions of 877
adult pleasures but actually not to be interested in them. He is given spe- 882
cial considerations as a student, a place to study, quiet, and freedom from
irksome tasks. This consideration probably varies with the position of the
student in the family and with his success as a student. Boys undoubtedly [562]
get more consideration than girls, older sons than younger sons---though if
an older son has been unable to go on to school and is [illegible] a younger
brother go on, the younger brother may get greater consideration and feel
greater responsibility. This special treatment lasts [illegible] as long as the young
person is in school or as long as the family can afford not to rely on him
for economic assistance. But even the young man in university who is working
part time to keep himself in school is expected not to be interested in the
sorts of pleasures sought by younger boys who stopped their schooling much
earlier.

Today junior high school is compulsory, but the majority of students 871
go no farther. The high schools strictly limit the number of students that
they can enroll, so that many junior high graduates who would like to go on
to high school are unable to. But whether a youth stops his schooling at 884
junior high school, high school, or later, the change in treatment and atti-
tudes is the same. He "enters society". He is now expected to do an adult's
work and contribute to the family's support. At the same time he is expected
to spend his evenings with the other young men, drinking, teasing the girls,
and staying out half the night---behavior a student would have no interest
in, at least in theory.

While a youth is in school he belongs to a students' organization 877
('gakuseikai'). After he leaves school he is expected to join the youth or- 575
ganization ('Seinenkai'). The present Youth Organization is the successor 883
of the pre-war, Japan-wide organization, less the militarism and jingoism. [178]
It is organized on a Ryukyu-wide basis, but local chapters make their own
constitutions, statements of aims, and so forth---probably with no great va-
riation. The aims expressed in the constitutions seen could mainly be put
under the headings intellectual and moral self-improvement and community up-
lift. Meetings are held perhaps twice a month, one being for business and
serious discussion, the other for purely social purposes. The social meet-
ings feature music played on the 'shamisen', dancing, and 'swamori'. Among
other serious business, in some communities the Youth Organization engages
in clean-up or repair projects and hires itself out for farm labor. Where
it receives pay, the funds probably generally go toward the expense of the
social meetings.

The Youth Organization takes young people of both sexes, but there
are usually more men, since women drop out at marriage while men may remain
in after marriage if they choose to, until 30, according to one rule. In
the country, membership after finishing school is represented as compulsory. [184]
In the city, however, the compulsion is lacking and many who are not inter-
ested in joining manage to stay out. But in the country few would suggest
that anyone had the right not to join. When I asked a past president of the
organization in Yamada if everyone joined, he replied to the effect, "Oh yes,
all must join, we have a rule." And he proceeded to point out the regulation

575 in the constitution that said so. That the rules of an organization should
883 be binding on non-members as well as members evidently seemed perfectly logical to him. The aims expressed in this constitution included the fostering of morality, the industrial spirit, health, sanitation, and the use of English, supporting religion and discarding superstition. As an example of "superstition", the past president gave the belief that rats will inevitably destroy the rice plants in a field in the village unless offerings are made there. But though this man is a school teacher I doubt if he would have labelled as "superstition" any of the beliefs that actually stand in the way of some of the other aims of the organization.

Besides the Youth Organization there are other smaller local groups organized primarily for intellectual pruposes, study clubs, etc., among both students and young people out of school. Then there are also informal groups, gangs of a sort, among students as well as non-students. A young man told Lebra of the activities of a gang that he had been the ringleader of while in high school in a large town. The gang consisted of four to ten boys the same age who studied together and travelled around together. They occasionally went out into the country to talk to village girls, to be chased out by the country boys. They played jokes on other young people and even on their teachers. But the young man looks back with pride on the fact that they helped reform a fellow student who drank and gambled but has now become sober and industrious.

883 In the country the pleasure-seeking activities of the young people were formerly institutionalized in a practice known as moo-ashibii ("playing in the fields"). On pleasant evenings young unmarried men and women would semi-surreptitiously leave their parents' homes with food and drink and a 'shamisen' or two for music, and meet at some spot outside the village where they ate and drank, sang and danced. Although there was an element of secrecy to the practice, some parents evidently encouraged the young people to
[362] go and enjoy themselves. Probably young men were given more encouragement
[363] than young women. There were class differences, too; gentry families in the village of Yamada took pains to keep their daughters home, probably mainly to prevent them from forming alliances with young men. The objections that some parents had were perhaps more to the young people's appropriating food and drink for the purpose than to anything else. Young men sometimes continued to go to the moo-ashibii after marriage.

A similar institution was the yagamayaa ("rowdy house", cognate with Japanese 'yakamashii', "noisy"). It is possible that in some communities yagamayaa were once built solely for that purpose. But in two communities where information was obtained on the practice, Yamada and Henza, a yagamayaa was simply a house where the young people were able to take over a room or two for their pleasure. In Yamada it was said to be usually a house with no adult males at home; the house of a woman whose husband was working overseas functioned as a yagamayaa for a time. The young people may simply force their way in, but in this case the woman welcomed the food they brought and shared with her, so she simply moved with her children into the back room and turned the front rooms over to them. On Henza several houses where girls occupy rooms of their own are yagamayaa.

The activities at the moo-ashibii and the yagamayaa undoubtedly led 883
in many cases to secret sexual relations. Probably most young men in the 836
country first experienced sex as a result of intrigues developing through
these activities. Young women differed more in their experience. Daughters
of the gentry may have had little or none. Some girls who did go to the moo-
ashibii, it is said, went merely to hear the singing. Those who behaved
promiscuously were talked about and the reputation they gained lasted. Yet
it seems unlikely that chastity was valued very highly or that virginity was
expected at marriage. One young woman had heard in Japan how husbands some- [171]
times divorced their wives upon finding after marriage that they were not
virgins. She had never heard of this having been done on Okinawa and neither
she nor her mother could even give an Okinawan equivalent of the Japanese
word 'shojo', "virgin".

Formerly among the gentry class in Naha and Shuri it was customary 833
for a father to take his son, or have a relative or friend take him, to a 565
jurimyaa to let him have his first sexual experience. According to Yanagida, 178
until the last decades of the last century this was part of a young man's 548
coming-of-age celebration held at the beginning of his 13th (15th?) year;
the juri who functioned in this capacity were called niisee-chuurasaa, "those
who make youths into men".[1]

At the present time the rural moo-ashibii and yagamayaa are probably 178
less important institutions than they formerly were, but they undoubtedly do 833
still exist. At present there are more occasions when young people of the
opposite sex can meet and feel that it is proper to do so. In the pre-war
counterparts of the Youth Organization and in the schools the sexes were
separate. Now they mingle more freely. The need to meet in groups in a half-
clandestine manner is not so great. Now as before real intrigues are con- [584]
ducted in secret, but something approaching an open courtship is now possible.

Marriage: Preliminaries Until recently marriages were nearly always ar- 584
ranged by the family for the good of the family. 178
The object in arranging a match was to acquire a daughter-in-law to produce [581]
heirs for and to keep house for the son. The couple themselves were con-
sulted and one of them could refuse the match if it were really disagreeable,
but more often they agreed to it. At present young people often choose for
themselves, but even so they may abandon a desired marriage if it is strongly
opposed by one or more of the parents.

In the past moo-ashibii may have led to marriage in some cases but
more often it did not, even when liaisons resulted in children. At present
young unmarried men and women associate more freely in public, and mutual at-
traction may lead to a relationship more like the Western courtship leading
to marriage. This had been especially true since the war.

Formal Ceremonies As in many societies there are more formal and 584
less formal ways of marrying. The preliminaries to the older family-arranged
marriage usually begin with a proposal by the young man's family. If the

[1] Yanagida, 1951, p. 309.

If the
584 girl's family is favorably disposed, one or both parties visit a diviner
791 (sanjinsoo, Japanese 'ekisha') to determine the compatibility of the couple (eesoo shirabi). The diviner ostensibly does this by casting horoscopes and drawing lots, but it is likely that he also gives weight to factors known to him or revealed by the persons requesting advice so that if one of the participants has strong objections to the marriage he may find reasons why it should not be. This interpretation is merely an hypothesis, but it seems probably that the decision of the diviner may thus be a useful face-saving device. Possibly for this reason the go-between seems to be of secondary importance.

After the decision has been made to unite the two families in marriage
[583] there may be a formal betrothal ceremony (ubukui). For this the prospective groom's family sends certain gifts including a sum of money to the bride's home. This money, called injoojing, corresponds to the "bride price" of some societies. Its payment is probably the most essential element in the whole procedure, since a small sum is still paid even when other formalities are dispensed with. This payment seals the agreement.

585 The wedding ceremony (niibichi, "drawing the roots") takes place at the groom's house in the evening of a day determined by the diviner. First a party goes from the groom's house to the bride's house with gifts. This party then carries the bride to the groom's house, where they are met by a
[177] welcoming party. In recent times the ceremony at the groom's house has been the Japanese 'sansankudo', exchange of drinks; the original Okinawan ceremony was somewhat different. When this has been completed the bride and groom celebrate separately each with friends and relatives of the same sex. On the following day, or whenever the celebration is over, the couple pays a formal visit to the bride's parents.

[184] This elaborate procedure is not usual at the present time among country
[583] people. In fact, the ceremony may not occur at all; the woman may merely come to live with the man with little or no formal recognition of the change in status beyond perhaps the payment of a small bride price. The marriage has a legal existence when it is recorded in the 'koseki'. It may not be recorded immediately; often it is recorded only a little before or together with the recording of the birth of the first child. This practice obviates changing the record if the marriage is not successful.

585 But formerly among the gentry of Naha and Shuri the wedding was even
178 more elaborate than the procedure just described. Moreover, after the cere-
585 mony the groom, instead of entertaining his male relatives and friends at
[548] home, took them to a jurimuyna where for three days and nights they were entertained by the juri with food, drink, music, and sex. I am acquainted with three interpretations explaining why the groom spends his wedding night with a prostitute. The first, that given by an American missionary[1] explains the practice as symbolizing the freedom of the male and demonstrating to the bride that her husband was free to find sexual gratification elsewhere. The second interpretation was one given to me by a man in his thirties, a descendant of the Shuri gentry, and a man with rather "modern" ideas. He said that

[1] The missionary Schwarz, whose work is not presently available to me.

a young man would have had no previous sexual experience and that it was felt 585
that it was necessary for him to be instructed by an experienced woman before 178
he had relations with his bride. The third explanation was given by a country 565
woman in her fifties, of gentry descent. She told how her husband had gone to the wedding of a city relative and had been taken afterwards to the juri-muyaa. She did not know if her husband had been treated to a juri or not but was sure that the groom must have had one. Her explanation of the practice was that it was mainly a display of the position of the family and its ability to provide entertainment. Probably there is a bit of truth in all three explanations. The practice does undoubtedly reenforce the male's right to sexual freedom. The second explanation seems a little weak, especially in view of the reported former practice of the city gentry of combining a sexual initiation with the boy's coming-of-age ceremony, but the explanation may be that given for the earlier trip to the brothel and it may also be the "explanation" of the practice conventionally given, conventional explanations not necessarily revealing real motives. The last explanation, that the practice is mainly a display, probably strikes at the most important motive, the use of entertainment to demonstrate status.

Secondary Marriage Formerly wealthier men sometimes took juri as 837
mistresses. In the village of Yamada before the war, the richest man, or 556
perhaps the only man designated as "rich man" had his own juri. She was a kooi-juri, a "bought juri", that is, he had bought her from the house she had been indentured to. She stayed in Naha, but occasionally came to Yamada. The informant who told of this, a woman in her thirties, expressed the opinion that any man who became rich would naturally soon want his own juri.

At the present time it seems to be a fairly widespread practice for a 595
man who has enough means to have a second wife (yuubee, in Japanese 'nigō', "number two"). Sometimes this is done openly, sometimes secretly. It may be a more common practice today than formerly because of the present skewed sex ratio. Some information was obtained about two such men, one a fisherman and the other a doctor, so-called.

The fisherman was an Itoman man; his first wife had no children so he took as a second wife a woman whose family lived in a town to the north. The second wife has borne three children. The "main wife" (in Japanese 'honsai') stays at Itoman in the house of the man's father, and there she is raising the husband's first son, the child of the second wife. But most of the time the husband is at one of the northern villages with his second wife, her other children, and two boys of junior high school age whom he bought on one of the outer islands to help him in his fishing. Unfortunately I did not learn how the family was registered in the 'koseki'.

The "doctor" was a man from a village south of Naha, who had an office
at his home and also a practice in Naha. His methods consisted of heat treat- [757]
ments and steam baths. He spent about half the time with his "number two", whom he had set up in a room in Naha. His first wife was presumably unaware of the existence of the second wife, even though he once took the second wife to his home along with a patient, ostensibly as a friend of the patient.

832 Sexual Relations and Prostitution A married couple engage in sexual relations only when they are sure that they will be neither observed nor heard. If they have children they can have relations only after the children have fallen asleep and can be safely pushed to one side. The children are told nothing of the nature of sex and it is assumed that they are unaware of their [831] parents' relations. A married woman is expected to have relations with her husband only and at his pleasure. There are evidently no tabued positions or times, except for the period of menstruation. Relations may continue through [837] pregnancy and be resumed shortly after childbirth. The husband, however, may have relations with other women.

831 In spite of the secrecy regarding sex and the restrictions imposed upon women, at least women with husbands, there is no feeling of guilt connected with sex as is often the case in American society. Sex is regarded as a natural function. The feeling is probably more that it should be restricted for the good of society. Children should not know about it because, being foolish, they might try to imitate their elders; this seems to be a real fear. A man ought not to tolerate his wife's having relations with another. But he is free to enjoy the pleasures of sex as his means allows. If he can afford it he may go to the jurinuyaa or keep a mistress. His wife may become jealous, but she would be ashamed to become angry or scold him solely because of jealousy. The only valid argument that a wife may use against her husband's having relations with other women is that it costs money.

834 In public there is no demonstration of affection between husband and wife or between lovers. Behavior in public suggestive of sexual relations, such as kissing or embracing, is appropriate only at a brothel. I have seen very young couples walking hand in hand, but this is said to be a very recent development.

831 522 But there is considerable talk about sex, particularly joking, sometimes using metaphors, and sometimes in plainer language. This joking takes place most frequently at parties, but they may be in the home and in the presence of children, who are not expected to understand. These jokes do not involve married women. The relationships implied by the joking are between men and juri. An instance occurred at a gathering that consisted of relatives and one or two friends of the second son. After an hour or so of drinking the second son seized the 'shamisen' and sang a bit and then shouted, "I am --- Second Son. I am the best shamisen player. I am the best singer. I am the one who goes to the jurinuyaa the most." Everyone laughed, including the man's wife, who sat opposite with their children. Later I asked a member of the family if this boast had not made the wife feel uncomfortable. I was told that it probably did not, since there was no basis to the claim (though it turned out later that Second Son had been carrying on a secret affair with a married woman). But the informant admitted that a joke about the wife's having extramarital relations would not be funny, because it would be unlikely; the humor must lie in the possibility that the joke is the truth.

Another example occurred at the home of an older man whom my assistant and I tried to interview one evening. We were the only guests, but he

called for 'awamori'. After a few drinks he asked in a fairly serious manner, 831
"Have you bought a woman yet during your stay? You really ought to try an 522
Okinawan woman before you go." His daughter-in-law and two half-grown sons looked on in amusement. The question is not uncommon; on another occasion it was, "Have you tasted Okinawan women?"

In common talk, and perhaps in feeling, sex seems to be identified al- 548
most wholly with prostitution and the sex act with the hiring of a juri. The 831
sight of a seed boar being led across a field evoked the comment, "That pig's a man; he's on his way to buy a woman." Perhaps the above statement should be narrowed down to something like: the pleasurable aspects of sex are identified with prostitution. And sexual pleasure, like the pleasures of eating and drinking, singing and dancing, is something that guests may be treated to. (Hence the concern that the visitor sample all the pleasures that Okinawa offers and a pride in those for which it is famous.) In view of the fact that children grow up hearing about juri and jurinuyaa and associating them with other pleasures before they have any notion of their sexual functions, it is not surprising that when they become adults they display attitudes that are different from those found among Americans.

Before the war in the Tsuji district of Naha there were about three thousand juri.[1] The district was the center of the social life of the men [565]
of the upper classes. Business men, government officials, and teachers were entertained there. No doubt all did not "buy" juri, but sex was one of the principal commodities dispensed there. Also it is unlikely that the average farmer ever went there, but the indications are that he would have if he could have. A man is expected to want these things if he can afford them. The [184]
values of the farmer are not likely to be very different from those of the better-off city man. The jurinuyaa has played an important role in Okinawa society in the past and is not likely to disappear very soon.

Maturity and Old Age: Associations Men may continue to belong to the 575
'Seinenkai' until thirty; women drop 562
out at marriage. The reason that men stay longer may be to give greater continuity to the organization and to provide older members as leaders, but in view of the recreational activities of the organization it seems as likely that the rule is merely a part of the general tendency to give more freedom to men and more responsibility to women.

Adult Associations ('Seijinkai') are said to exist in some villages 575
but are not of any great importance. Associations formed by persons of the same age ('dōnenkai') also exist. In Japan such organizations are often com- [171]
posed of persons who were in the same class in school[2]; on Okinawa the number of older persons who attended school probably does not permit the formation of very large associations. The tendency among younger persons is not very noticeabe. Younger men may organize 'shōbōkai', volunteer fire brigades; such [368]
an organization patrolled the streets of Ishikawa nightly. We did not see any evidence of the persistence of any organizations based on former military [177]
service; the Japanese Army Reservists' Association may never have been very active on Okinawa.

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1 Yanagida, 1951, p. 309.

2 Embree, 1939, p. 163ff.

885
562 Adult Responsibility For women responsibilities come early. Mothers
[853] give their daughters tasks while their sons play. At marriage a woman enters her husband's household and immediately assumes adult burdens that she may
[887] not put down until old age. As a grandmother she may still care for grandchildren while her husband has left most of his responsibilities to his sons. She may acquire ritual responsibilities toward her husband's family which can only increase with time.

For a man responsibilities come gradually. Childhood is a time for
[857] play---except for the future scholar, or in cases of extreme poverty. Youth is a time when responsibilities may be postponed---except where an oldest son has been orphaned. Even after marriage a young man, though he may have to work hard, is not expected to remain sober and stay home nights. The peak of a man's responsibility comes with full maturity, when he has sons himself and when his father is beginning to age. This peak may rise to greater heights than that of his wife and his labor may be harder and make greater demands on
[887] his strength and health. But again in old age he may put his burden down and he is expected to seek those pleasures that he can still enjoy.

562 Women's lives may be duller but they are generally longer. And in old
888 age a woman has the compensation of greater freedom than she has ever had before. Old women often speak with a frankness that is embarrassing to young people of either sex. Old women are also the repositories of knowledge of the ancestors and of the supernatural and thus become greatly respected and
[744] influential. Both the religious functionaries (kaminchu) of the kinship group
[756] and the seeresses or mediums (yute) consulted on numerous occasions are usually women. An old man, unless he is a scholar or a diviner (sanjinsoo) has less chance of attaining fame.

But old men, as well as old women, may become tyrants. One Yamada family consisted of an old couple and their three grandchildren, the oldest a boy of twenty. This boy was registered as the head of the family, while the old man, according to the register, had retired; but when the boy had the opportunity to make a little money, which he needed for clothes, the old man took it for tobacco. On the other hand he permitted the youths of the neighborhood to hold parties in his house---hoping, one suspects, to help consume the refreshments---something a middle-aged parent might not have tolerated.

888 Formal Recognition of Old Age A man may officially retire , that is,
he may transfer house headship in the register to a son or grandson, but as I have just indicated this may not prevent him from actually holding the family
888 purse strings. For the community formal recognition of old age comes with the
527 celebration of "year days" (tushibii). These are held on the anniversaries of the "birth year" of an old person. A person's birth year is the year, in the cycle of twelve, in which he was born. Since the reckoning of age is a matter of counting the years during which one has lived, the year of birth counts as one and so when the cycle of twelve has passed once and the year is again the birth year, a person's years are thirteen. Each time a person's birth year recurs it marks a significant point in his life. These recurrences are celebrated not on the anniversary of the day of birth but on the first day of the cycle that corresponds to the year, after Lunar New Year's. Thus 1954 was

the Year of the Horse, and so all persons born during any year of the Horse--- 868
1942, 1930, etc.---celebrated their "year day" on the first Day of the Horse 529
of the new year. Although theoretically all year days are important, in practice only those of old age are given much attention. These are the celebrations of the 61st, 73rd, 85th, and 97th years. The 88th and 90th may also be celebrated. The celebration of the year day of an old person is a matter of pride for the whole family; formal invitations are sent, and the guests are served food and drink requiring considerable expense on the part of the family.

Death After his death a person does not cease to be of any importance to 769
the family. On the contrary he takes on a new importance as a focal point for ceremonies and perhaps for feelings of anxiety.

Death is attributed to both natural and supernatural causes[1] with 761
natural causes probably barely in the majority. But there is also the vague notion that one's life span is predetermined.

Almost immediately after the death of a person, members of his family 756
usually consult a yuta to learn if there was any last request or information 763
that the deceased had wished to impart to his family. This might consist of an explanation of his death, a confession of some early misdeed, or last instructions to his heirs. While I was working at Yamada an informant, an energetic, thoroughly likeable old lady, died suddenly. I learned later that her family immediately went to Yakena, some twelve miles away, a place famous for its many yuta. There they consulted a yuta and asked if there had been any message the old woman wanted to communicate. They were told that the old woman had been destined to die a year before but because she was such a good woman she had lived an extra year, during which she had accomplished everything she had intended to do---there was nothing to reveal. The family was relieved and comforted.

The Funeral Women may cry out immediately upon learning that a mem- 764
ber of the family has died. The body is laid in the second room of the house and flexed so that it may be more easily put into the coffin. If the death occurs in the morning the funeral may be held the afternoon of that day; if later in the day, the next afternoon. Offerings are placed before the body and when the funeral is not until the next day, relatives keep a wake over it.

The funeral itself consists of a ceremony at the home of the deceased, a procession to the tomb, and the placing of the coffin in the tomb. These steps may be more or less elaborate depending upon the means of the family. However, the local unit, the 'han' or the chinju, takes responsibility for some activities, making for uniformity. Member of the 'han' or chinju make two paper tablets with the name of the deceased written on them and make a large square wooden box for a coffin. On the afternoon of the funeral, the body is put into the coffin and a tray containing one of the paper tablets, offerings of fruit, and an incense burner is placed before it. If the de- [793]
ceased has requested it, a Buddhist priest may be called from one of the larger towns, but many country people do not call a priest, and indeed may never

1 See Chapter IX.

764 have the occasion to talk with one. If a priest is called, he kneels before
763 the coffin, rings a bell, and recites from the sutras. His recitation is in
[177] a Japanized Sanskrit, which is probably wholly incomprehensible to all. After the recitation he burns incense before the coffin and the assembled relatives and friends do likewise. The coffin is then carried out of the house and put into the gang, a red palanquin that is village property in many villages. At this point all present pray. The procession to the tomb now begins. It is led by the bearer of a flag announcing the death, followed by the priest (if there is one), then the paper tablet carried by the heir of the deceased, who holds an umbrella over it. Then the family comes, then male relatives and neighbors, and then the gang containing the coffin, borne by four neighbors of the deceased. And finally come the female relatives and neighbors of the deceased. When the procession arrives at the enclosure before the tomb, the neighbors who have been bearing the gang set it down and relatives take the coffin out and carry it in before the tomb. Only relatives and the priest enter. While the women again weep aloud the coffin is put into the tomb and offerings are left before it. In returning, the women take a different route.

767 Formerly funeral processions were led by member of a special profes-
565 sion called nimbuchaa (from nimbuchi, J. 'nembutsu', a kind of Buddhist
[171] prayer for the dead). These persons formed a separate social class looked down upon by others, and lived in a few separate villages, rather like the Eta of Japanese society.

765 Bone-Washing and the Tomb After the body has been in the coffin a suitable length of time, usually about two years, the coffin is removed from the tomb, the body is removed from the coffin, which is destroyed, the remaining decayed flesh is then washed from the bones, and they are returned to the tomb.

764 In Northern Okinawa the tombs are relatively small and are usually the property of smaller kinship units, but in Southern Okinawa the tombs are larger and are usually the property of the larger kin groups, the munchu. In some instances several munchu share the same tomb. Even the smaller tombs are built with considerable expense; the larger ones cost the equivalent of several hundred dollars. Both the larger and the smaller tombs contain a floor at ground level upon which a coffin may be set and behind this a shelf or
[363] shelves upon which washed bones are placed. Families descended from the former gentry class place the washed bones into large urns. Commoners simply place the bones on the shelf and when the shelf is filled, push the older bones into a pit behind the shelf. If one death follows another so closely that there is a coffin with unwashed bones still in the tomb, the family, rather than reopen the tomb too soon, may choose to make a temporary tomb by walling a natural opening in the rocks. Or, as may happen in the case of the tombs belonging to the larger kin groups, if there is a body in the tomb with flesh sufficiently decayed for bone-washing, the family who suffered that loss may wash the bones at the same time that the family who has suffered the second loss is holding its funeral.

765 The bone-washing is an emotionally charged performance. Women usually wash the bones and do so with a great and apparently genuine display of grief.

Two members of the SIRI team both saw bone-washings, and were both impressed 765
by this display. The ceremony I saw consisted not only of the washing of one set of bones but the transfer of another skeleton from another tomb. While the tomb was being prepared the daughter of the man whose bones were being transferred was made to hold the skull. The sight of the teen-age girl holding her father's skull before her, hardly able to move, her lips and eyes shut tight, tears streaming down her face, is one not easily forgotten.

The Okinawans are curious about the funeral customs of others, sensi- 764
tive about their own, and possibly dissatisfied with them. Their sensitivity 765
is shown by the fact that after I had observed the bone-washing just men- 123
tioned, someone circulated a rumor, untrue, that I had photographed the cere- 829
mony in order to show Americans what went on. This rumor might have seriously damaged my rapport with this family and with others in the community if I had not been defended by the person who had supervised the bone-washing, the old lady mentioned at the beginning of this section. All three SIRI team members were questioned about American practices and heard statements to the effect that perhaps cremation should be adopted. Cremation does, of course, do away with the necessity for both the bone-washings and the large tombs. A crematorium is operating in Naha, but it is doubtful if the practice will spread very rapidly in the country. New tombs, bigger and better than ever, are still being built, old ones are being repaired, and the familiar method of burial and reburial goes on. The prestige attached to the larger and impres- [554]
sive tomb is undoubtedly a factor in the survival of the system. But there may also be psychic needs as yet unexplored that the system and in particular the emotional orgy of the bone-washing satisfies.

Offerings to the Dead After the funeral the family of the deceased 765
makes offerings both before the tomb and before the temporary paper tablet in 769
the home. During the first seven weeks after a death this tablet is kept on a low table with incense burning before it; relatives and neighbors make formal visits in order to burn incense, pray, and leave gifts of money. On every seventh day till the forty-ninth the family makes extra offerings, burns uchikabi (imitation paper money said to be used for paying taxes in the next world), and makes offerings before the tomb. Then the name is written on the permanent tablet. Thereafter, the family makes offerings at the tomb and at the tablets and burns uchikabi on the first, second, seventh, thirteenth, twenty-fifth, and thirty-third anniversaries of the death. At the end of this time the deceased is believed to require no more individual consideration---if all the offerings up to that time have been properly made.

However, throughout each year on a number of occasions offerings are 769
made for all the dead members of the family. These occasions are the major 527
holidays, nearly all of which are primarily directed toward the worship of the dead. The principal of these are: 1) Lunar New Year's; 2) Shiimii, in the spring, an occasion for visiting both the tomb of the immediate family and tombs of more remote ancestors; 3) the U-machii, the 15th days of the 5th and 6th lunar months, occasions when representatives of the larger kin groups worship before the ancestral tablets at the main house; 4) U-bung, during the 7th lunar month, when all the dead are believed to return to the house. Beside these there are a number of minor holidays on which offerings are made.

769 On the spring and autumn equinoxes imitation money is burned, on other occa-
527 sions special food is offered, and so forth.

775 In spite of the great concern that Okinawans appear to take for the
969 welfare of the dead, they can tell one surprisingly little about what happens to them. According to one account, the dead person crosses seven bridges on his way to the other world; if he has led a wicked life he may have difficulty crossing them. In the next world he needs food and drink and money to pay taxes. Eventually, unless something holds him to this world, he becomes a "Buddha" (J. 'hotoke') or a "god" (J. 'kami-sama')---the terms seem synonymous---and ascends to Heaven. The most clearly defined and frequently heard notion seems to be simply that there is a vast and awful chasm between "this world" and "that world" and that a person who has once crossed the chasm ought to stay on the other side. A dead person may return, however, and appear to the living as a ghost if something disturbs him---a wrong unrighted, for example. Ghosts may attack former enemies or even harm anyone who happens to be around. But also a deceased person may cause disease or other misfortune to come to his own living relatives and descendants if he has not had sufficient help from them through their offerings. Thus many Okinawans, particularly the older people, are greatly concerned about the possibility of an ugwan-busuku, an "insufficiency (fusuku) of worship (ugwang)." They explain sickness, accidents, and lack of success in undertakings as the result of some ugwan-busuku. And so they consult with yuta and other dealers in the supernatural to determine where the insufficiency lies.

They also interpret success or good fortune, especially that which helps the family or larger kin group, as due to the help of the deceased ancestors. A woman gave the following incident as an example. During the bombing that preceded the landing in 1945 she had left the cave where her family was hiding to go to a neighbor's cave just when a great-uncle appeared there looking for a midwife to deliver a daughter's baby. The two related families had not known of each others' whereabouts and the informant's family was overjoyed to be able to move to the better cave of the great-uncle. This, the informant said, was not the result of the protection of the gods but of the ancestors.

The concern of the Okinawans for the dead is great, but it is hard to avoid the conclusion that it is motivated primarily by concern for the living.

3. Prospect of Change

152 Family life provides the individual with the security that he desires
593 but at the same time it gives him a basis for feelings of anxiety. The feelings of security he derives from the love he receives as a child, the honor he receives as a parent, and the knowledge that he will not be neglected in the next world. The solidarity of the family and the continuity of the family are essential to this security and so they are constantly stressed. But he also derives feelings of anxiety from family life. As a child he is carried around in an intimate fashion and then put down and made to run to keep

up; he is made to find most of his needs satisfied by his mother and then he 152
is told that he may be given away if he is not obedient; later he is made to 593
believe that the spirits of his ancestors are protecting him, but when he
becomes ill he is told that it is because he has not given them enough offer-
ings. The threat in each of these instances is abandonment, being cut off
from his family, because of insufficiency---disobedience or unfiliality.
The fear that this threat creates does much to maintain the family system.
It probably also accounts for the fear Okinawans seem to have of being alone,
and their frequent use, remarked upon by several observers, of the word
'sabishii', "lonely". It may also account for their frequently expressed [829]
view of Okinawa itself as a lonely, remote, and neglected island.

Family life also provides the individual with a pattern for human re- 593
lationships. In the family he learns what behavior is appropriate to the 867
status of older sibling and younger sibling, parent and child, male and fe-
male; he learns about authority, responsibility, and mutual obligation. This
pattern of relationships learned in the family he reads into the larger so-
ciety, and, entering the larger society he assumes the roles learned in the
family. He defers to seniors; he expects juniors and females to defer to him.
If he is a farmer he may expect instruction and support from the government,
as a child expects it from his parents. If he is an official or a teacher he
may at times deliberately speak down to the less educated and at other times
deliberately speak over their heads, as a parent does with his children.

It seems that several phenomena of recent years should have weakened 593
the old family system. The war destroyed much of the physical reminders of 178
the past and nearly every family lost one or more of its members. The subse- 177
quent shift in population further uprooted many. The repatriation brought
back people who had long been away, and with them, new ideas. The American
occupation has given rural Okinawans a mobility they could not have imagined
before. It has provided jobs for many of the younger people, which could
mean a degree of economic independence that they could never have had other-
wise. The schools have given young people of the opposite sexes more oppor-
tunity to meet on a respectable basis than they had ever had before. Yet we
find families carrying on in spite of the shift in residence and the loss of
important members, repatriates being reintegrated into the larger kin groups,
and young people who might be independent turning their earnings over to
their elders and asking their elders' permission to marry. Obviously family
ties are still strong.

But the structure of the family may still be changing. The relation-
ship between the behavior of individuals in the family and in the larger so-
ciety is a reciprocal one. It is quite likely that the individual takes the
roles that he has learned as a child in the family and plays them as an adult
in the larger society, as he interprets its structure. But it is also likely
that if the larger society is in a process of change, the individual may re-
interpret his roles or even learn new ones to conform to the new structure.
He may then go back to his family as a parent and reinterpret its structure
on the basis of what he has learned. His behavior as a parent then becomes
different from his father's before him. One of the professed aims of the
Civil Administration on Okinawa is the democratization of Okinawan society. [185]

593 If democratization means the development of political and social equality and
178 of individualism, and if the program is successful, then there will undoubted-
177 ly be changes in Okinawan family life. Other factors will also be operating.
The acceptance of modern medicine will lessen the importance of offerings to
the ancestors and perhaps weaken the feeling that suffering may result from
insufficient filial piety.

3: Pitts et al. E,K-5 (1953-1954) 1955 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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CHAPTER VI: POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND CONTROL

W. P. Lebra

1. Territorial Organization

631 The territory of the Ryukyuan government is subdivided into a number of municipalities whose administrations are directly responsible to the central government in Naha. There are three types of municipalities---city ('shi'), town ('chō'), and township ('son')---depending on their population and character. The 'shi' (city) and 'chō' (town) are urban municipalities whereas the 'son' (township) is always rural. Each of these are in turn subdivided into 'ku' which are equivalent to wards in the urban municipalities and to villages or hamlets in the rural. This study shall concern itself exclusively with the governments of the 'son' and 'ku'. As of May 195[illegible] there were four cities, four towns, and forty-eight townships on Okinawa [illegible] its peripheral islands, and these contained over five hundred villages and settlements.

632 171 The governmental designations in use on Okinawa are the same as those employed in Japan though there are several minor distinctions. A 'son' or township in Japan and Okinawa is a collective grouping of a number of separate communities or villages into a single administrative unit. In Japan the 'son' is a fairly recent creation, dating back to the late nineteenth century; in most cases it is a rather arbitrary grouping of villages in the interests of administrative expediency. It is exclusively a governmental unit, rarely a social or historical entity. This, however, is not the case on Okinawa.
175 632 Prior to Japanese annexation the present 'son' on Okinawa were called majiri; in the Okinawan feudal age (aji nu yuu---Age of the Aji or Manor Lords) these were the hereditary fiefs of the local lords. Later, after the end of feudalism in the fifteenth century they became the administrative districts of the Shuri government. Each district was headed by an official (jiturei) appointed by the king, and the majiri or district was most important as the land-disbursing unit in a system of communal land ownership. It also served as the basic tax unit, since taxes were levied against the majiri by the Shuri government rather than against the individual family or village. Each majiri, like the present-day 'son', consisted of a number of small villages called mura, the equivalent of the present-day 'aza' or 'ku'. After Japan formally annexed the Ryukyus in 1879, the old administrative system was not immediately abolished and continued to exist for some time. The system of communal land tenure and taxation lasted until 1903, and the majiri were not converted into their present-day counterpart, the 'son', until 1907. In most cases the old majiri name was given to the new 'son', which generally corresponded to the territory of the former although a few of the larger ones have since been subdivided. For example, Motobu was divided into Motobu and Kami Motobu. In most cases, however, there has been a continuity in political districts since the feudal period.

621 Each 'son' is made up of a number of villages which are called 'aza' or 'ku' by official designation. For all practical purposes the two terms

mean the same thing, village, although the term 'aza' tends to be geographical in connotation whereas 'ku' refers more to the political community. Official land maps use the designation 'aza' and the same term is used for one's postal address. Conversely, the 'koseki' (household registry) kept in the township office is labelled as the 'koseki' of a certain 'ku', and the political head or mayor of a village is referred to as the 'kuchō' ('ku' leader or head). The villagers never use the term 'ku' in referring to their village; instead the terms 'aza', mura, or 'buraku' are used. The township of Kanegusuku-son located in southern Okinawa approximately three miles south of Naha on the west coast is subdivided into eight villages or 'aza', each of these comprising a separate settlement surrounded by its fields. 621

Every 'aza' consists of a number of haru (cognate to the Japanese hara) which best translates as "field". Kanegusuku, one of the eight villages of Kanegusuku-son and the one from which it takes its name, consists of eight haru, though the number in a given village is completely arbitrary. These haru or fields are local designations for the various areas of a village and are well known to all the villagers. The haru names are fairly similar from village to village throughout Okinawa though occasionally local geographical features or place names, particularly those of streams, are used. Names like 621 103 wii baru (upper field), agari baru (east field), iri baru (west field), kushi baru (back field), mee baru (front field), shicha baru (lower field) are found in nearly every village. It is interesting to note that the names north field and south field rarely occur, and where they do occur, the author suspects that they have been put in use quite recently, for in the old, typical Okinawan village all of the houses face south, and the field names are usually ordered around this orientation. Thus, mee baru (front field) is usually south of the village while kushi baru (back field) is usually on the north side. This carries over into the household naming system (yago) employed by the villagers to designate each of the house lots within the settlement.

Each haru is broken into many small parcels or plots of land. On the village land maps every plot is assigned to one of six categories---house or building land, irrigated land, dry farm land, grass land, forest land, and miscellaneous, including tomb land. Each plot is also given a number on the land maps and in the land registry ('tochi daichō') for the purpose of identification, though oftentimes the villagers refer to them by local names. 621 311 [423]

2. Political Organization[1]

There are three levels of government (exclusive of military government) existing on Okinawa today---the central government (Government of the Ryukyu Islands), municipal governments ('shi-chō-son'), and 'ku' (ward or village) governments. The structure of government is pyramidal, there is a hierarchial chain of command, and each echelon of government exceeds in authority the unit immediately below it. There is no allocation of rights and powers as exists among the various national, state, and local segments of American government, since the state operates as a highly-organized and heavily centralized unitary whole. Variation in the form and function of local government from one area to another is slight. Individuals appear to play but a small role in this 642 [631]

[1] A major part of the information presented in this chapter derives from the author's study in the township of Kanegusuku-son and particularly in one of its villages, Kanegusuku-ku. This has been supplemented by data gathered in briefer studies in other parts of Okinawa. 101

642 highly structured system; the overall impression is of rule by bureaucracy. Most importantly the average individual accepts all of this as in the natural ordering of things. The best possible relationship of the state to the people is thought to be a paternalistic one, like father to children. Such an attitude is wholly in keeping with a culture which has traditionally stressed family and community over individual, and obligations over rights.

632 'Son' Government The administrative center of every 'son' is the township office ('sonyakuba') which serves as the connecting link between the people of its villages and the central government in Naha. The main functions of this office are to transmit and implement the directives and laws of the central government to the people, to collect taxes, and to keep records---the most important of these being the household registry ('koseki') and land records ('tochi daichō'). The size of the office staff is largely determined by the township size; in the larger townships there are many departments and employees, but in a small 'son' several departments may be grouped under a single head.

632 The building housing this office is usually a single-storied structure
344 located in the largest village of the township; a post office, school, agri-
[348] cultural office, and store are often nearby. The interior of the office building is one large room sometimes sub-divided into smaller offices by the use of screens; one end of the room is set aside for meetings. On the exterior of the building along one side the names of the various departments are above the windows. When a villager calls at the office on business, he ordinarily does not enter the building but stands outside the window appropriate to his business until a clerk or official of that department opens it and speaks to him.

632 At the head of the township government is the 'sonchō' ('son' mayor),
554 who in addition to directing its affairs functions as the liaison between the 'son' and the central government. It was the author's impression after spending considerable time in one 'son' office and visiting several others that the 'sonchō' is usually a very busy man and that he is more often away from his office than in it. In addition to directing the activities of his office, he makes numerous inspections within the township, attends meetings and conferences in other parts of the island, and once a month participates in a council of all the mayors of the municipalities, which is held in Naha. The latter enables the mayors of the municipalities to discuss common problems and to come in contact with the officials of the central government. Three times each month he meets with the mayors ('kuchō') of the villages within his township for a discussion of local problems. It is said that the office can be a stepping stone for the politically ambitious since his activities bring a wide range of contacts; this cannot be said for any other office in the 'son' or 'ku'. During the course of his research on Okinawa the author met the mayors of five or six municipalities, and in all cases he was impressed by the intelligence and ability of these men. A mayor is elected for a term of four years and is eligible for reelection.

632 The chief lieutenants of the 'sonchō' are the assistant mayor ('joyaku') and the revenue officer or treasurer ('shūnyūyaku'); the latter usually directs all financial matters, and his major function is tax collection and

maintaining tax records. The major departments within the 'son' office are 632
General Affairs, Economic and Financial, School Affairs, Agriculture and Industry, Public Welfare and Social Affairs, and Land Affairs. The organization of the staff and the composition of the various departments are not consistent from 'son' to 'son', much depending on the size of the township, but in all cases the same functions are performed. The office staff also includes a chief accountant or statistician and a servant-janitor. The entire staff is appointed by the mayor with the approval of the 'son' assembly. Once a person secures such a job, he is rarely discharged except for gross incompetence or misbehavior; consequently, there is a very slow turnover of office personnel except among the young girls employed as clerks.

Next in importance only to the functions of the treasurer is the General Affairs Department ('shomuka'), which is responsible for the keeping of 632
census data and the household registry ('koseki'). The latter is a record of 217
particular importance to all citizens. A 'koseki' is a registry of the households (families) within the 'ku'; thus, in Kanegusuku-son there are eight 'koseki' for the eight villages within the township. Every individual is regarded as a member of a family, and every family has a place of permanent residence where its 'koseki' is kept with the others of the community. The 'koseki' for a family lists all members of the family or household beginning with the former household head ('koshu'), followed by the household head. Each member is listed according to his relationship to the head of the house, and also included for each person are birth order, parentage, birth date, marriage, divorce, place of residence (temporary and permanent). When a person dies, leaves the family or community permanently, marries (in the case of women only), or sets up an independent house of his own (males only), his or her name is crossed out in the 'koseki' of that family. When a woman marries, her name is crossed out in her father's and is entered in that of her husband or his family. When a younger son marries and sets up an independent house, his name is also removed from his father's household, and a new household record is begun with himself as head. The names of those who have died or have permanently left the community are entered in a record called 'joseki' (literally---removed from registry) which is a listing of all those names which have been removed from the household registries. Persons who wish to have a copy of their birth record and family affiliation secure a certificate called 'koseki shōnon' ('koseki' copy) which is an abbreviated 'koseki' listing the individual concerned and the household head. Everyone is theoretically listed in a 'koseki' somewhere, and without this one cannot secure government employment, enter school, or leave the country. Nevertheless, in every municipality and particularly in the urban ones there are a number of persons who live illegally unregistered; these persons are called 'musekisha' (persons without registered domicile), and they are said to be a source of concern to officials and police. In Kanegusuku-son there are three such individuals (known to 'son' officials) who are the offspring of American servicemen and Okinawan mothers. The mothers are said to be too embarrassed to come in and register the children, and the officials are hesitant to press the matter lest the mothers suffer any more anguish; however, unless the children are registered, they will be unable to attend school. In addition to these records the General Affairs Department also maintains an important registry of seal ('han') impressions which serve as the equivalent of legal signatures in American life.

632 423 [651] The Land Affairs Department maintains the land ownership records ('tochi daichō') and issues certificates of land title ('chikeu'). The head of this department ('tochijimuchō' or 'tochi gakari') together with the village mayor ('kuchō') and his council assesses land values for tax purposes.

632 744 The Departments of Public Welfare and Social Affairs are concerned with matters relating to relief, health, sanitation, etc. The functions of these overlap somewhat with those of the police and the Naha Health Center. One day each month a nurse from the Health Center is at the township office giving shots to children. Once a month there is a sanitation inspection of all the villages within the 'son'; the emphasis shifts each month---thus, one month it may be for mosquito control and the next it may be extermination of flies. Relief measures are also handled from these departments.

632 178 A 'son' assembly ('senkai' or 'songikai') functions as the legislative branch of 'son' government; it is empowered to enact local ordinances, approve the mayor's selection of employees for the village office, and make local tax levies. In Kanegusuku-son each of the eight villages selects two representatives ('sonkaigiin') for the assembly, and the term of office is four years. Before the end of the war this body was an appointive one selected by the mayors of the villages ('kuchō'); in turn the assembly appointed the township mayor. The bulk of the population had no voice in local government; today, however, both the mayor and the assembly stand for election. In all elections [664] for municipal and central government offices universal suffrage now obtains; all those twenty and above are entitled to vote.

632 622 The meetings of the 'son' assembly are too infrequent to provide effective representation at all times for the people. Regular contact between the people and the township office is maintained by frequent meetings of all the village mayors ('kuchō') with the township mayor ('sonchō'). This group, known as 'kuchokai' (village mayors' assembly), meets three times each month generally on the fifth, fifteenth, and twenty-fifth, though in times of emergency or pressing business it may meet oftener. Problems of general concern to the villages are discussed. These meetings enable the township mayor to keep in touch with the problems of the villages and what the people are thinking; they also provide the opportunity to inform and instruct the village mayors regarding directives or projects to be carried out in the villages.

632 651 One of the chief functions of the township government is to collect taxes for the central government and for its own needs. The following township taxes ('senzei', or in legal terminology, 'chihōzei') are those levied by Kanegusuku-son:

senmin-zei	Villagers' Tax. This is a head tax on all persons who are able to work between the ages of 17 and 60 excluding students, blind, sick, and crippled persons.
tochi-zei	Land Tax. For details see chapter on Land Tenure.
fudōsan shutoku-zei	Real Estate Acquisition Tax.
kaoku-zei	House or Building Tax.

kōgyō-zei	Industry Tax.	632
gyūbasha-zei	Horsecart or Oxcart Tax.	651
jidōsha-zei	Automotive Vehicle Tax (all types).	
rajio-zei	Radio Tax.	
denchū-zei	Electric Pole Tax.	
tochiku-zei	Slaughter Tax.	
chikken-zei	Dog Tax.	
senpaku-zei	Boat Tax.	
jitensha-zei	Bicycle Tax.	
denwa-zei	Telephone Tax.	
jigyō-zei	Business Tax	
kenkyu-hi	Study Fee. This is assessed on the basis of land holding, and it is used to provide a yearly bonus, 50% of one month's salary, to all the school teachers of Kanegusuku-son. The 'son' feels that the salaries paid by the central government are too low and uses this tax as a means of supplementing them.	[871]

The following work schedule was copied from the blackboard in the township offices of Kanegusuku-son in May, 1954. All of the listed activities are those which must be handled in addition to the regular work load. Virtually all of the scheduled meetings required the presence of the mayor (sonchō); a number of these were held outside of his district (son). At the present time American work schedules are followed. Saturday afternoon and Sunday are regarded as holidays for the office staff, though oftentimes the mayor and department heads may work on those days if there is pressing business. 632 [527]

Schedule of Activities for Kanegusuku-son Office
for May 1954

May
1st -
2nd - Sunday
3rd - Industrial Conference at Ryukyu-American Cultural Center, Naha.
4th - Welfare Week, May 4th through 10th.
5th - 'Kochōkai'. Meeting of all village mayors at 2 p.m.
6th -
7th -
8th -
9th - Sunday
10th - Meeting of all mayors of municipalities at Okinawa Kaikan, Naha, 10 a.m. Proclamation of law for welfare of children at Sekai Theater, Naha, 2 p.m.
11th -
12th - Injections for pigs for prevention of infectious diseases.
13th - Meeting of Assembly Chairmen's Association of Southern Okinawa at Agricultural Cooperative Club.
Injections for pigs.
14th - Industrial inspection of Southern Okinawa.
Injections for pigs.

632

15th - Industrial Inspection of Southern Okinawa.
16th - Sunday.
17th - Extermination of all noxious insects.
18th - 'Kuchōkai'. Meeting of all village mayors at 2 p.m.
19th -
20th - Inspection of fields.
Study for preparation of new 'koseki' at Shuri City Office, 10 p.m.
Meeting of chiefs of all Public Welfare Departments at Okinawa Kaikan, Naha.
21st - Training class for office workers of municipalities. The following must attend: Assistant Mayor, Chief of General Affairs Department, Treasurer, Chief Accountant, and Election Secretary.
Meeting of chiefs of all Public Welfare Departments, Naha.
22nd - Meeting of chiefs of all Public Welfare Departments, Naha.
23rd - Sunday. Farewell and welcome party for new and old mayors of the municipalities at Restaurent Hanasaki, Naha, 5 p.m.
24th - Dispensary. Shots for children.
25th - 'Kuchōkai'. Meeting of all village mayors at 2 p.m.
26th -
27th -
28th -
29th -
30th - Sunday
31st -

622 Village ('ku') Government Political Organization A 'kuchō' (mayor of 'ku') presides over the administration of the village and functions as an intermediary between the villagers and the township office. In the latter capacity he carries the problems, questions, and complaints of the people to the township office ('senyakuba'); he also brings to the village directives and projects requested by that office and supervises their execution. In Kanegusuku-ku a 'kuchō' is elected for a term of one year and is not eligible for reelection; in order to be eligible for the office he must be over 27 years of age and a household head. He [465] receives a monthly salary of ¥1100 ($9.17) which is paid by the township, not the village. The office exacts heavy demands on the individual's time; consequently the position is accepted with a sense of responsibility or obligation, as a duty to be performed, rather than for any prestige or other benefits which m might accrue. A 'kuchō' must make frequent trips to the township office, at least several a week; in addition three times each month he attends meetings of all the village mayors in his township. Emergencies in the village always demand his time. For example, when a death occurred in the village, he walked to the township office and notified the officials there, next notified the 'son' policeman, and then he walked to another village to secure a funeral palanquin; lastly he returned to his village and participated in the funeral ceremonies. His home is usually open at all times to villagers who seek information or wish to discuss a problem. Often he is asked to attend to a minor matter at the township office in their behalf; frequently these are matters of a sort which might as easily be handled by the individual concerned.

One of his major responsibilities to the township office is tax collection within the village; yet, his actual powers are slight, as nearly all of his official acts are first sanctioned by the villagers or the township office. It seemed to the author that the chief role of the 'kuchō' was as an intermediary between the people and the township office or as an agent for the latter, rather than as an administrator. It would seem that the payment of his salary by the township instead of by the village is symbolic of his actual role. 622 [65] [632]

Assisting the 'kuchō' are several officers the first of which is the assistant mayor ('fuku-kuchō') who is elected at the same time as the mayor and serves for one year. He is paid ¥480 ($4.00) per month, and like the mayor he must be over 27 and a household head. In the absence of the mayor he functions in his place, and on all other occasions he assists him in his work. A village clerk ('shōki') is also elected at the same time as the 'kuchō', and serves for a term of one year; he is paid a salary of ¥700 ($5.83) each month. The main qualifications for this position are that one have a fair amount of education and a good mastery of characters for writing. The job holds little appeal since it demands much of the individual's time and affords little in the way of prestige or pay. In Kanegusuku-ku in December of 1953 three elections were held in an effort to fill this position before someone finally and quite reluctantly accepted it. 624 [465] [465]

An advisory body of four councillors ('hyōgiin') assists the mayor in his administration; they represent each of the four neighborhoods or districts of the village. They are elected at the same time as the mayor, serve for one year, and receive a salary of ¥20 (17¢) per meeting. According to the villagers this body has replaced the earlier yuushi which was an unelected advisory council made up of former village officials, the village equivalent of elder statesmen. The 'kuchō' never undertakes an independent course of action; he first consults the 'hyōgiin' and obtains their approval and suggestions before initiating action. 623 [465]

Each village of Kanegusuku-son elects two men to represent it in the township ('son') assembly ('sonkai'); they are elected for a term of four years. Older, mature men who have held several official positions are always selected. They also play a part in village administration and are considered village officials. At all meetings they sit with the officials, and their opinion is much valued. 624 632

All matters of real importance are submitted to the household heads who form the real body politic within the village. The electorate for the village consists exclusively of household heads; to vote in a village election one must be a household head or one appointed by him to vote in his place, but in township and national elections universal suffrage obtains. At one village election which the author witnessed in December of 1953 balloting began as soon as the meeting was called to order without any preliminary speeches or nominations. It was later stated that the election and likely candidates had been informally discussed among the village leaders and household heads so that there was no need for preliminaries. The same situation seemed to prevail when meetings were held to discuss matters of general concern; the apparent unanimity of opinion and agreement indicated that informal concordance had been reached well in advance of formal discussion and decision. 621 592 666

621 For administrative purposes villages are subdivided into sections or
177 neighborhoods called 'han' or 'kumi'. There is considerable variation in the use of these terms throughout Okinawa, in part occasioned by the recency of their introduction and by the confusion following the end of the war. In 1940
[648] the Japanese government ordered all municipalities ('shi-chō-son') subdivided into 'rimpō-han' (settlement sections) which in turn were subdivided into 'tonari-gumi' (neighborhood groups). The move was a political one designed to insure more effective control; the divisions were often quite arbitrary and had little relation to social groupings. The term 'kumi', however, had been in use for a long time in both Japan and Okinawa, referring to a group of households. That
[178] these subdivisions have survived into the postwar period indicates that they are fulfilling a function necessary to village administration.

621 A large village such as Henza (of Henza Shima), which has a population
624 of 3800, is subdivided into 5 'han' each headed by an official called 'hanchō'. Every 'han' is subdivided into 'kumi'; there are 41 'kumi' in the village, approximately 8 to each 'han'. Each 'kumi' contains from 12-20 houses; the head of the 'kumi' is the 'kumichō'. In a smaller village such as Kanegusuku-ku which has a population of 507, the 'han' no longer exists; instead the term 'kumi' is applied to the four subdivisions of the village. In Kanegusuku the 'kumichō' functions as the intermediary between the 'kuchō' and the people of the area; there are on the average 25 houses in each 'kumi'. 'Kumichō' are elected each year by the 'kumi' though in actuality the position is really rotated among the households within the 'kumi'. One of the chief functions of the 'kumi' is to provide labor for community work projects. When the township office requests that the 'kuchō' have his village repair a section of a road, he calls in the 'kumichō' and tells them how many workers will be needed. The 'kumichō' notify the household heads within their 'kumi' and the households supply in rotation the needed labor. When local clean-up is in order as preparation for a township inspection, the 'kumichō' supervises the work in his area. Tax collections for village finances are generally made by him, and when tax collections are made by the township, he notifies his constituents as to the time and place of payment.

The importance of the 'kumichō' or 'hanchō' is dependent on the physical nature of the village and its size. In a small tightly-nucleated village like Kanegusuku the 'kumichō' functions mainly as an intermediary or messenger between the 'kuchō' and the people of the 'kumi' and as a foreman on their work details. In a larger village whose 'han' are scattered into more isolated neighborhoods or settlements the 'hanchō' often functions more like a 'kuchō'. In Kanegusuku the divisions are more or less arbitrary ones, and there is definitely no feeling of strong identity with a particular 'kumi'. However, in the village of Tomoyose where Pitts studied, the isolated settlement of Nanahan (literally ("Han Seven") felt itself to be a distinct unit and functioned not unlike a very small village.

621 Most villages have a small building set aside for use as an office or
344 meeting place. These are usually called <u>muraya</u> in Okinawan or 'jimusho' in Japanese. In a large village like Henza the office is nearly as large as those of some of the smaller 'son', containing desks, telephone, records, and a full-time staff. In Kanegusuku a small bare hut large enough for only a dozen people suffices. When village meetings are held, the officials sit inside the building while the people sit outside facing them. Village records are stored in the home of the 'kuchō' or the clerk.

3. Police

625

Local governments of the municipalities ('shi-chō-son') and the various 'ku' (villages and wards) exercise no control over the police stationed in their areas. Central police headquarters are located in Naha, and the organization of the police command is outside the regular civil structure except at the top national level. The police officer located in Kanegusuku-son reports directly to the district police headquarters in Itoman which in turn reports to Naha. In addition to maintaining law and order the police are charged with certain responsibilities in the fields of sanitation, health, and public welfare. Crime rates on Okinawa are low, particularly [674] in the rural areas, and policemen stationed there rarely face serious problems of law violation. A 'son' policeman has a "beat" which he is supposed to patrol each day unless other business is pressing. Actually his visits to some of the villages are rather infrequent, since there is little need for his presence. When a villager dies, it is usually the policeman who checks and certifies the cause of death. Certain dangerous or [744] highly contagious diseases such as leprosy or smallpox must by law be reported, and any infractions of this are usually investigated by the police. If a restaurant or food store is reported as unsanitary, it is the police who take steps to see that the situation is corrected.

Not infrequently the policeman is called upon to function informally 625 as a judge in settling minor disputes which in the United States would be 627 taken to court. One man rented out a room in his home to a former schoolmate; after living and eating there for several months, the roomer disappeared without making any payment for his room and board. A few months later the owner located this person's place of employment, collared him as he left work, and dragged him to the nearest policeman. The policeman listened patiently to both sides of the argument and then ruled that the roomer must pay the entire amount due the owner, ¥6000 ($50.00), at the rate of ¥2000 per month. The two disputants signed an agreement to this effect, and the policeman also signed it "to make it official". An American would regard this action as an abuse of police power; yet, an Okinawan would see nothing untoward in it. In light of this it is worth noting [178] that the jiturei who headed the rural district (majiri) under the old kingdom functioned as policeman, judge, and administrator.

In the matter of juvenile delinquency the school and police are re- 871 ported to work closely together. One police officer stated that when juve- 625 niles commit misdemeanors in his area they are usually turned over to their 674 schools for special "education". That an errant child should be released to the custody of his school rather than to his family would seem an inconsistency in a society which places so much emphasis on family. In America [171] and perhaps in all of Western society the teaching of ethics is largely a function of the home, but in Japan and Okinawa this is considered a task for the school.

To an outsider Okinawan police appear to be efficient in the per- 625 formance of their duty and possessed of a pride in their job and a fairly

625 high esprit. A policeman's salary is high when compared to that of other government workers and the general public; in addition the job has other advantages such as a uniform and free transportation on public conveyances.

621 625 In rural areas there seems to be some resentment over what is considered to be high pay and special privileges for policemen; this was particularly true where the local policeman was not a native son. In one of the more isolated villages of northern Okinawa, a community which is noted for and prides itself on its strong community spirit, there was some irritation with what they felt to be an unnecessary presence of a policeman (not native to the village) in their midst. The village 'kuchō' and several villagers assured the author that the village was a most peaceful one, everyone cooperated well together, and there was never any stealing or violence. They were also resentful of the fact that the village supplied the policeman with free food and charcoal and that his pay, nevertheless, was about equal to that of their highly respected school principal.

875 625 554 It should be noted that whenever the low pay of teachers was mentioned the correspondingly high pay of the police was cited. The teacher traditionally has been venerated in this culture, and it is held that the teacher is a better-educated person and should, therefore, receive a higher salary, as was the case before the war. In the past the higher positions in the bureaucracy were accorded or ideally should be accorded those with better educations, and since both the policeman and the teacher are civil government employees, the present situation with regard to their respective salaries seems unjust.

625 829 Most people express the belief that the police are honest and conscientious though their high pay may be resented. A number of people observed that the police are much better under the American military administration than they were under the Japanese government before the war, in that they are more polite and less officious today. Under present laws the powers of the police have been clearly defined to insure that they will not violate the rights of individuals as was frequently done in the past. Not a few Okinawans will contend that this curbing of police power while probably democratic has encouraged an increase in crime in recent years. The traditional attitude toward the policeman seems to be a mixture of fear and respect, and mothers frequently use the threat to call a policeman as a means of disciplining a child who misbehaves.

4. Political Participation by Women

562 [664] Since the end of the war universal suffrage has been introduced into Okinawan political life. The enfranchisement of women has not brought with it a surge of political activity on their part. It is now theoretically possible for a woman to hold public office, but in actuality none to date has been elected to a national or municipal office. One woman declared herself a candidate for the Ryukyuan legislature in 1954 but later withdrew from the campaign shortly before election time. In the rural areas political participation by women is even more limited. The men in the village of Kanegusuku laugh when the subject of women in politics is mentioned; they say

that a woman can hold office today since the government has made this law, 562
but that they would never permit this to happen. In village elections only household heads are permitted to vote, and in practice only they are eligible for the village offices. If a woman is a household head (and there are eighteen in this category in Kanegusuku) she is allowed to vote, but she would never be considered for any village office. Most women would not want the job if it were available to them, for this is considered a part of the affairs of men and inconsistent with the traditional concept of woman's role of wife and mother. Women are vaguely aware that their legal and political status has altered under the American military administration, and nearly all have heard stories about America where women are said to be very influential, but they are not so sure that what is good for Americans will necessarily work for them. [77] [829]

An exception to the generally inactive role of women in political 562
affairs is found in Okinawan fishing communities. In Itoman and Henza, 184
which derive their living from fishing, shipping, and ferrying, the men 621
are away much of the time, and the women exercise considerably more control over family and financial matters than elsewhere on Okinawa. Itoman women are noted throughout the island for their independence and shrewdness in financial matters, and there is a common saying that an Itoman woman doesn't need a man if she has a house. On Henza Island the lower echelons of the village political hierarchy are completely dominated by women. The five 'hanchō' are women, each heading a political unit of about eight hundred persons, and the forty-one 'kumichō' are also women. Despite this one gets the impression that women are participating in Henza political life in the absence of the men just as they have a larger role in the management of family affairs than the women of farming villages because the absence of their men has made this a practical necessity. To date no woman has been elected to the position of 'kuchō' nor does it seem likely that one will be in the near future. Perhaps this also serves to define more clearly the real nature of the 'hanchō' and 'kumichō' as messengers for the 'kuchō' instead of as administrators, and that positions of real power are still retained by men.

5. The Political Community

The rural village constitutes a political, territorial, and social 621
unit; its membership is bound together by a common cultural heredity and shares a common experience. All the villagers have attended the same schools, cooperated in village projects, participated in community ceremonies and celebrations, and joined the same organizations. The prevailing [582] [197]
marriage practice still tends toward endogamy, and in many places they speak a dialect with features distinct from that of their neighbors. National organizations serve to unite the youth, women, and farmers into their respective local groups for common action and benefit. Further integration is assured by practices of reciprocal labor exchange among the households.

The major social institutions of rural Okinawa are the family-kin 621
group and the community. Within the former there exists a strict hierarchy 342 [381]

621 among its membership, and all relationships are highly structured. Though
592 age-grades tend to structure the membership of the community, this is not
[561] too important, as the basic unit within the village is the family, not the individual. The community is regarded as an association of families
[565] bound together in a relationship of equality. Such differences as exist
[178] in wealth and land holdings are not so great as to constitute class differentiation; likewise the old Okinawan class structure is no longer of any real significance, and in most rural communities the bulk of the families were and still are of commoner descent.

621 The concept of political participation by households is basic to
829 the thinking of the villagers. Universal suffrage applies only to munic-
592 ipal and national elections; within the village active political partici-
666 pation is restricted to household heads functioning in the capacity of representatives for their respective families. When the mayor of one village was asked why all adults were not allowed to vote in village elections, his quick reply was, "Is it democracy to give some families more votes merely because they have more members?"

6. Political Leadership and Authority

621 There are nine important political offices within the village of Kanegusuku (population 507)---mayor, assistant mayor, clerk, 4 councillors,
[592] and 2 'son' assemblymen. Eighteen of the 108 village families are headed by women, and since only male household heads are elected to positions of political leadership, there remain 90 men eligible for these offices. A number of the young household heads also must be excluded from this group since a man must be over twenty-seven to be eligible, and there are others who are too old or infirm. This leaves 72 men eligible for office on the basis of the formal requirements.

621 Actually the villagers apply several other qualifications which one
554 must possess in order to be eligible for office. In practice the repatriates and the other newcomers to the village since the end of the war are not elected. Those who are poor (less than enough land for mere subsistence) cannot afford to accept an office, since the pay is low and the demands on one's time are too great. The men who have non-agricultural jobs which take them outside the village each day also do not have the time to devote, and the villagers tend to feel that these men are out of touch with the problems of a farming village. Lastly there are several men who otherwise meet all qualifications for village office save for what the villagers vaguely describe as "good character"; the most frequently cited example for this group is a man who dislikes farming and spends much of his time drinking or visiting the 'pachinko' parlor in a nearby town. Thus, the total number qualified for political office on the basis of all criteria which are applied is limited to approximately 47 individuals; this group, which constitutes about 9% of the total population, supplies the village leadership and forms the core of the body politic.

All village officials (excluding 'kumichō') held more land than the average, but the size of their holdings was not so great as to indicate that this was a very significant factor. It was stated that a leader must have sufficient experience and education to enable him to handle the necessary records and to make a good appearance at the village office. Most frequently, however, "good character" was cited as a most necessary prerequisite for an official; this was usually equated with "honest person" and "hard worker". Though the villagers stated that the age range of officials might lie between 28 and 55, the present village leaders are men in their forties. The man considered by a number of villagers to be their most able and influential political leader is forty-seven years old. In contrast the four 'kumichō' are young men ranging in age from 18 to 23, and only one of these is a household head. 621 554

Above the village level in the 'son' (township) government one encounters the professional administrator or bureaucrat----mayor, assistant, treasurer, and department heads. These men, in sharp contrast to the village officials, have an educational background including at least high school and more usually some college, normal school, or other type of advanced training. One gets the impression that they are strongly aware of their personal superiority; their attitude toward the governed is somewhat condescending and at best rather paternalistic. It is doubtful that they regard themselves as public servants although those whom the author encountered appeared to be conscientiously dedicated to their jobs. Of these officials only the mayor is elected; the others are appointed by him with the approval of the township assembly. 632 554

Most people are respectful toward their village officials, recognizing them to be among the ablest men in the community, but they most certainly are not in awe of them. Except for the two representatives to the 'son' assembly, new officials are elected every year, and it is very rare for a man to hold the same office for two consecutive years. No one person remains in a given office long enough to become identified with it or to achieve a special status. 621 554

The officials of the township office are usually professional government workers who have held their positions for a number of years. The villagers look up to them as administrators and superior persons; the mere fact that one has an official position confers a superior status. Some people expressed the belief that officials are good since only persons of education and good character could possibly attain such positions, and nearly all are of the opinion that officials enjoy an easy life and high pay. 632 554

Most rural villagers seem pessimistic about their relationship to the government; they are not mistrustful but rather they expect little. They strongly feel that the government is something from afar and wholly out of touch with their problems. This attitude may carry over from the old kingdom when an urban upper class administered a rural peasantry; the subsequent Japanese administration during its early years consisted of little more than the replacement of one ruling class with another. Nonetheless the government is looked to for aid and direction since it is 829

829 considered the initiator of all action. Frequently there are complaints of high taxes, criticisms of certain policies, and dissatisfaction with certain officials, but the authority of a government to undertake any course it chooses would never be challenged. There does not exist any concept of a limit to obedience or to the powers of government.

7. Social Control

626 The mechanisms of social control within an Okinawan village are not
621 easily observed or studied since they are so rarely overt. One is impressed from the outset by the homogeneous character of the community, a natural outcome of the common experience and cultural heritage which all the members have shared. The average villager has had a limited range of contacts during the course of his or her lifetime, imposed to no small degree by the all-consuming demands of subsistence agriculture. Minorities within
[183] the community rarely exist, and where they do, they are not recognized as such, for this homogeneity, in addition to being an actuality, is insisted upon as a cultural ideal. Consequently great stress is placed on presenting a united front to the outside. Within the community aggressive behavior is not tolerated and so great is the fear of rift through discord that few official acts are initiated without first securing informal concordance; consequently, formal political meetings are most often marked by unanimity and agreement. In enlisting the support of the villagers for a given project or proposed line of action leaders most frequently appeal to group solidarity, stressing the values of cooperation.

As is so often found in small communities where all the members have a face-to-face relationship, the chief mechanisms of social sanction are ridicule, censure, and the threat of ostracism. The small size and homogeneous nature of the Okinawan village limits the individual's behavior to a rather narrow and inflexible standard. The individual, however, must consider his actions not only in terms of the reactions of others to him
[672] but also in terms of the consequences for his family. Under the old king-
[178] dom the family was legally responsible for the actions of its members, and at the present time an individual is officially registered as a member of a certain family and is always thought of by the villagers in association
626 with that family. One's mistakes as well as one's achievements reflect upon
621 the other members of the family and are shared by them. This emphasis on
181 family and community over the individual serves markedly to curb individualism and to further the homogeneity of the society. Conformity and honoring one's obligations are the major cultural values. The surrogate for this strong cultural deemphasis of the individual is provided by a close ego identity with the family and community and by the security which they offer in return. The severest sanction which can be applied is expulsion of the individual from his group.

8. Local Autonomy

642 On a small island with a highly centralized government there is lit-
621 tle room for local autonomy. Most action is initiated in the higher echelons of government and is unquestioningly obeyed at the lower levels. There

is no concept of a division of powers, and in final analysis the village is subject to the bidding of the township which in turn is under the direction of the central government. Nevertheless, the physical and mental isolation of the village from the township and central government does afford some measure of self-government, and a number of problems of specifically local concern are solved at the village level. 642 621

One finds that the villagers are not eager for a greater measure of self-government; in fact, quite the contrary seems true. In several villages the author was told that since the war the villages have been allowed a greater measure of self-rule and that they now have more to do with less aid and direction than ever before. They feel that this has resulted in greater demands on their time and finances than they can afford. 621 829

Village office is regarded as an onerous duty which one assumes in a sense of obligation. The remuneration is very low, and not a few are disinclined to participate in any active role. In December of 1953 there were three elections for village clerk in Kanegusuku before the office was filled; one of those elected stalked off in a fury and refused to return and accept the position. The mayor, who was much irritated by the man's action and the inconvenience it caused, assured the author that it was much better before the war when he had had the power to appoint someone and could not be refused.

CHAPTER VII: POPULATION

F. R. Pitts

1. Postwar Growth and Change in Okinawa's Population

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727 Repatriates

Much of the population increase in the first five years after the end of the war was due to the influx of repatriates. It is not known for certain just how many Ryukyuans were abroad. However, a rough picture may be seen by examining the statistics and comment presented in the Navy handbook:[1]

> No complete summary of the destinations of Ryukyu emigrants is available, but estimates drawn from a number of sources appear to indicate that the industrial regions of Japan proper and the Japanese mandated islands have attracted a vast majority of those leaving the archipelago. A summary of available estimates and census data on the destination of approximately 130,000 emigrants from Okinawa prefecture in the last quarter century is given below:

Destination	Number
Japan proper (principally to Osaka, Kobe, Tokyo and Yokohama)	60,000
Japanese mandated islands:	
Mandated Marianas	25,772*
Western Carolines	4,943*
Eastern Carolines	3,474*
Marshalls	48*
Hawaiian Islands	11,000
Brazil	9,000
Peru	6,800
Philippine Islands	5,900
Argentina	2,300
United States	600
Total	129,837

*1937 Japanese Census Figures

Many more Ryukyuans came back than the above figures show were abroad. The difference may well be accounted for by a) some inaccuracies in the Navy handbook data, and b) repatriation of Ryukyuan soldiers. Repatriation figures given by USCAR are as follows:

Postwar, prior to August 1945	30,000[2]
1945	112,014
1947	7,738
1948	2,607
1949	1,585
Total postwar repatriates	153,944

[1] P. 55.

[2] USCAR estimate, p. 79 of CAARI.

When a great number of people are repatriated, it is far more likely that more will find their way into urban areas than into rural areas. This tends to remain true in spite of prior resettlement in the country villages. 167 727

People and the Arable Land One of the best indicators of urbanization is the number of persons for each acre of arable land under cultivation. In Okinawa, cultivation of the sweet potato permits a much larger population to live off an acre of land than would be true if other crops were raised in its place. The following scale has been set up, and is the basis for Map 5:[1] 161 389

Areas of Occasional Surplus	Up to 6 persons per acre
Areas of Moderate Self-sufficiency	6-9 persons per acre
Areas of Definite Deficiency	9-20 persons per acre
Semi-urbanized Areas	20-30 persons per acre
Urban Areas	Over 30 persons per acre

In examining Map 5, which is based on conditions at the end of 1950, it is seen that the entire area from Oroku to Ishikawa, and from Katsuren to Yomitan, is included in the food-deficient areas. This is true also of Nago, the southwestern half of the Motobu peninsula, and the far north 'son' of Kunigami. The urban node in the south results from prewar settlement. The urbanized areas of Kadena, Chatan and Goeku of course are postwar phenomena. The fact that this urbanized three-'son' block is bordered by semi-urbanized areas, while the urban areas of the south are not, indicates that a greater center of attraction is found in this area. The answer is the amount of military employment available here.

In discussing the postwar growth and rearrangements of population it is convenient to divide the discussion into two parts. The first will deal with the period prior to 1951, when repatriation and a mild amount of construction were prevalent. The second period under consideration is from 1 January 1951 to 31 December 1952, during which time accelerated military construction was the rule, and repatriation almost non-existent. 161 128

Population Increase from 1940 to 1950 In this decade the population of the Ryukyus increased by 20%, while that of Okinawa Guntō increased by 22%. Map 6 indicates the areas of relative decrease and increase. Much of Shimajiri suffered great losses in the fighting, and by the end of 1950 still registered a net decrease for the decade. The relatively undestroyed areas from Ishikawa north experienced a greater than average growth, and the scattered military installations in Goeku, Misato and Onshikawa attracted a great number of people. Ishikawa owed its growth mainly to its designation as the postwar temporary capital city. 161

The setting up of a military government area on the Chinen peninsula attracted a few people there, as did the repair of the Japanese airbase in Oroku. The height, relative remoteness and almost total destruction of Shuri, combined with the military requisitioning of much of the Naha port area, contributed greatly to the unexpected growth of Mawashi.

[1] Figures for each political area for all maps are given in the appendix.

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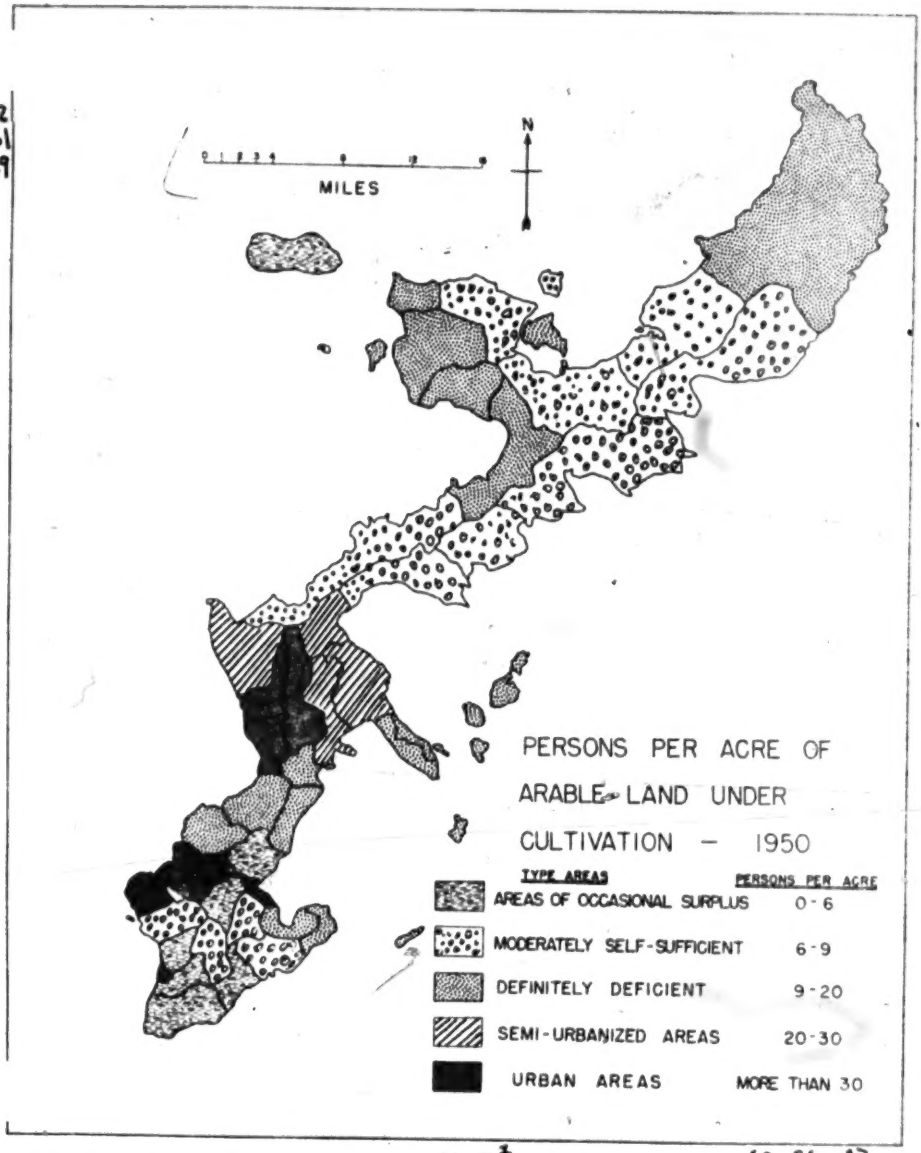

Map 5 [1]

[P. 96-A]

[1] [See pages 222-224 for data upon which this map was based--Analyst]

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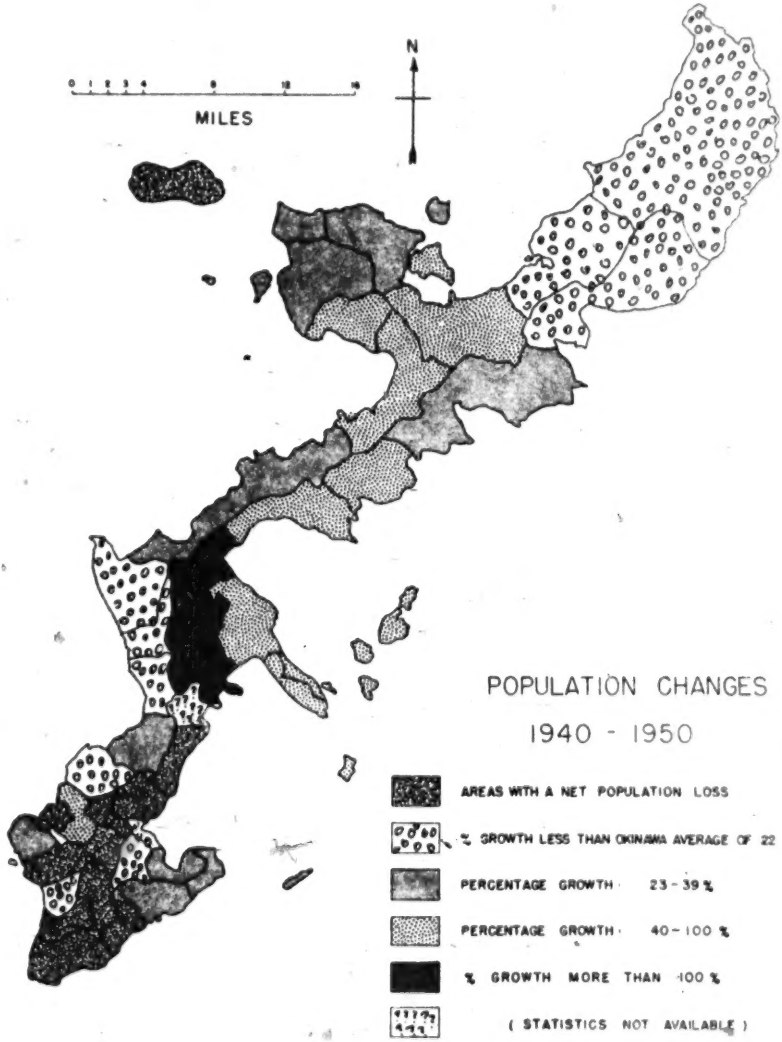

Map 6 [1A]

[P 96-B]

1A. [See pages 222-224 for data upon which this map was based--Analyst]

161 The percentage growth categories used on Map 6 are as follows:

Negative Growth
Less than Okinawa Average of 22% Growth
23-39% Growth
40-100% Growth
Over 100% Growth

Population Increase During 1951 and 1952 The accelerated military construction program has been quite important in drawing people to the main island of Okinawa. This is shown by the fact that in the years 1951 and 1952 it gained over 47,000 inhabitants. More than 11,000 of these were contractors and construction workers from Japan. About 2,300 more such workers arrived from Japan in the first seven months of 1953.[1]

During this two year period, Okinawa's population increased by 5.55%. On Map 7 all areas with an increase of less than that amount are considered as areas of emigration. Those areas where the increase was more than 5.55% are shown as areas of immigration.

All urban areas except Ishikawa continued to grow. Goeku and Kadena, which had in the previous decade grown amazingly fast, continued to be among the fastest-growing 'son' on the island. On the other hand, Kunigami-son and the entire east coast north of Ishikawa City reversed the trend of growth noted on Map 6, and became areas of excessive migration. In part this was due to the improvement of roads along the east coast, thus making the urban trek easier. But it owed just as much to the demand for skilled carpenters, who were abundant along the east coast.

If data were available at the 'aza', or village area level, the urban trend could be localized with greater accuracy. Military government personnel concerned with problems on the island relative to urbanization and its pace are advised to work with population data on the village ('aza' or 'ku') level if greater accuracy is desired. This information is rarely if ever presented in that detailed form to agencies of the Government of the Ryukyu Islands, and local inquiry must be made.

The Sex Ratio Okinawa shares with most of the Orient a great density of population per arable acre of land. Aside from this, the outstanding fact about the population of Okinawa is the great preponderance of women over men. There are about 90 men for every 100 women in this area.[2] This excess of women is reflected in such sociological phenomena as prostitution, illegitimate and common law children, women functioning as heads of households, and a high fertility ratio. The reasons for the excess are somewhat complex, but the most important factor is the recent war, in which many

1 CAARI, p. 78.

2 The standard demographic definition of sex ratio is "the number of men for each 100 women."

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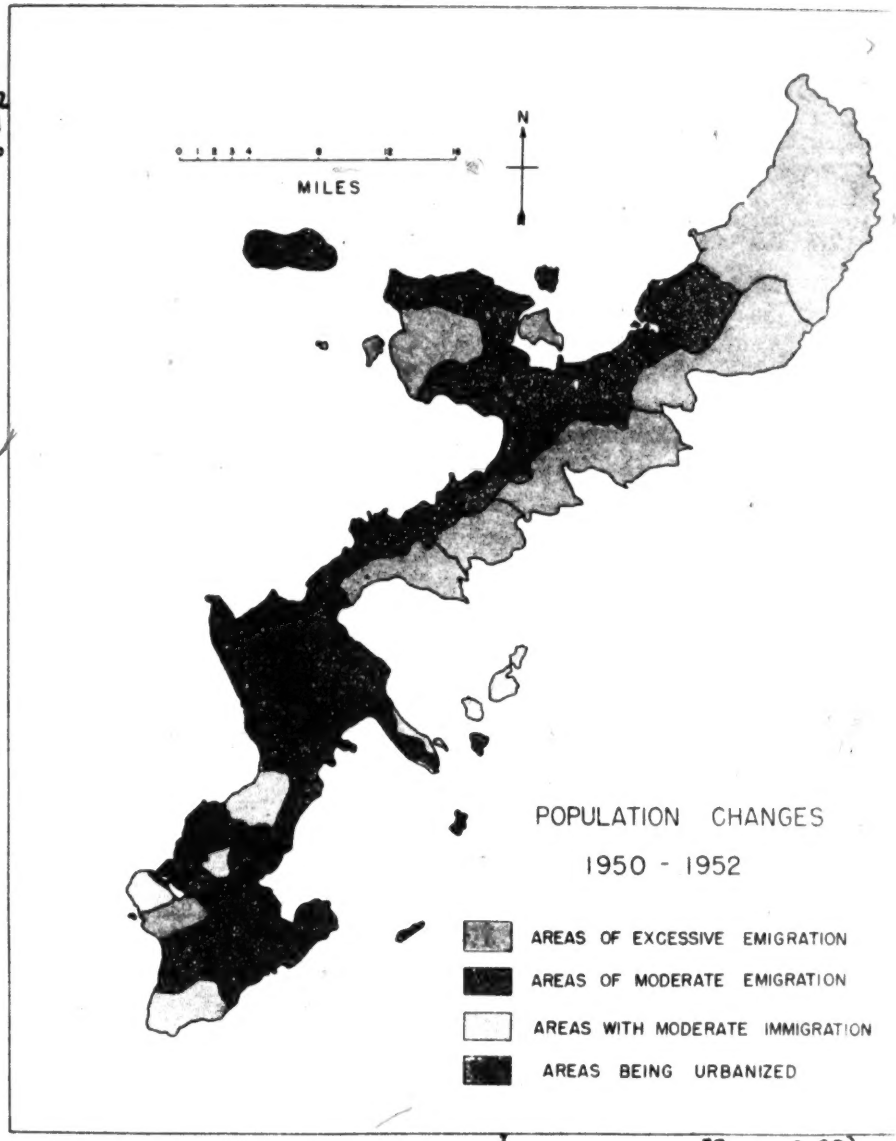

Map 7 1/4 [facing P 98]

1/4. [See pages 222-224 for data upon which this map was based--Analyst]

more men than women were killed. The second reason is the fact that in Okinawa, as in most of the rest of the world, women tend to live longer than men.[1] 162 [165]

The prewar sex ratio was somewhat lower, but this condition was primarily caused by the absence of so many men in the military forces and in Japanese industry. The Navy handbook[2] states the following:

> The sex ratio for the archipelago in 1940 was 112 women to 100 men. In Japan Proper in 1939 the comparable ratio was 101 men to 100 women....The two most heavily populated islands---Okinawa and Amami---had sex ratios of 115 and 117 women to 100 men, respectively.

Using the standard demographic definition of sex ratio, this would indicate a sex ratio of 89.2 for the Ryukyus as a whole, and ratios of 87 and 85.5 for Okinawa and Amami in that order.

Although the population section of this report will deal in great part with the analysis of population in one rural 'son', it is of value to examine first the more general picture, so that the detailed facts may be seen in relation to their setting. The number of people in the average household, with masculine-feminine breakdown, and the sex ratio are the most important items for general analysis. The data for several areas, valid as of 31 December 1952, are shown below:[3]

Table I

Political Area	Average Number of Men per Household	Average Number of Women per Household	Average Number of Persons per Household	Sex Ratio
Ryukyus (excluding reverted Amami Oshima)	2.37	2.59	4.96	91.5
Okinawa Guntō	2.27	2.51	4.78	90.5
Naha	2.10	2.30	4.41	92.7
Mawashi	2.46	2.39	4.85	103.0
Naha-Mawashi	2.28	2.34	4.62	99.8
Kochinda-son	2.07	2.24	4.31	92.5

Although there is not much difference in the sex ratio of Okinawa and the Ryukyus as a whole, it appears that there are more persons, both men and women, per household in the southern islands than in Okinawa. Again

1 T. Lynn Smith, Population Analysis, McGraw-Hill, NY, 1948. Tables pp. 252-4.

2 Civil Affairs Handbook, Ryukyu (Loochoo) Islands, OPNAV 13-31, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Navy Department, 15 November 1944, xiv-334 pp. Statement, page 51.

3 Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku (Monthly Statistics of the Ryukyu Islands) Vol. 3, no. 3, 1953, passim.

162 this may be the result of the war; the southern islands escaped heavy damage and loss of life. The urban area of Naha-Mawashi has a well-balanced sex ratio, and is probably a reflection of the number of men who directly or indirectly are connected with military employment.

The total number of persons per household has not appreciably changed in the fifteen years from 1937 to 1952:

Table Ia

Political Unit	Persons per Household, 1937	Persons per HH, 1952
Okinawa-ken	4.67	4.70
Naha	4.21	4.41
Shuri	4.18	4.17

The loss of men in the war was compensated for by those men who returned from Japan and those who repatriated from the Mandated Islands.

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2. Population Characteristics of a Rural 'Son'

Kochinda-son lies almost in the center of the southern section of Shimajiri. It does not border anywhere on the sea, and is entirely rural in that it has no industries of urban character. It is realized that no one area will be entirely typical of the whole of Okinawa; however, the population dynamics of this 'son' will undoubtedly be reflected in kind, if not in degree, by that of other farming areas. Fishing towns such as Itoman, Henza, Yakena and Yonabaru each probably have special types of adjustments that are not true of Kochinda.

[127] This researcher was permitted to copy the entire 'koseki' (population register) of Kochinda-son. In addition explanatory information was given by the 'son' office personnel when requested. In many cases it was possible to follow up and interview persons cognizant of the details of certain situations.

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[428]
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[177]

Okinawa still follows the prewar Japanese system of inheritance by first sons. Under normal conditions in the countryside, the first sons would inherit the bulk of the farm plots, and second sons would inherit a few plots and set up separate households. Or the second and following sons might go to Naha, Osaka or the south seas to seek employment. The war disrupted this pattern, and it is germane to examine the types and numbers of household heads, as one index of postwar change.

Because the solution of the population problem is a factor in Civil Administration planing for Okinawa, it is of importance to know the fertility ratio and the amount of spacing between births. The Okinawans, like the Japanese, tend to register a marriage after the birth of the first child. This should be quantified if possible. In addition, age at marriage should be known, since it bears a direct relationship to population increase. The number of illegitimate and common law children in the villages indicates

[Kochinda-son]

something as to the attitudes toward marriage, the family, and sexual mores of the inhabitants. Study of divorce also helps to illuminate the dynamics of a population. All of these categories are discussed below. 121 16

Types of Household Heads All the households in Kochinda-son were classified into seven categories. Where possible this was done on the basis of the relationship of the present household head to the former household head. Table II shows the percentage of households in each category. 162 592

Table II

Category	Percentage of Households
First Sons	41.7
Second Sons	17.8
Third Sons	9.3
Other Sons (Sons of Fourth Order and above, and adopted sons, or 'yōshi')	7.4
Other Types (Younger Brother, etc.)	2.1
Grandsons	1.8
Women	19.9
All Types	100.00

The really surprising fact shown above is the number of women household heads, almost one in five. The percentage of households headed by first, second and third sons is probably not far from the prewar norm. However, within the families of each class of household head, conditions vary widely. Table III brings out the disparities of membership in families headed by the various types of household heads.

Table III

Type of Household Head	Average Males per Household	Average Females per Household	Average Persons per HH	Sex Ratio
First Sons	2.93	3.04	5.97	96.5
Second Sons	2.91	2.63	5.54	110.9
Third Sons	2.76	2.73	5.49	103.3
Other Sons	2.46	2.67	5.13	92.3
Other Types	2.16	2.09	4.25	103.1
Grandsons	2.49	2.51	5.00	98.9
Women	1.14	2.20	3.34	52.1

First Sons Frequent reference is made in Okinawa to the "heavy burden of being a first son." The large number of women per household in that category of household head bears out this assertion. If a first son assumes the duties as traditional head of the family, his mother and grandmother most likely will live with him after their spouses are dead. He must also assume responsibility for all unmarried younger sisters, as well as take care of any older sisters who become divorced. The "heavy role of

[Koohinda-son]

first son" is graphically depicted by the third column in Table III. If the 6.5% of the households that contain no women are eliminated, the "average females per household" index rises to 3.25 in this category.

Second Sons There are two possible reasons for the high sex ratio in households headed by second sons. The sons of second sons may tend to marry later than do sons of first sons, because the land they may inherit is generally smaller in area, and they want time to hunt work in the cities. The daughters of second sons marry earlier for the reason that their fathers have less land to contribute to their support past adolescence.

The high sex ratio is still rather hard to understand, however. If we eliminate the twelve cases where the male household head is the only person in that household, the sex ratio becomes 109.0. If we eliminate all households without women, the sex ratio drops to 107.0. This means that there are considerable households where two or more males constitute the only inhabitants. This was true in eleven cases. Even more frequent are the cases where two males and one female constitute the household.

If the same operation, elimination of all-male households, is carried out on the data for households headed by first sons, the sex ratio drops to 93.0. Hence we see that however the figures are interpreted, first sons do have a greater burden and more women to care for.

Grandsons Grandsons of former household heads were household heads in 37 cases. In four of these cases the grandfather was still living but considered himself too old (68, 71, 76, and 89 years) to manage the family's affairs. In sixteen cases the mother of the household head was living. In one case both mother and grandmother were living, and in another both paternal grandparents were living. In only one case was the father of a household head living---and he was adopted husband, or 'yōshi', in another household. In all cases the inheritance has passed directly from the grandfather to grandson.

Other Sons Sons of fourth order and above, adopted sons ('yōshi'), and those whose birth order was not recorded, constitute the heads of 154 households. Fourteen of these are 'yōshi', whose birth orders in their family of orientation were:

First Sons	2
Second Sons	8
Third Sons	2
Fourth Sons	1
Unrecorded	1
Total 'yōshi'	14

[Kochinda-son]

The birth orders of the remaining 140 household heads were: 162 592

Fourth Sons	89
Fifth Sons	28
Sixth Sons	8
Seventh Sons	1
Unrecorded	14
Total non-'yōshi'	140

Here can be seen the expectable tendency to put one's second son up for adoption, rather than a first son. Usually a relative, a person at least in the same munchu, will adopt. [597]

Other Types In the 43 cases comprising the category of other types of household head, such as younger brother, and miscellaneous, there were 18 cases of "no relationship stated." There were 16 cases of younger brother, four cases of nephew, three illegitimate sons and two common law sons.[1]

Women A study of the women household heads category is most rewarding. No doubt most of the cases are the result of the war. However, a small percentage of widows and girl orphans would normally comprise this category. Not surprisingly, the sex ratio of 52.1 is the lowest of any category. There were 84 cases of women living alone. In seven of these cases the persons were under 21 years of age as of December 31, 1953.[2] If the 84 cases are eliminated and the data recomputed, the results are as follows:

Table IV

Average Number of Persons per Household	3.93
Average Number of Males per Household	1.43
Average Number of Females per Household	2.50
Sex Ratio	57.3

If the data are recomputed by eliminating the women household heads themselves, the results are as follows:

Table V

Average Number of Persons per Household	2.34
Average Number of Males per Household	1.43
Average Number of Females per Household	2.50
Sex Ratio	95.3

Both Table IV and Table V show a preponderance of women. One explanation is that a widow and her deceased husband's mother often live together.

1 See definitions of "illegitimate" and "common law" on pp. 111-112.

2 Unless otherwise stated, the datum point in this report for all population categories in Kochinda-son is December 31, 1953.

[Koohinda-son]

162 This is true in 32 cases, or 9.54% of the households in this category cou-
592 taining more than one person. Another reason is that of the illegitimate
children born to women household heads, more boy babies are registered as
[848] legal children by their fathers than is the case with girl babies. Of the
illegitimates living in households headed by women, 19 were female, 11 were
male, and an additional seven were in the class "sex unrecorded". If the
same proportion are girls as is true of "common law children", this would
indicate a surplus of illegitimate females.[1]

Additional Three other categories relating to household head status were analyzed. The data were cross-filed from the above categories. There were sixty-seven cases of father or grandfather not functioning as household head, but living. Or in other words, retirement of males. Persons under twenty-one years of age functioning as household heads were counted, as were household heads living alone.

162 1. Retirement: In the category of retired fathers or grandfathers,
592 we find that in 59 of the 67 cases retirement was in favor of a first son.
In seven cases retirement was in favor of a grandchild first son, and in
886 one instance in favor of a son's wife. The ages of the retired oldsters
ran from 51 to 87, with 33 of the 67 instances being between the ages of
60 to 70 inclusive. The median age was 65, and the average age was roughly
66.5.

162 2. Living Alone: In the second additional category, household heads
592 living alone, we find 166 cases. Thirty of these cases, or 16%, were orphans
under twenty-one years of age. Twenty-two of these were male and eight fe-
597 male, thus showing a greater tendency for female orphans to be adopted.
Male orphans are not often adopted, because relatives want them to grow up
to be the heads of their deceased fathers' households.

162 With regard to division by sex, 89 were males. Of these, 21, or
592 20%, were born before 1900. Of the 77 females, 39 (51%) were born before
1900, thus giving another instance of the longevity of women.

3. Minors: In the third supplementary category of minor household heads, the mother was living in 79 instances and deceased in 69 instances. One father and four grandfathers were still living, but retired. In all these five cases the mother was also still living. There was an overwhelming tendency for the first son to be household head, followed by second sons and first daughters equally. The full range is shown below:

Table VI

First Sons	110	Fifth Sons	1
Second Sons	11	Second Daughters	1
First Daughters	11	Common Law (boy)	1
Third Sons	5	Illegitimate (girl)	1
Fourth Sons	[illegible]	Adopted Son[2]	1
Sons, Unknown Birth Order	2		
Total			148

1 Refer to "Common Law Children---Numbers", p. 112.

2 This boy's birth order was second son in his family of orientation.

[Kochinda-son]

The distribution by ages, which ranged from four to twenty, is shown below: 162 592

Table VII

Age	Persons	Age	Persons	Age	Persons
4	3	9	8	15	15
5	4	10	9	16	9
6	-	11	3	17	13
7	2	12	5	18	16
8	2	13	9	19	13
		14	15	20	22

Thirty-two orphans were household heads and legally living alone, although in actuality most of them probably resided in houses of relatives. Five more were orphans, although in each case another person of the same sex lived with them.

Even though only thirteen, or 8.8%, of the 148 minor household heads were female, there was a large excess of women in these households. This is accounted for mainly by the aforementioned 79 households, 53.5% of the total, where the mother of the legal but minor household head is still living. For the category as a whole there is an average of about three persons per household:

Table VIII

Average Persons per household	2.98
Average Men per Household	1.34
Average Women per Household	1.64
Sex Ratio	81.5

In the thirteen households that were headed by minor females, twelve consisted only of women. The other household consisted of a fifteen-year-old girl and her two younger brothers of ten and twelve years of age.

Fertility, the Birth Rate, and Birth Control The most widely known but least accurate measure of fertility is the crude birth rate, defined as the number of births per year for each thousand persons in the total population. The crude birth rate for Okinawa Guntō in 1952 was 34.2---less than the rate in the United States in 1890---while the rate for Kochinda-son was 38.1 in the same year. Japan's crude birth rate in 1938 was 27.0, and had increased to 32.8 by 1949. This differential is not surprising in view of the somewhat greater urbanization and consequent slightly lesser frequency of births in the main islands. The prefecture which most closely resembles Okinawa---Kagoshima---is less urbanized and had the higher-than-Okinawa rate of 35.4 in 1949. As of 30 June 1953 the birth rate was 32.2 for the Ryukyus, including the Amami group, and was 34.9 for Okinawa Guntō.[1] 163 171

[1] Pacific Stars and Stripes, 8 Feb 1954. Figures were released on numbers of births and deaths, and total population, by the Public Health Dept. of USCAR.

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163 The prewar birthrate figures for Okinawa-ken include the following: 1936--26.2; 1937--26.4; and 1938--27.2.[1] So it is evident that in the prewar period there was a slight tendency for the birth rate to increase. A decrease is noted for recent years. In 1951 the birth rate was 36.7 for the Ryukyus as a whole, and was 34.2 in 1952.[2]

A more nearly accurate measure of the rapidity of the increase in population is the fertility ratio. For this study it was defined as the ratio of children under five years of age to the number of women aged fifteen to forty inclusive. The fertility ratio in 1953 for Kochinda-son was 663. This may be compared to the United States average of 464 for the white rural-farm population in 1940, or the average of 587 for the Negro rural-farm population in the same year. The 1947 fertility ratio in Japan was 528.[3]

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842 Most Okinawan men are familiar with the condom method of preventing conception. The Japanese Army was said to have followed a policy of distributing packages as men left the posts for liberty. A brand called "Shikishima" could also be bought at drug stores. One farmer asked me if there was a shot in the arm that a woman could get so as to render her sterile for a two-week period.

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847 Informants stated that abortions were sometimes performed before the war, but were rare. Postwar doctors are not supposed to perform abortions unless the husband consents in person.

163 178 Spacing of Births By an analysis of the period between births, it may be possible to learn of shifts in frequency of births. For this purpose, a sampling was made of families with complete birth records in 25% of the households of Kochinda-son. The same villages were checked for postwar birth records. Only families with three or more postwar births were included in the latter category. Families with complete birth records covering both the pre- and post-invasion periods were also checked.

The comparison between the 37 households representing complete prewar records and the 39 households representing the postwar records of three or more births can best be seen by examining the following table:

Table IX

	Prewar	Postwar
Average Age of Mother at Birth of First Child	23.1	22.4
Average Age of Father at Birth of First Child	29.6[4]	27.1[5]

1 Navy Civil Affairs Handbook, page 56.
2 CAARI, p. 76. Projected annual rates per 1,000 inhabitants based upon estimated midyear population.
3 Japan Statistical Yearbook, 1950, p. 17. The population figures used are valid for 1 October 1947.
4 The ages of only nine prewar fathers were available. The remainder were war dead, and were not recorded in the temporary 'koseki'.
5 All 39 cases are represented above.

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Table IX, cont'd.

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	Prewar	Postwar
Average Time in Months Between First and Second Births	38.8	27.5
Average Time in Months Between Second and Third Births	35.7	27.7
Total Average Months Between All Births	35.7	27.6

It is seen that the postwar Okinawan mother apparently has her first child more than half a year earlier than did the prewar mother. Furthermore, the average spacing between births appears to be about eight to eleven months less in the postwar period. Explanations for this apparent difference---which might prove to be less if a larger sample were available---include delays caused by prewar military service, and the possibility that stillbirths were more frequent and infant mortality higher in the prewar period.

The invasion and the subsequent period of internment and resettlement caused a temporary lengthening in the spacing of births. Data for the 98 households in the same villages used above, wherein were found complete prewar-postwar continuous birth records, indicated an average of 55 months between the birth of the last baby before the invasion, and the first one born thereafter. In addition, it should be noted that the average age of postwar fathers at first birth above is 27.1 years, but the average age of fathers whose date of postwar marriage is recorded at first birth below is 25.0 years. This situation means only that in many cases the mothers of postwar families were second wives. In most of these instances the first wife had died during the war.

Postwar Marriage: Attitudes Dr. John F. Embree, in his monumental work Suye Mura, thus describes the rural Japanese attitude toward marriage: "The birth of a child is a much more certain sign of a permanent marriage than is a wedding ceremony. Indeed, a marriage is often not put in the village office records until after a child is on its way."[1] The Okinawan attitude is much the same. 581 171

In analyzing the 177 postwar recorded marriages that resulted in children, 29 marriages, or only 16% of the total, were found to have been recorded in the 'koseki' more than nine months before the birth of the first child. Marriages were recorded after the birth of the first child in 71 cases, representing 40% of the total. 582

Marriages Recorded Before Conception In the first category, the husband was younger in six of the 29 cases. In no case had the husband had

[1] John F. Embree, Suye Mura: A Japanese Village, U. of Chicago Press, 1939, p. 182.

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582 a divorce previously. In two cases the first wife had died, and the husband remarried. In twenty instances the first birth was a boy, and in nine cases a girl. The period between the marraige recording and the first birth ranged from a mere 282 days to four years seven months.

Marriages to girls within the village accounted for 17, or 59%, of the cases reported. Marriages to girls coming from outside the village accounted for 12 cases, or 51% of those reported. The composition[1] of the families in which the marriages occurred is shown below:

Table X

Type Family	Number of Marriages	Percentage
Lineal	16	55
Lateral	2	7
Mixed	5	17
Nuclear	6	21
Total	29	100

Marriages Recorded After Conception In this category, younger husbands numbered 14, while older husbands number 63. In three cases the husband had had a divorce and his remarriage was the one recorded. In another case the first wife had died and the man remarried. The first birth was a boy in 31 cases, and a girl in 46 cases. Marriages to girls from the same village constituted 46, or 60%, of the cases. Wives who came from other villages numbered 31, or 40% of the cases.

[128] [1] The type families are based with modifications upon the definitions in George P. Murdock, Social Structure: "the nuclear family consists typically of a married man and woman with their offspring...the type of family recognized to the exclusion of all others by our own society." (p. 1.) "An extended family consists of two or more nuclear families affiliated through an extension of the parent-child relationship rather than of the husband-wife relationship, i.e., by joining the nuclear family of a married adult to that of his parents. The patrilocal extended family, often called the patriarchal family, furnishes an excellent example. It embraces, typically, an older man, his wife or wives, his unmarried children, his married sons, and the wives and children of the latter. Three generations, including the nuclear families of father and sons, live under a single roof or in a cluster of adjacent dwellings." This is the type of family here called the mixed family; the terminology was retained even in event of the war death of either parent in the older generation. The term lineal as used here means a lineally extended family consisting of one or both grandparents, a married son and daughter-in-law (or daughter and 'yōshi') with the latter's offspring. The term lateral as used in this report refers to a laterally extended family composed of two brothers and their respective wives, and the offspring of at least one of the couples.

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The days between report of the marriage and the first birth ranged from one day prior to 275 days prior. The range is tabulated below: 582

Table XI

Days Prior	Cases
1- 7	8
8- 20	9
21- 30	8
31- 60	13
61- 90	8
91-120	8
121-150	10
151-180	3
181-210	4
211-240	3
241-275	3
Total	77

The composition of the families in which the marriages occurred is shown in Table XII:

Table XII

Type Family	Number of Marraiges	Percentage
Lineal	32	42
Lateral	6	8
Mixed	18	23
Nuclear	21	27
Total	77	100

Marriages Reported after First Birth Marriages reported on or after the birth of the first baby saw a greater proportion of younger husbands. Fifteen of the 71 were younger than their wives. In four cases the husband had had a divorce and remarried. In another case the first wife had died, and the husband remarried. The first birth was a boy in 45 cases, and a girl in 24 of the remaining 26 cases. In two instances the information as to sex of the child was faulty. This imbalance leads one to believe that in many cases when a girl child is born, the father refuses to acknowledge paternity by registering the marriage. The child must then be registered as an illegitimate or common law child. [851]

Marriages to girls within the village accounted for 28, or 40%, of the cases; while marriages to women who came from outside the village accounted for 43, or 60%, of the cases. This shift in relative percentages from the second category to the third suggests that marriages to women within one's own village have a slight tendency to be reported earlier, or before the first baby is born. On the other hand, unions with girls from outside one's own village tend to be reported later, or after the first baby arrives.

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582 When the three categories are broken down by birth order of the father, interesting patterns become apparent. For those who report marriage before conception, there is a decline in the percentage reporting as the birth order of the father becomes greater. This seems to be related to the amount of family land held, and therefore is a concomitant of status in the community. That half of the fathers who are second sons report marriage after conception but before birth is connected with the tendency to report the setting up of a separate household, or 'bunke', to the village office the same day the marriage is reported. Table XIII treats with the percentages concerned.

Table XIII

Birth Order of Husband	Marriages Recorded Before Conception		Marriages Recorded After Conception		Marriages Recorded After Birth	
First Son	14	17%	33	40%	36	43%
Second Son	6	13%	23	50%	17	37%
Third Son	2	8%	10	42%	12	50%
Fourth Son	4		5		2	
Fifth Son	1		2		2	
Sixth Son	1		2		-	
Birth Order Unknown	1		2		2	
	29		77		71	

The birth order of the husband seems to have very little effect upon the aforementioned tendency to report out-village marriages after the first baby arrives. The following table gives the numbers concerned according to birth order of the husband:

Table XIV

	Birth Order of Husband	Out-Village Marriages	In-Village Marriages
Marriages Recorded After Birth	First Son	21	15
	Second Son	10	7
	Third Son	7	5
Marriages Recorded After Conception	First Son	17	16
	Second Son	6	17
	Third Son	3	7

In this category the delay in reporting the marriage after the birth of the first child ranged from one day to 672 days. One marraige was reported on the date of the first child's birth. The first two months after birth saw 68 of the marriages reported. The details of the range are shown in Table XV.

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Table XV

582

Days of Delay in Reporting	Cases
0	1
1- 7	8
8- 14	12
15- 30	17
31- 60	11
61- 90	7
91-120	2
121-150	5
151-180	
181-210	2
211-240	
241-270	1
271-300	
301-365	1
365-372	4
Total	71

The composition of the families in which the marriages occurred is shown below:

Table XVI

Type Family	Number of Marriages	Percentage
Lineal	27	38
Lateral	9	13
Mixed	21	29
Nuclear	14	20
Total	71	100

In-Village and Out-Village Marriage Except in the case of the marriage of an adopted husband, or 'yōshi', to a girl who has no brothers, the bride always goes to her husband's house to live. Getting a wife from outside one's own village is somewhat more popular than marrying a girl one has known for many years. In tabulating the total recorded postwar marriages,[1] which numbered 264, it was found that 114 (43%) were in-village unions, while 150 (57%) were out-village unions. [59]

It is interesting that where the ages of both marriage partners were known, husbands were older than their wives in 80% of the cases, and younger in 20%. This was true for both in-village marriage and out-village marriage, though it runs contrary to respondents' statements that men who married out of their own villages tended to get wives older than themselves.

[1] The data are somewhat different from the above because all postwar marriages were tabulated, regardless of whether they had yet resulted in offspring.

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582 For the 114 in-village marriages the average age of the wife at date marriage was recorded was 21.2 years. For the husbands in this category the average was 23.5 years. Both these averages are consistently lower than the averages for out-village marriages---it apparently takes longer to search farther afield. In addition, one often hears the country belief that the more education a man has, the farther away he goes for a wife.

The 150 out-village marriages recorded include 117 women living in Kochinda-son, and 33 women who have married to men outside the 'son'. Of these 33 women, those who married men from relatively far away numbered nineteen, and those who married men living in villages relatively close to their parents' village were fourteen in number. One of the first group married an American serviceman from Kansas. One of the outside-the-'son'-marriages involved a woman fifty years of age who was marrying for the second time. For the remaining 32 marriages---all of which were first marriages---the average age of the woman involved was 22.5 years.

Of the 117 out-village women who married within Kochinda-son, twenty-seven came from rather far away, forty from non-contiguous 'aza' relatively close, and fifty from neighboring, or areally contiguous, 'aza'. The average age of the 117 husbands was 25.0 years. This figure is reduced to 24.9 years if the men over 40 are eliminated. The average age of the wives[1] was 22.1 years, an average reduceable to 21.9 years if women over forty are eliminated.

587 Second Marriages In the normal course of events a certain number of people will marry for the second time. The Navy Civil Affairs Handbook indicates that "...about twice as many men as women remarry after being widowed or legally separated." A considerable number of the postwar marriages analyzed under the spacing of births category above were second marriages. It is of course not possible to ascertain the percentage of these, inasmuch as they are not listed as such in the temporary 'koseki'.

[614] Lebra was told that in a first marriage men tended to wed women from within the munchu (extended patrilineage) rather than from outside the munchu, and that in a second marriage they tended to marry outside the munchu.

588 "Common Law Children": Definitions In addition to legally recorded marriages, there are those unions producing children who have no legal claim as heirs to their fathers' property. If the father recognizes the child as his own, it is given his family name, and entered into the 'koseki' as a 'shoshidan', if a boy, and a 'shoshijo', if a girl. In this report these will be called "common law children", though the reader must realize that 'shoshi' is not the exact equivalent of the phrase "common law" as it is used in the United States.

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[1] Only the ages of 116 wives could enter this calculation; no birthdate was available for one wife, though the other data for the marriage were complete.

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If the child's father refused to admit paternity or is unknown, the child is registered as a 'shiseiji', or "privately born child", in the 'koseki' of the mother. In this report 'shiseiji' will be referred to as "illegitimates". There are rare cases where a young man may claim the illegitimate child, but will not permit its mother's name to be registered. 588 848 851

Numbers In Kochinda-son there were registered in the 'koseki' 57 common law children. Of these, 26 were born prior to 1 January 1946; that is, 46% of the total were conceived prior to the invasion of 1 April 1945. It is more likely than not that many prewar cases of illegitimacy were not registered in the temporary postwar 'koseki' from which this information was taken. The remaining 31, comprising 54% of the total, were born after 1 January 1946.

The 57 were divided by sex as follows: female---31, male--22, not accurately recorded--4. Even if the indeterminate ones are all male, it means that there is a preponderance of females. This low sex ratio may help to balance the extremely high sex ratio noted above for first birth children of parents who reported the marriage after the birth of their first child. For comparative purposes, the data are repeated below:

Table XVII

	First Born Child a Boy	First Born Child a Girl
Marriages Recorded Before First Birth	51	55
Marriages Recorded After First Birth	45	24
Total	96	79

Birth Years One prewar common law child does not have a birthdate recorded, although internal evidence in the 'koseki' indicates that he was born sometime in the period between 1939 and 1941 inclusive. The years of birth of the remaining 56 common law children, of all ages, is shown below: 848 851

Table XVIII

Year Born	Number of Children
1954[1]	3
1953	4
1952	4
1951	4
1950	6
1949	3
1948	3

[1] This is for the first three months of 1954 only.

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Table XVIII, cont'd.

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Year Born	Number of Children
1947	1
1946	3
1945	2
1944	5
1941	3
1940	2
1939	1
1938	1
1937	3
1934	1
1933	1
1932	1
1929	2
1928	2
1916	1
Total:	56

Fathers There were 53 fathers responsible for the 57 offspring. In two cases one man fathered three common law children. In half the cases, the age of the father at the date of the child's birth is not known. The ages of the other 25 fathers ranges from 15 years eleven months to 60 years ten months. The age period 20-30 inclusive contains 19 fathers of common law children. It may be assumed that the 50% of fathers whose age data at the birth of their common law children are missing would tend to follow much the same distribution. The birth orders of the prewar and postwar fathers in the 20-30 year age group are shown in Table XIX, with comments on each case.

Table XIX

Birth Order of Fathers of Common Law Children Born Before the Invasion	Comments on the Fathers of Common Law Children
First Son	Has only one common law child. Has eight children by his legal wife.
Second Son	The common law child was his first. He has had five legal children since.
Second Son	He is household head. The common law child is his first daughter. His first wife was either sterile or was killed in the war and her children married off or killed. He is eighteen years older than his second wife, by whom he has had one daughter and three sons since marriage.

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(Birth Orders...)	(Comments...)
Second Son	He was born in 1887, and was a 'yōshi'. The common law child was born in 1915, has fathered three daughters and two sons, and is uncle to an illegitimate child. 848 851
Third Son	He had an illegitimate child, and admitted paternity eight years later, thus making it a common law child so that it could go to school without stigma. His legal wife had borne him two sons.

Birth Order of Fathers of Common Law Children Born After the Invasion	Comments....
First Son	He is unmarried, and lives with two teen-age younger brothers.
First Son	Unmarried first son of a father in first case of this tabulation.
First Son	He is married, but his legal wife has had no children yet.
First Son	He is unmarried and lives with his parents.
First Son	He is unmarried and lives with his mother and his common law child.
First Son	He is unmarried, lives with his parents, a younger brother and the brother's wife.
Second Son	He is unmarried, and is living with his mother and his common law child, a son.
Second Son	Lives with his elder brother and family, where he cares for his common law daughter.
Second Son	He is unmarried, and is living with father, elder brother and brother's wife.
Second Son	He is unmarried, lives with his father and younger brother.
Third Son	He married two years after the birth of his common law child, but his wife is not the child's mother. He lives with his mother, who is legal household head.

(Birth Orders...)	[Kochinda-son] (Comments...)
848 851 Fourth Son	He has had a son and daughter by his legal wife, and three children by his "secret wife." He had the third common law child after the age of thirty.
Fifth Son	He is unmarried and lives with his parents. His elder sister has had an illegitimate child.

163 849 851 Mothers The ages of the mothers at birth of the common law child were available in only thirty, or 53%, of the 57 cases. One half of the first births occurred to mothers aged 17 to 24 years inclusive. The range of mothers' ages at first common law births was from seventeen years ten months to forty years one month.

848 851 Registration Thirty births were registered in the 'koseki' of the fathers, and twenty-two in the mothers' 'koseki'. One common law child had become a 'yōshi', and it could not be determined where he had been registered. Four were adults whose 'koseki' registration at time of birth was unascertainable.

848 Illegitimate Children In the Kochinda-son 'koseki' at time of copying, 112 persons were registered as having been born "illegitimate", or 'shiseiji'. Twenty-eight of these, or 25%, were born prior to 1 January 1946. That is, these were conceived before the invasion. The remaining 84, constituting 75% of the total, were born after 1 January 1946. As of 31 December 1953 there were 106 living registered illegitimates.[1]

Mothers Because there were nine cases of women who had two illegitimate children, a total of 103 mothers were involved. Of those nine mothers bearing double illegitimates, six were widows. In two of the nine cases the children were fourth and fifth order births. In two cases they were third and fourth order births---one of the latter were twins. In three cases the children were first and second order births, and were first and third order in another instance. There was one case in which the mother had probably had legal children who were war dead. The birth orders of the mothers are as follows:

Table XX

Birth Order of Mothers	Number of Mothers
First Daughter	38
Second Daughter	23
Third Daughter	10
Fourth Daughter	6
Fifth Daughter	1
Birth Order Unknown	24
Total:	103

[1] Two had become common law children, one became a legal child, two had died, and one was not born until January 1954.

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The ages of the mothers at the first illegitimate birth are shown below. Unmarried mothers naturally had their first illegitimate child sooner than did the widows, but the amount of overlap in ages is worthy of note. 848

Table XXI

Ages	Unmarried Mothers	Widows	Total
16	1		1
17	1		1
18	5		5
19	5		5
20	4		4
21	8		8
22	10		10
23	9	1	10
24	5	1	6
25	4	2	6
26	5	1	6
27	1	3	4
28	2		2
29	1		1
30		3	3
31		6	6
32			-
33			-
34		2	2
35		3	3
36		1	1
37		4	4
--			
41		1	1
Unknown	13	1	14
Total	74	29	103

Relation to Household Head In Kochinda-son twenty categories were found of relationship of the household head to the illegitimate child. However, just three categories---mother, mother's father, and uncle---account for 64% of the cases. The distribution is shown in Table XXII.

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Table XXII

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Relationship of Legal Household Head to Illegitimate Child	Number of Illegitimate Children Involved
Mother	27
Mother's Father	23
Elder Brother	10
Mother's Elder Brother	9
Mother's Younger Brother	9
Mother's Mother	8
Mother's Husband	5
Uncle[1]	4
Self	3
Father	2
Grandfather[2]	2
Mother's Former Husband	2
Mother's Sister-in-Law	1
Mother's Adopted Son	1
Mother's Husband's Mother	1
Mother's Deceased Husband's Mother	1
Mother's Adoptive Father	1
Husband's Father[3]	1
Husband's Elder Brother[3]	1
Unknown	1
Total:	112

Information on the age and marital status of the 106 illegitimates as of 31 December 1953 indicated that two were married and over 21 years of age; one was married and under 21 years of age; the remaining 103 were unmarried minors.

Comparison with Other Areas It is interesting to compare the figures for the thirteen villages comprising Kochinda-son with the data from the villages of Kanegusuku and Kitazato. The relationship of household head to the illegitimate child was the mother in four instances, the mother's parents in six instances, and a sibling of the mother in eighteen instances. The breakdown is given below:

Table XXIII

Relationship of Legal Household Head to Illegitimate Child	Kanegusuku Illegitimates	Kitazato Illegitimates	Total
Mother	1	2	3
Mother's Husband	1	-	1
Mother's Mother	2	1	3
Mother's Father	1	2	3
Mother's Sister	-	1	1
Mother's Brother	7	10	17
Total:	12	16	28

1 It is not certain whether he is the mother's or father's brother.
2 Whether he is mother's father or father's father was not ascertainable from the 'koseki' record.
3 These two illegitimates are married; their pre-marital relationship to the household head in the family of their orientation is not known.

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A total of nine households contain the illegitimates of Kanegusuku, as do nine households in Kitazato. In the latter village, one household has six illegitimates. Lebra, who collected the above information, comments: "A straight 'koseki' count for Kanegusuku indicated a total of 32 illegitimates for the village, with a 'koseki' population of 689. A house-to-house check and consultation with the village mayor ('kuchō') resulted in a population of 501 and only 12 illegitimates. A recheck indicated that most were transient families that settled in the village temporarily following the war, some were from the former fifth 'han' of Kanegusuku (now a part of Itoman), and a small number were Kanegusuku people who moved elsewhere." 848

"The Kitazato figures above are based on a straight 'koseki' count. However, unlike Kanegusuku, the 'koseki' count and that of the 'kuchō' are so close that I accepted the former as reasonably accurate although I suspect that it is a bit lower. The 'kuchō' explained the discrepancy as being due to the great number of 'seinen' (youth) who have gone to the city for work and have not taken their 'koseki' with them."

Birth Order Of the 94 cases of single illegitimates, twenty (21.3%) were not children of first order birth. Of these twenty, sixteen were offspring of widows. The birth orders of single illegitimates are shown below:

Table XXIV

Birth Order	Number of Children
First Child	74
Second Child	12
Third Child	3
Fourth Child	4
Fifth Child	1
Total:	94

Season of Birth The chart of the month and year of births of illegitimates presented below is suggestive of possible relationships of date of conception of illegitimates to both international events and local holidays.

Table XXV

Birth Month	'53	'52	'51	'50	'49	'48	'47	'46	'45	Pre-'45	Month of Conception	Total Births
Jan.	1		3	1		2	2		1	1	April	11
Feb.		2			1	1	1			3	May	8
Mar.		2	2	1				1		3	June	9
Apr.	1			1	2	1					July	5
May	4		3	1						4	August	12
June		1	2	1	1					3	September	8
July	1	2		1	2	2	1	1		1	October	11
Aug.	1	1		2	2		1	2		2	November	11

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Table XXV, cont'd.

848 163

Birth Month	'53	'52	'51	'50	'49	'48	'47	'46	'45	Pre-'45	Month of Conception	Total Births
Sept.	1		4	1						1	December	7
Oct.		1	1		2					1	January	5
Nov.	1	2	4	1	1		1	1		5	February	16
Dec.	1		1			1	1		1	1	March	6
Total:	11	11	20	10	11	7	7	5	2	25		109[1]

The number of illegitimate children born in the year and a half following the outbreak of the Korean War doubled. The demoralization and uncertainty which accompanied the withdrawal of United Nations forces may be reflected in the rise in illegitimacy. Similarly it is seen that the rate returned to its postwar normal course with the advance of the fighting to positions nearer the Thirty-eighth Parallel.

848 163 527

Interesting also is the "season of conception" pattern that is suggested by the above chart. The greatest number of mothers were impregnated in February, which in most years contains the Lunar New Year's season. It is the occasion for much visiting around and many parties. The month containing the next highest number of impregnations is August. This is the month of the O-bon season, when community contests are held, and 'awamori' flows even more freely than usual. October and November---seasons of cooperative rice harvest---and April, the month of lunar sangwachi sannichi (Third Month, Third Day---Women's Festival), are the months of the third most frequent impregnations, or conceptions.

163

To some extent this approximates the season of birth pattern for Okinawa Guntō in 1951 and 1952:

Table XXVI

Month of Birth	Births 1951[2]	Births 1952[2]	Total Births 1951-1952	Month of Conception
January	2,347	2,056	4,403	April
February	1,876	2,108	3,984	May
March	2,108	1,837	3,945	June
April	1,713	1,713	3,426	July
May	1,711	1,563	3,274	August
June	1,575	1,396	2,971	September
July	1,602	1,366	2,968	October
August	1,851	1,449	3,300	November
September	1,792	1,868	3,660	December
October	2,326	2,245	4,571	January
November	2,414	2,106	4,520	February
December	1,753	2,268	4,021	March

1 This excludes two whose birthdate data were not complete, and one born in 1954.

2 Civil Affairs Activities in the Ryukyu Islands, Vol. 1, no. 2, p. 77.

[Kochinda-son]

January, February and April lead in total numbers of births. However, August is the lower fourth in number of conceptions. The possible relationship suggested above awaits validating or disproving when more 'son' can be studied in order to obtain a larger sample. The subject is here mentioned in order to provide researchers with a new path of inquiry. 163

Widows as Mothers of Illegitimates Twenty-nine widows are mothers of 35 illegitimate children. One had twins, and five other widows had illegitimate children in tandem. In the months of February, August, April, October and November, 19 widows conceived illegitimate children, while in the remaining seven months only 15 illegitimates were conceived. The sample involved here is too small to do more than suggest a possible correlation of date of conception and festivals. The possibility should be kept in mind, however, by anyone who does further research on Okinawan population. 848 163

Mixed Blood Illegitimates There are only two registered illegitimates in Kochinda-son who have non-Okinawan fathers. Both are from one village, and neither are included in the above analysis. The 'son' office personnel said that they have heard of about seven or eight more, but that they are not registered as such in the 'koseki'. According to them, the children of mixed blood are probably not registered at all, and will not be until they become of school age. 848 [144]

Connections with Divorce Three illegitimate children were the cause of divorces. One husband divorced his wife upon the birth of her illegitimate child, and sent her and the child back to her parents' home. Another husband recorded the divorce of his wife and the adoption by him of her illegitimate daughter the same day. In the third instance, the widow of a man killed in the war bore an illegitimate girl child. The widow's parents-in-law forced her to return to her family and to record in the 'koseki' a divorce from her deceased husband. 848 586

Accuracy of Figures There are more illegitimates in the 'son' than are registered in the 'koseki' as such. Quite often in the prewar period---and possibly even now---the husband's child by another woman was recorded as the son or daughter of his legal wife. In one case the 'koseki' record showed one woman as bearing two children seven months apart. Investigation showed that the above method of recording had been used. The same method of concealment is often used when a man's unmarried daughter bears a child. 848

Postwar Divorces While there were 264 postwar marriages recorded in the 'koseki' of Kochinda-son, 54 postwar divorces were entered into the record for the same period. This would indicate a rough divorce rate of 20.4 in Kochinda. Since in America one in four marriages ends in divorce[1], and in Japan the rate (as of 1949) is 9.7, it is clear that the Okinawan divorce rate much more closely resembles the American. This Okinawan rate is confirmed by the 1952 statistics, which showed a rate of 20.3 (3,220 marriages and 653 divorces)[2] for Okinawa Guntō. 586 [171]

1 George C. Homans, The Human Group, p. 276.
2 Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku, p. 1.

[Kochinda-son]

586 Childless Couples Divorces of couples who had no children accounted for 18 cases, or one-third of the total. That there were seven instances of remarriage of the husband after the divorce leads one to the conclusion that the divorce in many cases was caused by the failure of the wife to bear a child. Of the 18 divorced wives, three had been married to men outside Kochinda-son, and three more returned to parents outside Kochinda-son.

The average age of the wife at date of divorce was 24.0 years, and the average was 25.9 years for the 15 men for whom there was complete data. There was no way to estimate the average length of the marriage, since most of them had taken place before the temporary 'koseki' was started in 1943, and the dates of marriage were therefore not recorded.

Couples with Children Divorces of couples who had had children numbered thirty-six, or two-thirds of the total postwar divorces. In three cases the husband remarried, and in two cases the wife found another husband.

The average length of marriage, based upon the elapsed time between date of first conception and divorce record date, was 5.9 years. Five women were divorced from men living outside the 'son' and four men divorced women who returned to parental homes outside the 'son'. The average age of the husband at divorce, based on thirty cases, was 33.3 years. The average age of the divorced wives was 30.8 years.

Reasons It was not possible in each case to assess the reason for the divorce, though some causes more or less suggest themselves by close analysis of the family record of all concerned. Supplemented by information from 'son' office personnel, causes are seen to include the failure to bear children, quarreling of the wife with her husband's mother and grown but unmarried sisters, the bearing of an illegitimate by the wife, the fathering of an illegitimate by the husband, the birth of several daughters but no male heir, and a bride's not being considered a good farmer.

Some of the postwar divorces grew out of social conditions consequent upon the end of the war. An Okinawan soldier demobilized in Japan would occasionally believe the rumor that all Okinawans had died in the war. He would bring back a new wife, only to arrive and find his first wife living. Sometimes he would divorce the first wife, but more often would abandon the new wife for the prewar spouse.

586 159 Divorce Histories A study of individual cases serves to illustrate how in many instances divorce may be the result of failure of one partner to live up to the norms of the society.

Case 1

Wife Haru[1], aged 21, became jealous of her husband's attention to other women. Though she had a baby daughter four months old, she divorced her husband. Seven months later she left the baby with her mother-in-law.

1 In all cases presented here personal names have been changed.

[Koohinda-son]

The husband sought military employment after the divorce. Haru has now also gone to the city to find military employment because her younger brother, who is household head, became angry and said, "...even the animals know enough to suckle their young." An observer commented, "Haru is mentally deficient, so that is why she was jealous." 586 159

Case 2

Kanā at the age of 32 was Chūsei's third wife, and he was her fourth husband. His seventy-year-old mother, Ushii, had become blind as a result of the war. Kanā insulted her mother-in-law somehow. In turn Ushii insulted Kanā by saying she couldn't work very hard. Chūsei divorced Kanā for the quarrel, and she moved to an offshore island. More recently she remarried to a man two villages away, and they have two children. Her new husband fishes during the summer and works for a big sugar mill during the winter.

Case 3

The husband, Jirō, was a second son of 23 years, who had become an adopted husband, or 'yōshi'. His wife Yae, who was a common law child, bore him a son. Because he violently disliked farming he sold the land he inherited and bought a mat-making shop in Naha. His real father, killed in the war, had operated such a business. Jirō also took up a concubine in Naha.

Though she had borne Jirō a son, Yae divorced him because she didn't like the idea of a concubine, and preferred farming to life in Naha. Later Jirō sold the houselot in the village, took the house apart and reassembled it in Naha. The mat shop failed after one year. He now plans to make his living by doing nothing but renting out rooms. He married his concubine eighteen months later, after she bore him a son. Yae married a few days after the divorce, to a man from a neighboring village. She now has two sons.

Diagnosis In the first case cited above, we can see several factors that help us to understand Okinawan society. Attitudes expressed include: [593]

a) A wife should not be jealous of her husband's attention to other women;
b) A brother need not support his sister if she refuses to care for her own child; and
c) A mother's first duty is to care for her own child.

Both divorced persons eventually sought military employment. So we see that urbanization is not alone a matter of pull from the city, but contains in addition an element of being "pushed from the village". [369]

The Chūsei-Kanā divorce was brought on by an insult to the husband's mother. In Okinawa as in Japan the mother-in-law wields a good deal of authority. [606] [171]

In the third case cited, it was found that Jirō had a very bad reputation in the village because he was a 'yōshi' who sold his inherited [829]

[Kochinda-son]

586 property. After that action he was called by the villagers "white ant", or
159 "termite". From the beginning, community feeling was behind Yae and opposed
829 to him. Circumstances of her birth carried little stigma, but his actions outraged everyone. People thought it quite natural that she should live with another man and bear his child before Jirō formally recorded the divorce in the 'koseki'. As far as the villagers were concerned, the divorce had become effective when Jirō sold his inheritance.

161 3. A Note on the Accuracy of Population Statistics in Okinawa

Much conflicting population data were encountered by the SIRI team. Hence this note is included as being of possible value to military government and to other social scientists who may work in Okinawa at a later date.

Census Figures Year-end census figures, which are based upon de facto count rather than de jure count are the most accurate, since they include all persons actually resident in the village at the time, as well as 'museki', or persons without an official local 'koseki' record.

Many times these census figures are supplemented by figures reporting both the above and all persons visiting in the village or town at the date of census. These "visitors" may include students, peddlers, guests at inns, persons in institutions, and persons visiting friends or relatives. A few examples from the 1953 statistics report of GRI are given below:

Table XXVII

Political Unit	Koseki Population	Resident Population	De Facto Population
Okinawa Guntō	649,997	627,556	637,215
Shuri-shi	22,372	21,921	23,015
Nago-chō	17,067	16,955	17,255
Goeku-son	21,065	20,931	20,749
Kochinda-son	8,738	8,504	-not given-

161 The Museki People 'Museki' is a term applied to single individuals or fami-
641 lies who are not registered in the political unit where they are living. They may maintain with varying degrees of attention and accuracy a 'koseki' elsewhere. Some simply may have no registration in a 'koseki' anywhere due to a semi-wandering life or a criminal bent. These latter are said to have no legal rights. "How can anyone have rights unless he has a 'koseki'?"

161 Ad Hoc Counts Persons who wish an accurate count of the people in any
621 village are advised to consult directly with the village headman, or 'kuchō', rather than with the 'son' office. He is in constant daily touch with village affairs, and is the most knowledgeable man to contact about village matters. Figures given by a 'kuchō', usually are the most accurate for total number of people in the village at any given time. 'Museki' persons are included, but those who are legally residents of the village and living elsewhere are not included.

'Koseki' Changes The present 'koseki'---those used when this SIRI team visited Okinawa---are temporary ones set up about 1948. 161 217
In some very few areas 'koseki' remain from before the war. Registration in the 'koseki' is not automatic when an individual or family moves into a community. Hence there may even be persons who have bought houselots in a village, rented land there and raised crops---without ever having contacted the 'son' office for change of 'koseki'. Three such instances were observed in Nanahan. Areas such as Goeku-son and the Naha-Mawashi area, which contain many "floaters", may actually have a much larger population than is reported in the census figures.

'Koseki' Inaccuracies The present 'koseki' not only does not contain information on 'museki' persons, but it is often very far behind---sometimes as much as two years---in recording the movement of persons and families out of the villages and into urban centers.

Because old 'koseki' were for the most part destroyed, information on birthdates is very often inaccurate. The Kochinda 'koseki', for example, is full of requests for changes in birthdates, changes ostensibly sought on the basis of more accurate family records recently discovered or assembled. However, some changes may conceivably be sought in order deliberately to misrepresent one's age to a Company or to the military. Also, the possibility should not be ruled out that some persons change their recorded birthdate in order to bring about a change in their luck. [277]

Accuracy of Kochinda-son Data The statistics on household heads presented above represents the total number of people registered in the Kochinda 'koseki'. It does not take into consideration those persons and families who are recorded as having temporarily moved elsewhere. 217 162 592

Many people in Kochinda who have moved to the city have failed to record that fact in the 'koseki'. Many times this is attributable to apathy and poverty, but may often involve the matter of pride in having one's record in the same 'koseki' as one's close relatives. There is an additional factor at work: most Okinawans realize that the present urban trend brought about by the presence of the military is a temporary phenomenon, and they fully expect to return to the village in event of a lessening of urban opportunities. Thus Okinawa follows the Japanese pattern---by tightening their belts and working a little harder, the farmers can always make their plots feed an additional mouth until some adjustment can be made. [369] [829]

Hence the Kochinda statistics as presented above represent some 2,000 household heads and some 10,000 persons, rather than the census count of some 8,500 persons and 1,970 household heads.

The New 'Koseki' Early in 1954 the Government of the Ryukyu Islands ordered a new 'koseki' to be compiled. It will no doubt be more complete in most respects than is the temporary 'koseki'. The demand for a new 'koseki' came about chiefly because Japanese governmental pension agencies 217 [648]

217 need information having to do with widows, orphans, and the war dead. An
[648] interesting study might revolve around comparisons between the temporary 'koseki' and the new one. A study of the 'museki' persons should be very revealing in regard to aspects of lower-class life.

Usefulness in Research The 'koseki' is a mine of information of great potential value to anthropologists and other social scientists. A study of the personal names of people, especially women,
[777] would help show when new ideas came into the village. Name changes are often registered because a person feels his luck will change with a better-sounding name. Those 'koseki' which record the 'yagō', or house name, would enable one to make an extensive survey of the munchu system. A complete study of a 'son's' population should include supplementary records from the land ownership register and tax rolls.

When more accurate records are kept upon those who have left the village for urban work, the 'koseki' will provide many opportunities to study the process and pace of urbanization. Finally, in the process of copying a 'koseki', innumerable opportunities arise for consulting 'son' office personnel on customs and practices in the villages, thus providing new insights into Okinawan life. All in all, the 'koseki' is a most useful document whose possibilities have scarcely been tapped by social scientists.

CHAPTER VIII LAND TENURE

W. P. Lebra

423 During the lifetime of the oldest living generation of Okinawans
178 there have been operative two radically differing systems of land tenure---at first a system of communal land ownership and later a system of private ownership of land by families. At the present time a third system may be said to be emerging---private ownership by individuals. Changes in the systems of land tenure have been accompanied by significant changes in the family, economy, and community. During the wartime and post-war periods extensive land losses to military installations have severely disrupted the livelihood of a number of communities, thus furthering the process of change.

175 ## 1. The Okinawan Kingdom and the Land Allotment System ('jiwari seido')

Prior to 1879 when Japan formally annexed the Ryukyus, Okinawa was
[642] a small semi-independent kingdom (it was a tribute-paying dependency of the daimiate of Satsuma in Japan) controlling the southern Ryukyus. The
175 urban Naha-Shuri area served as the administrative and commercial center
565 for the kingdom, and nearly all of the upper classes, gentry and nobility, were concentrated there. They formed a ruling class similar to that of
[423] China, functioning as a literati and administrative bureaucracy. Feudalism had been abolished in the fifteenth century, and aside from a small percentage of the nobility who were allowed to retain their hereditary fiefs, the bulk of the upper classes subsisted on pensions granted by the ruler. This group was very large and constituted approximately one-third of the total population.

175 The farming population lived in a state of serfdom, being forbidden
[566] even to move from their native village or to change their hereditary occu-
[364] pation. Farm villages were self-sustaining and physically isolated entities consisting of tightly-nucleated clusters of dwellings surrounded by fields.
[621] Each village was segmented into several lineages whose houses were generally
[613] clustered together; these kin groups were related through the male line and shared a common ancestor, ritual observances, and often a local tomb for
[614] temporary burial. Each lineage was usually related to certain lineages of other villages, thus forming a larger relationship or patri-sib which shared a remote common ancestor, ritual observances, and a common tomb for permanent burial. Usually the membership of this larger kinship group was con-
[582] centrated in the villages of a given district or area. Village endogamy was an obligatory marriage practice, and kin group endogamy was a preferred though not an obligatory practice.

178 Private ownership of land on Okinawa is a recent phenomenon, as
423 recent, in fact, as the beginning of the twentieth century. Under the old
175 kingdom communal ownership of the land obtained for all except a small seg-
423 ment of the upper classes. In theory all land was the property of the ruler,
[632] but in practice the district, or majiri (political unit roughly equivalent

to the modern'son'), was the land-holding unit. The administration of the 175
majiri supervised the distribution of land to the villages or mura (polit- 423
ical unit equivalent to present-day 'ku') where it was divided among the [632]
various families. The amount of land allocated to a given family was de-
pendent on its size, age and sex of members, and social position; conse-
quently the houses of the muru priestess and local officials received a
proportionately larger allotment than the houses of ordinary farmers. The
distribution of arable land under this system at the end of the nineteenth
century was as follows: 67.1% farmers, 13% local lords, 8.3% muru
priestesses and local officials, 10.9% newly-cleared land.[1] The farmers
worked the lands of all groups.

The origin of this communal land allotment system ('jiwari seidō')
lies deep in Okinawa's past far beyond the beginning of its recorded history.
Redistributions were made periodically to compensate for changes in house-
hold size and fertility of holdings. These reallotments occurred at from
four to thirty year intervals at the option of the local (majiri) administra-
tion, with the average being about every tenth year. Certain lands were ex-
cluded from redistribution, particularly the lands of the local lords.
Usually the lands of the so-called yādui settlements made up of the younger
sons of gentry families were also excluded. Newly-cleared land was placed
in a special category in order to encourage land development; ordinarily it
was treated as the private property of the family that cleared it and was
not subject to reallotment. Despite these exceptions nearly 75% of the
arable land was subject to periodic redistribution.

175
Under this system the tax-bearing unit was the majiri, not the 423
family. Each majiri was headed by a jiturei, an appointed official from 651
Shuri, who functioned as an administrator, judge, and policeman; he was 632
held responsible for the tax payment of his district and was subject to
recall and punishment in the event of default. The state took no action
against the family or household which failed to pay its tax; such matters
were left to the jiturei and his assistants, who were free to deprive the
offending family of all its lands if they saw fit. When a house defaulted, [672]
its lineage was held accountable and forced to make up the deficit; if the [613]
lineage was unable to meet its obligations, the entire village (mura) had [621]
to assume the responsibility. A marked feature of the old village was a
number of granaries set aside for the community's annual tax levy.

Land valuations were permanently fixed in 1610 when the daimyo of 175
Satsuma had the region surveyed to determine the amount of tribute which 423
could be extracted. There was no reassessment until after the annexation, 651
although the overall tax levy was raised in 1635 and again in 1722. Only
arable land was subject to taxation; no taxes were levied against house
lots which were privately owned, nor against the forest and grass lands
which were communal property. The tax levy for each majiri was based on
the estimated productivity of its land at the time of the survey; it was a
fixed tax and was never altered. It had been set so that in theory 40%
of the yearly crop went to the government and 60% was to be retained by the

[1] Higa, 1950, p. 64.

175 family, but in actual practice the family often received a far lower percent-
423 age, since with a fixed tax there was no possibility of compensating for crop
651 failure, decline in productivity, and population growth. Tax payments were made in grain though cloth was also accepted. In addition to the inflexibility of the tax system there was a lack of uniformity in tax levies; certain areas such as Kunigami and the outer islands bore an unequal tax load, and farmers in all areas paid a proportionately higher tax than the officials and upper classes. These inequalities inherent in the system plus
[433] the periodic redistribution of plots served to curb any interest which the farmer might have had in improving his holdings; consequently, productivity was said to be very low.

423 Vestiges of this system may still be found in some of the peripheral
178 areas of Okinawa. The village of Oku in northern Kunigami-son still has communal ownership of its forest lands, and on Kudaka Shima off Chinen Peninsula a villager must turn his land over to the community when he goes to live elsewhere.

2. Okinawa-ken (1879-1945). Japanese Administration and the Termination of the Land Allotment System

175 Following the annexation of Okinawa, the new government embarked on
648 a program designed to integrate Okinawa (and the southern Ryukyus) into the
177 national state. The task facing the early administrators was a difficult one, for in addition to differences in language and culture Okinawa was poor in natural resources and possessed an antiquated administrative system. It was soon realized that modernization could not be accomplished overnight; therefore the Japanese allowed virtually all of the old customs to be retained during the first twenty years of their administration, and efforts were directed toward educating a sufficient number of Okinawans to assist
[568] them in carrying out the program. Though the old class system was abolished, members of the former classes continued to subsist on pensions now paid by the new government, and in the rural areas life continued much as before except that the mura replaced the majiri as the land-holding and disbursing
175 unit. By 1899 the government was prepared to introduce more radical changes,
648 and in March of that year Law 59 relating to land adjustment was promulgated.
177 Its objectives were to confirm private ownership and to determine land values for tax purposes. The importance which the administration attached
423 to this measure was clearly stated by Narahara Shigeru, superintendent of the Land Adjustment Board, "Now, the only way to reform the administration is to destroy old customs, but its accomplishment must be commenced with the reform of the system of land taxation, the very foundation of the old customs."[1] Following a mapping survey which began in 1899, officials went into the villages to explain the purposes of the law and to settle conflicting claims. Private ownership was generally confirmed in favor of the cultivator. By 1903 the land reform was carried through to a successful completion.

Private ownership of land was accompanied by the introduction of Japanese laws of property and inheritance; their combined effect was to alter substantially the prevailing social organization and economic balance of the rural community. Land formerly held by the family under the communal

[1] Summary of the Land Adjustment in the Okinawa Prefecture, 1904, p. ii.

allotment system was now entered in the newly-created land registries as the 175
property of the household head. In the past inheritance of the position of 648
household head by the first son had been largely a matter of status succes- 177
sion involving leadership of the family and certain ceremonial obligations.
Property succession had not been an important factor, for the private 423
property of the family had usually amounted to no more than the family
house and lot. Under the old land allotment system there was always land 177
available for younger sons who set up independent houses, but under Japanese 423
law the bulk of the family property was inherited by the first son. What had 428
been the function of the community in the past now became the responsibility 592
of the family, and since family holdings were usually small, the younger sons
were often landless. Informants stated that a father will usually do every-
thing possible to provide his younger sons with land, but he cannot do this
if it means jeopardizing the resources of the house. Continuation of the
family line for the purpose of continuity in worshipping the ancestors is
the chief responsibility incumbent on the household head, and in the rural
areas the land provides the major support for the house. With the rise in [166]
population there developed an increasing trend for younger sons to emigrate
from the rural areas in search of land or jobs elsewhere. The end result [602]
was a considerable weakening of family and especially kin group ties and a [621]
rapid decline in the communal character of the rural villages.

Though the creation of private property made possible the sale, pur- 175
chase, and rental of land, landlordism never gained a foothold on Okinawa. 423
Undoubtedly this is primarily due to the recency of private property and the 427
lack of time for large accumulations of land to be made. It is also in part [471]
due to a lack of capital in the rural areas; most capital on Okinawa after
the annexation and before World War II was confined to the hands of Japanese
businessmen and members of the former upper classes who seemed disinclined to
invest in land. Likewise the official Japanese attitude toward Okinawa was [648]
to regard it as a rather backward part of Japan not to be exploited as a
colonial dependency as in the case of Formosa and Korea. Glacken has sug- [171]
gested that the heavy fragmentation of the typical Okinawan farm would be an
obstacle to its sale; yet, the Chinese farmland is also highly fragmented
and landlordism has been common there for centuries.[1]

After the abolition of the communal allotment system taxes were ex- 175
tended to cover all categories of land whereas previously they had been ap- 423
plied only to arable land; however, government income from land taxes sharply 651
declined, as the moderate levies of the Japanese administration were con-
siderably below those of the Okinawan monarchy. Despite this reduction in [311]
tax load there has been a steady decline in the amount of land cultivated
since the termination of the old land system; this is clearly shown in Tables
III and IV in Chapter III, Agricultural History, Land Use and Diet.

3. World War II and the American Occupation

175
During World War II Okinawa became the scene of one of the most vio- 727
lent battles of modern times. The entire island was turned into a combat

[1] Glacken, 1951, p. 160.

175 area which resulted in a twenty percent reduction in the civilian population
727 and in the destruction of virtually every city, town, and village. The densely-populated southern half of the island, scene of the heaviest fighting, was particularly devastated.

Staggering reconstruction tasks faced the military government at the conclusion of the war, and at first nearly all its efforts were absorbed in managing the problems of food and health for the civilian population. In the course of the campaign nearly all of the people had been removed into civilian internment camps, and many remained there for nearly a year or more before returning to their homes. Most returned to find their homes destroyed and fields overgrown with weeds or littered with the debris of war. In a few areas whole villages were replaced by military installations. The average village found itself without housing, its fields in an unusable condition, and its families decimated. In most cases the district office ('sonyakuba') had been destroyed and with it all family and land records. The physical destruction of the war and the humiliation of defeat left the population apathetic and indifferent for some time. One informant stated this feeling succinctly, "After the war we were left with only the will to live, nothing more." A former war-time and post-war mayor of one village informed the author that nearly six years were required to restore the land to its pre-war state, and he expressed the opinion that this recovery was unduly prolonged by the generous food ration issued by the military government: "No one wanted to work as long as there was free food. Without this food it could have been done in two or three years."

175 On April 14, 1950, the military governor issued Special Proclamation
423 36 which authorized the issuance of new certificates of land title.[1] The measure necessitated surveying and preparing new land maps and issuing new
[648] titles. It was first necessary to set up schools to train personnel for carrying out the assignment. The mapping job was one which the authors heard praised in all farm villages, with a number of informants remarking that Okinawa now had the best land maps of any time in its history. In the confirmation of ownership local bodies were made sovereign, but the individual had the right of appeal to the courts.

423 Copies of the land titles are kept in three offices, the land regis-
647 try and tax collection offices in the district office ('sonyakuba') and in the Central Land Office located in Naha. Under the law all land transactions, rental or sale, must be registered within thirty days; however, even the most casual check of these records plus a knowledge of local holdings indicates that this is not being done, for both the bookkeeping and registration appear to lag far behind transactions. This does not seem to be the result of any deliberate attempt to withhold information but rather appears due to a lack of concern for such details on the part of the individuals concerned. The same sort of situation prevails in the registration of births and deaths. Another factor might well be that the large number of land transactions occurring in the postwar period have left the farmer disinclined

[1] Ryukyu Statistical Bulletin, no. 5, May 1950.

to take registration seriously until conditions are more stable. The Central 423
Land Office in Naha appears to be almost wholly out of touch with local 647
changes; for example, the extensive land changes subsequently described for Kitazato did not appear to be known or recorded on the maps in that office.

Taxation of farm lands is a very complex matter. Land assessments 651
are made by the district land office in conjunction with village leaders; 423
consequently, there is not only some variation in grading from 'son' to 'son' but also from village to village within the same 'son'. All land is divided into six categories: 1) rice lands or irrigated fields, 2) farm land or dry fields, 3) grass land or meadow (often erroneously translated as wasteland), 4) forest, 5) house or building land, and 6) miscellaneous, including graves, ponds, etc. It will be noted that only the first two categories are food-producing. The first five categories are sub-divided into grades depending on a variety of factors such as fertility, accessibility, availability of water, etc. In Kami Motobu-son there are sixteen grades of land within the five graded categories; thus, there are five grades of rice land, five grades of dry field, two grades of grass land, two grades of forest land, and two grades of house land. The tax is computed by the tax rate per grade of category times the area in 'tsubo' (1224 'tsubo' equal one acre). In Kami Motobu-son grade one dry fields carry an annual tax of 15 'sen' per tsubo; therefore, at current exchange rates (¥120 equal $1.00) a house would pay a tax of $1.53 (¥183.60) for an acre of this grade one land.

In regard to the matter of property inheritance there is some dis- 428
satisfaction with the present laws on the part of educated Okinawans. They 829
feel that the new Japanese constitution adopted during the American Occupation should also be enacted for the Ryukyus. The constitutional reform [642]
which took place in Japan after the war did not apply to the Ryukyus; consequently, Okinawa still operates under the old Japanese civil code except for certain gross inequities which have been corrected by military government proclamation. The new Japanese law holds that all children, regardless of sex or birth order, are entitled to an equal share of the parents' estate. In contrast, the old law, which still obtains on Okinawa, grants the bulk of the estate to the first-born son. Under this law property in reality is [423]
held for the family by the first son or household head; it is not his to dispose of as he sees fit. Educated Okinawans who discussed this subject 428
with the author expressed the opinion that the old law was undemocratic in 829
giving emphasis to the family over the individual, and they felt that Okinawa should keep pace with Japan in this respect. It should be emphasized, 184
however, that these persons were not farmers; the latter, most of whom are not too well educated, tend to regard the present laws as just, since the emphasis is on preserving the continuity of the family. A further subdivision of the typical Okinawan farm into still more fragmented plots would do little to improve the prosperity of the rural areas.

4. A Comparison of Land Tenure in Two Rural Villages: Kanegusuku and Kitazato

621 Kanegusuku The village of Kanegusuku is located in the southwestern cor-
[34] ner of Kanegusuku-son approximately three miles due south of Naha on the west coast, and it is immediately north of the town of Itoman. As is typical of the old Okinawan villages it is situated on high ground with all of its houses facing in a southerly direction. Aside from a detached cluster of eleven houses, the village houses are close together in
[12] a contiguous settlement. The village was selected for study because of its infrequent contact with Americans, relative lack of war damage, and a reputed antiquity and conservatism. As of December, 1953, the population was 507 persons forming 108 families occupying 103 houses. The present population is said to be about the same as before the war despite a 20% loss of life during the battle; this loss has been made up by repatriates from overseas and immigrants from other areas of Okinawa. The repatriates and some of the immigrants either had formerly resided in the village or regarded it as their ancestral home. There are nine families who were native to some other part of Okinawa before the war and have no previous connections with the village. The majority of the families have been in this village for
[592] many generations. There are approximately five persons in each household, which usually consists of a nuclear family, husband and wife and their children; but the composition of a number of households has been changed due to wartime losses.

Socially the village is segmented into eight lineages which con-
[613] stitute 92% of the total population; the remaining 8% is made up of unrelated families new to the village since the end of the war. One lineage includes nearly 61% of the village in its membership. Each of these lineages
[582] is related to lineages in other villages. Approximately 66% of the village marriages have been within the village, and nearly 50% of the marriages have been between persons of the same kin group. Thus, the composition of the village is fairly homogeneous, and both the community and the kin groups are strong cohesive units.

621 Occupation 98 of the 103 houses are engaged full time in farming;
463 the household heads of the five remaining houses are employed outside the village in non-agricultural pursuits although all participate in some part-
241 time farming. In addition to these five there were approximately fifteen young men, not household heads, who also worked outside. Most of these commuted daily to the greater Naha area where they were engaged in military employment or construction work. For the majority of villagers farming was the sole occupation.

621 Arable Land Over 66% of the total area of this village is under
311 cultivation, and about 38% of the cultivated land is in irrigated fields.
[434] The chief sources of income derive from rice and mats made from a sedge which is grown in an irrigated field. In terms of the average amount of
[136] arable land per household Kanegusuku is somewhat better off than the average for Okinawa: 1514.2 'tsubo' for Kanegusuku as compared with 1037.6 'tsubo' for Okinawa.

[Kanegusuku]

Non-cultivated land, however, is equally important to the average farm household in providing fuel, thatching, green manure, and many other necessities. 621 [311]

Land Holdings A breakdown of the 103 houses of Kanegusuku shows that 97 own land; 6 houses own no land of any type. Of the 103 houses, 56 rent land, and 6 of these rent all the land which they use. The remaining 50 own some land and rent some land. The figures are somewhat misleading, as included among the renters are those who rent only house lots; also included are some houses which have more than enough land for their own needs, but have rented plots contiguous to their main plots and in turn rent out their inaccessible plots to others. 621 423 427

In terms of total land per household 60% possess one or more acres of land which includes house lots, grass land, and forest in addition to cultivated fields. Nearly 73% of the village houses possess three-quarters of an acre or more of land which might arbitrarily be taken as the minimum necessary for mere existence, since farmers say that from 1000 to 2000 'tsubo' (1224 'tsubo' equal one acre) are needed for the average family. This leaves 27% of the village or exactly 28 houses with insufficient land for their needs. An investigation revealed that 13 of these 28 "have-not" houses were new to the village since the war. This group includes former residents of other Okinawan communities as well as repatriate families, of which 4 can be classed as having insufficient land. Three of these 28 houses without sufficient land were headed by widows, and two of these significantly were women who were not residents of the village, so that they were without close relatives in the village to help them. One person, the sole occupant of his house, was mentally unfit to take care of his lands and was helped by relatives. The remaining 11 of these 28 houses were headed by persons who were old residents of the village, but of these 9 were houses headed by younger sons who had established independent branch houses since the end of the war. Thus, out of a total of 28 landless and virtually landless houses, only two were headed by first sons who were native to the village. Although this group constitutes but 27% of the houses, it rents 51% of all the land rented by villagers. 621 423 [427]

Fields There are on the average 11 plots of land per household in Kanegusuku; of these 6 are cultivated fields while the remainder are in grass land, house lot, and forest or wood land. The average rice field is a little over a quarter of an acre in size, whereas the average dry field is about one-sixth of an acre in size. [311] [241]

Owners The land records list 160 landowners in Kanegusuku; 146 of these now reside in the village and 14 are listed as absent. Since there are but 103 houses in the village, a number of houses have more than one landowner. This is in part a result of the war, which broke up a number of families by deaths and also caused a severe housing shortage; consequently, there is some doubling up in a number of houses. Another factor is that in the land-rich houses (comparatively speaking) a father often has set aside some land for his younger sons and has entered this land in their names even though they are still quite young. [362]

[Kanegusuku]

621 423 425 [427] Absentee Owners There are 14 former residents of the village who still own land in it; their holdings amount to 5% of the total acreage. Most of these have either rented their land to villagers or have loaned it out to relatives; only a couple have allowed their holdings to remain idle. Absentee landlordism is definitely not a problem in Kanegusuku. Most who leave the village to seek employment in the cities seem reluctant to sell their land, and this does not appear to be because of any deep attachment for the soil. They feel that land is a security against the loss of a job or failure in the city; the land will always provide a subsistence. It is also significant that they are most reluctant to part with their house lots, especially old family sites. The house lot in such cases is regarded as an [769] important tie to the ancestors of the family, and since the dead can influence the fortunes of the living, it is feared that misfortune may follow the sale of a house lot, particularly to a person who is not a close relative. In most of the now unoccupied house lots of Kanegusuku one can find a small site for prayer (uganju) marked by a small censer and bits of incense. Periodically certain of the older members (usually female) of the family return to pay their respects to the ancestors at these spots. One gets the impression that this is done not so much in the spirit of venerating as in the spirit of propitiating.

425 427 Land Transactions Since the land registries were established again in 1950 there has been a sizable turnover in land holdings. From the last quarter of 1950 through the first quarter of 1954 59 plots have been sold and 154 plots have been rented out. As registrations usually lag far behind transactions, the above figures are undoubtedly too low, and this is especially true of the rentals.

427 Land Rentals Land rentals vary widely depending on the type of land, location, quality, and the relationship between owner and tenant. As a general rule payments are made in cash for house lots, grass land, and forest. If the owner and tenant are close relatives a lower rental will be charged, or in the case of house lots most likely no charge will be made at all. For rice fields the rent is always a percentage of the crop; this too will vary depending on the factors previously mentioned, though sometimes it will run as high as from thirty to forty percent of the yield. Dry fields are paid for in cash or produce depending on the crop and the arrangement; usually items that store well such as beans are acceptable as rent. In all cases, it must be stressed, much depends on the owner-tenant relationship; the land records show many instances of brother renting from brother. In most of these cases, according to informants, a lower rental or sometimes none at all is charged, especially if the one brother is considerably more prosperous than the other. Often persons who seek temporary employment elsewhere will lend their lands to close relatives during their absence rather than rent it out for a short term.

The terms "owner" and "renter" seem virtually meaningless unless referred to in context. For example, most widows have been forced to rent out their rice land, as its maintenance is considered too difficult for a woman. Likewise a number of children orphaned by the war are too young to work their holdings, and these are rented out or worked for them by relatives. At the

[Kanegusuku]

time of the author's stay in the village there was no individual or family which could be classified as rentier. 427

Changes Effected by the War War-caused changes in the distribution of land holdings among the various households were considerable. Many of the land-rich houses, if such a term may be used where the "richest" has but eleven acres, are such today because of the war, and conversely some houses have become impoverished or had their resources severely strained because of it. Unlike many other communities Kanegusuku was fortunate in that only about 4% of its total land area was permanently ruined as a result of the war. Some land was lost to a road, but most of the loss was due to a small military camp (about company size) now converted into a uberculosis sanatorium. Since land holdings are usually fragmented and scattered, no one family lost all its land, though one family lost nearly one-half and several approximately one quarter. The loss to the sanatorium is not compensated for by jobs for Kanegusuku people since no villager is employed there. This is explained by the fact that the director is from Itoman; so "naturally" he could not be expected to hire Kanegusuku people. 621 423 177 727 [186]

The composition of the household has changed in many homes since the war as a result of the large number of deaths. Today a number of households consist of the usual nuclear family of husband, wife, and their offspring plus a related "broken" family such as widowed sister and her children or widower brother and his children or parent and unmarried siblings. In most cases the holdings of both families are pooled and the household functions as a single economic unit, though separate purses are sometimes maintained. There are several old people who live alone in their houses, but they are usually watched over by near relatives. 621 592 177 727

The richest landowner (eleven acres) in the village today was a second son in very moderate circumstances before the war. As a second son he was given by his parents to childless relatives for adoption. During the war his adoptive parents died, leaving him their entire estate. The war also caused the death of his real father and elder brother, leaving him the sole heir to their property. He has since married a woman who as the surviving member of her family is heiress to its property. Consequently, this house now holds the land of three families. The villagers are somewhat envious, but they say that misfortunte may result since this house now must make the ritual observances to the ancestors of three families, which is felt to be too great a task for anyone, and inadequate attention may lead to calamity. 621 556 727 [769]

The women who were widowed by the war and who have chosen to maintain separate households have had in most cases a difficult time of it, and particularly those widows without grown sons have been hard pressed. Farming an irrigated field is said to be impossible for a woman alone; therefore, most of them have had to rent out their rice lands, thereby losing much of its return. It is also very difficult for a house which contains only women to participate in reciprocal labor exchanges, since two days of labor by a woman are equated to one day of labor by a man. 621 589 727 [462] [427] [476]

[Kanegusuku]

621 The group most dissatisfied with its lot today are the repatriates
423 from the former Japanese possessions. A few of these families were able upon
727 return to take up the lands left by relatives killed in the war or were given land by prosperous relatives, and four repatriate families are virtually landless. All of them, regardless of the size of their present holdings, chafe at their circumstances. One repatriate told the author that he had farmed nearly twenty-five acres in a single plot of sugar on Saipan and that he could never be satisfied with Kanegusuku after this. He is hoping that he will eventually be permitted to return to Saipan.

Before the war that segment of the village which possessed the least amount of land consisted almost exclusively of younger sons who had established branch families. Today this group has been augmented by repatriates from the former Japanese possessions and by emigrants from other Okinawan communities.

621 Farm Laborers During the course of the author's stay in Kanegusuku
241 there was only one full-time farm laborer in the village. This man came from
[463] one of the southern islands in the Ryukyus and was employed for less than a month. After his discharge, the former employer remarked that no outsider has enough interest in the lands of another family to make his employment worthwhile. Transplanting and harvesting rice place the heaviest labor de-
[857] mands upon the family; at these times virtually every member of the family
[476] works in the fields; even the grade-school children are given minor tasks, and the family labor force is supplemented by close relatives or neighbors in a reciprocal labor exchange.

829 Attitudes toward the Land One does not hear or see evidence of
554 any great love or attachment for the soil on the part of the Okinawan farmer.
463 In fact, quite the contrary seems true. Most regard their occupation as a
241 lowly one and feel that they are farmers because they know no other occupation. Land is of value because it provides a livelihood, nothing more, though some exception might be made for house land. Nearly all of the younger generation reflect the thinking of their fathers, and they are eager to get a good education (the diligence of even the average Okinawan student would strike the American teacher as amazing), secure a job in the town or city, and leave the drudgery of the farm village forever. Most
[433] farms are so small that they provide no more than mere subsistence for their cultivators; consequently, the young men see no sense in attending agricultural school when they will have little more than an acre to work. One young man from a fairly prosperous family in the village recently secured a job as a stevedore in Naha, and both he and his wife expressed their pleasure over what they regard as a definite improvement in their status. Though they have not sold the land which they own, they hope that it will never be necessary to return and farm it.

To a large extent this attitude toward the land and farming as an
[178] occupation is directly related to the economic and cultural changes taking place on Okinawa today; the city is an exciting place to live in and employment there is economically more advantageous than farming. Nevertheless, this seems in part the product of the old land system and the low, serf-like status accorded farmers under it. Some of the earlier visitors and officials

[Kanegusuku]
[Kitazato]

on Okinawa observed that the farmer took little interest in the care of land which he did not regard as his own. The author was particularly impressed by the contrast between Japan and Okinawa in regard to the care of land, for the meticulous care which the Japanese farmer lavishes on his land seems absent by contrast among the Okinawan farmers. 241 829 554 463 [171]

Kitazato The farm village of Kitazato in Kami Motobu-son presents a marked contrast to Kanegusuku in that it has suffered the loss of a major part of its area to a military installation. In studying the village of Kitazato the village of Kanegusuku was used as a base line for comparisons. To supplement his own observations the author has drawn heavily on actual statements by Kitazato people; in this way he hopes to present as accurately as possible the actual state of the village compared to villages elsewhere on Okinawa, and the villagers' own conceptualization of their circumstances. 621 [727] 121 621 [124]

Kitazato is not an old village, having been founded but seven generations ago by the younger sons of gentry families from the Naha-Shuri area. It was politically independent of the neighboring villages during the time of the old kingdom, but after the annexation it was administered in part by the villages of Gushiken and Jahana. In 1936 or 1937 it was established as an independent village, taking its present name. 175 621

Following their release from civilian internment camps the villagers returned to the site of their old homes shortly before New Year's of 1946. They found virtually their entire village land area converted into an airfield and accompanying military installations. According to their account there was considerable misunderstanding between them and the military as to where they might live, and they feel that they were subject to contradictory and inconsistent orders. Several moves were made which disrupted their plans to settle, and one villager stated, "I grew tired of rebuilding my house." In 1948 they were finally ordered to remove themselves from the military area, and they took up residence in their present location. It is claimed that there was insufficient land in the area to resettle the entire village on a single site; so, the village divided into three sections. Thirty houses were located on the beach between the villages of Gushiken and Shinzato, and this segment was given the name Hama. The remainder of the houses settled in the nearby hills from one to two miles away. Thirty-nine houses settled in the hills between the villages of Furushima and Jahana, taking the name Kijikina. Ten houses located themselves in the hills just north of Kijikina in a settlement which they called Anahana. These latter two, however, function as a single settlement for administrative purposes. These 80 houses making up the scattered village of Kitazato have a total population of 414. Despite their physical separation these segments have striven with considerable difficulty to maintain their political and social unity; one mayor and council serves them, and people are constantly visiting from one area to another. Today most of their land is gone, and they are too far removed from any city, town, or military installation (the airfield is abandoned) for employment. Extreme poverty and bitterness are one's first impressions of the village. 175 621 727 [464] [735]

[Kitazato]

175 621 727 It is said that the division of the village cut across family lines and that the motivating factor in a household's choice of one site over another was the location of their remaining landholdings on the periphery of the village. Another factor was the presence of relatives in neighboring villages from whom they might secure land for rental. Thus, Kijikina is largely made up of households which have their lands on that side of the field or have relatives in neighboring Furushima; the Hama people mostly own the land at the north side of the field.

175 621 [349] [134] [235] [134] The Pre-war Village Prior to the war the village was, according to 'son' officials, a very prosperous community and a great economic asset to the 'son'. It possessed nearly 173 acres in arable land, most of which was flat or gently rolling. The soil was well suited to sugar cane which was the chief source of income for the village; cattle-raising for export to Japan provided an additional source of income.

Unlike Kanegusuku the lineages were said to be rather weak in Kitazato; there were a number of different kin groups, and no one of these was [360] dominant. The houses of the village were not tightly nucleated like those of the typical Okinawan village but were scattered about in a loose grouping in the midst of the best agricultural land.

621 311 727 Land Loss At the present time (May, 1954) approximately 39% of the total land area of this village is in airfield, and an additional 34% of the total area has been ruined by activities related to its construction (sand dumped onto fields, top soil removed, erosion, etc.). There remains but 27% of the total land area for the use of the villagers, and of this only a small percentage is in arable land, since most of the good, flat farmland was lost to the airfield. The total amount of arable land remaining is [134] 11,895 'tsubo' (less than ten acres), and this averages out to about 148 'tsubo' or 0.12 acres per household, with approximately five persons in each house. The average amounts of arable land per household in Kanegusuku, Okinawa, and Kitazato compare as follows:

Kanegusuku	--- 1514.2 'tsubo'	
Okinawa	--- 1037.2 'tsubo'	(per farm household)
Kitazato	--- 148.7 'tsubo'	

Land loss to the airfield affected every family in the village; some families lost all of their lands, a very few managed to retain most, but the majority of villagers (70%) lost nearly all of their holdings. For example, the mayor of the village held 2470 'tsubo' before the war and now has 570 'tsubo' left; yet, he is considered one of the more fortunate. To compensate for their losses they now farm some land which was previously left idle: "We would not have farmed such land before the war as we are farming today." Some have rented lands from neighboring villages, and a few have been given land by relatives in these villages.

621 829 727 Land Payment The people of Kitazato strongly feel that they are not being paid adequate remuneration in terms of current rental values for their land. They are well aware of the fact that the same U. S. military

[Kitazato]

is paying adequate rentals for lands used in Japan, and it is their contention that Okinawa is being discriminated against because she is weak. Because of this some wish that Japan were back in control, believing that their interests would be better served. One hears no comments on the presence of Americans in the islands or on the legality of building bases there, for they concede that the outcome of the war granted that; yet, they are bitter about the loss of their livelihood and what they feel to be neglect on the part of the military government. Long accustomed to a paternalistic government which directed many aspects of their lives, they are now at a loss to understand this seeming indifference to their present circumstances. They are completely unmoved by argument, which might seem logical to an American, that Congress has not appropriated sufficient funds, for they do not distinguish between the various divisions of American government---it is all American to them. They point to the high standard of living enjoyed by the American personnel and their families stationed on the island and make the inference that there seems to be no lack of funds for their needs. 621 829 727

The villagers say that they have received three payments from military government through May, 1954. The first of these paid for the cost of removing and rebuilding their homes. This amounted to a flat payment of ¥6000 ($50) per house, which they say was inadequate. The first of the land payments was made in June of 1953; the villagers assert that they were paid at pre-war rates, and one person who owned 5480 'tsubo' described the payment as a "laugh". The second payment for the use of their lands was made in May, 1954, while the author was studying the village. This time the payments were said to be substantially higher especially in certain categories; yet, they contend that payments are still far below current rentals. In this payment, ¥5.40 per 'tsubo' per year was paid for grade one house lots, but in Kijikina the owner of one house claimed that he paid ¥24 per 'tsubo' per year for rental on his house lot. Grade one dry fields were paid for by the military government at a rate of ¥3 per 'tsubo' per year; the farmers say that they can get about ¥60 per 'tsubo' in annual yield if this land is planted in beans or potatoes, and local rentals on this same type of land are about ¥15. They are angry at receiving but ¥3 for their land and having to pay ¥15 to rent equivalent land. They are also dissatisfied with the manner of payment for grass land and tomb land which are paid for by the plot regardless of size; thus, they say that the person who has two small plots of 10 'tsubo' each receives twice as much as the man who owns a single, larger 100 'tsubo' plot.

<u>Effect of the Land Loss on the Village: Physical Appearance</u> On first entering any one of the three segments of Kitazato one is struck almost immediately by a level of poverty considerably below that of other Okinawan villages. This is particularly true of Hama, whose houses are jammed tightly together on a treeless beach. Most of the houses consist of a single room which serves as living and sleeping quarters; a small lean-to kitchen is attached on the side. The floor space of the houses was considerably smaller than those of Kanegusuku. Several brackish wells supply the community with water. The Anahana and Kijikina settlements in the hills have a more attractive appearance due to a large number of young pine trees and a small stream in the area, giving a park-like atmosphere; however, 621 735 511 [342] [312] [342]

511 [Kitazato]
621 the houses are the same small, poorly-built structures of thatch and scrap
735 lumber that are found on the beach. By way of contrast, the house which
[342] the author rented in Kanegusuku was the poorest and shabbiest in that vil-
[184] lage; yet, the same house in Kitazato would easily have been the best.
Shabby appearances are not limited to houses, for the people too are more poorly dressed than elsewhere on Okinawa.

621 Food Nearly everywhere on Okinawa the authors heard that the peo-
511 ple are eating better today than before the war; such is not the case for
262 Kitazato, and the villagers are most emphatic about this. Potatoes, beans, and other vegetable products form the mainstay of their diet; often times, they say, potatoes are dug up before they are fully mature, so great is the pressure for food. It is the opinion of the local agricultural office that the people are slowly starving to death, and the villagers state that they are always hungry. The local storekeepers say that the people do not have enough money to buy canned foods to supplement their diet. Though Hama is
[226] virtually on the water the villagers do no fishing since the occupation is regarded as a foreign one; however, some shell fish are collected by the women.

621 Exodus of Youth One of the marked features of the village is the
511 general absence of young men and women in the fifteen to twenty-five age
166 group, for as soon as the student completes junior high school, he or she heads for the city seeking employment. A number of the families in the village are said to subsist mainly on the money which their children send back. According to the mayor 61 families have left the village since the end of the war; he feels that if they had not left, things would be much worse. Most of those who left were families containing grown children who could work; the parents in some cases were reluctant to leave, but their children were anxious to leave. A slight decline in military employment in early 1954 resulted in several of these families' returning to the village, and the mayor was apprehensive lest more return.

621 One characteristic of the population of this village which struck
847 the author was the disproportionate number of females to males in the age group under five years. In this group there were 64 males and 33 females, whereas the groups above were more nearly proportionate. Female infanticide has been a common occurrence during times of famine or under conditions of extreme poverty in Japan and China, and the authors heard several stories giving some evidence of it on Okinawa. No factual evidence of any sort was gathered by the author in Kitazato to corroborate this interpretation of the statistics; however, the fact that the permanent resettlement of the village in its present locations took place approximately six years ago in 1948 may lend some credence to this interpretation.

62 Attitude toward Americans The villagers' initial reaction to the
829 presence of the author in the village was one of fear and veiled hostility. Gradually this was overcome, and good rapport was established. During one
[123] of his last visits to the community the author was told, "The first day you were in the village everyone wondered if the military were going to make us move again. No one slept that night." At the same time the villagers are

[Kitazato]

somewhat appalled by what they regard as a lack of concern on the part of Americans for their plight. As they have been long accustomed to a paternalistic government, this seems to be a deliberately negligent attitude, and they express this feeling not infrequently. The following statements were heard by the author, "We never see any Americans who come to inspect or look at things" and "No Americans ever come to see how we are." 621 829

National Organizations National organizations such as the youth association and the women's association are rather weak in Kitazato when compared with Kanegusuku. They say that they have little spare time for such organizations, which is undoubtedly true, and the scattered nature of the village makes meeting a chore for some in the outlying sections. The ranks of the youth association are thinned by the loss of members who have sought employment in the city or military camps. Even the agricultural association is not as active as elsewhere, since the farmers feel that little can be done to improve their situation. The farmers and the head of the 'son' agricultural office were disgusted by the stupidity of a plan tendered by the central agricultural office to relieve the distress of Kitazato and other dispossessed farmers in Kami Motobu-son. This plan called for the planting of sugar cane as a cash crop and the use of the proceeds to buy food. It failed to take into consideration that sugar takes a long time to mature and that the people would have nothing to eat in the interim, and even if they were to plant their entire holdings in sugar, it would not bring enough cash to feed them. 621 575 621 829 242 241

Village Solidarity Village solidarity seems very high in Kitazato, much higher than in Kanegusuku. Undoubtedly this is largely due to the common problem which faces them all; nevertheless several other factors appear to be involved. The gentry origin of Kitazato kept it aloof from its immediate neighbors for many years, and apparently no real contacts were established in neighboring villages until after the annexation. Even today the people of this village speak a dialect markedly distinct from that of their nearest neighbors; thus, the upper-class origin and the physical and linguistic isolation of the village has perhaps contributed much to its integration and solidarity. The relative weakness of kin groupings seems to be another factor. In Kanegusuku one gets the impression that the strength of the lineages mitigates against informal village-wide cooperation and only through formal organizations such as the youth association is any real village-wide cooperation realized. In Kitazato the weak kin groupings seem no obstacle to this. 621 186 [197]

It seemed to the author that the people of Kitazato never tired of reiterating how well they cooperated together and how much they enjoyed working together as a village. "We want to stay together as a village, as we cooperate so well together." This is typical of the statements which were made. Many say that they would not object to emigration provided they might emigrate as a village.

Land Rentals Two serious problems face the people of Kitazato in regard to renting the land of neighboring villages. They are unable to pay 621 427

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621 for the lands which they rent, since they have no cash; and they feel that
427 the amount of rent in product from their low yield soils is too great to justify the expenditure of labor. Several other villages in the area lost land to the airfield, so that there is very little land available for rental today. The land which they have rented is of a poor quality, and, consequently, yields are very low. A few fortunate ones have had relatives in neighboring villages who have supplied them with land at a low rental; several who have brothers in neighboring villages have been given free use of some lands. These, however, constitute a small portion of the total village.

628 Neighboring villagers who were interviewed expressed their sympathy for Kitazato's loss of its livelihood. They state that relations between them are good.

621 <u>Morale</u> The villagers are in a low state of morale, and they fre-
829 quently express the opinion that their situation is hopeless. The young people see no future in remaining in the village and are anxious to leave as soon as they are able. Older adults cannot conceive of leaving the village; yet, they are depressed by their circumstances. A number of the middle-aged men remarked that it was too late for them to learn another occupation even if they could get away. The older people particularly mourn the loss of their village: "Our village was beautiful, and we loved it," and "Our land is hopeless now; we cry in our minds just to look at it." All age groups were heard to express statements such as, "Each year things are worse," and "We are slowly starving to death." One informant told the author that he believed someone had been stealing potatoes from his field.

The head of the local agricultural office believes that the village should be brought together again as a single community on the site of the old village near the airfield and that they should be given permission to farm the unused land contiguous to the field. In this way, he feels, they might be able to pull themselves together and start rebuilding anew. He is worried that the people will become so demoralized by their present state as to become slothful, and he is of the opinion that the people cannot continue much longer in their present state.

<u>Outlook for the Future</u> The people of Kitazato are uneasy and pessimistic about their future, and the local 'son' officials, political and agricultural, feel that the villagers cannot long continue in their
621 state of poverty and borderline starvation. It seems to the author that the future holds but three possibilities for them---continued endurance of their present situation, emigration, or an increase in the rent paid for the use of their land.

Without an improvement in their present circumstances, ultimate starvation would seem the only possibility; the figures on land holdings
[433] alone will validate that, for ten acres will not provide subsistence for over four hundred no matter how intensive the agricultural techniques. There does not appear sufficient land available for rental with which they might supplement their meager holdings. Many villagers are too poor to cut loose from the wretched plots they farm; it takes cash to move and set up

[Kitazato]

elsewhere, and this they do not have. Others are too timid or feel themselves untrained and incapable of learning a new job elsewhere. This is especially true of the middle-aged men who are supporting aged parents and/or young children; to cut loose from the village and leave his land seems too great a risk for one who has the burden of family support, little education, and no training for any other pursuit. At least in his village, he feels, there are friends, relatives, and others like him sharing common problems. Likewise, seeking employment as an agricultural laborer in other communities would bring in little return; such work is usually taken by young, unmarried men men who have not yet established themselves. Perhaps with government loans and encouragement most of the families might be resettled in other Okinawan farming villages, but there is strong resistance toward any suggestions or moves which would lead to a breakup and scattering of the village. It should be emphasized, however, that this is the feeling of those members of the village who are above 35 to 40 years of age and who have family responsibilities. The young do not share this sentiment for village solidarity, and they are most eager to leave the village once their schooling is completed. A few who have succeeded in establishing themselves in the city have sent for their parents or have regularly sent money to them, but often the rewards of city or military employment are not sufficient to permit this, or they marry and have the problems of their immediate family to think about. 621

The strong desire to remain together as a village is expressed whenever the question of emigration is raised. For example, about four or five young men in the village have expressed a willingness to emigrate to South America. Several South American countries have sought Okinawan settlers; however, they want young people capable of making a contribution to the economy; oldsters are not sought. In most cases this means a breakup of the family, leaving the older people behind on Okinawa until the emigrants have saved sufficient money to send for them. In most cases they would be without support in the absence of the children. Those who have expressed an interest in emigrating as individuals have been subject to some criticism; however, the villagers would be willing to emigrate to South America provided they were allowed to emigrate as a village. In fact, the majority of villagers appear willing to emigrate to South America, the South Seas, or even to Yaeyama in that order of preference. The latter island, despite numerous press campaigns extolling its virtues, holds little appeal for Okinawans. It is considered a dangerous place subject to many typhoons and diseases, and the Japanese government tried for many years to encourage Okinawan settlement there with little more success than that achieved by the military government. The people of Kitazato, however, say that they would resettle in Yaeyama provided the government helped them and allowed them to resettle as a village; or they would not be averse to resettlement elsewhere on Okinawa under the same conditions. In all cases it is their strongest desire to remain together as a village and to be given aid in reestablishing themselves. 621 829

Lastly they would prefer most of all that they be paid adequate rentals in term of current land rentals for their land which has been used for the airfield. Adequate rentals would enable each family to determine the course of its own future without any interference from the government.

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62| If this were done, many villagers state that they would prefer to remain in
829 the area. They would try to rent more land from neighboring villages, and they would be looking forward to the day when they might start life anew on the old village site. The younger generation does not share this nostalgia and this desire to recreate the old village; they feel that adequate rentals would provide the means for establishing themselves elsewhere. In time, one suspects, the older people would follow them.

3: Pitts et al. E,K-5 (1953-1954) 1955 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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CHAPTER IX: HEALTH

W. P. Suttles

121 This chapter will begin with a section on the human body---attitudes
128 toward and practices concerned with its care and its functions. This will be followed by a section on sanitation---attitudes and practices. A third section will deal with concepts of the supernatural and their relationship to illness. A fourth will describe the various types of "medical" practitioners found in Okinawan society, and Okinawan attitudes toward modern medicine. It will be seen that this chapter contains much that is often described under the heading "Religion" or even "Values" and contains little on the actual state of health and incidence of disease among the Okinawans. But we believe that this is as it should be in a report on Okinawan culture. That sanitation is poor and disease is prevalent is no doubt all too apparent to the medical observer. A detailed study of the diseases themselves must be made by research-workers competent in that field. A study of native culture, however, reveals some of the underlying causes of poor sanitation and poor health. We feel therefore that this is a valid unit and properly put under the title "Health".

1. The Human Body: Practices and Attitudes

261 Eating and Drinking Okinawans enjoy food and drink and make numerous events the occasion for their enjoyment. Questions about holidays frequently soon elicit long descriptions of the types of dishes appropriate to each. To a Westerner the variety may not seem great, but to the Okinawans a slight difference in the consistency of a soup may call for a
262 differentiating term. The variety of foods is probably as great as it can be within the limits of Okinawan resources. Foods are valued differently.
[171] Rice ranks high, sweet potatoes low. Pork is esteemed, as in China but not in Japan.

264 Three meals a day is usual. Rice, soup, and boiled foods are served in bowls, fried foods in flat dishes. These are eaten with chopsticks. The bowl may be held in the hand near the mouth; soup may be drunk directly from it. Some foods, such as noodles, are habitually sucked up with considerable noise. This noise is neither made purposely nor is it avoided; it just does not matter. Children may bolt their food without being scolded for it, but adults seem to have no compulsion to eat fast, as the Japanese are said to
[574] have. On festive occasions men are served in the first room, women in the second. On these occasions a portion may be served already in a box so that it may be taken home. On ordinary occasions the family may eat together,
[321] though women often eat in the kitchen by the oven. Conversation of both
[574] light and serious matter may accompany eating. Serving food is essential to the entertainment of guests and to the payment of social debts.

273 Drink is also essential to entertainment. Tea is drunk first thing
[272] in the morning and at any time of the day or evening. But for men something stronger is also desirable. Usually it is the clear, strong, distilled drink

called saki in Okinawan, 'awamori' in Japanese. This drink is sold in several 273
grades and so is Japanese 'sake', but most farmers seem to prefer a rawer,
stronger grade of 'awamori'.[1] In most homes 'awamori' is soon offered male
guests if they call in the evening, sometimes in the afternoon as well. For [574]
festive occasions it is absolutely necessary. Many older men also drink it [562]
a bit every evening in small groups or even alone. Older women may drink a
little, younger women, unless of the professional class, rarely.

When men drink together they invariably exchange drinks as a gesture of friendship. Generally the friendliness increases with each gesture, stimulating further gestures. Drunkenness is frequent. Different types of behavior among drunks are recognized and labelled appropriately. The 'uma-zake' ("horse-drunk") prances around; the 'buta-zake' ("pig drunk") sleeps; the 'ushi-zake' ("ox drunk") acts belligerent; the 'naki-zake' ("cry drunk") weeps. (These are Japanese terms, incidentally; I did not get native equivalents but assume they exist). But Okinawans who get drunk are mainly just plain friendly drunks; the belligerent drunk is very rare. Burd's description of Miyakoan drunken behavior---the sentimentality and endless expression of gratitude for friendship---would apply equally to the behavior of drunk Okinawans. And as Burd suggests, the reason may lie in the formality and etiquette that governs the relations of the sober; getting drunk is a means of relaxing the usual barriers.[2] The remarkable tolerance Okinawans show to drunks may arise from sympathy in the face of a common need. Drinking is often accompanied by singing and dancing. Men dance individually. Men who behave on most occasions with reserve and formality, may, after drinking a bit, dance with a grace and reckless ease that must be seen to be believed.

Okinawans do not drink water as frequently as Americans and even 271
with the more frequent tea and bottled drinks their total fluid consumption 272
would appear to be considerably less.

Rest and Sleep Chairs and beds are not usually found in Okinawan homes. 352
Mats serve the function of both. On formal occasions 516
Okinawans kneel. This they may do at the beginning of a formal gathering, but soon they are told to be at ease, which means sitting cross-legged for the men and with the feet to one side for the women. When relaxing at home they may put their feet out in front of them.

Okinawans sleep on the floor, usually on a quilt ('futon') on the 513
mat and with another put on over them. Often the whole family will sleep between two large quilts and under one large mosquito net suspended from the ceiling. To Americans unused to the floor it seems unbearably hard and the quilt above oppressive; it seems as though the Okinawans want too little below the body and too much above. From infancy on they sleep stretched out supine with a pillow under the head or neck. The pillow may be of cloth stuffed with husks or merely a block of wood.

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1 This observation is supported by the statement of a distiller interviewed by Lebra.

2 Burd 1952, p. 82.

513 Ventilation at night may be poor; the sliding doors are usually tightly shut and locked. In larger towns and cities this practice may be explained as due to the prevalence of thieves, but in the country there must be another reason; it is probably the fear of yanakaji or of the kiji-
[775] munaa. The first, yanakaji, literally "bad winds", are ghosts, who may
[776] cause illness. The kijimunaa is a sea-being or tree-being who causes a frightening but harmless sensation of smothering and weight on the chest. These creatures may enter through open doors or windows. According to one informant their entry might be prevented by setting up a butcher knife in the opening but I have not seen it done. (It could only be done for a window; in a door it would be dangerous to the human occupants.)

In spite of their sleeping with relatively little change in position while in bed, Okinawans seem to be able to fall asleep in a variety of positions and circumstances, in busses and on trucks, in the midst of family activities, with noise and bright lights apparently presenting no obstacles. This ability may be the result of the early experience of sleeping under all sorts of conditions while being carried on the mother's back. There are two restrictions to sleeping. All avoid sleeping with the head oriented west, because that is the way a corpse is oriented. The other is that girls and women must avoid sleeping with the legs separated. Lebra observed one grandmother give her little granddaughter a hard pinch on the thigh for this.

Okinawans recognize that sleep is essential to maintaining the body. After a restless night one may say that he "had insufficient sleep".
[791] It has been asserted that the Japanese regard sleep as a luxury rather than as a necessity. This cannot be said of the Okinawans.

515 Cleanliness In care of the body, the Okinawans are among the cleanlier of
171 the world's peoples. They bathe frequently, keep their nails
[302] clean by constant trimming, their teeth clean by prolonged morning brushing, and their hair neatly cut or dressed. But they are not as cleanly as the Japanese or at least as the urban Japanese. One reason why they bathe less frequently is that baths are simply less available. Many villages are without public baths. Most farmers must either pour cold water over themselves at their wells or a little hot water warmed in the kitchen. In villages
[834] where there are few wells the water must be carried. Another factor may be modesty; nudity is not taken for granted as in Japan, so that one does not strip nude at the well in the daytime. A third factor may be the lack
[703] of such highly-developed concepts of ceremonial purity and pollution as exist in Japan. There are no tabus on the activities of menstruating women on Okinawa as there are in Japan, for example.

291 Nudity Pre-school children often play nude. Mothers sometimes appear to
834 be displaying little boys nude to demonstrate their masculinity. Photographs of naked baby boys are popular. Boys may continue to swim nude until eight or so, but girls begin to put on some garment for swimming
[853] sooner. Women nurse in public and sometimes work at home with the breasts
[514] uncovered. Adults of both sexes may urinate in public, but in such a way
[ ] that the body may not be seen. Adults do not appear publicly or privately
[515] before one another nude. Public bath houses have separate sections for men

and women. Two informants who had lived in Japan denied having ever heard of public baths with mixed bathing. Okinawans have occasionally been shocked by seeing Americans nude. Okinawans feel that not only should the lower part of the torso be covered for the sake of modesty but the upper part also should be covered, if one is out of doors, for reasons of health; the sun's rays are harmful if too strong. Modesty may even reach proportions uncommon in the West; one young man told Lebra that he does not enjoy going swimming because he believes he is too hairy. The same young man told how he and other boys, when in high school, used to peep through a crack in the bathhouse wall in order to see the women bathing on the other side, until they were chased away by the proprietor. This hardly suggests the casual attitude toward nudity reported for the Japanese. 291 834 [515] [826]

Body Ornamentation. The Okinawans seem never to have practiced any sort of body mutilation---such as the Chinese foot-binding. However, women were tattooed on the wrists and backs of the hands until early in this century. Most women over 50 have tattooed hands. There are several stories told that purport to explain the origin of the practice---that it was to prevent Okinawan women from being kidnapped, for example---but these stories are of doubtful value. The designs have names but evidently no meaning; one old woman said that they varied with the tattoo artist, who put on whatever he wanted. Tattooing was done before puberty and marriage. It may have originally been part of a puberty rite. 178 304

Many people of both sexes between the ages of 20 and 40 have elaborate gold and silver work on their teeth. In many cases the work does not consist of fillings or bridges but of thin caps put over sound teeth for purely ornamental reasons. These can be removed without harming the teeth. People are said to be having this sort of work done today, but in time the value Americans and present-day Japanese put on "natural-looking" teeth may win out over the urge to ornament the mouth. Of course there is also a great deal genuine dental work done because of tooth decay. 301 [772]

At present American values and modern Japanese values in feminine beauty are being spread by the beauty parlor. For several years the permanent wave has been popular though perhaps not well suited to Mongoloid hair. And recently a number of young women are said to have added padded brassieres to their equipment. 177 832 [305] [302] [294]

Elimination. Urination and defecation are regarded differently. Urination in public is permissible for males, if they turn away. I have seen a dignified old gentleman talking over his shoulder to a young woman while he urinated into the ditch. Women may also urinate in public, though they do so less frequently. Defecation in public is not usual; even children are scolded for it though they may occasionally do it. Feces ought to go in the proper place; one reason for using the toilet may be that the "night-soil" is used as fertilizer. 514 [863] [241]

The Okinawan term kusu is used rather more freely than its Japanese cognate, though the uses are parallel. Alone it means "feces", human or animal. It is the usual word for animal manure. In compounds it may mean 192

192 any kind of body dirt or excretion, as mii-kusu, "sleep" in the eyes, haa-
[578] kusu, "stains on the teeth". As in Japanese it is used also in cursing; in
[774] anger an Okinawan may say, "I'll make you eat feces." A similar phrase,
[775] kusu takkwee, "eat feces", is often spoken after someone, especially a baby, sneezes. It is explained that the custom arose when a person once overheard two ghosts plotting to steal a baby's soul (mabui), which may be easily detached by a sneeze; one of the ghosts revealed that if a living person spoke the phrase it would be sufficient to drive him away. The fact that the phrase is used in anger suggests that it is an undesirable one; that it is used in the case of sneezing probably demonstrates the greater fear of ghosts.

831 Sex Practices and attitudes related to marriage have been discussed under that heading in Chapter V. The sex drive seems to be regarded as
864 natural and not sinful. Adults playfully tweak the penises of little boys and may put little children of both sexes to sleep by prolonged patting of the buttocks. They do not tell their children about the nature of sex and expect them not to know, yet the children hear much thinly-disguised discussion of sexual relationships and, sleeping with their parents as they do, may be vaguely aware of their parents' relations. Parents expect their children to learn of sex "naturally" as they grow older. As Maloney reports[1],
[839] there is little masturbation among small children, but two of Pitts' informants reported that adolescent boys sometimes hold masturbation contests to see who can ejaculate the fastest. This practice is said to stop with the beginning of heterosexual activity.

836 Formerly adolescents, except for girls of the gentry class, seem
883 to have had some sexual freedom. The practice of meeting in the fields at
178 night for parties, moo-ashibii, often led to sexual relations. According to informants in one community syphilis was brought in late in the last century through moo-ashibii with the youths of a neighboring village. Pre-marital sexual relations are probably frequent today, though the conditions under which young people meet are changing.

837 Married women are expected to have relations with only their hus-
548 bands, but married men are, in theory, limited only by their finances. There exists in the larger towns a relatively large class of women called juri, who function as both entertainers and prostitutes. (There is no distinction, like the Japanese distinction between 'geisha' and 'jorō'.) The
[178] jurinuyaa, "juri houses", were formerly centers of social life for the men of the city. The present 'ryōtei' have much the same function. A group of men may spend an evening there eating and drinking and being entertained by dancing and singing. If one chooses to remain and "buy a woman" his wife's only objection to it can be that it costs more money.

838 Homosexuality is evidently rare, but not unknown. A Naha woman reported that a Japanese who lived in a room next to hers was in the habit of luring young boys into his room with good food and then seducing them, sometimes to their physical discomfort. She said that some of the neighbors

1 Maloney, 1945, p. 392.

had complained to the police about this but the police had said that this 838
was a mental disorder and therefore not their affair. The disregard shown [858]
the young boys in this case accords with Okinawan attitudes toward children discussed elsewhere; they are not developed enough, perhaps, to be corruptible. Another example is that of a male employee of a 'ryōtei' in another city who is in the habit of putting on a woman's kimono and wig and singing in a falsetto voice for the amusement of male guests. He is not known to "take guests" but is very effeminate in his ordinary manner. School girls are said to form strong attachments to one another, but there is no indication of the persistence of such relationships.

The terms for the sex organs, tani, "penis", and hoo, "vulva", are 834
used rather freely by older persons, but children are expected to use them 864
only for serious purposes. It is said that if children used the terms repeatedly in joking they might be scolded for "dirty talk". An old woman once told me, in the presence of several younger women and a twelve-year-old girl, an amusing story about an old woman who always sat with her kimono pulled up and was therefore called "Hoo-Hai Ayaa", "Mother Vulva-Visible". Everyone laughed but the girl, who looked rather embarrassed. After the battle in 1945 when American food was issued in quantities, Okinawans became familiar with wiener sausages, which they still remember with relish as tani-gwaa, "little penises". As in Japanese, the word for sexual relations is formed by adding the verb "to do" to the word for vulva. This term would not be used before children or in polite conversation.

2. Sanitation

751
An American, watching the habits of daily living of an Okinawan 512
family, may find his first impression to be one of shock. In the morning
the sliding doors that kept out any fresh air all night are pushed open and [514]
the children, dressed in the underclothes they have slept in, walk sleepily to the step and urinate off it. Father steps down and walks a few feet around the side of the house and does the same. Grandmother is already in the kitchen preparing breakfast and smoke soon fills the upper air in the main part of the house, looking for a way out in the absence of a chimney.
Father goes to the well with a small towel around his neck, throws cold [515]
water over his face, and washes it with a little soap. He then brushes his teeth long and hard and puts the family toothbrush back on the hook for Mother to use later. Mother takes down the great mosquito net the family
has slept under, folds up the quilts, and brings out breakfast---tea, a [264]
thin soup, and sweet potatoes. Soon tea grounds and potato peels come fly- [351]
ing out onto the ground in rapid succession. A chicken walks in from a neighbor's yard, pecks diffidently at a potato peel, and walks on, leaving a token of gratitude behind. The sun begins to warm the air and the flies to swarm around the toilet behind the house, into the kitchen, across the remains of the family's meal in the main rooms, and around the scraps in
front. Father goes to work and the older children go to school. Mother [264]
washes the dishes at the well, in cold water without soap, and leaves them to dry in the sun. Flies light on them.

751
The visitor looks into the toilet. It is an oil drum with a plat- 514
form over it and a wood and canvas shelter over that. The cover is off. 343

751
514 The drum is nearly full and its surface is in constant motion, a seething
343 mass of maggots. One of those men with the carts that cause you to cross
[364] to the other side of the road will come in a few days to dump it, he hopes.
574 He crosses the yard and is invited into the house. He takes off his shoes
315 and steps up onto the floor. It is surprisingly clean, he finds. A mat is
[356] spread and he sits cross-legged upon it. Tea is offered and he accepts, thinking that it must have been made from boiled water. He learns later that he was wrong. He is given a fan and perceives that its function is keeping the flies away as much as it is creating a breeze. In a spirit of friendly cooperation he and Grandfather take turns shooing the flies off the broken chunks of black sugar that have been placed before them. A larger blue-bottle fly enters and someone makes a special effort to chase
[825] it out. Should the visitor be so crude and impolite as to mention flies and in connection with the toilet, it will be pointed out that only the blue-bottle flies are hatched from the maggots in the toilet. The smaller black house-flies simply produce more flies and hence are harmless.

[264] Bananas are served and the peels follow those of the potatoes out onto the ground. Smaller children run in and out. One child comes in with
[315] its nose running. After a time Mother pulls up its shirt tail and wipes the mucus off the upper lip. The child has not been well; Mother or Grandmother
[757] may take it to the yabuu, who will burn moxa on its skin at the proper places. A neighbor's child walks by; its face and nearly hairless head are
[753] a mass of scabs and its eyes are almost shut by pus. Someone laughingly explains that this is what happens when you don't cut a baby's buttocks properly with a razor to draw out the bad blood.

The visitor is urged to take more tea and sugar. He is complimented on his interest in Okinawa and is asked innumerable questions about America. The family is eager for knowledge and for further contact. As he rises to leave, he is urged to return. He puts on his shoes, finding one slightly
[753] damp from the poor aim of the youngest child. He is cautioned to wear his hat and knows by now the unspoken fear---encephalitis---caused by too much exposure to the sun. He notices that around the well where Mother has been
[296] doing laundry a great pool of water is gradually sinking into the sand. As he picks his way across the yard he wonders if the family would not be better off living in a houseboat, preferably in a fast-moving stream.

751 Such are some of the features of Okinawan life. Yet it would be a mistake to assume that there are no standards of sanitation. There are; they
356 are simply narrower than those of most Americans. Many Okinawans do throw
751 garbage out their front doors as indicated above, but it is also true that the floor of the house is usually cleaner than many American floors. It has to be clean; people sit on it and sleep on it. People take off their shoes before stepping up onto it or if they have been to the fields barefooted
751 they may wash their feet before stepping up onto it. But the area of clean-
[351] liness ends with the step. Beyond the step is a different sort of territory. Yet even in the yard there is a limit to the amount of trash that may be al-
[514] lowed to accumulate before it is swept away. The practice of urinating in the yard is distasteful to the American observer, but there is perhaps less basis for objection to it as a health hazard. Urine is relatively harmless. Feces, however, go into the toilet. If an untrained child defecates in the yard usually someone cleans up the spot.

Three sets of factors seem to contribute to the low standards of sanitation that exist in both rural and urban Okinawa. These factors lie in the realm of knowledge, of society, and of economics. Many Okinawans very clearly lack scientific knowledge of the causes of diseases and their relation to sanitation. But it would be incorrect to say that they are simply ignorant or that they need only education. They do not regard themselves as ignorant but feel rather that they already know the true causes of diseases and their proper treatment. What they need is not merely education but re-education. Before educators can teach scientifically accurate information they must first determine what the folk beliefs are and then replace them with scientific explanations. It is not sufficient merely to add some scientific information to folk beliefs. Many Okinawans, perhaps most, have heard of 'baikin', "bacteria", and their relationship to certain diseases. But probably few see them as sufficient causes of diseases or see them as organisms subject to biological laws of life, growth, and death. Bacteria have no doubt become for many Okinawans merely contributing factors, ranged alongside ghosts, unsupported ancestors, and bad blood, in the mixture of the natural and the supernatural that constitutes Okinawan medical knowledge. 751 753

The belief that only blue-bottle flies hatch from the maggots in the toilet may not be universal on Okinawa but is certainly found among some people; one person who subscribed to the belief was a university student. This belief leads people to take pains to keep blue-bottle flies out of the house "because they contain bacteria", but to tolerate the smaller black house flies. If people believe that house flies merely give birth to more house flies, they can regard house flies as just a nuisance but not a danger. Posters encouraging people to get rid of flies because they carry disease may thus be interpreted as applying only to the blue-bottle fly. The house fly continues to infest many homes in incredibly great numbers. 751 825 753

Several persons who discussed encephalitis revealed that though they had heard of mosquitoes having something to do with it, they believed that it was mainly caused by over-exposure to the rays of the sun. The university student mentioned above was one of these persons. It is worth noting also that an announcement issued 9 May 1954 warns people that the encephalitis season is approaching and therefore everyone should beware of mosquitoes and exposure to the sun.[1]

Other beliefs regarding the cause of disease will be discussed in the next section of this chapter. Many of these beliefs rule out natural causes altogether and thus rule out sanitation as non-essential. Ignorance is therefore not a negative factor but a positive factor against better sanitation. 751 753

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1 I have no information at this writing as to whether exposure to the sun has the effect of making one more susceptible to Japanese Type B encephalitis. But even if this were the case, as it may possibly be, the point is that some, perhaps a majority, of the Okinawans believe that the sun is the sole cause of the disease, and therefore do not see encephalitis as another reason for mosquito control.

751 Social factors contributing to poor sanitation stem mainly from the
312 failure of the individual in Okinawan society to take individual action.
364 For example, four unrelated families, one of which I knew well, rented the
156 four quarters of a house in the city. The well beside the house was badly in need of a drainage system; the water from everyone's laundry and bathing formed a large puddle around the concrete well-top and eventually sank into the ground, no doubt to re-enter the well, which of course also provided drinking water. No one made a move to do anything about this individually. Finally the owner of the house suggested that the several families join with him on a certain day in digging a drainage ditch. This was done. However, instead of digging a ditch to allow the water to run down hill and away, they dug the ditch only a few feet into a tiny field on the same level as the house and well. They did not feel that they could dig a ditch that led the water onto the land of the family who lived below, despite the fact that this was the natural lay of the land and despite the fact that the water was now sinking into the ground above the well of another neighbor. It was felt that only if all the neighbors joined to dig ditches together to allow all the water to drain to the municipal drainage ditch beside the street, only then would it be proper to let one's old wash water drain into another's yard. So far as I know this joint action was never taken.

751 At the same house, when one of the tenants moved out they dumped a
364 great pile of garbage in front of their room. Another tenant moved into the
156 room and, although the wife commented on the "bad sanitation" ('eisei ga warui'), for some time nothing was done about the pile of garbage. In this case the reason for inaction may have been pride rather than consideration of another's feelings. It seems likely that the new tenant felt that it was not his responsibility to remove the garbage and that it was also beneath his dignity to do so.

000 Social factors of this sort can perhaps be attacked in two ways. First, by appealing to the individual, to his pride and his esthetic sense, and by creating a greater degree of personal identification, it may be possible to extend the "sphere of sanitation" beyond the floor of the house and out into the yard and perhaps even to the street. But this would not be an easy task. At the present time the average Okinawan is probably less embarrassed by a pile of garbage in his yard and the hundreds of flies that infest it, than he would be to be seen doing the menial task of cleaning it up. He would not feel embarrassed, however, if it were a community endeavor. And therefore as a second method of attack one might encourage more group action. But this requires the development of outspoken leadership.

178 It is possible that standards of sanitation are lower at the pre-
751 sent time than before the war. Residents of the village of Yamada spoke
744 of the "big cleanings" ('ösöji') that were held at regular intervals before
[625] the war. On orders from the 'son' office every household in the village was obliged to clean up its house and yard and submit to inspection by the local police officer, a man who was much more feared than his present counterpart. At present clean-ups may be encouraged by the Youth Organization, Women's Organization, etc., but there is certainly less compulsion than
000 formerly. Moreover, during the last days of the battle and for a period of

Moreover, during the last days of the battle and for a period of nearly a year afterwards the Yamada people, like most other villagers in the vicinity, lived a concentration-camp sort of existence in the very crowded and unsanitary city of Ishikawa. Then when they returned to their village they had to rebuild their houses from materials given by the Americans and from salvage. This experience undoubtedly had a bad effect on morale and perhaps also on standards of cleanliness. Yet Yamada appears to be a cleaner village than many seen in Southern Okinawa. This may be because of its less dense concentration of houses and its fairly good water system. 178 751 727

Economic factors can be summed up in the single word "poverty". The most modern knowledge and the best intentions are not sufficient if one has to carry water from a distance, has no money for soap, and has little strength left after the daily grind of making a living. 751 511

3. The Supernatural and Disease

The Okinawans, like all peoples, have a large body of traditional knowledge about the ills of the body and what to do about them. As among many peoples with little contact with Western science, a great many illnesses are attributed to causes that we would call supernatural. Thus before one can understand the Okinawan view of diseases one must understand some of the Okinawan concepts of the supernatural. 753

Concepts of the Supernatural The living human being, according to Okinawan belief, contains two entities, the mabui (or mabuyaa, possibly related to Japanese 'mamori', "guardian") and the shii (pos. ident. with Japanese 'sei', "essence"). These correspond to the Western concept "soul". According to some informants the two are the same, but then further conversation reveals a difference in usage that must reflect a difference in concept. It appears that the mabui is a discrete entity capable of being dislodged from the body without death resulting immediately. The shii on the other hand appears to have more the nature of a force that can be augmented or diminished. 774 778 [71]

What happens after a person dies is not altogether clear (see also Chapter V). According to some he becomes a "Buddha" (Japanese 'hotoke'), according to others he becomes a "god" (Japanese 'kami-sama') and ascends to Heaven. This happens if all goes well, if the person dies in a normal manner and has left no important task undone, and if his family makes the proper offerings. However, if such is not the case, he may become a ghost and haunt this world. Several terms are used for dead persons in this latter form---yanamung ("bad thing"), yanakaji ("bad wind"), majimung (?), shininchu ("dead person"), shinigami ("dead god"), shinimabui ("dead mabui"). The last term, shinimabui, contrasts with ichimabui,("live mabui"), used for the displaced mabui of a living person. All of these terms seem to mean the same thing, the dead who are not cared for and who are therefore a potential danger. 775

The dead who are cared for are said to ascend to Heaven (in Japanese, 'Ten ni agaru'), but they may also be present in the tomb and at

775 the ancestral tablets, since they receive offerings and worship at both places. The spirits of the ancestors present in the tablets are called ugwansu (probably literally "masters of worship"). The existence of the dead in Heaven seems rather unclearly defined. In speaking of the dead, people much more frequently use the term "yonder world" (Japanese 'ano yo'), which seems to refer to a realm co-existent with this world, different from it in form but not necessarily remote in space. It is my impression that "yonder world" refers to an unseen spiritual world around the living rather than any distant Heaven or Land of the Dead. It may be that different entities go to different places, as in Chinese eschatology, where each individual has two souls, the "hun" which goes to Heaven as a god, and the "p'o" which stays on Earth as a demon. But the data at hand do not reveal
[777] such a neat structure. Or perhaps the concept "Heaven" is merely a recent introduction from China and not yet wholly integrated with native concepts.

778 The distinction between spiritual beings who formerly had a human
779 existence and spiritual beings who are wholly non-human is also not always clear. In every village there are numerous ugwanju, places of worship. These seem to be associated with the founder of the village or the aji or local official---his tomb, the wells where he got water, the hilltop where he worshipped, etc. Non-human spirits probably are believed to inhabit these places, other than the tombs, but it is my impression that most of the worship is directed toward the deceased persons, and indeed that most important local spirits are in fact deceased persons who have become deified.

779 On the other hand, there are spirits associated with the house and yard that are clearly non-human. The most important of these is the Fii-nu-kang, "God of the Fire", or U-kama, "Oven". (These two terms may represent two historically separate concepts, but they are now used interchangeably.)
776 The Fire God is represented by a small vessel containing ashes that stands
778 above or behind the oven in nearly every house. It may even be found behind the little kerosene stoves used by city rooming-house dwellers. This vessel is made and attended by the mistress of the house. When a branch house is established she makes a vessel of earth or obtains one and partly fills it with ashes from the Fire God of the main house. The offerings, among some
776 Yamada families, consist of incense and three cups of cooked rice offered
782 on the first and fifteenth of every lunar month, before similar offerings are made to the ancestral tablets. On the 24th day of the 12th lunar month
776 the Fire God is said to ascend to Heaven to return again on New Year's. One old woman explained that the Fire God (Fii-nu-kang-ganashii) is "like a policeman" and Heaven (U-kami-ganashii) is "like the government"; when the Fire God goes up it reports whatever the family has done wrong during the year.

776 Offerings are also made on occasion to the gate, the well, the
782 corners of the yard, the pigsty-privy, and elsewhere. The "Pigsty-privy God" (Fuuru-nu-kami) was formerly of importance especially in treating cases of loss of mabui.

Although Okinawans occasionally refer to Heaven or the Gods of Heaven (J. 'Ten no kami-sama'; Okinawan U-kami-ganashii, etc.), the concept does not seem to be well defined. The clearest statement heard on the subject was the one just mentioned in connection with the Fire God. Since the dead, or some of them, rise to Heaven, the term "Gods of Heaven" may include them, but there are evidently other greater beings too. These may be identical with the figures of the native origin myth. But aside from a few enthusiasts, mainly local historians and shamans (yuta), few Okinawans seem informed about or concerned with native cosmology, or any other. This may in part be the result of a generation or so of Japanese education with educators attempting to take the Japanese mythology seriously and making Okinawan mythology jibe with it. But it is more likely that this lack of concern with Heaven is due rather to an old tendency common in East Asia to settle matters at the local level without bothering the higher authorities, in dealing with both political problems and spiritual problems. 772 [175] [176] [177] [181]

In the Okinawan universe there are also a few earthly beings with supernatural power. The akamataa is a real species of non-poisonous snake. But it is believed to be able to change itself into a handsome young man, in which form it seduces unwitting young women. One young woman who was seduced is said to have given birth to a whole tubful of baby akamataa. 776

The kijimunaa is a wholly mythical being but seems to belong more in the natural world. According to some it lives in old trees, but according to others it is a sea-being who lives on fish and shellfish and who will become the helper of a fisherman who makes friends with it. Regardless of habitat, the kijimunaa is believed to approach a sleeping person and sit on his chest, nearly suffocating him and preventing him from crying out. Apparently the being is not dangerous but merely annoying.

Another being that is feared is the tamagai or 'hidama', "fireball". This was described in Yamada as a light that appears at certain times as an omen. However, in a village in Southern Okinawa it is regarded as the cause of fire. Since it is a female being the young men of this village drive it away by forming a procession and marching through the village shouting "Hoo hai!" ("Your vulva's showing.") [787] [184] [372]

The Itoman people speak of the ja or 'ryu', the "dragon". This being lives in the sea or the clouds; its tail is the whirlwind; its feces, if one is fortunate enough to find them; are like coal tar and are a very valuable medicine. Other Okinawans seem to regard this as something only the Itoman people know about. [757] [184]

One more concept is perhaps worth mentioning; this is shiji. Certain places, the sacred hilltop of the village, etc., are said to be shiji-dakasang, "high in shiji", and therefore to be approached with respect. It is also said of persons, especially those believed to be destined to become religious practitioners. The term shiji evidently signifies a sort of supernatural power that adheres to places and people, perhaps like the Oceanian concept "mana". Haring has suggested that the Japanese concept 778 [171]

778 'kami' is like the Oceanian "mana", a supernatural power that enters natural
171 objects or persons.[1] Whatever may be the case in Japan, the Okinawan kami refers to definite beings, discrete entities, and not to a force. However, the concepts shiji and perhaps shii may be mana-like.

753 Causes of Disease Okinawans frequently use these concepts of the supernatural in their interpretation of the causes and proper treatment of illnesses of the body. Illness may be caused, they believe, by loss of the shii or the mabui, by the harmful inclinations of other living persons and of dead persons, and by offences to ancestors and other spirits that are ordinarily helpful.

753
774 Gradual withdrawal of the shii may cause illness or death. A preg-
[778] nant woman is warned not to attend a funeral or a bone-washing because the shii of the unborn child may be drawn into the tomb. A sudden jolt or a scare may cause the mabui to be dislodged and this will result in a feeling of weakness and, if the mabui is not replaced, perhaps ultimately death. Treatment of loss of mabui is often practiced by old women. One woman who had treated her grandchildren on numerous occasions said that she laid on a table offerings including salt, rice, water, and a dish containing seven stones; then she took a garment of the sick child, prayed at the entrance to the house, and called the child's name. The mabui of the child then entered the garment and when she put the garment on the child the mabui re-entered the child. Formerly she would have prayed at the pigsty-privy, but
[776] it no longer exists. One of her sons gave the interpretation that the pigsty-privy god being the lowest god knew the whereabouts of the lost mabui and he informed the ancestral spirits who were able to bring it back to the garment.

The most serious cases of loss of mabui are caused by the actual
[775] theft of the mabui by dead persons, who are said to take the mabui to the tomb. As I have already mentioned, this may happen when a baby sneezes. Treatment of this type of soul-loss probably requires the services of a
[756] yuta, a sort of shaman. The yuta is said to be able to see the living person's mabui before the tomb, in the form of the person. If the form is facing this world and looks sad there is a chance of recovery, but if it is facing the tomb and looks happy, the patient will probably die. But in spite of the occasional serious nature of loss of mabui, I have observed young boys when startled jokingly cry out "mabuyaa, mabuyaa!" as if to call back their displaced mabui. And it is said that some persons jokingly pretend to scoop it up and pour it back into the body through the head. However, the joke may serve to relieve actual tensions that exist after a sudden shock.

754 Little information was obtained on the harm that can be done by a living person with ichijama. According to Yanagida[1] the ichijama is the soul of a woman who can send it to possess a person or object in order to

1 Haring, 1946, p. 221 and elsewhere.

2 Yanagida, 1951, p. 30.

cause misfortune; the ability to do this, he says, is hereditary from mother 754
to daughter. My informants did not identify ichijama with the mabui or any
other such entity, but merely explained it as a kind of 'Noroi', "curse".
Its effect is a sharp pain inside the body or the feeling that a fingernail
has been thrust into the eye. If the person responsible is known, they said,
the affliction may be cured by spitting in his direction and throwing pig
dung in his direction, shouting, "I smear it on your face!" According to [756]
Yanagida, a yuta can cure an afflicted person by squeezing his thumb, which
causes the thumb of the person responsible to be crushed.

Illness may also be caused by gods or local spirits as punishment 753
for the breaking of tabus. For example, at Yamazato in Chinen-son it was 784
said that on the 1st, 8th, 18th, and 28th of every month the "mountain god"
(yama nu kami) makes a circuit of inspection of the mountain behind the vil-
lage and therefore one cannot go to cut trees or grass on those days for
fear of punishment.

But probably the most frequent interpretation of illness and mis- 753
fortune is that it is caused by ugwambusuku, an insufficiency of worship 769
(from ugwang, "worship" and fusuku, "insufficiency"). As has been explained, 775
the dead can influence the lives of the living for good or bad. If the an-
cestors of a family are well cared for, that is, receive the proper offer-
ings and worship, they may help that family to prosper and multiply, but on
the other hand, if the ancestors are not cared for they will let the family
know of their needs by some light illness, or, if their needs are still ig-
nored, by some greater misfortune. They may not deliberately mean to harm
their descendants; the misfortune may be automatic; this point is not clear.
At any rate, the fear of ugwambusuku appears to be a very common anxiety [152]
and to play a central role in the whole structure of ancestor worship. Var-
ious religious practitioners and diviners, but particularly the yuta, are [756]
frequently called upon to try to determine where the insufficiency lies,
what deceased person has not received his full share of worship and is there-
fore causing the current illness or other misfortune. To account for such [782]
illnesses and misfortunes the yuta and others may have revelations (shirashi)
which revise the family's genealogy and even reveal the existence of hitherto
unknown ancestors.

The insufficiency is not always of worship of the ancestors, al- 753
though this is probably the most frequent type. Illness may also be caused 782
by an insufficiency of worship of the Fire God. It is said that if an il- [848]
legitimate child or the child of a secondary wife does not worship at least
once at the Fire God of his shiji ("line") that is, the Fire God of his
father's family, he may become ill. Thus it is not uncommon for the mother
of an illegitimate child to bring it to the house of its father and ask to
let it pray once to the Fire God there. This practice may also, of course, [851]
serve to demonstrate paternity.

Also probably related to the concept that the ancestors influence 769
the living is the practice of establishing a fictitious adoptive relation- 753
ship between a child and an unrelated family. If a child is weakly its
mother may ask an unrelated adult to become the yashinee-uya, "adopted parent",

769 of the child; the child prays several times a year, on the important occa-
753 sions, at the ancestral tablets of the adopted parent, but otherwise lives as before. The rationale of this practice may be: if one set of ancestors is not sufficient for the child, why not give him another?

753 Also related to the concept ugwambusuku is the notion that certain
828 persons are destined to do more than just make offerings; some are to become
794 kaminchu, "god persons", and play the principal roles at the family worship at the important holidays. If these persons shirk this duty they may become ill as a consequence. In certain persons, particularly older women, persistent illness and especially mental illness may be interpreted as a sure sign that the afflicted person ought to become a kaminchu. There is one well-recognized type of mental illness called 'kami-buri'; the person with this disorder constantly makes the gestures of prayer toward various persons and objects in an extravagant manner. Such a person is almost sure to become a religious practitioner after recovery. In fact some kaminchu positions must
[756] be filled by persons who have had 'kami-buri'. The yuta may also receive his, or more often her, vocation through such an illness. (Recently a visiting psychiatrist commented on the low number of cases at the Kin mental hospital. There are of course many cases that are not committed to the institution because Okinawan society has a place for them; they become its psychiatrists.)

Other concepts of disease will be discussed in the next section.

4. Medical Practice

755 Home Remedies There are a number of home remedies that are known to many
757 persons, especially older women. These include the use of certain herbs, the letting of blood, the use of salt, prayer, swearing for exorcism, spells. These methods of treatment may be used by any old woman to the extent of her knowledge, but if the illness appears to be too serious for these treatments a professional medical practitioner may be consulted. However, the distinction between the professional person and the skilled amateur is not always clear.

757 Herbs are used for digestive disorders and particularly for female
824 disorders. Tawada in his description of Okinawan flora[1] lists ten plants used for medicinal purposes, nine of which are said to be useful to female disorders along with a variety of other things ranging from toothaches to appendicitis.

757 Blood-letting is practiced on most infants as a cure for skin eruptions and is sometimes also used on adults. Shallow incisions are made with a razor to let out the "bad blood". These are made on a baby's buttocks and sometimes, though less frequently at the present time than in the past, on the face of an adult.

755 Salt is used for purification. A yuta whom I saw exorcise a house and yard took salt into his mouth and then spit it and threw it in the

[1] Tawada, 1951.

direction of some tombs in order to prevent the ghosts from coming into the 755
yard. I have also seen a woman who had some training as a nurse throw salt over a hospital patient who had just had a major operation; this was, she said, to cleanse the patient and the bed. Salt is also used as a home 767
remedy for stomach disorders. A mother or grandmother may rub salt on the navel of a child suffering from a stomach ache. According to a small boy who received this treatment, it works.

Prayers are directed toward the supernatural beings who may help 782
one overcome an illness. Curses and spells are directed toward malevolent 755
beings, usually ghosts, when they are the cause of illness. Spells (mannaa, Japanese 'majinai') are verbal formulae that have a magical effect. Persons who are known to know spells and who may be asked to use them for the benefit of others are called mannaasaa ('majinai suru hito'), but spells seem to be useful only for a few diseases and so there is probably little specialization in their use.

To indicate something of the mixture of the natural and the super- 755
natural (to use Western categories) in the treatment of illness in the Oki- 757
nawan home, I have appended a description of the notions about and treatment of a few diseases as observed and as described by informants. These are all skin ailments.

1. Kamigasaa A kasa (skin eruption or rash) caused by kami (gods). 755
757

a. Irigasaa Identified as the same as the Japanese 'hashika' 753
(dictionary translation, "measles"). This disease is caught only once, [164]
usually as a child. One must catch it before he becomes a complete person ('ichininmae'). Because children sometimes die of it, parents worry before they have caught it but are eager to have it over with. There are lighter and heavier "requests" ('o-negai') so that if a child has a "light request" the parents of other children may bring them in to lie beside the sick child and eat what food he leaves in order that they may contact the disease. But the disease is given by the god and therefore the other children get it only if they were meant to do so.

The disease begins with a fever and then a rash appears on the head and moves downward. If the rash does not appear the fever may rise and therefore parents worry if the rash is delayed. If there is no rash visible it may be that the rash is on the inside unable to get out and thus is causing the fever. This is dangerous.

Careful treatment is essential. The god comes around to see how the patient is being treated; if the family is not watching the child carefully, the god makes the disease worse. In a case observed, the mother kept the child in bed covered with a thick quilt and mosquito net and sat beside him, fanning him almost continuously. Polite language is also necessary in order not to offend the god.

755 On the 3rd, 5th, and 7th days after the appearance of the rash,
757 mijinaarii ("water-stroking") is performed. It must be performed at the
753 time of day when the tide is beginning to ebb. In the case observed it was performed by the child's maternal grandmother. The old woman first placed a cup of water before the incense-burner representing the Fire God, lit two sticks of incense and placed them in the burner, and prayed. Then she took the water and applied it to the child's forehead and cheeks, stroking lightly downward. The prayer, explained later, went, "A Dog boy (i.e. a boy born in the Year of the Dog) has a request of irigasa-ganashii (term of respect); today I perform the third day water-stroking and so I beg that you make him well."

During the period when the rash is present and perhaps for a few days after, the child ought not to be bathed or even have his face washed; water, except for that used in the "water-stroking", is harmful to the patient. During the course of the disease and for about a month after, the child must not be permitted to eat heavy or fatty foods; these would cause a congestion in the child's throat which might become dangerous.

(In the case observed I asked if it were not true that light might hurt the sick child's eyes; it was agreed that this was said to be true, but it seemed to be distinctly a secondary consideration. The question, in fact, led to a discussion of the decline in the practice of keeping doors tightly closed in order to keep out ghosts.)

b. Mijigassa, "water rash", a second type of kamigassa. It is also caused by a god, but it is not as serious. It may be caught two or three times. The eruptions contain a fluid, hence the name. The rash spreads if the fluid touches other parts of the body, so the eruptions are covered with sweet-potato starch when they begin to run. Treatment also includes "water-stroking" and certain food restrictions while the rash is present.

2. Kaji-cooraa-kasa A rash accompanied by itching but no running. It may be caught by either a child or an adult. It is caused by yanakaji ("bad winds", i.e. ghosts). It may be contracted either while out walking in the hills or while at home. This disease must be treatly unkindly; the patient should be sworn at and slapped. The itching may be stopped by the use of a pair of 'zōri' (a Japanese style sandal). The person who knows how to perform the treatment first heats the 'zōri' over a fire and then while uttering a spell (mannaa, Japanese 'majinai') he rubs their undersides over the face and body of the afflicted person. He then takes the 'zōri' to a crossroads and puts them in the middle where someone will step on them. This will stop the itching.

An incident was related where this disease was confused with the first one described. At the end of the war, in Ishikawa, an old man of 75 became ill and broke out in large pox. His family believed his disease was caused by yanakaji so they gathered around him and shouted curses ("Eat feces", etc.) at him to chase the yanakaji away. But the old man merely got worse. Then they consulted a yuta and were told that the illness was

not caused by ghosts but by a god and therefore they should speak politely. They did so and the old man recovered. 755 757 753

3. Tangasa A rash with running eruptions, which may be contracted by both children and adults. It begins at the nape of the neck or at the base of the spine. If it spreads all the way around the neck or trunk the patient is in danger of losing his life. One ought not to say the name of this disease and so instead of saying tangasa, people say naa-irannuu-gasa, "the rash that is not called by name".

A person with this disease may be treated by a mannaasaa (spell-worker, in Japanese, 'majinau hito'). The patient is taken to the mannaasaa early in the morning. The mannaasaa, before drinking morning tea even, takes a full puff of tobacco, blows it on the affected spot, and recites a spell. He must say the words without taking a breath and without making a mistake for them to be effective. The words are addressed to the disease, which is probably caused by ghosts.

4. Heegasaa From hee, "skin"; a condition in which the face and scalp become a mass of scabs and the eyes matter. The condition occurs in both children and adults, but seems more common among smaller children. It is treated in small children by blood-letting (hanchuung, in Japanese 'sakuru'). Most infants are said to be bled for breaking out on the buttocks. The buttocks are cut with a razor blade just enough to draw blood. If heegasaa develops it is because the bad blood has not all been drawn out, and so the treatment may be repeated. If the bad blood is not drawn out in childhood the condition may become much worse in adult life. (The mild condition for which infants are bled looks to me like what would be called "diaper rash" in America. The heegasaa is a truly hideous condition which afflicts a number of small children and a few older persons. One of the USCAR medical officers referred to it as "scruff" and expressed the belief that it could be checked in its early stages with a frequent application of warm water and soap. Once it gets started, however, exposure to dirt and flies must make improvement difficult. One case encountered by Lebra had continued for several years. An informant mentioned cases from before the war that had lasted from childhood into adult life; two brothers had heegasaa so that they could not go to school, could not marry, and did nothing but stay at home and scratch themselves. It was said that even more than they feared policemen, they feared flies. This informant believed their condition was caused by their not having been properly bled when children; another informant suggested congenital syphilis.)

5. Ha'imaksa A kind of rash that may be caught by a person who happens to pass by a tree called makaa. This tree causes the illness, but not to persons who have the Okinawan name (warabinaa) of Makaa. Therefore a person not so named who sees that he is passing a makaa tree will say, "I am named Makaa too, so if you give it to me I'll break your neck." If this fails and he contracts the illness, he may go back and tie rocks to the limbs of the tree so that they bend down, and repeat his threat.

756 787 **The Yuta** The yuta has been mentioned several times already as a dealer in the supernatural, a sort of shaman. She is usually a woman, though not always so, and usually an older person. In the minds of some [794] she is confused with the kaminchu ("god person"), but the two are probably quite distinct. A kaminchu is a person, also usually a woman, who officiates at the family worship or assists the nuru in village worship on the important holidays. The yuta on the other hand is a person whose services may be sought on any occasion for individual problems. Her methods are divination, prayer, and possession. She may be called upon to determine the cause of an illness. She may do so by divining with grains of rice. She asks a question and then takes a pinch of grains and separates them out into pairs. If there is none left over the question is answered in the affirmative; if there is one left over it is in the negative. Or she may pray and then wait for the inspiration of some supernatural being. If the cause of the illness is determined to be an ugwambusuku, as it often is, then she may reveal what ancestor or god it is who has not received sufficient worship. If she is consulted after the death of a relative to learn if there was any last wish to communicate, she may function as a medium, letting the dead person speak with her mouth. She may be consulted merely to learn about the character and future of an individual. In this case and perhaps in most she asks for the saa (the birth year) of the person in question, but uses no other astrological data.

791 **The Sanjinsoo** The most respected type of diviner is the person called sanjinsoo (possibly from his sign board, which resembles the character 'three' written three times) or suumuchi ("book person") in Okinawan or 'ekisha' in Japanese. This person is always a man, usually [177] dignified and scholarly in appearance. He regards himself as a scholar, perhaps even as a scientist; he is a student of 'ekigaku', the "study of changes", a theory of the workings of the universe that goes back to the I Ching, the Book of Changes, a Chinese work that was old at the time of Confucius. The sanjinsoo is consulted after New Year's to obtain advice for the new year and before important undertakings, such as house-building, tomb building, marriage, bone-washing. Illness may also be a reason for [787] consulting him but is of less importance. The method of the sanjinsoo consists of drawing one from a number of thin sticks, looking up the mark on it in his book or books, and then calculating this against a horoscope derived from the birth year of the person about whom information is requested. For the literate person he will write out a list of good months and bad months, things to be avoided and things which may bring good fortune.

Although the sanjinsoo deals with a pseudo-science, he may also admit that the gods may influence men's lives. A sanjinsoo whom I consulted as an experiment spoke at length about the importance of the gods and prayed before beginning his work, but the greater part of the time he spent looking up signs in his books, of which he had an impressive number. Some sanjinsoo are said to function also nearly in the same manner as yuta.

Sanjinsoo flourish in the larger towns and cities but are probably rare in country villages. Country people consult them on the occasions mentioned above but probably not as frequently as they consult the yuta, who are found in many, perhaps most villages.

Other Diviners Besides the sanjinsoo there are several other types of diviners, such as palmists, physiognomists, and card readers. 791
Some of these combine prayer and supposed reliance upon supernatural powers with their science. For example in Ishikawa there is a young woman who is referred to as a kaminchu-gwaa or yuta-gwaa, though neither term is very apt. She is consulted about the character and future of individual persons. Her performance consists of asking the birth year of the person in question, [787] praying, and then dealing out a fortune from a pack of playing cards of an archaic type. She charges ¥30 for each person inquired about. As with the true yuta illness may be a matter on which she is consulted.

Like the sanjinsoo, these persons are found mainly in the larger towns and cities, where it appears that they manage to make a living. Whatever the law reads on the matter the police and the public evidently 791 regard these professions as legitimate as long as the practitioners are 689 sincere in their work. There was a famous case in Ishikawa about 1951, however, where two young women set up an establishment as diviners. They are said to have given advice free to the needy at first and built up a large clientele, whereupon they began overcharging their wealthier customers and spending the money on riotous living. Finally the police put a stop to their activities, charging them with giving advice in an irresponsible manner.

The Yabuu The term yabuu seems to be derived from the Japanese 'yabu-isha', 759 literally "bush-doctor", defined by the dictionary as "quack". 177
The Japanese and English terms, however, reflect attitudes that are probably not associated with the Okinawan yabuu. The yabuu is a practitioner of 'Kampōi', "Chinese Medicine", a term that was once coordinate with 'Rampōi' "Dutch Medicine", that is, modern Western (and now modern Japanese) medicine. The methods of the yabuu include moxibustion, acupuncture, and the prescription of various foods.

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757
Moxibustion (Japanese 'o-kyū') is the burning of 'mogusa' or "moxa" on the patient's flesh. On an occasion which I observed, a woman brought a child of two or three to be treated. The yabuu took out his charts of the body, which, he explained, showed where the nerves may be reached. The theory seems to be that the burning activates the nerves and causes the body to throw off the illness. In this case the child seemed to be suffering from some internal disorder. Its body bore the scars of previous treatment. The yabuu, after consulting his chart, painted four dots on the child's bare back with a red liquid. Then he wetted a finger and put on each dot a tiny bit of 'mogusa' and with a lighted punk lit each bit, let it burn down to the skin, and then tamped it out. His wife then wiped off the ashes, leaving a small black scar where each dot had been. He then burned six more spots on each side of the child's chest, four around the navel, one on each ankle and one on each wrist. Throughout the procedure the child cried and had to be restrained by its mother. The scars, however, are said not usually to be permanent.

Acupuncture consists of inserting into the flesh a long gold needle ('kimbari'), usually at the afflicted spot. It is used, for example, to relieve the stiffness of the hips associated with childbirth.

759 757 [228] The yabuu also prescribe herbal remedies. They do not, however, prepare their medicines, but rather instruct the patient how to gather and prepare the plants for use. The act of preparing one's own medicine may thus have a magical value. Yabuu also prescribe the eating of certain parts of certain animals for their good influence on the corresponding parts of the human body. Dogs and cats are among the animals so used. (This practice may be the source of the belief widespread among Americans on Okinawa that the Okinawans eat dogs; they do, on rare occasions, but not as food, merely as medicine.)

759 Short-cut Systems Standing somewhere between the yabuu and the modern doctor are several types of practitioners who give treatments with heat, light, steam, etc. as all-purpose cures. One man was observed to use a tube in which he burned a substance, probably moxa, while he moved it over the patient's body. His system seemed to be the moxibustion of the yabuu dressed up with "scientific" gadgets. He was described by a friend as "half-doctor half-yabuu", a description that was meant to elicit a favorable response since it implies that he possesses the efficacy of both.

759 278 [164] In addition to these full-time professionals on the fringes of medicine, there are also a number of part-time penicillin-shooters, who are particularly active in areas frequented by American personnel, where they are in demand for the treatment of venereal disease. Penicillin is sold freely and in quantity, perhaps because of the prevalence of venereal disease, and has become a very popular treatment even for very minor infections. Hormone shots also seem to be widely used by untrained persons.

759 [177] Modern Medicine There are of course modern Japanese-trained doctors on Okinawa. But they are relatively few in number, about one for every 3,900 persons.[1] Trained nurses and medical facilities are also too few and too little. But even if there were more doctors and more facilities, it is doubtful that the ordinary Okinawan would make more use of them.

759 753 829 [554] Medical doctors have a high status in Okinawan society. They are admired and respected. Parents frequently express the wish that a son might grow up to become a doctor. But the advice of the doctor is not always heeded. The respect may be more for his education and the social position it gives him than for his professional opinion. In the matter of illness the advice that the ordinary Okinawan respects is more likely to be that of the older members of his own family and of the familiar yuta, sanjinsoo, and yabuu, for this advice is given in terms of insufficiency of worship, soul-loss, and the influence of the twelve-year-cycle. These are concepts that are familiar to him and have an integration with other beliefs, which the concepts dealt with by the doctor do not have. The doctor's very disregard of the supernatural runs counter to the feelings of the

1 CAARI, Vol. 1, no. 2, p. 52 gives 126 practicing physicians for Okinawa plus 50 working for GRI. Japan has about one for every 1300 persons; Japan Statistical Yearbook, 1950, gives 63,273 (p. 432) and the total population as 80,216,896 (p. 12).

ordinary Okinawan. Besides, the doctor's interpretation of illness and its 759
cause is more likely to put the responsibility for it on the shoulders of 753
the individual, whereas the traditional interpretation makes the individual 829
less responsible. This, I suspect, is likely to make the doctor's interpretation less popular. Also the treatment received from the native practitioners is familiar and predictable, while the doctor's methods vary more greatly with the nature of the illness, as do his fees.

Another factor contributing to the tendency not to go to the medi- 759
cal doctor may be the very respect in which he is held socially. I have already suggested that in the fields of religion and politics Okinawans try to solve problems at the local level without appealing to higher authorities. This may also be true in dealing with illness. The relations between patient and doctor are certainly of a more formal sort than those between patient and yuta or yabuu. And around the relationship between patient and doctor there have grown up customs that may make the patient hesitate before entering a doctor's care. For example, a patient who is discharged from a hospital after a successful surgical operation (this may not be true of the largest and most modern hospitals) is expected to show his gratitude by giving a 'Tai-in no O-iwai' ("Leaving the Hospital Celebration") on the day of his departure. For this he hires a yuta or some [431]
appropriate person to pray for him, he gives gifts to the doctor and the nurses who attended him, and distributes holiday cakes to the other patients. If this is done in style it may cost the patient nearly as much as the operation itself.

5. Prospect of Change

Earlier in this chapter I suggested that Okinawan standards of 000
sanitation might be raised by appealing to individual family pride in appearances. The sphere of sanitation might be pushed out of the house and across the yard by increasing the family's feeling of identification with it. An esthetic appeal might also be made. Okinawans are certainly not insensitive to beauty, and many do have little patches of flowers beside these houses. Standards could also be raised by encouraging more community endeavors. There seem to be a much greater need for this in the city than in the country, where long-established patterns of cooperation in agricultural practices, house-building, etc., exist. It is my impression that in the cities the 'han' or some even smaller unit could be used more effectively in keeping yards and streets clean and drained. It must be remembered that what is needed is constant cleanliness, not merely the sort of holiday cleanliness that comes with periodic inspection. It must also be stressed that the reasons for unsanitary conditions are part of a vicious circle. Filth leads to a high rate of infection from disease and parasites, this leads to diminishing energy and greater poverty, and these in turn cause more unsanitary conditions.

But improving sanitation will probably be rather easy compared to the problem of changing Okinawan attitudes toward disease. In talking with 753
Okinawans, it was in comparing Okinawan and American treatment of disease 177

753 that I found the greatest resistance to any suggestion that American methods
177 might have equal or greater validity. American material culture the Okina-
wans are delighted to accept, and they are eager for more. American social
[562] relationships they look somewhat askance at but they are willing to experi-
ment, in a small way, with equal rights for women. But the suggestion that medically they don't know what ails them is harder to take. They are willing to accept modern medical explanations of disease as a partial explanation, perhaps as the occasional means by which the ultimate causes affect disease. The ultimate causes are supernatural.

753 To challenge the concept ugwambusuku, the insufficiency of worship
177 that causes illness, is to challenge the present structure of religion, and
769 at a point where it is most closely bound to social organization. Anxiety
182 over insufficiency of worship and its possible consequences is probably the strongest force motivating the whole range of activities connected with death, burial, and the worship of ancestors. It is not too far-fetched to suggest that it is also a reason for respecting one's elders during their lifetime. It is no wonder that Okinawans show a strong resistance to any challenge to these beliefs, even though they may not be conscious of all the implications of the challenge.

753 To challenge the whole structure of belief would probably be wholly
177 unsuccessful. Or if somehow the Okinawans could be persuaded to abandon
757 these beliefs at once, the result would probably be either chaos or the uncritical acceptance of another set of beliefs that might soon prove to be just as far out of line with medical science as the present. Probably the surest way to introduce modern medical concepts is by gradually whittling down the native concepts beginning with the more peripheral ones. This is not as hopeless as it might seem, for some changes have already taken place.
[846] Until recently women after childbirth were baked for about a week over a fire in the jiiru, a hearth in the back room of the house, even in hot weather. It is said that it was a very uncomfortable experience and that in warm weather it often resulted in rashes and boils, yet it was practiced because it was thought to be necessary for the health of the woman. In the last few years this practice has been abandoned. One woman informant was positive that the hideous skin condition called heegasa or "scruff" could be prevented by drawing out the "bad blood", but she was equally positive that the former practice of baking a new mother was useless if not harmful. Some day she may become convinced that cutting an infant's buttocks with a razor is useless if not harmful. She will be convinced when someone has demonstrated to her that heegasa can be prevented by another means and that because the blood circulates it is no more "bad" at one place than another. The concept "bad blood" is a peripheral one, with no close relationship to religion or social organization.

Other peripheral beliefs are those associated with the yabuu, the efficacy of moxa and the golden needle of acupuncture. In demonstrating the superiority of modern medicine over these techniques one may not always count on the cooperation of educated Okinawans. In opposing the practice of
[181] the yabuu and other practitioners one runs counter to one of the strongest themes of Okinawan culture---one must not interfere with another's livelihood.

Moreover, the suggestion has also come from Americans that burning moxa accomplishes something in the way of a psychosomatic cure by being a "counter irritant". One answer can be given to this viewpoint; the child whom I saw being treated with moxibustion could have had appendicitis, which is, I suspect, rarely cured by a counter-irritant. The moxibustion may do no harm in itself, but the mother's faith in the moxibustionist made her feel that it was unnecessary to take the child to a medical doctor.

The more central beliefs are those associated with the supernatural and indirectly with the organization of society, those that have to do with soul-loss, ghosts, and the insufficiency of worship. These would, under attack, persist longer than beliefs about the efficacy of the various curing techniques just mentioned--- blood-letting, moxibustion, etc. It is my feeling, as an anthropologist who speaks of medicine only as a layman, that faced with the problem of how to improve the health of the Okinawans, the medical man must view native beliefs with a fine balance of understanding and intolerance.

One further point must be made. Bettering the health of Okinawans will be useless unless other problems are solved. Economic insufficiency and overpopulation may only be increased by better health. It seems hardly worth-while to give life to more people if that life is not worth living.

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CHAPTER X: EDUCATION

W. P. Suttles

121 None of the SIRI team worked on education as such. We have no basis
871 for a discussion of the physical condition of the schools, number of teachers per pupil, texts, etc., other than the data readily available in USCAR publications. However, it may be useful to include in this report a brief chapter on attitudes toward education, the role of the teacher, and evidence of the results of education, as we have seen them in the course of our research. As I shall try to point out, there are indications that education on Okinawa may not be doing all that it professes to do. Yet it is a remarkable and praiseworthy fact that education has progressed as well as it has, considering the truly terrible destruction of the war and the long and trying process of rebuilding the material facilities and the morale of teachers and students.

1. Respect for Education

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554 Respect for education and the educated is deeply rooted in Okinawan
565 culture. For several centuries administrative posts in the Ryukyuan kingdom
[647] were filled by officials drawn from the gentry class and appointed, it is said, on the basis of an examination. The gentry class held a virtual monopoly of education, which was thus one of the bases of their superior status. It is not surprising that the gentry class of the past is identified with learning. An illiterate old man of gentry descent once explained to me that the gentry were originally teachers appointed to various villages, thus misinterpreting the former bureaucracy as a school system.

871 Another profession open to the educated man in the past, and in the
554 present, is that of the diviner. One of the native terms for this person is
791 suumuchi, the "person with books", his books being the ones with which he reads a person's fate. This is a profession that commands respect. It is quite likely that at one time the diviner was the only person who possessed books with whom the ordinary peasant ever had contact. Books were thus associated with status and with nearly supernatural power.

554 Education is still regarded as a means of rising in status. As indi-
871 cated in Chapter V, the potential scholar is given special treatment by his family because all may participate in the rise in status that his education may bring. But times have changed. In the days of the Ryukyuan kingdom the rewards for education may have come automatically, but under the Japanese administration this was less true, and perhaps least of all today. Education is indeed still valued for its own sake, but it is expected to bring material rewards; if it does not, its authenticity may be questioned.

554 Still, the prestige of learning probably accounts for a type of pseudo-scholar who may be found both in the rural and in the urban scene. In several villages we encountered such individuals, elderly men who were regarded as local sages, who discoursed learnedly and uncritically on local traditions, who revealed information derived from one or two carefully guarded books

(their 'tane-hon', "seed books"), and who seemed to have little contact with others of their own interests. (I must hasten to add that there are also genuine local historians and folklorists who are critical, open to new ideas, and in contact with reputable men in their field; but these are clearly in the minority.) In the city the pseudo-scholar may be a man teaching a subject that he is totally incompetent to teach or he may be one of the numerous diviners and medical practitioners described in Chapter IX. Some of the diviners (sanjinsoo), however, could be better described as genuinely serious scholars working in a pseudo-science. 554

2. The Role of the Teacher

Despite the great importance attached to the family in East Asian societies and which the Japanese government has always professed to attach to it, the Japanese education system of pre-war times actually took more authority away from the family than does the American system. Incidents related by informants indicate that both before the war and since a teacher may reprimand a student for breaking school regulations outside of school hours and even in the student's own home. The police also may report the misdeeds of a student to the student's teacher rather than to his parents.[1] Partly this authority must have come from the teacher's position in a nationalized system of education and his role as the local spokesman for Japanese nationalism. And on Okinawa teachers had the additional task of creating good Japanese out of little Okinawans. This meant teaching the Japanese language as well as the Japanese ideology.[2] 891 199 875

Since the war the status of the teacher has deteriorated. Partly this may be due to the fact that he is no longer the local representative of a powerful government, and partly it may be due to poor morale resulting from the tragedy of war, but it is also undoubtedly due to a lower economic status. Teachers were formerly relatively well-paid. In 1954 Okinawan teachers were receiving a basic average salary of ¥3400 per month, principals, ¥6110. A police chief, by contrast, receives ¥6470. An elementary teacher, who must have 12 years of schooling and six months of professional training, at present receives 75% of the salary of a policeman on the beat, who must have 9 years of schooling and three months of training; in the prewar period the teacher received 155% of the salary of the policeman. 875 198 554 875 465 178 625 554

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1 See also "Police" in Chapter VI.

2 That in this effort they were not always successful is revealed by a few anecdotes: Someone is said to have encouraged a child to interrupt his teacher's lecture on the virtues of the semidivine monarch with the question, "Does the Emperor produce night soil?" Students are said to have referred to him secretly as 'Ten-chan', "Empy-Boy", rather than 'Tenno Heika', "His Imperial Majesty the Emperor". And the very old and the very young are said to have parodied 'Amaterasu Ōmikami', the name of the Sun Goddess, with "Aman-tarashi kuman-tarashi 'waa nu kami", "dropping it there, dropping it here, the pig god."

875 554 178 As indicated above, education is highly regarded as a key to success, but it still must produce financial rewards. Education earns for one the esteem of his fellows, but not as much as does money. This decline in status seems to have produced considerable dissatisfaction among teachers. This is probably true at all levels. The best-known Okinawan scholars, for example, have mainly chosen to remain in Japan.

3. Classroom Atmosphere

876 [871] Informants gave the impression that the pre-war classroom atmosphere was decidedly more authoritarian than at present. Most of what was taught was rather rigidly prescribed by the Ministry of Education and questions were not encouraged. Students rarely spoke up, partly because of the attitudes of the teachers and partly at embarrassment at having to speak in Japanese. Free discussion was probably less common even than in Japan.

In their attempt to make their students learn Japanese some schools adopted the tag system that has been mentioned elsewhere in connection with the prevention of the misuse or theft of crops. In the Yamada school before the war there was for each class a 'hōgen fuda', "dialect tag", which was hung around the neck of the first child heard speaking "the dialect", that is, the Okinawan language. This child wore the tag in disgrace until he heard another child slip into Okinawan, whereupon he hung the tag around that child's neck. And so it went from child to child. The difference between such a system of control and those regarded as appropriate by modern Western educators can hardly be exaggerated. It is true that the tag does resemble the old dunce cap, known to us from cartoons of the last century, in that it uses ridicule as the form of punishment. But in other respects it is different. First, it means that one child is singled out to function as an unwilling policeman, his functioning as policeman being part of his disgrace; that is, as long as he is in disgrace with the tag he is forced to watch for another culprit. Second, the system does not provide equal punishment for the same crime; one child may wear the tag a day while another wears it a week or more, both for the same offense. And third, the theory behind the system does not assume that the offense can be eliminated altogether; on the contrary there must always be some child to make the mistake of speaking Okinawan for the system to work.

[685] As used in the village as a whole the tag system sometimes worked considerable hardship. A person who received the tag for cutting someone else's crop or his own cane out of season had to pay two sen a day to the village. It is said that there is an old woman in Naha who was sold when a girl into prostitution by her father because he could not get rid of the tag and could no longer make the payments. Here is a concept of justice that is indeed remote from ours.

876 178 875 [177] No doubt the tag system is no longer in use anywhere on Okinawa. Students say that the schools are less authoritarian and that there is considerably more freedom of discussion. Yet many of the teachers are the same persons who imposed such controls as the tag system a few years ago. Some may have opposed the former rigidity and some may have changed their views since, but it would be surprising indeed if all have taken over American ideas.

4. Present Problems

871 If one asks the question, "Is the present education system giving Okinawa what it needs?", even a casual glance suggests a negative answer. It should be obvious from some of the material of this report that the ordinary Okinawan is disastrously ignorant of many things that concern him---in economics, politics, and particularly in matters of health and sanitation. Yet this ignorance does not seem to be confined to the less educated. It was a college student who gave some of the folk beliefs about disease. Another young man indicated that the schools themselves by attempted rationalization may be perpetuating an uncritical attitude; his high school teacher had explained that crows do not really know when someone is going to die because they possess supernatural power; they know it because they can smell death.

000 The difficulty lies partly in the unwillingness of most Okinawans, one might say most human beings, to re-examine cherished beliefs. Ignorance of the true nature of disease, as discussed in Chapter IX, is not merely due to the absence of knowledge, but rather to the presence of a set of traditional beliefs that form a body of "knowledge", incorrect though it may be, that provides the individual with the explanations he needs. In order to teach modern scientific explanations, educators must determine what the body of folk belief consists of, re-evaluate it, and devise methods whereby its falsity can be demonstrated. Doing this would not be easy; it would be doubly hard because of the greater importance given to the opinions of older people in Okinawan society.

871 554 Ignorance may also be due to lack of interest. Education is a source of prestige to the educated individual. But education as defined by Okinawan culture perhaps does not include such subjects as botany and entomology. At any rate certain fields of study, English literature for example, seem to have enormous attraction, while others, applied sciences such as agriculture, have little. Moreover, other observers have reported that among those Okinawans who are engaged in work in applied sciences there seems to be a distaste for field work and a preference for office work. This too may reflect a higher value placed on sedentary "paper work" and a lower one on work with the hands.

876 177 As Lebra has pointed out in Chapter II, most Okinawans suffer from a linguistic handicap. Most children learn Okinawan in the home and then have to learn a second language, Japanese, in the school. This immediately gives them less time for learning other things. But their troubles do not end with the acquisition of a speaking knowledge of Japanese. This is not so very difficult since the two languages are closely related. But the Japanese system [212] of writing, with its two native syllabaries plus the Chinese characters, is incredibly complicated and requires an enormous expenditure of time and effort. A student learning the geography of Okinawa, for example, must spend a great part of his time learning the characters for Okinawan place names and thus, as in one instance observed, he may not get around to learning where all of them are.

The opinion of a former teacher is worth noting. When I worked with him in 1945 he told me that he and other teachers who privately believed that

876 177 212 Japanese nationalism had been perverting education had felt that their only means of creating more open minds was to teach as many characters as possible so that the students might later read a wider range of material. In 1954 he said that he was now convinced that the Japanese, and the Okinawans, would be better off if SCAP had forced them to discard characters and adopt a system of romanization. This man is now a printer and publisher; the characters are his own stock-in-trade.

000 The difficulties facing any sort of language reform in Japan are great. If romanized Japanese only were taught in Japanese schools, the whole of Japanese literature would soon have to be republished in romanized form and most modern scientific works would have to be not only republished but rewritten as well. The great number of homophones in the technical vocabulary of Japanese are distinguishable to the eye because of the different characters with which they are written, but they are not distinguishable to the ear nor would they be distinguishable written in romanized form. Romanization would require the introduction of many new terms. Moreover, because of the esthetic appeal of the characters and the high prestige derived from a knowledge of them, many educated Japanese would have a strong emotional resistance to discarding them. During the occupation certain reforms were instituted but in some respects they only increased the complexity of the system by introducing for some characters simplified forms which now must be learned in addition to the older, more complex forms. It is quite likely that any attempt to reform the Japanese system of writing on Okinawa would meet with even greater resistance than it would meet with in Japan.

212 177 In addition to the difficulties of the writing system, the literary forms of Japanese present some differences in style which make them difficult for the less educated to read. I was once present in an Okinawan home when a child in the second grade brought home a mimeographed request from the school for a certain fee. I looked at the notice and found that I could not be sure of the readings of all of the characters or of the meaning of the construction of the first paragraph, although I can read technical material in my own field. I asked the mother, who had had six years of schooling, to read it to me. She admitted that she could not read it either, except for the place where it said how much and what for. Later I showed it to a University student, who, after some stumbling, read the first paragraph and put it into colloquial Japanese. It was of course merely a formal salutation. It did not contribute to the meaning of the notice and it did not matter that the average parent could not read it. Yet if it had been omitted, the few educated parents--- perhaps those from whom larger contributions were expected---might have shaken their heads and asked what education is coming to that teachers are no longer capable of writing proper Japanese.

876 177 [87] As if there were not enough linguistic problems, recently the English language has been introduced into the Primary School curriculum beginning at the Fifth Grade. It appears to be taught in most cases by persons who do not themselves speak English or even read it with any fluency. Moreover, it appears to be taught by the 'katakana' method; that is, the texts or the teachers attempt to teach the pronunciation of English words by spelling them out in the Japanese syllabary. The Japanese syllabary is admirably well-adapted to the representation of Japanese sounds, but woefully deficient for

the representation of the sounds of any other language. Its open syllables 876
and lack of distinction between "l" and "r", "si" and "shi", etc., result in 177
such horrors as "ri-to-ru" for "little" and "shi-ku-su" for "six". And these are the pronunciations learned by the unsuspecting children, pronunciations that are unintelligible to a native speaker of English and which must be later unlearned if the student is to acquire a usable knowledge of English.

But even though the teaching of English in this manner is pretty clearly a waste of time, there is great resistance to abandoning it. A USCAR official who has visited many schools told us that he had frequently had the painful experience of having to meet the English teacher. This usually meant pretending to communicate in order to save the face of the man and the school. Yet even school officials who realize how poor the instruction is are are unwilling to discontinue it. The prestige of English is too great and too many persons are depending upon it. Perhaps again we have the Okinawan theme--- One must not interfere with the livelihood of another.

No doubt there is a need for instruction in English to students on the high school and college level, but like any language English can be taught most effectively and with the least waste of effort by persons who have had the linguistic training. Americans who have had no special training in this field are also likely to be less effective teachers.

It has been suggested several times that the Okinawan language, or one 212
of the several varieties of it, might be reduced to an alphabetical system of 177
writing and that this might make possible the development of an Okinawan literature. The suggestion has evidently not met with much enthusiasm. Two obstacles stand in the way of such an endeavor. First, the creation of a good phonemic transcription for Okinawan would require considerable work by a trained linguist. Second, to produce a literature requires incentive in persons of talent. At the present time the high prestige of Japanese and English [554]
and the low value placed on Okinawan provide little basis for such incentive. 000
If such an endeavor were successful, however, it could well provide Okinawa with a greater cultural self-sufficiency than it has known for several generations. But the question might also be asked, is the creation of greater linguistic fragmentation and of national feelings in small groups desirable in a world that is growing smaller by the day?

I have discussed linguistic factors in education in some detail not only because they present problems in themselves but also because they illustrate the operation of a factor that may create even greater problems, the factor of values existing among educators and those receiving education alike. The high value placed on literary Japanese and now on English are merely two elements of a value system that often is not in accord with the urgent needs of Okinawan society. Of more immediate concern to education, of course, are the continuation of the program of rebuilding Okinawa's schools and the provision of more incentive for persons to enter and stay in the teaching profession. But ultimately the problem of values is likely to become a crucial one, if Okinawa is to have a healthier and more democratic society. The task facing the educators of Okinawa's youth and the educators of the educators is a difficult one: it requires a fine balance between authority and freedom.

It requires authority sufficient, and only sufficient, to command respect and attention, and this authority must be derived from scholarship as much as from status. And the task requires the cultivation of freedom to criticize in those being educated. This freedom, moreover, cannot be limited; it must be cultivated in fields of natural science, social relations, the arts, and, as befits a democratic society, particularly in politics.

CHAPTER XI: CULTURE CHANGE IN RURAL OKINAWA

W. P. Lebra

175 177 Within a span of less than fifty years Okinawa has been twice subjected to periods of accelerated culture change. The first began in 1899 when the Japanese administration abolished the system of communal land ownership and taxation then extant in the rural areas and introduced private ownership. Land reform was followed by modernization of the government and the establishment of compulsory education. A second period of rapid change began in World War II with the American invasion and the establishment of military government.

175 423 177 The Japanese Impact (1879-1945) During the first twenty years of Japanese administration relatively few changes were introduced, but beginning with the land reform of 1899-1903 there followed a series of changes which completely altered the fabric of Okinawan society. The policies of the Japanese administration and the results of the long period of close contact with Japanese culture effected the conversion of Okinawans into Japanese nationals, destruction of the self-sufficiency of the rural village, modernization of government, weakening of the kin group, and greater participation in national life.

177 871 The transformation of Okinawans into Japanese nationals was accomplished through the establishment of a national school system which indoctrinated the students with the language and culture of Japan. Official Japanese policy aimed at the eradication of Okinawan culture; this was carried out through the schools and by means of repressive laws, police measures, and the 177 829 practice of discrediting things Okinawan. Although there was some Okinawan reaction to this discrimination, the government was ultimately successful in creating a favorable response to Japanese culture. Its accomplishment was largely due to the close affinity of the Japanese and Okinawans. The linguistic and cultural resemblances between the two are so close as to make their differences bridgeable. A wider gulf might have produced antipathy, but instead the superior civilization of the Japanese came to be regarded as worthy of emulation.

177 The Japanese did discriminate against Okinawan culture, but as an alternative they offered, in theory at least, equal participation in their own culture. The process of assimilation was greatly facilitated by the cultural indoctrination of the schools; each successive generation came to feel and act more Japanese than the previous one. Okinawan culture was not eradicated, as the space of time was too short, but its creativity was reduced. An important factor in aiding the acceptance of Japanese culture was that the ideas and technology of the modern world came to Okinawa through Japan; hence, much of what was of foreign origin was accepted by the Okinawans as Japanese.

An important aspect of the change which came about under the Japanese 177 619 administration was the realization for the average individual of a greater participation in the social and political life of the country. The mental

The mental
isolation of the farm village gradually decreased under a national system of 177
education, but the process did not end with schooling. Upon graduating, the 619
youth, male and female, were enrolled in a national young people's association. 525
Later the young men were drafted for service in the national army, and following discharge the veteran was enlisted in a local reserve association which [702]
met frequently for military and social purposes. When a man married, established a separate house, and began farming, membership in the farmer's association was automatically conferred. His wife upon marriage transferred from the young women's association to the women's association. There were, in fact, a variety of national organizations covering the various phases and roles of the individual's life; membership was never a matter of choice, but a thing automatically conferred. A stress on patriotism was a strong concomitant in all of these. Membership gave to the individual a sense of participating in a national society extending far beyond the limits of his small village.

It should be stressed that most Okinawans regard the Japanese as pro- 177
viders of modern, enlightened government. The Japanese administration abol- 829
ished the old class divisions and freed the peasant from his serf-like status. [565]
Taxes on arable land were substantially reduced, and the villager for the first time was given some voice in government above the village level. Modern [671]
law courts were introduced and justice was administered impartially, not on a class basis as was formerly done.

Inadvertently, perhaps, official Japanese policy did much to destroy 177
the self-sufficiency of the farm village. Prior to the land reform, sugar 621
production did not exceed local needs, but government encouragement and sub- 433
sidy so increased production that by the time of World War II it exceeded consumption by 900%. This resulted in a food shortage which necessitated heavy importations of basic cereals to compensate.

Japanese manufactured goods also contributed to the decline in self- 177
sufficiency. Factory-made cloth gradually displaced home-woven fabrics, and 439
accordingly cotton and fiber banana were no longer raised. The tools, uten- 433
sils, and machines of the factory slowly replaced the simpler devices used [248]
in the village.

Abolition of the system of communal land tenure contributed to a weak- 177
ening of the family and particularly of the large extended kin group. The 602
introduction of private property and Japanese laws of inheritance served to 423
create a landless element which often emigrated from Okinawa in search of land [167]
or jobs elsewhere. Where formerly the kin group had clustered in certain localities, they now became dispersed over great areas, making continued interaction difficult and often impossible.

Sixty-six years of Japanese rule resulted in a fairly successful amal- 177
gamation of Okinawa into the Japanese state; though the Okinawan language and culture were not destroyed, they were severely altered.

<u>Impact of World War II and the American Occupation</u> The war destroyed vir- 727
tually all of rural and urban Okinawa, and resulted in the death of twenty percent of the population.

727 Much of the civilian population was herded into internment camps early in the campaign, and many remained there for over a year. The people were so scattered about the land that today nearly every village has a number of families new since the war. The effects of the destruction, loss of life, and displacement were far-reaching---families were shattered, whole villages were moved, fields were ruined, countless homes and buildings were demolished, and the records of government were lost or destroyed. In short, the land was laid waste and its people impoverished.

The effect on the people is best summarized by two frequently-heard statements: "After the war we were left with only the will to live, nothing more," and, "After the war everyone was equal."

177 727 Okinawa's small area, large population, and the sizable number of Americans proportionate to that population put the two peoples in close proximity to one another. Certainly the mere presence of foreign troops and their military administration has far-reaching implications in terms of culture change. This close proximity, however, might be easily exaggerated in so far as actual interaction is concerned. The social and cultural barriers separating American and Okinawan have been so great as to preclude large scale interactions, and, consequently, actual change which might result from this interaction has not been as great as might be expected.

177 829 In contrast to the Japanese administration the American military government has not been culturally repressive with regard to Okinawans. Quite likely the Okinawan does not feel as embarrassed or defensive about his culture before an American as he did before a Japanese. The important factor, however, is that the Japanese held out cultural assimilation and equality in their own culture as an alternative to the Okinawan. As the differences were not too great, the Okinawan came to think of himself as Japanese. On the other hand, the difference between the American and Okinawan is so great as to make assimilation most difficult, even if both parties desired it, which they do not. Consequently, though Japanese political control is no longer exercised, Japanese culture is admired as much as ever. The close cultural and racial ties between the two peoples and the continuance of what is essentially a Japanese education in the schools have done much to perpetuate this.

Okinawans greatly admire the wealth and technology of the Americans, but American social, political, and ethical-religious beliefs and practices, which are not so easily observed, have not made any real impression. Precisely because American wealth and technology are so superior to their own, they conceive of Americans as a people addicted to material things. They are not at all convinced that American social institutions are superior to theirs.

177 727 178 Despite undoubted good intentions, the legislation and proclamations enacted by the military government have had but slight effect on the social system. It is one thing to liberalize laws on police powers, suffrage, and human rights, and quite another to have them carried out in the spirit that [562] was intended. The men of the farm village acknowledge that women may hold public office according to the law but say that they (the men) will never permit this to happen. In most cases a potentiality for change has been noted rather than an actual change; it remains to be seen whether acceptance will ultimately occur.

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Military installations have attracted people from all areas, and at 177
the present time over twenty-five percent of the total labor force is employed 727
by the military or in subsidiary occupations. Some of these people are drawn [464]
from the landless element which formerly would have emigrated. In other areas
land has been left idle by those who have sought salaried jobs in preference [311]
to farming. In places, extensive military land use has greatly increased
land pressure. The circulation of money has been accelerated, and new pat- [491]
terns of living have evolved. Many miles of all-weather roads have been constructed and the island transportation system has improved to a point where villagers have a mobility undreamed of in the prewar era.

The major forces for change have been technological and economic. 177
Where changes have occurred in the social system, they have come about largely 178
as a result of these factors. Man has always tended to accept new things faster than new ideas, but in final analysis these will alter ideas too. It has been said that the streetcar and trains have contributed more to the breakdown of the idea of caste in India than any other single factor; so too on Okinawa, the changes effected by a new technology, greater circulation of money, and improved mobility operate to alter the fabric of life. Most rural 177
Okinawans would be decidedly opposed to any overt action designed toward 369
weakening the unity of their village; yet, when they put aside farming to 62
commute daily to a city job, avail themselves of the newspapers, movies, and 178
radio programs emanating from the city, and no longer participate in labor exchanges and other cooperative ventures, it is to precisely this end that they are contributing.

It is the opinion of the author that the major forces for change in 177
contemporary Okinawa were already operative before the war. The real impact 178
of the American occupation has been a rapid acceleration of the forces of change which have been slowly building up since the beginning of the century.

<u>Aspects of Change in Rural Okinawa: Transportation</u> One of the most im- 178
pressive changes in 491
post-war Okinawa with far-reaching cultural implications has been the improved transportation system which has made possible a greater mobility. A network of modern highways now girdle the land where formerly narrow dirt roads and paths had sufficed. To one who had last seen the island in 1945 the contrast in 1954 was most remarkable.

The increase in motor vehicles has been more than ten-fold over the 178
prewar period. Most villages now have easy access to bus lines which connect [494]
to virtually all points of the island. Where formerly villagers but rarely
went to town, they now make such trips frequently. It is not uncommon in the [484]
Shimajiri and Nakagami areas of the island for an individual to commute each day from his village to his place of employment in a military camp, town, or city.

The improvement in transportation has enabled the farmers to bring 178
products to the best markets. Formerly most Kanegusuku products were sold 443
in nearby Itoman, but today with the advent of rapid bus service to Naha many items are taken there for sale.

178 The new roads and buses have done much to break down the isolation
36 of the village; the physical barriers separating village from town have greatly diminished. This has enabled the rural dweller to enter the labor markets of the urban areas and to expand greatly the markets for his products.

178 Communications Equally as impressive as the changes in transpor-
20 tation have been those in communications. Today newspapers, radios, tele-phones, and movies are making their influences felt in the country. Prior
178 to the war there were five motion-picture theaters on Okinawa; today there
546 are fifty-seven, and approximately one-third of the films shown are of
[177] Western origin. Though the theaters are concentrated in the towns and cities, the young people of neighboring farm villages often make regular use of them. Some of the young people in Kanegusuku go to the theaters in Itoman several times a week.

178 Everyone asserts that newspapers are becoming more common in the
204 rural areas. In the isolated village of Oku at the northern end of Okinawa the mayor informed us that nearly 90% of the houses subscribe regularly to a newspaper.

178 In Kanegusuku seventy of its 103 houses obtained radios this year
207 under the group listening system. A number of those who were unable to
203 secure radios (due to a lack of equipment) are hoping to do so in the near future. In some villages the group listening system has been utilized as a public address system for official announcements. This has greatly simplified the problem of conveying information or orders to the villagers. Pitts made use of this system on Henza Shima to explain his purpose in studying there. In this same village the regular Shuri broadcasts are sometimes replaced with Okinawan music played on a phonograph owned by the village. On Izena Shima the system is used to announce the arrivals and departures of the two ferryboats which serve the island.

The radio has been eagerly received in all communities which the author visited and has been instrumental in bringing the villagers into contact with the outside world.

177 Agriculture and the Rural Economy Major changes in Okinawan agricul-
178 ture have been slight. Improvements have been made in yields as the result
241 of scientific research conducted by the Japanese, a few new minor crops have been introduced, modern fertilizers have been made available, and the system of land tenure was radically altered by the Japanese; but the basic agricultural methods have remained the same. The major crops have not changed though their ratios have fluctuated, and most importantly, farm holdings remain as scattered and heavily fragmented as ever. There is at present no trend or even a suggestion of a trend toward consolidation of holdings nor is there any indication of a lessening of land pressure. So long as the farms remain small, fragmented, and widely scattered, there will be no possibility of using machinery or scientific methods. The present system of intensive gardening does produce a high yield per acre, but it also demands a large labor supply.

Statistics show (see chapter on Agricultural History) that since the 178
termination of the communal land holding system in 1903, there has been a 241
steady decrease in the amount of land cultivated on Okinawa. That this has [311]
continued unabated at the same time that the population has rapidly increased seems a paradox. Most certainly improvements in crop yields through research development have not been sufficient to offset this. Nor has the tax burden been excessive or crushing; in fact, quite the contrary is true since the Japanese substantially reduced land taxes when they abolished the communal system. What is more, the shortage of food has for many years necessitated importation of a considerable portion of the food consumed, and in view of the limited job opportunities in pre-war Okinawa, it seems unlikely that this means of livelihood would be overlooked. It would seem that the major reasons for this decline are cultural and historical.

It will be recalled that the farmer in the Okinawan kingdom lived in 198
a state of serfdom; class differences were in effect those of caste. When 241
freed from the restrictions by the Japanese, many were likely eager to depart 554
from the farm village. The status of the farmer traditionally has been quite [566]
low on Okinawa. People dislike farming, and those who do farm state quite frankly that they are farmers only because they know nothing else, being poorly educated or possessed of little ability. No young men were heard to express a desire to become farmers, and no father wishes this occupation for his son. Pitts and the author noted in studying the household registries for their respective villages that not infrequently the first son has left the farm to seek employment elsewhere, quite contrary to usual Japanese practice. Farming is not a goal for the Okinawan youth today, and at the University of the Ryukyus the quotas for admission to agricultural studies were barely filled in 1954 whereas some of the other departments had three and four times as many applicants as openings. Centuries of a communal land ownership system left the farmer with no feeling of attachment toward his soil such as exists among the Chinese peasantry. Land was frequently reapportioned, and no plots were retained long enough by a given cultivator to give him a feeling of proprietorship. It is said that few ever tried to improve their holdings, as they felt these would soon be allotted to another.

The nature of taxation under the communal land system together with 178
slowly rising population also made necessary a greater exploitation of land 241
resources than is necessary today. The old tax rate was fixed and was set 651
at a ratio of 40%. If the government had set 100 koku per year as the ex- 311
pected yield for a given village, then the government demanded 40 koku from that village each year. This may perhaps have been satisfactory to the villagers at the time of assessment, but as the population slowly rose there were more mouths to feed out of the villagers' 60 koku portion, and there was no respite from the tax demands in time of crop failure. Consequently, there was increasing pressure to bring more and more land under cultivation; undoubtedly, inferior, low-yield, idle soils were made into farm land. After the peasant was freed from this system and the trend toward sugar production began, foods were imported from outside, and the slow contraction of arable land figures began.

The average Japanese farm of 2 1/2 acres and the average Chinese farm 241
of over 4 acres contrast strongly with the Okinawan average (and most are 433

241 433 average, since the range is narrow) of approximately one acre.[1] Even by the most skillful and intensive gardening methods there are limits to what can be extracted from the best of soils. One might say that the average Okinawan 241 554 farmer is engaged in sub-subsistence farming. With the traditionally low status accorded a farmer and the minute size of his holdings it is hardly any wonder that the Okinawan does not like farming and is eager to accept whatever is available elsewhere.

178 241 311 727 Land loss to military installations has accelerated a process which has been operative for fifty years. In this case, however, the effect has been concentrated in certain areas and not distributed over the island at large; consequently, there has been considerable hardship in these localities. But the main point of bitterness where it has been so engendered is over the loss of livelihood rather than over the loss of the land per se. The point, they feel, is that not only have they lost their lands but that they also are not receiving adequate compensation for this loss. It would not be an exaggeration to state that most perhaps would prefer to be landlords, under reasonable terms, to the military than farm the land if it were available again.

178 433 Okinawan food production has passed through three phases in the last fifty to sixty years. During the first phase prior to the land reform of 1899-1903 there was a self-sufficiency of food in the rural areas. After the reform, the Japanese subsidized sugar and did much to encourage its production, which rose to a point 900% above local consumption. This led to a sharp decline in acreage planted in other foods, particularly grains---rice, wheat, millet. Since 1943 there has been a shift toward increasing food production[2], and sugar has dropped to about one-tenth its prewar level. In some villages such as Kanegusuku where mat weaving was formerly of considerable importance the irrigated fields formerly planted in sedge have been replanted with rice. Despite the increasing emphasis on food production it is unlikely that the village will ever return to self-sufficiency, for in recent years new tastes have altered the diet and created a dependence on foods not produced within the village.

178 361 <u>Settlement Patterns</u> The reconstruction of villages after the war often did not follow the prewar pattern. Suttles states that prewar Yamada was a scattered settlement made up of several small hamlets, whereas the new postwar settlement is a nucleated one. The new site is at an important crossroads, while the heart of the old village is virtually empty. North of Yamada on the highway to Nago one can see where the new road has departed from the old one; in several cases the villagers have moved closer to the new road despite the fact that it was much dustier there.

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1 Cressey, George B., <u>Asia's Lands and Peoples</u>, New York, 1944, p. 84, p. 191.

2 Several informants stated that the word went out to the farmers in that year to concentrate all efforts on food production. Undoubtedly this was linked to the turn of events in the war for the Japanese.

Elongated roadside settlements seem to be an increasing phenomena of post-war Okinawa. In central Okinawa (Nakagami) this is particularly apparent in the areas of military camps, where the commercial value of being on the road is fully exploited. Numerous car-washing establishments, repair shops, laundries, souvenir shops, etc., line the roadsides in these settlements. With current expansion and improvement of the highway system there seems increasing likelihood that more settlements of this type will develop. 178 341 [443]

Houses and Buildings Architectural styles and the materials of construction appear to have changed but slightly as a result of the war. There are now thousands of small temporary huts made of scrap materials which will suffice until the individual family can afford a more permanent structure. When new houses are built, the styles are closely similar to those of the prewar period. The major change in the style of country houses appears to have occurred during the Japanese period of administration, for early travelers and investigators report that the typical farmer's dwelling consisted of woven bamboo walls, thatch roof, and dirt floor. These are but rarely found today, and where they do occur, there is always a raised floor as in the case of the Japanese home. In certain areas, such as Kitazato for example, there has been a reversion to this house of woven bamboo and thatch due to poverty, a lack of wood, and the readily available bamboo. The prewar house of wooden walls and frame with a tile roof still remains the most common house type and that which is most frequently built. 178 342 [171]

The use of concrete blocks in building is attributed to American influence; however, their usage to date has been limited mostly to non-residential buildings. Roofing of corrugated iron is sometimes used, but it is regarded as a temporary device. [177]

Interiors have changed but little; rooms are usually relatively bare of furnishings. Frequently the walls are covered with pictures taken from Japanese and American magazines. 177 178 353

The enclosed yard surrounding the Okinawan house often contains considerable evidence of the war. Oil drums have been put to use as rain barrels and privies; American helmets are frequently found serving as pails or buckets; old shell cases are used for support and occasionally, if a sufficient number are available, for decorative fencing; sections of portable landing-strips serve as sidewalks; and on one occasion a Japanese machine-gun was observed in use as a clothes pole. 177 351

Crafts There has been a marked decline in Okinawan handicrafts and a greater reliance placed on factory-made products. The manufacture of cloth, baskets, rope, hats, pottery, raincapes, mats, sandals, etc. has dropped markedly in comparison to the prewar era; yet, it is acknowledged that the war only served to accelerate the decline. Several factors are involved in this process. In many cases the Japanese factory products are cheaper and better than the local article. The cultural domination of Japan also created an attitude that things Ryukyuan were inferior to things Japanese; hence, Japanese products and styles assumed an ascendancy over those of Ryukyuan origin. Lastly, the war destroyed many of the places of manufacture and the machinery employed, and replacement has never been made. 177 178 433 28 [329] [727]

178 In Kanegusuku, for example, mat weaving is still of some importance
as a home industry. Where formerly nearly all of the houses were engaged in
286 production of mats,
433 today less than half are so engaged, and the acreage planted in sedge is but ten percent of the prewar level. The war caused the loss of many machines; increasing emphasis on food production has brought a conversion of sedge fields into paddies; access to the better markets in Japan is now more difficult than before the war; it is felt to be too time-consuming and the young women today do not like this work.

Formerly there were a number of men in Kanegusuku who were able to construct the looms used in mat weaving. Today, however, no one constructs his own looms; instead, they are purchased from a manufacturer in Itoman.
[463] This particular example is symptomatic of the general decline of do-it-yourself and the increasing reliance placed on specialists.

178 There are some encouraging signs of revival or new life in the manufacture of Okinawan art objects. Okinawan lacquer ware, which is acknow-
[322] ledged by some to be the world's finest, is being sold in large quantity to members of the occupation. The owner of a large pottery works in Naha told
[323] the author that pottery from tombs is being collected to serve as models in restoring an older style and superior type of pottery. An Okinawan textile
[286] technique known as biingata (Okinawan; in Japanese, 'Benigata') was virtually lost during the war, but this art is still being carried on by one Shuri family, and recent publicity and aroused interest seems likely to insure survival.

178 Power and Machinery Agricultural machinery has come into use quite
407 recently on Okinawa. Pitts states that the labor-saving rice thresher first came into widespread use in the thirties. Older methods of flailing or rubbing the rice over a mat, canvas, or stone surface were also observed as being in common use. In numerous instances it was brought out that wartime losses had necessitated a return to an earlier and cruder means of threshing.

The old-fashioned, hand-operated rice polisher has gone out of use in Kanegusuku, and all rice is now polished in the village rice mill which operates on a gasoline engine.

In many communities the gasoline-operated sugar mill has replaced the horse-powered mill. More important, however, is the fact that the small com-
[257] munity mill remains popular, and the farmer is resistant toward using the large sugar factories (see chapter on Rural Economy).

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377 Electricity, common only to the towns and cities before the war, is now found in many villages, and those who are without it are looking forward
[373] to its installation. The kerosene lamps now in use in most rural homes cast a dim light and constitute a serious fire hazard in homes of thatch and wood.

178 The bulldozer has come into use as a means of opening new land and
406 constructing rice fields. Farmers in Kanegusuku and Nanahan made use of this method during the period of the authors' study of these two villages. Formerly this sort of work required the labor of a number of men over a considerable

period of time. This was usually accomplished by reciprocal labor exchange or by hiring the local youth organization to do the job. 178 406

In sum, the rural people are making eager use of labor-saving machines when they are available. The limiting factors have been shortage caused by the war, poverty, small fields, and heavily fragmented holdings. The use of machines has contributed to a decline of reciprocal labor exchanges and has necessitated the payment of cash for the services of the specialist or machine owner. 178 40 [476] [437]

Dress A most notable feature of the postwar period has been the wholesale adoption of Western styles of dress and the great reliance placed on Japanese and American cloth and clothing. Nearly all males now dress in Western styles of dress. Very infrequently an old man will be observed in a kimono, but most males regard it as ill suited for work and modern life. Sometimes a man will wear a kimono when lounging at home, especially late in the evening after supper and bath. It is not at all unusual in the cities and towns to see a man walking toward the public bath carrying his kimono; on return he is dressed in the kimono and carries his soiled work clothing which is of Western style. Even for weddings the Western suit is used as frequently as the kimono for the groom's attire. 177 291

Young women and school girls wear Western dress exclusively. The kimono still remains the traditional mode of dress for the bride, and at New Year's time young women and girls may wear kimono. Middle-aged women use the kimono and Western-style dresses about equally. The older women dress exclusively in the kimono. The style of the kimono for the older and middle-aged woman is usually Okinawan, not Japanese. Among the young women and girls who use the kimono only as a party costume the Japanese style is followed, never the Okinawan. [292]

Native-style rain and sun hats of palm leaf and wheat straw are still widely used in the rural areas; nothing of Western or Japanese manufacture has been able to match these for light weight and effectiveness. 178 292

A major influence on Okinawan styles of dress has been the clothing of the US military forces. This has been obtained through clothes rations, surpluses, and petty black market operations. US Army fatigues, chino pants and shirts, wool pants, field jackets, fatigue caps and ponchos, are very popular particularly in the rural areas, so much so that the bulk of rural Okinawa is dressed in colors of olive drab, suntan, or field green. All attest to the durability of American cloth. A number of Okinawans asserted that used American clothing was better than new Japanese. A number of small merchants capitalizing on this belief have begun importing used American clothing, which comes in one-hundred pound bales; according to all accounts this has been well received. 291 177 [439]

Okinawans use very little in the way of personal ornamentation. The large old-fashioned hairpin, formerly worn by both sexes, is used today by only a few old women. Tattooed hands, once common to all Okinawan women, are seen today only on women over sixty. The purely ornamental insertion of gold teeth is also said to be declining; among the young educated (high school) people of the cities there is said to be some reaction against this use of gold teeth, but personal observation indicates continued popularity of the custom in the country. 301 178 [304]

000 custom in the country. Hair styles vary according to age, sex, and status.
302 All boys up to junior high school age usually have shaved heads. During the high school and junior high school years they allow the hair to grow and become quite long. This style is retained until middle age, though often it is somewhat shorter than during the school years. Old and middle-aged men generally wear their hair closely cropped. Young girls through the junior high school age wear their hair in a short bobbed style with bangs, typical of the Japanese school girl. In high school and thereafter the young woman allows her hair to grow a little longer; the bangs grow out and the permanent wave is frequently adopted. After marriage and in middle age a woman is most likely to wear her hair drawn back and tied in a bun. Older women retain the old Okinawan styles, and a few use the long hairpin as mentioned above.

[178] Prewar movies and pictures of Okinawa indicate most men were bearded, but today all are clean-shaven except for a few very old men.

178 <u>Diet</u> With few exceptions most Okinawans state that they are eating
262 better foods and a greater variety of these than before the war. This is attributed to several factors. Sweet potatoes and vegetables formed the bulk of the prewar diet, and there was little money available for food purchases. More land is devoted to food production today than in the prewar period when sugar was the chief crop. There were food shortages throughout the Japanese Empire beginning with the Chinese war in 1937; these shortages gradually in-
[177] creased and became severe. After the war most Okinawans lived on American canned foods for several years; canned foods were served in the civilian internment camps and later formed the bulk of the food ration. A number of people asserted that this experience created a taste for other foods. Lastly
[434] the farm people have more money to spend today.

177 Stores in the towns and cities contain a wide variety of canned
262 American and European foods, not to mention an even greater supply of canned Japanese foods. The important factor is that none of the American or European canned goods were available before the war. Even in the village stores American flour, Coca Cola and other carbonated and non-carbonated beverages, condensed milk, candy, gum, and cigarettes can be obtained today. American foods are said to be far superior to Japanese and Okinawan foods, but most are too expensive for the average family. American tea bags, which often contain an Indian tea far inferior to the Japanese teas, are considered the height of elegance. However, many of the adopted foods are used in a manner considerably different from customary American usage. Pitts was served french-fried whale intestines dipped in peanut butter, and mayonnaise was observed in use as
[272] cooking fat. It is widely believed that some of the American soft drinks contain real fruit juices and are excellent for the health. The author was informed that people sometimes take these when they do not feel too well.

178 For the majority of villagers Japanese and Okinawan foods still con-
262 stitute the bulk of the diet, although they say that they now enjoy a greater variety of these. Rice is more commonly eaten than before, but there is a greater reliance on prepared foods of the sort which cannot be made in the village or which they are no longer inclined to prepare themselves. Canned mackerel (selling for about 17 cents per can) is now a staple item in many

households. Noodles are another item of regular purchase. Starch and bean paste are typical items which formerly were always made in the home but now may be purchased instead. 178 262

In sum Okinawan diet has improved in quantity and variety. Food tastes are more catholic today; certain foreign foods are greatly appreciated. There is a greater reliance on manufactured and processed foods, and greater cash expenditures are made for food.

Entertainment and leisure There has been a marked decline in village celebrations and festivals in which all residents participate. Formerly O Bon, New Year's, and harvesting time were occasions for village-wide celebrations; today these are gone from most communities; celebrations are restricted to the family and friends. Most of the village celebrations were basically religious in nature and with the decline of the old religion these celebrations have been dropped. 527 796 178 621

Parties to mark an individual's change of status were formerly held on the 13th, 25th, 37th, 48th, 61st, 73rd, 85th, 88th and 97th birthdays, but today only those for the old people are observed. Frequently a party is held to mark an individual's success in the competitive examination to enter high school, but aside from that, rites of passage for the young and middle-aged are no longer observed. 527 178

The Japanese introduced one form of entertainment which has achieved immense popularity; this is a sporting event sponsored by the school. These are usually held on Sunday during the fall of the year, and usually the whole school participates. There is intra-school competition and later inter-school; intense interest is generated and often this becomes an important topic for conversation among the young men. 526 177

Local units of the national organizations such as the youths' association and the women's association frequently hold parties for their members. In fact these organizations are mainly of a social nature. 575

As noted above, prior to the war there were five motion picture theaters on Okinawa; today there are fifty-seven. American and European films constitute from one quarter to one third of the total shown. Though most of these theaters are located in the cities and towns, the young people of the nearby farming villages make frequent use of them. The popularity of the American "Western" among the young people has caused some to attribute juvenile delinquency to this, although the relatively more bloody Japanese sword-fighting pictures ('chambara') are considered harmless. 546 177

The popularity of Okinawan dancing and music seems undiminished. Radio broadcasts of Okinawan music are much enjoyed; and virtually every party provides the opportunity for music and dancing in which most of the guests participate. A few of the better-educated young people profess an appreciation of Western classical music and jazz, but most of them prefer Japanese and American love ballads though they still remain very fond of the Okinawan music. 533 535 177

52 178 621 The general characteristics of the changed entertainment patterns have been a greater reliance on entertainment provided by sources outside the village---the school, radio, movies---and a sharp decline in celebrations and festivals of the sort which emphasized village participation and unity.

757 753 177 Health and Medicine Changes in medical practice well illustrate the principle that material things find more ready acceptance than ideas in the diffusion of culture; in short, Okinawans have been willing to adopt modern medicine when available, but not modern medical principles. Pills, shots, surgery, dentistry, penicillin, and DDT have found acceptance, while modern scientific concepts of disease, health, and sanitation seem to have made relatively little headway. The germ theory, for example, has barely penetrated.

753 751 177 However, on talking to people of different ages one becomes aware that many changes in standards of sanitation and ideas about health and disease actually have taken place in the last fifty years. For example, evidence of the practice of tattooing various parts of the body as a cure for certain ills is rarely seen on persons under seventy. Similarly, though many of the younger generation may appear abysmally ignorant of modern knowledge of disease, they are always less ignorant and better informed than the preceding generation. Considerable progress toward better sanitation was made under the [364] Japanese. Formerly the Okinawan privy was built atop the pigpen, and the pig [231] subsisted in part on human feces. Stern measures were required to force the abandonment of this practice. The Japanese also introduced monthly sanitation inspections; inoculations for babies and school children were made compulsory. [515] Through the influence of the schools the toothbrush (usually one) became a part of every home. The Japanese also sent notable scholars into the country- [582] side to lecture the people on the dangers of in-breeding practices, particularly kin-group endogamy.

757 177 Penicillin, which was introduced by the Americans, has become a popular treatment, achieving equality with moxacautery and cutting to let blood. It can be obtained easily at any drug shop, and every doctor, midwife, herbalist, and practitioner of any sort is prepared to administer shots. Reliance excessive even by American standards is placed on this drug. There seems, in fact, to be a fondness for shots which does not end with penicillin; hormone shots and various other injections are widely advertised. It is the opinion of the author that any type of modern medicine which cuts, punctures, or otherwise disfigures the skin will find ready acceptance; this, it is felt, is merely an extension of the tradition of acupuncture, moxacautery, tattooing, and cutting. Bettelheim states that in the 1850's the Okinawans made inquiries as to how inoculations for smallpox might be obtained.[1]

759 178 There is some indication that the yabu, a practitioner whose chief stocks-in-trade are herbs and moxacautery, is slowly disappearing; in several communities the author was told that since the old yabu died there had been no replacement.

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[1] Bettelheim, B. J., Loochoo Mission, London, n.d., pp. 34-36.

Education The Japanese established the first schools in the rural areas some time before World War I. Great emphasis was placed on making Japanese speakers and nationals out of Okinawans. Today most of the population is bilingual; those who speak only a dialect of the Ryukyuan language are persons over sixty and pre-school children. Most Okinawans have come to regard themselves as Japanese. 871 177 [91] [829]

A major change in the postwar educational system has been the addition of three years to the period of compulsory schooling, making a total of nine years. Since the schools continue to provide a Japanese education, the effect will be to increase the Japanization of Okinawa, raise literacy, and ultimately make all speakers bilingual. As a student is usually excused from all work by the family, this measure has served to withhold a large number of teenagers from the labor market.

In the rural areas the author heard frequent praise for the extension of the schooling period and the new school construction program initiated by the military government. Most rural peoples stated that educational opportunities were poor for them in the prewar period; high school education was said to be particularly difficult for a village child to achieve. Now they feel that they are realizing equality with the urban areas. The urbanite is more likely to suggest that the quality of education has deteriorated in the postwar period. Both rural and urban people were agreed that one decided improvement has been that students no longer fight among themselves. Before and during the war all students were organized into small groups based on area of residence; each group was headed by a student leader who shepherded his charges to and from school in semi-military formation. Rivalry between these organized groups frequently led to gang fighting so severe that the intervention of teachers or police was often necessary to restore order. 871 369 178 897 178

Rural people regard education as providing one of the best opportunities for improving one's status; consequently, the improvement of educational opportunities will have far-reaching effects on social mobility. Those who acquire a high school or university education rarely remain in the village, and the few who do remain adopt an occupation other than farming. 871 554

Economy Money was virtually non-existent in the old Okinawan village; barter was the chief means of exchange. Taxes under the communal land holding system were paid in grain and cloth. The land reforms initiated by the Japanese brought the introduction of tax payments in cash. Increasing emphasis on sugar production due to governmental encouragement and subsidy did much to destroy the self-sufficiency of the village and brought dependence on a cash crop. The period of Japanese administration was marked by a gradual adoption of a money economy in the rural areas. 437 436 178 177

Okinawans state that there is a far greater amount of money in the village today than in the prewar period. Some assert that due to governmental price controls they were never able to realize a fair return for their products (chiefly sugar) in the prewar era, but the great increase in money in recent years seems largely attributable to factors relating to the military occupation. Today over twenty-five percent of the total labor force is employed by the military and in subsidiary occupations such as construction; this steep rise in 434 178 [435] [464]

434 salaried employees has greatly increased the amount of money in circulation.
178 The large expenditures made by members of the military forces have also con-
464 tributed significantly. The farmer, in turn, has been able to realize a larger return for his products than was formerly possible, and in many farm villages a sizable number of individuals are engaged in military employment..

Farmers are spending more than ever before; self-sufficiency has further declined in that many articles formerly made at home are now purchased.
[511] The standard of living, especially diet, is said to have improved considerably.
[592] Formerly all income and resources were controlled by the household head for the entire family; today individual purses are said to be increasingly common.

621 Community Organization and Social Structure The solidarity and
178 integration of the village was severely diminished by the war and its aftermath. The prewar village was quite homogeneous; most of its families had resided there for many generations, village marriage practices tended to be endogamous, and nearly all were engaged in farming as their major occupation. Today in most villages there are a number of families new to the village since the war, and there are an increasing number of individuals who are employed outside the village in non-agricultural pursuits. Both groups tend to play a lesser role in community affairs than the old residents who continue to farm.

476 There has been a considerable decline in reciprocal labor exchanges.
178 The man who is daily employed outside the village is automatically prevented from participating in such ventures. The widow who heads a household without any adult male members is often unable to participate or must limit her participation since a day's work by a man must be matched by two by a woman. Likewise the man who hires a bulldozer to clear some land or build a rice field instead of engaging his relatives and neighbors in a cooperative exchange is also contributing to the decline of the practice.

369 Formerly those who left the village usually emigrated to other parts
178 of the Japanese Empire, but today they usually obtain employment in the cities
621 or military camps. Consequently, they continue to exert some influence in their place of origin, since interaction is more likely.

621 In a community like Kitazato which has suffered poverty, hunger, land
178 loss, and exodus of members to other communities, there seems to be a reintensification of community spirit stressing cooperation and unity. This is in marked contrast to Kanegusuku and elsewhere, suggesting that when a major value---communal unity---is directly threatened, there is a reaction and reintensification of this value. Elsewhere where the process of change has been more subtle, no reaction has occurred.

565 Okinawan class divisions were officially abolished early in the period
177 of Japanese administration; yet they continued to be of some importance with regard to status and marriage for some time. Today people say that they are no longer of any importance except to a few of the very old. Distinctions on
[559] the basis of wealth were largely erased by the war. It is frequently said, "After the war everyone was equal."

Within the village there are no class differences. Considerable prestige continues to be accorded certain occupations---teacher, doctor, government official. Land ownership does not appear to be an important status factor, and there is no landlord class. 621 554

Family The Okinawan family system has been in a process of change for over fifty years. Abolition of the system of communal land tenure and the introduction of private property and Japanese laws of inheritance provided the first shock. The bulk of the estate was hereafter conferred upon the first son while younger sons were frequently landless; consequently, many left the village in search of livelihood elsewhere. Where formerly the kin group was concentrated in a given locality, now its members are often scattered about, making interaction infrequent. A gradual decline in the practice of kin group endogamy also has contributed to weakening the solidarity of the kin group. There seems to be an increasing trend for large kin groups to fragment into smaller segments. According to young people who were consulted on the subject, their generation has little interest in kin group affairs; this may be misleading, as it is chiefly a matter which occupies the attention of older people. Perhaps one young man stated the situation accurately when he said, "I have no interest in such matters now, but I suppose I will when I am past forty." 593 178 [423] [428] 61 178

Many families were shattered by the war, and in the postwar period there has been a weakening of the family due to a variety of factors which might best be described as growing individualism. One factor, noted previously, was an increasing tendency for members of the household to maintain separate purses where formerly all earnings were turned over to the head of the house. There is some sentiment among the more educated for changing existing inheritance laws in favor of equal shares for all heirs regardless of sex or birth order. The author also heard complaints that young people often run off to seek lucrative jobs elsewhere unmindful of their family obligations. 593 178

Marriage In contrast to the prewar period when most marriages were arranged, the young people today claim that they will marry someone of their own choice. This seems to be generally true, but often the parents will go through the process of arranging after the young people have decided. Young people also will vehemently deny that they will make use of a fortune teller to determine the most propitious day, but their mothers most likely will do this and then will exert their influence for the proper day. In all likelihood the young people will accept in order not to displease the parents. 584 178 [585]

If a person, particularly a young woman, delays too long in becoming married, the family will arrange a match. In one such case known to the author a well-educated woman of twenty-five who had financial independence as a school teacher was urged into a match much against her own feelings. She explained her compliance as obligation to her family for having provided her with an excellent education.

Pitts' population studies indicate that the average age of marriage has dropped slightly in the postwar period due to the fact that Okinawan men are no longer delayed by military service. Despite this slight drop in the 582 178

582 178 average age at the time of marriage, investigation into the registries reveals that the range has narrowed somewhat. Formerly some girls married at thirteen and fourteen; today this would be considered rather unusual.

[177] The Japanese administration attempted to discourage endogamous marriage practices, particularly kin-group endogamy. All agreed that the practice has declined; yet in Kanegusuku nearly 50% of all marriages were within the kin group and 66% of all marriages were within the village. An analysis of these figures on an age basis indicates the practice is declining there.

833 178 833 Sex It is said that sexual standards have changed in that there is less sexual license among the young people and that they tend to have their first relations at a later age than formerly. This is attributed in part to the moral training of the schools. Another factor seems to be the general decline of several informal village institutions which permitted young people considerable sexual freedom. One informant stated that those who continue on to high school and university generally have their first experience at a later age than those who attend only junior high school.

642 177 641 Government The Japanese introduced a modern system of government, abolished the Okinawan aristocracy, and granted suffrage to all males of twenty-five or more years. The American Civil Administration has attempted to liberalize laws and to make possible a greater degree of self-government. [625] [666] Police powers have been limited, universal suffrage has been introduced, and the number of elected officials has been increased.

621 178 To date there has been little change within the village, where suffrage and office-holding remain limited to household heads. Villagers acknowledge that there is greater freedom for action at the local level today; yet they are not desirous of obtaining greater self-government. They feel that it would require too much of their time and that there is too little money available to finance its operation. Village leadership is virtually unchanged. Change where it has occurred has been initiated at a higher level.

632 178 At the township level the electorate has been broadened to include all persons, male and female, over twenty years of age. The mayor who was formerly appointed is now elected to office.

771 177 178 793 Religion There has been a general decline in the indigenous Okinawan religion, effected by Japanese policy, wartime attrition, and the spread of education. Formerly a hierarchy of priestesses extended from the kin group through the community and region to the person of the king's sister, the chief priestess. The Japanese removed the top echelons of this hierarchy, but the kin group and community priestesses continued to function. World War II resulted in the death of many religious functionaries, and as the office is usually hereditary within a specific family and often limited to a particular member of that family, there has often been no replacement for the office. Lastly there is an increasing tendency among the young people, due to the influence of the school, to regard religion as superstition.

796 178 Many villages, especially those without religious functionaries, have discontinued all village ceremonies, and in those few remarkable exceptions

where they are observed there are generally few participants. Also many ceremonies have lost all meaning save that of custom, which is considered sufficient reason for their observance. 796 178

The authors heard dissatisfaction expressed with regard to current funeral practices. At one bone-washing ceremony witnessed by the author, several of the men stated that the practice was pointless and should therefore cease. Statements favorable to the Japanese practice of cremation were frequently heard. 764 765 829

Urbanization Prior to Japanese annexation there existed a sharp urban-rural dichotomy in Okinawan culture. This might best be characterized as a rural peasantry and an urban gentry-nobility. The latter group was in contact with Japan and China and was literate, while the former was divided into many small, isolated villages, lived in a state of serfdom, and was largely uneducated. The urban culture was strongly influenced by its foreign contacts, but in the rural areas an indigenous culture was preserved virtually untouched by outside influences. 369 177 [365]

The Japanese impact was first felt in the urban areas, and the city of Naha gradually assumed the characteristics of a Japanese city. It became the center for the diffusion of things Japanese into the countryside. Despite a number of important changes---abolition of communal land tenure, introduction of private property, gradual penetration of a money economy, introduction of schools and national organizations---rural-urban differences remained strong. The character of the village tended to remain homogeneous and conservative, and contacts with the city were infrequent. When one emigrated from the village, the move usually was to a point outside the country rather than to another part of the island.

World War II shattered the isolation and homogeneity of the village. The American occupation coupled with the cumulative effect of the change initiated by the Japanese has served to bring the village into a closer relationship with the urban areas. The result has been the urbanization of the rural areas. By means of newspapers, motion pictures, and radio the villager has come to share the cultural life of the city. Rural-urban differences in diet, dress, education, entertainment, mobility, and values are tending to disappear. Marked improvements in transportation have given the villager a new mobility, enabling him to participate in the labor market of the city and giving new outlets for his products. The nature of the village is increasingly more heterogeneous due to the presence of newcomers, increased occupational specialization, and greater interaction with the outside world. There is a greater reliance on goods produced by industrial society, and a number of villagers commute daily to a place of employment in the city or in nearby military installations. The trend is toward an ultimate disappearance of rural-urban differences; the process is one that is well advanced in the United States, but in Okinawa it is in an early stage. 369 177 178 621

Conclusion Okinawa has been in a process of change for over fifty years. World War II and the American military occupation have served to accelerate greatly the forces for change. Despite this, Okinawan culture has not been overwhelmed and has managed to preserve its identity. A number of 177 178

177 factors have made possible its resilience. Though the island is small, the
178 Americans and Okinawans tend to be concentrated in their own areas, and the
rate of interaction is not so high as mere figures might indicate. Secondly,
[184] Okinawan culture is fairly homogeneous, hence unaffected areas tend to sus-
tain other areas which might be disturbed. Thirdly, there remains a strong
[186] awareness of cultural identity, much of which is fostered by language, song,
theater, dance, and religion. Fourthly, there exists a sense of belonging
[619] to a larger national entity, Japan; consequently, there is less feeling of
being alone. Fifthly, despite some changes, much the same sort of educational
and political systems operate today as before the war; this has provided a
considerable degree of continuity. Lastly, the present administration has
not been culturally repressive.

CHAPTER XII: OKINAWAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS

[Yamada]

|2| In this chapter we shall describe the effects of the occupation and types of relationships that have developed between Americans and Okinawans in a rural setting. We shall discuss the problems of Okinawan military employment. And we shall discuss the nature of Okinawan attitudes toward the United States, toward Japan, and toward themselves as a separate ethnic unit.

1. The Rural Setting: Yamada

W. P. Suttles

|62| Changes in Structure and Orientation The village of Yamada lies in southern Onna-son on the China Sea shore of
[361] Okinawa just south of the Ishikawa isthmus. The village is actually composed of several settlements that form a single 'ku' (the administrative unit) in a single 'aza' (the land unit). The topography of the 'aza' is rather uneven.
[241] The great majority of the people are farmers. They raise a little tea on one of the higher hills, sweet potatoes and other root crops and a little wheat on their upland fields, and a considerable amount of rice in paddies at the bottoms of their narrow valleys.

Before the war Aza Yamada consisted of seven settlements. Two were the old villages of Yamada and Kuraha. Four were yaarui (J. 'yadori'), smaller, separate settlements established by settlers (chijuunin, J. 'kiryūmin') who had left the urban areas of the south in the latter part of the last century. Of these four, three, the mee ("front") and kushi ("rear") yaarui of Tirabaru and the yaarui of Uema were settled by commoners (hyakusoo, J. 'heimin'); the fourth and most isolated, Tirabaru, was settled by gentry (yukatchu, J. 'shizoku'). The seventh settlement, Ajimaa, was a recent clustering of houses and shops around the crossroads and school.

For purposes of administration the aza was divided into 'han'. Since administration meant mainly the communication of instructions from above, number of houses and distance were probably the principal factors in determining the size of the 'han'. Thus the three larger settlements, Yamada, Kuraha, and Ajimaa, were each a 'han'; two of the yaarui that were close together, the mee and kushi yaarui of Tirabaru, formed a single 'han'; but the remaining two yaarui, Uema and Tarigaa, were separate 'han', probably because they were too far apart for one 'hanchō' to transmit information to both.

But for purposes of cooperation in certain economic and social activities, a unit larger than the single yaarui was evidently needed. This unit was the chinju (J. 'kinjo', meaning "neighborhood"). The three larger settlements were each a chinju, besides being each a 'han'. The two yaarui that formed a single 'han' also formed a single chinju. But the two yaarui that formed separate 'han' also formed a single chinju, their distance apart apparently being of less importance than the need for a larger cooperative unit.

[Yamada]

Thus Aza Yamada consisted of seven settlements grouped into six 'han' and into five chinju. The chinju was probably the older, "natural" unit, while the 'han' was a unit introduced by the Japanese administration. 621 [177]

During the last few months before the battle for Okinawa, the area south of Yamada was used as an ammunition dump by the Japanese navy, one small unit was stationed in Tarigaa, and a number of Okinawan civilians drafted for labor were quartered there with the local people. These outsiders dispersed as the raiding by American planes increased and by the time the landing took place, on 1 April 1945, the people of Yamada had for the most part gone into caves and prepared underground shelters. Two or three days after the landing the 6th MarDiv passed through Yamada, discovering some of the people and sending them behind the lines, but missing many. Some of those taken were almost immediately allowed to return to their homes. Then, after about a week, all were rounded up, taken to the school, and there loaded onto trucks and taken to Ishikawa. During the following weeks all the buildings in Yamada that had survived the softening-up process that preceded the landing were burned "as a sanitary measure" with the exception of one house and one school building. A part of the Yamada people were moved again to a village north of Kin while the rest stayed in Ishikawa, which was becoming the largest concentration of civilians on the island. Aza Yamada, empty of Okinawans, was occupied by several American units; concrete foundations for quonset huts were laid on the level fields of Tirabaru; the walls and floor of the remaining school building were removed so as to make a garage for a motor pool. 175 621 726 727

The people of Yamada were permitted to move back to their village during the summer of 1946. Some stayed in Ishikawa, however, and some returned to Yamada only to go back to Ishikawa later. (One woman said they were told at the time that if they did not return to Yamada then they could never return later.) The houses at Yamada had to be rebuilt and fields reclaimed; American aid in materials was given but the job was not an easy one. For some of those who had employment with American units or whose families were too broken by the war to provide the basis for a farming household, the new city of Ishikawa, crowded and unsanitary as it was (and still is), was more attractive than the ruins of the country village. But in addition to those from Ishikawa, former Yamada people were being shipped home from Japan, the South Seas, and Manchuria, and although some of these too drifted to the city, the population of Yamada is now somewhat larger than it was before the war. 175 621 727

The postwar village of Yamada looks considerably different from the prewar one. While the old village consisted of several widely separated settlements, the new one is fairly compact. The center is Ajimaa at the old cross-roads below the school. Yamada 'mura-uchi' is empty but for three families. The yaarui of Uema and Tarigaa were never reoccupied and Tirabaru exists only as a sort of pseudopodium of Ajimaa stretching toward but not reaching its former location. The greater part of the 'mura-uchi' and yaarui people are in Ajimaa and the present Tirabaru. Kuraha, formerly down on the beach, has been rebuilt above the water, just below Ajimaa, at a new and potentially more important crossroads. 621 178 [361]

[Yamada]

621 361 178 177 One reason for this greater concentration may have been the greater need for cooperation during the period of rebuilding; another may have been the greater dependence since the war on the outside and the resulting greater dependence on the new highways and busses; but a third reason for the present concentration seems to have been a feeling of uneasiness in the presence of American units. There are still units on three sides of Yamada, two in the hills behind and one towards the sea between the settlement and the next village of Maeda. A Tarigaa woman gave the presence of American soldiers in the hills as a definite reason for not returning to her isolated home. A part of the rebuilt Ajimaa extended for a time in the direction of the nearest unit but in the last two or three years these houses have one by one been removed toward the center of the settlement.

621 178 The present aza is divided into five 'han', which are said also to function as chinju. However, the division seems to have been made along 'koaza' boundaries and this has resulted in a very uneven distribution of households per 'han'. Since the settlement pattern is still changing it seems likely that units of a more equal size will develop.

621 178 484 The orientation of Yamada, as well as its settlement pattern, has changed. Before the war contacts were nearly all to the north and south along the west shore of the island; people went south to Kadena on their rare shopping trips. Now, good highways and an excellent bus system not only run north and south but also link the west shore with the east shore via Nakadomari and Ishikawa. Since the war and the internment of many of the Yamada people at Ishikawa, going to town had meant going to Ishikawa, and people who once went twice a year to Kadena may now go to Ishikawa twice a week. People still go south to Kadena, but now more often as employees of the Americans commuting to work.

621 177 727 [648] Formal Relations At the time that the Yamada people returned to their village in 1946 they received material aid from the American Military Government, with which to rebuild. For a time after, they continued to receive a food ration ('haikyū') that was distributed from the 'haikyūjo', which later became the cooperative store. However, for several years now they seem to have had very little direct contact with the Military Government or its successor USCAR. On the other hand they have had considerable contact, both formal and informal, with the 'butai', the "unit", that is stationed just a few hundred yards from the settlement of Kuraha. This relationship was evidently in a process of change while I worked in Yamada early in 1954.

All of the villagers with whom I discussed the matter seemed agreed that for a period in the recent past the relationship had been very good. During the previous year the CO of the unit had held monthly meetings with the 'kuchō' of Yamada and three neighboring villages and with the teachers of the Yamada school, which serves all four villages. The purpose of these meetings was said to be the discussion of mutual problems, and in this they had a fair degree of success. For example the local people asked the unit to decrease the speed of trucks coming through the village, and this was done. The unit in turn asked the villagers to try to stop women from sneaking into

[Yamada]

its area at night (an informant hastened to add that these were not Yamada women). The unit and the village cooperated in repairing roads, the unit supplying equipment and the village labor. The unit also lent equipment for levelling the school grounds and for the 'undōkai' (sports event) lent the school a public address system. At Christmas of 1952 and again in 1953 the unit gave a Christmas party for the school children. The first year only 40 went but the second year nearly 200 went and all received presents. Two that were shown me later were a plastic car and a plastic fire truck; one was marked 65 cents. They were displayed with obvious pride. The school children in turn had sent a bundle of art work to the unit for the Perry Festival. 621 177 727

According to the villagers, late in 1953 the CO of the unit was transferred and the unit was placed under the command of the CO of another unit some miles away. This, they said, had meant the end of the monthly meetings and a decline in the good relations that had existed. The villagers' worries may have been without foundation. The last Christmas party was given after the alleged shift in command. However, some changes were occurring; for example, prostitution had reentered the village.

Informal Relations In addition to the help given to the school by the unit, certain individuals from the unit had also contributed something to it. One man is said to have taught English classes twice a week for about six months. Many of the men of the unit habitually come to the school grounds to play ball. Several are said to come two and three times a week, others come less frequently. Negro soldiers as well as whites come. They play baseball and volleyball with the men teachers and have also taught them basketball.

A few of the villagers have gained financially from the presence of the unit. In Ajimaa where the school is located there are four shops and at Kuraha there is one shop and another establishment that was formerly a cafe. The Ajimaa shops probably rarely sell anything to the soldiers, but the Kuraha shop has several steady customers for "Okinawa Gin", a rather strong variety of 'awamori'. The cafe formerly sold drinks to a regular clientele from the unit, but recently the owner invested in a taxi, has not made as much on it as he had expected and so has not had the capital for stock. There is also a laundry in Kuraha operated by a couple from Amami which does washing for men in the unit. 621 177 727 444 [273]

Several men in the unit are renting houses for their "honeys". (The term "honey" is widely used by both Americans and Okinawans for an American's Okinawan mistress.) At the time I worked in Yamada there were five "honeys", all in Kuraha, three renting one house and two another. All five were from outside the village; one was from Amami, a relative of the laundry people. According to one informant, the relationships between the soldiers and these women had been established at Senaha, Yomitan-son, a small cafe and brothel area to which some of the men of the unit go; after establishing the relationships there the men had brought the women to this village next to their unit. It was my impression that there was not much contact between these outsiders and the villagers. 621 177 727 836

However, there are several Yamada women who have been the mistresses of American soldiers in the past and there are several half-white children in 621 144 563

[Yamada]

621 the village. The oldest of the children is in school; she is the product of
144 a brief affair during the early days of the occupation. While some informants
563 showed some reluctance to discuss the half-white children, by forgetting that they existed until reminded of them, I saw no evidence that the children suffered any discrimination. There are also several Yamada women living outside Yamada, particularly in Ishikawa, with Americans and Filipinos; several of
621 these have mixed-blood children. Some of the Yamada women who are "married"
582 to Americans have attempted to maintain their relationship with their own
177 families and establish some kind of relationship between their families and their "husbands". On New Year's, when family calls are in order, two sisters who were both living with Americans at another village brought their "husbands" to pay their respects to their grandfather. I was in the old man's house when one of the girls appeared with her American. The American behaved quite properly, taking off his shoes and sitting cross-legged on the mat opposite the grandfather. The grandfather greeted him with dignity and reserve. The girl, who had acquired a fair command of English, translated a few sentences and looked very pleased with herself. Drinks were exchanged and the visit was over. Further contact was hardly possible, but this sort of gesture was probably sufficient to demonstrate to the family and to others that the relationship was a serious one. Most relationships are less serious.

621 The former cafe in Kuraha was said to have had women available for
727 prostitution several years ago, but the CO of the local unit who held the
177 meetings with the villagers is said to have disapproved of prostitution in the village and therefore the women left. In the spring of 1954, however,
548 another prostitute was at the cafe, even though it was not operating as such, and a new brothel was established at Ajimaa. There a 'Mama-san' ("madame" in GI Japanese) rented a house for herself and her three girls. The house is one of the newer tile-roofed buildings; it is just below the school grounds and across the highway; it is the property of the brother-in-law of one of the school teachers. Since the shortest way to the place from the unit is directly across the school ground, this was the route taken one afternoon by the three gaudily painted girls as they led a soldier home. I did not have much opportunity to discuss the matter with many people but got the following reaction from one informant: "On the one hand the brothel is good because people are making money; on the other hand it is bad because it makes a bad environment. If anyone complained about it, probably the owners of the house would say that the person complaining is just envious because of the money they are making in rent. Probably even the school teachers could not complain. One cannot interfere with a person's way of making money. The only way it could be stopped would be for the whole village to stop it." This was a clear
[131] expression of two of the basic themes of Okinawan culture, themes that have been mentioned before in connection with other problems; first, one must not interfere in another's livelihood, and second, one must not stand alone; action must be group action. This informant was not overly concerned about the possible bad effects of the presence of the brothel below the school on the school children. Some of the school teachers may have been, yet they too were probably as unwilling to take action individually.

621 While some Yamada people have profited by the presence of the unit,
727 others have suffered some loss. Considerable land is still not available to its owners and while they have received rental from it the amount is not

[Yamada]

regarded as adequate. Also, some of the land that was returned some time 621
ago still has construction materials on it that must be removed. I also 727
heard the complaint that it was not possible to gather fuel in certain areas in the mountains behind the village. One of the units there is said to fire upon Okinawans who approach the fence around it. So far as I know, no one has been hurt. The fact that Okinawans have been known to appropriate fence wire as scrap metal may be the cause of the apparent hostility of this unit. The villagers have no other contact with it.

Attitudes In 1945 when the American forces were landing on Okinawa the people of Yamada were trembling in their caves and dug uts expecting that if they survived the bombing of the planes they would probably be shot by the troops. One way or another a few people did lose their lives. One man was shot by an American soldier while trying to run away after coming out of his cave. Another Yamada man, who was teaching school in Kunigami at the time, is said to have been found by an American soldier while travelling with his family through the hills; the soldier made him put down the child he was carrying and then shot him where he stood, before the eyes of his wife and children. Two Yamada girls are said to have been raped. Whether these stories are true or not they are factors in the formation of attitudes toward Americans. Yet stories of such incidents are few and amount to little compared to the treatment that most Okinawans expected to receive at the hands of the Americans. Stories of unexpected kindness shown by the Americans in 1945 are numerous and are not forgotten. Nor are the few atrocity stories, though the balance is undoubtedly well on the credit side.

The variety of the experiences that the people of Yamada have had with 621
Americans tends to make them see, I believe, more clearly than many Americans 727
see, the necessity for avoiding generalizations and judging the individual on 829
the basis of his own merits. One can find individuals who have had a wide range of experience even in a remote Okinawan village. One evening in Yamada I sat listening to the war stories of two brothers. Both had spent some time in Japan. One had lived in Manchuria as a settler, had seen the Kuomintang chase the 8th Route Army and vice versa, had finally been captured himself by the Russians and had managed, according to his account, to escape by making off with a Russian truck. The other brother matched this story by telling how he had been captured by the Americans and taken as a prisoner to Hawaii, where he had spent a year working at a laundry. He delighted us with his stories about the good food, the lazy guards, and how he had made off with large quantities of GI clothing by going back to the compound each night wearing several shirts and two and three pairs of pants. Despite their belief in ghosts and spirits, in matters of human relations these are mature and sophisticated men. They know that not all Americans are good, not all are bad, some are industrious, some are lazy, most are honest, but some are dishonest. On several occasions, while somewhat in his cups, the older of the two assured me that "the words are different but the heart is the same". This perhaps summarizes the faith of a good many Okinawans.

To summarize Okinawan-American relations in Yamada: There have been 621
both formal relations between the neighboring unit and the village and school 727
and informal relations between some of the men of the unit and some of the 199

[Yamada]

621 villagers. The formal relations, because of the policy of the CO of the
727 unit, have in the past been good (at any rate this is the interpretation of
177 the villagers). Except in rare instances such as that of the man who taught English, the informal relations have been mainly in the fields of sports and sex. In these matters too the role of the unit's CO has been important.

2. Military Employment

W. P. Lebra

464 An important factor in contemporary Okinawan life is the large number of people engaged in military employment or in subsidiary occupations. Over [177] twenty-five percent of the total Okinawan labor force is so employed, and their day-to-day contact with Americans has far-reaching implications for Okinawan-American relations. It is also a factor of prime importance to the Okinawan economy.

In studying and visiting a number of Okinawan communities the authors noted a considerable variation in the importance of military employment to the community, the role of those so employed in village life, and the attitude of the villagers toward these people.

621 727 Kanegusuku The farming village of Kanegusuku was less affected than most communities by the war and subsequent occupation, little land was ruined, no military installations are in the area, and the majority of villagers are attempting to carry on as before the war.

621 464 Out of a total population of 507 persons, constituting 103 houses, there are but twenty men employed outside the village. Of these twenty men, seven are directly engaged in military employment and eight more are employed by civilian construction companies engaged in military construction. These individuals commute from the village each day to the greater Naha area. In most cases these men come from houses which have insufficient land for mere subsistence, or they are younger sons who are without land and/or who have not married and set up households of their own. Several are newcomers to the village since the war.

621 464 166 In the past a few who have secured jobs in military establishments or in subsidiary employment have left the village and established temporary residence in the city or near the camp. One of the motivating factors for making the move is a monthly saving of ¥600 ($5.00) in bus fares, but certainly another and perhaps stronger motivation has been the desire to escape the dreary life of the farm village. These people say that they do not wish to return to the village; yet, they have retained their land as an insurance 621 464 829 against job loss. Most do not seem to regard military employment as a permanent career. They hope to save enough money to establish a small business or at the last resort to return to the village and buy more land.

Villagers regard those who have been able to secure military employment as rather fortunate individuals. In most families the additional income [511] is most welcome as it provides a standard of living considerably above subsistence farming. In the case of those families where the husband or house- [462] hold head is employed outside the village the wife usually farms the family vegetable plots.

621 464 In most cases those who are engaged in military employment, or in any employment outside the village, do not play an active role in village affairs.

621 464 Only five of these are household heads entitled to vote in village elections or assume village office, but because their jobs keep them out of the community much of the time, they are not given village offices. There is some feeling on the part of the villagers that they are out of touch with the affairs of a farming village; consequently, their influence in the village thus far has not been too great.

621 727 464 **Jagaru and Tobaru** The villages of Jagaru and Tobaru in Chatan-son offer a marked contrast to Kanegusuku in terms of the importance of military employment to the community. These two contiguous communities are hemmed in on all sides by military installations. They constitute little more than housing areas within a township that has lost, according to its officials, approximately 91% of its land to military installations.

[241] [178] Formerly nearly all of the families were engaged in farming as a full-time occupation; today less than one-sixth are farming and not all of these are able to depend on it for their sole support. Military employment has replaced farming as the chief occupation of these villages. In October of 1953 there were 2,352 persons out of a total population of 10,411 who were employed in military jobs. In addition there were a number of business establishments which were dependent on the trade of military personnel.

621 464 [434] The welfare of Jagaru and Tobaru is wholly dependent on military employment. In the fall of 1953 there were rumors of an anticipated cut of 10% in the over-all Okinawan labor force employed by the military. This would have made over two hundred individuals and their families without any source of income or means of livelihood. The people were much upset by this prospect as every family had at least one member employed in military jobs and were wholly or in part dependent on their income.

In contrast to Kanegusuku those who were engaged in military employment in these villages played an active role in community affairs. A great many of them are household heads, and they are not regarded as being out of touch with village affairs since the chief occupation of the villagers is military employment. While the Kanegusuku people regard securing a military job as good fortune, the people here regard it as a necessity. According to township officials most of this year's graduating class will look for jobs in the nearby installations.

621 464 829

The villagers are bitter because they feel that the military has not paid them adequate rentals for the use of their land. There is also some resentment over the conduct of troops in these communities during their off-duty hours. In short, though the villages are completely dependent on the military for their livelihood, they are bitter and resentful in their attitude toward it. The possibility of job losses seems likely to heighten this feeling.

621 727 464 **Henza Shima** The island of Henza off the east central coast of Okinawa differs from the above communities in that a large segment of its population is engaged in military employment and yet the village itself is far removed from any military installation. This village suffered but slight damage and no loss of life during the war. After the war over four hundred repatriates returned to the village, bringing its population up to approximately 4,900.

This island has long faced a serious problem of over-population and food shortage; it is not self-supporting in foodstuffs and mainly derives its livelihood from fishing, shipping and ferrying. It has long had a symbiotic relationship with the neighboring island of Takabanare, supplying fish and shipping-ferrying service in return for food, but this has not been rewarding enough in recent years to offset its rapid population increase. A general postwar decline in coastal shipping largely due to the marked improvement of land transportation in highways and vehicles has sharply reduced the number of jobs in this enterprise, and the return of the repatriates has only added to the number seeking jobs. Military employment, however, has filled this gap and staved off mass unemployment. 621 464 505 433 [438]

At the present time nearly one quarter of the village labor force is engaged in military employment. Nearly all of the repatriates and a large number of old residents have entered military employ. Some of these have established temporary residence on the mainland nearer the military installations. A large number, however, commute by ferry boat and bus each day to their place of employment, and at low tide it is possible to walk the mile across the tidal flats to the mainland. 621 464 [484]

There has long been a tradition for the men of Henza to be away from the village much of time, engaged in activities on the sea. Thus, those who are away much of the time in military employment are merely following a long-established pattern. Unlike the absent workers of Kanegusuku, these people are not considered to be cut off from village affairs. All farming activities, much of the family's economic affairs, and some of the functions of government are carried on by women, contrary to usual Okinawan practice. [562]

The villagers regard military employment as a blessing and feel that it has contributed significantly to maintaining village prosperity. Aside from military employment they have little contact with Americans, although a few boat-owners have rented their crafts to American fishing parties. The villagers and their officials recall with considerable fondness their military government officer in the early days of the occupation. To date Henza relations with Americans have been not only good but also profitable; in short, American stock is high on this island. [829] 621 197 829

<u>Summary</u> On Henza and to a far smaller degree in Kanegusuku military employment has largely drawn off the surplus and largely landless population that formerly would have emigrated to other parts of the overseas Japanese empire. In Jagaru and Tobaru military employment has replaced farming as the chief occupation of the villagers. The contribution of military employment to the economy of Kanegusuku is negligible, although it should be noted that the number so engaged increased during the period of the author's study. In Jagaru, Tobaru, and Henza military employment is of vital importance to the village economy, and any sharp decrease will have severe repercussions. 464

<u>Okinawan Attitudes Toward Those Engaged in Military Employment</u> Okinawans make a sharp distinction in their attitudes toward men employed in military jobs and their attitudes toward women similarly employed. There seems to be no stigma of any sort attached to the male who has a job working for the Americans; in fact, 464 562 829

464 usually people tend to regard these persons as fortunate. During the entire
562 course of the author's stay on Okinawa he heard no sharp criticism of men who
829 were in military employment, yet many statements were heard about women who were so employed. This dichotomy seems to stem from the widely held belief that the American employers have sexual access to these women, particularly
[831] the maids. Okinawan culture affords its males a high degree of sexual freedom, but not its females.

464 It is said that the women who are employed by the military are cate-
554 gorized into several grades; the highest status is accorded to the office workers and PX clerks. These are followed by the kitchen and table maids, after which comes the maids who are employed in the dependent housing units; lastly there are the barracks maids, including those of the bachelor officers' and civilians' quarters. It is also claimed that these women can be distinguished on the basis of their dress. Supposedly the office workers and
[291] PX girls dress in the fashion of Japanese business women, whereas the housing
[117] and barracks maids dress in American styles which are considered loud and flashy.

464 It is claimed that many young men will not marry women who have been
554 maids in military installations. One young man asserted that these women were
582 no better than the "honeys" (a term used by Okinawans and GI's to designate the soldier's mistress).

464 The low status and pay (¥1200-1800, or $10-15 per month) for maids is
466 offset to a large extent by the gifts, food, and in many cases board which they receive from their employers. Despite the stigma there is no shortage
[465] of applicants for these jobs. Another factor is the free bathing privileges which ordinarily accompany these jobs. Very few Okinawan homes have a bath,
[515] and public baths cost the equivalent of ten cents in American money, a sizeable outlay for the Okinawan purse.

464 Most of the discrimination is directly attributable to the sexual
554 jealousy of the Okinawan male toward the women who work and often live in
829 close daily contact with Americans. There also seems to be some discrimination against any women in the category of maid, whether employed by American or Okinawan; in the past these were often indentured servants who had been sold by their parents into this low status.

186 <u>Okinawan Attitudes toward Their American Employers</u> It was the author's im-
829 pression that even those who had worked in close daily contact with Americans for a considerable period of time shared much the same stereotypes of the American as those held by the general public. It must be remembered that the points of emphasis in any stereotype are often those traits which seem obvious because they are so unfamiliar and hence not understood by the person of a different culture. Secondly, in every stereotype there is undoubtedly some considerable measure of truth; the important factor is the base of reference. Both Americans and Okinawans judge one another on the basis of different values and cultural backgrounds.

The following statements were made by persons who were employed by Americans, and are typical of those frequently made: 186 829

"Americans are very impolite and always in a hurry."

"For such big people they are very gentle."

"We are all afraid of your (American) women." This statement was made by a male.

"Americans are very rich."

"The corporal who was my boss received a salary of about $500 a month, I think."

"Americans do not stay angry very long."

"We say Americans are like children with their feelings." This refers to the American openly displaying his emotions where an Okinawan would hold himself in check.

American Attitudes toward Okinawan Employees The novel and play, Teahouse of the August Moon, well depicts the American stereotypes of the Okinawans---the simple, child-like people who somehow by trickery and deception manage to frustrate the good intentions of their military administrators. When the play was briefly shown on Okinawa, the Okinawans reacted by objecting to being made to appear child-like and dirty in contrast to the Americans. 000

The following comments were obtained from casual conversations with Americans who had Okinawans under their direction or in their personal employ:

"They don't know the meaning of truth."

"...but can you really trust them?"

"You would think that after eight years (of occupation) they would have picked up some English!"

"All you have to do is ask something out of the ordinary, and they hold a conference. And after that you have to ask them for their decision, as they won't volunteer this information."

"Once an idea is installed in their minds, they will hold it forever."

"After all, they really are like children, you know."

Most Okinawan comments about Americans centered on their wealth, the rushed nature of their lives, and their impoliteness. American commentary on Okinawans stressed tardiness, untruthfulness, and lack of initiative. It is amusing to note that both groups regarded the other as rather child-like. It 186 829

It
186 is also important to keep in mind that the relationship is always one of
829 American employer to Okinawan employee; consequently, the American is most
177 often the initiator of action.

464 Conclusion In a number of Okinawan communities military employment has drawn
434 off the surplus population which formerly had emigrated. In not a few communities it has become the mainstay of the economy.

464 Most Okinawans regard military employment as economically advantageous.
829 There is no stigma attached to men who are so employed, but considerable
554 stigma is attached to women who take this employment, particularly the maids.

177 The American installations are dependent to no small degree upon their
648 Okinawan employees, and in turn many Okinawan individuals and communities are
464 wholly dependent upon the military for their livelihood. Their relationship is a symbiotic one which can best be enhanced by mutual understanding; yet the social distance between the Okinawan and American is so great as to make interaction on a basis of equality rare. Because of their different cultural backgrounds and their job situations, both remain ignorant of the other's motives and values, and mutual understanding is difficult if not impossible. Common
[171] denominators in both cultures might be sought as a means of bridging this gap, as, for example, their common love of sports.

3. Japan, America, and Okinawa

W. P. Suttles

829 Japan in Retrospect Okinawan attitudes toward Japan are decidedly ambivalent. Factors that have entered into the formation of these attitudes are as follows:

175 1) Historic Relations On the negative side are the historic separa-
648 tion and former independence of Okinawa. This separate status is still re-
829 membered by old people, some of whom speak of wars between Okinawa and "Yamatu" (Yamato, that is, Japan). Several illiterate old people seemed to make no distinction between the conquest and oppression of Okinawa by the feudal state of Satsuma and the later annexation by the national government, and thus seemed to be blaming Japan as a whole for wrongs done by Satsuma.

171 On the positive side there is the indisputable remote common origin
174 and basic similarity of the Japanese and the Okinawans. Racially, linguis-
177 tically, and culturally the Okinawans are closely related to the Japanese. They may be said to be merely a kind of Japanese. It is highly probable that
829 the majority of the ancestors of the Okinawans came from the north, from Japan, in the not too remote past. Their isolation made it possible for them to be politically independent and their political independence made it possible for them to escape the levelling influence of Japanese national governments, particularly that of the Tokugawa Shogunate, and for them to have closer contact with China. This accounts for their having a number of elements of Chinese culture that are not found in Japan, but it does not make them a kind of Chinese.

2) Japanese Political Administration On the negative side is the domination, during the period of Japanese administration, of Okinawan public life by men from Japan. But on the other hand Okinawa became another perfecture and not a colony, and there were possibly not many more men in Okinawa from Japan's urban centers than in other remote and poor perfectures. As Japanese subjects in a Japanese prefecture, Okinawans could rise in the Japanese system and indeed a few did. The position of Okinawa was quite different from that of Korea. 648 829

Insofar as the Japanese policy of assimilation was successful, the fact that most of the important posts in the prefectural government were occupied by men from Tokyo could be ignored. If the Okinawans identified themselves as Japanese the difference would be less important. (The degree of Japanese domination and the harshness of the regime, moreover, seem to have become exaggerated in the minds of many of the Americans on Okinawa at present; some of the USCAR personnel with whom we talked appeared to be unaware of the fact that Okinawa had the same legal status as other parts of Japan.)

3) Japanese Assimilation Policy The policy of the Japanese government and particularly that of the Ministry of Education was undoubtedly one of cultural imperialism. The aim was to produce a uniform people. A strong attempt was made to eradicate the native language and many native customs that did not agree with Japanese ideals, the periodic redivision of land ('jiwari seido') and the use of the pigpen as a toilet, to name two. School teachers labelled the Okinawan language a "dialect" of Japanese, thus giving it inferior status, and labelled many Okinawan beliefs "superstitions". The army also undoubtedly attempted to replace Okinawan with Japanese ideals in many young men. These attempts may have produced hostility in some Okinawans, but it is our impression that the more usual result was to produce merely a feeling of inferiority. Okinawan speech and culture went down in value and Japanese speech and culture went up. Younger Okinawans who could not speak good Japanese felt inferior, but within the Japanese hierarchy. Moreover, in recent years Okinawan speech and customs have been given new prestige as museum pieces by the fact that outstanding Japanese scholars have devoted some attention to them. 648 177 829 152

4) Treatment of Okinawans in Japan Undoubtedly Okinawans who went to Japan in the twenties and thirties to look for employment were disiscriminated against by Japanese employers. A great number of Okinawans went to Osaka to work in the textile mills. Accounts of informants reveal that the mill foremen stereotyped Okinawans as lazy and unreliable and did not hesitate to say so. (In view of the conditions of labor, Americans in the same position might well have earned the same stereotype.) Some mills did not hire Okinawans if they could avoid it. 167 464 177

In rural Japan people were in utter ignorance of Okinawa. Students who were evacuated in 1944 to Kyushu discovered this. One young man told how the peasants in Miyazaki-ken thought that Okinawans were South Sea Islanders and expected them to come wearing clothes made of the leaves of trees and expected to have to teach them how to cook rice. 000

829 726 5) War Experiences Many younger and even middle-aged men saw service in the war, some in Manchuria, China, and Southeast Asia. Their experiences of course varied. One well-educated man told me how pleasant he found Burma and how much he would like to return there as a civilian; he had been in the Japanese Military Government there. Others returned from the war to tell of terrible experiences. One story, which was said to be well-known around Itoman, told how an Okinawan whose unit was making a last stand deserted to surrender to the Americans when he was warned by a friend that as an Okinawan he had been chosen to go into the pot for dinner.

829 On the home front old people, women, and children were able to see the army at first hand during the last few months before the battle, when many units prepared to defend the island. Many civilians saw the harsh army discipline and saw, we were told, how when army rations became short the officers continued to eat well while the men had to loot from the fields of the civilians. They remember the Korean labor units, some of whom in the south were detailed to cut the Okinawan farmers' trees to build defenses. They also remember the 'Chōsen-P', the Korean girls brought by the Japanese army to serve as prostitutes for the men; some informants believed the Japanese army's system of army brothels to be superior to the policy of the American army.

In general the present Okinawan view of the late Japanese army is not a flattering one. But it must be emphasized that most informants seemed quick to distinguish between the Japanese army and Japanese civilians, army policy and national culture.

177 829 [729] 6) The Present Scene The Japanese government's present display of interest in Okinawa, as seen for example in the recent granting of pensions to survivors of war dead, the renewed interest of Japanese scholars in Okinawan culture, and the movie industry's "Okinawa boom" have made an impression on the Okinawans. The government's interest may be mainly political; the interest of the scholars, however, is genuine, and the reasons for the 829 movie boom too may run deeper than propaganda considerations. Okinawa was 726 the only part of Japan, the only one of the forty-six prefectures, that was 177 actually defended against a landing. The people of Okinawa were the only Japanese who fought to protect their homeland from invasion. And thus the people of Okinawa-ken showed the greatest heroism of any Japanese. This, potentially, is the argument that may one day raise the status of Okinawans to great heights in the Japanese scheme of things, apart from any conscious policy on the part of the Japanese government. Many Okinawans may be well aware of their latent heroism as a group. What they actually did go through as individuals must not be minimized and may well motivate some to try to derive some reward from it. (I must admit that this is speculation; I have not been told by any Okinawans that they are, or might be considered to be, the most heroic of the Japanese, but I believe that this interpretation is inherent in the situation.)

177 829 On the other hand, the differentiating treatment that Okinawans met in Japan in the past is still there too. Recently a volleyball team went to Japan, where, it is said, the first meal served them consisted of bread while the Japanese teams around them were served rice. When they objected they were told that it was understood that the Okinawans had become wholly Americanized

in diet and therefore ate bread instead of rice. The Okinawans objected and thereafter got rice too. 177 829

The few Japanese who are on Okinawa at present working mainly as contractors for the military are often spoken of contemptuously as 'Japani', but politely they are spoken of as 'Naichijin', "persons from the mainland [of Japan]". The term 'Nihonjin' still includes the Okinawans as far as most Okinawans are concerned. 186 829

These are some of the factors contributing to the attitudes that Okinawans feel toward Japan as such. Although there is overlapping, they must be distinguished from the basis of attitudes toward the possible reversion of Okinawa to the status of a Japanese prefecture. I shall discuss attitudes toward reversion after looking at some of the attitudes that exist toward the United States. 829

Attitudes toward the United States I shall confine myself to a discussion of attitudes derived from contact with Americans on Okinawa. Okinawans call Americans Amirikaa in Okinawan, 'Amerika-jin' or 'Amerika-san' in Japanese. The last is the most polite term. Upon asking for a term corresponding to the 'ketō', "hairy barbarian", of the last century, I was told that Amirikaa in a scornful tone of voice conveyed the same feeling. The diminutive, Amirikaa-gwaa, is used either for the child of an American or somewhat slurringly for an adult American. (These terms are usually used only for white Americans; colored Americans are classified differently. See below.) The following are some of the factors contributing to attitudes toward Americans: 177 829

1) Behavior of Individual Soldiers On the positive side are numerous unsolicited acts of kindness on the part of many GI's and the relatively free and easy relationship that often develops between Americans and Okinawans who work together. On the negative side there is the normal rowdiness of GI's, their frequently belligerent behavior when drunk (which is quite different from the sort of behavior Okinawans can expect of drunks---see p.147), and their frequent open display of sexuality (also contrary to Okinawan standards). There have also been a few acts of violence.

2) View of American Military Life When they first came in contact with the American armed forces in 1945, the Okinawans were greatly impressed by the contrast American military life presented to that of the Japanese. Several Okinawans commented to me at that time on the fact that officers worked alongside the men, often working even harder, and on the fact that officers did not discipline the men by slapping them. Slapping, one commented, was the business of the Japanese army.

Today their impressions are probably somewhat different. The distinctions between officers and men are undoubtedly greater now than in 1945. Moreover, morale and efficiency also undoubtedly declined after the end of the war and are at present rather low. One of the SIRI team saw a unit on maneuvers in the mountains of Kunigami. The men had hired Okinawan women to carry their packs; the officers had evidently driven home for the night. The impression this makes needs no comment.

177 829 3) View of American Social Life With the large number of American women and children now on Okinawa and the large number of Okinawans employed as domestic servants, there is considerable opportunity for Okinawans to observe American family life. However, they may very well be getting a somewhat distorted view of American life by trying to generalize from the rather luxurious quarters provided for American dependents and from the behavior of American women who have now, many for the first time in their lives, plenty of domestic help.

648 829 4) Official Policy On the positive side, the Okinawans were impressed by the generosity of the Americans with relief, especially in the early days of the occupation, they are impressed with the highway and communication system the occupation has brought them, and they have much good to say about changes in the police system, education, and other aspects of government---along with criticisms, of course, as had been discussed elsewhere. On the negative side, the most persistent criticisms have to do with the land question and the question of self-government.

A chapter has already been devoted to the land question. To summarize the points pertaining to this discussion: many Okinawans feel, and apparently with some justification, that the Army has not paid adequate rental on land. In some instances the payments have not reached the owners at all. In addition some Okinawans feel that land has been unnecessarily diverted from its vital agricultural use. One example is the unused airfield next to the village of Kitazato; another would be the Awase Meadows Golf Course. The resentment felt about the loss of land is re-enforced by the important cultural theme that we have stated elsewhere: one must not interfere with the livelihood of another. The Army, by taking land and not paying adequately for it, has interfered with the livelihood of the farmers.

642 648 829 The question of self-government, to be discussed adequately, would require a whole chapter on the history of GRI and its predecessors; since this study was aimed at the community level, the history and structure of GRI were not investigated. The gist of the argument is, however, that instead of progressing toward a greater degree of self-government the Ryukyu Islands are in fact slipping backward. The present GRI with its appointed chief executive replaced an organization with an elected chief. Hence one of the two major political parties has insisted on an elected chief executive. The other major party is that of the chief executive. Those who see the appointment of the chief executive by USCAR as undemocratic assert that USCAR's professions to be bringing democracy to Okinawa are simply not true. Occasional 648 829 clumsy maneuvers on the part of USCAR have only provided them with more ammunition. For example, various labor organizations and the People's Party (which is pretty clearly affiliated with the Communist Party of Japan) were planning to stage a parade on the First of May, 1954. USCAR opposed this, apparently feeling that the participation of the People's Party would make it look like a Communist demonstration. But in opposing it USCAR asserted that May Day is strictly a Communist holiday and on several occasions gave it the label "Karl Marx Day". A number of Okinawans pointed out that May Day was originally an American Labor holiday that had nothing to do with Marx, quoted encyclopedia articles to prove it, and concluded that the USCAR officials were either ignorant or deliberately misrepresenting the truth.

Actually, of course, although the adoption of May Day as a labor holiday had nothing to do with Karl Marx, it has been preempted by the Communists throughout the world, and the added participation of the People's Party on this occasion would have made it a Communist demonstration irrespective of the origin of the holiday. 648 829

Another rumor, not about corruption but about official policy, is one that we heard several times to the effect that the cost of the American occupation and particularly of dependent housing is coming out of the taxes paid by Okinawans. To the people of as poor a country as Okinawa it is nearly incredible that a country could be so wealthy that it is willing to build hundreds of beautiful homes (at an estimated cost of $20,000 to $30,000 each) in such a distant spot. This sort of belief is undoubtedly very damaging to the American position.

Attitudes toward American Negroes Since the first days of the occupation there have been Negro troops stationed on Okinawa. The Okinawan view of them and especially of their status in relation to white Americans is worth noting. The Okinawans do not use the word "American" or its equivalent for Negroes, but instead use one of several other words. Perhaps the commonest is 'kurombō' ("black-boy"), which may be identified with the English derogatory term "nigger". At any rate many Negroes on Okinawa have evidently made the identification; they are said to become angry when they hear the term used. The standard term, corresponding to the English "Negro", is 'Kokujin', but this also is said to be unacceptable to some; therefore other terms may be used when speaking of a Negro in his presence. One such term is 'iro-otoko', which means literally "color-man", but figuratively, "lover". The Okinawan attitudes toward Negroes are conditioned by three factors, Japanese racial attitudes, their observation of Negro-white relations on Okinawa, and the behavior of the Negro troops. 186 829

The Japanese are, or were before the Pacific War, a race-proud people. They classified the peoples of the South Seas and Southeast Asia as 'dojin', "natives", and their attitudes toward them were inclined to be colonial, exploitive, and superior. It is quite likely that Okinawans identify the American Negroes as 'dojin'. They probably have no concept of "colored" races; they certainly do not identify themselves with the Negroes as non-white. But since many Okinawans are aware that some Americans look upon Okinawans as a sort of "native people", the attitudes of white Americans toward non-white Americans are of especial interest to them.

In observing the American Army's treatment of Negroes the Okinawans have seen segregation and some discrimination. At present there are de jure no segregated units as there were during the Pacific War, but a unit at an ammunition dump near a village studied is still referred to as the 'kurombō butai'. The behavior of the Negro troops themselves is probably on the average a bit rowdier and less inhibited than that of the whites, partly because of an average lower education and partly because of some cultured differences especially in patterns of recreation. This behavior probably together with some stereotypes picked up from white Americans has made many Okinawans somewhat afraid of Negroes. Relations seem to be better, however, in those

186 areas where Negroes are more numerous and have become better known. The
829 presence of Negro officers and others of higher status undoubtedly does much to demonstrate to Okinawans that it is possible for non-whites to rise in the American system.

Attitudes toward Other Peoples The Ryukyuan kingdom was once a vassal state of China and had considerable direct contact with China. Among some older Okinawans things Chinese still are valued. However, the younger people who expressed any opinion to us on China and the Chinese expressed opinions almost bordering on contempt. The years of lack of national unity and of Japanese aggression have left their mark on the Okinawan view of China. The news that a group on Formosa has agitated for a reversion of Okinawa to Nationalist China can hardly have been taken seriously by anyone.

Attitudes toward the Filipinos are probably also colored by Japanese attitudes toward "natives" and by American discriminatory practices in wages. Moreover, the fact that many of the Filipinos who have worked on Okinawa speak very poor English probably gives them a lower status in the eyes of the Okinawans.

668 The Status of Okinawa There is certainly no unanimity of opinion on what
829 would be the most desirable status for Okinawa. As I have tried to indicate, attitudes toward both Japan and the United States are varied and ambivalent. Both practical considerations and emotional reasons have motivated some Okinawans to agitate for reversion to Japan. For most reversionists reversion appears to mean simply political reversion, return of the political administration to Japan; the majority of reversionists do not seem to be saying "Yankee Go Home"; they grant the necessity of military bases on Okinawa both for the military security of the Far East and at present for the economic security of Okinawa. This seems to be the point of view of the Social Mass Party, which won nearly half the seats in the last election.

Generally those who feel that they would gain materially by the reversion of Okinawa are teachers and other state employees who feel that they have lost status, the owners of land being used by the military who feel that reversion would bring the rental up to standards paid in Japan, and some politicians who want to participate in Japanese national as well as local politics. Generally those who would stand to lose by reversion are the businessmen, because of the increase in taxes and the free competition from the large Japanese industries that reversion would bring, the skilled and semi-skilled laborers who might be replaced by Japanese if free movement were permitted between Japan and Okinawa, and again some of the present political leaders.

However, there are emotional reasons for embracing reversionism that may far outweigh practical considerations. In the chapter on family life
[152] and again in the chapter on health I stressed one of the basic anxieties created within Okinawan culture---the fear of being cut off from parents, the fear of being cut off from the deceased ancestors, the fear of being alone.

The frequent use of the word 'sabishii', "lonely", expresses this anxiety. One often hears that Okinawa is a 'sabishii' place. The frequent use of the term 'sokoku', "ancestral country", in reversionist literature suggests that this anxiety is operating in the realm of politics too. Many Okinawans do not want to stand alone. They want to be part of a larger system. They cannot identify themselves with the United States or with any other country but Japan and so even though they recognize that Japan in the past did not always treat them fairly, they would still prefer to be part of Japan. This I believe is part of the emotional basis of reversionism; it has its roots in the Okinawan family and Okinawan religion. 668 829 152

For the politically more sophisticated reversionist we must add the discontent he feels with the present regime and the hope that reversion would mean greater political freedom. This type might be more numerous still if it were not for the obvious economic difficulties that reversion would bring, to say nothing of the chaos that would come if American forces were to pull out altogether. 668 829

RECOMMENDATIONS

000 Recommendations on policy can only be made in relation to objectives and therefore we must state first our assumptions about the aims of United States policy on Okinawa. We assume that the aims of United States policy on Okinawa are primarily to promote a stable economy and a friendly attitude among the nearly 600,000 Okinawans toward the United States. Both a stable economy and a friendly population are essential to the defense of the island as a military base. We further assume that essential to both economic stability and friendly attitude are the attainment of higher standards of health and education and greater social and political freedom than existed prior to 1945. And finally we assume that the United States has no intention of retaining the Ryukyus permanently (Secretary of State Dulles has stated that Japan has "residual sovereignty" over the Ryukyu Islands) and that the military forces will be withdrawn and the islands reverted to Japan when the international crisis ends.

With these assumptions then we make the recommendations that follow. Of these recommendations, two deserve special mention here; they are 1) the immediate payment of an adequate rental for lands used by U. S. forces, and 2) the granting of funds to raise the salaries of school teachers. The land question and the status of teachers are the two most serious problems that can be lessened by immediate action, or at least this was the situation as we saw it a year ago. These and other recommendations we give below topically rather than in order of importance.

433 927 Economy The economy of Okinawa, not especially healthy before the war, suffered greatly because of the war both through the widespread destruction of the battle and through the sudden increase in population brought by the repatriation of thousands of persons from other parts of the former Japanese empire. The task of reconstruction has been enormous and we are well aware that, considering conditions in 1945 (which two of us observed then at 000 first hand), the present situation is not at all bad. We recommend the following:

1) That the land question be settled immediately. The land question was undoubtedly the most urgent problem that we saw during the course of our research. The study of the village of Kitazato demonstrated that poverty, to the point of malnutrition and possible infanticide, together with considerable anti-American feeling has been caused by the confiscation of land without adequate compensation. We recommend that land be rented, not purchased, and that the amount paid in rent be at least equal to current market value, and that it be paid promptly. It is further recommended that payment for categories of land listed in the land records as "genya" and "sanrin" be according to the size of plot instead of the current practice of a flat rate per plot regardless of size.

2) That consideration be given to the possibility of opening to farming hitherto untilled areas in Northern Okinawa in addition to those areas

in the southern islands that are being reclaimed. We refer particularly to the plateau area just to the west of the east coast settlements of Arakawa and Sosu. Such a project could well begin with the completion of the road across the mountains to Ada.

3) That encouragement be given to the formation of cooperatives in Okinawan villages. There is already a strong tendency toward the formation of cooperatives in rural Okinawa. Village-owned and operated stores, sugar mills, rice mills, tea plantations, etc., exist in many areas. Others might also be formed if the requisite capital could be borrowed at low interest. Such cooperative enterprises with their group participation and rotating responsibilities seem well suited to Okinawan patterns of social relationships. In agricultural enterprises such as tea plantations cooperatives also have the advantages gained through the use of larger tracts of land. This is in sharp contrast to the extreme fragmentation of holdings that characterizes farming by individuals and which makes the use of machinery by individual farmers virtually impossible. Cooperative work on larger tracts of land with more modern techniques might result in considerable increase in production.

4) That those distinctively Okinawan crafts that have survived be encouraged to produce more and if possible to export. Ryukyuan lacquer, ceramics, and textiles were once famous in the Far East and may yet find markets even in North America.

Population It is obvious that, given present economic conditions, Okinawa is suffering from overpopulation. Emigration, even if possible, would only be a partial and temporary solution to the problem. The only solution is the voluntary lowering of the high birth rate. Education in the techniques of contraception is clearly desirable. If the Ryukyuan people, through their elected representatives desire to legalize abortion, as has been done in Japan, it is recommended that they do so. Probably a lowering of the birth rate, if it ever comes, will come as it has in other countries, as a result of a higher standard of education and a shift of values centered about the family to values centered about the individual. If these changes occur it is likely that they will be accompanied by, or be the result of, economic changes that will make Okinawa's large population less a burden anyway.

Health The Public Health authorities on Okinawa are to be commended for their attack on the most serious problems, particularly malaria and TB. However, concepts and practices relating to sanitation and health still leave much to be desired. We recommend:

1) An increasingly active program of education both inside and outside the schools (with Public Health and Education cooperating) directed toward gradually replacing native concepts of disease with modern medical ones. This program must not be merely an exposition of modern concepts and practices but must be based on a knowledge of the native concepts and practices it seeks to replace.

000 2) Stricter licensing of medical practitioners and gradual elimination of quacks. Again this must be done on the basis of a thorough knowledge of what native concepts are involved and it must be done in such a way that the undesirable practitioners do not appear to have suddenly lost their livelihood.

3) Encouragement of cooperation in clean-ups and the construction of sanitary facilities at the ku and han level, by appealing to local pride and by demonstrating that persons of high status may engage in physical labor.

[312] 4). The drilling of wells in areas that have insufficient water, for example in the village of Komesu in Miwa-son, where the only water is obtained from two wells outside the village itself, or on the island of Sesoko, where 3,000 people depend upon rainfall. In these communities sanitation is especially poor and skin disease rife.

Education Educational authorities are to be commended for the school reconstruction program, the extension of the schooling period, and the bringing of rural schools more nearly up to urban standards. In addition to the continuation of the building program we recommend:

1) Increasing the pay of teachers at least until it is comparably higher than that of policemen before the war (without of course downgrading the pay of policemen in the process). After the land question this is probably the problem most deserving immediate consideration. It must be remembered that teachers are a key group in the moulding of public opinion and that any hostility they might feel against the United States as a result of a decline in status since the war might easily be conveyed to their pupils and to other less-educated groups.

2) Encouraging students in the applied sciences, particularly agriculture, through scholarships, prizes, etc.

3) Discouraging the teaching of English below the high school level, as a waste of time, and determining that English be taught in high schools and at the university by competent teachers, of whom there are at present very few. It must be added that an American who has had no special training in the teaching of English to foreigners is probably not much better as a teacher than the Okinawan who knows all about teaching English but cannot speak it. Trained persons are essential.

4) The hiring at the university of competent Japanese scholars, who have considerably more prestige than either Okinawan or American scholars, for the teaching of subjects such as physical and biological sciences.

5) The hiring at the university of one or more of the noted Okinawan scholars now working in Japan.

Political Organization We did not do research on this problem as such but we feel that it warrants consideration as a highly important problem. We recommend that a research worker or team competent in political science and

in Far Eastern affairs study the history, structure, and functioning of both GRI and USCAR with the objective of investigating the allegations, which we heard from both Okinawans and Americans, that a) GRI is too removed from the rural villages to be concerned with them or aware of their problems; b) GRI is essentially a puppet of USCAR and therefore not to be respected or relied upon by the Okinawan people; c) USCAR has become an unwieldy bureaucratic structure more interested in self-perpetuation than in furthering U.S. policy.

Our own observations lead us to believe that there is some truth in each of these charges. The study of Kitazato revealed that GRI's Central Land Office in Naha, despite its apparent vast quantities of data, did not actually know of the extensive land changes which had taken place several years earlier and of the resultant division of the village into three separate settlements. But to determine where channels of communication had broken down would have required just such a separate politically-oriented study as that which we now recommend.

Going to the upper end of the political chain, we have the distinct impression that a study of USCAR would reveal a strong tendency toward "empire-building" on the part of some men who had no particular qualifications to begin with, but who have been allowed by time and circumstance to rise in the structure to the point where they are driven by their own insecurity to justify their positions by usurping numerous powers and functions that should be left to the Okinawans. This tendency can only result in inefficiency, duplication of function, and the basis for the second charge given above, that GRI is USCAR's puppet. These results are not only financially burdensome but damaging to U. S. prestige.

Besides the general recommendation that the present political organization of Okinawa be studied, we make the following specific recommendations:

1) Reevaluation of the legal code. The present legal code consists of a combination of U. S. Military Government ordinances, USCAR directives, etc., and legislation passed by the GRI legislature. We heard complaints from local officials to the effect that much of the law in operation was prewar Japanese law and that Okinawa had not benefitted from the new and more democratic Japanese constitution. Sometimes the charge becomes specifically, "USCAR is preventing the democratization of Okinawa". The study recommended above should discover whether the fault lies with USCAR or with the GRI legislature and what might be done about it. [177] [671]

2) Selection and rotation of USCAR personnel. Where there are Americans whose duties are to advise other nations in the solution of various political, social, and economic problems and to represent the American people in doing so, these men ought to have both the special knowledge required for the first function and the appreciation of what life is like in the United States for the second. Men who have no particular knowledge of the area or of the specific problems that need solving and who have not lived in the United States for any length of time since before World War II are hardly competent to perform these functions. It is highly desirable that USCAR personnel be selected

with care and be rotated in the same manner that State Department and military personnel are rotated. In particular, it is highly desirable that USCAR personnel include more persons with a knowledge of the Japanese language. It was our impression that the only Americans in USCAR able to communicate with Okinawans on other than the most primitive level were those of Japanese ancestry.

Okinawan-American Relations We recommend:

1) That consideration be given to the effect (on Okinawan attitudes toward the U.S.) of the more luxurious aspects of American life on Okinawa, with a view to a) eliminating those that do more harm to Okinawan-American relations than good to American morale (Ishikawa beach, a portion of one of the most crowded, impoverished, and unsanitary cities on the island, fenced off for American recreation, may be a case in point. The contrast between life on the two sides of the barbed wire must escape only the dullest Okinawans and Americans and must surely create ill-will among the Okinawans) and b) explaining in unmistakable language that the cost of American housing, etc. is being paid for out of American taxes, not Okinawan taxes as many now appear to believe.

2) That such organs printed by USCAR as the Sekai Gaho be distributed at the ku rather than at the son level in order that they reach the wider audience for whom they are intended.

3) That USCAR consider pro-Japanese feeling as largely springing from cultural and racial bonds with Japan and abandon its attempts to identify reversionism with communism; these attempts, particularly since they have been made by politically naive persons, can only result in the strengthening of communism.

In response to the request for recommendations toward more general considerations of military government policy, we can only say that we regard the knowledge of the culture of another society as indispensable in dealing with the members of that society, and that each culture must be studied separately. In another society the content of culture, attitudes toward authority, toward change, and toward Americans might differ so as to make generalizations from the specific problems of Okinawa impossible.

But, also, we suggest that there are tendencies inherent in the present military government structure that are harmful to American interests. These tendencies might appear as easily in another scene. For this reason we point again to our recommendation given above under the heading "political organization".

APPENDIX "A"

128 This appendix contains figures upon which maps 2 through 7 were based. List A is for Map 2, list B for Map 3, and so forth. The figures for Japan and Kagoshima are derived from the Japan Statistical Yearbook, 1950. All other figures are based on data in Ryūkyū tōkei hokoku.

311 List A Arable land under cultivation as a percentage of total land area.
241 The 31 December 1950 figures are used for area of arable land. Figures for total land area are for 31 December 1952. However, the calculation is valid as of the former date because the areas of political units did not change in the two years. The amount of arable land in Haha is negligible; the area for Tokashiki was not available in 'chō'.

311 List B Flooded fields (riceland) as a percentage of total arable land under
243 cultivation, 1950. The figures for Japan and Kagoshima are valid as of 1 August 1947. No acreage of riceland was reported from Ie Shima, Naha, Aguni, Minami Daitō or Kita Daitō.

161 List C Population density per square kilometer. The data for Japan and Kagoshima are valid as of 1 August 1948. The data for Okinawa Guntō are valid as of 31 December 1952.

List D Number of persons per acre of arable land under cultivation, 1950. Data for Japan and Kagoshima are valid as of 1 August 1948. The census of persons in Okinawa Guntō was taken on 1 December 1950. The data on acreage of arable land under cultivation were reported 31 December 1950. Inasmuch as December is not a month when new land is reclaimed, the map and figures may be considered valid as of 1 December 1950. No figure is given for Naha because the acreage of arable land is negligible. No figure is given for Minami Daitō because of the great acreage planted to sugar cane. About 9,400 'tan' of the 11,000 'tan' of arable land there is in this crop.

List E Percentage of increase in population, 1940-1950. Data for Japan and Kagoshima are not available for those years. Data for Okinawa Guntō are valid as of 1 October 1940 and 1 December 1950. A minus sign (-) denotes a net decrease. At the time of the 1940 census, some political units were not separate, but were included in towns or cities nearby; therefore the 1950 figure of necessity includes both areas as one.

List F Percentage of increase in population, 1950-1952. Data for Japan and Kagoshima are not available for those years. Data for Okinawa Guntō are valid as of 1 December 1950 and 31 December 1952. The total percentage of increase in the 25 months was 5.55%—these percentages are reported on page 76 of Civil Affairs Activities in the Ryukyu Islands. On the map any area with an increase of less than 5.55% and a decrease of less than 5% was considered an area of moderate emigration. Any area where the decrease exceeded 5% was considered as an area of excessive emigration. An area with more than 5.55% increase but less than 10% increase during that period was considered an area of moderate immigration. Areas in which the increase exceeded 10% are considered as having urban characteristics.

Political Unit	List A	List B	List C	List D	List E	List F
Japan	32.8	55.4	217.7	6.30	----	----
Kagoshima	19.2	37.5	225.5	5.14	----	----
Okinawa Guntō	15.7	16.7	424.6	12.40	22.8	8.9
Kunigami	3.1	36.7	57.1	9.58	20	-7.0
Ogimi	10.3	25.8	139.3	7.72	15	-3.8
Higashi	5.9	33.8	487.6	8.27	11	-5.5
Haneji	9.7	52.0	172.7	8.76	43	-2.0
Yagaji	24.9	26.9	745.2	9.35		-20.5
Nakijin	21.6	13.7	382.2	8.58	29	3.0
Kamimotobu	28.4	4.2	579.7	10.20	35	-1.0
Motobu	12.1	11.3	442.6	17.27		-5.8
Yabu	9.8	29.4	258.6	10.77	45	-3.2
Nago	7.7	46.0	371.2	19.38		15.0
Onna	10.0	32.2	143.9	6.79	33	-2.1
Kushi	4.2	47.2	55.6	7.72	36	-7.8
Ginoza	10.9	25.3	170.1	7.88	56	-11.7
Kin	9.5	35.0	175.1	8.21		-7.0
Ie	24.0	----	281.9	5.84	-4	3.5
Ihaya	16.4	39.2	127.2	4.88	47	6.2
Izena	36.1	40.8	505.9	4.63	9	3.7
Ishikawa	15.7	37.3	977.0	26.90	115	4.9
Misato	13.6	14.5	686.0	23.68		1.6
Tonagusuku	35.1	7.3	699.4	14.12	55	7.1
Katsuren	27.5	5.6	848.4	15.32	44	5.2
Gushikawa	21.9	10.6	983.2	21.40	99	-1.2
Gosku	3.7	16.0	861.7	89.50	128	13.3
Yomitan	7.3	3.9	473.6	29.00	4	5.4
Kadena	4.2	.4	562.3	46.75	11	19.2
Chatan	.1	11.8	853.8	267.20		2.5
Kitanakagusuku	16.0	8.8	700.5	19.43	6	2.1
Nakagusuku	20.1	4.1	631.2	14.60		3.5
Ginowan	21.9	9.3	926.0	17.92	24	5.8
Nishihara	42.2	1.2	457.1	5.73	-21	10.2
Urasoe	24.0	12.0	705.2	12.32	8	4.0

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	Political Unit	List A	List B	List C	List D	List E	List F
311							
241							
243	Shuri	23.9	.2	9393.9	59.1	14	9.5
161	Naha	----	----	10447.5	----	-33	14.4
	Mawashi	13.0	2.1	3605.6	71.5	83	15.8
	Oroku	11.1	2.0	1157.4	45.8	33	6.6
	Tomigusuku	41.7	9.7	490.4	6.36	1	-6.0
	Itoman	25.3	16.0	8927.5	231.5	116	10.2
	Kanegusuku	47.8	9.4	574.6	5.72	12	0.8
	Miwa	36.6	1.8	347.8	4.60	-13	7.1
	Takamine	30.2	8.1	389.4	5.84	- 8	2.5
	Kochinda	40.4	8.9	566.2	6.28	- 6	2.4
	Gushichan	38.3	15.5	480.0	5.90	- 5	0.4
	Tamagusuku	32.0	23.1	561.2	8.25	27	-2.2
	Chinen	29.3	14.2	589.3	10.20	28	1.6
	Sashiki	24.2	16.5	728.8	14.97	33	-3.2
	Yonabaru	20.0	.5	1541.5	34.9		16.3
	Ozato	38.0	11.5	544.1	6.60	- 5	
	Haebaru	56.3	4.0	693.9	5.57	-16	3.2
	Nakazato	17.3	39.0	213.1	6.31	24	-1.4
	Gushikawa	27.2	23.6	264.9	5.38	20	1.6
	Tokashiki	----	22.0	51.4	7.39	11	-10.9
	Zamami	8.4	18.7	99.6	6.74	-13	- 3.5
	Aguni	34.0	----	320.2	4.52	- 1	11.5
	Tonaki	27.1	1.3	264.5	7.39	64	- 1.0
	Minami Daitō	36.5	----	67.3	----	-54	15.4
	Kita Daitō	26.4	----	39.4	1.21		-14.0

GLOSSARY

104 As in the text native Okinawan words are underlined and Japanese words are enclosed in single quote marks.

aji	(sometimes Japanized 'anzu') a feudal lord under the former monarchy.
'awamori'	a strong distilled liquor.
'aza'	a subdivision of the 'son' or "township"; the territorial equivalent of the 'ku'.
'bunke'	"branch house"; a house established by a second or younger son upon leaving his father's house; the eldest son stays in the father's house which then becomes 'honke', "main house", to the branch house.
'buraku'	"village" in the sense of a settlement.
'butai'	"military unit", at present used for any U.S. installation, as, 'kazoku butai', literally "family unit", for a dependent housing project.
chinju	(Japanese cognate 'kinjo', "neighborhood") a native subdivision of a village, used in some areas.
'chō'	an incorporated town, co-ordinate with 'shi', "city", and 'son', "rural township".
chuchooree	(Jap. cog. 'hito-kyōdai', "one siblinghood") in some areas, a lineage which forms a local subdivision of the larger kinship group.
'ekisha'	(in Okinawan sanjinsoo) a type of diviner who casts horoscopes and predicts the future using a system based on the Chinese classic, the I Ching.
fii-nu-kang	('hi-no-kami') the fire god, represented by an incense burner behind the oven in most Okinawan homes.
'gen'ya'	grassland; a class of land that is uncultivated but not forest.
'gun-sagyo-	military employment.

'han' — a subdivision of a 'ku', which may be either a rural village or an urban ward.

'hanchō' — the headman of a 'han' (Note: during World War II the term 'han' was applied to work details and their leaders were called 'hanchō'; the term with this meaning was introduced into Okinawan and has come to mean any kind of important person regardless of rank.)

haru — (Japanese cognate, 'hara', "field") an area of cultivated land; often the second element in the names of 'ko-aza'.

'hatake' — a dry or upland field, as distinguished from 'ta' or 'tambo', a wet field.

'hōgen' — "dialect', the term formerly used in the schools for the Okinawan language; Japanese was called 'hyōjungo', "standard speech", and thus Okinawan was made subordinate to Japanese. In contrast the native terms are Uchinaa-guchi, "Okinawa speech", and Yamatu-guchi, "Yamato speech", making the two co-ordinate.

'honke' — "main house"; see 'bunke'.

hyakusoo — (Japanese cognate 'hyakushō', "farmers", equated with Japanese 'heimin', "commoners") the peasantry under the former monarchy.

ichimung — in some areas, the larger common descent group, more commonly munchu.

'imo' — the generic term for root crops, usually used to mean sweet potatoes.

jituree — an official appointed to the administration of a district under the former monarchy.

'jiwari seido' — under the former monarchy, the land allotment system, whereby the greater part of the cultivatable land was owned by the state and periodically reapportioned among the peasantry.

juri (-gwaa) — a trained female who functions as hostess, singer, dancer, and prostitute, there being no distinction between 'geisha' and 'jorō' as in Japan.

jurinuyaa — a juri house.

104 kaminchu — ('kami-no-hito', "deity person") a religious functionary who leads worship for a munchu or other larger kinship group or assists the nuru in worship for the village.

'ken' — prefecture.

'kin' — a unit of weight, equivalent to 1.32 pounds

'ko-aza' — a unit of land, a subdivision of the 'aza'.

'koseki' — the family register kept at the 'son' office and by the 'kuchō'.

'ku' — a subdivision of a 'son', 'chō', or 'shi'; as a subdivision of a 'son' the 'ku' is a rural village, the political unit equivalent to the land unit of 'aza'; as a subdivision of a 'cho' or 'shi' it is a ward of a town or city.

'kuchō' — the headman of a 'ku'.

'kumi' — literally "group"; in some villages a subdivision of the 'han', in others the equivalent of the 'han'; the term may also be used for a temporary unit formed for the purpose of pressing sugar, etc.

'kumiai' — an association or union.

mabui, mabuyaa — a supernatural entity that goes into the making of a human being; a kind of soul, which if lost causes its owner to become ill. The mabui of a living person may be called ichi-mabui, that of a dead person shini-mabui; the latter is a type of ghost.

majiri — (sometimes Japanized 'magiri') the administrative unit under the former monarchy corresponding to the present 'son'.

manna — (Japanese 'majinai') a "spell", that is, a verbal formula which if recited perfectly will magically cause the desired effect; these are used in curing. A person who can use spells is called a mannasaa.

'miso' — a food stuff made of bean paste.

'moai' — (also muyee, vuuree-gwaa, 'mujin') a mutual loan association.

'mogusa'	a plant, dried particles of which are burned on the skin as a treatment for various diseases and disorders. The Japanese name has been Latinized as "moxa" and the treatment is called "moxibustion" or "moxicautery".
moo-ashibii	literally "playing in the fields", a type of nocturnal picknicking practiced by young persons in some rural communities.
munchu	a kin group composed of a number of households the heads of which trace their descent from a common ancestor in the male line, thus a patrilineal sib; it is non-exogamous and has only ritual functions. This term is used by descendants of the former peasant class in Southern and Central Okinawa; elsewhere the term ichimung is used; among descendants of the former gentry the corresponding unit is called the uji.
mura	(In Japanese also 'mura') "village" in the sense of settlement, and thus the equivalent of 'buraku', but also an alternate reading of the character usually read 'son', meaning a rural township.
'museki'	a person or family that nowhere appears on a 'koseki'; such persons may be thought of as legally nonexistent.
nuru, nuuru	(often Japanized 'noro') a village priestess, one of the hierarchy organized by the former monarchy.
'ryōtei'	a restaurant-brothel.
'sake'	a fermented rice wine, the usual Japanese drink; the Okinawan cognate term saki is used for the much stronger distilled drink called 'awamori' in Japanese.
'samisen', 'shamisen'	a three-stringed musical instrument.
sanjinsoo	a diviner, same as 'ekisha', which see.
'seinenkai', 'seinendan'	the Youth Organization.
'sen'	a former coin; 100 sen equalled 1 yen.
'shi'	an incorporated city.

104 'shi-chō-son' — the three co-ordinate administrative units of city, town, and rural township.

shii — a supernatural force within the human being, the decline of which causes illness.

'shiseiji' — "illegitimate child", one not recognized by the father and therefore registered with the mother, as distinguished from the next term.

'shoshi (-dan, -jo)' — "common-law (son, daughter)", a child born out of wedlock but recognized by the father and registered on his 'koseki'.

'son' — a rural township (since the character may also be read 'mura', which in coloquial usage means "village", it is probably preferable not to translate the term at all).

'sonchō' — the mayor of a 'son'.

'son-yakuba' — the administrative office of a 'son'.

'ta', 'tambo' — a seasonally flooded field used for rice, rush, taro, etc., as distinct from 'hatake', a dry or upland field.

'tan' — a unit of land, equivalent to .245 acre.

'tatami' — a Japanese style floor mat.

'tōfu' — bean curd, made from soy beans.

'tsubo' — a unit of area; 1 'tsubo' equals 3.95 square yards; 1224 'tsubo' equal 1 acre.

ugwambusuku — insufficiency of worship, of the ancestors or of the fire god, thought to be a frequent cause of misfortune and illness.

ugwanju, uganju — a place of worship, a shrine, often marked only by a tiny stone.

uji — the larger kin group among the gentry class, see munchu.

yaarui, yaadui — (Japanized 'yadori') a small settlement removed from a village; most were pioneered by unemployed members of the gentry class and urban commoners in the last century.

yabuu — a type of medical practitioner who uses moxibustion, acupuncture, and other techniques derived from Chinese medicine.

'yagō' — (in Okinawan yaanaa) "house name"; in most villages all houses are distinguished by a system of house names.

'yen' — at present (1954) 120 type B yen equal 1 US dollar.

'yōshi' — a son adopted in order to provide a man with an heir.

yuta — a type of shaman, usually a woman, who functions as diviner and medium.

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[For information on health and sanitation, see also Category 751.]

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[For information on inter-community differences, see Category 621.]

altered that environment to its own uses. I hope that this will result in a broader and a deeper understanding of the manner in which an old culture, subject to frequent changes, with a long history of settlement, has, through its social organization, used and is using its chief resources, the cultivated land, the fish in the seas, the deep stones imbedded in its earth, its forests, and its waters. 121 311

There were certain obstacles in carrying out this plan. As everyone knows who has attempted such tasks, after the first few days the apparent simplicities of village life vanish before one's eyes, and he is left with a mass of observations whose ramifications lead in every direction. There is simply no limit to the courses of inquiry which these "simple" villages open up. 121

There was the problem of distinguishing between what was customary and carried on for this reason and what was of basic living importance in the culture. This difficulty disappears for those who believe that every trait has some significance if it has survived, but this neglects the point that many beliefs and customs belong to segments of a population. To one group what may be done as a matter of form may be of close personal importance to another. Both points are significant, for to do what one is expected to do, even if a pure form, is in itself a fact of importance. This applies especially to religious observances and anniversaries in honor of the dead. In some cases, they seemed perfunctorily performed, particularly among the young and the better educated. The survival of certain beliefs is due to their preservation by segments of the population, and women seem to be the chief carriers of the devotional and religious tradition. Real differences, too, seem to lie in age groups, with the dividing line at about fifty-five to sixty years. Many under this age have little understanding of the history or traditional culture. The old, and particularly the old women, have carried on. 121 183 184 [562] [561]

Observation in itself is deceptive. Even the grasses, shrubs, and pine trees on the hillsides seem to be a more or less permanent part of the natural environment. Yet these were greatly changed during the war and in local areas grasses have succeeded to places formerly occupied by the pines. 121

The information was obtained in the following manner. (1) Personal conversations in the Japanese language with residents of the villages. Much of the information was secured by accompanying people to their work, attending their parties, visiting shops, rice and sugar mills, and asking questions about the things seen. (2) Direct personal observation, supplemented by conversations to check the accuracy and the significance of these observations. (3) Information gathered from village land records, statistics, land maps, and family registers. Later there was considerable difficulty in securing comparability in the statistics. For this reason the attempt to present quantitative data was in some cases abandoned in favor of a general qualitative description. (4) General discussions with the personnel of the Civil Affairs Administration and with Okinawans. (5) Personal impressions, but these have been included only when they are based on repeated observation. (6) In the historical and general 12 127

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PREFACE

When one has completed a work such as this, he realizes, even more forcefully than at any other period of his activity, that its sources in reality lie in the kindness, cooperation, knowledge and patience of others. It is a pleasure to acknowledge this indebtedness at this time.

Dr. Fred Eggan of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago first suggested to me the possibility of undertaking this field study. Mr. Harold J. Coolidge, Executive Director of the Pacific Science Board of the National Research Council, under whose auspices and supervision the Scientific Investigation of the Ryukyu Islands (SIRI) Program was conducted, created an atmosphere in which it was possible to pursue one's work freely and independently. I am grateful to him and to his staff.

Funds were made available by the Department of the Army to the Pacific Science Board of the National Research Council. I received every courtesy from the military and civilian personnel of the Department of the Army both in Tokyo and in Okinawa. Brigadier General James A. Lewis and the staff of the U. S. Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands showed a continuing interest, and it was possible to work easily in Okinawa through their efforts.

Mr. H. E. Diffenderfer, head of the Civil Information and Education Department, which sponsored this study, gave his full cooperation both in encouragement and in administrative and clerical assistance. I have profitted from discussions with Doctor, then 1st Lieutenant, William Elmendorf and Dr. Allan Smith, both anthropologists, and formerly on the C I & E staff.

I also wish to thank Mr. Richard Varney of the Department of Food and Natural Resources and Taninato Choyō of the Ryukyuan Forestry Agency at Nago, Okinawa, for their advice and assistance in matters relating to forestry. Mr. Taninato was most liberal with his time and showed me personally several areas in the northern forest. He should not be held responsible however for errors or misinterpretations in the text.

My indebtedness to the people of the villages is even greater, and here I must confine myself to a few who either through their own knowledge or through the introductions they gave to others made it possible for me to gradually build up the body of information upon which this report is based.

In Hanashiro: Nakazato Ushikichi, a farmer and member of the Gushichan township council; Shiroma Kichiji, the present headman and a farmer; Sakamoto Genichi, former headman and operator of the rice mill; Nakazato Masao and his wife; Tokumori-san, a teacher of the Gushichan Junior High School and a resident of Hanashiro; Tamaye Yukio, a school teacher at the same school.

In Minatogawa: Moromizato Shinji, a school teacher of Aragusuku; Tamashiro Kamei, headman of Minatogawa-ikku and a fisherman; Uehara Shōichi,

115 head of the Minatogawa Fisherman's Association; Kokuba Jūshin, a farmer and the village clerk; Moriye-san, the headman of Minatogawa-niku and a farmer; Irei Tokujun, principal of the Gushichan Junior High School and a resident of Minatogawa-niku.

My grateful thanks must go also to Mayor Usa and vice-Mayor Miji of Gushichan township, public officials of whom any people could be proud, and to Nakama Chichū of Minatogawa-ikku, Tokumoto-san, and Kokuba-san, also on the township staff.

In Matsuda: Ikehara Seiyei, a farmer, and his wife; Matsuda Kiyoshi, a young farmer; Nagamine Yoshihiro; Urasaki Kokichi, principal of the Matsuda primary school; Yoshida Yoshikatsu, a farmer; and Higa Hataaki and his wife, and Ushiro Tokuye, headman and his assistants in the village office.

I am grateful also to the many residents of these villages with whom I talked and from whom I received hospitality. Without their patience in explaining many points, elementary to them often difficult for me, I could not have accumulated the data that are presented here.

● 121 The study was begun on July 15, 1951, and I returned to the United States on January 25, 1952. The period from July 15 to August 25 was spent in Hanashiro; from August 26 to October 20, in Minatogawa with frequent visits to Hanashiro, and from October 21 to December 10 in Matsuda. Later the three villages were re-visited for periods of a week to ten days each, following a preliminary analysis of the materials already gathered.

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INTRODUCTION

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The study of human cultures reaches far back into antiquity, and the reasons for the study have remained much the same. Herodotus was interested in the history of Greece and to elucidate this history he found it necessary to discuss the history and the customs of such peoples as the Persians, the Scythians, the Egyptians, and the Babylonians. Like a modern administrator, Strabo in the first century of the Christian era, felt that a knowledge of the geography and of the various peoples living throughout the known world was indispensable to the rulers of the Roman empire. These ancient writers, and many more, sought to explain the differences observed among peoples, and found their explanations in differing physical environments, customs, laws, and religions, or combinations of these.

The moral philosophers of the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries, devouring the travel accounts from the New World and the Asiatic mainland, and later of the South Pacific, used this new information to discover, so they thought, the way mankind had developed. When Edmund Burke wrote to William Robertson complimenting him on his History of America he spoke feelingly of the opportunity open to him and his contemporaries of seeing all races and types of mankind revealed in a panorama of the present.

In the nineteenth century, the opportunities for scientific travelling were greatly expanded. Alexander von Humboldt in the early years had done much to convince men of the unity of nature amidst all its diversity. Primitive peoples were visited and described, and theories of cultural evolution and of primitive society multiplied. Darwinism brought to the study of man an increased emphasis on adaptation to the environment. The results were that a literature was developed which stressed the growth and progress of peoples and cultures and employed various explanations, some environmental, some racial, to account for these differences. There were great advances in anthropology. To this century also belongs the beginnings of an impressive literature, developed by a very few men, on the great role of human agency in modifying the natural environment, an inquiry associated with the works of the distinguished American, George Perkins Marsh.

In the increased specialization of the twentieth century, many of these older themes and ideas have become the province of separate disciplines. Scholars are both more and less ambitious. The attempt to understand the development of culture in an ideal series of stages has had to be abandoned by critical scholarship. So have environmental influences and explanations based on racial qualities or endowments. Broad generalization has given way to a more detailed examination of a culture. The traits found there are significant in their own right to be used, not for reconstructing a hypothetical and universal cultural evolution, but for interpreting a whole culture and the patterns which seem to characterize it. In a sense, this attitude has paralleled a similar point of view in biology,

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121 in the growth of ecological thinking, though this history is older.

But when we say that it has paralleled ecological thinking, we do not mean that the approach should be identical or even similar. In ecology, the plant or animal, as an individual or in association, is studied as part of the community of plants and animals, whose own growth may be encouraged or hindered by the growth and competition from others. When we study human cultures, this functional approach breaks down. It is not enough to show the context of each cultural trait in the whole, indispensable as this may be. This might produce a satisfying interpretation but it would suffer from important omissions. These are the history of the culture and the periods of contact and isolation that may have characterized it and the changes that the culture has made in the physical environment in which it is placed. No place in the world offers such fruitful illustrations over so great an area and over so long a period of time as Southeast Asia, with the exception of the Mediterranean. The great changes in the soils due to paddy culture and the long fertilization from human excreta and plant residues, soil erosion, deforestation, the minute changes of land from mountain tops to the cultivated valleys can be found in abundance here.

121 This study of three villages on the island of Okinawa is concerned
181 with many of these themes. As the inquiry progressed and during the period of reflection that followed the collection of materials, it seemed that
182 the most significant characteristic was the existence of the family system, and that this had meaning not only in the places where one would expect it, such as family and daily life, and in the desire to respect the memory of the dead and to guard against extinction of the family line, but that its influence was the key to an understanding of the way in which the culture had changed and modified the natural environment and utilized the resources available to it.

The connecting link between the family system, on the one hand, and the use of the natural environment, on the other, is the system of inheritance, and through the inheritance system on land tenure and land use. And when speaking of land tenure and land use, the reference is not merely to the agricultural land, but to all land, including the forest soils of the north, the uncultivated land scattered over the island, but so vital in its production of grasses to the livelihood of peoples.

121 One of the most striking aspects of this culture is its dependence on
181 plants, not only for food, but for uses other than food. Houses, their roofs and sidings, plank floorings, excepting only the stones; fibres or
824 wood for sandals or clogs; grasses, cane stalks, shrubbery for fuels; imported cottons for clothing, which have replaced an earlier dependence on reeds or banana leaves; fibres and reeds for rugs and floor mats; rice stalks or other grasses for making carrying baskets; rope of palm or of rice stalks; wooden poles, are but a few illustrations of this close dependence on plant life. It is a culture based on the utilization of plants for all purposes to which are added the multifarious and skillful employment of stone and of water.

To explain these things properly requires a sense of the conditions which have produced them, an appreciation of the historical depth of the culture. In some areas, one perhaps might neglect history, relying on the interesting present to furnish the correct details. Such an approach would be fatal in any study of this part of the world, and neglect of history is responsible for the fatuous doctrine of the "unchanging East." While this is an investigation of contemporary life, indeed that is the purpose of the program under which the study was made, I have felt impelled to point out historical events and conditions which have brought the culture to its present state, not with any assurance that this has been adequately done, but at least to make clear that these historical problems exist, and that the contemporary culture must be seen as the end product of its historical antecedents, including the hints that can be collected of the modifications of the environment by human agency. The present geography of the island is to be seen, for example, not as something given and unchanging. The forested north and the deforested south are in all probability the direct result of the history of human settlement. 121

An approach of this type, I felt, could best be served by comparative study. Concentration on one village would have resulted in a deeper understanding of the way of life in that village and closer friendships with the villagers, and these advantages cannot be sensibly minimized. The selection of two or three villages might offset this disadvantage and offer some compensations of its own. One of these was comparison, even though it cannot be assumed that merely because three villages instead of one have been studied that a more valid interpretation of the whole culture has been obtained. Even in this small island, each "typical" village seems to grow less and less so as one learns more of the details. But at least the three situations can provide insight into three basically similar but different ways of living. If this is true on an island barely sixty miles long and eighteen miles wide at its widest point, how great this diversity must be in China, Japan, and Korea!

Upon arriving in Okinawa, I spent the first few days walking with officials who had, in the course of their duties, travelled widely throughout the island. From them I was able to obtain an idea of the different types of villages, those like Oku in the north that were exceptional, those that had come under direct American influence due to proximity to civil and military installations, and those that departed from the pattern of agricultural life. With these guides in mind, I determined to select one village whose economy was based on agriculture and this meant primarily the growing of rice, sugar cane, sweet potatoes, and soybeans. The number of villages that could meet this broad criterion was large, and it did not seem advisable in view of the shortness of the assignment to spend too much time in selecting a village, because the criteria of what was typical might be just as obscure at the conclusion as at the beginning. 121 184 [241]

Accordingly, I spent a day or so travelling in the general area south of the Chinen peninsula in the townships of Tamagusuku and Gushichan. These were close to Naha, and yet distant from the main centers of American influence. I was concerned here to select a village which would reflect as 114 181 184

114 much as possible the customary ways of doing things, and though one could
121 not hope for an unchanging or an isolated village, one could find a vil-
184 lage relatively so, even if, as was the case with all the villages, they had felt the effects of the deadly campaign for Okinawa.

On one of these trips, I talked with the headman of the village of Hanashiro and then with the officials in the nearby village office of Oushichan, and concluded on the basis of what I saw of the agriculture and the conditions described by these officials, that this small village would be a satisfactory selection. In the beginning, an epidemic of encephalitis made it wise to be away from the village at night and for
[164] the first month the investigations were confined to daytime work. This was a serious handicap which I tried to overcome later in the tour by living in the village.

While working in Hanashiro, I had frequent occasion to pass the villages of Minatogawa-ikku and Minatogawa-niku, and I was impressed with the opportunity to study the life of a village in which agriculture
[226] did not predominate, and in which the chief emphasis was on fishing and
[324] stonecutting. I therefore decided to include the fishing village, and took up residence there late in August 1951, making frequent trips on the side to Hanashiro.

As interest and awareness increased, I became convinced that another type of village should be added to the agricultural and fishing selections. It should be one in the northern forested area (the Kunigami region).
[361] After discussing this with American and Okinawan forestry officials, I followed their suggestion and lived in the village of Matsuda in Ginoza township. It proved to be a good choice, with the possible reservation that Matsuda is somewhat of a model village whose conditions might be better than the average.

The villages needed to be small enough for one man to study. And they proved to be admirable communities for realising my original intention of showing similarities and contrasts in an agricultural village, a fishing village, and a village in a forest setting.

121 The results do not constitute a complete ethnography of each of the villages. Such was not my intention, and this could not have been done in the time available. The material has been organized around four central subjects: (1) the nature of the family system and its influence through
[128] inheritance on land tenure and land use, (2) ways of life as illustrated in the studies of the agricultural, fishing-stonecutting, and forest communities, (3) daily family life as a concrete expression of the family system, and (4) wider community relationships, including political and cooperative organizations, education, and religion.

The basic theme is that a fruitful approach to the study of modern cultures lies in the borderland area between the social and the natural sciences, and that, in the case of these Okinawan villages, the study
[311] would take the form of discovering in what ways the people are using their natural environment and the manner in which the culture has changed and

altered that environment to its own uses. I hope that this will result 121
in a broader and a deeper understanding of the manner in which an old 311
culture, subject to frequent changes, with a long history of settlement, has, through its social organization, used and is using its chief resources, the cultivated land, the fish in the seas, the deep stones imbedded in its earth, its forests, and its waters.

There were certain obstacles in carrying out this plan. As everyone 121
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with the dividing line at about fifty-five to sixty years. Many under this age have little understanding of the history or traditional culture. The old, and particularly the old women, have carried on.

Observation in itself is deceptive. Even the grasses, shrubs, and 121
pine trees on the hillsides seem to be a more or less permanent part of the natural environment. Yet these were greatly changed during the war and in local areas grasses have succeeded to places formerly occupied by the pines.

The information was obtained in the following manner. (1) Personal 12
conversations in the Japanese language with residents of the villages. Much of the information was secured by accompanying people to their work, attending their parties, visiting shops, rice and sugar mills, and asking questions about the things seen. (2) Direct personal observation, supplemented by conversations to check the accuracy and the significance of these observations. (3) Information gathered from village land records, statistics, land maps, and family registers. Later there was considerable difficulty in securing comparability in the statistics. For this reason the attempt to present quantitative data was in some cases abandoned in favor of a general qualitative description. (4) General discussions with the personnel of the Civil Affairs Administration and with Okinawans.
(5) Personal impressions, but these have been included only when they 127
are based on repeated observation. (6) In the historical and general

128 the village is molded and conditioned to society and the culture in which he will live as effectively in the lanes, the crossroads, and the playgrounds of the village as he is in the home in which he is nursed and put to sleep.

The blending of family life with community life I have tried to document in the last part which concerns both official and unofficial community functions, such as political organisation, neighborhood groups, and associations, education, cooperation, religion, entertainment, and extra-village contacts. While it would be foolish to argue that community life is but an extension of family life as conditioned by the family system, neither can the influences of the family system on the wider community life be ignored, especially when the villages are composed of so many related family groups.

121 Even though the SIRI program was devised with the practical object in mind of furnishing, by this type of investigation, materials upon which a sound civil administration could be based, an objective with which I am of course in sympathy, I felt that this practical value could best be achieved by producing a work which would cover as much of the field as possible and in a manner as if it were not being done for these practical considerations. A dispassionate account of what I saw, the historical and geographical data that could be assembled, the interpretations which seemed to be valid, I considered to be the best possible way of contributing to the end in mind.

By presenting as much as could be gathered, as accurately as possible, I felt that the answers to many questions, which I could not anticipate, would be implicit in a work which otherwise might lose value by too narrow a focus governed by the interests of the moment. For the same reason, while the work covers many aspects of Okinawan life, it is not directed toward specialists. On the contrary, my attempt has been to present a picture of the life of these villages, trusting that those who use it or read it will find suggestions or points of view or relationships which I had not suspected, and thus indirectly open up new avenues of inquiry.

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There is something to add to the statement of Dr. Green. The fortresses have now disappeared. The same labor, the same minute care of the land which makes them gardeners instead of farmers in their fields, and conservationists of their cultivated and their wild land exists today. The changes of the landscape since that time have come within the last ten years, first through the destruction of war, which affected cultural installations as well as the natural environment, and the changes which have been made in the physical environment by the Americans. The bulldozer works alongside the hoe; the airplane takes off in sight of a horsecart. The new American homes overlook the thatched roofs of an ancient way of living. The water system of an army camp or military reserve, using thousands of gallons daily, exists beside the well, the community faucet, or pond with individual families using six or seven bucketfuls a day. The island has come a long way in the transformation of the natural landscape by the hand of man, beginning, one may suppose with the earliest interferences by fire and in the clearing of trees to the contemporary scene, where transformations, a combination of age old tools and of modern machinery, continue before our eyes.

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It is in this ever changing physical environment, itself the product of long settlement and the intense change of a most recent past, that we must see the growing population, the everyday village life, the continuance of agriculture and soil care, the land, and the forests.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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Care and Conservation of Land

One of the significant tasks of our time is the study of the relation between population growth and density and the exploitation of renewable and non-renewable resources: the effects of a culture on the land, the forests, the soils and the vegetation must be considered in ethnographic and geographic work. If this is not done the culture is studied as if it rested, like a plate on a table, on a geographic base, without bothering to discover the nature of the environment or what the culture is doing to it. 121 114

Nineteenth century studies of primitive and advanced societies emphasized the influence of the physical environment in molding a culture. This crude fallacy, often known as geographic determinism or environmentalism, was exploded by studies made of cultures in all parts of the world in which it became clear that the physical environment is not the cause of cultural differences.

But the reverse of this approach, the examination of what a culture is doing to its physical environment, its soils, its vegetation, and its forests has not been carried on with the vigor with which other aspects of culture have been studied. This point of view has practical significance in day to day administration. Economic matters such as foreign trade or the labor force requirement should not be a separate and independent segment for study. Changes in inheritance should not be viewed solely with reference to the family system. Forest conservation should not be regarded only as a technique and a necessary department in the government.

The effects of the devastating typhoons, for example, need no elaboration: the destruction of life, crops, houses, of boats, and breakwaters. But their effects are also influenced by other factors. The two southern villages were in the midst of some of the violent fighting of the Okinawan campaign. Large numbers of houses in both communities were destroyed by the war. The new buildings to replace them are so frail that in typhoon times they are often destroyed. This rebuilding requires more wood and more grass. Thus, such factors as the war, the inability to reconstruct permanent housing, typhoons, and the natural growing of miscanthus grass are joined together in a close relationship. 731 727 362 824 182

In the south the relationship of typhoon destruction to deforestation is striking. There is need for tidebreak groves and shelter belts along the coast to protect crops from wind and saltwater spray, a need which fortunately the Ryukyuan Forest Agency is attempting to meet. Deforestation in the south seems inescapably tied up with long occupance. The center of population has always been in the southern part of the island. Not only should there be trees, but they should be planted in the right places. The deforestation of 731 137 [313] [361]

The deforestation of
731 the south over a period of centuries thus is related to water spray
313 and wind damage, relationships which a wise administration cannot neglect.

●121 The natural tendency is to think in terms of population and land and of the food which it can produce. But if the population is envisaged in terms of forest, the land, both cultivated and uncultivated, and the role of the uncultivated land in protecting the soil, broader understandings are possible.[9]

231 It is a significant fact, to use another example, that goats are tethered and not allowed to graze. They do not roam the hillsides, nor crop off the shoots of young plants. If they did, it is possible that legislation controlling the goat might have to be enacted such as has been done in the island of Cyprus.

311 It is important therefore, to ascertain how a culture makes
731 use of its natural environment and also how it takes care of it.
185 Typhoons cannot be controlled. Neither can periods of drought which often produce water shortages, prevent the planting of sweet potatoes, or the harvesting of a good rice crop. In areas where control is possible, the Okinawans have developed conservation measures. Almost one hundred years ago, Dr. D. S. Green, Fleet Surgeon attached to the frigate Mississippi on Perry's expedition to Japan, wrote:

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> "Two objects seem to influence the islanders in all their operations, viz: the retention of water or moisture, and the avoidance of surface-washing. To effect these desirable ends, especially in a rolling country, a great quantity of grading is required, besides very deep culture; and here both of these have been done."10

000 In the areas studied, no serious sheet erosion was observed.

[Text continues top of P. 157 -- analyst]

9 The general ideas and points of view expressed by Edward Graham in his Natural principles of land use, London, New York, and Toronto, 1944, are pertinent here.

10 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, II, 26-27. The emphasis is in the original. Green continues with further details of grading around streams, along ravines, and on the uplands. His description today would still fit many parts of Okinawa. He was particularly impressed with the lands on a journey between Nugah (i.e., Nago) and Tanegah, southwest of Unten. His whole passage is well worth reading.

Two other forms of land conservation and maintenance, crop rotation and fertilizers, will be discussed under agriculture.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Introduction

The modern history of Okinawan education falls into three periods, which correspond with the cultural influences of three different nations: (1) the traditional education borrowed from China, (2) the Japanese system of education, and (3) the introduction of American concepts of education following the war.[1] 871 177

The Chinese influences ended in the latter part of the 19th century. Education was confined to the upper classes. "Aping China in everything, Lew Chew has also its three yearly examinations, which, for the time being, make quite a stir in the learned world, but hold out no prospect for high station, as in China. At most, the fortunate candidate gets, beside a good fill of honor, a rice pension or a schoolmastership."[2] [565]

The new Japanese education also introduced western ideas into Okinawa through a Japanese sieve. The Meiji Rescript on Education (1890) codified the principles of this new pedagogy. It was a method of inducing conformity to the ideals of the new Japan. The most important point was that education became a mass program.[3] This new education, according to Chamberlain (1895), took hold gradually.

Before the war there were two policies in public education. Up to 1940, primary school (shōgakko) was an eight year course. In addition to the usual studies, the curriculum from grades one through six emphasized duties and obligations (gimu) to one's parents, relatives, friends, and to the emperor. The national school (kokumingakko) system, which lasted until the end of the war, replaced the old primary school. Instruction in duties and obligations extended over eight years with intensified emphasis on nationalism and emperor worship.

1 Education is a large, complex, and technical subject. Time did not permit spending a large amount of time in classrooms. My purpose here is to show how education is related to village and family life and to explain the general nature of the problems as I observed them. [121]

2 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, I, 223-24. The words are those of Dr. Bettelheim.

3 The modern school system in Japan dates from 1872. Many of the Okinawan schools seem to have been started in the eighties and nineties. The first school in Okinawa is said to have been started in Shuri in 1796.

127 In the post-war period also roads have increased, and they
178 have been widened. More vehicles are on the roads. One can travel
184 through the villages of Okinawa over widened roads which before the
[491] war probably differed little from those described by Captain Hall
[484] in 1816 and by his grandson Basil Hall Chamberlain in 1895. This extension of the highway system has increased the mobility of Okinawans. Perhaps ultimately the cultural differences among villages will give way to wider uniformity induced by these innovations.

119 There is something enthralling in reading the chapters on "Lew Chew"
178 in Francis Hawks' Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan, which he compiled from the notes and journals of Commodore Perry, and the pages of Bayard Taylor's work, along with Okinawa, The Last Battle, which the Historical Division of the Department of the Army published in 1948. These give some measure of the change that has been brought about not only in the Great Loo Choo but in the world.

121 It has been my purpose here to tell part of the remaining, the contemporary story of the people whose islands early ethnologists were so fond of referring to as an anthropological museum.

The End

[PP. i - vii not processed]

Introduction

●121 This volume is the first of a series of publications reporting research undertaken in 1954 by a group of social scientists from Harvard, Yale, and Cornell universities. In its broadest conception, the research was aimed at exploring cross-culturally the relation between different patterns of child rearing and subsequent differences in personality. It was designed to study the degree to which the treatment a child receives in the first years of life determines his behavior and in adult life influences his perception of the world, his philosophy, religion, and code of ethics.

Theories of the relationship between specific types of treatment in early childhood and subsequent personality difference have been advanced by psychologists and anthropologists. This project was set up with the hope of being able to test some of these hypotheses on the basis of material collected in a standard manner in six parts of the world where families have divergent ways of life and theories and methods of training young children.

121 In tracing the history of this project one should begin with the work
127 of Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, Edward Sapir, Ralph Linton, Abram Kardiner, John Dollard, and other pioneers in the field of culture and personality whose work formed the foundation of this study. Such an account, which would demand an essay on the entire new discipline that grew out of the integration of anthropological and psychological theory, is not practical in this introduction.

121 Specifically, the impetus for this study came from the cross-cultural
114 work on socialization done by two of the senior investigators, John W. M. Whiting and Irvin L. Child, while they were colleagues at the Institute of Human Relations at Yale University. The results of this research were published in *Child Training and Personality* (1953). Using

theories of disease as measures of adult personality, the authors attempted to test certain psychological theories relating the treatment of the basic behavior systems in infancy and childhood to adult personality characteristics.

The data on the 75 societies used in these studies were taken from published ethnographies which varied greatly in the detail and areas of coverage. The dream of the investigators was to send field teams out to get comparable detailed material on 100 societies. As a first step in accomplishing this aim, the present study was planned.

In 1953 the Committee on Social Behavior of the Social Science Research Council sponsored a seminar * and a conference † to discuss cross-cultural work on socialization. As a result, a *Field Manual for the Cross-Cultural Study of Child Rearing* was prepared (Whiting et al., 1953), and Whiting and Child persuaded William W. Lambert of Cornell University to join them in seeking funds to carry out a comparative study of child rearing. A generous grant from the Behavioral Science Division of the Ford Foundation made it possible to carry out these plans. The fieldwork and part of the analysis and writing of five of the six reports in this volume were financed by this grant. Later analysis and editing were supported by a grant from the United States Public Health Service.

Intensive planning for the study was carried on at Cornell, Harvard, and Yale during the following year under the direction of the senior investigators, William W. Lambert, Irvin L. Child, and John W. M. Whiting. During June and July of 1954, a Social Research Council Summer Conference was held at the Laboratory of Human Development at Harvard. All the research personnel, with the aid of David Aberle of Michigan, Alfred Baldwin, and James J. Gibson of Cornell, and Robert Sears of Stanford, wrote the *Field Guide for a Study of Socialization in Five Societies*. This volume presents in detail the research plan, the hypotheses to be tested, and the research devices which were agreed on by the field teams and senior investigators.‡

The five original field teams started fieldwork in the fall of 1954 and

* The contributing members of this seminar were Barbara Chartier Ayres, Hildreth Geertz, George Goethals, Charles Holzinger, Edgar Lowell, Eleanor E. Maccoby, Kimball Romney, Richard Salisbury, William Stewart, and John Thibaut.

† Attending this conference were Robert R. Sears (Chairman), A. L. Baldwin, R. A. Bauer, Irvin L. Child, L. S. Cottrell, Jr., Leon Festinger, J. L. Gewirtz, A. Inkeles, Harry Levin, Gardner Lindzey, Eleanor E. Maccoby, Carson McGuire, G. P. Murdock, B. Paul, J. M. Roberts, T. R. Sarbin, Pauline S. Sears, M. Brewster Smith, R. L. Solomon, John W. Thibaut, and John W. M. Whiting.

‡ Published in mimeographed form by the Laboratory of Human Development, Harvard University, 1954.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7

spent from 6 to 14 months in the field. Although the original design of the study called for a sample of societies whose culture had been already studied by ethnologists, the temperament and motivation of young anthropologists are such that they tended to choose groups who are relatively unknown and who, often for some personal reason, appealed to their interests. The actual groups chosen represented a compromise between the advantages of previous coverage and these personal interests, in addition to providing the great range of differences desired by the project planners. Kimball and Romaine Romney of Harvard chose a group of families in the Mixtecan barrio of Santa Domingo in the town of Juxtlahuaca in Oaxaca province, Mexico. Leigh Minturn Triandis and John Hitchcock of Cornell selected a group of families of the Râjpût caste in the town of Khalapur in Uttar Pradesh in northern India. William and Corinne Nydegger, also of Cornell, chose a group of Ilocano-speaking families living in hamlets in northern Luzon in the Philippines. Thomas and Hatsumi Maretzki of Yale chose the village of Taira in Okinawa. And John and Ann Fischer of Harvard moved into a neighborhood in Orchard Town in New England.

In 1955 a sixth team, Robert and Barbara LeVine, left for Kenya, Africa. They were financed by a Ford Foundation fellowship and a National Science Foundation predoctoral fellowship.

To help insure comparability of data, a central clearing house was set up at the Laboratory of Human Development under the supervision of Beatrice B. Whiting. Field notes were mailed in periodically, and field problems were discussed by correspondence. To prevent bias, the sample of children for each team to observe was picked by the staff at the laboratory from the census material.

The research design, agreed on by all the field teams, was set up to measure as accurately as possible the child-training practices and the hypothesized individual and cultural differences in personality, particularly in the areas of aggression, dependency, and the internalization of various mechanisms of behavior control—areas of particular theoretical interest to the senior investigators at Cornell, Yale, and Harvard universities, respectively. Previous research had been done in these areas at the Institute of Human Relations at Yale, at the Iowa Child Welfare Station under the direction of Robert Sears, and subsequently at the Laboratory of Human Development at Harvard University. The research conducted at the last two institutions had focused on a study of individual differences among groups of mothers and children in Iowa, Massachusetts, and among three different cultural groups in the Southwest. Cross-cultural research on aggression was conducted by

121 Lambert and Triandis at Cornell (1959), on self-reliance and responsibility at Yale by Barry, Child, and Bacon, (1959) and on socialization techniques in the Southwest at Harvard by Whiting, Chasdi, Antonovsky, and Ayres (in press).

In designing the research reported in this volume, an attempt has been made to assess individual as well as cultural differences. This is one of the unique aspects of the design. The hope was to test hypotheses concerning the relations of child-rearing practices and consequent personality, both intraculturally and cross-culturally. In the first instance, 24 mothers in each society were studied as individuals in their relationship to one of their children, and each of the 24 children (ages 3 to 10) was observed and interviewed in a standard manner in the hope of detecting behavioral and personality differences. The cross-cultural measures included material on child-training practices and also religious beliefs, theories of disease, recreational activities, and so on collected by standard ethnographic techniques.

124 A word should be said here concerning the nature of the unit which each field team chose to study. It was decided to choose a group large enough to yield an adequate sample of individual families. For our design this meant a group of at least 50 families would be needed to draw our sample of 24, since at least half the families would have grown-up children or children under 3. On the other hand, we wanted a group who knew each other and shared beliefs, values, and practices. Furthermore, the ethnographic techniques which we intended to employ—to be used with maximum efficiency—require a small group. Each team therefore chose a community of between 50 and 100 families, which was for them their unit of study.

121 B 155 Implicit in the research design is a general concept of the relation of personality to culture, which may be presented as follows: The ecology of the area determines the maintenance systems, which include basic economy and the most elementary variables of social structure. In other words, the type of crops grown, the presence or absence of herding, fishing, and so on, depend on the nature of the terrain, the amount of rainfall, the location of the area *vis-à-vis* centers of invention and diffusion. These basic economic conditions determine in part the arrangement of people in space, the type of houses, and household composition. These in turn set the parameters for child-rearing practices.

It is obvious that ecology does no more than set gross parameters for the social structure. Within these parameters, the nature of the composition of households, neighborhoods, and other social groups will lead to variance in child training. Whether or not a grandmother lives

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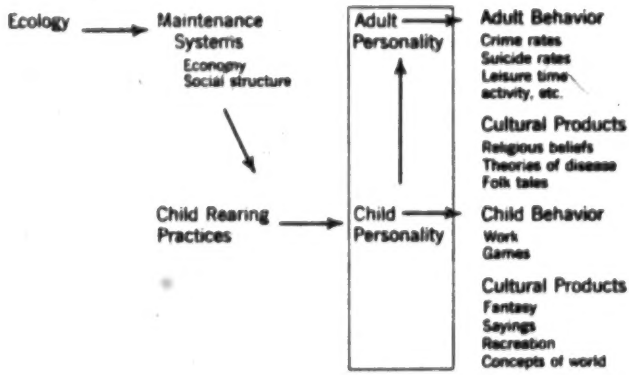
in the house, or whether other relatives are close at hand, will influence a mother's behavior toward her child.

It is assumed that different patterns of child rearing will lead to differences in the personality of children and thus to differences in adult personality. Since personality may only be inferred, the problem of measurement is difficult on both the individual and the cultural level. Individual children may be given tests of various kinds, interviewed or observed. On a cultural level, one may analyze the patterning of child or adult behavior, for example, the games and recreational activity, the rituals or ceremonial life, or one may assess the beliefs about the supernatural, theories of disease, or popular folk tales in terms of personality dimensions.

The chart presented below indicates this conceptual system in a simple manner.



To summarize the conceptual background in another way, the researchers viewed ecology, economics, and social and political organizations as setting the parameters for the behavior of the agents of child rearing. They viewed child behavior as an index of child personality and adult behavior and beliefs and values as indices of adult personality. The causal relationships implied in this scheme are open to discussion, and such discussions, with present available knowledge, ultimately end with a problem similar to that of the priority of the chicken or the egg.

This volume presents the cultural material. Subsequent publications will present the analysis of the individual measures: the mother inter-

121 views, child interviews and Thematic Apperception Tests, and the child behavior protocols. It is worth noting, however, as stated in the *Field Guide,* that "One of the hallmarks of the research project is the emphasis on systematic observation of behavior and the development of flexible questionnaire methods which focus upon concrete actions, with projective techniques taking a clearly secondary, but related place." The choice of these methods for assessing personality was the result of the senior investigators' previous disappointment in their attempts to relate doll play and other projective tests to other measures of behavior.*

The cultural material presented in this volume will be used to make a preliminary test of our hypotheses. Further tests will be made on the basis of the individual differences in the behavior of children and the methods of child rearing reported by the individual mothers. Both these analyses will be presented in later publications. A preliminary report of the analysis of the mother interviews by Triandis and Lambert has already been published (1961) and their detailed analysis is near completion.

128 The outline of each of the six monographs included in this volume is organized around the conceptual system presented above. There are two main parts: one a description of the adult world into which the child is born—*the ethnographic background,* the second an account of how the child is trained—*child training.* In Part I, each account starts with a description of the environment and the local setting, with descriptions of the village plan, the houses, and their interior arrangements. The account then moves on to a description of the daily routine of living and the economic pursuits of men and women. A chapter on social structure follows. In other words, these chapters describe the maintenance systems, the parameters which set the stage for child rearing. The selection of material for the remainder of Part I is also theoretically determined and includes either descriptions of adult behavior or the cultural products which seem to be the best indices of adult personality.

121 In order to explain the selection of behavior and cultural products, it is necessary to return to the discussion of the dimensions of personality selected for focus by the senior investigators. As noted, the hypotheses to be tested were focused on aggression, dependency, and the internalization of various mechanisms of behavior control. William Lambert and the Cornell group, because of previous research, were most interested in aggression, Irvin Child in dependency, and John Whiting and the Laboratory of Human Development in the

* For a detailed discussion of behavior observation, see Lambert (1960).

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problem of the development of internal controls which have been variously labeled as guilt, conscience, and super-ego.

It was the conviction of the researchers that the areas of study had to be limited and clearly defined if standardized material was to be collected. Chapter 1 of the *Field Guide* is a description of the "systems" of behavior which were chosen for study and the hypotheses which the investigators hoped to test. It is impossible to include a detailed description of the theory in this introduction, but in order to understand the material presented in this volume it is necessary to at least present a summary of the behavior systems and the nature of the hypotheses.*

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The nine behavioral systems include succorance, nurturance, self-reliance, achievement, responsibility, obedience, dominance, sociability, and aggression. In the most general terms, succorance is defined as asking others for help; nurturance, as giving help or emotional support; self-reliance, as doing things for one's self; achievement, as striving to meet internal standards of excellence; responsibility, as performing one's expected role duties; obedience, as attempting to meet the demands of others; dominance, as attempting to change other's behavior; sociability, as making friendly approaches to other individuals; aggression, as hurting others. It was assumed that each of these systems of behavior would exist in some form and degree in every society in a recognizable form and could best be identified as responses to specific universal situations. For example, given a situation in which an individual encountered difficulty, whether he asked for help or solved the problem himself would indicate the relative strength of his succorance or, in contrast, his self-reliance. A measure of nurturance would be the frequency of the spontaneous giving of help or the reaction to requests for help or the perception that others need help.

Returning to the present volume, in describing the adult culture of each society we have included material which we consider relevant to these nine behavior systems.

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The chapter on social control is included because it gives information on the frequency of brawls, fights, crimes, and other conflicts and describes the techniques which the society has devised either for preventing such conflicts from arising or for stopping existing conflict. Comparison of this material gives indices of the expressed aggression of the adults and the existence and type of internalized controls. It will be noted, for example, that the incidence of rape is high in Nyansongo, that litigation is frequent in Khalapur and Nyansongo,

* For a full discussion of behavior systems see Child (1954).

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O 121 B 626 and that there are few cases of physical violence in either Taira or Santa Domingo barrio, Juxtlahuaca.

The chapter on medical practices and theories of disease is included because variations in such belief systems were found useful indices of personality by Whiting and Child (1953) in their cross-cultural study and in later studies by Whiting (1959). Similarly, the analysis of man's relation to the supernatural was fruitfully analyzed by Spiro and D'Andrade (1958), Whiting (1959), Lambert, Triandis, and Wolf (1959). Mourning behavior and death ceremonies have also been studied cross-culturally (Friendly, 1956).

O 128 B 155 157 It was hoped that the analysis of the use of leisure time might be made along dimensions relevant to the nine behavior systems. The man who prefers to be alone in his spare time would be rated less sociable than one who always seeks the company of others. The amount of teasing or playful wrestling in leisure settings, or even the amount of pleasure derived from cock fights, might be used to rate the degree of preoccupation with aggression. The amount of time spent practicing skills might indicate the need for achievement. Whether or not men seek the company of women, men and women, or only men, is of interest in assessing personality; similarly, whether a man chooses to smoke, eat, talk, drink, dance, or play games. The nature of popular games can be analyzed along lines suggested by John Roberts (1957).

O 128 Part II of the ethnographies is organized chronologically, beginning with pregnancy and childbirth and continuing through preadolescence. The time spent on the observation of this age span made it impractical to study systematically the lives of the adolescent children. The only exception to this is the monograph on the Nyansongo group in Kenya. The LeVines were particularly interested in the effect of initiation ceremonies on the Nyansongo boys and girls. For this reason they selected three age groups for study: the 3-to-7, the 7-to-10-year-olds, and the postinitiation boys and girls. The Nydeggers included a brief chapter on adolescence in their monograph. The other field teams did not feel that they had enough knowledge to include such a description.

The age span covered in the individual chapters of the six descriptions of socialization differs, each division being made on the basis of the age groups and the transitions recognized by the members of the society. Thus in Khalapur, India, where socialization is not broken by clearly defined stages, there are only three chapters. In Taira, Okinawa, on the other hand, there are named stages and sharp transitions, and the Maretzkis have followed this pattern in describing socialization.

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socialization. Weaning from the breast and back is an abrupt change in an Okinawan child's life. The transition from kindergarten to school age is also clear and dramatized. Before school age a child is "senseless," according to the mothers, and cannot be properly trained.

Within these chapters an attempt has been made to cover the parent's or parent surrogate's treatment of the nine behavior systems and the child's response to socialization. Obviously some of the behavior systems are not relevant in infancy. In general, the early chapters concentrate on the handling of succorance, the mother's early contact with the child, the number of other individuals who share in the early care of the child, and their responsiveness to the demands of the infant. Among the hypotheses advanced in the *Field Guide,* several concern the consequence of indulgence in infancy. As stated: "Indulgence in infancy, a large number of nurturing agents, and mild transition from infantile indulgence into childhood will produce: (1) a trustful attitude toward others, (2) general optimism, and (3) sociability." It is also stated that training with respect to succorance will tend to influence sociability.

It is hoped that, on the basis of the information presented in the chapters on infancy, the reader can compare indulgence in infancy and the number of nurturing agents. The comparison of weaning from the breast and from complete dependence on caretakers should make it possible to evaluate the severity of the transition. For the consequent measures one may turn either to the description of the behavior of older children or to the behavior and belief systems of adults. Is it true that, comparatively speaking, the Juxtlahuacan Mixtecan child is more friendly and sociable in later life than the Nyansongan? In infancy, the Mixtecan is constantly held or carried close to the mother's body, enveloped in a shawl. The Nyansongo child is tended for periods of time by a less consistently responsive 5-to-8-year-old child. In adult life, are the Juxtlahuacan Mixtecan adults more optimistic and trustful than the Nyansongans?

With the onset of weaning, other behavior systems become important. Training for self-reliance and the associated punishment for succorance are universal problems, but the degree to which this new behavior is expected of 3-year-olds varies from one society to another. The Orchard Town 3-year-old is feeding and dressing himself while the Khalapur Rājpūt child of the same age may still be dressed and fed by his mother. Similarly, as mentioned earlier, the abruptness of the shift in expected behavior varies. The handling of aggression against parents, siblings, and peers is also a universal problem which

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B 155 all parents and socializers must face at this time. Probably closely associated with this behavior system is training for obedience and respect.

O 121 B 155 157 The *Field Guide* contains many hypotheses about the antecedents of aggressive behavior in children and adults and stresses the techniques used by parents in the handling of aggression as well as their model behavior. Specifically, one hypothesis advanced is that permissiveness on the part of parents for teasing behavior should be reflected in the increase of observable unprovoked aggressive behavior on the part of children and adults. Is it indeed true that the Tarongan child who is "playfully" teased by his parents and other adults from early childhood instigates aggressive behavior more frequently than a Rājpūt child whose parents do not "playfully" tease their children?

O 121 B 155 A second hypothesis concerning the handling of aggression states that children will be less apt to retaliate to aggression if parents and socializing agents punish any expressiveness with regard to anger. Again, the Khalapur Rājpūt child whose mother dislikes all expression of emotion, even excessive joy, and the Juxtlahuacan Mixtecan child who is taught that he will sicken and die if he eats while angry should be less aggressive when provoked than the children of Orchard Town.* It will be noted that a distinction is made between unprovoked and provoked aggression. A further distinction is made with regard to instrumental aggression, where a person tends to select aggressive means for attaining his ends. Comparisons between the handling of aggression in childhood may also be used to explore hypotheses as to the conditions which lead to the displacing of aggression to others, the use of fantasy to express anger or the projection of one's own desires to hurt others. Here for consequent measures one can turn to theories of disease and the nature of the supernaturals. The theory would predict that those societies which punish aggression most severely would project their anger into the supernatural world and believe in dangerous and malevolent beings or attribute superhuman evil capacity to humans and believe in sorcery or witchcraft. To date, the best socialization variables for predicting the belief in witches and sorcerers is a combination of polygyny and the severe punishment for sex and aggression (Whiting, 1959). Of our societies, the Nyansongans are the most ridden with the belief in these superhuman individuals. Their treatment of aggression is therefore of particular interest. It is also of interest to speculate whether there is some relation between the Tarongan parents' treatment of aggression and teasing behavior and

* For further discussion of the hypotheses regarding aggression, see the *Field Guide for a Study of Socialization in Five Societies*, pp. 18–22.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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their belief in whimsical spirits who must be avoided and not annoyed. O 121

Each monograph on socialization also includes an extended section on techniques used by the socializing agent. Our theory stresses the importance of rewards and punishments for the specific types of acts included in the nine behavior systems. It includes, however, theories as to the differential effect of various types of rewards and punishments and the conditions under which they are administered. Rewards may be material, such as food or money, or immaterial, giving love and acceptance or praise and prestige. Privileges may also be used as rewards. All types may be given after good behavior or used to incite desired behavior. B 155

Punishments depend on two types of sanctions: injury or abandonment which may have as referents several types of agents—parents or authority figures, peers, the self, or supernatural agents.

These rewards and punishments may be given for different reasons. The locus of evaluation may be a specific response of the child, some consequence of his action, or the child himself as a person. In other words, one may praise a child because he does a chore well, because he has helped his mother by doing the chore, or because he is a good boy.

The nature and strength of internal controls—mechanisms which keep an individual from breaking the rules of a society—are thought to be related to techniques and agents of socialization as well as to the strength of a child's identification with the same and opposite sex parents (Whiting and Child, 1953; Whiting, 1960; Burton and Whiting, 1961; Bacon, Child and Barry, in press). To determine the strength of these internal controls we hoped to observe the differences in children's behavior in the presence and absence of socializing agents. On a societal level, we predicted that when a boy's identification with the same sex parent is weak, there will be a higher incidence of crime. O 121 B 155 626

We expected to find that authority figures would be important as sanction agents in the adult culture: when there was marked differentiation of authority within the nuclear family; when discipline was carried out by or in the name of the head of the house; and when responsibility and obedience training were emphasized. We expected peers to be important agents when there was little differentiation of authority within the family, when the right of discipline was not focused and self-reliance training was emphasized. If these hypotheses are correct, we would expect consequent differences in the social control systems.

For most of the societies, the period from 6 to 10 emphasizes responsibility training. A comparison of the chores assigned to boys and B 866

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B 866 girls during this period, the rewards and punishments for good or bad performance or omission are an index of the training in this behavior system. The age at which different types of chores are assigned gives a clue to the age at which a society considers a child to have "sense," to be capable of reason, and it indicates the beliefs about the nature of the learning process. It will be observed, for example, that the Khalapur Rājpūts believe children learn primarily by observing, and hence they do little direct instructing. One type of responsibility is training children to care for younger siblings or cousins and neighbors. This training may start very young, as in Taira and Nyansongo, or B may be late and unimportant, as in Orchard Town.

155 The size and composition of play groups and the attitudes of parents 561 on friendliness are described for each age grade. It was hypothesized that sociability would be related both to training in nurturance and to the treatment of succorance, but initial comparisons would indicate that nurturance is probably more closely related to training for responsibility and dominance than to friendliness.

O ●121 In planning the research the senior investigators were also interested in discovering age and sex differences in behavior which might be universal (Barry, Bacon and Child, 1957). Is it true that in spite of radically different treatment in infancy and early childhood in the six societies, boys and adult men are always more aggressive physically than girls and women and that girls and women are always more affectionate than men? Are there regularities in behavior which hold across cultures? Does succorance always decrease with age and dominance always increase? Although these are questions which cannot be answered from a comparison of the six societies alone, consistent age O and sex differences should be followed up by further research.

114 The reader will be aware that in spite of the research design, the data are not always comparable, that in the different areas studied, some monographs have better coverage than others. These variations are due not only to the personalities, interests, and training of the fieldworkers but also to the nature of the culture of the societies they O chose to study.

121 Although this volume concentrates on the material that the researchers felt was theoretically relevant, it is hoped that readers with different conceptual systems and different hypotheses concerning human behavior will find it possible to make some relevant comparisons between the six societies. Those who were concerned with the project have developed new insights and new hypotheses. Some of these can be studied, but for many, the relevant data are not detailed enough and must await further studies. It is our belief that this is

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7

inevitable in the field of social science and that progress comes from being willing to state hypotheses, test them, derive new theories and plan new research to test these. 121

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PREFACE

114 This report is based on nine months of field research which was con-
122 ducted under the auspices of the Pacific Science Board of the National Academy of Sciences with Department of Army funds granted by a subcontract with the Human Resources Research Office of The George Washington University. The project was considered a part of the long-range SIRI (Scientific Investigations in the Ryukyu Islands) program developed by the Pacific Science Board "...to advise and assist the administrative authorities of the Ryukyu Islands in problems of rehabilitation relating to the health and economy of the Ryukyu
121 Islands." The objectives of this study were set forth in a broad outline presented by the Pacific Science Board prior to our departure into the field. In brief, it called for a description and assessment of the impact of the United States military occupation on Okinawan culture. Certain aspects of the project outline were later amended to meet the exigencies of the field situation. In the preparation of this report the authors' primary aim has been to inform those actively concerned with Okinawan-American relations; hence, a time limitation largely imposed by the necessity of presenting information while it is still pertinent has precluded a fuller treatment of certain aspects of our data which ordinarily would have been included in a complete ethnographic account.

114 Field time covered the period from September of 1953 to June of 1954.
101 One of the authors remained on Okinawa for an additional month to compensate for time lost due to illness and hospitalization.

128 Although each of us worked on several aspects of culture, in writing up our material we divided it roughly according to the major field of interest of each. Thus, though each chapter, or section of the last chapter, bears the name of the writer only, it was written from an outline that was discussed by all three and all three contributed both data and ideas to it.

We have tried to keep Okinawan and Japanese terms to a minimum, that is to use them only when there is no clear English equivalent or to add them (usually parenthetically) only as linguistic evidence for the existence of an object, practice, or concept. Nevertheless, they will be found scattered throughout the report. Although each term is defined, we hope, where it first appears, we have identified each again in a glossary. The distinction between native Okinawan terms and Japanese terms is worth preserving; we have done so by underlining the Okinawan terms and enclosing the Japanese terms in single quote marks. Some inconsistency in the Okinawan terms is due to differences in dialect and differences in recording.

101 Although we spent a bit of time in a number of communities on Okinawa, the major part of our work was in six: Pitts in Nanahan (Tomoyose), Kochinda-son, Goeku-son; Lebra in Kanegusuku, Kanegusuku-son and Kitazato, Kamimotobu-son; and Suttles in Yamazato, Chinen-son and Yamada, Onna-son. The locations of these communities is shown on Map 1.

CHAPTER III: AGRICULTURAL HISTORY, LAND USE AND DIET

F. R. Pitts

•121 178 The concept of the unchanging Orient certainly fails to appear true in the case of Okinawa, when the past is examined closely. Indeed, it seems hard to find an area where so much change has been accomplished so fast. The following is designed to show some major aspects of that change, particularly insofar as the farmer is concerned.

1. Agricultural History

175 241 198 The Early Days As early as the 1730's when the great Okinawan statesman, Saion, urged the growing of the sago palm 'sotetsu', farmers were already used to orders and suggestions from the gentry as to modification of their traditional ways. But it was not until the growth of population and the money economy that changes were to be brought about, not so much by orders from above, but chiefly by the workings of economic forces.

175 177 433 249 The ultimately most effective agent of change had been the introduction of the sugar cane plant in 1623 and its concomitant technique of sugar manufacture.[1] It was not until a decade after the Japanese took over the islands, however, that sugar production began to increase, and not until after the Russo-Japanese war that sugar really became an important crop in the economy. By 1939 the production of sugar amounted to more than a million tons, and production exceeded consumption by ninefold.[2] By the end of the 1951-1952 winter pressing season, production had declined to 256,000 tons.[3]

175 62 About the time of Commodore Perry's visit the population of Okinawa had begun to grow, and new areas were settled by both commoners and the gentry. Nanahan dates its existence from this period. Of the first three families to settle here, one came from Shuri gentry, and two others were commoners from the main settlement of Tomoyose. Of the seven settlements of the village of Yamada, three were settled by commoners and one by the gentry. All had come from the urban areas of the south in the latter part of the last century. [829] In Okinawa everyone seems to be aware of his place in history, and in the older settlements one often hears the remark, "...they are newcomers; they have been here for only two hundred years."

175 241 198 433 [177] In general the agricultural history of Okinawa falls into three periods. The first saw a self-sufficient economy, in which banana cloth was made in the village. The chief crops were millet, arrowroot, and sweet potatoes. With the introduction of a money economy, and its further intensification under the Japanese, sugar gradually turned from its previous use as a home confection to a full money crop. Rice acreage fell as more sugar was planted, and sweet potatoes found a greater place in the diet. The old crops of millet, cassava, and arrowroot were all but abandoned in Shimajiri, and became less important in the north. The third period is essentially the post-war and still continuing one, in which the growing of vegetables for the

1 Navy Handbook, p. 240.

2 CAARI, p. 156.

3 Summation of U. S. Army Military Government Activities in the Ryukyu Islands, July-November 1946, p. 25.

of a first son the parents' responsibility toward him may even increase as he 593
grows older, since the continuity of the family depends upon him. Also the
child's duty to obey his parents does not end with his majority, and this
duty also may be stronger for a first son. All this is in sharp contrast [171]
with the situation in American society, where the responsibility of the parent to the child is greatest when the child is small and gradually recedes as the child grows older, where the parents' responsibilities toward minor children are identical regardless of the sex or age of the child relative to others, and where the duty of the child to obey its parents clearly ends when it reaches majority.

The relationship between grandparents and grandchildren is also closer 603
than is commonly the case in the United States. There is greater physical 171
intimacy, there are greater mutual obligations, and there is therefore a greater feeling of security derived from the relationship.

The relationship of siblings too is different from that in the United 593
States. There is no equality among Okinawan brothers; each has his own sta- 171
tus, the first son having the most responsibility and the most privileges. Sisters are inferior to their brothers, but are more nearly equal to each other. But the brothers constitute a single unit even though they are unequal, the very numbering of them, first son, second son, and so forth, sets them apart as a unit separate from other units composed of numbered sons. As adults they are expected to cooperate, and usually do. It seems likely that the American passion for equality, with its resulting arguments among children as to who got the larger piece of pie, may result in greater conflict among siblings than exists in Okinawan society.

I have attempted to indicate briefly some of the main features of the 121
Okinawan family, how it differs from the American family, and how it provides 593
a greater sense of security for the individual. This security, it should be 152
emphasized, is at the expense of freedom and equality. Later, in discussing the life of the individual, I shall examine some of these features more closely. Moreover, I shall also try to show that family life not only provides the individual with a feeling of security, but also provides him with the pattern of relationships that he extends to the rest of the world and is the source of some of his basic anxieties.

Classification of Kin It has long been recognized that the categories of 121
language are likely to be the categories of thought, 601
and that if we are to understand how the members of another society see some aspect of reality---color, plant life, the passage of time, we can well begin by learning how they classify their perception---by studying their color terms, botanical taxonomy, terms for the seasons and other divisions of time. In the study of social organization this method is even more useful because the reality as well as the conception is man-made. Thus the categories into which the members of a society group their kinfolk have proved to be important clues to the organization of that society. I shall therefore describe briefly the kinship terms used by the Okinawans.

The terms themselves do not matter for this purpose. They vary from 601
place to place and from social class to class. But it is significant that

162 this may be the result of the war; the southern islands escaped heavy damage and loss of life. The urban area of Naha-Mawashi has a well-balanced sex ratio, and is probably a reflection of the number of men who directly or indirectly are connected with military employment.

The total number of persons per household has not appreciably changed in the fifteen years from 1937 to 1952:

Table Ia

Political Unit	Persons per Household, 1937	Persons per HH, 1952
Okinawa-ken	4.67	4.70
Naha	4.21	4.41
Shuri	4.18	4.17

The loss of men in the war was compensated for by those men who returned from Japan and those who repatriated from the Mandated Islands.

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2. Population Characteristics of a Rural 'Son'

Kochinda-son lies almost in the center of the southern section of Shimajiri. It does not border anywhere on the sea, and is entirely rural in that it has no industries of urban character. It is realized that no one area will be entirely typical of the whole of Okinawa; however, the population dynamics of this 'son' will undoubtedly be reflected in kind, if not in degree, by that of other farming areas. Fishing towns such as Itoman, Henza, Yakena and Yonabaru each probably have special types of adjustments that are not true of Kochinda.

[127] This researcher was permitted to copy the entire 'koseki' (population register) of Kochinda-son. In addition explanatory information was given by the 'son' office personnel when requested. In many cases it was possible to follow up and interview persons cognizant of the details of certain situations.

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[428]
[178]
[179]

Okinawa still follows the prewar Japanese system of inheritance by first sons. Under normal conditions in the countryside, the first sons would inherit the bulk of the farm plots, and second sons would inherit a few plots and set up separate households. Or the second and following sons might go to Naha, Osaka or the south seas to seek employment. The war disrupted this pattern, and it is germane to examine the types and numbers of household heads, as one index of postwar change.

Because the solution of the population problem is a factor in Civil Administration planing for Okinawa, it is of importance to know the fertility ratio and the amount of spacing between births. The Okinawans, like the Japanese, tend to register a marriage after the birth of the first child. This should be quantified if possible. In addition, age at marriage should be known, since it bears a direct relationship to population increase. The number of illegitimate and common law children in the villages indicates

[Kochinda-son]

something as to the attitudes toward marriage, the family, and sexual mores of the inhabitants. Study of divorce also helps to illuminate the dynamics of a population. All of these categories are discussed below.

Types of Household Heads All the households in Kochinda-son were classified into seven categories. Where possible this was done on the basis of the relationship of the present household head to the former household head. Table II shows the percentage of households in each category.

Table II

Category	Percentage of Households
First Sons	41.7
Second Sons	17.8
Third Sons	9.3
Other Sons (Sons of Fourth Order and above, and adopted sons, or 'yōshi')	7.4
Other Types (Younger Brother, etc.)	2.1
Grandsons	1.8
Women	19.9
All Types	100.00

The really surprising fact shown above is the number of women household heads, almost one in five. The percentage of households headed by first, second and third sons is probably not far from the prewar norm. However, within the families of each class of household head, conditions vary widely. Table III brings out the disparities of membership in families headed by the various types of household heads.

Table III

Type of Household Head	Average Males per Household	Average Females per Household	Average Persons per HH	Sex Ratio
First Sons	2.93	3.04	5.97	96.5
Second Sons	2.91	2.63	5.54	110.9
Third Sons	2.76	2.73	5.49	103.3
Other Sons	2.46	2.67	5.13	92.3
Other Types	2.16	2.09	4.25	103.1
Grandsons	2.49	2.51	5.00	98.9
Women	1.14	2.20	3.34	52.1

First Sons Frequent reference is made in Okinawa to the "heavy burden of being a first son." The large number of women per household in that category of household head bears out this assertion. If a first son assumes the duties as traditional head of the family, his mother and grandmother most likely will live with him after their spouses are dead. He must also assume responsibility for all unmarried younger sisters, as well as take care of any older sisters who become divorced. The "heavy role of

4. A Comparison of Land Tenure in Two Rural Villages: Kanegusuku and Kitazato

621 Kanegusuku The village of Kanegusuku is located in the southwestern cor-
[36] ner of Kanegusuku-son approximately three miles due south of Naha on the west coast, and it is immediately north of the town of Itoman. As is typical of the old Okinawan villages it is situated on high ground with all of its houses facing in a southerly direction. Aside from a detached cluster of eleven houses, the village houses are close together in
[12] a contiguous settlement. The village was selected for study because of its infrequent contact with Americans, relative lack of war damage, and a reputed antiquity and conservatism. As of December, 1953, the population was 507 persons forming 108 families occupying 103 houses. The present population is said to be about the same as before the war despite a 20% loss of life during the battle; this loss has been made up by repatriates from overseas and immigrants from other areas of Okinawa. The repatriates and some of the immigrants either had formerly resided in the village or regarded it as their ancestral home. There are nine families who were native to some other part of Okinawa before the war and have no previous connections with the village. The majority of the families have been in this village for
[592] many generations. There are approximately five persons in each household, which usually consists of a nuclear family, husband and wife and their children; but the composition of a number of households has been changed due to wartime losses.

Socially the village is segmented into eight lineages which con-
[613] stitute 92% of the total population; the remaining 8% is made up of unrelated families new to the village since the end of the war. One lineage includes nearly 61% of the village in its membership. Each of these lineages is related to lineages in other villages. Approximately 66% of the village
[582] marriages have been within the village, and nearly 50% of the marriages have been between persons of the same kin group. Thus, the composition of the village is fairly homogeneous, and both the community and the kin groups are strong cohesive units.

621 Occupation 98 of the 103 houses are engaged full time in farming;
463 the household heads of the five remaining houses are employed outside the village in non-agricultural pursuits although all participate in some part-
241 time farming. In addition to these five there were approximately fifteen young men, not household heads, who also worked outside. Most of these commuted daily to the greater Naha area where they were engaged in military employment or construction work. For the majority of villagers farming was the sole occupation.

621 Arable Land Over 66% of the total area of this village is under
311 cultivation, and about 38% of the cultivated land is in irrigated fields.
[434] The chief sources of income derive from rice and mats made from a sedge which is grown in an irrigated field. In terms of the average amount of
[136] arable land per household Kanegusuku is somewhat better off than the average for Okinawa: 1514.2 'tsubo' for Kanegusuku as compared with 1037.6 'tsubo' for Okinawa.

[Kanegusuku]
[Kitazato]

on Okinawa observed that the farmer took little interest in the care of land which he did not regard as his own. The author was particularly impressed by the contrast between Japan and Okinawa in regard to the care of land, for the meticulous care which the Japanese farmer lavishes on his land seems absent by contrast among the Okinawan farmers. 241 829 554 463 [171]

Kitazato The farm village of Kitazato in Kami Motobu-son presents a marked contrast to Kanegusuku in that it has suffered the loss of a major part of its area to a military installation. In studying the village of Kitazato the village of Kanegusuku was used as a base line for comparisons. To supplement his own observations the author has drawn heavily on actual statements by Kitazato people; in this way he hopes to present as accurately as possible the actual state of the village compared to villages elsewhere on Okinawa, and the villagers' own conceptualization of their circumstances. 621 [727] 121 621 [124]

Kitazato is not an old village, having been founded but seven generations ago by the younger sons of gentry families from the Naha-Shuri area. It was politically independent of the neighboring villages during the time of the old kingdom, but after the annexation it was administered in part by the villages of Gushiken and Jahana. In 1936 or 1937 it was established as an independent village, taking its present name. 175 621

Following their release from civilian internment camps the villagers returned to the site of their old homes shortly before New Year's of 1946. They found virtually their entire village land area converted into an airfield and accompanying military installations. According to their account there was considerable misunderstanding between them and the military as to where they might live, and they feel that they were subject to contradictory and inconsistent orders. Several moves were made which disrupted their plans to settle, and one villager stated, "I grew tired of rebuilding my house." In 1948 they were finally ordered to remove themselves from the military area, and they took up residence in their present location. It is claimed that there was insufficient land in the area to resettle the entire village on a single site; so, the village divided into three sections. Thirty houses were located on the beach between the villages of Gushiken and Shinzato, and this segment was given the name Hama. The remainder of the houses settled in the nearby hills from one to two miles away. Thirty-nine houses settled in the hills between the villages of Furushima and Jahana, taking the name Kijikina. Ten houses located themselves in the hills just north of Kijikina in a settlement which they called Anahana. These latter two, however, function as a single settlement for administrative purposes. These 80 houses making up the scattered village of Kitazato have a total population of 414. Despite their physical separation these segments have striven with considerable difficulty to maintain their political and social unity; one mayor and council serves them, and people are constantly visiting from one area to another. Today most of their land is gone, and they are too far removed from any city, town, or military installation (the airfield is abandoned) for employment. Extreme poverty and bitterness are one's first impressions of the village. 175 621 727 [464] [735]

CHAPTER IX: HEALTH

W. P. Suttles

121 This chapter will begin with a section on the human body---attitudes
128 toward and practices concerned with its care and its functions. This will be followed by a section on sanitation---attitudes and practices. A third section will deal with concepts of the supernatural and their relationship to illness. A fourth will describe the various types of "medical" practitioners found in Okinawan society, and Okinawan attitudes toward modern medicine. It will be seen that this chapter contains much that is often described under the heading "Religion" or even "Values" and contains little on the actual state of health and incidence of disease among the Okinawans. But we believe that this is as it should be in a report on Okinawan culture. That sanitation is poor and disease is prevalent is no doubt all too apparent to the medical observer. A detailed study of the diseases themselves must be made by research workers competent in that field. A study of native culture, however, reveals some of the underlying causes of poor sanitation and poor health. We feel therefore that this is a valid unit and properly put under the title "Health".

1. The Human Body: Practices and Attitudes

261 Eating and Drinking. Okinawans enjoy food and drink and make numerous events the occasion for their enjoyment. Questions about holidays frequently soon elicit long descriptions of the types of dishes appropriate to each. To a Westerner the variety may not seem great, but to the Okinawans a slight difference in the consistency of a soup may call for a
262 differentiating term. The variety of foods is probably as great as it can be within the limits of Okinawan resources. Foods are valued differently.
[171] Rice ranks high, sweet potatoes low. Pork is esteemed, as in China but not in Japan.

264 Three meals a day is usual. Rice, soup, and boiled foods are served in bowls, fried foods in flat dishes. These are eaten with chopsticks. The bowl may be held in the hand near the mouth; soup may be drunk directly from it. Some foods, such as noodles, are habitually sucked up with considerable noise. This noise is neither made purposely nor is it avoided; it just does not matter. Children may bolt their food without being scolded for it, but adults seem to have no compulsion to eat fast, as the Japanese are said to
[574] have. On festive occasions men are served in the first room, women in the second. On these occasions a portion may be served already in a box so that it may be taken home. On ordinary occasions the family may eat together,
[321] though women often eat in the kitchen by the oven. Conversation of both
[574] light and serious matter may accompany eating. Serving food is essential to the entertainment of guests and to the payment of social debts.

273 Drink is also essential to entertainment. Tea is drunk first thing
[272] in the morning and at any time of the day or evening. But for men something stronger is also desirable. Usually it is the clear, strong, distilled drink

CHAPTER X: EDUCATION

W. P. Suttles

121 871 None of the SIRI team worked on education as such. We have no basis for a discussion of the physical condition of the schools, number of teachers per pupil, texts, etc., other than the data readily available in USCAR publications. However, it may be useful to include in this report a brief chapter on attitudes toward education, the role of the teacher, and evidence of the results of education, as we have seen them in the course of our research. As I shall try to point out, there are indications that education on Okinawa may not be doing all that it professes to do. Yet it is a remarkable and praiseworthy fact that education has progressed as well as it has, considering the truly terrible destruction of the war and the long and trying process of rebuilding the material facilities and the morale of teachers and students.

1. Respect for Education

871 554 565 [647] Respect for education and the educated is deeply rooted in Okinawan culture. For several centuries administrative posts in the Ryukyuan kingdom were filled by officials drawn from the gentry class and appointed, it is said, on the basis of an examination. The gentry class held a virtual monopoly of education, which was thus one of the bases of their superior status. It is not surprising that the gentry class of the past is identified with learning. An illiterate old man of gentry descent once explained to me that the gentry were originally teachers appointed to various villages, thus misinterpreting the former bureaucracy as a school system.

871 554 791 Another profession open to the educated man in the past, and in the present, is that of the diviner. One of the native terms for this person is suumuchi, the "person with books", his books being the ones with which he reads a person's fate. This is a profession that commands respect. It is quite likely that at one time the diviner was the only person who possessed books with whom the ordinary peasant ever had contact. Books were thus associated with status and with nearly supernatural power.

554 871 Education is still regarded as a means of rising in status. As indicated in Chapter V, the potential scholar is given special treatment by his family because all may participate in the rise in status that his education may bring. But times have changed. In the days of the Ryukyuan kingdom the rewards for education may have come automatically, but under the Japanese administration this was less true, and perhaps least of all today. Education is indeed still valued for its own sake, but it is expected to bring material rewards; if it does not, its authenticity may be questioned.

554 Still, the prestige of learning probably accounts for a type of pseudo-scholar who may be found both in the rural and in the urban scene. In several villages we encountered such individuals, elderly men who were regarded as local sages, who discoursed learnedly and uncritically on local traditions, who revealed information derived from one or two carefully guarded books

CHAPTER XII: OKINAWAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS

[Yamada]

121 In this chapter we shall describe the effects of the occupation and types of relationships that have developed between Americans and Okinawans in a rural setting. We shall discuss the problems of Okinawan military employment. And we shall discuss the nature of Okinawan attitudes toward the United States, toward Japan, and toward themselves as a separate ethnic unit.

1. The Rural Setting: Yamada

W. P. Suttles

621 [361] **Changes in Structure and Orientation** The village of Yamada lies in southern Onna-son on the China Sea shore of Okinawa just south of the Ishikawa isthmus. The village is actually composed of several settlements that form a single 'ku' (the administrative unit) in a single 'aza' (the land unit). The topography of the 'aza' is rather uneven. [241] The great majority of the people are farmers. They raise a little tea on one of the higher hills, sweet potatoes and other root crops and a little wheat on their upland fields, and a considerable amount of rice in paddies at the bottoms of their narrow valleys.

Before the war Aza Yamada consisted of seven settlements. Two were the old villages of Yamada and Kuraha. Four were yaarui (J. 'yadori'), smaller, separate settlements established by settlers (chijuunin, J. 'kiryūmin') who had left the urban areas of the south in the latter part of the last century. Of these four, three, the mee ("front") and kushi ("rear") yaarui of Tirabaru and the yaarui of Uema were settled by commoners (hyakusoo, J. 'heimin'); the fourth and most isolated, Tirabaru, was settled by gentry (yukatchu, J. 'shizoku'). The seventh settlement, Ajimaa, was a recent clustering of houses and shops around the crossroads and school.

For purposes of administration the aza was divided into 'han'. Since administration meant mainly the communication of instructions from above, number of houses and distance were probably the principal factors in determining the size of the 'han'. Thus the three larger settlements, Yamada, Kuraha, and Ajimaa, were each a 'han'; two of the yaarui that were close together, the mee and kushi yaarui of Tirabaru, formed a single 'han'; but the remaining two yaarui, Uema and Tarigaa, were separate 'han', probably because they were too far apart for one 'hanchō' to transmit information to both.

But for purposes of cooperation in certain economic and social activities, a unit larger than the single yaarui was evidently needed. This unit was the chinju (J. 'kinjo', meaning "neighborhood"). The three larger settlements were each a chinju, besides being each a 'han'. The two yaarui that formed a single 'han' also formed a single chinju. But the two yaarui that formed separate 'han' also formed a single chinju, their distance apart apparently being of less importance than the need for a larger cooperative unit.

I: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

PREFACE

When one has completed a work such as this, he realizes, even more forcefully than at any other period of his activity, that its sources in reality lie in the kindness, cooperation, knowledge and patience of others. It is a pleasure to acknowledge this indebtedness at this time.

Dr. Fred Eggan of the Department of Anthropology of the University of Chicago first suggested to me the possibility of undertaking this field study. Mr. Harold J. Coolidge, Executive Director of the Pacific Science Board of the National Research Council, under whose auspices and supervision the Scientific Investigation of the Ryukyu Islands (SIRI) Program was conducted, created an atmosphere in which it was possible to pursue one's work freely and independently. I am grateful to him and to his staff.

Funds were made available by the Department of the Army to the Pacific Science Board of the National Research Council. I received every courtesy from the military and civilian personnel of the Department of the Army both in Tokyo and in Okinawa. Brigadier General James A. Lewis and the staff of the U. S. Civil Administration of the Ryukyu Islands showed a continuing interest, and it was possible to work easily in Okinawa through their efforts.

Mr. H. E. Diffenderfer, head of the Civil Information and Education Department, which sponsored this study, gave his full cooperation both in encouragement and in administrative and clerical assistance. I have profitted from discussions with Doctor, then 1st Lieutenant, William Elmendorf and Dr. Allan Smith, both anthropologists, and formerly on the C I & E staff.

I also wish to thank Mr. Richard Varney of the Department of Food and Natural Resources and Taminato Choyū of the Ryukyuan Forestry Agency at Nago, Okinawa, for their advice and assistance in matters relating to forestry. Mr. Taminato was most liberal with his time and showed me personally several areas in the northern forest. He should not be held responsible however for errors or misinterpretations in the text.

My indebtedness to the people of the villages is even greater, and here I must confine myself to a few who either through their own knowledge or through the introductions they gave to others made it possible for me to gradually build up the body of information upon which this report is based.

In Hanashiro: Nakasato Ushikichi, a farmer and member of the Gushichan township council; Shiroma Kichiji, the present headman and a farmer; Sakemoto Genichi, former headman and operator of the rice mill; Nakasato Masao and his wife; Tokumori-san, a teacher of the Gushichan Junior High School and a resident of Hanashiro; Tamaye Yukio, a school teacher at the same school.

In Minatogawa: Moromisato Shinji, a school teacher of Aragusuku; Tamashiro Kamei, headman of Minatogawa-ikku and a fisherman; Uehara Shōichi,

theories of disease as measures of adult personality, the authors attempted to test certain psychological theories relating the treatment of the basic behavior systems in infancy and childhood to adult personality characteristics.

The data on the 75 societies used in these studies were taken from published ethnographies which varied greatly in the detail and areas of coverage. The dream of the investigators was to send field teams out to get comparable detailed material on 100 societies. As a first step in accomplishing this aim, the present study was planned.

In 1953 the Committee on Social Behavior of the Social Science Research Council sponsored a seminar * and a conference † to discuss cross-cultural work on socialization. As a result, a *Field Manual for the Cross-Cultural Study of Child Rearing* was prepared (Whiting et al., 1953), and Whiting and Child persuaded William W. Lambert of Cornell University to join them in seeking funds to carry out a comparative study of child rearing. A generous grant from the Behavioral Science Division of the Ford Foundation made it possible to carry out these plans. The fieldwork and part of the analysis and writing of five of the six reports in this volume were financed by this grant. Later analysis and editing were supported by a grant from the United States Public Health Service.

Intensive planning for the study was carried on at Cornell, Harvard, and Yale during the following year under the direction of the senior investigators, William W. Lambert, Irvin L. Child, and John W. M. Whiting. During June and July of 1954, a Social Research Council Summer Conference was held at the Laboratory of Human Development at Harvard. All the research personnel, with the aid of David Aberle of Michigan, Alfred Baldwin, and James J. Gibson of Cornell, and Robert Sears of Stanford, wrote the *Field Guide for a Study of Socialization in Five Societies*. This volume presents in detail the research plan, the hypotheses to be tested, and the research devices which were agreed on by the field teams and senior investigators.‡

The five original field teams started fieldwork in the fall of 1954 and

* The contributing members of this seminar were Barbara Chartier Ayres, Hildreth Geertz, George Goethals, Charles Holzinger, Edgar Lowell, Eleanor E. Maccoby, Kimball Romney, Richard Salisbury, William Stewart, and John Thibaut.

† Attending this conference were Robert R. Sears (Chairman), A. L. Baldwin, R. A. Bauer, Irvin L. Child, L. S. Cottrell, Jr., Leon Festinger, J. L. Gewirtz, A. Inkeles, Harry Levin, Gardner Lindzey, Eleanor E. Maccoby, Carson McGuire, G. P. Murdock, B. Paul, J. M. Roberts, T. R. Sarbin, Pauline S. Sears, M. Brewster Smith, R. L. Solomon, John W. Thibaut, and John W. M. Whiting.

‡ Published in mimeographed form by the Laboratory of Human Development, Harvard University, 1954.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7

spent from 6 to 14 months in the field. Although the original design of the study called for a sample of societies whose culture had been already studied by ethnologists, the temperament and motivation of young anthropologists are such that they tended to choose groups who are relatively unknown and who, often for some personal reason, appealed to their interests. The actual groups chosen represented a compromise between the advantages of previous coverage and these personal interests, in addition to providing the great range of differences desired by the project planners. Kimball and Romaine Romney of Harvard chose a group of families in the Mixtecan barrio of Santa Domingo in the town of Juxtlahuaca in Oaxaca province, Mexico. Leigh Minturn Triandis and John Hitchcock of Cornell selected a group of families of the Rājpūt caste in the town of Khalapur in Uttar Pradesh in northern India. William and Corinne Nydegger, also of Cornell, chose a group of Ilocano-speaking families living in hamlets in northern Luzon in the Philippines. Thomas and Hatsumi Maretzki of Yale chose the village of Taira in Okinawa. And John and Ann Fischer of Harvard moved into a neighborhood in Orchard Town in New England.

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423 community is entitled to the use of one of the equal-sized lots. A small
[621] yearly payment is made to the cooperative, which passes these proceeds
[474] on to the village to pay salaries for officials and other expenses.

Tenancy was never a problem in the Taira area. Under the old sys-
[427] tem everyone was entitled to land. The final distribution in the change to individual ownership gave everyone sufficient land. Although many new landowners sold and mortgaged their property in other parts of Okinawa, one source states that "in the villages of Kawata, Taira and Miyagushiku . . . none of 348 families was found landless . . ." (Tamura 1927:292 translation). Today several families hold mortgages
[426] on their land, usually for loans to put up new buildings or some other capital investment. Nevertheless, a shortage of rice paddies is obvious, since a part of the land around Taira is owned by people from the neighboring village, and an extension of paddy land in this mountainous district would be feasible only with the aid of irrigation projects.

427 The renting of property from persons who have moved to the city is not uncommon and is a means of bolstering one's own rice or farm land. People who move out of the community, either temporarily or for longer periods, may rent their land or let relatives and even non-relatives use it. In most cases no compensation is paid for the use of farm land, although in rare cases where the owner continues to live in the village, some agreement is made to share the harvested crop. Rice paddies, however, are rented for half the crop. The owner returns from the city during harvesting time to help in cutting and threshing the rice. If unable to return, he may hire a person to help or to make adjustments in the division of the yield. Taira people do not rent their paddies or farm lands for money. An exception may be made in the case of outside fishermen who move into the village and who may rent a small area of land from a villager. In a few cases land has been left in the care of a family member by a relative who went overseas. One of the most substantial farmers in Taira holds several such properties, part of which he owns and part of which he holds in custodianship for a relative overseas. In such a case he is entitled to exploit the land without any compensation for the departed family member.

[423] Almost all local families own their houses and house lots. The
[122] thought of renting a room or house for money is somewhat foreign to the village, and in the case of the authors, "rent" for two rooms, as originally suggested by the owner of the house, was nominal. Fishermen, however, have to rent a room or a whole house. Their rent is an informal arrangement of payment in kind, fish, or other sea products.
[575] In addition, bachelor teachers from outside the community who re-

PREFACE

114 This report is based on nine months of field research which was con-
122 ducted under the auspices of the Pacific Science Board of the National Academy of Sciences with Department of Army funds granted by a subcontract with the Human Resources Research Office of The George Washington University. The project was considered a part of the long-range SIRI (Scientific Investigations in the Ryukyu Islands) program developed by the Pacific Science Board "...to advise and assist the administrative authorities of the Ryukyu Islands in problems of rehabilitation relating to the health and economy of the Ryukyu
121 Islands." The objectives of this study were set forth in a broad outline presented by the Pacific Science Board prior to our departure into the field. In brief, it called for a description and assessment of the impact of the United States military occupation on Okinawan culture. Certain aspects of the project outline were later amended to meet the exigencies of the field situation. In the preparation of this report the authors' primary aim has been to inform those actively concerned with Okinawan-American relations; hence, a time limitation largely imposed by the necessity of presenting information while it is still pertinent has precluded a fuller treatment of certain aspects of our data which ordinarily would have been included in a complete ethnographic account.

114 Field time covered the period from September of 1953 to June of 1954.
101 One of the authors remained on Okinawa for an additional month to compensate for time lost due to illness and hospitalization.

123 Although each of us worked on several aspects of culture, in writing up our material we divided it roughly according to the major field of interest of each. Thus, though each chapter, or section of the last chapter, bears the name of the writer only, it was written from an outline that was discussed by all three and all three contributed both data and ideas to it.

We have tried to keep Okinawan and Japanese terms to a minimum, that is to use them only when there is no clear English equivalent or to add them (usually parenthetically) only as linguistic evidence for the existence of an object, practice, or concept. Nevertheless, they will be found scattered throughout the report. Although each term is defined, we hope, where it first appears, we have identified each again in a glossary. The distinction between native Okinawan terms and Japanese terms is worth preserving; we have done so by underlining the Okinawan terms and enclosing the Japanese terms in single quote marks. Some inconsistency in the Okinawan terms is due to differences in dialect and differences in recording.

101 Although we spent a bit of time in a number of communities on Okinawa, the major part of our work was in six: Pitts in Nanahan (Tomoyose), Kochinda-son, Goeku-son; Lebra in Kanegusuku, Kanegusuku-son and Kitazato, Kamimotobu-son; and Suttles in Yamazato, Chinen-son and Yamada, Onna-son. The locations of these communities is shown on Map 1.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

[P. 365]
[P. 366 is blank]

About the Authors

Thomas and Hatsumi Maretzki chose the village of Taira on the 114
northeast coast of Okinawa. Thomas Maretzki was an advanced graduate student in Anthropology at Yale; his wife, a graduate of the University of Hawaii who had worked for one year on the staff of the Gesell Institute's nursery school in New Haven, Connecticut. The Maretzkis rented half a house in the village. They were assisted in their work by Nariyuki Agarie, a graduate of the State University of Iowa and subsequently a graduate student in psychology at Yale University, and by Kiyoshi Yogi of Naha. Although the Maretzkis did not have [123]
children to speed their participation in community life, Mrs. Maretzki's knowledge of Japanese and her exceptional gift with young children were invaluable aids. She seldom moved about the village without an entourage of small, devoted children.

The Maretzkis returned to Okinawa in 1960. Unfortunately time did not permit the incorporation in this monograph of any data collected on this later expedition. Thomas Maretzki is now teaching at the University of Hawaii.

preciative statement or an introduction. It is polite to make the rounds in this fashion, to sit before another guest, fill his cup and utter some polite phrases, then wait for a return compliment. 527 574

By the time men—and a little later women—have been served food and drink in some quantity, there is no more stiffness in the room, for with every cup of sake animation and voice volume increase. Speeches that have not yet come to a conclusion show definite signs of inspiration; each speaker who sits down is trumped in eloquence by his successor. Long after serious oratory has been dispensed with, a happy celebrant may get up and sonorously hold forth. During fieldwork the authors were frequently the aim of such addresses. In one of them a farmer, quiet and serious during everyday routine but known for his merriment and wit when in his cups, held forth on a future visit to Taira by these Americans. "There will be skyscrapers," he said in a booming voice, "subways, wide lanes and bright lights," and on he went to the delight of everybody. 273 [537] [123]

On such occasions Tairans display their skill in playing with words and their ability to act and mimic. The assistant to the headman, similarly quiet on ordinary days, several months after our arrival came into a room where the authors were present during one of the many post-New Year celebrations. At an advanced stage of merriment himself, he turned to his host and by way of introduction said that he had just come from Hong Kong. "Oh, from Hong Kong," the host said, "that is why you cough so, kong, kong, kong," adding that he himself came from New York (pronounced in Japanese similar to *nyûyoku*, meaning "a bath"), whereupon the arriving guest went into the motions of someone taking a bath, saying "ah from *nyûyoku*," and so the fun went on, mostly as a take-off on the American guests who were present. This reminded the clerk of another story at the expense of the authors, which he told with gusto. "That first day he came to Taira, Maretzki came up to me when I was carrying pebbles from the beach and asked if he could help since he was going to haul pebbles too. Then he started to introduce himself, and I only understood 'Umaretsuki' (similar to Japanese for 'temperament') . . . I waited and waited for a story, but nothing followed. I did not know what to say." He had never repeated this story during many sober encounters. 527 574 522 123

At another event, when several teachers were present, one of the men, after much gaiety, turned to a female teacher whose husband had left for the city to find a job and called over: "Hey, your mosquito netting must be wide now, huh?" The woman blushed, covered her mouth with a handkerchief and laughed. 522

The evening is never old before one man, or several who are known 574 533 534

Two members of the SIRI team both saw bone-washings, and were both impressed 765
by this display. The ceremony I saw consisted not only of the washing of one set of bones but the transfer of another skeleton from another tomb. While the tomb was being prepared the daughter of the man whose bones were being transferred was made to hold the skull. The sight of the teen-age girl holding her father's skull before her, hardly able to move, her lips and eyes shut tight, tears streaming down her face, is one not easily forgotten.

The Okinawans are curious about the funeral customs of others, sensi- 764
tive about their own, and possibly dissatisfied with them. Their sensitivity 765
is shown by the fact that after I had observed the bone-washing just men- 123
tioned, someone circulated a rumor, untrue, that I had photographed the cere- 829
mony in order to show Americans what went on. This rumor might have seriously damaged my rapport with this family and with others in the community if I had not been defended by the person who had supervised the bone-washing, the old lady mentioned at the beginning of this section. All three SIRI team members were questioned about American practices and heard statements to the effect that perhaps cremation should be adopted. Cremation does, of course, do away with the necessity for both the bone-washings and the large tombs. A crematorium is operating in Naha, but it is doubtful if the practice will spread very rapidly in the country. New tombs, bigger and better than ever, are still being built, old ones are being repaired, and the familiar method of burial and reburial goes on. The prestige attached to the larger and impres- [554]
sive tomb is undoubtedly a factor in the survival of the system. But there may also be psychic needs as yet unexplored that the system and in particular the emotional orgy of the bone-washing satisfies.

Offerings to the Dead After the funeral the family of the deceased 765
makes offerings both before the tomb and before the temporary paper tablet in 769
the home. During the first seven weeks after a death this tablet is kept on a low table with incense burning before it; relatives and neighbors make formal visits in order to burn incense, pray, and leave gifts of money. On every seventh day till the forty-ninth the family makes extra offerings, burns uchikabi (imitation paper money said to be used for paying taxes in the next world), and makes offerings before the tomb. Then the name is written on the permanent tablet. Thereafter, the family makes offerings at the tomb and at the tablets and burns uchikabi on the first, second, seventh, thirteenth, twenty-fifth, and thirty-third anniversaries of the death. At the end of this time the deceased is believed to require no more individual consideration---if all the offerings up to that time have been properly made.

However, throughout each year on a number of occasions offerings are 769
made for all the dead members of the family. These occasions are the major 527
holidays, nearly all of which are primarily directed toward the worship of the dead. The principal of these are: 1) Lunar New Year's; 2) Shiimii, in the spring, an occasion for visiting both the tomb of the immediate family and tombs of more remote ancestors; 3) the U-machii, the 15th days of the 5th and 6th lunar months, occasions when representatives of the larger kin groups worship before the ancestral tablets at the main house; 4) U-bung, during the 7th lunar month, when all the dead are believed to return to the house. Beside these there are a number of minor holidays on which offerings are made.

511 [Kitazato]
621 the houses are the same small, poorly-built structures of thatch and scrap
735 lumber that are found on the beach. By way of contrast, the house which
[342] the author rented in Kanegusuku was the poorest and shabbiest in that vil-
[184] lage; yet, the same house in Kitazato would easily have been the best.
Shabby appearances are not limited to houses, for the people too are more poorly dressed than elsewhere on Okinawa.

621 Food Nearly everywhere on Okinawa the authors heard that the peo-
511 ple are eating better today than before the war; such is not the case for
242 Kitazato, and the villagers are most emphatic about this. Potatoes, beans, and other vegetable products form the mainstay of their diet; often times, they say, potatoes are dug up before they are fully mature, so great is the pressure for food. It is the opinion of the local agricultural office that the people are slowly starving to death, and the villagers state that they are always hungry. The local storekeepers say that the people do not have enough money to buy canned foods to supplement their diet. Though Hama is
[226] virtually on the water the villagers do no fishing since the occupation is regarded as a foreign one; however, some shell fish are collected by the women.

621 Exodus of Youth One of the marked features of the village is the
511 general absence of young men and women in the fifteen to twenty-five age
166 group, for as soon as the student completes junior high school, he or she heads for the city seeking employment. A number of the families in the village are said to subsist mainly on the money which their children send back. According to the mayor 61 families have left the village since the end of the war; he feels that if they had not left, things would be much worse. Most of those who left were families containing grown children who could work; the parents in some cases were reluctant to leave, but their children were anxious to leave. A slight decline in military employment in early 1954 resulted in several of these families' returning to the village, and the mayor was apprehensive lest more return.

621 One characteristic of the population of this village which struck
847 the author was the disproportionate number of females to males in the age group under five years. In this group there were 64 males and 33 females, whereas the groups above were more nearly proportionate. Female infanticide has been a common occurrence during times of famine or under conditions of extreme poverty in Japan and China, and the authors heard several stories giving some evidence of it on Okinawa. No factual evidence of any sort was gathered by the author in Kitazato to corroborate this interpretation of the statistics; however, the fact that the permanent resettlement of the village in its present locations took place approximately six years ago in 1948 may lend some credence to this interpretation.

62 Attitude toward Americans The villagers' initial reaction to the
829 presence of the author in the village was one of fear and veiled hostility.
Gradually this was overcome, and good rapport was established. During one
● [123] of his last visits to the community the author was told, "The first day you were in the village everyone wondered if the military were going to make us move again. No one slept that night." At the same time the villagers are

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7

spent from 6 to 14 months in the field. Although the original design of the study called for a sample of societies whose culture had been already studied by ethnologists, the temperament and motivation of young anthropologists are such that they tended to choose groups who are relatively unknown and who, often for some personal reason, appealed to their interests. The actual groups chosen represented a compromise between the advantages of previous coverage and these personal interests, in addition to providing the great range of differences desired by the project planners. Kimball and Romaine Romney of Harvard chose a group of families in the Mixtecan barrio of Santa Domingo in the town of Juxtlahuaca in Oaxaca province, Mexico. Leigh Minturn Triandis and John Hitchcock of Cornell selected a group of families of the Rājpūt caste in the town of Khalapur in Uttar Pradesh in northern India. William and Corinne Nydegger, also of Cornell, chose a group of Ilocano-speaking families living in hamlets in northern Luzon in the Philippines. Thomas and Hatsumi Maretzki of Yale chose the village of Taira in Okinawa. And John and Ann Fischer of Harvard moved into a neighborhood in Orchard Town in New England. [21]

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121 Lambert and Triandis at Cornell (1959), on self-reliance and responsibility at Yale by Barry, Child, and Bacon, (1959) and on socialization techniques in the Southwest at Harvard by Whiting, Chasdi, Antonovsky, and Ayres (in press).

In designing the research reported in this volume, an attempt has been made to assess individual as well as cultural differences. This is one of the unique aspects of the design. The hope was to test hypotheses concerning the relations of child-rearing practices and consequent personality, both intraculturally and cross-culturally. In the first instance, 24 mothers in each society were studied as individuals in their relationship to one of their children, and each of the 24 children (ages 3 to 10) was observed and interviewed in a standard manner in the hope of detecting behavioral and personality differences. The cross-cultural measures included material on child-training practices and also religious beliefs, theories of disease, recreational activities, and so on collected by standard ethnographic techniques.

124 A word should be said here concerning the nature of the unit which each field team chose to study. It was decided to choose a group large enough to yield an adequate sample of individual families. For our design this meant a group of at least 50 families would be needed to draw our sample of 24, since at least half the families would have grown-up children or children under 3. On the other hand, we wanted a group who knew each other and shared beliefs, values, and practices. Furthermore, the ethnographic techniques which we intended to employ—to be used with maximum efficiency—require a small group. Each team therefore chose a community of between 50 and 100 families, which was for them their unit of study.

121 B 155 Implicit in the research design is a general concept of the relation of personality to culture, which may be presented as follows: The ecology of the area determines the maintenance systems, which include basic economy and the most elementary variables of social structure. In other words, the type of crops grown, the presence or absence of herding, fishing, and so on, depend on the nature of the terrain, the amount of rainfall, the location of the area *vis-à-vis* centers of invention and diffusion. These basic economic conditions determine in part the arrangement of people in space, the type of houses, and household composition. These in turn set the parameters for child-rearing practices.

It is obvious that ecology does no more than set gross parameters for the social structure. Within these parameters, the nature of the composition of households, neighborhoods, and other social groups will lead to variance in child training. Whether or not a grandmother lives

the community is dispersed. In the outlying parts, as far as 2 miles 361
from the center (see map 1), the houses are scattered between the paddies or farm lands in sections which form subvillages or wards. As mentioned above, settlers from the south took up residence in these areas. Recently families from the main village have also moved to the more remote parts of the community, such as Udenaha, because they can reach their fields more conveniently. Although the name Taira [101]
refers to the political unit of main village and outlying parts, including Udenaha and Izena, most references in this study pertain only to the central community. Its 60 households, with about 330 individuals, [162]
form the primary social unit from which the sample of 24 children was [124]
chosen.

Central Taira nestles along the inner shore of Taira Bay, which 361
opens into the Pacific Ocean. At this point the median range mountains recede from the coastline. Behind the village, rice paddies spread [143]
in a crazed pattern at the bottom and on the terraced sides of several valleys which are separated from each other by sparsely wooded hills. Here and there the red earth of an eroded section shows like a scab through the green slopes.

In traveling by road from the south, most people choose the highway [49]
along the East China Sea coast, which is connected with the road which crosses the island. Higashi township is entered through a low saddle in the mountains which separate the two coastlines. To the right and left begins Taira's forest. Central Taira is reached through a winding lane bordered by pine trees. To the left the view opens into one of the neatly cultivated rice fields, backed by the hills on whose flat tops and terraced sides village people cultivate their farm lands.

The central village itself lies on a sand bluff, separating the valley 361
from the ocean, so that there is a slight drop toward both sides (see map 2). The main road runs the length of the village. Except for the [363]
thoroughfare, which is dirt and gravel, the side roads are not surfaced, and after heavy rains puddles form and remain for more than a day, to the delight of children who play in them.

When Taira was destroyed during World War II, along with its 363
houses went much of the foliage which once served as a windbreak. A 137
few fukugi trees * line the main street, and hibiscus hedges here and 727
there hide some of the houses from a first inspection. There are bushes around the edges of the village.

The war-time destruction is hardly apparent on a first walk through 36
the village. Along the main street, lined by houses, one finds the rice mill, a substantial new building of concrete and wood, the police sta-

* A small- to medium-sized evergreen tree with a narrow, upright, very dark green crown of leaves.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 377]

In addition to meeting with physical and emotional needs, the child must be protected from the nurtured by the numerous supernatural forces in the form of malevolent and benevolent spirits which operate to influence the course of an individual's life. There are lucky and unlucky days, years, and tides, which are believed to determine the fate of a person. Females born in the year of the monkey are considered unlucky, for they are thought to outlive their male contemporaries. Men dislike marrying them. Supplications are made and precautionary measures taken by adults to secure the newborn's life, happiness, and health. 776 777 854 [581]

Ancestral spirits influence the development and fate of the child. Occasionally a child who is the victim of ill health during his early years is adopted by a couple whose ancestral spirits are thought to be more favorable than his own on the dictate of the fortune teller. By mysterious calculations involving birth dates of the principals, the fortune teller uncovers some incompatibility and advises adoption. The child remains with his parents but worships the ancestral spirits of his adoptive parents. In this way parents seek to ensure the well-being of the child. 597 769 755

Mother interview data indicate the awareness of Taira people of the variations in personality among children of one family. Adults do in a large measure adapt their actions in accord with these differences. They recognize hereditary influences, but although a mother may comment on the similarity of temperament with regard to her child and other members in the family or kin group, there are no ideas or beliefs that the souls of deceased are inherited. Usually the mother, in describing the characteristics of the child, rarely goes beyond likenesses which can be attributed to herself or her husband. She is at a loss to explain the "very different child." "My eldest son has my nasty temper whereas my second daughter is not like either of us, very strange. All the others have a little of myself and my husband in them. We often wonder how it is that she is so unlike either of us." 155 828 858 [124]

A child born with two cowlicks predicates a "problem" to his parents. Parents often explain, "Oh, this child is very naughty, for as you can see, he has two cowlicks." Children often search each other's heads, and on discovering two instead of the single whorl, they shout in glee, "Naughty, naughty." One 4-year-old cuddled and hugged his newborn sister after searching her head. "You have two cowlicks just like me! You and I are 'naughty,' " he whispered to her. Turning to the adults in the room, he snapped his small bright eyes and grinned impishly as he reported his discovery joyfully. [826]

Twin births are disliked only because they place a burden on the 845

865 "Play and fight are children's work." As one mother reported, "It is no
857 use. They fight and then before you know it, they are friends again.
[861] In Japan, parents often interfere with children's fights, but we here in Okinawa don't believe in doing so. It is much better to let them alone unless they injure one another. The way it is, it would make an adult look like a fool to interfere." Some parents attempt to channel aggression by calling a wrestling match between boys who start arguing. In this way, rock throwing and fighting with sticks are avoided, and the boys can work off their anger, but hitting, biting, and pushing, as well as rock throwing, were observed among children of this age. As the children approach school age and gain facility in language, they resort more and more to verbal aggression; however, as will be discussed later, some physical aggression is carried over in the behavior of boys toward girls. At no time is aggression toward younger children tolerated.

[124] Only after exhaustive questioning can one get parents to admit that they train their children to retaliate. "Never fight; if someone hits you, just walk away, for you (in thus showing your strength to resist) will win the fight; fighting is bad," instruct mothers, according to the mother interview. Informal talks nevertheless revealed that parents disliked it if their children are underdogs all the time.

865 Boys are expected to be more aggressive than girls, who are, ideally,
858 docile, gentle mannered, kind, reserved, and considerate. In some ways adults seem to train little boys to be aggressive. Beginning in infancy they tease and bully them, holding their arms and restricting them bodily, withdrawing desired objects and pretending to scold and hit. They glean great amusement at the expense of the child if he screams and strikes out in anger. The adult expresses surprise and mock anger. Finally, when he cries, everyone will laugh while the mother retaliates by playfully slapping the aggressor. While most of this kind of teasing is restricted to male infants and young boys, female children are not exempt.

865 Irritable, pushy children do not exist in Taira. Those who try to get
155 things by "walking over others" do not get far, for children ostracize and avoid them. One 4-year-old, observed over a period of months, altered his methods of acquiring goals from pushing and bullying to socially sanctioned techniques, such as asking, waiting his turn, and sharing. The change was startling. Adults passing on a group of children that included this former bully no longer had to scream warnings at him, and his mother felt she did not have to "look after him" any more. During the time of this study, only the children of a recently arrived fisherman and his wife were ostracized by parents as being far

861 Physical punishment is much more frequent than the mothers' [124] interview answers would lead one to believe. In parent-child or sib- [593] ling interactions observed by us, the scolding or talking was usually simultaneous with a sharp crack on the head with the knuckles or a slap on the buttocks. It is true that a great deal of leeway is generally given the child, but mothers home from a strenuous day in the fields are more apt to scream and spank at the same time.

Tying of hands or feet for several minutes, or as much as an hour, is considered appropriate punishment for those who trespass into forbidden areas or play with taboo things like matches. Sometimes the child's wrists are tied with a piece of rice-straw rope to the front house posts. One 1-year-old boy wandered down to the beach to play with his 3-year-old cousin despite repeated warnings from his mother to the effect that this area was dangerous. Because he disobeyed this rule, he was tied hand and foot. In addition, he was spanked because at the same time he had abandoned his younger brother in the village to go to the beach with his cousin.

861 Another type of physical punishment, which is often threatened but 857 rarely used, is cauterizing a piece of skin on the neck, back, or hands with moxa. Children in play situations frequently act out giving moxa to a naughty child with a lot of teasing and mock anger. "Come here, you naughty one, we will give you moxa," they scream to each other. A 1-year old girl was cauterized by her father when she threw her chop- [261] sticks on the floor in a fit of anger. Because he believed that food was not only the product of hard labor but also a sort of blessing from the gods, he felt that this very painful enforcement was just.

861 Grandmothers, in particular, use pinching to enforce some rules of 867 etiquette. If a child forgets and extends his foot toward another person, she will take the flesh of the leg between her thumb and index finger, lift it and with a quick twist administer a punishment which is very painful. After the initial experience, all she has to do is to put her hand in position for pinching to her lips and breathe out audibly as if to say, "I'm warming up!" and the child will correct himself.

861 Older brothers and sisters are apt to be "quicker with the hand," ac- 593 cording to mothers. Generally they agreed that this may be the reason [857] for their effectiveness in handling their younger charges. Frequently all an older sibling needs to do is to raise a warning hand, look disapprovingly, or call with a stern voice when his charge is about to misbehave.

Although mothers do most of the spanking, scolding, and talking, children fear their fathers a great deal more than they do their mothers. Mothers claim that this is true in most cases and offer an ex-

planation: "Maybe this is because the children know well our strength. They don't know their father's strength but believe somehow that it could be much more painful." One could, of course, relate this to the cultural concept of maleness as opposed to femaleness as discussed previously. 861 593

Praising and rewarding are techniques that are administered in a very haphazard fashion in Taira. While the child is still very young, up until he is about 2, praise and rewards are lavished on him for almost anything. If he responds to his mother's entreaties to hand over a stick with which he might hurt himself or to bow when meeting someone, he is hugged, kissed, and told over and over, "Good child, good child." 861 [867]

As the child grows older, these extravagant displays of praise and reward lessen. Instead the child may receive promises of something good to eat or a coveted article of clothing in return for some good deed or commendable behavior. Generally the child has to remind his mother many times before he is actually rewarded. By the time the child is of school age he takes these promises with a grain of salt and usually forgets them himself. Only when the children were questioned by us on rewards did it become obvious that parents promised a great deal more than they could ever hope to produce. For, from the plain view of economics, no family could purchase all the goodies pledged for good behavior. Nevertheless, for younger children these promises mean something, and they always look forward to the day when their mothers will color their evening rice red or make them some fried dumplings. Rewarding a child with food proves to be as effective a technique of socialization as threatening to deprive him of food. [124] [261]

Occasionally, in a rare burst of enthusiasm, parents may reward a child to make up for all the empty promises. During one of the rice harvests, a 10-year-old boy worked alongside his parents with as much concentrated effort as any adult. All day he stayed in the fields without running away to join his playmates, as some other boys his age did. At the end of the day his mother prepared some festive food. She colored the rice, and the dinner was a merry one. The man from next door who had helped out that day sat drinking sake with the boy's father. "Here, why don't you have some sake, you did as much work as any of us," offered the father. Neighbor and mother urged the boy on and laughed merrily as the boy sipped a bit of the sake. 857 861

Even before he is able to understand the significance of the words, a child in Taira is praised and censured with "good child," and "naughty child." Especially during infancy, mothers will tease babies by gently slapping them and saying over and over with mock anger, 861

861 "naughty child." When the child is about 5 months and capable of responding to smiles and a disapproving eye, his mother will murmur affectionately, "good child," to encourage and praise. She will open her eyes wide, assume a disapproving look, and scold, "naughty child, naughty child," to discourage and censure him.

A 7-year-old girl was carrying a large winnowing basket filled with potato peelings from her uncle's house to her own. Behind her trailed her 3-year-old brother who was well known for his crying. Suddenly, for no apparent reason, the little boy started to scream and cry for his sister to carry him. The 7-year-old tried to no avail to get the boy to follow her. She shifted the basket to her head, stooped down, and the boy scrambled onto her back. With some effort she stood up, one hand on the basket and the other around the boy's buttocks. The boy clung to his sister's neck and grinned. "Naughty child," murmured the fieldworker's companion, a 23-year-old girl. To the 7-year-old girl she then turned and said admiringly, "Good child that you are!"

"Be a good child and do this . . ." instructs an adult to a child. "Naughty child that you are, making your sister cry," one child is chided by another. Praising and punishing by referring to the person of the child as the locus of evaluation are most frequent. The child's action itself, or his response to a particular situation, is usually not evaluated. Very few adults set a standard which is intended as a guide to the child's performance of a task. Therefore children who have completed a task do not ask themselves: "Did I do it well?" or "Did I do it poorly?" If scolded for inadequate performance, the child may echo reprimands by saying to himself: "I was bad to do it that way," or "I was bad to do that" and not: "That was a bad thing to do."

Words which evaluate the person rather than the action are generally applied only to children under 12, although occasionally one hears a young adult say to another teasingly, "Ah, good child," in praise or "naughty child" in response to being tricked.

861 Of the 24 mothers interviewed, only three reported they did not
776 refer to a deity to control their children's behavior. This deity is al-
[124] ways present, always watching and can be depended on to punish the erring child. To the child, this god is a being to be feared, although he is told that not only his misbehavior is observed but also his good behavior. "The divine being is everywhere. When you are alone and do something bad, you might think that no one knows about it, but the god knows and he will punish you," warn mothers. This technique of control is very useful in Taira, where the children spend a great deal of time without adult supervision.

855 as the child began to fuss or show signs of fatigue. The kindergarten
593 child often directs his succorant appeals to his father, particularly in a nuclear family, but the father in turn directs the child to his
861 mother. Should there be any discrepancy in thought as to the way a child should be handled in specific problematic situations, the mother will defer out of custom to the father. Such cases, however, are rare, for men, in informal interviews, generally felt that "women knew better" where children's affairs were concerned. Only one out
[124] of 24 fathers believed that he should "train and discipline" the male child and his wife should confine herself to the female children.

The school age child seems to have more fear of his father. "If father is at home," reports one mother, "the children returning from school go about quietly putting their books away, clean the yard, study, then take the younger siblings out with them to play." She added, "If father is not at home, they drop their books on the porch and run out to play, leaving the house and yard in a mess and me with the babies!"

It should be noted that fathers spend less time at home than any
593 other member of the household. Men who work in the mountains
512 go out after the morning meal and often do not return until dark. A man returning at noon seldom sees the children, who are out playing or at school. Since there are no weekly rest days, children see their fathers mainly in the evening after dark or on holidays. But even then fathers spend their time visiting around or entertaining neighbors and relatives in their own homes. Contact with father is, there-
593 fore, only sporadic and is not affected by a special desire on the part
855 of fathers to spend time with children. It should be noted, however, that the mere presence of the father in the house has an effect on the child's behavior.

Next to mother and grandmother, older children in the household are very important child-rearing agents. These are mostly the older siblings, but occasionally a young unmarried aunt or uncle who lives with the family looks after a child. Children between the ages
[857] of 5 and 12 take care of younger children; adolescent siblings or aunts do so to a much lesser extent. The obvious reason for this is that in the distribution of duties in the home, the care of a younger child falls to those who are not otherwise burdened with such responsibilities as exacting studies during junior high school or economic activities in fields and mountains, which begin after graduation from school. While adults, except for the old folks, are in fields and mountains, a young child spends much of his time on the back of the older kindergarten or school age sibling or as a toddler in tow of an older one.

sures in responsibility training. When tasks are mere routine, interfering with playing and other favorite activities, they are not always discharged with enthusiasm. We have already referred to this in the discussion of child care. On the other hand, there are many expressions, starting actually at kindergarten level, which reveal identification with adolescents and adults. 857 866 [156]

To the question, "What would you like to do best?" there were such answers from boys as: "I would like to go to the mountains and earn money" (7 years), and "I would like to plant rice" (8 years); and from girls: "I would like to cook, and I would like to transplant rice" (7 years), "I would like to cook rice and soup" (7 years with a wide grin), and "I would like to teach other children calculation if they need help, and take the place of the teacher" (10 years), adding, "Then I can punish boys who bully girls, too." [124]

We learned something more about the identification with older children and young adults, and perhaps a feeling of envy of their status, from answers to questions such as, "Who would you like to be most if you could be changed into anybody by magic?" and "What age would you be if you could be any age?" And, in answering, children also revealed something of their needs, motivations, and goals. A 7-year-old boy stated that, "I would like to be 15 years old, then I can go deep places to swim . . . and then I can go to the mountains and earn money and buy rice, noodles, and help father and mother." He then expressed achievement motivation in his answer: "I would like to become a scholar on plant roots. Then I will know why trees wither and die. I want to save them because otherwise people cannot make money. Then I will be happy and feel good." Although this boy's father is not one of the prominent village leaders, he seems here to express the feeling which, we believe, explains much of the responsible behavior in village leaders. We also see a desire for independence in the answer of a 10-year-old boy, "I would like to be 20 years, then I can go and do work on my own," and nurturance with an almost sanctimonious overtone, perhaps linked to hidden anxiety about aggression, in this response to the magic man query, "I would have him change me into a big, big person. Then I can go and hit anyone who bullies little persons . . . I can look all over the whole village and catch all bad persons and talk to them . . . I can make them all good." This answer, which expresses, again, achievement desires was given by an 8-year-old boy, "I would like to be 16 years old because then studies will be easier and I can wrestle like the *seinen* (young adults)," followed by "Make me into a township official because they have 'good heads' (are intelligent) and they [124]

857 help the people. Then I can buy food with the money I earn and
86 save some for a new house." Other boys, too, revealed a combination of achievement-oriented and nurturant needs and over-all qualities of responsibilities which characterize leading adults in the community. But there are also dependence needs in boys, such as expressed by
[124] this 10-year-old, "I would like to be the youngest baby . . . because everyone loves that one" (in response to the question "If you could be anybody in the family, would you like to be a father, mother, or a baby?") But the answer of a 7-year-old boy: "I want to become father, then I can raise potatoes, rice, and other things" is more typical of the Taira boys in this age group than the previous one.

Girls were quite explicit in their nurturance motivation, but they, too, used answers to reveal other desires. "I'd like to be mother so that I can cook and go to the mountains" (6 years); "I'd like to be 14, then I can fetch water and go on real errands and get money," and by the same girl (7 years), "I would like to be like K. (a girl of about 20 years) because she is an employee of the *yakuba*" (the servant and general helper at the township office). Several girls wanted to be the age of their older sisters, because, as one (6 years) said, "She buys things for me and she can buy all kinds of things for me." A real strong dependence need and a reflection of economic privations in her family, one of the poorest in Taira, was revealed by a 6-year-old girl: "I would like to become someone else's big sister . . . like the Kawata (village) rice miller's . . . because then I can eat a lot of rice," followed by, "I'd like to be Y. (baby sister) because she is small . . . because she is not even in kindergarten and father and mother will take me around with them."

Taira female adults' roles are apparently well recognized and correctly interpreted by these girls, and identifications are appropriate. Only one girl referred to a professional career, open to women, but her answer reveals very practical reasons for achievement striving: "I'd like to be a teacher, then I can do well in studies and do all kinds of studying . . . can earn money. With that money I can buy clothes and hats. And when anyone speaks *hōgen* (dialect), I can hit them with a stick and give them all failing grades. . . . Then I'll feel good!"

872
857
512 SCHOOL ROUTINE

The school, like the parents, expects more of the 8- to 12-year-olds.
[858] The session is longer, lasting until 4:00 in the afternoon and reducing

ATTITUDES TOWARD ACHIEVEMENT

Observations revealed there is a contrast between home and school setting in attitudes and treatment of achievement-oriented and competitive behavior. The classroom situation tends to breed competition. Eager attempts to answer questions and to get the teacher's attention by raising a hand and calling out suggest competitive spirit. There was little we observed in the village which seemed to bolster competitive behavior, except for some games and occasional wrestling and athletic practice. Parents discourage boasting in children and in our presence gave little evidence of fostering achievement. However, if we now let the children speak, and then mothers (unfortunately fathers were not interviewed), one might get a different impression of the parental role in achievement training.

In answer to the questions "How do you feel about doing something better than anybody else your age? When you're not the best, do you ever practice so you can do better?" the six boys in our sample agreed that they would like to be first. One 8-year-old answered: "Yes, I would like to be better than my classmates." "But," he adds, "no, I don't practice or study when I am not first . . . only sometimes. If I am last I would practice and study because I would get scolded by the teacher and my parents. . . . I would be ashamed because others would laugh at me. But if I am average, I won't do anything, I don't care." Two other boys implied that they would do little to improve their position if they were in the middle, or as one put it, "I do want to be first, but I don't do anything about it . . . not much anyway."

The fear of being scolded by parents is also expressed in the answer of four others in this group. Shame was mentioned only by one other boy, but among those who fear scolding at home were two whose parents are exceptional in stressing good performance at home and driving their children toward higher standards. They responded, as one might expect, with expressions such as: "Yes, I would rather be better than all others. . . . In the middle? No, I would rather be first." Only one of these two mentioned fear of scolding as an incentive.

Girls' answers differed slightly in the somewhat greater emphasis on performing well and making determined efforts in this direction. One reply, "Yes, I will study hard to become first. Even if I am in the middle, I will try hard so I can be first. I don't feel good being

have little time and patience to concern themselves seriously with 866
their children's schoolwork; and since their daily work is hardly an 876
inspiration to the child to improve his scholastic activities, there is
some question in how much parental influence is relevant here.
Moreover, mothers are always under pressure from the teachers to [124
urge their children to work hard and would respond to such an
obviously weighted question in this fashion to a person to whom they
accorded the same polite title in address, which they use toward
their children's teacher, *sensei* (i.e., the interviewer). It is also a fact
that teachers have had difficulty getting parents to cooperate in
training their children to establish regular home-study habits. Fathers,
on the whole, seem even less consistent than mothers in supervising
schoolwork. The fact that most boys would like to be first but make
concentrated efforts to improve their work only if they perform
poorly suggests that parental discipline usually does not function
effectively until the child has become severely delinquent in his
studies.

If the desire to cheat in school is a measure of competitive pressures, it is interesting to note that there are few such attempts made during the examinations which are held several times a year. Nothing is done to separate the students whose tables are close together. Although the teacher remains in the classroom, he hardly proctors. However, the teacher commented that if a student is suspected of unfair practices, others will report his activities to the teacher.

An impetus for the development of competitive spirit has been [177
the introduction by the Japanese of athletic sports into the schools. [526
The communities participate annually in athletic competitions spon- [527
sored by the schools and other agencies outside the community. One
is impressed, however, that these events have taken on the Okinawan
pattern of a pleasant gathering where the older people can enjoy
being sociable while the young men and women engage in various
sports.

A few students have regularly assigned tasks and offices. Each class 866
selects a monitor. The method of selection varies, depending on the 872
teacher. In one class, candidates were taken at large, and the student 876
who received the largest number of votes took the office. The monitor
is responsible for the class during the morning assembly and during
athletics. He sees to it that students line up and remain orderly. In
the classroom he has the same responsibility, but we observed nobody
discharging his duties in an authoritarian way, although some older
boys liked to show their strength in a playful manner of bullying.

[Kanegusuku]
[Kitazato]

on Okinawa observed that the farmer took little interest in the care of land which he did not regard as his own. The author was particularly impressed by the contrast between Japan and Okinawa in regard to the care of land, for the meticulous care which the Japanese farmer lavishes on his land seems absent by contrast among the Okinawan farmers. 241 829 554 463 [171]

Kitazato The farm village of Kitazato in Kami Motobu-son presents a marked contrast to Kanegusuku in that it has suffered the loss of a major part of its area to a military installation. In studying the village of Kitazato the village of Kanegusuku was used as a base line for comparisons. To supplement his own observations the author has drawn heavily on actual statements by Kitazato people; in this way he hopes to present as accurately as possible the actual state of the village compared to villages elsewhere on Okinawa, and the villagers' own conceptualization of their circumstances. 621 [727] 121 621 [124]

Kitazato is not an old village, having been founded but seven generations ago by the younger sons of gentry families from the Naha-Shuri area. It was politically independent of the neighboring villages during the time of the old kingdom, but after the annexation it was administered in part by the villages of Gushiken and Jahana. In 1936 or 1937 it was established as an independent village, taking its present name. 175 621

Following their release from civilian internment camps the villagers returned to the site of their old homes shortly before New Year's of 1946. They found virtually their entire village land area converted into an airfield and accompanying military installations. According to their account there was considerable misunderstanding between them and the military as to where they might live, and they feel that they were subject to contradictory and inconsistent orders. Several moves were made which disrupted their plans to settle, and one villager stated, "I grew tired of rebuilding my house." In 1948 they were finally ordered to remove themselves from the military area, and they took up residence in their present location. It is claimed that there was insufficient land in the area to resettle the entire village on a single site; so, the village divided into three sections. Thirty houses were located on the beach between the villages of Gushiken and Shinzato, and this segment was given the name Hama. The remainder of the houses settled in the nearby hills from one to two miles away. Thirty-nine houses settled in the hills between the villages of Furushima and Jahana, taking the name Kijikina. Ten houses located themselves in the hills just north of Kijikina in a settlement which they called Anahana. These latter two, however, function as a single settlement for administrative purposes. These 80 houses making up the scattered village of Kitazato have a total population of 414. Despite their physical separation these segments have striven with considerable difficulty to maintain their political and social unity; one mayor and council serves them, and people are constantly visiting from one area to another. Today most of their land is gone, and they are too far removed from any city, town, or military installation (the airfield is abandoned) for employment. Extreme poverty and bitterness are one's first impressions of the village. 175 621 727 [464] [735]

861 forced when his mother does search for him and takes him home. Furthermore, she serves him the dinner which he was to have been deprived of as punishment. This theme apprears not only in reality [125] but also in the children's projections in the verbal TAT's.

There are, however, threats of withdrawal of love by the mother which evoke great fear of actual loss of love among children. These fears are based on the fact that, in contrast with the foregoing examples, no happy ending can be expected from this threatened punishment. The child is no longer confident that his mother's feelings will soften in the long run when she says to a disobedient son: "We will sell you to the Itoman fisherman." The boy has undoubtedly heard stories of little boys being sold to southern Okinawan fishermen. Such words make him quake with fear, and he promises to obey. Girls, on the other hand, are told they will be "changed for money" and made to live a life of virtual slavery in the house of strangers. These threats [466] have a realistic basis; children know that until recent times boys were [548] sold to fishermen and that girls paid off their parents' debts by working in a house of prostitution or for a farmer who accepted the extra hand instead of money for his debt. At least two persons still live in the village who had such experiences when they were young. One woman can testify to the mistreatment which she received from her masters during indentured labor, and such stories of many cases which are widely known are passed on to children.

At present a new twist has been added to the old theme. Mothers [648] silence a crying child with, "If you don't stop crying, we will give you to the Negroes." Now and then a grandmother will point to a jeep full of soldiers passing by and warn, "Eh! Come home now or we give you to the Americans." The response is usually immediate. The frightened child runs home, clutching onto his grandmother's kimono while the old woman cackles with amusement.

Some mothers threaten their children with running away themselves and leaving them with their fathers. This technique proves just as effective as the former, for a child's concept of support or love with respect to his father is never clearly defined.

One mother, after a particularly exasperating day, thought she would make good her threat to run away from the house. She packed some clothes in a bundle and started off in the direction of the main road. Quickly ducking around houses, she ended up a couple of houses away from her own and sat sipping tea with her neighbor in the back room. Meanwhile, the child, who had been hiding from her mother all day to avoid chores, discovered that her mother was missing. She started to search the village and was told by cooperating adults that

altered that environment to its own uses. I hope that this will result in a broader and a deeper understanding of the manner in which an old culture, subject to frequent changes, with a long history of settlement, has, through its social organization, used and is using its chief resources, the cultivated land, the fish in the seas, the deep stones imbedded in its earth, its forests, and its waters. 121 311

There were certain obstacles in carrying out this plan. As everyone knows who has attempted such tasks, after the first few days the apparent simplicities of village life vanish before one's eyes, and he is left with a mass of observations whose ramifications lead in every direction. There is simply no limit to the courses of inquiry which these "simple" villages open up. 121

There was the problem of distinguishing between what was customary and carried on for this reason and what was of basic living importance in the culture. This difficulty disappears for those who believe that every trait has some significance if it has survived, but this neglects the point that many beliefs and customs belong to segments of a population. To one group what may be done as a matter of form may be of close personal importance to another. Both points are significant, for to do what one is expected to do, even if a pure form, is in itself a fact of importance. This applies especially to religious observances and anniversaries in honor of the dead. In some cases, they seemed perfunctorily performed, particularly among the young and the better educated. The survival of certain beliefs is due to their preservation by segments of the population, and women seem to be the chief carriers of the devotional and religious tradition. Real differences, too, seem to lie in age groups, with the dividing line at about fifty-five to sixty years. Many under this age have little understanding of the history or traditional culture. The old, and particularly the old women, have carried on. 121 183 184 [562] [561]

Observation in itself is deceptive. Even the grasses, shrubs, and pine trees on the hillsides seem to be a more or less permanent part of the natural environment. Yet these were greatly changed during the war and in local areas grasses have succeeded to places formerly occupied by the pines. 121

The information was obtained in the following manner. (1) Personal conversations in the Japanese language with residents of the villages. Much of the information was secured by accompanying people to their work, attending their parties, visiting shops, rice and sugar mills, and asking questions about the things seen. (2) Direct personal observation, supplemented by conversations to check the accuracy and the significance of these observations. (3) Information gathered from village land records, statistics, land maps, and family registers. Later there was considerable difficulty in securing comparability in the statistics. For this reason the attempt to present quantitative data was in some cases abandoned in favor of a general qualitative description. (4) General discussions with the personnel of the Civil Affairs Administration and with Okinawans. (5) Personal impressions, but these have been included only when they are based on repeated observation. (6) In the historical and general 12 127

127 material, I have depended on published works to supplement my own findings. These sources are acknowledged throughout the work.

128 The organisation of the study follows the main topics which have been outlined in the preceding paragraphs. The first chapter is a discussion of the geography of the island, including climate, soils, physiography, and regional differences that exist. This is included for the specific purpose of indicating limiting factors in agriculture and land use, and to make clear that the geographical relationships with continental Asia and Japan have varied throughout history and with the changes in international relations. The voyages following the Age of Discovery, the events leading up to the opening of Japan, the Japanese wars with China (1894-95) and Russia (1904-05), the events following World War I, World War II, and the unexpected emergence of Korea as a major post-war battleground have produced their reverberations in the Ryukyus, especially in Okinawa. We are dealing with an old culture, long settled in the area, and, as a consequence, with modifications and changes of the natural environment dating back millenia. Okinawa has developed by an intensive and widespread conversion of the forests, the soils, the plants, and the small rivers to human use.

In the historical chapter, this idea of a culture modifying the natural environment over centuries is supplemented by a discussion of the intrusive influences which have been brought to bear on its history. These influences range from the introduction of the family system and of [129] the sweet potato to the American Coco Cola. The cultural history is a product of these influences from continental Asia, Japan, and the United States in addition to the changes coming to an environment in which people live close to the land and have sometimes carefully, sometimes carelessly modified,it to suit their needs and tastes.

Within the framework provided by the geographical and historical chapters, the main body of the report begins with a discussion of the types of villages found in Okinawa, a description of each of the villages studied, the physical and historical differences that seem to distinguish them. Following this, there is a discussion of village populations, the effects of settlement, pre-war emigration and post-war displacement and repatriation. The last chapter of this part is concerned with housing. This could have been considered elsewhere, but housing is really a more detailed study of the elements of which a village is composed. Housebuildin and construction are, except for the primary occupations, the most common of all village activities. It seemed logical to follow the technical discussion of housing with the ceremonies of housebuilding, though this too could have been placed elsewhere in the work.

The third part begins with an exposition of social organization as embodied in the family system, a discussion of the small and the extended family, devices such as adoption, and the significance of the household order, or secondary family naming system. The discussion is then shifted to the nature and the effectiveness of inheritance and the manner in which inheritance actually works out in an area of fragmented land holdings.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7

[PP. i-vii not processed]

Introduction

121 This volume is the first of a series of publications reporting research undertaken in 1954 by a group of social scientists from Harvard, Yale, and Cornell universities. In its broadest conception, the research was aimed at exploring cross-culturally the relation between different patterns of child rearing and subsequent differences in personality. It was designed to study the degree to which the treatment a child receives in the first years of life determines his behavior and in adult life influences his perception of the world, his philosophy, religion, and code of ethics.

Theories of the relationship between specific types of treatment in early childhood and subsequent personality difference have been advanced by psychologists and anthropologists. This project was set up with the hope of being able to test some of these hypotheses on the basis of material collected in a standard manner in six parts of the world where families have divergent ways of life and theories and methods of training young children.

121 In tracing the history of this project one should begin with the work
127 of Margaret Mead, Ruth Benedict, Edward Sapir, Ralph Linton, Abram Kardiner, John Dollard, and other pioneers in the field of culture and personality whose work formed the foundation of this study. Such an account, which would demand an essay on the entire new discipline that grew out of the integration of anthropological and psychological theory, is not practical in this introduction.

121 Specifically, the impetus for this study came from the cross-cultural
114 work on socialization done by two of the senior investigators, John W. M. Whiting and Irvin L. Child, while they were colleagues at the Institute of Human Relations at Yale University. The results of this research were published in *Child Training and Personality* (1953). Using

theories of disease as measures of adult personality, the authors attempted to test certain psychological theories relating the treatment of the basic behavior systems in infancy and childhood to adult personality characteristics.

The data on the 75 societies used in these studies were taken from published ethnographies which varied greatly in the detail and areas of coverage. The dream of the investigators was to send field teams out to get comparable detailed material on 100 societies. As a first step in accomplishing this aim, the present study was planned.

In 1953 the Committee on Social Behavior of the Social Science Research Council sponsored a seminar * and a conference † to discuss cross-cultural work on socialization. As a result, a *Field Manual for the Cross-Cultural Study of Child Rearing* was prepared (Whiting et al., 1953), and Whiting and Child persuaded William W. Lambert of Cornell University to join them in seeking funds to carry out a comparative study of child rearing. A generous grant from the Behavioral Science Division of the Ford Foundation made it possible to carry out these plans. The fieldwork and part of the analysis and writing of five of the six reports in this volume were financed by this grant. Later analysis and editing were supported by a grant from the United States Public Health Service.

Intensive planning for the study was carried on at Cornell, Harvard, and Yale during the following year under the direction of the senior investigators, William W. Lambert, Irvin L. Child, and John W. M. Whiting. During June and July of 1954, a Social Research Council Summer Conference was held at the Laboratory of Human Development at Harvard. All the research personnel, with the aid of David Aberle of Michigan, Alfred Baldwin, and James J. Gibson of Cornell, and Robert Sears of Stanford, wrote the *Field Guide for a Study of Socialization in Five Societies*. This volume presents in detail the research plan, the hypotheses to be tested, and the research devices which were agreed on by the field teams and senior investigators.‡

The five original field teams started fieldwork in the fall of 1954 and

* The contributing members of this seminar were Barbara Chartier Ayres, Hildreth Geertz, George Goethals, Charles Holzinger, Edgar Lowell, Eleanor E. Maccoby, Kimball Romney, Richard Salisbury, William Stewart, and John Thibaut.

† Attending this conference were Robert R. Sears (Chairman), A. L. Baldwin, R. A. Bauer, Irvin L. Child, L. S. Cottrell, Jr., Leon Festinger, J. L. Gewirtz, A. Inkeles, Harry Levin, Gardner Lindzey, Eleanor E. Maccoby, Carson McGuire, G. P. Murdock, B. Paul, J. M. Roberts, T. R. Sarbin, Pauline S. Sears, M. Brewster Smith, R. L. Solomon, John W. Thibaut, and John W. M. Whiting.

‡ Published in mimeographed form by the Laboratory of Human Development, Harvard University, 1954.

Population Density The pattern revealed in a map of population density---Map 4---is approximately the same as that for percentage of arable land. It is somewhat complicated, however, by the urbanization that is going on in Nakagami. A more detailed discussion of the population movements responsible for this situation will be found in a later section of this report. 161

Farming Almost all of Okinawa's rural people farm, and many are engaged part time in home industries which utilize local products. Particularly noteworthy are the vegetable-producing areas. Kitanakagusuku and Ginowan 'sons' are centers of vegetable production for the American military forces.[1] The inland 'son' of Haebaru grows 53% of the gunto's tōgwā, a wax melon that is a favorite Okinawan food. 433 241 [262]

One of the most remarkable agricultural areas, Tomigusuku, lies south of the Naha-Mawashi-Oroku urban complex. It grows many kinds of vegetables for the cities, and ranks high in other production. Tomigusuku stands first in the gunto in acreage of green beans, muskmelons, bananas and eggplant. Almost one-fifth of the latter comes from here. It ranks second in tomatoes, and ties with Yonagusuku for second place in weight of mat reeds produced. Miwa, in the far south, leads the gunto in soybean acreage, while Nishihara occupies a similar position in acreage planted to pumpkins.

The most remarkable 'son' in northern Okinawa is Nakijin on the north shore of Motobu peninsula. It leads in gunto acreage of sweet potatoes, leaf tobacco (75.2%), and cucumbers. In animals it leads in numbers of pigs and ducks. It also produces 76% of the banana cloth, or 'bashōfu', of the gunto. This 'son' is mainland Okinawa's chief wheat producer. [231] [235]

The small Okinawan acreage of Irish potatoes is found in Ōgimi-son to the northeast. Yabu is noted for its pickled giant radishes, or 'takuan'. The offshore islands lead in certain special crops. Minami Daitō leads in sugar cane, wheat and barley. Ie Shima seconds in barley, and Izena seconds in wheat. Ie Shima is far ahead in acreage of Irish beans, or 'azuki', accounting for 41% of the gunto's planted acreage of this crop. Though Ie Shima ranks only 15th in soybean acreage, it produces almost a fifth (18.4%) of the gunto's 'miso', in which soybeans are used as a base. 'Miso' making is one of the main home industries on the island. Ie Shima, Kamimotobu and Nakijin retain some of the old 'awa' (German millet) complex, between them accounting for over a third (34.3%) of the acreage of that crop in Okinawa gunto. Kamimotobu is mainland Okinawa's leader in acreage planted to ordinary millet ('kibi'; Panicum miliceum). [252]

Nakagami has little of agricultural distinction. Yomitan leads the mainland in acres of barley and number of rabbits. Gushikawa is second rank in sweet potato acreage, but produces about two-fifths (39.4%) of the gunto's sweet potato starch. It leads in numbers of goats, and is second though not outstanding in numbers of bullocks. [231]

[1] Most of this and following paragraphs derive from Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku and Okinawa guntō no tembō. Some is based on personal observation and interviewing. [127]

162 this may be the result of the war; the southern islands escaped heavy damage and loss of life. The urban area of Naha-Mawashi has a well-balanced sex ratio, and is probably a reflection of the number of men who directly or indirectly are connected with military employment.

The total number of persons per household has not appreciably changed in the fifteen years from 1937 to 1952:

Table Ia

Political Unit	Persons per Household, 1937	Persons per HH, 1952
Okinawa-ken	4.67	4.70
Naha	4.21	4.41
Shuri	4.18	4.17

The loss of men in the war was compensated for by those men who returned from Japan and those who repatriated from the Mandated Islands.

632
16

2. Population Characteristics of a Rural 'Son'

Kochinda-son lies almost in the center of the southern section of Shimajiri. It does not border anywhere on the sea, and is entirely rural in that it has no industries of urban character. It is realized that no one area will be entirely typical of the whole of Okinawa; however, the population dynamics of this 'son' will undoubtedly be reflected in kind, if not in degree, by that of other farming areas. Fishing towns such as Itoman, Benza, Yakena and Yonabaru each probably have special types of adjustments that are not true of Kochinda.

[127] This researcher was permitted to copy the entire 'koseki' (population register) of Kochinda-son. In addition explanatory information was given by the 'son' office personnel when requested. In many cases it was possible to follow up and interview persons cognizant of the details of certain situations.

121
14
[428] Okinawa still follows the prewar Japanese system of inheritance by first sons. Under normal conditions in the countryside, the first sons [178] would inherit the bulk of the farm plots, and second sons would inherit a [177] few plots and set up separate households. Or the second and following sons might go to Naha, Osaka or the south seas to seek employment. The war disrupted this pattern, and it is germane to examine the types and numbers of household heads, as one index of postwar change.

Because the solution of the population problem is a factor in Civil Administration planing for Okinawa, it is of importance to know the fertility ratio and the amount of spacing between births. The Okinawans, like the Japanese, tend to register a marriage after the birth of the first child. This should be quantified if possible. In addition, age at marriage should be known, since it bears a direct relationship to population increase. The number of illegitimate and common law children in the villages indicates

114 121 184 much as possible the customary ways of doing things, and though one could not hope for an unchanging or an isolated village, one could find a village relatively so, even if, as was the case with all the villages, they had felt the effects of the deadly campaign for Okinawa.

On one of these trips, I talked with the headman of the village of Hanashiro and then with the officials in the nearby village office of Gushichan, and concluded on the basis of what I saw of the agriculture and the conditions described by these officials, that this small village would be a satisfactory selection. In the beginning, an epidemic of encephalitis made it wise to be away from the village at night and for [164] the first month the investigations were confined to daytime work. This was a serious handicap which I tried to overcome later in the tour by living in the village.

While working in Hanashiro, I had frequent occasion to pass the villages of Minatogawa-ikku and Minatogawa-niku, and I was impressed with the opportunity to study the life of a village in which agriculture [226] did not predominate, and in which the chief emphasis was on fishing and stonecutting. I therefore decided to include the fishing village, and [324] took up residence there late in August 1951, making frequent trips on the side to Hanashiro.

As interest and awareness increased, I became convinced that another type of village should be added to the agricultural and fishing selections. It should be one in the northern forested area (the Kunigami region). [361] After discussing this with American and Okinawan forestry officials, I followed their suggestion and lived in the village of Matsuda in Ginoza township. It proved to be a good choice, with the possible reservation that Matsuda is somewhat of a model village whose conditions might be better than the average.

The villages needed to be small enough for one man to study. And they proved to be admirable communities for realizing my original intention of showing similarities and contrasts in an agricultural village, a fishing village, and a village in a forest setting.

121 The results do not constitute a complete ethnography of each of the villages. Such was not my intention, and this could not have been done in the time available. The material has been organized around four central subjects: (1) the nature of the family system and its influence through [128] inheritance on land tenure and land use, (2) ways of life as illustrated in the studies of the agricultural, fishing-stonecutting, and forest communities, (3) daily family life as a concrete expression of the family system, and (4) wider community relationships, including political and cooperative organizations, education, and religion.

The basic theme is that a fruitful approach to the study of modern cultures lies in the borderland area between the social and the natural sciences, and that, in the case of these Okinawan villages, the study [311] would take the form of discovering in what ways the people are using their natural environment and the manner in which the culture has changed and

127 material, I have depended on published works to supplement my own findings. These sources are acknowledged throughout the work.

128 The organization of the study follows the main topics which have been outlined in the preceding paragraphs. The first chapter is a discussion of the geography of the island, including climate, soils, physiography, and regional differences that exist. This is included for the specific purpose of indicating limiting factors in agriculture and land use, and to make clear that the geographical relationships with continental Asia and Japan have varied throughout history and with the changes in international relations. The voyages following the Age of Discovery, the events leading up to the opening of Japan, the Japanese wars with China (1894-95) and Russia (1904-05), the events following World War I, World War II, and the unexpected emergence of Korea as a major post-war battleground have produced their reverberations in the Ryukyus, especially in Okinawa. We are dealing with an old culture, long settled in the area, and, as a consequence, with modifications and changes of the natural environment dating back millenia. Okinawa has developed by an intensive and widespread conversion of the forests, the soils, the plants, and the small rivers to human use.

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The nature of the land itself is then explained with emphasis on the historical significance of the old communal land system (jiwari seido) and on the system introduced by the Japanese, slightly over fifty years ago, of private ownership of land. Here I have tried to show that one of the central facts of the culture is the intimate knowledge which the people possess of their land and its capabilities, and that this knowledge is based on experience of farmers, expressed in the system of land classification. 128

Once the land tenure system and land classification are understood, it becomes necessary to show in what way the land and the soils are being used and conserved. It should be obvious that large populations living off a small island could only have subsisted, as they have in the agricultural lands of China and Japan, by intensive fertilization, minute care of the arable land, and conservation measures. This is extended here to the non-arable lands, for these have an extraordinary significance in the lives and well-being of the people.

With these facts before us, we are in a better position to understand the manner in which agriculture is pursued. In the chapter on agriculture I have been concerned with describing it as something more than a mere technique, a routine of planting and harvesting, but as a way of life bound up with the family system, inheritance, subdivision and fragmentation, land classification, and soil conservation.

Agriculture certainly is the normal way of life in Okinawa. But fishing, stonecutting, the use and the exploitation of the forests are not exotic exceptions. They are important, if secondary occupations, and the materials from Hinatotawa-Nagamo and Matsuda are used to illustrate the use of the waters, the quarries, and the forests. With respect to the forests, I have tried to show their intimate relation to the welfare of the whole island, perhaps neither so intimate nor so crucial as in Japan, but meriting the emphasis which I have given them.

Following the discussion of these topics, I have described in some detail the everyday life of villages, pointing out similarities and differences between villages when these seem to have significance. The main theme here is that in daily life from infancy to old age, the sense of belonging to a culture is never lost, and that it is this fact that probably has brought about the emotional security of Okinawans which has struck many foreign observers. This sense of belonging, I feel, is much more important than the various single explanations, such as breast feeding, that have been urged as causes of the development of a sense of security. Without trying to make sharp distinctions, I have tried to show how the daily life changes with different ages and to follow in the experience of the individual from infancy to the observances which take place at his death, and to make clear that the distinctions between the individual, the family, and the community experience are more literary conventions or devices for convenience in exposition than realities, for there is such a blending of the three that it would be highly artificial to deal with these as separate areas of experience. The two month infant carried on the back of his sister through [181]

128 the village is molded and conditioned to society and the culture in which he will live as effectively in the lanes, the crossroads, and the playgrounds of the village as he is in the home in which he is nursed and put to sleep.

The blending of family life with community life I have tried to document in the last part which concerns both official and unofficial community functions, such as political organization, neighborhood groups, and associations, education, cooperation, religion, entertainment, and extra-village contacts. While it would be foolish to argue that community life is but an extension of family life as conditioned by the family system, neither can the influences of the family system on the wider community life be ignored, especially when the villages are composed of so many related family groups.

121 Even though the SIRI program was devised with the practical object in mind of furnishing, by this type of investigation, materials upon which a sound civil administration could be based, an objective with which I am of course in sympathy, I felt that this practical value could best be achieved by producing a work which would cover as much of the field as possible and in a manner as if it were not being done for these practical considerations. A dispassionate account of what I saw, the historical and geographical data that could be assembled, the interpretations which seemed to be valid, I considered to be the best possible way of contributing to the end in mind.

By presenting as much as could be gathered, as accurately as possible, I felt that the answers to many questions, which I could not anticipate, would be implicit in a work which otherwise might lose value by too narrow a focus governed by the interests of the moment. For the same reason, while the work covers many aspects of Okinawan life, it is not directed toward specialists. On the contrary, my attempt has been to present a picture of the life of these villages, trusting that those who use it or read it will find suggestions or points of view or relationships which I had not suspected, and thus indirectly open up new avenues of inquiry.

Since the war, the old narrow one lane roads have been broadened, 363
permitting heavier auto traffic. Land ownership has been undisturbed, 403
for it is not in an area in which the military has required land. 511
Since the war, the villagers have tried to return to their former way of life, but this has been done with poorer houses and fewer possessions.

3

Minatogawa

Minatogawa, the second village studied, formerly was a shoe 361
string type of settlement. Houses, shops, drinking places were along
the seawall road. This pattern is now altered as a result of the war. [275]
Scattered areas have been relocated and houses built on lands formerly 311
used for sweet potatoes. It is now an indeterminate type of village,
retaining some indications of its old settlement pattern along the main [244]
road, with additions of clusters of houses in the newly settled areas.

Like Hanashiro, this village is in Gushichan township, and located 361
on Highway 64. It is directly on the main historical road, previously 133
mentioned, which led from Naha to the Chinen peninsula. The road, along
which its houses are built, parallels for a distance the estuary of the [491]
small Minatogawa river. This narrow estuary, called Usaregawa, which
connects the river mouth with the Pacific Ocean, and the small river
itself (Yuhigawa) is a boundary between Gushichan and Tamagusuku town-
ships. On either side there are steep cliffs, the sites of the best [316]
known stone quarries of Okinawa.

The settlement and the adjoining lands have an area of about 256 621
acres. It is a mixed economy village with three distinct occupational 463
groups: fishermen, stonecutters, and farmers. There is a second village
whose borders blend with those of Minatogawa. These two villages are
now known officially as Minatogawa-ikku and Minatogawa-niku. The two
terms can be awkwardly translated as Minatogawa first ward, and
Minatogawa second ward. But popularly they retain their older names:
Minatogawa for the fishing village, and Nagamo for the agricultural
second ward. These two separate but adjoining villages were until
1925 a single village.

The division was the result of distinct differences in outlook and
occupation between the two sections. Minatogawa is a fishing village [226]
and has strong ties with Itoman, a town on the East China Sea shore
about 4 1/2 miles away. Nagamo is an agricultural community originally [241]
settled from Naha and Shuri. Stone-cutting operations spread over both [324]
areas. While the fishing village of Minatogawa was given the emphasis
in this study, it will be necessary occasionally to include Nagamo in [128]
the discussion.[8]

8 The writer did not realize until he lived here that two villages 114
were involved, thinking that the two wards referred to a single
administrative unit. By this time the work on Hanashiro had been
well started, and time did not permit the intensive study of Nagamo.

1

Introduction

The basic occupation of the Okinawans has been and continues to be agriculture. The agricultural, not the fishing, wood gathering, or stonecutting community is typical. Fishing, stonecutting and forestry have been the occupations of certain villages or areas, or of certain groups within a village. This and the following chapter describe these ways of living. 463

Agricultural practices gathered from Hanashiro, Nagamo (to some extent), and Matsuda will be presented in this chapter. Minatogawa has been omitted because it is primarily a fishing and stonecutting community, and there is nothing distinctive or unusual in its agriculture. This presentation avoids the repetitive description of similar activities that would follow from a discussion of each village separately. Significant differences, where they appear, will be mentioned, and in this manner, I hope, the identities of the individual villages will not be lost, despite the topical arrangement. 128

Okinawan agriculture is basically the story of four crops: rice, sweet potatoes, the soy bean, and sugar cane. Rice is a minor crop. Not all farmers grow it, and rice consumption rests both on homegrown products and imports. Individual farmers occasionally grow both to sell and for home use. Today it is less of a luxury than it was before the war because of the imports and the home grown crop. In Okinawa two crops a year are possible. 241 262 433 [439]

The sweet potato is the main crop. Cultivation continues throughout the year. Potatoes often are dug on a day to day basis as required for human or animal consumption. At any one time, the patches of sweet potatoes owned by a farmer may represent all stages of growth from a fresh transplanted field to a patch ready for digging. The sweet potato is the cheapest all purpose food, both for human and animal consumption. Okinawans tire of it because poverty enforces such frequent consumption. Since the war, the increased availability of rice for home use, and the opportunities of purchasing rice have relieved this complete dependence on the sweet potato. Among some families, though these are still few, the sweet potato has become the food of animals, with only select ones used at the table. But for the great majority the sweet potato still is the basic article of diet. It is cheap and easy to cultivate either by men or women. Little can be realised from its sale.

Soy beans are grown for home consumption. Making bean curd in the home is universal. Brown sugar is produced as a cash crop. Some is used in the home as a confection both for adults and children. [432] [263]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

HANS

Hanashiro 5
Minatogawa 9
Matsuda 16

575
621

6

The Democratic Government of the Township and Village

The description of local government has intentionally been delayed to this point because its operation and functions can be seen to greater advantage after an acquaintance with family life and the various forms of group activity. We can see it, not so much a formal structure to be described in legalistic terms, but as an expression of many of the characteristics of the culture we have already found in the family system, group activity, and individual leadership. 128

Okinawa and the various smaller islands of the Central Ryukyus (Okinawa-gunto) is one of the four main political subdivisions of the chain. The gunto is divided into townships, and within each township, there are several settlements (buraku, ku, aza) which we have consistently called villages. Township government is the channel for the enforcement of laws and regulations from higher governmental agencies and the source of local measures which govern the several villages of the township. 631

The seat of the township government is one of the villages of the township.[4] In Gushichan township, the village office (yakuba) is at Gushichan village, while in Ginoza township, the office is in Ginoza village. 632

At the head of this government is a mayor (sonchō) elected for a four year term. There is no strenuous campaigning for the office. Friends may induce a well known man to run, then visit the villages, and ask the people to vote for him. A reputation for being kind, fair, and refined (otonashii) goes far in electing a man. Once in office he is extremely busy, and like the village headman, usually looks forward to the end of his term rather than to re-election. A new mayor appoints his own or reappoints the old staff. He chooses a vice-mayor (joyaku) with the approval of the village assembly (gikai). 632 622 [666] [577]

A township office generally has the following administrative sections: (1) a treasury and disbursing office (shūnyūyaku), (2) a general affairs (shomu) sections. The head of this section is in charge of the family registers (koseki) and of the registry of seals. These two important functions require a little elaboration. 632

4 The government actually described here is that of Gushichan township. It did not seem worthwhile to repeat essentially the same information for Ginoza and then to make minute comparisons and contrasts between them.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

Introduction

The study of religious ideas in Okinawa quickly involves one in a quagmire of beliefs, formal observances, and conventions, of various origins, often grafted on one another, so that it is almost impossible to disentangle them. There is a vagueness among the people, a lack of distinctions among various types of belief, and this makes the analysis even more uncertain and subject to error. When after death, for example, does the deceased become a god (hotoke-sama) in the Buddhist pantheon? At the end of the 49th day when the temporary white tablets are burned and replaced by the permanent red ones? Or at the end of the 33rd year when the dead person is no longer mourned, and the anniversary of his death no longer observed? And is he regarded as a god in the Buddhist pantheon or simply as a god? I was unable to find satisfactory answers to these questions. 771 128

Religious beliefs, such as ancestor worship, are closely related to the underlying ideas of the family system. Praying to the ancestors at the god shelf ties Buddhism in with the family system, but worship at the Buddhist alter and the god shelf would, if accepted at its face value, give an erroneous idea of the vitality of Buddhism and the degree to which it has become a religion of the people.

The student of these matters must also make certain that this vagueness and mixing of religious belief is an actuality and does not arise out of faulty comprehension. I became convinced, however, that the vagueness, the compounding of beliefs from different sources, the uncertainty are realities, and this point of view was later reinforced in reading the works of students of an earlier age.

There is a noticeably sharp cleavage in belief between the old and the young, with the dividing line around the age of 55. Furthermore, among the old, it is the women who believe and worship. The old men are much less serious, and, except for the few antiquarians, are much more poorly informed. 771 184

2

Contemporary Religious Beliefs

The religious tradition of Okinawa is a feminine one. Women appear in the creation myth as the practitioners of religion. The priestess (noro) system became an institutionalized religion in the early 16th century. From that time until the very recent past, the priestesses have been strong and influential because, for one thing, they had property and the economic power that accompanied its possession. These priestesses have now largely disappeared. But women remain the chief repositories of religious knowledge and belief. 771 [773] [793] [562]

778 Similar worship may take place at a spring (isumi). Near
796 Oushichan village there is a large spring. Stone stairs have been built up, amphitheatre-like, around it. Prayers are offered by villagers, or substantial numbers of them, on New Year and on the 5th day of the 5th lunar month. In daily life, the spring is a favorite place for laundering and bathing.

776 There are three well gods in Hinatogawa, and they are worshipped
778 at the three public wells scattered throughout the village. The people of the village, or large numbers of them, assemble at these wells for
796 prayer at various times of the year, the most important being on New Year and on boat racing day. Sake and a box of candy are placed before the well as offerings of thanks for water.

This village has also a place for the worship of the sea god. This is a simple stone on a small shelf, on a barren spot of the seashore, scarcely distinguishable from the rocks scattered in natural disarray by the waves. In a high wind, the remains of the offerings and the charcoal sticks are swept out to sea. The most important observance here occurs on the 4th day of the 5th month, the day of the sea festival and the boat races. Fishermen come to the place by boat and make offerings of sharks' fins. On this day, the whole village assembles twice to pray at the spot, once before, and once after the races and the celebration. Individual or family worship is common on New Year and at O-Bon. On the equinoctial holiday of the full moon, the headman, the heads of the neighborhood groups, the council and retired elder men assemble, offer thanks and pray for continued plenty from the sea. Very close to the palace of the sea god, a short round stick of bamboo or of thick miscanthus may be stuck in a pile of rocks. Near the top, a dried fish (usually the ika) tail is placed in a slit. In the center there is a slit for another but larger part of the dried fish.

776 The palace of the mountain god, though its identity is uncertain,
778 is near the palace of the sea god. It is under an overhanging rock along the seashore. This seems an unusual place for the home of a
778 mountain god, but seafarers may have prayed to the god in thanks for guiding them safely in. It seems now to have fallen into disuse. It is now partially overgrown with pandanus and little is known of the place.

776 Matsuda. In Matsuda, there are beliefs in well, mountain top, and
778 tree grove spirits. There are 8 wells here and family groups usually divide up and worship at one of the wells. After drinking some of the
782 water, thanks are offered to the well god.

The gods of the mountain top and the tree groves are difficult to
776 understand. Little seems to be known about them locally, and it is
128 difficult to disengage historical from religious elements.

One popular explanation is that these gods were the intentional
[776] invention of Saion, the 18th century statesman and authority on forestry
789 and agriculture. But this seems highly unlikely. It is more likely
778 that Saion capitalized on the ancient interdict against cutting down

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

CONCLUSION

The description of village life presented in the preceding pages is not the delineation of an ancient way of life essentially unchanged from the remote past. Neither is it the study of an old way of living which is now passing away. Rather it is a glimpse of a culture, at a particular moment in time, which has been changing, sometimes slowly, sometimes with great rapidity. The theme of inertia and change, developed in the second chapter, furnishes an opportunity for understanding the culture in the perspective of history. Even though the changes of the last decade have been impressive, they are less striking when placed beside some of the great changes of the past. 128 178

This small island, known to Oriental antiquity and to the Western world after the Age of Discovery, is an excellent illustration of the combination of influences from the outside and of the progressive changes made in the natural environment as a consequence of long human settlement. This theme, imperfectly documented, has repeatedly appeared in this work in order that the affinities of soil and land conservation and forest care with social and cultural questions, such as organization of government, the family system, and economic problems may be recognized. 177 311 182

This idea of a changing culture, in a physical environment of meticulous tillage and of minute subdivision, enables us to see more clearly the inter-relationships of the family system, inheritance, land tenure, the care and conservation of the land, and the methods of agriculture. It is the values within the family system that have given content and meaning to the natural resources, to the tiny paddies, the stony sweet potato patches, and the barren wild land. The tombs and the grave sites also find a place in this minute appraisal of the value and the use of land. 178 182 311

This minute knowledge of the land, obvious as it is to observation, is one of the outstanding cultural characteristics of the people. Indeed this is true of other Oriental peoples as well, even though their preferences have been for the transported soils of the alluvial plains and the deltas. This detailed knowledge of land, of its productivity as guaged by the farmers' patient success in tilling it, is used to build up the system of land classification. 311 181

No less striking is the intimate knowledge of small localities. A tiny village may have five or six of these localities, dignified with a name which, in our culture, would be given to a portion of a large city. Every little spot has a name, even though the origins and the circumstances of the naming are lost in hazy memory.

In this use and tillage of land, perhaps the most important comparison to be made is that, unlike China, Japan, and Korea, dry land and upland agriculture is the chief reliance of the people. There are no Yangtse river deltas and no Kanto plains in Okinawa. The care, conservation and use of land have crept up the hillsides over the most settled [171]

311 parts of the island, and the small deltas, the tiny alluvial plains,
18 the short and narrow valleys are left to produce what little rice can be grown.

Okinawa is not Japan and perhaps it is unrewarding to attempt
171 comparisons between the Okinawans and the Japanese. Okinawa is an
369 island whose rural life is but little disturbed by urban development. Only two places, Naha and Shuri, could be classified as small cities. Important places like Nago, Ishikawa, and Yonabaru are only small towns.

Japan is a culture rich in both its rural and its urban life. The investigation of the life of the great metropolitan cities of Japan is more scattered in specialized studies, more casual, perhaps more impressionistic than the study of some of its villages. Japanese and Okinawan rural life have many things in common, though the Japanese experience may now be distinctly different because of the land reform.

But along with the rural village, there are the great cities of Tokyo, Yokohama, Kyoto, Osaka, Kobe, and Nagoya, and these circumstances make an appraisal of Japanese culture even more complex and elusive.

177 Certainly the long cultural ties with Japan have left their impressions on the people of Okinawa. The Japanese language, the Japanese system of education, altered after the war, Japanese tools, and Japanese literature are clear examples of this direct influence. But there are differences too. Adoption is much less common in Okinawa. The Buddhist influence, except for the altars of household Buddhism, is weak. The Okinawans, during the war, seemed less inclined than the Japanese toward fanatical self-sacrifice in behalf of the emperor cult.

157 In this work, I have avoided discussing the popular subject of
128 the "psychology" of the people. After a few commonplaces, one embarks on a series of impressions which may or may not have validity and which most certainly would be subject to endless qualification. I have therefore, for the most part, left the characteristics of the people to emerge from the descriptions of their historical experience, their social organisation, and their family and community life, trusting that from these details one can form an impression of the way in which a people are living and how they meet the manifold problems which confront them.

156 In my own studies, I have been impressed with the feeling of belonging which seems to be the possession of the individual from infancy until his children lay him to rest in the family tomb. There is also a stability in family life, and this stability does not seem so pivoted, as in our culture, on the continued mutual love and affection of the father and the mother. There also seems to be little stress on personal competition.

The infant as well as the mature adult are conditioned to conformity both by the historical obligations and duties under the family

121 views, child interviews and Thematic Apperception Tests, and the child behavior protocols. It is worth noting, however, as stated in the *Field Guide,* that "One of the hallmarks of the research project is the emphasis on systematic observation of behavior and the development of flexible questionnaire methods which focus upon concrete actions, with projective techniques taking a clearly secondary, but related place." The choice of these methods for assessing personality was the result of the senior investigators' previous disappointment in their attempts to relate doll play and other projective tests to other measures of behavior.*

The cultural material presented in this volume will be used to make a preliminary test of our hypotheses. Further tests will be made on the basis of the individual differences in the behavior of children and the methods of child rearing reported by the individual mothers. Both these analyses will be presented in later publications. A preliminary report of the analysis of the mother interviews by Triandis and Lambert has already been published (1961) and their detailed analysis is near completion.

● 128 The outline of each of the six monographs included in this volume is organized around the conceptual system presented above. There are two main parts: one a description of the adult world into which the child is born—*the ethnographic background,* the second an account of how the child is trained—*child training.* In Part I, each account starts with a description of the environment and the local setting, with descriptions of the village plan, the houses, and their interior arrangements. The account then moves on to a description of the daily routine of living and the economic pursuits of men and women. A chapter on social structure follows. In other words, these chapters describe the maintenance systems, the parameters which set the stage for child rearing. The selection of material for the remainder of Part I is also theoretically determined and includes either descriptions of adult behavior or the cultural products which seem to be the best indices of adult personality.

121 In order to explain the selection of behavior and cultural products, it is necessary to return to the discussion of the dimensions of personality selected for focus by the senior investigators. As noted, the hypotheses to be tested were focused on aggression, dependency, and the internalization of various mechanisms of behavior control. William Lambert and the Cornell group, because of previous research, were most interested in aggression, Irvin Child in dependency, and John Whiting and the Laboratory of Human Development in the

* For a detailed discussion of behavior observation, see Lambert (1960).

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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and that there are few cases of physical violence in either Taira or Santa Domingo barrio, Juxtlahuaca.

The chapter on medical practices and theories of disease is included because variations in such belief systems were found useful indices of personality by Whiting and Child (1953) in their cross-cultural study and in later studies by Whiting (1959). Similarly, the analysis of man's relation to the supernatural was fruitfully analyzed by Spiro and D'Andrade (1958), Whiting (1959), Lambert, Triandis, and Wolf (1959). Mourning behavior and death ceremonies have also been studied cross-culturally (Friendly, 1956).

It was hoped that the analysis of the use of leisure time might be made along dimensions relevant to the nine behavior systems. The man who prefers to be alone in his spare time would be rated less sociable than one who always seeks the company of others. The amount of teasing or playful wrestling in leisure settings, or even the amount of pleasure derived from cock fights, might be used to rate the degree of preoccupation with aggression. The amount of time spent practicing skills might indicate the need for achievement. Whether or not men seek the company of women, men and women, or only men, is of interest in assessing personality; similarly, whether a man chooses to smoke, eat, talk, drink, dance, or play games. The nature of popular games can be analyzed along lines suggested by John Roberts (1957).

Part II of the ethnographies is organized chronologically, beginning with pregnancy and childbirth and continuing through preadolescence. The time spent on the observation of this age span made it impractical to study systematically the lives of the adolescent children. The only exception to this is the monograph on the Nyansongo group in Kenya. The LeVines were particularly interested in the effect of initiation ceremonies on the Nyansongo boys and girls. For this reason they selected three age groups for study: the 3-to-7, the 7-to-10-year-olds, and the postinitiation boys and girls. The Nydeggers included a brief chapter on adolescence in their monograph. The other field teams did not feel that they had enough knowledge to include such a description.

The age span covered in the individual chapters of the six descriptions of socialization differs, each division being made on the basis of the age groups and the transitions recognized by the members of the society. Thus in Khalapur, India, where socialization is not broken by clearly defined stages, there are only three chapters. In Taira, Okinawa, on the other hand, there are named stages and sharp transitions, and the Maretzkis have followed this pattern in describing socialization.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Behavior Theory W3

socialization. Weaning from the breast and back is an abrupt change in an Okinawan child's life. The transition from kindergarten to school age is also clear and dramatized. Before school age a child is "senseless," according to the mothers, and cannot be properly trained.

Within these chapters an attempt has been made to cover the parent's or parent surrogate's treatment of the nine behavior systems and the child's response to socialization. Obviously some of the behavior systems are not relevant in infancy. In general, the early chapters concentrate on the handling of succorance, the mother's early contact with the child, the number of other individuals who share in the early care of the child, and their responsiveness to the demands of the infant. Among the hypotheses advanced in the *Field Guide,* several concern the consequence of indulgence in infancy. As stated: "Indulgence in infancy, a large number of nurturing agents, and mild transition from infantile indulgence into childhood will produce: (1) a trustful attitude toward others, (2) general optimism, and (3) sociability." It is also stated that training with respect to succorance will tend to influence sociability.

It is hoped that, on the basis of the information presented in the chapters on infancy, the reader can compare indulgence in infancy and the number of nurturing agents. The comparison of weaning from the breast and from complete dependence on caretakers should make it possible to evaluate the severity of the transition. For the consequent measures one may turn either to the description of the behavior of older children or to the behavior and belief systems of adults. Is it true that, comparatively speaking, the Juxtlahuacan Mixtecan child is more friendly and sociable in later life than the Nyansongan? In infancy, the Mixtecan is constantly held or carried close to the mother's body, enveloped in a shawl. The Nyansongo child is tended for periods of time by a less consistently responsive 5-to-8-year-old child. In adult life, are the Juxtlahuacan Mixtecan adults more optimistic and trustful than the Nyansongans?

With the onset of weaning, other behavior systems become important. Training for self-reliance and the associated punishment for succorance are universal problems, but the degree to which this new behavior is expected of 3-year-olds varies from one society to another. The Orchard Town 3-year-old is feeding and dressing himself while the Khalapur Rājpūt child of the same age may still be dressed and fed by his mother. Similarly, as mentioned earlier, the abruptness of the shift in expected behavior varies. The handling of aggression against parents, siblings, and peers is also a universal problem which

PREFACE

114 This report is based on nine months of field research which was con-
122 ducted under the auspices of the Pacific Science Board of the National Academy of Sciences with Department of Army funds granted by a subcontract with the Human Resources Research Office of The George Washington University. The project was considered a part of the long-range SIRI (Scientific Investigations in the Ryukyu Islands) program developed by the Pacific Science Board "...to advise and assist the administrative authorities of the Ryukyu Islands in problems of rehabilitation relating to the health and economy of the Ryukyu
121 Islands." The objectives of this study were set forth in a broad outline presented by the Pacific Science Board prior to our departure into the field. In brief, it called for a description and assessment of the impact of the United States military occupation on Okinawan culture. Certain aspects of the project outline were later amended to meet the exigencies of the field situation. In the preparation of this report the authors' primary aim has been to inform those actively concerned with Okinawan-American relations; hence, a time limitation largely imposed by the necessity of presenting information while it is still pertinent has precluded a fuller treatment of certain aspects of our data which ordinarily would have been included in a complete ethnographic account.

114 Field time covered the period from September of 1953 to June of 1954.
101 One of the authors remained on Okinawa for an additional month to compensate for time lost due to illness and hospitalization.

• 128 Although each of us worked on several aspects of culture, in writing up our material we divided it roughly according to the major field of interest of each. Thus, though each chapter, or section of the last chapter, bears the name of the writer only, it was written from an outline that was discussed by all three and all three contributed both data and ideas to it.

We have tried to keep Okinawan and Japanese terms to a minimum, that is to use them only when there is no clear English equivalent or to add them (usually parenthetically) only as linguistic evidence for the existence of an object, practice, or concept. Nevertheless, they will be found scattered throughout the report. Although each term is defined, we hope, where it first appears, we have identified each again in a glossary. The distinction between native Okinawan terms and Japanese terms is worth preserving; we have done so by underlining the Okinawan terms and enclosing the Japanese terms in single quote marks. Some inconsistency in the Okinawan terms is due to differences in dialect and differences in recording.

101 Although we spent a bit of time in a number of communities on Okinawa, the major part of our work was in six: Pitts in Nanahan (Tomoyose), Kochinda-son, Goeku-son; Lebra in Kanegusuku, Kanegusuku-son and Kitazato, Kamimotobu-son; and Suttles in Yamazato, Chinen-son and Yamada, Onna-son. The locations of these communities is shown on Map 1.

CHAPTER I: GEOGRAPHY

F. R. Pitts

131 Location Okinawa is a longish island, lying about halfway between Formosa and the southern tip of Kyushu. Together with clusters of islands lying both to the east and west, it forms the political unit known as Okinawa Guntō.

133 Along the axis of Okinawa, which trends from southwest to northeast, there is a fairly simple division into a plateau-and-mountain northern half, a central plateau area, and a low rolling southern knob. The Motobu peninsula juts westward from the northern, or Kunigami, half and forms a distinctive area. Between the Kunigami mountains and the peaks of Motobu lies the ricebowl of Okinawa---the Haneji lowland.

311 241 Arable Land In general it can be said that the farm population increases as one proceeds south. Map 2, showing the arable land under cultivation as a percentage of the total land area, illustrates this.[1]

Farms in the mountain and plateau north are found in incised V-shaped valleys. Water is plentiful, and rice paddies cover the valley floor. Villages hug the edges of the flat land, and incredibly small sweet-potato terraces rise [137] up the valley's edge. Atop the plateau one finds only silence, and a dense growth of trees and bamboo. Many of the people in the valleys are part-time [132] foresters. The Motobu mountains guard from the frequent typhoons little settlements famed for growing the indigo plant and pineapples. The peninsula's north shore is a fertile but ever-narrowing extension of the Haneji lowland.

In the central plateau area---Nakagami---sweet-potato fields compete with scrubby forest for space on the plateau. Where sufficient water is available, rice fields cover the tiny valley floors and the low-lying coastal fringes. The triangular southern end of the island is known as Shimajiri in [134] popular terminology. Shimajiri is blessed with the greatest concentration of [132] fertile arable land on Okinawa. But the blessing is somewhat reduced by greater exposure to typhoons and a chronic water shortage. Sweet potatoes and sugar cane rank first among crops here.

311 243 Riceland Okinawans prefer to eat rice rather than sweet potatoes whenever possible. It is a paradox, however, that areas of greatest farm [262] population grow the least rice. The thinly populated north has the greatest amount of riceland. Map 3 charts the distribution of riceland---or flooded fields---on Okinawa. Even in the southern 'son' of Yonagusuku and Kanegusuku flooded fields often contain the mat rush rather than rice. It is a good cash crop, and is sturdier than rice when typhoons roar through the islands.

[128] [1] The figures upon which the maps in this section and the population section are based are found in Appendix A. The figures for Japan and Kagoshima-ken are given for comparative purposes. Of all the prefectures in Japan, Kagoshima most nearly resembles Okinawa in climate and emphasis upon sweet potatoes as a staple food.

The yard in which the Okinawan home stands is also rather uniform in its appearance. It is usually surrounded by a stone wall or a thick hedge for protection against winds. Inside the gate is a himpung, a short wall that prevents one from looking straight through the gate into the house. The space between the himpung and the house is hard earth; this is where mats are spread for drying grain and where many other household tasks are performed. This yard space may be lined on one or both sides with outbuildings for the storage of tools and crops and for housing livestock---two or three goats, and here and there an ox or a horse. Behind the house is a pigsty. There may also be a chicken-coop, but chickens often run loose. There are usually a few trees in the yard, often a clump of bananas. Behind the house is also the toilet; formerly it was combined with the pigsty, but now it is usually an oil-drum. In many villages every house has its own well, but even where wells are fewer there is almost sure to be a cistern beside the house to catch rain-water. The house and yard will be discussed again later in relation to sanitation and health (see Chapter IX).[1] 351 [343] [231] [514] [312] 128

The social unit that occupies such a house and yard is the family. The structure of the family is also dealt with in detail by Pitts in Chapter VII. Let it suffice to say here that ideally the first son stays with his parents after his marriage while younger sons establish separate households. Thus the family consists of a couple and their unmarried children or a couple with a married first son, his wife and children, and his unmarried brothers and sisters. The deaths of one or more members may reduce the family without breaking it up. Two married couples, parents and grandparents of the youngest generation, is the usual maximum. If two married sons live under the same roof it is usually regarded as a temporary expedient. Thus while the total number of persons in the household may be as many as a dozen, the average number is a little less than five. 592 [591]

The family, that is, the members of the household, is an economic unit, a social unit, and a ceremonial unit. As an economic unit the members of a household work together, producing for and consuming from a common stock. They cooperate with other households on the basis of common interest as neighbors. They form a social unit within the "han", the "ku", and the "son", they are registered as a unit in the "koseki", and may have only one vote---cast by the head of the house---in local elections. As a ceremonial unit they form part of a numbered and graded system based on common descent. [666]

The Structure of Kinship Relations In traditional Okinawan society, as in other societies of East Asia, the fundamental unit is the family and the basic axis within the family is a vertical one running through the male line, the father-oldest son axis.[2] The basic values that support this structure are unity and continuity. Individuals are of varying importance to the family depending on their closeness to the father-first son axis; females are less important than males; younger sons 593 602

[1] For a more detailed account of the house and yard see Glacken, 1953, Chapter 5.

[2] I have borrowed this concept from Francis L. K. Hsu, to whose writings I am indebted.

When a great number of people are repatriated, it is far more likely that more will find their way into urban areas than into rural areas. This tends to remain true in spite of prior resettlement in the country villages. 167 727

People and the Arable Land One of the best indicators of urbanization is the number of persons for each acre of arable land under cultivation. In Okinawa, cultivation of the sweet potato permits a much larger population to live off an acre of land than would be true if other crops were raised in its place. The following scale has been set up, and is the basis for Map 5:[1] 161 369

Areas of Occasional urplus	Up to 6 persons per acre
Areas of Moderate Self-sufficiency	6-9 persons per acre
Areas of Definite Deficiency	9-20 persons per acre
Semi-urbanized Areas	20-30 persons per acre
Urban Areas	Over 30 persons per acre

In examining Map 5, which is based on conditions at the end of 1950, it is seen that the entire area from Oroku to Ishikawa, and from Katsuren to Yomitan, is included in the food-deficient areas. This is true also of Nago, the southwestern half of the Motobu peninsula, and the far north 'son' of Kunigami. The urban node in the south results from prewar settlement. The urbanized areas of Kadena, Chatan and Goeku of course are postwar phenomena. The fact that this urbanized three-'son' block is bordered by semi-urbanized areas, while the urban areas of the south are not, indicates that a greater center of attraction is found in this area. The answer is the amount of military employment available here.

In discussing the postwar growth and rearrangements of population it is convenient to divide the discussion into two parts. The first will deal with the period prior to 1951, when repatriation and a mild amount of construction were prevalent. The second period under consideration is from 1 January 1951 to 31 December 1952, during which time accelerated military construction was the rule, and repatriation almost non-existent. 161 128

Population Increase from 1940 to 1950 In this decade the population of the Ryukyus increased by 20%, while that of Okinawa Guntō increased by 22%. Map 6 indicates the areas of relative decrease and increase. Much of Shimajiri suffered great losses in the fighting, and by the end of 1950 still registered a net decrease for the decade. The relatively undestroyed areas from Ishikawa north experienced a greater than average growth, and the scattered military installations in Goeku, Misato and Gushikawa attracted a great number of people. Ishikawa owed its growth mainly to its designation as the postwar temporary capital city. 161

The setting up of a military government area on the Chinen peninsula attracted a few people there, as did the repair of the Japanese airbase in Oroku. The height, relative remoteness and almost total destruction of Shuri, combined with the military requisitioning of much of the Naha port area, contributed greatly to the unexpected growth of Mawashi.

[1] Figures for each political area for all maps are given in the appendix.

[Kochinda-son]

582 a divorce previously. In two cases the first wife had died, and the husband remarried. In twenty instances the first birth was a boy, and in nine cases a girl. The period between the marraige recording and the first birth ranged from a mere 282 days to four years seven months.

Marriages to girls within the village accounted for 17, or 59%, of the cases reported. Marriages to girls coming from outside the village accounted for 12 cases, or 51% of those reported. The composition[1] of the families in which the marriages occurred is shown below:

Table X

Type Family	Number of Marriages	Percentage
Lineal	16	55
Lateral	2	7
Mixed	5	17
Nuclear	6	21
Total	29	100

Marriages Recorded After Conception In this category, younger husbands numbered 14, while older husbands number 63. In three cases the husband had had a divorce and his remarriage was the one recorded. In another case the first wife had died and the man remarried. The first birth was a boy in 31 cases, and a girl in 46 cases. Marriages to girls from the same village constituted 46, or 60%, of the cases. Wives who came from other villages numbered 31, or 40% of the cases.

[128]

1 The type families are based with modifications upon the definitions in George P. Murdock, Social Structure: "the nuclear family consists typically of a married man and woman with their offspring...the type of family recognized to the exclusion of all others by our own society." (p. 1.) "An extended family consists of two or more nuclear families affiliated through an extension of the parent-child relationship rather than of the husband-wife relationship, i.e., by joining the nuclear family of a married adult to that of his parents. The patrilocal extended family, often called the patriarchal family, furnishes an excellent example. It embraces, typically, an older man, his wife or wives, his unmarried children, his married sons, and the wives and children of the latter. Three generations, including the nuclear families of father and sons, live under a single roof or in a cluster of adjacent dwellings." This is the type of family here called the mixed family; the terminology was retained even in event of the war death of either parent in the older generation. The term lineal as used here means a lineally extended family consisting of one or both grandparents, a married son and daughter-in-law (or daughter and 'yōshi') with the latter's offspring. The term lateral as used in this report refers to a laterally extended family composed of two brothers and their respective wives, and the offspring of at least one of the couples.

CHAPTER IX: HEALTH

W. P. Suttles

121 This chapter will begin with a section on the human body---attitudes
• 128 toward and practices concerned with its care and its functions. This will be followed by a section on sanitation---attitudes and practices. A third section will deal with concepts of the supernatural and their relationship to illness. A fourth will describe the various types of "medical" practitioners found in Okinawan society, and Okinawan attitudes toward modern medicine. It will be seen that this chapter contains much that is often described under the heading "Religion" or even "Values" and contains little on the actual state of health and incidence of disease among the Okinawans. But we believe that this is as it should be in a report on Okinawan culture. That sanitation is poor and disease is prevalent is no doubt all too apparent to the medical observer. A detailed study of the diseases themselves must be made by research workers competent in that field. A study of native culture, however, reveals some of the underlying causes of poor sanitation and poor health. We feel therefore that this is a valid unit and properly put under the title "Health".

1. The Human Body: Practices and Attitudes

261 Eating and Drinking. Okinawans enjoy food and drink and make numerous events the occasion for their enjoyment. Questions about holidays frequently soon elicit long descriptions of the types of dishes appropriate to each. To a Westerner the variety may not seem great, but to the Okinawans a slight difference in the consistency of a soup may call for a
262 differentiating term. The variety of foods is probably as great as it can be within the limits of Okinawan resources. Foods are valued differently.
[171] Rice ranks high, sweet potatoes low. Pork is esteemed, as in China but not in Japan.

264 Three meals a day is usual. Rice, soup, and boiled foods are served in bowls, fried foods in flat dishes. These are eaten with chopsticks. The bowl may be held in the hand near the mouth; soup may be drunk directly from it. Some foods, such as noodles, are habitually sucked up with considerable noise. This noise is neither made purposely nor is it avoided; it just does not matter. Children may bolt their food without being scolded for it, but adults seem to have no compulsion to eat fast, as the Japanese are said to
[574] have. On festive occasions men are served in the first room, women in the second. On these occasions a portion may be served already in a box so that it may be taken home. On ordinary occasions the family may eat together,
[321] though women often eat in the kitchen by the oven. Conversation of both
[574] light and serious matter may accompany eating. Serving food is essential to the entertainment of guests and to the payment of social debts.

273 Drink is also essential to entertainment. Tea is drunk first thing
[272] in the morning and at any time of the day or evening. But for men something stronger is also desirable. Usually it is the clear, strong, distilled drink

APPENDIX "A"

128 This appendix contains figures upon which Maps 2 through 7 were based. List A is for Map 2, List B for Map 3, and so forth. The figures for Japan and Kagoshima are derived from the Japan Statistical Yearbook, 1950. All other figures are based on data in Ryūkyū tōkei hokoku.

311 List A Arable land under cultivation as a percentage of total land area.
241 The 31 December 1950 figures are used for area of arable land. Figures for total land area are for 31 December 1952. However, the calculation is valid as of the former date because the areas of political units did not change in the two years. The amount of arable land in Naha is negligible; the area for Tokashiki was not available in 'chō'.

311 List B Flooded fields (riceland) as a percentage of total arable land under
243 cultivation, 1950. The figures for Japan and Kagoshima are valid as of 1 August 1947. No acreage of riceland was reported from Ie Shima, Naha, Aguni, Minami Daitō or Kita Daitō.

161 List C Population density per square kilometer. The data for Japan and Kagoshima are valid as of 1 August 1948. The data for Okinawa Guntō are valid as of 31 December 1952.

List D Number of persons per acre of arable land under cultivation, 1950. Data for Japan and Kagoshima are valid as of 1 August 1948. The census of persons in Okinawa Guntō was taken on 1 December 1950. The data on acreage of arable land under cultivation were reported 31 December 1950. Inasmuch as December is not a month when new land is reclaimed, the map and figures may be considered valid as of 1 December 1950. No figure is given for Naha because the acreage of arable land is negligible. No figure is given for Minami Daitō because of the great acreage planted to sugar cane. About 9,400 'tan' of the 11,000 'tan' of arable land there is in this crop.

List E Percentage of increase in population, 1940-1950. Data for Japan and Kagoshima are not available for those years. Data for Okinawa Guntō are valid as of 1 October 1940 and 1 December 1950. A minus sign (-) denotes a net decrease. At the time of the 1940 census, some political units were not separate, but were included in towns or cities nearby; therefore the 1950 figure of necessity includes both areas as one.

List F Percentage of increase in population, 1950-1952. Data for Japan and Kagoshima are not available for those years. Data for Okinawa Guntō are valid as of 1 December 1950 and 31 December 1952. The total percentage of increase in the 25 months was 5.55%--these percentages are reported on page 76 of Civil Affairs Activities in the Ryukyu Islands. On the map any area with an increase of less than 5.55% and a decrease of less than 5% was considered an area of moderate emigration. Any area where the decrease exceeded 5% was considered as an area of excessive emigration. An area with more than 5.55% increase but less than 10% increase during that period was considered an area of moderate immigration. Areas in which the increase exceeded 10% are considered as having urban characteristics.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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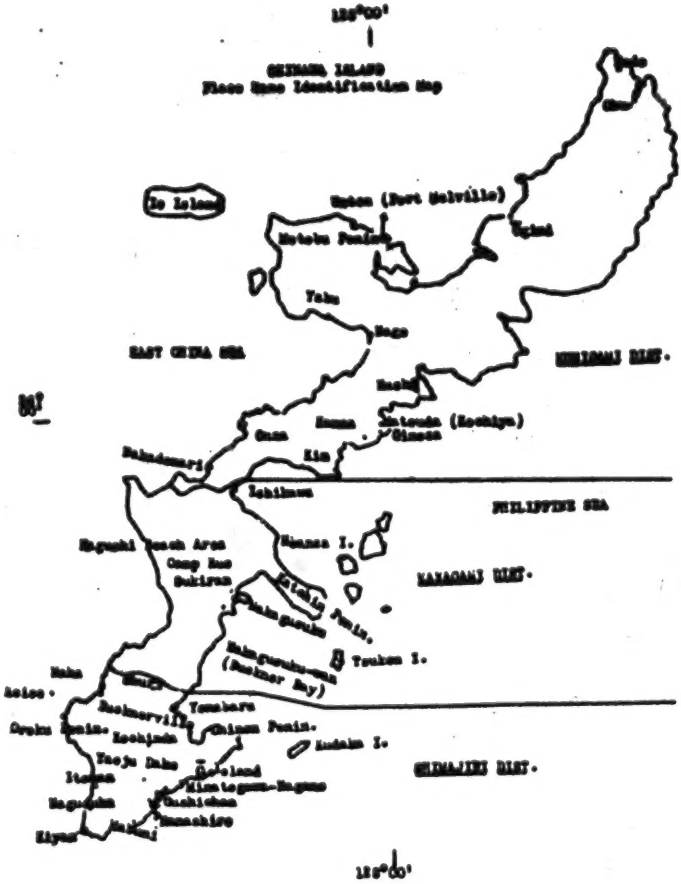

[P. i (E)]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

Okinawa, Asia, and the Pacific

The Ryukyus, of which Okinawa, the Great Loo Choo of the nineteenth century explorers, is the largest island, is an arc, really the summits of submerged mountains, extending in a southwesterly direction from the Kyūshū node almost to the island of Formosa. The arc is bowed outward and the archipelago forms a tenuous boundary separating the East China Sea from the Pacific. 131

The islands may be thought of as a link in a chain of peninsulas and archipelagos shaped like a rough semicircle from Korea to Kyūshū, the Ryukyus and to Formosa, thence to the mainland of China. These peninsulas and the island chains and the coastal mainland, together with the Wei, Lo, and Fen valleys in the Hwang-ho northward bend, have been the scene of cultural intermingling from ancient times, but the area still awaits comparative study as a whole.

The direct and indirect influences which, considering its geography and insular position, have done most to fashion the culture of Okinawa have come from China, Korea, and the Japanese islands, in early times southwestern Japan, especially Kyūshū. With the exception of the visits of European missions and squadrons in the nineteenth century, Western ideas came from Japanese sources. Okinawa, in the great era of the expansion of European ideas and influence in the nineteenth century, was exposed to Westernization indirectly through Japan. 179

Geographical relationships change with the times, shifts in the power of empire, and changes in trade. To the late nineteenth century observer, and indeed to the twentieth as well, Okinawa seemed one of the most isolated and unexplored spots in a part of the world which had been known to the West for centuries. This isolation was more a product of history than of geography. "Each year," wrote William Furness in 1897, "finds the Luchu Islands more and more important, commercially, to the Japanese government, although as yet, they are but little known to the busy world which sails past them to and from the markets of China, Japan, and the Far East."[1] Yet, from the middle of the fourteenth to the second half of the sixteenth century, Naha in Okinawa was a port of call in a trade route which included Korea, Japan, Siam, and Malaya. Malacca was the central port of this trade. It has been estimated that there were at least forty-four voyages out of Naha to these lands in the 138 year period from 1432 to 1570.[2] 131 175

1 William H. Furness III, Life in the Luchu Islands. Bulletin of the Free Museum of Science and Art of the University of Pennsylvania, 2 (1899), 1.

2 This trade will be discussed further in the next chapter with sources cited there.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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This nineteenth century conception of the Ryukyus as remote and isolated islands in a part of the world in which travel and trade had reached a high degree of development continued unabated to the beginning of the war in the Pacific. The reasons were entirely political. The Ryukyus were part of that walling off process which characterized Japan's policy and strategy toward its island mandates and possessions since the end of the first world war. Okinawa might well have become, as some of the English and American explorers of the nineteenth century hoped, a crossroads of importance in world trade. If it had, it would only have repeated a role it played centuries before.

Since the invasion of 1945, worldwide political realignments have given it a new, and perhaps its most important significance. Its general geography has remained the same. It is the history since the war, and the shaping of ideologies that have brought about this change. Before 1945, Okinawa was regarded by the Japanese as the outer fort and protector of the home islands; during the war, it became the important strategic spot, from the American point of view, for the contemplated invasion of Japan. With the Korean war, it has been transformed from a small outlier in the Pacific to an important strategic center off the Asiatic mainland.

2

Regional Differences in Okinawa Island[3]

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133

Okinawa, the largest of the islands in the Ryukyu chain, is about 485 square miles in area, 510 including its offshore islands, such as the Keram

[Text Continues on Top of P. 12--Analyst]

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3 A cultural geography of Okinawa is a real desideratum. But this is outside the scope of this work. Many materials have been brought together in memoranda, published and unpublished, surveys and the like, since the close of the war and the beginning of the American occupation. Lacking a newer synthesis, it seemed foolish to lengthen this report by merely repeating the published materials already available. The intention in this chapter is merely to indicate some of the general considerations helpful in understanding the history of the island and of contemporary life in the villages described. For the pre-war geographical materials see Civil Affairs Handbook, Ryukyu (Loo-choo) Islands, OPNAV 3-13, 3-38, the sections on geography and resources, and passim. Interesting information regarding local geography is scattered through the pages of Okinawa, The Last Battle, and for a general statement, see pp. 7-14. See also Walter R. Hacker's chapter on the Kurils and the Ryukyus in Geography of the Pacific, edited by Otis Freeman, New York and London, 1951, and M. Y. Nuttonson, Ecological Crop Geography and Field Practices of the Ryukyu Islands..., 11-58. For the geology, see, the CA Handbook, 11-12, Nuttonson, 29-36, and Engineering Geology, Okinawa (Prepared by Military Geology Branch US Geological Survey for Intelligence Division Office of the Engineer, GHQ, FEC, April 1951). This contains an Engineering Geology map of the island. For general relationships in this area see Trewartha, Glenn. T. Japan. A Physical, Cultural, and Regional Geography, v-ix, 3-4, and the map on the arcs and nodes, 8.

114
113

chain, Ie, Iheya, and Kudaka islands. The main island is about sixty miles long, its length running generally northeast to southwest. It has an irregular coast line, peninsulas which jut out into the sea, and two isthmuses, one near present Camp Kue, the other farther north at Ishikawa. The width of the island varies from two to eighteen miles. 133 131

Okinawa may be divided into three geographical regions, which also roughly correspond to the ancient division of the island into a northern district (Kunigami or Yambaru), a central district (Nakagami), and a southern district (Shimajiri). [631]

The northern district takes up about two-thirds of the area of the island. It begins at the northern isthmus which runs from Ishikawa town on the Pacific side to Nakadomari on the East China Sea side. South of this line, the island runs more or less in a north-south direction; north of the line, the island is situated in a pronounced northeast-southwest direction. Certain features distinguish this northern area from the two southern parts of Okinawa. A mountain ridge, almost entirely forested, runs down the center. Drainage from the short streams which rise in the mountains is down the east and west slopes. Villages and towns are on or near the coastal flatlands or on the coastal rolling hills. There are few settlements in the interior of the northern part of the island. 131 631 133 [137] [361]

The central region of the island extends south from the Ishikawa-Nakadomari isthmus to the Naha-Yonabaru line. A corridor beginning on the eastern side at Yonabaru on Buckner Bay (formerly Nakagusuku-wan) connects with a long valley beginning around Naha. This provides a natural route cutting across the southern part of the island. The central region is the area of oldest settlement. It and the region to the south were the areas of the most intensive warfare during the campaign for Okinawa. The central region has a patternless physiography. Low rolling eroded hills, stony hills with sharp relief, dissected uplands and escarpments alternate with small alluvial valleys and flatlands. On these and on the lower slopes of the less stony hills cultivation takes place. Limestone sinks and caverns are commonplace. The most rugged terrain in this area is the region around Shuri and its northern approaches, the scene of the most prolonged fighting of the war in Okinawa. Unlike the north, settlements are scattered throughout the countryside, usually on the low lands at the base of hills, along the coasts, or in narrow winding valleys with low passes leading from one to the other. [487] [361]

The third region of the island extends from the Naha-Yonabaru line to the southern tip of the island. It is like the central part in the haphazard distribution of its land forms but somewhat flatter. Part of it is a limestone plain. The highest elevations are around the hills and mountains along Buckner Bay, with its narrow flat coastal strips, and along the southern portion of the Chinen peninsula, which also has flat beaches and beach ridges. It is an area of small plains, long, narrow but steep limestone mountains, and of rolling hills, escarpments which often abruptly end on the water's edge. In the area of one of these escarpments, Yaeju Dake, the final battle scenes of the war took place. The settlement

131 pattern is similar to that of the central part. Villages are scattered
631 throughout the area with population distribution comparable with the cen-
133 tral area. Before the war, the densities here were over one thousand per
36 square mile, actually considerably more if the uninhabitable lands are
[61] subtracted.[4]

The Settlement

How long this settlement pattern and these regional differences have existed is difficult to say. In studying contemporary environments, like
311 Okinawa, which bear the imprint of long human settlement, it is useful to try to reconstruct the nature of the landscape before the interference of man. At one time, the whole island, with the exception of stony, rocky, and shallow soils and beach and marsh land was covered with forest. There are now no virgin stands. "It is evident that the present forest has been cut over many times. There seems to be no part of the island in which the forest cover has not been disturbed in some way by man."[5] In this light, the regional differences between the forested north and the deforested south are the work of man.

361 The oldest settlements are thought to have been in the Naha and Shuri areas. Kudaka Island, off the southeast coast, according to one
[173] legend, was the site of the supernatural creation of the Okinawan people. The town of Unten, the Port Melville of Captain Hall and Commodore Perry,
[174] was, in one version, the scene of the landing of the Japanese warrior, Tametomo, but this was in the twelfth century. Northern areas were in-
[161] habited prior to the unification of the island in the twelfth century because they had their own regional chieftans before this. But the population of the north, at least up to the war, has been sparse and scattered. If the forests are any indication, it has been the central and southern regions which have been the scenes of longest settlement. Probably the
[177] settlement pattern had not changed much until the Japanese interventions
[178] of the nineteenth century and the great changes coming with the recent war, and with the extensive modifications which the Americans have made in the landscape of the central region.

3

General Climatic Conditions

132 In the Köppen system, Okinawa has a humid subtropical climate. It is a rainy climate with no marked dry season; it has a mild winter and the temperature of the warmest month is over 71.6°F. The average annual temperatures in Naha range from 61° for January and February to 82°F for July and August, and the range from the mean minimum of 55° in February to the

[Text continues top of p. 14--analyst]

4 See the population distribution maps in CA Handbook, Ryukyu (Loo-choo Islands, 48-49.

5 Okinawan Forests. (Prepared by the USGS, Military Geology Section under the direction of Office of the Engineer, GHQ, Far East Command), 1948, 2.

614 Each contemporary extended family has two main divisions: the main family (honke in Japanese) represented by the families in the direct line of descent, and the branch families (bunke in Japanese) which represent families not in the direct line. The terms, main family and branch family, are also used in a narrower sense to distin-
592 guish, within an individual family, between the family of the first son who will succeed to his father's house, and other sons who will establish branch houses.

The extended family has a main house whose head is the living representative in direct succession of the original founder. The seat of each extended family is a definite site in a village or town. The degree of scattering of the collateral families is dependent on the mobility of people throughout time and the manner in which the original villages were settled. Hanashiro, for example, is considered to be about 400 years old. Sixteen of the main houses are in the village. In Minatogawa, founded as a secondary port for the fishermen of Itoman town, perhaps 250 years ago, the main houses are predominantly in Itoman. In the neighboring village of Nagamo (Minatogawa-niku), an area of recent settlement, the main house of the village families is generally in Naha or in Shuri. Matsuda in the north has family seats not only in the village but some of its collateral families are from adjoining areas, the Motobu peninsula, and also from the south. The location of the main family seats of any village is an indication of the areas from which the place was originally peopled. Considering the 137 smallness of the island and the even more restricted inhabited area--settlement in the northern two-thirds of the island is along the coastal rim which borders the forest--and the general lack of mobility until recent times, it is apparent that each village is composed in varying proportions of kinship groups whose original ancestral house is either in that village or from other villages or towns, most likely from adjoining areas, or from such larger centers of dispersion as Naha, Shuri, Nago, or Itoman.

It is difficult to say how important the extended family is in the culture. It may be spread over many villages in the island. Distance and lack of contact does not create the strong ties that exist within the village among relatives, friends, and neighbors. The following illustrations, drawn from each village, may however furnish some clues regarding the nature and importance of the extended family.

614 In Hanashiro, there are sixteen head houses. These with their collateral branches total 75 families; in other words, of the 121 families in the village, the head house of 75 is located in the village itself. The head houses of the remaining 46 are in other villages or towns.[3] This situation makes for closer ties of the individual families

3 Parallel information was not available for the other two villages; it was apparent through discussion that the same situation existed, although the proportion of main and branch families might be different

244 [132] months. The amount of sweet potatoes grown is not closely related to the season. It depends much more on rainfall.

[131] [131] The effects of typhoons on the plant are most noticeable after transplanting. Salt water spray shrivels the transplants up and they die without developing. These conditions are more noticeable near the seashore in areas like Nagamo that lack trees and tidewater shelters.

824 Like rice, all of the sweet potato plant is used. Plant residues are turned under to fertilize the soil. This turning under of the vines or their use in composts is a doubtful blessing if the plants are diseased. The good potatoes are reserved for human consumption. The poor or the diseased ones are mashed up in a stone mortar with a long pole, used like a pestle, for pig and goat food. Besides using the tops as slips, women constantly cut them off for fresh greens for the pigs. The sweet potato is the basic food because it is cheap, can be grown the year round in lowlands and uplands, and can be cultivated by all members of the family. As pig food, it is a means of inexpensively raising animals which later have cash value. The feeding and care of pigs is usually one of the incidental chores of women.

[231] [262] [462]

244 184 The varieties most commonly found in these Okinawan villages are the Okinawan #100 (Okinawan no hyakugo) and varieties known locally as the bentō, a small round tuber, and the bokuto. The two chief differences between the northern and southern villages in cultivating the sweet potato are (1) the two and three pronged hoes are much more in evidence in the north. With practice, they can be used advantageously in quickly weeding a plot while not cutting the potato itself. (2) Matsuda appears to be less dependent on the sweet potato as a human food. The farmer here has more rice for himself and a greater proportion of his sweet potato crop goes for animal food.

[262] [231]

6

The Planting of Sugar Cane and Sugar Making

249 Sugar cane (kibi) is grown on dry crop land, its rows often alternating on the same plot with the sweet potato. Cane may be started with cuttings, or it may be a second growth (ratoon) from the stubs of the old plant after it has been cut down for crushing. Cuttings may be purchased or selected plants from another planting are used. The slips are cut to leave three buds. These cuttings may be planted in three ways: (1) all horizontally, (2) horizontally with the cutting which comes from the topmost part of the stalk planted slantwise, or (3) all cuttings may be planted slanting.

The soil must be thoroughly worked with the ever present hoe. Plowing and harrowing are rarely done. The earth must be thoroughly fertilized. In addition, small amounts of compost may be placed under the cutting, and less often liquid night soil might be used.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

Part I

The Ethnographic Background

Chapter 1

The Setting

THE ISLAND

105
Okinawa lies a day's voyage by steamer to the southwest of the Japanese island of Kyushu. Leaving Kyushu, the ship passes along the Ryukyuan chain until it reaches Okinawa, the largest of the islands. Land is never completely out of sight until the ship enters the port of Naha, capital of the southern Ryukyus. 131

The Ryukyus are part of a long string of islands which, beginning in the north with the Kurile Islands and Sakhalin, run all the way south, including Japan, the Ryukyus, Formosa, the Philippines, and the Indonesian archipelago. In their offshore position on the Western rim of the Pacific Ocean, the Ryukyus are within access by small craft from Japan, Korea, and China. This geographic position of the Ryukyus puts them within the sphere of influence of several countries, [133] [648]

a fact which has been a determinant in their historical development and an important factor in speculations about prehistoric events.

Until further archaeological evidence permits greater certainty, the original settlement of the Ryukyus is believed to have taken place predominantly from the Asiatic mainland, with occasional influx from the southern islands, Formosa, the Philippines, and Indonesia (Kerr, 1958). Surviving culture elements of great antiquity support these theories. Most frequently cited are a basic form of Shinto, characteristic of the religion, and the shamanistic role of the priestesses. Specifically, the "curved jewels," formerly worn by all priestesses, are mentioned as apparent links with the neolithic cultures of Japan.

On the other hand, sporadic contact with the islands to the south is evidenced by culture traits, such as raised houses of tropical design (common to all of Japan) and perhaps the practice of "mother roasting," a period of recuperation after the birth of a child during which the mother is kept near a fire. This custom is widespread in Malaysia (Cole, 1945:155).

Linguistic evidence points to a separation of Okinawan from a common proto Japanese language about 1500 years ago (Hattori, 1954). This may indicate a southern movement of peoples from Japan under the pressure of the Yayoi people who introduced the wet rice complex into southwestern and central Japan at this period. That this was not the earliest settlement of the Ryukyus, however, is evidenced by remains in the Ryukyus of the earlier Jomon period.

From the first mention of the Ryukyus in Chinese annals of 605 A.D. until the end of the nineteenth century when Japan formally annexed the islands, they stood in a curious relationship of dependency toward China and Japan. Both nations claimed suzerainty over the kingdom of Okinawa with its royal court in Shuri and extracted tribute. Eventually the Lord of Satsuma in southern Japan extended his sovereignty over the Ryukyus. But with ties to China remaining, Okinawa participated in both Chinese and Japanese culture, which disseminated through the urban trading center of Naha into the outlying areas. It is this intermediate cultural position which still gives Okinawa a peculiar character, although it long ago became part of Japan and abandoned direct contacts with China.

In 1872 Japan formally declared its claims on the Ryukyuan kingdom, and after deposing the last king in 1879, made the Ryukyuan islands a province of Japan, with the capital at Naha. Between this time and the present, intensive contact with Japan has led to an overwhelming absorption of Japanese culture, a willingness on the part of Okinawans to adopt Japanese ways and to identify with Japan as their

home country. Nevertheless, many aspects of Okinawan life still suggest an earlier phase in which independent developments gave the islands their own particular culture. 105 125 177 648

The Okinawan people, approximately 655,000 as counted in 1954, live in an area of about 454 square miles. Their major economic activities have traditionally been agriculture and fishing. In 1945 a long, peaceful existence was brought to an abrupt end during the final battles of World War II in the Pacific. As a result of world conditions Okinawans have been placed under American administration for an indefinite period of time. Today large numbers of men—and some women—find employment as unskilled and semiskilled laborers with the American forces. Gradual training for highly skilled jobs widens these opportunities for employment. Indirectly Okinawan life is influenced by Americans through stimulation of trade, building, and improved health conditions. Land requirements of the American forces in some areas also have influenced the settlement pattern. While these changes have affected the entire island to some degree, the greatest changes are noticeable in the central part around Naha where American administrative and military personnel are located. The village of Taira in the northern province of Kunigami, where the present study was located, had been subject to relatively few of these postwar changes in 1954. Isolated since earliest times because of mountainous terrain, this part of the island participates, as it probably always did, marginally in cultural influences which affect the center of the island. A great deal of cultural stability has therefore been preserved until the present day. 105 177 648 [61] [131] [464] [101] [184]

Nevertheless, it is useful to remember that the population of northern Okinawa is linked with the rest of the island by an efficient communications system. Roads connect almost all settlements in the north with the central island, and a bus transportation system extends its service into the remote areas. But long before all villages were connected by road with the center of Okinawa, people of Kunigami province traveled by foot over the many trails which traverse the mountains, and, since the turn of the century, many have left their home villages. Some went to Japan as laborers; others settled in the Japanese-controlled Islands of the Pacific, and some families joined the numerous Okinawan settlements in South American countries. 105 491 [494] [484] [487] [167]

LANGUAGE

Taira people are bilingual. Okinawan, which linguists consider a separate language, has many regional dialects, some of which are not 197 191

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

is one of the rare, desired body attributes. It was the opinion of some that the descendants of the noble families who came from Shuri, however, are taller and slender, with a prominent, curved nasal ridge. 142

Until they feel confident in the presence of strangers, Taira people appear quiet and restrained. It is considered a virtue not to show one's emotions, and Tairans consider the expressiveness of Americans childish. Actually they are gay, talkative, and given to laughter, especially the women. Men are quiet unless stimulated by alcohol, but both men and women may lose their composure in emergencies. A notable exception is their placid reactions to the threat of disaster from the ever recurrent violent storms. 152 153 [181]

THE COMMUNITY, ITS HISTORY AND NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

621

Taira is one of the northern villages on the northeast coast of Okinawa in Higashi township (see map 1). Today it is home to over 700 people who make their living—as did their ancestors since early times—from the surrounding fields, forests, and from the sea. The Okinawan name for the village, Taira, means "sloping fields." The character used for writing the prevalent Japanese version, Taira, means "flat, plain, good." 101 [131] [162]

Since the family records were lost during World War II, it is necessary to depend on oral traditions for reconstruction of the history of Taira. Unfortunately, the desire of many Okinawans to establish a relationship between their local families and the former royal courts casts some doubt on the accuracy of these traditions. 173 621 [114]

According to these traditions, the first village to be settled in the vicinity of Taira was the neighboring community Kawata. After the Hokuzan kingdom in Nakijin (on the northwestern Motobu Peninsula) was conquered by the southern Okinawan kingdom of Chuzan in the fifthteenth century (Kerr, 1958:85), the second son of the Lord of Hokuzan is said to have escaped northward into Kunigami province. Unitokogami, the fleeing nobleman, arrived near the present site of Kawata and established himself in a cave around the year 1477. He is still revered today as founder of the village in a yearly spring ceremony when prayers are said in front of the cave. The oldest Taira families trace their descent in the male line from Nizenya, the "main house," he founded. Taira was settled around 1550 by two families tracing descent from this "main house." The descendents of these settlers are [182] [069]

Chapter 5

Political Organization and Social Control

THE TOWNSHIP

621
631 Administratively Taira village is part of Higashi township, an area of
[131] approximately 30 square miles with six independent villages spread over a distance of about 15 miles along the coast. Taira is centrally located and since 1946 has been the seat of the township administration. Higashi is one of several townships in northern Okinawa. It is responsible to the central Ryukyuan government at Naha which has branch offices at Nago, the nearest town to Taira. Control over communities such as Taira by a central government is of ancient date. The Okinawan king levied taxes throughout the island and held political control over the villages until establishment of Japanese administration.

632 The township office is headed by a mayor who is elected for four years by popular vote. He nominates an assistant mayor who must be confirmed by the township assembly, a council of 16 representatives who are elected from all the villages. The Assembly meets two or three times a year to enact local ordinances, to confirm the mayor's appointments, and to approve the annual budget.

632 The administrative organization of the township consists of five
647 departments, which are responsible for carrying out central government policies. The Finance and Education Department is concerned with tax collection and general school affairs. The Industrial Department acts as controlling and advising agent in all matters of subsistence and cash production. Financial help for farmers is channeled through this department. Attached to it is an Agricultural Extension Division agent who is concerned with individual farmers' problems. A General Affairs
[217] Department is in charge of office administration; it is also responsible

CHAPTER I: GEOGRAPHY

F. R. Pitts

131 **Location** Okinawa is a longish island, lying about halfway between Formosa and the southern tip of Kyushu. Together with clusters of islands lying both to the east and west, it forms the political unit known as Okinawa Guntō.

133 Along the axis of Okinawa, which trends from southwest to northeast, there is a fairly simple division into a plateau-and-mountain northern half, a central plateau area, and a low rolling southern knob. The Motobu peninsula juts westward from the northern, or Kunigami, half and forms a distinctive area. Between the Kunigami mountains and the peaks of Motobu lies the ricebowl of Okinawa---the Haneji lowland.

311 241 **Arable Land** In general it can be said that the farm population increases as one proceeds south. Map 2, showing the arable land under cultivation as a percentage of the total land area, illustrates this.[1]

Farms in the mountain and plateau north are found in incised V-shaped valleys. Water is plentiful, and rice paddies cover the valley floor. Villages hug the edges of the flat land, and incredibly small sweet-potato terraces rise [137] up the valley's edge. Atop the plateau one finds only silence, and a dense growth of trees and bamboo. Many of the people in the valleys are part-time [132] foresters. The Motobu mountains guard from the frequent typhoons little settlements famed for growing the indigo plant and pineapples. The peninsula's north shore is a fertile but ever-narrowing extension of the Haneji lowland.

In the central plateau area---Nakagami---sweet-potato fields compete with scrubby forest for space on the plateau. Where sufficient water is available, rice fields cover the tiny valley floors and the low-lying coastal fringes. The triangular southern end of the island is known as Shimajiri in [134] popular terminology. Shimajiri is blessed with the greatest concentration of [132] fertile arable land on Okinawa. But the blessing is somewhat reduced by greater exposure to typhoons and a chronic water shortage. Sweet potatoes and sugar cane rank first among crops here.

311 243 **Riceland** Okinawans prefer to eat rice rather than sweet potatoes whenever possible. It is a paradox, however, that areas of greatest farm [242] population grow the least rice. The thinly populated north has the greatest amount of riceland. Map 3 charts the distribution of riceland---or flooded fields---on Okinawa. Even in the southern 'son' of Yonagusuku and Kanegusuku flooded fields often contain the mat rush rather than rice. It is a good cash crop, and is sturdier than rice when typhoons roar through the islands.

[128] [1] The figures upon which the maps in this section and the population section are based are found in Appendix A. The figures for Japan and Kagoshima-ken are given for comparative purposes. Of all the prefectures in Japan, Kagoshima most nearly resembles Okinawa in climate and emphasis upon sweet potatoes as a staple food.

131 The settlement
631 pattern is similar to that of the central part. Villages are scattered
133 throughout the area with population distribution comparable with the cen-
36 tral area. Before the war, the densities here were over one thousand per
[161] square mile, actually considerably more if the uninhabitable lands are subtracted.[4]

How long this settlement pattern and these regional differences have
311 existed is difficult to say. In studying contemporary environments, like Okinawa, which bear the imprint of long human settlement, it is useful to try to reconstruct the nature of the landscape before the interference of man. At one time, the whole island, with the exception of stony, rocky, and shallow soils and beach and marsh land was covered with forest. There are now no virgin stands. "It is evident that the present forest has been cut over many times. There seems to be no part of the island in which the forest cover has not been disturbed in some way by man."[5] In this light, the regional differences between the forested north and the deforested south are the work of man.

361 The oldest settlements are thought to have been in the Naha and Shuri areas. Kudaka Island, off the southeast coast, according to one
[173] legend, was the site of the supernatural creation of the Okinawan people. The town of Unten, the Port Melville of Captain Hall and Commodore Perry,
[174] was, in one version, the scene of the landing of the Japanese warrior, Tametomo, but this was in the twelfth century. Northern areas were in-
[161] habited prior to the unification of the island in the twelfth century because they had their own regional chieftans before this. But the population of the north, at least up to the war, has been sparse and scattered. If the forests are any indication, it has been the central and southern regions which have been the scenes of longest settlement. Probably the
[177] settlement pattern had not changed much until the Japanese interventions
[178] of the nineteenth century and the great changes coming with the recent war, and with the extensive modifications which the Americans have made in the landscape of the central region.

3

General Climatic Conditions

● 132 In the Köppen system, Okinawa has a humid subtropical climate. It is a rainy climate with no marked dry season; it has a mild winter and the temperature of the warmest month is over 71.6°F. The average annual temperatures in Naha range from 61° for January and February to 82°F for July and August, and the range from the mean minimum of 55° in February to the

[Text continues top of p. 14--analyst]

4 See the population distribution maps in CA Handbook, Ryukyu (Loo-choo Islands, 48-49.

5 Okinawan Forests. (Prepared by the USGS, Military Geology Section under the direction of Office of the Engineer, GHQ, Far East Command), 1948, 2.

mean maximum of 89°F in August is only 34°.

Rainfall in Okinawa, though variable, is heavy. On the average there are at least 16 rainy days each month in Naha, but there are pronounced seasonal differences in the amount of precipitation. The rainiest season is from May through August, with a slight drop during July. The months of lowest rainfall are from December through March, with a slight increase in January.

These averages conceal significant fluctuations in the amount and distribution of rainfall, which are brought out to some extent (though these too are averages) by the statistics on maximum and minimum fall per month. The figures for maximum fall in 24 hours show that heavy rains can occur at any time of the year. (See Table 2).

This pronounced annual rainfall and the green vegetation which it produces were no doubt the reason that earlier voyagers were convinced of the luxuriance and fertility of Okinawa, just as similar mistakes were made with the fertility of the tropical rainforest soils.

From the standpoint of agriculture, these reservations must be made about the rainfall. (1) There is, as explained above, a marked seasonal variation for the island as a whole. (2) Though the island is small, there are significant variations from place to place. The regime for Naha may be similar to Nago in the north, for example, but the distribution and the quantity may vary. (3) There are significant monthly variations in the same locality from year to year, a fact obscured by averaging monthly precipitation for a twenty or twenty-five year period. This is clearly brought out in the following table of rainfall of Kochinda, chosen because it was closer than Naha to Hanashiro and Minatogawa.

Table 1

Precipitation at Kochinda
(In Millimeters)

	1921	1925	1930	1935	Ave. 1921-35
Jan	201	143	331	118	137.5
Feb	246	84	103	161	145.2
Mar	287	227	250	259	183.2
April	95	160	61	339	155.9
May	323	98	382	223	212.1
June	230	120	156	314	282.4
July	27	153	355	159	148.0
Aug	416	141	97	91	267.4
Sept	137	273	240	292	211.8
Oct	43	178	578	179	140.3
Nov	71	74	96	72	125.1
Dec	152	72	91	121	114.0

Source: Meteorological Office, Naha, September 1951. Since the point illustrated is the probability of monthly variations by year, the whole 15 year series has not been reproduced.

132 There are further local variations. Thundershowers often occur over a limited area. This precipitation is described by Okinawans as katabui, by which they mean a scattered, here-and-there rainfall.

[131] These variations in rainfall throughout the year and from year to year are the source of complaints of drought, frequently heard in the summer growing and fall harvesting season from July to October.
[21] Dr. Green of Commodore Perry's staff mentions that droughts were spoken of in an official Loochoo document.

[134] There is also hidden drought caused by the rapid runoff of water and the absorption of water by permeable soils and quick subterranean drainage.
[133] Water for crop growth is thus immediately dependent upon rainfall which must be immediately used before it becomes inaccessible. There are no snowy mountains to store the water for gradual use.

Since it is in a zone of mixture of warm and cold air, Okinawa is cloudy a great deal of the year. The days with the highest percentage of sunshine occur from June to October. There is very little condensation near the surface and fog is uncommon.

Relative humidity is high throughout the year. On the average, it does not fall below 74% (in December), and the highest average is 85% in June. This condition produces a hot humid summer, often with overcast skies and it also brings about a felt or sensible temperature much colder in winter than the temperature would indicate. Okinawan winters may be cold, especially with the winds from the northeast and east northeast. Blankets and heavy clothing do not hold the bodily heat. The insulating value of clothing and blankets seems to be reduced.

Okinawa is also affected by monsoonal influences in southern Asia. In the summer, the basic factor is the heating of large masses of continental air, the creation of low pressure areas, and the transport of air from the ocean to the continent. Prevailing winds are from the east, south, or south south east, or east south east, but here the prevailing should be stressed. Actually in a given period winds may shift and flow from varying directions.

In the winter, it is the air over the ocean that is warmer and the dry air from the cold high pressure areas blows out over the island. Prevailing winds from October through January are from the northeast. Though the mean velocities are modest, strong winds are recorded for every month in the year, winds either from the continent, or typhoons originating in the oceans north of the equator.

132 133 Another modifying factor is the Japanese current (Kuroshio). This current is really part of the North Equatorial current thought to have its origin on the Pacific side of Central America. As the current crosses the Pacific, it gets added colder water from the California current, and is further mixed with tropical and north Pacific waters, and later with western North Pacific waters. The North Equatorial current divides east of the Philippines, its northern arm going along the east side of the

northern Philippines and Formosa. From Formosa, these warm waters continue northeast between the Ryukyus and the shallow parts of the China Sea. In August the current flows on both sides of the islands. The behavior of the Japanese current in this area is strikingly similar to that of the Florida current of the Gulf Stream.[6] 132 133

The Ryukyus are in one of the great typhoon areas of the world. The season is from May to October, times of low atmospheric pressure, when the average range is from 1007 to 1015 millibars compared with a November-April range of 1015 to 1021 millibars. The period usually described as the typhoon season actually represents minimum expectations, for, as the table shows, typhoons have occurred in every month of the year, with the lowest incidence in April. The range from a minimum of twelve to a maximum of forty-five shows the reasons for uncertainties and the uneasiness with which the weather is regarded in the islands. The period of most frequent typhoon incidence coincides with the growing season, and violent typhoons can be expected as a matter of course prior to the winter rice harvest. 132 [731]

In typhoons, heavy winds, and gales, damage from salt water spray, especially in cultivated strips along the coast, can be expected. Local topography has a determining influence on the direction and area of spray damage, but some farmers in the Nagamo area estimated that spray damage had extended inland in some cases for two miles. There is also the problem of the saline content of rainwater. 132 133 [311]

Okinawa has a marine climate modified from what one might expect of its latitude by the monsoon regime which affects southeast Asia. When we understand this, the nature of the rainfall and its distribution, the possibility of drought, and of typhoons and their destructiveness, we are are in a better position to appreciate the difficulties under which agriculture must be practiced. 132

6 Sverdrup, Johnson, and Fleming, The Oceans, 718-22 and the literature there cited. Wust has pointed out in detail the similarities between the two currents. One difference is that the salinity of the Kuroshio is less and its waters are subject to excessive cooling in winter by the cold winds from the continent. See also Nuttonson, as cited, 20.

TABLE 2, CLIMATIC DATA, NAHA CITY

Weather Element	Ann	Jan	Feb	Mar	Apr	May	Jun	Jul	Aug	Sept	Oct	Nov	Dec
Ave. Temp. °F a/	72	61	61	64	70	74	79	82	82	80	75	69	64
Mean Maximum	78	67	67	70	76	80	85	89	88	87	81	75	70
Mean Minimum	66	56	55	59	64	68	75	77	77	75	69	64	58
Relative Humidity a/	79	75	75	77	81	83	85	81	82	81	78	76	74
Mean Precip. inches a/	82.8	5.3	5.4	6.1	6.1	8.9	10.0	7.1	10.0	7.1	6.6	5.9	4.3
Max. Fall, 24 hours b/	16.8	5.9	3.5	7.8	13.9	8.1	7.2	9.1	9.7	7.3	9.8	16.8	4.2
Max. Fall, month c/	28.01	6.4	12.1	13.4	20.3	18.6	28.0	15.3	22.6	15.7	24.9	20.9	9.9
Min. Fall, month c/	0.6	1.2	0.7	1.7	1.4	1.3	1.3	1.2	1.4	0.9	0.9	0.6	1.7
Rainy Days a/	202	19	17	18	16	17	16	16	19	17	16	16	17
Cloudiness, % a/	70	75	79	78	76	77	76	60	59	55	60	71	73
Cloudy Days	171	17	17	19	17	18	16	9	9	8	10	15	16
Clear Days	20	1.0	0.6	1.0	1.0	1.0	0.9	2.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	2.0	2.0
Sunshine, % in Daylight	43	30	30	32	37	38	50	64	58	58	49	38	34
Foggy Days	0.8	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2	0.0	0.1	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.1
Atmospheric Pressure a/ in millibars	10141	020	1019	1017	1015	1011	1009	1008	1007	1009	1015	1017	1020
Prevailing Winds: d/													
Mean Direction	ENE	NE	NNE	NE	E	E	S	SSE	ESE	ENE	NE	NE	NE
Mean velocity	8	10	10	8	7	6	6	6	7	8	8	10	10
Strongest Wind Recorded													
Direction	ENE	NNE	N	N	N	NNW	W	ENE	ENE	ENE	NNE	NW	NNW
Velocity, mph e/	100	39	40	54	50	44	53	58	52	100	76	74	38
Thunderstorms, No. of Days	20.6	0.2	0.8	2.0	3.0	2.0	3.0	3.0	4.0	1.0	0.7	0.8	0.1
Gales, Ave. No. of Days	8.4	1.0	0.5	0.5	0.0	0.0	0.1	0.5	1.2	1.0	1.4	1.2	1.0
Gales, Max. No. of Days f/	28	4	2	1	0	0	1	4	4	2	5	3	2
Min. No. of Typhoons g/	12	0	0	0	0	2		1	3	2	1	0	0
Max. No. of Typhoons	45	3	3	3	1	5	3	5	6	5	5	3	3

a/ Data compiled over period of 30 unspecified years, b/ 39 unspecified years, c/ 40 unspecified years, d
d/ probably 30 unspecified years, e/ over 20 unspecified years, f, over 8 year period, g/ period not given.
Source: CA Handbook Ryukyu Islands, 5-11.

132

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Some young farmers are now breaking away from the traditional lunar month and using the western calendar in describing their annual activities.[1] 221 805

The use of the lunar month is not confined to farmers. Fishermen, describing their work year, speak in terms of lunar months. For this reason, it is essential in talking to farmers or fishermen to establish at the outset what reckoning they are using. The names of the lunar month and the western month are identical. Following the Chinese, there are no distinctive names for the months. They are numbered from one to twelve. The months have to be distinguished by saying, for example, "sixth month, old calendar," or sixth month, Western calendar." [177]

An interesting minor detail of agriculture and the timekeeping connected with it is the reliance of Okinawan farmers on Japanese almanacs. These are printed and may be purchased throughout the island. One of these printed almanacs is in almost every house, or is readily available from a neighbor. Often, if one asks what is planted or harvested in any particular month, the farmer reaches for his almanac and produces the desired information. If the inquirer is not careful, he will obtain not what a farmer does during the year but what the almanac says he does.

2

Methods and Tools

In the chapter on general geography, it was pointed out that, despite a high annual rainfall and precipitation every month of the year, there is a problem of water shortage and of drought. This is especially serious in the summer months in all three communities. 132 731

[Text Continues Top of P. 167--Analyst]

1 The 24 seasons, borrowed from the 24 Chinese solar terms, into which the lunar year is divided, are also retained on the modern calendar, largely for the use of farmers. For example, Shōkan (Little Cold) begins about Jan 6, Chūkei (Insects Awaken) on March 6, Bōshu (Grain in Ear) on June 5, Ritto (Beginning of winter) on Nov. 7. These 24 seasons, in my experience, are not used much. Farmers think more in terms of the four seasons instead of the 24 little seasons. In Okinawa, they must be revised mentally to suit the humid subtropical climate. "Light snow," and "Heavy snow" are inapplicable in Okinawa; they would simply be small seasons in which one would expect the greatest severity of winter. For a list of the small seasons with Chinese characters, see The five thousand character dictionary, 5th ed., with additions and revisions by George D. Wilder and Chien Hsien Tseng. Peking, 1940, xxxi. [177]

132 March through June is the season of greatest rainfall and therefore
731 of greatest flood danger. September and October rain is often light, and it is during this period that there is the greatest likelihood that the sweet potatoes will dry up. During the rainy season, there is flood damage to the rice and dry crop fields, especially if they are in the narrow ravines, or along small stream beds.

132 In Hanashiro, dependence on rainfall is immediate and direct.
312 There is no way of storing water in the mountains by accumulations
241 of snow. Runoff from the hills into the small streams is rapid. Short periods without rain are serious. The planting of the sweet potato is very sensitive to this factor. If one asks a farmer when he plants sweet potatoes, he always qualifies his reply by beginning, "If there is enough rain..."

241 There is in these villages no complex irrigation (kangai). In
312 Hanashiro, the flow of water through rice fields and its division are controlled by simple means. Water comes from the nearby hills, either in rivulets or in slightly wider ditches. In the former case, the water is divided by allowing the owner on one side of the stream to get water one day, diverting it on the next to the other side. The larger streams may be forked.

[133] Streams soon lose their identity as they descend from the hills to the lowlands, where they become the water of the paddy. The streams of Okinawa are hidden in the rice fields.

241 In Matsuda, the flow of water down the hillsides is controlled
311 largely by bench cultivation. Rice paddies go far up the narrow valleys
312 and ravines. When these have been converted to rice fields, the water flows into the highest level. A small aperture on the opposite side allows it to fall into the next lower paddy until the water reaches the level of the valley or lowland, where it may be further dispersed throughout rice fields, or trickle off again as a stream. In this way, the flow of the water, not too fast, not too sluggish, provides continually fresh water with its nutrients from the hillsides for each field, and makes possible the irrigation of large areas.

It is for these reasons that terracing is practiced. Cultivation is easier. So is irrigation. Soil runoff is avoided. Terracing is the only way that a ravine or a small slope can be used for paddies, for which a flat and level piece of land is required. Otherwise, the water necessary for the plant runs off.

244 [132] months. The amount of sweet potatoes grown is not closely related to the season. It depends much more on rainfall.

[131] [131] The effects of typhoons on the plant are most noticeable after transplanting. Salt water spray shrivels the transplants up and they die without developing. These conditions are more noticeable near the seashore in areas like Nagamo that lack trees and tidewater shelters.

824 Like rice, all of the sweet potato plant is used. Plant residues are turned under to fertilize the soil. This turning under of the vines or their use in composts is a doubtful blessing if the plants are diseased. The good potatoes are reserved for human consumption. [231] The poor or the diseased ones are mashed up in a stone mortar with a long pole, used like a pestle, for pig and goat food. Besides using the tops as slips, women constantly cut them off for fresh greens for the pigs. [262] The sweet potato is the basic food because it is cheap, can be grown the year round in lowlands and uplands, and can be cultivated by all members of the family. As pig food, it is a means of inexpensively raising animals which later have cash value. [462] The feeding and care of pigs is usually one of the incidental chores of women.

244 184 The varieties most commonly found in these Okinawan villages are the Okinawan #100 (Okinawan no hyakugo) and varieties known locally as the bentō, a small round tuber, and the bokuto. The two chief differences between the northern and southern villages in cultivating the sweet potato are (1) the two and three pronged hoes are much more in evidence in the north. With practice, they can be used advantageously in quickly weeding a plot while not cutting the potato itself. (2) Matsuda appears to be less dependent on the sweet potato as a human food. [262] The farmer here has more rice for himself and a greater proportion of his sweet potato crop goes for animal food. [231]

6

The Planting of Sugar Cane and Sugar Making

249 Sugar cane (kibi) is grown on dry crop land, its rows often alternating on the same plot with the sweet potato. Cane may be started with cuttings, or it may be a second growth (ratoon) from the stubs of the old plant after it has been cut down for crushing. Cuttings may be purchased or selected plants from another planting are used. The slips are cut to leave three buds. These cuttings may be planted in three ways: (1) all horizontally, (2) horizontally with the cutting which comes from the topmost part of the stalk planted slantwise, or (3) all cuttings may be planted slanting.

The soil must be thoroughly worked with the ever present hoe. Plowing and harrowing are rarely done. The earth must be thoroughly fertilized. In addition, small amounts of compost may be placed under the cutting, and less often liquid night soil might be used.

Part 1

Minatogawa, the Fishing Community

1

Introduction

Fishing families are a closely knit group. They are usually interrelated. For the most part, the main houses of their extended families are in the fishing town of Itoman. Fathers, sons, wives, daughters, grandparents participate in some phase of fishing activity. 226 [596] 607

In an agricultural community, the first son remains in the home working the fields of his father. In fishing, through long custom, there is an avoidance of teamwork among close relatives. Members of the immediate family will not go out on the same fishing boat. A father will not take his son, an elder brother will not take a younger. Partners and working teams on boats are more distant relatives or friends. If a father and a son are on the same boat and it is lost, the present and the succeeding head both perish. To this incontrovertible possibility, there has been added the belief that if two persons of the same immediate family go to sea together on the same boat, there will be a disaster. And actual and near disasters are frequent enough to make both points of view understandable. The sons of fishermen, who are learning the ways of the fish and of the sea, go on the boats of others. Many younger fishermen regard the belief that it is inviting disaster to have two members of the same immediate family together on the same boat as a superstition (meishin), but to my knowledge, no fisherman ignores the custom. 226 593 [183]

In Minatogawa, about one half of the fishermen have fields of their own, usually small and poor. Perhaps twenty men in the village may be classed as half farmers and half fishermen, but even in these cases it is the wives and the children who have the continuing responsibility for the fields. 226 241 [423]

Neither is it rare for a fisherman to be a stonecutter. Perhaps another twenty men are engaged in the summer in fishing, and in stonecutting in the winter, or on unfavorable fishing days. The three main occupations of the village, including Nagamo, are thus found in varying combinations. Fishing is the most exacting and offers few opportunities for amateurs. Stonecutting requires strength and endurance. For those who have land, agriculture offers possibilities of growing one's own food and of avoiding cash outlays. 226 324 463

In an average summer month, there may be about 20 good fishing days. But because of unusual or unexpected rains or typhoons opportunities may be fewer. In 1951, there were only about ten working days in each of the summer months. In winter fishing days average about a week in a 226 46 [132]

vations one finds temperate zone forests. Typical for the area are numerous grasses growing along the mountainside and on top of hills. Among them, the most permanent in appearance and use are miscanthus grass and a dwarf bamboo. Panadanns bushes line the beaches and areas close to them. Pine trees are common. Fukugi trees grow in the village but also in the hinterland. Here and there cycad palms lend the scenery a special tropical touch. Wild flowers grow almost all year. 137

The heavy underbrush is the habitat of several species of poisonous snakes for which the Ryukyu Islands are notorious. The most common, the *habu*, a pit viper, feeds on rats and other small animals and often enters the actual village area. Since rats outnumber humans in Okinawa by an approximate ratio of three to one, these snakes find ample food. Their search sometimes takes them into the rafters of thatch-roofed houses. This danger is present from March until October. People are bitten if they happen to step on the hidden reptiles or sometimes while they sleep. Children are taught by their elders to be careful, and during our study no children were bitten. 136 [164]

Insects are another source of irritation. Mosquitoes attack quite viciously during the summer; fleas, which live in the sand and in straw or reed mats, inflict bites at any time but are seldom carried in clothes. Flies do not seem to annoy the villagers although they are thick wherever food is left in the open and near the pig pens and outhouses.

The number of motor vehicles passing through Taira is small. A few heavy lumber trucks and an occasional U.S. Army vehicle drive through the main street. Four buses daily, two in the morning and two in the afternoon, connect Taira with other villages in Higashi township and the rest of the island. Because traffic is sparse, and it is difficult to catch a ride, persons intending to leave the community in the middle of the day often take the 50-minute walk to the other side of the island where buses pass every 30 minutes on the coastal highway. Villages frequently take trips to the nearby provincial market town of Nago or even to Naha, the capitol. 489 493 494 [484]

THE CLIMATE

In spite of Okinawa's subtropical geographic position, it has distinct seasonal differences demanding appropriate adjustments in living routine and clothing. Temperatures in the Taira region may reach a minimum of 38 degrees in January and February and a maximum of 96 degrees in July or August. The average daily mean temperature, 132

132 however, shows much less variation. From the low 50's in early winter it rises to the low 80's in midsummer. The relative humidities, having daily means of 70% in January and February and 82% in July and August, may often reach an uncomfortable 96% preceding or following one of the many rain squalls in the hot season.

From January through March, winds blowing from the northwest to north carry cold, damp air from the Asian continent across the East China Sea. Although many houses in Taira are somewhat protected by bushes separating them from the open valley behind, nevertheless, house doors are often kept shut during this coldest part of the year.

March and April offer a pleasant, balanced climate. Winds are east to southeast, rainfall is low, and temperatures reach the high 60's. The rainy season begins in late May and lasts until late June. During these [464] four weeks it sometimes rains steadily for one or two days, and adults are forced to give up working.

Children take shelter during the worst downpours, but they reappear outside even before the rains are over to play in puddles or little streams running down the streets. During this time floods and landslides occur.

Midsummer is often so hot and humid that villagers frequently comment on their discomfort. This is one of the busiest agricultural sea- [461] sons, but exhaustion causes many people to take naps during noon [513] hours. Work efficiency decreases, and fewer daily trips are made to the mountains. Children also stay at home in the afternoon. It is believed that the heat causes severe headaches. The hot season gradually gives way to a few weeks in late October, November, and early December which correspond in climate to an early fall in northeastern United States.

132 Typhoons are known to have hit Okinawa at almost any time of 131 the year. The most dangerous season for these violent storms, however, with wind velocities of over 50 miles per hour, is from late June [206] until October. An extensive warning system exists, and Taira, though remote and without radio, is notified immediately by telephone of storm warnings, sometimes days in advance. Taira people hardly need such warnings. They can sense the oncoming storm and often predict one correctly before the official forecasts confirm that a storm is approaching the island. Since 1955 was one of the rare years in which no major storm hit the island, no firsthand description can be given. The damage is always considerable, not only to crops and trees but also to houses and other property.

CHAPTER I: GEOGRAPHY

F. R. Pitts

131 Location Okinawa is a longish island, lying about halfway between Formosa and the southern tip of Kyushu. Together with clusters of islands lying both to the east and west, it forms the political unit known as Okinawa Guntō.

133 Along the axis of Okinawa, which trends from southwest to northeast, there is a fairly simple division into a plateau-and-mountain northern half, a central plateau area, and a low rolling southern knob. The Motobu peninsula juts westward from the northern, or Kunigami, half and forms a distinctive area. Between the Kunigami mountains and the peaks of Motobu lies the ricebowl of Okinawa---the Haneji lowland.

311 241 Arable Land In general it can be said that the farm population increases as one proceeds south. Map 2, showing the arable land under cultivation as a percentage of the total land area, illustrates this.[1]

Farms in the mountain and plateau north are found in incised V-shaped valleys. Water is plentiful, and rice paddies cover the valley floor. Villages hug the edges of the flat land, and incredibly small sweet-potato terraces rise [137] up the valley's edge. Atop the plateau one finds only silence, and a dense growth of trees and bamboo. Many of the people in the valleys are part-time [132] foresters. The Motobu mountains guard from the frequent typhoons little settlements famed for growing the indigo plant and pineapples. The peninsula's north shore is a fertile but ever-narrowing extension of the Haneji lowland.

In the central plateau area---Nakagami---sweet-potato fields compete with scrubby forest for space on the plateau. Where sufficient water is available, rice fields cover the tiny valley floors and the low-lying coastal fringes. The triangular southern end of the island is known as Shimajiri in [134] popular terminology. Shimajiri is blessed with the greatest concentration of [132] fertile arable land on Okinawa. But the blessing is somewhat reduced by greater exposure to typhoons and a chronic water shortage. Sweet potatoes and sugar cane rank first among crops here.

311 243 Riceland Okinawans prefer to eat rice rather than sweet potatoes whenever possible. It is a paradox, however, that areas of greatest farm [242] population grow the least rice. The thinly populated north has the greatest amount of riceland. Map 3 charts the distribution of riceland---or flooded fields---on Okinawa. Even in the southern 'son' of Yonagusuku and Kanegusuku flooded fields often contain the mat rush rather than rice. It is a good cash crop, and is sturdier than rice when typhoons roar through the islands.

[128] [1] The figures upon which the maps in this section and the population section are based are found in Appendix A. The figures for Japan and Kagoshima-ken are given for comparative purposes. Of all the prefectures in Japan, Kagoshima most nearly resembles Okinawa in climate and emphasis upon sweet potatoes as a staple food.

241 311 312 [137] ● [132] Yields Per Acre Because Okinawa is a sub-tropical country, crops can be grown the year around. Hence the low productivity of a land subject to natural disaster such as drought and typhoons is somewhat compensated for. In the limestone areas of Shimajiri ground water is scarce except after fairly heavy rains. Nanahan has nine small ponds, or kumui, where people wash clothes and sweet potatoes and in which grows the water convolvulus, or unchēbā. Farmers say that if a drought lasts three months, crops do not yield at all. All remember the great drought of 1895 (Meiji 28-nen) when no rain fell for seven or eight months. Even wells dug in river bottoms dried up. The 23 households of Nanahan at present have eight small wells and one large community well which was dug in 1948. Little ditches on the hillsides lead rainwater to the rice paddies, and are fixed so that the water can be directed into wells. If a paddy field is near the farmer's house, a drainage ditch is dug to it for the disposal of used household water which is considered to contribute to a field's fertility. Tables VII and VIII show the yield of crops in Okianwan and American terms.

241 433

Table VII

Crop	Yield per tan[1]	Bushels per acre[2]
Summer rice	1.10 koku	41.1 bushels brown rice
Winter rice	1.16 koku	43.3 bushels brown rice
Upland rice	.72 koku	26.9 bushels brown rice
Common barley	.51 koku	10.4 bushels
Wheat	.59 koku	12.1 bushels
Naked barley	.52 koku	10.6 bushels
Millet	.38 koku	7.85 bushels
Common European millet	.40 koku	8.17 bushels
Soybeans	.70 koku	14.3 bushels
Green peas	.55 koku	11.3 bushels
Broad beans	.71 koku	14.6 bushels
Kidney beans	.71 koku	14.6 bushels
Peanuts	.83 koku	17.2 bushels

Table VIII

Crop	Yield per tan	Tons per acre
Sweet potatoes	1,762 kin	47.6
Irish potatoes	2,176	58.8
Cabbage	3,540	96.1
Other leafy vegetables	1,669	45.1
Giant radish	2,677	72.2
Carrots	2,439	65.85
Pumpkins	2,090	56.5

[1] Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku, Vol. 3, No. 3, p. 1, 1953 (data for Okinawa Guntō).

[2] Converted according to standard indices, as given in SCAP, Natural Resources Section, Report No. 143, Tokyo, 1951.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

175
648 This nineteenth century conception of the Ryukyus as remote and isolated islands in a part of the world in which travel and trade had reached a high degree of development continued unabated to the beginning of the war in the Pacific. The reasons were entirely political. The Ryukyus were part of that walling off process which characterized Japan's policy and strategy toward its island mandates and possessions since the end of the first world war. Okinawa might well have become, as some of the English and American explorers of the nineteenth century hoped, a crossroads of importance in world trade. If it had, it would only have repeated a role it played centuries before.

Since the invasion of 1945, worldwide political realignments have given it a new, and perhaps its most important significance. Its general geography has remained the same. It is the history since the war, and the shaping of ideologies that have brought about this change. Before 1945, Okinawa was regarded by the Japanese as the outer fort and protector of the home islands; during the war, it became the important strategic spot, from the American point of view, for the contemplated invasion of Japan. With the Korean war, it has been transformed from a small outlier in the Pacific to an important strategic center off the Asiatic mainland.

2

Regional Differences in Okinawa Island[3]

131
133 Okinawa, the largest of the islands in the Ryukyu chain, is about 485 square miles in area, 510 including its offshore islands, such as the Keram

[TEXT CONTINUES ON TOP OF P. 12--ANALYST]

114 3 A cultural geography of Okinawa is a real desideratum. But this is outside the scope of this work. Many materials have been brought together in memoranda, published and unpublished, surveys and the like, since the close of the war and the beginning of the American occupation. Lacking a newer synthesis, it seemed foolish to lengthen this report by merely repeating the published materials already available. The intention in this chapter is merely to indicate some of the general considerations helpful in understanding the history of the island and of contemporary life in the villages described. For the pre-war geographical materials see Civil Affairs Handbook, Ryukyu (Loo-choo) Islands, OPNAV 3-13, 3-38, the sections on geography and resources, and passim. Interesting information regarding local geography is scattered through the pages of Okinawa, The Last Battle, and for a general statement, see pp. 7-14. See also Walter R. Hacker's chapter on the Kurils and the Ryukyus in Geography of the Pacific, edited by Otis Freeman, New York and London, 1951, and M. Y. Nuttonson, Ecological Crop Geography and Field Practices of the Ryukyu Islands..., 11-58. For the geology, see, the CA Handbook, 11-12, Nuttonson, 29-36, and Engineering Geology, Okinawa (Prepared by Military Geology Branch US Geological Survey for Intelligence Division Office of the Engineer, GHQ, FEC, April 1951). This contains an Engineering Geology map of the island. For general relationships in this area see Trewartha, Glenn. T. Japan. A Physical, Cultural, and Regional Geography, v-ix, 3-4, and the map on the arcs and nodes, 8.

114
113

chain, Ie, Iheya, and Kudaka islands. The main island is about sixty miles long, its length running generally northeast to southwest. It has an irregular coast line, peninsulas which jut out into the sea, and two isthmuses, one near present Camp Kue, the other farther north at Ishikawa. The width of the island varies from two to eighteen miles. 133 131

Okinawa may be divided into three geographical regions, which also roughly correspond to the ancient division of the island into a northern district (Kunigami or Yambaru), a central district (Nakagami), and a southern district (Shimajiri). [631]

The northern district takes up about two-thirds of the area of the island. It begins at the northern isthmus which runs from Ishikawa town on the Pacific side to Nakadomari on the East China Sea side. South of this line, the island runs more or less in a north-south direction; north of the line, the island is situated in a pronounced northeast-southwest direction. Certain features distinguish this northern area from the two southern parts of Okinawa. A mountain ridge, almost entirely forested, runs down the center. Drainage from the short streams which rise in the mountains is down the east and west slopes. Villages and towns are on or near the coastal flatlands or on the coastal rolling hills. There are few settlements in the interior of the northern part of the island. 131 631 133 [137] [361]

The central region of the island extends south from the Ishikawa-Nakadomari isthmus to the Naha-Yonabaru line. A corridor beginning on the eastern side at Yonabaru on Buckner Bay (formerly Nakagusuku-wan) connects with a long valley beginning around Naha. This provides a natural route cutting across the southern part of the island. The central region is the area of oldest settlement. It and the region to the south were the areas of the most intensive warfare during the campaign for Okinawa. The central region has a patternless physiography. Low rolling eroded hills, stony hills with sharp relief, dissected uplands and escarpments alternate with small alluvial valleys and flatlands. On these and on the lower slopes of the less stony hills cultivation takes place. Limestone sinks and caverns are commonplace. The most rugged terrain in this area is the region around Shuri and its northern approaches, the scene of the most prolonged fighting of the war in Okinawa. Unlike the north, settlements are scattered throughout the countryside, usually on the low lands at the base of hills, along the coasts, or in narrow winding valleys with low passes leading from one to the other. [487] [361]

The third region of the island extends from the Naha-Yonabaru line to the southern tip of the island. It is like the central part in the haphazard distribution of its land forms but somewhat flatter. Part of it is a limestone plain. The highest elevations are around the hills and mountains along Buckner Bay, with its narrow flat coastal strips, and along the southern portion of the Chinen peninsula, which also has flat beaches and beach ridges. It is an area of small plains, long, narrow but steep limestone mountains, and of rolling hills, escarpments which often abruptly end on the water's edge. In the area of one of these escarpments, Yaeju Dake, the final battle scenes of the war took place. The settlement

131 The settlement
631 pattern is similar to that of the central part. Villages are scattered
133 throughout the area with population distribution comparable with the central area. Before the war, the densities here were over one thousand per
36 square mile,[4] actually considerably more if the uninhabitable lands are
[161] subtracted.

How long this settlement pattern and these regional differences have
311 existed is difficult to say. In studying contemporary environments, like Okinawa, which bear the imprint of long human settlement, it is useful to try to reconstruct the nature of the landscape before the interference of man. At one time, the whole island, with the exception of stony, rocky, and shallow soils and beach and marsh land was covered with forest. There are now no virgin stands. "It is evident that the present forest has been cut over many times. There seems to be no part of the island in which the forest cover has not been disturbed in some way by man."[5] In this light, the regional differences between the forested north and the deforested south are the work of man.

361 The oldest settlements are thought to have been in the Naha and Shuri areas. Kudaka Island, off the southeast coast, according to one
[173] legend, was the site of the supernatural creation of the Okinawan people. The town of Unten, the Port Melville of Captain Hall and Commodore Perry,
[174] was, in one version, the scene of the landing of the Japanese warrior, Tametomo, but this was in the twelfth century. Northern areas were in-
[161] habited prior to the unification of the island in the twelfth century because they had their own regional chieftans before this. But the population of the north, at least up to the war, has been sparse and scattered. If the forests are any indication, it has been the central and southern regions which have been the scenes of longest settlement. Probably the
[177] settlement pattern had not changed much until the Japanese interventions
[178] of the nineteenth century and the great changes coming with the recent war, and with the extensive modifications which the Americans have made in the landscape of the central region.

3

General Climatic Conditions

132 In the Köppen system, Okinawa has a humid subtropical climate. It is a rainy climate with no marked dry season; it has a mild winter and the temperature of the warmest month is over 71.6°F. The average annual temperatures in Naha range from 61° for January and February to 82°F for July and August, and the range from the mean minimum of 55° in February to the

[Text continues top of p. 14--Analyst]

4 See the population distribution maps in CA Handbook, Ryukyu (Loo-choo Islands, 48-49.

5 Okinawan Forests. (Prepared by the USGS, Military Geology Section under the direction of Office of the Engineer, GHQ, Far East Command), 1948, 2.

132 There are further local variations. Thundershowers often occur over a limited area. This precipitation is described by Okinawans as katabui, by which they mean a scattered, here-and-there rainfall.

These variations in rainfall throughout the year and from year to [131] year are the source of complaints of drought, frequently heard in the summer growing and fall harvesting season from July to October. [217] Dr. Green of Commodore Perry's staff mentions that droughts were spoken of in an official Loochoo document.

There is also hidden drought caused by the rapid runoff of water and [134] the absorption of water by permeable soils and quick subterranean drainage. Water for crop growth is thus immediately dependent upon rainfall which [133] must be immediately used before it becomes inaccessible. There are no snowy mountains to store the water for gradual use.

Since it is in a zone of mixture of warm and cold air, Okinawa is cloudy a great deal of the year. The days with the highest percentage of sunshine occur from June to October. There is very little condensation near the surface and fog is uncommon.

Relative humidity is high throughout the year. On the average, it does not fall below 74% (in December), and the highest average is 85% in June. This condition produces a hot humid summer, often with overcast skies and it also brings about a felt or sensible temperature much colder in winter than the temperature would indicate. Okinawan winters may be cold, especially with the winds from the northeast and east northeast. Blankets and heavy clothing do not hold the bodily heat. The insulating value of clothing and blankets seems to be reduced.

Okinawa is also affected by monsoonal influences in southern Asia. In the summer, the basic factor is the heating of large masses of continental air, the creation of low pressure areas, and the transport of air from the ocean to the continent. Prevailing winds are from the east, south, or south south east, or east south east, but here the prevailing should be stressed. Actually in a given period winds may shift and flow from varying directions.

In the winter, it is the air over the ocean that is warmer and the dry air from the cold high pressure areas blows out over the island. Prevailing winds from October through January are from the northeast. Though the mean velocities are modest, strong winds are recorded for every month in the year, winds either from the continent, or typhoons originating in the oceans north of the equator.

132 Another modifying factor is the Japanese current (Kuroshio). This
133 current is really part of the North Equatorial current thought to have its origin on the Pacific side of Central America. As the current crosses the Pacific, it gets added colder water from the California current, and is further mixed with tropical and north Pacific waters, and later with western North Pacific waters. The North Equatorial current divides east of the Philippines, its northern arm going along the east side of the

northern Philippines and Formosa. From Formosa, these warm waters continue 132
northeast between the Ryukyus and the shallow parts of the China Sea. In 133
August the current flows on both sides of the islands. The behavior of the Japanese current in this area is strikingly similar to that of the Florida current of the Gulf Stream.[6]

The Ryukyus are in one of the great typhoon areas of the world. The 132
season is from May to October, times of low atmospheric pressure, when the average range is from 1007 to 1015 millibars compared with a November-April range of 1015 to 1021 millibars. The period usually described as the typhoon season actually represents minimum expectations, for, as the table shows, typhoons have occurred in every month of the year, with the lowest incidence in April. The range from a minimum of twelve to a maximum of forty-five shows the reasons for uncertainties and the uneasiness with which the weather is regarded in the islands. The period of most frequent typhoon incidence [731]
coincides with the growing season, and violent typhoons can be expected as a matter of course prior to the winter rice harvest.

In typhoons, heavy winds, and gales, damage from salt water spray, 132
especially in cultivated strips along the coast, can be expected. Local 133
topography has a determining influence on the direction and area of spray damage, but some farmers in the Nagamo area estimated that spray damage [311]
had extended inland in some cases for two miles. There is also the problem of the saline content of rainwater.

Okinawa has a marine climate modified from what one might expect of 132
its latitude by the monsoon regime which affects southeast Asia. When we understand this, the nature of the rainfall and its distribution, the possibility of drought, and of typhoons and their destructiveness, we are are in a better position to appreciate the difficulties under which agriculture must be practiced.

6 Sverdrup, Johnson, and Fleming, The Oceans, 718-22 and the literature there cited. Wust has pointed out in detail the similarities between the two currents. One difference is that the salinity of the Kuroshio is less and its waters are subject to excessive cooling in winter by the cold winds from the continent. See also Nuttonson, as cited, 20.

4

The Disappointing Soils

Okinawa is small and has a large population. Agriculture has been and will continue to be the main source of livelihood for the people. For this reason, a consideration of the nature of its soils has practical interest. The soils of Okinawa fortunately have recently been surveyed, classified, mapped, and computations made of the approximate areas of each soil type.[7] 134 [241]

Estimated Acreage on Okinawa Island 134 133 [311]

1. The alluvial soils of the coastal flats and flood plains (Akamaru and Aha soils). About 80% of these are the gray clays given over to rice fields, and 20% in the brown and well drained Aha soils. These soils have no distinct profile, average more than six feet in depth, are slightly to medium acid. Deep and fertile, they are composed of loam, clay loam, and sandy loams. They are scattered over the island, frequently at the heads of bays or inlets where the short rivers come to the sea. The most conspicuous occurrences are in the Northern region, including the Motobu peninsula. They are much less frequent in the central district, and scarce in the southern district, with the most conspicuous spots along the Minatogawa river and the headwaters of a small stream south of Minatogawa. These soils are level or almost level (surface gradient 0-1.3%). The water table is seldom more than two feet below the surface. 10,900

[Text continues on top of p. 19 - Analysis]

7 The following materials have been used: (1) Soils of Okinawa, 11 sheets, controlled photomaps, with soil map overprint, prepared under the direction of the Engineer, Far Eastern Command, by various staff members of the US Geological Survey, Dept. of the Interior, and the Soil Survey of the USDA. (2) Okinawa Soils, a more generalized map, on one sheet (1:1,000,000) prepared by the Military Geology Branch, USGS, for the Intelligence Division, Office of the Engineer, GHQ, FEC, 1951. This is a map of dominant soil types. The analysis here is based on this unclassified map. See also the discussion in Huttonson, as cited, 37-48. The writer wishes to acknowledge the courtesy and assistance of Mr. Sherman Neuschel, Chief, Military Geology Section, FEC, and Mr. Carl Stensland, Soil Scientist, who participated in the survey of Okinawan soils. In Tokyo on my return, I profited from my discussions with Dr. Stensland, who also furnished me with grid computations for the village areas in which I was interested. 134 114 000

Estimated Acreage on Okinawa Island

134
133
[311]

2. The alluvial clays of the coastal flats and flood plains (Awase clay). These are also deep and fertile. Lack of water prevents extensive rice cultivation. About 60% of the area is in sweet potatoes and other dry land crops, another 30% in settled areas or military installations, and 10% in rice. These are olive, gray colored soils, of calcareous clay. They also have a low surface gradient. The water table is close to the surface, about two feet on the coasts, and near the surface in the interior valleys, except that in dry periods, it might be five feet below the surface or entirely absent. The soils are slowly permeable and slowly drained. They are almost absent from the north, common but scattered in the central and southern regions. About three-fourths of the area is found on coastal flats and one fourth on the bottoms of inland valleys. The greatest area is the coastal strip along Buckner Bay from the Katchin peninsula to Yonabaru, Bucknerville, most of the perimeter of the Chinen peninsula, a narrow strip in the Sukiran, Camp Kue coastal area, and another strip along the coast south of Naha. 16,200

3. The grayish brown loamy soils (Shioya loamy sand) with limestone grains, minor impurities and some organic matter, usually resting on coral sand. The soils, too porous for rice culture, have low fertility, and are nearly level on the raised beaches. They are widely scattered along the entire coast, but the individual patches are very small. Due to low fertility and the small area, the soils are not important. 2,650

[311]

4. The clay loams and the stony clays (Okinawa clay loams and Chinen stony clays). Both occur on limestone plains. These are fertile and well drained. "Both are very crumbly, or strongly granular; although clayey and plastic, they are porous, permeable, and of good tilth." Generally these soils are neutral with a tendency toward acidity when depth to limestone exceeds ten or fifteen feet. Seventy percent of this group is the Okinawan clay loam, with a top soil of a dark brown clay loam five to ten inches thick. Of the clay loams, totalling 30,500 acres, 22,400 have a surface gradient of 2-8%; 5200, 8-15% and 2900, 15-25%. 30,500

The stony clay (Chinen stony clays), "the shallow stony soil occupying 30% of the unit, consists of dark-brown to brown clay or clay loam with loose fragments and outcrops of the limestone bedrock." Stone occupies 10-30% of the surface of these soils. Over half of the 12,000 acres is gently sloping (2-8%), the remainder being steeper (8-15%) 12,000

	Estimated Acreage on Okinawa Island
These soils on limestone plains are found chiefly in the central region, the extreme south, and along the northern coast of the Motobu peninsula. There are sizeable individual units throughout the island and on the offshore islands. These soils were found in the environs of all the villages studied.	134 133
5. The gently sloping Shuri clays. They are olive colored calcareous clays, slowly drained and moderately fertile. They are scattered in the central and southern regions.	9,300
6. The Upland Shuri Clays and rough broken land. The crumbly clay soils are "over bedrock of compact impervious clay." Sixty percent of the unit resembles the Shuri clays, but the soils are shallower and the slope is steeper. The steep areas are even shallower, and there are frequent outcrops of raw clay bedrock.	
Sloping and hilly upland 18,200	
Steep escarpments 11,200	29,400
These soils dominate the landscape of the eastern part of the central region and much of the south. They are not found to any degree in the northern area. The gentler sloping parts are in dry land crops, but much is also idle land. The steep parts are in grass or in brush, the familiar <u>genya</u> land.	[311]
7. The Ishikawa loams. These are deeply drained acid soils of low fertility. The thin surface is of a pale brown friable loam. It is an area suited to forestry. Of the 42,780 acres in the unit, 4,480 are moderately steep, 3,400 hilly, and 34,900 steep.	42,780
8. The shallow and acid soils of the mountains and hilly upland. These are the soils of low fertility of the northern forested area. They are shallow light colored acid loams with a prevailing gradient of 50-100%.	119,000
9. Rough stony land of limestone mountains and steep slopes. These patches occur in narrow ribbons throughout the island, but are most conspicuous along the Motobu peninsula, and the central region. The finger like ridges of the extreme south are notable examples.	14,900
If these acreage estimates are summarized showing the approximate areas for different types of land use, the	311

311 magnitude of the land problem stands out clearly:

Type of Use	Acreage
Total	287,630
Rice Fields	10,420
Dry Land Crops	57,715
Town Sites, Military Uses, etc.	19,595
Shrub, Grasses, Stony Land, Escarpments	27,800
Forest	153,900
Not Broken Down a/	18,200

a/ Probably mostly cultivated land with some in town sites, some idle, some in military installations.

What stands out is the high percentage of land in forest, shrub, grasses, stony land and escarpments that has little promise for future utilization. These soils now probably enjoy their best utilization.

[108] With a growing population and more economic activity, it is likely that areas in man made installations and settlement will increase, not decrease, and that further land for these purposes will come, not from the stony or forested soils, but from the arable land.

The soil survey documents what is apparent to general observation that the soils suitable for rice, and having water for its successful growth, are a minor percentage of the total area. The chief foods, it is apparent, must continue to come from dry land crops and slope cultivation.

134 311 Even though agriculture is and will continue to be the basis of the islanders' economic life, the lack of suitability of the soils for this purpose is especially striking. Improvement of agriculture, introduction of better methods of farming, the increased use of fertilizers, while effective, could only be a palliative when the total arable land for over five hundred thousand people is in the magnitude of 86,000 acres, if we include all the 18,200 acres in the above table which are not broken down. Even if this figure is too low, the mere fact that over 180,000 of the 287,630 acres is in forest, or shrub, grass, or stony land, and of low fertility is sufficient indication of the land use problem. These facts are supported by farmers' own appraisals of the nature of the soils of their island.

161 133 311 The following table, even if inaccurate, certainly states the problem in its proper magnitude:

Table 3

Population of Okinawa Island, 1950	517,600

Approximate area in square miles	454
Population density per square mile	1139
Assumed area in cultivation in square miles a/	134.4
Population density per square mile of arable land	3851

a/ See discussion above. The 134.4 square miles is an approximation derived by adding the areas in wet rice, dry land crops, and 18,200 acres which includes land in cultivation, in town sites, military installations, and in idle land, a total of 86,335. An arbitrary approximation of 80,000 acres (134.4 sq. miles) was then taken, very probably too high a figure. Nuttonson, op. cit., p. 12, gives the cultivated area as less than one-fourth of the total area, or 67,200 acres. One of course must distinguish between cultivated land and land that can be cultivated, but 80,000 acres still seems a reasonable approximation.

If we look at the geography of Okinawa from the point of view of the total physical environment and not merely from the point of view of the amount of arable land available to support the people, we are forced to the conclusion that as a result of long settlement, a growing population and the destruction of the war, combined with periodic and inevitable property and crop damage from typhoons, that the environment is not suited for the comfort and well-being of large numbers of people. Intense fertilization will keep the good soils growing crops. Increase of trade and some industrialization may help as long as they do not lead to destructive exploitation of the forests, and some small help may come from the reclamation of unused or cut over land.

5

Conclusion

Almost one hundred years ago, one of the observers on Commodore Perry's expedition wrote,

> "That the island has been peopled for many ages, is evidenced by the graded roads and deep cuts, the structure and manifest age of the bridges, the antiquity of the villages, the great amount of stone-work in the towns and in the fortresses--some old and dilapidated, some modern and in repair; but, above all, by the incalculable amount of labor done in grading the land for culture. That which is now so perfect, could only have been made so by degrees, like structures reared by the ant or bee."[8]

8 Hawks, Perry's Expedition, as cited, II, 36.

The village is one of a series of settlements in a long narrow valley, on a limestone plain, bordered on the east by a steep ridge, up to 300 feet in elevation and running in a northwest and southeast direction, which divides the valley from the sea. On these cliff like formations, large outcrops are covered with shrubs and miscanthus grass. Lanes and roads lead from the valley floor to the summits of these hills, where villagers collect their firewood and grass for roof thatch. On the rocky, steep slopes of this seaward ridge, above the line of cultivation, is the tomb area. Precipitous and stony hills prevent cultivation, but occasionally a sharp tongue of land reaches far up the slope, its end protected from the rains and wash by a short stone fence. 361 133 [137] [491] [824] [764] [417]

Between Gushichan and Hanashiro village, there is a bridge over a small stream, its upstream course obscured by its dispersion in the rice fields. The dirt road, gradually ascending, cuts through the main rice growing area of the village, on a gentle slope, reflected in the bench cultivation of the rice fields. Here and there are large rocks and stony outcrops, with an occasional scrub pine, cycad, or a covering of miscanthus. Cultivation goes around these large stones. 491 133 [243] [137]

The road, about one-fourth of a mile from the bridge, soon leads into what looks like, from a distance, a densely wooded area. This is the settlement. 361

With the exception of the rough stony land of the limestone mountains and steep slopes, the soils of the area are the Okinawa clay loams and the Chinen stony clays lying on the limestone plains. The farm and village area takes up approximately 427 acres, of which 257 are in gently sloping Okinawa clay loams, a deep, well drained, neutral to slightly acid and very fertile soil. Another five acres is of the same type but these are in slopes, of a gradient ranging from 8-15%. There are 80 acres in gently sloping Shuri clays, shallow, moderately fertile, an olive colored, crumbly, calcareous clay; another 35 acres in the Awase clays, deep fertile, crumbly, calcareous clay of olive-gray color, and 14 acres of rough stony land. 134 133 311

The hillsides and the summits are free of densely growing trees and shrubs, and the lowlands are given over to cultivation. There are no groves of trees to protect the crops from typhoons. The trees and the protection they give are confined to the village. This is typical of many villages of southern Okinawa, where the hills and mountains have few trees, and dense growths are associated with habitation. 311

Inside the village, winding lanes branch off the main dirt road. The older houses are on the north side of the road. On the opposite side, the houses, newer or rebuilt since the war, adjoin the cultivated area. In the older section, the dense shrubbery, the tree lined lanes, broken occasionally by stone fences, wind through the village with footpaths branching off, sometimes past an open field, a reminder of a failure to rebuild after the war. On the northern outskirts is the village office, its gong in the yard, the open field, a playground for the children. 361 363 [417] [487] [367]

Since the war, the old narrow one lane roads have been broadened, permitting heavier auto traffic. Land ownership has been undisturbed, for it is not in an area in which the military has required land. Since the war, the villagers have tried to return to their former way of life, but this has been done with poorer houses and fewer possessions. 363 423 511

3

Minatogawa

Minatogawa, the second village studied, formerly was a shoe string type of settlement. Houses, shops, drinking places were along the seawall road. This pattern is now altered as a result of the war. Scattered areas have been relocated and houses built on lands formerly used for sweet potatoes. It is now an indeterminate type of village, retaining some indications of its old settlement pattern along the main road, with additions of clusters of houses in the newly settled areas. 361 [275] [311] [244]

Like Hanashiro, this village is in Gushichan township, and located on Highway 64. It is directly on the main historical road, previously mentioned, which led from Naha to the Chinen peninsula. The road, along which its houses are built, parallels for a distance the estuary of the small Minatogawa river. This narrow estuary, called Usaregawa, which connects the river mouth with the Pacific Ocean, and the small river itself (Yuhigawa) is a boundary between Gushichan and Tamagusuku townships. On either side there are steep cliffs, the sites of the best known stone quarries of Okinawa. 361 133 [491] [316]

The settlement and the adjoining lands have an area of about 256 acres. It is a mixed economy village with three distinct occupational groups: fishermen, stonecutters, and farmers. There is a second village whose borders blend with those of Minatogawa. These two villages are now known officially as Minatogawa-ikku and Minatogawa-niku. The two terms can be awkwardly translated as Minatogawa first ward, and Minatogawa second ward. But popularly they retain their older names: Minatogawa for the fishing village, and Nagamo for the agricultural second ward. These two separate but adjoining villages were until 1925 a single village. 621 463

The division was the result of distinct differences in outlook and occupation between the two sections. Minatogawa is a fishing village and has strong ties with Itoman, a town on the East China Sea shore about 4 1/2 miles away. Nagamo is an agricultural community originally settled from Naha and Shuri. Stone-cutting operations spread over both areas. While the fishing village of Minatogawa was given the emphasis in this study, it will be necessary occasionally to include Nagamo in the discussion.[8] [226] [241] [324] [128]

8 The writer did not realize until he lived here that two villages were involved, thinking that the two wards referred to a single administrative unit. By this time the work on Hanashiro had been well started, and time did not permit the intensive study of Nagamo. 114

The people of Nagamo are farmers. The seat of their extended families is in Naha and Shuri, and they have their own local deity places (ujigami in Japanese). The people of Minatogawa are fishermen, their extended family seats are in Itoman. They too have their local deities and many of their religious ceremonies are centered around the gods of the sea and the dragon of the sea god's palace. 596 776 778

The population of Minatogawa, as of December 31, 1951, was 1108 (515 males, 593 females) in 213 households, an average of 5.2 persons per household, and of adjoining Nagamo, 564 persons (262 males, 302 females) with 113 households, an average of 5.0 persons per household. 162.

The fishing village of Minatogawa is believed to be about 250 years old. It was founded, according to local residents, by the fishermen of Itoman who were accustomed to fish off shore near the islands around the southeastern and southwestern parts of Okinawa. The place was first established as a temporary location for the fishing boats and later permanent settlement took place. The tombs of Itoman are still the ultimate burying ground for large numbers of the Minatogawa fishermen. After 250 years the ties with the parent town are still strong. 361 173 [764]

The village has two traditions involving contacts with other peoples. The first is concerned with the Chinese. One is a spot on the shore where some Chinese are said to have landed over 200 years ago. Many fishermen pray to it on certain occasions of the year. Little is known of what happened to the Chinese, but supposedly they were buried high up the side of a steep mountain nearby, inside a cave with stalactites. Bones said to be of these Chinese may still be seen there. The cave is difficult of access. 173 170 [778]

There is also the tradition of London sailors said to have been shipwrecked at the port of Kiyan on the southwest tip of Okinawa. A child was born of the union of one of these sailors with an Okinawan woman and the sailor later returned to England. The tomb of the woman and the child is revered as a religious site. It is now a small shrine on the outskirts of Itoman called Rondongama, Rondon for London.[9] Old women of Minatogawa sing a song of this old love called Michinakankai. The theme of the song is the unashamed love of the woman for her departed London lover, an Okinawan anticipation of Madame Butterfly. [778] [533]

In this area the low, bare hills form in a haphazard way a series of valleys, some long and narrow, others like an amphitheatre with an open face to the sea. Low passes connect the valleys. One such pass, about 150 feet high, now on Highway 64, leads from the valley of 133 361

[Text Continues on Top of P. 53--Analyst]

9 The writer visited both the cave and the site near Itoman town in August 1951. The shrine is now situated on a small hill on the outskirts of Itoman. The bones were moved here during the war from Haizato village to escape Japanese bombing. A large cave nearby, associated with the mother and the child, is overgrown and very dangerous to enter because of the danger of snakes.

133 Hanashiro and Oushichan villages to a broad semi-circular valley, the
361 Oushichan plain, with a gentle gradient sloping to the sea. Shortly before the coast is reached there is a sharper drop, and it is in this depression along the shore and the coastal strip that the fishing village lies.

134 The Okinawan clay loams and the Chinen stony clays are also the
133 predominating soils of the area. There are about 85 acres of the gently sloping clay loams, 155 acres of the gently sloping Chinen stony clays. While moderately fertile and well drained, these soils are also shallow and stony, with obvious defects for the pursuit of agriculture. There are 10 acres of deep, fertile poorly drained, slightly acid alluvial soils. These occur along the river and its estuary and in a small former river mouth to the south. There are about six acres in rough stony land.

731 The village has very little storm protection. There are no shelter
133 belts around it, nor are there many trees within. It is open to storms
417 and typhoons, and the water, lashed by the sea, is sufficient to break and scatter the large stones of the seawall. At present, inside the village there is none of the privacy typical of the agricultural villages
361 and their compounds. There are few trees, shrubs, or fences. In the
351 older part of the village, the houses are closely set together. Fishing
225 nets hang on the lines of the yard. In season, the yard is covered with drying fish, fish fins, and fish backs. The yards and the shore are dotted with men cleaning or repairing their boats.

362 The lack of natural beauty of the place is accentuated by the poor-
517 ness of the houses and the other buildings. Its atmosphere is unmistakably
484 different. The village is more commercial and more lively than the quiet and concealed agricultural village. Life is not so much of a routine, for much depends on the weather and the sea. The village has people who have travelled widely. Some of its fishermen have been in the waters of Java, of the South Seas, of the Andaman Islands, the Philippines, and Indo-China.

438 The village's main commercial contacts are with the remaining agricultural villages of the township from which it must obtain much of
[311] its food, for the area is not suited to agriculture, nor is much land available. For wider contacts, there are Itoman about 4 1/2 miles, and Naha about 8 1/2 miles away. Buses go through the village twice a day.
494 The three wheeled cycles are irregular but come and go more often. Fish
368 is sold at Naha. The theatre for the travelling troupe of actors from Naha and for movies is in Horikawa across the river. Many visits are
574 also made to Itoman to see relatives and friends.

The war was even more catastrophic for Hinatogawa than for Hanashiro.
727 Before the war, Hinatogawa was a thriving, prosperous and well built up small town. About 70% of its buildings had a tile roof and 30% had
[361] thatch roofs. There were about 30 stores, sake shops and drinking places, including a geisha house, along the road, serving the fishermen and the stonecutters. Of the 430 buildings in the area, only three were left

226 463 engaged in fishing are permanent or transient families originally from Itoman, a place name which comes up whenever fishing is mentioned anywhere in Okinawa. Agriculture and the care and utilization of the community forest make up the significant economic activities of the village.

162 Matsuda had a population of 1370 individuals (604 male, 766 female) as of November 30, 1951. There were, at this time, 243 households, an average of 5.6 persons per household. The village is said by local residents and antiquarians to be about 600 years old. If the age is 361 correct, it must be one of the older settlements in northern Okinawa. Before the war, this village was known as Kochiya.

173 Matsuda also has its lore regarding shipwrecks and foreigners. There are old men who believe Perry's party came to the village and that they left carvings on the top of a picturesque rock in the Burushii district along the coast, a not unbelievable story since the explorers certainly were not far from here.

Near the seashore, but in a very remote area, there is a natural bridge, concealed by large trees. Roots of the banyan grow through the [137] thirty or forty foot drop from the top of the bridge until they find root in the soil below. On a ledge under this bridge, there are two [164] old and open boxes which were used to collect the skulls and bones of unknown persons. Locally it is believed that they are the remains of shipwrecked sailors, possibly Hollanders. There are still 25 or 30 skulls there, and many of the bones are scattered on the ground. The place is seldom visited.

361 The village rests on low rolling hills. The combination of the ●133 hills, the depressions, the caves and the sinks give the topography an uneven almost rugged character. There are few flat places and these are seldom wide. They are the narrow meadows or valleys between the hills. 241 The hilly nature of the surroundings determines to a large extent the manner of cultivation, and historically probably has had much to do with 311 the shapes of the individual parcels themselves. One does not see in this area the plains or small valleys with rice cultivation that is observed in Haneji township near Nago or around the island of U in Tamagusuku township, or even in the Hanashiro area of Gushichan township. In these communities, the normal pattern of cultivation is that the rice is on the lowlands, with the slopes and upland areas devoted to sugar cane, the sweet potato, or other crops, or left to native grasses. Here in the hundreds of small hills, all of these may be observed in close proximity, hard work and minute tillage comprising with the topography.

361 The village is subdivided into several distinct areas: (1) the main 311 part of the village where most of the houses, the village office, the small stores, the rice mill, the sawmill, the power plant, and the barbershop are located, (2) a reclaimed area known locally as the kaikon, newly settled and with a different type of land use due to the poorness of the land and to the fact that it is a deforested area, (3) a district near the sea coast and along the sea with scattered settlements, isolated houses, and some cultivation, and (4) the forest lands, which in the

Goldschmidt then remarks that the peasant in the last years of his possession thought only of the parcel to come in the next allotment and did nothing for his land, and that in consequence its productivity fell. There was private ownership at that time only of newly reclaimed land or land filled in along the seashore, and this land went to the person who had done the work. The Japanese, when they abolished the system, divided land among families by number of members and since this time large holdings have not been created. Goldschmidt adds that "the land still suffers now from the consequences of this old system."[4] 175 423

To discover precisely the nature of the influences of the old system cannot be done with accuracy because of the destruction of local records, the vagueness of recollection among the old and of the inability to reconstruct old boundaries. What follows therefore is partly speculative, but nevertheless useful in suggesting the reasons for the present shapes and areas of individual land parcels. One of the striking aspects of the land maps of these areas is the odd and irregular shapes of land holdings. This is not true of all Okinawa. In some areas, plots on the hillsides are symmetrical, often rectangular or square. In the areas studied, there are plots of this sort, but also many that have very irregular shapes. 174 423 423

It is possible that after the abolition of the old system, some areas in the island were resurveyed, while others were not. Such surveys could have approximated the old areas but created a more regular rectangular pattern. In Hanashiro resurveying apparently was not done. The historical reasons for the present boundaries are not known because of decades of cultivation and because the land has not always been used for the same purposes. One of the large rice growing areas in Hanashiro is a recent development. The changes from paddy to dry crop land, or the reverse, seem to have followed the fluctuations in sugar and rice prices. It was quite probable that formerly the land was less level, that it was more heavily forested, and that odd shapes were due to the cultivated areas winding around large outcrops, patches of stony land, clumps of trees, uncultivated slopes which have now been reclaimed, leveled and cultivated. 174 423 311 [435]

Conditions like this are a commonplace in Okinawa today. Some of these boundaries also may be following the lines of old streams. Rivers, or more properly creeks, are not numerous in Okinawa and their presence is often hidden: a stream rising in a nearby mountain and ultimately going to the sea eight or ten miles away may be lost in a wide paddy area and trickle off again in its stream bed after several hundred feet of dispersion in the paddies. The boundaries may also 174 423 [133]

4 Goldschmidt, Richard. Neu-Japan. Berlin, 1927, 131. (My translation). The same criticism appears of the system in the middle east. See footnote 2 above.

311 243 be lowered. If the rainfall is unusually low, the estimated yields may even be cut in half. Grade differences are also shown by the Gushichan tax table on rice land:

[651]

Class	Rate in Yen (per tsubo)
1	37
2	34
3	31
4	28
5	25
6	22
7	19

311 The grading of dry crop land is not so simple because various crops can be grown and there are difficulties in making equivalences of yields. The grading is more subjective and vague, with gradations based on the judgment of the land committee. It might seem that the grades of dry crop land based on subjective judgment would be difficult to agree upon. This is not the case. Farmers who have lived in the village all their lives, and who as children remembered the experience of their fathers, know their own and their neighbors' land well. Representatives from the village who suggest the grades are chosen by the farmers for their honesty, skill in agriculture, and knowledge of the land.

311 134 133 Depth of the soil, flatness, degree of stoniness and accessibility are the most important criteria. The first three of these follow naturally from conditions widespread in Okinawa. There often is very little topsoil. One can observe cuts in roads or sharp declivities which show soils only an inch or two deep before meeting the consolidated or unconsolidated rock below. The hilly and mountainous nature of the island enforces cultivation on slopes, summits, and rolling hills. Stoniness, whether large boulders or small pebbles or both is common. One of the occupations of the old in Minatogawa and Nagamo is to convert stony to arable land by tediously picking [887] up the stones and throwing them into piles for subsequent sale in road building. But often the boulders are so large that cultivation must curve around them. These conditions can be seen to good advantage in Nagamo. In Hanashiro, the soils are flatter, less stony, and deeper. Matsuda has wide areas of poor shallow and stony soils. [291] First class hatake land, then, is flat, deep, with few or no stones, and suitable either for sugar or the sweet potato and the various common vegetables.

311 With this standard of first class hatake land, the other grades are judged, mostly by inspection and through consultation and agreement by the committee. In the Gushichan township, there are ten such grades of hatake land, the tenth grade being so poor that it is virtually genya land. In dry crop land, probably the most important

single criterion is nearness, providing the land has possibilities. Good land, unless of substantial area, if remote and far from roads, is very time consuming and inconvenient. 311

Genya land in the Gushichan area has two grades. The criterion here is the presence of grass and small shrubs that can be used for firewood. Grade two genya grows little or nothing either because of the large boulders or because it has too many small stones or unconsolidated rock with little vegetation. If it were not for stones or such topographical factors as steepness or ruggedness, some genya land could be classified as poor grade dry crop land. There are, as in rice land, tax differentials according to grade of hatake and genya land: [824] [134] [133]

Grade	Dry Crop Land Tax in Yen	Wild Land (Genya) Tax in Yen
1	13	2
2	12	1.80
3	11	
4	10	
5	9	
6	8	
7	7	
8	6	
9	5	
10	4	

[651]

In Ginoza-son, the land classification system is substantially the same. There are six different grades of land classified according to yield in go per tsubo. (A go is 1/1000 of a koku, a tsubo about 4 square yards). [804]

Grade	Yield	Remarks
1	5	Two annual plantings.
2	4	Two annual plantings.
3	3	Dependent entirely on amount of estimated rainfall.
4	2	
5	1.5	
6	1.0	Mountain paddy, very uncertain, depending on rainfall; occasionally two crops a year are possible.

[433] [241]

Dry crop land is judged by criteria similar to those in Gushichan-son. Grade 1 is good soil and convenient to water with good yields as shown by experience. Grades 2 and 3 are convenient to water, but soils are of lesser quality. The classification is also based on experience. Grade 4 is in low places, generally narrow ravines between steep wooded slopes. Grades 5 and 6 have little or no water, are stony, and inconvenient. [134] [312] [133]

In the areas studied, no serious sheet erosion was observed

No doubt this may be a problem in parts of Okinawa, but it is doubtful that this menace will threaten the habitability of the island. Occasionally one can see a freshly hoed field on a slope that is losing its soil during a downpour. But the fact that the hills and mountains are covered with vegetation, are not too steep, and that grasses and shrubs are cut off allowing the stubble with the roots to remain in the soil effectively binds the soil of the hills and at the same time prevents flash floods. With the exception of stony soils, the land of the areas studied had a plant cover. This statement is not inconsistent with the previous remarks regarding deforestation, as the disappearance of the pine, the cycad, and the pandanus has been offset by the spread of kaya (miscanthus) grass. Boundary paths also keep the soil in place. They often roughly follow the slope and are sufficiently crooked and winding and of sufficient depth to prevent washing away of large quantities of soil. While there is no complex irrigation system in these areas, the small ditches which carry the water down the slope are winding and covered on their borders by weeds. Occasionally one can see a farmer shovelling up the soil accumulated in a natural catchment in a bend of one of these ditches and restoring the lost soil to his land.

134 133 137 185 [487] [317]

In all areas, equally simple devices to protect the soil could be observed. Roadside borders of stone, like the stone of a rock garden, often line the fields adjoining main roads. (One could write a long essay on stones and the part they play in the culture of the people). These stones come from the fields. If fields do not have stone borders, weeds are left to grow. They are cropped, but the roots are left in the soil. In Hanashiro, stone fences on slopes and contour breaks are a common sight. Sometimes these have the appearance of blunt wedges, the end of the wedge going up the ravine. These stones have been painstakingly gathered from nearby areas.

185 417

Terracing is practiced in a crude form in these areas. It really is step or bench cultivation, the plots being above one another in step like order. The function of terracing is, in the case of the dry crop land, to bring more land under cultivation, protecting it from washing away; in the case of the rice fields, it supplies flat land for cultivation at different levels. In the areas studied, terracing did not go all the way up the mountain side, although this practice can be observed in parts of Okinawa.

185 241

Very frequently the ledges of the terraces are covered with a border of weeds or cropped grass which prevent soil runoff down the hill. In the Hatsuda area, rice is grown up a narrow mountain valley, or ravine, with trees and shrubbery on the hillsides growing to the very edge of the cultivated plots. In rice terracing, the boundary paths often divide one step from another with openings in the ditches to allow the passage of water to the level below.

311 Slow conversion of land to arable fields is constantly going on in situations in which the amount of labor involved is not even considered. One such activity in the Minatogawa area is typical. [134] Originally the field could not be worked because of the large quantities of smaller boulders, stones, and pebbles, all small enough to be carried off, too numerous to encourage hopes for quick transformation. [412] With difficulty this land is worked with the short handled broad bladed hoe. The hoes with two or three prongs are used for softer soils. [462] This hard hoeing is often done by women. The surface stones are thrown aside into little piles along the road. [491] These can now be sold for use in road construction. The vegetation on the surface is also turned under. Later in the year, after the rain has gone into the loosened soil, it is hoed again, and this time it is possible to go in deeper. Weeds, rice straw, unused miscanthus, straw from the pig or goat pen may be added, and this is allowed to rot in the soil. Then the field is hoed again, and the deeper rocks and stones, and those left behind before, are unturned and the process is repeated. In the end, and this period may vary from one to several years depending on the quantity of stones, the farmer has a plot of [134] land, of a rich chocolate brown color, of fair texture and fertility, suitable for growing sweet potatoes.

133 311 In Matsuda, there is a slightly different situation. The topography here has a different character than that of the south. Hills, caves, sinks, and slopes are everywhere, and as a consequence, cultivation is more scattered. In the southern villages, land use follows a more recognizable pattern. The low flat areas are used for rice, the higher parts of the flat land and the slopes and the rolling upland for dry crop land, while the highest parts on the hill or mountain summits are in grasses, shrubs, and scattered scrub trees. In Matsuda, these are all mixed up. Rice may be growing in a genya area. In another part of the village, sweet potatoes may, in a similar situation, be the rule. This crazy-quilt pattern of rice, genya and dry crop land, all adjoining, stimulates the gradual conversion of genya to arable land. When rice is made out of the genya land the converted plot is known in Okinawan as gata. It is a laborious process of clearing, removing stones, hoeing, cutting perpendicular sides, making a hard surface to contain the water for the rice that will be grown. In some sections of Matsuda, the very small valleys have been converted to S-shaped rice plots.

311 134 Casual observers often see unused land and conclude that large amounts can be reclaimed. They do not see the stones, or the hard-rock which may be an inch or two below the surface. They would do well to look at village maps to see how these lands are regarded by the villagers who have tilled them. Probably more efficient conversion and reclamation could be carried on with machinery and with the generous use of fertilizers.

311 185 In the desire for more land, it should not be overlooked that the great conservation value of genya land and the poorer upland

plots lies in their being as they are, separating one cultivated area from another, binding the soil, and that they are probably serving their best purposes now, as they have in the past, in furnishing this protection. 311 185

The conservation practices of the Okinawans are at least in part a consequence of the topography. The care of upland areas and rolling hills is imperative. For a great deal of cultivation takes place here. Unlike China, there is not a strong contrast between large scale paddy rice in alluvial soils and the relative neglect of upland areas with deforestation and erosion. In China the meticulous care of the transported soils of the lowlands and the neglect of the uplands is a striking aspect of the attitude toward land. This is true, perhaps to a lesser degree, of Japan.[11] 185 133 311 [191]

In Okinawa there are insufficient delta plains and alluvial soils to provide these contrasts between lowland and upland agriculture. The scarcity of river deltas and alluvial plains means relatively little rice and the use of the rolling hills and the steeper sides of mountains. This necessity has enforced a care of the uplands. It is true that one often sees sweet potatoes or other dry crops growing in rows up and down a hill instead of along contours, and that there seems often to be a lack of appreciation of the consequences of misuse of forest land through clear cutting. But in the main in the use of the uplands for cultivation, the weed borders or rock fences, and other simple devices keep the soils from erosion. The relatively gentle topography has also contributed to this achievement.

4

Fragmentation and Consolidation

Fragmentation of land is common in Okinawa. Ownership of contiguous plots of land is not the general rule. It is a basic fact of land tenure and influences land use and agricultural practice. This fragmentation is a deterrent to the use of machinery, unless cooperatively owned or unless certain individuals specialize in the 423 241

11 See James Thorp, Geography of the soils of China, Nanking 1936, especially Chapters xii-xiv. Gourou, Pierre. The development of upland areas in China, and Trewartha, Glenn T., Utilization of Upland areas in Japan. In: The development of upland areas of the Far East, Vol. I. (Institute of Pacific Relations), New York, 1949. Trewartha describes his surprise in his earlier studies of Japan and his acquaintance "with the fact that the Japanese, like most Orientals, greatly deprecate the value of upland or non-irrigated sites for agricultural land use." (p. 59). This choosiness is not possible for the Okinawans.

132 March through June is the season of greatest rainfall and therefore
731 of greatest flood danger. September and October rain is often light, and it is during this period that there is the greatest likelihood that the sweet potatoes will dry up. During the rainy season, there is flood damage to the rice and dry crop fields, especially if they are in the narrow ravines, or along small stream beds.

132 In Hanashiro, dependence on rainfall is immediate and direct.
312 There is no way of storing water in the mountains by accumulations
241 of snow. Runoff from the hills into the small streams is rapid. Short periods without rain are serious. The planting of the sweet potato is very sensitive to this factor. If one asks a farmer when he plants sweet potatoes, he always qualifies his reply by beginning, "If there is enough rain..."

241 There is in these villages no complex irrigation (kangai). In
312 Hanashiro, the flow of water through rice fields and its division are controlled by simple means. Water comes from the nearby hills, either in rivulets or in slightly wider ditches. In the former case, the water is divided by allowing the owner on one side of the stream to get water one day, diverting it on the next to the other side. The larger streams may be forked.

[133] Streams soon lose their identity as they descend from the hills to the lowlands, where they become the water of the paddy. The streams of Okinawa are hidden in the rice fields.

241 In Matsuda, the flow of water down the hillsides is controlled
311 largely by bench cultivation. Rice paddies go far up the narrow valleys
312 and ravines. When these have been converted to rice fields, the water flows into the highest level. A small aperture on the opposite side allows it to fall into the next lower paddy until the water reaches the level of the valley or lowland, where it may be further dispersed throughout rice fields, or trickle off again as a stream. In this way, the flow of the water, not too fast, not too sluggish, provides continually fresh water with its nutrients from the hillsides for each field, and makes possible the irrigation of large areas.

It is for these reasons that terracing is practiced. Cultivation is easier. So is irrigation. Soil runoff is avoided. Terracing is the only way that a ravine or a small slope can be used for paddies, for which a flat and level piece of land is required. Otherwise, the water necessary for the plant runs off.

sandstone one sees in the new buildings of Naha often is from the quarries of this area. Stone quarries are scattered in various parts of Okinawa, but the Hinatogawa stone is considered the best. 324 [316]

Sandstone quarrying started, according to older settlers, about sixty years ago. Cutting began on the coast, gradually working up slope over rolling stony land. It is an interesting example of the transformation of a landscape by man. Now with the old methods still in use, the cutting has extended beyond the village. Stonecutting operations in the main are in the steep bluffs around both villages, although there are numerous cuttings in the newer settlements of Hinatogawa and along the seashore. Frequently the cut stone blocks lie near the temporary Hinatogawa tombs which dot the rocky coast. By the simplest methods, large quantities of stone have been and continue to be removed. All work is done by hand; machinery was installed by the Americans after the war, but it is out of working order and stands idle. 316 [133] [764]

Before the war, stonecutting in this vicinity was a more thriving industry than now. Quarries are also found in neighboring Tamagusuku township and there is a distributing outlet in Horikawa, the village across the river. Before the war from 300-500 men are said to have engaged in stonecutting. Now there are about 120 in both villages. Many of these stone workers had come from other parts of Okinawa and the Ryukyus: men from the offshore islands, Ie-shima, the Kerama chain, and Iheya, and on the south east, from Kudaka, Tsuken, and Hoanza islands. Most of these settlers from the offshore islands have left. A few, born on Ie-shima, or from the northern district still remain. [464]

Since the war coastwise shipping of lumber and firewood from the north and stone from the south had declined sharply. Trucks have largely displaced the boats. Transport costs are high and the stone is in demand in closer markets. 505 494

2

Acquiring and Working the Land

Customary practices govern the quarrying of stone. These eliminate the need for written agreements. Interested persons know the properties and the possibilities of each site. These customary practices are concerned with the acquisition, the working and the restoration of land. Techniques for working the stone have remained nearly the same for at least sixty years. 316

The stonecutter purchases rights to the stone, not the land itself. When the stone has been extracted, the land is returned to its owner. This is unimproved land, but after the stone has been quarried, a house may be built on the site. When a stonecutter (sekko) wishes to acquire a certain holding, he calls on the owner of the land. Following oral negotiations, the price is agreed upon. A good price 316 425 [435]

137 settled area and for protection of the surrounding crops. Around
311 houses, there are common stone fences, bamboo fences and trees.
Stone fences, though solid may be toppled over. Bamboo, or dwarf
[917] bamboo fences, seemingly slight, resist the winds and remain intact
because of their flexible loose weave.

137 The trees on the ridges of the low lying hills or on high pieces
of ground are tall, and sturdy, and jealously protected. The villagers
133 take great pride in them. Today this pride is based on the realization
185 of their effectiveness; in former times, their protection was associated
with the worship of the gods of the sacred grove (utaki). There were
[178] beliefs, which now seem to be dying out, that cutting these trees
[177] would bring bad luck. Many villagers say that Saion in the 18th
[173] century intentionally invented superstitions concerned with the cutting
of the trees in order to save them. Now these trees are no longer in
danger of cutting, even though the penalties of the old beliefs are no
longer feared.

The following short list does not exhaust the kinds of trees and plants found in this area. It is confined to those trees, shrubs, and grasses which are most frequently found and which have the greatest local importance.

829 (1) The Ryukyuan pine (Riukiu-matsu in Japanese, Pinus luchuensis
313 Mayr). This tree is still one of the commonest sights of the Island,
even in southern Okinawa. At present, it is a source of firewood,
cheap lumber, and siding. It is not considered good housebuilding
material because of termites (shiroari). Pine was used for fishing
boats within living memory, but now they are made of much harder woods.
In this area, the coniferous groves are along the seashore. The larger
stands are not cut. Scrub pine on individually owned wild land may be
cut for firewood.

(2) The fukugi (Garcinia spicata Hook.). The fukugi is used around homes and on mountain ridges as a typhoon protection. It is fairly plentiful here and prized as a building material (kenchikuzai). The hard studs, beams and cross beams and the wide plank floors in the older and better houses are often made out of this wood.

(3) The iju (Schima luchuensis Mak.). This tree, common here, is used as a building material and is considered to be better than the Japanese redwood (sugi). It is not regarded as a good firewood.

(4) The inumaki (Podocarpus macrophyllus D. Don). This tree is not well known here, and there are no large specimens. But it is regarded as the best building material when available. Often the large, hard, rough hewn poles which are placed on stones and support the eaves of the older houses are made from this wood.

(5) The shii (Shiia cuspidata). The dense stands of this tree in the village owned forest restrict the size of the specimens, though

133

A part of the Matsuda forest. There has been access to the summit and clearing has taken place there. The trees are on the slope. The light area on the summit is a growth of Yambaru bamboo which has replaced the trees.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

Part I

The Ethnographic Background

Chapter 1

The Setting

THE ISLAND

105
Okinawa lies a day's voyage by steamer to the southwest of the Japanese island of Kyushu. Leaving Kyushu, the ship passes along the Ryukyuan chain until it reaches Okinawa, the largest of the islands. Land is never completely out of sight until the ship enters the port of Naha, capital of the southern Ryukyus. 131

The Ryukyus are part of a long string of islands which, beginning in the north with the Kurile Islands and Sakhalin, run all the way south, including Japan, the Ryukyus, Formosa, the Philippines, and the Indonesian archipelago. In their offshore position on the Western rim of the Pacific Ocean, the Ryukyus are within access by small craft from Japan, Korea, and China. This geographic position of the Ryukyus puts them within the sphere of influence of several countries, [133] [648]

173 the two main "houses," or family lines in Taira, and for several cen-
621 turies Taira must have been a small, closely knit community of in-
terrelated people.

Between 1875 and 1895, when the court life at the old capitol of

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133
241
491
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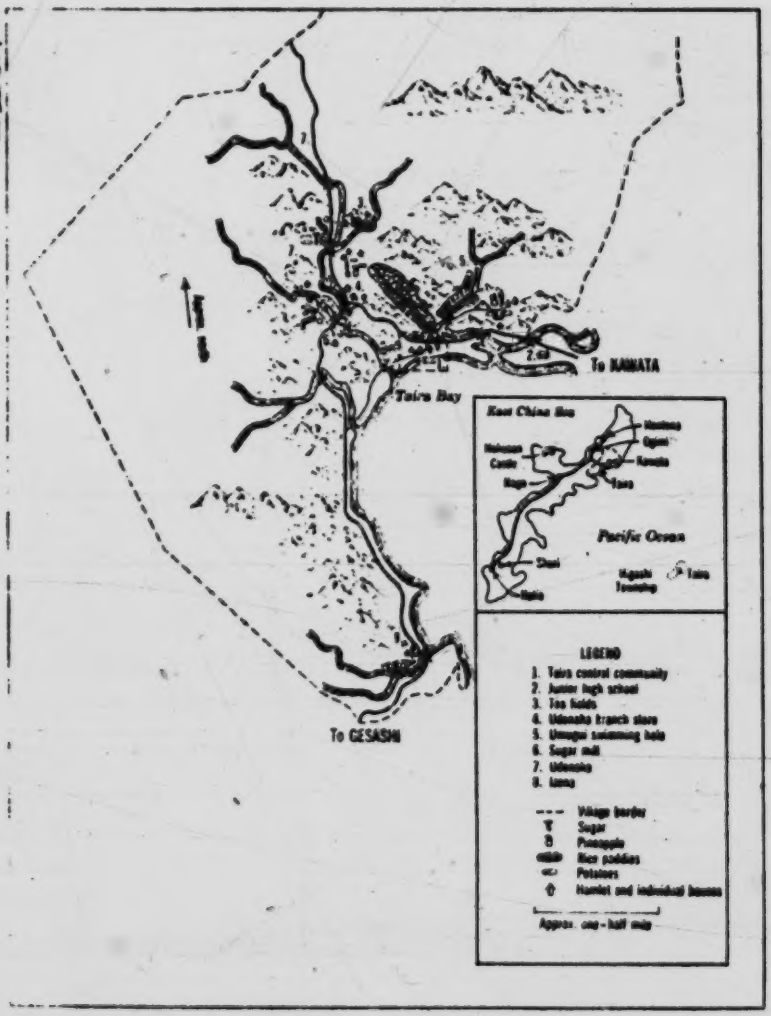

Map 1. Taira village (Higashi Township).

the community is dispersed. In the outlying parts, as far as 2 miles from the center (see map 1), the houses are scattered between the paddies or farm lands in sections which form subvillages or wards. As mentioned above, settlers from the south took up residence in these areas. Recently families from the main village have also moved to the more remote parts of the community, such as Udenaha, because they can reach their fields more conveniently. Although the name Taira refers to the political unit of main village and outlying parts, including Udenaha and Izena, most references in this study pertain only to the central community. Its 60 households, with about 330 individuals, form the primary social unit from which the sample of 24 children was chosen.

Central Taira nestles along the inner shore of Taira Bay, which opens into the Pacific Ocean. At this point the median range mountains recede from the coastline. Behind the village, rice paddies spread in a crazed pattern at the bottom and on the terraced sides of several valleys which are separated from each other by sparsely wooded hills. Here and there the red earth of an eroded section shows like a scab through the green slopes.

In traveling by road from the south, most people choose the highway along the East China Sea coast, which is connected with the road which crosses the island. Higashi township is entered through a low saddle in the mountains which separate the two coastlines. To the right and left begins Taira's forest. Central Taira is reached through a winding lane bordered by pine trees. To the left the view opens into one of the neatly cultivated rice fields, backed by the hills on whose flat tops and terraced sides village people cultivate their farm lands.

The central village itself lies on a sand bluff, separating the valley from the ocean, so that there is a slight drop toward both sides (see map 2). The main road runs the length of the village. Except for the thoroughfare, which is dirt and gravel, the side roads are not surfaced, and after heavy rains puddles form and remain for more than a day, to the delight of children who play in them.

When Taira was destroyed during World War II, along with its houses went much of the foliage which once served as a windbreak. A few fukugi trees * line the main street, and hibiscus hedges here and there hide some of the houses from a first inspection. There are bushes around the edges of the village.

The war-time destruction is hardly apparent on a first walk through the village. Along the main street, lined by houses, one finds the rice mill, a substantial new building of concrete and wood, the police sta-

* A small- to medium-sized evergreen tree with a narrow, upright, very dark green crown of leaves.

[Text continues on p. 377]

312 Water is diverted from a stream a mile
365 above the village and piped into the upper and lower tanks where
[482] people fill their buckets which they carry home on a shoulder yoke.
[857] Both tanks always attract children. Before faucets were installed, the two spigots on each tank were closed with a wooden stopper which the children often pulled to get a drink or water to play in. An open lot surrounding the upper water tank is another popular play area.

361 On the eastern side of the village below the main road lies a flat sandy plain, separating the actual beach from the houses above. Children are frequently found playing there or walking along the beach to the mouth of the Noro Mata and Fukuji rivers, which reach the sea
[764] about 400 yards away. To the west of the central village lie the tombs
[211] and the monument for the war dead of the village.

487 Many hills around the village drop off vertically toward the south;
[133] these drops are partly effects of the geological conditions, such as karst depressions, partly caused by erosion of drainage during the heavy rains. Narrow paths, leading up the steep claylike hillsides, are slippery
[491] and very treacherous during rains. On the way to school in Kawata, the neighboring village, children have to pass a section of the road where river and rains have washed away the bank so badly that a misstep on the edge of the road could lead to a fall of more than 50 feet.

312 The little river which runs through parts of the valley behind Taira
[857] is another gathering place of children. A path alongside it leads into
[487] the hills and mountain forest lands. Seven minutes walking along this path takes one to Umugui, a natural swimming hole which also serves as one of the favorite laundry places. During the summer the river offers several other popular swimming spots downstream from Umugui.
[296] There is also a little concrete bridge in the rice fields beyond the houses, where adults and children go to wash laundry and sometimes pots and pans. Yamagawa well is a water hole, lined with concrete, near the northwestern part of Taira. Before water faucets were installed, girls frequently went there to wash their hair and do laundry.

857 Children go to the fields to look for flowers and berries or, in the
[484] case of older boys, to cut grass for animals. Distances covered by any child depend, of course, on the age. Younger siblings under 5 accompany the older ones to places beyond the area, but no expeditions extend to areas that are not also regularly traversed by adults in the course of their daily duties. Perhaps because of the multiple rivers and water sources, the beach offers less enticement than one might expect. On some days a group may decide to play on the beach, but since sand is also available throughout the village, everybody will soon shift back to some other area inland.

137 Tropical plants, bushes, and trees grow at sea level. At higher ele-

CHAPTER I: GEOGRAPHY

F. R. Pitts

131 Location Okinawa is a longish island, lying about halfway between Formosa and the southern tip of Kyushu. Together with clusters of islands lying both to the east and west, it forms the political unit known as Okinawa Gunto.

133 Along the axis of Okinawa, which trends from southwest to northeast, there is a fairly simple division into a plateau-and-mountain northern half, a central plateau area, and a low rolling southern knob. The Motobu peninsula juts westward from the northern, or Kunigami, half and forms a distinctive area. Between the Kunigami mountains and the peaks of Motobu lies the ricebowl of Okinawa---the Haneji lowland.

311 241 Arable Land In general it can be said that the farm population increases as one proceeds south. Map 2, showing the arable land under cultivation as a percentage of the total land area, illustrates this.[1]

Farms in the mountain and plateau north are found in incised V-shaped valleys. Water is plentiful, and rice paddies cover the valley floor. Villages hug the edges of the flat land, and incredibly small sweet-potato terraces rise [137] up the valley's edge. Atop the plateau one finds only silence, and a dense growth of trees and bamboo. Many of the people in the valleys are part-time [132] foresters. The Motobu mountains guard from the frequent typhoons little settlements famed for growing the indigo plant and pineapples. The peninsula's north shore is a fertile but ever-narrowing extension of the Haneji lowland.

In the central plateau area---Nakagami---sweet-potato fields compete with scrubby forest for space on the plateau. Where sufficient water is available, rice fields cover the tiny valley floors and the low-lying coastal fringes. The triangular southern end of the island is known as Shimajiri in [134] popular terminology. Shimajiri is blessed with the greatest concentration of [132] fertile arable land on Okinawa. But the blessing is somewhat reduced by greater exposure to typhoons and a chronic water shortage. Sweet potatoes and sugar cane rank first among crops here.

311 243 Riceland Okinawans prefer to eat rice rather than sweet potatoes whenever possible. It is a paradox, however, that areas of greatest farm [262] population grow the least rice. The thinly populated north has the greatest amount of riceland. Map 3 charts the distribution of riceland---or flooded fields---on Okinawa. Even in the southern 'son' of Yonagusuku and Kanegusuku flooded fields often contain the mat rush rather than rice. It is a good cash crop, and is sturdier than rice when typhoons roar through the islands.

[128] [1] The figures upon which the maps in this section and the population section are based are found in Appendix A. The figures for Japan and Kagoshima-ken are given for comparative purposes. Of all the prefectures in Japan, Kagoshima most nearly resembles Okinawa in climate and emphasis upon sweet potatoes as a staple food.

132 There are further local variations. Thundershowers often occur over a limited area. This precipitation is described by Okinawans as katabui, by which they mean a scattered, here-and-there rainfall.

[131] These variations in rainfall throughout the year and from year to year are the source of complaints of drought, frequently heard in the summer growing and fall harvesting season from July to October.
[217] Dr. Green of Commodore Perry's staff mentions that droughts were spoken of in an official Loochoo document.

[134] There is also hidden drought caused by the rapid runoff of water and the absorption of water by permeable soils and quick subterranean drainage.
[133] Water for crop growth is thus immediately dependent upon rainfall which must be immediately used before it becomes inaccessible. There are no snowy mountains to store the water for gradual use.

Since it is in a zone of mixture of warm and cold air, Okinawa is cloudy a great deal of the year. The days with the highest percentage of sunshine occur from June to October. There is very little condensation near the surface and fog is uncommon.

Relative humidity is high throughout the year. On the average, it does not fall below 74% (in December), and the highest average is 85% in June. This condition produces a hot humid summer, often with overcast skies and it also brings about a felt or sensible temperature much colder in winter than the temperature would indicate. Okinawan winters may be cold, especially with the winds from the northeast and east northeast. Blankets and heavy clothing do not hold the bodily heat. The insulating value of clothing and blankets seems to be reduced.

Okinawa is also affected by monsoonal influences in southern Asia. In the summer, the basic factor is the heating of large masses of continental air, the creation of low pressure areas, and the transport of air from the ocean to the continent. Prevailing winds are from the east, south, or south south east, or east south east, but here the prevailing should be stressed. Actually in a given period winds may shift and flow from varying directions.

In the winter, it is the air over the ocean that is warmer and the dry air from the cold high pressure areas blows out over the island. Prevailing winds from October through January are from the northeast. Though the mean velocities are modest, strong winds are recorded for every month in the year, winds either from the continent, or typhoons originating in the oceans north of the equator.

132 133 Another modifying factor is the Japanese current (Kuroshio). This current is really part of the North Equatorial current thought to have its origin on the Pacific side of Central America. As the current crosses the Pacific, it gets added colder water from the California current, and is further mixed with tropical and north Pacific waters, and later with western North Pacific waters. The North Equatorial current divides east of the Philippines, its northern arm going along the east side of the

4

The Disappointing Soils

Okinawa is small and has a large population. Agriculture has been and will continue to be the main source of livelihood for the people. For this reason, a consideration of the nature of its soils has practical interest. The soils of Okinawa fortunately have recently been surveyed, classified, mapped, and computations made of the approximate areas of each soil type.[7] 134 [241]

Estimated Acreage on Okinawa Island 134 133 [311]

1. The alluvial soils of the coastal flats and flood plains (Akamaru and Aha soils). About 80% of these are the gray clays given over to rice fields, and 20% in the brown and well drained Aha soils. These soils have no distinct profile, average more than six feet in depth, are slightly to medium acid. Deep and fertile, they are composed of loam, clay loam, and sandy loams. They are scattered over the island, frequently at the heads of bays or inlets where the short rivers come to the sea. The most conspicuous occurrences are in the Northern region, including the Motobu peninsula. They are much less frequent in the central district, and scarce in the southern district, with the most conspicuous spots along the Minatogawa river and the headwaters of a small stream south of Minatogawa. These soils are level or almost level (surface gradient 0-1.3%). The water table is seldom more than two feet below the surface. 10,900

[Text continues on top of p. 19 -- Analyst]

7 The following materials have been used: (1) Soils of Okinawa, 11 sheets, controlled photomaps, with soil map overprint, prepared under the direction of the Engineer, Far Eastern Command, by various staff members of the US Geological Survey, Dept. of the Interior, and the Soil Survey of the USDA. (2) Okinawa Soils, a more generalized map, on one sheet (1:1,000,000) prepared by the Military Geology Branch, USGS, for the Intelligence Division, Office of the Engineer, GHQ, FEC, 1951. This is a map of dominant soil types. The analysis here is based on this unclassified map. See also the discussion in Nuttonson, as cited, 37-48. The writer wishes to acknowledge the courtesy and assistance of Mr. Sherman Neuschel, Chief, Military Geology Section, FEC, and Mr. Carl Stensland, Soil Scientist, who participated in the survey of Okinawan soils. In Tokyo on my return, I profited from my discussions with Dr. Stensland, who also furnished me with grid computations for the village areas in which I was interested. 134 114 000

Estimated Acreage on Okinawa Island

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133
[311]

2. The alluvial clays of the coastal flats and flood plains (Awase clay). These are also deep and fertile. Lack of water prevents extensive rice cultivation. About 60% of the area is in sweet potatoes and other dry land crops, another 30% in settled areas or military installations, and 10% in rice. These are olive, gray colored soils, of calcareous clay. They also have a low surface gradient. The water table is close to the surface, about two feet on the coasts, and near the surface in the interior valleys, except that in dry periods, it might be five feet below the surface or entirely absent. The soils are slowly permeable and slowly drained. They are almost absent from the north, common but scattered in the central and southern regions. About three-fourths of the area is found on coastal flats and one fourth on the bottoms of inland valleys. The greatest area is the coastal strip along Buckner Bay from the Katchin peninsula to Yonabaru, Bucknerville, most of the perimeter of the Chinen peninsula, a narrow strip in the Sukiran, Camp Kue coastal area, and another strip along the coast south of Naha. 16,200

3. The grayish brown loamy soils (Shioya loamy sand) with limestone grains, minor impurities and some organic matter, usually resting on coral sand. The soils, too porous for rice culture, have low fertility, and are nearly level on the raised beaches. They are widely scattered along the entire coast, but the individual patches are very small. Due to low fertility and the small area, the soils are not important. 2,650

[311]

4. The clay loams and the stony clays (Okinawa clay loams and Chinen stony clays). Both occur on limestone plains. These are fertile and well drained. "Both are very crumbly, or strongly granular; although clayey and plastic, they are porous, permeable, and of good tilth." Generally these soils are neutral with a tendency toward acidity when depth to limestone exceeds ten or fifteen feet. Seventy percent of this group is the Okinawan clay loam, with a top soil of a dark brown clay loam five to ten inches thick. Of the clay loams, totalling 30,500 acres, 22,400 have a surface gradient of 2-8%; 5200, 8-15% and 2900, 15-25%. 30,500

The stony clay (Chinen stony clays), "the shallow stony soil occupying 30% of the unit, consists of dark-brown to brown clay or clay loam with loose fragments and outcrops of the limestone bedrock." Stone occupies 10-30% of the surface of these soils. Over half of the 12,000 acres is gently sloping (2-8%), the remainder being steeper (8-15%) 12,000

	Estimated Acreage on Okinawa Island
These soils on limestone plains are found chiefly in the central region, the extreme south, and along the northern coast of the Motobu peninsula. There are sizeable individual units throughout the island and on the offshore islands. These soils were found in the environs of all the villages studied.	134 133
5. The gently sloping Shuri clays. They are olive colored calcareous clays, slowly drained and moderately fertile. They are scattered in the central and southern regions.	9,300
6. The Upland Shuri Clays and rough broken land. The crumbly clay soils are "over bedrock of compact impervious clay." Sixty percent of the unit resembles the Shuri clays, but the soils are shallower and the slope is steeper. The steep areas are even shallower, and there are frequent outcrops of raw clay bedrock.	
Sloping and hilly upland 18,200	
Steep escarpments 11,200	29,400
These soils dominate the landscape of the eastern part of the central region and much of the south. They are not found to any degree in the northern area. The gentler sloping parts are in dry land crops, but much is also idle land. The steep parts are in grass or in brush, the familiar genya land.	[311]
7. The Ishikawa loams. These are deeply drained acid soils of low fertility. The thin surface is of a pale brown friable loam. It is an area suited to forestry. Of the 42,780 acres in the unit, 4480 are moderately steep, 3400 hilly, and 34,900 steep.	42,780
8. The shallow and acid soils of the mountains and hilly upland. These are the soils of low fertility of the northern forested area. They are shallow light colored acid loams with a prevailing gradient of 50-100%.	119,000
9. Rough stony land of limestone mountains and steep slopes. These patches occur in narrow ribbons throughout the island, but are most conspicuous along the Motobu peninsula, and the central region. The finger like ridges of the extreme south are notable examples.	14,900

If these acreage estimates are summarized showing the approximate areas for different types of land use, the

311

311 magnitude of the land problem stands out clearly:

Type of Use	Acreage
Total	287,630
Rice Fields	10,420
Dry Land Crops	57,715
Town Sites, Military Uses, etc.	19,595
Shrub, Grasses, Stony Land, Escarpments	27,800
Forest	153,900
Not Broken Down a/	18,200

a/ Probably mostly cultivated land with some in town sites, some idle, some in military installations.

What stands out is the high percentage of land in forest, shrub, grasses, stony land and escarpments that has little promise for future utilization. These soils now probably enjoy their best utilization.

[178] With a growing population and more economic activity, it is likely that areas in man made installations and settlement will increase, not decrease, and that further land for these purposes will come, not from the stony or forested soils, but from the arable land.

The soil survey documents what is apparent to general observation that the soils suitable for rice, and having water for its successful growth, are a minor percentage of the total area. The chief foods, it is apparent, must continue to come from dry land crops and slope cultivation.

134 311 Even though agriculture is and will continue to be the basis of the islanders' economic life, the lack of suitability of the soils for this purpose is especially striking. Improvement of agriculture, introduction of better methods of farming, the increased use of fertilizers, while effective, could only be a palliative when the total arable land for over five hundred thousand people is in the magnitude of 86,000 acres, if we include all the 18,200 acres in the above table which are not broken down. Even if this figure is too low, the mere fact that over 180,000 of the 287,630 acres is in forest, or shrub, grass, or stony land, and of low fertility is sufficient indication of the land use problem. These facts are supported by farmers' own appraisals of the nature of the soils of their island.

161 133 311 The following table, even if inaccurate, certainly states the problem in its proper magnitude:

Table 3

Population of Okinawa Island, 1950	517,600

The village is one of a series of settlements in a long narrow valley, on a limestone plain, bordered on the east by a steep ridge, up to 300 feet in elevation and running in a northwest and southeast direction, which divides the valley from the sea. On these cliff like formations, large outcrops are covered with shrubs and miscanthus grass. Lanes and roads lead from the valley floor to the summits of these hills, where villagers collect their firewood and grass for roof thatch. On the rocky, steep slopes of this seaward ridge, above the line of cultivation, is the tomb area. Precipitous and stony hills prevent cultivation, but occasionally a sharp tongue of land reaches far up the slope, its end protected from the rains and wash by a short stone fence. 361 133 [137] [491] [824] [764] [417]

Between Gushichan and Hanashiro village, there is a bridge over a small stream, its upstream course obscured by its dispersion in the rice fields. The dirt road, gradually ascending, cuts through the main rice growing area of the village, on a gentle slope, reflected in the bench cultivation of the rice fields. Here and there are large rocks and stony outcrops, with an occasional scrub pine, cycad, or a covering of miscanthus. Cultivation goes around these large stones. 491 133 [243] [137]

The road, about one-fourth of a mile from the bridge, soon leads into what looks like, from a distance, a densely wooded area. This is the settlement. 361

With the exception of the rough stony land of the limestone mountains and steep slopes, the soils of the area are the Okinawa clay loams and the Chinen stony clays lying on the limestone plains. The farm and village area takes up approximately 427 acres, of which 257 are in gently sloping Okinawa clay loams, a deep, well drained, neutral to slightly acid and very fertile soil. Another five acres is of the same type but these are in slopes, of a gradient ranging from 8-15%. There are 80 acres in gently sloping Shuri clays, shallow, moderately fertile, an olive colored, crumbly, calcareous clay; another 35 acres in the Awase clays, deep fertile, crumbly, calcareous clay of olive-gray color, and 14 acres of rough stony land. 134 133 311

The hillsides and the summits are free of densely growing trees and shrubs, and the lowlands are given over to cultivation. There are no groves of trees to protect the crops from typhoons. The trees and the protection they give are confined to the village. This is typical of many villages of southern Okinawa, where the hills and mountains have few trees, and dense growths are associated with habitation. 311

Inside the village, winding lanes branch off the main dirt road. The older houses are on the north side of the road. On the opposite side, the houses, newer or rebuilt since the war, adjoin the cultivated area. In the older section, the dense shrubbery, the tree lined lanes, broken occasionally by stone fences, wind through the village with footpaths branching off, sometimes past an open field, a reminder of a failure to rebuild after the war. On the northern outskirts is the village office, its gong in the yard, the open field, a playground for the children. 361 363 [417] [987] [367]

133 Hanashiro and Oushichan villages to a broad semi-circular valley, the
361 Oushichan plain, with a gentle gradient sloping to the sea. Shortly before the coast is reached there is a sharper drop, and it is in this depression along the shore and the coastal strip that the fishing village lies.

● 134 The Okinawan clay loams and the Chinen stony clays are also the
133 predominating soils of the area. There are about 85 acres of the gently sloping clay loams, 155 acres of the gently sloping Chinen stony clays. While moderately fertile and well drained, these soils are also shallow and stony, with obvious defects for the pursuit of agriculture. There are 10 acres of deep, fertile poorly drained, slightly acid alluvial soils. These occur along the river and its estuary and in a small former river mouth to the south. There are about six acres in rough stony land.

731 The village has very little storm protection. There are no shelter
133 belts around it, nor are there many trees within. It is open to storms
419 and typhoons, and the water, lashed by the sea, is sufficient to break and scatter the large stones of the seawall. At present, inside the village there is none of the privacy typical of the agricultural villages
361 and their compounds. There are few trees, shrubs, or fences. In the
351 older part of the village, the houses are closely set together. Fishing
227 nets hang on the lines of the yard. In season, the yard is covered with drying fish, fish fins, and fish backs. The yards and the shore are dotted with men cleaning or repairing their boats.

362 The lack of natural beauty of the place is accentuated by the poor-
517 ness of the houses and the other buildings. Its atmosphere is unmistakably
484 different. The village is more commercial and more lively than the quiet and concealed agricultural village. Life is not so much of a routine, for much depends on the weather and the sea. The village has people who have travelled widely. Some of its fishermen have been in the waters of Java, of the South Seas, of the Andaman Islands, the Philippines, and Indo-China.

438 The village's main commercial contacts are with the remaining agricultural villages of the township from which it must obtain much of
[311] its food, for the area is not suited to agriculture, nor is much land available. For wider contacts, there are Itoman about 4 1/2 miles, and Naha about 8 1/2 miles away. Buses go through the village twice a day.
494 The three wheeled cycles are irregular but come and go more often. Fish
368 is sold at Naha. The theatre for the travelling troupe of actors from Naha and for movies is in Horikawa across the river. Many visits are
574 also made to Itoman to see relatives and friends.

The war was even more catastrophic for Minatogawa than for Hanashiro.
727 Before the war, Minatogawa was a thriving, prosperous and well built up small town. About 70% of its buildings had a tile roof and 30% had
[361] thatch roofs. There were about 30 stores, sake shops and drinking places, including a geisha house, along the road, serving the fishermen and the stonecutters. Of the 430 buildings in the area, only three were left

standing. At one time, the Hinatogawa beaches were seriously considered for the initial landings in Okinawa, and later as a possible second landing. After the campaign for the south had begun, Hinatogawa became a forward loading point.[10] The present village has been completely rebuilt, and the newer buildings, with few exceptions, are frail and undistinguished. The war shows its effects, too, on the southern part of the village where there is a barren acreage, formerly the site of an army camp, its top soil so shallow that the bulldozers in levelling it soon reached the rock beneath. 727 [362] [311]

Nearby Nagamo is a village of a different type. It is divided into two distinct quarters, also a result of the war. The old part formerly was to the north in the main stonecutting area, but following the destruction, a new settlement was started in the farm land a few hundred yards south. Cultivation is marginal on the shallow soil of the sloping valley before it descends into the flat coastal area in which the fishing village is located. 729 361 [134]

Hinatogawa, which means River Port, is a distinctive village reminiscent of the famous fishing town of Itoman, though without its size, beauty, or color. 103

4

Matsuda

Matsuda is a here-and-there type of village. The village area including the community owned forest is over a square mile. The countryside is dotted with several small sub-settlements. Within each sub-settlement, the houses also are scattered about and separated from one another by large trees, thick growths of shrubbery, grasses, stone fences, and cultivated fields. 361 [423] [311] [351]

The village is located in Ginoza township (Ginoza-son) on the northeast side of the island. This township is in the northern district (Kunigami, or Yambaru). The village is on Highway 13, which winds along the northeast coast through Ishikawa, Kin, Kanna, and Ginoza villages. 361 103 [491]

Though near the sea, a typical site of a northern Okinawan village, it is a settlement engaged in agriculture and forestry. Its name suggests its nature. Matsuda is a compound of the characters for pine tree, matsu, and rice field, ta, da. Though there is some fishing in the sub-settlements along the Pacific shore, it is casual and a part time occupation for farmers on the coast. The families exclusively 361 [24] [313] 226 463

[text continues TOP of P. 55--Analyst]

10 The statistics on village destruction are taken from accounts of the villagers. They are estimates. For operations in this area, see Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 68, 74, 426-27, 436, 439.

842 need of succession is met, birth control measures might be accepted. There is, it is true, a widespread feeling that many children are a happiness which artificial control should not destroy. But this feeling, especially true with women, is often lost after the fourth or fifth child when mothers may dread further child bearing.[7]

In the villages studied, there is an awareness of birth control. [177] This awareness comes from conversation and reading, the primary sources being Japanese magazines and newspapers. I did not meet anyone who admitted practicing birth control or who desired to do so. According to the informants, it is not practiced at all. There may be some instances.

But birth control methods are not widely understood, and even if they were, it is doubtful that people would use them on their own initiative. The present apathy toward birth control methods may be due to the fact [167] that only recently has the question been of any significance. In the past economic difficulties within a family were relieved by emigration. There was thus little need to think of a limited family. On the contrary, there was pride in a family that might spread over continents.

[183] Historically, the whole emphasis in the family system has been on a large or a medium sized, not a limited, family, and this, even today, is tied in with family pride coming from having children and grandchildren. [562] If families have girls to begin with, the feeling is all the stronger. Though unusual, it is not unheard of to have a family of girls, and even if there are sons, there should be enough of them to take care of the hazards of death.

5

Conclusion

185 Among some villagers--and this seems to be independent of the degree of education--there are now more realistic appraisals of what the soil and the land can make available to a growing population and to their own children. Emigration for the time being is not possible. And, even if it were on a broad scale, it would not only have to skim off the present excess population, but take continuing care of future natural increases as well.

134 There were in all the villages several considerations that have influenced these appraisals. Land is insufficient, even in quantity, though in local areas such as Matsuda, it might suffice for local demands. The arable land is also poor. The poor and insufficient land,

[TEXT Continues Top of P. 69--Analyst]

[114] [208] 7 This dread of continual child bearing is discussed as an attitude, not as a general truth. The statement is based on conversations with men and women in each of the villages. Many women in Okinawa would not agree with this, but the attitude, I am convinced, if not a prevailing one, is at least frequent enough to be worth recording as something more than individual distaste.

combined with the destructiveness of typhoons, make for an unproductive life in terms of rewards for work done. To these, there is now being added a fourth realization, that there are too many people in Okinawa. Greater mobility has increased this awareness.[8]

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8 These remarks, too, are based on impressions. Neither would I claim that they represent a majority opinion. Polls with samples competently chosen could only determine these attitudes. But complaints about the poorness of the land are proverbial among Okinawans. So are the discouragements coming from the typhoons.

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In this illustration, the first son receives slightly over 60% of the land, ignoring type and grade within type. There was general agreement in all villages that the grade of land within each classification (grades 1 to 4 in dry crop land, for example) had little significance in inheritance matters. The grade is more important for tax purposes. [242] [651]

The example also illustrates two other principles: the natural desire to keep contiguous or close in land within the main family, using inconvenient or far off land where possible for house sites for branch families, or for arable land for second and other sons. In this illustration, the shares of the second and of the third sons could be equalized by subdividing plot #6, although its small area would not make it worth while, as 75 tsubo is a very low average size for dry crop land. [241]

Another practice, noted in Hanashiro and in Matsuda, is that the first son receives everything on the retirement of the father. This may be contrasted with a situation in which the father divides the property before younger sons marry and establish branch families. In such cases, the father might take the income from part of the property. But the more general practice is for the father to give all to the first son. Fathers may also make a will. When the first son receives all, it is the custom for him to hold property which the younger sons will need in establishing their branch families. It is in cases where the first son is given full disposition of the property that quarrels are most likely to occur, for much depends on the generosity and sense of fairness of the elder brother.[3] [593]

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In Hanashiro and Minatogawa, it is important that younger brothers receive genya land. Genya is often translated as wild land. In Japan the term is usually used to describe treeless, waste, hilly, rocky, or rolling land unsuitable for cultivation. In Okinawa, the genya land may be in the center of a rice field; it may be a rocky mound with cultivation around it. It may be land in the mountains. It is almost invariably in grass (miscanthus) with an occasional cycad or scrub pine. [137] It is not owned in large tracts. In Hanashiro, the largest single parcel [423] is 4564 tsubo (3.77 acres), in Minatogawa 1333 (tsubo) (1.9 acres), and in Matsuda 6398 tsubo (5.28 acres), but these are far above the average. In Hanashiro it is important because grass is constantly needed for thatched roofs and other uses. [824] The importance of genya and its grass was well illustrated in Minatogawa after the typhoon, Ruth, of October 13-14, 1951. [731] These villagers own little land and many have no genya. They were obliged to buy the grass to replace the roofs of many of the [432] frailer houses which had been partially or completely destroyed by the typhoon. Genya is also used for family tombs. In Hanashiro, the genya [764]

[Text continues top of P. 133--Analyst]

3 The problem can be appreciated by analyzing the acreage areas of each classification of land and the grades within it, bearing in mind that the average farmer has hatake, genya, and often rice paddies. These statistics will be given in the following chapter.

423 134 [824] In Hanashiro, the genya grass and shrub are essential as a substitute for firewood. In Matsuda with large areas of community owned forest, this genya is not so important to the individual family.

428 311 In considering the inheritance of land, it is essential to understand that a family needs different types of land. Not everyone has rice paddies, but parcels of dry crop land and genya in the south are necessary to existence.

428 593 If the practices of these three villages are indicative of the division of family holdings in general, the first son obtains between 50% and 60% of the land in addition to the house site. The remainder is divided, often equally, among the other sons. In the poorer families, if the sons are widely spaced, there may be enough left over for the second son, but when the third son reaches marriageable age, there may be nothing for him. Instances of this type were observed in the village. One young farmer of Minatogawa, a third son, said he received nothing, and set out by himself, first through wages, and then through small purchases to acquire his present modest land holdings.

This discussion may suggest a greater rigidity in the system of inheritance than is actually the case. It may give the impression of a series of families headed by the first son with most of the property and with younger sons and their branch families struggling along on what land can be spared for them. There has been, for historical reasons, more fluidity than this. The large number of heads of families who themselves are not first sons indicates that many second to fifth sons as well as daughters ultimately come into control of a family estate.

There have been four main reasons for this. (1) Emigration of first sons before they became of age. They left to earn a living in foreign countries to support their parents in the villages, became established and postponed to an indefinite future their return to Okinawa. Since the end of the war, according to relatives who are living in the village, many of these have no intention of ever returning except to visit. (2) Deaths of first sons without issue, and the succession of other sons or daughters. (3) Heavy war losses, especially of males. Some of these naturally were first sons, opening the way for the succession of young widows or second sons in the case of the unmarried first sons. (4) Deaths from catastrophes like typhoons, and in the case of Minatogawa, the losses of fishermen at sea.

428 602 182 Inheritance practices with private ownership of land follow logically from the family system. They are a means of providing the economic base by saving the estate for future generations, at the same time providing where possible for sons not in the direct line of succession. Inheritance is a connecting link between the family system and land use and land tenure. Present land use and land tenure are an interesting example of the modifications that a system of social organization, the family system, has made on the natural environment.

311 243 be lowered. If the rainfall is unusually low, the estimated yields may even be cut in half. Grade differences are also shown by the Oushichan tax table on rice land:

[651]

Class	Rate in Yen (per tsubo)
1	37
2	34
3	31
4	28
5	25
6	22
7	19

311 The grading of dry crop land is not so simple because various crops can be grown and there are difficulties in making equivalences of yields. The grading is more subjective and vague, with gradations based on the judgment of the land committee. It might seem that the grades of dry crop land based on subjective judgment would be difficult to agree upon. This is not the case. Farmers who have lived in the village all their lives, and who as children remembered the experience of their fathers, know their own and their neighbors' land well. Representatives from the village who suggest the grades are chosen by the farmers for their honesty, skill in agriculture, and knowledge of the land.

311 134 133 Depth of the soil, flatness, degree of stoniness and accessibility are the most important criteria. The first three of these follow naturally from conditions widespread in Okinawa. There often is very little topsoil. One can observe cuts in roads or sharp declivities which show soils only an inch or two deep before meeting the consolidated or unconsolidated rock below. The hilly and mountainous nature of the island enforces cultivation on slopes, summits, and rolling hills. Stoniness, whether large boulders or small pebbles or both is common. One of the occupations of the old in Minatogawa and Nagano is to convert stony to arable land by tediously picking [887] up the stones and throwing them into piles for subsequent sale in road building. But often the boulders are so large that cultivation must curve around them. These conditions can be seen to good advantage in Nagano. In Hanashiro, the soils are flatter, less stony, and deeper. Matsuda has wide areas of poor shallow and stony soils. [291] First class hatake land, then, is flat, deep, with few or no stones, and suitable either for sugar or the sweet potato and the various common vegetables.

311 With this standard of first class hatake land, the other grades are judged, mostly by inspection and through consultation and agreement by the committee. In the Oushichan township, there are ten such grades of hatake land, the tenth grade being so poor that it is virtually genya land. In dry crop land, probably the most important

single criterion is nearness, providing the land has possibilities. Good land, unless of substantial area, if remote and far from roads, is very time consuming and inconvenient. 311

Genya land in the Gushichan area has two grades. The criterion here is the presence of grass and small shrubs that can be used for firewood. Grade two genya grows little or nothing either because of the large boulders or because it has too many small stones or unconsolidated rock with little vegetation. If it were not for stones or such topographical factors as steepness or ruggedness, some genya land could be classified as poor grade dry crop land. There are, as in rice land, tax differentials according to grade of hatake and genya land: [824] [134] [133]

Grade	Dry Crop Land Tax in Yen	Wild Land (Genya) Tax in Yen
1	13	2
2	12	1.80
3	11	
4	10	
5	9	
6	8	
7	7	
8	6	
9	5	
10	4	

[651]

In Ginoza-son, the land classification system is substantially the same. There are six different grades of land classified according to yield in go per tsubo. (A go is 1/1000 of a koku, a tsubo about 4 square yards). [809]

Grade	Yield	Remarks
1	5	Two annual plantings.
2	4	Two annual plantings.
3	3	Dependent entirely on amount of estimated rainfall.
4	2	
5	1.5	
6	1.0	Mountain paddy, very uncertain, depending on rainfall; occasionally two crops a year are possible.

[433] [241]

Dry crop land is judged by criteria similar to those in Gushichan-son. Grade 1 is good soil and convenient to water with good yields as shown by experience. Grades 2 and 3 are convenient to water, but soils are of lesser quality. The classification is also based on experience. Grade 4 is in low places, generally narrow ravines between steep wooded slopes. Grades 5 and 6 have little or no water, are stony, and inconvenient. [134] [312] [133]

In the areas studied, no serious sheet erosion was observed

No doubt this may be a problem in parts of Okinawa, but it is doubtful that this menace will threaten the habitability of the island. Occasionally one can see a freshly hoed field on a slope that is losing its soil during a downpour. But the fact that the hills and mountains are covered with vegetation, are not too steep, and that grasses and shrubs are cut off allowing the stubble with the roots to remain in the soil effectively binds the soil of the hills and at the same time prevents flash floods. With the exception of stony soils, the land of the areas studied had a plant cover. This statement is not inconsistent with the previous remarks regarding deforestation, as the disappearance of the pine, the cycad, and the pandanus has been offset by the spread of kaya (miscanthus) grass. Boundary paths also keep the soil in place. They often roughly follow the slope and are sufficiently crooked and winding and of sufficient depth to prevent washing away of large quantities of soil. While there is no complex irrigation system in these areas, the small ditches which carry the water down the slope are winding and covered on their borders by weeds. Occasionally one can see a farmer shovelling up the soil accumulated in a natural catchment in a bend of one of these ditches and restoring the lost soil to his land.

134 133 137 185 [487] [317]

In all areas, equally simple devices to protect the soil could be observed. Roadside borders of stone, like the stone of a rock garden, often line the fields adjoining main roads. (One could write a long essay on stones and the part they play in the culture of the people). These stones come from the fields. If fields do not have stone borders, weeds are left to grow. They are cropped, but the roots are left in the soil. In Hanashiro, stone fences on slopes and contour breaks are a common sight. Sometimes these have the appearance of blunt wedges, the end of the wedge going up the ravine. These stones have been painstakingly gathered from nearby areas.

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Terracing is practiced in a crude form in these areas. It really is step or bench cultivation, the plots being above one another in step like order. The function of terracing is, in the case of the dry crop land, to bring more land under cultivation, protecting it from washing away; in the case of the rice fields, it supplies flat land for cultivation at different levels. In the areas studied, terracing did not go all the way up the mountain side, although this practice can be observed in parts of Okinawa.

185 241

Very frequently the ledges of the terraces are covered with a border of weeds or cropped grass which prevent soil runoff down the hill. In the Matsuda area, rice is grown up a narrow mountain valley, or ravine, with trees and shrubbery on the hillsides growing to the very edge of the cultivated plots. In rice terracing, the boundary paths often divide one step from another with openings in the ditches to allow the passage of water to the level below.

311 Slow conversion of land to arable fields is constantly going on in situations in which the amount of labor involved is not even considered. One such activity in the Hinatogawa area is typical. [134] Originally the field could not be worked because of the large quantities of smaller boulders, stones, and pebbles, all small enough to be carried off, too numerous to encourage hopes for quick [412] transformation. With difficulty this land is worked with the short handled broad bladed hoe. The hoes with two or three prongs are used for softer soils. This hard hoeing is often done by women. [462] The surface stones are thrown aside into little piles along the road. [491] These can now be sold for use in road construction. The vegetation on the surface is also turned under. Later in the year, after the rain has gone into the loosened soil, it is hoed again, and this time it is possible to go in deeper. Weeds, rice straw, unused miscanthus, straw from the pig or goat pen may be added, and this is allowed to rot in the soil. Then the field is hoed again, and the deeper rocks and stones, and those left behind before, are unturned and the process is repeated. In the end, and this period may vary from one to several years depending on the quantity of stones, the farmer has a plot of [134] land, of a rich chocolate brown color, of fair texture and fertility, suitable for growing sweet potatoes.

133 311 In Matsuda, there is a slightly different situation. The topography here has a different character than that of the south. Hills, caves, sinks, and slopes are everywhere, and as a consequence, cultivation is more scattered. In the southern villages, land use follows a more recognizable pattern. The low flat areas are used for rice, the higher parts of the flat land and the slopes and the rolling upland for dry crop land, while the highest parts on the hill or mountain summits are in grasses, shrubs, and scattered scrub trees. In Matsuda, these are all mixed up. Rice may be growing in a genya area. In another part of the village, sweet potatoes may, in a similar situation, be the rule. This crazy-quilt pattern of rice, genya and dry crop land, all adjoining, stimulates the gradual conversion of genya to arable land. When rice is made out of the genya land the converted plot is known in Okinawan as gata. It is a laborious process of clearing, removing stones, hoeing, cutting perpendicular sides, making a hard surface to contain the water for the rice that will be grown. In some sections of Matsuda, the very small valleys have been converted to S-shaped rice plots.

311 134 Casual observers often see unused land and conclude that large amounts can be reclaimed. They do not see the stones, or the hard-rock which may be an inch or two below the surface. They would do well to look at village maps to see how these lands are regarded by the villagers who have tilled them. Probably more efficient conversion and reclamation could be carried on with machinery and with the generous use of fertilizers.

311 185 In the desire for more land, it should not be overlooked that the great conservation value of genya land and the poorer upland

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Not all of the upland or slope cultivation is done by terracing, as we have seen. Crops other than rice are often grown on hillsides, or up slopes, less often following the contour of the land. The precautions here are also suited to the cultivation: weeds or grasses grow along boundary lines or divide off sharp drops, or small stone fences may be used.

In Nagamo, where there is no rice grown, there is little water from these sources. It comes from rainfall and amounts of sugar cane and sweet potato that are grown depend on its quantity and regularity. Water regardless of crop is a constant problem. [312]

In Okinawan agriculture, constant fertilization is necessary. There are too many people to leave land fallow in ordinary times. Each plot must be used if the farmer has the time and energy to do so. Since the island is in a humid subtropical climate, the organic materials in the soil (humus) are quickly oxidized. Porous soils encourage the leaching of minerals from the top soil, especially with torrential rains. The fewness of domestic animals increases the dependence on plant residues and artificial fertilizers. One of the commonest complaints of the Okinawan farmer, in addition to the poorness of his soil and crop damage from typhoons, is that it must be unceasingly fertilized. It is a treadmill. He must walk fast to stay in the same place. [134] [231]

There is very little difference in the use of fertilizers in the communities studied. Fertilizers most frequently used are:

(1) Composts. A typical mixture (though there are many combinations) may be composed of dried miscanthus, or any kind of grass, ashes and cinders, perhaps some pieces of charcoal, and goat droppings. This is left a month outside in a pile and put on the fields and hoed under.

(2) Plant residues. These are put on the soil, both of paddy and dry crop land, and hoed under. Plants are the greatest single source of fertilizer. The cut over rice plant is turned under in the paddy field. Tops of the sweet potato, if not used as slips or for food for animals, miscanthus grass, and burned rice hulls are other sources of fertilizer. [824]

(3) Animal manures mixed usually with pen grass. Animal fertilizers are not abundant, an indirect effect of the war which greatly reduced the number of horses, cattle, pigs, goats, and the smaller domestic animals. When available, goat, pig, or horse manures are used. Pig or goat pen grass is gathered up and spread on the fields. Pig manure is the best source of animal fertilizer, for pigs are the most numerous of the larger domestic animals. [927] [232] [231]

(4) Night soil. The use of night soil, called jinpun in Okinawan, has declined from pre-war times. It is often said that it is not used at all. But this statement must be qualified. It is [514]

of the young shoots from the seed beds to the paddy field, (4) the care of rice until its maturity, (5) the harvest, (6) threshing, milling, and hulling, (7) the uses of rice and its byproducts, and (8) types and preferences of rice. 243

The preparation and laying out of the seed bed. A seed bed (naidoko) is a plot of first grade land, well watered, specially chosen for this purpose. It is very small in area, often around 15 tsubo, or about 540 square feet. The seed bed also may be a portion of a larger field set apart for seedlings. In this case, small boundaries are made by earthen walls, apertures left for water to flow in and out, and the little plot is then prepared for the seedlings. Considerable care is taken in the preparation of the seed bed. The soil here must be finer and more carefully worked than the paddy field, since it receives the rice seed, not the seedlings. The soil is painstakingly worked, and, with the water added, becomes a thick smooth mud. Commercial fertilizers, composts, and less commonly, night soil are then applied. After the seed is sown, water, perhaps 2 1/2 inches deep is allowed in the bed. During germination, a slow steady irrigation, a washing by new water is maintained by controlling the water trickling in and out of the openings on either side of the field. [311] [134] [312]

The selection of the seed. The seed is taken from the harvest immediately preceding. After fall harvest around December, the rice fields are dug to prepare for the new planting in January or February. The seed used from this crop is tested in one of two ways. 243 242

In Matsuda, it is common for a farmer to fetch a bucketful of sea water. To this he adds a little more salt until the density of the water is sufficient to float an egg. The rice seed is put in the water. The light and undesirable grains rise to the surface. This salt water density method is apparently very old and originally came from China. [177]

Another method, based on the same assumption that the lighter grains make undesirable seed, is used in both villages. The rice is tossed in a round, shallow, winnowing basket, and the breeze carries off the undesirable seeds to the chickens. In the summer planting the seed, after this testing, is ready to sow. In the fall and winter planting, there is one further step. After the seed has been selected by the winnowing or the density method, it is soaked in water for four or five days. Following this, it is removed from the water, put in a tub, and covered. Warm water is added, the mixture is stirred and allowed to stand for another four or five days. The water is then poured off and seed has begun to germinate. The seedlings can now be planted in the seed bed.

Transplanting the young shoots from the seed bed to the paddy field. 243
In the meantime, the paddy fields have been prepared. After the harvest, the field is drained. Small clumps of cropped rice stalks stick up two or three inches where they have been cut with the small sickle or bill knife. This stubble is turned over either by hoeing, the usual way, or

CHAPTER I: GEOGRAPHY

F. R. Pitts

1-1 Location Okinawa is a longish island, lying about halfway between Formosa and the southern tip of Kyushu. Together with clusters of islands lying both to the east and west, it forms the political unit known as Okinawa Guntō.

133 Along the axis of Okinawa, which trends from southwest to northeast, there is a fairly simple division into a plateau-and-mountain northern half, a central plateau area, and a low rolling southern knob. The Motobu peninsula juts westward from the northern, or Kunigami, half and forms a distinctive area. Between the Kunigami mountains and the peaks of Motobu lies the ricebowl of Okinawa---the Haneji lowland.

311 241 Arable Land In general it can be said that the farm population increases as one proceeds south. Map 2, showing the arable land under cultivation as a percentage of the total land area, illustrates this.[1]

Farms in the mountain and plateau north are found in incised V-shaped valleys. Water is plentiful, and rice paddies cover the valley floor. Villages hug the edges of the flat land, and incredibly small sweet-potato terraces rise [137] up the valley's edge. Atop the plateau one finds only silence, and a dense growth of trees and bamboo. Many of the people in the valleys are part-time [132] foresters. The Motobu mountains guard from the frequent typhoons little settlements famed for growing the indigo plant and pineapples. The peninsula's north shore is a fertile but ever-narrowing extension of the Haneji lowland.

In the central plateau area---Nakagami---sweet-potato fields compete with scrubby forest for space on the plateau. Where sufficient water is available, rice fields cover the tiny valley floors and the low-lying coastal fringes. The triangular southern end of the island is known as Shimajiri in [134] popular terminology. Shimajiri is blessed with the greatest concentration of [132] fertile arable land on Okinawa. But the blessing is somewhat reduced by greater exposure to typhoons and a chronic water shortage. Sweet potatoes and sugar cane rank first among crops here.

311 243 Riceland Okinawans prefer to eat rice rather than sweet potatoes whenever possible. It is a paradox, however, that areas of greatest farm [242] population grow the least rice. The thinly populated north has the greatest amount of riceland. Map 3 charts the distribution of riceland---or flooded fields---on Okinawa. Even in the southern 'son' of Yonagusuku and Kanegusuku flooded fields often contain the mat rush rather than rice. It is a good cash crop, and is sturdier than rice when typhoons roar through the islands.

[128] [1] The figures upon which the maps in this section and the population section are based are found in Appendix A. The figures for Japan and Kagoshima-ken are given for comparative purposes. Of all the prefectures in Japan, Kagoshima most nearly resembles Okinawa in climate and emphasis upon sweet potatoes as a staple food.

[Kitazato]

175 It is said that the division of the village cut across family
621 lines and that the motivating factor in a household's choice of one site
over another was the location of their remaining landholdings on the
727 periphery of the village. Another factor was the presence of relatives
in neighboring villages from whom they might secure land for rental. Thus,
Kijikina is largely made up of households which have their lands on that
side of the field or have relatives in neighboring Furushima; the Hama
people mostly own the land at the north side of the field.

175 The Pre-war Village Prior to the war the village was, according
621 to 'son' officials, a very prosperous community and a great economic asset
to the 'son'. It possessed nearly 173 acres in arable land, most of which
[24] was flat or gently rolling. The soil was well suited to sugar cane which
[334] was the chief source of income for the village; cattle-raising for export
[235] to Japan provided an additional source of income.
[434]

Unlike Kanegusuku the lineages were said to be rather weak in Kita-
zato; there were a number of different kin groups, and no one of these was
[36] dominant. The houses of the village were not tightly nucleated like those
of the typical Okinawan village but were scattered about in a loose group-
ing in the midst of the best agricultural land.

621 Land Loss At the present time (May, 1954) approximately 39% of
311 the total land area of this village is in airfield, and an additional 34%
727 of the total area has been ruined by activities related to its construction
(sand dumped onto fields, top soil removed, erosion, etc.). There remains
but 27% of the total land area for the use of the villagers, and of this only
a small percentage is in arable land, since most of the good, flat farmland
was lost to the airfield. The total amount of arable land remaining is
•[134] 11,895 'tsubo' (less than ten acres), and this averages out to about 148
'tsubo' or 0.12 acres per household, with approximately five persons in each
house. The average amounts of arable land per household in Kanegusuku,
Okinawa, and Kitazato compare as follows:

Kanegusuku	--- 1514.2 'tsubo'	
Okinawa	--- 1037.2 'tsubo'	(per farm household)
Kitazato	--- 148.7 'tsubo'	

Land loss to the airfield affected every family in the village; some
families lost all of their lands, a very few managed to retain most, but the
majority of villagers (70%) lost nearly all of their holdings. For example,
the mayor of the village held 2470 'tsubo' before the war and now has 570
'tsubo' left; yet, he is considered one of the more fortunate. To compensate
for their losses they now farm some land which was previously left idle:
"We would not have farmed such land before the war as we are farming today."
Some have rented lands from neighboring villages, and a few have been given
land by relatives in these villages.

621 Land Payment The people of Kitazato strongly feel that they are
829 not being paid adequate remuneration in terms of current rental values for
727 their land. They are well aware of the fact that the same U. S. military

361 traditional attitudes that the north was a culturally rude and physically
311 inhospitable place. The highway which now goes through the center of the main part of the village is a good, hard surfaced, dirt road, widened since the war. A lively traffic of trucks and buses and the three wheels [491] cycles contrasts with the narrow pre-war roads, traces and abandoned sections of which can still be seen. The frequent buses supply transpor- [494] tation to the larger cities and towns of the island: to Nago across the island and slightly to the north, to Ishikawa on the south, and to distant Naha, about 31 miles away.

727 Matsuda, unlike the southern villages, was not destroyed by the war. There were some air raids, some bombing out of the houses, but nothing like the destruction in the main areas of conflict. Early in the Okinawa campaign, the north was cut off and isolated and the struggle for the [362] island took place in central and southern Okinawa. As a consequence, [341] many of the old houses, sturdily built with tile roofs, have been preserv Numerous refugees from the south gathered in this area during and after [166] the campaign. In nearby Ginoza (Jinusa) village, slightly over a mile to the southwest, also on Highway 13, the Americans operated a hospital [193] for Okinawan refugees. It is still in use. This relative lack of war destruction in the northern villages has, to a degree, reversed the roles of the north and the south. The opening up of the north, its prosperity, 184 the survival of many of its old homes, give the impression of comfort and well being conspicuously lacking in most of the makeshift villages of the south.

The descriptions of these three villages perhaps make clear the diversity that can be expected among Okinawan settlements. Hanashiro, the small village cluster, with adjoining rice fields on the valley floor, its other crops on the terraced slopes, is the most typical. Minatogawa, the fishing village in an impoverished countryside of stony or shallow so is dependent on the seas and its catch for its livelihood and the where-withal to buy the foods which cannot be grown in sufficient abundance. Matsuda, a collection of small settlements, scattered here and there from the coast inland, with its large preserve of community forest, is an example of agriculture in a forest setting, and of the use of the forest in daily living. This by no means exhausts the diversity. The village of [136] Oku to the north, with its tea, its rice, its fences for wild boar pro- [242] tection, its cycads planted on the hillsides to prevent erosion, is still another example. But our task here is not to catalogue all diversity, but to indicate that it exists and to a much greater degree than would appear to superficial observation.

place. Then, as now, paddy and dry crop land might lie together, depending upon local factors. In the periodic redistribution, each family received shares of each in non-contiguous fragmented parcels. In the nature of things, they received small shares of the excellent, moderate shares of the good, and large holdings in poor land. 175 423 311

The old classification of lands was simple and did not go beyond three general divisions of good, fair, and poor. Apparently the Japanese after 1879 introduced more refinements and increased the number of classifications to six. Land classification, then as now, was empirical. It was based on observation, local knowledge of present and past yields, and known dangers to the land. It was not based on scientific knowledge of the soils, nor is it today. 175 311 [177] [242]

Several dangers to land and crops were considered: (1) the danger of the wild boar (inoshishi). These reddish brown wild boars have disappeared from large parts of Okinawa, though occasionally one is seen in the northern forest. The boars destroyed crops by night feeding. Remnants of old fences can still be seen in the area around Matsuda. In Oku, in the extreme north, fences are still used and many can be seen along the hillsides. (2) Dangers from floods and salt water spray. Local flooding is common and often confined to a narrow area. Salt water spray and salt water in the air, especially in typhoon times, are still menaces to crops. The danger from typhoons did not enter directly into the determination of land classification because the area of destruction was so wide that it was not a factor distinguishing one plot from another. (One can however observe areas of differential damage in a village as an aftermath of typhoons). 175 241 [136] [417] [731]

This old land allotment system is now forgotten except in a few isolated areas where its main features are still apparently preserved. The best known of these is Kudaka Island off the southeastern shore of Okinawa. If the system has disappeared, except for a few isolated survivals, its influence remains to the present: it determined the pattern of land use still in effect today, the pattern of small, discontinuous parcels, and set the precedents for the mechanics of land classification. The basic classifications such as rice land, dry crop land, community forest were Japanese and are of great age. The old land allotment system is also considered to be of great antiquity.[2] 178 423 [184] [177]

2 It was a matter of considerable disappointment that I was unable to spend two or three weeks on Kudaka to study the land system there. Neither has time permitted an investigation (of great inherent interest) of the historical antecedants of the old Okinawan system. Land classification, such as we will be discussing in the next chapter, is very old in Japanese culture. The old Okinawan system bears some resemblances to the "mouth-share-land" (ku-bu-den) system of old Japan which appears in the Taihō code (702 A.D.). This was a system of distribution of communally owned land, but I have not been able to determine whether the distribution was periodic. See Wigmore, J. H. and Simmons, D. B. Notes on land tenure and local institutions in old Japan. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 19 (1891), 77 on land classification, (continued on next page)

226 most important.

226 (1) The sword or spearfish (kajiki in Japanese, akitaré in
136 Okinawan). This fish (some specimens reach 450 pounds) is caught
from May through September. Fishermen go about 12 miles out for
the catch. A wire leader 15 feet long with a hook is attached to
[227] a 1400 foot braided cord line about 3/16 of an inch in diameter.
The line is gradually played out after the initial 700 feet are
lowered. Swordfish fishing is done in the daytime. The fish is
said to be scarce at night. The hook is about 2 1/2 inches long.
262 The swordfish is considered the most delicious of fish. It is ex-
[435] pensive, selling from ¥50 to ¥100 per kin (slightly over 1.3 pounds)
[432] depending on season and supply; consequently, fishermen sell rather
than eat it, except in times of oversupply. Large fish are usually
cut up before being sent to market; the small ones are sent whole.
The swordfish is ordinarily eaten fresh. The favorite method of
[252] preparation is to fry it after dipping a slice in a batter of flour,
dried milk and water. Occasionally it is eaten raw as sashimi.
Dried swordfish is considered a delicacy. Unlike the shark, the
fins (hane) are not dried.

226 (2) The tunny (subinouo in Japanese, subi in Okinawan). This
136 fish is caught between April and November. Here there are two ways
of catching the fish, depending on the type of boat. If the large
boat, the hatsudōki, is used a long line with as many as 200 hooks
[224] set 75 feet apart is used. At intervals of every three hooks, there
are buoys with flags (hata). These flags, alternately white and red,
are about the size of a large handkerchief. In another arrangement,
the buoys may also alternate with the flags. The same line and wire
leader used for the swordfish are employed with tunny catching, but
the hook is smaller. When submerged the hooks are at various depths,
their paths describing semi-circles from buoy to buoy. Lines may be
pulled in from one to four times a day, depending on the biting. The
bobbing of the buoys and the flags indicates the biting and the probable
catch. A fishing party remains out for three days, leaving at five
in the evening, returning about ten in the evening of the second day.

The small boats use two lines, the longer going down from the center of the boat, the shorter near one end. The method of catching the tunny is the same as that for the swordfish. In night fishing, the line might be lowered fifty feet, gradually playing out ten feet at a time. Tunny fishing is mostly a night catch. The line during night operations may be let out 700 feet, and, in the day 350 feet.

(3) The shark (fuka in Japanese). This fish is caught in the same way as the tunny. Fishing takes place both during the day and night. On the small boats, the line and its 15 foot leader with one hook, is about 840 feet long, and the entire length is let out.

(4) The mackerel (hishisaba). The main season for catching the mackerel is from March through May. These fish, usually weighing about 30 pounds, are caught by divers who seek the fish out while it is sleeping under stones. A strong line is tied around the tail and the fish is pulled up on board. There it is killed with a short

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handled round-bladed knife, the mackerel knife (sabakatana). The fish is caught in the daytime. The diver does not use a flashlight. He uses thick goggles and he may dive to a depth of fifty feet. Fishermen usually are able to continue in this work until they are about forty, after which they stop diving.

(5) The red snapper (akatai in Japanese, machi in Okinawan). This is a winter catch from September to April. Little is caught in the summer, as the fish spoils too easily without ice. It is also a daytime catch, the fishermen usually going about six miles out and fishing from 8 in the morning until 8 at night. Large fish average about 7 pounds, small 2 pounds, with a 100 pound catch for one boat considered a fair catch. The fish is caught with a hook and line. Lines in the skiffs go about 1000 feet down to the rocks.

(6) The flying fish (tobiuo in Japanese, tubū in Okinawan). The season extends from October to April. Flying fish are very numerous in March and April. A large specimen is about one pound, a small one about half a pound. This is also a night catch. The net (tobiuami) is about 4000 feet long. It consists of about 16 small nets, each about 250 feet long, joined together. The top of the net has small pieces of wood made from a tree locally called the angi, the same tree from which the wooden clogs (geta) are made. These small pieces of wood are about 7 sun (8.4 inches) long with about one shaku (about one foot) interval between. On the bottom of the net are small lead weights or shells. As the fish fly, their heads strike the net, and are caught in its loops and held there.

(7) The cuttlefish (ika in Japanese and Okinawan). This fish is sought at night during the late summer and early fall. It is attracted by an ika lamp (ikarampu), placed on the bow of the boat. These lamps may be bought in the small shops of the fishing village. The fish, attracted to the light, are caught with hooks, 8 of which, arranged like the petals of a flower, are attached to a bamboo stick about 3 feet long. (Fig. 1).

(8) The white cuttlefish (shiroika in Japanese, siruika in Okinawan). This fish is caught from fall to spring on moonlight nights. The season lasts from the 8th to the 3rd lunar months. It is caught with a home made lure (yesa). This particular kind of lure is known as the ikauo in Japanese, the ikaiyu in Okinawan. (Fig. 2). Sometimes the lure is painted blue and white; sometimes it is a dark brown. On the tail are two sets of 8 pointed hooks in petal formation, like the cuttlefish hook, though very much smaller. These lures are made by the fishermen during winter nights. It takes about 4 hours to carve one. Two woods are favorites for the lure: camphor (kusanoki) whose supply imported from Formosa is now being gradually exhausted, and the chagi (Okinawan), a tree from the northern district of Okinawa.

226 36 (9) The lobster, (ebi in Japanese, ibi in Okinawan). Catching the lobster is the work of young men, usually up to 24 years of age. A man over 35 may be too old for the hard work involved. Occasionally in summer older men engage in part time lobster catching. The fisherman secures a flashlight, covered with sheet rubber, around his left wrist with a strong rubber band. The rubber casing for the flashlight [227] is often an old bicycle inner tube. The light can be turned on or off without removing the tubing. In his right hand, the diver holds a hook (ebikake in Japanese, ibikakiya in Okinawan) over 25 inches long, which he uses to dislodge the lobsters from the rocks below. Often fishermen remain in the water for three hours, the period depending on the season, the potential catch, and on how cold the fisherman becomes. The diver wears only a pair of shorts. The lobster is a year round catch, though there are few in winter. The full moon is considered bad for lobster fishing. It is not known exactly how lobster were caught in the days before flashlights. Some old men said that nets were used.

[432] On a good day, one small boat with three or four men, can catch [434] 150 pounds of lobster. It is not eaten frequently by the villagers, but sold to the large fishing co-operative association (Suisankumiai-[435] rengokai). The hard and disagreeable work makes the lobster expensive. [434] At present the local market is sensitive to the tastes of the Americans in Okinawa. Weekly estimates of probable demand are furnished by the central office of the association to the local head of the fisherman's association, who in turn informs the fishermen. The lobster is considered a delicacy and is eaten only when there is a large catch and [262] the demand is low.

(10) The seabream (taisakana in Japanese, akamasu in Okinawan). The seabream is caught with a home made device shaped like a Y with [227] a top bar: Ȳ. The base of the Y has a loop for the hook and line. These wire devices are known as yamaguchi in Okinawan though the younger fishermen call it the sarukan. The fish are caught by a series of these wire devices strung along a line with a sinker at the end. The success of the catch can be judged by lifting the line. An ordinary catch will bring fish on 3 out of the 5 hooks.

These are the main fish caught in this area. There are small catches of the bonito (katsuo), the dolphin or porpoise (iruka), and the shrimp (zakoebi), and a small octopus (tako). But these are rather infrequent. There are hundreds of other fish caught, especially of different smaller sardines (awaishi).

227 The wire devices used for catching the seabream can be used in varying sizes to catch many different types of fish. Some, such as the ones described, are used for the bonito, and very small ones are employed in catching sardines.

vations one finds temperate zone forests. Typical for the area are numerous grasses growing along the mountainside and on top of hills. Among them, the most permanent in appearance and use are miscanthus grass and a dwarf bamboo. Panadanns bushes line the beaches and areas close to them. Pine trees are common. Fukugi trees grow in the village but also in the hinterland. Here and there cycad palms lend the scenery a special tropical touch. Wild flowers grow almost all year. 137

The heavy underbrush is the habitat of several species of poisonous snakes for which the Ryukyu Islands are notorious. The most common, the *habu*, a pit viper, feeds on rats and other small animals and often enters the actual village area. Since rats outnumber humans in Okinawa by an approximate ratio of three to one, these snakes find ample food. Their search sometimes takes them into the rafters of thatch-roofed houses. This danger is present from March until October. People are bitten if they happen to step on the hidden reptiles or sometimes while they sleep. Children are taught by their elders to be careful, and during our study no children were bitten. 136 [164]

Insects are another source of irritation. Mosquitoes attack quite viciously during the summer; fleas, which live in the sand and in straw or reed mats, inflict bites at any time but are seldom carried in clothes. Flies do not seem to annoy the villagers although they are thick wherever food is left in the open and near the pig pens and outhouses.

The number of motor vehicles passing through Taira is small. A few heavy lumber trucks and an occasional U.S. Army vehicle drive through the main street. Four buses daily, two in the morning and two in the afternoon, connect Taira with other villages in Higashi township and the rest of the island. Because traffic is sparse, and it is difficult to catch a ride, persons intending to leave the community in the middle of the day often take the 50-minute walk to the other side of the island where buses pass every 30 minutes on the coastal highway. Villages frequently take trips to the nearby provincial market town of Nago or even to Naha, the capitol. 489 493 494 [489]

THE CLIMATE

In spite of Okinawa's subtropical geographic position, it has distinct seasonal differences demanding appropriate adjustments in living routine and clothing. Temperatures in the Taira region may reach a minimum of 38 degrees in January and February and a maximum of 96 degrees in July or August. The average daily mean temperature, 132

4. A Comparison of Land Tenure in Two Rural Villages: Kanegusuku and Kitazato

621 Kanegusuku The village of Kanegusuku is located in the southwestern cor-
[34] ner of Kanegusuku-son, approximately three miles due south of Naha on the west coast, and it is immediately north of the town of Itoman. As is typical of the old Okinawan villages it is situated on high ground with all of its houses facing in a southerly direction. Aside from a detached cluster of eleven houses, the village houses are close together in
[121] a contiguous settlement. The village was selected for study because of its infrequent contact with Americans, relative lack of war damage, and a reputed antiquity and conservatism. As of December, 1953, the population was 507 persons forming 108 families occupying 103 houses. The present population is said to be about the same as before the war despite a 20% loss of life during the battle; this loss has been made up by repatriates from overseas and immigrants from other areas of Okinawa. The repatriates and some of the immigrants either had formerly resided in the village or regarded it as their ancestral home. There are nine families who were native to some other part of Okinawa before the war and have no previous connections with the village. The majority of the families have been in this village for
[592] many generations. There are approximately five persons in each household, which usually consists of a nuclear family, husband and wife and their children; but the composition of a number of households has been changed due to wartime losses.

Socially the village is segmented into eight lineages which con-
[613] stitute 92% of the total population; the remaining 8% is made up of unrelated families new to the village since the end of the war. One lineage includes nearly 61% of the village in its membership. Each of these lineages
[582] is related to lineages in other villages. Approximately 66% of the village marriages have been within the village, and nearly 50% of the marriages have been between persons of the same kin group. Thus, the composition of the village is fairly homogeneous, and both the community and the kin groups are strong cohesive units.

621 Occupation 98 of the 103 houses are engaged full time in farming;
463 the household heads of the five remaining houses are employed outside the village in non-agricultural pursuits although all participate in some part-
241 time farming. In addition to these five there were approximately fifteen young men, not household heads, who also worked outside. Most of these commuted daily to the greater Naha area where they were engaged in military employment or construction work. For the majority of villagers farming was the sole occupation.

621 Arable Land Over 66% of the total area of this village is under
311 cultivation, and about 38% of the cultivated land is in irrigated fields.
[434] The chief sources of income derive from rice and mats made from a sedge which is grown in an irrigated field. In terms of the average amount of
[136] arable land per household Kanegusuku is somewhat better off than the average for Okinawa: 1514.2 'tsubo' for Kanegusuku as compared with 1037.6 'tsubo' for Okinawa.

chain, Ie, Ikeya, and Kudaka islands. The main island is about sixty miles long, its length running generally northeast to southwest. It has an irregular coast line, peninsulas which jut out into the sea, and two isthmuses, one near present Camp Kue, the other farther north at Ishikawa. The width of the island varies from two to eighteen miles. 133 131

Okinawa may be divided into three geographical regions, which also roughly correspond to the ancient division of the island into a northern district (Kunigami or Yambaru), a central district (Nakagami), and a southern district (Shimajiri). [631]

The northern district takes up about two-thirds of the area of the island. It begins at the northern isthmus which runs from Ishikawa town on the Pacific side to Nakadomari on the East China Sea side. South of this line, the island runs more or less in a north-south direction; north of the line, the island is situated in a pronounced northeast-southwest direction. Certain features distinguish this northern area from the two southern parts of Okinawa. A mountain ridge, almost entirely forested, runs down the center. Drainage from the short streams which rise in the mountains is down the east and west slopes. Villages and towns are on or near the coastal flatlands or on the coastal rolling hills. There are few settlements in the interior of the northern part of the island. 131 631 133 [137] [361]

The central region of the island extends south from the Ishikawa-Nakadomari isthmus to the Naha-Yonabaru line. A corridor beginning on the eastern side at Yonabaru on Buckner Bay (formerly Nakagusuku-wan) connects with a long valley beginning around Naha. This provides a natural route cutting across the southern part of the island. The central region is the area of oldest settlement. It and the region to the south were the areas of the most intensive warfare during the campaign for Okinawa. The central region has a patternless physiography. Low rolling eroded hills, stony hills with sharp relief, dissected uplands and escarpments alternate with small alluvial valleys and flatlands. On these and on the lower slopes of the less stony hills cultivation takes place. Limestone sinks and caverns are commonplace. The most rugged terrain in this area is the region around Shuri and its northern approaches, the scene of the most prolonged fighting of the war in Okinawa. Unlike the north, settlements are scattered throughout the countryside, usually on the low lands at the base of hills, along the coasts, or in narrow winding valleys with low passes leading from one to the other. [480] [361]

The third region of the island extends from the Naha-Yonabaru line to the southern tip of the island. It is like the central part in the haphazard distribution of its land forms but somewhat flatter. Part of it is a limestone plain. The highest elevations are around the hills and mountains along Buckner Bay, with its narrow flat coastal strips, and along the southern portion of the Chinen peninsula, which also has flat beaches and beach ridges. It is an area of small plains, long, narrow but steep limestone mountains, and of rolling hills, escarpments which often abruptly end on the water's edge. In the area of one of these escarpments, Yaeju Dake, the final battle scenes of the war took place. The settlement

175 succeeded in shearing the noro system of much of its political power.
178 During the early part of the 18th century, there was an improvement in
642 agricultural methods and in forestry conservation, associated with the name of the statesman, Hozui Saion (1682-1761).[18] Saion was a descendant of a Chinese who had settled at Kune near Naha. He is said to have
175 planted several kinds of trees, including the pine, the Japanese red-
[137] wood (sugi), and the maki (in Japanese; podocarpus ssp.) Saion is well
242 remembered in Okinawa. In Matsuda, I was shown trees which were said
185 to have been planted along the road to Ginosa during Saion's lifetime and at his inspiration. There are stories told in the forest areas like Matsuda, crediting Saion with intentionally inventing superstitions to prevent people from cutting down the trees. In 1951, a Saion commemorative stamp was issued, and his name is used frequently in forest conservation literature and in posters. Whether Saion was the medium through which agricultural techniques of Japan or China were introduced, or whether these improvements came from his own initiative and study of local conditions, I have been unable to determine. In any case, the teachings of Saion on agriculture and forestry must have reached to the rural areas, improving the agricultural possibilities and encouraging planting trees and preserving the forests, constantly subject to destruction through fire, carelessness, and merciless cutting for firewood, as has been the case in many parts of China. These improvements, with the advantages from the introduction of the sweet potato one hun-
[178] dred years earlier, took place within the framework of a political and social and religious system that had now been well established.

5

European Awareness of the Great Loochoo

175 The Loochooans were known to the Portugese through the trade cen-
648 tering at Malacca. The Portugese explorer Pinto had visited Tanegashima around 1542. Captain Broughton had been shipwrecked on Miyako to the south in 1798. But the western exploration of Okinawa itself was reserved for later times. During the nineteenth century, the Europeans, then the Americans, became aware of the people of the Great Loochoo.

The first detailed observations based on personal contact date from the works of Captain Basil Hall, and his surgeon, William M'Leod, who

[Text continues top of P. 35--Analyst]

18 In the manuscript history reproduced by Leavenworth, there is this passage: "In the 20th year of Kyoho /1735/, Hozui Saion fixed a system for the protection of forestry, and a forestry office and shipping office were established." Op. cit., 89. Saion's famous work, Eight Volumes of Forest Administration, I am told was destroyed in the war. Chamberlain, as cited, p. 310, says that Loochooan polity in the 17th century crystallized in a form it were from then on.

175

a suburb of Naha, thence to Shuri. They turned north, passed the ancient fortress of Nakagusuku, went over to the east coast, proceeding to the vicinity of Kanna. In Matsuda, which the exploring party apparently did not reach, there is still a story about Perry's expedition. It concerns a carving on stone placed on the top of a dramatically shaped rock on the seashore. According to local residents, this carving remained in place until it was shot off by an American soldier during the war.

Roughly around Kanna, the party crossed the island to the South China Sea or western side, and reached the village of Un-na (modern Onna), an engraving of which appears in the narrative and also in Bayard Taylor's India, China, and Japan. The return trip was down the coast, and the road led through Machinato back to Naha. Coastal explorations were extensive. A new chart was an immense improvement over Hall's. Special attention was given to the Unten (Port Melville) and Shah Bay (Miyagishima and the area south of Ogimi).

Bayard Taylor, the famous traveller who had joined the expedition and wrote parts of the narrative, spoke of the interior of Okinawa in 1853 as a "terra incognita," and he was not exaggerating as far as Western knowledge was concerned.[22] This probably applied to the Japanese as well, for their stations were in Naha and an administrator or scholar of the Tokugawa era probably found little in agriculture, plant life, land tenure, and local history and ethnography to interest him.[23]

Upland agriculture, the hoeing of sweet potatoes, the planting and transplanting of rice, the manufacture of sugar were described much as they can be observed to this day in parts of Okinawa. They noted a sameness and a lack of variety in plant life, the planting of pines along the highways, the fences used as protection against the wild boar. The communal land system was remarked upon, the writers thinking it a "metayer system," that is a form of share-cropping in which the proprietor of the land and the cultivator receive equal, or agreed upon proportions. They described houses built on small stilts, the compounds, and the village granaries. They strolled through villages, poked their heads into huts, and wrote about the utensils in the kitchens. They theorized about the possible origins of the people and their connections with other races, discovered lingams which were interpreted as the ruins of "ancient Hindoo idolatry." They spoke of the glossy upswept hair and the hair pins according to rank.

[24] [137] [421] [342] [302]

The village granaries are gone; so has the land system and the costumes, and the long swept up hair of both sexes. Agricultural techniques and the care of the land have remained.

[198]

[Text Continues Top of P. 38 -- Analyst]

22 See Bayard Taylor's A visit to India, China, and Japan, in the year 1853. Chapters 30, 33, 36.

23 In the early 17th century the Japanese explored the island, took a census, and reorganized political administration. CA Handbook Ryukyu (Loochoo) Islands, 40.

The village is one of a series of settlements in a long narrow valley, on a limestone plain, bordered on the east by a steep ridge, up to 300 feet in elevation and running in a northwest and southeast direction, which divides the valley from the sea. On these cliff like formations, large outcrops are covered with shrubs and miscanthus grass. Lanes and roads lead from the valley floor to the summits of these hills, where villagers collect their firewood and grass for roof thatch. On the rocky, steep slopes of this seaward ridge, above the line of cultivation, is the tomb area. Precipitous and stony hills prevent cultivation, but occasionally a sharp tongue of land reaches far up the slope, its end protected from the rains and wash by a short stone fence. 361 133 [137] [491] [824] [064] [417]

Between Gushichan and Hanashiro village, there is a bridge over a small stream, its upstream course obscured by its dispersion in the rice fields. The dirt road, gradually ascending, cuts through the main rice growing area of the village, on a gentle slope, reflected in the bench cultivation of the rice fields. Here and there are large rocks and stony outcrops, with an occasional scrub pine, cycad, or a covering of miscanthus. Cultivation goes around these large stones. 491 133 [243] [137]

The road, about one-fourth of a mile from the bridge, soon leads into what looks like, from a distance, a densely wooded area. This is the settlement. 361

With the exception of the rough stony land of the limestone mountains and steep slopes, the soils of the area are the Okinawa clay loams and the Chinen stony clays lying on the limestone plains. The farm and village area takes up approximately 427 acres, of which 257 are in gently sloping Okinawa clay loams, a deep, well drained, neutral to slightly acid and very fertile soil. Another five acres is of the same type but these are in slopes, of a gradient ranging from 8-15%. There are 80 acres in gently sloping Shuri clays, shallow, moderately fertile, an olive colored, crumbly, calcareous clay; another 35 acres in the Awase clays, deep fertile, crumbly, calcareous clay of olive-gray color, and 14 acres of rough stony land. 134 133 311

The hillsides and the summits are free of densely growing trees and shrubs, and the lowlands are given over to cultivation. There are no groves of trees to protect the crops from typhoons. The trees and the protection they give are confined to the village. This is typical of many villages of southern Okinawa, where the hills and mountains have few trees, and dense growths are associated with habitation. 311

Inside the village, winding lanes branch off the main dirt road. The older houses are on the north side of the road. On the opposite side, the houses, newer or rebuilt since the war, adjoin the cultivated area. In the older section, the dense shrubbery, the tree lined lanes, broken occasionally by stone fences, wind through the village with footpaths branching off, sometimes past an open field, a reminder of a failure to rebuild after the war. On the northern outskirts is the village office, its gong in the yard, the open field, a playground for the children. 361 363 [417] [487] [367]

226 463 engaged in fishing are permanent or transient families originally from Itoman, a place name which comes up whenever fishing is mentioned anywhere in Okinawa. Agriculture and the care and utilization of the community forest make up the significant economic activities of the village.

162 Matsuda had a population of 1370 individuals (604 male, 766 female) as of November 30, 1951. There were, at this time, 243 households, an average of 5.6 persons per household. The village is said by local residents and antiquarians to be about 600 years old. If the age is 361 correct, it must be one of the older settlements in northern Okinawa. Before the war, this village was known as Kochiya.

173 Matsuda also has its lore regarding shipwrecks and foreigners. There are old men who believe Perry's party came to the village and that they left carvings on the top of a picturesque rock in the Burushii district along the coast, a not unbelievable story since the explorers certainly were not far from here.

Near the seashore, but in a very remote area, there is a natural bridge, concealed by large trees. Roots of the banyan grow through the [137] thirty or forty foot drop from the top of the bridge until they find root in the soil below. On a ledge under this bridge, there are two [164] old and open boxes which were used to collect the skulls and bones of unknown persons. Locally it is believed that they are the remains of shipwrecked sailors, possibly Hollanders. There are still 25 or 30 skulls there, and many of the bones are scattered on the ground. The place is seldom visited.

361 133 The village rests on low rolling hills. The combination of the hills, the depressions, the caves and the sinks give the topography an uneven almost rugged character. There are few flat places and these are seldom wide. They are the narrow meadows or valleys between the hills. 241 The hilly nature of the surroundings determines to a large extent the manner of cultivation, and historically probably has had much to do with 311 the shapes of the individual parcels themselves. One does not see in this area the plains or small valleys with rice cultivation that is observed in Haneji township near Nago or around the island of U in Tamagusuku township, or even in the Hanashiro area of Gushichan township. In these communities, the normal pattern of cultivation is that the rice is on the lowlands, with the slopes and upland areas devoted to sugar cane, the sweet potato, or other crops, or left to native grasses. Here in the hundreds of small hills, all of these may be observed in close proximity, hard work and minute tillage comprising with the topography.

361 The village is subdivided into several distinct areas; (1) the main part of the village where most of the houses, the village office, the small 311 stores, the rice mill, the sawmill, the power plant, and the barbershop are located, (2) a reclaimed area known locally as the kaikon, newly settled and with a different type of land use due to the poorness of the land and to the fact that it is a deforested area, (3) a district near the sea coast and along the sea with scattered settlements, isolated houses, and some cultivation, and (4) the forest lands, which in the

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In the center of Matsuda. Large trees growing in the settlement. Small garden plots are near the houses and sheds. These houses have thatched roofs except the tile roof in the left center of the picture. A freshly hoed plot is in the foreground.

[p. 56]

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In this illustration, the first son receives slightly over 60% of the land, ignoring type and grade within type. There was general agreement in all villages that the grade of land within each classification (grades 1 to 4 in dry crop land, for example) had little significance in inheritance matters. The grade is more important for tax purposes. [242] [651]

The example also illustrates two other principles: the natural desire to keep contiguous or close in land within the main family, using inconvenient or far off land where possible for house sites for branch families, or for arable land for second and other sons. In this illustration, the shares of the second and of the third sons could be equalized by subdividing plot #6, although its small area would not make it worth while, as 75 tsubo is a very low average size for dry crop land. [241]

Another practice, noted in Hanashiro and in Matsuda, is that the first son receives everything on the retirement of the father. This may be contrasted with a situation in which the father divides the property before younger sons marry and establish branch families. In such cases, the father might take the income from part of the property. But the more general practice is for the father to give all to the first son. Fathers may also make a will. When the first son receives all, it is the custom for him to hold property which the younger sons will need in establishing their branch families. It is in cases where the first son is given full disposition of the property that quarrels are most likely to occur, for much depends on the generosity and sense of fairness of the elder brother.[3] [593]

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In Hanashiro and Minatogawa, it is important that younger brothers receive genya land. Genya is often translated as wild land. In Japan the term is usually used to describe treeless, waste, hilly, rocky, or rolling land unsuitable for cultivation. In Okinawa, the genya land may be in the center of a rice field; it may be a rocky mound with cultivation around it. It may be land in the mountains. It is almost invariably in grass (miscanthus) with an occasional cycad or scrub pine. It is not owned in large tracts. In Hanashiro, the largest single parcel is 4564 tsubo (3.77 acres), in Minatogawa 1333 (tsubo) (1.9 acres), and in Matsuda 6398 tsubo (5.28 acres), but these are far above the average. In Hanashiro it is important because grass is constantly needed for thatched roofs and other uses. The importance of genya and its grass was well illustrated in Minatogawa after the typhoon, Ruth, of October 13-14, 1951. These villagers own little land and many have no genya. They were obliged to buy the grass to replace the roofs of many of the frailer houses which had been partially or completely destroyed by the typhoon. Genya is also used for family tombs. In Hanashiro, the genya [137] [423] [824] [731] [432] [764]

[Text continues top of P. 133--Analyst]

3 The problem can be appreciated by analyzing the acreage areas of each classification of land and the grades within it, bearing in mind that the average farmer has hatake, genya, and often rice paddies. These statistics will be given in the following chapter.

3

Care and Conservation of Land

One of the significant tasks of our time is the study of the relation between population growth and density and the exploitation of renewable and non-renewable resources: the effects of a culture on the land, the forests, the soils and the vegetation must be considered in ethnographic and geographic work. If this is not done the culture is studied as if it rested, like a plate on a table, on a geographic base, without bothering to discover the nature of the environment or what the culture is doing to it. 121 114

Nineteenth century studies of primitive and advanced societies emphasized the influence of the physical environment in molding a culture. This crude fallacy, often known as geographic determinism or environmentalism, was exploded by studies made of cultures in all parts of the world in which it became clear that the physical environment is not the cause of cultural differences.

But the reverse of this approach, the examination of what a culture is doing to its physical environment, its soils, its vegetation, and its forests has not been carried on with the vigor with which other aspects of culture have been studied. This point of view has practical significance in day to day administration. Economic matters such as foreign trade or the labor force requirement should not be a separate and independent segment for study. Changes in inheritance should not be viewed solely with reference to the family system. Forest conservation should not be regarded only as a technique and a necessary department in the government.

The effects of the devastating typhoons, for example, need no elaboration: the destruction of life, crops, houses, of boats, and breakwaters. But their effects are also influenced by other factors. The two southern villages were in the midst of some of the violent fighting of the Okinawan campaign. Large numbers of houses in both communities were destroyed by the war. The new buildings to replace them are so frail that in typhoon times they are often destroyed. This rebuilding requires more wood and more grass. Thus, such factors as the war, the inability to reconstruct permanent housing, typhoons, and the natural growing of miscanthus grass are joined together in a close relationship. 731 727 367 824 182

In the south the relationship of typhoon destruction to deforestation is striking. There is need for tidebreak groves and shelter belts along the coast to protect crops from wind and salt-water spray, a need which fortunately the Ryukyuan Forest Agency is attempting to meet. Deforestation in the south seems inescapably tied up with long occupance. The center of population has always been in the southern part of the island. Not only should there be trees, but they should be planted in the right places. The deforestation of 731 137 [313] [361]

In the areas studied, no serious sheet erosion was observed
No doubt this may be a problem in parts of Okinawa, but it is doubtful that this menace will threaten the habitability of the island. Occasionally one can see a freshly hoed field on a slope that is losing its soil during a downpour. But the fact that the hills and mountains are covered with vegetation, are not too steep, and that grasses and shrubs are cut off allowing the stubble with the roots to remain in the soil effectively binds the soil of the hills and at the same time prevents flash floods. With the exception of stony soils, the land of the areas studied had a plant cover. This statement is not inconsistent with the previous remarks regarding deforestation, as the disappearance of the pine, the cycad, and the pandanus has been offset by the spread of kaya (miscanthus) grass. Boundary paths also keep the soil in place. They often roughly follow the slope and are sufficiently crooked and winding and of sufficient depth to prevent washing away of large quantities of soil. While there is no complex irrigation system in these areas, the small ditches which carry the water down the slope are winding and covered on their borders by weeds. Occasionally one can see a farmer shovelling up the soil accumulated in a natural catchment in a bend of one of these ditches and restoring the lost soil to his land.

134 133 137 185 [487] [317]

In all areas, equally simple devices to protect the soil could be observed. Roadside borders of stone, like the stone of a rock garden, often line the fields adjoining main roads. (One could write a long essay on stones and the part they play in the culture of the people). These stones come from the fields. If fields do not have stone borders, weeds are left to grow. They are cropped, but the roots are left in the soil. In Hanashiro, stone fences on slopes and contour breaks are a common sight. Sometimes these have the appearance of blunt wedges, the end of the wedge going up the ravine. These stones have been painstakingly gathered from nearby areas.

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Terracing is practiced in a crude form in these areas. It really is step or bench cultivation, the plots being above one another in step like order. The function of terracing is, in the case of the dry crop land, to bring more land under cultivation, protecting it from washing away; in the case of the rice fields, it supplies flat land for cultivation at different levels. In the areas studied, terracing did not go all the way up the mountain side, although this practice can be observed in parts of Okinawa.

185 241

Very frequently the ledges of the terraces are covered with a border of weeds or cropped grass which prevent soil runoff down the hill. In the Matsuda area, rice is grown up a narrow mountain valley, or ravine, with trees and shrubbery on the hillsides growing to the very edge of the cultivated plots. In rice terracing, the boundary paths often divide one step from another with openings in the ditches to allow the passage of water to the level below.

The starch comes from two sources: the large oval seed, ranging from orange to Chinese red when mature, and the stalk. Use of the stalk involves destruction of the plant. According to Gushichan area residents, the starch of the cycad seed was used for food in 1945, 1946, and parts of 1947. Timing is an important part of the starch making because at certain stages of development the cycad is poisonous. Today in areas where the cycad is plentiful, the seeds are still gathered and dried in large quantities. Toward the end of November in Oku and in the nearby mountain village of Hedo, and in other villages of the far north of the island, large quantities of cycad seeds can be seen drying in the compounds. In the Hanashiro and Hinatogawa area, the cycad is not plentiful enough and is too scattered for these uses. 824 262

The main uses of miscanthus are: (1) roof thatch, including the saddle back which caps the roof, (2) firewood, (3) the younger shoots for animal food, (4) fertilizer, (5) a raw material for home weaving of baskets and slings for carrying vegetables. 824

Miscanthus can be seen to best advantage in December when it is in full bloom and covers large areas of the uncultivated countryside. Considering the present economic situation in the south, these plentiful grasses are indispensable to daily living. One must see, from day to day and with his own eyes, the dependence on these wild grasses to appreciate the force of this statement.

In the southern area studied, one consequence of the war on the natural vegetation was the spread of the grasses at the expense of the pine and the cycad. Residents of the Hanashiro, Gushichan, and Hinatogawa areas have said that prior to the war, the Ryukyuan pine was plentiful and covered hill and mountain sides now quite bare, save for an occasional scrub tree. These trees were destroyed by bombing and firing. There are occasional evidences of regrowth due to natural seeding, but the clumps are small, and nothing like a stand is growing. The stands even before the war, however, must have been inconsequential compared with descriptions of the area fifty years ago given by old residents of the area. The present deforestation of large parts of southern Okinawa seems to have accelerated in the recent past. 137● 727

The cycad had a similar fate in the south. The plants are numerous in the sense that one can always be observed on a walk. They grow in clumps, often alongside the pandanus. The grasses seem to have displaced the cycad and the pandanus as well. The dense settlement, cultivation, use of trees for firewood, and the recent war account for the uncultivated hillsides in which the grasses now predominate, and on some of which not a single tree or shrub is to be observed. The original native vegetation, perhaps, may still be preserved in the limestone sinks which occur here and there in this area. 137 [311]

In Hanashiro, the absence of trees and shrubs except in the settled areas has already been noticed. This is a characteristic of villages in the south. The treelessness of Hinatogawa is exceptional.

1

An Historical View of the Okinawan Forest

Northern Okinawa is the woodshed of the island, and there is a steady stream of lumber for building, poles for a variety of uses, charcoal, and of small bundles of wood for the people of the south. In the village of Matsuda, the forest is part of the daily life and economic well-being of the people. 313

Little is known of the past history of the Okinawan forest. 137 174

> "Though it is impossible now to determine the nature and distribution of the original forest cover, it seems reasonable that the major part of Okinawa was originally covered by trees. The forest was probably absent from the beaches, a few marsh areas behind the beaches, rock ledges upon which trees could gain a foothold, and perhaps some areas of Regosols (shallow soils) from calcareous clays in the southern part of the island. It is evident that the present forest has been cut over many times. There seems to be no part of the island in which the forest cover has not been disturbed in some way by man."[1] [311]

The virgin stands have disappeared and left few clues, these authors continue, but it is likely that the original forest cover was comparable to the present stands in composition of species. The authors point out the relationship of cutting to settlement. Cutting must have been a continuing process. In Saion's time, in the 18th century, there was considerable tree planting and measures were taken to protect groves of trees for their value as windbreaks. Excessive cutting could hardly have taken place in olden times in the central areas of the north, whose trees, even today, can be reached only by footpath. No doubt in the past cutting has spread out from village sites and travelled roads. Fire may have been one cause of deforestation, as it has been used to clear land. There are still instances of this. 137 311 174 [245]

In Okinawa, the period from 1879 to the end of the Russo-Japanese war seems to have been one of widespread deforestation. (This was contemporary also with the reckless deforestation in the New World). The period after 1906 reflected Japanese concern with forest preservation, especially of the nationally owned forests, a program pursued with varying degrees of success. [185]

1 Okinawa forests (U.S. Geological Survey. Mil. Geol. Sect., Office of the Engineer, GHQ, FEC), 1948, 2.

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Hatsuda
Land Classification

Type of Land	Area in Tsubo	Approx. Acreage Equiv.
Rice (ta)	82,151	67.9
Dry crop land (hatake)	188,305	155.6
House sites (yashiki)	17,056	14.1
Village Owned forest (sanrin)	1,259,104	1040.6
Wild land (genya) a/	376,660	311.3
Village Owned shelter belts, groves	33,654	27.8
Religious sites (haisho)	2,883	2.4
Public building sites	81	b/
Miscellaneous	3,183	2.6
Total	1,963,077	1622.3

a/ Includes village and privately owned, but almost all is privately owned.

b/ Less than 0.1 acre

Source: Ginoza-son township office, Ginoza village, Okinawan Island. Dec. 1951.

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The coniferous forest (shinyōjurin) is along the shore, reaching inland short distances in those areas not given over to cultivation. Pine stands are valuable for typhoon protection. Inland, about half a mile to a mile from shore, the coniferous stands give way to a dense mixed forest of deciduous trees and shrubs. The predominant species in this broadleaved forest (katsuyōjurin) is a live oak, the shii. Ordinarily the shii grows to be quite large, but here in the dense stands its growth is stunted. While not impenetrable, it is difficult to go through these stands once one is off the foot path. Along these paths, there are huts where one may drop in for rest or shelter, charcoal kilns, stacked firewood (maki), and piles of long poles which have been cut and stripped to be carried down the mountain paths to the road for loading in trucks. [485]

The woodlands of this area may be classified, according to use, into two categories: (1) stands, groves, or clumps of trees which provide typhoon and windbreak protection (hoanrin). Shore shelter belts or groves are known as bōchōrin, those inland or on mountain tops as bōfurin. (2) The forests, maintained and used as a resource, for such materials as firewood, lumber, and charcoal.

In Hatsuda, trees are used both for protection of houses in the

137 settled area and for protection of the surrounding crops. Around
311 houses, there are common stone fences, bamboo fences and trees.
Stone fences, though solid may be toppled over. Bamboo, or dwarf
[417] bamboo fences, seemingly slight, resist the winds and remain intact
because of their flexible loose weave.

137 The trees on the ridges of the low lying hills or on high pieces
133 of ground are tall, and sturdy, and jealously protected. The villagers
185 take great pride in them. Today this pride is based on the realization
of their effectiveness; in former times, their protection was associated
with the worship of the gods of the sacred grove (utaki). There were
[178] beliefs, which now seem to be dying out, that cutting these trees
[177] would bring bad luck. Many villagers say that Saion in the 18th
[173] century intentionally invented superstitions concerned with the cutting
of the trees in order to save them. Now these trees are no longer in
danger of cutting, even though the penalties of the old beliefs are no
longer feared.

The following short list does not exhaust the kinds of trees and plants found in this area. It is confined to those trees, shrubs, and grasses which are most frequently found and which have the greatest local importance.

829 (1) The Ryukyuan pine (Riukiu-matsu in Japanese, Pinus luchuensis
313 Mayr). This tree is still one of the commonest sights of the island,
even in southern Okinawa. At present, it is a source of firewood,
cheap lumber, and siding. It is not considered good housebuilding
material because of termites (shiroari). Pine was used for fishing
boats within living memory, but now they are made of much harder woods.
In this area, the coniferous groves are along the seashore. The larger
stands are not cut. Scrub pine on individually owned wild land may be
cut for firewood.

(2) The fukugi (Garcinia spicata Hook.). The fukugi is used around homes and on mountain ridges as a typhoon protection. It is fairly plentiful here and prized as a building material (kenchikuzai). The hard studs, beams and cross beams and the wide plank floors in the older and better houses are often made out of this wood.

(3) The iju (Schima luchuensis Nak.). This tree, common here, is used as a building material and is considered to be better than the Japanese redwood (sugi). It is not regarded as a good firewood.

(4) The inumaki (Podocarpus macrophyllum D. Don). This tree is not well known here, and there are no large specimens. But it is regarded as the best building material when available. Often the large, hard, rough hewn poles which are placed on stones and support the eaves of the older houses are made from this wood.

(5) The shii (Shiia cuspidata). The dense stands of this tree in the village owned forest restrict the size of the specimens, though

fuel. The usual practice here too is to clear cut up a steep hill or mountain, the lower and more convenient the spot, the more efficient the clearcutting. Weeds, shrubs, grasses, and the Yambaru bamboo have quickly taken the place of the trees. The man induced climax vegetation is grass and shrub. 313 [137]

Forest destruction in Okinawa does not seem to have reached the alarming proportions observed in Japan.[6] The destruction of the war increased the demand for lumber and firewood. This demand accelerated the dangerous practices and led to widespread waste.[7] Fortunately, if Matsuda is a good example, the roads were poor and underdeveloped, and the mills small. There was some brake on uncontrolled deforestation.

In the accompanying photograph of the Matsuda forest area, there was access to the summit and the trees there were cut down. For some reason, probably the steepness of the mountain side, the pine and shii on the slopes were not cut. The result was that tall stands of dwarf bamboo took over the spaces on the summit left by the trees, while the trees continued to grow on the mountain sides. [137]

Since the forest is owned by the village, any resident may cut trees for his own use. This custom has few dangers because it is a large forest with a small population in the environs. The cutting is scattered. The villager selects the tree with the consent of the village official in charge of forest control, cuts it and takes it to his courtyard. There is a charge of Y1 for each large tree, or Y1 for five small trees. This money goes to the village office. Villagers' personal needs are a small drain on the forest resource. [423] [624] [651]

The village government also sells wood. In lulls in farming, or when the farmer needs some cash, he may cut trees for the village. Wood cutting for lumber is a year round activity. September to December is the season for cutting firewood. There are two common practices in commercial dealings with wood and lumber. For cutting and gathering firewood, the village office pays Y5 a bundle, Y4 goes to the person cutting the wood, and Y1 to the village office, 60% of which it retains and 40% going to the township office. 313 655

Cutting and gathering wood is by no means an easy task. The walk to the forest may take an hour one way, though there may be truck transportation part way. The trees must be cut, the wood chopped up and made into the familiar bundles tied with a stout rush (often the i) and carried back or put in a central location to be picked up later. This marketing of wood on an individual basis is casual and intermittent. More continuous and larger scale exploitation takes place when the village office sells a certain area for cutting. The village takes 60%, the township 40% of the proceeds. 313 [655]

6 Ibid, 285-87. [Text continues on p. 232.--Analyst]
7 Okinawan forests, as cited, 2-3, 5-8.

the community is dispersed. In the outlying parts, as far as 2 miles
from the center (see map 1), the houses are scattered between the pad- 361
dies or farm lands in sections which form subvillages or wards. As mentioned above, settlers from the south took up residence in these areas. Recently families from the main village have also moved to the more remote parts of the community, such as Udenaha, because they can reach their fields more conveniently. Although the name Taira [101]
refers to the political unit of main village and outlying parts, including Udenaha and Izena, most references in this study pertain only to the central community. Its 60 households, with about 330 individuals, [162]
form the primary social unit from which the sample of 24 children was [124]
chosen.

Central Taira nestles along the inner shore of Taira Bay, which 361
opens into the Pacific Ocean. At this point the median range moun- 133
tains recede from the coastline. Behind the village, rice paddies spread [94]
in a crazed pattern at the bottom and on the terraced sides of several valleys which are separated from each other by sparsely wooded hills. Here and there the red earth of an eroded section shows like a scab through the green slopes.

In traveling by road from the south, most people choose the highway [49]
along the East China Sea coast, which is connected with the road which crosses the island. Higashi township is entered through a low saddle in the mountains which separate the two coastlines. To the right and left begins Taira's forest. Central Taira is reached through a winding lane bordered by pine trees. To the left the view opens into one of the neatly cultivated rice fields, backed by the hills on whose flat tops and terraced sides village people cultivate their farm lands.

The central village itself lies on a sand bluff, separating the valley 361
from the ocean, so that there is a slight drop toward both sides (see map 2). The main road runs the length of the village. Except for the [363]
thoroughfare, which is dirt and gravel, the side roads are not surfaced, and after heavy rains puddles form and remain for more than a day, to the delight of children who play in them.

When Taira was destroyed during World War II, along with its 363
houses went much of the foliage which once served as a windbreak. A 137
few fukugi trees * line the main street, and hibiscus hedges here and 727
there hide some of the houses from a first inspection. There are bushes around the edges of the village.

The war-time destruction is hardly apparent on a first walk through 36
the village. Along the main street, lined by houses, one finds the rice mill, a substantial new building of concrete and wood, the police sta-

* A small- to medium-sized evergreen tree with a narrow, upright, very dark green crown of leaves.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 377]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

tion, a frame wood building, and the main store. On the eastern end of the village the road opens into a little square in front of the simple, open prayer house with a small concrete shrine in back, housing three sacred stones. Beyond these is the township office crowned by a mighty pine tree of tremendous and symmetric proportions, acclaimed by Taira people to be the oldest existing pine in Okinawa. Across from the office are the post office and the dispensary. 36

Closer inspection of the village shows former house sites which were not rebuilt. Some still have empty concrete shells or single concrete walls and abandoned pigsties or storage sheds. Some of the vacant lots are used as potato fields, others as play areas, the favorite being a large house lot surrounded by a concrete wall, near the main store. 361 727 [311]

Houses are set back a short distance from the roads and paths, and most face south. In spite of the hedges and trees, the house is easily accessible from the street—its orientation is therefore toward the community as a whole and, as will be seen later, open to visitors who can enter freely without going through winding garden paths and knocking on doors or entering through long corridors and passages. Each house lot is small, ranging from 1300 to 6050 square feet. Houses are set so close to each other that neighborly conversations from one to the other can be conducted without leaving one's premises. Although some privacy is attained by the hibiscus hedges and fences, few secrets can be kept from neighbors. 361 351 [521]

There are several focal areas where people frequently meet and interact. The main store is a geographical center. Its two bulletin boards make it a natural congregating point. The banyan tree, overshadowing the village office and the lower water tank, is another such place, and on any day of the year scores of children can be found on or under it. In prewar times it was flanked by important structures, but now the empty lots, which are adjacent, form a green which is used on good days for village meetings. 361 [203] [139]

South of this green, and close to the water, stands the old warehouse, a concrete structure with tile roof which once served as a storage center for agricultural products shipped south by boat; now it serves as a village meeting playground, especially on rainy days. The open space around it, bordering on the sea wall, is also used as a play area and as a gathering place for young adults. Here people prepare firewood for sale and stack it to be picked up by the village truck. Houses once stood near the 10-foot sea wall but were not rebuilt after the war. [251] [344]

To the north of the store lies the upper water tank. Until several standing faucets were installed in 1955, this used to be another place where people met frequently. Water is diverted from a stream a mile 312 365

312 water is diverted from a stream a mile
365 above the village and piped into the upper and lower tanks where
[482] people fill their buckets which they carry home on a shoulder yoke.
[859] Both tanks always attract children. Before faucets were installed, the two spigots on each tank were closed with a wooden stopper which the children often pulled to get a drink or water to play in. An open lot surrounding the upper water tank is another popular play area.

361 On the eastern side of the village below the main road lies a flat sandy plain, separating the actual beach from the houses above. Children are frequently found playing there or walking along the beach to the mouth of the Noro Mata and Fukuji rivers, which reach the sea
[764] about 400 yards away. To the west of the central village lie the tombs
[211] and the monument for the war dead of the village.

487 Many hills around the village drop off vertically toward the south;
[133] these drops are partly effects of the geological conditions, such as karst depressions, partly caused by erosion of drainage during the heavy rains. Narrow paths, leading up the steep claylike hillsides, are slippery
[491] and very treacherous during rains. On the way to school in Kawata, the neighboring village, children have to pass a section of the road where river and rains have washed away the bank so badly that a misstep on the edge of the road could lead to a fall of more than 50 feet.

312 The little river which runs through parts of the valley behind Taira
[857] is another gathering place of children. A path alongside it leads into
[487] the hills and mountain forest lands. Seven minutes walking along this path takes one to Umugui, a natural swimming hole which also serves as one of the favorite laundry places. During the summer the river offers several other popular swimming spots downstream from Umugui.
[296] There is also a little concrete bridge in the rice fields beyond the houses, where adults and children go to wash laundry and sometimes pots and pans. Yamagawa well is a water hole, lined with concrete, near the northwestern part of Taira. Before water faucets were installed, girls frequently went there to wash their hair and do laundry.

859 Children go to the fields to look for flowers and berries or, in the
[484] case of older boys, to cut grass for animals. Distances covered by any child depend, of course, on the age. Younger siblings under 5 accompany the older ones to places beyond the area, but no expeditions extend to areas that are not also regularly traversed by adults in the course of their daily duties. Perhaps because of the multiple rivers and water sources, the beach offers less enticement than one might expect. On some days a group may decide to play on the beach, but since sand is also available throughout the village, everybody will soon shift back to some other area inland.

● 137 Tropical plants, bushes, and trees grow at sea level. At higher ele-

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

vations one finds temperate zone forests. Typical for the area are numerous grasses growing along the mountainside and on top of hills. Among them, the most permanent in appearance and use are miscanthus grass and a dwarf bamboo. Panadanns bushes line the beaches and areas close to them. Pine trees are common. Fukugi trees grow in the village but also in the hinterland. Here and there cycad palms lend the scenery a special tropical touch. Wild flowers grow almost all year. 137

The heavy underbrush is the habitat of several species of poisonous snakes for which the Ryukyu Islands are notorious. The most common, the *habu*, a pit viper, feeds on rats and other small animals and often enters the actual village area. Since rats outnumber humans in Okinawa by an approximate ratio of three to one, these snakes find ample food. Their search sometimes takes them into the rafters of thatch-roofed houses. This danger is present from March until October. People are bitten if they happen to step on the hidden reptiles or sometimes while they sleep. Children are taught by their elders to be careful, and during our study no children were bitten. 136 [164]

Insects are another source of irritation. Mosquitoes attack quite viciously during the summer; fleas, which live in the sand and in straw or reed mats, inflict bites at any time but are seldom carried in clothes. Flies do not seem to annoy the villagers although they are thick wherever food is left in the open and near the pig pens and outhouses.

The number of motor vehicles passing through Taira is small. A few heavy lumber trucks and an occasional U.S. Army vehicle drive through the main street. Four buses daily, two in the morning and two in the afternoon, connect Taira with other villages in Higashi township and the rest of the island. Because traffic is sparse, and it is difficult to catch a ride, persons intending to leave the community in the middle of the day often take the 50-minute walk to the other side of the island where buses pass every 30 minutes on the coastal highway. Villages frequently take trips to the nearby provincial market town of Nago or even to Naha, the capitol. 489 493 494 [484]

THE CLIMATE

In spite of Okinawa's subtropical geographic position, it has distinct seasonal differences demanding appropriate adjustments in living routine and clothing. Temperatures in the Taira region may reach a minimum of 38 degrees in January and February and a maximum of 96 degrees in July or August. The average daily mean temperature, 132

231 Before a piglet is bought, its feeding habits are carefully observed by
[417] the buyer to determine future growing potential. It is then kept in a sty: pigsties are either in the yard near the house or in a cluster of stables on the north edge of the town. Twice a day women cook the food in large kettles and ladle the liquid food into a trough. Nowadays
[262] pork is rarely consumed in the village except for special holidays, when several families may slaughter pigs and sell part of the meat to every-
[438] body through the local store or preserve some of it by salting. Most
[251] farmers, however, wait for the meat buyer from the southern part of
[442] the island from whom they receive a good financial return.

Goats are raised for home consumption. They are never left to graze
[417] but are quartered in a goat pen near the pigsty and fed on grass cut from uncultivated land. Seven families in the central village have
[492] horses. Their main use is to carry firewood from the mountains. The small breed looks like a cross between a horse and pony and seems especially adapted to climb the steep trails. They are also used for plowing and for pulling two-wheeled carts. The owner of a horse
[434] may more than double his income from forest work. Horses are fre-
[427] quently rented out for half the day's income from wood carried by them.

Silkworm raising, an important source of income in Taira before the war, is only now being resumed by some Tairan families. The
[474] larvae are supplied through island-wide silkworm raising associations, which repurchase the cocoons after they are spun. To raise silkworms, a substantial house is needed so that rats cannot enter and eat the worms. The temporary postwar structures with holes and cracks in the walls and roof are inadequate. Only a few recently built houses can be used. One family keeps growing worms on shelves in the front room.
[137] Most of the mulberry trees were lost during and after the war. Plans have been made to plant new trees. Young girls feed the mulberry
[462] leaves to the gluttonous worms who require constant attention. When the worms are ready to create their cocoons, they are taken off their diet, and the cocoons are cleaned and sorted out. Silkworms can be raised four times a year if there is an adequate supply of mulberry
[434] leaves. Their sale brings a good income, which can become a substitute for cash earned in forest work.

FISHING

226 Fishing is a much less important source of livelihood than one would
[554] expect in a coastal village and is a low-prestige occupation. Only two

CHAPTER I: GEOGRAPHY

F. R. Pitts

131 Location Okinawa is a longish island, lying about halfway between Formosa and the southern tip of Kyushu. Together with clusters of islands lying both to the east and west, it forms the political unit known as Okinawa Guntō.

133 Along the axis of Okinawa, which trends from southwest to northeast, there is a fairly simple division into a plateau-and-mountain northern half, a central plateau area, and a low rolling southern knob. The Motobu peninsula juts westward from the northern, or Kunigami, half and forms a distinctive area. Between the Kunigami mountains and the peaks of Motobu lies the ricebowl of Okinawa---the Haneji lowland.

311 241 Arable Land In general it can be said that the farm population increases as one proceeds south. Map 2, showing the arable land under cultivation as a percentage of the total land area, illustrates this.[1]

Farms in the mountain and plateau north are found in incised V-shaped valleys. Water is plentiful, and rice paddies cover the valley floor. Villages hug the edges of the flat land, and incredibly small sweet-potato terraces rise up the valley's edge. [137] Atop the plateau one finds only silence, and a dense growth of trees and bamboo. [132] Many of the people in the valleys are part-time foresters. The Motobu mountains guard from the frequent typhoons little settlements famed for growing the indigo plant and pineapples. The peninsula's north shore is a fertile but ever-narrowing extension of the Haneji lowland.

In the central plateau area---Nakagami---sweet-potato fields compete with scrubby forest for space on the plateau. Where sufficient water is available, rice fields cover the tiny valley floors and the low-lying coastal fringes. The triangular southern end of the island is known as Shimajiri in popular terminology. [134] Shimajiri is blessed with the greatest concentration of fertile arable land on Okinawa. [132] But the blessing is somewhat reduced by greater exposure to typhoons and a chronic water shortage. Sweet potatoes and sugar cane rank first among crops here.

311 243 Riceland Okinawans prefer to eat rice rather than sweet potatoes whenever possible. It is a paradox, however, that areas of greatest farm population grow the least rice. [262] The thinly populated north has the greatest amount of riceland. Map 3 charts the distribution of riceland---or flooded fields---on Okinawa. Even in the southern 'son' of Yonagusuku and Kanegusuku flooded fields often contain the mat rush rather than rice. It is a good cash crop, and is sturdier than rice when typhoons roar through the islands.

[128] [1] The figures upon which the maps in this section and the population section are based are found in Appendix A. The figures for Japan and Kagoshima-ken are given for comparative purposes. Of all the prefectures in Japan, Kagoshima most nearly resembles Okinawa in climate and emphasis upon sweet potatoes as a staple food.

241 311 312 **Yields Per Acre** Because Okinawa is a sub-tropical country, crops can be grown the year around. Hence the low productivity of a land subject to natural disaster such as drought and typhoons is somewhat compensated for. In the limestone areas of Shimajiri ground water is scarce except after [137] fairly heavy rains. Nanahan has nine small ponds, or kumui, where people wash clothes and sweet potatoes and in which grows the water convolvulus, or unchēbā. Farmers say that if a drought lasts three months, crops do not yield [132] at all. All remember the great drought of 1895 (Meiji 28-nen) when no rain fell for seven or eight months. Even wells dug in river bottoms dried up. The 23 households of Nanahan at present have eight small wells and one large community well which was dug in 1948. Little ditches on the hillsides lead rainwater to the rice paddies, and are fixed so that the water can be directed into wells. If a paddy field is near the farmer's house, a drainage ditch is dug to it for the disposal of used household water which is considered to contribute to a field's fertility. Tables VII and VIII show the yield of crops in Okianwan and American terms.

241 433

Table VII

Crop	Yield per tan[1]	Bushels per acre[2]
Summer rice	1.10 koku	41.1 bushels brown rice
Winter rice	1.15 koku	43.3 bushels brown rice
Upland rice	.72 koku	26.9 bushels brown rice
Common barley	.51 koku	10.4 bushels
Wheat	.59 koku	12.1 bushels
Naked barley	.52 koku	10.6 bushels
Millet	.38 koku	7.85 bushels
Common European millet	.40 koku	8.17 bushels
Soybeans	.70 koku	14.3 bushels
Green peas	.55 koku	11.3 bushels
Broad beans	.71 koku	14.6 bushels
Kidney beans	.71 koku	14.6 bushels
Peanuts	.83 koku	17.2 bushels

Table VIII

Crop	Yield per tan	Tons per acre
Sweet potatoes	1,762 kin	47.6
Irish potatoes	2,176	58.8
Cabbage	3,540	96.1
Other leafy vegetables	1,669	45.1
Giant radish	2,677	72.2
Carrots	2,439	65.85
Pumpkins	2,090	56.5

[1] Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku, Vol. 3, No. 3, p. 1, 1953 (data for Okinawa Guntō).

[2] Converted according to standard indices, as given in SCAP, Natural Resources Section, Report No. 143, Tokyo, 1951.

Table VIII, cont'd.

Crop	Yield per tan	Tons per acre
Cucumbers	1,570	42.4
Wax Melon	1,859	50.2
Tomatoes	2,789	75.5
Watermelons	1,557	42.0
'I' rush ('Bingo-i')	1,411	38.1
'I' sedge ('Shichitō-i')	1,715	46.3
Tea	197	5.32
Mandarin orange ('mikan')	1,183	31.95
Edible banana	1,629	44.0
Green manure crops	2,994	87.5
Sugar cane (cane weight)[1]	9,000	243.0

241
433

Use of Grass, Trees and Brush Southern Okinawa looks barren to the American observer---few trees break the skyline and great fields of long grass cover the hillsides. The comment heard most often is, "Why don't the Okinawans plow up the grass and plant crops, instead of letting all that land go to waste?" The only proper and truthful answer to this query, of course, is that the grass is utilized to the full and that none "goes to waste". 311 311 824

The "ubiquitous miscanthus" referred to by Glacken actually comprises many grasses, chief among which are 'susuku', 'kaya', and one known by the Okinawan name nā'ichū. 'Susuki' is used mainly for the making of brooms, which occurs in December after the flowering of this grass has turned the countryside from deep green to a cloudy whiteness. 'Kaya' is used mainly for the thatching of roofs, but is also fed to livestock. Among other plants of the wild land, or 'genya', are the 'mogusa' or fūchibā, used for moxibustion and as a vegetable in soups; the hirahāgusa, used to cure leech bites; and the warabinufūnii, or edible bracken fern. [137]

The Japanese butter-bur is found in the 'genya', and is utilized as a tobacco substitute in hard times, and occasionally as food. The flowering ginger, or sannin, furnishes leaves for wrapping rice cakes, and fiber for the tying of bundles of sugar cane. The leaf of the inedible potato or m-bashi (Japanese, 'kuwazu-imo') was used by very poor people before the war as a wrapper for 'miso' paste, which they peddled throughout the countryside. The plant is still used to stop the bleeding of wounds. The lantana---known in Hawaii as "haole-koa"---furnished poles for house roofs, leaves for fodder, and beans for tea during famines. Numerous other grasses and herbs are used by the older generation for medicinal purposes, as can be seen by perusal of Tawada's excellent book, Okinawa Yakuyō Shokubutsu Yakkō, 2nd edition, Naha, 1951. [176]

Almost all trees, which in Shimajiri means essentially those surrounding the houses, are used in some way above and beyond their major function as windbreaks in time of typhoons. The leaves of the yūna tree are a native

[1] This information is from the Kochinda-son Office.

261 262 Famine Food and Wartime Substitutes The standard famine foods on Okinawa have always been dried sweet potato chips or refuse from the making of starch, sago palm nuts and the pulp of the same palm. The latter two are eaten with restraint, as they contain small [252] amounts of an alkaloid poison. The sweet potato materials are made into soups, and the sago palm provides a type of flour for deep frying, or 'tempura'.

[137] During the last war, soups were also made from the stem of the plant Ligularia Kaempferia, known as 'tsuwabuki' in Japanese, and chiippappā in Okinawan. One Nanahan farmer related, "The chiipappā which I ate in Kin-son during the war was delicious, and one felt better after eating it. When I came back here, I tried our local variety, but it is bitter and inedible." The giant African snail was used to alleviate famine just before the invasion. It [252] was boiled in its shell, then de-shelled and the "snail juice" washed out with a bitter orange called shiisā. The meat was then fried with vegetables and the white part of a leek.

273 177 276 272 Japanese soldiers during the war taught the Okinawans how to make a strong liquor from sugar cane, as no real 'sake' or 'awamori' was then available. Tobacco was also scarce, and pine tree bark was substituted. Some people preferred to smoke the leaves of the 'mogusa' plant, which is also used for cautery. One very poor family in Nanahan still retains the practice. Tea could not be bought in the late pre-invasion period, and the beans of the lantana bush furnished a palatable substitute.

263 Uses of Sugar in the Home When a guest calls at an Okinawan farmer's home, he is served tea, black sugar chunks, and quite [574] often 'awamori'. Many other uses were related. It is used in batter for deep [757] frying; for cure of headache, sickness, and fainting spells; for a hangover; and when food is not delicious.

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891
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The main road through Hanashiro. This is an unposed picture. The children happened to be playing along the road. Scars can barely be seen on the close clipped heads of the young boys. The poor non-descript clothing is typical. There is a high rock hinpun or stationary gate at the entrance to the compound. The tile roof here is out of the ordinary. The gajimaru tree, used for typhoon protection, is on the left. This is also Highway 64.

[P. 51 (A)]

324 432 The truck or horsecart of the buyer comes to the stonecutting area, the blocks are loaded and taken away. Prior to sale, for convenience, stone may be taken from the cutting area. It is loaded on horse carts, [494] the men carrying the heavy blocks by means of ropes looped around the [483] ends of the stone and over poles which in turn rest on the shoulders. A six foot length (1 kan linear measure), one foot wide and about ten [804] inches thick sells for ¥140 (1951-52). [435]

Foot injuries are the chief hazards of this occupation. The toes may be accidentally cut by the long chisel, and there is danger 316 of bruising or crushing by accidentally dropping the block, or by rolling when it is being dislodged. Very hard and calloused hands are [164] the mark of the stonecutter; his hands are especially conspicuous for the hard, raised areas on the pals around the base of the fingers, the ●[142] result of the constant lifting and pounding of the long chisel. There is also danger to the eyes in flying chips but few use glasses or goggles.

Like some phases of fishing, this work is for the young and the [561] physically mature men. After the middle forties or early fifties, a man no longer does the heavy work and confines himself to lighter chores. The very old and the retired may chip and finish the foundation and the pyramidal stones.

472 If a cutter is unable to extract all the stone in a plot whose stone he has bought, there are also customary solutions. When the father dies, his son continues the workings and returns the field to the owner. If a stone worker moves to another village when only half the work has been done, he arranges for a friend, relative, or neighbor to take over the remaining part.

4

Restoring the Land

185 Formerly excavations (which might be 10 or 15 feet deep and the 311 size of a large room) were refilled by the buyer of the stone rights. Rocks, pebbles, and miscellaneous trash were used as fill, but following the war there has been a heavy demand for rock and stone for road [499] construction. As a consequence, many excavations are now only partly refilled. After refilling, houses are built on the sites of formerly excavated land. Here and there one can see sweet potatoes or vegetables growing on land which formerly was covered with stone. The original state of the land, its appearance after excavation and its restoration may be seen in Figure 2. Evidences of this reclamation may be seen throughout the stoneworking area.

324 Minatogawa, because it lacks vegetation for protective and decorative purposes, is a good example of the use and adaptation of stone to local needs. There are still stone fences, waist or shoulder height, and many small stone boundary lines, a foot or two and of uneven height. Coral stones, weathered by the sea, honeycombed and pocked, are seen everywhere.

197 mutually intelligible. The speech differences are so great that even
191 two neighboring villages have noticeable dialectical variations. Japanese is the second language.

Okinawan is spoken in almost all households. The first words learned by the child from his mother or others around him are Okinawan. The child is praised or scolded in Okinawan; he learns Okinawan terms for numbers, names for plants, tools, and other implements used around the house. A curious exception in this pattern is the use of
[601] kinship terms. Taira children start using Japanese kinship terms in
[177] infancy with one exception—in some families the grandmother is addressed by the Okinawan term.

[648] Knowledge of the Okinawan language is said to have been helpful to Americans during the war in distinguishing the local people from Japanese. Japanese has been the official language in Okinawa for over 60 years. It is taught and used in schools exclusively until the upper grades, when foreign languages are introduced. Everybody who has gone to school learns Japanese, and only the oldest persons in Taira speak Okinawan exclusively.

197 Young children, even though they learn to speak Okinawan first,
872 soon pick up Japanese words and phrases. While their Okinawan
191 vocabulary is limited to everyday experiences, the child's horizon is widened gradually by the use of Japanese terms. First formal efforts to teach Japanese are made in kindergarten, and teachers quickly succeed in eliminating the use of Okinawan in class. Even in play groups of
[626] school-age children, Japanese is usual. Children frequently censure each other for occasional slips or shifts to Okinawan.

191 Taira adults vary in the use of language. Simple, routine matters in
197 daily living are mostly discussed in Okinawan. This language is also predominant in small, informal social gatherings and in emotionally tense situations, such as domestic quarrels. Furthermore, the priestess and her assistants conduct all religious ceremonies in Okinawan. People resorted to Okinawan in our presence when they did not want to be understood. On the other hand, village meetings and gatherings of village leaders or visits of teachers and other officials are conducted in Japanese.

THE PEOPLE

● 142 The majority of the Taira people are of short, stocky build, with heavy bones. Their hair growth is strong, their skin dark. A light skin

is one of the rare, desired body attributes. It was the opinion of some that the descendants of the noble families who came from Shuri, however, are taller and slender, with a prominent, curved nasal ridge. 142

Until they feel confident in the presence of strangers, Taira people appear quiet and restrained. It is considered a virtue not to show one's emotions, and Tairans consider the expressiveness of Americans childish. Actually they are gay, talkative, and given to laughter, especially the women. Men are quiet unless stimulated by alcohol, but both men and women may lose their composure in emergencies. A notable exception is their placid reactions to the threat of disaster from the ever recurrent violent storms. 152 153 [081]

THE COMMUNITY, ITS HISTORY AND NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

621

Taira is one of the northern villages on the northeast coast of Okinawa in Higashi township (see map 1). Today it is home to over 700 people who make their living—as did their ancestors since early times—from the surrounding fields, forests, and from the sea. The Okinawan name for the village, Taira, means "sloping fields." The character used for writing the prevalent Japanese version, Taira, means "flat, plain, good." 101 [131] [162]

Since the family records were lost during World War II, it is necessary to depend on oral traditions for reconstruction of the history of Taira. Unfortunately, the desire of many Okinawans to establish a relationship between their local families and the former royal courts casts some doubt on the accuracy of these traditions. 173 621 [114]

According to these traditions, the first village to be settled in the vicinity of Taira was the neighboring community Kawata. After the Hokuzan kingdom in Nakijin (on the northwestern Motobu Peninsula) was conquered by the southern Okinawan kingdom of Chuzan in the fifthteenth century (Kerr, 1958:85), the second son of the Lord of Hokuzan is said to have escaped northward into Kunigami province. Unitokogami, the fleeing nobleman, arrived near the present site of Kawata and established himself in a cave around the year 1477. He is still revered today as founder of the village in a yearly spring ceremony when prayers are said in front of the cave. The oldest Taira families trace their descent in the male line from Nizenya, the "main house," he founded. Taira was settled around 1550 by two families tracing descent from this "main house." The descendents of these settlers are [182] [069]

of Okinawan prehistory will probably depend on research throughout a wide area and on the comparison and collation of discoveries already made in western Japan, south Korea, Quelpart Island, the Shantung peninsula, the Ryukyu Islands, Formosa, and China, particularly concerning the role of Fukien province in later times, to say nothing of determining the sources and routes of influences from southeastern Asia on Japan and the Ryukyus. Links with Polynesia and Hawaii have been suggested. Obviously present day political conditions are unfavorable for this type of inquiry. 174

The suppositions of which we have been speaking have led to the belief that the Ryukyu people, like the Japanese, are composed of the North Mongoloid, South Mongoloid or Malayan, and the Ainu type, but that the proportions are different, since there seem to be larger elements of the Malayan and Ainu types in the Ryukyu Islands. Whether these reconstructions are correct or not, the significant fact is that the islands owed their peopling to migration and invasion, and that culture mixture and contact is of very ancient origin.[2] [144]

The Ryukyuan creation myth is a crystallisation of ideas that must have been long dominant at the time they were recorded. There are two versions of this myth, one simple, the other, as Spencer points out, more complex and probably reflecting the influence of new and foreign ideas. The first of these versions appears in Ryukyu Shindoki, written about 1603 A.D., the second in the Kyu Yo, a Chinese translation of a work by Haneji Tomohide entitled Chusan Seikan (1650).[3] 173 [175]

[Text continues top of p. 28 -- Analyst]

2 Bishop, C. W. The historical geography of early Japan. Geo. Rev. 13 (1923), 40-63. See also this author's, The geographical factor in the development of Chinese civilization. Geo. Rev. 12 (1922), 19-41. For a recapitulation of the theories regarding the peopling of the Ryukyus, see Marshall T. Newman and Roman L. English, The Ryukyuan people: a biological appraisal. Amer. Journ. of Physical Anthropology, 5 (1947), 114-24, and Binkenstein, R. Okinawa-Studien. Monumenta Nipponica, 3(1940), 196 ff. and the literature there cited. Chamberlain's ideas are summarized in The Luchu islands and their inhabitants. Geo. Journ. 5 (1895), 316-19. R. S. Spencer, The Noro, or priestesses of Loo Choo, Trans. Asiatic Society of Japan. 2d Series. 8 (1931), 94-112, especially p. 94. For a recapitulation of Ryukyuan history, see C. A. Handbook, as cited, 13-31 and John R. Potter, A Preface to Liu Ch'iuan history: an analysis of the basis for establishing a United Nation's Trusteeship. (Unpublished Master's Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1948. Leavenworth, Charles S. The Loochoo Islands. Shanghai, 1905. [194] [113]

3 This discussion is based on the article by Spencer cited above. Partial translations of the myths from the sources are reproduced here. See also Binkenstein, Okinawa-Studien, as cited, 198.

[Kochinda-son]

January, February and April lead in total numbers of births. However, August is the lower fourth in number of conceptions. The possible relationship suggested above awaits validating or disproving when more 'son' can be studied in order to obtain a larger sample. The subject is here mentioned in order to provide researchers with a new path of inquiry. 163

Widows as Mothers of Illegitimates Twenty-nine widows are mothers of 35 illegitimate children. One had twins, and five other widows had illegitimate children in tandem. In the months of February, August, April, October and November, 19 widows conceived illegitimate children, while in the remaining seven months only 15 illegitimates were conceived. The sample involved here is too small to do more than suggest a possible correlation of date of conception and festivals. The possibility should be kept in mind, however, by anyone who does further research on Okinawan population. 848 163

Mixed Blood Illegitimates There are only two registered illegitimates in Kochinda-son who have non-Okinawan fathers. Both are from one village, and neither are included in the above analysis. The 'son' office personnel said that they have heard of about seven or eight more, but that they are not registered as such in the 'koseki'. According to them, the children of mixed blood are probably not registered at all, and will not be until they become of school age. 848 [44]

Connections with Divorce Three illegitimate children were the cause of divorces. One husband divorced his wife upon the birth of her illegitimate child, and sent her and the child back to her parents' home. Another husband recorded the divorce of his wife and the adoption by him of her illegitimate daughter the same day. In the third instance, the widow of a man killed in the war bore an illegitimate girl child. The widow's parents-in-law forced her to return to her family and to record in the 'koseki' a divorce from her deceased husband. 848 586

Accuracy of Figures There are more illegitimates in the 'son' than are registered in the 'koseki' as such. Quite often in the prewar period---and possibly even now---the husband's child by another woman was recorded as the son or daughter of his legal wife. In one case the 'koseki' record showed one woman as bearing two children seven months apart. Investigation showed that the above method of recording had been used. The same method of concealment is often used when a man's unmarried daughter bears a child. 848

Postwar Divorces While there were 264 postwar marriages recorded in the 'koseki' of Kochinda-son, 54 postwar divorces were entered into the record for the same period. This would indicate a rough divorce rate of 20.4 in Kochinda. Since in America one in four marriages ends in divorce[1], and in Japan the rate (as of 1949) is 9.7, it is clear that the Okinawan divorce rate much more closely resembles the American. This Okinawan rate is confirmed by the 1952 statistics, which showed a rate of 20.3 (3,220 marriages and 653 divorces)[2] for Okinawa Guntō. 586 [171]

1 George C. Homans, The Human Group, p. 276.
2 Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku, p. 1.

its area at night (an informant hastened to add that these were not Yamada women). The unit and the village cooperated in repairing roads, the unit supplying equipment and the village labor. The unit also lent equipment for levelling the school grounds and for the 'undōkai' (sports event) lent the school a public address system. At Christmas of 1952 and again in 1953 the unit gave a Christmas party for the school children. The first year only 40 went but the second year nearly 200 went and all received presents. Two that were shown me later were a plastic car and a plastic fire truck; one was marked 65 cents. They were displayed with obvious pride. The school children in turn had sent a bundle of art work to the unit for the Perry Festival. 621 177 727

According to the villagers, late in 1953 the CO of the unit was transferred and the unit was placed under the command of the CO of another unit some miles away. This, they said, had meant the end of the monthly meetings and a decline in the good relations that had existed. The villagers' worries may have been without foundation. The last Christmas party was given after the alleged shift in command. However, some changes were occurring; for example, prostitution had reentered the village.

Informal Relations In addition to the help given to the school by the unit, certain individuals from the unit had also contributed something to it. One man is said to have taught English classes twice a week for about six months. Many of the men of the unit habitually come to the school grounds to play ball. Several are said to come two and three times a week, others come less frequently. Negro soldiers as well as whites come. They play baseball and volleyball with the men teachers and have also taught them basketball.

A few of the villagers have gained financially from the presence of the unit. In Ajimaa where the school is located there are four shops and at Kuraha there is one shop and another establishment that was formerly a cafe. The Ajimaa shops probably rarely sell anything to the soldiers, but the Kuraha shop has several steady customers for "Okinawa Gin", a rather strong variety of 'awamori'. The cafe formerly sold drinks to a regular clientele from the unit, but recently the owner invested in a taxi, has not made as much on it as he had expected and so has not had the capital for stock. There is also a laundry in Kuraha operated by a couple from Amami which does washing for men in the unit. 621 177 727 444 [273]

Several men in the unit are renting houses for their "honeys". (The term "honey" is widely used by both Americans and Okinawans for an American's Okinawan mistress.) At the time I worked in Yamada there were five "honeys", all in Kuraha, three renting one house and two another. All five were from outside the village; one was from Amami, a relative of the laundry people. According to one informant, the relationships between the soldiers and these women had been established at Senaha, Yomitan-son, a small cafe and brothel area to which some of the men of the unit go; after establishing the relationships there the men had brought the women to this village next to their unit. It was my impression that there was not much contact between these outsiders and the villagers. 621 177 727 836

However, there are several Yamada women who have been the mistresses of American soldiers in the past and there are several half-white children in 621 144 563

[Yamada]

621 the village. The oldest of the children is in school; she is the product of
● 144 a brief affair during the early days of the occupation. While some informants
563 showed some reluctance to discuss the half-white children, by forgetting that they existed until reminded of them, I saw no evidence that the children suffered any discrimination. There are also several Yamada women living outside Yamada, particularly in Ishikawa, with Americans and Filipinos; several of
621 these have mixed-blood children. Some of the Yamada women who are "married"
582 to Americans have attempted to maintain their relationship with their own
177 families and establish some kind of relationship between their families and their "husbands". On New Year's, when family calls are in order, two sisters who were both living with Americans at another village brought their "husbands" to pay their respects to their grandfather. I was in the old man's house when one of the girls appeared with her American. The American behaved quite properly, taking off his shoes and sitting cross-legged on the mat opposite the grandfather. The grandfather greeted him with dignity and reserve. The girl, who had acquired a fair command of English, translated a few sentences and looked very pleased with herself. Drinks were exchanged and the visit was over. Further contact was hardly possible, but this sort of gesture was probably sufficient to demonstrate to the family and to others that the relationship was a serious one. Most relationships are less serious.

621 The former cafe in Kuraha was said to have had women available for
727 prostitution several years ago, but the CO of the local unit who held the
177 meetings with the villagers is said to have disapproved of prostitution in the village and therefore the women left. In the spring of 1954, however,
548 another prostitute was at the cafe, even though it was not operating as such, and a new brothel was established at Ajimaa. There a 'Mama-san' ("madame" in GI Japanese) rented a house for herself and her three girls. The house is one of the newer tile-roofed buildings; it is just below the school grounds and across the highway; it is the property of the brother-in-law of one of the school teachers. Since the shortest way to the place from the unit is directly across the school ground, this was the route taken one afternoon by the three gaudily painted girls as they led a soldier home. I did not have much opportunity to discuss the matter with many people but got the following reaction from one informant: "On the one hand the brothel is good because people are making money; on the other hand it is bad because it makes a bad environment. If anyone complained about it, probably the owners of the house would say that the person complaining is just envious because of the money they are making in rent. Probably even the school teachers could not complain. One cannot interfere with a person's way of making money. The only way it could be stopped would be for the whole village to stop it." This was a clear
[131] expression of two of the basic themes of Okinawan culture, themes that have been mentioned before in connection with other problems; first, one must not interfere in another's livelihood, and second, one must not stand alone; action must be group action. This informant was not overly concerned about the possible bad effects of the presence of the brothel below the school on the school children. Some of the school teachers may have been, yet they too were probably as unwilling to take action individually.

621 While some Yamada people have profited by the presence of the unit,
727 others have suffered some loss. Considerable land is still not available to its owners and while they have received rental from it the amount is not

Nevertheless, to superficial observation at least, villagers seem to enjoy good health. Most of them are energetic. Obesity is very unusual. The average man or woman of any age has little spare flesh. The most frequent complaints are of dysentery, constipation, colds, boils and swellings, and intestinal parasites. There are signs of malnutrition in the distended bellies of some small children, probably due to the unrelieved and starchy diet of the sweet potato,[6] with extremely few animal fats and proteins. 146 [164]

The sores and scabs on the heads, faces, arms, and legs of infants and young children are still the curse of childhood, conditions made worse by the flies which swarm around them. (In summer, I have seen as many as 20 flies on the face of a sleeping child without a trace of any muscular reaction). There are few Okinawans today who do not bear the scars of these sores of infancy, especially on the scalp. (Young men are sensitive about this and it is one reason also for keeping the hair long). Younger parents now are beginning to use various disinfecting powders and talcs to prevent these sores (which look like impetigo) and seem to have abandoned the attitude of a previous generation that these were childhood experiences to be endured. Much could be done to eliminate these diseases of childhood by a campaign in which local groups like the Women's Association and the public health authorities joined. 164 [751] 000

In the summer months, Jap B encephalitis (known as nUen) is very much dreaded. Some villagers had only a vague idea that it was a brain fever and a few knew that the mosquito was the vector. 164 [753]

According to residents of each of the villages, no cases of leprosy had been discovered in recent years. This disease is also dreaded and I doubt that an attempt would be made to conceal a case.

Young people have uncommonly beautiful, evenly spaced, white teeth. This seems to have been an Okinawan characteristic for a long time, as Basil Hall commented upon it 135 years ago. Around the late teens or early twenties, the teeth decay, and there are many extractions and replacements with gold or steel false teeth. Some extractions are intentional, especially among young girls who believe that a gold tooth sets them apart and adds to beauty. But I am convinced that this is of minor importance as an explanation. Okinawans [145] ● [757] [832]

6 I am not acquainted with any analyses of the composition of the Okinawan sweet potato. In laboratory tests of an improved high-starch American variety, the composition when ground for starch was: moisture, 64.5%; starch, 25.5%; sugars, 2.8%; crude protein, 1.5%; pectic substances, 2.2%; crude fat, 0.6%; mineral matter, 0.9%; other, 2%. Sweet potato carotene can be readily converted to Vitamin A. See Dawson, F. R., Greathouse, L. H., and Gordon, W. O. Sweet potatoes: more than starch. In: Crops in peace and war. (U. S. Dept. of Agric., The yearbook of agriculture 1950-51) Washington, 195-203. Ref. on 195, 201. [146]

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problem of the development of internal controls which have been variously labeled as guilt, conscience, and super-ego.

It was the conviction of the researchers that the areas of study had to be limited and clearly defined if standardized material was to be collected. Chapter 1 of the *Field Guide* is a description of the "systems" of behavior which were chosen for study and the hypotheses which the investigators hoped to test. It is impossible to include a detailed description of the theory in this introduction, but in order to understand the material presented in this volume it is necessary to at least present a summary of the behavior systems and the nature of the hypotheses.*

The nine behavioral systems include succorance, nurturance, self-reliance, achievement, responsibility, obedience, dominance, sociability, and aggression. In the most general terms, succorance is defined as asking others for help; nurturance, as giving help or emotional support; self-reliance, as doing things for one's self; achievement, as striving to meet internal standards of excellence; responsibility, as performing one's expected role duties; obedience, as attempting to meet the demands of others; dominance, as attempting to change other's behavior; sociability, as making friendly approaches to other individuals; aggression, as hurting others. It was assumed that each of these systems of behavior would exist in some form and degree in every society in a recognizable form and could best be identified as responses to specific universal situations. For example, given a situation in which an individual encountered difficulty, whether he asked for help or solved the problem himself would indicate the relative strength of his succorance or, in contrast, his self-reliance. A measure of nurturance would be the frequency of the spontaneous giving of help or the reaction to requests for help or the perception that others need help.

Returning to the present volume, in describing the adult culture of each society we have included material which we consider relevant to these nine behavior systems.

The chapter on social control is included because it gives information on the frequency of brawls, fights, crimes, and other conflicts and describes the techniques which the society has devised either for preventing such conflicts from arising or for stopping existing conflict. Comparison of this material gives indices of the expressed aggression of the adults and the existence and type of internalized controls. It will be noted, for example, that the incidence of rape is high in Nyansongo, that litigation is frequent in Khalapur and Nyansongo,

* For a full discussion of behavior systems see Child (1954).

342 floor, resting his feet outside on the ground. An overhanging roof protects him from the rain. Larger houses have an entrance hall and a porch running along the front. Since these porches also have sliding door panels, few people bother to use the entrance except on formal visits.

The simple structures have a framework which is basically the same [336] as that of the more complex ones. Neither is constructed with nails but held together by mortise and tenon joints. Thick layers of thatch or a tile roof give adequate protection from rains. Thatch roofs need re- [356] placement every few years, but they keep the house cooler than the more permanent, more expensive clay or cement tile roofs. House walls are made of very thin, cheap wood which weathers fast and cracks, allowing winds to enter freely. Only the new houses have solid double walls. The floor in the simple buildings consists of planks which in many houses are not nailed down; during the winter months the cold penetrates through the wide slots between the boards. Better houses have ceilings and doors to separate the "first" and "second" room in the front of the house, as well as solid floors.

Smoke from the open fireplace in the kitchen rises into the roof and seeps through the thatch. Poor eyesight, common among children, is [151] believed by the villagers to result from smoke-filled houses and poor lighting. In the evening, dim light is provided by one or two kerosene lamps.

342 The ancestral shrine, a built-in shelf for the ancestral tablets, has 353 its place in the "second" room. This shrine is only found in the homes 769 of oldest sons. It is not treated with special reverence. Photographs of the deceased as well as of living relatives are kept there as well as personal belongings—a letter, money, a bottle of sake, or gifts. During [824] religious holidays of ancestral worship, red hibiscus flowers, the color for the dead, are placed on the shelf. Since the shelf is high from the floor, small children cannot get at it.

352 The only furniture in all houses is a low table on which food and [516] drinks are served. Everybody sits on the floor, legs crossed and feet tucked under their thighs in the case of men or put behind to one side in the case of women. Very few houses in Taira have the thick, padded straw mats found in the homes of more well-to-do people in Okinawa. But every family has several thin mats of woven reed standing in one corner of the room; these are spread out for guests to sit on or for a member of the household who lies down during the day. Storage 353 shelves are used in simple houses, but in the better houses mattresses, comforters, and hard pillows are kept in a built-in closet space during [356] the day. On sunny days women air the bedding by spreading it over walls, fences, or in the grass.

8

Daily Life of the Fishing Village

Fishing families may have informal gatherings toward the end of the day. On a late summer afternoon, the family may sit in the open doorway of the house, for hedges, fences, the barriers, and trees are rare. The wife may be nursing her naked child. Her husband, a fisherman, has changed into his indigo blue and white striped kimono, a tall, broad, deeply tanned man. Next to him sits his mother, over 70 years old, her hands tattooed, as are those of all the old women. She is wearing a kimono of the same color, but of a dot pattern. They sit on unrolled mats. On the veranda, three or four men, unwashed and still in their work clothes, discuss the events of the day. A lacquer tray with tea cups is on the floor near them and the tea (as it so often is) may be cold. There is brown sugar to eat along with the tea. The grandmother may be economically smoking a half or a third of a cigarette in the typical Japanese pipe. As it grows later, the wife gets up, pours some water in the stone mortar, and smashes the sweet potatoes with the long wooden pole. The men continue talking for a while, then take their leave. The wife, her work at the mortar finished, goes into the dirt kitchen to start the evening meal.

The wife of the fisherman has worries that do not bother the farmer's wife. There is always the danger that her husband, or son, will not return, a real possibility, of which the frequency of widowhood in Minatogawa is proof. Every season, there is at least one instance of a fisherman who has either been lost, or whose delay in returning has provoked intense worry. If crews are still out when an unexpected storm arises, there is considerable tension in the village. Since the war, rescues at sea are more likely than before. The village headman quickly reports overdue boats. The American forces have created much good will in seeking fishermen lost at sea.

Women, on the other hand, have opportunities for leisure when the catch is light, or weather is unfavorable. At these times, they can busy themselves with other tasks, in the field, gathering stones, getting miscanthus, but they do not have the unremitting activity of the woman in the agricultural village. There is more visiting during the day than one observes in an agricultural village.

The fisherman, with or without land, tries to keep pigs and perhaps a few goats. In Minatogawa, the pens are often made of sandstone quarried here. Not only the floors and the sides, but the stalls are made of this material. One reason for this is the openness of the village and the danger that pigs will be killed in a storm. A typhoon may carry away the house, its owners having gone to the stronger house of a friend or relative, but pigs are an investment and an asset to be guarded.

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is one of the rare, desired body attributes. It was the opinion of some that the descendants of the noble families who came from Shuri, however, are taller and slender, with a prominent, curved nasal ridge.

Until they feel confident in the presence of strangers, Taira people appear quiet and restrained. It is considered a virtue not to show one's emotions, and Tairans consider the expressiveness of Americans childish. Actually they are gay, talkative, and given to laughter, especially the women. Men are quiet unless stimulated by alcohol, but both men and women may lose their composure in emergencies. A notable exception is their placid reactions to the threat of disaster from the ever recurrent violent storms.

THE COMMUNITY, ITS HISTORY AND NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

Taira is one of the northern villages on the northeast coast of Okinawa in Higashi township (see map 1). Today it is home to over 700 people who make their living—as did their ancestors since early times—from the surrounding fields, forests, and from the sea. The Okinawan name for the village, Taira, means "sloping fields." The character used for writing the prevalent Japanese version, Taira, means "flat, plain, good."

Since the family records were lost during World War II, it is necessary to depend on oral traditions for reconstruction of the history of Taira. Unfortunately, the desire of many Okinawans to establish a relationship between their local families and the former royal courts casts some doubt on the accuracy of these traditions.

According to these traditions, the first village to be settled in the vicinity of Taira was the neighboring community Kawata. After the Hokuzan kingdom in Nakijin (on the northwestern Motobu Peninsula) was conquered by the southern Okinawan kingdom of Chuzan in the fifthteenth century (Kerr, 1958:85), the second son of the Lord of Hokuzan is said to have escaped northward into Kunigami province. Unitokogami, the fleeing nobleman, arrived near the present site of Kawata and established himself in a cave around the year 1477. He is still revered today as founder of the village in a yearly spring ceremony when prayers are said in front of the cave. The oldest Taira families trace their descent in the male line from Nizenya, the "main house," he founded. Taira was settled around 1550 by two families tracing descent from this "main house." The descendents of these settlers are

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women chant. The tempo becomes more and more frenzied, and at a certain moment a bell rings. Nobody knows who rings it, and no amount of questioning elicited any information other than that this was done by divine action. 796 793

Ancestral worship is equally important in the life of Taira people. Each house of an oldest son has a shelf with a shrine in the main living room. On this shelf the family keeps the ancestral tablets, each representing a deceased ancestor of a recent period. The tablets for whole family lines are kept on the shelves of the main houses. Through this system a family maintains continuity between the living and the dead. Although a deceased person is believed to become a buddha or a god who ascends to heaven, his presence is still felt by the living relatives. If they fail to make the required offerings on the first and fifteenth day of each lunar month, or otherwise neglect religious duties toward the ancestor, misfortune may come to the family. At the same time, the worship of common ancestors holds branches of the larger kin groups together. 769 592 [778] [775] [782] [613]

No village adult died during our stay, but the funeral practices for adults described by Glacken (1955) and Pitts et al. (1955) for other villages in Okinawa are similar. Seven years is the age limit for a child burial, which is simple and does not require attendance of people other than immediate relatives and perhaps one or two neighbors.* During the study an 8-year-old boy died from an illness and was given a full funeral, which is similar to that of adults. 764 766

The funeral must take place at the first outgoing tide after the body has been prepared and dressed. Accompanied by family, residents of the ward, and mourners from other parts of the village whose number depends on the prominence of the dead, the body is carried on a simple, open litter to the tomb area just west of the central village (see map 2). Women feel free to show their emotions, while men remain outwardly calm. Until decomposition takes place, the body remains in a tomb used by the whole village for temporary entombment. Like other village ceremonies, funerals are less elaborate now than they once were, perhaps to the relief of all concerned, since death is highly anxiety provoking, and nobody feels comfortable during the prayers and the ritual farewell to the corpse at the tomb. The participants receive a cup of sake before leaving the tomb area to cleanse them of the pollution of death. Some people still prefer to return to the village by a different route so that the spirit of the dead person will be fooled and unable to follow. 764 [152] [154] [783] [784]

* The reason for this is possibly that the younger child has not yet fulfilled his filial obligations.

765 After death, memorial services are held in the home of the deceased
769 every seventh day until the 49th day when a more elaborate ceremony
782 concludes this period, and a permanent tablet is installed on the house shrine. On this day, too, offerings to the deceased change from white rice to red-colored rice, indicating the end of the mourning period. From now on, observances in memory of the dead are held on the first, third, seventh, thirteenth, twenty-fifth, and thirty-third anniversary of death. These are small family affairs at which special food is prepared and offered at the shrine before it is consumed.

765 The body is left in the tomb for at least three years until a propitious day when the whole village decides to wash the bones of all those who have died within the preceding three to seven years. On Bone Washing Day little groups of family members gather around the coffin. They take out the bones, clean them, wrap them in a white cloth and place
[778] them in an urn. Women do all the cleaning of bones because it is be-
[152] lieved that they have more power to expel the evil. They weep freely,
[852] and even some men find it hard to restrain their emotions. Young children are kept away from the tomb area at this time. The urns are then placed inside the family tomb, which has been opened for this purpose. Remains other than bones are burned with the coffin.

769 Every lunar March ancestral services take place at the tombs, at-
782 tended by many members of the kin groups to whom each tomb belongs. Some come from the city or other villages for this occasion, including women who have married into another kin group. This celebration of the dead is more serious than other religious events. Offerings of sake and special delicacies are made and then eaten by the family group. One family, sitting in picnic style around the tomb after their prayers, even began to sing and dance—probably to the delight of the ancestors who in their life must have enjoyed many a good feast and dance. Tombs of other relatives may also be visited for short prayers and other offerings.

775 Spirits of the dead are harmful only if the deceased is not from the
784 village. For this reason new residents formerly could not bury their
766 dead near the village. Even now, recent settlers in the central village have no tombs and keep their dead in urns in a cave, and the residents
[764] of outlying houses or field houses have a separate tomb area altogether. If a stranger happens to die in the village, measures are taken to prevent his spirit from doing harm. The body of a fisherman from southern Okinawa was brought to shore after a storm. There it was left for several hours on the beach under a tent in the hot sun until relatives arrived in a hired car to take the body home. Even then peo-

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diseases seemed to be below the expected rate for Okinawa, in general, and we had the impression that Taira people are healthy on the whole. Only one case of leprosy, which had been removed to a special hospital on the island of Yagaji, was reported from Taira. 164 [743]

Among the children there were frequent complaints of intestinal diseases. Most children seem to lodge a variety of parasites, mostly hookworms and tapeworms, and many were subject to skin ailments. One girl had a severe case of what was thought by the nurse to be congenital syphilis. The skin of her whole body was covered with sores which were a constant source of irritation. This 4-year-old never appeared in the company of children other than her younger sister. She would stand in front of her house, her face swollen, her head stooped from discomfort and embarrassment. Almost all children have impetigo and various kinds of rashes. During the summer these cover their faces and parts of the body. Almost all have marks of boils which have plagued them in the course of years.

Because sickness is always a threat, it creates fear, and any explanation which may restore some hope is important knowledge. Although some Western or modern theories about disease have been introduced recently through the school and the village nurse, they filter into every house only slowly and do not materially affect what has been handed down as popular knowledge from older members of each household. Most Taira people are probably quite eclectic in their beliefs as well as in their choice of treatments, so that it would be difficult to ascribe to them any single body of theory of disease. 753 [152]

Home remedies, often applied by old women, are widespread. The most popular ones are blood letting and the use of *moxa* cautery. Whenever people agree that there is "bad" blood in an adult's or child's system, it must be removed. There are many phenomena which are accounted for by the presence of "bad" blood. Visible signs such as eczema of the skin or swellings are such indications, but malfunctioning of certain organs, the stomach, liver, kidneys, can also call for the removal of "bad" blood. Mothers expose infants as young as five days to the treatment, which may be preventive as well as curative. Pointing to a bluish green area on the infant's back (not the mongoloid spot), whether real or imagined, the mother swabs the area with sake before she or the grandmother make numerous ¼-inch incisions with a razor. After the blood starts to ooze out of the tiny wounds, more sake is rubbed into the skin. The mixture of blood and sake is caught and rubbed on again and again until all the undesirable blood has been drained. 757 753 [751] 757

So many Taira babies have eczema that this treatment takes place [854] [164]

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women in Taira. Three young mothers, who continued to work despite the discomfort and pain of swollen extremities, consulted with the doctor in the nearby town, and a fourth described this condition, which had prohibited her from any but the most simple and undemanding work. The old people look upon unusual pregnancies in askance. "Work, good, hard physical labor is what we did and we never had any difficulties. Young people pamper themselves." 843 164 [461]

Special foods and advice are proffered the expectant mother for the benefit of the baby. "Eat this so that you will have lots of milk for the baby. Remember that spicy things are bad for the baby. Do you recall the one who was born with a great patch of hair on its arms? Its mother was frightened by a great big cat while she was carrying that child," comment villagers to the mother. Some husbands indulge their wives' cravings for special delicacies like expensive imported fruits. 843 [262]

To keep the baby in position, a sash is wound several times about the pregnant woman's abdomen by a midwife or some old woman. [292]

In the "old days" it was not unusual for a woman to return from the mountains or fields carrying her newborn. Grandmothers recall with relish the days when "Women paid little heed to their condition, did hard work, and had their babies without a whimper." "The women today pamper themselves," snap the wizened grandmothers watching an expectant mother resting between trips to the mountains. 844 843

As the day of parturition approaches, the expectant mother schedules her work to remain as close to the house as possible. When labor starts, she retires to the back room of the house, which is situated next to the kitchen. The medical practitioner, or in his absence a midwife,* is called to assist in the delivery. The husband's mother, if she lives in the house, or other older related women attend. A man may be present during his wife's first delivery but at subsequent births will wait with some of the women in the front room. In the old days a woman was supported by her husband or someone else in a half-sitting position. Nowadays, however, women give birth lying down. Only rarely does a woman in labor cry out in pain. Soft crying is permissible, but any loud demonstration would elicit contemptuous comments from the older women. "If you had worked hard, the baby would not be so big, then labor would not be difficult," is an often heard retort. 844 [759] [152]

Informal interviewing revealed that birth takes place in a large number of cases during late evening or early morning hours. Usually children of the house sleep on undisturbed. Should they awake, they are kept out of the delivery room, although the youngest may be allowed to enter to visit with his mother shortly after delivery. [858] [593]

The newborn is bathed in tepid water then bundled in blankets,

* At present there is no midwife in Taira.

844 [853] kimonos, and diapers. He is placed under the blanket next to the mother and given a gauze nipple dipped in tea and sugar to suck, which is often his only food for as long as two days if lactation is slow. Meanwhile the afterbirth is wrapped in straw and left under the floorboards in the kitchen to await the outgoing tide.

846 593 Tea is now served in the front room, and the birth is discussed by the women who assisted. On one such occasion, the father and grandmother showed a little boy whose sister had just been born a great deal of affection. The father held the boy in his lap, and both adults told him that he was now a big brother.

844 851 156 At the first hour of the outgoing tide, old women—the grandmother of the baby, relatives, and neighbors—wrap the afterbirth in rice straw and bury it in a specified place outdoors behind the hearth. The purpose of the ceremony is to ensure that the child will be happy and sociable. To the accompaniment of laughing, loud clanging of pots and covers, and calling to each other, the women circle the house. When the burial is completed, they chant loudly, "May this baby always laugh and be pleasant." [152] A stone is then placed over the burial mound so that the infant will not be frightened in his sleep, an emotion which is inferred from the jerking of a young infant while asleep.

852 565 462 [178] Until about 10 years ago a ceremony was performed by descendants of noble families from Shuri over the newborn to ensure success in his future role. For boys, a winnowing basket was propped up against a hoe on which a clump of soil and grass rested. While the father's mother held the child in one arm, she shot an arrow with a bow into the basket. This act was to make certain that the child would become a good hunter (provider) as well as a successful farmer. The grass on the hoe [286] symbolized strength. A girl, on the other hand, received a miniature loom constructed especially for such occasions, which was to assure her success as a weaver of cloth. A spool of banana fiber was presented along with the loom.

852 565 538 There is a story that long, long ago an infant was born on the beach. Immediately after he was born, as he still lay on the sand, a crab crawled over his chest. This infant grew up to be a strong, famous man. Shuri descendants still have a custom of grandmothers holding a newborn boy in their laps and releasing a small crab, which scurries over the infant's chest. These practices, however, are absent in central Taira now and are rarely found in the outlying settlements of predominantly Shuri descendants.

846 178 Formerly mother and child were confined to the darkened delivery room next to the kitchen and at the rear of the house for seven days, while an open fire was kept blazing in the brazier near the mother.

In the houses of first sons there are family altars upon which memorial tablets of family ancestors are placed. Children from these homes are told that their deceased grandfathers are now divine beings and are watching them. In one such family a 4-year-old boy was told by his mother that, since he was naughty, the divine ancestor would punish him. She pointed to the picture of his deceased grandfather and the memorial tablets on the altar. The little boy looked up to the shelf and then to his mother. "That's only a memorial tablet," he said sneeringly. 861 778 769

Not many children are as skeptical as this 4-year-old. A hunchbacked storyteller sometimes comes to Taira. This man is a preacher for a Japanese sect which combines Japanese nationalistic teachings and concepts of proper conduct and healthful living with a belief in a supreme being. He appeals to children and reinforces the belief in the sanctioning power of God. Occasionally a Christian missionary visits the village, and the children look forward to his bible readings, which also reinforce the belief. In addition, the children of the two Christian families help to caution others, warning of divine omnipresence and knowledge. 861 776 177

Shaming and ridicule as techniques of socialization are used to a fair extent. An older child's shortcomings may frequently be compared with a younger's achievements. However, some form of verbal lashing is usually accompanied by direct physical punishment, whether it be merely a slap on the buttocks, a crack on the head, or a whipping. 861

Several mothers summed up their flexibility in handling their children by saying, "I have so many children and it seems that each one is different in some way. For some children one thing works and for others you have to think of other ways. You cannot scold this one because she is so sensitive. The boy you cannot scold because he would get so angry he would not be able to understand the wrong he did."

Nevertheless, it is important to point out that mothers in Taira, for the most part, do not spend as much time with their children as do their counterparts in a more wealthy village. Their work day is long and strenuous. They return home exhausted and impatient. During the long rainy spells, when work in the fields and mountains is impossible, mothers have to stay home more often than usual. At such times they manifest an irritability with respect to the numerous demands children make upon them that can be attributed partly to the fact that their long absence from home during a normal work day makes them forget children's cravings for attention; the loss of income during bad weather just increases their impatience. 861 462 [184] [152]

857 a type of milkweed which was to be fed to the chickens. The older boy
868 would walk on a way, carefully searching the ground, stop when he spotted some milkweed, and call to the younger ones, "There are some near the spot on which I am standing!" The two little boys would rush over and start examining the area carefully. With a shout one of them would drop to the ground, uproot the plant, and bear it triumphantly to his older cousin. Then the game would continue with the older boy saying, "Good child."

861 The relatively few restrictions placed on the young child are an important basis for learning. By being able to participate freely, children learn what is going on in their village from day to day. Since adults feel that children do not really understand what they are talking about, conversations are free and not couched in mysterious terms. The 10-year-old who is fully aware of the subject under discussion may giggle uncontrollably, but none of the adults pays attention to this. An adult giving a blow-by-blow description of the latest quarrel may even turn to a 10- or 12-year-old child for aid when he forgets a detail.

SOCIALIZING AGENTS

855 In general mothers continue to be the chief socializers, with the
593 grandmother and older siblings second in importance. From the child's point of view, the mother retains the closest bond with him
861 throughout childhood, regardless of the grandmother's prominent role in his early life, and even though, in terms of time which the child spends with others, the mother gradually assumes less importance. It is to the mother that children turn for ultimate support, and to her is delegated the responsibility of child rearing in Taira. Although much of the responsibility for caring for children is given to siblings, the villagers hold the mother alone culpable, should a child deviate in his behavior.

855 The mother's ultimate responsibility for the child is not reduced
857 by the fact that she may spend a great part of the day away from her offspring. Mothers frequently ask other children for the whereabouts
593 of a son or a daughter. Just as the fieldworkers soon learned in what places they would be most likely to find a particular child, so mothers on the whole are aware of their children's favorite play areas. A
[152] mother occasionally inquires about her children's whereabouts without showing anxiety. The fieldworkers were once asked by a mother if they knew where her daughter, who carried an infant sister, was

of a first son the parents' responsibility toward him may even increase as he 593
grows older, since the continuity of the family depends upon him. Also the
child's duty to obey his parents does not end with his majority, and this
duty also may be stronger for a first son. All this is in sharp contrast [171]
with the situation in American society, where the responsibility of the parent to the child is greatest when the child is small and gradually recedes as the child grows older, where the parents' responsibilities toward minor children are identical regardless of the sex or age of the child relative to others, and where the duty of the child to obey its parents clearly ends when it reaches majority.

The relationship between grandparents and grandchildren is also closer 603
than is commonly the case in the United States. There is greater physical 171
intimacy, there are greater mutual obligations, and there is therefore a greater feeling of security derived from the relationship.

The relationship of siblings too is different from that in the United 593
States. There is no equality among Okinawan brothers; each has his own sta- 171
tus, the first son having the most responsibility and the most privileges. Sisters are inferior to their brothers, but are more nearly equal to each other. But the brothers constitute a single unit even though they are unequal, the very numbering of them, first son, second son, and so forth, sets them apart as a unit separate from other units composed of numbered sons. As adults they are expected to cooperate, and usually do. It seems likely that the American passion for equality, with its resulting arguments among children as to who got the larger piece of pie, may result in greater conflict among siblings than exists in Okinawan society.

I have attempted to indicate briefly some of the main features of the 121
Okinawan family, how it differs from the American family, and how it provides 593
a greater sense of security for the individual. This security, it should be 152
emphasized, is at the expense of freedom and equality. Later, in discussing the life of the individual, I shall examine some of these features more closely. Moreover, I shall also try to show that family life not only provides the individual with a feeling of security, but also provides him with the pattern of relationships that he extends to the rest of the world and is the source of some of his basic anxieties.

Classification of Kin It has long been recognized that the categories of 121
language are likely to be the categories of thought, 601
and that if we are to understand how the members of another society see some aspect of reality---color, plant life, the passage of time, we can well begin by learning how they classify their perception---by studying their color terms, botanical taxonomy, terms for the seasons and other divisions of time. In the study of social organization this method is even more useful because the reality as well as the conception is man-made. Thus the categories into which the members of a society group their kinfolk have proved to be important clues to the organization of that society. I shall therefore describe briefly the kinship terms used by the Okinawans.

The terms themselves do not matter for this purpose. They vary from 601
place to place and from social class to class. But it is significant that

858 children to be "little people". From this viewpoint the Okinawans appear to
171 regard children as being not yet quite human. Okinawan children can observe, overtly or covertly, probably a good deal more of adult life than American children can observe and Okinawan adults discuss matters in front of children that American adults would not discuss before children, yet the Okinawan adult appears to expect his children to understand far less of what is done or said than the American does. To illustrate, an Okinawan grandmother may discuss a three-year old's illegitimate origin in its presence, tease it to the point of tears by offering to give it away to the passing American, and then say nothing when it wantonly snatches and breaks something of value. The American is likely to regard the talking as a possible cause of complexes, the teasing as downright cruel, and the tolerance as intolerable lack of discipline.

Small children are free to observe all that goes on in the house and yard during their waking hours. They are not subject to any rules determining when they are to go to bed. There is hardly a formal gathering into which they cannot insinuate themselves for hand-outs. They are taken to the theatre, where they may have to be shooed off the stage by the actors themselves.
864 The only aspect of life that seems to be deliberately withheld from them is
858 sex. They are told that babies come out of their mothers' knees, and although they may overhear a good deal about the sexual relationships of different people and the difficulties that result from them, they are given no notion of the nature of sex. I will discuss this in more detail under attitudes toward sex.

858 Although children seem bold in actions, they are not bold in speech.
856 As a matter of fact they often do not respond when spoken to and seem unwilling to venture to speak at all. I make this statement not merely on the
[104] basis of my own experience as an outsider attempting to talk to them; an Okinawan friend also pointed out how different the children in the north were from those of Central and Southern Okinawa---the Northern children answered his questions when he spoke to them. Some of the children's shyness about speaking may be due to the fact that they usually speak Okinawan in the home and then have to learn Japanese in school. Moreover, they soon learn to feel
• [152] that Okinawan is inferior to Japanese as a medium of polite or intellectual expression; they may be shy because they fear to speak Okinawan since it is inferior and because they fear to speak Japanese since they cannot speak it well. But I have the impression that children are also often unresponsive when an adult speaks to them in Okinawan and when the language of the answer
868 is not a factor. I believe that there is another factor that is almost in-
171 herent in the nature of both the Japanese and the Okinawan languages. When
198 speaking to children in Japanese, and also very likely when speaking in Okinawan, adults use a different form of speech than the form they use when addressing adults. Somewhat different forms of speech for children are probably used in every society; they do exist in the United States, but never to such a striking extent as in Japanese. Japanese and Okinawan both have a range of verb forms expressing several degrees of politeness or formality, and to some extent there are also levels of vocabulary corresponding to them. In speaking to a child, the adult uses the simplest verb forms, the simplest words, and then speaks not in whole sentences but rather in a series of phrases each

later told the story to Lebra in the child's presence with a good deal of relish, while the boy merely looked sheepish and said nothing. 861

Punishment may be by either parent or by a grandparent. Other relatives may scold. I once observed a four-year-old being scolded long and shrilly by her father's sister. I asked why the mother, who was just inside the house, did not do the scolding and I was told that the child would not mind her mother and so the aunt had had to step in. I was also given the impression that the child's mother would hardly have dared defend her. It seems likely that mothers and grandmothers punish most frequently but that fathers, though they punish less frequently, are more severe; they are certainly more feared. It is said that after a child is punished it is usually comforted by the adult who punished it. There are, of course, individual differences. One man at Nanahan was known to be particularly harsh with his children. Pitts observed him on one occasion chasing one of his children around the village with a strap.

Okinawan adults, especially women, frequently tease children. On two occasions I saw a particularly cocky little boy of three or four teased in a deliberate attempt to make him angry or to make him cry. On the first occasion one of his aunts, his mother's oldest sister, struck the boy's baby sister, pretending to hurt her. He was very fond of the baby and the object of the teasing seemed to be to arouse his sympathy to the point where he would have showed his emotions, at which point, I assume, the crowd of women would have laughed. This time the teasing was unsuccessful. On the second occasion his mother and her sisters told him first that I was going to take him away, then that I was going to take his little sister away, and produced other variations on this theme. After several minutes of this he went grimly over to his mother and began hitting her with his fists. The women all regarded this as great sport. No effort was made to stop him from hitting his mother. This sort of teasing seems to have amusement as its main object, but probably has other functions as well. It may possibly provide women a necessary outlet for feelings of hostility, especially against males. But it may also have the more important functions of producing in the child the desirable emotional responses---sympathy for the little sister, fear of losing her, fear of being separated from home---while at the same time conditioning the child to inhibit the expression of these emotions. 855 [154] [867] [152]

On another occasion I saw the mother of the children just mentioned hold out a lighted match in front of the baby until the baby, after regarding it in wonderment, reached out and was burned. The women watched expectantly and laughed when the baby cried, but in this case the act seemed more like deliberate instruction in the properties of fire than merely teasing. But as in teasing, the discomfort to the child is something not to be avoided but rather to be enjoyed. And as in teasing, the child learns to associate laughter with his own discomfort, or perhaps with his expression of his discomfort. He may thereby learn to avoid being laughed at because it is associated with discomfort, and to avoid the expression of discomfort because it brings laughter. [861] [155]

855 861 Two facts that have been introduced into this discussion should be restated and made more explicit. The first is that Okinawan child-training methods include the use of both verbal appeals and physical punishment. As a result of observations made during and shortly after the battle in 1945, Dr. J. C. Maloney reported[1] that Okinawans were very permissive with their children and did not use corporal punishment. It will be seen from the data just presented that while Okinawans are more permissive in many situations than Americans would be, they do in fact use severe physical punishment on occasion.

•152 181 171 861 The second fact has to do with the contrast of "shame" versus "guilt" that has been presented by several writers on the character of the Japanese. Both Gorer and Benedict have asserted that the Japanese conform because they fear the ridicule of others whereas Westerners conform because they fear their own consciences; Japanese culture is a "shame culture" while ours is a "guilt culture".[2] Okinawan culture also seems to be primarily a shame culture. Okinawans clearly fear ridicule greatly, and this fear seems traceable to their early training. But there are also elements in Okinawan child training that would tend to produce something of the Western sort of fear that one may suffer for his wrong-doing regardless of whether he is found out or not. These are to be seen in the phrases "retribution will strike" (Okinawan bachi nu ataaing, Japanese 'bachi ga ataru') and "the gods saw you". Shame and guilt are doubtless not mutually exclusive. Both sanctions exist in Okinawan culture, shame being much the stronger.

857 524 [20] [177] Play Boys play with kites and tops. Girls play hop-scotch. Both, if they can afford it, get one or more of the numerous Japanese children's magazines that are filled with stories, comics, and a variety of make-it-yourself paper toys.

857 Boys catch insects and birds and fasten strings to them in order to jerk them back as they try to fly away, or in order simply to drag them around. They do so quite unconscious of any cruelty in the act. Adults appear to regard living things as proper playthings.

[56] There may be less age-grading among smaller children than among older people or among children in present-day American society. Several boys of different ages were observed playing together on many occasions, mainly, it seemed, because they were related and lived in adjacent houses. The girls who occasionally joined them were also of the same group of related families.

882 178 Youth Traditionally, entering one's thirteenth year, for a girl, and fifteenth, for a boy, marks a change in status from that of child to that of youth (niisee, in J. 'seinen', literally "green years"). There was [881] also a later ceremony at which the young man's hair was done in a knot; and the tattooing undergone by a young woman may have been part of a puberty rite. [877] But at present, finishing one's schooling marks the greatest change in the life of a young person. At this time the treatment he receives and the be- 877 882 havior expected of him change markedly. As long as he is in school he is

1 Maloney, 1945, p. 394.

2 Gorer, 1943; Benedict, 1946, p. 223.

769 On the spring and autumn equinoxes imitation money is burned, on other occa-
527 sions special food is offered, and so forth.

775 In spite of the great concern that Okinawans appear to take for the
969 welfare of the dead, they can tell one surprisingly little about what happens to them. According to one account, the dead person crosses seven bridges on his way to the other world; if he has led a wicked life he may have difficulty crossing them. In the next world he needs food and drink and money to pay taxes. Eventually, unless something holds him to this world, he becomes a "Buddha" (J. 'hotoke') or a "god" (J. 'kami-sama')---the terms seem synonymous---and ascends to Heaven. The most clearly defined and frequently heard notion seems to be simply that there is a vast and awful chasm between "this world" and "that world" and that a person who has once crossed the chasm ought to stay on the other side. A dead person may return, however, and appear to the living as a ghost if something disturbs him---a wrong unrighted, for example. Ghosts may attack former enemies or even harm anyone who happens to be around. But also a deceased person may cause disease or other misfortune to come to his own living relatives and descendants if he has not had sufficient help from them through their offerings. Thus many Okinawans, particularly the older people, are greatly concerned about the possibility of an ugwam-busuku, an "insufficiency (fusuku) of worship (ugwang)." They explain sickness, accidents, and lack of success in undertakings as the result of some ugwam-busuku. And so they consult with yuta and other dealers in the supernatural to determine where the insufficiency lies.

They also interpret success or good fortune, especially that which helps the family or larger kin group, as due to the help of the deceased ancestors. A woman gave the following incident as an example. During the bombing that preceded the landing in 1945 she had left the cave where her family was hiding to go to a neighbor's cave just when a great-uncle appeared there looking for a midwife to deliver a daughter's baby. The two related families had not known of each others' whereabouts and the informant's family was overjoyed to be able to move to the better cave of the great-uncle. This, the informant said, was not the result of the protection of the gods but of the ancestors.

The concern of the Okinawans for the dead is great, but it is hard to avoid the conclusion that it is motivated primarily by concern for the living.

3. Prospect of Change

152 Family life provides the individual with the security that he desires
593 but at the same time it gives him a basis for feelings of anxiety. The feelings of security he derives from the love he receives as a child, the honor he receives as a parent, and the knowledge that he will not be neglected in the next world. The solidarity of the family and the continuity of the family are essential to this security and so they are constantly stressed. But he also derives feelings of anxiety from family life. As a child he is carried around in an intimate fashion and then put down and made to run to keep

up; he is made to find most of his needs satisfied by his mother and then he 152
is told that he may be given away if he is not obedient; later he is made to 593
believe that the spirits of his ancestors are protecting him, but when he
becomes ill he is told that it is because he has not given them enough offer-
ings. The threat in each of these instances is abandonment, being cut off
from his family, because of insufficiency---disobedience or unfiliality.
The fear that this threat creates does much to maintain the family system.
It probably also accounts for the fear Okinawans seem to have of being alone,
and their frequent use, remarked upon by several observers, of the word
'sabishii', "lonely". It may also account for their frequently expressed [829]
view of Okinawa itself as a lonely, remote, and neglected island.

Family life also provides the individual with a pattern for human re- 593
lationships. In the family he learns what behavior is appropriate to the 867
status of older sibling and younger sibling, parent and child, male and fe-
male; he learns about authority, responsibility, and mutual obligation. This
pattern of relationships learned in the family he reads into the larger so-
ciety, and, entering the larger society he assumes the roles learned in the
family. He defers to seniors; he expects juniors and females to defer to him.
If he is a farmer he may expect instruction and support from the government,
as a child expects it from his parents. If he is an official or a teacher he
may at times deliberately speak down to the less educated and at other times
deliberately speak over their heads, as a parent does with his children.

It seems that several phenomena of recent years should have weakened 593
the old family system. The war destroyed much of the physical reminders of 178
the past and nearly every family lost one or more of its members. The subse- 177
quent shift in population further uprooted many. The repatriation brought
back people who had long been away, and with them, new ideas. The American
occupation has given rural Okinawans a mobility they could not have imagined
before. It has provided jobs for many of the younger people, which could
mean a degree of economic independence that they could never have had other-
wise. The schools have given young people of the opposite sexes more oppor-
tunity to meet on a respectable basis than they had ever had before. Yet we
find families carrying on in spite of the shift in residence and the loss of
important members, repatriates being reintegrated into the larger kin groups,
and young people who might be independent turning their earnings over to
their elders and asking their elders' permission to marry. Obviously family
ties are still strong.

But the structure of the family may still be changing. The relation-
ship between the behavior of individuals in the family and in the larger so-
ciety is a reciprocal one. It is quite likely that the individual takes the
roles that he has learned as a child in the family and plays them as an adult
in the larger society, as he interprets its structure. But it is also likely
that if the larger society is in a process of change, the individual may re-
interpret his roles or even learn new ones to conform to the new structure.
He may then go back to his family as a parent and reinterpret its structure
on the basis of what he has learned. His behavior as a parent then becomes
different from his father's before him. One of the professed aims of the [185]
Civil Administration on Okinawa is the democratization of Okinawan society.

cause misfortune; the ability to do this, he says, is hereditary from mother 754
to daughter. My informants did not identify ichijama with the mabui or any
other such entity, but merely explained it as a kind of 'noroi', "curse".
Its effect is a sharp pain inside the body or the feeling that a fingernail
has been thrust into the eye. If the person responsible is known, they said,
the affliction may be cured by spitting in his direction and throwing pig
dung in his direction, shouting, "I smear it on your face!" According to [756]
Yanagida, a yuta can cure an afflicted person by squeezing his thumb, which
causes the thumb of the person responsible to be crushed.

Illness may also be caused by gods or local spirits as punishment 753
for the breaking of tabus. For example, at Yamazato in Chinen-son it was 784
said that on the 1st, 8th, 18th, and 28th of every month the "mountain god"
(yama nu kami) makes a circuit of inspection of the mountain behind the vil-
lage and therefore one cannot go to cut trees or grass on those days for
fear of punishment.

But probably the most frequent interpretation of illness and mis- 753
fortune is that it is caused by ugwambusuku, an insufficiency of worship 769
(from ugwang, "worship" and fusuku, "insufficiency"). As has been explained, 775
the dead can influence the lives of the living for good or bad. If the an-
cestors of a family are well cared for, that is, receive the proper offer-
ings and worship, they may help that family to prosper and multiply, but on
the other hand, if the ancestors are not cared for they will let the family
know of their needs by some light illness, or, if their needs are still ig-
nored, by some greater misfortune. They may not deliberately mean to harm
their descendants; the misfortune may be automatic; this point is not clear.
At any rate, the fear of ugwambusuku appears to be a very common anxiety [152]
and to play a central role in the whole structure of ancestor worship. Var-
ious religious practitioners and diviners, but particularly the yuta, are [756]
frequently called upon to try to determine where the insufficiency lies,
what deceased person has not received his full share of worship and is there-
fore causing the current illness or other misfortune. To account for such [787]
illnesses and misfortunes the yuta and others may have revelations (shirashi)
which revise the family's genealogy and even reveal the existence of hitherto
unknown ancestors.

The insufficiency is not always of worship of the ancestors, al- 753
though this is probably the most frequent type. Illness may also be caused 782
by an insufficiency of worship of the Fire God. It is said that if an il- [848]
legitimate child or the child of a secondary wife does not worship at least
once at the Fire God of his shiji ("line") that is, the Fire God of his
father's family, he may become ill. Thus it is not uncommon for the mother
of an illegitimate child to bring it to the house of its father and ask to
let it pray once to the Fire God there. This practice may also, of course, [851]
serve to demonstrate paternity.

Also probably related to the concept that the ancestors influence 769
the living is the practice of establishing a fictitious adoptive relation- 753
ship between a child and an unrelated family. If a child is weakly its
mother may ask an unrelated adult to become the yashinee-uya, "adopted parent",

2) Japanese Political Administration On the negative side is the domination, during the period of Japanese administration, of Okinawan public life by men from Japan. But on the other hand Okinawa became another perfecture and not a colony, and there were possibly not many more men in Okinawa from Japan's urban centers than in other remote and poor perfectures. As Japanese subjects in a Japanese prefecture, Okinawans could rise in the Japanese system and indeed a few did. The position of Okinawa was quite different from that of Korea. 648 829

Insofar as the Japanese policy of assimilation was successful, the fact that most of the important posts in the prefectural government were occupied by men from Tokyo could be ignored. If the Okinawans identified themselves as Japanese the difference would be less important. (The degree of Japanese domination and the harshness of the regime, moreover, seem to have become exaggerated in the minds of many of the Americans on Okinawa at present; some of the USCAR personnel with whom we talked appeared to be unaware of the fact that Okinawa had the same legal status as other parts of Japan.)

3) Japanese Assimilation Policy The policy of the Japanese government and particularly that of the Ministry of Education was undoubtedly one of cultural imperialism. The aim was to produce a uniform people. A strong attempt was made to eradicate the native language and many native customs that did not agree with Japanese ideals, the periodic redivision of land ('jiwari seido') and the use of the pigpen as a toilet, to name two. School teachers labelled the Okinawan language a "dialect" of Japanese, thus giving it inferior status, and labelled many Okinawan beliefs "superstitions". The army also undoubtedly attempted to replace Okinawan with Japanese ideals in many young men. These attempts may have produced hostility in some Okinawans, but it is our impression that the more usual result was to produce merely a feeling of inferiority. Okinawan speech and culture went down in value and Japanese speech and culture went up. Younger Okinawans who could not speak good Japanese felt inferior, but within the Japanese hierarchy. Moreover, in recent years Okinawan speech and customs have been given new prestige as museum pieces by the fact that outstanding Japanese scholars have devoted some attention to them. 648 177 829 152

4) Treatment of Okinawans in Japan Undoubtedly Okinawans who went to Japan in the twenties and thirties to look for employment were disiscriminated against by Japanese employers. A great number of Okinawans went to Osaka to work in the textile mills. Accounts of informants reveal that the mill foremen stereotyped Okinawans as lazy and unreliable and did not hesitate to say so. (In view of the conditions of labor, Americans in the same position might well have earned the same stereotype.) Some mills did not hire Okinawans if they could avoid it. 167 464 177

In rural Japan people were in utter ignorance of Okinawa. Students who were evacuated in 1944 to Kyushu discovered this. One young man told how the peasants in Miyazaki-ken thought that Okinawans were South Sea Islanders and expected them to come wearing clothes made of the leaves of trees and expected to have to teach them how to cook rice. 000

186 829 areas where Negroes are more numerous and have become better known. The presence of Negro officers and others of higher status undoubtedly does much to demonstrate to Okinawans that it is possible for non-whites to rise in the American system.

Attitudes toward Other Peoples The Ryukyuan kingdom was once a vassal state of China and had considerable direct contact with China. Among some older Okinawans things Chinese still are valued. However, the younger people who expressed any opinion to us on China and the Chinese expressed opinions almost bordering on contempt. The years of lack of national unity and of Japanese aggression have left their mark on the Okinawan view of China. The news that a group on Formosa has agitated for a reversion of Okinawa to Nationalist China can hardly have been taken seriously by anyone.

Attitudes toward the Filipinos are probably also colored by Japanese attitudes toward "natives" and by American discriminatory practices in wages. Moreover, the fact that many of the Filipinos who have worked on Okinawa speak very poor English probably gives them a lower status in the eyes of the Okinawans.

668 829 The Status of Okinawa There is certainly no unanimity of opinion on what would be the most desirable status for Okinawa. As I have tried to indicate, attitudes toward both Japan and the United States are varied and ambivalent. Both practical considerations and emotional reasons have motivated some Okinawans to agitate for reversion to Japan. For most reversionists reversion appears to mean simply political reversion, return of the political administration to Japan; the majority of reversionists do not seem to be saying "Yankee Go Home"; they grant the necessity of military bases on Okinawa both for the military security of the Far East and at present for the economic security of Okinawa. This seems to be the point of view of the Social Mass Party, which won nearly half the seats in the last election.

Generally those who feel that they would gain materially by the reversion of Okinawa are teachers and other state employees who feel that they have lost status, the owners of land being used by the military who feel that reversion would bring the rental up to standards paid in Japan, and some politicians who want to participate in Japanese national as well as local politics. Generally those who would stand to lose by reversion are the businessmen, because of the increase in taxes and the free competition from the large Japanese industries that reversion would bring, the skilled and semi-skilled laborers who might be replaced by Japanese if free movement were permitted between Japan and Okinawa, and again some of the present political leaders.

However, there are emotional reasons for embracing reversionism that may far outweigh practical considerations. In the chapter on family life [152] and again in the chapter on health I stressed one of the basic anxieties created within Okinawan culture---the fear of being cut off from parents, the fear of being cut off from the deceased ancestors, the fear of being alone.

The frequent use of the word 'sabishii', "lonely", expresses this anxiety. One often hears that Okinawa is a 'sabishii' place. The frequent use of the term 'sokoku', "ancestral country", in reversionist literature suggests that this anxiety is operating in the realm of politics too. Many Okinawans do not want to stand alone. They want to be part of a larger system. They cannot identify themselves with the United States or with any other country but Japan and so even though they recognize that Japan in the past did not always treat them fairly, they would still prefer to be part of Japan. This I believe is part of the emotional basis of reversionism; it has its roots in the Okinawan family and Okinawan religion. 668 829 152

For the politically more sophisticated reversionist we must add the discontent he feels with the present regime and the hope that reversion would mean greater political freedom. This type might be more numerous still if it were not for the obvious economic difficulties that reversion would bring, to say nothing of the chaos that would come if American forces were to pull out altogether. 668 829

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

is one of the rare, desired body attributes. It was the opinion of some that the descendants of the noble families who came from Shuri, however, are taller and slender, with a prominent, curved nasal ridge. 142

Until they feel confident in the presence of strangers, Taira people appear quiet and restrained. It is considered a virtue not to show one's emotions, and Tairans consider the expressiveness of Americans childish. Actually they are gay, talkative, and given to laughter, especially the women. Men are quiet unless stimulated by alcohol, but both men and women may lose their composure in emergencies. A notable exception is their placid reactions to the threat of disaster from the ever recurrent violent storms. 152 153 [181]

THE COMMUNITY, ITS HISTORY AND NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

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Taira is one of the northern villages on the northeast coast of Okinawa in Higashi township (see map 1). Today it is home to over 700 people who make their living—as did their ancestors since early times—from the surrounding fields, forests, and from the sea. The Okinawan name for the village, Taira, means "sloping fields." The character used for writing the prevalent Japanese version, Taira, means "flat, plain, good." 101 [131] [162]

Since the family records were lost during World War II, it is necessary to depend on oral traditions for reconstruction of the history of Taira. Unfortunately, the desire of many Okinawans to establish a relationship between their local families and the former royal courts casts some doubt on the accuracy of these traditions. 173 621 [114]

According to these traditions, the first village to be settled in the vicinity of Taira was the neighboring community Kawata. After the Hokuzan kingdom in Nakijin (on the northwestern Motobu Peninsula) was conquered by the southern Okinawan kingdom of Chuzan in the fifthteenth century (Kerr, 1958:85), the second son of the Lord of Hokuzan is said to have escaped northward into Kunigami province. Unitokogami, the fleeing nobleman, arrived near the present site of Kawata and established himself in a cave around the year 1477. He is still revered today as founder of the village in a yearly spring ceremony when prayers are said in front of the cave. The oldest Taira families trace their descent in the male line from Nizenya, the "main house," he founded. Taira was settled around 1550 by two families tracing descent from this "main house." The descendents of these settlers are [182] [169]

273 the greater part of the following day until the effects are worn off.[4]

There is tolerance of drinking and of behavior while under the influence of alcohol—with the exceptions to be discussed below. This nonchalance extends to children and young people. When an elder and highly respected friend or neighbor, perhaps their own grandfather, is drunk, they laugh indulgently at him, passing off his behavior as foolish because he is drunk.

[576] The custom of drink exchange (kempai) certainly does not keep drinking to a minimum. Drink exchange is perpetual at parties. A small cup of sake is offered to a friend. He drinks, gives the cup back to his friend who holds it while the other refills the cup. The exchange goes on again. Often three or four men are involved in this reciprocity.

Drinking, like an aperitif or cocktail before a meal, is not common. Sake may be drunk with or after the meal. Often it is served along with tea. Throughout the evening the two may be drunk [217] alternatively. In this case, the tea is served first. Unless there are special occasions, there is very little day time drinking.

273 562 In this drinking, the Okinawan woman has no part. There are a few minor exceptions. But in all the villages these exceptions were older or very elderly women. The young wife or girl in rural Okinawan villages simply does not drink. Furthermore, she seems to have no desire to. Occasionally a woman in her late forties or early fifties takes a few sips. In the southern villages, an old woman may drink a small amount with a little added sugar at a celebration. In Matsuda, shortly before New Years it is customary to give a party at village expense to all people in the village over 70 years of age. On this occasion, both the old men and old women are liberally [888] supplied with and liberally drink the sake.

These distinctions in drinking between the sexes, in my opinion, are closely tied in with the responsibilities of men and women, as they have grown up historically under the family system. The distinctions certainly cannot be explained in terms of contemporary attitudes. If drinking is an outlet for the tensions of the man, a way of relieving [154] the boredom and monotony of every day life, how can one explain th

4 There is little real violence or fighting, but there may be noisy quarrels and some shoving about. Some mild men become very quarrel- [578] some. The only instance of violence I observed was the case of a young man about 25 who drank quite a lot, became angry with some girls in the Young Women's Association for not doing chores he thought they were responsible for. He slapped one severely. The following day he was very remorseful. His mother went to the girl's house and personally apologised for the boy's behavior.

absence of need of a similar release from the boring and monotonous life of the women. Yet I noticed little in the behavior of village women to indicate they were overwhelmed by monotony or bored with life, though perhaps longer residence in the villages would have proved this observation false. Might one say that the culture does not fulfill its promise to the men, even though they are favored and catered to and that the drinking is the result of this disappointment? This neglects the fact that drinking is old in the culture and is almost always done in the company of others. If personal frustration and disappointment were the cause, one might expect more compulsive and solitary drinking and more alcoholism. 273 562 154

The sources of this distinction between the drinking men and the abstemious women, I think, lie in the values held by the culture. In the first place, sake drinking is age old in Japan, and probably in Okinawa as well. Drinking sake is associated with ceremonies, such as marriage, with religious observances, with social and public life. The public life of an official, a shopkeeper or business man, a farmer, a fisherman is not divorced from entertainment. Men have an outside life. In their dealings with other men, they are accustomed to drinking. Women do not have this outside life. They have inside duties of which the care of the children and of the house are the most important. Historically, the source of the abstemiousness of the women may be the obligations of being a mother, to be ready at all times to care and provide for or nurse her children, obligations considered incompatible with drinking. Women are expected to be polite, refined, and quiet. These ideals may be difficult to maintain in drinking. 273 562 181 [577]

At times a husband and wife may participate in social gatherings as a couple. These gatherings may either be (1) an informal, often casual, event when guests drop in and spend part of the evening, and (2) the formal affairs, such as a marriage, a birthday celebration, a holiday, an extended family reunion, or the observance of a death anniversary. On these occasions, the men occupy the first room, the women the second. The entertainment and conversations of the evening are for the most part governed by this segregation. 562 574

Though women are tolerant of drinking, domestic difficulties are often caused by the drinking of the man. Frequent drinking with its noise and late hours may result in family quarrels (fufukanka). Quarrels involving the wife and the husband's female relatives, especially the mother, are said to be uncommon. In the southern villages, the war did away with one cause of family quarrels. Men no longer go to the geisha quarter. There are naturally tensions coming out of individual antagonisms and dissatisfactions: the husband's mother who ignores her grandchild because she dislikes her daughter-in-law, pressure on a woman to produce children to satisfy the pride of the husband and of the grandparents, and failure to bear children, which usually leads to divorce initiated by the husband. Divorces, in these rural villages, were found to be uncommon.[5] 593 273 578 [586]

5 No reliable statistics could be found. These remarks and those in the next paragraph are based on personal observation, impressions and conversations.

Since

621 several finance groups are formed simultaneously in the village, and
452 an individual may belong to more than one, this system can create
474 more problems for the community than it helps to redress. Village leaders therefore think that the cooperative could take over the loan functions at low interest rates more effectively.

433 Concern about improving village economy is genuine and foremost.
621 Since the whole island has common economic problems, many sug-
[654] gestions for developing sound village economy originate from the central government. There are many associations and movements which all aim at the same result. Their number is staggering and bewildering to the outsider. In Taira, concern for improvement of conditions is a program of the Women's Association and the Home Improvement Group, associations who try to introduce such changes as better stoves, making of bean paste by villagers, and saving during feasts. There is also an Agricultural Promotion Association which is concerned with improvement of agricultural practices, promotion of cash crops, and
[474] reduction of forest work. All these organizations, along with the co-operative and the village government, work together. An individual may be a member of several. Persons with enough knowledge and experience to assume responsible positions are limited in number, and the same persons appear as leaders in various groups. This puts a heavy burden on them, since few days pass during which their attendance after work is not required at one meeting or another.

Taira assumed a leading position in the township in improving agricultural and general economy, especially by promoting sugar development, pineapple growing, and tea raising in recent years. Mean-
454 while, low income and general poverty are a constant concern to every-
571 body but do not seem to result in constant anxiety. Security, as will be pointed out in other contexts, is provided by being a member of the kinship group and, in the wider sense, of the village as a whole. This helps to share burdens and thus reduce their weight.

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Chapter 8

Religion

771 The religious beliefs of people in Taira and their ritual practices rec-
177 ognize the existence of two different sources of supernatural forces.
[776] The old Okinawan religion, which is still practiced by many persons
in the village, centers on beliefs in a host of nonhuman spirits that
[769] inhabit certain localities. A historically more recent Confuscian-
Bhuddist influence from China and Japan has added to these beliefs
the veneration of ancestors who, in their divine state after death, con-
trol many activities of the living. Under the influence of these two
[782] forces, the animistic and the ancestral, life must be conducted in such
[784] a way that both remain appeased at all times by proper worship and
performance of ritual as well as by avoidance of actions which might
offend these supernatural forces.

771 Even though many younger people laugh away the adherence to
[154] beliefs, especially in animistic deities, there is much evidence that the
life of almost all people is controlled by fears, anxieties, and desires
for appeasement stemming from these religious beliefs. Although his-
torically the animistic and ancestral religious beliefs were separate,
they are synchronized at present so that it is not always possible to
make a clear distinction between each system (Lebra: 1958).

776 The supernatural beings of nature live all around the village. There
are mountain deities, deities of the sea, of the well, of trees, and other
places. Any localities connected with productive activities, such as the
store, the sugar mill, the sugar press, and the village truck, have their
[372] own deities. There is also the Deity of Fire, associated with the hearth
and the house. He is represented in three hearth stones found in most
simple kitchens. Three upright small stones, resembling the hearth
stones, are the divine symbols in the village shrine where all these
supernatural beings are worshipped.

[782] The supernatural beings living in and around the village appear

women chant. The tempo becomes more and more frenzied, and at a certain moment a bell rings. Nobody knows who rings it, and no amount of questioning elicited any information other than that this was done by divine action. 796 793

Ancestral worship is equally important in the life of Taira people. Each house of an oldest son has a shelf with a shrine in the main living room. On this shelf the family keeps the ancestral tablets, each representing a deceased ancestor of a recent period. The tablets for whole family lines are kept on the shelves of the main houses. Through this system a family maintains continuity between the living and the dead. Although a deceased person is believed to become a buddha or a god who ascends to heaven, his presence is still felt by the living relatives. If they fail to make the required offerings on the first and fifteenth day of each lunar month, or otherwise neglect religious duties toward the ancestor, misfortune may come to the family. At the same time, the worship of common ancestors holds branches of the larger kin groups together. 769 592 [778] [775] [782] [613]

No village adult died during our stay, but the funeral practices for adults described by Glacken (1955) and Pitts et al. (1955) for other villages in Okinawa are similar. Seven years is the age limit for a child burial, which is simple and does not require attendance of people other than immediate relatives and perhaps one or two neighbors.* During the study an 8-year-old boy died from an illness and was given a full funeral, which is similar to that of adults. 764 766

The funeral must take place at the first outgoing tide after the body has been prepared and dressed. Accompanied by family, residents of the ward, and mourners from other parts of the village whose number depends on the prominence of the dead, the body is carried on a simple, open litter to the tomb area just west of the central village (see map 2). Women feel free to show their emotions, while men remain outwardly calm. Until decomposition takes place, the body remains in a tomb used by the whole village for temporary entombment. Like other village ceremonies, funerals are less elaborate now than they once were, perhaps to the relief of all concerned, since death is highly anxiety provoking, and nobody feels comfortable during the prayers and the ritual farewell to the corpse at the tomb. The participants receive a cup of sake before leaving the tomb area to cleanse them of the pollution of death. Some people still prefer to return to the village by a different route so that the spirit of the dead person will be fooled and unable to follow. 764 [152] [154] [783] [784]

* The reason for this is possibly that the younger child has not yet fulfilled his filial obligations.

later told the story to Lebra in the child's presence with a good deal of relish, while the boy merely looked sheepish and said nothing. 861

Punishment may be by either parent or by a grandparent. Other relatives may scold. I once observed a four-year-old being scolded long and shrilly by her father's sister. I asked why the mother, who was just inside the house, did not do the scolding and I was told that the child would not mind her mother and so the aunt had had to step in. I was also given the impression that the child's mother would hardly have dared defend her. It seems likely that mothers and grandmothers punish most frequently but that fathers, though they punish less frequently, are more severe; they are certainly more feared. It is said that after a child is punished it is usually comforted by the adult who punished it. There are, of course, individual differences. One man at Nanahan was known to be particularly harsh with his children. Pitts observed him on one occasion chasing one of his children around the village with a strap.

Okinawan adults, especially women, frequently tease children. On two occasions I saw a particularly cocky little boy of three or four teased in a deliberate attempt to make him angry or to make him cry. On the first occasion one of his aunts, his mother's oldest sister, struck the boy's baby sister, pretending to hurt her. He was very fond of the baby and the object of the teasing seemed to be to arouse his sympathy to the point where he would have showed his emotions, at which point, I assume, the crowd of women would have laughed. This time the teasing was unsuccessful. On the second occasion his mother and her sisters told him first that I was going to take him away, then that I was going to take his little sister away, and produced other variations on this theme. After several minutes of this he went grimly over to his mother and began hitting her with his fists. The women all regarded this as great sport. No effort was made to stop him from hitting his mother. This sort of teasing seems to have amusement as its main object, but probably has other functions as well. It may possibly provide women a necessary outlet for feelings of hostility, especially against males. But it may also have the more important functions of producing in the child the desirable emotional responses---sympathy for the little sister, fear of losing her, fear of being separated from home---while at the same time conditioning the child to inhibit the expression of these emotions. 855 [154] [867] [152]

On another occasion I saw the mother of the children just mentioned hold out a lighted match in front of the baby until the baby, after regarding it in wonderment, reached out and was burned. The women watched expectantly and laughed when the baby cried, but in this case the act seemed more like deliberate instruction in the properties of fire than merely teasing. But as in teasing, the discomfort to the child is something not to be avoided but rather to be enjoyed. And as in teasing, the child learns to associate laughter with his own discomfort, or perhaps with his expression of his discomfort. He may thereby learn to avoid being laughed at because it is associated with discomfort, and to avoid the expression of discomfort because it brings laughter. [861] [155]

With the suicide, by harakiri, of General Ushijima and his Chief of Staff, General Cho, whose stars "have fallen with the setting of the waning moon over Mabuni,"[32] the island was conquered, and though it was not known at that time, this was the "last battle" of World War II.[33] 175 648

Unlike the Japanese, the Okinawans seemed unwilling to die when the alternative was death or surrender. They apparently did not take the emperor cult and State Shinto seriously, and though they were conscripted in the Japanese army, they did not identify themselves strongly with the war or its successful conclusion.[34] [103]

The Okinawan people showed remarkable ability to stand up under physical and mental strain. Many lived in caves for long periods, subsisting on whatever food could be obtained. Aside from filth diseases and lice infestations, the death of many of the very young, and some of the very old, they suffered little deterioration and recuperated under care of military government teams with the help of American foods and clothing. Professional observers were struck by their lack of mental collapse and breakdown, and one observer has suggested that prolonged breast feeding and free access to the mother's breast in infancy had given the people the emotional security to withstand the trials of the war.[35] [722] [727] [55]

8

Okinawa After the War

The war brought catastrophic upheavals to the civilian population, especially in those areas of greatest military activity. One consequence 175 727

[Text continues top of p. 44--Analyst]

32 Quoted from Okinawa, the last battle, from the account of a prisoner of war, 470.

33 The campaign was declared ended on July 2, 1945. Sources for the statements in this and the preceding paragraphs will be found on pp. 407, 422, 425 (Quotation), 426-27 (Quotation), 437-42, 441 (Quotation), 470 of Okinawa, the last battle.

34 These statements are based on personal conversations with Okinawans who lived through the war, either as soldiers or civilians.

35 Materials in the first part of the paragraph are based on personal conversations. The interesting thesis about breast feeding, which I believe has serious defects, will be commented upon in the section on family life. See James C. Moloney, Psychiatric observations in Okinawa Shima. The psychology of the Okinawan. Psychiatry 8 (1945), 391-99; and, with Charles R. Biddle, A psychiatric hospital in military government, ibid, 400-01. Of great interest are the first hand observations of the authors made at Ginoza hospital. For other comments on the behavior of Okinawans during the war, see Okinawa, the last battle, 48, 415-17, 463, 468.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

is bending and stooping, or while his older brother or sister is running or jumping. The ease with which adults sleep is equally remarkable. On buses in Okinawa, I have seen men and women with their heads against window sashes, while the bus bounces over the rough roads. Sharp cracks on the head are unavoidable, and to one unaccustomed to it, would be very painful. But people sleep like this, with their heads knocking against the hard surface of the bus, for miles. 854 513

This carrying of the child continues regardless of season. In the winter, coats are put over or around the child's body. One of the obvious and most important facts about Okinawan child rearing is this custom of carrying the child on the back. But it is difficult to say precisely what this importance is. Certainly in this way the child has continuous contact from earliest infancy with the life around him. He is not accustomed to being alone, except for an occasional hour during the day when he may sleep on a blanket. At night he sleeps with his mother. A child does not have to be introduced to the world. He is not shielded in a crib. From early infancy he has seen and been almost every place in the village and learns to know many whom he will know throughout life. 854

This "public" and community life from earliest infancy is one of the outstanding features of Okinawan culture, a characteristic which it shares with-and which is derived from-Japan. One of the surprises is that despite these contacts with all phases of village experience, the child, as it grows older, becomes quite shy. This is true of boys and girls, and continues in my observation from the age of puberty up to marriage. No person who has had any contact with Okinawans fails to notice this shyness. The Okinawans use the Japanese word hasukashii to describe it, and, in this connection, the meaning is something between a feeling of shyness, self-consciousness, and shame. The shyness often does not disappear until marriage or even until the birth of the first child, when father and mother take their place as mature and responsible adults. 571 177 157

Two recent observers who analyzed the reactions of Okinawans under the stress of war have thought that early and continuous breast feeding is largely responsible for giving the child, from earliest infancy, a sense of security. While this theses was advanced out of intimate experience (mostly in the wartime hospital at Ginoza village), it must, in my opinion, be qualified considerably.[8] The period during which the child is breast fed is but one period in the formative years of childhood. Besides breast feeding is no monopoly of the Okinawans. Neither is carrying on the back confined to them. The period immediately after the child is taken off the back and begins to walk is a difficult one for most children. This 155 114

8 See Moloney, James C. Psychiatric observations in Okinawa Shima, the psychology of the Okinawan. Psychiatry 8 (1945), 391-99. Moloney, James C. and Biddle, Charles R. A psychiatric hospital in military government, ibid, 400-01.

155 is an impression, and I doubt that Okinawan mothers would agree
with me. The toddler stage, in my opinion, is a difficult one for
114 the Okinawan child. It is an abrupt change from the continuous care
and physical contact of infancy. This transition need not necessarily
be abrupt. A child may be carried some and walk some. As he learns
to walk, his mother is near him.

857 When the child is no longer carried, he ceases to be an observer
and becomes a participant in play. Formerly he watched the activities
of the older children and smiled to the attention when it was given.
Now he wishes to catch up with them as they walk down the lanes; he
is often left behind and is not fast enough nor expert enough to keep
up. This is a problem of childhood everywhere, but I believe here
155 that the transition from one type of activity to another is more
drastic. The child also receives less attention from his parents,
855 especially from his mother. This most mothers would deny. But I
have often seen parents walking along a village lane, a toddler behind
them crying and trying hard to keep up with them. They showed less
solicitude and patience with him than they had when he was being
carried. The mother gives less attention to the child during this
period, particularly if she has had another child. In this, I do
not mean to imply any lack of kindness or tenderness in the treatment
of children, but to point out a change of emphasis. There is much
more crying in the 2 to 3 year age groups than among infants who cry
very little because they are entertained so much.

The toddler not only has the problem of becoming a participant
in play, but of getting along without the close attention of the
mother, his elder sisters, and possibly brothers.

855 Children are rather regularly spaced. The middle child of the
[842] lower three is most likely to be neglected. The baby is on the
mother's back; he gets his breast feeding and is always with the
mother. The older child has started to school or is leading an active
play life. The middle child, too young for school and only tolerated
by the elder child who has his own interests, is too old for the breast
and the back. The successful transition from the back carrying and
breast feeding stage to walking and to the stage of independent play
seems most successful when there are many children of the same age
in the village, and consequently absorption in play can replace the
intimate attention of parents and older siblings. A father may fill
in this gap, allowing his young child to accompany him to work, but
this experience generally belongs to a later period of childhood.

853 As the infant grows, nursed by the mother, he gradually receives
262 other foods, but the variety depends on the economic status of the
family. The first food (other than the mother's milk) is rice water.
Later rice is made into a gruel. The rice is soaked and mashed up in
a quern. Families who have rice fields, or who can buy rice, may
delay feeding the sweet potato to the child until the third year.
Among the poor, sweet potato feeding begins much earlier. One

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

there is little forcing of children,[10] In my opinion and this might be just as significant in accounting for the easy going security of Okinawans as that coming from breast feeding and carrying on the back. But a single element explanation is not a fruitful approach to this complex subject. 861 155

The chief factors in child development, in my observation, are the child's early and continuous contact with the mother, and the "public" life of the child[11] and its early exposure to the activities, the admonishments, the corrections, the admiration, and the fondling of others. Older women of the village have a major part in this, but young men and women look after a child, advise it, correct it, perhaps feed it. This "public" life is made easier because a child carried on the back, or toddling, or, later, in walking is seldom out of the view of a relative. It is common to talk with a villager in a public place and to discover that two or three of the children playing there are cousins, nieces, nephews, or more distant relatives. It is this combination of impressions and pressures, in my opinion, rather than planned training, which induces conformity and makes a child part of the village life. Certainly the standards of public and private behavior, transmitted from the parent, is reinforced at a much earlier age than in American society, by community approval, disapproval, and assistance. Part of this is due to the fact that a village, even its government, takes on some of the attributes of a large family. 861 [867]

Okinawan rural children grow up speaking Okinawan (Okinawago). There is no standard Okinawan and local dialectical differences are very marked. The chief distinctions seem to be in accent and 197

[text continues top of p. 268 -- analyst]

10 There is an interesting passage in Captain Hall's voyage. Hall's party observed a boy tumbling. He stopped when he saw he was observed and could not be induced to continue. Hall's company asked an Okinawan friend to get the boy to continue. This he did without success, and feigned anger when the boy would not go on. Thereupon the persuasion stopped, the Okinawan observing, "It was for his own amusement that he began, and probably for his own amusement he will do so again." The boy resumed his tumbling when he was ignored. Hall wrote that the Okinawan showed good sense in not compelling the boy to continue "that as a task, which he had begun as an amusement, and which he had discernment enough to know would be unpleasant for us to witness in any other way. By this treatment of their children, mutual cordiality and freedom of intercourse are encouraged. It was probably owing to this mode of education that the children became at once familiar with us." Account of a voyage to west Corea and the Great Loochoo, as cited, 211. [861] [155]

11 This happy phrase, I believe, was first used by Miss A. H. Bacon in her still excellent book, Japanese girls and women, New York, 1907.

system and by the public life which they lead. There is a blending and shading of the private life of the home with the public life of the lanes, the shops, and the homes of others. The process is so subtle that one can live among them and be unaware of it. But children do more than grow up. They grow and reach maturity impressed with their duties and obligations. It is this cultural environment, rather than single element explanations such as breast feeding, which in my opinion accounts for the politeness, the essential gentleness, and the sense of security of the people. These characteristics can best be understood by knowing history, by knowing how people live within a family, how families live together, what these groups of families do to their arable land, their plants, their stones, their trees, and their forested and wild land, and how the private life of an individual or a family blends in with the wider public experience of the community. 156 [155]

The recent war has been a powerful agent of cultural change in Okinawa. The destruction of the south, the comparative well-being of the north have equalized the roles of the two great divisions of the island, and the north is no longer a rustic hinterland. The years of military service in the Japanese army interfered with the transmission of the traditional culture from the old to the young. One of the striking aspects is the differences in types of information possessed by the old and the young. Men fifty years or over speak of things of which younger men and women have never heard. What is part of one man's culture is foreign to the other. 727 178 184

Before the war success in transmitting the traditional culture to the young depended to a great extent on the hierarchy of the family system and its scale of values. Women were subordinated to men and the younger deferred to the elder. Obedience of children and acknowledgment of parental leadership were said to characterize the pre-war society. In many ways, all these things still do. But there are indications of a growing dependence of the older on the advice and knowledge of the young. [867] [593]

The war and its aftermath produced conditions favorable to the leadership of younger people, especially younger men. It was easy for them to drive trucks. It was no chore to become acquainted with Americans and adapt themselves to their ways. They could learn, and comprehend more easily, some of the Western concepts implicit in governmental change. A twenty year old is not impressed with skill at typing. A sixty year old person looks upon this skill with a certain wonder. [177]

The destruction of pre-war housing and its replacement by inferior makeshift housing have had an unsettling effect on village life. Sleeping habits and living arrangements were disrupted. The destruction even affected the use of rainwater coming from the drains on the tile roofs. It converted villages with their houses and an occasional garden into a camp-like atmosphere. [362]

The post-war repatriation often brought to villagers a more personal awareness of the outside world. Those who returned, especially from the non-Oriental countries, created an atmosphere congenial to change. [167] [177]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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socialization. Weaning from the breast and back is an abrupt change in an Okinawan child's life. The transition from kindergarten to school age is also clear and dramatized. Before school age a child is "senseless," according to the mothers, and cannot be properly trained.

Within these chapters an attempt has been made to cover the parent's or parent surrogate's treatment of the nine behavior systems and the child's response to socialization. Obviously some of the behavior systems are not relevant in infancy. In general, the early chapters concentrate on the handling of succorance, the mother's early contact with the child, the number of other individuals who share in the early care of the child, and their responsiveness to the demands of the infant. Among the hypotheses advanced in the *Field Guide,* several concern the consequence of indulgence in infancy. As stated: "Indulgence in infancy, a large number of nurturing agents, and mild transition from infantile indulgence into childhood will produce: (1) a trustful attitude toward others, (2) general optimism, and (3) sociability." It is also stated that training with respect to succorance will tend to influence sociability.

It is hoped that, on the basis of the information presented in the chapters on infancy, the reader can compare indulgence in infancy and the number of nurturing agents. The comparison of weaning from the breast and from complete dependence on caretakers should make it possible to evaluate the severity of the transition. For the consequent measures one may turn either to the description of the behavior of older children or to the behavior and belief systems of adults. Is it true that, comparatively speaking, the Juxtlahuacan Mixtecan child is more friendly and sociable in later life than the Nyansongan? In infancy, the Mixtecan is constantly held or carried close to the mother's body, enveloped in a shawl. The Nyansongo child is tended for periods of time by a less consistently responsive 5-to-8-year-old child. In adult life, are the Juxtlahuacan Mixtecan adults more optimistic and trustful than the Nyansongans?

With the onset of weaning, other behavior systems become important. Training for self-reliance and the associated punishment for succorance are universal problems, but the degree to which this new behavior is expected of 3-year-olds varies from one society to another. The Orchard Town 3-year-old is feeding and dressing himself while the Khalapur Rājpūt child of the same age may still be dressed and fed by his mother. Similarly, as mentioned earlier, the abruptness of the shift in expected behavior varies. The handling of aggression against parents, siblings, and peers is also a universal problem which

853 There are no food taboos during pregnancy, and after birth mothers
262 can continue to eat what they wish except for certain "hard" foods,
such as octopus, whale meat, and certain kinds of fish which are be-
[843] lieved to stop the flow of milk. To stimulate lactation, the mother is given papaya boiled with flour and noodles or a medicine made from herbs.

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Chapter 13

Infancy

858 The infant is considered a helpless, pitiable treasure who is incapable
155 of knowing, understanding, or learning until he is around 6 years old.
855 If this senseless child is treated affectionately and indulgently, he will
177 grow to be a healthy, happy adult.

[861] With the spread of Japanese influence throughout Okinawa, according to informants, there evolved another belief, which in Taira is complementary to the idea of the senseless child. This new belief is vaguely conceptualized by most young parents but was verbalized concretely by at least two sets of parents. "Children are the gift of gods.* They are godly until they are 7 years old." Exoneration of misbehavior on the part of the child under 7 (6 years according to Western count) conjures up in the mind of the observer a picture of willful capricious gods who are totally unpredictable. A shrug of the shoulder and a phrase which completely defines both attitude and resignation in Japanese is, "helpless, against one's will." Because children are godlike in nature, they do not know any better; because they do not know any better they are godlike in nature. Just why and how a child outgrows this temperament could not be explained by the parents. These beliefs foster the extreme indulgence, protection, and nurturance of young babies. Their physical and emotional needs are attended to constantly, with a great deal of affection.

* This notion may well have been influenced by Christian as much as by Japanese ideas.

In addition to meeting with physical and emotional needs, the child must be protected from the nurtured by the numerous supernatural forces in the form of malevolent and benevolent spirits which operate to influence the course of an individual's life. There are lucky and unlucky days, years, and tides, which are believed to determine the fate of a person. Females born in the year of the monkey are considered unlucky, for they are thought to outlive their male contemporaries. Men dislike marrying them. Supplications are made and precautionary measures taken by adults to secure the newborn's life, happiness, and health. 776 777 854 [581]

Ancestral spirits influence the development and fate of the child. Occasionally a child who is the victim of ill health during his early years is adopted by a couple whose ancestral spirits are thought to be more favorable than his own on the dictate of the fortune teller. By mysterious calculations involving birth dates of the principals, the fortune teller uncovers some incompatibility and advises adoption. The child remains with his parents but worships the ancestral spirits of his adoptive parents. In this way parents seek to ensure the well-being of the child. 597 769 755

Mother interview data indicate the awareness of Taira people of the variations in personality among children of one family. Adults do in a large measure adapt their actions in accord with these differences. They recognize hereditary influences, but although a mother may comment on the similarity of temperament with regard to her child and other members in the family or kin group, there are no ideas or beliefs that the souls of deceased are inherited. Usually the mother, in describing the characteristics of the child, rarely goes beyond likenesses which can be attributed to herself or her husband. She is at a loss to explain the "very different child." "My eldest son has my nasty temper whereas my second daughter is not like either of us, very strange. All the others have a little of myself and my husband in them. We often wonder how it is that she is so unlike either of us." 155 828 858 [124]

A child born with two cowlicks predicates a "problem" to his parents. Parents often explain, "Oh, this child is very naughty, for as you can see, he has two cowlicks." Children often search each other's heads, and on discovering two instead of the single whorl, they shout in glee, "Naughty, naughty." One 4-year-old cuddled and hugged his newborn sister after searching her head. "You have two cowlicks just like me! You and I are 'naughty,'" he whispered to her. Turning to the adults in the room, he snapped his small bright eyes and grinned impishly as he reported his discovery joyfully. [826]

Twin births are disliked only because they place a burden on the 845

855 ends swinging in the air, and dropping the huge knife in a careless
857 fashion on the floor near her. Suddenly there was the sound of a crying
[285] baby and her eldest girl appeared with the 8-month-old on her back. Unstrapping the baby, the girl plopped her onto her mother's lap. Instinctively the mother pushed the basket, bamboo slats, and knife away as she unbuttoned her blouse to nurse the baby. When the baby had had its fill, the mother called to the little caretaker to come and carry her. The older child called out that she was going to get a drink of water and disappeared around the house. She entered through the back and called to the baby to come. The baby crawled over but was attracted on the way by the big knife. Instantly the mother snatched it away, and the baby started to move toward the sharp pieces of bamboo. In desperation the mother picked up the baby and called crossly to the girl to come immediately. The older child obeyed, and the baby was strapped onto her back. "Now go and play somewhere," instructed the annoyed mother.

855 Another instance of similar nature took place in the frontyard of a
863 place which that day was the scene of "house playing." A grandmother watching the activity decided to let the year-old baby on her back down to join in the play. "Eh, go and play with your older sisters," she smiled and said to the child as she put her gently down on the ground. The child started to crawl over to the group but stopped and sat very quietly staring ahead for a minute. The grandmother, who had disappeared into the house, reappeared. "A-yah!" she exclaimed as she looked down to see the baby scratching the damp earth about her. The baby had urinated and was puddling about so that in that brief instant she had thoroughly soiled herself as well as her clothing. Grumbling and scolding, "Dirty, dirty!" she picked up and carried at arm's length the baby, who was smiling and gurgling. The old woman cleaned the baby at the water barrel and, dressing her in clean clothes, promptly put her on her back again.

855 The only children who were allowed to crawl about were the sons
184 of two fishermen. Fishermen's wives, compared to the farmer-woods-
462 men's wives, have a great deal more leisure time. They buy their potatoes and rice with money from the sale of fish. The men send their catch to the market via the bus, so their wives, except when they accompany a catch to the city, have only to care for the house and a pig and are free to watch their children as they crawl about.

854 In summary, the infancy period is characterized by consistent nur-
155 turance. Mothers, grandmothers, and child baby-tenders are helpful and demonstrative in their affection. That they value such behavior is further evidenced by their conscious teaching of young children to

copy their behavior. When several mothers and their children are gathered, a mother of a year-old child will coo, "Cute baby" as she strokes a friend's infant's head. She smiles at her child, takes his hand, and repeats the action. A spontaneous response such as this on the part of a year-old child would evoke admiration and voluble praise from the audience. A year and a half old boy became the pride of his mother when he approached all little children with a highly nurturant attitude. He had learned his lesson so well that he considered children of his own age babies because they were smaller than himself. Walking up to them, he would bend down, pat their heads patronizingly, and take their hands to guide them along. 854 155

Equally important to the Okinawan parent is a friendly child who is well liked by everyone in the village. A happy, smiling personality is ideal, and it is this wish for the child which leads grandmothers and mothers to perpetuate the custom of burying the afterbirth of a newborn to the accompaniment of laughter and appeals to the spirits to ensure this characteristic. Adults constantly try to get infants to smile by talking and making funny sounds and faces. Even young children approach infants clapping their hands together in an attempt to elicit smiles. [156]

Treatment of children during this initial period discourages expression of self-reliant behavior. As described above, except for rare and very brief intervals during the day, a child is strapped onto someone's back from the time he wakes up in the morning to the time he is put to bed at night. The child is carried about in this fashion from the age of one month until he is almost 2 years old. [866]

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Chapter 14

Weaning

When a mother discovers that she is pregnant again, usually about two years after her last delivery, she begins to think of weaning her child. Most mothers nurse the last child until they are about three months 862 853 [843]

went home and hysterically reported the incident to her family. The mother, meanwhile, laughed and told her boy, "Just like your grandmother, can't stand to hear you cry even when you are not hurt!" She then went on to say that both she and her husband ignore the boy's crying in situations where he could help himself, but the boy's grandmother immediately runs to soothe and aid him. Generally it may be said that in extended households, grandmothers tend to prolong the dependence period and discourage independence and responsibility. 866 603 855 [596]

The relationship between grandfather and grandchild is more restrained. Although grandfathers may be seen carrying children or doing things for them, there is always a discreet distance between them, the result of early training in respect and deference to male elders. Children do not tease their grandfathers as they do their grandmothers. Older boys, in their late teens, may carry on a superficial joking relationship with their grandfathers, but they must be careful not to show disrespect. The male elders in turn show greater affection for the male child than for the female. When both grandparents are living in the house, the child, whether male or female, is more likely to direct his succorant appeals to grandmother rather than grandfather.* 603 858 866

Mothers, themselves, are often not too consistent in their training for independence. They will feel sorry for the child when he is first weaned and allow him to stay close to them until the birth of the next sibling. On the other hand, they will encourage the little 2-year-olds to imitate older girls and boys, particularly in their baby-tending role. A mother will strap a "doll" on her daughter or son's back. The "dolls" are usually rolled blankets or jackets, for real dolls are expensive and rarely bought in the village. Older children and adults do not fail to comment to a child carrying such a burden. They praise him for being such a good caretaker; they pretend to see the "baby" sleeping and report this to him. If the strapping becomes loose, they call to him and reassemble the "baby" and the pinning. The doll is never played with or manipulated. Thus the 2-year-old gets praised for emulation of the responsible and nurturant behavior expected of older siblings. 866 857 [862] [524] [155]

Perhaps it is this role training that explains in part the absence of aggression toward the newborn sibling, which might well be expected with such a short interval between weaning from the breast and back and the birth of the next child. The fieldworker did not observe one instance of such hostility. If there is any hostility expressed, it is against the mother in outbursts of temper and against those who ridicule or try to comfort the displaced child. The grandmother's aggressive actions against the mother may encourage the child in this behavior 867 593

* Only 4 out of 24 sample children lived in the same house with a grandfather.

wiggles her hips and otherwise makes movements that are not permitted in the classical Okinawan dance. 868 535

Kindergarten children are usually asleep by 8:30 in the winter and 9:00 in the summer. They sleep an average 8 hours. Ten o'clock is considered to be proper bedtime for all people. The village bell is rung to remind everyone that the day has ended. The entire family sleeps on the mattresses spread on the floor with wooden pillows. In winter the heavy quilts are taken down. Children vary in their bedtime. Those who feel tired fall asleep soon after the evening meal. Often the grandparents lie down with the small children. If children accompany parents on a visit, they lie down in their father's or mother's lap, or on the floor to sleep. Since not all adults go to sleep at 10:00, older children may stay up longer, particularly during moonlight nights. Few children take naps except during the summer, when the heat makes everyone drowsy and slows down work during midday. Once in a while a young child goes home to lie down for a nap. 857 513

The kindergarten child's day has been an active and carefree one. He is seldom alone. "Do not play alone, go and play with others. If you play alone, people might think that others dislike you," instruct parents in Taira. Anyone passing a child playing alone would remark, "How lonely he seems." Furthermore, mothers worry about a child being alone "because he is more apt to do naughty things or get into dangerous play." 857 155 156

A 4- or 5-year-old may sometimes find himself being a caretaker, but generally he is not considered very reliable, and being a "senseless" individual, he is not held responsible by the village for anything that might happen to his charges. It is the mother who is held culpable and is censured in this case. 857 855 861

One mother was severely criticized by her neighbors when she punished her 4-year-old boy for abandoning his 2-year-old sibling. The children had been sent out to play. When the older boy came home for supper, he faced an angry mother who berated him for thinking only of his own pleasure and leaving his little brother on the main road and to the dangers of passing trucks. She spanked the boy, tied his hands and legs briefly, and left the crying child behind when she went to the village store with his younger sibling.

In another case, a grandmother grumbled about the "laxity" and irresponsibility of the mother. A 5-year-old was carrying her month-old sibling who was sleeping on the back in a twisted position due to loose strappings. "Come here! Your mother, where is she . . . how could she leave this child with you! Almost falling . . . ," the old woman mumbled as she unstrapped the peacefully sleeping baby and 857 854

857 cuddled it in her arms. The 5-year-old in this case was disappointed
854 at being relieved of his charge, but no doubt would have been happy to be absolved of any blame in the event that the baby had fallen and hurt itself.

857 Most 4- and 5-year-olds, therefore, find their nurturant efforts frus-
866 trated, for they are considered too young to carry their younger siblings. They are told that their necks will hurt, they are not strong enough,
[593] and that they will be dwarfs if they started to carry such a heavy bur-
[155] den from such an early age. A sturdy 5-year-old, nevertheless, finds that if he is persistent enough, his mother will allow him to carry his infant sibling for short periods of time with close supervision. It is on these short jaunts that the child basks in the shower of praise and is richly rewarded for his nurturant behavior. Several mothers reported how their 4- and 5-year-olds take pride periodically in mopping up floors, setting tables, and clearing up after a meal. "They don't really do these chores, they help at it, but we let them do it because they like to. And if they don't feel like doing it, we don't say anything," report these mothers.

857 Frequently kindergarten children accompany their mothers to the
241 potato fields in the afternoons. There they play in and around the
866 plants or "help" their mothers. One 4-year-old girl pointed out with pride that she goes with her mother to their fields to "clean dirt off the potatoes" which her mother has dug before placing them in the basket. Boys of 3 and 5 were observed "assisting" by following adults' instructions to drop the seed potato into the hole at planting time. Generally adults dislike taking children to distant fields, for they beg to be carried near the half-way point. Occasionally a young child who has been on such a trip is toted back in the grandmother's empty carrying basket or in one of the suspended shoulder-yoke baskets of his grandfather.

863 During the kindergarten period, constant pressure is put on the
514 child to learn sphincter control. The child goes pantless until he attains this goal, which is usually achieved by the age of 4. There is little formal bowel training. Children simply crouch and defecate. Grandmothers or mothers clean up the feces as soon as they see them. Younger children eliminate all over the village, but by 3 they usually
[887] restrict themselves to their own yards. When there are grandmothers in the family, bowel training seems to be taken over by them. Not infrequently the old woman can be seen standing over a child in the yard or cleaning up both the child and the yard. She is generally the one who gently coaxes the child to use the outhouse when he is old enough and physically able to straddle the opening over the pit. The

865 "Play and fight are children's work." As one mother reported, "It is no
857 use. They fight and then before you know it, they are friends again.
[861] In Japan, parents often interfere with children's fights, but we here in Okinawa don't believe in doing so. It is much better to let them alone unless they injure one another. The way it is, it would make an adult look like a fool to interfere." Some parents attempt to channel aggression by calling a wrestling match between boys who start arguing. In this way, rock throwing and fighting with sticks are avoided, and the boys can work off their anger, but hitting, biting, and pushing, as well as rock throwing, were observed among children of this age. As the children approach school age and gain facility in language, they resort more and more to verbal aggression; however, as will be discussed later, some physical aggression is carried over in the behavior of boys toward girls. At no time is aggression toward younger children tolerated.

[124] Only after exhaustive questioning can one get parents to admit that they train their children to retaliate. "Never fight; if someone hits you, just walk away, for you (in thus showing your strength to resist) will win the fight; fighting is bad," instruct mothers, according to the mother interview. Informal talks nevertheless revealed that parents disliked it if their children are underdogs all the time.

865 Boys are expected to be more aggressive than girls, who are, ideally,
858 docile, gentle mannered, kind, reserved, and considerate. In some ways adults seem to train little boys to be aggressive. Beginning in infancy they tease and bully them, holding their arms and restricting them bodily, withdrawing desired objects and pretending to scold and hit. They glean great amusement at the expense of the child if he screams and strikes out in anger. The adult expresses surprise and mock anger. Finally, when he cries, everyone will laugh while the mother retaliates by playfully slapping the aggressor. While most of this kind of teasing is restricted to male infants and young boys, female children are not exempt.

865 Irritable, pushy children do not exist in Taira. Those who try to get things by "walking over others" do not get far, for children ostracize
●155 and avoid them. One 4-year-old, observed over a period of months, altered his methods of acquiring goals from pushing and bullying to socially sanctioned techniques, such as asking, waiting his turn, and sharing. The change was startling. Adults passing on a group of children that included this former bully no longer had to scream warnings at him, and his mother felt she did not have to "look after him" any more. During the time of this study, only the children of a recently arrived fisherman and his wife were ostracized by parents as being far

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

too aggressive and ill behaved. The children played with them but never sought them out and often deserted them en masse when disagreements arose. Taira villagers blamed the parents in this case for being too lax and quarrelsome with each other. 865 155

Peer groups are another of the major agents of socialization for the young child. Child interview data intimate that censure by peers arouses much more anxiety than censure by parents. Refusal to comply with the demands of his peers in the face of punishment from his parents for complying raises in the mind of the child, the question, "Will he hate me for not doing what he asks?" Consequently the child chooses the support that is available to him the greater part of his day and calculates the risk of adult censure quite logically. 857 861

In despair, one mother described how her 5-year-old boy rushes into the kitchen daily and demands to be given his lunch standing on the dirt floor. Despite his parents' instructions to wash his feet and sit properly on the raised portion of the room to eat, the boy scrambled on all fours and hung his unwashed feet over the edge and shoveled his rice down his throat because "his friends were waiting for him."

As mentioned above, the village as a whole acts as another socialization agent. However, although various members shout warnings in attempts to stop children from disapproved behavior, they do not punish them. Their function seems to be one of casual reminding.

When a child turns 5, he is faced with a dramatic change. Parents now begin to treat him like a school child. New independence and responsibility are expected, and an attempt is made to prepare him for first grade. 858 866

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Chapter 16

First Grade

Entry into first grade constitutes a change of status for the child in Taira. It means more than just less play time and adjustment to strict routines, for now he is considered capable of knowing what he is [872]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

gan playing with them excessively. Parents scolded, shooed, and threatened the children to no avail. Finally the village headman took steps to enforce the rule forbidding children to play with the faucets. Passing a faucet one day, he came upon a 9-year-old turning the water on and off. "You come to the office later. You know you are not supposed to play there," he said sternly to the boy. Later the boy reported to the office. The clerk, in the absence of the headman, instructed the boy to bring 10 yen and his father to the office. The boy ran home and returned to the office with 10 yen and told the headman, who had returned meanwhile, that his father was not back from the fields, so he was unable to accompany him. The headman's wife, in relating the story to the fieldworker, described how surprised and amused her husband was to find the boy so obedient. Because he had just assumed office a week earlier, he had not expected compliance with his orders.

An obedient child is rewarded with verbal praise and admiration by adults. He is told that he is a good child and that he has "a good head." If he is capable of anticipating commands and quick to comply with hints, parents of other children urge their children to play with him.

TECHNIQUES OF SOCIALIZATION

Although the child has learned many types of preferred behavior by the time he is 6 and has been rewarded and punished for many acts, his entry into first grade is a time of increased discipline and a suitable time to discuss the techniques used by Tairans in socializing their children.

Examination of the different techniques reveals that the most important and reliable of these is the denial or withdrawal of love. There is a good share of physical punishment, threatened food deprivation, and shaming. Praise and rewards are inconsistent and haphazard. Reference to a "God" is common, but there exists no complex system of instructive myths, stories, or prayers. Training in skills is highly informal.

The technique of withdrawal of love or support is a curious double-edged one. If we take the position of the child, we would conclude that he shows a deep sense of confidence in the bond between himself and his mother when he "runs away from the house" after a severe scolding or spanking. He runs away in the belief that he will arouse the anxiety of his mother and recover a love or support, which he has temporarily lost as a result of some transgression. This belief is rein-

later told the story to Lebra in the child's presence with a good deal of relish, while the boy merely looked sheepish and said nothing. 861

Punishment may be by either parent or by a grandparent. Other relatives may scold. I once observed a four-year-old being scolded long and shrilly by her father's sister. I asked why the mother, who was just inside the house, did not do the scolding and I was told that the child would not mind her mother and so the aunt had had to step in. I was also given the impression that the child's mother would hardly have dared defend her. It seems likely that mothers and grandmothers punish most frequently but that fathers, though they punish less frequently, are more severe; they are certainly more feared. It is said that after a child is punished it is usually comforted by the adult who punished it. There are, of course, individual differences. One man at Nanahan was known to be particularly harsh with his children. Pitts observed him on one occasion chasing one of his children around the village with a strap.

Okinawan adults, especially women, frequently tease children. On two occasions I saw a particularly cocky little boy of three or four teased in a deliberate attempt to make him angry or to make him cry. On the first occasion one of his aunts, his mother's oldest sister, struck the boy's baby sister, pretending to hurt her. He was very fond of the baby and the object of the teasing seemed to be to arouse his sympathy to the point where he would have showed his emotions, at which point, I assume, the crowd of women would have laughed. This time the teasing was unsuccessful. On the second occasion his mother and her sisters told him first that I was going to take him away, then that I was going to take his little sister away, and produced other variations on this theme. After several minutes of this he went grimly over to his mother and began hitting her with his fists. The women all regarded this as great sport. No effort was made to stop him from hitting his mother. This sort of teasing seems to have amusement as its main object, but probably has other functions as well. It may possibly provide women a necessary outlet for feelings of hostility, especially against males. But it may also have the more important functions of producing in the child the desirable emotional responses---sympathy for the little sister, fear of losing her, fear of being separated from home---while at the same time conditioning the child to inhibit the expression of these emotions. 855 [154] [867] [152]

On another occasion I saw the mother of the children just mentioned hold out a lighted match in front of the baby until the baby, after regarding it in wonderment, reached out and was burned. The women watched expectantly and laughed when the baby cried, but in this case the act seemed more like deliberate instruction in the properties of fire than merely teasing. But as in teasing, the discomfort to the child is something not to be avoided but rather to be enjoyed. And as in teasing, the child learns to associate laughter with his own discomfort, or perhaps with his expression of his discomfort. He may thereby learn to avoid being laughed at because it is associated with discomfort, and to avoid the expression of discomfort because it brings laughter. [861] [155]

The strong ties of the family system are probably the fundamental reasons for this lack of strangeness. One is a member of the family, even if in another part of the island or of the world. This sense of belonging, to be emphasized later, is not only an emotional feeling but is a basic fact of social organization. Relationships, regardless of their geographic spread, are a binding force. It is true that these become weaker with the remoter relationships of the extended family, but they are still strong enough to blunt the edge of individual frictions that might otherwise be expected. 571 [602] [156] [578]

There was a niche into which a returning person might fit, whether he was a parent, a first son, an elder brother, an uncle or niece of the head of the household. The repatriates who had been long absent were, in turn, able to make an adjustment to conditions in the island of their birth because they had continued the same social system in their foreign residence. They now had to function in a more restricted and less well endowed natural environment. Dissatisfactions took the form, as they still do, of longing for better economic opportunity which they hope will be realized through further opportunities for emigration. They make comparisons, unfavorable to Okinawa, regarding the ease of making a living in other countries. Repatriates from Japan, who have returned to Okinawan rural life, miss the cities and the more exciting life of that country. Among those who have travelled, there is also a more noticeable discontent and dissatisfaction with the loneliness of rural life. The word sabishii is often on their lips. [554] [178] [511] [156]

The ideas of the repatriated Okinawans, furthermore, are not a new phenomenon in contemporary village life. They did not bring back points of view unknown before. In the past these had been communicated by letters and rare visits to the homeland. The reports of the repatriates were richer, more detailed, and more concrete, but not completely different. They have--and this is probably one of their chief influences on post-war village life--stimulated the strong desire of the villagers to emigrate. Life is hard on the island, and their accounts of greater return for the same expenditure of work have quickened hopes of future emigration. These hopes are confined to the New World, Japan, and the Pacific islands. There is no enthusiasm for migration to other islands in the Ryukyu chain. [185] [167]

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Attitudes Toward Birth Control

There is little in the religious belief or in the cultural tradition that would induce, in large segments of the population, a strong antipathy to birth control on religious grounds, but these beliefs and traditions are not favorable to it either. Respect for ancestors and the need for the continuance of the family system are the most important of these. It is the duty of each generation to provide this continuity between the past and the future. The links in this chain are male children. Once this 842 [602] [611]

In Japan, as well as in Okinawa, the system has been maintained without the ultra-conservative duties and regulations and the severe subordination of women associated with Confucianism in its political and social aspects. This is true at least for late nineteenth and twentieth century Okinawa, though some Confucian survivals no doubt persist. 602 171

But the family system is also an admirably flexible institution. It need not depend for its survival on a Confucian ethic, the subordination of women, or on the arranged marriage. It does require a continuing reverence for the dead and care to insure the existence of generations to come. There is room for free choice in marriage within the general framework of the family system. There is in the family system a sense of belonging from early infancy to death, a sense of identity with the past as well as sharing in the future, an emotional security, free participation of the old in village life, mutual reinforcements coming from the performances of these obligations. These are striking characteristics of Okinawan village life. It is true that the family system in Japan has been unable to avoid many deep lying insecurities and conflicts. But in Japan there have been in recent times strong competitive situations along with the harnessing of the nation's energies to war. In Okinawa, these conditions have been lacking, at least in an intense form, until the Okinawans were in the midst of the fierce fighting of the war. The sense of security and of belonging is unmistakable in the great majority of villagers, and while this does not mean there is no dissension or that everything is serene, it does mean that the system as it has developed here has permitted a certain personal flexibility and freedom within the system. The culture also has not encouraged strong individual competition. [769] [587] [156]

The family system, with its obligations and duties, both in the individual and the extended families, is the key to an understanding, not only of the non-material, but much of the material culture as well. The social organization as it has developed within the family system has strong influences through inheritance on land tenure and land use, and on agriculture and other occupations, in addition to its influences on daily family living, religious observances, public recreation and holidays. These will be explored in the chapters to come. 602 182

311 parts of the island, and the small deltas, the tiny alluvial plains,
18 the short and narrow valleys are left to produce what little rice can be grown.

Okinawa is not Japan and perhaps it is unrewarding to attempt
171 comparisons between the Okinawans and the Japanese. Okinawa is an island whose rural life is but little disturbed by urban development.
369 Only two places, Naha and Shuri, could be classified as small cities. Important places like Nago, Ishikawa, and Yonabaru are only small towns.

Japan is a culture rich in both its rural and its urban life. The investigation of the life of the great metropolitan cities of Japan is more scattered in specialized studies, more casual, perhaps more impressionistic than the study of some of its villages. Japanese and Okinawan rural life have many things in common, though the Japanese experience may now be distinctly different because of the land reform.

But along with the rural village, there are the great cities of Tokyo, Yokohama, Kyoto, Osaka, Kobe, and Nagoya, and these circumstances make an appraisal of Japanese culture even more complex and elusive.

177 Certainly the long cultural ties with Japan have left their impressions on the people of Okinawa. The Japanese language, the Japanese system of education, altered after the war, Japanese tools, and Japanese literature are clear examples of this direct influence. But there are differences too. Adoption is much less common in Okinawa. The Buddhist influence, except for the altars of household Buddhism, is weak. The Okinawans, during the war, seemed less inclined than the Japanese toward fanatical self-sacrifice in behalf of the emperor cult.

157 In this work, I have avoided discussing the popular subject of
128 the "psychology" of the people. After a few commonplaces, one embarks on a series of impressions which may or may not have validity and which most certainly would be subject to endless qualification. I have therefore, for the most part, left the characteristics of the people to emerge from the descriptions of their historical experience, their social organization, and their family and community life, trusting that from these details one can form an impression of the way in which a people are living and how they meet the manifold problems which confront them.

156 In my own studies, I have been impressed with the feeling of belonging which seems to be the possession of the individual from infancy until his children lay him to rest in the family tomb. There is also a stability in family life, and this stability does not seem so pivoted, as in our culture, on the continued mutual love and affection of the father and the mother. There also seems to be little stress on personal competition.

The infant as well as the mature adult are conditioned to conformity both by the historical obligations and duties under the family

system and by the public life which they lead. There is a blending and shading of the private life of the home with the public life of the lanes, the shops, and the homes of others. The process is so subtle that one can live among them and be unaware of it. But children do more than grow up. They grow and reach maturity impressed with their duties and obligations. It is this cultural environment, rather than single element explanations such as breast feeding, which in my opinion accounts for the politeness, the essential gentleness, and the sense of security of the people. These characteristics can best be understood by knowing history, by knowing how people live within a family, how families live together, what these groups of families do to their arable land, their plants, their stones, their trees, and their forested and wild land, and how the private life of an individual or a family blends in with the wider public experience of the community. 156 [155]

The recent war has been a powerful agent of cultural change in Okinawa. The destruction of the south, the comparative well-being of the north have equalized the roles of the two great divisions of the island, and the north is no longer a rustic hinterland. The years of military service in the Japanese army interfered with the transmission of the traditional culture from the old to the young. One of the striking aspects is the differences in types of information possessed by the old and the young. Men fifty years or over speak of things of which younger men and women have never heard. What is part of one man's culture is foreign to the other. 727 178 184

Before the war success in transmitting the traditional culture to the young depended to a great extent on the hierarchy of the family system and its scale of values. Women were subordinated to men and the younger deferred to the elder. Obedience of children and acknowledgment of parental leadership were said to characterize the pre-war society. In many ways, all these things still do. But there are indications of a growing dependence of the older on the advice and knowledge of the young. [867] [593]

The war and its aftermath produced conditions favorable to the leadership of younger people, especially younger men. It was easy for them to drive trucks. It was no chore to become acquainted with Americans and adapt themselves to their ways. They could learn, and comprehend more easily, some of the Western concepts implicit in governmental change. A twenty year old is not impressed with skill at typing. A sixty year old person looks upon this skill with a certain wonder. [177]

The destruction of pre-war housing and its replacement by inferior makeshift housing have had an unsettling effect on village life. Sleeping habits and living arrangements were disrupted. The destruction even affected the use of rainwater coming from the drains on the tile roofs. It converted villages with their houses and an occasional garden into a camp-like atmosphere. [362]

The post-war repatriation often brought to villagers a more personal awareness of the outside world. Those who returned, especially from the non-Oriental countries, created an atmosphere congenial to change. [167] [177]

625 went out for fugitives from the south, he would accompany the police-
[632] man or investigate himself. In cases of death, both he and the police-
[647] man have to make a report.

The Young People's Association may serve as a vigilante in emer-
[575] gencies such as fires, floods, tornadoes, and other disasters. When a
[731] military jeep was reported to have been stolen near Naha and driven on the dead-end road running north, the young people in all villages on the way erected road blocks and were ready to help catch the thief. The group would act together in a similar fashion at any threat from outsiders.

622 The headman can only enforce local ordinances insofar as he is
681 able to persuade people to comply. He is not concerned directly with crime or disturbance of the peace. Exceptions are such matters as steal-
[625] ing sugar cane or letting chickens run loose so that they enter every yard. For such acts, money fines can be imposed. One warden still has a tag which used to be given to the man whose chickens ran around freely. The offender had to pay the fine and keep the tag until he detected someone else's chicken running loose. Then he could pass the tag on to that person. Such measures are no longer used. But the un-
[626] derlying principle of public censure and fear of ridicule continues to operate in village social control.

623 Public censure is used along with fines to ensure attendance at vil-
626 lage meetings. Roll call is taken before each meeting so that the absence of individuals is made known to the whole group. Similarly, when
[681] tax collections became more and more delinquent, it was decided to have ward meetings in which everybody would be reminded in public to pay his share. Those who were unable to do so would have to state their reasons. As soon as this new plan was announced, several people got up during the meeting to pay outstanding amounts to the head-
872 man. The school uses similar devices to achieve better attendance and scholarship. During home visit week, about once a year, a meeting is held for all parents and the statistics for attendance for each village are read as well as scholastic performances for each community.

INFORMAL CONTROL

● 156
626 What other people might think is uppermost on everybody's mind.
[867] Children are reminded by their mothers not to play alone lest people would think they are unpopular. They are told not to fight lest others think badly of them or make them responsible for the consequences. Censure by gossip is common, but criticism is seldom made directly to a person's face, and the target of extensive gossip is often unaware of it.

An exception to this was the case of a junior high school girl who left her mother and stepfather and went to live in the city. The incident was known to all villagers within a short time, and gossip was rife, but referring to the case directly in the presence of the mother was avoided. When the mother finally heard the gossip, she contended that the story had been circulated by a certain family, singled out the woman of that house (who happens to be one of the few Christians in Taira) and told her in no uncertain words that she, as a Christian who wants to do good and others to be good, should know better than to spread evil gossip. 626 156

Concern with the affairs of other villagers is, of course, a result of the general intimacy between people. Not only one's immediate family but also anyone in Taira is aware of what happens to others in the community, and the right to such knowledge of private and family matters does not seem to be denied by anybody. People ask and receive answers, and news travels rapidly from one house to another. In considering the fear of censure and its effectiveness in social control, however, one should not forget that, conversely, the concern of others for one's life leads to a feeling of belonging and the expectation of help and affection.

Children are part of the gossip channel in that they are talkative and report news. They do not seem to invent malicious stories but do join in fun making at other people's expense. [867]

Being too malicious is censured. Older people still remember that they heard in their youth about old wicked women who could bring a curse on others. The term for curse still connotes a person who is disliked or who snoops excessively in other people's affairs. [754]

If possible, nobody is deliberately made subject to public exposure in case of wrongdoing. A township official, who by virtue of his office was also a member of the village council, showed little interest and responsibility toward the community. When the village meeting deliberated whether township officials should continue to be made members of the village council, his name was not mentioned, although the case was discussed at length in public. The final decision was to give him another chance. This, too, is characteristic of community behavior. Ostracism and complete rejection of serious offenders against the community would be a most serious punishment. This in itself would give the community a bad standing. A common front toward the outside is preferred, so that all drastic actions are left only for extreme cases. Rather, one tries to get along, even with a deviant person. Individuals between whom disagreement exists act friendly toward each other in public. 626 627 156

A deep sense of mutual obligation and duty not only toward imme- 626 156

626 diate relatives but also toward members of the entire community, and
156 even certain strangers, appears in many contexts. Any villager feels
[479] a sense of obligation to participate in mutual assistance, and someone who fails to live up to this obligation is severely criticized. A person who commits a crime is said to have no feeling of obligation, and it seems clear that the infrequency of transgression, either the violation of mutual help codes or more serious infractions, is held in check by fear of censure.

626 The Japanese moral code, which stresses obligations and feelings of
577 indebtedness and gratitude toward those from whom favors have been
867 received, is obviously related to such social control forces or is in fact
[177] identical with them. Japanese ethical training was part of school training before World War II, and it is still deeply valued and followed.
[571] That any close-knit community tends to foster such forces of control is common knowledge. Yet the positive attitude toward obligations and their elaboration in interpersonal relationships is noteworthy and characterizes an important aspect of Taira life. It is learned early, as we found out when one mother said about her 4-year-old daughter: "She understands the idea (of obligations and indebtedness), although she does not know the concepts." When the family receives a gift, the little girl asks, "Shall we take some fish (a counter present) to them?" In spite of the positive value mentioned, there seem to be few compulsions connected with obligations. Actions appear spontaneous rather than forced. Of course, these obligations are of importance in determining contributions of individual households at weddings, funerals, and other occasions where interpersonal ties are cemented.

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Chapter 6

Social Organization

571 In every society an individual belongs to a number of groups, overlapping in membership and differentiated by function. A resident of Taira is no exception. Some groups are open, that is to say, new mem-

782 in her house until a male can assume the responsibility for them. The
562 propitiation of the natural deities is lead by the village priestess—and
[769] she is assisted by a group of women.

Taira women are essential to the financial well-being of the family.
562 Their role in both agriculture and lumbering is equal to that of the
462 men. Since there are few kinds of work which women cannot do and
592 do not engage in, a widow or single woman, although handicapped, can
[589] support herself and her family. Several women, whose husbands died during World War II or who have been divorced, support themselves and their children. One Taira woman supported her four children while her husband left for Japan to help a sick brother. She worked the household fields and sold fish. Her husband, who was expected to return after three weeks, remained away for six months. Once or twice he wrote his family to ask for money; his wife and sister obliged. Even old women remain active members of the family. They contribute to the household economy by working in the potato fields, cutting firewood, and doing other useful work around the house.

593 Such economic independence gives women a place in the family
562 which cannot easily be challenged by a male who theoretically can
[462] claim preferential treatment. Perhaps a man is more dependent on his wife than she is on him. Men never cook. They expect the womenfolk to look after house affairs. A wife, although she does not usually own the land on which she works, has the same rights as her husband to the village forest lands. There she cuts firewood like the men, cooperating with the husband in preparing it for sale. Most of all, pig raising is her concern, and this gives her an important hold on the purse strings.

There is no uniform rule as to who keeps the money in the family. In some households the husband takes care of all financial matters and hands over small sums of money to the wife for daily use. In these families it is either found that the wife does not contribute heavily to
[156] subsistence or that she is from another village and is somewhat intimidated by her husband and unable to find security in having relatives close by. Such women are meek or at least restrained and solicitous of their husbands.

There are numerous cases, however, in which women handle all money affairs. In one such home the husband is a township official. His wife, although from a distant village, is a forceful character and follows economic pursuits independent of her husband. He is glad to let his wife handle finances, although he retains ultimate control over them. The more common situation, however, is almost equal responsibility in economic matters between the sexes. Where this is the case,

603 term. As the child gets older, the familiar suffixless form of address is
601 used less and less frequently, though girls seem to retain it longer than boys.

601 The strength of one's ties to the community as a whole regardless of
●156 actual kinship is seen not only in the use of the term "grandmother"
576 and "grandfather" in addressing all members of this generation but also in the similar use of the terms "uncle" and "aunt" for all members of the parental generation. Those who are not known well or who have high status are addressed by the appropriate kinship term with the suffix -san added.*

554 Achieved status is recognized by special terms of address. The teacher,
576 school principal, the doctor, the village headman or mayor are addressed by their titles. Taira people combine familiarity with formality by calling a young teacher from the same or neighboring community by the first name, then adding the title "teacher." †

621 In summary, although affiliation with a patrilineal descent group
156 and kinship ties with kindred influence certain aspects of life, over and
571 above these ties is the identification with the community, which is drawn together by bonds of economic and social interdependence. Individual leaders serve their term of responsibility and then return to
[157] the egalitarian community life, which is comparatively free of competitive strife.

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Chapter 7

Courtship, Marriage, and Sex

582 Most marriages in Taira take place when both men and women are in their early or middle twenties (see Table 2). It is perhaps most note-

* This refers to the use of Japanese kinship terms which are prevalent in Taira—see Chapter 1 p. 370.

† The use of first names may also help to identify individuals since many persons have the same surname—this explanation, however, is not in contradiction with the statement concerning familiarity.

year. On these occasions his parents take gifts of tea, noodles, and whatever else they can spare to the foster parents. During their visit the foster parents present the gift as an offering on the ancestral shrine and pray to their own ancestors, the guardians of the foster child. It is believed that this may help to offset the adverse effects of the child's own ancestors. 597 755 769

In spite of some treatments, such as blood letting and moxa cautery, which seem harsh to the unaccustomed observer, Taira people are extremely concerned about their sick. Illness, and most of all the need to remove the patient to the local dispensary or to a hospital in town, involves the whole family. No one likes to leave a sick person alone. His family and friends attend to him in such numbers that the small rooms are never large enough to hold all. The security given in everyday life by the presence of relatives and neighbors in the village continues during the critical period of illness. In the case of a fisherman from the south who was washed ashore in his boat after a storm, township officials kept the man continuous company in his dispensary room even though he was close to death. Female relatives cook meals and look after the comfort of a hospitalized person. This means that a young girl or an older woman will leave her usual work for days or weeks to attend the patient. 758 [156]

Because of intimacy in the home and visits to the sick, children are quite familiar with illness. A mother who has to go to the hospital takes her youngest child with her. After burning moxa weeds on her skin for two weeks had failed to cure a nephritic condition, one woman went to the hospital in town, taking her 8-months-old daughter although she did not have enough milk to nurse. The infant had to be given bottled milk prepared from cans. Meanwhile the older children remained under the care of their father. [757]

There is, however, little concern with children who have minor ailments. A school child may be excused from attending classes. In one case a boy stayed home from school with stomach pains. He was happily playing with younger children in the street. One of the adult villagers walked past, stopped after seeing him, and inquired: "Why aren't you in school today?" When told by the boy that he had an upset stomach, the man ordered him to go home right away and stay inside or go to school. The boy's mother, although aware of her son's discomfort, did not pay any special attention to it. 757 855 872

Preventive medicine is officially the responsibility of the public health nurse. She advises people on proper preventive care, inocculates children against whooping cough, diphtheria, and other diseases. She also acts as an advisor to mothers on child care and occasionally helps with a birth if the doctor is unavailable. If a case is diagnosed as 744 [751] [759] [844]

844 kimonos, and diapers. He is placed under the blanket next to the
[853] mother and given a gauze nipple dipped in tea and sugar to suck, which is often his only food for as long as two days if lactation is slow. Meanwhile the afterbirth is wrapped in straw and left under the floorboards in the kitchen to await the outgoing tide.

846 Tea is now served in the front room, and the birth is discussed by
593 the women who assisted. On one such occasion, the father and grandmother showed a little boy whose sister had just been born a great deal of affection. The father held the boy in his lap, and both adults told him that he was now a big brother.

844 At the first hour of the outgoing tide, old women—the grandmother
851 of the baby, relatives, and neighbors—wrap the afterbirth in rice straw and bury it in a specified place outdoors behind the hearth. The pur-
156 pose of the ceremony is to ensure that the child will be happy and sociable. To the accompaniment of laughing, loud clanging of pots and covers, and calling to each other, the women circle the house. When the burial is completed, they chant loudly, "May this baby al-
[152] ways laugh and be pleasant." A stone is then placed over the burial mound so that the infant will not be frightened in his sleep, an emotion which is inferred from the jerking of a young infant while asleep.

852 Until about 10 years ago a ceremony was performed by descendants
565 of noble families from Shuri over the newborn to ensure success in his
462 future role. For boys, a winnowing basket was propped up against a hoe on which a clump of soil and grass rested. While the father's mother
[178] held the child in one arm, she shot an arrow with a bow into the basket. This act was to make certain that the child would become a good hunter (provider) as well as a successful farmer. The grass on the hoe
[286] symbolized strength. A girl, on the other hand, received a miniature loom constructed especially for such occasions, which was to assure her success as a weaver of cloth. A spool of banana fiber was presented along with the loom.

852 There is a story that long, long ago an infant was born on the beach.
565 Immediately after he was born, as he still lay on the sand, a crab
538 crawled over his chest. This infant grew up to be a strong, famous man. Shuri descendants still have a custom of grandmothers holding a newborn boy in their laps and releasing a small crab, which scurries over the infant's chest. These practices, however, are absent in central Taira now and are rarely found in the outlying settlements of predominantly Shuri descendants.

846 Formerly mother and child were confined to the darkened delivery
178 room next to the kitchen and at the rear of the house for seven days, while an open fire was kept blazing in the brazier near the mother.

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Today the *yukajiru* ceremony held on the fourth day ends the seclusion. 846
A group of close relatives gather to ask for the good health of the 769
child and to make food offerings to the ancestors.

On the fourth or fifth day a name is selected for the newborn. In 852
the old days rice oracles presided over by an old woman were con- 553
sulted to ensure that the name consist of the proper combination of 787
Japanese writing characters, an essential for the well-being of the child's 156
personality. Today family elders and the local teacher are consulted. 875
In the pre-Japanese periods, temporary names were used until a per- 784
manent name was given. This practice was intended to fool the spirits during the early years when the child was thought to be particularly susceptible to spirits.*

On the sixth day after birth the mother is allowed to take her first 846
postdelivery bath; the room which she has occupied with her baby is 852
cleaned and aired, and preparations begin for the *mansang* celebrations. For this event the mother's parents try to be present, especially 613
if it is a first child. Friends and relatives in the village attend. A 782
female elder of the patrilineal kin group or the priestess prays behind 769
a tray of rice, rice wine, and incense so that the child will sleep peacefully and not cry at night. Thanksgiving prayers are offered to the ancestors and the nature deities for the health of both mother and child.

When the prayers are completed, a man sings the *mansang* song to 852
the accompaniment of a samisen. The father of the baby then rises to 533
dance briefly, sits down, and writes with brush and ink on a white 574
sheet of paper the name and birth date of his child. The paper is then hung on the wall near the alcove. Meanwhile the special song is being concluded:

> Coming from the darkness to light,
> This baby was received as a treasure
> And the mother is being celebrated.

Food is then served, and the guests discuss the name and admire the newborn. Like all parties, the celebration ends with song, dance, and wine drinking.

The *mansang* celebrations mark the end of the most critical period 852
for the infant. From now on he may be taken outdoors. At the month's 846
end, his parents may take him to see his maternal grandparents in their 769
village, to offer food at the ancestral shrine of the mother. This is 782
called the first walk. Sons who have left the paternal village for the city return with their infant to observe this day.

* Hanging an irregularly left-woven rope in the delivery room to keep out evil spirits which might harm the newborn, is no longer done in Taira.

copy their behavior. When several mothers and their children are gathered, a mother of a year-old child will coo, "Cute baby" as she strokes a friend's infant's head. She smiles at her child, takes his hand, and repeats the action. A spontaneous response such as this on the part of a year-old child would evoke admiration and voluble praise from the audience. A year and a half old boy became the pride of his mother when he approached all little children with a highly nurturant attitude. He had learned his lesson so well that he considered children of his own age babies because they were smaller than himself. Walking up to them, he would bend down, pat their heads patronizingly, and take their hands to guide them along. 854 155

Equally important to the Okinawan parent is a friendly child who is well liked by everyone in the village. A happy, smiling personality is ideal, and it is this wish for the child which leads grandmothers and mothers to perpetuate the custom of burying the afterbirth of a newborn to the accompaniment of laughter and appeals to the spirits to ensure this characteristic. Adults constantly try to get infants to smile by talking and making funny sounds and faces. Even young children approach infants clapping their hands together in an attempt to elicit smiles. [156]

Treatment of children during this initial period discourages expression of self-reliant behavior. As described above, except for rare and very brief intervals during the day, a child is strapped onto someone's back from the time he wakes up in the morning to the time he is put to bed at night. The child is carried about in this fashion from the age of one month until he is almost 2 years old. [866]

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Chapter 14

Weaning

When a mother discovers that she is pregnant again, usually about two years after her last delivery, she begins to think of weaning her child. Most mothers nurse the last child until they are about three months 862 853 [843]

On the whole it can be said that children seem to decide for themselves how far they can move around. Underlying the action of most is a dislike of venturing into unfamiliar grounds, and this largely restricts the territory commonly covered. Most children travel in groups of more than two, an aspect of Taira children's behavior to which reference will often be made. 857 855 156

The area of tombs is generally avoided by children, except by those who pass there to walk to the mouth of the Udenaha River or over the narrow, fragile bridge across it. While children do not fear the bodies of the dead, they express a fear of spirits. But during ceremonies for the dead, children accompany adults and participate in the social gatherings in front of tombs following the prayer. When the body of a fisherman was brought up on the shores of Taira after a typhoon, scores of children of kindergarten age roamed to the beach to take a peek beneath the canvas which covered the corpse. The policeman who officiated on the occasion impatiently waved away the kindergarteners, and when the schoolchildren returned in the afternoon, they also had to be warned to stay away. 857 769 775 [852]

In the central village itself, few places are closed to children. The village office building, of which only a section is reserved for office space, quite often attracts children. It is a convenient temporary shelter during rain squalls and a cool spot during hot weather. The village headman or his clerk may complain about too much noise and chase a group out, but this does not discourage them from returning soon afterward. The open prayer house, too, is a place for play, and no objections are voiced by adults, including the priestess and her assistants. These buildings are village gathering places, and children, as essential members of the community, have free access to them. The situation is different with regard to the township office and the post office, which children never enter except on special errands. 857 858

Children are familiar with dangerous spots, such as steep hills, and show amazing skill in maintaining balance, even when the ground is wet and the dirt is loose. On a picnic hike of a little under 4 miles, kindergarteners ranging from 3 to 6 years scampered across a frail, wide-slatted bridge, up and down over slippery clay paths and over rocky terrain with only a 30 minute stop to eat their lunches. In a group of about 15 children only two 3-year-olds slipped and cried to be carried down unusually steep inclines and over the rickety bridge. None seemed exhausted although many roamed off the paths to forage in the bushes for berries and laurellike flowers from which they sucked nectar. 855 857

Journeys outside the village are rare for most children. It is usually 857

wiggles her hips and otherwise makes movements that are not permitted in the classical Okinawan dance. 868 535

Kindergarten children are usually asleep by 8:30 in the winter and 9:00 in the summer. They sleep an average 8 hours. Ten o'clock is considered to be proper bedtime for all people. The village bell is rung to remind everyone that the day has ended. The entire family sleeps on the mattresses spread on the floor with wooden pillows. In winter the heavy quilts are taken down. Children vary in their bedtime. Those who feel tired fall asleep soon after the evening meal. Often the grandparents lie down with the small children. If children accompany parents on a visit, they lie down in their father's or mother's lap, or on the floor to sleep. Since not all adults go to sleep at 10:00, older children may stay up longer, particularly during moonlight nights. Few children take naps except during the summer, when the heat makes everyone drowsy and slows down work during midday. Once in a while a young child goes home to lie down for a nap. 857 513

The kindergarten child's day has been an active and carefree one. He is seldom alone. "Do not play alone, go and play with others. If you play alone, people might think that others dislike you," instruct parents in Taira. Anyone passing a child playing alone would remark, "How lonely he seems." Furthermore, mothers worry about a child being alone "because he is more apt to do naughty things or get into dangerous play." 857 155 156

A 4- or 5-year-old may sometimes find himself being a caretaker, but generally he is not considered very reliable, and being a "senseless" individual, he is not held responsible by the village for anything that might happen to his charges. It is the mother who is held culpable and is censured in this case. 857 855 861

One mother was severely criticized by her neighbors when she punished her 4-year-old boy for abandoning his 2-year-old sibling. The children had been sent out to play. When the older boy came home for supper, he faced an angry mother who berated him for thinking only of his own pleasure and leaving his little brother on the main road and to the dangers of passing trucks. She spanked the boy, tied his hands and legs briefly, and left the crying child behind when she went to the village store with his younger sibling.

In another case, a grandmother grumbled about the "laxity" and irresponsibility of the mother. A 5-year-old was carrying her month-old sibling who was sleeping on the back in a twisted position due to loose strappings. "Come here! Your mother, where is she . . . how could she leave this child with you! Almost falling . . . ," the old woman mumbled as she unstrapped the peacefully sleeping baby and 857 854

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

sures in responsibility training. When tasks are mere routine, interfering with playing and other favorite activities, they are not always discharged with enthusiasm. We have already referred to this in the discussion of child care. On the other hand, there are many expressions, starting actually at kindergarten level, which reveal identification with adolescents and adults. 857 866 [156]

To the question, "What would you like to do best?" there were such answers from boys as: "I would like to go to the mountains and earn money" (7 years), and "I would like to plant rice" (8 years); and from girls: "I would like to cook, and I would like to transplant rice" (7 years), "I would like to cook rice and soup" (7 years with a wide grin), and "I would like to teach other children calculation if they need help, and take the place of the teacher" (10 years), adding, "Then I can punish boys who bully girls, too." [124]

We learned something more about the identification with older children and young adults, and perhaps a feeling of envy of their status, from answers to questions such as, "Who would you like to be most if you could be changed into anybody by magic?" and "What age would you be if you could be any age?" And, in answering, children also revealed something of their needs, motivations, and goals. A 7-year-old boy stated that, "I would like to be 15 years old, then I can go deep places to swim . . . and then I can go to the mountains and earn money and buy rice, noodles, and help father and mother." He then expressed achievement motivation in his answer: "I would like to become a scholar on plant roots. Then I will know why trees wither and die. I want to save them because otherwise people cannot make money. Then I will be happy and feel good." Although this boy's father is not one of the prominent village leaders, he seems here to express the feeling which, we believe, explains much of the responsible behavior in village leaders. We also see a desire for independence in the answer of a 10-year-old boy, "I would like to be 20 years, then I can go and do work on my own," and nurturance with an almost sanctimonious overtone, perhaps linked to hidden anxiety about aggression, in this response to the magic man query, "I would have him change me into a big, big person. Then I can go and hit anyone who bullies little persons . . . I can look all over the whole village and catch all bad persons and talk to them . . . I can make them all good." This answer, which expresses, again, achievement desires was given by an 8-year-old boy, "I would like to be 16 years old because then studies will be easier and I can wrestle like the *seinen* (young adults)," followed by "Make me into a township official because they have 'good heads' (are intelligent) and they [124]

ATTITUDES TOWARD ACHIEVEMENT

Observations revealed there is a contrast between home and school setting in attitudes and treatment of achievement-oriented and competitive behavior. The classroom situation tends to breed competition. Eager attempts to answer questions and to get the teacher's attention by raising a hand and calling out suggest competitive spirit. There was little we observed in the village which seemed to bolster competitive behavior, except for some games and occasional wrestling and athletic practice. Parents discourage boasting in children and in our presence gave little evidence of fostering achievement. However, if we now let the children speak, and then mothers (unfortunately fathers were not interviewed), one might get a different impression of the parental role in achievement training.

In answer to the questions "How do you feel about doing something better than anybody else your age? When you're not the best, do you ever practice so you can do better?" the six boys in our sample agreed that they would like to be first. One 8-year-old answered: "Yes, I would like to be better than my classmates." "But," he adds, "no, I don't practice or study when I am not first . . . only sometimes. If I am last I would practice and study because I would get scolded by the teacher and my parents. . . . I would be ashamed because others would laugh at me. But if I am average, I won't do anything, I don't care." Two other boys implied that they would do little to improve their position if they were in the middle, or as one put it, "I do want to be first, but I don't do anything about it . . . not much anyway."

The fear of being scolded by parents is also expressed in the answer of four others in this group. Shame was mentioned only by one other boy, but among those who fear scolding at home were two whose parents are exceptional in stressing good performance at home and driving their children toward higher standards. They responded, as one might expect, with expressions such as: "Yes, I would rather be better than all others. . . . In the middle? No, I would rather be first." Only one of these two mentioned fear of scolding as an incentive.

Girls' answers differed slightly in the somewhat greater emphasis on performing well and making determined efforts in this direction. One reply, "Yes, I will study hard to become first. Even if I am in the middle, I will try hard so I can be first. I don't feel good being

593 The presence in the background of T.'s mother may have something to do with his change in behavior toward H., or it may be that he wants her to wait her turn and do it his way. T. is very much in control of this situation, even among the boys. The swing is constructed on the edge of his parents' house. But T., on another occasion, when his aunt asked him to wash her daughter's (T.'s 4-year-old cousin) feet after she had waded in the muddy paddies, complied agreeably and was quite nurturant and indulgent with the younger girl. With H., too, he is more cordial at other times. Perhaps what bothers him, [865] and other boys of his age, is the interference of younger sisters with boys' play.

857 To sum up, between boys and girls of school age there is not a very close relationship, each sex being quite strongly oriented toward mem-
593 bers of its own group. Brothers and sisters, on the whole, fall into this
858 pattern, except that the succorance-nurturance relationship between younger and older continues, though moderately. Although separation of sexes is found in the kindergarten pattern, it is more pronounced in latency, since the activities of peers are more and more differentiated by sex.

RELATIONSHIP TO PEERS

857 We asked the children a question in an attempt to measure how they would resolve the conflict between having to do a chore and the
866 call of friends to join in play. All boys (in the group of six) agreed
156 that they would do their work first, four mentioning fear of being scolded. One boy worried about what his friends might think if he does not join them soon: "Will they not think badly of me?" adding, "Sometimes I have gone out without finishing my work and then I would worry about getting scolded. It's 'bad,' but if my friend persists, I would go and join him without doing my work." And another admitted, "If mother and father are not at home, I would go and play without finishing my work, but then I would worry about getting scolded."

Strangely enough, five of the girls answered that they would do their work first, but if their father and mother are not home, they would go out and play; at least four say so, while the fifth boldly says, "If friends come and call me when I am doing my chores, I will go and play without finishing," but this girl, coming from a poor family, is less secure than others and more anxious to be a part of the group. Several girls mentioned the fear of being scolded. Only one, the sixth, replied,

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"I would do my work first and then go out to play, whether my parents are home or not."

The mother of a younger boy reported that he is so anxious to rejoin his playmates that he barely gives himself time enough at home to eat his meal. It is our feeling that it is not just the desire to play which pulls children away from assigned tasks, but the urge to be with peers. The attitude of mothers encourages play groups. They tell their children: "Do not play alone; go and play with others. If you play alone, people might think that others dislike you." As one mother put it: "It looks so lonely when (my child) is playing alone." Only one mother, whose child-rearing methods in general deviate from those of others because she and her husband set high achievement goals and standards for their child, said that she would like to have her son play alone occasionally. In this way she hoped he would devote some time to educational activities. It is interesting, however, that several mothers mentioned the names of other children whom they considered unsuitable playmates for their child, either because they were too bossy, or too aggressive, or had otherwise undesirable qualities in their judgment. If, however, there is selectivity among children on the basis of their parents' desires, we were not aware of it.

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Peers assume increasing importance as socializing agents as they grow older. Schoolchildren of the same age watch and control each other so that there is hardly need for interference by adults. Older children remind younger ones who neglect a crying young sibling to attend to his needs. Failure to respond to the succorant pleas of a younger sibling meets with disapproval. Peers rarely interfere directly with the activities of others, but do so by remarks to each other, and by other indirect means through which they achieve compliance or conformity. There are some obvious situations when outright commands by an older child are needed. For example, when a 3-year-old girl pulled the plug from the concrete water tank and was immediately frightened by the stream of water pouring out, a 6-year-old girl nearby called, "Close it," and watched as the little one hurriedly put the plug into place. Hardly ever does one hear children taking the role of an adult in trying to demand conformity from peers with rules set by adults. Only the boy mentioned earlier, whose parents make determined efforts to train him toward responsibility and achievement, occasionally attempts to correct the behavior of peers by talking like an adult. He always does it in a quasi-nurturant, responsible manner, perhaps because he strongly identifies with his father, one of the village leaders.

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Parents do not like their children to become "leaders." Almost all

857 of them disapprove of dominance in their children: "It would be terri-
866 ble if my child would tell this child and that child to do one thing or another and they would get into trouble." The fear expressed here, and in similar statements, is obviously that leadership entails responsibility in case anything goes wrong, and parents do not like to be put in a position where they or their children could be blamed.

865 The Western observer, perhaps, is most impressed with the ability
857 of children to manage their own affairs. Fights occur, and disagree-
156 ments crop up frequently, but almost without exception these matters are settled within the group and without dramatic scenes in which adults become involved. There are no violent fights or quarrels which break up groups and cause prolonged hostile feelings among children. Least of all did we find bullying and harassing of younger children by the older ones, although younger ones are often assigned inferior roles in play by the older children.

ACTIVITIES AND GAMES

857 In part, at least, the tone among these play groups is set by the sur-
524 prising variety of activities that children engage in during the year, innumerable games which come and go in cycles, but which have a village-wide appeal while they last. All of them are played with a minimum of equipment and a maximum of inventiveness and enthusiasm. There are few toys which parents can buy their children, and fewer still which they make for them. This situation is met with great ingenuity. Children use any objects available to them—discarded household equipment, empty cans, boxes, or whatever they pick and gather from trees, bushes, and the ground. Round stones, peas, and seeds serve as marbles; an empty carton becomes a truck or boat. Wooden sticks, bamboo, an old bicycle wheel without a tire find some use. Suddenly one day children run about with helmets made of cabbage leaves, swinging little pistols made of a piece of bamboo, or a stick as a dagger. Girls gather shells and gravel on the beach and carry pieces in their dress pockets. In the absence of dolls, girls have a younger sibling to act the part of "child" in realistic play. Babies, however, are never used in such games.

Boys and girls like to play games of skill. Girls often pull out five stones from their pockets and play a kind of jacks. There are also many versions of ball games in which one girl performs several stunts with a ball while she sings a song. If she makes a mistake, another one

857 fun of it, but few signs of involvement with attaining outstanding per-
526 formance. Losers are not teased or ridiculed, although a good per-
[157] former is occassionally given an encouraging remark by others who practice.

Group games are usually played after the schoolchildren have returned to the village. One of the popular games is a version of prisoner's base similar to that played in the United States. This game is played with much yelling, laughing, and noisy challenging. Equally popular is a version of "kick the can." This game is exciting and fast moving. It is a game which can lead to arguments, since one must trust the honesty of the person who is "it" and claims to have seen another player. Brief arguments arise and are quickly settled. Part of the fun seems to be teasing and challenging the tagger.

535 These are games that children may play on any day in the year.
857 During holidays they are sometimes asked to entertain adults with
[527] dances. Little girls learn the traditional Okinawan dances from kinder-
[871] garten days on, either by watching or by coaching of an older person, a friend, one's older sister, or mother. Neither kindergarten nor school programs include the teaching of such rich Okinawan heritage as classical dances. Boys do not begin to imitate the burlesque dances of their male elders until adolescence. But they are sometimes invited, together with girls, to present group dances or little plays for the adults. Adults seem to enjoy most the performances of Okinawan dances by little girls who may have learned the rhythm and movements but not the restraint of serious adult presentations. They are delighted if a 6-year-old, dressed in bright-colored costume, innocently wiggles her hips in a rather suggestive way.

857 Children who perform for adults show no stage fright. At school,
[156] where little sketches are presented on the stage, there is a complete ease in improvising. Nobody is embarrassed if he forgets a line, a song, or a cue, and the recitation contests which we have already mentioned are carried out with much zest.

[512] Schoolchildren are supposed to remain at home after 8 o'clock in the evening to do their studies. This rule is encouraged by the school but rarely enforced by parents. Many children, boys and girls, appear outside after dark, and on moonlight nights they often resume their playing. Off and on, a couple of elementary schoolboys are attracted to the store where the village truck arrives with goods from the city after nightfall. There they stand in the dim yellow light of the kerosene lamp, watching, helping, or just listening to some of the men who
[515] come to have their sake bottles filled. If a bath has been prepared for
[512] their families, their turn will come sometime after the older males in

751 Social factors contributing to poor sanitation stem mainly from the
312 failure of the individual in Okinawan society to take individual action.
364 For example, four unrelated families, one of which I knew well, rented the
● 156 four quarters of a house in the city. The well beside the house was badly in need of a drainage system; the water from everyone's laundry and bathing formed a large puddle around the concrete well-top and eventually sank into the ground, no doubt to re-enter the well, which of course also provided drinking water. No one made a move to do anything about this individually. Finally the owner of the house suggested that the several families join with him on a certain day in digging a drainage ditch. This was done. However, instead of digging a ditch to allow the water to run down hill and away, they dug the ditch only a few feet into a tiny field on the same level as the house and well. They did not feel that they could dig a ditch that led the water onto the land of the family who lived below, despite the fact that this was the natural lay of the land and despite the fact that the water was now sinking into the ground above the well of another neighbor. It was felt that only if all the neighbors joined to dig ditches together to allow all the water to drain to the municipal drainage ditch beside the street, only then would it be proper to let one's old wash water drain into another's yard. So far as I know this joint action was never taken.

751 At the same house, when one of the tenants moved out they dumped a
364 great pile of garbage in front of their room. Another tenant moved into the
156 room and, although the wife commented on the "bad sanitation" ('eisei ga warui'), for some time nothing was done about the pile of garbage. In this case the reason for inaction may have been pride rather than consideration of another's feelings. It seems likely that the new tenant felt that it was not his responsibility to remove the garbage and that it was also beneath his dignity to do so.

ooo Social factors of this sort can perhaps be attacked in two ways. First, by appealing to the individual, to his pride and his esthetic sense, and by creating a greater degree of personal identification, it may be possible to extend the "sphere of sanitation" beyond the floor of the house and out into the yard and perhaps even to the street. But this would not be an easy task. At the present time the average Okinawan is probably less embarrassed by a pile of garbage in his yard and the hundreds of flies that infest it, than he would be to be seen doing the menial task of cleaning it up. He would not feel embarrassed, however, if it were a community endeavor. And therefore as a second method of attack one might encourage more group action. But this requires the development of outspoken leadership.

178 It is possible that standards of sanitation are lower at the pre-
751 sent time than before the war. Residents of the village of Yamada spoke
744 of the "big cleanings" ('ōsōji') that were held at regular intervals before
[625] the war. On orders from the 'son' office every household in the village was obliged to clean up its house and yard and submit to inspection by the local police officer, a man who was much more feared than his present counterpart. At present clean-ups may be encouraged by the Youth Organization, Women's Organization, etc., but there is certainly less compulsion than
ooo formerly. Moreover, during the last days of the battle and for a period of

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

is bending and stooping, or while his older brother or sister is running or jumping. The ease with which adults sleep is equally remarkable. On buses in Okinawa, I have seen men and women with their heads against window sashes, while the bus bounces over the rough roads. Sharp cracks on the head are unavoidable, and to one unaccustomed to it, would be very painful. But people sleep like this, with their heads knocking against the hard surface of the bus, for miles. 854 513

This carrying of the child continues regardless of season. In the winter, coats are put over or around the child's body. One of the obvious and most important facts about Okinawan child rearing is this custom of carrying the child on the back. But it is difficult to say precisely what this importance is. Certainly in this way the child has continuous contact from earliest infancy with the life around him. He is not accustomed to being alone, except for an occasional hour during the day when he may sleep on a blanket. At night he sleeps with his mother. A child does not have to be introduced to the world. He is not shielded in a crib. From early infancy he has seen and been almost every place in the village and learns to know many whom he will know throughout life. 854

This "public" and community life from earliest infancy is one of the outstanding features of Okinawan culture, a characteristic which it shares with-and which is derived from-Japan. One of the surprises is that despite these contacts with all phases of village experience, the child, as it grows older, becomes quite shy. This is true of boys and girls, and continues in my observation from the age of puberty up to marriage. No person who has had any contact with Okinawans fails to notice this shyness. The Okinawans use the Japanese word hasukashii to describe it, and, in this connection, the meaning is something between a feeling of shyness, self-consciousness, and shame. The shyness often does not disappear until marriage or even until the birth of the first child, when father and mother take their place as mature and responsible adults. 571 177 157

Two recent observers who analyzed the reactions of Okinawans under the stress of war have thought that early and continuous breast feeding is largely responsible for giving the child, from earliest infancy, a sense of security. While this theses was advanced out of intimate experience (mostly in the wartime hospital at Ginosa village), it must, in my opinion, be qualified considerably.[8] The period during which the child is breast fed is but one period in the formative years of childhood. Besides breast feeding is no monopoly of the Okinawans. Neither is carrying on the back confined to them. The period immediately after the child is taken off the back and begins to walk is a difficult one for most children. This 155 114

8 See Moloney, James C. Psychiatric observations in Okinawa Shima. The psychology of the Okinawan. Psychiatry 8 (1945), 391-99. Moloney, James C. and Biddle, Charles R. A psychiatric hospital in military government, ibid, 400-01.

885 well accustomed to the routine of the occupation they will follow.
888 The young fisherman has gone to sea for his beginning lessons. The young farmer knows most of the skills of planting and cultivating. The young stone worker, requiring little training to begin, is already at work.

885 Young men maintain close relationships with their families prior
593 to marriage. In the villages studied, there is little movement to the larger towns. Since the war young men or women have found employ-
A64 ment, at various times, in government and military government offices as account clerks, maids, translators, clerks at post exchanges, officer's clubs, restaurants, bars, and the like. But there were few instances in these villages.

A young man does not leave the village ordinarily, nor does he rent separate living quarters. These continuing family ties up to marriage may account for the boyishness and lack of maturity noticeable in so many young men in the age group from 17 to 25. The young school teacher, the truck driver, fisherman, or farmer may turn over part of his earnings to the parents. In rural Okinawa, residence in the home and attachment to the family last well into the years of younger maturity. This does not mean that there are no personal dissatisfactions with their situation.

834 There are few outward signs of personal attraction among young men and women during the teens and the years before marriage. In public, boys and young men of the same age group usually are seen together. This is true of the girls. Clandestine meetings among young men and young women take place. A mutual attraction is often communicated by a young go-between trusted by both. This secrecy does not come about from a desire to conceal the attraction, but because both parties are shy (hazukashii). This public reticence, so old in
[178] Oriental cultures, is gradually breaking down. It is a convention, based on public repression of one's feelings. This does not mean that people dislike personal and physical contact and lack demonstrativeness.
[159] Okinawans are emotional and demonstrative, and do not avoid physical contact, as anyone who has seen them at their parties has discovered.[16]

But young men and young women may meet quite openly. A young man in his early twenties may visit a girl's house, stay all day with her and her parents, and part of the time be alone with her. The young,

16 It is too early to tell the effect of ideas of sex equality on rural Okinawan society. That the supposed high position of the American woman has made an impression on many rural Okinawan women there can be no doubt. The influence of young American soldiers and sailors, their catering and thoughtfulness toward Okinawan girls to whom they
[199] are deeply attracted has spread beyond the range of those with the immediate experience. The soldiers are responsible for the adoption of the word, "honey." Okinawan boys use it in the same sense as
[832] Americans: as any very attractive girl, or as a girl deeply loved personally.

114 to the family system, the extended family, or to the household
304 order naming system is well worth exploring. No tattooing was
602 observed among the Hinatogawa fishermen, but this may have been an oversight. According to an old woman there, it did exist. One would expect it from the close relationship of Hinatogawa to Itoman. It is quite probable, in my opinion, that tattooing of men and women have different origins.

304 According to the early observers, tattooing of women took place around puberty, although Furness puts the age at 4 or 5 years. Patterns differed distinctly by island.

In Okinawa, everywhere one hears the same explanation for the origin of women's tattooing. Although there are variants, the core of the explanation is that the Ryukyu islanders (presumably after the Satsuma conquest of 1609) tattooed their young girls to prevent
[698] their being carried off to brothels in Japan. The tattooing was supposed to have made the girls so unattractive that they were untouched. Other variations are that the tattoo indicated marriage and thus kept the girl from being taken away. An old woman of Hinatogawa told of a legend (not seen or heard from any other source) in which the tattooing of women was an act of thanksgiving for a rescue at sea. A boat was sinking, and the survivors swimming saw
[773] two hands in the sky. They stopped the waves and the storm passed, permitting the swimmers to reach shore easily. The families were told, and after that the hands of the women were tattooed.

This subject needs considerable research. It would be of great
[119] interest to know the relationship, if any, to the family system, the extended family, and the household order naming system, whether it is comparatively recent in the islands, and whether the tattooing of the fisherman is a result of Chinese or Portugese influences and a
[177] consequence of the early Pacific trade described in Chapter II.

11

Knuckle Cracking

●157 One of the most puzzling of Okinawan mannerisms is the frequency of knuckle cracking. It may be observed in young children from 5 to 6 to old men and women in their seventies. It is done on so many occasions that cataloging them would be a real chore. The knuckle is cracked crisply and sharply. Young boys and girls may talk a whole evening, cracking their knuckles incessantly. It occurs in ordinary conversation, at lively parties, and during periods when a conversation lags. Children say they learned it from their mothers.

It seems a habit acquired very early. Perhaps it is an indication of tension, but I am inclined to be less specific. One Okinawan explained it as a continuation of childhood habit and ascribed it to the limberness of the fingers coming from early training on the abacus,

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

discounting the idea that it was a sign of nervousness or of being ill at ease. Certainly it occurs equally with strangers, relatives and life-long friends, and it may well be nothing more than an extremely common mannerism. 157

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The Tide

Scattered throughout the previous discussion there have been references to the importance of reckoning the tide on certain occasions. At these times, it is necessary that it either be high tide or that the tide is coming in. Though doubtless there are many more instances than have been mentioned, the following were found to be the most common occasions in which high tide or the beginning of flood tide was considered: (1) The marriage ceremony of san-san-kudo, (2) giving a child a name on its birth date, (3) when moving from a main house to a branch house, (4) when the child is given symbolic gifts at his first birthday party, (5) when carrying salt, the Buddhist god shelf and other articles into a new house. 823

Under these circumstances it is necessary to be able to compute the tide quickly and easily. For this purpose, the lunar month is divided into two periods of 15 days each. From an almanac a figure is obtained which gives the number of hours to be added to 12 o'clock on the first day of the 15 day lunar cycle. This is 0.8 hours or 48 minutes for low tide. (Everyone seems to have this at his finger tips). On the first day of the fifteen day cycle, low tide is 48 minutes after 12 o'clock. High tide is obtained by adding or subtracting 6 hours. The computation is shown in the following table. 805 823

Lunar Day at 12 o'clock (15 day cycle)		Multiplied By:	Equals Period of time in Hours to be Added to 12 o'clock.	Or, Low Tide at:
1	x	0.8 hrs	0.8 hrs.	12:48
2	x	0.8	1.6	1:36
3	x	0.8	2.4	2:24
4	x	0.8	3.2	3:12
5	x	0.8	4.0	4:00
6	x	0.8	4.8	4:48
7	x	0.8	5.6	5:36
8	x	0.8	6.4	6:24
9	x	0.8	7.2	7:12
10	x	0.8	8.0	8:00
11	x	0.8	8.8	8:48
12	x	0.8	9.6	9:36
13	x	0.8	10.4	10:24
14	x	0.8	11.2	11:12
15	x	0.8	12.0	12:00
16 (or 1)	x	0.8	12.8	12:48

To obtain high tide add or subtract 6 hours.

311 parts of the island, and the small deltas, the tiny alluvial plains,
18 the short and narrow valleys are left to produce what little rice can be grown.

Okinawa is not Japan and perhaps it is unrewarding to attempt
171 comparisons between the Okinawans and the Japanese. Okinawa is an island whose rural life is but little disturbed by urban development.
369 Only two places, Naha and Shuri, could be classified as small cities. Important places like Nago, Ishikawa, and Yonabaru are only small towns.

Japan is a culture rich in both its rural and its urban life. The investigation of the life of the great metropolitan cities of Japan is more scattered in specialized studies, more casual, perhaps more impressionistic than the study of some of its villages. Japanese and Okinawan rural life have many things in common, though the Japanese experience may now be distinctly different because of the land reform.

But along with the rural village, there are the great cities of Tokyo, Yokohama, Kyoto, Osaka, Kobe, and Nagoya, and these circumstances make an appraisal of Japanese culture even more complex and elusive.

177 Certainly the long cultural ties with Japan have left their impressions on the people of Okinawa. The Japanese language, the Japanese system of education, altered after the war, Japanese tools, and Japanese literature are clear examples of this direct influence. But there are differences too. Adoption is much less common in Okinawa. The Buddhist influence, except for the altars of household Buddhism, is weak. The Okinawans, during the war, seemed less inclined than the Japanese toward fanatical self-sacrifice in behalf of the emperor cult.

157 In this work, I have avoided discussing the popular subject of
128 the "psychology" of the people. After a few commonplaces, one embarks on a series of impressions which may or may not have validity and which most certainly would be subject to endless qualification. I have therefore, for the most part, left the characteristics of the people to emerge from the descriptions of their historical experience, their social organization, and their family and community life, trusting that from these details one can form an impression of the way in which a people are living and how they meet the manifold problems which confront them.

156 In my own studies, I have been impressed with the feeling of belonging which seems to be the possession of the individual from infancy until his children lay him to rest in the family tomb. There is also a stability in family life, and this stability does not seem so pivoted, as in our culture, on the continued mutual love and affection of the father and the mother. There also seems to be little stress on personal competition.

The infant as well as the mature adult are conditioned to conformity both by the historical obligations and duties under the family

623 attend." As on all occasions women usually sit together on one side or in the rear. Few of them participate during discussions. The most active spokesmen for the women are the head of the Women's Association and one or two of her close assistants. If a discussion concerns such matters as liquor and food for celebrating certain holidays, a woman may speak [854] up. Mothers bring their infants along and hold them in their arms or nurse them when they get restless. Sometimes a child feels uncomfortable and starts crying, and the mother is forced to leave the room.

554 In general, Taira people do not enjoy being leaders or playing a ●157 dominating role. There are no bosses who attempt to force issues or 621 dictate policies. Even people who have definite ideas on how to effect changes would not attempt to assume full responsibility by disregarding the advice of others. "Power" is not associated with responsible positions and village leadership. The headman and clerk perform a duty, often loathed by them and never too highly rewarded by others. A man commands respect for his education, age, sound advice, and exemplary behavior, not for the office he holds. Moreover, all villagers are friendly neighbors, and the man who is presently headman still remains a relative or neighbor to everybody. There is more prestige [632] associated with township offices. The mayor, who holds the highest position, is a man of age and experience; he commands a great deal of respect and has been elected to that office because of the high esteem in which he is held. Occasionally one hears of power hungry persons who are unscrupulous and authoritarian, but they are rare.

FORMAL CONTROL

625 Formal control of law and order is in the hands of the police. A detachment of the Hentona district police is located in the village, and one policeman is constantly stationed there. He lives with his family in [206] a building which also has a small office. Recently a telephone with direct connections to Hentona was installed. The policeman and his wife are from another township.

[166] The policeman's main duty, according to villagers, is to protect them from the occasional outside burglars or from fugitives from the south who come north to hide in the woods. The announcement that such a person is on the loose creates much excitement and anxiety. A second important duty is the control of the shore line. Smugglers and [167] illegal entrants from the Japanese island of Yoron, just to the north of Okinawa, land along the coast. Although one man with only a bicycle can hardly control effectively several miles of coastline, since the only road to the outer world leads through Taira, the policeman

1 [ie - to the household head meeting - ANALYST]

603 601 term. As the child gets older, the familiar suffixless form of address is used less and less frequently, though girls seem to retain it longer than boys.

601 156 576 The strength of one's ties to the community as a whole regardless of actual kinship is seen not only in the use of the term "grandmother" and "grandfather" in addressing all members of this generation but also in the similar use of the terms "uncle" and "aunt" for all members of the parental generation. Those who are not known well or who have high status are addressed by the appropriate kinship term with the suffix -san added.*

554 576 Achieved status is recognized by special terms of address. The teacher, school principal, the doctor, the village headman or mayor are addressed by their titles. Taira people combine familiarity with formality by calling a young teacher from the same or neighboring community by the first name, then adding the title "teacher." †

621 156 571 In summary, although affiliation with a patrilineal descent group and kinship ties with kindred influence certain aspects of life, over and above these ties is the identification with the community, which is drawn together by bonds of economic and social interdependence. Individual leaders serve their term of responsibility and then return to [157] the egalitarian community life, which is comparatively free of competitive strife.

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Chapter 7

Courtship, Marriage, and Sex

582 Most marriages in Taira take place when both men and women are in their early or middle twenties (see Table 2). It is perhaps most note-

* This refers to the use of Japanese kinship terms which are prevalent in Taira—see Chapter 1, p. 370.

† The use of first names may also help to identify individuals since many persons have the same surname—this explanation, however, is not in contradiction with the statement concerning familiarity.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

parent aftereffects of remorse or physical incapacitation, is a characteristic of this village. Excessive or orgiastic feasting which might interfere with work duties of the following day or days is absent. Leisure events spent in groups are joyful and desirable to all, untinged by hidden motives of social compulsion or conformity, which marks so many recreational activities in a culture like ours. 517

The village calendar does not include a weekly rest day, although government offices are closed on Sunday. Rest and holidays for the majority of villagers are regulated by religious and agricultural events which, in former times, were observed at least once during each lunar month. Although some of these have been simplified or given up in recent times by people whose participation in the old religion has diminished or by those who seek a sounder economy by urging greater production of crops and accumulation of savings, when it comes to observing and enjoying holidays, even the most rational village leader forgets his concern for the time being. The elaborateness of celebrations may be less today, as a result of economic pressure, than in former times—the spirit hardly could be. To know and appreciate the sense of humor and the wit of the people, one has only to attend their parties. During other times these qualities are less expressed—though they are never completely absent. If the naive comment that Okinawans are "childlike"—an observation which Westerners in describing them have permitted themselves—can be taken to have any foundation in fact, it could only be that like many children they are capable of complete absorption and indulgence in fun when the occasion is proper. For the Taira person such indulgence cannot be achieved without food, drink, music, and dance. These are the main components of entertainment which help to elicit gaiety and good humor, whether during holidays observed by families in individual homes, or those of the descent group main houses, or in village-wide celebrations, which are extremely common. These ingredients also appear during more informal hours of relaxation, each day after work, when there are small gatherings here and there, though on a more modest scale. 527 796 157 527 574 [522]

Since calendrical holidays, whether of a family nature or community-wide, have many aspects in common, we may mention some of these in general. Most gatherings begin in the late afternoon and last until late at night although never until daybreak. These are the rare times when people can dress in their best clothes and by doing so shed, perhaps, symbolically all associations with everyday routine. 527 574

The sequence of events at any kind of celebration is somewhat like a veil dance during which one layer of formality after another disappears. A formal period precedes not only all village-wide celebrations

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1983 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

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gets a turn. Teams of two girls at a time play hopscotch, which they 524
call "parent and child game."

An old Okinawan game of skill on which early Western visitors have 857
frequently commented is still a favorite of Taira boys, 5 years and 526
older. This is a kind of stick-ball game. A wedge-shaped piece of wood 157
3 to 4 inches long and pointed at both ends and a striking club are used. Children whittle both with a knife. This game is played by two or more players, and the purpose of the game is to get the wedge into a hole. The game requires a series of skillful manipulations of the wedge with the club. It is an exciting and competitive game. Each player is awarded a number of points for certain accomplished acts. Although boys are quite absorbed in this play, there are rarely any arguments and the winner hardly ever shows any pride. Winners seldom boast after a game, and the observers felt that the satisfaction is really gained from the performance, not from having outdone others. Girls sometimes join the boys in this game.

Boys and girls, separately or together, play other games of skill, such 857
as marbles. A challenge by another starts a game, sometimes of two, 524
sometimes of four or six players. There is usually a kibitzer around who becomes involved. Two games in the same play area are not uncommon while spectators wait for their turns later.

Equally common, but frowned on by the school because of its gambling character, is a rubber band game. The store uses rubber bands to tie packages. Children carry a number on their arms. Each player chips in a number of bands, two or more, depending on agreement. The person who starts the game is decided on by tossing. The rubber bands are put on a cement or wooden surface, a step or block with a ledge from which the rubber can drop down. They are placed at some distance from the ledge. Then they are moved toward it, either by hitting the ground with the palm of the hand, slightly cupped so that air escapes, or by blowing. The rubber bands drop over the ledge, and the person whose rubber band first overlaps with another wins the stake. This game continues until one player has won all the rubber bands. Parents object to the game only if the children buy rubber bands instead of collecting them.

Boys like to practice skill in sports. Wrestling, a national sport in 857
Japan and the Ryukyus during spring and early summer, is taken up 526
by boys who copy young men and older students, and for several weeks wrestling matches get spontaneously under way. Prior to the annual island-wide athletic meets in September, boys practice high jump, broad jump, and relay running. There is much practice for the mere [157]

857 fun of it, but few signs of involvement with attaining outstanding per-
526 formance. Losers are not teased or ridiculed, although a good per-
[157] former is occassionally given an encouraging remark by others who practice.

Group games are usually played after the schoolchildren have returned to the village. One of the popular games is a version of prisoner's base similar to that played in the United States. This game is played with much yelling, laughing, and noisy challenging. Equally popular is a version of "kick the can." This game is exciting and fast moving. It is a game which can lead to arguments, since one must trust the honesty of the person who is "it" and claims to have seen another player. Brief arguments arise and are quickly settled. Part of the fun seems to be teasing and challenging the tagger.

535 These are games that children may play on any day in the year.
857 During holidays they are sometimes asked to entertain adults with
[527] dances. Little girls learn the traditional Okinawan dances from kinder-
[871] garten days on, either by watching or by coaching of an older person, a friend, one's older sister, or mother. Neither kindergarten nor school programs include the teaching of such rich Okinawan heritage as classical dances. Boys do not begin to imitate the burlesque dances of their male elders until adolescence. But they are sometimes invited, together with girls, to present group dances or little plays for the adults. Adults seem to enjoy most the performances of Okinawan dances by little girls who may have learned the rhythm and movements but not the restraint of serious adult presentations. They are delighted if a 6-year-old, dressed in bright-colored costume, innocently wiggles her hips in a rather suggestive way.

857 Children who perform for adults show no stage fright. At school,
[156] where little sketches are presented on the stage, there is a complete ease in improvising. Nobody is embarrassed if he forgets a line, a song, or a cue, and the recitation contests which we have already mentioned are carried out with much zest.

[512] Schoolchildren are supposed to remain at home after 8 o'clock in the evening to do their studies. This rule is encouraged by the school but rarely enforced by parents. Many children, boys and girls, appear outside after dark, and on moonlight nights they often resume their playing. Off and on, a couple of elementary schoolboys are attracted to the store where the village truck arrives with goods from the city after nightfall. There they stand in the dim yellow light of the kerosene lamp, watching, helping, or just listening to some of the men who
[515] come to have their sake bottles filled. If a bath has been prepared for
[512] their families, their turn will come sometime after the older males in

who have accepted them cannot afford to buy the recommended drugs. 758
Furthermore, the choice between the bush doctor and the trained medical men in town is sometimes determined by lack of money to pay for the more expensive services.

Cleanliness of the village and general sanitation are theoretically 744
under township control. Except for superficial biannual inspections, 575
nothing much is done about them. Perhaps the Women's Association, once they carry out plans to take over this function, will be more effective.

There are several cases of physically deformed, mentally deficient, 158
and mentally ill persons. A young man of about 20 years, born as an 734
idiot or imbecile, lives in the back of his parents' house, protected from 757
the gaze of outsiders. His family provides well for him, and when no stranger is around to embarrass the family, the grandfather may take him out to attend a village event. Another young man, who was normal, one day began to frighten his family and eventually the whole village by outbursts of violence. He attacked other persons and property. Nobody really knew how to cope with the situation, since the single mental hospital in Okinawa could not keep him longer than six months, and everybody realized that he was sick, not evil minded, when he broke bottles and other glassware in the village store. The [755]
family tried religious treatment and locked the man up but never for long, for he had intermittent periods of calm and seemingly rational behavior. Another man, during a busy day, complained of sudden headaches. Soon afterward he became severely depressed and attempted [762]
to commit suicide, quite an infrequent phenomenon in the Okinawan village.

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Chapter 10

Formal Education

The Japanese school system, which was introduced to Okinawa in the 871
1880's, reached Taira by 1891. At that time a small school was estab-
lished in the village. Some of its early graduates are still alive and re- 177

[Kochinda-son]

586 Childless Couples Divorces of couples who had no children accounted for 18 cases, or one-third of the total. That there were seven instances of remarriage of the husband after the divorce leads one to the conclusion that the divorce in many cases was caused by the failure of the wife to bear a child. Of the 18 divorced wives, three had been married to men outside Kochinda-son, and three more returned to parents outside Kochinda-son.

The average age of the wife at date of divorce was 24.0 years, and the average was 25.9 years for the 15 men for whom there was complete data. There was no way to estimate the average length of the marriage, since most of them had taken place before the temporary 'koseki' was started in 1943, and the dates of marriage were therefore not recorded.

Couples with Children Divorces of couples who had had children numbered thirty-six, or two-thirds of the total postwar divorces. In three cases the husband remarried, and in two cases the wife found another husband.

The average length of marriage, based upon the elapsed time between date of first conception and divorce record date, was 5.9 years. Five women were divorced from men living outside the 'son' and four men divorced women who returned to parental homes outside the 'son'. The average age of the husband at divorce, based on thirty cases, was 33.3 years. The average age of the divorced wives was 30.8 years.

Reasons It was not possible in each case to assess the reason for the divorce, though some causes more or less suggest themselves by close analysis of the family record of all concerned. Supplemented by information from 'son' office personnel, causes are seen to include the failure to bear children, quarreling of the wife with her husband's mother and grown but unmarried sisters, the bearing of an illegitimate by the wife, the fathering of an illegitimate by the husband, the birth of several daughters but no male heir, and a bride's not being considered a good farmer.

Some of the postwar divorces grew out of social conditions consequent upon the end of the war. An Okinawan soldier demobilized in Japan would occasionally believe the rumor that all Okinawans had died in the war. He would bring back a new wife, only to arrive and find his first wife living. Sometimes he would divorce the first wife, but more often would abandon the new wife for the prewar spouse.

586 159 Divorce Histories A study of individual cases serves to illustrate how in many instances divorce may be the result of failure of one partner to live up to the norms of the society.

Case 1

Wife Haru[1], aged 21, became jealous of her husband's attention to other women. Though she had a baby daughter four months old, she divorced her husband. Seven months later she left the baby with her mother-in-law.

1 In all cases presented here personal names have been changed.

[Kochinda-son]

The husband sought military employment after the divorce. Haru has now also gone to the city to find military employment because her younger brother, who is household head, became angry and said, "...even the animals know enough to suckle their young." An observer commented, "Haru is mentally deficient, so that is why she was jealous." 586 159

Case 2

Kanā at the age of 32 was Chūsei's third wife, and he was her fourth husband. His seventy-year-old mother, Ushii, had become blind as a result of the war. Kanā insulted her mother-in-law somehow. In turn Ushii insulted Kanā by saying she couldn't work very hard. Chūsei divorced Kanā for the quarrel, and she moved to an offshore island. More recently she remarried to a man two villages away, and they have two children. Her new husband fishes during the summer and works for a big sugar mill during the winter.

Case 3

The husband, Jirō, was a second son of 23 years, who had become an adopted husband, or 'yōshi'. His wife Yae, who was a common law child, bore him a son. Because he violently disliked farming he sold the land he inherited and bought a mat-making shop in Naha. His real father, killed in the war, had operated such a business. Jirō also took up a concubine in Naha.

Though she had borne Jirō a son, Yae divorced him because she didn't like the idea of a concubine, and preferred farming to life in Naha. Later Jirō sold the houselot in the village, took the house apart and reassembled it in Naha. The mat shop failed after one year. He now plans to make his living by doing nothing but renting out rooms. He married his concubine eighteen months later, after she bore him a son. Yae married a few days after the divorce, to a man from a neighboring village. She now has two sons.

Diagnosis In the first case cited above, we can see several factors that help us to understand Okinawan society. Attitudes expressed include: [593]

a) A wife should not be jealous of her husband's attention to other women;
b) A brother need not support his sister if she refuses to care for her own child; and
c) A mother's first duty is to care for her own child.

Both divorced persons eventually sought military employment. So we see that urbanization is not alone a matter of pull from the city, but contains in addition an element of being "pushed from the village". [369]

The Chūsei-Kanā divorce was brought on by an insult to the husband's mother. In Okinawa as in Japan the mother-in-law wields a good deal of authority. [606] [171]

In the third case cited, it was found that Jirō had a very bad reputation in the village because he was a 'yōshi' who sold his inherited [829]

[Kochinda-son]

586 property. After that action he was called by the villagers "white ant", or
• 159 "termite". From the beginning, community feeling was behind Yae and opposed
829 to him. Circumstances of her birth carried little stigma, but his actions outraged everyone. People thought it quite natural that she should live with another man and bear his child before Jirō formally recorded the divorce in the 'koseki'. As far as the villagers were concerned, the divorce had become effective when Jirō sold his inheritance.

161 3. A Note on the Accuracy of Population Statistics in Okinawa

Much conflicting population data were encountered by the SIRI team. Hence this note is included as being of possible value to military government and to other social scientists who may work in Okinawa at a later date.

Census Figures Year-end census figures, which are based upon de facto count rather than de jure count are the most accurate, since they include all persons actually resident in the village at the time, as well as 'museki', or persons without an official local 'koseki' record.

Many times these census figures are supplemented by figures reporting both the above and all persons visiting in the village or town at the date of census. These "visitors" may include students, peddlers, guests at inns, persons in institutions, and persons visiting friends or relatives. A few examples from the 1953 statistics report of GRI are given below:

Table XXVII

Political Unit	Koseki Population	Resident Population	De Facto Population
Okinawa Guntō	649,997	627,556	637,215
Shuri-shi	22,372	21,921	23,015
Nago-chō	17,067	16,955	17,255
Goeku-son	21,065	20,931	20,749
Kochinda-son	8,738	8,504	-not given-

161 The Museki People 'Museki' is a term applied to single individuals or fami-
641 lies who are not registered in the political unit where they are living. They may maintain with varying degrees of attention and accuracy a 'koseki' elsewhere. Some simply may have no registration in a 'koseki' anywhere due to a semi-wandering life or a criminal bent. These latter are said to have no legal rights. "How can anyone have rights unless he has a 'koseki'?"

161 Ad Hoc Counts Persons who wish an accurate count of the people in any
621 village are advised to consult directly with the village headman, or 'kuchō', rather than with the 'son' office. He is in constant daily touch with village affairs, and is the most knowledgeable man to contact about village matters. Figures given by a 'kuchō', usually are the most accurate for total number of people in the village at any given time. 'Museki' persons are included, but those who are legally residents of the village and living elsewhere are not included.

162 this may be the result of the war; the southern islands escaped heavy damage and loss of life. The urban area of Naha-Mawashi has a well-balanced sex ratio, and is probably a reflection of the number of men who directly or indirectly are connected with military employment.

The total number of persons per household has not appreciably changed in the fifteen years from 1937 to 1952:

Table Ia

Political Unit	Persons per Household, 1937	Persons per HH, 1952
Okinawa-ken	4.67	4.70
Naha	4.21	4.41
Shuri	4.18	4.17

The loss of men in the war was compensated for by those men who returned from Japan and those who repatriated from the Mandated Islands.

2. Population Characteristics of a Rural 'Son'

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Kochinda-son lies almost in the center of the southern section of Shimajiri. It does not border anywhere on the sea, and is entirely rural in that it has no industries of urban character. It is realized that no one area will be entirely typical of the whole of Okinawa; however, the population dynamics of this 'son' will undoubtedly be reflected in kind, if not in degree, by that of other farming areas. Fishing towns such as Itoman, Henza, Yakena and Yonabaru each probably have special types of adjustments that are not true of Kochinda.

[127] This researcher was permitted to copy the entire 'koseki' (population register) of Kochinda-son. In addition explanatory information was given by the 'son' office personnel when requested. In many cases it was possible to follow up and interview persons cognizant of the details of certain situations.

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[428]
[178]
[177]

Okinawa still follows the prewar Japanese system of inheritance by first sons. Under normal conditions in the countryside, the first sons would inherit the bulk of the farm plots, and second sons would inherit a few plots and set up separate households. Or the second and following sons might go to Naha, Osaka or the south seas to seek employment. The war disrupted this pattern, and it is germane to examine the types and numbers of household heads, as one index of postwar change.

Because the solution of the population problem is a factor in Civil Administration planing for Okinawa, it is of importance to know the fertility ratio and the amount of spacing between births. The Okinawans, like the Japanese, tend to register a marriage after the birth of the first child. This should be quantified if possible. In addition, age at marriage should be known, since it bears a direct relationship to population increase. The number of illegitimate and common law children in the villages indicates

[Kochinda-son]

something as to the attitudes toward marriage, the family, and sexual mores of the inhabitants. Study of divorce also helps to illuminate the dynamics of a population. All of these categories are discussed below. 121 160

Types of Household Heads All the households in Kochinda-son were classified into seven categories. Where possible this was done on the basis of the relationship of the present household head to the former household head. Table II shows the percentage of households in each category. 162 592

Table II

Category	Percentage of Households
First Sons	41.7
Second Sons	17.8
Third Sons	9.3
Other Sons (Sons of Fourth Order and above, and adopted sons, or 'yōshi')	7.4
Other Types (Younger Brother, etc.)	2.1
Grandsons	1.8
Women	19.9
All Types	100.00

The really surprising fact shown above is the number of women household heads, almost one in five. The percentage of households headed by first, second and third sons is probably not far from the prewar norm. However, within the families of each class of household head, conditions vary widely. Table III brings out the disparities of membership in families headed by the various types of household heads.

Table III

Type of Household Head	Average Males per Household	Average Females per Household	Average Persons per HH	Sex Ratio
First Sons	2.93	3.04	5.97	96.5
Second Sons	2.91	2.63	5.54	110.9
Third Sons	2.76	2.73	5.49	103.3
Other Sons	2.46	2.67	5.13	92.3
Other Types	2.16	2.09	4.25	103.1
Grandsons	2.49	2.51	5.00	98.9
Women	1.14	2.20	3.34	52.1

First Sons Frequent reference is made in Okinawa to the "heavy burden of being a first son." The large number of women per household in that category of household head bears out this assertion. If a first son assumes the duties as traditional head of the family, his mother and grandmother most likely will live with him after their spouses are dead. He must also assume responsibility for all unmarried younger sisters, as well as take care of any older sisters who become divorced. The "heavy role of

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

131 pattern is similar to that of the central part. The Settlement Villages are scattered
631 throughout the area with population distribution comparable with the cen-
133 tral area. Before the war, the densities here were over one thousand per
36 square mile,[4] actually considerably more if the uninhabitable lands are
[161] subtracted.

How long this settlement pattern and these regional differences have
311 existed is difficult to say. In studying contemporary environments, like Okinawa, which bear the imprint of long human settlement, it is useful to try to reconstruct the nature of the landscape before the interference of man. At one time, the whole island, with the exception of stony, rocky, and shallow soils and beach and marsh land was covered with forest. There are now no virgin stands. "It is evident that the present forest has been cut over many times. There seems to be no part of the island in which the forest cover has not been disturbed in some way by man."[5] In this light, the regional differences between the forested north and the deforested south are the work of man.

361 The oldest settlements are thought to have been in the Naha and Shuri areas. Kudaka Island, off the southeast coast, according to one
[173] legend, was the site of the supernatural creation of the Okinawan people. The town of Unten, the Port Melville of Captain Hall and Commodore Perry,
[174] was, in one version, the scene of the landing of the Japanese warrior, Tametomo, but this was in the twelfth century. Northern areas were in-
[161] habited prior to the unification of the island in the twelfth century because they had their own regional chieftans before this. But the population of the north, at least up to the war, has been sparse and scattered. If the forests are any indication, it has been the central and southern regions which have been the scenes of longest settlement. Probably the
[177] settlement pattern had not changed much until the Japanese interventions
[178] of the nineteenth century and the great changes coming with the recent war, and with the extensive modifications which the Americans have made in the landscape of the central region.

3

General Climatic Conditions

132 In the Köppen system, Okinawa has a humid subtropical climate. It is a rainy climate with no marked dry season; it has a mild winter and the temperature of the warmest month is over 71.6°F. The average annual temperatures in Naha range from 61° for January and February to 82°F for July and August, and the range from the mean minimum of 55° in February to the

[Text continues top of p. 14--Analyst]

4 See the population distribution maps in CA Handbook, Ryukyu (Loo-choo Islands, 48-49.

5 Okinawan Forests. (Prepared by the USGS, Military Geology Section under the direction of Office of the Engineer, GHQ, Far East Command), 1948, 2.

311 magnitude of the land problem stands out clearly:

Type of Use	Acreage
Total	287,630
Rice Fields	10,420
Dry Land Crops	57,715
Town Sites, Military Uses, etc.	19,595
Shrub, Grasses, Stony Land, Escarpments	27,800
Forest	153,900
Not Broken Down a/	18,200

a/ Probably mostly cultivated land with some in town sites, some idle, some in military installations.

What stands out is the high percentage of land in forest, shrub, grasses, stony land and escarpments that has little promise for future utilization. These soils now probably enjoy their best utilization.

[118] With a growing population and more economic activity, it is likely that areas in man made installations and settlement will increase, not decrease, and that further land for these purposes will come, not from the stony or forested soils, but from the arable land.

The soil survey documents what is apparent to general observation that the soils suitable for rice, and having water for its successful growth, are a minor percentage of the total area. The chief foods, it is apparent, must continue to come from dry land crops and slope cultivation.

134 311 Even though agriculture is and will continue to be the basis of the islanders' economic life, the lack of suitability of the soils for this purpose is especially striking. Improvement of agriculture, introduction of better methods of farming, the increased use of fertilizers, while effective, could only be a palliative when the total arable land for over five hundred thousand people is in the magnitude of 86,000 acres, if we include all the 18,200 acres in the above table which are not broken down. Even if this figure is too low, the mere fact that over 180,000 of the 287,630 acres is in forest, or shrub, grass, or stony land, and of low fertility is sufficient indication of the land use problem. These facts are supported by farmers' own appraisals of the nature of the soils of their island.

161 133 311 The following table, even if inaccurate, certainly states the problem in its proper magnitude:

Table 3

Population of Okinawa Island, 1950	517,600

Approximate area in square miles	454
Population density per square mile	1139
Assumed area in cultivation in square miles a/	134.4
Population density per square mile of arable land	3851

a/ See discussion above. The 134.4 square miles is an approximation derived by adding the areas in wet rice, dry land crops, and 18,200 acres which includes land in cultivation, in town sites, military installations, and in idle land, a total of 86,335. An arbitrary approximation of 80,000 acres (134.4 sq. miles) was then taken, very probably too high a figure. Nuttonson, op. cit., p. 12, gives the cultivated area as less than one-fourth of the total area, or 67,200 acres. One of course must distinguish between cultivated land and land that can be cultivated, but 80,000 acres still seems a reasonable approximation.

If we look at the geography of Okinawa from the point of view of the total physical environment and not merely from the point of view of the amount of arable land available to support the people, we are forced to the conclusion that as a result of long settlement, a growing population and the destruction of the war, combined with periodic and inevitable property and crop damage from typhoons, that the environment is not suited for the comfort and well-being of large numbers of people. Intense fertilization will keep the good soils growing crops. Increase of trade and some industrialization may help as long as they do not lead to destructive exploitation of the forests, and some small help may come from the reclamation of unused or cut over land.

5

Conclusion

Almost one hundred years ago, one of the observers on Commodore Perry's expedition wrote,

> "That the island has been peopled for many ages, is evidenced by the graded roads and deep cuts, the structure and manifest age of the bridges, the antiquity of the villages, the great amount of stone-work in the towns and in the fortresses--some old and dilapidated, some modern and in repair; but, above all, by the incalculable amount of labor done in grading the land for culture. That which is now so perfect, could only have been made so by degrees, like structures reared by the ant or bee."[8]

8 Hawks, Perry's Expedition, as cited, II, 36.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

175 167 Another departure from the past was that Okinawans, soon after the turn of the century, were provided with opportunities for emigration. The history of Okinawan emigration is not well known. But in the twentieth century, the people of Okinawa changed from an almost complete ignorance of the outside world to one of the most widely travelled and informed peoples of the Orient. Okinawan settlements in the twentieth century were scattered in many parts of the world, such as Peru, Argentina, Brazil, Hawaii, and the Japanese mandates of the Pacific, Singapore, Japan, Manchuria, and Korea. The cessation of this historic emigration is an event pregnant with meaning for the future. The population and its natural increase now must subsist on the island.

175 480 [63] Late nineteenth and twentieth century improvements in roads and communication, modest as they were by American standards, broke down some of the isolation of the three districts of Okinawa. The forests and the lack of roads to the north had always discouraged contact. Much of the trade in firewood between the north and the south, even up to the recent war, was done by ship. Elsewhere there were only paths and in the north, not even these. In 1895 Chamberlain wrote of the sparsely inhabited northern (Kunigami) forest area whose inhabitants were "despised for their poverty and rough speech by the natives of the central and southern provinces." Later on he remarked about the "groans of Japanese officials when obliged to go their country rounds," and, that, in the north it was necessary for them to carry a tent.[28]

175 191 242 As the main island in the newly created province (ken) of Japan, Okinawa benefitted from the scientific approach to agronomy pursued enthusiastically by the Japanese, in contrast with the Chinese and the Koreans before their annexation. Concentration on the development of suitable varieties of rice, the study of sugar cane, plant disease and agricultural techniques represented a body of knowledge that could be applied with local adaptations to all parts of the empire.

175 178 565 [511] Direct Japanese annexation meant also the disappearance of the top heavy native nobility or gentry (shizoku) to be displaced by the Japanese elite, although membership in the Okinawan nobility continued to be recorded in the family registers up to the recent war. The displacement of the old higher social classes resulted in a certain levelling of all the people, a levelling which continued up to the war, and was accentuated in an economic way by the widespread impoverishment of rich and poor alike in the campaign for Okinawa.

7

Okinawa in World War II

175 698 The terra incognita described by Bayard Taylor in 1853 became the

28 Chamberlain, as cited, 294, 459

1

Generalities on the Population History of Okinawa Island

Virtually nothing is known, to my knowledge, of the growth of population in Okinawa in historic times. Early travellers made some estimates, but they gave no basis for them. In a previous chapter, it was mentioned that the introduction of the sweet potato in the early 17th century must have allowed a greater population on the island than had hitherto been the case. No doubt also malaria and other diseases kept the population down, at least until the latter part of the 19th century. This ignorance of population growth extends down to recent history.[1]

There seems to have been very little immigration to the Ryukyus and the population has probably been homogeneous for long periods of time. There were many Japanese in Okinawa, but these were largely in the towns and main cities. Most of them left after the war.[2] This meant that the population of Okinawa continued to be made up of preponderantly the native born, though in recent years there has been some immigration of Amamians.

Emigration during the 20th century has been the outstanding fact in the population history of the island. Little is known of the nature of this emigration, but it is believed to have started in the early years of the twentieth century. Until World War II, emigration was the answer to the problem of a population that was growing beyond the ability of the island's resources to support it. It has been estimated that the emigration from Okinawa prefecture in the period 1920-1940 was over 193,400 persons. This represented a loss of 98% of the estimated natural increase for the 1920-1940 period. It was 34% of the prefecture's total 1920 population.[3]

The Okinawan campaign, also, was accompanied by large scale displacements of people who remained on the island. It was estimated that in a pre-invasion shifting of the population, over 3/4 of the people

[Text continues on top of p. 60 -- analyst]

1 Dr. Green in 1853 estimated the population of Okinawa at 150,000 or possibly 200,000. But this was only a crude guess. Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 36. For population estimates prior to World War II, see CA Handbook, as cited, 45-51.

2 As of Nov. 30, 1946, 57,345 Japanese, 1,755 Koreans, and 21 Formosans had been repatriated from the Ryukyus, with 3,706 Japanese remaining to be repatriated. See note 3 following.

3 Newman, Marshall T. and Eng, Roman, L. The Ryukyu people, a biological appraisal. Amer. Journ. of physical anthropology, n.s., 5 (1947), 113-57. Reference on pp. 135-36. This estimate was made by subtracting the estimated natural increase from the total increase, 1920-40, making allowances for the under registration of births. On postwar population history immediately following the war, see pp. 135-46 of this article.

727 166 were in the north and central portions of the island.[4] During the campaign, the displacements of people and the destruction of villages in the south were particularly striking. Large numbers were sent to the Kunigami region. "There they overwhelmed the local inhabitants and all suffered great privations, despite the efforts of U. S. personnel to properly feed, clothe, and house them." By June 1, 1946, 138,000 had been resettled, and as of July 1 of the same year, there were still 125,000 displaced persons on the island.

167 728 The war and the subsequent occupation have stopped the historic emigration of Okinawans. Repatriation began in 1946. By November 30, 1946, a year and four months after the conclusion of the Okinawan campaign, 183,077 Okinawans had been returned, 142,713 from Japan, 26,003 from the Pacific islands, 12,154 from Formosa, 1954 from Hawaii, and 253 from Korea. An additional 36,720 were awaiting repatriation at this time. The result was that "by November 30, 1946, repatriation brought
●161 the population up to within 40,000 of its early 1944 level." The total population of the Ryukyus on February 22, 1944 was given as 857,019, and 817,160 on November 30, 1946. In this short period of 16 months, the war losses had been largely made up. While these figures are Ryukyu totals, Okinawa island, as the largest and most populous island in the chain undoubtedly reflected these trends.[5] According to the 1950 census, the population of Okinawa island was 517,600.

The twentieth century history of the population of Okinawa is therefore one of large scale emigration up to the war, wholesale displacement of people within the island during the campaign of 1945, the repatriation of considerable numbers of Ryukyuans following the conclusion of the war, and the present period of growth of the population under conditions of peace, health measures, and without the historic outlet of emigration.

2

Village Populations and Their Characteristics

162 727 One can only surmise what has happened to the population structure of Okinawan villages as a result of the war. The old records which would furnish materials for detailed comparisons have been destroyed; hence, one can know only vaguely how the present characteristics of village populations compare with the pre-war conditions. The contemporary characteristics of the population of each of the villages studied and for the totals of each of their respective townships are shown in the accompanying population pyramids and in the tables illustrating sex and age distribution at five year age intervals (Western age count).

In the totals of the three villages and the two townships females substantially outnumber males, though there is considerable variation in the numbers and proportions within the age groups.

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP of P. 61 -- analyst]

4 Ibid, 137. Quotation is on pp. 140-41.

5 Newman and Eng, as cited, 140-41, 143. See also the very interesting article of Henry S. Bennett, The impact of invasion and occupation on the civilians of Okinawa. United States Naval Institute Proceedings, 72 (1946), 263-75.

There are noticeably fewer children of both sexes in the 5-9 age group. These are the children born from about 1942 to 1946. If these statistics are presented in further detail for the age groups under twenty, further distinctions are clear. These are shown in the following table:

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727

Totals	Hanashiro Village			Minatogawa Village			Gushichan Township			Matsuda Village			Ginoza Township		
	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F
Under 5 years	118	70	48	198	101	97	1153	606	547	230	120	110	849	446	403
Under 1 yr.	24	14	10	22	12	10	215	112	103	50	30	20	171	89	82
1-4 years	94	56	38	176	89	87	938	494	444	180	90	90	678	357	321
5-9 years	50	25	25	111	63	48	566	285	281	166	79	87	638	306	332
10-14 yrs.	72	32	40	128	53	75	818	393	426	182	84	98	704	336	368

In Gushichan-son, an active theatre of the war, the proportion of the children under 5 to those from five to nine is 2:1. In Ginoza-son, a much less active theatre, the proportion is 1.3: 1. The corresponding figures for the villages are:

Hanashiro (Gushichan township) 2.4 : 1
Minatogawa (Gushichan township) 1.8 : 1
Matsuda (Ginoza township) 1.4 : 1

In every case the totals of the age group of 10-14 are greater than in the 5-9 year group. In all villages, ~~and in~~ both townships, males are more frequent than females in the age group under one year.

The greatest imbalance in the sex ratios is in the age group from 20 to 49; here the females outnumber the males. During the war years, these groups ranged in age from approximately 10-15 to 39-44 years of age. This group now includes the main child bearing part of the population.

After 50 years of age, the balance between the sexes is somewhat restored and, with some minor deviations, they tend to be about equal, with women predominating at the highest age levels, 80 years and over.

These village statistics indicate that the effects of the war were shown in a shortage of males of young and middle age, an excess of women, to which pre-war emigration of men probably also contributed, and the lowered birthrate during the war years and the probable high infant mortality during the Okinawan campaign. The present broad base, represented by those under 5 years of age in the pyramids is indicative of what might be expected under the Occupation, with public health measures and no emigration. The pyramid for Gushichan township is especially striking in the comparison between the under 5 and the 5-9 age group.

161

If these figures are typical of Okinawa island, they furnish a hint as to the trend toward population increase, a combination of such circumstances as peace, lack of conscription and foreign service, repatriation,

[Text Continues TOP of P. 65--Analyst]

stoppage of emigration, and public health measures. While the following statistics are worthless from a demographic point of view, they may nevertheless indicate the village trends. 161

Matsuda Village, 1951 163 165

	Births	Deaths
Total	46	11
Male	26	5
Female	20	6

In Gushichan township, where individual village totals were not available, the statistics show a similar trend:

Gushichan Township, 1951

	Births	Deaths
Total	263	52
Male	140	26
Female	123	26

3

What Happened with Repatriation

In the peace time emigration before the war, the intention to return was almost universal. Typically a first son, as the future responsible person for his parents, emigrated as a young man, before marriage, with the intention of accumulating savings and supporting his parents during his absence, later returning to marry if he had not acquired a wife abroad. People in the villages now say that the desire to return has declined sharply with the economic hardships and the threat of renewed warfare, and that Okinawans in foreign countries will probably remain there for the rest of their lives. Okinawans living abroad, according to family registers in the villages, are now mostly in Peru, Brazil, Argentina, and Hawaii. 167 [593] [454] [582]

The effects of repatriation on the township level can be seen from the following statistics for Gushichan township. Comparable statistics were not available in Ginoza-son. 161 728

Pre-war population, 1940	6445
Deaths resulting from the war	1700
Repatriates	1030
Population, December 31, 1951	6267

Despite the fact that deaths resulting from the war must have been between 20% and 25% of the total population of the township, repatriates [727]

161 plus the excess of births over deaths were sufficient six years after
728 the conclusion of the war to bring the post-war population of the village within 200 of the pre-war level.

167 Okinawans returning to Hanashiro came largely from Japan, the Philippines, Manchuria, Formosa, the South Seas and a few from Hawaii. From Hinatogawa, the areas of former settlement were broader, probably reflecting a wider activity of the fishermen. They came from Java, Palau, Singapore, the Philippine Islands, and Tarawa. Some had previously returned voluntarily from Hawaii and Peru before the war. The largest segments came from the Philippines and Tarawa, the smaller groups from Hawaii and Peru. The repatriates to Matsuda also came from Japan, the Philippines, Hawaii, and the South Seas.

571 One consequence of the pre-war emigration and of the repatriation
[162] that followed was that each village after the war had a group of people who had been in foreign countries or had relatives still residing in foreign areas.

[578] In the villages studied, according to the residents living there now, repatriation was not accompanied by the tensions and the ill feeling that was so conspicuous in post-war Europe, especially Germany.
[543] There were no cliques between those who had stayed during the war and those who returned to live beside them.

[423] The reasons for this are probably these: many of the repatriates even though absent a long time owned land in a village. This was true of Hanashiro and Matsuda, the agricultural villages, and to a lesser extent of Hinatogawa. Some adjustments were necessary. The land owned by these people had not been idle during their absence. If a first son
[592] returned, in most cases his younger brother was cultivating the fields and occupying the family house. He, in the absence of his eldest brother,
[593] acted as head of the house. When the first son returned, he received the possessions and assumed the responsibilities of the head of the house, and in turn gave his younger brother land to establish a branch household. When the returned member of the family was a second son, the adjustment was easier. The first son, if possible, gave his younger brother a house site and fields to cultivate.[6]

Other relatives, parents, younger or older sisters, nephews, or nieces were absorbed within the family, the parents or grandparents
[607] resuming a retirement which they would have had in any case, while the younger relatives became working and contributing members to the family. They did not come back to an altogether strange place. They or their parents had been born there, and their names had remained in the village family register.

6 The reasons for these acts will be made clear in Chapter 6 on the family system.

combined with the destructiveness of typhoons, make for an unproductive life in terms of rewards for work done. To these, there is now being added a fourth realisation, that there are too many people in Okinawa. Greater mobility has increased this awareness.[8] 134 [031] [511] [16]

8 These remarks, too, are based on impressions. Neither would I claim that they represent a majority opinion. Polls with samples competently chosen could only determine these attitudes. But complaints about the poorness of the land are proverbial among Okinawans. So are the discouragements coming from the typhoons. 114 208

arable land available for cultivation. House sites cannot be set up on rocky or mountain land away from the village. Whether on the island as a whole the increase in population, the repatriation and the stoppage of large scale emigration will in the future seriously diminish the amount of land available for agricultural uses is an interesting question, but there certainly is a direct relationship between population growth and land taken up with house sites.[5] Not only will a growing population enforce greater demands on the land, but it will inevitably cut down on the amount.

Among the fishermen of Minatogawa, there is a little more fluidity in the establishment of branch families. There are seldom enough lands to subdivide, and only about 50% of the fishermen own land in addition to their house site. The branch household is established according to the son's taste, and the father may give money if he can afford it so the son can set himself up in Itoman, Naha, or elsewhere. The usual procedure here is to give land in a former agricultural area of the village, land which was developed in the southern part of the village as a result of the destruction of the war in other parts. Here formerly arable land was taken over directly for residential use.

In Matsuda, it is possible to use newly developed areas. This community, unlike the other two, is a series of sub-settlements. In two of these, branch families have settled, one near the seashore, and the other on reclaimed forest land. In both of these areas, the pattern of settlement is different; the clusters of houses give way to the scattered houses, some standing out alone on the top of a knoll or hill, some near the forested slopes of the hillside. In these areas, there is an atmosphere of pioneer settlement. As in Hanashiro, the buying of near land and the selling of far off land and exchange of land are practiced. Since the reclaimed area is considered to be less productive and less desirable, the poorer families are able to purchase land here for their second sons.

5

The Pivotal Importance of the First Son

The key person in the family system is the first son. He normally succeeds to the house at the death or retirement of his father. The father may not legally retire before 60. In rare cases--none were encoun-

5 In general, house and village sites are on arable land, but the quality of this land naturally varies from place to place. See any of the 11 sheets of the Okinawan Soils Map and the discussion in the Remarks column of the legend with reference to the types of soils on which village sites are found.

179 423 have been affected by roads and trails which have now disappeared.

Old residents[5] of Matsuda and neighboring villages were able to [115] furnish more specific clues regarding the old system and its relation to other phases of village life. These old people estimated the population of Matsuda at the close of the old system at about 360 [161] persons, compared with the present population of 1368. The system operated under much less acute population pressure than exists today. Deaths, especially from malaria, and a high infant mortality kept [165] the population down, although introduced Japanese hygienic measures helped.

Under the old system in Matsuda, there was a continual clearing [311] of land, mostly around the settlement. There seems little doubt that land reclamation and clearing has been going on slowly from the earliest historical times in Okinawa. The land cleared remained under village ownership, but the persons who cleared the property were allowed to hold it for use without giving it up for periodic redistribution. Technical ownership remained with the village.[6] Fences and stone barriers were erected as a protection against the wild boar. But the large scale reclamation and the private ownership of genya land seems to have occurred after the close of the old system.

The dividion of lands at the beginning of the new system has set the boundary pattern of many plots. In Matsuda there were instances of land which has retained the same boundaries that it had under the old system. There was general agreement among the old that the form, boundaries, and areas of land plots have changed very little since the times of the jiwari-seido. This would be par- [428] ticularly true in the case of property which had passed down through the first son. Changes came from the establishment of branch families, [425] and sales and purchases. In these areas, however, buying and selling have been infrequent.

175 The history of land tenure in Okinawa, therefore, is different 423 from that of Japan with its long history of tenancy, whose accumu- [191] lated problems finally led to the land reform of 1946 during the Allied occupation. The present system of land tenure in Okinawa is a little over 50 years old.

178 The chief influences of the old system were to set in a form 423 recognizable to the present, the pattern of land holding, to estab- 311 lish land classification, and apply it on a very localized basis.

[115] 5 I am indebted here to Shinzato Zensuke of the village of Sokei (Ginoza-son), and to Oshiro-san of Matsuda village (Ginoza-son) both over 70 years of age for their recollections of the history of the system in Matsuda.

[114] 6 This differs from Goldschmidt's account, cited above, in that in this case the land became a usufruct, in the other actual ownership.

wood and lumber for Japanese army uses and for air raid shelters were in demand, (2) the burning in the course of the war, and (3) the intense cutting after the war for firewood and rebuilding. 313 727

Okinawan traditions relating to forest care have a positive value and it is worth while to recapitulate them here. Local old men and antiquarians in Matsuda give credit to Saion who wrote a long treatise on agriculture and is said to have intentionally devised superstitions to save trees. Death or misfortune would come to him who cut the trees, especially those in sacred groves or on the tops of mountains. Some local residents have said that the gods of the mountain are really not of religious inspiration at all, but had their origin in the conscious desire of Saion to save the trees. While there does not seem to be any truth in this assertion, since these deities of the sacred groves and mountain tops reach far back into antiquity, there is no doubt that sacred groves and houses of the mountain gods saved trees that otherwise would have been cut down. (In China and Japan, religious shrines and holy places have also been areas of the preservation of trees). 313 173 [178] [171]

Present attitudes were summarized by a Matsuda school principal who said that beliefs in mountain gods and in death and misfortune following cutting trees were dying out, and that these old beliefs had been replaced by awareness of the scientific reasons for preserving the trees. [183] [176] [177]

In Matsuda, pride in the trees, in the groves that line its hill tops and overlook the narrow valleys and ravines planted to rice and other crops is a conspicuous part of village experience. There are trees along the main road near the town that are said to have been planted in Saion's time under his inspiration.

These favorable traditions are helpful. They do not guarantee the preservation of the forests. Previous experience has shown this. From what may be surmised of the history of Okinawan forests, the destruction of modern times has been correlated with war and the expansion of economic activities. We may speculate, too, that previous deforestation was slow, inexorable and related to the clearing of accessible stands near settlements, and the extension of these settled areas as they grew. "Most of the accessible primitive forests have been exhausted," Dr. Green wrote in his report to Commodore Perry.11 The need for fuel increases with population. In China, Japan, Korea, and Okinawa, the relation of forests, either as a source for lumber or fuel, to population growth and settlement is a very intimate one. This is a basic consideration in discussing not only the "patterns of culture" but the relation of culture to the natural environment in this part of the world. [311] [161] [171]

11 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, Vol. II, 35

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

home country. Nevertheless, many aspects of Okinawan life still suggest an earlier phase in which independent developments gave the islands their own particular culture.

The Okinawan people, approximately 655,000 as counted in 1954, live in an area of about 454 square miles. Their major economic activities have traditionally been agriculture and fishing. In 1945 a long, peaceful existence was brought to an abrupt end during the final battles of World War II in the Pacific. As a result of world conditions Okinawans have been placed under American administration for an indefinite period of time. Today large numbers of men—and some women—find employment as unskilled and semiskilled laborers with the American forces. Gradual training for highly skilled jobs widens these opportunities for employment. Indirectly Okinawan life is influenced by Americans through stimulation of trade, building, and improved health conditions. Land requirements of the American forces in some areas also have influenced the settlement pattern. While these changes have affected the entire island to some degree, the greatest changes are noticeable in the central part around Naha where American administrative and military personnel are located. The village of Taira in the northern province of Kunigami, where the present study was located, had been subject to relatively few of these postwar changes in 1954. Isolated since earliest times because of mountainous terrain, this part of the island participates, as it probably always did, marginally in cultural influences which affect the center of the island. A great deal of cultural stability has therefore been preserved until the present day.

Nevertheless, it is useful to remember that the population of northern Okinawa is linked with the rest of the island by an efficient communications system. Roads connect almost all settlements in the north with the central island, and a bus transportation system extends its service into the remote areas. But long before all villages were connected by road with the center of Okinawa, people of Kunigami province traveled by foot over the many trails which traverse the mountains, and, since the turn of the century, many have left their home villages. Some went to Japan as laborers; others settled in the Japanese-controlled Islands of the Pacific, and some families joined the numerous Okinawan settlements in South American countries.

LANGUAGE

Taira people are bilingual. Okinawan, which linguists consider a separate language, has many regional dialects, some of which are not

Population Density The pattern revealed in a map of population density---Map 4---is approximately the same as that for percentage of arable land. It is somewhat complicated, however, by the urbanization that is going on in Nakagami. A more detailed discussion of the population movements responsible for this situation will be found in a later section of this report. 161

Farming Almost all of Okinawa's rural people farm, and many are engaged part time in home industries which utilize local products. Particularly noteworthy are the vegetable-producing areas. Kitanakagusuku and Ginowan 'sons' are centers of vegetable production for the American military forces.[1] The inland 'son' of Haebaru grows 53% of the gunto's tōgwā, a wax melon that is a favorite Okinawan food. 433 241 [262]

One of the most remarkable agricultural areas, Tomigusuku, lies south of the Naha-Mawashi-Orcku urban complex. It grows many kinds of vegetables for the cities, and ranks high in other production. Tomigusuku stands first in the gunto in acreage of green beans, muskmelons, bananas and eggplant. Almost one-fifth of the latter comes from here. It ranks second in tomatoes, and ties with Yonagusuku for second place in weight of mat reeds produced. Miwa, in the far south, leads the gunto in soybean acreage, while Nishihara occupies a similar position in acreage planted to pumpkins.

The most remarkable 'son' in northern Okinawa is Nakijin on the north shore of Motobu peninsula. It leads in gunto acreage of sweet potatoes, leaf tobacco (75.2%), and cucumbers. In animals it leads in numbers of pigs and ducks. It also produces 76% of the banana cloth, or 'bashōfu', of the gunto. This 'son' is mainland Okinawa's chief wheat producer. [231] [235]

The small Okinawan acreage of Irish potatoes is found in Ōgimi-son to the northeast. Yabu is noted for its pickled giant radishes, or 'takuan'. The offshore islands lead in certain special crops. Minami Daitō leads in sugar cane, wheat and barley. Ie Shima seconds in barley, and Izena seconds in wheat. Ie Shima is far ahead in acreage of Irish beans, or 'azuki', accounting for 41% of the gunto's planted acreage of this crop. Though Ie Shima ranks only 15th in soybean acreage, it produces almost a fifth (18.4%) of the gunto's 'miso', in which soybeans are used as a base. 'Miso' making is one of the main home industries on the island. Ie Shima, Kamimotobu and Nakijin retain some of the old 'awa' (German millet) complex, between them accounting for over a third (34.3%) of the acreage of that crop in Okinawa gunto. Kamimotobu is mainland Okinawa's leader in acreage planted to ordinary millet ('kibi'; Panicum miliceum). [252]

Nakagami has little of agricultural distinction. Yomitan leads the mainland in acres of barley and number of rabbits. Gushikawa is second rank in sweet potato acreage, but produces about two-fifths (39.4%) of the gunto's sweet potato starch. It leads in numbers of goats, and is second though not outstanding in numbers of bullocks. [231]

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[1] Most of this and following paragraphs derive from Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku and Okinawa guntō no tembō. Some is based on personal observation and interviewing. [127]

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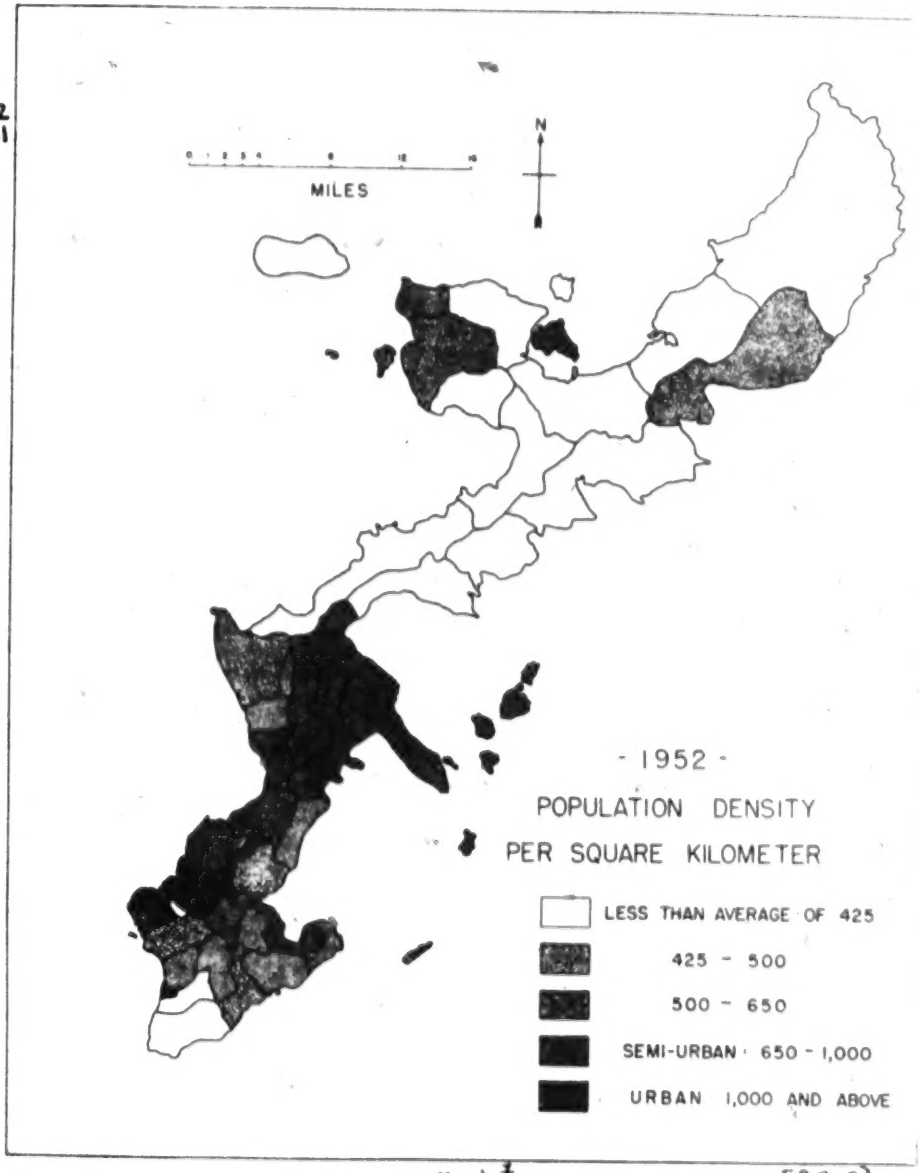

Map 4 [1]

[P.2-C]

1. [See pages 222-224 for data upon which this map was based--Analyst]

When a great number of people are repatriated, it is far more likely that more will find their way into urban areas than into rural areas. This tends to remain true in spite of prior resettlement in the country villages. 167 727

People and the Arable Land One of the best indicators of urbanization is the number of persons for each acre of arable land under cultivation. In Okinawa, cultivation of the sweet potato permits a much larger population to live off an acre of land than would be true if other crops were raised in its place. The following scale has been set up, and is the basis for Map 5:[1] 161 369

Areas of Occasional Surplus	Up to 6 persons per acre
Areas of Moderate Self-sufficiency	6-9 persons per acre
Areas of Definite Deficiency	9-20 persons per acre
Semi-urbanized Areas	20-30 persons per acre
Urban Areas	Over 30 persons per acre

In examining Map 5, which is based on conditions at the end of 1950, it is seen that the entire area from Oroku to Ishikawa, and from Katsuren to Yomitan, is included in the food-deficient areas. This is true also of Nago, the southwestern half of the Motobu peninsula, and the far north 'son' of Kunigami. The urban node in the south results from prewar settlement. The urbanized areas of Kadena, Chatan and Goeku of course are postwar phenomena. The fact that this urbanized three-'son' block is bordered by semi-urbanized areas, while the urban areas of the south are not, indicates that a greater center of attraction is found in this area. The answer is the amount of military employment available here.

In discussing the postwar growth and rearrangements of population it is convenient to divide the discussion into two parts. The first will deal with the period prior to 1951, when repatriation and a mild amount of construction were prevalent. The second period under consideration is from 1 January 1951 to 31 December 1952, during which time accelerated military construction was the rule, and repatriation almost non-existent. 161 128

Population Increase from 1940 to 1950 In this decade the population of the Ryukyus increased by 20%, while that of Okinawa Gunto increased by 22%. Map 6 indicates the areas of relative decrease and increase. Much of Shimajiri suffered great losses in the fighting, and by the end of 1950 still registered a net decrease for the decade. The relatively undestroyed areas from Ishikawa north experienced a greater than average growth, and the scattered military installations in Goeku, Misato and Gushikawa attracted a great number of people. Ishikawa owed its growth mainly to its designation as the postwar temporary capital city. 161

The setting up of a military government area on the Chinen peninsula attracted a few people there, as did the repair of the Japanese airbase in Oroku. The height, relative remoteness and almost total destruction of Shuri, combined with the military requisitioning of much of the Naha port area, contributed greatly to the unexpected growth of Mawashi.

[1] Figures for each political area for all maps are given in the appendix.

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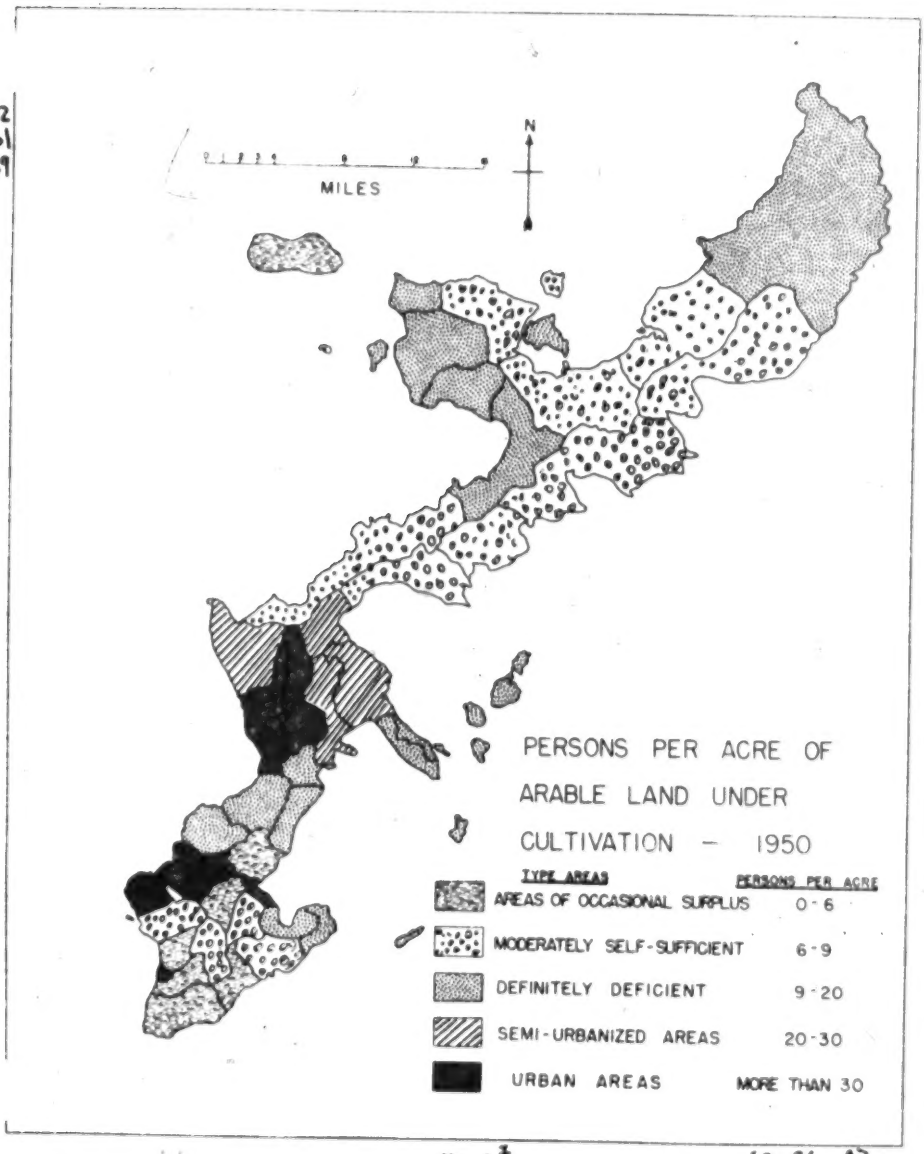

Map 5 $\frac{I}{A}$ [P. 96-A]

$\frac{1}{A}$. [See pages 222-224 for data upon which this map was based--Analyst]

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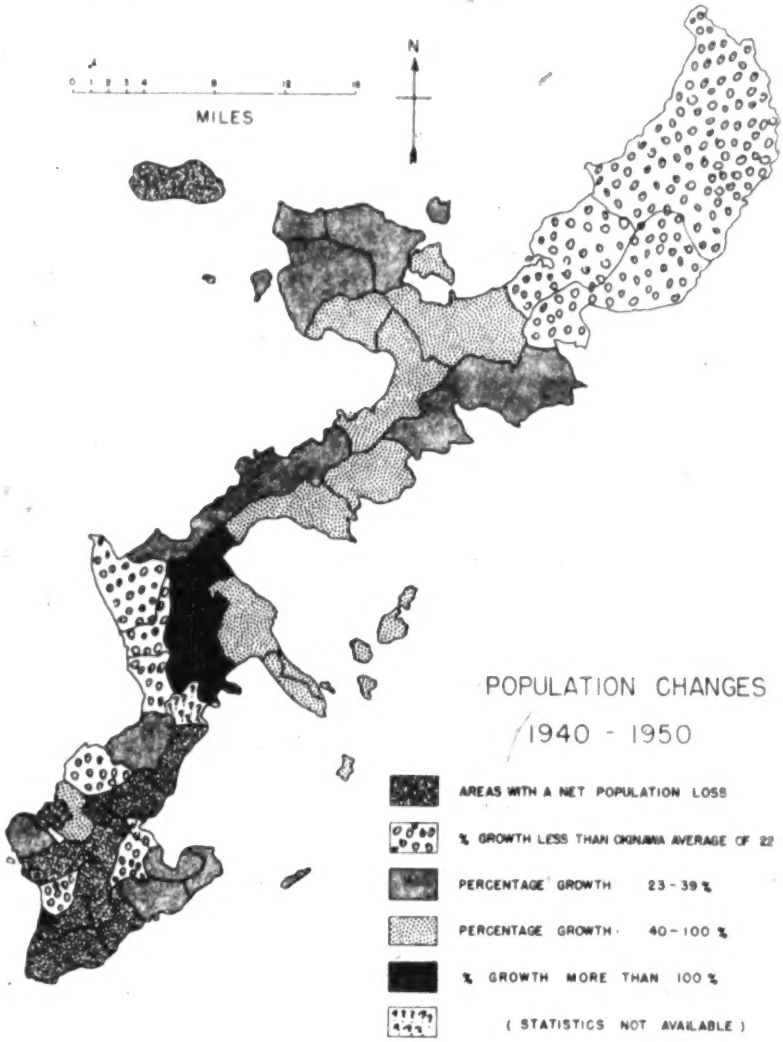

Map 6 [1] [P 96-B]

1. [See pages 222-224 for data upon which this map was based--Analyst]

• 161 The percentage growth categories used on Map 6 are as follows:

Negative Growth
Less than Okinawa Average of 22% Growth
23-39% Growth
40-100% Growth
Over 100% Growth

Population Increase During 1951 and 1952 The accelerated military construction program has been quite important in drawing people to the main island of Okinawa. This is shown by the fact that in the years 1951 and 1952 it gained over 47,000 inhabitants. More than 11,000 of these were contractors and construction workers from Japan. About 2,300 more such workers arrived from Japan in the first seven months of 1953.[1]

During this two year period, Okinawa's population increased by 5.55%. On Map 7 all areas with an increase of less than that amount are considered as areas of emigration. Those areas where the increase was more than 5.55% are shown as areas of immigration.

All urban areas except Ishikawa continued to grow. Goeku and Kadena, which had in the previous decade grown amazingly fast, continued to be among the fastest-growing 'son' on the island. On the other hand, Kunigami-son and the entire east coast north of Ishikawa City reversed the trend of growth noted on Map 6, and became areas of excessive migration. In part this was due to the improvement of roads along the east coast, thus making the urban trek easier. But it owed just as much to the demand for skilled carpenters, who were abundant along the east coast.

If data were available at the 'aza', or village area level, the urban trend could be localized with greater accuracy. Military government personnel concerned with problems on the island relative to urbanization and its pace are advised to work with population data on the village ('aza' or 'ku') level if greater accuracy is desired. This information is rarely if ever presented in that detailed form to agencies of the Government of the Ryukyu Islands, and local inquiry must be made.

The Sex Ratio Okinawa shares with most of the Orient a great density of population per arable acre of land. Aside from this, the outstanding fact about the population of Okinawa is the great preponderance of women over men. There are about 90 men for every 100 women in this area.[2] This excess of women is reflected in such sociological phenomena as prostitution, illegitimate and common law children, women functioning as heads of households, and a high fertility ratio. The reasons for the excess are somewhat complex, but the most important factor is the recent war, in which many

[1] CAARI, p. 78.

[2] The standard demographic definition of sex ratio is "the number of men for each 100 women."

3: Pitts et al. E,K-5 (1953-1954) 1955 AC? (Okinawa AC?

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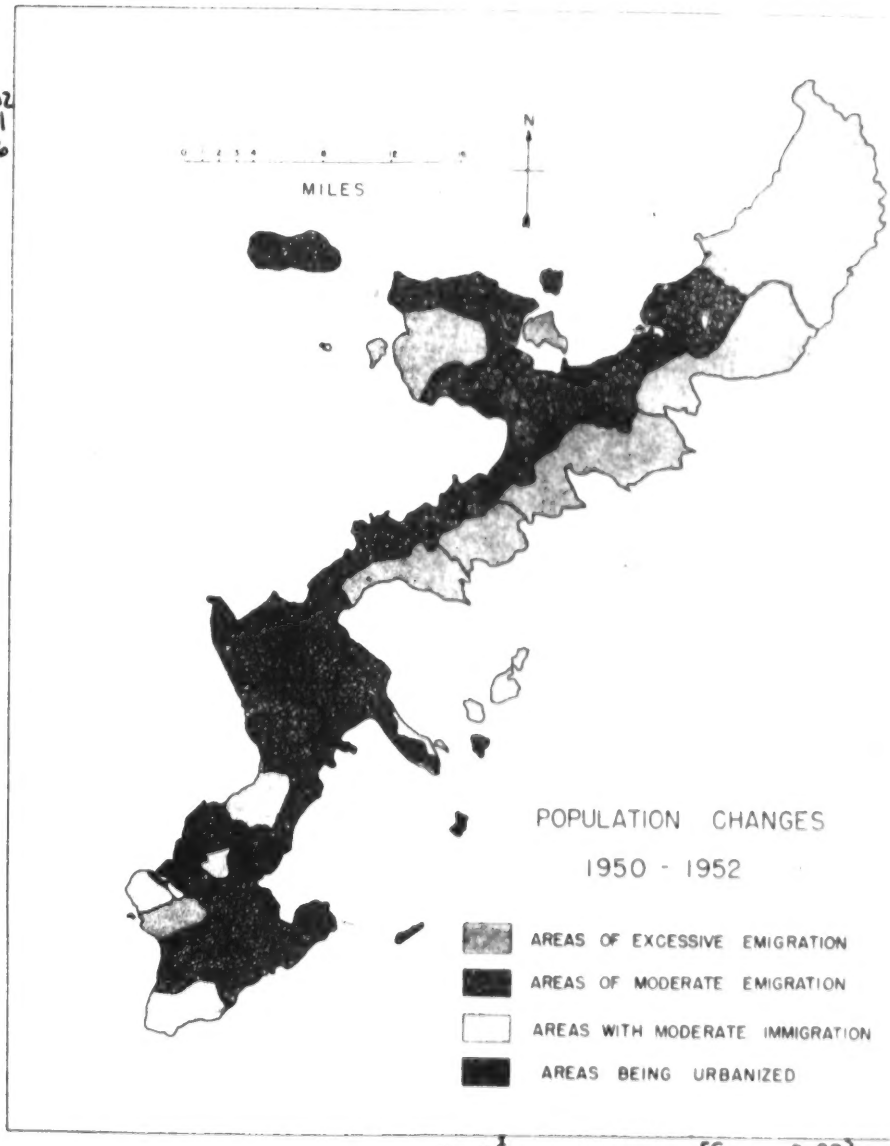

Map 7 1/4 (facing P 98)

1/4 [See pages 222-224 for data upon which this map was based--Analyst]

[Kochinda-son]

586 property. After that action he was called by the villagers "white ant", or
159 "termite". From the beginning, community feeling was behind Yae and opposed
829 to him. Circumstances of her birth carried little stigma, but his actions outraged everyone. People thought it quite natural that she should live with another man and bear his child before Jirō formally recorded the divorce in the 'koseki'. As far as the villagers were concerned, the divorce had become effective when Jirō sold his inheritance.

161 3. A Note on the Accuracy of Population Statistics in Okinawa

Much conflicting population data were encountered by the SIRI team. Hence this note is included as being of possible value to military government and to other social scientists who may work in Okinawa at a later date.

Census Figures Year-end census figures, which are based upon de facto count rather than de jure count are the most accurate, since they include all persons actually resident in the village at the time, as well as 'museki', or persons without an official local 'koseki' record.

Many times these census figures are supplemented by figures reporting both the above and all persons visiting in the village or town at the date of census. These "visitors" may include students, peddlers, guests at inns, persons in institutions, and persons visiting friends or relatives. A few examples from the 1953 statistics report of GRI are given below:

Table XXVII

Political Unit	Koseki Population	Resident Population	De Facto Population
Okinawa Guntō	649,997	627,556	637,215
Shuri-shi	22,372	21,921	23,015
Nago-chō	17,067	16,955	17,255
Goeku-son	21,065	20,931	20,749
Kochinda-son	8,738	8,504	-not given-

161 The Museki People 'Museki' is a term applied to single individuals or fami-
641 lies who are not registered in the political unit where they are living. They may maintain with varying degrees of attention and accuracy a 'koseki' elsewhere. Some simply may have no registration in a 'koseki' anywhere due to a semi-wandering life or a criminal bent. These latter are said to have no legal rights. "How can anyone have rights unless he has a 'koseki'?"

161 Ad Hoc Counts Persons who wish an accurate count of the people in any
621 village are advised to consult directly with the village headman, or 'kuchō', rather than with the 'son' office. He is in constant daily touch with village affairs, and is the most knowledgeable man to contact about village matters. Figures given by a 'kuchō', usually are the most accurate for total number of people in the village at any given time. 'Museki' persons are included, but those who are legally residents of the village and living elsewhere are not included.

'Koseki' Changes The present 'koseki'---those used when this SIRI team visited Okinawa---are temporary ones set up about 1948. 161* 217
In some very few areas 'koseki' remain from before the war. Registration in the 'koseki' is not automatic when an individual or family moves into a community. Hence there may even be persons who have bought houselots in a village, rented land there and raised crops---without ever having contacted the 'son' office for change of 'koseki'. Three such instances were observed in Nanahan. Areas such as Goeku-son and the Naha-Mawashi area, which contain many "floaters", may actually have a much larger population than is reported in the census figures.

'Koseki' Inaccuracies The present 'koseki' not only does not contain information on 'museki' persons, but it is often very far behind---sometimes as much as two years---in recording the movement of persons and families out of the villages and into urban centers.

Because old 'koseki' were for the most part destroyed, information on birthdates is very often inaccurate. The Kochinda 'koseki', for example, is full of requests for changes in birthdates, changes ostensibly sought on the basis of more accurate family records recently discovered or assembled. However, some changes may conceivably be sought in order deliberately to misrepresent one's age to a Company or to the military. Also, the possibility should not be ruled out that some persons change their recorded birthdate in order to bring about a change in their luck. [277]

Accuracy of Kochinda-son Data The statistics on household heads presented above represents the total number of people registered in the Kochinda 'koseki'. It does not take into consideration those persons and families who are recorded as having temporarily moved elsewhere. 217 162 592

Many people in Kochinda who have moved to the city have failed to record that fact in the 'koseki'. Many times this is attributable to apathy and poverty, but may often involve the matter of pride in having one's record in the same 'koseki' as one's close relatives. There is an additional factor at work: most Okinawans realize that the present urban trend brought about by the presence of the military is a temporary phenomenon, and they fully expect to return to the village in event of a lessening of urban opportunities. Thus Okinawa follows the Japanese pattern---by tightening their belts and working a little harder, the farmers can always make their plots feed an additional mouth until some adjustment can be made. [369] [329]

Hence the Kochinda statistics as presented above represent some 2,000 household heads and some 10,000 persons, rather than the census count of some 8,500 persons and 1,970 household heads.

The New 'Koseki' Early in 1954 the Government of the Ryukyu Islands ordered a new 'koseki' to be compiled. It will no doubt be more complete in most respects than is the temporary 'koseki'. The demand for a new 'koseki' came about chiefly because Japanese governmental pension agencies 217 [648]

APPENDIX "A"

128 This appendix contains figures upon which Maps 2 through 7 were based. List A is for Map 2, List B for Map 3, and so forth. The figures for Japan and Kagoshima are derived from the Japan Statistical Yearbook, 1950. All other figures are based on data in Ryūkyū tōkei hokoku.

311 List A Arable land under cultivation as a percentage of total land area.
241 The 31 December 1950 figures are used for area of arable land. Figures for total land area are for 31 December 1952. However, the calculation is valid as of the former date because the areas of political units did not change in the two years. The amount of arable land in Haha is negligible; the area for Tokashiki was not available in 'chō'.

311 List B Flooded fields (riceland) as a percentage of total arable land under
243 cultivation, 1950. The figures for Japan and Kagoshima are valid as of 1 August 1947. No acreage of riceland was reported from Ie Shima, Naha, Aguni, Minami Daitō or Kita Daitō.

161 List C Population density per square kilometer. The data for Japan and Kagoshima are valid as of 1 August 1948. The data for Okinawa Guntō are valid as of 31 December 1952.

List D Number of persons per acre of arable land under cultivation, 1950. Data for Japan and Kagoshima are valid as of 1 August 1948. The census of persons in Okinawa Guntō was taken on 1 December 1950. The data on acreage of arable land under cultivation were reported 31 December 1950. Inasmuch as December is not a month when new land is reclaimed, the map and figures may be considered valid as of 1 December 1950. No figure is given for Naha because the acreage of arable land is negligible. No figure is given for Minami Daitō because of the great acreage planted to sugar cane. About 9,400 'tan' of the 11,000 'tan' of arable land there is in this crop.

List E Percentage of increase in population, 1940-1950. Data for Japan and Kagoshima are not available for those years. Data for Okinawa Guntō are valid as of 1 October 1940 and 1 December 1950. A minus sign (-) denotes a net decrease. At the time of the 1940 census, some political units were not separate, but were included in towns or cities nearby; therefore the 1950 figure of necessity includes both areas as one.

List F Percentage of increase in population, 1950-1952. Data for Japan and Kagoshima are not available for those years. Data for Okinawa Guntō are valid as of 1 December 1950 and 31 December 1952. The total percentage of increase in the 25 months was 5.55%---these percentages are reported on page 76 of Civil Affairs Activities in the Ryukyu Islands. On the map any area with an increase of less than 5.55% and a decrease of less than 5% was considered an area of moderate emigration. Any area where the decrease exceeded 5% was considered as an area of excessive emigration. An area with more than 5.55% increase but less than 10% increase during that period was considered an area of moderate immigration. Areas in which the increase exceeded 10% are considered as having urban characteristics.

3: Pitts et al. E,X-5 (1953-1954) 1955 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Political Unit	List A	List B	List C	List D	List E	List F
Japan	32.8	55.4	217.7	6.30	----	----
Kagoshima	19.2	37.5	225.5	5.14	----	----
Okinawa Gunto	15.7	16.7	424.6	12.40	22.8	8.9
Kunigami	3.1	36.7	57.1	9.58	20	-7.0
Ogimi	10.3	25.8	139.3	7.72	15	-3.8
Higashi	5.9	33.8	487.6	8.27	11	-5.5
Haneji	9.7	52.0	172.7	8.76	43	-2.0
Yagaji	24.9	26.9	745.2	9.35		-20.5
Nakijin	21.6	13.7	382.2	8.58	29	3.0
Kamimotobu	28.4	4.2	579.7	10.20	35	-1.0
Motobu	12.1	11.3	442.6	17.27		-5.8
Yabu	9.8	29.4	258.6	10.77	45	-3.2
Nago	7.7	46.0	371.2	19.38		15.0
Onna	10.0	32.2	143.9	6.79	33	-2.1
Kushi	4.2	47.2	55.6	7.72	36	-7.8
Ginoza	10.9	25.3	170.1	7.88	56	-11.7
Kin	9.5	35.0	175.1	8.21		-7.0
Ie	24.0	----	281.9	5.84	-4	3.5
Ihaya	16.4	39.2	127.2	4.88	47	6.2
Isena	36.1	40.8	505.9	4.63	9	3.7
Ishikawa	15.7	37.3	977.0	26.90	115	4.9
Misato	13.6	14.5	686.0	23.68		1.6
Tonagusuku	35.1	7.3	699.4	14.12	55	7.1
Katsuren	27.5	5.6	848.4	15.32	44	5.2
Gushikawa	21.9	10.6	983.2	21.40	99	-1.2
Gosku	3.7	16.0	861.7	89.50	128	13.3
Yomitan	7.3	3.9	473.6	29.00	4	5.4
Kadena	4.2	.4	562.3	46.75	11	19.2
Chatan	.1	11.8	853.8	267.20		2.5
Kitanakagusuku	16.0	8.8	700.5	19.43		2.1
Nakagusuku	20.1	4.1	631.2	14.60	36	3.5
Ginowan	21.9	9.3	926.0	17.92	24	5.8
Nishihara	42.2	1.2	457.1	5.73	-21	10.2
Urasoe	24.0	12.0	705.2	12.32	8	4.0

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	Political Unit	List A	List B	List C	List D	List E	List F
311							
241							
243	Shuri	23.9	[illegible].2	9393.9	59.1	14	9.5
161	Naha	----	----	10447.5	----	-33	14.4
	Mawashi	13.0	2.1	3605.6	71.5	83	15.8
	Oroku	11.1	2.0	1157.4	45.8	33	6.6
	Tomigusuku	41.7	9.7	490.4	6.36	1	-6.0
	Itoman	25.3	16.0	8927.5	231.5	116	10.2
	Kanegusuku	47.8	9.4	574.6	5.72	12	0.8
	Miwa	36.6	1.8	347.8	4.60	-13	7.1
	Takamine	30.2	8.1	389.4	5.84	- 8	2.5
	Kochinda	40.4	8.9	566.2	6.28	- 6	2.4
	Gushichan	38.3	15.5	480.0	5.90	- 5	0.4
	Tamagusuku	32.0	23.1	561.2	8.25	27	-2.2
	Chinen	29.3	14.2	589.3	10.20	28	1.6
	Sashiki	24.2	16.5	728.8	14.97	33	-3.2
	Yonabaru	20.0	.5	1541.5	34.9		16.3
	Ōzato	38.0	11.5	544.1	6.60	- 5	
	Haebaru	56.3	4.0	693.9	5.57	-16	3.2
	Nakazato	17.3	39.0	213.1	6.31	24	-1.4
	Gushikawa	27.2	23.6	264.9	5.38	20	1.6
	Tokashiki	----	22.[illegible]	51.4	7.39	11	-10.9
	Zamami	8.4	18.7	99.6	6.74	-13	- 3.5
	Aguni	34.0	----	320.2	4.52	- 1	11.5
	Tonaki	27.1	1.3	264.5	7.39	64	- 1.0
	Minami Daitō	36.5	----	67.3	----	-54	15.4
	Kita Daitō	26.4	----	39.4	1.21		-14.0

361 175 Perry's men, the aspect of these villages was one of rare and romantic beauty.[3]

2

Hanashiro

361 103 [491] Hanashiro is a small village of the cluster type in Gushichan township (Gushichan-son) in the southeastern part of Okinawa.[4] It is on the present Highway 64 which begins on the Chinen peninsula, travels southwesterly, following the coast at a distance to Mabuni in the southeast, then crossing the island to Nagushiku town, a village south of Itoman.

361 241 443 256 162 The village and its surroundings are small in area, the actual town site including various village owned properties, taking up slightly over 22 acres. This is an agricultural village, with the exception of minor activities such as storekeeping and rice milling. As of December 31, 1951, it had a population of 589 (269 male, 320 female), living together in 120 households, an average of 4.9 persons per household.

361 [103] [491] 175 349 631 The village is believed to have been founded about 400 years ago. By Okinawan standards this is not very old. It is off the main historical road which ran from Naha to Shuri to Kochinda, Gushichan, Minatogawa, through Tamagusuku township to the Chinen peninsula, probably the road travelled by Okinawan kings up to the latter part of the seventeenth century when they prayed at the altars on Kudaka Island.[5] There were in this area a series of castles on the tops of hills commanding the road and its approaches, the castles, the rough determinants of various regions formerly under a regional nobility. To the west there was Kochinda castle, Tamagusuku on the east, Gushichan castle near Hanashiro, where a surviving stone fence can still be seen, and the castle site of Itokazu. There is reason for believing, as we mentioned in Chapter 1, that this is in the general area of oldest settlement in the island.

[text continues on P. 49 --analyst]

3 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, Vol. I, 163, 164, 179-80, and an illustration of a "cung-qua" on p. 180. On the older village with granaries and storehouses, see Green's remarks in Hawks, Perry's expedition, as cited, Vol. II, 34, 36, and illustration in Vol. I, 178.

[103] [192] 4 The village is also known as Hanagusuku: the meaning is the same, as shiro is the Japanese, gusuku the Okinawan word for castle. Many Okinawan place names have the suffix, --gusuku.

5 Spencer, The Noro, or priestesses of Loo Choo, as cited, 107.

The people of Nagamo are farmers. The seat of their extended families is in Naha and Shuri, and they have their own local deity places (ujigami in Japanese). The people of Minatogawa are fishermen, their extended family seats are in Itoman. They too have their local deities and many of their religious ceremonies are centered around the gods of the sea and the dragon of the sea god's palace. 596 776 778

The population of Minatogawa, as of December 31, 1951, was 1108 (515 males, 593 females) in 213 households, an average of 5.2 persons per household, and of adjoining Nagamo, 564 persons (262 males, 302 females) with 113 households, an average of 5.0 persons per household. 162

The fishing village of Minatogawa is believed to be about 250 years old. It was founded, according to local residents, by the fishermen of Itoman who were accustomed to fish off shore near the islands around the southeastern and southwestern parts of Okinawa. The place was first established as a temporary location for the fishing boats and later permanent settlement took place. The tombs of Itoman are still the ultimate burying ground for large numbers of the Minatogawa fishermen. After 250 years the ties with the parent town are still strong. 361 173 [764]

The village has two traditions involving contacts with other peoples. The first is concerned with the Chinese. One is a spot on the shore where some Chinese are said to have landed over 200 years ago. Many fishermen pray to it on certain occasions of the year. Little is known of what happened to the Chinese, but supposedly they were buried high up the side of a steep mountain nearby, inside a cave with stalactites. Bones said to be of these Chinese may still be seen there. The cave is difficult of access. 173 190 [778]

There is also the tradition of London sailors said to have been shipwrecked at the port of Kiyan on the southwest tip of Okinawa. A child was born of the union of one of these sailors with an Okinawan woman and the sailor later returned to England. The tomb of the woman and the child is revered as a religious site. It is now a small shrine on the outskirts of Itoman called Rondongama, Rondon for London.[9] Old woman of Minatogawa sing a song of this old love called Michinakankai. The theme of the song is the unashamed love of the woman for her departed London lover, an Okinawan anticipation of Madame Butterfly. [778] [533]

In this area the low, bare hills form in a haphazard way a series of valleys, some long and narrow, others like an amphitheatre with an open face to the sea. Low passes connect the valleys. One such pass, about 150 feet high, now on Highway 64, leads from the valley of 133 361

[TEXT CONTINUES ON TOP OF P. 53--Analyst]

9 The writer visited both the cave and the site near Itoman town in August 1951. The shrine is now situated on a small hill on the outskirts of Itoman. The bones were moved here during the war from Maizato village to escape Japanese bombing. A large cave nearby, associated with the mother and the child, is overgrown and very dangerous to enter because of the danger of snakes.

326 463 engaged in fishing are permanent or transient families originally from Itoman, a place name which comes up whenever fishing is mentioned anywhere in Okinawa. Agriculture and the care and utilization of the community forest make up the significant economic activities of the village.

162 Matsuda had a population of 1370 individuals (604 male, 766 female) as of November 30, 1951. There were, at this time, 243 households, an average of 5.6 persons per household. The village is said by local residents and antiquarians to be about 600 years old. If the age is correct, it must be one of the older settlements in northern Okinawa. Before the war, this village was known as Kochiya.

173 Matsuda also has its lore regarding shipwrecks and foreigners. There are old men who believe Perry's party came to the village and that they left carvings on the top of a picturesque rock in the Burushii district along the coast, a not unbelievable story since the explorers certainly were not far from here.

Near the seashore, but in a very remote area, there is a natural bridge, concealed by large trees. Roots of the banyan grow through the thirty or forty foot drop from the top of the bridge until they find root in the soil below. On a ledge under this bridge, there are two old and open boxes which were used to collect the skulls and bones of unknown persons. Locally it is believed that they are the remains of shipwrecked sailors, possibly Hollanders. There are still 25 or 30 skulls there, and many of the bones are scattered on the ground. The place is seldom visited.

361 133 The village rests on low rolling hills. The combination of the hills, the depressions, the caves and the sinks give the topography an uneven almost rugged character. There are few flat places and these are seldom wide. They are the narrow meadows or valleys between the hills. The hilly nature of the surroundings determines to a large extent the manner of cultivation, and historically probably has had much to do with the shapes of the individual parcels themselves. One does not see in this area the plains or small valleys with rice cultivation that is observed in Haneji township near Nago or around the island of Ū in Tamagusuku township, or even in the Hanashiro area of Gushichan township. In these communities, the normal pattern of cultivation is that the rice is on the lowlands, with the slopes and upland areas devoted to sugar cane, the sweet potato, or other crops, or left to native grasses. Here in the hundreds of small hills, all of these may be observed in close proximity, hard work and minute tillage comprising with the topography.

361 311 The village is subdivided into several distinct areas: (1) the main part of the village where most of the houses, the village office, the small stores, the rice mill, the sawmill, the power plant, and the barbershop are located, (2) a reclaimed area known locally as the kaikon, newly settled and with a different type of land use due to the poorness of the land and to the fact that it is a deforested area, (3) a district near the sea coast and along the sea with scattered settlements, isolated houses, and some cultivation, and (4) the forest lands, which in the

1

Generalities on the Population History of Okinawa Island

Virtually nothing is known, to my knowledge, of the growth of population in Okinawa in historic times. Early travellers made some estimates, but they gave no basis for them. In a previous chapter, it was mentioned that the introduction of the sweet potato in the early 17th century must have allowed a greater population on the island than had hitherto been the case. No doubt also malaria and other diseases kept the population down, at least until the latter part of the 19th century. This ignorance of population growth extends down to recent history.[1] 161 174 [177] [164]

There seems to have been very little immigration to the Ryukyus and the population has probably been homogeneous for long periods of time. There were many Japanese in Okinawa, but these were largely in the towns and main cities. Most of them left after the war.[2] This meant that the population of Okinawa continued to be made up of preponderantly the native born, though in recent years there has been some immigration of Amamians. 167 [563] [162]

Emigration during the 20th century has been the outstanding fact in the population history of the island. Little is known of the nature of this emigration, but it is believed to have started in the early years of the twentieth century. Until World War II, emigration was the answer to the problem of a population that was growing beyond the ability of the island's resources to support it. It has been estimated that the emigration from Okinawa prefecture in the period 1920-1940 was over 193,400 persons. This represented a loss of 98% of the estimated natural increase for the 1920-1940 period. It was 34% of the prefecture's total 1920 population.[3]

The Okinawan campaign, also, was accompanied by large scale displacements of people who remained on the island. It was estimated that in a pre-invasion shifting of the population, over 3/4 of the people 727 166

[Text continues on top of p. 60--analyst]

1 Dr. Green in 1853 estimated the population of Okinawa at 150,000 or possibly 200,000. But this was only a crude guess. Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 36. For population estimates prior to World War II, see CA Handbook, as cited, 45-51.

2 As of Nov. 30, 1946, 57,345 Japanese, 1,755 Koreans, and 21 Formosans had been repatriated from the Ryukyus, with 3,706 Japanese remaining to be repatriated. See note 3 following.

3 Newman, Marshall T. and Eng, Roman, L. The Ryukyu people, a biological appraisal. Amer. Journ. of physical anthropology, n.s., 5 (1947), 113-57. Reference on pp. 135-36. This estimate was made by subtracting the estimated natural increase from the total increase, 1920-40, making allowances for the under registration of births. On post-war population history immediately following the war, see pp. 135-46 of this article.

727 166 were in the north and central portions of the island.[4] During the campaign, the displacements of people and the destruction of villages in the south were particularly striking. Large numbers were sent to the Kunigami region. "There they overwhelmed the local inhabitants and all suffered great privations, despite the efforts of U. S. personnel to properly feed, clothe, and house them." By June 1, 1946, 138,000 had been resettled, and as of July 1 of the same year, there were still 125,000 displaced persons on the island.

167 728 The war and the subsequent occupation have stopped the historic emigration of Okinawans. Repatriation began in 1946. By November 30, 1946, a year and four months after the conclusion of the Okinawan campaign, 183,077 Okinawans had been returned, 142,713 from Japan, 26,003 from the Pacific islands, 12,154 from Formosa, 1954 from Hawaii, and 253 from Korea. An additional 36,720 were awaiting repatriation at this time. The result was that "by November 30, 1946, repatriation brought the population up to within 40,000 of its early 1944 level." The total 161 population of the Ryukyus on February 22, 1944 was given as 857,019, and 817,160 on November 30, 1946. In this short period of 16 months, the war losses had been largely made up. While these figures are Ryukyu totals, Okinawa island, as the largest and most populous island in the chain undoubtedly reflected these trends.[5] According to the 1950 census, the population of Okinawa island was 517,600.

The twentieth century history of the population of Okinawa is therefore one of large scale emigration up to the war, wholesale displacement of people within the island during the campaign of 1945, the repatriation of considerable numbers of Ryukyuans following the conclusion of the war, and the present period of growth of the population under conditions of peace, health measures, and without the historic outlet of emigration.

2

Village Populations and Their Characteristics

162 727 One can only surmise what has happened to the population structure of Okinawan villages as a result of the war. The old records which would furnish materials for detailed comparisons have been destroyed; hence, one can know only vaguely how the present characteristics of village populations compare with the pre-war conditions. The contemporary characteristics of the population of each of the villages studied and for the totals of each of their respective townships are shown in the accompanying population pyramids and in the tables illustrating sex and age distribution at five year age intervals (Western age count).

In the totals of the three villages and the two townships females substantially outnumber males, though there is considerable variation in the numbers and proportions within the age groups.

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 61 -- ANALYST]

4 Ibid, 137. Quotation is on pp. 140-41.

5 Newman and Eng, as cited, 140-41, 143. See also the very interesting article of Henry S. Bennett, The impact of invasion and occupation on the civilians of Okinawa. United States Naval Institute Proceedings, 72 (1946), 263-75.

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There are noticeably fewer children of both sexes in the 5-9 age group. These are the children born from about 1942 to 1946. If these statistics are presented in further detail for the age groups under twenty, further distinctions are clear. These are shown in the following table:

Totals	Hanashiro Village			Minatogawa Village			Gushichan Township			Matsuda Village			Ginoza Township		
	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F
Under 5 years	118	70	48	198	101	97	1153	606	547	230	120	110	849	446	403
Under 1 yr.	24	14	10	22	12	10	215	112	103	50	30	20	171	89	82
1-4 years	94	56	38	176	89	87	938	494	444	180	90	90	678	357	321
5-9 years	50	25	25	111	63	48	566	285	281	166	79	87	638	306	332
10-14 yrs.	72	32	40	128	53	75	818	393	426	182	84	98	704	336	368

In Gushichan-son, an active theatre of the war, the proportion of the children under 5 to those from five to nine is 2:1. In Ginoza-son, a much less active theatre, the proportion is 1.3: 1. The corresponding figures for the villages are:

Hanashiro (Gushichan township) 2.4 : 1
Minatogawa (Gushichan township) 1.8 : 1
Matsuda (Ginoza township) 1.4 : 1

In every case the totals of the age group of 10-14 are greater than in the 5-9 year group. In all villages, and in both townships, males are more frequent than females in the age group under one year.

The greatest imbalance in the sex ratios is in the age group from 20 to 49; here the females outnumber the males. During the war years, these groups ranged in age from approximately 10-15 to 39-44 years of age. This group now includes the main child bearing part of the population.

After 50 years of age, the balance between the sexes is somewhat restored and, with some minor deviations, they tend to be about equal, with women predominating at the highest age levels, 80 years and over.

These village statistics indicate that the effects of the war were shown in a shortage of males of young and middle age, an excess of women, to which pre-war emigration of men probably also contributed, and the lowered birthrate during the war years and the probable high infant mortality during the Okinawan campaign. The present broad base, represented by those under 5 years of age in the pyramids is indicative of what might be expected under the Occupation, with public health measures and no emigration. The pyramid for Gushichan township is especially striking in the comparison between the under 5 and the 5-9 age group.

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If these figures are typical of Okinawa island, they furnish a hint as to the trend toward population increase, a combination of such circumstances as peace, lack of conscription and foreign service, repatriation,

[Text Continues TOP of P. 65--analyst]

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DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX

Age Group	Hanashiro Village			Minatogawa Village			Gushichan Township			Hatsuda Village			Ginoza Township		
	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F	Total	M	F
TOTAL	589	269	320	1108	515	593	6267	2898	3369	1370	604	766	5360	2440	2920
Under 5	118	70	48	198	101	97	1153	606	547	230	120	110	849	446	403
5-9	50	25	25	111	63	48	566	285	281	168	80	88	638	306	332
10-14	72	32	40	128	53	75	819	393	426	182	84	98	704	336	368
15-19	83	43	40	107	57	50	741	365	376	152	75	77	633	302	331
20-24	52	22	30	102	50	52	526	237	289	82	28	54	383	150	233
25-29	38	13	25	86	35	51	401	176	225	69	22	47	288	112	176
30-34	32	10	22	68	28	40	398	157	241	53	11	42	256	84	172
35-39	29	17	12	64	33	31	328	141	187	65	20	45	263	103	160
40-44	28	8	20	50	16	34	280	118	162	71	29	42	246	103	143
45-49	18	3	15	46	19	27	250	94	156	50	16	34	232	88	144
50-54	22	7	15	38	19	19	225	93	132	73	40	33	228	127	101
55-59	15	8	7	35	18	17	205	93	112	47	24	23	186	101	85
60-64	18	5	13	26	10	16	150	64	86	35	11	24	145	58	87
65-69	9	5	4	19	10	9	99	42	57	31	15	16	110	46	64
70-74	1	1	0	14	1	13	67	22	45	31	14	17	90	37	53
75-79	3	0	3	6	1	5	33	9	24	16	5	11	55	20	35
80-84	1	0	1	7	0	7	19	2	17	13	9	4	42	17	25
85 & over	0	0	0	3	1	2	7	1	6	2	1	1	12	4	8

Statistics for Hanashiro, Minatogawa, and Gushichan-son are as of December 31, 1951. Those for Hatsuda and Ginoza-son are as of November 30, 1951. Source: Township offices (yakuba) at Gushichan and Ginoza villages.

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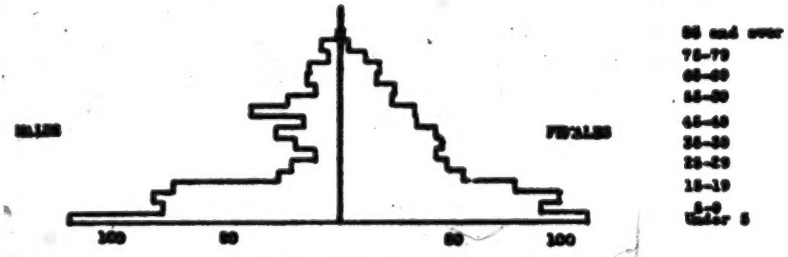
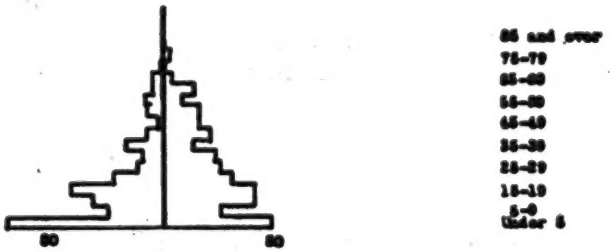
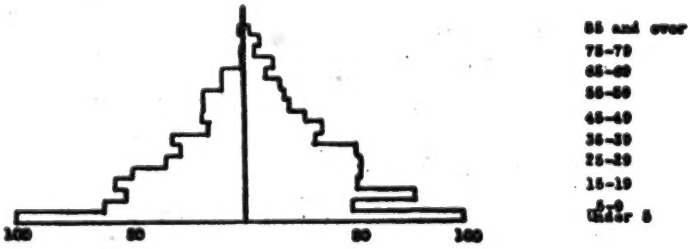
DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION BY AGE AND SEX
(Pyramids based on previous table)



MATSUDA VILLAGE



HAMAHIRO VILLAGE



NINATOGAWA VILLAGE

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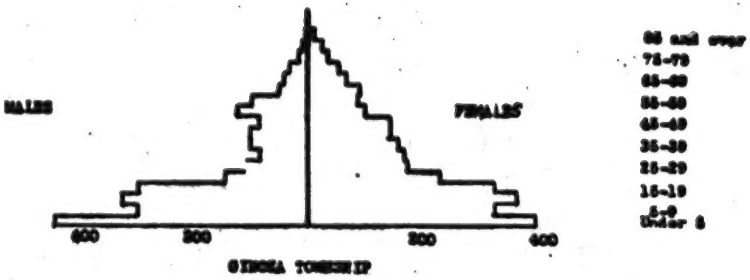
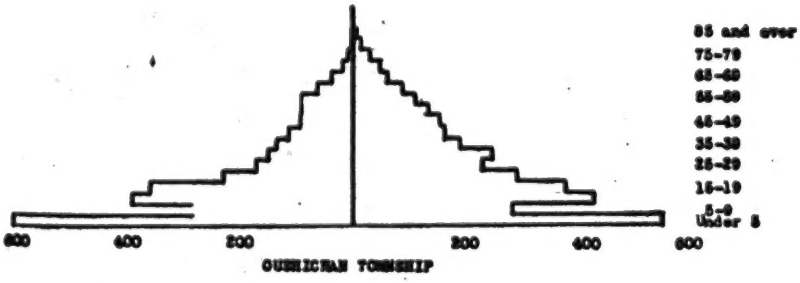

MALES
FEMALES
85 and over
75-79
65-69
55-59
45-49
35-39
25-29
15-19
5-9
Under 5
600
200
200
400
GINOZA TOWNSHIP


85 and over
75-79
65-69
55-59
45-49
35-39
25-29
15-19
5-9
Under 5
600
400
200
200
400
600
OUHICHAN TOWNSHIP

plus the excess of births over deaths were sufficient six years after the conclusion of the war to bring the post-war population of the village within 200 of the pre-war level.

Okinawans returning to Hanashiro came largely from Japan, the Philippines, Manchuria, Formosa, the South Seas and a few from Hawaii. From Hinatogawa, the areas of former settlement were broader, probably reflecting a wider activity of the fishermen. They came from Java, Palau, Singapore, the Philippine Islands, and Taraua. Some had previously returned voluntarily from Hawaii and Peru before the war. The largest segments came from the Philippines and Taraua, the smaller groups from Hawaii and Peru. The repatriates to Matsuda also came from Japan, the Philippines, Hawaii, and the South Seas.

One consequence of the pre-war emigration and of the repatriation that followed was that each village after the war had a group of people who had been in foreign countries or had relatives still residing in foreign areas.

In the villages studied, according to the residents living there now, repatriation was not accompanied by the tensions and the ill feeling that was so conspicuous in post-war Europe, especially Germany. There were no cliques between those who had stayed during the war and those who returned to live beside them.

The reasons for this are probably these: many of the repatriates even though absent a long time owned land in a village. This was true of Hanashiro and Matsuda, the agricultural villages, and to a lesser extent of Hinatogawa. Some adjustments were necessary. The land owned by these people had not been idle during their absence. If a first son returned, in most cases his younger brother was cultivating the fields and occupying the family house. He, in the absence of his eldest brother, acted as head of the house. When the first son returned, he received the possessions and assumed the responsibilities of the head of the house, and in turn gave his younger brother land to establish a branch household. When the returned member of the family was a second son, the adjustment was easier. The first son, if possible, gave his younger brother a house site and fields to cultivate.[6]

Other relatives, parents, younger or older sisters, nephews, or nieces were absorbed within the family, the parents or grandparents resuming a retirement which they would have had in any case, while the younger relatives became working and contributing members to the family. They did not come back to an altogether strange place. They or their parents had been born there, and their names had remained in the village family register.

6 The reasons for these acts will be made clear in Chapter 6 on the family system.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS NOW RESIDING IN HANASHIRO AND MATSUDA
(Classified according to their relationship to the previous head)

Relationship	Hanashiro	Matsuda
First Son	81	61
Second Son	16	41
Third Son	6	16
Fourth Son	2	11
Fifth Son	0	6
Sixth Son	1	1
Seventh Son	0	1
First Daughter	11	29
Second Daughter	1	8
Third Daughter	0	7
Fourth Daughter	0	5
Fifth Daughter	0	0
Sixth Daughter	0	2
Illegitimate Son	0	1
No Data	3	18
Totals:		
Male	121	207
Female	106	138
No Data	12	51
	3	18

Source: Analysis of village family registers (koseki in Japanese) as of August 1951 for Hanashiro, December 1951 for Matsuda. The figures for Matsuda are incomplete and represent 207 of the 243 households in the village. One volume of the Matsuda family register was lost or not available at this time. Minatogawa data are not available from the new register compiled following the destruction of the old one in the war.

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FAMILY COMPOSITION OF THE VILLAGES

FAMILY HEAD	NUMBER IN THE FAMILY 1			2			3		
	Hana	Mina	Mateu	Hana	Mina	Mateu	Hana	Mina	Mateu
Single Heads:									
Male	4	10	11						
Female	4	12	12						
Male Heads with:									
Wife only				2	23	19			
Wife and Children Only							8	19	20
Wife, Childr, Other Rels									
Wife and Other Rels								3	1
Child or Children Only				1	1	2			1
Children and Other Rels						2		3	
Other Relatives Only				2	2		9	3	
Female Heads with:									
Child or Children Only				1	8	8		9	13
Children and Other Rels					1	1	2	4	
Other Relatives Only				4	1	1	1		1

	4			5			6		
	Hana	Mina	Mateu	Hana	Mina	Mateu	Hana	Mina	Mateu
Male Heads with:									
Wife only									
Wife and Children only	13	20	10	7	13	16	3	10	11
Wife, Childr, Other Rels		1	4	2	8	6	1	9	4
Wife and Other Rels	1	1		1			1		1
Child or Children Only	1			1					
Children and Other Rels	1	1		1	2				
Other Relatives Only	6	3	2	6			1	2	1
Female Heads with:									
Child or Children Only		9	5		7	8		2	1
Children and Other Rels		3	2		4	1	1	5	
Other Relatives Only	1		1						

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FAMILY COMPOSITION OF THE VILLAGES, con'td.

FAMILY HEAD	NUMBER IN THE FAMILY 7			8			9		
	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu
Male Heads with:									
Wife only									
Wife and Children only	3	7	8	4	3	4	1	1	2
Wife, Childr, Other Rels	5	7	4	1	5	3	4	3	6
Wife and Other Rels									
Child or Children Only	1								
Children and Other Rels	2	1		2		1			
Other Relatives Only	1				1				
Female Heads with:									
Child or Children only		1	4		1			2	
Children and Other Rels									
Other Relatives only					1				

FAMILY HEAD	10			11			12		
	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu
Male Heads with:									
Wife Only									
Wife and Children only	1								
Wife, Childr, Other Rels	3	1	2	3	3	3	1		3
Wife and other Rels									
Other Relatives Only									
Female Heads with:									
Child or Children only									
Children and Other Rels						1			
Other Relatives only									

FAMILY HEAD	13			14		
	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu
Male Heads with:						
Wife only						
Wife and Children only						
Wife, Childr, Other Rels	1	1			1	
Wife and other Rels	1					
Other Relatives only						
Children and Other Rels	1					

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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SUMMARY

	Total	Single Heads	Male Family Heads	Female Family Heads
Hanashiro	120	8	102	10
Minatogawa	238	22	158	58
Matsuda	207	23	137	47

Note: This and the preceding tables represent: (a) 120 of the 120 households of Hanashiro as of December 31, 1951, (b) 207 of the 243 households of Matsuda, since one volume of the register was not available, and (c) 238 listings from Minatogawa, while there are only 213 households. As far as could be determined, there are 238 heads of a family (koshu) who are living in 213 households (kosu). There is thus some doubling up, probably among the female heads who are living in the houses of relatives. A house or a residence in the physical sense may thus have one or more heads of houses or families, just as two families might live in the same house anywhere. No attempt therefore has been made to reconcile the differences.

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Mother of head, age 48
Grandfather of head, age 65
Younger brother, age 25
Younger brother, age 16
Younger sister, age 9
Younger sister, age 11
Younger brother's wife, age 25
Two nieces, ages 4 and 2, daughters of the eldest younger brother and his wife.

These examples, of which many more could be given, illustrate several points regarding the family system. It is not uncommon to have as many as four generations in a family unit, the present head, his parent, the children, and the grandchildren of the head. There are four generations in illustration #3. The combination of a first son and his wife, with his parents, his younger brothers and sisters, and the head's own children, a common composition, illustrates the responsibilities of the first son both to his parents and to his siblings. Responsibility for illegitimate children is with the family of the girl. Occasionally a husband will accept an illegitimate child born to his wife either before or during the marriage, but it is more usual for the illegitimate child to be reared in the household from which the mother came. In the second illustration, one illegitimate daughter lives with her grandparents and the mother is not in the household. The third illustration shows an unusual situation in which the young head and his wife have their children, his mother, his grandfather, minor younger sisters and brothers, and, in addition, a married younger brother and his wife and their two children. Ordinarily these would have established a branch family and not have been part of the older brother's household.

At present, the commonest family compositions are (1) the biological family, (2) the family with a young eldest son as the head with the widowed mother and other minor brothers and sisters, a type of composition which has increased as a result of the war, (3) uncles, aunts, cousins, and occasionally unrelated persons may live in the house, (4) often grandparents are found with their grandchildren, (5) widows with minor children are also common, an incidence increased by war.

The percentage of widows in Hinatogawa, in addition to the casualties of war, is due to the loss of fishermen at sea, a not uncommon tragedy as the typhoon season coincides with the best fishing seasons. Since widows with children seldom remarry, the family composition remains the same until the first son assumes the leadership of the family and the mother resides with him.

Each of the families making up the extended family is either a main or a branch family. This arrangement is repeated in the individual families as well. If we take as an example a family with both parents, a first son, a second son, and a first daughter, we may expect as a normal development that the eldest son will marry between 24 and 27 and live with his wife at the home of his parents, that the father will

596 [582] [591]

848 war.[5] The reasons given by the villagers are the increase in the
[727] number of widows and the present disproportion between young men
[160] and young women in the marrying ages.

One cannot generalize about attitudes toward illegitimacy. In two of the communities, Hinatogawa and Matsuda, my impression was that there had been a change from disapproval to tolerance. The current reaction was often described in the famous Japanese phrase which covers thousands of situations: shi kata ga nai ("It can't be helped"). In Hanashiro, opinion seemed much stronger
[837] against extra-marital relations and having an illegitimate child.
[184] One housewife said that any married woman or single woman who has an illegitimate child is dirty (kitanai). This was not so much a moral condemnation as the notion that she was unclean. Such a woman is spoken to but is not liked. There is also the problem that in the family system there is no place for an illegitimate child, unacknowledged by the father, except to grow up in the household of his mother. There is no public concealment. The village family register has the shiseiji entry for any illegitimate child--and some of them are now very old men.

5 These and the following statements are necessarily qualitative as statistics were not available. Illegitimacy here refers to Okinawan parents. To my knowledge, in these villages, there were no children whose fathers had been members of the occupying force. Some apparent illegitimacy may occur when the marriage is recorded after the birth of a child (a common practice) and the register is not corrected. For this reason, it was difficult to evaluate the illegitimate entries in the family registers.

the war, the upper stratum of society consisted of Japanese plus a few highly placed Okinawans. With the departure of the Japanese, there was no well developed class structure among the Okinawans to succeed to the Japanese hierarchy. Today in these villages, there are inequalities in economic well-being, and certain individuals or groups have greater prestige than others. But these, I am convinced, are not to be traced to a class structure. Any division of the village into upper, middle, and lower classes would be artificial and would put a strain on the facts. Differences, where they appear, are the result of individual qualities, such as age, the possession of land or money, or personal character. 565 [563] [511] [554] [554]

In the old Loochooan kingdom, there was a rigid class stratification based on the Chinese model. The Japanese abolished the Loochoo nobility after the islands became a province, but, according to Furness (1899), "the people still cling to the old custom."[1] Despite the abolition of the nobility, distinctions between noble and commoner were made up to the recent war. In the family registers, descendants of the Loochooan nobility (shizoku) were so designated. But all villagers agreed that these distinctions had no meaning or value, either for preferment in the Japanese service, or for one's social standing among his countrymen. For all practical purposes, everyone was a commoner. Since the war, the fact that one is a descendant of the Okinawan nobility is, if possible, even more inconsequential. No notation is made in the family register. Most men over 35 can tell instantly whether a given surname is of noble or common origin. 175 565 183 565

The number of these descendants of nobles must be very great. Chamberlain in 1895 reproduced a table, which he said he had every reason to believe was accurate, showing an absurdly high proportion of nobles to commoners. These statistics were from the census of 1891 and for the entire Ryukyus:[2] 565 162

	Household Heads	Families
Princes	2	35
Nobility and Gentry	22,567	95,082
Common People	57,981	235,213
Total	80,550	330,330

1 Life in the Luchu islands, as cited, 7. For rank distinctions based on caps, stockings, sashes, and hair pins, see Simon, as cited, 155, 156-59. Hawk's Perry's expedition, as cited, Vol. I, 224, Vol. II, 48. Basil Hall also gives rank orders in an appendix. Perry considered government by this nobility very oppressive. The CA Handbook Ryukyu (Loochoo) Islands gives the historical background of the class structure and its manifestations in government.

2 In the article cited from the Geo. jour. 5 (1895), 298.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

is one of the rare, desired body attributes. It was the opinion of some that the descendants of the noble families who came from Shuri, however, are taller and slender, with a prominent, curved nasal ridge. 142

Until they feel confident in the presence of strangers, Taira people appear quiet and restrained. It is considered a virtue not to show one's emotions, and Tairans consider the expressiveness of Americans childish. Actually they are gay, talkative, and given to laughter, especially the women. Men are quiet unless stimulated by alcohol, but both men and women may lose their composure in emergencies. A notable exception is their placid reactions to the threat of disaster from the ever recurrent violent storms. 152 153 [181]

THE COMMUNITY, ITS HISTORY AND NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

621

Taira is one of the northern villages on the northeast coast of Okinawa in Higashi township (see map 1). Today it is home to over 700 people who make their living—as did their ancestors since early times—from the surrounding fields, forests, and from the sea. The Okinawan name for the village, Taira, means "sloping fields." The character used for writing the prevalent Japanese version, Taira, means "flat, plain, good." 101 [131] [162]

Since the family records were lost during World War II, it is necessary to depend on oral traditions for reconstruction of the history of Taira. Unfortunately, the desire of many Okinawans to establish a relationship between their local families and the former royal courts casts some doubt on the accuracy of these traditions. 173 621 [114]

According to these traditions, the first village to be settled in the vicinity of Taira was the neighboring community Kawata. After the Hokuzan kingdom in Nakijin (on the northwestern Motobu Peninsula) was conquered by the southern Okinawan kingdom of Chuzan in the fifthteenth century (Kerr, 1958:85), the second son of the Lord of Hokuzan is said to have escaped northward into Kunigami province. Unitokogami, the fleeing nobleman, arrived near the present site of Kawata and established himself in a cave around the year 1477. He is still revered today as founder of the village in a yearly spring ceremony when prayers are said in front of the cave. The oldest Taira families trace their descent in the male line from Nizenya, the "main house," he founded. Taira was settled around 1550 by two families tracing descent from this "main house." The descendents of these settlers are [182] [169]

the community is dispersed. In the outlying parts, as far as 2 miles from the center (see map 1), the houses are scattered between the paddies or farm lands in sections which form subvillages or wards. As mentioned above, settlers from the south took up residence in these areas. Recently families from the main village have also moved to the more remote parts of the community, such as Udenaha, because they can reach their fields more conveniently. Although the name Taira refers to the political unit of main village and outlying parts, including Udenaha and Izena, most references in this study pertain only to the central community. Its 60 households, with about 330 individuals, form the primary social unit from which the sample of 24 children was chosen.

Central Taira nestles along the inner shore of Taira Bay, which opens into the Pacific Ocean. At this point the median range mountains recede from the coastline. Behind the village, rice paddies spread in a crazed pattern at the bottom and on the terraced sides of several valleys which are separated from each other by sparsely wooded hills. Here and there the red earth of an eroded section shows like a scab through the green slopes.

In traveling by road from the south, most people choose the highway along the East China Sea coast, which is connected with the road which crosses the island. Higashi township is entered through a low saddle in the mountains which separate the two coastlines. To the right and left begins Taira's forest. Central Taira is reached through a winding lane bordered by pine trees. To the left the view opens into one of the neatly cultivated rice fields, backed by the hills on whose flat tops and terraced sides village people cultivate their farm lands.

The central village itself lies on a sand bluff, separating the valley from the ocean, so that there is a slight drop toward both sides (see map 2). The main road runs the length of the village. Except for the thoroughfare, which is dirt and gravel, the side roads are not surfaced, and after heavy rains puddles form and remain for more than a day, to the delight of children who play in them.

When Taira was destroyed during World War II, along with its houses went much of the foliage which once served as a windbreak. A few fukugi trees * line the main street, and hibiscus hedges here and there hide some of the houses from a first inspection. There are bushes around the edges of the village.

The war-time destruction is hardly apparent on a first walk through the village. Along the main street, lined by houses, one finds the rice mill, a substantial new building of concrete and wood, the police sta-

* A small- to medium-sized evergreen tree with a narrow, upright, very dark green crown of leaves.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 377]

161 The percentage growth categories used on Map 6 are as follows:

Negative Growth
Less than Okinawa Average of 22% Growth
23-39% Growth
40-100% Growth
Over 100% Growth

Population Increase During 1951 and 1952 The accelerated military construction program has been quite important in drawing people to the main island of Okinawa. This is shown by the fact that in the years 1951 and 1952 it gained over 47,000 inhabitants. More than 11,000 of these were contractors and construction workers from Japan. About 2,300 more such workers arrived from Japan in the first seven months of 1953.[1]

[167]

161 During this two year period, Okinawa's population increased by 5.55%. 166 On Map 7 all areas with an increase of less than that amount are considered as areas of emigration. Those areas where the increase was more than 5.55% are shown as areas of immigration.

All urban areas except Ishikawa continued to grow. Goeku and Kadena, which had in the previous decade grown amazingly fast, continued to be among the fastest-growing 'son' on the island. On the other hand, Kunigami-son and the entire east coast north of Ishikawa City reversed the trend of growth noted on Map 6, and became areas of excessive migration. In part this was due to the improvement of roads along the east coast, thus making the urban trek easier. But it owed just as much to the demand for skilled carpenters, who were abundant along the east coast.

If data were available at the 'aza', or village area level, the urban trend could be localized with greater accuracy. Military government personnel concerned with problems on the island relative to urbanization and its pace are advised to work with population data on the village ('aza' or 'ku') level if greater accuracy is desired. This information is rarely if ever presented in that detailed form to agencies of the Government of the Ryukyu Islands, and local inquiry must be made.

162 The Sex Ratio Okinawa shares with most of the Orient a great density of population per arable acre of land. Aside from this, the outstanding fact about the population of Okinawa is the great preponderance of women over men. There are about 90 men for every 100 women in this area.[2] This excess of women is reflected in such sociological phenomena as prostitution, illegitimate and common law children, women functioning as heads of households, and a high fertility ratio. The reasons for the excess are somewhat complex, but the most important factor is the recent war, in which many

[161] [548] [549] [551] [163]

1 CAARI, p. 78.

2 The standard demographic definition of sex ratio is "the number of men for each 100 women."

more men than women were killed. The second reason is the fact that in Okinawa, as in most of the rest of the world, women tend to live longer than men.[1] 162 [165]

The prewar sex ratio was somewhat lower, but this condition was primarily caused by the absence of so many men in the military forces and in Japanese industry. The Navy handbook[2] states the following:

> The sex ratio for the archipelago in 1940 was 112 women to 100 men. In Japan Proper in 1939 the comparable ratio was 101 men to 100 women....The two most heavily populated islands---Okinawa and Amami---had sex ratios of 115 and 117 women to 100 men, respectively.

Using the standard demographic definition of sex ratio, this would indicate a sex ratio of 89.2 for the Ryukyus as a whole, and ratios of 87 and 85.5 for Okinawa and Amami in that order.

Although the population section of this report will deal in great part with the analysis of population in one rural 'son', it is of value to examine first the more general picture, so that the detailed facts may be seen in relation to their setting. The number of people in the average household, with masculine-feminine breakdown, and the sex ratio are the most important items for general analysis. The data for several areas, valid as of 31 December 1952, are shown below:[3]

Table I

Political Area	Average Number of Men per Household	Average Number of Women per Household	Average Number of Persons per Household	Sex Ratio
Ryukyus (excluding reverted Amami Oshima)	2.37	2.59	4.96	91.5
Okinawa Guntō	2.27	2.51	4.78	90.5
Naha	2.10	2.30	4.41	92.7
Wawashi	2.46	2.39	4.85	103.0
Naha-Wawashi	2.28	2.34	4.62	98.8
Kochinda-son	2.07	2.24	4.31	92.5

Although there is not much difference in the sex ratio of Okinawa and the Ryukyus as a whole, it appears that there are more persons, both men and women, per household in the southern islands than in Okinawa. Again

1 T. Lynn Smith, Population Analysis, McGraw-Hill, NY, 1948. Tables pp. 252-4.

2 Civil Affairs Handbook, Ryukyu (Loochoo) Islands, OPNAV 13-31, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Navy Department, 15 November 1944, xiv-334 pp. Statement, page 51.

3 Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku (Monthly Statistics of the Ryukyu Islands) Vol. 3, no. 3, 1953, passim.

162 this may be the result of the war; the southern islands escaped heavy damage and loss of life. The urban area of Naha-Mawashi has a well-balanced sex ratio, and is probably a reflection of the number of men who directly or indirectly are connected with military employment.

The total number of persons per household has not appreciably changed in the fifteen years from 1937 to 1952:

Table Ia

Political Unit	Persons per Household, 1937	Persons per HH, 1952
Okinawa-ken	4.67	4.70
Naha	4.21	4.41
Shuri	4.18	4.17

The loss of men in the war was compensated for by those men who returned from Japan and those who repatriated from the Mandated Islands.

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2. Population Characteristics of a Rural 'Son'

Kochinda-son lies almost in the center of the southern section of Shimajiri. It does not border anywhere on the sea, and is entirely rural in that it has no industries of urban character. It is realized that no one area will be entirely typical of the whole of Okinawa; however, the population dynamics of this 'son' will undoubtedly be reflected in kind, if not in degree, by that of other farming areas. Fishing towns such as Itoman, Benza, Yakena and Yonabaru each probably have special types of adjustments that are not true of Kochinda.

[127] This researcher was permitted to copy the entire 'koseki' (population register) of Kochinda-son. In addition explanatory information was given by the 'son' office personnel when requested. In many cases it was possible to follow up and interview persons cognizant of the details of certain situations.

121
16
[428]
[178]
[177]

Okinawa still follows the prewar Japanese system of inheritance by first sons. Under normal conditions in the countryside, the first sons would inherit the bulk of the farm plots, and second sons would inherit a few plots and set up separate households. Or the second and following sons might go to Naha, Osaka or the south seas to seek employment. The war disrupted this pattern, and it is germane to examine the types and numbers of household heads, as one index of postwar change.

Because the solution of the population problem is a factor in Civil Administration planing for Okinawa, it is of importance to know the fertility ratio and the amount of spacing between births. The Okinawans, like the Japanese, tend to register a marriage after the birth of the first child. This should be quantified if possible. In addition, age at marriage should be known, since it bears a direct relationship to population increase. The number of illegitimate and common law children in the villages indicates

[Kochinda-son]

something as to the attitudes toward marriage, the family, and sexual mores of the inhabitants. Study of divorce also helps to illuminate the dynamics of a population. All of these categories are discussed below.

Types of Household Heads All the households in Kochinda-son were classified into seven categories. Where possible this was done on the basis of the relationship of the present household head to the former household head. Table II shows the percentage of households in each category.

Table II

Category	Percentage of Households
First Sons	41.7
Second Sons	17.8
Third Sons	9.3
Other Sons (Sons of Fourth Order and above, and adopted sons, or 'yōshi')	7.4
Other Types (Younger Brother, etc.)	2.1
Grandsons	1.8
Women	19.9
All Types	100.00

The really surprising fact shown above is the number of women household heads, almost one in five. The percentage of households headed by first, second and third sons is probably not far from the prewar norm. However, within the families of each class of household head, conditions vary widely. Table III brings out the disparities of membership in families headed by the various types of household heads.

Table III

Type of Household Head	Average Males per Household	Average Females per Household	Average Persons per HH	Sex Ratio
First Sons	2.93	3.04	5.97	96.5
Second Sons	2.91	2.63	5.54	110.9
Third Sons	2.76	2.73	5.49	103.3
Other Sons	2.46	2.67	5.13	92.3
Other Types	2.16	2.09	4.25	103.1
Grandsons	2.49	2.51	5.00	98.9
Women	1.14	2.20	3.34	52.1

First Sons Frequent reference is made in Okinawa to the "heavy burden of being a first son." The large number of women per household in that category of household head bears out this assertion. If a first son assumes the duties as traditional head of the family, his mother and grandmother most likely will live with him after their spouses are dead. He must also assume responsibility for all unmarried younger sisters, as well as take care of any older sisters who become divorced. The "heavy role of

[Kochinda-son]

• 162 first son" is graphically depicted by the third column in Table III. If the 592 6.5% of the households that contain no women are eliminated, the "average females per household" index rises to 3.25 in this category.

Second Sons There are two possible reasons for the high sex ratio [582] in households headed by second sons. The sons of second sons may tend to marry later than do sons of first sons, because the land they may inherit is generally smaller in area, and they want time to hunt work in the cities. The daughters of second sons marry earlier for the reason that their fathers have less land to contribute to their support past adolescence.

The high sex ratio is still rather hard to understand, however. If we eliminate the twelve cases where the male household head is the only person in that household, the sex ratio becomes 109.0. If we eliminate all households without women, the sex ratio drops to 107.0. This means that there are considerable households where two or more males constitute the only inhabitants. This was true in eleven cases. Even more frequent are the cases where two males and one female constitute the household.

If the same operation, elimination of all-male households, is carried out on the data for households headed by first sons, the sex ratio drops to 93.0. Hence we see that however the figures are interpreted, first sons do have a greater burden and more women to care for.

Grandsons Grandsons of former household heads were household heads in 37 cases. In four of these cases the grandfather was still living but considered himself too old (68, 71, 76, and 89 years) to manage the family's affairs. In sixteen cases the mother of the household head was living. In one case both mother and grandmother were living, and in another both paternal grandparents were living. In only one case was the father of a household head living---and he was adopted husband, or 'yōshi', in another household. In all cases the inheritance has passed directly from the grandfather to grandson.

Other Sons Sons of fourth order and above, adopted sons ('yōshi'), and those whose birth order was not recorded, constitute the heads of 154 households. Fourteen of these are 'yōshi', whose birth orders in their family of orientation were:

First Sons	2
Second Sons	8
Third Sons	2
Fourth Sons	1
Unrecorded	1
Total 'yōshi'	14

[Kochinda-son]

The birth orders of the remaining 140 household heads were: 162 592

Fourth Sons	89
Fifth Sons	28
Sixth Sons	8
Seventh Sons	1
Unrecorded	14
Total non-'yōshi'	140

Here can be seen the expectable tendency to put one's second son up for adoption, rather than a first son. Usually a relative, a person at least in the same munchu, will adopt. [597]

Other Types In the 43 cases comprising the category of other types of household head, such as younger brother, and miscellaneous, there were 18 cases of "no relationship stated." There were 16 cases of younger brother, four cases of nephew, three illegitimate sons and two common law sons.[1]

Women A study of the women household heads category is most rewarding. No doubt most of the cases are the result of the war. However, a small percentage of widows and girl orphans would normally comprise this category. Not surprisingly, the sex ratio of 52.1 is the lowest of any category. There were 84 cases of women living alone. In seven of these cases the persons were under 21 years of age as of December 31, 1953.[2] If the 84 cases are eliminated and the data recomputed, the results are as follows:

Table IV

Average Number of Persons per Household	3.93
Average Number of Males per Household	1.43
Average Number of Females per Household	2.50
Sex Ratio	57.3

If the data are recomputed by eliminating the women household heads themselves, the results are as follows:

Table V

Average Number of Persons per Household	2.34
Average Number of Males per Household	1.43
Average Number of Females per Household	2.50
Sex Ratio	95.3

Both Table IV and Table V show a preponderance of women. One explanation is that a widow and her deceased husband's mother often live together.

1 See definitions of "illegitimate" and "common law" on pp. 111-112.

2 Unless otherwise stated, the datum point in this report for all population categories in Kochinda-son is December 31, 1953.

[Koohinda-son]

162 This is true in 32 cases, or 9.54% of the households in this category con-
592 taining more than one person. Another reason is that of the illegitimate
[848] children born to women household heads, more boy babies are registered as legal children by their fathers than is the case with girl babies. Of the illegitimates living in households headed by women, 19 were female, 11 were male, and an additional seven were in the class "sex unrecorded". If the same proportion are girls as is true of "common law children", this would indicate a surplus of illegitimate females.[1]

Additional Three other categories relating to household head status were analyzed. The data were cross-filed from the above categories. There were sixty-seven cases of father or grandfather not functioning as household head, but living. Or in other words, retirement of males. Persons under twenty-one years of age functioning as household heads were counted, as were household heads living alone.

162 1. Retirement: In the category of retired fathers or grandfathers,
592 we find that in 59 of the 67 cases retirement was in favor of a first son.
886 In seven cases retirement was in favor of a grandchild first son, and in one instance in favor of a son's wife. The ages of the retired oldsters ran from 51 to 87, with 33 of the 67 instances being between the ages of 60 to 70 inclusive. The median age was 65, and the average age was roughly 66.5.

162 2. Living Alone: In the second additional category, household heads
592 living alone, we find 166 cases. Thirty of these cases, or 16%, were orphans
597 under twenty-one years of age. Twenty-two of these were male and eight female, thus showing a greater tendency for female orphans to be adopted. Male orphans are not often adopted, because relatives want them to grow up to be the heads of their deceased fathers' households.

162 With regard to division by sex, 89 were males. Of these, 21, or
592 26%, were born before 1900. Of the 77 females, 39 (51%) were born before 1900, thus giving another instance of the longevity of women.

3. Minors: In the third supplementary category of minor household heads, the mother was living in 79 instances and deceased in 59 instances. One father and four grandfathers were still living, but retired. In all these five cases the mother was also still living. There was an overwhelming tendency for the first son to be household head, followed by second sons and first daughters equally. The full range is shown below:

Table VI

First Sons	110	Fifth Sons	1
Second Sons	11	Second Daughters	1
First Daughters	11	Common Law (boy)	1
Third Sons	5	Illegitimate (girl)	1
Fourth Sons	2	Adopted Son[2]	1
Sons, Unknown Birth Order	2		
Total			148

1 Refer to "Common Law Children---Numbers", p. 112.

2 This boy's birth order was second son in his family of orientation.

[Kochinda-son]

The distribution by ages, which ranged from four to twenty, is shown below: 162 592

Table VII

Age	Persons	Age	Persons	Age	Persons
4	3	9	8	15	15
5	4	10	9	16	9
6	-	11	3	17	13
7	2	12	5	18	16
8	2	13	9	19	13
		14	15	20	22

Thirty-two orphans were household heads and legally living alone, although in actuality most of them probably resided in houses of relatives. Five more were orphans, although in each case another person of the same sex lived with them.

Even though only thirteen, or 8.8%, of the 148 minor household heads were female, there was a large excess of women in these households. This is accounted for mainly by the aforementioned 79 households, 53.5% of the total, where the mother of the legal but minor household head is still living. For the category as a whole there is an average of about three persons per household:

Table VIII

Average Persons per household	2.98
Average Men per Household	1.34
Average Women per Household	1.64
Sex Ratio	81.5

In the thirteen households that were headed by minor females, twelve consisted only of women. The other household consisted of a fifteen-year-old girl and her two younger brothers of ten and twelve years of age.

Fertility, the Birth Rate, and Birth Control The most widely known but least accurate measure of fertility is the crude birth rate, defined as the number of births per year for each thousand persons in the total population. The crude birth rate for Okinawa Guntō in 1952 was 34.2---less than the rate in the United States in 1890---while the rate for Kochinda-son was 38.1 in the same year. Japan's crude birth rate in 1938 was 27.0, and had increased to 32.8 by 1949. This differential is not surprising in view of the somewhat greater urbanization and consequent slightly lesser frequency of births in the main islands. The prefecture which most closely resembles Okinawa---Kagoshima---is less urbanized and had the higher-than-Okinawa rate of 35.4 in 1949. As of 30 June 1953 the birth rate was 32.2 for the Ryukyus, including the Amami group, and was 34.9 for Okinawa Guntō.[1] 163 171

[1] Pacific Stars and Stripes, 8 Feb 1954. Figures were released on numbers of births and deaths, and total population, by the Public Health Dept. of USCAR.

'Koseki' Changes The present 'koseki'---those used when this SIRI team visited Okinawa---are temporary ones set up about 1948. In some very few areas 'koseki' remain from before the war. Registration in the 'koseki' is not automatic when an individual or family moves into a community. Hence there may even be persons who have bought houselots in a village, rented land there and raised crops---without ever having contacted the 'son' office for change of 'koseki'. Three such instances were observed in Nanahan. Areas such as Goeku-son and the Naha-Mawashi area, which contain many "floaters", may actually have a much larger population than is reported in the census figures. 161 217

'Koseki' Inaccuracies The present 'koseki' not only does not contain information on 'museki' persons, but it is often very far behind---sometimes as much as two years---in recording the movement of persons and families out of the villages and into urban centers.

Because old 'koseki' were for the most part destroyed, information on birthdates is very often inaccurate. The Kochinda 'koseki', for example, is full of requests for changes in birthdates, changes ostensibly sought on the basis of more accurate family records recently discovered or assembled. However, some changes may conceivably be sought in order deliberately to misrepresent one's age to a Company or to the military. Also, the possibility should not be ruled out that some persons change their recorded birthdate in order to bring about a change in their luck. [277]

Accuracy of Kochinda-son Data The statistics on household heads presented above represents the total number of people registered in the Kochinda 'koseki'. It does not take into consideration those persons and families who are recorded as having temporarily moved elsewhere. 217 162 592

Many people in Kochinda who have moved to the city have failed to record that fact in the 'koseki'. Many times this is attributable to apathy and poverty, but may often involve the matter of pride in having one's record in the same 'koseki' as one's close relatives. There is an additional factor at work: most Okinawans realize that the present urban trend brought about by the presence of the military is a temporary phenomenon, and they fully expect to return to the village in event of a lessening of urban opportunities. Thus Okinawa follows the Japanese pattern---by tightening their belts and working a little harder, the farmers can always make their plots feed an additional mouth until some adjustment can be made. [369] [829]

Hence the Kochinda statistics as presented above represent some 2,000 household heads and some 10,000 persons, rather than the census count of some 8,500 persons and 1,970 household heads.

The New 'Koseki' Early in 1954 the Government of the Ryukyu Islands ordered a new 'koseki' to be compiled. It will no doubt be more complete in most respects than is the temporary 'koseki'. The demand for a new 'koseki' came about chiefly because Japanese governmental pension agencies 217 [648]

stoppage of emigration, and public health measures. While the following statistics are worthless from a demographic point of view, they may nevertheless indicate the village trends. 161

Matsuda Village, 1951 163 165

	Births	Deaths
Total	46	11
Male	26	5
Female	20	6

In Gushichan township, where individual village totals were not available, the statistics show a similar trend:

Gushichan Township, 1951

	Births	Deaths
Total	263	52
Male	140	26
Female	123	26

3

What Happened with Repatriation

In the peace time emigration before the war, the intention to return was almost universal. Typically a first son, as the future responsible person for his parents, emigrated as a young man, before marriage, with the intention of accumulating savings and supporting his parents during his absence, later returning to marry if he had not acquired a wife abroad. People in the villages now say that the desire to return has declined sharply with the economic hardships and the threat of renewed warfare, and that Okinawans in foreign countries will probably remain there for the rest of their lives. Okinawans living abroad, according to family registers in the villages, are now mostly in Peru, Brazil, Argentina, and Hawaii. 167 [593] [454] [582]

The effects of repatriation on the township level can be seen from the following statistics for Gushichan township. Comparable statistics were not available in Ginoza-son. 161 728

Pre-war population, 1940	6445
Deaths resulting from the war	1700
Repatriates	1030
Population, December 31, 1951	6267

Despite the fact that deaths resulting from the war must have been between 20% and 25% of the total population of the township, repatriates [727]

857 neighbor's child. Her charge, however is an infant who is still carried and does not yet seek the companionship of other young children. S. interacts less frequently with other children not only because of the age of her charge but also because she is older and hence has more duties at home and in the fields. Furthermore, she was born in 1945, a [163] year when few other children were born in Taira.

K., a boy of 10, is similar to S. in that he has no siblings who need care, the youngest being a 4-year-old girl who can travel with her 7-year-old sisters. In contrast to S., however, he interacts more frequently with children of the same sex and same age or older.

AGGRESSION BETWEEN BOYS AND GIRLS

865 We have touched on the relationship between latency boys and girls
857 in school, implying that the bullying which occurs frequently there is
858 less frequent in the community. Boys sometimes tease girls but less persistently and less often than in school. Since boys associate mostly with boys, and girls with girls, and since contact between sexes of the same age takes place mostly in group names, it is seldom unfriendly. Teasing among boys, and teasing among girls, is common, so that it would be hard to maintain that between the sexes it is more frequent. Once in a while, boys will keep girls out of their game, or girls will be annoyed when boys join them. Some of the kindergarten boys, as we have mentioned, like to be the disruptive agents in peaceful housekeeping games by assuming the role of a robber or wild animal. Two 5-year-old boys who generally enjoy teasing others select girls as their target now and then. Sometimes girls are just the objects of generalized aggression, as in the case presented below. M., a 5-year-old boy, first interacts aggressively with another 5-year-old boy, F., and then turns on a girl.

F. has picked up a piece of pink paper and comes carrying it up to M. He holds it against his chest, stands in front of M. and smiles. "Give it to me," says M., and F. just stands smiling, mumbling, "Hmmm, maybe," but does not hand it over. M. rushes him and attacks him with his fist and takes it away from F. who stands laughing. M. rolls the paper around the end of his stick and walks down the lane toward a group of kindergarten-age girls.

Y. (4-year-old girl) comes walking up from behind M. M. turns around and raises his stick menacingly at her. Y. looks anxious, maneuvers quickly around him to join the girls, and laughs nervously. M. smiles smugly, walks back to boys.

When provoked, the girls will often fight back, and they score equally well, especially in verbal aggression. At other times they accept

161 The percentage growth categories used on Map 6 are as follows:

Negative Growth
Less than Okinawa Average of 22% Growth
23-39% Growth
40-100% Growth
Over 100% Growth

Population Increase During 1951 and 1952 The accelerated military construction program has been quite important in drawing people to the main island of Okinawa. This is shown by [167] the fact that in the years 1951 and 1952 it gained over 47,000 inhabitants. More than 11,000 of these were contractors and construction workers from Japan. About 2,300 more such workers arrived from Japan in the first seven months of 1953.[1]

161 During this two year period, Okinawa's population increased by 5.55%.
166 On Map 7 all areas with an increase of less than that amount are considered as areas of emigration. Those areas where the increase was more than 5.55% are shown as areas of immigration.

All urban areas except Ishikawa continued to grow. Goeku and Kadena, which had in the previous decade grown amazingly fast, continued to be among the fastest-growing 'son' on the island. On the other hand, Kunigami-son and the entire east coast north of Ishikawa City reversed the trend of growth noted on Map 6, and became areas of excessive migration. In part this was due to the improvement of roads along the east coast, thus making the urban trek easier. But it owed just as much to the demand for skilled carpenters, who were abundant along the east coast.

If data were available at the 'aza', or village area level, the urban trend could be localized with greater accuracy. Military government personnel concerned with problems on the island relative to urbanization and its pace are advised to work with population data on the village ('aza' or 'ku') level if greater accuracy is desired. This information is rarely if ever presented in that detailed form to agencies of the Government of the Ryukyu Islands, and local inquiry must be made.

162 The Sex Ratio Okinawa shares with most of the Orient a great density of population per arable acre of land. Aside from this, the out- [161] standing fact about the population of Okinawa is the great preponderance of women over men. There are about 90 men for every 100 women in this area.[2] [54] This excess of women is reflected in such sociological phenomena as prosti- [54] tution, illegitimate and common law children, women functioning as heads of [54] households, and a high fertility ratio. The reasons for the excess are some- [162] what complex, but the most important factor is the recent war, in which many

[1] CAARI, p. 78.

[2] The standard demographic definition of sex ratio is "the number of men for each 100 women."

[Kochinda-son]

The distribution by ages, which ranged from four to twenty, is shown below: 162 592

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Table VIII

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Fertility, the Birth Rate, and Birth Control The most widely known but least accurate measure of fertility is the crude birth rate, defined as the number of births per year for each thousand persons in the total population. The crude birth rate for Okinawa Guntō in 1952 was 34.2---less than the rate in the United States in 1890---while the rate for Kochinda-son was 38.1 in the same year. Japan's crude birth rate in 1938 was 27.0, and had increased to 32.8 by 1949. This differential is not surprising in view of the somewhat greater urbanization and consequent slightly lesser frequency of births in the main islands. The prefecture which most closely resembles Okinawa---Kagoshima---is less urbanized and had the higher-than-Okinawa rate of 35.4 in 1949. As of 30 June 1953 the birth rate was 32.2 for the Ryukyus, including the Amami group, and was 34.9 for Okinawa Guntō.[1] 163 171

[1] Pacific Stars and Stripes, 8 Feb 1954. Figures were released of numbers of births and deaths, and total population, by the Public Health Dept. of USCAR.

[Kochinda-son]

163 The prewar birthrate figures for Okinawa-ken include the following: 1936--26.2; 1937--26.4; and 1938--27.2.[1] So it is evident that in the prewar period there was a slight tendency for the birth rate to increase. A decrease is noted for recent years. In 1951 the birth rate was 36.7 for the Ryukyus as a whole, and was 34.2 in 1952.[2]

A more nearly accurate measure of the rapidity of the increase in population is the fertility ratio. For this study it was defined as the ratio of children under five years of age to the number of women aged fifteen to forty inclusive. The fertility ratio in 1953 for Kochinda-son was 663. This may be compared to the United States average of 464 for the white [171] rural-farm population in 1940, or the average of 587 for the Negro rural-farm population in the same year. The 1947 fertility ratio in Japan was 528.[3]

842 Most Okinawan men are familiar with the condom method of preventing [171] conception. The Japanese Army was said to have followed a policy of distributing packages as men left the posts for liberty. A brand called "Shikishima" could also be bought at drug stores. One farmer asked me if there was a shot in the arm that a woman could get so as to render her sterile for a two-week period.

847 Informants stated that abortions were sometimes performed before the war, but were rare. Postwar doctors are not supposed to perform abortions unless the husband consents in person.

163 178 Spacing of Births By an analysis of the period between births, it may be possible to learn of shifts in frequency of births. For this purpose, a sampling was made of families with complete birth records in 25% of the households of Kochinda-son. The same villages were checked for postwar birth records. Only families with three or more postwar births were included in the latter category. Families with complete birth records covering both the pre- and post-invasion periods were also checked.

The comparison between the 37 households representing complete prewar records and the 39 households representing the postwar records of three or more births can best be seen by examining the following table:

Table IX

	Prewar	Postwar
Average Age of Mother at Birth of First Child	23.1	22.4
Average Age of Father at Birth of First Child	29.6[4]	27.1[5]

1 Navy Civil Affairs Handbook, page 56.
2 CAARI, p. 76. Projected annual rates per 1,000 inhabitants based upon estimated midyear population.
3 Japan Statistical Yearbook, 1950, p. 17. The population figures used are valid for 1 October 1947.
4 The ages of only nine prewar fathers were available. The remainder were war dead, and were not recorded in the temporary 'koseki'.
5 All 39 cases are represented above.

[Kochinda-son]

Table IX, cont'd.

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	Prewar	Postwar
Average Time in Months Between First and Second Births	38.8	27.6
Average Time in Months Between Second and Third Births	35.7	27.7
Total Average Months Between All Births	35.7	27.6

It is seen that the postwar Okinawan mother apparently has her first child more than half a year earlier than did the prewar mother. Furthermore, the average spacing between births appears to be about eight to eleven months less in the postwar period. Explanations for this apparent difference---which might prove to be less if a larger sample were available---include delays caused by prewar military service, and the possibility that stillbirths were more frequent and infant mortality higher in the prewar period.

The invasion and the subsequent period of internment and resettlement caused a temporary lengthening in the spacing of births. Data for the 98 households in the same villages used above, wherein were found complete prewar-postwar continuous birth records, indicated an average of 55 months between the birth of the last baby before the invasion, and the first one born thereafter. In addition, it should be noted that the average age of postwar fathers at first birth above is 27.1 years, but the average age of fathers whose date of postwar marriage is recorded at first birth below is 25.0 years. This situation means only that in many cases the mothers of postwar families were second wives. In most of these instances the first wife had died during the war.

Postwar Marriage: Attitudes Dr. John F. Embree, in his monumental work Suye Mura, thus describes the rural Japanese attitude toward marriage: "The birth of a child is a much more certain sign of a permanent marriage than is a wedding ceremony. Indeed, a marriage is often not put in the village office records until after a child is on its way."[1] The Okinawan attitude is much the same. 581 171

In analyzing the 177 postwar recorded marriages that resulted in children, 29 marriages, or only 16% of the total, were found to have been recorded in the 'koseki' more than nine months before the birth of the first child. Marriages were recorded after the birth of the first child in 71 cases, representing 40% of the total. 582

Marriages Recorded Before Conception In the first category, the husband was younger in six of the 29 cases. In no case had the husband had

[1] John F. Embree, Suye Mura: A Japanese Village, U. of Chicago Press, 1939, p. 182.

[Kochinda-son]

(Birth Orders...)	(Comments...)
848 851 Fourth Son	He has had a son and daughter by his legal wife, and three children by his "secret wife." He had the third common law child after the age of thirty.
Fifth Son	He is unmarried and lives with his parents. His elder sister has had an illegitimate child.

163 848 851 Mothers The ages of the mothers at birth of the common law child were available in only thirty, or 53%, of the 57 cases. One half of the first births occurred to mothers aged 17 to 24 years inclusive. The range of mothers' ages at first common law births was from seventeen years ten months to forty years one month.

848 851 Registration Thirty births were registered in the 'koseki' of the fathers, and twenty-two in the mothers' 'koseki'. One common law child had become a 'yōshi', and it could not be determined where he had been registered. Four were adults whose 'koseki' registration at time of birth was unascertainable.

848 Illegitimate Children In the Kochinda-son 'koseki' at time of copying, 112 persons were registered as having been born "illegitimate", or 'shiseiji'. Twenty-eight of these, or 25%, were born prior to 1 January 1946. That is, these were conceived before the invasion. The remaining 84, constituting 75% of the total, were born after 1 January 1946. As of 31 December 1953 there were 106 living registered illegitimates.[1]

Mothers Because there were nine cases of women who had two illegitimate children, a total of 103 mothers were involved. Of those nine mothers bearing double illegitimates, six were widows. In two of the nine cases the children were fourth and fifth order births. In two cases they were third and fourth order births---one of the latter were twins. In three cases the children were first and second order births, and were first and third order in another instance. There was one case in which the mother had probably had legal children who were war dead. The birth orders of the mothers are as follows:

Table XX

Birth Order of Mothers	Number of Mothers
First Daughter	38
Second Daughter	23
Third Daughter	10
Fourth Daughter	6
Fifth Daughter	1
Birth Order Unknown	24
Total:	103

[1] Two had become common law children, one became a legal child, two had died, and one was not born until January 1954.

[Kochinda-son]

A total of nine households contain the illegitimates of Kanegusuku, as do nine households in Kitazato. In the latter village, one household has six illegitimates. Lebra, who collected the above information, comments: "A straight 'koseki' count for Kanegusuku indicated a total of 32 illegitimates for the village, with a 'koseki' population of 689. A house-to-house check and consultation with the village mayor ('kuchō') resulted in a population of 501 and only 12 illegitimates. A recheck indicated that most were transient families that settled in the village temporarily following the war, some were from the former fifth 'han' of Kanegusuku (now a part of Itoman), and a small number were Kanegusuku people who moved elsewhere." 848

"The Kitazato figures above are based on a straight 'koseki' count. However, unlike Kanegusuku, the 'koseki' count and that of the 'kuchō' are so close that I accepted the former as reasonably accurate although I suspect that it is a bit lower. The 'kuchō' explained the discrepancy as being due to the great number of 'seinen' (youth) who have gone to the city for work and have not taken their 'koseki' with them."

Birth Order Of the 94 cases of single illegitimates, twenty (21.3%) were not children of first order birth. Of these twenty, sixteen were offspring of widows. The birth orders of single illegitimates are shown below:

Table XXIV

Birth Order	Number of Children
First Child	74
Second Child	12
Third Child	3
Fourth Child	4
Fifth Child	1
Total:	94

Season of Birth The chart of the month and year of births of illegitimates presented below is suggestive of possible relationships of date of conception of illegitimates to both international events and local holidays.

Table XXV

Birth Month	'53	'52	'51	'50	'49	'48	'47	'46	'45	Pre-'45	Month of Conception	Total Births
Jan.	1		3	1		2	2		1	1	April	11
Feb.		2			1	1	1			3	May	8
Mar.		2	2	1				1		3	June	9
Apr.	1			1	2	1					July	5
May	4		3	1						4	August	12
June		1	2	1	1					3	September	8
July	1	2		1	2	2	1	1		1	October	11
Aug.	1	1		2	2		1	2		2	November	11

848
163

[Kochinda-son]

Table XXV, cont'd.

848 163

Birth Month	'53	'52	'51	'50	'49	'48	'47	'46	'45	Pre-'45	Month of Conception	Total Births
Sept.	1		4	1						1	December	7
Oct.		1	1		2					1	January	5
Nov.	1	2	4	1	1		1	1		5	February	16
Dec.	1		1			1	1		1	1	March	6
Total:	11	11	20	10	11	7	7	5	2	25		109[1]

The number of illegitimate children born in the year and a half following the outbreak of the Korean War doubled. The demoralization and uncertainty which accompanied the withdrawal of United Nations forces may be reflected in the rise in illegitimacy. Similarly it is seen that the rate returned to its postwar normal course with the advance of the fighting to positions nearer the Thirty-eighth Parallel.

848 163 527 Interesting also is the "season of conception" pattern that is suggested by the above chart. The greatest number of mothers were impregnated in February, which in most years contains the Lunar New Year's season. It is the occasion for much visiting around and many parties. The month containing the next highest number of impregnations is August. This is the month of the O-bon season, when community contests are held, and 'awamori' flows even more freely than usual. October and November---seasons of cooperative rice harvest---and April, the month of lunar sangwachi sannichi (Third Month, Third Day---Women's Festival), are the months of the third most frequent impregnations, or conceptions.

163 To some extent this approximates the season of birth pattern for Okinawa Guntō in 1951 and 1952:

Table XXVI

Month of Birth	Births 1951[2]	Births 1952[2]	Total Births 1951-1952	Month of Conception
January	2,347	2,056	4,403	April
February	1,876	2,108	3,984	May
March	2,108	1,837	3,945	June
April	1,713	1,713	3,426	July
May	1,711	1,563	3,274	August
June	1,575	1,396	2,971	September
July	1,602	1,366	2,968	October
August	1,851	1,449	3,300	November
September	1,792	1,868	3,660	December
October	2,326	2,245	4,571	January
November	2,414	2,106	4,520	February
December	1,753	2,268	4,021	March

1 This excludes two whose birthdate data were not complete, and one born in 1954.

2 Civil Affairs Activities in the Ryukyu Islands, Vol. 1, no. 2, p. 77.

[Kochinda-son]

January, February and April lead in total numbers of births. However, August is the lower fourth in number of conceptions. The possible relationship suggested above awaits validating or disproving when more 'son' can be studied in order to obtain a larger sample. The subject is here mentioned in order to provide researchers with a new path of inquiry. 163

Widows as Mothers of Illegitimates Twenty-nine widows are mothers of 35 illegitimate children. One had twins, and five other widows had illegitimate children in tandem. In the months of February, August, April, October and November, 19 widows conceived illegitimate children, while in the remaining seven months only 15 illegitimates were conceived. The sample involved here is too small to do more than suggest a possible correlation of date of conception and festivals. The possibility should be kept in mind, however, by anyone who does further research on Okinawan population. 848 163

Mixed Blood Illegitimates There are only two registered illegitimates in Kochinda-son who have non-Okinawan fathers. Both are from one village, and neither are included in the above analysis. The 'son' office personnel said that they have heard of about seven or eight more, but that they are not registered as such in the 'koseki'. According to them, the children of mixed blood are probably not registered at all, and will not be until they become of school age. 848 [144]

Connections with Divorce Three illegitimate children were the cause of divorces. One husband divorced his wife upon the birth of her illegitimate child, and sent her and the child back to her parents' home. Another husband recorded the divorce of his wife and the adoption by him of her illegitimate daughter the same day. In the third instance, the widow of a man killed in the war bore an illegitimate girl child. The widow's parents-in-law forced her to return to her family and to record in the 'koseki' a divorce from her deceased husband. 848 586

Accuracy of Figures There are more illegitimates in the 'son' than are registered in the 'koseki' as such. Quite often in the prewar period---and possibly even now---the husband's child by another woman was recorded as the son or daughter of his legal wife. In one case the 'koseki' record showed one woman as bearing two children seven months apart. Investigation showed that the above method of recording had been used. The same method of concealment is often used when a man's unmarried daughter bears a child. 848

Postwar Divorces While there were 264 postwar marriages recorded in the 'koseki' of Kochinda-son, 54 postwar divorces were entered into the record for the same period. This would indicate a rough divorce rate of 20.4 in Kochinda. Since in America one in four marriages ends in divorce[1], and in Japan the rate (as of 1949) is 9.7, it is clear that the Okinawan divorce rate much more closely resembles the American. This Okinawan rate is confirmed by the 1952 statistics, which showed a rate of 20.3 (3,220 marriages and 653 divorces)[2] for Okinawa Guntō. 586 [171]

1 George C. Homans, The Human Group, p. 276.
2 Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku, p. 1.

114 much as possible the customary ways of doing things, and though one could
121 not hope for an unchanging or an isolated village, one could find a vil-
184 lage relatively so, even if, as was the case with all the villages, they had felt the effects of the deadly campaign for Okinawa.

On one of these trips, I talked with the headman of the village of Hanashiro and then with the officials in the nearby village office of Oushichan, and concluded on the basis of what I saw of the agriculture and the conditions described by these officials, that this small village would be a satisfactory selection. In the beginning, an epidemic of encephalitis made it wise to be away from the village at night and for [164] the first month the investigations were confined to daytime work. This was a serious handicap which I tried to overcome later in the tour by living in the village.

While working in Hanashiro, I had frequent occasion to pass the villages of Minatogawa-ikku and Minatogawa-niku, and I was impressed with the opportunity to study the life of a village in which agriculture [226] did not predominate, and in which the chief emphasis was on fishing and [324] stonecutting. I therefore decided to include the fishing village, and took up residence there late in August 1951, making frequent trips on the side to Hanashiro.

As interest and awareness increased, I became convinced that another type of village should be added to the agricultural and fishing selections. It should be one in the northern forested area (the Kunigami region). [361] After discussing this with American and Okinawan forestry officials, I followed their suggestion and lived in the village of Matsuda in Ginoza township. It proved to be a good choice, with the possible reservation that Matsuda is somewhat of a model village whose conditions might be better than the average.

The villages needed to be small enough for one man to study. And they proved to be admirable communities for realizing my original intention of showing similarities and contrasts in an agricultural village, a fishing village, and a village in a forest setting.

121 The results do not constitute a complete ethnography of each of the villages. Such was not my intention, and this could not have been done in the time available. The material has been organized around four central subjects: (1) the nature of the family system and its influence through [128] inheritance on land tenure and land use, (2) ways of life as illustrated in the studies of the agricultural, fishing-stonecutting, and forest communities, (3) daily family life as a concrete expression of the family system, and (4) wider community relationships, including political and cooperative organizations, education, and religion.

The basic theme is that a fruitful approach to the study of modern cultures lies in the borderland area between the social and the natural sciences, and that, in the case of these Okinawan villages, the study [311] would take the form of discovering in what ways the people are using their natural environment and the manner in which the culture has changed and

1

Generalities on the Population History of Okinawa Island

Virtually nothing is known, to my knowledge, of the growth of population in Okinawa in historic times. Early travellers made some estimates, but they gave no basis for them. In a previous chapter, it was mentioned that the introduction of the sweet potato in the early 17th century must have allowed a greater population on the island than had hitherto been the case. No doubt also malaria and other diseases kept the population down, at least until the latter part of the 19th century. This ignorance of population growth extends down to recent history.[1]

There seems to have been very little immigration to the Ryukyus and the population has probably been homogeneous for long periods of time. There were many Japanese in Okinawa, but these were largely in the towns and main cities. Most of them left after the war.[2] This meant that the population of Okinawa continued to be made up of preponderantly the native born, though in recent years there has been some immigration of Amamians.

Emigration during the 20th century has been the outstanding fact in the population history of the island. Little is known of the nature of this emigration, but it is believed to have started in the early years of the twentieth century. Until World War II, emigration was the answer to the problem of a population that was growing beyond the ability of the island's resources to support it. It has been estimated that the emigration from Okinawa prefecture in the period 1920-1940 was over 193,400 persons. This represented a loss of 98% of the estimated natural increase for the 1920-1940 period. It was 34% of the prefecture's total 1920 population.[3]

The Okinawan campaign, also, was accompanied by large scale displacements of people who remained on the island. It was estimated that in a pre-invasion shifting of the population, over 3/4 of the people

[Text continues on top of p. 60--analyst]

1 Dr. Green in 1853 estimated the population of Okinawa at 150,000 or possibly 200,000. But this was only a crude guess. Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 36. For population estimates prior to World War II, see CA Handbook, as cited, 45-51.

2 As of Nov. 30, 1946, 57,345 Japanese, 1,755 Koreans, and 21 Formosans had been repatriated from the Ryukyus, with 3,706 Japanese remaining to be repatriated. See note 3 following.

3 Newman, Marshall T. and Eng, Roman, L. The Ryukyu people, a biological appraisal. Amer. Journ. of physical anthropology, n.s., 5 (1947), 113-57. Reference on pp. 135-36. This estimate was made by subtracting the estimated natural increase from the total increase, 1920-40, making allowances for the under registration of births. On postwar population history immediately following the war, see pp. 135-46 of this article.

324 The truck or horsecart of the buyer comes to the stonecutting area,
432 the blocks are loaded and taken away. Prior to sale, for convenience,
stone may be taken from the cutting area. It is loaded on horse carts,
[494] the men carrying the heavy blocks by means of ropes looped around the
[483] ends of the stone and over poles which in turn rest on the shoulders.
A six foot length (1 ken linear measure), one foot wide and about ten
[804] inches thick sells for ¥140 (1951-52).
[435]

Foot injuries are the chief hazards of this occupation. The toes may be accidentally cut by the long chisel, and there is danger of bruising or crushing by accidentally dropping the block, or by
316 rolling when it is being dislodged. Very hard and calloused hands are
[164] the mark of the stonecutter; his hands are especially conspicuous for the hard, raised areas on the pals around the base of the fingers, the
[142] result of the constant lifting and pounding of the long chisel. There is also danger to the eyes in flying chips but few use glasses or goggles.

Like some phases of fishing, this work is for the young and the
[561] physically mature men. After the middle forties or early fifties, a man no longer does the heavy work and confines himself to lighter chores. The very old and the retired may chip and finish the foundation and the pyramidal stones.

472 If a cutter is unable to extract all the stone in a plot whose stone he has bought, there are also customary solutions. When the father dies, his son continues the workings and returns the field to the owner. If a stone worker moves to another village when only half the work has been done, he arranges for a friend, relative, or neighbor to take over the remaining part.

4

Restoring the Land

185 Formerly excavations (which might be 10 or 15 feet deep and the
311 size of a large room) were refilled by the buyer of the stone rights.
Rocks, pebbles, and miscellaneous trash were used as fill, but following the war there has been a heavy demand for rock and stone for road
[499] construction. As a consequence, many excavations are now only partly refilled. After refilling, houses are built on the sites of formerly excavated land. Here and there one can see sweet potatoes or vegetables growing on land which formerly was covered with stone. The original state of the land, its appearance after excavation and its restoration may be seen in Figure 2. Evidences of this reclamation may be seen throughout the stoneworking area.

324 Minatogawa, because it lacks vegetation for protective and decorative purposes, is a good example of the use and adaptation of stone to local needs. There are still stone fences, waist or shoulder height, and many small stone boundary lines, a foot or two and of uneven height. Coral stones, weathered by the sea, honeycombed and pocked, are seen everywhere.

Nevertheless, to superficial observation at least, villagers seem to enjoy good health. Most of them are energetic. Obesity is very unusual. The average man or woman of any age has little spare flesh. The most frequent complaints are of dysentery, constipation, colds, boils and swellings, and intestinal parasites. There are signs of malnutrition in the distended bellies of some small children, probably due to the unrelieved and starchy diet of the sweet potato,[6] with extremely few animal fats and proteins. 146 [164]

The sores and scabs on the heads, faces, arms, and legs of infants and young children are still the curse of childhood, conditions made worse by the flies which swarm around them. (In summer, I have seen as many as 20 flies on the face of a sleeping child without a trace of any muscular reaction). There are few Okinawans today who do not bear the scars of these sores of infancy, especially on the scalp. (Young men are sensitive about this and it is one reason also for keeping the hair long). Younger parents now are beginning to use various disinfecting powders and talcs to prevent these sores (which look like impetigo) and seem to have abandoned the attitude of a previous generation that these were childhood experiences to be endured. Much could be done to eliminate these diseases of childhood by a campaign in which local groups like the Women's Association and the public health authorities joined. 164 [751] 000

In the summer months, Jap B encephalitis (known as nÜen) is very much dreaded. Some villagers had only a vague idea that it was a brain fever and a few knew that the mosquito was the vector. 164 [753]

According to residents of each of the villages, no cases of leprosy had been discovered in recent years. This disease is also dreaded and I doubt that an attempt would be made to conceal a case.

Young people have uncommonly beautiful, evenly spaced, white teeth. This seems to have been an Okinawan characteristic for a long time, as Basil Hall commented upon it 135 years ago. Around the late teens or early twenties, the teeth decay, and there are many extractions and replacements with gold or steel false teeth. Some extractions are intentional, especially among young girls who believe that a gold tooth sets them apart and adds to beauty. But I am convinced that this is of minor importance as an explanation. Okinawans [145] [757] [832]

6 I am not acquainted with any analyses of the composition of the Okinawan sweet potato. In laboratory tests of an improved high-starch American variety, the composition when ground for starch was: moisture, 64.5%; starch, 25.5%; sugars, 2.8%; crude protein, 1.5%; pectic substances, 2.2%; crude fat, 0.6%; mineral matter, 0.9%; other, 2%. Sweet potato carotene can be readily converted to Vitamin A. See Dawson, P. R., Greathouse, L. H., and Gordon, W. O. Sweet potatoes: more than starch. In: Crops in peace and war. (U. S. Dept. of Agric., The yearbook of agriculture 1950-51) Washington, 195-203. Ref. on 195, 201. [146]

164 Okinawans blame tooth decay on the brown sugar. It may be diet or water.
[753] Use of tooth brushes varies considerably with individuals and
[515] families.

The standard of cleanliness in Okinawan homes is not high,
515 but this cannot be ascribed to indifference. One should constantly
511 bear in mind that it is easy to keep clean with plenty of soap, showers, hot running water, washing machines, and flush toilets.

9

Native Medicine

278 The native medicine has already been referred to in the discussion of fish and wild plants used as medicines. Their use has declined with growing reliance on manufactured drugs and pharmaceuticals.

[750] The golden needle (kinbari) is still used by rural doctors (yabu)
[759] in the treatment of inflamations of the joints and rheumatism. There was one such doctor in Hinatogawa, but ordinarily he is called only when real medical attention is not available.

The needle is scarcely thicker than a horse hair. It is encased
[413] in a shaft about 2 3/8 inches long. The grip or base of the needle is 3/4 of an inch long and the needle itself 1 7/8 inches. The needle is tapped and gradually worked into the affected part, and a length from 3/4 to one inch is broken off and allowed to remain in the body and circulate to effect its curative powers.

Blood letting is still practiced, often by the individual himself. Thin cuts are made with a razor, generally on the forehead above the eyebrows and slanting toward the bridge of the nose. This is done to relieve headaches and general pains and may be resorted to after aspirin has failed to relieve a headache. On a close look, one can often observe the slight, thin, long scars, which look like tiny wrinkles, resulting from these slashes. During the operation, a sake cup is held up to the place being cut. The cup may even have a little sake in it. When done by a native doctor, the blood may be sucked through a small tube and allowed to drip into a sake cup.

Cauterization using moguse (moxa) also is still common. One can frequently see scar tissue, the results of burning moguse on the flesh, usually in the area around the wrist. Moguse is applied with glowing charcoal sticks, burning thread, or tobacco. It is used for no specific complaint, but as a counter-irritant cureall for a wide variety of ailments.

Acupuncture apparently is little used now. Formerly an area was pricked with a needle, or a series of needles brought to a point, and
[386] an indigo dye applied. One can observe these round spots, circles of dots, occasionally on the shoulders and the backs of older people. These should not be confused with tattooing.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

vations one finds temperate zone forests. Typical for the area are numerous grasses growing along the mountainside and on top of hills. Among them, the most permanent in appearance and use are miscanthus grass and a dwarf bamboo. Panadanns bushes line the beaches and areas close to them. Pine trees are common. Fukugi trees grow in the village but also in the hinterland. Here and there cycad palms lend the scenery a special tropical touch. Wild flowers grow almost all year. 137

The heavy underbrush is the habitat of several species of poisonous snakes for which the Ryukyu Islands are notorious. The most common, the *habu*, a pit viper, feeds on rats and other small animals and often enters the actual village area. Since rats outnumber humans in Okinawa by an approximate ratio of three to one, these snakes find ample food. Their search sometimes takes them into the rafters of thatch-roofed houses. This danger is present from March until October. People are bitten if they happen to step on the hidden reptiles or sometimes while they sleep. Children are taught by their elders to be careful, and during our study no children were bitten. 136 [164]

Insects are another source of irritation. Mosquitoes attack quite viciously during the summer; fleas, which live in the sand and in straw or reed mats, inflict bites at any time but are seldom carried in clothes. Flies do not seem to annoy the villagers although they are thick wherever food is left in the open and near the pig pens and outhouses.

The number of motor vehicles passing through Taira is small. A few heavy lumber trucks and an occasional U.S. Army vehicle drive through the main street. Four buses daily, two in the morning and two in the afternoon, connect Taira with other villages in Higashi township and the rest of the island. Because traffic is sparse, and it is difficult to catch a ride, persons intending to leave the community in the middle of the day often take the 50-minute walk to the other side of the island where buses pass every 30 minutes on the coastal highway. Villages frequently take trips to the nearby provincial market town of Nago or even to Naha, the capitol. 489 493 494 [489]

THE CLIMATE

In spite of Okinawa's subtropical geographic position, it has distinct seasonal differences demanding appropriate adjustments in living routine and clothing. Temperatures in the Taira region may reach a minimum of 38 degrees in January and February and a maximum of 96 degrees in July or August. The average daily mean temperature, 132

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Chapter 9

Disease and Medical Practice

164 From a world-wide point of view, Okinawa is not one of the most diseased and famine-ridden areas. Still, the statement referring to pre-World War II times that "the inhabitants of the Ryukyus do not enjoy particularly good health" (*Civil Affairs Handbook, Ryukyu Islands,* 1944, p. 145) applies as well to the present. Although Okinawans have been subject to the special concern and control of both Ryukyuan and American authorities since World War II, general health conditions, particularly in the area of some major diseases, have not materially improved in the past five years. In 1954, 13,318 new cases* of communicable diseases were reported for all of the Ryukyus (Civil Affairs Activities in the Ryukyu Islands, vol. II, no. 2, 1954, pp. 176–177), or approximately one person in every 60 was affected. Among these, tuberculosis rated second highest (after venereal diseases), accounting for 2307 new cases or one in approximately every 333 persons. To these figures must be added patients from previous years whose cases are still active, in order to comprehend the severity with which this and other diseases affect the island. A further constant threat is dysentery and Japanese encephalitis, which occasionally affect villages like Taira with sudden epidemics. Another slightly less severe disease of constant concern is trachoma (1583 new cases reported in 1954). Less serious but quite prevalent are skin diseases and intestinal parasites. There are still several new cases of leprosy reported annually for the Ryukyus.

Taira, during our study, was spared any of the dangerous epidemics just mentioned, and even tuberculosis seemed to have a relatively low incidence in the village. There were several cases of pleurisy among some older students, some of whom had to stay home from school for an extended period of time. On the whole, serious communicable

* For a total population of 782,564.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

diseases seemed to be below the expected rate for Okinawa, in general, and we had the impression that Taira people are healthy on the whole. Only one case of leprosy, which had been removed to a special hospital on the island of Yagaji, was reported from Taira.

Among the children there were frequent complaints of intestinal diseases. Most children seem to lodge a variety of parasites, mostly hookworms and tapeworms, and many were subject to skin ailments. One girl had a severe case of what was thought by the nurse to be congenital syphilis. The skin of her whole body was covered with sores which were a constant source of irritation. This 4-year-old never appeared in the company of children other than her younger sister. She would stand in front of her house, her face swollen, her head stooped from discomfort and embarrassment. Almost all children have impetigo and various kinds of rashes. During the summer these cover their faces and parts of the body. Almost all have marks of boils which have plagued them in the course of years.

Because sickness is always a threat, it creates fear, and any explanation which may restore some hope is important knowledge. Although some Western or modern theories about disease have been introduced recently through the school and the village nurse, they filter into every house only slowly and do not materially affect what has been handed down as popular knowledge from older members of each household. Most Taira people are probably quite eclectic in their beliefs as well as in their choice of treatments, so that it would be difficult to ascribe to them any single body of theory of disease.

Home remedies, often applied by old women, are widespread. The most popular ones are blood letting and the use of *moxa* cautery. Whenever people agree that there is "bad" blood in an adult's or child's system, it must be removed. There are many phenomena which are accounted for by the presence of "bad" blood. Visible signs such as eczema of the skin or swellings are such indications, but malfunctioning of certain organs, the stomach, liver, kidneys, can also call for the removal of "bad" blood. Mothers expose infants as young as five days to the treatment, which may be preventive as well as curative. Pointing to a bluish green area on the infant's back (not the mongoloid spot), whether real or imagined, the mother swabs the area with sake before she or the grandmother make numerous ¼-inch incisions with a razor. After the blood starts to ooze out of the tiny wounds, more sake is rubbed into the skin. The mixture of blood and sake is caught and rubbed on again and again until all the undesirable blood has been drained.

So many Taira babies have eczema that this treatment takes place

757 frequently and may be repeated as many as four times during the
[854] first year of a child's life. An older child occasionally undergoes this
[164] treatment for a case of violent impetigo. Even a horse may be bled in
[232] this way for loss of appetite or other symptoms of disease.
[578] A woman whose face had been struck in an unusual display of temper underwent a blood letting soon after a swelling appeared. Her neighbor from across the street, a farmer like everyone else, sterilized her cheek with iodine and then cut it with a razor until the blood flowed freely. After a night's rest, the woman appeared outside her house without any signs of swelling and seemingly recovered.

753 As was pointed out previously, many diseases are believed to be
776 caused by supernatural forces: the ancestor spirits, spirits of those who
769 have just died, and natural deities and evil spirits who wander around
775 at night. The ancestors expect proper respect and attention and in gen-
[764] eral are benevolent unless neglected. Spirits of those who have recently died are most dangerous if the deceased is from another village. For deceased villagers one is careful to purify oneself after the funeral. The doors of each house are shut at night to protect against the evil spirits of the night air. Disease is less frequently caused by natural deities who have been neglected or mistreated.

755 In case of sickness or other unfortunate events in the family, some-
756 body may go to consult the *yuta,* a shaman who communicates with
[787] the supernatural. She discovers the cause of misfortune with the help of rice oracles and through powers of divination received through visions and hallucinations. There is no *yuta* living in Taira now, so that people have to travel to the other side of the island, an hour or more on foot, if they want to learn about the source of some evil. Taira
[769] people make many such trips to consult this shamanistic specialist. The most common cause of misfortune discovered by the *yuta* is neglect of ceremonies to the ancestral gods or, less frequently, the neglect of cere-
[793] monies to the natural deities. Although the *yuta* stands in no direct connection with the high priestess, she may suggest that her client ask the priestess for special prayers to rectify the negligence. In such cases, then, the competence of individuals in the family may not be adequate to deal with the ancestral world, and the priestess enters into family religion.

597 Some Taira parents still find an adoptive parent for a sickly child in
755 the belief that his own ancestors have caused bad health, and that this
769 can only be remedied by making a formal arrangement which transfers
[796] ancestral responsibility for the child to another family. The child remains with his own parents and only visits his foster parents during the New Year and the midsummer Buddhist *Bon* Festival, which honors ancestors, and perhaps at one or two other occasions during the year.

842 of the economic hardship incurred as a result of large families. A few
[843] of the more outspoken mothers complain bitterly against the old people who expect them to continue bearing children, until three male
[593] heirs are born. Men desire male heirs, and one son is not enough: the favored number is three. Informal interviews reveal that in spite of the cultural preference for sons, mothers welcome daughters, who grow up to be useful helpers. Even if women protest when they feel tired of bearing children, they submit to their husband's demands. Since Japa-
551 nese given names are used today, the practice of naming a girl Sueko
553 (end child), to indicate that one considers her to be the last, is often
842 resorted to. If this proves insufficient and another follows, she might
[177] be called Tomeko (stop child). In one family the wife gave her baby girl the name Sueko to indicate that she did not desire any more children. Her husband, however, disagreed, for he wanted another son, and registered the child without his wife's knowledge under another name.

842 Although the older generation, which has supported large families,
744 looks on birth control measures with distaste, the young mothers circulate information published in Japanese magazines and by the Okinawan public health department on this matter, and a few families actually use contraceptives. However, in general, public health nurses
847 have found it extremely difficult to discuss matters like birth control, abortion, and infanticide with villagers. "We suspect that these measures are practiced everywhere. Of course, with the system of registration and public health nursing, infanticide is hardly possible; however . . . we could not say. . . ." * It is interesting to note that in
[732] Taira there are mental defectives but no physical defectives. Abortion is legal with a doctor's consent, but informants claimed it was not
[848] practiced. There are illegitimate children born in the village.

842 "The seeds, they must match. If they do not match, then it cannot be," explain the villagers. They continue, "It is like planting a field, however; if the soil is hostile to growth, nothing can happen." Thus the villagers express their theories of conception.

843 Cessation of menstrual periods signals the start of pregnancy, and the sudden craving for a particular kind of food forces the woman to acknowledge the fact. Informal interviewing and casual observation reveal that morning sickness is not usual. Women rarely miss a work-
[461] ing day in the fields and mountains even in the early stages of preg-
[522] nancy. One male who failed to appear for work with the rest of the male population of the village was the butt of many a joke. "How now, you are taking over the task of your wife?" teased the men and women.

[164] Malfunction of the kidneys is not uncommon among pregnant

* Personal communication from public health nurses.

women in Taira. Three young mothers, who continued to work despite the discomfort and pain of swollen extremities, consulted with the doctor in the nearby town, and a fourth described this condition, which had prohibited her from any but the most simple and undemanding work. The old people look upon unusual pregnancies in askance. "Work, good, hard physical labor is what we did and we never had any difficulties. Young people pamper themselves." 843 164 [461]

Special foods and advice are proffered the expectant mother for the benefit of the baby. "Eat this so that you will have lots of milk for the baby. Remember that spicy things are bad for the baby. Do you recall the one who was born with a great patch of hair on its arms? Its mother was frightened by a great big cat while she was carrying that child," comment villagers to the mother. Some husbands indulge their wives' cravings for special delicacies like expensive imported fruits. 843 [262]

To keep the baby in position, a sash is wound several times about the pregnant woman's abdomen by a midwife or some old woman. [292]

In the "old days" it was not unusual for a woman to return from the mountains or fields carrying her newborn. Grandmothers recall with relish the days when "Women paid little heed to their condition, did hard work, and had their babies without a whimper." "The women today pamper themselves," snap the wizened grandmothers watching an expectant mother resting between trips to the mountains. 844 843

As the day of parturition approaches, the expectant mother schedules her work to remain as close to the house as possible. When labor starts, she retires to the back room of the house, which is situated next to the kitchen. The medical practitioner, or in his absence a midwife,* is called to assist in the delivery. The husband's mother, if she lives in the house, or other older related women attend. A man may be present during his wife's first delivery but at subsequent births will wait with some of the women in the front room. In the old days a woman was supported by her husband or someone else in a half-sitting position. Nowadays, however, women give birth lying down. Only rarely does a woman in labor cry out in pain. Soft crying is permissible, but any loud demonstration would elicit contemptuous comments from the older women. "If you had worked hard, the baby would not be so big, then labor would not be difficult," is an often heard retort. 844 [759] [152]

Informal interviewing revealed that birth takes place in a large number of cases during late evening or early morning hours. Usually children of the house sleep on undisturbed. Should they awake, they are kept out of the delivery room, although the youngest may be allowed to enter to visit with his mother shortly after delivery. [858] [593]

The newborn is bathed in tepid water then bundled in blankets,

* At present there is no midwife in Taira.

855 the mother becomes pregnant. Usually, however, weaning is not
[262] started in earnest until the mother is three months pregnant.

If the infant has a fever or "bad color," he may be subjected to an-
854 other painful experience, blood letting. Incisions are made on those
757 parts of the body which are thought to be affected, and blood is drawn and caught in a cup. The area is washed with sake. The mother often suckles the baby and holds him while the grandmother or some other older person performs the operation.

854 Babies are diapered and swaddled until they are about a year old. For the first two months their wet and soiled diapers are changed frequently; however, as time goes on, less attention is paid to wet diapers, although those soiled from excreta are promptly changed. Infants are checked often during the raw winter days, but because they are bundled so heavily, there is hardly any danger of their contracting colds as their
● [164] mothers fear. Severe urine burns and annoying diaper rash are more common than colds among young babies.

[855] Although care is taken to keep the infant as clean as possible during the first year of his life, this attitude changes as the child grows older.
[594] This is in large part due to the mother's inability to devote much time to her offspring once she has resumed full participation in economics activities. Depending on the season of the year, babies are bathed from every third or fourth day to once a week. They are bathed almost daily
[744] during the first two months of their lives as a result of the insistence of the village nurse. Water is heated on the kitchen hearth and poured into a small washpan. Mothers test the warmth of the water by immersing their arms up to the elbows and adding cold or hot water as they see fit. Soap is gently applied either with a soft washcloth or with the hands and rinsed off by splashing. On chilly winter days the bath takes place indoors, but on the hot sunny days it takes place right outside the kitchen door. In drying the baby, the mother places him in a large towel and pats the dampness from his body. She is careful to dry the skin at the joints where rash is likely to erupt. Except for the very poor, all families keep a bottle of talcum powder, which is applied right after the bath. Throughout the bath, the mother talks softly to the baby, smiling and tickling him. The atmosphere of the bath at this
[855] time contrasts sharply with that of a later time when the child is 2 and 3 years old.

863 Although there is hardly any possibility that the infant at this time would be able to smear himself with excreta, the opportunity for doing so is present later when he no longer wears diapers but is still untrained. It rarely happens, as the child is almost constantly watched by a caretaker. One mother reported disgustedly that her infant smeared

direction of some tombs in order to prevent the ghosts from coming into the 755
yard. I have also seen a woman who had some training as a nurse throw salt over a hospital patient who had just had a major operation; this was, she said, to cleanse the patient and the bed. Salt is also used as a home 767
remedy for stomach disorders. A mother or grandmother may rub salt on the navel of a child suffering from a stomach ache. According to a small boy who received this treatment, it works.

Prayers are directed toward the supernatural beings who may help 782
one overcome an illness. Curses and spells are directed toward malevolent 755
beings, usually ghosts, when they are the cause of illness. Spells (mannaa, Japanese 'majinai') are verbal formulae that have a magical effect. Persons who are known to know spells and who may be asked to use them for the benefit of others are called mannaasaa ('majinai suru hito'), but spells seem to be useful only for a few diseases and so there is probably little specialization in their use.

To indicate something of the mixture of the natural and the super- 755
natural (to use Western categories) in the treatment of illness in the Oki- 757
nawan home, I have appended a description of the notions about and treatment of a few diseases as observed and as described by informants. These are all skin ailments.

1. Kamigasaa A kasa (skin eruption or rash) caused by kami (gods). 755 757

a. Irigasaa Identified as the same as the Japanese 'hashika' 753
(dictionary translation, "measles"). This disease is caught only once, [64]
usually as a child. One must catch it before he becomes a complete person ('ichiminmae'). Because children sometimes die of it, parents worry before they have caught it but are eager to have it over with. There are lighter and heavier "requests" ('o-negai') so that if a child has a "light request" the parents of other children may bring them in to lie beside the sick child and eat what food he leaves in order that they may contact the disease. But the disease is given by the god and therefore the other children get it only if they were meant to do so.

The disease begins with a fever and then a rash appears on the head and moves downward. If the rash does not appear the fever may rise and therefore parents worry if the rash is delayed. If there is no rash visible it may be that the rash is on the inside unable to get out and thus is causing the fever. This is dangerous.

Careful treatment is essential. The god comes around to see how the patient is being treated; if the family is not watching the child carefully, the god makes the disease worse. In a case observed, the mother kept the child in bed covered with a thick quilt and mosquito net and sat beside him, fanning him almost continuously. Polite language is also necessary in order not to offend the god.

759 757 [278] The yabuu also prescribe herbal remedies. They do not, however, prepare their medicines, but rather instruct the patient how to gather and prepare the plants for use. The act of preparing one's own medicine may thus have a magical value. Yabuu also prescribe the eating of certain parts of certain animals for their good influence on the corresponding parts of the human body. Dogs and cats are among the animals so used. (This practice may be the source of the belief widespread among Americans on Okinawa that the Okinawans eat dogs; they do, on rare occasions, but not as food, merely as medicine.)

759 Short-cut Systems Standing somewhere between the yabuu and the modern doctor are several types of practitioners who give treatments with heat, light, steam, etc. as all-purpose cures. One man was observed to use a tube in which he burned a substance, probably moxa, while he moved it over the patient's body. His system seemed to be the moxibustion of the yabuu dressed up with "scientific" gadgets. He was described by a friend as "half-doctor half-yabuu", a description that was meant to elicit a favorable response since it implies that he possesses the efficacy of both.

759 278 [164] In addition to these full-time professionals on the fringes of medicine, there are also a number of part-time penicillin-shooters, who are particularly active in areas frequented by American personnel, where they are in demand for the treatment of venereal disease. Penicillin is sold freely and in quantity, perhaps because of the prevalence of venereal disease, and has become a very popular treatment even for very minor infections. Hormone shots also seem to be widely used by untrained persons.

759 [177] Modern Medicine There are of course modern Japanese-trained doctors on Okinawa. But they are relatively few in number, about one for every 3,900 persons.[1] Trained nurses and medical facilities are also too few and too little. But even if there were more doctors and more facilities, it is doubtful that the ordinary Okinawan would make more use of them.

759 753 829 [554] Medical doctors have a high status in Okinawan society. They are admired and respected. Parents frequently express the wish that a son might grow up to become a doctor. But the advice of the doctor is not always heeded. The respect may be more for his education and the social position it gives him than for his professional opinion. In the matter of illness the advice that the ordinary Okinawan respects is more likely to be that of the older members of his own family and of the familiar yuta, sanjinsoo, and yabuu, for this advice is given in terms of insufficiency of worship, soul-loss, and the influence of the twelve-year-cycle. These are concepts that are familiar to him and have an integration with other beliefs, which the concepts dealt with by the doctor do not have. The doctor's very disregard of the supernatural runs counter to the feelings of the

[1] CAARI, Vol. 1, no. 2, p. 52 gives 126 practicing physicians for Okinawa plus 50 working for GRI. Japan has about one for every 1300 persons; Japan Statistical Yearbook, 1950, gives 63,273 (p. 432) and the total population as 80,216,896 (p. 12).

stoppage of emigration, and public health measures. While the following statistics are worthless from a demographic point of view, they may nevertheless indicate the village trends. 161

Matsuda Village, 1951 163 165

	Births	Deaths
Total	46	11
Male	26	5
Female	20	6

In Gushichan township, where individual village totals were not available, the statistics show a similar trend:

Gushichan Township, 1951

	Births	Deaths
Total	263	52
Male	140	26
Female	123	26

3

What Happened with Repatriation

In the peace time emigration before the war, the intention to return was almost universal. Typically a first son, as the future responsible person for his parents, emigrated as a young man, before marriage, with the intention of accumulating savings and supporting his parents during his absence, later returning to marry if he had not acquired a wife abroad. People in the villages now say that the desire to return has declined sharply with the economic hardships and the threat of renewed warfare, and that Okinawans in foreign countries will probably remain there for the rest of their lives. Okinawans living abroad, according to family registers in the villages, are now mostly in Peru, Brazil, Argentina, and Hawaii. 167 [593] [454] [582]

The effects of repatriation on the township level can be seen from the following statistics for Gushichan township. Comparable statistics were not available in Ginoza-son. 161 728

Pre-war population, 1940	6445
Deaths resulting from the war	1700
Repatriates	1030
Population, December 31, 1951	6267

Despite the fact that deaths resulting from the war must have been between 20% and 25% of the total population of the township, repatriates [727]

592

Mother of head, age 48
Grandfather of head, age 65
Younger brother, age 25
Younger brother, age 16
Younger sister, age 9
Younger sister, age 11
Younger brother's wife, age 25
Two nieces, ages 4 and 2, daughters of the eldest younger brother and his wife.

These examples, of which many more could be given, illustrate several points regarding the family system. It is not uncommon to have as many as four generations in a family unit, the present head, his parent, the children, and the grandchildren of the head. There are four generations in illustration #3. The combination of a first son and his wife, with his parents, his younger brothers and sisters, and the head's own children, a common composition, illustrates the responsibilities of the first son both to his parents and to his siblings. Responsibility for illegitimate children is with the family of the girl. Occasionally a husband will accept an illegitimate child born to his wife either before or during the marriage, but it is more usual for the illegitimate child to be reared in the household from which the mother came. In the second illustration, one illegitimate daughter lives with her grandparents and the mother is not in the household. The third illustration shows an unusual situation in which the young head and his wife have their children, his mother, his grandfather, minor younger sisters and brothers, and, in addition, a married younger brother and his wife and their two children. Ordinarily these would have established a branch family and not have been part of the older brother's household. [348]

At present, the commonest family compositions are (1) the biological family, (2) the family with a young eldest son as the head with the widowed mother and other minor brothers and sisters, a type of composition which has increased as a result of the war, (3) uncles, aunts, cousins, and occasionally unrelated persons may live in the house, (4) often grandparents are found with their grandchildren, (5) widows with minor children are also common, an incidence increased by war.

The percentage of widows in Minatogawa, in addition to the casualties of war, is due to the loss of fishermen at sea, a not uncommon tragedy as the typhoon season coincides with the best fishing seasons. Since widows with children seldom remarry, the family composition remains the same until the first son assumes the leadership of the family and the mother resides with him. [62] [65] [58]

Each of the families making up the extended family is either a main or a branch family. This arrangement is repeated in the individual families as well. If we take as an example a family with both parents, a first son, a second son, and a first daughter, we may expect as a normal development that the eldest son will marry between 24 and 27 and live with his wife at the home of his parents, that the father will 596 [582] [591]

174 423 have been affected by roads and trails which have now disappeared.

Old residents[5] of Matsuda and neighboring villages were able to [115] furnish more specific clues regarding the old system and its relation to other phases of village life. These old people estimated the [161] population of Matsuda at the close of the old system at about 360 persons, compared with the present population of 1368. The system operated under much less acute population pressure than exists today. [165] Deaths, especially from malaria, and a high infant mortality kept the population down, although introduced Japanese hygienic measures helped.

[311] Under the old system in Matsuda, there was a continual clearing of land, mostly around the settlement. There seems little doubt that land reclamation and clearing has been going on slowly from the earliest historical times in Okinawa. The land cleared remained under village ownership, but the persons who cleared the property were allowed to hold it for use without giving it up for periodic redistribution. Technical ownership remained with the village.[6] Fences and stone barriers were erected as a protection against the wild boar. But the large scale reclamation and the private ownership of genya land seems to have occurred after the close of the old system.

The dividion of lands at the beginning of the new system has set the boundary pattern of many plots. In Matsuda there were instances of land which has retained the same boundaries that it had under the old system. There was general agreement among the old that the form, boundaries, and areas of land plots have changed very little since the times of the jiwari-seido. This would be par- [428] ticularly true in the case of property which had passed down through the first son. Changes came from the establishment of branch families, [425] and sales and purchases. In these areas, however, buying and selling have been infrequent.

175 423 [171] The history of land tenure in Okinawa, therefore, is different from that of Japan with its long history of tenancy, whose accumulated problems finally led to the land reform of 1946 during the Allied occupation. The present system of land tenure in Okinawa is a little over 50 years old.

178 423 311 The chief influences of the old system were to set in a form recognizable to the present, the pattern of land holding, to establish land classification, and apply it on a very localized basis.

[115] 5 I am indebted here to Shinsato Zensuke of the village of Sokei (Ginoza-son), and to Oshiro-san of Matsuda village (Ginoza-son) both over 70 years of age for their recollections of the history of the system in Matsuda.

[114] 6 This differs from Goldschmidt's account, cited above, in that in this case the land became a usufruct, in the other actual ownership.

8

Daily Life of the Fishing Village

Fishing families may have informal gatherings toward the end of the day. On a late summer afternoon, the family may sit in the open doorway of the house, for hedges, fences, the barriers, and trees are rare. The wife may be nursing her naked child. Her husband, a fisherman, has changed into his indigo blue and white striped kimono, a tall, broad, deeply tanned man. Next to him sits his mother, over 70 years old, her hands tattooed, as are those of all the old women. She is wearing a kimono of the same color, but of a dot pattern. They sit on unrolled mats. On the veranda, three or four men, unwashed and still in their work clothes, discuss the events of the day. A lacquer tray with tea cups is on the floor near them and the tea (as it so often is) may be cold. There is brown sugar to eat along with the tea. The grandmother may be economically smoking a half or a third of a cigarette in the typical Japanese pipe. As it grows later, the wife gets up, pours some water in the stone mortar, and mashes the sweet potatoes with the long wooden pole. The men continue talking for a while, then take their leave. The wife, her work at the mortar finished, goes into the dirt kitchen to start the evening meal.

The wife of the fisherman has worries that do not bother the farmer's wife. There is always the danger that her husband, or son, will not return, a real possibility, of which the frequency of widowhood in Minatogawa is proof. Every season, there is at least one instance of a fisherman who has either been lost, or whose delay in returning has provoked intense worry. If crews are still out when an unexpected storm arises, there is considerable tension in the village. Since the war, rescues at sea are more likely than before. The village headman quickly reports overdue boats. The American forces have created much good will in seeking fishermen lost at sea.

Women, on the other hand, have opportunities for leisure when the catch is light, or weather is unfavorable. At these times, they can busy themselves with other tasks, in the field, gathering stones, getting miscanthus, but they do not have the unremitting activity of the woman in the agricultural village. There is more visiting during the day than one observes in an agricultural village.

The fisherman, with or without land, tries to keep pigs and perhaps a few goats. In Minatogawa, the pens are often made of sandstone quarried here. Not only the floors and the sides, but the stalls are made of this material. One reason for this is the openness of the village and the danger that pigs will be killed in a storm. A typhoon may carry away the house, its owners having gone to the stronger house of a friend or relative, but pigs are an investment and an asset to be guarded.

1

The Okinawan Midwife

Children are born under the care of a midwife (sanba). Physicians do not attend at birth, but they may be called later if complications develop. Native doctors (yabu), who have now largely disappeared, are not consulted. One midwife may serve several villages. She is engaged some months before the expected birth. Midwives are highly respected. The older ones have added to their initial training a wealth of knowledge based on experience. A midwife in Ginosa village takes care of the expectant mothers of Matsuda and one in Gushichan village serves those of Hanashiro and Minatogawa. Midwives long resident in an area are beloved by the children they have delivered. The children when adult visit her, or she is invited to the homes of those at whose birth she has assisted. 844 [159] [554] [574]

Prenatal examinations are made by the midwife in the 3rd, 5th, 7th, and 9th month of pregnancy, the most thorough of those being the last three. The mother goes to the midwife for the examinations, but the birth takes place in the home. A birth other than in one's home is considered bad luck. [843] [777]

Starting with the 5th month, the belly is wrapped around with a flannel sash (a haraobi). On the 5th month, it may be 7 shaku (about 7 feet) long and about 8 inches wide; by the ninth month, a 9 shaku length is used. The sash is not needed, in one midwife's opinion, during the last month of pregnancy, but it may be left on. While the sash is worn, it is taken off three times a month for laundering. The purpose of the binding is to keep the child in its natural position and to prevent it from turning and causing an abnormal delivery. 843 292

After birth, the child may be slapped on the backside if the mother has been in labor 17 hours or more. According to one midwife, the usual labor for a first child is about 17 hours, and 7 for the second. The midwife cuts the umbilical cord and may, but not always, dispose of the afterbirth (taiban, iya in Japanese). 844

In the villages, this may be disposed of by women relatives or by the father. It is buried, following an old custom, behind the house in a place where it does not rain. In Matsuda, women relatives wrap the placenta in a cloth and bury it, while friends, relatives, and children gather around and laugh. There are variants of this custom. In Minatogawa, the afterbirth is wrapped in a cloth and buried back of the house by the father. Neighboring children gather and laugh while this is going on. The reason for the laughing is that the new born child may always smile and be gay. In another variant, the father alone does the laughing. In all villages studied, this custom in its variants still has vitality. [184]

According to a Ginosa midwife, maternal death in child birth is unusual. Hanashiro women said the same. Miscarriages in early 165 843

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

bers may be recruited and present members expelled. In others, which are closed, membership is automatic and inevitable, depending in no way on the behavior of the individuals involved. We are here concerned with these latter groups whose membership is determined by sex, age, kinship, and rules of residence. Whether an American male lives in Connecticut or California, in the city or the suburbs, is to a large degree a matter of his personal preference. This is not the case for everybody in Taira, although there are people who at any time may leave the village to seek their fortune. 571

There are two types of households in Taira: those of oldest sons, who live in the house of their parents, and those of younger sons, who establish a nuclear household of their own, which may be near the house of their father. Many young sons, however, leave the central village and settle in its outlying districts or move to the southern part of the island. Whereas formerly many younger sons moved to Japan or to one of its prewar South Pacific mandates, or to Hawaii and South America, since the end of World War II employment opportunities around U.S. Army installations absorb many such migrants. The oldest son is required to live in his parents' house and eventually take over the duties of a household head. Unmarried younger sons remain in the household until they marry or leave the parental home for work elsewhere. 596 594 [166] [167]

For a woman it is customary to move to her husband's home if he is an older son or into a house in his village if he is a younger son. In the old days this usually involved simply a move in the village, since the preference was to marry a woman from the same community. Nowadays there is no clear-cut preference; a woman from central Taira may become the bride of a man from that part of the village, from one of the outlying parts of Taira, or from another village, usually to the north. Of a sample of 55 marriages, 26 of the wives were from Taira, 29 from other villages, five of which were immediately adjacent. 591 582

The composition of the household, therefore, changes for the individual during his lifetime, and it is not the same for all persons in the village. Several children not only have their parents and at least one paternal grandparent but also paternal aunts or uncles who live under the same roof. If the father is a younger son, only one's parents and siblings are household members. Since houses are small and space is very limited, all these members of the household live in close face-to-face relationship. Women tend to outlive men, so that there are many more old women living with their married sons than old men. This is why children have a grandmother more often in the home than a grandfather (see Table 1). 592 593 [165]

more men than women were killed. The second reason is the fact that in Okinawa, as in most of the rest of the world, women tend to live longer than men.[1] 162 [165]

The prewar sex ratio was somewhat lower, but this condition was primarily caused by the absence of so many men in the military forces and in Japanese industry. The Navy handbook[2] states the following:

> The sex ratio for the archipelago in 1940 was 112 women to 100 men. In Japan Proper in 1939 the comparable ratio was 101 men to 100 women....The two most heavily populated islands---Okinawa and Amami---had sex ratios of 115 and 117 women to 100 men, respectively.

Using the standard demographic definition of sex ratio, this would indicate a sex ratio of 89.2 for the Ryukyus as a whole, and ratios of 87 and 85.5 for Okinawa and Amami in that order.

Although the population section of this report will deal in great part with the analysis of population in one rural 'son', it is of value to examine first the more general picture, so that the detailed facts may be seen in relation to their setting. The number of people in the average household, with masculine-feminine breakdown, and the sex ratio are the most important items for general analysis. The data for several areas, valid as of 31 December 1952, are shown below:[3]

Table I

Political Area	Average Number of Men per Household	Average Number of Women per Household	Average Number of Persons per Household	Sex Ratio
Ryukyus (excluding reverted Amami Oshima)	2.37	2.59	4.96	91.5
Okinawa Guntō	2.27	2.51	4.78	90.5
Naha	2.10	2.30	4.41	92.7
Mawashi	2.46	2.39	4.85	103.0
Naha-Mawashi	2.28	2.34	4.62	95.8
Kochinda-son	2.07	2.24	4.31	92.5

Although there is not much difference in the sex ratio of Okinawa and the Ryukyus as a whole, it appears that there are more persons, both men and women, per household in the southern islands than in Okinawa. Again

1 T. Lynn Smith, Population Analysis, McGraw-Hill, NY, 1948. Tables pp. 252-4.

2 Civil Affairs Handbook, Ryukyu (Loochoo) Islands, OPNAV 13-31, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, Navy Department, 15 November 1944, xiv-334 pp. Statement, page 51.

3 Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku (Monthly Statistics of the Ryukyu Islands) Vol. 3, no. 3, 1953, passim.

175 was that large numbers of refugees from the south were sent to the
177 northern area. The destruction of the heavily populated south and cen-
[166] tral areas, with their many villages, gave new prominence to the nor-
thern district whose villages, much less damaged and less densely populated, were now in the best preserved part of the island. The roles of the two regions had, in a sense, been reversed. The northern region was no longer a rustic hinterland.

In 1945, the Okinawans came under the direct military government
[648] of the Americans, and from these early beginnings, which in the heat of conflict were scarcely more than compounds for the relief and care of refugees, there has evolved the extensive present civil administration and the native government.

175 The Americans have thus been the most recent arrivals on an island
177 with a long history of inertia and change. The results of this last, and probably greatest intrusion into the culture of Okinawa cannot yet be predicted. This cultural influence is a stronger, certainly a much different one, than the great changes which came about when the Japanese set on their course to make over Ryukyuan, especially Okinawan life.

The war years, with conscription and service in the Japanese army
[177] in other parts of the empire, the disruption and deaths in the war, were
[178] effective in preventing the handing down of the traditional culture from one generation to another. This may mean a more ready receptivity to newer influences. It will be clear in the pages that follow that many aspects of the culture, familiar to the old, are now unknown to the young.

177 Whether the American influence will be a conservative one, in the sense that the fundamental attitudes and framework of the culture as it existed before the war, will be retained, or whether it will be a revolutionary intrusion remains to be seen. Will, for example, the individualis of the American culture tend to break down the structure of the family system? Or will American influences assert themselves within the framework of the culture, and will the flexible family system absorb only surface influences, leaving the basic culture as it is?

175 On a preceding page, the point was made that in the earlier periods
177 there probably was not a homogeneous Okinawan culture, that its centers,
184 Naha and Shuri, were under strong contemporary Chinese and Japanese influences, and that in the rural areas an older culture existed relatively unmolested. This gap was narrowed after the island became the seat of a province of the Japanese empire, through such measures as the new land law and the introduction of mass education, direct interferences were made in the traditional life of the rural areas.

175 In my opinion, the American influence so far has been to close this
184 gap even more, but for different reasons. The Americans have made no
648 direct interferences in the lives of the villages, except in those cases

361 traditional attitudes that the north was a culturally rude and physically
311 inhospitable place. The highway which now goes through the center of the main part of the village is a good, hard surfaced, dirt road, widened since the war. A lively traffic of trucks and buses and the three wheel [491] cycles contrasts with the narrow pre-war roads, traces and abandoned sections of which can still be seen. The frequent buses supply transpor- [494] tation to the larger cities and towns of the island: to Nago across the island and slightly to the north, to Ishikawa on the south, and to distan Naha, about 31 miles away.

727 Matsuda, unlike the southern villages, was not destroyed by the war. There were some air raids, some bombing out of the houses, but nothing like the destruction in the main areas of conflict. Early in the Okinaw campaign, the north was cut off and isolated and the struggle for the [362] island took place in central and southern Okinawa. As a consequence, [342] many of the old houses, sturdily built with tile roofs, have been preserv Numerous refugees from the south gathered in this area during and after [166] the campaign. In nearby Ginoza (Jinuza) village, slightly over a mile to the southwest, also on Highway 13, the Americans operated a hospital [743] for Okinawan refugees. It is still in use. This relative lack of war destruction in the northern villages has, to a degree, reversed the roles
184 of the north and the south. The opening up of the north, its prosperity, the survival of many of its old homes, give the impression of comfort and well being conspicuously lacking in most of the makeshift villages of the south.

The descriptions of these three villages perhaps make clear the diversity that can be expected among Okinawan settlements. Hanashiro, the small village cluster, with adjoining rice fields on the valley floor, its other crops on the terraced slopes, is the most typical. Minatogawa, the fishing village in an impoverished countryside of stony or shallow so is dependent on the seas and its catch for its livelihood and the where- withal to buy the foods which cannot be grown in sufficient abundance. Matsuda, a collection of small settlements, scattered here and there from the coast inland, with its large preserve of community forest, is an example of agriculture in a forest setting, and of the use of the forest in daily living. This by no means exhausts the diversity. The village of [136] Oku to the north, with its tea, its rice, its fences for wild boar pro- [242] tection, its cycads planted on the hillsides to prevent erosion, is still another example. But our task here is not to catalogue all diversity, bu to indicate that it exists and to a much greater degree than would appear to superficial observation.

1

Generalities on the Population History of Okinawa Island

Virtually nothing is known, to my knowledge, of the growth of population in Okinawa in historic times. Early travellers made some estimates, but they gave no basis for them. In a previous chapter, it was mentioned that the introduction of the sweet potato in the early 17th century must have allowed a greater population on the island than had hitherto been the case. No doubt also malaria and other diseases kept the population down, at least until the latter part of the 19th century.[1] This ignorance of population growth extends down to recent history.

There seems to have been very little immigration to the Ryukyus and the population has probably been homogeneous for long periods of time. There were many Japanese in Okinawa, but these were largely in the towns and main cities. Most of them left after the war.[2] This meant that the population of Okinawa continued to be made up of preponderantly the native born, though in recent years there has been some immigration of Amamians.

Emigration during the 20th century has been the outstanding fact in the population history of the island. Little is known of the nature of this emigration, but it is believed to have started in the early years of the twentieth century. Until World War II, emigration was the answer to the problem of a population that was growing beyond the ability of the island's resources to support it. It has been estimated that the emigration from Okinawa prefecture in the period 1920-1940 was over 193,400 persons. This represented a loss of 98% of the estimated natural increase for the 1920-1940 period. It was 34% of the prefecture's total 1920 population.[3]

The Okinawan campaign, also, was accompanied by large scale displacements of people who remained on the island. It was estimated that in a pre-invasion shifting of the population, over 3/4 of the people

[Text continues on top of p. 60--analyst]

1 Dr. Green in 1853 estimated the population of Okinawa at 150,000 or possibly 200,000. But this was only a crude guess. Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 36. For population estimates prior to World War II, see CA Handbook, as cited, 45-51.

2 As of Nov. 30, 1946, 57,345 Japanese, 1,755 Koreans, and 21 Formosans had been repatriated from the Ryukyus, with 3,706 Japanese remaining to be repatriated. See note 3 following.

3 Newman, Marshall T. and Eng, Roman, L. The Ryukyu people, a biological appraisal. Amer. Journ. of physical anthropology, n.s., 5 (1947), 113-57. Reference on pp. 135-36. This estimate was made by subtracting the estimated natural increase from the total increase, 1920-40, making allowances for the under registration of births. On postwar population history immediately following the war, see pp. 135-46 of this article.

727 166 were in the north and central portions of the island.[4] During the campaign, the displacements of people and the destruction of villages in the south were particularly striking. Large numbers were sent to the Kunigami region. "There they overwhelmed the local inhabitants and all suffered great privations, despite the efforts of U. S. personnel to properly feed, clothe, and house them." By June 1, 1946, 138,000 had been resettled, and as of July 1 of the same year, there were still 125,000 displaced persons on the island.

167 728 The war and the subsequent occupation have stopped the historic emigration of Okinawans. Repatriation began in 1946. By November 30, 1946, a year and four months after the conclusion of the Okinawan campaign, 183,077 Okinawans had been returned, 142,713 from Japan, 26,003 from the Pacific islands, 12,154 from Formosa, 1954 from Hawaii, and 253 from Korea. An additional 36,720 were awaiting repatriation at this time. The result was that "by November 30, 1946, repatriation brought the population up to within 40,000 of its early 1944 level." The total 161 population of the Ryukyus on February 22, 1944 was given as 857,019, and 817,160 on November 30, 1946. In this short period of 16 months, the war losses had been largely made up. While these figures are Ryukyu totals, Okinawa island, as the largest and most populous island in the chain undoubtedly reflected these trends.[5] According to the 1950 census, the population of Okinawa island was 517,600.

The twentieth century history of the population of Okinawa is therefore one of large scale emigration up to the war, wholesale displacement of people within the island during the campaign of 1945, the repatriation of considerable numbers of Ryukyuans following the conclusion of the war, and the present period of growth of the population under conditions of peace, health measures, and without the historic outlet of emigration.

2

Village Populations and Their Characteristics

162 727 One can only surmise what has happened to the population structure of Okinawan villages as a result of the war. The old records which would furnish materials for detailed comparisons have been destroyed; hence, one can know only vaguely how the present characteristics of village populations compare with the pre-war conditions. The contemporary characteristics of the population of each of the villages studied and for the totals of each of their respective townships are shown in the accompanying population pyramids and in the tables illustrating sex and age distribution at five year age intervals (Western age count).

In the totals of the three villages and the two townships females substantially outnumber males, though there is considerable variation in the numbers and proportions within the age groups.

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP of P. 61 -- analyst]

4 Ibid, 137. Quotation is on pp. 140-41.

5 Newman and Eng, as cited, 140-41, 143. See also the very interesting article of Henry S. Bennett, The impact of invasion and occupation on the civilians of Okinawa. United States Naval Institute Proceedings, 72 (1946), 263-75.

593 tered in the villages--a first son may be passed over in favor of a
596 second son because of mental disability, gross incompetence, or excessive drinking, or the father, by selling his land to his other sons may in effect disinherit his first son. These actions involve
[428] the courts and it is rare for villagers to engage in litigation. In
[691] practice, the first son almost invariably succeeds. On his marriage, the first son and his wife live in the home of his parents. There are some exceptions to this. Since the war, some first sons in agri-
[464] cultural communities have found opportunities in business in Naha, in larger towns like Itoman or Nago, in military government or in Okinawan government positions. In this case, the first son does not live with his parents, but he continues with this new work in the strange town, the
[591] parents on their retirement, or as they become more helpless, joining the son. But in cases where the first son continues in the occupation of his father, this is the usual and expected practice. Only long standing incompatability between father and son prevents such an arrangement.

593 One point regarding the future of the family system that may assume
464 importance in Okinawa is that the responsibilities of the first son increase with any decline in opportunities for succeeding sons. The
166 traditional outlet for sons other than the first in Oriental countries
167 has been migration to the cities, to lands of new settlement, or emigration to foreign countries. In Okinawa, emigration to various parts of the world, the South Seas, Hawaii, Peru, Brazil has been the most important of these outlets. Its history cannot be understood without appreciating this fact. Both first and succeeding sons have emigrated. With the virtual stoppage of emigration, the only solution for second and succeeding sons would seem to lie in opportunities coming from military installations, government work, industrial and urban development, in addition to the present opportunities in agriculture. If with a growing population, the family system begins to break apart, it will probably be first noticed in the inability of the first sons to bear increased responsibilities.

593 For this reason, it is interesting to record some observed atti-
596 tudes of first and other sons in the villages studied. These attitudes are personal ones. No inter-village comparisons can be made. The first is one of pride in being a first son and in assuming the headship of the house but dislike of the responsibility of providing for siblings, especially when the estate is not large. Dislike of the responsibilities of being the first son was most observable in Minatogawa. Here the lack of land, succession merely to a house site, a boat or fishing gear, but with the same responsibility for care for younger brothers and sisters, parents and grandparents put the clearest burden on the first son. The financial burden of paying for anniversary celebrations on the death of a relative is especially onerous. There is only minor help from younger brothers. This fact is not resented as a lack of generosity of the younger brothers who by now would have branch houses of their own; it is part of the family system. Younger brothers might contribute, as one first son jokingly said, fifty yen to a celebration that cost two thousand.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

Between 1875 and 1895, when the court life at the old capitol of Shuri was broken up under Japanese influence, many families of noble origin moved into the country to become farmers, and the village grew in size. These people settled mainly outside the central village in areas where land was available. One family moved into Taira proper, forming the third "main house." Although it still maintains feeble ceremonial connections with Shuri, it gave up its noble title shortly after coming north and moved its ancestral tomb to the community. The noble families who settled in the valleys and hills preserved their distinctive traditions until the end of World War II. Their noble descent was noted in the population register, and intermarriage with commoners was discouraged.

Except for these Shuri migrants, few outsiders seem to have settled in Taira prior to World War II. The residents on the southern part of the island, especially the residents of Naha and Shuri, consider northerners rustics. Although this part of the island was often used as a hiding place by political and criminal refugees from the south, who are said to have founded nearby villages, none of them made their home in Taira.

The original settlers of Taira were reluctant to accept later arrivals in their midst. Because of the fear of spirits, foreign to the village, they prohibited the burial of the newcomer's dead near the tombs shared by the members of the "main houses." To this day the funeral urns of a family who came to Taira about 60 years ago and later intermarried with settled villages are kept in a cave, away from all other tombs.

Higashi township was established in 1922. The area had previously belonged to Kushi township to the south, but the great distances between villages and the mountainous character of the country made efficient administration very difficult. Furthermore, some Higashi inhabitants felt that because of temperamental differences and divergent interests they should separate from the southern township. Since 1922 contacts have been predominantly with Ogimi township to the northwest and the town of Nago, 16 miles away. Once the road connecting the two coastlines was completed in 1936, Taira's isolation decreased considerably, and it became the administrative seat of Higashi township in 1946.

Taira also became the home of the high priestess. In the period prior to direct Japanese administration, her office was under the jurisdiction of the Shuri court (Lebra, 1958), and her predecessors must have been appointed by the Okinawan kings. Taira may have been chosen as the seat of the high priestess in lieu of Kawata because Kawata lacks the good rice land which traditionally went to the high priestess by royal decree. Some of this rice land is still in the hands of the living priestess.

only two
of the permanent Tairan families fish; the majority of the fishermen 226
are migrants from the surrounding islands who come for a season, [166]
leaving their families behind. A few families have moved in permanently. The fishermen supply Taira, but most of the catch is peddled [438]
in the Nago market by the fishermen's wives. Some of the more enterprising and mercantile-minded women in the village buy up fish and [443]
peddle it for a profit.

Two or three times a year, during February or March, large fishing 226
boats from Henza Island land in Taira with whale meat. All the able 443
women look forward to making extra cash at this time, for whale meat
is considered a delicacy in homes where meat is rare. Blubber is eaten [262]
and used as frying fat. The distribution of whale meat is arranged by one village woman whose fishermen relatives from Henza supply it in response to her request. She acts as agent, distributing the meat to the women on consignment.

LUMBERING

The main source of immediate cash for most families is firewood. 313
Forest land in the mountains is owned by the township and the village, [423]
except for some woods near the fields, which are personal property.
The township permits the village to exploit a certain region surrounding the community in return for payment of a forest tax. This tax is [651]
levied on firewood bundles or on lumber sold by villagers. Everyone in the village is free to cut wood in the designated area in any amount he desires. This, however, does not imply that unlimited cutting is possible, for resources have been utilized so heavily that most forests near the village are almost cleaned out, and it has become increasingly difficult to find wood. Reforestation has only recently been introduced [185]
on a serious scale. Often villagers are found trespassing on land owned [423]
by the central Ryukyan government in order to cut from the less depleted forests there. Government officials are sympathetic to the vil- [685]
lagers' plight, and they tend to dispose of such transgressions with a stern warning.

Men and women, and during vactions, some children over 12 years, [857]
go to the forest. Most people prefer to walk and work in small groups.
To reach a place high up in the hills, they may have to hike almost a mile from the center of Taira. The steep, narrow paths made by wood- [487]
cutters traverse the mountains. Following the approach trails during the day, one can hear voices and the sawing of wood from many directions. All lumber people carry a short handsaw and a heavy bush knife [412]

623 attend." As on all occasions women usually sit together on one side or in the rear. Few of them participate during discussions. The most active spokesmen for the women are the head of the Women's Association and one or two of her close assistants. If a discussion concerns such matters as liquor and food for celebrating certain holidays, a woman may speak [854] up. Mothers bring their infants along and hold them in their arms or nurse them when they get restless. Sometimes a child feels uncomfortable and starts crying, and the mother is forced to leave the room.

554 In general, Taira people do not enjoy being leaders or playing a 157 dominating role. There are no bosses who attempt to force issues or 621 dictate policies. Even people who have definite ideas on how to effect changes would not attempt to assume full responsibility by disregarding the advice of others. "Power" is not associated with responsible positions and village leadership. The headman and clerk perform a duty, often loathed by them and never too highly rewarded by others. A man commands respect for his education, age, sound advice, and exemplary behavior, not for the office he holds. Moreover, all villagers are friendly neighbors, and the man who is presently headman still [632] remains a relative or neighbor to everybody. There is more prestige associated with township offices. The mayor, who holds the highest position, is a man of age and experience; he commands a great deal of respect and has been elected to that office because of the high esteem in which he is held. Occasionally one hears of power hungry persons who are unscrupulous and authoritarian, but they are rare.

FORMAL CONTROL

625 Formal control of law and order is in the hands of the police. A detachment of the Hentona district police is located in the village, and one policeman is constantly stationed there. He lives with his family in [206] a building which also has a small office. Recently a telephone with direct connections to Hentona was installed. The policeman and his wife are from another township.

[166] The policeman's main duty, according to villagers, is to protect them from the occasional outside burglars or from fugitives from the south who come north to hide in the woods. The announcement that such a person is on the loose creates much excitement and anxiety. A [167] second important duty is the control of the shore line. Smugglers and illegal entrants from the Japanese island of Yoron, just to the north of Okinawa, land along the coast. Although one man with only a bicycle can hardly control effectively several miles of coastline, since the only road to the outer world leads through Taira, the policeman

1 [i.e - to the household head meeting - ANALYST]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

bers may be recruited and present members expelled. In others, which are closed, membership is automatic and inevitable, depending in no way on the behavior of the individuals involved. We are here concerned with these latter groups whose membership is determined by sex, age, kinship, and rules of residence. Whether an American male lives in Connecticut or California, in the city or the suburbs, is to a large degree a matter of his personal preference. This is not the case for everybody in Taira, although there are people who at any time may leave the village to seek their fortune. 571

There are two types of households in Taira: those of oldest sons, who live in the house of their parents, and those of younger sons, who establish a nuclear household of their own, which may be near the house of their father. Many young sons, however, leave the central village and settle in its outlying districts or move to the southern part of the island. Whereas formerly many younger sons moved to Japan or to one of its prewar South Pacific mandates, or to Hawaii and South America, since the end of World War II employment opportunities around U.S. Army installations absorb many such migrants. The oldest son is required to live in his parents' house and eventually take over the duties of a household head. Unmarried younger sons remain in the household until they marry or leave the parental home for work elsewhere. 596 594 [166] [167]

For a woman it is customary to move to her husband's home if he is an older son or into a house in his village if he is a younger son. In the old days this usually involved simply a move in the village, since the preference was to marry a woman from the same community. Nowadays there is no clear-cut preference; a woman from central Taira may become the bride of a man from that part of the village, from one of the outlying parts of Taira, or from another village, usually to the north. Of a sample of 55 marriages, 26 of the wives were from Taira, 29 from other villages, five of which were immediately adjacent. 591 582

The composition of the household, therefore, changes for the individual during his lifetime, and it is not the same for all persons in the village. Several children not only have their parents and at least one paternal grandparent but also paternal aunts or uncles who live under the same roof. If the father is a younger son, only one's parents and siblings are household members. Since houses are small and space is very limited, all these members of the household live in close face-to-face relationship. Women tend to outlive men, so that there are many more old women living with their married sons than old men. This is why children have a grandmother more often in the home than a grandfather (see Table 1). 592 593 [165]

Intimate contact with Japanese coupled with this word borrowing has resulted in a tendency toward slight sound shifts in the direction of Japanese 194
phonology; this is particularly true among the bilingual speakers. The same 177
process is operative in the Japanese of these Okinawan speakers in that there is a tendency toward Okinawan phonology.

The real strongholds of Okinawan speech today are the family and the 191
rural areas. In an old and relatively unchanged village like Kanegusuku little 178
Japanese is heard despite the fact that most of the villagers are bilingual. 177
That Okinawan is the language of the family is best demonstrated by the pre- 621
school-age children who do not speak or understand any Japanese aside from a few greetings and polite phrases. Likewise men over sixty and women over fifty-five usually cannot speak Japanese. The remainder of the village, approximately seventy percent of the total, is bilingual; however, this figure is somewhat misleading in so far as actual usage is concerned. A majority of the married women use Japanese infrequently since Okinawan is the language of their daily lives, which are largely confined to the village and home. For the men, a number of whom have seen service abroad in the Japanese forces, there is a greater freedom of movement and a wider range of contacts providing more occasion for the use of Japanese. Yet within the village many of them preferred to use Okinawan, and even the high school students were inclined to shed their Japanese on returning to the village. A number of bilingual informants ascribed this preference for Okinawan to the influence of the old people who understood Japanese imperfectly or not at all. As one informant put it, "The old people in this village just don't like being spoken to in Japanese, and if some person does this, they say he is trying to be big." Undoubtedly their influence is a strong factor, but this preference is also likely attributable to a low degree of proficiency in Japanese. Prior to the postwar period few villagers ob- [871]
tained more than a sixth grade education; consequently, many are not as articulate in Japanese as they are in Okinawan. It should also be noted that within the village a selective factor operates so as to perpetuate the use of Okinawan. Mention is made in another section of this report of a mayor's comment to the [166]
effect that all those who receive a good education, high school or university, soon leave the village. Thus, the very group most likely to further the spread of Japanese leaves before its influence is felt.

The resentment of the oldest generation toward the use of Japanese re- 191
solves itself among the younger, bilingual generations into an attitude that 829
Japanese imparts a certain formality to an occasion, and hence situations call- 177
ing for the use of Okinawan or Japanese tend to be rather compartmentalized in their minds. Formal occasions prescribe the use of Japanese and informal ones Okinawan. Village political meetings and elections were always conducted in Japanese, and when the 'son' officials made one of their periodic inspections of the village, only Japanese was used in addressing them. On the other hand the use of Japanese at a party would be regarded as too formal and a bit unfriendly, and, of course, with old people and children only Okinawan is used. Besides the formal-informal dichotomy there exists the feeling among the better-educated bilinguals that Japanese is a modern and sophisticated language whereas Okinawan is backward and rustic.

There are several aspects of Okinawan culture wherein the local lan- 191
guage is used to the exclusion of Japanese; chief among these are the theater 178

161 The percentage growth categories used on Map 6 are as follows:

Negative Growth
Less than Okinawa Average of 22% Growth
23-39% Growth
40-100% Growth
Over 100% Growth

Population Increase During 1951 and 1952 The accelerated military construction program has been quite important in drawing people to the main island of Okinawa. This is shown by [167] the fact that in the years 1951 and 1952 it gained over 47,000 inhabitants. More than 11,000 of these were contractors and construction workers from Japan. About 2,300 more such workers arrived from Japan in the first seven months of 1953.[1]

161 During this two year period, Okinawa's population increased by 5.55%. 166 On Map 7 all areas with an increase of less than that amount are considered as areas of emigration. Those areas where the increase was more than 5.55% are shown as areas of immigration.

All urban areas except Ishikawa continued to grow. Goeku and Kadena, which had in the previous decade grown amazingly fast, continued to be among the fastest-growing 'son' on the island. On the other hand, Kunigami-son and the entire east coast north of Ishikawa City reversed the trend of growth noted on Map 6, and became areas of excessive migration. In part this was due to the improvement of roads along the east coast, thus making the urban trek easier. But it owed just as much to the demand for skilled carpenters, who were abundant along the east coast.

If data were available at the 'aza', or village area level, the urban trend could be localized with greater accuracy. Military government personnel concerned with problems on the island relative to urbanization and its pace are advised to work with population data on the village ('aza' or 'ku') level if greater accuracy is desired. This information is rarely if ever presented in that detailed form to agencies of the Government of the Ryukyu Islands, and local inquiry must be made.

162 The Sex Ratio Okinawa shares with most of the Orient a great density of population per arable acre of land. Aside from this, the out- [161] standing fact about the population of Okinawa is the great preponderance of women over men. There are about 90 men for every 100 women in this area.[2] [5W] This excess of women is reflected in such sociological phenomena as prosti- [5W] tution, illegitimate and common law children, women functioning as heads of [5W] households, and a high fertility ratio. The reasons for the excess are some- [162] what complex, but the most important factor is the recent war, in which many

1 CAARI, p. 78.

2 The standard demographic definition of sex ratio is "the number of men for each 100 women."

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161
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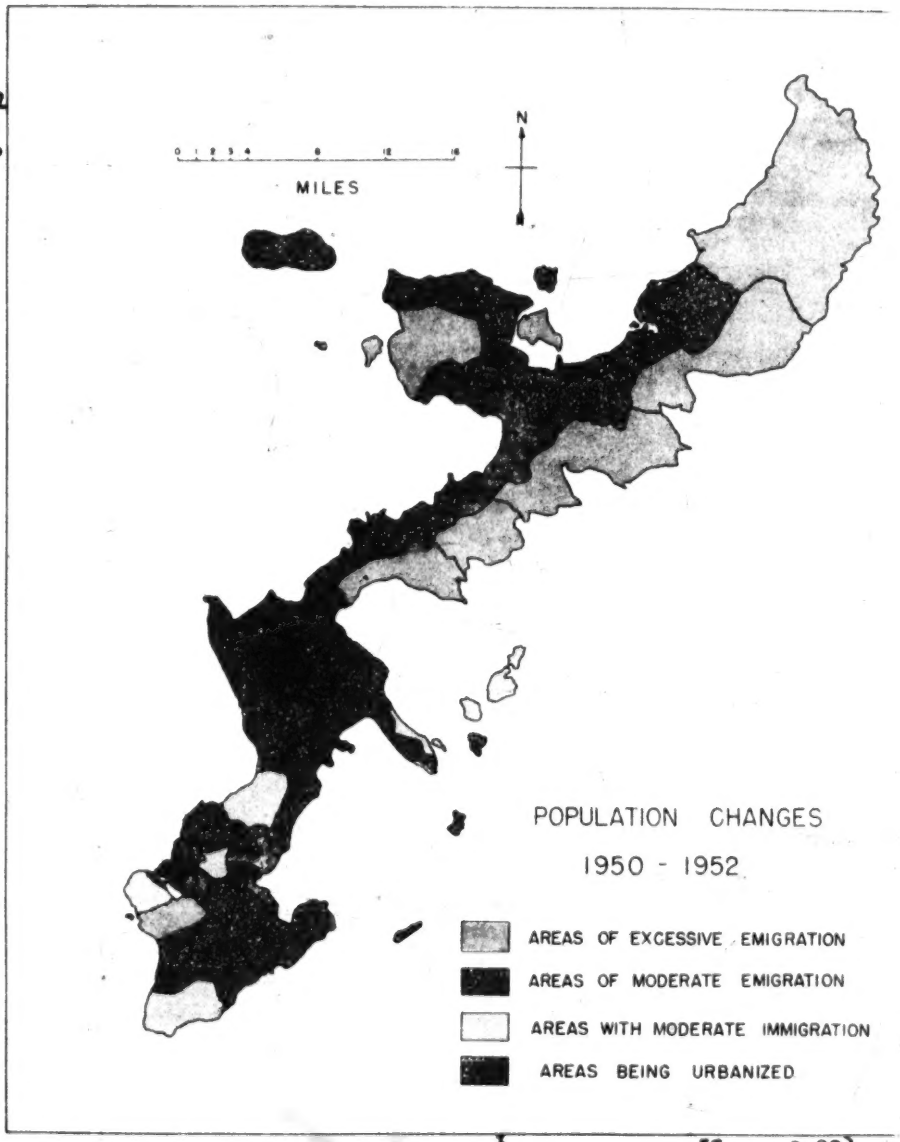

Map 7 1/4 [Facing P 98]

1/4 [See pages 222-224 for data upon which this map was based--Analyst]

allotment system was now entered in the newly-created land registries as the 175
property of the household head. In the past inheritance of the position of 648
household head by the first son had been largely a matter of status succes- 177
sion involving leadership of the family and certain ceremonial obligations.
Property succession had not been an important factor, for the private 423
property of the family had usually amounted to no more than the family 177
house and lot. Under the old land allotment system there was always land 423
available for younger sons who set up independent houses, but under Japanese 428
law the bulk of the family property was inherited by the first son. What had 592
been the function of the community in the past now became the responsibility
of the family, and since family holdings were usually small, the younger sons
were often landless. Informants stated that a father will usually do every-
thing possible to provide his younger sons with land, but he cannot do this
if it means jeopardizing the resources of the house. Continuation of the
family line for the purpose of continuity in worshipping the ancestors is
the chief responsibility incumbent on the household head, and in the rural
areas the land provides the major support for the house. With the rise in [166]
population there developed an increasing trend for younger sons to emigrate
from the rural areas in search of land or jobs elsewhere. The end result [602]
was a considerable weakening of family and especially kin group ties and a [621]
rapid decline in the communal character of the rural villages.

Though the creation of private property made possible the sale, pur- 175
chase, and rental of land, landlordism never gained a foothold on Okinawa. 423
Undoubtedly this is primarily due to the recency of private property and the 427
lack of time for large accumulations of land to be made. It is also in part [471]
due to a lack of capital in the rural areas; most capital on Okinawa after
the annexation and before World War II was confined to the hands of Japanese
businessmen and members of the former upper classes who seemed disinclined to
invest in land. Likewise the official Japanese attitude toward Okinawa was [648]
to regard it as a rather backward part of Japan not to be exploited as a
colonial dependency as in the case of Formosa and Korea. Glacken has sug- [171]
gested that the heavy fragmentation of the typical Okinawan farm would be an
obstacle to its sale; yet, the Chinese farmland is also highly fragmented
and landlordism has been common there for centuries.[1]

After the abolition of the communal allotment system taxes were ex- 175
tended to cover all categories of land whereas previously they had been ap- 423
plied only to arable land; however, government income from land taxes sharply 651
declined, as the moderate levies of the Japanese administration were con-
siderably below those of the Okinawan monarchy. Despite this reduction in [311]
tax load there has been a steady decline in the amount of land cultivated
since the termination of the old land system; this is clearly shown in Tables
III and IV in Chapter III, Agricultural History, Land Use and Diet.

3. World War II and the American Occupation

175
During World War II Okinawa became the scene of one of the most vio- 727
lent battles of modern times. The entire island was turned into a combat

[1] Glacken, 1951, p. 160.

511 [Kitazato]
621 the houses are the same small, poorly-built structures of thatch and scrap
735 lumber that are found on the beach. By way of contrast, the house which
[341] the author rented in Kanegusuku was the poorest and shabbiest in that vil-
[184] lage; yet, the same house in Kitazato would easily have been the best.
Shabby appearances are not limited to houses, for the people too are more poorly dressed than elsewhere on Okinawa.

Food Nearly everywhere on Okinawa the authors heard that the peo-
621 ple are eating better today than before the war; such is not the case for
511 Kitazato, and the villagers are most emphatic about this. Potatoes, beans,
262 and other vegetable products form the mainstay of their diet; often times, they say, potatoes are dug up before they are fully mature, so great is the pressure for food. It is the opinion of the local agricultural office that the people are slowly starving to death, and the villagers state that they are always hungry. The local storekeepers say that the people do not have enough money to buy canned foods to supplement their diet. Though Hama is
[226] virtually on the water the villagers do no fishing since the occupation is regarded as a foreign one; however, some shell fish are collected by the women.

Exodus of Youth One of the marked features of the village is the
621 general absence of young men and women in the fifteen to twenty-five age
511 group, for as soon as the student completes junior high school, he or she
166 heads for the city seeking employment. A number of the families in the village are said to subsist mainly on the money which their children send back. According to the mayor 61 families have left the village since the end of the war; he feels that if they had not left, things would be much worse. Most of those who left were families containing grown children who could work; the parents in some cases were reluctant to leave, but their children were anxious to leave. A slight decline in military employment in early 1954 resulted in several of these families' returning to the village, and the mayor was apprehensive lest more return.

621 One characteristic of the population of this village which struck
847 the author was the disproportionate number of females to males in the age group under five years. In this group there were 64 males and 33 females, whereas the groups above were more nearly proportionate. Female infanticide has been a common occurrence during times of famine or under conditions of extreme poverty in Japan and China, and the authors heard several stories giving some evidence of it on Okinawa. No factual evidence of any sort was gathered by the author in Kitazato to corroborate this interpretation of the statistics; however, the fact that the permanent resettlement of the village in its present locations took place approximately six years ago in 1948 may lend some credence to this interpretation.

Attitude toward Americans The villagers' initial reaction to the
621 presence of the author in the village was one of fear and veiled hostility.
829 Gradually this was overcome, and good rapport was established. During one
[123] of his last visits to the community the author was told, "The first day you were in the village everyone wondered if the military were going to make us move again. No one slept that night." At the same time the villagers are

2. Military Employment

W. P. Lebra

464 An important factor in contemporary Okinawan life is the large number of people engaged in military employment or in subsidiary occupations. Over [177] twenty-five percent of the total Okinawan labor force is so employed, and their day-to-day contact with Americans has far-reaching implications for Okinawan-American relations. It is also a factor of prime importance to the Okinawan economy.

In studying and visiting a number of Okinawan communities the authors noted a considerable variation in the importance of military employment to the community, the role of those so employed in village life, and the attitude of the villagers toward these people.

621 227 Kanegusuku The farming village of Kanegusuku was less affected than most communities by the war and subsequent occupation, little land was ruined, no military installations are in the area, and the majority of villagers are attempting to carry on as before the war.

621 464 Out of a total population of 507 persons, constituting 103 houses, there are but twenty men employed outside the village. Of these twenty men, seven are directly engaged in military employment and eight more are employed by civilian construction companies engaged in military construction. These individuals commute from the village each day to the greater Naha area. In most cases these men come from houses which have insufficient land for mere subsistence, or they are younger sons who are without land and/or who have not married and set up households of their own. Several are newcomers to the village since the war.

621 464 166 In the past a few who have secured jobs in military establishments or in subsidiary employment have left the village and established temporary residence in the city or near the camp. One of the motivating factors for making the move is a monthly saving of ¥600 ($5.00) in bus fares, but certainly another and perhaps stronger motivation has been the desire to escape the dreary life of the farm village. These people say that they do not wish to return to the village; yet, they have retained their land as an insurance 621 464 829 against job loss. Most do not seem to regard military employment as a permanent career. They hope to save enough money to establish a small business or at the last resort to return to the village and buy more land.

Villagers regard those who have been able to secure military employment as rather fortunate individuals. In most families the additional income [511] is most welcome as it provides a standard of living considerably above subsistence farming. In the case of those families where the husband or house- [462] hold head is employed outside the village the wife usually farms the family vegetable plots.

621 464 In most cases those who are engaged in military employment, or in any employment outside the village, do not play an active role in village affairs.

175 167 Another departure from the past was that Okinawans, soon after the turn of the century, were provided with opportunities for emigration. The history of Okinawan emigration is not well known. But in the twentieth century, the people of Okinawa changed from an almost complete ignorance of the outside world to one of the most widely travelled and informed peoples of the Orient. Okinawan settlements in the twentieth century were scattered in many parts of the world, such as Peru, Argentina, Brazil, Hawaii, and the Japanese mandates of the Pacific, Singapore, Japan, Manchuria, and Korea. The cessation of this historic emigration is an event pregnant with meaning for the future. The population and its natural increase now must subsist on the island.

175 487 B38 [161] Late ninteenth and twentieth century improvements in roads and communication, modest as they were by American standards, broke down some of the isolation of the three districts of Okinawa. The forests and the lack of roads to the north had always discouraged contact. Much of the trade in firewood between the north and the south, even up to the recent war, was done by ship. Elsewhere there were only paths and in the north, not even these. In 1895 Chamberlain wrote of the sparsely inhabited northern (Kunigami) forest area whose inhabitants were "despised for their poverty and rough speech by the natives of the central and southern provinces." Later on he remarked about the "groans of Japanese officials when obliged to go their country rounds," and, that, in the north it was necessary for them to carry a tent.[28]

175 177 242 As the main island in the newly created province (ken) of Japan, Okinawa benefitted from the scientific approach to agronomy pursued enthusiastically by the Japanese, in contrast with the Chinese and the Koreans before their annexation. Concentration on the development of suitable varieties of rice, the study of sugar cane, plant disease and agricultural techniques represented a body of knowledge that could be applied with local adaptations to all parts of the empire.

175 178 565 [511] Direct Japanese annexation meant also the disappearance of the top heavy native nobility or gentry (shizoku) to be displaced by the Japanese elite, although membership in the Okinawan nobility continued to be recorded in the family registers up to the recent war. The displacement of the old higher social classes resulted in a certain levelling of all the people, a levelling which continued up to the war, and was accentuated in an economic way by the widespread impoverishment of rich and poor alike in the campaign for Okinawa.

7

Okinawa in World War II

175 648 The terra incognita described by Bayard Taylor in 1853 became the

28 Chamberlain, as cited, 294, 459

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Generalities on the Population History of Okinawa Island

Virtually nothing is known, to my knowledge, of the growth of population in Okinawa in historic times. Early travellers made some estimates, but they gave no basis for them. In a previous chapter, it was mentioned that the introduction of the sweet potato in the early 17th century must have allowed a greater population on the island than had hitherto been the case. No doubt also malaria and other diseases kept the population down, at least until the latter part of the 19th century.[1] This ignorance of population growth extends down to recent history.

There seems to have been very little immigration to the Ryukyus and the population has probably been homogeneous for long periods of time. There were many Japanese in Okinawa, but these were largely in the towns and main cities. Most of them left after the war.[2] This meant that the population of Okinawa continued to be made up of preponderantly the native born, though in recent years there has been some immigration of Amamians.

Emigration during the 20th century has been the outstanding fact in the population history of the island. Little is known of the nature of this emigration, but it is believed to have started in the early years of the twentieth century. Until World War II, emigration was the answer to the problem of a population that was growing beyond the ability of the island's resources to support it. It has been estimated that the emigration from Okinawa prefecture in the period 1920-1940 was over 193,400 persons. This represented a loss of 98% of the estimated natural increase for the 1920-1940 period. It was 34% of the prefecture's total 1920 population.[3]

The Okinawan campaign, also, was accompanied by large scale displacements of people who remained on the island. It was estimated that in a pre-invasion shifting of the population, over 3/4 of the people

[Text continues on top of p. 60--analyst]

1 Dr. Green in 1853 estimated the population of Okinawa at 150,000 or possibly 200,000. But this was only a crude guess. Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 36. For population estimates prior to World War II, see CA Handbook, as cited, 45-51.

2 As of Nov. 30, 1946, 57,345 Japanese, 1,755 Koreans, and 21 Formosans had been repatriated from the Ryukyus, with 3,706 Japanese remaining to be repatriated. See note 3 following.

3 Newman, Marshall T. and Eng, Roman, L. The Ryukyu people, a biological appraisal. Amer. Journ. of physical anthropology, n.s., 5 (1947), 113-57. Reference on pp. 135-36. This estimate was made by subtracting the estimated natural increase from the total increase, 1920-40, making allowances for the under registration of births. On postwar population history immediately following the war, see pp. 135-46 of this article.

727 were in the north and central portions of the island.[4] During the campaign, the displacements of people and the destruction of villages in
166 the south were particularly striking. Large numbers were sent to the Kunigami region. "There they overwhelmed the local inhabitants and all suffered great privations, despite the efforts of U. S. personnel to properly feed, clothe, and house them." By June 1, 1946, 138,000 had been resettled, and as of July 1 of the same year, there were still 125,000 displaced persons on the island.

● 167 The war and the subsequent occupation have stopped the historic
728 emigration of Okinawans. Repatriation began in 1946. By November 30, 1946, a year and four months after the conclusion of the Okinawan campaign, 183,077 Okinawans had been returned, 142,713 from Japan, 26,003 from the Pacific islands, 12,154 from Formosa, 1954 from Hawaii, and 253 from Korea. An additional 36,720 were awaiting repatriation at this time. The result was that "by November 30, 1946, repatriation brought the population up to within 40,000 of its early 1944 level." The total
161 population of the Ryukyus on February 22, 1944 was given as 857,019, and 817,160 on November 30, 1946. In this short period of 16 months, the war losses had been largely made up. While these figures are Ryukyu totals, Okinawa island, as the largest and most populous island in the chain undoubtedly reflected these trends.[5] According to the 1950 census, the population of Okinawa island was 517,600.

The twentieth century history of the population of Okinawa is therefore one of large scale emigration up to the war, wholesale displacement of people within the island during the campaign of 1945, the repatriation of considerable numbers of Ryukyuans following the conclusion of the war, and the present period of growth of the population under conditions of peace, health measures, and without the historic outlet of emigration.

2

Village Populations and Their Characteristics

162 One can only surmise what has happened to the population structure
727 of Okinawan villages as a result of the war. The old records which would furnish materials for detailed comparisons have been destroyed; hence, one can know only vaguely how the present characteristics of village populations compare with the pre-war conditions. The contemporary characteristics of the population of each of the villages studied and for the totals of each of their respective townships are shown in the accompanying population pyramids and in the tables illustrating sex and age distribution at five year age intervals (Western age count).

In the totals of the three villages and the two townships females substantially outnumber males, though there is considerable variation in the numbers and proportions within the age groups.

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 61 -- analyst]

4 Ibid, 137. Quotation is on pp. 140-41.

5 Newman and Eng, as cited, 140-41, 143. See also the very interesting article of Henry S. Bennett, The impact of invasion and occupation on the civilians of Okinawa. United States Naval Institute Proceedings, 72 (1946), 263-75.

stoppage of emigration, and public health measures. While the following statistics are worthless from a demographic point of view, they may nevertheless indicate the village trends. 161

Matsuda Village, 1951 163 165

	Births	Deaths
Total	46	11
Male	26	5
Female	20	6

In Gushichan township, where individual village totals were not available, the statistics show a similar trend:

Gushichan Township, 1951

	Births	Deaths
Total	263	52
Male	140	26
Female	123	26

3

What Happened with Repatriation

In the peace time emigration before the war, the intention to return was almost universal. Typically a first son, as the future responsible person for his parents, emigrated as a young man, before marriage, with the intention of accumulating savings and supporting his parents during his absence, later returning to marry if he had not acquired a wife abroad. People in the villages now say that the desire to return has declined sharply with the economic hardships and the threat of renewed warfare, and that Okinawans in foreign countries will probably remain there for the rest of their lives. Okinawans living abroad, according to family registers in the villages, are now mostly in Peru, Brazil, Argentina, and Hawaii. 167 [593] [454] [587]

The effects of repatriation on the township level can be seen from the following statistics for Gushichan township. Comparable statistics were not available in Ginoza-son. 161 728

Pre-war population, 1940	6445
Deaths resulting from the war	1700
Repatriates	1030
Population, December 31, 1951	6267

Despite the fact that deaths resulting from the war must have been between 20% and 25% of the total population of the township, repatriates [727]

plus the excess of births over deaths were sufficient six years after the conclusion of the war to bring the post-war population of the village within 200 of the pre-war level.

Okinawans returning to Hanashiro came largely from Japan, the Philippines, Manchuria, Formosa, the South Seas and a few from Hawaii. From Hinatogawa, the areas of former settlement were broader, probably reflecting a wider activity of the fishermen. They came from Java, Palau, Singapore, the Philippine Islands, and Taraua. Some had previously returned voluntarily from Hawaii and Peru before the war. The largest segments came from the Philippines and Taraua, the smaller groups from Hawaii and Peru. The repatriates to Matsuda also came from Japan, the Philippines, Hawaii, and the South Seas.

One consequence of the pre-war emigration and of the repatriation that followed was that each village after the war had a group of people who had been in foreign countries or had relatives still residing in foreign areas.

In the villages studied, according to the residents living there now, repatriation was not accompanied by the tensions and the ill feeling that was so conspicuous in post-war Europe, especially Germany. There were no cliques between those who had stayed during the war and those who returned to live beside them.

The reasons for this are probably these: many of the repatriates even though absent a long time owned land in a village. This was true of Hanashiro and Matsuda, the agricultural villages, and to a lesser extent of Hinatogawa. Some adjustments were necessary. The land owned by these people had not been idle during their absence. If a first son returned, in most cases his younger brother was cultivating the fields and occupying the family house. He, in the absence of his eldest brother, acted as head of the house. When the first son returned, he received the possessions and assumed the responsibilities of the head of the house, and in turn gave his younger brother land to establish a branch household. When the returned member of the family was a second son, the adjustment was easier. The first son, if possible, gave his younger brother a house site and fields to cultivate.[6]

Other relatives, parents, younger or older sisters, nephews, or nieces were absorbed within the family, the parents or grandparents resuming a retirement which they would have had in any case, while the younger relatives became working and contributing members to the family. They did not come back to an altogether strange place. They or their parents had been born there, and their names had remained in the village family register.

6 The reasons for these acts will be made clear in Chapter 6 on the family system.

The strong ties of the family system are probably the fundamental reasons for this lack of strangeness. One is a member of the family, even if in another part of the island or of the world. This sense of belonging, to be emphasised later, is not only an emotional feeling but is a basic fact of social organization. Relationships, regardless of their geographic spread, are a binding force. It is true that these become weaker with the remoter relationships of the extended family, but they are still strong enough to blunt the edge of individual frictions that might otherwise be expected. 571 [602] [156] [578]

There was a niche into which a returning person might fit, whether he was a parent, a first son, an elder brother, an uncle or niece of the head of the household. The repatriates who had been long absent were, in turn, able to make an adjustment to conditions in the island of their birth because they had continued the same social system in their foreign residence. They now had to function in a more restricted and less well endowed natural environment. Dissatisfactions took the form, as they still do, of longing for better economic opportunity which they hope will be realised through further opportunities for emigration. They make comparisons, unfavorable to Okinawa, regarding the ease of making a living in other countries. Repatriates from Japan, who have returned to Okinawan rural life, miss the cities and the more exciting life of that country. Among those who have travelled, there is also a more noticeable discontent and dissatisfaction with the loneliness of rural life. The word sabishii is often on their lips. [554] [178] [511] [156]

The ideas of the repatriated Okinawans, furthermore, are not a new phenomenon in contemporary village life. They did not bring back points of view unknown before. In the past these had been communicated by letters and rare visits to the homeland. The reports of the repatriates were richer, more detailed, and more concrete, but not completely different. They have--and this is probably one of their chief influences on post-war village life--stimulated the strong desire of the villagers to emigrate. Life is hard on the island, and their accounts of greater return for the same expenditure of work have quickened hopes of future emigration. These hopes are confined to the New World, Japan, and the Pacific islands. There is no enthusiasm for migration to other islands in the Ryukyu chain. [185] [167]

4

Attitudes Toward Birth Control

There is little in the religious belief or in the cultural tradition that would induce, in large segments of the population, a strong antipathy to birth control on religious grounds, but these beliefs and traditions are not favorable to it either. Respect for ancestors and the need for the continuance of the family system are the most important of these. It is the duty of each generation to provide this continuity between the past and the future. The links in this chain are male children. Once this 842 [602] [611]

842 need of succession is met, birth control measures might be accepted. There is, it is true, a widespread feeling that many children are a happiness which artificial control should not destroy. But this feeling, especially true with women, is often lost after the fourth or fifth child when mothers may dread further child bearing.[7]

In the villages studied, there is an awareness of birth control. [170] This awareness comes from conversation and reading, the primary sources being Japanese magazines and newspapers. I did not meet anyone who admitted practicing birth control or who desired to do so. According to the informants, it is not practiced at all. There may be some instances.

But birth control methods are not widely understood, and even if they were, it is doubtful that people would use them on their own initiative. The present apathy toward birth control methods may be due to the fact [167] that only recently has the question been of any significance. In the past economic difficulties within a family were relieved by emigration. There was thus little need to think of a limited family. On the contrary, there was pride in a family that might spread over continents.

[183] Historically, the whole emphasis in the family system has been on a large or a medium sized, not a limited, family, and this, even today, is tied in with family pride coming from having children and grandchildren. [562] If families have girls to begin with, the feeling is all the stronger. Though unusual, it is not unheard of to have a family of girls, and even if there are sons, there should be enough of them to take care of the hazards of death.

5

Conclusion

185 Among some villagers--and this seems to be independent of the degree of education--there are now more realistic appraisals of what the soil and the land can make available to a growing population and to their own children. Emigration for the time being is not possible. And, even if it were on a broad scale, it would not only have to skim off the present excess population, but take continuing care of future natural increases as well.

134 There were in all the villages several considerations that have influenced these appraisals. Land is insufficient, even in quantity, though in local areas such as Matsuda, it might suffice for local demands. The arable land is also poor. The poor and insufficient land,

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 69--ANALYST]

[114] [208] 7 This dread of continual child bearing is discussed as an attitude, not as a general truth. The statement is based on conversations with men and women in each of the villages. Many women in Okinawa would not agree with this, but the attitude, I am convinced, if not a prevailing one, is at least frequent enough to be worth recording as something more than individual distaste.

601

Step-mother	kaibo
Step-father	keifu
Adopted son	yōshi
Adopted daughter	yōjo
Illegitimate child	shiseiji
Person living with a family but not a relative	dōkyonin

Descent is reckoned through the male line. Normally the first son succeeds to the headship of the house, and this is actually true in the great majority of cases, although the failure of the first or later sons to survive to maturity, or the death of sons in the war, have resulted in many household headships being held by sons other than the first, or by daughters. This is brought out in the following table which shows the relationship of the present head of the household to the preceding head. 611 592

592

Relationships may be obscured to simple observation because the head of the household (koshu) may reside in a foreign country. This was a common occurrence before the war during the widespread Okinawan emigration, but repatriation since the war has reduced the number of heads of households who live in foreign countries. At present most absentee heads live in Peru, Brasil, or in Argentina. In the absence or disability of the first son, the second and succeeding sons assume his place, not legally, but in practice, and should the elder son return, his younger brother would relinquish the headship and establish a branch family. The family register, however, is not changed to show the temporary head. But his absence may be indicated by a notation. [167]

592 562

A woman, either a wife or a daughter, is not considered in the succession if there are eligible male heirs, but in their absence, she may succeed to a house. The war produced many instances of this. A mother with minor children is the head of the house and has disposition of the family property, but custom and usage circumscribe her freedom of action. In custom, a mother with minor children, especially if one of them is a boy, is regarded as the trustee and caretaker of a house and its fields during the minority of her children, the eldest of whom, if he is a son, will become head when he reaches maturity. In practice, widows with minor sons do not sell or dispose of their property except under strong economic compulsions, and then only after discussion with representatives of the extended family.

592

The real place of the woman in the family system is to become part of the family of her husband. If she marries a first son, she enters the home of her husband's parents. If she marries a second or a third son, she is part of a branch family established by her husband. There is general agreement among Okinawans with whom I consulted that the residence of a young wife with the husband's family does not result in the prolonged quarreling and bickering which have made the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law relationship so legendary a topic in Chinese and Japanese society. Disagreements exist, but according to residents in [591] [606]

[Text continues top of p. 95--analyst]

593 tered in the villages--a first son may be passed over in favor of a
596 second son because of mental disability, gross incompetence, or excessive drinking, or the father, by selling his land to his other sons may in effect disinherit his first son. These actions involve
[428] the courts and it is rare for villagers to engage in litigation. In
[691] practice, the first son almost invariably succeeds. On his marriage, the first son and his wife live in the home of his parents. There are some exceptions to this. Since the war, some first sons in agri-
[464] cultural communities have found opportunities in business in Naha, in larger towns like Itoman or Nago, in military government or in Okinawan government positions. In this case, the first son does not live with his parents, but he continues with this new work in the strange town, the
[591] parents on their retirement, or as they become more helpless, joining the son. But in cases where the first son continues in the occupation of his father, this is the usual and expected practice. Only long standing incompatability between father and son prevents such an arrangement.

593 One point regarding the future of the family system that may assume
464 importance in Okinawa is that the responsibilities of the first son increase with any decline in opportunities for succeeding sons. The
166 traditional outlet for sons other than the first in Oriental countries has been migration to the cities, to lands of new settlement, or emigra-
167 tion to foreign countries. In Okinawa, emigration to various parts of the world, the South Seas, Hawaii, Peru, Brasil has been the most important of these outlets. Its history cannot be understood without appreciating this fact. Both first and succeeding sons have emigrated. With the virtual stoppage of emigration, the only solution for second and succeeding sons would seem to lie in opportunities coming from military installations, government work, industrial and urban development, in addition to the present opportunities in agriculture. If with a growing population, the family system begins to break apart, it will probably be first noticed in the inability of the first sons to bear increased responsibilities.

593 For this reason, it is interesting to record some observed atti-
596 tudes of first and other sons in the villages studied. These attitudes are personal ones. No inter-village comparisons can be made. The first is one of pride in being a first son and in assuming the headship of the house but dislike of the responsibility of providing for siblings, especially when the estate is not large. Dislike of the responsibilities of being the first son was most observable in Minatogawa. Here the lack of land, succession merely to a house site, a boat or fishing gear, but with the same responsibility for care for younger brothers and sisters, parents and grandparents put the clearest burden on the first son. The financial burden of paying for anniversary celebrations on the death of a relative is especially onerous. There is only minor help from younger brothers. This fact is not resented as a lack of generosity of the younger brothers who by now would have branch houses of their own; it is part of the family system. Younger brothers might contribute, as one first son jokingly said, fifty yen to a celebration that cost two thousand.

361 [167] After the war, this cleared land was further settled, with American encouragement, by families returning from abroad. This subdivision of Matsuda, a here-and-there settlement, is called "the clearing" (kaikon). Its houses are few and far apart, and with its isolated farmsteads is in contrast with the thickly settled cluster of a typical agricultural village.

5

Conservation

313 [647] In Matsuda, the preservation of the forest is constantly encouraged. This awareness, inspired by officials of the Ryukyuan Forestry Agency and its American advisors, reaches down to the school children. Before any burning is done, a permit must be secured. Fire lanes (bōkasen) are cut to prevent the spread of fire. These lanes are circular, and an area on the lee side is burned to prevent spread of the fire in the direction of the wind.

Fire Lane (Bōkasen)

In addition to the fire protection, officials of the Ryukyu Forestry Agency and specialists in the American Civil Administration are trying to discourage overcutting (kanbatsu) which in this area has affected the most numerous species, the pine, the shii, and the Japanese redwood. Since clearcutting (kaibatsu) so easily leads to overcutting, the former practice is also being discouraged. The newer emphasis is on selective cutting (takubatsu).

[813] School children participate in forest conservation. The children attending high school at nearby Ginoza village take part in forest improvement. An active campaign for conservation and forest fire prevention could not begin immediately after the war. In the post-war confusion, it was not until about 1950, with the establishment of [647] the Ryukyuan Forestry Agency, that active supervision on a central government level could be seriously instituted. On an island wide basis, posters and literature pointing to the dangers of forest fires have tried to bring this message to the Okinawans as well as to the [208] Americans. The name of Saion has been used to tie the preservation of the Okinawan forests in with the history and traditions of the people. The famous "Smoky" appears on posters as well.

[727] In the Matsuda area, the recent periods of relaxation or loss of control, according to local residents, were (1) about 1940 when

4

Ancestor Worship

"Ancestor worship" has been used to describe the devotion to the spirit of the dead and the long continued remembrance of them by the living. While it is too deeply intrenched to be changed, the term is not satisfactory. It is really the worship of those who precede one in death, and these may be ascendants or descendants. The term, "ancestor worship," also conceals the fact that there is a partnership of the living and the dead, which, continued by the living generation in the production of children, will carry over in the future, so that family continuity from the remote past to the remote future is never broken. It is, in the phrase of John Hubbard, "a chain of worship,"[2] not merely the worship of the past and of the dead. But whether in the popular mind these two conceptions, worship of the dead and the family as a continuity, are closely and consciously related is impossible for me to say. The two ideas exist side by side on the level of feeling: to respect one's ancestors and to have children. 769 602

Another form of ancestor worship occurs in observances honoring the first ancestor or the founder of the village. Each village has a place of the guardian god (ujigami), located on the supposed site where the founder of the village first settled, which perpetuates the memory of the founder, who may, in some cases, also be the first ancestor of a family living in the village. (It has been suggested that the ujigami also might be related historically to the fire deity). Ceremonies at the place of the village guardian god have a public character and were often conducted by the priestesses. 776 778 [993]

Hanashiro. The place of the guardian god, a small building, is located on a plot of village owned land, off the main road at the edge of the settlement where the cultivated land begins. It is not well kept up. There is no attendant or caretaker. When necessary, it is reconstructed by volunteer village effort. Broken stone stairs lead up to the small tile roofed building. Inside, there are 5 stones, about 10 inches on the side and 4 inches thick. Some have thought these also represent the primitive hearth stones associated with worship of the fire god. One villager described it as a woman's deity place. Before the war, emigrants to the South Seas, South America, Manchuria, or Japan and their relatives prayed here for the good health and early return of those departing. [346] [358] [167]

Now there is public worship at the place on several occasions during the year. On the 3rd day of the 3rd month, a woman's holiday, women and children go to the seashore around Minatogawa, and, on returning, pray at the place of the guardian god. On O-Bon, the village lion appears in front of this site. There is samisen playing and the whole village offers a prayer. (Not all villages have the lion costume. 778 796 [536] [825]

2 Quoted in L. Cranmer-Byng, The vision of Asia, New York, 1933, 42.

system and by the public life which they lead. There is a blending and shading of the private life of the home with the public life of the lanes, the shops, and the homes of others. The process is so subtle that one can live among them and be unaware of it. But children do more than grow up. They grow and reach maturity impressed with their duties and obligations. It is this cultural environment, rather than single element explanations such as breast feeding, which in my opinion accounts for the politeness, the essential gentleness, and the sense of security of the people. These characteristics can best be understood by knowing history, by knowing how people live within a family, how families live together, what these groups of families do to their arable land, their plants, their stones, their trees, and their forested and wild land, and how the private life of an individual or a family blends in with the wider public experience of the community. 156 [155]

The recent war has been a powerful agent of cultural change in Okinawa. The destruction of the south, the comparative well-being of the north have equalized the roles of the two great divisions of the island, and the north is no longer a rustic hinterland. The years of military service in the Japanese army interfered with the transmission of the traditional culture from the old to the young. One of the striking aspects is the differences in types of information possessed by the old and the young. Men fifty years or over speak of things of which younger men and women have never heard. What is part of one man's culture is foreign to the other. 727 178 184

Before the war success in transmitting the traditional culture to the young depended to a great extent on the hierarchy of the family system and its scale of values. Women were subordinated to men and the younger deferred to the elder. Obedience of children and acknowledgment of parental leadership were said to characterize the pre-war society. In many ways, all these things still do. But there are indications of a growing dependence of the older on the advice and knowledge of the young. [867] [593]

The war and its aftermath produced conditions favorable to the leadership of younger people, especially younger men. It was easy for them to drive trucks. It was no chore to become acquainted with Americans and adapt themselves to their ways. They could learn, and comprehend more easily, some of the Western concepts implicit in governmental change. A twenty year old is not impressed with skill at typing. A sixty year old person looks upon this skill with a certain wonder. [177]

The destruction of pre-war housing and its replacement by inferior makeshift housing have had an unsettling effect on village life. Sleeping habits and living arrangements were disrupted. The destruction even affected the use of rainwater coming from the drains on the tile roofs. It converted villages with their houses and an occasional garden into a camp-like atmosphere. [362]

The post-war repatriation often brought to villagers a more personal awareness of the outside world. Those who returned, especially from the non-Oriental countries, created an atmosphere congenial to change. [167] [177]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

home country. Nevertheless, many aspects of Okinawan life still suggest an earlier phase in which independent developments gave the islands their own particular culture.

The Okinawan people, approximately 655,000 as counted in 1954, live in an area of about 454 square miles. Their major economic activities have traditionally been agriculture and fishing. In 1945 a long, peaceful existence was brought to an abrupt end during the final battles of World War II in the Pacific. As a result of world conditions Okinawans have been placed under American administration for an indefinite period of time. Today large numbers of men—and some women—find employment as unskilled and semiskilled laborers with the American forces. Gradual training for highly skilled jobs widens these opportunities for employment. Indirectly Okinawan life is influenced by Americans through stimulation of trade, building, and improved health conditions. Land requirements of the American forces in some areas also have influenced the settlement pattern. While these changes have affected the entire island to some degree, the greatest changes are noticeable in the central part around Naha where American administrative and military personnel are located. The village of Taira in the northern province of Kunigami, where the present study was located, had been subject to relatively few of these postwar changes in 1954. Isolated since earliest times because of mountainous terrain, this part of the island participates, as it probably always did, marginally in cultural influences which affect the center of the island. A great deal of cultural stability has therefore been preserved until the present day.

Nevertheless, it is useful to remember that the population of northern Okinawa is linked with the rest of the island by an efficient communications system. Roads connect almost all settlements in the north with the central island, and a bus transportation system extends its service into the remote areas. But long before all villages were connected by road with the center of Okinawa, people of Kunigami province traveled by foot over the many trails which traverse the mountains, and, since the turn of the century, many have left their home villages. Some went to Japan as laborers; others settled in the Japanese-controlled Islands of the Pacific, and some families joined the numerous Okinawan settlements in South American countries.

LANGUAGE

Taira people are bilingual. Okinawan, which linguists consider a separate language, has many regional dialects, some of which are not

Although a number of important shrines and worship places are located in the Kawata area, the main shrine is in Taira.

To this tranquil area the activities of World War II brought a great upheaval. Although the main stream of refugees from the south, following threats of United States troups' invasion, did not reach this northern area, Japanese guerilla forces settled in the hills of Higashi township. This, and the constant warnings from the Japanese of the "terrors" of American occupation, caused the population of all villages to take refuge in the mountains, carrying along what few possessions they could, including livestock. Families were separated and individuals lived in constant fear of soldiers from both sides. Nightly excursions to the fields to harvest whatever could be found helped to maintain a meager diet. It is characteristic of the stresses of this period that among the children of central Taira only one was born in 1945.

The war ended for Taira people when American troops had cleared the northern areas of Japanese troops. In this action several villages were destroyed, among them Taira. The present economic struggle of Higashi township, an area which was always handicapped by lack of farmland and poor soil, is partly due to the war. On the other hand, the demand for lumber for an island-wide reconstruction program lent a temporary boom to the economy. In the process, however, forests which had been heavily cut before the war fell prey to rapid and poorly planned cutting. At present the whole township is in the throes of economic readjustment.

In the past 50 years, Taira, like the rest of Okinawa, has sent some of its overflow of population to various areas in the world, including Japan, and especially to the industrial areas of Kobe and Osaka, Saipan, and Brazil. At least five of the families in central Taira lived either in Japan or the Pacific Islands and returned shortly after World War II. Emigrants to Brazil have stayed with the exception of one prominent person who returned to Taira several years before the war. Some of the families lived as many as 18 or 20 years abroad, and several children in the study were born in Japan and returned to the village as infants. Among the villagers are many who have served in the Japanese Army in Asia or in the South Seas.

The repatriation of these families does not seem to have caused any serious disturbances to the village, since many people were killed during the war and several families moved to the city. An exodus to the outlying areas of the village also provided room for returnees, so, although rice land is scarce, there is still some uncultivated farmland, admittedly mostly of poor quality.

The community is dispersed. In the outlying parts, as far as 2 miles

623 attend." As on all occasions women usually sit together on one side or in the rear. Few of them participate during discussions. The most active spokesmen for the women are the head of the Women's Association and one or two of her close assistants. If a discussion concerns such matters as liquor and food for celebrating certain holidays, a woman may speak [854] up. Mothers bring their infants along[1] and hold them in their arms or nurse them when they get restless. Sometimes a child feels uncomfortable and starts crying, and the mother is forced to leave the room.

554 In general, Taira people do not enjoy being leaders or playing a 157 dominating role. There are no bosses who attempt to force issues or 621 dictate policies. Even people who have definite ideas on how to effect changes would not attempt to assume full responsibility by disregarding the advice of others. "Power" is not associated with responsible positions and village leadership. The headman and clerk perform a duty, often loathed by them and never too highly rewarded by others. A man commands respect for his education, age, sound advice, and exemplary behavior, not for the office he holds. Moreover, all villagers are friendly neighbors, and the man who is presently headman still remains a relative or neighbor to everybody. There is more prestige [632] associated with township offices. The mayor, who holds the highest position, is a man of age and experience; he commands a great deal of respect and has been elected to that office because of the high esteem in which he is held. Occasionally one hears of power hungry persons who are unscrupulous and authoritarian, but they are rare.

FORMAL CONTROL

625 Formal control of law and order is in the hands of the police. A detachment of the Hentona district police is located in the village, and one policeman is constantly stationed there. He lives with his family in [206] a building which also has a small office. Recently a telephone with direct connections to Hentona was installed. The policeman and his wife are from another township.

[166] The policeman's main duty, according to villagers, is to protect them from the occasional outside burglars or from fugitives from the south who come north to hide in the woods. The announcement that such a person is on the loose creates much excitement and anxiety. A second important duty is the control of the shore line. Smugglers and [167] illegal entrants from the Japanese island of Yoron, just to the north of Okinawa, land along the coast. Although one man with only a bicycle can hardly control effectively several miles of coastline, since the only road to the outer world leads through Taira, the policeman

1 [ie - to the household head meeting - ANALYST]

Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

bers may be recruited and present members expelled. In others, which are closed, membership is automatic and inevitable, depending in no way on the behavior of the individuals involved. We are here concerned with these latter groups whose membership is determined by sex, age, kinship, and rules of residence. Whether an American male lives in Connecticut or California, in the city or the suburbs, is to a large degree a matter of his personal preference. This is not the case for everybody in Taira, although there are people who at any time may leave the village to seek their fortune. 571

There are two types of households in Taira: those of oldest sons, who live in the house of their parents, and those of younger sons, who establish a nuclear household of their own, which may be near the house of their father. Many young sons, however, leave the central village and settle in its outlying districts or move to the southern part of the island. Whereas formerly many younger sons moved to Japan or to one of its prewar South Pacific mandates, or to Hawaii and South America, since the end of World War II employment opportunities around U.S. Army installations absorb many such migrants. The oldest son is required to live in his parents' house and eventually take over the duties of a household head. Unmarried younger sons remain in the household until they marry or leave the parental home for work elsewhere. 596 594 [166] [167]

For a woman it is customary to move to her husband's home if he is an older son or into a house in his village if he is a younger son. In the old days this usually involved simply a move in the village, since the preference was to marry a woman from the same community. Nowadays there is no clear-cut preference; a woman from central Taira may become the bride of a man from that part of the village, from one of the outlying parts of Taira, or from another village, usually to the north. Of a sample of 55 marriages, 26 of the wives were from Taira, 29 from other villages, five of which were immediately adjacent. 591 582

The composition of the household, therefore, changes for the individual during his lifetime, and it is not the same for all persons in the village. Several children not only have their parents and at least one paternal grandparent but also paternal aunts or uncles who live under the same roof. If the father is a younger son, only one's parents and siblings are household members. Since houses are small and space is very limited, all these members of the household live in close face-to-face relationship. Women tend to outlive men, so that there are many more old women living with their married sons than old men. This is why children have a grandmother more often in the home than a grandfather (see Table 1). 592 593 [165]

CHAPTER VII: POPULATION

P. R. Pitts

1. Postwar Growth and Change in Okinawa's Population

• 167
727 Repatriates

Much of the population increase in the first five years after the end of the war was due to the influx of repatriates. It is not known for certain just how many Ryukyuans were abroad. However, a rough picture may be seen by examining the statistics and comment presented in the Navy handbook:[1]

> No complete summary of the destinations of Ryukyu emigrants is available, but estimates drawn from a number of sources appear to indicate that the industrial regions of Japan proper and the Japanese mandated islands have attracted a vast majority of those leaving the archipelago. A summary of available estimates and census data on the destination of approximately 130,000 emigrants from Okinawa prefecture in the last quarter century is given below:

Destination	Number
Japan proper (principally to Osaka, Kobe, Tokyo and Yokohama)	60,000
Japanese mandated islands:	
Mandated Marianas	25,772*
Western Carolines	4,943*
Eastern Carolines	3,474*
Marshalls	48*
Hawaiian Islands	11,000
Brazil	9,000
Peru	6,800
Philippine Islands	5,900
Argentina	2,300
United States	600
Total	129,837

*1937 Japanese Census Figures

Many more Ryukyuans came back than the above figures show were abroad. The difference may well be accounted for by a) some inaccuracies in the Navy handbook data, and b) repatriation of Ryukyuan soldiers. Repatriation figures given by USCAR are as follows:

Postwar, prior to August 1945	30,000[2]
1946	112,014
1947	7,738
1948	2,607
1949	1,585
Total postwar repatriates	153,944

[1] P. 55.

[2] USCAR estimate, p. 79 of CAARI.

When a great number of people are repatriated, it is far more likely that more will find their way into urban areas than into rural areas. This tends to remain true in spite of prior resettlement in the country villages. 167 727

People and the Arable Land One of the best indicators of urbanization is the number of persons for each acre of arable land under cultivation. In Okinawa, cultivation of the sweet potato permits a much larger population to live off an acre of land than would be true if other crops were raised in its place. The following scale has been set up, and is the basis for Map 5:[1] 161 389

Areas of Occasional Surplus	Up to 6 persons per acre
Areas of Moderate Self-sufficiency	6-9 persons per acre
Areas of Definite Deficiency	9-20 persons per acre
Semi-urbanized Areas	20-30 persons per acre
Urban Areas	Over 30 persons per acre

In examining Map 5, which is based on conditions at the end of 1950, it is seen that the entire area from Oroku to Ishikawa, and from Katsuren to Yomitan, is included in the food-deficient areas. This is true also of Nago, the southwestern half of the Motobu peninsula, and the far north 'son' of Kunigami. The urban node in the south results from prewar settlement. The urbanized areas of Kadena, Chatan and Goeku of course are postwar phenomena. The fact that this urbanized three-'son' block is bordered by semi-urbanized areas, while the urban areas of the south are not, indicates that a greater center of attraction is found in this area. The answer is the amount of military employment available here.

In discussing the postwar growth and rearrangements of population it is convenient to divide the discussion into two parts. The first will deal with the period prior to 1951, when repatriation and a mild amount of construction were prevalent. The second period under consideration is from 1 January 1951 to 31 December 1952, during which time accelerated military construction was the rule, and repatriation almost non-existent. 161 128

Population Increase from 1940 to 1950 In this decade the population of the Ryukyus increased by 20%, while that of Okinawa Guntō increased by 22%. Map 6 indicates the areas of relative decrease and increase. Much of Shimajiri suffered great losses in the fighting, and by the end of 1950 still registered a net decrease for the decade. The relatively undestroyed areas from Ishikawa north experienced a greater than average growth, and the scattered military installations in Goeku, Misato and Gushikawa attracted a great number of people. Ishikawa owed its growth mainly to its designation as the postwar temporary capital city. 161

The setting up of a military government area on the Chinen peninsula attracted a few people there, as did the repair of the Japanese airbase in Oroku. The height, relative remoteness and almost total destruction of Shuri, combined with the military requisitioning of much of the Naha port area, contributed greatly to the unexpected growth of Mawashi.

[1] Figures for each political area for all maps are given in the appendix.

161 The percentage growth categories used on Map 6 are as follows:

Negative Growth
Less than Okinawa Average of 22% Growth
23-39% Growth
40-100% Growth
Over 100% Growth

Population Increase During 1951 and 1952 The accelerated military construction program has been quite important in drawing people to the main island of Okinawa. This is shown by the fact that in the years 1951 and 1952 it gained over 47,000 inhabitants. More than 11,000 of these were contractors and construction workers from Japan. About 2,300 more such workers arrived from Japan in the first seven months of 1953.[1]

[167]

161 166 During this two year period, Okinawa's population increased by 5.55%. On Map 7 all areas with an increase of less than that amount are considered as areas of emigration. Those areas where the increase was more than 5.55% are shown as areas of immigration.

All urban areas except Ishikawa continued to grow. Goeku and Kadena, which had in the previous decade grown amazingly fast, continued to be among the fastest-growing 'son' on the island. On the other hand, Kunigami-son and the entire east coast north of Ishikawa City reversed the trend of growth noted on Map 6, and became areas of excessive migration. In part this was due to the improvement of roads along the east coast, thus making the urban trek easier. But it owed just as much to the demand for skilled carpenters, who were abundant along the east coast.

If data were available at the 'aza', or village area level, the urban trend could be localized with greater accuracy. Military government personnel concerned with problems on the island relative to urbanization and its pace are advised to work with population data on the village ('aza' or 'ku') level if greater accuracy is desired. This information is rarely if ever presented in that detailed form to agencies of the Government of the Ryukyu Islands, and local inquiry must be made.

162 The Sex Ratio Okinawa shares with most of the Orient a great density of population per arable acre of land. Aside from this, the outstanding fact about the population of Okinawa is the great preponderance of women over men. There are about 90 men for every 100 women in this area.[2] This excess of women is reflected in such sociological phenomena as prostitution, illegitimate and common law children, women functioning as heads of households, and a high fertility ratio. The reasons for the excess are somewhat complex, but the most important factor is the recent war, in which many

[161] [340] [340] [341] [342]

1 CAARI, p. 78.

2 The standard demographic definition of sex ratio is "the number of men for each 100 women."

The mental
isolation of the farm village gradually decreased under a national system of 177
education, but the process did not end with schooling. Upon graduating, the 619
youth, male and female, were enrolled in a national young people's association. 575
Later the young men were drafted for service in the national army, and following discharge the veteran was enlisted in a local reserve association which [702]
met frequently for military and social purposes. When a man married, established a separate house, and began farming, membership in the farmer's association was automatically conferred. His wife upon marriage transferred from the young women's association to the women's association. There were, in fact, a variety of national organizations covering the various phases and roles of the individual's life; membership was never a matter of choice, but a thing automatically conferred. A stress on patriotism was a strong concomitant in all of these. Membership gave to the individual a sense of participating in a national society extending far beyond the limits of his small village.

It should be stressed that most Okinawans regard the Japanese as pro- 177
viders of modern, enlightened government. The Japanese administration abol- 829
ished the old class divisions and freed the peasant from his serf-like status. [565]
Taxes on arable land were substantially reduced, and the villager for the first time was given some voice in government above the village level. Modern [671]
law courts were introduced and justice was administered impartially, not on a class basis as was formerly done.

Inadvertently, perhaps, official Japanese policy did much to destroy 177
the self-sufficiency of the farm village. Prior to the land reform, sugar 621
production did not exceed local needs, but government encouragement and sub- 433
sidy so increased production that by the time of World War II it exceeded consumption by 900%. This resulted in a food shortage which necessitated heavy importations of basic cereals to compensate.

Japanese manufactured goods also contributed to the decline in self- 177
sufficiency. Factory-made cloth gradually displaced home-woven fabrics, and 439
accordingly cotton and fiber banana were no longer raised. The tools, uten- 433
sils, and machines of the factory slowly replaced the simpler devices used [248]
in the village.

Abolition of the system of communal land tenure contributed to a weak- 177
ening of the family and particularly of the large extended kin group. The 602
introduction of private property and Japanese laws of inheritance served to 423
create a landless element which often emigrated from Okinawa in search of land [167]
or jobs elsewhere. Where formerly the kin group had clustered in certain localities, they now became dispersed over great areas, making continued interaction difficult and often impossible.

Sixty-six years of Japanese rule resulted in a fairly successful amal- 177
gamation of Okinawa into the Japanese state; though the Okinawan language and culture were not destroyed, they were severely altered.

<u>Impact of World War II and the American Occupation</u> The war destroyed vir- 727
tually all of rural and urban Okinawa, and resulted in the death of twenty percent of the population.

2) Japanese Political Administration On the negative side is the domination, during the period of Japanese administration, of Okinawan public life by men from Japan. But on the other hand Okinawa became another perfecture and not a colony, and there were possibly not many more men in Okinawa from Japan's urban centers than in other remote and poor perfectures. As Japanese subjects in a Japanese prefecture, Okinawans could rise in the Japanese system and indeed a few did. The position of Okinawa was quite different from that of Korea. 648 829

Insofar as the Japanese policy of assimilation was successful, the fact that most of the important posts in the prefectural government were occupied by men from Tokyo could be ignored. If the Okinawans identified themselves as Japanese the difference would be less important. (The degree of Japanese domination and the harshness of the regime, moreover, seem to have become exaggerated in the minds of many of the Americans on Okinawa at present; some of the USCAR personnel with whom we talked appeared to be unaware of the fact that Okinawa had the same legal status as other parts of Japan.)

3) Japanese Assimilation Policy The policy of the Japanese government and particularly that of the Ministry of Education was undoubtedly one of cultural imperialism. The aim was to produce a uniform people. A strong attempt was made to eradicate the native language and many native customs that did not agree with Japanese ideals, the periodic redivision of land ('jiwari seido') and the use of the pigpen as a toilet, to name two. School teachers labelled the Okinawan language a "dialect" of Japanese, thus giving it inferior status, and labelled many Okinawan beliefs "superstitions". The army also undoubtedly attempted to replace Okinawan with Japanese ideals in many young men. These attempts may have produced hostility in some Okinawans, but it is our impression that the more usual result was to produce merely a feeling of inferiority. Okinawan speech and culture went down in value and Japanese speech and culture went up. Younger Okinawans who could not speak good Japanese felt inferior, but within the Japanese hierarchy. Moreover, in recent years Okinawan speech and customs have been given new prestige as museum pieces by the fact that outstanding Japanese scholars have devoted some attention to them. 648 177 829 152

4) Treatment of Okinawans in Japan Undoubtedly Okinawans who went to Japan in the twenties and thirties to look for employment were disiscriminated against by Japanese employers. A great number of Okinawans went to Osaka to work in the textile mills. Accounts of informants reveal that the mill foremen stereotyped Okinawans as lazy and unreliable and did not hesitate to say so. (In view of the conditions of labor, Americans in the same position might well have earned the same stereotype.) Some mills did not hire Okinawans if they could avoid it. 167 464 177

In rural Japan people were in utter ignorance of Okinawa. Students who were evacuated in 1944 to Kyushu discovered this. One young man told how the peasants in Miyazaki-ken thought that Okinawans were South Sea Islanders and expected them to come wearing clothes made of the leaves of trees and expected to have to teach them how to cook rice. 000

1

Historical Notes on Housing

In all villages, much time is spent, in addition to agricultural or fishing tasks, in housebuilding, either for one's self or for friends and neighbors. Housebuilding is the most time consuming of a man's tasks after his primary occupation. Repairs to or reconstruction of the poorer houses are continuous. The man with a good house and a tile roof has little to worry about. But he will often be found helping someone less fortunate. 342 461 [416]

The traditional houses of Naha and Shuri showed both Chinese and Japanese influences. The traditional house and compound of the rural village has been compared with the ancient Japanese house, and it bears some similarities with houses found among the Ainu. 342 171

It would seem from the observations and researches of earlier students that the house was always built above the ground without excavation, and sometimes on stilts. The supporting posts making up the rectangular house were either placed in holes or on stones on the ground. The supporting posts, the ridge poles, the cross beams were branches or trunks of trees trimmed and cut for length. Roofs of thatch had the apex of the roof covered by a saddle or arch shaped thatch made, like the rest of the roof, of grass. Smoke escaped either through an aperture in the ceiling or through a window, as it still does in many of the poorer houses. The houses were filled with smoke. The oldest rural houses apparently had only a dirt floor with scattered mats, though some had a raised floor. 175 342 [352]

The food storage sheds or small granaries were raised on stilts. Engravings of these have appeared both in Perry's writings and in Bayard Taylor's works. There is some question whether this granary (now disappeared) was indigenous or a borrowing. The purpose of the raised granary was probably to protect against dampness and to prevent infestation by rats and vermin. These granaries were open sided with no boarded up walls, and, in Okinawa, were circular.[1] 175 343

Animal pens or stalls were not attached to the house, but were always separate. In the courtyard, earthen rain water vessels were inbedded half way into the ground to catch the rain water. There were stalls for goats and pig pens, and the pig pens were used also as a toilet. This is no longer practiced to my knowledge, although the outhouse with its holes in the ground is found under the same roof as the pig pen. The entrance to the courtyard was oppositie the front of the house. The protective stationary gate, the hinpun (in Okinawan), made of reeds or stones, stood at the entrance inside the court, as it does now, to shield the people of [417] [415] [364] 417

1 For drawings of the granaries, see Satow, E. M. Notes on Loochoo. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 1 (1882), 1-8. The drawings follow the text. See also Simon, Beitrage zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, as cited, 75-85.

1

Introduction

Everyone knows that the family is a most important social institution in Asiatic countries such as China, Korea, and Japan. What is not so well, nor so widely understood, is that the idea of the family is deeply involved not only with obligations and duties within a family, but also with such matters as ancestor worship, inheritance and succession, land tenure, public and private holidays, and in certain phases of community organization and of government. It is better therefore to abandon the expression family and substitute for it a term which at the outset suggests the implications and ramifications of the idea of the family. This term is the family system (kazoku seido in Japanese). The Ryukyu Islands have felt the influence of China, Korea, and Japan in many different ways and at different times. Perhaps the most important of these borrowings, ultimately from China, is the family system.

The family system is a series of mutual obligations and duties which members of a living generation of a family owe to one another, to those who have lived before them and who have been responsible directly or indirectly for their present condition and status, and owe also to those who will come after them to perform for their time the tasks now imposed on the contemporary generation.

The family system embraces the same family relationships found in countries of the west. Here as in the west, the biological family, composed of the husband, the wife, and the children, is the fundamental unit of social organization. In American society, family ties beyond the immediate biological family tend to become more fragile, and indeed often become so within the biological family itself—due in part at least to a strong tradition of individualism and greater mobility.

In Okinawa, the biological family is but a segment of a wider system of family relationships. These spread out not only into the contemporary extended families but find expression also in reverence for those who have lived in the past and in a feeling of responsibility for the continuation of the family into the future by assuming one's duty to prevent extinction of the family line. In the so-called ancestor worship, there is this expression of the extension of the family system throughout time. Ancestor worship, the conventional term, is not quite correct, but it conveys the general meaning desired. Actually it is not only the ancestors but all deceased relatives, including child descendants, whose memory is revered.

The family system is a great chain of responsibilities and obligations which extends from the remote past to the remote future and of which the living generation is the responsible contemporary representative. It is this aspect of the family system that makes it more a philosophical, ethical, or social concept than merely the descriptive term for a system

597 known as groom-adoption (mukoyoshi in Japanese). No instances of this form of adoption were found in the villages. The husband-to-be is adopted into his wife's family and, at the same time, becomes successor to his wife's father's estate. The adopted man is placed in a similar position to a daughter to be married: he forsakes his own family, his name is taken off the family register of his father, and he becomes, like the bride in a normal situation, a member of his wife's family.

597 183 [171] Common in Japan, this device is considered a humiliating position, both in Japan and in Okinawa,* for the bridegroom, since he puts himself in an unfavorable position regarding the women of the adopting family and leaves his own. Even though unused, reactions to this form of adoption are unreservedly negative in the villages. "It is very distasteful," said one man. "The boy deserts his own home and enters his wife's home." Occasionally however it probably will be used. There are a few families with five or six daughters and no sons. In one instance, a family with six daughters, the eldest of marriageable age, the parents were considering groom adoption.

597 171 In Okinawa unlike Japan, the maintenance of the family system is not contingent upon an elaborate and widely used system of adoption. This is one of the important distinctions to be made between Okinawan and Japanese culture, for in Japan adoption has been used by the royal family, in business and professional circles, as well as among the ordinary classes of people.

7

The "Growing Up" Parent

597 608 855 734 There is also a special form of adoption in Okinawa. It is debatable whether it is directly concerned with the maintenance of the family system, or is a more general aspect of the culture and part of the care and rearing of children. This is known as yashineuya (in Okinawan), yashinaoya or morawako (in Japanese). It is not adoption, but an arrangement that is considered helpful for the survival of sickly children who, the parents feel, might not live to maturity. The verb, yashinsu in Japanese means to rear, adopt, or support. It is also used in referring to raising animals.

[791] [787] The first step is to consult a fortune teller (sanjinsō in Japanese). Hanashiro people can go to nearby Gushichan; Minatogawans to Itoman or Naha, and the parents of Matsuda to Ginoza or to Nago to consult the

* This situation has changed since the war. See The Japanese village in transition, as cited, 213.

551 their own and of other families was also noticeable.[6] Often the two
592 were used interchangeably. From an individual point of view, and this
184 is true of all the villages, the household order name is still impor-
619 tant because it is an indication of relationships to dead relatives
613 whose names are on the family tablets, and to relationships, at least in general, to other families of the same main family in the village or in other villages and towns.

[178] In Matsuda, the household order naming system seems to be dying out more rapidly than in the other communities. Children here did not know the secondary names so well, and some young people did not know their own. As in Hanashiro, up to the beginning of the war, families were called together for village duties by their household order name, but this practice has been abandoned since the war. Given and surnames are now used. The household order name is still occasionally used on letters to indicate the exact person desired, another indication of the distinctions needed in the confusion of identical surnames.

[178] It is probable that the household order naming system will decline in importance because the growth and universality of education and the constant need for using given and surnames have weakened the hold of the old. As the present old people die off, many of whom know the household order name only, every segment of the population will be accustomed to the use of given and surnames.

9

Conclusion

602 The family system binds one generation to another, and, even more, gives unity to the past, present, and future of the family. It involves a well defined system of rights and obligations. It is a conservative institution in which the rights of individuals are subordinated to the welfare of the group.

602 171 The conservative nature of the family system in other Oriental cultures, especially when combined, as in old China with a Confucian ethic and ancestor worship, has often been emphasized. But Confucianism, ancestor worship, and the family system are three different things.

6 I tested this in all communities by asking for directions to family houses using the family's yagō. Its present vitality is shown by the fact that in Hanashiro a native of the village and a member of the township council was able to list all the 121 yagō's without hesitation. The clerk of Hinatogawa village did the same. There was not an opportunity of getting the detailed lists of the Matsuda household order names, but samplings were made.

In Japan, as well as in Okinawa, the system has been maintained without the ultra-conservative duties and regulations and the severe subordination of women associated with Confucianism in its political and social aspects. This is true at least for late nineteenth and twentieth century Okinawa, though some Confucian survivals no doubt persist. 602 171

But the family system is also an admirably flexible institution. It need not depend for its survival on a Confucian ethic, the subordination of women, or on the arranged marriage. It does require a continuing reverence for the dead and care to insure the existence of generations to come. There is room for free choice in marriage within the general framework of the family system. There is in the family system a sense of belonging from early infancy to death, a sense of identity with the past as well as sharing in the future, an emotional security, free participation of the old in village life, mutual reinforcements coming from the performances of these obligations. These are striking characteristics of Okinawan village life. It is true that the family system in Japan has been unable to avoid many deep lying insecurities and conflicts. But in Japan there have been in recent times strong competitive situations along with the harnessing of the nation's energies to war. In Okinawa, these conditions have been lacking, at least in an intense form, until the Okinawans were in the midst of the fierce fighting of the war. The sense of security and of belonging is unmistakable in the great majority of villagers, and while this does not mean there is no dissension or that everything is serene, it does mean that the system as it has developed here has permitted a certain personal flexibility and freedom within the system. The culture also has not encouraged strong individual competition. [769] [587] [156]

The family system, with its obligations and duties, both in the individual and the extended families, is the key to an understanding, not only of the non-material, but much of the material culture as well. The social organization as it has developed within the family system has strong influences through inheritance on land tenure and land use, and on agriculture and other occupations, in addition to its influences on daily family living, religious observances, public recreation and holidays. These will be explored in the chapters to come. 602 182

428 592 There is a distinction between succeeding to the headship of a house and inheriting property which the head of a house may possess. In the first case, the first son assumes the direction of the family; in the second, he receives property which will enable him to do this. This old distinction is still maintained.

One of the striking differences between post-war Japan and its [171] former province in the Ryukyus is that in the latter inheritance and succession were left untouched, while in Japan a thorough going revision of traditional laws and customs completely altered the system of inheritance and, in effect, abolished the operation of the family system in matters of land tenure and inheritance.[2]

428 In present day Okinawa, property, real or personal, may be passed from father to sons, or daughters, in the absence of sons, in two ways: by personal disposition of the property on his retirement, or by division of the property on the father's death. In either case, the function of inheritance in the culture is to insure, by a system of preferential inheritance in favor of the first son, or his successor, the maintenance of the family house on its site, of the family estate in land, and at the same time, to provide either during the father's lifetime or after his death, sufficient property given before or at marriage, to enable younger sons to establish branch houses. This property given to sons other than the first, includes a house site (yashiki, takuchi) arable dry land (hatake) and the non-arable but highly useful genya land. These dispositions parallel the distinctions between a main family (honke) and its branch family (bunke).

428 592 Parallels Between the Family System and Inheritance of Land

Family System	Inheritance
First son becomes head of the house on death or retirement of the father.	First son inherits the family house site and has preferential status in obtaining other parcels of land.
Second and other sons establish branch households on marriage.	Second and other sons receive from the father, or elder brother, a house site, a paddy field, dry crop land, or genya land, if available

The first son by remaining in the home of his parents keeps at least part of the family estate (zaisan) within the main family, with the hope that sufficient lands will be left over to insure the well-being of the branch families that spring from it.

2 For some Japanese reactions to the new system, see The Japanese village in transition, as cited, 211-12.

175
423 Commodore Perry and his staff noted the land tenure system of the Great Lew Chew but did not get any details and were not quite certain what it was.

> "Another obstacle in the way of their improvement is the impossibility of their ever procuring a vested right of ownership in the land. As far as the Commodore could gather information on the subject, it would appear that the soil is held by the government, and its agents are employed to collect and consume its produce. According to the best accounts that could be obtained, the actual cultivator receives not more than two-tenths of the produce. Of the remainder, six-tenths go to the lord of the soil, or ruler, and two-tenths for the expense of supervision of the land, costs of collection, etc. The peasant has thus no stimulus to exertion. Wretched, however, as this system is, and degraded as is the condition of the operative, it is astonishing to see the large returns from agricultural labor." These returns are attributed by the authors to a combination of skill, soil, and climate.[3]

[433]

Goldschmidt (1927) wrote that under the old system the land was the property of the villages and was divided by the elders of the village "according to ancient precept," into equal parcels, considering its location, and that every individual received a parcel. "Large families had therefore correspondingly more parcels; daughters who married took at marriage their parcels with them. Every six years there was a new division, so that everyone received another plot of land and no one could complain, in the long run, over an unjust distribution."

[178]
[423]
[171]

2 (continued from previous page) 86 on communal ownership, 157 on mouth-share-land. The old Okinawan allotment system also is similar to the practice of masha' in the middle East. A village maintains its lands in common and apportions them among villagers periodically. This is found in parts of Iran, Jordan, Arab Palestine, and Syria. See Tannous, Affif I. Land tenure in the middle East. Foreign agriculture (U.S. Dept. of Agriculture), 7 (1943), 171-77.

3 Elsewhere the narrative remarks that, "All the land in Lew Chew is held by government and rented to large tenants, who, in their turn, sub-let it to smaller ones, who are the direct cultivators of the soil." And in another place, it is said that the lands were held by the government as a "metayer system, brought down almost to individuals (or possibly upon an allotment system)." The metayer system, as described by Dr. Green, was a "plan of paying (in this instance as 'taxes') a certain proportion of the produce." Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, I, 220; II, 25-26, 28. See also I, 311.

174 423 have been affected by roads and trails which have now disappeared.

[115] Old residents[5] of Matsuda and neighboring villages were able to furnish more specific clues regarding the old system and its relation to other phases of village life. These old people estimated the [161] population of Matsuda at the close of the old system at about 360 persons, compared with the present population of 1368. The system operated under much less acute population pressure than exists today. [165] Deaths, especially from malaria, and a high infant mortality kept the population down, although introduced Japanese hygienic measures helped.

[311] Under the old system in Matsuda, there was a continual clearing of land, mostly around the settlement. There seems little doubt that land reclamation and clearing has been going on slowly from the earliest historical times in Okinawa. The land cleared remained under village ownership, but the persons who cleared the property were allowed to hold it for use without giving it up for periodic redistribution. Technical ownership remained with the village.[6] Fences and stone barriers were erected as a protection against the wild boar. But the large scale reclamation and the private ownership of genya land seems to have occurred after the close of the old system.

The dividion of lands at the beginning of the new system has set the boundary pattern of many plots. In Matsuda there were instances of land which has retained the same boundaries that it had under the old system. There was general agreement among the old that the form, boundaries, and areas of land plots have changed very little since the times of the jiwari-seido. This would be par- [428] ticularly true in the case of property which had passed down through the first son. Changes came from the establishment of branch families, [425] and sales and purchases. In these areas, however, buying and selling have been infrequent.

175 423 The history of land tenure in Okinawa, therefore, is different from that of Japan with its long history of tenancy, whose accumulated problems finally led to the land reform of 1946 during the Allied occupation. The present system of land tenure in Okinawa [171] is a little over 50 years old.

178 423 311 The chief influences of the old system were to set in a form recognizable to the present, the pattern of land holding, to establish land classification, and apply it on a very localized basis.

[115] 5 I am indebted here to Shinzato Zensuke of the village of Sokei (Oinoza-son), and to Oshiro-san of Matsuda village (Oinoza-son) both over 70 years of age for their recollections of the history of the system in Matsuda.

[114] 6 This differs from Goldschmidt's account, cited above, in that in this case the land became a usufruct, in the other actual ownership.

plots lies in their being as they are, separating one cultivated area from another, binding the soil, and that they are probably serving their best purposes now, as they have in the past, in furnishing this protection. 311 185

The conservation practices of the Okinawans are at least in part a consequence of the topography. The care of upland areas and rolling hills is imperative. For a great deal of cultivation takes place here. Unlike China, there is not a strong contrast between large scale paddy rice in alluvial soils and the relative neglect of upland areas with deforestation and erosion. In China the meticulous care of the transported soils of the lowlands and the neglect of the uplands is a striking aspect of the attitude toward land. This is true, perhaps to a lesser degree, of Japan.[11] 185 133 311 [191]

In Okinawa there are insufficient delta plains and alluvial soils to provide these contrasts between lowland and upland agriculture. The scarcity of river deltas and alluvial plains means relatively little rice and the use of the rolling hills and the steeper sides of mountains. This necessity has enforced a care of the uplands. It is true that one often sees sweet potatoes or other dry crops growing in rows up and down a hill instead of along contours, and that there seems often to be a lack of appreciation of the consequences of misuse of forest land through clear cutting. But in the main in the use of the uplands for cultivation, the weed borders or rock fences, and other simple devices keep the soils from erosion. The relatively gentle topography has also contributed to this achievement.

4

Fragmentation and Consolidation

Fragmentation of land is common in Okinawa. Ownership of contiguous plots of land is not the general rule. It is a basic fact of land tenure and influences land use and agricultural practice. This fragmentation is a deterrent to the use of machinery, unless cooperatively owned or unless certain individuals specialize in the 423 241

11 See James Thorp, Geography of the soils of China, Nanking 1936, especially Chapters xii-xiv. Gourou, Pierre. The development of upland areas in China, and Trewartha, Glenn T., Utilization of Upland areas in Japan. In: The development of upland areas of the Far East, Vol. I. (Institute of Pacific Relations), New York, 1949. Trewartha describes his surprise in his earlier studies of Japan and his acquaintance "with the fact that the Japanese, like most Orientals, greatly deprecate the value of upland or non-irrigated sites for agricultural land use." (p. 59). This choosiness is not possible for the Okinawans.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

wood and lumber for Japanese army uses and for air raid shelters were in demand, (2) the burning in the course of the war, and (3) the intense cutting after the war for firewood and rebuilding. 313 727

Okinawan traditions relating to forest care have a positive value and it is worth while to recapitulate them here. Local old men and antiquarians in Matsuda give credit to Saion who wrote a long treatise on agriculture and is said to have intentionally devised superstitions to save trees. Death or misfortune would come to him who cut the trees, especially those in sacred groves or on the tops of mountains. Some local residents have said that the gods of the mountain are really not of religious inspiration at all, but had their origin in the conscious desire of Saion to save the trees. While there does not seem to be any truth in this assertion, since these deities of the sacred groves and mountain tops reach far back into antiquity, there is no doubt that sacred groves and houses of the mountain gods saved trees that otherwise would have been cut down. (In China and Japan, religious shrines and holy places have also been areas of the preservation of trees). 313 173 [178] [171]

Present attitudes were summarized by a Matsuda school principal who said that beliefs in mountain gods and in death and misfortune following cutting trees were dying out, and that these old beliefs had been replaced by awareness of the scientific reasons for preserving the trees. [183] [186] [187]

In Matsuda, pride in the trees, in the groves that line its hill tops and overlook the narrow valleys and ravines planted to rice and other crops is a conspicuous part of village experience. There are trees along the main road near the town that are said to have been planted in Saion's time under his inspiration.

These favorable traditions are helpful. They do not guarantee the preservation of the forests. Previous experience has shown this. From what may be surmised of the history of Okinawan forests, the destruction of modern times has been correlated with war and the expansion of economic activities. We may speculate, too, that previous deforestation was slow, inexorable and related to the clearing of accessible stands near settlements, and the extension of these settled areas as they grew. "Most of the accessible primitive forests have been exhausted," Dr. Green wrote in his report to Commodore Perry.[11] The need for fuel increases with population. In China, Japan, Korea, and Okinawa, the relation of forests, either as a source for lumber or fuel, to population growth and settlement is a very intimate one. This is a basic consideration in discussing not only the "patterns of culture" but the relation of culture to the natural environment in this part of the world. [311] [161] [171]

11 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, Vol. II, 35

249 forced a return to crushing the cane by the use of rollers driven by a horse at the end of a sweep. Before the war, Matsuda had sugar mills driven by machinery. Mills may either be village 423 owned, as in Hanashiro, or owned by small co-operatives, like that [427] in Matsuda whose members rent it to others when not using it themselves.

443 Village stores generally occupy the front part of a family's living quarters. They are operated mainly by women. A woman past [462] middle age sitting on the floor of her shop, talking with visitors or reading the paper, is a familiar sight in an Okinawan village. A village may have several tiny stores. They do not compete with one another in the commercial sense of the word. Prices are the same. Their inventories are the standard ones. The chief differences are in size and variety. Some sell the strong alcoholic [273] drink (awamori) called sake in Okinawa.

Each storekeeper has a clientele of friends and relatives, but one is not under social obligation to repeatedly trade at the same place. Relatives sometimes own adjoining shops. In Japan, it is said that once a person starts trading at a shop he continues [171] to do so. To switch would deprive the shopkeeper of business that could be counted on, and imply dissatisfaction with the service rendered. The first purchase creates mutual obligations between the storekeeper and his customer which are not broken casually.[1] This is not the case with these village stores. One patronizes the shop that is convenient, that is open when one wants to buy, that has the desired article. There is an informal atmosphere and lack [434] of bustle in these tiny shops because so many are operated for supplementary income by wives or female relatives of the breadwinner. A wife may sit in her shop, as I have often seen her in Minatogawa, [404] taking care of her baby, sewing on her treadle sewing machine, and interrupting her work when necessary for a customer. The cash involved is small, often only a few yen, and money is carefully accounted for. These shops satisfy a surprising amount of the village demand for food, food supplements, notions, clothing, and household goods. Larger, more expensive, or more specialized items such as books, suits, furniture are in the towns like Itoman or Naha in the south, or Nago and Ishikawa in the north.

An inventory of one of these village stores indicates the types of articles in frequent and constant demand. In one typical store in Minatogawa the following purchases could be made:

Foods

[262] Starch
[271] Condensed milk for children

1 I was told this by Japanese and by Nisei who were in Japan during the occupation. I do not know how widespread or how characteristic this practice is of all retail trade there.

needs supplementation. Hence, a farmer cannot buy so much as a fisherman. A rice farmer, if he is eligible at all, cannot purchase so much as a sweet potato grower. These stores fill a genuine need. They have alleviated hardship and done much to improve the monotonous pre-war diet. In the villages, they are a concrete reminder of direct American contact. There is not a store in every village, but each village has ready access to one. 449 262 511

The rural blacksmith takes care of the needs of farmers and stonecutters. One such shop in Nagamo serves many villages in the Gushichan area. The forge is of simple construction. The air is blown by a sort of box bellows. The operator sits down, as if he were in a row boat, and by pushing and pulling the handle (which has a T-end grip like a hand pump) moves the piston horizontally back and forth. The blacksmith repairs agricultural and stonecutting tools and makes new tools, chiefly hoes and spikes for the harrow. 326 413

There are no good inns, restaurants or tea houses in the villages. In Hinatogawa a Japanese inn of rude construction and comfort caters to parties for the entertainment of visitors who have business with local people. 265

Getting a haircut or a bath may involve going to another village. Like the stores, barbershops are little social centers, especially during bad weather when villagers are not working and take the opportunity to have their hair cut. 305

2

Mutual Loan Groups

In China and Japan, mutual loan groups have had a long history. In essence, they are groups associated for the purpose of borrowing and lending money, the capital being derived from contributions of the membership. There is an element of chance when members bid against one another or draw lots for a loan.[2] 474 426 [171]

Each member of a loan group advances an agreed upon share. The total amount is then available as a lump sum to one of them as a borrower. The borrower repays principal and interest in monthly installments. The remaining members advance the same amount each on the following month to another borrower. In this way, there is a continuous cycle of lending

2 They are known variously as mo-ai (Japanese), mu-e (Okinawan) tanomoshi and yûrei (Japanese). Groups organized on a monthly basis are tsukikiyurei or tsukimoai (Japanese), and on an annual basis as nimu-e (Okinawan), nimmo-ai (Japanese). At present there are no annual groups because of uncertainties regarding the future value of money. Now loans are normally for a 10-12 month period.

854 wherever the mother goes. The age at which this begins varies, some saying 20 days, others two months. But on the average, it probably is about one month.

[171] This custom, known as ombu in Japanese, is identical with the practice in rural Japan. The child is strapped on by crossing the sash in front of the mother, crisscrossing it above the baby's [482] buttocks, and then bringing the binding around the mother's waist where the sash is securely tied in front. In the summer, the child may only wear a diaper-like garment. The child is carried on the back until he begins to walk. But there is often a long transition period, and the child is carried at times long after he has learned to walk, perhaps until he is 3 years of age. I have seen boys of 4 still being carried on the mother's back.

At one time or another, the infant is carried by every member of the family physically able to do so, the child accommodating itself effortlessly to the activities of his elder. Its longest continual contact is with the mother. A mother does most of her chores with the child on her back. The child is with her when she is scrubbing the plank floors on her knees, carrying in firewood, building a fire, cooking, when she is turning the quern to make bean curd, shopping, or doing the laundry. If occasion requires, she unstraps the child, changes the diaper-like cloth, for diapers are unusual, and allows it to sleep a while on the thick comforter.

[857] When school is out, the mother may get a rest. The baby is taken over by the eldest girl. In communities where there are many girls, few young boys are seen carrying their young brothers or sisters, although carrying by boys is very common in the absence of elder sisters. Sometimes older children begin so young that they look small under the load of a fat or plump baby. In the fishing village, a father might walk around in the evening either with the child strapped on his back, or if the child is big enough, he puts his arms around the father's neck and his legs around the father's waist. Occasionally in the agricultural villages, a father carries a small child around in his work basket. The basket is tied to the end of a pole which rests on the shoulder. Children enjoy this.

Children who carry the babies around do not allow this to interfere with their activities. They play games, such as tag, hide and [859] seek, and a kind of hop scotch. They walk surefootedly along the sharp, and often dangerous, coral rocks of the seashore, along narrow hill or mountain paths, wherever inclination leads them.

The ability of the infant child to sleep under these circumstances is remarkable. Once the child is strapped on the back, he is given little further attention. He seldom cries unless in discomfort. Most often he goes to sleep. His head in sleep frequently falls at right angles with the shoulders, and he sleeps like this while his mother

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

Marriage Customs

There are two ways of entering into marriage. One of these, the traditional form, found in China, Korea, and Japan, is the arranged marriage (mi-ai in Japanese). The selection of the partner, the betrothal, and the marriage are conducted by the families as principals, although the young people may be consulted. The second is free choice in marriage (ren-ai), in which young people decide for themselves. Ren-ai is often translated as "romantic love," but a more accurate, if more sedate meaning is free, but not unrestricted, choice in marriage. 581 [171]

The arranged marriage and the use of a go-between in the negotiations exist in the villages studied. But the arranged marriage began to decline before the war, more rapidly since its end. A go-between (nakōdo), either a man or a woman, or sometimes both, act as intermediaries in negotiations between families until a mutually satisfactory decision is reached, or, lacking this, until negotiations can be broken off without embarrassment to either side. 581 584 [178]

The arranged marriage still prevails in families where parental authority is strong and the obedience of the children is demanded and received. Personal observation and the statements both of the young and old leave little doubt, however, that free choice in marriage is now the accepted custom. A go-between is often used in courtship and is still an honored participant in the wedding ceremony. Latterly, the go-between is less a matchmaker, more a repository of confidences for mutual exchange. The present status of the go-between can be summarized in these illustrations from Hanashiro: (1) if the couple live in the same village, a go-between is not used, but one is sought out if the young man wishes to court a girl in another village. (2) The go-between is not used at all. (3) The go-between may be a relative or a friend of either party used to sound out another's feelings. In Hinatogawa, it is said that the go-between acts for a bashful suitor, but that the couple make their own marriage arrangements. In Matsuda, he is occasionally used in courtship, but his function is mostly the formal one of officiating at the marriage ceremony. With the acceptance of free choice in marriage, the go-between as an adult, skilled, respected, and understanding negotiator has been replaced by an individual with more nominal responsibilities, who may be a mutual friend, probably a contemporary of the young people whose marriage he is encouraging. 581 [593] 584

The arranged and free choice marriages are not at opposite extremes. Free choice does not mean there has been a rebellion against parental authority. Parents' consent to a marriage is still sought for, even though the betrothal is decided upon by the young principals. If the parents do not consent, the alternative is elopement. If the parents withhold consent, the traditional wedding ceremony cannot take

the tomb shaped like a horseshoe or the Greek letter, omega. A great deal of popular lore has accumulated around this type of tomb. Okinawans believe that the shape of the tomb symbolizes the position of a woman giving birth to a child. This is related to another idea, "returning to the source" (moto ni kaeru in Japanese). 764 [811]

Four different but related meanings seem to be involved in the idea of "returning to the source": (1) that life here is but a momentary experience. One's real and permanent life is in the afterworld. At death one returns to his permanent home. (2) After death a person becomes a god (hotoke-san) in the Buddhist sense. He reaches this state 49 days after death, according to some explanations, though there is much confusion on this point. This godhood is a "return to the source." (3) At death one returns to a state of peace, and (4) one returns to a former state or to a former place. It is with this last meaning that the turtleback tomb is associated in popular lore with "returning to the source." 761 775

On death one returns to the womb of nature from which he came. (Similar lore has collected around the Buddhist coffin in which the corpse is put in a position like that of a child in the womb). Whether the popular explanation is the true one is very hard to say. It certainly should not be accepted without critically evaluating the questions which such an explanation raises. Early European and American observers were quick to point out the similarities between those tombs and those of China, though the fact that they were introduced from China does not rule out the symbolic meaning they might have. Many Okinawans regard these tombs as indigenous. But the Okinawan antiquarians, who so love to find symbols in everything, would be loathe to surrender this lore. It is generally agreed that the tombs were introduced from Fukien province in China. Captain Basil Hall was the first western traveller, I think, to notice the similarity between Okinawan and Fukien tombs. M'Leod also mentioned it. 775 764 811 [114] [171] [177]

The gable (hafu) type of tomb is very common. There are also small temporary tombs of masonry, more often built of rocks. The tombs of Hinatogawa are of this type. There are also very old tombs, hollowed out of the rock of a hillside. These were rare in the villages. Only one was seen in the dense vegetation and undergrowth at the bottom of a deep ravine in the center of Hatsuda. Large tombs hollowed out of hillsides are a commonplace, but the small ones apparently were the tombs of the very poor. Recently a new small tomb is being built by families unwilling to undergo the expense of the larger tombs. Tombs, though appearing to be haphazardly placed on mountains or on rocky hillsides, are on privately owned land. 764 [565]

The tombs may also be classified as to use, that is, whether they are intended for a single or the extended family. In Hanashiro, tombs are of the extended family type, located on land owned by the main family. They are the responsibility of the head of the main family. Branch families may contribute to the purchase price of the land, construction materials, and to maintenance. 764 602

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

CONCLUSION

The description of village life presented in the preceding pages is not the delineation of an ancient way of life essentially unchanged from the remote past. Neither is it the study of an old way of living which is now passing away. Rather it is a glimpse of a culture, at a particular moment in time, which has been changing, sometimes slowly, sometimes with great rapidity. The theme of inertia and change, developed in the second chapter, furnishes an opportunity for understanding the culture in the perspective of history. Even though the changes of the last decade have been impressive, they are less striking when placed beside some of the great changes of the past. 128 178

This small island, known to Oriental antiquity and to the Western world after the Age of Discovery, is an excellent illustration of the combination of influences from the outside and of the progressive changes made in the natural environment as a consequence of long human settlement. This theme, imperfectly documented, has repeatedly appeared in this work in order that the affinities of soil and land conservation and forest care with social and cultural questions, such as organization of government, the family system, and economic problems may be recognized. 177 311 182

This idea of a changing culture, in a physical environment of meticulous tillage and of minute subdivision, enables us to see more clearly the inter-relationships of the family system, inheritance, land tenure, the care and conservation of the land, and the methods of agriculture. It is the values within the family system that have given content and meaning to the natural resources, to the tiny paddies, the stony sweet potato patches, and the barren wild land. The tombs and the grave sites also find a place in this minute appraisal of the value and the use of land. 178 182 311

This minute knowledge of the land, obvious as it is to observation, is one of the outstanding cultural characteristics of the people. Indeed this is true of other Oriental peoples as well, even though their preferences have been for the transported soils of the alluvial plains and the deltas. This detailed knowledge of land, of its productivity as gauged by the farmers' patient success in tilling it, is used to build up the system of land classification. 311 181

No less striking is the intimate knowledge of small localities. A tiny village may have five or six of these localities, dignified with a name which, in our culture, would be given to a portion of a large city. Every little spot has a name, even though the origins and the circumstances of the naming are lost in hazy memory.

In this use and tillage of land, perhaps the most important comparison to be made is that, unlike China, Japan, and Korea, dry land and upland agriculture is the chief reliance of the people. There are no Yangtse river deltas and no Kanto plains in Okinawa. The care, conservation and use of land have crept up the hillsides over the most settled [171]

311 parts of the island, and the small deltas, the tiny alluvial plains,
18 the short and narrow valleys are left to produce what little rice can be grown.

171 Okinawa is not Japan and perhaps it is unrewarding to attempt
369 comparisons between the Okinawans and the Japanese. Okinawa is an island whose rural life is but little disturbed by urban development. Only two places, Naha and Shuri, could be classified as small cities. Important places like Nago, Ishikawa, and Yonabaru are only small towns.

Japan is a culture rich in both its rural and its urban life. The investigation of the life of the great metropolitan cities of Japan is more scattered in specialized studies, more casual, perhaps more impressionistic than the study of some of its villages. Japanese and Okinawan rural life have many things in common, though the Japanese experience may now be distinctly different because of the land reform.

But along with the rural village, there are the great cities of Tokyo, Yokohama, Kyoto, Osaka, Kobe, and Nagoya, and these circumstances make an appraisal of Japanese culture even more complex and elusive.

177 Certainly the long cultural ties with Japan have left their impressions on the people of Okinawa. The Japanese language, the Japanese system of education, altered after the war, Japanese tools, and Japanese literature are clear examples of this direct influence. But there are differences too. Adoption is much less common in Okinawa. The Buddhist influence, except for the altars of household Buddhism, is weak. The Okinawans, during the war, seemed less inclined than the Japanese toward fanatical self-sacrifice in behalf of the emperor cult.

157 In this work, I have avoided discussing the popular subject of
128 the "psychology" of the people. After a few commonplaces, one embarks on a series of impressions which may or may not have validity and which most certainly would be subject to endless qualification. I have therefore, for the most part, left the characteristics of the people to emerge from the descriptions of their historical experience, their social organization, and their family and community life, trusting that from these details one can form an impression of the way in which a people are living and how they meet the manifold problems which confront them.

156 In my own studies, I have been impressed with the feeling of belonging which seems to be the possession of the individual from infancy until his children lay him to rest in the family tomb. There is also a stability in family life, and this stability does not seem so pivoted, as in our culture, on the continued mutual love and affection of the father and the mother. There also seems to be little stress on personal competition.

The infant as well as the mature adult are conditioned to conformity both by the historical obligations and duties under the family

Land Ownership and Rental Although Nanahan has only twenty-three houses, the land register lists thirty-five land owners. Two of these are persons who are tenants and who own only the houselots where they live. In addition, three other families live in Nanahan, owning neither houselot nor land, but renting both from the owner. Five families have moved to urban areas, but have kept the land, and have rented it out, chiefly to the settlers in the community. Of the five, one had never owned a houselot. Two sold their houselots and one rented his house out. The remaining one rented his houselot, which was later converted by the tenant into a dry field. 423 427

There is almost no one in Nanahan who is neither a renter nor a rentee. Ten of the registered land owners are minors, most of whom have inherited land from their fathers who were killed in the invasion. Two are sons of the leading landowner, who has apparently registered part of his land in his sons' names to avoid heavy taxes.

The annual rent for grassland in Nanahan is ¥0.30, or thirty 'sen', per 'tsubo'. In the one 'genya' sale for which information was available, a doctor living in Kochinda village sold a Nanahan man 1,000 'tsubo' for a total of ¥3,000. Dry land, or 'hatake', rents for ¥2 per 'tsubo', although better and more fertile land may command a higher rental. Riceland is not rented out for money, but for a portion of the crop. Under the most usual arrangement the renter keeps three-fifths of the crop and delivers to the owner the remaining two-fifths. The renter must furnish all the manure, fertilizer, and labor. The Nanahan land register records nine plots as having been sold since 1947. 423 427 435

The Nanahan farmers say that the best thing the military ever did was to order in 1947 the making of a land survey and the drawing of land ownership maps. They said it is very effective in protecting boundaries and preventing quarrels. 423

3. Diet

Although daily Okinawan cuisine is in general very similar to that of Japan, some difference is seen in the dependence on the sweet potato, and the use of pork. Feast foods have more local flavor and are considerably different from those of Japan. The frequent typhoons occasionally cause temporary famine, and it is during the famines that Okinawan food and food substitutes differ most from Japanese standards. Finally, one major point of difference is in the use of sugar in the household; three centuries of experience with the crop has given rise to many traits and patterns centered around the use of sugar in the home. These four categories are discussed in this section on diet. 262 171 [263]

Ordinary Food The typical Okinawan breakfast is generally boiled sweet potatoes ('imo'), 'miso' (soybean paste) soup and vegetables. The noon meal is boiled sweet potatoes, noodles, and vegetables. The evening meal consists usually of boiled rice, 'miso' soup and vegetables. The most frequently consumed vegetables are mustard cabbage, Chinese cabbage, green onions, wax melon, giant radish, chopped dried radish, carrots and cabbage. Other foods added as occasional variety are wheat fluff, seaweed, soybean curd, and canned fish. 262

593 are less important than older sons. The security of the individual depends
602 upon his closeness to this axis. Yet most can attain security. Younger sons grow up to establish families of their own. Daughters grow up to marry and become the means whereby other men establish families. If a man has no son he readily adopts one from among his brothers' or cousins' sons and so the continuity is maintained.

593 This structure is in sharp contrast to that of present-day American
• 171 society. In American society the individual, not the family, is felt to be the basic unit. The basic axis is horizontal, the husband-wife axis. The values are on affection between the married couple, responsibility toward minor children, and impartiality toward them. The responsibility of parents ends when the children grow up. There is little continuity. The individual can expect equal treatment but cannot expect lasting security within the family. He finds his family ties cut once when he grows up, once again when his children grow up. The only permanent tie is with husband or wife and hence the only permanent security within the family is through marital bond. Hence in American society there is an increasing emphasis on romantic love and an increasing tendency to look for security through it.

The relationship of husband and wife in Okinawan society is quite dif-
593 ferent from that in American society with its comradeship and equality. In
581 Okinawan society the traditional marriage is arranged by the family. Its pri-
[594] mary function is to provide for the continuity of the family units and if possible to produce more units like it. The satisfaction of individual needs is only a secondary function. At marriage a woman enters the family of her husband, where she hopes to produce an heir for him and more besides. Her position is subordinate; she must be submissive to him and to his parents. She expects to work hard. Her husband also expects to work hard, for he is obligated to provide his descendants and his ancestors with their needs, but if he also has the means to seek pleasure outside the home he is not only free to do so, but is expected to do so.

593 As one might expect, the relationship between parents and children is
855 very close. Okinawan parents live more intimately with their children than
[171] do American parents; they carry them around, sleep with them, and fondle them a great deal. And from the American point of view they spoil them. At the same time they seem to regard children as not quite human, and treat them at times with what to an American seems like heartless cruelty. Also they differentiate clearly on the basis of future importance to the family and the maintenance of its continuity; the first son, who will inherit his father's status, is given more consideration than younger sons; daughters, who will eventually leave the family entirely, are given less consideration---and more chores, to prepare them for future status as daughters-in-law---than are sons. Children are expected to respect their parents and to care for them when they are old. Parents are expected to love their children and care for them when they are young. The responsibility of a parent toward a minor child is not
[171] as great as in the United States; for example, in an emergency a parent may sell a child (this may be in conflict with the present law but it is not in
593 conflict with the mores of impoverished Okinawan farmers). Buth this responsibility does not end with the child's attaining majority. In the case

of a first son the parents' responsibility toward him may even increase as he 593
grows older, since the continuity of the family depends upon him. Also the
child's duty to obey his parents does not end with his majority, and this
duty also may be stronger for a first son. All this is in sharp contrast [171]
with the situation in American society, where the responsibility of the parent to the child is greatest when the child is small and gradually recedes as the child grows older, where the parents' responsibilities toward minor children are identical regardless of the sex or age of the child relative to others, and where the duty of the child to obey its parents clearly ends when it reaches majority.

The relationship between grandparents and grandchildren is also closer 603
than is commonly the case in the United States. There is greater physical 171
intimacy, there are greater mutual obligations, and there is therefore a greater feeling of security derived from the relationship.

The relationship of siblings too is different from that in the United 593
States. There is no equality among Okinawan brothers; each has his own sta- 171
tus, the first son having the most responsibility and the most privileges. Sisters are inferior to their brothers, but are more nearly equal to each other. But the brothers constitute a single unit even though they are unequal, the very numbering of them, first son, second son, and so forth, sets them apart as a unit separate from other units composed of numbered sons. As adults they are expected to cooperate, and usually do. It seems likely that the American passion for equality, with its resulting arguments among children as to who got the larger piece of pie, may result in greater conflict among siblings than exists in Okinawan society.

I have attempted to indicate briefly some of the main features of the 121
Okinawan family, how it differs from the American family, and how it provides 593
a greater sense of security for the individual. This security, it should be 152
emphasized, is at the expense of freedom and equality. Later, in discussing the life of the individual, I shall examine some of these features more closely. Moreover, I shall also try to show that family life not only provides the individual with a feeling of security, but also provides him with the pattern of relationships that he extends to the rest of the world and is the source of some of his basic anxieties.

<u>Classification of Kin</u> It has long been recognized that the categories of 121
language are likely to be the categories of thought, 601
and that if we are to understand how the members of another society see some aspect of reality---color, plant life, the passage of time, we can well begin by learning how they classify their perception---by studying their color terms, botanical taxonomy, terms for the seasons and other divisions of time. In the study of social organization this method is even more useful because the reality as well as the conception is man-made. Thus the categories into which the members of a society group their kinfolk have proved to be important clues to the organization of that society. I shall therefore describe briefly the kinship terms used by the Okinawans.

The terms themselves do not matter for this purpose. They vary from 601
place to place and from social class to class. But it is significant that

But it is significant that the several lists collected are identical in structure, that is, they all classify relatives in the same way. Also, everywhere some Japanese terms are replacing some Okinawan terms. I shall describe the Okinawan system unchanged first and then indicate what the recent changes have been.

As in many kinship systems there is a distinction between terms used primarily in referring to relatives and terms used primarily in addressing them. And as in many societies terms of address are used for all persons older than the speaker, for unrelated persons as well as for relatives. The terms that are used in reference only, never or seldom as terms of address, are terms corresponding to each of the following: parent, child, grandparent, grandchild, uncle, aunt, sibling's child (that is, meaning both "nephew" and niece"), brother, sister, cousin. In addition there are two terms meaning "older" and "younger" and a series of terms meaning "first son", "second son", "third son", etc., which combined with the word for "woman" gives a series meaning "first daughter", "second daughter", etc. Another group of terms is used both in address and in reference, but is probably primarily terms of address; these are in address extended to non-kin, but in their basic meaning they correspond to each of the following: grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, uncle, aunt (these last two are different from those given above), older brother, older sister. To see how these terms are used let us look at each generation in turn.

The terms "grandfather" and "grandmother" are used in addressing one's parents' parents and also in addressing their brothers and sisters, that is, one's great uncles and great aunts and also non-relatives of the same generation as one's grandparents or older. (The term given above as "grandparent" is restricted to actual relatives; its basic meaning is said to be "parent's parent" but in common usage it is extended to mean ancestors above the grandparents' generation as well.) Within the brothers and sisters of one's grandparents the members of each family are further distinguished by relative age. The oldest of several brothers is "big grandfather" and the youngest "little grandfather". Women classified as "grandmothers" are similarly distinguished. These distinguishing terms may also be used in reference. Non-relatives may also be referred to by such terms as "the grandfather of such-and-such a house", using the "yagō" (house name).

The terms for relatives in the parents' generation are likewise extended. Although there are both terms of reference for uncle and aunt and terms of address, the terms "father" and "mother" are (or were) frequently used when addressing the brothers and sisters of both parents and their spouses. And as with the grandparent terms, one's father's oldest brother and mother's oldest brother are both called "big father" and their oldest sisters "big mother". The wife of a "big father" is also a "big mother" and so forth. On the other hand, a parent's youngest brother and youngest sister are called "little uncle" and "little aunt", rather than "little father" or "little mother". The terms "uncle" and "aunt" are also extended to non-kin, as polite titles of address.

By combining the terms "older" and "younger" with "brother" and "sister", one can express the equivalent of the four Japanese sibling terms,

"older brother", "younger brother", "older sister", and"younger sister". But 601
these terms are never used in address. Two unrelated terms for "older brother" [171]
and "older sister" are used in addressing older siblings and older cousins,
while younger siblings and younger cousins are addressed by name. These two [576]
terms may also be politely extended to non-relatives. One's children, nephews,
nieces, grandchildren, and other younger relatives are also addressed by
name rather than by kinship terms. However, a younger person who is a strang- [576]
er may be addressed as "older brother" or "older sister" out of courtesy.

For in-laws, there are terms of reference: husband, wife, son-in-law, daughter-in-law, and one including spouse's parents and siblings, which can be combined with other words for more specific reference. But none of these terms is used in address. Instead one uses the terms of address proper for one's spouse; the father-in-law is called "father", and so forth, at least until one has children. There is one exception; there is a separate term of address for an older brother's wife. A wife addresses her husband by the polite pronoun "you" and he addresses her by the familiar one.

All that has just been said about terms used in addressing relatives must be qualified by the statement that it is true only until one has children of his own. After the birth of the first child, or perhaps after it begins to understand speech, one begins to call his wife "mother", his father "grandfather", and so forth. He may do this in the child's absence as well. As one informant put it, the whole system shifts to make the child its center.

It will be seen that the Okinawan kinship system is bilateral, that is, 601
it treats the father's relatives and the mother's relatives in the same way; 171
a father's brother and a mother's brother are both "uncles". In this respect
it is like the Japanese system and like our own, and unlike the Chinese system,
which distinguished father's brothers and mother's brothers by separate terms.
It will also be seen that like our own system the generations are clearly distinguished (in some systems relatives of different generations are lumped into the same category), but unlike our system the Okinawan system distinguishes seniors and juniors within a generation. The Japanese system distinguishes older and younger siblings of the speaker but not older and younger siblings of the speaker's parents. The Chinese system also distinguishes older and younger siblings in the speaker's generation and further distinguishes father's older and younger brothers, but lumps mother's older and younger brothers into a single separate category. What the Okinawan system does, and what makes it different from both the Japanese and the Chinese systems, is to single out the oldest in each generation while at the same time, by extending even the terms "father" and "mother" bilaterally, it suggests a unity of all those within the
same generation. This accords in a general way, I believe, with the deference [182]
to seniors that is characteristic of all social relationships, with the importance of senior lines in the larger kinship groups, and with the essential unity of the local group despite its division into kin groups.

In the last generation certain changes have occurred in the use of kin- 601
ship terms widely, perhaps everywhere, on Okinawa. The Japanese terms of 177
address, especially those for "father", "mother", "uncle", and "aunt", have 192
begun to replace the native terms. At the same time the practice of extending

769 transmitted with the headship of the house. The head of the house, or his
592 wife or mother, has the responsibility of making offerings to them on the proper occasions. On certain occasions representatives of the houses that have branched from a main house come to worship before the tablets in it.

[171] Inheritance and Adoption Inheritance has two aspects, legal and customary. According to Japanese law the headship of a house should pass from a man to his first son or if the first is dead to his second or subsequent son, or in the event that there are no sons or that they are minors, it may pass to his wife. The headship is registered in the koseki. According to Japanese law if a man has no son but a daughter, he may adopt a son-in-law who then becomes his heir and succeeds him to the headship of the house.

In Okinawan custom headship of the house means responsibility for the tablet of the last head and the other tablets that go with it. A woman can [562] do no more than care for the tablets until another male succeeds the last. Moreover, an adopted son-in-law cannot care permanently for the tablets of a man to whom he is not related. Ultimately for every man who lacks a son a male must be found who is a blood relative in the male line. Only such a person can succeed him, that is, care for his tablets after his death and beget [597] descendants who can rightfully care for his tablets. Therefore the man without sons tries to adopt as his heir the second or later son of one of his brothers or of a cousin related through males. If a man dies without an heir one may be adopted posthumously for him. The tablet of a boy who has died unmarried may be kept for a whole generation in a brother's house, until one of the brother's sons or grandsons can become the "adopted son" of the deceased. He then establishes a branch house, which takes the house name the deceased would have had, and becomes custodian of the tablet.

614 The Larger Kin Group: Structure and Variation. Every Okinawan family belongs to larger kinship group and often these larger units belong to still larger units. Such a unit consists of a group of families the male heads of which are or believe themselves to be related in the male line. The size and composition of these groups and the terms used for them vary somewhat.[1]

In Shimajiri among the descendants of the peasant class the larger kin group is called the munchu (in Japanese 'monchū', "within the gate"). It may consist of dozens or even hundreds of families living in several villages and with a total membership of several thousands. The munchu usually takes its name from the house-name of the main house. If it has spread to several villages its members in any one village may be referred to as the so-and-so munchu of that village. Or, as often is the case, the members of a certain munchu in one village may be all branch houses of one main house of that munchu for the village and this house will have been founded according to tradition by the second son or the third son of the founder of the main house of the larger unit, which is elsewhere; in this case the local branch will be called the jinan-bara, "second-son belly", or sannan-bara, "third-son belly",

[1] The statements made in this section are based on information obtained from informants. However, I have also consulted Watanabe, 1947.

as the case may be. The munchu has a common tomb or several common tombs, a 614
circuit of ugwanju (sacred spots for worship, connected in tradition to the
founder of the munchu), and several kaminchu (religious functionaries of a
semi-hereditary status). Well-established branch munchu may have their own
tombs, circuits of ugwanju, and kaminchu. If this is the case the main house
of the branch is called the naka-muutu, "middle root", and the main house of
the larger unit the ufu-muutu, "great root". In the absence of written records
the exact relationship of the different branches of one of the larger units
may occasionally be reinterpreted by the kaminchu and by yuta (seeresses).

The members of a munchu need not, and often do not, have the same sur- 614
name. The usual explanation given for this is that a new surname has entered 551
the munchu through a member's having been adopted as a son-in-law. According [171]
to Japanese law a man who married the daughter of a family with no male heirs
became an adopted son-in-law and his children bore his wife's surname. But
according to Okinawan custom the ancestral tablets of the woman's parents can
go only to a male relative in the male line. The "adopted son-in-law" cannot
inherit the tablets; they will go later to a brother's son or grandson. And
the children of the "adopted son-in-law" belong to their paternal grand-
father's munchu, even though by law they had to take their maternal grand-
father's surname. This practice goes back only to the end of the last century.
Before the Japanese annexation it is not likely that many peasants had sur- [177]
names; those they later took were probably taken from house names. An infor-
mant in Chinen-Son, however, gave another explanation why some of the members
of his munchu had different surnames. He said that under the old government
some had been given surnames for having served as petty officials at the of-
fice of the local governor. He named three surnames locally used that were
given to officials of the three lowest ranks.

Among the descendants of the former gentry class the largest kinship
unit is the uji. This term is identical with one of the older Japanese terms [192]
translated as "clan". The uji have names that are single Chinese characters, [177]
some of them identical with Chinese surnames. The members of an uji may bear
different surnames of the native sort; the explanation for this is that under
the former monarchy, when a member of the gentry was appointed to the office
of governor of a majiri (the present "Son") or appointed official of a vil-
lage, he was able to take the name of that majiri or village as his surname.
Thus the members of an uji may be divided into several lines, each claiming
descent from some illustrious official. These divisions may also be named
chakushi-firugi, "first-son-lineage", jinan-firugi, "second-son-lineage", and
so forth, according to seniority. Despite their different surnames, however,
the male members of an uji usually have given names written with two characters
read in the Chinese manner (that is, the Okinawan version of the 'on-yomi' of
Japanese), the first of the two characters being the same. To give an example,
the Ryō uji consists of three lineages with the surnames Moromizato, Itosu,
and Higa, all the males of which have given names beginning with the character
An.

In the village of Yamada in Onna-Son, many of the kin units of both 613
the commoners and the gentry who settled there late in the last century are
small local divisions of larger units the main houses of which are in the

possibly have lowered standards of sanitation. Morale may also be a factor; 863
in the instance just mentioned the morale of the grandmother was undoubtedly 178
better than that of her daughter and daughter-in-law whom she criticized.

A very small baby may be carried in the arms, but usually it is car- 854
ried on the back. The mother places it with its belly to her back, its legs spread apart, and its head about at a level with the top of her shoulder. She secures it there with a long sash that runs once under its bottom, makes an X across her chest, passes around its shoulders, and ties in front. A baby is carried most frequently by its mother, but may also be carried a good deal by others, of either sex and any age, grandparents and older siblings being most frequent. The baby may look over the shoulder of its carrier or it may simply sleep, often with its head back and rolling. If it is fretful its carrier may lean forward a bit and jog it to sleep. Larger children may be carried without the sash, by just letting them hang on. Babies are carried about while all sorts of tasks are being performed.

Mothers often carry their babies into the fields when they go out to work, but when they are working in the house they may put their babies to sleep on the floor of the house. If a baby is put to sleep on the floor it is made to sleep on its back. Often the hard floor, which may or may not be covered with a thin mat, will cause the back of the baby's head to become flattened, or if the baby constantly turns its head to one side, the head may become assymetrical, but later fills out to assume its normal shape. Some mothers use a small mosquito net on a frame to protect the sleeping baby from insects, but frequently it is uncovered and flies may alight on it. A few mothers use a hammock-like device called 'burank', as a cradle; these are said to be becoming more popular. At night children, especially smaller children, [513]
sleep with their parents on quilts on the floor, under the one large net.

Children are expected to learn to walk at about 12 to 14 months. 856
Early walking is a sign of good health so that if a child is late to walk, 866
the parents may worry about it. As Glacken points out, there is an important change in the life of the child at this time. Instead of being carried everywhere on his mother's or older sibling's back, the child is now put down and expected to toddle along behind his mother, who is not always sympathetic when he fails to keep up. This change may be a greater trauma to the child than weaning or toilet-training.[1]

Children are said to begin talking at about a year and a half. The 856
first words are usually, nowadays, 'o-kaa', o-tō', 'o-baa', the Japanese equivalents of "daddy', "mommy", and "grandma". Parents do not worry if a child is a little late in talking.

<u>Childhood: Adult Attitudes</u> Okinawans recognize clearly that children are 858
not capable of participating in most adult activities and indeed appear to regard it as undesirable that they do so. Oki- [171]
nawan attitude contrasts sharply with the "modern" American one that takes

[1] Glacken, 1953, p. 264.

858 children to be "little people". From this viewpoint the Okinawans appear to
171 regard children as being not yet quite human. Okinawan children can observe, overtly or covertly, probably a good deal more of adult life than American children can observe and Okinawan adults discuss matters in front of children that American adults would not discuss before children, yet the Okinawan adult appears to expect his children to understand far less of what is done or said than the American does. To illustrate, an Okinawan grandmother may discuss a three-year old's illegitimate origin in its presence, tease it to the point of tears by offering to give it away to the passing American, and then say nothing when it wantonly snatches and breaks something of value. The American is likely to regard the talking as a possible cause of complexes, the teasing as downright cruel, and the tolerance as intolerable lack of discipline.

Small children are free to observe all that goes on in the house and yard during their waking hours. They are not subject to any rules determining when they are to go to bed. There is hardly a formal gathering into which they cannot insinuate themselves for hand-outs. They are taken to the theatre, where they may have to be shooed off the stage by the actors themselves.
864 The only aspect of life that seems to be deliberately withheld from them is
858 sex. They are told that babies come out of their mothers' knees, and although they may overhear a good deal about the sexual relationships of different people and the difficulties that result from them, they are given no notion of the nature of sex. I will discuss this in more detail under attitudes toward sex.

858 Although children seem bold in actions, they are not bold in speech.
856 As a matter of fact they often do not respond when spoken to and seem unwilling to venture to speak at all. I make this statement not merely on the
[164] basis of my own experience as an outsider attempting to talk to them; an Okinawan friend also pointed out how different the children in the north were from those of Central and Southern Okinawa---the Northern children answered his questions when he spoke to them. Some of the children's shyness about speaking may be due to the fact that they usually speak Okinawan in the home and then have to learn Japanese in school. Moreover, they soon learn to feel
[152] that Okinawan is inferior to Japanese as a medium of polite or intellectual expression; they may be shy because they fear to speak Okinawan since it is inferior and because they fear to speak Japanese since they cannot speak it well. But I have the impression that children are also often unresponsive when an adult speaks to them in Okinawan and when the language of the answer
868 is not a factor. I believe that there is another factor that is almost in-
171 herent in the nature of both the Japanese and the Okinawan languages. When
198 speaking to children in Japanese, and also very likely when speaking in Okinawan, adults use a different form of speech than the form they use when addressing adults. Somewhat different forms of speech for children are probably used in every society; they do exist in the United States, but never to such a striking extent as in Japanese. Japanese and Okinawan both have a range of verb forms expressing several degrees of politeness or formality, and to some extent there are also levels of vocabulary corresponding to them. In speaking to a child, the adult uses the simplest verb forms, the simplest words, and then speaks not in whole sentences but rather in a series of phrases each

followed by "nee?", "isn't it so?" In this manner the adult communicates what 858
little that must be communicated to these sub-human beings that are constantly 171
underfoot. To other adults he uses other verb forms, other words, longer and 198
more tightly integrated sentences. He does so, I believe, confident that he is speaking over the heads of the children, though he would deny that this was his motive; his use of different forms in addressing adults would be more likely explained as motivated by respect for the adults. I believe that in this manner Okinawan children are mentally more isolated from adults than are American children, though physically they are in greater contact with them. In time, of course, children learn to understand the conversation of their elders, but they do so without asking questions or overtly showing much interest. Thus very gradually they come into the adult world.

The interpretation just presented is more an hypothesis that seeks to 858
explain some features of Okinawan behavior than a fact that can be indisputably 197
demonstrated. But it suggests a reason, though probably not the only one, for 198
the strong tendency to retain Okinawan as the language of the home, even in families where the adults speak Japanese fairly well, regard it as superior, and use it on formal occasions. Okinawan is suitable for addressing children. Adults unconsciously prefer it because it makes it that much easier for them to differentiate between the speech used in addressing children and that used in addressing adults. Moreover, I believe this interpretation agrees [186]
with what appears to be a marked tendency in Okinawan society for the educated deliberately to talk over the heads of the uneducated. I will discuss this again under the heading education.

Discipline Parents appear to want their children to be agreeable in 860
their relations with others and industrious at school. They praise the gentle (J. 'otonashii') child and the good student. Yet they seem to tolerate noisiness, disregard for property, and to some extent disregard for person, though they may be more tolerant of this sort of behavior in boys than in girls. On one occasion Pitts and Lebra presented an old man with several photographs that they had taken of him and his grandson. As they handed the photographs to the old man, the boy snatched one and in doing so tore it. The old man was visibly hurt at the loss of the photograph, but said nothing to the child at all. On the other hand one of us also once saw a grandmother reach over and pinch a somewhat older girl quite severely because she was lying with her legs apart.

Where behavior thought to be of a more serious nature is concerned, 861
parents do attempt to control their children. They do so by coaxing, bribing, threatening, teasing, scolding, and, for most as a last resort, by corporal punishment. Scolding takes such forms as "dirty!", "shameful!", "You will be laughed at", etc. While being scolded the child need not answer; he may simply look at the ground and remain silent. Since he is not expected to answer he may be less inclined to construct elaborate excuses in the manner of the American child. The threats include such things as "we'll send you away", "we'll sell you to the Itoman people" (to a boy), "we'll sell you to the juri" (to a girl), "we'll give you to the Americans", "we'll call the police", "we'll call a cat (or some kind of bogey) to scare you," "you'll receive divine retribution." Since children are sometimes put out of the house as

855 861 Two facts that have been introduced into this discussion should be restated and made more explicit. The first is that Okinawan child-training methods include the use of both verbal appeals and physical punishment. As a result of observations made during and shortly after the battle in 1945, Dr. J. C. Maloney reported[1] that Okinawans were very permissive with their children and did not use corporal punishment. It will be seen from the data just presented that while Okinawans are more permissive in many situations than Americans would be, they do in fact use severe physical punishment on occasion.

152 181 171 861 The second fact has to do with the contrast of "shame" versus "guilt" that has been presented by several writers on the character of the Japanese. Both Gorer and Benedict have asserted that the Japanese conform because they fear the ridicule of others whereas Westerners conform because they fear their own consciences; Japanese culture is a "shame culture" while ours is a "guilt culture".[2] Okinawan culture also seems to be primarily a shame culture. Okinawans clearly fear ridicule greatly, and this fear seems traceable to their early training. But there are also elements in Okinawan child training that would tend to produce something of the Western sort of fear that one may suffer for his wrong-doing regardless of whether he is found out or not. These are to be seen in the phrases "retribution will strike" (Okinawan bachi mu ataaing, Japanese 'bachi ga ataru') and "the gods saw you". Shame and guilt are doubtless not mutually exclusive. Both sanctions exist in Okinawan culture, shame being much the stronger.

857 524 [203] [177] Play Boys play with kites and tops. Girls play hop-scotch. Both, if they can afford it, get one or more of the numerous Japanese children's magazines that are filled with stories, comics, and a variety of make-it-yourself paper toys.

857 Boys catch insects and birds and fasten strings to them in order to jerk them back as they try to fly away, or in order simply to drag them around. They do so quite unconscious of any cruelty in the act. Adults appear to regard living things as proper playthings.

[564] There may be less age-grading among smaller children than among older people or among children in present-day American society. Several boys of different ages were observed playing together on many occasions, mainly, it seemed, because they were related and lived in adjacent houses. The girls who occasionally joined them were also of the same group of related families.

882 178 Youth Traditionally, entering one's thirteenth year, for a girl, and fifteenth, for a boy, marks a change in status from that of child to that of youth (niisee, in J. 'seinen', literally "green years"). There was [881] also a later ceremony at which the young man's hair was done in a knot; and the tattooing undergone by a young woman may have been part of a puberty rite. [877] But at present, finishing one's schooling marks the greatest change in the life of a young person. At this time the treatment he receives and the be- 877 882 havior expected of him change markedly. As long as he is in school he is

1 Maloney, 1945, p. 394.

2 Gorer, 1943; Benedict, 1946, p. 223.

The activities at the moo-ashibii and the yagamayaa undoubtedly led 883
in many cases to secret sexual relations. Probably most young men in the 836
country first experienced sex as a result of intrigues developing through
these activities. Young women differed more in their experience. Daughters
of the gentry may have had little or none. Some girls who did go to the moo-
ashibii, it is said, went merely to hear the singing. Those who behaved
promiscuously were talked about and the reputation they gained lasted. Yet
it seems unlikely that chastity was valued very highly or that virginity was
expected at marriage. One young woman had heard in Japan how husbands some- [171]
times divorced their wives upon finding after marriage that they were not
virgins. She had never heard of this having been done on Okinawa and neither
she nor her mother could even give an Okinawan equivalent of the Japanese
word 'shojo', "virgin".

Formerly among the gentry class in Naha and Shuri it was customary 833
for a father to take his son, or have a relative or friend take him, to a 565
jurimuyaa to let him have his first sexual experience. According to Yanagida, 178
until the last decades of the last century this was part of a young man's 548
coming-of-age celebration held at the beginning of his 13th (15th?) year;
the juri who functioned in this capacity were called niisee-chuurasaa, "those
who make youths into men".[1]

At the present time the rural moo-ashibii and yagamayaa are probably 178
less important institutions than they formerly were, but they undoubtedly do 883
still exist. At present there are more occasions when young people of the
opposite sex can meet and feel that it is proper to do so. In the pre-war
counterparts of the Youth Organization and in the schools the sexes were
separate. Now they mingle more freely. The need to meet in groups in a half-
clandestine manner is not so great. Now as before real intrigues are con- [584]
ducted in secret, but something approaching an open courtship is now possible.

Marriage: Preliminaries Until recently marriages were nearly always ar- 584
ranged by the family for the good of the family. 178
The object in arranging a match was to acquire a daughter-in-law to produce [581]
heirs for and to keep house for the son. The couple themselves were con-
sulted and one of them could refuse the match if it were really disagreeable,
but more often they agreed to it. At present young people often choose for
themselves, but even so they may abandon a desired marriage if it is strongly
opposed by one or more of the parents.

In the past moo-ashibii may have led to marriage in some cases but
more often it did not, even when liaisons resulted in children. At present
young unmarried men and women associate more freely in public, and mutual at-
traction may lead to a relationship more like the Western courtship leading
to marriage. This had been especially true since the war.

Formal Ceremonies As in many societies there are more formal and 584
less formal ways of marrying. The preliminaries to the older family-arranged
marriage usually begin with a proposal by the young man's family. If the

[1] Yanagida, 1951, p. 309.

called for 'awamori'. After a few drinks he asked in a fairly serious manner, 831
"Have you bought a woman yet during your stay? You really ought to try an 522
Okinawan woman before you go." His daughter-in-law and two half-grown sons looked on in amusement. The question is not uncommon; on another occasion it was, "Have you tasted Okinawan women?"

In common talk, and perhaps in feeling, sex seems to be identified al- 548
most wholly with prostitution and the sex act with the hiring of a juri. The 831
sight of a seed boar being led across a field evoked the comment, "That pig's a man; he's on his way to buy a woman." Perhaps the above statement should be narrowed down to something like: the pleasurable aspects of sex are identified with prostitution. And sexual pleasure, like the pleasures of eating and drinking, singing and dancing, is something that guests may be treated to. (Hence the concern that the visitor sample all the pleasures that Okinawa offers and a pride in those for which it is famous.) In view of the fact that children grow up hearing about juri and jurinuyaa and associating them with other pleasures before they have any notion of their sexual functions, it is not surprising that when they become adults they display attitudes that are different from those found among Americans.

Before the war in the Tsuji district of Naha there were about three thousand juri.[1] The district was the center of the social life of the men [565]
of the upper classes. Business men, government officials, and teachers were entertained there. No doubt all did not "buy" juri, but sex was one of the principal commodities dispensed there. Also it is unlikely that the average farmer ever went there, but the indications are that he would have if he could have. A man is expected to want these things if he can afford them. The [184]
values of the farmer are not likely to be very different from those of the better-off city man. The jurinuyaa has played an important role in Okinawa society in the past and is not likely to disappear very soon.

Maturity and Old Age: Associations Men may continue to belong to the 575
'Seinenkai' until thirty; women drop 562
out at marriage. The reason that men stay longer may be to give greater continuity to the organization and to provide older members as leaders, but in view of the recreational activities of the organization it seems as likely that the rule is merely a part of the general tendency to give more freedom to men and more responsibility to women.

Adult Associations ('Seijinkai') are said to exist in some villages 575
but are not of any great importance. Associations formed by persons of the same age ('dōnenkai') also exist. In Japan such organizations are often con- [171]
posed of persons who were in the same class in school[2]; on Okinawa the number of older persons who attended school probably does not permit the formation of very large associations. The tendency among younger persons is not very noticeabe. Younger men may organize 'shōbōkai', volunteer fire brigades; such [368]
an organization patrolled the streets of Ishikawa nightly. We did not see any evidence of the persistence of any organizations based on former military [177]
service; the Japanese Army Reservists' Association may never have been very active on Okinawa.

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1 Yanagida, 1951, p. 309.

2 Embree, 1939, p. 163ff.

764 have the occasion to talk with one. If a priest is called, he kneels before
793 the coffin, rings a bell, and recites from the sutras. His recitation is in
[177] a Japanized Sanskrit, which is probably wholly incomprehensible to all. After the recitation he burns incense before the coffin and the assembled relatives and friends do likewise. The coffin is then carried out of the house and put into the gang, a red palanquin that is village property in many villages. At this point all present pray. The procession to the tomb now begins. It is led by the bearer of a flag announcing the death, followed by the priest (if there is one), then the paper tablet carried by the heir of the deceased, who holds an umbrella over it. Then the family comes, then male relatives and neighbors, and then the gang containing the coffin, borne by four neighbors of the deceased. And finally come the female relatives and neighbors of the deceased. When the procession arrives at the enclosure before the tomb, the neighbors who have been bearing the gang set it down and relatives take the coffin out and carry it in before the tomb. Only relatives and the priest enter. While the women again weep aloud the coffin is put into the tomb and offerings are left before it. In returning, the women take a different route.

767 Formerly funeral processions were led by member of a special profes-
565 sion called nimbuchaa (from nimbuchi, J. 'nembutsu', a kind of Buddhist
[171] prayer for the dead). These persons formed a separate social class looked down upon by others, and lived in a few separate villages, rather like the Eta of Japanese society.

765 Bone-Washing and the Tomb After the body has been in the coffin a suitable length of time, usually about two years, the coffin is removed from the tomb, the body is removed from the coffin, which is destroyed, the remaining decayed flesh is then washed from the bones, and they are returned to the tomb.

764 In Northern Okinawa the tombs are relatively small and are usually the property of smaller kinship units, but in Southern Okinawa the tombs are larger and are usually the property of the larger kin groups, the munchu. In some instances several munchu share the same tomb. Even the smaller tombs are built with considerable expense; the larger ones cost the equivalent of several hundred dollars. Both the larger and the smaller tombs contain a floor at ground level upon which a coffin may be set and behind this a shelf or
[563] shelves upon which washed bones are placed. Families descended from the former gentry class place the washed bones into large urns. Commoners simply place the bones on the shelf and when the shelf is filled, push the older bones into a pit behind the shelf. If one death follows another so closely that there is a coffin with unwashed bones still in the tomb, the family, rather than reopen the tomb too soon, may choose to make a temporary tomb by walling a natural opening in the rocks. Or, as may happen in the case of the tombs belonging to the larger kin groups, if there is a body in the tomb with flesh sufficiently decayed for bone-washing, the family who suffered that loss may wash the bones at the same time that the family who has suffered the second loss is holding its funeral.

765 The bone-washing is an emotionally charged performance. Women usually wash the bones and do so with a great and apparently genuine display of grief.

CHAPTER VI: POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND CONTROL

W. P. Lebra

1. Territorial Organization

631 The territory of the Ryukyuan government is subdivided into a number of municipalities whose administrations are directly responsible to the central government in Naha. There are three types of municipalities---city ('shi'), town ('chō'), and township ('son')---depending on their population and character. The 'shi' (city) and 'chō' (town) are urban municipalities whereas the 'son' (township) is always rural. Each of these are in turn subdivided into 'ku' which are equivalent to wards in the urban municipalities and to villages or hamlets in the rural. This study shall concern itself exclusively with the governments of the 'son' and 'ku'. As of May 1954 there were four cities, four towns, and forty-eight townships on Okinawa and its peripheral islands, and these contained over five hundred villages and settlements.

632 The governmental designations in use on Okinawa are the same as those
171 employed in Japan though there are several minor distinctions. A 'son' or township in Japan and Okinawa is a collective grouping of a number of separate communities or villages into a single administrative unit. In Japan the 'son' is a fairly recent creation, dating back to the late nineteenth century; in most cases it is a rather arbitrary grouping of villages in the interests of administrative expediency. It is exclusively a governmental unit, rarely a social or historical entity. This, however, is not the case on Okinawa.
175 Prior to Japanese annexation the present 'son' on Okinawa were called majiri;
632 in the Okinawan feudal age (aji nu yuu---Age of the Aji or Manor Lords) these were the hereditary fiefs of the local lords. Later, after the end of feudalism in the fifteenth century they became the administrative districts of the Shuri government. Each district was headed by an official (jiturei) appointed by the king, and the majiri or district was most important as the land-disbursing unit in a system of communal land ownership. It also served as the basic tax unit, since taxes were levied against the majiri by the Shuri government rather than against the individual family or village. Each majiri, like the present-day 'son', consisted of a number of small villages called mura, the equivalent of the present-day 'aza' or 'ku'. After Japan formally annexed the Ryukyus in 1879, the old administrative system was not immediately abolished and continued to exist for some time. The system of communal land tenure and taxation lasted until 1903, and the majiri were not converted into their present-day counterpart, the 'son', until 1907. In most cases the old majiri name was given to the new 'son', which generally corresponded to the territory of the former although a few of the larger ones have since been subdivided. For example, Motobu was divided into Motobu and Kami Motobu. In most cases, however, there has been a continuity in political districts since the feudal period.

621 Each 'son' is made up of a number of villages which are called 'aza' or 'ku' by official designation. For all practical purposes the two terms

3. Police

Local governments of the municipalities ('shi-chō-son') and the various 'ku' (villages and wards) exercise no control over the police stationed in their areas. Central police headquarters are located in Naha, and the organization of the police command is outside the regular civil structure except at the top national level. The police officer located in Kanegusuku-son reports directly to the district police headquarters in Itoman which in turn reports to Naha. In addition to maintaining law and order the police are charged with certain responsibilities in the fields of sanitation, health, and public welfare. Crime rates on Okinawa are low, particularly in the rural areas, and policemen stationed there rarely face serious problems of law violation. A 'son' policeman has a "beat" which he is supposed to patrol each day unless other business is pressing. Actually his visits to some of the villages are rather infrequent, since there is little need for his presence. When a villager dies, it is usually the policeman who checks and certifies the cause of death. Certain dangerous or highly contagious diseases such as leprosy or smallpox must by law be reported, and any infractions of this are usually investigated by the police. If a restaurant or food store is reported as unsanitary, it is the police who take steps to see that the situation is corrected. 625 [674] [744]

Not infrequently the policeman is called upon to function informally as a judge in settling minor disputes which in the United States would be taken to court. One man rented out a room in his home to a former schoolmate; after living and eating there for several months, the roomer disappeared without making any payment for his room and board. A few months later the owner located this person's place of employment, collared him as he left work, and dragged him to the nearest policeman. The policeman listened patiently to both sides of the argument and then ruled that the roomer must pay the entire amount due the owner, ¥6000 ($50.00), at the rate of ¥2000 per month. The two disputants signed an agreement to this effect, and the policeman also signed it "to make it official". An American would regard this action as an abuse of police power; yet, an Okinawan would see nothing untoward in it. In light of this it is worth noting that the jiturei who headed the rural district (majiri) under the old kingdom functioned as policeman, judge, and administrator. 625 627 [178]

In the matter of juvenile delinquency the school and police are reported to work closely together. One police officer stated that when juveniles commit misdemeanors in his area they are usually turned over to their schools for special "education". That an errant child should be released to the custody of his school rather than to his family would seem an inconsistency in a society which places so much emphasis on family. In America and perhaps in all of Western society the teaching of ethics is largely a function of the home, but in Japan and Okinawa this is considered a task for the school. 871 625 674 [171]

To an outsider Okinawan police appear to be efficient in the performance of their duty and possessed of a pride in their job and a fairly 625

[Kochinda-son]

The distribution by ages, which ranged from four to twenty, is shown below: 162 592

Table VII

Age	Persons	Age	Persons	Age	Persons
4	3	9	8	15	15
5	4	10	9	16	9
6	-	11	3	17	13
7	2	12	5	18	16
8	2	13	9	19	13
		14	15	20	22

Thirty-two orphans were household heads and legally living alone, although in actuality most of them probably resided in houses of relatives. Five more were orphans, although in each case another person of the same sex lived with them.

Even though only thirteen, or 8.8%, of the 148 minor household heads were female, there was a large excess of women in these households. This is accounted for mainly by the aforementioned 79 households, 53.5% of the total, where the mother of the legal but minor household head is still living. For the category as a whole there is an average of about three persons per household:

Table VIII

Average Persons per household	2.98
Average Men per Household	1.34
Average Women per Household	1.64
Sex Ratio	81.5

In the thirteen households that were headed by minor females, twelve consisted only of women. The other household consisted of a fifteen-year-old girl and her two younger brothers of ten and twelve years of age.

Fertility, the Birth Rate, and Birth Control The most widely known but least accurate measure of fertility is the crude birth rate, defined as the number of births per year for each thousand persons in the total population. The crude birth rate for Okinawa Guntō in 1952 was 34.2---less than the rate in the United States in 1890---while the rate for Kochinda-son was 38.1 in the same year. Japan's crude birth rate in 1938 was 27.0, and had increased to 32.8 by 1949. This differential is not surprising in view of the somewhat greater urbanization and consequent slightly lesser frequency of births in the main islands. The prefecture which most closely resembles Okinawa---Kagoshima---is less urbanized and had the higher-than-Okinawa rate of 35.4 in 1949. As of 30 June 1953 the birth rate was 32.2 for the Ryukyus, including the Amami group, and was 34.9 for Okinawa Guntō.[1] 163 171

[1] Pacific Stars and Stripes, 8 Feb 1954. Figures were released on numbers of births and deaths, and total population, by the Public Health Dept. of USCAR.

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163 The prewar birthrate figures for Okinawa-ken include the following: 1936--26.2; 1937--26.4; and 1938--27.2.[1] So it is evident that in the prewar period there was a slight tendency for the birth rate to increase. A decrease is noted for recent years. In 1951 the birth rate was 30.7 for the Ryukyus as a whole, and was 34.2 in 1952.[2]

A more nearly accurate measure of the rapidity of the increase in population is the fertility ratio. For this study it was defined as the ratio of children under five years of age to the number of women aged fifteen to forty inclusive. The fertility ratio in 1953 for Kochinda-son was
[171] 663. This may be compared to the United States average of 464 for the white rural-farm population in 1940, or the average of 587 for the Negro rural-farm population in the same year. The 1947 fertility ratio in Japan was 528.[3]

842 Most Okinawan men are familiar with the condom method of preventing
[m] conception. The Japanese Army was said to have followed a policy of distributing packages as men left the posts for liberty. A brand called "Shikishima" could also be bought at drug stores. One farmer asked me if there was a shot in the arm that a woman could get so as to render her sterile for a two-week period.

847 Informants stated that abortions were sometimes performed before the war, but were rare. Postwar doctors are not supposed to perform abortions unless the husband consents in person.

163 Spacing of Births By an analysis of the period between births, it may be
178 possible to learn of shifts in frequency of births. For this purpose, a sampling was made of families with complete birth records in 25% of the households of Kochinda-son. The same villages were checked for postwar birth records. Only families with three or more postwar births were included in the latter category. Families with complete birth records covering both the pre- and post-invasion periods were also checked.

The comparison between the 37 households representing complete prewar records and the 39 households representing the postwar records of three or more births can best be seen by examining the following table:

Table IX

	Prewar	Postwar
Average Age of Mother at Birth of First Child	23.1	22.4
Average Age of Father at Birth of First Child	29.6[4]	27.1[5]

1 Navy Civil Affairs Handbook, page 56.
2 CAARI, p. 76. Projected annual rates per 1,000 inhabitants based upon estimated midyear population.
3 Japan Statistical Yearbook, 1950, p. 17. The population figures used are valid for 1 October 1947.
4 The ages of only nine prewar fathers were available. The remainder were war dead, and were not recorded in the temporary 'koseki'.
5 All 39 cases are represented above.

[Koohinda-son]

Table IX, cont'd.

163
178

	Prewar	Postwar
Average Time in Months Between First and Second Births	38.8	27.6
Average Time in Months Between Second and Third Births	35.7	27.7
Total Average Months Between All Births	35.7	27.6

It is seen that the postwar Okinawan mother apparently has her first child more than half a year earlier than did the prewar mother. Furthermore, the average spacing between births appears to be about eight to eleven months less in the postwar period. Explanations for this apparent difference---which might prove to be less if a larger sample were available---include delays caused by prewar military service, and the possibility that stillbirths were more frequent and infant mortality higher in the prewar period.

The invasion and the subsequent period of internment and resettlement caused a temporary lengthening in the spacing of births. Data for the 98 households in the same villages used above, wherein were found complete prewar-postwar continuous birth records, indicated an average of 55 months between the birth of the last baby before the invasion, and the first one born thereafter. In addition, it should be noted that the average age of postwar fathers at first birth above is 27.1 years, but the average age of fathers whose date of postwar marriage is recorded at first birth below is 25.0 years. This situation means only that in many cases the mothers of postwar families were second wives. In most of these instances the first wife had died during the war.

Postwar Marriage: Attitudes Dr. John F. Embree, in his monumental work Suye Mura, thus describes the rural Japanese attitude toward marriage: "The birth of a child is a much more certain sign of a permanent marriage than is a wedding ceremony. Indeed, a marriage is often not put in the village office records until after a child is on its way."[1] The Okinawan attitude is much the same. 581 171

In analyzing the 177 postwar recorded marriages that resulted in children, 29 marriages, or only 16% of the total, were found to have been recorded in the 'koseki' more than nine months before the birth of the first child. Marriages were recorded after the birth of the first child in 71 cases, representing 40% of the total. 582

Marriages Recorded Before Conception In the first category, the husband was younger in six of the 29 cases. In no case had the husband had

[1] John F. Embree, Suye Mura: A Japanese Village, U. of Chicago Press, 1939, p. 182.

[Kochinda-son]

January, February and April lead in total numbers of births. However, August is the lower fourth in number of conceptions. The possible relationship suggested above awaits validating or disproving when more 'son' can be studied in order to obtain a larger sample. The subject is here mentioned in order to provide researchers with a new path of inquiry. 163

Widows as Mothers of Illegitimates Twenty-nine widows are mothers of 35 illegitimate children. One had twins, and five other widows had illegitimate children in tandem. In the months of February, August, April, October and November, 19 widows conceived illegitimate children, while in the remaining seven months only 15 illegitimates were conceived. The sample involved here is too small to do more than suggest a possible correlation of date of conception and festivals. The possibility should be kept in mind, however, by anyone who does further research on Okinawan population. 848 163

Mixed Blood Illegitimates There are only two registered illegitimates in Kochinda-son who have non-Okinawan fathers. Both are from one village, and neither are included in the above analysis. The 'son' office personnel said that they have heard of about seven or eight more, but that they are not registered as such in the 'koseki'. According to them, the children of mixed blood are probably not registered at all, and will not be until they become of school age. 848 [144]

Connections with Divorce Three illegitimate children were the cause of divorces. One husband divorced his wife upon the birth of her illegitimate child, and sent her and the child back to her parents' home. Another husband recorded the divorce of his wife and the adoption by him of her illegitimate daughter the same day. In the third instance, the widow of a man killed in the war bore an illegitimate girl child. The widow's parents-in-law forced her to return to her family and to record in the 'koseki' a divorce from her deceased husband. 848 586

Accuracy of Figures There are more illegitimates in the 'son' than are registered in the 'koseki' as such. Quite often in the prewar period---and possibly even now---the husband's child by another woman was recorded as the son or daughter of his legal wife. In one case the 'koseki' record showed one woman as bearing two children seven months apart. Investigation showed that the above method of recording had been used. The same method of concealment is often used when a man's unmarried daughter bears a child. 848

Postwar Divorces While there were 264 postwar marriages recorded in the 'koseki' of Kochinda-son, 54 postwar divorces were entered into the record for the same period. This would indicate a rough divorce rate of 20.4 in Kochinda. Since in America one in four marriages ends in divorce[1], and in Japan the rate (as of 1949) is 9.7, it is clear that the Okinawan divorce rate much more closely resembles the American. This Okinawan rate is confirmed by the 1952 statistics, which showed a rate of 20.3 (3,220 marriages and 653 divorces)[2] for Okinawa Guntō. 586 [171]

1 George C. Homans, The Human Group, p. 276.
2 Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku, p. 1.

[Koohinda-son]

The husband sought military employment after the divorce. Haru has now also gone to the city to find military employment because her younger brother, who is household head, became angry and said, "...even the animals know enough to suckle their young." An observer commented, "Haru is mentally deficient, so that is why she was jealous." 586 159

Case 2

Kanā at the age of 32 was Chūsei's third wife, and he was her fourth husband. His seventy-year-old mother, Ushii, had become blind as a result of the war. Kanā insulted her mother-in-law somehow. In turn Ushii insulted Kanā by saying she couldn't work very hard. Chūsei divorced Kanā for the quarrel, and she moved to an offshore island. More recently she remarried to a man two villages away, and they have two children. Her new husband fishes during the summer and works for a big sugar mill during the winter.

Case 3

The husband, Jirō, was a second son of 23 years, who had become an adopted husband, or 'yōshi'. His wife Yae, who was a common law child, bore him a son. Because he violently disliked farming he sold the land he inherited and bought a mat-making shop in Naha. His real father, killed in the war, had operated such a business. Jirō also took up a concubine in Naha.

Though she had borne Jirō a son, Yae divorced him because she didn't like the idea of a concubine, and preferred farming to life in Naha. Later Jirō sold the houselot in the village, took the house apart and reassembled it in Naha. The mat shop failed after one year. He now plans to make his living by doing nothing but renting out rooms. He married his concubine eighteen months later, after she bore him a son. Yae married a few days after the divorce, to a man from a neighboring village. She now has two sons.

Diagnosis In the first case cited above, we can see several factors that help us to understand Okinawan society. Attitudes expressed include: [593]

a) A wife should not be jealous of her husband's attention to other women;
b) A brother need not support his sister if she refuses to care for her own child; and
c) A mother's first duty is to care for her own child.

Both divorced persons eventually sought military employment. So we see that urbanization is not alone a matter of pull from the city, but contains in addition an element of being "pushed from the village". [369]

The Chūsei-Kanā divorce was brought on by an insult to the husband's mother. In Okinawa as in Japan the mother-in-law wields a good deal of authority. [606] [171]

In the third case cited, it was found that Jirō had a very bad reputation in the village because he was a 'yōshi' who sold his inherited [829]

allotment system was now entered in the newly-created land registries as the 175
property of the household head. In the past inheritance of the position of 648
household head by the first son had been largely a matter of status succes- 177
sion involving leadership of the family and certain ceremonial obligations. 423
Property succession had not been an important factor, for the private 177
property of the family had usually amounted to no more than the family 423
house and lot. Under the old land allotment system there was always land 428
available for younger sons who set up independent houses, but under Japanese 592
law the bulk of the family property was inherited by the first son. What had
been the function of the community in the past now became the responsibility
of the family, and since family holdings were usually small, the younger sons
were often landless. Informants stated that a father will usually do every-
thing possible to provide his younger sons with land, but he cannot do this
if it means jeopardizing the resources of the house. Continuation of the
family line for the purpose of continuity in worshipping the ancestors is
the chief responsibility incumbent on the household head, and in the rural
areas the land provides the major support for the house. With the rise in [166]
population there developed an increasing trend for younger sons to emigrate
from the rural areas in search of land or jobs elsewhere. The end result [602]
was a considerable weakening of family and especially kin group ties and a [621]
rapid decline in the communal character of the rural villages.

Though the creation of private property made possible the sale, pur- 175
chase, and rental of land, landlordism never gained a foothold on Okinawa. 423
Undoubtedly this is primarily due to the recency of private property and the 427
lack of time for large accumulations of land to be made. It is also in part
due to a lack of capital in the rural areas; most capital on Okinawa after [471]
the annexation and before World War II was confined to the hands of Japanese
businessmen and members of the former upper classes who seemed disinclined to
invest in land. Likewise the official Japanese attitude toward Okinawa was [648]
to regard it as a rather backward part of Japan not to be exploited as a
colonial dependency as in the case of Formosa and Korea. Glacken has sug- [171]
gested that the heavy fragmentation of the typical Okinawan farm would be an
obstacle to its sale; yet, the Chinese farmland is also highly fragmented
and landlordism has been common there for centuries.[1]

After the abolition of the communal allotment system taxes were ex- 175
tended to cover all categories of land whereas previously they had been ap- 423
plied only to arable land; however, government income from land taxes sharply 651
declined, as the moderate levies of the Japanese administration were con-
siderably below those of the Okinawan monarchy. Despite this reduction in [311]
tax load there has been a steady decline in the amount of land cultivated
since the termination of the old land system; this is clearly shown in Tables
III and IV in Chapter III, Agricultural History, Land Use and Diet.

3. World War II and the American Occupation

175
During World War II Okinawa became the scene of one of the most vio- 727
lent battles of modern times. The entire island was turned into a combat

[1] Glacken, 1951, p. 160.

[Kanegusuku]
[Kitazato]

on Okinawa observed that the farmer took little interest in the care of land which he did not regard as his own. The author was particularly impressed by the contrast between Japan and Okinawa in regard to the care of land, for the meticulous care which the Japanese farmer lavishes on his land seems absent by contrast among the Okinawan farmers. 241 829 554 463 [171]

Kitazato The farm village of Kitazato in Kami Motobu-son presents a marked contrast to Kanegusuku in that it has suffered the loss of a major part of its area to a military installation. In studying the village of Kitazato the village of Kanegusuku was used as a base line for comparisons. To supplement his own observations the author has drawn heavily on actual statements by Kitazato people; in this way he hopes to present as accurately as possible the actual state of the village compared to villages elsewhere on Okinawa, and the villagers' own conceptualization of their circumstances. 621 [727] 121 621 [124]

Kitazato is not an old village, having been founded but seven generations ago by the younger sons of gentry families from the Naha-Shuri area. It was politically independent of the neighboring villages during the time of the old kingdom, but after the annexation it was administered in part by the villages of Gushiken and Jahana. In 1936 or 1937 it was established as an independent village, taking its present name. 175 621

Following their release from civilian internment camps the villagers returned to the site of their old homes shortly before New Year's of 1946. They found virtually their entire village land area converted into an airfield and accompanying military installations. According to their account there was considerable misunderstanding between them and the military as to where they might live, and they feel that they were subject to contradictory and inconsistent orders. Several moves were made which disrupted their plans to settle, and one villager stated, "I grew tired of rebuilding my house." In 1948 they were finally ordered to remove themselves from the military area, and they took up residence in their present location. It is claimed that there was insufficient land in the area to resettle the entire village on a single site; so, the village divided into three sections. Thirty houses were located on the beach between the villages of Gushiken and Shinzato, and this segment was given the name Hama. The remainder of the houses settled in the nearby hills from one to two miles away. Thirty-nine houses settled in the hills between the villages of Furushima and Jahana, taking the name Kijikina. Ten houses located themselves in the hills just north of Kijikina in a settlement which they called Anahana. These latter two, however, function as a single settlement for administrative purposes. These 80 houses making up the scattered village of Kitazato have a total population of 414. Despite their physical separation these segments have striven with considerable difficulty to maintain their political and social unity; one mayor and council serves them, and people are constantly visiting from one area to another. Today most of their land is gone, and they are too far removed from any city, town, or military installation (the airfield is abandoned) for employment. Extreme poverty and bitterness are one's first impressions of the village. 175 621 727 [464] [735]

CHAPTER IX: HEALTH

W. P. Suttles

121 This chapter will begin with a section on the human body---attitudes
128 toward and practices concerned with its care and its functions. This will be followed by a section on sanitation---attitudes and practices. A third section will deal with concepts of the supernatural and their relationship to illness. A fourth will describe the various types of "medical" practitioners found in Okinawan society, and Okinawan attitudes toward modern medicine. It will be seen that this chapter contains much that is often described under the heading "Religion" or even "Values" and contains little on the actual state of health and incidence of disease among the Okinawans. But we believe that this is as it should be in a report on Okinawan culture. That sanitation is poor and disease is prevalent is no doubt all too apparent to the medical observer. A detailed study of the diseases themselves must be made by research workers competent in that field. A study of native culture, however, reveals some of the underlying causes of poor sanitation and poor health. We feel therefore that this is a valid unit and properly put under the title "Health".

1. The Human Body: Practices and Attitudes

261 Eating and Drinking. Okinawans enjoy food and drink and make numerous events the occasion for their enjoyment. Questions about holidays frequently soon elicit long descriptions of the types of dishes appropriate to each. To a Westerner the variety may not seem great, but to the Okinawans a slight difference in the consistency of a soup may call for a
262 differentiating term. The variety of foods is probably as great as it can be within the limits of Okinawan resources. Foods are valued differently.
[171] Rice ranks high, sweet potatoes low. Pork is esteemed, as in China but not in Japan.

264 Three meals a day is usual. Rice, soup, and boiled foods are served in bowls, fried foods in flat dishes. These are eaten with chopsticks. The bowl may be held in the hand near the mouth; soup may be drunk directly from it. Some foods, such as noodles, are habitually sucked up with considerable noise. This noise is neither made purposely nor is it avoided; it just does not matter. Children may bolt their food without being scolded for it, but adults seem to have no compulsion to eat fast, as the Japanese are said to
[574] have. On festive occasions men are served in the first room, women in the second. On these occasions a portion may be served already in a box so that it may be taken home. On ordinary occasions the family may eat together,
[521] though women often eat in the kitchen by the oven. Conversation of both
[574] light and serious matter may accompany eating. Serving food is essential to the entertainment of guests and to the payment of social debts.

273 Drink is also essential to entertainment. Tea is drunk first thing in the morning and at any time of the day or evening. But for men something
[272] stronger is also desirable. Usually it is the clear, strong, distilled drink

513 Ventilation at night may be poor; the sliding doors are usually tightly shut and locked. In larger towns and cities this practice may be explained as due to the prevalence of thieves, but in the country there must be another reason; it is probably the fear of yanakaji or of the kiji-
[775] munaa. The first, yanakaji, literally "bad winds", are ghosts, who may
[776] cause illness. The kijimunaa is a sea-being or tree-being who causes a frightening but harmless sensation of smothering and weight on the chest. These creatures may enter through open doors or windows. According to one informant their entry might be prevented by setting up a butcher knife in the opening but I have not seen it done. (It could only be done for a window; in a door it would be dangerous to the human occupants.)

In spite of their sleeping with relatively little change in position while in bed, Okinawans seem to be able to fall asleep in a variety of positions and circumstances, in busses and on trucks, in the midst of family activities, with noise and bright lights apparently presenting no obstacles. This ability may be the result of the early experience of sleeping under all sorts of conditions while being carried on the mother's back. There are two restrictions to sleeping. All avoid sleeping with the head oriented west, because that is the way a corpse is oriented. The other is that girls and women must avoid sleeping with the legs separated. Lebra observed one grandmother give her little granddaughter a hard pinch on the thigh for this.

Okinawans recognize that sleep is essential to maintaining the body. After a restless night one may say that he-"had insufficient sleep".
● [171] It has been asserted that the Japanese regard sleep as a luxury rather than as a necessity. This cannot be said of the Okinawans.

515 Cleanliness In care of the body, the Okinawans are among the cleanlier of
171 the world's peoples. They bathe frequently, keep their nails
[302] clean by constant trimming, their teeth clean by prolonged morning brushing, and their hair neatly cut or dressed. But they are not as cleanly as the Japanese or at least as the urban Japanese. One reason why they bathe less frequently is that baths are simply less available. Many villages are without public baths. Most farmers must either pour cold water over themselves at their wells or a little hot water warmed in the kitchen. In villages
[834] where there are few wells the water must be carried. Another factor may be modesty; nudity is not taken for granted as in Japan, so that one does not strip nude at the well in the daytime. A third factor may be the lack
[703] of such highly-developed concepts of ceremonial purity and pollution as exist in Japan. There are no tabus on the activities of menstruating women on Okinawa as there are in Japan, for example.

291 Nudity Pre-school children often play nude. Mothers sometimes appear to
834 be displaying little boys nude to demonstrate their masculinity. Photographs of naked baby boys are popular. Boys may continue to swim nude until eight or so, but girls begin to put on some garment for swimming
[853] sooner. Women nurse in public and sometimes work at home with the breasts
[814] uncovered. Adults of both sexes may urinate in public, but in such a way that the body may not be seen. Adults do not appear publicly or privately
[515] before one another nude. Public bath houses have separate sections for men

Moreover, during the last days of the battle and for a period of 178
nearly a year afterwards the Yamada people, like most other villagers in 751
the vicinity, lived a concentration-camp sort of existence in the very 727
crowded and unsanitary city of Ishikawa. Then when they returned to their village they had to rebuild their houses from materials given by the Americans and from salvage. This experience undoubtedly had a bad effect on morale and perhaps also on standards of cleanliness. Yet Yamada appears to be a cleaner village than many seen in Southern Okinawa. This may be because of its less dense concentration of houses and its fairly good water system.

Economic factors can be summed up in the single word "poverty". The 751
most modern knowledge and the best intentions are not sufficient if one has 511
to carry water from a distance, has no money for soap, and has little strength left after the daily grind of making a living.

3. The Supernatural and Disease

The Okinawans, like all peoples, have a large body of traditional 753
knowledge about the ills of the body and what to do about them. As among many peoples with little contact with Western science, a great many illnesses are attributed to causes that we would call supernatural. Thus before one can understand the Okinawan view of diseases one must understand some of the Okinawan concepts of the supernatural.

Concepts of the Supernatural The living human being, according to Okinawan 774
belief, contains two entities, the mabui 778
(or mabuyaa, possibly related to Japanese 'mamori', "guardian") and the shii [71]
(pos. ident. with Japanese 'sei', "essence"). These correspond to the Western concept "soul". According to some informants the two are the same, but then further conversation reveals a difference in usage that must reflect a difference in concept. It appears that the mabui is a discrete entity capable of being dislodged from the body without death resulting immediately. The shii on the other hand appears to have more the nature of a force that can be augmented or diminished.

What happens after a person dies is not altogether clear (see also 775
Chapter V). According to some he becomes a "Buddha" (Japanese 'hotoke'), according to others he becomes a "god" (Japanese 'kami-sama') and ascends to Heaven. This happens if all goes well, if the person dies in a normal manner and has left no important task undone, and if his family makes the proper offerings. However, if such is not the case, he may become a ghost and haunt this world. Several terms are used for dead persons in this latter form---yanamung ("bad thing"), yanakaji ("bad wind"), majimung (?), shininchu ("dead person"), shinigami ("dead god"), shinimabui ("dead mabui"). The last term, shinimabui, contrasts with ichimabui,("live mabui"), used for the displaced mabui of a living person. All of these terms seem to mean the same thing, the dead who are not cared for and who are therefore a potential danger.

The dead who are cared for are said to ascend to Heaven (in Japanese, 'Ten ni agaru'), but they may also be present in the tomb and at

Although Okinawans occasionally refer to Heaven or the Gods of Heaven (J. 'Ten no kami-sama'; Okinawan U-kami-ganashii, etc.), the concept does not seem to be well defined. The clearest statement heard on the subject was the one just mentioned in connection with the Fire God. Since the dead, or some of them, rise to Heaven, the term "Gods of Heaven" may include them, but there are evidently other greater beings too. These may be identical with the figures of the native origin myth. But aside from a few enthusiasts, mainly local historians and shamans (yuta), few Okinawans seem informed about or concerned with native cosmology, or any other. This may in part be the result of a generation or so of Japanese education with educators attempting to take the Japanese mythology seriously and making Okinawan mythology jibe with it. But it is more likely that this lack of concern with Heaven is due rather to an old tendency common in East Asia to settle matters at the local level without bothering the higher authorities, in dealing with both political problems and spiritual problems. 772 [175] [176] [177] [181]

In the Okinawan universe there are also a few earthly beings with supernatural power. The akamataa is a real species of non-poisonous snake. But it is believed to be able to change itself into a handsome young man, in which form it seduces unwitting young women. One young woman who was seduced is said to have given birth to a whole tubful of baby akamataa. 776

The kijimunaa is a wholly mythical being but seems to belong more in the natural world. According to some it lives in old trees, but according to others it is a sea-being who lives on fish and shellfish and who will become the helper of a fisherman who makes friends with it. Regardless of habitat, the kijimunaa is believed to approach a sleeping person and sit on his chest, nearly suffocating him and preventing him from crying out. Apparently the being is not dangerous but merely annoying.

Another being that is feared is the tamagai or 'hidama', "fireball". This was described in Yamada as a light that appears at certain times as an omen. However, in a village in Southern Okinawa it is regarded as the cause of fire. Since it is a female being the young men of this village drive it away by forming a procession and marching through the village shouting "Hoo hai!" ("Your vulva's showing.") [787] [184] [372]

The Itoman people speak of the ja or 'ryu', the "dragon". This being lives in the sea or the clouds; its tail is the whirlwind; its feces, if one is fortunate enough to find them; are like coal tar and are a very valuable medicine. Other Okinawans seem to regard this as something only the Itoman people know about. [757] [184]

One more concept is perhaps worth mentioning; this is shiji. Certain places, the sacred hilltop of the village, etc., are said to be shiji-dakasang, "high in shiji", and therefore to be approached with respect. It is also said of persons, especially those believed to be destined to become religious practitioners. The term shiji evidently signifies a sort of supernatural power that adheres to places and people, perhaps like the Oceanian concept "mana". Haring has suggested that the Japanese concept 778 [171]

778 'kami' is like the Oceanian "mana", a supernatural power that enters natural
171 objects or persons.[1] Whatever may be the case in Japan, the Okinawan kami refers to definite beings, discrete entities, and not to a force. However, the concepts shiji and perhaps shii may be mana-like.

753 Causes of Disease Okinawans frequently use these concepts of the supernatural in their interpretation of the causes and proper treatment of illnesses of the body. Illness may be caused, they believe, by loss of the shii or the mabui, by the harmful inclinations of other living persons and of dead persons, and by offences to ancestors and other spirits that are ordinarily helpful.

753
774 Gradual withdrawal of the shii may cause illness or death. A preg-
[778] nant woman is warned not to attend a funeral or a bone-washing because the shii of the unborn child may be drawn into the tomb. A sudden jolt or a scare may cause the mabui to be dislodged and this will result in a feeling of weakness and, if the mabui is not replaced, perhaps ultimately death. Treatment of loss of mabui is often practiced by old women. One woman who had treated her grandchildren on numerous occasions said that she laid on a table offerings including salt, rice, water, and a dish containing seven stones; then she took a garment of the sick child, prayed at the entrance to the house, and called the child's name. The mabui of the child then entered the garment and when she put the garment on the child the mabui re-entered the child. Formerly she would have prayed at the pigsty-privy, but
[776] it no longer exists. One of her sons gave the interpretation that the pigsty-privy god being the lowest god knew the whereabouts of the lost mabui and he informed the ancestral spirits who were able to bring it back to the garment.

The most serious cases of loss of mabui are caused by the actual
[775] theft of the mabui by dead persons, who are said to take the mabui to the tomb. As I have already mentioned, this may happen when a baby sneezes. Treatment of this type of soul-loss probably requires the services of a
[756] yuta, a sort of shaman. The yuta is said to be able to see the living person's mabui before the tomb, in the form of the person. If the form is facing this world and looks sad there is a chance of recovery, but if it is facing the tomb and looks happy, the patient will probably die. But in spite of the occasional serious nature of loss of mabui, I have observed young boys when startled jokingly cry out "mabuyaa, mabuyaa!" as if to call back their displaced mabui. And it is said that some persons jokingly pretend to scoop it up and pour it back into the body through the head. However, the joke may serve to relieve actual tensions that exist after a sudden shock.

754 Little information was obtained on the harm that can be done by a living person with ichijama. According to Yanagida[2] the ichijama is the soul of a woman who can send it to possess a person or object in order to

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1 Haring, 1946, p. 221 and elsewhere.

2 Yanagida, 1951, p. 30.

Elongated roadside settlements seem to be an increasing phenomena of 178
post-war Okinawa. In central Okinawa (Nakagami) this is particularly appar- 361
ent in the areas of military camps, where the commercial value of being on
the road is fully exploited. Numerous car-washing establishments, repair [443]
shops, laundries, souvenir shops, etc., line the roadsides in these settle-
ments. With current expansion and improvement of the highway system there
seems increasing likelihood that more settlements of this type will develop.

Houses and Buildings Architectural styles and the materials of con- 178
struction appear to have changed but slightly as a result of the war. There 342
are now thousands of small temporary huts made of scrap materials which will
suffice until the individual family can afford a more permanent structure.
When new houses are built, the styles are closely similar to those of the pre-
war period. The major change in the style of country houses appears to have
occurred during the Japanese period of administration, for early travelers
and investigators report that the typical farmer's dwelling consisted of woven
bamboo walls, thatch roof, and dirt floor. These are but rarely found today, [171]
and where they do occur, there is always a raised floor as in the case of the
Japanese home. In certain areas, such as Kitazato for example, there has been
a reversion to this house of woven bamboo and thatch due to poverty, a lack
of wood, and the readily available bamboo. The prewar house of wooden walls
and frame with a tile roof still remains the most common house type and that
which is most frequently built.

The use of concrete blocks in building is attributed to American in- [177]
fluence; however, their usage to date has been limited mostly to non-residen-
tial buildings. Roofing of corrugated iron is sometimes used, but it is
regarded as a temporary device.

Interiors have changed but little; rooms are usually relatively bare 177
of furnishings. Frequently the walls are covered with pictures taken from 178
Japanese and American magazines. 353

The enclosed yard surrounding the Okinawan house often contains con- 177
siderable evidence of the war. Oil drums have been put to use as rain barrels 351
and privies; American helmets are frequently found serving as pails or buckets;
old shell cases are used for support and occasionally, if a sufficient number
are available, for decorative fencing; sections of portable landing-strips
serve as sidewalks; and on one occasion a Japanese machine-gun was observed
in use as a clothes pole.

Crafts There has been a marked decline in Okinawan handicrafts and 177
a greater reliance placed on factory-made products. The manufacture of cloth, 178
baskets, rope, hats, pottery, raincapes, mats, sandals, etc. has dropped mar- 433
kedly in comparison to the prewar era; yet, it is acknowledged that the war
only served to accelerate the decline. Several factors are involved in this 28
process. In many cases the Japanese factory products are cheaper and better
than the local article. The cultural domination of Japan also created an [329]
attitude that things Ryukyuan were inferior to things Japanese; hence,
Japanese products and styles assumed an ascendancy over those of Ryukyuan
origin. Lastly, the war destroyed many of the places of manufacture and the [727]
machinery employed, and replacement has never been made.

It
186 is also important to keep in mind that the relationship is always one of
829 American employer to Okinawan employee; consequently, the American is most
177 often the initiator of action.

464 Conclusion In a number of Okinawan communities military employment has drawn
434 off the surplus population which formerly had emigrated. In not a few communities it has become the mainstay of the economy.

464 Most Okinawans regard military employment as economically advantageous.
829 There is no stigma attached to men who are so employed, but considerable
554 stigma is attached to women who take this employment, particularly the maids.

177 The American installations are dependent to no small degree upon their
648 Okinawan employees, and in turn many Okinawan individuals and communities are
464 wholly dependent upon the military for their livelihood. Their relationship is a symbiotic one which can best be enhanced by mutual understanding; yet the social distance between the Okinawan and American is so great as to make interaction on a basis of equality rare. Because of their different cultural backgrounds and their job situations, both remain ignorant of the other's motives and values, and mutual understanding is difficult if not impossible. Common
[171] denominators in both cultures might be sought as a means of bridging this gap, as, for example, their common love of sports.

3. Japan, America, and Okinawa

W. P. Suttles

829 Japan in Retrospect Okinawan attitudes toward Japan are decidedly ambivalent. Factors that have entered into the formation of these attitudes are as follows:

175 1) Historic Relations On the negative side are the historic separa-
648 tion and former independence of Okinawa. This separate status is still re-
829 membered by old people, some of whom speak of wars between Okinawa and "Yamatu" (Yamato, that is, Japan). Several illiterate old people seemed to make no distinction between the conquest and oppression of Okinawa by the feudal state of Satsuma and the later annexation by the national government, and thus seemed to be blaming Japan as a whole for wrongs done by Satsuma.

171 On the positive side there is the indisputable remote common origin
174 and basic similarity of the Japanese and the Okinawans. Racially, linguis-
177 tically, and culturally the Okinawans are closely related to the Japanese.
829 They may be said to be merely a kind of Japanese. It is highly probable that the majority of the ancestors of the Okinawans came from the north, from Japan, in the not too remote past. Their isolation made it possible for them to be politically independent and their political independence made it possible for them to escape the levelling influence of Japanese national governments, particularly that of the Tokugawa Shogunate, and for them to have closer contact with China. This accounts for their having a number of elements of Chinese culture that are not found in Japan, but it does not make them a kind of Chinese.

131 a fact which has been a determinant in their historical development
648 and an important factor in speculations about prehistoric events.

105 Until further archaeological evidence permits greater certainty, the
174 original settlement of the Ryukyus is believed to have taken place predominantly from the Asiatic mainland, with occasional influx from the southern islands, Formosa, the Philippines, and Indonesia (Kerr,
[172] 1958). Surviving culture elements of great antiquity support these theories. Most frequently cited are a basic form of Shinto, characteristic of the religion, and the shamanistic role of the priestesses. Specifi-
[177] cally, the "curved jewels," formerly worn by all priestesses, are mentioned as apparent links with the neolithic cultures of Japan.

105 On the other hand, sporadic contact with the islands to the south
177 is evidenced by culture traits, such as raised houses of tropical design
174 (common to all of Japan) and perhaps the practice of "mother roast-
[346] ing," a period of recuperation after the birth of a child during which the mother is kept near a fire. This custom is widespread in Malaysia (Cole, 1915:155).

[197] Linguistic evidence points to a separation of Okinawan from a common proto Japanese language about 1500 years ago (Hattori, 1954). This may indicate a southern movement of peoples from Japan under the pressure of the Yayoi people who introduced the wet rice complex into southwestern and central Japan at this period. That this was not the earliest settlement of the Ryukyus, however, is evidenced by remains in the Ryukyus of the earlier Jomon period.

105 From the first mention of the Ryukyus in Chinese annals of 605 A.D.
648 until the end of the nineteenth century when Japan formally annexed
175 the islands, they stood in a curious relationship of dependency toward China and Japan. Both nations claimed suzerainty over the kingdom of Okinawa with its royal court in Shuri and extracted tribute. Eventually the Lord of Satsuma in southern Japan extended his sovereignty over the Ryukyus. But with ties to China remaining, Okinawa participated in both Chinese and Japanese culture, which disseminated through the urban trading center of Naha into the outlying areas. It is this intermediate cultural position which still gives Okinawa a peculiar character, although it long ago became part of Japan and abandoned direct contacts with China.

105 In 1872 Japan formally declared its claims on the Ryukyuan king-
175 dom, and after deposing the last king in 1879, made the Ryukyuan
177 islands a province of Japan, with the capital at Naha. Between this
648 time and the present, intensive contact with Japan has led to an overwhelming absorption of Japanese culture, a willingness on the part of Okinawans to adopt Japanese ways and to identify with Japan as their

793 In the first version, a male person (Shinerikyu) and a female person (Amamikyu) descended from Heaven. Amamikyu without sexual intercourse gave birth to three children: the first son became the first ruler; the first daughter, the first priestess; and the second son, the first farmer.

In the second version, the male and female deities gave birth to a child. "They carried stones and earth to the edge of the sea and planted trees to keep back the waves." Mountains and forests thus made, "mankind sprung up." Knowledge was attained and one person divided mankind into classes. This man, Tenteishi, had five children: Tensonshi, the first son and first ruler; the second son, the first noble (ansu); the third son, the first farmer. The eldest daughter became the first kikoe-ch-gimi who later headed the institutionalized noro religious system. The second
[793] daughter became the first priestess (noro).

173 The dynasty established by Tensonshi, according to tradition, lasted for twenty-five generations, 17,802 years, or until 1187 A. D. During this period, Okinawa was divided into three districts (magiri), Kunchan in the
[631] north, Nakagami in the center and Shimajiri in the south, divisions which remain to this day.[4] The districts were divided into mura, or townships.
[243] "Wheat and millet were raised at Kutaka /a name of a magiri/ and rice was grown at Chinen and Tamagusuku."[5] There is reason to believe that Tensonshi
174 dynasty had its greatest control over what would now be the area of Naha, Shuri, Tamagusuku township, and the Chinen peninsula area.

793 In both myths, a female priesthood, as Spencer points out, is placed at the very beginning of Ryukyuan history. A king, lesser nobles, a female priesthood, and farmers were the basis of the culture.

3

Events of the Early Historical Period

175 Not enough is known of the early historical contacts between the Great
177 Loochoo and the Chinese and Japanese to warrant any conclusions regarding
648 influences which these countries could have exerted.

Chinese punitive expeditions took place in the early seventh century A. D., but the consensus of opinion is that the invasion of Great Loochoo resulted in no prolonged cultural contact or influence. Some Japanese

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 29 -- analyst]

4 Chamberlain, The Luchu Islands and their inhabitants, as cited, 306.

5 Leavenworth, Charles S. The Loochoo islands, 15. Quotation is from the manuscript history translated by Leavenworth, ibid, 77.

The people of Nagamo are farmers. The seat of their extended families is in Naha and Shuri, and they have their own local deity places (ujigami in Japanese). The people of Minatogawa are fishermen, their extended family seats are in Itoman. They too have their local deities and many of their religious ceremonies are centered around the gods of the sea and the dragon of the sea god's palace. 596 706 708

The population of Minatogawa, as of December 31, 1951, was 1108 (515 males, 593 females) in 213 households, an average of 5.2 persons per household, and of adjoining Nagamo, 564 persons (262 males, 302 females) with 113 households, an average of 5.0 persons per household. 162

The fishing village of Minatogawa is believed to be about 250 years old. It was founded, according to local residents, by the fishermen of Itoman who were accustomed to fish off shore near the islands around the southeastern and southwestern parts of Okinawa. The place was first established as a temporary location for the fishing boats and later permanent settlement took place. The tombs of Itoman are still the ultimate burying ground for large numbers of the Minatogawa fishermen. After 250 years the ties with the parent town are still strong. 361 173 [764]

The village has two traditions involving contacts with other peoples. The first is concerned with the Chinese. One is a spot on the shore where some Chinese are said to have landed over 200 years ago. Many fishermen pray to it on certain occasions of the year. Little is known of what happened to the Chinese, but supposedly they were buried high up the side of a steep mountain nearby, inside a cave with stalactites. Bones said to be of these Chinese may still be seen there. The cave is difficult of access. 173 170 [978]

There is also the tradition of London sailors said to have been shipwrecked at the port of Kiyan on the southwest tip of Okinawa. A child was born of the union of one of these sailors with an Okinawan woman and the sailor later returned to England. The tomb of the woman and the child is revered as a religious site. It is now a small shrine on the outskirts of Itoman called Rondongama, Rondon for London.[9] Old women of Minatogawa sing a song of this old love called Michinakankai. The theme of the song is the unashamed love of the woman for her departed London lover, an Okinawan anticipation of Madame Butterfly. [978] [533]

In this area the low, bare hills form in a haphazard way a series of valleys, some long and narrow, others like an amphitheatre with an open face to the sea. Low passes connect the valleys. One such pass, about 150 feet high, now on Highway 64, leads from the valley of 133 361

[Text Continues on Top of P. 53--Analyst]

9 The writer visited both the cave and the site near Itoman town in August 1951. The shrine is now situated on a small hill on the outskirts of Itoman. The bones were moved here during the war from Haizato village to escape Japanese bombing. A large cave nearby, associated with the mother and the child, is overgrown and very dangerous to enter because of the danger of snakes.

226 463 engaged in fishing are permanent or transient families originally from Itoman, a place name which comes up whenever fishing is mentioned anywhere in Okinawa. Agriculture and the care and utilization of the community forest make up the significant economic activities of the village.

162 Matsuda had a population of 1370 individuals (604 male, 766 female) as of November 30, 1951. There were, at this time, 243 households, an average of 5.6 persons per household. The village is said by local residents and antiquarians to be about 600 years old. If the age is 361 correct, it must be one of the older settlements in northern Okinawa. Before the war, this village was known as Kochiya.

● 173 Matsuda also has its lore regarding shipwrecks and foreigners. There are old men who believe Perry's party came to the village and that they left carvings on the top of a picturesque rock in the Burushii district along the coast, a not unbelievable story since the explorers certainly were not far from here.

Near the seashore, but in a very remote area, there is a natural bridge, concealed by large trees. Roots of the banyan grow through the [137] thirty or forty foot drop from the top of the bridge until they find [064] root in the soil below. On a ledge under this bridge, there are two old and open boxes which were used to collect the skulls and bones of unknown persons. Locally it is believed that they are the remains of shipwrecked sailors, possibly Hollanders. There are still 25 or 30 skulls there, and many of the bones are scattered on the ground. The place is seldom visited.

361 133 The village rests on low rolling hills. The combination of the hills, the depressions, the caves and the sinks give the topography an uneven almost rugged character. There are few flat places and these are seldom wide. They are the narrow meadows or valleys between the hills. 241 The hilly nature of the surroundings determines to a large extent the manner of cultivation, and historically probably has had much to do with 311 the shapes of the individual parcels themselves. One does not see in this area the plains or small valleys with rice cultivation that is observed in Haneji township near Nago or around the island of U in Tamagusuku township, or even in the Hanashiro area of Gushichan township. In these communities, the normal pattern of cultivation is that the rice is on the lowlands, with the slopes and upland areas devoted to sugar cane, the sweet potato, or other crops, or left to native grasses. Here in the hundreds of small hills, all of these may be observed in close proximity, hard work and minute tillage comprising with the topography.

361 The village is subdivided into several distinct areas: (1) the main 311 part of the village where most of the houses, the village office, the small stores, the rice mill, the sawmill, the power plant, and the barbershop are located, (2) a reclaimed area known locally as the kaikon, newly settled and with a different type of land use due to the poorness of the land and to the fact that it is a deforested area, (3) a district near the sea coast and along the sea with scattered settlements, isolated houses, and some cultivation, and (4) the forest lands, which in the

137 settled area and for protection of the surrounding crops. Around
311 houses, there are common stone fences, bamboo fences and trees.
Stone fences, though solid may be toppled over. Bamboo, or dwarf
[417] bamboo fences, seemingly slight, resist the winds and remain intact
because of their flexible loose weave.

137 The trees on the ridges of the low lying hills or on high pieces
133 of ground are tall, and sturdy, and jealously protected. The villagers
185 take great pride in them. Today this pride is based on the realization
of their effectiveness; in former times, their protection was associated
[098] with the worship of the gods of the sacred grove (utaki). There were
[099] beliefs, which now seem to be dying out, that cutting these trees
[193] would bring bad luck. Many villagers say that Saion in the 18th
century intentionally invented superstitions concerned with the cutting
of the trees in order to save them. Now these trees are no longer in
danger of cutting, even though the penalties of the old beliefs are no
longer feared.

The following short list does not exhaust the kinds of trees and plants found in this area. It is confined to those trees, shrubs, and grasses which are most frequently found and which have the greatest local importance.

829 (1) The Ryukyuan pine (Riukiu-matsu in Japanese, Pinus luchuensis
313 Mayr). This tree is still one of the commonest sights of the island,
even in southern Okinawa. At present, it is a source of firewood,
cheap lumber, and siding. It is not considered good housebuilding
material because of termites (shiroari). Pine was used for fishing
boats within living memory, but now they are made of much harder woods.
In this area, the coniferous groves are along the seashore. The larger
stands are not cut. Scrub pine on individually owned wild land may be
cut for firewood.

(2) The fukugi (Garcinia spicata Hook.). The fukugi is used around homes and on mountain ridges as a typhoon protection. It is fairly plentiful here and prized as a building material (kenchikuzai). The hard studs, beams and cross beams and the wide plank floors in the older and better houses are often made out of this wood.

(3) The iju (Schima luchuensis Nak.). This tree, common here, is used as a building material and is considered to be better than the Japanese redwood (sugi). It is not regarded as a good firewood.

(4) The inumaki (Podocarpus macrophyllum D. Don). This tree is not well known here, and there are no large specimens. But it is regarded as the best building material when available. Often the large, hard, rough hewn poles which are placed on stones and support the eaves of the older houses are made from this wood.

(5) The shii (Shiia cuspidata). The dense stands of this tree in the village owned forest restrict the size of the specimens, though

1:Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

wood and lumber for Japanese army uses and for air raid shelters were in demand, (2) the burning in the course of the war, and (3) the intense cutting after the war for firewood and rebuilding. 313 727

Okinawan traditions relating to forest care have a positive value and it is worth while to recapitulate them here. Local old men and antiquarians in Matsuda give credit to Saion who wrote a long treatise on agriculture and is said to have intentionally devised superstitions to save trees. Death or misfortune would come to him who cut the trees, especially those in sacred groves or on the tops of mountains. Some local residents have said that the gods of the mountain are really not of religious inspiration at all, but had their origin in the conscious desire of Saion to save the trees. While there does not seem to be any truth in this assertion, since these deities of the sacred groves and mountain tops reach far back into antiquity, there is no doubt that sacred groves and houses of the mountain gods saved trees that otherwise would have been cut down. (In China and Japan, religious shrines and holy places have also been areas of the preservation of trees). 313 173 [178] [171]

Present attitudes were summarized by a Matsuda school principal who said that beliefs in mountain gods and in death and misfortune following cutting trees were dying out, and that these old beliefs had been replaced by awareness of the scientific reasons for preserving the trees. [183] [176] [177]

In Matsuda, pride in the trees, in the groves that line its hill tops and overlook the narrow valleys and ravines planted to rice and other crops is a conspicuous part of village experience. There are trees along the main road near the town that are said to have been planted in Saion's time under his inspiration.

These favorable traditions are helpful. They do not guarantee the preservation of the forests. Previous experience has shown this. From what may be surmised of the history of Okinawan forests, the destruction of modern times has been correlated with war and the expansion of economic activities. We may speculate, too, that previous deforestation was slow, inexorable and related to the clearing of accessible stands near settlements, and the extension of these settled areas as they grew. "Most of the accessible primitive forests have been exhausted," Dr. Green wrote in his report to Commodore Perry.[11] The need for fuel increases with population. In China, Japan, Korea, and Okinawa, the relation of forests, either as a source for lumber or fuel, to population growth and settlement is a very intimate one. This is a basic consideration in discussing not only the "patterns of culture" but the relation of culture to the natural environment in this part of the world. [311] [161] [171]

11 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, Vol. II, 35

is one of the rare, desired body attributes. It was the opinion of some 142
that the descendants of the noble families who came from Shuri, however, are taller and slender, with a prominent, curved nasal ridge.

Until they feel confident in the presence of strangers, Taira people 152
appear quiet and restrained. It is considered a virtue not to show one's 153
emotions, and Tairans consider the expressiveness of Americans child- [181]
ish. Actually they are gay, talkative, and given to laughter, especially the women. Men are quiet unless stimulated by alcohol, but both men and women may lose their composure in emergencies. A notable exception is their placid reactions to the threat of disaster from the ever recurrent violent storms.

THE COMMUNITY, ITS HISTORY AND NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

621
Taira is one of the northern villages on the northeast coast of Oki- 101
nawa in Higashi township (see map 1). Today it is home to over [131]
700 people who make their living—as did their ancestors since early [162]
times—from the surrounding fields, forests, and from the sea. The Okinawan name for the village, Taira, means "sloping fields." The character used for writing the prevalent Japanese version, Taira, means "flat, plain, good."

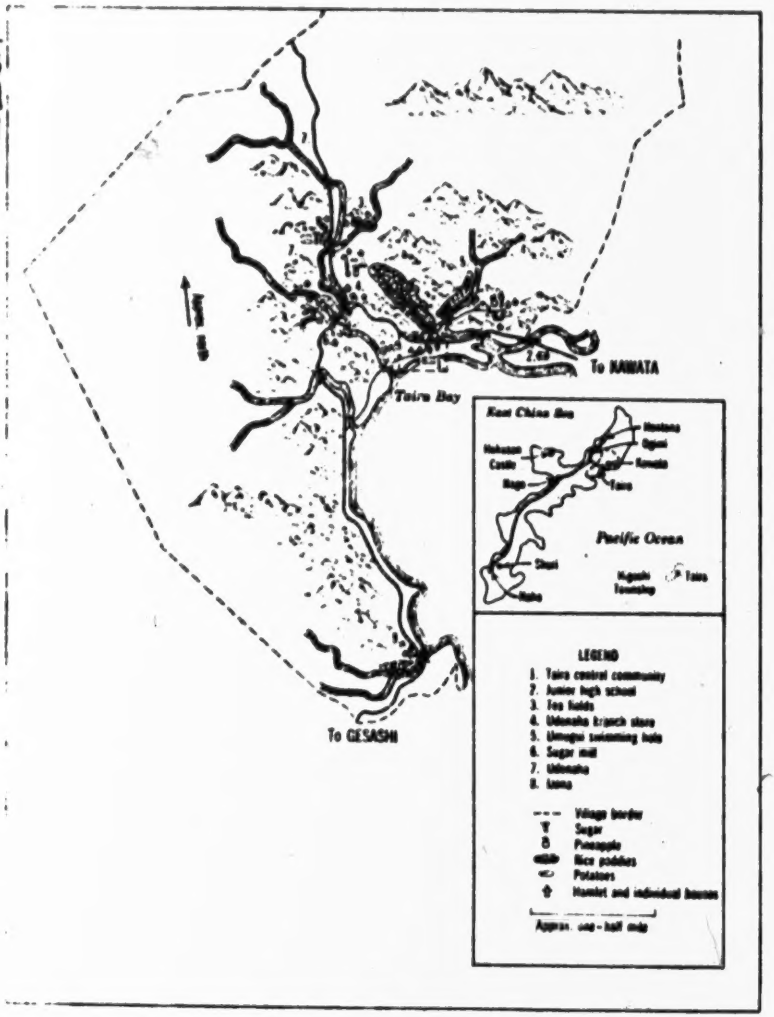
Since the family records were lost during World War II, it is neces- 173
sary to depend on oral traditions for reconstruction of the history of 621
Taira. Unfortunately, the desire of many Okinawans to establish a [114]
relationship between their local families and the former royal courts casts some doubt on the accuracy of these traditions.

According to these traditions, the first village to be settled in the vicinity of Taira was the neighboring community Kawata. After the Hokuzan kingdom in Nakijin (on the northwestern Motobu Peninsula) was conquered by the southern Okinawan kingdom of Chuzan in the fifthteenth century (Kerr, 1958:85), the second son of the Lord of Hokuzan is said to have escaped northward into Kunigami province. Unitokogami, the fleeing nobleman, arrived near the present site of Kawata and established himself in a cave around the year 1477. He is [182]
still revered today as founder of the village in a yearly spring ceremony [069]
when prayers are said in front of the cave. The oldest Taira families trace their descent in the male line from Nizenya, the "main house," he founded. Taira was settled around 1550 by two families tracing descent from this "main house." The descendents of these settlers are

173 621 the two main "houses," or family lines in Taira, and for several centuries Taira must have been a small, closely knit community of interrelated people.

Between 1875 and 1895, when the court life at the old capitol of

102 133 241 491 361



Map 1. Taira village (Higashi Township).

Between 1875 and 1895, when the court life at the old capitol of Shuri was broken up under Japanese influence, many families of noble origin moved into the country to become farmers, and the village grew in size. These people settled mainly outside the central village in areas where land was available. One family moved into Taira proper, forming the third "main house." Although it still maintains feeble ceremonial connections with Shuri, it gave up its noble title shortly after coming north and moved its ancestral tomb to the community. The noble families who settled in the valleys and hills preserved their distinctive traditions until the end of World War II. Their noble descent was noted in the population register, and intermarriage with commoners was discouraged.

Except for these Shuri migrants, few outsiders seem to have settled in Taira prior to World War II. The residents on the southern part of the island, especially the residents of Naha and Shuri, consider northerners rustics. Although this part of the island was often used as a hiding place by political and criminal refugees from the south, who are said to have founded nearby villages, none of them made their home in Taira.

The original settlers of Taira were reluctant to accept later arrivals in their midst. Because of the fear of spirits, foreign to the village, they prohibited the burial of the newcomer's dead near the tombs shared by the members of the "main houses." To this day the funeral urns of a family who came to Taira about 60 years ago and later intermarried with settled villages are kept in a cave, away from all other tombs.

Higashi township was established in 1922. The area had previously belonged to Kushi township to the south, but the great distances between villages and the mountainous character of the country made efficient administration very difficult. Furthermore, some Higashi inhabitants felt that because of temperamental differences and divergent interests they should separate from the southern township. Since 1922 contacts have been predominantly with Ogimi township to the northwest and the town of Nago, 16 miles away. Once the road connecting the two coastlines was completed in 1936, Taira's isolation decreased considerably, and it became the administrative seat of Higashi township in 1946.

Taira also became the home of the high priestess. In the period prior to direct Japanese administration, her office was under the jurisdiction of the Shuri court (Lebra, 1958), and her predecessors must have been appointed by the Okinawan kings. Taira may have been chosen as the seat of the high priestess in lieu of Kawata because Kawata lacks the good rice land which traditionally went to the high priestess by royal decree. Some of this rice land is still in the hands of the living priestess.

621 778 Although a number of important shrines and worship places are located in the Kawata area, the main shrine is in Taira.

173 648 722 621 To this tranquil area the activities of World War II brought a great upheaval. Although the main stream of refugees from the south, following threats of United States troups' invasion, did not reach this northern area, Japanese guerilla forces settled in the hills of Higashi township. This, and the constant warnings from the Japanese of the "terrors" of American occupation, caused the population of all villages to take refuge in the mountains, carrying along what few possessions they could, including livestock. Families were separated and individuals lived in constant fear of soldiers from both sides. Nightly excursions to the fields to harvest whatever could be found helped to maintain a meager diet. It is characteristic of the stresses of this period that among the children of central Taira only one was born in 1945.

173 648 722 621 The war ended for Taira people when American troops had cleared the northern areas of Japanese troops. In this action several villages were destroyed, among them Taira. The present economic struggle of Higashi township, an area which was always handicapped by lack of farmland and poor soil, is partly due to the war. On the other hand, the demand for lumber for an island-wide reconstruction program lent a temporary boom to the economy. In the process, however, forests [185] which had been heavily cut before the war fell prey to rapid and poorly planned cutting. At present the whole township is in the throes of economic readjustment.

173 167 621 In the past 50 years, Taira, like the rest of Okinawa, has sent some of its overflow of population to various areas in the world, including Japan, and especially to the industrial areas of Kobe and Osaka, Saipan, and Brazil. At least five of the families in central Taira lived either in Japan or the Pacific Islands and returned shortly after World War II. Emigrants to Brazil have stayed with the exception of one prominent person who returned to Taira several years before the war. Some of the families lived as many as 18 or 20 years abroad, and several children in the study were born in Japan and returned to the village as infants. Among the villagers are many who have served in the Japanese Army in Asia or in the South Seas.

The repatriation of these families does not seem to have caused any serious disturbances to the village, since many people were killed during the war and several families moved to the city. An exodus to the [311] outlying areas of the village also provided room for returnees, so, although rice land is scarce, there is still some uncultivated farmland, admittedly mostly of poor quality.

The community is dispersed. In the outlying parts, as far as 2 miles

131 The settlement
631 pattern is similar to that of the central part. Villages are scattered
133 throughout the area with population distribution comparable with the cen-
36 tral area. Before the war, the densities here were over one thousand per
[161] square mile,[4] actually considerably more if the uninhabitable lands are subtracted.

How long this settlement pattern and these regional differences have
311 existed is difficult to say. In studying contemporary environments, like Okinawa, which bear the imprint of long human settlement, it is useful to try to reconstruct the nature of the landscape before the interference of man. At one time, the whole island, with the exception of stony, rocky, and shallow soils and beach and marsh land was covered with forest. There are now no virgin stands. "It is evident that the present forest has been cut over many times. There seems to be no part of the island in which the forest cover has not been disturbed in some way by man."[5] In this light, the regional differences between the forested north and the deforested south are the work of man.

361 The oldest settlements are thought to have been in the Naha and Shuri areas. Kudaka Island, off the southeast coast, according to one
[173] legend, was the site of the supernatural creation of the Okinawan people. The town of Unten, the Port Melville of Captain Hall and Commodore Perry, was, in one version, the scene of the landing of the Japanese warrior,
[174] Tametomo, but this was in the twelfth century. Northern areas were in-
[161] habited prior to the unification of the island in the twelfth century because they had their own regional chieftans before this. But the population of the north, at least up to the war, has been sparse and scattered. If the forests are any indication, it has been the central and southern regions which have been the scenes of longest settlement. Probably the
[177] settlement pattern had not changed much until the Japanese interventions
[178] of the nineteenth century and the great changes coming with the recent war, and with the extensive modifications which the Americans have made in the landscape of the central region.

3

General Climatic Conditions

132 In the Köppen system, Okinawa has a humid subtropical climate. It is a rainy climate with no marked dry season; it has a mild winter and the temperature of the warmest month is over 71.6°F. The average annual temperatures in Naha range from 61° for January and February to 82°F for July and August, and the range from the mean minimum of 55° in February to the

[Text continues top of p. 14--Analyst]

4 See the population distribution maps in CA Handbook, Ryukyu (Loo-choo Islands, 48-49.

5 Okinawan Forests. (Prepared by the USGS, Military Geology Section under the direction of Office of the Engineer, GHQ, Far East Command), 1948, 2.

Approximate area in square miles	454	161
Population density per square mile	1139	133
Assumed area in cultivation in square miles a/	134.4	311
Population density per square mile of arable land	3851	

a/ See discussion above. The 134.4 square miles is an approximation derived by adding the areas in wet rice, dry land crops, and 18,200 acres which includes land in cultivation, in town sites, military installations, and in idle land, a total of 86,335. An arbitrary approximation of 80,000 acres (134.4 sq. miles) was then taken, very probably too high a figure. Huttonson, op. cit., p. 12, gives the cultivated area as less than one-fourth of the total area, or 67,200 acres. One of course must distinguish between cultivated land and land that can be cultivated, but 80,000 acres still seems a reasonable approximation.

If we look at the geography of Okinawa from the point of view of the total physical environment and not merely from the point of view of the amount of arable land available to support the people, we are forced to the conclusion that as a result of long settlement, a growing population and the destruction of the war, combined with periodic and inevitable property and crop damage from typhoons, that the environment is not suited for the comfort and well-being of large numbers of people. Intense fertilization will keep the good soils growing crops. Increase of trade and some industrialization may help as long as they do not lead to destructive exploitation of the forests, and some small help may come from the reclamation of unused or cut over land. 178 311 511

5

Conclusion

Almost one hundred years ago, one of the observers on Commodore Perry's expedition wrote, 114 174

> "That the island has been peopled for many ages, is evidenced by the graded roads and deep cuts, the structure and manifest age of the bridges, the antiquity of the villages, the great amount of stone-work in the towns and in the fortresses--some old and dilapidated, some modern and in repair; but, above all, by the incalculable amount of labor done in grading the land for culture. That which is now so perfect, could only have been made so by degrees, like structures reared by the ant or bee."[8]

8 Hawks, Perry's Expedition, as cited, II, 36.

2

Conjectural Minglings of Prehistoric Times

174 There seems to be little doubt that the settlement of these islands is the result of migration and invasion, and that in the early ages their history was one of contact, not of isolation. These contacts, a consequence of migration and invasion, whether direct or indirect, may have spread over two or three thousand years. This is important to bear in mind, for often in theoretical reconstructions of cultural history it is assumed that a culture has its origin in a period of early isolation and that is subsequent experience to the present is the history of the gradual blurring of its original features which have become increasingly influenced by the international community.

The two chief theories regarding the peopling of the Ryukyu Islands and of Japan are (1) that the southeastern and northeastern Asiatic influences came from the continent, probably by way of Korea. Advocates of this theory emphasize relationships with Korea, Manchuria, and Mongolia. (2) The island stepping stone theory, that the peopling came northward, perhaps via Formosa and the Ryukyus to Japan, is advanced by those who point to affinities with Indonesia, Melanesia, and Polynesia.

Presently held views, following the early lead of Chamberlain, are predominantly in favor of the first theory. Like Japan, the Ryukyus are thought to have been originally settled by peoples from northeastern Asia, perhaps similar to the Ainus of Hokkaido. The ancestors of the present Ainu are believed to have reached Japan "in at least three successive waves perhaps separated by long intervals of time." (Bishop).

This early Ainu settlement was followed by invasions of Mongoloid peoples, the effects of which were to force the Ainus north and west, with a few going south into the Ryukyus. While the original settlers of the Ryukyus are thought to be related to the Ainus, the evidence admittedly is meagre and has been questioned. Bishop has accounted for the southeastern Asiatic influences in Japan (and by inference in the Ryukyus, for he rejects the island stepping stone theory) by assuming areas of contact on the east Asian coast among the cultures of northeast China and those of the southeast, although the latter were not yet part of the Chinese culture. Cultural influences were transmitted along the Asian littoral, across Korea, or possibly the Shantung peninsula, to the Japanese islands.

The study of the Ryukyu Islands from the standpoint of modern Western standards of scholarship started with Basil Hall Chamberlain. His writings on Japan, and to a lesser extent on the Ryukyus, date from [114] the latter part of the nineteenth century. Since his time, further scientific investigation has been and will continue to be inhibited by political conditions in this part of the world. Advances in knowledge

of Okinawan prehistory will probably depend on research throughout a wide area and on the comparison and collation of discoveries already made in western Japan, south Korea, Qualpart Island, the Shantung peninsula, the Ryukyu Islands, Formosa, and China, particularly concerning the role of Fukien province in later times, to say nothing of determining the sources and routes of influences from southeastern Asia on Japan and the Ryukyus. Links with Polynesia and Hawaii have been suggested. Obviously present day political conditions are unfavorable for this type of inquiry. 174

The suppositions of which we have been speaking have led to the belief that the Ryukyu people, like the Japanese, are composed of the North Mongoloid, South Mongoloid or Malayan, and the Ainu type, but that the proportions are different, since there seem to be larger elements of the Malayan and Ainu types in the Ryukyu Islands. Whether these reconstructions are correct or not, the significant fact is that the islands owed their peopling to migration and invasion, and that culture mixture and contact is of very ancient origin.[2] [144]

The Ryukyuan creation myth is a crystallization of ideas that must have been long dominant at the time they were recorded. There are two versions of this myth, one simple, the other, as Spencer points out, more complex and probably reflecting the influence of new and foreign ideas. The first of these versions appears in Ryukyu Shinchuki, written about 1603 A.D., the second in the Kyu Yo, a Chinese translation of a work by Hanaji Tomohide entitled Chusan Seikan (1650).[3] 173 [175]

[Text continues top of p. 28--Analyst]

2 Bishop, C. W. The historical geography of early Japan. Geo. Rev. 13 (1923), 40-63. See also this author's, The geographical factor in the development of Chinese civilization. Geo. Rev. 12 (1922), 19-41. For a recapitulation of the theories regarding the peopling of the Ryukyus, see Marshall T. Newman and Roman L. English, The Ryukyuan people: a biological appraisal. Amer. Journ. of Physical Anthropology, 5 (1947), 114-24, and Binkenstein, R. Okinawa-Studien. Monumenta Nipponica, 3(1940), 196 ff. and the literature there cited. Chamberlain's ideas are summarized in The Luchu islands and their inhabitants. Geo. Journ. 5 (1895), 316-19. R. S. Spencer, The Noro, or priestesses of Loo Choo. Trans. Asiatic Society of Japan. 2d Series. 8 (1931), 94-112, especially p. 94. For a recapitulation of Ryukyuan history, see C. A. Handbook, as cited, 13-31 and John R. Potter, A Preface to Liu Ch'iuan history: an analysis of the basis for establishing a United Nation's Trusteeship. (Unpublished Master's Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1948. Leavenworth, Charles S. The Loochoo Islands. Shanghai, 1905. [174] [113]

3 This discussion is based on the article by Spencer cited above. Partial translations of the myths from the sources are reproduced here. See also Binkenstein, Okinawa-Studien, as cited, 198.

793 In the first version, a male person (Shinerikyu) and a female person (Amamikyu) descended from Heaven. Amamikyu without sexual intercourse gave birth to three children: the first son became the first ruler; the first daughter, the first priestess; and the second son, the first farmer.

In the second version, the male and female deities gave birth to a child. "They carried stones and earth to the edge of the sea and planted trees to keep back the waves." Mountains and forests thus made, "mankind sprung up." Knowledge was attained and one person divided mankind into classes. This man, Tenteishi, had five children: Tensonshi, the first son and first ruler; the second son, the first noble (ansu); the third son, the first farmer. The eldest daughter became the first kikoe-oh-gimi who later headed the institutionalized noro religious system. The second [793] daughter became the first priestess (noro).

173 The dynasty established by Tensonshi, according to tradition, lasted for twenty-five generations, 17,802 years, or until 1187 A. D. During this period, Okinawa was divided into three districts (magiri), Kunchan in the [631] north, Nakagami in the center and Shimajiri in the south, divisions which remain to this day.[4] The districts were divided into mura, or townships. [243] "Wheat and millet were raised at Kutaka /a name of a magiri/ and rice was grown at Chinen and Tamagusuku."[5] There is reason to believe that Tensonshi
174 dynasty had its greatest control over what would now be the area of Naha, Shuri, Tamagusuku township, and the Chinen peninsula area.

793 In both myths, a female priesthood, as Spencer points out, is placed at the very beginning of Ryukyuan history. A king, lesser nobles, a female priesthood, and farmers were the basis of the culture.

3

Events of the Early Historical Period

175 Not enough is known of the early historical contacts between the Great
177 Loochoo and the Chinese and Japanese to warrant any conclusions regarding influences which these countries could have exerted.
648 Chinese punitive expeditions took place in the early seventh century A. D., but the consensus of opinion is that the invasion of Great Loochoo resulted in no prolonged cultural contact or influence. Some Japanese

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 29 -- ANALYST]

4 Chamberlain, The Luchu Islands and their inhabitants, as cited, 306.

5 Leavenworth, Charles S. The Loochoo islands, 15. Quotation is from the manuscript history translated by Leavenworth, ibid, 77.

1

Generalities on the Population History of Okinawa Island

Virtually nothing is known, to my knowledge, of the growth of population in Okinawa in historic times. Early travellers made some estimates, but they gave no basis for them. In a previous chapter, it was mentioned that the introduction of the sweet potato in the early 17th century must have allowed a greater population on the island than had hitherto been the case. No doubt also malaria and other diseases kept the population down, at least until the latter part of the 19th century. This ignorance of population growth extends down to recent history.[1]

There seems to have been very little immigration to the Ryukyus and the population has probably been homogeneous for long periods of time. There were many Japanese in Okinawa, but these were largely in the towns and main cities. Most of them left after the war.[2] This meant that the population of Okinawa continued to be made up of preponderantly the native born, though in recent years there has been some immigration of Amamians.

Emigration during the 20th century has been the outstanding fact in the population history of the island. Little is known of the nature of this emigration, but it is believed to have started in the early years of the twentieth century. Until World War II, emigration was the answer to the problem of a population that was growing beyond the ability of the island's resources to support it. It has been estimated that the emigration from Okinawa prefecture in the period 1920-1940 was over 193,400 persons. This represented a loss of 98% of the estimated natural increase for the 1920-1940 period. It was 34% of the prefecture's total 1920 population.[3]

The Okinawan campaign, also, was accompanied by large scale displacements of people who remained on the island. It was estimated that in a pre-invasion shifting of the population, over 3/4 of the people

[Text continues on top of p. 60--analyst]

1 Dr. Green in 1853 estimated the population of Okinawa at 150,000 or possibly 200,000. But this was only a crude guess. Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 36. For population estimates prior to World War II, see CA Handbook, as cited, 45-51.

2 As of Nov. 30, 1946, 57,345 Japanese, 1,755 Koreans, and 21 Formosans had been repatriated from the Ryukyus, with 3,706 Japanese remaining to be repatriated. See note 3 following.

3 Newman, Marshall T. and Eng, Roman, L. The Ryukyu people, a biological appraisal. Amer. Journ. of physical anthropology, n.s., 5 (1947), 113-57. Reference on pp. 135-36. This estimate was made by subtracting the estimated natural increase from the total increase, 1920-40, making allowances for the under registration of births. On post-war population history immediately following the war, see pp. 135-46 of this article.

Goldschmidt then remarks that the peasant in the last years of his possession thought only of the parcel to come in the next allotment and did nothing for his land, and that in consequence its productivity fell. There was private ownership at that time only of newly reclaimed land or land filled in along the seashore, and this land went to the person who had done the work. The Japanese, when they abolished the system, divided land among families by number of members and since this time large holdings have not been created. Goldschmidt adds that "the land still suffers now from the consequences of this old system."[4] 175 423

To discover precisely the nature of the influences of the old system cannot be done with accuracy because of the destruction of local records, the vagueness of recollection among the old and of the inability to reconstruct old boundaries. What follows therefore is partly speculative, but nevertheless useful in suggesting the reasons for the present shapes and areas of individual land parcels. One of the striking aspects of the land maps of these areas is the odd and irregular shapes of land holdings. This is not true of all Okinawa. In some areas, plots on the hillsides are symmetrical, often rectangular or square. In the areas studied, there are plots of this sort, but also many that have very irregular shapes. 174 423 423

It is possible that after the abolition of the old system, some areas in the island were resurveyed, while others were not. Such surveys could have approximated the old areas but created a more regular rectangular pattern. In Hanashiro resurveying apparently was not done. The historical reasons for the present boundaries are not known because of decades of cultivation and because the land has not always been used for the same purposes. One of the large rice growing areas in Hanashiro is a recent development. The changes from paddy to dry crop land, or the reverse, seem to have followed the fluctuations in sugar and rice prices. It was quite probable that formerly the land was less level, that it was more heavily forested, and that odd shapes were due to the cultivated areas winding around large outcrops, patches of stony land, clumps of trees, uncultivated slopes which have now been reclaimed, leveled and cultivated. 174 423 311 [435]

Conditions like this are a commonplace in Okinawa today. Some of these boundaries also may be following the lines of old streams. Rivers, or more properly creeks, are not numerous in Okinawa and their presence is often hidden: a stream rising in a nearby mountain and ultimately going to the sea eight or ten miles away may be lost in a wide paddy area and trickle off again in its stream bed after several hundred feet of dispersion in the paddies. The boundaries may also 174 423 [133]

4 Goldschmidt, Richard. Neu-Japan. Berlin, 1927, 131. (My translation). The same criticism appears of the system in the middle east. See footnote 2 above.

179 423 have been affected by roads and trails which have now disappeared.

Old residents[5] of Matsuda and neighboring villages were able to [115] furnish more specific clues regarding the old system and its relation to other phases of village life. These old people estimated the [161] population of Matsuda at the close of the old system at about 360 persons, compared with the present population of 1368. The system operated under much less acute population pressure than exists today. [165] Deaths, especially from malaria, and a high infant mortality kept the population down, although introduced Japanese hygienic measures helped.

Under the old system in Matsuda, there was a continual clearing [311] of land, mostly around the settlement. There seems little doubt that land reclamation and clearing has been going on slowly from the earliest historical times in Okinawa. The land cleared remained under village ownership, but the persons who cleared the property were allowed to hold it for use without giving it up for periodic redistribution. Technical ownership remained with the village.[6] Fences and stone barriers were erected as a protection against the wild boar. But the large scale reclamation and the private ownership of genya land seems to have occurred after the close of the old system.

The dividion of lands at the beginning of the new system has set the boundary pattern of many plots. In Matsuda there were instances of land which has retained the same boundaries that it had under the old system. There was general agreement among the old that the form, boundaries, and areas of land plots have changed very little since the times of the jiwari-seido. This would be par- [428] ticularly true in the case of property which had passed down through the first son. Changes came from the establishment of branch families, [425] and sales and purchases. In these areas, however, buying and selling have been infrequent.

175 The history of land tenure in Okinawa, therefore, is different 423 from that of Japan with its long history of tenancy, whose accumu- [171] lated problems finally led to the land reform of 1946 during the Allied occupation. The present system of land tenure in Okinawa is a little over 50 years old.

178 The chief influences of the old system were to set in a form 423 recognizable to the present, the pattern of land holding, to estab- 311 lish land classification, and apply it on a very localized basis.

[115] 5 I am indebted here to Shinzato Zensuke of the village of Sokei (Ginoza-son), and to Oshiro-san of Matsuda village (Ginoza-son) both over 70 years of age for their recollections of the history of the system in Matsuda.

[114] 6 This differs from Goldschmidt's account, cited above, in that in this case the land became a usufruct, in the other actual ownership.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

An Historical View of the Okinawan Forest

Northern Okinawa is the woodshed of the island, and there is a steady stream of lumber for building, poles for a variety of uses, charcoal, and of small bundles of wood for the people of the south. In the village of Matsuda, the forest is part of the daily life and economic well-being of the people. 313

Little is known of the past history of the Okinawan forest. 137 174

> "Though it is impossible now to determine the nature and distribution of the original forest cover, it seems reasonable that the major part of Okinawa was originally covered by trees. The forest was probably absent from the beaches, a few marsh areas behind the beaches, rock ledges upon which trees could gain a foothold, and perhaps some areas of Regosols (shallow soils) from calcareous clays in the southern part of the island. It is evident that the present forest has been cut over many times. There seems to be no part of the island in which the forest cover has not been disturbed in some way by man."[1] [311]

The virgin stands have disappeared and left few clues, these authors continue, but it is likely that the original forest cover was comparable to the present stands in composition of species. The authors point out the relationship of cutting to settlement. Cutting must have been a continuing process. In Saion's time, in the 18th century, there was considerable tree planting and measures were taken to protect groves of trees for their value as windbreaks. Excessive cutting could hardly have taken place in olden times in the central areas of the north, whose trees, even today, can be reached only by footpath. No doubt in the past cutting has spread out from village sites and travelled roads. Fire may have been one cause of deforestation, as it has been used to clear land. There are still instances of this. 137 311 174 [245]

In Okinawa, the period from 1879 to the end of the Russo-Japanese war seems to have been one of widespread deforestation. (This was contemporary also with the reckless deforestation in the New World). The period after 1906 reflected Japanese concern with forest preservation, especially of the nationally owned forests, a program pursued with varying degrees of success. [185]

1 Okinawa forests (U.S. Geological Survey. Mil. Geol. Sect., Office of the Engineer, GHQ, FEC), 1948, 2.

105 131 648 a fact which has been a determinant in their historical development and an important factor in speculations about prehistoric events.

105 174 Until further archaeological evidence permits greater certainty, the original settlement of the Ryukyus is believed to have taken place predominantly from the Asiatic mainland, with occasional influx from the southern islands, Formosa, the Philippines, and Indonesia (Kerr, [172] 1958). Surviving culture elements of great antiquity support these theories. Most frequently cited are a basic form of Shinto, characteristic of the religion, and the shamanistic role of the priestesses. Specifi- [177] cally, the "curved jewels," formerly worn by all priestesses, are mentioned as apparent links with the neolithic cultures of Japan.

105 177 174 [84] On the other hand, sporadic contact with the islands to the south is evidenced by culture traits, such as raised houses of tropical design (common to all of Japan) and perhaps the practice of "mother roasting," a period of recuperation after the birth of a child during which the mother is kept near a fire. This custom is widespread in Malaysia (Cole, 1945:155).

[197] Linguistic evidence points to a separation of Okinawan from a common proto Japanese language about 1500 years ago (Hattori, 1954). This may indicate a southern movement of peoples from Japan under the pressure of the Yayoi people who introduced the wet rice complex into southwestern and central Japan at this period. That this was not the earliest settlement of the Ryukyus, however, is evidenced by remains in the Ryukyus of the earlier Jomon period.

105 648 175 From the first mention of the Ryukyus in Chinese annals of 605 A.D. until the end of the nineteenth century when Japan formally annexed the islands, they stood in a curious relationship of dependency toward China and Japan. Both nations claimed suzerainty over the kingdom of Okinawa with its royal court in Shuri and extracted tribute. Eventually the Lord of Satsuma in southern Japan extended his sovereignty over the Ryukyus. But with ties to China remaining, Okinawa participated in both Chinese and Japanese culture, which disseminated through the urban trading center of Naha into the outlying areas. It is this intermediate cultural position which still gives Okinawa a peculiar character, although it long ago became part of Japan and abandoned direct contacts with China.

105 175 177 648 In 1872 Japan formally declared its claims on the Ryukyuan kingdom, and after deposing the last king in 1879, made the Ryukyuan islands a province of Japan, with the capital at Naha. Between this time and the present, intensive contact with Japan has led to an overwhelming absorption of Japanese culture, a willingness on the part of Okinawans to adopt Japanese ways and to identify with Japan as their

At the same time, each person, both men and women, bore a given name 551
that was purely Okinawan. These names are called warabinaa, "child names". They are few in number. Several of them---perhaps all of them---are meaningful, such as Kamii, "turtle", Ushi, "ox". Several of them were given both to males and to females. They were transmitted according to rules that seem now to be not too well understood. According to one old woman, a man should give his name to his sons' first sons and his wife hers to the sons' first daughters. Subsequent grandchildren should receive the names of the grandparents' siblings or other relatives. A younger woman said that a first son got his father's father's name and a woman her mother's mother's. But unfortunately not enough information was obtained to support the last assertion or to reveal any further pattern. (This is a subject that would be well worth further [174] study; the possibility that the naming system is a reflection of a former system of double descent should not be overlooked.)

Among the commoners (hyakusoo, cognate of Japanese 'hyakushō', peasants"), surnames were perhaps not universally taken until after the Japanese [565] annexation. Nor did they have Chinese-style given names. Their common descent [177] groups, usually called munchu, seem to bear names that are place names. They [614] did have house names (yaanuyaa, J. 'yagō'), and Okinawan-style given names. Probably a commoner was known only by these two. Even today among the older Okinawans a man is more likely to be known as Taasachi-gwaa nu Sanree, "Sanree ("Third"?) of the house Taasachi-gwaa ("Little End-of-the-Rice-Field")", than by the name found in the 'koseki'.

Today everyone is registered by and officially known by a surname and 551
given name. The surnames are mainly taken from Okinawan place names but the 177
readings assigned the characters are frequently Japanized. Thus Ufu-gusuku, "great-castle' becomes 'Ōshiro' and Nakandakari becomes 'Nakamura'. Many of the given names for males are of two characters read in the Sino-Japanese manner, like the given names formerly used only by the gentry, but many also are purely Japanese---Masaru, Takeo, Toshiyasu---the last possibly being the Japanese reading of a name that once might have been given its "Chinese" reading. Girls are given such Japanese names as 'Yoshiko' and 'Masako'. And the youngest child recorded in the 'koseki' for Yamada, the first to bear the name, was an infant girl named 'Chiemi', obviously after a currently popular Japanese "starlet".

The Ancestral Tablets In every main house there is a shelf or, if 769
possible a cabinet (tootoomee, J. 'butsudan') for the ancestral tablets (ifee, 353
J. 'ihai'). If it is a cabinet it contains three shelves; on the top shelf 592
stand the tablets flanked by a pair of vases, on the second shelf a pair of tea-cups and a wine cup, and on the third an incense burner (u-kooru). The paraphernalia vary somewhat with the means of the family. The tablets are 769
red lacquered slips of wood held in two rows in a black frame. On the upper 592
row are written the names of deceased male members of the family, on the lower row names of deceased females. The ancestral tablets together with the house name form an inseparable unit. The main house of the Taba lineage is the [613]
main house and has the house name "great Taba" because it is the location of the ancestral tablet of the founder of the lineage. The tablets at "new little Taba" contain the tablet for the founder of that house. The tablets are

It
186 is also important to keep in mind that the relationship is always one of
829 American employer to Okinawan employee; consequently, the American is most
177 often the initiator of action.

464 Conclusion In a number of Okinawan communities military employment has drawn
434 off the surplus population which formerly had emigrated. In not a few communities it has become the mainstay of the economy.

464 Most Okinawans regard military employment as economically advantageous.
829 There is no stigma attached to men who are so employed, but considerable
554 stigma is attached to women who take this employment, particularly the maids.

177 The American installations are dependent to no small degree upon their
618 Okinawan employees, and in turn many Okinawan individuals and communities are
464 wholly dependent upon the military for their livelihood. Their relationship is a symbiotic one which can best be enhanced by mutual understanding; yet the social distance between the Okinawan and American is so great as to make interaction on a basis of equality rare. Because of their different cultural backgrounds and their job situations, both remain ignorant of the other's motives and values, and mutual understanding is difficult if not impossible. Common
[171] denominators in both cultures might be sought as a means of bridging this gap, as, for example, their common love of sports.

3. Japan, America, and Okinawa

W. P. Suttles

829 Japan in Retrospect Okinawan attitudes toward Japan are decidedly ambivalent. Factors that have entered into the formation of these attitudes are as follows:

175 1) Historic Relations On the negative side are the historic separa-
648 tion and former independence of Okinawa. This separate status is still re-
829 membered by old people, some of whom speak of wars between Okinawa and "Yamatu" (Yamato, that is, Japan). Several illiterate old people seemed to make no distinction between the conquest and oppression of Okinawa by the feudal state of Satsuma and the later annexation by the national government, and thus seemed to be blaming Japan as a whole for wrongs done by Satsuma.

171 On the positive side there is the indisputable remote common origin
• 174 and basic similarity of the Japanese and the Okinawans. Racially, linguis-
177 tically, and culturally the Okinawans are closely related to the Japanese.
829 They may be said to be merely a kind of Japanese. It is highly probable that the majority of the ancestors of the Okinawans came from the north, from Japan, in the not too remote past. Their isolation made it possible for them to be politically independent and their political independence made it possible for them to escape the levelling influence of Japanese national governments, particularly that of the Tokugawa Shogunate, and for them to have closer contact with China. This accounts for their having a number of elements of Chinese culture that are not found in Japan, but it does not make them a kind of Chinese.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

Okinawa, Asia, and the Pacific

The Ryukyus, of which Okinawa, the Great Loo Choo of the nineteenth century explorers, is the largest island, is an arc, really the summits of submerged mountains, extending in a southwesterly direction from the Kyushu node almost to the island of Formosa. The arc is bowed outward and the archipelago forms a tenuous boundary separating the East China Sea from the Pacific. 131

The islands may be thought of as a link in a chain of peninsulas and archipelagos shaped like a rough semicircle from Korea to Kyushu, the Ryukyus and to Formosa, thence to the mainland of China. These peninsulas and the island chains and the coastal mainland, together with the Wei, Lo, and Fen valleys in the Hwang-ho northward bend, have been the scene of cultural intermingling from ancient times, but the area still awaits comparative study as a whole.

The direct and indirect influences which, considering its geography and insular position, have done most to fashion the culture of Okinawa have come from China, Korea, and the Japanese islands, in early times southwestern Japan, especially Kyushu. With the exception of the visits of European missions and squadrons in the nineteenth century, Western ideas came from Japanese sources. Okinawa, in the great era of the expansion of European ideas and influence in the nineteenth century, was exposed to Westernization indirectly through Japan. 179

Geographical relationships change with the times, shifts in the power of empire, and changes in trade. To the late nineteenth century observer, and indeed to the twentieth as well, Okinawa seemed one of the most isolated and unexplored spots in a part of the world which had been known to the West for centuries. This isolation was more a product of history than of geography. "Each year," wrote William Furness in 1897, "finds the Luchu Islands more and more important, commercially, to the Japanese government, although as yet, they are but little known to the busy world which sails past them to and from the markets of China, Japan, and the Far East."[1] Yet, from the middle of the fourteenth to the second half of the sixteenth century, Naha in Okinawa was a port of call in a trade route which included Korea, Japan, Siam, and Malaya. Malacca was the central port of this trade. It has been estimated that there were at least forty-four voyages out of Naha to these lands in the 138 year period from 1432 to 1570.[2] 131 175

1 William H. Furness III, Life in the Luchu Islands. Bulletin of the Free Museum of Science and Art of the University of Pennsylvania, 2 (1899), 1.

2 This trade will be discussed further in the next chapter with sources cited there.

175
648 This nineteenth century conception of the Ryukyus as remote and isolated islands in a part of the world in which travel and trade had reached a high degree of development continued unabated to the beginning of the war in the Pacific. The reasons were entirely political. The Ryukyus were part of that walling off process which characterized Japan's policy and strategy toward its island mandates and possessions since the end of the first world war. Okinawa might well have become, as some of the English and American explorers of the nineteenth century hoped, a crossroads of importance in world trade. If it had, it would only have repeated a role it played centuries before.

Since the invasion of 1945, worldwide political realignments have given it a new, and perhaps its most important significance. Its general geography has remained the same. It is the history since the war, and the shaping of ideologies that have brought about this change. Before 1945, Okinawa was regarded by the Japanese as the outer fort and protector of the home islands; during the war, it became the important strategic spot, from the American point of view, for the contemplated invasion of Japan. With the Korean war, it has been transformed from a small outlier in the Pacific to an important strategic center off the Asiatic mainland.

2

Regional Differences in Okinawa Island[3]

131
133 Okinawa, the largest of the islands in the Ryukyu chain, is about 485 square miles in area, 510 including its offshore islands, such as the Keram

[TEXT CONTINUES ON TOP OF P. 12--ANALYST]

114 3 A cultural geography of Okinawa is a real desideratum. But this is outside the scope of this work. Many materials have been brought together in memoranda, published and unpublished, surveys and the like, since the close of the war and the beginning of the American occupation. Lacking a newer synthesis, it seemed foolish to lengthen this report by merely repeating the published materials already available. The intention in this chapter is merely to indicate some of the general considerations helpful in understanding the history of the island and of contemporary life in the villages described. For the pre-war
114 geographical materials see Civil Affairs Handbook, Ryukyu (Loo-choo)
113 Islands, OPNAV 3-13, 3-38, the sections on geography and resources, and passim. Interesting information regarding local geography is scattered through the pages of Okinawa, The Last Battle, and for a general statement, see pp. 7-14. See also Walter R. Hacker's chapter on the Kurils and the Ryukyus in Geography of the Pacific, edited by Otis Freeman, New York and London, 1951, and M. Y. Nuttonson, Ecological Crop Geography and Field Practices of the Ryukyu Islands..., 11-58. For the geology, see, the CA Handbook, 11-12, Nuttonson, 29-36, and Engineering Geology, Okinawa (Prepared by Military Geology Branch US Geological Survey for Intelligence Division Office of the Engineer, GHQ, FEC, April 1951). This contains an Engineering Geology map of the island. For general relationships in this area see Trewartha, Glenn. T. Japan. A Physical, Cultural, and Regional Geography, v-ix, 3-4, and the map on the arcs and nodes, 8.

of Okinawan prehistory will probably depend on research throughout a wide area and on the comparison and collation of discoveries already made in western Japan, south Korea, Quelpart Island, the Shantung peninsula, the Ryukyu Islands, Formosa, and China, particularly concerning the role of Fukien province in later times, to say nothing of determining the sources and routes of influences from southeastern Asia on Japan and the Ryukyus. Links with Polynesia and Hawaii have been suggested. Obviously present day political conditions are unfavorable for this type of inquiry. 174

The suppositions of which we have been speaking have led to the belief that the Ryukyu people, like the Japanese, are composed of the North Mongoloid, South Mongoloid or Malayan, and the Ainu type, but that the proportions are different, since there seem to be larger elements of the Malayan and Ainu types in the Ryukyu Islands. Whether these reconstructions are correct or not, the significant fact is that the islands owed their peopling to migration and invasion, and that culture mixture and contact is of very ancient origin.[2] [144]

The Ryukyuan creation myth is a crystallization of ideas that must have been long dominant at the time they were recorded. There are two versions of this myth, one simple, the other, as Spencer points out, more complex and probably reflecting the influence of new and foreign ideas. The first of these versions appears in Ryukyu Shindoki, written about 1603 A.D., the second in the Kyu Yo, a Chinese translation of a work by Hanaji Tomohide entitled Chusan Seikan (1650).[3] 173 [175]

[Text Continues Top of P. 28--Analyst]

2 Bishop, C. W. The historical geography of early Japan. Geo. Rev. 13 (1923), 40-63. See also this author's, The geographical factor in the development of Chinese civilization. Geo. Rev. 12 (1922), 19-41. For a recapitulation of the theories regarding the peopling of the Ryukyus, see Marshall T. Newman and Roman L. English, The Ryukyuan people: a biological appraisal. Amer. Journ. of Physical Anthropology, 5 (1947), 114-24, and Binkenstein, R. Okinawa-Studien. Monumenta Nipponica, 3(1940), 196 ff. and the literature there cited. Chamberlain's ideas are summarized in The Luchu islands and their inhabitants. Geo. Journ. 5 (1895), 316-19. R. S. Spencer, The Noro, or priestesses of Loo Choo, Trans. Asiatic Society of Japan. 2d Series. 8 (1931), 94-112, especially p. 94. For a recapitulation of Ryukyuan history, see C. A. Handbook, as cited, 13-31 and John R. Potter, A Preface to Liu Ch'iuan history: an analysis of the basis for establishing a United Nation's Trusteeship. (Unpublished Master's Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1948. Leavenworth, Charles S. The Loochoo Islands. Shanghai, 1905. [174] [113]

3 This discussion is based on the article by Spencer cited above. Partial translations of the myths from the sources are reproduced here. See also Binkenstein, Okinawa-Studien, as cited, 198.

773 In the first version, a male person (Shinerikyu) and a female person (Amamikyu) descended from Heaven. Amamikyu without sexual intercourse gave birth to three children: the first son became the first ruler; the first daughter, the first priestess; and the second son, the first farmer.

In the second version, the male and female deities gave birth to a child. "They carried stones and earth to the edge of the sea and planted trees to keep back the waves." Mountains and forests thus made, "mankind sprung up." Knowledge was attained and one person divided mankind into classes. This man, Tenteishi, had five children: Tensonshi, the first son and first ruler; the second son, the first noble (ansu); the third son, the first farmer. The eldest daughter became the first kikoe-oh-gimi who later headed the institutionalized noro religious system. The second [793] daughter became the first priestess (noro).

173 The dynasty established by Tensonshi, according to tradition, lasted for twenty-five generations, 17,802 years, or until 1187 A. D. During this period, Okinawa was divided into three districts (magiri), Kunchan in the [631] north, Nakagami in the center and Shimajiri in the south, divisions which remain to this day.[4] The districts were divided into mure, or townships. [943] "Wheat and millet were raised at Kutaka /a name of a magiri/ and rice was grown at Chinen and Tamagusuku."[5] There is reason to believe that Tensons 174 dynasty had its greatest control over what would now be the area of Naha, Shuri, Tamagusuku township, and the Chinen peninsula area.

773 In both myths, a female priesthood, as Spencer points out, is placed at the very beginning of Ryukyuan history. A king, lesser nobles, a female priesthood, and farmers were the basis of the culture.

3

Events of the Early Historical Period

175 Not enough is known of the early historical contacts between the Great 177 Loochoo and the Chinese and Japanese to warrant any conclusions regarding 648 influences which these countries could have exerted.

Chinese punitive expeditions took place in the early seventh century A. D., but the consensus of opinion is that the invasion of Great Loochoo resulted in no prolonged cultural contact or influence. Some Japanese

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 29 -- ANALYST]

4 Chamberlain, The Luchu Islands and their inhabitants, as cited, 306.

5 Leavenworth, Charles S. The Loochoo islands, 15. Quotation is from the manuscript history translated by Leavenworth, ibid, 77.

contact with Okinawa may have taken place in 743 A.D., but this may have been confined to the island of Kume, west of Naha, and not involved Okinawa itself.[6] 175 177 648

The modern Japanese contact with Okinawa which brought about the fall of the Tenson dynasty is associated with the arrival at Unten of Tametomo in the latter part of the twelfth century. Some have regarded this as historical, others as perhaps legendary.

Unten, on the Motobu peninsula, is one of the important places in the historical geography of Okinawa island. This is the Port Melville of the Western explorers, Hall and Perry, both of whom charted the bay and its harbor.

Tametomo, of the Minemoto clan, exiled after the final defeat of the Minemoto by the Taira clan in Japan, ultimately reached Unten and there married the daughter of one of the regional nobles, and after a period of civil war, the Tenson dynasty collapsed. In 1187 A. D., the son of Minemoto Tametomo by his Okinawan wife became King Shunten. Shunten, the first of three "Japanese kings," was followed by his son Shunna Junki (1238-1248), and his grandson Gihon (1249-1260). In 1260, the legitimate dynasty was restored under king Eiso.[7]

After his succession, Eiso toured the islands and is credited with setting regular boundaries to rice-fields. "It has been said that this greatly attracted the people so that they started to look after farming." Graves, according to a manuscript history, were first built in the island, at Urasoye, and the Buddhist temple, Gokurakuji was constructed with an officiating priest named Jenkan in charge of the temple.[8] [064] [346]

The Japanese syllabary may have been introduced at this time. Buddhism apparently did not take hold. Chinese attacks on the islands in connection with the Mongol wars and the attempted invasion of Japan seem to have left no mark on the island. [010] [099]

The year 1372 is the beginning of the period of relationships with the Chinese, in this case, the Ming dynasty. This is contemporary with the growth of a vast trade network involving Korea, Japan, China, the Ryukyus, and Southeast Asia. It is not clear whether the trade voyages under King Satsudo (reigned 1350-1399) to South China, Malaya, and the Philippines were instrumental in stimulating the Ming dynasty to engage in the Pacific trade, or whether the forced alliance of the Ryukyus with the Chinese 175 648 439

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 30--Analyst]

6 CA Handbook, as cited, 41, and Chamberlain, as cited, 306.

7 Chamberlain, as cited, 308

8 Manuscript history in Leavenworth, The Loochoo islands, 80. On the Japanese syllabary, see Chamberlain, as cited, 308.

1175 648 439 empire provided the incentive. The central district of Okinawa became an entrepot in the triangular China-Ryukyuan-Japan trade. In the beginning the cultural interchange was a consequence of sending Chinese ambassadors to assist in the investiture of Ryukyuan kings and the travels of Ryukyuan emissaries to Peking. Naha in Okinawa and Foochow in Fukien were ports of entry and exit for the travellers.

The Ryukyuan emissaries left Naha for Foochow on the Min river in Fukien and then began the trip north to Peking. Ryukyuans brought copper, tin, and sulphur and received brocades and silk in return. The Ryukyuan as well as ambassadors from Korea, Annam, Burma participated in this official reception at Peking.[9]

The first contact with Chinese learning has been dated at 1392, when the son of the king and the son of his master of camp were allowed to attend the Imperial College. The usual route from Naha to Foochow became a cultural corridor joining China and Okinawa. This contact with Chinese learning and writing lasted until the Japanese annexation in 1879. Hall in 1816 and Perry's staff in 1853 mentioned the devotion among the higher [565] classes to Chinese learning, and though this no doubt was confined to those residing in Naha and Shuri, it was this Chinese educated class that ruled the island. With this learning too, there came the ideals of the [641] Confucian state and its five relationships, parent-child, husband-wife, [593] friend-friend, younger brother-elder brother, and subject-sovereign, which were reflected so forcefully in the family system and in the state as well. This coloring of the whole government, composed of men with Confucian ideals gradually changed, says Spencer, following Iha, "the whole mental outlook of the male population, at least around Shuri. This would, per- [562] haps, not extend inland, and was not given to the women." In the country-side the influence of women, through the noro system, was still strong. This Confucian ideal of the state, as Spencer and Iha have suggested, [079] probably had a great deal to do with the dis-establishment of the noro system as a state religion in the seventeenth century.[10]

In the reign of Sho Shin (1477-1526), there were further foreign contacts and domestic consolidations. Buddhism was encouraged and in [079] fact reintroduced, this time from Korea. The Okinawans requested from their Korean "suzerain" the sutras, the Buddhist canon, and religious objects in 1462, 1479, and 1483.[11] Chinese artifacts, books, and other articles were imported, and palaces on the Chinese model were constructed at Shuri. Chinese customs, dress by rank order, and the Confucian ideal of the state became part of the culture of Naha and Shuri, probably less so in the other parts of Okinawa.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON TOP OF P. 31 -- Analyst]

9 Binkenstein, Okinawa-Studien. Monumenta Nipponica 3 (1940), 201-02. Binkenstein, Zur Frage der Ryūkyū Gesandtschaften. Monumenta Nipponica 4 (1941), 264-67. For the route to Peking, see p. 266.

10 Spencer, as cited, 108-09. Quotation is on p. 108.

11 Haguenauer, Relations du royaume des Ryūkyū avec les pays des mers du sud et la Corée. Bulletin de la maison franco-Japonaise. Série française. T 3, No. 1-2. Comptes rendues, 114.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

These foreign introductions were accompanied with the reinforcement of a native institution: the elevation of the female priesthood to what amounted to a state religion. This institutionalizing of a native religion did not mean the exclusion of foreign religions or foreign ideas. The king used the noro system to bind his realm together: at the same time, he reintroduced Buddhism, himself becoming an adherent. The priestess of the Sho household, that is the royal house, was removed "to a place without the palace, but near the main gateway" of the palace at Shuri, signifying the closeness of the chief priestess to the royal house, the extension of the system to all the islands, and the centralization, both of religious and political life. Political institutions, borrowed from China and in a Confucian mold, with the dominance of the male in the family and in the government, now existed side by side with the hierarchy of priestesses whose power rested not only on royal patronage but on an economic security whose basis was ownership in land. With the passage of time, it was the order of priestesses that gave way to the male dominated Confucian ideal. This Confucian idea of the state, a combination of the individual morality of Confucius with the ideas of statecraft of the legists developed in the Han dynasty, retained its hold until the Japanese did away with the monarchy.[12]

175 178 793 779 642 177 562

The new government with its capital at Shuri, a port at Naha, a royal granary at Kune, and the town of Tomari, was rigidly departmentalized along Chinese lines.[13]

175 177 642

The Ryukyuan kingdom, from the middle of the fourteenth to the second half of the sixteenth century was part of a great trade network. This included the Great Loochoo, Korea, Japan, China, Siam, and with the port of Malacca as the center of the trade. The normal route was from Naha[14] along the coast of Fukien province, stopping at Foochow, up from the mouth of the Min River, along the coast of the Campa (modern Indo-China), thence to Malacca. From here, it was possible to trade with the islands of the Sunda (Java) seas, Siam, and with the province of Pataai on the east coast of the Malay peninsula, south of the isthmus of Kra. From Naha, the products of Japan, Korea, and Central China were brought to Malacca; from Malacca, essences, various woods, pepper, sugar, ivory, and articles of Portugese and Arab manufacture were brought north. The various traders brought back to the Great Loochoo Chinese money, Ming porcelains, and silks of south China. There were Korean, Chinese, and Japanese colonies

175 439

[Text Continues TOP of P. 32--analyst]

12 Spencer, as cited, 103. On the role of the legists in political Confucianism in China, see Fitzgerald, China: a cultural history, 103-04,156.

13. For interesting details, see CA Handbook Ryukyu (Loochoo) Islands, 103.

14 The age of Naha, I believe, is unknown. Under King Satsudo in the late fourteenth century, and in the period of trade of which we are speaking, Naha had a sudden expansion. There were three channels into the harbor, the northern "Yamatoguchi," used by the Japanese, a center one, "Karefuneguchi" (literally Chinese ship terminus (mouth)), and a "Miyakoguchi", the south channel which was used by the ships engaged in trade with the Sakishima group. Simon, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, 36.

175 439 at Naha, and junks from the south seas touched at that port. Loochoeans in this manner became known to the Portugese.[15]

175 648 Political relationships with countries other than China had accompanied this trade. Following the establishment of relations with China in 1372, there were contacts with Korea in 1389 when the woods from the southeastern trade, paper, and other articles originating in Indo-China and the East Indies were presented by King Satsudo of the Ryukyus to the Korean court. These relations with Korea were renewed in 1392 under the new Yi dynasty. The usual route north was from Naha to Hakata in Kyūshū to the Korean port of Pusan on the southeast coast, thence overland to the capital city of Seoul. Relationships between the two peoples finally broke off in 1500, although Koreans actually were settled in Okinawa and some were evacuated in 1574.

This was therefore a period of considerable cultural contact with China, Japan, Korea, and with the countries of Southeast Asia, and indirectly with the arts and manufacture of the Mahomedan world and of the Portugese in the crossroads port of Malacca.

175 648 439 This lively and important trade was brought to an end through three situations: the existence of Japanese pirates, necessitating, at a period toward the close of the era, hiring Japanese Buddhist priests as ambassadors and cargo protectors, (2) the appearance of the Portugese in the East China Sea, and around 1542 at Tanegashima, one of the northern islands of the Ryukyus southeast of Kyūshū, and (3) the maritime expansion of Japan in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the coup de grace to the Ryukyuan trade.

175 119 369 It is likely that many of these outside contacts, even up to the end of the nineteenth century, really affected Naha and Shuri, and that the rural areas were essentially unchanged. This would mean that the two cities had a culture revealing a strong Chinese influence, but also of Japan and perhaps indirectly of other nations, while the rural areas languished in the older elements of the folk culture, such as the priesthood dominated by women. Other facts which will be brought out in the chapters to which they belong tend to substantiate this interpretation that we cannot speak simply of a homogeneous Okinawan culture.

175 648 [439] The conquest of the islands by the Japanese in 1609 was a consequence of the growing trade that had developed with Japan, first with the Shogunate, later, more specifically, with the Satsuma clan. Ultimately the Satsuma clan succeeded in displacing the Shogunate in the Loochoo trade and with the conquest of 1609 the kingdom came under Satsuma influence,

[TEXT Continues TOP of P. 33--Analyst]

15 On this trade, which is much too complex to treat in a short summary, see Haguenauer, as cited, 4-16. Much new material appeared in two articles by R. Binkenstein, Zur Frage der Ryūkyū Gesandtschaften, Monumenta Nipponica, 4(1941), 256-69, and Die Ryūkyū-Expedition unter Shimazu Iehisa, ibid, 622-28.

Amami Oshima and the northern islands being directly ceded, the others agreeing to vassalage. 175 648

From this time until the seventh decade of the nineteenth century, the Ryukyu kingdom existed, acknowledging both suzerainty of China and vassalage to Satsuma in a twilight of sovereignty which statecraft and the political realities of the time did not find it necessary to resolve.

During this period of contact with other countries, an intrusion of an entirely different order, but what must have been of revolutionary consequence, was the introduction of the sweet potato in 1605. "In the 10th year /1605/ Noguni Tsunkwan imported sweet potatoes from China. Mashi Oima Uyakata Shinjo obtaining them, planted them in the fields, and in a few years they were raised all over the islands."[16] In view of the widespread reluctance of peoples to adopt new foods, the swift acceptance of the sweet potato is noteworthy. It must have furnished the means of subsistence for a much greater population. The topography, the soils, the fewness of valleys, alluvial plains, and marsh land could not have permitted the growth of rice to feed great masses of people as in China and Japan. This dependence on the sweet potato has persisted to this day. Modern accounts mention the reliance of the ordinary Okinawan on the sweet potato, and in times of stress on the sago palm, or cycad. Rice is seldom if ever mentioned as the food of the common people.

Scarcely had the sweet potato reached Okinawa, when it was carried to Japan. At first it was known as the kara-mmu (Okinawan) or Karaimo (Japanese), that is the Chinese potato. When it reached Satsuma in Kyūshū, it became known as the Luchuan potato; as it spread northward and eastward in Japan, the Japanese, believing the plant to be a native of southern Japan, called it the Satsuma potato (satsuma imo), and it is by this last name that the sweet potato is known in Okinawa to this day.[17]

4

Inertia from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Centuries 175 178

The period 1609 to 1871, when the Japanese took their initial steps toward the eventual incorporation of the island of Okinawa within the empire, was a quiescent one, continuing a pattern of life already set. The ideals of the Confucian state were strong. In the 17th century, it [642]

16 Quoted from a manuscript history in C. S. Leavenworth, The history of the Loochoo Islands, 88. "Native historians," says Chamberlain, "inform us that it was acclimatized in Luchu and passed into common use within the short period of four years after its first introduction." No further sources are given. Chamberlain, as cited, 302.

17 On the fortunes of the sweet potato in Japan, see Rein, The industries of Japan, London, 1889, 65.

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115 178 642

succeeded in shearing the noro system of much of its political power. During the early part of the 18th century, there was an improvement in agricultural methods and in forestry conservation, associated with the name of the statesman, Hozui Saion (1682-1761).[18] Saion was a descendant of a Chinese who had settled at Kune near Naha. He is said to have planted several kinds of trees, including the pine, the Japanese redwood (sugi), and the maki (in Japanese; podocarpus ssp.) Saion is well remembered in Okinawa. In Matsuda, I was shown trees which were said to have been planted along the road to Ginoza during Saion's lifetime and at his inspiration. There are stories told in the forest areas like Matsuda, crediting Saion with intentionally inventing superstitions to prevent people from cutting down the trees. In 1951, a Saion commemorative stamp was issued, and his name is used frequently in forest conservation literature and in posters. Whether Saion was the medium through which agricultural techniques of Japan or China were introduced, or whether these improvements came from his own initiative and study of local conditions, I have been unable to determine. In any case, the teachings of Saion on agriculture and forestry must have reached to the rural areas, improving the agricultural possibilities and encouraging planting trees and preserving the forests, constantly subject to destruction through fire, carelessness, and merciless cutting for firewood, as has been the case in many parts of China. These improvements, with the advantages from the introduction of the sweet potato one hundred years earlier, took place within the framework of a political and social and religious system that had now been well established.

5

European Awareness of the Great Loochoo

115 648

The Loochooans were known to the Portugese through the trade centering at Malacca. The Portugese explorer Pinto had visited Tanegashima around 1542. Captain Broughton had been shipwrecked on Miyako to the south in 1798. But the western exploration of Okinawa itself was reserved for later times. During the nineteenth century, the Europeans, then the Americans, became aware of the people of the Great Loochoo.

The first detailed observations based on personal contact date from the works of Captain Basil Hall, and his surgeon, William M'Leod, who

[Text continues top of p. 35--Analyst]

18 In the manuscript history reproduced by Leavenworth, there is this passage: "In the 20th year of Kyoho [1735], Hozui Saion fixed a system for the protection of forestry, and a forestry office and shipping office were established." Op. cit., 89. Saion's famous work, Eight Volumes of Forest Administration, I am told was destroyed in the war. Chamberlain, as cited, p. 310, says that Loochooan polity in the 17th century crystallized in a form it wore from then on.

had been directed by the British government, at the conclusion of the Napoleonic wars, to discover and chart waters and routes in the Far East, especially along the China shore. 175 698

Hall found in Okinawa a people who knew nothing of the English or the French. They were acquainted only with the Chinese, the Japanese, and the Koreans. The Okinawans of his day apparently had forgotten any memories of their seafaring in the centuries, and this ignorance of their neighbors was reciprocated by the Filipinos.[19]

Halls book describing his journey along the west coast of Korea and to the Great Loochoo, with its engravings and a vocabulary of Loochooan words, is written with spirit and great charm.

Hall's and M'Leod's accounts were very favorable to the Okinawans. They describe an honest, peace loving, unworried people, with neither money nor arms, kindly and hospitable, without guile. According to him, they were gentle and kind, secure within the classes in which their society was organized (and the social distinctions that went with it), adhering with tenacity to their own customs, gracious to those of others, an island of quiet beauty, fertility, and repose. In the manner of the voyages and travels of the times, there are wisps of information about many things, exhaustive accounts of none. Hall described the agriculture, the square plots of rice fields divided from one another by small banks of earth, the picturesque villages with their hedges, arbors, and the creepers over the bamboo, the dress according to rank, the casual attitude toward religion, domestic animals, the lack of carts and wheeled vehicles, the horseshoe tombs, and the tattooing, not of the women, but of the fishermen. [181]

Considering the difficulties Hall and his men had in landing, the endless importunity and cajolery required to get permission to walk along a village road, for the Okinawans were willing to feed, provision and entertain the travellers but were in no mood for guided tours, he has much of interest to record of the island and its people. The expedition travelled around the southeastern and eastern part of the island, made a poor map of the Great Loochoo, and named the town of Unten--called by him Oonching or Winching--Port Melville, after the first lord of the Admiralty.

M'Leod's book covered much the same ground. He wrote also of the priestesses (the noros), of the irrigation systems, the Loochooans' lack of money, their use of ginseng, and mentioned the extensive forests.

[Text Continues on Top of P. 36--Analyst]

19 Hall, Voyage to Corea and the Great Lew Chew, 184: "At Manilla /sic/ we found that the Great Loo-choo Island was known only by name. There appeared to be no intercourse between the two places." Page 184, footnote. There was some memory of Broughton's shipwreck on Miyako.

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195 648 In April 1844, the French corvette Alcemène landed at Naha to open up negotiations for trade with France. The local official protested to the French commander that the islands were sterile, provided only a little rice, had no gold, copper, or iron, and that from antiquity they had engaged in a modest trade in rice with the neighboring islands, if drought or floods did not interfere. He implored the French not to land because of the unhealthy climate. The French response was gracious, but a landing was made and a friendly interchange followed. This visit was the beginning of the French missionary effort in the Ryukyus.[20]

Belcher's Narrative of the Voyage of H. M. S. Samarang (1848) describes some explorations in Okinawa, but his materials for this island are disappointing.

These earlier travellers generally concerned themselves with casual observations, as they came to the eye, on such subjects as marriage and burial customs, hairdress, religion, and clothing, but on the less colorful and more commonplace but just as important subjects as the family system, land tenure, and land use there is virtually no mention.

The Perry expedition, which first arrived at Okinawa and anchored at the port of Naha on May 26, 1853, made outstanding contributions.[21] The expedition explored large parts of the island. Previous observers had only touched the coasts or described the areas around Naha and Shuri and Unten. A series of technical papers on such subjects as agriculture, ethnology, and plant and animal life were prepared. Observations were made of court, town, and everyday village life. It is the last document, based on personal observations and exploration, and written from a modern point of view, which appeared before the Japanese formally took over the island and introduced the changes in the last two decades of the century that were to affect the daily life both of the villages and towns and alter the culture fundamentally.

The land explorations of the Perry expedition, as far as can be determined from the various place names and landmarks which in the account can be identified, included the south, the central, and parts bordering on the northern district of Kunigami. The exploration started from the home of the unhappy Dr. Bettelheim, a converted Jew and the resident missionary in Naha. Bettelheim told the members of the party what he knew of the language, Okinawan knowledge of arms and of money, and of their religion. From Naha, the explorers went to Tumai, subsequent

[Text continues top of p. 39 - analyst]

20 Cordier, Henri. Les français aux iles Liéou K'ieou. Mélanges d'histoire et de géographie orientales. Tome 1, 296-317.

21 See Hawk's Narrative of the Expedition, especially Vol. I, chapters 7-9, 11, and 17, and Vol. II which contains the specialized articles on various aspects of the exploration. See table of contents for the Loochoo articles.

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a suburb of Naha, thence to Shuri. They turned north, passed the ancient fortress of Nakagusuku, went over to the east coast, proceeding to the vicinity of Kanna. In Matsuda, which the exploring party apparently did not reach, there is still a story about Perry's expedition. It concerns a carving on stone placed on the top of a dramatically shaped rock on the seashore. According to local residents, this carving remained in place until it was shot off by an American soldier during the war.

Roughly around Kanna, the party crossed the island to the South China Sea or western side, and reached the village of Un-na (modern Onna), an engraving of which appears in the narrative and also in Bayard Taylor's India, China, and Japan. The return trip was down the coast, and the road led through Hachinato back to Naha. Coastal explorations were extensive. A new chart was an immense improvement over Hall's. Special attention was given to the Unten (Port Melville) and Shah Bay (Miyagishima and the area south of Ogimi).

Bayard Taylor, the famous traveller who had joined the expedition and wrote parts of the narrative, spoke of the interior of Okinawa in 1853 as a "terra incognita," and he was not exaggerating as far as Western knowledge was concerned.[22] This probably applied to the Japanese as well, for their stations were in Naha and an administrator or scholar of the Tokugawa era probably found little in agriculture, plant life, land tenure, and local history and ethnography to interest him.[23]

Upland agriculture, the hoeing of sweet potatoes, the planting and transplanting of rice, the manufacture of sugar were described much as they can be observed to this day in parts of Okinawa. They noted a sameness and a lack of variety in plant life, the planting of pines along the highways, the fences used as protection against the wild boar. The communal land system was remarked upon, the writers thinking it a "metayer system," that is a form of share-cropping in which the proprietor of the land and the cultivator receive equal, or agreed upon proportions. They described houses built on small stilts, the compounds, and the village granaries. They strolled through villages, poked their heads into huts, and wrote about the utensils in the kitchens. They theorized about the possible origins of the people and their connections with other races, discovered lingams which were interpreted as the ruins of "ancient Hindoo idolatry." They spoke of the glossy upswept hair and the hair pins according to rank. [290] [139] [421] [342] [302]

The village granaries are gone; so has the land system and the costumes, and the long swept up hair of both sexes. Agricultural techniques and the care of the land have remained. [198]

[Text Continues Top of P. 38--Analyst]

22 See Bayard Taylor's A visit to India, China, and Japan, in the year 1853. Chapters 30, 33, 36.

23 In the early 17th century the Japanese explored the island, took a census, and reorganized political administration. CA Handbook Ryukyu (Loochoo) Islands, 40.

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●195 This last document, written prior to the complete absorption of Okinawa into the Japanese social and political system is still worth careful study. The conditions it describes were probably true for the ensuing thirty or forty years. It is a last glimpse of a culture before being exposed to Western influences indirectly through the Westernization of Japan, which was then just beginning. The Okinawa of 1853 was a terra incognita, but the intervening years have brought many new changes and circumstances throughout the world, and the terra incognita of one age has become a household word of another.

6

Okinawa Island, the Capital of a New Japanese Province

195 197 198 One might well ask why the Japanese changes beginning in the latter part of the nineteenth century were so revolutionary, when Japan had exercised an influence in the twilight zone of sovereignty over the islands with China since the early seventeenth century. The answer, I think, is that in the earlier period, Japanese influence was confined largely to the upper level of government, particularly to the handling of foreign relations and trade, and to supervising any contacts between the Okinawans and the Western nations. The members of Perry's expedition mention that there was spying everywhere and that these spies were Japanese in Loochooan dress, an observation about internal espionage not made by Hall about forty years earlier, though it existed from the Japanese conquest of the seventeenth century.

195 197 After the Japanese made the Okinawan king a Japanese marquis, their influence, though gradual, reached down into the masses of the people. A systematic effort was made to replace the old life with the new Japanese ideas, themselves a compound of traditional practices and innovations derived from the west.

Although the Ryukyuan monarchy was restricted in 1871, the prefecture was not actually established until 1879. But the cultural domination of the islands, as distinct from political and police control, must be dated, inexactly, later. The readiness of Okinawans to abandon Chinese customs and to accept Japanese customs seems to have increased after the success of the Japanese in the sino-Japanese war of 1894-95. After the war, the former king of the islands cut his hair, a symbol of acceptance of a more modern way of doing things.

In this period, whether we date it from 1871, 1879, or 1894-95, to the beginning of World War II in Asia, the Japanese made several fundamental changes in Okinawan society. These early changes coincided also with a period in which the Japanese were most hospitable to Western influences. The changes within Japan ranged from the reorganization of the government, a new educational system, the inauguration of a Western calendar, the establishment of post offices and telegraphs to crases and

fads of Western inspiration. Vaccination, the calendar, European dress for officials, photography, edicts against long hair belong to the late 1870's. Chamberlain has spoken of the years 1885-87 as the "years of the great foreign fever."[24] Japan was the medium through which Western ideas were brought to bear on the old Okinawan culture. This new intrusion, indirectly set off both by the Perry expedition and the determination of the Japanese to change their own country, was modern Japan, compounded of traditional and Western ideas. When we speak of the "Japanization" of the islands, we must remember that some of this is also Westernization.

Foremost among these changes was the introduction of the new Japanese education. Education came to the rural areas and provided the basis, as in Japan, for mass literacy. This was not an easy task. Nor was it accomplished at once. Chamberlain in 1895 tells of the signs at the entrance to each village, giving the population, the number of children of school age and the number of children actually attending school, a "device not used in Japan itself, but resorted to here with the object of shaming parents into sending their children to school. To get the girls sent there has been found very difficult--the Further Isles almost impossible." The extent of this change can be appreciated by Chamberlain's further remark that few outside of Naha understood Japanese, and that the language was taught the first year so that it could be used later in instruction in other subjects.[25] Before World War II, as now, Japanese was spoken and understood by all, except the very old, the Japanese language existing side by side with Okinawan which remained the language of children, intimates, and of the village. The adoption of Japanese dress, the cutting of the hair, the learning of the Japanese language were the avenues to official employment.

Another great change was the abolition of the old system of land tenure, something we shall dwell upon at length later. By a series of laws over the period 1899-1903, the old system of village communal ownership with a periodic distribution of the rice lands and the dry crop land was abolished and private ownership and inheritance of land were instituted. The abolition of the old land allotment system must have changed the aspect of the villages, for village-owned granaries, were part of the central area of a village.[26] This change in land tenure, as Spencer has suggested, contributed to the further economic decline of the native religion of the noro priestesses whose lands, still retained, were now subject to different laws of inheritance.[27]

[TEXT CONTINUES ON TOP OF P. 40 — Analyst]

24 Basil Hall Chamberlain. Things Japanese, 238. See his comments on "fashionable crazes," 155-57.

25 The Luchu islands and their inhabitants, as cited, 457-58. Chamberlain adds, page 457, an interesting table showing school attendance by district which indicated that eligibles going to school were in a distinct minority.

26 Hawks, Perry's Expedition to Japan, as cited, I, 314; II, 34.

27 The Noro, or priestesses of Loo-choo, as cited, 109. This is an interesting example of the relation of an old religion to economic changes brought about by a revolution in land tenure induced from above.

175 167 Another departure from the past was that Okinawans, soon after the turn of the century, were provided with opportunities for emigration. The history of Okinawan emigration is not well known. But in the twentieth century, the people of Okinawa changed from an almost complete ignorance of the outside world to one of the most widely travelled and informed peoples of the Orient. Okinawan settlements in the twentieth century were scattered in many parts of the world, such as Peru, Argentina, Brazil, Hawaii, and the Japanese mandates of the Pacific, Singapore, Japan, Manchuria, and Korea. The cessation of this historic emigration is an event pregnant with meaning for the future. The population and its natural increase now must subsist on the island.

175 Late nineteenth and twentieth century improvements in roads and communication, modest as they were by American standards, broke down some of the isolation of the three districts of Okinawa. The forests and the lack of roads to the north had always discouraged contact. Much of the trade in firewood between the north and the south, even up to the recent war, was done by ship. Elsewhere there were only paths and in the north, not even these. In 1895 Chamberlain wrote of the sparsely inhabited [61] northern (Kunigami) forest area whose inhabitants were "despised for their poverty and rough speech by the natives of the central and southern provinces." Later on he remarked about the "groans of Japanese officials when obliged to go their country rounds," and, that, in the north it was necessary for them to carry a tent.[28]

175 As the main island in the newly created province (ken) of Japan, Okinawa benefitted from the scientific approach to agronomy pursued enthusiastically by the Japanese, in contrast with the Chinese and the Koreans before their annexation. Concentration on the development of suitable varieties of rice, the study of sugar cane, plant disease and agricultural techniques represented a body of knowledge that could be applied with local adaptations to all parts of the empire.

175 Direct Japanese annexation meant also the disappearance of the top heavy native nobility or gentry (shizoku) to be displaced by the Japanese 178 elite, although membership in the Okinawan nobility continued to be 565 recorded in the family registers up to the recent war. The displacement of the old higher social classes resulted in a certain levelling of all the people, a levelling which continued up to the war, and was accentuated [511] in an economic way by the widespread impoverishment of rich and poor alike in the campaign for Okinawa.

7

Okinawa in World War II

175 648 The terra incognita described by Bayard Taylor in 1853 became the

28 Chamberlain, as cited, 294, 459

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648

scene of the final campaign of World War II. American landings were made on the Kerama Islands, about 15 miles west of Okinawa on March 26, 1945. By March 29, they had been conquered. The occupation of Keise Island, about eight miles west of Naha, followed soon after.

Plans for the invasion of Okinawa were centered on two areas, the Higashi beaches north of Naha, and the Minatogawa beaches in the southeastern part of the island. The Higashi beaches were finally chosen. On April 1, the invasion began with a simultaneous feint landing above Minatogawa. The invasion was immediately successful, and by the second of April, the American force had patrols on Nakagusuku Bay and occupied the highlands in its vicinity. American troops, athwart the island, had effectively cut it in two. Thenceforth, the main fighting was in the south. The Japanese forces had also been divided.

By the 4th of April, the United States Tenth Army held an area 15 miles long and from three to ten miles wide. The Japanese plan was to concentrate the defences around and north of the ancient capital of Shuri, with the other principal defenses at Naha, Yonabaru on Nakagusuku (Buckner) Bay. The initial fighting was concerned with American attacks on outposts to the north of the Shuri defense area, and with severe and unsuccessful counter-attacks by the Japanese.[29]

While the attacks on the Shuri defenses were going on, the Motobu peninsula, extending westward above Nago, was cut off and conquered on April 16-18. Ie Shima fell after the attacks of the 16th and 17th, and was declared secure on the 21st of April. In the south, the "Shuri defense ring," was breached between April 19 and April 24. "If any doubt remained about the kind of fighting that lay ahead before Okinawa could be won, it was dissipated by the heavy combat and high casualities experienced from 19 to 24 April in penetrating the first main ring of the Shuri defense zone."

General Buckner, however, rejected a proposed second landing on the Minatogawa beaches because of the difficulties in supply. In the 2nd Shuri defense ring, the Maeda escarpment was captured and a Japanese counteroffensive failed. The Americans were able to make an opening to the east of the Shuri line and thus could penetrate into south Okinawa. "At the end of the third week of May the fighting had penetrated to the inner ring of the Shuri defenses." Toward the end of May, two circumstances were clear: "Most of the big prizes--the port of Naha, the big anchorage of Nakagusuku Bay, Yonabaru, Shuri,

29 Appleman, Roy E., Burns, James M., Gugeler, Russell A., and Stevens, John. Okinawa, the last battle. (U.S.Army in World War II. Historical Division, Dept. of the Army). Washington, 1948. 51-52, 57, 68, 74, 76-77, 83, 93, 125ff.

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Naha airfield, and the flat coastal ground of Southern Okinawa were still effectively denied to the Americans, long after they had expected to capture them. / By the end of May, however, the flower of General Ushijima's forces on Okinawa had been destroyed."[30]

As American pressure continued, the Japanese command could choose between staying at Shuri, retreating south, or retreating to the Chinen peninsula. The second of these was chosen. The retreat of Japanese soldiers, dressed as civilians, from Shuri is believed to have started on May 22. The ruse was discovered by the Americans on the 30th; Japanese headquarters left Shuri castle around May 29, and by May 31, the destroyed capital was occupied.[31]

After the fall of Shuri, for the Americans the campaign became a task of pushing the Japanese into the sea, and, for the Japanese, one of exacting as many casualties as possible in a struggle the Japanese commander realized to be hopeless.

In the conquest of the south of Okinawa, Minatogawa, one of the villages studied in this report, became a forward unloading point. On May 31, the army boundary extended along the road joining the villages of Chan, Iwa, and Oushichan. Three major areas remained to be conquered. The Chinen peninsula was occupied "against light opposition that indicated an absence of enemy plans for a defense of that area." The Oroku peninsula, south of Naha, and commanding that port, fell on June 15. The last remaining stronghold was in the south. "With the elimination of possible defensive terrain on Chinen Peninsula and in central southern Okinawa, it was becoming evident by the evening of 3 June that General Ushijima intended to stage his final stand on the southern tip of the island, almost certainly on the Yaeju-Dake Escarpment..."

Using the port of Minatogawa, the fighting leading up to the attack and conquest of Yaeju-Dake proceeded through the villages of Oushichan and Hanashiro, the second village studied here, and including the dramatic struggles for Hill 95 in the vicinity of Hanashiro. "The battle for the southern tip of Okinawa blazed with orange rods of flame and became a thunderous roar of machine guns, shells, rockets, and bombs." Finally on Hill 89 near the village of Mabuni, the campaign came to an end, 18-21 June 1945.

30 Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 146-48, 156ff, 181, 258 (Quoted), 262-63, 281, 301, 351, 360 (Quoted), 383 (Quoted).

31 Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 388, 392, 394, 400. For a dramatic description of the appearance of Shuri, see 400-02.

With the suicide, by harakiri, of General Ushijima and his Chief of Staff, General Cho, whose stars "have fallen with the setting of the waning moon over Mabuni,"[32] the island was conquered, and though it was not known at that time, this was the "last battle" of World War II.[33] 175 648

Unlike the Japanese, the Okinawans seemed unwilling to die when the alternative was death or surrender. They apparently did not take the emperor cult and State Shinto seriously, and though they were conscripted in the Japanese army, they did not identify themselves strongly with the war or its successful conclusion.[34] [103]

The Okinawan people showed remarkable ability to stand up under physical and mental strain. Many lived in caves for long periods, subsisting on whatever food could be obtained. Aside from filth diseases and lice infestations, the death of many of the very young, and some of the very old, they suffered little deterioration and recuperated under care of military government teams with the help of American foods and clothing. Professional observers were struck by their lack of mental collapse and breakdown, and one observer has suggested that prolonged breast feeding and free access to the mother's breast in infancy had given the people the emotional security to withstand the trials of the war.[35] [155]

8

Okinawa After the War

The war brought catastrophic upheavals to the civilian population, especially in those areas of greatest military activity. One consequence 175 727

[Text continues top of p. 44--analyst]

32 Quoted from Okinawa, the last battle, from the account of a prisoner of war, 470.

33 The campaign was declared ended on July 2, 1945. Sources for the statements in this and the preceding paragraphs will be found on pp. 407, 422, 425 (Quotation), 426-27 (Quotation), 437-42, 441 (Quotation), 470 of Okinawa, the last battle.

34 These statements are based on personal conversations with Okinawans who lived through the war, either as soldiers or civilians.

35 Materials in the first part of the paragraph are based on personal conversations. The interesting thesis about breast feeding, which I believe has serious defects, will be commented upon in the section on family life. See James C. Moloney, Psychiatric observations in Okinawa Shima. The psychology of the Okinawan. Psychiatry 8 (1945), 391-99; and, with Charles R. Biddle, A psychiatric hospital in military government, ibid, 400-01. Of great interest are the first hand observations of the authors made at Ginoza hospital. For other comments on the behavior of Okinawans during the war, see Okinawa, the last battle, 48, 415-17, 463, 468.

175 was that large numbers of refugees from the south were sent to the
221 northern area. The destruction of the heavily populated south and cen-
166 tral areas, with their many villages, gave new prominence to the nor-
thern district whose villages, much less damaged and less densely populated, were now in the best preserved part of the island. The roles of the two regions had, in a sense, been reversed. The northern region was no longer a rustic hinterland.

In 1945, the Okinawans came under the direct military government
648 of the Americans, and from these early beginnings, which in the heat of conflict were scarcely more than compounds for the relief and care of refugees, there has evolved the extensive present civil administration and the native government.

175 The Americans have thus been the most recent arrivals on an island
177 with a long history of inertia and change. The results of this last, and probably greatest intrusion into the culture of Okinawa cannot yet be predicted. This cultural influence is a stronger, certainly a much different one, than the great changes which came about when the Japanese set on their course to make over Ryukyuan, especially Okinawan life.

The war years, with conscription and service in the Japanese army
227 in other parts of the empire, the disruption and deaths in the war, were
108 effective in preventing the handing down of the traditional culture from one generation to another. This may mean a more ready receptivity to newer influences. It will be clear in the pages that follow that many aspects of the culture, familiar to the old, are now unknown to the young.

177 Whether the American influence will be a conservative one, in the sense that the fundamental attitudes and framework of the culture as it existed before the war, will be retained, or whether it will be a revolutionary intrusion remains to be seen. Will, for example, the individualis of the American culture tend to break down the structure of the family system? Or will American influences assert themselves within the framework of the culture, and will the flexible family system absorb only surface influences, leaving the basic culture as it is?

175 On a preceding page, the point was made that in the earlier periods
177 there probably was not a homogeneous Okinawan culture, that its centers,
184 Naha and Shuri, were under strong contemporary Chinese and Japanese influences, and that in the rural areas an older culture existed relatively unmolested. This gap was narrowed after the island became the seat of a province of the Japanese empire, through such measures as the new land law and the introduction of mass education, direct interferences were made in the traditional life of the rural areas.

175 In my opinion, the American influence so far has been to close this
184 gap even more, but for different reasons. The Americans have made no
648 direct interferences in the lives of the villages, except in those cases

in which villages have been moved and land preempted for military purposes. The devastation of the war, the mixing of the people, their dispersion as refugees throughout the island prepared the way for greater uniformity. Since the war's end, increased mobility, ease of transportation, the widening of the roads have done much to further obliterate sectional differences in this small island, scarcely sixty miles long.

During historical times, and probably during times now lost to an undocumented past, this island, far from being isolated, has been influenced strongly by other cultures. From the examples which have been given, one can at least gain an intimation of the stability and change that have characterized its experience, and some insight, no matter how slight, into the historical depth of a culture with which the Americans, in one form or another, and for some time to come, will be associated.

1

Introduction

In contemporary Okinawa, there are four distinct types of village settlement. The first and the most common is the village cluster. Houses are grouped in a central area, usually along or on both sides of a road, surrounded by farm lands and rice fields. The second, the shoe-string type, is less common. Here houses are lined along either side of a main street. The third is a here-and-there type of settlement. This has been called a yadori (Japanese) or yadui (Okinawan) village, translated as plantation, but this is too exalted a word.[1] These villages may have sub-settlements. Houses are scattered among intervening plots of cultivated land. In the fourth category are the modern improvisations: land formerly in forest, grass or shrub which has been reclaimed and used for houses and nearby cultivation, or former agricultural land now taken up for house sites, a result of increased population or of war time destruction of other parts of a village. 361 [311]

The basic type of Okinawan village is the cluster, a village small in area whose houses, close together, and on irregular winding lanes, are separated from one another by stone or rock walls, or by boundaries of trees or shrubs. The front part of the house compound usually is cut off from the road by a stone fence, running part way across, with the opening to the road obstructed by a stationary barrier, sometimes of stones, often of woven grasses. [351] [363]

In the village of a bygone age, there were large open spaces like a common on the outskirts "often appearing as glades in the forest." In this area, rice was laid out to dry, horse racing and other sports took place, the village council met, goods were bartered, justice administered, and festivals celebrated.[2] When approached from a distance, the older villages seemed literally buried in foliage. In the last century the larger villages still had rest huts (cung-qua) for travellers, usually government officials to use from one overnight stop to another. The older village also had a series of small buildings on stilts three to six feet long. These were granaries and food storehouses. Some houses were also on stilts. Older accounts have stressed the concealment of the Okinawan village, its houses separated from one another, its lanes lined or embowered with bamboo, with banana trees, or with arbors. To 361 175 [526] [351] [486] [343] [342]

[TEXT continues TOP of P. 48--Analyst]

1 Higa, Shunchō. Structure of the Ryukyuan rural community. The Japanese journal of ethnology, 15 (1950), 63-66. In Japanese with English summary, 151.

2 The Luchu islands and their inhabitants, as cited, 457. See also Basil Hall, Account of a voyage of discovery to the west coast of Corea and the Great Loo-Choo island, 123, 124.

361 Perry's men, the aspect of these villages was one of rare and romantic
175 beauty.[3]

2

Hanashiro

361 Hanashiro is a small village of the cluster type in Gushichan
103 township (Gushichan-son) in the southeastern part of Okinawa.[4] It is on
[491] the present Highway 64 which begins on the Chinen peninsula, travels southwesterly, following the coast at a distance to Mabuni in the southeast, then crossing the island to Nagushiku town, a village south of Itoman.

361 The village and its surroundings are small in area, the actual town
241 site including various village owned properties, taking up slightly over
443 22 acres. This is an agricultural village, with the exception of minor
256 activities such as storekeeping and rice milling. As of December 31, 1951,
162 it had a population of 589 (269 male, 320 female), living together in 120 households, an average of 4.9 persons per household.

361 The village is believed to have been founded about 400 years ago.
[103] By Okinawan standards this is not very old. It is off the main historical
[491] road which ran from Naha to Shuri to Kochinda, Gushichan, Minatogawa, through Tamagusuku township to the Chinen peninsula, probably the road travelled by Okinawan kings up to the latter part of the seventeenth century when they prayed at the altars on Kudaka Island.[5] There were in this area a series of castles on the tops of hills commanding the road
175 and its approaches, the castles, the rough determinants of various regions
349 formerly under a regional nobility. To the west there was Kochinda castle,
631 Tamagusuku on the east, Gushichan castle near Hanashiro, where a surviving stone fence can still be seen, and the castle site of Itokazu. There is reason for believing, as we mentioned in Chapter 1, that this is in the general area of oldest settlement in the island.

[Text continues on P. 49 --analyst]

3 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, Vol. I, 163, 164, 179-80, and an illustration of a "cung-qua" on p. 180. On the older village with granaries and storehouses, see Green's remarks in Hawks, Perry's expedition, as cited, Vol. II, 34, 36, and illustration in Vol. I, 178.

[103] 4 The village is also known as Hanagusuku: the meaning is the same, as
[192] shiro is the Japanese, gusuku the Okinawan word for castle. Many Okinawan place names have the suffix, —gusuku.

5 Spencer, The Noro, or priestesses of Loo Choo, as cited, 107.

1

Historical Notes on Housing

In all villages, much time is spent, in addition to agricultural or fishing tasks, in housebuilding, either for one's self or for friends and neighbors. Housebuilding is the most time consuming of a man's tasks after his primary occupation. Repairs to or reconstruction of the poorer houses are continuous. The man with a good house and a tile roof has little to worry about. But he will often be found helping someone less fortunate. 342 461 [476]

The traditional houses of Naha and Shuri showed both Chinese and Japanese influences. The traditional house and compound of the rural village has been compared with the ancient Japanese house, and it bears some similarities with houses found among the Ainu. 342 171

It would seem from the observations and researches of earlier students that the house was always built above the ground without excavation, and sometimes on stilts. The supporting posts making up the rectangular house were either placed in holes or on stones on the ground. The supporting posts, the ridge poles, the cross beams were branches or trunks of trees trimmed and cut for length. Roofs of thatch had the apex of the roof covered by a saddle or arch shaped thatch made, like the rest of the roof, of grass. Smoke escaped either through an aperture in the ceiling or through a window, as it still does in many of the poorer houses. The houses were filled with smoke. The oldest rural houses apparently had only a dirt floor with scattered mats, though some had a raised floor. 175 342 [352]

The food storage sheds or small granaries were raised on stilts. Engravings of these have appeared both in Perry's writings and in Bayard Taylor's works. There is some question whether this granary (now disappeared) was indigenous or a borrowing. The purpose of the raised granary was probably to protect against dampness and to prevent infestation by rats and vermin. These granaries were open sided with no boarded up walls, and, in Okinawa, were circular.[1] 175 343

Animal pens or stalls were not attached to the house, but were always separate. In the courtyard, earthen rain water vessels were inbedded half way into the ground to catch the rain water. There were stalls for goats and pig pens, and the pig pens were used also as a toilet. This is no longer practiced to my knowledge, although the outhouse with its holes in the ground is found under the same roof as the pig pen. The entrance to the courtyard was oppositie the front of the house. The protective stationary gate, the hinpun (in Okinawan), made of reeds or stones, stood at the entrance inside the court, as it does now, to shield the people of [417] [415] [364] 417

1 For drawings of the granaries, see Satow, E. M. Notes on Loochoo. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 1 (1882), 1-8. The drawings follow the text. See also Simon, Beitrage zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, as cited, 75-85.

417 the house from the glances of the curious. It has been suggested that the stationary gate at the entrance of the courtyard is of Chinese [177] origin, that its purpose originally was to scare away spirits, and that its former presence in the tomb compound indicates that it was introduced [164] along with the turtleback or horseshoe tomb from Fukien province in China.[2]

175 Captain Hall described Okinawan house exteriors and the surrounding 351 buildings, including those of the common people. The house was "buried 342 in foliage" and hidden from view. It was surrounded by a light fence of rods, about one foot apart with creepers on top. These rods were probably stalks of miscanthus grass, or of the dwarf bamboo. The site had a wicker gate, possibly meaning the hinpun made out of the dried grass stalks. One house which he described was divided into two compartments, eight feet square, with a small veranda at one end. The floors, made of bamboo, and about six feet above the ground, were covered with a straw mat. The walls, about five feet high, were wattled with split bamboo, and the house had a pointed thatched roof.

[352] In the interior, there were shelves for bowls and cups, and in a [354] loft or garret tools, nets, or baskets were stored. These installations now are often found in the kitchen. In the middle of one side of the house there was a fireplace, sunk below the level of the ground.

[343] Outside, in the compound, a pigeon house, poultry yard and spinning 175 wheels were observed. In another passage, Hall describes a cottage of 342 "wattled rattans" with a light open bamboo roof with thatch and creepers, one wing of which was occupied by goats. The compound consisted of a stable, a pig sty, and a poultry house. There was also a mill. The granary was on posts about six feet above the ground with firewood [325] piled below. There was an anvil with a forge of masonry but no bellows.[3]

The houses of the poor, said Fahs in his report to Commodore Perry, were made of bamboo and had no floors.[4] Accounts around the turn of the century say that houses and granaries were supported by corner posts of considerable height. Schwartz said these posts were about five feet high. The house walls of straw thatch were held in place by bamboo grass matting with a space two feet in width acting both as a door and a window, a matting curtain covering the aperture.[5]

[Text Continues TOP of p. 73 -- Analyst]

2 Simon, as cited, 80. C. W. Bishop has suggested that the stone houses of the Ainus of Hokkaido point to contact with southern insular peoples. Also, the primitive Japanese hut which was illustrated resembled the one we have been describing for Okinawa. It had a thatched roof and a courtyard which was cut off from the outside view by the hinpun. The historical geography of early Japan. Geo. Review, 13 (1923), 40-63. Note especially Figures 5 and 6. (This article was reprinted in Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1925).

3 Captain Basil Hall, Voyage to Corea and the Great Loo Choo, as cited, 124, 141, 142-43.

4 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, Vol. II, 50.

5 Henry B. Schwartz, In Togo's country. New York and Cincinnati, 1908, 148-49.

1

The Old Land Allotment System

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423
[177]

Okinawa became part of a province of Japan in 1879 and in the late of 1899-1903 fundamental changes were introduced in the land laws. Present land use and tenure is a result of (1) the family system with the original influence from China, with Japanese and Okinawan modifications, and (2) the Japanese system of inheritance, as outlined in the old civil code.

Prior to the Japanese reforms of 1899-1903, which introduced private ownership and private disposition of land, arable land in Okinawa was communally owned by a village and periodically redistributed to villagers for their use. This was known as the allotment system (jiwari-seido).

Until 1899, the arable land was owned by the village. Peasants had the right of cultivation, but not of ownership. Land was redistributed by village elders at stated intervals. These apparently varied among villages, as intervals of two, four, and ten years for the periodic redistribution have been mentioned by old men who, as youths, lived under the old allotment system. In the Gushichan area, according to one old man, this redistribution took place every ten years. It was found that there was much more awareness of the old land allotment system in the northern village of Matsuda than in the southern villages studied. [184]

In each redistribution, every living member of the family, from the newest born infant to the oldest person, was given a share. Apparently there were also local variations in determining each share. In the Gushichan area, according to the same old man, allotments were made according to the strength and competence of individuals. A distinction was made between a full grown male and a woman or a child, and there were differentials between the rich and the poor. The head of the house in practice received and controlled the shares of his family. There are no parallel data for Matsuda on this point. At each redistribution, additions or deductions in shares were made for births or deaths, though there is some doubt that this practice was universal. Matsuda old men mentioned this, and the Gushichan informants said the practice was not followed here; presumably a family share prevailed.[1] [184]

[Text continues top of p. 136--analyst]

1 This discussion is confined to the two agricultural areas studied. Conditions apparently were the same for a whole township; since the areas are now roughly the same as they were, Hanashiro as part of the Gushichan township would have the same conditions. No information was available in the fishing village of Hinatogawa. The very old here had only a vague memory of the old system. "Until 1899-1903, when the Land Reform Law was enacted, land was owned communally by the village, which divided the land among peasants at regular (contd. on next page)

175 423 592 Under this old system, when a branch family was established upon the marriage of a son other than the first, his share was made available to him, although it is not clear whether he received this as a legal right, or whether, at each redistribution the father received the branch family share, later passing it on for the use of the son. In any case, provision under the old system was made for branch families in the redistribution just as in contemporary Okinawa this land is supplied, where possible, out of the private holdings of the father. The old and the new illustrate the operation of the family system under two types of land tenure.

175 423 311 Both in the Gushichan area and in Matsuda, there was agreement that the system applied only to rice lands and to dry crop land. House sites were not included in the biennial, quadrennial, or decennial redistribution. Neither were the parcels of genya land which were reserved for tomb areas (bochi, or haka). The forest lands (sanrin) or the genya lands were also communally owned. The reclamation or much of genya land in Okinawa for agricultural uses seems to be a late development, probably a direct consequence of the increase of the island's population. Fifty years ago the island of Okinawa was more heavily forested than it is now. This applies even to the south, if the statements of old people resident in the area can be accepted. Both in the northern and southern communities, pine stands in the forest and in the genya land were publicly owned, and there was a system of tree allotment. Trees, in the publicly owned areas, could be cut according to the number of [313] shares of land one had. Then in September and October of each year, each family replanted a number of trees equivalent to the number it had taken.

In these redistributions, apparently the land was not allotted to individual families directly, but first allotted to family groups (kumi) and then in turn to the individual families. There were special [571] allotment groups (jiwari-gumi). It is not clear whether this initial distribution to groups and then to individual families was universal in Okinawa, as this information comes only from Gushichan township.

This system of community ownership, with periodic allotment of rice and dry crop land, naturally called for a system of land classification. Excellent land was rare; good land was not plentiful, poor land was most abundant. The topography was rough and all good land was not in the same

1 (continued from previous page) intervals, the amount in proportion to the number of family members and their work and tax-paying capacities. It was called ji-wari (land-division). Peasants had no right to possess land, but only the right to cultivate, and taxes were imposed upon a village as a whole, not upon individuals." Higa, Shuncho. Structure of the Ryukyuan rural community. The Japanese journal of ethnology, 15 (1950), No. 2, 63-66. English summary (from which this is taken), p. 151.

place. Then, as now, paddy and dry crop land might lie together, depending upon local factors. In the periodic redistribution, each family received shares of each in non-contiguous fragmented parcels. In the nature of things, they received small shares of the excellent, moderate shares of the good, and large holdings in poor land. 175 423 311

The old classification of lands was simple and did not go beyond three general divisions of good, fair, and poor. Apparently the Japanese after 1879 introduced more refinements and increased the number of classifications to six. Land classification, then as now, was empirical. It was based on observation, local knowledge of present and past yields, and known dangers to the land. It was not based on scientific knowledge of the soils, nor is it today. 175 311 [177] [242]

Several dangers to land and crops were considered: (1) the danger of the wild boar (inoshishi). These reddish brown wild boars have disappeared from large parts of Okinawa, though occasionally one is seen in the northern forest. The boars destroyed crops by night feeding. Remnants of old fences can still be seen in the area around Matsuda. In Oku, in the extreme north, fences are still used and many can be seen along the hillsides. (2) Dangers from floods and salt water spray. Local flooding is common and often confined to a narrow area. Salt water spray and salt water in the air, especially in typhoon times, are still menaces to crops. The danger from typhoons did not enter directly into the determination of land classification because the area of destruction was so wide that it was not a factor distinguishing one plot from another. (One can however observe areas of differential damage in a village as an aftermath of typhoons). 175 241 [136] [417] [173]

This old land allotment system is now forgotten except in a few isolated areas where its main features are still apparently preserved. The best known of these is Kudaka Island off the southeastern shore of Okinawa. If the system has disappeared, except for a few isolated survivals, its influence remains to the present: it determined the pattern of land use still in effect today, the pattern of small, discontinuous parcels, and set the precedents for the mechanics of land classification. The basic classifications such as rice land, dry crop land, community forest were Japanese and are of great age. The old land allotment system is also considered to be of great antiquity.[2] 178 423 [189] [177]

[2] It was a matter of considerable disappointment that I was unable to spend two or three weeks on Kudaka to study the land system there. Neither has time permitted an investigation (of great inherent interest) of the historical antecedants of the old Okinawan system. Land classification, such as we will be discussing in the next chapter, is very old in Japanese culture. The old Okinawan system bears some resemblances to the "mouth-share-land" (ku-bu-den) system of old Japan which appears in the Taihō code (702 A.D.). This was a system of distribution of communally owned land, but I have not been able to determine whether the distribution was periodic. See Wigmore, J. H. and Simmons, D. B. Notes on land tenure and local institutions in old Japan. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 19 (1891), 77 on land classification, (continued on next page)

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423 Commodore Perry and his staff noted the land tenure system of the Great Lew Chew but did not get any details and were not quite certain what it was.

> "Another obstacle in the way of their improvement is the impossibility of their ever procuring a vested right of ownership in the land. As far as the Commodore could gather information on the subject, it would appear that the soil is held by the government, and its agents are employed to collect and consume its produce. According to the best accounts that could be obtained, the actual cultivator receives not more than two-tenths of the produce. Of the remainder, six-tenths go to the lord of the soil, or ruler, and two-tenths for the expense of supervision of the land, costs of collection, etc. The peasant has thus no stimulus to exertion. Wretched, however, as this system is, and degraded as is the condition of the operative, it is astonishing to see the large returns from agricultural labor." These returns are attributed by the authors to a combination of skill, soil, and climate.[3]

[433]

Goldschmidt (1927) wrote that under the old system the land was the property of the villages and was divided by the elders of the village "according to ancient precept," into equal parcels, considering its location, and that every individual received a parcel. "Large families had therefore correspondingly more parcels; daughters who married took at marriage their parcels with them. Every six years there was a new division, so that everyone received another plot of land and no one could complain, in the long run, over an unjust distribution."

[178]
[423]
[171]

2 (continued from previous page) 86 on communal ownership, 157 on mouth-share-land. The old Okinawan allotment system also is similar to the practice of masha' in the middle East. A village maintains its lands in common and apportions them among villagers periodically. This is found in parts of Iran, Jordan, Arab Palestine, and Syria. See Tannous, Affif I. Land tenure in the middle East. Foreign agriculture (U.S. Dept. of Agriculture), 7 (1943), 171-77.

3 Elsewhere the narrative remarks that, "All the land in Lew Chew is held by government and rented to large tenants, who, in their turn, sub-let it to smaller ones, who are the direct cultivators of the soil." And in another place, it is said that the lands were held by the government as a "metayer system, brought down almost to individuals (or possibly upon an allotment system)." The metayer system, as described by Dr. Green, was a "plan of paying (in this instance as 'taxes') a certain proportion of the produce." Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, I, 220; II, 25-26, 28. See also I, 311.

Goldschmidt then remarks that the peasant in the last years of his possession thought only of the parcel to come in the next allotment and did nothing for his land, and that in consequence its productivity fell. There was private ownership at that time only of newly reclaimed land or land filled in along the seashore, and this land went to the person who had done the work. The Japanese, when they abolished the system, divided land among families by number of members and since this time large holdings have not been created. Goldschmidt adds that "the land still suffers now from the consequences of this old system."[4] 175 423

To discover precisely the nature of the influences of the old system cannot be done with accuracy because of the destruction of local records, the vagueness of recollection among the old and of the inability to reconstruct old boundaries. What follows therefore is partly speculative, but nevertheless useful in suggesting the reasons for the present shapes and areas of individual land parcels. One of the striking aspects of the land maps of these areas is the odd and irregular shapes of land holdings. This is not true of all Okinawa. In some areas, plots on the hillsides are symmetrical, often rectangular or square. In the areas studied, there are plots of this sort, but also many that have very irregular shapes. 174 423 423

It is possible that after the abolition of the old system, some areas in the island were resurveyed, while others were not. Such surveys could have approximated the old areas but created a more regular rectangular pattern. In Hanashiro resurveying apparently was not done. The historical reasons for the present boundaries are not known because of decades of cultivation and because the land has not always been used for the same purposes. One of the large rice growing areas in Hanashiro is a recent development. The changes from paddy to dry crop land, or the reverse, seem to have followed the fluctuations in sugar and rice prices. It was quite probable that formerly the land was less level, that it was more heavily forested, and that odd shapes were due to the cultivated areas winding around large outcrops, patches of stony land, clumps of trees, uncultivated slopes which have now been reclaimed, leveled and cultivated. 174 423 311 [435]

Conditions like this are a commonplace in Okinawa today. Some of these boundaries also may be following the lines of old streams. Rivers, or more properly creeks, are not numerous in Okinawa and their presence is often hidden: a stream rising in a nearby mountain and ultimately going to the sea eight or ten miles away may be lost in a wide paddy area and trickle off again in its stream bed after several hundred feet of dispersion in the paddies. The boundaries may also 174 423 [133]

4 Goldschmidt, Richard. Neu-Japan. Berlin, 1927, 131. (My translation). The same criticism appears of the system in the middle east. See footnote 2 above.

174 423 have been affected by roads and trails which have now disappeared.

Old residents[5] of Matsuda and neighboring villages were able to [115] furnish more specific clues regarding the old system and its relation to other phases of village life. These old people estimated the population of Matsuda at the close of the old system at about 360 [161] persons, compared with the present population of 1368. The system operated under much less acute population pressure than exists today. Deaths, especially from malaria, and a high infant mortality kept [165] the population down, although introduced Japanese hygienic measures helped.

Under the old system in Matsuda, there was a continual clearing [311] of land, mostly around the settlement. There seems little doubt that land reclamation and clearing has been going on slowly from the earliest historical times in Okinawa. The land cleared remained under village ownership, but the persons who cleared the property were allowed to hold it for use without giving it up for periodic redistribution. Technical ownership remained with the village.[6] Fences and stone barriers were erected as a protection against the wild boar. But the large scale reclamation and the private ownership of genya land seems to have occurred after the close of the old system.

The division of lands at the beginning of the new system has set the boundary pattern of many plots. In Matsuda there were instances of land which has retained the same boundaries that it had under the old system. There was general agreement among the old that the form, boundaries, and areas of land plots have changed very little since the times of the jiwari-seido. This would be par- [428] ticularly true in the case of property which had passed down through the first son. Changes came from the establishment of branch families, [425] and sales and purchases. In these areas, however, buying and selling have been infrequent.

175 423 [171] The history of land tenure in Okinawa, therefore, is different from that of Japan with its long history of tenancy, whose accumulated problems finally led to the land reform of 1946 during the Allied occupation. The present system of land tenure in Okinawa is a little over 50 years old.

178 423 311 The chief influences of the old system were to set in a form recognizable to the present, the pattern of land holding, to establish land classification, and apply it on a very localized basis.

[115] 5 I am indebted here to Shinzato Zensuke of the village of Sokei (Ginoza-son), and to Oshiro-san of Matsuda village (Ginoza-son) both over 70 years of age for their recollections of the history of the system in Matsuda.

[114] 6 This differs from Goldschmidt's account, cited above, in that in this case the land became a usufruct, in the other actual ownership.

The deforestation of
731 the south over a period of centuries thus is related to water spray
313 and wind damage, relationships which a wise administration cannot neglect.

121 The natural tendency is to think in terms of population and land and of the food which it can produce. But if the population is envisaged in terms of forest, the land, both cultivated and uncultivated, and the role of the uncultivated land in protecting the soil, broader understandings are possible.[9]

231 It is a significant fact, to use another example, that goats are tethered and not allowed to graze. They do not roam the hillsides, nor crop off the shoots of young plants. If they did, it is possible that legislation controlling the goat might have to be enacted such as has been done in the island of Cyprus.

311 It is important therefore, to ascertain how a culture makes
731 use of its natural environment and also how it takes care of it.
185 Typhoons cannot be controlled. Neither can periods of drought which often produce water shortages, prevent the planting of sweet potatoes, or the harvesting of a good rice crop. In areas where control is possible, the Okinawans have developed conservation measures. Almost one hundred years ago, Dr. D. S. Green, Fleet Surgeon attached to the frigate Mississippi on Perry's expedition to Japan, wrote:

175
185

> "Two objects seem to influence the islanders in all their operations, viz: the retention of water or moisture, and the avoidance of surface-washing. To effect these desirable ends, especially in a rolling country, a great quantity of grading is required, besides very deep culture; and here both of these have been done."[10]

000 In the areas studied, no serious sheet erosion was observed.

[Text continues top of P. 157 -- Analyst]

9 The general ideas and points of view expressed by Edward Graham in his Natural principles of land use, London, New York, and Toronto, 1944, are pertinent here.

10 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, II, 26-27. The emphasis is in the original. Green continues with further details of grading around streams, along ravines, and on the uplands. His description today would still fit many parts of Okinawa. He was particularly impressed with the lands on a journey between Nugah (i.e., Nago) and Tanegah, southwest of Unten. His whole passage is well worth reading.

Two other forms of land conservation and maintenance, crop rotation and fertilizers, will be discussed under agriculture.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

and improvement of rural life, have continued to function. The most important of these are the agricultural associations (nogyōkumiai). In Okinawa, they are organized on a township level. The agricultural association is usually near the township office. It is both a buying and a selling concern. It buys and sells agricultural tools and simple farm machinery. The association may also buy and introduce into the agricultural village new techniques, tools, insect and pest control preparations, and other supplies imported from America or Japan. Buying and distribution for sale are at present more active functions than making loans. In any one year, a borrower may obtain a Y200 loan, but the chief difficulty (Dec. 1951) is that the association has little money. In Gushichan village, the association buys and resells firewood, imported from the northern mountain region. 474 [177] [439]

The fishermen's association in Hinatogawa has already been described. It may buy and distribute fishing gear, gas and oil, and other marine necessities.

Within the village itself, there are co-operative groups. The sugar mill co-operative of Hanashiro is typical. This has about 125 members, both men and women, and includes most of the families of the village. Each member pays to the association a fee for the use of the mill including the machinery and the cooking vessels. Of the fee, 60% goes to care and maintenance, 10% to the head of the co-operative who handles the administrative details, while 30% is held in reserve and redistributed as a rebate to members after the end of the season, if there is a surplus. The sugar is individually produced and sold. The village co-operative is concerned only with the care and maintenance of the mill and its facilities.

In Matsuda a pig raiser's co-operative (yōtonkumiai) has been started. The main emphasis is on breeding rather than on marketing. The group, which has about 61 members, is a result of the intense interest which has followed the introduction of American breeds. The head of this group is chosen by the membership. The organization is interested in the diffusion of information on the care and breeding of pigs and its membership participates in regional meetings of pig raisers.

4

The Cash Economy of Rural Villages

The use of money in Okinawa seems to be recent. Hall and M'Leod in 1816 wrote that they observed no money, and that the Okinawans did not know its uses. Commodore Perry, who had a crisp reaction both to the Okinawans and to Hall's descriptions of them, said they knew "the value of gold and silver very well, and they traffic for the Chinese 'cash', of which from twelve to fourteen hundred are equivalent to the Spanish dollar." Chamberlain (1895) said that the Okinawans had 436 175

436 175 no native money and used the Japanese cash, and that the Japanese did not permit a native coinage.[2]

436 Up to the war, only bills of low denominations circulated in the villages. In Minatogawa, an old lady, now about 73, said that before the war she had never seen a Y100 note, which at that time was worth slightly over US$25. But since the 19th century, new conditions have pried the farmer loose from barter and self-sufficiency. 434 511 There is little to warrant a belief that rural villages are self-sufficient. The most elementary obligations, such as sending one's children to school, require cash. An average rural family of five may require from Y40-60,000 a year.

Cash outlays include: (1) Entertainment, including the purchase of sake. [574] Entertainment is an integral part of the culture and cannot be dismissed as a luxury. (2) Clothing. (3) Fertilizer. (4) Tobacco. [388] (5) Soap. No soap is made in the home. American soap flakes are highly prized, but generally are not purchased because of the cost. (6) Hair cutting. (7) Food and food supplements, such as noodles [262] and vermicelli types of paste, cooking oils, salt, soy sauce, meat, fish, seaweed (kombu), rice, if not grown and purchases from the import store. (8) Fuel, charcoal, charcoal sticks. (9) Transportation for business or pleasure. (10) Newspapers. Many subscriptions are cancelled when the price goes up. [204] (11) Tools and tool repairs, but maintenance is small after the original investment. (12) School books and [872] contributions to schools for purchasing special items. (13) Medicines and mid-wives' fees. (14) Occasional purchases of lumber, stone, or [651] tile. (15) Taxes.

In the farming areas, sugar and pigs are the only significant 434 sources of cash income. Sweet potatoes, rice, eggs, and soy beans may be sold, but the amounts are either too small or the selling price too low to provide substantial amounts of cash. Occasionally younger sons may have jobs which bring in money, and a farmer or his sons may have a horse cart for hire.

In Minatogawa, cash outlays, in addition to the items already mentioned, are required for nets, gasoline, and oil. Cash comes from sales of fish, pigs, and stone. The lack of rice, an insufficient [511] sweet potato crop for year round needs, imports of firewood from the north and the occasional need to purchase grasses for thatch make this community more dependent on cash than the agricultural community.

The economic problem of the fisherman is also different from that of the farmer. Both the farmer and the fisherman must pay cash for medicines, fertilizer, alcoholic drinks, clothing, various special but traditional articles of the diet, taxes, tools, and supplies. The farmer, however, can produce much of his food. He can exist on sweet potatoes, bean curd, and bean paste soup, and if need be may spend little money on food. The fisherman cannot exist on fish alone. Fishermen without fields must depend on cash earnings to buy the

2 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, Vol. I, 160, 220-21. Chamberlain, The Luchu islands and their inhabitants, Geo. Journal 5 (1895), 313.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

3

Daily Work Habits

512 The people of a village are continually busy. Their daily work habits depend on the season and the type of work. The work day of the fisherman is the least predictable because his activities are more sensitive to the present and anticipated weather. Most farmers continue working in their fields in a slight rain, but activity ceases with heavy rains. While the farmer works steadily and hard, there is a certain elasticity in his schedule. He does not go to the fields every morning at exactly the same time. Neither does he feel compelled to put in a full day's work every day; he is guided more by the tasks to be done. Work is interrupted by an occasional smoke or conversation with friends or neighbors passing by. There is a routine in daily life, but it is not strictly adhered to. Meal times vary from day to day sometimes by an hour. Time may be taken out from the fields to gather firewood, make bean curd, to dry out bean pods, or to fix up one's house. Three or four days in a row may be devoted to helping with another's house. The sun is the guide to time. Most houses have clocks but few are running and they are not well regulated. Perhaps the chief distinction between agriculture and fishing work is that in the former, the tasks of all blend together.

[264] [476] [805]

A farmer's work day in summer begins about 8 or 9 in the morning and ends almost the same time in the evening. Full advantage is taken of the daylight hours. In summer, the evening meal is not eaten until 9 and often later. By the time the meal is finished and the table cleared, it is ten. After short visits within the family, or with neighbors, the farmer retires about 11. In the winter, the routine is the same, but the day's work stops earlier, and the evening meal is at about 6 P.M. The fishermen do not have this unbroken routine. There is often night work and the day may be used for sleeping. Intense activity is followed by periods of greater or less leisure.

4

Clothing

175 292 565 [286] 291 [537] 000

The history of costume in Okinawa is full of interest, but it is too broad a subject to deal with here. In the old Okinawan kingdom, clothing and its color, hair pins, caps, and other articles of men's wear were used to designate rank. The clothing of the commoners had much less variety. Until quite recently, banana fibre was used in farmers' clothing. A dyed indigo kimono, stripes for men and dots for women, is still worn.

Present day clothing is of a non-descript character. The war

515 the Japanese style public bath at Minatogawa. There are separate rooms for men and women. The body is soaped; then the soap is washed off. One gets into the hot watertub to soak. In this arrangement, all the advantages lie with the first comers. In the winter, the Minatogawans use their public bath houses. But in the summer, they soap themselves thoroughly and rinse off under a public faucet, keeping on a pair of shorts or a light skirt, depending on sex. In Matsuda, an outside tub is frequently used. This is bullet shaped, about three feet in diameter and about the same depth. Generally it has a rudely constructed roof. The bath water, not so hot as the Japanese like it, is only moderately warm.

In family tub bathing, there is an order in which the bath is taken. Guests are first, followed by the head of the house, [516] then by other males in order such as first, second, or third sons, and finally the women of the house, starting with the eldest. Many people in Matsuda go, usually about once a week, to the neighboring village of Ginoza for their bath.

6

Hair Styles

302 In the days of the old kingdom, men and boys wore the hair long. A patch on the crown was shaved, and the long glossy hair was gathered on all sides and made into a tight knot and pinned with two hair pins. Satow mentions that between the ages of 16 [175] and 19 the ceremony of gembutsu took place. The central part of the head was shaven, and the long hair was then put up. According to this author, the custom dated back two centuries.[2] Various oils were used on the long hair to keep it in place. This hair dress for men and boys was described by Basil Hall in 1816; Commodore Perry's staff made similar observations, and the reports of Furness (1896) and Simon (1910) indicated that there had been no changes in the style.

The cutting of men's hair is said to have begun about 40 years ago. While some thought the Japanese forced this, it seems to have been done voluntarily. A high school principal, now in his late forties, told me of his childhood remembrance of crying at seeing his young father willingly shearing off his own long and luxuriant hair.

The clipped (marugari) head for young boys is a Japanese introduction. It was required for health reasons by the Japanese school [177] teachers. The clipped cut, for young boys, has persisted, and it is

2 Satow, E. M. Notes on Loochoo. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 1 (1882), 1-8.

302

uncommon to see young boys up to 12 or 13 without the clipped head.

After the abandonment of long hair, men followed the Japanese custom which resembled the Western style. Unless men went into the army, where the hair was severely clipped, they wore their hair at moderate length. [177]

From infancy to graduation from grammar or junior high school, the hair of boys is clipped to the scalp. After 14 it is allowed to grow, sometimes to considerable length. The longest and the fullest hair (either by neglect or intention) is found in the group from 17 to about 23. There is some influence from Japanese and American movie hair styles. The word "all-baku" is used to describe this style, mostly referring to long hair parted or combed straight back and full on the sides. The young man has his choice between a short crew cut type and long hair because the hair is very thick and sticks up and is difficult to train unless long. After the early twenties the young men are likely to cut off their long hair and adopt a more conventional haircut. This lasts until old age when many, but by no means all, of the men over 55 or 60 have their hair clipped short again. [177]

In the 19th century, women's hair, according to accounts describing styles at the close of the century, was long like the men's, but differed in the manner of putting the hair up. The crown was not shaved. The hair of the ordinary woman was worn long with a pug, placed indifferently on the left or right side of the head. Okinawan young women, around the turn of the century, adopted the Japanese headdress (which they still retain at their weddings), either the elaborate traditional coiffure, or the simpler and more severe style of drawing the hair straight back with a pug at the nape of the neck. Okinawan women at this time had long hair and took great pride in it, universal long hair, according to the villagers, lasting until quite recently. [175]

Before, during and after the war, great numbers of Okinawan women, except the very old, cut their hair. Present hair styles depend on the age group. Young girls up to 7 or 8 have the hair cut on the level of the ear lobe or a little higher, with bangs in front, and a high shingle in back. The hair of a young girl through high school reaches an inch or so below the neck line, she has bangs in front, but the hair is not shingled in back and hangs freely.

The late teen age group and the younger married women have become infatuated with the permanent wave. It is much admired by the younger people of both sexes, but is often unbecoming on the young women because it gives the hair a frizzled appearance. The permanent wave is much less common among the village women over thirty whose hair, almost shoulder length, is tucked in a sort of roll at the back of the neck. Old women in their sixties and seventies have quite long hair. It is done up rather severely with a top knot on the crown held by skewers, somewhat similar to the old Okinawan style.

the war, the upper stratum of society consisted of Japanese plus a few highly placed Okinawans. With the departure of the Japanese, there was no well developed class structure among the Okinawans to succeed to the Japanese hierarchy. Today in these villages, there are inequalities in economic well-being, and certain individuals or groups have greater prestige than others. But these, I am convinced, are not to be traced to a class structure. Any division of the village into upper, middle, and lower classes would be artificial and would put a strain on the facts. Differences, where they appear, are the result of individual qualities, such as age, the possession of land or money, or personal character. 565 [563] [511] [554] [554]

In the old Loochooan kingdom, there was a rigid class stratification based on the Chinese model. The Japanese abolished the Loochoo nobility after the islands became a province, but, according to Furness (1899), "the people still cling to the old custom."[1] Despite the abolition of the nobility, distinctions between noble and commoner were made up to the recent war. In the family registers, descendants of the Loochooan nobility (shizoku) were so designated. But all villagers agreed that these distinctions had no meaning or value, either for preferment in the Japanese service, or for one's social standing among his countrymen. For all practical purposes, everyone was a commoner. Since the war, the fact that one is a descendant of the Okinawan nobility is, if possible, even more inconsequential. No notation is made in the family register. Most men over 35 can tell instantly whether a given surname is of noble or common origin. 175 565 183 565

The number of these descendants of nobles must be very great. Chamberlain in 1895 reproduced a table, which he said he had every reason to believe was accurate, showing an absurdly high proportion of nobles to commoners. These statistics were from the census of 1891 and for the entire Ryukyus:[2] 565 162

	Household Heads	Families
Princes	2	35
Nobility and Gentry	22,567	95,082
Common People	57,981	235,213
Total	80,550	330,330

1 Life in the Luchu islands, as cited, 7. For rank distinctions based on caps, stockings, sashes, and hair pins, see Simon, as cited, 155, 156-59. Hawk's Perry's expedition, as cited, Vol. I, 224, Vol. II, 48. Basil Hall also gives rank orders in an appendix. Perry considered government by this nobility very oppressive. The CA Handbook Ryukyu (Loochoo) Islands gives the historical background of the class structure and its manifestations in government.

2 In the article cited from the Geo. jour. 5 (1895), 298.

a fact which has been a determinant in their historical development and an important factor in speculations about prehistoric events.

Until further archaeological evidence permits greater certainty, the original settlement of the Ryukyus is believed to have taken place predominantly from the Asiatic mainland, with occasional influx from the southern islands, Formosa, the Philippines, and Indonesia (Kerr, 1958). Surviving culture elements of great antiquity support these theories. Most frequently cited are a basic form of Shinto, characteristic of the religion, and the shamanistic role of the priestesses. Specifically, the "curved jewels," formerly worn by all priestesses, are mentioned as apparent links with the neolithic cultures of Japan.

On the other hand, sporadic contact with the islands to the south is evidenced by culture traits, such as raised houses of tropical design (common to all of Japan) and perhaps the practice of "mother roasting," a period of recuperation after the birth of a child during which the mother is kept near a fire. This custom is widespread in Malaysia (Cole, 1945:155).

Linguistic evidence points to a separation of Okinawan from a common proto Japanese language about 1500 years ago (Hattori, 1954). This may indicate a southern movement of peoples from Japan under the pressure of the Yayoi people who introduced the wet rice complex into southwestern and central Japan at this period. That this was not the earliest settlement of the Ryukyus, however, is evidenced by remains in the Ryukyus of the earlier Jomon period.

From the first mention of the Ryukyus in Chinese annals of 605 A.D. until the end of the nineteenth century when Japan formally annexed the islands, they stood in a curious relationship of dependency toward China and Japan. Both nations claimed suzerainty over the kingdom of Okinawa with its royal court in Shuri and extracted tribute. Eventually the Lord of Satsuma in southern Japan extended his sovereignty over the Ryukyus. But with ties to China remaining, Okinawa participated in both Chinese and Japanese culture, which disseminated through the urban trading center of Naha into the outlying areas. It is this intermediate cultural position which still gives Okinawa a peculiar character, although it long ago became part of Japan and abandoned direct contacts with China.

In 1872 Japan formally declared its claims on the Ryukyuan kingdom, and after deposing the last king in 1879, made the Ryukyuan islands a province of Japan, with the capital at Naha. Between this time and the present, intensive contact with Japan has led to an overwhelming absorption of Japanese culture, a willingness on the part of Okinawans to adopt Japanese ways and to identify with Japan as their

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

home country. Nevertheless, many aspects of Okinawan life still suggest an earlier phase in which independent developments gave the islands their own particular culture.

The Okinawan people, approximately 655,000 as counted in 1954, live in an area of about 454 square miles. Their major economic activities have traditionally been agriculture and fishing. In 1945 a long, peaceful existence was brought to an abrupt end during the final battles of World War II in the Pacific. As a result of world conditions Okinawans have been placed under American administration for an indefinite period of time. Today large numbers of men—and some women—find employment as unskilled and semiskilled laborers with the American forces. Gradual training for highly skilled jobs widens these opportunities for employment. Indirectly Okinawan life is influenced by Americans through stimulation of trade, building, and improved health conditions. Land requirements of the American forces in some areas also have influenced the settlement pattern. While these changes have affected the entire island to some degree, the greatest changes are noticeable in the central part around Naha where American administrative and military personnel are located. The village of Taira in the northern province of Kunigami, where the present study was located, had been subject to relatively few of these postwar changes in 1954. Isolated since earliest times because of mountainous terrain, this part of the island participates, as it probably always did, marginally in cultural influences which affect the center of the island. A great deal of cultural stability has therefore been preserved until the present day.

Nevertheless, it is useful to remember that the population of northern Okinawa is linked with the rest of the island by an efficient communications system. Roads connect almost all settlements in the north with the central island, and a bus transportation system extends its service into the remote areas. But long before all villages were connected by road with the center of Okinawa, people of Kunigami province traveled by foot over the many trails which traverse the mountains, and, since the turn of the century, many have left their home villages. Some went to Japan as laborers; others settled in the Japanese-controlled Islands of the Pacific, and some families joined the numerous Okinawan settlements in South American countries.

LANGUAGE

Taira people are bilingual. Okinawan, which linguists consider a separate language, has many regional dialects, some of which are not

191 (mentioned previously), song, and the indigenous religion. Okinawan song and
178 music undoubtedly exceed both Japanese and Western in popularity; in fact, no
191 other facet of Okinawan culture has so successfully withstood the changes of
178 the past seventy-five years. Songs such as the Kagiyadefu (which some Okina-
533 wans liken to a national anthem), Nubui Kuduchi, Hamachidori, Tanchame are known and loved by all. Some of the phonograph record stores in Naha carry as many as several hundred different recordings of Okinawan songs, and vir-
191 tually all of these are recorded in Okinawan. All priestesses of the indigen-
178 ous religion interviewed by the author stated that Okinawan was the language
796 of prayer and ceremony; to some this was a burden, as in the case of one priestess who had spent most of her life in Japan. A few admitted that the language of the ceremonies and particularly that of the old songs or umui (sometime rendered omoro) was rather obscure and not fully understood; these are transmitted orally from the older priestess to her successor and undoubtedly
191 contain many archaic words. Outside the formal religious structure yet inex-
178 tricably linked to it are shamans (yuta) and fortune tellers ('ekisha'). The
756 former, most often a woman, uses Okinawan almost exclusively in rites concerned
791 with divining, exorcism, and curing. The latter, nearly always a male, is usually a fairly well-educated person, as the profession is based on interpretations of certain books used in conjunction with the ancient Chinese Book of Changes (I Ching), and either Japanese or Okinawan, depending on the customer, may be used in giving the reading. Both practitioners are extremely popular, but the fortune teller is usually found in the cities and towns whereas the shaman may be found in Naha or the smallest hamlet.

195 Japanese With the abdication of Shō Tai in 1879 the Japanese government ini-
191 tiated a program designed for integrating Okinawa into the national
177 state as rapidly as possible. An effort was made to stamp out all vestiges of
[645] Okinawan culture, utilizing techniques ranging from education and indoctrination to repressive laws and police measures. Greatest emphasis was given to making Japanese speakers out of Okinawans. Leavenworth quotes Governor Nara-
hara as stating that the creation of Japanese speakers was of more value than
715 all the repressive laws prohibiting certain customs.[1] At the start the Japanese
191 were hindered by a lack of schools and teachers, and so the program moved ahead
177 slowly. An effective national school system covering the rural areas where the
871 bulk of the population was located and taking in both sexes was not fully operative until about the time of World War I. The failure of Japanese to displace Okinawan can be attributed largely to a lack of time and a lack of facilities for education beyond the elementary level. By the time of World War II but two generations were schooled in Japanese, and the majority of these had received no more than six years of education.

191 Though Japanese failed to displace Okinawan, it did succeed in becom-
177 ing a necessity in the lives of most people and in establishing itself as the
554 prestige language. With the government, press, schools, cinema, radio, and high-level commerce utilizing Japanese exclusively, participation in modern life without a knowledge of Japanese became impossible. The incentives towards competence in Japanese were many, whereas there appeared to be little gained

[1] Leavenworth, 1905, p. 37.

CHAPTER III: AGRICULTURAL HISTORY, LAND USE AND DIET

F. R. Pitts

121 178 The concept of the unchanging Orient certainly fails to appear true in the case of Okinawa, when the past is examined closely. Indeed, it seems hard to find an area where so much change has been accomplished so fast. The following is designed to show some major aspects of that change, particularly insofar as the farmer is concerned.

1. Agricultural History

175 241 198 **The Early Days** As early as the 1730's when the great Okinawan statesman, Saion, urged the growing of the sago palm 'sotetsu', farmers were already used to orders and suggestions from the gentry as to modification of their traditional ways. But it was not until the growth of population and the money economy that changes were to be brought about, not so much by orders from above, but chiefly by the workings of economic forces.

175 177 433 249 The ultimately most effective agent of change had been the introduction of the sugar cane plant in 1623 and its concomitant technique of sugar manufacture.[1] It was not until a decade after the Japanese took over the islands, however, that sugar production began to increase, and not until after the Russo-Japanese war that sugar really became an important crop in the economy. By 1939 the production of sugar amounted to more than a million tons, and production exceeded consumption by ninefold.[2] By the end of the 1951-1952 winter pressing season, production had declined to 256,000 tons.[3]

175 62 About the time of Commodore Perry's visit the population of Okinawa had begun to grow, and new areas were settled by both commoners and the gentry. Nanahan dates its existence from this period. Of the first three families to settle here, one came from Shuri gentry, and two others were commoners from the main settlement of Tomoyose. Of the seven settlements of the village of Yamada, three were settled by commoners and one by the gentry. All had come from the urban areas of the south in the latter part of the last century. [829] In Okinawa everyone seems to be aware of his place in history, and in the older settlements one often hears the remark, "...they are newcomers; they have been here for only two hundred years."

175 241 178 433 [177] In general the agricultural history of Okinawa falls into three periods. The first saw a self-sufficient economy, in which banana cloth was made in the village. The chief crops were millet, arrowroot, and sweet potatoes. With the introduction of a money economy, and its further intensification under the Japanese, sugar gradually turned from its previous use as a home confection to a full money crop. Rice acreage fell as more sugar was planted, and sweet potatoes found a greater place in the diet. The old crops of millet, cassava, and arrowroot were all but abandoned in Shimajiri, and became less important in the north. The third period is essentially the post-war and still continuing one, in which the growing of vegetables for the

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1 Navy Handbook, p. 240.

2 CAARI, p. 156.

3 Summation of U. S. Army Military Government Activities in the Ryukyu Islands, July-November 1946, p. 25.

military competes with sugar as a primary cash crop, and cane fields are being converted back to rice paddies as fast as the farmer's resources permit. A more detailed discussion of the crop changes in the last two or three decades follows. 175 241 178 433

Chronology of Change in Crops The major changes in crops revolve chiefly around the replacement of rice as a cash crop by sugar cane, and the later reversal of this situation. About fifty years ago, rice was the chief cash crop. It was rarely consumed in the home, but was sold in order to meet the monetary expenses of taxes, and to buy occasionally the new commodities that were beginning to appear in the markets. Then, not long after the Russo-Japanese war had ended, the price of black sugar jumped almost overnight from ¥8.50 to ¥64 for a 150-'kin' barrel. Everyone wanted to get a share of this boom in sugar, and most began to convert paddy land into 'hatake' for the growing of cane. They were stuck with the 'hatake' when the price fell after two months. The Japanese subsidized sugar later, however, and most of the land that had been converted remained sugar land. [654]

When the people began returning to their farms more than a year after the end of World War II hostilities, there was little market for sugar. The subsidy had gone with defeat, and providentially the sugar lands were available for the growing of more sweet potatoes. American canned food and sweet potatoes were the main items of diet until about 1949. Gradually farmers began to convert 'hatake' to paddy fields, and to grow rice again---this time less for sale than for home consumption. [262] [177]

The old "bearded rice" varieties (fijimē and mēdakōja) of the nineteenth century were replaced gradually by the shorter-statured but higher-yielding 'hōraimai'. The bearded rice, planted only once a year, had a yield of about one-third the present variety, and had only five or six stalks per plant. The twice a year modern variety yields more and has on the average fourteen to fifteen stalks per plant. As a result of the adoption of the two-crop variety, at least one traditional ceremony was abandoned. This was the tantui, in which the whole village participated before simultaneously planting their seedbeds. Before the war, two-thirds of Okinawa's rice requirements were imported.[1] Indicative of the postwar change to rice are the figures for area of paddy-fields in Kochinda-son; the 114,142 'tsubo' of paddy in February of 1948 had increased to 306,220 'tsubo' by September of 1952. Field investigation proved that conversion to paddy has proceeded at least as fast since 1952 as it did prior to that date. 175 241 433 242 178

Before the First World War almost everyone in Nanahan raised forty to fifty 'tsubo' of millet. It was boiled with glutinous rice to make millet rice-cakes, or 'awamochi'. None is raised now. The same is true of cotton. "It grew only a foot high, but its fiber was very strong and would last a lifetime." [252] Some other crops lasted into the post-war period. Until about 1950 textile bananas and yams were raised in Nanahan, but they both proved to be too weak in typhoons, and their cultivation was abandoned. 178 175 241

[1] Summation....July-November 1946, p. 25.

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175 Many root plants such as the giant radish and carrots used to flower
244 out, and the root would be so stringy that it could not be eaten. About nine
years before the war the Japanese brought in many new and better varieties.
[177] Nanahan has more vegetables now than the rest of Tomoyose, people say, "...be-
cause our houses are scattered and we can get to the vegetable plots easily;
they in Tomoyose can't, and therefore pay less attention to vegetables." Of
[234] the seven wards of Tomoyose, only Nanahan has an agreement not to keep chickens
so that their vegetables will be protected. Before the war the Irish leek and
swiss chard were the only abundant vegetables; others were to be had in only
small quantities. The "pine mushroom", or 'metsudake', was gathered "when we
used to have pines in the neighborhood." Farmers complain that they can grow
less green peas now, because of the great increase in number of rats due to
loss of the cat population during the invasion.

Okinawa has always been self-sufficient in sweet potatoes except in occasional time of famine. Even then, dried products of the sweet potato are often used. Many varieties are grown the year around, but in Nanahan only five main varieties were mentioned. Okinawa #100 gives the biggest harvest and in fairly fixed amounts regardless of weather. There were many of White #100 before the war, but few now. It was delicious, but the harvest gradually declined from its former high yield. Just after the war there were many of the tumaikurū variety, but recently few have been planted. The yield had been high, but gradually the seed became bad; it was described as the "most delicious of all sweet potatoes." Yaeyamaakagu was mentioned as a variety still grown in small amounts. The variety which brings the highest market price is Kiirumugwā. This "delicious" potato yields only half that of the average, and hence its price is double.

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175 Perhaps the best way to view the prewar-postwar change in agriculture
241 is to look at the amounts grown by a typical Nanahan farmer. Table I below
433 presents this information.

Table I

Crop	Tsubo Prewar	Tsubo Postwar	Comments
Sugar cane			Postwar home use amounts to 14-15 'kin' (19-20 lb.) annually. Sells about 100 'kin' (132 lb.). Prewar, sold 1400-1500 'kin' yearly.
(summer planting)	500	350	
(spring planting)	300	150	
Sweet potatoes	700	500	Three harvests per year. Not sold much; make starch only if harvest is plentiful.
Soybeans	300	200	Generally sold about 1/3 of each prewar crop, but only when money was needed at home.
Broad beans	150	70	Prewar variety was a small plant, the postwar one very large.

Table I, Cont'd.

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Crop	Tsubo Prewar	Tsubo Postwar	Comments
Green peas	80	--	None now due to rats.
Giant radish	50	50	Sell half; use the rest in soups.
Burdock root	--	50	Sell 90%; use only at home for feasts.
Carrots	1	5	Sell half the crop.
Dryland taro	--	20	
Irish potatoes	--	50	Winter crop; seed from Hokkaido.
Cucumbers	1-2	50	Prewar, all used at home. Now sell 90% at about ¥10 per 'kin'.
Chives	1	1	Always use in soup. Raise for home use only.
Wax melon	50	50	Sold half in Itoman prewar; now sell same amount in Naha.
Pumpkins	1	1	Entirely for home use then and now.
Kidney beans	100	100	Then and now entirely for home use, in 'gohan' and 'miso'.
Cabbage	--	60	Sell 90% at ¥2-7 per 'kin'.
Eggplant	--	4-5 stalks	For occasional home use.
Green onion	--	10	Entirely for home use, in soups, etc.
Chinese cabbage	--	20	Sell over two-thirds.
Bitter melon	--	5	Mainly for home use.
Mustard cabbage	--	3	Sell half. Pickle temporarily with salt for home use. [251]
Swiss chard	5	50	Pigs eat the old and large leaves; people the young and tender small ones. [231]
Garlic	--	3	It is pickled, and is entirely for home use. [351]
Shallot	--	2	Entirely for home use.
Red peppers	--	1-2 stalks	Used with soybean curd, or when one has a stomach ache. [757]

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Before the war Okinawa imported half its soybean requirements. By early 1951 the prewar acreage had been cut by half.[1] This resulted in the necessity to import soy sauce tax-free from Japan, which brought an ineffective protest from the Legislature early in 1954. 'Miso' paste, which is made of soybeans when they are available, is now made also of corn, broad beans, kidney beans, and various other legumes.

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As early as 1946 the occupation forces reported:

> Rapid restoration of Okinawa's prewar agriculture is hampered chiefly by an arable land shortage induced by military requirements in the southern half of the island, where roughly 30,000 acres are devoted to military use. War damage and migration from combat and, later, base development areas seriously disrupted agrarian economy and early planning was delayed pending disposition of farm tracts affected by military expansion.[2]

That loss of both upland dry fields and paddy land was affected is shown by the following:[3] (figures are in 1,000's of acres)

Table II

Type of Land	1940 Acreage	1950 Acreage	% of 1940
Cultivated land	103.8	67.2	65%
Paddy land	11.5	9.6	83%
Upland fields	92.3	57.6	62%

Even more significant is a comparison of the 1940-1950 figures with those for 1904, which show the situation which existed before any Japanese military installations were built.

Table III[4]

Year	Acres Paddy Land	Acres Dry Fields	Total Arable Acres
1904	15,779.1	93,952.6	109,731.7
1940	11,527.25	82,273.86	93,801.11
1950	9,559.56	57,610.16	67,169.72

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1 Ryukyu Islands Economic Statistics Bulletin, no. 10, January-March, 1951.

2 Summation...op. cit., p. 26.

3 Ryukyu...., p. 13.

4 The 1904 data are from Summary of the Land Adjustment in Okinawa Prefecture, Tokyo, 1904. The 1940 and 1950 figures are from the reverse side of the large map, Okinawa shotō shōzu.

In all cases, Kunigami seems to have held up the best, and Nakagami has fared the worst. Again this reflects the military interest of both the Japanese and the Americans. The comparison of 1904 acreage with that of 1950 in each of the three areas is shown below: 178 175 241 727 311

Table IV

Area	1904 Acreage		1950 Acreage		% Decrease	
	Paddy	Dry	Paddy	Dry	Paddy	Dry
Kunigami	6,530.5	28,398.5	5,463.0	20,773.8	16%	27%
Nakagami	3,861.2	34,176.1	1,675.1	14,932.0	57%	56%
Shimajiri	5,370.3	30,978.7	2,443.9	21,904.4	55%	29%
Okinawa Island[1]	15,779.1	93,952.6	9,589.0	57,610.2	39%	39%

Chronology of Changes in Farming Technique It is impossible to give for the whole of Okinawa a schedule showing just when each technical innovation was introduced. Some parts of Shimajiri and Nakagami were in advance of the rest of the island; conversely, one finds on the outer islands practices still carried on that the more progressive areas abandoned more than two decades ago. 178 241

In Yamada the transplanting of rice was originally done by scattering (bara'ii) of the shoots. Shortly before 1930 this method was replaced by planting in rows, with a string to mark the distance. The spaces were filled in by planting while walking backwards. About 1950 people started transplanting while moving forward. This has been replaced in part---at least in areas where the mud is firm and clayey---by the planting frame, the 'waku'. 178 243

Farmers kept the harvested rice in conical stacks (majin) several feet high. The bundles (tabai) had the heads facing inward to prevent attack by rats. The number of these stacks was indicative of the farmer's prestige in the community. The sheaves were removed from the bottom layer always, and only when rice was needed for food. [554]

Removal of the grain from the stalk was accomplished by the kūrashijii. This was a pair of bamboo tongs held in the right hand, while the sheaf was drawn through the tongs with the left hand. When the new variety of rice was introduced, use of the kanabā became common. This iron-comb-like device, through which the sheaves were drawn one at a time, can still be found in use on the isle of Sesoko, off the Motobu peninsula. It apparently did not find 178 243 412

[1] The discrepancy in the 1904 totals for Okinawa Island and grand totals for the three division of the island is accounted for by 17.1 acres of paddy land and 256.7 acres of dry fields in Naha, and 142.6 acres of dry fields in Shuri.

swiss chard for pig feed, as well as the greater availability of lantana bushes for livestock feed. The following table compares the 1931 figures with those for 1952: 178 727 231

Table VI

Livestock Type	1931	1952	1952 as % of 1931
Cattle	41	229	558.0%
Horses	1,676	74	4.4%
Swine	1,774	2,490	140.0%
Goats	4,217	1,400	33.3%

The "great rabbit boom" is often spoken of by farmers in an amusing vein. In the winter of 1946-1947 rabbits assumed the form of currency, and in a mad fever people bought rabbits and sold them, never realizing their true value. A Nanahan farmer related: 175 231 [43]

> I hitched a ride on a truck, and went up to the Katchin peninsula. There I bought a rabbit for ¥600. I sold it the next day to B. for ¥1200. He resold it for ¥700 profit to a Gisshi farmer who was waiting to buy one. Then I went up again, stayed overnight, and sold the new rabbit for ¥1000 profit. Again and again I went, and finally amassed ¥5000 in profits. With these rabbit profits I bought what I thought was a pregnant goat for ¥7000. It wasn't pregnant, and I had to sell it for ¥3000, taking a loss. But then I bought a pig from B. for ¥2500 and sold it to 'One-armed K' for ¥3000.
>
> In Tsukazan, which was the center of the rabbit trade in this area, a man sold all of his land to invest in rabbits, but he lost everything on the deal.

2. Land Use

The basic pattern of land use has been described in Glacken's Okinawan Village Studies (SIRI Report No. 4), and in Nuttonson, Ecological Crop Geography and Field Practices of the Ryukyu Islands, Natural Vegetation of the Ryukyus, and Agro-Climatic Analogues in the Northern Hemisphere. Although agriculture is not quite as intensive nor yields so high as in Japan, still much intercropping, double-cropped and rotation of crops is carried on. Because sugar cane takes a year or more to mature, various crops such as kidney beans, giant radish, cucumbers, broad beans, soy beans and mustard cabbage are interplanted with the cane. They mature and are harvested before the cane grows too tall and cuts off the sunlight. Sugar cane is rotated in a two-crop cycle of cane and sweet potatoes; or it is rotated with soybeans and sweet potato in a three-crop cycle. Very rarely is cane replanted in a field which has just produced a crop. In this way the farmers hope to diminish the damage done by worms and insects. 311 241

CHAPTER VI: POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND CONTROL

W. P. Lebra

1. Territorial Organization

631 The territory of the Ryukyuan government is subdivided into a number of municipalities whose administrations are directly responsible to the central government in Naha. There are three types of municipalities---city ('shi'), town ('chō'), and township ('son')---depending on their population and character. The 'shi' (city) and 'chō' (town) are urban municipalities whereas the 'son' (township) is always rural. Each of these are in turn subdivided into 'ku' which are equivalent to wards in the urban municipalities and to villages or hamlets in the rural. This study shall concern itself exclusively with the governments of the 'son' and 'ku'. As of May 1954 there were four cities, four towns, and forty-eight townships on Okinawa and its peripheral islands, and these contained over five hundred villages and settlements.

632 The governmental designations in use on Okinawa are the same as those
171 employed in Japan though there are several minor distinctions. A 'son' or township in Japan and Okinawa is a collective grouping of a number of separate communities or villages into a single administrative unit. In Japan the 'son' is a fairly recent creation, dating back to the late nineteenth century; in most cases it is a rather arbitrary grouping of villages in the interests of administrative expediency. It is exclusively a governmental unit, rarely a social or historical entity. This, however, is not the case on Okinawa.
● 175 Prior to Japanese annexation the present 'son' on Okinawa were called majiri;
632 in the Okinawan feudal age (aji nu yuu---Age of the Aji or Manor Lords) these were the hereditary fiefs of the local lords. Later, after the end of feudalism in the fifteenth century they became the administrative districts of the Shuri government. Each district was headed by an official (jiturei) appointed by the king, and the majiri or district was most important as the land-disbursing unit in a system of communal land ownership. It also served as the basic tax unit, since taxes were levied against the majiri by the Shuri government rather than against the individual family or village. Each majiri, like the present-day 'son', consisted of a number of small villages called mura, the equivalent of the present-day 'aza' or 'ku'. After Japan formally annexed the Ryukyus in 1879, the old administrative system was not immediately abolished and continued to exist for some time. The system of communal land tenure and taxation lasted until 1903, and the majiri were not converted into their present-day counterpart, the 'son', until 1907. In most cases the old majiri name was given to the new 'son', which generally corresponded to the territory of the former although a few of the larger ones have since been subdivided. For example, Motobu was divided into Motobu and Kami Motobu. In most cases, however, there has been a continuity in political districts since the feudal period.

621 Each 'son' is made up of a number of villages which are called 'aza' or 'ku' by official designation. For all practical purposes the two terms

CHAPTER VIII LAND TENURE

W. P. Lebra

423 During the lifetime of the oldest living generation of Okinawans
178 there have been operative two radically differing systems of land tenure---at first a system of communal land ownership and later a system of private ownership of land by families. At the present time a third system may be said to be emerging---private ownership by individuals. Changes in the systems of land tenure have been accompanied by significant changes in the family, economy, and community. During the wartime and post-war periods extensive land losses to military installations have severely disrupted the livelihood of a number of communities, thus furthering the process of change.

175 1. The Okinawan Kingdom and the Land Allotment System ('jiwari seido')

[692] Prior to 1879 when Japan formally annexed the Ryukyus, Okinawa was a small semi-independent kingdom (it was a tribute-paying dependency of the daimiate of Satsuma in Japan) controlling the southern Ryukyus. The
175 urban Naha-Shuri area served as the administrative and commercial center
565 for the kingdom, and nearly all of the upper classes, gentry and nobility, were concentrated there. They formed a ruling class similar to that of
[423] China, functioning as a literati and administrative bureaucracy. Feudalism had been abolished in the fifteenth century, and aside from a small percentage of the nobility who were allowed to retain their hereditary fiefs, the bulk of the upper classes subsisted on pensions granted by the ruler. This group was very large and constituted approximately one-third of the total population.

175 The farming population lived in a state of serfdom, being forbidden
[566] even to move from their native village or to change their hereditary occu-
[364] pation. Farm villages were self-sustaining and physically isolated entities consisting of tightly-nucleated clusters of dwellings surrounded by fields.
[62] Each village was segmented into several lineages whose houses were generally
[613] clustered together; these kin groups were related through the male line and shared a common ancestor, ritual observances, and often a local tomb for
[614] temporary burial. Each lineage was usually related to certain lineages of other villages, thus forming a larger relationship or patri-sib which shared a remote common ancestor, ritual observances, and a common tomb for permanent burial. Usually the membership of this larger kinship group was con-
[582] centrated in the villages of a given district or area. Village endogamy was an obligatory marriage practice, and kin group endogamy was a preferred though not an obligatory practice.

178 Private ownership of land on Okinawa is a recent phenomenon, as
423 recent, in fact, as the beginning of the twentieth century. Under the old
175 kingdom communal ownership of the land obtained for all except a small seg-
423 ment of the upper classes. In theory all land was the property of the ruler,
[63] but in practice the district, or majiri (political unit roughly equivalent

to the modern 'son'), was the land-holding unit. The administration of the majiri supervised the distribution of land to the villages or mura (political unit equivalent to present-day 'ku') where it was divided among the various families. The amount of land allocated to a given family was dependent on its size, age and sex of members, and social position; consequently the houses of the nuru priestess and local officials received a proportionately larger allotment than the houses of ordinary farmers. The distribution of arable land under this system at the end of the nineteenth century was as follows: 67.1% farmers, 13% local lords, 8.3% nuru priestesses and local officials, 10.9% newly-cleared land.[1] The farmers worked the lands of all groups. 175 423 [632]

The origin of this communal land allotment system ('jiwari seidō') lies deep in Okinawa's past far beyond the beginning of its recorded history. Redistributions were made periodically to compensate for changes in household size and fertility of holdings. These reallotments occurred at from four to thirty year intervals at the option of the local (majiri) administration, with the average being about every tenth year. Certain lands were excluded from redistribution, particularly the lands of the local lords. Usually the lands of the so-called yādui settlements made up of the younger sons of gentry families were also excluded. Newly-cleared land was placed in a special category in order to encourage land development; ordinarily it was treated as the private property of the family that cleared it and was not subject to reallotment. Despite these exceptions nearly 75% of the arable land was subject to periodic redistribution.

Under this system the tax-bearing unit was the majiri, not the family. Each majiri was headed by a jiturei, an appointed official from Shuri, who functioned as an administrator, judge, and policeman; he was held responsible for the tax payment of his district and was subject to recall and punishment in the event of default. The state took no action against the family or household which failed to pay its tax; such matters were left to the jiturei and his assistants, who were free to deprive the offending family of all its lands if they saw fit. When a house defaulted, its lineage was held accountable and forced to make up the deficit; if the lineage was unable to meet its obligations, the entire village (mura) had to assume the responsibility. A marked feature of the old village was a number of granaries set aside for the community's annual tax levy. 175 423 651 632 [672] [613] [621]

Land valuations were permanently fixed in 1610 when the daimyo of Satsuma had the region surveyed to determine the amount of tribute which could be extracted. There was no reassessment until after the annexation, although the overall tax levy was raised in 1635 and again in 1722. Only arable land was subject to taxation; no taxes were levied against house lots which were privately owned, nor against the forest and grass lands which were communal property. The tax levy for each majiri was based on the estimated productivity of its land at the time of the survey; it was a fixed tax and was never altered. It had been set so that in theory 40% of the yearly crop went to the government and 60% was to be retained by the 175 423 651

[1] Higa, 1950, p. 64.

175 family, but in actual practice the family often received a far lower percent-
423 age, since with a fixed tax there was no possibility of compensating for crop
651 failure, decline in productivity, and population growth. Tax payments were made in grain though cloth was also accepted. In addition to the inflexibility of the tax system there was a lack of uniformity in tax levies; certain areas such as Kunigami and the outer islands bore an unequal tax load, and farmers in all areas paid a proportionately higher tax than the officials and upper classes. These inequalities inherent in the system plus
[433] the periodic redistribution of plots served to curb any interest which the farmer might have had in improving his holdings; consequently, productivity was said to be very low.

423 Vestiges of this system may still be found in some of the peripheral
178 areas of Okinawa. The village of Oku in northern Kunigami-son still has communal ownership of its forest lands, and on Kudaka Shima off Chinen Peninsula a villager must turn his land over to the community when he goes to live elsewhere.

2. Okinawa-ken (1879-1945). Japanese Administration and the Termination of the Land Allotment System

175 Following the annexation of Okinawa, the new government embarked on
648 a program designed to integrate Okinawa (and the southern Ryukyus) into the
177 national state. The task facing the early administrators was a difficult one, for in addition to differences in language and culture Okinawa was poor in natural resources and possessed an antiquated administrative system. It was soon realized that modernization could not be accomplished overnight; therefore the Japanese allowed virtually all of the old customs to be retained during the first twenty years of their administration, and efforts were directed toward educating a sufficient number of Okinawans to assist
[565] them in carrying out the program. Though the old class system was abolished, members of the former classes continued to subsist on pensions now paid by the new government, and in the rural areas life continued much as before except that the mura replaced the majiri as the land-holding and disbursing
175 unit. By 1899 the government was prepared to introduce more radical changes,
648 and in March of that year Law 59 relating to land adjustment was promulgated.
177 Its objectives were to confirm private ownership and to determine land values for tax purposes. The importance which the administration attached
423 to this measure was clearly stated by Narahara Shigeru, superintendent of the Land Adjustment Board, "Now, the only way to reform the administration is to destroy old customs, but its accomplishment must be commenced with the reform of the system of land taxation, the very foundation of the old customs."[1] Following a mapping survey which began in 1899, officials went into the villages to explain the purposes of the law and to settle conflicting claims. Private ownership was generally confirmed in favor of the cultivator. By 1903 the land reform was carried through to a successful completion.

Private ownership of land was accompanied by the introduction of Japanese laws of property and inheritance; their combined effect was to alter substantially the prevailing social organization and economic balance of the rural community. Land formerly held by the family under the communal

[1] Summary of the Land Adjustment in the Okinawa Prefecture, 1904, p. ii.

allotment system was now entered in the newly-created land registries as the 175
property of the household head. In the past inheritance of the position of 648
household head by the first son had been largely a matter of status succes- 177
sion involving leadership of the family and certain ceremonial obligations. 423
Property succession had not been an important factor, for the private 177
property of the family had usually amounted to no more than the family 423
house and lot. Under the old land allotment system there was always land 428
available for younger sons who set up independent houses, but under Japanese 592
law the bulk of the family property was inherited by the first son. What had
been the function of the community in the past now became the responsibility
of the family, and since family holdings were usually small, the younger sons
were often landless. Informants stated that a father will usually do every-
thing possible to provide his younger sons with land, but he cannot do this
if it means jeopardizing the resources of the house. Continuation of the
family line for the purpose of continuity in worshipping the ancestors is
the chief responsibility incumbent on the household head, and in the rural
areas the land provides the major support for the house. With the rise in [166]
population there developed an increasing trend for younger sons to emigrate
from the rural areas in search of land or jobs elsewhere. The end result
was a considerable weakening of family and especially kin group ties and a [602] [621]
rapid decline in the communal character of the rural villages.

Though the creation of private property made possible the sale, pur- 175
chase, and rental of land, landlordism never gained a foothold on Okinawa. 423
Undoubtedly this is primarily due to the recency of private property and the 427
lack of time for large accumulations of land to be made. It is also in part [471]
due to a lack of capital in the rural areas; most capital on Okinawa after
the annexation and before World War II was confined to the hands of Japanese
businessmen and members of the former upper classes who seemed disinclined to
invest in land. Likewise the official Japanese attitude toward Okinawa was [648]
to regard it as a rather backward part of Japan not to be exploited as a
colonial dependency as in the case of Formosa and Korea. Glacken has sug- [171]
gested that the heavy fragmentation of the typical Okinawan farm would be an
obstacle to its sale; yet, the Chinese farmland is also highly fragmented
and landlordism has been common there for centuries.[1]

After the abolition of the communal allotment system taxes were ex- 175
tended to cover all categories of land whereas previously they had been ap- 423
plied only to arable land; however, government income from land taxes sharply 651
declined, as the moderate levies of the Japanese administration were con-
siderably below those of the Okinawan monarchy. Despite this reduction in [311]
tax load there has been a steady decline in the amount of land cultivated
since the termination of the old land system; this is clearly shown in Tables
III and IV in Chapter III, Agricultural History, Land Use and Diet.

3. World War II and the American Occupation

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During World War II Okinawa became the scene of one of the most vio- 727
lent battles of modern times. The entire island was turned into a combat

[1] Glacken, 1951, p. 160.

175 area which resulted in a twenty percent reduction in the civilian population
727 and in the destruction of virtually every city, town, and village. The densely-populated southern half of the island, scene of the heaviest fighting, was particularly devastated.

Staggering reconstruction tasks faced the military government at the conclusion of the war, and at first nearly all its efforts were absorbed in managing the problems of food and health for the civilian population. In the course of the campaign nearly all of the people had been removed into civilian internment camps, and many remained there for nearly a year or more before returning to their homes. Most returned to find their homes destroyed and fields overgrown with weeds or littered with the debris of war. In a few areas whole villages were replaced by military installations. The average village found itself without housing, its fields in an unusable condition, and its families decimated. In most cases the district office ('sonyakuba') had been destroyed and with it all family and land records. The physical destruction of the war and the humiliation of defeat left the population apathetic and indifferent for some time. One informant stated this feeling succinctly, "After the war we were left with only the will to live, nothing more." A former war-time and post-war mayor of one village informed the author that nearly six years were required to restore the land to its pre-war state, and he expressed the opinion that this recovery was unduly prolonged by the generous food ration issued by the military government: "No one wanted to work as long as there was free food. Without this food it could have been done in two or three years."

175 On April 14, 1950, the military governor issued Special Proclamation
423 36 which authorized the issuance of new certificates of land title.[1] The measure necessitated surveying and preparing new land maps and issuing new
[648] titles. It was first necessary to set up schools to train personnel for carrying out the assignment. The mapping job was one which the authors heard praised in all farm villages, with a number of informants remarking that Okinawa now had the best land maps of any time in its history. In the confirmation of ownership local bodies were made sovereign, but the individual had the right of appeal to the courts.

423 Copies of the land titles are kept in three offices, the land regis-
647 try and tax collection offices in the district office ('sonyakuba') and in the Central Land Office located in Naha. Under the law all land transactions, rental or sale, must be registered within thirty days; however, even the most casual check of these records plus a knowledge of local holdings indicates that this is not being done, for both the bookkeeping and registration appear to lag far behind transactions. This does not seem to be the result of any deliberate attempt to withhold information but rather appears due to a lack of concern for such details on the part of the individuals concerned. The same sort of situation prevails in the registration of births and deaths. Another factor might well be that the large number of land transactions occurring in the postwar period have left the farmer disinclined

[1] Ryukyu Statistical Bulletin, no. 5, May 1950.

[Kanegusuku]
[Kitazato]

on Okinawa observed that the farmer took little interest in the care of land which he did not regard as his own. The author was particularly impressed by the contrast between Japan and Okinawa in regard to the care of land, for the meticulous care which the Japanese farmer lavishes on his land seems absent by contrast among the Okinawan farmers. 241 829 554 463 [171]

Kitazato The farm village of Kitazato in Kami Motobu-son presents a marked contrast to Kanegusuku in that it has suffered the loss of a major part of its area to a military installation. In studying the village of Kitazato the village of Kanegusuku was used as a base line for comparisons. To supplement his own observations the author has drawn heavily on actual statements by Kitazato people; in this way he hopes to present as accurately as possible the actual state of the village compared to villages elsewhere on Okinawa, and the villagers' own conceptualization of their circumstances. 621 [727] 121 621 [124]

Kitazato is not an old village, having been founded but seven generations ago by the younger sons of gentry families from the Naha-Shuri area. It was politically independent of the neighboring villages during the time of the old kingdom, but after the annexation it was administered in part by the villages of Gushiken and Jahana. In 1936 or 1937 it was established as an independent village, taking its present name. 175 621

Following their release from civilian internment camps the villagers returned to the site of their old homes shortly before New Year's of 1946. They found virtually their entire village land area converted into an airfield and accompanying military installations. According to their account there was considerable misunderstanding between them and the military as to where they might live, and they feel that they were subject to contradictory and inconsistent orders. Several moves were made which disrupted their plans to settle, and one villager stated, "I grew tired of rebuilding my house." In 1948 they were finally ordered to remove themselves from the military area, and they took up residence in their present location. It is claimed that there was insufficient land in the area to resettle the entire village on a single site; so, the village divided into three sections. Thirty houses were located on the beach between the villages of Gushiken and Shinzato, and this segment was given the name Hama. The remainder of the houses settled in the nearby hills from one to two miles away. Thirty-nine houses settled in the hills between the villages of Furushima and Jahana, taking the name Kijikina. Ten houses located themselves in the hills just north of Kijikina in a settlement which they called Anahana. These latter two, however, function as a single settlement for administrative purposes. These 80 houses making up the scattered village of Kitazato have a total population of 414. Despite their physical separation these segments have striven with considerable difficulty to maintain their political and social unity; one mayor and council serves them, and people are constantly visiting from one area to another. Today most of their land is gone, and they are too far removed from any city, town, or military installation (the airfield is abandoned) for employment. Extreme poverty and bitterness are one's first impressions of the village. 175 621 727 [464] [735]

[Kitazato]

•175 621 727 It is said that the division of the village cut across family lines and that the motivating factor in a household's choice of one site over another was the location of their remaining landholdings on the periphery of the village. Another factor was the presence of relatives in neighboring villages from whom they might secure land for rental. Thus, Kijikina is largely made up of households which have their lands on that side of the field or have relatives in neighboring Furushima; the Hama people mostly own the land at the north side of the field.

175 621 The Pre-war Village Prior to the war the village was, according to 'son' officials, a very prosperous community and a great economic asset to the 'son'. It possessed nearly 173 acres in arable land, most of which was flat or gently rolling. The soil was well suited to sugar cane which was the chief source of income for the village; cattle-raising for export to Japan provided an additional source of income.

Unlike Kanegusuku the lineages were said to be rather weak in Kitazato; there were a number of different kin groups, and no one of these was dominant. The houses of the village were not tightly nucleated like those of the typical Okinawan village but were scattered about in a loose grouping in the midst of the best agricultural land.

621 311 727 Land Loss At the present time (May, 1954) approximately 39% of the total land area of this village is in airfield, and an additional 34% of the total area has been ruined by activities related to its construction (sand dumped onto fields, top soil removed, erosion, etc.). There remains but 27% of the total land area for the use of the villagers, and of this only a small percentage is in arable land, since most of the good, flat farmland was lost to the airfield. The total amount of arable land remaining is 11,895 'tsubo' (less than ten acres), and this averages out to about 148 'tsubo' or 0.12 acres per household, with approximately five persons in each house. The average amounts of arable land per household in Kanegusuku, Okinawa, and Kitazato compare as follows:

Kanegusuku	--- 1514.2 'tsubo'	
Okinawa	--- 1037.2 'tsubo'	(per farm household)
Kitazato	--- 148.7 'tsubo'	

Land loss to the airfield affected every family in the village; some families lost all of their lands, a very few managed to retain most, but the majority of villagers (70%) lost nearly all of their holdings. For example, the mayor of the village held 2470 'tsubo' before the war and now has 570 'tsubo' left; yet, he is considered one of the more fortunate. To compensate for their losses they now farm some land which was previously left idle: "We would not have farmed such land before the war as we are farming today." Some have rented lands from neighboring villages, and a few have been given land by relatives in these villages.

621 829 727 Land Payment The people of Kitazato strongly feel that they are not being paid adequate remuneration in terms of current rental values for their land. They are well aware of the fact that the same U. S. military

CHAPTER XI: CULTURE CHANGE IN RURAL OKINAWA

W. P. Lebra

175 177 Within a span of less than fifty years Okinawa has been twice subjected to periods of accelerated culture change. The first began in 1899 when the Japanese administration abolished the system of communal land ownership and taxation then extant in the rural areas and introduced private ownership. Land reform was followed by modernization of the government and the establishment of compulsory education. A second period of rapid change began in World War II with the American invasion and the establishment of military government.

175 423 177 The Japanese Impact (1879-1945) During the first twenty years of Japanese administration relatively few changes were introduced, but beginning with the land reform of 1899-1903 there followed a series of changes which completely altered the fabric of Okinawan society. The policies of the Japanese administration and the results of the long period of close contact with Japanese culture effected the conversion of Okinawans into Japanese nationals, destruction of the self-sufficiency of the rural village, modernization of government, weakening of the kin group, and greater participation in national life.

177 871 177 829 The transformation of Okinawans into Japanese nationals was accomplished through the establishment of a national school system which indoctrinated the students with the language and culture of Japan. Official Japanese policy aimed at the eradication of Okinawan culture; this was carried out through the schools and by means of repressive laws, police measures, and the practice of discrediting things Okinawan. Although there was some Okinawan reaction to this discrimination, the government was ultimately successful in creating a favorable response to Japanese culture. Its accomplishment was largely due to the close affinity of the Japanese and Okinawans. The linguistic and cultural resemblances between the two are so close as to make their differences bridgeable. A wider gulf might have produced antipathy, but instead the superior civilization of the Japanese came to be regarded as worthy of emulation.

177 The Japanese did discriminate against Okinawan culture, but as an alternative they offered, in theory at least, equal participation in their own culture. The process of assimilation was greatly facilitated by the cultural indoctrination of the schools; each successive generation came to feel and act more Japanese than the previous one. Okinawan culture was not eradicated, as the space of time was too short, but its creativity was reduced. An important factor in aiding the acceptance of Japanese culture was that the ideas and technology of the modern world came to Okinawa through Japan; hence, much of what was of foreign origin was accepted by the Okinawans as Japanese.

177 619 An important aspect of the change which came about under the Japanese administration was the realization for the average individual of a greater participation in the social and political life of the country. The mental

[Yamada]

Thus Aza Yamada consisted of seven settlements grouped into six 'han' and into five chinju. The chinju was probably the older, "natural" unit, while the 'han' was a unit introduced by the Japanese administration. 621 [177]

During the last few months before the battle for Okinawa, the area south of Yamada was used as an ammunition dump by the Japanese navy, one small unit was stationed in Tarigaa, and a number of Okinawan civilians drafted for labor were quartered there with the local people. These outsiders dispersed as the raiding by American planes increased and by the time the landing took place, on 1 April 1945, the people of Yamada had for the most part gone into caves and prepared underground shelters. Two or three days after the landing the 6th MarDiv passed through Yamada, discovering some of the people and sending them behind the lines, but missing many. Some of those taken were almost immediately allowed to return to their homes. Then, after about a week, all were rounded up, taken to the school, and there loaded onto trucks and taken to Ishikawa. During the following weeks all the buildings in Yamada that had survived the softening-up process that preceded the landing were burned "as a sanitary measure" with the exception of one house and one school building. A part of the Yamada people were moved again to a village north of Kin while the rest stayed in Ishikawa, which was becoming the largest concentration of civilians on the island. Aza Yamada, empty of Okinawans, was occupied by several American units; concrete foundations for quonset huts were laid on the level fields of Tirabaru; the walls and floor of the remaining school building were removed so as to make a garage for a motor pool. 175 621 726 727

The people of Yamada were permitted to move back to their village during the summer of 1946. Some stayed in Ishikawa, however, and some returned to Yamada only to go back to Ishikawa later. (One woman said they were told at the time that if they did not return to Yamada then they could never return later.) The houses at Yamada had to be rebuilt and fields reclaimed; American aid in materials was given but the job was not an easy one. For some of those who had employment with American units or whose families were too broken by the war to provide the basis for a farming household, the new city of Ishikawa, crowded and unsanitary as it was (and still is), was more attractive than the ruins of the country village. But in addition to those from Ishikawa, former Yamada people were being shipped home from Japan, the South Seas, and Manchuria, and although some of these too drifted to the city, the population of Yamada is now somewhat larger than it was before the war. 175 621 727

The postwar village of Yamada looks considerably different from the prewar one. While the old village consisted of several widely separated settlements, the new one is fairly compact. The center is Ajimaa at the old cross-roads below the school. Yamada 'mura-uchi' is empty but for three families. The yaarui of Uema and Tarigaa were never reoccupied and Tirabaru exists only as a sort of pseudopodium of Ajimaa stretching toward but not reaching its former location. The greater part of the 'mura-uchi' and yaarui people are in Ajimaa and the present Tirabaru. Kuraha, formerly down on the beach, has been rebuilt above the water, just below Ajimaa, at a new and potentially more important crossroads. 621 178 [361]

It
186 is also important to keep in mind that the relationship is always one of
829 American employer to Okinawan employee; consequently, the American is most
177 often the initiator of action.

464 Conclusion In a number of Okinawan communities military employment has drawn
434 off the surplus population which formerly had emigrated. In not a few communities it has become the mainstay of the economy.

464 Most Okinawans regard military employment as economically advantageous.
829 There is no stigma attached to men who are so employed, but considerable
554 stigma is attached to women who take this employment, particularly the maids.

177 The American installations are dependent to no small degree upon their
648 Okinawan employees, and in turn many Okinawan individuals and communities are
464 wholly dependent upon the military for their livelihood. Their relationship is a symbiotic one which can best be enhanced by mutual understanding; yet the social distance between the Okinawan and American is so great as to make interaction on a basis of equality rare. Because of their different cultural backgrounds and their job situations, both remain ignorant of the other's motives and values, and mutual understanding is difficult if not impossible. Common
[171] denominators in both cultures might be sought as a means of bridging this gap, as, for example, their common love of sports.

3. Japan, America, and Okinawa

W. P. Suttles

829 Japan in Retrospect Okinawan attitudes toward Japan are decidedly ambivalent. Factors that have entered into the formation of these attitudes are as follows:

• 175 1) Historic Relations On the negative side are the historic separa-
648 tion and former independence of Okinawa. This separate status is still re-
829 membered by old people, some of whom speak of wars between Okinawa and "Yamatu" (Yamato, that is, Japan). Several illiterate old people seemed to make no distinction between the conquest and oppression of Okinawa by the feudal state of Satsuma and the later annexation by the national government, and thus seemed to be blaming Japan as a whole for wrongs done by Satsuma.

171 On the positive side there is the indisputable remote common origin
174 and basic similarity of the Japanese and the Okinawans. Racially, linguis-
177 tically, and culturally the Okinawans are closely related to the Japanese.
829 They may be said to be merely a kind of Japanese. It is highly probable that the majority of the ancestors of the Okinawans came from the north, from Japan, in the not too remote past. Their isolation made it possible for them to be politically independent and their political independence made it possible for them to escape the levelling influence of Japanese national governments, particularly that of the Tokugawa Shogunate, and for them to have closer contact with China. This accounts for their having a number of elements of Chinese culture that are not found in Japan, but it does not make them a kind of Chinese.

bottom will imprint nine squares on the wet soil, and as it is turned another nine will be imprinted so that when continued the field is laid out in tiny squares. Three or four seedlings are planted on the corners of the square made by the waku. 243 804 413

Men operate the frame. As they turn it, making the square pattern on the damp soil, women follow behind with the seedlings. The frame has been in use in Matsuda for about fifteen years. An Okinawan agricultural school student is said to have invented it. It was not used in the southern villages studied, an interesting sidelight on the slowness of innovation even on a small island like Okinawa, for many farmers in the south expressed surprise at its use and had not heard of it. The device is helpful to those with large plots. In Matsuda, there are not many of these frames, but borrowing is frequent. [462] [176] [184] [426]

In contrast with recent introductions, such as the universal treadle thresher, the frame seems to be confined to one geographic area. The reason for this may be that the use of the thresher was actively encouraged by the Japanese as a successful time and labor saving device, while the frame was not similarly publicized. 243 804 [407]

Another method, a more traditional one, is to use a piece of wood the same length as the waku with seven little knobs and the two ends to give the nine spaces. This is the jiyogi. A piece of string stretched from one end of the field to the other is used to get a straight line along a row. When the planting has taken place along one row, the jiyogi is used to measure off one space between rows, the guide line is moved over and the operation repeated. This achieves the same purpose as the frame or the string with the markers. Men are more likely to handle these operations, the women following along with the transplanting. But the division of labor is by no means hard and fast. [462]

Care of rice until its maturity. Rice set out in squares is easier to cultivate, weed, and harvest. During its growth, it will be necessary occasionally to loosen the soil or to break up clods which escaped the initial working. There may be some temporary drainage of water off the fields at these times. 243

Weeding rice is usually done by hand, though once in a while a farmer has a hand cultivator. Weeding the rice field is an unrelenting job which is done about once a week. More attention is given to this task when the plants are younger. Weeding is worked in with other daily chores, and all members of the family may participate.

The rice is now allowed to grow with the hope that strong winds or a typhoon will not blow over the slender shoots or submerge them. If the rice is submerged when the shoots are still fairly young, they will gradually right themselves. Farmers say that attempting to upright the plants by hand will not work. The quality of rice once submerged is poor and sometimes half the rice in the plot is lost. If the submersion occurs when the plants are near maturity and the stalks are 20 or 25

778 Similar worship may take place at a spring (izumi). Near
796 Gushichan village there is a large spring. Stone stairs have been built up, amphitheatre-like, around it. Prayers are offered by villagers, or substantial numbers of them, on New Year and on the 5th day of the 5th lunar month. In daily life, the spring is a favorite place for laundering and bathing.

776 There are three well gods in Hinatogawa, and they are worshipped
778 at the three public wells scattered throughout the village. The people of the village, or large numbers of them, assemble at these wells for
796 prayer at various times of the year, the most important being on New Year and on boat racing day. Sake and a box of candy are placed before the well as offerings of thanks for water.

This village has also a place for the worship of the sea god. This is a simple stone on a small shelf, on a barren spot of the seashore, scarcely distinguishable from the rocks scattered in natural disarray by the waves. In a high wind, the remains of the offerings and the charcoal sticks are swept out to sea. The most important observance here occurs on the 4th day of the 5th month, the day of the sea festival and the boat races. Fishermen come to the place by boat and make offerings of sharks' fins. On this day, the whole village assembles twice to pray at the spot, once before, and once after the races and the celebration. Individual or family worship is common on New Year and at O-Bon. On the equinoctial holiday of the full moon, the headman, the heads of the neighborhood groups, the council and retired elder men assemble, offer thanks and pray for continued plenty from the sea. Very close to the palace of the sea god, a short round stick of bamboo or of thick miscanthus may be stuck in a pile of rocks. Near the top, a dried fish (usually the ika) tail is placed in a slit. In the center there is a slit for another but larger part of the dried fish.

776 The palace of the mountain god, though its identity is uncertain,
778 is near the palace of the sea god. It is under an overhanging rock along the seashore. This seems an unusual place for the home of a
778 mountain god, but seafarers may have prayed to the god in thanks for guiding them safely in. It seems now to have fallen into disuse. It is now partially overgrown with pandanus and little is known of the place.

776 Matsuda. In Matsuda, there are beliefs in well, mountain top, and
778 tree grove spirits. There are 8 wells here and family groups usually divide up and worship at one of the wells. After drinking some of the
782 water, thanks are offered to the well god.

The gods of the mountain top and the tree groves are difficult to
776 understand. Little seems to be known about them locally, and it is
128 difficult to disengage historical from religious elements.

One popular explanation is that these gods were the intentional
● [776] invention of Saion, the 18th century statesman and authority on forestry and agriculture. But this seems highly unlikely. It is more likely
789 that Saion capitalized on the ancient interdict against cutting down
778

127 material, I have depended on published works to supplement my own findings. These sources are acknowledged throughout the work.

128 The organization of the study follows the main topics which have been outlined in the preceding paragraphs. The first chapter is a discussion of the geography of the island, including climate, soils, physiography, and regional differences that exist. This is included for the specific purpose of indicating limiting factors in agriculture and land use, and to make clear that the geographical relationships with continental Asia and Japan have varied throughout history and with the changes in international relations. The voyages following the Age of Discovery, the events leading up to the opening of Japan, the Japanese wars with China (1894-95) and Russia (1904-05), the events following World War I, World War II, and the unexpected emergence of Korea as a major post-war battleground have produced their reverberations in the Ryukyus, especially in Okinawa. We are dealing with an old culture, long settled in the area, and, as a consequence, with modifications and changes of the natural environment dating back millenia. Okinawa has developed by an intensive and widespread conversion of the forests, the soils, the plants, and the small rivers to human use.

In the historical chapter, this idea of a culture modifying the natural environment over centuries is supplemented by a discussion of the intrusive influences which have been brought to bear on its history. These influences range from the introduction of the family system and of [129] the sweet potato to the American Coco Cola. The cultural history is a product of these influences from continental Asia, Japan, and the United States in addition to the changes coming to an environment in which people live close to the land and have sometimes carefully, sometimes carelessly modified,it to suit their needs and tastes.

Within the framework provided by the geographical and historical chapters, the main body of the report begins with a discussion of the types of villages found in Okinawa, a description of each of the villages studied, the physical and historical differences that seem to distinguish them. Following this, there is a discussion of village populations, the effects of settlement, pre-war emigration and post-war displacement and repatriation. The last chapter of this part is concerned with housing. This could have been considered elsewhere, but housing is really a more detailed study of the elements of which a village is composed. Housebuildin and construction are, except for the primary occupations, the most common of all village activities. It seemed logical to follow the technical discussion of housing with the ceremonies of housebuilding, though this too could have been placed elsewhere in the work.

The third part begins with an exposition of social organization as embodied in the family system, a discussion of the small and the extended family, devices such as adoption, and the significance of the household order, or secondary family naming system. The discussion is then shifted to the nature and the effectiveness of inheritance and the manner in which inheritance actually works out in an area of fragmented land holdings.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

Okinawa, Asia, and the Pacific

The Ryukyus, of which Okinawa, the Great Loo Choo of the nineteenth century explorers, is the largest island, is an arc, really the summits of submerged mountains, extending in a southwesterly direction from the Kyūshū node almost to the island of Formosa. The arc is bowed outward and the archipelago forms a tenuous boundary separating the East China Sea from the Pacific. 131

The islands may be thought of as a link in a chain of peninsulas and archipelagos shaped like a rough semicircle from Korea to Kyūshū, the Ryukyus and to Formosa, thence to the mainland of China. These peninsulas and the island chains and the coastal mainland, together with the Wei, Lo, and Fen valleys in the Hwang-ho northward bend, have been the scene of cultural intermingling from ancient times, but the area still awaits comparative study as a whole.

The direct and indirect influences which, considering its geography and insular position, have done most to fashion the culture of Okinawa have come from China, Korea, and the Japanese islands, in early times southwestern Japan, especially Kyūshū. With the exception of the visits of European missions and squadrons in the nineteenth century, Western ideas came from Japanese sources. Okinawa, in the great era of the expansion of European ideas and influence in the nineteenth century, was exposed to Westernization indirectly through Japan. 179

Geographical relationships change with the times, shifts in the power of empire, and changes in trade. To the late nineteenth century observer, and indeed to the twentieth as well, Okinawa seemed one of the most isolated and unexplored spots in a part of the world which had been known to the West for centuries. This isolation was more a product of history than of geography. "Each year," wrote William Furness in 1897, "finds the Luchu Islands more and more important, commercially, to the Japanese government, although as yet, they are but little known to the busy world which sails past them to and from the markets of China, Japan, and the Far East."[1] Yet, from the middle of the fourteenth to the second half of the sixteenth century, Naha in Okinawa was a port of call in a trade route which included Korea, Japan, Siam, and Malaya. Malacca was the central port of this trade. It has been estimated that there were at least forty-four voyages out of Naha to these lands in the 138 year period from 1432 to 1570.[2] 131 175

1 William H. Furness III, Life in the Luchu Islands. Bulletin of the Free Museum of Science and Art of the University of Pennsylvania, 2 (1899), 1.

2 This trade will be discussed further in the next chapter with sources cited there.

131 The Settlement
631 pattern is similar to that of the central part. Villages are scattered
133 throughout the area with population distribution comparable with the cen-
361 tral area. Before the war, the densities here were over one thousand per
[161] square mile, actually considerably more if the uninhabitable lands are subtracted.[4]

How long this settlement pattern and these regional differences have
311 existed is difficult to say. In studying contemporary environments, like Okinawa, which bear the imprint of long human settlement, it is useful to try to reconstruct the nature of the landscape before the interference of man. At one time, the whole island, with the exception of stony, rocky, and shallow soils and beach and marsh land was covered with forest. There are now no virgin stands. "It is evident that the present forest has been cut over many times. There seems to be no part of the island in which the forest cover has not been disturbed in some way by man."[5] In this light, the regional differences between the forested north and the deforested south are the work of man.

361 The oldest settlements are thought to have been in the Naha and Shuri areas. Kudaka Island, off the southeast coast, according to one
[173] legend, was the site of the supernatural creation of the Okinawan people. The town of Unten, the Port Melville of Captain Hall and Commodore Perry,
[174] was, in one version, the scene of the landing of the Japanese warrior, Tametomo, but this was in the twelfth century. Northern areas were in-
[161] habited prior to the unification of the island in the twelfth century because they had their own regional chieftans before this. But the population of the north, at least up to the war, has been sparse and scattered. If the forests are any indication, it has been the central and southern regions which have been the scenes of longest settlement. Probably the
[177] settlement pattern had not changed much until the Japanese interventions
[178] of the nineteenth century and the great changes coming with the recent war, and with the extensive modifications which the Americans have made in the landscape of the central region.

3

General Climatic Conditions

132 In the Köppen system, Okinawa has a humid subtropical climate. It is a rainy climate with no marked dry season; it has a mild winter and the temperature of the warmest month is over 71.6°F. The average annual temperatures in Naha range from 61° for January and February to 82°F for July and August, and the range from the mean minimum of 55° in February to the

[Text continues top of p. 14--Analyst]

4 See the population distribution maps in CA Handbook, Ryukyu (Loo-choo Islands, 48-49.

5 Okinawan Forests. (Prepared by the USGS, Military Geology Section under the direction of Office of the Engineer, GHQ, Far East Command), 1948, 2.

198
199

There is something to add to the statement of Dr. Green. The fortresses have now disappeared. The same labor, the same minute care of the land which makes them gardeners instead of farmers in their fields, and conservationists of their cultivated and their wild land exists today. The changes of the landscape since that time have come within the last ten years, first through the destruction of war, which affected cultural installations as well as the natural environment, and the changes which have been made in the physical environment by the Americans. The bulldozer works alongside the hoe; the airplane takes off in sight of a horsecart. The new American homes overlook the thatched roofs of an ancient way of living. The water system of an army camp or military reserve, using thousands of gallons daily, exists beside the well, the community faucet, or pond with individual families using six or seven bucketfuls a day. The island has come a long way in the transformation of the natural landscape by the hand of man, beginning, one may suppose with the earliest interferences by fire and in the clearing of trees to the contemporary scene, where transformations, a combination of age old tools and of modern machinery, continue before our eyes.

121

It is in this ever changing physical environment, itself the product of long settlement and the intense change of a most recent past, that we must see the growing population, the everyday village life, the continuance of agriculture and soil care, the land, and the forests.

1

Introduction

Okinawan history is the story of inertia and change. Basil Hall Chamberlain, the distinguished Japanese and Ryukyuan scholar of the last century and grandson of Basil Hall who visited the island in 1816, said rightly in 1895 that "the general assertion may safely be hazarded that Oriental stagnation exists only in Occidental fancy."[1] 178 [114]

One of the reasons for this fancy is that there is a certain stability in parts of the culture, and from this circumstance it is often concluded that changelessness and lack of variety have characterized the historical experience of the people. Agricultural methods seem to have changed little with the centuries, though some of the tools are new. This stability in agriculture is another way of saying that a fine technology based on experience and empiric observation, had been developed, and that in the absence of modern scientific knowledge of soils, crops, plant pathology and fertilizers, it was the best technology possible under the circumstances. The tombs, introductions from China over five centuries ago, add to this impression of the changelessness of rural life. But this is more apparent than real when we look into the history of burial customs more closely. [242] [177] [169]

This view of Okinawan history in terms of inertia and change has meaning for the present. The American influence on Okinawa is not a new way of life that is conditioning a static society, but an important, forceful, and new intrusion in a culture that already has undergone fundamental changes in the past. Those who think within the framework of Western European and American history, those whose minds are trained to recognize the changes which have come about as a result of the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the beginnings of theoretical science in the seventeenth century, tend to neglect the rest of world history as relatively unchanging, or to see only those changes coming about from Western intrusions. This one sided interpretation, often expressed in the idea of the Europeanization or the Westernization of the world, should be supplemented with the insight that Oriental cultures have influenced and changed one another greatly and have still maintained their own distinctive features. Chinese influences have been strong in Korea, Japan, and the Ryukyus. But each of these cultures is separate and distinct, although, as one might expect, contemporary Okinawan society bears the strong imprint of long cultural and economic associations with Japan. 178 177

1 The Luchu Islands and their Inhabitants. Geo. Journal 5 (1895), 311.

773 In the first version, a male person (Shinerikyu) and a female person (Amamikyu) descended from Heaven. Amamikyu without sexual intercourse gave birth to three children: the first son became the first ruler; the first daughter, the first priestess; and the second son, the first farmer.

In the second version, the male and female deities gave birth to a child. "They carried stones and earth to the edge of the sea and planted trees to keep back the waves." Mountains and forests thus made, "mankind sprung up." Knowledge was attained and one person divided mankind into classes. This man, Tenteishi, had five children: Tensonshi, the first son and first ruler; the second son, the first noble (ansu); the third son, the first farmer. The eldest daughter became the first kikoe-oh-gimi who later headed the institutionalized noro religious system. The second [773] daughter became the first priestess (noro).

173 The dynasty established by Tensonshi, according to tradition, lasted for twenty-five generations, 17,802 years, or until 1187 A. D. During this period, Okinawa was divided into three districts (magiri), Kunchan in the [631] north, Nakagami in the center and Shimajiri in the south, divisions which remain to this day.[4] The districts were divided into mura, or townships, [943] "Wheat and millet were raised at Kutaka /a name of a magiri/ and rice was grown at Chinen and Tamagusuku."[5] There is reason to believe that Tensons 174 dynasty had its greatest control over what would now be the area of Naha, Shuri, Tamagusuku township, and the Chinen peninsula area.

773 In both myths, a female priesthood, as Spencer points out, is placed at the very beginning of Ryukyuan history. A king, lesser nobles, a female priesthood, and farmers were the basis of the culture.

3

Events of the Early Historical Period

175 Not enough is known of the early historical contacts between the Great 177 Loochoo and the Chinese and Japanese to warrant any conclusions regarding influences which these countries could have exerted.

648 Chinese punitive expeditions took place in the early seventh century A. D., but the consensus of opinion is that the invasion of Great Loochoo resulted in no prolonged cultural contact or influence. Some Japanese

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 29 -- Analyst]

4 Chamberlain, The Luchu Islands and their inhabitants, as cited, 306.

5 Leavenworth, Charles S. The Loochoo islands, 15. Quotation is from the manuscript history translated by Leavenworth, ibid, 77.

contact with Okinawa may have taken place in 743 A.D., but this may have been confined to the island of Kume, west of Naha, and not involved Okinawa itself.[6] 175 177 648

The modern Japanese contact with Okinawa which brought about the fall of the Tenson dynasty is associated with the arrival at Unten of Tametomo in the latter part of the twelfth century. Some have regarded this as historical, others as perhaps legendary.

Unten, on the Motobu peninsula, is one of the important places in the historical geography of Okinawa island. This is the Port Melville of the Western explorers, Hall and Perry, both of whom charted the bay and its harbor.

Tametomo, of the Minemoto clan, exiled after the final defeat of the Minemoto by the Taira clan in Japan, ultimately reached Unten and there married the daughter of one of the regional nobles, and after a period of civil war, the Tenson dynasty collapsed. In 1187 A. D., the son of Minemoto Tametomo by his Okinawan wife became King Shunten. Shunten, the first of three "Japanese kings," was followed by his son Shumma Junki (1238-1248), and his grandson Gihon (1249-1260). In 1260, the legitimate dynasty was restored under king Eiso.[7]

After his succession, Eiso toured the islands and is credited with setting regular boundaries to rice-fields. "It has been said that this greatly attracted the people so that they started to look after farming." Graves, according to a manuscript history, were first built in the island, at Urasoye, and the Buddhist temple, Gokurakuji was constructed with an officiating priest named Jenkan in charge of the temple.[8] [764] [346]

The Japanese syllabary may have been introduced at this time. Buddhism apparently did not take hold. Chinese attacks on the islands in connection with the Mongol wars and the attempted invasion of Japan seem to have left no mark on the island. [818] [779]

The year 1372 is the beginning of the period of relationships with the Chinese, in this case, the Ming dynasty. This is contemporary with the growth of a vast trade network involving Korea, Japan, China, the Ryukyus, and Southeast Asia. It is not clear whether the trade voyages under King Satsudo (reigned 1350-1399) to South China, Malaya, and the Philippines were instrumental in stimulating the Ming dynasty to engage in the Pacific trade, or whether the forced alliance of the Ryukyus with the Chinese 175 648 439

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP of P. 30--Analyst]

6 CA Handbook, as cited, 41, and Chamberlain, as cited, 306.

7 Chamberlain, as cited, 308

8 Manuscript history in Leavenworth, The Loochoo islands, 80. On the Japanese syllabary, see Chamberlain, as cited, 308.

175 empire provided the incentive. The central district of Okinawa became an
648 entrepot in the triangular China-Ryukyuan-Japan trade. In the beginning
439 the cultural interchange was a consequence of sending Chinese ambassadors to assist in the investiture of Ryukyuan kings and the travels of Ryukyuan emissaries to Peking. Naha in Okinawa and Foochow in Fukien were ports of entry and exit for the travellers.

The Ryukyuan emissaries left Naha for Foochow on the Min river in Fukien and then began the trip north to Peking. Ryukyuans brought copper, tin, and sulphur and received brocades and silk in return. The Ryukyuan as well as ambassadors from Korea, Annam, Burma participated in this official reception at Peking.[9]

The first contact with Chinese learning has been dated at 1392, when the son of the king and the son of his master of camp were allowed to attend the Imperial College. The usual route from Naha to Foochow became a cultural corridor joining China and Okinawa. This contact with Chinese learning and writing lasted until the Japanese annexation in 1879. Hall in 1816 and Perry's staff in 1853 mentioned the devotion among the higher [565] classes to Chinese learning, and though this no doubt was confined to those residing in Naha and Shuri, it was this Chinese educated class that ruled the island. With this learning too, there came the ideals of the [641] Confucian state and its five relationships, parent-child, husband-wife, [593] friend-friend, younger brother-elder brother, and subject-sovereign, which were reflected so forcefully in the family system and in the state as well. This coloring of the whole government, composed of men with Confucian ideals gradually changed, says Spencer, following Iha, "the whole mental outlook of the male population, at least around Shuri. This would, per- [562] haps, not extend inland, and was not given to the women." In the countryside the influence of women, through the noro system, was still strong. This Confucian ideal of the state, as Spencer and Iha have suggested, [099] probably had a great deal to do with the dis-establishment of the noro system as a state religion in the seventeenth century.[10]

In the reign of Sho Shin (1477-1526), there were further foreign contacts and domestic consolidations. Buddhism was encouraged and in [099] fact reintroduced, this time from Korea. The Okinawans requested from their Korean "suzerain" the sutras, the Buddhist canon, and religious objects in 1462, 1479, and 1483.[11] Chinese artifacts, books, and other articles were imported, and palaces on the Chinese model were constructed at Shuri. Chinese customs, dress by rank order, and the Confucian ideal of the state became part of the culture of Naha and Shuri, probably less so in the other parts of Okinawa.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON TOP OF P. 31--Analyst]

9 Binkenstein, Okinawa-Studien. Monumenta Nipponica 3 (1940), 201-02. Binkenstein, Zur Frage der Ryūkyū Gesandtschaften. Monumenta Nipponica 4 (1941), 264-67. For the route to Peking, see p. 266.

10 Spencer, as cited, 108-09. Quotation is on p. 108.

11 Haguenauer, Relations du royaume des Ryūkyū avec les pays des mers du sud et la Córee. Bulletin de la maison franco-Japonaise. Série française. T 3, No. 1-2. Comptes rendues, 114.

These foreign introductions were accompanied with the reinforcement of a native institution: the elevation of the female priesthood to what amounted to a state religion. This institutionalising of a native religion did not mean the exclusion of foreign religions or foreign ideas. The king used the noro system to bind his realm together: at the same time, he reintroduced Buddhism, himself becoming an adherent. The priestess of the Sho household, that is the royal house, was removed "to a place without the palace, but near the main gateway" of the palace at Shuri, signifying the closeness of the chief priestess to the royal house, the extension of the system to all the islands, and the centralization, both of religious and political life. Political institutions, borrowed from China and in a Confucian mold, with the dominance of the male in the family and in the government, now existed side by side with the hierarchy of priestesses whose power rested not only on royal patronage but on an economic security whose basis was ownership in land. With the passage of time, it was the order of priestesses that gave way to the male dominated Confucian ideal. This Confucian idea of the state, a combination of the individual morality of Confucius with the ideas of statecraft of the legists developed in the Han dynasty, retained its hold until the Japanese did away with the monarchy.[12]

175 178 793 779 692 177 562

The new government with its capital at Shuri, a port at Naha, a royal granary at Kuno, and the town of Tomari, was rigidly departmentalized along Chinese lines.[13]

175 692

The Ryukyuan kingdom, from the middle of the fourteenth to the second half of the sixteenth century was part of a great trade network. This included the Great Loochoo, Korea, Japan, China, Siam, and with the port of Malacca as the center of the trade. The normal route was from Naha[14] along the coast of Fukien province, stopping at Foochow, up from the mouth of the Min River, along the coast of the Campa (modern Indo-China), thence to Malacca. From here, it was possible to trade with the islands of the Sunda (Java) seas, Siam, and with the province of Pataai on the east coast of the Malay peninsula, south of the isthmus of Kra. From Naha, the products of Japan, Korea, and Central China were brought to Malacca; from Malacca, essences, various woods, pepper, sugar, ivory, and articles of Portugese and Arab manufacture were brought north. The various traders brought back to the Great Loochoo Chinese money, Ming porcelains, and silks of south China. There were Korean, Chinese, and Japanese colonies

175 439

[Text Continues TOP of P. 32--analyst]

12 Spencer, as cited, 103. On the role of the legists in political Confucianism in China, see Fitzgerald, China: a cultural history, 103-04,156.

13. For interesting details, see CA Handbook Ryukyu (Loochoo) Islands, 103.

14 The age of Naha, I believe, is unknown. Under King Satsudo in the late fourteenth century, and in the period of trade of which we are speaking, Naha had a sudden expansion. There were three channels into the harbor, the northern "Yamatoguchi," used by the Japanese, a center one, "Karefuneguchi" (literally Chinese ship terminus (mouth)), and a "Hiyakoguchi", the south channel which was used by the ships engaged in trade with the Sakishima group. Simon, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, 36.

115 439 at Naha, and junks from the south seas touched at that port. Loochooans in this manner became known to the Portugese.[15]

115 648 Political relationships with countries other than China had accompanied this trade. Following the establishment of relations with China in 1372, there were contacts with Korea in 1389 when the woods from the southeastern trade, paper, and other articles originating in Indo-China and the East Indies were presented by King Satsudo of the Ryukyus to the Korean court. These relations with Korea were renewed in 1392 under the new Yi dynasty. The usual route north was from Naha to Hakata in Kyūshū to the Korean port of Pusan on the southeast coast, thence overland to the capital city of Seoul. Relationships between the two peoples finally broke off in 1500, although Koreans actually were settled in Okinawa and some were evacuated in 1574.

This was therefore a period of considerable cultural contact with China, Japan, Korea, and with the countries of Southeast Asia, and indirectly with the arts and manufacture of the Mahomedan world and of the Portugese in the crossroads port of Malacca.

115 648 430 This lively and important trade was brought to an end through three situations: the existence of Japanese pirates, necessitating, at a period toward the close of the era, hiring Japanese Buddhist priests as ambassadors and cargo protectors, (2) the appearance of the Portugese in the East China Sea, and around 1542 at Tanegashima, one of the northern islands of the Ryukyus southeast of Kyūshū, and (3) the maritime expansion of Japan in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the coup de grace to the Ryukyuan trade.

115 177 369 It is likely that many of these outside contacts, even up to the end of the nineteenth century, really affected Naha and Shuri, and that the rural areas were essentially unchanged. This would mean that the two cities had a culture revealing a strong Chinese influence, but also of Japan and perhaps indirectly of other nations, while the rural areas languished in the older elements of the folk culture, such as the priesthood dominated by women. Other facts which will be brought out in the chapters to which they belong tend to substantiate this interpretation that we cannot speak simply of a homogeneous Okinawan culture.

115 648 [439] The conquest of the islands by the Japanese in 1609 was a consequence of the growing trade that had developed with Japan, first with the Shogunate, later, more specifically, with the Satsuma clan. Ultimately the Satsuma clan succeeded in displacing the Shogunate in the Loochoo trade and with the conquest of 1609 the kingdom came under Satsuma influence,

[TEXT Continues TOP of P. 33--Analyst]

15 On this trade, which is much too complex to treat in a short summary, see Haguenauer, as cited, 4-16. Much new material appeared in two articles by R. Binkenstein, Zur Frage der Ryūkyū Gesandtschaften, Monumenta Nipponica, 4(1941), 256-69, and Die Ryūkyū-Expedition unter Shimazu Iehisa, ibid, 622-28.

Amami Oshima and the northern islands being directly ceded, the others agreeing to vassalage. 175 648

From this time until the seventh decade of the nineteenth century, the Ryukyu kingdom existed, acknowledging both suzerainty of China and vassalage to Satsuma in a twilight of sovereignty which statecraft and the political realities of the time did not find it necessary to resolve.

During this period of contact with other countries, an intrusion of an entirely different order, but what must have been of revolutionary consequence, was the introduction of the sweet potato in 1605. "In the 10th year /1605/ Noguni Tsunkwan imported sweet potatoes from China. Mashi Oima Uyakata Shinjo obtaining them, planted them in the fields, and in a few years they were raised all over the islands."[16] In view of the widespread reluctance of peoples to adopt new foods, the swift acceptance of the sweet potato is noteworthy. It must have furnished the means of subsistence for a much greater population. The topography, the soils, the fewness of valleys, alluvial plains, and marsh land could not have permitted the growth of rice to feed great masses of people as in China and Japan. This dependence on the sweet potato has persisted to this day. Modern accounts mention the reliance of the ordinary Okinawan on the sweet potato, and in times of stress on the sago palm, or cycad. Rice is seldom if ever mentioned as the food of the common people. 175 177 262

Scarcely had the sweet potato reached Okinawa, when it was carried to Japan. At first it was known as the kara-mmu (Okinawan) or Karaimo (Japanese), that is the Chinese potato. When it reached Satsuma in Kyūshū, it became known as the Luchuan potato; as it spread northward and eastward in Japan, the Japanese, believing the plant to be a native of southern Japan, called it the Satsuma potato (satsuma imo), and it is by this last name that the sweet potato is known in Okinawa to this day.[17]

4

Inertia from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Centuries 175 178

The period 1609 to 1871, when the Japanese took their initial steps toward the eventual incorporation of the island of Okinawa within the empire, was a quiescent one, continuing a pattern of life already set. The ideals of the Confucian state were strong. In the 17th century, it [642]

16 Quoted from a manuscript history in C. S. Leavenworth, The history of the Loochoo Islands, 88. "Native historians," says Chamberlain, "inform us that it was acclimatized in Luchu and passed into common use within the short period of four years after its first introduction." No further sources are given. Chamberlain, as cited, 302.

17 On the fortunes of the sweet potato in Japan, see Rein, The industries of Japan, London, 1889, 65.

175 648 In April 1844, the French corvette Alcemène landed at Naha to open up negotiations for trade with France. The local official protested to the French commander that the islands were sterile, provided only a little rice, had no gold, copper, or iron, and that from antiquity they had engaged in a modest trade in rice with the neighboring islands, if drought or floods did not interfere. He implored the French not to land because of the unhealthy climate. The French response was gracious, but a landing was made and a friendly interchange followed. This visit was the beginning of the French [191] missionary effort in the Ryukyus.[20]

175 Belcher's Narrative of the Voyage of H. M. S. Samarang (1848) describes some explorations in Okinawa, but his materials for this island are disappointing.

These earlier travellers generally concerned themselves with casual observations, as they came to the eye, on such subjects as marriage and burial customs, hairdress, religion, and clothing, but on the less colorful and more commonplace but just as important subjects as the family system, land tenure, and land use there is virtually no mention.

The Perry expedition, which first arrived at Okinawa and anchored at the port of Naha on May 26, 1853, made outstanding contributions.[21] The expedition explored large parts of the island. Previous observers had only touched the coasts or described the areas around Naha and Shuri and Unten. A series of technical papers on such subjects as agriculture, ethnology, and plant and animal life were prepared. Observations were made of court, town, and everyday village life. It is the last document, based on personal observations and exploration, and written from a modern point of view, which appeared before the Japanese formally took over the island and introduced the changes in the last two decades of the century [197] that were to affect the daily life both of the villages and towns and alter the culture fundamentally.

The land explorations of the Perry expedition, as far as can be determined from the various place names and landmarks which in the account can be identified, included the south, the central, and parts bordering on the northern district of Kunigami. The exploration started from the home of the unhappy Dr. Bettelheim, a converted Jew and the resident missionary in Naha. Bettelheim told the members of the party what he knew of the language, Okinawan knowledge of arms and of money, and of their religion. From Naha, the explorers went to Tumai, subsequent

[Text continues top of p. 37 -- analyst]

20 Cordier, Henri. Les français aux iles Lieou K'ieou. Mélanges d'histoire et de géographie orientales. Tome 1, 296-317.

21 See Hawk's Narrative of the Expedition, especially Vol. I, chapters 7-9, 11, and 17, and Vol. II which contains the specialized articles on various aspects of the exploration. See table of contents for the Loochoo articles.

195 This last document, written prior to the complete absorption of Okinawa into the Japanese social and political system is still worth careful study. The conditions it describes were probably true for the ensuing thirty or forty years. It is a last glimpse of a culture before being exposed to Western influences indirectly through the Westernization of Japan, which was then just beginning. The Okinawa of 1853 was a terra incognita, but the intervening years have brought many new changes and circumstances throughout the world, and the terra incognita of one age has become a household word of another.

6

Okinawa Island, the Capital of a New Japanese Province

195 197 648 One might well ask why the Japanese changes beginning in the latter part of the nineteenth century were so revolutionary, when Japan had exercised an influence in the twilight zone of sovereignty over the islands with China since the early seventeenth century. The answer, I think, is that in the earlier period, Japanese influence was confined largely to the upper level of government, particularly to the handling of foreign relations and trade, and to supervising any contacts between the Okinawans and the Western nations. The members of Perry's expedition mention that there was spying everywhere and that these spies were Japanese in Loochooan dress, an observation about internal espionage not made by Hall about forty years earlier, though it existed from the Japanese conquest of the seventeenth century.

195 197 After the Japanese made the Okinawan king a Japanese marquis, their influence, though gradual, reached down into the masses of the people. A systematic effort was made to replace the old life with the new Japanese ideas, themselves a compound of traditional practices and innovations derived from the west.

Although the Ryukyuan monarchy was restricted in 1871, the prefecture was not actually established until 1879. But the cultural domination of the islands, as distinct from political and police control, must be dated, inexactly, later. The readiness of Okinawans to abandon Chinese customs and to accept Japanese customs seems to have increased after the success of the Japanese in the sino-Japanese war of 1894-95. After the war, the former king of the islands cut his hair, a symbol of acceptance of a more modern way of doing things.

In this period, whether we date it from 1871, 1879, or 1894-95, to the beginning of World War II in Asia, the Japanese made several fundamental changes in Okinawan society. These early changes coincided also with a period in which the Japanese were most hospitable to Western influences. The changes within Japan ranged from the reorganization of the government, a new educational system, the inauguration of a Western calendar, the establishment of post offices and telegraphs to crazes and

fads of Western inspiration. Vaccination, the calendar, European dress for officials, photography, edicts against long hair belong to the late 1870's. Chamberlain has spoken of the years 1885-87 as the "years of the great foreign fever."[24] Japan was the medium through which Western ideas were brought to bear on the old Okinawan culture. This new intrusion, indirectly set off both by the Perry expedition and the determination of the Japanese to change their own country, was modern Japan, compounded of traditional and Western ideas. When we speak of the "Japanization" of the islands, we must remember that some of this is also Westernization.

Foremost among these changes was the introduction of the new Japanese education. Education came to the rural areas and provided the basis, as in Japan, for mass literacy. This was not an easy task. Nor was it accomplished at once. Chamberlain in 1895 tells of the signs at the entrance to each village, giving the population, the number of children of school age and the number of children actually attending school, a "device not used in Japan itself, but resorted to here with the object of shaming parents into sending their children to school. To get the girls sent there has been found very difficult--the Further Isles almost impossible." The extent of this change can be appreciated by Chamberlain's further remark that few outside of Naha understood Japanese, and that the language was taught the first year so that it could be used later in instruction in other subjects.[25] Before World War II, as now, Japanese was spoken and understood by all, except the very old, the Japanese language existing side by side with Okinawan which remained the language of children, intimates, and of the village. The adoption of Japanese dress, the cutting of the hair, the learning of the Japanese language were the avenues to official employment.

Another great change was the abolition of the old system of land tenure, something we shall dwell upon at length later. By a series of laws over the period 1899-1903, the old system of village communal ownership with a periodic distribution of the rice lands and the dry crop land was abolished and private ownership and inheritance of land were instituted. The abolition of the old land allotment system must have changed the aspect of the villages, for village-owned granaries, were part of the central area of a village.[26] This change in land tenure, as Spencer has suggested, contributed to the further economic decline of the native religion of the noro priestesses whose lands, still retained, were now subject to different laws of inheritance.[27]

[TEXT Continues on Top of P. 40 — Analyst]

24 Basil Hall Chamberlain. Things Japanese, 238. See his comments on "fashionable crazes," 155-57.

25 The Luchu islands and their inhabitants, as cited, 457-58. Chamberlain adds, page 457, an interesting table showing school attendance by district which indicated that eligibles going to school were in a distinct minority.

26 Hawks, Perry's Expedition to Japan, as cited, I, 314; II, 34.

27 The Noro, or priestesses of Loo-choo, as cited, 109. This is an interesting example of the relation of an old religion to economic changes brought about by a revolution in land tenure induced from above.

175 167 Another departure from the past was that Okinawans, soon after the turn of the century, were provided with opportunities for emigration. The history of Okinawan emigration is not well known. But in the twentieth century, the people of Okinawa changed from an almost complete ignorance of the outside world to one of the most widely travelled and informed peoples of the Orient. Okinawan settlements in the twentieth century were scattered in many parts of the world, such as Peru, Argentina, Brazil, Hawaii, and the Japanese mandates of the Pacific, Singapore, Japan, Manchuria, and Korea. The cessation of this historic emigration is an event pregnant with meaning for the future. The population and its natural increase now must subsist on the island.

175 480 [638] Late nineteenth and twentieth century improvements in roads and communication, modest as they were by American standards, broke down some of the isolation of the three districts of Okinawa. The forests and the lack of roads to the north had always discouraged contact. Much of the trade in firewood between the north and the south, even up to the recent war, was done by ship. Elsewhere there were only paths and in the north, not even these. In 1895 Chamberlain wrote of the sparsely inhabited [661] northern (Kunigami) forest area whose inhabitants were "despised for their poverty and rough speech by the natives of the central and southern provinces." Later on he remarked about the "groans of Japanese officials when obliged to go their country rounds," and, that, in the north it was necessary for them to carry a tent.[28]

175 191 242 As the main island in the newly created province (ken) of Japan, Okinawa benefitted from the scientific approach to agronomy pursued enthusiastically by the Japanese, in contrast with the Chinese and the Koreans before their annexation. Concentration on the development of suitable varieties of rice, the study of sugar cane, plant disease and agricultural techniques represented a body of knowledge that could be applied with local adaptations to all parts of the empire.

175 178 565 [511] Direct Japanese annexation meant also the disappearance of the top heavy native nobility or gentry (shizoku) to be displaced by the Japanese elite, although membership in the Okinawan nobility continued to be recorded in the family registers up to the recent war. The displacement of the old higher social classes resulted in a certain levelling of all the people, a levelling which continued up to the war, and was accentuated in an economic way by the widespread impoverishment of rich and poor alike in the campaign for Okinawa.

7

Okinawa in World War II

175 648 The terra incognita described by Bayard Taylor in 1853 became the

28 Chamberlain, as cited, 294, 459

175 was that large numbers of refugees from the south were sent to the
227 northern area. The destruction of the heavily populated south and cen-
[166] tral areas, with their many villages, gave new prominence to the northern district whose villages, much less damaged and less densely populated, were now in the best preserved part of the island. The roles of the two regions had, in a sense, been reversed. The northern region was no longer a rustic hinterland.

In 1945, the Okinawans came under the direct military government
[648] of the Americans, and from these early beginnings, which in the heat of conflict were scarcely more than compounds for the relief and care of refugees, there has evolved the extensive present civil administration and the native government.

175 The Americans have thus been the most recent arrivals on an island
197 with a long history of inertia and change. The results of this last, and probably greatest intrusion into the culture of Okinawa cannot yet be predicted. This cultural influence is a stronger, certainly a much different one, than the great changes which came about when the Japanese set on their course to make over Ryukyuan, especially Okinawan life.

The war years, with conscription and service in the Japanese army
[227] in other parts of the empire, the disruption and deaths in the war, were
[198] effective in preventing the handing down of the traditional culture from one generation to another. This may mean a more ready receptivity to newer influences. It will be clear in the pages that follow that many aspects of the culture, familiar to the old, are now unknown to the young.

197 Whether the American influence will be a conservative one, in the sense that the fundamental attitudes and framework of the culture as it existed before the war, will be retained, or whether it will be a revolutionary intrusion remains to be seen. Will, for example, the individualis of the American culture tend to break down the structure of the family system? Or will American influences assert themselves within the framework of the culture, and will the flexible family system absorb only surface influences, leaving the basic culture as it is?

175 On a preceding page, the point was made that in the earlier periods
197 there probably was not a homogeneous Okinawan culture, that its centers,
184 Naha and Shuri, were under strong contemporary Chinese and Japanese influences, and that in the rural areas an older culture existed relatively unmolested. This gap was narrowed after the island became the seat of a province of the Japanese empire, through such measures as the new land law and the introduction of mass education, direct interferences were made in the traditional life of the rural areas.

175 In my opinion, the American influence so far has been to close this
184 gap even more, but for different reasons. The Americans have made no
648 direct interferences in the lives of the villages, except in those cases

in which villages have been moved and land preempted for military purposes. The devastation of the war, the mixing of the people, their dispersion as refugees throughout the island prepared the way for greater uniformity. Since the war's end, increased mobility, ease of transportation, the widening of the roads have done much to further obliterate sectional differences in this small island, scarcely sixty miles long.

During historical times, and probably during times now lost to an undocumented past, this island, far from being isolated, has been influenced strongly by other cultures. From the examples which have been given, one can at least gain an intimation of the stability and change that have characterized its experience, and some insight, no matter how slight, into the historical depth of a culture with which the Americans, in one form or another, and for some time to come, will be associated.

The people of Nagamo are farmers. The seat of their extended families is in Naha and Shuri, and they have their own local deity places (ujigami in Japanese). The people of Minatogawa are fishermen, their extended family seats are in Itoman. They too have their local deities and many of their religious ceremonies are centered around the gods of the sea and the dragon of the sea god's palace. 596 776 778

The population of Minatogawa, as of December 31, 1951, was 1108 (515 males, 593 females) in 213 households, an average of 5.2 persons per household, and of adjoining Nagamo, 564 persons (262 males, 302 females) with 113 households, an average of 5.0 persons per household. 162

The fishing village of Minatogawa is believed to be about 250 years old. It was founded, according to local residents, by the fishermen of Itoman who were accustomed to fish off shore near the islands around the southeastern and southwestern parts of Okinawa. The place was first established as a temporary location for the fishing boats and later permanent settlement took place. The tombs of Itoman are still the ultimate burying ground for large numbers of the Minatogawa fishermen. After 250 years the ties with the parent town are still strong. 361 173 [764]

The village has two traditions involving contacts with other peoples. The first is concerned with the Chinese. One is a spot on the shore where some Chinese are said to have landed over 200 years ago. Many fishermen pray to it on certain occasions of the year. Little is known of what happened to the Chinese, but supposedly they were buried high up the side of a steep mountain nearby, inside a cave with stalactites. Bones said to be of these Chinese may still be seen there. The cave is difficult of access. 173 177 [778]

There is also the tradition of London sailors said to have been shipwrecked at the port of Kiyan on the southwest tip of Okinawa. A child was born of the union of one of these sailors with an Okinawan woman and the sailor later returned to England. The tomb of the woman and the child is revered as a religious site. It is now a small shrine on the outskirts of Itoman called Rondongama, Rondon for London.[9] Old women of Minatogawa sing a song of this old love called Michinakankai. The theme of the song is the unashamed love of the woman for her departed London lover, an Okinawan anticipation of Madame Butterfly. [778] [533]

In this area the low, bare hills form in a haphazard way a series of valleys, some long and narrow, others like an amphitheatre with an open face to the sea. Low passes connect the valleys. One such pass, about 150 feet high, now on Highway 64, leads from the valley of 133 361

[Text Continues on Top of P. 53--Analyst]

9 The writer visited both the cave and the site near Itoman town in August 1951. The shrine is now situated on a small hill on the outskirts of Itoman. The bones were moved here during the war from Maizato village to escape Japanese bombing. A large cave nearby, associated with the mother and the child, is overgrown and very dangerous to enter because of the danger of snakes.

1

Generalities on the Population History of Okinawa Island

Virtually nothing is known, to my knowledge, of the growth of population in Okinawa in historic times. Early travellers made some estimates, but they gave no basis for them. In a previous chapter, it was mentioned that the introduction of the sweet potato in the early 17th century must have allowed a greater population on the island than had hitherto been the case. No doubt also malaria and other diseases kept the population down, at least until the latter part of the 19th century. This ignorance of population growth extends down to recent history.[1]

There seems to have been very little immigration to the Ryukyus and the population has probably been homogeneous for long periods of time. There were many Japanese in Okinawa, but these were largely in the towns and main cities. Most of them left after the war.[2] This meant that the population of Okinawa continued to be made up of preponderantly the native born, though in recent years there has been some immigration of Amamians.

Emigration during the 20th century has been the outstanding fact in the population history of the island. Little is known of the nature of this emigration, but it is believed to have started in the early years of the twentieth century. Until World War II, emigration was the answer to the problem of a population that was growing beyond the ability of the island's resources to support it. It has been estimated that the emigration from Okinawa prefecture in the period 1920-1940 was over 193,400 persons. This represented a loss of 98% of the estimated natural increase for the 1920-1940 period. It was 34% of the prefecture's total 1920 population.[3]

The Okinawan campaign, also, was accompanied by large scale displacements of people who remained on the island. It was estimated that in a pre-invasion shifting of the population, over 3/4 of the people

[Text continues on top of p. 60--analyst]

1 Dr. Green in 1853 estimated the population of Okinawa at 150,000 or possibly 200,000. But this was only a crude guess. Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 36. For population estimates prior to World War II, see CA Handbook, as cited, 45-51.

2 As of Nov. 30, 1946, 57,345 Japanese, 1,755 Koreans, and 21 Formosans had been repatriated from the Ryukyus, with 3,706 Japanese remaining to be repatriated. See note 3 following.

3 Newman, Marshall T. and Eng, Roman, L. The Ryukyu people, a biological appraisal. Amer. Journ. of physical anthropology, n.s., 5 (1947), 113-57. Reference on pp. 135-36. This estimate was made by subtracting the estimated natural increase from the total increase, 1920-40, making allowances for the under registration of births. On post-war population history immediately following the war, see pp. 135-46 of this article.

need of succession is met, birth control measures might be accepted. There is, it is true, a widespread feeling that many children are a happiness which artificial control should not destroy. But this feeling, especially true with women, is often lost after the fourth or fifth child when mothers may dread further child bearing.[7]

In the villages studied, there is an awareness of birth control. This awareness comes from conversation and reading, the primary sources being Japanese magazines and newspapers. I did not meet anyone who admitted practicing birth control or who desired to do so. According to the informants, it is not practiced at all. There may be some instances.

But birth control methods are not widely understood, and even if they were, it is doubtful that people would use them on their own initiative. The present apathy toward birth control methods may be due to the fact that only recently has the question been of any significance. In the past economic difficulties within a family were relieved by emigration. There was thus little need to think of a limited family. On the contrary, there was pride in a family that might spread over continents.

Historically, the whole emphasis in the family system has been on a large or a medium sized, not a limited, family, and this, even today, is tied in with family pride coming from having children and grandchildren. If families have girls to begin with, the feeling is all the stronger. Though unusual, it is not unheard of to have a family of girls, and even if there are sons, there should be enough of them to take care of the hazards of death.

5

Conclusion

Among some villagers--and this seems to be independent of the degree of education--there are now more realistic appraisals of what the soil and the land can make available to a growing population and to their own children. Emigration for the time being is not possible. And, even if it were on a broad scale, it would not only have to skim off the present excess population, but take continuing care of future natural increases as well.

There were in all the villages several considerations that have influenced these appraisals. Land is insufficient, even in quantity, though in local areas such as Matsuda, it might suffice for local demands. The arable land is also poor. The poor and insufficient land,

[TEXT Continues TOP of P. 69--Analyst]

7 This dread of continual child bearing is discussed as an attitude, not as a general truth. The statement is based on conversations with men and women in each of the villages. Many women in Okinawa would not agree with this, but the attitude, I am convinced, if not a prevailing one, is at least frequent enough to be worth recording as something more than individual distaste.

417 the house from the glances of the curious. It has been suggested that the stationary gate at the entrance of the courtyard is of Chinese [170] origin, that its purpose originally was to scare away spirits, and that its former presence in the tomb compound indicates that it was intro- [164] duced along with the turtleback or horseshoe tomb from Fukien province in China.[2]

175 Captain Hall described Okinawan house exteriors and the surrounding 351 buildings, including those of the common people. The house was "buried 340 in foliage" and hidden from view. It was surrounded by a light fence of rods, about one foot apart with creepers on top. These rods were probably stalks of miscanthus grass, or of the dwarf bamboo. The site had a wicker gate, possibly meaning the hinpun made out of the dried grass stalks. One house which he described was divided into two compartments, eight feet square, with a small veranda at one end. The floors, made of bamboo, and about six feet above the ground, were covered with a straw mat. The walls, about five feet high, were wattled with split bamboo, and the house had a pointed thatched roof.

[352] In the interior, there were shelves for bowls and cups, and in a [354] loft or garret tools, nets, or baskets were stored. These installations now are often found in the kitchen. In the middle of one side of the house there was a fireplace, sunk below the level of the ground.

[343] Outside, in the compound, a pigeon house, poultry yard and spinning 175 wheels were observed. In another passage, Hall describes a cottage of 342 "wattled rattans" with a light open bamboo roof with thatch and creepers, one wing of which was occupied by goats. The compound consisted of a stable, a pig sty, and a poultry house. There was also a mill. The granary was on posts about six feet above the ground with firewood [325] piled below. There was an anvil with a forge of masonry but no bellows.[3]

The houses of the poor, said Fahs in his report to Commodore Perry, were made of bamboo and had no floors.[4] Accounts around the turn of the century say that houses and granaries were supported by corner posts of considerable height. Schwartz said these posts were about five feet high. The house walls of straw thatch were held in place by bamboo grass matting with a space two feet in width acting both as a door and a window, a matting curtain covering the aperture.[5]

[Text Continues TOP of p. 73--Analyst]

2 Simon, as cited, 80. C. W. Bishop has suggested that the stone houses of the Ainus of Hokkaido point to contact with southern insular peoples. Also, the primitive Japanese hut which was illustrated resembled the one we have been describing for Okinawa. It had a thatched roof and a courtyard which was cut off from the outside view by the hinpun. The historical geography of early Japan. Geo. Review, 13 (1923), 40-63. Note especially Figures 5 and 6. (This article was reprinted in Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1925).

3 Captain Basil Hall, Voyage to Corea and the Great Loo Choo, as cited, 124, 141, 142-43.

4 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, Vol. II, 50.

5 Henry B. Schwartz, In Togo's country. New York and Cincinnati, 1908, 148-49.

1

Introduction

Everyone knows that the family is a most important social institution in Asiatic countries such as China, Korea, and Japan. What is not so well, nor so widely understood, is that the idea of the family is deeply involved not only with obligations and duties within a family, but also with such matters as ancestor worship, inheritance and succession, land tenure, public and private holidays, and in certain phases of community organization and of government. It is better therefore to abandon the expression family and substitute for it a term which at the outset suggests the implications and ramifications of the idea of the family. This term is the family system (kazoku seido in Japanese). The Ryukyu Islands have felt the influence of China, Korea, and Japan in many different ways and at different times. Perhaps the most important of these borrowings, ultimately from China, is the family system.

The family system is a series of mutual obligations and duties which members of a living generation of a family owe to one another, to those who have lived before them and who have been responsible directly or indirectly for their present condition and status, and owe also to those who will come after them to perform for their time the tasks now imposed on the contemporary generation.

The family system embraces the same family relationships found in countries of the west. Here as in the west, the biological family, composed of the husband, the wife, and the children, is the fundamental unit of social organization. In American society, family ties beyond the immediate biological family tend to become more fragile, and indeed often become so within the biological family itself--due in part at least to a strong tradition of individualism and greater mobility.

In Okinawa, the biological family is but a segment of a wider system of family relationships. These spread out not only into the contemporary extended families but find expression also in reverence for those who have lived in the past and in a feeling of responsibility for the continuation of the family into the future by assuming one's duty to prevent extinction of the family line. In the so-called ancestor worship, there is this expression of the extension of the family system throughout time. Ancestor worship, the conventional term, is not quite correct, but it conveys the general meaning desired. Actually it is not only the ancestors but all deceased relatives, including child descendants, whose memory is revered.

The family system is a great chain of responsibilities and obligations which extends from the remote past to the remote future and of which the living generation is the responsible contemporary representative. It is this aspect of the family system that makes it more a philosophical, ethical, or social concept than merely the descriptive term for a system

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

The Family System, Inheritance, and Succession

The family system is distinct from the inheritance of property. But in the succession of the first son to the house and in the establishment of branch families, the operation of the family system shows its effects on the practices involved in the inheritance of land and other property. 602 428 [182]

The family system can, and actually has operated in Okinawa independently of a system of private ownership in land, and, at present its obligations are as strong on a landless villager as on one who has many fields or other property. Succession in the family system is succession to a series of rights and duties and responsibilities, much watered down, it is true, from what they once were. These rights and duties may involve the disposition of rice fields, a house site, or personal and movable property, such as the majority of Hinatogawa fishermen possess in a boat, nets, hooks, and other fishing equipment. [423]

Since agriculture and the employment of land are fundamental to the life and economy of Okinawan villages, practices involving the inheritance of land should receive the greatest emphasis. In this chapter, land is considered in a general way, reserving for the following chapter a detailed analysis of types and grades of land based on the Okinawan tomship system of land classification. 428

Since the first son and his succession to the house are so important to the continuity of the family, one might expect outright primogeniture in inheritance of real property. Such is not the case. The present system of inheritance of property was defined in Japanese law which provided for inheritance by sons other than the first and by daughters as well. This is based on Japanese law as it stood prior to the passage and promulgation of the Japanese land reform law of October 1946 and prior to the post-war revisions of the Japanese Civil Code.[1] [421] [177]

1 In this and in the following chapters, words in parentheses are, unless otherwise designated, Japanese equivalents of English terms. For an interesting historical discussion of the concepts of katoku-sōzoku (succession to house headship) and isan sōzoku (succession to property), see Hozumi, Nobushige, Ancestor worship and Japanese law. Third and revised edition, Tokyo, Osaka, and Kyoto, 1913, 170-87, esp. 181-82. Hozumi notes that in old Chinese history, katoku (house authority) was used as a synonym for eldest son, 172-73. On the Japanese reforms following the war, see Arthur F. Raper et al., The Japanese village in transition, (GHQ, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, Natural Resources Section Report No. 136), Tokyo, 1950, 161-70, 258-61, and Laurence I. Hewes Jr., Japanese Land Reform Program (GHQ, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers. Natural Resources Section Report No. 127), Tokyo, 1950, 9-36. [113]

1

The Old Land Allotment System

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[177]

Okinawa became part of a province of Japan in 1879 and in the late of 1899-1903 fundamental changes were introduced in the land law. Present land use and tenure is a result of (1) the family system with the original influence from China, with Japanese and Okinawan modifications, and (2) the Japanese system of inheritance, as outlined in the old civil code.

Prior to the Japanese reforms of 1899-1903, which introduced private ownership and private disposition of land, arable land in Okinawa was communally owned by a village and periodically redistributed to villagers for their use. This was known as the allotment system (jiwari-seido).

Until 1899, the arable land was owned by the village. Peasants had the right of cultivation, but not of ownership. Land was redistributed by village elders at stated intervals. These apparently varied among villages, as intervals of two, four, and ten years for the periodic redistribution have been mentioned by old men who, as youths, lived under the old allotment system. In the Gushichan area, according to one old man, this redistribution took place every ten years. It was found that there was much more awareness of the old land allotment system in the northern village of Matsuda than in the southern villages studied. [184]

In each redistribution, every living member of the family, from the newest born infant to the oldest person, was given a share. Apparently there were also local variations in determining each share. In the Gushichan area, according to the same old man, allotments were made according to the strength and competence of individuals. A distinction was made between a full grown male and a woman or a child, and there were differentials between the rich and the poor. The head of the house in practice received and controlled the shares of his family. There are no parallel data for Matsuda on this point. At each redistribution, additions or deductions in shares were made for births or deaths, though there is some doubt that this practice was universal. Matsuda old men mentioned this, and the Gushichan informants said the practice was not followed here; presumably a family share prevailed.[1] [184]

[Text continues top of p. 136--analyst]

1 This discussion is confined to the two agricultural areas studied. Conditions apparently were the same for a whole township; since the areas are now roughly the same as they were, Hanashiro as part of the Gushichan township would have the same conditions. No information was available in the fishing village of Hinatogawa. The very old here had only a vague memory of the old system. "Until 1899-1903, when the Land Reform Law was enacted, land was owned communally by the village, which divided the land among peasants at regular (contd. on next page)

place. Then, as now, paddy and dry crop land might lie together, depending upon local factors. In the periodic redistribution, each family received shares of each in non-contiguous fragmented parcels. In the nature of things, they received small shares of the excellent, moderate shares of the good, and large holdings in poor land. 175 423 311

The old classification of lands was simple and did not go beyond three general divisions of good, fair, and poor. Apparently the Japanese after 1879 introduced more refinements and increased the number of classifications to six. Land classification, then as now, was empirical. It was based on observation, local knowledge of present and past yields, and known dangers to the land. It was not based on scientific knowledge of the soils, nor is it today. 175 311 [177] [242]

Several dangers to land and crops were considered: (1) the danger of the wild boar (inoshishi). These reddish brown wild boars have disappeared from large parts of Okinawa, though occasionally one is seen in the northern forest. The boars destroyed crops by night feeding. Remnants of old fences can still be seen in the area around Matsuda. In Oku, in the extreme north, fences are still used and many can be seen along the hillsides. (2) Dangers from floods and salt water spray. Local flooding is common and often confined to a narrow area. Salt water spray and salt water in the air, especially in typhoon times, are still menaces to crops. The danger from typhoons did not enter directly into the determination of land classification because the area of destruction was so wide that it was not a factor distinguishing one plot from another. (One can however observe areas of differential damage in a village as an aftermath of typhoons). 175 241 [136] [417] [173]

This old land allotment system is now forgotten except in a few isolated areas where its main features are still apparently preserved. The best known of these is Kudaka Island off the southeastern shore of Okinawa. If the system has disappeared, except for a few isolated survivals, its influence remains to the present: it determined the pattern of land use still in effect today, the pattern of small, discontinuous parcels, and set the precedents for the mechanics of land classification. The basic classifications such as rice land, dry crop land, community forest were Japanese and are of great age. The old land allotment system is also considered to be of great antiquity.[2] 178 423 [189] [177]

2 It was a matter of considerable disappointment that I was unable to spend two or three weeks on Kudaka to study the land system there. Neither has time permitted an investigation (of great inherent interest) of the historical antecedants of the old Okinawan system. Land classification, such as we will be discussing in the next chapter, is very old in Japanese culture. The old Okinawan system bears some resemblances to the "mouth-share-land" (ku-bu-den) system of old Japan which appears in the Taihō code (702 A.D.). This was a system of distribution of communally owned land, but I have not been able to determine whether the distribution was periodic. See Wigmore, J. H. and Simmons, D. B. Notes on land tenure and local institutions in old Japan. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 19 (1891), 77 on land classification, (continued on next page)

241
262 These crops do not exhaust their agriculture. Wheat and barley are grown, but not in significant quantities. Varieties of beans other than the soybean are important. Pumpkins and gourds of various kinds make valuable food supplements. The onion, the carrot, and the giant horse radish are grown for home use, occasionally for sale. More unusual products, such as the taro, are grown less frequently and then only for side dishes at meals.

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[177] In their agricultural work, farmers prefer the lunar (kyūreki, literally, old calendar) to the western, solar (seireki) calendar. The lunar calendar was abolished for official purposes by the Japanese in 1874. While this change was introduced into Okinawa, the lunar calendar still has vitality in the countryside. The present published calendars show with a large numeral the day in the western count, but in each block, in smaller script, is the corresponding lunar date:

JANUARY	
1	1952
12th Month	5th day

Births, deaths, official correspondence are recorded in the western count. The farmer, however, thinks in terms of the lunar calendar. When he says he plants his sweet potatoes in May, he means May by the lunar count.

805

Western Solar and Lunar Day Equivalents

Western	1951, Year of the Hare	Lunar Count 1952, Year of the Dragon
Jan 1	Nov 24	Dec 5
Feb 1	Dec 25	Jan 6
Mar 1	Jan 24	Feb 6
Apr 1	Feb 25	Mar 7
May 1	Mar 26	Apr 8
Jun 1	Apr 27	May 9*
Jul 1	May 27	May 10*
Aug 1	Jun 29	Jun 11
Sept 1	Aug 1	Jul 12
Oct 1	Sep 1	Aug 13
Nov 1	Oct 3	Sep 14
Dec 1	Nov 3	Oct 15

* The period from May 24 to June 21, 1952, western calendar, corresponds to the lunar May 1 to May 29. The fifth month is then repeated beginning June 22 and ending July 21, western count. This intercalary month is necessary because the lunar year is about 355 days long. As a consequence about 11 days are lost each year, and an additional month is required every third year.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Some young farmers are now breaking away from the traditional lunar month and using the western calendar in describing their annual activities.[1] 221 805

The use of the lunar month is not confined to farmers. Fishermen, describing their work year, speak in terms of lunar months. For this reason, it is essential in talking to farmers or fishermen to establish at the outset what reckoning they are using. The names of the lunar month and the western month are identical. Following the Chinese, there are no distinctive names for the months. They are numbered from one to twelve. The months have to be distinguished by saying, for example, "sixth month, old calendar," or sixth month, Western calendar." [177]

An interesting minor detail of agriculture and the timekeeping connected with it is the reliance of Okinawan farmers on Japanese almanacs. These are printed and may be purchased throughout the island. One of these printed almanacs is in almost every house, or is readily available from a neighbor. Often, if one asks what is planted or harvested in any particular month, the farmer reaches for his almanac and produces the desired information. If the inquirer is not careful, he will obtain not what a farmer does during the year but what the almanac says he does.

2

Methods and Tools

In the chapter on general geography, it was pointed out that, despite a high annual rainfall and precipitation every month of the year, there is a problem of water shortage and of drought. This is especially serious in the summer months in all three communities. 132 731

[Text Continues Top of P. 167--Analyst]

1 The 24 seasons, borrowed from the 24 Chinese solar terms, into which the lunar year is divided, are also retained on the modern calendar, largely for the use of farmers. For example, Shōkan (Little Cold) begins about Jan 6, Chūkei (Insects Awaken) on March 6, Bōshu (Grain in Ear) on June 5, Ritto (Beginning of winter) on Nov. 7. These 24 seasons, in my experience, are not used much. Farmers think more in terms of the four seasons instead of the 24 little seasons. In Okinawa, they must be revised mentally to suit the humid subtropical climate. "Light snow," and "Heavy snow" are inapplicable in Okinawa; they would simply be small seasons in which one would expect the greatest severity of winter. For a list of the small seasons with Chinese characters, see The five thousand character dictionary, 5th ed., with additions and revisions by George D. Wilder and Chien Hsien Tseng. Peking, 1940, xxxi. [177]

241 occasionally, but by no means universally used. This failure to use
514 night soil may vary from locality to locality, and from farmer to farmer. In my opinion, it has not the importance it has in China and Japan. Neither is night soil used as a food for pigs, though
231 this seems to have been the case in some parts of Okinawa as late as
514 the 1920's.[2] But feeding human faeces to pigs was not observed in any village.

241 Normally in certain parts of Matsuda, night soil is used, though
514 infrequently, in places near the house. It is not carried far. Applications are made to cultivated land and land not presently in use. In the Nagamo area, it is occasionally used on sweet potatoes and sugar cane. Night soil, gathered from the outside toilets, is
[247] allowed to dry out before being applied to fields. It is often placed around ornamental plants. The fresh liquid form, carried on
[482] the shoulder in two buckets on either end of a long pole, may be applied directly to the fields, ladling out a little of the liquid around
[463] each plant. The professional collector of night soil is uncommon in the areas visited. Only one instance was found. Two brothers, who hired themselves out, cleaned the toilets for Yen 130 per day, plus meals. They spread the night soil on the owner's fields. These two brothers served the Gushichan area.

In Hanashiro, night soil is used occasionally, and then, it was said, only by the old. Its main use was on sugar cane. As a general rule, in all the villages, night soil is most frequently used around plants already growing and around each plant individually, rather than mixing it with the soil when the field is being prepared. Its use on rice fields was not observed.

The sparing use of night soil is indicated also by the infrequency with which one meets its characteristic odor in the countryside. An observation of a traveller, almost 100 years ago, lends some credence to the thought that night soil has not been extensively used
[114] in Okinawa. "How night-soil is disposed of is not known; certainly it does not obtrude itself on the senses, as it does in China, nor is it applied in the same way."[3] In Hanashiro, the decline in use since the
[177] war was ascribed to American influences: the dangers to health, and the increased availability of artificial fertilizers.

241 (5) Commercial fertilizers. These are now substantial proportions of the expenditures of an Okinawan farmer. These fertilizers generally are broadcast over the rice and dry crop lands. The writers of a

2 Richard Goldschmidt, Neu-Japan, as cited, 135.

3 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, II, 35. The author was Dr. Green.

of the young shoots from the seed beds to the paddy field, (4) the care of rice until its maturity, (5) the harvest, (6) threshing, milling, and hulling, (7) the uses of rice and its byproducts, and (8) types and preferences of rice. 243

The preparation and laying out of the seed bed. A seed bed (naidoko) is a plot of first grade land, well watered, specially chosen for this purpose. It is very small in area, often around 15 tsubo, or about 540 square feet. The seed bed also may be a portion of a larger field set apart for seedlings. In this case, small boundaries are made by earthen walls, apertures left for water to flow in and out, and the little plot is then prepared for the seedlings. Considerable care is taken in the preparation of the seed bed. The soil here must be finer and more carefully worked than the paddy field, since it receives the rice seed, not the seedlings. The soil is painstakingly worked, and, with the water added, becomes a thick smooth mud. Commercial fertilizers, composts, and less commonly, night soil are then applied. After the seed is sown, water, perhaps 2 1/2 inches deep is allowed in the bed. During germination, a slow steady irrigation, a washing by new water is maintained by controlling the water trickling in and out of the openings on either side of the field. [311] [134] [312]

The selection of the seed. The seed is taken from the harvest immediately preceding. After fall harvest around December, the rice fields are dug to prepare for the new planting in January or February. The seed used from this crop is tested in one of two ways. 243 242

In Matsuda, it is common for a farmer to fetch a bucketful of sea water. To this he adds a little more salt until the density of the water is sufficient to float an egg. The rice seed is put in the water. The light and undesirable grains rise to the surface. This salt water density method is apparently very old and originally came from China. [177]

Another method, based on the same assumption that the lighter grains make undesirable seed, is used in both villages. The rice is tossed in a round, shallow, winnowing basket, and the breeze carries off the undesirable seeds to the chickens. In the summer planting the seed, after this testing, is ready to sow. In the fall and winter planting, there is one further step. After the seed has been selected by the winnowing or the density method, it is soaked in water for four or five days. Following this, it is removed from the water, put in a tub, and covered. Warm water is added, the mixture is stirred and allowed to stand for another four or five days. The water is then poured off and seed has begun to germinate. The seedlings can now be planted in the seed bed.

Transplanting the young shoots from the seed bed to the paddy field. 243
In the meantime, the paddy fields have been prepared. After the harvest, the field is drained. Small clumps of cropped rice stalks stick up two or three inches where they have been cut with the small sickle or bill knife. This stubble is turned over either by hoeing, the usual way, or

243 inches high, the bottom of the paddy becomes a tangled mass. Farmers walk disconsolately away from a field like this, often without even attempting to harvest the crop. The seeds once soaked will produce inferior rice. In this case, the farmer may turn the whole crop under or salvage some for pig food. The growing of rice is one long gamble with the wind and with typhoons, and there is seldom a year in which some rice is not destroyed.

[221] The harvest. The cutting of rice at harvest time, July and November in the western calendar, is done in a uniform manner. (Harvest times may vary somewhat from place to place). A bunch of the long stalks is grasped in one hand and cut off with the small sickle. A stubble of a few inches is left in the field. The sheaves are tied up with a piece of rice straw and thrown in piles. The commonest and [482] most convenient way of carrying the sheaves from the field is to tie several together. A large bundle of these is carried on either end of a pole which rests on the shoulder. The ends of the pole are cut like tenons and stuck in the bundles below the binding. The rice is carried to the courtyard to be threshed. If necessary, it will be allowed to dry for a few days.

243 407 Threshing, hulling, and milling. Rice is threshed either in the courtyard of the home or in a flat place near the house. During rice harvest, the threshing machines can be heard all over the village, the noise suggesting the sounds of cars on a railroad track, heard from a distance. The device now universally used for threshing rice is the dakkoki.

This has a foot treadle, similar to an old fashioned sewing machine. Working the treadle up and down causes a drum, set at about waist length, to revolve. This drum has a series of wires set in rows and bent over, appearing like large staples. These staples are parallel with the line of rotation of the drum.

A conveniently handled bunch of stalks (wara) is held on the revolving drum, the rice seeds touch the staples, which knock the kernels off. They drop to the floor of the device. Often the top has a canvas cover to catch the flying rice kernels and the machines is set in the middle of a large piece of canvas so that the grain can easily be recovered. Both men and women do this work, although women seem to do [462] more of it. They are free to work while at home, alternating the task with other chores. They keep up with the man and the elder children who are carrying the rice bundles in from the fields. After threshing, rice straw is thrown aside. It has many subsequent uses.

●[177] The dakkoki, an introduction from Japan, is new in Okinawa. In Hanashiro it has been used scarcely 15 years. Prior to this, more primitive methods were used which can still be observed in Matsuda today. These old methods are no longer important, but they are of interest because they were used, instead of the treadle thresher, up to pre-war times.

One of these, the shimba (nnihija in Okinawan) is essentially a concave forked piece of metal set on a frame, which in turn rests on four props set up in sawbuck fashion. The rice sheaves are drawn through the teeth, causing the kernels to drop below. The sawbuck may be any desired height. Usually the top of the fork is waist level. The only significance of the shimba today is that it provides diversion and occupation for the old women, many of whom are too weak or too unsteady to operate the treadle thresher. The same is true of an even simpler device for threshing. Two short pieces of bamboo, or any piece of round wood, a little longer and with a slightly greater diameter than a pair of chopsticks, are loosely tied together on one end with straw or a strong blade of grass. The tied ends of the two sticks are held in the right hand, leaving the free ends to strip off the rice kernels from the straw. This labor is done by very old women. Age is no deterrent to work as long as people are able to get around. But, as in the south, the treadle thresher is universally used. This device was widely distributed by the Japanese agricultural specialists of the government throughout the empire in the years immediately before the war. In Matsuda, it is also thought to be about 15 years since its introduction.

As in Japan, from which the terms were borrowed, rice in various stages of cultivation and processing is known by different names. Rice in the hull is momei; unpolished rice is genmai, and polished rice is hakumai. Rice stalks are known as wara.

Hulling and polishing rice by machinery are also new in Okinawan villages. In Hanashiro, those machines driven by an open belt are about ten years old. A hand mill, the shiriushi, to be described shortly, was in general use for polishing rice up to 1940.

At present everyone, no matter how poor, pays for hulling and polishing of his rice. The mill owner in Hanashiro estimated that the machinery processed in ten minutes the amount of rice that formerly took a day to hull and polish by hand. Poor families do not try to effect savings by hand work. They pay the fee, sell the polished rice, and eat sweet potatoes.

Unpolished rice is disliked and is never eaten. It is described as hard and bitter in taste. The machinery in a rice mill varies from place to place in quality and modernity. The mill (seimaisho) has two machines: a hulling machine (momitsuriki) and a polishing machine (seimaiki). One simple type of a hulling machine is an endless chain type of mechanism. The rice is put in little buckets on the chain which carry it to rubber layers. As the rice is forced through the layers, the hulls are cracked and pinched off, and are then blown out on a pile in back. After being hulled, the rice goes through the shaft of the milling machine. The shaft housing is grooved. As the shaft revolves, it polishes the rice which is going through it. The shaft also gets heated, and this makes the polishing easier. In the older machine in Hanashiro, the rice was put through the shaft ten times

231 special holiday occasions. Pig killing or the killing of any animals
[825] is distasteful. The pig generally is driven out of the pen to a
[943] waiting truck or horse cart and hauled squealing off to market.

Considerable interest is being shown (early 1952) in the scientific
232 breeding of pigs from stock imported from the United States. Chester
[197] White is a well known word among the farmers of Matsuda. In this area,
regional meetings of pig breeders and raisers from the northern part of Okinawa and the Motobu peninsula are held to discuss the care, breeding, and marketing of pigs. These farmers have come a long way from the earlier days, even 25 years ago, when the toilet and the pig pen were the same. A farmer going from one of his fields to another often stops home to look at the pigs and perhaps to discuss his problems with
[474] a friend. In Matsuda, a pig growers' association has now been started.

Domestic animals, especially the pig, can be expected to increase
231 and to reach at least their pre-war level, if the villages studied are typical. This development will be all to the good. The pig consumes food not fit or not used for human consumption. It does not compete with humans for food. It is unlikely that land now devoted to the production of human food would be diverted to animal food. In my observation, there is not a strong competition between animals and man for the products of the land. Domestic animals really round out the agriculture and consume food that otherwise would not be used.

[311] The lack of grazing land, except on the hill sides and summits, means that domestic animals must be fed with food grown and prepared and fed to them by the farmer. Grazing also would be out of the question since the land on the hills is privately owned and split up in small parcels. The young plants are valued too highly to permit indiscriminate grazing.

Goats are cheaply raised. The only expense is the labor of
[435] getting leaves, grass, and tender shoots from the family's genya land on the hills. In the market, goat is the cheapest of all meats. There are also sharp differences in taste among villagers for goat's
[262] meat. The milk is not used as a food. Goats are tied up or kept in stalls for their entire life. They are never allowed to roam through the village or to graze on the hill sides. They are not given water and depend entirely on the water in the grasses and shoots which they are fed.

Horses, cattle, and oxen are fed grasses, mashed sweet potatoes, and waste bean curd. Though occasionally used in rice fields, the
[497] chief use of horses is in drayage. In Matsuda, the horse and the two wheeled cart make frequent trips to the mountains to transport the longpoles, firewood, and charcoal.

235 Chickens are fed anything that might be on hand. Often they
[262] are given the chaff from the rice or the rice that is blown off in winnowing. Occasionally chickens are eaten, but they are kept primarily

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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Hanashiro
Women's Mutual Loan Group
The Cycle of Loans and Repayments

Borrower of the:	Advances Made by Members	Repayments Made by Borrower-Members	Amount Available For Lending Each Month
			Y 2000
1st Month	Y2000 (100 x 20)		2010
2nd	1900 (100 x 19)	Y110 (110 x 1)	2020
3rd	1800 (100 x 18)	220 (110 x 2)	2030
4th	1700 (100 x 17)	330 (110 x 3)	2040
5th	1600 (100 x 16)	440 (110 x 4)	2050
6th	1500 (100 x 15)	550 (110 x 5)	2060
7th	1400 (100 x 14)	660 (110 x 6)	2070
8th	1300 (100 x 13)	770 (110 x 7)	2080
9th	1200 (100 x 12)	880 (110 x 8)	2090
10th	1100 (100 x 11)	990 (110 x 9)	2100
11th	1000 (100 x 10)	1100 (110 x 10)	2110
12th	900 (100 x 9)	1210 (110 x 11)	2120
13th	800 (100 x 8)	1320 (110 x 12)	2130
14th	700 (100 x 7)	1430 (110 x 13)	2140
15th	600 (100 x 6)	1540 (110 x 14)	2150
16th	500 (100 x 5)	1650 (110 x 15)	2160
17th	400 (100 x 4)	1760 (110 x 16)	2170
18th	300 (100 x 3)	1870 (110 x 17)	2180
19th	200 (100 x 2)	1980 (110 x 18)	End of Period
20th		2090 (110 x 19)	

The twentieth member, the banker gets Y2090 from the other members, which, when added to the Y100 plus Y10 interest which he would have paid had he borrowed the money, equals Y2200.

[655]
[177]

The availability of government loans for homes, part of the American program for the rehabilitation of the Ryukyus may point the way to an acceptable type of financing in which resistance to institutional borrowing is lowered. The mutual loan groups and bank and government loans, however, operate in different spheres. The sums involved in the small loan groups are too modest for a major undertaking, but they are substantial enough to help with minor, yet otherwise difficult, purchases or improvements.

3

Associations

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Associations and co-operative groups of farmers, fishermen, and animal breeders, part of the Japanese program for the organization

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

and improvement of rural life, have continued to function. The most important of these are the agricultural associations (nogyōkumiai). In Okinawa, they are organized on a township level. The agricultural association is usually near the township office. It is both a buying and a selling concern. It buys and sells agricultural tools and simple farm machinery. The association may also buy and introduce into the agricultural village new techniques, tools, insect and pest control preparations, and other supplies imported from America or Japan. Buying and distribution for sale are at present more active functions than making loans. In any one year, a borrower may obtain a Y200 loan, but the chief difficulty (Dec. 1951) is that the association has little money. In Gushichan village, the association buys and resells firewood, imported from the northern mountain region.

The fishermen's association in Minatogawa has already been described. It may buy and distribute fishing gear, gas and oil, and other marine necessities.

Within the village itself, there are co-operative groups. The sugar mill co-operative of Hanashiro is typical. This has about 125 members, both men and women, and includes most of the families of the village. Each member pays to the association a fee for the use of the mill including the machinery and the cooking vessels. Of the fee, 60% goes to care and maintenance, 10% to the head of the co-operative who handles the administrative details, while 30% is held in reserve and redistributed as a rebate to members after the end of the season, if there is a surplus. The sugar is individually produced and sold. The village co-operative is concerned only with the care and maintenance of the mill and its facilities.

In Matsuda a pig raiser's co-operative (yōtonkumiai) has been started. The main emphasis is on breeding rather than on marketing. The group, which has about 61 members, is a result of the intense interest which has followed the introduction of American breeds. The head of this group is chosen by the membership. The organisation is interested in the diffusion of information on the care and breeding of pigs and its membership participates in regional meetings of pig raisers.

4

The Cash Economy of Rural Villages

The use of money in Okinawa seems to be recent. Hall and M'Leod in 1816 wrote that they observed no money, and that the Okinawans did not know its uses. Commodore Perry, who had a crisp reaction both to the Okinawans and to Hall's descriptions of them, said they knew "the value of gold and silver very well, and they traffic for the Chinese 'cash', of which from twelve to fourteen hundred are equivalent to the Spanish dollar." Chamberlain (1895) said that the Okinawans had

846 [354] In Matsuda, the jiru used after childbirth was either a small fireplace about three feet square set in the floor or an ordinary brazier (hibachi). The mother and the child were put in a dark sleeping room outfitted with the warmer. Sometimes the entire body of the mother was heated; in other cases, she seems to have placed herself so that the vagina received most of the heat. This was done regardless of season and happened in the hottest summer. The mother and child stayed in this room for 20 days. Attending female relatives went in and out only to keep things clean and to take care of the laundry. This form of jiru is said to have been practiced in Matsuda until 10 or 15 years ago.

In Hanashiro, this custom of warming was substantially the same. Regardless of season, the mother with her child retired to a dark room heated with a stove or a brazier. The mother nursed the child and no one entered or disturbed the two except for necessary attentions. No special portions of the body were heated. According to one Hanashiro woman, this custom existed up to 1940.[2] In present day practice, the mother rests for about 9 days including the day the child is born. During this period, the two are left alone. Necessary changes of clothing are put out and washed by female relatives. Following the rest period, the mother gets up, female friends and relatives clean the place thoroughly, and the house is back to normal.

In Minatogawa, warming is said to have disappeared about 20 years ago. The present period of convalescence lasts also about 9 days, with visits by grandparents on the day of birth, friends of the father on the second day, and those of the mother on the third.

[M 849] These customs seem to have died out because of the introduction, through Japan, of modern medicine and the growth of midwifery. The knowledge of a Japanese trained midwife is based on a study of anatomy and a thorough exposition of child birth and child care. Some lore, such as lucky days, and the reckoning of the tide enter, but her techniques are based on medical practice.[3]

2 An old man, a village official, said warming had disappeared 30 years ago, but in this matter the mother's testimony is probably the more reliable. In either event, both point to the relative recency of the practice.

3 One Japanese midwife uses as her guide two volumes by Kinoshita, Seichu. Sanbagakukogi (Lectures on the Science of Midwifery), 1923. Vol. I deals with normal, Vol. II with difficult deliveries.

grandparents. The food was then served: noodles cooked with vegetables, with a slight fish flavor; rolls; tempura, a sort of fritter; a fish cake known as kamobuko with a red border symbolizing happiness, and plenty of sake (awamori). A streamer hung from the ceiling near the alcove, announcing the name and date of birth of the new born child, together with the written wish that she might live any number of 10,000 year periods. There are no special ceremonies on these occasions. Some guests drop in for a few minutes, others remain for the whole evening. The women and the children go home early, while the men continue talking and drinking. This celebration is the first of a series that continues through a person's life, and if his descendants are devoted, will end 33 years after his death. After this celebration, things settle down until the child's first birthday. 852 [262] [212]

At present a child's age is reckoned in the same way as the Western custom. A child is one year old one year after the date of his birth. This is a recent innovation in force since January 1, 1950. Formerly age was reckoned in the Chinese and Japanese manner. A child born during a year was one year old and on the following New Year became two years of age. Thus a child born on December 27 would be two on January 1. The difference between the Chinese-Japanese and the western reckoning is that the former counts the years during which a person lives with New Years as the date for increasing the age, the latter counts the number of one year periods in which a person has lived. 805 [177]

The old system of reckoning age is inconvenient and conceals age differences. A one day difference might mean a year's difference in age in the case of a child born on December 31, and another on January 1. Determining the actual age of a person was troublesome. When children started to school, they might be 6, 7, or 8 years old and still be about the same actual age.

4

The Early Years

In all the villages studied, the women returned to their normal tasks about a month after childbirth. When the mother returns to the fields, the grandmother may accompany mother and child to the fields, the grandmother watching the child, while the mother nurses it at 10, 1, and 4. If the grandmother is too old and disabled, the child might stay home with the grandmother and the mother return from the fields to feed the child. Lacking help of this kind, the mother remains at home until the other children have returned from school. 846 854 853 603

But arrangements of this sort need not last long, for very early in life the child is strapped on the back and carried around 854

is bending and stooping, or while his older brother or sister is 854
running or jumping. The ease with which adults sleep is equally
remarkable. On buses in Okinawa, I have seen men and women with
their heads against window sashes, while the bus bounces over the 513
rough roads. Sharp cracks on the head are unavoidable, and to one
unaccustomed to it, would be very painful. But people sleep like
this, with their heads knocking against the hard surface of the
bus, for miles.

This carrying of the child continues regardless of season. 854
In the winter, coats are put over or around the child's body. One
of the obvious and most important facts about Okinawan child rearing
is this custom of carrying the child on the back. But it is diffi-
cult to say precisely what this importance is. Certainly in this
way the child has continuous contact from earliest infancy with the
life around him. He is not accustomed to being alone, except for an
occasional hour during the day when he may sleep on a blanket. At
night he sleeps with his mother. A child does not have to be in-
troduced to the world. He is not shielded in a crib. From early
infancy he has seen and been almost every place in the village and
learns to know many whom he will know throughout life.

This "public" and community life from earliest infancy is one 571
of the outstanding features of Okinawan culture, a characteristic 177
which it shares with-and which is derived from-Japan. One of the
surprises is that despite these contacts with all phases of village
experience, the child, as it grows older, becomes quite shy. This 157
is true of boys and girls, and continues in my observation from the
age of puberty up to marriage. No person who has had any contact
with Okinawans fails to notice this shyness. The Okinawans use the
Japanese word hazukashii to describe it, and, in this connection,
the meaning is something between a feeling of shyness, self-conscious-
ness, and shame. The shyness often does not disappear until marriage
or even until the birth of the first child, when father and mother
take their place as mature and responsible adults.

Two recent observers who analyzed the reactions of Okinawans 155
under the stress of war have thought that early and continuous 114
breast feeding is largely responsible for giving the child, from
earliest infancy, a sense of security. While this thesis was
advanced out of intimate experience (mostly in the wartime hospital
at Ginosa village), it must, in my opinion, be qualified considerably.[8]
The period during which the child is breast fed is but one period in
the formative years of childhood. Besides breast feeding is no
monopoly of the Okinawans. Neither is carrying on the back confined
to them. The period immediately after the child is taken off the
back and begins to walk is a difficult one for most children. This

8 See Moloney, James C. Psychiatric observations in Okinawa Shima. The psychology of the Okinawan. Psychiatry 8 (1945), 391-99. Moloney, James C. and Biddle, Charles R. A psychiatric hospital in military government, ibid, 400-01.

872 calculating on the abacus, and a variety of other subjects. (These topics will be discussed in the chapter on education.

292 291 302 The pre-war school childrens' uniform is no longer obligatory. Children wear what they have and what their parents can afford. The girl frequently wears the familiar blue serge smock but more often her clothing is varied. Her hair has bangs in front and is cut straight, about on the level with the ear lobe. Neither do the boys wear prescribed clothing. With them too, it is a matter of what they have. A boy's hair is closely clipped to his head and will remain cut this way until he leaves junior high school, although this style also is no longer compulsory. He may have a school boy's cap, but this is not officially designated. It may be tan, white, blue, or olive drab, resembling either a military or a baseball type cap. Above the brim there is a metal tag with an abbreviation of the school name written in a Chinese character.

857 883 Three important new experiences come to him as a result of his school life. The first of these is participation in school maintenance and upkeep. One of the commonest sights in any Okinawan primary, junior high, or high school is to see children working around the buildings and grounds under the supervision of their teachers. After typhoons, which destroy many of the rude, temporary, and rebuilt buildings, they 15 straighten out the debris, and help in putting on a new thatched roof. The tasks done by school children and their teachers are those customarily performed by janitors and custodians in our school system. In junior or senior high school, if the child lives far away from the school, he may board there as well.

526 His second experience is with organised athletics. Much of this instruction is pointed to the annual athletic meets (undokai) which have a remarkable hold in Okinawa on students, teachers, parents, and the rest of the villagers alike. This organised athletic training is a Japanese introduction, but earlier accounts of a period when Japanese [177] cultural influence was more nominal point to a love of games, races, and ball among the people.

572 The third of these new experiences is the formation of attachments with children in his own class. These friendships exist throughout life. The words, dōnen or dōsei, meaning the same year or the same age, are used by mature men and women to describe these early friendships. Close friendships almost invariably have had their origins in early close association in the same grade at school.

15 As is true of school boys the world over, truancy is not unheard of. Every once in a while, especially in junior high school, three or four boys report to the principal or his assistant because of absence from this work--but not from classes.

885 well accustomed to the routine of the occupation they will follow.
888 The young fisherman has gone to sea for his beginning lessons. The young farmer knows most of the skills of planting and cultivating. The young stone worker, requiring little training to begin, is already at work.

885 Young men maintain close relationships with their families prior
593 to marriage. In the villages studied, there is little movement to the larger towns. Since the war young men or women have found employ-
A64 ment, at various times, in government and military government offices as account clerks, maids, translators, clerks at post exchanges, officer's clubs, restaurants, bars, and the like. But there were few instances in these villages.

A young man does not leave the village ordinarily, nor does he rent separate living quarters. These continuing family ties up to marriage may account for the boyishness and lack of maturity noticeable in so many young men in the age group from 17 to 25. The young school teacher, the truck driver, fisherman, or farmer may turn over part of his earnings to the parents. In rural Okinawa, residence in the home and attachment to the family last well into the years of younger maturity. This does not mean that there are no personal dissatisfactions with their situation.

834 There are few outward signs of personal attraction among young men and women during the teens and the years before marriage. In public, boys and young men of the same age group usually are seen together. This is true of the girls. Clandestine meetings among young men and young women take place. A mutual attraction is often communicated by a young go-between trusted by both. This secrecy does not come about from a desire to conceal the attraction, but because both parties are shy (hasukashii). This public reticence, so old in
[198] Oriental cultures, is gradually breaking down. It is a convention, based on public repression of one's feelings. This does not mean that people dislike personal and physical contact and lack demonstrativeness.
[150] Okinawans are emotional and demonstrative, and do not avoid physical contact, as anyone who has seen them at their parties has discovered.[16]

But young men and young women may meet quite openly. A young man in his early twenties may visit a girl's house, stay all day with her and her parents, and part of the time be alone with her. The young,

16 It is too early to tell the effect of ideas of sex equality on rural Okinawan society. That the supposed high position of the American woman has made an impression on many rural Okinawan women there can be no doubt. The influence of young American soldiers and sailors, their catering and thoughtfulness toward Okinawan girls to whom they
[199] are deeply attracted has spread beyond the range of those with the immediate experience. The soldiers are responsible for the adoption of the word, "honey." Okinawan boys use it in the same sense as
[832] Americans: as any very attractive girl, or as a girl deeply loved personally.

584 place, as it requires the participation of the principals and their families. Young country people are likely to hesitate before going against their parents' wishes, dispensing with a ceremony and the celebration which follows, and eloping to Naha or to some larger town.

In practice, events seldom reach this stage of differences in opinion. Some one will give way. An actual happening illustrates this point. A young man, a third son, about 20 years old, fell in love with a girl, aged 23, a bus driver's assistant. The boy wished to marry her, even though by present day standards he was young for marriage.[1] His parents objected to the match, not because of antipathy to the girl whom they liked, but because she was three years older than the boy. This is an interesting objection because formerly many wives were older than their husbands, although too great an age differential was considered a trifle ludicrous. Apparently in the older arranged marriage, parents intentionally selected a bride older than the husband. In the family registers, among the very old, the wife is often older than the husband. At present the girl is either younger or about the same age. [582]

The boy acceded to his parents' wishes and did not marry the girl but kept on seeing her. Later the girl became pregnant. His parents discussed the matter among members of the extended family resident in the village, and, in much distress, consented to the marriage. Once the marriage was decided upon, there was no objection to the two living together. [848]

836 Some premarital living together is found in Okinawa. The boy works on his own parents' fields and helps the girl's parents. The girl reciprocates by helping at the boy's parents' home. During this time, the boy lives at home but spends the night with the girl at her home. [583]

582 Young men normally do not get married until their 24th or 25th year, though there are cases of earlier marriages. Girls are in their early twenties. Earlier marriages may be an indication that a child is on the way. This relatively late age for marriage is not old in the culture. In older times, young people were married in their 13th and 14th year. This practice gradually changed under Japanese rule.[2] [117]

1 The Japanese word for love is ai-suru, but now one frequently hears the Japanese word rabu borrowed from the English love.

2 Writing in 1910 from personal observation, Simon said that with the "Japanisation" of the islands and the increased difficulty and expense in making a living, the time for marriage was postponed and that a marriage at 15 years was now an exception. Beitrage zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, 88 and 90. Schwartz, In Togo's country, 1908, writing of conditions around the turn of the century, says that marriages are contracted between the 14th and 17th year, p. 150.

585 During his speech, the guest remained in the most polite kneeling
576 position, resting his weight on the heels with the toes pointed downward toward the floor. His head was bowed during the talk. The father and the groom acknowledged the compliments by nodding their heads and then made their responses.

When these preliminaries were almost over, an uproar followed the announcement that the bride was arriving. The lights of a vehicle could be seen from a distance. It turned out to be a truck. In former days, the bride came in greater style: she either walked preceded by young boys bearing lanterns or rode in a palanquin (kago),
[493] or in a specially decorated horse cart.

All Okinawan brides, from the time they enter the house of the groom until they leave shortly after the completion of the ceremony, have an expression of indescribable gloom. The bride's face is set. Her eyes are downcast. She takes no notice of the guests, and responds silently to the acts which convention demands. She never smiles. This is a very serious occasion and any show of lightheartedness is considered in poor taste. The groom is not so wooden as he awaits his bride and goes through the ceremony.

585 The bride is dressed in a Japanese costume. She has a wig, usually
[292] rented for the occasion, the traditional Japanese headdress with masses
[177] of stiff lacquered hair. It is heavy and bulky and the need of keeping it on straight may account for some of the bride's immobility. She also has a bright colored Japanese style kimono with sash (obi) which may be her own, her mother's, or grandmother's. The bride's face is
[302] heavily powdered with white powder and this makes her face look like a mask. Her lips, reddened slightly, accentuate the unnatural whiteness of the face. The groom is simply dressed in a black silk kimono.

The ceremony of san-san-kudo (literally, 3, 3, 9 times) conducted by the go-between then began. It is so called because both of the principals drink 3 times from each of three different cups which are made in progressively smaller sizes so that they fit into one another. There are variations, both in the way in which the 9 sips are taken and in the cups used. Since the war, the special sets of three cups have disappeared from many homes, and three small sake cups may be used. In this ceremony, the go-between served the first cup to the groom who took 3 sips, the go-between then refilled for the bride who took 3 sips. The other two cups were presented to each principal in the same way. This ceremony was very short, lasting only as long as it takes to sip the drinks in the proper order. When the marriage ceremony (kekkonshiki) was over, the bride and the groom arose and went to the front part of the room to be presented to the guests.

585 The bride retained her sad immobility. This is all the more
576 remarkable to see when one knows the bride in daily life, vivacious and jolly and anything but impassive. The groom allowed himself a little more naturalness. The go-between spoke to the guests briefly about the couple. He told where the bride and groom were born, the

ceremony the set of three cups (sakazuki) was used. The go-between, a man and a close friend of the groom, poured sake into the top cup. The groom drank; the go-between then refilled the cup, giving it to the bride. The same procedure was repeated with the remaining two cups. 585 184

In this ceremony, after the san-san-kudo, the go-between dipped a pair of chopsticks into salt, putting a bit on the open palm of the bride who then put the salt in her mouth. This was repeated for the groom. The go-between then dipped his finger into a cup of water, touching first the forehead of the bride, then that of the groom.

The presentation of the newly married couple to the guests was also done in a different way. Because of his close friendship with the groom's father, the mayor of the township introduced the bridal pair to the guests. This was a tender and affectionate speech in which the mayor told of the birthplaces of the young man and his bride. He asked the guests, as friends and relatives of the new couple, to teach them how to live well together, how to make a living, and ended by asking everyone present to have a good time. The celebration, the sake drinking, the dancing following the ceremony were essentially the same as in Matsuda. A ring was not used in either ceremony. When used, it is ordinarily given to the bride, not placed on her finger as part of the ceremony. [576] [537] [301]

A custom followed in Hinatogawa illustrates a variation in the preliminaries before the marriage ceremony. The groom (hanamuko) and the go-between or a friend go to the bride's home. They are given refreshments. The groom acknowledges his bride. He returns to his home to await her coming. This may take some time if the tide is not right. Before the war children from 7 to 10 years of age carried long lanterns (chōchin) with candles to light the way for the bride, as she walked to the groom's house. Each child carried two lanterns, which they held very tightly, as it was considered bad luck for them to change from one hand to the other. The lanterns have now been abandoned (when the ceremony is performed) in favor of flashlights, in another triumph of the Industrial Revolution. But the children enjoyed participating because they were given small amounts of money and food. [857] [416] [177]

In the Hinatogawa custom, everyone stepped over the threshhold. Even now, if houses do not have one, a long step is made from the outer stone or ground into the room. Among the guests, there is usually a jokester who humorously announces in a loud voice the arrival of the bride.

In Hinatogawa, the groom's family presents a gift of about Y5-6000 to the bride's family. (This family would have to be in moderate circumstances to do this). Gifts from the guests are from Y20-40. The groom's friends may give money to the groom's parents to defray the heavy expenses of the banquet, and the girl's friends give money to her, presumably for the purchase of wedding articles. [431]

There is one further variation in a custom from Hanashiro. On

585 184 the day of the wedding ceremony, preparations are made at the bride's home. Food is served for relatives and friends, and the party then proceeds to the groom's home for the ceremony.

[431] Gifts from the groom's family depend upon economic circumstances, but usually range from Y50 to Y100 up to Y1000. In Hanashiro, something, no matter how small, is always given by the groom's family to the bride's family. Since the war, gifts of chests of drawers and blankets are less common because of high prices.

On the third day, in this Hanashiro custom, the bride and the groom with relatives and friends visit the bride's parents during the day. On the same evening, the visit is returned by the bride's family.

585 178 727 435 There is a general agreement in all the villages that as a consequence of the war, the preliminaries to marriage, the ceremony, the gifts, and the events following the ceremony have become simpler. Part of this is due to the high cost of food and entertainment. In the competition with other ceremonies and celebrations, the tendency has been, in the interest of economy, to simplify the old customs, or when this is not possible, to combine celebrations coming close together in the year. One frequently hears the word keisai (economy) used in this connection.

3

Contemporary Attitudes Toward Marriage

58 178 Marriage customs today are different from those of even 20 years ago. From information collected from the villages, the chief changes in marriage customs have been: (1) the preliminaries and the ceremony have been simplified, (2) marriage takes place at a much older age, (3) marriages between individuals of different villages are more common, (4) there is a shorter engagement period and its significance has declined, (5) the custom in which the bride temporarily returns to her home has disappeared or become rare, (6) the go-between, formerly a respected elder negotiating a marriage, is now a friend, generally the same age as the principals, offering help and advice, and (7) the arranged marriage has given way to freer choice in marriage in which the parents' consent has become largely a formality.

581 582 [586] [562] [177] Judging by the statements of residents of all villages, many of whom were married under the old arrangement, there is almost universal approval of free choice in marriage. Divorces were said to have been common under the old system, mainly because of the wife's barrenness or unattractiveness. The chances that the marriage will be a happy one are thought to be greater under the new. Among women, it harmonizes with ideas of equality which they have heard of or read about in Japanese magazines since the occupation.

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clothing is of a non-descript character. The war destroyed old stocks and villagers have been unable to buy much new clothing. Many farmers and fishermen have one western style suit, shirt, necktie, and a pair of shoes, but these are worn only on rare occasions, such as having one's picture taken. Most of the women still have a Japanese style kimono in storage. An article of army clothing, mostly American but occasionally Japanese, often is the basic garment whether it be a pair of trousers, a shirt, or a field jacket. Older women still wear a cheap cotton kimono usually indigo blue with white dots.

Present day 291 727 [292] [177]

In work anything at hand is worn. Fishermen, farmers, workers in the forest generally go barefoot the year round. Girls and young married women are increasingly wearing cheap and attractive house dresses which they prefer to the inconvenient kimono. Children's clothing shows similar improvisation in the use of what is available. 291

In leisure hours, clogs (geta) are often worn by men, women, and children, particularly in the evenings as a protection against snakes. Some men wear shoes consistently, but they are most commonly worn by officials, school teachers, or men in business.

There is no standard headdress. Hats are few. A few cone shaped hats are worn in the rice fields. These are made from straw or rush. An ordinary cotton cap with a visor is common. Men and women frequently wrap a cloth, usually a piece of towelling, around the head. A towel hanging from the back pocket of the trousers of a young man is part of his summer equipment.

5

Laundering and Bathing

296

Laundering is done by women. There are no set customs about doing it. Neither is it a community affair. In Hanashiro those who have wells do their laundry in their own compound. Those without wells either do it at a neighbor's well (without charge), or at one of the community ponds designated for this purpose. In Matsuda, the small stream, a pond, or wells are also used. [312]

Clothes are rubbed, washed, and rinsed by hand. The custom practiced in Matsuda up to 20 years ago of beating clothes against stones has disappeared. If laundering is done in a spring or small stream in the summer, it is common to take a bath after the washing is done. In Hinatogawa, the women collect around an open faucet, or the public water tank. These are in continuous use for laundry, hair washing, and washing vegetables.

The passion for bathing, conspicuous among the fastidious Japanese, is less in evidence in these villages. But it is also difficult to bathe. Villagers must content themselves with washing with a cloth, like a sponge bath. In Hanashiro villagers may go to 515

515 the Japanese style public bath at Minatogawa. There are separate rooms for men and women. The body is soaped; then the soap is washed off. One gets into the hot water tub to soak. In this arrangement, all the advantages lie with the first comers. In the winter, the Minatogawans use their public bath houses. But in the summer, they soap themselves thoroughly and rinse off under a public faucet, keeping on a pair of shorts or a light skirt, depending on sex. In Matsuda, an outside tub is frequently used. This is bullet shaped, about three feet in diameter and about the same depth. Generally it has a rudely constructed roof. The bath water, not so hot as the Japanese like it, is only moderately warm.

In family tub bathing, there is an order in which the bath is taken. Guests are first, followed by the head of the house, [516] then by other males in order such as first, second, or third sons, and finally the women of the house, starting with the eldest. Many people in Matsuda go, usually about once a week, to the neighboring village of Ginoza for their bath.

6

Hair Styles

302 In the days of the old kingdom, men and boys wore the hair long. A patch on the crown was shaved, and the long glossy hair was gathered on all sides and made into a tight knot and pinned with two hair pins. Satow mentions that between the ages of 16 [175] and 19 the ceremony of genbutsu took place. The central part of the head was shaven, and the long hair was then put up. According to this author, the custom dated back two centuries.[2] Various oils were used on the long hair to keep it in place. This hair dress for men and boys was described by Basil Hall in 1816; Commodore Perry's staff made similar observations, and the reports of Furness (1896) and Simon (1910) indicated that there had been no changes in the style.

The cutting of men's hair is said to have begun about 40 years ago. While some thought the Japanese forced this, it seems to have been done voluntarily. A high school principal, now in his late forties, told me of his childhood remembrance of crying at seeing his young father willingly shearing off his own long and luxuriant hair.

The clipped (marugari) head for young boys is a Japanese introduction. It was required for health reasons by the Japanese school [177] teachers. The clipped cut, for young boys, has persisted, and it is

2 Satow, E. M. Notes on Loochoo. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 1 (1882), 1-8.

302

uncommon to see young boys up to 12 or 13 without the clipped head.

After the abandonment of long hair, men followed the Japanese custom which resembled the Western style. Unless men went into the army, where the hair was severely clipped, they wore their hair at moderate length. [177]

From infancy to graduation from grammar or junior high school, the hair of boys is clipped to the scalp. After 14 it is allowed to grow, sometimes to considerable length. The longest and the fullest hair (either by neglect or intention) is found in the group from 17 to about 23. There is some influence from Japanese and American movie hair styles. The word "all-baku" is used to describe this style, mostly referring to long hair parted or combed straight back and full on the sides. The young man has his choice between a short crew cut type and long hair because the hair is very thick and sticks up and is difficult to train unless long. After the early twenties the young men are likely to cut off their long hair and adopt a more conventional haircut. This lasts until old age when many, but by no means all, of the men over 55 or 60 have their hair clipped short again. [177]

In the 19th century, women's hair, according to accounts describing styles at the close of the century, was long like the men's, but differed in the manner of putting the hair up. The crown was not shave... The hair of the ordinary woman was worn long with a pug, placed indifferently on the left or right side of the head. Okinawan young women, around the turn of the century, adopted the Japanese headdress (which they still retain at their weddings), either the elaborate traditional coiffure, or the simpler and more severe style of drawing the hair straight back with a pug at the nape of the neck. Okinawan women at this time had long hair and took great pride in it, universal long hair, according to the villagers, lasting until quite recently. [175]

Before, during and after the war, great numbers of Okinawan women, except the very old, cut their hair. Present hair styles depend on the age group. Young girls up to 7 or 8 have the hair cut on the level of the ear lobe or a little higher, with bangs in front, and a high shingle in back. The hair of a young girl through high school reaches an inch or so below the neck line, she has bangs in front, but the hair is not shingled in back and hangs freely.

The late teen age group and the younger married women have become infatuated with the permanent wave. It is much admired by the younger people of both sexes, but is often unbecoming on the young women because it gives the hair a frizzled appearance. The permanent wave is much less common among the village women over thirty whose hair, almost shoulder length, is tucked in a sort of roll at the back of the neck. Old women in their sixties and seventies have quite long hair. It is done up rather severely with a top knot on the crown held by skewers, somewhat similar to the old Okinawan style.

305 Persons of both sexes and of all ages, including infants,
302 visit the barbershop. With boys and men, the price includes a haircut and a shave. The upper edge of the eyebrows is always shaved to make a straight line. The eye lids are also invariably shaved. The shaving of the eyebrows and eye lids of infants is commonplace. When women go to the shop to have the neck hair trimmed, the face, the eyebrows and the eye lids may also be shaved.

7

The Nature of Social Life

562 The social life of the women is severely restricted by convention. This restriction is closely tied up with the obligations of the family system and does not imply a conscious and selfish attempt by the men to keep their women at home and distanced from society. These restrictions are the result of custom in which the women acquiesce. The few discontented exceptions are women who
[177] read Japanese magazines and learn of American ideas about the position of the women. But in general women accept their status. The men have a social life quite unconscious of any obligations of this sort to the women. The point was well brought out when I asked two Okinawan teachers why it was that women had so little social life and seldom went out with their husbands. They said the subject had never occurred to them.

The center of a woman's working and social life is her home. The range of a man's activities is the village and may extend to neighboring settlements. A large part of a woman's recreation is with other women. A man's social life is spent mostly with men.

[574] A woman's opportunity to spend a social evening with men comes when her husband brings guests to their home. Here she participates in the conversation, though she usually retires earlier. With older couples, the wife is most likely to greet her guests, serve them with tea, later perhaps with sake, and then unobtrusively retire.

[593] In my observation, there is a friendly relationship between husband and wife in the home. Younger wives participate frequently in conversation. Part of a woman's social life is centered around daytime activities, like taking care of the children, running an errand, carrying rice to the mill, chores which she does in the company of other women with like duties. Her working and social life blend together more than the man's. Among the very old women, day time visiting and strolling throughout the village are very common.

A husband and a wife are not often seen together in public, except on some special occasion, such as a child's birthday party, a school athletic meeting which the whole family attends, or a

593 The husband or father is not a tyrant. Nevertheless the wife is unlikely to challenge her husband directly on any important matter. If she is scolded, she may continue with her work in silence, ignoring her husband.

562 177 Women who have lived abroad in places like Hawaii or who have experienced the metropolitan life of Japanese cities are more likely to be dissatisfied. Occasionally one meets a woman who thinks this is a man's world (otoko no tenka) and that women should have more privileges than they now have. This attitude has been sharpened through American influences, directly by contact with American soldiers and civilians, indirectly by discussions which appear in Japanese periodicals of the life of American women. How widely this attitude exists is difficult to say, though I believe that at present (January 1952) it is not a strong force among women in the villages.

562 Though her place is at home, the woman is by no means removed from the wider aspects of village life. She may take an active part in the Women's Association. She may handle the family money or part of it. She may operate a little store to supplement her husband's income from the fields, or if she is a widow, to provide for her own support. She may participate in mutual loan groups. And she may be the head of a household.

8

Public Health

The people of the villages are conscious of health and sanitation, an awareness gained under the Japanese. This awareness and desire for cleanliness and sanitation meet major obstacles in the lack of running water, the distance to public baths, the expense and trouble (or both) of heating quantities of water, the cost of soap, the poorness of the outdoor toilets especially in the devastated areas.

515 511 751

An analysis of village health problems requires the specialized knowledge of the physician or doctor of public health. The observations of a layman however may have some interest.

511 364 751 The general sanitary conditions are not good. The weak spots are (1) Poor outdoor toilets and their haphazard location with relation to wells. (2) The dirty and smoky Okinawan kitchen. Many have dirt floors and little effort is made to keep them clean. The situation is better with the stone floor or cemented kitchen. Women complain about smoke smarting and injuring their eyes. All of the rooms of an Okinawan house, especially in winter, are likely to be very smoky around meal times. (3) Food preparation and dishwashing are often done in dirty surroundings. Foods are fried or boiled, and this is all to the good. In making tea, the water is seldom boiled; more often it is only brought to a boil or allowed to get hot.

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The native medicine, including the use of plants and fish as medicines, the native doctor, the use of cauterization, the golden needle, slashing, and acupuncture, seem to be disappearing in favor of modern patent medicines and drugs, and scientific medicine, nursing, and midwifery. Of all the traditional practices (ultimately derived from China), slashing and burning with moguza seem to have the greatest vitality. 75 178 [177]

10

Tattooing

Tattooing (ireizumi)in Japanese, dake in Okinawan) is a subject of great historical interest in the Ryukyu chain. In Okinawa, it exists now only among elderly women (in the late sixties and seventies), as it was forbidden by law when the Japanese annexed the islands. Tattooing usually was done on the back of the hands, including the fingers, parts of the wrist, and the knuckles. The design was put on by spreading India ink (often with sake or awamori added) on the surface, pricking out the design and wiping off the surplus, repeating the operation for the lighter parts. To my knowledge, there was no facial tattooing. 304 [636] [386]

Until quite recently tattooing was practiced on men as well. Basil Hall in 1816 wrote of a landing in the south of Okinawa island. "Most of these people had fish spears tatooed on their arms in the form of a trident, with rude barbs." On the right arm it was called (in Hall's transcription) "oodeemaw," and on the left, "tooga." Apparently this was confined to fishermen. Furness in his account of the Luchus (1899) observed such markings among young and mature men in Itoman. The explanation given him was that they were a protection against evil spirits. Furness also discussed the theory that tattooing was historically connected with weaving. Simon, in an interesting speculative discussion, based on the designs of cloth in Miyako and their correspondence with house or family markings thought that the tattooing was a means of identifying women's membership in a family.7 304 114 [531] [789] [602]

This interesting idea unfortunately did not occur to me while in the villages, but the notion that tattooing may have been related 119 304 602

7 Hall's Voyage, as cited, Vocabulary (no pagination). Hall includes sketches of the marks. Furness, Life in the Luchu islands, as cited, 9. See also Simon's extremely interesting discussion, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, as cited, 134-150. Furness and Simon are especially valuable because they personally observed instances of tattooing at a time when it was much more commonly seen. Both authors reproduce patterns which show differences among the islands and among individuals.

114 304 602 to the family system, the extended family, or to the household order naming system is well worth exploring. No tattooing was observed among the Hinatogawa fishermen, but this may have been an oversight. According to an old woman there, it did exist. One would expect it from the close relationship of Hinatogawa to Itoman. It is quite probable, in my opinion, that tattooing of men and women have different origins.

304 According to the early observers, tattooing of women took place around puberty, although Furness puts the age at 4 or 5 years. Patterns differed distinctly by island.

In Okinawa, everywhere one hears the same explanation for the origin of women's tattooing. Although there are variants, the core of the explanation is that the Ryukyu islanders (presumably after the Satsuma conquest of 1609) tattooed their young girls to prevent [698] their being carried off to brothels in Japan. The tattooing was supposed to have made the girls so unattractive that they were untouched. Other variations are that the tattoo indicated marriage and thus kept the girl from being taken away. An old woman of Hinatogawa told of a legend (not seen or heard from any other source) in which the tattooing of women was an act of thanksgiving for a rescue at sea. A boat was sinking, and the survivors swimming saw [773] two hands in the sky. They stopped the waves and the storm passed, permitting the swimmers to reach shore easily. The families were told, and after that the hands of the women were tattooed.

[119] This subject needs considerable research. It would be of great interest to know the relationship, if any, to the family system, the extended family, and the household order naming system, whether it is comparatively recent in the islands, and whether the tattooing of the fisherman is a result of Chinese or Portugese influences and a [177] consequence of the early Pacific trade described in Chapter II.

11

Knuckle Cracking

157 One of the most puzzling of Okinawan mannerisms is the frequency of knuckle cracking. It may be observed in young children from 5 to 6 to old men and women in their seventies. It is done on so many occasions that cataloging them would be a real chore. The knuckle is cracked crisply and sharply. Young boys and girls may talk a whole evening, cracking their knuckles incessantly. It occurs in ordinary conversation, at lively parties, and during periods when a conversation lags. Children say they learned it from their mothers.

It seems a habit acquired very early. Perhaps it is an indication of tension, but I am inclined to be less specific. One Okinawan explained it as a continuation of childhood habit and ascribed it to the limberness of the fingers coming from early training on the abacus,

the tomb shaped like a horseshoe or the Greek letter, omega. A great deal of popular lore has accumulated around this type of tomb. Okinawans believe that the shape of the tomb symbolizes the position of a woman giving birth to a child. This is related to another idea, "returning to the source" (moto ni kaeru in Japanese). 764 [811]

Four different but related meanings seem to be involved in the idea of "returning to the source": (1) that life here is but a momentary experience. One's real and permanent life is in the afterworld. At death one returns to his permanent home. (2) After death a person becomes a god (hotoke-san) in the Buddhist sense. He reaches this state 49 days after death, according to some explanations, though there is much confusion on this point. This godhood is a "return to the source." (3) At death one returns to a state of peace, and (4) one returns to a former state or to a former place. It is with this last meaning that the turtleback tomb is associated in popular lore with "returning to the source." 761 775

On death one returns to the womb of nature from which he came. (Similar lore has collected around the Buddhist coffin in which the corpse is put in a position like that of a child in the womb). Whether the popular explanation is the true one is very hard to say. It certainly should not be accepted without critically evaluating the questions which such an explanation raises. Early European and American observers were quick to point out the similarities between those tombs and those of China, though the fact that they were introduced from China does not rule out the symbolic meaning they might have. Many Okinawans regard these tombs as indigenous. But the Okinawan antiquarians, who so love to find symbols in everything, would be loathe to surrender this lore. It is generally agreed that the tombs were introduced from Fukien province in China. Captain Basil Hall was the first western traveller, I think, to notice the similarity between Okinawan and Fukien tombs. M'Leod also mentioned it. 775 764 811 [114] [171] [077]

The gable (hafu) type of tomb is very common. There are also small temporary tombs of masonry, more often built of rocks. The tombs of Hinatogawa are of this type. There are also very old tombs, hollowed out of the rock of a hillside. These were rare in the villages. Only one was seen in the dense vegetation and undergrowth at the bottom of a deep ravine in the center of Hatsuda. Large tombs hollowed out of hillsides are a commonplace, but the small ones apparently were the tombs of the very poor. Recently a new small tomb is being built by families unwilling to undergo the expense of the larger tombs. Tombs, though appearing to be haphazardly placed on mountains or on rocky hillsides, are on privately owned land. 764 [565]

The tombs may also be classified as to use, that is, whether they are intended for a single or the extended family. In Hanashiro, tombs are of the extended family type, located on land owned by the main family. They are the responsibility of the head of the main family. Branch families may contribute to the purchase price of the land, construction materials, and to maintenance. 764 602

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The New Year

Two basic themes are expressed in public celebrations and holidays. 527
The first of these is remembrance and respect for the dead. The holidays are in part public observances of basic obligations under the family system. In the second place, holidays are occasions of thanksgiving. In a year there are not many official holidays or rest days. The work year is not interrupted, as is our custom, with week ends which may provide from one to two days of leisure. Sunday is not a day of rest. Officials and school teachers do not work at their official duties on the week ends.

The traditional public holidays are based on the lunar calendar. [805]
In the discussion which follows, some holidays have been included, even though they involve only some of the people.

The western New Year is observed perfunctorily. It is observed [177]
only by present and former officials and honored elders of a township. The custom, about 40 years old in Gushichan-son, is known as New Year Banquet Party (Shinnenenkai). Headmen from each of the villages, members [554]
and former members of the village councils, and respected elders, the mayor and his subordinate officials and members of the township assembly are the chief participants. It is a social event, held in a public building or at a school, a "meeting for conversation" (hanashiai) at which food and sake are served. The event begins early in the afternoon and is generally over by early evening.

Lunar New Year (shōgatsu), the first day of the first lunar month and O-Bon in the seventh lunar month, are the two most important holidays. Lunar New Year falls in late January or early February. (In 1951 it was on February 6; in 1952, on January 27). This is a time of new beginnings, of thanksgiving, family reunions, and observances in honor of the dead. It is a three day holiday, with much prior preparation, and on the third day, there is either a symbolic or a partial return to work.

The new year is preceded by a series of activities on the last day of the 12th month (ōmisoka). Before the war, these preparations were more elaborate than they are now. In Hinatogawa, bamboo and pine poles with [789]
a rice straw rope (shimenawa) hanging across the top were placed at the compound entrance. The purpose was to scare off evil spirits and devils. A piece of charcoal wrapped in sea weed and an orange hung from the rice rope. This custom now is also rare in Matsuda. Only one rice straw rope used for this purpose was observed, and this had been put up some time before the new year.

Other customs of preparing for the new beginning are still observed in all the villages: the house is cleaned; a bath is taken; old debts are paid; the New Year pig is slaughtered, or in the interests of economy three or four families may share a pig. The day before the New [577]
Year is the occasion for recalling one's bad deeds and of resolving on

[529] Young girls with pots of hot tea circulated in the audience. The
[272] stage performance was a combination of local amateur talent and professionals from Naha. Normally the entertainment begins with
[535] a traditional Okinawan dance by a professional woman dancer, followed by a short skit. Conversations in Okinawan between an educated man
[536] and a stupid rustic are favorite subjects. Acts of this type are greatly enjoyed and cause laughter, mainly I was told because the jokes had sexual overtones. The shorter acts are followed by a play. (The theme of this play will be discussed in the following chapter).

6

Other Holidays of the Year

Chrysanthemum day, the ninth day of the ninth month (October 9, 1951), is a very minor holiday. A chrysanthemum is put in sake, and
[824] the flask is placed on the god shelf. A leaf of the plant is put in the sake when it is drunk. People at this time wish one another good health. The festival is only spottily observed.

There is a minor public holiday, the rice cake festival (mochi no matsuri), said to be native to Okinawa, on the 8th day of the 12th lunar month (January 4, 1952). On the day before, women prepare red
[262] and white cylindrical rice cakes, about 4 inches long and one inch in diameter. These are wrapped in the leaf of the sannin plant or in the
[252] leaves of sugar cane. The glutinous rice cake is made by first soaking rice in water and then mashing it in a hand mill. The rice is put in a cloth bag to allow excess water to drip out. The following morning the rice is boiled and shaped and wrapped in the leaves. The cake is doughy and insipid to taste. On the morning of the 8th, the cakes are placed on the god shelf and after prayers the cakes are removed. They are served during the day to guests. Sometimes children attach strings to these cakes and hang them about the room. The holiday is not observed by every family in the village, but it was recognised in all the villages studied.

The festival of the winter solstice, the longest night of the year (tōji) is known, but Hinatogawa was the only place in which its observance was noted. It is a home festival with prayers and the
[769] familiar offering of assorted foods to the ancestors.

Western Christmas is not observed in any of the villages. It would not be surprising if it should become a holiday, with gift
[177] giving, feasting, and drinking, but without the religious connotations. Since the occupation, Okinawans have become conscious of Christmas.[6]

[797] 6 I was told that in certain villages of the northern district, such as Kushi and Higashi near Ogimi that there is a Christmas festival, without the gift exchange, a survival of earlier missionary teaching. Time did not permit me to verify this, but there seems little doubt that a Christmas festival does exist in some Okinawan villages, judging by the frequency with which I heard of it in Matsuda and Ginoza villages.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Community Recreation

Were it not for the public holidays and festivals, the family 529
celebrations and informal social gatherings, opportunities for
recreation would be very limited. Seeing a Japanese motion picture [368]
usually involves going to another village. Young people, especially [177]
those studying English, go to American movies in Naha when they can
afford it. Many went to see Hamlet when it played there.

A Naha troupe presents plays in the rural villages. These ap- 595
pearances are advertised by a sound truck travelling throughout the
countryside. Plays are of two main types: the historical drama and 536
those of domestic life and manners. The historical plays are usually
based on the heroic age in Okinawa, and are so filled with episodes
and sword play that it is difficult, even for an Okinawan, to follow
the plot. All plays are given in Okinawan.

The plot of a play of manners is of more interest, since it is
concerned with the conflicts of obligations, duties, and personal
desires. One such play, The Chaste Woman and the Dutiful Son, con-
cerns a married couple who have one son. The husband drank too much and
went with another woman. The wife objected, the husband tells her he no
longer wants her and desires a divorce. The divorce attained, he takes
the other woman as a second wife and moves with her to Nago, where he
lives. Twenty years after, the second wife becomes ill, and dies, and
the husband finds it increasingly difficult to earn a livelihood. The
first wife, in the meantime, anxious to bring up her child well, has
sent him to school. At the age of 20 he has become a school teacher. [875]
The successful young man--becoming a teacher is a great success--marries.
The young couple have a child and everyone is happy.

The father in Nago earns a precarious living selling firewood. One
day he reads of the success of his son in a newspaper. (This provides
the actor with an opportunity for exaggerated astonishment and much
staggering around). More soberly, the father decides to visit the
first wife and their son. Lack of pride and poverty permits him to
do this.

The first wife gives him an angry reception. When he has forced
his way into the house, there is a loud quarrel. The successful young
school teacher returns home, sees the quarrel, and asks his mother the
identity of the man. The mother replies that she does not know him.
The son inquires the reason for such a violent quarrel between his mother
and a stranger. The mother had previously told her son his father had
died. She now says she lied, and in the ensuing revelations, the son
weeps a little. The father implores his son to intervene in obtaining
the forgiveness of his former wife. But she will not forgive--neither
will she forget--and does not want the old man around at all. The son

554 labor of agriculture or fishing, or those, finally, whose life includes travel and foreign residence. Some of these are old, some new. The ideas coming from the repatriates are new. The influence of the young men is also to some extent a response to new conditions and to new ways of looking at things, which they, more adaptable than their elders, are in a better position to understand.

5

Community Organizations

575 [190] [571] Community organizations fill in the gaps between family life and the formal mechanics of village government. Though Japanese imports, they also fit in the culture, which, like Japan, is accustomed to doing things in groups. The most important of these organizations are the Women's Association, Young Men's Association, Young Women's Association, volunteer fire brigades, and the neighborhood associations.

The Women's Association (Fujinkai). The Women's Association, an island wide organization with subordinate township and village branches, is primarily an organization of married women, but unmarried young women, too old for the youth organizations, and widows may belong. The village head of the association is elected, generally for one year, by the membership.

The interests and activities of the membership are an indication of the problems of village life as seen by the women. There may be, as in Hanashiro, house to house inspections with advice on how to improve sanitary conditions, making clothes, or teaching better ways to cook food, improving the dirty and smoky Okinawan kitchen to eliminate eye irritations (a common complaint), attempts to induce people to spend less money on holidays and to spread their luxury and meat buying throughout the year. They might discuss the custom of squatting on the floor and its possible effects on bodily health and stature, or the desirability of replacing the heavy blankets on the floor with western style beds, or individual family problems, such as the family with all daughters, or girls without husbands. The trouble is that the conditions which the women as members of an organization are trying to improve are the very ones which, as wives, they are unable to correct. As a consequence, many of the plans do not go beyond the discussion stage, not because the women lack the will, but because the cumulative problems are overpowering. These groups however have positive accomplishments. They are influential in maintaining existing standards. They are trying with some success to eradicate the scabby sores that cover the faces, hands, and arms of infants and young children.

The Young Men's Associations (seinendan) fill in the gap between school and marriage when the adult male really takes his place in the village community. They are a training ground for working with others and for demonstrating leadership. Like the Japanese originals, the organization is for young men between 17 and 25. Their specific activities

575 572 Friendships formed here and in school are the basis of later lifelong associations.

Young Women's Associations (joshiseinen) are not so well developed. Hanashiro has none. In Minatogawa the young men's and the young women's groups are combined. Matsuda has a separate organization of girls from 17 to 23. The latter age is considered the probable date of marriage, when the young woman will enter the Women's Association. Their duties parallel those of the young men: village maintenance, selling firewood, planting sugar cane, taking part in harvest ceremonies and participating with the young men in the New Year's party.

In the villages, a volunteer organization is responsible for fire fighting. The fire brigades (sobodan) usually are under the direction of the young men's association. The village gong is sounded, the volunteers assemble, and the fire is put out by using a bucket brigade. [368]

Parent Teacher Associations, after the American model, have been formed in the rural area, but it is too early to form a judgment of their effectiveness. [177]

575 621 There are also the neighborhood associations. A village is divided into areas or zones (han), each with its own head (hanchō). Neighborhood groups had existed before the introduction of the Japanese neighborhood association (tonari gumi) in about 1935 or 1936. These older groups (kumi) had from 30 to 70 families, each with a head (kumichō). These groups often assisted in a family crisis, with housebuilding, or furnished pallbearers for a funeral.

Before and during the war, the Japanese used the neighborhood associations in their rationing, food distribution, civil defense, and other programs.

The neighborhood associations remained after the war, but they are now known as hans. The leader of each neighborhood group is a link in the chain of communication from the township office to the individual villager. The township mayor transmits a new regulation or a directive from a higher governmental authority to each village headman who informs the heads of each of the neighborhood groups, who can then tell the people living in his area. The people within a neighborhood group may also co-operate with one another in housebuilding. The young men may be pallbearers for a deceased resident of the neighborhood. The group head also informs the people of village meetings (jōkai). These heads may be elected, but usually they serve by rotation (kotai), with a change every three months. In Matsuda, the group head is selected for one year and household heads service under him for one month in rotation to perform stand-by (tōban suru, to be on duty) duties and help the neighborhood head in his work. [632]

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Introduction

The modern history of Okinawan education falls into three periods, which correspond with the cultural influences of three different nations: (1) the traditional education borrowed from China, (2) the Japanese system of education, and (3) the introduction of American concepts of education following the war.[1] 871 177

The Chinese influences ended in the latter part of the 19th century. Education was confined to the upper classes. "Aping China in everything, Lew Chew has also its three yearly examinations, which, for the time being, make quite a stir in the learned world, but hold out no prospect for high station, as in China. At most, the fortunate candidate gets, beside a good fill of honor, a rice pension or a schoolmastership."[2] [565]

The new Japanese education also introduced western ideas into Okinawa through a Japanese sieve. The Meiji Rescript on Education (1890) codified the principles of this new pedagogy. It was a method of inducing conformity to the ideals of the new Japan. The most important point was that education became a mass program.[3] This new education, according to Chamberlain (1895), took hold gradually.

Before the war there were two policies in public education. Up to 1940, primary school (shōgakko) was an eight year course. In addition to the usual studies, the curriculum from grades one through six emphasized duties and obligations (gimu) to one's parents, relatives, friends, and to the emperor. The national school (kokumingakko) system, which lasted until the end of the war, replaced the old primary school. Instruction in duties and obligations extended over eight years with intensified emphasis on nationalism and emperor worship.

1 Education is a large, complex, and technical subject. Time did not permit spending a large amount of time in classrooms. My purpose here is to show how education is related to village and family life and to explain the general nature of the problems as I observed them. [121]

2 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, I, 223-24. The words are those of Dr. Bettelheim.

3 The modern school system in Japan dates from 1872. Many of the Okinawan schools seem to have been started in the eighties and nineties. The first school in Okinawa is said to have been started in Shuri in 1798.

been made in their school system, but this enthusiasm would be more permanent if it were based on a solid foundation of economic well-being. 875

Though this may not be representative, teachers in these townships were in two main age groups: those under thirty, and those forty and over. There are few in the 30-40 age group. In one school, 6 teachers were under 30, one a woman was 35, and the principal was over 40. In a group of 15 teachers in the Gushichan school, 7 were 25 or under, one 32, 3 from 32-40, and 5 in the 40 and over group.

The dependence of the Okinawan school teacher on Japanese culture is still strong, and understandably so, since he must rely on Japanese books and magazines for intellectual stimulation and knowledge. Japanese continues to be taught, as indeed it must, if the culture is to function. Those who have studied English do not know it well enough to comprehend discussions involving ideas of any sophistication or complexity. [177]

In these schools, the majority of teachers were young men. Teaching in the primary school is a combination of class and individual recitation. Children are not pressed and are corrected gently, treatment, I was told, which was also true of the pre-war primary school instruction. The improved status of women teachers may attract more to the profession, but now masculine influence is dominant in the schools observed. [876]

It is my impression that Okinawa is in a transition period with regard to the technical qualifications of its teachers and to the improvement of teaching methods. The younger teachers are high school graduates, some with further teacher training. The older ones, who served under the Japanese, seem to have considerable flexibility and to have adapted themselves to the new conditions. There is a fine relationship among teachers and students, with none of the barking, authoritarian approach. [876] Teachers, who in the emergency are working in a grade for which they are not certified, seem anxious to get the proper certificate. Because of the low salaries, the possibilities of turnover among the younger teachers who might take other opportunities should be watched.

From personal experience in attending classes, I would say that teachers are generally competent; they certainly have native intelligence and interest in their work. Teaching methods are conventional, but there is a lot of informal instruction connected with the many outside tasks around a school, performed by teachers and students alike. (One however should not be blind to the disadvantages of teachers and pupils participating in so much outdoor maintenance work). 876

4

Learning English

The desire to study and to learn English is practically universal. This respect for knowledge frequently is not matched by a realisation 191 555

191 555 of the difficulties involved. Ambition is directed toward practical ends, such as a business or government clerkship or becoming a teacher.

876 194 It is probably too early to judge the effects of post-war instruction in English. The question is whether students will acquire working knowledge beyond the stage of conventional expressions and simple constructions. Pronouncing English is difficult for Okinawans, partly because the Oriental tradition in education has been so largely visual rather than oral, partly because students, consciously or unconsciously, convert English sounds into their rough Japanese equivalents, and proceed from there.

875 In the primary and high schools, English, with few exceptions, is taught by teachers who themselves have learned English from Japanese teachers. They have added to this knowledge, by private study, often [214] far into the night, of the dreadful English-Japanese phrase books, grammars, and other compendia which the Japanese love to publish. English still reaches the student through this Japanese sieve. So many teachers have learned English this way that the ordinary English of a native speaker baffles them, and they are easily thrown off by "intonation." Correction of this will have to be very gradual. The best teacher of English I saw was a young man who had been taught by an older Okinawan teacher who had in turn been taught by an Englishman. These teachers are devoted to their subject. But it is distressing to see them at study: trying to learn the language by mastering the uses of "nothing but," or "in order to," or "so that," or poring over those phrase books with their headings, "At the postoffice," "At the purser's office on the boat," etc., etc. Much of this is due to the fact that until recent times they have had little or no contact with native [177] English speakers. In the rural areas this contact is still rare. A young man in one of the villages, an addict of the phrase books, 876 one afternoon was studying hard to master the courtesies of a newly appointed ambassador calling on the Japanese foreign minister in his garden! He had been studying English for years, and finally one day got a job as a clerk in a military installation. But he was not a clerk; as he told it, he was a clarku. It is undeniable that these students learn an English that can be understood. Many of them would be able to use the language, and improve rapidly, if chosen as exchange students or national leaders. But the misdirected effort and the wasted eyesight are pitiful.

In the primary schools, English is taught in a conventional way. The teacher reads a sentence or a passage. The class reads after him, and the individual pupils recite. Much the same procedure is followed in the high schools, but there is more conversation. This system turns out many who know some English, but are very hesitant about using it, and a few who have some real understanding. The failures should not be emphasised too much; the point is that as soon as possible English should be taught by teachers who have learned the language from native speakers.

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This desire to learn English is more than a wish to communicate with Americans. Opportunities are open for those who know English, and people of all ages realize that theoretical and applied science and improved techniques come from the West, and that English is a means of understanding and applying this knowledge. Channelling this desire, through competent instruction in the schools, which will result in efficient self-guidance afterwards, is one of the significant problems of Okinawan education. But the techniques to be used on a permanent basis should be left to the professional linguist.

Should for example the methods of Basic English be adopted as a matter of policy and be encouraged in private study? Or should language study be based on the principles set forth by the rapidly advancing field of linguistics? Or should we accept the guidance of doctors of education who are specialists in curriculum construction and language training? My own bias is toward the manuals developed by the linguists, such as Spoken Japanese (EI 561-62). This approach, with its pattern sentences, is based on an analysis of the structure of the language itself. Basic English poses the problem whether the English taught is really basic. In my opinion, the crux of the matter is to study the presuppositions underlying these approaches and not the subject matter they produce. American learned societies, with the co-operation of the Army and the Navy, and the subsequent university programs in language study, have made great strides in these fields, both theoretical and applied. They represent the most advanced thinking in the world on these subjects, and the body of knowledge which they have should be most useful.[4]

5

Home, School, and Village

There are strong bonds between the home, the village, and the school. Parents help their children with their elementary readers. There is homework and classmates may stay at one another's houses over night. Parents are interested in children's school problems, but they do not visit the schools often, except at times arranged by the officials. PTA's have been organized, but it is still too early to tell how successful they will be. Since the PTA, like the Women's Association and the Young Men's Association, fits in the culture, it probably will thrive.

On entering school, the child is introduced to a new language which he has not spoken to any extent in childhood. Okinawan is the language of the pre-school child. Beginning school, therefore, is a bigger break than it is with most cultures.

The schools usually draw on several villages for their student body

4 It is only fair to say that my own bias in favor of the approach developed by the technical linguists grows out of instruction I received in Japanese in the Army's Civil Affairs Training School Program in 1943-44.

771 Buddhism, as an organized religion, is of no importance, even though most villagers say they are Buddhists. Buddhist symbols and practices inspired by Buddhism remain, but that is a different matter. [183] The universal use of the Buddhist god shelf or household altar, the observance of Buddhist holidays, such as higan, are matters more of custom and tradition than of religious fervor. This is significant because the Okinawans, for almost 70 years, were a part of the Japanese [177] homeland, the greatest Buddhist nation on earth. During my stay in Okinawa, I thought that the recent war had caused the decline in Buddhist influence. This is only partly true. Subsequent reading of the older [198] literature made it clear that in modern times, Buddhism has not been a living force. The ethical and political systems were primarily Confucian. The priestesses had a greater influence on daily life and at death ceremonials, at least in rural Okinawa.

A variety of practices concerned with the worship of natural phenomena, such as the summits of mountains, groves of trees, wells and springs and the sea survive, but they are not strong.

There is little evidence of Shinto beliefs, except in a few [177] families who were long resident in Japan. Shrine Shinto, closely tied in with emperor worship, has been abolished.

177 Villagers are acquainted with Christianity, but I encountered no adherents. The name of the 19th century missionary, Dr. Bettelheim, 797 is still remembered by people in Hinatogawa and Hanashiro. Dr. Bettelheim, a Jewish convert to Christianity, came to Okinawa in 1846. He was both ineffective and unhappy, but his ineffectiveness was probably due more to the lack of enthusiasm of the Okinawan rulers than to personal inadequacy.

3

Buddhism

771 Buddhist formalisms and home observances exist in all the villages. But the religion is not practiced. The people do not attend services or 183 temples, nor do they support or seek out priests. This present situation is apparently little changed from the recent past. Captain Basil Hall 114 (1816) mentioned the apparent low status of the bonse. Charles Fahs, on Perry's staff, said that, "The people, however, appear to be indifferent to it, and do not seem to have much veneration for it. Basil Hall Chamberlain wrote in 1893 that Buddhist influence was almost extinct. In 1910, Simon spoke of the weakness of Buddhism and that priests often did not participate in funerals. Goldschmidt in 1927 made similar observations.[1]

1 Hall, as cited, 98-99; Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 49. Chamberlain, On the manners and customs of the Loochoeans, In: Trans. of the Asiatic society of Japan, 21 (1893), 274. Simon, Beitrage zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, 103-04, 177. Goldschmidt, Neu-Japan, 145.

The group sat in a circle. The priestess occupied the highest spot, her female assistants somewhat lower places, and the men, for once, in the lowest position. The priestess, her women and the male entourage held public worship on the 15th day of the 5th, the 15th and 16th day of the 6th, and the 10th day of the 8th lunar months. On these days there were prayers for good crops, for freedom from disasters and typhoon damage. On the 10th day of the 8th month, there were special prayers that neither diseases nor epidemics enter Hatsuda. These three periods may be rest days on which the villagers may assemble at the place where the prayers are being offered. Because there is no priestess, these ceremonies are now conducted by former assistants. The meetings are attended by fewer and fewer people and the ceremonies may disappear altogether. 793 796 [782]

6

Gods of the Fire, Wells, and Sacred Groves

There are also other forms of worship which still survive. These are (1) the god of fire (hi no kami), (2) spirits of the sea, of wells, springs, and groves, and (3) types of fortune telling which blend into religious belief. 776 [787]

Gods of the Fire. In every Okinawan kitchen, there is a place above the stove or hearth dedicated to the kitchen or the fire god. There is no image or personification of the god. Usually the place is a very small shelf on which charcoal sticks are burned for the god of the hearth. This is done by women exclusively. The women may light the sticks daily, but it is more usual for the housewife to perform the observance on the 1st and 15th of the lunar month. This was true of all the villages, and I have never seen a kitchen which lacked a place for the fire god.[7] 776 778 372 782 [562]

Gods of the Well (ido no kami). In Hanashiro, prayers are offered in front of the two public wells on lunar New Year. The whole village does not participate. Two or three older men from each extended family perform the rite. The gods of the well are told that the villagers need water; they are thanked for what they have had, and asked to continue to furnish a plentiful supply. 776 778 796

7 The Shinto god shelf (kamidana) is extremely rare. In my observation, it was present only in the homes of Okinawans who had lived in Japan. One in Hatsuda, located in the first room, had two shelves, on both of which a small urn for burning incense sticks was placed between two flower vases. The place on the left represents the founder, the one on the right, his immediate descendant. The family prays to the Shinto god on the 1st and 15th of the lunar month. The husband and wife pray first, followed by the children. A rice offering is placed on the shelf. On it there was a small figurine of the fox god (inari-san) and a mirror, both Shinto symbols. 177 184

trees of the sacred grove and used old beliefs to preserve the forests. Formerly it was believed that misfortune would come to him who cut a tree in groves sacred to these gods. If the trees were cut, the god would become angry, the person cutting the tree would be the victim of self-induced illness and by worrying about his deed, gradually would become ill, and perhaps die. These sacred groves, whose religious significance is now almost ignored, are arranged to enclose the village from three directions, with the open side on the south. On the north was the sacred grove in the back (ushiro no utaki) or the grove of the white gold mountain (kinpuku utaki in Okinawan). The mountain gods were supposed to live here. On the west was the grove in front (mae no utaki) on the white silver mountain. This was also known as the fire shrine. 784 778 185 778 823 [176]

The priestesses also had a hand in this worship of the mountain gods. There are about seven of these places of worship now, and there is still a voluntary caretaker, an old woman with tattooed hands, a family priestess (nigami) in the old system. Occasionally one sees an old woman going to a grove to pray. The only other visitors are the farmers who walk along the paths of the grove on their way to the fields. 778 793

7

Other Religious Observances

There are a few other observations which may have some interest. Old women use patches of grass or knotted rice straw to ward off the spirits on days when they are thought to be abroad in great numbers. At the festival of the autumnal equinox, knotted or braided grass (shiba) is placed in various parts of the house. In some houses, bunches are suspended from the cross beams, perhaps three or four bunches to the side. They may be placed in the toilet, at the entrance to the house compound, on the water barrel in the kitchen, on the front and back of fishing boats, or in the interior of the house. Blades of miscanthus grass may be tied around the neck of a bean paste jug (misogami). Spirits, plentiful at this time, are frightened away by the patches of grass and will not enter. The young, while not believing in this, acquiesce to avoid making the old angry. 789 824 [184]

When a death anniversary is being celebrated, there may be a blade of miscanthus, a rice straw, or a knotted blade of grass on the top of a box of candies or sweet meats to prevent the intrusion of evil spirits. A blade of grass (the san) is occasionally tied around the handle of a tea pot. For the first week after a family death, tea is served from a pot which has this blade of grass. But these are almost invariably the observances of the old and are only infrequently seen. These customs, observed in Hinatogawa, are said to survive among the very old in the other villages. [769] [776] [184]

In Matsuda, a rice rope (shimenawa) was observed at one home. The rice rope, a Shinto symbol, is not common in Okinawan culture. This [77] [189]

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CONCLUSION

The description of village life presented in the preceding pages is not the delineation of an ancient way of life essentially unchanged from the remote past. Neither is it the study of an old way of living which is now passing away. Rather it is a glimpse of a culture, at a particular moment in time, which has been changing, sometimes slowly, sometimes with great rapidity. The theme of inertia and change, developed in the second chapter, furnishes an opportunity for understanding the culture in the perspective of history. Even though the changes of the last decade have been impressive, they are less striking when placed beside some of the great changes of the past. 128 178

This small island, known to Oriental antiquity and to the Western world after the Age of Discovery, is an excellent illustration of the combination of influences from the outside and of the progressive changes made in the natural environment as a consequence of long human settlement. This theme, imperfectly documented, has repeatedly appeared in this work in order that the affinities of soil and land conservation and forest care with social and cultural questions, such as organization of government, the family system, and economic problems may be recognized. 177 311 182

This idea of a changing culture, in a physical environment of meticulous tillage and of minute subdivision, enables us to see more clearly the inter-relationships of the family system, inheritance, land tenure, the care and conservation of the land, and the methods of agriculture. It is the values within the family system that have given content and meaning to the natural resources, to the tiny paddies, the stony sweet potato patches, and the barren wild land. The tombs and the grave sites also find a place in this minute appraisal of the value and the use of land. 178 182 311

This minute knowledge of the land, obvious as it is to observation, is one of the outstanding cultural characteristics of the people. Indeed this is true of other Oriental peoples as well, even though their preferences have been for the transported soils of the alluvial plains and the deltas. This detailed knowledge of land, of its productivity as gauged by the farmers' patient success in tilling it, is used to build up the system of land classification. 311 181

No less striking is the intimate knowledge of small localities. A tiny village may have five or six of these localities, dignified with a name which, in our culture, would be given to a portion of a large city. Every little spot has a name, even though the origins and the circumstances of the naming are lost in hazy memory.

In this use and tillage of land, perhaps the most important comparison to be made is that, unlike China, Japan, and Korea, dry land and upland agriculture is the chief reliance of the people. There are no Yangtse river deltas and no Kanto plains in Okinawa. The care, conservation and use of land have crept up the hillsides over the most settled [171]

311 parts of the island, and the small deltas, the tiny alluvial plains,
18 the short and narrow valleys are left to produce what little rice can be grown.

Okinawa is not Japan and perhaps it is unrewarding to attempt
171 comparisons between the Okinawans and the Japanese. Okinawa is an island whose rural life is but little disturbed by urban development.
369 Only two places, Naha and Shuri, could be classified as small cities. Important places like Nago, Ishikawa, and Yonabaru are only small towns.

Japan is a culture rich in both its rural and its urban life. The investigation of the life of the great metropolitan cities of Japan is more scattered in specialized studies, more casual, perhaps more impressionistic than the study of some of its villages. Japanese and Okinawan rural life have many things in common, though the Japanese experience may now be distinctly different because of the land reform.

But along with the rural village, there are the great cities of Tokyo, Yokohama, Kyoto, Osaka, Kobe, and Nagoya, and these circumstances make an appraisal of Japanese culture even more complex and elusive.

177 Certainly the long cultural ties with Japan have left their impressions on the people of Okinawa. The Japanese language, the Japanese system of education, altered after the war, Japanese tools, and Japanese literature are clear examples of this direct influence. But there are differences too. Adoption is much less common in Okinawa. The Buddhist influence, except for the altars of household Buddhism, is weak. The Okinawans, during the war, seemed less inclined than the Japanese toward fanatical self-sacrifice in behalf of the emperor cult.

157 In this work, I have avoided discussing the popular subject of
128 the "psychology" of the people. After a few commonplaces, one embarks on a series of impressions which may or may not have validity and which most certainly would be subject to endless qualification. I have therefore, for the most part, left the characteristics of the people to emerge from the descriptions of their historical experience, their social organization, and their family and community life, trusting that from these details one can form an impression of the way in which a people are living and how they meet the manifold problems which confront them.

156 In my own studies, I have been impressed with the feeling of belonging which seems to be the possession of the individual from infancy until his children lay him to rest in the family tomb. There is also a stability in family life, and this stability does not seem so pivoted, as in our culture, on the continued mutual love and affection of the father and the mother. There also seems to be little stress on personal competition.

The infant as well as the mature adult are conditioned to conformity both by the historical obligations and duties under the family

system and by the public life which they lead. There is a blending and shading of the private life of the home with the public life of the lanes, the shops, and the homes of others. The process is so subtle that one can live among them and be unaware of it. But children do more than grow up. They grow and reach maturity impressed with their duties and obligations. It is this cultural environment, rather than single element explanations such as breast feeding, which in my opinion accounts for the politeness, the essential gentleness, and the sense of security of the people. These characteristics can best be understood by knowing history, by knowing how people live within a family, how families live together, what these groups of families do to their arable land, their plants, their stones, their trees, and their forested and wild land, and how the private life of an individual or a family blends in with the wider public experience of the community. [155]

The recent war has been a powerful agent of cultural change in Okinawa. The destruction of the south, the comparative well-being of the north have equalized the roles of the two great divisions of the island, and the north is no longer a rustic hinterland. The years of military service in the Japanese army interfered with the transmission of the traditional culture from the old to the young. One of the striking aspects is the differences in types of information possessed by the old and the young. Men fifty years or over speak of things of which younger men and women have never heard. What is part of one man's culture is foreign to the other. 727 178 184

Before the war success in transmitting the traditional culture to the young depended to a great extent on the hierarchy of the family system and its scale of values. Women were subordinated to men and the younger deferred to the elder. Obedience of children and acknowledgment of parental leadership were said to characterize the pre-war society. In many ways, all these things still do. But there are indications of a growing dependence of the older on the advice and knowledge of the young. [867] [593]

The war and its aftermath produced conditions favorable to the leadership of younger people, especially younger men. It was easy for them to drive trucks. It was no chore to become acquainted with Americans and adapt themselves to their ways. They could learn, and comprehend more easily, some of the Western concepts implicit in governmental change. A twenty year old is not impressed with skill at typing. A sixty year old person looks upon this skill with a certain wonder. [177]

The destruction of pre-war housing and its replacement by inferior makeshift housing have had an unsettling effect on village life. Sleeping habits and living arrangements were disrupted. The destruction even affected the use of rainwater coming from the drains on the tile roofs. It converted villages with their houses and an occasional garden into a camp-like atmosphere. [362]

The post-war repatriation often brought to villagers a more personal awareness of the outside world. Those who returned, especially from the non-Oriental countries, created an atmosphere congenial to change. [167] [177]

131 a fact which has been a determinant in their historical development
648 and an important factor in speculations about prehistoric events.

105 Until further archaeological evidence permits greater certainty, the
174 original settlement of the Ryukyus is believed to have taken place predominantly from the Asiatic mainland, with occasional influx from the southern islands, Formosa, the Philippines, and Indonesia (Kerr,
[172] 1958). Surviving culture elements of great antiquity support these theories. Most frequently cited are a basic form of Shinto, characteristic of the religion, and the shamanistic role of the priestesses. Specifi-
[177] cally, the "curved jewels," formerly worn by all priestesses, are mentioned as apparent links with the neolithic cultures of Japan.

105 On the other hand, sporadic contact with the islands to the south
177 is evidenced by culture traits, such as raised houses of tropical design
174 (common to all of Japan) and perhaps the practice of "mother roast-
[846] ing," a period of recuperation after the birth of a child during which the mother is kept near a fire. This custom is widespread in Malaysia (Cole, 1945:155).

[197] Linguistic evidence points to a separation of Okinawan from a common proto Japanese language about 1500 years ago (Hattori, 1954). This may indicate a southern movement of peoples from Japan under the pressure of the Yayoi people who introduced the wet rice complex into southwestern and central Japan at this period. That this was not the earliest settlement of the Ryukyus, however, is evidenced by remains in the Ryukyus of the earlier Jomon period.

105 From the first mention of the Ryukyus in Chinese annals of 605 A.D.
648 until the end of the nineteenth century when Japan formally annexed
175 the islands, they stood in a curious relationship of dependency toward China and Japan. Both nations claimed suzerainty over the kingdom of Okinawa with its royal court in Shuri and extracted tribute. Eventually the Lord of Satsuma in southern Japan extended his sovereignty over the Ryukyus. But with ties to China remaining, Okinawa participated in both Chinese and Japanese culture, which disseminated through the urban trading center of Naha into the outlying areas. It is this intermediate cultural position which still gives Okinawa a peculiar character, although it long ago became part of Japan and abandoned direct contacts with China.

105 In 1872 Japan formally declared its claims on the Ryukyuan king-
175 dom, and after deposing the last king in 1879, made the Ryukyuan
177 islands a province of Japan, with the capital at Naha. Between this
648 time and the present, intensive contact with Japan has led to an overwhelming absorption of Japanese culture, a willingness on the part of Okinawans to adopt Japanese ways and to identify with Japan as their

home country. Nevertheless, many aspects of Okinawan life still suggest an earlier phase in which independent developments gave the islands their own particular culture.

The Okinawan people, approximately 655,000 as counted in 1954, live in an area of about 454 square miles. Their major economic activities have traditionally been agriculture and fishing. In 1945 a long, peaceful existence was brought to an abrupt end during the final battles of World War II in the Pacific. As a result of world conditions Okinawans have been placed under American administration for an indefinite period of time. Today large numbers of men—and some women—find employment as unskilled and semiskilled laborers with the American forces. Gradual training for highly skilled jobs widens these opportunities for employment. Indirectly Okinawan life is influenced by Americans through stimulation of trade, building, and improved health conditions. Land requirements of the American forces in some areas also have influenced the settlement pattern. While these changes have affected the entire island to some degree, the greatest changes are noticeable in the central part around Naha where American administrative and military personnel are located. The village of Taira in the northern province of Kunigami, where the present study was located, had been subject to relatively few of these postwar changes in 1954. Isolated since earliest times because of mountainous terrain, this part of the island participates, as it probably always did, marginally in cultural influences which affect the center of the island. A great deal of cultural stability has therefore been preserved until the present day.

Nevertheless, it is useful to remember that the population of northern Okinawa is linked with the rest of the island by an efficient communications system. Roads connect almost all settlements in the north with the central island, and a bus transportation system extends its service into the remote areas. But long before all villages were connected by road with the center of Okinawa, people of Kunigami province traveled by foot over the many trails which traverse the mountains, and, since the turn of the century, many have left their home villages. Some went to Japan as laborers; others settled in the Japanese-controlled Islands of the Pacific, and some families joined the numerous Okinawan settlements in South American countries.

LANGUAGE

Taira people are bilingual. Okinawan, which linguists consider a separate language, has many regional dialects, some of which are not

197 mutually intelligible. The speech differences are so great that even
191 two neighboring villages have noticeable dialectical variations. Japanese is the second language.

Okinawan is spoken in almost all households. The first words learned by the child from his mother or others around him are Okinawan. The child is praised or scolded in Okinawan; he learns Okinawan terms for numbers, names for plants, tools, and other implements used around the house. A curious exception in this pattern is the use of
[601] kinship terms. Taira children start using Japanese kinship terms in
[177] infancy with one exception—in some families the grandmother is addressed by the Okinawan term.

[648] Knowledge of the Okinawan language is said to have been helpful to Americans during the war in distinguishing the local people from Japanese. Japanese has been the official language in Okinawa for over 60 years. It is taught and used in schools exclusively until the upper grades, when foreign languages are introduced. Everybody who has gone to school learns Japanese, and only the oldest persons in Taira speak Okinawan exclusively.

197 Young children, even though they learn to speak Okinawan first,
872 soon pick up Japanese words and phrases. While their Okinawan
191 vocabulary is limited to everyday experiences, the child's horizon is widened gradually by the use of Japanese terms. First formal efforts to teach Japanese are made in kindergarten, and teachers quickly succeed in eliminating the use of Okinawan in class. Even in play groups of
[626] school-age children, Japanese is usual. Children frequently censure each other for occasional slips or shifts to Okinawan.

191 Taira adults vary in the use of language. Simple, routine matters in
197 daily living are mostly discussed in Okinawan. This language is also predominant in small, informal social gatherings and in emotionally tense situations, such as domestic quarrels. Furthermore, the priestess and her assistants conduct all religious ceremonies in Okinawan. People resorted to Okinawan in our presence when they did not want to be understood. On the other hand, village meetings and gatherings of village leaders or visits of teachers and other officials are conducted in Japanese.

THE PEOPLE

142 The majority of the Taira people are of short, stocky build, with heavy bones. Their hair growth is strong, their skin dark. A light skin

Between 1875 and 1895, when the court life at the old capitol of Shuri was broken up under Japanese influence, many families of noble origin moved into the country to become farmers, and the village grew in size. These people settled mainly outside the central village in areas where land was available. One family moved into Taira proper, forming the third "main house." Although it still maintains feeble ceremonial connections with Shuri, it gave up its noble title shortly after coming north and moved its ancestral tomb to the community. The noble families who settled in the valleys and hills preserved their distinctive traditions until the end of World War II. Their noble descent was noted in the population register, and intermarriage with commoners was discouraged.

Except for these Shuri migrants, few outsiders seem to have settled in Taira prior to World War II. The residents on the southern part of the island, especially the residents of Naha and Shuri, consider northerners rustics. Although this part of the island was often used as a hiding place by political and criminal refugees from the south, who are said to have founded nearby villages, none of them made their home in Taira.

The original settlers of Taira were reluctant to accept later arrivals in their midst. Because of the fear of spirits, foreign to the village, they prohibited the burial of the newcomer's dead near the tombs shared by the members of the "main houses." To this day the funeral urns of a family who came to Taira about 60 years ago and later intermarried with settled villages are kept in a cave, away from all other tombs.

Higashi township was established in 1922. The area had previously belonged to Kushi township to the south, but the great distances between villages and the mountainous character of the country made efficient administration very difficult. Furthermore, some Higashi inhabitants felt that because of temperamental differences and divergent interests they should separate from the southern township. Since 1922 contacts have been predominantly with Ogimi township to the northwest and the town of Nago, 16 miles away. Once the road connecting the two coastlines was completed in 1936, Taira's isolation decreased considerably, and it became the administrative seat of Higashi township in 1946.

Taira also became the home of the high priestess. In the period prior to direct Japanese administration, her office was under the jurisdiction of the Shuri court (Lebra, 1958), and her predecessors must have been appointed by the Okinawan kings. Taira may have been chosen as the seat of the high priestess in lieu of Kawata because Kawata lacks the good rice land which traditionally went to the high priestess by royal decree. Some of this rice land is still in the hands of the living priestess.

CLOTHING

Today the clothing of Taira people is predominantly Western. Until World War II some fine silk materials for dress were woven in the village, but work clothes were bought in the stores in Nago and Naha. Men and women wear simple, drab, patched, or torn clothes which are laundered frequently. Almost everybody still has a few pieces of U.S. Army fatigues which were handed out immediately after World War II; some have Japanese uniforms. 291 [177] [296]

Women wear cotton skirts and blouses, men cotton trousers, rolled up to the knees for work in the fields, and shirts. During the cold months old jackets are added. Men almost always wrap towels around their heads to hold back their long hair or, as they say, to absorb perspiration. Women also cover their heads with towels during work. Most men and women wear some underclothes; both wear pants, and most women wear slips.

Young girls are more fastidious about their daily dress than older women and all men. An adolescent girl is always well covered, unlike an older married woman who may leave her blouse open to give the baby easy access to the breast. During the heat of the summer, when men take off their shirts, old women follow their example. Most married women just work in their slip and skirt during the hottest part of the summer.

On special holidays or for trips to the city, people have better clothes. Many of these are bought by both men and women from the itinerant, secondhand clothes peddler who visits Taira several times a year before the major holidays. Some old women and a few old men still wear the dark, silk kimonos of prewar days for dress, but usually women wear one-piece dresses or two-piece suits with blouses and men Western suits with white shirts and sometimes ties. Not everybody has shoes to go with special outfits. Wooden clogs are worn by both men and women, even with Western clothes, more commonly than sneakers and shoes. 292 443

Although a Western-style hairdo as pictured in magazines or seen on American women in the central part of Okinawa serves as a model to the younger Taira women, few can afford to have their hair done in the city. Sometimes a teacher or the wife of an official returns from a trip to town with a permanent wave. Most older women wear their long hair tied in a bun at the back of the head. Younger girls who have finished school wear their hair short and straight. The priestess' daughter cuts hair in a barber chair outside her house. Men go to her 302 [177] [305]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

Chapter 4

Property

Rice paddies, farm land and some grass land, trees on private land, a house site and house, as well as livestock and tools, are owned by the heads of households. Land is registered in the household head's name, and he has sole right to dispose of it. Ordinarily younger sons have no right to their father's property, but a man may will property to them. If there is no will, however, everything reverts to the eldest son. Despite this, several families of younger sons were found to have land holdings equal to those of eldest sons. 423 [428]

A widow with young sons may hold land in trust for her sons or, if there are no male heirs, may inherit the land outright. Divorcees and spinsters may also acquire land by purchase, and there are several women in Taira who are household heads and owners of real estate. [589] [428] [592]

Because of the war and a general shift in population, much land and many house sites have changed owners, and former wealthy families are no longer the largest landowners. When they returned, several families with small prewar land holdings were able to raise the necessary cash to buy land. [556]

There is little sentimental attachment to a particular plot of land, and households have never been associated with particular plots. Rather, land is considered a necessary commodity, and thus it frequently changes hands. This sentiment may derive from the communal land-holding system with its periodic redistribution of plots to individuals, which was found throughout Okinawa until abolished under Japanese administration at the turn of the century. 423 592 [177]

Forest land from which villagers derive an income is owned by the village. Being a member of the community confers the right to use village forests, subject to regulations made by the village. Of particular interest is the village-owned tea field, which the village cooperative controls. The field has been subdivided, and each household in the 423 621 474

 647

for keeping the population registry, with vital statistics and relevant 632
information on all township residents.* The Welfare Department in- [217]
vestigates relief cases and receives applications for support from the
poorest families. The Health and Sanitation Administration is primarily concerned with preventive work. Representatives from these five departments are supposed to visit all the villages in the township frequently to inspect and to discuss regulations. The officials and personnel of the five departments are drawn equally from all the villages and commute daily by foot, bicycle, or bus.

The township administration links the central government and in- 631
dividual villages. Numerous requests for central government aid, originating in each community, are sent through the township office. The government in turn deals with each community through the township administration. Contact between township and the villages is maintained by weekly meetings of all village headmen with the mayor and his staff. The village headman is responsible for carrying out township and central government ordinances.

THE VILLAGE

The village headman is elected once a year, in June, from a slate 622
agreed on beforehand during informal discussions by villagers. There 666
is no campaigning; in fact, the elections are treated more as a necessity
than a politically important event, and neither before nor after do they
incite much public discussion. This democratic process of elections is [177]
of post-World War II date. Before the war, the council of village leaders accepted a new headman only if the choice pleased them, so that the headman at that time was virtually appointed. Villagers remarked that "listening to public opinion is a recent change."

The village is still experimenting with the mechanics of a free 666
election. Votes are still restricted to household heads, but the Taira
Women's Association and Young People's Association tried to change [592]
this in 1955. Although they did not succeed, a concession was made by [575]
permitting "representatives" to vote for their household in the absence of a household head, provided the voter was 20 years of age. The elec-

* The old registry was totally destroyed during the war. A new one is being prepared with the help of the people. It no longer differentiates between persons of noble and common descent. Information on crimes committed by people, sentences passed by courts, and other information, such as diseases in the family, like mental illness, is also omitted now.

626 diate relatives but also toward members of the entire community, and
156 even certain strangers, appears in many contexts. Any villager feels
[479] a sense of obligation to participate in mutual assistance, and someone who fails to live up to this obligation is severely criticized. A person who commits a crime is said to have no feeling of obligation, and it seems clear that the infrequency of transgression, either the violation of mutual help codes or more serious infractions, is held in check by fear of censure.

626 The Japanese moral code, which stresses obligations and feelings of
577 indebtedness and gratitude toward those from whom favors have been
867 received, is obviously related to such social control forces or is in fact
● [177] identical with them. Japanese ethical training was part of school training before World War II, and it is still deeply valued and followed.
[571] That any close-knit community tends to foster such forces of control is common knowledge. Yet the positive attitude toward obligations and their elaboration in interpersonal relationships is noteworthy and characterizes an important aspect of Taira life. It is learned early, as we found out when one mother said about her 4-year-old daughter: "She understands the idea (of obligations and indebtedness), although she does not know the concepts." When the family receives a gift, the little girl asks, "Shall we take some fish (a counter present) to them?" In spite of the positive value mentioned, there seem to be few compulsions connected with obligations. Actions appear spontaneous rather than forced. Of course, these obligations are of importance in determining contributions of individual households at weddings, funerals, and other occasions where interpersonal ties are cemented.

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Chapter 6

Social Organization

571 In every society an individual belongs to a number of groups, overlapping in membership and differentiated by function. A resident of Taira is no exception. Some groups are open, that is to say, new mem-

the decades, as the branches grow into unilineal descent lines of their own, new "main" houses are formed. 613

Originally descriptive names were given to each household. These names indicated a "stem" family or one of its branches. The "Big East House," a reference to the lineage as well as to the homestead itself, probably split into several branches. These, the homes of younger sons, were known as "Little East House," or by a further derivative, "Behind Little East House." Sometimes the rank order of a younger son was used to name his house, such as "Second East House." This house order system is no longer in existence in Taira, but a few of the names are still in use to indicate houses, and individuals are frequently referred to as "the person of such and such a house," for instance, "the grandmother of the East House." *

Although every individual is aware of his membership in a "main house," these descent groups have little importance except in religious life and death ceremonies. Members of the same "main house" revere common male ancestors and share in the upkeep of a common tomb in which their remains are placed at death. Funerals and the veneration of deceased members of the "main house" bring the kin group together several times a year. Women, although entombed with their husbands, visit the "main house" of their father to pray before his ancestors' tablets and make offerings. If they were born in Taira, they may first take offerings of rice and sake to the shrine of their husband's paternal ancestors; then later in the day they prepare for a ceremony in their own "main house." 613 769

The descent group also functions in other religious contexts. The oldest woman of the main house acts as priestess for the lineage, and she or another older female may visit the sick and assist their relatives with prayers and practical help. Descent group affiliation does not affect such daily concerns as lending help to others in economic tasks, though some of the descendants of early Taira settlers seem to feel more obligation in this respect than members of the more recently arrived lineages. Lineage affiliation does not determine the choice of a marriage partner. However, although members of the same "main house" or lineage may marry each other provided they are not first cousins, such unions are rare. Marriage with maternal first cousins is also forbidden. 613 [794] [476] [582]

An individual also holds membership in other kin groups which have only a loose structure and few functions. These are the relatives 602 [476]

* Individual surnames among commoners are of recent date, introduced after the Japanese assumed administrative control and required their adoption to establish a population registry. Family names had been in use among the Shuri gentry. 551 177 217

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

Both adult men and women also belong to mutual assistance groups, 571
mutual loan associations, and to the work groups described in Chapter
3. All individuals between 16 and 57 are expected to cooperate in com- [653]
munity work projects. All households are members of the village
cooperative. Since most villagers look to the cooperative for help in [474]
improving their economic conditions, this draws them together in a
familial way.

It will be noted that age and marital status are prerequisites for 575
membership in most of these associations and that only one is ex-
clusively for women and one exclusively for men.

Taira culture is essentially egalitarian. Personal status is not ascribed 554
by membership in social classes or achieved by the accumulation of
wealth. Furthermore, although power and respect are the attributes of
certain village offices, such as headman and school teacher, these only
give rank *ex officio*. An ex-headman has no higher status than one who
has never held such an office.

There are factors, however, which do differentiate Tairans as to
personal status. Men have somewhat more power and command more [562]
respect than women; adults must be addressed respectfully by children;
older siblings have more authority and privileges than younger; and in
recent years the educated are somewhat more respected and are more
likely to be chosen to hold office than those with the minimum re-
quired amount of schooling. And since education often leads to better
jobs, greater wealth is sometimes associated with status, though not a
necessary prerequisite.

The status of women in Okinawa, although, ideally, inferior to that 554
of men, is in reality relatively high. Many cultural forms are based on 562
the principal of male superiority, which Japanese values tend to rein- 177
force, but there are numerous indications in daily life that women com-
mand a comparatively high degree of respect and power. It is difficult
to assess to what degree status differences have been influenced by
contact with Japanese; the importance of women in religious affairs
suggest their higher status prior to the introduction of the Japanese
school system in Taira.

As will be discussed in the chapter on religion, although the venera- 769
tion of one's father's ancestors is the core of one part of Okinawan 782
religion, the ceremonies are run by the women. The oldest male of 562
each main house and the household head in each household are nomi-
nally responsible for keeping the tablets of the ancestors on his house
shrine, but the actual upkeep of this ancestral shelf and the bimonthly
offerings are performed by the women. If no direct male descendant is
available to keep the ancestral tablets, a widowed woman retains them

562 his high score. Under American influence, universal suffrage and
666 equal representation have been introduced and formally adopted in some village affairs, although the household head vote—traditionally mostly male—is still maintained in many cases.

562 The Women's Association is the main force behind the attempts to
575 give women greater equality. The spokesmen for this group do not proclaim equality for women as such as the important goal but express hopes that women's life can be made easier by reducing their work load and providing more conveniences for them, such as better stoves. Attempts are made to give a woman more time to spend at home instead of in forests or fields and to reduce the expenses involved in preparing for holidays and special celebrations. The opinions of the Women's Association carry weight in village affairs. This, as one old woman pointed out, is a considerable change from earlier times. There had been a Women's Association before the war, but
[623] women were still barred from participation in village meetings at that time, and the only place where they could make themselves heard in village matters was at the meeting of the individuals required to do periodic labor for the village.

562 The situation at the time of fieldwork with regard to the attempts
527 of women to gain more recognition and the role which men play in
575 this respect is illustrated by a celebration of Mother's Day—an event which came to Taira quite recently from the outside. The women de-
[177] cided to observe it by taking off from their daily duties during the afternoon. The Women's Association made all arrangements, so that it was not a day dedicated by children or adult men to the mothers, but a day that the mothers celebrated themselves. Nevertheless, for the meeting at the old warehouse, where mats had been spread and food prepared, there were also tables arranged for the male village officials, such as the headman, village council members, and the policeman. They started the affair by treating the women to a few speeches in which the importance of motherhood was eulogized by such observations as: "A man can be great only if he has a mother who is making him great," and (from the policeman): "Mothers are an important factor in preventing juvenile delinquency." After this initial hour-long introduction, the leader of the Women's Association declared that festivities could now begin and that she "did not care how much sake the women drank as long as they were happy on this day." The children, who had been told by their teachers to help their mothers on this day by cleaning house and freeing them from some of their chores, gathered near the building, received some feast food and played as usual, and men—with the exception of the invited officials—worked

tion between couples is not seen in public. Men and women are teased by the community if they are seen standing and talking together. One or several boys teasing a girl would be the boldest advance seen in public. Although, even at night, we never observed couples pairing off in or near the village, we were told that a boy and a girl would arrange private meetings. It is our impression that there is more self-consciousness about love-making than there used to be. 584 178

Although there is little occasion for intimacy between a couple during times when other villagers are around, young men and women associate frequently in larger groups during the week in community-wide activities of the Young People's Association. During the many hours which are spent in club meetings, work projects, and other social activities, there is a comraderie between young men and women which effectively neutralizes the formal social distance that is maintained in the traditionally separate seating arrangements. There is, nevertheless, a certain embarrassment and almost clumsy behavior of young men toward the better poised and adroit girls, at least in the presence of strangers like ourselves. 584 575

Young men may seek intimacies with girls of other villages, but in doing so they risk the ire of the young men there. It is also possible that a Taira girl agrees to an intimate relationship with someone in another village where she may feel safer from detection. Young men are more likely to seek a girl with whom an arrangement for a meeting away from her home can be made. The girl, of course, suffers public disapproval if the couple is detected, while a man is not subject to the same criticism. In contrast to girls, men have many more opportunities for sexual relationships without public censure. 584 836 562

Sexual attraction does not seem decisive in selecting a mate for marriage, although beauty is appreciated in a woman with long, black hair, a dark arched eyebrow, fair skin, a prominent nose, small mouth, and large eyes. Younger people are beginning to adopt some of the American standards of beauty, which are introduced through movies and magazines via Japan. Although the concept of romantic love is gaining in popularity, arranged marriages still outnumber love marriages in Taira. Even if a young man and woman reach an agreement about marriage, there follows a formal arrangement by their parents with the help of go-betweens, a trusted neighbor or a friendly couple, or a person who commands status and respect. If a man or his family are interested in arranging a marriage with a girl, the go-between notifies her family. Eventually word will reach the girl. If the suitor has not previously indicated his interest to the girl, she may voice her feelings and wishes to her mother, father, or to some other relative. If 581 584 826 177 831 584

Chapter 8

Religion

771 The religious beliefs of people in Taira and their ritual practices rec-
● 177 ognize the existence of two different sources of supernatural forces.
[776] The old Okinawan religion, which is still practiced by many persons
[769] in the village, centers on beliefs in a host of nonhuman spirits that inhabit certain localities. A historically more recent Confuscian-Bhuddist influence from China and Japan has added to these beliefs the veneration of ancestors who, in their divine state after death, con-
[782] trol many activities of the living. Under the influence of these two
[784] forces, the animistic and the ancestral, life must be conducted in such a way that both remain appeased at all times by proper worship and performance of ritual as well as by avoidance of actions which might offend these supernatural forces.

771 Even though many younger people laugh away the adherence to
[154] beliefs, especially in animistic deities, there is much evidence that the life of almost all people is controlled by fears, anxieties, and desires for appeasement stemming from these religious beliefs. Although historically the animistic and ancestral religious beliefs were separate, they are synchronized at present so that it is not always possible to make a clear distinction between each system (Lebra: 1958).

776 The supernatural beings of nature live all around the village. There are mountain deities, deities of the sea, of the well, of trees, and other places. Any localities connected with productive activities, such as the store, the sugar mill, the sugar press, and the village truck, have their
[372] own deities. There is also the Deity of Fire, associated with the hearth and the house. He is represented in three hearth stones found in most simple kitchens. Three upright small stones, resembling the hearth stones, are the divine symbols in the village shrine where all these supernatural beings are worshipped.

[782] The supernatural beings living in and around the village appear

like "owners" of the concrete objects which they inhabit. These objects can be made subservient to human needs if care is taken not to offend the deities. As long as proper ritual observances are performed, humans need not fear their hostility. They are addressed in prayers and chants, and people make offerings to them at several ceremonies during the year. No one in Taira, including the priestess, has any exact knowledge about their characteristics, and there is no theological dogma, but people know that when building a house, for example, one must announce his intention to the deities and pacify these spirits who have been carried with the lumber from the mountains or with gravel from the beach and the sea. They must be thanked for letting the builder use such materials and sent back to their natural abode. Before the house is finished, the surrounding plot of land must be cleared of all evil spirits. Neglect of such ceremonies can turn supernatural beings into adversaries. One family who neglected proper rituals on their house lot when they built their home tried to appease angry deities by holding a ceremony a year after the house was finished because bad luck had befallen members of the household. Although most supernatural beings can be pacified by proper observance of rituals, there are some who are inherently malevolent. These ogres may be seen in the form of fire balls or in some other shape or physical appearance.

The worship of these nature deities and the observance of ceremonies in their behalf are in the hands of the high priestess and her female assistants. In former times each main house, later each village, had its own priestess. The present high priestess in Taira derives her office from a much later institution, a nation-wide hierarchy of religious officials established by the Okinawan king in an effort to combine religion with political influence and supervision in the villages. Today the high priestess has no association with the central government; the Japanese abolished the system. The hierarchy of female religious officials (see Lebra: 1958), those representing main houses, and the chief village priestess is no longer clearly delineated in Taira, since representatives of several offices have left the island or died, and the vacancies have not been filled. The high priestess has taken over most of the religious functions. Her chief assistants are older women from the two main houses. While these three women officiate, several other women are in attendance as helpers. In spite of the diminishing role of animistic religion in the daily life of younger people, the high priestess still enjoys prestige in the community. She is exempted from communal labor in recognition of her status.

The present high priestess is a woman in her fifties who works and

who have accepted them cannot afford to buy the recommended drugs. 758
Furthermore, the choice between the bush doctor and the trained medical men in town is sometimes determined by lack of money to pay for the more expensive services.

Cleanliness of the village and general sanitation are theoretically 744
under township control. Except for superficial biannual inspections, 575
nothing much is done about them. Perhaps the Women's Association, once they carry out plans to take over this function, will be more effective.

There are several cases of physically deformed, mentally deficient, 158
and mentally ill persons. A young man of about 20 years, born as an 734
idiot or imbecile, lives in the back of his parents' house, protected from 757
the gaze of outsiders. His family provides well for him, and when no stranger is around to embarrass the family, the grandfather may take him out to attend a village event. Another young man, who was normal, one day began to frighten his family and eventually the whole village by outbursts of violence. He attacked other persons and property. Nobody really knew how to cope with the situation, since the single mental hospital in Okinawa could not keep him longer than six months, and everybody realized that he was sick, not evil minded, when he broke bottles and other glassware in the village store. The [755]
family tried religious treatment and locked the man up but never for long, for he had intermittent periods of calm and seemingly rational behavior. Another man, during a busy day, complained of sudden headaches. Soon afterward he became severely depressed and attempted [762]
to commit suicide, quite an infrequent phenomenon in the Okinawan village.

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Chapter 10

Formal Education

The Japanese school system, which was introduced to Okinawa in the 871
1880's, reached Taira by 1891. At that time a small school was estab- 177
lished in the village. Some of its early graduates are still alive and re-

871 call that in their quest for education, adolescents and even adults at-
177 tended the elementary grades. The introduction of a formal school system in the village marked the beginning of changes in the culture; the Japanese language was introduced, and teachers transmitted Japanese culture as part of the curriculum (Kerr, 1958). It is found today
[191] that people too old to have attended school—which in the early years was not compulsory—are the only ones who do not speak Japanese and who are illiterate. Their number is small, probably less than 5%
872 of Taira's population.

346 The school was moved about 40 years ago to nearby Kawata village,
[871] where a substantial schoolhouse was built. Today the elementary school is located there, about a one-mile walk from central Taira, but 3 miles from the outlying subvillage of Izena. The junior high school lies halfway between Taira and Kawata. During the war all school buildings were destroyed, but two new permanent structures for the elementary school were finished in 1954; one of these is a wooden building with a tile roof, the other an all-concrete, flat-roof structure of simple, modern design. Four classrooms and a teacher's room are located in these buildings. The remaining temporary, thatched-roof huts with three more classrooms will disappear as soon as the school rebuilding program is completed.

Built against a hill, the school has spacious grounds in front for sports and play. Classrooms for 30 to 35 students are fairly adequate in size and, in the new buildings, are well lighted by glass windows on sunny days but dark when skies are overcast because of the overhanging roof, which protects the hallway outside the classrooms from frequent showers, and the lack of artificial lighting. A building immediately be-
[514] hind the classrooms houses latrines, separated for boys and girls, although both pass through the same passageway where boys use the urinals. Equipment is extremely poor and a great problem for principal and teachers. Simple, rickety desks and chairs of unfinished wood are bought or made by parents for their children. They are standard in design but differ in height according to the size of the child. Many first graders' furniture is made with future growth in mind, while some older students have outgrown their desks and chairs. An older sibling may pass on his table to a younger one if it is still serviceable after several years of nonchalant treatment.

876 Teaching aids are few. A small organ is available for music lessons
[533] and is carried by several boys on the shoulders to the classroom where it is needed. Sometimes a teacher accompanies a singing class on a mouth organ. Visual aid material, maps, pictures, and charts are displayed in school rooms along with students' physical measurement tables and

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

sometimes a chart indicating their birthdays. There are also exhibits 876
of students' drawings, which enliven the simple rooms. Each classroom
has at least one blackboard built into the wall. By withdrawing re-[346]
movable walls in the new building, individual rooms can be converted
into one large auditorium with a small stage for special occasions.

The personal equipment carried by students, other than books, con- 872
sists of notebooks, pencils, a ruler, abacus, and, for those who can af-
ford it, crayons and drawing paper. Sports equipment is also scanty,
and replacement budgets are too low to remedy the situation. Students
bring their own tools for garden and agricultural work as well as for
work on the school grounds.

The teachers' room has desks for each teacher and the principal and 875
a large table in the center for meetings. A small corner is reserved for
a kerosene stove to prepare tea. There are also two cots for the teacher 346
who remains on duty as night watchmen or for a child who feels ill
during school hours. No privacy is provided for teachers, since students
enter the room on any pretext or crowd around the windows if some-
thing attracts their curiosity.

Upkeep of the school is the responsibility of teachers and students; 872
the only paid help is a girl who acts as janitor, nurse, and servant. The
students, supervised by their teachers, tidy up classrooms after school, 358
scrub walls and floors at regular intervals, take care of the hallway, cut
grass, and weeds, and clear ditches on the school grounds. When school
repairs are needed, teachers and parents help if no specialist's work is
needed, as in repairing the thatch roof of temporary buildings.

The present school system, although under American supervision, 871
follows the Japanese pattern. A six-year elementary school education
and three years of junior high school are compulsory. After graduation [177]
at about the age of 15, students can enter high school if they choose and
can qualify by passing the extremely rigid entrance examinations,
which eliminate a considerable number of applicants. High school
students have to move to Ogimi in a nearby township where they room [873]
and board while attending school.

The curriculum in the Okinawan schools is on the whole similar 871
to that in Japan. Japanese language continues to be the medium, and 177
textbooks, as well as other school materials, are purchased from Japan.
Children therefore continue to be familiarized with the culture of [191]
Japan as were their parents in the days before American administra-
tion. A number of changes have taken place since that time, however.
Since the Ryukyus are at present under an independent administration,
all symbols and paraphernalia pertaining to the Japanese Imperial
House and to the Japanese nation have been removed from the schools.

871 Nevertheless, the school remains, in the eyes of the villagers, as a rally-
177 ing point for ties with Japan.

No attempts have been made until the present to introduce Okinawan culture other than by a few occasional references to Okinawan history or folklore. Teachers, during discussion of reading material, refer to home life, farm work and mountain work to illustrate points made in the books.* School is the first opportunity for Taira children to become acquainted with the world outside their own village and to relate their own experiences to the rest of the island, Japan, and other
[186] parts of the world. Since Japan is the dominant subject of reading material, however, it is clear that no awareness of being "Okinawan" is developed.

875 Teachers, many of whom are young, are devoted to their work and to the children, even though their pay is hardly commensurate with their
[554] high status in the community and does not represent adequate compensation for the long hours of teaching and administrative work that demand most of their time. In addition, the community in which the teacher lives makes demands on him as one of the educated, able leaders. Both men and women teach. Some of the younger ones who follow the urgent call for teaching positions do not have much training beyond a high school diploma. During the summer, special teacher
[874] training courses are now conducted by university professors from Japan and the University of the Ryukyus. Graduates from the University of the Ryukyus Education Department are still too few in number to reach a remote country school, such as the one in Kawata. Most teachers come from one of the surrounding communities; others, mostly bachelors, are from other parts of the island. Children are therefore well acquainted with many of the school teachers, some of whom are neighbors, relatives, or friends of the family.

[554] The extremely modest appearance of teachers does not detract from their status and authority. The relationship between students and teachers is a mixture of respect, as dictated by custom, and intimacy, as a result of mutual affection. A conscientious teacher comes to know his students well during the school year and takes an active interest in them. Children can tell if a teacher is enthusiastic about his work and often establish a warm relationship with him. During our stay, the
872 first two grades were divided into two sections, taught by women, while male teachers taught the upper four grades.

The school day starts at 8:30 with a study period before the formal meeting of the teacher and students on the open grounds in front of

* Some practical work in gardening begins in the upper elementary school classes. Only Junior High School students work in the fields as part of their curriculum.

the school. Classes are held from 9 o'clock until noon with one recess. After an hour for lunch, lessons resume for all grades above first. Classes, sports, and cleanup end between 2 and 3:30 in the afternoon, the highest grades staying the longest. 872

All grades receive instruction in Japanese writing and reading, arithmetic, science, music, and drawing. Social science is introduced in the second grade. Since each class has one teacher for all subjects, shifts from one to the next subject may come in the middle of an hour. The greatest amount of time is spent in teaching Japanese reading and writing. At first grade level the simplified syllabary is taught, followed in the second grade by another syllabary and the first Chinese characters. [871 177 191]

Parents maintain contact with the school through a Parent-Teachers Association, called by the American abbreviation, PTA. Every household is a member. Those with children of school age are regular members who pay 15 yen (12 cents) a month; others are supposed to pay 5 yen but have become so delinquent that their fees have been dropped. The actual PTA work is done by a committee from each village, including the headman and the heads of the Women's and Young People's Associations. The main purpose of the PTA is to support the school in some of its maintenance problems. Attendance of all parents at a general meeting occurs only once a year when elections of officers take place and the PTA budget is discussed and approved. 875 575

The principals of both schools are represented in township affairs and in the associations of their own community. Contact between village leaders and school representatives is therefore frequent. Since education taxes are the single largest tax item which villagers pay (80% of the total tax), this representation of the principals is a necessary but burdensome duty for them. 875 621 [651]

Township education taxes are supplemented by government subsidies. School taxes are paid by all households according to their income and average about 515 yen ($4.30) yearly. Since 1952, government orders require education taxes to be levied separately from other taxes so that people are aware of the amount destined for education; tax collection is one of the main problems in village administration, and school principals are sometimes called on to explain the need for such taxation and the obligations of individuals to carry their share of the burden. 871 658 651

The administration of funds and general school matters are the responsibility of an official in the township finance department. During 1954–1955, 310,344 yen ($2586) were collected by the township in education taxes. The government subsidy amounted to 3,716,397 yen [632]

842 of the economic hardship incurred as a result of large families. A few
[843] of the more outspoken mothers complain bitterly against the old people who expect them to continue bearing children until three male
[593] heirs are born. Men desire male heirs, and one son is not enough: the favored number is three. Informal interviews reveal that in spite of the cultural preference for sons, mothers welcome daughters, who grow up to be useful helpers. Even if women protest when they feel tired of bearing children, they submit to their husband's demands. Since Japa-
551 nese given names are used today, the practice of naming a girl Sueko
553 (end child), to indicate that one considers her to be the last, is often
842 resorted to. If this proves insufficient and another follows, she might
[177] be called Tomeko (stop child). In one family the wife gave her baby girl the name Sueko to indicate that she did not desire any more children. Her husband, however, disagreed, for he wanted another son, and registered the child without his wife's knowledge under another name.

842 Although the older generation, which has supported large families, looks on birth control measures with distaste, the young mothers cir-
744 culate information published in Japanese magazines and by the Okinawan public health department on this matter, and a few families actually use contraceptives. However, in general, public health nurses
847 have found it extremely difficult to discuss matters like birth control, abortion, and infanticide with villagers. "We suspect that these measures are practiced everywhere. Of course, with the system of registration and public health nursing, infanticide is hardly possible; however . . . we could not say. . . ." * It is interesting to note that in
[732] Taira there are mental defectives but no physical defectives. Abortion is legal with a doctor's consent, but informants claimed it was not
[848] practiced. There are illegitimate children born in the village.

842 "The seeds, they must match. If they do not match, then it cannot be," explain the villagers. They continue, "It is like planting a field, however; if the soil is hostile to growth, nothing can happen." Thus the villagers express their theories of conception.

843 Cessation of menstrual periods signals the start of pregnancy, and the sudden craving for a particular kind of food forces the woman to acknowledge the fact. Informal interviewing and casual observation reveal that morning sickness is not usual. Women rarely miss a work-
[461] ing day in the fields and mountains even in the early stages of preg-
[522] nancy. One male who failed to appear for work with the rest of the male population of the village was the butt of many a joke. "How now, you are taking over the task of your wife?" teased the men and women.

[164] Malfunction of the kidneys is not uncommon among pregnant

* Personal communication from public health nurses.

853 There are no food taboos during pregnancy, and after birth mothers
262 can continue to eat what they wish except for certain "hard" foods,
[843] such as octopus, whale meat, and certain kinds of fish which are believed to stop the flow of milk. To stimulate lactation, the mother is given papaya boiled with flour and noodles or a medicine made from herbs.

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Chapter 13

Infancy

858 The infant is considered a helpless, pitiable treasure who is incapable
155 of knowing, understanding, or learning until he is around 6 years old.
855 If this senseless child is treated affectionately and indulgently, he will grow to be a healthy, happy adult.

●177 With the spread of Japanese influence throughout Okinawa, accord-
[861] ing to informants, there evolved another belief, which in Taira is complementary to the idea of the senseless child. This new belief is vaguely conceptualized by most young parents but was verbalized concretely by at least two sets of parents. "Children are the gift of gods.* They are godly until they are 7 years old." Exoneration of misbehavior on the part of the child under 7 (6 years according to Western count) conjures up in the mind of the observer a picture of willful capricious gods who are totally unpredictable. A shrug of the shoulder and a phrase which completely defines both attitude and resignation in Japanese is, "helpless, against one's will." Because children are godlike in nature, they do not know any better; because they do not know any better they are godlike in nature. Just why and how a child outgrows this temperament could not be explained by the parents. These beliefs foster the extreme indulgence, protection, and nurturance of young babies. Their physical and emotional needs are attended to constantly, with a great deal of affection.

* This notion may well have been influenced by Christian as much as by Japanese ideas.

In the houses of first sons there are family altars upon which memorial tablets of family ancestors are placed. Children from these homes are told that their deceased grandfathers are now divine beings and are watching them. In one such family a 4-year-old boy was told by his mother that, since he was naughty, the divine ancestor would punish him. She pointed to the picture of his deceased grandfather and the memorial tablets on the altar. The little boy looked up to the shelf and then to his mother. "That's only a memorial tablet," he said sneeringly. 861 778 769

Not many children are as skeptical as this 4-year-old. A hunchbacked storyteller sometimes comes to Taira. This man is a preacher for a Japanese sect which combines Japanese nationalistic teachings and concepts of proper conduct and healthful living with a belief in a supreme being. He appeals to children and reinforces the belief in the sanctioning power of God. Occasionally a Christian missionary visits the village, and the children look forward to his bible readings, which also reinforce the belief. In addition, the children of the two Christian families help to caution others, warning of divine omnipresence and knowledge. 861 776 177

Shaming and ridicule as techniques of socialization are used to a fair extent. An older child's shortcomings may frequently be compared with a younger's achievements. However, some form of verbal lashing is usually accompanied by direct physical punishment, whether it be merely a slap on the buttocks, a crack on the head, or a whipping. 861

Several mothers summed up their flexibility in handling their children by saying, "I have so many children and it seems that each one is different in some way. For some children one thing works and for others you have to think of other ways. You cannot scold this one because she is so sensitive. The boy you cannot scold because he would get so angry he would not be able to understand the wrong he did."

Nevertheless, it is important to point out that mothers in Taira, for the most part, do not spend as much time with their children as do their counterparts in a more wealthy village. Their work day is long and strenuous. They return home exhausted and impatient. During the long rainy spells, when work in the fields and mountains is impossible, mothers have to stay home more often than usual. At such times they manifest an irritability with respect to the numerous demands children make upon them that can be attributed partly to the fact that their long absence from home during a normal work day makes them forget children's cravings for attention; the loss of income during bad weather just increases their impatience. 861 462 [184] [152]

have little time and patience to concern themselves seriously with 866
their children's schoolwork; and since their daily work is hardly an 876
inspiration to the child to improve his scholastic activities, there is
some question in how much parental influence is relevant here.
Moreover, mothers are always under pressure from the teachers to [124
urge their children to work hard and would respond to such an
obviously weighted question in this fashion to a person to whom they
accorded the same polite title in address, which they use toward
their children's teacher, *sensei* (i.e., the interviewer). It is also a fact
that teachers have had difficulty getting parents to cooperate in
training their children to establish regular home-study habits. Fathers,
on the whole, seem even less consistent than mothers in supervising
schoolwork. The fact that most boys would like to be first but make
concentrated efforts to improve their work only if they perform
poorly suggests that parental discipline usually does not function
effectively until the child has become severely delinquent in his
studies.

If the desire to cheat in school is a measure of competitive pressures, it is interesting to note that there are few such attempts made during the examinations which are held several times a year. Nothing is done to separate the students whose tables are close together. Although the teacher remains in the classroom, he hardly proctors. However, the teacher commented that if a student is suspected of unfair practices, others will report his activities to the teacher.

An impetus for the development of competitive spirit has been [177
the introduction by the Japanese of athletic sports into the schools. [525
The communities participate annually in athletic competitions spon- [527
sored by the schools and other agencies outside the community. One
is impressed, however, that these events have taken on the Okinawan
pattern of a pleasant gathering where the older people can enjoy
being sociable while the young men and women engage in various
sports.

A few students have regularly assigned tasks and offices. Each class 866
selects a monitor. The method of selection varies, depending on the 872
teacher. In one class, candidates were taken at large, and the student 876
who received the largest number of votes took the office. The monitor
is responsible for the class during the morning assembly and during
athletics. He sees to it that students line up and remain orderly. In
the classroom he has the same responsibility, but we observed nobody
discharging his duties in an authoritarian way, although some older
boys liked to show their strength in a playful manner of bullying.

866 Girls could theoretically become monitors, and several votes were cast
872 for them, but it is doubtful whether a girl could be effective among
876 boys, who might be unwilling to follow her lead.
The student Red Cross chapter has a chairman in each class who
[858] makes collections under the teacher's supervision. Somebody may
volunteer for such jobs as pouring milk during lunch hour. Other
[231] assignments have to do with the upkeep of a few school-owned goats, which must be fed during vacations too.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BOYS AND GIRLS

858 Differential status of boys and girls, emphasized in child rearing
876 from the time of birth, is clearly defined in many details of school routine. Boys are sent out first when it is time to leave the classroom; they head the lines; and they are given first turn at the equipment.
[177] The promotion of sex equality under American supervision of the educational program has met with only mild acceptance in the classes we observed. Although separate seating is avoided under post-World War II rules, a separation continues in fact.

858 Girls remain on the receiving end of much teasing and horseplay,
876 more, it seems than one observes during associations of boys and girls in the village, which we will describe later. Teachers, like parents,
865 expect the boys to bully girls. In one classroom, for instance, we heard girls complaining that the (male) teacher favors boys by calling on them all the time. This may encourage the dominant, aggressive behavior of boys toward girls. Hardly a day passes in school without several girls crying as a result of assertive boy tyrants. Occasionally a boy is punished, but usually he escapes with distinct pride showing on his face. Recently teachers have resorted to ridiculing those who intimidate girls, but the tradition is so strong that even if bullying on the school ground is curbed, there is a great deal on the road to and from school. Only the most vociferous girls do not seem to be cowed by such boisterous demonstrations and may adequately match in verbal repartee those boys who try to put them into place as well as provoking more teasing and aggression. To illustrate attempts at bullying in the classroom, we quote from an observation record (second grade).

. . . Whenever one of the girls gives a wrong answer, S. (Taira boy) shouts loudly; he is one of the most vociferous in class . . . Class then starts reading aloud, each pupil for himself . . . A boy in front of K. (Taira girl) turns around, hits her for putting her feet against his chair. K. continues kicking

CHAPTER II: LANGUAGE

W. P. Lebra

197 Introduction Though Japanese is established as the official language of Okinawa, in practice its use is more limited than that of the indigenous language, Okinawan. Since only Japanese is used in the government, press, cinema, radio, schools, and among the leaders of public and professional life, an observer not in intimate contact with the people might easily gain the impression that the native language is dead or dying. Recently an American stationed on Okinawa expressed the opinion, "In the past decades they spoke their own language, Luchuan, but this has almost been forgotten since the Japanese took over late in the last century."[1] On the contrary, however, this language is far from being dead or forgotten, and at the present time the majority of Okinawans may be said to be bilingual. In all communities which the authors studied and visited, Okinawan was found to be more widely used than Japanese. More significantly it has maintained itself as the language of the family in a majority of homes; consequently, most children do not learn to speak Japanese until they commence formal schooling. Fortunately for them this task is somewhat simplified by the close affinity between Okinawan and Japanese.

197 Relationship The indigenous speech of Okinawa is, properly speaking, a dialect of Ryukyuan, which constitutes a sister language to Japanese in the Ryukyuan-Japanese language family. These two languages (Ryukyuan and Japanese) are not mutually intelligible although their morphological, phonological, and syntactic correspondence clearly indicates a common parentage. The degree of their kinship frequently has been likened to that of French and Italian. Thus far they stand alone in that a relationship between them and any other language has not been established; yet, the possibility of such a relationship with Korean and Altaic (Tungus-Manchu, Mongol, and Turkic) has been postulated by a number of scholars and seems the most likely possibility.

Areally this Ryukyuan-Japanese language family extends from Hokkaido in the north to the Yaeyama island group in the south. Ryukyuan is found in the area from Amami Oshima to Yaeyama, while Japanese occupies the area north of Amami. Within these two speech regions there exist many dialects, and people from widely separated places would often find communication difficult, if not impossible, were it not for the teaching of a standard speech, the dialect of the Tokyo area, in all the schools. Today this standard language ('hyōjungo') is the lingua franca for those travelling about or in contact with persons outside their dialect group.

Dialect boundaries within the Ryukyuan speech region have yet to be precisely determined. The line of demarcation spearating Ryukyuan from Japanese is itself rather arbitrary, for the dialect of Amami Oshima shares nearly as many features with the dialect of Kagoshima-ken as it does with that of Okinawa. Miyanaga, who has spent many years studying and recording Ryukyuan, recognizes four main dialects coinciding with the four main island clusters,

[1] Major General David A. D. Ogden, 1954, p. 45.

Amami Oshima, Okinawa, Miyako, and Yaeyama.[1] Although they appear to differ widely, mutual intelligibility prevails, and informants from other islands assured me that they had managed to understand Okinawan in a short time though most preferred to use Japanese rather than attempt the new dialect. 197

Okinawan Dialects The Okinawan dialect area, Okinawa and its offshore islands, contains many sub-dialects or local speech groups, all of which are easily mutually intelligible. It would be an exaggeration to state that there is a distinctive dialect for each community; yet the variety and diversity of local speech forms constantly impresses one. Nakasone has distinguished five dialects in the Kunigami area alone, and this does not include nearly a dozen and a half distinctive speech islands within the same area.[2] These local speech peculiarities are often pointed out with considerable pride and seem much prized as symbolic of a community's identity. [621]

The dialects of Naha, Shuri, and certain of the larger towns such as Itoman and Yonabaru, are quite distinctive and easily recognized by the Okinawans. Naha dialect is most widely spoken and easily understood throughout the island, and because of its association with the capital carries the greatest prestige among Okinawan speakers. Old residents of Naha complain that their dialect has deteriorated and become coarsened since the war due to the heavy influx from other areas of people who speak the dialect imperfectly. By this they refer to the loss of certain polite forms and the inundations of Japanese. Some Shuri people will contend that the "best" Okinawan is spoken in their city. In the past this was undoubtedly a widely accepted point of view, but with the advent of Japanese administration---exile of the king, removal of the capital to Naha, abolition of the upper classes---Shuri's prestige as a cultural center rapidly declined. A number of informants, rural and urban, felt that the "purest" Okinawan was heard in the Naha theaters, particularly at the Naha Gekijō, where daily performances of modern and historical dramas are presented. Itoman dialect is considered to be very coarse and rough by the people of other communities, and hence is accorded a low prestige. This is in part due to certain prosodic features of the dialect which render it unlike other Okinawan dialects, but more likely it is due to the fact that this town largely derives its livelihood from fishing, an occupation regarded with opprobrium by farmers and urbanites alike. The neighboring farm village of Kanegusuku, though less than a quarter of a mile away and long associated with Itoman, preserves a dialect distinct from it. [554] [177]• [648] [177] [545] [554] [226]

This dialectic diversity on Okinawa reflects to a certain extent the physical isolation of the typical village, a tightly-nucleated cluster of dwellings surrounded by fields. It is also a product of the social structure in the Okinawan kingdom. Prior to annexation by Japan (1879), farmers were little more than serfs bound to the soil and forbidden to leave their native village, while the gentry and nobility were for the most part concentrated in the urban Naha-Shuri district. Rural villages tended to be isolated, self-sustaining units; most were composed of a dominant kin group (munchu) and several smaller and possibly remotely related kin groups, or of several unrelated kin groups more nearly equal in size. A munchu was made up of a number [361] 197 105 [546] [565] [621]

[1] Miyanaga /Miyara/, 1950, p. 39.

[2] Nakasone, 1937, pp. 242-258.

Intimate contact with Japanese coupled with this word borrowing has resulted in a tendency toward slight sound shifts in the direction of Japanese phonology; this is particularly true among the bilingual speakers. The same process is operative in the Japanese of these Okinawan speakers in that there is a tendency toward Okinawan phonology. 194 177

The real strongholds of Okinawan speech today are the family and the rural areas. In an old and relatively unchanged village like Kanegusuku little Japanese is heard despite the fact that most of the villagers are bilingual. That Okinawan is the language of the family is best demonstrated by the pre-school-age children who do not speak or understand any Japanese aside from a few greetings and polite phrases. Likewise men over sixty and women over fifty-five usually cannot speak Japanese. The remainder of the village, approximately seventy percent of the total, is bilingual; however, this figure is somewhat misleading in so far as actual usage is concerned. A majority of the married women use Japanese infrequently since Okinawan is the language of their daily lives, which are largely confined to the village and home. For the men, a number of whom have seen service abroad in the Japanese forces, there is a greater freedom of movement and a wider range of contacts providing more occasion for the use of Japanese. Yet within the village many of them preferred to use Okinawan, and even the high school students were inclined to shed their Japanese on returning to the village. A number of bilingual informants ascribed this preference for Okinawan to the influence of the old people who understood Japanese imperfectly or not at all. As one informant put it, "The old people in this village just don't like being spoken to in Japanese, and if some person does this, they say he is trying to be big." Undoubtedly their influence is a strong factor, but this preference is also likely attributable to a low degree of proficiency in Japanese. Prior to the postwar period few villagers obtained more than a sixth grade education; consequently, many are not as articulate in Japanese as they are in Okinawan. It should also be noted that within the village a selective factor operates so as to perpetuate the use of Okinawan. Mention is made in another section of this report of a mayor's comment to the effect that all those who receive a good education, high school or university, soon leave the village. Thus, the very group most likely to further the spread of Japanese leaves before its influence is felt. 191 178 177 621 [871] [66]

The resentment of the oldest generation toward the use of Japanese resolves itself among the younger, bilingual generations into an attitude that Japanese imparts a certain formality to an occasion, and hence situations calling for the use of Okinawan or Japanese tend to be rather compartmentalized in their minds. Formal occasions prescribe the use of Japanese and informal ones Okinawan. Village political meetings and elections were always conducted in Japanese, and when the 'son' officials made one of their periodic inspections of the village, only Japanese was used in addressing them. On the other hand the use of Japanese at a party would be regarded as too formal and a bit unfriendly, and, of course, with old people and children only Okinawan is used. Besides the formal-informal dichotomy there exists the feeling among the better-educated bilinguals that Japanese is a modern and sophisticated language whereas Okinawan is backward and rustic. 191 829 177

There are several aspects of Okinawan culture wherein the local language is used to the exclusion of Japanese; chief among these are the theater 191 178

191 (mentioned previously), song, and the indigenous religion. Okinawan song and
178 music undoubtedly exceed both Japanese and Western in popularity; in fact, no
191 other facet of Okinawan culture has so successfully withstood the changes of
178 the past seventy-five years. Songs such as the Kagiyadefu (which some Okina-
533 wans liken to a national anthem), Nubui Kuduchi, Hamachidori, Tanchame are
known and loved by all. Some of the phonograph record stores in Naha carry
as many as several hundred different recordings of Okinawan songs, and vir-
191 tually all of these are recorded in Okinawan. All priestesses of the indigen-
178 ous religion interviewed by the author stated that Okinawan was the language
178 of prayer and ceremony; to some this was a burden, as in the case of one
priestess who had spent most of her life in Japan. A few admitted that the
language of the ceremonies and particularly that of the old songs or umui
(sometime rendered omoro) was rather obscure and not fully understood; these
are transmitted orally from the older priestess to her successor and undoubtedly
191 contain many archaic words. Outside the formal religious structure yet inex-
178 tricably linked to it are shamans (yuta) and fortune tellers ('ekisha'). The
756 former, most often a woman, uses Okinawan almost exclusively in rites concerned
791 with divining, exorcism, and curing. The latter, nearly always a male, is
usually a fairly well-educated person, as the profession is based on interpre-
tations of certain books used in conjunction with the ancient Chinese Book of
Changes (I Ching), and either Japanese or Okinawan, depending on the customer,
may be used in giving the reading. Both practitioners are extremely popular,
but the fortune teller is usually found in the cities and towns whereas the
shaman may be found in Naha or the smallest hamlet.

195 Japanese With the abdication of Shō Tai in 1879 the Japanese government ini-
191 tiated a program designed for integrating Okinawa into the national
• 177 state as rapidly as possible. An effort was made to stamp out all vestiges of
[649] Okinawan culture, utilizing techniques ranging from education and indoctrina-
tion to repressive laws and police measures. Greatest emphasis was given to
making Japanese speakers out of Okinawans. Leavenworth quotes Governor Nara-
hara as stating that the creation of Japanese speakers was of more value than
195 all the repressive laws prohibiting certain customs.[1] At the start the Japanese
191 were hindered by a lack of schools and teachers, and so the program moved ahead
177 slowly. An effective national school system covering the rural areas where the
871 bulk of the population was located and taking in both sexes was not fully oper-
ative until about the time of World War I. The failure of Japanese to displace
Okinawan can be attributed largely to a lack of time and a lack of facilities
for education beyond the elementary level. By the time of World War II but two
generations were schooled in Japanese, and the majority of these had received
no more than six years of education.

191 Though Japanese failed to displace Okinawan, it did succeed in becom-
177 ing a necessity in the lives of most people and in establishing itself as the
554 prestige language. With the government, press, schools, cinema, radio, and
high-level commerce utilizing Japanese exclusively, participation in modern
life without a knowledge of Japanese became impossible. The incentives towards
competence in Japanese were many, whereas there appeared to be little gained

[1] Leavenworth, 1905, p. 37.

by clinging to the native speech. Naturally it became impossible for a student to obtain a higher education or for any Okinawan to secure a government position without an adequate mastery of Japanese. A good knowledge of Japanese became the first prerequisite for those who wished to improve their status. 191 197 554

Nearly all children in the rural areas and perhaps a majority of those in the urban areas first learn to speak Japanese when they enter school. It would seem that the main task of the elementary schools is to provide the students with an adequate knowledge of Japanese. On Okinawa as in all schools throughout the areas occupied by the Japanese, a standard language is taught; for the Okinawan child this means learning a new language, while for the child in Japan it means learning at the most a new dialect. Obviously a sixth-grade child on Okinawa will not have a proficiency in Japanese comparable to a sixth-grader in Japan. A recent testing of Naha and Tokyo school children indicated that the Okinawan children were far behind in nearly every subject. One informant, an urbanite who had lived for a time in Japan and rather prided himself on his Japanese, remarked that this clearly indicated the deterioration of the schools in the post-war period. When it was pointed out that this more likely reflected a lower educational attainment due to a language handicap, he readily agreed, and subsequent discussion revealed that a "mixture" of Japanese and Okinawan was spoken in his home. In this case the siblings, who had received high-school educations, used Japanese to one another but spoke only Okinawan to their mother, and the child of the house heard mostly Okinawan from her elders! A Ryukyuan scholar now holding a position in a large Japanese university informed the author that most high-school students are very hesitant about their Japanese and fear making a mistake. When this person first came to Japan after winning a scholarship to a higher school, he was startled by the fluency of the Japanese children! It should be noted that the post-war addition of English to the elementary school curriculum (from the 4th year on) serves only to impose another linguistic burden on the Okinawan child. Grade-school children who had studied English were completely unable to understand the simplest printed phrases; mastery was usually limited to counting from one to ten and reciting the alphabet as far as H without error, though the children can hardly be blamed, considering the texts and teaching level. The chief drawback to the texts is the transcription of English sounds in the Japanese syllabary; thus, a child is taught to pronounce ball as "booru", Smith as "sumisu", here as "hiya", etc. A friend who sat in on a class in English related that had he not been forearmed with a copy of the text and the knowledge that the class was studying English he would never have recognized the subject matter. 191 197 871

In the greater Naha area, which serves as the cultural as well as the administrative and commercial center of the island, the use of Japanese is far more common than elsewhere. Prior to the war there was a sizeable Japanese community here, and from Naha things Japanese have diffused into the countryside. However, the Naha informant's home where a "mixture" of Japanese and Okinawan was spoken was not an atypical one, and this can readily be attested to by visiting the playground of any elementary school in Naha and listening to the speech of children. It may be expected that the post-war addition of three years of junior high school to the compulsory education period will do much to further the advance of Japanese. 191 197 [871]

212 Writing Okinawa never developed an independent system of writing; in the old
• 197 kingdom both Japanese and Chinese were used. Literacy was largely
82 confined to the upper classes, and it is said that students were sent to both
[57] countries for study. Apparently the literati held the Chinese language and culture in high regard while disdaining that of the Japanese; yet, Bettelheim noted in 1851 that Japanese books were very popular in spite of this contempt of the literati.[1] He also stated that the Okinawans always preferred biblical texts written in Japanese to those in Chinese. In view of the political paramouncy of Japan from 1609 and the close linguistic and cultural ties between the two peoples this popularity of Japanese is not surprising. It also should
[538] be noted that although the literati are reported as preferring Chinese to Japanese, the major literary achievements of Okinawa were written in Japanese. Thus, for example, the Omorosōshi, sixteenth century collection of songs which the late Dr. Ifa has called the Ryukyuan scriptures, was recorded in a Japanese style of writing; the same is true for the annals of the old kingdom and for the first dictionary of the Okinawan language.

212 With the advent of a Japanese administration and educational system,
197 the study of Chinese ceased, and today Japanese is used exclusively. Most Okinawan place names and family names as they are written in Japanese can be given two interpretations, the Japanese and the Okinawan; in a majority of cases the Japanese is given preference. Occasionally when Okinawan speech is transcribed as in the case of lyrics accompanying phonograph records, the Japanese syllabary is used. This is not a suitable devise for transcribing Okinawan speech, which contains many sounds unfamiliar to Japanese. Unfortunately much of the early
[114] linguistic research conducted in this area was rendered virtually worthless by the employment of this syllabary. In recent years scholars like Miyanaga and Kinjo have recorded Ryukyuan using the International Phonetic Alphabet.

197 Conclusion At the present time Okinawan speech enjoys widespread use throughout the whole of the island. It is still the language of the home,
191 and as such it is a more common medium of expression than the official language,
177 Japanese. The latter, backed by the government, schools, and all the forces of
178 modern life, is gradually supplanting Okinawan, but it would be an over-statement to say that the language is dying out. It may be expected that the majority of Okinawans will remain bilingual as they are today until such time when a whole adult generation will speak only Japanese and transmit only Japanese to its offspring.

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[1] Bettelheim, n.d., p. 31.

CHAPTER III: AGRICULTURAL HISTORY, LAND USE AND DIET

F. R. Pitts

121 The concept of the unchanging Orient certainly fails to appear true
178 in the case of Okinawa, when the past is examined closely. Indeed, it seems hard to find an area where so much change has been accomplished so fast. The following is designed to show some major aspects of that change, particularly insofar as the farmer is concerned.

1. Agricultural History

175 **The Early Days** As early as the 1730's when the great Okinawan statesman,
241 Saion, urged the growing of the sago palm 'sotetsu', farmers
198 were already used to orders and suggestions from the gentry as to modification of their traditional ways. But it was not until the growth of population and the money economy that changes were to be brought about, not so much by orders from above, but chiefly by the workings of economic forces.

175 The ultimately most effective agent of change had been the introduc-
177 tion of the sugar cane plant in 1623 and its concomitant technique of sugar
433 manufacture.[1] It was not until a decade after the Japanese took over the
249 islands, however, that sugar production began to increase, and not until after the Russo-Japanese war that sugar really became an important crop in the economy. By 1939 the production of sugar amounted to more than a million tons, and production exceeded consumption by ninefold.[2] By the end of the 1951-1952 winter pressing season, production had declined to 256,000 tons.[3]

175 About the time of Commodore Perry's visit the population of Okinawa
62 had begun to grow, and new areas were settled by both commoners and the gentry. Manahan dates its existence from this period. Of the first three families to settle here, one came from Shuri gentry, and two others were commoners from the main settlement of Tomoyose. Of the seven settlements of the village of Yamada, three were settled by commoners and one by the gentry. All had come from the urban areas of the south in the latter part of the last century.
[329] In Okinawa everyone seems to be aware of his place in history, and in the older settlements one often hears the remark, "...they are newcomers; they have been here for only two hundred years."

175 In general the agricultural history of Okinawa falls into three per-
241 iods. The first saw a self-sufficient economy, in which banana cloth was
178 made in the village. The chief crops were millet, arrowroot, and sweet po-
433 tatoes. With the introduction of a money economy, and its further intensifi-
[177] cation under the Japanese, sugar gradually turned from its previous use as a home confection to a full money crop. Rice acreage fell as more sugar was planted, and sweet potatoes found a greater place in the diet. The old crops of millet, cassava, and arrowroot were all but abandoned in Shimajiri, and became less important in the north. The third period is essentially the post-war and still continuing one, in which the growing of vegetables for the

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1 Navy Handbook, p. 240.

2 CAARI, p. 156.

3 Summation of U. S. Army Military Government Activities in the Ryukyu Islands, July-November 1946, p. 25.

military competes with sugar as a primary cash crop, and cane fields are being converted back to rice paddies as fast as the farmer's resources permit. A more detailed discussion of the crop changes in the last two or three decades follows. 175 241 178 433

Chronology of Change in Crops The major changes in crops revolve chiefly around the replacement of rice as a cash crop by sugar cane, and the later reversal of this situation. About fifty years ago, rice was the chief cash crop. It was rarely consumed in the home, but was sold in order to meet the monetary expenses of taxes, and to buy occasionally the new commodities that were beginning to appear in the markets. Then, not long after the Russo-Japanese war had ended, the price of black sugar jumped almost overnight from ¥8.50 to ¥64 for a 150-'kin' barrel. Everyone wanted to get a share of this boom in sugar, and most began to convert paddy land into 'hatake' for the growing of cane. They were stuck with the 'hatake' when the price fell after two months. The Japanese subsidized sugar later, however, and most of the land that had been converted remained sugar land. [654]

When the people began returning to their farms more than a year after the end of World War II hostilities, there was little market for sugar. The subsidy had gone with defeat, and providentially the sugar lands were available for the growing of more sweet potatoes. American canned food and sweet potatoes were the main items of diet until about 1949. Gradually farmers began to convert 'hatake' to paddy fields, and to grow rice again---this time less for sale than for home consumption. [262] [177]

The old "bearded rice" varieties (fijimē and mēdakōja) of the nineteenth century were replaced gradually by the shorter-statured but higher-yielding 'hōraimai'. The bearded rice, planted only once a year, had a yield of about one-third the present variety, and had only five or six stalks per plant. The twice a year modern variety yields more and has on the average fourteen to fifteen stalks per plant. As a result of the adoption of the two-crop variety, at least one traditional ceremony was abandoned. This was the tentui, in which the whole village participated before simultaneously planting their seedbeds. Before the war, two-thirds of Okinawa's rice requirements were imported.[1] Indicative of the postwar change to rice are the figures for area of paddy-fields in Kochinda-son; the 114,142 'tsubo' of paddy in February of 1948 had increased to 306,220 'tsubo' by September of 1952. Field investigation proved that conversion to paddy has proceeded at least as fast since 1952 as it did prior to that date. 175 241 433 242 178

Before the First World War almost everyone in Nanahan raised forty to fifty 'tsubo' of millet. It was boiled with glutinous rice to make millet rice-cakes, or 'awamochi'. None is raised now. The same is true of cotton. "It grew only a foot high, but its fiber was very strong and would last a lifetime." Some other crops lasted into the post-war period. Until about 1950 textile bananas and yams were raised in Nanahan, but they both proved to be too weak in typhoons, and their cultivation was abandoned. 178 175 241 [252]

[1] Summation....July-November 1946, p. 25.

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Many root plants such as the giant radish and carrots used to flower out, and the root would be so stringy that it could not be eaten. About nine years before the war the Japanese brought in many new and better varieties. Nanahan has more vegetables now than the rest of Tomoyose, people say, "...because our houses are scattered and we can get to the vegetable plots easily; they in Tomoyose can't, and therefore pay less attention to vegetables." Of the seven wards of Tomoyose, only Nanahan has an agreement not to keep chickens so that their vegetables will be protected. Before the war the Irish leek and swiss chard were the only abundant vegetables; others were to be had in only small quantities. The "pine mushroom", or 'metsudake', was gathered "when we used to have pines in the neighborhood." Farmers complain that they can grow less green peas now, because of the great increase in number of rats due to loss of the cat population during the invasion.

Okinawa has always been self-sufficient in sweet potatoes except in occasional time of famine. Even then, dried products of the sweet potato are often used. Many varieties are grown the year around, but in Nanahan only five main varieties were mentioned. Okinawa #100 gives the biggest harvest and in fairly fixed amounts regardless of weather. There were many of White #100 before the war, but few now. It was delicious, but the harvest gradually declined from its former high yield. Just after the war there were many of the tumaikurū variety, but recently few have been planted. The yield had been high, but gradually the seed became bad; it was described as the "most delicious of all sweet potatoes." Yaeyamaakagu was mentioned as a variety still grown in small amounts. The variety which brings the highest market price is Kiirumugwā. This "delicious" potato yields only half that of the average, and hence its price is double.

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Perhaps the best way to view the prewar-postwar change in agriculture is to look at the amounts grown by a typical Nanahan farmer. Table I below presents this information.

Table I

Crop	Tsubo Prewar	Tsubo Postwar	Comments
Sugar cane (summer planting) (spring planting)	 500 300	 350 150	Postwar home use amounts to 14-15 'kin' (19-20 lb.) annually. Sells about 100 'kin' (132 lb.). Prewar, sold 1400-1500 'kin' yearly.
Sweet potatoes	700	500	Three harvests per year. Not sold much; make starch only if harvest is plentiful.
Soybeans	300	200	Generally sold about 1/3 of each prewar crop, but only when money was needed at home.
Broad beans	150	70	Prewar variety was a small plant, the postwar one very large.

The leaves of the yūna tree are a native
311 substitute for toilet paper, and are still used in some villages, though people
824 deny that the practice continues. When pressed they may intimate that so-and-
[514] so, "the poor family over the hill", retains the practice. Banyan trees fur-
178 nish leaves for green manure, as do many other varieties. Before the war many
people grew kuroki for eventual use in the making of samisens. The top of the
[534] tree was cut when young so that it would become stubby and thick. The neigh-
boring village of Tsukazan boasts of a samisen-maker whose fame has taken him to Naha. The 'kusunoki' tree is considered to be the best tree to plant near the home, for it discourages termites.

241 Fertilizers Okinawan farmers in most areas utilize the traditional night soil and green manures, as well as the modern synthetic fertilizers.
[514] Almost every house has two toilets. The one not in use is utilized as a
[237] night-soil decay pit. Pig manure is mixed with the human excreta, water added, and the whole let set for about a fortnight before use on the fields. Use of animal manure in the paddies was abandoned with the introduction of the new variety of rice. Animal manure produced good heads on the old variety but makes heavy stalks only on the new.

241 Green manure is extensively used as a plant nutrient in the paddy
824 fields. Indeed, some paddies in winter are devoted to the raising of green manure, which is plowed under before spring planting. Outer leaves of cabbage are fed to goats to become manure for the dry fields, or the leaves are trampled into the mud of the paddy to decay. Thistles, 'kuwazu-imo' leaves, and tree leaves of the yūna and banyan are only a few of the many types of green manure. Compost, or 'taihi', is made for the dry fields and some paddies by mixing animal manure with 'genya' grasses, rice straw, and other plant remains. Before the war, compost was not used for vegetables, because it would cause a shortage in the amount available for the cane fields. Nowadays compost is more available, and many vegetables assume huge proportions. One Nanahan farmer produced a wax melon weighting 97 'kin', or 128 pounds.

241 Commercial fertilizers available to the farmers include ammonium sulphate ('ryusan ammoniya', 'ryūan'), synthesized fertilizer ('kasei hiryo'), ammonium nitrate ('ryusan kari'), nitrogen-lime ('sekkai chisso'), urea ('nyōso'), potassium chloride ('enkakari'), and superphosphate of lime ('Karinsan sekkai'). Ammonium sulphate is preferred for sugar cane. During the last four or five years the Agricultural Federation ('Nōren') in Naha has enforced a tie-in sale so that when a farmer buys two sacks of ammonium sulphate, he must also buy one sack of superphosphate of lime. Farmers in Tomoyose quite often dispose of the latter by dumping it beside the road, as they believe that it is not good for the soil found on their farms. One enterprising Nanahan farmer, who for several years was a member of the Kochinda-son agricultural committee, enquires about the cast-off fertilizer, and when he finds it he uses it to good effect. When he was interviewed concerning this, he expressed anger at what he considered the backwardness of his neighbors.

● [177] Okinawans were first introduced to chemical fertilizer in the mid-twenties, when a black fertilizer appeared. This was later replaced by the various white products, which since some time before the war have been supplemented by soybean waste when available.

261 262 Famine Food and Wartime Substitutes The standard famine foods on Okinawa have always been dried sweet potato chips or refuse from the making of starch, sago palm nuts and the pulp of the same palm. The latter two are eaten with restraint, as they contain small [252] amounts of an alkaloid poison. The sweet potato materials are made into soups, and the sago palm provides a type of flour for deep frying, or 'tempura'.

During the last war, soups were also made from the stem of the plant [137] Ligularia Kaempferia, known as 'tsuwabuki' in Japanese, and chiipappā in Okinawan. One Nanahan farmer related, "The chiipappā which I ate in Kin-son during the war was delicious, and one felt better after eating it. When I came back here, I tried our local variety, but it is bitter and inedible." The giant African snail was used to alleviate famine just before the invasion. It [252] was boiled in its shell, then de-shelled and the "snail juice" washed out with a bitter orange called shiisā. The meat was then fried with vegetables and the white part of a leek.

273 Japanese soldiers during the war taught the Okinawans how to make a 177 strong liquor from sugar cane, as no real 'sake' or 'awamori' was then avail- 276 able. Tobacco was also scarce, and pine tree bark was substituted. Some people preferred to smoke the leaves of the 'mogusa' plant, which is also used for cautery. One very poor family in Nanahan still retains the practice. Tea 272 could not be bought in the late pre-invasion period, and the beans of the lantana bush furnished a palatable substitute.

263 Uses of Sugar in the Home When a guest calls at an Okinawan farmer's home, he is served tea, black sugar chunks, and quite [574] often 'awamori'. Many other uses were related. It is used in batter for deep [757] frying; for cure of headache, sickness, and fainting spells; for a hangover; and when food is not delicious.

CHAPTER IV: RURAL ECONOMY

F. R. Pitts

1. Agricultural Buying, Selling and Labor

436 177 With the introduction of money economy in a more intensive form at the time of the Japanese assumption of control in Okinawa, the farmer gave up many of his oldtime practices and began to adopt through necessity more modern forms of exchange. Because his life remained essentially rural, these never forms revolved mainly around goods and services connected with farming. Information used in the following discussion is based on notes taken in Nanahan, unless otherwise specified.

434 438 Sale of Farm Products and Livestock Before the war the main cash crop was sugar cane, and the sale of black sugar provided almost the entire money income of a rural household. However, if additional money was needed in emergencies, enough dried soybeans were sold to alleviate the deficit. In the coastal areas of Kanegusku, Tomigusuku and Yonagusuku the sale of reed products supplemented the income derived from sugar.

Because of the decreased acreage of rice after about 1910, rice was not a major money crop. However, the postwar decrease in sugar cane acreage coupled with a rise in acreage planted to rice and vegetables have made both the latter more available as income-producers for the farmer. Farmers with a moderate amount of rice generally sell about half, but use the money thus obtained to buy cheaper but "less delicious" imported rice if they run short---and can afford rice.

In the autumn, women from villages near Naha go out into the countryside buying vegetables and taking them by bus or three-wheeled jitney to the urban market, or to establishments that buy them for resale to military dependents at approved stores. Cabbage, for instance, in late November brings [435] a premium price of ¥8 per 'kin' (1.32 pounds), but a month later the price declines to about ¥4-5 per 'kin'. One woman will carry away about 30 kin at a time.

Poor people and widows often sell cane to the local motor-powered mill, and obtain a little more money by helping to process it. Those who are fortunate enough to afford to do the pressing and processing at a horsedrawn sweep sell directly to the Agricultural Federation, or Nōren, in Naha. For a [435] one-hundred kin barrel they received in 1954 initially ¥1,100 a barrel. Later on, depending upon the grade of the black sugar delivered, they were to re- [435] ceive more. The scale of grade-prices in 1954, as given by one farmer, was: first grade---¥1,530; second grade---¥1,430; and third grade---¥1,330. Before the war each barrel contained 120 kin, but the postwar barrels are smaller and correspondingly more easy to handle. The black sugar of Okinawa sells at a [439] premium in Japan to candy manufacturers, who prefer it to white sugar. This accounts in part for the reluctence on the part of some farmers to sell to the modern sugar mill in Haebaru-son, which chiefly makes white granulated sugar.

Although animals are generally bought for prices that the community considers as relatively fixed (see below), meat animals sell for a certain rate per unit weight that varies with the market. Old cows and bullocks are generally sold for meat at the rate of ¥60 per kin. Boars, if fat, are sold for ¥42 per kin. Male goats bring ¥20 per kin for eating purposes, and chickens bring about ¥200 per kin. Females of any animals are very seldom sold unless old and almost dying, or unless the farmer finds himself in dire monetary emergency. Nanahan, which has the greatest vegetable acreage in Tomoyose village, has a 'han'-wide agreement not to raise chickens, due to their possible destruction of young plants. 435

Buying of Livestock and Daily Necessities The war depleted most of the livestock of Okinawa, and recovery has been slow. Okinawan farmers frequently expressed their gratitude to the American religious organizations which sent goats to them to help in reconstruction. 727 231 [177]

The reversion of Amami indirectly helped to increase the livestock on Okinawa. A Nanahan farmer described the situation in late November of 1953: 439 231

> Horses, cows, goats and pigs, together with household furniture come into Tomari port from Amami every day. The Amamians want to get as much Okinawan yen as possible, because it will convert to Japanese yen at three to one, and they think they will be ahead. The accelerated cattle movement started right after reversion intentions were announced. We are very glad to be able to buy the animals, but important people on Amami are afraid that this movement will deplete the island of animals, especially stud horses and bulls, goats and pigs for breeding.

Nanahan farmers have relatively fixed ideas on the prices of livestock. For middle grade, or average, stock the following prices are quoted: horses, ¥13,000; cows, ¥25,000; heifers, ¥10-11,000; calves ¥9-10,000; boars, ¥2,500; sows, ¥2,700; and all goats, ¥300-400. 435

Before the war there were many people traveling through the countryside selling 'miso' paste and bean curd. Every other day such peddlers would visit even the most isolated settlements. Better roads and increased communications by bus and jitney have oriented purchase of staples urbanward. The only peddlers who now come through Nanahan are basket peddlers. Two small stores in the main settlement provide 'sake', noodles, matches and other small-cost items that are not worth a trip to town. 438 178 443

Sale of Services Farm labor is drawn from the southern islands and from poorer families who are just getting a start in the community. In Nanahan there was only one full-time farm laborer, who was paid ¥2,000 a month, in addition to room and board. He had left Miyako when eighteen, two years before, because of a famine that was being caused by a sweet-potato virus. His employer was a man who managed a good deal of land--indeed the land that belonged to himself and two minor relatives---and sorely needed the extra labor. Another landowner was converting dry land to paddy, and after 464 [465]

Baskets, carrying bags, and raincapes made of
294 fiber from the trunk of the chigu palm, raincapes from the excess rice straw,
[285] and hats made from the leaf of the kuba palm completed the list of major items made at home.

291 Postwar Home Industry in Yamada Before the war many---probably most---Yamada
178 people had never worn Western-style clothing.
• 177 The few school teachers and a man who worked at the 'son' office were probably the only exceptions. Some of the young men who went to Naichi to work acquired Western clothing there, but the older men and women continued to wear kimono. During the invasion, houses, looms, and other equipment---and much of the clothing---of the people of Yamada were destroyed. At Ishikawa and elsewhere after the battle they received cast-off army clothing. For a time they wore only this and what little they had salvaged from the battle. At present they have supplemented this with Japanese and American-made civilian clothing
[230] in Western types. Probably no one in Yamada weaves cloth today. Only one
[231] cloth loom was located in the whole village, and this had been put away. No one raises silkworms.

178 Basketry is still made, but only for local use. Raincoats of straw
[285] and palm bark are not made in Yamada, but a few are brought in from the north.
[294] However, the army poncho has in part replaced this garment. The kubagasa, the
[291] hat made from the kuba palm leaf, is still made and worn in Yamada, but probably not as much as before the war. A variety of store-bought hats, including sun-helmets, are worn by the younger men.

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Canvas acquired

746 one case investigated, the village secretary and most of the village people thought that a certain old repatriate should be on relief, if only to receive money to obtain the tobacco he could not buy. The 'son' office was not told about his elder brother's second son, who lives in Osaka. Nor was any check made on the untrue report that he was ill, for no medical proof or witnesses are needed. Upon moving from his sister-in-law's house to a grass shack next door, he was placed upon the relief list to receive the monthly maximum of ¥250 (about $2.08).

746 The 'son' office also supervises the distribution to persons on re-
• 177 lief of clothes supplied by the American relief agency RIVAC (Ryukyu Islands Voluntary Agencies Committee). Each person receives free two or three useful items upon signing for their receipt with his chop. These are greatly appreciated by the recipients.

621 427 Rentals of Village-Owned Land Each village generally owns some grassland, some forest land, and a pond or two. These they rent out to the highest bidder. The 'genya' or grassland is rented anew each year, and the person may keep it in grass, or may convert it to dry crop land ('hatake'). The only requirement is that he must not let the grass grow long and shade the nearby crops. The plot owned by Tomoyose village used to be the village horse-powered sugar mill before the better one was built before the war.

Ponds owned by the village are rented out to the highest bidder in a
[228] secret bid, for a period of two years. The renter uses the pond to raise
[423] carp. Forest land, I was told, is not supposed to be owned by the village, so it is recorded in the land register as the property of a prominent private individual.

65 [632] Taxes The Okinawan farmer is subject to a great number of official taxes. The following is a list of the fifteen 'sonzei', or township taxes, of Kanegusuku-son. Legally these are called district taxes, or 'chihō-zei'.

Tax Name	Translation
Sonmin-zei	Township Citizens' Tax (on all persons who are able to work, except students)
Tochi-zei	Land Tax
Fudōsan Shutoku zei	Real Estate Acquisition Tax
Kaoku-zei	House (or Building) Tax
Kōgyō-zei	Tax for Industry (eg: 'sake' factory)
Gyubasha-zei	Tax for Horsecart or Oxcart
Jidōsha-zei	Auto, Bus and Jitney Tax (Motor Vehicle Tax)
Rajio-zei	Radio Tax
Denchū-zei	Electric Pole Tax
Tochiku-zei	Slaughter Tax
Chikken-zei	Dog Tax
Sempaku-zei	Boat Tax
Jitensha-zei	Bicycle Tax
Denwa-zei	Telephone Tax
Jigyō-zei	Business Tax

60 But it is significant that
[184] the several lists collected are identical in structure, that is, they all
[177] classify relatives in the same way. Also, everywhere some Japanese terms
[172] are replacing some Okinawan terms. I shall describe the Okinawan system unchanged first and then indicate what the recent changes have been.

As in many kinship systems there is a distinction between terms used primarily in referring to relatives and terms used primarily in addressing them. And as in many societies terms of address are used for all persons older than the speaker, for unrelated persons as well as for relatives. The terms that are used in reference only, never or seldom as terms of address, are terms corresponding to each of the following: parent, child, grandparent, grandchild, uncle, aunt, sibling's child (that is, meaning both "nephew" and niece"), brother, sister, cousin. In addition there are two terms meaning "older" and "younger" and a series of terms meaning "first son", "second son", "third son", etc., which combined with the word for "woman" gives a series meaning "first daughter", "second daughter", etc. Another group of terms is used both in address and in reference, but is probably primarily terms of address; these are in address extended to non-kin, but in their basic meaning they correspond to each of the following: grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, uncle, aunt (these last two are different from those given above), older brother, older sister. To see how these terms are used let us look at each generation in turn.

The terms "grandfather" and "grandmother" are used in addressing one's parents' parents and also in addressing their brothers and sisters, that is, one's great uncles and great aunts and also non-relatives of the same generation as one's grandparents or older. (The term given above as "grandparent" is restricted to actual relatives; its basic meaning is said to be "parent's parent" but in common usage it is extended to mean ancestors above the grandparents' generation as well.) Within the brothers and sisters of one's grandparents the members of each family are further distinguished by relative age. The oldest of several brothers is "big grandfather" and the youngest "little grandfather". Women classified as "grandmothers" are similarly distinguished. These distinguishing terms may also be used in reference. Non-relatives may also be referred to by such terms as "the grandfather of such-and-such a house", using the "yagō" (house name).

The terms for relatives in the parents' generation are likewise extended. Although there are both terms of reference for uncle and aunt and terms of address, the terms "father" and "mother" are (or were) frequently used when addressing the brothers and sisters of both parents and their spouses. And as with the grandparent terms, one's father's oldest brother and mother's oldest brother are both called "big father" and their oldest sisters "big mother". The wife of a "big father" is also a "big mother" and so forth. On the other hand, a parent's youngest brother and youngest sister are called "little uncle" and "little aunt", rather than "little father" or
[576] "little mother". The terms "uncle" and "aunt" are also extended to non-kin, as polite titles of address.

[171] By combining the terms "older" and "younger" with "brother" and "sister", one can express the equivalent of the four Japanese sibling terms,

"older brother", "younger brother", "older sister", and"younger sister". But 601
these terms are never used in address. Two unrelated terms for "older brother" [171]
and "older sister" are used in addressing older siblings and older cousins,
while younger siblings and younger cousins are addressed by name. These two [576]
terms may also be politely extended to non-relatives. One's children, nephews,
nieces, grandchildren, and other younger relatives are also addressed by
name rather than by kinship terms. However, a younger person who is a strang- [576]
er may be addressed as "older brother" or "older sister" out of courtesy.

For in-laws, there are terms of reference: husband, wife, son-in-law, daughter-in-law, and one including spouse's parents and siblings, which can be combined with other words for more specific reference. But none of these terms is used in address. Instead one uses the terms of address proper for one's spouse; the father-in-law is called "father", and so forth, at least until one has children. There is one exception; there is a separate term of address for an older brother's wife. A wife addresses her husband by the polite pronoun "you" and he addresses her by the familiar one.

All that has just been said about terms used in addressing relatives must be qualified by the statement that it is true only until one has children of his own. After the birth of the first child, or perhaps after it begins to understand speech, one begins to call his wife "mother", his father "grandfather", and so forth. He may do this in the child's absence as well. As one informant put it, the whole system shifts to make the child its center.

It will be seen that the Okinawan kinship system is bilateral, that is, 601
it treats the father's relatives and the mother's relatives in the same way; 171
a father's brother and a mother's brother are both "uncles". In this respect it is like the Japanese system and like our own, and unlike the Chinese system, which distinguished father's brothers and mother's brothers by separate terms. It will also be seen that like our own system the generations are clearly distinguished (in some systems relatives of different generations are lumped into the same category), but unlike our system the Okinawan system distinguishes seniors and juniors within a generation. The Japanese system distinguishes older and younger siblings of the speaker but not older and younger siblings of the speaker's parents. The Chinese system also distinguishes older and younger siblings in the speaker's generation and further distinguishes father's older and younger brothers, but lumps mother's older and younger brothers into a single separate category. What the Okinawan system does, and what makes it different from both the Japanese and the Chinese systems, is to single out the oldest in each generation while at the same time, by extending even the terms "father" and "mother" bilaterally, it suggests a unity of all those within the same generation. This accords in a general way, I believe, with the deference [182]
to seniors that is characteristic of all social relationships, with the importance of senior lines in the larger kinship groups, and with the essential unity of the local group despite its division into kin groups.

In the last generation certain changes have occurred in the use of kin- 601
ship terms widely, perhaps everywhere, on Okinawa. The Japanese terms of 177
address, especially those for "father", "mother", "uncle", and "aunt", have 192
begun to replace the native terms. At the same time the practice of extending

601 the native terms for "father" and "mother" to uncles and aunts is going out
177 of use. Thus in structure as well as in the terms themselves the Okinawan
192 system is moving in the direction of the Japanese.

552 Maintaining Continuity: House Names Every house has a name (yaanunaa,
613 Japanese 'yagō'). This name, in the case of the older houses, may be descriptive of its location or may be taken from the place of origin of the founder. Insofar as possible a man's first son should succeed him as head of his house. If a man's first son rebuilds the house or even moves it, its name usually remains the same. When younger sons establish their own houses the house of the first son is called the "main house" (muutuyaa, J. 'honke') and the younger sons' houses "branch houses" (tatchiyaa, J. 'bunke'). The branch houses take their house names from the house name of the main house. Thus if the main house is called Taba, a branch house may be called Taba-gwaa, "little Taba". If there are several Taba-gwaa, they may be distinguished by directions such as agari, "east", iri, "west", or by the birth order of their founders, as jinan Taba-gwaa, "second-son little Taba", and so forth. If a family line has been in a village for several generations there may be branch houses of branch houses. In such a case the earlier branch house is a main house to its branch houses while still in the status of branch house to the house of the founder of the line. In such cases new elements may be introduced into the naming system; a branch of a Taba-gwaa might be mii-Taba-gwaa, "new little Taba". If there are several branches and branches of branches the original main house (in Japanese, the 'sōhonke') may come to be called ufu-Taba, "great Taba". Thus the relationship of a number of houses in a village may be shown by the names used for them. The house names of a village are surprisingly well-known by the members of a village, even by the children, better known than either the surnames or given names of the inhabitants.[1]

55 Personal Names Before the Japanese annexation the two main social
177 classes on Okinawa differed in the sorts of names they bore. Members of the
[346] gentry (yukatchu, "superior people", or samuree, cognate of the Japanese 'sa-
[614] murai') belonged to patrilineal common descent groups called uji. These uji each had a name consisting of a single Chinese character, often a Chinese surname. Also, different lineages within each uji each bore surnames that were mainly Okinawan place names; these were taken from the names of villages and larger administrative units where the founders of the lineages served as officials. And in addition, each male member of the gentry class had a given name consisting of two characters read in the Chinese manner (that is, the Okinawan version of the Japanese 'on-yomi'). These were called toonaa, "Chinese names". In each uji the first of the two characters in all names was the same. Thus, to give an example, in the Hyō uji there are three lineages bearing the surnames Moromizato, Itosu, and Higa, but all males in the uji regardless of surname bear given names that begin with the character An. Thus Moromizato Ansei and Itosu Angō are seen to be kinsmen despite the difference in surname. These are the names of two men living today. Had they lived before the annexation they might also have designated themselves for official purposes by what look like proper Chinese names, Hyō Ansei and Hyō Angō.

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[1] For a more detailed account of the house-naming system see Glacken, 1953, pp. 115-122.

At the same time, each person, both men and women, bore a given name 551
that was purely Okinawan. These names are called warabinaa, "child names". They are few in number. Several of them---perhaps all of them---are meaningful, such as Kamii, "turtle", Ushi, "ox". Several of them were given both to males and to females. They were transmitted according to rules that seem now to be not too well understood. According to one old woman, a man should give his name to his sons' first sons and his wife hers to the sons' first daughters. Subsequent grandchildren should receive the names of the grandparents' siblings or other relatives. A younger woman said that a first son got his father's father's name and a woman her mother's mother's. But unfortunately not enough information was obtained to support the last assertion or to reveal any further pattern. (This is a subject that would be well worth further [174]
study; the possibility that the naming system is a reflection of a former system of double descent should not be overlooked.)

Among the commoners (hyakusoo, cognate of Japanese 'hyakushō', peasants"), surnames were perhaps not universally taken until after the Japanese [565] 177
annexation. Nor did they have Chinese-style given names. Their common descent [614]
groups, usually called munchu, seem to bear names that are place names. They did have house names (yaanuyaa, J. 'yagō'), and Okinawan-style given names. Probably a commoner was known only by these two. Even today among the older Okinawans a man is more likely to be known as Taasachi-gwaa nu Sanree, "Sanree ("Third"?) of the house Taasachi-gwaa ("Little End-of-the-Rice-Field")", than by the name found in the 'Kosekī'.

Today everyone is registered by and officially known by a surname and 551
given name. The surnames are mainly taken from Okinawan place names but the 177
readings assigned the characters are frequently Japanized. Thus Ufu-gusuku, "great-castle' becomes 'Ōshiro' and Nakandakari becomes 'Nakamura'. Many of the given names for males are of two characters read in the Sino-Japanese manner, like the given names formerly used only by the gentry, but many also are purely Japanese---Masaru, Takeo, Toshiyasu---the last possibly being the Japanese reading of a name that once might have been given its "Chinese" reading. Girls are given such Japanese names as 'Yoshiko' and 'Masako'. And the youngest child recorded in the 'koseki' for Yamada, the first to bear the name, was an infant girl named 'Chiemi', obviously after a currently popular Japanese "starlet".

The Ancestral Tablets In every main house there is a shelf or if 769
possible a cabinet (tootoomee, J. 'butsudan') for the ancestral tablets (ifee, 353
J. 'ihai'). If it is a cabinet it contains three shelves; on the top shelf 592
stand the tablets flanked by a pair of vases, on the second shelf a pair of tea-cups and a wine cup, and on the third an incense burner (u-kooru). The paraphernalia vary somewhat with the means of the family. The tablets are 769
red lacquered slips of wood held in two rows in a black frame. On the upper 592
row are written the names of deceased male members of the family, on the lower row names of deceased females. The ancestral tablets together with the house name form an inseparable unit. The main house of the Taba lineage is the [613]
main house and has the house name "great Taba" because it is the location of the ancestral tablet of the founder of the lineage. The tablets at "new little Taba" contain the tablet for the founder of that house. The tablets are

as the case may be. The munchu has a common tomb or several common tombs, a 614
circuit of ugwanju (sacred spots for worship, connected in tradition to the founder of the munchu), and several kaminchu (religious functionaries of a semi-hereditary status). Well-established branch munchu may have their own tombs, circuits of ugwanju, and kaminchu. If this is the case the main house of the branch is called the naka-muutu, "middle root", and the main house of the larger unit the ufu-muutu, "great root". In the absence of written records the exact relationship of the different branches of one of the larger units may occasionally be reinterpreted by the kaminchu and by yuta (seeresses).

The members of a munchu need not, and often do not, have the same sur- 614
name. The usual explanation given for this is that a new surname has entered 551
the munchu through a member's having been adopted as a son-in-law. According [171]
to Japanese law a man who married the daughter of a family with no male heirs became an adopted son-in-law and his children bore his wife's surname. But according to Okinawan custom the ancestral tablets of the woman's parents can go only to a male relative in the male line. The "adopted son-in-law" cannot inherit the tablets; they will go later to a brother's son or grandson. And the children of the "adopted son-in-law" belong to their paternal grandfather's munchu, even though by law they had to take their maternal grandfather's surname. This practice goes back only to the end of the last century. Before the Japanese annexation it is not likely that many peasants had sur- [177]
names; those they later took were probably taken from house names. An informant in Chinen-Son, however, gave another explanation why some of the members of his munchu had different surnames. He said that under the old government some had been given surnames for having served as petty officials at the office of the local governor. He named three surnames locally used that were given to officials of the three lowest ranks.

Among the descendants of the former gentry class the largest kinship unit is the uji. This term is identical with one of the older Japanese terms [192]
translated as "clan". The uji have names that are single Chinese characters, [177]
some of them identical with Chinese surnames. The members of an uji may bear different surnames of the native sort; the explanation for this is that under the former monarchy, when a member of the gentry was appointed to the office of governor of a majiri (the present "Son") or appointed official of a village, he was able to take the name of that majiri or village as his surname. Thus the members of an uji may be divided into several lines, each claiming descent from some illustrious official. These divisions may also be named chakushi-firugi, "first-son-lineage", jinan-firugi, "second-son-lineage", and so forth, according to seniority. Despite their different surnames, however, the male members of an uji usually have given names written with two characters read in the Chinese manner (that is, the Okinawan version of the 'on-yomi' of Japanese), the first of the two characters being the same. To give an example, the Hyō uji consists of three lineages with the surnames Moromizato, Itosu, and Higa, all the males of which have given names beginning with the character An.

In the village of Yamada in Onna-Son, many of the kin units of both 613
the commoners and the gentry who settled there late in the last century are small local divisions of larger units the main houses of which are in the

It will be seen that for males membership in the common descent group is reckoned strictly patrilineally and this membership is permanent. The status of women is less clear. A woman before marriage worships at the ancestral tablets and tomb of her father's family and lineage. If she dies she is buried in his tomb. After her marriage a woman worships at her husband's tomb, where she will be buried, and if he is an eldest son she knows she will ultimately have the responsibility of preparing the offerings put before his family's tablets; but at the same time she continues to worship at the u-machii before the tablets at the main house of her father's group. She may be called upon to contribute to the fund raised by her father's group for ceremonial expenses. And she may even function as a kaninchu for it. A woman's own tablet, when she dies, will be placed with that of her husband. If a woman is widowed or divorced and marries again, she will very likely be buried in the tomb of the family of her first son, regardless of which husband was his father, and her tablet will be put in his house. A woman without sons may feel uncertain of her future. 614 562

It must also be made explicit that the Okinawan common descent group, unlike most unilateral descent groups, is not exogamous. Even cousins related through the male line may marry and it is said that in some communities they do so frequently. I found one cousin marriage within the kin group in Yamada koseki; Lebra found several marriages within the munchu at Kanegusuku. Informants said it was common in some communities. 614 582

2. The Life Cycle

The Calendar Before a description of the life cycle of the individual can be given, a word must be said about the systems the Okinawans use for reckoning time. Two systems are in use, the "old calendar" (in Japanese 'kyūreki') and the "new calendar" ('shinreki'). The first is the same ancient Chinese calendar that is used throughout East Asia; the second is the Western calendar. 805 177

The "old calendar" is essentially a lunar calendar but combined with the twelve lunar months is a system of twenty-four solar periods and a system of naming days and years by the "Ten Stems and Twelve Branches".[1] The lunar year consists of twelve lunar months, designated as "first month", "second month" and so on, of twenty-nine or thirty days, with the fifteenth or sixteenth of each month falling on the night of the full moon. Since the lunar year is about eleven days shorter than the solar year, an inter-calary month must be inserted every three years to hold the year in place, so that Lunar New Year's usually comes some time in February of the Western Calendar. The principal traditional holidays of the year, except for three, are figured in the lunar calendar. Of particular importance are New Year's (the first day of the first month) and U-bung or Shichigwachi (from the 13th to the 15th of the 7th month; the Japanese 'Bon'). [527]

[1] For tables, etc., see Papinot, 1910, Appendix XII.

805 The Chinese solar year is divided into twenty-four periods of about
• 177 fifteen days each. All of them bear two-character names, "Spring Begins", "Rain Water", "Excited Insects", etc. This division of the year is based on solar phenomena, so that it remains relatively stable. A solar period therefore does not begin on the same lunar date every year. The three holidays
[527] mentioned above that are calculated by the solar calendar rather than by the lunar are the spring and autumn equinoxes (Fiigang, in Japanese 'Higan') and Shiimii (in Japanese, 'Seimei'; the Chinese Ch'ing Ming, "Clear and Bright"; the period from April 5 to 20). Most farmers, however, do not seem to know even the names of the whole sequence of twenty-four; they merely look at their calendars to see when the important dates fall, much as we look to see when Easter will fall in any given year.

805 The Ten Stems and Twelve Branches (in Japanese 'Jikkan Jūnishi') make up a system of designating both days and years. The ten stems are ten characters named in pairs after the five elements---wood, fire, earth, metal, and water---each occurring twice, once in a senior aspect and once in a junior aspect (or in Chinese "Yang" and "Yin" aspects). The twelve branches are twelve characters named after twelve animals---rat, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, snake, horse, sheep, monkey, cock, dog, boar. The two series run simultaneously, beginning "senior-wood rat", "junior-wood ox", and so on, so that after sixty days, or years, have elapsed, the cycle is complete and it is again "senior-
[787] wood rat". On Okinawa the system is used by diviners (sanjinsoo, in J. 'ekisha') in drawing up horoscopes, but is probably not followed in its entirety by the layman. The twelve branches, however, are of interest to everyone. For many ritual purposes the individual is identified by the year of his birth within this cycle of twelve. A person praying may identify himself as a "rat man" or an "ox woman". The yuta, who are otherwise not concerned with calendrical lore, make it a point to ask the birth year of anyone about whom information is desired. An older person when asked his age may give it not in years but as "Year of the Horse," or the like, explaining which cycle only if questioned further. The term for the cycle is saa, so that a person may explain that he is chu-saa, "one cycle", above or below someone of the same
[7X6] birth year. The twelve animals were even deified; there were twelve images of them scattered through four temples in Shuri. After the new year representatives of Shuri families made offerings before those corresponding to the birth years of all the members of their families.

Age, when it is reckoned in years, is traditionally reckoned not in full years since birth, as in the West, but in total number of years during which one has lived. Thus a child's years are one at birth, two after the following New Year's, three the next New Year's and so on. To know a person's age according to the Western system of reckoning one has to ask "how many full
805 years are you?" Thus what correspond to birthdays in the West are celebrated
527 on New Year's, when everyone simultaneously becomes a year older. The important ones are on the recurrence of the birth year, when one is thirteen, twenty-five, thirty-seven, and so forth, by year-count. These occasions are celebrated on the first occurrence of the corresponding day after the new year. Thus 1954 was the Year of the Horse and so people born during a Year of the Horse celebrated on the first Day of the Horse after New Year's. People are

warned to be careful on days corresponding to their birth-years. A man who was a "bird person" could not go to participate in a bone-washing because it was held on a Day of the Bird. During the recurrence of one's birth-year, he must be cautious during the whole period. 805 527

The Western calendar was introduced into Okinawa after the Japanese annexation, but it is still referred to as the "new calendar". It is the calendar of the schools and government and of business, but not of the farmer. In the city the more important celebration of New Year's is held on the "new" New Year's; in the country it is on "old" New Year's a month later. 805 177

Before the Japanese annexation years were named in an absolute sequence (that is, besides being named by position in the cycles of twelve and of sixty) by the reigns of Chinese emperors. After the annexation the reigns of Japanese emperors were used. At the present time the Western chronology ('seireki') is official, but some still speak of the year 1954 as "Shōwa 29", the 29th year of the reign of the present emperor.

<u>Birth and Infancy: Notions about Conception</u> Okinawans recognize that sexual relations are necessary for but do not always result in conception. Younger people have heard of the struggle of the sperm to reach the egg, but their notions may be rather foggy. For example, a woman in her middle thirties, discussing the responsibilities of parents, argued in the following manner: a woman cannot conceive without having an orgasm; she cannot have an orgasm without feeling love ('aijō'); hence conception is the result of love, hence she should willingly take responsibility for her child. The ethical principle involved in this argument may not be typical, but the lack of precise information of physiology probably is. And it suggests two things: first, that women may inhibit their emotions as a contraceptive measure, and second, they may be willing to take chances in having sex relations thinking that they can inhibit conception. But it is worth noting here that young women do not discuss these matters very freely and hence generalizations may be very unsafe. 842

Condoms are sold in the cities but probably not in the country. A former country woman living in the city believed that country people would use them if they knew of them, but that they do not know. She regarded four children as enough. However, a young unmarried man from the city said that one would use a condom only when visiting a prostitute; it would be insulting to use one with your sweetheart. Some of this attitude may carry over after marriage.

<u>Pregnancy</u> If a woman believes that she may be pregnant she goes to a midwife for a diagnosis. This is usually about three months after her last menstrual period. The fee is usually ¥50. If she is in fact pregnant she continues to consult the midwife and the midwife attends her at the birth of the child. The total fee is about ¥1,000. 843 [759]

For the good of her unborn child a pregnant woman is urged to be happy and to avoid situations potentially harmful to it; for example if she were to go to a funeral or a bone-washing the <u>shii</u>, a sort of soul, of the baby might be drawn into the tomb. [774]

855 861 Two facts that have been introduced into this discussion should be restated and made more explicit. The first is that Okinawan child-training methods include the use of both verbal appeals and physical punishment. As a result of observations made during and shortly after the battle in 1945, Dr. J. C. Maloney reported[1] that Okinawans were very permissive with their children and did not use corporal punishment. It will be seen from the data just presented that while Okinawans are more permissive in many situations than Americans would be, they do in fact use severe physical punishment on occasion.

152 181 171 861 The second fact has to do with the contrast of "shame" versus "guilt" that has been presented by several writers on the character of the Japanese. Both Gorer and Benedict have asserted that the Japanese conform because they fear the ridicule of others whereas Westerners conform because they fear their own consciences; Japanese culture is a "shame culture" while ours is a "guilt culture".[2] Okinawan culture also seems to be primarily a shame culture. Okinawans clearly fear ridicule greatly, and this fear seems traceable to their early training. But there are also elements in Okinawan child training that would tend to produce something of the Western sort of fear that one may suffer for his wrong-doing regardless of whether he is found out or not. These are to be seen in the phrases "retribution will strike" (Okinawan bachi nu ataaing, Japanese 'bachi ga ataru') and "the gods saw you". Shame and guilt are doubtless not mutually exclusive. Both sanctions exist in Okinawan culture, shame being much the stronger.

857 524 Play Boys play with kites and tops. Girls play hop-scotch. Both, if they can afford it, get one or more of the numerous Japanese children's [204] magazines that are filled with stories, comics, and a variety of make-it-[177] yourself paper toys.

857 Boys catch insects and birds and fasten strings to them in order to jerk them back as they try to fly away, or in order simply to drag them around. They do so quite unconscious of any cruelty in the act. Adults appear to regard living things as proper playthings.

[56] There may be less age-grading among smaller children than among older people or among children in present-day American society. Several boys of different ages were observed playing together on many occasions, mainly, it seemed, because they were related and lived in adjacent houses. The girls who occasionally joined them were also of the same group of related families.

882 178 Youth Traditionally, entering one's thirteenth year, for a girl, and fifteenth, for a boy, marks a change in status from that of child to that of youth (niisee, in J. 'seinen', literally "green years"). There was [881] also a later ceremony at which the young man's hair was done in a knot; and the tattooing undergone by a young woman may have been part of a puberty rite. [877] But at present, finishing one's schooling marks the greatest change in the life of a young person. At this time the treatment he receives and the be- 877 882 havior expected of him change markedly. As long as he is in school he is

[1] Maloney, 1945, p. 394.

[2] Gorer, 1943; Benedict, 1946, p. 223.

If the
584 girl's family is favorably disposed, one or both parties visit a diviner
791 (sanjinsoo, Japanese 'ekisha') to determine the compatibility of the couple (eesoo shirabi). The diviner ostensibly does this by casting horoscopes and drawing lots, but it is likely that he also gives weight to factors known to him or revealed by the persons requesting advice so that if one of the participants has strong objections to the marriage he may find reasons why it should not be. This interpretation is merely an hypothesis, but it seems probably that the decision of the diviner may thus be a useful face-saving device. Possibly for this reason the go-between seems to be of secondary importance.

After the decision has been made to unite the two families in marriage there may be a formal betrothal ceremony (ubukui). For this the prospective
[583] groom's family sends certain gifts including a sum of money to the bride's home. This money, called injoojing, corresponds to the "bride price" of some societies. Its payment is probably the most essential element in the whole procedure, since a small sum is still paid even when other formalities are dispensed with. This payment seals the agreement.

585 The wedding ceremony (niibichi, "drawing the roots") takes place at the groom's house in the evening of a day determined by the diviner. First a party goes from the groom's house to the bride's house with gifts. This party then carries the bride to the groom's house, where they are met by a welcoming party. In recent times the ceremony at the groom's house has been
[177] the Japanese 'sansankudo', exchange of drinks; the original Okinawan ceremony was somewhat different. When this has been completed the bride and groom celebrate separately each with friends and relatives of the same sex. On the following day, or whenever the celebration is over, the couple pays a formal visit to the bride's parents.

[184] This elaborate procedure is not usual at the present time among country
[583] people. In fact, the ceremony may not occur at all; the woman may merely come to live with the man with little or no formal recognition of the change in status beyond perhaps the payment of a small bride price. The marriage has a legal existence when it is recorded in the 'koseki'. It may not be recorded immediately; often it is recorded only a little before or together with the recording of the birth of the first child. This practice obviates changing the record if the marriage is not successful.

585 But formerly among the gentry of Naha and Shuri the wedding was even
178 more elaborate than the procedure just described. Moreover, after the cere-
585 mony the groom, instead of entertaining his male relatives and friends at home, took them to a jurimuyaa where for three days and nights they were en-
[548] tertained by the juri with food, drink, music, and sex. I am acquainted with three interpretations explaining why the groom spends his wedding night with a prostitute. The first, that given by an American missionary[1] explains the practice as symbolizing the freedom of the male and demonstrating to the bride that her husband was free to find sexual gratification elsewhere. The second interpretation was one given to me by a man in his thirties, a descendant of the Shuri gentry, and a man with rather "modern" ideas. He said that

[1] The missionary Schwarz, whose work is not presently available to me.

called for 'awamori'. After a few drinks he asked in a fairly serious manner, 831
"Have you bought a woman yet during your stay? You really ought to try an 522
Okinawan woman before you go." His daughter-in-law and two half-grown sons looked on in amusement. The question is not uncommon; on another occasion it was, "Have you tasted Okinawan women?"

In common talk, and perhaps in feeling, sex seems to be identified al- 548
most wholly with prostitution and the sex act with the hiring of a juri. The 831
sight of a seed boar being led across a field evoked the comment, "That pig's a man; he's on his way to buy a woman." Perhaps the above statement should be narrowed down to something like: the pleasurable aspects of sex are identified with prostitution. And sexual pleasure, like the pleasures of eating and drinking, singing and dancing, is something that guests may be treated to. (Hence the concern that the visitor sample all the pleasures that Okinawa offers and a pride in those for which it is famous.) In view of the fact that children grow up hearing about juri and jurinuyaa and associating them with other pleasures before they have any notion of their sexual functions, it is not surprising that when they become adults they display attitudes that are different from those found among Americans.

Before the war in the Tsuji district of Naha there were about three thousand juri.[1] The district was the center of the social life of the men [565]
of the upper classes. Business men, government officials, and teachers were entertained there. No doubt all did not "buy" juri, but sex was one of the principal commodities dispensed there. Also it is unlikely that the average farmer ever went there, but the indications are that he would have if he could have. A man is expected to want these things if he can afford them. The [184]
values of the farmer are not likely to be very different from those of the better-off city man. The jurinuyaa has played an important role in Okinawa society in the past and is not likely to disappear very soon.

Maturity and Old Age: Associations Men may continue to belong to the 575
'Seinenkai' until thirty; women drop 562
out at marriage. The reason that men stay longer may be to give greater continuity to the organization and to provide older members as leaders, but in view of the recreational activities of the organization it seems as likely that the rule is merely a part of the general tendency to give more freedom to men and more responsibility to women.

Adult Associations ('Seijinkai') are said to exist in some villages 575
but are not of any great importance. Associations formed by persons of the same age ('dōnenkai') also exist. In Japan such organizations are often composed of persons who were in the same class in school[2]; on Okinawa the number [171]
of older persons who attended school probably does not permit the formation of very large associations. The tendency among younger persons is not very noticeabe. Younger men may organize 'shōbōkai', volunteer fire brigades; such [368]
an organization patrolled the streets of Ishikawa nightly. We did not see any evidence of the persistence of any organizations based on former military [177]
service; the Japanese Army Reservists' Association may never have been very active on Okinawa.

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1 Yanagida, 1951, p. 309.

2 Embree, 1939, p. 163ff.

764 have the occasion to talk with one. If a priest is called, he kneels before
793 the coffin, rings a bell, and recites from the sutras. His recitation is in
[77] a Japanised Sanskrit, which is probably wholly incomprehensible to all. After the recitation he burns incense before the coffin and the assembled relatives and friends do likewise. The coffin is then carried out of the house and put into the gang, a red palanquin that is village property in many villages. At this point all present pray. The procession to the tomb now begins. It is led by the bearer of a flag announcing the death, followed by the priest (if there is one), then the paper tablet carried by the heir of the deceased, who holds an umbrella over it. Then the family comes, then male relatives and neighbors, and then the gang containing the coffin, borne by four neighbors of the deceased. And finally come the female relatives and neighbors of the deceased. When the procession arrives at the enclosure before the tomb, the neighbors who have been bearing the gang set it down and relatives take the coffin out and carry it in before the tomb. Only relatives and the priest enter. While the women again weep aloud the coffin is put into the tomb and offerings are left before it. In returning, the women take a different route.

767 Formerly funeral processions were led by member of a special profes-
565 sion called nimbuchas (from nimbuchi, J. 'nembutsu', a kind of Buddhist
[71] prayer for the dead). These persons formed a separate social class looked down upon by others, and lived in a few separate villages, rather like the Eta of Japanese society.

765 Bone-Washing and the Tomb After the body has been in the coffin a suitable length of time, usually about two years, the coffin is removed from the tomb, the body is removed from the coffin, which is destroyed, the remaining decayed flesh is then washed from the bones, and they are returned to the tomb.

764 In Northern Okinawa the tombs are relatively small and are usually the property of smaller kinship units, but in Southern Okinawa the tombs are larger and are usually the property of the larger kin groups, the munchu. In some instances several munchu share the same tomb. Even the smaller tombs are built with considerable expense; the larger ones cost the equivalent of several hundred dollars. Both the larger and the smaller tombs contain a floor at ground level upon which a coffin may be set and behind this a shelf or
[565] shelves upon which washed bones are placed. Families descended from the former gentry class place the washed bones into large urns. Commoners simply place the bones on the shelf and when the shelf is filled, push the older bones into a pit behind the shelf. If one death follows another so closely that there is a coffin with unwashed bones still in the tomb, the family, rather than reopen the tomb too soon, may choose to make a temporary tomb by walling a natural opening in the rocks. Or, as may happen in the case of the tombs belonging to the larger kin groups, if there is a body in the tomb with flesh sufficiently decayed for bone-washing, the family who suffered that loss may wash the bones at the same time that the family who has suffered the second loss is holding its funeral.

765 The bone-washing is an emotionally charged performance. Women usually wash the bones and do so with a great and apparently genuine display of grief.

up; he is made to find most of his needs satisfied by his mother and then he is told that he may be given away if he is not obedient; later he is made to believe that the spirits of his ancestors are protecting him, but when he becomes ill he is told that it is because he has not given them enough offerings. The threat in each of these instances is abandonment, being cut off from his family, because of insufficiency---disobedience or unfiliality. The fear that this threat creates does much to maintain the family system. It probably also accounts for the fear Okinawans seem to have of being alone, and their frequent use, remarked upon by several observers, of the word 'sabishii', "lonely". It may also account for their frequently expressed view of Okinawa itself as a lonely, remote, and neglected island. 152 593 [829]

Family life also provides the individual with a pattern for human relationships. In the family he learns what behavior is appropriate to the status of older sibling and younger sibling, parent and child, male and female; he learns about authority, responsibility, and mutual obligation. This pattern of relationships learned in the family he reads into the larger society, and, entering the larger society he assumes the roles learned in the family. He defers to seniors; he expects juniors and females to defer to him. If he is a farmer he may expect instruction and support from the government, as a child expects it from his parents. If he is an official or a teacher he may at times deliberately speak down to the less educated and at other times deliberately speak over their heads, as a parent does with his children. 593 867

It seems that several phenomena of recent years should have weakened the old family system. The war destroyed much of the physical reminders of the past and nearly every family lost one or more of its members. The subsequent shift in population further uprooted many. The repatriation brought back people who had long been away, and with them, new ideas. The American occupation has given rural Okinawans a mobility they could not have imagined before. It has provided jobs for many of the younger people, which could mean a degree of economic independence that they could never have had otherwise. The schools have given young people of the opposite sexes more opportunity to meet on a respectable basis than they had ever had before. Yet we find families carrying on in spite of the shift in residence and the loss of important members, repatriates being reintegrated into the larger kin groups, and young people who might be independent turning their earnings over to their elders and asking their elders' permission to marry. Obviously family ties are still strong. 593 178 177

But the structure of the family may still be changing. The relationship between the behavior of individuals in the family and in the larger society is a reciprocal one. It is quite likely that the individual takes the roles that he has learned as a child in the family and plays them as an adult in the larger society, as he interprets its structure. But it is also likely that if the larger society is in a process of change, the individual may reinterpret his roles or even learn new ones to conform to the new structure. He may then go back to his family as a parent and reinterpret its structure on the basis of what he has learned. His behavior as a parent then becomes different from his father's before him. One of the professed aims of the Civil Administration on Okinawa is the democratization of Okinawan society. [185]

593 If democratization means the development of political and social equality and
178 of individualism, and if the program is successful, then there will undoubted-
177 ly be changes in Okinawan family life. Other factors will also be operating.
The acceptance of modern medicine will lessen the importance of offerings to the ancestors and perhaps weaken the feeling that suffering may result from insufficient filial piety.

621 For administrative purposes villages are subdivided into sections or
• 177 neighborhoods called 'han' or 'kumi'. There is considerable variation in the use of these terms throughout Okinawa, in part occasioned by the recency of their introduction and by the confusion following the end of the war. In 1940
[648] the Japanese government ordered all municipalities ('shi-chō-son') subdivided into 'rimpō-han' (settlement sections) which in turn were subdivided into 'tonari-gumi' (neighborhood groups). The move was a political one designed to insure more effective control; the divisions were often quite arbitrary and had little relation to social groupings. The term 'kumi', however, had been in use for a long time in both Japan and Okinawa, referring to a group of households. That
[178] these subdivisions have survived into the postwar period indicates that they are fulfilling a function necessary to village administration.

621 A large village such as Henza (of Henza Shima), which has a population
624 of 3800, is subdivided into 5 'han' each headed by an official called 'hanchō'. Every 'han' is subdivided into 'kumi'; there are 41 'kumi' in the village, approximately 8 to each 'han'. Each 'kumi' contains from 12-20 houses; the head of the 'kumi' is the 'kumichō'. In a smaller village such as Kanegusuku-ku which has a population of 507, the 'han' no longer exists; instead the term 'kumi' is applied to the four subdivisions of the village. In Kanegusuku the 'kumichō' functions as the intermediary between the 'kuchō' and the people of the area; there are on the average 25 houses in each 'kumi'. 'Kumichō' are elected each year by the 'kumi' though in actuality the position is really rotated among the households within the 'kumi'. One of the chief functions of the 'kumi' is to provide labor for community work projects. When the township office requests that the 'kuchō' have his village repair a section of a road, he calls in the 'kumichō' and tells them how many workers will be needed. The 'kumichō' notify the household heads within their 'kumi' and the households supply in rotation the needed labor. When local clean-up is in order as preparation for a township inspection, the 'kumichō' supervises the work in his area. Tax collections for village finances are generally made by him, and when tax collections are made by the township, he notifies his constituents as to the time and place of payment.

The importance of the 'kumichō' or 'hanchō' is dependent on the physical nature of the village and its size. In a small tightly-nucleated village like Kanegusuku the 'kumichō' functions mainly as an intermediary or messenger between the 'kuchō' and the people of the 'kumi' and as a foreman on their work details. In a larger village whose 'han' are scattered into more isolated neighborhoods or settlements the 'hanchō' often functions more like a 'kuchō'. In Kanegusuku the divisions are more or less arbitrary ones, and there is definitely no feeling of strong identity with a particular 'kumi'. However, in the village of Tomoyose where Pitts studied, the isolated settlement of Nanahan (literally ("Han Seven") felt itself to be a distinct unit and functioned not unlike a very small village.

621 Most villages have a small building set aside for use as an office or
344 meeting place. These are usually called muraya in Okinawan or 'jimusho' in Japanese. In a large village like Henza the office is nearly as large as those of some of the smaller 'son', containing desks, telephone, records, and a full-time staff. In Kanegusuku a small bare hut large enough for only a dozen people suffices. When village meetings are held, the officials sit inside the building while the people sit outside facing them. Village records are stored in the home of the 'kuchō' or the clerk.

that a woman can hold office today since the government has made this law, 562
but that they would never permit this to happen. In village elections only household heads are permitted to vote, and in practice only they are eligible for the village offices. If a woman is a household head (and there are eighteen in this category in Kanegusuku) she is allowed to vote, but she would never be considered for any village office. Most women would not want the job if it were available to them, for this is considered a part of the affairs of men and inconsistent with the traditional concept of woman's role of wife and mother. Women are vaguely aware that their legal and political status has altered under the American military administration, and nearly all have heard stories about America where women are said to be very influential, but they are not so sure that what is good for Americans will necessarily work for them. [117] [829]

An exception to the generally inactive role of women in political 562
affairs is found in Okinawan fishing communities. In Itoman and Henza, 184
which derive their living from fishing, shipping, and ferrying, the men 621
are away much of the time, and the women exercise considerably more control over family and financial matters than elsewhere on Okinawa. Itoman women are noted throughout the island for their independence and shrewdness in financial matters, and there is a common saying that an Itoman woman doesn't need a man if she has a house. On Henza Island the lower echelons of the village political hierarchy are completely dominated by women. The five 'hanchō' are women, each heading a political unit of about eight hundred persons, and the forty-one 'kumichō' are also women. Despite this one gets the impression that women are participating in Henza political life in the absence of the men just as they have a larger role in the management of family affairs than the women of farming villages because the absence of their men has made this a practical necessity. To date no woman has been elected to the position of 'kuchō' nor does it seem likely that one will be in the near future. Perhaps this also serves to define more clearly the real nature of the 'hanchō' and 'kumichō' as messengers for the 'kuchō' instead of as administrators, and that positions of real power are still retained by men.

5. The Political Community

The rural village constitutes a political, territorial, and social 621
unit; its membership is bound together by a common cultural heredity and shares a common experience. All the villagers have attended the same schools, cooperated in village projects, participated in community ceremonies and celebrations, and joined the same organizations. The prevailing [582]
marriage practice still tends toward endogamy, and in many places they [197]
speak a dialect with features distinct from that of their neighbors. National organizations serve to unite the youth, women, and farmers into their respective local groups for common action and benefit. Further integration is assured by practices of reciprocal labor exchange among the households.

The major social institutions of rural Okinawa are the family-kin 621
group and the community. Within the former there exists a strict hierarchy 592
[181]

162 this may be the result of the war; the southern islands escaped heavy damage and loss of life. The urban area of Naha-Mawashi has a well-balanced sex ratio, and is probably a reflection of the number of men who directly or indirectly are connected with military employment.

The total number of persons per household has not appreciably changed in the fifteen years from 1937 to 1952:

Table Ia

Political Unit	Persons per Household, 1937	Persons per HH, 1952
Okinawa-ken	4.67	4.70
Naha	4.21	4.41
Shuri	4.18	4.17

The loss of men in the war was compensated for by those men who returned from Japan and those who repatriated from the Mandated Islands.

632
16

2. Population Characteristics of a Rural 'Son'

Kochinda-son lies almost in the center of the southern section of Shimajiri. It does not border anywhere on the sea, and is entirely rural in that it has no industries of urban character. It is realized that no one area will be entirely typical of the whole of Okinawa; however, the population dynamics of this 'son' will undoubtedly be reflected in kind, if not in degree, by that of other farming areas. Fishing towns such as Itoman, Henza, Yakena and Yonabaru each probably have special types of adjustments that are not true of Kochinda.

[127] This researcher was permitted to copy the entire 'koseki' (population register) of Kochinda-son. In addition explanatory information was given by the 'son' office personnel when requested. In many cases it was possible to follow up and interview persons cognizant of the details of certain situations.

121
16

[428] Okinawa still follows the prewar Japanese system of inheritance by
[178] first sons. Under normal conditions in the countryside, the first sons would inherit the bulk of the farm plots, and second sons would inherit a
[177] few plots and set up separate households. Or the second and following sons might go to Naha, Osaka or the south seas to seek employment. The war disrupted this pattern, and it is germane to examine the types and numbers of household heads, as one index of postwar change.

Because the solution of the population problem is a factor in Civil Administration planing for Okinawa, it is of importance to know the fertility ratio and the amount of spacing between births. The Okinawans, like the Japanese, tend to register a marriage after the birth of the first child. This should be quantified if possible. In addition, age at marriage should be known, since it bears a direct relationship to population increase. The number of illegitimate and common law children in the villages indicates

[Kochinda-son]

163 The prewar birthrate figures for Okinawa-ken include the following: 1936--26.2; 1937--26.4; and 1938--27.2.[1] So it is evident that in the prewar period there was a slight tendency for the birth rate to increase. A decrease is noted for recent years. In 1951 the birth rate was 36.7 for the Ryukyus as a whole, and was 34.2 in 1952.[2]

A more nearly accurate measure of the rapidity of the increase in population is the fertility ratio. For this study it was defined as the ratio of children under five years of age to the number of women aged fifteen to forty inclusive. The fertility ratio in 1953 for Kochinda-son was [171] 663. This may be compared to the United States average of 464 for the white rural-farm population in 1940, or the average of 587 for the Negro rural-farm population in the same year. The 1947 fertility ratio in Japan was 528.[3]

842 Most Okinawan men are familiar with the condom method of preventing [m] conception. The Japanese Army was said to have followed a policy of distributing packages as men left the posts for liberty. A brand called "Shikishima" could also be bought at drug stores. One farmer asked me if there was a shot in the arm that a woman could get so as to render her sterile for a two-week period.

847 Informants stated that abortions were sometimes performed before the war, but were rare. Postwar doctors are not supposed to perform abortions unless the husband consents in person.

163 Spacing of Births By an analysis of the period between births, it may be possible to learn of shifts in frequency of births. For 178 this purpose, a sampling was made of families with complete birth records in 25% of the households of Kochinda-son. The same villages were checked for postwar birth records. Only families with three or more postwar births were included in the latter category. Families with complete birth records covering both the pre- and post-invasion periods were also checked.

The comparison between the 37 households representing complete prewar records and the 39 households representing the postwar records of three or more births can best be seen by examining the following table:

Table IX

	Prewar	Postwar
Average Age of Mother at Birth of First Child	23.1	22.4
Average Age of Father at Birth of First Child	29.6[4]	27.1[5]

1 Navy Civil Affairs Handbook, page 56.
2 CAARI, p. 76. Projected annual rates per 1,000 inhabitants based upon estimated midyear population.
3 Japan Statistical Yearbook, 1950, p. 17. The population figures used are valid for 1 October 1947.
4 The ages of only nine prewar fathers were available. The remainder were war dead, and were not recorded in the temporary 'koseki'.
5 All 39 cases are represented above.

175 family, but in actual practice the family often received a far lower percent-
423 age, since with a fixed tax there was no possibility of compensating for crop
651 failure, decline in productivity, and population growth. Tax payments were made in grain though cloth was also accepted. In addition to the inflexibility of the tax system there was a lack of uniformity in tax levies; certain areas such as Kunigami and the outer islands bore an unequal tax load, and farmers in all areas paid a proportionately higher tax than the officials and upper classes. These inequalities inherent in the system plus
[433] the periodic redistribution of plots served to curb any interest which the farmer might have had in improving his holdings; consequently, productivity was said to be very low.

423
176 Vestiges of this system may still be found in some of the peripheral areas of Okinawa. The village of Oku in northern Kunigami-son still has communal ownership of its forest lands, and on Kudaka Shima off Chinen Peninsula a villager must turn his land over to the community when he goes to live elsewhere.

2. Okinawa-ken (1879-1945). Japanese Administration and the Termination of the Land Allotment System

175
648 Following the annexation of Okinawa, the new government embarked on a program designed to integrate Okinawa (and the southern Ryukyus) into the
177 national state. The task facing the early administrators was a difficult one, for in addition to differences in language and culture Okinawa was poor in natural resources and possessed an antiquated administrative system. It was soon realized that modernization could not be accomplished overnight; therefore the Japanese allowed virtually all of the old customs to be retained during the first twenty years of their administration, and efforts were directed toward educating a sufficient number of Okinawans to assist
[566] them in carrying out the program. Though the old class system was abolished, members of the former classes continued to subsist on pensions now paid by the new government, and in the rural areas life continued much as before except that the mura replaced the majiri as the land-holding and disbursing
175 unit. By 1899 the government was prepared to introduce more radical changes,
648 and in March of that year Law 59 relating to land adjustment was promulgated.
177 Its objectives were to confirm private ownership and to determine land values for tax purposes. The importance which the administration attached
423 to this measure was clearly stated by Narahara Shigeru, superintendent of the Land Adjustment Board, "Now, the only way to reform the administration is to destroy old customs, but its accomplishment must be commenced with the reform of the system of land taxation, the very foundation of the old customs."[1] Following a mapping survey which began in 1899, officials went into the villages to explain the purposes of the law and to settle conflicting claims. Private ownership was generally confirmed in favor of the cultivator. By 1903 the land reform was carried through to a successful completion.

Private ownership of land was accompanied by the introduction of Japanese laws of property and inheritance; their combined effect was to alter substantially the prevailing social organization and economic balance of the rural community. Land formerly held by the family under the communal

[1] Summary of the Land Adjustment in the Okinawa Prefecture, 1904, p. ii.

allotment system was now entered in the newly-created land registries as the 175
property of the household head. In the past inheritance of the position of 648
household head by the first son had been largely a matter of status succes- 177
sion involving leadership of the family and certain ceremonial obligations. 423
Property succession had not been an important factor, for the private
property of the family had usually amounted to no more than the family 177
house and lot. Under the old land allotment system there was always land 423
available for younger sons who set up independent houses, but under Japanese 428
law the bulk of the family property was inherited by the first son. What had 592
been the function of the community in the past now became the responsibility
of the family, and since family holdings were usually small, the younger sons
were often landless. Informants stated that a father will usually do every-
thing possible to provide his younger sons with land, but he cannot do this
if it means jeopardizing the resources of the house. Continuation of the
family line for the purpose of continuity in worshipping the ancestors is
the chief responsibility incumbent on the household head, and in the rural
areas the land provides the major support for the house. With the rise in [166]
population there developed an increasing trend for younger sons to emigrate
from the rural areas in search of land or jobs elsewhere. The end result [602]
was a considerable weakening of family and especially kin group ties and a [621]
rapid decline in the communal character of the rural villages.

Though the creation of private property made possible the sale, pur- 175
chase, and rental of land, landlordism never gained a foothold on Okinawa. 423
Undoubtedly this is primarily due to the recency of private property and the 427
lack of time for large accumulations of land to be made. It is also in part
due to a lack of capital in the rural areas; most capital on Okinawa after [471]
the annexation and before World War II was confined to the hands of Japanese
businessmen and members of the former upper classes who seemed disinclined to
invest in land. Likewise the official Japanese attitude toward Okinawa was [648]
to regard it as a rather backward part of Japan not to be exploited as a
colonial dependency as in the case of Formosa and Korea. Glacken has sug- [171]
gested that the heavy fragmentation of the typical Okinawan farm would be an
obstacle to its sale; yet, the Chinese farmland is also highly fragmented
and landlordism has been common there for centuries.[1]

After the abolition of the communal allotment system taxes were ex- 175
tended to cover all categories of land whereas previously they had been ap- 423
plied only to arable land; however, government income from land taxes sharply 651
declined, as the moderate levies of the Japanese administration were con-
siderably below those of the Okinawan monarchy. Despite this reduction in [311]
tax load there has been a steady decline in the amount of land cultivated
since the termination of the old land system; this is clearly shown in Tables
III and IV in Chapter III, Agricultural History, Land Use and Diet.

3. World War II and the American Occupation

175
During World War II Okinawa became the scene of one of the most vio- 727
lent battles of modern times. The entire island was turned into a combat

[1] Glacken, 1951, p. 160.

[Kanegusuku]

time of the author's stay in the village there was no individual or family which could be classified as rentier. 427

Changes Effected by the War War-caused changes in the distribution of land holdings among the various households were considerable. Many of the land-rich houses, if such a term may be used where the "richest" has but eleven acres, are such today because of the war, and conversely some houses have become impoverished or had their resources severely strained because of it. Unlike many other communities Kanegusuku was fortunate in that only about 4% of its total land area was permanently ruined as a result of the war. Some land was lost to a road, but most of the loss was due to a small military camp (about company size) now converted into a tuberculosis sanatorium. Since land holdings are usually fragmented and scattered, no one family lost all its land, though one family lost nearly one-half and several approximately one quarter. The loss to the sanatorium is not compensated for by jobs for Kanegusuku people since no villager is employed there. This is explained by the fact that the director is from Itoman; so "naturally" he could not be expected to hire Kanegusuku people. 621 423 177 727 [186]

The composition of the household has changed in many homes since the war as a result of the large number of deaths. Today a number of households consist of the usual nuclear family of husband, wife, and their offspring plus a related "broken" family such as widowed sister and her children or widower brother and his children or parent and unmarried siblings. In most cases the holdings of both families are pooled and the household functions as a single economic unit, though separate purses are sometimes maintained. There are several old people who live alone in their houses, but they are usually watched over by near relatives. 621 592 177 727

The richest landowner (eleven acres) in the village today was a second son in very moderate circumstances before the war. As a second son he was given by his parents to childless relatives for adoption. During the war his adoptive parents died, leaving him their entire estate. The war also caused the death of his real father and elder brother, leaving him the sole heir to their property. He has since married a woman who as the surviving member of her family is heiress to its property. Consequently, this house now holds the land of three families. The villagers are somewhat envious, but they say that misfortunte may result since this house now must make the ritual observances to the ancestors of three families, which is felt to be too great a task for anyone, and inadequate attention may lead to calamity. 621 556 727 [769]

The women who were widowed by the war and who have chosen to maintain separate households have had in most cases a difficult time of it, and particularly those widows without grown sons have been hard pressed. Farming an irrigated field is said to be impossible for a woman alone; therefore, most of them have had to rent out their rice lands, thereby losing much of its return. It is also very difficult for a house which contains only women to participate in reciprocal labor exchanges, since two days of labor by a woman are equated to one day of labor by a man. 621 589 727 [462] [427] [476]

and women. Two informants who had lived in Japan denied having ever heard of 291
public baths with mixed bathing. Okinawans have occasionally been shocked by 834
seeing Americans nude. Okinawans feel that not only should the lower part of [515]
the torso be covered for the sake of modesty but the upper part also should be covered, if one is out of doors, for reasons of health; the sun's rays are harmful if too strong. Modesty may even reach proportions uncommon in the [826]
West; one young man told Lebra that he does not enjoy going swimming because he believes he is too hairy. The same young man told how he and other boys, when in high school, used to peep through a crack in the bathhouse wall in order to see the women bathing on the other side, until they were chased away by the proprietor. This hardly suggests the casual attitude toward nudity reported for the Japanese.

<u>Body Ornamentation</u> The Okinawans seem never to have practiced any sort of 178
body mutilation---such as the Chinese foot-binding. 304
However, women were tattooed on the wrists and backs of the hands until early in this century. Most women over 50 have tattooed hands. There are several stories told that purport to explain the origin of the practice---that it was to prevent Okinawan women from being kidnapped, for example---but these stories are of doubtful value. The designs have names but evidently no meaning; one old woman said that they varied with the tattoo artist, who put on whatever he wanted. Tattooing was done before puberty and marriage. It may have originally been part of a puberty rite.

Many people of both sexes between the ages of 20 and 40 have elab- 301
orate gold and silver work on their teeth. In many cases the work does not consist of fillings or bridges but of thin caps put over sound teeth for purely ornamental reasons. These can be removed without harming the teeth. People are said to be having this sort of work done today, but in time the [177]
value Americans and present-day Japanese put on "natural-looking" teeth may win out over the urge to ornament the mouth. Of course there is also a great deal genuine dental work done because of tooth decay.

At present American values and modern Japanese values in feminine 177
beauty are being spread by the beauty parlor. For several years the perma- 832
nent wave has been popular though perhaps not well suited to Mongoloid hair. [305]
And recently a number of young women are said to have added padded brassieres [302]
to their equipment. [291]

<u>Elimination</u> Urination and defecation are regarded differently. Urination 514
in public is permissible for males, if they turn away. I have seen a dignified old gentleman talking over his shoulder to a young woman while he urinated into the ditch. Women may also urinate in public, though they do so less frequently. Defecation in public is not usual; even children [863]
are scolded for it though they may occasionally do it. Feces ought to go [241]
in the proper place; one reason for using the toilet may be that the "night-soil" is used as fertilizer.

The Okinawan term <u>kusu</u> is used rather more freely than its Japanese 192
cognate, though the uses are parallel. Alone it means "feces", human or animal. It is the usual word for animal manure. In compounds it may mean

775 the ancestral tablets, since they receive offerings and worship at both places. The spirits of the ancestors present in the tablets are called ugwansu (probably literally "masters of worship"). The existence of the dead in Heaven seems rather unclearly defined. In speaking of the dead, people much more frequently use the term "yonder world" (Japanese 'ano yo'), which seems to refer to a realm co-existent with this world, different from it in form but not necessarily remote in space. It is my impression that "yonder world" refers to an unseen spiritual world around the living rather than any distant Heaven or Land of the Dead. It may be that different entities go to different places, as in Chinese eschatology, where each individual has two souls, the "hun" which goes to Heaven as a god, and the "p'o" which stays on Earth as a demon. But the data at hand do not reveal
● [777] such a neat structure. Or perhaps the concept "Heaven" is merely a recent introduction from China and not yet wholly integrated with native concepts.

778 The distinction between spiritual beings who formerly had a human
776 existence and spiritual beings who are wholly non-human is also not always clear. In every village there are numerous ugwanju, places of worship. These seem to be associated with the founder of the village or the aji or local official---his tomb, the wells where he got water, the hilltop where he worshipped, etc. Non-human spirits probably are believed to inhabit these places, other than the tombs, but it is my impression that most of the worship is directed toward the deceased persons, and indeed that most important local spirits are in fact deceased persons who have become deified.

776 On the other hand, there are spirits associated with the house and yard that are clearly non-human. The most important of these is the Fii-nu-kang, "God of the Fire", or U-kama, "Oven". (These two terms may represent two historically separate concepts, but they are now used interchangeably.)
776 The Fire God is represented by a small vessel containing ashes that stands
778 above or behind the oven in nearly every house. It may even be found behind the little kerosene stoves used by city rooming-house dwellers. This vessel is made and attended by the mistress of the house. When a branch house is established she makes a vessel of earth or obtains one and partly fills it with ashes from the Fire God of the main house. The offerings, among some
776 Yamada families, consist of incense and three cups of cooked rice offered
782 on the first and fifteenth of every lunar month, before similar offerings are made to the ancestral tablets. On the 24th day of the 12th lunar month
776 the Fire God is said to ascend to Heaven to return again on New Year's. One old woman explained that the Fire God (Fii-nu-kang-ganashii) is "like a policeman" and Heaven (U-kami-ganashii) is "like the government"; when the Fire God goes up it reports whatever the family has done wrong during the year.

776 Offerings are also made on occasion to the gate, the well, the corners of the yard, the pigsty-privy, and elsewhere. The "Pigsty-privy
782 God" (Fuuru-nu-kami) was formerly of importance especially in treating cases of loss of mabui.

Although Okinawans occasionally refer to Heaven or the Gods of Heaven (J. 'Ten no kami-sama'; Okinawan U-kami-ganashii, etc.), the concept does not seem to be well defined. The clearest statement heard on the subject was the one just mentioned in connection with the Fire God. Since the dead, or some of them, rise to Heaven, the term "Gods of Heaven" may include them, but there are evidently other greater beings too. These may be identical with the figures of the native origin myth. But aside from a few enthusiasts, mainly local historians and shamans (yuta), few Okinawans seem informed about or concerned with native cosmology, or any other. This may in part be the result of a generation or so of Japanese education with educators attempting to take the Japanese mythology seriously and making Okinawan mythology jibe with it. But it is more likely that this lack of concern with Heaven is due rather to an old tendency common in East Asia to settle matters at the local level without bothering the higher authorities, in dealing with both political problems and spiritual problems. 772 [175] [176] [177] [181]

In the Okinawan universe there are also a few earthly beings with supernatural power. The akamataa is a real species of non-poisonous snake. But it is believed to be able to change itself into a handsome young man, in which form it seduces unwitting young women. One young woman who was seduced is said to have given birth to a whole tubful of baby akamataa. 776

The kijimunaa is a wholly mythical being but seems to belong more in the natural world. According to some it lives in old trees, but according to others it is a sea-being who lives on fish and shellfish and who will become the helper of a fisherman who makes friends with it. Regardless of habitat, the kijimunaa is believed to approach a sleeping person and sit on his chest, nearly suffocating him and preventing him from crying out. Apparently the being is not dangerous but merely annoying.

Another being that is feared is the tamagai or 'hidama', "fireball". This was described in Yamada as a light that appears at certain times as an omen. However, in a village in Southern Okinawa it is regarded as the cause of fire. Since it is a female being the young men of this village drive it away by forming a procession and marching through the village shouting "Hoo hai!" ("Your vulva's showing.") [787] [184] [172]

The Itoman people speak of the ja or 'ryu', the "dragon". This being lives in the sea or the clouds; its tail is the whirlwind; its feces, if one is fortunate enough to find them; are like coal tar and are a very valuable medicine. Other Okinawans seem to regard this as something only the Itoman people know about. [757] [184]

One more concept is perhaps worth mentioning; this is shiji. Certain places, the sacred hilltop of the village, etc., are said to be shiji-dakasang, "high in shiji", and therefore to be approached with respect. It is also said of persons, especially those believed to be destined to become religious practitioners. The term shiji evidently signifies a sort of supernatural power that adheres to places and people, perhaps like the Oceanian concept "mana". Haring has suggested that the Japanese concept 778 [171]

756 The Yuta The yuta has been mentioned several times already as a dealer in
787 the supernatural, a sort of shaman. She is usually a woman,
[794] though not always so, and usually an older person. In the minds of some she is confused with the kaminchu ("god person"), but the two are probably quite distinct. A kaminchu is a person, also usually a woman, who officiates at the family worship or assists the nuru in village worship on the important holidays. The yuta on the other hand is a person whose services may be sought on any occasion for individual problems. Her methods are divination, prayer, and possession. She may be called upon to determine the cause of an illness. She may do so by divining with grains of rice. She asks a question and then takes a pinch of grains and separates them out into pairs. If there is none left over the question is answered in the affirmative; if there is one left over it is in the negative. Or she may pray and then wait for the inspiration of some supernatural being. If the cause of the illness is determined to be an ugwambusuku, as it often is, then she may reveal what ancestor or god it is who has not received sufficient worship. If she is consulted after the death of a relative to learn if there was any last wish to communicate, she may function as a medium, letting the dead person speak with her mouth. She may be consulted merely to learn about the character and future of an individual. In this case and perhaps in most she asks for the saa (the birth year) of the person in question, but uses no other astrological data.

791 The Sanjinsoo The most respected type of diviner is the person called sanjinsoo (possibly from his sign board, which resembles the character 'three' written three times) or suumuchi ("book person") in Okinawan or 'sekisha' in Japanese. This person is always a man, usually
● [111] dignified and scholarly in appearance. He regards himself as a scholar, perhaps even as a scientist; he is a student of 'ekigaku', the "study of changes", a theory of the workings of the universe that goes back to the I Ching, the Book of Changes, a Chinese work that was old at the time of Confucius. The sanjinsoo is consulted after New Year's to obtain advice for the new year and before important undertakings, such as house-building, tomb building, marriage, bone-washing. Illness may also be a reason for
[787] consulting him but is of less importance. The method of the sanjinsoo consists of drawing one from a number of thin sticks, looking up the mark on it in his book or books, and then calculating this against a horoscope derived from the birth year of the person about whom information is requested. For the literate person he will write out a list of good months and bad months, things to be avoided and things which may bring good fortune.

Although the sanjinsoo deals with a pseudo-science, he may also admit that the gods may influence men's lives. A sanjinsoo whom I consulted as an experiment spoke at length about the importance of the gods and prayed before beginning his work, but the greater part of the time he spent looking up signs in his books, of which he had an impressive number. Some sanjinsoo are said to function also nearly in the same manner as yuta.

Sanjinsoo flourish in the larger towns and cities but are probably rare in country villages. Country people consult them on the occasions mentioned above but probably not as frequently as they consult the yuta, who are found in many, perhaps most villages.

Other Diviners Besides the sanjinsoo there are several other types of diviners, such as palmists, physiognomists, and card readers. 791
Some of these combine prayer and supposed reliance upon supernatural powers with their science. For example in Ishikawa there is a young woman who is referred to as a kaminchu-gwaa or yuta-gwaa, though neither term is very apt. She is consulted about the character and future of individual persons. Her [787]
performance consists of asking the birth year of the person in question, praying, and then dealing out a fortune from a pack of playing cards of an archaic type. She charges ¥30 for each person inquired about. As with the true yuta illness may be a matter on which she is consulted.

Like the sanjinsoo, these persons are found mainly in the larger towns and cities, where it appears that they manage to make a living. Whatever the law reads on the matter the police and the public evidently 791
regard these professions as legitimate as long as the practitioners are 689
sincere in their work. There was a famous case in Ishikawa about 1951, however, where two young women set up an establishment as diviners. They are said to have given advice free to the needy at first and built up a large clientele, whereupon they began overcharging their wealthier customers and spending the money on riotous living. Finally the police put a stop to their activities, charging them with giving advice in an irresponsible manner.

The Yabuu The term yabuu seems to be derived from the Japanese 'yabu-isha', 759
literally "bush-doctor", defined by the dictionary as "quack". 177
The Japanese and English terms, however, reflect attitudes that are probably not associated with the Okinawan yabuu. The yabuu is a practitioner of 'Kampōi', "Chinese Medicine", a term that was once coordinate with 'Rampōi' "Dutch Medicine", that is, modern Western (and now modern Japanese) medicine. The methods of the yabuu include moxibustion, acupuncture, and the prescription of various foods.

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757
Moxibustion (Japanese 'o-kyū') is the burning of 'mogusa' or "moxa" on the patient's flesh. On an occasion which I observed, a woman brought a child of two or three to be treated. The yabuu took out his charts of the body, which, he explained, showed where the nerves may be reached. The theory seems to be that the burning activates the nerves and causes the body to throw off the illness. In this case the child seemed to be suffering from some internal disorder. Its body bore the scars of previous treatment. The yabuu, after consulting his chart, painted four dots on the child's bare back with a red liquid. Then he wetted a finger and put on each dot a tiny bit of 'mogusa' and with a lighted punk lit each bit, let it burn down to the skin, and then tamped it out. His wife then wiped off the ashes, leaving a small black scar where each dot had been. He then burned six more spots on each side of the child's chest, four around the navel, one on each ankle and one on each wrist. Throughout the procedure the child cried and had to be restrained by its mother. The scars, however, are said not usually to be permanent.

Acupuncture consists of inserting into the flesh a long gold needle ('kimbari'), usually at the afflicted spot. It is used, for example, to relieve the stiffness of the hips associated with childbirth.

759 757 [278] The yabuu also prescribe herbal remedies. They do not, however, prepare their medicines, but rather instruct the patient how to gather and prepare the plants for use. The act of preparing one's own medicine may thus have a magical value. Yabuu also prescribe the eating of certain parts of certain animals for their good influence on the corresponding parts of the human body. Dogs and cats are among the animals so used. (This practice may be the source of the belief widespread among Americans on Okinawa that the Okinawans eat dogs; they do, on rare occasions, but not as food, merely as medicine.)

759 Short-cut Systems Standing somewhere between the yabuu and the modern doctor are several types of practitioners who give treatments with heat, light, steam, etc. as all-purpose cures. One man was observed to use a tube in which he burned a substance, probably moxa, while he moved it over the patient's body. His system seemed to be the moxibustion of the yabuu dressed up with "scientific" gadgets. He was described by a friend as "half-doctor half-yabuu", a description that was meant to elicit a favorable response since it implies that he possesses the efficacy of both.

759 278 [164] In addition to these full-time professionals on the fringes of medicine, there are also a number of part-time penicillin-shooters, who are particularly active in areas frequented by American personnel, where they are in demand for the treatment of venereal disease. Penicillin is sold freely and in quantity, perhaps because of the prevalence of venereal disease, and has become a very popular treatment even for very minor infections. Hormone shots also seem to be widely used by untrained persons.

759 [177] Modern Medicine There are of course modern Japanese-trained doctors on Okinawa. But they are relatively few in number, about one for every 3,900 persons.[1] Trained nurses and medical facilities are also too few and too little. But even if there were more doctors and more facilities, it is doubtful that the ordinary Okinawan would make more use of them.

759 753 829 [584] Medical doctors have a high status in Okinawan society. They are admired and respected. Parents frequently express the wish that a son might grow up to become a doctor. But the advice of the doctor is not always heeded. The respect may be more for his education and the social position it gives him than for his professional opinion. In the matter of illness the advice that the ordinary Okinawan respects is more likely to be that of the older members of his own family and of the familiar yuta, sanjinsoo, and yabuu, for this advice is given in terms of insufficiency of worship, soul-loss, and the influence of the twelve-year-cycle. These are concepts that are familiar to him and have an integration with other beliefs, which the concepts dealt with by the doctor do not have. The doctor's very disregard of the supernatural runs counter to the feelings of the

[1] CAARI, Vol. 1, no. 2, p. 52 gives 126 practicing physicians for Okinawa plus 50 working for GRI. Japan has about one for every 1300 persons; Japan Statistical Yearbook, 1950, gives 63,273 (p. 432) and the total population as 80,216,896 (p. 12).

ordinary Okinawan. Besides, the doctor's interpretation of illness and its 759
cause is more likely to put the responsibility for it on the shoulders of 753
the individual, whereas the traditional interpretation makes the individual 829
less responsible. This, I suspect, is likely to make the doctor's interpretation less popular. Also the treatment received from the native practitioners is familiar and predictable, while the doctor's methods vary more greatly with the nature of the illness, as do his fees.

Another factor contributing to the tendency not to go to the medi- 759
cal doctor may be the very respect in which he is held socially. I have already suggested that in the fields of religion and politics Okinawans try to solve problems at the local level without appealing to higher authorities. This may also be true in dealing with illness. The relations between patient and doctor are certainly of a more formal sort than those between patient and yuta or yabuu. And around the relationship between patient and doctor there have grown up customs that may make the patient hesitate before entering a doctor's care. For example, a patient who is discharged from a hospital after a successful surgical operation (this may not be true of the largest and most modern hospitals) is expected to show his gratitude by giving a 'Tai-in no O-iwai' ("Leaving the Hospital Celebration") on the day of his departure. For this he hires a yuta or some [431]
appropriate person to pray for him, he gives gifts to the doctor and the nurses who attended him, and distributes holiday cakes to the other patients. If this is done in style it may cost the patient nearly as much as the operation itself.

5. Prospect of Change

Earlier in this chapter I suggested that Okinawan standards of 000
sanitation might be raised by appealing to individual family pride in appearances. The sphere of sanitation might be pushed out of the house and across the yard by increasing the family's feeling of identification with it. An esthetic appeal might also be made. Okinawans are certainly not insensitive to beauty, and many do have little patches of flowers beside these houses. Standards could also be raised by encouraging more community endeavors. There seem to be a much greater need for this in the city than in the country, where long-established patterns of cooperation in agricultural practices, house-building, etc., exist. It is my impression that in the cities the 'han' or some even smaller unit could be used more effectively in keeping yards and streets clean and drained. It must be remembered that what is needed is constant cleanliness, not merely the sort of holiday cleanliness that comes with periodic inspection. It must also be stressed that the reasons for unsanitary conditions are part of a vicious circle. Filth leads to a high rate of infection from disease and parasites, this leads to diminishing energy and greater poverty, and these in turn cause more unsanitary conditions.

But improving sanitation will probably be rather easy compared to the problem of changing Okinawan attitudes toward disease. In talking with 753
Okinawans, it was in comparing Okinawan and American treatment of disease 177

753 that I found the greatest resistance to any suggestion that American methods
● 177 might have equal or greater validity. American material culture the Okina-
wans are delighted to accept, and they are eager for more. American social
[562] relationships they look somewhat askance at but they are willing to experi-
ment, in a small way, with equal rights for women. But the suggestion that
medically they don't know what ails them is harder to take. They are will-
ing to accept modern medical explanations of disease as a partial explana-
tion, perhaps as the occasional means by which the ultimate causes affect
disease. The ultimate causes are supernatural.

753 To challenge the concept ugwambusuku, the insufficiency of worship
177 that causes illness, is to challenge the present structure of religion, and
769 at a point where it is most closely bound to social organization. Anxiety
182 over insufficiency of worship and its possible consequences is probably the
strongest force motivating the whole range of activities connected with
death, burial, and the worship of ancestors. It is not too far-fetched to
suggest that it is also a reason for respecting one's elders during their
lifetime. It is no wonder that Okinawans show a strong resistance to any
challenge to these beliefs, even though they may not be conscious of all the
implications of the challenge.

753 To challenge the whole structure of belief would probably be wholly
177 unsuccessful. Or if somehow the Okinawans could be persuaded to abandon
757 these beliefs at once, the result would probably be either chaos or the un-
critical acceptance of another set of beliefs that might soon prove to be
just as far out of line with medical science as the present. Probably the
surest way to introduce modern medical concepts is by gradually whittling
down the native concepts beginning with the more peripheral ones. This is
not as hopeless as it might seem, for some changes have already taken place.
[846] Until recently women after childbirth were baked for about a week over a
fire in the jiiru, a hearth in the back room of the house, even in hot wea-
ther. It is said that it was a very uncomfortable experience and that in
warm weather it often resulted in rashes and boils, yet it was practiced be-
cause it was thought to be necessary for the health of the woman. In the
last few years this practice has been abandoned. One woman informant was
positive that the hideous skin condition called heegasa or "scruff" could be
prevented by drawing out the "bad blood", but she was equally positive that
the former practice of baking a new mother was useless if not harmful. Some
day she may become convinced that cutting an infant's buttocks with a razor
is useless if not harmful. She will be convinced when someone has demon-
strated to her that heegasa can be prevented by another means and that be-
cause the blood circulates it is no more "bad" at one place than another. The
concept "bad blood" is a peripheral one, with no close relationship to re-
ligion or social organization.

Other peripheral beliefs are those associated with the yabuu, the
efficacy of moxa and the golden needle of acupuncture. In demonstrating the
superiority of modern medicine over these techniques one may not always
count on the cooperation of educated Okinawans. In opposing the practice of
[181] the yabuu and other practitioners one runs counter to one of the strongest
themes of Okinawan culture---one must not interfere with another's livelihood.

(their 'tane-hon', "seed books"), and who seemed to have little contact with others of their own interests. (I must hasten to add that there are also genuine local historians and folklorists who are critical, open to new ideas, and in contact with reputable men in their field; but these are clearly in the minority.) In the city the pseudo-scholar may be a man teaching a subject that he is totally incompetent to teach or he may be one of the numerous diviners and medical practitioners described in Chapter IX. Some of the diviners (sanjinsoo), however, could be better described as genuinely serious scholars working in a pseudo-science. 554

2. The Role of the Teacher

Despite the great importance attached to the family in East Asian societies and which the Japanese government has always professed to attach to it, the Japanese education system of pre-war times actually took more authority away from the family than does the American system. Incidents related by informants indicate that both before the war and since a teacher may reprimand a student for breaking school regulations outside of school hours and even in the student's own home. The police also may report the misdeeds of a student to the student's teacher rather than to his parents.[1] Partly this authority must have come from the teacher's position in a nationalized system of education and his role as the local spokesman for Japanese nationalism. And on Okinawa teachers had the additional task of creating good Japanese out of little Okinawans. This meant teaching the Japanese language as well as the Japanese ideology.[2] 891 197 875

Since the war the status of the teacher has deteriorated. Partly this may be due to the fact that he is no longer the local representative of a powerful government, and partly it may be due to poor morale resulting from the tragedy of war, but it is also undoubtedly due to a lower economic status. Teachers were formerly relatively well-paid. In 1954 Okinawan teachers were receiving a basic average salary of ¥3400 per month, principals, ¥6110. A police chief, by contrast, receives ¥6470. An elementary teacher, who must have 12 years of schooling and six months of professional training, at present receives 75% of the salary of a policeman on the beat, who must have 9 years of schooling and three months of training; in the prewar period the teacher received 155% of the salary of the policeman. 875 178 554 875 465 178 625 554

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1 See also "Police" in Chapter VI.

2 That in this effort they were not always successful is revealed by a few anecdotes: Someone is said to have encouraged a child to interrupt his teacher's lecture on the virtues of the semidivine monarch with the question, "Does the Emperor produce night soil?" Students are said to have referred to him secretly as 'Ten-chan', "Empy-Boy", rather than 'Tennō Heika', "His Imperial Majesty the Emperor". And the very old and the very young are said to have parodied 'Amaterasu Ōmikami', the name of the Sun Goddess, with "Aman-tarashi kuman-tarashi 'waa nu kami", "dropping it there, dropping it here, the pig god."

875 554 178 As indicated above, education is highly regarded as a key to success, but it still must produce financial rewards. Education earns for one the esteem of his fellows, but not as much as does money. This decline in status seems to have produced considerable dissatisfaction among teachers. This is probably true at all levels. The best-known Okinawan scholars, for example, have mainly chosen to remain in Japan.

3. Classroom Atmosphere

876 [871] Informants gave the impression that the pre-war classroom atmosphere was decidedly more authoritarian than at present. Most of what was taught was rather rigidly prescribed by the Ministry of Education and questions were not encouraged. Students rarely spoke up, partly because of the attitudes of the teachers and partly at embarrassment at having to speak in Japanese. Free discussion was probably less common even than in Japan.

In their attempt to make their students learn Japanese some schools adopted the tag system that has been mentioned elsewhere in connection with the prevention of the misuse or theft of crops. In the Yamada school before the war there was for each class a 'hōgen fuda', "dialect tag", which was hung around the neck of the first child heard speaking "the dialect", that is, the Okinawan language. This child wore the tag in disgrace until he heard another child slip into Okinawan, whereupon he hung the tag around that child's neck. And so it went from child to child. The difference between such a system of control and those regarded as appropriate by modern Western educators can hardly be exaggerated. It is true that the tag does resemble the old dunce cap, known to us from cartoons of the last century, in that it uses ridicule as the form of punishment. But in other respects it is different. First, it means that one child is singled out to function as an unwilling policeman, his functioning as policeman being part of his disgrace; that is, as long as he is in disgrace with the tag he is forced to watch for another culprit. Second, the system does not provide equal punishment for the same crime; one child may wear the tag a day while another wears it a week or more, both for the same offense. And third, the theory behind the system does not assume that the offense can be eliminated altogether; on the contrary there must always be some child to make the mistake of speaking Okinawan for the system to work.

[685] As used in the village as a whole the tag system sometimes worked considerable hardship. A person who received the tag for cutting someone else's crop or his own cane out of season had to pay two sen a day to the village. It is said that there is an old woman in Naha who was sold when a girl into prostitution by her father because he could not get rid of the tag and could no longer make the payments. Here is a concept of justice that is indeed remote from ours.

876 178 875 [77] No doubt the tag system is no longer in use anywhere on Okinawa. Students say that the schools are less authoritarian and that there is considerably more freedom of discussion. Yet many of the teachers are the same persons who imposed such controls as the tag system a few years ago. Some may have opposed the former rigidity and some may have changed their views since, but it would be surprising indeed if all have taken over American ideas.

4. Present Problems

871 If one asks the question, "Is the present education system giving Okinawa what it needs?", even a casual glance suggests a negative answer. It should be obvious from some of the material of this report that the ordinary Okinawan is disastrously ignorant of many things that concern him---in economics, politics, and particularly in matters of health and sanitation. Yet this ignorance does not seem to be confined to the less educated. It was a college student who gave some of the folk beliefs about disease. Another young man indicated that the schools themselves by attempted rationalization may be perpetuating an uncritical attitude; his high school teacher had explained that crows do not really know when someone is going to die because they possess supernatural power; they know it because they can smell death.

ooo The difficulty lies partly in the unwillingness of most Okinawans, one might say most human beings, to re-examine cherished beliefs. Ignorance of the true nature of disease, as discussed in Chapter IX, is not merely due to the absence of knowledge, but rather to the presence of a set of traditional beliefs that form a body of "knowledge", incorrect though it may be, that provides the individual with the explanations he needs. In order to teach modern scientific explanations, educators must determine what the body of folk belief consists of, re-evaluate it, and devise methods whereby its falsity can be demonstrated. Doing this would not be easy; it would be doubly hard because of the greater importance given to the opinions of older people in Okinawan society.

871 554 Ignorance may also be due to lack of interest. Education is a source of prestige to the educated individual. But education as defined by Okinawan culture perhaps does not include such subjects as botany and entomology. At any rate certain fields of study, English literature for example, seem to have enormous attraction, while others, applied sciences such as agriculture, have little. Moreover, other observers have reported that among those Okinawans who are engaged in work in applied sciences there seems to be a distaste for field work and a preference for office work. This too may reflect a higher value placed on sedentary "paper work" and a lower one on work with the hands.

876 177 As Lebra has pointed out in Chapter II, most Okinawans suffer from a linguistic handicap. Most children learn Okinawan in the home and then have to learn a second language, Japanese, in the school. This immediately gives them less time for learning other things. But their troubles do not end with the acquisition of a speaking knowledge of Japanese. This is not so very difficult since the two languages are closely related. But the Japanese system [212] of writing, with its two native syllabaries plus the Chinese characters, is incredibly complicated and requires an enormous expenditure of time and effort. A student learning the geography of Okinawa, for example, must spend a great part of his time learning the characters for Okinawan place names and thus, as in one instance observed, he may not get around to learning where all of them are.

The opinion of a former teacher is worth noting. When I worked with him in 1945 he told me that he and other teachers who privately believed that

876 177 212 Japanese nationalism had been perverting education had felt that their only means of creating more open minds was to teach as many characters as possible so that the students might later read a wider range of material. In 1954 he said that he was now convinced that the Japanese, and the Okinawans, would be better off if SCAP had forced them to discard characters and adopt a system of romanization. This man is now a printer and publisher; the characters are his own stock-in-trade.

000 The difficulties facing any sort of language reform in Japan are great. If romanized Japanese only were taught in Japanese schools, the whole of Japanese literature would soon have to be republished in romanized form and most modern scientific works would have to be not only republished but rewritten as well. The great number of homophones in the technical vocabulary of Japanese are distinguishable to the eye because of the different characters with which they are written, but they are not distinguishable to the ear nor would they be distinguishable written in romanized form. Romanization would require the introduction of many new terms. Moreover, because of the esthetic appeal of the characters and the high prestige derived from a knowledge of them, many educated Japanese would have a strong emotional resistance to discarding them. During the occupation certain reforms were instituted but in some respects they only increased the complexity of the system by introducing for some characters simplified forms which now must be learned in addition to the older, more complex forms. It is quite likely that any attempt to reform the Japanese system of writing on Okinawa would meet with even greater resistance than it would meet with in Japan.

212 177 In addition to the difficulties of the writing system, the literary forms of Japanese present some differences in style which make them difficult for the less educated to read. I was once present in an Okinawan home when a child in the second grade brought home a mimeographed request from the school for a certain fee. I looked at the notice and found that I could not be sure of the readings of all of the characters or of the meaning of the construction of the first paragraph, although I can read technical material in my own field. I asked the mother, who had had six years of schooling, to read it to me. She admitted that she could not read it either, except for the place where it said how much and what for. Later I showed it to a University student, who, after some stumbling, read the first paragraph and put it into colloquial Japanese. It was of course merely a formal salutation. It did not contribute to the meaning of the notice and it did not matter that the average parent could not read it. Yet if it had been omitted, the few educated parents---perhaps those from whom larger contributions were expected---might have shaken their heads and asked what education is coming to that teachers are no longer capable of writing proper Japanese.

876 177 871 As if there were not enough linguistic problems, recently the English language has been introduced into the Primary School curriculum beginning at the Fifth Grade. It appears to be taught in most cases by persons who do not themselves speak English or even read it with any fluency. Moreover, it appears to be taught by the 'katakana' method; that is, the texts or the teachers attempt to teach the pronunciation of English words by spelling them out in the Japanese syllabary. The Japanese syllabary is admirably well-adapted to the representation of Japanese sounds, but woefully deficient for

the representation of the sounds of any other language. Its open syllables 876
and lack of distinction between "l" and "r", "si" and "shi", etc., result in 177
such horrors as "ri-to-ru" for "little" and "shi-ku-su" for "six". And these
are the pronunciations learned by the unsuspecting children, pronunciations
that are unintelligible to a native speaker of English and which must be later
unlearned if the student is to acquire a usable knowledge of English.

But even though the teaching of English in this manner is pretty clearly a waste of time, there is great resistance to abandoning it. A USCAR official who has visited many schools told us that he had frequently had the painful experience of having to meet the English teacher. This usually meant pretending to communicate in order to save the face of the man and the school. Yet even school officials who realize how poor the instruction is are are unwilling to discontinue it. The prestige of English is too great and too many persons are depending upon it. Perhaps again we have the Okinawan theme--- One must not interfere with the livelihood of another.

No doubt there is a need for instruction in English to students on the high school and college level, but like any language English can be taught most effectively and with the least waste of effort by persons who have had the linguistic training. Americans who have had no special training in this field are also likely to be less effective teachers.

It has been suggested several times that the Okinawan language, or one 212
of the several varieties of it, might be reduced to an alphabetical system of 177
writing and that this might make possible the development of an Okinawan
literature. The suggestion has evidently not met with much enthusiasm. Two
obstacles stand in the way of such an endeavor. First, the creation of a good
phonemic transcription for Okinawan would require considerable work by a
trained linguist. Second, to produce a literature requires incentive in per-
sons of talent. At the present time the high prestige of Japanese and English [554]
and the low value placed on Okinawan provide little basis for such incentive.
If such an endeavor were successful, however, it could well provide Okinawa 000
with a greater cultural self-sufficiency than it has known for several genera-
tions. But the question might also be asked, is the creation of greater lin-
guistic fragmentation and of national feelings in small groups desirable in
a world that is growing smaller by the day?

I have discussed linguistic factors in education in some detail not only because they present problems in themselves but also because they illustrate the operation of a factor that may create even greater problems, the factor of values existing among educators and those receiving education alike. The high value placed on literary Japanese and now on English are merely two elements of a value system that often is not in accord with the urgent needs of Okinawan society. Of more immediate concern to education, of course, are the continuation of the program of rebuilding Okinawa's schools and the provision of more incentive for persons to enter and stay in the teaching profession. But ultimately the problem of values is likely to become a crucial one, if Okinawa is to have a healthier and more democratic society. The task facing the educators of Okinawa's youth and the educators of the educators is a difficult one: it requires a fine balance between authority and freedom.

CHAPTER XI: CULTURE CHANGE IN RURAL OKINAWA

W. P. Lebra

175 Within a span of less than fifty years Okinawa has been twice sub-
•177 jected to periods of accelerated culture change. The first began in 1899 when the Japanese administration abolished the system of communal land ownership and taxation then extant in the rural areas and introduced private ownership. Land reform was followed by modernization of the government and the establishment of compulsory education. A second period of rapid change began in World War II with the American invasion and the establishment of military government.

175 The Japanese Impact (1879-1945) During the first twenty years of Japanese
423 administration relatively few changes were
177 introduced, but beginning with the land reform of 1899-1903 there followed a series of changes which completely altered the fabric of Okinawan society. The policies of the Japanese administration and the results of the long period of close contact with Japanese culture effected the conversion of Okinawans into Japanese nationals, destruction of the self-sufficiency of the rural village, modernization of government, weakening of the kin group, and greater participation in national life.

177 The transformation of Okinawans into Japanese nationals was accom-
871 plished through the establishment of a national school system which indoctrinated the students with the language and culture of Japan. Official Japanese policy aimed at the eradication of Okinawan culture; this was carried out through the schools and by means of repressive laws, police measures, and the
177 practice of discrediting things Okinawan. Although there was some Okinawan
829 reaction to this discrimination, the government was ultimately successful in creating a favorable response to Japanese culture. Its accomplishment was largely due to the close affinity of the Japanese and Okinawans. The linguistic and cultural resemblances between the two are so close as to make their differences bridgeable. A wider gulf might have produced antipathy, but instead the superior civilization of the Japanese came to be regarded as worthy of emulation.

177 The Japanese did discriminate against Okinawan culture, but as an alternative they offered, in theory at least, equal participation in their own culture. The process of assimilation was greatly facilitated by the cultural indoctrination of the schools; each successive generation came to feel and act more Japanese than the previous one. Okinawan culture was not eradicated, as the space of time was too short, but its creativity was reduced. An important factor in aiding the acceptance of Japanese culture was that the ideas and technology of the modern world came to Okinawa through Japan; hence, much of what was of foreign origin was accepted by the Okinawans as Japanese.

An important aspect of the change which came about under the Japanese
177 administration was the realization for the average individual of a greater
619 participation in the social and political life of the country. The mental

The mental
isolation of the farm village gradually decreased under a national system of 177
education, but the process did not end with schooling. Upon graduating, the 619
youth, male and female, were enrolled in a national young people's association. 575
Later the young men were drafted for service in the national army, and follow- [702]
ing discharge the veteran was enlisted in a local reserve association which
met frequently for military and social purposes. When a man married, estab-
lished a separate house, and began farming, membership in the farmer's associa-
tion was automatically conferred. His wife upon marriage transferred from the
young women's association to the women's association. There were, in fact, a
variety of national organizations covering the various phases and roles of
the individual's life; membership was never a matter of choice, but a thing
automatically conferred. A stress on patriotism was a strong concomitant in
all of these. Membership gave to the individual a sense of participating in
a national society extending far beyond the limits of his small village.

It should be stressed that most Okinawans regard the Japanese as pro- 177
viders of modern, enlightened government. The Japanese administration abol- 829
ished the old class divisions and freed the peasant from his serf-like status. [565]
Taxes on arable land were substantially reduced, and the villager for the
first time was given some voice in government above the village level. Modern [671]
law courts were introduced and justice was administered impartially, not on a
class basis as was formerly done.

Inadvertently, perhaps, official Japanese policy did much to destroy 177
the self-sufficiency of the farm village. Prior to the land reform, sugar 621
production did not exceed local needs, but government encouragement and sub- 433
sidy so increased production that by the time of World War II it exceeded con-
sumption by 900%. This resulted in a food shortage which necessitated heavy
importations of basic cereals to compensate.

Japanese manufactured goods also contributed to the decline in self- 177
sufficiency. Factory-made cloth gradually displaced home-woven fabrics, and 439
accordingly cotton and fiber banana were no longer raised. The tools, uten- 433
sils, and machines of the factory slowly replaced the simpler devices used [248]
in the village.

Abolition of the system of communal land tenure contributed to a weak- 177
ening of the family and particularly of the large extended kin group. The 602
introduction of private property and Japanese laws of inheritance served to 423
create a landless element which often emigrated from Okinawa in search of land [167]
or jobs elsewhere. Where formerly the kin group had clustered in certain
localities, they now became dispersed over great areas, making continued inter-
action difficult and often impossible.

Sixty-six years of Japanese rule resulted in a fairly successful amal- 177
gamation of Okinawa into the Japanese state; though the Okinawan language and
culture were not destroyed, they were severely altered.

Impact of World War II and the American Occupation The war destroyed vir- 727
tually all of rural and
urban Okinawa, and resulted in the death of twenty percent of the population.

727 Much of the civilian population was herded into internment camps early in the campaign, and many remained there for over a year. The people were so scattered about the land that today nearly every village has a number of families new since the war. The effects of the destruction, loss of life, and displacement were far-reaching---families were shattered, whole villages were moved, fields were ruined, countless homes and buildings were demolished, and the records of government were lost or destroyed. In short, the land was laid waste and its people impoverished.

The effect on the people is best summarized by two frequently-heard statements: "After the war we were left with only the will to live, nothing more," and, "After the war everyone was equal."

177 727 Okinawa's small area, large population, and the sizable number of Americans proportionate to that population put the two peoples in close proximity to one another. Certainly the mere presence of foreign troops and their military administration has far-reaching implications in terms of culture change. This close proximity, however, might be easily exaggerated in so far as actual interaction is concerned. The social and cultural barriers separating American and Okinawan have been so great as to preclude large scale interactions, and, consequently, actual change which might result from this interaction has not been as great as might be expected.

177 829 In contrast to the Japanese administration the American military government has not been culturally repressive with regard to Okinawans. Quite likely the Okinawan does not feel as embarrassed or defensive about his culture before an American as he did before a Japanese. The important factor, however, is that the Japanese held out cultural assimilation and equality in their own culture as an alternative to the Okinawan. As the differences were not too great, the Okinawan came to think of himself as Japanese. On the other hand, the difference between the American and Okinawan is so great as to make assimilation most difficult, even if both parties desired it, which they do not. Consequently, though Japanese political control is no longer exercised, Japanese culture is admired as much as ever. The close cultural and racial ties between the two peoples and the continuance of what is essentially a Japanese education in the schools have done much to perpetuate this.

Okinawans greatly admire the wealth and technology of the Americans, but American social, political, and ethical-religious beliefs and practices, which are not so easily observed, have not made any real impression. Precisely because American wealth and technology are so superior to their own, they conceive of Americans as a people addicted to material things. They are not at all convinced that American social institutions are superior to theirs.

177 727 178 Despite undoubted good intentions, the legislation and proclamations enacted by the military government have had but slight effect on the social system. It is one thing to liberalize laws on police powers, suffrage, and human rights, and quite another to have them carried out in the spirit that was intended. The men of the farm village acknowledge that women may hold [54] public office according to the law but say that they (the men) will never permit this to happen. In most cases a potentiality for change has been noted rather than an actual change; it remains to be seen whether acceptance will ultimately occur.

178
Military installations have attracted people from all areas, and at 177
the present time over twenty-five percent of the total labor force is employed 127
by the military or in subsidiary occupations. Some of these people are drawn [464]
from the landless element which formerly would have emigrated. In other areas
land has been left idle by those who have sought salaried jobs in preference [311]
to farming. In places, extensive military land use has greatly increased
land pressure. The circulation of money has been accelerated, and new pat- [491]
terns of living have evolved. Many miles of all-weather roads have been con-
structed and the island transportation system has improved to a point where
villagers have a mobility undreamed of in the prewar era.

The major forces for change have been technological and economic. 177
Where changes have occurred in the social system, they have come about largely 178
as a result of these factors. Man has always tended to accept new things
faster than new ideas, but in final analysis these will alter ideas too. It
has been said that the streetcar and trains have contributed more to the
breakdown of the idea of caste in India than any other single factor; so too
on Okinawa, the changes effected by a new technology, greater circulation of
money, and improved mobility operate to alter the fabric of life. Most rural 177
Okinawans would be decidedly opposed to any overt action designed toward 369
weakening the unity of their village; yet, when they put aside farming to 62
commute daily to a city job, avail themselves of the newspapers, movies, and 178
radio programs emanating from the city, and no longer participate in labor
exchanges and other cooperative ventures, it is to precisely this end that
they are contributing.

It is the opinion of the author that the major forces for change in 177
contemporary Okinawa were already operative before the war. The real impact 178
of the American occupation has been a rapid acceleration of the forces of
change which have been slowly building up since the beginning of the century.

<u>Aspects of Change in Rural Okinawa: Transportation</u> One of the most im- 178
pressive changes in 491
post-war Okinawa with far-reaching cultural implications has been the im-
proved transportation system which has made possible a greater mobility. A
network of modern highways now girdle the land where formerly narrow dirt
roads and paths had sufficed. To one who had last seen the island in 1945
the contrast in 1954 was most remarkable.

The increase in motor vehicles has been more than ten-fold over the 178
prewar period. Most villages now have easy access to bus lines which connect [494]
to virtually all points of the island. Where formerly villagers but rarely
went to town, they now make such trips frequently. It is not uncommon in the [484]
Shimajiri and Nakagami areas of the island for an individual to commute each
day from his village to his place of employment in a military camp, town, or
city.

The improvement in transportation has enabled the farmers to bring 178
products to the best markets. Formerly most Kanegusuku products were sold 443
in nearby Itoman, but today with the advent of rapid bus service to Naha
many items are taken there for sale.

178 The new roads and buses have done much to break down the isolation
369 of the village; the physical barriers separating village from town have greatly diminished. This has enabled the rural dweller to enter the labor markets of the urban areas and to expand greatly the markets for his products.

178 <u>Communications</u> Equally as impressive as the changes in transpor-
20 tation have been those in communications. Today newspapers, radios, tele-
phones, and movies are making their influences felt in the country. Prior
178 to the war there were five motion-picture theaters on Okinawa; today there
546 are fifty-seven, and approximately one-third of the films shown are of
[177] Western origin. Though the theaters are concentrated in the towns and cities, the young people of neighboring farm villages often make regular use of them. Some of the young people in Kanegusuku go to the theaters in Itoman several times a week.

178 Everyone asserts that newspapers are becoming more common in the
204 rural areas. In the isolated village of Oku at the northern end of Okinawa the mayor informed us that nearly 90% of the houses subscribe regularly to a newspaper.

178 In Kanegusuku seventy of its 103 houses obtained radios this year
207 under the group listening system. A number of those who were unable to
203 secure radios (due to a lack of equipment) are hoping to do so in the near future. In some villages the group listening system has been utilized as a public address system for official announcements. This has greatly simplified the problem of conveying information or orders to the villagers. Pitts made use of this system on Henza Shima to explain his purpose in studying there. In this same village the regular Shuri broadcasts are sometimes replaced with Okinawan music played on a phonograph owned by the village. On Izena Shima the system is used to announce the arrivals and departures of the two ferryboats which serve the island.

The radio has been eagerly received in all communities which the author visited and has been instrumental in bringing the villagers into contact with the outside world.

177 <u>Agriculture and the Rural Economy</u> Major changes in Okinawan agricul-
ture have been slight. Improvements have been made in yields as the result
178 of scientific research conducted by the Japanese, a few new minor crops have
241 been introduced, modern fertilizers have been made available, and the system of land tenure was radically altered by the Japanese; but the basic agricultural methods have remained the same. The major crops have not changed though their ratios have fluctuated, and most importantly, farm holdings remain as scattered and heavily fragmented as ever. There is at present no trend or even a suggestion of a trend toward consolidation of holdings nor is there any indication of a lessening of land pressure. So long as the farms remain small, fragmented, and widely scattered, there will be no possibility of using machinery or scientific methods. The present system of intensive gardening does produce a high yield per acre, but it also demands a large labor supply.

Elongated roadside settlements seem to be an increasing phenomena of post-war Okinawa. In central Okinawa (Nakagami) this is particularly apparent in the areas of military camps, where the commercial value of being on the road is fully exploited. Numerous car-washing establishments, repair shops, laundries, souvenir shops, etc., line the roadsides in these settlements. With current expansion and improvement of the highway system there seems increasing likelihood that more settlements of this type will develop. 178 361 [443]

Houses and Buildings Architectural styles and the materials of construction appear to have changed but slightly as a result of the war. There are now thousands of small temporary huts made of scrap materials which will suffice until the individual family can afford a more permanent structure. When new houses are built, the styles are closely similar to those of the prewar period. The major change in the style of country houses appears to have occurred during the Japanese period of administration, for early travelers and investigators report that the typical farmer's dwelling consisted of woven bamboo walls, thatch roof, and dirt floor. These are but rarely found today, and where they do occur, there is always a raised floor as in the case of the Japanese home. In certain areas, such as Kitazato for example, there has been a reversion to this house of woven bamboo and thatch due to poverty, a lack of wood, and the readily available bamboo. The prewar house of wooden walls and frame with a tile roof still remains the most common house type and that which is most frequently built. 178 342 [171]

The use of concrete blocks in building is attributed to American influence; however, their usage to date has been limited mostly to non-residential buildings. Roofing of corrugated iron is sometimes used, but it is regarded as a temporary device. [177]

Interiors have changed but little; rooms are usually relatively bare of furnishings. Frequently the walls are covered with pictures taken from Japanese and American magazines. 177 178 353

The enclosed yard surrounding the Okinawan house often contains considerable evidence of the war. Oil drums have been put to use as rain barrels and privies; American helmets are frequently found serving as pails or buckets; old shell cases are used for support and occasionally, if a sufficient number are available, for decorative fencing; sections of portable landing-strips serve as sidewalks; and on one occasion a Japanese machine-gun was observed in use as a clothes pole. 177 351

Crafts There has been a marked decline in Okinawan handicrafts and a greater reliance placed on factory-made products. The manufacture of cloth, baskets, rope, hats, pottery, raincapes, mats, sandals, etc. has dropped markedly in comparison to the prewar era; yet, it is acknowledged that the war only served to accelerate the decline. Several factors are involved in this process. In many cases the Japanese factory products are cheaper and better than the local article. The cultural domination of Japan also created an attitude that things Ryukyuan were inferior to things Japanese; hence, Japanese products and styles assumed an ascendancy over those of Ryukyuan origin. Lastly, the war destroyed many of the places of manufacture and the machinery employed, and replacement has never been made. 177 178 433 28 [329] [727]

period of time. This was usually accomplished by reciprocal labor exchange or by hiring the local youth organization to do the job. 178 406

In sum, the rural people are making eager use of labor-saving machines when they are available. The limiting factors have been shortage caused by the war, poverty, small fields, and heavily fragmented holdings. The use of machines has contributed to a decline of reciprocal labor exchanges and has necessitated the payment of cash for the services of the specialist or machine owner. 178 40 [476] [437]

Dress A most notable feature of the postwar period has been the wholesale adoption of Western styles of dress and the great reliance placed on Japanese and American cloth and clothing. Nearly all males now dress in Western styles of dress. Very infrequently an old man will be observed in a kimono, but most males regard it as ill suited for work and modern life. Sometimes a man will wear a kimono when lounging at home, especially late in the evening after supper and bath. It is not at all unusual in the cities and towns to see a man walking toward the public bath carrying his kimono; on return he is dressed in the kimono and carries his soiled work clothing which is of Western style. Even for weddings the Western suit is used as frequently as the kimono for the groom's attire. 177 291

Young women and school girls wear Western dress exclusively. The kimono still remains the traditional mode of dress for the bride, and at New Year's time young women and girls may wear kimono. Middle-aged women use the kimono and Western-style dresses about equally. The older women dress exclusively in the kimono. The style of the kimono for the older and middle-aged woman is usually Okinawan, not Japanese. Among the young women and girls who use the kimono only as a party costume the Japanese style is followed, never the Okinawan. [292]

Native-style rain and sun hats of palm leaf and wheat straw are still widely used in the rural areas; nothing of Western or Japanese manufacture has been able to match these for light weight and effectiveness. 178 292

A major influence on Okinawan styles of dress has been the clothing of the US military forces. This has been obtained through clothes rations, surpluses, and petty black market operations. US Army fatigues, chino pants and shirts, wool pants, field jackets, fatigue caps and ponchos, are very popular particularly in the rural areas, so much so that the bulk of rural Okinawa is dressed in colors of olive drab, suntan, or field green. All attest to the durability of American cloth. A number of Okinawans asserted that used American clothing was better than new Japanese. A number of small merchants capitalizing on this belief have begun importing used American clothing, which comes in one-hundred pound bales; according to all accounts this has been well received. 291 177 [439]

Okinawans use very little in the way of personal ornamentation. The large old-fashioned hairpin, formerly worn by both sexes, is used today by only a few old women. Tattooed hands, once common to all Okinawan women, are seen today only on women over sixty. The purely ornamental insertion of gold teeth is also said to be declining; among the young educated (high school) people of the cities there is said to be some reaction against this use of gold teeth, but personal observation indicates continued popularity of the custom in the country. 301 178 [304]

000 custom in the country. Hair styles vary according to age, sex, and status.
302 All boys up to junior high school age usually have shaved heads. During the high school and junior high school years they allow the hair to grow and become quite long. This style is retained until middle age, though often it is somewhat shorter than during the school years. Old and middle-aged men generally wear their hair closely cropped. Young girls through the junior high school age wear their hair in a short bobbed style with bangs, typical of the Japanese school girl. In high school and thereafter the young woman allows her hair to grow a little longer; the bangs grow out and the permanent wave is frequently adopted. After marriage and in middle age a woman is most likely to wear her hair drawn back and tied in a bun. Older women retain the old Okinawan styles, and a few use the long hairpin as mentioned above.

[178] Prewar movies and pictures of Okinawa indicate most men were bearded, but today all are clean-shaven except for a few very old men.

178 <u>Diet</u> With few exceptions most Okinawans state that they are eating
262 better foods and a greater variety of these than before the war. This is attributed to several factors. Sweet potatoes and vegetables formed the bulk of the prewar diet, and there was little money available for food purchases. More land is devoted to food production today than in the prewar period when sugar was the chief crop. There were food shortages throughout the Japanese Empire beginning with the Chinese war in 1937; these shortages gradually in-
[177] creased and became severe. After the war most Okinawans lived on American canned foods for several years; canned foods were served in the civilian internment camps and later formed the bulk of the food ration. A number of people asserted that this experience created a taste for other foods. Lastly
[434] the farm people have more money to spend today.

177 Stores in the towns and cities contain a wide variety of canned
262 American and European foods, not to mention an even greater supply of canned Japanese foods. The important factor is that none of the American or European canned goods were available before the war. Even in the village stores American flour, Coca Cola and other carbonated and non-carbonated beverages, condensed milk, candy, gum, and cigarettes can be obtained today. American foods are said to be far superior to Japanese and Okinawan foods, but most are too expensive for the average family. American tea bags, which often contain an Indian tea far inferior to the Japanese teas, are considered the height of elegance. However, many of the adopted foods are used in a manner considerably different from customary American usage. Pitts was served french-fried whale intestines dipped in peanut butter, and mayonnaise was observed in use as
[272] cooking fat. It is widely believed that some of the American soft drinks contain real fruit juices and are excellent for the health. The author was informed that people sometimes take these when they do not feel too well.

178 For the majority of villagers Japanese and Okinawan foods still con-
262 stitute the bulk of the diet, although they say that they now enjoy a greater variety of these. Rice is more commonly eaten than before, but there is a greater reliance on prepared foods of the sort which cannot be made in the village or which they are no longer inclined to prepare themselves. Canned mackerel (selling for about 17 cents per can) is now a staple item in many

households. Noodles are another item of regular purchase. Starch and bean paste are typical items which formerly were always made in the home but now may be purchased instead. 178 262

In sum Okinawan diet has improved in quantity and variety. Food tastes are more catholic today; certain foreign foods are greatly appreciated. There is a greater reliance on manufactured and processed foods, and greater cash expenditures are made for food.

<u>Entertainment and Leisure</u> There has been a marked decline in village celebrations and festivals in which all residents participate. Formerly O Bon, New Year's, and harvesting time were occasions for village-wide celebrations; today these are gone from most communities; celebrations are restricted to the family and friends. Most of the village celebrations were basically religious in nature and with the decline of the old religion these celebrations have been dropped. 527 796 178 621

Parties to mark an individual's change of status were formerly held on the 13th, 25th, 37th, 48th, 61st, 73rd, 85th, 88th and 97th birthdays, but today only those for the old people are observed. Frequently a party is held to mark an individual's success in the competitive examination to enter high school, but aside from that, rites of passage for the young and middle-aged are no longer observed. 527 178

The Japanese introduced one form of entertainment which has achieved immense popularity; this is a sporting event sponsored by the school. These are usually held on Sunday during the fall of the year, and usually the whole school participates. There is intra-school competition and later inter-school; intense interest is generated and often this becomes an important topic for conversation among the young men. 526 177

Local units of the national organizations such as the youths' association and the women's association frequently hold parties for their members. In fact these organizations are mainly of a social nature. 575

As noted above, prior to the war there were five motion picture theaters on Okinawa; today there are fifty-seven. American and European films constitute from one quarter to one third of the total shown. Though most of these theaters are located in the cities and towns, the young people of the nearby farming villages make frequent use of them. The popularity of the American "Western" among the young people has caused some to attribute juvenile delinquency to this, although the relatively more bloody Japanese sword-fighting pictures ('chambara') are considered harmless. 546 177

The popularity of Okinawan dancing and music seems undiminished. Radio broadcasts of Okinawan music are much enjoyed; and virtually every party provides the opportunity for music and dancing in which most of the guests participate. A few of the better-educated young people profess an appreciation of Western classical music and jazz, but most of them prefer Japanese and American love ballads though they still remain very fond of the Okinawan music. 533 535 177

52 178 621 The general characteristics of the changed entertainment patterns have been a greater reliance on entertainment provided by sources outside the village---the school, radio, movies---and a sharp decline in celebrations and festivals of the sort which emphasized village participation and unity.

757 753 177 Health and Medicine Changes in medical practice well illustrate the principle that material things find more ready acceptance than ideas in the diffusion of culture; in short, Okinawans have been willing to adopt modern medicine when available, but not modern medical principles. Pills, shots, surgery, dentistry, penicillin, and DDT have found acceptance, while modern scientific concepts of disease, health, and sanitation seem to have made relatively little headway. The germ theory, for example, has barely penetrated.

753 751 177 However, on talking to people of different ages one becomes aware that many changes in standards of sanitation and ideas about health and disease actually have taken place in the last fifty years. For example, evidence of the practice of tattooing various parts of the body as a cure for certain ills is rarely seen on persons under seventy. Similarly, though many of the younger generation may appear abysmally ignorant of modern knowledge of disease, they are always less ignorant and better informed than the preceding generation. Considerable progress toward better sanitation was made under the [364] Japanese. Formerly the Okinawan privy was built atop the pigpen, and the pig [231] subsisted in part on human feces. Stern measures were required to force the abandonment of this practice. The Japanese also introduced monthly sanitation inspections; inoculations for babies and school children were made compulsory. [515] Through the influence of the schools the toothbrush (usually one) became a part of every home. The Japanese also sent notable scholars into the country-[582] side to lecture the people on the dangers of in-breeding practices, particularly kin-group endogamy.

757 177 Penicillin, which was introduced by the Americans, has become a popular treatment, achieving equality with moxacautery and cutting to let blood. It can be obtained easily at any drug shop, and every doctor, midwife, herbalist, and practitioner of any sort is prepared to administer shots. Reliance excessive even by American standards is placed on this drug. There seems, in fact, to be a fondness for shots which does not end with penicillin; hormone shots and various other injections are widely advertised. It is the opinion of the author that any type of modern medicine which cuts, punctures, or otherwise disfigures the skin will find ready acceptance; this, it is felt, is merely an extension of the tradition of acupuncture, moxacautery, tattooing, and cutting. Bettelheim states that in the 1850's the Okinawans made inquiries as to how inoculations for smallpox might be obtained.[1]

759 178 There is some indication that the yabu, a practitioner whose chief stocks-in-trade are herbs and moxacautery, is slowly disappearing; in several communities the author was told that since the old yabu died there had been no replacement.

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[1] Bettelheim, B. J., Loochoo Mission, London, n.d., pp. 34-36.

Education The Japanese established the first schools in the rural areas some time before World War I. Great emphasis was placed on making Japanese speakers and nationals out of Okinawans. Today most of the population is bilingual; those who speak only a dialect of the Ryukyuan language are persons over sixty and pre-school children. Most Okinawans have come to regard themselves as Japanese. 871 177 [191] [829]

A major change in the postwar educational system has been the addition of three years to the period of compulsory schooling, making a total of nine years. Since the schools continue to provide a Japanese education, the effect will be to increase the Japanization of Okinawa, raise literacy, and ultimately make all speakers bilingual. As a student is usually excused from all work by the family, this measure has served to withhold a large number of teenagers from the labor market.

In the rural areas the author heard frequent praise for the extension of the schooling period and the new school construction program initiated by the military government. Most rural peoples stated that educational opportunities were poor for them in the prewar period; high school education was said to be particularly difficult for a village child to achieve. Now they feel that they are realizing equality with the urban areas. The urbanite is more likely to suggest that the quality of education has deteriorated in the postwar period. Both rural and urban people were agreed that one decided improvement has been that students no longer fight among themselves. Before and during the war all students were organized into small groups based on area of residence; each group was headed by a student leader who shepherded his charges to and from school in semi-military formation. Rivalry between these organized groups frequently led to gang fighting so severe that the intervention of teachers or police was often necessary to restore order. 871 369 178 877 178

Rural people regard education as providing one of the best opportunities for improving one's status; consequently, the improvement of educational opportunities will have far-reaching effects on social mobility. Those who acquire a high school or university education rarely remain in the village, and the few who do remain adopt an occupation other than farming. 871 554

Economy Money was virtually non-existent in the old Okinawan village; barter was the chief means of exchange. Taxes under the communal land holding system were paid in grain and cloth. The land reforms initiated by the Japanese brought the introduction of tax payments in cash. Increasing emphasis on sugar production due to governmental encouragement and subsidy did much to destroy the self-sufficiency of the village and brought dependence on a cash crop. The period of Japanese administration was marked by a gradual adoption of a money economy in the rural areas. 437 436 178 177

Okinawans state that there is a far greater amount of money in the village today than in the prewar period. Some assert that due to governmental price controls they were never able to realize a fair return for their products (chiefly sugar) in the prewar era, but the great increase in money in recent years seems largely attributable to factors relating to the military occupation. Today over twenty-five percent of the total labor force is employed by the military and in subsidiary occupations such as construction; this steep rise in 434 178 [435] [464]

434 salaried employees has greatly increased the amount of money in circulation.
178 The large expenditures made by members of the military forces have also con-
464 tributed significantly. The farmer, in turn, has been able to realize a larger return for his products than was formerly possible, and in many farm villages a sizable number of individuals are engaged in military employment..

Farmers are spending more than ever before; self-sufficiency has further declined in that many articles formerly made at home are now purchased.
[511] The standard of living, especially diet, is said to have improved considerably.
[592] Formerly all income and resources were controlled by the household head for the entire family; today individual purses are said to be increasingly common.

621 <u>Community Organization and Social Structure</u> The solidarity and
178 integration of the village was severely diminished by the war and its aftermath. The prewar village was quite homogeneous; most of its families had resided there for many generations, village marriage practices tended to be endogamous, and nearly all were engaged in farming as their major occupation. Today in most villages there are a number of families new to the village since the war, and there are an increasing number of individuals who are employed outside the village in non-agricultural pursuits. Both groups tend to play a lesser role in community affairs than the old residents who continue to farm.

476 There has been a considerable decline in reciprocal labor exchanges.
178 The man who is daily employed outside the village is automatically prevented from participating in such ventures. The widow who heads a household without any adult male members is often unable to participate or must limit her participation since a day's work by a man must be matched by two by a woman. Likewise the man who hires a bulldozer to clear some land or build a rice field instead of engaging his relatives and neighbors in a cooperative exchange is also contributing to the decline of the practice.

369 Formerly those who left the village usually emigrated to other parts
178 of the Japanese Empire, but today they usually obtain employment in the cities
621 or military camps. Consequently, they continue to exert some influence in their place of origin, since interaction is more likely.

621 In a community like Kitazato which has suffered poverty, hunger, land
178 loss, and exodus of members to other communities, there seems to be a reintensification of community spirit stressing cooperation and unity. This is in marked contrast to Kanegusuku and elsewhere, suggesting that when a major value---communal unity---is directly threatened, there is a reaction and reintensification of this value. Elsewhere where the process of change has been more subtle, no reaction has occurred.

565 Okinawan class divisions were officially abolished early in the period
• 177 of Japanese administration; yet they continued to be of some importance with regard to status and marriage for some time. Today people say that they are no longer of any importance except to a few of the very old. Distinctions on
[559] the basis of wealth were largely erased by the war. It is frequently said, "After the war everyone was equal."

582 178 average age at the time of marriage, investigation into the registries reveals that the range has narrowed somewhat. Formerly some girls married at thirteen and fourteen; today this would be considered rather unusual.

[177] The Japanese administration attempted to discourage endogamous marriage practices, particularly kin-group endogamy. All agreed that the practice has declined; yet in Kanegusuku nearly 50% of all marriages were within the kin group and 66% of all marriages were within the village. An analysis of these figures on an age basis indicates the practice is declining there.

833 178 833 Sex It is said that sexual standards have changed in that there is less sexual license among the young people and that they tend to have their first relations at a later age than formerly. This is attributed in part to the moral training of the schools. Another factor seems to be the general decline of several informal village institutions which permitted young people considerable sexual freedom. One informant stated that those who continue on to high school and university generally have their first experience at a later age than those who attend only junior high school.

642 177 641 [625] [666] Government The Japanese introduced a modern system of government, abolished the Okinawan aristocracy, and granted suffrage to all males of twenty-five or more years. The American Civil Administration has attempted to liberalize laws and to make possible a greater degree of self-government. Police powers have been limited, universal suffrage has been introduced, and the number of elected officials has been increased.

621 178 To date there has been little change within the village, where suffrage and office-holding remain limited to household heads. Villagers acknowledge that there is greater freedom for action at the local level today; yet they are not desirous of obtaining greater self-government. They feel that it would require too much of their time and that there is too little money available to finance its operation. Village leadership is virtually unchanged. Change where it has occurred has been initiated at a higher level.

632 178 At the township level the electorate has been broadened to include all persons, male and female, over twenty years of age. The mayor who was formerly appointed is now elected to office.

771 177 178 793 Religion There has been a general decline in the indigenous Okinawan religion, effected by Japanese policy, wartime attrition, and the spread of education. Formerly a hierarchy of priestesses extended from the kin group through the community and region to the person of the king's sister, the chief priestess. The Japanese removed the top echelons of this hierarchy, but the kin group and community priestesses continued to function. World War II resulted in the death of many religious functionaries, and as the office is usually hereditary within a specific family and often limited to a particular member of that family, there has often been no replacement for the office. Lastly there is an increasing tendency among the young people, due to the influence of the school, to regard religion as superstition.

796 178 Many villages, especially those without religious functionaries, have discontinued all village ceremonies, and in those few remarkable exceptions

where they are observed there are generally few participants. Also many ceremonies have lost all meaning save that of custom, which is considered sufficient reason for their observance. 796 178

The authors heard dissatisfaction expressed with regard to current funeral practices. At one bone-washing ceremony witnessed by the author, several of the men stated that the practice was pointless and should therefore cease. Statements favorable to the Japanese practice of cremation were frequently heard. 764 765 829

Urbanization Prior to Japanese annexation there existed a sharp urban-rural dichotomy in Okinawan culture. This might best be characterized as a rural peasantry and an urban gentry-nobility. The latter group was in contact with Japan and China and was literate, while the former was divided into many small, isolated villages, lived in a state of serfdom, and was largely uneducated. The urban culture was strongly influenced by its foreign contacts, but in the rural areas an indigenous culture was preserved virtually untouched by outside influences. 369 177e [565]

The Japanese impact was first felt in the urban areas, and the city of Naha gradually assumed the characteristics of a Japanese city. It became the center for the diffusion of things Japanese into the countryside. Despite a number of important changes---abolition of communal land tenure, introduction of private property, gradual penetration of a money economy, introduction of schools and national organizations---rural-urban differences remained strong. The character of the village tended to remain homogeneous and conservative, and contacts with the city were infrequent. When one emigrated from the village, the move usually was to a point outside the country rather than to another part of the island.

World War II shattered the isolation and homogeneity of the village. The American occupation coupled with the cumulative effect of the change initiated by the Japanese has served to bring the village into a closer relationship with the urban areas. The result has been the urbanization of the rural areas. By means of newspapers, motion pictures, and radio the villager has come to share the cultural life of the city. Rural-urban differences in diet, dress, education, entertainment, mobility, and values are tending to disappear. Marked improvements in transportation have given the villager a new mobility, enabling him to participate in the labor market of the city and giving new outlets for his products. The nature of the village is increasingly more heterogeneous due to the presence of newcomers, increased occupational specialization, and greater interaction with the outside world. There is a greater reliance on goods produced by industrial society, and a number of villagers commute daily to a place of employment in the city or in nearby military installations. The trend is toward an ultimate disappearance of rural-urban differences; the process is one that is well advanced in the United States, but in Okinawa it is in an early stage. 369 177 178 621

Conclusion Okinawa has been in a process of change for over fifty years. World War II and the American military occupation have served to accelerate greatly the forces for change. Despite this, Okinawan culture has not been overwhelmed and has managed to preserve its identity. A number of 177 178

177 factors have made possible its resilience. Though the island is small, the
178 Americans and Okinawans tend to be concentrated in their own areas, and the rate of interaction is not so high as mere figures might indicate. Secondly,
[179] Okinawan culture is fairly homogeneous, hence unaffected areas tend to sus-
[180] tain other areas which might be disturbed. Thirdly, there remains a strong awareness of cultural identity, much of which is fostered by language, song,
[619] theater, dance, and religion. Fourthly, there exists a sense of belonging to a larger national entity, Japan; consequently, there is less feeling of being alone. Fifthly, despite some changes, much the same sort of educational and political systems operate today as before the war; this has provided a considerable degree of continuity. Lastly, the present administration has not been culturally repressive.

[Yamada]

Thus Aza Yamada consisted of seven settlements grouped into six 'han' and into five chinju. The chinju was probably the older, "natural" unit, while the 'han' was a unit introduced by the Japanese administration. 621 [177]

During the last few months before the battle for Okinawa, the area south of Yamada was used as an ammunition dump by the Japanese navy, one small unit was stationed in Tarigaa, and a number of Okinawan civilians drafted for labor were quartered there with the local people. These outsiders dispersed as the raiding by American planes increased and by the time the landing took place, on 1 April 1945, the people of Yamada had for the most part gone into caves and prepared underground shelters. Two or three days after the landing the 6th MarDiv passed through Yamada, discovering some of the people and sending them behind the lines, but missing many. Some of those taken were almost immediately allowed to return to their homes. Then, after about a week, all were rounded up, taken to the school, and there loaded onto trucks and taken to Ishikawa. During the following weeks all the buildings in Yamada that had survived the softening-up process that preceded the landing were burned "as a sanitary measure" with the exception of one house and one school building. A part of the Yamada people were moved again to a village north of Kin while the rest stayed in Ishikawa, which was becoming the largest concentration of civilians on the island. Aza Yamada, empty of Okinawans, was occupied by several American units; concrete foundations for quonset huts were laid on the level fields of Tirabaru; the walls and floor of the remaining school building were removed so as to make a garage for a motor pool. 175 621 726 727

The people of Yamada were permitted to move back to their village during the summer of 1946. Some stayed in Ishikawa, however, and some returned to Yamada only to go back to Ishikawa later. (One woman said they were told at the time that if they did not return to Yamada then they could never return later.) The houses at Yamada had to be rebuilt and fields reclaimed; American aid in materials was given but the job was not an easy one. For some of those who had employment with American units or whose families were too broken by the war to provide the basis for a farming household, the new city of Ishikawa, crowded and unsanitary as it was (and still is), was more attractive than the ruins of the country village. But in addition to those from Ishikawa, former Yamada people were being shipped home from Japan, the South Seas, and Manchuria, and although some of these too drifted to the city, the population of Yamada is now somewhat larger than it was before the war. 175 621 727

The postwar village of Yamada looks considerably different from the prewar one. While the old village consisted of several widely separated settlements, the new one is fairly compact. The center is Ajimaa at the old cross-roads below the school. Yamada 'mura-uchi' is empty but for three families. The yaarui of Uema and Tarigaa were never reoccupied and Tirabaru exists only as a sort of pseudopodium of Ajimaa stretching toward but not reaching its former location. The greater part of the 'mura-uchi' and yaarui people are in Ajimaa and the present Tirabaru. Kuraha, formerly down on the beach, has been rebuilt above the water, just below Ajimaa, at a new and potentially more important crossroads. 621 178 [361]

[Yamada]

621 361 178 177 One reason for this greater concentration may have been the greater need for cooperation during the period of rebuilding; another may have been the greater dependence since the war on the outside and the resulting greater dependence on the new highways and busses; but a third reason for the present concentration seems to have been a feeling of uneasiness in the presence of American units. There are still units on three sides of Yamada, two in the hills behind and one towards the sea between the settlement and the next village of Maeda. A Tarigaa woman gave the presence of American soldiers in the hills as a definite reason for not returning to her isolated home. A part of the rebuilt Ajimaa extended for a time in the direction of the nearest unit but in the last two or three years these houses have one by one been removed toward the center of the settlement.

621 178 The present aza is divided into five 'han', which are said also to function as chinju. However, the division seems to have been made along 'koaza' boundaries and this has resulted in a very uneven distribution of households per 'han'. Since the settlement pattern is still changing it seems likely that units of a more equal size will develop.

621 178 484 The orientation of Yamada, as well as its settlement pattern, has changed. Before the war contacts were nearly all to the north and south along the west shore of the island; people went south to Kadena on their rare shopping trips. Now, good highways and an excellent bus system not only run north and south but also link the west shore with the east shore via Nakadomari and Ishikawa. Since the war and the internment of many of the Yamada people at Ishikawa, going to town had meant going to Ishikawa, and people who once went twice a year to Kadena may now go to Ishikawa twice a week. People still go south to Kadena, but now more often as employees of the Americans commuting to work.

621 177 727 [648] Formal Relations At the time that the Yamada people returned to their village in 1946 they received material aid from the American Military Government, with which to rebuild. For a time after, they continued to receive a food ration ('haikyū') that was distributed from the 'haikyūjo', which later became the cooperative store. However, for several years now they seem to have had very little direct contact with the Military Government or its successor USCAR. On the other hand they have had considerable contact, both formal and informal, with the 'butai', the "unit", that is stationed just a few hundred yards from the settlement of Kuraha. This relationship was evidently in a process of change while I worked in Yamada early in 1954.

All of the villagers with whom I discussed the matter seemed agreed that for a period in the recent past the relationship had been very good. During the previous year the CO of the unit had held monthly meetings with the 'kuchō' of Yamada and three neighboring villages and with the teachers of the Yamada school, which serves all four villages. The purpose of these meetings was said to be the discussion of mutual problems, and in this they had a fair degree of success. For example the local people asked the unit to decrease the speed of trucks coming through the village, and this was done. The unit in turn asked the villagers to try to stop women from sneaking into

[Yamada]

its area at night (an informant hastened to add that these were not Yamada women). The unit and the village cooperated in repairing roads, the unit supplying equipment and the village labor. The unit also lent equipment for levelling the school grounds and for the 'undōkai' (sports event) lent the school a public address system. At Christmas of 1952 and again in 1953 the unit gave a Christmas party for the school children. The first year only 40 went but the second year nearly 200 went and all received presents. Two that were shown me later were a plastic car and a plastic fire truck; one was marked 65 cents. They were displayed with obvious pride. The school children in turn had sent a bundle of art work to the unit for the Perry Festival. 621 177a 727

According to the villagers, late in 1953 the CO of the unit was transferred and the unit was placed under the command of the CO of another unit some miles away. This, they said, had meant the end of the monthly meetings and a decline in the good relations that had existed. The villagers' worries may have been without foundation. The last Christmas party was given after the alleged shift in command. However, some changes were occurring; for example, prostitution had reentered the village.

Informal Relations In addition to the help given to the school by the unit, certain individuals from the unit had also contributed something to it. One man is said to have taught English classes twice a week for about six months. Many of the men of the unit habitually come to the school grounds to play ball. Several are said to come two and three times a week, others come less frequently. Negro soldiers as well as whites come. They play baseball and volleyball with the men teachers and have also taught them basketball.

A few of the villagers have gained financially from the presence of the unit. In Ajimaa where the school is located there are four shops and at Kuraha there is one shop and another establishment that was formerly a cafe. The Ajimaa shops probably rarely sell anything to the soldiers, but the Kuraha shop has several steady customers for "Okinawa Gin", a rather strong variety of 'awamori'. The cafe formerly sold drinks to a regular clientele from the unit, but recently the owner invested in a taxi, has not made as much on it as he had expected and so has not had the capital for stock. There is also a laundry in Kuraha operated by a couple from Amami which does washing for men in the unit. 621 177 727 444 [273]

Several men in the unit are renting houses for their "honeys". (The term "honey" is widely used by both Americans and Okinawans for an American's Okinawan mistress.) At the time I worked in Yamada there were five "honeys", all in Kuraha, three renting one house and two another. All five were from outside the village; one was from Amami, a relative of the laundry people. According to one informant, the relationships between the soldiers and these women had been established at Senaha, Yomitan-son, a small cafe and brothel area to which some of the men of the unit go; after establishing the relationships there the men had brought the women to this village next to their unit. It was my impression that there was not much contact between these outsiders and the villagers. 621 177 727 836

However, there are several Yamada women who have been the mistresses of American soldiers in the past and there are several half-white children in 621 144 563

[Yamada]

621 the village. The oldest of the children is in school; she is the product of
144 a brief affair during the early days of the occupation. While some informants
563 showed some reluctance to discuss the half-white children, by forgetting that they existed until reminded of them, I saw no evidence that the children suffered any discrimination. There are also several Yamada women living outside Yamada, particularly in Ishikawa, with Americans and Filipinos; several of
621 these have mixed-blood children. Some of the Yamada women who are "married"
582 to Americans have attempted to maintain their relationship with their own
177 families and establish some kind of relationship between their families and their "husbands". On New Year's, when family calls are in order, two sisters who were both living with Americans at another village brought their "husbands" to pay their respects to their grandfather. I was in the old man's house when one of the girls appeared with her American. The American behaved quite properly, taking off his shoes and sitting cross-legged on the mat opposite the grandfather. The grandfather greeted him with dignity and reserve. The girl, who had acquired a fair command of English, translated a few sentences and looked very pleased with herself. Drinks were exchanged and the visit was over. Further contact was hardly possible, but this sort of gesture was probably sufficient to demonstrate to the family and to others that the relationship was a serious one. Most relationships are less serious.

621 The former cafe in Kuraha was said to have had women available for
727 prostitution several years ago, but the CO of the local unit who held the
177 meetings with the villagers is said to have disapproved of prostitution in the village and therefore the women left. In the spring of 1954, however,
548 another prostitute was at the cafe, even though it was not operating as such, and a new brothel was established at Ajimaa. There a 'Mama-san' ("madame" in GI Japanese) rented a house for herself and her three girls. The house is one of the newer tile-roofed buildings; it is just below the school grounds and across the highway; it is the property of the brother-in-law of one of the school teachers. Since the shortest way to the place from the unit is directly across the school ground, this was the route taken one afternoon by the three gaudily painted girls as they led a soldier home. I did not have much opportunity to discuss the matter with many people but got the following reaction from one informant: "On the one hand the brothel is good because people are making money; on the other hand it is bad because it makes a bad environment. If anyone complained about it, probably the owners of the house would say that the person complaining is just envious because of the money they are making in rent. Probably even the school teachers could not complain. One cannot interfere with a person's way of making money. The only way it could be stopped would be for the whole village to stop it." This was a clear
[101] expression of two of the basic themes of Okinawan culture, themes that have been mentioned before in connection with other problems; first, one must not interfere in another's livelihood, and second, one must not stand alone; action must be group action. This informant was not overly concerned about the possible bad effects of the presence of the brothel below the school on the school children. Some of the school teachers may have been, yet they too were probably as unwilling to take action individually.

621 While some Yamada people have profited by the presence of the unit,
727 others have suffered some loss. Considerable land is still not available to its owners and while they have received rental from it the amount is not

[Yamada]

regarded as adequate. Also, some of the land that was returned some time ago still has construction materials on it that must be removed. I also heard the complaint that it was not possible to gather fuel in certain areas in the mountains behind the village. One of the units there is said to fire upon Okinawans who approach the fence around it. So far as I know, no one has been hurt. The fact that Okinawans have been known to appropriate fence wire as scrap metal may be the cause of the apparent hostility of this unit. The villagers have no other contact with it. 621 727

Attitudes In 1945 when the American forces were landing on Okinawa the people of Yamada were trembling in their caves and dugouts expecting that if they survived the bombing of the planes they would probably be shot by the troops. One way or another a few people did lose their lives. One man was shot by an American soldier while trying to run away after coming out of his cave. Another Yamada man, who was teaching school in Kunigami at the time, is said to have been found by an American soldier while travelling with his family through the hills; the soldier made him put down the child he was carrying and then shot him where he stood, before the eyes of his wife and children. Two Yamada girls are said to have been raped. Whether these stories are true or not they are factors in the formation of attitudes toward Americans. Yet stories of such incidents are few and amount to little compared to the treatment that most Okinawans expected to receive at the hands of the Americans. Stories of unexpected kindness shown by the Americans in 1945 are numerous and are not forgotten. Nor are the few atrocity stories, though the balance is undoubtedly well on the credit side.

The variety of the experiences that the people of Yamada have had with Americans tends to make them see, I believe, more clearly than many Americans see, the necessity for avoiding generalizations and judging the individual on the basis of his own merits. One can find individuals who have had a wide range of experience even in a remote Okinawan village. One evening in Yamada I sat listening to the war stories of two brothers. Both had spent some time in Japan. One had lived in Manchuria as a settler, had seen the Kuomintang chase the 8th Route Army and vice versa, had finally been captured himself by the Russians and had managed, according to his account, to escape by making off with a Russian truck. The other brother matched this story by telling how he had been captured by the Americans and taken as a prisoner to Hawaii, where he had spent a year working at a laundry. He delighted us with his stories about the good food, the lazy guards, and how he had made off with large quantities of GI clothing by going back to the compound each night wearing several shirts and two and three pairs of pants. Despite their belief in ghosts and spirits, in matters of human relations these are mature and sophisticated men. They know that not all Americans are good, not all are bad, some are industrious, some are lazy, most are honest, but some are dishonest. On several occasions, while somewhat in his cups, the older of the two assured me that "the words are different but the heart is the same". This perhaps summarizes the faith of a good many Okinawans. 621 727 829

To summarize Okinawan-American relations in Yamada: There have been both formal relations between the neighboring unit and the village and school and informal relations between some of the men of the unit and some of the 621 727 199

[Yamada]

621 villagers. The formal relations, because of the policy of the CO of the
727 unit, have in the past been good (at any rate this is the interpretation of
177 the villagers). Except in rare instances such as that of the man who taught English, the informal relations have been mainly in the fields of sports and sex. In these matters too the role of the unit's CO has been important.

2. Military Employment

W. P. Lebra

464 An important factor in contemporary Okinawan life is the large number of people engaged in military employment or in subsidiary occupations. Over [177] twenty-five percent of the total Okinawan labor force is so employed, and their day-to-day contact with Americans has far-reaching implications for Okinawan-American relations. It is also a factor of prime importance to the Okinawan economy.

In studying and visiting a number of Okinawan communities the authors noted a considerable variation in the importance of military employment to the community, the role of those so employed in village life, and the attitude of the villagers toward these people.

621 727 Kanegusuku The farming village of Kanegusuku was less affected than most communities by the war and subsequent occupation, little land was ruined, no military installations are in the area, and the majority of villagers are attempting to carry on as before the war.

621 464 Out of a total population of 507 persons, constituting 103 houses, there are but twenty men employed outside the village. Of these twenty men, seven are directly engaged in military employment and eight more are employed by civilian construction companies engaged in military construction. These individuals commute from the village each day to the greater Naha area. In most cases these men come from houses which have insufficient land for mere subsistence, or they are younger sons who are without land and/or who have not married and set up households of their own. Several are newcomers to the village since the war.

621 464 166 In the past a few who have secured jobs in military establishments or in subsidiary employment have left the village and established temporary residence in the city or near the camp. One of the motivating factors for making the move is a monthly saving of ¥600 ($5.00) in bus fares, but certainly another and perhaps stronger motivation has been the desire to escape the dreary life of the farm village. These people say that they do not wish to return to the village; yet, they have retained their land as an insurance against job loss. Most do not seem to regard military employment as a permanent career. They hope to save enough money to establish a small business or at the last resort to return to the village and buy more land.

621 464 829

Villagers regard those who have been able to secure military employment as rather fortunate individuals. In most families the additional income is most welcome as it provides a standard of living considerably above subsistence farming. In the case of those families where the husband or household head is employed outside the village the wife usually farms the family vegetable plots.

[511] [462]

621 464 In most cases those who are engaged in military employment, or in any employment outside the village, do not play an active role in village affairs.

This island has long faced a serious problem of over-population and food shortage; it is not self-supporting in foodstuffs and mainly derives its livelihood from fishing, shipping and ferrying. It has long had a symbiotic relationship with the neighboring island of Takabanare, supplying fish and shipping-ferrying service in return for food, but this has not been rewarding enough in recent years to offset its rapid population increase. A general postwar decline in coastal shipping largely due to the marked improvement of land transportation in highways and vehicles has sharply reduced the number of jobs in this enterprise, and the return of the repatriates has only added to the number seeking jobs. Military employment, however, has filled this gap and staved off mass unemployment. 621 464 505 433 [438]

At the present time nearly one quarter of the village labor force is engaged in military employment. Nearly all of the repatriates and a large number of old residents have entered military employ. Some of these have established temporary residence on the mainland nearer the military installations. A large number, however, commute by ferry boat and bus each day to their place of employment, and at low tide it is possible to walk the mile across the tidal flats to the mainland. 621 464 [484]

There has long been a tradition for the men of Henza to be away from the village much of time, engaged in activities on the sea. Thus, those who are away much of the time in military employment are merely following a long-established pattern. Unlike the absent workers of Kanegusuku, these people are not considered to be cut off from village affairs. All farming activities, much of the family's economic affairs, and some of the functions of government are carried on by women, contrary to usual Okinawan practice. [562]

The villagers regard military employment as a blessing and feel that it has contributed significantly to maintaining village prosperity. Aside from military employment they have little contact with Americans, although a few boat-owners have rented their crafts to American fishing parties. The villagers and their officials recall with considerable fondness their military government officer in the early days of the occupation. To date Henza relations with Americans have been not only good but also profitable; in short, American stock is high on this island. [829] 621 1770 829

<u>Summary</u> On Henza and to a far smaller degree in Kanegusuku military employment has largely drawn off the surplus and largely landless population that formerly would have emigrated to other parts of the overseas Japanese empire. In Jagaru and Tobaru military employment has replaced farming as the chief occupation of the villagers. The contribution of military employment to the economy of Kanegusuku is negligible, although it should be noted that the number so engaged increased during the period of the author's study. In Jagaru, Tobaru, and Henza military employment is of vital importance to the village economy, and any sharp decrease will have severe repercussions. 464

<u>Okinawan Attitudes Toward Those Engaged in Military Employment</u> Okinawans make a sharp distinction in their attitudes toward men employed in military jobs and their attitudes toward women similarly employed. There seems to be no stigma of any sort attached to the male who has a job working for the Americans; in fact, 464 562 829

464 usually people tend to regard these persons as fortunate. During the entire
562 course of the author's stay on Okinawa he heard no sharp criticism of men who
829 were in military employment, yet many statements were heard about women who were so employed. This dichotomy seems to stem from the widely held belief that the American employers have sexual access to these women, particularly
[831] the maids. Okinawan culture affords its males a high degree of sexual freedom, but not its females.

464 It is said that the women who are employed by the military are cate-
554 gorized into several grades; the highest status is accorded to the office workers and PX clerks. These are followed by the kitchen and table maids, after which comes the maids who are employed in the dependent housing units; lastly there are the barracks maids, including those of the bachelor officers' and civilians' quarters. It is also claimed that these women can be distinguished on the basis of their dress. Supposedly the office workers and
[291] PX girls dress in the fashion of Japanese business women, whereas the housing
[177] and barracks maids dress in American styles which are considered loud and flashy.

464 It is claimed that many young men will not marry women who have been
554 maids in military installations. One young man asserted that these women were
582 no better than the "honeys" (a term used by Okinawans and GI's to designate the soldier's mistress).

464 The low status and pay (¥1200-1800, or $10-15 per month) for maids is
466 offset to a large extent by the gifts, food, and in many cases board which they receive from their employers. Despite the stigma there is no shortage
[465] of applicants for these jobs. Another factor is the free bathing privileges which ordinarily accompany these jobs. Very few Okinawan homes have a bath,
[515] and public baths cost the equivalent of ten cents in American money, a sizeable outlay for the Okinawan purse.

464 Most of the discrimination is directly attributable to the sexual
554 jealousy of the Okinawan male toward the women who work and often live in
829 close daily contact with Americans. There also seems to be some discrimination against any women in the category of maid, whether employed by American or Okinawan; in the past these were often indentured servants who had been sold by their parents into this low status.

186 <u>Okinawan Attitudes toward Their American Employers</u> It was the author's im-
829 pression that even those who had worked in close daily contact with Americans for a considerable period of time shared much the same stereotypes of the American as those held by the general public. It must be remembered that the points of emphasis in any stereotype are often those traits which seem obvious because they are so unfamiliar and hence not understood by the person of a different culture. Secondly, in every stereotype there is undoubtedly some considerable measure of truth; the important factor is the base of reference. Both Americans and Okinawans judge one another on the basis of different values and cultural backgrounds.

It
186 is also important to keep in mind that the relationship is always one of
829 American employer to Okinawan employee; consequently, the American is most
177 often the initiator of action.

464 Conclusion In a number of Okinawan communities military employment has drawn
434 off the surplus population which formerly had emigrated. In not a few communities it has become the mainstay of the economy.

464 Most Okinawans regard military employment as economically advantageous.
829 There is no stigma attached to men who are so employed, but considerable
554 stigma is attached to women who take this employment, particularly the maids.

177 The American installations are dependent to no small degree upon their
618 Okinawan employees, and in turn many Okinawan individuals and communities are
464 wholly dependent upon the military for their livelihood. Their relationship is a symbiotic one which can best be enhanced by mutual understanding; yet the social distance between the Okinawan and American is so great as to make interaction on a basis of equality rare. Because of their different cultural backgrounds and their job situations, both remain ignorant of the other's motives and values, and mutual understanding is difficult if not impossible. Common
[171] denominators in both cultures might be sought as a means of bridging this gap, as, for example, their common love of sports.

3. Japan, America, and Okinawa

W. P. Suttles

829 Japan in Retrospect Okinawan attitudes toward Japan are decidedly ambivalent. Factors that have entered into the formation of these attitudes are as follows:

175 1) Historic Relations On the negative side are the historic separa-
648 tion and former independence of Okinawa. This separate status is still re-
829 membered by old people, some of whom speak of wars between Okinawa and "Yamatu" (Yamato, that is, Japan). Several illiterate old people seemed to make no distinction between the conquest and oppression of Okinawa by the feudal state of Satsuma and the later annexation by the national government, and thus seemed to be blaming Japan as a whole for wrongs done by Satsuma.

171 On the positive side there is the indisputable remote common origin
174 and basic similarity of the Japanese and the Okinawans. Racially, linguis-
177 tically, and culturally the Okinawans are closely related to the Japanese.
829 They may be said to be merely a kind of Japanese. It is highly probable that the majority of the ancestors of the Okinawans came from the north, from Japan, in the not too remote past. Their isolation made it possible for them to be politically independent and their political independence made it possible for them to escape the levelling influence of Japanese national governments, particularly that of the Tokugawa Shogunate, and for them to have closer contact with China. This accounts for their having a number of elements of Chinese culture that are not found in Japan, but it does not make them a kind of Chinese.

2) Japanese Political Administration On the negative side is the domination, during the period of Japanese administration, of Okinawan public life by men from Japan. But on the other hand Okinawa became another perfecture and not a colony, and there were possibly not many more men in Okinawa from Japan's urban centers than in other remote and poor perfectures. As Japanese subjects in a Japanese prefecture, Okinawans could rise in the Japanese system and indeed a few did. The position of Okinawa was quite different from that of Korea. 648 829

Insofar as the Japanese policy of assimilation was successful, the fact that most of the important posts in the prefectural government were occupied by men from Tokyo could be ignored. If the Okinawans identified themselves as Japanese the difference would be less important. (The degree of Japanese domination and the harshness of the regime, moreover, seem to have become exaggerated in the minds of many of the Americans on Okinawa at present; some of the USCAR personnel with whom we talked appeared to be unaware of the fact that Okinawa had the same legal status as other parts of Japan.)

3) Japanese Assimilation Policy The policy of the Japanese government and particularly that of the Ministry of Education was undoubtedly one of cultural imperialism. The aim was to produce a uniform people. A strong attempt was made to eradicate the native language and many native customs that did not agree with Japanese ideals, the periodic redivision of land ('jiwari seido') and the use of the pigpen as a toilet, to name two. School teachers labelled the Okinawan language a "dialect" of Japanese, thus giving it inferior status, and labelled many Okinawan beliefs "superstitions". The army also undoubtedly attempted to replace Okinawan with Japanese ideals in many young men. These attempts may have produced hostility in some Okinawans, but it is our impression that the more usual result was to produce merely a feeling of inferiority. Okinawan speech and culture went down in value and Japanese speech and culture went up. Younger Okinawans who could not speak good Japanese felt inferior, but within the Japanese hierarchy. Moreover, in recent years Okinawan speech and customs have been given new prestige as museum pieces by the fact that outstanding Japanese scholars have devoted some attention to them. 648 177 829 152

4) Treatment of Okinawans in Japan Undoubtedly Okinawans who went to Japan in the twenties and thirties to look for employment were disiscriminated against by Japanese employers. A great number of Okinawans went to Osaka to work in the textile mills. Accounts of informants reveal that the mill foremen stereotyped Okinawans as lazy and unreliable and did not hesitate to say so. (In view of the conditions of labor, Americans in the same position might well have earned the same stereotype.) Some mills did not hire Okinawans if they could avoid it. 167 464 177

In rural Japan people were in utter ignorance of Okinawa. Students who were evacuated in 1944 to Kyushu discovered this. One young man told how the peasants in Miyazaki-ken thought that Okinawans were South Sea Islanders and expected them to come wearing clothes made of the leaves of trees and expected to have to teach them how to cook rice. 000

829 726 5) War Experiences Many younger and even middle-aged men saw service in the war, some in Manchuria, China, and Southeast Asia. Their experiences of course varied. One well-educated man told me how pleasant he found Burma and how much he would like to return there as a civilian; he had been in the Japanese Military Government there. Others returned from the war to tell of terrible experiences. One story, which was said to be well-known around Itoman, told how an Okinawan whose unit was making a last stand deserted to surrender to the Americans when he was warned by a friend that as an Okinawan he had been chosen to go into the pot for dinner.

824 On the home front old people, women, and children were able to see the army at first hand during the last few months before the battle, when many units prepared to defend the island. Many civilians saw the harsh army discipline and saw, we were told, how when army rations became short the officers continued to eat well while the men had to loot from the fields of the civilians. They remember the Korean labor units, some of whom in the south were detailed to cut the Okinawan farmers' trees to build defenses. They also remember the 'Chōsen-P', the Korean girls brought by the Japanese army to serve as prostitutes for the men; some informants believed the Japanese army's system of army brothels to be superior to the policy of the American army.

In general the present Okinawan view of the late Japanese army is not a flattering one. But it must be emphasized that most informants seemed quick to distinguish between the Japanese army and Japanese civilians, army policy and national culture.

177 829 [724] 6) The Present Scene The Japanese government's present display of interest in Okinawa, as seen for example in the recent granting of pensions to survivors of war dead, the renewed interest of Japanese scholars in Okinawan culture, and the movie industry's "Okinawa boom" have made an impression on the Okinawans. The government's interest may be mainly political; the interest of the scholars, however, is genuine, and the reasons for the 829 movie boom too may run deeper than propaganda considerations. Okinawa was 724 the only part of Japan, the only one of the forty-six prefectures, that was 177 actually defended against a landing. The people of Okinawa were the only Japanese who fought to protect their homeland from invasion. And thus the people of Okinawa-ken showed the greatest heroism of any Japanese. This, potentially, is the argument that may one day raise the status of Okinawans to great heights in the Japanese scheme of things, apart from any conscious policy on the part of the Japanese government. Many Okinawans may be well aware of their latent heroism as a group. What they actually did go through as individuals must not be minimized and may well motivate some to try to derive some reward from it. (I must admit that this is speculation; I have not been told by any Okinawans that they are, or might be considered to be, the most heroic of the Japanese, but I believe that this interpretation is inherent in the situation.)

177 829 On the other hand, the differentiating treatment that Okinawans met in Japan in the past is still there too. Recently a volleyball team went to Japan, where, it is said, the first meal served them consisted of bread while the Japanese teams around them were served rice. When they objected they were told that it was understood that the Okinawans had become wholly Americanized

in diet and therefore ate bread instead of rice. The Okinawans objected and thereafter got rice too. 177 829

The few Japanese who are on Okinawa at present working mainly as contractors for the military are often spoken of contemptuously as 'Japani', but politely they are spoken of as 'Naichijin', "persons from the mainland [of Japan]". The term 'Nihonjin' still includes the Okinawans as far as most Okinawans are concerned. 186 829

These are some of the factors contributing to the attitudes that Okinawans feel toward Japan as such. Although there is overlapping, they must be distinguished from the basis of attitudes toward the possible reversion of Okinawa to the status of a Japanese prefecture. I shall discuss attitudes toward reversion after looking at some of the attitudes that exist toward the United States. 829

Attitudes toward the United States I shall confine myself to a discussion of attitudes derived from contact with Americans on Okinawa. Okinawans call Americans Amirikaa in Okinawan, 'Amerika-jin' or 'Amerika-san' in Japanese. The last is the most polite term. Upon asking for a term corresponding to the 'ketō', "hairy barbarian", of the last century, I was told that Amirikaa in a scornful tone of voice conveyed the same feeling. The diminutive, Amirikaa-gwaa, is used either for the child of an American or somewhat slurringly for an adult American. (These terms are usually used only for white Americans; colored Americans are classified differently. See below.) The following are some of the factors contributing to attitudes toward Americans: 177 829

1) Behavior of Individual Soldiers On the positive side are numerous unsolicited acts of kindness on the part of many GI's and the relatively free and easy relationship that often develops between Americans and Okinawans who work together. On the negative side there is the normal rowdiness of GI's, their frequently belligerent behavior when drunk (which is quite different from the sort of behavior Okinawans can expect of drunks---see p.147), and their frequent open display of sexuality (also contrary to Okinawan standards). There have also been a few acts of violence.

2) View of American Military Life When they first came in contact with the American armed forces in 1945, the Okinawans were greatly impressed by the contrast American military life presented to that of the Japanese. Several Okinawans commented to me at that time on the fact that officers worked alongside the men, often working even harder, and on the fact that officers did not discipline the men by slapping them. Slapping, one commented, was the business of the Japanese army.

Today their impressions are probably somewhat different. The distinctions between officers and men are undoubtedly greater now than in 1945. Moreover, morale and efficiency also undoubtedly declined after the end of the war and are at present rather low. One of the SIRI team saw a unit on maneuvers in the mountains of Kunigami. The men had hired Okinawan women to carry their packs; the officers had evidently driven home for the night. The impression this makes needs no comment.

•177 829 3) View of American Social Life With the large number of American women and children now on Okinawa and the large number of Okinawans employed as domestic servants, there is considerable opportunity for Okinawans to observe American family life. However, they may very well be getting a somewhat distorted view of American life by trying to generalize from the rather luxurious quarters provided for American dependents and from the behavior of American women who have now, many for the first time in their lives, plenty of domestic help.

648 829 4) Official Policy On the positive side, the Okinawans were impressed by the generosity of the Americans with relief, especially in the early days of the occupation, they are impressed with the highway and communication system the occupation has brought them, and they have much good to say about changes in the police system, education, and other aspects of government---along with criticisms, of course, as had been discussed elsewhere. On the negative side, the most persistent criticisms have to do with the land question and the question of self-government.

A chapter has already been devoted to the land question. To summarize the points pertaining to this discussion: many Okinawans feel, and apparently with some justification, that the Army has not paid adequate rental on land. In some instances the payments have not reached the owners at all. In addition some Okinawans feel that land has been unnecessarily diverted from its vital agricultural use. One example is the unused airfield next to the village of Kitazato; another would be the Awase Meadows Golf Course. The resentment felt about the loss of land is re-enforced by the important cultural theme that we have stated elsewhere: one must not interfere with the livelihood of another. The Army, by taking land and not paying adequately for it, has interfered with the livelihood of the farmers.

642 648 829 The question of self-government, to be discussed adequately, would require a whole chapter on the history of GRI and its predecessors; since this study was aimed at the community level, the history and structure of GRI were not investigated. The gist of the argument is, however, that instead of progressing toward a greater degree of self-government the Ryukyu Islands are in fact slipping backward. The present GRI with its appointed chief executive replaced an organization with an elected chief. Hence one of the two major political parties has insisted on an elected chief executive. The other major party is that of the chief executive. Those who see the appointment of the chief executive by USCAR as undemocratic assert that USCAR's professions to be bringing democracy to Okinawa are simply not true. Occasional 648 829 clumsy maneuvers on the part of USCAR have only provided them with more ammunition. For example, various labor organizations and the People's Party (which is pretty clearly affiliated with the Communist Party of Japan) were planning to stage a parade on the First of May, 1954. USCAR opposed this, apparently feeling that the participation of the People's Party would make it look like a Communist demonstration. But in opposing it USCAR asserted that May Day is strictly a Communist holiday and on several occasions gave it the label "Karl Marx Day". A number of Okinawans pointed out that May Day was originally an American Labor holiday that had nothing to do with Marx, quoted encyclopedia articles to prove it, and concluded that the USCAR officials were either ignorant or deliberately misrepresenting the truth.

in Far Eastern affairs study the history, structure, and functioning of both GRI and USCAR with the objective of investigating the allegations, which we heard from both Okinawans and Americans, that a) GRI is too removed from the rural villages to be concerned with them or aware of their problems; b) GRI is essentially a puppet of USCAR and therefore not to be respected or relied upon by the Okinawan people; c) USCAR has become an unwieldy bureaucratic structure more interested in self-perpetuation than in furthering U.S. policy.

Our own observations lead us to believe that there is some truth in each of these charges. The study of Kitazato revealed that GRI's Central Land Office in Naha, despite its apparent vast quantities of data, did not actually know of the extensive land changes which had taken place several years earlier and of the resultant division of the village into three separate settlements. But to determine where channels of communication had broken down would have required just such a separate politically-oriented study as that which we now recommend.

Going to the upper end of the political chain, we have the distinct impression that a study of USCAR would reveal a strong tendency toward "empire-building" on the part of some men who had no particular qualifications to begin with, but who have been allowed by time and circumstance to rise in the structure to the point where they are driven by their own insecurity to justify their positions by usurping numerous powers and functions that should be left to the Okinawans. This tendency can only result in inefficiency, duplication of function, and the basis for the second charge given above, that GRI is USCAR's puppet. These results are not only financially burdensome but damaging to U. S. prestige.

Besides the general recommendation that the present political organization of Okinawa be studied, we make the following specific recommendations:

1) Reevaluation of the legal code. The present legal code consists of a combination of U. S. Military Government ordinances, USCAR directives, etc., and legislation passed by the GRI legislature. We heard complaints from local officials to the effect that much of the law in operation was prewar Japanese law and that Okinawa had not benefitted from the new and more democratic Japanese constitution. Sometimes the charge becomes specifically, "USCAR is preventing the democratization of Okinawa". The study recommended above should discover whether the fault lies with USCAR or with the GRI legislature and what might be done about it. [177] [671]

2) Selection and rotation of USCAR personnel. Where there are Americans whose duties are to advise other nations in the solution of various political, social, and economic problems and to represent the American people in doing so, these men ought to have both the special knowledge required for the first function and the appreciation of what life is like in the United States for the second. Men who have no particular knowledge of the area or of the specific problems that need solving and who have not lived in the United States for any length of time since before World War II are hardly competent to perform these functions. It is highly desirable that USCAR personnel be selected

131 The settlement
631 pattern is similar to that of the central part. Villages are scattered
133 throughout the area with population distribution comparable with the cen-
36 tral area. Before the war, the densities here were over one thousand per
[161] square mile, actually considerably more if the uninhabitable lands are subtracted.[4]

How long this settlement pattern and these regional differences have
311 existed is difficult to say. In studying contemporary environments, like Okinawa, which bear the imprint of long human settlement, it is useful to try to reconstruct the nature of the landscape before the interference of man. At one time, the whole island, with the exception of stony, rocky, and shallow soils and beach and marsh land was covered with forest. There are now no virgin stands. "It is evident that the present forest has been cut over many times. There seems to be no part of the island in which the forest cover has not been disturbed in some way by man."[5] In this light, the regional differences between the forested north and the deforested south are the work of man.

361 The oldest settlements are thought to have been in the Naha and
Shuri areas. Kudaka Island, off the southeast coast, according to one
[173] legend, was the site of the supernatural creation of the Okinawan people.
The town of Unten, the Port Melville of Captain Hall and Commodore Perry,
was, in one version, the scene of the landing of the Japanese warrior,
[174] Tametomo, but this was in the twelfth century. Northern areas were in-
habited prior to the unification of the island in the twelfth century be-
[161] cause they had their own regional chieftans before this. But the popula-
tion of the north, at least up to the war, has been sparse and scattered.
If the forests are any indication, it has been the central and southern
regions which have been the scenes of longest settlement. Probably the
[177] settlement pattern had not changed much until the Japanese interventions
[178] of the nineteenth century and the great changes coming with the recent
war, and with the extensive modifications which the Americans have made
in the landscape of the central region.

3

General Climatic Conditions

132 In the Köppen system, Okinawa has a humid subtropical climate. It is
a rainy climate with no marked dry season; it has a mild winter and the tem-
perature of the warmest month is over 71.6°F. The average annual tem-
peratures in Naha range from 61° for January and February to 82°F for July
and August, and the range from the mean minimum of 55° in February to the

[Text continues top of p. 14--Analyst]

4 See the population distribution maps in CA Handbook, Ryukyu (Loo-choo Islands, 48-49.

5 Okinawan Forests. (Prepared by the USGS, Military Geology Section under the direction of Office of the Engineer, GHQ, Far East Command), 1948, 2.

311 magnitude of the land problem stands out clearly:

Type of Use	Acreage
Total	287,630
Rice Fields	10,420
Dry Land Crops	57,715
Town Sites, Military Uses, etc.	19,595
Shrub, Grasses, Stony Land, Escarpments	27,800
Forest	153,900
Not Broken Down a/	18,200

a/ Probably mostly cultivated land with some in town sites, some idle, some in military installations.

What stands out is the high percentage of land in forest, shrub, grasses, stony land and escarpments that has little promise for future utilization. These soils now probably enjoy their best utilization.

[198] With a growing population and more economic activity, it is likely that areas in man made installations and settlement will increase, not decrease, and that further land for these purposes will come, not from the stony or forested soils, but from the arable land.

The soil survey documents what is apparent to general observation that the soils suitable for rice, and having water for its successful growth, are a minor percentage of the total area. The chief foods, it is apparent, must continue to come from dry land crops and slope cultivation.

134 311 Even though agriculture is and will continue to be the basis of the islanders' economic life, the lack of suitability of the soils for this purpose is especially striking. Improvement of agriculture, introduction of better methods of farming, the increased use of fertilizers, while effective, could only be a palliative when the total arable land for over five hundred thousand people is in the magnitude of 86,000 acres, if we include all the 18,200 acres in the above table which are not broken down. Even if this figure is too low, the mere fact that over 180,000 of the 287,630 acres is in forest, or shrub, grass, or stony land, and of low fertility is sufficient indication of the land use problem. These facts are supported by farmers' own appraisals of the nature of the soils of their island.

161 133 311 The following table, even if inaccurate, certainly states the problem in its proper magnitude:

Table 3

Population of Okinawa Island, 1950	517,600

Approximate area in square miles	454	161 133 311
Population density per square mile	1139	
Assumed area in cultivation in square miles a/	134.4	
Population density per square mile of arable land	3851	

a/ See discussion above. The 134.4 square miles is an approximation derived by adding the areas in wet rice, dry land crops, and 18,200 acres which includes land in cultivation, in town sites, military installations, and in idle land, a total of 86,335. An arbitrary approximation of 80,000 acres (134.4 sq. miles) was then taken, very probably too high a figure. Nuttonson, op. cit., p. 12, gives the cultivated area as less than one-fourth of the total area, or 67,200 acres. One of course must distinguish between cultivated land and land that can be cultivated, but 80,000 acres still seems a reasonable approximation.

If we look at the geography of Okinawa from the point of view of the total physical environment and not merely from the point of view of the amount of arable land available to support the people, we are forced to the conclusion that as a result of long settlement, a growing population and the destruction of the war, combined with periodic and inevitable property and crop damage from typhoons, that the environment is not suited for the comfort and well-being of large numbers of people. Intense fertilization will keep the good soils growing crops. Increase of trade and some industrialization may help as long as they do not lead to destructive exploitation of the forests, and some small help may come from the reclamation of unused or cut over land. 178 311 511

5

Conclusion

Almost one hundred years ago, one of the observers on Commodore Perry's expedition wrote, 114 174

> "That the island has been peopled for many ages, is evidenced by the graded roads and deep cuts, the structure and manifest age of the bridges, the antiquity of the villages, the great amount of stone-work in the towns and in the fortresses--some old and dilapidated, some modern and in repair; but, above all, by the incalculable amount of labor done in grading the land for culture. That which is now so perfect, could only have been made so by degrees, like structures reared by the ant or bee."[8]

8 Hawks, Perry's Expedition, as cited, II, 36.

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199

There is something to add to the statement of Dr. Green. The fortresses have now disappeared. The same labor, the same minute care of the land which makes them gardeners instead of farmers in their fields, and conservationists of their cultivated and their wild land exists today. The changes of the landscape since that time have come within the last ten years, first through the destruction of war, which affected cultural installations as well as the natural environment, and the changes which have been made in the physical environment by the Americans. The bulldozer works alongside the hoe; the airplane takes off in sight of a horsecart. The new American homes overlook the thatched roofs of an ancient way of living. The water system of an army camp or military reserve, using thousands of gallons daily, exists beside the well, the community faucet, or pond with individual families using six or seven bucketfuls a day. The island has come a long way in the transformation of the natural landscape by the hand of man, beginning, one may suppose with the earliest interferences by fire and in the clearing of trees to the contemporary scene, where transformations, a combination of age old tools and of modern machinery, continue before our eyes.

121

It is in this ever changing physical environment, itself the product of long settlement and the intense change of a most recent past, that we must see the growing population, the everyday village life, the continuance of agriculture and soil care, the land, and the forests.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

Introduction

Okinawan history is the story of inertia and change. Basil Hall Chamberlain, the distinguished Japanese and Ryukyuan scholar of the last century and grandson of Basil Hall who visited the island in 1816, said rightly in 1895 that "the general assertion may safely be hazarded that Oriental stagnation exists only in Occidental fancy."[1] 178 [114]

One of the reasons for this fancy is that there is a certain stability in parts of the culture, and from this circumstance it is often concluded that changelessness and lack of variety have characterized the historical experience of the people. Agricultural methods seem to have changed little with the centuries, though some of the tools are new. This stability in agriculture is another way of saying that a fine technology based on experience and empiric observation, had been developed, and that in the absence of modern scientific knowledge of soils, crops, plant pathology and fertilizers, it was the best technology possible under the circumstances. The tombs, introductions from China over five centuries ago, add to this impression of the changelessness of rural life. But this is more apparent than real when we look into the history of burial customs more closely. [242] [177] [164]

This view of Okinawan history in terms of inertia and change has meaning for the present. The American influence on Okinawa is not a new way of life that is conditioning a static society, but an important, forceful, and new intrusion in a culture that already has undergone fundamental changes in the past. Those who think within the framework of Western European and American history, those whose minds are trained to recognize the changes which have come about as a result of the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the beginnings of theoretical science in the seventeenth century, tend to neglect the rest of world history as relatively unchanging, or to see only those changes coming about from Western intrusions. This one sided interpretation, often expressed in the idea of the Europeanization or the Westernization of the world, should be supplemented with the insight that Oriental cultures have influenced and changed one another greatly and have still maintained their own distinctive features. Chinese influences have been strong in Korea, Japan, and the Ryukyus. But each of these cultures is separate and distinct, although, as one might expect, contemporary Okinawan society bears the strong imprint of long cultural and economic associations with Japan. 178 177

1 The Luchu Islands and their Inhabitants. Geo. Journal 5 (1895), 311.

These foreign introductions were accompanied with the reinforcement of a native institution: the elevation of the female priesthood to what amounted to a state religion. This institutionalising of a native religion did not mean the exclusion of foreign religions or foreign ideas. The king used the noro system to bind his realm together: at the same time, he reintroduced Buddhism, himself becoming an adherent. The priestess of the Sho household, that is the royal house, was removed "to a place without the palace, but near the main gateway" of the palace at Shuri, signifying the closeness of the chief priestess to the royal house, the extension of the system to all the islands, and the centralization, both of religious and political life. Political institutions, borrowed from China and in a Confucian mold, with the dominance of the male in the family and in the government, now existed side by side with the hierarchy of priestesses whose power rested not only on royal patronage but on an economic security whose basis was ownership in land. With the passage of time, it was the order of priestesses that gave way to the male dominated Confucian ideal. This Confucian idea of the state, a combination of the individual morality of Confucius with the ideas of statecraft of the legists developed in the Han dynasty, retained its hold until the Japanese did away with the monarchy.[12]

175 178 793 779 692 [197] [562]

The new government with its capital at Shuri, a port at Naha, a royal granary at Kune, and the town of Tomari, was rigidly departmentalized along Chinese lines.[13]

175 197 692

The Ryukyuan kingdom, from the middle of the fourteenth to the second half of the sixteenth century was part of a great trade network. This included the Great Loochoo, Korea, Japan, China, Siam, and with the port of Malacca as the center of the trade. The normal route was from Naha[14] along the coast of Fukien province, stopping at Foochow, up from the mouth of the Min River, along the coast of the Campa (modern Indo-China), thence to Malacca. From here, it was possible to trade with the islands of the Sunda (Java) seas, Siam, and with the province of Pataai on the east coast of the Malay peninsula, south of the isthmus of Kra. From Naha, the products of Japan, Korea, and Central China were brought to Malacca; from Malacca, essences, various woods, pepper, sugar, ivory, and articles of Portugese and Arab manufacture were brought north. The various traders brought back to the Great Loochoo Chinese money, Ming porcelains, and silks of south China. There were Korean, Chinese, and Japanese colonies

175 439

[Text Continues TOP of P. 32--Analyst]

12 Spencer, as cited, 103. On the role of the legists in political Confucianism in China, see Fitzgerald, China: a cultural history, 103-04,156.

13. For interesting details, see CA Handbook Ryukyu (Loochoo) Islands, 103.

14 The age of Naha, I believe, is unknown. Under King Satsudo in the late fourteenth century, and in the period of trade of which we are speaking, Naha had a sudden expansion. There were three channels into the harbor, the northern "Yamatoguchi," used by the Japanese, a center one, "Karefuneguchi" (literally Chinese ship terminus (mouth)), and a "Miyakoguchi", the south channel which was used by the ships engaged in trade with the Sakishima group. Simon, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, 36.

Amami Oshima and the northern islands being directly ceded, the others agreeing to vassalage. 175 648

From this time until the seventh decade of the nineteenth century, the Ryukyu kingdom existed, acknowledging both suzerainty of China and vassalage to Satsuma in a twilight of sovereignty which statecraft and the political realities of the time did not find it necessary to resolve.

During this period of contact with other countries, an intrusion of an entirely different order, but what must have been of revolutionary consequence, was the introduction of the sweet potato in 1605. "In the 10th year /1605/ Noguni Tsunkwan imported sweet potatoes from China. Mashi Oima Uyakata Shinjo obtaining them, planted them in the fields, and in a few years they were raised all over the islands."[16] In view of the widespread reluctance of peoples to adopt new foods, the swift acceptance of the sweet potato is noteworthy. It must have furnished the means of subsistence for a much greater population. The topography, the soils, the fewness of valleys, alluvial plains, and marsh land could not have permitted the growth of rice to feed great masses of people as in China and Japan. This dependence on the sweet potato has persisted to this day. Modern accounts mention the reliance of the ordinary Okinawan on the sweet potato, and in times of stress on the sago palm, or cycad. Rice is seldom if ever mentioned as the food of the common people. 175 177 262

Scarcely had the sweet potato reached Okinawa, when it was carried to Japan. At first it was known as the kara-mmu (Okinawan) or Karaimo (Japanese), that is the Chinese potato. When it reached Satsuma in Kyushū, it became known as the Luchuan potato; as it spread northward and eastward in Japan, the Japanese, believing the plant to be a native of southern Japan, called it the Satsuma potato (satsuma imo), and it is by this last name that the sweet potato is known in Okinawa to this day.[17]

4

Inertia from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Centuries

175 178

The period 1609 to 1871, when the Japanese took their initial steps toward the eventual incorporation of the island of Okinawa within the empire, was a quiescent one, continuing a pattern of life already set. The ideals of the Confucian state were strong. In the 17th century, it [642]

16 Quoted from a manuscript history in C. S. Leavenworth, The history of the Loochoo Islands, 88. "Native historians," says Chamberlain, "inform us that it was acclimatized in Luchu and passed into common use within the short period of four years after its first introduction." No further sources are given. Chamberlain, as cited, 302.

17 On the fortunes of the sweet potato in Japan, see Rein, The industries of Japan, London, 1889, 65.

175 succeeded in shearing the noro system of much of its political power.
178 During the early part of the 18th century, there was an improvement in
642 agricultural methods and in forestry conservation, associated with the name of the statesman, Hozui Saion (1682-1761).[18] Saion was a descendant of a Chinese who had settled at Kune near Naha. He is said to have
175 planted several kinds of trees, including the pine, the Japanese red-
130 wood (sugi), and the maki (in Japanese; podocarpus ssp.) Saion is well remembered in Okinawa. In Hatsuda, I was shown trees which were said to have been planted along the road to Ginoza during Saion's lifetime and at his inspiration. There are stories told in the forest areas like Hatsuda, crediting Saion with intentionally inventing superstitions to prevent people from cutting down the trees. In 1951, a Saion commemorative stamp was issued, and his name is used frequently in forest conservation literature and in posters. Whether Saion was the medium through which agricultural techniques of Japan or China were introduced, or whether these improvements came from his own initiative and study of local conditions, I have been unable to determine. In any case, the teachings of Saion on agriculture and forestry must have reached to the rural areas, improving the agricultural possibilities and encouraging planting trees and preserving the forests, constantly subject to destruction through fire, carelessness, and merciless cutting for firewood, as has been the case in many parts of China. These improvements, with the advantages from the introduction of the sweet potato one hun-
178 dred years earlier, took place within the framework of a political and social and religious system that had now been well established.

5

European Awareness of the Great Loochoo

175 The Loochooans were known to the Portugese through the trade cen-
648 tering at Malacca. The Portugese explorer Pinto had visited Tanegashima around 1542. Captain Broughton had been shipwrecked on Miyako to the south in 1798. But the western exploration of Okinawa itself was reserved for later times. During the nineteenth century, the Europeans, then the Americans, became aware of the people of the Great Loochoo.

The first detailed observations based on personal contact date from the works of Captain Basil Hall, and his surgeon, William M'Leod, who

[Text continues top of p. 35--Analyst]

18 In the manuscript history reproduced by Leavenworth, there is this passage: "In the 20th year of Kyoho /1735/, Hozui Saion fixed a system for the protection of forestry, and a forestry office and shipping office were established." Op. cit., 89. Saion's famous work, Eight Volumes of Forest Administration, I am told was destroyed in the war. Chamberlain, as cited, p. 310, says that Loochooan polity in the 17th century crystallized in a form it wore from then on.

175

a suburb of Naha, thence to Shuri. They turned north, passed the ancient fortress of Nakagusuku, went over to the east coast, proceeding to the vicinity of Kanna. In Matsuda, which the exploring party apparently did not reach, there is still a story about Perry's expedition. It concerns a carving on stone placed on the top of a dramatically shaped rock on the seashore. According to local residents, this carving remained in place until it was shot off by an American soldier during the war.

Roughly around Kanna, the party crossed the island to the South China Sea or western side, and reached the village of Un-na (modern Onna), an engraving of which appears in the narrative and also in Bayard Taylor's India, China, and Japan. The return trip was down the coast, and the road led through Machinato back to Naha. Coastal explorations were extensive. A new chart was an immense improvement over Hall's. Special attention was given to the Unten (Port Melville) and Shah Bay (Miyagishima and the area south of Ogimi).

Bayard Taylor, the famous traveller who had joined the expedition and wrote parts of the narrative, spoke of the interior of Okinawa in 1853 as a "terra incognita," and he was not exaggerating as far as Western knowledge was concerned.[22] This probably applied to the Japanese as well, for their stations were in Naha and an administrator or scholar of the Tokugawa era probably found little in agriculture, plant life, land tenure, and local history and ethnography to interest him.[23]

Upland agriculture, the hoeing of sweet potatoes, the planting and transplanting of rice, the manufacture of sugar were described much as they can be observed to this day in parts of Okinawa. They noted a sameness and a lack of variety in plant life, the planting of pines along the highways, the fences used as protection against the wild boar. The communal land system was remarked upon, the writers thinking it a "metayer system," that is a form of share-cropping in which the proprietor of the land and the cultivator receive equal, or agreed upon proportions. They described houses built on small stilts, the compounds, and the village granaries. They strolled through villages, poked their heads into huts, and wrote about the utensils in the kitchens. They theorized about the possible origins of the people and their connections with other races, discovered lingams which were interpreted as the ruins of "ancient Hindoo idolatry." They spoke of the glossy upswept hair and the hair pins according to rank.

[241] [137] [421] [342] [302]

The village granaries are gone; so has the land system and the costumes, and the long swept up hair of both sexes. Agricultural techniques and the care of the land have remained. [198]

[Text Continues Top of P. 38 -- Analyst]

22 See Bayard Taylor's A visit to India, China, and Japan, in the year 1853. Chapters 30, 33, 36.

23 In the early 17th century the Japanese explored the island, took a census, and reorganized political administration. CA Handbook Ryukyu (Loochoo) Islands, 40.

175 167 Another departure from the past was that Okinawans, soon after the turn of the century, were provided with opportunities for emigration. The history of Okinawan emigration is not well known. But in the twentieth century, the people of Okinawa changed from an almost complete ignorance of the outside world to one of the most widely travelled and informed peoples of the Orient. Okinawan settlements in the twentieth century were scattered in many parts of the world, such as Peru, Argentina, Brazil, Hawaii, and the Japanese mandates of the Pacific, Singapore, Japan, Manchuria, and Korea. The cessation of this historic emigration is an event pregnant with meaning for the future. The population and its natural increase now must subsist on the island.

175 480 233 [61] Late nineteenth and twentieth century improvements in roads and communication, modest as they were by American standards, broke down some of the isolation of the three districts of Okinawa. The forests and the lack of roads to the north had always discouraged contact. Much of the trade in firewood between the north and the south, even up to the recent war, was done by ship. Elsewhere there were only paths and in the north, not even these. In 1895 Chamberlain wrote of the sparsely inhabited northern (Kunigami) forest area whose inhabitants were "despised for their poverty and rough speech by the natives of the central and southern provinces." Later on he remarked about the "groans of Japanese officials when obliged to go their country rounds," and, that, in the north it was necessary for them to carry a tent.[28]

175 191 242 As the main island in the newly created province (ken) of Japan, Okinawa benefitted from the scientific approach to agronomy pursued enthusiastically by the Japanese, in contrast with the Chinese and the Koreans before their annexation. Concentration on the development of suitable varieties of rice, the study of sugar cane, plant disease and agricultural techniques represented a body of knowledge that could be applied with local adaptations to all parts of the empire.

175 178 565 [511] Direct Japanese annexation meant also the disappearance of the top heavy native nobility or gentry (shizoku) to be displaced by the Japanese elite, although membership in the Okinawan nobility continued to be recorded in the family registers up to the recent war. The displacement of the old higher social classes resulted in a certain levelling of all the people, a levelling which continued up to the war, and was accentuated in an economic way by the widespread impoverishment of rich and poor alike in the campaign for Okinawa.

7

Okinawa in World War II

175 648 The terra incognita described by Bayard Taylor in 1853 became the

28 Chamberlain, as cited, 294, 459

175 was that large numbers of refugees from the south were sent to the
227 northern area. The destruction of the heavily populated south and cen-
[166] tral areas, with their many villages, gave new prominence to the nor-
thern district whose villages, much less damaged and less densely populated, were now in the best preserved part of the island. The roles of the two regions had, in a sense, been reversed. The northern region was no longer a rustic hinterland.

In 1945, the Okinawans came under the direct military government
[648] of the Americans, and from these early beginnings, which in the heat of conflict were scarcely more than compounds for the relief and care of refugees, there has evolved the extensive present civil administration and the native government.

175 The Americans have thus been the most recent arrivals on an island
177 with a long history of inertia and change. The results of this last, and probably greatest intrusion into the culture of Okinawa cannot yet be predicted. This cultural influence is a stronger, certainly a much different one, than the great changes which came about when the Japanese set on their course to make over Ryukyuan, especially Okinawan life.

The war years, with conscription and service in the Japanese army
[727] in other parts of the empire, the disruption and deaths in the war, were
[178] effective in preventing the handing down of the traditional culture from one generation to another. This may mean a more ready receptivity to newer influences. It will be clear in the pages that follow that many aspects of the culture, familiar to the old, are now unknown to the young.

177 Whether the American influence will be a conservative one, in the sense that the fundamental attitudes and framework of the culture as it existed before the war, will be retained, or whether it will be a revolutionary intrusion remains to be seen. Will, for example, the individualis of the American culture tend to break down the structure of the family system? Or will American influences assert themselves within the framework of the culture, and will the flexible family system absorb only surface influences, leaving the basic culture as it is?

175 On a preceding page, the point was made that in the earlier periods
177 there probably was not a homogeneous Okinawan culture, that its centers, Naha and Shuri, were under strong contemporary Chinese and Japanese
184 influences, and that in the rural areas an older culture existed relatively unmolested. This gap was narrowed after the island became the seat of a province of the Japanese empire, through such measures as the new land law and the introduction of mass education, direct interferences were made in the traditional life of the rural areas.

175 In my opinion, the American influence so far has been to close this
184 gap even more, but for different reasons. The Americans have made no
648 direct interferences in the lives of the villages, except in those cases

in which villages have been moved and land preempted for military purposes. The devastation of the war, the mixing of the people, their dispersion as refugees throughout the island prepared the way for greater uniformity. Since the war's end, increased mobility, ease of transportation, the widening of the roads have done much to further obliterate sectional differences in this small island, scarcely sixty miles long.

During historical times, and probably during times now lost to an undocumented past, this island, far from being isolated, has been influenced strongly by other cultures. From the examples which have been given, one can at least gain an intimation of the stability and change that have characterized its experience, and some insight, no matter how slight, into the historical depth of a culture with which the Americans, in one form or another, and for some time to come, will be associated.

The strong ties of the family system are probably the fundamental reasons for this lack of strangeness. One is a member of the family, even if in another part of the island or of the world. This sense of belonging, to be emphasised later, is not only an emotional feeling but is a basic fact of social organisation. Relationships, regardless of their geographic spread, are a binding force. It is true that these become weaker with the remoter relationships of the extended family, but they are still strong enough to blunt the edge of individual frictions that might otherwise be expected. 571 [602] [156] [578]

There was a niche into which a returning person might fit, whether he was a parent, a first son, an elder brother, an uncle or niece of the head of the household. The repatriates who had been long absent were, in turn, able to make an adjustment to conditions in the island of their birth because they had continued the same social system in their foreign residence. They now had to function in a more restricted and less well endowed natural environment. Dissatisfactions took the form, as they still do, of longing for better economic opportunity which they hope will be realized through further opportunities for emigration. They make comparisons, unfavorable to Okinawa, regarding the ease of making a living in other countries. Repatriates from Japan, who have returned to Okinawan rural life, miss the cities and the more exciting life of that country. Among those who have travelled, there is also a more noticeable discontent and dissatisfaction with the loneliness of rural life. The word sabishii is often on their lips. [554] [178] [511] [156]

The ideas of the repatriated Okinawans, furthermore, are not a new phenomenon in contemporary village life. They did not bring back points of view unknown before. In the past these had been communicated by letters and rare visits to the homeland. The reports of the repatriates were richer, more detailed, and more concrete, but not completely different. They have--and this is probably one of their chief influences on post-war village life--stimulated the strong desire of the villagers to emigrate. Life is hard on the island, and their accounts of greater return for the same expenditure of work have quickened hopes of future emigration. These hopes are confined to the New World, Japan, and the Pacific islands. There is no enthusiasm for migration to other islands in the Ryukyu chain. [185] [167]

4

Attitudes Toward Birth Control

There is little in the religious belief or in the cultural tradition that would induce, in large segments of the population, a strong antipathy to birth control on religious grounds, but these beliefs and traditions are not favorable to it either. Respect for ancestors and the need for the continuance of the family system are the most important of these. It is the duty of each generation to provide this continuity between the past and the future. The links in this chain are male children. Once this 842 [602] [611]

551 their own and of other families was also noticeable.[6] Often the two
592 were used interchangeably. From an individual point of view, and this
is true of all the villages, the household order name is still impor-
184 tant because it is an indication of relationships to dead relatives
614 whose names are on the family tablets, and to relationships, at least
in general, to other families of the same main family in the village or
613 in other villages and towns.

In Matsuda, the household order naming system seems to be dying
[178] out more rapidly than in the other communities. Children here did not know the secondary names so well, and some young people did not know their own. As in Hanashiro, up to the beginning of the war, families were called together for village duties by their household order name, but this practice has been abandoned since the war. Given and surname are now used. The household order name is still occasionally used on letters to indicate the exact person desired, another indication of the distinctions needed in the confusion of identical surnames.

It is probable that the household order naming system will de-
[178] cline in importance because the growth and universality of education and the constant need for using given and surnames have weakened the hold of the old. As the present old people die off, many of whom know the household order name only, every segment of the population will be accustomed to the use of given and surnames.

9

Conclusion

602 The family system binds one generation to another, and, even more, gives unity to the past, present, and future of the family. It involves a well defined system of rights and obligations. It is a conservative institution in which the rights of individuals are subordinated to the welfare of the group.

602 The conservative nature of the family system in other Oriental
171 cultures, especially when combined, as in old China with a Confucian ethic and ancestor worship, has often been emphasized. But Confucianism, ancestor worship, and the family system are three different things.

6 I tested this in all communities by asking for directions to family houses using the family's yagō. Its present vitality is shown by the fact that in Hanashiro a native of the village and a member of the township council was able to list all the 121 yagō's without hesitation. The clerk of Hinatogawa village did the same. There was not an opportunity of getting the detailed lists of the Matsuda household order names, but samplings were made.

place. Then, as now, paddy and dry crop land might lie together, depending upon local factors. In the periodic redistribution, each family received shares of each in non-contiguous fragmented parcels. In the nature of things, they received small shares of the excellent, moderate shares of the good, and large holdings in poor land. 175 423 311

The old classification of lands was simple and did not go beyond three general divisions of good, fair, and poor. Apparently the Japanese after 1879 introduced more refinements and increased the number of classifications to six. Land classification, then as now, was empirical. It was based on observation, local knowledge of present and past yields, and known dangers to the land. It was not based on scientific knowledge of the soils, nor is it today. 175 311 [177] [242]

Several dangers to land and crops were considered: (1) the danger of the wild boar (inoshishi). These reddish brown wild boars have disappeared from large parts of Okinawa, though occasionally one is seen in the northern forest. The boars destroyed crops by night feeding. Remnants of old fences can still be seen in the area around Matsuda. In Oku, in the extreme north, fences are still used and many can be seen along the hillsides. (2) Dangers from floods and salt water spray. Local flooding is common and often confined to a narrow area. Salt water spray and salt water in the air, especially in typhoon times, are still menaces to crops. The danger from typhoons did not enter directly into the determination of land classification because the area of destruction was so wide that it was not a factor distinguishing one plot from another. (One can however observe areas of differential damage in a village as an aftermath of typhoons). 175 241 [136] [417] [731]

This old land allotment system is now forgotten except in a few isolated areas where its main features are still apparently preserved. The best known of these is Kudaka Island off the southeastern shore of Okinawa. If the system has disappeared, except for a few isolated survivals, its influence remains to the present: it determined the pattern of land use still in effect today, the pattern of small, discontinuous parcels, and set the precedents for the mechanics of land classification. The basic classifications such as rice land, dry crop land, community forest were Japanese and are of great age. The old land allotment system is also considered to be of great antiquity.[2] 178 ● 423 [184] [177]

2 It was a matter of considerable disappointment that I was unable to spend two or three weeks on Kudaka to study the land system there. Neither has time permitted an investigation (of great inherent interest) of the historical antecedants of the old Okinawan system. Land classification, such as we will be discussing in the next chapter, is very old in Japanese culture. The old Okinawan system bears some resemblances to the "mouth-share-land" (ku-bu-den) system of old Japan which appears in the Taihō code (702 A.D.). This was a system of distribution of communally owned land, but I have not been able to determine whether the distribution was periodic. See Wigmore, J. H. and Simmons, D. B. Notes on land tenure and local institutions in old Japan. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 19 (1891), 77 on land classification, (continued on next page)

175
423 Commodore Perry and his staff noted the land tenure system of the Great Lew Chew but did not get any details and were not quite certain what it was.

> "Another obstacle in the way of their improvement is the impossibility of their ever procuring a vested right of ownership in the land. As far as the Commodore could gather information on the subject, it would appear that the soil is held by the government, and its agents are employed to collect and consume its produce. According to the best accounts that could be obtained, the actual cultivator receives not more than two-tenths of the produce. Of the remainder, six-tenths go to the lord of the soil, or ruler, and two-tenths for the expense of supervision of the land, costs of collection, etc. The peasant has thus no stimulus to exertion. Wretched, however, as this system is, and degraded as is the condition of the operative, it is astonishing to see the large returns from agricultural labor." These returns are attributed by the authors to a combination of skill, soil, and climate.[3]

[433]

Goldschmidt (1927) wrote that under the old system the land was the property of the villages and was divided by the elders of the village "according to ancient precept," into equal parcels, considering its location, and that every individual received a parcel. "Large families had therefore correspondingly more parcels; daughters who married took at marriage their parcels with them. Every six years there was a new division, so that everyone received another plot of land and no one could complain, in the long run, over an unjust distribution."

[178]
[423]
[171]

2 (continued from previous page) 86 on communal ownership, 157 on mouth-share-land. The old Okinawan allotment system also is similar to the practice of masha' in the middle East. A village maintains its lands in common and apportions them among villagers periodically. This is found in parts of Iran, Jordan, Arab Palestine, and Syria. See Tannous, Affif I. Land tenure in the middle East. Foreign agriculture (U.S. Dept. of Agriculture), 7 (1943), 171-77.

3 Elsewhere the narrative remarks that, "All the land in Lew Chew is held by government and rented to large tenants, who, in their turn, sub-let it to smaller ones, who are the direct cultivators of the soil." And in another place, it is said that the lands were held by the government as a "metayer system, brought down almost to individuals (or possibly upon an allotment system)." The metayer system, as described by Dr. Green, was a "plan of paying (in this instance as 'taxes') a certain proportion of the produce." Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, I, 220; II, 25-26, 28. See also I, 311.

174 423 have been affected by roads and trails which have now disappeared.

Old residents[5] of Matsuda and neighboring villages were able to [115] furnish more specific clues regarding the old system and its relation to other phases of village life. These old people estimated the population of Matsuda at the close of the old system at about 360 [161] persons, compared with the present population of 1368. The system operated under much less acute population pressure than exists today. Deaths, especially from malaria, and a high infant mortality kept [165] the population down, although introduced Japanese hygienic measures helped.

Under the old system in Matsuda, there was a continual clearing [311] of land, mostly around the settlement. There seems little doubt that land reclamation and clearing has been going on slowly from the earliest historical times in Okinawa. The land cleared remained under village ownership, but the persons who cleared the property were allowed to hold it for use without giving it up for periodic redistribution. Technical ownership remained with the village.[6] Fences and stone barriers were erected as a protection against the wild boar. But the large scale reclamation and the private ownership of genya land seems to have occurred after the close of the old system.

The dividion of lands at the beginning of the new system has set the boundary pattern of many plots. In Matsuda there were instances of land which has retained the same boundaries that it had under the old system. There was general agreement among the old that the form, boundaries, and areas of land plots have changed very little since the times of the jiwari-seido. This would be par- [428] ticularly true in the case of property which had passed down through the first son. Changes came from the establishment of branch families, [425] and sales and purchases. In these areas, however, buying and selling have been infrequent.

175 423 The history of land tenure in Okinawa, therefore, is different from that of Japan with its long history of tenancy, whose accumu- [171] lated problems finally led to the land reform of 1946 during the Allied occupation. The present system of land tenure in Okinawa is a little over 50 years old.

178 423 311 The chief influences of the old system were to set in a form recognizable to the present, the pattern of land holding, to establish land classification, and apply it on a very localized basis.

[115] 5 I am indebted here to Shinzato Zensuke of the village of Sokei (Ginoza-son), and to Oshiro-san of Matsuda village (Ginoza-son) both over 70 years of age for their recollections of the history of the system in Matsuda.

[114] 6 This differs from Goldschmidt's account, cited above, in that in this case the land became a usufruct, in the other actual ownership.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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[217]

Every parcel of land with its grade and type is mapped, a thoroughness in land classification which has not yet been approached in the United States. While the mapping is recent, the information was always available in the village records. Village owned lands are also a survival of this system, especially the forests in the north. Community owned property is much more modest in area in the south and confined to small parcels of forest or pre-war forest, school and public building sites, community ponds, and the like.

2

Present Land Tenure and Land Classification

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[888]

The present method of land holding based on Japanese law went into effect at the end of the old land allotment system. The head of the family registered all lands, previously held as shares, in his own name. Apparently in the last distribution before the abandonment of the old system, men and women over 52 years of age received their property for life with the right to pass it on to their children. At the beginning of the new system, also, the wild land was still publicly held, but further clearing and reclamation got under way, and the genya land also began to be divided up and became part of private holdings about ten years after the new land law went into effect.

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The new system of private ownership of land introduced buying and selling (baibai), tenancy (kosaku), and land speculation. There had been some tenancy under the old system apparently however it was on a village basis with one community renting from another. There has therefore been insufficient time to develop in Okinawa the widespread abuses associated with the Japanese land tenure system prior to the land reform of 1946.[7]

In all the villages studied, individual ownership is the rule with some informal tenancy. Now an owner is not paid for the use of his land, the result of a Civil Administration measure to encourage maximum food production. Tenancy, as it was observed in the villages was usually an informal lending of the land: the use by a friend, relative, or neighbor of an unused plot.

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The present system of land use and land tenure is a result of practices and customs developed under the old allotment system, combined with the introduced Japanese system of inheritance. The family system plus these two influences have brought about the modern customs of land inheritance, the distinctions in types of land, and the fragmentation and lack of contiguity in holdings.

7 Based on conversations with villagers in Hatsuda. Uyehara, Yukuo made the same point in accounting for the low percentage of tenancy and the high percentage of independent farmers in Okinawa-ken, Ryukyu Islands, Japan. Economic Geography 9 (1933), 395-405. Reference on 399. [115]

In Matsuda, the stalk is cut up with a large knife. In Nagano and Hanashiro, the oshikiriba (literally, push-cut-machine) is common. This is a device with a fixed blade, curving upward, on a stand. The cane is laid on the top of the blade. The handle is pressed down, forcing the cane stalk through the stationary blade. The use of this device is not universal. In the north, the hand cutting machine was a casualty of the war. 249 184

It is worth a slight digression here to add that, in considering various techniques as evidences of a departure from or adherence to traditional methods, the effects of the recent war must constantly be borne in mind. Sugar making is a good example. Primitive methods of making it today are a return, out of economic necessity, to earlier ways because of lack of capital to replace the former machinery. In Matsuda, the continued use of the horse drawn crushing rollers is not an expression of conservatism but of improvisation and return, in lieu of anything better, to old methods previously in use. Such devices as the oshikiriba are not good examples of this because it is not a decisively superior tool. A skilled farmer can cut the cane very efficiently with his knife. 178 727 249

Cane cuttings are made when the plant is about six months old and before it is mature. When year old plants are used for cuttings, only the top, or the youngest part is taken. The slip used may have two or three joints or buds. The length of the cutting apparently is determined by the number of joints. In Matsuda, slant planting seems to be favored because the plant is said to receive more water and to be able to withstand typhoons better. Flat planting is faster than slope planting. From one stalk usually five or six transplants are made. 249

There are two plantings of sugar cane, the spring (haru-ue) and the fall (akiue). Cane planted in the spring planting, from January to March, is harvested in April of the following year. In the fall planting from July to September, the cane is harvested a year from the following December. The cane of the fall planting is harvested but the stumps are allowed to sprout and grow again. Following this harvest, the whole plant is torn out and the field is replanted with slips. Though the ratoon crop could be continued longer, the general practice is to tear up the plants after the second growth. 249 221

The slips are about 8 sun (9.6 inches) long. In Hanashiro, they are generally planted flat with the exception of the slip nearest the top of the cane stalk, which is planted at about a 45° angle, the theory being that this part of the stalk has less vitality than the others. These slips are planted about 6-8 inches apart, 8-12 inches deep in rows about 4 feet apart. 249

In Hanashiro, at harvest time, the sugar cane is carried on the shoulder or by horsecart and stacked in piles outside the sugar mill. Though an effort is made to crush it immediately, cuttings may remain overnight or be stacked for a day or two outside the mill. The mill [482] [493]

Moxa (mogusa in Japanese, fuchiba in Okinawan) in the traditional Chinese and Japanese pharmacopoeia, had considerable former importance. In powdered form, it is placed on a swelling or painful part, which is cauterized by burning the moxa with a charcoal stick or a hot piece of metal. Moxa can be bought, packed and prepared in Japan, at most Okinawan village stores. But wild moxa is not used for this purpose. Formerly a brew was made of the wild plant and drunk for bringing down a fever. It is still used with the yagi, another plant, as a broth. Now aspirin, also obtainable at village shops is commonly taken for these ills. 824 757

These plants are now nearly forgotten. In Hanashiro only the nigana and mogusa were remembered. In Minatogawa, the situation was the same. In Nagamo, a few slippers from the pandanus are still made. The virtual disappearance of home industries based on the pandanus is the result of a diminished supply and in part to loss of skills and failure of a younger generation to acquire them either because of the attraction of more exciting occupations or to lack of interest. This is not meant as a generalization. Home industries based on the use of uncultivated plants, has not vanished from all parts of Okinawa. Activity changes from locality to locality, even when these are close together. Slipper production from the pandanus has practically disappeared in Minatogawa, but across the river in the village of Horikawa they are still made. 824 178 184 [472]

Plant	Hanashiro	Minatogawa-Nagamo	Hatsuda
Pandanus (adan)	Scarce, not used	Some slippers made	Not used
Nigana	Root boiled and used as a medicine		Broth for stomach and headaches.
Obako	Not used	For swellings; hot leaf used as a poultice.	Not used [757]
Moxa (mogusa)	Used as in Minatogawa	Wild plant boiled, brew used for bringing down fever. Powdered form purchased.	Used in combination with another plant, the yagi, resulting broth used for general complaints. [757]

3

Division of the Catch

226

The division of the catch and the division of labor between the sexes in catching and distributing the fish are based on custom. In the memory of old grandmothers in the village, these customs today are substantially the same as they were in their childhood. The innovations since that time have been technical improvements such as flashlights for underwater diving, motors instead of sails or oars, boat building out of planks using modern hand tools rather than carving out logs, and manufactured fish hooks and gear. [178] [227] [50]

The mechanics of dividing the catch depend on whether the boat is a small or a large one. In Minatogawa, all the boats except one are small so that the division is simple. With the larger boats, the custom is more involved, as more factors have to be considered. 226 476

In the case of the small boats, let us assume that there are two fishermen, the owner and a friend or relative. The value of the catch is Y3500 with Y100 expenses for gas and oil. The net value is thus Y3400. This is divided three ways. The boat gets one share, and each of the fishermen gets a share. In this illustration, the boat owner gets two-thirds of the proceeds, one share as the owner of the boat, one share as a participating fisherman.

These partnerships are very fluid. No agreements are made in writing. Neither are there oral agreements to fish together for any definite period. The partnerships continue as long as the fishermen are compatible and form and dissolve without ceremony or formality. But a practical question does arise in the event of the illness of one of the fishermen.

In this case, a substitute is found for the duration of the regular fisherman's incapacity. This is informal and may be another friend or relative free to help out. The substitute gets the full share of the regular fisherman. In these partnerships, the owner of the boat pays for all repairs that cost money. The other gives his labor for repair and maintenance, such as oiling with shark oil, putting plugs in the holes or in weak spots, or assisting in carrying the boat to a safe place during typhoons.

The division of the catch in larger boats is also best explained by an example. Let us assume an eleven man crew with the corresponding shares:

A The Boat's Share
B The Captain
C The Engineer
D-J Fishermen
K The Cook

885 well accustomed to the routine of the occupation they will follow.
888 The young fisherman has gone to sea for his beginning lessons. The young farmer knows most of the skills of planting and cultivating. The young stone worker, requiring little training to begin, is already at work.

885 Young men maintain close relationships with their families prior
593 to marriage. In the villages studied, there is little movement to the larger towns. Since the war young men or women have found employ-
A64 ment, at various times, in government and military government offices as account clerks, maids, translators, clerks at post exchanges, officer's clubs, restaurants, bars, and the like. But there were few instances in these villages.

A young man does not leave the village ordinarily, nor does he rent separate living quarters. These continuing family ties up to marriage may account for the boyishness and lack of maturity noticeable in so many young men in the age group from 17 to 25. The young school teacher, the truck driver, fisherman, or farmer may turn over part of his earnings to the parents. In rural Okinawa, residence in the home and attachment to the family last well into the years of younger maturity. This does not mean that there are no personal dissatisfactions with their situation.

834 There are few outward signs of personal attraction among young men and women during the teens and the years before marriage. In public, boys and young men of the same age group usually are seen together. This is true of the girls. Clandestine meetings among young men and young women take place. A mutual attraction is often communicated by a young go-between trusted by both. This secrecy does not come about from a desire to conceal the attraction, but because both parties are shy (hasukashii). This public reticence, so old in
[178] Oriental cultures, is gradually breaking down. It is a convention, based on public repression of one's feelings. This does not mean that people dislike personal and physical contact and lack demonstrativeness.
[159] Okinawans are emotional and demonstrative, and do not avoid physical contact, as anyone who has seen them at their parties has discovered.[16]

But young men and young women may meet quite openly. A young man in his early twenties may visit a girl's house, stay all day with her and her parents, and part of the time be alone with her. The young,

16 It is too early to tell the effect of ideas of sex equality on rural Okinawan society. That the supposed high position of the American woman has made an impression on many rural Okinawan women there can be no doubt. The influence of young American soldiers and sailors, their catering and thoughtfulness toward Okinawan girls to whom they
[179] are deeply attracted has spread beyond the range of those with the immediate experience. The soldiers are responsible for the adoption of the word, "honey." Okinawan boys use it in the same sense as
[832] Americans: as any very attractive girl, or as a girl deeply loved personally.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

Marriage Customs

There are two ways of entering into marriage. One of these, the traditional form, found in China, Korea, and Japan, is the arranged marriage (mi-ai in Japanese). The selection of the partner, the betrothal, and the marriage are conducted by the families as principals, although the young people may be consulted. The second is free choice in marriage (ren-ai), in which young people decide for themselves. Ren-ai is often translated as "romantic love," but a more accurate, if more sedate meaning is free, but not unrestricted, choice in marriage. 581 [171]

The arranged marriage and the use of a go-between in the negotiations exist in the villages studied. But the arranged marriage began to decline before the war, more rapidly since its end. A go-between (nakōdo), either a man or a woman, or sometimes both, act as intermediaries in negotiations between families until a mutually satisfactory decision is reached, or, lacking this, until negotiations can be broken off without embarrassment to either side. 581 584 [178]

The arranged marriage still prevails in families where parental authority is strong and the obedience of the children is demanded and received. Personal observation and the statements both of the young and old leave little doubt, however, that free choice in marriage is now the accepted custom. A go-between is often used in courtship and is still an honored participant in the wedding ceremony. Latterly, the go-between is less a matchmaker, more a repository of confidences for mutual exchange. The present status of the go-between can be summarized in these illustrations from Hanashiro: (1) if the couple live in the same village, a go-between is not used, but one is sought out if the young man wishes to court a girl in another village. (2) The go-between is not used at all. (3) The go-between may be a relative or a friend of either party used to sound out another's feelings. In Hinatogawa, it is said that the go-between acts for a bashful suitor, but that the couple make their own marriage arrangements. In Matsuda, he is occasionally used in courtship, but his function is mostly the formal one of officiating at the marriage ceremony. With the acceptance of free choice in marriage, the go-between as an adult, skilled, respected, and understanding negotiator has been replaced by an individual with more nominal responsibilities, who may be a mutual friend, probably a contemporary of the young people whose marriage he is encouraging. 581 [593] 584

The arranged and free choice marriages are not at opposite extremes. Free choice does not mean there has been a rebellion against parental authority. Parents' consent to a marriage is still sought for, even though the betrothal is decided upon by the young principals. If the parents do not consent, the alternative is elopement. If the parents withhold consent, the traditional wedding ceremony cannot take

585 the day of the wedding ceremony, preparations are made at the
184 bride's home. Food is served for relatives and friends, and the party then proceeds to the groom's home for the ceremony.

[431] Gifts from the groom's family depend upon economic circumstances, but usually range from ¥50 to ¥100 up to ¥1000. In Hanashiro, something, no matter how small, is always given by the groom's family to the bride's family. Since the war, gifts of chests of drawers and blankets are less common because of high prices.

On the third day, in this Hanashiro custom, the bride and the groom with relatives and friends visit the bride's parents during the day. On the same evening, the visit is returned by the bride's family.

585 There is a general agreement in all the villages that as a con-
178 sequence of the war, the preliminaries to marriage, the ceremony, the gifts, and the events following the ceremony have become simpler.
727 Part of this is due to the high cost of food and entertainment. In the competition with other ceremonies and celebrations, the tendency
435 has been, in the interest of economy, to simplify the old customs, or when this is not possible, to combine celebrations coming close together in the year. One frequently hears the word keisai (economy) used in this connection.

3

Contemporary Attitudes Toward Marriage

58 Marriage customs today are different from those of even 20 years
178 ago. From information collected from the villages, the chief changes in marriage customs have been: (1) the preliminaries and the ceremony have been simplified, (2) marriage takes place at a much older age, (3) marriages between individuals of different villages are more common, (4) there is a shorter engagement period and its significance has declined, (5) the custom in which the bride temporarily returns to her home has disappeared or become rare, (6) the go-between, formerly a respected elder negotiating a marriage, is now a friend, generally the same age as the principals, offering help and advice, and (7) the arranged marriage has given way to freer choice in marriage in which the parents' consent has become largely a formality.

581 Judging by the statements of residents of all villages, many of
582 whom were married under the old arrangement, there is almost universal approval of free choice in marriage. Divorces were said to have been
[586] common under the old system, mainly because of the wife's barrenness or unattractiveness. The chances that the marriage will be a happy one are
[562] thought to be greater under the new. Among women, it harmonizes with
[177] ideas of equality which they have heard of or read about in Japanese magazines since the occupation.

shopping trip to a larger town. In the very common evening visiting among men, women participate very little. 562

There has been some improvement in the social position of women since the war. In Hanashiro, for example, before the war, the husband, children, and grandparents ate in the second or third room, while the wife and sometimes the eldest daughter ate in the kitchen. (The Okinawan kitchen, though part of the house, differs from the other rooms in that it has direct access to the outside, is generally on a level with the ground, and has a dirt, cement, or stone floor). The wife in preparing the meal can go back and forth readily and need not take off her clogs or wash her feet if she goes barefoot when she goes up into the rooms. Her meal is a slight interlude between duties. 562 264 [342]

In most homes now, the women eat with the family in the main house. Some old women still spend most of their time in the kitchen watching the fire and eating their meals there. One of the reasons given for the change in attitude toward women is that many of the repatriated Okinawans brought newer ideas with them and did not practice segregation at meal times. [178]

Another important fact about social life is the drinking of the men and the abstinence of the women.[3] Young men usually begin drinking sake around the age of marriage. It is exceptional for a young man in his teens or early twenties to drink. But once this dividing line is passed, it is the exceptional man who does not drink. In each village one finds a few lifelong teetotalers. Drinking is always done in company, as the climax of a task completed, because of some happy turn of events, or because there is a party or celebration. As a general rule, the village men do not drink every day, but only when a suitable occasion arises. While there is drunkenness, I did not observe the solitary, prolonged drinking commonly associated with alcoholism in western societies. Prolonged drinking at night has the expected effects the next day, but there is very little remorse, unless a man has done something of which he is subsequently ashamed. Men who have drunk too much the night before do not hesitate to lie in bed 273 [562] [133]

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 295--ANALYST]

3 In Okinawa, the commonest and cheapest alcoholic drink is sake. This is not the same as Japanese sake, the light rice wine, slightly resembling sauterne, that is usually served warm or hot. Okinawan sake is awamori, a much stronger drink of distilled rice spirits, a variety of the Japanese shochu. The alcoholic content of awamori ranges from about 25% to 30%. It is a raw liquor with an unpleasant taste. It is not the favorite, but it is the cheapest drink. Awamori is made from rice in small distilleries throughout Okinawa, bottled in large jugs and distributed to village shops. Most shops carry it. Sometimes there are special sake shops. Awamori or sake is sold for about Y14 per go (.318 pint). The normal intake for an evening is considered to be 2 go. Most men are fairly inebriated after drinking this much. The American army canteen, when available, is the favorite sake container. Japanese and American beer and Japanese sake are liked, but too expensive. 279 435 804

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

The native medicine, including the use of plants and fish as medicines, the native doctor, the use of cauterization, the golden needle, slashing, and acupuncture, seem to be disappearing in favor of modern patent medicines and drugs, and scientific medicine, nursing, and midwifery. Of all the traditional practices (ultimately derived from China), slashing and burning with moguza seem to have the greatest vitality.

10

Tattooing

Tattooing (ireizumi)in Japanese, dake in Okinawan) is a subject of great historical interest in the Ryukyu chain. In Okinawa, it exists now only among elderly women (in the late sixties and seventies), as it was forbidden by law when the Japanese annexed the islands. Tattooing usually was done on the back of the hands, including the fingers, parts of the wrist, and the knuckles. The design was put on by spreading India ink (often with sake or awamori added) on the surface, pricking out the design and wiping off the surplus, repeating the operation for the lighter parts. To my knowledge, there was no facial tattooing.

Until quite recently tattooing was practiced on men as well. Basil Hall in 1816 wrote of a landing in the south of Okinawa island. "Most of these people had fish spears tatooed on their arms in the form of a trident, with rude barbs." On the right arm it was called (in Hall's transcription) "oodeemaw," and on the left, "tooga." Apparently this was confined to fishermen. Furness in his account of the Luchus (1899) observed such markings among young and mature men in Itoman. The explanation given him was that they were a protection against evil spirits. Furness also discussed the theory that tattooing was historically connected with weaving. Simon, in an interesting speculative discussion, based on the designs of cloth in Miyako and their correspondence with house or family markings thought that the tattooing was a means of identifying women's membership in a family.[7]

This interesting idea unfortunately did not occur to me while in the villages, but the notion that tattooing may have been related

7 Hall's Voyage, as cited, Vocabulary (no pagination). Hall includes sketches of the marks. Furness, Life in the Luchu islands, as cited, 9. See also Simon's extremely interesting discussion, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, as cited, 134-150. Furness and Simon are especially valuable because they personally observed instances of tattooing at a time when it was much more commonly seen. Both authors reproduce patterns which show differences among the islands and among individuals.

764 dying in the evening or during the night is buried the next day, one dying in the morning will probably be interred by nightfall.

766 Burial customs for children differ from those of adults. The immediate burial of a dead child seems to be general in the villages, even if, according to one informant, it dies at 12 or 1 o'clock in the morning. With the death verified, relatives are called, and the child might be taken away within 15 minutes. Certain distinctions are made depending on whether (1) the child is still-born or dies shortly after birth, (2) the child is under 8 years old, and (3) the child is 8 years or older. A premature, still-born child, or an in-
[845] fant dying shortly after birth is buried almost immediately in the compound, usually behind the house. The child under eight is buried in a temporary grave near the family tomb, remaining there until the family tomb is opened upon the death of an adult. The infant's bones are then gathered up and put in the tomb. The temporary grave is prepared by a younger man of the family. The dead child is carried by the mother, an aunt or other female relative. The tomb, in general practice, is opened for a child over 8 years of age.

These are general statements and the details vary. In Minatogawa, for example, a child's funeral is similar to an adult's, but the body is not put in the coffin until the tomb is reached. The mother, or a close female relative, carries it in her arms. The coffin is carried by other mourners. The explanation given is that it was formerly believed that the child might revive on the way. In a child's funeral here, there is no banner announcing the name and death date, at the head of the procession. Neither is a hearse or funeral palanquin (gan) used.

In Hatsuda, this palanquin also is not used for children 8 and under. Whether a tomb is opened for a child seems to depend on individual family custom. In one case, an extended family tomb was not opened for a child; in another it was. The child is carried to the tomb and then placed in the coffin. In this village, children are not buried immediately. The custom is the same as for adults.

764 Judging by descriptions which villagers gave of pre-war customs,
178 funerals and burial customs have been simplified in the post-war period. The services of Buddhist priests have been almost completely dispensed with. Offerings are more modest. Priestesses (noro) and their assistants
[793] seldom officiate. The contemporary rural Okinawan funeral is simple. The following description of a funeral observed near Gushichan village probably is typical.

764 The deceased, a woman of 40, died about eleven in the morning. The funeral procession passed the village office at 5:30 on the same day. There were no special ceremonies before the funeral. The body, washed and dressed, had been placed in the coffin which was put on the funeral palanquin or hearse. This red palanquin is normally owned by the village. Since the war, not all villages have an gan.

The hearse was carried by four young men. (There may be 8 pallbearers,

000 construction materials, and to maintenance.

In an earlier chapter, a villager's remark was quoted to the effect
619 that Hinatogawa was a branch family of Itoman. This is well illustrated
766 in the burial customs of this village. Both children and adults are placed in a simple, temporary tomb, usually along the coast near the stonecutting area. Later the tomb is opened, the bones washed, and sent to Itoman. The transfer of the remains from the temporary tombs of the village to the extended family tomb in Itoman may be done at a time when it is necessary to open the Itoman tomb because of the death of a member of the extended family there. There is no second funeral. The cleaned bones are put in a box. There are short prayers before the opened Itoman tomb, the bones placed inside, and the box discarded.

764 In the adjoining village of Nagamo, burial customs are similar to
602 those of Hanashiro. Nagamo has three different kinds of tombs: (1) large gable and turtleback extended family types, (2) a similar large tomb for a single family, and (3) small tombs for individual families.

The tombs of Hatsuda also are mainly of the extended family type. There are examples here of the turtleback, the gable, and the new small tomb. They are scattered throughout the village area, sometimes on the summit of a hill whose slopes are given over to terraced rice fields or dry cropping. Not all families own tombs; for reasons of economy, the small tomb for individual burial is becoming more frequent.

765 In all the villages, after the coffin is put inside the tomb, it is
[462] left there for about three years. The tomb is reopened, the bones are removed from the coffin, washed, and put back in the tomb, tasks done by female relatives of the deceased, usually women over 40 years old. This three year period is not a set one. If a later death occurs in the family, the coffin may be opened at that time. An old custom of placing
[178] the bones in an urn after they are taken from the coffin has been abandoned. Basil Hall has some interesting comments on these old
[114] Okinawan urns.

3

Observances in Memory of the Dead

765 Observances in memory of the dead are held in all villages on the
769 1st, 7th, 14th, 21st, 28th, 35th, 42nd, and 49th day after death, and on the 1st, 3rd, 7th, 13th, 25th, and 33rd anniversary of death.

The simple observances and prayers at the tomb on the day following
765 burial have already been mentioned. At the home, temporary memorial tablets made of white paper (shiroihai) are prepared to be replaced later with permanent red memorial tablets on the Buddhist god shelf. Both at home and at the tomb only relatives or close friends participate in the prayers and food offerings.

771 Buddhism, as an organized religion, is of no importance, even though most villagers say they are Buddhists. Buddhist symbols and practices inspired by Buddhism remain, but that is a different matter. 183 The universal use of the Buddhist god shelf or household altar, the observance of Buddhist holidays, such as higan, are matters more of custom and tradition than of religious fervor. This is significant because the Okinawans, for almost 70 years, were a part of the Japanese 177 homeland, the greatest Buddhist nation on earth. During my stay in Okinawa, I thought that the recent war had caused the decline in Buddhist influence. This is only partly true. Subsequent reading of the older 178 literature made it clear that in modern times, Buddhism has not been a living force. The ethical and political systems were primarily Confucian. The priestesses had a greater influence on daily life and at death ceremonials, at least in rural Okinawa.

A variety of practices concerned with the worship of natural phenomena, such as the summits of mountains, groves of trees, wells and springs and the sea survive, but they are not strong.

There is little evidence of Shinto beliefs, except in a few 177 families who were long resident in Japan. Shrine Shinto, closely tied in with emperor worship, has been abolished.

177 Villagers are acquainted with Christianity, but I encountered no 797 adherents. The name of the 19th century missionary, Dr. Bettelheim, is still remembered by people in Minatogawa and Hanashiro. Dr. Bettelheim, a Jewish convert to Christianity, came to Okinawa in 1846. He was both ineffective and unhappy, but his ineffectiveness was probably due more to the lack of enthusiasm of the Okinawan rulers than to personal inadequacy.

3

Buddhism

771 Buddhist formalisms and home observances exist in all the villages. But the religion is not practiced. The people do not attend services or 183 temples, nor do they support or seek out priests. This present situation is apparently little changed from the recent past. Captain Basil Hall 114 (1816) mentioned the apparent low status of the bonse. Charles Fahs, on Perry's staff, said that, "The people, however, appear to be indifferent to it, and do not seem to have much veneration for it. Basil Hall Chamberlain wrote in 1893 that Buddhist influence was almost extinct. In 1910, Simon spoke of the weakness of Buddhism and that priests often did not participate in funerals. Goldschmidt in 1927 made similar observations.[1]

1 Hall, as cited, 98-99; Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 49. Chamberlain, On the manners and customs of the Loochooans, In: Trans. of the Asiatic society of Japan, 21 (1893), 274. Simon, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, 103-04, 177. Goldschmidt, Neu-Japan, 145.

The only Buddhist priest in the areas studied was at the small village of Maegawa, within walking distance of Minatogawa and Hanashiro. He was a priest of the Jōdo sect (Jōdoshu), one of the important sects of Japan, and stressing salvation by faith. The sect of the priest in this village is of no importance, since the rural people now or before the war had neither the interest nor the capacity for doctrinal distinctions. The temples of this sect were burned during the war, including one in the village of Kochinda, a junction point between Naha and Gushichan. 793 [795] 346 727

Before the war the colors of the robes varied with the sect and with the position of the priest in the hierarchy. In the Jōdo sect, the lowest grade wore black, followed up the scale by orange, blue or green, a chocolate reddish brown, and purple, the highest. This contrasts sharply with the priest's present improvisations. His is the black robe of the Shinshu sect. It is a summer garment, made of soft light silk called shiya and resembles a man's kimono, but is longer and sweeps the floor. The garment hangs straight down and is not gathered or tucked. The only other religious possessions were a bell and a badly soiled print of the Buddha (oshaku) which hung in his room. 793 795 292 [778]

Before the war, some people in the Gushichan area requested the services of a priest at funerals. After the war, the people of Hanashiro, and other villages as well, decided because of the expense, to forego the services of a priest. 793

Occasionally this priest officiates when the bones in the temporary tombs of Minatogawa are moved to the extended family tomb at Itoman, or in a ceremony honoring a death anniversary. Few Okinawans became priests. This priest is a native of Japan, one of the few remaining Japanese priests in the island. At eleven, he entered a Buddhist temple (tera) and has been engaged in religious activity ever since. Now about 50, he has a wife and two children; his head is unshaved and the hair is of a conventional cut. He does not depend on the priesthood for a living, but is employed as an official in a village office. [797]

The situation with regard to Buddhism was quite similar in Matsuda, although there is no priest in the vicinity. There is little doubt, if the villages studied are typical, that this already moribund religion is disappearing altogether here, choked off by lack of temples, lack of priests, and by indifference. 771 178

It is not so with household Buddhism, if this term may be used to describe ceremonies and beliefs centering around the Buddhist god shelf or family altar (butsudan). This household altar is in the second room of every home. Around it collect the sentimental memories of the past, such as family pictures, photographs of young soldiers and dearly loved relatives. Prayers and offerings of food and drink to the dead are made before it. 771 778 183

An important part of the Buddhist altar is a frame holding the memorial tablets for the family dead. These tablets (ihai) are pieces 778 769

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Survivals of the Priestess (Noro) System

The origin of the priestess system has been traced to primitive fire or hearth worship. A woman was a priestess to the God of Fire (hi no kami) represented in the hearth stone. A set of three rather long stones sometimes set in a triangle often represented the hearth. (These stones in the place of the guardian gods of the village may have the same meaning. In the poorer kitchens, stones set in this manner for the hearth are common to this day). In every house there was a primitive hearth (kanaio). "Here, before this hearth, the ancestors of the household are worshipped, the Fire coming to summarize the ancestors who have sat before the hearth in past generations."[3] Each household of a village, each village, and each township had a hearth attendant. The priestess (noro) of the whole township "represents the original worship of the predominant hearth of that region." The duties of the rural priestesses included worshipping at the ancestral shrines, deciding the lucky days for planting, and officiating at marriage and burial ceremonies.

This priestess system was made an institutionalized state religion by King Shō Shin (1477-1526). Their political power was broken by Shō Jōkan, a prime minister of King Shō Tei (1669-1709). The most logical explanation offered for their fall from political power is the influence of Confucianism with its standards of male dominance and the subordination of women. By the end of the 17th century, its economic and political power were declining, but its influence on individual worship, especially, in rural Okinawa, lasted down to the beginning of the recent war.[4]

The priestess system had a place in inheritance customs of the old land tenure system. "Under the ancient system," said Spencer, "certain valuable farm lands were the possession of the Noro, the remainder of the land being held by the community and reassigned at various periods."[5] Inheritance within the system insured the handing down of these properties in the female line. This succession could be accomplished in a number of ways. The female child of the brother of a priestess might succeed her. This is believed to be the method of succession in ancient times. In later times, the noro married and succession was traced in the male line. The wife of a son of the priestess,

3 This material is based on the article of R. S. Spencer, Noro or Priestesses of Loo-Choo, as cited. The quotation is on p. 97.

4 Ibid, 98, 108.

5 Ibid, 109. The material following is to be found on p. 110.

793 or her granddaughter might succeed her. In earlier times, priestesses
423 were unmarried. But with private ownership in land the fields owned by
428 the priestess were divided according to the new laws and fell into possession of the priestess' family.

793 Spencer pointed out in his discussion of their status in 1931 that
[791] they still had considerable influence. There was one in practically every village, although they were losing out to the female fortune tellers (yuta). Spencer cited the case of the principal of the primary school at Itoman who could get controversial plans adopted readily if a priestess sponsored them. This was over 30 years after the abolition of the old allotment system, and their economic power had vanished. But they were important figures in festivals and holidays. Their private services included advice and prayer on journeys and business undertakings. This brief summary of their past history will make the discussion that follows clearer.

793 The Japanese discouraged the priestess system, regarding it as a
178 superstition. In the years immediately preceding the war, the priestesses seem to have prospered more in the northern district of Okinawa. By 1951, the noros were virtually forgotten, victims of a long decline, Japanese discouragement, the war, public indifference, and the conviction, among the young and middle aged people, that the priestesses taught only superstitions (meishin) like the fortune tellers and the soothsayers.

Hanashiro had a priestess before the war; when she died, there was no young female relative to replace her. Now there are none in Hanashiro, Nagamo, or Hinatogawa. Their failure to revive after the war is attributed by the villagers to the influence of education among the people. In Hatsuda, there are some last survivals of the system, but the Ginosa priestess has also died, and there was no one to replace her.

793 Before the war, the priestess (noro in Japanese, nuru in Okinawan) and her assistants conducted services in Hatsuda.[6] The priestess, who was then about 60, lived in Ginosa village, and was carried by two men on a palanquin (kago) from her village to Hatsuda. The high priestess and her assistants constituted a ten woman group. The first in rank after her lived in Ginosa, and the other eight in Hatsuda. These participants in the festivals and religious ceremonies were known as kannushi-san (Japanese) or kamichuyu (Okinawan). The priestess was assisted by a second woman, first in rank after the noro herself (uchigami in Okinawan), a third (nigami in Okinawan), and the fourth (yurashigami in Okinawan). The fifth to ninth women were learners and followers. They could be either young or old women. All ranks wore a simple garment, similar in cut to a kimono, made of white gauze-like material. For a head covering, a piece of the same material was wrapped around the head like a towel. Four men attended the priestess and her women assistants but only at public ceremonies.

[115] 6 The material which follows is based on information from a lady about 50, a resident of Hatsuda, who was a second ranking assistant (nigami) to the noro. She now operates a tiny store in Hatsuda.

778 Similar worship may take place at a spring (isumi). Near
796 Gushichan village there is a large spring. Stone stairs have been built up, amphitheatre-like, around it. Prayers are offered by villagers, or substantial numbers of them, on New Year and on the 5th day of the 5th lunar month. In daily life, the spring is a favorite place for laundering and bathing.

776 There are three well gods in Hinatogawa, and they are worshipped
778 at the three public wells scattered throughout the village. The people of the village, or large numbers of them, assemble at these wells for
796 prayer at various times of the year, the most important being on New Year and on boat racing day. Sake and a box of candy are placed before the well as offerings of thanks for water.

This village has also a place for the worship of the sea god. This is a simple stone on a small shelf, on a barren spot of the seashore, scarcely distinguishable from the rocks scattered in natural disarray by the waves. In a high wind, the remains of the offerings and the charcoal sticks are swept out to sea. The most important observance here occurs on the 4th day of the 5th month, the day of the sea festival and the boat races. Fishermen come to the place by boat and make offerings of sharks' fins. On this day, the whole village assembles twice to pray at the spot, once before, and once after the races and the celebration. Individual or family worship is common on New Year and at O-Bon. On the equinoctial holiday of the full moon, the headman, the heads of the neighborhood groups, the council and retired elder men assemble, offer thanks and pray for continued plenty from the sea. Very close to the palace of the sea god, a short round stick of bamboo or of thick miscanthus may be stuck in a pile of rocks. Near the top, a dried fish (usually the ika) tail is placed in a slit. In the center there is a slit for another but larger part of the dried fish.

776 The palace of the mountain god, though its identity is uncertain,
778 is near the palace of the sea god. It is under an overhanging rock along the seashore. This seems an unusual place for the home of a
178 mountain god, but seafarers may have prayed to the god in thanks for guiding them safely in. It seems now to have fallen into disuse. It is now partially overgrown with pandanus and little is known of the place.

776 Matsuda. In Matsuda, there are beliefs in well, mountain top, and
778 tree grove spirits. There are 8 wells here and family groups usually divide up and worship at one of the wells. After drinking some of the
782 water, thanks are offered to the well god.

The gods of the mountain top and the tree groves are difficult to
776 understand. Little seems to be known about them locally, and it is
128 difficult to disengage historical from religious elements.

One popular explanation is that these gods were the intentional
[776] invention of Saion, the 18th century statesman and authority on forestry
782 and agriculture. But this seems highly unlikely. It is more likely
778 that Saion capitalized on the ancient interdict against cutting down

789 824 rope was hung across the entrance of the family compound two times a year, on the 9th day of the 8th month, and on the 8th day of the 12th month. Along the rope, there were knotted blades of grass, also the san plant. The purpose is to frighten away evil spirits 283 and evil doers. One peculiarity of this twisted rice rope is that it is made in a different manner from the ordinary rope. The usual rope is a twist made by rolling the fibre between the palms to the right or away from the body. In this special rope, the roll is reversed and is to the left or toward the body. It is difficult for a person already skilled in the regular method. This villager told of going to two noro [793] priestesses in the village of Yabu who specialized in teaching this method of making ropes. The husband and the wife received instruction, paying about ¥40 for it because the wife believed in the efficacy of the practice. Each year at the proper times, the husband now makes the special rope himself.

787 791 184 Some fortune telling practices shade into religious beliefs, just as religious customs have also included soothsaying and divination. The noros and the Buddhist priests formerly practiced some fortune telling. There were no fortune tellers in any of the villages studied, but villagers occasionally consult them. Here, too, the patronage comes largely from the old and from the women. Younger people, if they know about them, regard these practices as superstitions unworthy of belief. The word meishin (superstition) is frequently heard among the young in 791 describing customs and beliefs of the old. The sign of the fortune teller (sanjinsō) is the Chinese character for three written three [212] times. These characters are said to signify the three states of existence, pre-natal, the present, and the afterlife, on all of which the fortune teller is well versed. Those in Hanashiro and Hinatogawa who wish to consult a fortune teller go to Itoman; those in Hatsuda go to Nago. The cost is usually from ¥40-50 a visit. Typical reasons for a consultation with a fortune teller are: (1) to find out if an ill person will become well, (2) among the fishermen, to find out if the fishermen will return when an unexpected storm has arisen, (3) to discover if a present unhappiness has been caused by the evil deed of an ancestor and if this can be corrected, and (4) to find out the lucky days for such undertakings as marriages, building a house, or beginning new phases of construction.

782 774 Old women may utter a prayer on seeing a child fall, fearing that the child's spirit might escape because of surprise or fright. (This was observed in Hinatogawa).

778 In Hatsuda, there were shelves for burning charcoal sticks in some of the numerous caves in the area. The nature of the worship could not be ascertained, but they may be offerings to deities of the cave.

514 [776] 782 178 Worship and prayers in the toilet seem to have completely disappeared. There were no personified toilet gods. The toilet apparently was the place in which thanks were given that a place for excrement had been provided. In all the villages, it was said to be an old belief which has now died out. There was no shelf or special place of worship in the Toilet.

000.

in the toilet.

182

Religious beliefs shade into other aspects of village life, such as honoring the dead, the obligations of the family system, and the celebration of public holidays and festivals. The war has hastened the decline of many of the old beliefs we have been describing. The inability of the old, during the war and its aftermath, to communicate a body of belief to the newer generation has meant that now, even more than before, religious beliefs and customs are dying out rapidly and henceforth will appear only in vague outlines to inquiring scholarship.

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178

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

CONCLUSION

The description of village life presented in the preceding pages is not the delineation of an ancient way of life essentially unchanged from the remote past. Neither is it the study of an old way of living which is now passing away. Rather it is a glimpse of a culture, at a particular moment in time, which has been changing, sometimes slowly, sometimes with great rapidity. The theme of inertia and change, developed in the second chapter, furnishes an opportunity for understanding the culture in the perspective of history. Even though the changes of the last decade have been impressive, they are less striking when placed beside some of the great changes of the past. 128 178

This small island, known to Oriental antiquity and to the Western world after the Age of Discovery, is an excellent illustration of the combination of influences from the outside and of the progressive changes made in the natural environment as a consequence of long human settlement. This theme, imperfectly documented, has repeatedly appeared in this work in order that the affinities of soil and land conservation and forest care with social and cultural questions, such as organization of government, the family system, and economic problems may be recognized. 177 311 182

This idea of a changing culture, in a physical environment of meticulous tillage and of minute subdivision, enables us to see more clearly the inter-relationships of the family system, inheritance, land tenure, the care and conservation of the land, and the methods of agriculture. It is the values within the family system that have given content and meaning to the natural resources, to the tiny paddies, the stony sweet potato patches, and the barren wild land. The tombs and the grave sites also find a place in this minute appraisal of the value and the use of land. 178 182 311

This minute knowledge of the land, obvious as it is to observation, is one of the outstanding cultural characteristics of the people. Indeed this is true of other Oriental peoples as well, even though their preferences have been for the transported soils of the alluvial plains and the deltas. This detailed knowledge of land, of its productivity as gauged by the farmers' patient success in tilling it, is used to build up the system of land classification. 311 181

No less striking is the intimate knowledge of small localities. A tiny village may have five or six of these localities, dignified with a name which, in our culture, would be given to a portion of a large city. Every little spot has a name, even though the origins and the circumstances of the naming are lost in hazy memory.

In this use and tillage of land, perhaps the most important comparison to be made is that, unlike China, Japan, and Korea, dry land and upland agriculture is the chief reliance of the people. There are no Yangtse river deltas and no Kanto plains in Okinawa. The care, conservation and use of land have crept up the hillsides over the most settled [171]

system and by the public life which they lead. There is a blending and shading of the private life of the home with the public life of the lanes, the shops, and the homes of others. The process is so subtle that one can live among them and be unaware of it. But children do more than grow up. They grow and reach maturity impressed with their duties and obligations. It is this cultural environment, rather than single element explanations such as breast feeding, which in my opinion accounts for the politeness, the essential gentleness, and the sense of security of the people. These characteristics can best be understood by knowing history, by knowing how people live within a family, how families live together, what these groups of families do to their arable land, their plants, their stones, their trees, and their forested and wild land, and how the private life of an individual or a family blends in with the wider public experience of the community. 156 [155]

The recent war has been a powerful agent of cultural change in Okinawa. The destruction of the south, the comparative well-being of the north have equalized the roles of the two great divisions of the island, and the north is no longer a rustic hinterland. The years of military service in the Japanese army interfered with the transmission of the traditional culture from the old to the young. One of the striking aspects is the differences in types of information possessed by the old and the young. Men fifty years or over speak of things of which younger men and women have never heard. What is part of one man's culture is foreign to the other. 727 178 184

Before the war success in transmitting the traditional culture to the young depended to a great extent on the hierarchy of the family system and its scale of values. Women were subordinated to men and the younger deferred to the elder. Obedience of children and acknowledgment of parental leadership were said to characterize the pre-war society. In many ways, all these things still do. But there are indications of a growing dependence of the older on the advice and knowledge of the young. [867] [593]

The war and its aftermath produced conditions favorable to the leadership of younger people, especially younger men. It was easy for them to drive trucks. It was no chore to become acquainted with Americans and adapt themselves to their ways. They could learn, and comprehend more easily, some of the Western concepts implicit in governmental change. A twenty year old is not impressed with skill at typing. A sixty year old person looks upon this skill with a certain wonder. [177]

The destruction of pre-war housing and its replacement by inferior makeshift housing have had an unsettling effect on village life. Sleeping habits and living arrangements were disrupted. The destruction even affected the use of rainwater coming from the drains on the tile roofs. It converted villages with their houses and an occasional garden into a camp-like atmosphere. [362]

The post-war repatriation often brought to villagers a more personal awareness of the outside world. Those who returned, especially from the non-Oriental countries, created an atmosphere congenial to change. [167] [177]

In the post-war period also roads have increased, and they have been widened. More vehicles are on the roads. One can travel through the villages of Okinawa over widened roads which before the war probably differed little from those described by Captain Hall in 1816 and by his grandson Basil Hall Chamberlain in 1895. This extension of the highway system has increased the mobility of Okinawans. Perhaps ultimately the cultural differences among villages will give way to wider uniformity induced by these innovations.

There is something enthralling in reading the chapters on "Lew Chew" in Francis Hawks' Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan, which he compiled from the notes and journals of Commodore Perry, and the pages of Bayard Taylor's work, along with Okinawa, The Last Battle, which the Historical Division of the Department of the Army published in 1948. These give some measure of the change that has been brought about not only in the Great Loo Choo but in the world.

It has been my purpose here to tell part of the remaining, the contemporary story of the people whose islands early ethnologists were so fond of referring to as an anthropological museum.

The End

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

worthy that so few women marry before they are twenty and that many 582
marry in their middle and later twenties. For those whose formal education ends at the age of 15 there may, therefore, be an interval of five to ten years until matrimony.*

One might ask whether sibling position affects marriage age, either [428]
because first-born must marry first or because of the inheritance pattern, young sons seldom inheriting either a house or land. The record of 59 marriages in central Taira shows no clear pattern in this respect; oldest sons and daughters do not seem to marry earlier more frequently than those in lower ordinal positions. A more plausible ex- 582
planation for late marriage is that young men tend to spend some time 885
after school outside the community and, prior to the war, even outside the country. The rationale for a period abroad is in part economic, but "wanderlust" or curiosity undoubtedly contribute. Furthermore, there is no doubt that the period between the end of school and marriage is an extremely enjoyable one, for now work and duties are mixed with comradeship and amusements in contrast to the new duties and responsibilities one assumes with marriage and children. This is especially true for women.

The most striking fact concerning Taira marriages is that among the 582
total of 59 unions, 18 wives were older than their husbands. Marriage 593
records from the other parts of Taira reveal the same age discrepancy. In comparison with Western countries, and what we know of most other societies, this discrepancy is unusual. Similar findings were suggested from studies in Japan. Here, however, the explanation seems to be that such marriages tend to occur between a first son and a woman who is older than he because a mature woman is desired to take over responsibilities as an oldest son's wife. In Taira only nine (one half) of the age reversals involve marriages of oldest sons. Since there are 29 first-born males included in the sample of 59, the proportion of age reversal marriages of oldest sons is no greater

* There were no dependable data to indicate whether the present trend toward a 582
relatively late marriage represents a change from a previous pattern. Informants' 178
statements suggest that marriages took place at an earlier age in past times, perhaps prior to the turn of the century. Other references to marriage in Okinawa would support this information. The *Civil Affairs Handbook, Ryukyu Islands*, Office of [113]
the Chief of Naval Operations, 1944, states that: "The usual age of marriage as reported in 1925 was 18 or 19 for men, 17 or 18 for women. An analysis of the marriage statistics for 1934, however, indicates that the average age at marriage was about four years older. In 1937, the average was reported as 27 years for men and 24 for women" (page 64). The rapid increase in age between 1925 and 1937 suggested by this source can only be accepted with reservations.

582 than one would expect, and we may conclude that the oldest son ex-
[593] planation does not hold for Taira.*

Table 2 Marriage Statistics for Central Taira

1. Age of men and women at first marriage
Total cases: 59
For the period: 1904–1953

AGE OF MARRIAGE	MEN	WOMEN
16	—	2
17	—	2
18	2	4
19	4	4
20	5	11
21	4	3
22	10	5
23	3	8
24	7	3
25	2	4
26	2	1
27	3	2
28	4	2
29	1	3
30	2	—
31	1	—
32	—	—
33	—	1
34	—	1
35	1	—
36	—	—
37	1	—
38	1	—
39	—	—
40	1	—
Not listed	5	3

584 In the old days, apparently, there were many gay and unrestrained
● 178 courtships of men and women on the beach after dark. During our fieldwork we did not observe open courtship. The expression of affec-

* Unfortunately, we did not recognize the large number of these cases while in the field; hence we failed to ask informants for their explanations and rationalizations. The age reversal[1] tends to underscore the relatively high status of women vis-a-vis men and may be instrumental in perpetuating it.
[562]

1 [i.e. where wives are older than their husbands - ANALYST]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

tion between couples is not seen in public. Men and women are teased by the community if they are seen standing and talking together. One or several boys teasing a girl would be the boldest advance seen in public. Although, even at night, we never observed couples pairing off in or near the village, we were told that a boy and a girl would arrange private meetings. It is our impression that there is more self-consciousness about love-making than there used to be. 584 178

Although there is little occasion for intimacy between a couple during times when other villagers are around, young men and women associate frequently in larger groups during the week in community-wide activities of the Young People's Association. During the many hours which are spent in club meetings, work projects, and other social activities, there is a comraderie between young men and women which effectively neutralizes the formal social distance that is maintained in the traditionally separate seating arrangements. There is, nevertheless, a certain embarrassment and almost clumsy behavior of young men toward the better poised and adroit girls, at least in the presence of strangers like ourselves. 584 575

Young men may seek intimacies with girls of other villages, but in doing so they risk the ire of the young men there. It is also possible that a Taira girl agrees to an intimate relationship with someone in another village where she may feel safer from detection. Young men are more likely to seek a girl with whom an arrangement for a meeting away from her home can be made. The girl, of course, suffers public disapproval if the couple is detected, while a man is not subject to the same criticism. In contrast to girls, men have many more opportunities for sexual relationships without public censure. 584 836 562

Sexual attraction does not seem decisive in selecting a mate for marriage, although beauty is appreciated in a woman with long, black hair, a dark arched eyebrow, fair skin, a prominent nose, small mouth, and large eyes. Younger people are beginning to adopt some of the American standards of beauty, which are introduced through movies and magazines via Japan. Although the concept of romantic love is gaining in popularity, arranged marriages still outnumber love marriages in Taira. Even if a young man and woman reach an agreement about marriage, there follows a formal arrangement by their parents with the help of go-betweens, a trusted neighbor or a friendly couple, or a person who commands status and respect. If a man or his family are interested in arranging a marriage with a girl, the go-between notifies her family. Eventually word will reach the girl. If the suitor has not previously indicated his interest to the girl, she may voice her feelings and wishes to her mother, father, or to some other relative. If 581 584 826 177 831 584

584 she objects violently, the matter may be dropped. If the go-betweens
[851] succeed in making arrangements, they become the special friends and patrons of the young couple, officiating at the marriage ceremony and attending the rituals during the first week after the birth of all the couple's children.

The first engagement event is a small family affair at the bride's house, attended by a few close relatives of the couple, who ceremonially eat rice from the same bowl. The food is contributed by the groom's
[836] family. From this time on the groom may spend evenings and nights at the bride's house, where he is permitted to have sexual intercourse
[583] with the girl. For a man whose girl lives in the same village, the day is now divided between work for his own household and helping the girl's family in the field. The groom receives supper from the girl's family, who encourage him to stay for the night. The couple is never seen together in public, although the girl also helps occasionally at her groom's house.

The second engagement party is held some later time, also at the girl's house. All the relatives of the bride whom she wishes to introduce to the groom and his family are invited. The groom also invites his relatives and friends. Food and drink are supplied by the groom. Since this may be quite a burden, the bride urges him not to hurry in planning for this party. At this engagement ceremony, relatives and friends congratulate the male members of the bride's family and some of the close female relatives, the mother and sometimes an aunt, or the grand-
[537] mother. Short speeches are exchanged. The girl's father, in response to well-wishing, may point out that the girl is inexperienced and that she needs guidance and education from the groom's family. The groom also toasts his father-in-law, tells him that he will do his best, and thanks him and his wife for their permission to marry.

585 The actual marriage ceremony may be postponed until much later.
[584] One reason for the long engagement period is to see whether the girl becomes pregnant, or as one person said, "To see if the seeds match."
[842] There are also economic considerations. The ceremony takes place at the groom's house. The go-between, his wife, and a few friends go to the bride's home to accompany her and her relatives and friends to the
[178] groom's house. The elaborateness of the celebration depends on the wealth of the groom's family, but since the war, all families have economized in this as well as in other ceremonies. The cost of the wedding is carried by the groom, but it is to some extent offset by small money gifts which guests contribute. The groom gives the bride's family a certain amount of money—in one case about 2000 yen (approximately $17.00) or two thirds of a well-to-do Taira family's monthly

793 lives like other villagers, spending most of her time in the fields and around her home. She has children and grandchildren, but the father of her children no longer lives in Taira. She regards the continuation of the old ceremonies as her holy duty even though she has to do without most of the accustomed material support from the village and [358] in spite of disbelief and lack of participation. She has sought in vain [346] to have the village make necessary repairs on the simple village shrine near the township office and on the little hut where the ancestral tablets of her predecessors are kept.

793 While many of the former ceremonies have been discontinued, the 782 priestess is still called on to officiate at house-building ceremonies, to purify the lot, to offer prayers when the beams are raised, and to con- [342] duct the dedication when the house is finished. If the owner is mov- [776] ing out of an old house, the priestess notifies the fire deity so that he [778] will follow to the new abode. On other occasions the priestess conducts prayers at the village shrine or at one of the other sacred places near the village. Many of the prayers are succorant—requesting the aid and blessing of the gods in accomplishing a certain goal. In general, as Lebra has pointed out (1958), ceremonies of asking for help are more numerous and elaborate than thanksgiving ones.

[312] On New Year's morning the priestess prays at the water well. Since [178] so many ceremonies have been abbreviated and are no longer carried out in traditional detail, the priestess apologizes for short cuts in her prayers. If she fails to offer prayers in all prescribed spots, she pacifies [794] the deities by facing in the direction of the sacred place where the [787] ceremony should have been conducted. Although the priestess is clearly best qualified to enter into communication with the deities, many older women seem to possess such power also, and if the priestess' assistants are not present, another older woman can function as her helper.

782 For these ceremonies food for offerings is contributed by the village. 788 The priestess, in a white gown, kneels, flanked by her assistants, also in white, in front of a tray of sake, rice, or other food for the deities. [262] Charcoal incense sticks are burned while brief prayers asking the deities for a successful crop, thanking them for a harvest, or whatever [533] is appropriate to the occasion are mumbled. On certain occasions the women sing chants. After these ceremonies, the priestess, her assistants and the few others present, usually old women, share the food offerings.

796 One of the most dramatic ceremonies is held on Boat Race Day in 793 lunar June. Priestesses from several villages gather near Taira. During the ceremony the Taira priestess stands in the middle of a circle formed by the other priestesses and helpers, beating a drum as the

844 [853] kimonos, and diapers. He is placed under the blanket next to the mother and given a gauze nipple dipped in tea and sugar to suck, which is often his only food for as long as two days if lactation is slow. Meanwhile the afterbirth is wrapped in straw and left under the floorboards in the kitchen to await the outgoing tide.

846 593 Tea is now served in the front room, and the birth is discussed by the women who assisted. On one such occasion, the father and grandmother showed a little boy whose sister had just been born a great deal of affection. The father held the boy in his lap, and both adults told him that he was now a big brother.

844 851 156 At the first hour of the outgoing tide, old women—the grandmother of the baby, relatives, and neighbors—wrap the afterbirth in rice straw and bury it in a specified place outdoors behind the hearth. The purpose of the ceremony is to ensure that the child will be happy and sociable. To the accompaniment of laughing, loud clanging of pots and covers, and calling to each other, the women circle the house. When the burial is completed, they chant loudly, "May this baby al- [152] ways laugh and be pleasant." A stone is then placed over the burial mound so that the infant will not be frightened in his sleep, an emotion which is inferred from the jerking of a young infant while asleep.

852 565 462 Until about 10 years ago a ceremony was performed by descendants of noble families from Shuri over the newborn to ensure success in his future role. For boys, a winnowing basket was propped up against a hoe on which a clump of soil and grass rested. While the father's mother [178] held the child in one arm, she shot an arrow with a bow into the basket. This act was to make certain that the child would become a good hunter (provider) as well as a successful farmer. The grass on the hoe [286] symbolized strength. A girl, on the other hand, received a miniature loom constructed especially for such occasions, which was to assure her success as a weaver of cloth. A spool of banana fiber was presented along with the loom.

852 565 538 There is a story that long, long ago an infant was born on the beach. Immediately after he was born, as he still lay on the sand, a crab crawled over his chest. This infant grew up to be a strong, famous man. Shuri descendants still have a custom of grandmothers holding a newborn boy in their laps and releasing a small crab, which scurries over the infant's chest. These practices, however, are absent in central Taira now and are rarely found in the outlying settlements of predominantly Shuri descendants.

846 178 Formerly mother and child were confined to the darkened delivery room next to the kitchen and at the rear of the house for seven days, while an open fire was kept blazing in the brazier near the mother.

Today the *yukajiru* ceremony held on the fourth day ends the seclusion. A group of close relatives gather to ask for the good health of the child and to make food offerings to the ancestors.

On the fourth or fifth day a name is selected for the newborn. In the old days rice oracles presided over by an old woman were consulted to ensure that the name consist of the proper combination of Japanese writing characters, an essential for the well-being of the child's personality. Today family elders and the local teacher are consulted. In the pre-Japanese periods, temporary names were used until a permanent name was given. This practice was intended to fool the spirits during the early years when the child was thought to be particularly susceptible to spirits.*

On the sixth day after birth the mother is allowed to take her first postdelivery bath; the room which she has occupied with her baby is cleaned and aired, and preparations begin for the *mansang* celebrations. For this event the mother's parents try to be present, especially if it is a first child. Friends and relatives in the village attend. A female elder of the patrilineal kin group or the priestess prays behind a tray of rice, rice wine, and incense so that the child will sleep peacefully and not cry at night. Thanksgiving prayers are offered to the ancestors and the nature deities for the health of both mother and child.

When the prayers are completed, a man sings the *mansang* song to the accompaniment of a samisen. The father of the baby then rises to dance briefly, sits down, and writes with brush and ink on a white sheet of paper the name and birth date of his child. The paper is then hung on the wall near the alcove. Meanwhile the special song is being concluded:

> Coming from the darkness to light,
> This baby was received as a treasure
> And the mother is being celebrated.

Food is then served, and the guests discuss the name and admire the newborn. Like all parties, the celebration ends with song, dance, and wine drinking.

The *mansang* celebrations mark the end of the most critical period for the infant. From now on he may be taken outdoors. At the month's end, his parents may take him to see his maternal grandparents in their village, to offer food at the ancestral shrine of the mother. This is called the first walk. Sons who have left the paternal village for the city return with their infant to observe this day.

* Hanging an irregularly left-woven rope in the delivery room to keep out evil spirits which might harm the newborn, is no longer done in Taira.

845 mother and family. "Nursing two babies at once on a diet as meager as ours is too difficult," explain the mothers, and they also point out that multiple births cause great economic hardships.

854 Infancy in Taira, in congruence with the concept of the nature of an infant, is a period of indulgent and affectionate nurturance. Except for a brief period during the initial month of life, the baby is rarely left to lie on the floor to sleep, and during this period the mother or grandmother is always close by to pick him up at the slightest whimper. From the time he is a month old until shortly before the arrival of the next baby, he is constantly carried during the daytime on the back of another, an adult or an older child. At night he sleeps next to his mother. His carriers include parents, paternal grandparents, unmarried aunts and uncles, older siblings in an extended household, and parents and older siblings in a nuclear household.

854 Those mothers who have read or heard that it is good for babies to cry occasionally never have an opportunity to test it. "The old people ●178 feel sorry for the baby and insist upon prompt attention," complain 853 young mothers with "modern" ideas. The immediate response of adult and child caretakers to an infant's cry is to take him to his mother, who promptly nurses him. The breast is thrust into his mouth whether he is hungry or not. "Pitiful!" exclaim old grandmothers and rush to pick up the infant. More often than not it is the newborn's father or older sibling who orders the mother to do so with the same expression.

854 There is the belief that the first four months are a trying period in 853 which the "bad" habit of crying is formed; therefore every attempt is made to keep the infant comfortable and quiet. One mother described how she and her husband took turns eating their evening meal because one of the children had formed such a bad habit. "We would take turns carrying him and walking around the yard and eating. There was nothing else we could do. Both of us did not like to have babies cry." Another mother told of how her whole family converged on her every time the infant whimpered. "Hurry and nurse it . . . must be hungry . . . may be sick . . . so pitiful!" they would say to her.

853 It is imperative that a mother have enough milk. She is given special [262] foods and told not to get overtired. She is advised to avoid foods that could pass on properties which might be harmful to the child. Sometimes she has more milk than her infant can consume. One such fortunate mother nursed the baby of a mother whose milk supply had failed. Women who have a plentiful supply of milk are also sought out when mothers find it necessary to work at some distance from the village. In these cases reciprocal arrangements are made so the baby need not go hungry for very long.

313 Home Industries and Famous Products The forested northern mountains give rise to small scale lumbering, charcoal making,
314 and firewood gathering. Kunigami-son and Kushi-son emphasize the gathering of
433 bamboo and firewood. On the other hand the making of charcoal is more import-
[369] ant in Nago, Haneji, and Ōgimi. The urbanization of the south combined with
[491] the postwar extension of roads into formerly inaccessible parts of the north have accelerated exploitation of the northern forest resource. Particularly heavy is the demand for long roof poles, or kichigwā, after every major typhoon.
[237] Kunigami-son and Higashi supply the bulk of these. Where wood is plentiful behind a coastal road, one often finds lime kilns, which process the coral of the reefs.

258 The sea is also a major source of material for home industries. Sea
433 salt is made at Yagaji, Urasoe and Oroku on the west coast, at Henza and Awase
[237] on the east. Kunigami-son prides itself upon its production of seaweed. But-tons from seashells are made in Mawashi. Fish cakes ('kamaboko') are made in quantity in Itoman and Naha, with lesser amounts being produced in Ishikawa and Nago. Dried bonito ('katsuoboshi') is a specialty of Tonaki isle to the west. Motobu-chō holds second place, followed by the western isles of Tokashiki and
505 Zamami. For over a hundred years the small cargo sailboats ('Yambaru-sen')
178 of the east coast have carried forest products from the north. The extension of roads into the northern forests has greatly reduced the amount now carried by sea.

433 Horse breeding is a specialty in Nakazato (the eastern half of Kume-
[232] shima), which has 22% of the gunto's production of horses. However, the pro-
[233] duction of horse and cattle hides is concentrated in the urban areas, which
[231] account for 84% of the hides produced. Nakazato is also famous for production of silk cocoons, being responsible for about two-fifths (38.7%) of the gunto's total. The leading mainland producer is Motobu-chō, with 9%.

Although Okinawa is not self-sufficient in tea, the three areas of
[345] Gushikawa, Ishikawa and Kunigami produce over half of the local tea. In Oku
[479] village of Kunigami, the tea factory is a cooperative venture. Gushikawa
[277] and Chatan pride themselves upon possessing 'sake' and 'awamori' distilleries.
[286] Mawashi is the center of production of farm tools, and accounts for some weaving of banana cloth. Weaving of mats from the "seven isles reed" ('shichitō-i') is a local specialty of Kanegusuku.

[314] Travertine quarries are found in Motobu-chō and Katsuren. A sandy limestone is quarried at Minatogawa in Gushichan.

105 A munchu was made up of a number
197 of households or families united through the male line, descended from a common
[619] ancestor, and sharing a common tomb. Village endogamy was an obligatory mar-
[582] riage practice and violations did not pass unpunished; in addition kin group endogamy was a preferred practice, though not necessarily an obligatory one.
[628] Intervillage contacts and ties, consequently, were held to a minimum. These cus-
[178] toms were followed by the majority of the oldest generation now living, and even today such practices tend to persist in rural areas. A survey in Kanegu-
[582] suku revealed that fifty percent of the marriages were between members of the same kin group and sixty-six percent of the marriages were between residents of
[178] the same village. Such practices, to be sure, are breaking down, and this becomes evident when the above data are analyzed on an age basis, but in view of the fact that these customs still prevail, though to a more limited extent than formerly, it is not surprising that so considerable a diversity of dialects should also be preserved.

197 Another facet of Okinawan dialect geography is the occurrence of small
621 speech-islands exhibiting dialects distinct from those of the surrounding areas.
184 These are the so called yaadui settlements founded during the 18th and 19th centuries by migrants from the Naha-Shuri area; the newcomers were usually the younger sons of gentry families seeking their livelihood in the country. Such settlements not only enjoyed a political independence from the larger surrounding communities but also were never incorporated into the formal religious system centering on the nuru priestess and unifying the rural areas. These factors together with previously-mentioned marriage practices enabled such settlements to preserve their identity. Kitazato in Kami Motobu-son serves as a good example of this type of village, having been settled seven generations ago by the younger sons of gentry families residing in Naha and Shuri. The larger neighboring villages never absorbed Kitazato, and to this day it pre-
[194] serves a dialect quite distinct from theirs. The most notable contrast between them centers on the p and h sounds in the two dialects, for all p sounds of nearby Gushiken are rendered h in Kitazato; thus, the word for "fire" is pi in the dialect of the former and hi in the latter's.

197 Undoubtedly this dialectic diversity is decreasing as the old customs
178 die out and the isolation of the village disappears. The war uprooted many communities and scattered their inhabitants about the island, and nearly all villages now have a number of families new to the village since the war. New communities like the entertainment center of Koza have no characteristic dialect of their own, containing as they do a heterogeneous population recruited from all parts of the Ryukyus. The vast improvements in roads and transportation services since the end of the war have given the people a mobility undreamed of in the prewar period and have done much to destroy the isolation of the rural areas.

192 "Uchinaaguchi" Okinawans call their dialect uchinaaguchi and themselves
[101] uchinaanchu. The terms 'Okinawago', Japanese for Okinawan language, and 'hōgen', Japanese for dialect, are also in common usage though the latter term is resented by some who feel that it carries the connotation "rustic". Today all Okinawan speech contains many loan words from Japanese; this obtains for those who know no Japanese as well as for those who are bilingual. Intimate contact with Japanese coupled with this word borrowing has

Intimate contact with Japanese coupled with this word borrowing has resulted in a tendency toward slight sound shifts in the direction of Japanese 194
phonology; this is particularly true among the bilingual speakers. The same 177
process is operative in the Japanese of these Okinawan speakers in that there is a tendency toward Okinawan phonology.

The real strongholds of Okinawan speech today are the family and the 191
rural areas. In an old and relatively unchanged village like Kanegusuku little 178
Japanese is heard despite the fact that most of the villagers are bilingual. 177
That Okinawan is the language of the family is best demonstrated by the pre- 621
school-age children who do not speak or understand any Japanese aside from a few greetings and polite phrases. Likewise men over sixty and women over fifty-five usually cannot speak Japanese. The remainder of the village, approximately seventy percent of the total, is bilingual; however, this figure is somewhat misleading in so far as actual usage is concerned. A majority of the married women use Japanese infrequently since Okinawan is the language of their daily lives, which are largely confined to the village and home. For the men, a number of whom have seen service abroad in the Japanese forces, there is a greater freedom of movement and a wider range of contacts providing more occasion for the use of Japanese. Yet within the village many of them preferred to use Okinawan, and even the high school students were inclined to shed their Japanese on returning to the village. A number of bilingual informants ascribed this preference for Okinawan to the influence of the old people who understood Japanese imperfectly or not at all. As one informant put it, "The old people in this village just don't like being spoken to in Japanese, and if some person does this, they say he is trying to be big." Undoubtedly their influence is a strong factor, but this preference is also likely attributable to a low degree of proficiency in Japanese. Prior to the postwar period few villagers ob- [871]
tained more than a sixth grade education; consequently, many are not as articulate in Japanese as they are in Okinawan. It should also be noted that within the village a selective factor operates so as to perpetuate the use of Okinawan. Mention is made in another section of this report of a mayor's comment to the [566]
effect that all those who receive a good education, high school or university, soon leave the village. Thus, the very group most likely to further the spread of Japanese leaves before its influence is felt.

The resentment of the oldest generation toward the use of Japanese re- 191
solves itself among the younger, bilingual generations into an attitude that 829
Japanese imparts a certain formality to an occasion, and hence situations call- 177
ing for the use of Okinawan or Japanese tend to be rather compartmentalized in their minds. Formal occasions prescribe the use of Japanese and informal ones Okinawan. Village political meetings and elections were always conducted in Japanese, and when the 'son' officials made one of their periodic inspections of the village, only Japanese was used in addressing them. On the other hand the use of Japanese at a party would be regarded as too formal and a bit unfriendly, and, of course, with old people and children only Okinawan is used. Besides the formal-informal dichotomy there exists the feeling among the better-educated bilinguals that Japanese is a modern and sophisticated language whereas Okinawan is backward and rustic.

There are several aspects of Okinawan culture wherein the local lan- 191
guage is used to the exclusion of Japanese; chief among these are the theater 178

191 (mentioned previously), song, and the indigenous religion. Okinawan song and
178 music undoubtedly exceed both Japanese and Western in popularity; in fact, no
191 other facet of Okinawan culture has so successfully withstood the changes of
178 the past seventy-five years. Songs such as the Kagiyadefu (which some Okina-
523 wans liken to a national anthem), Nubui Kuduchi, Hamachidori, Tanchame are known and loved by all. Some of the phonograph record stores in Naha carry as many as several hundred different recordings of Okinawan songs, and vir-
191 tually all of these are recorded in Okinawan. All priestesses of the indigen-
178 ous religion interviewed by the author stated that Okinawan was the language
796 of prayer and ceremony; to some this was a burden, as in the case of one priestess who had spent most of her life in Japan. A few admitted that the language of the ceremonies and particularly that of the old songs or umui (sometime rendered omoro) was rather obscure and not fully understood; these are transmitted orally from the older priestess to her successor and undoubtedly
191 contain many archaic words. Outside the formal religious structure yet inex-
178 tricably linked to it are shamans (yuta) and fortune tellers ('ekisha'). The
756 former, most often a woman, uses Okinawan almost exclusively in rites concerned
791 with divining, exorcism, and curing. The latter, nearly always a male, is usually a fairly well-educated person, as the profession is based on interpretations of certain books used in conjunction with the ancient Chinese Book of Changes (I Ching), and either Japanese or Okinawan, depending on the customer, may be used in giving the reading. Both practitioners are extremely popular, but the fortune teller is usually found in the cities and towns whereas the shaman may be found in Naha or the smallest hamlet.

195 Japanese With the abdication of Shō Tai in 1879 the Japanese government ini-
191 tiated a program designed for integrating Okinawa into the national
177 state as rapidly as possible. An effort was made to stamp out all vestiges of
[648] Okinawan culture, utilizing techniques ranging from education and indoctrination to repressive laws and police measures. Greatest emphasis was given to making Japanese speakers out of Okinawans. Leavenworth quotes Governor Narahara as stating that the creation of Japanese speakers was of more value than
195 all the repressive laws prohibiting certain customs.[1] At the start the Japanese
191 were hindered by a lack of schools and teachers, and so the program moved ahead
177 slowly. An effective national school system covering the rural areas where the
871 bulk of the population was located and taking in both sexes was not fully operative until about the time of World War I. The failure of Japanese to displace Okinawan can be attributed largely to a lack of time and a lack of facilities for education beyond the elementary level. By the time of World War II but two generations were schooled in Japanese, and the majority of these had received no more than six years of education.

191 Though Japanese failed to displace Okinawan, it did succeed in becom-
177 ing a necessity in the lives of most people and in establishing itself as the
554 prestige language. With the government, press, schools, cinema, radio, and high-level commerce utilizing Japanese exclusively, participation in modern life without a knowledge of Japanese became impossible. The incentives towards competence in Japanese were many, whereas there appeared to be little gained

[1] Leavenworth, 1905, p. 37.

212 177 829 [571] Writing Okinawa never developed an independent system of writing; in the old kingdom both Japanese and Chinese were used. Literacy was largely confined to the upper classes, and it is said that students were sent to both countries for study. Apparently the literati held the Chinese language and culture in high regard while disdaining that of the Japanese; yet, Bettelheim noted in 1851 that Japanese books were very popular in spite of this contempt of the literati.[1] He also stated that the Okinawans always preferred biblical texts written in Japanese to those in Chinese. In view of the political paramouncy of Japan from 1609 and the close linguistic and cultural ties between the two peoples this popularity of Japanese is not surprising. It also should [538] be noted that although the literati are reported as preferring Chinese to Japanese, the major literary achievements of Okinawa were written in Japanese. Thus, for example, the Omorosōshi, sixteenth century collection of songs which the late Dr. Ifa has called the Ryukyuan scriptures, was recorded in a Japanese style of writing; the same is true for the annals of the old kingdom and for the first dictionary of the Okinawan language.

212 177 With the advent of a Japanese administration and educational system, the study of Chinese ceased, and today Japanese is used exclusively. Most Okinawan place names and family names as they are written in Japanese can be given two interpretations, the Japanese and the Okinawan; in a majority of cases the Japanese is given preference. Occasionally when Okinawan speech is transcribed as in the case of lyrics accompanying phonograph records, the Japanese syllabary is used. This is not a suitable devise for transcribing Okinawan speech, which contains many sounds unfamiliar to Japanese. Unfortunately much of the early [114] linguistic research conducted in this area was rendered virtually worthless by the employment of this syllabary. In recent years scholars like Miyanaga and Kinjo have recorded Ryukyuan using the International Phonetic Alphabet.

197 191 177 178 Conclusion At the present time Okinawan speech enjoys widespread use throughout the whole of the island. It is still the language of the home, and as such it is a more common medium of expression than the official language, Japanese. The latter, backed by the government, schools, and all the forces of modern life, is gradually supplanting Okinawan, but it would be an over-statement to say that the language is dying out. It may be expected that the majority of Okinawans will remain bilingual as they are today until such time when a whole adult generation will speak only Japanese and transmit only Japanese to its offspring.

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[1] Bettelheim, n.d., p. 31.

CHAPTER III: AGRICULTURAL HISTORY, LAND USE AND DIET

F. R. Pitts

121 The concept of the unchanging Orient certainly fails to appear true
178 in the case of Okinawa, when the past is examined closely. Indeed, it seems hard to find an area where so much change has been accomplished so fast. The following is designed to show some major aspects of that change, particularly insofar as the farmer is concerned.

1. Agricultural History

175 **The Early Days** As early as the 1730's when the great Okinawan statesman,
241 Saion, urged the growing of the sago palm 'sotetsu', farmers
198 were already used to orders and suggestions from the gentry as to modification of their traditional ways. But it was not until the growth of population and the money economy that changes were to be brought about, not so much by orders from above, but chiefly by the workings of economic forces.

175 The ultimately most effective agent of change had been the introduc-
177 tion of the sugar cane plant in 1623 and its concomitant technique of sugar
433 manufacture.[1] It was not until a decade after the Japanese took over the
249 islands, however, that sugar production began to increase, and not until after the Russo-Japanese war that sugar really became an important crop in the economy. By 1939 the production of sugar amounted to more than a million tons, and production exceeded consumption by ninefold.[2] By the end of the 1951-1952 winter pressing season, production had declined to 256,000 tons.[3]

175 About the time of Commodore Perry's visit the population of Okinawa
62 had begun to grow, and new areas were settled by both commoners and the gentry. Nanahan dates its existence from this period. Of the first three families to settle here, one came from Shuri gentry, and two others were commoners from the main settlement of Tomoyose. Of the seven settlements of the village of Yamada, three were settled by commoners and one by the gentry. All had come from the urban areas of the south in the latter part of the last century.
[829] In Okinawa everyone seems to be aware of his place in history, and in the older settlements one often hears the remark, "...they are newcomers; they have been here for only two hundred years."

175 In general the agricultural history of Okinawa falls into three per-
241 iods. The first saw a self-sufficient economy, in which banana cloth was
178 made in the village. The chief crops were millet, arrowroot, and sweet po-
433 tatoes. With the introduction of a money economy, and its further intensifi-
[177] cation under the Japanese, sugar gradually turned from its previous use as a home confection to a full money crop. Rice acreage fell as more sugar was planted, and sweet potatoes found a greater place in the diet. The old crops of millet, cassava, and arrowroot were all but abandoned in Shimajiri, and became less important in the north. The third period is essentially the post-war and still continuing one, in which the growing of vegetables for the

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1 Navy Handbook, p. 240.

2 CAARI, p. 156.

3 Summation of U. S. Army Military Government Activities in the Ryukyu Islands, July-November 1946, p. 25.

military competes with sugar as a primary cash crop, and cane fields are being converted back to rice paddies as fast as the farmer's resources permit. A more detailed discussion of the crop changes in the last two or three decades follows. 175 241 178 433

Chronology of Change in Crops The major changes in crops revolve chiefly around the replacement of rice as a cash crop by sugar cane, and the later reversal of this situation. About fifty years ago, rice was the chief cash crop. It was rarely consumed in the home, but was sold in order to meet the monetary expenses of taxes, and to buy occasionally the new commodities that were beginning to appear in the markets. Then, not long after the Russo-Japanese war had ended, the price of black sugar jumped almost overnight from ¥8.50 to ¥64 for a 150-'kin' barrel. Everyone wanted to get a share of this boom in sugar, and most began to convert paddy land into 'hatake' for the growing of cane. They were stuck with the 'hatake' when the price fell after two months. The Japanese subsidized sugar later, however, and most of the land that had been converted remained sugar land. [654]

When the people began returning to their farms more than a year after the end of World War II hostilities, there was little market for sugar. The subsidy had gone with defeat, and providentially the sugar lands were available for the growing of more sweet potatoes. American canned food and sweet potatoes were the main items of diet until about 1949. Gradually farmers began to convert 'hatake' to paddy fields, and to grow rice again---this time less for sale than for home consumption. [262] [177]

The old "bearded rice" varieties (fijimē and mēdakʒja) of the nineteenth century were replaced gradually by the shorter-statured but higher-yielding 'hōraimai'. The bearded rice, planted only once a year, had a yield of about one-third the present variety, and had only five or six stalks per plant. The twice a year modern variety yields more and has on the average fourteen to fifteen stalks per plant. As a result of the adoption of the two-crop variety, at least one traditional ceremony was abandoned. This was the tantui, in which the whole village participated before simultaneously planting their seedbeds. Before the war, two-thirds of Okinawa's rice requirements were imported.[1] Indicative of the postwar change to rice are the figures for area of paddy-fields in Kochinda-son; the 114,142 'tsubo' of paddy in February of 1948 had increased to 306,220 'tsubo' by September of 1952. Field investigation proved that conversion to paddy has proceeded at least as fast since 1952 as it did prior to that date. 175 241 433 243 178

Before the First World War almost everyone in Nanahan raised forty to fifty 'tsubo' of millet. It was boiled with glutinous rice to make millet rice-cakes, or 'awamochi'. None is raised now. The same is true of cotton. "It grew only a foot high, but its fiber was very strong and would last a lifetime." Some other crops lasted into the post-war period. Until about 1950 textile bananas and yams were raised in Nanahan, but they both proved to be too weak in typhoons, and their cultivation was abandoned. 178 175 241 [252]

1 Summation....July-November 1946, p. 25.

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244 Many root plants such as the giant radish and carrots used to flower out, and the root would be so stringy that it could not be eaten. About nine years before the war the Japanese brought in many new and better varieties.
[178] Nanahan has more vegetables now than the rest of Tomoyose, people say, "...because our houses are scattered and we can get to the vegetable plots easily;
[231] they in Tomoyose can't, and therefore pay less attention to vegetables." Of the seven wards of Tomoyose, only Nanahan has an agreement not to keep chickens so that their vegetables will be protected. Before the war the Irish leek and swiss chard were the only abundant vegetables; others were to be had in only small quantities. The "pine mushroom", or 'metsudake', was gathered "when we used to have pines in the neighborhood." Farmers complain that they can grow less green peas now, because of the great increase in number of rats due to loss of the cat population during the invasion.

Okinawa has always been self-sufficient in sweet potatoes except in occasional time of famine. Even then, dried products of the sweet potato are often used. Many varieties are grown the year around, but in Nanahan only five main varieties were mentioned. Okinawa #100 gives the biggest harvest and in fairly fixed amounts regardless of weather. There were many of White #100 before the war, but few now. It was delicious, but the harvest gradually declined from its former high yield. Just after the war there were many of the tumaikurū variety, but recently few have been planted. The yield had been high, but gradually the seed became bad; it was described as the "most delicious of all sweet potatoes." Yaeyamaakagu was mentioned as a variety still grown in small amounts. The variety which brings the highest market price is Kiirumugwā. This "delicious" potato yields only half that of the average, and hence its price is double.

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241 Perhaps the best way to view the prewar-postwar change in agriculture is to look at the amounts grown by a typical Nanahan farmer. Table I below
433 presents this information.

Table I

Crop	Tsubo Prewar	Tsubo Postwar	Comments
Sugar cane			Postwar home use amounts to 14-15 'kin' (19-20 lb.) annually. Sells about 100 'kin' (132 lb.). Prewar, sold 1400-1500 'kin' yearly.
(summer planting)	500	350	
(spring planting)	300	150	
Sweet potatoes	700	500	Three harvests per year. Not sold much; make starch only if harvest is plentiful.
Soybeans	300	200	Generally sold about 1/3 of each prewar crop, but only when money was needed at home.
Broad beans	150	70	Prewar variety was a small plant, the postwar one very large.

Table I, Cont'd.

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Crop	Tsubo Prewar	Tsubo Postwar	Comments	
Green peas	80	--	None now due to rats.	
Giant radish	50	50	Sell half; use the rest in soups.	
Burdock root	--	50	Sell 90%; use only at home for feasts.	
Carrots	1	5	Sell half the crop.	
Dryland taro	--	20		
Irish potatoes	--	50	Winter crop; seed from Hokkaido.	
Cucumbers	1-2	50	Prewar, all used at home. Now sell 90% at about ¥10 per 'kin'.	
Chives	1	1	Always use in soup. Raise for home use only.	
Wax melon	50	50	Sold half in Itoman prewar; now sell same amount in Naha.	
Pumpkins	1	1	Entirely for home use then and now.	
Kidney beans	100	100	Then and now entirely for home use, in 'gohan' and 'miso'.	
Cabbage	--	60	Sell 90% at ¥2-7 per 'kin'.	
Eggplant	--	4-5 stalks	For occasional home use.	
Green onion	--	10	Entirely for home use, in soups, etc.	
Chinese cabbage	--	20	Sell over two-thirds.	
Bitter melon	--	5	Mainly for home use.	
Mustard cabbage	--	3	Sell half. Pickle temporarily with salt for home use.	[251]
Swiss chard	5	50	Pigs eat the old and large leaves; people the young and tender small ones.	[231]
Garlic	--	3	It is pickled, and is entirely for home use.	[251]
Shallot	--	2	Entirely for home use.	
Red peppers	--	1-2 stalks	Used with soybean curd, or when one has a stomach ache.	[757]

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Before the war Okinawa imported half its soybean requirements. By early 1951 the prewar acreage had been cut by half.[1] This resulted in the necessity to import soy sauce tax-free from Japan, which brought an ineffective protest from the Legislature early in 1954. 'Miso' paste, which is made of soybeans when they are available, is now made also of corn, broad beans, kidney beans, and various other legumes.

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As early as 1946 the occupation forces reported:

> Rapid restoration of Okinawa's prewar agriculture is hampered chiefly by an arable land shortage induced by military requirements in the southern half of the island, where roughly 30,000 acres are devoted to military use. War damage and migration from combat and, later, base development areas seriously disrupted agrarian economy and early planning was delayed pending disposition of farm tracts affected by military expansion.[2]

That loss of both upland dry fields and paddy land was affected is shown by the following:[3] (figures are in 1,000's of acres)

Table II

Type of Land	1940 Acreage	1950 Acreage	% of 1940
Cultivated land	103.8	67.2	65%
Paddy land	11.5	9.6	83%
Upland fields	92.3	57.6	62%

Even more significant is a comparison of the 1940-1950 figures with those for 1904, which show the situation which existed before any Japanese military installations were built.

Table III[4]

Year	Acres Paddy Land	Acres Dry Fields	Total Arable Acres
1904	15,779.1	93,952.6	109,731.7
1940	11,527.25	82,273.86	93,801.11
1950	9,559.56	57,610.16	67,169.72

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1 Ryukyu Islands Economic Statistics Bulletin, no. 10, January-March, 1951.

2 Summation...op. cit., p. 26.

3 Ryukyu...., p. 13.

4 The 1904 data are from Summary of the Land Adjustment in Okinawa Prefecture, Tokyo, 1904. The 1940 and 1950 figures are from the reverse side of the large map, Okinawa shotō shōzu.

In all cases, Kunigami seems to have held up the best, and Nakagami has fared the worst. Again this reflects the military interest of both the Japanese and the Americans. The comparison of 1904 acreage with that of 1950 in each of the three areas is shown below: 178 175 241 727 311

Table IV

Area	1904 Acreage		1950 Acreage		% Decrease	
	Paddy	Dry	Paddy	Dry	Paddy	Dry
Kunigami	6,530.5	28,398.5	5,463.0	20,773.8	16%	27%
Nakagami	3,861.2	34,176.1	1,675.1	14,932.0	57%	56%
Shimajiri	5,370.3	30,978.7	2,443.9	21,904.4	55%	29%
Okinawa Island[1]	15,779.1	93,952.6	9,539.0	57,610.2	39%	39%

Chronology of Changes in Farming Technique It is impossible to give for the whole of Okinawa a schedule showing just when each technical innovation was introduced. Some parts of Shimajiri and Nakagami were in advance of the rest of the island; conversely, one finds on the outer islands practices still carried on that the more progressive areas abandoned more than two decades ago. 178 241

In Yamada the transplanting of rice was originally done by scattering (bara'ii) of the shoots. Shortly before 1930 this method was replaced by planting in rows, with a string to mark the distance. The spaces were filled in by planting while walking backwards. About 1950 people started transplanting while moving forward. This has been replaced in part---at least in areas where the mud is firm and clayey---by the planting frame, the 'waku'. 178 243

Farmers kept the harvested rice in conical stacks (majin) several feet high. The bundles (tabai) had the heads facing inward to prevent attack by rats. The number of these stacks was indicative of the farmer's prestige in the community. The sheaves were removed from the bottom layer always, and only when rice was needed for food. [554]

Removal of the grain from the stalk was accomplished by the kūrashijii. This was a pair of bamboo tongs held in the right hand, while the sheaf was drawn through the tongs with the left hand. When the new variety of rice was introduced, use of the kanabā became common. This iron-comb-like device, through which the sheaves were drawn one at a time, can still be found in use on the isle of Sesoko, off the Motobu peninsula. It apparently did not find 178 243 412

[1] The discrepancy in the 1904 totals for Okinawa Island and grand totals for the three division of the island is accounted for by 17.1 acres of paddy land and 256.7 acres of dry fields in Naha, and 142.6 acres of dry fields in Shuri.

It apparently did not find
178 widespread use in Tomoyose, for that village passed almost directly from the use
243 of bamboo tongs to the rotary thresher, or 'dakkokki' (see photo). Yamada first
412 saw this thresher about 1933, but Nanahan farmers began using it only in 1941.
[407]

Hulling of grain was in the past accomplished---as needed for home use
178 or sale---by using a wooden rotary mill (see photos) called fichiūshi in Yamada
252 and shiriūshi in Nanahan. In Yamada two women sat with their feet braced against it, and pulled straw ropes alternately. In Nanahan men did the hulling, and the rotary mill was lower but was three feet in diameter. In the late thirties motor-powered hulling mills were built in many areas, and farmers took their rice there for hulling and polishing.

Polishing of brown rice in Nanahan was accomplished until about 1935 by use of a mortar, or chichiūshi (see photo), and pestle, or ajin. Most families still have these in reserve, as they were used after the war and were replaced by rice mills only after 1949. People in remote areas still use them exclusively. Nowadays people have their rice hulled and polished in one operation at a rice mill, if it is close at hand.

178 Very little wheat was grown in the three farm villages studied, but
246 it was noticed that on the outer isles wheat was more dominant. On Henza isle, removal of the grain from the sheaf and hull was accomplished by rubbing it upon a piece of bumpy limestone. On Kudaka, separation was by rubbing on a canvas, both with the hands and feet.

178 After the war farmers took advantage of the spread of the lantana bush,
241 which had flourished due to the neglect of the land. It furnished an excellent livestock feed, and also a short pole which they could use in roofing their re-
[342] built houses. Such poles, or kichigwā, had formerly been brought down from the forested north country.

178 Chronology of Change in Livestock Recovery of the land after the war pro-
727 ceeded far more rapidly than replacement
231 of the livestock killed or eaten in the invasion. The following table illustrates the loss and slow recovery (except for swine) in livestock numbers:

Table V

Type of Livestock	1940[1]	1946[2]	1952[3]	1952 as % of 1940
Cattle	22,000	112	6,837	31.0%
Horses	25,000	899	5,110	20.4%
Swine	108,426	1,165	107,077	98.8%
Goats	106,257	1,647	58,472	55.1%

In Kachinda-son the story has been somewhat the same, with the exception that there are many more swine and cattle now than in the thirties. This is due partly to the lesser amount of land in sugar and the planting of more

1, 2 Summation....July-November, 1946, p. 26.

3 Ryūkū tōkei hōkoku, Vol. 3, No. 3, 1943, p. 1. Valid as of 31 Dec. 1952.

swiss chard for pig feed, as well as the greater availability of lantana bushes for livestock feed. The following table compares the 1931 figures with those for 1952: 178 927 231

Table VI

Livestock Type	1931	1952	1952 as % of 1931
Cattle	41	229	558.0%
Horses	1,676	74	4.4%
Swine	1,774	2,490	140.0%
Goats	4,217	1,400	33.3%

The "great rabbit boom" is often spoken of by farmers in an amusing vein. In the winter of 1946-1947 rabbits assumed the form of currency, and in a mad fever people bought rabbits and sold them, never realizing their true value. A Nanahan farmer related: 175 231 [43]

> I hitched a ride on a truck, and went up to the Katchin peninsula. There I bought a rabbit for ¥600. I sold it the next day to B. for ¥1200. He resold it for ¥700 profit to a Gisshi farmer who was waiting to buy one. Then I went up again, stayed overnight, and sold the new rabbit for ¥1000 profit. Again and again I went, and finally amassed ¥5000 in profits. With these rabbit profits I bought what I thought was a pregnant goat for ¥7000. It wasn't pregnant, and I had to sell it for ¥3000, taking a loss. But then I bought a pig from B. for ¥2500 and sold it to 'One-armed K' for ¥3000.
>
> In Tsukazan, which was the center of the rabbit trade in this area, a man sold all of his land to invest in rabbits, but he lost everything on the deal.

2. Land Use

The basic pattern of land use has been described in Glacken's Okinawan Village Studies (SIRI Report No. 4), and in Nuttonson, Ecological Crop Geography and Field Practices of the Ryukyu Islands, Natural Vegetation of the Ryukyus, and Agro-Climatic Analogues in the Northern Hemisphere. Although agriculture is not quite as intensive nor yields so high as in Japan, still much intercropping, double-cropped and rotation of crops is carried on. Because sugar cane takes a year or more to mature, various crops such as kidney beans, giant radish, cucumbers, broad beans, soy beans and mustard cabbage are interplanted with the cane. They mature and are harvested before the cane grows too tall and cuts off the sunlight. Sugar cane is rotated in a two-crop cycle of cane and sweet potatoes; or it is rotated with soybeans and sweet potato in a three-crop cycle. Very rarely is cane replanted in a field which has just produced a crop. In this way the farmers hope to diminish the damage done by worms and insects. 311 241

The leaves of the yūna tree are a native
311 substitute for toilet paper, and are still used in some villages, though people
824 deny that the practice continues. When pressed they may intimate that so-and-
[514] so, "the poor family over the hill", retains the practice. Banyan trees fur-
[178] nish leaves for green manure, as do many other varieties. Before the war many
people grew kuroki for eventual use in the making of samisens. The top of the
[534] tree was cut when young so that it would become stub[illegible] thick. The neigh-
boring village of Tsukazan boasts of a samisen-maker whose fame has taken him
to Naha. The 'kusunoki' tree is considered to be the best tree to plant near
the house, for it discourages termites.

241 Fertilizers Okinawan farmers in most areas utilize the traditional night soil and green manures, as well as the modern synthetic fertilizers.
[514] Almost every house has two toilets. The one not in use is utilized as a
[237] night-soil decay pit. Pig manure is mixed with the human excreta, water added, and the whole let set for about a fortnight before use on the fields. Use of animal manure in the paddies was abandoned with the introduction of the new variety of rice. Animal manure produced good heads on the old variety but makes heavy stalks only on the new.

241 Green manure is extensively used as a plant nutrient in the paddy
824 fields. Indeed, some paddies in winter are devoted to the raising of green manure, which is plowed under before spring planting. Outer leaves of cabbage are fed to goats to become manure for the dry fields, or the leaves are trampled into the mud of the paddy to decay. Thistles, 'kuwazu-imo' leaves, and tree leaves of the yūna and banyan are only a few of the many types of green manure. Compost, or 'taihi', is made for the dry fields and some paddies by mixing animal manure with 'genya' grasses, rice straw, and other plant remains. Before the war, compost was not used for vegetables, because it would cause a shortage in the amount available for the cane fields. Nowadays compost is more available, and many vegetables assume huge proportions. One Nanahan farmer produced a wax melon weighting 97 'kin', or 128 pounds.

241 Commercial fertilizers available to the farmers include ammonium sulphate ('ryusan ammoniya', 'ryūan'), synthesized fertilizer ('kasei hiryo'), ammonium nitrate ('ryusan kari'), nitrogen-lime ('sekkai chisso'), urea ('nyōso'), potassium chloride ('enkakari'), and superphosphate of lime ('Karinsan sekkai'). Ammonium sulphate is preferred for sugar cane. During the last four or five years the Agricultural Federation ('Nōren') in Naha has enforced a tie-in sale so that when a farmer buys two sacks of ammonium sulphate, he must also buy one sack of superphosphate of lime. Farmers in Tomoyose quite often dispose of the latter by dumping it beside the road, as they believe that it is not good for the soil found on their farms. One enterprising Nanahan farmer, who for several years was a member of the Kochinda-son agricultural committee, enquires about the cast-off fertilizer, and when he finds it he uses it to good effect. When he was interviewed concerning this, he expressed anger at what he considered the backwardness of his neighbors.

Okinawans were first introduced to chemical fertilizer in the mid-
[177] twenties, when a black fertilizer appeared. This was later replaced by the various white products, which since some time before the war have been supplemented by soybean waste when available.

Although animals are generally bought for prices that the community considers as relatively fixed (see below), meat animals sell for a certain rate per unit weight that varies with the market. Old cows and bullocks are generally sold for meat at the rate of ¥60 per kin. Boars, if fat, are sold for ¥42 per kin. Male goats bring ¥20 per kin for eating purposes, and chickens bring about ¥200 per kin. Females of any animals are very seldom sold unless old and almost dying, or unless the farmer finds himself in dire monetary emergency. Nanahan, which has the greatest vegetable acreage in Tomoyose village, has a 'han'-wide agreement not to raise chickens, due to their possible destruction of young plants. 435

Buying of Livestock and Daily Necessities The war depleted most of the livestock of Okinawa, and recovery has been slow. Okinawan farmers frequently expressed their gratitude to the American religious organizations which sent goats to them to help in reconstruction. 727 231 [177]

The reversion of Amami indirectly helped to increase the livestock on Okinawa. A Nanahan farmer described the situation in late November of 1953: 439 231

> Horses, cows, goats and pigs, together with household furniture come into Tomari port from Amami every day. The Amamians want to get as much Okinawan yen as possible, because it will convert to Japanese yen at three to one, and they think they will be ahead. The accelerated cattle movement started right after reversion intentions were announced. We are very glad to be able to buy the animals, but important people on Amami are afraid that this movement will deplete the island of animals, especially stud horses and bulls, goats and pigs for breeding.

Nanahan farmers have relatively fixed ideas on the prices of livestock. For middle grade, or average, stock the following prices are quoted: horses, ¥13,000; cows, ¥25,000; heifers, ¥10-11,000; calves ¥9-10,000; boars, ¥2,500; sows, ¥2,700; and all goats, ¥300-400. 435

Before the war there were many people traveling through the countryside selling 'miso' paste and bean curd. Every other day such peddlers would visit even the most isolated settlements. Better roads and increased communications by bus and jitney have oriented purchase of staples urbanward. The only peddlers who now come through Nanahan are basket peddlers. Two small stores in the main settlement provide 'sake', noodles, matches and other small-cost items that are not worth a trip to town. 438 178* 443

Sale of Services Farm labor is drawn from the southern islands and from poorer families who are just getting a start in the community. In Nanahan there was only one full-time farm laborer, who was paid ¥2,000 a month, in addition to room and board. He had left Miyako when eighteen, two years before, because of a famine that was being caused by a sweet-potato virus. His employer was a man who managed a good deal of land---indeed the land that belonged to himself and two minor relatives---and sorely needed the extra labor. Another landowner was converting dry land to paddy, and after 464 [465]

'nuka'. The latter is fed to pigs, cows, and chickens. The rice polisher keeps the hulls (mumigara), but the farmers have free access to the hull pile should they want to use it for stuffing pillows. People in Kanegusuku do not usually pay in cash, but allow the miller to keep about six percent of the polished rice as multure. 445 [437]

Exchange of Services In order to lessen the amount of money used in transactions, rural folk resort to exchange of labor as much as possible. However, the exchange is based upon fairly rigorous ideas of reciprocity, and a person who has been helped is expected fully to return the favor. A Nanahan man built a house with a tin roof---the only one in the village---with the aid of his wife's brother, who was a carpenter. In return he spent a greater number of days aiding his brother-in-law in construction of a new house---paying back more days because of his comparative lack of skill. People envy the carpenter, who did not finish high school, but attended a four-month carpentry school instead. "He now makes more than a high-school graduate, and has four apprentices working for him." 476 [437] [463]

Okinawan youths very early learn the patterns expected in cooperative labor. The custom of iimarū is one of teen-aged boys' going around in a group to work the fields of the father of one of the boys, and moving on in turn to the fields of the other fathers. [383]

Some loosening of patterns of use of horse-drawn sugar mills was recorded. For instance, during the prewar period the dominant family in Nanahan had monopolized one particularly well-located press and boiling shed. Now they share its use with all the families living in the valley where the dominant family's 'honke' is located. [178] [249]

In Yamada mutual assistance through exchange of labor is called yiisē. For example, a farmer who wants to transplant rice gets help from among his relatives. One person comes from each family that can spare one, with the assurance that it will receive one person in return. If the labor cannot be returned for transplanting, the people owing a day may fill in with work on a dry field or aid in building a new house, and so forth. Thatching a roof with kaya grass is also yiisē, but it partakes somewhat of the nature of a 'moai', or mutual loan group. People from the whole village may come for this. They bring bundles of grass---one, two or three---and the amount is written down so that the same amount may be returned when that person's turn comes. The similarity to 'moai' may be only in the fact that there is a written record. [452]

The probationary adoption of a 'yōshi' may be considered a form of exchange of services. A man without an heir may take into his house a nephew, say the third son of his brother, with the intention of adopting him should the boy be serious and hard-working. If the boy should not prove amenable to the arrangement---one boy said, "I stayed with my uncle two years, but left because I wanted to get an education"---his labor is considered to have paid for the expense of keeping him. [597]

2. Rural Industries

178 438 543 Generally speaking, it can be said that much less effort is put forth in the countryside now toward home industries than was the case before the war. In Nanahan making of products at home has declined to the point where rather than being made for sale, they are made only for exhibit at the fair given annually at the local primary school. Even here considerable urging is required by the village officials, and entries are forthcoming only by an appeal to pride in one's village"s standing at the fair.

249 257 Sugar Presses and Mills Okinawa has two modern western-style sugar refineries, one at Haebaru and one on the isle of Minami Daitō. At the other end of the scale there are the some-400 horse-drawn rotary mills. Between these there are perhaps a dozen or less mills which utilize gasoline-powered motors and are geared to operate on a much larger scale than the rotary presses.

471 257 461 In rebuilding the big mill at Tomoyose which had been destroyed in the war, each family that owned stock in the mill contributed the labor of one person per day of building. On a typical day they started work at eight, had a fifteen-minute "break" at ten, and returned home for lunch for an hour at noon. After an afternoon "break", the work continued until six. Breaks and resumption of work were announced by pounding on an empty oxygen cylinder of large dimensions. The only break I observed lasted for 24 minutes. Tea was served to everyone, and the men sat around discussing how they would be able to pay for the building---which was made of sandy limestone from Minatogawa---and 471 257 where they would borrow money. The sugar produced was to be sold to the Agricultural Federation in Naha, as is the sugar produced at the smaller mills. However, the sugar was to be sold in 50 kin (66 pound) bags rather than in [433] 100 kin barrels. The potential annual output was estimated at 15,000 bags, or approximately one-half the Tomoyose village production.

256 Kanegusuku Rice Mill There is one small rice mill in Kanegusuku. All the villagers who have rice land---or about 70% of the families---utilize this mill for polishing. No one in the village uses the [439] old-fashioned hand mill. The owner of the rice mill says that most of the villagers cannot afford to pay cash for having their rice polished. Consequently he takes as multure about two-thirds of one 'gō' from each 'shō' of rice. This amounts to approximately six percent of their rice. The villagers evidently trust him completely, for no one was seen standing around watching while their rice was being polished.

The owner says that his machines are old and break down frequently. Three machines are required for the whole process. This is not a full-time job except during the harvesting periods. The young man who is owner regularly works on his family's lands. All operation and maintenance are done by him; he does not hire a helper even in the busiest times.

286 433 [178] Mat-Making in Kanegusuku The three-cornered sedge ('sankaku-i') is a reed grown in a wet field like rice, and is the basis of 'tatami omote' and 'goza' manufacture, the chief home industry of Kanegusuku. Production of the reed in Kanegusuku today is about one-tenth the pre-

war level. This is due to several factors. The local prices for reed products are said to be too low, and access to Japanese markets is difficult today due to the separation of Okinawa and Japan. Since the war local food shortages and changed tastes and diet have influenced change to greater rice production. Many houses in Kanegusuku lost their mat-weaving looms during the war, depriving them of this means of support. In addition, there is some feeling that it is too time-consuming and the young girls do not like it. 286 433 178

One tsubo produces about two bundles of reed, which is worth about ¥10 a bundle when dried. Usually the reed is not sold, but is made by the producer's family into mats. Two bundles of reeds make one 'goza' mat, which sells for ¥65-100 in Naha. One person can make about two of these mats in one day. However, in almost all families this is part-time work, the woman of the house weaving in her spare time. One family in the village fortunate enough to own two looms employs two village girls full time as long as a supply of reeds is available. 286 433 [435] [464]

The covering for the 'tatami' mat is called 'tatami omote'. An individual can make about six of these per day. They are faster-made than 'goza' because the ends do not have to be tied off and bordered. These sell for about ¥45 in Naha, which place people prefer to Itoman as a market for their reed products. However, rice straw to be used in the base of 'tatami' is sold in Itoman because the cost of transporting the bulky straw to Naha would be prohibitive---it is sold for only ¥1 or ¥2 per bundle. The Agricultural Cooperative is trying to arrange for the sale of 'tatami omote' in Kagoshima where ¥85 per mat can be obtained. The first such postwar collection and sale was made early in 1954. 286 433 435

<u>Prewar Home Industry in Yamada</u> Before the war people in Yamada made much of their own clothing, and were self-sufficient in most of the tools they used. Most of the clothing was made by the women of the village themselves. Most women wove, and many wove constantly when not in the fields. Many had their own looms, but those who did not borrowed looms from their neighbors. 294 [286]

The usual summer garment was a kimono of banana-fiber cloth and the usual winter garment one of cotton. The former was made wholly at home, from the tree to the finished garment. For the cotton kimono the threads were purchased, usually at Kadena, already dyed, and the cloth woven at home. [291]

Several families had silkworms. They got the eggs from Japan and fed the worms on mulberry leaves they grew in their yards. These women spun and wove at home but they sometimes had professional dyers at Kadena or Naha dye the threads for them. Silk garments, like store-bought garments, were only for grand occasions. 231 283 292

Before the war some Yamada women made "panama" hats in their homes as piecework for a hat company. The company furnished the materials and bought the finished product. This was one of the few sources of cash available outside the sugar crop. Baskets, carrying bags, and raincapes made of 294 [434]

Baskets, carrying bags, and raincapes made of
294 fiber from the trunk of the chigu palm, raincapes from the excess rice straw,
[285] and hats made from the leaf of the kuba palm completed the list of major items made at home.

291 Postwar Home Industry in Yamada Before the war many---probably most---Yamada
178 people had never worn Western-style clothing.
177 The few school teachers and a man who worked at the 'son' office were probably the only exceptions. Some of the young men who went to Naichi to work acquired Western clothing there, but the older men and women continued to wear kimono. During the invasion, houses, looms, and other equipment---and much of the clothing---of the people of Yamada were destroyed. At Ishikawa and elsewhere after the battle they received cast-off army clothing. For a time they wore only this and what little they had salvaged from the battle. At present they have supplemented this with Japanese and American-made civilian clothing
[230] in Western types. Probably no one in Yamada weaves cloth today. Only one
[231] cloth loom was located in the whole village, and this had been put away. No one raises silkworms.

178 Basketry is still made, but only for local use. Raincoats of straw
[285] and palm bark are not made in Yamada, but a few are brought in from the north.
[294] However, the army poncho has in part replaced this garment. The kubagasa, the
[271] hat made from the kuba palm leaf, is still made and worn in Yamada, but probably not as much as before the war. A variety of store-bought hats, including sun-helmets, are worn by the younger men.

ooo

Canvas acquired

Canvas acquired from the military has in part replaced the ricestraw mat called nukubuku, which is used for drying grain in the sun. There were also several looms for nukubuku in prewar Yamada, but few if any now. Before the war several families had looms for making mushiru, whose weft is reed ('i') and warp is cord made of pandanus root. At the present time one old man still makes mushiru. His loom is a primitive double-bar loom and it takes him more than a day to weave one mat. He cannot compete with the much faster looms used at Kanegusuku. 286 178

3. Rural Finance

The chief money crop is still sugar, and the leading financial institution in the countryside is still the 'moai', or mutual loan group. However, there are innumerable other occasions when the farmer must pay out money or borrow money. These occasions include personal loans, village taxes, levies, payments to officials, contributions of money for prizes at fairs, and occasional contributions for village improvements. Finally, there is the traditional last resort of people in financial difficulties---sale of one or more of their children. 45

Mutual Loan Groups Before the war the mutual loan group, or 'moai' (Okinawan muyē) met only once or twice a year. Each of the forty shares (kuchi) averaged ¥20, and the record book had to have the 'son' office stamp upon it. The record book could not be shown or opened except at each meeting. Almost all postwar 'moai' meet once a month, and usually this is the fifteenth of the lunar month. The reason for this date is not known. It may have some relation to the fact that habu snakes are night feeders, and may feed less on moonlit nights; or it may be due to the need for moonlight to find one's inebriated way home. 452

Since there was no livestock after the war, most 'moai' then were formed with the main purpose of buying livestock, although the winner did not have to use the money for this. Nanahan people have an unwritten rule that 'moai' money may not be used to pay off debts. The amounts of the shares of the three postwar 'moai' reflect the slowly increasing amounts of money available to the farmer. The first 'moai' had twenty shares at ¥200 each; the second one had twenty shares at ¥500 each; the third and still-continuing 'moai'---scheduled to end in April of 1955---has twenty-four shares at ¥1,000 each.

Every 'moai' has slightly different rules, but all are relatively simple. The following are the rules for the Nanahan 'moai':

1. Time of meeting is about 9 P.M. Bids will be received about 9:30, but if a person is late or absent when the bids are read, he will not be able to get the money even if he planned a low bid.

2. Bids: if a written bid is for the same amount as a verbal bid, the money goes to the person submitting the written bid.

3. The money will be collected at the house of the tuinushi (person who was the successful bidder at the last meeting). The tuinushi must get three other persons to sign a guarantee of his reliability.

Others include levies upon
651 organizations and families to support the athletic meets, or 'undōkwai',
[526] which are such a popular part of life in Okinawa.

575 Before the war the women's group ('fujinkai') and the young people's
178 group ('seinendan') levied a certain amount of soybeans against each member,
and when they were delivered the sale brought in money to finance their ac-
tivities. These organizations also made up special meals for local athletic
[526] favorites while they were in training, and provided a feast for them at the
526 end of the contests. Today the 'undōkwai' is on more of a monetary basis,
651 and there is a levy called the 'undōkwai no keihi'. In October of 1953, the
632 cost of the grand athletic meeting held in Naha was divided among the 'son'
according to the number of champions sent to the contest. Kochinda-son was
top grade in Shimajiri, and Tomoyose was a middle-grade village within
Kochinda-son. This grade was judged by the amount of arable land, its yield,
and the population. Within the village, households in turn are assessed by
three grades, according to their income tax records. These three grades
were "minimum," under ¥20; "middle", ¥20-50; and "maximum", ¥50-54.

621 Local Philanthropy From time to time the leading household heads are called
741 upon to donate money for improvement of village facili-
ties. Names of contributors and amounts given are written upon a wooden
plaque and hung in the village meeting house. The building of this meeting
house itself involved the gathering of such a fund, to which Nanahan people
gave a total of ¥1,450. Later a request for funds to buy a funeral stretcher
brought ¥350 from the household heads, and a road repair campaign netted
¥1,550 from Nanahan.

Somewhat the reverse of the above occurred after the Russo-Japanese
war when a particularly handsome soldier from the neighboring village came
back from the front. All the leading 'geisha' in Naha had long had the habit
of asking him to come to their establishments without charge. His return
brought such joy to their hearts that they got together a sum of money and
bought him a large plot of land near Nanahan.

52 Prizes at Contests From the time a youngster enters school and participates
in his first contest to the time when he shows an animal
at his last village or 'son' festival before retiring, all winners look for-
ward to some sort of prize to mark the occasion. In school the prizes are
generally beautifully handwritten scrolls, but as one gets older the prizes
assume the form of wooden trays and articles of practical use in the home.

858 Sale of Children When the SIRI team first arrived on Okinawa and mentioned
432 that we were interested in finding if the Okinawans still
[183] practiced the sale of children, sophisticated respondents feigned indignation.
Later on, as we were able to gain rapport in the countryside, a number of such
instances were forthcoming.

In Tomoyose a man got into debt over an effort to make a fortune in
sugar along about 1910. He was so heavily in debt to village people that he
was socially unable to live in the community, and moved to Itoman. There he
sold his son to a fisherman. The son is now a grown man with an Okinawan wife
and a mistress from Amami. His business is still fishing, although he also
owns a truck.

843 be drawn into the tomb. Some say the prospective father should also avoid these situations. Another set of observances has an easy delivery as its aim. The woman is urged to work hard and not to overeat so that the unborn child may not become too large. During the fifth month a "belly band" is wrapped tightly about her for the same purpose, especially to keep the head small.

A woman neither hides her pregnancy nor displays it unnecessarily---if she is married and it is her husband's child. If this is not the case she may attempt to hide the fact. On the other hand if she is bearing what may be her husband's first son , she may be very pleased at the prospect, but she does not go out of her way to show it.

843 774 [847] No clear statement was given to the effect that the "soul" enters the body of the unborn child at a particular time, but statements are made about dangers to the shii of the child. One informant suggested that this soul-like entity enters the body of the mother during the third month and that for this reason a moxibustionist had refused to abort a woman after her third month had passed.

847 Abortion Abortions have always been and continue to be performed on Okinawa. The most frequent reason is said to be the desire not to bear an illegitimate child. An old-fashioned home method is to brew camphor-wood leaves and drink the brew or to burn the leaves and breathe the smoke. Experts in cautery are also believed to be able to cause an abortion by burning moxa on the proper areas of the body. But at the present time women are said to be aborted more frequently by midwives. The practice does not appear to be regarded as illegal.

844 Birth A woman tries to work up until the time of childbirth. If she has had several children already she knows when labor starts, how long it is likely to last, and may go out to the fields confident that she can return in time. Delivery is in the kucha, the back room of the house. Women of the family are present and men are not forbidden, though children are sent out. Often a woman's husband grasps her during delivery. Formerly she squatted on the floor holding a rope suspended from a house-beam above her. At present she is usually made to lie down. The labor is spoken of as "pain" but the woman must not cry out; she may only grunt when putting her strength into the ejection of the baby. If she were to cry out because of the pain she would later feel very ashamed---"because it is something that happens to every woman; people would talk about her."

Formerly the newly-born child was neither bathed nor dressed but simply wrapped in an old kimono; now it is bathed in boiled water and dressed. The 853 infant is permitted to nurse from about the fourth day on, after there is milk in the mother's breasts. Before this it may be given a little sugar in water and possibly allowed to suck a little colostrum about the second day after birth.

•178 846 [354] Formerly the mother was kept in the kucha for about a week in front of a fire burning on the jiiru, an open hearth in country homes, a kind of brazier in the city.

brazier in the city. She was kept warm continuously, even in hot weather, so that, it is said, women often broke out in skin eruptions from the heat. At present younger women are not following this practice and many regard it as a foolish custom. The absence of jiiru in post-war houses may be a factor in the decline of the custom. 178 846 [354]

Post-natal Observances During the first year of life the child is the center of several ceremonies. They are in brief: 852

1) Mbagii sunji, "Red rice ceremony". Held on the day of birth. Relatives, friends, and neighbors come. Rice dyed red and a soup of taro stems (a symbol of many children) are offered to the ancestral tablets and served to the guests. The afterbirth is buried behind the house while the children are made to laugh so that the baby will have a good disposition. [844]

2) Naajiki, "Naming". Held during the first week. Practices vary. In one variety the baby's grandmother releases a crab and a grasshopper and shoots an arrow at a winnowing tray; in another she divines with rice grains to see if the name she has selected is proper. This rite was formerly held to give the baby its native Okinawan name. [553] [387]

3) Mansang, "Full birth". Held on the 7th or 30th day after the birth to celebrate the full term. A feast is served to relative, friends, and neighbors.

4) Naa'njii, "First going out". Held for a boy on the first day of the ten-day cycle, designated as kanii, on the second kanii day for a girl. The baby's grandmother makes it pray to the ancestral tablets and to the oven god, then marks its forehead with soot and takes it out, formerly to pray to the god of the pigsty-privy. [769] [782]

5) Hachi-atchii, "First walking". Held whenever the mother is first able to go to visit her parents and siblings. She takes gifts of food to them and in return they give money to the baby.

6) Tanka, "Birthday". Held on the first anniversary of the birth. A feast is prepared and many relatives and friends come bringing gifts of money. The child's future career is divined by placing a number of objects in front of it---money, a book, an abacus, food, etc. If the child chooses the money he will be rich; if the book, a scholar; if the food, a glutton; and so forth. The odds are usually weighted in favor of a desirable future. [527] [787]

There seems to be some variation in all of these practices. Several may be obsolescent because some of the elements entering into them are no longer in use, the pigsty-privy and the native names, for example. [178]

Infanticide New-born babies may be done away with if they are not wanted, but this is probably not at all common under ordinary circumstances. One example was recorded: An old woman who died recently lay for about a week on her death bed unable to talk. Her children gathered about her, wondering if some sin ('tsumi') were not in need of atonement ('tsugunai'). 847 783

847 Finally one of her brothers told them the reason. When she had been a young
783 woman her husband had been awa for a long period during which she had had relations with other men and had had a baby by one of them. To avoid the disgrace and the anger of her husband, the woman's mother had buried the child alive in the back yard. The story was known to other older members of the family because some time later the bones had been discovered. When the story was told to the children, they told their dying mother that she could now go peacefully. She died soon after. All agreed that if a tablet had been made for the dead infant and incense had been burned, even in secret, the mother would not have suffered when she died. Infanticide thus may be punished by the supernatural, but then the punishment may also be avoided by the proper offerings.

847 Lebra reports that birth statistics from the village of Kitazato suggest that female infanticide has been practiced there recently. Statistics from other communities studied do not give the same skewed sex ration.

853 Infant Care Okinawan mothers nurse their babies for a year to a year
854 and a half, though some are said to continue even until the child is three. They keep no schedules but give their babies the breast whenever they seem to want it. They deliberately offer a fretful baby the breast not only to appease its hunger but also to comfort it and it is not unusual to see a grandmother offer her dry breast to a child as a pacifier. I once commented to two Okinawan women that a certain American doctor has argued that Okinawans are happier than Americans because they are breast-fed as infants rather than bottle-fed; the women answered immediately, "But it's not the milk; it's the love ('aijō')."

853 Infants receive no food other than milk for the first nine months. Then they are given a little gruel made by skimming off the top of a mixture of cooked rice and water. This is not given earlier because it is believed that milk and rice do not mix well in the infant's stomach. After the child's first birthday it is given most adult foods, unless it is especially weak. Most children will not eat everything, however, but, it is said, will prefer sweet foods and avoid highly seasoned foods. Mothers do not prechew food for small children as a rule but may do so in some cases, to take the bones out of fish, for example.

863 Toilet training is neither early nor strict. Adults as a rule defe-
[584] cate only in the toilet but are likely to urinate almost anywhere. They do not expect small children to be very careful. A baby wears a diaper until it is a year or a year and a half; then it may wear only a dress or shirt with no pants. At first the mother holds it over the toilet or merely off the edge of the house. In time it is expected to go to the toilet itself to defecate. Children are said to go by themselves when they are three. I have seen children of four still defecating beside the house, too busy playing to go to the toilet. They were scolded for it but received no more severe punishment.
[178] This was in the city, however, and I was told that while their mothers did not object much to this behavior, their grandmother objected more strongly and scolded their mothers for permitting it. The change in type of toilet may

possibly have lowered standards of sanitation. Morale may also be a factor; 863
in the instance just mentioned the morale of the grandmother was undoubtedly 178
better than that of her daughter and daughter-in-law whom she criticized.

A very small baby may be carried in the arms, but usually it is car- 854
ried on the back. The mother places it with its belly to her back, its legs spread apart, and its head about at a level with the top of her shoulder. She secures it there with a long sash that runs once under its bottom, makes an X across her chest, passes around its shoulders, and ties in front. A baby is carried most frequently by its mother, but may also be carried a good deal by others, of either sex and any age, grandparents and older siblings being most frequent. The baby may look over the shoulder of its carrier or it may simply sleep, often with its head back and rolling. If it is fretful its carrier may lean forward a bit and jog it to sleep. Larger children may be carried without the sash, by just letting them hang on. Babies are carried about while all sorts of tasks are being performed.

Mothers often carry their babies into the fields when they go out to work, but when they are working in the house they may put their babies to sleep on the floor of the house. If a baby is put to sleep on the floor it is made to sleep on its back. Often the hard floor, which may or may not be covered with a thin mat, will cause the back of the baby's head to become flattened, or if the baby constantly turns its head to one side, the head may become assymetrical, but later fills out to assume its normal shape. Some mothers use a small mosquito net on a frame to protect the sleeping baby from insects, but frequently it is uncovered and flies may alight on it. A few mothers use a hammock-like device called 'burank', as a cradle; these are said to be becoming more popular. At night children, especially smaller children, [513]
sleep with their parents on quilts on the floor, under the one large net.

Children are expected to learn to walk at about 12 to 14 months. 856
Early walking is a sign of good health so that if a child is late to walk, 866
the parents may worry about it. As Glacken points out, there is an important change in the life of the child at this time. Instead of being carried everywhere on his mother's or older sibling's back, the child is now put down and expected to toddle along behind his mother, who is not always sympathetic when he fails to keep up. This change may be a greater trauma to the child than weaning or toilet-training.[1]

Children are said to begin talking at about a year and a half. The 856
first words are usually, nowadays, 'o-kaa', o-tō', 'o-baa', the Japanese equivalents of "daddy', "mommy", and "grandma". Parents do not worry if a child is a little late in talking.

<u>Childhood: Adult Attitudes</u> Okinawans recognize clearly that children are 858
not capable of participating in most adult activities and indeed appear to regard it as undesirable that they do so. Oki- [171]
nawan attitude contrasts sharply with the "modern" American one that takes

[1] Glacken, 1953, p. 264.

followed by "nee?", "isn't it so?" In this manner the adult communicates what 858
little that must be communicated to these sub-human beings that are constantly 171
underfoot. To other adults he uses other verb forms, other words, longer and 198
more tightly integrated sentences. He does so, I believe, confident that he is speaking over the heads of the children, though he would deny that this was his motive; his use of different forms in addressing adults would be more likely explained as motivated by respect for the adults. I believe that in this manner Okinawan children are mentally more isolated from adults than are American children, though physically they are in greater contact with them. In time, of course, children learn to understand the conversation of their elders, but they do so without asking questions or overtly showing much interest. Thus very gradually they come into the adult world.

The interpretation just presented is more an hypothesis that seems to 858
explain some features of Okinawan behavior than a fact that can be indisputably 197
demonstrated. But it suggests a reason, though probably not the only one, for 198
the strong tendency to retain Okinawan as the language of the home, even in families where the adults speak Japanese fairly well, regard it as superior, and use it on formal occasions. Okinawan is suitable for addressing children. Adults unconsciously prefer it because it makes it that much easier for them to differentiate between the speech used in addressing children and that used in addressing adults. Moreover, I believe this interpretation agrees [196]
with what appears to be a marked tendency in Okinawan society for the educated deliberately to talk over the heads of the uneducated. I will discuss this again under the heading education.

Discipline Parents appear to want their children to be agreeable in 867
their relations with others and industrious at school. They praise the gentle (J. 'otonashii') child and the good student. Yet they seem to tolerate noisiness, disregard for property, and to some extent disregard for person, though they may be more tolerant of this sort of behavior in boys than in girls. On one occasion Pitts and Lebra presented an old man with several photographs that they had taken of him and his grandson. As they handed the photographs to the old man, the boy snatched one and in doing so tore it. The old man was visibly hurt at the loss of the photograph, but said nothing to the child at all. On the other hand one of us also once saw a grandmother reach over and pinch a somewhat older girl quite severely because she was lying with her legs apart.

Where behavior thought to be of a more serious nature is concerned, 861
parents do attempt to control their children. They do so by coaxing, bribing, threatening, teasing, scolding, and, for most as a last resort, by corporal punishment. Scolding takes such forms as "dirty!", "shameful!", "You will be laughed at", etc. While being scolded the child need not answer; he may simply look at the ground and remain silent. Since he is not expected to answer he may be less inclined to construct elaborate excuses in the manner of the American child. The threats include such things as "we'll send you away", "we'll sell you to the Itoman people" (to a boy), "we'll sell you to the juri" (to a girl), "we'll give you to the Americans", "we'll call the police", "we'll call a cat (or some kind of bogey) to scare you," "you'll receive divine retribution." Since children are sometimes put out of the house as

855 Two facts that have been introduced into this discussion should be re-
861 stated and made more explicit. The first is that Okinawan child-training methods include the use of both verbal appeals and physical punishment. As a result of observations made during and shortly after the battle in 1945, Dr. J. C. Maloney reported[1] that Okinawans were very permissive with their children and did not use corporal punishment. It will be seen from the data just presented that while Okinawans are more permissive in many situations than Americans would be, they do in fact use severe physical punishment on occasion.

152 The second fact has to do with the contrast of "shame" versus "guilt"
181 that has been presented by several writers on the character of the Japanese.
171 Both Gorer and Benedict have asserted that the Japanese conform because they fear the ridicule of others whereas Westerners conform because they fear their
861 own consciences; Japanese culture is a "shame culture" while ours is a "guilt culture".[2] Okinawan culture also seems to be primarily a shame culture. Okinawans clearly fear ridicule greatly, and this fear seems traceable to their early training. But there are also elements in Okinawan child training that would tend to produce something of the Western sort of fear that one may suffer for his wrong-doing regardless of whether he is found out or not. These are to be seen in the phrases "retribution will strike" (Okinawan bachi nu ataaing, Japanese 'bachi ga ataru') and "the gods saw you". Shame and guilt are doubtless not mutually exclusive. Both sanctions exist in Okinawan culture, shame being much the stronger.

857
524 Play Boys play with kites and tops. Girls play hop-scotch. Both,
[207] if they can afford it, get one or more of the numerous Japanese children's
[179] magazines that are filled with stories, comics, and a variety of make-it-yourself paper toys.

857 Boys catch insects and birds and fasten strings to them in order to jerk them back as they try to fly away, or in order simply to drag them around. They do so quite unconscious of any cruelty in the act. Adults appear to regard living things as proper playthings.

[560] There may be less age-grading among smaller children than among older people or among children in present-day American society. Several boys of different ages were observed playing together on many occasions, mainly, it seemed, because they were related and lived in adjacent houses. The girls who occasionally joined them were also of the same group of related families.

882 Youth Traditionally, entering one's thirteenth year, for a girl, and fif-
178 teenth, for a boy, marks a change in status from that of child to that of youth (niisee, in J. 'seinen', literally "green years"). There was
[881] also a later ceremony at which the young man's hair was done in a knot; and the tattooing undergone by a young woman may have been part of a puberty rite.
[877] But at present, finishing one's schooling marks the greatest change in the
877 life of a young person. At this time the treatment he receives and the be-
882 havior expected of him change markedly. As long as he is in school he is

1 Maloney, 1945, p. 394.

2 Gorer, 1943; Benedict, 1946, p. 223.

expected to keep to his studies and not merely to avoid the distractions of 877
adult pleasures but actually not to be interested in them. He is given spe- 882
cial considerations as a student, a place to study, quiet, and freedom from
irksome tasks. This consideration probably varies with the position of the
student in the family and with his success as a student. Boys undoubtedly [562]
get more consideration than girls, older sons than younger sons---though if
an older son has been unable to go on to school and is helping a younger
brother go on, the younger brother may get greater consideration and feel
greater responsibility. This special treatment lasts as long as the young
person is in school or as long as the family can afford not to rely on him
for economic assistance. But even the young man in university who is working
part time to keep himself in school is expected not to be interested in the
sorts of pleasures sought by younger boys who stopped their schooling much
earlier.

Today junior high school is compulsory, but the majority of students 871
go no farther. The high schools strictly limit the number of students that
they can enroll, so that many junior high graduates who would like to go on
to high school are unable to. But whether a youth stops his schooling at 884
junior high school, high school, or later, the change in treatment and atti-
tudes is the same. He "enters society". He is now expected to do an adult's
work and contribute to the family's support. At the same time he is expected
to spend his evenings with the other young men, drinking, teasing the girls,
and staying out half the night---behavior a student would have no interest
in, at least in theory.

While a youth is in school he belongs to a students' organization 877
('gakuseikai'). After he leaves school he is expected to join the youth or- 575
ganization ('Seinenkai'). The present Youth Organization is the successor 883
of the pre-war, Japan-wide organization, less the militarism and jingoism. [178]
It is organized on a Ryukyu-wide basis, but local chapters make their own
constitutions, statements of aims, and so forth---probably with no great var-
iation. The aims expressed in the constitutions seen could mainly be put
under the headings intellectual and moral self-improvement and community up-
lift. Meetings are held perhaps twice a month, one being for business and
serious discussion, the other for purely social purposes. The social meet-
ings feature music played on the 'shamisen', dancing, and 'awamori'. Among
other serious business, in some communities the Youth Organization engages
in clean-up or repair projects and hires itself out for farm labor. Where
it receives pay, the funds probably generally go toward the expense of the
social meetings.

The Youth Organization takes young people of both sexes, but there
are usually more men, since women drop out at marriage while men may remain
in after marriage if they choose to, until 30, according to one rule. In [184]
the country, membership after finishing school is represented as compulsory.
In the city, however, the compulsion is lacking and many who are not inter-
ested in joining manage to stay out. But in the country few would suggest
that anyone had the right not to join. When I asked a past president of the
organization in Yamada if everyone joined, he replied to the effect, "Oh yes,
all must join, we have a rule." And he proceeded to point out the regulation

The activities at the moo-ashibii and the yagamayaa undoubtedly led 883
in many cases to secret sexual relations. Probably most young men in the 836
country first experienced sex as a result of intrigues developing through
these activities. Young women differed more in their experience. Daughters
of the gentry may have had little or none. Some girls who did go to the moo-
ashibii, it is said, went merely to hear the singing. Those who behaved
promiscuously were talked about and the reputation they gained lasted. Yet
it seems unlikely that chastity was valued very highly or that virginity was
expected at marriage. One young woman had heard in Japan how husbands some- [171]
times divorced their wives upon finding after marriage that they were not
virgins. She had never heard of this having been done on Okinawa and neither
she nor her mother could even give an Okinawan equivalent of the Japanese
word 'shojo', "virgin".

Formerly among the gentry class in Naha and Shuri it was customary 833
for a father to take his son, or have a relative or friend take him, to a 565
jurinuyaa to let him have his first sexual experience. According to Yanagida, 178
until the last decades of the last century this was part of a young man's 548
coming-of-age celebration held at the beginning of his 13th (15th?) year;
the juri who functioned in this capacity were called niisee-chuurasaa, "those
who make youths into men".[1]

At the present time the rural moo-ashibii and yagamayaa are probably 178
less important institutions than they formerly were, but they undoubtedly do 883
still exist. At present there are more occasions when young people of the
opposite sex can meet and feel that it is proper to do so. In the pre-war
counterparts of the Youth Organization and in the schools the sexes were
separate. Now they mingle more freely. The need to meet in groups in a half-
clandestine manner is not so great. Now as before real intrigues are con- [584]
ducted in secret, but something approaching an open courtship is now possible.

Marriage: Preliminaries Until recently marriages were nearly always ar- 584
ranged by the family for the good of the family. 178
The object in arranging a match was to acquire a daughter-in-law to produce [581]
heirs for and to keep house for the son. The couple themselves were con-
sulted and one of them could refuse the match if it were really disagreeable,
but more often they agreed to it. At present young people often choose for
themselves, but even so they may abandon a desired marriage if it is strongly
opposed by one or more of the parents.

In the past moo-ashibii may have led to marriage in some cases but
more often it did not, even when liaisons resulted in children. At present
young unmarried men and women associate more freely in public, and mutual at-
traction may lead to a relationship more like the Western courtship leading
to marriage. This had been especially true since the war.

Formal Ceremonies As in many societies there are more formal and 584
less formal ways of marrying. The preliminaries to the older family-arranged
marriage usually begin with a proposal by the young man's family. If the

[1] Yanagida, 1951, p. 309.

If the
584 girl's family is favorably disposed, one or both parties visit a diviner
791 (sanjinsoo, Japanese 'ekisha') to determine the compatibility of the couple (eesoo shirabi). The diviner ostensibly does this by casting horoscopes and drawing lots, but it is likely that he also gives weight to factors known to him or revealed by the persons requesting advice so that if one of the participants has strong objections to the marriage he may find reasons why it should not be. This interpretation is merely an hypothesis, but it seems probably that the decision of the diviner may thus be a useful face-saving device. Possibly for this reason the go-between seems to be of secondary importance.

After the decision has been made to unite the two families in marriage there may be a formal betrothal ceremony (ubukui). For this the prospective
[583] groom's family sends certain gifts including a sum of money to the bride's home. This money, called injoojing, corresponds to the "bride price" of some societies. Its payment is probably the most essential element in the whole procedure, since a small sum is still paid even when other formalities are dispensed with. This payment seals the agreement.

585 The wedding ceremony (niibichi, "drawing the roots") takes place at the groom's house in the evening of a day determined by the diviner. First a party goes from the groom's house to the bride's house with gifts. This party then carries the bride to the groom's house, where they are met by a
[177] welcoming party. In recent times the ceremony at the groom's house has been the Japanese 'sansankudo', exchange of drinks; the original Okinawan ceremony was somewhat different. When this has been completed the bride and groom celebrate separately each with friends and relatives of the same sex. On the following day, or whenever the celebration is over, the couple pays a formal visit to the bride's parents.

[184] This elaborate procedure is not usual at the present time among country
[583] people. In fact, the ceremony may not occur at all; the woman may merely come to live with the man with little or no formal recognition of the change in status beyond perhaps the payment of a small bride price. The marriage has a legal existence when it is recorded in the 'koseki'. It may not be recorded immediately; often it is recorded only a little before or together with the recording of the birth of the first child. This practice obviates changing the record if the marriage is not successful.

585 But formerly among the gentry of Naha and Shuri the wedding was even
• 178 more elaborate than the procedure just described. Moreover, after the cere-
565 mony the groom, instead of entertaining his male relatives and friends at
[548] home, took them to a jurinuyaa where for three days and nights they were entertained by the juri with food, drink, music, and sex. I am acquainted with three interpretations explaining why the groom spends his wedding night with a prostitute. The first, that given by an American missionary[1] explains the practice as symbolizing the freedom of the male and demonstrating to the bride that her husband was free to find sexual gratification elsewhere. The second interpretation was one given to me by a man in his thirties, a descendant of the Shuri gentry, and a man with rather "modern" ideas. He said that

[1] The missionary Schwarz, whose work is not presently available to me.

a young man would have had no previous sexual experience and that it was felt 585
that it was necessary for him to be instructed by an experienced woman before 178
he had relations with his bride. The third explanation was given by a country 565
woman in her fifties, of gentry descent. She told how her husband had gone to the wedding of a city relative and had been taken afterwards to the juri-nuyaa. She did not know if her husband had been treated to a juri or not but was sure that the groom must have had one. Her explanation of the practice was that it was mainly a display of the position of the family and its ability to provide entertainment. Probably there is a bit of truth in all three explanations. The practice does undoubtedly reenforce the male's right to sexual freedom. The second explanation seems a little weak, especially in view of the reported former practice of the city gentry of combining a sexual initiation with the boy's coming-of-age ceremony, but the explanation may be that given for the earlier trip to the brothel and it may also be the "explanation" of the practice conventionally given, conventional explanations not necessarily revealing real motives. The last explanation, that the practice is mainly a display, probably strikes at the most important motive, the use of entertainment to demonstrate status.

Secondary Marriage Formerly wealthier men sometimes took juri as 837
mistresses. In the village of Yamada before the war, the richest man, or 556
perhaps the only man designated as "rich man" had his own juri. She was a kooi-juri, a "bought juri", that is, he had bought her from the house she had been indentured to. She stayed in Naha, but occasionally came to Yamada. The informant who told of this, a woman in her thirties, expressed the opinion that any man who became rich would naturally soon want his own juri.

At the present time it seems to be a fairly widespread practice for a 595
man who has enough means to have a second wife (yuubee, in Japanese 'nigō', "number two"). Sometimes this is done openly, sometimes secretly. It may be a more common practice today than formerly because of the present skewed sex ratio. Some information was obtained about two such men, one a fisherman and the other a doctor, so-called.

The fisherman was an Itoman man; his first wife had no children so he took as a second wife a woman whose family lived in a town to the north. The second wife has borne three children. The "main wife" (in Japanese 'honsai') stays at Itoman in the house of the man's father, and there she is raising the husband's first son, the child of the second wife. But most of the time the husband is at one of the northern villages with his second wife, her other children, and two boys of junior high school age whom he bought on one of the outer islands to help him in his fishing. Unfortunately I did not learn how the family was registered in the 'koseki'.

The "doctor" was a man from a village south of Naha, who had an office
at his home and also a practice in Naha. His methods consisted of heat treat- [157]
ments and steam baths. He spent about half the time with his "number two", whom he had set up in a room in Naha. His first wife was presumably unaware of the existence of the second wife, even though he once took the second wife to his home along with a patient, ostensibly as a friend of the patient.

up; he is made to find most of his needs satisfied by his mother and then he is told that he may be given away if he is not obedient; later he is made to believe that the spirits of his ancestors are protecting him, but when he becomes ill he is told that it is because he has not given them enough offerings. The threat in each of these instances is abandonment, being cut off from his family, because of insufficiency---disobedience or unfiliality. The fear that this threat creates does much to maintain the family system. It probably also accounts for the fear Okinawans seem to have of being alone, and their frequent use, remarked upon by several observers, of the word 'sabishii', "lonely". It may also account for their frequently expressed view of Okinawa itself as a lonely, remote, and neglected island. 152 593 [829]

Family life also provides the individual with a pattern for human relationships. In the family he learns what behavior is appropriate to the status of older sibling and younger sibling, parent and child, male and female; he learns about authority, responsibility, and mutual obligation. This pattern of relationships learned in the family he reads into the larger society, and, entering the larger society he assumes the roles learned in the family. He defers to seniors; he expects juniors and females to defer to him. If he is a farmer he may expect instruction and support from the government, as a child expects it from his parents. If he is an official or a teacher he may at times deliberately speak down to the less educated and at other times deliberately speak over their heads, as a parent does with his children. 593 867

It seems that several phenomena of recent years should have weakened the old family system. The war destroyed much of the physical reminders of the past and nearly every family lost one or more of its members. The subsequent shift in population further uprooted many. The repatriation brought back people who had long been away, and with them, new ideas. The American occupation has given rural Okinawans a mobility they could not have imagined before. It has provided jobs for many of the younger people, which could mean a degree of economic independence that they could never have had otherwise. The schools have given young people of the opposite sexes more opportunity to meet on a respectable basis than they had ever had before. Yet we find families carrying on in spite of the shift in residence and the loss of important members, repatriates being reintegrated into the larger kin groups, and young people who might be independent turning their earnings over to their elders and asking their elders' permission to marry. Obviously family ties are still strong. 593 178 177

But the structure of the family may still be changing. The relationship between the behavior of individuals in the family and in the larger society is a reciprocal one. It is quite likely that the individual takes the roles that he has learned as a child in the family and plays them as an adult in the larger society, as he interprets its structure. But it is also likely that if the larger society is in a process of change, the individual may reinterpret his roles or even learn new ones to conform to the new structure. He may then go back to his family as a parent and reinterpret its structure on the basis of what he has learned. His behavior as a parent then becomes different from his father's before him. One of the professed aims of the Civil Administration on Okinawa is the democratization of Okinawan society. [185]

593 If democratization means the development of political and social equality and
178 of individualism, and if the program is successful, then there will undoubted-
177 ly be changes in Okinawan family life. Other factors will also be operating.
The acceptance of modern medicine will lessen the importance of offerings to
the ancestors and perhaps weaken the feeling that suffering may result from
insufficient filial piety.

632 423 [651] The Land Affairs Department maintains the land ownership records ('tochi daichō') and issues certificates of land title ('chiken'). The head of this department ('tochijimuchō' or 'tochi gakari') together with the village mayor ('kuchō') and his council assesses land values for tax purposes.

632 744 The Departments of Public Welfare and Social Affairs are concerned with matters relating to relief, health, sanitation, etc. The functions of these overlap somewhat with those of the police and the Naha Health Center. One day each month a nurse from the Health Center is at the township office giving shots to children. Once a month there is a sanitation inspection of all the villages within the 'son'; the emphasis shifts each month---thus, one month it may be for mosquito control and the next it may be extermination of flies. Relief measures are also handled from these departments.

632 178 A 'son' assembly ('senkai' or 'songikai') functions as the legislative branch of 'son' government; it is empowered to enact local ordinances, approve the mayor's selection of employees for the village office, and make local tax levies. In Kanegusuku-son each of the eight villages selects two representatives ('sonkaigiin') for the assembly, and the term of office is four years. Before the end of the war this body was an appointive one selected by the mayors of the villages ('kuchō'); in turn the assembly appointed the township mayor. The bulk of the population had no voice in local government; today, however, both the mayor and the assembly stand for election. In all elections [664] for municipal and central government offices universal suffrage now obtains; all those twenty and above are entitled to vote.

632 622 The meetings of the 'son' assembly are too infrequent to provide effective representation at all times for the people. Regular contact between the people and the township office is maintained by frequent meetings of all the village mayors ('kuchō') with the township mayor ('sonchō'). This group, known as 'kuchokai' (village mayors' assembly), meets three times each month generally on the fifth, fifteenth, and twenty-fifth, though in times of emergency or pressing business it may meet oftener. Problems of general concern to the villages are discussed. These meetings enable the township mayor to keep in touch with the problems of the villages and what the people are thinking; they also provide the opportunity to inform and instruct the village mayors regarding directives or projects to be carried out in the villages.

632 651 One of the chief functions of the township government is to collect taxes for the central government and for its own needs. The following township taxes ('senzei', or in legal terminology, 'chihōzei') are those levied by Kanegusuku-son:

senmin-zei	Villagers' Tax. This is a head tax on all persons who are able to work between the ages of 17 and 60 excluding students, blind, sick, and crippled persons.
tochi-zei	Land Tax. For details see chapter on Land Tenure.
fudōsan shutoku-zei	Real Estate Acquisition Tax.
kaoku-zei	House or Building Tax.

621 For administrative purposes villages are subdivided into sections or
179 neighborhoods called 'han' or 'kumi'. There is considerable variation in the use of these terms throughout Okinawa, in part occasioned by the recency of their introduction and by the confusion following the end of the war. In 1940
[648] the Japanese government ordered all municipalities ('shi-chō-son') subdivided into 'rimpō-han' (settlement sections) which in turn were subdivided into 'tonari-gumi' (neighborhood groups). The move was a political one designed to insure more effective control; the divisions were often quite arbitrary and had little relation to social groupings. The term 'kumi', however, had been in use for a long time in both Japan and Okinawa, referring to a group of households. That
[178] these subdivisions have survived into the postwar period indicates that they are fulfilling a function necessary to village administration.

621 A large village such as Henza (of Henza Shima), which has a population
624 of 3800, is subdivided into 5 'han' each headed by an official called 'hanchō'. Every 'han' is subdivided into 'kumi'; there are 41 'kumi' in the village, approximately 8 to each 'han'. Each 'kumi' contains from 12-20 houses; the head of the 'kumi' is the 'kumichō'. In a smaller village such as Kanegusuku-ku which has a population of 507, the 'han' no longer exists; instead the term 'kumi' is applied to the four subdivisions of the village. In Kanegusuku the 'kumichō' functions as the intermediary between the 'kuchō' and the people of the area; there are on the average 25 houses in each 'kumi'. 'Kumichō' are elected each year by the 'kumi' though in actuality the position is really rotated among the households within the 'kumi'. One of the chief functions of the 'kumi' is to provide labor for community work projects. When the township office requests that the 'kuchō' have his village repair a section of a road, he calls in the 'kumichō' and tells them how many workers will be needed. The 'kumichō' notify the household heads within their 'kumi' and the households supply in rotation the needed labor. When local clean-up is in order as preparation for a township inspection, the 'kumichō' supervises the work in his area. Tax collections for village finances are generally made by him, and when tax collections are made by the township, he notifies his constituents as to the time and place of payment.

The importance of the 'kumichō' or 'hanchō' is dependent on the physical nature of the village and its size. In a small tightly-nucleated village like Kanegusuku the 'kumichō' functions mainly as an intermediary or messenger between the 'kuchō' and the people of the 'kumi' and as a foreman on their work details. In a larger village whose 'han' are scattered into more isolated neighborhoods or settlements the 'hanchō' often functions more like a 'kuchō'. In Kanegusuku the divisions are more or less arbitrary ones, and there is definitely no feeling of strong identity with a particular 'kumi'. However, in the village of Tomoyose where Pitts studied, the isolated settlement of Nanahan (literally ("Han Seven") felt itself to be a distinct unit and functioned not unlike a very small village.

621 Most villages have a small building set aside for use as an office or
344 meeting place. These are usually called muraya in Okinawan or 'jimusho' in Japanese. In a large village like Henza the office is nearly as large as those of some of the smaller 'son', containing desks, telephone, records, and a full-time staff. In Kanegusuku a small bare hut large enough for only a dozen people suffices. When village meetings are held, the officials sit inside the building while the people sit outside facing them. Village records are stored in the home of the 'kuchō' or the clerk.

3. Police

625

Local governments of the municipalities ('shi-chō-son') and the various 'ku' (villages and wards) exercise no control over the police stationed in their areas. Central police headquarters are located in Naha, and the organization of the police command is outside the regular civil structure except at the top national level. The police officer located in Kanegusuku-son reports directly to the district police headquarters in Itoman which in turn reports to Naha. In addition to maintaining law and order the police are charged with certain responsibilities in the fields of sanitation, health, and public welfare. Crime rates on Okinawa are low, particularly [674] in the rural areas, and policemen stationed there rarely face serious problems of law violation. A 'son' policeman has a "beat" which he is supposed to patrol each day unless other business is pressing. Actually his visits to some of the villages are rather infrequent, since there is little need for his presence. When a villager dies, it is usually the policeman who checks and certifies the cause of death. Certain dangerous or [744] highly contagious diseases such as leprosy or smallpox must by law be reported, and any infractions of this are usually investigated by the police. If a restaurant or food store is reported as unsanitary, it is the police who take steps to see that the situation is corrected.

Not infrequently the policeman is called upon to function informally 625 as a judge in settling minor disputes which in the United States would be 627 taken to court. One man rented out a room in his home to a former schoolmate; after living and eating there for several months, the roomer disappeared without making any payment for his room and board. A few months later the owner located this person's place of employment, collared him as he left work, and dragged him to the nearest policeman. The policeman listened patiently to both sides of the argument and then ruled that the roomer must pay the entire amount due the owner, ¥6000 ($50.00), at the rate of ¥2000 per month. The two disputants signed an agreement to this effect, and the policeman also signed it "to make it official". An American would regard this action as an abuse of police power; yet, an Okinawan would see nothing untoward in it. In light of this it is worth noting [178] that the jiturei who headed the rural district (majiri) under the old kingdom functioned as policeman, judge, and administrator.

In the matter of juvenile delinquency the school and police are re- 871 ported to work closely together. One police officer stated that when juve- 625 niles commit misdemeanors in his area they are usually turned over to their 674 schools for special "education". That an errant child should be released to the custody of his school rather than to his family would seem an inconsistency in a society which places so much emphasis on family. In America [171] and perhaps in all of Western society the teaching of ethics is largely a function of the home, but in Japan and Okinawa this is considered a task for the school.

To an outsider Okinawan police appear to be efficient in the per- 625 formance of their duty and possessed of a pride in their job and a fairly

621 among its membership, and all relationships are highly structured. Though
592 age-grades tend to structure the membership of the community, this is not
[361] too important, as the basic unit within the village is the family, not the
individual. The community is regarded as an association of families
[565] bound together in a relationship of equality. Such differences as exist
[178] in wealth and land holdings are not so great as to constitute class differentiation; likewise the old Okinawan class structure is no longer of any real significance, and in most rural communities the bulk of the families were and still are of commoner descent.

621 The concept of political participation by households is basic to
829 the thinking of the villagers. Universal suffrage applies only to munic-
592 ipal and national elections; within the village active political partici-
666 pation is restricted to household heads functioning in the capacity of representatives for their respective families. When the mayor of one village was asked why all adults were not allowed to vote in village elections, his quick reply was, "Is it democracy to give some families more votes merely because they have more members?"

6. Political Leadership and Authority

621 There are nine important political offices within the village of Kanegusuku (population 507)---mayor, assistant mayor, clerk, 4 councillors,
[542] and 2 'son' assemblymen. Eighteen of the 108 village families are headed by women, and since only male household heads are elected to positions of political leadership, there remain 90 men eligible for these offices. A number of the young household heads also must be excluded from this group since a man must be over twenty-seven to be eligible, and there are others who are too old or infirm. This leaves 72 men eligible for office on the basis of the formal requirements.

621 Actually the villagers apply several other qualifications which one
554 must possess in order to be eligible for office. In practice the repatriates and the other newcomers to the village since the end of the war are not elected. Those who are poor (less than enough land for mere subsistence) cannot afford to accept an office, since the pay is low and the demands on one's time are too great. The men who have non-agricultural jobs which take them outside the village each day also do not have the time to devote, and the villagers tend to feel that these men are out of touch with the problems of a farming village. Lastly there are several men who otherwise meet all qualifications for village office save for what the villagers vaguely describe as "good character"; the most frequently cited example for this group is a man who dislikes farming and spends much of his time drinking or visiting the 'pachinko' parlor in a nearby town. Thus, the total number qualified for political office on the basis of all criteria which are applied is limited to approximately 47 individuals; this group, which constitutes about 9% of the total population, supplies the village leadership and forms the core of the body politic.

829 considered the initiator of all action. Frequently there are complaints of high taxes, criticisms of certain policies, and dissatisfaction with certain officials, but the authority of a government to undertake any course it chooses would never be challenged. There does not exist any concept of a limit to obedience or to the powers of government.

7. Social Control

626 The mechanisms of social control within an Okinawan village are not
621 easily observed or studied since they are so rarely overt. One is impressed from the outset by the homogeneous character of the community, a natural outcome of the common experience and cultural heritage which all the members have shared. The average villager has had a limited range of contacts during the course of his or her lifetime, imposed to no small degree
[183] by the all-consuming demands of subsistence agriculture. Minorities within the community rarely exist, and where they do, they are not recognized as such, for this homegeneity, in addition to being an actuality, is insisted upon as a cultural ideal. Consequently great stress is placed on presenting a united front to the outside. Within the community aggressive behavior is not tolerated and so great is the fear of rift through discord that few official acts are initiated without first securing informal concordance consequently, formal political meetings are most often marked by unanimity and agreement. In enlisting the support of the villagers for a given project or proposed line of action leaders most frequently appeal to group solidarity, stressing the values of cooperation.

As is so often found in small communities where all the members have a face-to-face relationship, the chief mechanisms of social sanction are ridicule, censure, and the threat of ostracism. The small size and homogeneous nature of the Okinawan village limits the individual's behavior to a rather narrow and inflexible standard. The individual, however, must consider his actions not only in terms of the reactions of others to him
[672] but also in terms of the consequences for his family. Under the old king-
[178] dom the family was legally responsible for the actions of its members, and at the present time an individual is officially registered as a member of a certain family and is always thought of by the villagers in association
626 with that family. One's mistakes as well as one's achievements reflect upon
621 the other members of the family and are shared by them. This emphasis on
181 family and community over the individual serves markedly to curb individualism and to further the homogeneity of the society. Conformity and honoring one's obligations are the major cultural values. The surrogate for this strong cultural deemphasis of the individual is provided by a close ego identity with the family and community and by the security which they offer in return. The severest sanction which can be applied is expulsion of the individual from his group.

8. Local Autonomy

642 On a small island with a highly centralized government there is lit-
621 tle room for local autonomy. Most action is initiated in the higher echelons of government and is unquestioningly obeyed at the lower levels. There

162 this may be the result of the war; the southern islands escaped heavy damage and loss of life. The urban area of Naha-Mawashi has a well-balanced sex ratio, and is probably a reflection of the number of men who directly or indirectly are connected with military employment.

The total number of persons per household has not appreciably changed in the fifteen years from 1937 to 1952:

Table Ia

Political Unit	Persons per Household, 1937	Persons per HH, 1952
Okinawa-ken	4.67	4.70
Naha	4.21	4.41
Shuri	4.18	4.17

The loss of men in the war was compensated for by those men who returned from Japan and those who repatriated from the Mandated Islands.

2. Population Characteristics of a Rural 'Son'

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Kochinda-son lies almost in the center of the southern section of Shimajiri. It does not border anywhere on the sea, and is entirely rural in that it has no industries of urban character. It is realized that no one area will be entirely typical of the whole of Okinawa; however, the population dynamics of this 'son' will undoubtedly be reflected in kind, if not in degree, by that of other farming areas. Fishing towns such as Itoman, Henza, Yakena and Yombaru each probably have special types of adjustments that are not true of Kochinda.

[127] This researcher was permitted to copy the entire 'koseki' (population register) of Kochinda-son. In addition explanatory information was given by the 'son' office personnel when requested. In many cases it was possible to follow up and interview persons cognizant of the details of certain situations.

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[428]
[178]
[177]

Okinawa still follows the prewar Japanese system of inheritance by first sons. Under normal conditions in the countryside, the first sons would inherit the bulk of the farm plots, and second sons would inherit a few plots and set up separate households. Or the second and following sons might go to Naha, Osaka or the south seas to seek employment. The war disrupted this pattern, and it is germane to examine the types and numbers of household heads, as one index of postwar change.

Because the solution of the population problem is a factor in Civil Administration planing for Okinawa, it is of importance to know the fertility ratio and the amount of spacing between births. The Okinawans, like the Japanese, tend to register a marriage after the birth of the first child. This should be quantified if possible. In addition, age at marriage should be known, since it bears a direct relationship to population increase. The number of illegitimate and common law children in the villages indicates

[Kochinda-son]

163 The prewar birthrate figures for Okinawa-ken include the following: 1936--26.2; 1937--25.4; and 1938--27.2.[1] So it is evident that in the prewar period there was a slight tendency for the birth rate to increase. A decrease is noted for recent years. In 1951 the birth rate was 36.7 for the Ryukyus as a whole, and was 34.2 in 1952.[2]

A more nearly accurate measure of the rapidity of the increase in population is the fertility ratio. For this study it was defined as the ratio of children under five years of age to the number of women aged fifteen to forty inclusive. The fertility ratio in 1953 for Kochinda-son was
[171] 663. This may be compared to the United States average of 464 for the white rural-farm population in 1940, or the average of 587 for the Negro rural-farm population in the same year. The 1947 fertility ratio in Japan was 528.[3]

842 Most Okinawan men are familiar with the condom method of preventing
[m] conception. The Japanese Army was said to have followed a policy of distributing packages as men left the posts for liberty. A brand called "Shikishima" could also be bought at drug stores. One farmer asked me if there was a shot in the arm that a woman could get so as to render her sterile for a two-week period.

847 Informants stated that abortions were sometimes performed before the war, but were rare. Postwar doctors are not supposed to perform abortions unless the husband consents in person.

163 Spacing of Births By an analysis of the period between births, it may be
178 possible to learn of shifts in frequency of births. For this purpose, a sampling was made of families with complete birth records in 25% of the households of Kochinda-son. The same villages were checked for postwar birth records. Only families with three or more postwar births were included in the latter category. Families with complete birth records covering both the pre- and post-invasion periods were also checked.

The comparison between the 37 households representing complete prewar records and the 39 households representing the postwar records of three or more births can best be seen by examining the following table:

Table IX

	Prewar	Postwar
Average Age of Mother at Birth of First Child	23.1	22.4
Average Age of Father at Birth of First Child	29.6[4]	27.1[5]

1 Navy Civil Affairs Handbook, page 56.
2 CAARI, p. 70. Projected annual rates per 1,000 inhabitants based upon estimated midyear population.
3 Japan Statistical Yearbook, 1950, p. 17. The population figures used are valid for 1 October 1947.
4 The ages of only nine prewar fathers were available. The remainder were war dead, and were not recorded in the temporary 'koseki'.
5 All 39 cases are represented above.

[Koehinda-son]

Table IX, cont'd.

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	Prewar	Postwar
Average Time in Months Between First and Second Births	38.8	27.[illegible]
Average Time in Months Between Second and Third Births	35.7	26.7
Total Average Months Between All Births	35.7	27.6

It is seen that the postwar Okinawan mother apparently has her first child more than half a year earlier than did the prewar mother. Furthermore, the average spacing between births appears to be about eight to eleven months less in the postwar period. Explanations for this apparent difference---which might prove to be less if a larger sample were available---include delays caused by prewar military service, and the possibility that stillbirths were more frequent and infant mortality higher in the prewar period.

The invasion and the subsequent period of internment and resettlement caused a temporary lengthening in the spacing of births. Data for the 98 households in the same villages used above, wherein were found complete prewar-postwar continuous birth records, indicated an average of 55 months between the birth of the last baby before the invasion, and the first one born thereafter. In addition, it should be noted that the average age of postwar fathers at first birth above is 27.1 years, but the average age of fathers whose date of postwar marriage is recorded at first birth below is 25.0 years. This situation means only that in many cases the mothers of postwar families were second wives. In most of these instances the first wife had died during the war.

Postwar Marriage: Attitudes Dr. John F. Embree, in his monumental work Suye Mura, thus describes the rural Japanese attitude toward marriage: "The birth of a child is a much more certain sign of a permanent marriage than is a wedding ceremony. Indeed, a marriage is often not put in the village office records until after a child is on its way."[1] The Okinawan attitude is much the same. 581 171

In analyzing the 177 postwar recorded marriages that resulted in children, 29 marriages, or only 16% of the total, were found to have been recorded in the 'koseki' more than nine months before the birth of the first child. Marriages were recorded after the birth of the first child in 71 cases, representing 40% of the total. 582

Marriages Recorded Before Conception In the first category, the husband was younger in six of the 29 cases. In no case had the husband had

[1] John F. Embree, Suye Mura: A Japanese Village, U. of Chicago Press, 1939, p. 182.

CHAPTER VIII LAND TENURE

W. P. Lebra

423 During the lifetime of the oldest living generation of Okinawans
•178 there have been operative two radically differing systems of land tenure---at first a system of communal land ownership and later a system of private ownership of land by families. At the present time a third system may be said to be emerging---private ownership by individuals. Changes in the systems of land tenure have been accompanied by significant changes in the family, economy, and community. During the wartime and post-war periods extensive land losses to military installations have severely disrupted the livelihood of a number of communities, thus furthering the process of change.

175 ## 1. The Okinawan Kingdom and the Land Allotment System ('jiwari seido')

Prior to 1879 when Japan formally annexed the Ryukyus, Okinawa was
[642] a small semi-independent kingdom (it was a tribute-paying dependency of the daimiate of Satsuma in Japan) controlling the southern Ryukyus. The
175 urban Naha-Shuri area served as the administrative and commercial center
565 for the kingdom, and nearly all of the upper classes, gentry and nobility, were concentrated there. They formed a ruling class similar to that of
[423] China, functioning as a literati and administrative bureaucracy. Feudalism had been abolished in the fifteenth century, and aside from a small percentage of the nobility who were allowed to retain their hereditary fiefs, the bulk of the upper classes subsisted on pensions granted by the ruler. This group was very large and constituted approximately one-third of the total population.

175 The farming population lived in a state of serfdom, being forbidden
[566] even to move from their native village or to change their hereditary occu-
[364] pation. Farm villages were self-sustaining and physically isolated entities consisting of tightly-nucleated clusters of dwellings surrounded by fields.
[621] Each village was segmented into several lineages whose houses were generally
[613] clustered together; these kin groups were related through the male line and shared a common ancestor, ritual observances, and often a local tomb for
[614] temporary burial. Each lineage was usually related to certain lineages of other villages, thus forming a larger relationship or patri-sib which shared a remote common ancestor, ritual observances, and a common tomb for permanent burial. Usually the membership of this larger kinship group was con-
[582] centrated in the villages of a given district or area. Village endogamy was an obligatory marriage practice, and kin group endogamy was a preferred though not an obligatory practice.

178 Private ownership of land on Okinawa is a recent phenomenon, as
423 recent, in fact, as the beginning of the twentieth century. Under the old
175 kingdom communal ownership of the land obtained for all except a small seg-
423 ment of the upper classes. In theory all land was the property of the ruler,
[632] but in practice the district, or majiri (political unit roughly equivalent

175 family, but in actual practice the family often received a far lower percent-
423 age, since with a fixed tax there was no possibility of compensating for crop
651 failure, decline in productivity, and population growth. Tax payments were made in grain though cloth was also accepted. In addition to the inflexibility of the tax system there was a lack of uniformity in tax levies; certain areas such as Kunigami and the outer islands bore an unequal tax load, and farmers in all areas paid a proportionately higher tax than the officials and upper classes. These inequalities inherent in the system plus
[433] the periodic redistribution of plots served to curb any interest which the farmer might have had in improving his holdings; consequently, productivity was said to be very low.

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178 Vestiges of this system may still be found in some of the peripheral areas of Okinawa. The village of Oku in northern Kunigami-son still has communal ownership of its forest lands, and on Kudaka Shima off Chinen Peninsula a villager must turn his land over to the community when he goes to live elsewhere.

2. Okinawa-ken (1879-1945). Japanese Administration and the Termination of the Land Allotment System

175 Following the annexation of Okinawa, the new government embarked on
648 a program designed to integrate Okinawa (and the southern Ryukyus) into the
177 national state. The task facing the early administrators was a difficult one, for in addition to differences in language and culture Okinawa was poor in natural resources and possessed an antiquated administrative system. It was soon realized that modernization could not be accomplished overnight; therefore the Japanese allowed virtually all of the old customs to be retained during the first twenty years of their administration, and efforts were directed toward educating a sufficient number of Okinawans to assist
[565] them in carrying out the program. Though the old class system was abolished, members of the former classes continued to subsist on pensions now paid by the new government, and in the rural areas life continued much as before except that the *mura* replaced the *majiri* as the land-holding and disbursing
175 unit. By 1899 the government was prepared to introduce more radical changes,
648 and in March of that year Law 59 relating to land adjustment was promulgated.
177 Its objectives were to confirm private ownership and to determine land
423 values for tax purposes. The importance which the administration attached to this measure was clearly stated by Narahara Shigeru, superintendent of the Land Adjustment Board, "Now, the only way to reform the administration is to destroy old customs, but its accomplishment must be commenced with the reform of the system of land taxation, the very foundation of the old customs."[1] Following a mapping survey which began in 1899, officials went into the villages to explain the purposes of the law and to settle conflicting claims. Private ownership was generally confirmed in favor of the cultivator. By 1903 the land reform was carried through to a successful completion.

Private ownership of land was accompanied by the introduction of Japanese laws of property and inheritance; their combined effect was to alter substantially the prevailing social organization and economic balance of the rural community. Land formerly held by the family under the communal

[1] Summary of the Land Adjustment in the Okinawa Prefecture, 1904, p. ii.

[Kanegusuku]

621 The group most dissatisfied with its lot today are the repatriates
423 from the former Japanese possessions. A few of these families were able upon
727 return to take up the lands left by relatives killed in the war or were given land by prosperous relatives, and four repatriate families are virtually landless. All of them, regardless of the size of their present holdings, chafe at their circumstances. One repatriate told the author that he had farmed nearly twenty-five acres in a single plot of sugar on Saipan and that he could never be satisfied with Kanegusuku after this. He is hoping that he will eventually be permitted to return to Saipan.

Before the war that segment of the village which possessed the least amount of land consisted almost exclusively of younger sons who had established branch families. Today this group has been augmented by repatriates from the former Japanese possessions and by emigrants from other Okinawan communities.

621 Farm Laborers During the course of the author's stay in Kanegusuku
241 there was only one full-time farm laborer in the village. This man came from
[463] one of the southern islands in the Ryukyus and was employed for less than a month. After his discharge, the former employer remarked that no outsider has enough interest in the lands of another family to make his employment worthwhile. Transplanting and harvesting rice place the heaviest labor de-
[857] mands upon the family; at these times virtually every member of the family
[476] works in the fields; even the grade-school children are given minor tasks, and the family labor force is supplemented by close relatives or neighbors in a reciprocal labor exchange.

829 Attitudes toward the Land One does not hear or see evidence of
554 any great love or attachment for the soil on the part of the Okinawan farmer.
463 In fact, quite the contrary seems true. Most regard their occupation as a
241 lowly one and feel that they are farmers because they know no other occupation. Land is of value because it provides a livelihood, nothing more, though some exception might be made for house land. Nearly all of the younger generation reflect the thinking of their fathers, and they are eager to get a good education (the diligence of even the average Okinawan student would strike the American teacher as amazing), secure a job in the town or city, and leave the drudgery of the farm village forever. Most
[433] farms are so small that they provide no more than mere subsistence for their cultivators; consequently, the young men see no sense in attending agricultural school when they will have little more than an acre to work. One young man from a fairly prosperous family in the village recently secured a job as a stevedore in Naha, and both he and his wife expressed their pleasure over what they regard as a definite improvement in their status. Though they have not sold the land which they own, they hope that it will never be necessary to return and farm it.

To a large extent this attitude toward the land and farming as an
[178] occupation is directly related to the economic and cultural changes taking place on Okinawa today; the city is an exciting place to live in and employment there is economically more advantageous than farming. Nevertheless, this seems in part the product of the old land system and the low, serf-like status accorded farmers under it. Some of the earlier visitors and officials

and women. Two informants who had lived in Japan denied having ever heard of 291
public baths with mixed bathing. Okinawans have occasionally been shocked by 834
seeing Americans nude. Okinawans feel that not only should the lower part of [515]
the torso be covered for the sake of modesty but the upper part also should be covered, if one is out of doors, for reasons of health; the sun's rays are harmful if too strong. Modesty may even reach proportions uncommon in the [326]
West; one young man told Lebra that he does not enjoy going swimming because he believes he is too hairy. The same young man told how he and other boys, when in high school, used to peep through a crack in the bathhouse wall in order to see the women bathing on the other side, until they were chased away by the proprietor. This hardly suggests the casual attitude toward nudity reported for the Japanese.

Body Ornamentation. The Okinawans seem never to have practiced any sort of 178 •
body mutilation---such as the Chinese foot-binding. 304
However, women were tattooed on the wrists and backs of the hands until early in this century. Most women over 50 have tattooed hands. There are several stories told that purport to explain the origin of the practice---that it was to prevent Okinawan women from being kidnapped, for example---but these stories are of doubtful value. The designs have names but evidently no meaning; one old woman said that they varied with the tattoo artist, who put on whatever he wanted. Tattooing was done before puberty and marriage. It may have originally been part of a puberty rite.

Many people of both sexes between the ages of 20 and 40 have elab- 301
orate gold and silver work on their teeth. In many cases the work does not consist of fillings or bridges but of thin caps put over sound teeth for purely ornamental reasons. These can be removed without harming the teeth. People are said to be having this sort of work done today, but in time the [77]
value Americans and present-day Japanese put on "natural-looking" teeth may win out over the urge to ornament the mouth. Of course there is also a great deal genuine dental work done because of tooth decay.

At present American values and modern Japanese values in feminine 177
beauty are being spread by the beauty parlor. For several years the perma- 832
nent wave has been popular though perhaps not well suited to Mongoloid hair. [305]
And recently a number of young women are said to have added padded brassieres [302]
to their equipment. [291]

Elimination. Urination and defecation are regarded differently. Urination 514
in public is permissible for males, if they turn away. I have seen a dignified old gentleman talking over his shoulder to a young woman while he urinated into the ditch. Women may also urinate in public, though they do so less frequently. Defecation in public is not usual; even children [863]
are scolded for it though they may occasionally do it. Feces ought to go [241]
in the proper place; one reason for using the toilet may be that the "night-soil" is used as fertilizer.

The Okinawan term kusu is used rather more freely than its Japanese 192
cognate, though the uses are parallel. Alone it means "feces", human or animal. It is the usual word for animal manure. In compounds it may mean

192 any kind of body dirt or excretion, as mii-kusu, "sleep" in the eyes, haa-
[578] kusu, "stains on the teeth". As in Japanese it is used also in cursing; in
[174] anger an Okinawan may say, "I'll make you eat feces." A similar phrase,
[175] kusu takkwee, "eat feces", is often spoken after someone, especially a baby, sneezes. It is explained that the custom arose when a person once overheard two ghosts plotting to steal a baby's soul (mabui), which may be easily detached by a sneeze; one of the ghosts revealed that if a living person spoke the phrase it would be sufficient to drive him away. The fact that the phrase is used in anger suggests that it is an undesirable one; that it is used in the case of sneezing probably demonstrates the greater fear of ghosts.

831 Sex Practices and attitudes related to marriage have been discussed under that heading in Chapter V. The sex drive seems to be regarded as
864 natural and not sinful. Adults playfully tweak the penises of little boys and may put little children of both sexes to sleep by prolonged patting of the buttocks. They do not tell their children about the nature of sex and expect them not to know, yet the children hear much thinly-disguised discussion of sexual relationships and, sleeping with their parents as they do, may be vaguely aware of their parents' relations. Parents expect their children to learn of sex "naturally" as they grow older. As Maloney reports[1],
[839] there is little masturbation among small children, but two of Pitts' informants reported that adolescent boys sometimes hold masturbation contests to see who can ejaculate the fastest. This practice is said to stop with the beginning of heterosexual activity.

836 Formerly adolescents, except for girls of the gentry class, seem
883 to have had some sexual freedom. The practice of meeting in the fields at
178 night for parties, moo-ashibii, often led to sexual relations. According to informants in one community syphilis was brought in late in the last century through moo-ashibii with the youths of a neighboring village. Pre-marital sexual relations are probably frequent today, though the conditions under which young people meet are changing.

837 Married women are expected to have relations with only their hus-
548 bands, but married men are, in theory, limited only by their finances. There exists in the larger towns a relatively large class of women called juri, who function as both entertainers and prostitutes. (There is no distinction, like the Japanese distinction between 'geisha' and 'jorō'.) The
[178] jurinuyaa, "juri houses", were formerly centers of social life for the men of the city. The present 'ryōtei' have much the same function. A group of men may spend an evening there eating and drinking and being entertained by dancing and singing. If one chooses to remain and "buy a woman" his wife's only objection to it can be that it costs more money.

838 Homosexuality is evidently rare, but not unknown. A Naha woman reported that a Japanese who lived in a room next to hers was in the habit of luring young boys into his room with good food and then seducing them, sometimes to their physical discomfort. She said that some of the neighbors

[1] Maloney, 1945, p. 392.

751 Social factors contributing to poor sanitation stem mainly from the
312 failure of the individual in Okinawan society to take individual action.
364 For example, four unrelated families, one of which I knew well, rented the
156 four quarters of a house in the city. The well beside the house was badly in need of a drainage system; the water from everyone's laundry and bathing formed a large puddle around the concrete well-top and eventually sank into the ground, no doubt to re-enter the well, which of course also provided drinking water. No one made a move to do anything about this individually. Finally the owner of the house suggested that the several families join with him on a certain day in digging a drainage ditch. This was done. However, instead of digging a ditch to allow the water to run down hill and away, they dug the ditch only a few feet into a tiny field on the same level as the house and well. They did not feel that they could dig a ditch that led the water onto the land of the family who lived below, despite the fact that this was the natural lay of the land and despite the fact that the water was now sinking into the ground above the well of another neighbor. It was felt that only if all the neighbors joined to dig ditches together to allow all the water to drain to the municipal drainage ditch beside the street, only then would it be proper to let one's old wash water drain into another's yard. So far as I know this joint action was never taken.

751 At the same house, when one of the tenants moved out they dumped a
364 great pile of garbage in front of their room. Another tenant moved into the
156 room and, although the wife commented on the "bad sanitation" ('eisei ga warui'), for some time nothing was done about the pile of garbage. In this case the reason for inaction may have been pride rather than consideration of another's feelings. It seems likely that the new tenant felt that it was not his responsibility to remove the garbage and that it was also beneath his dignity to do so.

000 Social factors of this sort can perhaps be attacked in two ways. First, by appealing to the individual, to his pride and his esthetic sense, and by creating a greater degree of personal identification, it may be possible to extend the "sphere of sanitation" beyond the floor of the house and out into the yard and perhaps even to the street. But this would not be an easy task. At the present time the average Okinawan is probably less embarrassed by a pile of garbage in his yard and the hundreds of flies that infest it, than he would be to be seen doing the menial task of cleaning it up. He would not feel embarrassed, however, if it were a community endeavor. And therefore as a second method of attack one might encourage more group action. But this requires the development of outspoken leadership.

178 It is possible that standards of sanitation are lower at the pre-
751 sent time than before the war. Residents of the village of Yamada spoke
744 of the "big cleanings" ('ōsōji') that were held at regular intervals before
[625] the war. On orders from the 'son' office every household in the village was obliged to clean up its house and yard and submit to inspection by the local police officer, a man who was much more feared than his present counterpart. At present clean-ups may be encouraged by the Youth Organization, Women's Organization, etc., but there is certainly less compulsion than
000 formerly. Moreover, during the last days of the battle and for a period of

Moreover, during the last days of the battle and for a period of nearly a year afterwards the Yamada people, like most other villagers in the vicinity, lived a concentration-camp sort of existence in the very crowded and unsanitary city of Ishikawa. Then when they returned to their village they had to rebuild their houses from materials given by the Americans and from salvage. This experience undoubtedly had a bad effect on morale and perhaps also on standards of cleanliness. Yet Yamada appears to be a cleaner village than many seen in Southern Okinawa. This may be because of its less dense concentration of houses and its fairly good water system. 178 751 727

Economic factors can be summed up in the single word "poverty". The most modern knowledge and the best intentions are not sufficient if one has to carry water from a distance, has no money for soap, and has little strength left after the daily grind of making a living. 751 511

3. The Supernatural and Disease

The Okinawans, like all peoples, have a large body of traditional knowledge about the ills of the body and what to do about them. As among many peoples with little contact with Western science, a great many illnesses are attributed to causes that we would call supernatural. Thus before one can understand the Okinawan view of diseases one must understand some of the Okinawan concepts of the supernatural. 753

Concepts of the Supernatural The living human being, according to Okinawan belief, contains two entities, the mabui (or mabuyaa, possibly related to Japanese 'mamori', "guardian") and the shii (pos. ident. with Japanese 'sei', "essence"). These correspond to the Western concept "soul". According to some informants the two are the same, but then further conversation reveals a difference in usage that must reflect a difference in concept. It appears that the mabui is a discrete entity capable of being dislodged from the body without death resulting immediately. The shii on the other hand appears to have more the nature of a force that can be augmented or diminished. 774 778 [771]

What happens after a person dies is not altogether clear (see also Chapter V). According to some he becomes a "Buddha" (Japanese 'hotoke'), according to others he becomes a "god" (Japanese 'kami-sama') and ascends to Heaven. This happens if all goes well, if the person dies in a normal manner and has left no important task undone, and if his family makes the proper offerings. However, if such is not the case, he may become a ghost and haunt this world. Several terms are used for dead persons in this latter form---yanamung ("bad thing"), yanakaji ("bad wind"), majimung (?), shininchu ("dead person"), shinigami ("dead god"), shinimabui ("dead mabui"). The last term, shinimabui, contrasts with ichimabui,("live mabui"), used for the displaced mabui of a living person. All of these terms seem to mean the same thing, the dead who are not cared for and who are therefore a potential danger. 775

The dead who are cared for are said to ascend to Heaven (in Japanese, 'Ten ni agaru'), but they may also be present in the tomb and at

(their 'tane-hon', "seed books"), and who seemed to have little contact with others of their own interests. (I must hasten to add that there are also genuine local historians and folklorists who are critical, open to new ideas, and in contact with reputable men in their field; but these are clearly in the minority.) In the city the pseudo-scholar may be a man teaching a subject that he is totally incompetent to teach or he may be one of the numerous diviners and medical practitioners described in Chapter IX. Some of the diviners (sanjinsoo), however, could be better described as genuinely serious scholars working in a pseudo-science. 554

2. The Role of the Teacher

Despite the great importance attached to the family in East Asian societies and which the Japanese government has always professed to attach to it, the Japanese education system of pre-war times actually took more authority away from the family than does the American system. Incidents related by informants indicate that both before the war and since a teacher may reprimand a student for breaking school regulations outside of school hours and even in the student's own home. The police also may report the misdeeds of a student to the student's teacher rather than to his parents.[1] Partly this authority must have come from the teacher's position in a nationalized system of education and his role as the local spokesman for Japanese nationalism. And on Okinawa teachers had the additional task of creating good Japanese out of little Okinawans. This meant teaching the Japanese language as well as the Japanese ideology.[2] 871 177 875

Since the war the status of the teacher has deteriorated. Partly this may be due to the fact that he is no longer the local representative of a powerful government, and partly it may be due to poor morale resulting from the tragedy of war, but it is also undoubtedly due to a lower economic status. Teachers were formerly relatively well-paid. In 1954 Okinawan teachers were receiving a basic average salary of ¥3400 per month, principals, ¥6110. A police chief, by contrast, receives ¥6470. An elementary teacher, who must have 12 years of schooling and six months of professional training, at present receives 75% of the salary of a policeman on the beat, who must have 9 years of schooling and three months of training; in the prewar period the teacher received 155% of the salary of the policeman. 875 178 554 875 465 178 625 554

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1 See also "Police" in Chapter VI.

2 That in this effort they were not always successful is revealed by a few anecdotes: Someone is said to have encouraged a child to interrupt his teacher's lecture on the virtues of the semidivine monarch with the question, "Does the Emperor produce night soil?" Students are said to have referred to him secretly as 'Ten-chan', "Empy-Boy", rather than 'Tennō Heika', "His Imperial Majesty the Emperor". And the very old and the very young are said to have parodied 'Amaterasu Ōmikami', the name of the Sun Goddess, with "Aman-tarashi kuman-tarashi 'waa nu kami", "dropping it there, dropping it here, the pig god."

875 554 178 As indicated above, education is highly regarded as a key to success, but it still must produce financial rewards. Education earns for one the esteem of his fellows, but not as much as does money. This decline in status seems to have produced considerable dissatisfaction among teachers. This is probably true at all levels. The best-known Okinawan scholars, for example, have mainly chosen to remain in Japan.

3. Classroom Atmosphere

876 [371] Informants gave the impression that the pre-war classroom atmosphere was decidedly more authoritarian than at present. Most of what was taught was rather rigidly prescribed by the Ministry of Education and questions were not encouraged. Students rarely spoke up, partly because of the attitudes of the teachers and partly at embarrassment at having to speak in Japanese. Free discussion was probably less common even than in Japan.

In their attempt to make their students learn Japanese some schools adopted the tag system that has been mentioned elsewhere in connection with the prevention of the misuse or theft of crops. In the Yamada school before the war there was for each class a 'hōgen fuda', "dialect tag", which was hung around the neck of the first child heard speaking "the dialect", that is, the Okinawan language. This child wore the tag in disgrace until he heard another child slip into Okinawan, whereupon he hung the tag around that child's neck. And so it went from child to child. The difference between such a system of control and those regarded as appropriate by modern Western educators can hardly be exaggerated. It is true that the tag does resemble the old dunce cap, known to us from cartoons of the last century, in that it uses ridicule as the form of punishment. But in other respects it is different. First, it means that one child is singled out to function as an unwilling policeman, his functioning as policeman being part of his disgrace; that is, as long as he is in disgrace with the tag he is forced to watch for another culprit. Second, the system does not provide equal punishment for the same crime; one child may wear the tag a day while another wears it a week or more, both for the same offense. And third, the theory behind the system does not assume that the offense can be eliminated altogether; on the contrary there must always be some child to make the mistake of speaking Okinawan for the system to work.

[685] As used in the village as a whole the tag system sometimes worked considerable hardship. A person who received the tag for cutting someone else's crop or his own cane out of season had to pay two sen a day to the village. It is said that there is an old woman in Naha who was sold when a girl into prostitution by her father because he could not get rid of the tag and could no longer make the payments. Here is a concept of justice that is indeed remote from ours.

876 178 875 [177] No doubt the tag system is no longer in use anywhere on Okinawa. Students say that the schools are less authoritarian and that there is considerably more freedom of discussion. Yet many of the teachers are the same persons who imposed such controls as the tag system a few years ago. Some may have opposed the former rigidity and some may have changed their views since, but it would be surprising indeed if all have taken over American ideas.

727 Much of the civilian population was herded into internment camps early in the campaign, and many remained there for over a year. The people were so scattered about the land that today nearly every village has a number of families new since the war. The effects of the destruction, loss of life, and displacement were far-reaching---families were shattered, whole villages were moved, fields were ruined, countless homes and buildings were demolished, and the records of government were lost or destroyed. In short, the land was laid waste and its people impoverished.

The effect on the people is best summarized by two frequently-heard statements: "After the war we were left with only the will to live, nothing more," and, "After the war everyone was equal."

177 727 Okinawa's small area, large population, and the sizable number of Americans proportionate to that population put the two peoples in close proximity to one another. Certainly the mere presence of foreign troops and their military administration has far-reaching implications in terms of culture change. This close proximity, however, might be easily exaggerated in so far as actual interaction is concerned. The social and cultural barriers separating American and Okinawan have been so great as to preclude large scale interactions, and, consequently, actual change which might result from this interaction has not been as great as might be expected.

177 829 In contrast to the Japanese administration the American military government has not been culturally repressive with regard to Okinawans. Quite likely the Okinawan does not feel as embarrassed or defensive about his culture before an American as he did before a Japanese. The important factor, however, is that the Japanese held out cultural assimilation and equality in their own culture as an alternative to the Okinawan. As the differences were not too great, the Okinawan came to think of himself as Japanese. On the other hand, the difference between the American and Okinawan is so great as to make assimilation most difficult, even if both parties desired it, which they do not. Consequently, though Japanese political control is no longer exercised, Japanese culture is admired as much as ever. The close cultural and racial ties between the two peoples and the continuance of what is essentially a Japanese education in the schools have done much to perpetuate this.

Okinawans greatly admire the wealth and technology of the Americans, but American social, political, and ethical-religious beliefs and practices, which are not so easily observed, have not made any real impression. Precisely because American wealth and technology are so superior to their own, they conceive of Americans as a people addicted to material things. They are not at all convinced that American social institutions are superior to theirs.

177 727 178 Despite undoubted good intentions, the legislation and proclamations enacted by the military government have had but slight effect on the social system. It is one thing to liberalize laws on police powers, suffrage, and human rights, and quite another to have them carried out in the spirit that was intended. The men of the farm village acknowledge that women may hold [562] public office according to the law but say that they (the men) will never permit this to happen. In most cases a potentiality for change has been noted rather than an actual change; it remains to be seen whether acceptance will ultimately occur.

178 177 727 [464] [311] [491]

Military installations have attracted people from all areas, and at the present time over twenty-five percent of the total labor force is employed by the military or in subsidiary occupations. Some of these people are drawn from the landless element which formerly would have emigrated. In other areas land has been left idle by those who have sought salaried jobs in preference to farming. In places, extensive military land use has greatly increased land pressure. The circulation of money has been accelerated, and new patterns of living have evolved. Many miles of all-weather roads have been constructed and the island transportation system has improved to a point where villagers have a mobility undreamed of in the prewar era.

177 178 177 369 621 178

The major forces for change have been technological and economic. Where changes have occurred in the social system, they have come about largely as a result of these factors. Man has always tended to accept new things faster than new ideas, but in final analysis these will alter ideas too. It has been said that the streetcar and trains have contributed more to the breakdown of the idea of caste in India than any other single factor; so too on Okinawa, the changes effected by a new technology, greater circulation of money, and improved mobility operate to alter the fabric of life. Most rural Okinawans would be decidedly opposed to any overt action designed toward weakening the unity of their village; yet, when they put aside farming to commute daily to a city job, avail themselves of the newspapers, movies, and radio programs emanating from the city, and no longer participate in labor exchanges and other cooperative ventures, it is to precisely this end that they are contributing.

177 178

It is the opinion of the author that the major forces for change in contemporary Okinawa were already operative before the war. The real impact of the American occupation has been a rapid acceleration of the forces of change which have been slowly building up since the beginning of the century.

178 491

<u>Aspects of Change in Rural Okinawa: Transportation</u> One of the most impressive changes in post-war Okinawa with far-reaching cultural implications has been the improved transportation system which has made possible a greater mobility. A network of modern highways now girdle the land where formerly narrow dirt roads and paths had sufficed. To one who had last seen the island in 1945 the contrast in 1954 was most remarkable.

178 [494] [484]

The increase in motor vehicles has been more than ten-fold over the prewar period. Most villages now have easy access to bus lines which connect to virtually all points of the island. Where formerly villagers but rarely went to town, they now make such trips frequently. It is not uncommon in the Shimajiri and Nakagami areas of the island for an individual to commute each day from his village to his place of employment in a military camp, town, or city.

178 443

The improvement in transportation has enabled the farmers to bring products to the best markets. Formerly most Kanegusuku products were sold in nearby Itoman, but today with the advent of rapid bus service to Naha many items are taken there for sale.

178 369 The new roads and buses have done much to break down the isolation of the village; the physical barriers separating village from town have greatly diminished. This has enabled the rural dweller to enter the labor markets of the urban areas and to expand greatly the markets for his products.

178 20 Communications Equally as impressive as the changes in transportation have been those in communications. Today newspapers, radios, telephones, and movies are making their influences felt in the country. Prior 178 to the war there were five motion-picture theaters on Okinawa; today there 546 are fifty-seven, and approximately one-third of the films shown are of [177] Western origin. Though the theaters are concentrated in the towns and cities, the young people of neighboring farm villages often make regular use of them. Some of the young people in Kanegusuku go to the theaters in Itoman several times a week.

178 204 Everyone asserts that newspapers are becoming more common in the rural areas. In the isolated village of Oku at the northern end of Okinawa the mayor informed us that nearly 90% of the houses subscribe regularly to a newspaper.

178 207 203 In Kanegusuku seventy of its 103 houses obtained radios this year under the group listening system. A number of those who were unable to secure radios (due to a lack of equipment) are hoping to do so in the near future. In some villages the group listening system has been utilized as a public address system for official announcements. This has greatly simplified the problem of conveying information or orders to the villagers. Pitts made use of this system on Henza Shima to explain his purpose in studying there. In this same village the regular Shuri broadcasts are sometimes replaced with Okinawan music played on a phonograph owned by the village. On Izena Shima the system is used to announce the arrivals and departures of the two ferryboats which serve the island.

The radio has been eagerly received in all communities which the author visited and has been instrumental in bringing the villagers into contact with the outside world.

177 178 241 Agriculture and the Rural Economy Major changes in Okinawan agriculture have been slight. Improvements have been made in yields as the result of scientific research conducted by the Japanese, a few new minor crops have been introduced, modern fertilizers have been made available, and the system of land tenure was radically altered by the Japanese; but the basic agricultural methods have remained the same. The major crops have not changed though their ratios have fluctuated, and most importantly, farm holdings remain as scattered and heavily fragmented as ever. There is at present no trend or even a suggestion of a trend toward consolidation of holdings nor is there any indication of a lessening of land pressure. So long as the farms remain small, fragmented, and widely scattered, there will be no possibility of using machinery or scientific methods. The present system of intensive gardening does produce a high yield per acre, but it also demands a large labor supply.

Statistics show (see chapter on Agricultural History) that since the termination of the communal land holding system in 1903, there has been a steady decrease in the amount of land cultivated on Okinawa. That this has continued unabated at the same time that the population has rapidly increased seems a paradox. Most certainly improvements in crop yields through research development have not been sufficient to offset this. Nor has the tax burden been excessive or crushing; in fact, quite the contrary is true since the Japanese substantially reduced land taxes when they abolished the communal system. What is more, the shortage of food has for many years necessitated importation of a considerable portion of the food consumed, and in view of the limited job opportunities in pre-war Okinawa, it seems unlikely that this means of livelihood would be overlooked. It would seem that the major reasons for this decline are cultural and historical. 178 241 [311]

It will be recalled that the farmer in the Okinawan kingdom lived in a state of serfdom; class differences were in effect those of caste. When freed from the restrictions by the Japanese, many were likely eager to depart from the farm village. The status of the farmer traditionally has been quite low on Okinawa. People dislike farming, and those who do farm state quite frankly that they are farmers only because they know nothing else, being poorly educated or possessed of little ability. No young men were heard to express a desire to become farmers, and no father wishes this occupation for his son. Pitts and the author noted in studying the household registries for their respective villages that not infrequently the first son has left the farm to seek employment elsewhere, quite contrary to usual Japanese practice. Farming is not a goal for the Okinawan youth today, and at the University of the Ryukyus the quotas for admission to agricultural studies were barely filled in 1954 whereas some of the other departments had three and four times as many applicants as openings. Centuries of a communal land ownership system left the farmer with no feeling of attachment toward his soil such as exists among the Chinese peasantry. Land was frequently reapportioned, and no plots were retained long enough by a given cultivator to give him a feeling of proprietorship. It is said that few ever tried to improve their holdings, as they felt these would soon be allotted to another. 178 241 554 [566]

The nature of taxation under the communal land system together with slowly rising population also made necessary a greater exploitation of land resources than is necessary today. The old tax rate was fixed and was set at a ratio of 40%. If the government had set 100 koku per year as the expected yield for a given village, then the government demanded 40 koku from that village each year. This may perhaps have been satisfactory to the villagers at the time of assessment, but as the population slowly rose there were more mouths to feed out of the villagers' 60 koku portion, and there was no respite from the tax demands in time of crop failure. Consequently, there was increasing pressure to bring more and more land under cultivation; undoubtedly, inferior, low-yield, idle soils were made into farm land. After the peasant was freed from this system and the trend toward sugar production began, foods were imported from outside, and the slow contraction of arable land figures began. 178 241 651 311

The average Japanese farm of 2 1/2 acres and the average Chinese farm of over 4 acres contrast strongly with the Okinawan average (and most are 241 433

241 average, since the range is narrow) of approximately one acre.[1] Even by the
433 most skillful and intensive gardening methods there are limits to what can be extracted from the best of soils. One might say that the average Okinawan
241 farmer is engaged in sub-subsistence farming. With the traditionally low
554 status accorded a farmer and the minute size of his holdings it is hardly any wonder that the Okinawan does not like farming and is eager to accept whatever is available elsewhere.

178 Land loss to military installations has accelerated a process which
241 has been operative for fifty years. In this case, however, the effect has been concentrated in certain areas and not distributed over the island at
311 large; consequently, there has been considerable hardship in these localities.
727 But the main point of bitterness where it has been so engendered is over the loss of livelihood rather than over the loss of the land per se. The point, they feel, is that not only have they lost their lands but that they also are not receiving adequate compensation for this loss. It would not be an exaggeration to state that most perhaps would prefer to be landlords, under reasonable terms, to the military than farm the land if it were available again.

178 Okinawan food production has passed through three phases in the last
433 fifty to sixty years. During the first phase prior to the land reform of 1899-1903 there was a self-sufficiency of food in the rural areas. After the reform, the Japanese subsidized sugar and did much to encourage its production, which rose to a point 900% above local consumption. This led to a sharp decline in acreage planted in other foods, particularly grains---rice, wheat, millet. Since 1943 there has been a shift toward increasing food production[2], and sugar has dropped to about one-tenth its prewar level. In some villages such as Kanegusuku where mat weaving was formerly of considerable importance the irrigated fields formerly planted in sedge have been replanted with rice. Despite the increasing emphasis on food production it is unlikely that the village will ever return to self-sufficiency, for in recent years new tastes have altered the diet and created a dependence on foods not produced within the village.

<u>Settlement Patterns</u> The reconstruction of villages after the war
178 often did not follow the prewar pattern. Suttles states that prewar Yamada
361 was a scattered settlement made up of several small hamlets, whereas the new postwar settlement is a nucleated one. The new site is at an important crossroads, while the heart of the old village is virtually empty. North of Yamada on the highway to Nago one can see where the new road has departed from the old one; in several cases the villagers have moved closer to the new road despite the fact that it was much dustier there.

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1 Cressey, George B., <u>Asia's Lands and Peoples</u>, New York, 1944, p. 84, p. 191.

2 Several informants stated that the word went out to the farmers in that year to concentrate all efforts on food production. Undoubtedly this was linked to the turn of events in the war for the Japanese.

Elongated roadside settlements seem to be an increasing phenomena of post-war Okinawa. In central Okinawa (Nakagami) this is particularly apparent in the areas of military camps, where the commercial value of being on the road is fully exploited. Numerous car-washing establishments, repair shops, laundries, souvenir shops, etc., line the roadsides in these settlements. With current expansion and improvement of the highway system there seems increasing likelihood that more settlements of this type will develop. 178 361 [443]

Houses and Buildings Architectural styles and the materials of construction appear to have changed but slightly as a result of the war. There are now thousands of small temporary huts made of scrap materials which will suffice until the individual family can afford a more permanent structure. When new houses are built, the styles are closely similar to those of the prewar period. The major change in the style of country houses appears to have occurred during the Japanese period of administration, for early travelers and investigators report that the typical farmer's dwelling consisted of woven bamboo walls, thatch roof, and dirt floor. These are but rarely found today, and where they do occur, there is always a raised floor as in the case of the Japanese home. In certain areas, such as Kitazato for example, there has been a reversion to this house of woven bamboo and thatch due to poverty, a lack of wood, and the readily available bamboo. The prewar house of wooden walls and frame with a tile roof still remains the most common house type and that which is most frequently built. 178 342 [171]

The use of concrete blocks in building is attributed to American influence; however, their usage to date has been limited mostly to non-residential buildings. Roofing of corrugated iron is sometimes used, but it is regarded as a temporary device. [177]

Interiors have changed but little; rooms are usually relatively bare of furnishings. Frequently the walls are covered with pictures taken from Japanese and American magazines. 177 178 353

The enclosed yard surrounding the Okinawan house often contains considerable evidence of the war. Oil drums have been put to use as rain barrels and privies; American helmets are frequently found serving as pails or buckets; old shell cases are used for support and occasionally, if a sufficient number are available, for decorative fencing; sections of portable landing-strips serve as sidewalks; and on one occasion a Japanese machine-gun was observed in use as a clothes pole. 177 351

Crafts There has been a marked decline in Okinawan handicrafts and a greater reliance placed on factory-made products. The manufacture of cloth, baskets, rope, hats, pottery, raincapes, mats, sandals, etc. has dropped markedly in comparison to the prewar era; yet, it is acknowledged that the war only served to accelerate the decline. Several factors are involved in this process. In many cases the Japanese factory products are cheaper and better than the local article. The cultural domination of Japan also created an attitude that things Ryukyuan were inferior to things Japanese; hence, Japanese products and styles assumed an ascendancy over those of Ryukyuan origin. Lastly, the war destroyed many of the places of manufacture and the machinery employed, and replacement has never been made. 177 178 433 28 [329] [727]

178 In Kanegusuku, for example, mat weaving is still of some importance
286 as a home industry. Where formerly nearly all of the houses were engaged in
433 production of mats, today less than half are so engaged, and the acreage planted in sedge is but ten percent of the prewar level. The war caused the loss of many machines; increasing emphasis on food production has brought a conversion of sedge fields into paddies; access to the better markets in Japan is now more difficult than before the war; it is felt to be too time-consuming and the young women today do not like this work.

Formerly there were a number of men in Kanegusuku who were able to construct the looms used in mat weaving. Today, however, no one constructs his own looms; instead, they are purchased from a manufacturer in Itoman.
[463] This particular example is symptomatic of the general decline of do-it-yourself and the increasing reliance placed on specialists.

178 There are some encouraging signs of revival or new life in the manufacture of Okinawan art objects. Okinawan lacquer ware, which is acknow-
[322] ledged by some to be the world's finest, is being sold in large quantity to
[323] members of the occupation. The owner of a large pottery works in Naha told the author that pottery from tombs is being collected to serve as models in
[286] restoring an older style and superior type of pottery. An Okinawan textile technique known as <u>biingata</u> (Okinawan; in Japanese, 'Benigata') was virtually lost during the war, but this art is still being carried on by one Shuri family, and recent publicity and aroused interest seems likely to insure survival.

178 <u>Power and Machinery</u> Agricultural machinery has come into use quite
407 recently on Okinawa. Pitts states that the labor-saving rice thresher first came into widespread use in the thirties. Older methods of flailing or rubbing the rice over a mat, canvas, or stone surface were also observed as being in common use. In numerous instances it was brought out that wartime losses had necessitated a return to an earlier and cruder means of threshing.

The old-fashioned, hand-operated rice polisher has gone out of use in Kanegusuku, and all rice is now polished in the village rice mill which operates on a gasoline engine.

In many communities the gasoline-operated sugar mill has replaced the
[257] horse-powered mill. More important, however, is the fact that the small community mill remains popular, and the farmer is resistant toward using the large sugar factories (see chapter on Rural Economy).

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377 Electricity, common only to the towns and cities before the war, is
[373] now found in many villages, and those who are without it are looking forward to its installation. The kerosene lamps now in use in most rural homes cast a dim light and constitute a serious fire hazard in homes of thatch and wood.

178 The bulldozer has come into use as a means of opening new land and
406 constructing rice fields. Farmers in Kanegusuku and Nanahan made use of this method during the period of the authors' study of these two villages. Formerly this sort of work required the labor of a number of men over a considerable

period of time. This was usually accomplished by reciprocal labor exchange or by hiring the local youth organization to do the job. 178 406

In sum, the rural people are making eager use of labor-saving machines when they are available. The limiting factors have been shortage caused by the war, poverty, small fields, and heavily fragmented holdings. The use of machines has contributed to a decline of reciprocal labor exchanges and has necessitated the payment of cash for the services of the specialist or machine owner. 178 40 [476] [437]

Dress A most notable feature of the postwar period has been the wholesale adoption of Western styles of dress and the great reliance placed on Japanese and American cloth and clothing. Nearly all males now dress in Western styles of dress. Very infrequently an old man will be observed in a kimono, but most males regard it as ill suited for work and modern life. Sometimes a man will wear a kimono when lounging at home, especially late in the evening after supper and bath. It is not at all unusual in the cities and towns to see a man walking toward the public bath carrying his kimono; on return he is dressed in the kimono and carries his soiled work clothing which is of Western style. Even for weddings the Western suit is used as frequently as the kimono for the groom's attire. 177 291

Young women and school girls wear Western dress exclusively. The kimono still remains the traditional mode of dress for the bride, and at New Year's time young women and girls may wear kimono. Middle-aged women use the kimono and Western-style dresses about equally. The older women dress exclusively in the kimono. The style of the kimono for the older and middle-aged woman is usually Okinawan, not Japanese. Among the young women and girls who use the kimono only as a party costume the Japanese style is followed, never the Okinawan. [292]

Native-style rain and sun hats of palm leaf and wheat straw are still widely used in the rural areas; nothing of Western or Japanese manufacture has been able to match these for light weight and effectiveness. 178 292

A major influence on Okinawan styles of dress has been the clothing of the US military forces. This has been obtained through clothes rations, surpluses, and petty black market operations. US Army fatigues, chino pants and shirts, wool pants, field jackets, fatigue caps and ponchos, are very popular particularly in the rural areas, so much so that the bulk of rural Okinawa is dressed in colors of olive drab, suntan, or field green. All attest to the durability of American cloth. A number of Okinawans asserted that used American clothing was better than new Japanese. A number of small merchants capitalizing on this belief have begun importing used American clothing, which comes in one-hundred pound bales; according to all accounts this has been well received. 291 177 [439]

Okinawans use very little in the way of personal ornamentation. The large old-fashioned hairpin, formerly worn by both sexes, is used today by only a few old women. Tattooed hands, once common to all Okinawan women, are seen today only on women over sixty. The purely ornamental insertion of gold teeth is also said to be declining; among the young educated (high school) people of the cities there is said to be some reaction against this use of gold teeth, but personal observation indicates continued popularity of the custom in the country. 301 178 [304]

000 custom in the country. Hair styles vary according to age, sex, and status.
302 All boys up to junior high school age usually have shaved heads. During the high school and junior high school years they allow the hair to grow and become quite long. This style is retained until middle age, though often it is somewhat shorter than during the school years. Old and middle-aged men generally wear their hair closely cropped. Young girls through the junior high school age wear their hair in a short bobbed style with bangs, typical of the Japanese school girl. In high school and thereafter the young woman allows her hair to grow a little longer; the bangs grow out and the permanent wave is frequently adopted. After marriage and in middle age a woman is most likely to wear her hair drawn back and tied in a bun. Older women retain the old Okinawan styles, and a few use the long hairpin as mentioned above.

[178] Prewar movies and pictures of Okinawa indicate most men were bearded, but today all are clean-shaven except for a few very old men.

178 <u>Diet</u> With few exceptions most Okinawans state that they are eating
262 better foods and a greater variety of these than before the war. This is attributed to several factors. Sweet potatoes and vegetables formed the bulk of the prewar diet, and there was little money available for food purchases. More land is devoted to food production today than in the prewar period when sugar was the chief crop. There were food shortages throughout the Japanese Empire beginning with the Chinese war in 1937; these shortages gradually in-
[177] creased and became severe. After the war most Okinawans lived on American canned foods for several years; canned foods were served in the civilian internment camps and later formed the bulk of the food ration. A number of
[434] people asserted that this experience created a taste for other foods. Lastly the farm people have more money to spend today.

177 Stores in the towns and cities contain a wide variety of canned
262 American and European foods, not to mention an even greater supply of canned Japanese foods. The important factor is that none of the American or European canned goods were available before the war. Even in the village stores American flour, Coca Cola and other carbonated and non-carbonated beverages, condensed milk, candy, gum, and cigarettes can be obtained today. American foods are said to be far superior to Japanese and Okinawan foods, but most are too expensive for the average family. American tea bags, which often contain an Indian tea far inferior to the Japanese teas, are considered the height of elegance. However, many of the adopted foods are used in a manner considerably different from customary American usage. Pitts was served french-fried whale intestines dipped in peanut butter, and mayonnaise was observed in use as
[272] cooking fat. It is widely believed that some of the American soft drinks contain real fruit juices and are excellent for the health. The author was informed that people sometimes take these when they do not feel too well.

178 For the majority of villagers Japanese and Okinawan foods still con-
262 stitute the bulk of the diet, although they say that they now enjoy a greater variety of these. Rice is more commonly eaten than before, but there is a greater reliance on prepared foods of the sort which cannot be made in the village or which they are no longer inclined to prepare themselves. Canned mackerel (selling for about 17 cents per can) is now a staple item in many

households. Noodles are another item of regular purchase. Starch and bean paste are typical items which formerly were always made in the home but now may be purchased instead. 178 262

In sum Okinawan diet has improved in quantity and variety. Food tastes are more catholic today; certain foreign foods are greatly appreciated. There is a greater reliance on manufactured and processed foods, and greater cash expenditures are made for food.

Entertainment and Leisure There has been a marked decline in village celebrations and festivals in which all residents participate. Formerly O Bon, New Year's, and harvesting time were occasions for village-wide celebrations; today these are gone from most communities; celebrations are restricted to the family and friends. Most of the village celebrations were basically religious in nature and with the decline of the old religion these celebrations have been dropped. 527 796 178 621

Parties to mark an individual's change of status were formerly held on the 13th, 25th, 37th, 48th, 61st, 73rd, 85th, 88th and 97th birthdays, but today only those for the old people are observed. Frequently a party is held to mark an individual's success in the competitive examination to enter high school, but aside from that, rites of passage for the young and middle-aged are no longer observed. 527 178

The Japanese introduced one form of entertainment which has achieved immense popularity; this is a sporting event sponsored by the school. These are usually held on Sunday during the fall of the year, and usually the whole school participates. There is intra-school competition and later inter-school; intense interest is generated and often this becomes an important topic for conversation among the young men. 526 177

Local units of the national organizations such as the youths' association and the women's association frequently hold parties for their members. In fact these organizations are mainly of a social nature. 575

As noted above, prior to the war there were five motion picture theaters on Okinawa; today there are fifty-seven. American and European films constitute from one quarter to one third of the total shown. Though most of these theaters are located in the cities and towns, the young people of the nearby farming villages make frequent use of them. The popularity of the American "Western" among the young people has caused some to attribute juvenile delinquency to this, although the relatively more bloody Japanese sword-fighting pictures ('chambara') are considered harmless. 546 177

The popularity of Okinawan dancing and music seems undiminished. Radio broadcasts of Okinawan music are much enjoyed; and virtually every party provides the opportunity for music and dancing in which most of the guests participate. A few of the better-educated young people profess an appreciation of Western classical music and jazz, but most of them prefer Japanese and American love ballads though they still remain very fond of the Okinawan music. 533 535 177

52 The general characteristics of the changed entertainment patterns
178 have been a greater reliance on entertainment provided by sources outside
621 the village---the school, radio, movies---and a sharp decline in celebrations and festivals of the sort which emphasized village participation and unity.

Health and Medicine Changes in medical practice well illustrate the
757 principle that material things find more ready acceptance than ideas in the
753 diffusion of culture; in short, Okinawans have been willing to adopt modern
177 medicine when available, but not modern medical principles. Pills, shots, surgery, dentistry, penicillin, and DDT have found acceptance, while modern scientific concepts of disease, health, and sanitation seem to have made relatively little headway. The germ theory, for example, has barely penetrated.

However, on talking to people of different ages one becomes aware
753 that many changes in standards of sanitation and ideas about health and dis-
751 ease actually have taken place in the last fifty years. For example, evidence
177 of the practice of tattooing various parts of the body as a cure for certain ills is rarely seen on persons under seventy. Similarly, though many of the younger generation may appear abysmally ignorant of modern knowledge of disease, they are always less ignorant and better informed than the preceding generation. Considerable progress toward better sanitation was made under the
[364] Japanese. Formerly the Okinawan privy was built atop the pigpen, and the pig
[231] subsisted in part on human feces. Stern measures were required to force the abandonment of this practice. The Japanese also introduced monthly sanitation inspections; inoculations for babies and school children were made compulsory.
[515] Through the influence of the schools the toothbrush (usually one) became a
[582] part of every home. The Japanese also sent notable scholars into the countryside to lecture the people on the dangers of in-breeding practices, particularly kin-group endogamy.

757 Penicillin, which was introduced by the Americans, has become a pop-
177 ular treatment, achieving equality with moxacautery and cutting to let blood. It can be obtained easily at any drug shop, and every doctor, midwife, herbalist, and practitioner of any sort is prepared to administer shots. Reliance excessive even by American standards is placed on this drug. There seems, in fact, to be a fondness for shots which does not end with penicillin; hormone shots and various other injections are widely advertised. It is the opinion of the author that any type of modern medicine which cuts, punctures, or otherwise disfigures the skin will find ready acceptance; this, it is felt, is merely an extension of the tradition of acupuncture, moxacautery, tattooing, and cutting. Bettelheim states that in the 1850's the Okinawans made inquiries as to how inoculations for smallpox might be obtained.[1]

759 There is some indication that the yabu, a practitioner whose chief
178 stocks-in-trade are herbs and moxacautery, is slowly disappearing; in several communities the author was told that since the old yabu died there had been no replacement.

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[1] Bettelheim, B. J., Loochoo Mission, London, n.d., pp. 34-36.

Education The Japanese established the first schools in the rural areas some time before World War I. Great emphasis was placed on making Japanese speakers and nationals out of Okinawans. Today most of the population is bilingual; those who speak only a dialect of the Ryukyuan language are persons over sixty and pre-school children. Most Okinawans have come to regard themselves as Japanese. 871 177 [191] [829]

A major change in the postwar educational system has been the addition of three years to the period of compulsory schooling, making a total of nine years. Since the schools continue to provide a Japanese education, the effect will be to increase the Japanization of Okinawa, raise literacy, and ultimately make all speakers bilingual. As a student is usually excused from all work by the family, this measure has served to withhold a large number of teenagers from the labor market.

In the rural areas the author heard frequent praise for the extension of the schooling period and the new school construction program initiated by the military government. Most rural peoples stated that educational opportunities were poor for them in the prewar period; high school education was said to be particularly difficult for a village child to achieve. Now they feel that they are realizing equality with the urban areas. The urbanite is more likely to suggest that the quality of education has deteriorated in the postwar period. Both rural and urban people were agreed that one decided improvement has been that students no longer fight among themselves. Before and during the war all students were organized into small groups based on area of residence; each group was headed by a student leader who shepherded his charges to and from school in semi-military formation. Rivalry between these organized groups frequently led to gang fighting so severe that the intervention of teachers or police was often necessary to restore order. 871 369 178 877 178

Rural people regard education as providing one of the best opportunities for improving one's status; consequently, the improvement of educational opportunities will have far-reaching effects on social mobility. Those who acquire a high school or university education rarely remain in the village, and the few who do remain adopt an occupation other than farming. 871 554

Economy Money was virtually non-existent in the old Okinawan village; barter was the chief means of exchange. Taxes under the communal land holding system were paid in grain and cloth. The land reforms initiated by the Japanese brought the introduction of tax payments in cash. Increasing emphasis on sugar production due to governmental encouragement and subsidy did much to destroy the self-sufficiency of the village and brought dependence on a cash crop. The period of Japanese administration was marked by a gradual adoption of a money economy in the rural areas. 437 436 178 177

Okinawans state that there is a far greater amount of money in the village today than in the prewar period. Some assert that due to governmental price controls they were never able to realize a fair return for their products (chiefly sugar) in the prewar era, but the great increase in money in recent years seems largely attributable to factors relating to the military occupation. Today over twenty-five percent of the total labor force is employed by the military and in subsidiary occupations such as construction; this steep rise in 434 178 [435] [464]

434 salaried employees has greatly increased the amount of money in circulation.
178 The large expenditures made by members of the military forces have also con-
464 tributed significantly. The farmer, in turn, has been able to realize a larger return for his products than was formerly possible, and in many farm villages a sizable number of individuals are engaged in military employment..

Farmers are spending more than ever before; self-sufficiency has further declined in that many articles formerly made at home are now purchased.
[511] The standard of living, especially diet, is said to have improved considerably.
[592] Formerly all income and resources were controlled by the household head for the entire family; today individual purses are said to be increasingly common.

621 <u>Community Organization and Social Structure</u> The solidarity and
178 integration of the village was severely diminished by the war and its aftermath. The prewar village was quite homogeneous; most of its families had resided there for many generations, village marriage practices tended to be endogamous, and nearly all were engaged in farming as their major occupation. Today in most villages there are a number of families new to the village since the war, and there are an increasing number of individuals who are employed outside the village in non-agricultural pursuits. Both groups tend to play a lesser role in community affairs than the old residents who continue to farm.

476 There has been a considerable decline in reciprocal labor exchanges.
178 The man who is daily employed outside the village is automatically prevented from participating in such ventures. The widow who heads a household without any adult male members is often unable to participate or must limit her participation since a day's work by a man must be matched by two by a woman. Likewise the man who hires a bulldozer to clear some land or build a rice field instead of engaging his relatives and neighbors in a cooperative exchange is also contributing to the decline of the practice.

369 Formerly those who left the village usually emigrated to other parts
178 of the Japanese Empire, but today they usually obtain employment in the cities
621 or military camps. Consequently, they continue to exert some influence in their place of origin, since interaction is more likely.

621 In a community like Kitazato which has suffered poverty, hunger, land
178 loss, and exodus of members to other communities, there seems to be a reintensification of community spirit stressing cooperation and unity. This is in marked contrast to Kanagusuku and elsewhere, suggesting that when a major value---communal unity---is directly threatened, there is a reaction and reintensification of this value. Elsewhere where the process of change has been more subtle, no reaction has occurred.

565 Okinawan class divisions were officially abolished early in the period
177 of Japanese administration; yet they continued to be of some importance with regard to status and marriage for some time. Today people say that they are no longer of any importance except to a few of the very old. Distinctions on
[559] the basis of wealth were largely erased by the war. It is frequently said, "After the war everyone was equal."

Within the village there are no class differences. Considerable prestige continues to be accorded certain occupations---teacher, doctor, government official. Land ownership does not appear to be an important status factor, and there is no landlord class. 621 554

Family The Okinawan family system has been in a process of change for over fifty years. Abolition of the system of communal land tenure and the introduction of private property and Japanese laws of inheritance provided the first shock. The bulk of the estate was hereafter conferred upon the first son while younger sons were frequently landless; consequently, many left the village in search of livelihood elsewhere. Where formerly the kin group was concentrated in a given locality, now its members are often scattered about, making interaction infrequent. A gradual decline in the practice of kin group endogamy also has contributed to weakening the solidarity of the kin group. There seems to be an increasing trend for large kin groups to fragment into smaller segments. According to young people who were consulted on the subject, their generation has little interest in kin group affairs; this may be misleading, as it is chiefly a matter which occupies the attention of older people. Perhaps one young man stated the situation accurately when he said, "I have no interest in such matters now, but I suppose I will when I am past forty." 593 178 [423] [428] 61 178

Many families were shattered by the war, and in the postwar period there has been a weakening of the family due to a variety of factors which might best be described as growing individualism. One factor, noted previously, was an increasing tendency for members of the household to maintain separate purses where formerly all earnings were turned over to the head of the house. There is some sentiment among the more educated for changing existing inheritance laws in favor of equal shares for all heirs regardless of sex or birth order. The author also heard complaints that young people often run off to seek lucrative jobs elsewhere unmindful of their family obligations. 593 178

Marriage In contrast to the prewar period when most marriages were arranged, the young people today claim that they will marry someone of their own choice. This seems to be generally true, but often the parents will go through the process of arranging after the young people have decided. Young people also will vehemently deny that they will make use of a fortune teller to determine the most propitious day, but their mothers most likely will do this and then will exert their influence for the proper day. In all likelihood the young people will accept in order not to displease the parents. 584 178 [585]

If a person, particularly a young woman, delays too long in becoming married, the family will arrange a match. In one such case known to the author a well-educated woman of twenty-five who had financial independence as a school teacher was urged into a match much against her own feelings. She explained her compliance as obligation to her family for having provided her with an excellent education.

Pitts' population studies indicate that the average age of marriage has dropped slightly in the postwar period due to the fact that Okinawan men are no longer delayed by military service. Despite this slight drop in the 582 178

582 average age at the time of marriage, investigation into the registries re-
178 veals that the range has narrowed somewhat. Formerly some girls married at thirteen and fourteen; today this would be considered rather unusual.

[177] The Japanese administration attempted to discourage endogamous marriage practices, particularly kin-group endogamy. All agreed that the practice has declined; yet in Kanegusuku nearly 50% of all marriages were within the kin group and 66% of all marriages were within the village. An analysis of these figures on an age basis indicates the practice is declining there.

833 Sex It is said that sexual standards have changed in that there is
178 less sexual license among the young people and that they tend to have their
833 first relations at a later age than formerly. This is attributed in part to the moral training of the schools. Another factor seems to be the general decline of several informal village institutions which permitted young people considerable sexual freedom. One informant stated that those who continue on to high school and university generally have their first experience at a later age than those who attend only junior high school.

642 Government The Japanese introduced a modern system of government,
177 abolished the Okinawan aristocracy, and granted suffrage to all males of
641 twenty-five or more years. The American Civil Administration has attempted to liberalize laws and to make possible a greater degree of self-government.
[625] Police powers have been limited, universal suffrage has been introduced, and
[666] the number of elected officials has been increased.

To date there has been little change within the village, where
621 suffrage and office-holding remain limited to household heads. Villagers
178 acknowledge that there is greater freedom for action at the local level today; yet they are not desirous of obtaining greater self-government. They feel that it would require too much of their time and that there is too little money available to finance its operation. Village leadership is virtually unchanged. Change where it has occurred has been initiated at a higher level.

632 At the township level the electorate has been broadened to include
178 all persons, male and female, over twenty years of age. The mayor who was formerly appointed is now elected to office.

771 Religion There has been a general decline in the indigenous Okinawan
177 religion, effected by Japanese policy, wartime attrition, and the spread of
178 education. Formerly a hierarchy of priestesses extended from the kin group
793 through the community and region to the person of the king's sister, the chief priestess. The Japanese removed the top echelons of this hierarchy, but the kin group and community priestesses continued to function. World War II resulted in the death of many religious functionaries, and as the office is usually hereditary within a specific family and often limited to a particular member of that family, there has often been no replacement for the office. Lastly there is an increasing tendency among the young people, due to the influence of the school, to regard religion as superstition.

796 Many villages, especially those without religious functionaries, have
178 discontinued all village ceremonies, and in those few remarkable exceptions

where they are observed there are generally few participants. Also many ceremonies have lost all meaning save that of custom, which is considered sufficient reason for their observance. 796 178

The authors heard dissatisfaction expressed with regard to current funeral practices. At one bone-washing ceremony witnessed by the author, several of the men stated that the practice was pointless and should therefore cease. Statements favorable to the Japanese practice of cremation were frequently heard. 764 765 829

Urbanization Prior to Japanese annexation there existed a sharp urban-rural dichotomy in Okinawan culture. This might best be characterized as a rural peasantry and an urban gentry-nobility. The latter group was in contact with Japan and China and was literate, while the former was divided into many small, isolated villages, lived in a state of serfdom, and was largely uneducated. The urban culture was strongly influenced by its foreign contacts, but in the rural areas an indigenous culture was preserved virtually untouched by outside influences. 369 177 [565]

The Japanese impact was first felt in the urban areas, and the city of Naha gradually assumed the characteristics of a Japanese city. It became the center for the diffusion of things Japanese into the countryside. Despite a number of important changes---abolition of communal land tenure, introduction of private property, gradual penetration of a money economy, introduction of schools and national organizations---rural-urban differences remained strong. The character of the village tended to remain homogeneous and conservative, and contacts with the city were infrequent. When one emigrated from the village, the move usually was to a point outside the country rather than to another part of the island.

World War II shattered the isolation and homogeneity of the village. The American occupation coupled with the cumulative effect of the change initiated by the Japanese has served to bring the village into a closer relationship with the urban areas. The result has been the urbanization of the rural areas. By means of newspapers, motion pictures, and radio the villager has come to share the cultural life of the city. Rural-urban differences in diet, dress, education, entertainment, mobility, and values are tending to disappear. Marked improvements in transportation have given the villager a new mobility, enabling him to participate in the labor market of the city and giving new outlets for his products. The nature of the village is increasingly more heterogeneous due to the presence of newcomers, increased occupational specialization, and greater interaction with the outside world. There is a greater reliance on goods produced by industrial society, and a number of villagers commute daily to a place of employment in the city or in nearby military installations. The trend is toward an ultimate disappearance of rural-urban differences; the process is one that is well advanced in the United States, but in Okinawa it is in an early stage. 369 177 178 621

Conclusion Okinawa has been in a process of change for over fifty years. World War II and the American military occupation have served to accelerate greatly the forces for change. Despite this, Okinawan culture has not been overwhelmed and has managed to preserve its identity. A number of 177 178

177 factors have made possible its resilience. Though the island is small, the
178 Americans and Okinawans tend to be concentrated in their own areas, and the rate of interaction is not so high as mere figures might indicate. Secondly,
[184] Okinawan culture is fairly homogeneous, hence unaffected areas tend to sus-
[186] tain other areas which might be disturbed. Thirdly, there remains a strong awareness of cultural identity, much of which is fostered by language, song,
[619] theater, dance, and religion. Fourthly, there exists a sense of belonging to a larger national entity, Japan; consequently, there is less feeling of being alone. Fifthly, despite some changes, much the same sort of educational and political systems operate today as before the war; this has provided a considerable degree of continuity. Lastly, the present administration has not been culturally repressive.

[Yamada]

Thus Aza Yamada consisted of seven settlements grouped into six 'han' and into five chinju. The chinju was probably the older, "natural" unit, while the 'han' was a unit introduced by the Japanese administration. 621 [177]

During the last few months before the battle for Okinawa, the area south of Yamada was used as an ammunition dump by the Japanese navy, one small unit was stationed in Tarigaa, and a number of Okinawan civilians drafted for labor were quartered there with the local people. These outsiders dispersed as the raiding by American planes increased and by the time the landing took place, on 1 April 1945, the people of Yamada had for the most part gone into caves and prepared underground shelters. Two or three days after the landing the 6th MarDiv passed through Yamada, discovering some of the people and sending them behind the lines, but missing many. Some of those taken were almost immediately allowed to return to their homes. Then, after about a week, all were rounded up, taken to the school, and there loaded onto trucks and taken to Ishikawa. During the following weeks all the buildings in Yamada that had survived the softening-up process that preceded the landing were burned "as a sanitary measure" with the exception of one house and one school building. A part of the Yamada people were moved again to a village north of Kin while the rest stayed in Ishikawa, which was becoming the largest concentration of civilians on the island. Aza Yamada, empty of Okinawans, was occupied by several American units; concrete foundations for quonset huts were laid on the level fields of Tirabaru; the walls and floor of the remaining school building were removed so as to make a garage for a motor pool. 175 621 726 727

The people of Yamada were permitted to move back to their village during the summer of 1946. Some stayed in Ishikawa, however, and some returned to Yamada only to go back to Ishikawa later. (One woman said they were told at the time that if they did not return to Yamada then they could never return later.) The houses at Yamada had to be rebuilt and fields reclaimed; American aid in materials was given but the job was not an easy one. For some of those who had employment with American units or whose families were too broken by the war to provide the basis for a farming household, the new city of Ishikawa, crowded and unsanitary as it was (and still is), was more attractive than the ruins of the country village. But in addition to those from Ishikawa, former Yamada people were being shipped home from Japan, the South Seas, and Manchuria, and although some of these too drifted to the city, the population of Yamada is now somewhat larger than it was before the war. 175 621 727

The postwar village of Yamada looks considerably different from the prewar one. While the old village consisted of several widely separated settlements, the new one is fairly compact. The center is Ajimaa at the old cross-roads below the school. Yamada 'mura-uchi' is empty but for three families. The yaarui of Uema and Tarigaa were never reoccupied and Tirabaru exists only as a sort of pseudopodium of Ajimaa stretching toward but not reaching its former location. The greater part of the 'mura-uchi' and yaarui people are in Ajimaa and the present Tirabaru. Kuraha, formerly down on the beach, has been rebuilt above the water, just below Ajimaa, at a new and potentially more important crossroads. 621 178 [341]

[Yamada]

621 361 178 177 One reason for this greater concentration may have been the greater need for cooperation during the period of rebuilding; another may have been the greater dependence since the war on the outside and the resulting greater dependence on the new highways and busses; but a third reason for the present concentration seems to have been a feeling of uneasiness in the presence of American units. There are still units on three sides of Yamada, two in the hills behind and one towards the sea between the settlement and the next village of Maeda. A Tarigaa woman gave the presence of American soldiers in the hills as a definite reason for not returning to her isolated home. A part of the rebuilt Ajimaa extended for a time in the direction of the nearest unit but in the last two or three years these houses have one by one been removed toward the center of the settlement.

621 178 The present aza is divided into five 'han', which are said also to function as chinju. However, the division seems to have been made along 'koaza' boundaries and this has resulted in a very uneven distribution of households per 'han'. Since the settlement pattern is still changing it seems likely that units of a more equal size will develop.

621 178 484 The orientation of Yamada, as well as its settlement pattern, has changed. Before the war contacts were nearly all to the north and south along the west shore of the island; people went south to Kadena on their rare shopping trips. Now, good highways and an excellent bus system not only run north and south but also link the west shore with the east shore via Nakadomari and Ishikawa. Since the war and the internment of many of the Yamada people at Ishikawa, going to town had meant going to Ishikawa, and people who once went twice a year to Kadena may now go to Ishikawa twice a week. People still go south to Kadena, but now more often as employees of the Americans commuting to work.

621 177 727 [648] Formal Relations At the time that the Yamada people returned to their village in 1946 they received material aid from the American Military Government, with which to rebuild. For a time after, they continued to receive a food ration ('haikyū') that was distributed from the 'haikyūjo', which later became the cooperative store. However, for several years now they seem to have had very little direct contact with the Military Government or its successor USCAR. On the other hand they have had considerable contact, both formal and informal, with the 'butai', the "unit", that is stationed just a few hundred yards from the settlement of Kuraha. This relationship was evidently in a process of change while I worked in Yamada early in 1954.

All of the villagers with whom I discussed the matter seemed agreed that for a period in the recent past the relationship had been very good. During the previous year the CO of the unit had held monthly meetings with the 'kuchō' of Yamada and three neighboring villages and with the teachers of the Yamada school, which serves all four villages. The purpose of these meetings was said to be the discussion of mutual problems, and in this they had a fair degree of success. For example the local people asked the unit to decrease the speed of trucks coming through the village, and this was done. The unit in turn asked the villagers to try to stop women from sneaking into

621 464 Only five of these are household heads entitled to vote in village elections or assume village office, but because their jobs keep them out of the community much of the time, they are not given village offices. There is some feeling on the part of the villagers that they are out of touch with the affairs of a farming village; consequently, their influence in the village thus far has not been too great.

621 727 464 Jagaru and Tobaru The villages of Jagaru and Tobaru in Chatan-son offer a marked contrast to Kanegusuku in terms of the importance of military employment to the community. These two contiguous communities are hemmed in on all sides by military installations. They constitute little more than housing areas within a township that has lost, according to its officials, approximately 91% of its land to military installations.

[241] [178] Formerly nearly all of the families were engaged in farming as a full-time occupation; today less than one-sixth are farming and not all of these are able to depend on it for their sole support. Military employment has replaced farming as the chief occupation of these villages. In October of 1953 there were 2,352 persons out of a total population of 10,411 who were employed in military jobs. In addition there were a number of business establishments which were dependent on the trade of military personnel.

621 464 [434] The welfare of Jagaru and Tobaru is wholly dependent on military employment. In the fall of 1953 there were rumors of an anticipated cut of 10% in the over-all Okinawan labor force employed by the military. This would have made over two hundred individuals and their families without any source of income or means of livelihood. The people were much upset by this prospect as every family had at least one member employed in military jobs and were wholly or in part dependent on their income.

In contrast to Kanegusuku those who were engaged in military employment in these villages played an active role in community affairs. A great many of them are household heads, and they are not regarded as being out of touch with village affairs since the chief occupation of the villagers is military employment. While the Kanegusuku people regard securing a military job as good fortune, the people here regard it as a necessity. According to township officials most of this year's graduating class will look for jobs in the nearby installations.

621 464 829

The villagers are bitter because they feel that the military has not paid them adequate rentals for the use of their land. There is also some resentment over the conduct of troops in these communities during their off-duty hours. In short, though the villages are completely dependent on the military for their livelihood, they are bitter and resentful in their attitude toward it. The possibility of job losses seems likely to heighten this feeling.

621 727 464 Henza Shima The island of Henza off the east central coast of Okinawa differs from the above communities in that a large segment of its population is engaged in military employment and yet the village itself is far removed from any military installation. This village suffered but slight damage and no loss of life during the war. After the war over four hundred repatriates returned to the village, bringing its population up to approximately 4,900.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

121 in the growth of ecological thinking, though this history is older.

But when we say that it has paralleled ecological thinking, we do not mean that the approach should be identical or even similar. In ecology, the plant or animal, as an individual or in association, is studied as part of the community of plants and animals, whose own growth may be encouraged or hindered by the growth and competition from others. When we study human cultures, this functional approach breaks down. It is not enough to show the context of each cultural trait in the whole, indispensable as this may be. This might produce a satisfying interpretation but it would suffer from important omissions. These are the history of the culture and the periods of contact and isolation that may have characterized it and the changes that the culture has made in the physical environment in which it is placed. No place in the world offers such fruitful illustrations over so great an area and over so long a period of time as Southeast Asia, with the exception of the Mediterranean. The great changes in the soils due to paddy culture and the long fertilization from human excreta and plant residues, soil erosion, deforestation, the minute changes of land from mountain tops to the cultivated valleys can be found in abundance here.

121 This study of three villages on the island of Okinawa is concerned
181 with many of these themes. As the inquiry progressed and during the period
182 of reflection that followed the collection of materials, it seemed that the most significant characteristic was the existence of the family system, and that this had meaning not only in the places where one would expect it, such as family and daily life, and in the desire to respect the memory of the dead and to guard against extinction of the family line, but that its influence was the key to an understanding of the way in which the culture had changed and modified the natural environment and utilized the resources available to it.

The connecting link between the family system, on the one hand, and the use of the natural environment, on the other, is the system of inheritance, and through the inheritance system on land tenure and land use. And when speaking of land tenure and land use, the reference is not merely to the agricultural land, but to all land, including the forest soils of the north, the uncultivated land scattered over the island, but so vital in its production of grasses to the livelihood of peoples.

121 One of the most striking aspects of this culture is its dependence on
181 plants, not only for food, but for uses other than food. Houses, their
824 roofs and sidings, plank floorings, excepting only the stones; fibres or wood for sandals or clogs; grasses, cane stalks, shrubbery for fuels; imported cottons for clothing, which have replaced an earlier dependence on reeds or banana leaves; fibres and reeds for rugs and floor mats; rice stalks or other grasses for making carrying baskets; rope of palm or of rice stalks; wooden poles, are but a few illustrations of this close dependence on plant life. It is a culture based on the utilization of plants for all purposes to which are added the multifarious and skillful employment of stone and of water.

The nature of the land itself is then explained with emphasis on the historical significance of the old communal land system (jiwari seido) and on the system introduced by the Japanese, slightly over fifty years ago, of private ownership of land. Here I have tried to show that one of the central facts of the culture is the intimate knowledge which the people possess of their land and its capabilities, and that this knowledge is based on experience of farmers, expressed in the system of land classification. 128

Once the land tenure system and land classification are understood, it becomes necessary to show in what way the land and the soils are being used and conserved. It should be obvious that large populations living off a small island could only have subsisted, as they have in the agricultural lands of China and Japan, by intensive fertilization, minute care of the arable land, and conservation measures. This is extended here to the non-arable lands, for these have an extraordinary significance in the lives and well-being of the people.

With these facts before us, we are in a better position to understand the manner in which agriculture is pursued. In the chapter on agriculture I have been concerned with describing it as something more than a mere technique, a routine of planting and harvesting, but as a way of life bound up with the family system, inheritance, subdivision and fragmentation, land classification, and soil conservation.

Agriculture certainly is the normal way of life in Okinawa. But fishing, stonecutting, the use and the exploitation of the forests are not exotic exceptions. They are important, if secondary occupations, and the materials from Hinatotawa-Nagamo and Hatsuda are used to illustrate the use of the waters, the quarries, and the forests. With respect to the forests, I have tried to show their intimate relation to the welfare of the whole island, perhaps neither so intimate nor so crucial as in Japan, but meriting the emphasis which I have given them.

Following the discussion of these topics, I have described in some detail the everyday life of villages, pointing out similarities and differences between villages when these seem to have significance. The main theme here is that in daily life from infancy to old age, the sense of belonging to a culture is never lost, and that it is this fact that probably has brought about the emotional security of Okinawans which has struck many foreign observers. This sense of belonging, I feel, is much more important than the various single explanations, such as breast feeding, that have been urged as causes of the development of a sense of security. Without trying to make sharp distinctions, I have tried to show how the daily life changes with different ages and to follow in the experience of the individual from infancy to the observances which take place at his death, and to make clear that the distinctions between the individual, the family, and the community experience are more literary conventions or devices for convenience in exposition than realities, for there is such a blending of the three that it would be highly artificial to deal with these as separate areas of experience. The two month infant carried on the back of his sister through [181]

had been directed by the British government, at the conclusion of the Napoleonic wars, to discover and chart waters and routes in the Far East, especially along the China shore. 175 648

Hall found in Okinawa a people who knew nothing of the English or the French. They were acquainted only with the Chinese, the Japanese, and the Koreans. The Okinawans of his day apparently had forgotten any memories of their seafaring in the centuries and this ignorance of their neighbors was reciprocated by the Filipinos.[19]

Halls book describing his journey along the west coast of Korea and to the Great Loochoo, with its engravings and a vocabulary of Loochooan words, is written with spirit and great charm.

Hall's and M'Leod's accounts were very favorable to the Okinawans. They describe an honest, peace loving, unworried people, with neither money nor arms, kindly and hospitable, without guile. According to him, they were gentle and kind, secure within the classes in which their society was organized (and the social distinctions that went with it), adhering with tenacity to their own customs, gracious to those of others, an island of quiet beauty, fertility, and repose. In the manner of the voyages and travels of the times, there are wisps of information about many things, exhaustive accounts of none. Hall described the agriculture, the square plots of rice fields divided from one another by small banks of earth, the picturesque villages with their hedges, arbors, and the creepers over the bamboo, the dress according to rank, the casual attitude toward religion, domestic animals, the lack of carts and wheeled vehicles, the horseshoe tombs, and the tattooing, not of the women, but of the fishermen. [181]

Considering the difficulties Hall and his men had in landing, the endless importunity and cajolery required to get permission to walk along a village road, for the Okinawans were willing to feed, provision and entertain the travellers but were in no mood for guided tours, he has much of interest to record of the island and its people. The expedition travelled around the southeastern and eastern part of the island, made a poor map of the Great Loochoo, and named the town of Inten--called by him Conching or Winching--Port Melville, after the first lord of the Admiralty.

M'Leod's book covered much the same ground. He wrote also of the priestesses (the noros), of the irrigation systems, the Loochooans' lack of money, their use of ginseng, and mentioned the extensive forests.

[Text Continues on Top of P. 36--Analyst]

19 Hall, Voyage to Corea and the Great Lew Chew, 184: "At Manilla /sic/ we found that the Great Loo-choo Island was known only by name. There appeared to be no intercourse between the two places." Page 184, footnote. There was some memory of Broughton's shipwreck on Miyako.

absence of need of a similar release from the boring and monotonous life of the women. Yet I noticed little in the behavior of village women to indicate they were overwhelmed by monotony or bored with life, though perhaps longer residence in the villages would have proved this observation false. Might one say that the culture does not fulfill its promise to the men, even though they are favored and catered to and that the drinking is the result of this disappointment? This neglects the fact that drinking is old in the culture and is almost always done in the company of others. If personal frustration and disappointment were the cause, one might expect more compulsive and solitary drinking and more alcoholism. 273 562 154

The sources of this distinction between the drinking men and the abstemious women, I think, lie in the values held by the culture. In the first place, sake drinking is age old in Japan, and probably in Okinawa as well. Drinking sake is associated with ceremonies, such as marriage, with religious observances, with social and public life. The public life of an official, a shopkeeper or business man, a farmer, a fisherman is not divorced from entertainment. Men have an outside life. In their dealings with other men, they are accustomed to drinking. Women do not have this outside life. They have inside duties of which the care of the children and of the house are the most important. Historically, the source of the abstemiousness of the women may be the obligations of being a mother, to be ready at all times to care and provide for or nurse her children, obligations considered incompatible with drinking. Women are expected to be polite, refined, and quiet. These ideals may be difficult to maintain in drinking. 273 562 181 [577]

At times a husband and wife may participate in social gatherings as a couple. These gatherings may either be (1) an informal, often casual, event when guests drop in and spend part of the evening, and (2) the formal affairs, such as a marriage, a birthday celebration, a holiday, an extended family reunion, or the observance of a death anniversary. On these occasions, the men occupy the first room, the women the second. The entertainment and conversations of the evening are for the most part governed by this segregation. 562 574

Though women are tolerant of drinking, domestic difficulties are often caused by the drinking of the man. Frequent drinking with its noise and late hours may result in family quarrels (fufukanka). Quarrels involving the wife and the husband's female relatives, especially the mother, are said to be uncommon. In the southern villages, the war did away with one cause of family quarrels. Men no longer go to the geisha quarter. There are naturally tensions coming out of individual antagonisms and dissatisfactions: the husband's mother who ignores her grandchild because she dislikes her daughter-in-law, pressure on a woman to produce children to satisfy the pride of the husband and of the grandparents, and failure to bear children, which usually leads to divorce initiated by the husband. Divorces, in these rural villages, were found to be uncommon.[5] 593 273 578 [586]

5 No reliable statistics could be found. These remarks and those in the next paragraph are based on personal observation, impressions and conversations.

543 these matters. In township exhibits of arts and crafts, there are evidences of these skills, such as the training of a chrysanthemum, a favorite choice, but these are not part of daily life.

532 Yet there is evidence of artistic talent and interest which teachers and parents encourage in the young. Okinawan children draw and copy well. It is not unusual to see an otherwise bare room of a [353] poor farmer's home decorated with the paintings or drawings of a son or daughter. While clearly the work of novices, they often show feeling for line and color. School buildings, houses, and landscapes are the favorite subjects. Drawing skills come as no surprise because of the close relationship, in countries using the Chinese character, 815 of calligraphy and art. Teachers of drawing and art in the schools 212 are skillful in rapid sketching, and part of this skill must be the result of early training in the sequence of strokes and in writing the Chinese character with confidence and boldness.

535 Dancing and samisen playing are learned by imitation and self-533 instruction. Music is learned by ear, the dancing by observing the old and skilled. Parents do not instruct their children in these arts; 868 they pick up the skill themselves. There are no village teachers nor do the schools teach native dances, songs, or samisen playing. (In recent years instruction books have been furnished when a samisen is [562] purchased). Samisen playing is a monopoly of the men, many of whom also have a repertoire of traditional dances. These performers are always in demand on social occasions. Both old and young men dance, but only the old women feel free to do so. Seeing a seventy or eighty year old grandmother dancing at a party is commonplace, but I have never seen a young girl or a young woman in her thirties doing this. (Young girls and young women may participate in formal dances in processions and on holidays). Among the younger people, there is considerable interest, but little facility in American dancing.

532 Hanging scrolls (kakemono) are often purchased by the villagers. But these are dashed off affairs, following Japanese art conventions, such as the jolly Japanese patron saint, tigers, the bamboo-plum blossom-cherry triad, and the turtle and the cormorant, etc.

● 181 One has the impression of latent talent in music, dancing, and drawing but that the cultural conditions have not been favorable to their development. Social events and parties are unthinkable without [533] singing, dancing, and samisen playing. Good drawing and calligraphy [535] are admired. But none of these seem to be highly developed folk arts. Possibly one reason is that the transmission of the skills has been [532] purely imitative, and that a body of knowledge has not accumulated in [868] books, organized teaching, or through apprenticeship and hereditary occupations by which ideas can be improved upon by wider dissemination. [369] The cultural isolation of rural villages may have prevented the building up of a tradition in art and handicraft. Naha and Shuri, the historical cultural centers, have produced the fine examples of lacquer ware, [636] ceramics, and paintings. Possibly also Japanese repression of the native culture has been the main reason. Whatever they are, the lack of advance-

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

ment in these arts, in my opinion, is not due to absence of feeling and talent, but to conditions unfavorable to the development of ability beyond the stage of extemporaneous entertainment or for simple practical ends. 181

14

Activities of Old Age

In old age there is no distinct break with the activities experienced from childhood. Around the age of 55 a man or a woman is considered old. He or she has left the middle age, and henceforth may be called grandfather or grandmother. 888

A man legally retires at sixty. But this is retirement from house headship not from active work. The retired father remains in the background but he is respected and consulted. Men and women in their fifties, sixties, and seventies work much more leisurely and sporadically at their tasks, if they can. In the eighties, if they are still able, they confine themselves to strolls throughout the village. There are afternoon naps. The old go to bed very early. But they do not, if physically able, lose contact with the life around them. 887

This lack of retirement from active life, among the old, is most pronounced in agricultural villages because there are so many simple and easy chores to be done. In non-agricultural occupations, the opportunities for continuing work in old age are not so great. But there are compromises. In Hinatogawa, the old men often repair the fishing nets, help take care of the boats, dry fish, and cut grasses. The old stonecutter does light chipping and bevelling. The old woman may gather rocks.

There is no formal legal retirement for a woman, unless she is the head of a house. One of the striking activities of old women is their frequent travelling on buses. They may be merely visiting a nearby village, or they may have a basket of fish, vegetables, eggs, or perhaps a chicken to sell. They add humor and gayety to a bus journey. An old woman does not hesitate to tell a young person politely but authoritatively to give her a seat or to ask the passengers to make way for her. Old women make humorous comments, and talk freely to total strangers. Okinawans of all ages are courteous to the old and to women with children and readily give up their seats, even on a long bus journey. 888 887

In these villages, one cannot fail to notice the good humor, the interest in life, and the honored place of the old. It is not uncommon for a young man or a young woman from another village, in leisure hours, to visit an old person: a grandparent, an uncle or an aunt, the midwife who attended at his birth, his "growing up" parent, or the elderly relative of one of his friends. These visits are not mere formalities, and they may sit talking an hour or two over tea. Old men and women 888

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Death and Funeral Services

Okinawans, as so many have thought, are not preoccupied with death, burial customs, and their tombs. The popular criticism that they extravagantly spend all their money building tombs is unjust and comes from a superficial understanding of their function. Memorial observances, not the tombs, are the real sources of expense to surviving relatives. 761 181 [169]

The same basic customs were found in all the villages. On the death of an adult, the eyes are closed, the body washed, and fresh clothes are put on it. There is no embalming. The finger nails and hair are cut. (Haircutting is not universal). The body is then placed in a small wooden coffin. This is about 19 inches wide and about 22 inches deep, with the length varying according to height. An average length would be slightly over 4 feet. This is the traditional Buddhist coffin. Placing the body in a coffin this size requires doubling it up. The head rests on a small Japanese type pillow (makura). The legs are bent to bring the knees near the chin, and the hands folded over the chest. Articles for use in the afterworld, okurimono ("sending away things"), are also placed in the coffin. Though the articles vary, they generally include a pair of slippers, a kimono (for a woman), a kimono or western style pair of pants for a man, tobacco and tobacco cases, a towel, and sake in one flask, and water in another. Seven needles are stuck on each side of the kimono or the lapel of a coat. In Hanashiro, clogs and slippers are not placed in the coffin, but in front of the tomb at interment. When the coffin is closed, it is turned with the head facing west.[1] 764

On death, close relatives up to first cousins are first summoned, followed by relatives in the extended family living in or near the village. There are no hard and fast customs about taking care of the body. First or other sons may take care of a father's body; brothers and cousins of a young girl's; the first son of the mother's; the eldest younger brother of an elder brother's; the first son or the father of a second or succeeding son's. Sometimes female relatives take care of the body. A husband or wife does not perform this duty for the other. The father or the mother prepare the body of a younger child.

Burial follows death very quickly. By law a body must be buried within 24 hours, but the interment is often quicker than this. An adult

1 There is confusion whether the head is placed to the north or to the west because the Okinawan word for north is the Japanese word for west.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

CONCLUSION

The description of village life presented in the preceding pages is not the delineation of an ancient way of life essentially unchanged from the remote past. Neither is it the study of an old way of living which is now passing away. Rather it is a glimpse of a culture, at a particular moment in time, which has been changing, sometimes slowly, sometimes with great rapidity. The theme of inertia and change, developed in the second chapter, furnishes an opportunity for understanding the culture in the perspective of history. Even though the changes of the last decade have been impressive, they are less striking when placed beside some of the great changes of the past. 128 178

This small island, known to Oriental antiquity and to the Western world after the Age of Discovery, is an excellent illustration of the combination of influences from the outside and of the progressive changes made in the natural environment as a consequence of long human settlement. This theme, imperfectly documented, has repeatedly appeared in this work in order that the affinities of soil and land conservation and forest care with social and cultural questions, such as organization of government, the family system, and economic problems may be recognized. 177 311 182

This idea of a changing culture, in a physical environment of meticulous tillage and of minute subdivision, enables us to see more clearly the inter-relationships of the family system, inheritance, land tenure, the care and conservation of the land, and the methods of agriculture. It is the values within the family system that have given content and meaning to the natural resources, to the tiny paddies, the stony sweet potato patches, and the barren wild land. The tombs and the grave sites also find a place in this minute appraisal of the value and the use of land. 178 182 311

This minute knowledge of the land, obvious as it is to observation, is one of the outstanding cultural characteristics of the people. Indeed this is true of other Oriental peoples as well, even though their preferences have been for the transported soils of the alluvial plains and the deltas. This detailed knowledge of land, of its productivity as gauged by the farmers' patient success in tilling it, is used to build up the system of land classification. 311 181

No less striking is the intimate knowledge of small localities. A tiny village may have five or six of these localities, dignified with a name which, in our culture, would be given to a portion of a large city. Every little spot has a name, even though the origins and the circumstances of the naming are lost in hazy memory.

In this use and tillage of land, perhaps the most important comparison to be made is that, unlike China, Japan, and Korea, dry land and upland agriculture is the chief reliance of the people. There are no Yangtse river deltas and no Kanto plains in Okinawa. The care, conservation and use of land have crept up the hillsides over the most settled [171]

311 parts of the island, and the small deltas, the tiny alluvial plains,
18 the short and narrow valleys are left to produce what little rice can be grown.

171 Okinawa is not Japan and perhaps it is unrewarding to attempt
369 comparisons between the Okinawans and the Japanese. Okinawa is an island whose rural life is but little disturbed by urban development. Only two places, Naha and Shuri, could be classified as small cities. Important places like Nago, Ishikawa, and Yonabaru are only small towns.

Japan is a culture rich in both its rural and its urban life. The investigation of the life of the great metropolitan cities of Japan is more scattered in specialised studies, more casual, perhaps more impressionistic than the study of some of its villages. Japanese and Okinawan rural life have many things in common, though the Japanese experience may now be distinctly different because of the land reform.

But along with the rural village, there are the great cities of Tokyo, Yokohama, Kyoto, Osaka, Kobe, and Nagoya, and these circumstances make an appraisal of Japanese culture even more complex and elusive.

177 Certainly the long cultural ties with Japan have left their impressions on the people of Okinawa. The Japanese language, the Japanese system of education, altered after the war, Japanese tools, and Japanese literature are clear examples of this direct influence. But there are differences too. Adoption is much less common in Okinawa. The Buddhist influence, except for the altars of household Buddhism, is weak. The Okinawans, during the war, seemed less inclined than the Japanese toward fanatical self-sacrifice in behalf of the emperor cult.

157 In this work, I have avoided discussing the popular subject of
128 the "psychology" of the people. After a few commonplaces, one embarks on a series of impressions which may or may not have validity and which most certainly would be subject to endless qualification. I have therefore, for the most part, left the characteristics of the people to emerge from the descriptions of their historical experience, their social organisation, and their family and community life, trusting that from these details one can form an impression of the way in which a people are living and how they meet the manifold problems which confront them.

156 In my own studies, I have been impressed with the feeling of belonging which seems to be the possession of the individual from infancy until his children lay him to rest in the family tomb. There is also a stability in family life, and this stability does not seem so pivoted, as in our culture, on the continued mutual love and affection of the father and the mother. There also seems to be little stress on personal competition.

The infant as well as the mature adult are conditioned to conformity both by the historical obligations and duties under the family

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

is one of the rare, desired body attributes. It was the opinion of some that the descendants of the noble families who came from Shuri, however, are taller and slender, with a prominent, curved nasal ridge.

Until they feel confident in the presence of strangers, Taira people appear quiet and restrained. It is considered a virtue not to show one's emotions, and Tairans consider the expressiveness of Americans childish. Actually they are gay, talkative, and given to laughter, especially the women. Men are quiet unless stimulated by alcohol, but both men and women may lose their composure in emergencies. A notable exception is their placid reactions to the threat of disaster from the ever recurrent violent storms.

THE COMMUNITY, ITS HISTORY AND NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

Taira is one of the northern villages on the northeast coast of Okinawa in Higashi township (see map 1). Today it is home to over 700 people who make their living—as did their ancestors since early times—from the surrounding fields, forests, and from the sea. The Okinawan name for the village, Taira, means "sloping fields." The character used for writing the prevalent Japanese version, Taira, means "flat, plain, good."

Since the family records were lost during World War II, it is necessary to depend on oral traditions for reconstruction of the history of Taira. Unfortunately, the desire of many Okinawans to establish a relationship between their local families and the former royal courts casts some doubt on the accuracy of these traditions.

According to these traditions, the first village to be settled in the vicinity of Taira was the neighboring community Kawata. After the Hokuzan kingdom in Nakijin (on the northwestern Motobu Peninsula) was conquered by the southern Okinawan kingdom of Chuzan in the fifthteenth century (Kerr, 1958:85), the second son of the Lord of Hokuzan is said to have escaped northward into Kunigami province. Unitokogami, the fleeing nobleman, arrived near the present site of Kawata and established himself in a cave around the year 1477. He is still revered today as founder of the village in a yearly spring ceremony when prayers are said in front of the cave. The oldest Taira families trace their descent in the male line from Nizenya, the "main house," he founded. Taira was settled around 1550 by two families tracing descent from this "main house." The descendents of these settlers are

855 Two facts that have been introduced into this discussion should be re-
861 stated and made more explicit. The first is that Okinawan child-training methods include the use of both verbal appeals and physical punishment. As a result of observations made during and shortly after the battle in 1945, Dr. J. C. Maloney reported[1] that Okinawans were very permissive with their children and did not use corporal punishment. It will be seen from the data just presented that while Okinawans are more permissive in many situations than Americans would be, they do in fact use severe physical punishment on occasion.

152 The second fact has to do with the contrast of "shame" versus "guilt"
0181 that has been presented by several writers on the character of the Japanese.
171 Both Gorer and Benedict have asserted that the Japanese conform because they
861 fear the ridicule of others whereas Westerners conform because they fear their own consciences; Japanese culture is a "shame culture" while ours is a "guilt culture".[2] Okinawan culture also seems to be primarily a shame culture. Okinawans clearly fear ridicule greatly, and this fear seems traceable to their early training. But there are also elements in Okinawan child training that would tend to produce something of the Western sort of fear that one may suffer for his wrong-doing regardless of whether he is found out or not. These are to be seen in the phrases "retribution will strike" (Okinawan bachi nu ataaing, Japanese 'bachi ga ataru') and "the gods saw you". Shame and guilt are doubtless not mutually exclusive. Both sanctions exist in Okinawan culture, shame being much the stronger.

857
524 Play Boys play with kites and tops. Girls play hop-scotch. Both,
[209] if they can afford it, get one or more of the numerous Japanese children's
[177] magazines that are filled with stories, comics, and a variety of make-it-yourself paper toys.

857 Boys catch insects and birds and fasten strings to them in order to jerk them back as they try to fly away, or in order simply to drag them around. They do so quite unconscious of any cruelty in the act. Adults appear to regard living things as proper playthings.

[560] There may be less age-grading among smaller children than among older people or among children in present-day American society. Several boys of different ages were observed playing together on many occasions, mainly, it seemed, because they were related and lived in adjacent houses. The girls who occasionally joined them were also of the same group of related families.

882 Youth Traditionally, entering one's thirteenth year, for a girl, and fif-
178 teenth, for a boy, marks a change in status from that of child to that of youth (niisee, in J. 'seinen', literally "green years"). There was
[881] also a later ceremony at which the young man's hair was done in a knot; and the tattooing undergone by a young woman may have been part of a puberty rite.
[877] But at present, finishing one's schooling marks the greatest change in the
877 life of a young person. At this time the treatment he receives and the be-
882 havior expected of him change markedly. As long as he is in school he is

1 Maloney, 1945, p. 394.

2 Gorer, 1943; Benedict, 1946, p. 223.

642 highly structured system; the overall impression is of rule by bureaucracy. Most importantly the average individual accepts all of this as in the natural ordering of things. The best possible relationship of the state to the people is thought to be a paternalistic one, like father to children. Such an attitude is wholly in keeping with a culture which has traditionally stressed family and community over individual, and obligations over rights.

[181]

632 'Son' Government The administrative center of every 'son' is the township office ('sonyakuba') which serves as the connecting link between the people of its villages and the central government in Naha. The main functions of this office are to transmit and implement the directives and laws of the central government to the people, to collect taxes, and to keep records---the most important of these being the household registry ('koseki') and land records ('tochi daichō'). The size of the office staff is largely determined by the township size; in the larger townships there are many departments and employees, but in a small 'son' several departments may be grouped under a single head.

632 The building housing this office is usually a single-storied structure
344 located in the largest village of the township; a post office, school, agri-
[368] cultural office, and store are often nearby. The interior of the office building is one large room sometimes sub-divided into smaller offices by the use of screens; one end of the room is set aside for meetings. On the exterior of the building along one side the names of the various departments are above the windows. When a villager calls at the office on business, he ordinarily does not enter the building but stands outside the window appropriate to his business until a clerk or official of that department opens it and speaks to him.

632 At the head of the township government is the 'sonchō' ('son' mayor),
554 who in addition to directing its affairs functions as the liaison between the 'son' and the central government. It was the author's impression after spending considerable time in one 'son' office and visiting several others that the 'sonchō' is usually a very busy man and that he is more often away from his office than in it. In addition to directing the activities of his office, he makes numerous inspections within the township, attends meetings and conferences in other parts of the island, and once a month participates in a council of all the mayors of the municipalities, which is held in Naha. The latter enables the mayors of the municipalities to discuss common problems and to come in contact with the officials of the central government. Three times each month he meets with the mayors ('kuchō') of the villages within his township for a discussion of local problems. It is said that the office can be a stepping stone for the politically ambitious since his activities bring a wide range of contacts; this cannot be said for any other office in the 'son' or 'ku'. During the course of his research on Okinawa the author met the mayors of five or six municipalities, and in all cases he was impressed by the intelligence and ability of these men. A mayor is elected for a term of four years and is eligible for reelection.

632 The chief lieutenants of the 'sonchō' are the assistant mayor ('joyaku') and the revenue officer or treasurer ('shūnyūyaku'); the latter usually directs all financial matters, and his major function is tax collection and

that a woman can hold office today since the government has made this law, but that they would never permit this to happen. In village elections only household heads are permitted to vote, and in practice only they are eligible for the village offices. If a woman is a household head (and there are eighteen in this category in Kanegusuku) she is allowed to vote, but she would never be considered for any village office. Most women would not want the job if it were available to them, for this is considered a part of the affairs of men and inconsistent with the traditional concept of woman's role of wife and mother. Women are vaguely aware that their legal and political status has altered under the American military administration, and nearly all have heard stories about America where women are said to be very influential, but they are not so sure that what is good for Americans will necessarily work for them. 562 [177] [829]

An exception to the generally inactive role of women in political affairs is found in Okinawan fishing communities. In Itoman and Henza, which derive their living from fishing, shipping, and ferrying, the men are away much of the time, and the women exercise considerably more control over family and financial matters than elsewhere on Okinawa. Itoman women are noted throughout the island for their independence and shrewdness in financial matters, and there is a common saying that an Itoman woman doesn't need a man if she has a house. On Henza Island the lower echelons of the village political hierarchy are completely dominated by women. The five 'hanchō' are women, each heading a political unit of about eight hundred persons, and the forty-one 'kumichō' are also women. Despite this one gets the impression that women are participating in Henza political life in the absence of the men just as they have a larger role in the management of family affairs than the women of farming villages because the absence of their men has made this a practical necessity. To date no woman has been elected to the position of 'kuchō' nor does it seem likely that one will be in the near future. Perhaps this also serves to define more clearly the real nature of the 'hanchō' and 'kumichō' as messengers for the 'kuchō' instead of as administrators, and that positions of real power are still retained by men. 562 184 621

5. The Political Community

The rural village constitutes a political, territorial, and social unit; its membership is bound together by a common cultural heredity and shares a common experience. All the villagers have attended the same schools, cooperated in village projects, participated in community ceremonies and celebrations, and joined the same organizations. The prevailing marriage practice still tends toward endogamy, and in many places they speak a dialect with features distinct from that of their neighbors. National organizations serve to unite the youth, women, and farmers into their respective local groups for common action and benefit. Further integration is assured by practices of reciprocal labor exchange among the households. 621 [582] [197]

The major social institutions of rural Okinawa are the family-kin group and the community. Within the former there exists a strict hierarchy 621 592 [181]

829 considered the initiator of all action. Frequently there are complaints of high taxes, criticisms of certain policies, and dissatisfaction with certain officials, but the authority of a government to undertake any course it chooses would never be challenged. There does not exist any concept of a limit to obedience or to the powers of government.

7. Social Control

626 The mechanisms of social control within an Okinawan village are not
621 easily observed or studied since they are so rarely overt. One is impressed from the outset by the homogeneous character of the community, a natural outcome of the common experience and cultural heritage which all the members have shared. The average villager has had a limited range of contacts during the course of his or her lifetime, imposed to no small degree by the all-consuming demands of subsistence agriculture. Minorities within
[183] the community rarely exist, and where they do, they are not recognized as such, for this homegeneity, in addition to being an actuality, is insisted upon as a cultural ideal. Consequently great stress is placed on presenting a united front to the outside. Within the community aggressive behavior is not tolerated and so great is the fear of rift through discord that few official acts are initiated without first securing informal concordance; consequently, formal political meetings are most often marked by unanimity and agreement. In enlisting the support of the villagers for a given project or proposed line of action leaders most frequently appeal to group solidarity, stressing the values of cooperation.

As is so often found in small communities where all the members have a face-to-face relationship, the chief mechanisms of social sanction are ridicule, censure, and the threat of ostracism. The small size and homogeneous nature of the Okinawan village limits the individual's behavior to a rather narrow and inflexible standard. The individual, however, must consider his actions not only in terms of the reactions of others to him
[672] but also in terms of the consequences for his family. Under the old king-
[178] dom the family was legally responsible for the actions of its members, and at the present time an individual is officially registered as a member of a certain family and is always thought of by the villagers in association
626 with that family. One's mistakes as well as one's achievements reflect upon
621 the other members of the family and are shared by them. This emphasis on
• 181 family and community over the individual serves markedly to curb individualism and to further the homogeneity of the society. Conformity and honoring one's obligations are the major cultural values. The surrogate for this strong cultural deemphasis of the individual is provided by a close ego identity with the family and community and by the security which they offer in return. The severest sanction which can be applied is expulsion of the individual from his group.

8. Local Autonomy

642 On a small island with a highly centralized government there is lit-
621 tle room for local autonomy. Most action is initiated in the higher echelons of government and is unquestioningly obeyed at the lower levels. There

Although Okinawans occasionally refer to Heaven or the Gods of Heaven (J. 'Ten no kami-sama'; Okinawan U-kami-ganashii, etc.), the concept does not seem to be well defined. The clearest statement heard on the subject was the one just mentioned in connection with the Fire God. Since the dead, or some of them, rise to Heaven, the term "Gods of Heaven" may include them, but there are evidently other greater beings too. These may be identical with the figures of the native origin myth. But aside from a few enthusiasts, mainly local historians and shamans (yuta), few Okinawans seem informed about or concerned with native cosmology, or any other. This may in part be the result of a generation or so of Japanese education with educators attempting to take the Japanese mythology seriously and making Okinawan mythology jibe with it. But it is more likely that this lack of concern with Heaven is due rather to an old tendency common in East Asia to settle matters at the local level without bothering the higher authorities, in dealing with both political problems and spiritual problems. 772 [176] [177] [178]

In the Okinawan universe there are also a few earthly beings with supernatural power. The akamataa is a real species of non-poisonous snake. But it is believed to be able to change itself into a handsome young man, in which form it seduces unwitting young women. One young woman who was seduced is said to have given birth to a whole tubful of baby akamataa. 776

The kijimunaa is a wholly mythical being but seems to belong more in the natural world. According to some it lives in old trees, but according to others it is a sea-being who lives on fish and shellfish and who will become the helper of a fisherman who makes friends with it. Regardless of habitat, the kijimunaa is believed to approach a sleeping person and sit on his chest, nearly suffocating him and preventing him from crying out. Apparently the being is not dangerous but merely annoying.

Another being that is feared is the tamagai or 'hidama', "fireball". This was described in Yamada as a light that appears at certain times as an omen. However, in a village in Southern Okinawa it is regarded as the cause of fire. Since it is a female being the young men of this village drive it away by forming a procession and marching through the village shouting "Hoo hai!" ("Your vulva's showing.") [187] [184] [372]

The Itoman people speak of the ja or 'ryu', the "dragon". This being lives in the sea or the clouds; its tail is the whirlwind; its feces, if one is fortunate enough to find them, are like coal tar and are a very valuable medicine. Other Okinawans seem to regard this as something only the Itoman people know about. [357] [184]

One more concept is perhaps worth mentioning; this is shiji. Certain places, the sacred hilltop of the village, etc., are said to be shiji-dakasang, "high in shiji", and therefore to be approached with respect. It is also said of persons, especially those believed to be destined to become religious practitioners. The term shiji evidently signifies a sort of supernatural power that adheres to places and people, perhaps like the Oceanian concept "mana". Haring has suggested that the Japanese concept 778 [171]

753 that I found the greatest resistance to any suggestion that American methods
177 might have equal or greater validity. American material culture the Okina-
wans are delighted to accept, and they are eager for more. American social
[562] relationships they look somewhat askance at but they are willing to experi-
ment, in a small way, with equal rights for women. But the suggestion that
medically they don't know what ails them is harder to take. They are will-
ing to accept modern medical explanations of disease as a partial explana-
tion, perhaps as the occasional means by which the ultimate causes affect
disease. The ultimate causes are supernatural.

753 To challenge the concept ugwambusuku, the insufficiency of worship
177 that causes illness, is to challenge the present structure of religion, and
769 at a point where it is most closely bound to social organization. Anxiety
182 over insufficiency of worship and its possible consequences is probably the
strongest force motivating the whole range of activities connected with
death, burial, and the worship of ancestors. It is not too far-fetched to
suggest that it is also a reason for respecting one's elders during their
lifetime. It is no wonder that Okinawans show a strong resistance to any
challenge to these beliefs, even though they may not be conscious of all the
implications of the challenge.

753 To challenge the whole structure of belief would probably be wholly
177 unsuccessful. Or if somehow the Okinawans could be persuaded to abandon
757 these beliefs at once, the result would probably be either chaos or the un-
critical acceptance of another set of beliefs that might soon prove to be
just as far out of line with medical science as the present. Probably the
surest way to introduce modern medical concepts is by gradually whittling
down the native concepts beginning with the more peripheral ones. This is
not as hopeless as it might seem, for some changes have already taken place.
[846] Until recently women after childbirth were baked for about a week over a
fire in the jiiru, a hearth in the back room of the house, even in hot wea-
ther. It is said that it was a very uncomfortable experience and that in
warm weather it often resulted in rashes and boils, yet it was practiced be-
cause it was thought to be necessary for the health of the woman. In the
last few years this practice has been abandoned. One woman informant was
positive that the hideous skin condition called heegasa or "scruff" could be
prevented by drawing out the "bad blood", but she was equally positive that
the former practice of baking a new mother was useless if not harmful. Some
day she may become convinced that cutting an infant's buttocks with a razor
is useless if not harmful. She will be convinced when someone has demon-
strated to her that heegasa can be prevented by another means and that be-
cause the blood circulates it is no more "bad" at one place than another. The
concept "bad blood" is a peripheral one, with no close relationship to re-
ligion or social organization.

Other peripheral beliefs are those associated with the yabuu, the
efficacy of moxa and the golden needle of acupuncture. In demonstrating the
superiority of modern medicine over these techniques one may not always
count on the cooperation of educated Okinawans. In opposing the practice of
[181] the yabuu and other practitioners one runs counter to one of the strongest
themes of Okinawan culture---one must not interfere with another's livelihood.

[Yamada]

621 the village. The oldest of the children is in school; she is the product of
144 a brief affair during the early days of the occupation. While some informants
563 showed some reluctance to discuss the half-white children, by forgetting that they existed until reminded of them, I saw no evidence that the children suffered any discrimination. There are also several Yamada women living outside Yamada, particularly in Ishikawa, with Americans and Filipinos; several of
621 these have mixed-blood children. Some of the Yamada women who are "married"
582 to Americans have attempted to maintain their relationship with their own
177 families and establish some kind of relationship between their families and their "husbands". On New Year's, when family calls are in order, two sisters who were both living with Americans at another village brought their "husbands" to pay their respects to their grandfather. I was in the old man's house when one of the girls appeared with her American. The American behaved quite properly, taking off his shoes and sitting cross-legged on the mat opposite the grandfather. The grandfather greeted him with dignity and reserve. The girl, who had acquired a fair command of English, translated a few sentences and looked very pleased with herself. Drinks were exchanged and the visit was over. Further contact was hardly possible, but this sort of gesture was probably sufficient to demonstrate to the family and to others that the relationship was a serious one. Most relationships are less serious.

621 The former cafe in Kuraha was said to have had women available for
727 prostitution several years ago, but the CO of the local unit who held the
177 meetings with the villagers is said to have disapproved of prostitution in the village and therefore the women left. In the spring of 1954, however,
548 another prostitute was at the cafe, even though it was not operating as such, and a new brothel was established at Ajimaa. There a 'Mama-san' ("madame" in GI Japanese) rented a house for herself and her three girls. The house is one of the newer tile-roofed buildings; it is just below the school grounds and across the highway; it is the property of the brother-in-law of one of the school teachers. Since the shortest way to the place from the unit is directly across the school ground, this was the route taken one afternoon by the three gaudily painted girls as they led a soldier home. I did not have much opportunity to discuss the matter with many people but got the following reaction from one informant: "On the one hand the brothel is good because people are making money; on the other hand it is bad because it makes a bad environment. If anyone complained about it, probably the owners of the house would say that the person complaining is just envious because of the money they are making in rent. Probably even the school teachers could not complain. One cannot interfere with a person's way of making money. The only way it could be stopped would be for the whole village to stop it." This was a clear
• [131] expression of two of the basic themes of Okinawan culture, themes that have been mentioned before in connection with other problems; first, one must not interfere in another's livelihood, and second, one must not stand alone; action must be group action. This informant was not overly concerned about the possible bad effects of the presence of the brothel below the school on the school children. Some of the school teachers may have been, yet they too were probably as unwilling to take action individually.

621 While some Yamada people have profited by the presence of the unit,
727 others have suffered some loss. Considerable land is still not available to its owners and while they have received rental from it the amount is not

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

121 in the growth of ecological thinking, though this history is older.

But when we say that it has paralleled ecological thinking, we do not mean that the approach should be identical or even similar. In ecology, the plant or animal, as an individual or in association, is studied as part of the community of plants and animals, whose own growth may be encouraged or hindered by the growth and competition from others. When we study human cultures, this functional approach breaks down. It is not enough to show the context of each cultural trait in the whole, indispensable as this may be. This might produce a satisfying interpretation but it would suffer from important omissions. These are the history of the culture and the periods of contact and isolation that may have characterized it and the changes that the culture has made in the physical environment in which it is placed. No place in the world offers such fruitful illustrations over so great an area and over so long a period of time as Southeast Asia, with the exception of the Mediterranean. The great changes in the soils due to paddy culture and the long fertilization from human excreta and plant residues, soil erosion, deforestation, the minute changes of land from mountain tops to the cultivated valleys can be found in abundance here.

121 181 182 This study of three villages on the island of Okinawa is concerned with many of these themes. As the inquiry progressed and during the period of reflection that followed the collection of materials, it seemed that the most significant characteristic was the existence of the family system, and that this had meaning not only in the places where one would expect it, such as family and daily life, and in the desire to respect the memory of the dead and to guard against extinction of the family line, but that its influence was the key to an understanding of the way in which the culture had changed and modified the natural environment and utilized the resources available to it.

The connecting link between the family system, on the one hand, and the use of the natural environment, on the other, is the system of inheritance, and through the inheritance system on land tenure and land use. And when speaking of land tenure and land use, the reference is not merely to the agricultural land, but to all land, including the forest soils of the north, the uncultivated land scattered over the island, but so vital in its production of grasses to the livelihood of peoples.

121 181 824 One of the most striking aspects of this culture is its dependence on plants, not only for food, but for uses other than food. Houses, their roofs and sidings, plank floorings, excepting only the stones; fibres or wood for sandals or clogs; grasses, cane stalks, shrubbery for fuels; imported cottons for clothing, which have replaced an earlier dependence on reeds or banana leaves; fibres and reeds for rugs and floor mats; rice stalks or other grasses for making carrying baskets; rope of palm or of rice stalks; wooden poles, are but a few illustrations of this close dependence on plant life. It is a culture based on the utilization of plants for all purposes to which are added the multifarious and skillful employment of stone and of water.

1

Introduction

Everyone knows that the family is a most important social institution in Asiatic countries such as China, Korea, and Japan. What is not so well, nor so widely understood, is that the idea of the family is deeply involved not only with obligations and duties within a family, but also with such matters as ancestor worship, inheritance and succession, land tenure, public and private holidays, and in certain phases of community organization and of government. It is better therefore to abandon the expression family and substitute for it a term which at the outset suggests the implications and ramifications of the idea of the family. This term is the family system (kazoku seido in Japanese). The Ryukyu Islands have felt the influence of China, Korea, and Japan in many different ways and at different times. Perhaps the most important of these borrowings, ultimately from China, is the family system. 607 [17] [182] [177]

The family system is a series of mutual obligations and duties which members of a living generation of a family owe to one another, to those who have lived before them and who have been responsible directly or indirectly for their present condition and status, and owe also to those who will come after them to perform for their time the tasks now imposed on the contemporary generation. 602

The family system embraces the same family relationships found in countries of the west. Here as in the west, the biological family, composed of the husband, the wife, and the children, is the fundamental unit of social organization. In American society, family ties beyond the immediate biological family tend to become more fragile, and indeed often become so within the biological family itself--due in part at least to a strong tradition of individualism and greater mobility. [594]

In Okinawa, the biological family is but a segment of a wider system of family relationships. These spread out not only into the contemporary extended families but find expression also in reverence for those who have lived in the past and in a feeling of responsibility for the continuation of the family into the future by assuming one's duty to prevent extinction of the family line. In the so-called ancestor worship, there is this expression of the extension of the family system throughout time. Ancestor worship, the conventional term, is not quite correct, but it conveys the general meaning desired. Actually it is not only the ancestors but all deceased relatives, including child descendants, whose memory is revered. [069]

The family system is a great chain of responsibilities and obligations which extends from the remote past to the remote future and of which the living generation is the responsible contemporary representative. It is this aspect of the family system that makes it more a philosophical, ethical, or social concept than merely the descriptive term for a system

In Japan, as well as in Okinawa, the system has been maintained without the ultra-conservative duties and regulations and the severe subordination of women associated with Confucianism in its political and social aspects. This is true at least for late nineteenth and twentieth century Okinawa, though some Confucian survivals no doubt persist. 602 171

But the family system is also an admirably flexible institution. It need not depend for its survival on a Confucian ethic, the subordination of women, or on the arranged marriage. It does require a continuing reverence for the dead and care to insure the existence of generations to come. There is room for free choice in marriage within the general framework of the family system. There is in the family system a sense of belonging from early infancy to death, a sense of identity with the past as well as sharing in the future, an emotional security, free participation of the old in village life, mutual reinforcements coming from the performances of these obligations. These are striking characteristics of Okinawan village life. It is true that the family system in Japan has been unable to avoid many deep lying insecurities and conflicts. But in Japan there have been in recent times strong competitive situations along with the harnessing of the nation's energies to war. In Okinawa, these conditions have been lacking, at least in an intense form, until the Okinawans were in the midst of the fierce fighting of the war. The sense of security and of belonging is unmistakable in the great majority of villagers, and while this does not mean there is no dissension or that everything is serene, it does mean that the system as it has developed here has permitted a certain personal flexibility and freedom within the system. The culture also has not encouraged strong individual competition. [769] [587] [156]

The family system, with its obligations and duties, both in the individual and the extended families, is the key to an understanding, not only of the non-material, but much of the material culture as well. The social organization as it has developed within the family system has strong influences through inheritance on land tenure and land use, and on agriculture and other occupations, in addition to its influences on daily family living, religious observances, public recreation and holidays. These will be explored in the chapters to come. 602 182

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

The Family System, Inheritance, and Succession

The family system is distinct from the inheritance of property. But in the succession of the first son to the house and in the establishment of branch families, the operation of the family system shows its effects on the practices involved in the inheritance of land and other property. 602 428 [182]

The family system can, and actually has operated in Okinawa independently of a system of private ownership in land, and, at present its obligations are as strong on a landless villager as on one who has many fields or other property. Succession in the family system is succession to a series of rights and duties and responsibilities, much watered down, it is true, from what they once were. These rights and duties may involve the disposition of rice fields, a house site, or personal and movable property, such as the majority of Hinatogawa fishermen possess in a boat, nets, hooks, and other fishing equipment. [423]

Since agriculture and the employment of land are fundamental to the life and economy of Okinawan villages, practices involving the inheritance of land should receive the greatest emphasis. In this chapter, land is considered in a general way, reserving for the following chapter a detailed analysis of types and grades of land based on the Okinawan township system of land classification. 428

Since the first son and his succession to the house are so important to the continuity of the family, one might expect outright primogeniture in inheritance of real property. Such is not the case. The present system of inheritance of property was defined in Japanese law which provided for inheritance by sons other than the first and by daughters as well. This is based on Japanese law as it stood prior to the passage and promulgation of the Japanese land reform law of October 1946 and prior to the post-war revisions of the Japanese Civil Code.[1] [421] [177]

1 In this and in the following chapters, words in parentheses are, unless otherwise designated, Japanese equivalents of English terms. For an interesting historical discussion of the concepts of katoku-sōzoku (succession to house headship) and isan sōzoku (succession to property), see Hozumi, Nobushige, Ancestor worship and Japanese law. Third and revised edition, Tokyo, Osaka, and Kyoto, 1913, 170-87, esp. 181-82. Hozumi notes that in old Chinese history, katoku (house authority) was used as a synonym for eldest son, 172-73. On the Japanese reforms following the war, see Arthur F. Raper et al., The Japanese village in transition, (GHQ, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, Natural Resources Section Report No. 136), Tokyo, 1950, 161-70, 258-61, and Laurence I. Hewes Jr., Japanese Land Reform Program (GHQ, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers. Natural Resources Section Report No. 127), Tokyo, 1950, 9-36. [113]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

423 134 [824] In Hanashiro, The genya grass and shrub are essential as a substitute for firewood. In Hatsuda with large areas of community owned forest, this genya is not so important to the individual family.

428 311 In considering the inheritance of land, it is essential to understand that a family needs different types of land. Not everyone has rice paddies, but parcels of dry crop land and genya in the south are necessary to existence.

428 593 If the practices of these three villages are indicative of the division of family holdings in general, the first son obtains between 50% and 60% of the land in addition to the house site. The remainder is divided, often equally, among the other sons. In the poorer families, if the sons are widely spaced, there may be enough left over for the second son, but when the third son reaches marriageable age, there may be nothing for him. Instances of this type were observed in the villages. One young farmer of Minatogawa, a third son, said he received nothing, and set out by himself, first through wages, and then through small purchases to acquire his present modest land holdings.

This discussion may suggest a greater rigidity in the system of inheritance than is actually the case. It may give the impression of a series of families headed by the first son with most of the property and with younger sons and their branch families struggling along on what land can be spared for them. There has been, for historical reasons, more fluidity than this. The large number of heads of families who themselves are not first sons indicates that many second to fifth sons as well as daughters ultimately come into control of a family estate.

There have been four main reasons for this. (1) Emigration of first sons before they became of age. They left to earn a living in foreign countries to support their parents in the villages, became established and postponed to an indefinite future their return to Okinawa. Since the end of the war, according to relatives who are living in the village, many of these have no intention of ever returning except to visit. (2) Deaths of first sons without issue, and the succession of other sons or daughters. (3) Heavy war losses, especially of males. Some of these naturally were first sons, opening the way for the succession of young widows or second sons in the case of the unmarried first sons. (4) Deaths from catastrophes like typhoons, and in the case of Minatogawa, the losses of fishermen at sea.

428 602 182 Inheritance practices with private ownership of land follow logically from the family system. They are a means of providing the economic base by saving the estate for future generations, at the same time providing where possible for sons not in the direct line of succession. Inheritance is a connecting link between the family system and land use and land tenure. Present land use and land tenure are an interesting example of the modifications that a system of social organization, the family system, has made on the natural environment.

3

Care and Conservation of Land

One of the significant tasks of our time is the study of the relation between population growth and density and the exploitation of renewable and non-renewable resources: the effects of a culture on the land, the forests, the soils and the vegetation must be considered in ethnographic and geographic work. If this is not done the culture is studied as if it rested, like a plate on a table, on a geographic base, without bothering to discover the nature of the environment or what the culture is doing to it. 121 114

Nineteenth century studies of primitive and advanced societies emphasized the influence of the physical environment in molding a culture. This crude fallacy, often known as geographic determinism or environmentalism, was exploded by studies made of cultures in all parts of the world in which it became clear that the physical environment is not the cause of cultural differences.

But the reverse of this approach, the examination of what a culture is doing to its physical environment, its soils, its vegetation, and its forests has not been carried on with the vigor with which other aspects of culture have been studied. This point of view has practical significance in day to day administration. Economic matters such as foreign trade or the labor force requirement should not be a separate and independent segment for study. Changes in inheritance should not be viewed solely with reference to the family system. Forest conservation should not be regarded only as a technique and a necessary department in the government.

The effects of the devastating typhoons, for example, need no elaboration: the destruction of life, crops, houses, of boats, and breakwaters. But their effects are also influenced by other factors. The two southern villages were in the midst of some of the violent fighting of the Okinawan campaign. Large numbers of houses in both communities were destroyed by the war. The new buildings to replace them are so frail that in typhoon times they are often destroyed. This rebuilding requires more wood and more grass. Thus, such factors as the war, the inability to reconstruct permanent housing, typhoons, and the natural growing of <u>miscanthus</u> grass are joined together in a close relationship. 731 727 367 824 182

In the south the relationship of typhoon destruction to deforestation is striking. There is need for tidebreak groves and shelter belts along the coast to protect crops from wind and saltwater spray, a need which fortunately the Ryukyuan Forest Agency is attempting to meet. Deforestation in the south seems inescapably tied up with long occupance. The center of population has always been in the southern part of the island. Not only should there be trees, but they should be planted in the right places. The deforestation of 731 137 [313] [361]

for eggs, which are reserved more for sale than as a food, though this varies with the well-being of the family. 235 262

10

Conclusion

The agricultural village, with its sweet potatoes, rice, soybeans and cane, its domestic animals, and its dependence on wild grasses illustrates the complex relationships between man and the land, bound together by the family system. The pattern of land ownership, a product of past land tenure, and inheritance, has been created by the family system. The land everywhere bears these traces of the work of man. Not even the barren mountain tops are exempt from his activities, for these supply the fresh grasses for his animals, grass for his roofs and for fertilizer, odd brush for his fires, stones for his fences and boundary ridges. The scarcity of land, the ownership of small scattered plots have induced a local care, through traditional conservation practices and fertilization and crop rotation to maintain a continued economic base for the future of the main and the branch families. 182

Within the family system, there is a tendency toward the persistence of the same occupation from generation to generation. Agriculture has the widest range of possibilities. The extremely old and the extremely young can engage in it. There is a place for the 80 year old grandmother cutting sweet potato tops, and for the nine year old boy to help in weeding the rice paddy. Agriculture demands no retirement from work as long as one has physical strength. Agriculture may readily become a secondary occupation. A stonecutter or a fisherman can tend his land in leisure hours or in off season. The reverse is not nearly so common. Only with difficulty can the farmer acquire the skills and tolerances demanded of a fisherman. It is an occupation known to all, for by maturity a storehouse of information has already been filled, almost unconsciously, by watching and doing. [463] [887] [857]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

This desire to learn English is more than a wish to communicate with Americans. Opportunities are open for those who know English, and people of all ages realize that theoretical and applied science and improved techniques come from the West, and that English is a means of understanding and applying this knowledge. Channelling this desire, through competent instruction in the schools, which will result in efficient self-guidance afterwards, is one of the significant problems of Okinawan education. But the techniques to be used on a permanent basis should be left to the professional linguist.

Should for example the methods of Basic English be adopted as a matter of policy and be encouraged in private study? Or should language study be based on the principles set forth by the rapidly advancing field of linguistics? Or should we accept the guidance of doctors of education who are specialists in curriculum construction and language training? My own bias is toward the manuals developed by the linguists, such as Spoken Japanese (EI 561-62). This approach, with its pattern sentences, is based on an analysis of the structure of the language itself. Basic English poses the problem whether the English taught is really basic. In my opinion, the crux of the matter is to study the presuppositions underlying these approaches and not the subject matter they produce. American learned societies, with the co-operation of the Army and the Navy, and the subsequent university programs in language study, have made great strides in these fields, both theoretical and applied. They represent the most advanced thinking in the world on these subjects, and the body of knowledge which they have should be most useful.[4]

5

Home, School, and Village

There are strong bonds between the home, the village, and the school. Parents help their children with their elementary readers. There is homework and classmates may stay at one another's houses over night. Parents are interested in children's school problems, but they do not visit the schools often, except at times arranged by the officials. PTA's have been organized, but it is still too early to tell how successful they will be. Since the PTA, like the Women's Association and the Young Men's Association, fits in the culture, it probably will thrive.

On entering school, the child is introduced to a new language which he has not spoken to any extent in childhood. Okinawan is the language of the pre-school child. Beginning school, therefore, is a bigger break than it is with most cultures.

The schools usually drew on several villages for their student body

4 It is only fair to say that my own bias in favor of the approach developed by the technical linguists grows out of instruction I received in Japanese in the Army's Civil Affairs Training School Program in 1943-44.

871 and the more advanced the school, the truer this is. Friendships are made early with children of nearby villages. Marriage may be
572 the result of early school acquaintance, encouraged by the acceptance of free choice in marriage. A young adult has a scattering of friendships in the villages of his township. These class friendships are strong in school, in the teens, and early twenties. By the late twenties, the circle of friendships has broadened.

182 One of the most significant links between the family, village,
526 and school is the annual athletic meet (undōkai). It is held in the fall. Preparations for this event are long and involve almost everybody.[5]

About a month before it is held, the meet is the topic of
526 innumerable conversations. School children practice singing and athletic dancing drills at home. School teachers, who do most of the
[875] organizational work, practice with painful cacophony on their trumpets and clarinets. On the streets and lanes of Hinatogawa, young men from 17
[534] to 23 practice broad jumping late into the night. Shortly before the meet, all normal school activities stop. The teachers paint signs, mimeograph programs, and plan the order of the various events. The school officials have interminable committee meetings.

There is much bustle, laundering, hair washing, and cooking in a village the day before the meet. Special lunches including rice dyed
[262] red, bean curd, slices of fish paste, beef or pork are prepared. This field day is the closest approach to a picnic the Okinawans experience.

In good weather, the meet has a large attendance. A reserved area, with school desks and chairs is set aside for special guests. A person entering the reserved section to take his seat bows to the mayor and the
[576] group, steps forward a few paces, bows again, and takes his seat.

The mayor of the township presides over the meeting relieved by the vice-mayor or other school or village or township officials. On one day of the autumn meet, the mayor remained seated throughout the morning and afternoon in a drizzling rain. It was his duty, assisted by the principal and the teachers of the school, to give out the prizes.

Relay races, girls' dances, races and dashes for various age groups are endless. At present, the meeting is not confined to school children, but the younger men and women are included as well. The Young Men's Association is very active. Special events are included. In the Women's Association event, there was a mother and child race. In one case, a mother who entered the race with a child on her back and her young son as

[119] 5 These remarks are based on observations in Hinatogawa, Oushichan, and Hanashiro villages, and on attendance at the Oushichan meet in November 1951. From discussions, I am certain they are very similar in Mateuda, in fact all over the island.

a running mate was vigorously applauded. The infant on her back was sleeping! 526

Four teams, the village officials, the teachers, high school students, and members of the Young Men's Association competed in a relay race. Later the teachers, and the mayor, participated in a rope and loop race. A rope about 20 feet long was tied to a stake driven in the ground. On the other end of the rope was a large loop. The trick is to run from a starting point, put the loop over the head, let it drop down and then step out. In the meantime, the opposing team has been trying to prevent the player from getting the loop by jerking the rope away, or throwing it at a distance. Other comedy events based on groping blindfolded to selected goals or objects were part of the program.

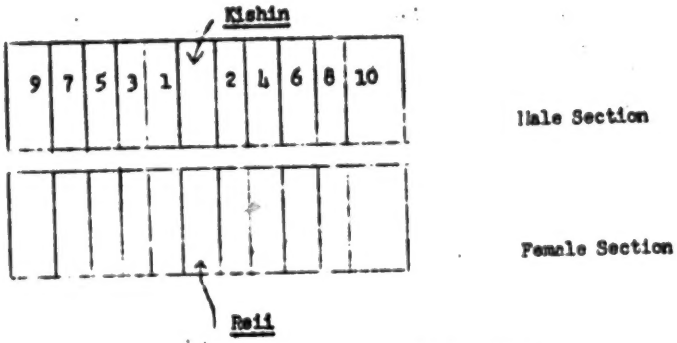
The races produce the greatest excitement, especially in the inter-village competition. A team from each village competes in a relay and runners representing their village participate in various dashes. In these competitive events, the old women become very excited. [628]

On this occasion the township gives a present to all people present who are 70 years old or over. The gift is now a plain towel; formerly the towel was embroidered with characters expressing wishes for a long life, but this practice has been abandoned for reasons of economy. [431]

The prizes, presented by the mayor to the contestants, are modest and generously given. The young men get four cigarettes, the women a paper of tooth powder, and the children, small school notebooks. The prize winners line up; each one steps up, makes a bow, receives his prize, lifts it up slightly, a typical Okinawan gesture of thanks noted by Basil Hall in 1816, bows again and retires. [576]

Though it centers around the school, the athletic meet is one of the strong forces bringing both families and village communities together. It would be hard to exaggerate the interest in the meet or the work that goes into its preparation. The fact that the mayor of the township, his staff, the village headmen, the principals of high schools, every parent and all the children who could possibly come, were present is enough to show its importance and vitality. 526 182

778 of wood lacquered red and lettered in gold. The frame has an upper
769 section for the male dead and a lower for the female. The date of death is written on the back of each tablet. In the center of each section is a strip with a Chinese character written on it. The upper or male section has the character, kishin, with a meaning similar to returning to the source (moto ni kaeru). The lower or female section has the character reii, suggesting that your spirit is in this place. The tablets are placed in an order, the first to the left of the middle character, the second to the right, so that the last placed ones are toward the outer edge.



(Arrangement of the Memorial Tablets (ihai)

778 The frequent occasions throughout the year when devotions are made
782 at the altar have already been described in many of the preceding pages. These can be summarized by saying that offerings and prayers are made (1) to commemorate important dates in an individual's life, like birth, the first birthday, engagement, marriage, death, and the anniversary of a death, (2) during holidays and festivals in which honoring the dead and thanksgiving are dominant themes, and (3) at times of individual and private religious worship or prayer. Some women pray daily after placing a cup of tea, a bowl of rice and a burning charcoal stick on the altar. Others observe the 1st and the 15th of the lunar month.

771 This household Buddhism, centering around the altar, has no institutional basis. There are no Buddhist temples in any of the villages. Family worship at the altar is both an honoring of the ancestral dead and also, it would seem, an acceptance of the merciful and humane doctrines of the Buddhist faith. Buddhism traditionally is the religion of consolation at death. The fact that ancestor worship takes place at the
[182] Buddhist altar, however, does not mean that this is a religion in a doctrinal sense. One has been grafted on to the other.

000.

in the toilet.

182

Religious beliefs shade into other aspects of village life, such as honoring the dead, the obligations of the family system, and the celebration of public holidays and festivals. The war has hastened the decline of many of the old beliefs we have been describing. The inability of the old, during the war and its aftermath, to communicate a body of belief to the newer generation has meant that now, even more than before, religious beliefs and customs are dying out rapidly and henceforth will appear only in vague outlines to inquiring scholarship.

771
178

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

CONCLUSION

The description of village life presented in the preceding pages is not the delineation of an ancient way of life essentially unchanged from the remote past. Neither is it the study of an old way of living which is now passing away. Rather it is a glimpse of a culture, at a particular moment in time, which has been changing, sometimes slowly, sometimes with great rapidity. The theme of inertia and change, developed in the second chapter, furnishes an opportunity for understanding the culture in the perspective of history. Even though the changes of the last decade have been impressive, they are less striking when placed beside some of the great changes of the past. 128 178

This small island, known to Oriental antiquity and to the Western world after the Age of Discovery, is an excellent illustration of the combination of influences from the outside and of the progressive changes made in the natural environment as a consequence of long human settlement. This theme, imperfectly documented, has repeatedly appeared in this work in order that the affinities of soil and land conservation and forest care with social and cultural questions, such as organization of government, the family system, and economic problems may be recognized. 177 311 182

This idea of a changing culture, in a physical environment of meticulous tillage and of minute subdivision, enables us to see more clearly the inter-relationships of the family system, inheritance, land tenure, the care and conservation of the land, and the methods of agriculture. It is the values within the family system that have given content and meaning to the natural resources, to the tiny paddies, the stony sweet potato patches, and the barren wild land. The tombs and the grave sites also find a place in this minute appraisal of the value and the use of land. 178 182 311

This minute knowledge of the land, obvious as it is to observation, is one of the outstanding cultural characteristics of the people. Indeed this is true of other Oriental peoples as well, even though their preferences have been for the transported soils of the alluvial plains and the deltas. This detailed knowledge of land, of its productivity as guaged by the farmers' patient success in tilling it, is used to build up the system of land classification. 311 181

No less striking is the intimate knowledge of small localities. A tiny village may have five or six of these localities, dignified with a name which, in our culture, would be given to a portion of a large city. Every little spot has a name, even though the origins and the circumstances of the naming are lost in hazy memory.

In this use and tillage of land, perhaps the most important comparison to be made is that, unlike China, Japan, and Korea, dry land and upland agriculture is the chief reliance of the people. There are no Yangtse river deltas and no Kanto plains in Okinawa. The care, conservation and use of land have crept up the hillsides over the most settled [171]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

 775

ple did not carry it through the streets but along the shore to a spot 784
nearby where the car could pull up.

Communication with ancestral or family spirits lies in the hands of [766]
individual households or the larger kin group. In general, as with the 782
nature deities, women maintain the relationship. The oldest woman 794
in the house prays and makes offerings in front of the divine shelf or by 769
the tombs. Sometimes the high priestess, whose only regular role in the [562]
cult of ancestors centers around the mythical founder of the village
to whom vague references are made, is asked to conduct a special [793]
prayer for a family at its ancestral shrine. Such invitations are usually
the result of consultation with another religious practitioner to whom [756]
one turns in case of misfortune.*

Those who are considering a special undertaking, such as building a 791
new house or moving to another one, or transporting ancestral tablets
from one home shrine to another, seek the advice of a diviner, the [342]
sanjinsō or *yekisha*. This expert, always a man, consults books on the
workings of the universe, special astrological calendars from which he
can predict events by using a horoscope calculated on the birth date of
the person seeking advice.

Although it would seem from the attendance at ceremonies that 771
older people, mostly women, are the supporters of religion, even the
most modern of the Tairans seem to share beliefs in the power of the 182
supernatural forces and are loath to make an open break with traditions. One may verbalize that the old religion is just "superstition," but when it comes to dealing with adverse events, when somebody suggests that perhaps the *yuta* should be consulted, or a special offering is in order, or when the old special wine of the gods is prepared from rice for Boat Race Day, then many of the apparent apostates cooperate. To some extent this is done to appease the older people, but fear of neglecting duties, especially toward ancestors, is probably much stronger in general than people's behavior would suggest. Religious in- [621]
fluence, then, which controlled so many facets of village life in former days, still acts as a strong force in uniting the members of families and descent groups as well as in binding together the community as a unit separate from other communities.

* See Chapter 9 for description of the *yuta* or shaman.

"older brother", "younger brother", "older sister", and"younger sister". But 601
these terms are never used in address. Two unrelated terms for "older brother" [171]
and "older sister" are used in addressing older siblings and older cousins,
while younger siblings and younger cousins are addressed by name. These two [576]
terms may also be politely extended to non-relatives. One's children, nephews,
nieces, grandchildren, and other younger relatives are also addressed by
name rather than by kinship terms. However, a younger person who is a strang- [576]
er may be addressed as "older brother" or "older sister" out of courtesy.

For in-laws, there are terms of reference: husband, wife, son-in-law, daughter-in-law, and one including spouse's parents and siblings, which can be combined with other words for more specific reference. But none of these terms is used in address. Instead one uses the terms of address proper for one's spouse; the father-in-law is called "father", and so forth, at least until one has children. There is one exception; there is a separate term of address for an older brother's wife. A wife addresses her husband by the polite pronoun "you" and he addresses her by the familiar one.

All that has just been said about terms used in addressing relatives must be qualified by the statement that it is true only until one has children of his own. After the birth of the first child, or perhaps after it begins to understand speech, one begins to call his wife "mother", his father "grandfather", and so forth. He may do this in the child's absence as well. As one informant put it, the whole system shifts to make the child its center.

It will be seen that the Okinawan kinship system is bilateral, that is, 601
it treats the father's relatives and the mother's relatives in the same way; 171
a father's brother and a mother's brother are both "uncles". In this respect it is like the Japanese system and like our own, and unlike the Chinese system, which distinguished father's brothers and mother's brothers by separate terms. It will also be seen that like our own system the generations are clearly distinguished (in some systems relatives of different generations are lumped into the same category), but unlike our system the Okinawan system distinguishes seniors and juniors within a generation. The Japanese system distinguishes older and younger siblings of the speaker but not older and younger siblings of the speaker's parents. The Chinese system also distinguishes older and younger siblings in the speaker's generation and further distinguishes father's older and younger brothers, but lumps mother's older and younger brothers into a single separate category. What the Okinawan system does, and what makes it different from both the Japanese and the Chinese systems, is to single out the oldest in each generation while at the same time, by extending even the terms "father" and "mother" bilaterally, it suggests a unity of all those within the same generation. This accords in a general way, I believe, with the deference [182]
to seniors that is characteristic of all social relationships, with the importance of senior lines in the larger kinship groups, and with the essential unity of the local group despite its division into kin groups.

In the last generation certain changes have occurred in the use of kin- 601
ship terms widely, perhaps everywhere, on Okinawa. The Japanese terms of 177
address, especially those for "father", "mother", "uncle", and "aunt", have 192
begun to replace the native terms. At the same time the practice of extending

753 that I found the greatest resistance to any suggestion that American methods
177 might have equal or greater validity. American material culture the Okinawans are delighted to accept, and they are eager for more. American social
[562] relationships they look somewhat askance at but they are willing to experiment, in a small way, with equal rights for women. But the suggestion that medically they don't know what ails them is harder to take. They are willing to accept modern medical explanations of disease as a partial explanation, perhaps as the occasional means by which the ultimate causes affect disease. The ultimate causes are supernatural.

753 To challenge the concept ugwambusuku, the insufficiency of worship
177 that causes illness, is to challenge the present structure of religion, and
769 at a point where it is most closely bound to social organization. Anxiety
182 over insufficiency of worship and its possible consequences is probably the strongest force motivating the whole range of activities connected with death, burial, and the worship of ancestors. It is not too far-fetched to suggest that it is also a reason for respecting one's elders during their lifetime. It is no wonder that Okinawans show a strong resistance to any challenge to these beliefs, even though they may not be conscious of all the implications of the challenge.

753 To challenge the whole structure of belief would probably be wholly
177 unsuccessful. Or if somehow the Okinawans could be persuaded to abandon
757 these beliefs at once, the result would probably be either chaos or the uncritical acceptance of another set of beliefs that might soon prove to be just as far out of line with medical science as the present. Probably the surest way to introduce modern medical concepts is by gradually whittling down the native concepts beginning with the more peripheral ones. This is not as hopeless as it might seem, for some changes have already taken place.
[846] Until recently women after childbirth were baked for about a week over a fire in the jiiru, a hearth in the back room of the house, even in hot weather. It is said that it was a very uncomfortable experience and that in warm weather it often resulted in rashes and boils, yet it was practiced because it was thought to be necessary for the health of the woman. In the last few years this practice has been abandoned. One woman informant was positive that the hideous skin condition called heegasa or "scruff" could be prevented by drawing out the "bad blood", but she was equally positive that the former practice of baking a new mother was useless if not harmful. Some day she may become convinced that cutting an infant's buttocks with a razor is useless if not harmful. She will be convinced when someone has demonstrated to her that heegasa can be prevented by another means and that because the blood circulates it is no more "bad" at one place than another. The concept "bad blood" is a peripheral one, with no close relationship to religion or social organization.

Other peripheral beliefs are those associated with the yabuu, the efficacy of moxa and the golden needle of acupuncture. In demonstrating the superiority of modern medicine over these techniques one may not always count on the cooperation of educated Okinawans. In opposing the practice of
[181] the yabuu and other practitioners one runs counter to one of the strongest themes of Okinawan culture---one must not interfere with another's livelihood.

altered that environment to its own uses. I hope that this will result in a broader and a deeper understanding of the manner in which an old culture, subject to frequent changes, with a long history of settlement, has, through its social organization, used and is using its chief resources, the cultivated land, the fish in the seas, the deep stones imbedded in its earth, its forests, and its waters. 121 311

There were certain obstacles in carrying out this plan. As everyone knows who has attempted such tasks, after the first few days the apparent simplicities of village life vanish before one's eyes, and he is left with a mass of observations whose ramifications lead in every direction. There is simply no limit to the courses of inquiry which these "simple" villages open up. 121

There was the problem of distinguishing between what was customary and carried on for this reason and what was of basic living importance in the culture. This difficulty disappears for those who believe that every trait has some significance if it has survived, but this neglects the point that many beliefs and customs belong to segments of a population. To one group what may be done as a matter of form may be of close personal importance to another. Both points are significant, for to do what one is expected to do, even if a pure form, is in itself a fact of importance. This applies especially to religious observances and anniversaries in honor of the dead. In some cases, they seemed perfunctorily performed, particularly among the young and the better educated. The survival of certain beliefs is due to their preservation by segments of the population, and women seem to be the chief carriers of the devotional and religious tradition. Real differences, too, seem to lie in age groups, with the dividing line at about fifty-five to sixty years. Many under this age have little understanding of the history or traditional culture. The old, and particularly the old women, have carried on. 121 183 184 [560] [561]

Observation in itself is deceptive. Even the grasses, shrubs, and pine trees on the hillsides seem to be a more or less permanent part of the natural environment. Yet these were greatly changed during the war and in local areas grasses have succeeded to places formerly occupied by the pines. 121

The information was obtained in the following manner. (1) Personal conversations in the Japanese language with residents of the villages. Much of the information was secured by accompanying people to their work, attending their parties, visiting shops, rice and sugar mills, and asking questions about the things seen. (2) Direct personal observation, supplemented by conversations to check the accuracy and the significance of these observations. (3) Information gathered from village land records, statistics, land maps, and family registers. Later there was considerable difficulty in securing comparability in the statistics. For this reason the attempt to present quantitative data was in some cases abandoned in favor of a general qualitative description. (4) General discussions with the personnel of the Civil Affairs Administration and with Okinawans. (5) Personal impressions, but these have been included only when they are based on repeated observation. (6) In the historical and general 12 129

842 need of succession is met, birth control measures might be accepted. There is, it is true, a widespread feeling that many children are a happiness which artificial control should not destroy. But this feeling, especially true with women, is often lost after the fourth or fifth child when mothers may dread further child bearing.[7]

In the villages studied, there is an awareness of birth control. [177] This awareness comes from conversation and reading, the primary sources being Japanese magazines and newspapers. I did not meet anyone who admitted practicing birth control or who desired to do so. According to the informants, it is not practiced at all. There may be some instances.

But birth control methods are not widely understood, and even if they were, it is doubtful that people would use them on their own initiative. The present apathy toward birth control methods may be due to the fact [167] that only recently has the question been of any significance. In the past economic difficulties within a family were relieved by emigration. There was thus little need to think of a limited family. On the contrary, there was pride in a family that might spread over continents.

● [183] Historically, the whole emphasis in the family system has been on a large or a medium sized, not a limited, family, and this, even today, is tied in with family pride coming from having children and grandchildren. [562] If families have girls to begin with, the feeling is all the stronger. Though unusual, it is not unheard of to have a family of girls, and even if there are sons, there should be enough of them to take care of the hazards of death.

5

Conclusion

185 Among some villagers—and this seems to be independent of the degree of education—there are now more realistic appraisals of what the soil and the land can make available to a growing population and to their own children. Emigration for the time being is not possible. And, even if it were on a broad scale, it would not only have to skim off the present excess population, but take continuing care of future natural increases as well.

134 There were in all the villages several considerations that have influenced these appraisals. Land is insufficient, even in quantity, though in local areas such as Matsuda, it might suffice for local demands. The arable land is also poor. The poor and insufficient land,

[TEXT Continues Top of P. 69--Analyst]

[114] [208] 7 This dread of continual child bearing is discussed as an attitude, not as a general truth. The statement is based on conversations with men and women in each of the villages. Many women in Okinawa would not agree with this, but the attitude, I am convinced, if not a prevailing one, is at least frequent enough to be worth recording as something more than individual distaste.

342 Co-operation often takes the form of a division of labor. In
476 building an elaborate permanent house with cement foundations, siding,
463 plank flooring and a tile roof, greater skills than the handyman techniques of a smaller house are required. In the building of a house, men with special skills, such as a carpenter, a cement mixer, a stonecutter, or a mason participate; others bring lumber and wood from the mountains, as in Matsuda, or lay the grass on the tile roof. In some
[464] cases, all the labor may be donated; in others, the carpenter, the cement mixer, the stonecutter may be hired, with helper's work done by volunteers. In simpler construction, the carpentry may be done by anyone who has this secondary skill but is primarily a farmer or a fisherman. People who have those skills are said to have half and half occupations (hannohangyō in Japanese).

7

Housebuilding Ceremonies

342 In building, a distinction is made between a temporary and a permanent house. A temporary house may be built following a typhoon or a fire, or it may be constructed for a poor man and in fact be a permanent house for the family, the good house to come being more an aspiration than an early reality. The marks of a permanent house are construction with beams, instead of poles, good siding, a good roof, now mostly of tile, a design based on mat size, and a cemented kitchen. Housebuilding ceremonies and celebrations apply only to the permanent house.

[184] Ceremonies or observances during stages in the building of a house differ from place to place and among people in the same village. In
342 Matsuda before the house is started, the owner, his friends, and neighbors gather and offer a prayer that the house be a good and a happy
782 one. Before construction, and once each year following completion, rice cakes (mochi in Japanese) and sake are placed in each of the four corners
[262] of the house site. Three rice cakes are put on the smallest of three saucers which fit into one another. Two of these saucer sets with the
[203] rice cakes, together with a sake bottle and a small cup are placed on a tray. The east, north, west, and south corners are visited in that
[415] order. Sake is poured from the flask to a small cup. There is a short prayer. A piece of white paper, attached to a stick of dwarf bamboo (Yambaru take) about one foot long is burned. The sake is poured over the embers. The top rice cake is placed on the corner; the other two remain on the small plate. Prayers are offered for protection against
[825] the deadly snake (habu). The rice cake is then picked up. On the next corner, the ceremony is repeated.

When the ridge pole is put up, the carpenter prays that there will be no injuries. Observances at the raising of the roof (muneage in
[183] Okinawan) seem to be universal in the villages. Three parcels, one of salt, one of bean paste, and one of charcoal are wrapped in a leaf--any
[262] will do--and these are tied with a string and suspended from the inner side of the crossbeam or from the ridge pole. There are no prayers at This Time.

of the head of the extended Matsuda family. In the extended family reunions at this home, which is on the presumed original site of the first house, on New Years and on O-Bon, there are member families not only from Matsuda itself, but from villages in the Motobu peninsula, Nakagusuku, and the Nakijin areas. There are about 180 persons in the present extended family group of the Matsuda family, of whom about 80 attend the reunions. In these extended family reunions, the heads of the branch families who reside in other villages may send money--about 10Y--for charcoal sticks (senko in Japanese) and sake to be used in the observances. These meetings occur at New Years, on the birth of a child, at the celebration on the naming of a child, for the worship at the family tomb in the third month of the lunar year, and on O-Bon in the seventh month. Another practice in this family illustrates a variant in extended family customs. In the Matsuda family, the members of the main family, every seventh year, hold worship at the homes of branch families at Nakagusuku and Nakijin during the festival of the fifth lunar month. 614

The importance of the extended family, it would seem, varies somewhat with the families comprising the larger kinship group. While in the extended family, the ties are not so close as those of the immediate family, and even of friends and neighbors, these ties though sometimes tenuous are really a geographical network of relationships that provide the basis in fact for belonging and for being part of a wider community.

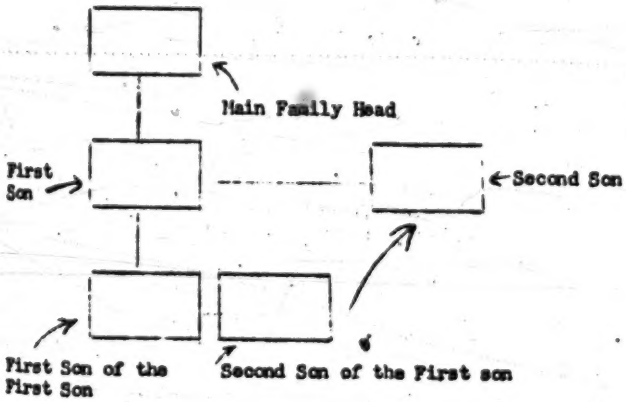
The force of this fact should not be underestimated. It is part of the personal security and of being a link in the chain that is so integral a characteristic of the family system. It is not unusual for a person to go to another village or to the larger towns and to have his relatives in the extended family receive him and take care of him for long or short periods. The head of the extended family and his custodianship of the family tomb, and his leadership in the reunions further cement these wider relationships. With some, it is true, extended family observances are perfunctory. A school teacher, for example, said that when his beliefs in religion and in the worship of ancestors were stronger, he visited the site of the main house quite often; now his visits were perhaps once or twice a year, and these were done as a matter of form. But still they were done, and the indirect effect, if not to deepen religious conviction, was to maintain personal ties with the wider kinship group. There is little doubt that the extended family reinforces and solidifies the family groups, especially when several branch families are located in the village of the seat of the main family, or with those, like the fishing community of Minatogawa, whose family seat is in a common parent town. There does not seem, however, to be that strong sense of extended family loyalty that has been remarked upon so often in the traditional Chinese family system, especially among the gentry class. [574] [183]

In view of the importance of the first son to the immediate family, it might appear contradictory that a first son would be adopted out. The answer is, I think, that it is more important to secure succession to the main family than it is to the branch family. 597

Since adoptions are so few, it is not possible to say which of these two mechanisms is most frequently used or to make distinctions among villages. Hanashiro informants said that the commonest practice is to adopt the second son of a brother. In Minatogawa, the same situation held, with the added statement that if the brother had only one son, that son would not be adopted by the uncle.

In Hatsuda, informants mentioned most frequently the first method, that is the adoption of the first son of the second son to succeed to the family line. In either case, the continuity of both the main and the branch families is provided for.

Adoption may also work in the reverse situation, that is when there is no male heir to the branch family. This would be solved by adopting the second, but never the first son of the brother in direct line of succession:



The adoptions of which we have been speaking are of minor children and independent of marriage arrangements for the daughters of the family. It is possible to adopt a daughter's prospective husband and thus to provide both an heir to the house and a husband for the daughter.

This awkward device is out of keeping with the family system. It places a man in the position of a woman and violates the basic assumption that sons carry on the family of the father. This type of adoption is [183]

597 known as groom-adoption (mukoyoshi in Japanese). No instances of this form of adoption were found in the villages. The husband-to-be is adopted into his wife's family and, at the same time, becomes successor to his wife's father's estate. The adopted man is placed in a similar position to a daughter to be married: he forsakes his own family, his name is taken off the family register of his father, and he becomes, like the bride in a normal situation, a member of his wife's family.

597 183 [171] Common in Japan, this device is considered a humiliating position, both in Japan and in Okinawa,* for the bridegroom, since he puts himself in an unfavorable position regarding the women of the adopting family and leaves his own. Even though unused, reactions to this form of adoption are unreservedly negative in the villages. "It is very distasteful," said one man. "The boy deserts his own home and enters his wife's home." Occasionally however it probably will be used. There are a few families with five or six daughters and no sons. In one instance, a family with six daughters, the eldest of marriageable age, the parents were considering groom adoption.

597 171 In Okinawa unlike Japan, the maintenance of the family system is not contingent upon an elaborate and widely used system of adoption. This is one of the important distinctions to be made between Okinawan and Japanese culture, for in Japan adoption has been used by the royal family, in business and professional circles, as well as among the ordinary classes of people.

7

The "Growing Up" Parent

597 608 855 134 There is also a special form of adoption in Okinawa. It is debatable whether it is directly concerned with the maintenance of the family system, or is a more general aspect of the culture and part of the care and rearing of children. This is known as yashineuya (in Okinawan), yashinaoya or morawako (in Japanese). It is not adoption, but an arrangement that is considered helpful for the survival of sickly children who, the parents feel, might not live to maturity. The verb, yashinsu in Japanese means to rear, adopt, or support. It is also used in referring to raising animals.

[791] [787] The first step is to consult a fortune teller (sanjinsō in Japanese). Hanashiro people can go to nearby Gushichan; Minatogawans to Itoman or Naha, and the parents of Matsuda to Ginoza or to Nago to consult the

* This situation has changed since the war. See The Japanese village in transition, as cited, 213.

Part 1

Minatogawa, the Fishing Community

1

Introduction

Fishing families are a closely knit group. They are usually interrelated. For the most part, the main houses of their extended families are in the fishing town of Itoman. Fathers, sons, wives, daughters, grandparents participate in some phase of fishing activity. 226 [596] 607

In an agricultural community, the first son remains in the home working the fields of his father. In fishing, through long custom, there is an avoidance of teamwork among close relatives. Members of the immediate family will not go out on the same fishing boat. A father will not take his son, an elder brother will not take a younger. Partners and working teams on boats are more distant relatives or friends. If a father and a son are on the same boat and it is lost, the present and the succeeding head both perish. To this incontrovertible possibility, there has been added the belief that if two persons of the same immediate family go to sea together on the same boat, there will be a disaster. And actual and near disasters are frequent enough to make both points of view understandable. The sons of fishermen, who are learning the ways of the fish and of the sea, go on the boats of others. Many younger fishermen regard the belief that it is inviting disaster to have two members of the same immediate family together on the same boat as a superstition (meishin), but to my knowledge, no fisherman ignores the custom. 226 593 [183]

In Minatogawa, about one half of the fishermen have fields of their own, usually small and poor. Perhaps twenty men in the village may be classed as half farmers and half fishermen, but even in these cases it is the wives and the children who have the continuing responsibility for the fields. 226 241 [423]

Neither is it rare for a fisherman to be a stonecutter. Perhaps another twenty men are engaged in the summer in fishing, and in stonecutting in the winter, or on unfavorable fishing days. The three main occupations of the village, including Nagamo, are thus found in varying combinations. Fishing is the most exacting and offers few opportunities for amateurs. Stonecutting requires strength and endurance. For those who have land, agriculture offers possibilities of growing one's own food and of avoiding cash outlays. 226 324 463

In an average summer month, there may be about 20 good fishing days. But because of unusual or unexpected rains or typhoons opportunities may be fewer. In 1951, there were only about ten working days in each of the summer months. In winter fishing days average about a week in a 226 96 [132]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

wood and lumber for Japanese army uses and for air raid shelters were in demand, (2) the burning in the course of the war, and (3) the intense cutting after the war for firewood and rebuilding. 313 727

Okinawan traditions relating to forest care have a positive value and it is worth while to recapitulate them here. Local old men and antiquarians in Matsuda give credit to Saion who wrote a long treatise on agriculture and is said to have intentionally devised superstitions to save trees. Death or misfortune would come to him who cut the trees, especially those in sacred groves or on the tops of mountains. Some local residents have said that the gods of the mountain are really not of religious inspiration at all, but had their origin in the conscious desire of Saion to save the trees. While there does not seem to be any truth in this assertion, since these deities of the sacred groves and mountain tops reach far back into antiquity, there is no doubt that sacred groves and houses of the mountain gods saved trees that otherwise would have been cut down. (In China and Japan, religious shrines and holy places have also been areas of the preservation of trees). 313. 173 [178] [171]

Present attitudes were summarized by a Matsuda school principal who said that beliefs in mountain gods and in death and misfortune following cutting trees were dying out, and that these old beliefs had been replaced by awareness of the scientific reasons for preserving the trees. [183] [176] [177]

In Matsuda, pride in the trees, in the groves that line its hill tops and overlook the narrow valleys and ravines planted to rice and other crops is a conspicuous part of village experience. There are trees along the main road near the town that are said to have been planted in Saion's time under his inspiration.

These favorable traditions are helpful. They do not guarantee the preservation of the forests. Previous experience has shown this. From what may be surmised of the history of Okinawan forests, the destruction of modern times has been correlated with war and the expansion of economic activities. We may speculate, too, that previous deforestation was slow, inexorable and related to the clearing of accessible stands near settlements, and the extension of these settled areas as they grew. "Most of the accessible primitive forests have been exhausted," Dr. Green wrote in his report to Commodore Perry.11 The need for fuel increases with population. In China, Japan, Korea, and Okinawa, the relation of forests, either as a source for lumber or fuel, to population growth and settlement is a very intimate one. This is a basic consideration in discussing not only the "patterns of culture" but the relation of culture to the natural environment in this part of the world. [311] [161] [171]

11 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, Vol. II, 35

away evil spirits (bakemono).[1] From the pig sty the child is then taken to the kitchen, where a pot of rice has been cooking. Soot from the outside of the pot is taken up with the middle finger of the right hand and a round black spot pressed on the forehead above the bridge of the nose between the eyebrows. The reason for this could not be ascertained. 844 852

Beliefs in the power of a pig sty to ward off evil spirits are still held in Minatogawa and the customs were generally practiced up to the beginning of the war. But these beliefs were related more to celebrations following the birth of the child than to the birth itself. The elements of these beliefs seemed to be that the after-world was close to this world. If a child were not protected, the spirits of the afterworld would steal the child and take him back. The party celebrating the birth lasted a whole week, usually starting each evening about 8 and ending at 8 the following morning. Guests stayed up all night to prevent the child from being stolen, for if anyone went to sleep, the spirit would enter. Spirits followed behind the guest and were especially dangerous after 10 at night. The spirits however were frightened by the pigs; guests arriving during the danger hours went to the pig pen first to scare off the spirit following them, before entering the house. There was no evidence, in the parties I attended, of any present observance of this custom by young parents. The week of all night parties is no longer held. 854 776 231 [772] [574] [183]

These beliefs were found in Minatogawa. Hanashiro informants had heard of such customs, but were vague about them. While their seeming absence in Hatsuda may be due to incomplete data, there may be another explanation. These beliefs may have been picked up by fishing people from other sources. [184]

One other birth custom known as jiru belongs to the recent history of the island. Jiru, as explained in Chapter V, is a fire place sunk in the floor of an Okinawan house, often in the corner of the dining room which adjoins a hall or a sleeping room, and near the kitchen. Convalescence was called jiru because mother and child warmed themselves by the device. Today convalescence may be called jiru, though it has nothing to do with the old custom, which in the literature has been referred to as "roasting." 846 [354]

1 When I discussed this and the following beliefs relating to pigs with people in Hatsuda, they ridiculed them and said there was no truth in it, implying that people in the south did not know what they were talking about. Subsequent rechecking convinced me that this was not so and that the beliefs in Minatogawa represent differences in the rural culture. 184

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

4

O-Bon

The festival of O-Bon takes place on the 15th and 16th of the 7th lunar month (August 17-18, 1951), or from the 13th to the 16th, if preliminary preparations are included.[3] This very important holiday lacks the variety of themes which appear in the celebration of New Year. O-Bon is a festival to entice the spirits of the dead to their earthly home, and then, what is just as important, to induce them, after their visit, to return to the other world. O-Bon is an occasion for extended family reunions. 796 775 769

Generally on the 7th day of the month, about a week before O-Bon, the family or representatives of the family visit the tombs, take an offering of sake, and clean up around the tomb. At this time, the dead are asked to come back on O-Bon. This is the tanabata matsuri.[4]

On the evening of the 13th, two candles are placed within the compound entrance to guide the spirits back. This act of welcome is known as unke or omukaebi.

In Hanashiro, on the 15th there are prayers and offerings to the dead. Candles are then relit at the compound entrance and the spirits beseeched to return to the afterworld (ukui in Okinawan, okuribi in Japanese, meaning sending back). This may also be done on the 16th. Members gather at the home of the head of the house of the main family. The 16th is passed in rest and recreation. In Hinatogawa, observing the holiday may require a visit to Itoman. The Matsuda custom is like that of Hanashiro.

O-Bon is a colorful holiday. Lanterns are freely used. Whether the people believe that the spirits of the dead return is a question to which there is no easy answer. Many observe the formalities and the customs of O-Bon without believing that the spirits have actually returned. There is formal compliance, but in my opinion real belief is to be found mostly among women of middle age and older. [916] [183]

3 O-Bon has been variously translated as "The Lantern Festival," "Festival of the Dead," "All Souls Day," but I prefer here to retain the Japanese word, as these translations are only misleading approximations.

4 For an interesting discussion of the origin of tanabata in Japan, see Chamberlain, Things Japanese, 436-37. In Okinawa one occasionally hears this referred to as a "star festival."

the war, the upper stratum of society consisted of Japanese plus a few highly placed Okinawans. With the departure of the Japanese, there was no well developed class structure among the Okinawans to succeed to the Japanese hierarchy. Today in these villages, there are inequalities in economic well-being, and certain individuals or groups have greater prestige than others. But these, I am convinced, are not to be traced to a class structure. Any division of the village into upper, middle, and lower classes would be artificial and would put a strain on the facts. Differences, where they appear, are the result of individual qualities, such as age, the possession of land or money, or personal character. 565 [563] [511] [554] [554]

In the old Loochooan kingdom, there was a rigid class stratification based on the Chinese model. The Japanese abolished the Loochoo nobility after the islands became a province, but, according to Furness (1899), "the people still cling to the old custom."[1] Despite the abolition of the nobility, distinctions between noble and commoner were made up to the recent war. In the family registers, descendants of the Loochooan nobility (shizoku) were so designated. But all villagers agreed that these distinctions had no meaning or value, either for preferment in the Japanese service, or for one's social standing among his countrymen. For all practical purposes, everyone was a commoner. Since the war, the fact that one is a descendant of the Okinawan nobility is, if possible, even more inconsequential. No notation is made in the family register. Most men over 35 can tell instantly whether a given surname is of noble or common origin. 175 565 183 565

The number of these descendants of nobles must be very great. Chamberlain in 1895 reproduced a table, which he said he had every reason to believe was accurate, showing an absurdly high proportion of nobles to commoners. These statistics were from the census of 1891 and for the entire Ryukyus:[2] 565 162

	Household Heads	Families
Princes	2	35
Nobility and Gentry	22,567	95,082
Common People	57,981	235,213
Total	80,550	330,330

1 Life in the Luchu islands, as cited, 7. For rank distinctions based on caps, stockings, sashes, and hair pins, see Simon, as cited, 155, 156-59. Hawk's Perry's expedition, as cited, Vol. I, 224, Vol. II, 48. Basil Hall also gives rank orders in an appendix. Perry considered government by this nobility very oppressive. The CA Handbook Ryukyu (Loochoo) Islands gives the historical background of the class structure and its manifestations in government.

2 In the article cited from the Geo. jour. 5 (1895), 298.

771 Buddhism, as an organized religion, is of no importance, even though most villagers say they are Buddhists. Buddhist symbols and practices inspired by Buddhism remain, but that is a different matter. The universal use of the Buddhist god shelf or household altar, the 183 observance of Buddhist holidays, such as higan, are matters more of custom and tradition than of religious fervor. This is significant because the Okinawans, for almost 70 years, were a part of the Japanese 177 homeland, the greatest Buddhist nation on earth. During my stay in Okinawa, I thought that the recent war had caused the decline in Buddhist influence. This is only partly true. Subsequent reading of the older 178 literature made it clear that in modern times, Buddhism has not been a living force. The ethical and political systems were primarily Confucian. The priestesses had a greater influence on daily life and at death ceremonials, at least in rural Okinawa.

A variety of practices concerned with the worship of natural phenomena, such as the summits of mountains, groves of trees, wells and springs and the sea survive, but they are not strong.

There is little evidence of Shinto beliefs, except in a few 177 families who were long resident in Japan. Shrine Shinto, closely tied in with emperor worship, has been abolished.

177 Villagers are acquainted with Christianity, but I encountered no adherents. The name of the 19th century missionary, Dr. Bettelheim, 797 is still remembered by people in Minatogawa and Hanashiro. Dr. Bettelheim, a Jewish convert to Christianity, came to Okinawa in 1846. He was both ineffective and unhappy, but his ineffectiveness was probably due more to the lack of enthusiasm of the Okinawan rulers than to personal inadequacy.

3

Buddhism

771 Buddhist formalisms and home observances exist in all the villages. 183 But the religion is not practiced. The people do not attend services or temples, nor do they support or seek out priests. This present situation is apparently little changed from the recent past. Captain Basil Hall 114 (1816) mentioned the apparent low status of the bonze. Charles Hahs, on Perry's staff, said that, "The people, however, appear to be indifferent to it, and do not seem to have much veneration for it. Basil Hall Chamberlain wrote in 1893 that Buddhist influence was almost extinct. In 1910, Simon spoke of the weakness of Buddhism and that priests often did not participate in funerals. Goldschmidt in 1927 made similar observations.[1]

1 Hall, as cited, 98-99; Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 49. Chamberlain, On the manners and customs of the Loochooans, In: Trans. of the Asiatic society of Japan, 21 (1893), 274. Simon, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, 103-04, 177. Goldschmidt, Neu-Japan, 145.

The only Buddhist priest in the areas studied was at the small village of Maegawa, within walking distance of Hinatogawa and Hanashiro. He was a priest of the Jōdo sect (Jōdoshu), one of the important sects of Japan, and stressing salvation by faith. The sect of the priest in this village is of no importance, since the rural people now or before the war had neither the interest nor the capacity for doctrinal distinctions. The temples of this sect were burned during the war, including one in the village of Kochinda, a junction point between Maha and Gushichan. 793 [795] 346 727

Before the war the colors of the robes varied with the sect and with the position of the priest in the hierarchy. In the Jōdo sect, the lowest grade wore black, followed up the scale by orange, blue or green, a chocolate reddish brown, and purple, the highest. This contrasts sharply with the priest's present improvisations. His is the black robe of the Shinshu sect. It is a summer garment, made of soft light silk called shiya and resembles a man's kimono, but is longer and sweeps the floor. The garment hangs straight down and is not gathered or tucked. The only other religious possessions were a bell and a badly soiled print of the Buddha (oshaku) which hung in his room. 793 795 292 [778]

Before the war, some people in the Gushichan area requested the services of a priest at funerals. After the war, the people of Hanashiro, and other villages as well, decided because of the expense, to forego the services of a priest. 793

Occasionally this priest officiates when the bones in the temporary tombs of Hinatogawa are moved to the extended family tomb at Itoman, or in a ceremony honoring a death anniversary. Few Okinawans became priests. This priest is a native of Japan, one of the few remaining Japanese priests in the island. At eleven, he entered a Buddhist temple (tera) and has been engaged in religious activity ever since. Now about 50, he has a wife and two children; his head is unshaved and the hair is of a conventional cut. He does not depend on the priesthood for a living, but is employed as an official in a village office. [797]

The situation with regard to Buddhism was quite similar in Hatsuda, although there is no priest in the vicinity. There is little doubt, if the villages studied are typical, that this already moribund religion is disappearing altogether here, choked off by lack of temples, lack of priests, and by indifference. 771 778

It is not so with household Buddhism, if this term may be used to describe ceremonies and beliefs centering around the Buddhist god shelf or family altar (butsudan). This household altar is in the second room of every home. Around it collect the sentimental memories of the past, such as family pictures, photographs of young soldiers and dearly loved relatives. Prayers and offerings of food and drink to the dead are made before it. 771 778 183

An important part of the Buddhist altar is a frame holding the memorial tablets for the family dead. These tablets (ihai) are pieces 778 769

Others include levies upon
651 organizations and families to support the athletic meets, or 'undōkwai',
[526] which are such a popular part of life in Okinawa.

575 Before the war the women's group ('fujinkai') and the young people's
178 group ('seinendan') levied a certain amount of soybeans against each member,
and when they were delivered the sale brought in money to finance their ac-
tivities. These organizations also made up special meals for local athletic
[526] favorites while they were in training, and provided a feast for them at the
526 end of the contests. Today the 'undōkwai' is on more of a monetary basis,
651 and there is a levy called the 'undōkwai no keihi'. In October of 1953, the
632 cost of the grand athletic meeting held in Naha was divided among the 'son'
according to the number of champions sent to the contest. Kochinda-son was
top grade in Shimajiri, and Tomoyose was a middle-grade village within
Kochinda-son. This grade was judged by the amount of arable land, its yield,
and the population. Within the village, households in turn are assessed by
three grades, according to their income tax records. These three grades
were "minimum," under ¥20; "middle", ¥20-50; and "maximum", ¥50-54.

621 Local Philanthropy From time to time the leading household heads are called
741 upon to donate money for improvement of village facili-
ties. Names of contributors and amounts given are written upon a wooden
plaque and hung in the village meeting house. The building of this meeting
house itself involved the gathering of such a fund, to which Nanahan people
gave a total of ¥1,450. Later a request for funds to buy a funeral stretcher
brought ¥350 from the household heads, and a road repair campaign netted
¥1,550 from Nanahan.

Somewhat the reverse of the above occurred after the Russo-Japanese
war when a particularly handsome soldier from the neighboring village came
back from the front. All the leading 'geisha' in Naha had long had the habit
of asking him to come to their establishments without charge. His return
brought such joy to their hearts that they got together a sum of money and
bought him a large plot of land near Nanahan.

52 Prizes at Contests From the time a youngster enters school and participates
in his first contest to the time when he shows an animal
at his last village or 'son' festival before retiring, all winners look for-
ward to some sort of prize to mark the occasion. In school the prizes are
generally beautifully handwritten scrolls, but as one gets older the prizes
assume the form of wooden trays and articles of practical use in the home.

858 Sale of Children When the SIRI team first arrived on Okinawa and mentioned
432 that we were interested in finding if the Okinawans still
[183] practiced the sale of children, sophisticated respondents feigned indignation.
Later on, as we were able to gain rapport in the countryside, a number of such
instances were forthcoming.

In Tomoyose a man got into debt over an effort to make a fortune in
sugar along about 1910. He was so heavily in debt to village people that he
was socially unable to live in the community, and moved to Itoman. There he
sold his son to a fisherman. The son is now a grown man with an Okinawan wife
and a mistress from Amami. His business is still fishing, although he also
owns a truck.

CHAPTER V: FAMILY LIFE

W. P. Suttles

1. Kinship Organization

342 **The Household and the Family** Okinawan homes, both in the country and in the towns, show a surprising uniformity in struc-
• [183] ture, in floor plan, and even in orientation. This uniformity reflects the stability of society and at the same time reenforces it. The home of the
[361] Okinawan farmer usually faces south; indeed the older villages as a whole were established on southward-facing slopes.

The house consists of two main rooms separated by sliding doors, a long and narrow back room behind the two front rooms, and a kitchen to one side, usually the west. The measurements are usually in multiples of three feet (the Japanese foot being almost identical with the English foot); the two main rooms are usually the same size, 9 by 9 or 12 by 12 feet, and the others are somewhat smaller. The roofs of most houses are thatched with "kaya", but people who can afford it have wholly or partly tiled roofs. The roof of the kitchen may have a separate peak and ridgepole from that of the main part of the house. Usually the roof of the main part of the house extends beyond the front rooms so that there is a narrow veranda across the front and halfway around the side opposite the kitchen. The house usually has no windows. The kitchen has an outside door and the front rooms have sliding doors all the way around under the veranda; these are usually open except at night or during bad weather.

The main part of the house has a floor of boards but the kitchen often has only an earth floor or else consists of two sections, one floored and one not. The kitchen is thus usually lower than the main part of the house and is referred to as "below" while the main part is "above", but this also implies a difference in status. The room farthest from the kitchen is called the "first room" and the middle room is the "second room". The back room may be
353 a single long room or may be divided into two. At the back of the kitchen is
[354] the oven, usually made of earth or bricks with two or three holes for pots and pans to fit into. At the back of the second room, if the house is a "main house"---that of an eldest son, is the tootoomee (J. 'butsudan'), a cabinet for the ancestral tablets. At the back of the first room there is often an alcove containing a scroll and perhaps a family treasure; this is the u-tuku (J. 'tokonoma').

In the homes of more prosperous families the floors of the front rooms are permanently covered with "tatami", the thick mats used by the Japanese, but in most homes the only mats are the thinner mushiru, which are spread out
352 only when needed. Furniture is simple; the mushiru are the equivalent of chairs
[354] and beds; a low table may be brought out to put food upon at meal-time and a pot of burning charcoal may be brought out in cold weather for a little heat. Usually one sees only a basket of teacups and a tobacco-box. On formal ocas-
592 sions the men sit in the first room and the women in the second, but usually
562 the partition is removed and the family simply lives in the whole space.

829 considered the initiator of all action. Frequently there are complaints of high taxes, criticisms of certain policies, and dissatisfaction with certain officials, but the authority of a government to undertake any course it chooses would never be challenged. There does not exist any concept of a limit to obedience or to the powers of government.

7. Social Control

626 The mechanisms of social control within an Okinawan village are not
621 easily observed or studied since they are so rarely overt. One is impressed from the outset by the homogeneous character of the community, a natural outcome of the common experience and cultural heritage which all the members have shared. The average villager has had a limited range of contacts during the course of his or her lifetime, imposed to no small degree by the all-consuming demands of subsistence agriculture. Minorities within
[183] the community rarely exist, and where they do, they are not recognized as such, for this homegeneity, in addition to being an actuality, is insisted upon as a cultural ideal. Consequently great stress is placed on presenting a united front to the outside. Within the community aggressive behavior is not tolerated and so great is the fear of rift through discord that few official acts are initiated without first securing informal concordance; consequently, formal political meetings are most often marked by unanimity and agreement. In enlisting the support of the villagers for a given project or proposed line of action leaders most frequently appeal to group solidarity, stressing the values of cooperation.

As is so often found in small communities where all the members have a face-to-face relationship, the chief mechanisms of social sanction are ridicule, censure, and the threat of ostracism. The small size and homogeneous nature of the Okinawan village limits the individual's behavior to a rather narrow and inflexible standard. The individual, however, must consider his actions not only in terms of the reactions of others to him
[672] but also in terms of the consequences for his family. Under the old king-
[178] dom the family was legally responsible for the actions of its members, and at the present time an individual is officially registered as a member of a certain family and is always thought of by the villagers in association
626 with that family. One's mistakes as well as one's achievements reflect upon
621 the other members of the family and are shared by them. This emphasis on
181 family and community over the individual serves markedly to curb individualism and to further the homogeneity of the society. Conformity and honoring one's obligations are the major cultural values. The surrogate for this strong cultural deemphasis of the individual is provided by a close ego identity with the family and community and by the security which they offer in return. The severest sanction which can be applied is expulsion of the individual from his group.

8. Local Autonomy

642 On a small island with a highly centralized government there is lit-
621 tle room for local autonomy. Most action is initiated in the higher echelons of government and is unquestioningly obeyed at the lower levels. There

To explain these things properly requires a sense of the conditions which have produced them, an appreciation of the historical depth of the culture. In some areas, one perhaps might neglect history, relying on the interesting present to furnish the correct details. Such an approach would be fatal in any study of this part of the world, and neglect of history is responsible for the fatuous doctrine of the "unchanging East." While this is an investigation of contemporary life, indeed that is the purpose of the program under which the study was made, I have felt impelled to point out historical events and conditions which have brought the culture to its present state, not with any assurance that this has been adequately done, but at least to make clear that these historical problems exist, and that the contemporary culture must be seen as the end product of its historical antecedents, including the hints that can be collected of the modifications of the environment by human agency. The present geography of the island is to be seen, for example, not as something given and unchanging. The forested north and the deforested south are in all probability the direct result of the history of human settlement. 121

An approach of this type, I felt, could best be served by comparative study. Concentration on one village would have resulted in a deeper understanding of the way of life in that village and closer friendships with the villagers, and these advantages cannot be sensibly minimized. The selection of two or three villages might offset this disadvantage and offer some compensations of its own. One of these was comparison, even though it cannot be assumed that merely because three villages instead of one have been studied that a more valid interpretation of the whole culture has been obtained. Even in this small island, each "typical" village seems to grow less and less so as one learns more of the details. But at least the three situations can provide insight into three basically similar but different ways of living. If this is true on an island barely sixty miles long and eighteen miles wide at its widest point, how great this diversity must be in China, Japan, and Korea!

Upon arriving in Okinawa, I spent the first few days talking with officials who had, in the course of their duties, travelled widely throughout the island. From them I was able to obtain an idea of the different types of villages, those like Oku in the north that were exceptional, those that had come under direct American influence due to proximity to civil and military installations, and those that departed from the pattern of agricultural life. With these guides in mind, I determined to select one village whose economy was based on agriculture and this meant primarily the growing of rice, sugar cane, sweet potatoes, and soybeans. The number of villages that could meet this broad criterion was large, and it did not seem advisable in view of the shortness of the assignment to spend too much time in selecting a village, because the criteria of what was typical might be just as obscure at the conclusion as at the beginning. 121 184 [241]

Accordingly, I spent a day or so travelling in the general area south of the Chinen peninsula in the townships of Tamagusuku and Gushichan. These were close to Naha, and yet distant from the main centers of American influence. I was concerned here to select a village which would reflect as 114 121 184

114 121 184 much as possible the customary ways of doing things, and though one could not hope for an unchanging or an isolated village, one could find a village relatively so, even if, as was the case with all the villages, they had felt the effects of the deadly campaign for Okinawa.

On one of these trips, I talked with the headman of the village of Hanashiro and then with the officials in the nearby village office of Gushichan, and concluded on the basis of what I saw of the agriculture and the conditions described by these officials, that this small village would be a satisfactory selection. In the beginning, an epidemic of encephalitis made it wise to be away from the village at night and for [164] the first month the investigations were confined to daytime work. This was a serious handicap which I tried to overcome later in the tour by living in the village.

While working in Hanashiro, I had frequent occasion to pass the villages of Minatogawa-ikku and Minatogawa-niku, and I was impressed with the opportunity to study the life of a village in which agriculture [226] did not predominate, and in which the chief emphasis was on fishing and [324] stonecutting. I therefore decided to include the fishing village, and took up residence there late in August 1951, making frequent trips on the side to Hanashiro.

As interest and awareness increased, I became convinced that another type of village should be added to the agricultural and fishing selections. It should be one in the northern forested area (the Kunigami region). [361] After discussing this with American and Okinawan forestry officials, I followed their suggestion and lived in the village of Matsuda in Ginoza township. It proved to be a good choice, with the possible reservation that Matsuda is somewhat of a model village whose conditions might be better than the average.

The villages needed to be small enough for one man to study. And they proved to be admirable communities for realizing my original intention of showing similarities and contrasts in an agricultural village, a fishing village, and a village in a forest setting.

121 The results do not constitute a complete ethnography of each of the villages. Such was not my intention, and this could not have been done in the time available. The material has been organized around four central subjects: (1) the nature of the family system and its influence through [128] inheritance on land tenure and land use, (2) ways of life as illustrated in the studies of the agricultural, fishing-stonecutting, and forest communities, (3) daily family life as a concrete expression of the family system, and (4) wider community relationships, including political and cooperative organizations, education, and religion.

The basic theme is that a fruitful approach to the study of modern cultures lies in the borderland area between the social and the natural sciences, and that, in the case of these Okinawan villages, the study [311] would take the form of discovering in what ways the people are using their natural environment and the manner in which the culture has changed and

altered that environment to its own uses. I hope that this will result in a broader and a deeper understanding of the manner in which an old culture, subject to frequent changes, with a long history of settlement, has, through its social organization, used and is using its chief resources, the cultivated land, the fish in the seas, the deep stones imbedded in its earth, its forests, and its waters. 121 311

There were certain obstacles in carrying out this plan. As everyone knows who has attempted such tasks, after the first few days the apparent simplicities of village life vanish before one's eyes, and he is left with a mass of observations whose ramifications lead in every direction. There is simply no limit to the courses of inquiry which these "simple" villages open up. 121

There was the problem of distinguishing between what was customary and carried on for this reason and what was of basic living importance in the culture. This difficulty disappears for those who believe that every trait has some significance if it has survived, but this neglects the point that many beliefs and customs belong to segments of a population. To one group what may be done as a matter of form may be of close personal importance to another. Both points are significant, for to do what one is expected to do, even if a pure form, is in itself a fact of importance. This applies especially to religious observances and anniversaries in honor of the dead. In some cases, they seemed perfunctorily performed, particularly among the young and the better educated. The survival of certain beliefs is due to their preservation by segments of the population, and women seem to be the chief carriers of the devotional and religious tradition. Real differences, too, seem to lie in age groups, with the dividing line at about fifty-five to sixty years. Many under this age have little understanding of the history or traditional culture. The old, and particularly the old women, have carried on. 121 183 184 [562] [561]

Observation in itself is deceptive. Even the grasses, shrubs, and pine trees on the hillsides seem to be a more or less permanent part of the natural environment. Yet these were greatly changed during the war and in local areas grasses have succeeded to places formerly occupied by the pines. 121

The information was obtained in the following manner. (1) Personal conversations in the Japanese language with residents of the villages. Much of the information was secured by accompanying people to their work, attending their parties, visiting shops, rice and sugar mills, and asking questions about the things seen. (2) Direct personal observation, supplemented by conversations to check the accuracy and the significance of these observations. (3) Information gathered from village land records, statistics, land maps, and family registers. Later there was considerable difficulty in securing comparability in the statistics. For this reason the attempt to present quantitative data was in some cases abandoned in favor of a general qualitative description. (4) General discussions with the personnel of the Civil Affairs Administration and with Okinawans. (5) Personal impressions, but these have been included only when they are based on repeated observation. (6) In the historical and general 12 127

175 was that large numbers of refugees from the south were sent to the
227 northern area. The destruction of the heavily populated south and cen-
166 tral areas, with their many villages, gave new prominence to the northern district whose villages, much less damaged and less densely populated, were now in the best preserved part of the island. The roles of the two regions had, in a sense, been reversed. The northern region was no longer a rustic hinterland.

In 1945, the Okinawans came under the direct military government
[648] of the Americans, and from these early beginnings, which in the heat of conflict were scarcely more than compounds for the relief and care of refugees, there has evolved the extensive present civil administration and the native government.

175 The Americans have thus been the most recent arrivals on an island
177 with a long history of inertia and change. The results of this last, and probably greatest intrusion into the culture of Okinawa cannot yet be predicted. This cultural influence is a stronger, certainly a much different one, than the great changes which came about when the Japanese set on their course to make over Ryukyuan, especially Okinawan life.

The war years, with conscription and service in the Japanese army
[727] in other parts of the empire, the disruption and deaths in the war, were
[178] effective in preventing the handing down of the traditional culture from one generation to another. This may mean a more ready receptivity to newer influences. It will be clear in the pages that follow that many aspects of the culture, familiar to the old, are now unknown to the young.

177 Whether the American influence will be a conservative one, in the sense that the fundamental attitudes and framework of the culture as it existed before the war, will be retained, or whether it will be a revolutionary intrusion remains to be seen. Will, for example, the individualis of the American culture tend to break down the structure of the family system? Or will American influences assert themselves within the framework of the culture, and will the flexible family system absorb only surface influences, leaving the basic culture as it is?

175 On a preceding page, the point was made that in the earlier periods
177 there probably was not a homogeneous Okinawan culture, that its centers, Naha and Shuri, were under strong contemporary Chinese and Japanese
184 influences, and that in the rural areas an older culture existed relatively unmolested. This gap was narrowed after the island became the seat of a province of the Japanese empire, through such measures as the new land law and the introduction of mass education, direct interferences were made in the traditional life of the rural areas.

175 In my opinion, the American influence so far has been to close this
189 gap even more, but for different reasons. The Americans have made no
648 direct interferences in the lives of the villages, except in those cases

in which villages have been moved and land preempted for military purposes. The devastation of the war, the mixing of the people, their dispersion as refugees throughout the island prepared the way for greater uniformity. Since the war's end, increased mobility, ease of transportation, the widening of the roads have done much to further obliterate sectional differences in this small island, scarcely sixty miles long.

During historical times, and probably during times now lost to an undocumented past, this island, far from being isolated, has been influenced strongly by other cultures. From the examples which have been given, one can at least gain an intimation of the stability and change that have characterized its experience, and some insight, no matter how slight, into the historical depth of a culture with which the Americans, in one form or another, and for some time to come, will be associated.

36 31 traditional attitudes that the north was a culturally rude and physically inhospitable place. The highway which now goes through the center of the main part of the village is a good, hard surfaced, dirt road, widened since the war. A lively traffic of trucks and buses and the three wheel [491] cycles contrasts with the narrow pre-war roads, traces and abandoned [494] sections of which can still be seen. The frequent buses supply transportation to the larger cities and towns of the island: to Nago across the island and slightly to the north, to Ishikawa on the south, and to distant Naha, about 31 miles away.

727 Matsuda, unlike the southern villages, was not destroyed by the war. There were some air raids, some bombing out of the houses, but nothing like the destruction in the main areas of conflict. Early in the Okinawan campaign, the north was cut off and isolated and the struggle for the [362] island took place in central and southern Okinawa. As a consequence, many of the old houses, sturdily built with tile roofs, have been preserved [342] Numerous refugees from the south gathered in this area during and after [166] the campaign. In nearby Ginoza (Jinuza) village, slightly over a mile to the southwest, also on Highway 13, the Americans operated a hospital [493] for Okinawan refugees. It is still in use. This relative lack of war destruction in the northern villages has, to a degree, reversed the roles of the north and the south. The opening up of the north, its prosperity, ● 184 the survival of many of its old homes, give the impression of comfort and well being conspicuously lacking in most of the makeshift villages of the south.

The descriptions of these three villages perhaps make clear the diversity that can be expected among Okinawan settlements. Hanashiro, the small village cluster, with adjoining rice fields on the valley floor, its other crops on the terraced slopes, is the most typical. Minatogawa, the fishing village in an impoverished countryside of stony or shallow soil, is dependent on the seas and its catch for its livelihood and the wherewithal to buy the foods which cannot be grown in sufficient abundance. Matsuda, a collection of small settlements, scattered here and there from the coast inland, with its large preserve of community forest, is an example of agriculture in a forest setting, and of the use of the forest in daily living. This by no means exhausts the diversity. The village of [136] Oku to the north, with its tea, its rice, its fences for wild boar protection, its cycads planted on the hillsides to prevent erosion, is still [292] another example. But our task here is not to catalogue all diversity, but to indicate that it exists and to a much greater degree than would appear to superficial observation.

These rooms, opening on the front of the house along the corridor, do not run the full length of the house. A fourth, a back room, running across the back part may open on to the kitchen. Sometimes this room is only roughly finished and used for storage or sleeping purposes or both. A grandmother often takes the grandchildren (other than the infant) to bed with her in this room. 342 [353] [513]

The kitchen is set off from the rest of the house by being on a lower level, perhaps one step. The kitchen usually has a hard dirt floor. Occasionally it is cemented. Sometimes it has a chimney, sometimes a hole in the side of the wall, which the curious smoke rejects in favor of a leisurely diffusion throughout the other rooms of the house. The kitchen is not part of the house in the sense that the other rooms are. The shoes are not removed when entering it. The kitchen opens out on to a stone or dirt path. Women frequently still eat in the kitchen because of its convenience and the need of going in and out to get water, or to wash vegetables, or to get food from the shed during the preparation of a meal. [576] [264]

The stove is basically an open hearth with a hole at the top for the cooking pan. There is also a hole directly below this into which the fuel can be placed. More elaborate stoves may have three tiers: one for the cooking, one for putting the fuel in, the lower for the ashes. The most simple, in the very poorest houses, are little more than a circular group of stones laid on the ground built up so that a pan can be placed on top. The most elaborate, made of stone, might run across the width of the kitchen and have several openings. Fuel, such as odd branches, sticks of firewood brought from the northern (Kunigami) region, crushed and dried sugar cane, or miscanthus grass of varying length is put part way into the fire and pushed further in as the ends are burned off. 354 [372]

The all stone house is smaller than the wooden house. It invariably has a tile roof, for those able to afford the stone can also buy the tile. The stone blocks used in house construction are usually about nine feet by one foot on the edge.[6] The stones used as posts are buried two feet in the ground leaving seven feet for the upright. These blocks, called ishibashida when used for house construction, have the same width and breadth; they can be cut to any desired length to even off the sides. The stones are layed like bricks with mortar to form the walls of the house. The all stone house is not common, and is usually seen in the south, where the stone is quarried, in Minatogawa, and in adjacent villages. These houses are more modern, and often bathing facilities are built in. The stone house has the advantage of being cool in summer, warm in winter. 342 [333] [184] [515]

Finally, there are the simple structures, resembling shacks or shanties more than houses. These are, as one would expect, more frequent in the areas of the war's operations. There are three main varieties, though the combinations are numerous: (1) the all grass house, now uncommon. The sides of this wattled house are usually of [362]

6 Actually they are 9 x 1 x 1 shaku. A shaku is 0.994 feet.

an interwoven diagonal weave of miscanthus whose hollow stalks at maturity are strong but brittle, resembling in appearance a very small piece of bamboo. (2) The house with a simple thatch roof with walls of various sized rocks or small pebbles cemented together with mud taken from the yard, and (3) a thatch roof house whose frame is built with small rough hewn poles, over which a thin cheap pine siding is nailed. The construction of this house will be described in some detail below because, with the exception of the modern pine siding to replace the straw or diagonal weave, it is, according to the Okinawans, the oldest type of native rural house. 342

The house must have heat during the winter. The kitchen hearth is not used for this purpose. The kitchen fires are allowed to die down and are only started at meal times. It would be too expensive or wasteful of gathered fuel to do otherwise. Room heat is provided by a brazier (hibachi in Japanese). This may be a large square box with an inset lined with metal in which ashes and charcoal are placed. Some winter cooking may be done here. The hibachi may also be a large earthenware pot in which coals of charcoal are placed. 354 [415]

In some old homes, another device suitable both for heating and cooking, can still be seen. This was observed in Matsuda, but not in the southern villages. This is also a sort of hearth (jiru in Japanese). The jiru consists of a hanging bamboo pole one end of which is secured by a rope tied to a lattice in the ceiling. On the other end of the pole, about three feet long, there is an iron hook with another device, like an arm bent at the elbow, allowing the height of the hook above the fire to be adjusted. The handle of the pot is placed on this hook and the pot hangs at any desired distance over a bed of coals and ashes. This hearth is not in the kitchen, but at one corner of the dining room, usually where the two open rooms adjoin. The jiru is rare in the villages at the present time. It is from this device that the former practice of a mother and a new born infant "roasting" themselves takes its name; both the mother and the new born child were exposed, in a closed room, to heat from the jiru or from a brazier, even in the intensest heat of summer.[7] [184] [852]

h

Building a Simple House

The following description is based on observations made of the construction of a simple house in Hinatogawa. The steps are given in some detail because it was said that this house was being constructed in the manner of the traditional rural Okinawan house. 342

Rough hewn poles were used. The traditional method of putting on

7 This will be discussed in Chapter 13 on family life in the section on the rearing of children.

342 Co-operation often takes the form of a division of labor. In
476 building an elaborate permanent house with cement foundations, siding,
463 plank flooring and a tile roof, greater skills than the handyman techniques of a smaller house are required. In the building of a house, men with special skills, such as a carpenter, a cement mixer, a stonecutter, or a mason participate; others bring lumber and wood from the mountains, as in Matsuda, or lay the grass on the tile roof. In some [464] cases, all the labor may be donated; in others, the carpenter, the cement mixer, the stonecutter may be hired, with helper's work done by volunteers. In simpler construction, the carpentry may be done by anyone who has this secondary skill but is primarily a farmer or a fisherman. People who have those skills are said to have half and half occupations (hannohangyō in Japanese).

7

Housebuilding Ceremonies

342 In building, a distinction is made between a temporary and a permanent house. A temporary house may be built following a typhoon or a fire, or it may be constructed for a poor man and in fact be a permanent house for the family, the good house to come being more an aspiration than an early reality. The marks of a permanent house are construction with beams, instead of poles, good siding, a good roof, now mostly of tile, a design based on mat size, and a cemented kitchen. Housebuilding ceremonies and celebrations apply only to the permanent house.

[184] Ceremonies or observances during stages in the building of a house differ from place to place and among people in the same village. In
342 Matsuda before the house is started, the owner, his friends, and
782 neighbors gather and offer a prayer that the house be a good and a happy one. Before construction, and once each year following completion, rice cakes (mochi in Japanese) and sake are placed in each of the four corners
[262] of the house site. Three rice cakes are put on the smallest of three
[203] saucers which fit into one another. Two of these saucer sets with the rice cakes, together with a sake bottle and a small cup are placed on
[415] a tray. The east, north, west, and south corners are visited in that order. Sake is poured from the flask to a small cup. There is a short prayer. A piece of white paper, attached to a stick of dwarf bamboo (Yambaru take) about one foot long is burned. The sake is poured over the embers. The top rice cake is placed on the corner; the other two remain on the small plate. Prayers are offered for protection against
[825] the deadly snake (habu). The rice cake is then picked up. On the next corner, the ceremony is repeated.

When the ridge pole is put up, the carpenter prays that there will be no injuries. Observances at the raising of the roof (muneage in
[183] Okinawan) seem to be universal in the villages. Three parcels, one of salt, one of bean paste, and one of charcoal are wrapped in a leaf--any
[262] will do--and these are tied with a string and suspended from the inner side of the crossbeam or from the ridge pole. There are no prayers at This Time.

fortune teller. The purpose of this visit is to discover who would be a good adopting parent. The fortune teller advises the parents to select a person born under the same year sign as the child. These year signs roughly correspond to the signs of the zodiac. The twelve signs with their Japanese equivalents are: rat (ne), ox (ushi), tiger (tora), hare or rabbit (u), dragon (tatsu), snake (mi), horse (uma), sheep hitsuji), monkey (saru), bird (tori), dog (inu), and hog or boar (i). The year 1951 was the year of the hare; 1952 is the year of the dragon (tatsudoki). 597 608 855 [805]

The adopting or "growing up" parent is older, in multiples of 12, than the child. After consulting almanacs and other materials, the fortune teller advises the parents to find a person in the village born under the same year sign as the child. Prospective adopting parents are then sought out and the matter is discussed with them. Both parents may do this, but most often the discussions are carried on by the mother. When the selection is made, the child is "given" to the adopting parent, and there are prayers before the Buddhist god shelf in the home of the adopting parent. [782] [798]

Actually the child continues to live with its own parents, but makes frequent visits to the home of the adopting parent. There are no stated intervals at which these visits are made, except for New Years and O-Bon. The adopting parent may on these visits give food and presents to the child. [594]

The arrangement thus seems to be a form of sponsorship and guardianship without special responsibilities on the part of the adopting parent, to bring good health and long life to the child. It has only slight resemblances to the godfather and godmother in Christian countries who sponsor a child at his baptism and theoretically at least undertake to be responsible for his Christian training. But the sponsorship and guardianship features are somewhat similar.

Adoption of this type may be done in Okinawa by either sex. Generally old women are the favorites and they may have many such adopted children. But old or older men may also assume this obligation. This form of "growing up" adoption existed in all the villages studied in substantially the same form. [887] [184]

8

The Household Order Naming System

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Families in a village have, in addition to their own surnames, secondary names by which individual families are known. This secondary naming system is a device to distinguish related families with the same surname from one another.

The secondary naming system is known as "the household order," or yagō in Japanese. To introduce this discussion, it might be well to 000

seem to be either supplementary names or household order names held during one's lifetime only, but in some instances became hereditary. Household order names taken from places seem to have become hereditary, if present lists of these names are fair indications. Even today if an American should settle in a village in Okinawa, he would probably be given a household order name and be known by this name outside the circle of friends and acquaintances who knew his surname. Such a house name would be something like Amerikaya, House of America. Ya means house or abode. The American's presence would be well known; his name, too difficult to pronounce and to remember, would be forgotten even if ever learned, and he would be the house of the man from America.

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Each family in a village has this secondary name whether it is in the main or a branch family line. In Hinatogawa, some exceptions were found to this, but it is not quite clear what interpretation to put upon them. In this village there were many individuals--mostly single persons living by themselves--who did not have a household order name. Of the 213 households, 20 either did not have such a secondary name, or it was not known to them nor to the residents of Hinatogawa. Of these at least 8 were females.

Household order names do not appear in the official family registers (koseki) maintained in the village office (yakuba). Historically, the household order name apparently preceded the giving of first and surnames. In villages the mass of people were not known by their full names. They were designated in the fashion already described. Even up to the beginning of the war, often only important and conspicuous people, such as officials and school teachers, were known by their given and surnames (seimei); the rest were known by their household order name.

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Of all the villages studied, the household order name seemed to be of greatest living importance in Hanashiro. This naming system is used only in contacts within the village. In contacts with the outside, in schools, and in official dealings, a person's full name is used. Young children, from about ten on, know families by their household order name, and one can inquire for a family by asking either for the surname or the household order name. There were instances in all villages, confined however to the old, of people knowing individuals only by their household order name. According to informants here, a person's household order name is still better known than the given and the surname. Residents are often called for village, community, and official duties by their secondary family names. Here the double naming system, one for contacts within the village, the other for the outside is still strong.

A similar situation existed in Hinatogawa. The household order system here might be expected to persist longer, at least for use within the village because of the high frequency of a few surnames. The same ability of young children to know household order names of

551 their own and of other families was also noticeable.[6] Often the two
592 were used interchangeably. From an individual point of view, and this
is true of all the villages, the household order name is still impor-
●184 tant because it is an indication of relationships to dead relatives
614 whose names are on the family tablets, and to relationships, at least
in general, to other families of the same main family in the village or
613 in other villages and towns.

In Matsuda, the household order naming system seems to be dying
[178] out more rapidly than in the other communities. Children here did not
know the secondary names so well, and some young people did not know
their own. As in Hanashiro, up to the beginning of the war, families
were called together for village duties by their household order name,
but this practice has been abandoned since the war. Given and surnames
are now used. The household order name is still occasionally used on
letters to indicate the exact person desired, another indication of
the distinctions needed in the confusion of identical surnames.

It is probable that the household order naming system will de-
[178] cline in importance because the growth and universality of education
and the constant need for using given and surnames have weakened the
hold of the old. As the present old people die off, many of whom know
the household order name only, every segment of the population will be
accustomed to the use of given and surnames.

9

Conclusion

602 The family system binds one generation to another, and, even more,
gives unity to the past, present, and future of the family. It in-
volves a well defined system of rights and obligations. It is a con-
servative institution in which the rights of individuals are sub-
ordinated to the welfare of the group.

602 The conservative nature of the family system in other Oriental
171 cultures, especially when combined, as in old China with a Confucian
ethic and ancestor worship, has often been emphasized. But Confucianism,
ancestor worship, and the family system are three different things.

6 I tested this in all communities by asking for directions to family houses using the family's yagō. Its present vitality is shown by the fact that in Hanashiro a native of the village and a member of the township council was able to list all the 121 yagō's without hesitation. The clerk of Hinatogawa village did the same. There was not an opportunity of getting the detailed lists of the Matsuda household order names, but samplings were made.

1

The Old Land Allotment System

175
423
[177]

Okinawa became part of a province of Japan in 1879 and in the late of 1899-1903 fundamental changes were introduced in the land law. Present land use and tenure is a result of (1) the family system with the original influence from China, with Japanese and Okinawan modifications, and (2) the Japanese system of inheritance, as outlined in the old civil code.

Prior to the Japanese reforms of 1899-1903, which introduced private ownership and private disposition of land, arable land in Okinawa was communally owned by a village and periodically redistributed to villagers for their use. This was known as the allotment system (jiwari-seido).

Until 1899, the arable land was owned by the village. Peasants had the right of cultivation, but not of ownership. Land was redistributed by village elders at stated intervals. These apparently varied among villages, as intervals of two, four, and ten years for the periodic redistribution have been mentioned by old men who, as youths, lived under the old allotment system. In the Gushichan area, according to one old man, this redistribution took place every ten years. It was found that there was much more awareness of the old land allotment system in the northern village of Matsuda than in the southern villages studied. [184]

In each redistribution, every living member of the family, from the newest born infant to the oldest person, was given a share. Apparently there were also local variations in determining each share. In the Gushichan area, according to the same old man, allotments were made according to the strength and competence of individuals. A distinction was made between a full grown male and a woman or a child, and there were differentials between the rich and the poor. The head of the house in practice received and controlled the shares of his family. There are no parallel data for Matsuda on this point. At each redistribution, additions or deductions in shares were made for births or deaths, though there is some doubt that this practice was universal. Matsuda old men mentioned this, and the Gushichan informants said the practice was not followed here; presumably a family share prevailed.[1] [184]

[Text continues top of p. 136--analyst]

1 This discussion is confined to the two agricultural areas studied. Conditions apparently were the same for a whole township; since the areas are now roughly the same as they were, Hanashiro as part of the Gushichan township would have the same conditions. No information was available in the fishing village of Hinatogawa. The very old here had only a vague memory of the old system. "Until 1899-1903, when the Land Reform Law was enacted, land was owned communally by the village, which divided the land among peasants at regular (contd. on next page)

place. Then, as now, paddy and dry crop land might lie together, depending upon local factors. In the periodic redistribution, each family received shares of each in non-contiguous fragmented parcels. In the nature of things, they received small shares of the excellent, moderate shares of the good, and large holdings in poor land. 175 423 311

The old classification of lands was simple and did not go beyond three general divisions of good, fair, and poor. Apparently the Japanese after 1879 introduced more refinements and increased the number of classifications to six. Land classification, then as now, was empirical. It was based on observation, local knowledge of present and past yields, and known dangers to the land. It was not based on scientific knowledge of the soils, nor is it today. 175 311 [177] [242]

Several dangers to land and crops were considered: (1) the danger of the wild boar (inoshishi). These reddish brown wild boars have disappeared from large parts of Okinawa, though occasionally one is seen in the northern forest. The boars destroyed crops by night feeding. Remnants of old fences can still be seen in the area around Matsuda. In Oku, in the extreme north, fences are still used and many can be seen along the hillsides. (2) Dangers from floods and salt water spray. Local flooding is common and often confined to a narrow area. Salt water spray and salt water in the air, especially in typhoon times, are still menaces to crops. The danger from typhoons did not enter directly into the determination of land classification because the area of destruction was so wide that it was not a factor distinguishing one plot from another. (One can however observe areas of differential damage in a village as an aftermath of typhoons). 175 241 [136] [417] [731]

This old land allotment system is now forgotten except in a few isolated areas where its main features are still apparently preserved. The best known of these is Kudaka Island off the southeastern shore of Okinawa. If the system has disappeared, except for a few isolated survivals, its influence remains to the present: it determined the pattern of land use still in effect today, the pattern of small, discontinuous parcels, and set the precedents for the mechanics of land classification. The basic classifications such as rice land, dry crop land, community forest were Japanese and are of great age. The old land allotment system is also considered to be of great antiquity.[2] 178 423 [184] [177]

2 It was a matter of considerable disappointment that I was unable to spend two or three weeks on Kudaka to study the land system there. Neither has time permitted an investigation (of great inherent interest) of the historical antecedants of the old Okinawan system. Land classification, such as we will be discussing in the next chapter, is very old in Japanese culture. The old Okinawan system bears some resemblances to the "mouth-share-land" (ku-bu-den) system of old Japan which appears in the Taihō code (702 A.D.). This was a system of distribution of communally owned land, but I have not been able to determine whether the distribution was periodic. See Wigmore, J. H. and Simmons, D. B. Notes on land tenure and local institutions in old Japan. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 19 (1891), 77 on land classification, (continued on next page)

bottom will imprint nine squares on the wet soil, and as it is turned another nine will be imprinted so that when continued the field is laid out in tiny squares. Three or four seedlings are planted on the corners of the square made by the waku. 243 804 413

Men operate the frame. As they turn it, making the square pattern on the damp soil, women follow behind with the seedlings. The frame has been in use in Matsuda for about fifteen years. An Okinawan agricultural school student is said to have invented it. It was not used in the southern villages studied, an interesting sidelight on the slowness of innovation even on a small island like Okinawa, for many farmers in the south expressed surprise at its use and had not heard of it. The device is helpful to those with large plots. In Matsuda, there are not many of these frames, but borrowing is frequent. [462] [176] [184] [426]

In contrast with recent introductions, such as the universal treadle thresher, the frame seems to be confined to one geographic area. The reason for this may be that the use of the thresher was actively encouraged by the Japanese as a successful time and labor saving device, while the frame was not similarly publicized. 243 804 [407]

Another method, a more traditional one, is to use a piece of wood the same length as the waku with seven little knobs and the two ends to give the nine spaces. This is the jiyogi. A piece of string stretched from one end of the field to the other is used to get a straight line along a row. When the planting has taken place along one row, the jiyogi is used to measure off one space between rows, the guide line is moved over and the operation repeated. This achieves the same purpose as the frame or the string with the markers. Men are more likely to handle these operations, the women following along with the transplanting. But the division of labor is by no means hard and fast. [462]

Care of rice until its maturity. Rice set out in squares is easier to cultivate, weed, and harvest. During its growth, it will be necessary occasionally to loosen the soil or to break up clods which escaped the initial working. There may be some temporary drainage of water off the fields at these times. 243

Weeding rice is usually done by hand, though once in a while a farmer has a hand cultivator. Weeding the rice field is an unrelenting job which is done about once a week. More attention is given to this task when the plants are younger. Weeding is worked in with other daily chores, and all members of the family may participate.

The rice is now allowed to grow with the hope that strong winds or a typhoon will not blow over the slender shoots or submerge them. If the rice is submerged when the shoots are still fairly young, they will gradually right themselves. Farmers say that attempting to upright the plants by hand will not work. The quality of rice once submerged is poor and sometimes half the rice in the plot is lost. If the submersion occurs when the plants are near maturity and the stalks are 20 or 25

244 [132] months. The amount of sweet potatoes grown is not closely related to the season. It depends much more on rainfall.

[031] [131] The effects of typhoons on the plant are most noticeable after transplanting. Salt water spray shrivels the transplants up and they die without developing. These conditions are more noticeable near the seashore in areas like Nagamo that lack trees and tidewater shelters.

824 Like rice, all of the sweet potato plant is used. Plant residues are turned under to fertilize the soil. This turning under of the vines or their use in composts is a doubtful blessing if the plants are diseased. The good potatoes are reserved for human consumption. [231] The poor or the diseased ones are mashed up in a stone mortar with a long pole, used like a pestle, for pig and goat food. Besides using the tops as slips, women constantly cut them off for fresh greens for the pigs. [262] The sweet potato is the basic food because it is cheap, can be grown the year round in lowlands and uplands, and can be cultivated by all members of the family. As pig food, it is a means of inexpensively raising animals which later have cash value. [962] The feeding and care of pigs is usually one of the incidental chores of women.

244 184 The varieties most commonly found in these Okinawan villages are the Okinawan #100 (Okinawan no hyakugo) and varieties known locally as the benta, a small round tuber, and the bokuto. The two chief differences between the northern and southern villages in cultivating the sweet potato are (1) the two and three pronged hoes are much more in evidence in the north. With practice, they can be used advantageously in quickly weeding a plot while not cutting the potato itself. (2) Matsuda appears to be less dependent on the sweet potato as a human food. [262] The farmer here has more rice for himself and a greater proportion of his sweet potato crop goes for [231] animal food.

6

The Planting of Sugar Cane and Sugar Making

249 Sugar cane (kibi) is grown on dry crop land, its rows often alternating on the same plot with the sweet potato. Cane may be started with cuttings, or it may be a second growth (ratoon) from the stubs of the old plant after it has been cut down for crushing. Cuttings may be purchased or selected plants from another planting are used. The slips are cut to leave three buds. These cuttings may be planted in three ways: (1) all horizontally, (2) horizontally with the cutting which comes from the topmost part of the stalk planted slantwise, or (3) all cuttings may be planted slanting.

The soil must be thoroughly worked with the ever present hoe. Plowing and harrowing are rarely done. The earth must be thoroughly fertilized. In addition, small amounts of compost may be placed under the cutting, and less often liquid night soil might be used.

In Matsuda, the stalk is cut up with a large knife. In Nagano and Hanashiro, the oshikiribe (literally, push-cut-machine) is common. This is a device with a fixed blade, curving upward, on a stand. The cane is laid on the top of the blade. The handle is pressed down, forcing the cane stalk through the stationary blade. The use of this device is not universal. In the north, the hand cutting machine was a casualty of the war. 249 184

It is worth a slight digression here to add that, in considering various techniques as evidences of a departure from or adherence to traditional methods, the effects of the recent war must constantly be borne in mind. Sugar making is a good example. Primitive methods of making it today are a return, out of economic necessity, to earlier ways because of lack of capital to replace the former machinery. In Matsuda, the continued use of the horse drawn crushing rollers is not an expression of conservatism but of improvisation and return, in lieu of anything better, to old methods previously in use. Such devices as the oshikiriba are not good examples of this because it is not a decisively superior tool. A skilled farmer can cut the cane very efficiently with his knife. 178 227 249

Cane cuttings are made when the plant is about six months old and before it is mature. When year old plants are used for cuttings, only the top, or the youngest part is taken. The slip used may have two or three joints or buds. The length of the cutting apparently is determined by the number of joints. In Matsuda, slant planting seems to be favored because the plant is said to receive more water and to be able to withstand typhoons better. Flat planting is faster than slope planting. From one stalk usually five or six transplants are made. 249

There are two plantings of sugar cane, the spring (haru-ue) and the fall (akiue). Cane planted in the spring planting, from January to March, is harvested in April of the following year. In the fall planting from July to September, the cane is harvested a year from the following December. The cane of the fall planting is harvested but the stumps are allowed to sprout and grow again. Following this harvest, the whole plant is torn out and the field is replanted with slips. Though the ratoon crop could be continued longer, the general practice is to tear up the plants after the second growth. 249 221

The slips are about 8 sun (9.6 inches) long. In Hanashiro, they are generally planted flat with the exception of the slip nearest the top of the cane stalk, which is planted at about a 45° angle, the theory being that this part of the stalk has less vitality than the others. These slips are planted about 6-8 inches apart, 8-12 inches deep in rows about 4 feet apart. 249

In Hanashiro, at harvest time, the sugar cane is carried on the shoulder or by horsecart and stacked in piles outside the sugar mill. Though an effort is made to crush it immediately, cuttings may remain overnight or be stacked for a day or two outside the mill. The mill [482] [493]

824 Soy beans have three main uses: soy sauce which is seldom made
[262] in the home, bean curd (tōfu) and miso, a bean paste, both always
[432] home made. For this reason, soy beans are grown mostly for home use,
with the surplus sold. In Hanashiro, where the surpluses are greater,
[462] the beans may be sold in Naha, Shuri, or Itoman. Women do the selling,
[494] taking the beans to market on the buses, trucks, or three wheeled vehicles.

(2) Other types of beans such as the red dwarf bean (azuki)
241 (Phaseolus angularis Wight), the kidney bean (ingen in Japanese,
262 Phaseolus vulgaris L), the broad or horse bean (soramame in Japanese, Vician fabia L), and peas (endō in Japanese, Pisum sativum L) are grown for home use, usually in parcels which are closest to the house.

(3) The giant radish, (daikon in Japanese, Raphanus sativus L)
[263] is, after the soy bean, the most important of the minor crops grown for home use. This is the vegetable most favored either as a condiment,
[252] or as a side dish. It is eaten sliced raw, pickled, or fried in strips in soy sauce. When eaten boiled, its flavor resembles that of a turnip.

(5) The pumpkin (Cucurbita pepo L) called nanka or kabocha, the latter name being derived from the word Cambodia from which the pumpkin was introduced into Japan. They are harvested in summer, and one crop a year, generally for home use, is grown. If the flesh
[231] becomes too ripe and turns reddish and sweet, it is not relished and the pumpkin is fed to the pigs.

(6) The cucumber (kiuri in Japanese, Cucumus sativus L) is a very minor crop. In none of the villages were they generally grown, and then only for home use.

(7) The hechima or tōgwa in Japanese, subui in Okinawan.[7] This is very large and cylindrical. In exceptional specimens, its outward appearance is indistinguishable from the water melon. Its flesh is white. In the two southern villages, the tōgwa is grown very sparingly.
[184] In Katsuda and the surrounding villages, it is more common. Here it is used to fill in during times of food shortage. Some specimens I have
[221] seen weighed over 100 pounds. It is planted after lunar New Years, harvested in the 6th or 7th lunar month, a period reaching from about January to May. From April to July, when other vegetables are scarce,
[252] it is often used as a substitute. The flesh when boiled is rather tasteless; it is commonly boiled and served with chunks of meat. The tōgwa, in the northern villages, is often stored in dark cool places away from the sunlight, often under the house. If not cut open, the
[251] melon can be saved for a year.

7 I am not certain whether this is Luffa cylindrica Roem, Luffa petola, Ser, the Luffa sponge, rag gourd, etc., whose pulp disappears when ripe to be replaced by a web of fibres.

melon can be saved for a year. It is also served raw with vinegar and sugar dressing, often mixed with another vegetable to make a salad called nanasugua in Okinawan. 241 262 [252]

(8) The burdock (gobo) is also very minor and usually grown for home use. It is boiled when eaten.

(9) The carrot (ninjin) is a minor crop.

(10) The trumpet or bottle gourd (yūgao) is only grown in Matsuda and for home use as a summer food. [184]

(11) Spinach (hōrensō), onions (negi), Chinese lettuce (hakusai) are not uncommon. Spinach, lettuce (chisi), and onions do not have the importance either as a crop or a food that they have with us.

(12) The taro (satoimo in Japanese, Colocasia esculenta Schott) can occasionally be seen growing in Hanashiro or Matsuda, often on the edge of a rice field. It is known locally also as taimo and apparently is the same as the Japanese dasheen. The taro is used as a side dish.

(13) The Irish potato (bareisho) is occasionally grown for sale. [432]

(14) Cabbage (tamana) is partly a cash, partly a home use crop. It is also minor. Some Okinawans like cabbage and grow it for their own use, but many dislike it and sell the crop.

(15) The grains are an unimportant part of village agriculture. The most common are barley (ōmugi), wheat (komugi) and millet. (Mugi is a general term for grain. The ō means large, the ko, small, referring to the kernels of the two grains). [193]

Although comparable statistics were not available for each of the villages, the following table from Hanashiro clearly shows the relative importance of the major crops: 241 311

HANASHIRO
Crop Acreages, 1950

Crop	Area in Chō[a/]	Percent of Total
Rice	10.89	100.0
Total Dry Crop Land	59.88	100.0
Sweet Potatoes	35.86	59.9
Soy Beans	13.63	22.8
Sugar Cane	5.41	9.0
Beans and Peas (excluding soy)	2.30	3.9
Wheat	1.80	3.0
Millet	0.50	0.8
Vegetables	0.38	0.6

Moxa (mogusa in Japanese, fuchiba in Okinawan) in the traditional Chinese and Japanese pharmacopoeia, had considerable former importance. In powdered form, it is placed on a swelling or painful part, which is cauterized by burning the moxa with a charcoal stick or a hot piece of metal. Moxa can be bought, packed and prepared in Japan, at most Okinawan village stores. But wild moxa is not used for this purpose. Formerly a brew was made of the wild plant and drunk for bringing down a fever. It is still used with the yagi, another plant, as a broth. Now aspirin, also obtainable at village shops is commonly taken for these ills. 824 757

These plants are now nearly forgotten. In Hanashiro only the nigana and mogusa were remembered. In Minatogawa, the situation was the same. In Nagamo, a few slippers from the pandanus are still made. The virtual disappearance of home industries based on the pandanus is the result of a diminished supply and in part to loss of skills and failure of a younger generation to acquire them either because of the attraction of more exciting occupations or to lack of interest. This is not meant as a generalization. Home industries based on the use of uncultivated plants, has not vanished from all parts of Okinawa. Activity changes from locality to locality, even when these are close together. Slipper production from the pandanus has practically disappeared in Minatogawa, but across the river in the village of Horikawa they are still made. 824 178 184 [472]

Plant	Hanashiro	Minatogawa-Nagamo	Matsuda
Pandanus (adan)	Scarce, not used	Some slippers made	Not used
Nigana	Root boiled and used as a medicine		Broth for stomach and headaches.
Obako	Not used	For swellings; hot leaf used as a poultice.	Not used [757]
Moxa (mogusa)	Used as in Minatogawa	Wild plant boiled, brew used for bringing down fever. Powdered form purchased.	Used in combination with another plant, the yagi, resulting broth used for general complaints. [757]

In Hanashiro, the fish were raised for sale by the young men's association. The supply of fish is too uncertain and too seasonal for these remedies to be an effective part of the traditional medicine. Like the native plants, and many of the traditional medical practices, they are yielding to the drugs which can be found in the small village shops: stomach and headache powders, eye lotions, aspirin, and other pharmaceuticals and patent medicines.

The economic and occupational organization of village fishing is very informal. Partnerships are made on a basis of friendship and continue so until one party, for any reason, decides to leave. There are about 40 of these partnerships among the 120 odd adult fishermen.[2] The fishermen of the village also have a fisherman's association (suisankumiai) similar in function to the agricultural associations which the Japanese instituted throughout the empire. This association has a head (suisankumiaichō). Like so many official and administrative jobs in a village, these offices are thrust upon the man. He seldom seeks them. In the larger places where there is more remuneration, the man might seek the job. The head of the association is chosen by the fishermen of the village. He receives Y10 a month for each fisherman he represents. This is a supplementary job, as he could not exist on this sum. Lack of cash prevents any ambitious services to the membership. The association buys and sells gas and oil, nets, lines, hooks, and other necessary items which have been imported either from the United States or from Japan. Occasionally, the association has sufficient funds for small temporary loans for purchasing imported gear, loans from Y100 to Y 500 for a period of a week or two. The main function of the association is the exchange of information between the local head and representatives from the larger association in Naha. This becomes a study of the daily market demands; the information provided is a guide to fishermen in meeting the demand. This is all very informal. The head of the association circulates among the fishermen, giving them tips on what to expect and how prices are going.

7

The Rough Language of Hinatogawa

The Hinatogawans have one characteristic which is not shared by their agricultural neighbors of Nagano, nor indeed by any of the agricultural villages. This is their rough (arai) language, so described by Hinatogawans with a certain amount of pride. This language, if used in the other village, would be considered insulting. It is notable for the freedom with which nicknames, some funny, some disparaging, some pointed at infirmities, are used.

2 The word used here is kumiai but actually these partnerships do not have the organized co-operative character that this word usually implies when used in an economic sense.

551 Sometimes they are nicknames like "Fat" or "Slim," or those used ironically like "Curly" for a bald headed man. No offense is taken by the fishing people at these nicknames, though they would be used by people in other villages only to very close friends, if at all. The commonest of these Okinawan nicknames are:

(1) Migwa. This is applied to persons who are squint-eyed or to those whose eyes have the appearance of being only partially open. Persons with this formation of the eyelid are not uncommon, and after one is alerted to the word, he can appreciate the frequency with which it is used. It applies to old and young alike.

(2) Another very common name is gappai. Sometimes this seems to mean a person with a pronounced dolicocephalic head, or one with a high bump in the back of the head, or a person with a high forehead and long head, rounding off high in back. In any event, one can soon recognize the distinctive features of the gappai when he sees a person who has that nickname. Migwa and gappai may supplant the person's own name. One 15 year old boy was universally known as gappai, even by old grandmothers who would use the nickname in much the same way we would say "Sonny."

Less common are (3) akabe or akaba, referring to children with many boils and swellings. Names given in childhood often stay with a person through adulthood after the cause for which the names were bestowed has disappeared. (4) Naga, for tall and slender, corresponding to "Slim." (5) Kuru (from kuroi, black). This refers to children born a little darker than most. It does not mean people deeply tanned, almost blackened by the sun, as many local fishermen are. (6) Hinga, meaning dirty and used of people who do not wash themselves. It is applied to old women, such as hingabachii, a dirty old woman. (7) Sakikure, a drunkard, one who consumes too much sake. (8) Butenden, big belly, corresponding to "Fat" or "Fatty." (9) Hikku, a one-eyed man. It is also applied to a person one of whose eyes droops. (10) Tigwa, no hands, (11) hanahaga, bump on the nose, including a wart or a growth, (12) shippiru, "Shorty," (13) mintama, large open, presumably popping eyes, and (14) maguru. This applies to extremely curly hair, like peppercorn hair. This is unusual among Okinawans, but one occasionally sees it, thick and abundant, with coarse, dry, and very tight curls.

[184] These terms were known and recognized in the other villages studied, but they were not freely used. There seems to be a genuine distinction here in the behavior of the fishing people and the more restrained agricultural villagers. One Hinatogawan explained the rough language as a carry over from the language of the sea, but he emphasized that the nicknames would give no offense in Hinatogawa, while they would be insulting to the neighboring people of Nagamo.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

512 A fishing village has a different kind of regularity than an
821 agricultural village. Activities in both are determined by the weather. During a heavy rain, everyone is in his house. But the farmer, even with a dark angry sky, can work up to the storm, and often continues working in a mild rain. The fishing village is guided both by bad and anticipated bad weather. On a fine fishing day, the village seems deserted with the men gone, and the women in the homes. But several days of rain or unfavorable weather keep the men home, and the village is alive with other activities, such as repairing nets, boats, and houses. Much of the fisherman's work at sea is at night, either in the actual fishing or in going and coming.
[513] For this reason, there is considerable daytime sleeping among them. On off days, the young fishermen loll around, often finding it difficult to pass the time away.

9

Conclusion

226 Fishing has become the occupation of a few places, such as
184 Itoman town, some villages on the Motobu peninsular, and Minatogawa. Ryukyuans have achieved considerable fame for their skill in fishing in waters other than their own, such as their drive-in net fishing in the East Indies and around Singapore.[3] Possibly it is the fewness of good ports, the necessity of adapting requirements to varying local geographical conditions, such as the coral reefs, or the long period of emigration that have prevented the large scale development of fishing on this island and insured the dominance of an agricultural life.

262 It is also a striking fact that, on this small island where no village is far from the sea, fish is an uncommon article of the diet. The explanation is simple. It is a problem of distribution in which
[435] two considerations are involved: the higher prices obtainable in Naha,
[251] and the difficulties of preserving fish while distributing them through
[439] the rural villages. More often than not, the fish in a farmer's diet is the dried sardine or a canned fish from Japan, not the local catch.

Part 2

The Quarries of Minatogawa-Nagamo

1

Introduction

324 Minatogawa is famous throughout Okinawa for its stone. Stone from the village and its environs may be seen in many towns and villages
[458] of the island. Before the war, there was a flourishing boat trade in wood and stone between Minatogawa and the northern region. The fine

3 For a recent statement, see Aquatic resources of the Ryukyu area, as cited, 7-9.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Conclusion

311 184 In the comparative study of these villages, certain distinctions are worth summarising. (1) In the southern villages, which lack forest land, there is much more dependence on the uncultivated wild land (genya) which supports the grasses. (2) The forest, in Matsuda as elsewhere in the north, is a reserve for necessities like firewood, thatch, charcoal and building materials, both for local use and southern trade. (3) The shelter belts and groves have been preserved in the north. (4) Tidewater plantings of shelter belts are needed in the south. Plantings of the Ryukyuan Forestry Agency, under American Civil Administration encouragement, have begun in the south as protection from wind and salt water spray damage. These include the mokumao, the pandanus, the hibiscus (Albizzia julibrissum Durass, in Japanese the nemunoki) and the hirugi (Bruguieria spp.)[12] (5) Ecologically, the situation is more balanced in the north where a good start seems to have been made in arresting progressive deforestation. (6) This balance, if Matsuda is a representative village, can only be maintained by constant appraisal of the relationships of the forest to agriculture, to the growing population, and to the economic demands to which this leads, unless the wood and timber demands of the island are to be met in large part by imports.

[245] [647]

114 648 636 An occupying power like the United States, rich in modern techniques, can do much to improve the life of a small island people. If it is mindful of the history and the present features of the culture, it can suggest improvements without destroying the bases on which the culture rests.

313 114 One of its greatest accomplishments could be an aggressive and continuing program of conservation and afforestation. The present administration, through the Forestry Section of the Food and Natural Resources Department, has started a program which, if permanently pursued, could have far-reaching consequences. An emphasis on selective cutting, conservation, fire control, tidewater plantings, and many other measures could only be a credit to American administrators and foresters as well. The costs, as such things go, would be moderate.

From personal experience in village life, I have no doubt that the co-operation of villagers in all parts of the island could be readily obtained in advancing a large scale afforestation program. The readiness of the people of Matsuda cannot be an exception. These things could be accomplished without an unwieldy administrative apparatus. I have been continually struck with the ability of the Okinawans, with their skill in local organisation, to accomplish

12 I am indebted to Mr. Richard Varney of the Department of Food and Natural Resources, USCAR, for this information.

Y2000 each to make Y18,000 available. If the lowest bid is Y1800 per share, the borrower accepts a discount (waribiki) of Y200 for each Y2000 advanced and will repay Y2100 a month, which includes Y100 interest (rishi) 424 426

Amount of the loan	Y18,000 (2000 x 9)
Less Discount	- 1,800 (200 x 9)
Actual Amount Received	Y16,200
Interest paid	900 (100 x 9)
Actual Cost of the Loan	Y2700 (Y1800 plus Y900)

The proceeds from the discount may be distributed as a dividend to those who furnished the money, or it may be held in the group for additional loans.

The essentials are summarized in the accompanying tables. There are 11 members, A through K. The first month, A, the initiator, gets Y20,000, and by the end of the period (the beginning of the 11th month) has repaid Y21,000 in ten monthly installments of Y2100 each. In the seventh month G is the borrower. He bid Y1880 for Y2000 loan from each of the remaining members and received Y7520 (Y1880 x 4) and repays Y8400 (Y2100 x 4). In this example, K is the man with the money. He has advanced Y18,385, the sum of column K, and has received principal, interest, and discount payments of Y21000 (total of line 11, A through J), making Y2615 for himself).

This type of mutual loan group was found only in Minatogawa. There is a three time rule for the initiator (hakkinin) of the group. He is expected, after the life of the first one, to start two more, whose membership may or may not be the same. It is considered unlucky for him to fail to do this. He will suffer misfortune, such as illness, poverty, or death. Whether these eventualities are feared is hard to say, but the three time rule is always observed. The initiator also is responsible for calling on guarantors to pay amounts in default. [184] [177]

Since these groups are composed of individuals who trust one another, there is flexibility in handling the funds. Generally one meeting a month is held. But there may be 15 in a year. If extra money is picked up in the summer months, two meetings might be held in July, August, and September. Certain fictions are recognized. If A needs more than Y20,000, he may, when it is D's turn, and with his consent, act as if he were D, and get an additional loan in place of D. These maneuverings depend on consultation and discussion within the group. Very short term loans are seldom made. But the same object can be achieved by splitting a loan with the actual borrower, the silent borrower assuming the interest and repayments for his portion of the total.

The discount type is more adapted to a cash economy in which fishermen or business men have available money, and borrowers are willing to pay substantial amounts for immediate loans. The agricultural [184]

[Text continues top of P. 248 -- analyst]

villages have the simple interest type, with or without the bidding feature. The order of borrowing may be determined by discussion, and, if more than one person wishes a loan at the same time, lots are drawn. 474 426 184

In the interest (rishi) type, a man borrows, for example, Y2000 with ten men contributing Y200 each and repays Y2200 in ten monthly installments. (Here the interest is Y10 per month for each Y100 advanced). If a borrower cannot meet a payment, the members make up the deficit which then becomes an additional obligation on the part of the borrower. 474 426

Mutual loan groups were found in Matsuda and Hanashiro, though they are not so strong as in Hinatogawa. The amounts involved are less, reflecting the poorer cash standing of the farmer. Guarantors (hōshōnin) are not required since the members know one another well. Loans are generally made for the construction or repair of houses, pens, sheds, or stalls, for hiring a pig breeder, to buy a domestic animal, or to tide one over a crop failure. A group may be organised for the specific purpose of enabling each member, during the life of the loan group, to purchase a small pig.

Women may have their own groups. In Hanashiro the only group known to me was composed of women. Again, assume twenty members who advance Y100 each, a total of Y2000 initially, and who have agreed upon an interest rate of Y10 per month on each Y100 borrowed. The life of the group is twenty months. The progress of the loans and monthly repayments is shown in the following table. It illustrates the continuous turning in of principal and interest payments to furnish capital for new loans. The multiplications in parentheses show the number of members times the amount involved per member in each transaction. In Hanashiro, there are three of these women's groups. This is said to be a decline from the pre-war number. [562]

In Matsuda these groups are not important in financing the farmer. It is estimated that there are five groups, with 15-20 members each, operating in Matsuda. Bidding may be dispensed with, the interest is divided among the borrowers and not turned back for further loans, and the sequence of borrowers is determined either by discussion or by lot. These were Y500 groups, higher monthly advances than in Hanashiro, but the principle is the same.

The limited use of these mutual loan groups in the agricultural villages may be temporary, and may not be typical of all Okinawa. According to residents of Hanashiro and Matsuda, they were not widely used before the war. They have now further declined in importance except in Hinatogawa. It is rather difficult to account for this, considering the need for money and the reluctance of villagers to go to banks and institutions for loans. The fear of red tape and entertainment costs is the chief deterrent to institutional borrowing. Perhaps the failure is merely indicative of insufficient money to lend, and inability to repay what is borrowed. Farmers have little money to advance, little surplus to repay loans from others. [934] [953]

436 175 no native money and used the Japanese cash, and that the Japanese did not permit a native coinage.[2]

436 Up to the war, only bills of low denominations circulated in the villages. In Minatogawa, an old lady, now about 73, said that before the war she had never seen a Y100 note, which at that time was worth slightly over US$25. But since the 19th century, new conditions have pried the farmer loose from barter and self-sufficiency. 434 511 There is little to warrant a belief that rural villages are self-sufficient. The most elementary obligations, such as sending one's children to school, require cash. An average rural family of five may require from Y40-60,000 a year.

Cash outlays include: (1) Entertainment, including the purchase [574] of sake. Entertainment is an integral part of the culture and cannot be dismissed as a luxury. (2) Clothing. (3) Fertilizer. (4) Tobacco. [388] (5) Soap. No soap is made in the home. American soap flakes are highly prized, but generally are not purchased because of the cost. (6) Hair cutting. (7) Food and food supplements, such as noodles [262] and vermicelli types of paste, cooking oils, salt, soy sauce, meat, fish, seaweed (kombu), rice, if not grown and purchases from the import store. (8) Fuel, charcoal, charcoal sticks. (9) Transportation for business or pleasure. (10) Newspapers. Many subscriptions are can- [204] celled when the price goes up. (11) Tools and tool repairs, but maintenance is small after the original investment. (12) School books and [872] contributions to schools for purchasing special items. (13) Medicines and mid-wives' fees. (14) Occasional purchases of lumber, stone, or [651] tile. (15) Taxes.

434 In the farming areas, sugar and pigs are the only significant sources of cash income. Sweet potatoes, rice, eggs, and soy beans may be sold, but the amounts are either too small or the selling price too low to provide substantial amounts of cash. Occasionally younger sons may have jobs which bring in money, and a farmer or his sons may have a horse cart for hire.

In Minatogawa, cash outlays, in addition to the items already mentioned, are required for nets, gasoline, and oil. Cash comes from sales of fish, pigs, and stone. The lack of rice, an insufficient [511] sweet potato crop for year round needs, imports of firewood from the north and the occasional need to purchase grasses for thatch make this community more dependent on cash than the agricultural community.

434 511 184 The economic problem of the fisherman is also different from that of the farmer. Both the farmer and the fisherman must pay cash for medicines, fertiliser, alcoholic drinks, clothing, various special but traditional articles of the diet, taxes, tools, and supplies. The farmer, however, can produce much of his food. He can exist on sweet potatoes, bean curd, and bean paste soup, and if need be may spend little money on food. The fisherman cannot exist on fish alone. Fishermen without fields must depend on cash earnings to buy the

2 Hawks, Perry's expediti , to Japan, Vol. I, 160, 220-21. Chamberlain, The Luchu islands and their inhabitants, Geo. Journal 5 (1895), 313.

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necessities of life. Fishermen are more accustomed to dealing in currency transactions and these are more frequent and freer than in the farming village.

The economic history of the average Okinawan agricultural village from the late 19th century when Japanese control became firm to the present is largely an account of the fluctuations in rice, sweet potato and sugar cane production. This history is difficult to reconstruct on a local level because of the destruction of records and inexact memories. The point is nevertheless worth making, if only to stress again that these villages are not isolated rural economies. The general experience seems to have been that crop acreages have contracted and expanded in response to local needs and to the demands of trade with Japan.

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In the Hanashiro area, to use one example, there is a current interest in rice production because of its high value, and sugar cane seems to be displacing some sweet potato acreage. Sugar, even though coarse and unrefined, has a market in Japan strong enough to warrant production for the cash income at the expense of the cheap and plentiful sweet potato.

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One of the most significant facts of economic life in these villages has been the maintenance of individual farms and crop variety. Plantation monoculture, subject to international price fluctuations, and often conducive to local impoverishment, has not developed.

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Private ownership in land, the inheritance of land within the family system, individual farms, tiny as they are, have undoubtedly been a stabilising influence on these village economies.

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1

The Okinawan Midwife

Children are born under the care of a midwife (sanba). Physicians do not attend at birth, but they may be called later if complications develop. Native doctors (yabu), who have now largely disappeared, are not consulted. One midwife may serve several villages. She is engaged some months before the expected birth. Midwives are highly respected. The older ones have added to their initial training a wealth of knowledge based on experience. A midwife in Ginosa village takes care of the expectant mothers of Hatsuda and one in Gushichan village serves those of Hanashiro and Minatogawa. Midwives long resident in an area are beloved by the children they have delivered. The children when adult visit her, or she is invited to the homes of those at whose birth she has assisted. 844 [159] [554] [574]

Prenatal examinations are made by the midwife in the 3rd, 5th, 7th, and 9th month of pregnancy, the most thorough of those being the last three. The mother goes to the midwife for the examinations, but the birth takes place in the home. A birth other than in one's home is considered bad luck. [843] [777]

Starting with the 5th month, the belly is wrapped around with a flannel sash (a haraobi). On the 5th month, it may be 7 shaku (about 7 feet) long and about 8 inches wide; by the ninth month, a 9 shaku length is used. The sash is not needed, in one midwife's opinion, during the last month of pregnancy, but it may be left on. While the sash is worn, it is taken off three times a month for laundering. The purpose of the binding is to keep the child in its natural position and to prevent it from turning and causing an abnormal delivery. 843 292

After birth, the child may be slapped on the backside if the mother has been in labor 17 hours or more. According to one midwife, the usual labor for a first child is about 17 hours, and 7 for the second. The midwife cuts the umbilical cord and may, but not always, dispose of the afterbirth (taiban, iya in Japanese). 844

In the villages, this may be disposed of by women relatives or by the father. It is buried, following an old custom, behind the house in a place where it does not rain. In Hatsuda, women relatives wrap the placenta in a cloth and bury it, while friends, relatives, and children gather around and laugh. There are variants of this custom. In Minatogawa, the afterbirth is wrapped in a cloth and buried back of the house by the father. Neighboring children gather and laugh while this is going on. The reason for the laughing is that the new born child may always smile and be gay. In another variant, the father alone does the laughing. In all villages studied, this custom in its variants still has vitality. [184]

According to a Ginosa midwife, maternal death in child birth is unusual. Hanashiro women said the same. Miscarriages in early 165 843

843 pregnancy are also said to be rare, although miscarriages in later pregnancy up to two or three months before the birth are more numerous because of the continuing heavy work of the mother in the fields. The mother in the agricultural village normally works up to the time for
849 the birth. She eats her normal diet. After birth, the child is placed on a large comforter (futon) beside the mother.

The midwife, after delivery, goes once a day for a week to the mother's home. Her fee is not decided upon before hand, but according
[846] to custom, averages Y350 for a normal and Y500 for a difficult birth,
[965] a low fee probably enforced by the poverty and lack of cash of farm families. (In Naha corresponding fees are said to be Y1-2000).

There is no uniform way of feeding the child after birth. In
853 most cases the child is not breast fed until after the third day due to the fact that mothers have little milk at this time. The first, second, and the third days it is fed warm water with small amounts of white sugar, but this is by no means universal. Some mothers have said that they give the child the breast 4 or 5 hours after birth. In any case, the child very quickly becomes accustomed to feeding at the breast, and this continues for an indeterminate period, depending on
[862] the mother and the child. It may be for two years, or until the next child comes. In all communities studied, other arrangements are made in the unlikely event that the mother does not have milk of her own. The child may be given evaporated cow's milk or friends or relatives nurse the child. In Minatogawa, if a woman has special duties or takes a trip out of town and cannot take her child with her, she can pay to have it nursed.

843 One belief regarding pregnancy still exists among the old in the Ginoza area. If a new house is being built during the pregnancy of the woman of the house, the cap of the roof is not put on until after the birth has taken place.

2

Birth Customs and Convalescence

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844 In Minatogawa, and to a much lesser extent in Hanashiro, birth
231 customs are related to certain beliefs about the pig pen. These were
[184] not known in Hatsuda. In the two southern villages they have virtually disappeared, except among the old. According to a Hanashiro farmer's wife, the child on the day of its birth is washed, dressed in new
[189] clothes, and carried to the pig pen, which is supposed to frighten away evil spirits (bakemono).[1]
[See footnote 1, bottom of P. 257--analyst]

away evil spirits (bakemono).[1] From the pig sty the child is then taken to the kitchen, where a pot of rice has been cooking. Soot from the outside of the pot is taken up with the middle finger of the right hand and a round black spot pressed on the forehead above the bridge of the nose between the eyebrows. The reason for this could not be ascertained. 844 852

Beliefs in the power of a pig sty to ward off evil spirits are still held in Minatogawa and the customs were generally practiced up to the beginning of the war. But these beliefs were related more to celebrations following the birth of the child than to the birth itself. The elements of these beliefs seemed to be that the afterworld was close to this world. If a child were not protected, the spirits of the afterworld would steal the child and take him back. The party celebrating the birth lasted a whole week, usually starting each evening about 8 and ending at 8 the following morning. Guests stayed up all night to prevent the child from being stolen, for if anyone went to sleep, the spirit would enter. Spirits followed behind the guest and were especially dangerous after 10 at night. The spirits however were frightened by the pigs; guests arriving during the danger hours went to the pig pen first to scare off the spirit following them, before entering the house. There was no evidence, in the parties I attended, of any present observance of this custom by young parents. The week of all night parties is no longer held. 854 776 231 [572] [574] [183]

These beliefs were found in Minatogawa. Hanashiro informants had heard of such customs, but were vague about them. While their seeming absence in Hatsuda may be due to incomplete data, there may be another explanation. These beliefs may have been picked up by fishing people from other sources. [184]

One other birth custom known as jiru belongs to the recent history of the island. Jiru, as explained in Chapter V, is a fire place sunk in the floor of an Okinawan house, often in the corner of the dining room which adjoins a hall or a sleeping room, and near the kitchen. Convalescence was called jiru because mother and child warmed themselves by the device. Today convalescence may be called jiru, though it has nothing to do with the old custom, which in the literature has been referred to as "roasting." 846 [354]

1 When I discussed this and the following beliefs relating to pigs with people in Hatsuda, they ridiculed them and said there was no truth in it, implying that people in the south did not know what they were talking about. Subsequent rechecking convinced me that this was not so and that the beliefs in Minatogawa represent differences in the rural culture. 184

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Naming the Child

On the day of his birth, the child is given a name, but this is not the one it carries throughout life. The latter name, sometimes called the school name, may be given 5 days after birth, counting the date of the birth. This custom of double naming is still used in Hanashiro and Hinatogawa, though, according to local residents, it disappeared from Hatsuda ten years ago. It is hard to discover the reasons for this double naming. Perhaps the first name is a temporary one to be used for the first crucial days of the child's life. If he survives, he receives his permanent one. This name, while known to the child, is not ordinarily retained when he gets his second name. Among the very old, however, some of these first names have been retained through life.[4] In Hanashiro, young and old alike may be known by both names, but the younger are apt to use the full given name. Adults and the old are known by both names. 553 [184]

The names given on the birth day are often the occasion of laughter, as some have the same pronunciation as common names of household utensils, agricultural tools, or domestic animals. The following list was obtained in Hanashiro but the same names were equally familiar in the other villages. (1) Ushi, given to males and females. Ushi is also the word for cattle. (2) Kame, also the word for a turtle or a tortoise. (3) Tsuru, also a stork or crane. (4) Nta, given to both sexes, the Okinawan word for pig. (5) Handu, also a water barrel. (6) Kama, also a sickle. (7) Nabi, a pot.[5] 551

These are homonyms. The name is written in hiragana or katakana (the Japanese syllabaries), not with the Chinese character of its homonym. Hence it would be incorrect to say that the child is named "Cow," "Pig," "Pot," etc. [212]

In Hatsuda, up to about 30 years ago, according to one informant, if a wife gave birth to a child in the husband's absence, the eldest relative present gave the child a name of the sex opposite its own, apparently to avoid bad luck by resort to contrariety. When mothers gave birth to a child in the toilet, it was named nta or nte, apparently referring to the identity of the toilet and the pig pen. 844 553 [nn]

4 This is apparent in analyzing the family registers (koseki)

5 Other names are Tamachi (female); Umeto (female in Hanashiro); Makatu (f); Chiru (f); Taru (male and female); Jira (m); Senru (m and f but scarce); Niyo (m); Utu (f); Kanashi (f), and Kana (m and f).

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

who are less shy, can meet and enjoy one another's company under socially approved conditions. 834

The engagement (uino in Japanese, sakimui in Okinawan) varies with individuals and villages. In this respect it is like the marriage ceremony. A one year engagement period is considered long. In one instance of a formal engagement taken from Hanashiro, the young man goes to the girl's house, taking a small amount of sake with him. The parents of both principals are present. The group makes a short prayer, before the Buddhist god shelf, that the two will be a happy couple. The sake is placed on the god shelf. In Hinatogawa, the prospective groom's parents prepare a small feast, and they and the boy go to the bride's house. The food offering is put on the god shelf. The two young people promise to marry. In another variant, from Hatsuda, the boy takes a food offering and sake to the girl's house. The two eat together and promise to marry at a drink exchange (kampai) in which they alternately sip, as is the custom in Okinawa, out of the same cup. From Hatsuda there was still another variant in which the boy was not involved. His mother met the girl's mother and her female relatives in the girl's house. Sake was given to the relatives of the girl. The girl's mother agreed to give her daughter up, the boy's mother agreed that the prospective daughter-in-law would be received in his family. 584 184 [078] [082]

All these variants have this in common, that the engagement symbolizes an act that is more than the decision of two young people. It involves the families as well.

585 following the marriage, there is another ceremony, this time for relatives and perhaps a few close friends. The couple go to the bride's house where there is food and sake. This means the husband has really and finally accepted the daughter of the house and is thanking her parents for her.

But these events also are not observed uniformly. On the second day, there may be a gathering of friends and relatives, to be followed on the next day by visits of the bride, groom, and the groom's friends and relatives to the bride's home to give thanks for receiving the girl in marriage.

585 The food served at weddings depends on the economic circumstances
262 of the family. But at today's prices food which would be considered acceptable costs at least Y100 per person including sake. This feast had many extras and consisted of a buckwheat (soba) noodle soup, slices of beef and pork, eggs, tenpura, a fritter without a fish or meat filling, sweet potatoes, a vegetable salad of raw radish, green onion and sea weed shoots, bean curd, a boiled fish paste, rice cakes, and a sweet round fritter (sato tenpura) very much resembling the doughnut in taste, various cakes, and a sponge cake (kasutera).

585 The marriage ceremony is performed only when the tide is coming in,
[823] for the same reasons that were noted with the birthday celebration of the child. Marriage is a time of bounty and fulfillment, not of diminution and withdrawal.

585 There was a "very ancient" Okinawan custom, cited by Spencer on
114 the authority of Shimabuku Genkichi, the student of Okinawan history, of the bride remaining in the home of her parents even after marriage, and the husband coming to her home to spend the nights with her. This Spencer ascribed to the high economic value of the woman and the custom at the time of Spencer's writing (1931) was still said to exist in parts of the northern district (Kunigami) of Okinawa.[3] The temporary return of the wife to her home after her marriage, while the husband
[548] went to a public brothel was also an old custom.[4]

585 The preceding description of a wedding ceremony in Hatsuda may be
184 compared with one seen in Gushichan village close to Hanashiro. (Rural weddings are not so easy to see as one might think. There may be only one or two in a year in a village; when the parties are from different villages, the number in any one village is also reduced). In this

3 Spencer, as cited, 96. In my studies at Hatsuda (which is in the Kunigami district) and in visits to Oku on the extreme northern part of the island, I did not encounter any indication of the survival of this custom. But unfortunately I was unaware of their previous existence and there may well be survivals in some of the villages.

4 Simon, Beitrage zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, 97.

ceremony the set of three cups (sakazuki) was used. The go-between, a man and a close friend of the groom, poured sake into the top cup. The groom drank; the go-between then refilled the cup, giving it to the bride. The same procedure was repeated with the remaining two cups. 585 184

In this ceremony, after the san-san-kudo, the go-between dipped a pair of chopsticks into salt, putting a bit on the open palm of the bride who then put the salt in her mouth. This was repeated for the groom. The go-between then dipped his finger into a cup of water, touching first the forehead of the bride, then that of the groom.

The presentation of the newly married couple to the guests was also done in a different way. Because of his close friendship with the groom's father, the mayor of the township introduced the bridal pair to the guests. This was a tender and affectionate speech in which the mayor told of the birthplaces of the young man and his bride. He asked the guests, as friends and relatives of the new couple, to teach them how to live well together, how to make a living, and ended by asking everyone present to have a good time. The celebration, the sake drinking, the dancing following the ceremony were essentially the same as in Matsuda. A ring was not used in either ceremony. When used, it is ordinarily given to the bride, not placed on her finger as part of the ceremony. [576] [537] [301]

A custom followed in Minatogawa illustrates a variation in the preliminaries before the marriage ceremony. The groom (hanamuko) and the go-between or a friend go to the bride's home. They are given refreshments. The groom acknowledges his bride. He returns to his home to await her coming. This may take some time if the tide is not right. Before the war children from 7 to 10 years of age carried long lanterns (chōchin) with candles to light the way for the bride, as she walked to the groom's house. Each child carried two lanterns, which they held very tightly, as it was considered bad luck for them to change from one hand to the other. The lanterns have now been abandoned (when the ceremony is performed) in favor of flashlights, in another triumph of the Industrial Revolution. But the children enjoyed participating because they were given small amounts of money and food. [857] [416] [177]

In the Minatogawa custom, everyone stepped over the threshhold. Even now, if houses do not have one, a long step is made from the outer stone or ground into the room. Among the guests, there is usually a jokester who humorously announces in a loud voice the arrival of the bride.

In Minatogawa, the groom's family presents a gift of about Y5-6000 to the bride's family. (This family would have to be in moderate circumstances to do this). Gifts from the guests are from Y20-40. The groom's friends may give money to the groom's parents to defray the heavy expenses of the banquet, and the girl's friends give money to her, presumably for the purchase of wedding articles. [431]

There is one further variation in a custom from Hanashiro. On

585 the day of the wedding ceremony, preparations are made at the
● 184 bride's home. Food is served for relatives and friends, and the party then proceeds to the groom's home for the ceremony.

[431] Gifts from the groom's family depend upon economic circumstances, but usually range from Y50 to Y100 up to Y1000. In Hanashiro, something, no matter how small, is always given by the groom's family to the bride's family. Since the war, gifts of chests of drawers and blankets are less common because of high prices.

On the third day, in this Hanashiro custom, the bride and the groom with relatives and friends visit the bride's parents during the day. On the same evening, the visit is returned by the bride's family.

585 There is a general agreement in all the villages that as a con-
178 sequence of the war, the preliminaries to marriage, the ceremony, the gifts, and the events following the ceremony have become simpler.
727 Part of this is due to the high cost of food and entertainment. In the competition with other ceremonies and celebrations, the tendency
435 has been, in the interest of economy, to simplify the old customs, or when this is not possible, to combine celebrations coming close together in the year. One frequently hears the word keisai (economy) used in this connection.

3

Contemporary Attitudes Toward Marriage

58 Marriage customs today are different from those of even 20 years
178 ago. From information collected from the villages, the chief changes in marriage customs have been: (1) the preliminaries and the ceremony have been simplified, (2) marriage takes place at a much older age, (3) marriages between individuals of different villages are more common, (4) there is a shorter engagement period and its significance has declined, (5) the custom in which the bride temporarily returns to her home has disappeared or become rare, (6) the go-between, formerly a respected elder negotiating a marriage, is now a friend, generally the same age as the principals, offering help and advice, and (7) the arranged marriage has given way to freer choice in marriage in which the parents' consent has become largely a formality.

581 Judging by the statements of residents of all villages, many of
582 whom were married under the old arrangement, there is almost universal approval of free choice in marriage. Divorces were said to have been
[586] common under the old system, mainly because of the wife's barrenness or unattractiveness. The chances that the marriage will be a happy one are
[562] thought to be greater under the new. Among women, it harmonises with
[199] ideas of equality which they have heard of or read about in Japanese magazines since the occupation.

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184 bride's home. Food is served for relatives and friends, and the party then proceeds to the groom's home for the ceremony.

Gifts from the groom's family depend upon economic circumstances,
[431] but usually range from Y50 to Y100 up to Y1000. In Hanashiro, something, no matter how small, is always given by the groom's family to the bride's family. Since the war, gifts of chests of drawers and blankets are less common because of high prices.

On the third day, in this Hanashiro custom, the bride and the groom with relatives and friends visit the bride's parents during the day. On the same evening, the visit is returned by the bride's family.

585 There is a general agreement in all the villages that as a con-
178 sequence of the war, the preliminaries to marriage, the ceremony, the gifts, and the events following the ceremony have become simpler.
727 Part of this is due to the high cost of food and entertainment. In the competition with other ceremonies and celebrations, the tendency
435 has been, in the interest of economy, to simplify the old customs, or when this is not possible, to combine celebrations coming close together in the year. One frequently hears the word keizai (economy) used in this connection.

3

Contemporary Attitudes Toward Marriage

58 Marriage customs today are different from those of even 20 years
178 ago. From information collected from the villages, the chief changes in marriage customs have been: (1) the preliminaries and the ceremony have been simplified, (2) marriage takes place at a much older age, (3) marriages between individuals of different villages are more common, (4) there is a shorter engagement period and its significance has declined, (5) the custom in which the bride temporarily returns to her home has disappeared or become rare, (6) the go-between, formerly a respected elder negotiating a marriage, is now a friend, generally the same age as the principals, offering help and advice, and (7) the arranged marriage has given way to freer choice in marriage in which the parents' consent has become largely a formality.

581 Judging by the statements of residents of all villages, many of
582 whom were married under the old arrangement, there is almost universal approval of free choice in marriage. Divorces were said to have been
[586] common under the old system, mainly because of the wife's barrenness or unattractiveness. The chances that the marriage will be a happy one are
[562] thought to be greater under the new. Among women, it harmonizes with
[199] ideas of equality which they have heard of or read about in Japanese magazines since the occupation.

848 [727] [160] war.[5] The reasons given by the villagers are the increase in the number of widows and the present disproportion between young men and young women in the marrying ages.

One cannot generalize about attitudes toward illegitimacy. In two of the communities, Hinatogawa and Matsuda, my impression was that there had been a change from disapproval to tolerance. The current reaction was often described in the famous Japanese phrase which covers thousands of situations: shi kata ga nai ("It can't be helped"). In Hanashiro, opinion seemed much stronger [837] [184] against extra-marital relations and having an illegitimate child. One housewife said that any married woman or single woman who has an illegitimate child is dirty (kitanai). This was not so much a moral condemnation as the notion that she was unclean. Such a woman is spoken to but is not liked. There is also the problem that in the family system there is no place for an illegitimate child, unacknowledged by the father, except to grow up in the household of his mother. There is no public concealment. The village family register has the shiseiji entry for any illegitimate child--and some of them are now very old men.

5 These and the following statements are necessarily qualitative as statistics were not available. Illegitimacy here refers to Okinawan parents. To my knowledge, in these villages, there were no children whose fathers had been members of the occupying force. Some apparent illegitimacy may occur when the marriage is recorded after the birth of a child (a common practice) and the register is not corrected. For this reason, it was difficult to evaluate the illegitimate entries in the family registers.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

The Daily Diet

There is little variation in the basic diet in any of the villages. Among individual families, the chief difference is in the proportion of sweet potatoes to rice; this depends on economic status and the possession of rice fields, the poorer the family, the greater the reliance on the sweet potato. Except for seasonal foods, the diet is uniform throughout the year. Neither is there much variation in the three meals. The basic foods are: 262 [511] 262

For breakfast: A soup made out of hot water and bean paste, perhaps with bits of fish or meat added, sweet potatoes, and tea. 264 272

For lunch: Rice or sweet potatoes, raw, boiled or fried vegetables, and tea.

For dinner: Bean paste soup, rice if possible, or sweet potatoes, bean curd, and tea.

The foods which supplement these basic items are: (1) Fresh fish in season, uncommon for the reasons given in Chapter X. Imported dried sardines and canned fish from Japan are more common in agricultural villages than fresh fish. Even in Hinatogawa, fresh fish is scarce when the catch is light. In summer, the fish is too valuable to eat and only unsold fish is eaten. (2) In Matsuda village, rice and pork are more frequently eaten than in the two southern villages. Rice and pork consumption is indicative of a higher standard of living. Many families have rice twice a day. Beef may be boiled, and with vegetables added, made into a soup. In the winter, the Japanese dish sukiyaki may be eaten, but the meat in this dish is often meagre. 262 [184] [511] [252]

There are many occasional foods or side dishes of which the following are the most common: (1) bean curd (tōfu). This is made at home by women. (2) Taro (sato imo) boiled and eaten as a side dish. (3) A sweet or unsweetened fritter (tenpura). Japanese tenpura usually is shrimp or other fish fried in batter. Okinawan tenpura may or may not have a filling. Frequently the filling is a paste of brown sugar, or a slice of sweet potato. At celebrations, they may have a meat or a fish filler. (4) The rice cake (mochi) made of glutinous rice (mochigome). (5) Buckwheat paste (soba), and (6) noodles (sōmen). These are fairly cheap and are always purchased. (7) Bread (pan). This is a slightly sweetened large bun, normally with a little jam or jelly filler. The bun is baked in the large towns and distributed generally by boys on bicycles to the village stores. (8) Boiled or pickled radishes, boiled pumpkin cut in small squares and served with a piece of fish or meat. (9) Onion tops and spinach boiled with a seasoning of fish, chicken, or beef. (10) Various vegetables in season. 262 252

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

Introduction

The study of religious ideas in Okinawa quickly involves one in a quagmire of beliefs, formal observances, and conventions, of various origins, often grafted on one another, so that it is almost impossible to disentangle them. There is a vagueness among the people, a lack of distinctions among various types of belief, and this makes the analysis even more uncertain and subject to error. When after death, for example, does the deceased become a god (hotoke-sama) in the Buddhist pantheon? At the end of the 49th day when the temporary white tablets are burned and replaced by the permanent red ones? Or at the end of the 33rd year when the dead person is no longer mourned, and the anniversary of his death no longer observed? And is he regarded as a god in the Buddhist pantheon or simply as a god? I was unable to find satisfactory answers to these questions. 771 128

Religious beliefs, such as ancestor worship, are closely related to the underlying ideas of the family system. Praying to the ancestors at the god shelf ties Buddhism in with the family system, but worship at the Buddhist alter and the god shelf would, if accepted at its face value, give an erroneous idea of the vitality of Buddhism and the degree to which it has become a religion of the people.

The student of these matters must also make certain that this vagueness and mixing of religious belief is an actuality and does not arise out of faulty comprehension. I became convinced, however, that the vagueness, the compounding of beliefs from different sources, the uncertainty are realities, and this point of view was later reinforced in reading the works of students of an earlier age.

There is a noticeably sharp cleavage in belief between the old and the young, with the dividing line around the age of 55. Furthermore, among the old, it is the women who believe and worship. The old men are much less serious, and, except for the few antiquarians, are much more poorly informed. 771 184

2

Contemporary Religious Beliefs

The religious tradition of Okinawa is a feminine one. Women appear in the creation myth as the practitioners of religion. The priestess (noro) system became an institutionalized religion in the early 16th century. From that time until the very recent past, the priestesses have been strong and influential because, for one thing, they had property and the economic power that accompanied its possession. These priestesses have now largely disappeared. But women remain the chief repositories of religious knowledge and belief. 771 [773] [793] [562]

778 One person in front fills in the head and forelegs, another in back
796 provides the rear and hindlegs. The lion, with its human mechanism,
is a common sight at festivals and parades. It is a symbol of health
536 and strength worthy of imitation). In the Festival of the Full Moon,
825 during the autumnal equinox, the lion appears again and the whole village participates in prayers before the festivities begin.

778 On the 1st and 15th of each lunar month, the headman goes to the
796 place of the guardian god and makes an offering of tea, burns a charcoal stick, and says a prayer. On the 9th day of the 9th lunar month, the
[764] village council and the elders assemble before the village burial palanquin (gan), offer prayer at the founder's site and then before the
[825] village office where the lion is standing.

Minatogawa. This village has three deity places and various explanations are given for this. Some believe that two of them represent
778 sites of co-founders, a first son, and his younger brother, the second
776 son. The third site is vaguely known as a village god place. It is a small outdoor place of worship on the main village road, with a step and a shelf for charcoal sticks. The founders' sites are located in the center of the settled area, but on different sides of the road. In the site of the second son, there are three stones, shaped like life savers but with a bottom for placing the charcoal sticks, three glasses for tea, and three bottles. The site of the supposed first son, less well kept, has a small altar, four stones, tea cups, and cans for the burning of incense.

778 On New Year and at O-Bon, the whole, or substantial portions, of
796 the village pray first at the supposed first son's site, then at the second son's. Prayers are offered also at the roadside deity place.
[782] Some of the younger villagers hope that as the older residents die off,
[358] the expenses of providing offerings and upkeep for all three can be eliminated and that simpler observances can take place at the roadside shrine. The situation now is complicated by the fact that many people regard themselves as descendants of one or the other co-founder.

778 Matsuda. In this village, the founder's site is reached by stairs
leading up a hillside. It is in the settled area near a dense growth
● 189 of trees and shrubs. Close by there is a shed in which the lion skin
is kept. In this village the founder's site seemed less important than
[093] another religious place, on the main road, in which women of lesser rank in the former priestess system participate in ceremonies. In this village there seems to be less participation by all the people of the village at the place of the guardian or founder deity, and, instead, representatives, like the headman, elders, and the former priestesses
[096] conduct the ceremonies at New Year, O-Bon, and at the equinoctial holidays.

The group sat in a circle. The priestess occupied the highest spot, her female assistants somewhat lower places, and the men, for once, in the lowest position. The priestess, her women and the male entourage held public worship on the 15th day of the 5th, the 15th and 16th day of the 6th, and the 10th day of the 8th lunar months. On these days there were prayers for good crops, for freedom from disasters and typhoon damage. On the 10th day of the 8th month, there were special prayers that neither diseases nor epidemics enter Hatsuda. These three periods may be rest days on which the villagers may assemble at the place where the prayers are being offered. Because there is no priestess, these ceremonies are now conducted by former assistants. The meetings are attended by fewer and fewer people and the ceremonies may disappear altogether. 793 796 [782]

6

Gods of the Fire, Wells, and Sacred Groves

There are also other forms of worship which still survive. These are (1) the god of fire (hi no kami), (2) spirits of the sea, of wells, springs, and groves, and (3) types of fortune telling which blend into religious belief. 776 [787]

Gods of the Fire. In every Okinawan kitchen, there is a place above the stove or hearth dedicated to the kitchen or the fire god. There is no image or personification of the god. Usually the place is a very small shelf on which charcoal sticks are burned for the god of the hearth. This is done by women exclusively. The women may light the sticks daily, but it is more usual for the housewife to perform the observance on the 1st and 15th of the lunar month. This was true of all the villages, and I have never seen a kitchen which lacked a place for the fire god.[7] 776 778 372 782 [562]

Gods of the Well (ido no kami). In Hanashiro, prayers are offered in front of the two public wells on lunar New Year. The whole village does not participate. Two or three older men from each extended family perform the rite. The gods of the well are told that the villagers need water; they are thanked for what they have had, and asked to continue to furnish a plentiful supply. 776 778 796

7 The Shinto god shelf (kamidana) is extremely rare. In my observation, it was present only in the homes of Okinawans who had lived in Japan. One in Hatsuda, located in the first room, had two shelves, on both of which a small urn for burning incense sticks was placed between two flower vases. The place on the left represents the founder, the one on the right, his immediate descendant. The family prays to the Shinto god on the 1st and 15th of the lunar month. The husband and wife pray first, followed by the children. A rice offering is placed on the shelf. On it there was a small figurine of the fox god (inari-san) and a mirror, both Shinto symbols. 177 184

trees of the sacred grove and used old beliefs to preserve the forests. Formerly it was believed that misfortune would come to him who cut a tree in groves sacred to these gods. If the trees were cut, the god would become angry, the person cutting the tree would be the victim of self-induced illness and by worrying about his deed, gradually would become ill, and perhaps die. These sacred groves, whose religious significance is now almost ignored, are arranged to enclose the village from three directions, with the open side on the south. On the north was the sacred grove in the back (ushiro no utaki) or the grove of the white gold mountain (kinpuku utaki in Okinawan). The mountain gods were supposed to live here. On the west was the grove in front (mae no utaki) on the white silver mountain. This was also known as the fire shrine. 784 778 185 778 823 [176]

The priestesses also had a hand in this worship of the mountain gods. There are about seven of these places of worship now, and there is still a voluntary caretaker, an old woman with tattooed hands, a family priestess (nigami) in the old system. Occasionally one sees an old woman going to a grove to pray. The only other visitors are the farmers who walk along the paths of the grove on their way to the fields. 778 793

7

Other Religious Observances

There are a few other observations which may have some interest. Old women use patches of grass or knotted rice straw to ward off the spirits on days when they are thought to be abroad in great numbers. At the festival of the autumnal equinox, knotted or braided grass (shiba) is placed in various parts of the house. In some houses, bunches are suspended from the cross beams, perhaps three or four bunches to the side. They may be placed in the toilet, at the entrance to the house compound, on the water barrel in the kitchen, on the front and back of fishing boats, or in the interior of the house. Blades of miscanthus grass may be tied around the neck of a bean paste jug (misogami). Spirits, plentiful at this time, are frightened away by the patches of grass and will not enter. The young, while not believing in this, acquiesce to avoid making the old angry. 789 824 [184]

When a death anniversary is being celebrated, there may be a blade of miscanthus, a rice straw, or a knotted blade of grass on the top of a box of candies or sweet meats to prevent the intrusion of evil spirits. A blade of grass (the san) is occasionally tied around the handle of a tea pot. For the first week after a family death, tea is served from a pot which has this blade of grass. But these are almost invariably the observances of the old and are only infrequently seen. These customs, observed in Hinatogawa, are said to survive among the very old in the other villages. [769] [176] [184]

In Matsuda, a rice rope (shimenawa) was observed at one home. The rice rope, a Shinto symbol, is not common in Okinawan culture. This [177] [189]

789 rope was hung across the entrance of the family compound two times
824 a year, on the 9th day of the 8th month, and on the 8th day of the 12th month. Along the rope, there were knotted blades of grass, also the san plant. The purpose is to frighten away evil spirits and evil doers. One peculiarity of this twisted rice rope is that
283 it is made in a different manner from the ordinary rope. The usual rope is a twist made by rolling the fibre between the palms to the right or away from the body. In this special rope, the roll is reversed and is to the left or toward the body. It is difficult for a person already skilled in the regular method. This villager told of going to two noro
[193] priestesses in the village of Yabu who specialized in teaching this method of making ropes. The husband and the wife received instruction, paying about Y40 for it because the wife believed in the efficacy of the practice. Each year at the proper times, the husband now makes the special rope himself.

787 Some fortune telling practices shade into religious beliefs,
791 just as religious customs have also included soothsaying and divination. The noros and the Buddhist priests formerly practiced some fortune
184 telling. There were no fortune tellers in any of the villages studied, but villagers occasionally consult them. Here, too, the patronage comes largely from the old and from the women. Younger people, if they know about them, regard these practices as superstitions unworthy of belief. The word meishin (superstition) is frequently heard among the young in describing customs and beliefs of the old. The sign of the fortune
791 teller (sanjinsō) is the Chinese character for three written three
[212] times. These characters are said to signify the three states of existence, pre-natal, the present, and the afterlife, on all of which the fortune teller is well versed. Those in Hanashiro and Hinatogawa who wish to consult a fortune teller go to Itoman; those in Hatsuda go to Nago. The cost is usually from Y40-50 a visit. Typical reasons for a consultation with a fortune teller are: (1) to find out if an ill person will become well, (2) among the fishermen, to find out if the fisherman will return when an unexpected storm has arisen, (3) to discover if a present unhappiness has been caused by the evil deed of an ancestor and if this can be corrected, and (4) to find out the lucky days for such undertakings as marriages, building a house, or beginning new phases of construction.

782 Old women may utter a prayer on seeing a child fall, fearing that
774 the child's spirit might escape because of surprise or fright. (This was observed in Hinatogawa).

778 In Hatsuda, there were shelves for burning charcoal sticks in some of the numerous caves in the area. The nature of the worship could not be ascertained, but they may be offerings to deities of the cave.

514 Worship and prayers in the toilet seem to have completely dis-
[776] appeared. There were no personified toilet gods. The toilet apparently
782 was the place in which thanks were given that a place for excrement had been provided. In all the villages, it was said to be an old belief
778 which has now died out. There was no shelf or special place of worship in the Toilet.

system and by the public life which they lead. There is a blending and shading of the private life of the home with the public life of the lanes, the shops, and the homes of others. The process is so subtle that one can live among them and be unaware of it. But children do more than grow up. They grow and reach maturity impressed with their duties and obligations. It is this cultural environment, rather than single element explanations such as breast feeding, which in my opinion accounts for the politeness, the essential gentleness, and the sense of security of the people. These characteristics can best be understood by knowing history, by knowing how people live within a family, how families live together, what these groups of families do to their arable land, their plants, their stones, their trees, and their forested and wild land, and how the private life of an individual or a family blends in with the wider public experience of the community. 156 [155]

The recent war has been a powerful agent of cultural change in Okinawa. The destruction of the south, the comparative well-being of the north have equalized the roles of the two great divisions of the island, and the north is no longer a rustic hinterland. The years of military service in the Japanese army interfered with the transmission of the traditional culture from the old to the young. One of the striking aspects is the differences in types of information possessed by the old and the young. Men fifty years or over speak of things of which younger men and women have never heard. What is part of one man's culture is foreign to the other. 727 178 184

Before the war success in transmitting the traditional culture to the young depended to a great extent on the hierarchy of the family system and its scale of values. Women were subordinated to men and the younger deferred to the elder. Obedience of children and acknowledgment of parental leadership were said to characterize the pre-war society. In many ways, all these things still do. But there are indications of a growing dependence of the older on the advice and knowledge of the young. [867] [593]

The war and its aftermath produced conditions favorable to the leadership of younger people, especially younger men. It was easy for them to drive trucks. It was no chore to become acquainted with Americans and adapt themselves to their ways. They could learn, and comprehend more easily, some of the Western concepts implicit in governmental change. A twenty year old is not impressed with skill at typing. A sixty year old person looks upon this skill with a certain wonder. [177]

The destruction of pre-war housing and its replacement by inferior makeshift housing have had an unsettling effect on village life. Sleeping habits and living arrangements were disrupted. The destruction even affected the use of rainwater coming from the drains on the tile roofs. It converted villages with their houses and an occasional garden into a camp-like atmosphere. [362]

The post-war repatriation often brought to villagers a more personal awareness of the outside world. Those who returned, especially from the non-Oriental countries, created an atmosphere congenial to change. [167] [177]

727 In the post-war period also roads have increased, and they
178 have been widened. More vehicles are on the roads. One can travel
through the villages of Okinawa over widened roads which before the
184 war probably differed little from those described by Captain Hall
in 1816 and by his grandson Basil Hall Chamberlain in 1895. This
[491] extension of the highway system has increased the mobility of Okinawans.
[484] Perhaps ultimately the cultural differences among villages will give way
to wider uniformity induced by these innovations.

There is something enthralling in reading the chapters on "Lew Chew"
119 in Francis Hawks' Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to
the China Seas and Japan, which he compiled from the notes and journals
178 of Commodore Perry, and the pages of Bayard Taylor's work, along with
Okinawa, The Last Battle, which the Historical Division of the Department
of the Army published in 1948. These give some measure of the change
that has been brought about not only in the Great Loo Choo but in the
world.

It has been my purpose here to tell part of the remaining, the
121 contemporary story of the people whose islands early ethnologists were
so fond of referring to as an anthropological museum.

The End

home country. Nevertheless, many aspects of Okinawan life still suggest an earlier phase in which independent developments gave the islands their own particular culture. 105 175 177 648

The Okinawan people, approximately 655,000 as counted in 1954, live in an area of about 454 square miles. Their major economic activities have traditionally been agriculture and fishing. In 1945 a long, peaceful existence was brought to an abrupt end during the final battles of World War II in the Pacific. As a result of world conditions Okinawans have been placed under American administration for an indefinite period of time. Today large numbers of men—and some women—find employment as unskilled and semiskilled laborers with the American forces. Gradual training for highly skilled jobs widens these opportunities for employment. Indirectly Okinawan life is influenced by Americans through stimulation of trade, building, and improved health conditions. Land requirements of the American forces in some areas also have influenced the settlement pattern. While these changes have affected the entire island to some degree, the greatest changes are noticeable in the central part around Naha where American administrative and military personnel are located. The village of Taira in the northern province of Kunigami, where the present study was located, had been subject to relatively few of these postwar changes in 1954. Isolated since earliest times because of mountainous terrain, this part of the island participates, as it probably always did, marginally in cultural influences which affect the center of the island. A great deal of cultural stability has therefore been preserved until the present day. 105 177 648 [161] [131] [464] [101] [184]

Nevertheless, it is useful to remember that the population of northern Okinawa is linked with the rest of the island by an efficient communications system. Roads connect almost all settlements in the north with the central island, and a bus transportation system extends its service into the remote areas. But long before all villages were connected by road with the center of Okinawa, people of Kunigami province traveled by foot over the many trails which traverse the mountains, and, since the turn of the century, many have left their home villages. Some went to Japan as laborers; others settled in the Japanese-controlled Islands of the Pacific, and some families joined the numerous Okinawan settlements in South American countries. 105 491 [494] [484] [487] [167]

LANGUAGE

Taira people are bilingual. Okinawan, which linguists consider a separate language, has many regional dialects, some of which are not 197 191

855 ends swinging in the air, and dropping the huge knife in a careless
857 fashion on the floor near her. Suddenly there was the sound of a crying baby and her eldest girl appeared with the 8-month-old on her back.
[285] Unstrapping the baby, the girl plopped her onto her mother's lap. Instinctively the mother pushed the basket, bamboo slats, and knife away as she unbuttoned her blouse to nurse the baby. When the baby had had its fill, the mother called to the little caretaker to come and carry her. The older child called out that she was going to get a drink of water and disappeared around the house. She entered through the back and called to the baby to come. The baby crawled over but was attracted on the way by the big knife. Instantly the mother snatched it away, and the baby started to move toward the sharp pieces of bamboo. In desperation the mother picked up the baby and called crossly to the girl to come immediately. The older child obeyed, and the baby was strapped onto her back. "Now go and play somewhere," instructed the annoyed mother.

855 Another instance of similar nature took place in the frontyard of a
863 place which that day was the scene of "house playing." A grandmother watching the activity decided to let the year-old baby on her back down to join in the play. "Eh, go and play with your older sisters," she smiled and said to the child as she put her gently down on the ground. The child started to crawl over to the group but stopped and sat very quietly staring ahead for a minute. The grandmother, who had disappeared into the house, reappeared. "A-yah!" she exclaimed as she looked down to see the baby scratching the damp earth about her. The baby had urinated and was puddling about so that in that brief instant she had thoroughly soiled herself as well as her clothing. Grumbling and scolding, "Dirty, dirty!" she picked up and carried at arm's length the baby, who was smiling and gurgling. The old woman cleaned the baby at the water barrel and, dressing her in clean clothes, promptly put her on her back again.

855 The only children who were allowed to crawl about were the sons
● 184 of two fishermen. Fishermen's wives, compared to the farmer-woodsmen's wives, have a great deal more leisure time. They buy their
462 potatoes and rice with money from the sale of fish. The men send their catch to the market via the bus, so their wives, except when they accompany a catch to the city, have only to care for the house and a pig and are free to watch their children as they crawl about.

854 In summary, the infancy period is characterized by consistent nur-
155 turance. Mothers, grandmothers, and child baby-tenders are helpful and demonstrative in their affection. That they value such behavior is further evidenced by their conscious teaching of young children to

In the houses of first sons there are family altars upon which memorial tablets of family ancestors are placed. Children from these homes are told that their deceased grandfathers are now divine beings and are watching them. In one such family a 4-year-old boy was told by his mother that, since he was naughty, the divine ancestor would punish him. She pointed to the picture of his deceased grandfather and the memorial tablets on the altar. The little boy looked up to the shelf and then to his mother. "That's only a memorial tablet," he said sneeringly. 861 778 769

Not many children are as skeptical as this 4-year-old. A hunchbacked storyteller sometimes comes to Taira. This man is a preacher for a Japanese sect which combines Japanese nationalistic teachings and concepts of proper conduct and healthful living with a belief in a supreme being. He appeals to children and reinforces the belief in the sanctioning power of God. Occasionally a Christian missionary visits the village, and the children look forward to his bible readings, which also reinforce the belief. In addition, the children of the two Christian families help to caution others, warning of divine omnipresence and knowledge. 861 776 177

Shaming and ridicule as techniques of socialization are used to a fair extent. An older child's shortcomings may frequently be compared with a younger's achievements. However, some form of verbal lashing is usually accompanied by direct physical punishment, whether it be merely a slap on the buttocks, a crack on the head, or a whipping. 861

Several mothers summed up their flexibility in handling their children by saying, "I have so many children and it seems that each one is different in some way. For some children one thing works and for others you have to think of other ways. You cannot scold this one because she is so sensitive. The boy you cannot scold because he would get so angry he would not be able to understand the wrong he did."

Nevertheless, it is important to point out that mothers in Taira, for the most part, do not spend as much time with their children as do their counterparts in a more wealthy village. Their work day is long and strenuous. They return home exhausted and impatient. During the long rainy spells, when work in the fields and mountains is impossible, mothers have to stay home more often than usual. At such times they manifest an irritability with respect to the numerous demands children make upon them that can be attributed partly to the fact that their long absence from home during a normal work day makes them forget children's cravings for attention; the loss of income during bad weather just increases their impatience. 861 462 [184] [152]

• 184

[For information on inter-community differences, see Category 621.]

105 A munchu was made up of a number
197 of households or families united through the male line, descended from a common
[619] ancestor, and sharing a common tomb. Village endogamy was an obligatory mar-
[582] riage practice and violations did not pass unpunished; in addition kin group
endogamy was a preferred practice, though not necessarily an obligatory one.
[628] Intervillage contacts and ties, consequently, were held to a minimum. These cus-
[178] toms were followed by the majority of the oldest generation now living, and
even today such practices tend to persist in rural areas. A survey in Kanegu-
[582] suku revealed that fifty percent of the marriages were between members of the
same kin group and sixty-six percent of the marriages were between residents of
[178] the same village. Such practices, to be sure, are breaking down, and this be-
comes evident when the above data are analyzed on an age basis, but in view of
the fact that these customs still prevail, though to a more limited extent than
formerly, it is not surprising that so considerable a diversity of dialects
should also be preserved.

197 Another facet of Okinawan dialect geography is the occurrence of small
621 speech-islands exhibiting dialects distinct from those of the surrounding areas.
184 These are the so called yaadui settlements founded during the 18th and 19th cen-
turies by migrants from the Naha-Shuri area; the newcomers were usually the
younger sons of gentry families seeking their livelihood in the country. Such
settlements not only enjoyed a political independence from the larger surround-
ing communities but also were never incorporated into the formal religious
system centering on the nuru priestess and unifying the rural areas. These
factors together with previously-mentioned marriage practices enabled such set-
tlements to preserve their identity. Kitazato in Kami Motobu-son serves as a
good example of this type of village, having been settled seven generations
ago by the younger sons of gentry families residing in Naha and Shuri. The
larger neighboring villages never absorbed Kitazato, and to this day it pre-
[194] serves a dialect quite distinct from theirs. The most notable contrast be-
tween them centers on the p and h sounds in the two dialects, for all p sounds
of nearby Gushiken are rendered h in Kitazato; thus, the word for "fire" is pi
in the dialect of the former and hi in the latter's.

197 Undoubtedly this dialectic diversity is decreasing as the old customs
178 die out and the isolation of the village disappears. The war uprooted many
communities and scattered their inhabitants about the island, and nearly all
villages now have a number of families new to the village since the war. New
communities like the entertainment center of Koza have no characteristic dia-
lect of their own, containing as they do a heterogeneous population recruited
from all parts of the Ryukyus. The vast improvements in roads and transporta-
tion services since the end of the war have given the people a mobility un-
dreamed of in the prewar period and have done much to destroy the isolation of
the rural areas.

192 "Uchinaaguchi" Okinawans call their dialect uchinaaguchi and themselves
[101] uchinaanchu. The terms 'Okinawago', Japanese for Okinawan
language, and 'hōgen', Japanese for dialect, are also in common usage though
the latter term is resented by some who feel that it carries the connotation
"rustic". Today all Okinawan speech contains many loan words from Japanese;
this obtains for those who know no Japanese as well as for those who are bi-
lingual. Intimate contact with Japanese coupled with this word borrowing has

601 But it is significant that
[184] the several lists collected are identical in structure, that is, they all
[177] classify relatives in the same way. Also, everywhere some Japanese terms
[172] are replacing some Okinawan terms. I shall describe the Okinawan system unchanged first and then indicate what the recent changes have been.

As in many kinship systems there is a distinction between terms used primarily in referring to relatives and terms used primarily in addressing them. And as in many societies terms of address are used for all persons older than the speaker, for unrelated persons as well as for relatives. The terms that are used in reference only, never or seldom as terms of address, are terms corresponding to each of the following: parent, child, grandparent, grandchild, uncle, aunt, sibling's child (that is, meaning both "nephew" and niece"), brother, sister, cousin. In addition there are two terms meaning "older" and "younger" and a series of terms meaning "first son", "second son", "third son", etc., which combined with the word for "woman" gives a series meaning "first daughter", "second daughter", etc. Another group of terms is used both in address and in reference, but is probably primarily terms of address; these are in address extended to non-kin, but in their basic meaning they correspond to each of the following: grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, uncle, aunt (these last two are different from those given above), older brother, older sister. To see how these terms are used let us look at each generation in turn.

The terms "grandfather" and "grandmother" are used in addressing one's parents' parents and also in addressing their brothers and sisters, that is, one's great uncles and great aunts and also non-relatives of the same generation as one's grandparents or older. (The term given above as "grandparent" is restricted to actual relatives; its basic meaning is said to be "parent's parent" but in common usage it is extended to mean ancestors above the grandparents' generation as well.) Within the brothers and sisters of one's grandparents the members of each family are further distinguished by relative age. The oldest of several brothers is "big grandfather" and the youngest "little granifather". Women classified as "grandmothers" are similarly distinguished. These distinguishing terms may also be used in reference. Non-relatives may also be referred to by such terms as "the grandfather of such-and-such a house", using the "yagō" (house name).

The terms for relatives in the parents' generation are likewise extended. Although there are both terms of reference for uncle and aunt and terms of address, the terms "father" and "mother" are (or were) frequently used when addressing the brothers and sisters of both parents and their spouses. And as with the grandparent terms, one's father's oldest brother and mother's oldest brother are both called "big father" and their oldest sisters "big mother". The wife of a "big father" is also a "big mother" and so forth. On the other hand, a parent's youngest brother and youngest sister are called "little uncle" and "little aunt", rather than "little father" or
[174] "little mother". The terms "uncle" and "aunt" are also extended to non-kin, as polite titles of address.

[171] By combining the terms "older" and "younger" with "brother" and "sister", one can express the equivalent of the four Japanese sibling terms,

858 children to be "little people". From this viewpoint the Okinawans appear to
171 regard children as being not yet quite human. Okinawan children can observe, overtly or covertly, probably a good deal more of adult life than American children can observe and Okinawan adults discuss matters in front of children that American adults would not discuss before children, yet the Okinawan adult appears to expect his children to understand far less of what is done or said than the American does. To illustrate, an Okinawan grandmother may discuss a three-year old's illegitimate origin in its presence, tease it to the point of tears by offering to give it away to the passing American, and then say nothing when it wantonly snatches and breaks something of value. The American is likely to regard the talking as a possible cause of complexes, the teasing as downright cruel, and the tolerance as intolerable lack of discipline.

Small children are free to observe all that goes on in the house and yard during their waking hours. They are not subject to any rules determining when they are to go to bed. There is hardly a formal gathering into which they cannot insinuate themselves for hand-outs. They are taken to the theatre, where they may have to be shooed off the stage by the actors themselves.
864 The only aspect of life that seems to be deliberately withheld from them is
858 sex. They are told that babies come out of their mothers' knees, and although they may overhear a good deal about the sexual relationships of different people and the difficulties that result from them, they are given no notion of the nature of sex. I will discuss this in more detail under attitudes toward sex.

858 Although children seem bold in actions, they are not bold in speech.
856 As a matter of fact they often do not respond when spoken to and seem unwilling to venture to speak at all. I make this statement not merely on the
[104] basis of my own experience as an outsider attempting to talk to them; an Okinawan friend also pointed out how different the children in the north were from those of Central and Southern Okinawa---the Northern children answered his questions when he spoke to them. Some of the children's shyness about speaking may be due to the fact that they usually speak Okinawan in the home and then have to learn Japanese in school. Moreover, they soon learn to feel
[152] that Okinawan is inferior to Japanese as a medium of polite or intellectual expression; they may be shy because they fear to speak Okinawan since it is inferior and because they fear to speak Japanese since they cannot speak it well. But I have the impression that children are also often unresponsive when an adult speaks to them in Okinawan and when the language of the answer
868 is not a factor. I believe that there is another factor that is almost in-
171 herent in the nature of both the Japanese and the Okinawan languages. When
198 speaking to children in Japanese, and also very likely when speaking in Okinawan, adults use a different form of speech than the form they use when addressing adults. Somewhat different forms of speech for children are probably used in every society; they do exist in the United States, but never to such a striking extent as in Japanese. Japanese and Okinawan both have a range of verb forms expressing several degrees of politeness or formality, and to some extent there are also levels of vocabulary corresponding to them. In speaking to a child, the adult uses the simplest verb forms, the simplest words, and then speaks not in whole sentences but rather in a series of phrases each

expected to keep to his studies and not merely to avoid the distractions of 877
adult pleasures but actually not to be interested in them. He is given spe- 882
cial considerations as a student, a place to study, quiet, and freedom from
irksome tasks. This consideration probably varies with the position of the
student in the family and with his success as a student. Boys undoubtedly [562]
get more consideration than girls, older sons than younger sons---though if
an older son has been unable to go on to school and is helping a younger
brother go on, the younger brother may get greater consideration and feel
greater responsibility. This special treatment lasts as long as the young
person is in school or as long as the family can afford not to rely on him
for economic assistance. But even the young man in university who is working
part time to keep himself in school is expected not to be interested in the
sorts of pleasures sought by younger boys who stopped their schooling much
earlier.

Today junior high school is compulsory, but the majority of students 871
go no farther. The high schools strictly limit the number of students that
they can enroll, so that many junior high graduates who would like to go on
to high school are unable to. But whether a youth stops his schooling at 884
junior high school, high school, or later, the change in treatment and atti-
tudes is the same. He "enters society". He is now expected to do an adult's
work and contribute to the family's support. At the same time he is expected
to spend his evenings with the other young men, drinking, teasing the girls,
and staying out half the night---behavior a student would have no interest
in, at least in theory.

While a youth is in school he belongs to a students' organization 877
('gakussikai'). After he leaves school he is expected to join the youth or- 575
ganization ('Seinenkai'). The present Youth Organization is the successor 883
of the pre-war, Japan-wide organization, less the militarism and jingoism. [178]
It is organized on a Ryukyu-wide basis, but local chapters make their own
constitutions, statements of aims, and so forth---probably with no great var-
iation. The aims expressed in the constitutions seen could mainly be put
under the headings intellectual and moral self-improvement and community up-
lift. Meetings are held perhaps twice a month, one being for business and
serious discussion, the other for purely social purposes. The social meet-
ings feature music played on the 'shamisen', dancing, and 'awamori'. Among
other serious business, in some communities the Youth Organization engages
in clean-up or repair projects and hires itself out for farm labor. Where
it receives pay, the funds probably generally go toward the expense of the
social meetings.

The Youth Organization takes young people of both sexes, but there
are usually more men, since women drop out at marriage while men may remain
in after marriage if they choose to, until 30, according to one rule. In [184]
the country, membership after finishing school is represented as compulsory.
In the city, however, the compulsion is lacking and many who are not inter-
ested in joining manage to stay out. But in the country few would suggest
that anyone had the right not to join. When I asked a past president of the
organization in Yamada if everyone joined, he replied to the effect, "Oh yes,
all must join, we have a rule." And he proceeded to point out the regulation

If the
584 girl's family is favorably disposed, one or both parties visit a diviner
791 (sanjinsoo, Japanese 'ekisha') to determine the compatibility of the couple (eesoo shirabi). The diviner ostensibly does this by casting horoscopes and drawing lots, but it is likely that he also gives weight to factors known to him or revealed by the persons requesting advice so that if one of the participants has strong objections to the marriage he may find reasons why it should not be. This interpretation is merely an hypothesis, but it seems probably that the decision of the diviner may thus be a useful face-saving device. Possibly for this reason the go-between seems to be of secondary importance.

After the decision has been made to unite the two families in marriage there may be a formal betrothal ceremony (ubukui). For this the prospective
[593] groom's family sends certain gifts including a sum of money to the bride's home. This money, called injoojing, corresponds to the "bride price" of some societies. Its payment is probably the most essential element in the whole procedure, since a small sum is still paid even when other formalities are dispensed with. This payment seals the agreement.

585 The wedding ceremony (niibichi, "drawing the roots") takes place at the groom's house in the evening of a day determined by the diviner. First a party goes from the groom's house to the bride's house with gifts. This party then carries the bride to the groom's house, where they are met by a
[177] welcoming party. In recent times the ceremony at the groom's house has been the Japanese 'sansankudo', exchange of drinks; the original Okinawan ceremony was somewhat different. When this has been completed the bride and groom celebrate separately each with friends and relatives of the same sex. On the following day, or whenever the celebration is over, the couple pays a formal visit to the bride's parents.

This elaborate procedure is not usual at the present time among country
[184] people. In fact, the ceremony may not occur at all; the woman may merely come
[583] to live with the man with little or no formal recognition of the change in status beyond perhaps the payment of a small bride price. The marriage has a legal existence when it is recorded in the 'koseki'. It may not be recorded immediately; often it is recorded only a little before or together with the recording of the birth of the first child. This practice obviates changing the record if the marriage is not successful.

585 But formerly among the gentry of Naha and Shuri the wedding was even
178 more elaborate than the procedure just described. Moreover, after the cere-
565 mony the groom, instead of entertaining his male relatives and friends at home, took them to a jurinuyaa where for three days and nights they were en-
[548] tertained by the juri with food, drink, music, and sex. I am acquainted with three interpretations explaining why the groom spends his wedding night with a prostitute. The first, that given by an American missionary[1] explains the practice as symbolizing the freedom of the male and demonstrating to the bride that her husband was free to find sexual gratification elsewhere. The second interpretation was one given to me by a man in his thirties, a descendant of the Shuri gentry, and a man with rather "modern" ideas. He said that

[1] The missionary Schwarz, whose work is not presently available to me.

called for 'awamori'. After a few drinks he asked in a fairly serious manner, 931
"Have you bought a woman yet during your stay? You really ought to try an 522
Okinawan woman before you go." His daughter-in-law and two half-grown sons looked on in amusement. The question is not uncommon; on another occasion it was, "Have you tasted Okinawan women?"

In common talk, and perhaps in feeling, sex seems to be identified al- 548
most wholly with prostitution and the sex act with the hiring of a juri. The 831
sight of a seed boar being led across a field evoked the comment, "That pig's a man; he's on his way to buy a woman." Perhaps the above statement should be narrowed down to something like: the pleasurable aspects of sex are identified with prostitution. And sexual pleasure, like the pleasures of eating and drinking, singing and dancing, is something that guests may be treated to. (Hence the concern that the visitor sample all the pleasures that Okinawa offers and a pride in those for which it is famous.) In view of the fact that children grow up hearing about juri and jurimuyaa and associating them with other pleasures before they have any notion of their sexual functions, it is not surprising that when they become adults they display attitudes that are different from those found among Americans.

Before the war in the Tsuji district of Naha there were about three thousand juri.[1] The district was the center of the social life of the men [565]
of the upper classes. Business men, government officials, and teachers were entertained there. No doubt all did not "buy" juri, but sex was one of the principal commodities dispensed there. Also it is unlikely that the average farmer ever went there, but the indications are that he would have if he could have. A man is expected to want these things if he can afford them. The [184]
values of the farmer are not likely to be very different from those of the better-off city man. The jurimuyaa has played an important role in Okinawa society in the past and is not likely to disappear very soon.

Maturity and Old Age: Associations Men may continue to belong to the 575
'Seinenkai' until thirty; women drop 562
out at marriage. The reason that men stay longer may be to give greater continuity to the organization and to provide older members as leaders, but in view of the recreational activities of the organization it seems as likely that the rule is merely a part of the general tendency to give more freedom to men and more responsibility to women.

Adult Associations ('Seijinkai') are said to exist in some villages 575
but are not of any great importance. Associations formed by persons of the same age ('dōnenkai') also exist. In Japan such organizations are often com- [171]
posed of persons who were in the same class in school[2]; on Okinawa the number of older persons who attended school probably does not permit the formation of very large associations. The tendency among younger persons is not very noticeabe. Younger men may organize 'shōbōkai', volunteer fire brigades; such [368]
an organization patrolled the streets of Ishikawa nightly. We did not see any evidence of the persistence of any organizations based on former military [170]
service; the Japanese Army Reservists' Association may never have been very active on Okinawa.

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1 Yanagida, 1951, p. 309.

2 Embree, 1939, p. 163ff.

that a woman can hold office today since the government has made this law, 562
but that they would never permit this to happen. In village elections only household heads are permitted to vote, and in practice only they are eligible for the village offices. If a woman is a household head (and there are eighteen in this category in Kanegusuku) she is allowed to vote, but she would never be considered for any village office. Most women would not want the job if it were available to them, for this is considered a part of the affairs of men and inconsistent with the traditional concept of woman's role of wife and mother. Women are vaguely aware that their [117] legal and political status has altered under the American military administration, and nearly all have heard stories about America where women are [829] said to be very influential, but they are not so sure that what is good for Americans will necessarily work for them.

An exception to the generally inactive role of women in political 562
affairs is found in Okinawan fishing communities. In Itoman and Henza, 184
which derive their living from fishing, shipping, and ferrying, the men 621
are away much of the time, and the women exercise considerably more control over family and financial matters than elsewhere on Okinawa. Itoman women are noted throughout the island for their independence and shrewdness in financial matters, and there is a common saying that an Itoman woman doesn't need a man if she has a house. On Henza Island the lower echelons of the village political hierarchy are completely dominated by women. The five 'hanchō' are women, each heading a political unit of about eight hundred persons, and the forty-one 'kumichō' are also women. Despite this one gets the impression that women are participating in Henza political life in the absence of the men just as they have a larger role in the management of family affairs than the women of farming villages because the absence of their men has made this a practical necessity. To date no woman has been elected to the position of 'kuchō' nor does it seem likely that one will be in the near future. Perhaps this also serves to define more clearly the real nature of the 'hanchō' and 'kumichō' as messengers for the 'kuchō' instead of as administrators, and that positions of real power are still retained by men.

5. The Political Community

The rural village constitutes a political, territorial, and social 621
unit; its membership is bound together by a common cultural heredity and shares a common experience. All the villagers have attended the same schools, cooperated in village projects, participated in community ceremonies and celebrations, and joined the same organizations. The prevailing [582] marriage practice still tends toward endogamy, and in many places they [197] speak a dialect with features distinct from that of their neighbors. National organizations serve to unite the youth, women, and farmers into their respective local groups for common action and benefit. Further integration is assured by practices of reciprocal labor exchange among the households.

The major social institutions of rural Okinawa are the family-kin 621
group and the community. Within the former there exists a strict hierarchy 542
[181]

to take registration seriously until conditions are more stable. The Central 423
Land Office in Naha appears to be almost wholly out of touch with local 647
changes; for example, the extensive land changes subsequently described for Kitazato did not appear to be known or recorded on the maps in that office.

Taxation of farm lands is a very complex matter. Land assessments 651
are made by the district land office in conjunction with village leaders; 423
consequently, there is not only some variation in grading from 'son' to 'son' but also from village to village within the same 'son'. All land is divided into six categories: 1) rice lands or irrigated fields, 2) farm land or dry fields, 3) grass land or meadow (often erroneously translated as wasteland), 4) forest, 5) house or building land, and 6) miscellaneous, including graves, ponds, etc. It will be noted that only the first two categories are food-producing. The first five categories are sub-divided into grades depending on a variety of factors such as fertility, accessibility, availability of water, etc. In Kami Motobu-son there are sixteen grades of land within the five graded categories; thus, there are five grades of rice land, five grades of dry field, two grades of grass land, two grades of forest land, and two grades of house land. The tax is computed by the tax rate per grade of category times the area in 'tsubo' (1224 'tsubo' equal one acre). In Kami Motobu-son grade one dry fields carry an annual tax of 15 'sen' per tsubo; therefore, at current exchange rates (¥120 equal $1.00) a house would pay a tax of $1.53 (¥183.60) for an acre of this grade one land.

In regard to the matter of property inheritance there is some dis- 428
satisfaction with the present laws on the part of educated Okinawans. They 829
feel that the new Japanese constitution adopted during the American Occupation should also be enacted for the Ryukyus. The constitutional reform [642]
which took place in Japan after the war did not apply to the Ryukyus; consequently, Okinawa still operates under the old Japanese civil code except for certain gross inequities which have been corrected by military government proclamation. The new Japanese law holds that all children, regardless of sex or birth order, are entitled to an equal share of the parents' estate. In contrast, the old law, which still obtains on Okinawa, grants the bulk of the estate to the first-born son. Under this law property in reality is [423]
held for the family by the first son or household head; it is not his to dispose of as he sees fit. Educated Okinawans who discussed this subject 428
with the author expressed the opinion that the old law was undemocratic in 829
giving emphasis to the family over the individual, and they felt that Okinawa should keep pace with Japan in this respect. It should be emphasized, 184
however, that these persons were not farmers; the latter, most of whom are not too well educated, tend to regard the present laws as just, since the emphasis is on preserving the continuity of the family. A further subdivision of the typical Okinawan farm into still more fragmented plots would do little to improve the prosperity of the rural areas.

511 [Kitazato]
621 the houses are the same small, poorly-built structures of thatch and scrap
735 lumber that are found on the beach. By way of contrast, the house which
[342] the author rented in Kanegusuku was the poorest and shabbiest in that vil-
[184] lage; yet, the same house in Kitazato would easily have been the best.
Shabby appearances are not limited to houses, for the people too are more poorly dressed than elsewhere on Okinawa.

Food Nearly everywhere on Okinawa the authors heard that the peo-
621 ple are eating better today than before the war; such is not the case for
511 Kitazato, and the villagers are most emphatic about this. Potatoes, beans,
262 and other vegetable products form the mainstay of their diet; often times, they say, potatoes are dug up before they are fully mature, so great is the pressure for food. It is the opinion of the local agricultural office that the people are slowly starving to death, and the villagers state that they are always hungry. The local storekeepers say that the people do not have enough money to buy canned foods to supplement their diet. Though Hama is
[226] virtually on the water the villagers do no fishing since the occupation is regarded as a foreign one; however, some shell fish are collected by the women.

Exodus of Youth One of the marked features of the village is the
621 general absence of young men and women in the fifteen to twenty-five age
511 group, for as soon as the student completes junior high school, he or she
166 heads for the city seeking employment. A number of the families in the village are said to subsist mainly on the money which their children send back. According to the mayor 61 families have left the village since the end of the war; he feels that if they had not left, things would be much worse. Most of those who left were families containing grown children who could work; the parents in some cases were reluctant to leave, but their children were anxious to leave. A slight decline in military employment in early 1954 resulted in several of these families' returning to the village, and the mayor was apprehensive lest more return.

One characteristic of the population of this village which struck
621 the author was the disproportionate number of females to males in the age
847 group under five years. In this group there were 64 males and 33 females, whereas the groups above were more nearly proportionate. Female infanticide has been a common occurrence during times of famine or under conditions of extreme poverty in Japan and China, and the authors heard several stories giving some evidence of it on Okinawa. No factual evidence of any sort was gathered by the author in Kitazato to corroborate this interpretation of the statistics; however, the fact that the permanent resettlement of the village in its present locations took place approximately six years ago in 1948 may lend some credence to this interpretation.

Attitude toward Americans The villagers' initial reaction to the
621 presence of the author in the village was one of fear and veiled hostility.
829 Gradually this was overcome, and good rapport was established. During one
[123] of his last visits to the community the author was told, "The first day you were in the village everyone wondered if the military were going to make us move again. No one slept that night." At the same time the villagers are

Although Okinawans occasionally refer to Heaven or the Gods of Heaven (J. 'Ten no kami-sama'; Okinawan U-kami-ganashii, etc.), the concept does not seem to be well defined. The clearest statement heard on the subject was the one just mentioned in connection with the Fire God. Since the dead, or some of them, rise to Heaven, the term "Gods of Heaven" may include them, but there are evidently other greater beings too. These may be identical with the figures of the native origin myth. But aside from a few enthusiasts, mainly local historians and shamans (yuta), few Okinawans seem informed about or concerned with native cosmology, or any other. This may in part be the result of a generation or so of Japanese education with educators attempting to take the Japanese mythology seriously and making Okinawan mythology jibe with it. But it is more likely that this lack of concern with Heaven is due rather to an old tendency common in East Asia to settle matters at the local level without bothering the higher authorities, in dealing with both political problems and spiritual problems. 772 [175] [176] [177] [181]

In the Okinawan universe there are also a few earthly beings with supernatural power. The akamataa is a real species of non-poisonous snake. But it is believed to be able to change itself into a handsome young man, in which form it seduces unwitting young women. One young woman who was seduced is said to have given birth to a whole tubful of baby akamataa. 776

The kijimunaa is a wholly mythical being but seems to belong more in the natural world. According to some it lives in old trees, but according to others it is a sea-being who lives on fish and shellfish and who will become the helper of a fisherman who makes friends with it. Regardless of habitat, the kijimunaa is believed to approach a sleeping person and sit on his chest, nearly suffocating him and preventing him from crying out. Apparently the being is not dangerous but merely annoying.

Another being that is feared is the tamagai or 'hidama', "fireball". This was described in Yamada as a light that appears at certain times as an omen. However, in a village in Southern Okinawa it is regarded as the cause of fire. Since it is a female being the young men of this village drive it away by forming a procession and marching through the village shouting "Hoo hai!" ("Your vulva's showing.") [787] [184] [372]

The Itoman people speak of the ja or 'ryu', the "dragon". This being lives in the sea or the clouds; its tail is the whirlwind; its feces, if one is fortunate enough to find them; are like coal tar and are a very valuable medicine. Other Okinawans seem to regard this as something only the Itoman people know about. [757] [184]

One more concept is perhaps worth mentioning; this is shiji. Certain places, the sacred hilltop of the village, etc., are said to be shiji-dakasang, "high in shiji", and therefore to be approached with respect. It is also said of persons, especially those believed to be destined to become religious practitioners. The term shiji evidently signifies a sort of supernatural power that adheres to places and people, perhaps like the Oceanian concept "mana". Haring has suggested that the Japanese concept 778 [171]

177 factors have made possible its resilience. Though the island is small, the
178 Americans and Okinawans tend to be concentrated in their own areas, and the rate of interaction is not so high as mere figures might indicate. Secondly,
[184] Okinawan culture is fairly homogeneous, hence unaffected areas tend to sus-
[186] tain other areas which might be disturbed. Thirdly, there remains a strong awareness of cultural identity, much of which is fostered by language, song,
[619] theater, dance, and religion. Fourthly, there exists a sense of belonging to a larger national entity, Japan; consequently, there is less feeling of being alone. Fifthly, despite some changes, much the same sort of educational and political systems operate today as before the war; this has provided a considerable degree of continuity. Lastly, the present administration has not been culturally repressive.

175 succeeded in shearing the noro system of much of its political power.
178 During the early part of the 18th century, there was an improvement in
642 agricultural methods and in forestry conservation, associated with the name of the statesman, Hozui Saion (1682-1761).[18] Saion was a descendant
175 of a Chinese who had settled at Kune near Naha. He is said to have
130 planted several kinds of trees, including the pine, the Japanese red-
545 wood (sugi), and the maki (in Japanese; podocarpus ssp.) Saion is well
185 remembered in Okinawa. In Matsuda, I was shown trees which were said to have been planted along the road to Ginoza during Saion's lifetime and at his inspiration. There are stories told in the forest areas like Matsuda, crediting Saion with intentionally inventing superstitions to prevent people from cutting down the trees. In 1951, a Saion commemorative stamp was issued, and his name is used frequently in forest conservation literature and in posters. Whether Saion was the medium through which agricultural techniques of Japan or China were introduced, or whether these improvements came from his own initiative and study of local conditions, I have been unable to determine. In any case, the teachings of Saion on agriculture and forestry must have reached to the rural areas, improving the agricultural possibilities and encouraging planting trees and preserving the forests, constantly subject to destruction through fire, carelessness, and merciless cutting for firewood, as has been the case in many parts of China. These improvements,
118 with the advantages from the introduction of the sweet potato one hundred years earlier, took place within the framework of a political and social and religious system that had now been well established.

5

European Awareness of the Great Loochoo

175 The Loochooans were known to the Portugese through the trade cen-
648 tering at Malacca. The Portugese explorer Pinto had visited Tanegashima around 1542. Captain Broughton had been shipwrecked on Miyako to the south in 1798. But the western exploration of Okinawa itself was reserved for later times. During the nineteenth century, the Europeans, then the Americans, became aware of the people of the Great Loochoo.

The first detailed observations based on personal contact date from the works of Captain Basil Hall, and his surgeon, William M'Leod, who

[Text continues top of p. 35--Analyst]

18 In the manuscript history reproduced by Leavenworth, there is this passage: "In the 20th year of Kyoho [1735], Hozui Saion fixed a system for the protection of forestry, and a forestry office and shipping office were established." Op. cit., 89. Saion's famous work, Eight Volumes of Forest Administration, I am told was destroyed in the war. Chamberlain, as cited, p. 310, says that Loochooan polity in the 17th century crystallized in a form it wore from then on.

The strong ties of the family system are probably the fundamental reasons for this lack of strangeness. One is a member of the family, even if in another part of the island or of the world. This sense of belonging, to be emphasized later, is not only an emotional feeling but is a basic fact of social organization. Relationships, regardless of their geographic spread, are a binding force. It is true that these become weaker with the remoter relationships of the extended family, but they are still strong enough to blunt the edge of individual frictions that might otherwise be expected. 571 [602] [156] [578]

There was a niche into which a returning person might fit, whether he was a parent, a first son, an elder brother, an uncle or niece of the head of the household. The repatriates who had been long absent were, in turn, able to make an adjustment to conditions in the island of their birth because they had continued the same social system in their foreign residence. They now had to function in a more restricted and less well endowed natural environment. Dissatisfactions took the form, as they still do, of longing for better economic opportunity which they hope will be realized through further opportunities for emigration. They make comparisons, unfavorable to Okinawa, regarding the ease of making a living in other countries. Repatriates from Japan, who have returned to Okinawan rural life, miss the cities and the more exciting life of that country. Among those who have travelled, there is also a more noticeable discontent and dissatisfaction with the loneliness of rural life. The word sabishii is often on their lips. [554] [178] [511] [156]

The ideas of the repatriated Okinawans, furthermore, are not a new phenomenon in contemporary village life. They did not bring back points of view unknown before. In the past these had been communicated by letters and rare visits to the homeland. The reports of the repatriates were richer, more detailed, and more concrete, but not completely different. They have--and this is probably one of their chief influences on post-war village life--stimulated the strong desire of the villagers to emigrate. Life is hard on the island, and their accounts of greater return for the same expenditure of work have quickened hopes of future emigration. These hopes are confined to the New World, Japan, and the Pacific islands. There is no enthusiasm for migration to other islands in the Ryukyu chain. [185] [167]

4

Attitudes Toward Birth Control

There is little in the religious belief or in the cultural tradition that would induce, in large segments of the population, a strong antipathy to birth control on religious grounds, but these beliefs and traditions are not favorable to it either. Respect for ancestors and the need for the continuance of the family system are the most important of these. It is the duty of each generation to provide this continuity between the past and the future. The links in this chain are male children. Once this 842 [602] [611]

need of succession is met, birth control measures might be accepted. There is, it is true, a widespread feeling that many children are a happiness which artificial control should not destroy. But this feeling, especially true with women, is often lost after the fourth or fifth child when mothers may dread further child bearing.[7]

In the villages studied, there is an awareness of birth control. This awareness comes from conversation and reading, the primary sources being Japanese magazines and newspapers. I did not meet anyone who admitted practicing birth control or who desired to do so. According to the informants, it is not practiced at all. There may be some instances.

But birth control methods are not widely understood, and even if they were, it is doubtful that people would use them on their own initiative. The present apathy toward birth control methods may be due to the fact that only recently has the question been of any significance. In the past economic difficulties within a family were relieved by emigration. There was thus little need to think of a limited family. On the contrary, there was pride in a family that might spread over continents.

Historically, the whole emphasis in the family system has been on a large or a medium sized, not a limited, family, and this, even today, is tied in with family pride coming from having children and grandchildren. If families have girls to begin with, the feeling is all the stronger. Though unusual, it is not unheard of to have a family of girls, and even if there are sons, there should be enough of them to take care of the hazards of death.

5

Conclusion

Among some villagers--and this seems to be independent of the degree of education--there are now more realistic appraisals of what the soil and the land can make available to a growing population and to their own children. Emigration for the time being is not possible. And, even if it were on a broad scale, it would not only have to skim off the present excess population, but take continuing care of future natural increases as well.

There were in all the villages several considerations that have influenced these appraisals. Land is insufficient, even in quantity, though in local areas such as Matsuda, it might suffice for local demands. The arable land is also poor. The poor and insufficient land,

[TEXT Continues TOP of P. 69--Analyst]

7 This dread of continual child bearing is discussed as an attitude, not as a general truth. The statement is based on conversations with men and women in each of the villages. Many women in Okinawa would not agree with this, but the attitude, I am convinced, if not a prevailing one, is at least frequent enough to be worth recording as something more than individual distaste.

311 Land appraisal made by people with long experience with the
[242] capabilities of their soils under traditional methods of farming, fertilization, and land reclamation is very old in the culture. This in itself is a very significant fact about the culture aside from the obvious technical utility of a land classification system.
[550] Land classification is important as a tangible indication of wealth
[651] as appraised by representatives of the village. This classification is the basis of taxation of land. A grade two rice paddy pays a lower tax than a grade one. The system of land classification also
[433] provides a basis for estimating probable yields.

[632] Township officials are responsible for land classification on a township basis, but each village does its own. In Gushichan township (Hanashiro and Hinatogawa) the elected mayor and his appointed subordinates and local farmers who know the land well have set up the system based on classes and grades of land. In Ginoza-son, the mayor performs a similar function. Since each village has its land classification, a table of correspondences makes possible the comparison of equivalent grades. A composite system for the township can then be made. Grade three rice land in Matsuda, for example, may be equivalent to grade two rice land in Ginoza village. By listing all these together, a village wide classification is made.

The main classifications (tōkyū) of land found in all communities are: (1) Rice lands, (ta, tambo), (2) dry crop land (hatake). It is very difficult to translate the word hatake. So far the expression dry crop land has been used. This land may be contrasted with the wet rice fields; it is dry farming land, usually on rolling slopes or upland. It is land used for cultivation of domestic plants except rice and one or two other minor crops. Rice and dry crop land are the two main classes. (3) Genya land. This word is also difficult to translate. It is variously rendered as wild or waste land, but it is neither wild nor wasteland in an economic sense. It is best described negatively as land not suited for cultivation. Despite its low value, it is important land for its production of grass, reeds, firewood and plant shoots for domestic animals. It is vital in land conservation. The genya land, sometimes on steep or gentle mountain
[185] slopes, sometimes cropping out in the midst of cultivated fields or rice paddies, with its dense growth of grass, its occasional pine tree or cycad effectively binds the soil and prevents disastrous run off and flash floods. Around the village of Hanashiro, genya land is rocky and most of its vegetation consists of grass with some shrubs. Before the war, this genya land had more pine and cycads than at present, and the disappearance of the cycad and pine furnished greater opportunity for the omnipresent miscanthus, though there are occasional regrowths of the pine. In Matsuda, the genya land often is indistinguishable from the forest. But the trees are less dense and the privately owned genya is interspersed with the small cultivated paddies and fields. (4) House sites (yashiki, takuchi). There are usually two classes: the first class site is convenient and on a main road or lane; the second class is inconvenient, a rear house, or one

The deforestation of

173 the south over a period of centuries thus is related to water spray
313 and wind damage, relationships which a wise administration cannot neglect.

121 The natural tendency is to think in terms of population and land and of the food which it can produce. But if the population is envisaged in terms of forest, the land, both cultivated and uncultivated, and the role of the uncultivated land in protecting the soil, broader understandings are possible.[9]

231 It is a significant fact, to use another example, that goats are tethered and not allowed to graze. They do not roam the hillsides, nor crop off the shoots of young plants. If they did, it is possible that legislation controlling the goat might have to be enacted such as has been done in the island of Cyprus.

311
173 It is important therefore, to ascertain how a culture makes use of its natural environment and also how it takes care of it.
185 Typhoons cannot be controlled. Neither can periods of drought which often produce water shortages, prevent the planting of sweet potatoes, or the harvesting of a good rice crop. In areas where control is possible, the Okinawans have developed conservation measures. Almost one hundred years ago, Dr. D. S. Green, Fleet Surgeon attached to the frigate Mississippi on Perry's expedition to Japan, wrote:

175
185

> "Two objects seem to influence the islanders in all their operations, viz: the retention of water or moisture, and the avoidance of surface-washing. To effect these desirable ends, especially in a rolling country, a great quantity of grading is required, besides very deep culture; and here both of these have been done."[10]

000 In the areas studied, no serious sheet erosion was observed.

[Text continues top of P. 157 -- Analyst]

9 The general ideas and points of view expressed by Edward Graham in his Natural principles of land use, London, New York, and Toronto, 1944, are pertinent here.

10 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, II, 26-27. The emphasis is in the original. Green continues with further details of grading around streams, along ravines, and on the uplands. His description today would still fit many parts of Okinawa. He was particularly impressed with the lands on a journey between Nugah (i.e., Nago) and Tanegah, southwest of Unten. His whole passage is well worth reading.

Two other forms of land conservation and maintenance, crop rotation and fertilizers, will be discussed under agriculture.

In the areas studied, no serious sheet erosion was observed

No doubt this may be a problem in parts of Okinawa, but it is doubtful that this menace will threaten the habitability of the island. Occasionally one can see a freshly hoed field on a slope that is losing its soil during a downpour. But the fact that the hills and mountains are covered with vegetation, are not too steep, and that grasses and shrubs are cut off allowing the stubble with the roots to remain in the soil effectively binds the soil of the hills and at the same time prevents flash floods. With the exception of stony soils, the land of the areas studied had a plant cover. This statement is not inconsistent with the previous remarks regarding deforestation, as the disappearance of the pine, the cycad, and the pandanus has been offset by the spread of kaya (miscanthus) grass. Boundary paths also keep the soil in place. They often roughly follow the slope and are sufficiently crooked and winding and of sufficient depth to prevent washing away of large quantities of soil. While there is no complex irrigation system in these areas, the small ditches which carry the water down the slope are winding and covered on their borders by weeds. Occasionally one can see a farmer shovelling up the soil accumulated in a natural catchment in a bend of one of these ditches and restoring the lost soil to his land.

134 133 137 185 [487] [317]

In all areas, equally simple devices to protect the soil could be observed. Roadside borders of stone, like the stone of a rock garden, often line the fields adjoining main roads. (One could write a long essay on stones and the part they play in the culture of the people). These stones come from the fields. If fields do not have stone borders, weeds are left to grow. They are cropped, but the roots are left in the soil. In Hanashiro, stone fences on slopes and contour breaks are a common sight. Sometimes these have the appearance of blunt wedges, the end of the wedge going up the ravine. These stones have been painstakingly gathered from nearby areas.

185 417

Terracing is practiced in a crude form in these areas. It really is step or bench cultivation, the plots being above one another in step like order. The function of terracing is, in the case of the dry crop land, to bring more land under cultivation, protecting it from washing away; in the case of the rice fields, it supplies flat land for cultivation at different levels. In the areas studied, terracing did not go all the way up the mountain side, although this practice can be observed in parts of Okinawa.

185 241

Very frequently the ledges of the terraces are covered with a border of weeds or cropped grass which prevent soil runoff down the hill. In the Matsuda area, rice is grown up a narrow mountain valley, or ravine, with trees and shrubbery on the hillsides growing to the very edge of the cultivated plots. In rice terracing, the boundary paths often divide one step from another with openings in the ditches to allow the passage of water to the level below.

311 Slow conversion of land to arable fields is constantly going on in situations in which the amount of labor involved is not even considered. One such activity in the Hinatogawa area is typical. [134] Originally the field could not be worked because of the large quantities of smaller boulders, stones, and pebbles, all small enough to be carried off, too numerous to encourage hopes for quick transformation. With difficulty this land is worked with the short [412] handled broad bladed hoe. The hoes with two or three prongs are used for softer soils. This hard hoeing is often done by women. [462] The surface stones are thrown aside into little piles along the road. [491] These can now be sold for use in road construction. The vegetation on the surface is also turned under. Later in the year, after the rain has gone into the loosened soil, it is hoed again, and this time it is possible to go in deeper. Weeds, rice straw, unused miscanthus, straw from the pig or goat pen may be added, and this is allowed to rot in the soil. Then the field is hoed again, and the deeper rocks and stones, and those left behind before, are unturned and the process is repeated. In the end, and this period may vary from one to several years depending on the quantity of stones, the farmer has a plot of [134] land, of a rich chocolate brown color, of fair texture and fertility, suitable for growing sweet potatoes.

133 311 In Matsuda, there is a slightly different situation. The topography here has a different character than that of the south. Hills, caves, sinks, and slopes are everywhere, and as a consequence, cultivation is more scattered. In the southern villages, land use follows a more recognizable pattern. The low flat areas are used for rice, the higher parts of the flat land and the slopes and the rolling upland for dry crop land, while the highest parts on the hill or mountain summits are in grasses, shrubs, and scattered scrub trees. In Matsuda, these are all mixed up. Rice may be growing in a genya area. In another part of the village, sweet potatoes may, in a similar situation, be the rule. This crazy-quilt pattern of rice, genya and dry crop land, all adjoining, stimulates the gradual conversion of genya to arable land. When rice is made out of the genya land the converted plot is known in Okinawan as gata. It is a laborious process of clearing, removing stones, hoeing, cutting perpendicular sides, making a hard surface to contain the water for the rice that will be grown. In some sections of Matsuda, the very small valleys have been converted to S-shaped rice plots.

311 134 Casual observers often see unused land and conclude that large amounts can be reclaimed. They do not see the stones, or the hard-rock which may be an inch or two below the surface. They would do well to look at village maps to see how these lands are regarded by the villagers who have tilled them. Probably more efficient conversion and reclamation could be carried on with machinery and with the generous use of fertilizers.

311 185 In the desire for more land, it should not be overlooked that the great conservation value of genya land and the poorer upland

plots lies in their being as they are, separating one cultivated area from another, binding the soil, and that they are probably serving their best purposes now, as they have in the past, in furnishing this protection. 311 185

The conservation practices of the Okinawans are at least in part a consequence of the topography. The care of upland areas and rolling hills is imperative. For a great deal of cultivation takes place here. Unlike China, there is not a strong contrast between large scale paddy rice in alluvial soils and the relative neglect of upland areas with deforestation and erosion. In China the meticulous care of the transported soils of the lowlands and the neglect of the uplands is a striking aspect of the attitude toward land. This is true, perhaps to a lesser degree, of Japan.[11] 185 133 311 [171]

In Okinawa there are insufficient delta plains and alluvial soils to provide these contrasts between lowland and upland agriculture. The scarcity of river deltas and alluvial plains means relatively little rice and the use of the rolling hills and the steeper sides of mountains. This necessity has enforced a care of the uplands. It is true that one often sees sweet potatoes or other dry crops growing in rows up and down a hill instead of along contours, and that there seems often to be a lack of appreciation of the consequences of misuse of forest land through clear cutting. But in the main in the use of the uplands for cultivation, the weed borders or rock fences, and other simple devices keep the soils from erosion. The relatively gentle topography has also contributed to this achievement.

4

Fragmentation and Consolidation

Fragmentation of land is common in Okinawa. Ownership of contiguous plots of land is not the general rule. It is a basic fact of land tenure and influences land use and agricultural practice. This fragmentation is a deterrent to the use of machinery, unless cooperatively owned or unless certain individuals specialize in the 423 241

11 See James Thorp, Geography of the soils of China, Nanking 1936, especially Chapters xii-xiv. Gourou, Pierre. The development of upland areas in China, and Trewartha, Glenn T., Utilization of Upland areas in Japan. In: The development of upland areas of the Far East, Vol. I. (Institute of Pacific Relations), New York, 1949. Trewartha describes his surprise in his earlier studies of Japan and his acquaintance "with the fact that the Japanese, like most Orientals, greatly deprecate the value of upland or non-irrigated sites for agricultural land use." (p. 59). This choosiness is not possible for the Okinawans.

324 The truck or horsecart of the buyer comes to the stonecutting area,
432 the blocks are loaded and taken away. Prior to sale, for convenience,
stone may be taken from the cutting area. It is loaded on horse carts,
[494] the men carrying the heavy blocks by means of ropes looped around the
[483] ends of the stone and over poles which in turn rest on the shoulders.
A six foot length (1 ken linear measure), one foot wide and about ten
[804] inches thick sells for ¥140 (1951-52).
[435]

Foot injuries are the chief hazards of this occupation. The
toes may be accidentally cut by the long chisel, and there is danger
316 of bruising or crushing by accidentally dropping the block, or by
rolling when it is being dislodged. Very hard and calloused hands are
[164] the mark of the stonecutter; his hands are especially conspicuous for
the hard, raised areas on the palm around the base of the fingers, the
[142] result of the constant lifting and pounding of the long chisel. There
is also danger to the eyes in flying chips but few use glasses or
goggles.

Like some phases of fishing, this work is for the young and the
[561] physically mature men. After the middle forties or early fifties,
a man no longer does the heavy work and confines himself to lighter
chores. The very old and the retired may chip and finish the foundation and the pyramidal stones.

472 If a cutter is unable to extract all the stone in a plot whose
stone he has bought, there are also customary solutions. When the
father dies, his son continues the workings and returns the field to
the owner. If a stone worker moves to another village when only half
the work has been done, he arranges for a friend, relative, or
neighbor to take over the remaining part.

4

Restoring the Land

185 Formerly excavations (which might be 10 or 15 feet deep and the
311 size of a large room) were refilled by the buyer of the stone rights.
Rocks, pebbles, and miscellaneous trash were used as fill, but following the war there has been a heavy demand for rock and stone for road
[499] construction. As a consequence, many excavations are now only partly
refilled. After refilling, houses are built on the sites of formerly
excavated land. Here and there one can see sweet potatoes or vegetables
growing on land which formerly was covered with stone. The original
state of the land, its appearance after excavation and its restoration
may be seen in Figure 2. Evidences of this reclamation may be seen
throughout the stoneworking area.

324 Minatogawa, because it lacks vegetation for protective and decora-
tive purposes, is a good example of the use and adaptation of stone to
local needs. There are still stone fences, waist or shoulder height,
and many small stone boundary lines, a foot or two and of uneven height.
Coral stones, weathered by the sea, honeycombed and pocked, are seen
everywhere.

1

An Historical View of the Okinawan Forest

Northern Okinawa is the woodshed of the island, and there is a steady stream of lumber for building, poles for a variety of uses, charcoal, and of small bundles of wood for the people of the south. In the village of Matsuda, the forest is part of the daily life and economic well-being of the people. 313

Little is known of the past history of the Okinawan forest. 137 174

> "Though it is impossible now to determine the nature and distribution of the original forest cover, it seems reasonable that the major part of Okinawa was originally covered by trees. The forest was probably absent from the beaches, a few marsh areas behind the beaches, rock ledges upon which trees could gain a foothold, and perhaps some areas of Regosols (shallow soils) from calcareous clays in the southern part of the island. It is evident that the present forest has been cut over many times. There seems to be no part of the island in which the forest cover has not been disturbed in some way by man."[1] [311]

The virgin stands have disappeared and left few clues, these authors continue, but it is likely that the original forest cover was comparable to the present stands in composition of species. The authors point out the relationship of cutting to settlement. Cutting must have been a continuing process. In Saion's time, in the 18th century, there was considerable tree planting and measures were taken to protect groves of trees for their value as windbreaks. Excessive cutting could hardly have taken place in olden times in the central areas of the north, whose trees, even today, can be reached only by footpath. No doubt in the past cutting has spread out from village sites and travelled roads. Fire may have been one cause of deforestation, as it has been used to clear land. There are still instances of this. 137 311 174 [245]

In Okinawa, the period from 1879 to the end of the Russo-Japanese war seems to have been one of widespread deforestation. (This was contemporary also with the reckless deforestation in the New World). The period after 1906 reflected Japanese concern with forest preservation, especially of the nationally owned forests, a program pursued with varying degrees of success. [185]

1 Okinawa forests (U.S. Geological Survey. Mil. Geol. Sect., Office of the Engineer, GHQ, FEC), 1948, 2.

137 settled area and for protection of the surrounding crops. Around
311 houses, there are common stone fences, bamboo fences and trees.
Stone fences, though solid may be toppled over. Bamboo, or dwarf
[419] bamboo fences, seemingly slight, resist the winds and remain intact
because of their flexible loose weave.

137 The trees on the ridges of the low lying hills or on high pieces
133 of ground are tall, and sturdy, and jealously protected. The villagers
185 take great pride in them. Today this pride is based on the realization
of their effectiveness; in former times, their protection was associated
[018] with the worship of the gods of the sacred grove (utaki). There were
beliefs, which now seem to be dying out, that cutting these trees
[019] would bring bad luck. Many villagers say that Saion in the 18th
[193] century intentionally invented superstitions concerned with the cutting
of the trees in order to save them. Now these trees are no longer in
danger of cutting, even though the penalties of the old beliefs are no
longer feared.

The following short list does not exhaust the kinds of trees and plants found in this area. It is confined to those trees, shrubs, and grasses which are most frequently found and which have the greatest local importance.

829 (1) The Ryukyuan pine (Riukiu-matsu in Japanese, Pinus luchuensis
313 Mayr). This tree is still one of the commonest sights of the island,
even in southern Okinawa. At present, it is a source of firewood, cheap lumber, and siding. It is not considered good housebuilding material because of termites (shiroari). Pine was used for fishing boats within living memory, but now they are made of much harder woods. In this area, the coniferous groves are along the seashore. The larger stands are not cut. Scrub pine on individually owned wild land may be cut for firewood.

(2) The fukugi (Garcinia spicata Hook.). The fukugi is used around homes and on mountain ridges as a typhoon protection. It is fairly plentiful here and prized as a building material (kenchikuzai). The hard studs, beams and cross beams and the wide plank floors in the older and better houses are often made out of this wood.

(3) The iju (Schima luchuensis Nak.). This tree, common here, is used as a building material and is considered to be better than the Japanese redwood (sugi). It is not regarded as a good firewood.

(4) The inumaki (Podocarpus macrophyllum D. Don). This tree is not well known here, and there are no large specimens. But it is regarded as the best building material when available. Often the large, hard, rough hewn poles which are placed on stones and support the eaves of the older houses are made from this wood.

(5) The shii (Shiia cuspidata). The dense stands of this tree in the village owned forest restrict the size of the specimens, though

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Every three years, the villagers thin out the dwarf bamboo and other grasses in the pine stands along the coast. Late in December or in early January, there is a community planting of pine seeds. 313 476

The tools used in forest work are: the hand sickle (kama), a hill or hoe knife, the tool so familiar in agriculture; an ordinary long knife resembling a butcher knife or a machete (here called a yamakatana, or "mountain knife"), and a hooked knife on the end of a long handle (sŏringama). 412

Forest care goes well back into Okinawan history and antedates more recent Japanese methods. This care probably was an obligation in the old system of land tenure under which villagers had access to forest lands with the corresponding obligation to replant. 313

4

An Example of Reclamation

There are cut-over tracts in Matsuda village. The Japanese government, according to local residents, tried to convert these cleared areas into agricultural land. This land reclamation (kaitaku) began about 1935. The land was cleared of its remaining trees and shrubs mainly by firing. (Fire has been used in Okinawa, possibly from early times, in the clearing of land. In 1947 the use of fire in clearing and the hazards in creating forest fires were pointed out by observers who blamed carelessness in firing as the cause of the forest fires in the dry season).[10] Firing was easier and some nutrients from the ash were available to the poor soils. 185 311 [372]

In Matsuda, the cleared land was hoed and the rocks were removed. It had to be hoed deeply to make cultivation possible. The land was enriched with composts containing horse, pig, and goat manures. The original plan was to promote a more extensive type of agriculture on the reclaimed land because it was poorly adapted to the cultivating methods on the better and more accessible soils. A here-and-there (yadori type) settlement was planned. The houses were to be scattered on hillsides, or in the valleys, to provide sufficient land, admittedly poor, for the settlers to cultivate. The size of the contemplated holdings precluded hand labor of the intensity characteristic of the usual agriculture. The use of draft animals, plows, and harrows was part of the plan. [241] [361] [241]

The war and the disappearance of so many of the draft animals prevented its realization. Before the war, it was intended that each family should have a 3000 tsubo tract (2.45 acres). Today the residents on these lands cultivate only about 1000 tsubo, about the limit of manual cultivation considering the soils and the stone that remains. As a consequence, parts of the area are returning to weeds, grasses, and shrubs.

10 Okinawa forests, as cited, 7.

trees of the sacred grove and used old beliefs to preserve the forests. Formerly it was believed that misfortune would come to him who cut a tree in groves sacred to these gods. If the trees were cut, the god would become angry, the person cutting the tree would be the victim of self-induced illness and by worrying about his deed, gradually would become ill, and perhaps die. These sacred groves, whose religious significance is now almost ignored, are arranged to enclose the village from three directions, with the open side on the south. On the north was the sacred grove in the back (ushiro no utaki) or the grove of the white gold mountain (kinpuku utaki in Okinawan). The mountain gods were supposed to live here. On the west was the grove in front (mae no utaki) on the white silver mountain. This was also known as the fire shrine.

The priestesses also had a hand in this worship of the mountain gods. There are about seven of these places of worship now, and there is still a voluntary caretaker, an old woman with tattooed hands, a family priestess (nigami) in the old system. Occasionally one sees an old woman going to a grove to pray. The only other visitors are the farmers who walk along the paths of the grove on their way to the fields.

7

Other Religious Observances

There are a few other observations which may have some interest. Old women use patches of grass or knotted rice straw to ward off the spirits on days when they are thought to be abroad in great numbers. At the festival of the autumnal equinox, knotted or braided grass (shiba) is placed in various parts of the house. In some houses, bunches are suspended from the cross beams, perhaps three or four bunches to the side. They may be placed in the toilet, at the entrance to the house compound, on the water barrel in the kitchen, on the front and back of fishing boats, or in the interior of the house. Blades of miscanthus grass may be tied around the neck of a bean paste jug (misogami). Spirits, plentiful at this time, are frightened away by the patches of grass and will not enter. The young, while not believing in this, acquiesce to avoid making the old angry.

When a death anniversary is being celebrated, there may be a blade of miscanthus, a rice straw, or a knotted blade of grass on the top of a box of candies or sweet meats to prevent the intrusion of evil spirits. A blade of grass (the san) is occasionally tied around the handle of a tea pot. For the first week after a family death, tea is served from a pot which has this blade of grass. But these are almost invariably the observances of the old and are only infrequently seen. These customs, observed in Hinatogawa, are said to survive among the very old in the other villages.

In Matsuda, a rice rope (shimenawa) was observed at one home. The rice rope, a Shinto symbol, is not common in Okinawan culture. This

621 778 Although a number of important shrines and worship places are located in the Kawata area, the main shrine is in Taira.

173 648 722 621 To this tranquil area the activities of World War II brought a great upheaval. Although the main stream of refugees from the south, following threats of United States troops' invasion, did not reach this northern area, Japanese guerilla forces settled in the hills of Higashi township. This, and the constant warnings from the Japanese of the "terrors" of American occupation, caused the population of all villages to take refuge in the mountains, carrying along what few possessions they could, including livestock. Families were separated and individuals lived in constant fear of soldiers from both sides. Nightly excursions to the fields to harvest whatever could be found helped to maintain a meager diet. It is characteristic of the stresses of this period that among the children of central Taira only one was born in 1945.

173 648 727 621 The war ended for Taira people when American troops had cleared the northern areas of Japanese troops. In this action several villages were destroyed, among them Taira. The present economic struggle of Higashi township, an area which was always handicapped by lack of farmland and poor soil, is partly due to the war. On the other hand, the demand for lumber for an island-wide reconstruction program lent a temporary boom to the economy. In the process, however, forests [185] which had been heavily cut before the war fell prey to rapid and poorly planned cutting. At present the whole township is in the throes of economic readjustment.

173 167 621 In the past 50 years, Taira, like the rest of Okinawa, has sent some of its overflow of population to various areas in the world, including Japan, and especially to the industrial areas of Kobe and Osaka, Saipan, and Brazil. At least five of the families in central Taira lived either in Japan or the Pacific Islands and returned shortly after World War II. Emigrants to Brazil have stayed with the exception of one prominent person who returned to Taira several years before the war. Some of the families lived as many as 18 or 20 years abroad, and several children in the study were born in Japan and returned to the village as infants. Among the villagers are many who have served in the Japanese Army in Asia or in the South Seas.

The repatriation of these families does not seem to have caused any serious disturbances to the village, since many people were killed during the war and several families moved to the city. An exodus to the [311] outlying areas of the village also provided room for returnees, so, although rice land is scarce, there is still some uncultivated farmland, admittedly mostly of poor quality.

The community is dispersed. In the outlying parts, as far as 2 miles

But actually no family is entirely self-sufficient, for each needs to purchase foodstuff as well as ready-made clothes, manufactured mostly in Japan, more substantial building materials, such as better grades of wood, tiles, and cement, tobacco, alcoholic beverages, sweets, toilet articles, some medical supplies, and other luxuries. Farmers buy their tools; students their books and writing materials. Finally, cash is needed to pay taxes. 433 438

In addition to the utilization of sugar, pineapple, firewood, and building materials for cash, Tairans also raise pigs for sale to slaughter houses, and some families derive an income from raising silkworms and producing tea. Fishermen sell fish inside and outside the village, and a small group of people are salaried workers or have an income from specialized services. [231]

Village leaders fear dependence on rapidly dwindling forest resources, still the main source of ready cash. They realize that the present modest living conditions of all families could be much improved if Tairans concentrated on increasing the cultivation of subsistence crops and farmed more intensively to raise cash crops. Most people lack this insight, however, and live on a day-to-day basis without much thought of the future. This is an island-wide problem which has the attention of central government agencies, and a great deal of educational propaganda comes to the village through government channels. 433 241 [313] [185] [654]

AGRICULTURE

The productivity of the land varies not only with its quality but also with the industriousness of the owners. Farmers who show foresight, those who seem to be under less pressure for immediate cash, take off more time from forest work to cultivate fields during planting season. The village headman and council members remind everybody during village meetings and informal discussions that work in the fields should not be neglected. With the approval of the whole community, the first and 15th of each lunar month have been set aside for farming. On these two days it is forbidden to go to the forests to cut wood. Such agreements are usually observed (as a rule), and they help to achieve their purpose but are not completely effective. 241 185 [433] [623] [313]

Rice is planted and harvested twice a year. The first rice is prepared in January when seeds are put into special beds where they are left to grow into young shoots until March. Until about 30 years ago it was said that all people seeded rice on the same day while prayers were 243 [782] [793]

of the permanent Tairan families fish; the majority of the fishermen are migrants from the surrounding islands who come for a season, leaving their families behind. A few families have moved in permanently. The fishermen supply Taira, but most of the catch is peddled in the Nago market by the fishermen's wives. Some of the more enterprising and mercantile-minded women in the village buy up fish and peddle it for a profit.

Two or three times a year, during February or March, large fishing boats from Henza Island land in Taira with whale meat. All the able women look forward to making extra cash at this time, for whale meat is considered a delicacy in homes where meat is rare. Blubber is eaten and used as frying fat. The distribution of whale meat is arranged by one village woman whose fishermen relatives from Henza supply it in response to her request. She acts as agent, distributing the meat to the women on consignment.

LUMBERING

The main source of immediate cash for most families is firewood. Forest land in the mountains is owned by the township and the village, except for some woods near the fields, which are personal property. The township permits the village to exploit a certain region surrounding the community in return for payment of a forest tax. This tax is levied on firewood bundles or on lumber sold by villagers. Everyone in the village is free to cut wood in the designated area in any amount he desires. This, however, does not imply that unlimited cutting is possible, for resources have been utilized so heavily that most forests near the village are almost cleaned out, and it has become increasingly difficult to find wood. Reforestation has only recently been introduced on a serious scale. Often villagers are found trespassing on land owned by the central Ryukyan government in order to cut from the less depleted forests there. Government officials are sympathetic to the villagers' plight, and they tend to dispose of such transgressions with a stern warning.

Men and women, and during vactions, some children over 12 years, go to the forest. Most people prefer to walk and work in small groups. To reach a place high up in the hills, they may have to hike almost a mile from the center of Taira. The steep, narrow paths made by woodcutters traverse the mountains. Following the approach trails during the day, one can hear voices and the sawing of wood from many directions. All lumber people carry a short handsaw and a heavy bush knife

602 on one's mother's side and, after marriage, the wife's family. In seek-
476 ing mutual assistance for rice planting, house building and other undertakings, such relatives may be approached. In other words, kin, neighbors, and members of the same geographical section of the village participate almost equally in mutual assistance groups. Maternal relatives join in family celebrations and in the discussion of family matters. Since many decisions are made jointly with the help of relatives, there are frequent occasions for the kindred to gather in the evening at one house or another.

561 Each Okinawan also belongs to an age group. As will be described in the section on socialization, beginning at kindergarten an Okinawan becomes associated with a group of boys and girls who will remain his
575 companions through school. As a member of junior high school he
653 will join the formal Student's Association, which is responsible for certain community projects. High school students and all unmarried young adults belong to the Young People's Association, which is both a social group and a cooperative work group.

575 After marriage there are several associations which one may join.
185 Adult married women who are under 57 belong to the Women's Asso-
[562] ciation, which is affiliated with an island organization dedicated to "modernizing" women's lives. The organization is lead by a few women who are in contact with the district and island organization. They attempt at semisocial gatherings to introduce changes aimed at easing
[262] the burdens of daily life and the pressure of poverty. For example, they are trying to influence the women to return to making their own bean paste rather than spending precious cash. The leaders show the women how to make bean paste and encourage them to set aside one work-free day a month to catch up with neglected housework. Many of the efforts of the organization, however, are not too successful. Most women go back to their homes and find that the accustomed ways are easier to follow. One has learned to live with economic pressures and tradition and established custom is a strong force. So the few forward-looking women have a difficult task in rallying others.

Both adult married males and females may also join an organization similar in objective—the Home Improvement group. Although the men who are village leaders belong to this association, the majority of the members are the same women who are leaders in the Women's Association.

575 Before World War II there was an association of older men.* Al-
887 though this group seldom, if ever, meets, it still sends a representative
623 to the village council and to a few village functions.

* Apparently of relatively recent origin.

up; he is made to find most of his needs satisfied by his mother and then he 152
is told that he may be given away if he is not obedient; later he is made to 593
believe that the spirits of his ancestors are protecting him, but when he
becomes ill he is told that it is because he has not given them enough offerings. The threat in each of these instances is abandonment, being cut off from his family, because of insufficiency---disobedience or unfiliality. The fear that this threat creates does much to maintain the family system. It probably also accounts for the fear Okinawans seem to have of being alone, and their frequent use, remarked upon by several observers, of the word 'sabishii', "lonely". It may also account for their frequently expressed [829]
view of Okinawa itself as a lonely, remote, and neglected island.

Family life also provides the individual with a pattern for human re- 593
lationships. In the family he learns what behavior is appropriate to the 867
status of older sibling and younger sibling, parent and child, male and female; he learns about authority, responsibility, and mutual obligation. This pattern of relationships learned in the family he reads into the larger society, and, entering the larger society he assumes the roles learned in the family. He defers to seniors; he expects juniors and females to defer to him. If he is a farmer he may expect instruction and support from the government, as a child expects it from his parents. If he is an official or a teacher he may at times deliberately speak down to the less educated and at other times deliberately speak over their heads, as a parent does with his children.

It seems that several phenomena of recent years should have weakened 593
the old family system. The war destroyed much of the physical reminders of 178
the past and nearly every family lost one or more of its members. The subse- 177
quent shift in population further uprooted many. The repatriation brought back people who had long been away, and with them, new ideas. The American occupation has given rural Okinawans a mobility they could not have imagined before. It has provided jobs for many of the younger people, which could mean a degree of economic independence that they could never have had otherwise. The schools have given young people of the opposite sexes more opportunity to meet on a respectable basis than they had ever had before. Yet we find families carrying on in spite of the shift in residence and the loss of important members, repatriates being reintegrated into the larger kin groups, and young people who might be independent turning their earnings over to their elders and asking their elders' permission to marry. Obviously family ties are still strong.

But the structure of the family may still be changing. The relationship between the behavior of individuals in the family and in the larger society is a reciprocal one. It is quite likely that the individual takes the roles that he has learned as a child in the family and plays them as an adult in the larger society, as he interprets its structure. But it is also likely that if the larger society is in a process of change, the individual may reinterpret his roles or even learn new ones to conform to the new structure. He may then go back to his family as a parent and reinterpret its structure on the basis of what he has learned. His behavior as a parent then becomes different from his father's before him. One of the professed aims of the [185]
Civil Administration on Okinawa is the democratization of Okinawan society.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

Between 1875 and 1895, when the court life at the old capitol of Shuri was broken up under Japanese influence, many families of noble origin moved into the country to become farmers, and the village grew in size. These people settled mainly outside the central village in areas where land was available. One family moved into Taira proper, forming the third "main house." Although it still maintains feeble ceremonial connections with Shuri, it gave up its noble title shortly after coming north and moved its ancestral tomb to the community. The noble families who settled in the valleys and hills preserved their distinctive traditions until the end of World War II. Their noble descent was noted in the population register, and intermarriage with commoners was discouraged.

Except for these Shuri migrants, few outsiders seem to have settled in Taira prior to World War II. The residents on the southern part of the island, especially the residents of Naha and Shuri, consider northerners rustics. Although this part of the island was often used as a hiding place by political and criminal refugees from the south, who are said to have founded nearby villages, none of them made their home in Taira.

The original settlers of Taira were reluctant to accept later arrivals in their midst. Because of the fear of spirits, foreign to the village, they prohibited the burial of the newcomer's dead near the tombs shared by the members of the "main houses." To this day the funeral urns of a family who came to Taira about 60 years ago and later intermarried with settled villages are kept in a cave, away from all other tombs.

Higashi township was established in 1922. The area had previously belonged to Kushi township to the south, but the great distances between villages and the mountainous character of the country made efficient administration very difficult. Furthermore, some Higashi inhabitants felt that because of temperamental differences and divergent interests they should separate from the southern township. Since 1922 contacts have been predominantly with Ogimi township to the northwest and the town of Nago, 16 miles away. Once the road connecting the two coastlines was completed in 1936, Taira's isolation decreased considerably, and it became the administrative seat of Higashi township in 1946.

Taira also became the home of the high priestess. In the period prior to direct Japanese administration, her office was under the jurisdiction of the Shuri court (Lebra, 1958), and her predecessors must have been appointed by the Okinawan kings. Taira may have been chosen as the seat of the high priestess in lieu of Kawata because Kawata lacks the good rice land which traditionally went to the high priestess by royal decree. Some of this rice land is still in the hands of the living priestess.

871 Nevertheless, the school remains, in the eyes of the villagers, as a rally-
177 ing point for ties with Japan.

No attempts have been made until the present to introduce Okinawan culture other than by a few occasional references to Okinawan history or folklore. Teachers, during discussion of reading material, refer to home life, farm work and mountain work to illustrate points made in the books.* School is the first opportunity for Taira children to become acquainted with the world outside their own village and to relate their own experiences to the rest of the island, Japan, and other parts of the world. Since Japan is the dominant subject of reading [186] material, however, it is clear that no awareness of being "Okinawan" is developed.

875 Teachers, many of whom are young, are devoted to their work and to the children, even though their pay is hardly commensurate with their [554] high status in the community and does not represent adequate compensation for the long hours of teaching and administrative work that demand most of their time. In addition, the community in which the teacher lives makes demands on him as one of the educated, able leaders. Both men and women teach. Some of the younger ones who follow the urgent call for teaching positions do not have much training beyond a high school diploma. During the summer, special teacher [874] training courses are now conducted by university professors from Japan and the University of the Ryukyus. Graduates from the University of the Ryukyus Education Department are still too few in number to reach a remote country school, such as the one in Kawata. Most teachers come from one of the surrounding communities; others, mostly bachelors, are from other parts of the island. Children are therefore well acquainted with many of the school teachers, some of whom are neighbors, relatives, or friends of the family.

[554] The extremely modest appearance of teachers does not detract from their status and authority. The relationship between students and teachers is a mixture of respect, as dictated by custom, and intimacy, as a result of mutual affection. A conscientious teacher comes to know his students well during the school year and takes an active interest in them. Children can tell if a teacher is enthusiastic about his work and often establish a warm relationship with him. During our stay, the
872 first two grades were divided into two sections, taught by women, while male teachers taught the upper four grades.

The school day starts at 8:30 with a study period before the formal meeting of the teacher and students on the open grounds in front of

* Some practical work in gardening begins in the upper elementary school classes. Only Junior High School students work in the fields as part of their curriculum.

followed by "nee?", "isn't it so?" In this manner the adult communicates what 858
little that must be communicated to these sub-human beings that are constantly 171
underfoot. To other adults he uses other verb forms, other words, longer and 198
more tightly integrated sentences. He does so, I believe, confident that he is speaking over the heads of the children, though he would deny that this was his motive; his use of different forms in addressing adults would be more likely explained as motivated by respect for the adults. I believe that in this manner Okinawan children are mentally more isolated from adults than are American children, though physically they are in greater contact with them. In time, of course, children learn to understand the conversation of their elders, but they do so without asking questions or overtly showing much interest. Thus very gradually they come into the adult world.

The interpretation just presented is more an hypothesis that seeks to 858
explain some features of Okinawan behavior than a fact that can be indisputably 197
demonstrated. But it suggests a reason, though probably not the only one, for 198
the strong tendency to retain Okinawan as the language of the home, even in families where the adults speak Japanese fairly well, regard it as superior, and use it on formal occasions. Okinawan is suitable for addressing children. Adults unconsciously prefer it because it makes it that much easier for them to differentiate between the speech used in addressing children and that used in addressing adults. Moreover, I believe this interpretation agrees [186] with what appears to be a marked tendency in Okinawan society for the educated deliberately to talk over the heads of the uneducated. I will discuss this again under the heading education.

Discipline Parents appear to want their children to be agreeable in 860
their relations with others and industrious at school. They praise the gentle (J. 'otonashii') child and the good student. Yet they seem to tolerate noisiness, disregard for property, and to some extent disregard for person, though they may be more tolerant of this sort of behavior in boys than in girls. On one occasion Pitts and Lebra presented an old man with several photographs that they had taken of him and his grandson. As they handed the photographs to the old man, the boy snatched one and in doing so tore it. The old man was visibly hurt at the loss of the photograph, but said nothing to the child at all. On the other hand one of us also once saw a grandmother reach over and pinch a somewhat older girl quite severely because she was lying with her legs apart.

Where behavior thought to be of a more serious nature is concerned, 861
parents do attempt to control their children. They do so by coaxing, bribing, threatening, teasing, scolding, and, for most as a last resort, by corporal punishment. Scolding takes such forms as "dirty!", "shameful!", "You will be laughed at", etc. While being scolded the child need not answer; he may simply look at the ground and remain silent. Since he is not expected to answer he may be less inclined to construct elaborate excuses in the manner of the American child. The threats include such things as "we'll send you away", "we'll sell you to the Itoman people" (to a boy), "we'll sell you to the juri" (to a girl), "we'll give you to the Americans", "we'll call the police", "we'll call a cat (or some kind of bogey) to scare you," "you'll receive divine retribution." Since children are sometimes put out of the house as

[Kanegusuku]

time of the author's stay in the village there was no individual or family which could be classified as rentier. 427

Changes Effected by the War War-caused changes in the distribution of land holdings among the various households were considerable. Many of the land-rich houses, if such a term may be used where the "richest" has but eleven acres, are such today because of the war, and conversely some houses have become impoverished or had their resources severely strained because of it. Unlike many other communities Kanegusuku was fortunate in that only about 4% of its total land area was permanently ruined as a result of the war. Some land was lost to a road, but most of the loss was due to a small military camp (about company size) now converted into a tuberculosis sanatorium. Since land holdings are usually fragmented and scattered, no one family lost all its land, though one family lost nearly one-half and several approximately one quarter. The loss to the sanatorium is not compensated for by jobs for Kanegusuku people since no villager is employed there. This is explained by the fact that the director is from Itoman; so "naturally" he could not be expected to hire Kanegusuku people. 621 423 177 727 [186]

The composition of the household has changed in many homes since the war as a result of the large number of deaths. Today a number of households consist of the usual nuclear family of husband, wife, and their offspring plus a related "broken" family such as widowed sister and her children or widower brother and his children or parent and unmarried siblings. In most cases the holdings of both families are pooled and the household functions as a single economic unit, though separate purses are sometimes maintained. There are several old people who live alone in their houses, but they are usually watched over by near relatives. 621 592 177 727

The richest landowner (eleven acres) in the village today was a second son in very moderate circumstances before the war. As a second son he was given by his parents to childless relatives for adoption. During the war his adoptive parents died, leaving him their entire estate. The war also caused the death of his real father and elder brother, leaving him the sole heir to their property. He has since married a woman who as the surviving member of her family is heiress to its property. Consequently, this house now holds the land of three families. The villagers are somewhat envious, but they say that misfortunte may result since this house now must make the ritual observances to the ancestors of three families, which is felt to be too great a task for anyone, and inadequate attention may lead to calamity. 621 556 727 [769]

The women who were widowed by the war and who have chosen to maintain separate households have had in most cases a difficult time of it, and particularly those widows without grown sons have been hard pressed. Farming an irrigated field is said to be impossible for a woman alone; therefore, most of them have had to rent out their rice lands, thereby losing much of its return. It is also very difficult for a house which contains only women to participate in reciprocal labor exchanges, since two days of labor by a woman are equated to one day of labor by a man. 621 589 727 [462] [427] [476]

somewhat appalled by what they regard as a lack of concern on the part of Americans for their plight. As they have been long accustomed to a paternalistic government, this seems to be a deliberately negligent attitude, and they express this feeling not infrequently. The following statements were heard by the author, "We never see any Americans who come to inspect or look at things" and "No Americans ever come to see how we are." 621 829

National Organizations National organizations such as the youth association and the women's association are rather weak in Kitazato when compared with Kanegusuku. They say that they have little spare time for such organizations, which is undoubtedly true, and the scattered nature of the village makes meeting a chore for some in the outlying sections. The ranks of the youth association are thinned by the loss of members who have sought employment in the city or military camps. Even the agricultural association is not as active as elsewhere, since the farmers feel that little can be done to improve their situation. The farmers and the head of the 'son' agricultural office were disgusted by the stupidity of a plan tendered by the central agricultural office to relieve the distress of Kitazato and other dispossessed farmers in Kami Motobu-son. This plan called for the planting of sugar cane as a cash crop and the use of the proceeds to buy food. It failed to take into consideration that sugar takes a long time to mature and that the people would have nothing to eat in the interim, and even if they were to plant their entire holdings in sugar, it would not bring enough cash to feed them. 621 575 621 829 242 241

Village Solidarity Village solidarity seems very high in Kitazato, much higher than in Kanegusuku. Undoubtedly this is largely due to the common problem which faces them all; nevertheless several other factors appear to be involved. The gentry origin of Kitazato kept it aloof from its immediate neighbors for many years, and apparently no real contacts were established in neighboring villages until after the annexation. Even today the people of this village speak a dialect markedly distinct from that of their nearest neighbors; thus, the upper-class origin and the physical and linguistic isolation of the village has perhaps contributed much to its integration and solidarity. The relative weakness of kin groupings seems to be another factor. In Kanegusuku one gets the impression that the strength of the lineages mitigates against informal village-wide cooperation and only through formal organizations such as the youth association is any real village-wide cooperation realized. In Kitazato the weak kin groupings seem no obstacle to this. 621 186 [197]

It seemed to the author that the people of Kitazato never tired of reiterating how well they cooperated together and how much they enjoyed working together as a village. "We want to stay together as a village, as we cooperate so well together." This is typical of the statements which were made. Many say that they would not object to emigration provided they might emigrate as a village.

Land Rentals Two serious problems face the people of Kitazato in regard to renting the land of neighboring villages. They are unable to pay 621 427

177 factors have made possible its resilience. Though the island is small, the
178 Americans and Okinawans tend to be concentrated in their own areas, and the
rate of interaction is not so high as mere figures might indicate. Secondly,
[184] Okinawan culture is fairly homogeneous, hence unaffected areas tend to sus-
[186] tain other areas which might be disturbed. Thirdly, there remains a strong
awareness of cultural identity, much of which is fostered by language, song,
[619] theater, dance, and religion. Fourthly, there exists a sense of belonging
to a larger national entity, Japan; consequently, there is less feeling of
being alone. Fifthly, despite some changes, much the same sort of educational
and political systems operate today as before the war; this has provided a
considerable degree of continuity. Lastly, the present administration has
not been culturally repressive.

464 usually people tend to regard these persons as fortunate. During the entire
562 course of the author's stay on Okinawa he heard no sharp criticism of men who
829 were in military employment, yet many statements were heard about women who were so employed. This dichotomy seems to stem from the widely held belief that the American employers have sexual access to these women, particularly
[833] the maids. Okinawan culture affords its males a high degree of sexual freedom, but not its females.

464 It is said that the women who are employed by the military are cate-
554 gorized into several grades; the highest status is accorded to the office workers and PX clerks. These are followed by the kitchen and table maids, after which comes the maids who are employed in the dependent housing units; lastly there are the barracks maids, including those of the bachelor officers' and civilians' quarters. It is also claimed that these women can be distinguished on the basis of their dress. Supposedly the office workers and
[291] PX girls dress in the fashion of Japanese business women, whereas the housing
[117] and barracks maids dress in American styles which are considered loud and flashy.

464 It is claimed that many young men will not marry women who have been
554 maids in military installations. One young man asserted that these women were
582 no better than the "honeys" (a term used by Okinawans and GI's to designate the soldier's mistress).

464 The low status and pay (¥1200-1800, or $10-15 per month) for maids is
466 offset to a large extent by the gifts, food, and in many cases board which they receive from their employers. Despite the stigma there is no shortage
[466] of applicants for these jobs. Another factor is the free bathing privileges which ordinarily accompany these jobs. Very few Okinawan homes have a bath,
[515] and public baths cost the equivalent of ten cents in American money, a sizeable outlay for the Okinawan purse.

464 Most of the discrimination is directly attributable to the sexual
554 jealousy of the Okinawan male toward the women who work and often live in
829 close daily contact with Americans. There also seems to be some discrimination against any women in the category of maid, whether employed by American or Okinawan; in the past these were often indentured servants who had been sold by their parents into this low status.

• 186 <u>Okinawan Attitudes toward Their American Employers</u> It was the author's im-
829 pression that even those who had worked in close daily contact with Americans for a considerable period of time shared much the same stereotypes of the American as those held by the general public. It must be remembered that the points of emphasis in any stereotype are often those traits which seem obvious because they are so unfamiliar and hence not understood by the person of a different culture. Secondly, in every stereotype there is undoubtedly some considerable measure of truth; the important factor is the base of reference. Both Americans and Okinawans judge one another on the basis of different values and cultural backgrounds.

The following statements were made by persons who were employed by Americans, and are typical of those frequently made: 186 829

"Americans are very impolite and always in a hurry."

"For such big people they are very gentle."

"We are all afraid of your (American) women." This statement was made by a male.

"Americans are very rich."

"The corporal who was my boss received a salary of about $500 a month, I think."

"Americans do not stay angry very long."

"We say Americans are like children with their feelings." This refers to the American openly displaying his emotions where an Okinawan would hold himself in check.

American Attitudes toward Okinawan Employees The novel and play, Teahouse of the August Moon, well depicts the American stereotypes of the Okinawans---the simple, child-like people who somehow by trickery and deception manage to frustrate the good intentions of their military administrators. When the play was briefly shown on Okinawa, the Okinawans reacted by objecting to being made to appear child-like and dirty in contrast to the Americans.

The following comments were obtained from casual conversations with Americans who had Okinawans under their direction or in their personal employ:

"They don't know the meaning of truth."

"...but can you really trust them?"

"You would think that after eight years (of occupation) they would have picked up some English!"

"All you have to do is ask something out of the ordinary, and they hold a conference. And after that you have to ask them for their decision, as they won't volunteer this information."

"Once an idea is installed in their minds, they will hold it forever."

"After all, they really are like children, you know."

Most Okinawan comments about Americans centered on their wealth, the rushed nature of their lives, and their impoliteness. American commentary on Okinawans stressed tardiness, untruthfulness, and lack of initiative. It is amusing to note that both groups regarded the other as rather child-like. It 186 829

It
186 is also important to keep in mind that the relationship is always one of
829 American employer to Okinawan employee; consequently, the American is most
177 often the initiator of action.

464 Conclusion In a number of Okinawan communities military employment has drawn
434 off the surplus population which formerly had emigrated. In not a few communities it has become the mainstay of the economy.

464 Most Okinawans regard military employment as economically advantageous.
829 There is no stigma attached to men who are so employed, but considerable
554 stigma is attached to women who take this employment, particularly the maids.

177 The American installations are dependent to no small degree upon their
618 Okinawan employees, and in turn many Okinawan individuals and communities are
464 wholly dependent upon the military for their livelihood. Their relationship is a symbiotic one which can best be enhanced by mutual understanding; yet the social distance between the Okinawan and American is so great as to make interaction on a basis of equality rare. Because of their different cultural backgrounds and their job situations, both remain ignorant of the other's motives and values, and mutual understanding is difficult if not impossible. Common
[171] denominators in both cultures might be sought as a means of bridging this gap, as, for example, their common love of sports.

3. Japan, America, and Okinawa

W. P. Suttles

829 Japan in Retrospect Okinawan attitudes toward Japan are decidedly ambivalent. Factors that have entered into the formation of these attitudes are as follows:

175 1) Historic Relations On the negative side are the historic separa-
648 tion and former independence of Okinawa. This separate status is still re-
829 membered by old people, some of whom speak of wars between Okinawa and "Yamatu" (Yamato, that is, Japan). Several illiterate old people seemed to make no distinction between the conquest and oppression of Okinawa by the feudal state of Satsuma and the later annexation by the national government, and thus seemed to be blaming Japan as a whole for wrongs done by Satsuma.

171 On the positive side there is the indisputable remote common origin
174 and basic similarity of the Japanese and the Okinawans. Racially, linguis-
177 tically, and culturally the Okinawans are closely related to the Japanese.
829 They may be said to be merely a kind of Japanese. It is highly probable that the majority of the ancestors of the Okinawans came from the north, from Japan, in the not too remote past. Their isolation made it possible for them to be politically independent and their political independence made it possible for them to escape the levelling influence of Japanese national governments, particularly that of the Tokugawa Shogunate, and for them to have closer contact with China. This accounts for their having a number of elements of Chinese culture that are not found in Japan, but it does not make them a kind of Chinese.

in diet and therefore ate bread instead of rice. The Okinawans objected and thereafter got rice too. 177 829

The few Japanese who are on Okinawa at present working mainly as contractors for the military are often spoken of contemptuously as 'Japani', but politely they are spoken of as 'Naichijin', "persons from the mainland /of Japan/". The term 'Nihonjin' still includes the Okinawans as far as most Okinawans are concerned. 186 829

These are some of the factors contributing to the attitudes that Okinawans feel toward Japan as such. Although there is overlapping, they must be distinguished from the basis of attitudes toward the possible reversion of Okinawa to the status of a Japanese prefecture. I shall discuss attitudes toward reversion after looking at some of the attitudes that exist toward the United States. 829

Attitudes toward the United States I shall confine myself to a discussion of attitudes derived from contact with Americans on Okinawa. Okinawans call Americans Amirikaa in Okinawan, 'Amerika-jin' or 'Amerika-san' in Japanese. The last is the most polite term. Upon asking for a term corresponding to the 'ketō', "hairy barbarian", of the last century, I was told that Amirikaa in a scornful tone of voice conveyed the same feeling. The diminutive, Amirikaa-gwaa, is used either for the child of an American or somewhat slurringly for an adult American. (These terms are usually used only for white Americans; colored Americans are classified differently. See below.) The following are some of the factors contributing to attitudes toward Americans: 177 829

1) Behavior of Individual Soldiers On the positive side are numerous unsolicited acts of kindness on the part of many GI's and the relatively free and easy relationship that often develops between Americans and Okinawans who work together. On the negative side there is the normal rowdiness of GI's, their frequently belligerent behavior when drunk (which is quite different from the sort of behavior Okinawans can expect of drunks---see p.147), and their frequent open display of sexuality (also contrary to Okinawan standards). There have also been a few acts of violence.

2) View of American Military Life When they first came in contact with the American armed forces in 1945, the Okinawans were greatly impressed by the contrast American military life presented to that of the Japanese. Several Okinawans commented to me at that time on the fact that officers worked alongside the men, often working even harder, and on the fact that officers did not discipline the men by slapping them. Slapping, one commented, was the business of the Japanese army.

Today their impressions are probably somewhat different. The distinctions between officers and men are undoubtedly greater now than in 1945. Moreover, morale and efficiency also undoubtedly declined after the end of the war and are at present rather low. One of the SIRI team saw a unit on maneuvers in the mountains of Kunigami. The men had hired Okinawan women to carry their packs; the officers had evidently driven home for the night. The impression this makes needs no comment.

Actually, of course, although the adoption of May Day as a labor holiday had nothing to do with Karl Marx, it has been preempted by the Communists throughout the world, and the added participation of the People's Party on this occasion would have made it a Communist demonstration irrespective of the origin of the holiday. 648 829

Another rumor, not about corruption but about official policy, is one that we heard several times to the effect that the cost of the American occupation and particularly of dependent housing is coming out of the taxes paid by Okinawans. To the people of as poor a country as Okinawa it is nearly incredible that a country could be so wealthy that it is willing to build hundreds of beautiful homes (at an estimated cost of $20,000 to $30,000 each) in such a distant spot. This sort of belief is undoubtedly very damaging to the American position.

Attitudes toward American Negroes Since the first days of the occupation there have been Negro troops stationed on Okinawa. The Okinawan view of them and especially of their status in relation to white Americans is worth noting. The Okinawans do not use the word "American" or its equivalent for Negroes, but instead use one of several other words. Perhaps the commonest is 'kurombō' ("black-boy"), which may be identified with the English derogatory term "nigger". At any rate many Negroes on Okinawa have evidently made the identification; they are said to become angry when they hear the term used. The standard term, corresponding to the English "Negro", is 'Kokujin', but this also is said to be unacceptable to some; therefore other terms may be used when speaking of a Negro in his presence. One such term is 'iro-otoko', which means literally "color-man", but figuratively, "lover". The Okinawan attitudes toward Negroes are conditioned by three factors, Japanese racial attitudes, their observation of Negro-white relations on Okinawa, and the behavior of the Negro troops. 186 829

The Japanese are, or were before the Pacific War, a race-proud people. They classified the peoples of the South Seas and Southeast Asia as 'dojin', "natives", and their attitudes toward them were inclined to be colonial, exploitive, and superior. It is quite likely that Okinawans identify the American Negroes as 'dojin'. They probably have no concept of "colored" races; they certainly do not identify themselves with the Negroes as non-white. But since many Okinawans are aware that some Americans look upon Okinawans as a sort of "native people", the attitudes of white Americans toward non-white Americans are of especial interest to them.

In observing the American Army's treatment of Negroes the Okinawans have seen segregation and some discrimination. At present there are de jure no segregated units as there were during the Pacific War, but a unit at an ammunition dump near a village studied is still referred to as the 'kurombō butai'. The behavior of the Negro troops themselves is probably on the average a bit rowdier and less inhibited than that of the whites, partly because of an average lower education and partly because of some cultured differences especially in patterns of recreation. This behavior probably together with some stereotypes picked up from white Americans has made many Okinawans somewhat afraid of Negroes. Relations seem to be better, however, in those

186 areas where Negroes are more numerous and have become better known. The
829 presence of Negro officers and others of higher status undoubtedly does much to demonstrate to Okinawans that it is possible for non-whites to rise in the American system.

Attitudes toward Other Peoples - The Ryukyuan kingdom was once a vassal state of China and had considerable direct contact with China. Among some older Okinawans things Chinese still are valued. However, the younger people who expressed any opinion to us on China and the Chinese expressed opinions almost bordering on contempt. The years of lack of national unity and of Japanese aggression have left their mark on the Okinawan view of China. The news that a group on Formosa has agitated for a reversion of Okinawa to Nationalist China can hardly have been taken seriously by anyone.

Attitudes toward the Filipinos are probably also colored by Japanese attitudes toward "natives" and by American discriminatory practices in wages. Moreover, the fact that many of the Filipinos who have worked on Okinawa speak very poor English probably gives them a lower status in the eyes of the Okinawans.

668 The Status of Okinawa There is certainly no unanimity of opinion on what
829 would be the most desirable status for Okinawa. As I have tried to indicate, attitudes toward both Japan and the United States are varied and ambivalent. Both practical considerations and emotional reasons have motivated some Okinawans to agitate for reversion to Japan. For most reversionists reversion appears to mean simply political reversion, return of the political administration to Japan; the majority of reversionists do not seem to be saying "Yankee Go Home"; they grant the necessity of military bases on Okinawa both for the military security of the Far East and at present for the economic security of Okinawa. This seems to be the point of view of the Social Mass Party, which won nearly half the seats in the last election.

Generally those who feel that they would gain materially by the reversion of Okinawa are teachers and other state employees who feel that they have lost status, the owners of land being used by the military who feel that reversion would bring the rental up to standards paid in Japan, and some politicians who want to participate in Japanese national as well as local politics. Generally those who would stand to lose by reversion are the businessmen, because of the increase in taxes and the free competition from the large Japanese industries that reversion would bring, the skilled and semi-skilled laborers who might be replaced by Japanese if free movement were permitted between Japan and Okinawa, and again some of the present political leaders.

However, there are emotional reasons for embracing reversionism that may far outweigh practical considerations. In the chapter on family life
[152] and again in the chapter on health I stressed one of the basic anxieties created within Okinawan culture---the fear of being cut off from parents, the fear of being cut off from the deceased ancestors, the fear of being alone.

fads of Western inspiration. Vaccination, the calendar, European dress for officials, photography, edicts against long hair belong to the late 1870's. Chamberlain has spoken of the years 1885-87 as the "years of the great foreign fever."[24] Japan was the medium through which Western ideas were brought to bear on the old Okinawan culture. This new intrusion, indirectly set off both by the Perry expedition and the determination of the Japanese to change their own country, was modern Japan, compounded of traditional and Western ideas. When we speak of the "Japanization" of the islands, we must remember that some of this is also Westernization.

Foremost among these changes was the introduction of the new Japanese education. Education came to the rural areas and provided the basis, as in Japan, for mass literacy. This was not an easy task. Nor was it accomplished at once. Chamberlain in 1895 tells of the signs at the entrance to each village, giving the population, the number of children of school age and the number of children actually attending school, a "device not used in Japan itself, but resorted to here with the object of shaming parents into sending their children to school. To get the girls sent there has been found very difficult--the Further Isles almost impossible." The extent of this change can be appreciated by Chamberlain's further remark that few outside of Naha understood Japanese, and that the language was taught the first year so that it could be used later in instruction in other subjects.[25] Before World War II, as now, Japanese was spoken and understood by all, except the very old, the Japanese language existing side by side with Okinawan which remained the language of children, intimates, and of the village. The adoption of Japanese dress, the cutting of the hair, the learning of the Japanese language were the avenues to official employment.

Another great change was the abolition of the old system of land tenure, something we shall dwell upon at length later. By a series of laws over the period 1899-1903, the old system of village communal ownership with a periodic distribution of the rice lands and the dry crop land was abolished and private ownership and inheritance of land were instituted. The abolition of the old land allotment system must have changed the aspect of the villages, for village-owned granaries, were part of the central area of a village.[26] This change in land tenure, as Spencer has suggested, contributed to the further economic decline of the native religion of the Noro priestesses whose lands, still retained, were now subject to different laws of inheritance.[27]

[TEXT CONTINUES ON TOP OF P. 40 — ANALYST]

24 Basil Hall Chamberlain. Things Japanese, 238. See his comments on "fashionable crazes," 155-57.

25 The Luchu islands and their inhabitants, as cited, 457-58. Chamberlain adds, page 457, an interesting table showing school attendance by district which indicated that eligibles going to school were in a distinct minority.

26 Hawks, Perry's Expedition to Japan, as cited, I, 314; II, 34.

27 The Noro, or priestesses of Loo-choo, as cited, 109. This is an interesting example of the relation of an old religion to economic changes brought about by a revolution in land tenure induced from above.

190 pronunciation. The people in Matsuda could distinguish and identify villagers from other places, even though the villages were close to one another.[12] Okinawan is the language of social and everyday life. In Matsuda, it seemed to be supplanted by Japanese more than in the other two villages. Japanese is used in official contacts and in
191 dealing with foreigners. Pre-school children know very little Japanese. Their parents do not teach them the language, and they grow up speaking the village dialect. The only exception is that parents teach the child a few Japanese words of greeting, formalities, and expressions of thanks.

524 Children lack the toys and playthings they had prior to the war. At present they are a miscellaneous collection of rocks, pieces of wood, tin cans, twigs, branches, and anything which circumstance or childish improvisation can provide. In play, there is a great deal of running and catching, hide and seek, and games like hop scotch.
[526] After beginning school, play has a more formal character, with dances, games, and organized athletics.

857 Sleeping habits, especially those of children, are in part the result of circumstance, in part of custom, and it is difficult to
513 separate the two. Children, often up to the age of 14 or 15, sleep with an older member of the family. In one Hanashiro family, the last born sleeps with the mother and the father until the next child comes. The older children sleep in another room with the grandmother or grandfather. If there are no elder relatives, the whole family may sleep together. This practice frequently is forced by economy and necessity. The war destroyed homes and the rebuilt ones are small. Blankets are expensive. In the better homes before the war, if there were plenty of blankets, rooms, and mosquito nets, children 8 years and over had their own sleeping rooms, or at least their own heavy blanket or cot. The farmer or fisherman does not use a bed or a cot. Now and then they are used by younger adults with a taste for western beds. But even before the war, 15 and 16 year olds often slept with parents or grandparents.

Children from different houses also sleep together after they have begun school. Children come to a house to play, and, when bed time comes, they go to sleep in the house of their playmates. These sleeping groups are common when classmates meet during the evening for study. The village is so small that there is no alarm at a child's absence. An old grandmother living by herself may have many children sleeping with her overnight, sprawled out in various positions on a comforter, protected by the very large mosquito net (kaya) so universal in Okinawa.

12 No attempt was made to study language, linguistics, or dialectical differences. To be profitable, these subjects must be studied by technically trained linguists.

Courses of Study

872 During 1946 and 1947, primary schools (shotogakko) were established along lines of the old primary school, but with the Japanese nationalism and the emperor worship deleted. Beginning about April 1948, a new primary school system with six grades was instituted. Ideas of democracy were introduced to displace the Japanese ideal of the state.

The subjects (gakka) in this new primary school curriculum are: (1) Japanese, referred to as the "mother tongue (kokugo) or the "standard language" (futsu no go). This instruction includes the two Japanese syllabaries, hiragana and katakana and beginning instruction in Chinese characters (kanji). (2) Beginning English, (3) arithmetic and computation on the abacus, (4) a general introductory science course (rika), (5) an introductory social science course (shakkaika), including geography (chiri), history (rekishi), political science (seiji), and economics (keizai). The old ethics, duties, and obligations courses have been absorbed into the new social science course which also includes duties and obligations to one's family, friends, and associates, and the need for international friendship. During primary school, the subjects remain essentially the same with each year's courses increasing in difficulty.

In 1948, the three year junior high school (chūtogakko) was started. Two years were taken off the old primary course and one year added. In junior high school, some of the subjects become more specialized. Instruction in literature (bungaku) replaces the formal grammar of primary school. This course, which formerly emphasized Japanese literature, now includes selections from English, American, and world literature. A course in Ryukyuan history, hitherto untaught in the schools, has been added. All teaching is conducted in Japanese. There is no instruction in the Okinawan language, though it is still the language of the pre-school child and of social life and daily talk. In adult speech, there is an effortless switch from the one language to the other. Instruction in English 5 or 6 hours a week continues.

[191]

The present junior high school curriculum includes literature, social science, English, Okinawan history (in the 3rd year), algebra and geometry combined, music, general science, manual training, drawing, agriculture for the boys, and domestic science and sewing for the girls. There may be some instruction in carpentry and pottery making. Boys specialize in agriculture, girls in domestic science. Girls however receive some training in agriculture and boys in domestic science, mainly in cooking and mending.

873 There is a break between junior and senior high school (kōtōgakko). Entrance in senior high school is by examination, the severity of which seems to be governed by vacancies available. Senior high school is also a greater break from home life. The schools are fewer. In

been made in their school system, but this enthusiasm would be more permanent if it were based on a solid foundation of economic well-being. 875

Though this may not be representative, teachers in these townships were in two main age groups: those under thirty, and those forty and over. There are few in the 30-40 age group. In one school, 6 teachers were under 30, one a woman was 35, and the principal was over 40. In a group of 15 teachers in the Oushichan school, 7 were 25 or under, one 32, 3 from 32-40, and 5 in the 40 and over group.

The dependence of the Okinawan school teacher on Japanese culture is still strong, and understandably so, since he must rely on Japanese books and magazines for intellectual stimulation and knowledge. Japanese continues to be taught, as indeed it must, if the culture is to function. Those who have studied English do not know it well enough to comprehend discussions involving ideas of any sophistication or complexity. [177]

In these schools, the majority of teachers were young men. Teaching in the primary school is a combination of class and individual recitation. Children are not pressed and are corrected gently, treatment, I was told, which was also true of the pre-war primary school instruction. The improved status of women teachers may attract more to the profession, but now masculine influence is dominant in the schools observed. [876]

It is my impression that Okinawa is in a transition period with regard to the technical qualifications of its teachers and to the improvement of teaching methods. The younger teachers are high school graduates, some with further teacher training. The older ones, who served under the Japanese, seem to have considerable flexibility and to have adapted themselves to the new conditions. There is a fine relationship among teachers and students, with none of the barking, authoritarian approach. Teachers, who in the emergency are working in a grade for which they are not certified, seem anxious to get the proper certificate. Because of the low salaries, the possibilities of turnover among the younger teachers who might take other opportunities should be watched. [876]

From personal experience in attending classes, I would say that teachers are generally competent; they certainly have native intelligence and interest in their work. Teaching methods are conventional, but there is a lot of informal instruction connected with the many outside tasks around a school, performed by teachers and students alike. (One however should not be blind to the disadvantages of teachers and pupils participating in so much outdoor maintenance work). 876

4

Learning English

The desire to study and to learn English is practically universal. This respect for knowledge frequently is not matched by a realization 191 555

191 555 of the difficulties involved. Ambition is directed toward practical ends, such as a business or government clerkship or becoming a teacher.

876 194 It is probably too early to judge the effects of post-war instruction in English. The question is whether students will acquire working knowledge beyond the stage of conventional expressions and simple constructions. Pronouncing English is difficult for Okinawans, partly because the Oriental tradition in education has been so largely visual rather than oral, partly because students, consciously or unconsciously, convert English sounds into their rough Japanese equivalents, and proceed from there.

875 [214] In the primary and high schools, English, with few exceptions, is taught by teachers who themselves have learned English from Japanese teachers. They have added to this knowledge, by private study, often far into the night, of the dreadful English-Japanese phrase books, grammars, and other compendia which the Japanese love to publish. English still reaches the student through this Japanese sieve. So many teachers have learned English this way that the ordinary English of a native speaker baffles them, and they are easily thrown off by "intonation." Correction of this will have to be very gradual. The best teacher of English I saw was a young man who had been taught by an older Okinawan teacher who had in turn been taught by an Englishman. These teachers are devoted to their subject. But it is distressing to see them at study: trying to learn the language by mastering the uses of "nothing but," or "in order to," or "so that," or poring over those phrase books with their headings, "At the postoffice," "At the purser's office on the boat," etc., etc. Much of this is due to the fact that until recent times they have had little or no contact with native English speakers. In the rural areas this contact is still rare. [177] A young man in one of the villages, an addict of the phrase books, 876 one afternoon was studying hard to master the courtesies of a newly appointed ambassador calling on the Japanese foreign minister in his garden! He had been studying English for years, and finally one day got a job as a clerk in a military installation. But he was not a clerk; as he told it, he was a clarku. It is undeniable that these students learn an English that can be understood. Many of them would be able to use the language, and improve rapidly, if chosen as exchange students or national leaders. But the misdirected effort and the wasted eyesight are pitiful.

In the primary schools, English is taught in a conventional way. The teacher reads a sentence or a passage. The class reads after him, and the individual pupils recite. Much the same procedure is followed in the high schools, but there is more conversation. This system turns out many who know some English, but are very hesitant about using it, and a few who have some real understanding. The failures should not be emphasised too much; the point is that as soon as possible English should be taught by teachers who have learned the language from native speakers.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

This desire to learn English is more than a wish to communicate with Americans. Opportunities are open for those who know English, and people of all ages realize that theoretical and applied science and improved techniques come from the West, and that English is a means of understanding and applying this knowledge. Channelling this desire, through competent instruction in the schools, which will result in efficient self-guidance afterwards, is one of the significant problems of Okinawan education. But the techniques to be used on a permanent basis should be left to the professional linguist.

Should for example the methods of Basic English be adopted as a matter of policy and be encouraged in private study? Or should language study be based on the principles set forth by the rapidly advancing field of linguistics? Or should we accept the guidance of doctors of education who are specialists in curriculum construction and language training? My own bias is toward the manuals developed by the linguists, such as Spoken Japanese (EI 561-62). This approach, with its pattern sentences, is based on an analysis of the structure of the language itself. Basic English poses the problem whether the English taught is really basic. In my opinion, the crux of the matter is to study the presuppositions underlying these approaches and not the subject matter they produce. American learned societies, with the co-operation of the Army and the Navy, and the subsequent university programs in language study, have made great strides in these fields, both theoretical and applied. They represent the most advanced thinking in the world on these subjects, and the body of knowledge which they have should be most useful.[4]

5

Home, School, and Village

There are strong bonds between the home, the village, and the school. Parents help their children with their elementary readers. There is homework and classmates may stay at one another's houses over night. Parents are interested in children's school problems, but they do not visit the schools often, except at times arranged by the officials. PTA's have been organized, but it is still too early to tell how successful they will be. Since the PTA, like the Women's Association and the Young Men's Association, fits in the culture, it probably will thrive.

On entering school, the child is introduced to a new language which he has not spoken to any extent in childhood. Okinawan is the language of the pre-school child. Beginning school, therefore, is a bigger break than it is with most cultures.

The schools usually draw on several villages for their student body

4 It is only fair to say that my own bias in favor of the approach developed by the technical linguists grows out of instruction I received in Japanese in the Army's Civil Affairs Training School Program in 1943-44.

home country. Nevertheless, many aspects of Okinawan life still suggest an earlier phase in which independent developments gave the islands their own particular culture. 105 175 177 648

The Okinawan people, approximately 655,000 as counted in 1954, live in an area of about 454 square miles. Their major economic activities have traditionally been agriculture and fishing. In 1945 a long, peaceful existence was brought to an abrupt end during the final battles of World War II in the Pacific. As a result of world conditions Okinawans have been placed under American administration for an indefinite period of time. Today large numbers of men—and some women—find employment as unskilled and semiskilled laborers with the American forces. Gradual training for highly skilled jobs widens these opportunities for employment. Indirectly Okinawan life is influenced by Americans through stimulation of trade, building, and improved health conditions. Land requirements of the American forces in some areas also have influenced the settlement pattern. While these changes have affected the entire island to some degree, the greatest changes are noticeable in the central part around Naha where American administrative and military personnel are located. The village of Taira in the northern province of Kunigami, where the present study was located, had been subject to relatively few of these postwar changes in 1954. Isolated since earliest times because of mountainous terrain, this part of the island participates, as it probably always did, marginally in cultural influences which affect the center of the island. A great deal of cultural stability has therefore been preserved until the present day. 105 648 [61] [131] [464] [101] [184]

Nevertheless, it is useful to remember that the population of northern Okinawa is linked with the rest of the island by an efficient communications system. Roads connect almost all settlements in the north with the central island, and a bus transportation system extends its service into the remote areas. But long before all villages were connected by road with the center of Okinawa, people of Kunigami province traveled by foot over the many trails which traverse the mountains, and, since the turn of the century, many have left their home villages. Some went to Japan as laborers; others settled in the Japanese-controlled Islands of the Pacific, and some families joined the numerous Okinawan settlements in South American countries. 105 491 [494] [484] [487] [67]

LANGUAGE

Taira people are bilingual. Okinawan, which linguists consider a separate language, has many regional dialects, some of which are not 197 191

197 mutually intelligible. The speech differences are so great that even
191 two neighboring villages have noticeable dialectical variations. Japanese is the second language.

Okinawan is spoken in almost all households. The first words learned by the child from his mother or others around him are Okinawan. The child is praised or scolded in Okinawan; he learns Okinawan terms for numbers, names for plants, tools, and other implements used around the house. A curious exception in this pattern is the use of
[601] kinship terms. Taira children start using Japanese kinship terms in
[177] infancy with one exception—in some families the grandmother is addressed by the Okinawan term.

[648] Knowledge of the Okinawan language is said to have been helpful to Americans during the war in distinguishing the local people from Japanese. Japanese has been the official language in Okinawa for over 60 years. It is taught and used in schools exclusively until the upper grades, when foreign languages are introduced. Everybody who has gone to school learns Japanese, and only the oldest persons in Taira speak Okinawan exclusively.

197 Young children, even though they learn to speak Okinawan first,
802 soon pick up Japanese words and phrases. While their Okinawan
191 vocabulary is limited to everyday experiences, the child's horizon is widened gradually by the use of Japanese terms. First formal efforts to teach Japanese are made in kindergarten, and teachers quickly succeed in eliminating the use of Okinawan in class. Even in play groups of
[626] school-age children, Japanese is usual. Children frequently censure each other for occasional slips or shifts to Okinawan.

191 Taira adults vary in the use of language. Simple, routine matters in
197 daily living are mostly discussed in Okinawan. This language is also predominant in small, informal social gatherings and in emotionally tense situations, such as domestic quarrels. Furthermore, the priestess and her assistants conduct all religious ceremonies in Okinawan. People resorted to Okinawan in our presence when they did not want to be understood. On the other hand, village meetings and gatherings of village leaders or visits of teachers and other officials are conducted in Japanese.

THE PEOPLE

142 The majority of the Taira people are of short, stocky build, with heavy bones. Their hair growth is strong, their skin dark. A light skin

871 call that in their quest for education, adolescents and even adults at-
177 tended the elementary grades. The introduction of a formal school system in the village marked the beginning of changes in the culture; the Japanese language was introduced, and teachers transmitted Japanese culture as part of the curriculum (Kerr, 1958). It is found today
[191] that people too old to have attended school—which in the early years was not compulsory—are the only ones who do not speak Japanese and who are illiterate. Their number is small, probably less than 3%
872 of Taira's population.

346 The school was moved about 40 years ago to nearby Kawata village,
[871] where a substantial schoolhouse was built. Today the elementary school is located there, about a one-mile walk from central Taira, but 3 miles from the outlying subvillage of Izena. The junior high school lies halfway between Taira and Kawata. During the war all school buildings were destroyed, but two new permanent structures for the elementary school were finished in 1954; one of these is a wooden building with a tile roof, the other an all-concrete, flat-roof structure of simple, modern design. Four classrooms and a teacher's room are located in these buildings. The remaining temporary, thatched-roof huts with three more classrooms will disappear as soon as the school rebuilding program is completed.

Built against a hill, the school has spacious grounds in front for sports and play. Classrooms for 30 to 35 students are fairly adequate in size and, in the new buildings, are well lighted by glass windows on sunny days but dark when skies are overcast because of the overhanging roof, which protects the hallway outside the classrooms from frequent showers, and the lack of artificial lighting. A building immediately be-
[514] hind the classrooms houses latrines, separated for boys and girls, although both pass through the same passageway where boys use the urinals. Equipment is extremely poor and a great problem for principal and teachers. Simple, rickety desks and chairs of unfinished wood are bought or made by parents for their children. They are standard in design but differ in height according to the size of the child. Many first graders' furniture is made with future growth in mind, while some older students have outgrown their desks and chairs. An older sibling may pass on his table to a younger one if it is still serviceable after several years of nonchalant treatment.

876 Teaching aids are few. A small organ is available for music lessons
[533] and is carried by several boys on the shoulders to the classroom where it is needed. Sometimes a teacher accompanies a singing class on a mouth organ. Visual aid material, maps, pictures, and charts are displayed in school rooms along with students' physical measurement tables and

2:Maretzki &,Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

sometimes a chart indicating their birthdays. There are also exhibits 876
of students' drawings, which enliven the simple rooms. Each classroom
has at least one blackboard built into the wall. By withdrawing re-
movable walls in the new building, individual rooms can be converted [346]
into one large auditorium with a small stage for special occasions.

The personal equipment carried by students, other than books, con- 872
sists of notebooks, pencils, a ruler, abacus, and, for those who can af-
ford it, crayons and drawing paper. Sports equipment is also scanty,
and replacement budgets are too low to remedy the situation. Students
bring their own tools for garden and agricultural work as well as for
work on the school grounds.

The teachers' room has desks for each teacher and the principal and 875
a large table in the center for meetings. A small corner is reserved for
a kerosene stove to prepare tea. There are also two cots for the teacher 346
who remains on duty as night watchmen or for a child who feels ill
during school hours. No privacy is provided for teachers, since students
enter the room on any pretext or crowd around the windows if some-
thing attracts their curiosity.

Upkeep of the school is the responsibility of teachers and students; 872
the only paid help is a girl who acts as janitor, nurse, and servant. The
students, supervised by their teachers, tidy up classrooms after school, 358
scrub walls and floors at regular intervals, take care of the hallway, cut
grass, and weeds, and clear ditches on the school grounds. When school
repairs are needed, teachers and parents help if no specialist's work is
needed, as in repairing the thatch roof of temporary buildings.

The present school system, although under American supervision, 871
follows the Japanese pattern. A six-year elementary school education
and three years of junior high school are compulsory. After graduation [177]
at about the age of 15, students can enter high school if they choose and
can qualify by passing the extremely rigid entrance examinations,
which eliminate a considerable number of applicants. High school [873]
students have to move to Ogimi in a nearby township where they room
and board while attending school.

The curriculum in the Okinawan schools is on the whole similar 871
to that in Japan. Japanese language continues to be the medium, and 177
textbooks, as well as other school materials, are purchased from Japan.
Children therefore continue to be familiarized with the culture of [191]
Japan as were their parents in the days before American administra-
tion. A number of changes have taken place since that time, however.
Since the Ryukyus are at present under an independent administration,
all symbols and paraphernalia pertaining to the Japanese Imperial
House and to the Japanese nation have been removed from the schools.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

the school. Classes are held from 9 o'clock until noon with one recess. 872
After an hour for lunch, lessons resume for all grades above first. Classes, sports, and cleanup end between 2 and 3:30 in the afternoon, the highest grades staying the longest.

All grades receive instruction in Japanese writing and reading, [871
arithmetic, science, music, and drawing. Social science is introduced in 177
the second grade. Since each class has one teacher for all subjects, shifts 191
from one to the next subject may come in the middle of an hour. The greatest amount of time is spent in teaching Japanese reading and writing. At first grade level the simplified syllabary is taught, followed in the second grade by another syllabary and the first Chinese characters.

Parents maintain contact with the school through a Parent-Teachers 875
Association, called by the American abbreviation, PTA. Every house- 575
hold is a member. Those with children of school age are regular members who pay 15 yen (12 cents) a month; others are supposed to pay 5 yen but have become so delinquent that their fees have been dropped. The actual PTA work is done by a committee from each village, including the headman and the heads of the Women's and Young People's Associations. The main purpose of the PTA is to support the school in some of its maintenance problems. Attendance of all parents at a general meeting occurs only once a year when elections of officers take place and the PTA budget is discussed and approved.

The principals of both schools are represented in township affairs 875
and in the associations of their own community. Contact between vil- 621
lage leaders and school representatives is therefore frequent. Since education taxes are the single largest tax item which villagers pay (80% [651
of the total tax), this representation of the principals is a necessary but burdensome duty for them.

Township education taxes are supplemented by government sub- 871
sidies. School taxes are paid by all households according to their in- 658
come and average about 515 yen ($4.30) yearly. Since 1952, govern- 651
ment orders require education taxes to be levied separately from other taxes so that people are aware of the amount destined for education; tax collection is one of the main problems in village administration, and school principals are sometimes called on to explain the need for such taxation and the obligations of individuals to carry their share of the burden.

The administration of funds and general school matters are the re- [632
sponsibility of an official in the township finance department. During 1954–1955, 310,344 yen ($2586) were collected by the township in education taxes. The government subsidy amounted to 3,716,397 yen

CHAPTER II: LANGUAGE

W. P. Lebra

197 177 Introduction Though Japanese is established as the official language of Okinawa, in practice its use is more limited than that of the indigenous language, Okinawan. Since only Japanese is used in the government, press, cinema, radio, schools, and among the leaders of public and professional life, an observer not in intimate contact with the people might easily gain the impression that the native language is dead or dying. Recently an American stationed on Okinawa expressed the opinion, "In the past decades they spoke their own language, Luchuan, but this has almost been forgotten since the Japanese took over late in the last century."[1] On the contrary, however, this [191] language is far from being dead or forgotten, and at the present time the majority of Okinawans may be said to be bilingual. In all communities which the authors studied and visited, Okinawan was found to be more widely used than Japanese. More significantly it has maintained itself as the language of the family in a majority of homes; consequently, most children do not learn to speak Japanese until they commence formal schooling. Fortunately for them this task is somewhat simplified by the close affinity between Okinawan and Japanese.

197 Relationship The indigenous speech of Okinawa is, properly speaking, a dialect of Ryukyuan, which constitutes a sister language to Japanese in the Ryukyuan-Japanese language family. These two languages (Ryukyuan and Japanese) are not mutually intelligible although their morphological, phonological, and syntactic correspondence clearly indicates a common parentage. The degree of their kinship frequently has been likened to that of French and Italian. Thus far they stand alone in that a relationship between them and any other language has not been established; yet, the possibility of such a relationship with Korean and Altaic (Tungus-Manchu, Mongol, and Turkic) has been postulated by a number of scholars and seems the most likely possibility.

Areally this Ryukyuan-Japanese language family extends from Hokkaido in the north to the Yaeyama island group in the south. Ryukyuan is found in the area from Amami Oshima to Yaeyama, while Japanese occupies the area north of Amami. Within these two speech regions there exist many dialects, and people from widely separated places would often find communication difficult, if not impossible, were it not for the teaching of a standard speech, the dialect of the Tokyo area, in all the schools. Today this standard language ('hyōjungo') is the lingua franca for those travelling about or in contact with persons outside their dialect group.

Dialect boundaries within the Ryukyuan speech region have yet to be precisely determined. The line of demarcation spearating Ryukyuan from Japanese is itself rather arbitrary, for the dialect of Amami Oshima shares nearly as many features with the dialect of Kagoshima-ken as it does with that of Okinawa. Miyanaga, who has spent many years studying and recording Ryukyuan, recognizes four main dialects coinciding with the four main island clusters,

[1] Major General David A. D. Ogden, 1954, p. 45.

Intimate contact with Japanese coupled with this word borrowing has resulted in a tendency toward slight sound shifts in the direction of Japanese phonology; this is particularly true among the bilingual speakers. The same process is operative in the Japanese of these Okinawan speakers in that there is a tendency toward Okinawan phonology. 194 177

The real strongholds of Okinawan speech today are the family and the rural areas. In an old and relatively unchanged village like Kanegusuku little Japanese is heard despite the fact that most of the villagers are bilingual. That Okinawan is the language of the family is best demonstrated by the pre-school-age children who do not speak or understand any Japanese aside from a few greetings and polite phrases. Likewise men over sixty and women over fifty-five usually cannot speak Japanese. The remainder of the village, approximately seventy percent of the total, is bilingual; however, this figure is somewhat misleading in so far as actual usage is concerned. A majority of the married women use Japanese infrequently since Okinawan is the language of their daily lives, which are largely confined to the village and home. For the men, a number of whom have seen service abroad in the Japanese forces, there is a greater freedom of movement and a wider range of contacts providing more occasion for the use of Japanese. Yet within the village many of them preferred to use Okinawan, and even the high school students were inclined to shed their Japanese on returning to the village. A number of bilingual informants ascribed this preference for Okinawan to the influence of the old people who understood Japanese imperfectly or not at all. As one informant put it, "The old people in this village just don't like being spoken to in Japanese, and if some person does this, they say he is trying to be big." Undoubtedly their influence is a strong factor, but this preference is also likely attributable to a low degree of proficiency in Japanese. Prior to the postwar period few villagers obtained more than a sixth grade education; consequently, many are not as articulate in Japanese as they are in Okinawan. It should also be noted that within the village a selective factor operates so as to perpetuate the use of Okinawan. Mention is made in another section of this report of a mayor's comment to the effect that all those who receive a good education, high school or university, soon leave the village. Thus, the very group most likely to further the spread of Japanese leaves before its influence is felt. 191 178 177 621 [871] [66]

The resentment of the oldest generation toward the use of Japanese resolves itself among the younger, bilingual generations into an attitude that Japanese imparts a certain formality to an occasion, and hence situations calling for the use of Okinawan or Japanese tend to be rather compartmentalized in their minds. Formal occasions prescribe the use of Japanese and informal ones Okinawan. Village political meetings and elections were always conducted in Japanese, and when the 'son' officials made one of their periodic inspections of the village, only Japanese was used in addressing them. On the other hand the use of Japanese at a party would be regarded as too formal and a bit unfriendly, and, of course, with old people and children only Okinawan is used. Besides the formal-informal dichotomy there exists the feeling among the better-educated bilinguals that Japanese is a modern and sophisticated language whereas Okinawan is backward and rustic. 191 829 177

There are several aspects of Okinawan culture wherein the local language is used to the exclusion of Japanese; chief among these are the theater 191 178

191 (mentioned previously), song, and the indigenous religion. Okinawan song and
178 music undoubtedly exceed both Japanese and Western in popularity; in fact, no
191 other facet of Okinawan culture has so successfully withstood the changes of
178 the past seventy-five years. Songs such as the Kagiyadefu (which some Okina-
533 wans liken to a national anthem), Nubui Kuduchi, Hamachidori, Tanchame are known and loved by all. Some of the phonograph record stores in Naha carry as many as several hundred different recordings of Okinawan songs, and vir-
191 tually all of these are recorded in Okinawan. All priestesses of the indigen-
178 ous religion interviewed by the author stated that Okinawan was the language
796 of prayer and ceremony; to some this was a burden, as in the case of one priestess who had spent most of her life in Japan. A few admitted that the language of the ceremonies and particularly that of the old songs or umui (sometime rendered omoro) was rather obscure and not fully understood; these are transmitted orally from the older priestess to her successor and undoubtedly
191 contain many archaic words. Outside the formal religious structure yet inex-
178 tricably linked to it are shamans (yuta) and fortune tellers ('ekisha'). The
756 former, most often a woman, uses Okinawan almost exclusively in rites concerned
791 with divining, exorcism, and curing. The latter, nearly always a male, is usually a fairly well-educated person, as the profession is based on interpretations of certain books used in conjunction with the ancient Chinese Book of Changes (I Ching), and either Japanese or Okinawan, depending on the customer, may be used in giving the reading. Both practitioners are extremely popular, but the fortune teller is usually found in the cities and towns whereas the shaman may be found in Naha or the smallest hamlet.

175 Japanese With the abdication of Shō Tai in 1879 the Japanese government ini-
191 tiated a program designed for integrating Okinawa into the national
177 state as rapidly as possible. An effort was made to stamp out all vestiges of
[648] Okinawan culture, utilizing techniques ranging from education and indoctrination to repressive laws and police measures. Greatest emphasis was given to making Japanese speakers out of Okinawans. Leavenworth quotes Governor Narahara as stating that the creation of Japanese speakers was of more value than
175 all the repressive laws prohibiting certain customs.[1] At the start the Japanese
191 were hindered by a lack of schools and teachers, and so the program moved ahead
177 slowly. An effective national school system covering the rural areas where the
871 bulk of the population was located and taking in both sexes was not fully operative until about the time of World War I. The failure of Japanese to displace Okinawan can be attributed largely to a lack of time and a lack of facilities for education beyond the elementary level. By the time of World War II but two generations were schooled in Japanese, and the majority of these had received no more than six years of education.

191 Though Japanese failed to displace Okinawan, it did succeed in becom-
177 ing a necessity in the lives of most people and in establishing itself as the
554 prestige language. With the government, press, schools, cinema, radio, and high-level commerce utilizing Japanese exclusively, participation in modern life without a knowledge of Japanese became impossible. The incentives towards competence in Japanese were many, whereas there appeared to be little gained

[1] Leavenworth, 1905, p. 37.

by clinging to the native speech. Naturally it became impossible for a student 191
to obtain a higher education or for any Okinawan to secure a government position 177
without an adequate mastery of Japanese. A good knowledge of Japanese became 554
the first prerequisite for those who wished to improve their status.

Nearly all children in the rural areas and perhaps a majority of those 191
in the urban areas first learn to speak Japanese when they enter school. It 177
would seem that the main task of the elementary schools is to provide the students with an adequate knowledge of Japanese. On Okinawa as in all schools 871
throughout the areas occupied by the Japanese, a standard language is taught; for the Okinawan child this means learning a new language, while for the child in Japan it means learning at the most a new dialect. Obviously a sixth-grade child on Okinawa will not have a proficiency in Japanese comparable to a sixth-grader in Japan. A recent testing of Naha and Tokyo school children indicated that the Okinawan children were far behind in nearly every subject. One informant, an urbanite who had lived for a time in Japan and rather prided himself on his Japanese, remarked that this clearly indicated the deterioration of the schools in the post-war period. When it was pointed out that this more likely reflected a lower educational attainment due to a language handicap, he readily agreed, and subsequent discussion revealed that a "mixture" of Japanese and Okinawan was spoken in his home. In this case the siblings, who had received high-school educations, used Japanese to one another but spoke only Okinawan to their mother, and the child of the house heard mostly Okinawan from her elders! A Ryukyuan scholar now holding a position in a large Japanese university informed the author that most high-school students are very hesitant about their Japanese and fear making a mistake. When this person first came to Japan after winning a scholarship to a higher school, he was startled by the fluency of the Japanese children! It should be noted that the post-war addition of English to the elementary school curriculum (from the 4th year on) serves only to impose another linguistic burden on the Okinawan child. Grade-school children who had studied English were completely unable to understand the simplest printed phrases; mastery was usually limited to counting from one to ten and reciting the alphabet as far as H without error, though the children can hardly be blamed, considering the texts and teaching level. The chief drawback to the texts is the transcription of English sounds in the Japanese syllabary; thus, a child is taught to pronounce ball as "booru", Smith as "sumisu", here as "hiya", etc. A friend who sat in on a class in English related that had he not been forearmed with a copy of the text and the knowledge that the class was studying English he would never have recognized the subject matter.

In the greater Naha area, which serves as the cultural as well as the 191
administrative and commercial center of the island, the use of Japanese is far 177
more common than elsewhere. Prior to the war there was a sizeable Japanese community here, and from Naha things Japanese have diffused into the countryside. However, the Naha informant's home where a "mixture" of Japanese and Okinawan was spoken was not an atypical one, and this can readily be attested to by visiting the playground of any elementary school in Naha and listening to the speech of children. It may be expected that the post-war addition of [871]
three years of junior high school to the compulsory education period will do much to further the advance of Japanese.

212 177 829 [579] Writing Okinawa never developed an independent system of writing; in the old kingdom both Japanese and Chinese were used. Literacy was largely confined to the upper classes, and it is said that students were sent to both countries for study. Apparently the literati held the Chinese language and culture in high regard while disdaining that of the Japanese; yet, Bettelheim noted in 1851 that Japanese books were very popular in spite of this contempt of the literati.[1] He also stated that the Okinawans always preferred biblical texts written in Japanese to those in Chinese. In view of the political paramouncy of Japan from 1609 and the close linguistic and cultural ties between the two peoples this popularity of Japanese is not surprising. It also should [538] be noted that although the literati are reported as preferring Chinese to Japanese, the major literary achievements of Okinawa were written in Japanese. Thus, for example, the Omorosōshi, sixteenth century collection of songs which the late Dr. Ifa has called the Ryukyuan scriptures, was recorded in a Japanese style of writing; the same is true for the annals of the old kingdom and for the first dictionary of the Okinawan language.

212 177 With the advent of a Japanese administration and educational system, the study of Chinese ceased, and today Japanese is used exclusively. Most Okinawan place names and family names as they are written in Japanese can be given two interpretations, the Japanese and the Okinawan; in a majority of cases the Japanese is given preference. Occasionally when Okinawan speech is transcribed as in the case of lyrics accompanying phonograph records, the Japanese syllabary is used. This is not a suitable devise for transcribing Okinawan speech, which contains many sounds unfamiliar to Japanese. Unfortunately much of the early [114] linguistic research conducted in this area was rendered virtually worthless by the employment of this syllabary. In recent years scholars like Miyanaga and Kinjo have recorded Ryukyuan using the International Phonetic Alphabet.

197 191 177 178 Conclusion At the present time Okinawan speech enjoys widespread use throughout the whole of the island. It is still the language of the home, and as such it is a more common medium of expression than the official language, Japanese. The latter, backed by the government, schools, and all the forces of modern life, is gradually supplanting Okinawan, but it would be an over-statement to say that the language is dying out. It may be expected that the majority of Okinawans will remain bilingual as they are today until such time when a whole adult generation will speak only Japanese and transmit only Japanese to its offspring.

[1] Bettelheim, n.d., p. 31.

Education The Japanese established the first schools in the rural areas some time before World War I. Great emphasis was placed on making Japanese speakers and nationals out of Okinawans. Today most of the population is bilingual; those who speak only a dialect of the Ryukyuan language are persons over sixty and pre-school children. Most Okinawans have come to regard themselves as Japanese. 871 177 [191] [829]

A major change in the postwar educational system has been the addition of three years to the period of compulsory schooling, making a total of nine years. Since the schools continue to provide a Japanese education, the effect will be to increase the Japanization of Okinawa, raise literacy, and ultimately make all speakers bilingual. As a student is usually excused from all work by the family, this measure has served to withhold a large number of teenagers from the labor market.

In the rural areas the author heard frequent praise for the extension of the schooling period and the new school construction program initiated by the military government. Most rural peoples stated that educational opportunities were poor for them in the prewar period; high school education was said to be particularly difficult for a village child to achieve. Now they feel that they are realizing equality with the urban areas. The urbanite is more likely to suggest that the quality of education has deteriorated in the postwar period. Both rural and urban people were agreed that one decided improvement has been that students no longer fight among themselves. Before and during the war all students were organized into small groups based on area of residence; each group was headed by a student leader who shepherded his charges to and from school in semi-military formation. Rivalry between these organized groups frequently led to gang fighting so severe that the intervention of teachers or police was often necessary to restore order. 871 369 178 877 178

Rural people regard education as providing one of the best opportunities for improving one's status; consequently, the improvement of educational opportunities will have far-reaching effects on social mobility. Those who acquire a high school or university education rarely remain in the village, and the few who do remain adopt an occupation other than farming. 871 554

Economy Money was virtually non-existent in the old Okinawan village; barter was the chief means of exchange. Taxes under the communal land holding system were paid in grain and cloth. The land reforms initiated by the Japanese brought the introduction of tax payments in cash. Increasing emphasis on sugar production due to governmental encouragement and subsidy did much to destroy the self-sufficiency of the village and brought dependence on a cash crop. The period of Japanese administration was marked by a gradual adoption of a money economy in the rural areas. 437 436 178 177

Okinawans state that there is a far greater amount of money in the village today than in the prewar period. Some assert that due to governmental price controls they were never able to realize a fair return for their products (chiefly sugar) in the prewar era, but the great increase in money in recent years seems largely attributable to factors relating to the military occupation. Today over twenty-five percent of the total labor force is employed by the military and in subsidiary occupations such as construction; this steep rise in 434 178 [435] [464]

361 175 Perry's men, the aspect of these villages was one of rare and romantic beauty.[3]

2

Hanashiro

361 103 [491] Hanashiro is a small village of the cluster type in Gushichan township (Gushichan-son) in the southeastern part of Okinawa.[4] It is on the present Highway 64 which begins on the Chinen peninsula, travels southwesterly, following the coast at a distance to Mabuni in the southeast, then crossing the island to Nagushiku town, a village south of Itoman.

361 241 443 256 162 The village and its surroundings are small in area, the actual town site including various village owned properties, taking up slightly over 22 acres. This is an agricultural village, with the exception of minor activities such as storekeeping and rice milling. As of December 31, 1951, it had a population of 589 (269 male, 320 female), living together in 120 households, an average of 4.9 persons per household.

361 [103] [491] The village is believed to have been founded about 400 years ago. By Okinawan standards this is not very old. It is off the main historical road which ran from Naha to Shuri to Kochinda, Gushichan, Minatogawa, through Tamagusuku township to the Chinen peninsula, probably the road travelled by Okinawan kings up to the latter part of the seventeenth century when they prayed at the altars on Kudaka Island.[5] There were in this area a series of castles on the tops of hills commanding the road and its approaches, the castles, the rough determinants of various regions formerly under a regional nobility. To the west there was Kochinda castle, Tamagusuku on the east, Gushichan castle near Hanashiro, where a surviving stone fence can still be seen, and the castle site of Itokasu. There is reason for believing, as we mentioned in Chapter 1, that this is in the general area of oldest settlement in the island.

175 349 631

[Text continues on P. 49 --analyst]

3 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, Vol. I, 163, 164, 179-80, and an illustration of a "cung-qua" on p. 180. On the older village with granaries and storehouses, see Green's remarks in Hawks, Perry's expedition, as cited, Vol. II, 34, 36, and illustration in Vol. I, 178.

[103] [192] 4 The village is also known as Hanagusuku; the meaning is the same, as shiro is the Japanese, gusuku the Okinawan word for castle. Many Okinawan place names have the suffix, —gusuku.

5 Spencer, The Noro, or priestesses of Loo Choo, as cited, 107.

361 The village is a group of houses, each with its own compound, and
351 these give it an inclosed look. There are few if any gardens or vegetable patches either in the compounds or within the village settlement.

363 The lanes resemble quiet winding country roads. The rock fences, or the lines of trees or shrubbery often conceal the houses. There is an appearance of loneliness in these lanes and roads, except at busy times of the day when the children return from school. The lack of commercial [482] activity, except for the women carrying rice on their heads to the mill 462 and for the small village stores, contributes to this impression of quiet, which one would expect from the routine of agriculture. At night, when [354] the doors are drawn, and when the flickering and smoky oil lamps are lit, the loneliness and quiet of the village is even more pronounced. The [493] lanes and the roads are deserted, save for an occasional passing truck, bicycle, or three wheeled cycle, and in one of the favorite words of all [192] Okinawans, the place is sabishii.[6]

366 Since there is little activity in the village other than farming, neighboring villages and distant towns supply the additional needs. At 368 nearby Gushichan village, there are the primary and junior high schools, the post office, the township and agricultural association offices, a barbershop, and some small stores. At Minatogawa, about one and one half miles away, there is a public bath, and across the river from this village, in Horikawa, an occasional play from the Okinawan stage, or a movie. Buses run through the village twice a day and one can make connections to Naha or Itoman, the two most likely places for buying [494] or selling. Or one can take the three wheeled cycles which pass through more frequently.

[127] Physically, the village was much affected by the war. On June 11, 1945, the front line ran through the cultivated area between Hanashiro 362 and Gushichan villages. Hill 95, the scene of fierce fighting was in the vicinity of Hanashiro.[7] One can still see an occasional tank track, abandoned helmets and scattered fragments of war materials in the fields. The village was affected by the war in ways which are now observable indirectly in the makeshift houses, improvised shacks, the roofs of half [355] tile and half thatch, the odd additions to the older buildings partly destroyed, and the lack of drain pipes and water catchment tanks. Houses, which to superficial appearance, have existed for generations, have been rebuilt since the war with grass substituting for the tile roofs. [311] War operations over the cultivated areas also resulted in some loss of land. A long mound in the rice areas, with paths along its ridge, was formerly a road built by the Americans in the final drive toward Mabuni. Almost all the houses in the village were destroyed.

6 This Japanese word suggests both loneliness and melancholy.

7 Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 437 (illustration), 434-42 on the struggle for Hill 95.

this time. Upon completing the house, the owner gives a party for those who helped him. During the last day of work, with the party scheduled for the evening, the workmen strive feverishly to complete the house on time. This is a party to celebrate a task completed. Sake flows freely. Occasionally on the last day, a man walks around the house talking to himself and throws salt toward the inside of the house. His words are not formalized and not known to his hearers. After finishing throwing the salt, he bangs the back of the house three times with a stick. This custom is said to be gradually disappearing, and is only occasionally practiced in Matsuda.[9] 342 527 788 [273]

In Hanashiro, there is a similar custom that differs in details. On the date the house is started, there is a small ceremony. A plate containing boiled rice, bean curd, a kind of fritter (tenpura in Japanese) and meat, together with a flask of sake are placed in the center of the site on which the house is to be built. Prayers are offered that the house be a good one. The ceremony of raising the roof is identical with that previously described in Matsuda. This applies only to the raising of the ridge pole, no ceremonies taking place with the erecting of the side poles. The center board, near to or nailed to the ridge pole, and from which the articles wrapped in a leaf or in sea weed are suspended, is inscribed with the word, shibiranka. Its meaning is unknown to me. One villager said it was the name of a legendary Chinese protector of houses. 342 782 [262] [273] [192]

In one instance from Minatogawa, instead of the salt, charcoal, and bean paste, only a bit of charcoal (tsumi in Japanese) was suspended and wrapped in seaweed (kombu in Japanese).

About 20 years ago in Hanashiro, the celebration on the day of completion was much more elaborate than now. A pig was killed, fish purchased, and a large feast was prepared to which the whole village was invited. The celebration now is confined to relatives, friends, and helpers, including the carpenter, whether hired or a volunteer. 342 535

In Minatogawa, when a good house is being built, there is the custom of going to a fortune teller (sanjinsō in Japanese) to discover the lucky day for commencing construction. This may be repeated to find the lucky day for putting up the poles and supports or putting on the roof. Here also a son about to establish a branch household and to build his own house takes a food offering to his father's house, places it on the Buddhist god shelf, gives thanks, and prays for good fortune before construction starts. When the house has been completed, similar offerings are made, either before the god shelf of the new house, if it has been installed, or again at the father's house. In this village, the usual observances are confined to the raising of the roof and to the celebration following completion of the home. 342 [191] [177] [182]

One last custom observed in all the villages is that one does not move into a new house unless the tide is coming in. Other occasions in which the tide is taken into consideration will be discussed later. The idea here seems to be that one moves at times of growing fullness and increase not at times of ebb and withdrawal. [823]

9 I was unable to secure any explanation of the reason for this and the other practices beyond the familiar statement that "it is a custom." (shukan)

One of these, the shimba (nnihija in Okinawan) is essentially a concave forked piece of metal set on a frame, which in turn rests on four props set up in sawbuck fashion. The rice sheaves are drawn through the teeth, causing the kernels to drop below. The sawbuck may be any desired height. Usually the top of the fork is waist level. The only significance of the shimba today is that it provides diversion and occupation for the old women, many of whom are too weak or too unsteady to operate the treadle thresher. The same is true of an even simpler device for threshing. Two short pieces of bamboo, or any piece of round wood, a little longer and with a slightly greater diameter than a pair of chopsticks, are loosely tied together on one end with straw or a strong blade of grass. The tied ends of the two sticks are held in the right hand, leaving the free ends to strip off the rice kernels from the straw. This labor is done by very old women. Age is no deterrent to work as long as people are able to get around. But, as in the south, the treadle thresher is universally used. This device was widely distributed by the Japanese agricultural specialists of the government throughout the empire in the years immediately before the war. In Matsuda, it is also thought to be about 15 years since its introduction.

As in Japan, from which the terms were borrowed, rice in various stages of cultivation and processing is known by different names. Rice in the hull is momei; unpolished rice is genmai, and polished rice is hakumai. Rice stalks are known as wara.

Hulling and polishing rice by machinery are also new in Okinawan villages. In Hanashiro, those machines driven by an open belt are about ten years old. A hand mill, the shiriushi, to be described shortly, was in general use for polishing rice up to 1940.

At present everyone, no matter how poor, pays for hulling and polishing of his rice. The mill owner in Hanashiro estimated that the machinery processed in ten minutes the amount of rice that formerly took a day to hull and polish by hand. Poor families do not try to effect savings by hand work. They pay the fee, sell the polished rice, and eat sweet potatoes.

Unpolished rice is disliked and is never eaten. It is described as hard and bitter in taste. The machinery in a rice mill varies from place to place in quality and modernity. The mill (seimaisho) has two machines: a hulling machine (momitsuriki) and a polishing machine (seimaiki). One simple type of a hulling machine is an endless chain type of mechanism. The rice is put in little buckets on the chain which carry it to rubber layers. As the rice is forced through the layers, the hulls are cracked and pinched off, and are then blown out on a pile in back. After being hulled, the rice goes through the shaft of the milling machine. The shaft housing is grooved. As the shaft revolves, it polishes the rice which is going through it. The shaft also gets heated, and this makes the polishing easier. In the older machine in Hanashiro, the rice was put through the shaft ten times

In Hanashiro, the fish were raised for sale by the young men's association. The supply of fish is too uncertain and too seasonal for these remedies to be an effective part of the traditional medicine. Like the native plants, and many of the traditional medical practices, they are yielding to the drugs which can be found in the small village shops: stomach and headache powders, eye lotions, aspirin, and other pharmaceuticals and patent medicines.

The economic and occupational organization of village fishing is very informal. Partnerships are made on a basis of friendship and continue so until one party, for any reason, decides to leave. There are about 40 of these partnerships among the 120 odd adult fishermen.[2] The fishermen of the village also have a fisherman's association (suisankumiai) similar in function to the agricultural associations which the Japanese instituted throughout the empire. This association has a head (suisankumiaichō). Like so many official and administrative jobs in a village, these offices are thrust upon the man. He seldom seeks them. In the larger places where there is more remuneration, the man might seek the job. The head of the association is chosen by the fishermen of the village. He receives Y10 a month for each fisherman he represents. This is a supplementary job, as he could not exist on this sum. Lack of cash prevents any ambitious services to the membership. The association buys and sells gas and oil, nets, lines, hooks, and other necessary items which have been imported either from the United States or from Japan. Occasionally, the association has sufficient funds for small temporary loans for purchasing imported gear, loans from Y100 to Y 500 for a period of a week or two. The main function of the association is the exchange of information between the local head and representatives from the larger association in Naha. This becomes a study of the daily market demands; the information provided is a guide to fishermen in meeting the demand. This is all very informal. The head of the association circulates among the fishermen, giving them tips on what to expect and how prices are going.

7

The Rough Language of Hinatogawa

The Hinatogawans have one characteristic which is not shared by their agricultural neighbors of Nagano, nor indeed by any of the agricultural villages. This is their rough (arai) language, so described by Hinatogawans with a certain amount of pride. This language, if used in the other village, would be considered insulting. It is notable for the freedom with which nicknames, some funny, some disparaging, some pointed at infirmities, are used.

2 The word used here is kumiai but actually these partnerships do not have the organized co-operative character that this word usually implies when used in an economic sense.

105 A munchu was made up of a number
197 of households or families united through the male line, descended from a common
[619] ancestor, and sharing a common tomb. Village endogamy was an obligatory mar-
[582] riage practice and violations did not pass unpunished; in addition kin group
endogamy was a preferred practice, though not necessarily an obligatory one.
[628] Intervillage contacts and ties, consequently, were held to a minimum. These cus-
[178] toms were followed by the majority of the oldest generation now living, and
even today such practices tend to persist in rural areas. A survey in Kanegu-
[582] suku revealed that fifty percent of the marriages were between members of the
same kin group and sixty-six percent of the marriages were between residents of
[178] the same village. Such practices, to be sure, are breaking down, and this be-
comes evident when the above data are analyzed on an age basis, but in view of
the fact that these customs still prevail, though to a more limited extent than
formerly, it is not surprising that so considerable a diversity of dialects
should also be preserved.

197 Another facet of Okinawan dialect geography is the occurrence of small
621 speech-islands exhibiting dialects distinct from those of the surrounding areas.
184 These are the so called yaadui settlements founded during the 18th and 19th cen-
turies by migrants from the Naha-Shuri area; the newcomers were usually the
younger sons of gentry families seeking their livelihood in the country. Such
settlements not only enjoyed a political independence from the larger surround-
ing communities but also were never incorporated into the formal religious
system centering on the nuru priestess and unifying the rural areas. These
factors together with previously-mentioned marriage practices enabled such set-
tlements to preserve their identity. Kitazato in Kami Motobu-son serves as a
good example of this type of village, having been settled seven generations
ago by the younger sons of gentry families residing in Naha and Shuri. The
larger neighboring villages never absorbed Kitazato, and to this day it pre-
[194] serves a dialect quite distinct from theirs. The most notable contrast be-
tween them centers on the p and h sounds in the two dialects, for all p sounds
of nearby Gushiken are rendered h in Kitazato; thus, the word for "fire" is pi
in the dialect of the former and hi in the latter's.

197 Undoubtedly this dialectic diversity is decreasing as the old customs
178 die out and the isolation of the village disappears. The war uprooted many
communities and scattered their inhabitants about the island, and nearly all
villages now have a number of families new to the village since the war. New
communities like the entertainment center of Koza have no characteristic dia-
lect of their own, containing as they do a heterogeneous population recruited
from all parts of the Ryukyus. The vast improvements in roads and transporta-
tion services since the end of the war have given the people a mobility un-
dreamed of in the prewar period and have done much to destroy the isolation of
the rural areas.

192 "Uchinaaguchi". Okinawans call their dialect uchinaaguchi and themselves
[101] uchinaanchu. The terms 'Okinawago', Japanese for Okinawan
language, and 'hōgen', Japanese for dialect, are also in common usage though
the latter term is resented by some who feel that it carries the connotation
"rustic". Today all Okinawan speech contains many loan words from Japanese;
this obtains for those who know no Japanese as well as for those who are bi-
lingual. Intimate contact with Japanese coupled with this word borrowing has

601 But it is significant that
[184] the several lists collected are identical in structure, that is, they all
[171] classify relatives in the same way. Also, everywhere some Japanese terms
[172] are replacing some Okinawan terms. I shall describe the Okinawan system unchanged first and then indicate what the recent changes have been.

As in many kinship systems there is a distinction between terms used primarily in referring to relatives and terms used primarily in addressing them. And as in many societies terms of address are used for all persons older than the speaker, for unrelated persons as well as for relatives. The terms that are used in reference only, never or seldom as terms of address, are terms corresponding to each of the following: parent, child, grandparent, grandchild, uncle, aunt, sibling's child (that is, meaning both "nephew" and niece"), brother, sister, cousin. In addition there are two terms meaning "older" and "younger" and a series of terms meaning "first son", "second son", "third son", etc., which combined with the word for "woman" gives a series meaning "first daughter", "second daughter", etc. Another group of terms is used both in address and in reference, but is probably primarily terms of address; these are in address extended to non-kin, but in their basic meaning they correspond to each of the following: grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, uncle, aunt (these last two are different from those given above), older brother, older sister. To see how these terms are used let us look at each generation in turn.

The terms "grandfather" and "grandmother" are used in addressing one's parents' parents and also in addressing their brothers and sisters, that is, one's great uncles and great aunts and also non-relatives of the same generation as one's grandparents or older. (The term given above as "grandparent" is restricted to actual relatives; its basic meaning is said to be "parent's parent" but in common usage it is extended to mean ancestors above the grandparents' generation as well.) Within the brothers and sisters of one's grandparents the members of each family are further distinguished by relative age. The oldest of several brothers is "big grandfather" and the youngest "little grandfather". Women classified as "grandmothers" are similarly distinguished. These distinguishing terms may also be used in reference. Non-relatives may also be referred to by such terms as "the grandfather of such-and-such a house", using the "yagō" (house name).

The terms for relatives in the parents' generation are likewise extended. Although there are both terms of reference for uncle and aunt and terms of address, the terms "father" and "mother" are (or were) frequently used when addressing the brothers and sisters of both parents and their spouses. And as with the grandparent terms, one's father's oldest brother and mother's oldest brother are both called "big father" and their oldest sisters "big mother". The wife of a "big father" is also a "big mother" and so forth. On the other hand, a parent's youngest brother and youngest sister are called "little uncle" and "little aunt", rather than "little father" or
[574] "little mother". The terms "uncle" and "aunt" are also extended to non-kin, as polite titles of address.

[171] By combining the terms "older" and "younger" with "brother" and "sister", one can express the equivalent of the four Japanese sibling terms,

"older brother", "younger brother", "older sister", and"younger sister". But 601
these terms are never used in address. Two unrelated terms for "older brother" [171]
and "older sister" are used in addressing older siblings and older cousins,
while younger siblings and younger cousins are addressed by name. These two [576]
terms may also be politely extended to non-relatives. One's children, nephews,
nieces, grandchildren, and other younger relatives are also addressed by
name rather than by kinship terms. However, a younger person who is a strang- [576]
er may be addressed as "older brother" or "older sister" out of courtesy.

For in-laws, there are terms of reference: husband, wife, son-in-law, daughter-in-law, and one including spouse's parents and siblings, which can be combined with other words for more specific reference. But none of these terms is used in address. Instead one uses the terms of address proper for one's spouse; the father-in-law is called "father", and so forth, at least until one has children. There is one exception; there is a separate term of address for an older brother's wife. A wife addresses her husband by the polite pronoun "you" and he addresses her by the familiar one.

All that has just been said about terms used in addressing relatives must be qualified by the statement that it is true only until one has children of his own. After the birth of the first child, or perhaps after it begins to understand speech, one begins to call his wife "mother", his father "grandfather", and so forth. He may do this in the child's absence as well. As one informant put it, the whole system shifts to make the child its center.

It will be seen that the Okinawan kinship system is bilateral, that is, 601
it treats the father's relatives and the mother's relatives in the same way; 171
a father's brother and a mother's brother are both "uncles". In this respect it is like the Japanese system and like our own, and unlike the Chinese system, which distinguished father's brothers and mother's brothers by separate terms. It will also be seen that like our own system the generations are clearly distinguished (in some systems relatives of different generations are lumped into the same category), but unlike our system the Okinawan system distinguishes seniors and juniors within a generation. The Japanese system distinguishes older and younger siblings of the speaker but not older and younger siblings of the speaker's parents. The Chinese system also distinguishes older and younger siblings in the speaker's generation and further distinguishes father's older and younger brothers, but lumps mother's older and younger brothers into a single separate category. What the Okinawan system does, and what makes it different from both the Japanese and the Chinese systems, is to single out the oldest in each generation while at the same time, by extending even the terms "father" and "mother" bilaterally, it suggests a unity of all those within the same generation. This accords in a general way, I believe, with the deference [182]
to seniors that is characteristic of all social relationships, with the importance of senior lines in the larger kinship groups, and with the essential unity of the local group despite its division into kin groups.

In the last generation certain changes have occurred in the use of kin- 601
ship terms widely, perhaps everywhere, on Okinawa. The Japanese terms of 177
address, especially those for "father", "mother", "uncle", and "aunt", have 192
begun to replace the native terms. At the same time the practice of extending

601 the native terms for "father" and "mother" to uncles and aunts is going out
177 of use. Thus in structure as well as in the terms themselves the Okinawan
• 192 system is moving in the direction of the Japanese.

552 Maintaining Continuity: House Names Every house has a name (yaamunaa, Japanese 'yagō').
613 This name, in the case of the older houses, may be descriptive of its location or may be taken from the place of origin of the founder. Insofar as possible a man's first son should succeed him as head of his house. If a man's first son rebuilds the house or even moves it, its name usually remains the same. When younger sons establish their own houses the house of the first son is called the "main house" (muutuyaa, J. 'honke') and the younger sons' houses "branch houses" (tatchiyaa, J. 'bunke'). The branch houses take their house names from the house name of the main house. Thus if the main house is called Taba, a branch house may be called Taba-gwaa, "little Taba". If there are several Taba-gwaa, they may be distinguished by directions such as agari, "east", iri, "west", or by the birth order of their founders, as jiman Taba-gwaa, "second-son little Taba", and so forth. If a family line has been in a village for several generations there may be branch houses of branch houses. In such a case the earlier branch house is a main house to its branch houses while still in the status of branch house to the house of the founder of the line. In such cases new elements may be introduced into the naming system; a branch of a Taba-gwaa might be mii-Taba-gwaa, "new little Taba". If there are several branches and branches of branches the original main house (in Japanese, the 'sōhonke') may come to be called ufu-Taba, "great Taba". Thus the relationship of a number of houses in a village may be shown by the names used for them. The house names of a village are surprisingly well-known by the members of a village, even by the children, better known than either the surnames or given names of the inhabitants.[1]

55 Personal Names Before the Japanese annexation the two main social
177 classes on Okinawa differed in the sorts of names they bore. Members of the
[546] gentry (yukatchu, "superior people", or samuree, cognate of the Japanese 'sa-
[614] murai') belonged to patrilineal common descent groups called uji. These uji each had a name consisting of a single Chinese character, often a Chinese surname. Also, different lineages within each uji each bore surnames that were mainly Okinawan place names; these were taken from the names of villages and larger administrative units where the founders of the lineages served as officials. And in addition, each male member of the gentry class had a given name consisting of two characters read in the Chinese manner (that is, the Okinawan version of the Japanese 'on-yomi'). These were called toonaa, "Chinese names". In each uji the first of the two characters in all names was the same. Thus, to give an example, in the Hyō uji there are three lineages bearing the surnames Moromizato, Itosu, and Higa, but all males in the uji regardless of surname bear given names that begin with the character An. Thus Moromizato Ansei and Itosu Angō are seen to be kinsmen despite the difference in surname. These are the names of two men living today. Had they lived before the annexation they might also have designated themselves for official purposes by what look like proper Chinese names, Hyō Ansei and Hyō Angō.

[1] For a more detailed account of the house-naming system see Glacken, 1953, pp. 115-122.

as the case may be. The munchu has a common tomb or several common tombs, a 614
circuit of ugwanju (sacred spots for worship, connected in tradition to the founder of the munchu), and several kaminchu (religious functionaries of a semi-hereditary status). Well-established branch munchu may have their own tombs, circuits of ugwanju, and kaminchu. If this is the case the main house of the branch is called the naka-muutu, "middle root", and the main house of the larger unit the ufu-muutu, "great root". In the absence of written records the exact relationship of the different branches of one of the larger units may occasionally be reinterpreted by the kaminchu and by yuta (seeresses).

The members of a munchu need not, and often do not, have the same sur- 614
name. The usual explanation given for this is that a new surname has entered 551
the munchu through a member's having been adopted as a son-in-law. According [171]
to Japanese law a man who married the daughter of a family with no male heirs became an adopted son-in-law and his children bore his wife's surname. But according to Okinawan custom the ancestral tablets of the woman's parents can go only to a male relative in the male line. The "adopted son-in-law" cannot inherit the tablets; they will go later to a brother's son or grandson. And the children of the "adopted son-in-law" belong to their paternal grandfather's munchu, even though by law they had to take their maternal grandfather's surname. This practice goes back only to the end of the last century. Before the Japanese annexation it is not likely that many peasants had sur- [177]
names; those they later took were probably taken from house names. An informant in Chinen-Son, however, gave another explanation why some of the members of his munchu had different surnames. He said that under the old government some had been given surnames for having served as petty officials at the office of the local governor. He named three surnames locally used that were given to officials of the three lowest ranks.

Among the descendants of the former gentry class the largest kinship unit is the uji. This term is identical with one of the older Japanese terms [192]
translated as "clan". The uji have names that are single Chinese characters, [177]
some of them identical with Chinese surnames. The members of an uji may bear different surnames of the native sort; the explanation for this is that under the former monarchy, when a member of the gentry was appointed to the office of governor of a majiri (the present "Son") or appointed official of a village, he was able to take the name of that majiri or village as his surname. Thus the members of an uji may be divided into several lines, each claiming descent from some illustrious official. These divisions may also be named chakushi-firugi, "first-son-lineage", jinan-firugi, "second-son-lineage", and so forth, according to seniority. Despite their different surnames, however, the male members of an uji usually have given names written with two characters read in the Chinese manner (that is, the Okinawan version of the 'on-yomi' of Japanese), the first of the two characters being the same. To give an example, the Ryō uji consists of three lineages with the surnames Moromizato, Itosu, and Higa, all the males of which have given names beginning with the character An.

In the village of Yamada in Onna-Son, many of the kin units of both 613
the commoners and the gentry who settled there late in the last century are small local divisions of larger units the main houses of which are in the

and women. Two informants who had lived in Japan denied having ever heard of 291
public baths with mixed bathing. Okinawans have occasionally been shocked by 834
seeing Americans nude. Okinawans feel that not only should the lower part of [515]
the torso be covered for the sake of modesty but the upper part also should be covered, if one is out of doors, for reasons of health; the sun's rays are harmful if too strong. Modesty may even reach proportions uncommon in the [326]
West; one young man told Lebra that he does not enjoy going swimming because he believes he is too hairy. The same young man told how he and other boys, when in high school, used to peep through a crack in the bathhouse wall in order to see the women bathing on the other side, until they were chased away by the proprietor. This hardly suggests the casual attitude toward nudity reported for the Japanese.

Body Ornamentation. The Okinawans seem never to have practiced any sort of 178
body mutilation---such as the Chinese foot-binding. 304
However, women were tattooed on the wrists and backs of the hands until early in this century. Most women over 50 have tattooed hands. There are several stories told that purport to explain the origin of the practice---that it was to prevent Okinawan women from being kidnapped, for example---but these stories are of doubtful value. The designs have names but evidently no meaning; one old woman said that they varied with the tattoo artist, who put on whatever he wanted. Tattooing was done before puberty and marriage. It may have originally been part of a puberty rite.

Many people of both sexes between the ages of 20 and 40 have elab- 301
orate gold and silver work on their teeth. In many cases the work does not consist of fillings or bridges but of thin caps put over sound teeth for purely ornamental reasons. These can be removed without harming the teeth. People are said to be having this sort of work done today, but in time the [177]
value Americans and present-day Japanese put on "natural-looking" teeth may win out over the urge to ornament the mouth. Of course there is also a great deal genuine dental work done because of tooth decay.

At present American values and modern Japanese values in feminine 177
beauty are being spread by the beauty parlor. For several years the perma- 832
nent wave has been popular though perhaps not well suited to Mongoloid hair. [305]
And recently a number of young women are said to have added padded brassieres [302]
to their equipment. [291]

Elimination. Urination and defecation are regarded differently. Urination 514
in public is permissible for males, if they turn away. I have seen a dignified old gentleman talking over his shoulder to a young woman while he urinated into the ditch. Women may also urinate in public, though they do so less frequently. Defecation in public is not usual; even children [863]
are scolded for it though they may occasionally do it. Feces ought to go [241]
in the proper place; one reason for using the toilet may be that the "night-soil" is used as fertilizer.

The Okinawan term kusu is used rather more freely than its Japanese 192
cognate, though the uses are parallel. Alone it means "feces", human or animal. It is the usual word for animal manure. In compounds it may mean

192 any kind of body dirt or excretion, as mii-kusu, "sleep" in the eyes, haa-
[578] kusu, "stains on the teeth". As in Japanese it is used also in cursing; in
anger an Okinawan may say, "I'll make you eat feces." A similar phrase,
[774] kusu takkwee, "eat feces", is often spoken after someone, especially a baby,
[775] sneezes. It is explained that the custom arose when a person once overheard
two ghosts plotting to steal a baby's soul (mabui), which may be easily de-
tached by a sneeze; one of the ghosts revealed that if a living person spoke
the phrase it would be sufficient to drive him away. The fact that the
phrase is used in anger suggests that it is an undesirable one; that it is
used in the case of sneezing probably demonstrates the greater fear of ghosts.

831 Sex Practices and attitudes related to marriage have been discussed under
that heading in Chapter V. The sex drive seems to be regarded as
864 natural and not sinful. Adults playfully tweak the penises of little boys
and may put little children of both sexes to sleep by prolonged patting of
the buttocks. They do not tell their children about the nature of sex and
expect them not to know, yet the children hear much thinly-disguised dis-
cussion of sexual relationships and, sleeping with their parents as they do,
may be vaguely aware of their parents' relations. Parents expect their
children to learn of sex "naturally" as they grow older. As Maloney reports[1],
[839] there is little masturbation among small children, but two of Pitts' inform-
ants reported that adolescent boys sometimes hold masturbation contests to
see who can ejaculate the fastest. This practice is said to stop with the
beginning of heterosexual activity.

836 Formerly adolescents, except for girls of the gentry class, seem
883 to have had some sexual freedom. The practice of meeting in the fields at
178 night for parties, moo-ashibii, often led to sexual relations. According to
informants in one community syphilis was brought in late in the last century
through moo-ashibii with the youths of a neighboring village. Pre-marital
sexual relations are probably frequent today, though the conditions under
which young people meet are changing.

837 Married women are expected to have relations with only their hus-
548 bands, but married men are, in theory, limited only by their finances.
There exists in the larger towns a relatively large class of women called
juri, who function as both entertainers and prostitutes. (There is no dis-
tinction, like the Japanese distinction between 'geisha' and 'jorō'.) The
[178] jurimuyaa, "juri houses", were formerly centers of social life for the men
of the city. The present 'ryōtei' have much the same function. A group of
men may spend an evening there eating and drinking and being entertained by
dancing and singing. If one chooses to remain and "buy a woman" his wife's
only objection to it can be that it costs more money.

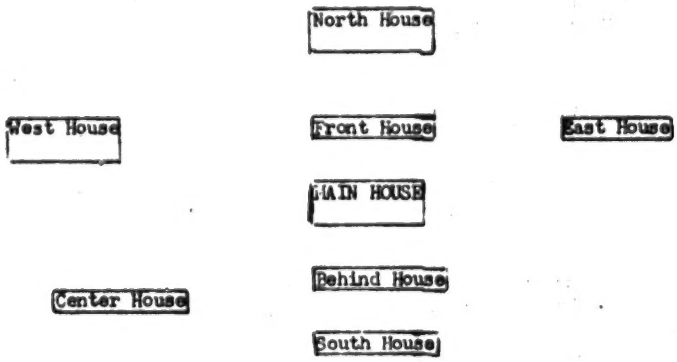
838 Homosexuality is evidently rare, but not unknown. A Naha woman
reported that a Japanese who lived in a room next to hers was in the habit
of luring young boys into his room with good food and then seducing them,
sometimes to their physical discomfort. She said that some of the neighbors

[1] Maloney, 1945, p. 392.

000 state the idea in rough outline first so that it can be grasped immediately. Let us suppose that in an American small town of about 1000 people, there are 200 families, 75 of which are named Smith; another 75, Jones; 25, Brown; and 25 of assorted surnames of less frequency. These people are neighbors; they are an agricultural people; they have not had much education. It is difficult to remember everyone's surname and distinguish, when talking to others, one family from the other. So the 75 Smith families are given various designations, such as "the Milwaukee Smiths," "Smith, the barber," "the second son of the Milwaukee Smiths. The same is done with the Jones, the Browns, and the other families. These families then become known by their secondary names rather than by their Christian and surnames. A child, instead of being known as Bobbie Smith, would be the child of the Milwaukee Smiths. The parallel between this situation and the household order naming system is inexact, but the example conveys the general idea.

592 The household order name given to any single family shows the
614 place of this particular family in the hierarchy of the extended family.
613 Families belonging to the same extended family have the same surname. But each has a different household order name to distinguish one from the other. In Hinatogawa, for example, there are 53 families named Tamaki but each of these families has a distinct household order name. [193] These names are built up in an agglutinative fashion by using a root word and then by adding prefixes and occasionally a suffix to show distinctions among families.

614 Historically, the household order system seems to have grown up
613 as a result of the building of houses for branch families around or
592 near the house of the original ancestor. In the following illustration, the house of the original founder of the family is shown in the middle.
621 Perhaps his eldest younger brother, when he established a branch house, built his home in front of his brother's home and another younger brother built his home in back of the founder's house. These two houses would then become the "front" and the "behind" houses.



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The founder's first son remains in the main house. But his other sons and their sons take up positions to the north, south, east, or west; subsequent descendants might take up other positions. It is possible to relate any family in this manner to the head family. The prefixes (and one suffix) used in making the various designations are:

Japanese	Okinawan	English
mae-	me-	before, front
ushiro-	kushi-	after, behind
ue-	ui-	top
shita-	shicha-	bottom
higashi-	agari-	east
minami-	fe-	south
nishi-	iri-	west
kita-	nishi-	north
atarashii	mi- miya-	new
naka		center
	ufa-	big, great
	-gwa	diminutive, opposite of ufa, and a suffix.

Let us assume, to use an actual illustration from Hanashiro, that the household order name of a main house is Ganiku. This word has no known meaning; it may be a place name or some local landmark near the site of the original house established perhaps centuries ago. Other families in Hanashiro which are branch families of this main extended family would have the word Ganiku in their house order name with the addition of prefixes and suffixes to show that it was a branch family. There are 14 families in which the word Ganiku appears in the household order name. These are (in Okinawan):

1	Ganiku	The Main House
2	Nakaganiku	Center-
3	Kushiganiku	Behind-
4	Ganikugwa	Little Ganiku
5	Iriganiku	West-
6	Miganiku	New-
7	Miyameganiku	New front-
8	Nishiganiku	North-
9	Nishiganikugwa	Little north-
10	Iriganikugwa	Little west-
11	Meganikugwa	Little front-
12	Meiriganikugwa	Little front west-
13	Mimeganikugwa	Little new front-
14	Meganiku	Front-

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In this Hanashiro example, a man's real name might be Shoichi Shiroma, but he is known also as Iriganikugwa, the Little Western Ganiku family. All of his children, while in his family, have the same secondary name.

551 They are referred to as the son or daughter of the Little Western
590 Ganiku house. When the sons grow up, the first son retains the same
614 house order name, as he is perpetuating the house of his father. When
613 his younger brothers establish a branch household, they may add another prefix and become known, for example, as the New Little Western Ganiku family.

The manner in which the household order names may be applied to
592 successive generations is illustrated in the diagram which follows on the
614 next page. Three things should be pointed out about this diagram:
613

(1) There is no established order in the choice of branch family designations. In column five, for example, the prefix iri for west was chosen. Any other direction could have been selected if it were not already taken. Subsequent directions or space relations taken might be east, west, south, front, behind, etc. In this illustration, the order of relationship to the main family is (a) Little Fukuji, column 2, and New Little Fukuji to show the branch family of a branch family. Succeeding branches are then indicated by repeating the previous prefixes and adding one more. Fukuji plus gwa (little), plus mi (new), [193] plus agari (east), then substituting iri (west), to be alternated with other directional terms such as fe (south) for iri in column 6.

(2) Some branch families are of great antiquity, such as the Fukujigwa.

[602] (3) All these people are related but it is difficult to determine the precise relationship. It is easy to see that without an exhaustive and well kept up genealogy, even in this simplified diagram, the relationship of the last individual in the first column to his contemporary, the last individual in column 6 would be difficult to trace. This is one reason that, in all the communities, people know they are relatives but do not know the precise relationship.

On the other hand, the household order system, much more than given and surnames, is a very easy device for keeping general family relationships in mind, especially when these spread over several villages. At least the Okinawans find it so. A person with the house order name of Miagarifukujigwa would know the general relationship in the extended family of his line to the main and other branch houses, whether these were located in his own or in another village.

There are additional refinements of the household order naming system. Other prefixes denoting the rank order of sons may be added, as indeed they must if the family is old and has many generations. The [193] root word in the household order name may occasionally be identical with the surname. Some household order names may also depart from this pattern and be descriptive of previous occupations in the family history. These points are illustrated from the household order names of some

[TEXT Continues TOP of P. 120--analyst]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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592

Minatogawa families:

1 Jinaniritamagusuku. Second Son Western Tamagusuku, for the name Tamashiro Bunkichi. Here the surname and the root word in the household order name are the same because Tamagusuku is the Okinawan equivalent of Tamashiro, gusuku being the Okinawan and shiro the Japanese reading of castle.

2 Gonanfugoshi. Fifth Son, Fugoshi. Actual surname is Uehara.

3 Yonanagariakaigwa. Fourth Son Little Eastern Akai, actual surname, Kanashiro.

4 Ufuyagwa. This illustrates the use of the prefix ufu (ufa) meaning great or big, to show the main house and the suffix, gwa, meaning little, indicating it is a branch family. The actual surname is Tamashiro.

[193]

5 Jinanufuguchigwa. Second Son of Little Great Guchi, actual surname, Tamashiro.

6 Inaminegwa, Little Inamine. Actual surname, Inamine.

7 Sannantarunaganinegwa. Third Son of Little Taru Nagamine. Actual full name, Nagamine Tarō, the Japanese equivalent of Nagamine, Taru.

8 Danpachiya. The House of the Barber. Actual surname is Oshiro. The Okinawan word for barber is danpachi.

9 Asato. A household order name based on a place name. Asato is a village in this township. Meaning is The House of Asato, actual name, Asato Shinkichi.

Some of the household order names are occupational in character, such as the barber in the above list. According to Minatogawa informants, there was also a navel household order name. Navel is hesso in Japanese, tembusu in Okinawan. If a person had a conspicuously large navel, the house was named after him and became Tembuya, House of the Navel, although it is not clear whether this was a hereditary household order name or merely a temporary one, more resembling an individual nickname. The occupational household order names apparently were both temporary and hereditary. For example, the household order name, Nakama, a surname, might have the prefix kajira (Japanese) or kanja (Okinawan) meaning blacksmith, for one son, and Danpachiya Nakama, Barber Nakama, to distinguish by occupation one son from another.

There are instances, but not in the villages studied, of household order names following the name of the official position of an ancestor. Descendants, for example, of the first head man (kuchō in Japanese) of a village might, if their surname were Moromizato, add the word kuchō making Kuchōmoromizato, Family of the Head Man Moromizato. These however

melon can be saved for a year. It is also served raw with vinegar and sugar dressing, often mixed with another vegetable to make a salad called nakasugwa in Okinawan. 241 262 [252]

(8) The burdock (gobo) is also very minor and usually grown for home use. It is boiled when eaten.

(9) The carrot (ninjin) is a minor crop.

(10) The trumpet or bottle gourd (yūgao) is only grown in Matsuda and for home use as a summer food. [184]

(11) Spinach (hōrensō), onions (negi), Chinese lettuce (hakusai) are not uncommon. Spinach, lettuce (chisi), and onions do not have the importance either as a crop or a food that they have with us.

(12) The taro (satoimo in Japanese, Colocasia esculenta Schott) can occasionally be seen growing in Hanashiro or Matsuda, often on the edge of a rice field. It is known locally also as taimo and apparently is the same as the Japanese dasheen. The taro is used as a side dish.

(13) The Irish potato (bareisho) is occasionally grown for sale. [432]

(14) Cabbage (tamana) is partly a cash, partly a home use crop. It is also minor. Some Okinawans like cabbage and grow it for their own use, but many dislike it and sell the crop.

(15) The grains are an unimportant part of village agriculture. The most common are barley (ōmugi), wheat (komugi) and millet. (Mugi is a general term for grain. The ō means large, the ko, small, referring to the kernels of the two grains). [193]

Although comparable statistics were not available for each of the villages, the following table from Hanashiro clearly shows the relative importance of the major crops: 241 311

HANASHIRO
Crop Acreages, 1950

Crop	Area in Chō a/	Percent of Total
Rice	10.89	100.0
Total Dry Crop Land	59.88	100.0
Sweet Potatoes	35.86	59.9
Soy Beans	13.63	22.8
Sugar Cane	5.41	9.0
Beans and Peas (excluding soy)	2.30	3.9
Wheat	1.80	3.0
Millet	0.50	0.8
Vegetables	0.38	0.6

191 555 of the difficulties involved. Ambition is directed toward practical ends, such as a business or government clerkship or becoming a teacher.

876 194 It is probably too early to judge the effects of post-war instruction in English. The question is whether students will acquire working knowledge beyond the stage of conventional expressions and simple constructions. Pronouncing English is difficult for Okinawans, partly because the Oriental tradition in education has been so largely visual rather than oral, partly because students, consciously or unconsciously, convert English sounds into their rough Japanese equivalents, and proceed from there.

875 In the primary and high schools, English, with few exceptions, is taught by teachers who themselves have learned English from Japanese teachers. They have added to this knowledge, by private study, often [214] far into the night, of the dreadful English-Japanese phrase books, grammars, and other compendia which the Japanese love to publish. English still reaches the student through this Japanese sieve. So many teachers have learned English this way that the ordinary English of a native speaker baffles them, and they are easily thrown off by "intonation." Correction of this will have to be very gradual. The best teacher of English I saw was a young man who had been taught by an older Okinawan teacher who had in turn been taught by an Englishman. These teachers are devoted to their subject. But it is distressing to see them at study: trying to learn the language by mastering the uses of "nothing but," or "in order to," or "so that," or poring over those phrase books with their headings, "At the postoffice," "At the purser's office on the boat," etc., etc. Much of this is due to the fact that until recent times they have had little or no contact with native [177] English speakers. In the rural areas this contact is still rare. A young man in one of the villages, an addict of the phrase books, 876 one afternoon was studying hard to master the courtesies of a newly appointed ambassador calling on the Japanese foreign minister in his garden! He had been studying English for years, and finally one day got a job as a clerk in a military installation. But he was not a clerk; as he told it, he was a clarku. It is undeniable that these students learn an English that can be understood. Many of them would be able to use the language, and improve rapidly, if chosen as exchange students or national leaders. But the misdirected effort and the wasted eyesight are pitiful.

In the primary schools, English is taught in a conventional way. The teacher reads a sentence or a passage. The class reads after him, and the individual pupils recite. Much the same procedure is followed in the high schools, but there is more conversation. This system turns out many who know some English, but are very hesitant about using it, and a few who have some real understanding. The failures should not be emphasized too much; the point is that as soon as possible English should be taught by teachers who have learned the language from native speakers.

195 A munchu was made up of a number
197 of households or families united through the male line, descended from a common
[619] ancestor, and sharing a common tomb. Village endogamy was an obligatory mar-
[582] riage practice and violations did not pass unpunished; in addition kin group
endogamy was a preferred practice, though not necessarily an obligatory one.
[628] Intervillage contacts and ties, consequently, were held to a minimum. These cus-
[178] toms were followed by the majority of the oldest generation now living, and
even today such practices tend to persist in rural areas. A survey in Kanegu-
[582] suku revealed that fifty percent of the marriages were between members of the
same kin group and sixty-six percent of the marriages were between residents of
the same village. Such practices, to be sure, are breaking down, and this be-
[178] comes evident when the above data are analyzed on an age basis, but in view of
the fact that these customs still prevail, though to a more limited extent than
formerly, it is not surprising that so considerable a diversity of dialects
should also be preserved.

197 Another facet of Okinawan dialect geography is the occurrence of small
621 speech-islands exhibiting dialects distinct from those of the surrounding areas.
184 These are the so called yaadui settlements founded during the 18th and 19th cen-
turies by migrants from the Naha-Shuri area; the newcomers were usually the
younger sons of gentry families seeking their livelihood in the country. Such
settlements not only enjoyed a political independence from the larger surround-
ing communities but also were never incorporated into the formal religious
system centering on the nuru priestess and unifying the rural areas. These
factors together with previously-mentioned marriage practices enabled such set-
tlements to preserve their identity. Kitazato in Kami Motobu-son serves as a
good example of this type of village, having been settled seven generations
ago by the younger sons of gentry families residing in Naha and Shuri. The
larger neighboring villages never absorbed Kitazato, and to this day it pre-
[194] serves a dialect quite distinct from theirs. The most notable contrast be-
tween them centers on the p and h sounds in the two dialects, for all p sounds
of nearby Oushiken are rendered h̄ in Kitazato; thus, the word for "fire" is pi
in the dialect of the former and hi in the latter's.

197 Undoubtedly this dialectic diversity is decreasing as the old customs
178 die out and the isolation of the village disappears. The war uprooted many
communities and scattered their inhabitants about the island, and nearly all
villages now have a number of families new to the village since the war. New
communities like the entertainment center of Koza have no characteristic dia-
lect of their own, containing as they do a heterogeneous population recruited
from all parts of the Ryukyus. The vast improvements in roads and transporta-
tion services since the end of the war have given the people a mobility un-
dreamed of in the prewar period and have done much to destroy the isolation of
the rural areas.

192 "Uchinaaguchi" Okinawans call their dialect uchinaaguchi and themselves
[101] uchinaanchu. The terms 'Okinawago', Japanese for Okinawan
language, and 'hōgen', Japanese for dialect, are also in common usage though
the latter term is resented by some who feel that it carries the connotation
"rustic". Today all Okinawan speech contains many loan words from Japanese;
this obtains for those who know no Japanese as well as for those who are bi-
lingual. Intimate contact with Japanese coupled with this word borrowing has

Intimate contact with Japanese coupled with this word borrowing has resulted in a tendency toward slight sound shifts in the direction of Japanese phonology; this is particularly true among the bilingual speakers. The same process is operative in the Japanese of these Okinawan speakers in that there is a tendency toward Okinawan phonology. 194 177

The real strongholds of Okinawan speech today are the family and the rural areas. In an old and relatively unchanged village like Kanegusuku little Japanese is heard despite the fact that most of the villagers are bilingual. That Okinawan is the language of the family is best demonstrated by the pre-school-age children who do not speak or understand any Japanese aside from a few greetings and polite phrases. Likewise men over sixty and women over fifty-five usually cannot speak Japanese. The remainder of the village, approximately seventy percent of the total, is bilingual; however, this figure is somewhat misleading in so far as actual usage is concerned. A majority of the married women use Japanese infrequently since Okinawan is the language of their daily lives, which are largely confined to the village and home. For the men, a number of whom have seen service abroad in the Japanese forces, there is a greater freedom of movement and a wider range of contacts providing more occasion for the use of Japanese. Yet within the village many of them preferred to use Okinawan, and even the high school students were inclined to shed their Japanese on returning to the village. A number of bilingual informants ascribed this preference for Okinawan to the influence of the old people who understood Japanese imperfectly or not at all. As one informant put it, "The old people in this village just don't like being spoken to in Japanese, and if some person does this, they say he is trying to be big." Undoubtedly their influence is a strong factor, but this preference is also likely attributable to a low degree of proficiency in Japanese. Prior to the postwar period few villagers obtained more than a sixth grade education; consequently, many are not as articulate in Japanese as they are in Okinawan. It should also be noted that within the village a selective factor operates so as to perpetuate the use of Okinawan. Mention is made in another section of this report of a mayor's comment to the effect that all those who receive a good education, high school or university, soon leave the village. Thus, the very group most likely to further the spread of Japanese leaves before its influence is felt. 191 178 177 621 [871] [166]

The resentment of the oldest generation toward the use of Japanese resolves itself among the younger, bilingual generations into an attitude that Japanese imparts a certain formality to an occasion, and hence situations calling for the use of Okinawan or Japanese tend to be rather compartmentalized in their minds. Formal occasions prescribe the use of Japanese and informal ones Okinawan. Village political meetings and elections were always conducted in Japanese, and when the 'son' officials made one of their periodic inspections of the village, only Japanese was used in addressing them. On the other hand the use of Japanese at a party would be regarded as too formal and a bit unfriendly, and, of course, with old people and children only Okinawan is used. Besides the formal-informal dichotomy there exists the feeling among the better-educated bilinguals that Japanese is a modern and sophisticated language whereas Okinawan is backward and rustic. 191 829 177

There are several aspects of Okinawan culture wherein the local language is used to the exclusion of Japanese; chief among these are the theater 191 178

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1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

there is little forcing of children,[10] In my opinion and this might be just as significant in accounting for the easy going security of Okinawans as that coming from breast feeding and carrying on the back. But a single element explanation is not a fruitful approach to this complex subject. 861 155

The chief factors in child development, in my observation, are the child's early and continuous contact with the mother, and the "public" life of the child[11] and its early exposure to the activities, the admonishments, the corrections, the admiration, and the fondling of others. Older women of the village have a major part in this, but young men and women look after a child, advise it, correct it, perhaps feed it. This "public" life is made easier because a child carried on the back, or toddling, or, later, in walking is seldom out of the view of a relative. It is common to talk with a villager in a public place and to discover that two or three of the children playing there are cousins, nieces, nephews, or more distant relatives. It is this combination of impressions and pressures, in my opinion, rather than planned training, which induces conformity and makes a child part of the village life. Certainly the standards of public and private behavior, transmitted from the parent, is reinforced at a much earlier age than in American society, by community approval, disapproval, and assistance. Part of this is due to the fact that a village, even its government, takes on some of the attributes of a large family. 861 [867]

Okinawan rural children grow up speaking Okinawan (Okinawago). There is no standard Okinawan and local dialectical differences are very marked. The chief distinctions seem to be in accent and 197

[Text continues top of P. 268 -- analyst]

10 There is an interesting passage in Captain Hall's voyage. Hall's party observed a boy tumbling. He stopped when he saw he was observed and could not be induced to continue. Hall's company asked an Okinawan friend to get the boy to continue. This he did without success, and feigned anger when the boy would not go on. Thereupon the persuasion stopped, the Okinawan observing, "It was for his own amusement that he began, and probably for his own amusement he will do so again." The boy resumed his tumbling when he was ignored. Hall wrote that the Okinawan showed good sense in not compelling the boy to continue "that as a task, which he had begun as an amusement, and which he had discernment enough to know would be unpleasant for us to witness in any other way. By this treatment of their children, mutual cordiality and freedom of intercourse are encouraged. It was probably owing to this mode of education that the children became at once familiar with us." Account of a voyage to west Corea and the Great Loochoo, as cited, 211. [861] [155]

11 This happy phrase, I believe, was first used by Miss A. M. Bacon in her still excellent book, Japanese girls and women, New York, 1907.

●197 pronunciation. The people in Matsuda could distinguish and identify villagers from other places, even though the villages were close to one another.[12] Okinawan is the language of social and everyday life. In Matsuda, it seemed to be supplanted by Japanese more than in the other two villages. Japanese is used in official contacts and in 191 dealing with foreigners. Pre-school children know very little Japanese. Their parents do not teach them the language, and they grow up speaking the village dialect. The only exception is that parents teach the child a few Japanese words of greeting, formalities, and expressions of thanks.

524 Children lack the toys and playthings they had prior to the war. At present they are a miscellaneous collection of rocks, pieces of wood, tin cans, twigs, branches, and anything which circumstance or childish improvisation can provide. In play, there is a great deal of running and catching, hide and seek, and games like hop scotch. [526] After beginning school, play has a more formal character, with dances, games, and organized athletics.

857 Sleeping habits, especially those of children, are in part the result of circumstance, in part of custom, and it is difficult to 513 separate the two. Children, often up to the age of 14 or 15, sleep with an older member of the family. In one Hanashiro family, the last born sleeps with the mother and the father until the next child comes. The older children sleep in another room with the grandmother or grandfather. If there are no elder relatives, the whole family may sleep together. This practice frequently is forced by economy and necessity. The war destroyed homes and the rebuilt ones are small. Blankets are expensive. In the better homes before the war, if there were plenty of blankets, rooms, and mosquito nets, children 8 years and over had their own sleeping rooms, or at least their own heavy blanket or cot. The farmer or fisherman does not use a bed or a cot. Now and then they are used by younger adults with a taste for western beds. But even before the war, 15 and 16 year olds often slept with parents or grandparents.

Children from different houses also sleep together after they have begun school. Children come to a house to play, and, when bed time comes, they go to sleep in the house of their playmates. These sleeping groups are common when classmates meet during the evening for study. The village is so small that there is no alarm at a child's absence. An old grandmother living by herself may have many children sleeping with her overnight, sprawled out in various positions on a comforter, protected by the very large mosquito net (kaya) so universal in Okinawa.

12 No attempt was made to study language, linguistics, or dialectical differences. To be profitable, these subjects must be studied by technically trained linguists.

131 a fact which has been a determinant in their historical development
648 and an important factor in speculations about prehistoric events.

105 Until further archaeological evidence permits greater certainty, the
174 original settlement of the Ryukyus is believed to have taken place predominantly from the Asiatic mainland, with occasional influx from the southern islands, Formosa, the Philippines, and Indonesia (Kerr, [172] 1958). Surviving culture elements of great antiquity support these theories. Most frequently cited are a basic form of Shinto, characteristic of the religion, and the shamanistic role of the priestesses. Specifi- [177] cally, the "curved jewels," formerly worn by all priestesses, are mentioned as apparent links with the neolithic cultures of Japan.

105 On the other hand, sporadic contact with the islands to the south
177 is evidenced by culture traits, such as raised houses of tropical design
174 (common to all of Japan) and perhaps the practice of "mother roast- [846] ing," a period of recuperation after the birth of a child during which the mother is kept near a fire. This custom is widespread in Malaysia (Cole, 1945:155).

[197] Linguistic evidence points to a separation of Okinawan from a common proto Japanese language about 1500 years ago (Hattori, 1954). This may indicate a southern movement of peoples from Japan under the pressure of the Yayoi people who introduced the wet rice complex into southwestern and central Japan at this period. That this was not the earliest settlement of the Ryukyus, however, is evidenced by remains in the Ryukyus of the earlier Jomon period.

105 From the first mention of the Ryukyus in Chinese annals of 605 A.D.
648 until the end of the nineteenth century when Japan formally annexed
175 the islands, they stood in a curious relationship of dependency toward China and Japan. Both nations claimed suzerainty over the kingdom of Okinawa with its royal court in Shuri and extracted tribute. Eventually the Lord of Satsuma in southern Japan extended his sovereignty over the Ryukyus. But with ties to China remaining, Okinawa participated in both Chinese and Japanese culture, which disseminated through the urban trading center of Naha into the outlying areas. It is this intermediate cultural position which still gives Okinawa a peculiar character, although it long ago became part of Japan and abandoned direct contacts with China.

105 In 1872 Japan formally declared its claims on the Ryukyuan king-
175 dom, and after deposing the last king in 1879, made the Ryukyuan
177 islands a province of Japan, with the capital at Naha. Between this
648 time and the present, intensive contact with Japan has led to an overwhelming absorption of Japanese culture, a willingness on the part of Okinawans to adopt Japanese ways and to identify with Japan as their

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

home country. Nevertheless, many aspects of Okinawan life still suggest an earlier phase in which independent developments gave the islands their own particular culture. 105 175 177 648

The Okinawan people, approximately 655,000 as counted in 1954, live in an area of about 454 square miles. Their major economic activities have traditionally been agriculture and fishing. In 1945 a long, peaceful existence was brought to an abrupt end during the final battles of World War II in the Pacific. As a result of world conditions Okinawans have been placed under American administration for an indefinite period of time. Today large numbers of men—and some women—find employment as unskilled and semiskilled laborers with the American forces. Gradual training for highly skilled jobs widens these opportunities for employment. Indirectly Okinawan life is influenced by Americans through stimulation of trade, building, and improved health conditions. Land requirements of the American forces in some areas also have influenced the settlement pattern. While these changes have affected the entire island to some degree, the greatest changes are noticeable in the central part around Naha where American administrative and military personnel are located. The village of Taira in the northern province of Kunigami, where the present study was located, had been subject to relatively few of these postwar changes in 1954. Isolated since earliest times because of mountainous terrain, this part of the island participates, as it probably always did, marginally in cultural influences which affect the center of the island. A great deal of cultural stability has therefore been preserved until the present day. 105 648 [161] [131] [464] [101] [184]

Nevertheless, it is useful to remember that the population of northern Okinawa is linked with the rest of the island by an efficient communications system. Roads connect almost all settlements in the north with the central island, and a bus transportation system extends its service into the remote areas. But long before all villages were connected by road with the center of Okinawa, people of Kunigami province traveled by foot over the many trails which traverse the mountains, and, since the turn of the century, many have left their home villages. Some went to Japan as laborers; others settled in the Japanese-controlled Islands of the Pacific, and some families joined the numerous Okinawan settlements in South American countries. 105 491 [494] [484] [487] [167]

LANGUAGE

Taira people are bilingual. Okinawan, which linguists consider a separate language, has many regional dialects, some of which are not 197 191

197 mutually intelligible. The speech differences are so great that even
191 two neighboring villages have noticeable dialectical variations. Japanese is the second language.

Okinawan is spoken in almost all households. The first words learned by the child from his mother or others around him are Okinawan. The child is praised or scolded in Okinawan; he learns Okinawan terms for numbers, names for plants, tools, and other implements used around the house. A curious exception in this pattern is the use of
[601] kinship terms. Taira children start using Japanese kinship terms in
[177] infancy with one exception—in some families the grandmother is addressed by the Okinawan term.

[648] Knowledge of the Okinawan language is said to have been helpful to Americans during the war in distinguishing the local people from Japanese. Japanese has been the official language in Okinawa for over 60 years. It is taught and used in schools exclusively until the upper grades, when foreign languages are introduced. Everybody who has gone to school learns Japanese, and only the oldest persons in Taira speak Okinawan exclusively.

197 Young children, even though they learn to speak Okinawan first,
872 soon pick up Japanese words and phrases. While their Okinawan
191 vocabulary is limited to everyday experiences, the child's horizon is widened gradually by the use of Japanese terms. First formal efforts to teach Japanese are made in kindergarten, and teachers quickly succeed in eliminating the use of Okinawan in class. Even in play groups of
[626] school-age children, Japanese is usual. Children frequently censure each other for occasional slips or shifts to Okinawan.

191 Taira adults vary in the use of language. Simple, routine matters in
197 daily living are mostly discussed in Okinawan. This language is also predominant in small, informal social gatherings and in emotionally tense situations, such as domestic quarrels. Furthermore, the priestess and her assistants conduct all religious ceremonies in Okinawan. People resorted to Okinawan in our presence when they did not want to be understood. On the other hand, village meetings and gatherings of village leaders or visits of teachers and other officials are conducted in Japanese.

THE PEOPLE

142 The majority of the Taira people are of short, stocky build, with heavy bones. Their hair growth is strong, their skin dark. A light skin

CHAPTER II: LANGUAGE

W. P. Lebra

197 Introduction Though Japanese is established as the official language of Okinawa, in practice its use is more limited than that of the indigenous language, Okinawan. Since only Japanese is used in the government, press, cinema, radio, schools, and among the leaders of public and professional life, an observer not in intimate contact with the people might easily gain the impression that the native language is dead or dying. Recently an American stationed on Okinawa expressed the opinion, "In the past decades they spoke their own language, Luchuan, but this has almost been forgotten since the Japanese took over late in the last century."[1] On the contrary, however, this language is far from being dead or forgotten, and at the present time the majority of Okinawans may be said to be bilingual. In all communities which the authors studied and visited, Okinawan was found to be more widely used than Japanese. More significantly it has maintained itself as the language of the family in a majority of homes; consequently, most children do not learn to speak Japanese until they commence formal schooling. Fortunately for them this task is somewhat simplified by the close affinity between Okinawan and Japanese.

197 Relationship The indigenous speech of Okinawa is, properly speaking, a dialect of Ryukyuan, which constitutes a sister language to Japanese in the Ryukyuan-Japanese language family. These two languages (Ryukyuan and Japanese) are not mutually intelligible although their morphological, phonological, and syntactic correspondence clearly indicates a common parentage. The degree of their kinship frequently has been likened to that of French and Italian. Thus far they stand alone in that a relationship between them and any other language has not been established; yet, the possibility of such a relationship with Korean and Altaic (Tungus-Manchu, Mongol, and Turkic) has been postulated by a number of scholars and seems the most likely possibility.

Areally this Ryukyuan-Japanese language family extends from Hokkaido in the north to the Yaeyama island group in the south. Ryukyuan is found in the area from Amami Oshima to Yaeyama, while Japanese occupies the area north of Amami. Within these two speech regions there exist many dialects, and people from widely separated places would often find communication difficult, if not impossible, were it not for the teaching of a standard speech, the dialect of the Tokyo area, in all the schools. Today this standard language ('hyōjungo') is the lingua franca for those travelling about or in contact with persons outside their dialect group.

Dialect boundaries within the Ryukyuan speech region have yet to be precisely determined. The line of demarcation spearating Ryukyuan from Japanese is itself rather arbitrary, for the dialect of Amami Oshima shares nearly as many features with the dialect of Kagoshima-ken as it does with that of Okinawa. Miyanaga, who has spent many years studying and recording Ryukyuan, recognizes four main dialects coinciding with the four main island clusters,

[1] Major General David A. D. Ogden, 1954, p. 45.

Amami Oshima, Okinawa, Miyako, and Yaeyama.[1] Although they appear to differ widely, mutual intelligibility prevails, and informants from other islands assured me that they had managed to understand Okinawan in a short time though most preferred to use Japanese rather than attempt the new dialect. 197

Okinawan Dialects The Okinawan dialect area, Okinawa and its offshore islands, contains many sub-dialects or local speech groups, all of which are easily mutually intelligible. It would be an exaggeration to state that there is a distinctive dialect for each community; yet the variety and diversity of local speech forms constantly impresses one. Nakasone has distinguished five dialects in the Kunigami area alone, and this does not include nearly a dozen and a half distinctive speech islands within the same area.[2] These local speech peculiarities are often pointed out with considerable pride and seem much prized as symbolic of a community's identity. [621]

The dialects of Naha, Shuri, and certain of the larger towns such as Itoman and Yonabaru, are quite distinctive and easily recognized by the Okinawans. Naha dialect is most widely spoken and easily understood throughout the [554] island, and because of its association with the capital carries the greatest prestige among Okinawan speakers. Old residents of Naha complain that their [177] dialect has deteriorated and become coarsened since the war due to the heavy influx from other areas of people who speak the dialect imperfectly. By this they refer to the loss of certain polite forms and the inundations of Japanese. Some Shuri people will contend that the "best" Okinawan is spoken in their city. In the past this was undoubtedly a widely accepted point of view, but [648] with the advent of Japanese administration---exile of the king, removal of the [177] capital to Naha, abolition of the upper classes---Shuri's prestige as a cultural center rapidly declined. A number of informants, rural and urban, felt [345] that the "purest" Okinawan was heard in the Naha theaters, particularly at the Naha Gekijō, where daily performances of modern and historical dramas are presented. Itoman dialect is considered to be very coarse and rough by the people [554] of other communities, and hence is accorded a low prestige. This is in part [226] due to certain prosodic features of the dialect which render it unlike other Okinawan dialects, but more likely it is due to the fact that this town largely derives its livelihood from fishing, an occupation regarded with opprobrium by farmers and urbanites alike. The neighboring farm village of Kanegusuku, though less than a quarter of a mile away and long associated with Itoman, preserves a dialect distinct from it.

This dialectic diversity on Okinawa reflects to a certain extent the [361] physical isolation of the typical village, a tightly-nucleated cluster of dwellings surrounded by fields. It is also a product of the social structure 197 in the Okinawan kingdom. Prior to annexation by Japan (1879), farmers were 105 little more than serfs bound to the soil and forbidden to leave their native [566] village, while the gentry and nobility were for the most part concentrated in [565] the urban Naha-Shuri district. Rural villages tended to be isolated, self- [621] sustaining units; most were composed of a dominant kin group (munchu) and several smaller and possibly remotely related kin groups, or of several unrelated kin groups more nearly equal in size. A munchu was made up of a number

[1] Miyanaga /Miyara/, 1950, p. 39.

[2] Nakasone, 1937, pp. 242-258.

105 A munchu was made up of a number
197 of households or families united through the male line, descended from a common
[619] ancestor, and sharing a common tomb. Village endogamy was an obligatory mar-
[582] riage practice and violations did not pass unpunished; in addition kin group
endogamy was a preferred practice, though not necessarily an obligatory one.
[628] Intervillage contacts and ties, consequently, were held to a minimum. These cus-
[178] toms were followed by the majority of the oldest generation now living, and
even today such practices tend to persist in rural areas. A survey in Kanegu-
[582] suku revealed that fifty percent of the marriages were between members of the
same kin group and sixty-six percent of the marriages were between residents of
[178] the same village. Such practices, to be sure, are breaking down, and this be-
comes evident when the above data are analyzed on an age basis, but in view of
the fact that these customs still prevail, though to a more limited extent than
formerly, it is not surprising that so considerable a diversity of dialects
should also be preserved.

197 Another facet of Okinawan dialect geography is the occurrence of small
621 speech-islands exhibiting dialects distinct from those of the surrounding areas.
184 These are the so called yaadui settlements founded during the 18th and 19th cen-
turies by migrants from the Naha-Shuri area; the newcomers were usually the
younger sons of gentry families seeking their livelihood in the country. Such
settlements not only enjoyed a political independence from the larger surround-
ing communities but also were never incorporated into the formal religious
system centering on the nuru priestess and unifying the rural areas. These
factors together with previously-mentioned marriage practices enabled such set-
tlements to preserve their identity. Kitazato in Kami Motobu-son serves as a
good example of this type of village, having been settled seven generations
ago by the younger sons of gentry families residing in Naha and Shuri. The
larger neighboring villages never absorbed Kitazato, and to this day it pre-
[194] serves a dialect quite distinct from theirs. The most notable contrast be-
tween them centers on the p and h sounds in the two dialects, for all p sounds
of nearby Gushiken are rendered h in Kitazato; thus, the word for "fire" is pi
in the dialect of the former and hi in the latter's.

197 Undoubtedly this dialectic diversity is decreasing as the old customs
178 die out and the isolation of the village disappears. The war uprooted many
communities and scattered their inhabitants about the island, and nearly all
villages now have a number of families new to the village since the war. New
communities like the entertainment center of Koza have no characteristic dia-
lect of their own, containing as they do a heterogeneous population recruited
from all parts of the Ryukyus. The vast improvements in roads and transporta-
tion services since the end of the war have given the people a mobility un-
dreamed of in the prewar period and have done much to destroy the isolation of
the rural areas.

192 "Uchinaaguchi" Okinawans call their dialect uchinaaguchi and themselves
[101] uchinaanchu. The terms 'Okinawago', Japanese for Okinawan
language, and 'hōgen', Japanese for dialect, are also in common usage though
the latter term is resented by some who feel that it carries the connotation
"rustic". Today all Okinawan speech contains many loan words from Japanese;
this obtains for those who know no Japanese as well as for those who are bi-
lingual. Intimate contact with Japanese coupled with this word borrowing has

212 Writing Okinawa never developed an independent system of writing; in the old
177 kingdom both Japanese and Chinese were used. Literacy was largely
829 confined to the upper classes, and it is said that students were sent to both
[371] countries for study. Apparently the literati held the Chinese language and culture in high regard while disdaining that of the Japanese; yet, Bettelheim noted in 1851 that Japanese books were very popular in spite of this contempt of the literati.[1] He also stated that the Okinawans always preferred biblical texts written in Japanese to those in Chinese. In view of the political paramouncy of Japan from 1609 and the close linguistic and cultural ties between the two peoples this popularity of Japanese is not surprising. It also should
[538] be noted that although the literati are reported as preferring Chinese to Japanese, the major literary achievements of Okinawa were written in Japanese. Thus, for example, the Omorosōshi, sixteenth century collection of songs which the late Dr. Ifa has called the Ryukyuan scriptures, was recorded in a Japanese style of writing; the same is true for the annals of the old kingdom and for the first dictionary of the Okinawan language.

212 With the advent of a Japanese administration and educational system,
177 the study of Chinese ceased, and today Japanese is used exclusively. Most Okinawan place names and family names as they are written in Japanese can be given two interpretations, the Japanese and the Okinawan; in a majority of cases the Japanese is given preference. Occasionally when Okinawan speech is transcribed as in the case of lyrics accompanying phonograph records, the Japanese syllabary is used. This is not a suitable devise for transcribing Okinawan speech, which contains many sounds unfamiliar to Japanese. Unfortunately much of the early
[114] linguistic research conducted in this area was rendered virtually worthless by the employment of this syllabary. In recent years scholars like Miyanaga and Kinjo have recorded Ryukyuan using the International Phonetic Alphabet.

197 Conclusion At the present time Okinawan speech enjoys widespread use throughout the whole of the island. It is still the language of the home,
191 and as such it is a more common medium of expression than the official language,
177 Japanese. The latter, backed by the government, schools, and all the forces of
178 modern life, is gradually supplanting Okinawan, but it would be an over-statement to say that the language is dying out. It may be expected that the majority of Okinawans will remain bilingual as they are today until such time when a whole adult generation will speak only Japanese and transmit only Japanese to its offspring.

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[1] Bettelheim, n.d., p. 31.

followed by "nee?", "isn't it so?" In this manner the adult communicates what 858
little that must be communicated to these sub-human beings that are constantly 171
underfoot. To other adults he uses other verb forms, other words, longer and 198
more tightly integrated sentences. He does so, I believe, confident that he is speaking over the heads of the children, though he would deny that this was his motive; his use of different forms in addressing adults would be more likely explained as motivated by respect for the adults. I believe that in this manner Okinawan children are mentally more isolated from adults than are American children, though physically they are in greater contact with them. In time, of course, children learn to understand the conversation of their elders, but they do so without asking questions or overtly showing much interest. Thus very gradually they come into the adult world.

The interpretation just presented is more an hypothesis that seeks to 858
explain some features of Okinawan behavior than a fact that can be indisputably 197
demonstrated. But it suggests a reason, though probably not the only one, for 198
the strong tendency to retain Okinawan as the language of the home, even in families where the adults speak Japanese fairly well, regard it as superior, and use it on formal occasions. Okinawan is suitable for addressing children. Adults unconsciously prefer it because it makes it that much easier for them to differentiate between the speech used in addressing children and that used in addressing adults. Moreover, I believe this interpretation agrees [186]
with what appears to be a marked tendency in Okinawan society for the educated deliberately to talk over the heads of the uneducated. I will discuss this again under the heading education.

Discipline Parents appear to want their children to be agreeable in 860
their relations with others and industrious at school. They praise the gentle (J. 'otonashii') child and the good student. Yet they seem to tolerate noisiness, disregard for property, and to some extent disregard for person, though they may be more tolerant of this sort of behavior in boys than in girls. On one occasion Pitts and Lebra presented an old man with several photographs that they had taken of him and his grandson. As they handed the photographs to the old man, the boy snatched one and in doing so tore it. The old man was visibly hurt at the loss of the photograph, but said nothing to the child at all. On the other hand one of us also once saw a grandmother reach over and pinch a somewhat older girl quite severely because she was lying with her legs apart.

Where behavior thought to be of a more serious nature is concerned, 861
parents do attempt to control their children. They do so by coaxing, bribing, threatening, teasing, scolding, and, for most as a last resort, by corporal punishment. Scolding takes such forms as "dirty!", "shameful!", "You will be laughed at", etc. While being scolded the child need not answer; he may simply look at the ground and remain silent. Since he is not expected to answer he may be less inclined to construct elaborate excuses in the manner of the American child. The threats include such things as "we'll send you away", "we'll sell you to the Itoman people" (to a boy), "we'll sell you to the juri" (to a girl), "we'll give you to the Americans", "we'll call the police", "we'll call a cat (or some kind of bogey) to scare you," "you'll receive divine retribution." Since children are sometimes put out of the house as

that a woman can hold office today since the government has made this law, 562
but that they would never permit this to happen. In village elections only household heads are permitted to vote, and in practice only they are eligible for the village offices. If a woman is a household head (and there are eighteen in this category in Kanegusuku) she is allowed to vote, but she would never be considered for any village office. Most women would not want the job if it were available to them, for this is considered a part of the affairs of men and inconsistent with the traditional concept of woman's role of wife and mother. Women are vaguely aware that their [117] legal and political status has altered under the American military administration, and nearly all have heard stories about America where women are [829] said to be very influential, but they are not so sure that what is good for Americans will necessarily work for them.

An exception to the generally inactive role of women in political 562
affairs is found in Okinawan fishing communities. In Itoman and Henza, 184
which derive their living from fishing, shipping, and ferrying, the men 621
are away much of the time, and the women exercise considerably more control over family and financial matters than elsewhere on Okinawa. Itoman women are noted throughout the island for their independence and shrewdness in financial matters, and there is a common saying that an Itoman woman doesn't need a man if she has a house. On Henza Island the lower echelons of the village political hierarchy are completely dominated by women. The five 'hanchō' are women, each heading a political unit of about eight hundred persons, and the forty-one 'kumichō' are also women. Despite this one gets the impression that women are participating in Henza political life in the absence of the men just as they have a larger role in the management of family affairs than the women of farming villages because the absence of their men has made this a practical necessity. To date no woman has been elected to the position of 'kuchō' nor does it seem likely that one will be in the near future. Perhaps this also serves to define more clearly the real nature of the 'hanchō' and 'kumichō' as messengers for the 'kuchō' instead of as administrators, and that positions of real power are still retained by men.

5. The Political Community

The rural village constitutes a political, territorial, and social 621
unit; its membership is bound together by a common cultural heredity and shares a common experience. All the villagers have attended the same schools, cooperated in village projects, participated in community ceremonies and celebrations, and joined the same organizations. The prevailing [582] marriage practice still tends toward endogamy, and in many places they [197] speak a dialect with features distinct from that of their neighbors. National organizations serve to unite the youth, women, and farmers into their respective local groups for common action and benefit. Further integration is assured by practices of reciprocal labor exchange among the households.

The major social institutions of rural Okinawa are the family-kin 621
group and the community. Within the former there exists a strict hierarchy 592 [381]

somewhat appalled by what they regard as a lack of concern on the part of Americans for their plight. As they have been long accustomed to a paternalistic government, this seems to be a deliberately negligent attitude, and they express this feeling not infrequently. The following statements were heard by the author, "We never see any Americans who come to inspect or look at things" and "No Americans ever come to see how we are." 621 829

National Organizations National organizations such as the youth association and the women's association are rather weak in Kitazato when compared with Kanegusuku. They say that they have little spare time for such organizations, which is undoubtedly true, and the scattered nature of the village makes meeting a chore for some in the outlying sections. The ranks of the youth association are thinned by the loss of members who have sought employment in the city or military camps. Even the agricultural association is not as active as elsewhere, since the farmers feel that little can be done to improve their situation. The farmers and the head of the 'son' agricultural office were disgusted by the stupidity of a plan tendered by the central agricultural office to relieve the distress of Kitazato and other dispossessed farmers in Kami Motobu-son. This plan called for the planting of sugar cane as a cash crop and the use of the proceeds to buy food. It failed to take into consideration that sugar takes a long time to mature and that the people would have nothing to eat in the interim, and even if they were to plant their entire holdings in sugar, it would not bring enough cash to feed them. 621 575 621 829 242 241

Village Solidarity Village solidarity seems very high in Kitazato, much higher than in Kanegusuku. Undoubtedly this is largely due to the common problem which faces them all; nevertheless several other factors appear to be involved. The gentry origin of Kitazato kept it aloof from its immediate neighbors for many years, and apparently no real contacts were established in neighboring villages until after the annexation. Even today the people of this village speak a dialect markedly distinct from that of their nearest neighbors; thus, the upper-class origin and the physical and linguistic isolation of the village has perhaps contributed much to its integration and solidarity. The relative weakness of kin groupings seems to be another factor. In Kanegusuku one gets the impression that the strength of the lineages mitigates against informal village-wide cooperation and only through formal organizations such as the youth association is any real village-wide cooperation realized. In Kitazato the weak kin groupings seem no obstacle to this. 621 186 [197]

It seemed to the author that the people of Kitazato never tired of reiterating how well they cooperated together and how much they enjoyed working together as a village. "We want to stay together as a village, as we cooperate so well together." This is typical of the statements which were made. Many say that they would not object to emigration provided they might emigrate as a village.

Land Rentals Two serious problems face the people of Kitazato in regard to renting the land of neighboring villages. They are unable to pay 621 427

858 children to be "little people". From this viewpoint the Okinawans appear to
171 regard children as being not yet quite human. Okinawan children can observe, overtly or covertly, probably a good deal more of adult life than American children can observe and Okinawan adults discuss matters in front of children that American adults would not discuss before children, yet the Okinawan adult appears to expect his children to understand far less of what is done or said than the American does. To illustrate, an Okinawan grandmother may discuss a three-year old's illegitimate origin in its presence, tease it to the point of tears by offering to give it away to the passing American, and then say nothing when it wantonly snatches and breaks something of value. The American is likely to regard the talking as a possible cause of complexes, the teasing as downright cruel, and the tolerance as intolerable lack of discipline.

Small children are free to observe all that goes on in the house and yard during their waking hours. They are not subject to any rules determining when they are to go to bed. There is hardly a formal gathering into which they cannot insinuate themselves for hand-outs. They are taken to the theatre, where they may have to be shooed off the stage by the actors themselves.
864 The only aspect of life that seems to be deliberately withheld from them is
858 sex. They are told that babies come out of their mothers' knees, and although they may overhear a good deal about the sexual relationships of different people and the difficulties that result from them, they are given no notion of the nature of sex. I will discuss this in more detail under attitudes toward sex.

858 Although children seem bold in actions, they are not bold in speech.
856 As a matter of fact they often do not respond when spoken to and seem unwilling to venture to speak at all. I make this statement not merely on the
[104] basis of my own experience as an outsider attempting to talk to them; an Okinawan friend also pointed out how different the children in the north were from those of Central and Southern Okinawa---the Northern children answered his questions when he spoke to them. Some of the children's shyness about speaking may be due to the fact that they usually speak Okinawan in the home and then have to learn Japanese in school. Moreover, they soon learn to feel
[152] that Okinawan is inferior to Japanese as a medium of polite or intellectual expression; they may be shy because they fear to speak Okinawan since it is inferior and because they fear to speak Japanese since they cannot speak it well. But I have the impression that children are also often unresponsive when an adult speaks to them in Okinawan and when the language of the answer
868 is not a factor. I believe that there is another factor that is almost in-
171 herent in the nature of both the Japanese and the Okinawan languages. When
198 speaking to children in Japanese, and also very likely when speaking in Okinawan, adults use a different form of speech than the form they use when addressing adults. Somewhat different forms of speech for children are probably used in every society; they do exist in the United States, but never to such a striking extent as in Japanese. Japanese and Okinawan both have a range of verb forms expressing several degrees of politeness or formality, and to some extent there are also levels of vocabulary corresponding to them. In speaking to a child, the adult uses the simplest verb forms, the simplest words, and then speaks not in whole sentences but rather in a series of phrases each

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178 361 The new roads and buses have done much to break down the isolation of the village; the physical barriers separating village from town have greatly diminished. This has enabled the rural dweller to enter the labor markets of the urban areas and to expand greatly the markets for his products.

178 20 Communications Equally as impressive as the changes in transportation have been those in communications. Today newspapers, radios, telephones, and movies are making their influences felt in the country. Prior 178 to the war there were five motion-picture theaters on Okinawa; today there 546 are fifty-seven, and approximately one-third of the films shown are of [177] Western origin. Though the theaters are concentrated in the towns and cities, the young people of neighboring farm villages often make regular use of them. Some of the young people in Kanegusuku go to the theaters in Itoman several times a week.

178 204 Everyone asserts that newspapers are becoming more common in the rural areas. In the isolated village of Oku at the northern end of Okinawa the mayor informed us that nearly 90% of the houses subscribe regularly to a newspaper.

178 207 203 In Kanegusuku seventy of its 103 houses obtained radios this year under the group listening system. A number of those who were unable to secure radios (due to a lack of equipment) are hoping to do so in the near future. In some villages the group listening system has been utilized as a public address system for official announcements. This has greatly simplified the problem of conveying information or orders to the villagers. Pitts made use of this system on Henza Shima to explain his purpose in studying there. In this same village the regular Shuri broadcasts are sometimes replaced with Okinawan music played on a phonograph owned by the village. On Izena Shima the system is used to announce the arrivals and departures of the two ferryboats which serve the island.

The radio has been eagerly received in all communities which the author visited and has been instrumental in bringing the villagers into contact with the outside world.

177 178 241 Agriculture and the Rural Economy Major changes in Okinawan agriculture have been slight. Improvements have been made in yields as the result of scientific research conducted by the Japanese, a few new minor crops have been introduced, modern fertilizers have been made available, and the system of land tenure was radically altered by the Japanese; but the basic agricultural methods have remained the same. The major crops have not changed though their ratios have fluctuated, and most importantly, farm holdings remain as scattered and heavily fragmented as ever. There is at present no trend or even a suggestion of a trend toward consolidation of holdings nor is there any indication of a lessening of land pressure. So long as the farms remain small, fragmented, and widely scattered, there will be no possibility of using machinery or scientific methods. The present system of intensive gardening does produce a high yield per acre, but it also demands a large labor supply.

Pl. X

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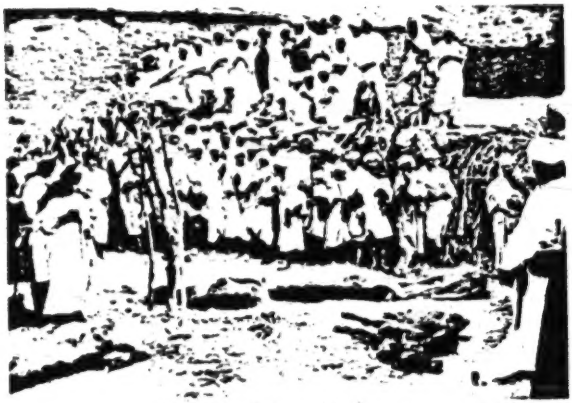

Hecatomb to Lalla Aziza (J. L. Berque)

It is the day of the sacrifice of July, tighersiwin yulyuz. Each victim is offered by a taqbilt. The amghar is the sacrificer. The gesture of the hands of those present is that of invocation.

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(J. L. Berque)

Invocation to Lalla Aziza

The foqra, after the sacrifice of the victims, make a ddu^{c}a. In chorus they repeat the invocations of the moqaddem, which call for baraka for the partipants.

guilty parties there is slightly more emphasis in the censure of the female child, whether she is really more responsible for the disturbance or not. There is a tone in her voice which implies that "females do not fight; boys, well, boys can't be helped." The children are quick to sense this, particularly the guilty boys, who strut about brashly when the teacher turns her back to start serving the milk. 872 876 858

When all the milk has been served and drunk, the teacher starts the farewell song for the day. Again the song is fairly shouted out, but for a brief moment serenity reigns when the teacher bows her head slightly to say, "Students, good-bye, until tomorrow," to which the students respond, "Teacher, good-bye until tomorrow." 872 533

In spite of the competitive content of the games and lessons which the teacher presents to the kindergarten, the observer finds few expressions of achievement motivation and competitive spirit. There is little to indicate that children at this age are interested in winning or excelling. Perhaps the remarks of a 4-year-old boy who reported to his mother on the activities of kindergarten are adequate to summarize the attitude of most kindergarten children. "Mother," he said, "Saburo is first in the races, Tetsuo is second and I am third, always third." To which the mother replied, "If you would try a little harder tomorrow, you may be first." The child looked at the mother questioningly, and the next day he reported that while he thought he tried harder he was again third. The mother again encouraged him, but with a broad smile the child said, "But mother (and the mother explains the expression on the child's face as one of 'You don't understand') I am third! Saburo is first, Tetsuo is second . . . and I am third!" The mother went on to explain to the fieldworker that the whole idea was hilariously funny to the child and the fact that the mother would take the subject so seriously was even funnier. 866 872 876

Furthermore, once the winners are determined, the game is concluded *in toto* as far as the teacher and the children are concerned. There are no congratulatory remarks beyond the clapping of the appreciative audience. No references are made to yesterday's winners or today's possible winners. During performances the teacher may encourage a child here with a positive comment, censure an unruly child there with the stick, but the whole atmosphere of child-teacher interactions is affectionate, indulgent, and relaxed. When a child is being reprimanded, the teacher takes no great pains to conceal her appreciation of the humor involved in the situation, and her affection for the "senselessness" of children at this age is expressed while she is making a token effort. [201] [858]

There are no toys to play with in kindergarten, no way in which to 872 876

[i.e. the Kindergarten teacher- ANALYST]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Obtaining News of a Larger World

203 ●

While it is an error to think of villages as isolated social and economic units, it would be a mistake also to fail to mention the existing obstacles to communication and the dissemination of news.

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There are virtually no radio sets in any of these villages, except in the schools and sometimes in a village office. Home radio sets invariably need repairs. In Hanashiro, which has no electricity, there were 3 radios, two of which did not work. There were 4 in Hinatogawa, with one at least not working, and six in Matsuda, three of which were in the primary school, one in the village office. In these villages there is electricity from about 6:30 to 10:30 in the winter and from 7 to 11 PM in the summer. The radio is not an important direct medium for obtaining news. If they can, villagers tune in Japanese stations for news, music, and entertainment. There is a need for simple and cheap means of reaching rural areas by radio.

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Newspapers are more important media. But in late 1951 and early 1952, there were 5 newspaper subscribers in Hanashiro, one going to the village office where it could be read by all, 14 in Hinatogawa, and about 20 in Matsuda, reduced from a previous 40 by an increase in the subscription rate. The barbershop in Matsuda had a newspaper. Schools and the township and village offices subscribe. It is difficult to estimate actual circulation. My own observation is that newspaper reading under these conditions is casual and intermittent, that newspapers are read consistently only by the village officials, school teachers, and the regular subscribers. News from Naha, the other Ryukyu islands, and from international sources is disseminated largely [203] by word of mouth. Local readers make their reading a subject of conversation. There is no lack of interest in broader questions and in international events. The negotiations leading up to the Japanese peace treaty were followed with great interest by many villagers in Matsuda.

Japanese magazines, particularly movie magazines, are popular despite their high cost. They are widely read not only by the young, but by older men and women, including school teachers.

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Telephones are not a part of home life. There were two privately installed field telephones in Hinatogawa, but no private telephones in the other villages. The village office, the post office are equipped with phones.

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The possibilities of obtaining more direct knowledge of other parts of Okinawa island have increased since the war. One can travel [494] by public transportation from the southern part of the island to the extreme north in a reasonable time and not too uncomfortably. Provincial attitudes still remain. Persons in the southern villages

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

tion, a frame wood building, and the main store. On the eastern end of the village the road opens into a little square in front of the simple, open prayer house with a small concrete shrine in back, housing three sacred stones. Beyond these is the township office crowned by a mighty pine tree of tremendous and symmetric proportions, acclaimed by Taira people to be the oldest existing pine in Okinawa. Across from the office are the post office and the dispensary. 36

Closer inspection of the village shows former house sites which were not rebuilt. Some still have empty concrete shells or single concrete walls and abandoned pigsties or storage sheds. Some of the vacant lots are used as potato fields, others as play areas, the favorite being a large house lot surrounded by a concrete wall, near the main store. 361 727 [311]

Houses are set back a short distance from the roads and paths, and most face south. In spite of the hedges and trees, the house is easily accessible from the street—its orientation is therefore toward the community as a whole and, as will be seen later, open to visitors who can enter freely without going through winding garden paths and knocking on doors or entering through long corridors and passages. Each house lot is small, ranging from 1300 to 6050 square feet. Houses are set so close to each other that neighborly conversations from one to the other can be conducted without leaving one's premises. Although some privacy is attained by the hibiscus hedges and fences, few secrets can be kept from neighbors. 361 351 [521]

There are several focal areas where people frequently meet and interact. The main store is a geographical center. Its two bulletin boards make it a natural congregating point. The banyan tree, overshadowing the village office and the lower water tank, is another such place, and on any day of the year scores of children can be found on or under it. In prewar times it was flanked by important structures, but now the empty lots, which are adjacent, form a green which is used on good days for village meetings. 361 [203] [139]

South of this green, and close to the water, stands the old warehouse, a concrete structure with tile roof which once served as a storage center for agricultural products shipped south by boat; now it serves as a village meeting playground, especially on rainy days. The open space around it, bordering on the sea wall, is also used as a play area and as a gathering place for young adults. Here people prepare firewood for sale and stack it to be picked up by the village truck. Houses once stood near the 10-foot sea wall but were not rebuilt after the war. [251] [344]

To the north of the store lies the upper water tank. Until several standing faucets were installed in 1955, this used to be another place where people met frequently. Water is diverted from a stream a mile 312 365

666 tion itself is arranged and supervised by an *ad hoc* committee. In 1955 written ballots were cast and counted immediately so that the result was known within a few minutes after the last ballot was in.

622 In contrast to a position in the township administration, which carries high status, equivalent to that of a teacher, the village headman's job is considered a community service and carries little prestige. This does not mean that the headman should not be an individual of high qualities. He must be at least 25 years old; he has to have sufficient education, especially knowledge of Japanese writing characters, to read government documents and to do the required clerical work; he has to be a good accountant and must be proficient in working with the abacus, since all tax collections are supervised by him; he must be community minded and able to enforce regulations in a friendly but efficient way. The rewards are small, the salary less than that of most township officials. The office is held most frequently by young men who have not been out of high school too long. Most recent headmen are between 25 and 30 years of age. Serving in this office may mark the beginning of an administrative career, either in the township office, in the village store, or in business outside Taira. The clerk, appointed
624 by the headmen to assist in village administration, is also a young man. He too is likely to be headed toward an administrative career.

621 Each village is subdivided into wards, set up originally by Japanese administration to effect greater control over families through the
624 warden. He is a subagent of the headman, and at present he functions
[203] mainly as a channel for communications, a useful function in a village like Taira, which covers a large geographical area. Regulations, village meetings, and special events are announced through the warden, and he is often called on to collect delinquent taxes. However, he has little authority and functions more as a neighbor who takes care of necessary contacts between residents and the village administration. Ward members elect him to his honorary office for a one-year term.

623 Village affairs are discussed and legislative action concerning the village initiated by the village council. This group is now partly elected, partly composed of holders of essential offices, such as heads of associations, members of the township assembly, and township officials who live in Taira. The 26 members of the Council are responsible for measures affecting the community, and the headman relies heavily on their advice. Most councilmen are middle aged; few are over 50 years
[575] old. Since the head of the Women's Association and the nurse are members, there are at least two female representatives. The youngest councilman is usually the head of the Young People's Association.

623 It is apparent that leadership in the community is always exercised
555

178 The new roads and buses have done much to break down the isolation
369 of the village; the physical barriers separating village from town have greatly diminished. This has enabled the rural dweller to enter the labor markets of the urban areas and to expand greatly the markets for his products.

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20 tation have been those in communications. Today newspapers, radios, tele-phones, and movies are making their influences felt in the country. Prior
178 to the war there were five motion-picture theaters on Okinawa; today there
546 are fifty-seven, and approximately one-third of the films shown are of
[177] Western origin. Though the theaters are concentrated in the towns and cities, the young people of neighboring farm villages often make regular use of them. Some of the young people in Kanegusuku go to the theaters in Itoman several times a week.

178 Everyone asserts that newspapers are becoming more common in the
204 rural areas. In the isolated village of Oku at the northern end of Okinawa the mayor informed us that nearly 90% of the houses subscribe regularly to a newspaper.

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203 secure radios (due to a lack of equipment) are hoping to do so in the near future. In some villages the group listening system has been utilized as a public address system for official announcements. This has greatly simplified the problem of conveying information or orders to the villagers. Pitts made use of this system on Henza Shima to explain his purpose in studying there. In this same village the regular Shuri broadcasts are sometimes replaced with Okinawan music played on a phonograph owned by the village. On Izena Shima the system is used to announce the arrivals and departures of the two ferryboats which serve the island.

The radio has been eagerly received in all communities which the author visited and has been instrumental in bringing the villagers into contact with the outside world.

177 Agriculture and the Rural Economy Major changes in Okinawan agricul-
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241 been introduced, modern fertilizers have been made available, and the system of land tenure was radically altered by the Japanese; but the basic agricultural methods have remained the same. The major crops have not changed though their ratios have fluctuated, and most importantly, farm holdings remain as scattered and heavily fragmented as ever. There is at present no trend or even a suggestion of a trend toward consolidation of holdings nor is there any indication of a lessening of land pressure. So long as the farms remain small, fragmented, and widely scattered, there will be no possibility of using machinery or scientific methods. The present system of intensive gardening does produce a high yield per acre, but it also demands a large labor supply.

436 no native money and used the Japanese cash, and that the Japanese
115 did not permit a native coinage.[2]

Up to the war, only bills of low denominations circulated in
436 the villages. In Hinatogawa, an old lady, now about 73, said that before the war she had never seen a Y100 note, which at that time was worth slightly over US$25. But since the 19th century, new conditions have pried the farmer loose from barter and self-sufficiency.
434 There is little to warrant a belief that rural villages are self-
511 sufficient. The most elementary obligations, such as sending one's children to school, require cash. An average rural family of five may require from Y40-60,000 a year.

Cash outlays include: (1) Entertainment, including the purchase
[574] of sake. Entertainment is an integral part of the culture and cannot be dismissed as a luxury. (2) Clothing. (3) Fertilizer. (4) Tobacco.
[388] (5) Soap. No soap is made in the home. American soap flakes are highly prized, but generally are not purchased because of the cost. (6) Hair cutting. (7) Food and food supplements, such as noodles
[262] and vermicelli types of paste, cooking oils, salt, soy sauce, meat, fish, seaweed (kombu), rice, if not grown and purchases from the import store. (8) Fuel, charcoal, charcoal sticks. (9) Transportation for business or pleasure. (10) Newspapers. Many subscriptions are can-
[204] celled when the price goes up. (11) Tools and tool repairs, but maintenance is small after the original investment. (12) School books and
[872] contributions to schools for purchasing special items. (13) Medicines and mid-wives' fees. (14) Occasional purchases of lumber, stone, or
[651] tile. (15) Taxes.

In the farming areas, sugar and pigs are the only significant
434 sources of cash income. Sweet potatoes, rice, eggs, and soy beans may be sold, but the amounts are either too small or the selling price too low to provide substantial amounts of cash. Occasionally younger sons may have jobs which bring in money, and a farmer or his sons may have a horse cart for hire.

In Hinatogawa, cash outlays, in addition to the items already mentioned, are required for nets, gasoline, and oil. Cash comes from sales of fish, pigs, and stone. The lack of rice, an insufficient sweet potato crop for year round needs, imports of firewood from the
[511] north and the occasional need to purchase grasses for thatch make this community more dependent on cash than the agricultural community.

434 The economic problem of the fisherman is also different from that
511 of the farmer. Both the farmer and the fisherman must pay cash for
184 medicines, fertilizer, alcoholic drinks, clothing, various special but traditional articles of the diet, taxes, tools, and supplies. The farmer, however, can produce much of his food. He can exist on sweet potatoes, bean curd, and bean paste soup, and if need be may spend little money on food. The fisherman cannot exist on fish alone. Fisherman without fields must depend on cash earnings to buy the

2 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, Vol. I, 160, 220-21. Chamberlain, The Luchu islands and their inhabitants, Geo. journal 5 (1895), 313.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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There are virtually no radio sets in any of these villages, except in the schools and sometimes in a village office. Home radio sets invariably need repairs. In Hanashiro, which has no electricity, there were 3 radios, two of which did not work. There were 4 in Hinatogawa, with one at least not working, and six in Matsuda, three of which were in the primary school, one in the village office. In these villages there is electricity from about 6:30 to 10:30 in the winter and from 7 to 11 PM in the summer. The radio is not an important direct medium for obtaining news. If they can, villagers tune in Japanese stations for news, music, and entertainment. There is a need for simple and cheap means of reaching rural areas by radio. 207

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855 861 Two facts that have been introduced into this discussion should be restated and made more explicit. The first is that Okinawan child-training methods include the use of both verbal appeals and physical punishment. As a result of observations made during and shortly after the battle in 1945, Dr. J. C. Maloney reported[1] that Okinawans were very permissive with their children and did not use corporal punishment. It will be seen from the data just presented that while Okinawans are more permissive in many situations than Americans would be, they do in fact use severe physical punishment on occasion.

152 181 171 861 The second fact has to do with the contrast of "shame" versus "guilt" that has been presented by several writers on the character of the Japanese. Both Gorer and Benedict have asserted that the Japanese conform because they fear the ridicule of others whereas Westerners conform because they fear their own consciences; Japanese culture is a "shame culture" while ours is a "guilt culture".[2] Okinawan culture also seems to be primarily a shame culture. Okinawans clearly fear ridicule greatly, and this fear seems traceable to their early training. But there are also elements in Okinawan child training that would tend to produce something of the Western sort of fear that one may suffer for his wrong-doing regardless of whether he is found out or not. These are to be seen in the phrases "retribution will strike" (Okinawan bachi nu ataaing, Japanese 'bachi ga ataru') and "the gods saw you". Shame and guilt are doubtless not mutually exclusive. Both sanctions exist in Okinawan culture, shame being much the stronger.

857 524 [203] [177] Play Boys play with kites and tops. Girls play hop-scotch. Both, if they can afford it, get one or more of the numerous Japanese children's magazines that are filled with stories, comics, and a variety of make-it-yourself paper toys.

857 Boys catch insects and birds and fasten strings to them in order to jerk them back as they try to fly away, or in order simply to drag them around. They do so quite unconscious of any cruelty in the act. Adults appear to regard living things as proper playthings.

[564] There may be less age-grading among smaller children than among older people or among children in present-day American society. Several boys of different ages were observed playing together on many occasions, mainly, it seemed, because they were related and lived in adjacent houses. The girls who occasionally joined them were also of the same group of related families.

882 178 Youth Traditionally, entering one's thirteenth year, for a girl, and fifteenth, for a boy, marks a change in status from that of child to that of youth (niisee, in J. 'seinen', literally "green years"). There was [881] also a later ceremony at which the young man's hair was done in a knot; and the tattooing undergone by a young woman may have been part of a puberty rite. [877] But at present, finishing one's schooling marks the greatest change in the life of a young person. At this time the treatment he receives and the behavior expected of him change markedly. As long as he is in school he is 877 882

[1] Maloney, 1945, p. 394.

[2] Gorer, 1943; Benedict, 1946, p. 223.

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director with assistants and clerks. The clerks are always young people 463
just out of school who receive nominal wages in return for a seven-day 466
work week. The township office employs as janitor a girl who keeps
the office in order, serves tea at any time during the day, washes dishes, [647]
and helps to cook meals for entertaining. Her family owns one of the largest houses in the central village and more land than most others. No social stigma is attached to her job; in fact, most Taira girls would consider it a privilege to exchange their mountain work for her kind of employment even though they would earn no more. Another girl, employed by the local "doctor" as nurse and maid, lives with the family, eats with them, and sleeps with their children. Only one farmer employs a hired hand, a man from another township.

Among others living on a salary is the postmaster. His father held 463
the same office, and his son is now trained to succeed him as the third [205]
in line. The rice miller, a man from outside the village and married to
a Taira woman, and the "doctor" also depend for most of their in- [759]
comes on specialized services. The latter owns his dispensary and small [657]
hospital. He receives some financial support from the township government. His services to people are compensated for either in cash or [465]
kind. Patients who are unable to pay at once will bring rice to his
house after the harvest. These remunerations, pig raising, and other [556]
side activities make him, along with the rice miller and the postmaster,
the wealthiest person in Taira. Local male school teachers also own [875]
fields, to which they give time in the afternoons and Sundays to help their wives.

The priestess and her assistants, although they are religious spe- 463
cialists, are not paid in money for their services. They participate in 793
daily work like the rest of the village. Only when performing services
outside the community is the priestess paid a small fee. Within the 465
village she receives the food and sake which are offered in the cere- [782]
mony, whether she is called by a family or prays at the village shrine on a general holiday.

DIVISION OF LABOR BY SEX AND AGE

Men and women are equal partners in everyday economic activities, 462
both in agricultural and forest work. Only a few occupations are clearly differentiated by sex: fishing, the handling of horses, and the carrying of night soil are done exclusively by males; housework and the care
and feeding of pigs predominantly by women. Some agricultural work [241]
is considered too heavy for women, for example, the turning of the

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132 however, shows much less variation. From the low 50's in early winter it rises to the low 80's in midsummer. The relative humidities, having daily means of 70% in January and February and 82% in July and August, may often reach an uncomfortable 96% preceding or following one of the many rain squalls in the hot season.

From January through March, winds blowing from the northwest to north carry cold, damp air from the Asian continent across the East China Sea. Although many houses in Taira are somewhat protected by bushes separating them from the open valley behind, nevertheless, house doors are often kept shut during this coldest part of the year.

March and April offer a pleasant, balanced climate. Winds are east to southeast, rainfall is low, and temperatures reach the high 60's. The rainy season begins in late May and lasts until late June. During these [964] four weeks it sometimes rains steadily for one or two days, and adults are forced to give up working.

Children take shelter during the worst downpours, but they reappear outside even before the rains are over to play in puddles or little streams running down the streets. During this time floods and landslides occur.

Midsummer is often so hot and humid that villagers frequently comment on their discomfort. This is one of the busiest agricultural sea- [961] sons, but exhaustion causes many people to take naps during noon [513] hours. Work efficiency decreases, and fewer daily trips are made to the mountains. Children also stay at home in the afternoon. It is believed that the heat causes severe headaches. The hot season gradually gives way to a few weeks in late October, November, and early December which correspond in climate to an early fall in northeastern United States.

132 Typhoons are known to have hit Okinawa at almost any time of 731 the year. The most dangerous season for these violent storms, however, with wind velocities of over 50 miles per hour, is from late June [206] until October. An extensive warning system exists, and Taira, though remote and without radio, is notified immediately by telephone of storm warnings, sometimes days in advance. Taira people hardly need such warnings. They can sense the oncoming storm and often predict one correctly before the official forecasts confirm that a storm is approaching the island. Since 1955 was one of the rare years in which no major storm hit the island, no firsthand description can be given. The damage is always considerable, not only to crops and trees but also to houses and other property.

623 attend." As on all occasions women usually sit together on one side or in the rear. Few of them participate during discussions. The most active spokesmen for the women are the head of the Women's Association and one or two of her close assistants. If a discussion concerns such matters as liquor and food for celebrating certain holidays, a woman may speak [854] up. Mothers bring their infants along and hold them in their arms or nurse them when they get restless. Sometimes a child feels uncomfortable and starts crying, and the mother is forced to leave the room.

554 In general, Taira people do not enjoy being leaders or playing a 157 dominating role. There are no bosses who attempt to force issues or 621 dictate policies. Even people who have definite ideas on how to effect changes would not attempt to assume full responsibility by disregarding the advice of others. "Power" is not associated with responsible positions and village leadership. The headman and clerk perform a duty, often loathed by them and never too highly rewarded by others. A man commands respect for his education, age, sound advice, and exemplary behavior, not for the office he holds. Moreover, all villagers are friendly neighbors, and the man who is presently headman still [632] remains a relative or neighbor to everybody. There is more prestige associated with township offices. The mayor, who holds the highest position, is a man of age and experience; he commands a great deal of respect and has been elected to that office because of the high esteem in which he is held. Occasionally one hears of power hungry persons who are unscrupulous and authoritarian, but they are rare.

FORMAL CONTROL

625 Formal control of law and order is in the hands of the police. A detachment of the Hentona district police is located in the village, and one policeman is constantly stationed there. He lives with his family in [206] a building which also has a small office. Recently a telephone with direct connections to Hentona was installed. The policeman and his wife are from another township.

[166] The policeman's main duty, according to villagers, is to protect them from the occasional outside burglars or from fugitives from the south who come north to hide in the woods. The announcement that such a person is on the loose creates much excitement and anxiety. A [167] second important duty is the control of the shore line. Smugglers and illegal entrants from the Japanese island of Yoron, just to the north of Okinawa, land along the coast. Although one man with only a bicycle can hardly control effectively several miles of coastline, since the only road to the outer world leads through Taira, the policeman

1 [i.e. - to the household head meeting - ANALYST]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Obtaining News of a Larger World

While it is an error to think of villages as isolated social and economic units, it would be a mistake also to fail to mention the existing obstacles to communication and the dissemination of news. 203

There are virtually no radio sets in any of these villages, except in the schools and sometimes in a village office. Home radio sets invariably need repairs. In Hanashiro, which has no electricity, there were 3 radios, two of which did not work. There were 4 in Hinatogawa, with one at least not working, and six in Hatsuda, three of which were in the primary school, one in the village office. In these villages there is electricity from about 6:30 to 10:30 in the winter and from 7 to 11 PM in the summer. The radio is not an important direct medium for obtaining news. If they can, villagers tune in Japanese stations for news, music, and entertainment. There is a need for simple and cheap means of reaching rural areas by radio. 207

Newspapers are more important media. But in late 1951 and early 1952, there were 5 newspaper subscribers in Hanashiro, one going to the village office where it could be read by all, 14 in Hinatogawa, and about 20 in Hatsuda, reduced from a previous 40 by an increase in the subscription rate. The barbershop in Hatsuda had a newspaper. Schools and the township and village offices subscribe. It is difficult to estimate actual circulation. My own observation is that newspaper reading under these conditions is casual and intermittent, that newspapers are read consistently only by the village officials, school teachers, and the regular subscribers. News from Naha, the other Ryukyu islands, and from international sources is disseminated largely by word of mouth. Local readers make their reading a subject of conversation. There is no lack of interest in broader questions and in international events. The negotiations leading up to the Japanese peace treaty were followed with great interest by many villagers in Hatsuda. 204 [203]

Japanese magazines, particularly movie magazines, are popular despite their high cost. They are widely read not only by the young, but by older men and women, including school teachers.

Telephones are not a part of home life. There were two privately installed field telephones in Hinatogawa, but no private telephones in the other villages. The village office, the post office are equipped with phones. 206

The possibilities of obtaining more direct knowledge of other parts of Okinawa island have increased since the war. One can travel by public transportation from the southern part of the island to the extreme north in a reasonable time and not too uncomfortably. Provincial attitudes still remain. Persons in the southern villages 484 [494]

178 The new roads and buses have done much to break down the isolation
369 of the village; the physical barriers separating village from town have greatly diminished. This has enabled the rural dweller to enter the labor markets of the urban areas and to expand greatly the markets for his products.

178 Communications Equally as impressive as the changes in transpor-
20 tation have been those in communications. Today newspapers, radios, telephones, and movies are making their influences felt in the country. Prior
178 to the war there were five motion-picture theaters on Okinawa; today there
546 are fifty-seven, and approximately one-third of the films shown are of
[171] Western origin. Though the theaters are concentrated in the towns and cities, the young people of neighboring farm villages often make regular use of them. Some of the young people in Kanegusuku go to the theaters in Itoman several times a week.

178 Everyone asserts that newspapers are becoming more common in the
204 rural areas. In the isolated village of Oku at the northern end of Okinawa the mayor informed us that nearly 90% of the houses subscribe regularly to a newspaper.

178 In Kanegusuku seventy of its 103 houses obtained radios this year
207 under the group listening system. A number of those who were unable to
203 secure radios (due to a lack of equipment) are hoping to do so in the near future. In some villages the group listening system has been utilized as a public address system for official announcements. This has greatly simplified the problem of conveying information or orders to the villagers. Pitts made use of this system on Henza Shima to explain his purpose in studying there. In this same village the regular Shuri broadcasts are sometimes replaced with Okinawan music played on a phonograph owned by the village. On Izena Shima the system is used to announce the arrivals and departures of the two ferryboats which serve the island.

The radio has been eagerly received in all communities which the author visited and has been instrumental in bringing the villagers into contact with the outside world.

177 Agriculture and the Rural Economy Major changes in Okinawan agricul-
ture have been slight. Improvements have been made in yields as the result
178 of scientific research conducted by the Japanese, a few new minor crops have
241 been introduced, modern fertilizers have been made available, and the system of land tenure was radically altered by the Japanese; but the basic agricultural methods have remained the same. The major crops have not changed though their ratios have fluctuated, and most importantly, farm holdings remain as scattered and heavily fragmented as ever. There is at present no trend or even a suggestion of a trend toward consolidation of holdings nor is there any indication of a lessening of land pressure. So long as the farms remain small, fragmented, and widely scattered, there will be no possibility of using machinery or scientific methods. The present system of intensive gardening does produce a high yield per acre, but it also demands a large labor supply.

842 need of succession is met, birth control measures might be accepted. There is, it is true, a widespread feeling that many children are a happiness which artificial control should not destroy. But this feeling, especially true with women, is often lost after the fourth or fifth child when mothers may dread further child bearing.[7]

[177] In the villages studied, there is an awareness of birth control. This awareness comes from conversation and reading, the primary sources being Japanese magazines and newspapers. I did not meet anyone who admitted practicing birth control or who desired to do so. According to the informants, it is not practiced at all. There may be some instances.

But birth control methods are not widely understood, and even if they were, it is doubtful that people would use them on their own initiative. The present apathy toward birth control methods may be due to the fact [167] that only recently has the question been of any significance. In the past economic difficulties within a family were relieved by emigration. There was thus little need to think of a limited family. On the contrary, there was pride in a family that might spread over continents.

[183] Historically, the whole emphasis in the family system has been on a large or a medium sized, not a limited, family, and this, even today, is tied in with family pride coming from having children and grandchildren. [562] If families have girls to begin with, the feeling is all the stronger. Though unusual, it is not unheard of to have a family of girls, and even if there are sons, there should be enough of them to take care of the hazards of death.

5

Conclusion

185 Among some villagers--and this seems to be independent of the degree of education--there are now more realistic appraisals of what the soil and the land can make available to a growing population and to their own children. Emigration for the time being is not possible. And, even if it were on a broad scale, it would not only have to skim off the present excess population, but take continuing care of future natural increases as well.

134 There were in all the villages several considerations that have influenced these appraisals. Land is insufficient, even in quantity, though in local areas such as Matsuda, it might suffice for local demands. The arable land is also poor. The poor and insufficient land,

[TEXT Continues TOP of P. 69--Analyst]

[114] [208] 7 This dread of continual child bearing is discussed as an attitude, not as a general truth. The statement is based on conversations with men and women in each of the villages. Many women in Okinawa would not agree with this, but the attitude, I am convinced, if not a prevailing one, is at least frequent enough to be worth recording as something more than individual distaste.

combined with the destructiveness of typhoons, make for an unproductive life in terms of rewards for work done. To these, there is now being added a fourth realization, that there are too many people in Okinawa. Greater mobility has increased this awareness.[8]

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511
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8 These remarks, too, are based on impressions. Neither would I claim that they represent a majority opinion. Polls with samples competently chosen could only determine these attitudes. But complaints about the poorness of the land are proverbial among Okinawans. So are the discouragements coming from the typhoons.

114
208

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

361 [167] After the war, this cleared land was further settled, with American encouragement, by families returning from abroad. This subdivision of Matsuda, a here-and-there settlement, is called "the clearing" (kaikon). Its houses are few and far apart, and with its isolated farmsteads is in contrast with the thickly settled cluster of a typical agricultural village.

5

Conservation

313 [647] In Matsuda, the preservation of the forest is constantly encouraged. This awareness, inspired by officials of the Ryukyuan Forestry Agency and its American advisors, reaches down to the school children. Before any burning is done, a permit must be secured. Fire lanes (bōkasen) are cut to prevent the spread of fire. These lanes are circular, and an area on the lee side is burned to prevent spread of the fire in the direction of the wind.

Fire Lane (Bōkasen)

In addition to the fire protection, officials of the Ryukyu Forestry Agency and specialists in the American Civil Administration are trying to discourage overcutting (kanbatsu) which in this area has affected the most numerous species, the pine, the shii, and the Japanese redwood. Since clearcutting (kaibatsu) so easily leads to overcutting, the former practice is also being discouraged. The newer emphasis is on selective cutting (takubatsu).

[813] School children participate in forest conservation. The children attending high school at nearby Ginoza village take part in forest improvement. An active campaign for conservation and forest fire prevention could not begin immediately after the war. In the post-war confusion, it was not until about 1950, with the establishment of [647] the Ryukyuan Forestry Agency, that active supervision on a central government level could be seriously instituted. On an island wide basis, posters and literature pointing to the dangers of forest fires [208] have tried to bring this message to the Okinawans as well as to the Americans. The name of Saion has been used to tie the preservation of the Okinawan forests in with the history and traditions of the people. The famous "Smoky" appears on posters as well.

[727] In the Matsuda area, the recent periods of relaxation or loss of control, according to local residents, were (1) about 1940 when

565 553 A common device among noble families was to vary the second character of the Chinese compound which made up the given name. This custom still remains, but has no significance beyond individual family pride. The following case illustrates this naming device:

Relation to Present Head of House	Given Name
Grandfather	Chohyo
Father	Chokan
Present Head	Choyo
First Son	Choko
Second Son	Choshin
Third Son	Chokeii
Fourth Son	Chosei

554 Before the war, the village hierarchy consisted of the headman and retired elders and officials, the school principal and teachers if resident there, the well-to-do farmer, followed by the ordinary farmers or fishermen.[3] These distinctions are now blurred and have been affected by other changes. The school principal and the school teacher retain their prestige, but they have lost their relatively high economic status. Their clothing and the appearance of their homes are indistinguishable from those of a farmer. The ordinary farmer who works his field during the day and whose wife raises the pigs is in a better economic position. The same applies to village and township officials. Many distinctions based on wealth have disappeared because of the destruction and general [556] impoverishment of the war. Neither are distinctions possible in dress, for everyone wears makeshift clothing. Post-war circumstances have put the old at a disadvantage in dealing with new situations. Present day village life is fluid. The war and its aftermath have blurred many of the former distinctions based on age, occupation, or wealth.

621 208 Village leadership is based on individual qualities, but is limited by group opinion which all individuals respect. Decisions of any character, personal, familial, or political, emerge from consultation and discussion. One constantly hears the word sōdan, meaning a discussion or a consultation, with reference to decision making.

555 212 What types of individuals assume leadership in village affairs? First, leadership comes from a group that is literate. This limits the people available for responsible positions. Occupations such as the

3 According to old residents in Matsuda, there were in their youth, classes whose occupation made them inferior. Examples were bell ringers [461] ringers at funerals and pig killers. Pig killing is still considered [565] a low occupation, but this has no relevance to village life, for no [963] commercial slaughtering is done in the villages. In the villages, there is no suggestion of the existence of groups looked down upon because of their occupation, with the possible exception of a collector of night soil--and this occupation is infrequent.

312 Water is diverted from a stream a mile
365 above the village and piped into the upper and lower tanks where
[482] people fill their buckets which they carry home on a shoulder yoke.
[857] Both tanks always attract children. Before faucets were installed, the two spigots on each tank were closed with a wooden stopper which the children often pulled to get a drink or water to play in. An open lot surrounding the upper water tank is another popular play area.

361 On the eastern side of the village below the main road lies a flat sandy plain, separating the actual beach from the houses above. Children are frequently found playing there or walking along the beach to the mouth of the Noro Mata and Fukuji rivers, which reach the sea
[764] about 400 yards away. To the west of the central village lie the tombs
[211] and the monument for the war dead of the village.

487 Many hills around the village drop off vertically toward the south;
[133] these drops are partly effects of the geological conditions, such as karst depressions, partly caused by erosion of drainage during the heavy rains. Narrow paths, leading up the steep claylike hillsides, are slippery
[491] and very treacherous during rains. On the way to school in Kawata, the neighboring village, children have to pass a section of the road where river and rains have washed away the bank so badly that a misstep on the edge of the road could lead to a fall of more than 50 feet.

312 The little river which runs through parts of the valley behind Taira
[857] is another gathering place of children. A path alongside it leads into
[487] the hills and mountain forest lands. Seven minutes walking along this path takes one to Umugui, a natural swimming hole which also serves as one of the favorite laundry places. During the summer the river offers several other popular swimming spots downstream from Umugui.
[296] There is also a little concrete bridge in the rice fields beyond the houses, where adults and children go to wash laundry and sometimes pots and pans. Yamagawa well is a water hole, lined with concrete, near the northwestern part of Taira. Before water faucets were installed, girls frequently went there to wash their hair and do laundry.

859 Children go to the fields to look for flowers and berries or, in the
[484] case of older boys, to cut grass for animals. Distances covered by any child depend, of course, on the age. Younger siblings under 5 accompany the older ones to places beyond the area, but no expeditions extend to areas that are not also regularly traversed by adults in the course of their daily duties. Perhaps because of the multiple rivers and water sources, the beach offers less enticement than one might expect. On some days a group may decide to play on the beach, but since sand is also available throughout the village, everybody will soon shift back to some other area inland.

137 Tropical plants, bushes, and trees grow at sea level. At higher ele-

contact with Okinawa may have taken place in 743 A.D., but this may have been confined to the island of Kume, west of Naha, and not involved Okinawa itself.[6] 175 177 648

The modern Japanese contact with Okinawa which brought about the fall of the Tenson dynasty is associated with the arrival at Unten of Tametomo in the latter part of the twelfth century. Some have regarded this as historical, others as perhaps legendary.

Unten, on the Motobu peninsula, is one of the important places in the historical geography of Okinawa island. This is the Port Melville of the Western explorers, Hall and Perry, both of whom charted the bay and its harbor.

Tametomo, of the Minemoto clan, exiled after the final defeat of the Minemoto by the Taira clan in Japan, ultimately reached Unten and there married the daughter of one of the regional nobles, and after a period of civil war, the Tenson dynasty collapsed. In 1187 A. D., the son of Minemoto Tametomo by his Okinawan wife became King Shunten. Shunten, the first of three "Japanese kings," was followed by his son Shumma Junki (1238-1248), and his grandson Gihon (1249-1260). In 1260, the legitimate dynasty was restored under king Eiso.[7]

After his succession, Eiso toured the islands and is credited with setting regular boundaries to rice-fields. "It has been said that this greatly attracted the people so that they started to look after farming." Graves, according to a manuscript history, were first built in the island, at Urasoye, and the Buddhist temple, Gokurakuji was constructed with an officiating priest named Jenkan in charge of the temple.[8] 1764 [346]

The Japanese syllabary may have been introduced at this time. Buddhism apparently did not take hold. Chinese attacks on the islands in connection with the Mongol wars and the attempted invasion of Japan seem to have left no mark on the island. [218] [119]

The year 1372 is the beginning of the period of relationships with the Chinese, in this case, the Ming dynasty. This is contemporary with the growth of a vast trade network involving Korea, Japan, China, the Ryukyus, and Southeast Asia. It is not clear whether the trade voyages under King Satsudo (reigned 1350-1399) to South China, Malaya, and the Philippines were instrumental in stimulating the Ming dynasty to engage in the Pacific trade, or whether the forced alliance of the Ryukyus with the Chinese 175 648 439

[Text continues top of p. 30--Analyst]

6 CA Handbook, as cited, 41, and Chamberlain, as cited, 306.

7 Chamberlain, as cited, 308

8 Manuscript history in Leavenworth, The Loochoo islands, 80. On the Japanese syllabary, see Chamberlain, as cited, 308.

Japanese canned fish: mackerel, bonito, clams, whale meat hash 443
Noodles, buckwheat spaghetti and macaroni type pastes 262
Cookies, stored in glass jars, and sold singly 272
Sweet rolls (manju) from a town bakery, and sweetened bread (pan)
Tea
Aji no moto
White sugar
Soy bean oil

Soft Drinks and Candy

443

Bottled lemon and orange ades [272]
Cocoa Cola
Gum
Various candies sold by the piece, also stored in glass jars on the counter.

Notions

Needles and thread
Buttons of various sizes
Trimmings and ribbons [412]
Braids for making and trimming kimonos
hair pins, and combs

Clothing

Clogs (geta)
Undershirts [291]
Fibre sandals

Toilet Articles

Perfumes and toilet waters
Shampoos, liquid and powdered. [302]
Pomades and brilliantines [515]
Toothbrushes
Soaps
Toilet paper

Stationary

School tablets and notebooks [212]
Pencils
Comic books (in Japanese)

Medicines

Aspirin
Stomach powders [278]
Eye lotions

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Naming the Child

On the day of his birth, the child is given a name, but this is not the one it carries throughout life. The latter name, sometimes called the school name, may be given 5 days after birth, counting the date of the birth. This custom of double naming is still used in Hanashiro and Hinatogawa, though, according to local residents, it disappeared from Matsuda ten years ago. It is hard to discover the reasons for this double naming. Perhaps the first name is a temporary one to be used for the first crucial days of the child's life. If he survives, he receives his permanent one. This name, while known to the child, is not ordinarily retained when he gets his second name. Among the very old, however, some of these first names have been retained through life.[4] In Hanashiro, young and old alike may be known by both names, but the younger are apt to use the full given name. Adults and the old are known by both names.

553 [184]

The names given on the birth day are often the occasion of laughter, as some have the same pronunciation as common names of household utensils, agricultural tools, or domestic animals. The following list was obtained in Hanashiro but the same names were equally familiar in the other villages. (1) Ushi, given to males and females. Ushi is also the word for cattle. (2) Kame, also the word for a turtle or a tortoise. (3) Tsuru, also a stork or crane. (4) Nta, given to both sexes, the Okinawan word for pig. (5) Handu, also a water barrel. (6) Kama, also a sickle. (7) Nabi, a pot.[5]

551

These are homonyms. The name is written in hiragana or katakana (the Japanese syllabaries), not with the Chinese character of its homonym. Hence it would be incorrect to say that the child is named "Cow," "Pig," "Pot," etc.

[212]

In Matsuda, up to about 30 years ago, according to one informant, if a wife gave birth to a child in the husband's absence, the eldest relative present gave the child a name of the sex opposite its own, apparently to avoid bad luck by resort to contrariety. When mothers gave birth to a child in the toilet, it was named nta or nte, apparently referring to the identity of the toilet and the pig pen.

849 553 [nm]

4 This is apparent in analyzing the family registers (koseki)

5 Other names are Tamachi (female); Umato (female in Hanashiro); Makatu (f); Chiru (f); Taru (male and female); Jira (m); Sanru (m and f but scarce); Niyo (m); Utu (f); Kanashi (f), and Kana (m and f).

grandparents. The food was then served: noodles cooked with vegetables, with a slight fish flavor; rolls; tenpura, a sort of fritter; a fish cake known as kamobuko with a red border symbolizing happiness, and plenty of sake (awamori). A streamer hung from the ceiling near the alcove, announcing the name and date of birth of the new born child, together with the written wish that she might live any number of 10,000 year periods. There are no special ceremonies on these occasions. Some guests drop in for a few minutes, others remain for the whole evening. The women and the children go home early, while the men continue talking and drinking. This celebration is the first of a series that continues through a person's life, and if his descendants are devoted, will end 33 years after his death. After this celebration, things settle down until the child's first birthday. 852 [262] [212]

At present a child's age is reckoned in the same way as the Western custom. A child is one year old one year after the date of his birth. This is a recent innovation in force since January 1, 1950. Formerly age was reckoned in the Chinese and Japanese manner. A child born during a year was one year old and on the following New Year became two years of age. Thus a child born on December 27 would be two on January 1. The difference between the Chinese-Japanese and the western reckoning is that the former counts the years during which a person lives with New Years as the date for increasing the age, the latter counts the number of one year periods in which a person has lived. 805 [111]

The old system of reckoning age is inconvenient and conceals age differences. A one day difference might mean a year's difference in age in the case of a child born on December 31, and another on January 1. Determining the actual age of a person was troublesome. When children started to school, they might be 6, 7, or 8 years old and still be about the same actual age.

4

The Early Years

In all the villages studied, the women returned to their normal tasks about a month after childbirth. When the mother returns to the fields, the grandmother may accompany mother and child to the fields, the grandmother watching the child, while the mother nurses it at 10, 1, and 4. If the grandmother is too old and disabled, the child might stay home with the grandmother and the mother return from the fields to feed the child. Lacking help of this kind, the mother remains at home until the other children have returned from school. 846 854 853 603

But arrangements of this sort need not last long, for very early in life the child is strapped on the back and carried around 854

mother, for example, fed her child rice gruel (okayu) at eight months and at the age of one year the child began eating sweet potatoes. By the time the child is ready to walk and play, he often carries with him a piece of sweet potato, and, in season, a piece of sugar cane. 853 262

A party is held on the first birthday anniversary of the child. This is more elaborate than the one which honored his birth. Birthdays are not celebrated each year. After the first anniversary, the next are on the 13th, 25th, 37th, 49th, and 61st birthdays, that is, at twelve year intervals. 852 527

The party for the first birthday of a child is particularly tender and affectionate. At one year, he can walk or stumble, and answer or smile to the calls of his parents and grandparents. [856] He can pick up things, throw them, and make his presence felt. The exhibition of these skills becomes part of the celebration. It is customary to invite both relatives and friends, who bring a small money present, from Y20 which is usual to Y100 which is uncommon.

527 852 431

During the party, the child is given several symbolic gifts. These are placed on a low table in the middle of the room which the child can easily walk to and reach. Usually the gifts are a book, a fountain pen (or a writing brush, fude), an abacus (soroban), [212] and a stack of paper money. These symbolize the wish that the child will become proficient in learning, writing, counting and mathematics, [802] and will become rich. The child is eagerly watched as he unsteadily toddles to the table to see which article he picks up first. [554] While the act is not taken seriously, the article which the child picks up first is supposed to indicate the field of endeavor in which he will be most fortunate.

These parties, small or large, include men, women, and children, but the majority of the guests usually are men. After the child has gone to bed, the party continues. In more formal and larger parties, the guests first come up to the father, go on their knees, bow, and make a short speech of congratulation. [576] Sometimes these speeches sound as if they are prepared beforehand, other times as if they are spoken spontaneously. [537] There is an exchange of sake between the father and his guest, both sipping from the same cup, the usual custom. The mother and the female relatives during this time are in the kitchen preparing the food. 852 527

Women sit by themselves. This is true of all celebrations when the sexes are together. Women do not drink. (In a similar party near Hatsuda, the old women--usually over 60--drank a little). [562] The jolly old women also love to dance solos in the traditional style. [535] They dance with grace and vigor. [382] The evening progresses without any planned entertainment. There is talking and drinking, singing, and samisen playing. [533] Men, with a repertoire of Okinawan songs, sing in

543 these matters. In township exhibits of arts and crafts, there are evidences of these skills, such as the training of a chrysanthemum, a favorite choice, but these are not part of daily life.

532 Yet there is evidence of artistic talent and interest which teachers and parents encourage in the young. Okinawan children draw [353] and copy well. It is not unusual to see an otherwise bare room of a poor farmer's home decorated with the paintings or drawings of a son or daughter. While clearly the work of novices, they often show feeling for line and color. School buildings, houses, and landscapes are the favorite subjects. Drawing skills come as no surprise because of the close relationship, in countries using the Chinese character, 875 of calligraphy and art. Teachers of drawing and art in the schools are skillful in rapid sketching, and part of this skill must be the re- 212 sult of early training in the sequence of strokes and in writing the Chinese character with confidence and boldness.

535 Dancing and samisen playing are learned by imitation and self-533 instruction. Music is learned by ear, the dancing by observing the old and skilled. Parents do not instruct their children in these arts; 868 they pick up the skill themselves. There are no village teachers nor do the schools teach native dances, songs, or samisen playing. (In recent years instruction books have been furnished when a samisen is [562] purchased). Samisen playing is a monopoly of the men, many of whom also have a repertoire of traditional dances. These performers are always in demand on social occasions. Both old and young men dance, but only the old women feel free to do so. Seeing a seventy or eighty year old grandmother dancing at a party is commonplace, but I have never seen a young girl or a young woman in her thirties doing this. (Young girls and young women may participate in formal dances in processions and on holidays). Among the younger people, there is considerable interest, but little facility in American dancing.

532 Hanging scrolls (kakomono) are often purchased by the villagers. But these are dashed off affairs, following Japanese art conventions, such as the jolly Japanese patron saint, tigers, the bamboo-plum blossom-cherry triad, and the turtle and the cormorant, etc.

181 One has the impression of latent talent in music, dancing, and drawing but that the cultural conditions have not been favorable to [533] their development. Social events and parties are unthinkable without [535] singing, dancing, and samisen playing. Good drawing and calligraphy [532] are admired. But none of these seem to be highly developed folk arts. [868] Possibly one reason is that the transmission of the skills has been purely imitative, and that a body of knowledge has not accumulated in [369] books, organized teaching, or through apprenticeship and hereditary occupations by which ideas can be improved upon by wider dissemination. [636] The cultural isolation of rural villages may have prevented the building up of a tradition in art and handicraft. Naha and Shuri, the historical cultural centers, have produced the fine examples of lacquer ware, ceramics, and paintings. Possibly also Japanese repression of the native culture has been the main reason. Whatever they are, the lack of advance-

565 553 A common device among noble families was to vary the second character of the Chinese compound which made up the given name. This custom still remains, but has no significance beyond individual family pride. The following case illustrates this naming device:

Relation to Present Head of House	Given Name
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conduct of a local business of any size, employment in official and 555
semi-official organizations, and teaching require facility in reading 212
and writing Japanese, that is, the use of the Chinese character and
the two Japanese syllabaries, katakana and hiragana. It is true
that under the Japanese and the present system of education, everyone [872]
learns the characters. But after school is left behind, there must
be continued practice in reading and writing, or one's fund of
knowledge gradually disappears and he remembers only a few of the
simpler or more common characters. For responsible leadership, this
school vocabulary must at least be maintained. A village headman
today must hold his own in reading and writing. Reports have to be [622]
made to the township office. The frequent conferences and meetings
require note taking. Storm warnings may be received, correspondence
and simple record keeping are continual tasks. In one village, the
criticism made of the headman was that his knowledge of characters
was too elementary.

If a person has leisure, this makes him available for positions of 556
leadership. A poor farmer could not ordinarily accept the position 622
of village headman except at a great sacrifice. Public duties, even
in a small village like Hanashiro, require that a headman be on call
most of the time for meetings, or to hear personal problems and com-
plaints of the villagers. It is significant that the former village
headman of Hanashiro and the current headman of Matsuda both are
operators of rice mills and do not have the exacting dawn to dusk
duties of a farmer. In Hanashiro and Nagamo, the present headmen
are operating farmers who are able to combine their private and public
duties, but both places are small. The headman of Minatogawa, a
fisherman, has had to forego many fishing trips because his duties
kept him in the village.

Leadership is also assumed by those who have had foreign experience, 559
either in the Japanese administrative hierarchy abroad or simply through 484
foreign residence. These people generally have a broader point of view
and know more.

The last factor is age. It is often thought that village life in 559
Oriental countries under the family system is dominated by the older 561
and respected males. It is true that the opinion of retired elders is
sought for and respected, but not merely because of age. In addition,
there may be a life of successful farming, teaching, office holding,
possibly a combination of these, behind them. Leadership comes from
young men too, usually the result of experience in the young men's
association. Energetic leadership, often accompanied by organizational
ability, is noticeable in the age group from about 24 to 27. Women [562]
have fewer opportunities but can show their abilities in their work in
the Women's Association.

Village leadership rests both on the respected elders and the 559
promising young men, on those who have kept and increased their skill
in language, who have occupations that relieve them from the unremitting

789 rope was hung across the entrance of the family compound two times
824 a year, on the 9th day of the 8th month, and on the 8th day of the 12th month. Along the rope, there were knotted blades of grass, also the san plant. The purpose is to frighten away evil spirits and evil doers. One peculiarity of this twisted rice rope is that
283 it is made in a different manner from the ordinary rope. The usual rope is a twist made by rolling the fibre between the palms to the right or away from the body. In this special rope, the roll is reversed and is to the left or toward the body. It is difficult for a person already skilled in the regular method. This villager told of going to two noro
[793] priestesses in the village of Yabu who specialized in teaching this method of making ropes. The husband and the wife received instruction, paying about ¥40 for it because the wife believed in the efficacy of the practice. Each year at the proper times, the husband now makes the special rope himself.

787 Some fortune telling practices shade into religious beliefs,
791 just as religious customs have also included soothsaying and divination. The noros and the Buddhist priests formerly practiced some fortune
184 telling. There were no fortune tellers in any of the villages studied, but villagers occasionally consult them. Here, too, the patronage comes largely from the old and from the women. Younger people, if they know about them, regard these practices as superstitions unworthy of belief. The word meishin (superstition) is frequently heard among the young in describing customs and beliefs of the old. The sign of the fortune
791 teller (sanjinsō) is the Chinese character for three written three
[212] times. These characters are said to signify the three states of existence, pre-natal, the present, and the afterlife, on all of which the fortune teller is well versed. Those in Hanashiro and Hinatogawa who wish to consult a fortune teller go to Itoman; those in Hatsuda go to Nago. The cost is usually from ¥40-50 a visit. Typical reasons for a consultation with a fortune teller are: (1) to find out if an ill person will become well, (2) among the fishermen, to find out if the fisherman will return when an unexpected storm has arisen, (3) to discover if a present unhappiness has been caused by the evil deed of an ancestor and if this can be corrected, and (4) to find out the lucky days for such undertakings as marriages, building a house, or beginning new phases of construction.

782 Old women may utter a prayer on seeing a child fall, fearing that
774 the child's spirit might escape because of surprise or fright. (This was observed in Hinatogawa).

778 In Hatsuda, there were shelves for burning charcoal sticks in some of the numerous caves in the area. The nature of the worship could not be ascertained, but they may be offerings to deities of the cave.

514 Worship and prayers in the toilet seem to have completely dis-
[776] appeared. There were no personified toilet gods. The toilet apparently
782 was the place in which thanks were given that a place for excrement had been provided. In all the villages, it was said to be an old belief
778 which has now died out. There was no shelf or special place of worship in the toilet.

left for later practice. When all the new words are presented in this fashion, the teacher takes the textbook and reads the passage once more to the class. This is a signal for all to pay close attention to their books. After this, everyone reads to himself. For about five minutes bedlam reigns as discordant voices fill the room. Then a child is called by the teacher to read aloud to the class. The teacher may call on several other students before instructing all to read to themselves once more, for the last time. Should a child make a mistake in reading, the teacher rereads the passage. The lesson is concluded with instructions to study it that night. In the evening, back in the village, one is apt to hear loud, sing-song recitations of the lesson being read and reread. Elementary school students delight in verbal presentations of whole lessons on the spur of the moment during playtime. Talent programs are popular among 8-year-old girls, and at village or school celebrations in which students participate it would be unusual not to have at least two readings offered. The school also promotes oratorical contests in which long, memorized stories are recited. Rote memory, discussion with association of facts, familiar with the unfamiliar, and imitation, therefore, are utilized in these learning situations. 872 876 [537]

Although reading allows for a certain amount of creativity in timing and flexibility of inflection patterns, penmanship is a rigidly controlled practice. As the teacher writes the character on the board, strictest attention is required. There is precise order in the sequence of strokes, as well as unquestionable direction as to how to form them. The teacher counts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, while writing the strokes on the board. All children have to raise their right hand and with the index finger write the character in the air, following the teacher's example. The character is written in this fashion four or five times before the whole class is sent to the blackboard in small groups to demonstrate that they have understood the principles of writing the character. This process uses imitation, repetition, and memorization in learning. 872 876 212

In the area of physical science and social studies, teachers are working toward practical applications of concepts which were presented in the lessons. Resources are very limited and so is the potential of actual experiences which a northern Okinawan village child is likely to have during childhood. Applying concepts mostly remains in the realm of discussion in class and not as much has been done to widen the circle as educators wish. Excursions to the beach and mountains help somewhat to integrate and bring into association those facts, mentioned in textbooks, which have reference to the local environ- 872 876

212 Writing Okinawa never developed an independent system of writing; in the old
197 kingdom both Japanese and Chinese were used. Literacy was largely
829 confined to the upper classes, and it is said that students were sent to both
[571] countries for study. Apparently the literati held the Chinese language and culture in high regard while disdaining that of the Japanese; yet, Bettelheim noted in 1851 that Japanese books were very popular in spite of this contempt of the literati.[1] He also stated that the Okinawans always preferred biblical texts written in Japanese to those in Chinese. In view of the political paramouncy of Japan from 1609 and the close linguistic and cultural ties between the two peoples this popularity of Japanese is not surprising. It also should
[538] be noted that although the literati are reported as preferring Chinese to Japanese, the major literary achievements of Okinawa were written in Japanese. Thus, for example, the Omorosōshi, sixteenth century collection of songs which the late Dr Ifa has called the Ryukyuan scriptures, was recorded in a Japanese style of writing; the same is true for the annals of the old kingdom and for the first dictionary of the Okinawan language.

212 With the advent of a Japanese administration and educational system,
197 the study of Chinese ceased, and today Japanese is used exclusively. Most Okinawan place names and family names as they are written in Japanese can be given two interpretations, the Japanese and the Okinawan; in a majority of cases the Japanese is given preference. Occasionally when Okinawan speech is transcribed as in the case of lyrics accompanying phonograph records, the Japanese syllabary is used. This is not a suitable devise for transcribing Okinawan speech, which contains many sounds unfamiliar to Japanese. Unfortunately much of the early
[114] linguistic research conducted in this area was rendered virtually worthless by the employment of this syllabary. In recent years scholars like Miyanaga and Kinjo have recorded Ryukyuan using the International Phonetic Alphabet.

197 Conclusion At the present time Okinawan speech enjoys widespread use throughout the whole of the island. It is still the language of the home,
191 and as such it is a more common medium of expression than the official language,
177 Japanese. The latter, backed by the government, schools, and all the forces of
178 modern life, is gradually supplanting Okinawan, but it would be an over-statement to say that the language is dying out. It may be expected that the majority of Okinawans will remain bilingual as they are today until such time when a whole adult generation will speak only Japanese and transmit only Japanese to its offspring.

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[1] Bettelheim, n.d., p. 31.

4. Present Problems

871 If one asks the question, "Is the present education system giving Okinawa what it needs?", even a casual glance suggests a negative answer. It should be obvious from some of the material of this report that the ordinary Okinawan is disastrously ignorant of many things that concern him---in economics, politics, and particularly in matters of health and sanitation. Yet this ignorance does not seem to be confined to the less educated. It was a college student who gave some of the folk beliefs about disease. Another young man indicated that the schools themselves by attempted rationalization may be perpetuating an uncritical attitude; his high school teacher had explained that crows do not really know when someone is going to die because they possess supernatural power; they know it because they can smell death.

000 The difficulty lies partly in the unwillingness of most Okinawans, one might say most human beings, to re-examine cherished beliefs. Ignorance of the true nature of disease, as discussed in Chapter IX, is not merely due to the absence of knowledge, but rather to the presence of a set of traditional beliefs that form a body of "knowledge", incorrect though it may be, that provides the individual with the explanations he needs. In order to teach modern scientific explanations, educators must determine what the body of folk belief consists of, re-evaluate it, and devise methods whereby its falsity can be demonstrated. Doing this would not be easy; it would be doubly hard because of the greater importance given to the opinions of older people in Okinawan society.

871 554 Ignorance may also be due to lack of interest. Education is a source of prestige to the educated individual. But education as defined by Okinawan culture perhaps does not include such subjects as botany and entomology. At any rate certain fields of study, English literature for example, seem to have enormous attraction, while others, applied sciences such as agriculture, have little. Moreover, other observers have reported that among those Okinawans who are engaged in work in applied sciences there seems to be a distaste for field work and a preference for office work. This too may reflect a higher value placed on sedentary "paper work" and a lower one on work with the hands.

876 177 As Lebra has pointed out in Chapter II, most Okinawans suffer from a linguistic handicap. Most children learn Okinawan in the home and then have to learn a second language, Japanese, in the school. This immediately gives them less time for learning other things. But their troubles do not end with the acquisition of a speaking knowledge of Japanese. This is not so very difficult since the two languages are closely related. But the Japanese system [212] of writing, with its two native syllabaries plus the Chinese characters, is incredibly complicated and requires an enormous expenditure of time and effort. A student learning the geography of Okinawa, for example, must spend a great part of his time learning the characters for Okinawan place names and thus, as in one instance observed, he may not get around to learning where all of them are.

The opinion of a former teacher is worth noting. When I worked with him in 1945 he told me that he and other teachers who privately believed that

876 Japanese nationalism had been perverting education had felt that their only
177 means of creating more open minds was to teach as many characters as possible
212 so that the students might later read a wider range of material. In 1954 he said that he was now convinced that the Japanese, and the Okinawans, would be better off if SCAP had forced them to discard characters and adopt a system of romanization. This man is now a printer and publisher; the characters are his own stock-in-trade.

000 The difficulties facing any sort of language reform in Japan are great. If romanized Japanese only were taught in Japanese schools, the whole of Japanese literature would soon have to be republished in romanized form and most modern scientific works would have to be not only republished but rewritten as well. The great number of homophones in the technical vocabulary of Japanese are distinguishable to the eye because of the different characters with which they are written, but they are not distinguishable to the ear nor would they be distinguishable written in romanized form. Romanization would require the introduction of many new terms. Moreover, because of the esthetic appeal of the characters and the high prestige derived from a knowledge of them, many educated Japanese would have a strong emotional resistance to discarding them. During the occupation certain reforms were instituted but in some respects they only increased the complexity of the system by introducing for some characters simplified forms which now must be learned in addition to the older, more complex forms. It is quite likely that any attempt to reform the Japanese system of writing on Okinawa would meet with even greater resistance than it would meet with in Japan.

212 In addition to the difficulties of the writing system, the literary
177 forms of Japanese present some differences in style which make them difficult for the less educated to read. I was once present in an Okinawan home when a child in the second grade brought home a mimeographed request from the school for a certain fee. I looked at the notice and found that I could not be sure of the readings of all of the characters or of the meaning of the construction of the first paragraph, although I can read technical material in my own field. I asked the mother, who had had six years of schooling, to read it to me. She admitted that she could not read it either, except for the place where it said how much and what for. Later I showed it to a University student, who, after some stumbling, read the first paragraph and put it into colloquial Japanese. It was of course merely a formal salutation. It did not contribute to the meaning of the notice and it did not matter that the average parent could not read it. Yet if it had been omitted, the few educated parents---perhaps those from whom larger contributions were expected---might have shaken their heads and asked what education is coming to that teachers are no longer capable of writing proper Japanese.

876 As if there were not enough linguistic problems, recently the
177 English language has been introduced into the Primary School curriculum begin-
871 ning at the Fifth Grade. It appears to be taught in most cases by persons who do not themselves speak English or even read it with any fluency. Moreover, it appears to be taught by the 'katakana' method; that is, the texts or the teachers attempt to teach the pronunciation of English words by spelling them out in the Japanese syllabary. The Japanese syllabary is admirably well-adapted to the representation of Japanese sounds, but woefully deficient for

the representation of the sounds of any other language. Its open syllables 876
and lack of distinction between "l" and "r", "si" and "shi", etc., result in 177
such horrors as "ri-to-ru" for "little" and "shi-ku-su" for "six". And these are the pronunciations learned by the unsuspecting children, pronunciations that are unintelligible to a native speaker of English and which must be later unlearned if the student is to acquire a usable knowledge of English.

But even though the teaching of English in this manner is pretty clearly a waste of time, there is great resistance to abandoning it. A USCAR official who has visited many schools told us that he had frequently had the painful experience of having to meet the English teacher. This usually meant pretending to communicate in order to save the face of the man and the school. Yet even school officials who realize how poor the instruction is are are unwilling to discontinue it. The prestige of English is too great and too many persons are depending upon it. Perhaps again we have the Okinawan theme--- One must not interfere with the livelihood of another.

No doubt there is a need for instruction in English to students on the high school and college level, but like any language English can be taught most effectively and with the least waste of effort by persons who have had the linguistic training. Americans who have had no special training in this field are also likely to be less effective teachers.

It has been suggested several times that the Okinawan language, or one 212
of the several varieties of it, might be reduced to an alphabetical system of 177
writing and that this might make possible the development of an Okinawan literature. The suggestion has evidently not met with much enthusiasm. Two obstacles stand in the way of such an endeavor. First, the creation of a good phonemic transcription for Okinawan would require considerable work by a trained linguist. Second, to produce a literature requires incentive in persons of talent. At the present time the high prestige of Japanese and English [554]
and the low value placed on Okinawan provide little basis for such incentive. If such an endeavor were successful, however, it could well provide Okinawa 000
with a greater cultural self-sufficiency than it has known for several generations. But the question might also be asked, is the creation of greater linguistic fragmentation and of national feelings in small groups desirable in a world that is growing smaller by the day?

I have discussed linguistic factors in education in some detail not only because they present problems in themselves but also because they illustrate the operation of a factor that may create even greater problems, the factor of values existing among educators and those receiving education alike. The high value placed on literary Japanese and now on English are merely two elements of a value system that often is not in accord with the urgent needs of Okinawan society. Of more immediate concern to education, of course, are the continuation of the program of rebuilding Okinawa's schools and the provision of more incentive for persons to enter and stay in the teaching profession. But ultimately the problem of values is likely to become a crucial one, if Okinawa is to have a healthier and more democratic society. The task facing the educators of Okinawa's youth and the educators of the educators is a difficult one: it requires a fine balance between authority and freedom.

217
592 The family register is a basic official document recording officially all the family data for each household. These have been compiled since the war. The old registers which gave the family history in great and accurate detail were destroyed as a consequence of the war or intentionally by the Japanese. The standard form for the register contains (1) the place of permanent domicile of the family head (honseki), (2) the place of present residence (genjūshō), (3) the name of the previous head of the family (zenkonushi), (4) the head of the family (koshu), his birthdate, and his relationship to the preceding head, (5) the name of the father and mother of the present head, (6) the name of the wife, her birthdate, whether she is a first or succeeding daughter, the names of her parents, (7) the date of the marriage, (8) names of each family member with birthdate and relationship to the head. All matters pertaining to the family are recorded in one place. The register contains information about births, deaths, marriages, and additions, deletions, or notations as to foreign residence. If a second son establishes a branch family, a line is drawn through his name on the register and a notation refers to a new sheet set up for his family. Deaths are shown by drawing a red line through the name.

217
213 The registry of seals (inkanbō) is a list of the seals of everyone in the township. The individual stamps his seal in the registry himself. The registry shows the date on which the seal is registered, the present address, permanent address, and the name and birthdate of its owner. Seals (han) are used whenever a signature would be required here. When used they are pressed into an India ink paste and stamped on the document requiring the seal.

632 Following general affairs, there is (3) the tax collection (saisei) (4) school affairs (kōmu), (5) a section devoted to agriculture, industry, fishing, or other important occupations in the township (sangyō), (6) health and sanitation (eisei) concerned with community sanitation, health and vital statistics, and (7) a relief and welfare section (shakaijigyō) which administers relief to the indigent.

[423] The village office also issues to each landowner a certificate of ownership (shoyūkenshōmeisho) with the seal of the mayor for each parcel a villager owns. These sheets, a separate one for each parcel, are bound up in a small book.

[622] The mayor and his staff hear complaints from individual taxpayers regarding assessments, the amount of the tax, or the classification of land. The atmosphere of a township office is friendly and informal. Callers bow on entering. The mayor is readily accessible. (In my experience, mayors and headmen are very high types of individuals). Most members of the staff bring their own lunches. Each office has a young girl or boy to serve tea and to watch the fire.

The legislative functions of township government are performed by an assembly (gikai), whose members, elected at large, enact ordinances and approve the mayor's appointment of a vice mayor. The mayor, his administrative staff, and the township assembly administer the township.

191 555 of the difficulties involved. Ambition is directed toward practical ends, such as a business or government clerkship or becoming a teacher.

876 194 It is probably too early to judge the effects of post-war instruction in English. The question is whether students will acquire working knowledge beyond the stage of conventional expressions and simple constructions. Pronouncing English is difficult for Okinawans, partly because the Oriental tradition in education has been so largely visual rather than oral, partly because students, consciously or unconsciously, convert English sounds into their rough Japanese equivalents, and proceed from there.

875 In the primary and high schools, English, with few exceptions, is taught by teachers who themselves have learned English from Japanese teachers. They have added to this knowledge, by private study, often [214] far into the night, of the dreadful English-Japanese phrase books, grammars, and other compendia which the Japanese love to publish. English still reaches the student through this Japanese sieve. So many teachers have learned English this way that the ordinary English of a native speaker baffles them, and they are easily thrown off by "intonation." Correction of this will have to be very gradual. The best teacher of English I saw was a young man who had been taught by an older Okinawan teacher who had in turn been taught by an Englishman. These teachers are devoted to their subject. But it is distressing to see them at study: trying to learn the language by mastering the uses of "nothing but," or "in order to," or "so that," or poring over those phrase books with their headings, "At the postoffice," "At the purser's office on the boat," etc., etc. Much of this is due to the fact that until recent times they have had little or no contact with native [177] English speakers. In the rural areas this contact is still rare. A young man in one of the villages, an addict of the phrase books, 876 one afternoon was studying hard to master the courtesies of a newly appointed ambassador calling on the Japanese foreign minister in his garden! He had been studying English for years, and finally one day got a job as a clerk in a military installation. But he was not a clerk; as he told it, he was a clarku. It is undeniable that these students learn an English that can be understood. Many of them would be able to use the language, and improve rapidly, if chosen as exchange students or national leaders. But the misdirected effort and the wasted eyesight are pitiful.

In the primary schools, English is taught in a conventional way. The teacher reads a sentence or a passage. The class reads after him, and the individual pupils recite. Much the same procedure is followed in the high schools, but there is more conversation. This system turns out many who know some English, but are very hesitant about using it, and a few who have some real understanding. The failures should not be emphasized too much; the point is that as soon as possible English should be taught by teachers who have learned the language from native speakers.

132 There are further local variations. Thundershowers often occur over a limited area. This precipitation is described by Okinawans as katabui, by which they mean a scattered, here-and-there rainfall.

These variations in rainfall throughout the year and from year to [131] year are the source of complaints of drought, frequently heard in the summer growing and fall harvesting season from July to October. [217] Dr. Green of Commodore Perry's staff mentions that droughts were spoken of in an official Loochoo document.

There is also hidden drought caused by the rapid runoff of water and [134] the absorption of water by permeable soils and quick subterranean drainage. Water for crop growth is thus immediately dependent upon rainfall which [133] must be immediately used before it becomes inaccessible. There are no snowy mountains to store the water for gradual use.

Since it is in a zone of mixture of warm and cold air, Okinawa is cloudy a great deal of the year. The days with the highest percentage of sunshine occur from June to October. There is very little condensation near the surface and fog is uncommon.

Relative humidity is high throughout the year. On the average, it does not fall below 74% (in December), and the highest average is 85% in June. This condition produces a hot humid summer, often with overcast skies and it also brings about a felt or sensible temperature much colder in winter than the temperature would indicate. Okinawan winters may be cold, especially with the winds from the northeast and east northeast. Blankets and heavy clothing do not hold the bodily heat. The insulating value of clothing and blankets seems to be reduced.

Okinawa is also affected by monsoonal influences in southern Asia. In the summer, the basic factor is the heating of large masses of continental air, the creation of low pressure areas, and the transport of air from the ocean to the continent. Prevailing winds are from the east, south, or south south east, or east south east, but here the prevailing should be stressed. Actually in a given period winds may shift and flow from varying directions.

In the winter, it is the air over the ocean that is warmer and the dry air from the cold high pressure areas blows out over the island. Prevailing winds from October through January are from the northeast. Though the mean velocities are modest, strong winds are recorded for every month in the year, winds either from the continent, or typhoons originating in the oceans north of the equator.

132 Another modifying factor is the Japanese current (Kuroshio). This
133 current is really part of the North Equatorial current thought to have its origin on the Pacific side of Central America. As the current crosses the Pacific, it gets added colder water from the California current, and is further mixed with tropical and north Pacific waters, and later with western North Pacific waters. The North Equatorial current divides east of the Philippines, its northern arm going along the east side of the

by sons other than the first reinforces this, although there are examples of branch families being established in villages away from the parental home. This intermarriage among kinship groups and the settlement of first sons and other children in the same village brings about a situation in which blood relatives or relatives by marriage are exceedingly numerous. It gives to village life cohesion and solidarity. This was very noticeable in the villages studied. Specific illustrations later will show the influences of these situations on many phases of village life. 621

It is no wonder then that the family system has a strong influence on community organization and on formal government. The semi-official organizations such as the neighborhood groups (han in Japanese), the young men's association (seinendan in Japanese), and the women's association (fujinkai in Japanese) are made up of blocs of relatives, friends, and neighbors. These circumstances blur the distinctions between the private and the public life of the family. The same is true of village government and probably accounts in large measure for democratic village government. At a wedding, at a funeral, at a birthday celebration for a child, the head of the village (kuchō in Japanese), and often the mayor of the township (sonchō in Japanese) will be present, not for political or vote catching reasons, but because he is a relative, by blood or marriage, or a personal friend of his hosts. This theme will be developed later, but it should be pointed out here that the family system, in its contemporary operations, is not only the mould for shaping the outlines of obligations and responsibilities for individuals, but that it is an important guiding principle in the conduct of community life and of formal government. 602 621 [595] [622]

2

Kinship Terminology and the Kinship System

We can now explore in more detail the mechanisms by which the family system operates. To do this, it will be well first to list the common kinship and related terms. These are the terms most often met with in conversation and which appear in the family registers (kosoki in Japanese). Kinship terminology follows the Japanese practice. Like Western usage, many terms such as grandfather, grandmother, uncle, aunt, nephew or niece refer to relatives both on the paternal and the maternal side. The chief differences lie in the rank order in which sons or daughters of a family are designated. A child ordinarily is not referred to as a son or as a daughter but as a first or second son, or a third daughter, or whatever the case may be. The most common terms, with their Japanese equivalents are listed below. The first word is the honorific term and the word in parentheses is the equivalent but less polite form. In general, the honorific is used in speaking of another's relatives, or in speaking to one older than oneself. The less polite term refers to one's own family or is used in speaking to persons younger than one's self. 601 [217]

each of the villages, they seldom reach real intensity or a point where the husband sends his wife back to her parents and obtains a divorce. 592 606

A special problem, ordinarily calling for adoption as the solution, is the situation in a family with no sons. During the child bearing ages a family tries very hard to get a son. The man with a family of daughters will resort to adoption of a male child of a relative, if at the end of a child bearing period, no sons have been born to him. But adoption, while available as a device for insuring the continuity of the family, is uncommon and does not have the importance historically attached to it in Japan. Adoption is discussed in more detail in Section 6. 597 [842]

3

The Extended Family and its Branches

The extended family (ichimon in Japanese, munchu in Okinawan) consists of all families in the main and collateral line of descent from the common ancestor.[2] This ancestor, who founded the house, is an historical, or at least a supposed historical person. The descendants of the founder of the family, themselves united in a family group, are thus related to one another, though the older the family, the more remote these relationships become. Many villagers recognize that they are related to one another, but the relationships are seldom clearly defined beyond the second cousin. After this people become relatives, (shinseki or shinrui in Japanese). These words, used synonymously in Okinawa, indicate an awareness of a relationship without knowing offhand its exact nature. This problem is solved in part, as will appear later on, in Section 8, by knowing the household order name of each family, but even here individual relationships are difficult to trace. 614 596 602

Contemporary lack of precise knowledge of family genealogies is due in large part to the destruction of many family records during the war. The keeping of genealogies was common, especially among the families who belonged to the old Okinawan nobility. The genealogies lost in the war are irreplaceable. The same is true of the official family registers which were also destroyed. They were replaced with ones prepared by officials personally interviewing the families involved. While this procedure succeeded in recording contemporary data with a fair degree of accuracy, it could not duplicate the minute details, going back for generations, which were recorded in the old registers. 601 217 [565]

2 Dictionaries usually define ichimon as clan, but I have avoided using this term because of ambiguities in usuage. In American practice, clan has been applied to groups in which descent is reckoned through the mother. See R. H. Lowie, Primitive society, New York, 1920, 111-12. Father-sibs (Lowie's term) or family groups could be used, but the latter term suggests more a collection of families than a large unified family with many sub-families.

seem to be either supplementary names or household order names held during one's lifetime only, but in some instances became hereditary. Household order names taken from places seem to have become hereditary, if present lists of these names are fair indications. Even today if an American should settle in a village in Okinawa, he would probably be given a household order name and be known by this name outside the circle of friends and acquaintances who knew his surname. Such a house name would be something like Amerikaya, House of America. Ya means house or abode. The American's presence would be well known; his name, too difficult to pronounce and to remember, would be forgotten even if ever learned, and he would be the house of the man from America.

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[609]

Each family in a village has this secondary name whether it is in the main or a branch family line. In Hinatogawa, some exceptions were found to this, but it is not quite clear what interpretation to put upon them. In this village there were many individuals--mostly single persons living by themselves--who did not have a household order name. Of the 213 households, 20 either did not have such a secondary name, or it was not known to them nor to the residents of Hinatogawa. Of these at least 8 were females.

Household order names do not appear in the official family registers (koseki) maintained in the village office (yakuba). Historically, the household order name apparently preceded the giving of first and surnames. In villages the mass of people were not known by their full names. They were designated in the fashion already described. Even up to the beginning of the war, often only important and conspicuous people, such as officials and school teachers, were known by their given and surnames (seimei); the rest were known by their household order name.

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Of all the villages studied, the household order name seemed to be of greatest living importance in Hanashiro. This naming system is used only in contacts within the village. In contacts with the outside, in schools, and in official dealings, a person's full name is used. Young children, from about ten on, know families by their household order name, and one can inquire for a family by asking either for the surname or the household order name. There were instances in all villages, confined however to the old, of people knowing individuals only by their household order name. According to informants here, a person's household order name is still better known than the given and the surname. Residents are often called for village, community, and official duties by their secondary family names. Here the double naming system, one for contacts within the village, the other for the outside is still strong.

A similar situation existed in Hinatogawa. The household order system here might be expected to persist longer, at least for use within the village because of the high frequency of a few surnames. The same ability of young children to know household order names of

Every parcel of land with its grade and type is mapped, a thoroughness in land classification which has not yet been approached in the United States. While the mapping is recent, the information was always available in the village records. Village owned lands are also a survival of this system, especially the forests in the north. Community owned property is much more modest in area in the south and confined to small parcels of forest or pre-war forest, school and public building sites, community ponds, and the like. 178 423 311 [217]

2

Present Land Tenure and Land Classification

The present method of land holding based on Japanese law went into effect at the end of the old land allotment system. The head of the family registered all lands, previously held as shares, in his own name. Apparently in the last distribution before the abandonment of the old system, men and women over 52 years of age received their property for life with the right to pass it on to their children. At the beginning of the new system, also, the wild land was still publicly held, but further clearing and reclamation got under way, and the genya land also began to be divided up and became part of private holdings about ten years after the new land law went into effect. 423 [888]

The new system of private ownership of land introduced buying and selling (baibai), tenancy (kosaku), and land speculation. There had been some tenancy under the old system apparently however it was on a village basis with one community renting from another. There has therefore been insufficient time to develop in Okinawa the widespread abuses associated with the Japanese land tenure system prior to the land reform of 1946.[7] 423 427

In all the villages studied, individual ownership is the rule with some informal tenancy. Now an owner is not paid for the use of his land, the result of a Civil Administration measure to encourage maximum food production. Tenancy, as it was observed in the villages was usually an informal lending of the land: the use by a friend, relative, or neighbor of an unused plot.

The present system of land use and land tenure is a result of practices and customs developed under the old allotment system, combined with the introduced Japanese system of inheritance. The family system plus these two influences have brought about the modern customs of land inheritance, the distinctions in types of land, and the fragmentation and lack of contiguity in holdings. 178 423 311 428

7 Based on conversations with villagers in Hatsuda. Uyehara, Yukuo made the same point in accounting for the low percentage of tenancy and the high percentage of independent farmers in Okinawa-ken. Ryukyu Islands, Japan. Economic Geography 9 (1933), 395-405. Reference on 399. [115]

311 487 363 One feature typical of these villages is the boundary path (aahi), sometimes only a foot wide. The path is a boundary and a means of access. Roads and lanes are in the main areas of the village. They do not checkerboard a whole area. Too much land would be sacrificed. The farmer leaves his home, walks along the road or lane, and then takes a winding boundary path to his own field. In the aggregate, considerable land is taken up by boundary paths. Often the sides of the plot along the path are cut perpendicularly to take as full advantage of the soil as possible. There is little slope from the path to the field, and the paths of the rice paddy often look like miniature levees.

311 423 In his Narrative of a Voyage of the Ship Morison, which appeared in The Chinese Repository for 1838, S. Wells Williams wrote concerning Okinawa: "Indeed the Lilliputian minuteness with which the country is subdivided is singular." The tables and the land use maps which follow document this observation. The tables, which show the number of plots and their average size, for each village, were computed from land registers in the two township offices. The three main classifications, rice, dry crop, and wild land, have been selected. To appreciate the size of these plots, one should bear in mind that a 40' x 80' lot has over 88 tsubo and that an acre contains about 1210 tsubo. [217]

[217] The maps represent a tiny portion of those cadastral maps collected from the township offices and of which tracings were made. They also illustrate the complete and painstaking subdivision of a village area and the general uses to which each parcel is put.

Rice Land (Ta)

a. Hanashiro

Grade	No. of Plots	Average Area in Tsubo
Total	201	140.4
1	59	52.9
2	36	160.8
3	44	182.6
4	58	179.8
5	4	212.5

b. Matsuda

Total	560	137.2
1	30	60.5
2	76	140.0
3	178	132.1
4	175	154.9
5	101	136.3

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The family register is a basic official document recording officially all the family data for each household. These have been compiled since the war. The old registers which gave the family history in great and accurate detail were destroyed as a consequence of the war or intentionally by the Japanese. The standard form for the register contains (1) the place of permanent domicile of the family head (honseki), (2) the place of present residence (genjūshō), (3) the name of the previous head of the family (zenkonushi), (4) the head of the family (koshu), his birthdate, and his relationship to the preceding head, (5) the name of the father and mother of the present head, (6) the name of the wife, her birthdate, whether she is a first or succeeding daughter, the names of her parents, (7) the date of the marriage, (8) names of each family member with birthdate and relationship to the head. All matters pertaining to the family are recorded in one place. The register contains information about births, deaths, marriages, and additions, deletions, or notations as to foreign residence. If a second son establishes a branch family, a line is drawn through his name on the register and a notation refers to a new sheet set up for his family. Deaths are shown by drawing a red line through the name.

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The registry of seals (inkanbō) is a list of the seals of everyone in the township. The individual stamps his seal in the registry himself. The registry shows the date on which the seal is registered, the present address, permanent address, and the name and birthdate of its owner. Seals (han) are used whenever a signature would be required here. When used they are pressed into an India ink paste and stamped on the document requiring the seal.

632

Following general affairs, there is (3) the tax collection (zaisei) (4) school affairs (kōmu), (5) a section devoted to agriculture, industry, fishing, or other important occupations in the township (sangyō), (6) health and sanitation (eisei) concerned with community sanitation, health and vital statistics, and (7) a relief and welfare section (shakaijigyō) which administers relief to the indigent.

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The village office also issues to each landowner a certificate of ownership (shoyūkenshōmeisho) with the seal of the mayor for each parcel a villager owns. These sheets, a separate one for each parcel, are bound up in a small book.

[622]

The mayor and his staff hear complaints from individual taxpayers regarding assessments, the amount of the tax, or the classification of land. The atmosphere of a township office is friendly and informal. Callers bow on entering. The mayor is readily accessible. (In my experience, mayors and headmen are very high types of individuals). Most members of the staff bring their own lunches. Each office has a young girl or boy to serve tea and to watch the fire.

The legislative functions of township government are performed by an assembly (gikai), whose members, elected at large, enact ordinances and approve the mayor's appointment of a vice mayor. The mayor, his administrative staff, and the township assembly administer the township.

Chapter 5

Political Organization and Social Control

THE TOWNSHIP

621
631 Administratively Taira village is part of Higashi township, an area of
[131] approximately 30 square miles with six independent villages spread over a distance of about 15 miles along the coast. Taira is centrally located and since 1946 has been the seat of the township administration. Higashi is one of several townships in northern Okinawa. It is responsible to the central Ryukyuan government at Naha which has branch offices at Nago, the nearest town to Taira. Control over communities such as Taira by a central government is of ancient date. The Okinawan king levied taxes throughout the island and held political control over the villages until establishment of Japanese administration.

632 The township office is headed by a mayor who is elected for four years by popular vote. He nominates an assistant mayor who must be confirmed by the township assembly, a council of 16 representatives who are elected from all the villages. The Assembly meets two or three times a year to enact local ordinances, to confirm the mayor's appointments, and to approve the annual budget.

632 The administrative organization of the township consists of five
647 departments, which are responsible for carrying out central government policies. The Finance and Education Department is concerned with tax collection and general school affairs. The Industrial Department acts as controlling and advising agent in all matters of subsistence and cash production. Financial help for farmers is channeled through this department. Attached to it is an Agricultural Extension Division agent who is concerned with individual farmers' problems. A General Affairs
[217] Department is in charge of office administration; it is also responsible

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

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for keeping the population registry, with vital statistics and relevant information on all township residents.* The Welfare Department investigates relief cases and receives applications for support from the poorest families. The Health and Sanitation Administration is primarily concerned with preventive work. Representatives from these five departments are supposed to visit all the villages in the township frequently to inspect and to discuss regulations. The officials and personnel of the five departments are drawn equally from all the villages and commute daily by foot, bicycle, or bus. 632 [217]

The township administration links the central government and individual villages. Numerous requests for central government aid, originating in each community, are sent through the township office. The government in turn deals with each community through the township administration. Contact between township and the villages is maintained by weekly meetings of all village headmen with the mayor and his staff. The village headman is responsible for carrying out township and central government ordinances. 631

THE VILLAGE

The village headman is elected once a year, in June, from a slate agreed on beforehand during informal discussions by villagers. There is no campaigning; in fact, the elections are treated more as a necessity than a politically important event, and neither before nor after do they incite much public discussion. This democratic process of elections is of post-World War II date. Before the war, the council of village leaders accepted a new headman only if the choice pleased them, so that the headman at that time was virtually appointed. Villagers remarked that "listening to public opinion is a recent change." 622 666 [177]

The village is still experimenting with the mechanics of a free election. Votes are still restricted to household heads, but the Taira Women's Association and Young People's Association tried to change this in 1955. Although they did not succeed, a concession was made by permitting "representatives" to vote for their household in the absence of a household head, provided the voter was 20 years of age. The elec- 666 [592] [575]

* The old registry was totally destroyed during the war. A new one is being prepared with the help of the people. It no longer differentiates between persons of noble and common descent. Information on crimes committed by people, sentences passed by courts, and other information, such as diseases in the family, like mental illness, is also omitted now.

the decades, as the branches grow into unilineal descent lines of their own, new "main" houses are formed. 613

Originally descriptive names were given to each household. These names indicated a "stem" family or one of its branches. The "Big East House," a reference to the lineage as well as to the homestead itself, probably split into several branches. These, the homes of younger sons, were known as "Little East House," or by a further derivative, "Behind Little East House." Sometimes the rank order of a younger son was used to name his house, such as "Second East House." This house order system is no longer in existence in Taira, but a few of the names are still in use to indicate houses, and individuals are frequently referred to as "the person of such and such a house," for instance, "the grandmother of the East House." *

Although every individual is aware of his membership in a "main house," these descent groups have little importance except in religious life and death ceremonies. Members of the same "main house" revere common male ancestors and share in the upkeep of a common tomb in which their remains are placed at death. Funerals and the veneration of deceased members of the "main house" bring the kin group together several times a year. Women, although entombed with their husbands, visit the "main house" of their father to pray before his ancestors' tablets and make offerings. If they were born in Taira, they may first take offerings of rice and sake to the shrine of their husband's paternal ancestors; then later in the day they prepare for a ceremony in their own "main house." 613 769

The descent group also functions in other religious contexts. The oldest woman of the main house acts as priestess for the lineage, and she or another older female may visit the sick and assist their relatives with prayers and practical help. Descent group affiliation does not affect such daily concerns as lending help to others in economic tasks, though some of the descendants of early Taira settlers seem to feel more obligation in this respect than members of the more recently arrived lineages. Lineage affiliation does not determine the choice of a marriage partner. However, although members of the same "main house" or lineage may marry each other provided they are not first cousins, such unions are rare. Marriage with maternal first cousins is also forbidden. 613 [794] [476] [582]

An individual also holds membership in other kin groups which have only a loose structure and few functions. These are the relatives 602 [476]

* Individual surnames among commoners are of recent date, introduced after the Japanese assumed administrative control and required their adoption to establish a population registry. Family names had been in use among the Shuri gentry. 551 177 217

were justified. Both children were slightly retarded, and people believed that this fact added even more proof. 848

An illegitimate child is loved by everybody and treated like any legitimate child. The bastard's name is listed in the registry under his mother's and his illegitimacy noted. Since World War II the distinguishing red ink mark is no longer used in recording these children. Unless the mother marries the child's real father, the offspring has no legal rights of inheritance. If she marries another man, the child may receive affectionate treatment from the stepfather, but he remains legally her son. Socially such a child does not suffer any form of ostracism, but adults make references to his status within his earshot. One such girl proudly said that people had told her that she was half-Japanese. [837] [732] [217] [428] [554]

Legally a man cannot have more than one wife, but there are cases of multiple marriage even in Taira. It takes a substantial income for such an arrangement, since a second wife is given a separate place to live. A younger "wife" is usually taken if there is no male heir born by the legal wife or if the marriage remains childless altogether. A man, formerly a resident of the village, took a young concubine late in life after his sons were killed during the war. She bore him a son, apparently with the consent of the first wife, since there was amicable interaction between the two although they lived separately. The husband registers such children as his legal offspring. 595 842

Two modes of divorce are possible. A couple may agree to separate and call a family council of parents and relatives on both sides. The township office is then notified and separation acknowledged. Once children have been born, such divorces are not too frequent, at least there were few cases of divorced women with children in Taira. A husband may initiate a divorce by telling his wife of his desire to separate. Extra-marital relationships of the wife would be sufficient cause, as would be sterility, which is interpreted as her fault. In Taira a settlement within the family is the more frequent mode of divorce although relatively rare. One official estimated that the rate of divorce for the whole township is two per year. Among the 59 marriages we found listings for five subsequent divorces. During fieldwork, many debates about modernizing divorce laws were held among members of the Women's Association, which advocated the abolition of the unilateral emphasis that gave husbands all the rights and wives almost none. Only a crime committed by a man would be sufficient cause under existing law to permit the wife to initiate a divorce. 586 [837] [842] [671] [575]

maintaining tax records. The major departments within the 'son' office are 632
General Affairs, Economic and Financial, School Affairs, Agriculture and Industry, Public Welfare and Social Affairs, and Land Affairs. The organization of the staff and the composition of the various departments are not consistent from 'son' to 'son', much depending on the size of the township, but in all cases the same functions are performed. The office staff also includes a chief accountant or statistician and a servant-janitor. The entire staff is appointed by the mayor with the approval of the 'son' assembly. Once a person secures such a job, he is rarely discharged except for gross incompetence or misbehavior; consequently, there is a very slow turnover of office personnel except among the young girls employed as clerks.

Next in importance only to the functions of the treasurer is the General Affairs Department ('shomuka'), which is responsible for the keeping of 632 217
census data and the household registry ('koseki'). The latter is a record of particular importance to all citizens. A 'koseki' is a registry of the households (families) within the 'ku'; thus, in Kanegusuku-son there are eight 'koseki' for the eight villages within the township. Every individual is regarded as a member of a family, and every family has a place of permanent residence where its 'koseki' is kept with the others of the community. The 'koseki' for a family lists all members of the family or household beginning with the former household head ('koshu'), followed by the household head. Each member is listed according to his relationship to the head of the house, and also included for each person are birth order, parentage, birth date, marriage, divorce, place of residence (temporary and permanent). When a person dies, leaves the family or community permanently, marries (in the case of women only), or sets up an independent house of his own (males only), his or her name is crossed out in the 'koseki' of that family. When a woman marries, her name is crossed out in her father's and is entered in that of her husband or his family. When a younger son marries and sets up an independent house, his name is also removed from his father's household, and a new household record is begun with himself as head. The names of those who have died or have permanently left the community are entered in a record called 'joseki' (literally---removed from registry) which is a listing of all those names which have been removed from the household registries. Persons who wish to have a copy of their birth record and family affiliation secure a certificate called 'koseki shōhon' ('koseki' copy) which is an abbreviated 'koseki' listing the individual concerned and the household head. Everyone is theoretically listed in a 'koseki' somewhere, and without this one cannot secure government employment, enter school, or leave the country. Nevertheless, in every municipality and particularly in the urban ones there are a number of persons who live illegally unregistered; these persons are called 'musekisha' (persons without registered domicile), and they are said to be a source of concern to officials and police. In Kanegusuku-son there are three such individuals (known to 'son' officials) who are the offspring of American servicemen and Okinawan mothers. The mothers are said to be too embarrassed to come in and register the children, and the officials are hesitant to press the matter lest the mothers suffer any more anguish; however, unless the children are registered, they will be unable to attend school. In addition to these records the General Affairs Department also maintains an important registry of seal ('han') impressions which serve as the equivalent of legal signatures in American life.

'Koseki' Changes The present 'koseki'---those used when this SIRI team visited Okinawa---are temporary ones set up about 1948. In some very few areas 'koseki' remain from before the war. Registration in the 'koseki' is not automatic when an individual or family moves into a community. Hence there may even be persons who have bought houselots in a village, rented land there and raised crops---without ever having contacted the 'son' office for change of 'koseki'. Three such instances were observed in Nanshan. Areas such as Goeku-son and the Naha-Mawashi area, which contain many "floaters", may actually have a much larger population than is reported in the census figures. 161 217

'Koseki' Inaccuracies The present 'koseki' not only does not contain information on 'museki' persons, but it is often very far behind---sometimes as much as two years---in recording the movement of persons and families out of the villages and into urban centers.

Because old 'koseki' were for the most part destroyed, information on birthdates is very often inaccurate. The Kochinda 'koseki', for example, is full of requests for changes in birthdates, changes ostensibly sought on the basis of more accurate family records recently discovered or assembled. However, some changes may conceivably be sought in order deliberately to misrepresent one's age to a Company or to the military. Also, the possibility should not be ruled out that some persons change their recorded birthdate in order to bring about a change in their luck. [777]

Accuracy of Kochinda-son Data The statistics on household heads presented above represents the total number of people registered in the Kochinda 'koseki'. It does not take into consideration those persons and families who are recorded as having temporarily moved elsewhere. 217 162 592

Many people in Kochinda who have moved to the city have failed to record that fact in the 'koseki'. Many times this is attributable to apathy and poverty, but may often involve the matter of pride in having one's record in the same 'koseki' as one's close relatives. There is an additional factor at work: most Okinawans realize that the present urban trend brought about by the presence of the military is a temporary phenomenon, and they fully expect to return to the village in event of a lessening of urban opportunities. Thus Okinawa follows the Japanese pattern---by tightening their belts and working a little harder, the farmers can always make their plots feed an additional mouth until some adjustment can be made. [369] [829]

Hence the Kochinda statistics as presented above represent some 2,000 household heads and some 10,000 persons, rather than the census count of some 8,500 persons and 1,970 household heads.

The New 'Koseki' Early in 1954 the Government of the Ryukyu Islands ordered a new 'koseki' to be compiled. It will no doubt be more complete in most respects than is the temporary 'koseki'. The demand for a new 'koseki' came about chiefly because Japanese governmental pension agencies 217 [648]

217 need information having to do with widows, orphans, and the war dead. An
[648] interesting study might revolve around comparisons between the temporary 'koseki' and the new one. A study of the 'museki' persons should be very revealing in regard to aspects of lower-class life.

Usefulness in Research The 'koseki' is a mine of information of great potential value to anthropologists and other social scientists. A study of the personal names of people, especially women,
[777] would help show when new ideas came into the village. Name changes are often registered because a person feels his luck will change with a better-sounding name. Those 'koseki' which record the 'yagō', or house name, would enable one to make an extensive survey of the munchu system. A complete study of a 'son's' population should include supplementary records from the land ownership register and tax rolls.

When more accurate records are kept upon those who have left the village for urban work, the 'koseki' will provide many opportunities to study the process and pace of urbanization. Finally, in the process of copying a 'koseki', innumerable opportunities arise for consulting 'son' office personnel on customs and practices in the villages, thus providing new insights into Okinawan life. All in all, the 'koseki' is a most useful document whose possibilities have scarcely been tapped by social scientists.

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These crops do not exhaust their agriculture. Wheat and barley are grown, but not in significant quantities. Varieties of beans other than the soybean are important. Pumpkins and gourds of various kinds make valuable food supplements. The onion, the carrot, and the giant horse radish are grown for home use, occasionally for sale. More unusual products, such as the taro, are grown less frequently and then only for side dishes at meals.

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In their agricultural work, farmers prefer the lunar (kyūreki, literally, old calendar) to the western, solar (seireki) calendar. The lunar calendar was abolished for official purposes by the Japanese in 1874. While this change was introduced into Okinawa, the lunar calendar still has vitality in the countryside. The present published calendars show with a large numeral the day in the western count, but in each block, in smaller script, is the corresponding lunar date:

JANUARY	1952
1	
12th Month	5th day

Births, deaths, official correspondence are recorded in the western count. The farmer, however, thinks in terms of the lunar calendar. When he says he plants his sweet potatoes in May, he means May by the lunar count.

805

Western Solar and Lunar Day Equivalents

Western	1951, Year of the Hare	Lunar Count 1952, Year of the Dragon
Jan 1	Nov 24	Dec 5
Feb 1	Dec 25	Jan 6
Mar 1	Jan 24	Feb 6
Apr 1	Feb 25	Mar 7
May 1	Mar 26	Apr 8
Jun 1	Apr 27	May 9*
Jul 1	May 27	May 10*
Aug 1	Jun 29	Jun 11
Sept 1	Aug 1	Jul 12
Oct 1	Sep 1	Aug 13
Nov 1	Oct 3	Sep 14
Dec 1	Nov 3	Oct 15

* The period from May 24 to June 21, 1952, western calendar, correspondz to the lunar May 1 to May 29. The fifth month is then repeated beginning June 22 and ending July 21, western count. This intercalary month is necessary because the lunar year is about 355 days long. As a consequence about 11 days are lost each year, and an additional month is required every third year.

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Some young farmers are now breaking away from the traditional lunar month and using the western calendar in describing their annual activities.[1]

The use of the lunar month is not confined to farmers. Fishermen, describing their work year, speak in terms of lunar months. For this reason, it is essential in talking to farmers or fishermen to establish at the outset what reckoning they are using. The names of the lunar month and the western month are identical. Following the Chinese, there are no distinctive names for the months. They are numbered from one to twelve. The months have to be distinguished by saying, for example, "sixth month, old calendar," or sixth month, Western calendar." [177]

An interesting minor detail of agriculture and the timekeeping connected with it is the reliance of Okinawan farmers on Japanese almanacs. These are printed and may be purchased throughout the island. One of these printed almanacs is in almost every house, or is readily available from a neighbor. Often, if one asks what is planted or harvested in any particular month, the farmer reaches for his almanac and produces the desired information. If the inquirer is not careful, he will obtain not what a farmer does during the year but what the almanac says he does.

2

Methods and Tools

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In the chapter on general geography, it was pointed out that, despite a high annual rainfall and precipitation every month of the year, there is a problem of water shortage and of drought. This is especially serious in the summer months in all three communities.

[Text Continues Top of P. 167--Analyst]

1 The 24 seasons, borrowed from the 24 Chinese solar terms, into which the lunar year is divided, are also retained on the modern calendar, largely for the use of farmers. For example, Shōkan (Little Cold) begins about Jan 6, Chūkei (Insects Awaken) on March 6, Bōshu (Grain in Ear) on June 5, Ritto (Beginning of winter) on Nov. 7. These 24 seasons, in my experience, are not used much. Farmers think more in terms of the four seasons instead of the 24 little seasons. In Okinawa, they must be revised mentally to suit the humid subtropical climate. "Light snow," and "Heavy snow" are inapplicable in Okinawa; they would simply be small seasons in which one would expect the greatest severity of winter. For a list of the small seasons with Chinese characters, see The five thousand character dictionary, 5th ed., with additions and revisions by George D. Wilder and Chien Hsien Tseng. Peking, 1940, xxxi. [177]

The writers of a recent report on Okinawan economy have emphasized that the combination of generally poor soils, the rapid decomposition of organic matter in a near tropical climate, and excessive leaching make the problem of fertilization very difficult--[4] to say nothing of the trace elements. 24 [114]

(6) Other substances are used for fertilizers. In Hatsuda the barber gathers the cuttings from the luxuriant hair of his clients and places them around his sugar cane--and recommends them highly. Acacia leaves are also used for this purpose here. Leaves and miscellaneous plants are often considered to be especially good fertilizers. [305] [302] [824]

Crop rotation (rinsaku) practices differ by district. In the Hanashiro area, the sugar cane, soy bean, ~~and~~ sweet potato (or vegetable), sugar cane rotation is common. Rotation of paddy with another crop does not occur. Rice succeeds rice in the double cropping system here. In Hatsuda, a common rotation is either (1) the sweet potato, soy beans (or grain, millet, or green peas) and the sweet potato, or (2) the soy bean, sweet potato, grain (barley or millet) rotation. Here rice is not rotated with other crops. (This however does occur in Okinawa).

242 221

Simple Rotations
Hanashiro and Nagamo

One Year

After the sweet potato harvest, the plot is planted in soybeans in the first lunar month.

The soybeans are harvested in the fifth lunar month.

Sweet potatoes follow the soybeans in the sixth lunar month

or

Vegetables alternating with the sweet potato for a year.

Two Years

Sugar cane is sown in the sixth lunar month.

Harvested two years hence, followed by ordinary beans or vegetables, again followed by cane.

4 Agricultural and economic reconstruction in the Ryukyus. A report. Agricultural mission to the Ryukyus, Nov. 1949, 46-47.

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These illustrations, while suggesting the common practice, are oversimplified. Rotation is more complicated because all of a farmer's scattered holdings may be involved in an overall rotation, and one plot may serve several different purposes. In the following example of a plot divided up into five small parcels, the planting and transplanting of the sweet potato is part of the mechanism of rotation:

Time: September 1951

Newly hoed. To be planted in beans (sora-mame), Sept. 1951. 1	Planted in Sweet Potatoes in July 1951. To be harvested in Jan. 2	Soy beans harvested in May Now in weeds and grass 3	Now being freshly planted with slips from Parcel 4. Hoeing Completed.
Planted in Sweet Potatoes on Sept. 20, 1951. Slips from this parcel are vegetatively reproduced on parcels 3 & 5. 4			5

In the following illustration, sweet potatoes and beans provide rotation both of crop and of field:

1 Sweet Potato Seed Bed Potatoes planted in Feb. May and July cuttings supply 2, 3, 4, 5	2 Planted in Soybeans in January. Harvested in May. Sweet potato cuttings planted after the soy bean harvest. The plot is entirely in sweet potatoes by May.

Planted With Sweet Potato Slips or Clones:

3	4	5

A crop rotation with sugar cane depends on whether it is a spring (harue) or a summer (natsue). In the spring planting, lunar calendar:

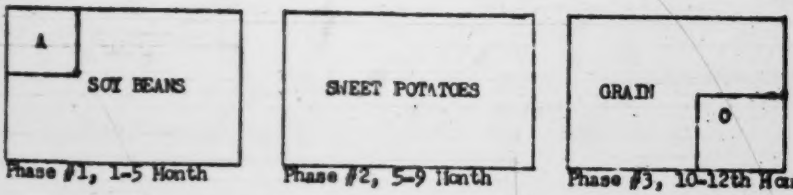
> Sugar cane cuttings are planted in the second month, to be harvested one year later. At that harvest, the plants are not torn out, but the stubs are allowed to sprout (the stubble or ratoon crop), the

resulting growth being harvested in the second or third lunar month one year hence. After this second cane harvest, the plant is torn up and soy beans or sweet potatoes are grown. This is a two year period for the cane, followed by one year in vegetables or other crops.

In the summer planting, lunar calendar:

Cane cuttings are planted in the seventh month. This crop is harvested about a year and a half later, in the twelfth lunar month of the following year, then to be planted in soy beans or sweet potatoes.

In Matsuda, crop rotation is confined to crops other than rice. The rotation, as in the south, centers around the sweet potato, sugar cane, vegetables and grains. The rotation in a parcel of land may be the sweet potato, then the soy bean, green peas, or a grain such as barley, wheat, or millet, followed by the sweet potato. In this rotation, small segments of land are reserved for sweet potato seed beds. When they are not used for this purpose, they may be left fallow for about three months of the year. The following diagram shows the same plot of land at three different times of the year:



Phase #1, 1-5 Month Phase #2, 5-9 Month Phase #3, 10-12th Month

In phase 1, the plot is planted to soy beans. A small corner of this plot (A), is devoted to a sweet potato bed. After the soy beans are harvested, slips from the plants in the sweet potato bed are transplanted and the whole parcel is in sweet potatoes. After the sweet potato harvest, the plot is put in a grain, perhaps millet, or barley, leaving a small plot to be hoed and prepared with composts, manures, or plant residues for another sweet potato bed.

Sugar cane is used in Matsuda crop rotations in two ways:

Rotation #1, Matsuda

First year, 2nd month	Spring growth cane slips, often the ratoon crop)
11th month	Harvest sugar cane, plant soy beans
Second year, 4th month	Harvest soy beans, plant sweet potatoes
9th month	Harvest sweet potato, plant grain or vegetables.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Rotation #2, Matsuis

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First year, ninth month: Autumn planting of sugar cane
Second year, twelfth month: Harvest of sugar cane. Followed by: Soy bean, sweet potato, or vegetables.

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Land is seldom allowed to lie fallow intentionally for any length of time. At any one time of the year, a farmer may have idle land for which there may be a variety of reasons. He may have other tasks and be unable to cultivate all his land, or have no need of doing so, or some of his land may be so poor that he will not cultivate it unless necessary. Much depends on the individual farmer and his holdings. The village records indicate that in Hanashiro 97.2% of the rice and 83.1% of the dry crop land is under cultivation. From the preceding discussion of land classification, it is clear that many parcels are of marginal quality, and these areas may be left uncultivated, at least part of the year. During the post-war [426] period there has been some informal lending of land, free of rent, to friends and neighbors, if the farmer is not using it himself.

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[231]
[227]
[482]
[415]
[493]

Manual labor with hand tools is the dominant method of cultivation. Domestic animals are not uncommon, but their use in farming is minor. The war increased the dependence on manual labor through the loss of domestic animals. Only cattle are now used in rice cultivation for plowing and harrowing and this is infrequent. The man or woman and the hoe are far more common. Crops are carried from the fields by human labor. The basket or the straw container, or the tied rice sheaves on either end of a pole over the shoulder, and not horse carts, push carts, or wheel barrows are the main means of transport from field to courtyard. The barefooted farmer, with his hoe and a pole or a basket does the greatest part of the work. The common tools of agriculture are hand tools and adapted to the intensive cultivation which so often has more properly been called the work of a gardener rather than that of a farmer.

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The basic all purpose tool is the solid bladed hoe. The hoe, since deep cuts are possible with its heavy blade, takes the place of the plow. The hoe also replaces the spade, and even the rake, for it can be used to break up and smooth the soil. A poorer farmer may lack many of the tools in the following list, but he will have two or three of the solid bladed hoes.

The accompanying illustration shows the most common agricultural tools:

1. The hera, a spatula or trowel, used for transplanting tops of the sweet potato. Its wooden hand grip curves toward the end of the tool. The hera is also used as a scraper to remove brown sugar from the sides of the cooking pans during the sugar making season.

2. The kama, a small sickle. Next to the hoe, it is the most

common and indispensable tool. It has many uses, including cutting rice stalks at harvest, brush, and sweet potato tops. 412

3. A small sharp pointed hoe, with a short handle, used in sweet potato planting.

4. A two pronged hoe, the futamata, used mostly with sweet potatoes. The two pronged hoe is used in softer soils. It is much more common in Matsuda than in the southern villages.

5. The three pronged hoe, the mutsumata, also used in sweet potato cultivation and in digging. These prongs, with skilful use, do not cut the potato. It is also much more common in Matsuda than in Hanashiro or Nagamo.

6. The common all purpose hoe (kuwa). It has a thick, solid, wide blade. The handle (about 3 1/2 feet long) is stout. The hoe is much sturdier than the ordinary American garden hoe.

7. Another hoe, longer and with a sharper angle between the handle and the blade. It has a variety of uses.

8. A long handled hoe with a heart shaped blade. It is used for making furrows.

9. An ordinary rake.

10. A cultivator and weeding tool for rice paddies. (The pole in back near the handle of the pitchfork is a prop to hold the tool upright for the picture). Only the more prosperous farmers possess this tool. Rice weeding is done almost entirely by hand. [434]

11. An ordinary pitchfork.

12. The plow (suki) 407

13. The harrow (maguwa), and

14. The waku, a hexagonal wooden frame used in laying out a rice field for transplanting. The last three tools or devices, which are not shown in the picture, will be described under rice cultivation. 413

3

The Annual Work Cycle

The following charts show the annual work cycle by lunar month of two farmers, one in Hanashiro, one in Matsuda. The Western calendar equivalents for 1951-52 are shown below the lunar month. Because the lunar year is shorter, there is a gap, as the period actually covered is from February 6, 1951 to January 26, 1952. These materials are based on observation and conversation with the farmers concerned. 221 241 [805] [114]

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Planting dates, types of crops vary slightly from farmer to farmer, even in the same area, depending on individual caprice, the nature of the land, and the types of crops the farmer prefers.

ANNUAL AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITIES
of
TWO REPRESENTATIVE FARMERS OF HANASHIRO AND HATSUDA
By Lunar Month

HANASHIRO	HATSUDA
FIRST MONTH (Feb 6-Mar 7)	
Work begins on 3d day. On 4th and fifth day plant soy beans. Planting may continue next month. Make Sugar. Transplant rice from seeds sown in seed bed in 11th month. Weeding of soy beans.	Work day begins 3d day after New Years. From 4th or 5th until 20-25th prepare soil for soy beans. Sow rice in seed bed. Make sugar in leisure hours.
SECOND MONTH (Mar 8-Apr 5)	
Soy bean planting continues if necessary. Sugar making continues. Planting of sweet potatoes, using slips or tops of plants. Plant cucumbers, Chinese lettuce (hakusai) Sow sugar cane cuttings, slant-wise or part out of the ground. Harvest small patch of Irish potatoes.	Soy bean planting stops about middle of the month. Transplanting of rice from seed bed begins. Weeding and care of soy beans.
THIRD MONTH (Apr 6-May 5)	
In the main, a continuation of second month activities. Planting sweet potato bed. Spring planting of sugar cane continues. Weed rice field by hand.	Plant the sweet potato in seed bed for future slips. Planting season lasts until the 25th. Weed rice fields. Sowing of sugar cane horizontal plant--about middle of the month.
FOURTH MONTH (May 6-June 4)	
Spring planting of sugar cane continues. Usually finished early part of this month. Continue weeding rice fields. Sow a little dasheen, the satoimo, like taro.	Weeding of rice fields completed about middle of the month. After rain, sow sweet potato, through the 5th month. Sown by slips or transplants. Finishing up weeding of rice plants.

HANASHIRO	MATSUDA
FIFTH MONTH (June 5-July 3)	
This and succeeding month the busiest of the year. Harvesting and threshing of soy beans. Plant sweet potato slips.	Busiest month continuing through the sixth month. Soy bean harvest. Plots formerly occupied by soy beans put in sweet potato slips which were sown in the 4th month. Heaviest sweet potato planting of the year.
SIXTH MONTH (July 4-Aug 2)	
This and the previous month the busiest time of the year. Continue with soy bean harvest if required. Harvest of red beans, kidney beans (ingenmame). Plant sweet potato slips. Beginning of summer planting of sugar cane which continues until the 8th month. The rice harvest. Rice threshing. Begin digging up the wet and drained fields. Beginning of transplanting preparations.	This and the previous month the busiest time of the year. Sweet potato planting. Rice harvest begins about 10th of the month. Rice threshing with the treadle thresher (daikoki). Rice land with cropped plants turned under. From 10-20th preoccupation with rice. Replanting of rice seed beds after testing. From 20th to 30th rice planting. Other rice lands fertilized, prepared for transplants. Beginning of transplanting.
SEVENTH MONTH (Aug 3-31)	
Planting of rice in the seed bed. Beginning of transplanting of rice shoots from seed bed (about 20 days for growth). Continues through 8th month.	Transplanting rice continues until the 10th. Plant sugar cane. Plant sugar cane slips if there is rain. Begin weeding rice fields about the 10th.
EIGHTH MONTH (Sep 1-30)	
Plant onions, tomatoes, carrots, lettuce. Plant wheat (komugi), barley (ōmugi), and naked barley (hadaka mugi). Plant sweet potato slips. Continue and complete the rice transplanting. Begin weeding the rice plants.	Rice field weeding continues. Done three times in three weeks until about the 15th. Plant sweet potato slips if sufficient rain.
NINTH MONTH (Oct 1-29)	
Sow horse beans (sora-mame) and barley	If rain, sow sweet potato slips, sow wheat, radishes, tomatoes, leafy vegetables (ha no yasai) and Chinese cabbage (hakusai)

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1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

HANASHIRO	MATSUDA
TENTH MONTH (Oct 30-Nov 28)	
Possible beginning of second rice harvest, though this is early. Planting rice in seed bed. Sow sweet potato slips.	Sow peas (andō-mame) and beans. Plant sweet potato slips if rain. Sow giant radish (daikon), tomatoes, barley. Weeding of radishes, and vegetables planted previous month until the 25th. Rice cutting begins.
ELEVENTH MONTH (Nov 29-Dec 27)	
Continuation of the rice harvest. Threshing and milling. Planting of sugar cane, slantwise. Sow cabbage seed. Rice seed planting begins, or continues if begun in the 10th month.	Rice cutting and harvest. Threshing and milling. Rice fields dug up. Preparation of new fields.
TWELFTH MONTH (Dec 28-Jan 26)	
Sugar making. Sow Irish potatoes (bareisho) but in small quantities	Continue digging up rice fields. Rice sown in seed beds after seed testing. Sugar making may begin.

YEAR ROUND ACTIVITIES

Sweet Potato Planting, Transplanting and Harvesting continues throughout the year, depending on time and distribution of rainfall.

4

Rice Cultivation

Growing rice is a most exacting task. The period from the time the seed bed is prepared until the final milling is one of tedious work and continuous apprehension. The reaction of Okinawan farmers to rice cultivation perhaps was best summed up by a Matsuda farmer who said, "Everyone dislikes the work, but rice is delicious."

Assuming that the field is already in existence, the cultivation of rice may be divided into the following stages: (1) preparation and laying out of the seed bed, (2) selection of the seed, (3) transplanting

243 inches high, the bottom of the paddy becomes a tangled mass. Farmers walk disconsolately away from a field like this, often without even attempting to harvest the crop. The seeds once soaked will produce inferior rice. In this case, the farmer may turn the whole crop under or salvage some for pig food. The growing of rice is one long gamble with the wind and with typhoons, and there is seldom a year in which some rice is not destroyed.

[221] The harvest. The cutting of rice at harvest time, July and November in the western calendar, is done in a uniform manner. (Harvest times may vary somewhat from place to place). A bunch of the long stalks is grasped in one hand and cut off with the small sickle. A stubble of a few inches is left in the field. The sheaves are tied up with a piece of rice straw and thrown in piles. The commonest and [482] most convenient way of carrying the sheaves from the field is to tie several together. A large bundle of these is carried on either end of a pole which rests on the shoulder. The ends of the pole are cut like tenons and stuck in the bundles below the binding. The rice is carried to the courtyard to be threshed. If necessary, it will be allowed to dry for a few days.

243 Threshing, hulling, and milling. Rice is threshed either in the
407 courtyard of the home or in a flat place near the house. During rice harvest, the threshing machines can be heard all over the village, the noise suggesting the sounds of cars on a railroad track, heard from a distance. The device now universally used for threshing rice is the dakkoki.

This has a foot treadle, similar to an old fashioned sewing machine. Working the treadle up and down causes a drum, set at about waist length, to revolve. This drum has a series of wires set in rows and bent over, appearing like large staples. These staples are parallel with the line of rotation of the drum.

A conveniently handled bunch of stalks (wara) is held on the revolving drum, the rice seeds touch the staples, which knock the kernels off. They drop to the floor of the device. Often the top has a canvas cover to catch the flying rice kernels and the machines is set in the middle of a large piece of canvas so that the grain can easily be recovered. Both men and women do this work, although women seem to do [462] more of it. They are free to work while at home, alternating the task with other chores. They keep up with the man and the elder children who are carrying the rice bundles in from the fields. After threshing, rice straw is thrown aside. It has many subsequent uses.

[177] The dakkoki, an introduction from Japan, is new in Okinawa. In Hanashiro it has been used scarcely 15 years. Prior to this, more primitive methods were used which can still be observed in Matsuda today. These old methods are no longer important, but they are of interest because they were used, instead of the treadle thresher, up to pre-war times.

In addition to these varieties, cultivated locally, imported rice is distributed through the import stores. These rices generally are from Egypt, Siam, and Burma. They are not well liked and are considered to be tough (katai). Whether this is because the variety itself is disliked or because the imports were of a poor quality is hard to say, but Egyptian, Siamese, and Burmese rice are unfavorably compared with Japanese, Formosan, or the locally grown products. Okinawans are very sensitive to the types of rice. There is no such thing as "rice." Long habituation and fondness for special kinds have induced tastes and preferences which each villager is quick to express. 439 262 [493]

In Hanashiro, the main type of rice planted is also the Taichu 65, a variety which originated in Formosa, and is generally preferred. The red variety, mochigome, does not do well here, according to local farmers, and just a little is grown. Mochigome (literally, rice-cake rice) is used in making the doughy and gummy rice cakes. 243 262

5

The Sweet Potato

The cultivation of the sweet potato (satsuma imo) is a much simpler undertaking than rice culture. Fields are prepared by hand hoeing. The plow and the harrow are not used. In sweet potato cultivation, seed potatoes are first planted in a small plot. This furnishes slips or transplants for other fields. Slips are multiplied by using the tops of one field to plant another. Propagation thus is by clones, and this vegetatively reproduced plant is the mainstay of the diet. 244 [262]

The potato seed bed, well hoed and fertilized, is generally planted in the spring. The tops to be used as slips (kazura) are cut off and planted in rows. Practice has brought deftness in this transplanting. A small amount of soil is lifted up by the spatula, (hera), and held so that an opening rather than a hole appears. The slip is shoved into the aperture and quickly pressed down by the left heel, as the farmer moves to the next planting.[5] Few tools are used in the cultivation of the sweet potato. Only the hoe and the spatula are really needed. Occasionally one finds a special hoe with a sharp angle between the blade and handle or a heart shaped hoe with a long handle. In the Hanashiro and Nagamo areas, the solid bladed hoe is the commonest tool. Two and three pronged hoes are less often used because of the hardness of the soil. [412]

The cultivation of the sweet potato, as we have said, is a year round operation, though planting may slacken off during the winter months. [221]

5 Methods of cultivation have changed little in the past 100 years. The same operation is described in Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 31-32. [114]

In Matsuda, the stalk is cut up with a large knife. In Nagano and Hanashiro, the oshikiriba (literally, push-cut-machine) is common. This is a device with a fixed blade, curving upward, on a stand. The cane is laid on the top of the blade. The handle is pressed down, forcing the cane stalk through the stationary blade. The use of this device is not universal. In the north, the hand cutting machine was a casualty of the war. 249 184

It is worth a slight digression here to add that, in considering various techniques as evidences of a departure from or adherence to traditional methods, the effects of the recent war must constantly be borne in mind. Sugar making is a good example. Primitive methods of making it today are a return, out of economic necessity, to earlier ways because of lack of capital to replace the former machinery. In Matsuda, the continued use of the horse drawn crushing rollers is not an expression of conservatism but of improvisation and return, in lieu of anything better, to old methods previously in use. Such devices as the oshikiriba are not good examples of this because it is not a decisively superior tool. A skilled farmer can cut the cane very efficiently with his knife. 178 727 249

Cane cuttings are made when the plant is about six months old and before it is mature. When year old plants are used for cuttings, only the top, or the youngest part is taken. The slip used may have two or three joints or buds. The length of the cutting apparently is determined by the number of joints. In Matsuda, slant planting seems to be favored because the plant is said to receive more water and to be able to withstand typhoons better. Flat planting is faster than slope planting. From one stalk usually five or six transplants are made. 249

There are two plantings of sugar cane, the spring (haru-ue) and the fall (akiue). Cane planted in the spring planting, from January to March, is harvested in April of the following year. In the fall planting from July to September, the cane is harvested a year from the following December. The cane of the fall planting is harvested but the stumps are allowed to sprout and grow again. Following this harvest, the whole plant is torn out and the field is replanted with slips. Though the ratoon crop could be continued longer, the general practice is to tear up the plants after the second growth. 249 221

The slips are about 8 sun (9.6 inches) long. In Hanashiro, they are generally planted flat with the exception of the slip nearest the top of the cane stalk, which is planted at about a 45° angle, the theory being that this part of the stalk has less vitality than the others. These slips are planted about 6-8 inches apart, 8-12 inches deep in rows about 4 feet apart. 249

In Hanashiro, at harvest time, the sugar cane is carried on the shoulder or by horsecart and stacked in piles outside the sugar mill. Though an effort is made to crush it immediately, cuttings may remain overnight or be stacked for a day or two outside the mill. The mill [482] [493]

824 Soy beans have three main uses: soy sauce which is seldom made
[262] in the home, bean curd (tōfu) and miso, a bean paste, both always
[432] home made. For this reason, soy beans are grown mostly for home use,
with the surplus sold. In Hanashiro, where the surpluses are greater,
[462] the beans may be sold in Naha, Shuri, or Itoman. Women do the selling,
taking the beans to market on the buses, trucks, or three wheeled
[494] vehicles.

(2) Other types of beans such as the red dwarf bean (azuki)
241 (Phaseolus angularis Wight), the kidney bean (ingen in Japanese,
Phaseolus vulgaris L), the broad or horse bean (soramame in Japanese,
262 Vician fabia L), and peas (endō in Japanese, Pisum sativum L) are
grown for home use, usually in parcels which are closest to the house.

(3) The giant radish, (daikon in Japanese, Raphanus sativus L)
[263] is, after the soy bean, the most important of the minor crops grown
for home use. This is the vegetable most favored either as a condiment,
[252] or as a side dish. It is eaten sliced raw, pickled, or fried in
stripe in soy sauce. When eaten boiled, its flavor resembles that of
a turnip.

(5) The pumpkin (Cucurbita pepo L) called nanka or kabocha,
the latter name being derived from the word Cambodia from which the
pumpkin was introduced into Japan. They are harvested in summer, and
one crop a year, generally for home use, is grown. If the flesh
[231] becomes too ripe and turns reddish and sweet, it is not relished and
the pumpkin is fed to the pigs.

(6) The cucumber (kiuri in Japanese, Cucumus sativus L) is a
very minor crop. In none of the villages were they generally grown,
and then only for home use.

(7) The hechima or tōgwa in Japanese, subui in Okinawan.[7] This
is very large and cylindrical. In exceptional specimens, its outward
appearance is indistinguishable from the water melon. Its flesh is
white. In the two southern villages, the tōgwa is grown very sparingly.
[184] In Matsuda and the surrounding villages, it is more common. Here it is
used to fill in during times of food shortage. Some specimens I have
[221] seen weighed over 100 pounds. It is planted after lunar New Years,
harvested in the 6th or 7th lunar month, a period reaching from about
January to May. From April to July, when other vegetables are scarce,
[252] it is often used as a substitute. The flesh when boiled is rather
tasteless; it is commonly boiled and served with chunks of meat. The
tōgwa, in the northern villages, is often stored in dark cool places
away from the sunlight, often under the house. If not cut open, the
[251] melon can be saved for a year.

7 I am not certain whether this is Luffa cylindrica Roem, Luffa petola, Ser, the Luffa sponge, rag gourd, etc., whose pulp disappears when ripe to be replaced by a web of fibres.

226 461 month. The decline in opportunity is due, not to the weather, but to the scarcity of fish, which are said to move from these coastal waters during the winter season.

226 221 [434] The fishermen follow the lunar calendar. The type of fish caught is determined by the season. There is some specialization based on age and experience. Only the skilled and relatively young can successfully make a living diving for the lobster and disengaging him from the rocks below. The most intense activity is during the summer months, and the cash earnings of the fishermen are greatest at this time.

226 821 Fishermen pay attention to the weather and to the moon. Part of their weather knowledge comes from traditional lore, part from observation, part from the modern storm warning systems. Fishermen do not go out if there are storm clouds overhead, especially if they are moving fast. The worst sign is an increase in the height of the waves, even if the weather is good. The phases of the moon are also considered. The half moon is the best, the quarter moon is good, but neither a full moon nor a moonless night is considered favorable. The exception is fishing for white cuttle fish, caught on winter moonlit nights. At present, official storm warning signals are universally observed. The red flag flying from a pole on the main street near the breakwater is enough to keep every fisherman at home. This faith in meteorology has not always existed. Even in recent years, fishermen have disregarded the warnings because of disbelief, or ignored them when storms did not appear following a previous warning.

226 Fishing in the Hinatogawa area is coastal (if we include distances up to twelve miles out) and is on a small scale. Much of the gear is improvised by the fishermen themselves. The methods are simple and effective, and the boats are small. This is not one of the most important fishing areas in Ryukyuan waters.[1]

226 868 [813] Men become fishermen by imitating their skilled elders. Knowledge of the fish and of the waters is imparted by word of mouth. The old men are the sources of the detailed knowledge of the currents and of the main fishing grounds, and this knowledge, held in the memory, is also transmitted orally. There are no maps or charts. Usually it takes a beginner about two years to become acquainted with the fishing areas, and about three years to have a working knowledge of the currents.

1 For a general discussion, see Aquatic resources of the Ryukyu Area. (U.S. Dept. of the Interior. Fish and Wildlife Service. Fishing Leaflet 333), Washington, 1949. This work has an interesting collection of maps and drawings of various types of nets. It is not concerned with particular areas in Okinawa, nor with customs connected with fishing.

[Kitazato]

175 It is said that the division of the village cut across family
621 lines and that the motivating factor in a household's choice of one site
727 over another was the location of their remaining landholdings on the periphery of the village. Another factor was the presence of relatives in neighboring villages from whom they might secure land for rental. Thus, Kijikina is largely made up of households which have their lands on that side of the field or have relatives in neighboring Furushima; the Hama people mostly own the land at the north side of the field.

175 <u>The Pre-war Village</u> Prior to the war the village was, according
621 to 'son' officials, a very prosperous community and a great economic asset to the 'son'. It possessed nearly 173 acres in arable land, most of which
[249] was flat or gently rolling. The soil was well suited to sugar cane which
[334] was the chief source of income for the village; cattle-raising for export
[238] to Japan provided an additional source of income.
[339]

Unlike Kanegusuku the lineages were said to be rather weak in Kitazato; there were a number of different kin groups, and no one of these was
[361] dominant. The houses of the village were not tightly nucleated like those of the typical Okinawan village but were scattered about in a loose grouping in the midst of the best agricultural land.

621 <u>Land Loss</u> At the present time (May, 1954) approximately 39% of
311 the total land area of this village is in airfield, and an additional 34%
727 of the total area has been ruined by activities related to its construction (sand dumped onto fields, top soil removed, erosion, etc.). There remains but 27% of the total land area for the use of the villagers, and of this only a small percentage is in arable land, since most of the good, flat farmland was lost to the airfield. The total amount of arable land remaining is
[134] 11,895 'tsubo' (less than ten acres), and this averages out to about 148 'tsubo' or 0.12 acres per household, with approximately five persons in each house. The average amounts of arable land per household in Kanegusuku, Okinawa, and Kitazato compare as follows:

Kanegusuku	---	1514.2 'tsubo'
Okinawa	---	1037.2 'tsubo' (per farm household)
Kitazato	---	148.7 'tsubo'

Land loss to the airfield affected every family in the village; some families lost all of their lands, a very few managed to retain most, but the majority of villagers (70%) lost nearly all of their holdings. For example, the mayor of the village held 2470 'tsubo' before the war and now has 570 'tsubo' left; yet, he is considered one of the more fortunate. To compensate for their losses they now farm some land which was previously left idle: "We would not have farmed such land before the war as we are farming today." Some have rented lands from neighboring villages, and a few have been given land by relatives in these villages.

621 <u>Land Payment</u> The people of Kitazato strongly feel that they are
829 not being paid adequate remuneration in terms of current rental values for
727 their land. They are well aware of the fact that the same U. S. military

114 121 184 much as possible the customary ways of doing things, and though one could not hope for an unchanging or an isolated village, one could find a village relatively so, even if, as was the case with all the villages, they had felt the effects of the deadly campaign for Okinawa.

On one of these trips, I talked with the headman of the village of Hanashiro and then with the officials in the nearby village office of Oushichan, and concluded on the basis of what I saw of the agriculture and the conditions described by these officials, that this small village would be a satisfactory selection. In the beginning, an epidemic of encephalitis made it wise to be away from the village at night and for [164] the first month the investigations were confined to daytime work. This was a serious handicap which I tried to overcome later in the tour by living in the village.

While working in Hanashiro, I had frequent occasion to pass the villages of Minatogawa-ikku and Minatogawa-niku, and I was impressed with the opportunity to study the life of a village in which agriculture [226] did not predominate, and in which the chief emphasis was on fishing and stonecutting. I therefore decided to include the fishing village, and [324] took up residence there late in August 1951, making frequent trips on the side to Hanashiro.

As interest and awareness increased, I became convinced that another type of village should be added to the agricultural and fishing selections. It should be one in the northern forested area (the Kunigami region). [361] After discussing this with American and Okinawan forestry officials, I followed their suggestion and lived in the village of Matsuda in Ginoza township. It proved to be a good choice, with the possible reservation that Matsuda is somewhat of a model village whose conditions might be better than the average.

The villages needed to be small enough for one man to study. And they proved to be admirable communities for realizing my original intention of showing similarities and contrasts in an agricultural village, a fishing village, and a village in a forest setting.

121 The results do not constitute a complete ethnography of each of the villages. Such was not my intention, and this could not have been done in the time available. The material has been organized around four central subjects: (1) the nature of the family system and its influence through [128] inheritance on land tenure and land use, (2) ways of life as illustrated in the studies of the agricultural, fishing-stonecutting, and forest communities, (3) daily family life as a concrete expression of the family system, and (4) wider community relationships, including political and cooperative organizations, education, and religion.

The basic theme is that a fruitful approach to the study of modern cultures lies in the borderland area between the social and the natural sciences, and that, in the case of these Okinawan villages, the study [311] would take the form of discovering in what ways the people are using their natural environment and the manner in which the culture has changed and

Since the war, the old narrow one lane roads have been broadened, 363
permitting heavier auto traffic. Land ownership has been undisturbed, 403
for it is not in an area in which the military has required land. 511
Since the war, the villagers have tried to return to their former way of life, but this has been done with poorer houses and fewer possessions.

3

Minatogawa

Minatogawa, the second village studied, formerly was a shoe 361
string type of settlement. Houses, shops, drinking places were along [275]
the seawall road. This pattern is now altered as a result of the war. [311]
Scattered areas have been relocated and houses built on lands formerly [244]
used for sweet potatoes. It is now an indeterminate type of village, retaining some indications of its old settlement pattern along the main road, with additions of clusters of houses in the newly settled areas.

Like Hanashiro, this village is in Gushichan township, and located 361
on Highway 64. It is directly on the main historical road, previously 133
mentioned, which led from Naha to the Chinen peninsula. The road, along [491]
which its houses are built, parallels for a distance the estuary of the small Minatogawa river. This narrow estuary, called Usaregawa, which connects the river mouth with the Pacific Ocean, and the small river itself (Tuhigawa) is a boundary between Gushichan and Tamagusuku townships. On either side there are steep cliffs, the sites of the best [316]
known stone quarries of Okinawa.

The settlement and the adjoining lands have an area of about 256 621
acres. It is a mixed economy village with three distinct occupational 463
groups: fishermen, stonecutters, and farmers. There is a second village whose borders blend with those of Minatogawa. These two villages are now known officially as Minatogawa-iku and Minatogawa-niku. The two terms can be awkwardly translated as Minatogawa first ward, and Minatogawa second ward. But popularly they retain their older names: Minatogawa for the fishing village, and Nagamo for the agricultural second ward. These two separate but adjoining villages were until 1925 a single village.

The division was the result of distinct differences in outlook and [226]
occupation between the two sections. Minatogawa is a fishing village [241]
and has strong ties with Itoman, a town on the East China Sea shore [324]
about 4 1/2 miles away. Nagamo is an agricultural community originally settled from Naha and Shuri. Stone-cutting operations spread over both areas. While the fishing village of Minatogawa was given the emphasis in this study, it will be necessary occasionally to include Nagamo in the discussion.[8] [128]

8 The writer did not realize until he lived here that two villages were involved, thinking that the two wards referred to a single administrative unit. By this time the work on Hanashiro had been well started, and time did not permit the intensive study of Nagamo. 114

standing. At one time, the Hinatogawa beaches were seriously considered for the initial landings in Okinawa, and later as a possible second landing. After the campaign for the south had begun, Hinatogawa became a forward loading point.[10] The present village has been completely rebuilt, and the newer buildings, with few exceptions, are frail and undistinguished. The war shows its effects, too, on the southern part of the village where there is a barren acreage, formerly the site of an army camp, its top soil so shallow that the bulldozers in levelling it soon reached the rock beneath.

Nearby Nagamo is a village of a different type. It is divided into two distinct quarters, also a result of the war. The old part formerly was to the north in the main stonecutting area, but following the destruction, a new settlement was started in the farm land a few hundred yards south. Cultivation is marginal on the shallow soil of the sloping valley before it descends into the flat coastal area in which the fishing village is located.

Hinatogawa, which means River Port, is a distinctive village reminiscent of the famous fishing town of Itoman, though without its size, beauty, or color.

4

Matsuda

Matsuda is a here-and-there type of village. The village area including the community owned forest is over a square mile. The countryside is dotted with several small sub-settlements. Within each sub-settlement, the houses also are scattered about and separated from one another by large trees, thick growths of shrubbery, grasses, stone fences, and cultivated fields.

The village is located in Ginoza township (Ginoza-son) on the northeast side of the island. This township is in the northern district (Kunigami, or Yambaru). The village is on Highway 13, which winds along the northeast coast through Ishikawa, Kin, Kanna, and Ginoza villages.

Though near the sea, a typical site of a northern Okinawan village, it is a settlement engaged in agriculture and forestry. Its name suggests its nature. Matsuda is a compound of the characters for pine tree, matsu, and rice field, ta, da. Though there is some fishing in the sub-settlements along the Pacific shore, it is casual and a part time occupation for farmers on the coast. The families exclusively

[Text Continues TOP of P. 55--Analyst]

10 The statistics on village destruction are taken from accounts of the villagers. They are estimates. For operations in this area, see Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 68, 74, 426-27, 436, 439.

engaged in fishing are permanent or transient families originally from Itoman, a place name which comes up whenever fishing is mentioned anywhere in Okinawa. Agriculture and the care and utilization of the community forest make up the significant economic activities of the village.

Matsuda had a population of 1370 individuals (604 male, 766 female) as of November 30, 1951. There were, at this time, 243 households, an average of 5.6 persons per household. The village is said by local residents and antiquarians to be about 600 years old. If the age is correct, it must be one of the older settlements in northern Okinawa. Before the war, this village was known as Kochiya.

Matsuda also has its lore regarding shipwrecks and foreigners. There are old men who believe Perry's party came to the village and that they left carvings on the top of a picturesque rock in the Burushii district along the coast, a not unbelievable story since the explorers certainly were not far from here.

Near the seashore, but in a very remote area, there is a natural bridge, concealed by large trees. Roots of the banyan grow through the thirty or forty foot drop from the top of the bridge until they find root in the soil below. On a ledge under this bridge, there are two old and open boxes which were used to collect the skulls and bones of unknown persons. Locally it is believed that they are the remains of shipwrecked sailors, possibly Hollanders. There are still 25 or 30 skulls there, and many of the bones are scattered on the ground. The place is seldom visited.

The village rests on low rolling hills. The combination of the hills, the depressions, the caves and the sinks give the topography an uneven almost rugged character. There are few flat places and these are seldom wide. They are the narrow meadows or valleys between the hills. The hilly nature of the surroundings determines to a large extent the manner of cultivation, and historically probably has had much to do with the shapes of the individual parcels themselves. One does not see in this area the plains or small valleys with rice cultivation that is observed in Haneji township near Nago or around the island of U in Tamagusuku township, or even in the Hanashiro area of Gushichan township. In these communities, the normal pattern of cultivation is that the rice is on the lowlands, with the slopes and upland areas devoted to sugar cane, the sweet potato, or other crops, or left to native grasses. Here in the hundreds of small hills, all of these may be observed in close proximity, hard work and minute tillage comprising with the topography.

The village is subdivided into several distinct areas: (1) the main part of the village where most of the houses, the village office, the small stores, the rice mill, the sawmill, the power plant, and the barbershop are located, (2) a reclaimed area known locally as the kaikon, newly settled and with a different type of land use due to the poorness of the land and to the fact that it is a deforested area, (3) a district near the sea coast and along the sea with scattered settlements, isolated houses, and some cultivation, and (4) the forest lands, which in the

Part 1

Minatogawa, the Fishing Community

1

Introduction

Fishing families are a closely knit group. They are usually interrelated. For the most part, the main houses of their extended families are in the fishing town of Itoman. Fathers, sons, wives, daughters, grandparents participate in some phase of fishing activity. 226 [596] 607

In an agricultural community, the first son remains in the home working the fields of his father. In fishing, through long custom, there is an avoidance of teamwork among close relatives. Members of the immediate family will not go out on the same fishing boat. A father will not take his son, an elder brother will not take a younger. Partners and working teams on boats are more distant relatives or friends. If a father and a son are on the same boat and it is lost, the present and the succeeding head both perish. To this incontrovertible possibility, there has been added the belief that if two persons of the same immediate family go to sea together on the same boat, there will be a disaster. And actual and near disasters are frequent enough to make both points of view understandable. The sons of fishermen, who are learning the ways of the fish and of the sea, go on the boats of others. Many younger fishermen regard the belief that it is inviting disaster to have two members of the same immediate family together on the same boat as a superstition (meishin), but to my knowledge, no fisherman ignores the custom. 226 593 [183]

In Minatogawa, about one half of the fishermen have fields of their own, usually small and poor. Perhaps twenty men in the village may be classed as half farmers and half fishermen, but even in these cases it is the wives and the children who have the continuing responsibility for the fields. 226 241 [423]

Neither is it rare for a fisherman to be a stonecutter. Perhaps another twenty men are engaged in the summer in fishing, and in stonecutting in the winter, or on unfavorable fishing days. The three main occupations of the village, including Nagamo, are thus found in varying combinations. Fishing is the most exacting and offers few opportunities for amateurs. Stonecutting requires strength and endurance. For those who have land, agriculture offers possibilities of growing one's own food and of avoiding cash outlays. 226 324 463

In an average summer month, there may be about 20 good fishing days. But because of unusual or unexpected rains or typhoons opportunities may be fewer. In 1951, there were only about ten working days in each of the summer months. In winter fishing days average about a week in a 226 46 [132]

226 461 month. The decline in opportunity is due, not to the weather, but to the scarcity of fish, which are said to move from these coastal waters during the winter season.

226 221 The fishermen follow the lunar calendar. The type of fish caught is determined by the season. There is some specialization based on age and experience. Only the skilled and relatively young can successfully make a living diving for the lobster and disengaging his from the rocks below. The most intense activity is during the summer months, and the [434] cash earnings of the fishermen are greatest at this time.

226 821 Fishermen pay attention to the weather and to the moon. Part of their weather knowledge comes from traditional lore, part from observation, part from the modern storm warning systems. Fishermen do not go out if there are storm clouds overhead, especially if they are moving fast. The worst sign is an increase in the height of the waves, even if the weather is good. The phases of the moon are also considered. The half moon is the best, the quarter moon is good, but neither a full moon nor a moonless night is considered favorable. The exception is fishing for white cuttle fish, caught on winter moonlit nights. At present, official storm warning signals are universally observed. The red flag flying from a pole on the main street near the breakwater is enough to keep every fisherman at home. This faith in meteorology has not always existed. Even in recent years, fishermen have disregarded the warnings because of disbelief, or ignored them when storms did not appear following a previous warning.

226 Fishing in the Hinatogawa area is coastal (if we include distances up to twelve miles out) and is on a small scale. Much of the gear is improvised by the fishermen themselves. The methods are simple and effective, and the boats are small. This is not one of the most important fishing areas in Ryukyuan waters.[1]

226 868 Men become fishermen by imitating their skilled elders. Knowledge of the fish and of the waters is imparted by word of mouth. The old men are the sources of the detailed knowledge of the currents and of the main fishing grounds, and this knowledge, held in the memory, is also [813] transmitted orally. There are no maps or charts. Usually it takes a beginner about two years to become acquainted with the fishing areas, and about three years to have a working knowledge of the currents.

1 For a general discussion, see Aquatic resources of the Ryukyu Area. (U.S. Dept. of the Interior. Fish and Wildlife Service. Fishing Leaflet 333), Washington, 1949. This work has an interesting collection of maps and drawings of various types of nets. It is not concerned with particular areas in Okinawa, nor with customs connected with fishing.

The time at which a young man becomes a full fledged fisherman depends on his own ability and progress. Age is not a criterion of skill after a young man has had experience. Perhaps when he is 24, a young man can handle every phase of the work, including catching the swordfish. It is common for a young and an old man to work together, the one as master, the other as novice. There is no stated apprenticeship period. In bad weather, or in rough seas, only the unusually apt young fisherman is allowed to bring in a large fish by himself because of the danger of capsizing. 276 868

2

Types of Boats

All boats are now motor driven. There are 42 in the village, 41 of which are small skiffs. Three types of boats are distinguished: (1) the hatsudōki. This is little more than a good sized motorboat with a cabin. It carries about 8 men. There is one in the village. The small scale individualized character of fishing here is indicated by the smallness of the remaining craft. (2) the kuribune (literally, "hollowed out boat," from the verb kuru, to carve or to hollow out). Properly speaking, it is a boat carved out of a log, usually of the Japanese redwood (sugi) imported from Japan, but the term is extended to mean any small boat. This type has largely disappeared, and only one remains in the village. The hollowed out boat seems, in this area at least, to have become a lost art. It has been displaced by (3) the hagibune (jointed, pieced together boat). This is also made from the Japanese redwood and is constructed, often by the fishermen themselves, out of planks about 2 1/2 inches thick. There were 40 of these hagibune in January 1952. The number is never constant due to new building, losses at sea, or on shore from typhoon destruction. 501

These small boats do not require much maintenance. At typhoon times, they are lifted from the shore up over the breakwater and lashed down on the side of the road. This may not avoid destruction. If the breaking waves are high and strong, they crush the breakwater, hurling its stones against the boats. Every two months, the boats are thoroughly treated by rubbing with shark oil. Cracks and small holes are repaired with small wooden plugs, called fundu in Okinawan. These are shaped like a stylized butterfly. They are inserted in the bottom of the sides of the boats across the running planks, that is, against the grain. 504 [731] 501 322

3

Common Fish and How They Are Caught

In this area, many different kinds of fish are caught, but the following discussion is limited to the most plentiful and economically 226

226 most important.

226 136 [227] (1) The sword or spearfish (kajiki in Japanese, akitarō in Okinawan). This fish (some specimens reach 450 pounds) is caught from May through September. Fishermen go about 12 miles out for the catch. A wire leader 15 feet long with a hook is attached to a 1400 foot braided cord line about 3/16 of an inch in diameter. The line is gradually played out after the initial 700 feet are lowered. Swordfish fishing is done in the daytime. The fish is said to be scarce at night. The hook is about 2 1/2 inches long. 262 [435] [432] The swordfish is considered the most delicious of fish. It is expensive, selling from ¥50 to ¥100 per kin (slightly over 1.3 pounds) depending on season and supply; consequently, fishermen sell rather than eat it, except in times of oversupply. Large fish are usually cut up before being sent to market; the small ones are sent whole. The swordfish is ordinarily eaten fresh. The favorite method of [252] preparation is to fry it after dipping a slice in a batter of flour, dried milk and water. Occasionally it is eaten raw as sashimi. Dried swordfish is considered a delicacy. Unlike the shark, the fins (hane) are not dried.

226 136 [221] (2) The tunny (subinouo in Japanese, subi in Okinawan). This fish is caught between April and November. Here there are two ways of catching the fish, depending on the type of boat. If the large boat, the hatsudōki, is used a long line with as many as 200 hooks set 75 feet apart is used. At intervals of every three hooks, there are buoys with flags (hata). These flags, alternately white and red, are about the size of a large handkerchief. In another arrangement, the buoys may also alternate with the flags. The same line and wire leader used for the swordfish are employed with tunny catching, but the hook is smaller. When submerged the hooks are at various depths, their paths describing semi-circles from buoy to buoy. Lines may be pulled in from one to four times a day, depending on the biting. The bobbing of the buoys and the flags indicates the biting and the probable catch. A fishing party remains out for three days, leaving at five in the evening, returning about ten in the evening of the second day.

The small boats use two lines, the longer going down from the center of the boat, the shorter near one end. The method of catching the tunny is the same as that for the swordfish. In night fishing, the line might be lowered fifty feet, gradually playing out ten feet at a time. Tunny fishing is mostly a night catch. The line during night operations may be let out 700 feet, and, in the day 350 feet.

(3) The shark (fuka in Japanese). This fish is caught in the same way as the tunny. Fishing takes place both during the day and night. On the small boats, the line and its 15 foot leader with one hook, is about 840 feet long, and the entire length is let out.

(4) The mackerel (hishisaba). The main season for catching the mackerel is from March through May. These fish, usually weighing about 30 pounds, are caught by divers who seek the fish out while it is sleeping under stones. A strong line is tied around the tail and the fish is pulled up on board. There it is killed with a short

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handled round-bladed knife, the mackerel knife (sabakatana). The fish is caught in the daytime. The diver does not use a flashlight. He uses thick goggles and he may dive to a depth of fifty feet. Fishermen usually are able to continue in this work until they are about forty, after which they stop diving.

(5) The red snapper (akatai in Japanese, machi in Okinawan). This is a winter catch from September to April. Little is caught in the summer, as the fish spoils too easily without ice. It is also a daytime catch, the fishermen usually going about six miles out and fishing from 8 in the morning until 8 at night. Large fish average about 7 pounds, small 2 pounds, with a 100 pound catch for one boat considered a fair catch. The fish is caught with a hook and line. Lines in the skiffs go about 1000 feet down to the rocks.

(6) The flying fish (tobiuo in Japanese, tubū in Okinawan). The season extends from October to April. Flying fish are very numerous in March and April. A large specimen is about one pound, a small one about half a pound. This is also a night catch. The net (tobiuami) is about 4000 feet long. It consists of about 16 small nets, each about 250 feet long, joined together. The top of the net has small pieces of wood made from a tree locally called the angi, the same tree from which the wooden clogs (geta) are made. These small pieces of wood are about 7 sun (8.4 inches) long with about one shaku (about one foot) interval between. On the bottom of the net are small lead weights or shells. As the fish fly, their heads strike the net, and are caught in its loops and held there.

(7) The cuttlefish (ika in Japanese and Okinawan). This fish is sought at night during the late summer and early fall. It is attracted by an ika lamp (ikarampu), placed on the bow of the boat. These lamps may be bought in the small shops of the fishing village. The fish, attracted to the light, are caught with hooks, 8 of which, arranged like the petals of a flower, are attached to a bamboo stick about 3 feet long. (Fig. 1).

(8) The white cuttlefish (shiroika in Japanese, siruika in Okinawan). This fish is caught from fall to spring on moonlight nights. The season lasts from the 8th to the 3rd lunar months. It is caught with a home made lure (yesa). This particular kind of lure is known as the ikauo in Japanese, the ikaiyu in Okinawan. (Fig. 2). Sometimes the lure is painted blue and white; sometimes it is a dark brown. On the tail are two sets of 8 pointed hooks in petal formation, like the cuttlefish hook, though very much smaller. These lures are made by the fishermen during winter nights. It takes about 4 hours to carve one. Two woods are favorites for the lure: camphor (kusanoki) whose supply imported from Formosa is now being gradually exhausted, and the chagi (Okinawan), a tree from the northern district of Okinawa.

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136

(9) The lobster, (ebi in Japanese, ibi in Okinawan). Catching the lobster is the work of young men, usually up to 24 years of age. A man over 35 may be too old for the hard work involved. Occasionally in summer older men engage in part time lobster catching. The fisherman secures a flashlight, covered with sheet rubber, around his left wrist with a strong rubber band. The rubber casing for the flashlight [227] is often an old bicycle inner tube. The light can be turned on or off without removing the tubing. In his right hand, the diver holds a hook (ebikake in Japanese, ibikakiya in Okinawan) over 25 inches long, which he uses to dislodge the lobsters from the rocks below. Often fishermen remain in the water for three hours, the period depending on the season, the potential catch, and on how cold the fisherman becomes. The diver wears only a pair of shorts. The lobster is a year round catch, though there are few in winter. The full moon is considered bad for lobster fishing. It is not known exactly how lobster were caught in the days before flashlights. Some old men said that nets were used.

[432] On a good day, one small boat with three or four men, can catch [474] 150 pounds of lobster. It is not eaten frequently by the villagers, but sold to the large fishing co-operative association (Suisankumiairengokai). The hard and disagreeable work makes the lobster expensive. [435] At present the local market is sensitive to the tastes of the Americans in Okinawa. Weekly estimates of probable demand are furnished by the [434] central office of the association to the local head of the fisherman's association, who in turn informs the fishermen. The lobster is considered a delicacy and is eaten only when there is a large catch and [262] the demand is low.

(10) The seabream (taisakana in Japanese, akamasu in Okinawan). The seabream is caught with a home made device shaped like a Y with a top bar: Ȳ. The base of the Y has a loop for the hook and line. [227] These wire devices are known as yamaguchi in Okinawan though the younger fishermen call it the sarukan. The fish are caught by a series of these wire devices strung along a line with a sinker at the end. The success of the catch can be judged by lifting the line. An ordinary catch will bring fish on 3 out of the 5 hooks.

These are the main fish caught in this area. There are small catches of the bonito (katsuo), the dolphin or porpoise (iruka), and the shrimp (zakoebi), and a small octopus (tako). But these are rather infrequent. There are hundreds of other fish caught, especially of different smaller sardines (awaishi).

227

The wire devices used for catching the seabream can be used in varying sizes to catch many different types of fish. Some, such as the ones described, are used for the bonito, and very small ones are employed in catching sardines.

3

Division of the Catch

226

The division of the catch and the division of labor between the sexes in catching and distributing the fish are based on custom. In the memory of old grandmothers in the village, these customs today are substantially the same as they were in their childhood. The innovations since that time have been technical improvements such as flashlights for underwater diving, motors instead of sails or oars, boat building out of planks using modern hand tools rather than carving out logs, and manufactured fish hooks and gear. [178] [227] [50]

The mechanics of dividing the catch depend on whether the boat is a small or a large one. In Minatogawa, all the boats except one are small so that the division is simple. With the larger boats, the custom is more involved, as more factors have to be considered. 226 476

In the case of the small boats, let us assume that there are two fishermen, the owner and a friend or relative. The value of the catch is Y3500 with Y100 expenses for gas and oil. The net value is thus Y3400. This is divided three ways. The boat gets one share, and each of the fishermen gets a share. In this illustration, the boat owner gets two-thirds of the proceeds, one share as the owner of the boat, one share as a participating fisherman.

These partnerships are very fluid. No agreements are made in writing. Neither are there oral agreements to fish together for any definite period. The partnerships continue as long as the fishermen are compatible and form and dissolve without ceremony or formality. But a practical question does arise in the event of the illness of one of the fishermen.

In this case, a substitute is found for the duration of the regular fisherman's incapacity. This is informal and may be another friend or relative free to help out. The substitute gets the full share of the regular fisherman. In these partnerships, the owner of the boat pays for all repairs that cost money. The other gives his labor for repair and maintenance, such as oiling with shark oil, putting plugs in the holes or in weak spots, or assisting in carrying the boat to a safe place during typhoons.

The division of the catch in larger boats is also best explained by an example. Let us assume an eleven man crew with the corresponding shares:

A The Boat's Share
B The Captain
C The Engineer
D-J Fishermen
K The Cook

226 476 The boat, as in the previous example, is considered a person. The cook is usually a boy about 16 or 17 years old. If we further assume a catch valued at Y10,000, with a deduction of Y1000 for gas and oil, there is a remainder of Y9,000 to be divided. The boat's share, A, is 30%, or Y2700, with Y6300 for further distribution. The following formula is then applied to this remainder:

Captain	1.5 shares
Engineer	1.5 shares
Fishermen	7.0 shares, one for each of 7 men
Cook	0.7 shares
	10.7

The value of each share is Y588.78 (Y6300 divided by 10.7). If the amounts are rounded off, the final distribution is:

Captain	Y883	(1.5 x 588.78)
Engineer	883	(1.5 x 588.78)
Fishermen	4121	(1 x 588.78 x 7)
Cook	412	(0.7 x 588.78)
	Y6300	

The distribution takes place at the conclusion of a voyage. Obligations (giri) between the owner and the others, on these larger boats, are also based on custom. If a crew member is injured on a voyage and prevented from going on the next one, he receives a share for the voyage he was on, and some money, depending on the catch but not a full share, during convalescence. If a fisherman is ill and has been injured outside of his work, he does not receive this consideration.

5

Sale and Distribution of Fish

443 962 835 The sale and the distribution of fish is the work of women. Men occasionally do this, but their function is to catch the fish, maintain the boats and gear, and make the lures. The bulk of the fish is sold at Naha because the highest prices generally are paid there. This makes it difficult for adjacent villages to obtain fish, even in season. When the fish is especially plentiful and low in price at Naha, the women go to the agricultural villages of the interior. Fish are carried in baskets. The pre-war custom of carrying the fish basket on the head and walking from village to village, or to the railroad station at Kochinda, thence by rail to Naha, has given way to truck, bus, or the three wheeled cycle. Often in the evening, these cycles, which can seat six comfortably, are filled with eight or ten laughing and voluble women, and their fish, the vehicle chugging slowly and painfully up and then coasting down the grades.

000 One can infrequently observe women walking from Hinatogawa to

In Hanashiro, the fish were raised for sale by the young men's association. The supply of fish is too uncertain and too seasonal for these remedies to be an effective part of the traditional medicine. Like the native plants, and many of the traditional medical practices, they are yielding to the drugs which can be found in the small village shops: stomach and headache powders, eye lotions, aspirin, and other pharmaceuticals and patent medicines.

The economic and occupational organization of village fishing is very informal. Partnerships are made on a basis of friendship and continue so until one party, for any reason, decides to leave. There are about 40 of these partnerships among the 120 odd adult fishermen.[2] The fishermen of the village also have a fisherman's association (suisankumiai) similar in function to the agricultural associations which the Japanese instituted throughout the empire. This association has a head (suisankumiaichō). Like so many official and administrative jobs in a village, these offices are thrust upon the man. He seldom seeks them. In the larger places where there is more remuneration, the man might seek the job. The head of the association is chosen by the fishermen of the village. He receives Y10 a month for each fisherman he represents. This is a supplementary job, as he could not exist on this sum. Lack of cash prevents any ambitious services to the membership. The association buys and sells gas and oil, nets, lines, hooks, and other necessary items which have been imported either from the United States or from Japan. Occasionally, the association has sufficient funds for small temporary loans for purchasing imported gear, loans from Y100 to Y 500 for a period of a week or two. The main function of the association is the exchange of information between the local head and representatives from the larger association in Naha. This becomes a study of the daily market demands; the information provided is a guide to fishermen in meeting the demand. This is all very informal. The head of the association circulates among the fishermen, giving them tips on what to expect and how prices are going.

7

The Rough Language of Hinatogawa

The Hinatogawans have one characteristic which is not shared by their agricultural neighbors of Nagano, nor indeed by any of the agricultural villages. This is their rough (arai) language, so described by Hinatogawans with a certain amount of pride. This language, if used in the other village, would be considered insulting. It is notable for the freedom with which nicknames, some funny, some disparaging, some pointed at infirmities, are used.

2 The word used here is kumiai but actually these partnerships do not have the organized co-operative character that this word usually implies when used in an economic sense.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

512 A fishing village has a different kind of regularity than an
821 agricultural village. Activities in both are determined by the weather. During a heavy rain, everyone is in his house. But the farmer, even with a dark angry sky, can work up to the storm, and often continues working in a mild rain. The fishing village is guided both by bad and anticipated bad weather. On a fine fishing day, the village seems deserted with the men gone, and the women in the homes. But several days of rain or unfavorable weather keep the men home, and the village is alive with other activities, such as repairing nets, boats, and houses. Much of the fisherman's work at sea is at night, either in the actual fishing or in going and coming.
[513] For this reason, there is considerable daytime sleeping among them. On off days, the young fishermen loll around, often finding it difficult to pass the time away.

9

Conclusion

226 Fishing has become the occupation of a few places, such as
184 Itoman town, some villages on the Motobu peninsular, and Hinatogawa. Ryukyuans have achieved considerable fame for their skill in fishing in waters other than their own, such as their drive-in net fishing in the East Indies and around Singapore.[3] Possibly it is the fewness of good ports, the necessity of adapting requirements to varying local geographical conditions, such as the coral reefs, or the long period of emigration that have prevented the large scale development of fishing on this island and insured the dominance of an agricultural life.

262 It is also a striking fact that, on this small island where no village is far from the sea, fish is an uncommon article of the diet. The explanation is simple. It is a problem of distribution in which
[435] two considerations are involved: the higher prices obtainable in Naha,
[251] and the difficulties of preserving fish while distributing them through
[439] the rural villages. More often than not, the fish in a farmer's diet is the dried sardine or a canned fish from Japan, not the local catch.

Part 2

The Quarries of Hinatogawa-Nagamo

1

Introduction

324 Hinatogawa is famous throughout Okinawa for its stone. Stone from the village and its environs may be seen in many towns and villages
[458] of the island. Before the war, there was a flourishing boat trade in wood and stone between Hinatogawa and the northern region. The fine

3 For a recent statement, see Aquatic resources of the Ryukyu area, as cited, 7-9.

231 Before a piglet is bought, its feeding habits are carefully observed by the buyer to determine future growing potential. It is then kept in a [417] sty: pigsties are either in the yard near the house or in a cluster of stables on the north edge of the town. Twice a day women cook the food in large kettles and ladle the liquid food into a trough. Nowadays [262] pork is rarely consumed in the village except for special holidays, when several families may slaughter pigs and sell part of the meat to every- [438] body through the local store or preserve some of it by salting. Most [251] farmers, however, wait for the meat buyer from the southern part of [442] the island from whom they receive a good financial return.

Goats are raised for home consumption. They are never left to graze [417] but are quartered in a goat pen near the pigsty and fed on grass cut from uncultivated land. Seven families in the central village have [492] horses. Their main use is to carry firewood from the mountains. The small breed looks like a cross between a horse and pony and seems especially adapted to climb the steep trails. They are also used for plowing and for pulling two-wheeled carts. The owner of a horse [434] may more than double his income from forest work. Horses are fre- [427] quently rented out for half the day's income from wood carried by them.

Silkworm raising, an important source of income in Taira before the war, is only now being resumed by some Tairan families. The [474] larvae are supplied through island-wide silkworm raising associations, which repurchase the cocoons after they are spun. To raise silkworms, a substantial house is needed so that rats cannot enter and eat the worms. The temporary postwar structures with holes and cracks in the walls and roof are inadequate. Only a few recently built houses can be used. One family keeps growing worms on shelves in the front room. [137] Most of the mulberry trees were lost during and after the war. Plans have been made to plant new trees. Young girls feed the mulberry [462] leaves to the gluttonous worms who require constant attention. When the worms are ready to create their cocoons, they are taken off their diet, and the cocoons are cleaned and sorted out. Silkworms can be raised four times a year if there is an adequate supply of mulberry leaves. Their sale brings a good income, which can become a substitute [434] for cash earned in forest work.

FISHING

● 226 Fishing is a much less important source of livelihood than one would [554] expect in a coastal village and is a low-prestige occupation. Only two

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

of the permanent Tairan families fish; the majority of the fishermen are migrants from the surrounding islands who come for a season, leaving their families behind. A few families have moved in permanently. The fishermen supply Taira, but most of the catch is peddled in the Nago market by the fishermen's wives. Some of the more enterprising and mercantile-minded women in the village buy up fish and peddle it for a profit.

Two or three times a year, during February or March, large fishing boats from Henza Island land in Taira with whale meat. All the able women look forward to making extra cash at this time, for whale meat is considered a delicacy in homes where meat is rare. Blubber is eaten and used as frying fat. The distribution of whale meat is arranged by one village woman whose fishermen relatives from Henza supply it in response to her request. She acts as agent, distributing the meat to the women on consignment.

LUMBERING

The main source of immediate cash for most families is firewood. Forest land in the mountains is owned by the township and the village, except for some woods near the fields, which are personal property. The township permits the village to exploit a certain region surrounding the community in return for payment of a forest tax. This tax is levied on firewood bundles or on lumber sold by villagers. Everyone in the village is free to cut wood in the designated area in any amount he desires. This, however, does not imply that unlimited cutting is possible, for resources have been utilized so heavily that most forests near the village are almost cleaned out, and it has become increasingly difficult to find wood. Reforestation has only recently been introduced on a serious scale. Often villagers are found trespassing on land owned by the central Ryukyan government in order to cut from the less depleted forests there. Government officials are sympathetic to the villagers' plight, and they tend to dispose of such transgressions with a stern warning.

Men and women, and during vactions, some children over 12 years, go to the forest. Most people prefer to walk and work in small groups. To reach a place high up in the hills, they may have to hike almost a mile from the center of Taira. The steep, narrow paths made by woodcutters traverse the mountains. Following the approach trails during the day, one can hear voices and the sawing of wood from many directions. All lumber people carry a short handsaw and a heavy bush knife

can at least check all transients. Another important duty is to prevent the use of explosives by fishermen, a difficult if not impossible assignment, for he must catch the fisherman *flagrante delicto* when he lands with fish killed in this way. There is no indication that villagers assist the policeman in detecting offenders. 625 [226]

Policing the village itself is not a difficult job. The absence of crime and the low incidence of quarrels, disputes, and brawls would seem to make policing unnecessary. Nevertheless, the policeman interferes at times in disputes. He considers it his duty when actual blows are exchanged and somebody is hurt. In such a case he "investigates," takes notes, and makes a report to the police department. During the entire field work, reportable incidents occurred at about the rate of one a month; in the two or three cases where violence occurred, the matter was settled peacefully later, although the policeman kept a record of it. The rare quarrels which do occur are usually the result of drinking or domestic disagreements, generated by financial problems. 625 578 [674] [273]

The policeman plays the role of judge and jury. In one case a young man hit a woman and was temporarily detained by the policeman until he made apologies to the victim. In disputes over business transactions, the policeman often arbitrates. In a dispute in which a Taira woman was accused of cheating a trader from another village, the policeman heard the case and ordered the Taira woman to make refunds over a period of time. The villagers seem to accept such arbitration. Serious disagreements seem to be unthinkable, and everyone fears public censure and ostracism. Court action is extremely rare and is referred to the provincial courts in the town of Nago. 625 627 [692]

The policeman is given high status by the villagers and commands respect. He remains, probably by his own choice, a neutral person in village affairs. He attends village functions, where he is given a place among village leaders. Being friendly with many families, he visits and is visited by other men. It was noted that fishermen sometimes send a special catch to the policeman. But since this is a courtesy which is also common among farmers with regard to nonfarming people, such as teachers, one should not think of such actions as bribery. Mothers use the policeman as a threat in disciplining children. "If you do such a bad thing again, I'll take you to the police station." This, however, does not seem to instill any fear of his person, but rather a respect towards the general area in which the policeman lives. Village children play freely with the policeman's children, but his courtyard is entered less frequently by children than that of other villagers. 625 [554] [662] [861]

The head of the General Affairs Department at the township office is charged with supervision of public order. It is not clear how much this is a self-assigned task. During several occasions, when an alarm 632 647 625

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

857
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854
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Children catching small fish.

Girls washing their laundry.

857
291
302

[296]
[415]
←

[482]
→
[312]

Carrying water while their mother is recovering from giving birth.

[243]
→

Boy harvesting.

[p. 456-C]

Amami Oshima, Okinawa, Miyako, and Yaeyama.[1] Although they appear to differ 197
widely, mutual intelligibility prevails, and informants from other islands assured me that they had managed to understand Okinawan in a short time though most preferred to use Japanese rather than attempt the new dialect.

Okinawan Dialects The Okinawan dialect area, Okinawa and its offshore islands, contains many sub-dialects or local speech groups, all of which are easily mutually intelligible. It would be an exaggeration to state that there is a distinctive dialect for each community; yet the variety and diversity of local speech forms constantly impresses one. Nakasone has distinguished five dialects in the Kunigami area alone, and this does not include nearly a dozen and a half distinctive speech islands within the same area.[2] These local speech peculiarities are often pointed out with considerable pride [621] and seem much prized as symbolic of a community's identity.

The dialects of Naha, Shuri, and certain of the larger towns such as Itoman and Yonabaru, are quite distinctive and easily recognized by the Okinawans. Naha dialect is most widely spoken and easily understood throughout the [554] island, and because of its association with the capital carries the greatest prestige among Okinawan speakers. Old residents of Naha complain that their [177] dialect has deteriorated and become coarsened since the war due to the heavy influx from other areas of people who speak the dialect imperfectly. By this they refer to the loss of certain polite forms and the inundations of Japanese. Some Shuri people will contend that the "best" Okinawan is spoken in their city. In the past this was undoubtedly a widely accepted point of view, but [648] with the advent of Japanese administration---exile of the king, removal of the [177] capital to Naha, abolition of the upper classes---Shuri's prestige as a cultural center rapidly declined. A number of informants, rural and urban, felt [545] that the "purest" Okinawan was heard in the Naha theaters, particularly at the Naha Gekijō, where daily performances of modern and historical dramas are presented. Itoman dialect is considered to be very coarse and rough by the people [554] of other communities, and hence is accorded a low prestige. This is in part [226] due to certain prosodic features of the dialect which render it unlike other Okinawan dialects, but more likely it is due to the fact that this town largely derives its livelihood from fishing, an occupation regarded with opprobrium by farmers and urbanites alike. The neighboring farm village of Kanegusuku, though less than a quarter of a mile away and long associated with Itoman, preserves a dialect distinct from it.

This dialectic diversity on Okinawa reflects to a certain extent the [361] physical isolation of the typical village, a tightly-nucleated cluster of dwellings surrounded by fields. It is also a product of the social structure 197 in the Okinawan kingdom. Prior to annexation by Japan (1879), farmers were 105 little more than serfs bound to the soil and forbidden to leave their native [566] village, while the gentry and nobility were for the most part concentrated in [565] the urban Naha-Shuri district. Rural villages tended to be isolated, self- [621] sustaining units; most were composed of a dominant kin group (munchu) and several smaller and possibly remotely related kin groups, or of several unrelated kin groups more nearly equal in size. A munchu was made up of a number

[1] Miyanaga /Miyara/, 1950, p. 39.

[2] Nakasone, 1937, pp. 242-258.

511 [Kitazato]
621 the houses are the same small, poorly-built structures of thatch and scrap
735 lumber that are found on the beach. By way of contrast, the house which
[342] the author rented in Kanegusuku was the poorest and shabbiest in that vil-
[184] lage; yet, the same house in Kitazato would easily have been the best.
Shabby appearances are not limited to houses, for the people too are more poorly dressed than elsewhere on Okinawa.

Food Nearly everywhere on Okinawa the authors heard that the peo-
621 ple are eating better today than before the war; such is not the case for
511 Kitazato, and the villagers are most emphatic about this. Potatoes, beans,
262 and other vegetable products form the mainstay of their diet; often times, they say, potatoes are dug up before they are fully mature, so great is the pressure for food. It is the opinion of the local agricultural office that the people are slowly starving to death, and the villagers state that they are always hungry. The local storekeepers say that the people do not have enough money to buy canned foods to supplement their diet. Though Hama is
[226] virtually on the water the villagers do no fishing since the occupation is regarded as a foreign one; however, some shell fish are collected by the women.

Exodus of Youth One of the marked features of the village is the
621 general absence of young men and women in the fifteen to twenty-five age
511 group, for as soon as the student completes junior high school, he or she
166 heads for the city seeking employment. A number of the families in the village are said to subsist mainly on the money which their children send back. According to the mayor 61 families have left the village since the end of the war; he feels that if they had not left, things would be much worse. Most of those who left were families containing grown children who could work; the parents in some cases were reluctant to leave, but their children were anxious to leave. A slight decline in military employment in early 1954 resulted in several of these families' returning to the village, and the mayor was apprehensive lest more return.

621 One characteristic of the population of this village which struck
847 the author was the disproportionate number of females to males in the age group under five years. In this group there were 54 males and 33 females, whereas the groups above were more nearly proportionate. Female infanticide has been a common occurrence during times of famine or under conditions of extreme poverty in Japan and China, and the authors heard several stories giving some evidence of it on Okinawa. No factual evidence of any sort was gathered by the author in Kitazato to corroborate this interpretation of the statistics; however, the fact that the permanent resettlement of the village in its present locations took place approximately six years ago in 1948 may lend some credence to this interpretation.

Attitude toward Americans The villagers' initial reaction to the
621 presence of the author in the village was one of fear and veiled hostility.
829 Gradually this was overcome, and good rapport was established. During one
[123] of his last visits to the community the author was told, "The first day you were in the village everyone wondered if the military were going to make us move again. No one slept that night." At the same time the villagers are

133 Hanashiro and Oushichan villages to a broad semi-circular valley, the
361 Oushichan plain, with a gentle gradient sloping to the sea. Shortly before the coast is reached there is a sharper drop, and it is in this depression along the shore and the coastal strip that the fishing village lies.

134 The Okinawan clay loams and the Chinen stony clays are also the
133 predominating soils of the area. There are about 85 acres of the gently sloping clay loams, 155 acres of the gently sloping Chinen stony clays. While moderately fertile and well drained, these soils are also shallow and stony, with obvious defects for the pursuit of agriculture. There are 10 acres of deep, fertile poorly drained, slightly acid alluvial soils. These occur along the river and its estuary and in a small former river mouth to the south. There are about six acres in rough stony land.

731 The village has very little storm protection. There are no shelter
133 belts around it, nor are there many trees within. It is open to storms
417 and typhoons, and the water, lashed by the sea, is sufficient to break and scatter the large stones of the seawall. At present, inside the village there is none of the privacy typical of the agricultural villages and their compounds. There are few trees, shrubs, or fences. In the
361 older part of the village, the houses are closely set together. Fishing
351 nets hang on the lines of the yard. In season, the yard is covered with
227 drying fish, fish fins, and fish backs. The yards and the shore are dotted with men cleaning or repairing their boats.

362 The lack of natural beauty of the place is accentuated by the poor-
512 ness of the houses and the other buildings. Its atmosphere is unmistakably
484 different. The village is more commercial and more lively than the quiet and concealed agricultural village. Life is not so much of a routine, for much depends on the weather and the sea. The village has people who have travelled widely. Some of its fishermen have been in the waters of Java, of the South Seas, of the Andaman Islands, the Philippines, and Indo-China.

438 The village's main commercial contacts are with the remaining agricultural villages of the township from which it must obtain much of
[311] its food, for the area is not suited to agriculture, nor is much land available. For wider contacts, there are Itoman about 4 1/2 miles, and Naha about 8 1/2 miles away. Buses go through the village twice a day.
494 The three wheeled cycles are irregular but come and go more often. Fish
368 is sold at Naha. The theatre for the travelling troupe of actors from Naha and for movies is in Horikawa across the river. Many visits are
574 also made to Itoman to see relatives and friends.

The war was even more catastrophic for Minatogawa than for Hanashiro.
727 Before the war, Minatogawa was a thriving, prosperous and well built up small town. About 70% of its buildings had a tile roof and 30% had
[361] thatch roofs. There were about 30 stores, sake shops and drinking places, including a geisha house, along the road, serving the fishermen and the stonecutters. Of the 430 buildings in the area, only three were left

226 most important.

226 (1) The sword or spearfish (kajiki in Japanese, akitaru in
136 Okinawan). This fish (some specimens reach 450 pounds) is caught
from May through September. Fishermen go about 12 miles out for
the catch. A wire leader 15 feet long with a hook is attached to
[227] a 1400 foot braided cord line about 3/16 of an inch in diameter.
The line is gradually played out after the initial 700 feet are
lowered. Swordfish fishing is done in the daytime. The fish is
said to be scarce at night. The hook is about 2 1/2 inches long.
262 The swordfish is considered the most delicious of fish. It is ex-
[435] pensive, selling from Y50 to Y100 per kin (slightly over 1.3 pounds)
[432] depending on season and supply; consequently, fishermen sell rather
than eat it, except in times of oversupply. Large fish are usually
cut up before being sent to market; the small ones are sent whole.
The swordfish is ordinarily eaten fresh. The favorite method of
[252] preparation is to fry it after dipping a slice in a batter of flour,
dried milk and water. Occasionally it is eaten raw as sashimi.
Dried swordfish is considered a delicacy. Unlike the shark, the
fins (hane) are not dried.

226 (2) The tunny (subinoue in Japanese, subi in Okinawan). This
136 fish is caught between April and November. Here there are two ways
of catching the fish, depending on the type of boat. If the large
[227] boat, the hatsudōki, is used a long line with as many as 200 hooks
set 75 feet apart is used. At intervals of every three hooks, there
are buoys with flags (hata). These flags, alternately white and red,
are about the size of a large handkerchief. In another arrangement,
the buoys may also alternate with the flags. The same line and wire
leader used for the swordfish are employed with tunny catching, but
the hook is smaller. When submerged the hooks are at various depths,
their paths describing semi-circles from buoy to buoy. Lines may be
pulled in from one to four times a day, depending on the biting. The
bobbing of the buoys and the flags indicates the biting and the probable
catch. A fishing party remains out for three days, leaving at five
in the evening, returning about ten in the evening of the second day.

The small boats use two lines, the longer going down from the center of the boat, the shorter near one end. The method of catching the tunny is the same as that for the swordfish. In night fishing, the line might be lowered fifty feet, gradually playing out ten feet at a time. Tunny fishing is mostly a night catch. The line during night operations may be let out 700 feet, and, in the day 350 feet.

(3) The shark (fuka in Japanese). This fish is caught in the same way as the tunny. Fishing takes place both during the day and night. On the small boats, the line and its 15 foot leader with one hook, is about 840 feet long, and the entire length is let out.

(4) The mackerel (hishisaba). The main season for catching the mackerel is from March through May. These fish, usually weighing about 30 pounds, are caught by divers who seek the fish out while it is sleeping under stones. A strong line is tied around the tail and the fish is pulled up on board. There it is killed with a short

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(9) The lobster, (ebi in Japanese, ibi in Okinawan). Catching the lobster is the work of young men, usually up to 24 years of age. A man over 35 may be too old for the hard work involved. Occasionally in summer older men engage in part time lobster catching. The fisherman secures a flashlight, covered with sheet rubber, around his left wrist with a strong rubber band. The rubber casing for the flashlight is often an old bicycle inner tube. The light can be turned on or off without removing the tubing. In his right hand, the diver holds a hook (ebikake in Japanese, ibikakiya in Okinawan) over 25 inches long, which he uses to dislodge the lobsters from the rocks below. Often fishermen remain in the water for three hours, the period depending on the season, the potential catch, and on how cold the fisherman becomes. The diver wears only a pair of shorts. The lobster is a year round catch, though there are few in winter. The full moon is considered bad for lobster fishing. It is not known exactly how lobster were caught in the days before flashlights. Some old men said that nets were used. [207]

On a good day, one small boat with three or four men, can catch 150 pounds of lobster. It is not eaten frequently by the villagers, but sold to the large fishing co-operative association (Suisankumiai-rengokai). The hard and disagreeable work makes the lobster expensive. At present the local market is sensitive to the tastes of the Americans in Okinawa. Weekly estimates of probable demand are furnished by the central office of the association to the local head of the fisherman's association, who in turn informs the fishermen. The lobster is considered a delicacy and is eaten only when there is a large catch and the demand is low. [432] [474] [435] [434] [262]

(10) The seabream (taisakana in Japanese, akamasu in Okinawan). The seabream is caught with a home made device shaped like a Y with a top bar: Ȳ. The base of the Y has a loop for the hook and line. These wire devices are known as yamaguchi in Okinawan though the younger fishermen call it the sarukan. The fish are caught by a series of these wire devices strung along a line with a sinker at the end. The success of the catch can be judged by lifting the line. An ordinary catch will bring fish on 3 out of the 5 hooks. [227]

These are the main fish caught in this area. There are small catches of the bonito (katsuo), the dolphin or porpoise (iruka), and the shrimp (sakoebi), and a small octopus (tako). But these are rather infrequent. There are hundreds of other fish caught, especially of different smaller sardines (awaishi).

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The wire devices used for catching the seabream can be used in varying sizes to catch many different types of fish. Some, such as the ones described, are used for the bonito, and very small ones are employed in catching sardines.

227

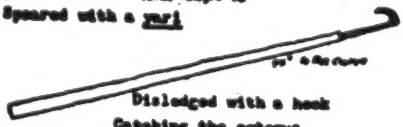
MIYATOHAMA FISHING GEAR

An 8 pointed petal hook, the Ikpinkim

The Yoon, a fishing lure

The Yamguchi

Speared with a yari



Dislodged with a hook
Catching the octopus

Yamguchi on a line

A fish knife, the sakakatana

A flying fish (tobiuo) net

Lobster hook

3

Division of the Catch

226

The division of the catch and the division of labor between the sexes in catching and distributing the fish are based on custom. In the memory of old grandmothers in the village, these customs today are substantially the same as they were in their childhood. The innovations since that time have been technical improvements such as flashlights for underwater diving, motors instead of sails or oars, boat building out of planks using modern hand tools rather than carving out logs, and manufactured fish hooks and gear.

[178] [227] [501]

The mechanics of dividing the catch depend on whether the boat is a small or a large one. In Minatogawa, all the boats except one are small so that the division is simple. With the larger boats, the custom is more involved, as more factors have to be considered.

226 476

In the case of the small boats, let us assume that there are two fishermen, the owner and a friend or relative. The value of the catch is Y3500 with Y100 expenses for gas and oil. The net value is thus Y3400. This is divided three ways. The boat gets one share, and each of the fishermen gets a share. In this illustration, the boat owner gets two-thirds of the proceeds, one share as the owner of the boat, one share as a participating fisherman.

These partnerships are very fluid. No agreements are made in writing. Neither are there oral agreements to fish together for any definite period. The partnerships continue as long as the fishermen are compatible and form and dissolve without ceremony or formality. But a practical question does arise in the event of the illness of one of the fishermen.

In this case, a substitute is found for the duration of the regular fisherman's incapacity. This is informal and may be another friend or relative free to help out. The substitute gets the full share of the regular fisherman. In these partnerships, the owner of the boat pays for all repairs that cost money. The other gives his labor for repair and maintenance, such as oiling with shark oil, putting plugs in the holes or in weak spots, or assisting in carrying the boat to a safe place during typhoons.

The division of the catch in larger boats is also best explained by an example. Let us assume an eleven man crew with the corresponding shares:

A The Boat's Share
B The Captain
C The Engineer
D-J Fishermen
K The Cook

746 one case investigated, the village secretary and most of the village people thought that a certain old repatriate should be on relief, if only to receive money to obtain the tobacco he could not buy. The 'son' office was not told about his elder brother's second son, who lives in Osaka. Nor was any check made on the untrue report that he was ill, for no medical proof or witnesses are needed. Upon moving from his sister-in-law's house to a grass shack next door, he was placed upon the relief list to receive the monthly maximum of ¥250 (about $2.08).

746 [77] The 'son' office also supervises the distribution to persons on relief of clothes supplied by the American relief agency RIVAC (Ryukyu Islands Voluntary Agencies Committee). Each person receives free two or three useful items upon signing for their receipt with his chop. These are greatly appreciated by the recipients.

621 427 Rentals of Village-Owned Land Each village generally owns some grassland, some forest land, and a pond or two. These they rent out to the highest bidder. The 'genya' or grassland is rented anew each year, and the person may keep it in grass, or may convert it to dry crop land ('hatake'). The only requirement is that he must not let the grass grow long and shade the nearby crops. The plot owned by Tomoyose village used to be the village horse-powered sugar mill before the better one was built before the war.

Ponds owned by the village are rented out to the highest bidder in a [228] secret bid, for a period of two years. The renter uses the pond to raise [423] carp. Forest land, I was told, is not supposed to be owned by the village, so it is recorded in the land register as the property of a prominent private individual.

651 [632] Taxes The Okinawan farmer is subject to a great number of official taxes. The following is a list of the fifteen 'sonzei', or township taxes, of Kanegusuku-son. Legally these are called district taxes, or 'chihō-zei'.

Tax Name	Translation
Sonmin-zei	Township Citizens' Tax (on all persons who are able to work, except students)
Tochi-zei	Land Tax
Fudōsan Shutoku zei	Real Estate Acquisition Tax
Kaoku-zei	House (or Building) Tax
Kōgyō-zei	Tax for Industry (eg: 'sake' factory)
Gyubasha-zei	Tax for Horsecart or Oxcart
Jidōsha-zei	Auto, Bus and Jitney Tax (Motor Vehicle Tax)
Rajio-zei	Radio Tax
Denchū-zei	Electric Pole Tax
Tochiku-zei	Slaughter Tax
Chikken-zei	Dog Tax
Sempaku-zei	Boat Tax
Jitensha-zei	Bicycle Tax
Denwa-zei	Telephone Tax
Jigyō-zei	Business Tax

The deforestation of
the south over a period of centuries thus is related to water spray and wind damage, relationships which a wise administration cannot neglect.

The natural tendency is to think in terms of population and land and of the food which it can produce. But if the population is envisaged in terms of forest, the land, both cultivated and uncultivated, and the role of the uncultivated land in protecting the soil, broader understandings are possible.[9]

It is a significant fact, to use another example, that goats are tethered and not allowed to graze. They do not roam the hillsides, nor crop off the shoots of young plants. If they did, it is possible that legislation controlling the goat might have to be enacted such as has been done in the island of Cyprus.

It is important therefore, to ascertain how a culture makes use of its natural environment and also how it takes care of it. Typhoons cannot be controlled. Neither can periods of drought which often produce water shortages, prevent the planting of sweet potatoes, or the harvesting of a good rice crop. In areas where control is possible, the Okinawans have developed conservation measures. Almost one hundred years ago, Dr. D. S. Green, Fleet Surgeon attached to the frigate Mississippi on Perry's expedition to Japan, wrote:

> "Two objects seem to influence the islanders in all their operations, viz: the retention of water or moisture, and the avoidance of surface-washing. To effect these desirable ends, especially in a rolling country, a great quantity of grading is required, besides very deep culture; and here both of these have been done."[10]

In the areas studied, no serious sheet erosion was observed.

[Text continues top of P. 157 -- Analyst]

9 The general ideas and points of view expressed by Edward Graham in his Natural principles of land use, London, New York, and Toronto, 1944, are pertinent here.

10 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, II, 26-27. The emphasis is in the original. Green continues with further details of grading around streams, along ravines, and on the uplands. His description today would still fit many parts of Okinawa. He was particularly impressed with the lands on a journey between Nugah (i.e., Nago) and Tanegah, southwest of Unten. His whole passage is well worth reading.

Two other forms of land conservation and maintenance, crop rotation and fertilizers, will be discussed under agriculture.

241

Not all of the upland or slope cultivation is done by terracing, as we have seen. Crops other than rice are often grown on hillsides, or up slopes, less often following the contour of the land. The precautions here are also suited to the cultivation: weeds or grasses grow along boundary lines or divide off sharp drops, or small stone fences may be used.

In Nagamo, where there is no rice grown, there is little water from these sources. It comes from rainfall and amounts of sugar cane and sweet potato that are grown depend on its quantity and regularity. Water regardless of crop is a constant problem. [312]

In Okinawan agriculture, constant fertilization is necessary. There are too many people to leave land fallow in ordinary times. Each plot must be used if the farmer has the time and energy to do so. Since the island is in a humid subtropical climate, the organic materials in the soil (humus) are quickly oxidized. Porous soils encourage the leaching of minerals from the top soil, especially with torrential rains. The fewness of domestic animals increases the dependence on plant residues and artificial fertilizers. One of the commonest complaints of the Okinawan farmer, in addition to the poorness of his soil and crop damage from typhoons, is that it must be unceasingly fertilized. It is a treadmill. He must walk fast to stay in the same place. [134] [231]

There is very little difference in the use of fertilizers in the communities studied. Fertilizers most frequently used are:

(1) Composts. A typical mixture (though there are many combinations) may be composed of dried miscanthus, or any kind of grass, ashes and cinders, perhaps some pieces of charcoal, and goat droppings. This is left a month outside in a pile and put on the fields and hoed under.

(2) Plant residues. These are put on the soil, both of paddy and dry crop land, and hoed under. Plants are the greatest single source of fertilizer. The cut over rice plant is turned under in the paddy field. Tops of the sweet potato, if not used as slips or for food for animals, miscanthus grass, and burned rice hulls are other sources of fertilizer. [824]

(3) Animal manures mixed usually with pen grass. Animal fertilizers are not abundant, an indirect effect of the war which greatly reduced the number of horses, cattle, pigs, goats, and the smaller domestic animals. When available, goat, pig, or horse manures are used. Pig or goat pen grass is gathered up and spread on the fields. Pig manure is the best source of animal fertilizer, for pigs are the most numerous of the larger domestic animals. [727] [232] [231]

(4) Night soil. The use of night soil, called jinpun in Okinawan, has declined from pre-war times. It is often said that it is not used at all. But this statement must be qualified. It is [514]

241 occasionally, but by no means universally used. This failure to use
514 night soil may vary from locality to locality, and from farmer to farmer. In my opinion, it has not the importance it has in China and Japan. Neither is night soil used as a food for pigs, though
231 this seems to have been the case in some parts of Okinawa as late as
514 the 1920's.[2] But feeding human faeces to pigs was not observed in any village.

241 Normally in certain parts of Hatsuda, night soil is used, though
514 infrequently, in places near the house. It is not carried far. Applications are made to cultivated land and land not presently in use. In the Nagamo area, it is occasionally used on sweet potatoes and sugar cane. Night soil, gathered from the outside toilets, is
[547] allowed to dry out before being applied to fields. It is often
[482] placed around ornamental plants. The fresh liquid form, carried on the shoulder in two buckets on either end of a long pole, may be ap-
[463] plied directly to the fields, ladling out a little of the liquid around each plant. The professional collector of night soil is uncommon in the areas visited. Only one instance was found. Two brothers, who hired themselves out, cleaned the toilets for Yen 130 per day, plus meals. They spread the night soil on the owner's fields. These two brothers served the Gushichan area.

In Hanashiro, night soil is used occasionally, and then, it was said, only by the old. Its main use was on sugar cane. As a general rule, in all the villages, night soil is most frequently used around plants already growing and around each plant individually, rather than mixing it with the soil when the field is being prepared. Its use on rice fields was not observed.

The sparing use of night soil is indicated also by the infrequency with which one meets its characteristic odor in the countryside. An observation of a traveller, almost 100 years ago, lends some credence to the thought that night soil has not been extensively used
[114] in Okinawa. "How night-soil is disposed of is not known; certainly it does not obtrude itself on the senses, as it does in China, nor is it applied in the same way."[3] In Hanashiro, the decline in use since the
[177] war was ascribed to American influences: the dangers to health, and the increased availability of artificial fertilizers.

241 (5) Commercial fertilizers. These are now substantial proportions of the expenditures of an Okinawan farmer. These fertilizers generally are broadcast over the rice and dry crop lands. The writers of a

2 Richard Goldschmidt, Neu-Japan, as cited, 135.

3 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, II, 35. The author was Dr. Green.

Rotation #2, Matsuda

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First year, ninth month: Autumn planting of sugar cane
Second year, twelfth month: Harvest of sugar cane. Followed by: Soy bean, sweet potato, or vegetables.

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Land is seldom allowed to lie fallow intentionally for any length of time. At any one time of the year, a farmer may have idle land for which there may be a variety of reasons. He may have other tasks and be unable to cultivate all his land, or have no need of doing so, or some of his land may be so poor that he will not cultivate it unless necessary. Much depends on the individual farmer and his holdings. The village records indicate that in Hanashiro 97.2% of the rice and 83.1% of the dry crop land is under cultivation. From the preceding discussion of land classification, it is clear that many parcels are of marginal quality, and these areas may be left uncultivated, at least part of the year. During the post-war [426] period there has been some informal lending of land, free of rent, to friends and neighbors, if the farmer is not using it himself.

24
[231]
[227]

Manual labor with hand tools is the dominant method of cultivation. Domestic animals are not uncommon, but their use in farming is minor. The war increased the dependence on manual labor through the loss of domestic animals. Only cattle are now used in rice cultivation for plowing and harrowing and this is infrequent. The man or woman and the hoe are far more common. Crops are carried from the [482] fields by human labor. The basket or the straw container, or the tied rice sheaves on either end of a pole over the shoulder, and not [415] horse carts, push carts, or wheel barrows are the main means of [493] transport from field to courtyard. The barefooted farmer, with his hoe and a pole or a basket does the greatest part of the work. The common tools of agriculture are hand tools and adapted to the intensive cultivation which so often has more properly been called the work of a gardener rather than that of a farmer.

412

The basic all purpose tool is the solid bladed hoe. The hoe, since deep cuts are possible with its heavy blade, takes the place of the plow. The hoe also replaces the spade, and even the rake, for it can be used to break up and smooth the soil. A poorer farmer may lack [434] many of the tools in the following list, but he will have two or three of the solid bladed hoes.

The accompanying illustration shows the most common agricultural tools:

1. The hera, a spatula or trowel, used for transplanting tops of the sweet potato. Its wooden hand grip curves toward the end of the tool. The hera is also used as a scraper to remove brown sugar from the sides of the cooking pans during the sugar making season.

2. The kama, a small sickle. Next to the hoe, it is the most

243 by plowing.

There is water on the land when it is dug and harrowed, but it is not flooded. Not all rice land is harrowed. If it is not harrowed, the same result is accomplished by further hoeing. The harrow (magura [407] in Japanese, maga in Okinawan) is partly a home made tool and looks like a large clumsily constructed rake. Essentially it is a piece of timber with a row of strong spikes. This timber ordinarily is made of pine, but other woods may be used. Twelve nails, spaced at about two inch intervals, are driven into the board. These nails or spikes, [414] about 8 sun (almost 10 inches long), square at the head, and with a sharp point, are made by a blacksmith for about Yen 20 each. The [326] harrow is drawn by cattle; two shafts, with a yoke over the animal's [23] head complete the simple implement. The plow is used in the preparation [435] of the field, but far more commonly, the work is done with a hoe.

In the fall and winter planting of rice, the seedlings remain in the seed bed for about 40 days. In the summer, the period is only 20 days and may be less. The winter shoots are from 7-8 inches long, the summer shoots from 4-7 inches. The length is important, for if the seedlings are too long, losses in transplanting will, according to Hanashiro farmers, increase to almost half. In rare instances, due to adverse conditions, seedlings in the seed bed reach 15-20 inches in length. The losses here are said to be considerable in transplanting.

[462] The hoeing or the plowing and harrowing of a field is almost exclusively done by men. It is tiring, uncomfortable, and heavy work. It is much more common to see women hoeing the dry crop land. But transplanting is done by men, women, and the older children. A handful of seedlings in the bed is pulled out and bound with straw, grass, or a rush. There is a knack in pulling these out. They must be jerked quickly, but dexterously to avoid root damage. The bundle is tossed either into a central place or into the paddy field to be planted, if it is adjoining. In the latter case, the bunches are tossed to various parts of the paddy.

243 804 The seedlings are generally set out in rows. For this purpose, a string with small markers like buttons (shirushi) is used. These are 7 sun (about 8.4 inches) apart. Both the rows and the hills are 7 sun apart. Differences between rows and hills may vary considerably. In these localities, the distances were generally the same. The string is stretched from one end of the row to the other. Each seedling is planted at the interval indicated by the marker on the string. This method of planting is not universal. When there is little time, the seedlings might be scatter planted.

243 804 413 Another method of obtaining the checker-board pattern is by means of a home made hexagonal frame, the waku (literally, a reel or a frame). Each of the six sides is divided into nine squares, 7 sun on the side. The overall length is over six feet. The frame is set along the outside border, or at any desired starting point. When in place, the

Rice may also be polished by the use of rude wooden mallets. These have a handle about 3 feet long and a head about 1 1/2 feet long. Rice is placed in a mortar with straw on top. It is pounded, often by two or three women swinging alternately. After the hulls are removed, the rice is winnowed, and put back in the mortar until a rough polish is secured. 252 [412]

Uses of rice. Every part of the rice plant has a use. The stubble, left in the ground, becomes a part of next season's fertilizer. The chaff and waste dust (nuka) is saved for pigs, cows, and other domestic animals. The hulls often are used for fertilizer, before or after burning. Rice straw has a variety of uses. The most frequent and important of these is for making rope. 824

After threshing, the straw is dried two or three days. Three or four stalks of about the same length are taken and rolled between the palms. The lower palm, usually the left, is open and up. The right palm rolls the straw into a twist. As the rope grows, new stalks are inserted one at a time, and, when needed, a new length of straw is added. This is not a strong rope, but it has a variety of uses, such as tying down the grass thatch to the roof poles, children's swings, and clothes lines. Mats and pads shaped like a life saver and used to set the sugar pots on after the sugar has been boiled, are made out of rice straw. Another use is in the making of the Ōda (Okinawan). This is a mesh about one foot wide and two feet long. There are loops on each corner. The end of a pole may be inserted in these loops when gathered together. The pole is carried over the shoulder, and sweet potatoes, straw, or other articles may be easily transported. Simple brooms without a handle, little more than a bunch of straw tied together in three places are also made of rice straw. Twisting and braiding rice straw is likely to be rainy day work. These articles are most often made twice in the year, corresponding with the harvests. [283] [285] [482] [412]

At typhoon times, if rice is not completely destroyed, the damaged rice may be used for pig food. The preparation of this rice is women's work. The rice is put in a mortar and pounded with a mallet in the manner already described, although a single operator usually does the work. [731] [231] [462]

Types and preferences. As a general rule, the selection of varieties of rice for planting depends on taste, the nature of the soils, and individual judgment of the expected yield of each type. In Hatsuda, it is estimated that about one half of the rice is the Formosan variety, Taichu 65 (Taichu rokujugo), in Okinawa known as horai. Another variety, Kunigami Ji (Kunigami ichigo) represents about one-fourth of the crop. Hochigome (akaho) takes up about another one-fourth. This glutinous rice has a brown reddish rust colored kernel and is used for rice cakes. A fourth variety, horai-mochimai, is also well liked. No black rice is grown here. 243 [262]

244 [132] months. The amount of sweet potatoes grown is not closely related to the season. It depends much more on rainfall.

[131] [131] The effects of typhoons on the plant are most noticeable after transplanting. Salt water spray shrivels the transplants up and they die without developing. These conditions are more noticeable near the seashore in areas like Nagamo that lack trees and tidewater shelters.

824 Like rice, all of the sweet potato plant is used. Plant residues are turned under to fertilize the soil. This turning under of the vines or their use in composts is a doubtful blessing if the plants are diseased. The good potatoes are reserved for human consumption. [231] The poor or the diseased ones are mashed up in a stone mortar with a long pole, used like a pestle, for pig and goat food. Besides using the tops as slips, women constantly cut them off for fresh greens for the pigs. [262] The sweet potato is the basic food because it is cheap, can be grown the year round in lowlands and uplands, and can be cultivated by all members of the family. As pig food, it is a means of inexpensively raising animals which later have cash value. [462] The feeding and care of pigs is usually one of the incidental chores of women.

294 184 The varieties most commonly found in these Okinawan villages are the Okinawan #100 (Okinawan no hyakugo) and varieties known locally as the bento, a small round tuber, and the bokuto. The two chief differences between the northern and southern villages in cultivating the sweet potato are (1) the two and three pronged hoes are much more in evidence in the north. With practice, they can be used advantageously in quickly weeding a plot while not cutting the potato itself. (2) Matsuda appears to be less dependent on the sweet potato as a human food. [262] The farmer here has more rice for himself and a greater proportion of his sweet potato crop goes for animal food. [231]

6

The Planting of Sugar Cane and Sugar Making

249 Sugar cane (kibi) is grown on dry crop land, its rows often alternating on the same plot with the sweet potato. Cane may be started with cuttings, or it may be a second growth (ratoon) from the stubs of the old plant after it has been cut down for crushing. Cuttings may be purchased or selected plants from another planting are used. The slips are cut to leave three buds. These cuttings may be planted in three ways: (1) all horizontally, (2) horizontally with the cutting which comes from the topmost part of the stalk planted slantwise, or (3) all cuttings may be planted slanting.

The soil must be thoroughly worked with the ever present hoe. Plowing and harrowing are rarely done. The earth must be thoroughly fertilized. In addition, small amounts of compost may be placed under the cutting, and less often liquid night soil might be used.

824 Soy beans have three main uses: soy sauce which is seldom made
[262] in the home, bean curd (tōfu) and miso, a bean paste, both always
[432] home made. For this reason, soy beans are grown mostly for home use,
[962] with the surplus sold. In Hanashiro, where the surpluses are greater,
[494] the beans may be sold in Naha, Shuri, or Itoman. Women do the selling, taking the beans to market on the buses, trucks, or three wheeled vehicles.

(2) Other types of beans such as the red dwarf bean (asuki)
241 (Phaseolus angularis Wight), the kidney bean (ingen in Japanese,
262 Phaseolus vulgaris L), the broad or horse bean (soramame in Japanese, Vician fabia L), and peas (endō in Japanese, Pisum sativum L) are grown for home use, usually in parcels which are closest to the house.

(3) The giant radish, (daikon in Japanese, Raphanus sativus L)
[263] is, after the soy bean, the most important of the minor crops grown for home use. This is the vegetable most favored either as a condiment,
[252] or as a side dish. It is eaten sliced raw, pickled, or fried in stripe in soy sauce. When eaten boiled, its flavor resembles that of a turnip.

(5) The pumpkin (Cucurbita pepo L) called nanka or kabocha, the latter name being derived from the word Cambodia from which the pumpkin was introduced into Japan. They are harvested in summer, and one crop a year, generally for home use, is grown. If the flesh
●[231] becomes too ripe and turns reddish and sweet, it is not relished and the pumpkin is fed to the pigs.

(6) The cucumber (kiuri in Japanese, Cucumus sativus L) is a very minor crop. In none of the villages were they generally grown, and then only for home use.

(7) The hechima or tōgwa in Japanese, subui in Okinawan.[7] This is very large and cylindrical. In exceptional specimens, its outward appearance is indistinguishable from the water melon. Its flesh is
[184] white. In the two southern villages, the tōgwa is grown very sparingly. In Matsuda and the surrounding villages, it is more common. Here it is used to fill in during times of food shortage. Some specimens I have
[221] seen weighed over 100 pounds. It is planted after lunar New Years, harvested in the 6th or 7th lunar month, a period reaching from about January to May. From April to July, when other vegetables are scarce,
[252] it is often used as a substitute. The flesh when boiled is rather tasteless; it is commonly boiled and served with chunks of meat. The tōgwa, in the northern villages, is often stored in dark cool places
[251] away from the sunlight, often under the house. If not cut open, the melon can be saved for a year.

7 I am not certain whether this is Luffa cylindrica Roem, Luffa petola, Ser, the Luffa sponge, rag gourd, etc., whose pulp disappears when ripe to be replaced by a web of fibres.

9

Domestic Animals

231 [727] The effects of the war are still to be seen in the scarcity of domestic animals (kachiku). The domestic animal population is increasing. Horses were far more numerous before the war. The same is true of cattle and oxen which, however, are more numerous than horses. All are used as draft animals, with the greatest frequency in Hanashiro. Cattle and oxen are used for plowing and harrowing in the rice fields; horses for pulling carts and wagons. Horse meat is not eaten. All larger animals are tethered or in stalls. They are not allowed to graze or to roam freely around the villages or on the hillsides. Since each bit of land is owned, grazing would deprive someone of needed grasses, either the young shoots or the matured fibres. Chickens are generally kept in coops. Ducks have a little more freedom.

[492] [267]

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DOMESTIC ANIMALS

Animal	Hanashiro	Nagamo	Minatogawa	Matsuda
Cattle and Oxen	40	5	0	1 (80)
Horses	2	1	0	20 (90)
Pigs	125	100	150	315
Goats	50	50	40	321
Chickens	a/	30	a/	706
Ducks	0	50	a/	10
Rabbits	0	0	0	6

Source: Village clerks of each village and township records. Figures are approximate as of January 1952. Pre-war estimates where known are shown in parentheses. Villages try to keep an accurate and up to date animal census. a/ Not available, village has some

231 In all the villages studied, pig raising is the most important secondary occupation of the individual farmer or fisherman. Pig raising is old in the culture. According to Chamberlain (1895), under the old kingdom every household by law had to raise goats and pigs. Pigs were fed in part on human excrement. This practice in my observation has now been abandoned.

[434] Pigs are raised for sale. They are the most significant single source of cash for the farm family and they supplement the fisherman's cash income.

231 ●

cash income. Pigs are seldom eaten by the family that raises them. On New Year's, a family will slaughter a pig or three or four families might co-operate in sharing one. Pork may also be served at O-Bon and at Jūgoya, the autumn equinoctial holiday season. [262] [527]

A family often gets its start in pig raising by obtaining a loan from a mutual loan group. (These groups will be discussed later). A young pig may cost about Y2000. Male pigs intended for market (nikubuta in Japanese, shishiwa in Okinawan) are castrated two months after birth. Keeping breeding pigs (tanebuta) is a special business. Men engaged in this business bring the boar to the pig raiser's home. Each village has such a businessman or at least has convenient access to one in a neighboring village. The fee usually charged is Y200. If the first attempt at breeding is unsuccessful, a second opportunity is given free. On the third try, the dealer claims his fee again. In Matsuda, there is a belief among the old that as the tide is coming in, if a sow is in heat, the male will be able to perform, but that in the ebb tide he cannot. [426] [435] [232]

Great care is taken in housing pigs adequately, if the family is able to do so. The pig sties made of stone or coral may be better than the houses of their owners. This is by no means so shortsighted or ridiculous as it might seem. Pigs are the means, one of the very few means, by which an agricultural family may acquire substantial sums of cash. To protect this living bank account, considerable sums are invested in fine stone, or cement floors and an adequate roof. The pen must be strong to withstand typhoons. With a good pig pen, a sow, and a good litter, a family can look forward to improving its financial condition and its own housing. There is great variety in the quality of pig pens. The pen may be in combination with the outside toilet, but with the two places completely separate; it may be part of a larger shed which also houses the goats, the cattle, or the horse. If a family can afford it, the pig is housed in a stone pen with stone floors, or with other sturdy materials. 231 343 [434] [511]

The day to day care of pigs is mostly the work of women. While the husband is at work in the fields, the wife, as an incidental part of her duties, goes to the nearest plot to cut sweet potato tops, or mashes sweet potatoes in the stone mortar in the compound, often with her infant child on her back. There are three favorite varieties of food for pigs: (1) the leaves of the sweet potato plant not suitable for human consumption or not needed for transplanting, (2) the potato itself. The poorer grades of potato are put in a stone mortar and are smashed with a long pole, or pestle. (3) A cloudy liquid consisting of the sweet potato, waste bean curd (tōfu no kasshu) and water. This is always given warm. The pig may also get poor rice, or rice spoiled for human consumption by submersion as a result of a typhoon, or miscellaneous left overs from the table. 231 824 [462]

There are no ceremonies in any of the villages associated with slaughtering the pig. Villagers seldom kill their own except on 231

231 special holiday occasions. Pig killing or the killing of any animals
[825] is distasteful. The pig generally is driven out of the pen to a
[943] waiting truck or horse cart and hauled squealing off to market.

Considerable interest is being shown (early 1952) in the scientific
232 breeding of pigs from stock imported from the United States. Chester
[197] White is a well known word among the farmers of Matsuda. In this area, regional meetings of pig breeders and raisers from the northern part of Okinawa and the Motobu peninsula are held to discuss the care, breeding, and marketing of pigs. These farmers have come a long way from the earlier days, even 25 years ago, when the toilet and the pig pen were the same. A farmer going from one of his fields to another often stops home to look at the pigs and perhaps to discuss his problems with
[474] a friend. In Matsuda, a pig growers' association has now been started.

Domestic animals, especially the pig, can be expected to increase
231 and to reach at least their pre-war level, if the villages studied are typical. This development will be all to the good. The pig consumes food not fit or not used for human consumption. It does not compete with humans for food. It is unlikely that land now devoted to the production of human food would be diverted to animal food. In my observation, there is not a strong competition between animals and man for the products of the land. Domestic animals really round out the agriculture and consume food that otherwise would not be used.

[311] The lack of grazing land, except on the hill sides and summits, means that domestic animals must be fed with food grown and prepared and fed to them by the farmer. Grazing also would be out of the question since the land on the hills is privately owned and split up in small parcels. The young plants are valued too highly to permit indiscriminate grazing.

Goats are cheaply raised. The only expense is the labor of
[435] getting leaves, grass, and tender shoots from the family's genya land on the hills. In the market, goat is the cheapest of all meats. There are also sharp differences in taste among villagers for goat's
[262] meat. The milk is not used as a food. Goats are tied up or kept in stalls for their entire life. They are never allowed to roam through the village or to graze on the hill sides. They are not given water and depend entirely on the water in the grasses and shoots which they are fed.

Horses, cattle, and oxen are fed grasses, mashed sweet potatoes, and waste bean curd. Though occasionally used in rice fields, the
[492] chief use of horses is in drayage. In Matsuda, the horse and the two wheeled cart make frequent trips to the mountains to transport the longpoles, firewood, and charcoal.

235 Chickens are fed anything that might be on hand. Often they are given the chaff from the rice or the rice that is blown off in
[262] winnowing. Occasionally chickens are eaten, but they are kept primarily

8

Daily Life of the Fishing Village

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Fishing families may have informal gatherings toward the end of the day. On a late summer afternoon, the family may sit in the open doorway of the house, for hedges, fences, the barriers, and trees are rare. The wife may be nursing her naked child. Her husband, a fisherman, has changed into his indigo blue and white striped kimono, a tall, broad, deeply tanned man. Next to him sits his mother, over 70 years old, her hands tattooed, as are those of all the old women. She is wearing a kimono of the same color, but of a dot pattern. They sit on unrolled mats. On the veranda, three or four men, unwashed and still in their work clothes, discuss the events of the day. A lacquer tray with tea cups is on the floor near them and the tea (as it so often is) may be cold. There is brown sugar to eat along with the tea. The grandmother may be economically smoking a half or a third of a cigarette in the typical Japanese pipe. As it grows later, the wife gets up, pours some water in the stone mortar, and smashes the sweet potatoes with the long wooden pole. The men continue talking for a while, then take their leave. The wife, her work at the mortar finished, goes into the dirt kitchen to start the evening meal.

[351] [853] [291] [304] [285] [415] [263] [276] [252]

152

The wife of the fisherman has worries that do not bother the farmer's wife. There is always the danger that her husband, or son, will not return, a real possibility, of which the frequency of widowhood in Minatogawa is proof. Every season, there is at least one instance of a fisherman who has either been lost, or whose delay in returning has provoked intense worry. If crews are still out when an unexpected storm arises, there is considerable tension in the village. Since the war, rescues at sea are more likely than before. The village headman quickly reports overdue boats. The American forces have created much good will in seeking fishermen lost at sea.

[165] [648]

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Women, on the other hand, have opportunities for leisure when the catch is light, or weather is unfavorable. At these times, they can busy themselves with other tasks, in the field, gathering stones, getting miscanthus, but they do not have the unremitting activity of the woman in the agricultural village. There is more visiting during the day than one observes in an agricultural village.

[961] [517]

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The fisherman, with or without land, tries to keep pigs and perhaps a few goats. In Minatogawa, the pens are often made of sandstone quarried here. Not only the floors and the sides, but the stalls are made of this material. One reason for this is the openness of the village and the danger that pigs will be killed in a storm. A typhoon may carry away the house, its owners having gone to the stronger house of a friend or relative, but pigs are an investment and an asset to be guarded.

[343]

843 pregnancy are also said to be rare, although miscarriages in later pregnancy up to two or three months before the birth are more numerous because of the continuing heavy work of the mother in the fields. The mother in the agricultural village normally works up to the time for
844 the birth. She eats her normal diet. After birth, the child is placed on a large comforter (futon) beside the mother.

The midwife, after delivery, goes once a day for a week to the mother's home. Her fee is not decided upon before hand, but according
[846] to custom, averages Y350 for a normal and Y500 for a difficult birth,
[965] a low fee probably enforced by the poverty and lack of cash of farm families. (In Naha corresponding fees are said to be Y1-2000).

853 There is no uniform way of feeding the child after birth. In most cases the child is not breast fed until after the third day due to the fact that mothers have little milk at this time. The first, second, and the third days it is fed warm water with small amounts of white sugar, but this is by no means universal. Some mothers have said that they give the child the breast 4 or 5 hours after birth. In any case, the child very quickly becomes accustomed to feeding at the breast, and this continues for an indeterminate period, depending on the mother and the child. It may be for two years, or until the next
[862] child comes. In all communities studied, other arrangements are made in the unlikely event that the mother does not have milk of her own. The child may be given evaporated cow's milk or friends or relatives nurse the child. In Minatogawa, if a woman has special duties or takes a trip out of town and cannot take her child with her, she can pay to have it nursed.

843 One belief regarding pregnancy still exists among the old in the Ginoza area. If a new house is being built during the pregnancy of the woman of the house, the cap of the roof is not put on until after the birth has taken place.

2

Birth Customs and Convalescence

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23
[184] In Minatogawa, and to a much lesser extent in Hanashiro, birth customs are related to certain beliefs about the pig pen. These were not known in Hatsuda. In the two southern villages they have virtually disappeared, except among the old. According to a Hanashiro farmer's
[189] wife, the child on the day of its birth is washed, dressed in new clothes, and carried to the pig pen, which is supposed to frighten away evil spirits (bakemono).[1]
[See footnote 1, bottom of p. 257--analyst]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

away evil spirits (bakemono).[1] From the pig sty the child is then taken to the kitchen, where a pot of rice has been cooking. Soot from the outside of the pot is taken up with the middle finger of the right hand and a round black spot pressed on the forehead above the bridge of the nose between the eyebrows. The reason for this could not be ascertained. 844 852

Beliefs in the power of a pig sty to ward off evil spirits are still held in Minatogawa and the customs were generally practiced up to the beginning of the war. But these beliefs were related more to celebrations following the birth of the child than to the birth itself. The elements of these beliefs seemed to be that the afterworld was close to this world. If a child were not protected, the spirits of the afterworld would steal the child and take him back. The party celebrating the birth lasted a whole week, usually starting each evening about 8 and ending at 8 the following morning. Guests stayed up all night to prevent the child from being stolen, for if anyone went to sleep, the spirit would enter. Spirits followed behind the guest and were especially dangerous after 10 at night. The spirits however were frightened by the pigs; guests arriving during the danger hours went to the pig pen first to scare off the spirit following them, before entering the house. There was no evidence, in the parties I attended, of any present observance of this custom by young parents. The week of all night parties is no longer held. 854 776 231 [572] [574] [183]

These beliefs were found in Minatogawa. Hanashiro informants had heard of such customs, but were vague about them. While their seeming absence in Hatsuda may be due to incomplete data, there may be another explanation. These beliefs may have been picked up by fishing people from other sources. [184]

One other birth custom known as jiru belongs to the recent history of the island. Jiru, as explained in Chapter V, is a fire place sunk in the floor of an Okinawan house, often in the corner of the dining room which adjoins a hall or a sleeping room, and near the kitchen. Convalescence was called jiru because mother and child warmed themselves by the device. Today convalescence may be called jiru, though it has nothing to do with the old custom, which in the literature has been referred to as "roasting." 846 [354]

1 When I discussed this and the following beliefs relating to pigs with people in Hatsuda, they ridiculed them and said there was no truth in it, implying that people in the south did not know what they were talking about. Subsequent rechecking convinced me that this was not so and that the beliefs in Minatogawa represent differences in the rural culture. 184

Home Industries, Arts, and Crafts

438 Home industries, arts, and crafts are not a conspicuous part of the life of the villages studied. Even before the war, home crafts, training in dancing, singing, landscape gardening were not cultivated to any degree.

252 Certain foods, like bean curd and bean paste, are made in the home. There is a standard method of preparing bean curd. The soy beans are soaked until soft and then mashed in a hand operated stone mill or quern. This mill has two round stones. The top stone, turned by hand, rests on the stationary bottom stone. The crushed beans, thinned by frequent dashes of water, ooze out of the space between the two stones. This liquid is collected and strained through a cloth drawn over the top of a frame box. The residue in the cloth is saved for pig food. The liquid is boiled. After it curdles, it is strained. The curds remain in the cloth, the liquid [231] is also used for the pigs. The curds, of the consistency of a soft cottage cheese, are wrapped in a cloth and put in the frame box. A tight fitting lid is put on the box and pressed down hard to expel the rest of the liquid. After the curd has been thoroughly pressed, the frame box is turned upside down, the curd taken out, and the cloth wrapper removed. The smooth mold can now be sliced. It is a common sight to see women operating these mills in the villages before a family celebration or a public holiday. Bean curd, fried, boiled in a soup, or in a mixture with vegetables, or as an ingredient [574] of sukiyaki is always served at a party.

25 Bean paste (miso), an even more important food, is also made 252 in the home. Most families serve bean paste soup (misoshiru) every meal every day. It has four basic ingredients: soy beans, rice [264] (or barley), salt, and water. Recipes differ considerably among families. In one recipe, 8 sho of rice are boiled, after which it is spread out on a large flat basket to drain, and then placed on a mat and allowed to ferment for about one week. An equal amount of soy beans, crushed in a stone mortar, is mixed with the rice. Salt (about 7 go, one go being 1/10 of a sho) is added and the mixture is boiled.[8] The salt retards fermentation and is a preservative. If obtainable, an American hand food grinder is preferred to the mortar and pestle. The mixture is put in a large jar (tsubo) which is placed in the kitchen or in a storeroom and allowed to stand at least a year, sometimes for three. With age, the paste becomes sweeter and is considered to be better. A woman may make three large jars of bean paste 3 times a year, the frequency depending on the size of the jars. Some are 5 1/2 feet high. Occasionally the cycad is an ingredient of miso. Every house has a supply of bean paste. When ready for use, it is very soluble in water.

[804] 8 A koku equals 10 to equals 100 sho equals 1000 go, 47.96 US gallons liquid, 5.12 US dry bushels.

415 not use household equipment in their games. Instead they find broken Children do
857 dishes, old cans, and other discarded items in the trash heap.

354 The kitchen has no equipment other than the open fireplace with
[776] three hearth stones and a shelf above it on which a salt column, sym-
[654] bolizing kitchen deities, is kept. During the last few years, the Ryukyan government Home Extension Service has been trying to introduce brick stoves into farmhouses. Several families now have this kind of stove although it is expensive to build.

356 As far as can be superficially discerned, the home is kept clean. A visitor usually finds the floor of the house free of dirt. Footgear is taken off before entering, and children are reminded to wash their bare feet before going into the house. Less care is given to the area around the kitchen.

312 Outside the kitchen stand one or two jars to store water. A dipper is
415 kept nearby, and children playing in the vicinity or adults often walk to one of these jars for water, which they drink out of a dipper. There may also be an array of pots, pans, crates, baskets, and other equipment piled up around the kitchen. Knives and hatchets are openly left around among the equipment behind the kitchen.

351 The courtyard is an important place for domestic activities. Here women and girls wash dishes, mix pig food in large kettles, make bean paste in a hand stone grinder, and prepare grain for storage. There are
[831] vegetable patches in one corner of the yard, chicken coops, pigsties,
[514] goat pens, and an outhouse in another. Most garbage is fed to the pigs;
[364] the rest is thrown over the sea wall to roll down onto the beach.

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*

Chapter 2

Daily Routine

805 There are few clocks in central Taira. Except for the township office,
512 post office, and village store, only two or three families own a timepiece. Twice a day, at noon and 10 o'clock in the evening, a clerk strikes

512 461 care of an older sibling or the kindergarten teacher, therefore has a chance to see the mother. Men and women who have gone to the [855] mountains return with their first load of wood around 10 o'clock. The mother will return again around noon and prepare the midday meal: [962] noodle soup, fried cabbage with dried shrimps, perhaps rice, and always sweet potatoes. After lunch there is a short rest period. During the hot summer months this rest extends to an hour or more, and on the hottest days people lie in their houses sleeping during the noon hours. Midday is also a time for social interaction. There is some visit- [974] ing back and forth. Old people always seek each other's company, and younger ones back from the fields or forest may join them for a while.

512 Toward evening blue smoke indicates again that food is being pre- [231] pared. Pigs are fed by the women in late afternoon. Then women, young girls, or boys fill water buckets and carry them home. After 5 512 515 there is a heavy run on the tank or faucets, and this is often the time when families start preparing a bath. It takes until dark to warm up an oil drum filled with water and heated underneath by scraps of wood and twigs. People take their bath after dark. Since the bath house was destroyed during the war, ablutions take place outside near the tank under a faucet or in an old oil drum in one's backyard.

512 Young men who return from the mountains wash their horses in the [231] sea. The women who sell fish call on each house at this hour to peddle [938] their wares. The village store, which has only seen a few customers in the morning and during noon, now has its busiest hour. Mothers send their children to buy noodles, kerosene, rice, or seaweed or else they come themselves, a baby on their back or the toddlers following them.

[889] This is also the hour when the young men and women gather to do joint work in the fields of their association or to play volleyball on the playground. Meanwhile, all forest workers have returned and busily cut the last pieces of firewood, bundling them before the store clerk comes along to buy the load. Some adults sit near the playground and watch the children.

512 264 Work goes on until dark. Only then do families gather for the evening meal. During the summer this may be as late as 8 o'clock. For many families this is the only time during the day when everybody gathers in the family circle. At this time family affairs may be discussed and plans made for the next day's work or other pending matters.

512 262 264 The evening meal consists of rice, a bean paste or noodle soup, and some fish. Meat is served occasionally if a goat is killed or on holidays when someone has slaughtered a pig. Most families cannot afford to buy more than small portions of meat, which are fried or made into

But actually no family is entirely self-sufficient, for each needs to purchase foodstuff as well as ready-made clothes, manufactured mostly in Japan, more substantial building materials, such as better grades of wood, tiles, and cement, tobacco, alcoholic beverages, sweets, toilet articles, some medical supplies, and other luxuries. Farmers buy their tools; students their books and writing materials. Finally, cash is needed to pay taxes. 433 438

In addition to the utilization of sugar, pineapple, firewood, and building materials for cash, Tairans also raise pigs for sale to slaughter houses, and some families derive an income from raising silkworms and producing tea. Fishermen sell fish inside and outside the village, and a small group of people are salaried workers or have an income from specialized services. [231]

Village leaders fear dependence on rapidly dwindling forest resources, still the main source of ready cash. They realize that the present modest living conditions of all families could be much improved if Tairans concentrated on increasing the cultivation of subsistence crops and farmed more intensively to raise cash crops. Most people lack this insight, however, and live on a day-to-day basis without much thought of the future. This is an island-wide problem which has the attention of central government agencies, and a great deal of educational propaganda comes to the village through government channels. 433 241 [313] [185] [654]

AGRICULTURE

The productivity of the land varies not only with its quality but also with the industriousness of the owners. Farmers who show foresight, those who seem to be under less pressure for immediate cash, take off more time from forest work to cultivate fields during planting season. The village headman and council members remind everybody during village meetings and informal discussions that work in the fields should not be neglected. With the approval of the whole community, the first and 15th of each lunar month have been set aside for farming. On these two days it is forbidden to go to the forests to cut wood. Such agreements are usually observed (as a rule), and they help to achieve their purpose but are not completely effective. 241 185 [433] [623] [313]

Rice is planted and harvested twice a year. The first rice is prepared in January when seeds are put into special beds where they are left to grow into young shoots until March. Until about 30 years ago it was said that all people seeded rice on the same day while prayers were 243 [782] [793]

243 offered at the village shrine by the priestess. Today key agricultural
[782] events are still marked by small ceremonies in which the priestess be-
[793] seeches or thanks the gods, but the actual day for planting is determined by weather and the condition of seed.

When the rice is transplanted in March, the whole family spends long hours in the paddy. Then the paddies swarm with people; some prepare the soil by spreading fertilizer, others stand in the ooze to set the seedlings. Transplanting is done by mutual assistance groups, which
[476] will be discussed later in this chapter. They guarantee everyone a sufficient number of helping hands during the painstaking, rapid work, which has to be finished within a limited time. In a few days the whole paddy area suddenly turns from brown into the tender green of the young shoots. Once planted, intermittent weeding is all the care that is needed.

[261] In July the rice turns brown and is ready for harvest. This is an event of joy for the whole village, for young rice is most delicious and
[857] loved by everyone. By then vacations have started, so that schoolchildren can help to cut rice and carry bundles to the spot where it is threshed in treadle-type machines, located either near the field or behind one's house. As soon as the rice is threshed, the grain is carried to a place in the village where the wind blows freely. There a woman holds a flat winnowing basket filled with grain at an angle to let the
[782] breeze separate the chaff from the grain. The first rice is cut by men
[264] and offered at the family shrine before the whole family eats a specially
[251] prepared gruel. Rice is usually stored in one or two oil drums in the kitchen-side corner of the front room. Better houses have a metal-lined
[256] storeroom. Once a week a supply is taken to the miller to be hulled and polished.

Those whose fields are sufficiently wet plant a second crop, and the cycle is repeated once more in midsummer, with the second harvest falling in late December.

244 Sweet potatoes can be planted throughout the greater part of the year if the soil is not too dry. They take from five to seven months to
[262] grow to full size. Although less popular than rice, no part of the plant
[231] is wasted. The large tubers are consumed, the small ones are usually fed to the pigs; the young leaves are used as vegetables, the older ones cooked into pig food. Slips are cut and used for planting a new crop.

The preferred variety of potato (*tadushi imu*) is grown in the dry paddies during the second rice season. To plant this potato, the soil must be piled up to form a long, narrow, flat-topped mound. One of the hardest jobs for farmers, this is done by men in the humid heat of a midsummer day. Women set the slips after the earth has been moved.
[251] These potatoes are the only variety which are thought to improve with

storing and are kept under the house or on a special shelf on the rafters. 244 [251]

Onions, giant radishes, beans, and cabbages are also raised on farm lands. Night soil is rarely used for such vegetables nowadays but is still used on potatoes. Several of these vegetables as well as others are raised by women in small "home-garden" plots. [514] [462]

The hardest working period during the year is in July and August. Within a few weeks after the rice harvest, the soil must be made ready for the second rice crop or the soil must be prepared for dry paddy potatoes. This is also the time for planting the chief sugar crop. All this takes place during the hottest time of the year, when efficiency is greatly reduced by heat and humidity. 244 243 [249]

Sugar harvest and processing fall in the period between January and March. One field after another is harvested by the owners after arrangements have been made for a date when the cane can be processed. Such arrangements are made with the director of the Taira cooperative, who supervises operations of the sugar mill which is owned by the cooperative. The whole family helps on the day of processing. Women carry bundles of branches and light firewood to heat the kettles. The operation requires the help of someone to feed cane into the small, diesel engine driven press, some to carry the pulp away, and others to watch the kettles in which extracted juice is boiled down to molasses. Finally, a few persons stir the brown residue in wide, open pots until it becomes stalted. Then it is put into tubs that hold about 132 pounds. 249 [474] [402]

The agricultural market for cash crops was totally disrupted at the end of World War II. There was no immediate outlet for sugar products; crops had been destroyed or neglected, and the sugar mill was demolished in the fighting. But by this time most people were too satisfied with the great returns from forest work to invest much time and energy in a crop which takes a year and a half to show any material results. Nevertheless, sugar was the first crop to find a market again. 433 249

Pineapple, introduced recently in Taira, has a promising future. Tea is still grown in small quantities, but few families grow more than they need for their own use, although it is a good potential cash crop for this area. 245

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

Raising pigs is an important source of cash income for all households in the village. Even the poorest families own at least one, but few families have more than two; in the central village the average is about 1.2 per household. Pigs are given special care and attention. 231 [434]

231 Before a piglet is bought, its feeding habits are carefully observed by
[417] the buyer to determine future growing potential. It is then kept in a sty: pigsties are either in the yard near the house or in a cluster of stables on the north edge of the town. Twice a day women cook the food in large kettles and ladle the liquid food into a trough. Nowadays
[262] pork is rarely consumed in the village except for special holidays, when several families may slaughter pigs and sell part of the meat to every-
[438] body through the local store or preserve some of it by salting. Most
[251] farmers, however, wait for the meat buyer from the southern part of
[442] the island from whom they receive a good financial return.

Goats are raised for home consumption. They are never left to graze
[417] but are quartered in a goat pen near the pigsty and fed on grass cut from uncultivated land. Seven families in the central village have
[492] horses. Their main use is to carry firewood from the mountains. The small breed looks like a cross between a horse and pony and seems especially adapted to climb the steep trails. They are also used for plowing and for pulling two-wheeled carts. The owner of a horse
[434] may more than double his income from forest work. Horses are fre-
[427] quently rented out for half the day's income from wood carried by them.

Silkworm raising, an important source of income in Taira before the war, is only now being resumed by some Tairan families. The
[474] larvae are supplied through island-wide silkworm raising associations, which repurchase the cocoons after they are spun. To raise silkworms, a substantial house is needed so that rats cannot enter and eat the worms. The temporary postwar structures with holes and cracks in the walls and roof are inadequate. Only a few recently built houses can be used. One family keeps growing worms on shelves in the front room.
[137] Most of the mulberry trees were lost during and after the war. Plans have been made to plant new trees. Young girls feed the mulberry
[462] leaves to the gluttonous worms who require constant attention. When the worms are ready to create their cocoons, they are taken off their diet, and the cocoons are cleaned and sorted out. Silkworms can be raised four times a year if there is an adequate supply of mulberry leaves. Their sale brings a good income, which can become a substitute
[434] for cash earned in forest work.

FISHING

226 Fishing is a much less important source of livelihood than one would
[554] expect in a coastal village and is a low-prestige occupation. Only two

quire room and board are sometimes put up without compensation, and they agree, perhaps, to give some help with studies of the landlord's children. Only the village "doctor" takes transient guests, mostly visiting officials from the city, who pay for lodgings. 427 875 485

Although the household head is a legal owner of the family property, there is a feeling that it belongs to the family and everyone in the household identifies himself with his land and house. This is expressed in the language. A person who is asked, "Whose rice paddy is this?" would answer that it is the household's or "ours." 423 592

In addition to the communal land holdings and the property of the cooperative described earlier, the following items are shared. The government supplies a breeding boar to each village; it is then left in the care of one farmer. This animal is available to pig owners for studding on request, and a small charge is made for the upkeep of the boar. A few tools are jointly owned by several households. Threshing machines were bought jointly after the war by two or more families to defray the high cost of such equipment. These families could be neighbors or relatives. Today many are complaining that joint ownership works hardships during the busy harvest season when there is heavy demand for the machines. As a result, everybody wishes to own his own machine as soon as he can afford to. For tea harvesting, special clippers are owned by the village cooperative and loaned to people as they need them. Since tea harvesting, though seasonal, is not done by all families during the same day, sharing of these tools presents no difficulties. 422 231 654 476 474

Property of others is very much respected. Stealing among villagers is almost unheard of, except for some pilfering of green vegetables and fruits by children. Only one case was reported during the field-work period—a person tried to take some goods without payment from the community store. When a village meeting was called, and it was announced that the person's identity was known to the store manager, the merchandise was later replaced. Willful damage to fields is similarly strictly forbidden. No child would really think of doing such damage. But there are no formal rules about trespassing. Movement across other people's property is completely free and unchallenged. 421 685 627 867

financier, the abacus a mathematician, the book a scholar, and food a glutton. The villagers did not seem to place much credence in the choice. Mothers laughed when asked what choices their children made and commented, "It's something to talk about, but many times we can't even remember which child chose what!" 852

The child continues to be carried on the back until the next sibling is born, the interval being between about two or three years. By the time an infant is a year old, he has been taken through every nook and cranny of the village. He has also seen all the adults and children of the village and has witnessed the economic and social-ceremonial activities. Whereas he slept most of the time when he was young, he now begins to participate in what goes on about him. He claps his hands in glee in response to his older sibling's delight over some aspect of play or raises his arm in defiance of another child who attempts to strike at his older sibling. In spite of the fact that he is capable of crawling or learning to walk within the second half year of his life, he is kept on the back. He does not protest or clamor to be put down; he seems to prefer being carried to being left to crawl. 855 854 [856]

Caretakers are too busy with work or play to let the child crawl about freely, so there is no crawling stage in Taira. Older siblings are too involved in play to sit and patiently watch a crawler. The older child would also be severely punished should the infant pick up some object and swallow it or injure himself in his crawling. One 8-year-old found that the 10-month-old sister she toted on her back took to standing on the ground and jouncing up and down every time she squatted to play. After several unsuccessful attempts to stop this annoying behavior, she unstrapped her and allowed her to crawl about freely. The older girl became so engrossed in the game that her mouth dropped open and eyes turned round with fear when one of her playmates shouted, "Hey! the baby put some dirt into her mouth!" Immediately she rushed to "flush" the baby's mouth out with her fingers and promptly strapped her onto the back again and continued playing despite the uncomfortable jouncings. The baby did not protest at being restrapped; she just jounced and played with her hands. 857 855

A mother who sits and plucks sweet potato leaves off the vines for hog feed works more efficiently with the baby on her back. Crawling around on the loose floorboards near the fire pit or over the edge of the raised floor, the child would require constant attention. On one occasion the observer was sitting and talking with a mother who was weaving a bamboo basket in her front room. The floor was littered with bamboo shavings and slats. As the mother worked, she was relaxed. She turned and twisted the sharp ends of the bamboo slats, leaving pointed [231] [285]

857 intimate as they used to be. He has little in common with them, but
561 since he still takes care of a younger sibling or plays games to which younger children are attracted, there remain frequent contacts between the age groups. The transition between first grade and second grade is in no way as pronounced as the drastic status change from
[866] kindergarten to first grade. Children feel it mostly as a gradually increasing pressure toward assuming more responsibility. The transition which takes place at a ritual level * during the early latency period, however, is not reflected in their daily life.

CHORES AND RESPONSIBILITY TRAINING

857 Although adults say that the elementary school student is still very
868 much of a child who only toward the latter part of this stage can seriously be expected to contribute much to the tasks and duties in home and village; the children, in fact, do some work daily. Already in first grade, responsibility is approached with seriousness, girls exceeding boys in this respect. Children beg tasks, and obeying the school's directive to "help one's parents" seems to become the prime objective of first graders who have just proudly attained their new
857 status. They plead to accompany their older siblings who, with much
868 less zeal than the younger ones, gather giant African snails after a heavy rainfall, hunt frogs, dragon flies, and grasshoppers, or wash
● 231 potatoes for the pigs. Adults consider some of these chores play.
[866] Although frogs and grasshoppers are fed to the chickens, and minnows and seaweed are added to the pig swill, nevertheless, adults would not seriously label expeditions to collect these responsible. On the other hand, if there is no available feed, as occasionally happens, the child will be scolded and berated for "thinking only of play and not of the hungry chickens." Four- to 6-year-olds are discouraged from these foraging trips, for the danger of snake bites and accidents in the paddies and on the beach is very real. Accompanied by older siblings, however, they, too, may participate.

Some tasks, such as fetching water and feeding the pigs, cutting grass for the horse and goats, washing down the horse, and gathering faggots for the hearth, are still too difficult for the first grade child. But some of them are attempted, at least by assisting older children.

866 Once the child starts off to school, he is made aware that he is

[764] * In case of death, the child who has reached the age of 8 must be given a full
[775] fledged burial since in afterlife he becomes a buddha from now on. We had no indication that children were aware of this.

866 Girls could theoretically become monitors, and several votes were cast
872 for them, but it is doubtful whether a girl could be effective among boys, who might be unwilling to follow her lead.

876 The student Red Cross chapter has a chairman in each class who
[858] makes collections under the teacher's supervision. Somebody may volunteer for such jobs as pouring milk during lunch hour. Other
[231] assignments have to do with the upkeep of a few school-owned goats, which must be fed during vacations too.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BOYS AND GIRLS

858 Differential status of boys and girls, emphasized in child rearing
876 from the time of birth, is clearly defined in many details of school routine. Boys are sent out first when it is time to leave the classroom; they head the lines; and they are given first turn at the equipment.
[177] The promotion of sex equality under American supervision of the educational program has met with only mild acceptance in the classes we observed. Although separate seating is avoided under post-World War II rules, a separation continues in fact.

858 Girls remain on the receiving end of much teasing and horseplay,
876 more, it seems than one observes during associations of boys and girls in the village, which we will describe later. Teachers, like parents,
865 expect the boys to bully girls. In one classroom, for instance, we heard girls complaining that the (male) teacher favors boys by calling on them all the time. This may encourage the dominant, aggressive behavior of boys toward girls. Hardly a day passes in school without several girls crying as a result of assertive boy tyrants. Occasionally a boy is punished, but usually he escapes with distinct pride showing on his face. Recently teachers have resorted to ridiculing those who intimidate girls, but the tradition is so strong that even if bullying on the school ground is curbed, there is a great deal on the road to and from school. Only the most vociferous girls do not seem to be cowed by such boisterous demonstrations and may adequately match in verbal repartee those boys who try to put them into place as well as provoking more teasing and aggression. To illustrate attempts at bullying in the classroom, we quote from an observation record (second grade).

. . . Whenever one of the girls gives a wrong answer, S. (Taira boy) shouts loudly; he is one of the most vociferous in class . . . Class then starts reading aloud, each pupil for himself . . . A boy in front of K. (Taira girl) turns around, hits her for putting her feet against his chair. K. continues kicking

Population Density The pattern revealed in a map of population density---Map 4---is approximately the same as that for percentage of arable land. It is somewhat complicated, however, by the urbanization that is going on in Nakagami. A more detailed discussion of the population movements responsible for this situation will be found in a later section of this report. 161

Farming Almost all of Okinawa's rural people farm, and many are engaged part time in home industries which utilize local products. Particularly noteworthy are the vegetable-producing areas. Kitanakagusuku and Ginowan 'sons' are centers of vegetable production for the American military forces.[1] The inland 'son' of Haebaru grows 53% of the gunto's tōgwā, a wax melon that is a favorite Okinawan food. 433 241 [262]

One of the most remarkable agricultural areas, Tomigusuku, lies south of the Naha-Mawashi-Oroku urban complex. It grows many kinds of vegetables for the cities, and ranks high in other production. Tomigusuku stands first in the gunto in acreage of green beans, muskmelons, bananas and eggplant. Almost one-fifth of the latter comes from here. It ranks second in tomatoes, and ties with Yonagusuku for second place in weight of mat reeds produced. Miwa, in the far south, leads the gunto in soybean acreage, while Nishihara occupies a similar position in acreage planted to pumpkins.

The most remarkable 'son' in northern Okinawa is Nakijin on the north shore of Motobu peninsula. It leads in gunto acreage of sweet potatoes, leaf tobacco (75.2%), and cucumbers. In animals it leads in numbers of pigs and ducks. It also produces 75% of the banana cloth, or 'bashōfu', of the gunto. This 'son' is mainland Okinawa's chief wheat producer. [231] [235]

The small Okinawan acreage of Irish potatoes is found in Ōgimi-son to the northeast. Yabu is noted for its pickled giant radishes, or 'takuan'. The offshore islands lead in certain special crops. Minami Daitō leads in sugar cane, wheat and barley. Ie Shima seconds in barley, and Izena seconds in wheat. Ie Shima is far ahead in acreage of Irish beans, or 'azuki', accounting for 41% of the gunto's planted acreage of this crop. Though Ie Shima ranks only 15th in soybean acreage, it produces almost a fifth (18.4%) of the gunto's 'miso', in which soybeans are used as a base. 'Miso' making is one of the main home industries on the island. Ie Shima, Kamimotobu and Nakijin retain some of the old 'awa' (German millet) complex, between them accounting for over a third (34.3%) of the acreage of that crop in Okinawa gunto. Kamimotobu is mainland Okinawa's leader in acreage planted to ordinary millet ('kibi'; Panicum miliceum). [252]

Nakagami has little of agricultural distinction. Yomitan leads the mainland in acres of barley and number of rabbits. Gushikawa is second rank in sweet potato acreage, but produces about two-fifths (39.4%) of the gunto's sweet potato starch. It leads in numbers of goats, and is second though not outstanding in numbers of bullocks. [231]

[1] Most of this and following paragraphs derive from Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku and Okinawa guntō no tembō. Some is based on personal observation and interviewing. [127]

313 Home Industries and Famous Products The forested northern mountains give rise to small scale lumbering, charcoal making,
314 and firewood gathering. Kunigami-son and Kushi-son emphasize the gathering of
433 bamboo and firewood. On the other hand the making of charcoal is more import-
[369] ant in Nago, Haneji, and Ōgimi. The urbanization of the south combined with
[391] the postwar extension of roads into formerly inaccessible parts of the north have accelerated exploitation of the northern forest resource. Particularly heavy is the demand for long roof poles, or kichigwā, after every major typhoon.
[237] Kunigami-son and Higashi supply the bulk of these. Where wood is plentiful behind a coastal road, one often finds lime kilns, which process the coral of the reefs.

258 The sea is also a major source of material for home industries. Sea
433 salt is made at Yagaji, Urasoe and Oroku on the west coast, at Henza and Awase
[237] on the east. Kunigami-son prides itself upon its production of seaweed. Buttons from seashells are made in Mawashi. Fish cakes ('kamaboko') are made in quantity in Itoman and Naha, with lesser amounts being produced in Ishikawa and Nago. Dried bonito ('katsuoboshi') is a specialty of Tonaki isle to the west. Motobu-chō holds second place, followed by the western isles of Tokashiki and
505 Zamami. For over a hundred years the small cargo sailboats ('Yambaru-sen')
178 of the east coast have carried forest products from the north. The extension of roads into the northern forests has greatly reduced the amount now carried by sea.

433 Horse breeding is a specialty in Nakazato (the eastern half of Kume-
[232] shima), which has 22% of the gunto's production of horses. However, the pro-
[282] duction of horse and cattle hides is concentrated in the urban areas, which account for 84% of the hides produced. Nakazato is also famous for production
[231] of silk cocoons, being responsible for about two-fifths (38.7%) of the gunto's total. The leading mainland producer is Motobu-chō, with 9%.

Although Okinawa is not self-sufficient in tea, the three areas of
[245] Gushikawa, Ishikawa and Kunigami produce over half of the local tea. In Oku
[474] village of Kunigami, the tea factory is a cooperative venture. Gushikawa
[374] and Chatan pride themselves upon possessing 'sake' and 'awamori' distilleries.
[286] Mawashi is the center of production of farm tools, and accounts for some weaving of banana cloth. Weaving of mats from the "seven isles reed" ('shichitō-i') is a local specialty of Kanegusuku.

[314] Travertine quarries are found in Motobu-chō and Katsuren. A sandy limestone is quarried at Minatogawa in Gushichan.

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Many root plants such as the giant radish and carrots used to flower out, and the root would be so stringy that it could not be eaten. About nine years before the war the Japanese brought in many new and better varieties. Nanahan has more vegetables now than the rest of Tomoyose, people say, "...because our houses are scattered and we can get to the vegetable plots easily; they in Tomoyose can't, and therefore pay less attention to vegetables." Of the seven wards of Tomoyose, only Nanahan has an agreement not to keep chickens so that their vegetables will be protected. Before the war the Irish leek and swiss chard were the only abundant vegetables; others were to be had in only small quantities. The "pine mushroom", or 'metsudake', was gathered "when we used to have pines in the neighborhood." Farmers complain that they can grow less green peas now, because of the great increase in number of rats due to loss of the cat population during the invasion.

Okinawa has always been self-sufficient in sweet potatoes except in occasional time of famine. Even then, dried products of the sweet potato are often used. Many varieties are grown the year around, but in Nanahan only five main varieties were mentioned. Okinawa #100 gives the biggest harvest and in fairly fixed amounts regardless of weather. There were many of White #100 before the war, but few now. It was delicious, but the harvest gradually declined from its former high yield. Just after the war there were many of the tumaikurū variety, but recently few have been planted. The yield had been high, but gradually the seed became bad; it was described as the "most delicious of all sweet potatoes." Yaeyamaakagu was mentioned as a variety still grown in small amounts. The variety which brings the highest market price is Kiirumugwā. This "delicious" potato yields only half that of the average, and hence its price is double.

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Perhaps the best way to view the prewar-postwar change in agriculture is to look at the amounts grown by a typical Nanahan farmer. Table I below presents this information.

Table I

Crop	Tsubo Prewar	Tsubo Postwar	Comments
Sugar cane (summer planting) (spring planting)	500 300	350 150	Postwar home use amounts to 14-15 'kin' (19-20 lb.) annually. Sells about 100 'kin' (132 lb.). Prewar, sold 1400-1500 'kin' yearly.
Sweet potatoes	700	500	Three harvests per year. Not sold much; make starch only if harvest is plentiful.
Soybeans	300	200	Generally sold about 1/3 of each prewar crop, but only when money was needed at home.
Broad beans	150	70	Prewar variety was a small plant, the postwar one very large.

Table I, Cont'd.

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Crop	Tsubo Prewar	Tsubo Postwar	Comments
Green peas	80	--	None now due to rats.
Giant radish	50	50	Sell half; use the rest in soups.
Burdock root	--	50	Sell 90%; use only at home for feasts.
Carrots	1	5	Sell half the crop.
Dryland taro	--	20	
Irish potatoes	--	50	Winter crop; seed from Hokkaido.
Cucumbers	1-2	50	Prewar, all used at home. Now sell 90% at about ¥10 per 'kin'.
Chives	1	1	Always use in soup. Raise for home use only.
Wax melon	50	50	Sold half in Itoman prewar; now sell same amount in Naha.
Pumpkins	1	1	Entirely for home use then and now.
Kidney beans	100	100	Then and now entirely for home use, in 'gohan' and 'miso'.
Cabbage	--	60	Sell 90% at ¥2-7 per 'kin'.
Eggplant	--	4-5 stalks	For occasional home use.
Green onion	--	10	Entirely for home use, in soups, etc.
Chinese cabbage	--	20	Sell over two-thirds.
Bitter melon	--	5	Mainly for home use.
Mustard cabbage	--	3	Sell half. Pickle temporarily with salt for home use. [251]
Swiss chard	5	50	Pigs eat the old and large leaves; people the young and tender small ones. [231]
Garlic	--	3	It is pickled, and is entirely for home use. [251]
Shallot	--	2	Entirely for home use.
Red peppers	--	1-2 stalks	Used with soybean curd, or when one has a stomach ache. [757]

It apparently did not find
178 widespread use in Tomoyose, for that village passed almost directly from the use
243 of bamboo tongs to the rotary thresher, or 'dakkokki' (see photo). Yamada first
412 saw this thresher about 1933, but Nanahan farmers began using it only in 1941.
[407]

Hulling of grain was in the past accomplished---as needed for home use
178 or sale---by using a wooden rotary mill (see photos) called fichiūshi in Yamada
252 and shiriūshi in Nanahan. In Yamada two women sat with their feet braced against it, and pulled straw ropes alternately. In Nanahan men did the hulling, and the rotary mill was lower but was three feet in diameter. In the late thirties motor-powered hulling mills were built in many areas, and farmers took their rice there for hulling and polishing.

Polishing of brown rice in Nanahan was accomplished until about 1935 by use of a mortar, or chichiūshi (see photo), and pestle, or ajin. Most families still have these in reserve, as they were used after the war and were replaced by rice mills only after 1949. People in remote areas still use them exclusively. Nowadays people have their rice hulled and polished in one operation at a rice mill, if it is close at hand.

178 Very little wheat was grown in the three farm villages studied, but
246 it was noticed that on the outer isles wheat was more dominant. On Henza isle, removal of the grain from the sheaf and hull was accomplished by rubbing it upon a piece of bumpy limestone. On Kudaka, separation was by rubbing on a canvas, both with the hands and feet.

178 After the war farmers took advantage of the spread of the lantana bush,
241 which had flourished due to the neglect of the land. It furnished an excellent livestock feed, and also a short pole which they could use in roofing their re-
[342] built houses. Such poles, or kichigwā, had formerly been brought down from the forested north country.

178 Chronology of Change in Livestock Recovery of the land after the war pro-
727 ceeded far more rapidly than replacement
231 of the livestock killed or eaten in the invasion. The following table illustrates the loss and slow recovery (except for swine) in livestock numbers:

Table V

Type of Livestock	1940[1]	1946[2]	1952[3]	1952 as % of 1940
Cattle	22,000	112	6,837	31.0%
Horses	25,000	899	5,110	20.4%
Swine	108,426	1,165	107,077	98.8%
Goats	106,257	1,647	58,472	55.1%

In Kachinda-son the story has been somewhat the same, with the exception that there are many more swine and cattle now than in the thirties. This is due partly to the lesser amount of land in sugar and the planting of more

1, 2 Summation....July-November, 1946, p. 26.

3 Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku, Vol. 3, No. 3, 1943, p. 1. Valid as of 31 Dec. 1952.

swiss chard for pig feed, as well as the greater availability of lantana bushes for livestock feed. The following table compares the 1931 figures with those for 1952: 178 727 231

Table VI

Livestock Type	1931	1952	1952 as % of 1931
Cattle	41	229	558.0%
Horses	1,676	74	4.4%
Swine	1,774	2,490	140.0%
Goats	4,217	1,400	33.3%

The "great rabbit boom" is often spoken of by farmers in an amusing vein. In the winter of 1946-1947 rabbits assumed the form of currency, and in a mad fever people bought rabbits and sold them, never realizing their true value. A Nanahan farmer related: 175 231 [43]

> I hitched a ride on a truck, and went up to the Katchin peninsula. There I bought a rabbit for ¥600. I sold it the next day to B. for ¥1200. He resold it for ¥700 profit to a Gisshi farmer who was waiting to buy one. Then I went up again, stayed overnight, and sold the new rabbit for ¥1000 profit. Again and again I went, and finally amassed ¥5000 in profits. With these rabbit profits I bought what I thought was a pregnant goat for ¥7000. It wasn't pregnant, and I had to sell it for ¥3000, taking a loss. But then I bought a pig from B. for ¥2500 and sold it to 'One-armed K' for ¥3000.
>
> In Tsukazan, which was the center of the rabbit trade in this area, a man sold all of his land to invest in rabbits, but he lost everything on the deal.

2. Land Use

The basic pattern of land use has been described in Glacken's Okinawan Village Studies (SIRI Report No. 4), and in Nuttonson, Ecological Crop Geography and Field Practices of the Ryukyu Islands, Natural Vegetation of the Ryukyus, and Agro-Climatic Analogues in the Northern Hemisphere. Although agriculture is not quite as intensive nor yields so high as in Japan, still much intercropping, double-cropped and rotation of crops is carried on. Because sugar cane takes a year or more to mature, various crops such as kidney beans, giant radish, cucumbers, broad beans, soy beans and mustard cabbage are interplanted with the cane. They mature and are harvested before the cane grows too tall and cuts off the sunlight. Sugar cane is rotated in a two-crop cycle of cane and sweet potatoes; or it is rotated with soybeans and sweet potato in a three-crop cycle. Very rarely is cane replanted in a field which has just produced a crop. In this way the farmers hope to diminish the damage done by worms and insects. 311 241

262 Sea food eaten differs by the season. Most available in summer are bonito and the sea turtle. Common in October and later are seabream, whitefish, and globefish. Canned mackerel is by far the most common fish food eaten, and seaweed is a staple in all but the poorest homes. Though every [825] adult in the village speaks Okinawan by preference in everyday life, even the old people rarely know the dialect names for various fish, "because we are so far from the sea." The nearest coast is less than three airline miles away. Before the war most of the fish consumed was bought in Itoman, but with the removal of the railroad and the orientation of bus traffic toward Naha, very little is purchased in Itoman.

252 The entire day's supply of sweet potatoes, for man and beast, is prepared by boiling in early morning in a large pot. It takes about an hour to boil fifty pounds. Those for human consumption are placed on top, with those for the animals underlying them. Naturally those eaten by the pigs and other [231] animals are the less beautiful, and often slightly rotten ones. When the family eats 'imo', they peel off both the outer and inner skins and give them to the animals. They realize that the inner skin contains vitamins, but it is too much trouble to peel separately. People regard baked 'imo' as more delicious than boiled, but do not make them in Nanahan as a rule due to shortage of fuel. The children often stick 'imo' right into the fire while their mothers are boiling 'imo' for the day. Sometimes children under ten [857] years of age make baked 'imo' when they collect trash and burn it. When they do this is not determined, but occurs as the children suddenly decide there is enough trash to burn.

262 252 'O-kazu' (Okinawan: katimun) refers in Nanahan to any dish whose basic ingredients are lard, soy sauce, and 'aji-no-moto' (monosodium glutamate). It is generally made about two times a week. First lard is put in a pan. Then either raw 'daikon' or 'sengei' (dried and shredded 'daikon') is added, together with globe onions. Soy sauce is then added, and the mixture salted to taste. If meat is available, it is put in as soon as the lard is melted. 'Aji-no-moto' is added just before serving.

252 The making of 'miso' paste is a home task for the women and girls. The amount made depends on the weather. Good weather for proper mildewing is generally found in the spring and autumn. At the equinoxes, when most of the 'miso' is made if people have a choice in the matter, mildewing takes two or three days. The process involves two steps---the making of malt ('kōji') and the making of soybean flour or paste. For malt one must use broad beans, wheat or barley, kidney beans or, infrequently, soybeans. The malt materials are boiled until the skins come off. Then they are drained, spread out on a straw mat inside the house, and dusted with wheat flour. Rice straw is spread over the mixture to form a hotbed. When the mildew starts the mixture turns yellow, and is then spread out to dry in the sun. When dry it is stored in a box, to be mixed with soybean flour or paste later. The latter is very easily made. Boiled soybeans are ground up in a meat grinder, and dried. The flour may be stored separately, but it is most often mixed immediately with an equal amount of malt. To prevent spoiling, about three parts salt are added [251] to ten of the mixture, now called 'miso'. It is put into a pot for "ripening" during the next six months, and then is used gradually. If stored longer than one year it loses its taste.

'Miso' is used not only in soups, but as a flavoring for other dishes. 262
Jūshiimē is rice fried in oil and 'miso', with green onions added. Tōfu- 252
champuru is made by putting shredded bonito and hot lard in a pan, adding a little 'miso' and some soysauce, and one-inch cubes of bean curd, or 'tōfu'. 'Tōfu' was eaten about every three days in Nanahan before the war, and every day about twenty peddlers from Tsukazan went through the countryside selling it. It is eaten not oftener than once a month now.

A strong rice drink, 'awamori', is in evidence at all parties. It is 273
sometimes diluted with orange soda, but more often it is served full-strength flavored with either garlic or red peppers. Before the war the refuse from [231]
making 'awamori', called kashijii, was very cheap---about two gallons could be had for fifteen sen---and was generally fed to pigs. However, it also fur- [157]
nished the base for kashijē-ēi, made by pouring hot water on half-boiled spinach or swiss chard, and adding the liquid from the refuse. It was said to have been very good for the stomach.

Feast Foods When a person reaches the age of 61, 73, or 85, a celebration 262
known as tushibii is held. This is the occasion for a feast of 574
whatever proportions the extended family's budget can afford. In the spring [561]
of 1954 a Nanahan lady who was a member of the dominant family reached seventy-three. The following was served at the feast:

--Paddy taro boiled in sugar syrup
--Soup containing 'konnyaku', pork, tripe, goat meat and ginger
--Giant radish and carrots, shredded in vinegar
--Several slices of fried bean curd
--Fish cake
--Deep-fried sugar batter
--A dish of 'konnyaku', 'daikon', pork and shredded radish
--Deep-fried whale tripe in peanut butter sauce
--Red rice; noodle soup
--Fried bean curd and pork, with seaweed

In addition, guests were given two boxes to take home, which contained the following:

--Two pieces of pork
--1 piece fried bean curd
--Two pieces of fish, deep-fried in batter
--1 piece of pork heart
--Two pieces of fish cake
--A red-dyed hard-boiled egg
--Two pieces of burdock root, deep-fried in batter
--Two pieces of sweet pound cake
--Two pieces of kujimuchi (a rice cake)
--Two large pieces of deep fried sugar batter
--One deep-fried flour dumpling
--Five cakes of baked rice flour, in shapes of the pine, bamboo, plum, crane and tortoise---symbols of longevity.

Although animals are generally bought for prices that the community 435
considers as relatively fixed (see below), meat animals sell for a certain rate per unit weight that varies with the market. Old cows and bullocks are generally sold for meat at the rate of ¥60 per kin. Boars, if fat, are sold for ¥42 per kin. Male goats bring ¥20 per kin for eating purposes, and chickens bring about ¥200 per kin. Females of any animals are very seldom sold unless old and almost dying, or unless the farmer finds himself in dire monetary emergency. Nanahan, which has the greatest vegetable acreage in Tomoyose village, has a 'han'-wide agreement not to raise chickens, due to their possible destruction of young plants.

Buying of Livestock and Daily Necessities The war depleted most of the live- 727
stock of Okinawa, and recovery has 231 ●
been slow. Okinawan farmers frequently expressed their gratitude to the Amer- [177]
ican religious organizations which sent goats to them to help in reconstruction.

The reversion of Amami indirectly helped to increase the livestock on 439
Okinawa. A Nanahan farmer described the situation in late November of 1953: 231

> Horses, cows, goats and pigs, together with household furniture come into Tomari port from Amami every day. The Amamians want to get as much Okinawan yen as possible, because it will convert to Japanese yen at three to one, and they think they will be ahead. The accelerated cattle movement started right after reversion intentions were announced. We are very glad to be able to buy the animals, but important people on Amami are afraid that this movement will deplete the island of animals, especially stud horses and bulls, goats and pigs for breeding.

Nanahan farmers have relatively fixed ideas on the prices of livestock. 435
For middle grade, or average, stock the following prices are quoted: horses, ¥13,000; cows, ¥25,000; heifers, ¥10-11,000; calves ¥9-10,000; boars, ¥2,500; sows, ¥2,700; and all goats, ¥300-400.

Before the war there were many people traveling through the country- 438
side selling 'miso' paste and bean curd. Every other day such peddlers would 178
visit even the most isolated settlements. Better roads and increased communi- 443
cations by bus and jitney have oriented purchase of staples urbanward. The only peddlers who now come through Nanahan are basket peddlers. Two small stores in the main settlement provide 'sake', noodles, matches and other small-cost items that are not worth a trip to town.

Sale of Services Farm labor is drawn from the southern islands and from 464
poorer families who are just getting a start in the community. In Nanahan there was only one full-time farm laborer, who was paid [465]
¥2,000 a month, in addition to room and board. He had left Miyako when eighteen, two years before, because of a famine that was being caused by a sweet-potato virus. His employer was a man who managed a good deal of land---indeed the land that belonged to himself and two minor relatives---and sorely needed the extra labor. Another landowner was converting dry land to paddy, and after

war level. This is due to several factors. The local prices for reed products 286
are said to be too low, and access to Japanese markets is difficult today due 433
to the separation of Okinawa and Japan. Since the war local food shortages and 178
changed tastes and diet have influenced change to greater rice production. Many houses in Kanegusuku lost their mat-weaving looms during the war, depriving them of this means of support. In addition, there is some feeling that it is too time-consuming and the young girls do not like it.

One tsubo produces about two bundles of reed, which is worth about 286
¥10 a bundle when dried. Usually the reed is not sold, but is made by the 433
producer's family into mats. Two bundles of reeds make one 'goza' mat, which [435]
sells for ¥65-100 in Naha. One person can make about two of these mats in one day. However, in almost all families this is part-time work, the woman of the house weaving in her spare time. One family in the village fortunate [464]
enough to own two looms employs two village girls full time as long as a supply of reeds is available.

The covering for the 'tatami' mat is called 'tatami omote'. An in- 286
dividual can make about six of these per day. They are faster-made than 'goza' 433
because the ends do not have to be tied off and bordered. These sell for 435
about ¥45 in Naha, which place people prefer to Itoman as a market for their reed products. However, rice straw to be used in the base of 'tatami' is sold in Itoman because the cost of transporting the bulky straw to Naha would be prohibitive---it is sold for only ¥1 or ¥2 per bundle. The Agricultural Co-operative is trying to arrange for the sale of 'tatami omote' in Kagoshima where ¥85 per mat can be obtained. The first such postwar collection and sale was made early in 1954.

Prewar Home Industry in Yamada Before the war people in Yamada made much of 294
their own clothing, and were self-sufficient in most of the tools they used. Most of the clothing was made by the women of the village themselves. Most women wove, and many wove constantly when [286]
not in the fields. Many had their own looms, but those who did not borrowed looms from their neighbors.

The usual summer garment was a kimono of banana-fiber cloth and the [291]
usual winter garment one of cotton. The former was made wholly at home, from the tree to the finished garment. For the cotton kimono the threads were purchased, usually at Kadena, already dyed, and the cloth woven at home.

Several families had silkworms. They got the eggs from Japan and fed 231
the worms on mulberry leaves they grew in their yards. These women spun and 283
wove at home but they sometimes had professional dyers at Kadena or Naha dye the threads for them. Silk garments, like store-bought garments, were only 292
for grand occasions.

Before the war some Yamada women made "panama" hats in their homes 294
as piecework for a hat company. The company furnished the materials and [434]
bought the finished product. This was one of the few sources of cash available outside the sugar crop. Baskets, carrying bags, and raincapes made of

Baskets, carrying bags, and raincapes made of
294 fiber from the trunk of the chigu palm, raincapes from the excess rice straw,
[285] and hats made from the leaf of the kuba palm completed the list of major items made at home.

291 Postwar Home Industry in Yamada Before the war many---probably most---Yamada
178 people had never worn Western-style clothing.
177 The few school teachers and a man who worked at the 'son' office were probably the only exceptions. Some of the young men who went to Naichi to work acquired Western clothing there, but the older men and women continued to wear kimono. During the invasion, houses, looms, and other equipment---and much of the clothing---of the people of Yamada were destroyed. At Ishikawa and elsewhere after the battle they received cast-off army clothing. For a time they wore only this and what little they had salvaged from the battle. At present they have supplemented this with Japanese and American-made civilian clothing
[286] in Western types. Probably no one in Yamada weaves cloth today. Only one
[231] cloth loom was located in the whole village, and this had been put away. No one raises silkworms.

178 Basketry is still made, but only for local use. Raincoats of straw
[285] and palm bark are not made in Yamada, but a few are brought in from the north.
[294] However, the army poncho has in part replaced this garment. The kubagasa, the
[291] hat made from the kuba palm leaf, is still made and worn in Yamada, but probably not as much as before the war. A variety of store-bought hats, including sun-helmets, are worn by the younger men.

ooo Canvas acquired

The yard in which the Okinawan home stands is also rather uniform in 351
its appearance. It is usually surrounded by a stone wall or a thick hedge for protection against winds. Inside the gate is a himpung, a short wall that prevents one from looking straight through the gate into the house. The space between the himpung and the house is hard earth; this is where mats are spread for drying grain and where many other household tasks are performed. This yard space may be lined on one or both sides with outbuildings for the [343] storage of tools and crops and for housing livestock---two or three goats, [231] and here and there an ox or a horse. Behind the house is a pigsty. There may also be a chicken-coop, but chickens often run loose. There are usually a few trees in the yard, often a clump of bananas. Behind the house is also [514] the toilet; formerly it was combined with the pigsty, but now it is usually an oil-drum. In many villages every house has its own well, but even where [312] wells are fewer there is almost sure to be a cistern beside the house to catch rain-water. The house and yard will be discussed again later in rela- 128
tion to sanitation and health (see Chapter IX).[1]

The social unit that occupies such a house and yard is the family. 592
The structure of the family is also dealt with in detail by Pitts in Chapter VII. Let it suffice to say here that ideally the first son stays with his [591] parents after his marriage while younger sons establish separate households. Thus the family consists of a couple and their unmarried children or a couple with a married first son, his wife and children, and his unmarried brothers and sisters. The deaths of one or more members may reduce the family without breaking it up. Two married couples, parents and grandparents of the youngest generation, is the usual maximum. If two married sons live under the same roof it is usually regarded as a temporary expedient. Thus while the total number of persons in the household may be as many as a dozen, the average number is a little less than five.

The family, that is, the members of the household, is an economic unit, a social unit, and a ceremonial unit. As an economic unit the members of a household work together, producing for and consuming from a common stock. They cooperate with other households on the basis of common interest as neighbors. They form a social unit within the "han", the "ku", and the "son", they are [666] registered as a unit in the "koseki", and may have only one vote---cast by the head of the house---in local elections. As a ceremonial unit they form part of a numbered and graded system based on common descent.

The Structure of Kinship Relations In traditional Okinawan society, as in 593 other societies of East Asia, the funda- 602
mental unit is the family and the basic axis within the family is a vertical one running through the male line, the father-oldest son axis.[2] The basic values that support this structure are unity and continuity. Individuals are of varying importance to the family depending on their closeness to the father-first son axis; females are less important than males; younger sons

[1] For a more detailed account of the house and yard see Glacken, 1953, Chapter 5.

[2] I have borrowed this concept from Francis L. K. Hsu, to whose writings I am indebted.

52 The general characteristics of the changed entertainment patterns
178 have been a greater reliance on entertainment provided by sources outside
621 the village---the school, radio, movies---and a sharp decline in celebrations and festivals of the sort which emphasized village participation and unity.

757 Health and Medicine Changes in medical practice well illustrate the
753 principle that material things find more ready acceptance than ideas in the
177 diffusion of culture; in short, Okinawans have been willing to adopt modern medicine when available, but not modern medical principles. Pills, shots, surgery, dentistry, penicillin, and DDT have found acceptance, while modern scientific concepts of disease, health, and sanitation seem to have made relatively little headway. The germ theory, for example, has barely penetrated.

753 However, on talking to people of different ages one becomes aware
751 that many changes in standards of sanitation and ideas about health and dis-
177 ease actually have taken place in the last fifty years. For example, evidence of the practice of tattooing various parts of the body as a cure for certain ills is rarely seen on persons under seventy. Similarly, though many of the younger generation may appear abysmally ignorant of modern knowledge of disease, they are always less ignorant and better informed than the preceding generation. Considerable progress toward better sanitation was made under the
[364] Japanese. Formerly the Okinawan privy was built atop the pigpen, and the pig
[331] subsisted in part on human feces. Stern measures were required to force the abandonment of this practice. The Japanese also introduced monthly sanitation inspections; inoculations for babies and school children were made compulsory.
[515] Through the influence of the schools the toothbrush (usually one) became a part of every home. The Japanese also sent notable scholars into the country-
[582] side to lecture the people on the dangers of in-breeding practices, particularly kin-group endogamy.

757 Penicillin, which was introduced by the Americans, has become a pop-
177 ular treatment, achieving equality with moxacautery and cutting to let blood. It can be obtained easily at any drug shop, and every doctor, midwife, herbalist, and practitioner of any sort is prepared to administer shots. Reliance excessive even by American standards is placed on this drug. There seems, in fact, to be a fondness for shots which does not end with penicillin; hormone shots and various other injections are widely advertised. It is the opinion of the author that any type of modern medicine which cuts, punctures, or otherwise disfigures the skin will find ready acceptance; this, it is felt, is merely an extension of the tradition of acupuncture, moxacautery, tattooing, and cutting. Bettelheim states that in the 1850's the Okinawans made inquiries as to how inoculations for smallpox might be obtained.[1]

759 There is some indication that the yabu, a practitioner whose chief
178 stocks-in-trade are herbs and moxacautery, is slowly disappearing; in several communities the author was told that since the old yabu died there had been no replacement.

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[1] Bettelheim, B. J., Loochoo Mission, London, n.d., pp. 34-36.

231
cash income. Pigs are seldom eaten by the family that raises them. [262]
On New Year's, a family will slaughter a pig or three or four families [527]
might co-operate in sharing one. Pork may also be served at O-Bon
and at Jūgoya, the autumn equinoctial holiday season.

A family often gets its start in pig raising by obtaining a loan [426]
from a mutual loan group. (These groups will be discussed later). A [435]
young pig may cost about Y2000. Male pigs intended for market
(nikubuta in Japanese, shishiwa in Okinawan) are castrated two months
after birth. Keeping breeding pigs (tanebuta) is a special business. [232]
Men engaged in this business bring the boar to the pig raiser's home.
Each village has such a businessman or at least has convenient access
to one in a neighboring village. The fee usually charged is Y200. If
the first attempt at breeding is unsuccessful, a second opportunity is
given free. On the third try, the dealer claims his fee again. In
Matsuda, there is a belief among the old that as the tide is coming in,
if a sow is in heat, the male will be able to perform, but that in the
ebb tide he cannot.

Great care is taken in housing pigs adequately, if the family is 231
able to do so. The pig sties made of stone or coral may be better 343
than the houses of their owners. This is by no means so shortsighted
or ridiculous as it might seem. Pigs are the means, one of the very
few means, by which an agricultural family may acquire substantial [434]
sums of cash. To protect this living bank account, considerable sums
are invested in fine stone, or cement floors and an adequate roof.
The pen must be strong to withstand typhoons. With a good pig pen,
a sow, and a good litter, a family can look forward to improving its [511]
financial condition and its own housing. There is great variety in the
quality of pig pens. The pen may be in combination with the outside
toilet, but with the two places completely separate; it may be part of
a larger shed which also houses the goats, the cattle, or the horse. If a
family can afford it, the pig is housed in a stone pen with stone floors,
or with other sturdy materials.

The day to day care of pigs is mostly the work of women. While 231
the husband is at work in the fields, the wife, as an incidental part 824
of her duties, goes to the nearest plot to cut sweet potato tops, or
mashes sweet potatoes in the stone mortar in the compound, often with [462]
her infant child on her back. There are three favorite varieties of
food for pigs: (1) the leaves of the sweet potato plant not suitable for
human consumption or not needed for transplanting, (2) the potato itself.
The poorer grades of potato are put in a stone mortar and are smashed
with a long pole, or pestle. (3) A cloudy liquid consisting of the
sweet potato, waste bean curd (tōfu no kasshu) and water. This is always
given warm. The pig may also get poor rice, or rice spoiled for human
consumption by submersion as a result of a typhoon, or miscellaneous
left overs from the table.

There are no ceremonies in any of the villages associated with 231
slaughtering the pig. Villagers seldom kill their own except on

231 special holiday occasions. Pig killing or the killing of any animals
[825] is distasteful. The pig generally is driven out of the pen to a
[993] waiting truck or horse cart and hauled squealing off to market.

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[197] breeding of pigs from stock imported from the United States. Chester White is a well known word among the farmers of Matsuda. In this area, regional meetings of pig breeders and raisers from the northern part of Okinawa and the Motobu peninsula are held to discuss the care, breeding, and marketing of pigs. These farmers have come a long way from the earlier days, even 25 years ago, when the toilet and the pig pen were the same. A farmer going from one of his fields to another often stops home to look at the pigs and perhaps to discuss his problems with
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[311] The lack of grazing land, except on the hill sides and summits, means that domestic animals must be fed with food grown and prepared and fed to them by the farmer. Grazing also would be out of the question since the land on the hills is privately owned and split up in small parcels. The young plants are valued too highly to permit indiscriminate grazing.

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[262] There are also sharp differences in taste among villagers for goat's meat. The milk is not used as a food. Goats are tied up or kept in stalls for their entire life. They are never allowed to roam through the village or to graze on the hill sides. They are not given water and depend entirely on the water in the grasses and shoots which they are fed.

Horses, cattle, and oxen are fed grasses, mashed sweet potatoes, and waste bean curd. Though occasionally used in rice fields, the
[992] chief use of horses is in drayage. In Matsuda, the horse and the two wheeled cart make frequent trips to the mountains to transport the longpoles, firewood, and charcoal.

235 Chickens are fed anything that might be on hand. Often they are given the chaff from the rice or the rice that is blown off in
[262] winnowing. Occasionally chickens are eaten, but they are kept primarily

757 frequently and may be repeated as many as four times during the
[854] first year of a child's life. An older child occasionally undergoes this
[164] treatment for a case of violent impetigo. Even a horse may be bled in
[232] this way for loss of appetite or other symptoms of disease.
[578] A woman whose face had been struck in an unusual display of temper underwent a blood letting soon after a swelling appeared. Her neighbor from across the street, a farmer like everyone else, sterilized her cheek with iodine and then cut it with a razor until the blood flowed freely. After a night's rest, the woman appeared outside her house without any signs of swelling and seemingly recovered.

753 As was pointed out previously, many diseases are believed to be
776 caused by supernatural forces: the ancestor spirits, spirits of those who
769 have just died, and natural deities and evil spirits who wander around
775 at night. The ancestors expect proper respect and attention and in gen-
[764] eral are benevolent unless neglected. Spirits of those who have recently died are most dangerous if the deceased is from another village. For deceased villagers one is careful to purify oneself after the funeral. The doors of each house are shut at night to protect against the evil spirits of the night air. Disease is less frequently caused by natural deities who have been neglected or mistreated.

755 In case of sickness or other unfortunate events in the family, some-
756 body may go to consult the *yuta,* a shaman who communicates with
[787] the supernatural. She discovers the cause of misfortune with the help of rice oracles and through powers of divination received through visions and hallucinations. There is no *yuta* living in Taira now, so that people have to travel to the other side of the island, an hour or more on foot, if they want to learn about the source of some evil. Taira
[769] people make many such trips to consult this shamanistic specialist. The most common cause of misfortune discovered by the *yuta* is neglect of ceremonies to the ancestral gods or, less frequently, the neglect of cere-
[793] monies to the natural deities. Although the *yuta* stands in no direct connection with the high priestess, she may suggest that her client ask the priestess for special prayers to rectify the negligence. In such cases, then, the competence of individuals in the family may not be adequate to deal with the ancestral world, and the priestess enters into family religion.

597 Some Taira parents still find an adoptive parent for a sickly child in
755 the belief that his own ancestors have caused bad health, and that this
769 can only be remedied by making a formal arrangement which transfers
[796] ancestral responsibility for the child to another family. The child remains with his own parents and only visits his foster parents during the New Year and the midsummer Buddhist *Bon* Festival, which honors ancestors, and perhaps at one or two other occasions during the year.

313 Home Industries and Famous Products The forested northern mountains give rise to small scale lumbering, charcoal making,
314 and firewood gathering. Kunigami-son and Kushi-son emphasize the gathering of
433 bamboo and firewood. On the other hand the making of charcoal is more import-
[369] ant in Nago, Haneji, and Ōgimi. The urbanization of the south combined with
[491] the postwar extension of roads into formerly inaccessible parts of the north have accelerated exploitation of the northern forest resource. Particularly heavy is the demand for long roof poles, or kichigwā, after every major typhoon.
[237] Kunigami-son and Higashi supply the bulk of these. Where wood is plentiful behind a coastal road, one often finds lime kilns, which process the coral of the reefs.

258 The sea is also a major source of material for home industries. Sea
433 salt is made at Yagaji, Urasoe and Oroku on the west coast, at Henza and Awase
[237] on the east. Kunigami-son prides itself upon its production of seaweed. But-tons from seashells are made in Mawashi. Fish cakes ('kamaboko') are made in quantity in Itoman and Naha, with lesser amounts being produced in Ishikawa and Nago. Dried bonito ('katsuoboshi') is a specialty of Tonaki isle to the west. Motobu-chō holds second place, followed by the western isles of Tokashiki and
505 Zamami. For over a hundred years the small cargo sailboats ('Yambaru-sen')
178 of the east coast have carried forest products from the north. The extension of roads into the northern forests has greatly reduced the amount now carried by sea.

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[232] shima), which has 22% of the gunto's production of horses. However, the pro-
[238] duction of horse and cattle hides is concentrated in the urban areas, which
[231] account for 84% of the hides produced. Nakazato is also famous for production of silk cocoons, being responsible for about two-fifths (38.7%) of the gunto's total. The leading mainland producer is Motobu-chō, with 9%.

Although Okinawa is not self-sufficient in tea, the three areas of
[245] Gushikawa, Ishikawa and Kunigami produce over half of the local tea. In Oku
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[314] Travertine quarries are found in Motobu-chō and Katsuren. A sandy limestone is quarried at Minatogawa in Gushichan.

Domestic Animals

231 [727] The effects of the war are still to be seen in the scarcity of domestic animals (kachiku). The domestic animal population is increasing. Horses were far more numerous before the war. The same is true of cattle and oxen which, however, are more numerous than horses. All are used as draft animals, with the greatest frequency in Hanashiro. Cattle and oxen are used for plowing and harrowing in the rice fields; horses for pulling carts and wagons. Horse meat is not eaten. All larger animals are tethered or in stalls. They are not allowed to graze or to roam freely around the villages or on the hillsides. Since each bit of land is owned, grazing would deprive someone of needed grasses, either the young shoots or the matured fibres. Chickens are generally kept in coops. Ducks have a little more freedom.

[492] [267] 235

231 235

DOMESTIC ANIMALS

Animal	Hanashiro	Nagamo	Minatogawa	Matsuda
Cattle and Oxen	40	5	0	1 (80)
Horses	2	1	0	20 (90)
Pigs	125	100	150	315
Goats	50	50	40	321
Chickens	a/	30	a/	706
Ducks	0	50	a/	10
Rabbits	0	0	0	6

Source: Village clerks of each village and township records. Figures are approximate as of January 1952. Pre-war estimates where known are shown in parentheses. Villages try to keep an accurate and up to date animal census. a/ Not available, village has some

231 In all the villages studied, pig raising is the most important secondary occupation of the individual farmer or fisherman. Pig raising is old in the culture. According to Chamberlain (1895), under the old kingdom every household by law had to raise goats and pigs. Pigs were fed in part on human excrement. This practice in my observation has now been abandoned.

[434] Pigs are raised for sale. They are the most significant single source of cash for the farm family and they supplement the fisherman's cash income.

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[825] is distasteful. The pig generally is driven out of the pen to a
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for eggs, which are reserved more for sale than as a food, though this varies with the well-being of the family. 235 262

10

Conclusion

182

The agricultural village, with its sweet potatoes, rice, soybeans and cane, its domestic animals, and its dependence on wild grasses illustrates the complex relationships between man and the land, bound together by the family system. The pattern of land ownership, a product of past land tenure, and inheritance, has been created by the family system. The land everywhere bears these traces of the work of man. Not even the barren mountain tops are exempt from his activities, for these supply the fresh grasses for his animals, grass for his roofs and for fertilizer, odd brush for his fires, stones for his fences and boundary ridges. The scarcity of land, the ownership of small scattered plots have induced a local care, through traditional conservation practices and fertilization and crop rotation to maintain a continued economic base for the future of the main and the branch families.

Within the family system, there is a tendency toward the persistence of the same occupation from generation to generation. [463] Agriculture has the widest range of possibilities. The extremely old and the extremely young can engage in it. There is a place for the 80 year old grandmother cutting sweet potato tops, and for the nine year old boy to help in weeding the rice paddy. [887] [857] Agriculture demands no retirement from work as long as one has physical strength. Agriculture may readily become a secondary occupation. A stonecutter or a fisherman can tend his land in leisure hours or in off season. The reverse is not nearly so common. Only with difficulty can the farmer acquire the skills and tolerances demanded of a fisherman. It is an occupation known to all, for by maturity a storehouse of information has already been filled, almost unconsciously, by watching and doing.

Population Density The pattern revealed in a map of population density---Map 4---is approximately the same as that for percentage of arable land. It is somewhat complicated, however, by the urbanization that is going on in Nakagami. A more detailed discussion of the population movements responsible for this situation will be found in a later section of this report. 161

Farming Almost all of Okinawa's rural people farm, and many are engaged part time in home industries which utilize local products. Particularly noteworthy are the vegetable-producing areas. Kitanakagusuku and Ginowan 'sons' are centers of vegetable production for the American military forces.[1] The inland 'son' of Haebaru grows 53% of the gunto's tōgwā, a wax melon that is a favorite Okinawan food. 433 241 [262]

One of the most remarkable agricultural areas, Tomigusuku, lies south of the Naha-Mawashi-Oroku urban complex. It grows many kinds of vegetables for the cities, and ranks high in other production. Tomigusuku stands first in the gunto in acreage of green beans, muskmelons, bananas and eggplant. Almost one-fifth of the latter comes from here. It ranks second in tomatoes, and ties with Yonagusuku for second place in weight of mat reeds produced. Miwa, in the far south, leads the gunto in soybean acreage, while Nishihara occupies a similar position in acreage planted to pumpkins.

The most remarkable 'son' in northern Okinawa is Nakijin on the north shore of Motobu peninsula. It leads in gunto acreage of sweet potatoes, leaf tobacco (75.2%), and cucumbers. In animals it leads in numbers of pigs and ducks. It also produces 76% of the banana cloth, or 'bashōfu', of the gunto. This 'son' is mainland Okinawa's chief wheat producer. [231] [235]

The small Okinawan acreage of Irish potatoes is found in Ōgimi-son to the northeast. Yabu is noted for its pickled giant radishes, or 'takuan'. The offshore islands lead in certain special crops. Minami Daitō leads in sugar cane, wheat and barley. Ie Shima seconds in barley, and Izena seconds in wheat. Ie Shima is far ahead in acreage of Irish beans, or 'azuki', accounting for 41% of the gunto's planted acreage of this crop. Though Ie Shima ranks only 15th in soybean acreage, it produces almost a fifth (18.4%) of the gunto's 'miso', in which soybeans are used as a base. 'Miso' making is one of the main home industries on the island. Ie Shima, Kamimotobu and Nakijin retain some of the old 'awa' (German millet) complex, between them accounting for over a third (34.3%) of the acreage of that crop in Okinawa gunto. Kamimotobu is mainland Okinawa's leader in acreage planted to ordinary millet ('kibi'; Panicum miliceum). [252]

Nakagami has little of agricultural distinction. Yomitan leads the mainland in acres of barley and number of rabbits. Gushikawa is second rank in sweet potato acreage, but produces about two-fifths (39.4%) of the gunto's sweet potato starch. It leads in numbers of goats, and is second though not outstanding in numbers of bullocks. [231]

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[1] Most of this and following paragraphs derive from Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku and Okinawa guntō no tembō. Some is based on personal observation and interviewing. [127]

241

Not all of the upland or slope cultivation is done by terracing, as we have seen. Crops other than rice are often grown on hillsides, or up slopes, less often following the contour of the land. The precautions here are also suited to the cultivation: weeds or grasses grow along boundary lines or divide off sharp drops, or small stone fences may be used.

In Nagamo, where there is no rice grown, there is little water from these sources. It comes from rainfall and amounts of sugar cane and sweet potato that are grown depend on its quantity and regularity. Water regardless of crop is a constant problem. [312]

In Okinawan agriculture, constant fertilization is necessary. There are too many people to leave land fallow in ordinary times. Each plot must be used if the farmer has the time and energy to do so. Since the island is in a humid subtropical climate, the organic materials in the soil (humus) are quickly oxidized. Porous soils encourage the leaching of minerals from the top soil, especially with torrential rains. The fewness of domestic animals increases the dependence on plant residues and artificial fertilizers. One of the commonest complaints of the Okinawan farmer, in addition to the poorness of his soil and crop damage from typhoons, is that it must be unceasingly fertilized. It is a treadmill. He must walk fast to stay in the same place. [134] [231]

There is very little difference in the use of fertilizers in the communities studied. Fertilizers most frequently used are:

(1) Composts. A typical mixture (though there are many combinations) may be composed of dried miscanthus, or any kind of grass, ashes and cinders, perhaps some pieces of charcoal, and goat droppings. This is left a month outside in a pile and put on the fields and hoed under.

(2) Plant residues. These are put on the soil, both of paddy and dry crop land, and hoed under. Plants are the greatest single source of fertilizer. The cut over rice plant is turned under in the paddy field. Tops of the sweet potato, if not used as slips or for food for animals, miscanthus grass, and burned rice hulls are other sources of fertilizer. [824]

(3) Animal manures mixed usually with pen grass. Animal fertilizers are not abundant, an indirect effect of the war which greatly reduced the number of horses, cattle, pigs, goats, and the smaller domestic animals. When available, goat, pig, or horse manures are used. Pig or goat pen grass is gathered up and spread on the fields. Pig manure is the best source of animal fertilizer, for pigs are the most numerous of the larger domestic animals. [727] [232] [231]

(4) Night soil. The use of night soil, called jinpun in Okinawan, has declined from pre-war times. It is often said that it is not used at all. But this statement must be qualified. It is [514]

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Travertine quarries are found in Motobu-chō and Katsuren. A sandy
[314] limestone is quarried at Minatogawa in Gushichan.

The leaves of the yūna tree are a native
311 substitute for toilet paper, and are still used in some villages, though people
824 deny that the practice continues. When pressed they may intimate that so-and-
[514] so, "the poor family over the hill", retains the practice. Banyan trees fur-
[178] nish leaves for green manure, as do many other varieties. Before the war many
people grew kuroki for eventual use in the making of samisens. The top of the
[524] tree was cut when young so that it would become stubby and thick. The neigh-
[297] boring village of Tsukazan boasts of a samisen-maker whose fame has taken him to Naha. The 'kusunoki' tree is considered to be the best tree to plant near the house, for it discourages termites.

241 Fertilizers Okinawan farmers in most areas utilize the traditional night soil and green manures, as well as the modern synthetic fertilizers.
[514] Almost every house has two toilets. The one not in use is utilized as a
night-soil decay pit. Pig manure is mixed with the human excreta, water added,
[237] and the whole let set for about a fortnight before use on the fields. Use of animal manure in the paddies was abandoned with the introduction of the new variety of rice. Animal manure produced good heads on the old variety but makes heavy stalks only on the new.

241 Green manure is extensively used as a plant nutrient in the paddy
824 fields. Indeed, some paddies in winter are devoted to the raising of green manure, which is plowed under before spring planting. Outer leaves of cabbage are fed to goats to become manure for the dry fields, or the leaves are trampled into the mud of the paddy to decay. Thistles, 'kuwazu-imo' leaves, and tree leaves of the yūna and banyan are only a few of the many types of green manure. Compost, or 'taihi', is made for the dry fields and some paddies by mixing animal manure with 'genya' grasses, rice straw, and other plant remains. Before the war, compost was not used for vegetables, because it would cause a shortage in the amount available for the cane fields. Nowadays compost is more available, and many vegetables assume huge proportions. One Nanahan farmer produced a wax melon weighting 97 'kin', or 128 pounds.

241 Commercial fertilizers available to the farmers include ammonium sulphate ('ryusan ammoniya', 'ryūan'), synthesized fertilizer ('kasei hiryo'), ammonium nitrate ('ryusan kari'), nitrogen-lime ('sekkai chisso'), urea ('nyōso'), potassium chloride ('enkakari'), and superphosphate of lime ('Karinsan sekkai'). Ammonium sulphate is preferred for sugar cane. During the last four or five years the Agricultural Federation ('Nōren') in Naha has enforced a tie-in sale so that when a farmer buys two sacks of ammonium sulphate, he must also buy one sack of superphosphate of lime. Farmers in Tomoyose quite often dispose of the latter by dumping it beside the road, as they believe that it is not good for the soil found on their farms. One enterprising Nanahan farmer, who for several years was a member of the Kochinda-son agricultural committee, enquires about the cast-off fertilizer, and when he finds it he uses it to good effect. When he was interviewed concerning this, he expressed anger at what he considered the backwardness of his neighbors.

Okinawans were first introduced to chemical fertilizer in the mid-
[177] twenties, when a black fertilizer appeared. This was later replaced by the various white products, which since some time before the war have been supplemented by soybean waste when available.

To explain these things properly requires a sense of the conditions which have produced them, an appreciation of the historical depth of the culture. In some areas, one perhaps might neglect history, relying on the interesting present to furnish the correct details. Such an approach would be fatal in any study of this part of the world, and neglect of history is responsible for the fatuous doctrine of the "unchanging East." While this is an investigation of contemporary life, indeed that is the purpose of the program under which the study was made, I have felt impelled to point out historical events and conditions which have brought the culture to its present state, not with any assurance that this has been adequately done, but at least to make clear that these historical problems exist, and that the contemporary culture must be seen as the end product of its historical antecedents, including the hints that can be collected of the modifications of the environment by human agency. The present geography of the island is to be seen, for example, not as something given and unchanging. The forested north and the deforested south are in all probability the direct result of the history of human settlement. 121

An approach of this type, I felt, could best be served by comparative study. Concentration on one village would have resulted in a deeper understanding of the way of life in that village and closer friendships with the villagers, and these advantages cannot be sensibly minimized. The selection of two or three villages might offset this disadvantage and offer some compensations of its own. One of these was comparison, even though it cannot be assumed that merely because three villages instead of one have been studied that a more valid interpretation of the whole culture has been obtained. Even in this small island, each "typical" village seems to grow less and less so as one learns more of the details. But at least the three situations can provide insight into three basically similar but different ways of living. If this is true on an island barely sixty miles long and eighteen miles wide at its widest point, how great this diversity must be in China, Japan, and Korea!

Upon arriving in Okinawa, I spent the first few days talking with officials who had, in the course of their duties, travelled widely throughout the island. From them I was able to obtain an idea of the different types of villages, those like Oku in the north that were exceptional, those that had come under direct American influence due to proximity to civil and military installations, and those that departed from the pattern of agricultural life. With these guides in mind, I determined to select one village whose economy was based on agriculture and this meant primarily the growing of rice, sugar cane, sweet potatoes, and soybeans. The number of villages that could meet this broad criterion was large, and it did not seem advisable in view of the shortness of the assignment to spend too much time in selecting a village, because the criteria of what was typical might be just as obscure at the conclusion as at the beginning. 121 184 [241]

Accordingly, I spent a day or so travelling in the general area south of the Chinen peninsula in the townships of Tamagusuku and Oushichan. These were close to Naha, and yet distant from the main centers of American influence. I was concerned here to select a village which would reflect as 114 121 184

4

The Disappointing Soils

Okinawa is small and has a large population. Agriculture has been and will continue to be the main source of livelihood for the people. For this reason, a consideration of the nature of its soils has practical interest. The soils of Okinawa fortunately have recently been surveyed, classified, mapped, and computations made of the approximate areas of each soil type.[7] 134 [241]

Estimated Acreage on Okinawa Island 134 133 [311]

1. The alluvial soils of the coastal flats and flood plains (Akamaru and Aha soils). About 80% of these are the gray clays given over to rice fields, and 20% in the brown and well drained Aha soils. These soils have no distinct profile, average more than six feet in depth, are slightly to medium acid. Deep and fertile, they are composed of loam, clay loam, and sandy loams. They are scattered over the island, frequently at the heads of bays or inlets where the short rivers come to the sea. The most conspicuous occurrences are in the Northern region, including the Motobu peninsula. They are much less frequent in the central district, and scarce in the southern district, with the most conspicuous spots along the Minatogawa river and the headwaters of a small stream south of Minatogawa. These soils are level or almost level (surface gradient 0-1.3%). The water table is seldom more than two feet below the surface. 10,900

[TEXT CONTINUES ON TOP OF P. 19 - ANALYSIS]

7 The following materials have been used: (1) Soils of Okinawa, 11 sheets, controlled photomaps, with soil map overprint, prepared under the direction of the Engineer, Far Eastern Command, by various staff members of the US Geological Survey, Dept. of the Interior, and the Soil Survey of the USDA. (2) Okinawa Soils, a more generalized map, on one sheet (1:1,000,000) prepared by the Military Geology Branch, USGS, for the Intelligence Division, Office of the Engineer, GHQ, FEC, 1951. This is a map of dominant soil types. The analysis here is based on this unclassified map. See also the discussion in Nuttonson, as cited, 37-48. The writer wishes to acknowledge the courtesy and assistance of Mr. Sherman Neuschel, Chief, Military Geology Section, FEC, and Mr. Carl Stensland, Soil Scientist, who participated in the survey of Okinawan soils. In Tokyo on my return, I profited from my discussions with Dr. Stensland, who also furnished me with grid computations for the village areas in which I was interested. 134 114 000

175

a suburb of Naha, thence to Shuri. They turned north, passed the ancient fortress of Nakagusuku, went over to the east coast, proceeding to the vicinity of Kanna. In Matsuda, which the exploring party apparently did not reach, there is still a story about Perry's expedition. It concerns a carving on stone placed on the top of a dramatically shaped rock on the seashore. According to local residents, this carving remained in place until it was shot off by an American soldier during the war.

Roughly around Kanna, the party crossed the island to the South China Sea or western side, and reached the village of Un-na (modern Onna), an engraving of which appears in the narrative and also in Bayard Taylor's India, China, and Japan. The return trip was down the coast, and the road led through Hachinato back to Naha. Coastal explorations were extensive. A new chart was an immense improvement over Hall's. Special attention was given to the Unten (Port Melville) and Shah Bay (Miyagishima and the area south of Ogimi).

Bayard Taylor, the famous traveller who had joined the expedition and wrote parts of the narrative, spoke of the interior of Okinawa in 1853 as a "terra incognita," and he was not exaggerating as far as Western knowledge was concerned.[22] This probably applied to the Japanese as well, for their stations were in Naha and an administrator or scholar of the Tokugawa era probably found little in agriculture, plant life, land tenure, and local history and ethnography to interest him.[23]

Upland agriculture, the hoeing of sweet potatoes, the planting and transplanting of rice, the manufacture of sugar were described much as they can be observed to this day in parts of Okinawa. They noted a sameness and a lack of variety in plant life, the planting of pines along the highways, the fences used as protection against the wild boar. The communal land system was remarked upon, the writers thinking it a "metayer system," that is a form of share-cropping in which the proprietor of the land and the cultivator receive equal, or agreed upon proportions. They described houses built on small stilts, the compounds, and the village granaries. They strolled through villages, poked their heads into huts, and wrote about the utensils in the kitchens. They theorized about the possible origins of the people and their connections with other races, discovered lingams which were interpreted as the ruins of "ancient Hindoo idolatry." They spoke of the glossy upswept hair and the hair pins according to rank.

[24] [137] [421] [342] [302]

The village granaries are gone; so has the land system and the costumes, and the long swept up hair of both sexes. Agricultural techniques and the care of the land have remained. [198]

[Text Continues Top of P. 38 -- Analyst]

22 See Bayard Taylor's A visit to India, China, and Japan, in the year 1853. Chapters 30, 33, 36.

23 In the early 17th century the Japanese explored the island, took a census, and reorganized political administration. CA Handbook Ryukyu (Loochoo) Islands, 40.

361 175 Perry's men, the aspect of these villages was one of rare and romantic beauty.[3]

2

Hanashiro

361 103 [491] Hanashiro is a small village of the cluster type in Gushichan township (Gushichan-son) in the southeastern part of Okinawa.[4] It is on the present Highway 64 which begins on the Chinen peninsula, travels southwesterly, following the coast at a distance to Mabuni in the southeast, then crossing the island to Nagushiku town, a village south of Itoman.

361 241 443 256 162 The village and its surroundings are small in area, the actual town site including various village owned properties, taking up slightly over 22 acres. This is an agricultural village, with the exception of minor activities such as storekeeping and rice milling. As of December 31, 1951, it had a population of 589 (269 male, 320 female), living together in 120 households, an average of 4.9 persons per household.

361 [103] [491] 175 349 631 The village is believed to have been founded about 400 years ago. By Okinawan standards this is not very old. It is off the main historical road which ran from Naha to Shuri to Kochinda, Gushichan, Minatogawa, through Tamagusuku township to the Chinen peninsula, probably the road travelled by Okinawan kings up to the latter part of the seventeenth century when they prayed at the altars on Kudaka Island.[5] There were in this area a series of castles on the tops of hills commanding the road and its approaches, the castles, the rough determinants of various regions formerly under a regional mobility. To the west there was Kochinda castle, Tamagusuku on the east, Gushichan castle near Hanashiro, where a surviving stone fence can still be seen, and the castle site of Itokazu. There is reason for believing, as we mentioned in Chapter 1, that this is in the general area of oldest settlement in the island.

[Text continues on P. 49 --analyst]

3 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, Vol. I, 163, 164, 179-80, and an illustration of a "cung-qua" on p. 180. On the older village with granaries and storehouses, see Green's remarks in Hawks, Perry's expedition, as cited, Vol. II, 34, 36, and illustration in Vol. I, 178.

[103] [192] 4 The village is also known as Hanagusuku: the meaning is the same, as shiro is the Japanese, gusuku the Okinawan word for castle. Many Okinawan place names have the suffix, —gusuku.

5 Spencer, The Noro, or priestesses of Loo Choo, as cited, 107.

Since the war, the old narrow one lane roads have been broadened, permitting heavier auto traffic. Land ownership has been undisturbed, for it is not in an area in which the military has required land. Since the war, the villagers have tried to return to their former way of life, but this has been done with poorer houses and fewer possessions. 363 483 511

3

Minatogawa

Minatogawa, the second village studied, formerly was a shoe string type of settlement. Houses, shops, drinking places were along the seawall road. This pattern is now altered as a result of the war. Scattered areas have been relocated and houses built on lands formerly used for sweet potatoes. It is now an indeterminate type of village, retaining some indications of its old settlement pattern along the main road, with additions of clusters of houses in the newly settled areas. 361 [275] [311] [244]

Like Hanashiro, this village is in Gushichan township, and located on Highway 64. It is directly on the main historical road, previously mentioned, which led from Naha to the Chinen peninsula. The road, along which its houses are built, parallels for a distance the estuary of the small Minatogawa river. This narrow estuary, called Usaregawa, which connects the river mouth with the Pacific Ocean, and the small river itself (Yuhigawa) is a boundary between Gushichan and Tamagusuku townships. On either side there are steep cliffs, the sites of the best known stone quarries of Okinawa. 361 133 [491] [316]

The settlement and the adjoining lands have an area of about 256 acres. It is a mixed economy village with three distinct occupational groups: fishermen, stonecutters, and farmers. There is a second village whose borders blend with those of Minatogawa. These two villages are now known officially as Minatogawa-ikku and Minatogawa-niku. The two terms can be awkwardly translated as Minatogawa first ward, and Minatogawa second ward. But popularly they retain their older names: Minatogawa for the fishing village, and Nagamo for the agricultural second ward. These two separate but adjoining villages were until 1925 a single village. 621 463

The division was the result of distinct differences in outlook and occupation between the two sections. Minatogawa is a fishing village and has strong ties with Itoman, a town on the East China Sea shore about 4 1/2 miles away. Nagamo is an agricultural community originally settled from Naha and Shuri. Stone-cutting operations spread over both areas. While the fishing village of Minatogawa was given the emphasis in this study, it will be necessary occasionally to include Nagamo in the discussion.[8] [226] [241] [324] [128]

8. The writer did not realize until he lived here that two villages were involved, thinking that the two wards referred to a single administrative unit. By this time the work on Hanashiro had been well started, and time did not permit the intensive study of Nagamo. 114

standing. At one time, the Hinatogawa beaches were seriously considered for the initial landings in Okinawa, and later as a possible second landing. After the campaign for the south had begun, Hinatogawa became a forward loading point.[10] The present village has been completely rebuilt, and the newer buildings, with few exceptions, are frail and undistinguished. The war shows its effects, too, on the southern part of the village where there is a barren acreage, formerly the site of an army camp, its top soil so shallow that the bulldozers in levelling it soon reached the rock beneath.

Nearby Nagamo is a village of a different type. It is divided into two distinct quarters, also a result of the war. The old part formerly was to the north in the main stonecutting area, but following the destruction, a new settlement was started in the farm land a few hundred yards south. Cultivation is marginal on the shallow soil of the sloping valley before it descends into the flat coastal area in which the fishing village is located.

Hinatogawa, which means River Port, is a distinctive village reminiscent of the famous fishing town of Itoman, though without its size, beauty, or color.

4

Matsuda

Matsuda is a here-and-there type of village. The village area including the community owned forest is over a square mile. The countryside is dotted with several small sub-settlements. Within each sub-settlement, the houses also are scattered about and separated from one another by large trees, thick growths of shrubbery, grasses, stone fences, and cultivated fields.

The village is located in Ginoza township (Ginoza-son) on the northeast side of the island. This township is in the northern district (Kunigami, or Yambaru). The village is on Highway 13, which winds along the northeast coast through Ishikawa, Kin, Kanna, and Ginoza villages.

Though near the sea, a typical site of a northern Okinawan village, it is a settlement engaged in agriculture and forestry. Its name suggests its nature. Matsuda is a compound of the characters for pine tree, matsu, and rice field, ta, da. Though there is some fishing in the sub-settlements along the Pacific shore, it is casual and a part time occupation for farmers on the coast. The families exclusively

[Text Continues TOP of P. 55--Analyst]

10 The statistics on village destruction are taken from accounts of the villagers. They are estimates. For operations in this area, see Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 68, 74, 426-27, 436, 439.

226 463 engaged in fishing are permanent or transient families originally from Itoman, a place name which comes up whenever fishing is mentioned anywhere in Okinawa. Agriculture and the care and utilization of the community forest make up the significant economic activities of the village.

162 Matsuda had a population of 1370 individuals (604 male, 766 female) as of November 30, 1951. There were, at this time, 243 households, an average of 5.6 persons per household. The village is said by local residents and antiquarians to be about 600 years old. If the age is 361 correct, it must be one of the older settlements in northern Okinawa. Before the war, this village was known as Kochiya.

173 Matsuda also has its lore regarding shipwrecks and foreigners. There are old men who believe Perry's party came to the village and that they left carvings on the top of a picturesque rock in the Burushii district along the coast, a not unbelievable story since the explorers certainly were not far from here.

Near the seashore, but in a very remote area, there is a natural bridge, concealed by large trees. Roots of the banyan grow through the [137] thirty or forty foot drop from the top of the bridge until they find root in the soil below. On a ledge under this bridge, there are two [164] old and open boxes which were used to collect the skulls and bones of unknown persons. Locally it is believed that they are the remains of shipwrecked sailors, possibly Hollanders. There are still 25 or 30 skulls there, and many of the bones are scattered on the ground. The place is seldom visited.

361 133 The village rests on low rolling hills. The combination of the hills, the depressions, the caves and the sinks give the topography an uneven almost rugged character. There are few flat places and these are seldom wide. They are the narrow meadows or valleys between the hills. The hilly nature of the surroundings determines to a large extent the 241 manner of cultivation, and historically probably has had much to do with 311 the shapes of the individual parcels themselves. One does not see in this area the plains or small valleys with rice cultivation that is observed in Haneji township near Nago or around the island of U in Tamagusuku township, or even in the Hanashiro area of Gushichan township. In these communities, the normal pattern of cultivation is that the rice is on the lowlands, with the slopes and upland areas devoted to sugar cane, the sweet potato, or other crops, or left to native grasses. Here in the hundreds of small hills, all of these may be observed in close proximity, hard work and minute tillage comprising with the topography.

361 The village is subdivided into several distinct areas: (1) the main 311 part of the village where most of the houses, the village office, the small stores, the rice mill, the sawmill, the power plant, and the barbershop are located, (2) a reclaimed area known locally as the kaikon, newly settled and with a different type of land use due to the poorness of the land and to the fact that it is a deforested area, (3) a district near the sea coast and along the sea with scattered settlements, isolated houses, and some cultivation, and (4) the forest lands, which in the

428

In this illustration, the first son receives slightly over 60% of the land, ignoring type and grade within type. There was general agreement in all villages that the grade of land within each classification (grades 1 to 4 in dry crop land, for example) had little significance in inheritance matters. The grade is more important for tax purposes. [242] [651]

The example also illustrates two other principles: the natural desire to keep contiguous or close in land within the main family, using inconvenient or far off land where possible for house sites for branch families, or for arable land for second and other sons. In this illustration, the shares of the second and of the third sons could be equalized by subdividing plot #6, although its small area would not make it worth while, as 75 tsubo is a very low average size for dry crop land. [241]

Another practice, noted in Hanashiro and in Matsuda, is that the first son receives everything on the retirement of the father. This may be contrasted with a situation in which the father divides the property before younger sons marry and establish branch families. In such cases, the father might take the income from part of the property. But the more general practice is for the father to give all to the first son. Fathers may also make a will. When the first son receives all, it is the custom for him to hold property which the younger sons will need in establishing their branch families. It is in cases where the first son is given full disposition of the property that quarrels are most likely to occur, for much depends on the generosity and sense of fairness of the elder brother.[3] [593]

423
134

In Hanashiro and Minatogawa, it is important that younger brothers receive genya land. Genya is often translated as wild land. In Japan the term is usually used to describe treeless, waste, hilly, rocky, or rolling land unsuitable for cultivation. In Okinawa, the genya land may be in the center of a rice field; it may be a rocky mound with cultivation around it. It may be land in the mountains. It is almost invariably in grass (miscanthus) with an occasional cycad or scrub pine. It is not owned in large tracts. In Hanashiro, the largest single parcel is 4564 tsubo (3.77 acres), in Minatogawa 1333 (tsubo) (1.9 acres), and in Matsuda 6398 tsubo (5.28 acres), but these are far above the average. In Hanashiro it is important because grass is constantly needed for thatched roofs and other uses. The importance of genya and its grass was well illustrated in Minatogawa after the typhoon, Ruth, of October 13-14, 1951. These villagers own little land and many have no genya. They were obliged to buy the grass to replace the roofs of many of the frailer houses which had been partially or completely destroyed by the typhoon. Genya is also used for family tombs. In Hanashiro, the genya [137] [423] [824] [731] [432] [764]

[Text continues TOP of P. 133--Analyst]

3 The problem can be appreciated by analyzing the acreage areas of each classification of land and the grades within it, bearing in mind that the average farmer has hatake, genya, and often rice paddies. These statistics will be given in the following chapter.

place. Then, as now, paddy and dry crop land might lie together, depending upon local factors. In the periodic redistribution, each family received shares of each in non-contiguous fragmented parcels. In the nature of things, they received small shares of the excellent, moderate shares of the good, and large holdings in poor land. 175 423 311

The old classification of lands was simple and did not go beyond three general divisions of good, fair, and poor. Apparently the Japanese after 1879 introduced more refinements and increased the number of classifications to six. Land classification, then as now, was empirical. It was based on observation, local knowledge of present and past yields, and known dangers to the land. It was not based on scientific knowledge of the soils, nor is it today. 175 311 [177] [242]

Several dangers to land and crops were considered: (1) the danger of the wild boar (inoshishi). These reddish brown wild boars have disappeared from large parts of Okinawa, though occasionally one is seen in the northern forest. The boars destroyed crops by night feeding. Remnants of old fences can still be seen in the area around Matsuda. In Oku, in the extreme north, fences are still used and many can be seen along the hillsides. (2) Dangers from floods and salt water spray. Local flooding is common and often confined to a narrow area. Salt water spray and salt water in the air, especially in typhoon times, are still menaces to crops. The danger from typhoons did not enter directly into the determination of land classification because the area of destruction was so wide that it was not a factor distinguishing one plot from another. (One can however observe areas of differential damage in a village as an aftermath of typhoons). 175 241 [136] [417] [731]

This old land allotment system is now forgotten except in a few isolated areas where its main features are still apparently preserved. The best known of these is Kudaka Island off the southeastern shore of Okinawa. If the system has disappeared, except for a few isolated survivals, its influence remains to the present: it determined the pattern of land use still in effect today, the pattern of small, discontinuous parcels, and set the precedents for the mechanics of land classification. The basic classifications such as rice land, dry crop land, community forest were Japanese and are of great age. The old land allotment system is also considered to be of great antiquity.[2] 178 423 [184] [177]

2 It was a matter of considerable disappointment that I was unable to spend two or three weeks on Kudaka to study the land system there. Neither has time permitted an investigation (of great inherent interest) of the historical antecedants of the old Okinawan system. Land classification, such as we will be discussing in the next chapter, is very old in Japanese culture. The old Okinawan system bears some resemblances to the "mouth-share-land" (ku-bu-den) system of old Japan which appears in the Taihō code (702 A.D.). This was a system of distribution of communally owned land, but I have not been able to determine whether the distribution was periodic. See Wigmore, J. H. and Simmons, D. B. Notes on land tenure and local institutions in old Japan. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 19 (1891), 77 on land classification, (continued on next page)

311 243 be lowered. If the rainfall is unusually low, the estimated yields may even be cut in half. Grade differences are also shown by the Oushichan tax table on rice land:

[651]

Class	Rate in Yen (per tsubo)
1	37
2	34
3	31
4	28
5	25
6	22
7	19

311 The grading of dry crop land is not so simple because various crops can be grown and there are difficulties in making equivalences of yields. The grading is more subjective and vague, with gradations based on the judgment of the land committee. It might seem that the grades of dry crop land based on subjective judgment would be difficult to agree upon. This is not the case. Farmers who have lived in the village all their lives, and who as children remembered the experience of their fathers, know their own and their neighbors' land well. Representatives from the village who suggest the grades are chosen by the farmers for their honesty, skill in agriculture, and knowledge of the land.

311 134 133 Depth of the soil, flatness, degree of stoniness and accessibility are the most important criteria. The first three of these follow naturally from conditions widespread in Okinawa. There often is very little topsoil. One can observe cuts in roads or sharp declivities which show soils only an inch or two deep before meeting the consolidated or unconsolidated rock below. The hilly and mountainous nature of the island enforces cultivation on slopes, summits, and rolling hills. Stoniness, whether large boulders or small pebbles or both is common. One of the occupations of the old in Minatogawa and Nagano is to convert stony to arable land by tediously picking [887] up the stones and throwing them into piles for subsequent sale in road building. But often the boulders are so large that cultivation must curve around them. These conditions can be seen to good advantage in Nagano. In Hanashiro, the soils are flatter, less stony, and deeper. Matsuda has wide areas of poor shallow and stony soils. First class hatake land, then, is flat, deep, with few or no stones, [291] and suitable either for sugar or the sweet potato and the various common vegetables.

311 With this standard of first class hatake land, the other grades are judged, mostly by inspection and through consultation and agreement by the committee. In the Oushichan township, there are ten such grades of hatake land, the tenth grade being so poor that it is virtually genya land. In dry crop land, probably the most important

single criterion is nearness, providing the land has possibilities. Good land, unless of substantial area, if remote and far from roads, is very time consuming and inconvenient. 311

Genya land in the Gushichan area has two grades. The criterion here is the presence of grass and small shrubs that can be used for firewood. Grade two genya grows little or nothing either because of the large boulders or because it has too many small stones or unconsolidated rock with little vegetation. If it were not for stones or such topographical factors as steepness or ruggedness, some genya land could be classified as poor grade dry crop land. There are, as in rice land, tax differentials according to grade of hatake and genya land: [824] [134] [133]

Grade	Dry Crop Land Tax in Yen	Wild Land (Genya) Tax in Yen
1	13	2
2	12	1.80
3	11	
4	10	
5	9	
6	8	
7	7	
8	6	
9	5	
10	4	

[651]

In Ginoza-son, the land classification system is substantially the same. There are six different grades of land classified according to yield in go per tsubo. (A go is 1/1000 of a koku, a tsubo about 4 square yards). [804]

Grade	Yield	Remarks
1	5	Two annual plantings.
2	4	Two annual plantings.
3	3	Dependent entirely on amount of estimated rainfall.
4	2	
5	1.5	
6	1.0	Mountain paddy, very uncertain, depending on rainfall; occasionally two crops a year are possible.

[433] [241]

Dry crop land is judged by criteria similar to those in Gushichan-son. Grade 1 is good soil and convenient to water with good yields as shown by experience. Grades 2 and 3 are convenient to water, but soils are of lesser quality. The classification is also based on experience. Grade 4 is in low places, generally narrow ravines between steep wooded slopes. Grades 5 and 6 have little or no water, are stony, and inconvenient. [134] [312] [133]

In the areas studied, no serious sheet erosion was observed

No doubt this may be a problem in parts of Okinawa, but it is doubtful that this menace will threaten the habitability of the island. Occasionally one can see a freshly hoed field on a slope that is losing its soil during a downpour. But the fact that the hills and mountains are covered with vegetation, are not too steep, and that grasses and shrubs are cut off allowing the stubble with the roots to remain in the soil effectively binds the soil of the hills and at the same time prevents flash floods. With the exception of stony soils, the land of the areas studied had a plant cover. This statement is not inconsistent with the previous remarks regarding deforestation, as the disappearance of the pine, the cycad, and the pandanus has been offset by the spread of kaya (miscanthus) grass. Boundary paths also keep the soil in place. They often roughly follow the slope and are sufficiently crooked and winding and of sufficient depth to prevent washing away of large quantities of soil. While there is no complex irrigation system in these areas, the small ditches which carry the water down the slope are winding and covered on their borders by weeds. Occasionally one can see a farmer shovelling up the soil accumulated in a natural catchment in a bend of one of these ditches and restoring the lost soil to his land.

134 133 137 185 [487] [317]

In all areas, equally simple devices to protect the soil could be observed. Roadside borders of stone, like the stone of a rock garden, often line the fields adjoining main roads. (One could write a long essay on stones and the part they play in the culture of the people). These stones come from the fields. If fields do not have stone borders, weeds are left to grow. They are cropped, but the roots are left in the soil. In Hanashiro, stone fences on slopes and contour breaks are a common sight. Sometimes these have the appearance of blunt wedges, the end of the wedge going up the ravine. These stones have been painstakingly gathered from nearby areas.

185 417

Terracing is practiced in a crude form in these areas. It really is step or bench cultivation, the plots being above one another in step like order. The function of terracing is, in the case of the dry crop land, to bring more land under cultivation, protecting it from washing away; in the case of the rice fields, it supplies flat land for cultivation at different levels. In the areas studied, terracing did not go all the way up the mountain side, although this practice can be observed in parts of Okinawa.

185 241

Very frequently the ledges of the terraces are covered with a border of weeds or cropped grass which prevent soil runoff down the hill. In the Matsuda area, rice is grown up a narrow mountain valley, or ravine, with trees and shrubbery on the hillsides growing to the very edge of the cultivated plots. In rice terracing, the boundary paths often divide one step from another with openings in the ditches to allow the passage of water to the level below.

plots lies in their being as they are, separating one cultivated area from another, binding the soil, and that they are probably serving their best purposes now, as they have in the past, in furnishing this protection. 311 185

The conservation practices of the Okinawans are at least in part a consequence of the topography. The care of upland areas and rolling hills is imperative. For a great deal of cultivation takes place here. Unlike China, there is not a strong contrast between large scale paddy rice in alluvial soils and the relative neglect of upland areas with deforestation and erosion. In China the meticulous care of the transported soils of the lowlands and the neglect of the uplands is a striking aspect of the attitude toward land. This is true, perhaps to a lesser degree, of Japan.[11] 185 133 311 [171]

In Okinawa there are insufficient delta plains and alluvial soils to provide these contrasts between lowland and upland agriculture. The scarcity of river deltas and alluvial plains means relatively little rice and the use of the rolling hills and the steeper sides of mountains. This necessity has enforced a care of the uplands. It is true that one often sees sweet potatoes or other dry crops growing in rows up and down a hill instead of along contours, and that there seems often to be a lack of appreciation of the consequences of misuse of forest land through clear cutting. But in the main in the use of the uplands for cultivation, the weed borders or rock fences, and other simple devices keep the soils from erosion. The relatively gentle topography has also contributed to this achievement.

4

Fragmentation and Consolidation

Fragmentation of land is common in Okinawa. Ownership of contiguous plots of land is not the general rule. It is a basic fact of land tenure and influences land use and agricultural practice. This fragmentation is a deterrent to the use of machinery, unless cooperatively owned or unless certain individuals specialize in the 423 241

11 See James Thorp, Geography of the soils of China, Nanking 1936, especially Chapters xii-xiv. Gourou, Pierre. The development of upland areas in China, and Trewartha, Glenn T., Utilization of Upland areas in Japan. In: The development of upland areas of the Far East, Vol. I. (Institute of Pacific Relations), New York, 1949. Trewartha describes his surprise in his earlier studies of Japan and his acquaintance "with the fact that the Japanese, like most Orientals, greatly deprecate the value of upland or non-irrigated sites for agricultural land use." (p. 59). This choosiness is not possible for the Okinawans.

423 241 business. Fragmentation means inconvenience, loss of time and effort in the simultaneous cultivation of different fields. The situation is the same for the well-to-do and the poor alike. Large holdings do not mean single pieces of land within a large area, but many small parcels of land, of different classification and grade, scattered like those of a less prosperous farmer. There are offsetting advantages. The greatest of these is that crop destruction through typhoons, salt spray, or flooding may be less catastrophic to the individual owner with small scattered holdings than if a family has a single large plot of land.

423 425 Another effect of fragmentation is that it makes a particular plot of land difficult to sell. If one has a small plot of land, an island in a sea of other ownership, the prospective buyer is in the same position as the seller, unless the buyer owns contiguous land and has the money to make the purchase.

423 The natural question at this point is: what are the possibilities of consolidation of ownership in the interests of more efficient and convenient agriculture? The general answer, I believe, is that fragmentation is almost inevitable, consolidation only possible.

In both of the agricultural villages studied, some voluntary consolidation (kokanbungo) has taken place, but it is not of major proportions. It occurs chiefly for two reasons: (1) clustering one's land near the house site, or having two or more parcels of contiguous land is universally desired. Going to and fro is considered troublesome and onerous. (2) When branch families are established, farmers wish to exchange a distant plot for one in the village for a house site. This is often difficult to do, for such an exchange must be mutually advantageous to bring about a transfer.

423 731 Typhoons are a major obstacle to voluntary consolidation into large holdings. It is perhaps possible to exaggerate this, but personal experience and conversation with villagers who have lost the entire crop of one parcel but have salvaged part of the crop of another convince me of its force. A typhoon damages a whole area but the scattered holdings provide the chance that something might be saved. The total damage is the same in any event regardless of ownership. It is the distribution of loss that varies. If in the future, land consolidation were attempted on a broad scale, either by voluntary individual effort, or cooperatively, crop insurance or some form of sharing losses would seem to be necessary.

423 311 407 The present system of land ownership and of land use and the fragmentation of land would seem to preclude any extensive mechanization of agriculture. Even with consolidated holdings, the nature of the landscape might make the effort uneconomical, though this is a question for technicians in these fields.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

Introduction

The basic occupation of the Okinawans has been and continues to be agriculture. The agricultural, not the fishing, wood gathering, or stonecutting community is typical. Fishing, stonecutting and forestry have been the occupations of certain villages or areas, or of certain groups within a village. This and the following chapter describe these ways of living. 463

Agricultural practices gathered from Hanashiro, Nagamo (to some extent), and Matsuda will be presented in this chapter. Hinatogawa has been omitted because it is primarily a fishing and stonecutting community, and there is nothing distinctive or unusual in its agriculture. This presentation avoids the repetitive description of similar activities that would follow from a discussion of each village separately. Significant differences, where they appear, will be mentioned, and in this manner, I hope, the identities of the individual villages will not be lost, despite the topical arrangement. 128

Okinawan agriculture is basically the story of four crops: rice, sweet potatoes, the soy bean, and sugar cane. Rice is a minor crop. Not all farmers grow it, and rice consumption rests both on homegrown products and imports. Individual farmers occasionally grow both to sell and for home use. Today it is less of a luxury than it was before the war because of the imports and the home grown crop. In Okinawa two crops a year are possible. 241 262 433 [439]

The sweet potato is the main crop. Cultivation continues throughout the year. Potatoes often are dug on a day to day basis as required for human or animal consumption. At any one time, the patches of sweet potatoes owned by a farmer may represent all stages of growth from a fresh transplanted field to a patch ready for digging. The sweet potato is the cheapest all purpose food, both for human and animal consumption. Okinawans tire of it because poverty enforces such frequent consumption. Since the war, the increased availability of rice for home use, and the opportunities of purchasing rice have relieved this complete dependence on the sweet potato. Among some families, though these are still few, the sweet potato has become the food of animals, with only select ones used at the table. But for the great majority the sweet potato still is the basic article of diet. It is cheap and easy to cultivate either by men or women. Little can be realized from its sale.

Soy beans are grown for home consumption. Making bean curd in the home is universal. Brown sugar is produced as a cash crop. Some is used in the home as a confection both for adults and children. [432] [263]

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262 These crops do not exhaust their agriculture. Wheat and barley are grown, but not in significant quantities. Varieties of beans other than the soybean are important. Pumpkins and gourds of various kinds make valuable food supplements. The onion, the carrot, and the giant horse radish are grown for home use, occasionally for sale. More unusual products, such as the taro, are grown less frequently and then only for side dishes at meals.

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[177] In their agricultural work, farmers prefer the lunar (kyūreki, literally, old calendar) to the western, solar (seireki) calendar. The lunar calendar was abolished for official purposes by the Japanese in 1874. While this change was introduced into Okinawa, the lunar calendar still has vitality in the countryside. The present published calendars show with a large numeral the day in the western count, but in each block, in smaller script, is the corresponding lunar date:

JANUARY	1952
1	
12th Month	5th day

Births, deaths, official correspondence are recorded in the western count. The farmer, however, thinks in terms of the lunar calendar. When he says he plants his sweet potatoes in May, he means May by the lunar count.

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Western Solar and Lunar Day Equivalents

Western	Lunar Count 1951, Year of the Hare	Lunar Count 1952, Year of the Dragon
Jan 1	Nov 24	Dec 5
Feb 1	Dec 25	Jan 6
Mar 1	Jan 24	Feb 6
Apr 1	Feb 25	Mar 7
May 1	Mar 26	Apr 8
Jun 1	Apr 27	May 9*
Jul 1	May 27	May 10*
Aug 1	Jun 29	Jun 11
Sept 1	Aug 1	Jul 12
Oct 1	Sep 1	Aug 13
Nov 1	Oct 3	Sep 14
Dec 1	Nov 3	Oct 15

* The period from May 24 to June 21, 1952, western calendar, corresponds to the lunar May 1 to May 29. The fifth month is then repeated beginning June 22 and ending July 21, western count. This intercalary month is necessary because the lunar year is about 355 days long. As a consequence about 11 days are lost each year, and an additional month is required every third year.

132 March through June is the season of greatest rainfall and therefore
731 of greatest flood danger. September and October rain is often light, and it is during this period that there is the greatest likelihood that the sweet potatoes will dry up. During the rainy season, there is flood damage to the rice and dry crop fields, especially if they are in the narrow ravines, or along small stream beds.

132 In Hanashiro, dependence on rainfall is immediate and direct.
312 There is no way of storing water in the mountains by accumulations of snow. Runoff from the hills into the small streams is rapid. Short
241 periods without rain are serious. The planting of the sweet potato is very sensitive to this factor. If one asks a farmer when he plants sweet potatoes, he always qualifies his reply by beginning, "If there is enough rain..."

241 There is in these villages no complex irrigation (kangai). In
312 Hanashiro, the flow of water through rice fields and its division are controlled by simple means. Water comes from the nearby hills, either in rivulets or in slightly wider ditches. In the former case, the water is divided by allowing the owner on one side of the stream to get water one day, diverting it on the next to the other side. The larger streams may be forked.

Streams soon lose their identity as they descend from the hills
[133] to the lowlands, where they become the water of the paddy. The streams of Okinawa are hidden in the rice fields.

241 In Matsuda, the flow of water down the hillsides is controlled
311 largely by bench cultivation. Rice paddies go far up the narrow valleys and ravines. When these have been converted to rice fields, the water
312 flows into the highest level. A small aperture on the opposite side allows it to fall into the next lower paddy until the water reaches the level of the valley or lowland, where it may be further dispersed throughout rice fields, or trickle off again as a stream. In this way, the flow of the water, not too fast, not too sluggish, provides continually fresh water with its nutrients from the hillsides for each field, and makes possible the irrigation of large areas.

It is for these reasons that terracing is practiced. Cultivation is easier. So is irrigation. Soil runoff is avoided. Terracing is the only way that a ravine or a small slope can be used for paddies, for which a flat and level piece of land is required. Otherwise, the water necessary for the plant runs off.

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Not all of the upland or slope cultivation is done by terracing, as we have seen. Crops other than rice are often grown on hillsides, or up slopes, less often following the contour of the land. The precautions here are also suited to the cultivation: weeds or grasses grow along boundary lines or divide off sharp drops, or small stone fences may be used.

In Nagamo, where there is no rice grown, there is little water from these sources. It comes from rainfall and amounts of sugar cane and sweet potato that are grown depend on its quantity and regularity. Water regardless of crop is a constant problem. [312]

In Okinawan agriculture, constant fertilization is necessary. There are too many people to leave land fallow in ordinary times. Each plot must be used if the farmer has the time and energy to do so. Since the island is in a humid subtropical climate, the organic materials in the soil (humus) are quickly oxidized. Porous soils encourage the leaching of minerals from the top soil, especially with torrential rains. The fewness of domestic animals increases the dependence on plant residues and artificial fertilizers. One of the commonest complaints of the Okinawan farmer, in addition to the poorness of his soil and crop damage from typhoons, is that it must be unceasingly fertilized. It is a treadmill. He must walk fast to stay in the same place. [134] [231]

There is very little difference in the use of fertilizers in the communities studied. Fertilizers most frequently used are:

(1) Composts. A typical mixture (though there are many combinations) may be composed of dried miscanthus, or any kind of grass, ashes and cinders, perhaps some pieces of charcoal, and goat droppings. This is left a month outside in a pile and put on the fields and hoed under.

(2) Plant residues. These are put on the soil, both of paddy and dry crop land, and hoed under. Plants are the greatest single source of fertilizer. The cut over rice plant is turned under in the paddy field. Tops of the sweet potato, if not used as slips or for food for animals, miscanthus grass, and burned rice hulls are other sources of fertilizer. [824]

(3) Animal manures mixed usually with pen grass. Animal fertilizers are not abundant, an indirect effect of the war which greatly reduced the number of horses, cattle, pigs, goats, and the smaller domestic animals. When available, goat, pig, or horse manures are used. Pig or goat pen grass is gathered up and spread on the fields. Pig manure is the best source of animal fertilizer, for pigs are the most numerous of the larger domestic animals. [727] [232] [231]

(4) Night soil. The use of night soil, called jinpun in Okinawan, has declined from pre-war times. It is often said that it is not used at all. But this statement must be qualified. It is [514]

241 occasionally, but by no means universally used. This failure to use night soil may vary from locality to locality, and from farmer to
514 farmer. In my opinion, it has not the importance it has in China and Japan. Neither is night soil used as a food for pigs, though this seems to have been the case in some parts of Okinawa as late as
231 the 1920's.[2] But feeding human faeces to pigs was not observed in
514 any village.

241 Normally in certain parts of Matsuda, night soil is used, though
514 infrequently, in places near the house. It is not carried far. Applications are made to cultivated land and land not presently in use. In the Nagamo area, it is occasionally used on sweet potatoes and sugar cane. Night soil, gathered from the outside toilets, is
[247] allowed to dry out before being applied to fields. It is often placed around ornamental plants. The fresh liquid form, carried on
[482] the shoulder in two buckets on either end of a long pole, may be applied directly to the fields, ladling out a little of the liquid around
[463] each plant. The professional collector of night soil is uncommon in the areas visited. Only one instance was found. Two brothers, who hired themselves out, cleaned the toilets for Yen 130 per day, plus meals. They spread the night soil on the owner's fields. These two brothers served the Gushichan area.

In Hanashiro, night soil is used occasionally, and then, it was said, only by the old. Its main use was on sugar cane. As a general rule, in all the villages, night soil is most frequently used around plants already growing and around each plant individually, rather than mixing it with the soil when the field is being prepared. Its use on rice fields was not observed.

The sparing use of night soil is indicated also by the infrequency with which one meets its characteristic odor in the countryside. An observation of a traveller, almost 100 years ago, lends some credence to the thought that night soil has not been extensively used
[114] in Okinawa. "How-night-soil is disposed of is not known; certainly it does not obtrude itself on the senses, as it does in China, nor is it applied in the same way."[3] In Hanashiro, the decline in use since the
[177] war was ascribed to American influences: the dangers to health, and the increased availability of artificial fertilizers.

241 (5) Commercial fertilizers. These are now substantial proportions of the expenditures of an Okinawan farmer. These fertilizers generally are broadcast over the rice and dry crop lands. The writers of a

2 Richard Goldschmidt, Neu-Japan, as cited, 135.

3 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, II, 35. The author was Dr. Green.

The writers of a recent report on Okinawan economy have emphasized that the combination of generally poor soils, the rapid decomposition of organic matter in a near tropical climate, and excessive leaching make the problem of fertilization very difficult--[4] to say nothing of the trace elements. 241 [114]

(6) Other substances are used for fertilizers. In Matsuda the barber gathers the cuttings from the luxuriant hair of his clients and places them around his sugar cane--and recommends them highly. Acacia leaves are also used for this purpose here. Leaves and miscellaneous plants are often considered to be especially good fertilizers. [305] [302] [824]

Crop rotation (rinsaku) practices differ by district. In the Hanashiro area, the sugar cane, soy bean, and sweet potato (or vegetable), sugar cane rotation is common. Rotation of paddy with another crop does not occur. Rice succeeds rice in the double cropping system here. In Matsuda, a common rotation is either (1) the sweet potato, soy beans (or grain, millet, or green peas) and the sweet potato, or (2) the soy bean, sweet potato, grain (barley or millet) rotation. Here rice is not rotated with other crops. (This however does occur in Okinawa).

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Simple Rotations
Hanashiro and Nagamo

One Year

After the sweet potato harvest, the plot is planted in soybeans in the first lunar month.

The soybeans are harvested in the fifth lunar month.

Sweet potatoes follow the soybeans in the sixth lunar month

or

Vegetables alternating with the sweet potato for a year.

Two Years

Sugar cane is sown in the sixth lunar month.

Harvested two years hence, followed by ordinary beans or vegetables, again followed by cane.

4 Agricultural and economic reconstruction in the Ryukyus. A report. Agricultural mission to the Ryukyus, Nov. 1949, 46-47.

Rotation #2, Matsuis

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First year, ninth month: Autumn planting of sugar cane
Second year, twelfth month: Harvest of sugar cane. Followed by: Soy bean, sweet potato, or vegetables.

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Land is seldom allowed to lie fallow intentionally for any length of time. At any one time of the year, a farmer may have idle land for which there may be a variety of reasons. He may have other tasks and be unable to cultivate all his land, or have no need of doing so, or some of his land may be so poor that he will not cultivate it unless necessary. Much depends on the individual farmer and his holdings. The village records indicate that in Hanashiro 97.2% of the rice and 83.1% of the dry crop land is under cultivation. From the preceding discussion of land classification, it is clear that many parcels are of marginal quality, and these areas may be left uncultivated, at least part of the year. During the post-war period there has been some informal lending of land, free of rent, to friends and neighbors, if the farmer is not using it himself.

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Manual labor with hand tools is the dominant method of cultivation. Domestic animals are not uncommon, but their use in farming is minor. The war increased the dependence on manual labor through the loss of domestic animals. Only cattle are now used in rice cultivation for plowing and harrowing and this is infrequent. The man or woman and the hoe are far more common. Crops are carried from the fields by human labor. The basket or the straw container, or the tied rice sheaves on either end of a pole over the shoulder, and not horse carts, push carts, or wheel barrows are the main means of transport from field to courtyard. The barefooted farmer, with his hoe and a pole or a basket does the greatest part of the work. The common tools of agriculture are hand tools and adapted to the intensive cultivation which so often has more properly been called the work of a gardener rather than that of a farmer.

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[415]
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The basic all purpose tool is the solid bladed hoe. The hoe, since deep cuts are possible with its heavy blade, takes the place of the plow. The hoe also replaces the spade, and even the rake, for it can be used to break up and smooth the soil. A poorer farmer may lack many of the tools in the following list, but he will have two or three of the solid bladed hoes.

[434]

The accompanying illustration shows the most common agricultural tools:

1. The hera, a spatula or trowel, used for transplanting tops of the sweet potato. Its wooden hand grip curves toward the end of the tool. The hera is also used as a scraper to remove brown sugar from the sides of the cooking pans during the sugar making season.

2. The kama, a small sickle. Next to the hoe, it is the most

common and indispensable tool. It has many uses, including cutting rice stalks at harvest, brush, and sweet potato tops. 412

3. A small sharp pointed hoe, with a short handle, used in sweet potato planting.

4. A two pronged hoe, the futamata, used mostly with sweet potatoes. The two pronged hoe is used in softer soils. It is much more common in Matsuda than in the southern villages.

5. The three pronged hoe, the mutsumata, also used in sweet potato cultivation and in digging. These prongs, with skilful use, do not cut the potato. It is also much more common in Matsuda than in Hanashiro or Nagamo.

6. The common all purpose hoe (kuwa). It has a thick, solid, wide blade. The handle (about 3 1/2 feet long) is stout. The hoe is much sturdier than the ordinary American garden hoe.

7. Another hoe, longer and with a sharper angle between the handle and the blade. It has a variety of uses.

8. A long handled hoe with a heart shaped blade. It is used for making furrows.

9. An ordinary rake.

10. A cultivator and weeding tool for rice paddies. (The pole in back near the handle of the pitchfork is a prop to hold the tool upright for the picture). Only the more prosperous farmers possess this tool. Rice weeding is done almost entirely by hand. [434]

11. An ordinary pitchfork.

12. The plow (suki) 407

13. The harrow (maguwa), and

14. The waku, a hexagonal wooden frame used in laying out a rice field for transplanting. The last three tools or devices, which are not shown in the picture, will be described under rice cultivation. 413

3

The Annual Work Cycle

The following charts show the annual work cycle by lunar month of two farmers, one in Hanashiro, one in Matsuda. The Western calendar equivalents for 1951-52 are shown below the lunar month. Because the lunar year is shorter, there is a gap, as the period actually covered is from February 6, 1951 to January 26, 1952. These materials are based on observation and conversation with the farmers concerned. 221 241 [805] [114]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Planting dates, types of crops vary slightly from farmer to farmer, even in the same area, depending on individual caprice, the nature of the land, and the types of crops the farmer prefers.

ANNUAL AGRICULTURAL ACTIVITIES
of
TWO REPRESENTATIVE FARMERS OF HANASHIRO AND HATSUDA
By Lunar Month

HANASHIRO	HATSUDA
FIRST MONTH (Feb 6-Mar 7)	
Work begins on 3d day. On 4th and fifth day plant soy beans. Planting may continue next month. Make Sugar. Transplant rice from seeds sown in seed bed in 11th month. Weeding of soy beans.	Work day begins 3d day after New Years. From 4th or 5th until 20-25th prepare soil for soy beans. Sow rice in seed bed. Make sugar in leisure hours.
SECOND MONTH (Mar 8-Apr 5)	
Soy bean planting continues if necessary. Sugar making continues. Planting of sweet potatoes, using slips or tops of plants. Plant cucumbers, Chinese lettuce (hakusai) Sow sugar cane cuttings, slant-wise or part out of the ground. Harvest small patch of Irish potatoes.	Soy bean planting stops about middle of the month. Transplanting of rice from seed bed begins. Weeding and care of soy beans.
THIRD MONTH (Apr 6-May 5)	
In the main, a continuation of second month activities. Planting sweet potato bed. Spring planting of sugar cane continues. Weed rice field by hand.	Plant the sweet potato in seed bed for future slips. Planting season lasts until the 25th. Weed rice fields. Sowing of sugar cane-horizontal plant--about middle of the month.
FOURTH MONTH (May 6-June 4)	
Spring planting of sugar cane continues. Usually finished early part of this month. Continue weeding rice fields. Sow a little dasheen, the satoimo, like taro.	Weeding of rice fields completed about middle of the month. After rain, sow sweet potato, through the 5th month. Sown by slips or transplants. Finishing up weeding of rice plants.

HANASHIRO	MATSUDA
FIFTH MONTH (June 5-July 3)	
This and succeeding month the busiest of the year. Harvesting and threshing of soy beans. Plant sweet potato slips.	Busiest month continuing through the sixth month. Soy bean harvest. Plots formerly occupied by soy beans put in sweet potato slips which were sown in the 4th month. Heaviest sweet potato planting of the year.
SIXTH MONTH (July 4-Aug 2)	
This and the previous month the busiest time of the year. Continue with soy bean harvest if required. Harvest of red beans, kidney beans (ingenmame). Plant sweet potato slips. Beginning of summer planting of sugar cane which continues until the 8th month. The rice harvest. Rice threshing. Begin digging up the wet and drained fields. Beginning of transplanting preparations.	This and the previous month the busiest time of the year. Sweet potato planting. Rice harvest begins about 10th of the month. Rice threshing with the treadle thresher (dakkoki). Rice land with cropped plants turned under. From 10-20th preoccupation with rice. Replanting of rice seed beds after testing. From 20th to 30th rice planting. Other rice lands fertilized, prepared for transplants. Beginning of transplanting.
SEVENTH MONTH (Aug 3-31)	
Planting of rice in the seed bed. Beginning of transplanting of rice shoots from seed bed (about 20 days for growth). Continues through 8th month.	Transplanting rice continues until the 10th. Plant sugar cane. Plant sugar cane slips if there is rain. Begin weeding rice fields about the 10th.
EIGHTH MONTH (Sep 1-30)	
Plant onions, tomatoes, carrots, lettuce. Plant wheat (komugi), barley (ōmugi), and naked barley (hadaka mugi). Plant sweet potato slips. Continue and complete the rice transplanting. Begin weeding the rice plants.	Rice field weeding continues. Done three times in three weeks until about the 15th. Plant sweet potato slips if sufficient rain.
NINTH MONTH (Oct 1-29)	
Sow horse beans (sora-mame) and barley	If rain, sow sweet potato slips, sow wheat, radishes, tomatoes, leafy vegetables (ha no yasai) and Chinese cabbage (hakusai)

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[407]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

HANASHIRO	MATSUDA
TENTH MONTH (Oct 30-Nov 28)	
221 241 Possible beginning of second rice harvest, though this is early. Planting rice in seed bed. Sow sweet potato slips.	Sow peas (endō-mame) and beans. Plant sweet potato slips if rain. Sow giant radish (daikon), tomatoes, barley. Weeding of radishes, and vegetables planted previous month until the 25th. Rice cutting begins.
ELEVENTH MONTH (Nov 29-Dec 27)	
Continuation of the rice harvest. Threshing and milling. Planting of sugar cane, slantwise. Sow cabbage seed. Rice seed planting begins, or continues if begun in the 10th month.	Rice cutting and harvest. Threshing and milling. Rice fields dug up. Preparation of new fields.
TWELFTH MONTH (Dec 28-Jan 26)	
Sugar making. Sow Irish potatoes (bareisho) but in small quantities	Continue digging up rice fields. Rice sown in seed beds after seed testing. Sugar making may begin.

YEAR ROUND ACTIVITIES

Sweet Potato Planting, Transplanting and Harvesting continues throughout the year, depending on time and distribution of rainfall.

4

Rice Cultivation

843 Growing rice is a most exacting task. The period from the time the seed bed is prepared until the final milling is one of tedious work and continuous apprehension. The reaction of Okinawan farmers to rice cultivation perhaps was best summed up by a Matsuda farmer who said, "Everyone dislikes the work, but rice is delicious."

[461] [262]

Assuming that the field is already in existence, the cultivation of rice may be divided into the following stages: (1) preparation and laying out of the seed bed, (2) selection of the seed, (3) transplanting

of the rest of the syrup. With the stirring finished, the sugar for contemplated home use is spread out in pans to harden. That intended for export is put in specially prepared boxes, furnished by Naha export firms, stencilled and ready for shipment. 249 [439] [415]

In Hatsuda, the harvesting of the cane is the same as in Hanashiro. But the old Okinawan and Japanese method of crushing the cane is still used because the destroyed machinery has not been replaced. The cane is crushed outside. Three large steel rollers are placed side by side in a frame, with gear teeth on the top meshing. A sweep about 30 feet long is attached to the center wheel.[6] A horse draws the sweep, revolving the wheels. The cane is fed into the left roller, caught as it comes out, and then fed back into the right roller. The juice is caught below. The residue (kibikasu) is left outside to dry to be used later for firewood. The juices which have been caught are taken in a low lying building with a tile roof, put in a large round pot (marunabe) or a rectangular pan (kikunabe). An open fire place is used for boiling the juice; the fire place is sunk in the ground and lined with stone, with a small opening at the bottom for putting in firewood. This mill is privately owned, the property of an association (kumiai) of about twenty men who rent it out for individual processing. As in Hanashiro, sugar is the production of the individual small farmer from its first planting until its sale for export or for home use. [727] [423] [427]

7

Other Crops

The most important of the other crops commonly grown in the villages remain to be considered. 241

(1) Soy beans (daizu in Japanese, Glycine max Merrill). In all the villages, soy beans were planted once a year, sowing in the first or second month, and harvesting in the fifth month. The field is prepared by making furrows and putting a mixture of chopped up green grasses and some animal manure, or a commercial fertilizer, in the hole in which the seed is planted. The farmer then waits for rain. After rain, he plants the seeds about three feet apart in rows from one shaku five sun (about 18 inches) for very good land to one shaku one sun (about 13 inches) for usual land. The plant is harvested with the small sickle. The beans are threshed by a flail (gurumanbo in Okinawan). The residues are used either for fertilizer or fuel.

6 This device is also relatively unchanged since Perry's time. The only difference is in the wheels which were formerly of wood, geared together by mortise and tenon joints. Stone crushers were also used formerly. In Hanashiro, I saw one of these stone rollers lying in the yard of a villager. For sugar making operations in the 1850's, see Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 20, 30.

824 Soy beans have three main uses: soy sauce which is seldom made
[262] in the home, bean curd (tōfu) and miso, a bean paste, both always
[432] home made. For this reason, soy beans are grown mostly for home use,
with the surplus sold. In Hanashiro, where the surpluses are greater,
[462] the beans may be sold in Naha, Shuri, or Itoman. Women do the selling,
[494] taking the beans to market on the buses, trucks, or three wheeled vehicles.

(2) Other types of beans such as the red dwarf bean (asuki)
241 (Phaseolus angularis Wight), the kidney bean (ingen in Japanese,
262 Phaseolus vulgaris L), the broad or horse bean (soramame in Japanese, Vician fabia L), and peas (endō in Japanese, Pisum sativum L) are grown for home use, usually in parcels which are closest to the house.

(3) The giant radish, (daikon in Japanese, Raphanus sativus L)
[263] is, after the soy bean, the most important of the minor crops grown
for home use. This is the vegetable most favored either as a condiment,
[252] or as a side dish. It is eaten sliced raw, pickled, or fried in strips in soy sauce. When eaten boiled, its flavor resembles that of a turnip.

(5) The pumpkin (Cucurbita pepo L) called nanka or kabocha, the latter name being derived from the word Cambodia from which the pumpkin was introduced into Japan. They are harvested in summer, and one crop a year, generally for home use, is grown. If the flesh
[231] becomes too ripe and turns reddish and sweet, it is not relished and the pumpkin is fed to the pigs.

(6) The cucumber (kiuri in Japanese, Cucumus sativus L) is a very minor crop. In none of the villages were they generally grown, and then only for home use.

(7) The hechima or tōgwa in Japanese, subui in Okinawan.[7] This is very large and cylindrical. In exceptional specimens, its outward appearance is indistinguishable from the water melon. Its flesh is white. In the two southern villages, the tōgwa is grown very sparingly.
[184] In Katsuda and the surrounding villages, it is more common. Here it is used to fill in during times of food shortage. Some specimens I have
[221] seen weighed over 100 pounds. It is planted after lunar New Years, harvested in the 6th or 7th lunar month, a period reaching from about January to May. From April to July, when other vegetables are scarce,
[252] it is often used as a substitute. The flesh when boiled is rather tasteless; it is commonly boiled and served with chunks of meat. The tōgwa, in the northern villages, is often stored in dark cool places
[251] away from the sunlight, often under the house. If not cut open, the melon can be saved for a year.

7 I am not certain whether this is Luffa cylindrica Roem, Luffa petola, Ser, the Luffa sponge, rag gourd, etc., whose pulp disappears when ripe to be replaced by a web of fibres.

melon can be saved for a year. It is also served raw with vinagar and sugar dressing, often mixed with another vegetable to make a salad called nanasugwa in Okinawan. 241 262 [252]

(8) The burdock (gobo) is also very minor and usually grown for home use. It is boiled when eaten.

(9) The carrot (ninjin) is a minor crop.

(10) The trumpet or bottle gourd (yūgao) is only grown in Matsuda and for home use as a summer food. [184]

(11) Spinach (hōrensō), onions (negi), Chinese lettuce (hakusai) are not uncommon. Spinach, lettuce (chisi), and onions do not have the importance either as a crop or a food that they have with us.

(12) The taro (satoimo in Japanese, Colocasia esculenta Schott) can occasionally be seen growing in Hanashiro or Matsuda, often on the edge of a rice field. It is known locally also as taimo and apparently is the same as the Japanese dasheen. The taro is used as a side dish.

(13) The Irish potato (bareisho) is occasionally grown for sale. [432]

(14) Cabbage (tamana) is partly a cash, partly a home use crop. It is also minor. Some Okinawans like cabbage and grow it for their own use, but many dislike it and sell the crop.

(15) The grains are an unimportant part of village agriculture. The most common are barley (ōmugi), wheat (komugi) and millet. (Mugi is a general term for grain. The ō means large, the ko, small, referring to the kernels of the two grains). [193]

Although comparable statistics were not available for each of the villages, the following table from Hanashiro clearly shows the relative importance of the major crops: 241 311

HANASHIRO
Crop Acreages, 1950

Crop	Area in Chō[a]	Percent of Total
Rice	10.89	100.0
Total Dry Crop Land	59.88	100.0
Sweet Potatoes	35.86	59.9
Soy Beans	13.63	22.8
Sugar Cane	5.41	9.0
Beans and Peas (excluding soy)	2.30	3.9
Wheat	1.80	3.0
Millet	0.50	0.8
Vegetables	0.38	0.6

241 a/ A chō is 3000 tsubo, or about 2.45 acres.

31 L Source: Agricultural Section, Gushichan Village Office, Gushichan-son, [804] Okinawa, September 1951.

In Ginoza-son, statistics for crops on an individual village basis were only obtainable in part. Some Matsuda figures which were available indicate that rice, the sweet potato, and sugar cane were the most important of the crops:

Rice lands		82,151 tsubo (about 27.4 chō)
Summer planting:	58,000	
Fall planting:	54,000	
	112,000 tsubo, including double cropping.	
Dry Crop Land		188,305 tsubo (about 62.8 chō)
Sugar Cane:		
Summer planting	2170 tsubo	
Spring planting	6840 " "	
	9010 tsubo	

The greater part of the remaining dry crop land is believed to be in sweet potatoes.

8

Native Uncultivated Plants of Use to Man
(Other than Forest Trees)

824 In the south, trees such as the banyan (gajimaru), the Japanese redwood (sugi), and the usuki are important within the village as windbreaks. The importance of miscanthus sinensis, often called kaya or susuki, has already been mentioned. Certain plants, used for medicinal purposes, are becoming scarce and are being displaced by modern drugs, but have some interest. Other plants, formerly used in home industries for weaving and making straw sandals, have also declined in importance in the villages.

In the south one of the most interesting associations is that of the Ryukyuan pine (Pinus ryukyuensis), the cycad (sotetsu in Japanese, Cycas revoluta, Thumb.) and Chinese silver grass (miscanthus sinensis). The Ryukyu pine in this area is little more than a shrub. It has some uses for firewood and for minor construction, but the lumber for substantial houses comes from the northern forests.

The cycad, now rather uncommon in this area, has had several uses. The whole plant may be a windbreak or be used for firewood. A form of starch (renpun in Japanese, kuzu in Okinawan) is made from this plant, [262] a food traditionally used in time of great hardship or crop failure.

Part 1

Minatogawa, the Fishing Community

1

Introduction

Fishing families are a closely knit group. They are usually interrelated. For the most part, the main houses of their extended families are in the fishing town of Itoman. Fathers, sons, wives, daughters, grandparents participate in some phase of fishing activity. 226 [596] 607

In an agricultural community, the first son remains in the home working the fields of his father. In fishing, through long custom, there is an avoidance of teamwork among close relatives. Members of the immediate family will not go out on the same fishing boat. A father will not take his son, an elder brother will not take a younger. Partners and working teams on boats are more distant relatives or friends. If a father and a son are on the same boat and it is lost, the present and the succeeding head both perish. To this incontrovertible possibility, there has been added the belief that if two persons of the same immediate family go to sea together on the same boat, there will be a disaster. And actual and near disasters are frequent enough to make both points of view understandable. The sons of fishermen, who are learning the ways of the fish and of the sea, go on the boats of others. Many younger fishermen regard the belief that it is inviting disaster to have two members of the same immediate family together on the same boat as a superstition (meishin), but to my knowledge, no fisherman ignores the custom. 226 593 [183]

In Minatogawa, about one half of the fishermen have fields of their own, usually small and poor. Perhaps twenty men in the village may be classed as half farmers and half fishermen, but even in these cases it is the wives and the children who have the continuing responsibility for the fields. 226 241 [423]

Neither is it rare for a fisherman to be a stonecutter. Perhaps another twenty men are engaged in the summer in fishing, and in stonecutting in the winter, or on unfavorable fishing days. The three main occupations of the village, including Nagamo, are thus found in varying combinations. Fishing is the most exacting and offers few opportunities for amateurs. Stonecutting requires strength and endurance. For those who have land, agriculture offers possibilities of growing one's own food and of avoiding cash outlays. 226 324 463

In an average summer month, there may be about 20 good fishing days. But because of unusual or unexpected rains or typhoons opportunities may be fewer. In 1951, there were only about ten working days in each of the summer months. In winter fishing days average about a week in a 226 96 [132]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Every three years, the villagers thin out the dwarf bamboo and other grasses in the pine stands along the coast. Late in December or in early January, there is a community planting of pine seeds. 313 476

The tools used in forest work are: the hand sickle (kama), a bill or hook knife, the tool so familiar in agriculture; an ordinary long knife resembling a butcher knife or a machete (here called a yamakatana, or "mountain knife"), and a hooked knife on the end of a long handle (zōringama). 412

Forest care goes well back into Okinawan history and antedates more recent Japanese methods. This care probably was an obligation in the old system of land tenure under which villagers had access to forest lands with the corresponding obligation to replant. 313

4

An Example of Reclamation

There are cut-over tracts in Matsuda village. The Japanese government, according to local residents, tried to convert these cleared areas into agricultural land. This land reclamation (kaitaku) began about 1935. The land was cleared of its remaining trees and shrubs mainly by firing. (Fire has been used in Okinawa, possibly from early times, in the clearing of land. In 1947 the use of fire in clearing and the hazards in creating forest fires were pointed out by observers who blamed carelessness in firing as the cause of the forest fires in the dry season).[10] Firing was easier and some nutrients from the ash were available to the poor soils. 185 311 [372]

In Matsuda, the cleared land was hoed and the rocks were removed. It had to be hoed deeply to make cultivation possible. The land was enriched with composts containing horse, pig, and goat manures. The original plan was to promote a more extensive type of agriculture on the reclaimed land because it was poorly adapted to the cultivating methods on the better and more accessible soils. A here-and-there (yadori type) settlement was planned. The houses were to be scattered on hillsides, or in the valleys, to provide sufficient land, admittedly poor, for the settlers to cultivate. The size of the contemplated holdings precluded hand labor of the intensity characteristic of the usual agriculture. The use of draft animals, plows, and harrows was part of the plan. [241] [361] [241]

The war and the disappearance of so many of the draft animals prevented its realization. Before the war, it was intended that each family should have a 3000 tsubo tract (2.45 acres). Today the residents on these lands cultivate only about 1000 tsubo, about the limit of manual cultivation considering the soils and the stone that remains. As a consequence, parts of the area are returning to weeds, grasses, and shrubs.

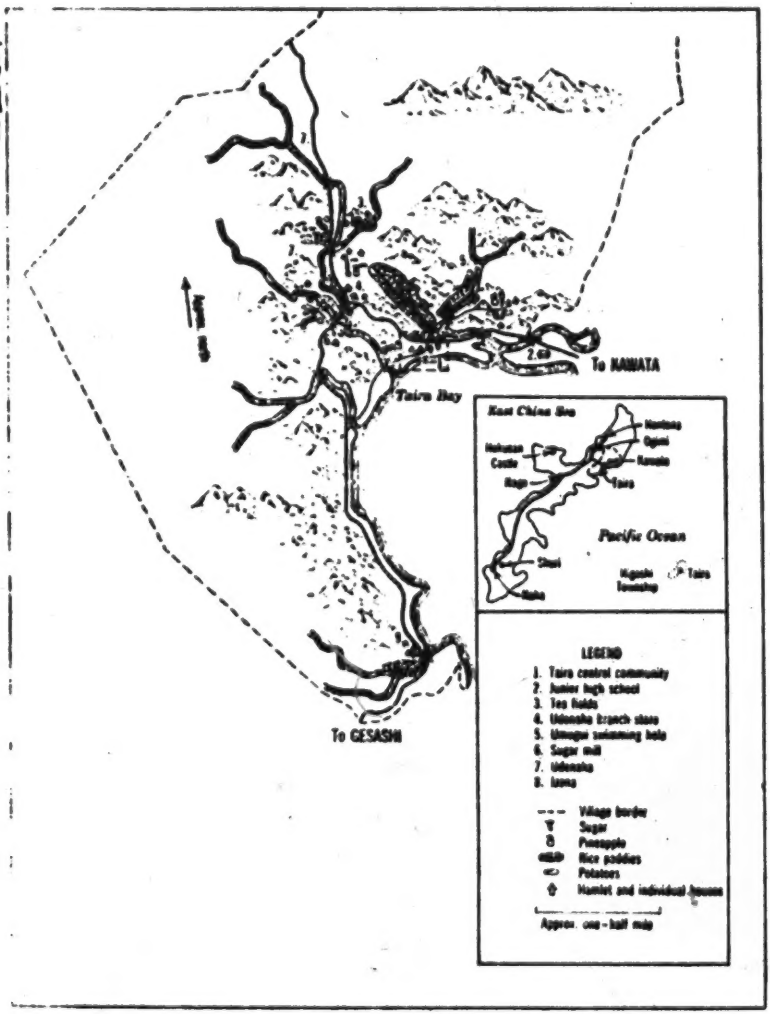
10 Okinawa forests, as cited, 7.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

173 621 the two main "houses," or family lines in Taira, and for several centuries Taira must have been a small, closely knit community of interrelated people.

Between 1875 and 1895, when the court life at the old capitol of

102 133 241 491 361



Map 1. Taira village (Higashi Township).

512 513 is more likely that the majority of adults have to be satisfied with six and a half hours.

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Chapter 3

Basic Economy

INTRODUCTION

241 433 Taira depends on its fields and forests for a living. Rice and the sweet potato are the principle staple crops; wheat, beans, and vegetables are additional subsistence crops. Firewood and building materials, sugar, pineapple, and silk are main sources of cash. Tea is raised for home consumption.

311 [243] [244] Since the few rivers around Taira are short and the valleys narrow, the area available for wet rice cultivation is limited. Farm land for sweet potatoes is also not too abundant in this mountainous region and is located either on the gently sloped hills or on a few plateaus between valleys. Here and there it rises on skillfully terraced steps along the steep sides of mountains.

311 423 241 The size of land holdings and the quality of soil partly determine whether a family is able to grow additional cash crops or merely subsist. The average holding for each family is about 5 acres of rice land and 6 acres of other farming land. Yet it is important to note that the range and quality of this land vary widely. Some families own only [433] 1½ acres of rice land and an acre of other farm land, while others own as much as 14 acres of rice land and 12 acres of other farm land; good rice paddies produce three times the quantity of poor ones and are wet [511] enough to allow for two crops per year. Of the 141 families questioned, only 15 grew enough rice to be self-sufficient; 123 had to buy extra [433] rice, and only two families raised a surplus for sale. All families grew enough vegetables for home use, and only 18 bought sweet potatoes. Sixty families grew a surplus of vegetables and 16 a surplus of sweet potatoes.

21Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

But actually no family is entirely self-sufficient, for each needs to purchase foodstuff as well as ready-made clothes, manufactured mostly in Japan, more substantial building materials, such as better grades of wood, tiles, and cement, tobacco, alcoholic beverages, sweets, toilet articles, some medical supplies, and other luxuries. Farmers buy their tools; students their books and writing materials. Finally, cash is needed to pay taxes. 433 438

In addition to the utilization of sugar, pineapple, firewood, and building materials for cash, Tairans also raise pigs for sale to slaughter houses, and some families derive an income from raising silkworms and producing tea. Fishermen sell fish inside and outside the village, and a small group of people are salaried workers or have an income from specialized services. [231]

Village leaders fear dependence on rapidly dwindling forest resources, still the main source of ready cash. They realize that the present modest living conditions of all families could be much improved if Tairans concentrated on increasing the cultivation of subsistence crops and farmed more intensively to raise cash crops. Most people lack this insight, however, and live on a day-to-day basis without much thought of the future. This is an island-wide problem which has the attention of central government agencies, and a great deal of educational propaganda comes to the village through government channels. 433 241 [313] [185] [654]

AGRICULTURE

The productivity of the land varies not only with its quality but also with the industriousness of the owners. Farmers who show foresight, those who seem to be under less pressure for immediate cash, take off more time from forest work to cultivate fields during planting season. The village headman and council members remind everybody during village meetings and informal discussions that work in the fields should not be neglected. With the approval of the whole community, the first and 15th of each lunar month have been set aside for farming. On these two days it is forbidden to go to the forests to cut wood. Such agreements are usually observed (as a rule), and they help to achieve their purpose but are not completely effective. 241 185 [433] [623] [313]

Rice is planted and harvested twice a year. The first rice is prepared in January when seeds are put into special beds where they are left to grow into young shoots until March. Until about 30 years ago it was said that all people seeded rice on the same day while prayers were 243 [782] [793]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

director with assistants and clerks. The clerks are always young people just out of school who receive nominal wages in return for a seven-day work week. The township office employs as janitor a girl who keeps the office in order, serves tea at any time during the day, washes dishes, and helps to cook meals for entertaining. Her family owns one of the largest houses in the central village and more land than most others. No social stigma is attached to her job; in fact, most Taira girls would consider it a privilege to exchange their mountain work for her kind of employment even though they would earn no more. Another girl, employed by the local "doctor" as nurse and maid, lives with the family, eats with them, and sleeps with their children. Only one farmer employs a hired hand, a man from another township.

Among others living on a salary is the postmaster. His father held the same office, and his son is now trained to succeed him as the third in line. The rice miller, a man from outside the village and married to a Taira woman, and the "doctor" also depend for most of their incomes on specialized services. The latter owns his dispensary and small hospital. He receives some financial support from the township government. His services to people are compensated for either in cash or kind. Patients who are unable to pay at once will bring rice to his house after the harvest. These remunerations, pig raising, and other side activities make him, along with the rice miller and the postmaster, the wealthiest person in Taira. Local male school teachers also own fields, to which they give time in the afternoons and Sundays to help their wives.

The priestess and her assistants, although they are religious specialists, are not paid in money for their services. They participate in daily work like the rest of the village. Only when performing services outside the community is the priestess paid a small fee. Within the village she receives the food and sake which are offered in the ceremony, whether she is called by a family or prays at the village shrine on a general holiday.

DIVISION OF LABOR BY SEX AND AGE

Men and women are equal partners in everyday economic activities, both in agricultural and forest work. Only a few occupations are clearly differentiated by sex: fishing, the handling of horses, and the carrying of night soil are done exclusively by males; housework and the care and feeding of pigs predominantly by women. Some agricultural work is considered too heavy for women, for example, the turning of the

462 heavy sods in the rice paddy; nevertheless, women and younger girls
[241] often do this work along with the men and boys if time runs short. There are some women who prepare their farm land without the help of their husbands.

[313] In mountain work, women produce almost as much as men except that they do not handle the large logs. Even pregnant women make
[843] three or four daily mountain trips, sometimes up until the day of childbirth. Only the mode of carrying wood, like any load, differs for
[482] the sexes: a man uses a carrying stick supported on his shoulder, with two bundles attached to each end; a woman carries bundles on her back, tied and held in place by a tump line tied over her forehead. Women can carry loads of 100 to 120 pounds in this manner.

[312] Men seldom carry water from the tank or faucet to the house; this is considered women's work, although younger boys are expected to
241 help at times. Work in the potato fields is mainly women's respon-
462 sibility. Their hands are also preferred in rice transplanting, where dexterity is needed in pulling out the tender shoots from the seed bed and replanting them in straight rows at measured intervals. Occasionally a young man helps, and boys sometimes try to work along with their sisters when they learn transplanting. Both men and women sow
462 the seed beds. In special activities, such as house building, a more dis-
[342] tinct division of labor can be observed. In any building activity, men do the structural work and women carry materials and cook for the
[653] men. The same division of labor is found on community projects, road building, fencing against wild pigs, or repairing the water pipes. In general, however, no special comment is made if either a man or woman performs work usually done by the opposite sex.

887 Men and women work in the fields and forests from ages 15 to 60.
462 When they approach 60, men like to "retire." If possible, they turn over their responsibilities as household heads to their eldest sons. From
[464] then on, they tend to stay home more and more. They can still help with less demanding work, making bamboo rings for firewood bundles, sawing wood, or doing odd jobs around the house. Approaching old age, most men become economically useless and in other ways contribute little to society. For old women, quite the contrary is true. Even grandmothers who are well over 60 seem strong and active. Most of
[241] them go to the fields to plant or harvest potatoes or other vegetables. One woman, well into her sixties and bent over from arthritis, took long walks to distant potato fields, with a heavy load of slips or potatoes in a basket on her back, a hoe on top of it, supporting herself on a
[855] stick. Other grandmothers look after the youngest children, thus freeing the mother for work. Old women also cook, help bundle firewood,

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

and look after the sick. Even if they are too old for any work, like two oldsters over 80 years, they can still hold the youngest grandchild. Two exceptional old men, brothers of almost the same age, pass their time by making rope bags and mats from the fiber of the fan palm. Both are active as financial experts, investing money here and there and lending it for high interests in various shrewd transactions. 887 462 [855] [285] [454]

INFORMAL AND FORMAL COOPERATION

Cooperation plays a prominent part in Taira economy. Assistance is always given for major tasks, such as preparing grass land for farm use or house building, or for work which must be done quickly, such as transplanting rice or harvesting and milling sugar. In fact, since wet rice cultivation depends on assistance in any culture that works its paddies by hand, it is noteworthy that the term *iimarû*, used in Taira for labor exchange in planting and harvesting, is also extended to other mutual assistance. The term, literally translated, means "gathering by rotation." A family who plans a project that needs the help of others makes an informal arrangement with relatives or neighbors to help for one or more days. This is simply done by notifying individuals that such help is needed. No one, unless he has urgent reasons, would refuse to comply with a call for assistance. If it is a small task, a few close relatives are asked. In most larger undertakings, it is the neighborhood group that lends a hand. These mutual-assistance groups usually form within the central village and within each of the geographical clusters of the outlying village, although close relatives from other parts of the community may be called. However, the most recent arrivals in Taira, all present members of one family line who have the same surname, act jointly in reclamation of neglected fields to strengthen their economic position. 476 241 [621]

Return services are expected, but nobody would admit that there is any thought of equal compensation and would not even joke about the matter. There is a strong feeling that calculated thinking is unseemly not only among relatives but also among unrelated neighbors. One man, when asked what would happen if a person refused to comply to a request for help, answered, "There is no such dirty person, and if there were one, he would be an outcast." During the rice planting season, persons helping in another's fields will shortly be helped themselves. In housebuilding, a long time may pass until those who aided will need aid in return. 476 241 577

Except for people over 56, pregnant women, and mothers of chil- 653 464

857 the infant still at the breast who is taken on shopping trips to Nago, the nearest town, or to neighboring townships to visit maternal relatives. When whale meat was marketed from the village on weekends, a school age child was taken along to carry the infant because the mother was burdened with her basket of meat, but this was infrequent. Few children have explored their township beyond Miyagi, a village 5 miles to the east of Taira or Gesashi, 4 miles to the southwest.

[364] Children also rummage through the garbage heaps, where they find useful things like tin cans, bottles, and discarded bits of vegetable with which to play house or store.

857 During the harvest and planting seasons, children accompany adults
●241 to the rice paddies and potato fields near the village. Mats are spread out on the dikes and kindergarten children gaily dangle their feet in the oozy mud while "keeping watch over the sleeping infants." Those who whimper to help are given small sheaves of rice to carry to their fathers and older brothers, who thresh them in the dry fields or on the flat grounds bordering the paddies.

855 Many 4-year-olds are adept at handling knives. As implements like
[412] knives, hatchets, pronged hoes, sickles, rakes, and saws were often left within reach of children, it was not unusual for them to use them. Although many cut themselves, adults do not seem to take special care to put them out of reach. Children of kindergarten age are frequently scolded for playing with sharp instruments, but with persistent crying or begging they usually gain reluctant consent.

852 During all holiday events, children participate without much con-
855 trol from adults. Young children are carried by their mothers as they make the visiting rounds or sit on the floor in the building where the
527 whole village congregates. Toddlers explore the surroundings and, finding themselves in the middle of the dance floor, are gently pushed aside and handed back to their mother. Older children hang around while food is served; then they disappear to play games of their own. During sport events, track meets, wrestling, and at dance performances, children are as interested spectators as their parents. Nobody would think of leaving a child at home on a holiday, and nobody would demand that the child sit quietly through lengthy speeches or ceremonies.

868 Children learn dances from kindergarten days on, either by watch-
535 ing or by coaching from an older person, a friend, one's older sister, or mother. Sometimes they are called on to perform for adults, or a
[872] special children's performance is given under the direction of the kindergarten teacher. Adults enjoy these dances as much as if they were done by grownups. They are amused and delighted if a little girl

857 cuddled it in her arms. The 5-year-old in this case was disappointed
854 at being relieved of his charge, but no doubt would have been happy to be absolved of any blame in the event that the baby had fallen and hurt itself.

857 Most 4- and 5-year-olds, therefore, find their nurturant efforts frus-
866 trated, for they are considered too young to carry their younger siblings. They are told that their necks will hurt, they are not strong enough,
[593] and that they will be dwarfs if they started to carry such a heavy bur-
[155] den from such an early age. A sturdy 5-year-old, nevertheless, finds that if he is persistent enough, his mother will allow him to carry his infant sibling for short periods of time with close supervision. It is on these short jaunts that the child basks in the shower of praise and is richly rewarded for his nurturant behavior. Several mothers reported how their 4- and 5-year-olds take pride periodically in mopping up floors, setting tables, and clearing up after a meal. "They don't really do these chores, they help at it, but we let them do it because they like to. And if they don't feel like doing it, we don't say anything," report these mothers.

857 Frequently kindergarten children accompany their mothers to the
241 potato fields in the afternoons. There they play in and around the plants or "help" their mothers. One 4-year-old girl pointed out with
866 pride that she goes with her mother to their fields to "clean dirt off the potatoes" which her mother has dug before placing them in the basket. Boys of 3 and 5 were observed "assisting" by following adults' instructions to drop the seed potato into the hole at planting time. Generally adults dislike taking children to distant fields, for they beg to be carried near the half-way point. Occasionally a young child who has been on such a trip is toted back in the grandmother's empty carrying basket or in one of the suspended shoulder-yoke baskets of his grandfather.

863 During the kindergarten period, constant pressure is put on the child to learn sphincter control. The child goes pantless until he at-
514 tains this goal, which is usually achieved by the age of 4. There is little formal bowel training. Children simply crouch and defecate. Grandmothers or mothers clean up the feces as soon as they see them. Younger children eliminate all over the village, but by 3 they usually restrict themselves to their own yards. When there are grandmothers
[887] in the family, bowel training seems to be taken over by them. Not infrequently the old woman can be seen standing over a child in the yard or cleaning up both the child and the yard. She is generally the one who gently coaxes the child to use the outhouse when he is old enough and physically able to straddle the opening over the pit. The

872 ment. But how should a Taira child grasp, for instance, the meaning
876 of a large hotel in the city, where travelers can stop, engage one or
several rooms, have meals served either individually in the room or
[485] at the restaurant? The little Taira guesthouse, run by the doctor
and to all extent and purposes a private home, is hardly an adequate
model.

876 Learning by doing is, on the whole, an innovation in the school
program. To find out what fifth- and sixth-grade students might have
872 learned in the home by actually doing things, the school circulated
857 a questionnaire which covered such items as: "Have you ever tried
to make a simple telescope? Did you ever watch a plant grow from
the time of seeding and make a scientific description of its progress?
Did you ever build a small toolshed or other small structure by yourself? Did you ever make regular observations of weather phenomena
and keep a record?" From our previous description of typical activities of Taira children, it is not surprising to learn that very few
of these or similar experiences appeared on the answers in the
affirmative.

876 At school, participation and learning by doing are found at least
in a few instances. The basic skills of cleaning rooms by using rag
868 and mop, as well as maintaining school grounds by cutting grass with
[358] a sickle and weeding with a hoe, may not have high educational
value, but they carry over to the home and village situation. In the
upper grades, students begin to do some gardening at school. Later
in junior high school they work in their own small garden plots on
[241] the school grounds and in school rice paddies under teachers'
supervision. Unlike the home situation, where learning also takes
place by observation and doing, the teacher lays a foundation for
solid knowledge by instruction and demonstration of proper techniques and by criticism of errors. The large number of students who
work under guidance of a single teacher limits the practical value
of such learning situations. It is evident, however, that there is an
important qualitative difference between learning in the home situation and at school. Where the child does a chore in the village without trying to meet standards set by parents, the school child finds
that the teacher scrutinizes his work carefully, judges, compares, picks
and chooses the best performers from the poorer ones, and imposes
standards for all to meet or excel. If a standard is set at all in the
village, adults tend to either overlook it or simply fail to enforce it.

CHAPTER I: GEOGRAPHY

F. R. Pitts

131 Location Okinawa is a longish island, lying about halfway between Formosa and the southern tip of Kyushu. Together with clusters of islands lying both to the east and west, it forms the political unit known as Okinawa Gunto.

133 Along the axis of Okinawa, which trends from southwest to northeast, there is a fairly simple division into a plateau-and-mountain northern half, a central plateau area, and a low rolling southern knob. The Motobu peninsula juts westward from the northern, or Kunigami, half and forms a distinctive area. Between the Kunigami mountains and the peaks of Motobu lies the ricebowl of Okinawa---the Haneji lowland.

311 Arable Land In general it can be said that the farm population increases as
241 one proceeds south. Map 2, showing the arable land under cultivation as a percentage of the total land area, illustrates this.[1]

Farms in the mountain and plateau north are found in incised V-shaped valleys. Water is plentiful, and rice paddies cover the valley floor. Villages hug the edges of the flat land, and incredibly small sweet-potato terraces rise
[137] up the valley's edge. Atop the plateau one finds only silence, and a dense growth of trees and bamboo. Many of the people in the valleys are part-time
[132] foresters. The Motobu mountains guard from the frequent typhoons little settlements famed for growing the indigo plant and pineapples. The peninsula's north shore is a fertile but ever-narrowing extension of the Haneji lowland.

In the central plateau area---Nakagami---sweet-potato fields compete with scrubby forest for space on the plateau. Where sufficient water is available, rice fields cover the tiny valley floors and the low-lying coastal fringes. The triangular southern end of the island is known as Shimajiri in
[134] popular terminology. Shimajiri is blessed with the greatest concentration of
[132] fertile arable land on Okinawa. But the blessing is somewhat reduced by greater exposure to typhoons and a chronic water shortage. Sweet potatoes and sugar cane rank first among crops here.

311 Riceland Okinawans prefer to eat rice rather than sweet potatoes whenever
243 possible. It is a paradox, however, that areas of greatest farm
[242] population grow the least rice. The thinly populated north has the greatest amount of riceland. Map 3 charts the distribution of riceland---or flooded fields---on Okinawa. Even in the southern 'son' of Yonagusuku and Kanegusuku flooded fields often contain the mat rush rather than rice. It is a good cash crop, and is sturdier than rice when typhoons roar through the islands.

[128] [1] The figures upon which the maps in this section and the population section are based are found in Appendix A. The figures for Japan and Kagoshima-ken are given for comparative purposes. Of all the prefectures in Japan, Kagoshima most nearly resembles Okinawa in climate and emphasis upon sweet potatoes as a staple food.

Population Density The pattern revealed in a map of population density---Map 4---is approximately the same as that for percentage of arable land. It is somewhat complicated, however, by the urbanization that is going on in Nakagami. A more detailed discussion of the population movements responsible for this situation will be found in a later section of this report. 161

Farming Almost all of Okinawa's rural people farm, and many are engaged part time in home industries which utilize local products. Particularly noteworthy are the vegetable-producing areas. Kitanakagusuku and Ginowan 'sons' are centers of vegetable production for the American military forces.[1] The inland 'son' of Haebaru grows 53% of the gunto's tōgwā, a wax melon that is a favorite Okinawan food. 433 241 [262]

One of the most remarkable agricultural areas, Tomigusuku, lies south of the Naha-Mawashi-Oroku urban complex. It grows many kinds of vegetables for the cities, and ranks high in other production. Tomigusuku stands first in the gunto in acreage of green beans, muskmelons, bananas and eggplant. Almost one-fifth of the latter comes from here. It ranks second in tomatoes, and ties with Yonagusuku for second place in weight of mat reeds produced. Miwa, in the far south, leads the gunto in soybean acreage, while Nishihara occupies a similar position in acreage planted to pumpkins.

The most remarkable 'son' in northern Okinawa is Nakijin on the north shore of Motobu peninsula. It leads in gunto acreage of sweet potatoes, leaf tobacco (75.2%), and cucumbers. In animals it leads in numbers of pigs and ducks. It also produces 76% of the banana cloth, or 'bashōfu', of the gunto. This 'son' is mainland Okinawa's chief wheat producer. [231] [235]

The small Okinawan acreage of Irish potatoes is found in Ōgimi-son to the northeast. Yabu is noted for its pickled giant radishes, or 'takuan'. The offshore islands lead in certain special crops. Minami Daitō leads in sugar cane, wheat and barley. Ie Shima seconds in barley, and Izena seconds in wheat. Ie Shima is far ahead in acreage of Irish beans, or 'azuki', accounting for 41% of the gunto's planted acreage of this crop. Though Ie Shima ranks only 15th in soybean acreage, it produces almost a fifth (18.4%) of the gunto's 'miso', in which soybeans are used as a base. 'Miso' making is one of the main home industries on the island. Ie Shima, Kamimotobu and Nakijin retain some of the old 'awa' (German millet) complex, between them accounting for over a third (34.3%) of the acreage of that crop in Okinawa gunto. Kamimotobu is mainland Okinawa's leader in acreage planted to ordinary millet ('kibi'; Panicum miliceum). [252]

Nakagami has little of agricultural distinction. Yomitan leads the mainland in acres of barley and number of rabbits. Gushikawa is second rank in sweet potato acreage, but produces about two-fifths (39.4%) of the gunto's sweet potato starch. It leads in numbers of goats, and is second though not outstanding in numbers of bullocks. [231]

[1] Most of this and following paragraphs derive from Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku and Okinawa guntō no tembō. Some is based on personal observation and interviewing. [127]

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MAP 2 [1]

(P 2-A)

[1] [See pages 222-224 for data upon which this map was based--Analyst]

CHAPTER III: AGRICULTURAL HISTORY, LAND USE AND DIET

F. R. Pitts

121 178 The concept of the unchanging Orient certainly fails to appear true in the case of Okinawa, when the past is examined closely. Indeed, it seems hard to find an area where so much change has been accomplished so fast. The following is designed to show some major aspects of that change, particularly insofar as the farmer is concerned.

1. Agricultural History

175 241 178 The Early Days As early as the 1730's when the great Okinawan statesman, Saion, urged the growing of the sago palm 'sotetsu', farmers were already used to orders and suggestions from the gentry as to modification of their traditional ways. But it was not until the growth of population and the money economy that changes were to be brought about, not so much by orders from above, but chiefly by the workings of economic forces.

175 177 433 249 The ultimately most effective agent of change had been the introduction of the sugar cane plant in 1623 and its concomitant technique of sugar manufacture.[1] It was not until a decade after the Japanese took over the islands, however, that sugar production began to increase, and not until after the Russo-Japanese war that sugar really became an important crop in the economy. By 1939 the production of sugar amounted to more than a million tons, and production exceeded consumption by ninefold.[2] By the end of the 1951-1952 winter pressing season, production had declined to 256,000 tons.[3]

175 621 About the time of Commodore Perry's visit the population of Okinawa had begun to grow, and new areas were settled by both commoners and the gentry. Nanahan dates its existence from this period. Of the first three families to settle here, one came from Shuri gentry, and two others were commoners from the main settlement of Tomoyose. Of the seven settlements of the village of Yamada, three were settled by commoners and one by the gentry. All had come from the urban areas of the south in the latter part of the last century. [829] In Okinawa everyone seems to be aware of his place in history, and in the older settlements one often hears the remark, "...they are newcomers; they have been here for only two hundred years."

175 241 178 433 [177] In general the agricultural history of Okinawa falls into three periods. The first saw a self-sufficient economy, in which banana cloth was made in the village. The chief crops were millet, arrowroot, and sweet potatoes. With the introduction of a money economy, and its further intensification under the Japanese, sugar gradually turned from its previous use as a home confection to a full money crop. Rice acreage fell as more sugar was planted, and sweet potatoes found a greater place in the diet. The old crops of millet, cassava, and arrowroot were all but abandoned in Shimajiri, and became less important in the north. The third period is essentially the post-war and still continuing one, in which the growing of vegetables for the

1 Navy Handbook, p. 240.

2 CAARI, p. 156.

3 Summation of U. S. Army Military Government Activities in the Ryukyu Islands, July-November 1946, p. 25.

military competes with sugar as a primary cash crop, and cane fields are being converted back to rice paddies as fast as the farmer's resources permit. A more detailed discussion of the crop changes in the last two or three decades follows. 175 241 178 433

Chronology of Change in Crops The major changes in crops revolve chiefly around the replacement of rice as a cash crop by sugar cane, and the later reversal of this situation. About fifty years ago, rice was the chief cash crop. It was rarely consumed in the home, but was sold in order to meet the monetary expenses of taxes, and to buy occasionally the new commodities that were beginning to appear in the markets. Then, not long after the Russo-Japanese war had ended, the price of black sugar jumped almost overnight from ¥8.50 to ¥64 for a 150-'kin' barrel. Everyone wanted to get a share of this boom in sugar, and most began to convert paddy land into 'hatake' for the growing of cane. They were stuck with the 'hatake' when the price fell after two months. The Japanese subsidized sugar later, however, and most of the land that had been converted remained sugar land. [654]

When the people began returning to their farms more than a year after the end of World War II hostilities, there was little market for sugar. The subsidy had gone with defeat, and providentially the sugar lands were available for the growing of more sweet potatoes. American canned food and sweet potatoes were the main items of diet until about 1949. Gradually farmers began to convert 'hatake' to paddy fields, and to grow rice again---this time less for sale than for home consumption. [262] [177]

The old "bearded rice" varieties (fijimē and mēdakōja) of the nineteenth century were replaced gradually by the shorter-statured but higher-yielding 'hōraimai'. The bearded rice, planted only once a year, had a yield of about one-third the present variety, and had only five or six stalks per plant. The twice a year modern variety yields more and has on the average fourteen to fifteen stalks per plant. As a result of the adoption of the two-crop variety, at least one traditional ceremony was abandoned. This was the tentui, in which the whole village participated before simultaneously planting their seedbeds. Before the war, two-thirds of Okinawa's rice requirements were imported.[1] Indicative of the postwar change to rice are the figures for area of paddy-fields in Kochinda-son; the 114,142 'tsubo' of paddy in February of 1948 had increased to 306,220 'tsubo' by September of 1952. Field investigation proved that conversion to paddy has proceeded at least as fast since 1952 as it did prior to that date. 175 241 433 243 178

Before the First World War almost everyone in Nanahan raised forty to fifty 'tsubo' of millet. It was boiled with glutinous rice to make millet rice-cakes, or 'awamochi'. None is raised now. The same is true of cotton. "It grew only a foot high, but its fiber was very strong and would last a lifetime." Some other crops lasted into the post-war period. Until about 1950 textile bananas and yams were raised in Nanahan, but they both proved to be too weak in typhoons, and their cultivation was abandoned. 178 175 241 [252]

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1 Summation....July-November 1946, p. 25.

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244 Many root plants such as the giant radish and carrots used to flower out, and the root would be so stringy that it could not be eaten. About nine years before the war the Japanese brought in many new and better varieties.
[177] Nanahan has more vegetables now than the rest of Tomoyose, people say, "...because our houses are scattered and we can get to the vegetable plots easily;
[234] they in Tomoyose can't, and therefore pay less attention to vegetables." Of the seven wards of Tomoyose, only Nanahan has an agreement not to keep chickens so that their vegetables will be protected. Before the war the Irish leek and swiss chard were the only abundant vegetables; others were to be had in only small quantities. The "pine mushroom", or 'metsudake', was gathered "when we used to have pines in the neighborhood." Farmers complain that they can grow less green peas now, because of the great increase in number of rats due to loss of the cat population during the invasion.

Okinawa has always been self-sufficient in sweet potatoes except in occasional time of famine. Even then, dried products of the sweet potato are often used. Many varieties are grown the year around, but in Nanahan only five main varieties were mentioned. Okinawa #100 gives the biggest harvest and in fairly fixed amounts regardless of weather. There were many of White #100 before the war, but few now. It was delicious, but the harvest gradually declined from its former high yield. Just after the war there were many of the tumaikuru variety, but recently few have been planted. The yield had been high, but gradually the seed became bad; it was described as the "most delicious of all sweet potatoes." Yaeyamaakagu was mentioned as a variety still grown in small amounts. The variety which brings the highest market price is Kiirumugwa. This "delicious" potato yields only half that of the average, and hence its price is double.

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● 241 Perhaps the best way to view the prewar-postwar change in agriculture is to look at the amounts grown by a typical Nanahan farmer. Table I below
433 presents this information.

Table I

Crop	Tsubo Prewar	Tsubo Postwar	Comments
Sugar cane			Postwar home use amounts to 14-15 'kin' (19-20 lb.) annually. Sells about 100 'kin' (132 lb.). Prewar, sold 1400-1500 'kin' yearly.
(summer planting)	500	350	
(spring planting)	300	150	
Sweet potatoes	700	500	Three harvests per year. Not sold much; make starch only if harvest is plentiful.
Soybeans	300	200	Generally sold about 1/3 of each prewar crop, but only when money was needed at home.
Broad beans	150	70	Prewar variety was a small plant, the postwar one very large.

Table I, Cont'd.

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Crop	Tsubo Prewar	Tsubo Postwar	Comments
Green peas	80	--	None now due to rats.
Giant radish	50	50	Sell half; use the rest in soups.
Burdock root	--	50	Sell 90%; use only at home for feasts.
Carrots	1	5	Sell half the crop.
Dryland taro	--	20	
Irish potatoes	--	50	Winter crop; seed from Hokkaido.
Cucumbers	1-2	50	Prewar, all used at home. Now sell 90% at about ¥10 per 'kin'.
Chives	1	1	Always use in soup. Raise for home use only.
Wax melon	50	50	Sold half in Itoman prewar; now sell same amount in Naha.
Pumpkins	1	1	Entirely for home use then and now.
Kidney beans	100	100	Then and now entirely for home use, in 'gohan' and 'miso'.
Cabbage	--	60	Sell 90% at ¥2-7 per 'kin'.
Eggplant	--	4-5 stalks	For occasional home use.
Green onion	--	10	Entirely for home use, in soups, etc.
Chinese cabbage	--	20	Sell over two-thirds.
Bitter melon	--	5	Mainly for home use.
Mustard cabbage	--	3	Sell half. Pickle temporarily with salt for home use. [251]
Swiss chard	5	50	Pigs eat the old and large leaves; people the young and tender small ones. [231]
Garlic	--	3	It is pickled, and is entirely for home use. [251]
Shallot	--	2	Entirely for home use.
Red peppers	--	1-2 stalks	Used with soybean curd, or when one has a stomach ache. [157]

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175 Before the war Okinawa imported half its soybean requirements. By
241 early 1951 the prewar acreage had been cut by half.[1] This resulted in the
931 necessity to import soy sauce tax-free from Japan, which brought an ineffec-
241 tive protest from the Legislature early in 1954. 'Miso' paste, which is made
252 of soybeans when they are available, is now made also of corn, broad beans, kidney beans, and various other legumes.

175 As early as 1946 the occupation forces reported:
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> Rapid restoration of Okinawa's prewar agriculture is hampered chiefly by an arable land shortage induced by military requirements in the southern half of the island, where roughly 30,000 acres are devoted to military use. War damage and migration from combat and, later, base development areas seriously disrupted agrarian economy and early planning was delayed pending disposition of farm tracts affected by military expansion.[2]

That loss of both upland dry fields and paddy land was affected is shown by the following:[3] (figures are in 1,000's of acres)

Table II

Type of Land	1940 Acreage	1950 Acreage	% of 1940
Cultivated land	103.8	67.2	65%
Paddy land	11.5	9.6	83%
Upland fields	92.3	57.6	62%

Even more significant is a comparison of the 1940-1950 figures with those for 1904, which show the situation which existed before any Japanese military installations were built.

Table III[4]

Year	Acres Paddy Land	Acres Dry Fields	Total Arable Acres
1904	15,779.1	93,952.6	109,731.7
1940	11,527.25	82,273.86	93,801.11
1950	9,559.55	57,610.16	67,169.72

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1 Ryukyu Islands Economic Statistics Bulletin, no. 10, January-March, 1951.

2 Summation...op. cit., p. 26.

3 Ryukyu...., p. 13.

4 The 1904 data are from Summary of the Land Adjustment in Okinawa Prefecture, Tokyo, 1904. The 1940 and 1950 figures are from the reverse side of the large map, Okinawa shotō shōzu.

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In all cases, Kunigami seems to have held up the best, and Nakagami has fared the worst. Again this reflects the military interest of both the Japanese and the Americans. The comparison of 1904 acreage with that of 1950 in each of the three areas is shown below:

Table IV

Area	1904 Acreage		1950 Acreage		% Decrease	
	Paddy	Dry	Paddy	Dry	Paddy	Dry
Kunigami	6,530.5	28,398.5	5,463.0	20,773.8	16%	27%
Nakagami	3,861.2	34,176.1	1,675.1	14,932.0	57%	56%
Shimajiri	5,370.3	30,978.7	2,443.9	21,904.4	55%	29%
Okinawa Island[1]	15,719.1	93,952.6	9,589.0	57,610.2	39%	39%

Chronology of Changes in Farming Technique It is impossible to give for the whole of Okinawa a schedule showing just when each technical innovation was introduced. Some parts of Shimajiri and Nakagami were in advance of the rest of the island; conversely, one finds on the outer islands practices still carried on that the more progressive areas abandoned more than two decades ago. 178 241

In Yamada the transplanting of rice was originally done by scattering (bara'ii) of the shoots. Shortly before 1930 this method was replaced by planting in rows, with a string to mark the distance. The spaces were filled in by planting while walking backwards. About 1950 people started transplanting while moving forward. This has been replaced in part---at least in areas where the mud is firm and clayey---by the planting frame, the 'waku'. 178 243

Farmers kept the harvested rice in conical stacks (majin) several feet high. The bundles (tabai) had the heads facing inward to prevent attack by rats. The number of these stacks was indicative of the farmer's prestige in the community. The sheaves were removed from the bottom layer always, and only when rice was needed for food. [554]

Removal of the grain from the stalk was accomplished by the kūrashijii. This was a pair of bamboo tongs held in the right hand, while the sheaf was drawn through the tongs with the left hand. When the new variety of rice was introduced, use of the kanabā became common. This iron-comb-like device, through which the sheaves were drawn one at a time, can still be found in use on the isle of Sesoko, off the Motobu peninsula. It apparently did not find 178 243 412

[1] The discrepancy in the 1904 totals for Okinawa Island and grand totals for the three division of the island is accounted for by 17.1 acres of paddy land and 256.7 acres of dry fields in Naha, and 142.6 acres of dry fields in Shuri.

It apparently did not find
178 widespread use in Tomoyose, for that village passed almost directly from the use
243 of bamboo tongs to the rotary thresher, or 'dakkokki' (see photo). Yamada first
412 saw this thresher about 1933, but Nanahan farmers began using it only in 1941.
[407]

Hulling of grain was in the past accomplished---as needed for home use
178 or sale---by using a wooden rotary mill (see photos) called fichiūshi in Yamada
252 and shirifūshi in Nanahan. In Yamada two women sat with their feet braced against it, and pulled straw ropes alternately. In Nanahan men did the hulling, and the rotary mill was lower but was three feet in diameter. In the late thirties motor-powered hulling mills were built in many areas, and farmers took their rice there for hulling and polishing.

Polishing of brown rice in Nanahan was accomplished until about 1935 by use of a mortar, or chichiūshi (see photo), and pestle, or ajin. Most families still have these in reserve, as they were used after the war and were replaced by rice mills only after 1949. People in remote areas still use them exclusively. Nowadays people have their rice hulled and polished in one operation at a rice mill, if it is close at hand.

178 Very little wheat was grown in the three farm villages studied, but
246 it was noticed that on the outer isles wheat was more dominant. On Henza isle, removal of the grain from the sheaf and hull was accomplished by rubbing it upon a piece of bumpy limestone. On Kudaka, separation was by rubbing on a canvas, both with the hands and feet.

178 After the war farmers took advantage of the spread of the lantana bush,
● 241 which had flourished due to the neglect of the land. It furnished an excellent
[342] livestock feed, and also a short pole which they could use in roofing their rebuilt houses. Such poles, or kichigwā, had formerly been brought down from the forested north country.

178 Chronology of Change in Livestock Recovery of the land after the war pro-
727 ceeded far more rapidly than replacement
231 of the livestock killed or eaten in the invasion. The following table illustrates the loss and slow recovery (except for swine) in livestock numbers:

Table V

Type of Livestock	1940[1]	1946[2]	1952[3]	1952 as % of 1940
Cattle	22,000	112	6,837	31.0%
Horses	25,000	899	5,110	20.4%
Swine	108,426	1,165	107,077	98.8%
Goats	106,257	1,647	58,472	55.1%

In Kachinda-son the story has been somewhat the same, with the exception that there are many more swine and cattle now than in the thirties. This is due partly to the lesser amount of land in sugar and the planting of more

1, 2 Summation....July-November, 1946, p. 26.

3 Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku, Vol. 3, No. 3, 1943, p. 1. Valid as of 31 Dec. 1952.

swiss chard for pig feed, as well as the greater availability of lantana bushes for livestock feed. The following table compares the 1931 figures with those for 1952: 178 727 231

Table VI

Livestock Type	1931	1952	1952 as % of 1931
Cattle	41	229	558.0%
Horses	1,676	74	4.4%
Swine	1,774	2,490	140.0%
Goats	4,217	1,400	33.3%

The "great rabbit boom" is often spoken of by farmers in an amusing vein. In the winter of 1946-1947 rabbits assumed the form of currency, and in a mad fever people bought rabbits and sold them, never realizing their true value. A Nanahan farmer related: 175 231 [43]

> I hitched a ride on a truck, and went up to the Katchin peninsula. There I bought a rabbit for ¥600. I sold it the next day to B. for ¥1200. He resold it for ¥700 profit to a Gisshi farmer who was waiting to buy one. Then I went up again, stayed overnight, and sold the new rabbit for ¥1000 profit. Again and again I went, and finally amassed ¥5000 in profits. With these rabbit profits I bought what I thought was a pregnant goat for ¥7000. It wasn't pregnant, and I had to sell it for ¥3000, taking a loss. But then I bought a pig from B. for ¥2500 and sold it to 'One-armed K' for ¥3000.
>
> In Tsukazan, which was the center of the rabbit trade in this area, a man sold all of his land to invest in rabbits, but he lost everything on the deal.

2. Land Use

The basic pattern of land use has been described in Glacken's Okinawan Village Studies (SIRI Report No. 4), and in Nuttonson, Ecological Crop Geography and Field Practices of the Ryukyu Islands, Natural Vegetation of the Ryukyus, and Agro-Climatic Analogues in the Northern Hemisphere. Although agriculture is not quite as intensive nor yields so high as in Japan, still much intercropping, double-cropped and rotation of crops is carried on. Because sugar cane takes a year or more to mature, various crops such as kidney beans, giant radish, cucumbers, broad beans, soy beans and mustard cabbage are interplanted with the cane. They mature and are harvested before the cane grows too tall and cuts off the sunlight. Sugar cane is rotated in a two-crop cycle of cane and sweet potatoes; or it is rotated with soybeans and sweet potato in a three-crop cycle. Very rarely is cane replanted in a field which has just produced a crop. In this way the farmers hope to diminish the damage done by worms and insects. 311 241

241 311 312 Yields Per Acre Because Okinawa is a sub-tropical country, crops can be grown the year around. Hence the low productivity of a land subject to natural disaster such as drought and typhoons is somewhat compensated for. In the limestone areas of Shimajiri ground water is scarce except after fairly heavy rains. Nanahan has nine small ponds, or kumui, where people wash [137] clothes and sweet potatoes and in which grows the water convolvulus, or unchēbā. Farmers say that if a drought lasts three months, crops do not yield [132] at all. All remember the great drought of 1895 (Meiji 28-nen) when no rain fell for seven or eight months. Even wells dug in river bottoms dried up. The 23 households of Nanahan at present have eight small wells and one large community well which was dug in 1948. Little ditches on the hillsides lead rainwater to the rice paddies, and are fixed so that the water can be directed into wells. If a paddy field is near the farmer's house, a drainage ditch is dug to it for the disposal of used household water which is considered to contribute to a field's fertility. Tables VII and VIII show the yield of crops in Okianwan and American terms.

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Table VII

Crop	Yield per tan[1]	Bushels per acre[2]
Summer rice	1.10 koku	41.1 bushels brown rice
Winter rice	1.16 koku	43.3 bushels brown rice
Upland rice	.72 koku	26.9 bushels brown rice
Common barley	.51 koku	10.4 bushels
Wheat	.59 koku	12.1 bushels
Naked barley	.52 koku	10.6 bushels
Millet	.38 koku	7.85 bushels
Common European millet	.40 koku	8.17 bushels
Soybeans	.70 koku	14.3 bushels
Green peas	.55 koku	11.3 bushels
Broad beans	.71 koku	14.6 bushels
Kidney beans	.71 koku	14.6 bushels
Peanuts	.83 koku	17.2 bushels

Table VIII

Crop	Yield per tan	Tons per acre
Sweet potatoes	1,762 kin	47.6
Irish potatoes	2,176	58.8
Cabbage	3,540	96.1
Other leafy vegetables	1,669	45.1
Giant radish	2,677	72.2
Carrots	2,439	65.85
Pumpkins	2,090	56.5

[1] Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku, Vol. 3, No. 3, p. 1, 1953 (data for Okinawa Guntō).

[2] Converted according to standard indices, as given in SCAP, Natural Resources Section, Report No. 143, Tokyo, 1951.

Table VIII, cont'd.

Crop	Yield per tan	Tons per acre
Cucumbers	1,570	42.4
Wax Melon	1,859	50.2
Tomatoes	2,789	75.5
Watermelons	1,557	42.0
'I' rush ('Bingo-i')	1,411	38.1
'I' sedge ('Shichitō-i')	1,716	46.3
Tea	197	5.32
Mandarin orange ('mikan')	1,183	31.95
Edible banana	1,629	44.0
Green manure crops	2,994	87.5
Sugar cane (cane weight)[1]	9,000	243.0

Use of Grass, Trees and Brush Southern Okinawa looks barren to the American observer---few trees break the skyline and great fields of long grass cover the hillsides. The comment heard most often is, "Why don't the Okinawans plow up the grass and plant crops, instead of letting all that land go to waste?" The only proper and truthful answer to this query, of course, is that the grass is utilized to the full and that none "goes to waste".

The "ubiquitous miscanthus" referred to by Glacken actually comprises many grasses, chief among which are 'susuku', 'kaya', and one known by the Okinawan name nāichū. 'Susuki' is used mainly for the making of brooms, which occurs in December after the flowering of this grass has turned the countryside from deep green to a cloudy whiteness. 'Kaya' is used mainly for the thatching of roofs, but is also fed to livestock. Among other plants of the wild land, or 'genya', are the 'mogusa' or fūchibā, used for moxibustion and as a vegetable in soups; the hirahāgusa, used to cure leech bites; and the warabinufūnii, or edible bracken fern.

The Japanese butter-bur is found in the 'genya', and is utilized as a tobacco substitute in hard times, and occasionally as food. The flowering ginger, or sannin, furnishes leaves for wrapping rice cakes, and fiber for the tying of bundles of sugar cane. The leaf of the inedible potato or m-bashi (Japanese, 'kuwazu-imo') was used by very poor people before the war as a wrapper for 'miso' paste, which they peddled throughout the countryside. The plant is still used to stop the bleeding of wounds. The lantana---known in Hawaii as "haole-koa"---furnished poles for house roofs, leaves for fodder, and beans for tea during famines. Numerous other grasses and herbs are used by the older generation for medicinal purposes, as can be seen by perusal of Tawada's excellent book, Okinawa Yakuyō Shokubutsu Yakkō, 2nd edition, Naha, 1951.

Almost all trees, which in Shimajiri means essentially those surrounding the houses, are used in some way above and beyond their major function as windbreaks in time of typhoons. The leaves of the yūna tree are a native

[1] This information is from the Kochinda-son Office.

The leaves of the yūna tree are a native
311 substitute for toilet paper, and are still used in some villages, though people
824 deny that the practice continues. When pressed they may intimate that so-and-
[54] so, "the poor family over the hill", retains the practice. Banyan trees fur-
[178] nish leaves for green manure, as do many other varieties. Before the war many
people grew kuroki for eventual use in the making of samisens. The top of the
[53] tree was cut when young so that it would become stubby and thick. The neigh-
boring village of Tsukazan boasts of a samisen-maker whose fame has taken him to Naha. The 'kusunoki' tree is considered to be the best tree to plant near the home, for it discourages termites.

241 Fertilizers Okinawan farmers in most areas utilize the traditional night soil and green manures, as well as the modern synthetic fertilizers.
[54] Almost every house has two toilets. The one not in use is utilized as a
[237] night-soil decay pit. Pig manure is mixed with the human excreta, water added, and the whole let set for about a fortnight before use on the fields. Use of animal manure in the paddies was abandoned with the introduction of the new variety of rice. Animal manure produced good heads on the old variety but makes heavy stalks only on the new.

241 Green manure is extensively used as a plant nutrient in the paddy
824 fields. Indeed, some paddies in winter are devoted to the raising of green manure, which is plowed under before spring planting. Outer leaves of cabbage are fed to goats to become manure for the dry fields, or the leaves are trampled into the mud of the paddy to decay. Thistles, 'kuwazu-imo' leaves, and tree leaves of the yūna and banyan are only a few of the many types of green manure. Compost, or 'taihi', is made for the dry fields and some paddies by mixing animal manure with 'genya' grasses, rice straw, and other plant remains. Before the war, compost was not used for vegetables, because it would cause a shortage in the amount available for the cane fields. Nowadays compost is more available, and many vegetables assume huge proportions. One Nanahan farmer produced a wax melon weighting 97 'kin', or 128 pounds.

241 Commercial fertilizers available to the farmers include ammonium sulphate ('ryusan ammoniya', 'ryūan'), synthesized fertilizer ('kasei hiryo'), ammonium nitrate ('ryusan kari'), nitrogen-lime ('sekkai chisso'), urea ('nyōso'), potassium chloride ('enkakari'), and superphosphate of lime ('Karinsan sekkai'). Ammonium sulphate is preferred for sugar cane. During the last four or five years the Agricultural Federation ('Nōren') in Naha has enforced a tie-in sale so that when a farmer buys two sacks of ammonium sulphate, he must also buy one sack of superphosphate of lime. Farmers in Tomoyose quite often dispose of the latter by dumping it beside the road, as they believe that it is not good for the soil found on their farms. One enterprising Nanahan farmer, who for several years was a member of the Kochinda-son agricultural committee, enquires about the cast-off fertilizer, and when he finds it he uses it to good effect. When he was interviewed concerning this, he expressed anger at what he considered the backwardness of his neighbors.

[177] Okinawans were first introduced to chemical fertilizer in the mid-twenties, when a black fertilizer appeared. This was later replaced by the various white products, which since some time before the war have been supplemented by soybean waste when available.

4. A Comparison of Land Tenure in Two Rural Villages: Kanegusuku and Kitazato

621 Kanegusuku The village of Kanegusuku is located in the southwestern corner of Kanegusuku-son approximately three miles due south of
[34] Naha on the west coast, and it is immediately north of the town of Itoman. As is typical of the old Okinawan villages it is situated on high ground with all of its houses facing in a southerly direction. Aside from a detached cluster of eleven houses, the village houses are close together in
[12] a contiguous settlement. The village was selected for study because of its infrequent contact with Americans, relative lack of war damage, and a reputed antiquity and conservatism. As of December, 1953, the population was 507 persons forming 108 families occupying 103 houses. The present population is said to be about the same as before the war despite a 20% loss of life during the battle; this loss has been made up by repatriates from overseas and immigrants from other areas of Okinawa. The repatriates and some of the immigrants either had formerly resided in the village or regarded it as their ancestral home. There are nine families who were native to some other part of Okinawa before the war and have no previous connections with the village. The majority of the families have been in this village for
[592] many generations. There are approximately five persons in each household, which usually consists of a nuclear family, husband and wife and their children; but the composition of a number of households has been changed due to wartime losses.

Socially the village is segmented into eight lineages which con-
[613] stitute 92% of the total population; the remaining 8% is made up of unrelated families new to the village since the end of the war. One lineage includes nearly 61% of the village in its membership. Each of these lineages is related to lineages in other villages. Approximately 66% of the village
[582] marriages have been within the village, and nearly 50% of the marriages have been between persons of the same kin group. Thus, the composition of the village is fairly homogeneous, and both the community and the kin groups are strong cohesive units.

621 Occupation 98 of the 103 houses are engaged full time in farming;
463 the household heads of the five remaining houses are employed outside the village in non-agricultural pursuits although all participate in some part-
241 time farming. In addition to these five there were approximately fifteen young men, not household heads, who also worked outside. Most of these commuted daily to the greater Naha area where they were engaged in military employment or construction work. For the majority of villagers farming was the sole occupation.

621 Arable Land Over 66% of the total area of this village is under
311 cultivation, and about 38% of the cultivated land is in irrigated fields.
[434] The chief sources of income derive from rice and mats made from a sedge which is grown in an irrigated field. In terms of the average amount of
[136] arable land per household Kanegusuku is somewhat better off than the average for Okinawa: 1514.2 'tsubo' for Kanegusuku as compared with 1037.6 'tsubo' for Okinawa.

[Kanegusuku]

Non-cultivated land, however, is equally important to the average farm household in providing fuel, thatching, green manure, and many other necessities. 621 [311]

Land Holdings A breakdown of the 103 houses of Kanegusuku shows that 97 own land; 6 houses own no land of any type. Of the 103 houses, 56 rent land, and 6 of these rent all the land which they use. The remaining 50 own some land and rent some land. The figures are somewhat misleading, as included among the renters are those who rent only house lots; also included are some houses which have more than enough land for their own needs, but have rented plots contiguous to their main plots and in turn rent out their inaccessible plots to others. 621 423 427

In terms of total land per household 60% possess one or more acres of land which includes house lots, grass land, and forest in addition to cultivated fields. Nearly 73% of the village houses possess three-quarters of an acre or more of land which might arbitrarily be taken as the minimum necessary for mere existence, since farmers say that from 1000 to 2000 'tsubo' (1224 'tsubo' equal one acre) are needed for the average family. This leaves 27% of the village or exactly 28 houses with insufficient land for their needs. An investigation revealed that 13 of these 28 "have-not" houses were new to the village since the war. This group includes former residents of other Okinawan communities as well as repatriate families, of which 4 can be classed as having insufficient land. Three of these 28 houses without sufficient land were headed by widows, and two of these significantly were women who were not residents of the village, so that they were without close relatives in the village to help them. One person, the sole occupant of his house, was mentally unfit to take care of his lands and was helped by relatives. The remaining 11 of these 28 houses were headed by persons who were old residents of the village, but of these 9 were houses headed by younger sons who had established independent branch houses since the end of the war. Thus, out of a total of 28 landless and virtually landless houses, only two were headed by first sons who were native to the village. Although this group constitutes but 27% of the houses, it rents 51% of all the land rented by villagers. 621 423 [327]

Fields There are on the average 11 plots of land per household in Kanegusuku; of these 6 are cultivated fields while the remainder are in grass land, house lot, and forest or wood land. The average rice field is a little over a quarter of an acre in size, whereas the average dry field is about one-sixth of an acre in size. [311] [241]

Owners The land records list 160 landowners in Kanegusuku; 146 of these now reside in the village and 14 are listed as absent. Since there are but 103 houses in the village, a number of houses have more than one landowner. This is in part a result of the war, which broke up a number of families by deaths and also caused a severe housing shortage; consequently, there is some doubling up in a number of houses. Another factor is that in the land-rich houses (comparatively speaking) a father often has set aside some land for his younger sons and has entered this land in their names even though they are still quite young. [362]

[Kanegusuku]

621 The group most dissatisfied with its lot today are the repatriates
423 from the former Japanese possessions. A few of these families were able upon
727 return to take up the lands left by relatives killed in the war or were given land by prosperous relatives, and four repatriate families are virtually landless. All of them, regardless of the size of their present holdings, chafe at their circumstances. One repatriate told the author that he had farmed nearly twenty-five acres in a single plot of sugar on Saipan and that he could never be satisfied with Kanegusuku after this. He is hoping that he will eventually be permitted to return to Saipan.

Before the war that segment of the village which possessed the least amount of land consisted almost exclusively of younger sons who had established branch families. Today this group has been augmented by repatriates from the former Japanese possessions and by emigrants from other Okinawan communities.

621 Farm Laborers During the course of the author's stay in Kanegusuku
241 there was only one full-time farm laborer in the village. This man came from
[463] one of the southern islands in the Ryukyus and was employed for less than a month. After his discharge, the former employer remarked that no outsider has enough interest in the lands of another family to make his employment worthwhile. Transplanting and harvesting rice place the heaviest labor de-
[857] mands upon the family; at these times virtually every member of the family
[476] works in the fields; even the grade-school children are given minor tasks, and the family labor force is supplemented by close relatives or neighbors in a reciprocal labor exchange.

829 Attitudes toward the Land One does not hear or see evidence of
554 any great love or attachment for the soil on the part of the Okinawan farmer.
463 In fact, quite the contrary seems true. Most regard their occupation as a
241 lowly one and feel that they are farmers because they know no other occupation. Land is of value because it provides a livelihood, nothing more, though some exception might be made for house land. Nearly all of the younger generation reflect the thinking of their fathers, and they are eager to get a good education (the diligence of even the average Okinawan student would strike the American teacher as amazing), secure a job in the town or city, and leave the drudgery of the farm village forever. Most
[433] farms are so small that they provide no more than mere subsistence for their cultivators; consequently, the young men see no sense in attending agricultural school when they will have little more than an acre to work. One young man from a fairly prosperous family in the village recently secured a job as a stevedore in Naha, and both he and his wife expressed their pleasure over what they regard as a definite improvement in their status. Though they have not sold the land which they own, they hope that it will never be necessary to return and farm it.

To a large extent this attitude toward the land and farming as an
[178] occupation is directly related to the economic and cultural changes taking place on Okinawa today; the city is an exciting place to live in and employment there is economically more advantageous than farming. Nevertheless, this seems in part the product of the old land system and the low, serf-like status accorded farmers under it. Some of the earlier visitors and officials

[Kanegusuku]
[Kitazato]

on Okinawa observed that the farmer took little interest in the care of land which he did not regard as his own. The author was particularly impressed by the contrast between Japan and Okinawa in regard to the care of land, for the meticulous care which the Japanese farmer lavishes on his land seems absent by contrast among the Okinawan farmers. 241 829 554 463 [97]

Kitazato The farm village of Kitazato in Kami Motobu-son presents a marked contrast to Kanegusuku in that it has suffered the loss of a major part of its area to a military installation. In studying the village of Kitazato the village of Kanegusuku was used as a base line for comparisons. To supplement his own observations the author has drawn heavily on actual statements by Kitazato people; in this way he hopes to present as accurately as possible the actual state of the village compared to villages elsewhere on Okinawa, and the villagers' own conceptualization of their circumstances. 621 [727] 121 621 [124]

Kitazato is not an old village, having been founded but seven generations ago by the younger sons of gentry families from the Naha-Shuri area. It was politically independent of the neighboring villages during the time of the old kingdom, but after the annexation it was administered in part by the villages of Gushiken and Jahana. In 1936 or 1937 it was established as an independent village, taking its present name. 175 621

Following their release from civilian internment camps the villagers returned to the site of their old homes shortly before New Year's of 1946. They found virtually their entire village land area converted into an airfield and accompanying military installations. According to their account there was considerable misunderstanding between them and the military as to where they might live, and they feel that they were subject to contradictory and inconsistent orders. Several moves were made which disrupted their plans to settle, and one villager stated, "I grew tired of rebuilding my house." In 19[illegible] they were finally ordered to remove themselves from the military area, and they took up residence in their present location. It is claimed that there was insufficient land in the area to resettle the entire village on a single site; so, the village divided into three sections. Thirty houses were located on the beach between the villages of Gushiken and Shinzato, and this segment was given the name Hama. The remainder of the houses settled in the nearby hills from one to two miles away. Thirty-nine houses settled in the hills between the villages of Furushima and Jahana, taking the name Kijikina. Ten houses located themselves in the hills just north of Kijikina in a settlement which they called Anahana. These latter two, however, function as a single settlement for administrative purposes. These 80 houses making up the scattered village of Kitazato have a total population of 414. Despite their physical separation these segments have striven with considerable difficulty to maintain their political and social unity; one mayor and council serves them, and people are constantly visiting from one area to another. Today most of their land is gone, and they are too far removed from any city, town, or military installation (the airfield is abandoned) for employment. Extreme poverty and bitterness are one's first impressions of the village. 175 621 727 [964] [735]

somewhat appalled by what they regard as a lack of concern on the part of Americans for their plight. As they have been long accustomed to a paternalistic government, this seems to be a deliberately negligent attitude, and they express this feeling not infrequently. The following statements were heard by the author, "We never see any Americans who come to inspect or look at things" and "No Americans ever come to see how we are." 621 829

National Organizations National organizations such as the youth association and the women's association are rather weak in Kitazato when compared with Kanegusuku. They say that they have little spare time for such organizations, which is undoubtedly true, and the scattered nature of the village makes meeting a chore for some in the outlying sections. The ranks of the youth association are thinned by the loss of members who have sought employment in the city or military camps. Even the agricultural association is not as active as elsewhere, since the farmers feel that little can be done to improve their situation. The farmers and the head of the 'son' agricultural office were disgusted by the stupidity of a plan tendered by the central agricultural office to relieve the distress of Kitazato and other dispossessed farmers in Kami Motobu-son. This plan called for the planting of sugar cane as a cash crop and the use of the proceeds to buy food. It failed to take into consideration that sugar takes a long time to mature and that the people would have nothing to eat in the interim, and even if they were to plant their entire holdings in sugar, it would not bring enough cash to feed them. 621 575 621 829 242 241

Village Solidarity Village solidarity seems very high in Kitazato, much higher than in Kanegusuku. Undoubtedly this is largely due to the common problem which faces them all; nevertheless several other factors appear to be involved. The gentry origin of Kitazato kept it aloof from its immediate neighbors for many years, and apparently no real contacts were established in neighboring villages until after the annexation. Even today the people of this village speak a dialect markedly distinct from that of their nearest neighbors; thus, the upper-class origin and the physical and linguistic isolation of the village has perhaps contributed much to its integration and solidarity. The relative weakness of kin groupings seems to be another factor. In Kanegusuku one gets the impression that the strength of the lineages mitigates against informal village-wide cooperation and only through formal organizations such as the youth association is any real village-wide cooperation realized. In Kitazato the weak kin groupings seem no obstacle to this. 621 186 [197]

It seemed to the author that the people of Kitazato never tired of reiterating how well they cooperated together and how much they enjoyed working together as a village. "We want to stay together as a village, as we cooperate so well together." This is typical of the statements which were made. Many say that they would not object to emigration provided they might emigrate as a village.

Land Rentals Two serious problems face the people of Kitazato in regard to renting the land of neighboring villages. They are unable to pay 621 427

and women. Two informants who had lived in Japan denied having ever heard of 291
public baths with mixed bathing. Okinawans have occasionally been shocked by 834
seeing Americans nude. Okinawans feel that not only should the lower part of [515]
the torso be covered for the sake of modesty but the upper part also should be covered, if one is out of doors, for reasons of health; the sun's rays are harmful if too strong. Modesty may even reach proportions uncommon in the [826]
West; one young man told Lebra that he does not enjoy going swimming because he believes he is too hairy. The same young man told how he and other boys, when in high school, used to peep through a crack in the bathhouse wall in order to see the women bathing on the other side, until they were chased away by the proprietor. This hardly suggests the casual attitude toward nudity reported for the Japanese.

Body Ornamentation. The Okinawans seem never to have practiced any sort of 178
body mutilation---such as the Chinese foot-binding. 304
However, women were tattooed on the wrists and backs of the hands until early in this century. Most women over 50 have tattooed hands. There are several stories told that purport to explain the origin of the practice---that it was to prevent Okinawan women from being kidnapped, for example---but these stories are of doubtful value. The designs have names but evidently no meaning; one old woman said that they varied with the tattoo artist, who put on whatever he wanted. Tattooing was done before puberty and marriage. It may have originally been part of a puberty rite.

Many people of both sexes between the ages of 20 and 40 have elab- 301
orate gold and silver work on their teeth. In many cases the work does not consist of fillings or bridges but of thin caps put over sound teeth for purely ornamental reasons. These can be removed without harming the teeth. People are said to be having this sort of work done today, but in time the [177]
value Americans and present-day Japanese put on "natural-looking" teeth may win out over the urge to ornament the mouth. Of course there is also a great deal genuine dental work done because of tooth decay.

At present American values and modern Japanese values in feminine 177
beauty are being spread by the beauty parlor. For several years the perma- 832
nent wave has been popular though perhaps not well suited to Mongoloid hair. [305]
And recently a number of young women are said to have added padded brassieres [302]
to their equipment. [241]

Elimination. Urination and defecation are regarded differently. Urination 514
in public is permissible for males, if they turn away. I have seen a dignified old gentleman talking over his shoulder to a young woman while he urinated into the ditch. Women may also urinate in public, though they do so less frequently. Defecation in public is not usual; even children [863]
are scolded for it though they may occasionally do it. Feces ought to go [241]
in the proper place; one reason for using the toilet may be that the "night-soil" is used as fertilizer.

The Okinawan term kusu is used rather more freely than its Japanese 192
cognate, though the uses are parallel. Alone it means "feces", human or animal. It is the usual word for animal manure. In compounds it may mean

178 361 The new roads and buses have done much to break down the isolation of the village; the physical barriers separating village from town have greatly diminished. This has enabled the rural dweller to enter the labor markets of the urban areas and to expand greatly the markets for his products.

178 20 Communications Equally as impressive as the changes in transportation have been those in communications. Today newspapers, radios, telephones, and movies are making their influences felt in the country. Prior 178 to the war there were five motion-picture theaters on Okinawa; today there 546 are fifty-seven, and approximately one-third of the films shown are of [177] Western origin. Though the theaters are concentrated in the towns and cities, the young people of neighboring farm villages often make regular use of them. Some of the young people in Kanegusuku go to the theaters in Itoman several times a week.

178 204 Everyone asserts that newspapers are becoming more common in the rural areas. In the isolated village of Oku at the northern end of Okinawa the mayor informed us that nearly 90% of the houses subscribe regularly to a newspaper.

178 207 203 In Kanegusuku seventy of its 103 houses obtained radios this year under the group listening system. A number of those who were unable to secure radios (due to a lack of equipment) are hoping to do so in the near future. In some villages the group listening system has been utilized as a public address system for official announcements. This has greatly simplified the problem of conveying information or orders to the villagers. Pitts made use of this system on Henza Shima to explain his purpose in studying there. In this same village the regular Shuri broadcasts are sometimes replaced with Okinawan music played on a phonograph owned by the village. On Izena Shima the system is used to announce the arrivals and departures of the two ferryboats which serve the island.

The radio has been eagerly received in all communities which the author visited and has been instrumental in bringing the villagers into contact with the outside world.

177 178 241 Agriculture and the Rural Economy Major changes in Okinawan agriculture have been slight. Improvements have been made in yields as the result of scientific research conducted by the Japanese, a few new minor crops have been introduced, modern fertilizers have been made available, and the system of land tenure was radically altered by the Japanese; but the basic agricultural methods have remained the same. The major crops have not changed though their ratios have fluctuated, and most importantly, farm holdings remain as scattered and heavily fragmented as ever. There is at present no trend or even a suggestion of a trend toward consolidation of holdings nor is there any indication of a lessening of land pressure. So long as the farms remain small, fragmented, and widely scattered, there will be no possibility of using machinery or scientific methods. The present system of intensive gardening does produce a high yield per acre, but it also demands a large labor supply.

Statistics show (see chapter on Agricultural History) that since the termination of the communal land holding system in 1903, there has been a steady decrease in the amount of land cultivated on Okinawa. That this has continued unabated at the same time that the population has rapidly increased seems a paradox. Most certainly improvements in crop yields through research development have not been sufficient to offset this. Nor has the tax burden been excessive or crushing; in fact, quite the contrary is true since the Japanese substantially reduced land taxes when they abolished the communal system. What is more, the shortage of food has for many years necessitated importation of a considerable portion of the food consumed, and in view of the limited job opportunities in pre-war Okinawa, it seems unlikely that this means of livelihood would be overlooked. It would seem that the major reasons for this decline are cultural and historical. 178 241 [311]

It will be recalled that the farmer in the Okinawan kingdom lived in a state of serfdom; class differences were in effect those of caste. When freed from the restrictions by the Japanese, many were likely eager to depart from the farm village. The status of the farmer traditionally has been quite low on Okinawa. People dislike farming, and those who do farm state quite frankly that they are farmers only because they know nothing else, being poorly educated or possessed of little ability. No young men were heard to express a desire to become farmers, and no father wishes this occupation for his son. Pitts and the author noted in studying the household registries for their respective villages that not infrequently the first son has left the farm to seek employment elsewhere, quite contrary to usual Japanese practice. Farming is not a goal for the Okinawan youth today, and at the University of the Ryukyus the quotas for admission to agricultural studies were barely filled in 1954 whereas some of the other departments had three and four times as many applicants as openings. Centuries of a communal land ownership system left the farmer with no feeling of attachment toward his soil such as exists among the Chinese peasantry. Land was frequently reapportioned, and no plots were retained long enough by a given cultivator to give him a feeling of proprietorship. It is said that few ever tried to improve their holdings, as they felt these would soon be allotted to another. 178 241 554 [566]

The nature of taxation under the communal land system together with slowly rising population also made necessary a greater exploitation of land resources than is necessary today. The old tax rate was fixed and was set at a ratio of 40%. If the government had set 100 koku per year as the expected yield for a given village, then the government demanded 40 koku from that village each year. This may perhaps have been satisfactory to the villagers at the time of assessment, but as the population slowly rose there were more mouths to feed out of the villagers' 60 koku portion, and there was no respite from the tax demands in time of crop failure. Consequently, there was increasing pressure to bring more and more land under cultivation; undoubtedly, inferior, low-yield, idle soils were made into farm land. After the peasant was freed from this system and the trend toward sugar production began, foods were imported from outside, and the slow contraction of arable land figures began. 178 241 651 311

The average Japanese farm of 2 1/2 acres and the average Chinese farm of over 4 acres contrast strongly with the Okinawan average (and most are 241 433

241 433 average, since the range is narrow) of approximately one acre.[1] Even by the most skillful and intensive gardening methods there are limits to what can be extracted from the best of soils. One might say that the average Okinawan farmer is engaged in sub-subsistence farming. With the traditionally low 241 status accorded a farmer and the minute size of his holdings it is hardly any 554 wonder that the Okinawan does not like farming and is eager to accept whatever is available elsewhere.

198 Land loss to military installations has accelerated a process which has been operative for fifty years. In this case, however, the effect has 241 been concentrated in certain areas and not distributed over the island at 311 large; consequently, there has been considerable hardship in these localities. 729 But the main point of bitterness where it has been so engendered is over the loss of livelihood rather than over the loss of the land per se. The point, they feel, is that not only have they lost their lands but that they also are not receiving adequate compensation for this loss. It would not be an exaggeration to state that most perhaps would prefer to be landlords, under reasonable terms, to the military than farm the land if it were available again.

198 Okinawan food production has passed through three phases in the last fifty to sixty years. During the first phase prior to the land reform of 433 1899-1903 there was a self-sufficiency of food in the rural areas. After the reform, the Japanese subsidized sugar and did much to encourage its production, which rose to a point 900% above local consumption. This led to a sharp decline in acreage planted in other foods, particularly grains---rice, wheat, millet. Since 1943 there has been a shift toward increasing food production[2], and sugar has dropped to about one-tenth its prewar level. In some villages such as Kanegusuku where mat weaving was formerly of considerable importance the irrigated fields formerly planted in sedge have been replanted with rice. Despite the increasing emphasis on food production it is unlikely that the village will ever return to self-sufficiency, for in recent years new tastes have altered the diet and created a dependence on foods not produced within the village.

<u>Settlement Patterns</u> The reconstruction of villages after the war 198 often did not follow the prewar pattern. Suttles states that prewar Yamada 361 was a scattered settlement made up of several small hamlets, whereas the new postwar settlement is a nucleated one. The new site is at an important crossroads, while the heart of the old village is virtually empty. North of Yamada on the highway to Nago one can see where the new road has departed from the old one; in several cases the villagers have moved closer to the new road despite the fact that it was much dustier there.

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1 Cressey, George B., <u>Asia's Lands and Peoples</u>, New York, 1944, p. 84, p. 191.

2 Several informants stated that the word went out to the farmers in that year to concentrate all efforts on food production. Undoubtedly this was linked to the turn of events in the war for the Japanese.

CHAPTER XII: OKINAWAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS

[Yamada]

|2| In this chapter we shall describe the effects of the occupation and types of relationships that have developed between Americans and Okinawans in a rural setting. We shall discuss the problems of Okinawan military employment. And we shall discuss the nature of Okinawan attitudes toward the United States, toward Japan, and toward themselves as a separate ethnic unit.

1. The Rural Setting: Yamada

W. P. Suttles

|2| Changes in Structure and Orientation The village of Yamada lies in southern Onna-son on the China Sea shore of [360] Okinawa just south of the Ishikawa isthmus. The village is actually composed of several settlements that form a single 'ku' (the administrative unit) in a single 'aza' (the land unit). The topography of the 'aza' is rather uneven. [241] The great majority of the people are farmers. They raise a little tea on one of the higher hills, sweet potatoes and other root crops and a little wheat on their upland fields, and a considerable amount of rice in paddies at the bottoms of their narrow valleys.

Before the war Aza Yamada consisted of seven settlements. Two were the old villages of Yamada and Kuraha. Four were yaarui (J. 'yadori'), smaller, separate settlements established by settlers (chijuunin, J. 'kiryūmin') who had left the urban areas of the south in the latter part of the last century. Of these four, three, the mee ("front") and kushi ("rear") yaarui of Tirabaru and the yaarui of Uema were settled by commoners (hyakusoo, J. 'heimin'); the fourth and most isolated, Tirabaru, was settled by gentry (yukatchu, J. 'shizoku'). The seventh settlement, Ajimaa, was a recent clustering of houses and shops around the crossroads and school.

For purposes of administration the aza was divided into 'han'. Since administration meant mainly the communication of instructions from above, number of houses and distance were probably the principal factors in determining the size of the 'han'. Thus the three larger settlements, Yamada, Kuraha, and Ajimaa, were each a 'han'; two of the yaarui that were close together, the mee and kushi yaarui of Tirabaru, formed a single 'han'; but the remaining two yaarui, Uema and Tarigaa, were separate 'han', probably because they were too far apart for one 'hanchō' to transmit information to both.

But for purposes of cooperation in certain economic and social activities, a unit larger than the single yaarui was evidently needed. This unit was the chinju (J. 'kinjo', meaning "neighborhood"). The three larger settlements were each a chinju, besides being each a 'han'. The two yaarui that formed a single 'han' also formed a single chinju. But the two yaarui that formed separate 'han' also formed a single chinju, their distance apart apparently being of less importance than the need for a larger cooperative unit.

621 464 Only five of these are household heads entitled to vote in village elections or assume village office, but because their jobs keep them out of the community much of the time, they are not given village offices. There is some feeling on the part of the villagers that they are out of touch with the affairs of a farming village; consequently, their influence in the village thus far has not been too great.

621 727 464 Jagaru and Tobaru The villages of Jagaru and Tobaru in Chatan-son offer a marked contrast to Kanegusuku in terms of the importance of military employment to the community. These two contiguous communities are hemmed in on all sides by military installations. They constitute little more than housing areas within a township that has lost, according to its officials, approximately 91% of its land to military installations.

[341] [178] Formerly nearly all of the families were engaged in farming as a full-time occupation; today less than one-sixth are farming and not all of these are able to depend on it for their sole support. Military employment has replaced farming as the chief occupation of these villages. In October of 1953 there were 2,352 persons out of a total population of 10,411 who were employed in military jobs. In addition there were a number of business establishments which were dependent on the trade of military personnel.

621 464 [934] The welfare of Jagaru and Tobaru is wholly dependent on military employment. In the fall of 1953 there were rumors of an anticipated cut of 10% in the over-all Okinawan labor force employed by the military. This would have made over two hundred individuals and their families without any source of income or means of livelihood. The people were much upset by this prospect as every family had at least one member employed in military jobs and were wholly or in part dependent on their income.

In contrast to Kanegusuku those who were engaged in military employment in these villages played an active role in community affairs. A great many of them are household heads, and they are not regarded as being out of touch with village affairs since the chief occupation of the villagers is military employment. While the Kanegusuku people regard securing a military job as good fortune, the people here regard it as a necessity. According to township officials most of this year's graduating class will look for jobs in the nearby installations. 621 464 829

The villagers are bitter because they feel that the military has not paid them adequate rentals for the use of their land. There is also some resentment over the conduct of troops in these communities during their off-duty hours. In short, though the villages are completely dependent on the military for their livelihood, they are bitter and resentful in their attitude toward it. The possibility of job losses seems likely to heighten this feeling.

621 727 464 Henza Shima The island of Henza off the east central coast of Okinawa differs from the above communities in that a large segment of its population is engaged in military employment and yet the village itself is far removed from any military installation. This village suffered but slight damage and no loss of life during the war. After the war over four hundred repatriates returned to the village, bringing its population up to approximately 4,900.

APPENDIX "A"

128 This appendix contains figures upon which Maps 2 through 7 were based. List A is for Map 2, List B for Map 3, and so forth. The figures for Japan and Kagoshima are derived from the Japan Statistical Yearbook, 1950. All other figures are based on data in Ryūkyū tōkei hokoku.

311 List A Arable land under cultivation as a percentage of total land area.
241 The 31 December 1950 figures are used for area of arable land. Figures for total land area are for 31 December 1952. However, the calculation is valid as of the former date because the areas of political units did not change in the two years. The amount of arable land in Naha is negligible; the area for Tokashiki was not available in 'chō'.

311 List B Flooded fields (riceland) as a percentage of total arable land under cultivation, 1950. The figures for Japan and Kagoshima are valid
243 as of 1 August 1947. No acreage of riceland was reported from Ie Shima, Naha, Aguni, Minami Daitō or Kita Daitō.

161 List C Population density per square kilometer. The data for Japan and Kagoshima are valid as of 1 August 1948. The data for Okinawa Guntō are valid as of 31 December 1952.

List D Number of persons per acre of arable land under cultivation, 1950. Data for Japan and Kagoshima are valid as of 1 August 1948. The census of persons in Okinawa Guntō was taken on 1 December 1950. The data on acreage of arable land under cultivation were reported 31 December 1950. Inasmuch as December is not a month when new land is reclaimed, the map and figures may be considered valid as of 1 December 1950. No figure is given for Naha because the acreage of arable land is negligible. No figure is given for Minami Daitō because of the great acreage planted to sugar cane. About 9,400 'tan' of the 11,000 'tan' of arable land there is in this crop.

List E Percentage of increase in population, 1940-1950. Data for Japan and Kagoshima are not available for those years. Data for Okinawa Guntō are valid as of 1 October 1940 and 1 December 1950. A minus sign (-) denotes a net decrease. At the time of the 1940 census, some political units were not separate, but were included in towns or cities nearby; therefore the 1950 figure of necessity includes both areas as one.

List F Percentage of increase in population, 1950-1952. Data for Japan and Kagoshima are not available for those years. Data for Okinawa Guntō are valid as of 1 December 1950 and 31 December 1952. The total percentage of increase in the 25 months was 5.55%---these percentages are reported on page 76 of Civil Affairs Activities in the Ryukyu Islands. On the map any area with an increase of less than 5.55% and a decrease of less than 5% was considered an area of moderate emigration. Any area where the decrease exceeded 5% was considered as an area of excessive emigration. An area with more than 5.55% increase but less than 10% increase during that period was considered an area of moderate immigration. Areas in which the increase exceeded 10% are considered as having urban characteristics.

Political Unit	List A	List B	List C	List D	List E	List F
Japan	32.8	55.4	217.7	6.30	----	----
Kagoshima	19.2	37.5	225.5	5.14	----	----
Okinawa Guntō	15.7	16.7	424.6	[illegible].40	22.8	8.9
Kunigami	3.1	36.7	57.[illegible]	[illegible].58	20	-7.0
Ogimi	10.3	25.8	139.[illegible]	[illegible].72	15	-3.8
Higashi	5.9	33.8	487.6	8.27	11	-5.5
Haneji	9.7	52.0	172.7	8.76	43	-2.0
Yagaji	24.9	26.9	745.2	9.35		-20.5
Nakijin	21.6	13.7	382.2	8.58	29	3.0
Kamimotobu	28.4	4.2	579.7	10.20	35	-1.0
Motobu	12.1	11.3	442.6	17.27		-5.8
Yabu	9.8	29.4	258.6	10.77	45	-3.2
Nago	7.7	46.0	371.2	19.38		15.0
Onna	10.0	32.2	143.9	6.79	33	-2.1
Kushi	4.2	47.2	55.6	7.72	36	-7.8
Ginoza	10.9	25.3	170.1	7.88	56	-11.7
Kin	9.5	35.0	175.1	8.21		-7.0
Ie	24.0	----	281.9	5.84	-4	[illegible].5
Iheya	16.4	39.2	127.2	4.88	47	6.2
Izena	36.1	40.8	505.9	4.63	9	3.7
Ishikawa	15.7	37.3	977.0	26.90	115	4.9
Misato	13.6	14.5	686.0	23.68		1.6
Tonagusuku	35.1	7.3	699.4	14.12	55	7.1
Katsuren	27.5	5.6	848.4	15.32	44	5.2
Gushikawa	21.9	10.6	983.2	21.40	99	-1.2
Goeku	3.7	16.0	861.7	89.50	128	13.3
Yomitan	7.3	3.9	473.6	29.00	4	5.4
Kadena	4.2	.4	562.3	46.75	11	19.2
Chatan	.1	11.8	853.8	267.20		2.5
Kitanakagusuku	16.0	8.8	700.5	19.43	6	2.1
Nakagusuku	20.1	4.1	631.2	14.60		3.5
Ginowan	21.9	9.3	926.0	17.92	24	5.8
Nishihara	42.2	1.2	457.1	5.73	-21	10.2
Urasoe	24.0	12.0	705.2	12.32	8	4.0

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	Political Unit	List A	List B	List C	List D	List E	List F
311							
241							
243	Shuri	23.9	.2	9393.9	59.1	14	9.5
161	Naha	----	----	10447.5	----	-33	14.4
	Mawashi	13.0	2.1	3605.6	71.5	83	15.8
	Oroku	11.1	2.0	1157.4	45.8	33	6.6
	Tomigusuku	41.7	9.7	490.4	6.36	1	-6.0
	Itoman	25.3	16.0	8927.5	231.5	116	10.2
	Kanegusuku	47.8	9.4	574.6	5.72	12	0.8
	Miwa	36.6	1.8	347.8	4.60	-13	7.1
	Takamine	30.2	8.1	389.4	5.84	- 8	2.5
	Kochinda	40.4	8.9	566.2	6.28	- 6	2.4
	Gushichan	38.3	15.5	480.0	5.90	- 5	0.4
	Tamagusuku	32.0	23.1	561.2	8.25	27	-2.2
	Chinen	29.3	14.2	589.3	10.20	28	1.6
	Sashiki	24.2	16.5	728.8	14.97	33	-3.2
	Yonabaru	20.0	.5	1541.5	34.9		16.3
	Ōzato	38.0	11.5	544.1	6.60	- 5	
	Haebaru	56.3	4.0	693.9	5.57	-16	3.2
	Nakazato	17.3	39.0	213.1	6.31	24	-1.4
	Gushikawa	27.2	23.6	264.9	5.38	20	1.6
	Tokashiki	----	22.0	51.4	7.39	11	-10.9
	Zamami	8.4	18.7	99.6	6.74	-13	- 3.5
	Aguni	34.0	----	320.2	4.52	- 1	11.5
	Tonaki	27.1	1.3	264.5	7.39	64	- 1.0
	Minami Daitō	36.5	----	67.3	----	-54	15.4
	Kita Daitō	26.4	----	39.4	1.21		-14.0

1

Introduction

Okinawan history is the story of inertia and change. Basil Hall Chamberlain, the distinguished Japanese and Ryukyuan scholar of the last century and grandson of Basil Hall who visited the island in 1816, said rightly in 1895 that "the general assertion may safely be hazarded that Oriental stagnation exists only in Occidental fancy."[1] 178 [114]

One of the reasons for this fancy is that there is a certain stability in parts of the culture, and from this circumstance it is often concluded that changelessness and lack of variety have characterized the historical experience of the people. Agricultural methods seem to have changed little with the centuries, though some of the tools are new. This stability in agriculture is another way of saying that a fine technology based on experience and empiric observation, had been developed, and that in the absence of modern scientific knowledge of soils, crops, plant pathology and fertilizers, it was the best technology possible under the circumstances. The tombs, introductions from China over five centuries ago, add to this impression of the changelessness of rural life. But this is more apparent than real when we look into the history of burial customs more closely. [242] [177] [164]

This view of Okinawan history in terms of inertia and change has meaning for the present. The American influence on Okinawa is not a new way of life that is conditioning a static society, but an important, forceful, and new intrusion in a culture that already has undergone fundamental changes in the past. Those who think within the framework of Western European and American history, those whose minds are trained to recognize the changes which have come about as a result of the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the beginnings of theoretical science in the seventeenth century, tend to neglect the rest of world history as relatively unchanging, or to see only those changes coming about from Western intrusions. This one sided interpretation, often expressed in the idea of the Europeanization or the Westernization of the world, should be supplemented with the insight that Oriental cultures have influenced and changed one another greatly and have still maintained their own distinctive features. Chinese influences have been strong in Korea, Japan, and the Ryukyus. But each of these cultures is separate and distinct, although, as one might expect, contemporary Okinawan society bears the strong imprint of long cultural and economic associations with Japan. 178 177

1 The Luchu Islands and their Inhabitants. Geo. Journal 5 (1895), 311.

175 succeeded in shearing the noro system of much of its political power.
178 During the early part of the 18th century, there was an improvement in
642 agricultural methods and in forestry conservation, associated with the name of the statesman, Hozui Saion (1682-17[illegible]).[18] Saion was a descendant of a Chinese who had settled at Kune near Naha. He is said to have
175 planted several kinds of trees, including the pine, the Japanese red-
137 wood (sugi), and the maki (in Japanese; podocarpus ssp.) Saion is well
242 remembered in Okinawa. In Matsuda, I was shown trees which were said to have been planted along the road to Ginoza during Saion's lifetime
185 and at his inspiration. There are stories told in the forest areas like Matsuda, crediting Saion with intentionally inventing superstitions to prevent people from cutting down the trees. In 1951, a Saion commemorative stamp was issued, and his name is used frequently in forest conservation literature and in posters. Whether Saion was the medium through which agricultural techniques of Japan or China were introduced, or whether these improvements came from his own initiative and study of local conditions, I have been unable to determine. In any case, the teachings of Saion on agriculture and forestry must have reached to the rural areas, improving the agricultural possibilities and encouraging planting trees and preserving the forests, constantly subject to destruction through fire, carelessness, and merciless cutting for firewood, as has been the case in many parts of China. These improvements, with the advantages from the introduction of the sweet potato one hun-
178 dred years earlier, took place within the framework of a political and social and religious system that had now been well established.

5

European Awareness of the Great Loochoo

175 The Loochooans were known to the Portugese through the trade cen-
648 tering at Malacca. The Portugese explorer Pinto had visited Tanegashima around 1542. Captain Broughton had been shipwrecked on Miyako to the south in 1798. But the western exploration of Okinawa itself was reserved for later times. During the nineteenth century, the Europeans, then the Americans, became aware of the people of the Great Loochoo.

The first detailed observations based on personal contact date from the works of Captain Basil Hall, and his surgeon, William M'Leod, who

[Text continues top of p. 35--Analyst]

18 In the manuscript history reproduced by Leavenworth, there is this passage: "In the 20th year of Kyoho /1735/, Hozui Saion fixed a system for the protection of forestry, and a forestry office and shipping office were established." Op. cit., 89. Saion's famous work, Eight Volumes of Forest Administration, I am told was destroyed in the war. Chamberlain, as cited, p. 310, says that Loochooan polity in the 17th century crystallized in a form it wore from then on.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

175 167 Another departure from the past was that Okinawans, soon after the turn of the century, were provided with opportunities for emigration. The history of Okinawan emigration is not well known. But in the twentieth century, the people of Okinawa changed from an almost complete ignorance of the outside world to one of the most widely travelled and informed peoples of the Orient. Okinawan settlements in the twentieth century were scattered in many parts of the world, such as Peru, Argentina, Brazil, Hawaii, and the Japanese mandates of the Pacific, Singapore, Japan, Manchuria, and Korea. The cessation of this historic emigration is an event pregnant with meaning for the future. The population and its natural increase now must subsist on the island.

175 480 [63] Late nineteenth and twentieth century improvements in roads and communication, modest as they were by American standards, broke down some of the isolation of the three districts of Okinawa. The forests and the lack of roads to the north had always discouraged contact. Much of the trade in firewood between the north and the south, even up to the recent war, was done by ship. Elsewhere there were only paths and in the north, not even these. In 1895 Chamberlain wrote of the sparsely inhabited northern (Kunigami) forest area whose inhabitants were "despised for their poverty and rough speech by the natives of the central and southern provinces." Later on he remarked about the "groans of Japanese officials when obliged to go their country rounds," and, that, in the north it was necessary for them to carry a tent.[28]

175 191 242 As the main island in the newly created province (ken) of Japan, Okinawa benefitted from the scientific approach to agronomy pursued enthusiastically by the Japanese, in contrast with the Chinese and the Koreans before their annexation. Concentration on the development of suitable varieties of rice, the study of sugar cane, plant disease and agricultural techniques represented a body of knowledge that could be applied with local adaptations to all parts of the empire.

175 178 565 [511] Direct Japanese annexation meant also the disappearance of the top heavy native nobility or gentry (shizoku) to be displaced by the Japanese elite, although membership in the Okinawan nobility continued to be recorded in the family registers up to the recent war. The displacement of the old higher social classes resulted in a certain levelling of all the people, a levelling which continued up to the war, and was accentuated in an economic way by the widespread impoverishment of rich and poor alike in the campaign for Okinawa.

7

Okinawa in World War II

175 648 The <u>terra incognita</u> described by Bayard Taylor in 1853 became the

28 Chamberlain, as cited, 294, 459

traditional attitudes that the north was a culturally rude and physically inhospitable place. The highway which now goes through the center of the main part of the village is a good, hard surfaced, dirt road, widened since the war. A lively traffic of trucks and buses and the three wheels cycles contrasts with the narrow pre-war roads, traces and abandoned sections of which can still be seen. The frequent buses supply transportation to the larger cities and towns of the island: to Nago across the island and slightly to the north, to Ishikawa on the south, and to distant Naha, about 31 miles away.

Matsuda, unlike the southern villages, was not destroyed by the war. There were some air raids, some bombing out of the houses, but nothing like the destruction in the main areas of conflict. Early in the Okinawan campaign, the north was cut off and isolated and the struggle for the island took place in central and southern Okinawa. As a consequence, many of the old houses, sturdily built with tile roofs, have been preserved. Numerous refugees from the south gathered in this area during and after the campaign. In nearby Ginoza (Jinuza) village, slightly over a mile to the southwest, also on Highway 13, the Americans operated a hospital for Okinawan refugees. It is still in use. This relative lack of war destruction in the northern villages has, to a degree, reversed the roles of the north and the south. The opening up of the north, its prosperity, the survival of many of its old homes, give the impression of comfort and well being conspicuously lacking in most of the makeshift villages of the south.

The descriptions of these three villages perhaps make clear the diversity that can be expected among Okinawan settlements. Hanashiro, the small village clustered with adjoining rice fields on the valley floor, its other crops on the terraced slopes, is the most typical. Minatogawa, the fishing village in an impoverished countryside of stony or shallow soil, is dependent on the seas and its catch for its livelihood and the wherewithal to buy the foods which cannot be grown in sufficient abundance. Matsuda, a collection of small settlements, scattered here and there from the coast inland, with its large preserve of community forest, is an example of agriculture in a forest setting, and of the use of the forest in daily living. This by no means exhausts the diversity. The village of Oku to the north, with its tea, its rice, its fences for wild boar protection, its cycads planted on the hillsides to prevent erosion, is still another example. But our task here is not to catalogue all diversity, but to indicate that it exists and to a much greater degree than would appear to superficial observation.

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In this illustration, the first son receives slightly over 60% of the land, ignoring type and grade within type. There was general agreement in all villages that the grade of land within each classification (grades 1 to 4 in dry crop land, for example) had little significance in inheritance matters. The grade is more important for tax purposes. [242] [651]

The example also illustrates two other principles: the natural desire to keep contiguous or close in land within the main family, using inconvenient or far off land where possible for house sites for branch families, or for arable land for second and other sons. In this illustration, the shares of the second and of the third sons could be equalized by subdividing plot #6, although its small area would not make it worth while, as 75 tsubo is a very low average size for dry crop land. [241]

Another practice, noted in Hanashiro and in Matsuda, is that the first son receives everything on the retirement of the father. This may be contrasted with a situation in which the father divides the property before younger sons marry and establish branch families. In such cases, the father might take the income from part of the property. But the more general practice is for the father to give all to the first son. Fathers may also make a will. When the first son receives all, it is the custom for him to hold property which the younger sons will need in establishing their branch families. It is in cases where the first son is given full disposition of the property that quarrels are most likely to occur, for much depends on the generosity and sense of fairness of the elder brother.[3] [593]

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In Hanashiro and Minatogawa, it is important that younger brothers receive genya land. Genya is often translated as wild land. In Japan the term is usually used to describe treeless, waste, hilly, rocky, or rolling land unsuitable for cultivation. In Okinawa, the genya land may be in the center of a rice field; it may be a rocky mound with cultivation around it. It may be land in the mountains. It is almost invariably in grass (miscanthus) with an occasional cycad or scrub pine. [137] It is not owned in large tracts. In Hanashiro, the largest single parcel [423] is 4564 tsubo (3.77 acres), in Minatogawa 1333 (tsubo) (1.9 acres), and in Matsuda 6398 tsubo (5.28 acres), but these are far above the average. In Hanashiro it is important because grass is constantly needed for [824] thatched roofs and other uses. The importance of genya and its grass was well illustrated in Minatogawa after the typhoon, Ruth, of October 13-14, 1951. These villagers own little land and many have no genya. [731] They were obliged to buy the grass to replace the roofs of many of the [432] frailer houses which had been partially or completely destroyed by the typhoon. Genya is also used for family tombs. In Hanashiro, the genya [764]

[Text continues TOP of P. 133--Analyst]

3 The problem can be appreciated by analyzing the acreage areas of each classification of land and the grades within it, bearing in mind that the average farmer has hatake, genya, and often rice paddies. These statistics will be given in the following chapter.

place. Then, as now, paddy and dry crop land might lie together, depending upon local factors. In the periodic redistribution, each family received shares of each in non-contiguous fragmented parcels. In the nature of things, they received small shares of the excellent, moderate shares of the good, and large holdings in poor land. 175 423 311

The old classification of lands was simple and did not go beyond three general divisions of good, fair, and poor. Apparently the Japanese after 1879 introduced more refinements and increased the number of classifications to six. Land classification, then as now, was empirical. It was based on observation, local knowledge of present and past yields, and known dangers to the land. It was not based on scientific knowledge of the soils, nor is it today. 175 311 [177] [242]

Several dangers to land and crops were considered: (1) the danger of the wild boar (inoshishi). These reddish brown wild boars have disappeared from large parts of Okinawa, though occasionally one is seen in the northern forest. The boars destroyed crops by night feeding. Remnants of old fences can still be seen in the area around Matsuda. In Oku, in the extreme north, fences are still used and many can be seen along the hillsides. (2) Dangers from floods and salt water spray. Local flooding is common and often confined to a narrow area. Salt water spray and salt water in the air, especially in typhoon times, are still menaces to crops. The danger from typhoons did not enter directly into the determination of land classification because the area of destruction was so wide that it was not a factor distinguishing one plot from another. (One can however observe areas of differential damage in a village as an aftermath of typhoons). 175 241 [136] [417] [173]

This old land allotment system is now forgotten except in a few isolated areas where its main features are still apparently preserved. The best known of these is Kudaka Island off the southeastern shore of Okinawa. If the system has disappeared, except for a few isolated survivals, its influence remains to the present: it determined the pattern of land use still in effect today, the pattern of small, discontinuous parcels, and set the precedents for the mechanics of land classification. The basic classifications such as rice land, dry crop land, community forest were Japanese and are of great age. The old land allotment system is also considered to be of great antiquity.[2] 178 423 [189] [177]

2 It was a matter of considerable disappointment that I was unable to spend two or three weeks on Kudaka to study the land system there. Neither has time permitted an investigation (of great inherent interest) of the historical antecedants of the old Okinawan system. Land classification, such as we will be discussing in the next chapter, is very old in Japanese culture. The old Okinawan system bears some resemblances to the "mouth-share-land" (ku-bu-den) system of old Japan which appears in the Taihō code (702 A.D.). This was a system of distribution of communally owned land, but I have not been able to determine whether the distribution was periodic. See Wigmore, J. H. and Simmons, D. B. Notes on land tenure and local institutions in old Japan. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 19 (1891), 77 on land classification, (continued on next page)

311 Land appraisal made by people with long experience with the
[242] capabilities of their soils under traditional methods of farming, fertilization, and land reclamation is very old in the culture. This in itself is a very significant fact about the culture aside from the obvious technical utility of a land classification system.
[556] Land classification is important as a tangible indication of wealth
[651] as appraised by representatives of the village. This classification is the basis of taxation of land. A grade two rice paddy pays a
[433] lower tax than a grade one. The system of land classification also provides a basis for estimating probable yields.

Township officials are responsible for land classification on
[632] a township basis, but each village does its own. In Gushichan township (Hanashiro and Hinatogawa) the elected mayor and his appointed subordinates and local farmers who know the land well have set up the system based on classes and grades of land. In Ginoza-son, the mayor performs a similar function. Since each village has its land classification, a table of correspondences makes possible the comparison of equivalent grades. A composite system for the township can then be made. Grade three rice land in Matsuda, for example, may be equivalent to grade two rice land in Ginoza village. By listing all these together, a village wide classification is made.

The main classifications (tōkyū) of land found in all communities are: (1) Rice lands, (ta, tambo), (2) dry crop land (hatake). It is very difficult to translate the word hatake. So far the expression dry crop land has been used. This land may be contrasted with the wet rice fields; it is dry farming land, usually on rolling slopes or upland. It is land used for cultivation of domestic plants except rice and one or two other minor crops. Rice and dry crop land are the two main classes. (3) Genya land. This word is also difficult to translate. It is variously rendered as wild or waste land, but it is neither wild nor wasteland in an economic sense. It is best described negatively as land not suited for cultivation. Despite its low value, it is important land for its production of grass, reeds, firewood and plant shoots for domestic animals. It is vital in land
[185] conservation. The genya land, sometimes on steep or gentle mountain slopes, sometimes cropping out in the midst of cultivated fields or rice paddies, with its dense growth of grass, its occasional pine tree or cycad effectively binds the soil and prevents disastrous run off and flash floods. Around the village of Hanashiro, genya land is rocky and most of its vegetation consists of grass with some shrubs. Before the war, this genya land had more pine and cycads than at present, and the disappearance of the cycad and pine furnished greater opportunity for the omnipresent miscanthus, though there are occasional regrowths of the pine. In Matsuda, the genya land often is indistinguishable from the forest. But the trees are less dense and the privately owned genya is interspersed with the small cultivated paddies and fields. (4) House sites (yashiki, takuchi). There are usually two classes: the first class site is convenient and on a main road or lane; the second class is inconvenient, a rear house, or one

The writers of a recent report on Okinawan economy have emphasized that the combination of generally poor soils, the rapid decomposition of organic matter in a near tropical climate, and excessive leaching make the problem of fertilization very difficult--[4] to say nothing of the trace elements. 241 [119]

(6) Other substances are used for fertilizers. In Matsuda the barber gathers the cuttings from the luxuriant hair of his clients and places them around his sugar cane--and recommends them highly. Acacia leaves are also used for this purpose here. Leaves and miscellaneous plants are often considered to be especially good fertilizers. [305] [302] [824]

Crop rotation (rinsaku) practices differ by district. In the Hanashiro area, the sugar cane, soy bean, and sweet potato (or vegetable), sugar cane rotation is common. Rotation of paddy with another crop does not occur. Rice succeeds rice in the double cropping system here. In Matsuda, a common rotation is either (1) the sweet potato, soy beans (or grain, millet, or green peas) and the sweet potato, or (2) the soy bean, sweet potato, grain (barley or millet) rotation. Here rice is not rotated with other crops. (This however does occur in Okinawa).

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Simple Rotations
Hanashiro and Nagamo

One Year

After the sweet potato harvest, the plot is planted in soybeans in the first lunar month.

The soybeans are harvested in the fifth lunar month.

Sweet potatoes follow the soybeans in the sixth lunar month

or

Vegetables alternating with the sweet potato for a year.

Two Years

Sugar cane is sown in the sixth lunar month.

Harvested two years hence, followed by ordinary beans or vegetables, again followed by cane.

4 Agricultural and economic reconstruction in the Ryukyus. A report. Agricultural mission to the Ryukyus, Nov. 1949, 46-47.

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[423]

These illustrations, while suggesting the common practice, are oversimplified. Rotation is more complicated because all of a farmer's scattered holdings may be involved in an overall rotation, and one plot may serve several different purposes. In the following example of a plot divided up into five small parcels, the planting and transplanting of the sweet potato is part of the mechanism of rotation:

Time: September 1951

Newly hoed. To be planted in beans (sora-mame), Sept. 1951. 1	Planted in Sweet Potatoes in July 1951. To be harvested in Jan. 2	Soy beans harvested in May Now in weeds and grass 3	Now being freshly planted with slips from Parcel 4. Hoeing Completed.
Planted in Sweet Potatoes on Sept. 20, 1951. Slips from this parcel are vegetatively reproduced on parcels 3 & 5. 4			5

In the following illustration, sweet potatoes and beans provide rotation both of crop and of field:

1 Sweet Potato Seed Bed Potatoes planted in Feb. May and July cuttings supply 2, 3, 4, 5	2 Planted in Soybeans in January. Harvested in May. Sweet potato cuttings planted after the soy bean harvest. The plot is entirely in sweet potatoes by May.

Planted With Sweet Potato Slips or Clones:

3	4	5

A crop rotation with sugar cane depends on whether it is a spring (harue) or a summer (natsue). In the spring planting, lunar calendar:

> Sugar cane cuttings are planted in the second month, to be harvested one year later. At that harvest, the plants are not torn out, but the stubs are allowed to sprout (the stubble or ratoon crop), the

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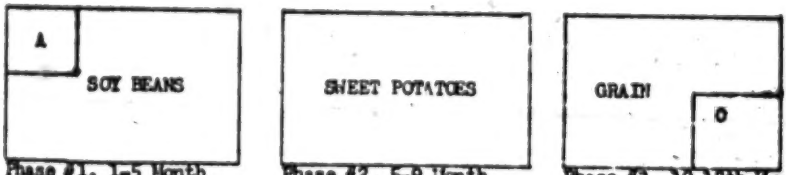
resulting growth being harvested in the second or third lunar month one year hence. After this second cane harvest, the plant is torn up and soy beans or sweet potatoes are grown. This is a two year period for the cane, followed by one year in vegetables or other crops.

In the summer planting, lunar calendar:

Cane cuttings are planted in the seventh month. This crop is harvested about a year and a half later, in the twelfth lunar month of the following year, then to be planted in soy beans or sweet potatoes.

In Matsuda, crop rotation is confined to crops other than rice. The rotation, as in the south, centers around the sweet potato, sugar cane, vegetables and grains. The rotation in a parcel of land may be the sweet potato, then the soy bean, green peas, or a grain such as barley, wheat, or millet, followed by the sweet potato. In this rotation, small segments of land are reserved for sweet potato seed beds. When they are not used for this purpose, they may be left fallow for about three months of the year. The following diagram shows the same plot of land at three different times of the year:



Phase #1, 1-5 Month Phase #2, 5-9 Month Phase #3, 10-12th Month

In phase 1, the plot is planted to soy beans. A small corner of this plot (A), is devoted to a sweet potato bed. After the soy beans are harvested, slips from the plants in the sweet potato bed are transplanted and the whole parcel is in sweet potatoes. After the sweet potato harvest, the plot is put in a grain, perhaps millet, or barley, leaving a small plot to be hoed and prepared with composts, manures, or plant residues for another sweet potato bed.

Sugar cane is used in Matsuda crop rotations in two ways:

Rotation #1, Matsuda

First year, 2nd month	Spring growth cane slips, often the ratoon crop)
11th month	Harvest sugar cane, plant soy beans
Second year, 4th month	Harvest soy beans, plant sweet potatoes
9th month	Harvest sweet potato, plant grain or vegetables.

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Rotation #2, Matsuda

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First year, ninth month: Autumn planting of sugar cane
Second year, twelfth month: Harvest of sugar cane. Followed by: Soy bean, sweet potato, or vegetables.

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Land is seldom allowed to lie fallow intentionally for any length of time. At any one time of the year, a farmer may have idle land for which there may be a variety of reasons. He may have other tasks and be unable to cultivate all his land, or have no need of doing so, or some of his land may be so poor that he will not cultivate it unless necessary. Much depends on the individual farmer and his holdings. The village records indicate that in Hanashiro 97.2% of the rice and 83.1% of the dry crop land is under cultivation. From the preceding discussion of land classification, it is clear that many parcels are of marginal quality, and these areas may be left uncultivated, at least part of the year. During the post-war [426] period there has been some informal lending of land, free of rent, to friends and neighbors, if the farmer is not using it himself.

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Manual labor with hand tools is the dominant method of cultivation. Domestic animals are not uncommon, but their use in farming is minor. The war increased the dependence on manual labor through the loss of domestic animals. Only cattle are now used in rice cultivation for plowing and harrowing and this is infrequent. The man or woman and the hoe are far more common. Crops are carried from the [482] fields by human labor. The basket or the straw container, or the [415] tied rice sheaves on either end of a pole over the shoulder, and not horse carts, push carts, or wheel barrows are the main means of [493] transport from field to courtyard. The barefooted farmer, with his hoe and a pole or a basket does the greatest part of the work. The common tools of agriculture are hand tools and adapted to the intensive cultivation which so often has more properly been called the work of a gardener rather than that of a farmer.

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The basic all purpose tool is the solid bladed hoe. The hoe, since deep cuts are possible with its heavy blade, takes the place of the plow. The hoe also replaces the spade, and even the rake, for it can be used to break up and smooth the soil. A poorer farmer may lack [434] many of the tools in the following list, but he will have two or three of the solid bladed hoes.

The accompanying illustration shows the most common agricultural tools:

1. The hera, a spatula or trowel, used for transplanting tops of the sweet potato. Its wooden hand grip curves toward the end of the tool. The hera is also used as a scraper to remove brown sugar from the sides of the cooking pans during the sugar making season.

2. The kama, a small sickle. Next to the hoe, it is the most

of the young shoots from the seed beds to the paddy field, (4) the care of rice until its maturity, (5) the harvest, (6) threshing, milling, and hulling, (7) the uses of rice and its byproducts, and (8) types and preferences of rice. 243

The preparation and laying out of the seed bed. A seed bed (naidoko) is a plot of first grade land, well watered, specially chosen for this purpose. It is very small in area, often around 15 tsubo, or about 540 square feet. The seed bed also may be a portion of a larger field set apart for seedlings. In this case, small boundaries are made by earthen walls, apertures left for water to flow in and out, and the little plot is then prepared for the seedlings. Considerable care is taken in the preparation of the seed bed. The soil here must be finer and more carefully worked than the paddy field, since it receives the rice seed, not the seedlings. The soil is painstakingly worked, and, with the water added, becomes a thick smooth mud. Commercial fertilizers, composts, and less commonly, night soil are then applied. After the seed is sown, water, perhaps 2 1/2 inches deep is allowed in the bed. During germination, a slow steady irrigation, a washing by new water is maintained by controlling the water trickling in and out of the openings on either side of the field. [311] [134] [312]

The selection of the seed. The seed is taken from the harvest immediately preceding. After fall harvest around December, the rice fields are dug to prepare for the new planting in January or February. The seed used from this crop is tested in one of two ways. 243 242

In Matsuda, it is common for a farmer to fetch a bucketful of sea water. To this he adds a little more salt until the density of the water is sufficient to float an egg. The rice seed is put in the water. The light and undesirable grains rise to the surface. This salt water density method is apparently very old and originally came from China. [177]

Another method, based on the same assumption that the lighter grains make undesirable seed, is used in both villages. The rice is tossed in a round, shallow, winnowing basket, and the breeze carries off the undesirable seeds to the chickens. In the summer planting the seed, after this testing, is ready to sow. In the fall and winter planting, there is one further step. After the seed has been selected by the winnowing or the density method, it is soaked in water for four or five days. Following this, it is removed from the water, put in a tub, and covered. Warm water is added, the mixture is stirred and allowed to stand for another four or five days. The water is then poured off and seed has begun to germinate. The seedlings can now be planted in the seed bed.

Transplanting the young shoots from the seed bed to the paddy field. 243
In the meantime, the paddy fields have been prepared. After the harvest, the field is drained. Small clumps of cropped rice stalks stick up two or three inches where they have been cut with the small sickle or bill knife. This stubble is turned over either by hoeing, the usual way, or

[Kitazato]

somewhat appalled by what they regard as a lack of concern on the part of Americans for their plight. As they have been long accustomed to a paternalistic government, this seems to be a deliberately negligent attitude, and they express this feeling not infrequently. The following statements were heard by the author, "We never see any Americans who come to inspect or look at things" and "No Americans ever come to see how we are." 621 829

National Organizations National organizations such as the youth association and the women's association are rather weak in Kitazato when compared with Kanegusuku. They say that they have little spare time for such organizations, which is undoubtedly true, and the scattered nature of the village makes meeting a chore for some in the outlying sections. The ranks of the youth association are thinned by the loss of members who have sought employment in the city or military camps. Even the agricultural association is not as active as elsewhere, since the farmers feel that little can be done to improve their situation. The farmers and the head of the 'son' agricultural office were disgusted by the stupidity of a plan tendered by the central agricultural office to relieve the distress of Kitazato and other dispossessed farmers in Kami Motobu-son. This plan called for the planting of sugar cane as a cash crop and the use of the proceeds to buy food. It failed to take into consideration that sugar takes a long time to mature and that the people would have nothing to eat in the interim, and even if they were to plant their entire holdings in sugar, it would not bring enough cash to feed them. 621 575 621 829 242 241

Village Solidarity Village solidarity seems very high in Kitazato, much higher than in Kanegusuku. Undoubtedly this is largely due to the common problem which faces them all; nevertheless several other factors appear to be involved. The gentry origin of Kitazato kept it aloof from its immediate neighbors for many years, and apparently no real contacts were established in neighboring villages until after the annexation. Even today the people of this village speak a dialect markedly distinct from that of their nearest neighbors; thus, the upper-class origin and the physical and linguistic isolation of the village has perhaps contributed much to its integration and solidarity. The relative weakness of kin groupings seems to be another factor. In Kanegusuku one gets the impression that the strength of the lineages mitigates against informal village-wide cooperation and only through formal organizations such as the youth association is any real village-wide cooperation realized. In Kitazato the weak kin groupings seem no obstacle to this. 621 186 [197]

It seemed to the author that the people of Kitazato never tired of reiterating how well they cooperated together and how much they enjoyed working together as a village. "We want to stay together as a village, as we cooperate so well together." This is typical of the statements which were made. Many say that they would not object to emigration provided they might emigrate as a village.

Land Rentals Two serious problems face the people of Kitazato in regard to renting the land of neighboring villages. They are unable to pay 621 427

793 In the first version, a male person (Shinerikyu) and a female person (Amamikyu) descended from Heaven. Amamikyu without sexual intercourse gave birth to three children: the first son became the first ruler; the first daughter, the first priestess; and the second son, the first farmer.

In the second version, the male and female deities gave birth to a child. "They carried stones and earth to the edge of the sea and planted trees to keep back the waves." Mountains and forests thus made, "mankind sprung up." Knowledge was attained and one person divided mankind into classes. This man, Tenteishi, had five children: Tensonshi, the first son and first ruler; the second son, the first noble (ansu); the third son, the first farmer. The eldest daughter became the first kikoe-oh-gimi who later headed the institutionalized noro religious system. The second [793] daughter became the first priestess (noro).

173 The dynasty established by Tensonshi, according to tradition, lasted for twenty-five generations, 17,802 years, or until 1187 A. D. During this period, Okinawa was divided into three districts (magiri), Kunchan in the [631] north, Nakagami in the center and Shimajiri in the south, divisions which remain to this day.[4] The districts were divided into mura or townships. [243] "Wheat and millet were raised at Kutaka /a name of a magiri/ and rice was grown at Chinen and Tamagusuku."[5] There is reason to believe that Tensonshi 174 dynasty had its greatest control over what would now be the area of Naha, Shuri, Tamagusuku township, and the Chinen peninsula area.

793 In both myths, a female priesthood, as Spencer points out, is placed at the very beginning of Ryukyuan history. A king, lesser nobles, a female priesthood, and farmers were the basis of the culture.

3

Events of the Early Historical Period

175 Not enough is known of the early historical contacts between the Great
197 Loochoo and the Chinese and Japanese to warrant any conclusions regarding
648 influences which these countries could have exerted.

Chinese punitive expeditions took place in the early seventh century A. D., but the consensus of opinion is that the invasion of Great Loochoo resulted in no prolonged cultural contact or influence. Some Japanese

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 29 -- ANALYST]

4 Chamberlain, The Luchu Islands and their inhabitants, as cited, 306.

5 Leavenworth, Charles S. The Loochoo islands, 15. Quotation is from the manuscript history translated by Leavenworth, ibid, 77.

The village is one of a series of settlements in a long narrow valley, on a limestone plain, bordered on the east by a steep ridge, up to 300 feet in elevation and running in a northwest and southeast direction, which divides the valley from the sea. On these cliff like formations, large outcrops are covered with shrubs and miscanthus grass. Lanes and roads lead from the valley floor to the summits of these hills, where villagers collect their firewood and grass for roof thatch. On the rocky, steep slopes of this seaward ridge, above the line of cultivation, is the tomb area. Precipitous and stony hills prevent cultivation, but occasionally a sharp tongue of land reaches far up the slope, its end protected from the rains and wash by a short stone fence. 361 133 [137] [491] [824] [764] [417]

Between Oushichan and Hanashiro village, there is a bridge over a small stream, its upstream course obscured by its dispersion in the rice fields. The dirt road, gradually ascending, cuts through the main rice growing area of the village, on a gentle slope, reflected in the bench cultivation of the rice fields. Here and there are large rocks and stony outcrops, with an occasional scrub pine, cycad, or a covering of miscanthus. Cultivation goes around these large stones. 491 133 [243] [137]

The road, about one-fourth of a mile from the bridge, soon leads into what looks like, from a distance, a densely wooded area. This is the settlement. 361

With the exception of the rough stony land of the limestone mountains and steep slopes, the soils of the area are the Okinawa clay loams and the Chinen stony clays lying on the limestone plains. The farm and village area takes up approximately 427 acres, of which 257 are in gently sloping Okinawa clay loams, a deep, well drained, neutral to slightly acid and very fertile soil. Another five acres is of the same type but these are in slopes, of a gradient ranging from 8-15%. There are 80 acres in gently sloping Shuri clays, shallow, moderately fertile, an olive colored, crumbly, calcareous clay; another 35 acres in the Awase clays, deep fertile, crumbly, calcareous clay of olive-gray color, and 14 acres of rough stony land. 134 133 311

The hillsides and the summits are free of densely growing trees and shrubs, and the lowlands are given over to cultivation. There are no groves of trees to protect the crops from typhoons. The trees and the protection they give are confined to the village. This is typical of many villages of southern Okinawa, where the hills and mountains have few trees, and dense growths are associated with habitation. 311

Inside the village, winding lanes branch off the main dirt road. The older houses are on the north side of the road. On the opposite side, the houses, newer or rebuilt since the war, adjoin the cultivated area. In the older section, the dense shrubbery, the tree lined lanes, broken occasionally by stone fences, wind through the village with footpaths branching off, sometimes past an open field, a reminder of a failure to rebuild after the war. On the northern outskirts is the village office, its gong in the yard, the open field, a playground for the children. 361 363 [417] [487] [367]

off a main road or village lane. (5) Forest lands (sanrin). This is an important classification in Matsuda, but of minor significance in Hanashiro and Minatogawa. In the latter villages forest land is not recognizable because so many of the trees have been destroyed. In general, forest lands are community owned. (6) Shelter belts or groves of trees along the seashore or on crests of hills for typhoon protection. These are known as bōfurin. The trees are distinct from the forest lands; often they stand in isolated groves. In the south trees for typhoon shelters are confined to the settled area. There are no large groves surrounding and protecting the whole cultivated countryside. (7) Religious sites (haisho). These are small in area, the sites of buildings devoted to the local tutelary deities (ujigami). (8) The village community property (kōyūchi). This may include the village office site and school grounds. (9) A miscellaneous classification (zashuchi). This is also public property, including vegetable plots, small public squares, very small parks, ponds, road meeting places and the like. These combined areas are usually small. (10) In the Gushichan area, there is one further classification: destroyed land (tsuborechi). This is land in the war area which has not been or cannot be restored. The pieces are not large. During the war a bulldozer may have made a road out of this land; it may be filled with stones or the shallow top soil of the land may have been scraped off in leveling for an army post or camp. 311 [927]

The bases for grading land within each class are different. In Gushichan township, the main consideration in grading rice land is the availability of water. First class rice land is where the water is. In this township, there are seven grades of rice land, although any one village may have only four or five. The first five grades in the township are rice lands with two yields a year. Grades one through five are determined by the yield of the plot, through past experience. Grades six and seven are one crop areas. The distinctions between the grades can be seen in the following table: 311 243 [312]

Grade of Rice Land	Expected Yield in Koku per Cho
1	24
2	18
3	15
4	12
5	7.5
6	6.7
7	6.0

[433]

A koku is 5.12 US dry bushels. A chō is 3000 tsubo, about 2.45 acres. [804]

If there is a drought in any year, the grades of land are not changed the following year, but the estimate of expected yield may

311 243 be lowered. If the rainfall is unusually low, the estimated yields may even be cut in half. Grade differences are also shown by the Oushichan tax table on rice land:

[651]

Class	Rate in Yen (per tsubo)
1	37
2	34
3	31
4	28
5	25
6	22
7	19

311 The grading of dry crop land is not so simple because various crops can be grown and there are difficulties in making equivalences of yields. The grading is more subjective and vague, with gradations based on the judgment of the land committee. It might seem that the grades of dry crop land based on subjective judgment would be difficult to agree upon. This is not the case. Farmers who have lived in the village all their lives, and who as children remembered the experience of their fathers, know their own and their neighbors' land well. Representatives from the village who suggest the grades are chosen by the farmers for their honesty, skill in agriculture, and knowledge of the land.

311 134 133 Depth of the soil, flatness, degree of stoniness and accessibility are the most important criteria. The first three of these follow naturally from conditions widespread in Okinawa. There often is very little topsoil. One can observe cuts in roads or sharp declivities which show soils only an inch or two deep before meeting the consolidated or unconsolidated rock below. The hilly and mountainous nature of the island enforces cultivation on slopes, summits, and rolling hills. Stoniness, whether large boulders or small pebbles or both is common. One of the occupations of the old in Minatogawa and Nagamo is to convert stony to arable land by tediously picking [887] up the stones and throwing them into piles for subsequent sale in road building. But often the boulders are so large that cultivation must curve around them. These conditions can be seen to good advantage in Nagamo. In Hanashiro, the soils are flatter, less stony, and deeper. Matsuda has wide areas of poor shallow and stony soils. First class hatake land, then, is flat, deep, with few or no stones, [241] and suitable either for sugar or the sweet potato and the various common vegetables.

311 With this standard of first class hatake land, the other grades are judged, mostly by inspection and through consultation and agreement by the committee. In the Oushichan township, there are ten such grades of hatake land, the tenth grade being so poor that it is virtually genya land. In dry crop land, probably the most important

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HANASHIRO	MATSUDA
TENTH MONTH (Oct 30-Nov 28)	
221 241 Possible beginning of second rice harvest, though this is early. Planting rice in seed bed. Sow sweet potato slips.	Sow peas (endō-mame) and beans. Plant sweet potato slips if rain. Sow giant radish (daikon), tomatoes, barley. Weeding of radishes, and vegetables planted previous month until the 25th. Rice cutting begins.
ELEVENTH MONTH (Nov 29-Dec 27)	
Continuation of the rice harvest. Threshing and milling. Planting of sugar cane, slantwise. Sow cabbage seed. Rice seed planting begins, or continues if begun in the 10th month.	Rice cutting and harvest. Threshing and milling. Rice fields dug up. Preparation of new fields.
TWELFTH MONTH (Dec 28-Jan 26)	
Sugar making. Sow Irish potatoes (bareisho) but in small quantities	Continue digging up rice fields. Rice sown in seed beds after seed testing. Sugar making may begin.

YEAR ROUND ACTIVITIES

Sweet Potato Planting, Transplanting and Harvesting continues throughout the year, depending on time and distribution of rainfall.

4

Rice Cultivation

843 Growing rice is a most exacting task. The period from the time the seed bed is prepared until the final milling is one of tedious work and continuous apprehension. The reaction of Okinawan farmers to rice cultivation perhaps was best summed up by a Matsuda farmer who said, "Everyone dislikes the work, but rice is delicious." [461] [262]

Assuming that the field is already in existence, the cultivation of rice may be divided into the following stages: (1) preparation and laying out of the seed bed, (2) selection of the seed, (3) transplanting

of the young shoots from the seed beds to the paddy field, (4) the care of rice until its maturity, (5) the harvest, (6) threshing, milling, and hulling, (7) the uses of rice and its byproducts, and (8) types and preferences of rice. 243

The preparation and laying out of the seed bed. A seed bed (naidoko) is a plot of first grade land, well watered, specially chosen for this purpose. It is very small in area, often around 15 tsubo, or about 540 square feet. The seed bed also may be a portion of a larger field set apart for seedlings. In this case, small boundaries are made by earthen walls, apertures left for water to flow in and out, and the little plot is then prepared for the seedlings. Considerable care is taken in the preparation of the seed bed. The soil here must be finer and more carefully worked than the paddy field, since it receives the rice seed, not the seedlings. The soil is painstakingly worked, and, with the water added, becomes a thick smooth mud. Commercial fertilizers, composts, and less commonly, night soil are then applied. After the seed is sown, water, perhaps 2 1/2 inches deep is allowed in the bed. During germination, a slow steady irrigation, a washing by new water is maintained by controlling the water trickling in and out of the openings on either side of the field. [311] [134] [312]

The selection of the seed. The seed is taken from the harvest immediately preceding. After fall harvest around December, the rice fields are dug to prepare for the new planting in January or February. The seed used from this crop is tested in one of two ways. 243 242

In Matsuda, it is common for a farmer to fetch a bucketful of sea water. To this he adds a little more salt until the density of the water is sufficient to float an egg. The rice seed is put in the water. The light and undesirable grains rise to the surface. This salt water density method is apparently very old and originally came from China. [199]

Another method, based on the same assumption that the lighter grains make undesirable seed, is used in both villages. The rice is tossed in a round, shallow, winnowing basket, and the breeze carries off the undesirable seeds to the chickens. In the summer planting the seed, after this testing, is ready to sow. In the fall and winter planting, there is one further step. After the seed has been selected by the winnowing or the density method, it is soaked in water for four or five days. Following this, it is removed from the water, put in a tub, and covered. Warm water is added, the mixture is stirred and allowed to stand for another four or five days. The water is then poured off and seed has begun to germinate. The seedlings can now be planted in the seed bed.

Transplanting the young shoots from the seed bed to the paddy field. 243
In the meantime, the paddy fields have been prepared. After the harvest, the field is drained. Small clumps of cropped rice stalks stick up two or three inches where they have been cut with the small sickle or bill knife. This stubble is turned over either by hoeing, the usual way, or

243 by plowing.

There is water on the land when it is dug and harrowed, but it is not flooded. Not all rice land is harrowed. If it is not harrowed, the same result is accomplished by further hoeing. The harrow (maguwa in Japanese, maga in Okinawan) is partly a home made tool and looks like a large clumsily constructed rake. Essentially it is a piece of timber with a row of strong spikes. This timber ordinarily is made of pine, but other woods may be used. Twelve nails, spaced at about two inch intervals, are driven into the board. These nails or spikes, about 8 sun (almost 10 inches long), square at the head, and with a sharp point, are made by a blacksmith for about Yen 20 each. The harrow is drawn by cattle; two shafts, with a yoke over the animal's head complete the simple implement. The plow is used in the preparation of the field, but far more commonly, the work is done with a hoe.

[407] [414] [326] [23] [435]

In the fall and winter planting of rice, the seedlings remain in the seed bed for about 40 days. In the summer, the period is only 20 days and may be less. The winter shoots are from 7-8 inches long, the summer shoots from 4-7 inches. The length is important, for if the seedlings are too long, losses in transplanting will, according to Hanashiro farmers, increase to almost half. In rare instances, due to adverse conditions, seedlings in the seed bed reach 15-20 inches in length. The losses here are said to be considerable in transplanting.

[462]

The hoeing or the plowing and harrowing of a field is almost exclusively done by men. It is tiring, uncomfortable, and heavy work. It is much more common to see women hoeing the dry crop land. But transplanting is done by men, women, and the older children. A handful of seedlings in the bed is pulled out and bound with straw, grass, or a rush. There is a knack in pulling these out. They must be jerked quickly, but dexterously to avoid root damage. The bundle is tossed either into a central place or into the paddy field to be planted, if it is adjoining. In the latter case, the bunches are tossed to various parts of the paddy.

The seedlings are generally set out in rows. For this purpose, a string with small markers like buttons (shirushi) is used. These are 7 sun (about 8.4 inches) apart. Both the rows and the hills are 7 sun apart. Differences between rows and hills may vary considerably. In these localities, the distances were generally the same. The string is stretched from one end of the row to the other. Each seedling is planted at the interval indicated by the marker on the string. This method of planting is not universal. When there is little time, the seedlings might be scatter planted.

Another method of obtaining the checker-board pattern is by means of a home made hexagonal frame, the waku (literally, a reel or a frame). Each of the six sides is divided into nine squares, 7 sun on the side. The overall length is over six feet. The frame is set along the outside border, or at any desired starting point. When in place, the

bottom will imprint nine squares on the wet soil, and as it is turned another nine will be imprinted so that when continued the field is laid out in tiny squares. Three or four seedlings are planted on the corners of the square made by the waku. 243 804 413

Men operate the frame. As they turn it, making the square pattern on the damp soil, women follow behind with the seedlings. The frame has been in use in Matsuda for about fifteen years. An Okinawan agricultural school student is said to have invented it. It was not used in the southern villages studied, an interesting sidelight on the slowness of innovation even on a small island like Okinawa, for many farmers in the south expressed surprise at its use and had not heard of it. The device is helpful to those with large plots. In Matsuda, there are not many of these frames, but borrowing is frequent. [462] [176] [184] [426]

In contrast with recent introductions, such as the universal treadle thresher, the frame seems to be confined to one geographic area. The reason for this may be that the use of the thresher was actively encouraged by the Japanese as a successful time and labor saving device, while the frame was not similarly publicized. 243 804 [407]

Another method, a more traditional one, is to use a piece of wood the same length as the waku with seven little knobs and the two ends to give the nine spaces. This is the jiyogi. A piece of string stretched from one end of the field to the other is used to get a straight line along a row. When the planting has taken place along one row, the jiyogi is used to measure off one space between rows, the guide line is moved over and the operation repeated. This achieves the same purpose as the frame or the string with the markers. Men are more likely to handle these operations, the women following along with the transplanting. But the division of labor is by no means hard and fast. [462]

Care of rice until its maturity. Rice set out in squares is easier to cultivate, weed, and harvest. During its growth, it will be necessary occasionally to loosen the soil or to break up clods which escaped the initial working. There may be some temporary drainage of water off the fields at these times. 243

Weeding rice is usually done by hand, though once in a while a farmer has a hand cultivator. Weeding the rice field is an unrelenting job which is done about once a week. More attention is given to this task when the plants are younger. Weeding is worked in with other daily chores, and all members of the family may participate.

The rice is now allowed to grow with the hope that strong winds or a typhoon will not blow over the slender shoots or submerge them. If the rice is submerged when the shoots are still fairly young, they will gradually right themselves. Farmers say that attempting to upright the plants by hand will not work. The quality of rice once submerged is poor and sometimes half the rice in the plot is lost. If the submersion occurs when the plants are near maturity and the stalks are 20 or 25

243 inches high, the bottom of the paddy becomes a tangled mass. Farmers walk disconsolately away from a field like this, often without even attempting to harvest the crop. The seeds once soaked will produce inferior rice. In this case, the farmer may turn the whole crop under or salvage some for pig food. The growing of rice is one long gamble with the wind and with typhoons, and there is seldom a year in which some rice is not destroyed.

[221] The harvest. The cutting of rice at harvest time, July and November in the western calendar, is done in a uniform manner. (Harvest times may vary somewhat from place to place). A bunch of the long stalks is grasped in one hand and cut off with the small sickle. A stubble of a few inches is left in the field. The sheaves are tied up with a piece of rice straw and thrown in piles. The commonest and [482] most convenient way of carrying the sheaves from the field is to tie several together. A large bundle of these is carried on either end of a pole which rests on the shoulder. The ends of the pole are cut like tenons and stuck in the bundles below the binding. The rice is carried to the courtyard to be threshed. If necessary, it will be allowed to dry for a few days.

243 407 Threshing, hulling, and milling. Rice is threshed either in the courtyard of the home or in a flat place near the house. During rice harvest, the threshing machines can be heard all over the village, the noise suggesting the sounds of cars on a railroad track, heard from a distance. The device now universally used for threshing rice is the dakkoki.

This has a foot treadle, similar to an old fashioned sewing machine. Working the treadle up and down causes a drum, set at about waist length, to revolve. This drum has a series of wires set in rows and bent over, appearing like large staples. These staples are parallel with the line of rotation of the drum.

A conveniently handled bunch of stalks (wara) is held on the revolving drum, the rice seeds touch the staples, which knock the kernels off. They drop to the floor of the device. Often the top has a canvas cover to catch the flying rice kernels and the machines is set in the middle of a large piece of canvas so that the grain can easily be re-[462] covered. Both men and women do this work, although women seem to do more of it. They are free to work while at home, alternating the task with other chores. They keep up with the man and the elder children who are carrying the rice bundles in from the fields. After threshing, rice straw is thrown aside. It has many subsequent uses.

[177] The dakkoki, an introduction from Japan, is new in Okinawa. In Hanashiro it has been used scarcely 15 years. Prior to this, more primitive methods were used which can still be observed in Matsuda today. These old methods are no longer important, but they are of interest because they were used, instead of the treadle thresher, up to pre-war times.

One of these, the shimba (nnihija in Okinawan) is essentially a concave forked piece of metal set on a frame, which in turn rests on four props set up in sawbuck fashion. The rice sheaves are drawn through the teeth, causing the kernels to drop below. The sawbuck may be any desired height. Usually the top of the fork is waist level. The only significance of the shimba today is that it provides diversion and occupation for the old women, many of whom are too weak or too unsteady to operate the treadle thresher. The same is true of an even simpler device for threshing. Two short pieces of bamboo, or any piece of round wood, a little longer and with a slightly greater diameter than a pair of chopsticks, are loosely tied together on one end with straw or a strong blade of grass. The tied ends of the two sticks are held in the right hand, leaving the free ends to strip off the rice kernels from the straw. This labor is done by very old women. Age is no deterrent to work as long as people are able to get around. But, as in the south, the treadle thresher is universally used. This device was widely distributed by the Japanese agricultural specialists of the government throughout the empire in the years immediately before the war. In Matsuda, it is also thought to be about 15 years since its introduction.

As in Japan, from which the terms were borrowed, rice in various stages of cultivation and processing is known by different names. Rice in the hull is momei; unpolished rice is genmai, and polished rice is hakumai. Rice stalks are known as wara.

Hulling and polishing rice by machinery are also new in Okinawan villages. In Hanashiro, those machines driven by an open belt are about ten years old. A hand mill, the shiriushi, to be described shortly, was in general use for polishing rice up to 1940.

At present everyone, no matter how poor, pays for hulling and polishing of his rice. The mill owner in Hanashiro estimated that the machinery processed in ten minutes the amount of rice that formerly took a day to hull and polish by hand. Poor families do not try to effect savings by hand work. They pay the fee, sell the polished rice, and eat sweet potatoes.

Unpolished rice is disliked and is never eaten. It is described as hard and bitter in taste. The machinery in a rice mill varies from place to place in quality and modernity. The mill (seimaisho) has two machines: a hulling machine (momitsuriki) and a polishing machine (seimaiki). One simple type of a hulling machine is an endless chain type of mechanism. The rice is put in little buckets on the chain which carry it to rubber layers. As the rice is forced through the layers, the hulls are cracked and pinched off, and are then blown out on a pile in back. After being hulled, the rice goes through the shaft of the milling machine. The shaft housing is grooved. As the shaft revolves, it polishes the rice which is going through it. The shaft also gets heated, and this makes the polishing easier. In the older machine in Hanashiro, the rice was put through the shaft ten times

Rice may also be polished by the use of rude wooden mallets. These have a handle about 3 feet long and a head about 1 1/2 feet long. Rice is placed in a mortar with straw on top. It is pounded, often by two or three women swinging alternately. After the hulls are removed, the rice is winnowed, and put back in the mortar until a rough polish is secured. 252 [412]

Uses of rice. Every part of the rice plant has a use. The stubble, left in the ground, becomes a part of next season's fertilizer. The chaff and waste dust (nuka) is saved for pigs, cows, and other domestic animals. The hulls often are used for fertilizer, before or after burning. Rice straw has a variety of uses. The most frequent and important of these is for making rope. 824

After threshing, the straw is dried two or three days. Three or four stalks of about the same length are taken and rolled between the palms. The lower palm, usually the left, is open and up. The right palm rolls the straw into a twist. As the rope grows, new stalks are inserted one at a time, and, when needed, a new length of straw is added. This is not a strong rope, but it has a variety of uses, such as tying down the grass thatch to the roof poles, children's swings, and clothes lines. Mats and pads shaped like a life saver and used to set the sugar pots on after the sugar has been boiled, are made out of rice straw. Another use is in the making of the Ōda (Okinawan). This is a mesh about one foot wide and two feet long. There are loops on each corner. The end of a pole may be inserted in these loops when gathered together. The pole is carried over the shoulder, and sweet potatoes, straw, or other articles may be easily transported. Simple brooms without a handle, little more than a bunch of straw tied together in three places are also made of rice straw. Twisting and braiding rice straw is likely to be rainy day work. These articles are most often made twice in the year, corresponding with the harvests. [283] [285] [482] [412]

At typhoon times, if rice is not completely destroyed, the damaged rice may be used for pig food. The preparation of this rice is women's work. The rice is put in a mortar and pounded with a mallet in the manner already described, although a single operator usually does the work. [731] [231] [462]

Types and preferences. As a general rule, the selection of varieties of rice for planting depends on taste, the nature of the soils, and individual judgment of the expected yield of each type. In Matsuda, it is estimated that about one half of the rice is the Formosan variety, Taichu 65 (Taichu rokujugo), in Okinawa known as horai. Another variety, Kunigami 71 (Kunigami ichigo) represents about one-fourth of the crop. Mochigome (akaho) takes up about another one-fourth. This glutinous rice has a brown reddish rust colored kernel and is used for rice cakes. A fourth variety, horai-mochimai, is also well liked. No black rice is grown here. 243 [262]

In addition to these varieties, cultivated locally, imported rice is distributed through the import stores. These rices generally are from Egypt, Siam, and Burma. They are not well liked and are considered to be tough (katai). Whether this is because the variety itself is disliked or because the imports were of a poor quality is hard to say, but Egyptian, Siamese, and Burmese rice are unfavorably compared with Japanese, Formosan, or the locally grown products. Okinawans are very sensitive to the types of rice. There is no such thing as "rice." Long habituation and fondness for special kinds have induced tastes and preferences which each villager is quick to express. 439 262 [493]

In Hanashiro, the main type of rice planted is also the Taichu 65, a variety which originated in Formosa, and is generally preferred. The red variety, mochigome, does not do well here, according to local farmers, and just a little is grown. Mochigome (literally, rice-cake rice) is used in making the doughy and gummy rice cakes. 243 262

5

The Sweet Potato

The cultivation of the sweet potato (satsuma imo) is a much simpler undertaking than rice culture. Fields are prepared by hand hoeing. The plow and the harrow are not used. In sweet potato cultivation, seed potatoes are first planted in a small plot. This furnishes slips or transplants for other fields. Slips are multiplied by using the tops of one field to plant another. Propagation thus is by clones, and this vegetatively reproduced plant is the mainstay of the diet. 244 [262]

The potato seed bed, well hoed and fertilized, is generally planted in the spring. The tops to be used as slips (kazura) are cut off and planted in rows. Practice has brought deftness in this transplanting. A small amount of soil is lifted up by the spatula, (hera), and held so that an opening rather than a hole appears. The slip is shoved into the aperture and quickly pressed down by the left heel, as the farmer moves to the next planting.[5] Few tools are used in the cultivation of the sweet potato. Only the hoe and the spatula are really needed. Occasionally one finds a special hoe with a sharp angle between the blade and handle or a heart shaped hoe with a long handle. In the Hanashiro and Nagamo areas, the solid bladed hoe is the commonest tool. Two and three pronged hoes are less often used because of the hardness of the soil. [412]

The cultivation of the sweet potato, as we have said, is a year round operation, though planting may slacken off during the winter months. [221]

5 Methods of cultivation have changed little in the past 100 years. The same operation is described in Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 31-32. [114]

the community is dispersed. In the outlying parts, as far as 2 miles from the center (see map 1), the houses are scattered between the paddies or farm lands in sections which form subvillages or wards. As mentioned above, settlers from the south took up residence in these areas. Recently families from the main village have also moved to the more remote parts of the community, such as Udenaha, because they can reach their fields more conveniently. Although the name Taira refers to the political unit of main village and outlying parts, including Udenaha and Izena, most references in this study pertain only to the central community. Its 60 households, with about 330 individuals, form the primary social unit from which the sample of 24 children was chosen.

Central Taira nestles along the inner shore of Taira Bay, which opens into the Pacific Ocean. At this point the median range mountains recede from the coastline. Behind the village, rice paddies spread in a crazed pattern at the bottom and on the terraced sides of several valleys which are separated from each other by sparsely wooded hills. Here and there the red earth of an eroded section shows like a scab through the green slopes.

In traveling by road from the south, most people choose the highway along the East China Sea coast, which is connected with the road which crosses the island. Higashi township is entered through a low saddle in the mountains which separate the two coastlines. To the right and left begins Taira's forest. Central Taira is reached through a winding lane bordered by pine trees. To the left the view opens into one of the neatly cultivated rice fields, backed by the hills on whose flat tops and terraced sides village people cultivate their farm lands.

The central village itself lies on a sand bluff, separating the valley from the ocean, so that there is a slight drop toward both sides (see map 2). The main road runs the length of the village. Except for the thoroughfare, which is dirt and gravel, the side roads are not surfaced, and after heavy rains puddles form and remain for more than a day, to the delight of children who play in them.

When Taira was destroyed during World War II, along with its houses went much of the foliage which once served as a windbreak. A few fukugi trees * line the main street, and hibiscus hedges here and there hide some of the houses from a first inspection. There are bushes around the edges of the village.

The war-time destruction is hardly apparent on a first walk through the village. Along the main street, lined by houses, one finds the rice mill, a substantial new building of concrete and wood, the police sta-

* A small- to medium-sized evergreen tree with a narrow, upright, very dark green crown of leaves.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 377]

512 is more likely that the majority of adults have to be satisfied with six
513 and a half hours.

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◆
◆

Chapter 3

Basic Economy

INTRODUCTION

241 Taira depends on its fields and forests for a living. Rice and the sweet
433 potato are the principle staple crops; wheat, beans, and vegetables are additional subsistence crops. Firewood and building materials, sugar, pineapple, and silk are main sources of cash. Tea is raised for home consumption.

311 Since the few rivers around Taira are short and the valleys narrow,
[343] the area available for wet rice cultivation is limited. Farm land for
[344] sweet potatoes is also not too abundant in this mountainous region and is located either on the gently sloped hills or on a few plateaus between valleys. Here and there it rises on skillfully terraced steps along the steep sides of mountains.

311 The size of land holdings and the quality of soil partly determine
423 whether a family is able to grow additional cash crops or merely sub-
241 sist. The average holding for each family is about 5 acres of rice land and 6 acres of other farming land. Yet it is important to note that the
[433] range and quality of this land vary widely. Some families own only 1½ acres of rice land and an acre of other farm land, while others own as much as 11 acres of rice land and 12 acres of other farm land; good rice paddies produce three times the quantity of poor ones and are wet
[511] enough to allow for two crops per year. Of the 141 families questioned, only 15 grew enough rice to be self-sufficient; 123 had to buy extra
[433] rice, and only two families raised a surplus for sale. All families grew enough vegetables for home use, and only 18 bought sweet potatoes. Sixty families grew a surplus of vegetables and 16 a surplus of sweet potatoes.

Marezaki & Marezaki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

But actually no family is entirely self-sufficient, for each needs to purchase foodstuff as well as ready-made clothes, manufactured mostly in Japan, more substantial building materials, such as better grades of wood, tiles, and cement, tobacco, alcoholic beverages, sweets, toilet articles, some medical supplies, and other luxuries. Farmers buy their tools; students their books and writing materials. Finally, cash is needed to pay taxes. 433 438

In addition to the utilization of sugar, pineapple, firewood, and building materials for cash, Tairans also raise pigs for sale to slaughter houses, and some families derive an income from raising silkworms and producing tea. Fishermen sell fish inside and outside the village, and a small group of people are salaried workers or have an income from specialized services. [231]

Village leaders fear dependence on rapidly dwindling forest resources, still the main source of ready cash. They realize that the present modest living conditions of all families could be much improved if Tairans concentrated on increasing the cultivation of subsistence crops and farmed more intensively to raise cash crops. Most people lack this insight, however, and live on a day-to-day basis without much thought of the future. This is an island-wide problem which has the attention of central government agencies, and a great deal of educational propaganda comes to the village through government channels. 433 241 [313] [185] [654]

AGRICULTURE

The productivity of the land varies not only with its quality but also with the industriousness of the owners. Farmers who show foresight, those who seem to be under less pressure for immediate cash, take off more time from forest work to cultivate fields during planting season. The village headman and council members remind everybody during village meetings and informal discussions that work in the fields should not be neglected. With the approval of the whole community, the first and 15th of each lunar month have been set aside for farming. On these two days it is forbidden to go to the forests to cut wood. Such agreements are usually observed (as a rule), and they help to achieve their purpose but are not completely effective. 241 185 [433] [623] [313]

Rice is planted and harvested twice a year. The first rice is prepared in January when seeds are put into special beds where they are left to grow into young shoots until March. Until about 30 years ago it was said that all people seeded rice on the same day while prayers were 243 [782] [793]

243 offered at the village shrine by the priestess. Today key agricultural
[782] events are still marked by small ceremonies in which the priestess be-
[793] seeches or thanks the gods, but the actual day for planting is determined by weather and the condition of seed.

When the rice is transplanted in March, the whole family spends long hours in the paddy. Then the paddies swarm with people; some prepare the soil by spreading fertilizer, others stand in the ooze to set the seedlings. Transplanting is done by mutual assistance groups, which
[476] will be discussed later in this chapter. They guarantee everyone a sufficient number of helping hands during the painstaking, rapid work, which has to be finished within a limited time. In a few days the whole paddy area suddenly turns from brown into the tender green of the young shoots. Once planted, intermittent weeding is all the care that is needed.

[261] In July the rice turns brown and is ready for harvest. This is an event of joy for the whole village, for young rice is most delicious and
[857] loved by everyone. By then vacations have started, so that schoolchildren can help to cut rice and carry bundles to the spot where it is threshed in treadle-type machines, located either near the field or behind one's house. As soon as the rice is threshed, the grain is carried to a place in the village where the wind blows freely. There a woman holds a flat winnowing basket filled with grain at an angle to let the
[782] breeze separate the chaff from the grain. The first rice is cut by men
[264] and offered at the family shrine before the whole family eats a specially
[251] prepared gruel. Rice is usually stored in one or two oil drums in the kitchen-side corner of the front room. Better houses have a metal-lined
[256] storeroom. Once a week a supply is taken to the miller to be hulled and polished.

Those whose fields are sufficiently wet plant a second crop, and the cycle is repeated once more in midsummer, with the second harvest falling in late December.

244 Sweet potatoes can be planted throughout the greater part of the year if the soil is not too dry. They take from five to seven months to
[262] grow to full size. Although less popular than rice, no part of the plant
[231] is wasted. The large tubers are consumed, the small ones are usually fed to the pigs; the young leaves are used as vegetables, the older ones cooked into pig food. Slips are cut and used for planting a new crop.

The preferred variety of potato (*tadushi imu*) is grown in the dry paddies during the second rice season. To plant this potato, the soil must be piled up to form a long, narrow, flat-topped mound. One of the hardest jobs for farmers, this is done by men in the humid heat of a midsummer day. Women set the slips after the earth has been moved.
[251] These potatoes are the only variety which are thought to improve with

SiMaretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

storing and are kept under the house or on a special shelf on the rafters. 244

Onions, giant radishes, beans, and cabbages are also raised on farm lands. Night soil is rarely used for such vegetables nowadays but is still used on potatoes. Several of these vegetables as well as others are raised by women in small "home-garden" plots. [251] [514] [462]

The hardest working period during the year is in July and August. Within a few weeks after the rice harvest, the soil must be made ready for the second rice crop or the soil must be prepared for dry paddy potatoes. This is also the time for planting the chief sugar crop. All this takes place during the hottest time of the year, when efficiency is greatly reduced by heat and humidity. 244 243 [249]

Sugar harvest and processing fall in the period between January and March. One field after another is harvested by the owners after arrangements have been made for a date when the cane can be processed. Such arrangements are made with the director of the Taira cooperative, who supervises operations of the sugar mill which is owned by the cooperative. The whole family helps on the day of processing. Women carry bundles of branches and light firewood to heat the kettles. The operation requires the help of someone to feed cane into the small, diesel engine driven press, some to carry the pulp away, and others to watch the kettles in which extracted juice is boiled down to molasses. Finally, a few persons stir the brown residue in wide, open pots until it becomes stalted. Then it is put into tubs that hold about 132 pounds. 249 [474] [402]

The agricultural market for cash crops was totally disrupted at the end of World War II. There was no immediate outlet for sugar products; crops had been destroyed or neglected, and the sugar mill was demolished in the fighting. But by this time most people were too satisfied with the great returns from forest work to invest much time and energy in a crop which takes a year and a half to show any material results. Nevertheless, sugar was the first crop to find a market again. 433 249

Pineapple, introduced recently in Taira, has a promising future. Tea is still grown in small quantities, but few families grow more than they need for their own use, although it is a good potential cash crop for this area. 245

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

Raising pigs is an important source of cash income for all households in the village. Even the poorest families own at least one, but few families have more than two; in the central village the average is about 1.2 per household. Pigs are given special care and attention. 231 [434]

361

View of central village, Taira.

351
342

House and yard.

Preparing rice paddy.

Cultivating rice.

243
291

[p. 456-A]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

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Women washing at water tank.

Women transplanting rice.

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Woman transplanting.

Carrying wood.

[482]

[p 456-B]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

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Children catching small fish.

Girls washing their laundry.

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[296]
[415]
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[482]
→
[312]

Carrying water while their mother is recovering from giving birth.

[243]
→

Boy harvesting.

[p. 456-C]

TRAINING IN SKILLS

868 There are no complex systems of training in skills. Adults rely heavily on observation and imitation on the part of children; they seldom "teach" them to do things systematically. Parents were surprised and amused when questions such as "How do you teach children to transplant rice, harvest rice, or otherwise help in the fields?" were put to them. "We don't teach them; why they just learn by themselves," was the usual answer.

Children learn by observing and experimenting. Whatever adults are doing, children are present to watch their activities and overhear their conversations. Although parents do not seem to make any special [852] efforts to have a child attend a function so that he might learn adult ways, they take their children to the fields, parties, public meetings, and rituals long before they consider them ready to absorb any learning.

868 In the fields, children play among rows of vegetables. When a parent, grandparent, or older sibling stops for a rest to have a cup of tea, 857 the little ones pick up a hoe and attempt to imitate their elders. While ● 243 rice is being transplanted, throngs of children sit on the dikes in the [264] paddies, dangling their legs in the mud. They intently watch adults transplanting and weeding the paddies. Gradually they edge down into the mud to stamp with their bare feet in the ooze as they have seen adults do, until a warning shout arrests their educational water play. During the harvest season, groups of children carry mats out to the paddies and watch infants who need to be near their mothers for their feedings. While the infants sleep, the older children walk along the dikes, watching the work that is going on and clamoring to be of some help. Even a little child of kindergarten age stands by gloomily until an adult laughingly hands him a small bundle of rice sheaves to carry over to the threshing machine. By the time the child is 8, he has learned enough by watching to attempt cutting and tying small bundles of rice sheaves.

868 After the harvest, rice straw can be found in great quantities around the village. Some of the best straw is preserved to be made into rope. 283 If there are rainy days, men will sit and twist the rice straw into rope, [526] while 8- and 9-year-olds sit and watch. In a few days rope games and swings are in evidence everywhere. Little 4- and 5-year-olds stand by watching the older children, and soon they pick up stray bits of straw and twist them to no avail. A younger sibling whines as her move-

CHAPTER I: GEOGRAPHY

F. R. Pitts

131 Location Okinawa is a longish island, lying about halfway between Formosa and the southern tip of Kyushu. Together with clusters of islands lying both to the east and west, it forms the political unit known as Okinawa Gunto.

133 Along the axis of Okinawa, which trends from southwest to northeast, there is a fairly simple division into a plateau-and-mountain northern half, a central plateau area, and a low rolling southern knob. The Motobu peninsula juts westward from the northern, or Kunigami, half and forms a distinctive area. Between the Kunigami mountains and the peaks of Motobu lies the ricebowl of Okinawa---the Haneji lowland.

311 241 Arable Land In general it can be said that the farm population increases as one proceeds south. Map 2, showing the arable land under cultivation as a percentage of the total land area, illustrates this.[1]

Farms in the mountain and plateau north are found in incised V-shaped valleys. Water is plentiful, and rice paddies cover the valley floor. Villages hug the edges of the flat land, and incredibly small sweet-potato terraces rise [137] up the valley's edge. Atop the plateau one finds only silence, and a dense growth of trees and bamboo. Many of the people in the valleys are part-time [132] foresters. The Motobu mountains guard from the frequent typhoons little settlements famed for growing the indigo plant and pineapples. The peninsula's north shore is a fertile but ever-narrowing extension of the Haneji lowland.

In the central plateau area---Nakagami---sweet-potato fields compete with scrubby forest for space on the plateau. Where sufficient water is available, rice fields cover the tiny valley floors and the low-lying coastal fringes. The triangular southern end of the island is known as Shimajiri in [134] popular terminology. Shimajiri is blessed with the greatest concentration of [132] fertile arable land on Okinawa. But the blessing is somewhat reduced by greater exposure to typhoons and a chronic water shortage. Sweet potatoes and sugar cane rank first among crops here.

311 243 Riceland Okinawans prefer to eat rice rather than sweet potatoes whenever possible. It is a paradox, however, that areas of greatest farm [262] population grow the least rice. The thinly populated north has the greatest amount of riceland. Map 3 charts the distribution of riceland---or flooded fields---on Okinawa. Even in the southern 'son' of Yonagusuku and Kanegusuku flooded fields often contain the mat rush rather than rice. It is a good cash crop, and is sturdier than rice when typhoons roar through the islands.

[128] [1] The figures upon which the maps in this section and the population section are based are found in Appendix A. The figures for Japan and Kagoshima-ken are given for comparative purposes. Of all the prefectures in Japan, Kagoshima most nearly resembles Okinawa in climate and emphasis upon sweet potatoes as a staple food.

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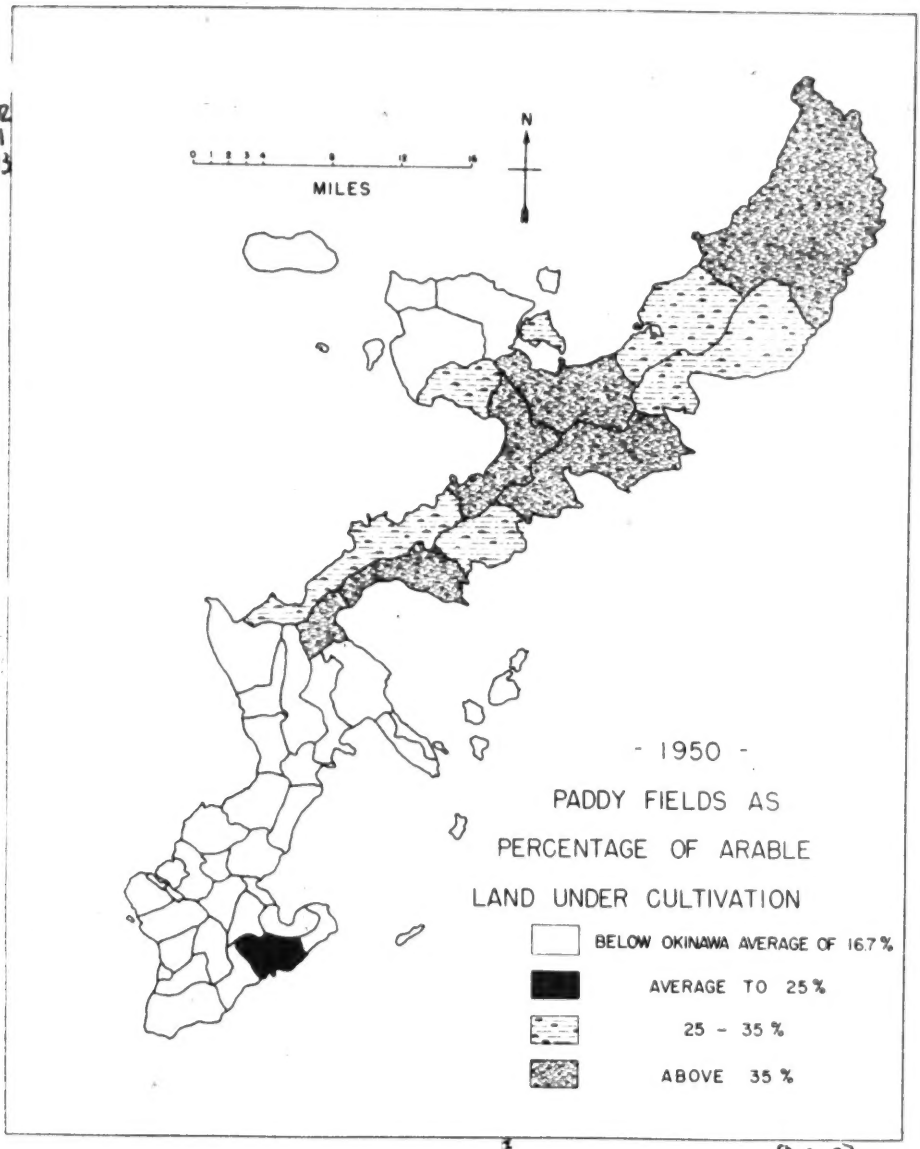

Map 3 [1]

[P 2-B]

1. [See pages 222-224 for data upon which this map was based--Analyst]

military competes with sugar as a primary cash crop, and cane fields are being converted back to rice paddies as fast as the farmer's resources permit. A more detailed discussion of the crop changes in the last two or three decades follows. 175 241 178 433

Chronology of Change in Crops The major changes in crops revolve chiefly around the replacement of rice as a cash crop by sugar cane, and the later reversal of this situation. About fifty years ago, rice was the chief cash crop. It was rarely consumed in the home, but was sold in order to meet the monetary expenses of taxes, and to buy occasionally the new commodities that were beginning to appear in the markets. Then, not long after the Russo-Japanese war had ended, the price of black sugar jumped almost overnight from ¥8.50 to ¥64 for a 150-'kin' barrel. Everyone wanted to get a share of this boom in sugar, and most began to convert paddy land into 'hatake' for the growing of cane. They were stuck with the 'hatake' when the price fell after two months. The Japanese subsidized sugar later, however, and most of the land that had been converted remained sugar land. [654]

When the people began returning to their farms more than a year after the end of World War II hostilities, there was little market for sugar. The subsidy had gone with defeat, and providentially the sugar lands were available for the growing of more sweet potatoes. American canned food and sweet potatoes were the main items of diet until about 1949. Gradually farmers began to convert 'hatake' to paddy fields, and to grow rice again---this time less for sale than for home consumption. [262] [177]

The old "bearded rice" varieties (fijimē and mēdakōja) of the nineteenth century were replaced gradually by the shorter-statured but higher-yielding 'hōraimai'. The bearded rice, planted only once a year, had a yield of about one-third the present variety, and had only five or six stalks per plant. The twice a year modern variety yields more and has on the average fourteen to fifteen stalks per plant. As a result of the adoption of the two-crop variety, at least one traditional ceremony was abandoned. This was the tantui, in which the whole village participated before simultaneously planting their seedbeds. Before the war, two-thirds of Okinawa's rice requirements were imported.[1] Indicative of the postwar change to rice are the figures for area of paddy-fields in Kochinda-son; the 114,142 'tsubo' of paddy in February of 1948 had increased to 306,220 'tsubo' by September of 1952. Field investigation proved that conversion to paddy has proceeded at least as fast since 1952 as it did prior to that date. 175 241 433 243 178

Before the First World War almost everyone in Nanahan raised forty to fifty 'tsubo' of millet. It was boiled with glutinous rice to make millet rice-cakes, or 'awamochi'. None is raised now. The same is true of cotton. "It grew only a foot high, but its fiber was very strong and would last a lifetime." Some other crops lasted into the post-war period. Until about 1950 textile bananas and yams were raised in Nanahan, but they both proved to be too weak in typhoons, and their cultivation was abandoned. 178 175 241 [252]

[1] Summation....July-November 1946, p. 25.

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In all cases, Kunigami seems to have held up the best, and Nakagami has fared the worst. Again this reflects the military interest of both the Japanese and the Americans. The comparison of 1904 acreage with that of 1950 in each of the three areas is shown below:

Table IV

Area	1904 Acreage		1950 Acreage		% Decrease	
	Paddy	Dry	Paddy	Dry	Paddy	Dry
Kunigami	6,530.5	28,398.5	5,463.0	20,773.8	16%	27%
Nakagami	3,861.2	34,176.1	1,675.1	14,932.0	57%	56%
Shimajiri	5,370.3	30,978.7	2,443.9	21,904.4	55%	29%
Okinawa Island[1]	15,779.1	93,952.6	9,589.0	57,610.2	39%	39%

Chronology of Changes in Farming Technique It is impossible to give for the whole of Okinawa a schedule showing just when each technical innovation was introduced. Some parts of Shimajiri and Nakagami were in advance of the rest of the island; conversely, one finds on the outer islands practices still carried on that the more progressive areas abandoned more than two decades ago. 178 241

In Yamada the transplanting of rice was originally done by scattering (bara'ii) of the shoots. Shortly before 1930 this method was replaced by planting in rows, with a string to mark the distance. The spaces were filled in by planting while walking backwards. About 1950 people started transplanting while moving forward. This has been replaced in part---at least in areas where the mud is firm and clayey---by the planting frame, the 'waku'. 178 243

Farmers kept the harvested rice in conical stacks (majin) several feet high. The bundles (tabai) had the heads facing inward to prevent attack by rats. The number of these stacks was indicative of the farmer's prestige in the community. The sheaves were removed from the bottom layer always, and only when rice was needed for food. [554]

Removal of the grain from the stalk was accomplished by the kūrashijii. This was a pair of bamboo tongs held in the right hand, while the sheaf was drawn through the tongs with the left hand. When the new variety of rice was introduced, use of the kanabā became common. This iron-comb-like device, through which the sheaves were drawn one at a time, can still be found in use on the isle of Sesoko, off the Motobu peninsula. It apparently did not find 178 243 412

[1] The discrepancy in the 1904 totals for Okinawa Island and grand totals for the three division of the island is accounted for by 17.1 acres of paddy land and 256.7 acres of dry fields in Naha, and 142.6 acres of dry fields in Shuri.

It apparently did not find
178 widespread use in Tomoyose, for that village passed almost directly from the use
243 of bamboo tongs to the rotary thresher, or 'dakkokki' (see photo). Yamada first
412 saw this thresher about 1933, but Nanahan farmers began using it only in 1941.
[407]

Hulling of grain was in the past accomplished---as needed for home use
178 or sale---by using a wooden rotary mill (see photos) called fichiūshi in Yamada
252 and shiriūshi in Nanahan. In Yamada two women sat with their feet braced against it, and pulled straw ropes alternately. In Nanahan men did the hulling, and the rotary mill was lower but was three feet in diameter. In the late thirties motor-powered hulling mills were built in many areas, and farmers took their rice there for hulling and polishing.

Polishing of brown rice in Nanahan was accomplished until about 1935 by use of a mortar, or chichiūshi (see photo), and pestle, or ajin. Most families still have these in reserve, as they were used after the war and were replaced by rice mills only after 1949. People in remote areas still use them exclusively. Nowadays people have their rice hulled and polished in one operation at a rice mill, if it is close at hand.

178 Very little wheat was grown in the three farm villages studied, but
246 it was noticed that on the outer isles wheat was more dominant. On Henza isle, removal of the grain from the sheaf and hull was accomplished by rubbing it upon a piece of bumpy limestone. On Kudaka, separation was by rubbing on a canvas, both with the hands and feet.

178 After the war farmers took advantage of the spread of the lantana bush,
241 which had flourished due to the neglect of the land. It furnished an excellent livestock feed, and also a short pole which they could use in roofing their re-
[342] built houses. Such poles, or kichigwā, had formerly been brought down from the forested north country.

178 Chronology of Change in Livestock Recovery of the land after the war pro-
727 ceeded far more rapidly than replacement
231 of the livestock killed or eaten in the invasion. The following table illustrates the loss and slow recovery (except for swine) in livestock numbers:

Table V

Type of Livestock	1940[1]	1946[2]	1952[3]	1952 as % of 1940
Cattle	22,000	112	6,837	31.0%
Horses	25,000	899	5,110	20.4%
Swine	108,426	1,165	107,077	98.8%
Goats	106,257	1,647	58,472	55.1%

In Kachinda-son the story has been somewhat the same, with the exception that there are many more swine and cattle now than in the thirties. This is due partly to the lesser amount of land in sugar and the planting of more

1, 2 Summation....July-November, 1946, p. 26.

3 Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku, Vol. 3, No. 3, 1943, p. 1. Valid as of 31 Dec. 1952.

APPENDIX "A"

128 This appendix contains figures upon which Maps 2 through 7 were based. List A is for Map 2, List B for Map 3, and so forth. The figures for Japan and Kagoshima are derived from the Japan Statistical Yearbook, 1950. All other figures are based on data in Ryūkyū tōkei hokoku.

311 List A Arable land under cultivation as a percentage of total land area.
241 The 31 December 1950 figures are used for area of arable land. Figures for total land area are for 31 December 1952. However, the calculation is valid as of the former date because the areas of political units did not change in the two years. The amount of arable land in Haha is negligible; the area for Tokashiki was not available in 'chō'.

311 List B Flooded fields (riceland) as a percentage of total arable land under cultivation, 1950. The figures for Japan and Kagoshima are valid
243 as of 1 August 1947. No acreage of riceland was reported from Ie Shima, Naha, Aguni, Minami Daitō or Kita Daitō.

161 List C Population density per square kilometer. The data for Japan and Kagoshima are valid as of 1 August 1948. The data for Okinawa Guntō are valid as of 31 December 1952.

List D Number of persons per acre of arable land under cultivation, 1950. Data for Japan and Kagoshima are valid as of 1 August 1948. The census of persons in Okinawa Guntō was taken on 1 December 1950. The data on acreage of arable land under cultivation were reported 31 December 1950. Inasmuch as December is not a month when new land is reclaimed, the map and figures may be considered valid as of 1 December 1950. No figure is given for Naha because the acreage of arable land is negligible. No figure is given for Minami Daitō because of the great acreage planted to sugar cane. About 9,400 'tan' of the 11,000 'tan' of arable land there is in this crop.

List E Percentage of increase in population, 1940-1950. Data for Japan and Kagoshima are not available for those years. Data for Okinawa Guntō are valid as of 1 October 1940 and 1 December 1950. A minus sign (-) denotes a net decrease. At the time of the 1940 census, some political units were not separate, but were included in towns or cities nearby; therefore the 1950 figure of necessity includes both areas as one.

List F Percentage of increase in population, 1950-1952. Data for Japan and Kagoshima are not available for those years. Data for Okinawa Guntō are valid as of 1 December 1950 and 31 December 1952. The total percentage of increase in the 25 months was 5.55%---these percentages are reported on page 76 of Civil Affairs Activities in the Ryukyu Islands. On the map any area with an increase of less than 5.55% and a decrease of less than 5% was considered an area of moderate emigration. Any area where the decrease exceeded 5% was considered as an area of excessive emigration. An area with more than 5.55% increase but less than 10% increase during that period was considered an area of moderate immigration. Areas in which the increase exceeded 10% are considered as having urban characteristics.

3: Pitts et al. E,K-5 (1953-1954) 1955 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Political Unit	List A	List B	List C	List D	List E	List F
Japan	32.8	55.4	217.7	6.30	----	----
Kagoshima	19.2	37.5	225.5	5.14	----	----
Okinawa Guntō	15.7	16.7	424.6	12.40	22.8	8.9
Kunigami	3.1	36.7	57.1	9.58	20	-7.0
Ogimi	10.3	25.8	139.3	7.72	15	-3.8
Higashi	5.9	33.8	487.6	8.27	11	-5.5
Haneji	9.7	52.0	172.7	8.76	43	-2.0
Yagaji	24.9	26.9	745.2	9.35		-20.5
Nakijin	21.6	13.7	382.2	8.58	29	3.0
Kamimotobu	28.4	4.2	579.7	10.20	35	-1.0
Motobu	12.1	11.3	442.6	17.27		-5.8
Yabu	9.8	29.4	258.6	10.77	45	-3.2
Nago	7.7	46.0	371.2	19.38		15.0
Onna	10.0	32.2	143.9	6.79	33	-2.1
Kushi	4.2	47.2	55.6	7.72	36	-7.8
Ginoza	10.9	25.3	170.1	7.88	56	-11.7
Kin	9.5	35.0	175.1	8.21		-7.0
Ie	24.0	----	281.9	5.84	-4	3.5
Iheya	16.4	39.2	127.2	4.88	47	6.2
Izena	36.1	40.8	505.9	4.63	9	3.7
Ishikawa	15.7	37.3	977.0	26.90	115	4.9
Misato	13.6	14.5	686.0	23.68		1.6
Tonagusuku	35.1	7.3	699.4	14.12	55	7.1
Katsuren	27.5	5.6	848.4	15.32	44	5.2
Gushikawa	21.9	10.6	983.2	21.40	99	-1.2
Goeku	3.7	16.0	861.7	89.50	128	13.3
Yomitan	7.3	3.9	473.6	29.00	4	5.4
Kadena	4.2	.4	562.3	46.75	11	19.2
Chatan	.1	11.8	853.8	267.20		2.5
Kitanakagusuku	16.0	8.8	700.5	19.43	6	2.1
Nakagusuku	20.1	4.1	631.2	14.60		3.5
Ginowan	21.9	9.3	926.0	17.92	24	5.8
Nishihara	42.2	1.2	457.1	5.73	-21	10.2
Urasoe	24.0	12.0	705.2	12.32	8	4.0

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	Political Unit	List A	List B	List C	List D	List E	List F
311							
241							
243	Shuri	23.9	.2	9393.9	59.1	14	9.5
161	Naha	----	----	10447.5	----	-33	14.4
	Mawashi	13.0	2.1	3605.6	71.5	83	15.8
	Oroku	11.1	2.0	1157.4	45.8	33	6.6
	Tomigusuku	41.7	9.7	490.4	6.36	1	-6.0
	Itoman	25.3	16.0	8927.5	231.5	116	10.2
	Kanegusuku	47.8	9.4	574.6	5.72	12	0.8
	Miwa	36.6	1.8	347.8	4.60	-13	7.1
	Takamine	30.2	8.1	389.4	5.84	- 8	2.5
	Kochinda	40.4	8.9	566.2	6.28	- 6	2.4
	Gushichan	38.3	15.5	480.0	5.90	- 5	0.4
	Tamagusuku	32.0	23.1	561.2	8.25	27	-2.2
	Chinen	29.3	14.2	589.3	10.20	28	1.6
	Sashiki	24.2	16.5	728.8	14.97	33	-3.2
	Yonabaru	20.0	.5	1541.5	34.9		16.3
	Ōzato	38.0	11.5	544.1	6.60	- 5	
	Haebaru	56.3	4.0	693.9	5.57	-16	3.2
	Nakazato	17.3	39.0	213.1	6.31	24	-1.4
	Gushikawa	27.2	23.6	264.9	5.38	20	1.6
	Tokashiki	----	22.0	51.4	7.39	11	-10.9
	Zamami	8.4	18.7	99.6	6.74	-13	- 3.5
	Aguni	34.0	----	320.2	4.52	- 1	11.5
	Tonaki	27.1	1.3	264.5	7.39	64	- 1.0
	Minami Daitō	36.5	----	67.3	----	-54	15.4
	Kita Daitō	26.4	----	39.4	1.21		-14.0

Since the war, the old narrow one lane roads have been broadened, permitting heavier auto traffic. Land ownership has been undisturbed, for it is not in an area in which the military has required land. Since the war, the villagers have tried to return to their former way of life, but this has been done with poorer houses and fewer possessions. 363 403 511

3

Minatogawa

Minatogawa, the second village studied, formerly was a shoe string type of settlement. Houses, shops, drinking places were along the semall road. This pattern is now altered as a result of the war. Scattered areas have been relocated and houses built on lands formerly used for sweet potatoes. It is now an indeterminate type of village, retaining some indications of its old settlement pattern along the main road, with additions of clusters of houses in the newly settled areas. 361 [275] [311] [249]

Like Hanashiro, this village is in Gushichan township, and located on Highway 64. It is directly on the main historical road, previously mentioned, which led from Naha to the Chinen peninsula. The road, along which its houses are built, parallels for a distance the estuary of the small Minatogawa river. This narrow estuary, called Usaregawa, which connects the river mouth with the Pacific Ocean, and the small river itself (Yuhigawa) is a boundary between Gushichan and Tamagusuku townships. On either side there are steep cliffs, the sites of the best known stone quarries of Okinawa. 361 133 [491] [316]

The settlement and the adjoining lands have an area of about 256 acres. It is a mixed economy village with three distinct occupational groups: fishermen, stonecutters, and farmers. There is a second village whose borders blend with those of Minatogawa. These two villages are now known officially as Minatogawa-ikku and Minatogawa-niku. The two terms can be awkwardly translated as Minatogawa first ward, and Minatogawa second ward. But popularly they retain their older names: Minatogawa for the fishing village, and Nagamo for the agricultural second ward. These two separate but adjoining villages were until 1925 a single village. 621 463

The division was the result of distinct differences in outlook and occupation between the two sections. Minatogawa is a fishing village and has strong ties with Itoman, a town on the East China Sea shore about 4 1/2 miles away. Nagamo is an agricultural community originally settled from Naha and Shuri. Stone-cutting operations spread over both areas. While the fishing village of Minatogawa was given the emphasis in this study, it will be necessary occasionally to include Nagamo in the discussion.[8] [226] [241] [324] [128]

8 The writer did not realize until he lived here that two villages were involved, thinking that the two wards referred to a single administrative unit. By this time the work on Hanashiro had been well started, and time did not permit the intensive study of Nagamo. 114

In addition to these varieties, cultivated locally, imported rice is distributed through the import stores. These rices generally are from Egypt, Siam, and Burma. They are not well liked and are considered to be tough (katai). Whether this is because the variety itself is disliked or because the imports were of a poor quality is hard to say, but Egyptian, Siamese, and Burmese rice are unfavorably compared with Japanese, Formosan, or the locally grown products. Okinawans are very sensitive to the types of rice. There is no such thing as "rice." Long habituation and fondness for special kinds have induced tastes and preferences which each villager is quick to express. 439 262 [443]

In Hanashiro, the main type of rice planted is also the Taichu 65, a variety which originated in Formosa, and is generally preferred. The red variety, mochigome, does not do well here, according to local farmers, and just a little is grown. Mochigome (literally, rice-cake rice) is used in making the doughy and gummy rice cakes. 243 262

5

The Sweet Potato

The cultivation of the sweet potato (satsuma imo) is a much simpler undertaking than rice culture. Fields are prepared by hand hoeing. The plow and the harrow are not used. In sweet potato cultivation, seed potatoes are first planted in a small plot. This furnishes slips or transplants for other fields. Slips are multiplied by using the tops of one field to plant another. Propagation thus is by clones, and this vegetatively reproduced plant is the mainstay of the diet. 244 [262]

The potato seed bed, well hoed and fertilized, is generally planted in the spring. The tops to be used as slips (kazura) are cut off and planted in rows. Practice has brought deftness in this transplanting. A small amount of soil is lifted up by the spatula, (hera), and held so that an opening rather than a hole appears. The slip is shoved into the aperture and quickly pressed down by the left heel, as the farmer moves to the next planting.[5] Few tools are used in the cultivation of the sweet potato. Only the hoe and the spatula are really needed. Occasionally one finds a special hoe with a sharp angle between the blade and handle or a heart shaped hoe with a long handle. In the Hanashiro and Nagamo areas, the solid bladed hoe is the commonest tool. Two and three pronged hoes are less often used because of the hardness of the soil. [412]

The cultivation of the sweet potato, as we have said, is a year round operation, though planting may slacken off during the winter months. [221]

5 Methods of cultivation have changed little in the past 100 years. The same operation is described in Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 31-32. [114]

244 [132] months. The amount of sweet potatoes grown is not closely related to the season. It depends much more on rainfall.

[131] The effects of typhoons on the plant are most noticeable after transplanting. Salt water spray shrivels the transplants up and they [131] die without developing. These conditions are more noticeable near the seashore in areas like Nagamo that lack trees and tidewater shelters.

824 Like rice, all of the sweet potato plant is used. Plant residues are turned under to fertilize the soil. This turning under of the vines or their use in composts is a doubtful blessing if the plants are diseased. The good potatoes are reserved for human consumption. [231] The poor or the diseased ones are mashed up in a stone mortar with a long pole, used like a pestle, for pig and goat food. Besides using the tops as slips, women constantly cut them off for fresh greens for the pigs. The sweet potato is the basic food because it is cheap, [262] can be grown the year round in lowlands and uplands, and can be cultivated by all members of the family. As pig food, it is a means of inexpensively raising animals which later have cash value. The [462] feeding and care of pigs is usually one of the incidental chores of women.

244 184 The varieties most commonly found in these Okinawan villages are the Okinawan #100 (Okinawan no hyakugo) and varieties known locally as the bento, a small round tuber, and the bokuto. The two chief differences between the northern and southern villages in cultivating the sweet potato are (1) the two and three pronged hoes are much more in evidence in the north. With practice, they can be used advantageously in quickly weeding a plot while not cutting the potato itself. (2) Matsuda appears to be less dependent on the [262] sweet potato as a human food. The farmer here has more rice for him- [231] self and a greater proportion of his sweet potato crop goes for animal food.

6

The Planting of Sugar Cane and Sugar Making

249 Sugar cane (kibi) is grown on dry crop land, its rows often alternating on the same plot with the sweet potato. Cane may be started with cuttings, or it may be a second growth (ratoon) from the stubs of the old plant after it has been cut down for crushing. Cuttings may be purchased or selected plants from another planting are used. The slips are cut to leave three buds. These cuttings may be planted in three ways: (1) all horizontally, (2) horizontally with the cutting which comes from the topmost part of the stalk planted slantwise, or (3) all cuttings may be planted slanting.

The soil must be thoroughly worked with the ever present hoe. Plowing and harrowing are rarely done. The earth must be thoroughly fertilized. In addition, small amounts of compost may be placed under the cutting, and less often liquid night soil might be used.

512 513 is more likely that the majority of adults have to be satisfied with six and a half hours.

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Chapter 3

Basic Economy

INTRODUCTION

241 433 Taira depends on its fields and forests for a living. Rice and the sweet potato are the principle staple crops; wheat, beans, and vegetables are additional subsistence crops. Firewood and building materials, sugar, pineapple, and silk are main sources of cash. Tea is raised for home consumption.

311 [343] [344] Since the few rivers around Taira are short and the valleys narrow, the area available for wet rice cultivation is limited. Farm land for sweet potatoes is also not too abundant in this mountainous region and is located either on the gently sloped hills or on a few plateaus between valleys. Here and there it rises on skillfully terraced steps along the steep sides of mountains.

311 423 241 The size of land holdings and the quality of soil partly determine whether a family is able to grow additional cash crops or merely subsist. The average holding for each family is about 5 acres of rice land and 6 acres of other farming land. Yet it is important to note that the [433] range and quality of this land vary widely. Some families own only 1½ acres of rice land and an acre of other farm land, while others own as much as 14 acres of rice land and 12 acres of other farm land; good rice paddies produce three times the quantity of poor ones and are wet [511] enough to allow for two crops per year. Of the 141 families questioned, only 15 grew enough rice to be self-sufficient; 123 had to buy extra [433] rice, and only two families raised a surplus for sale. All families grew enough vegetables for home use, and only 18 bought sweet potatoes. Sixty families grew a surplus of vegetables and 16 a surplus of sweet potatoes.

243 offered at the village shrine by the priestess. Today key agricultural
[782] events are still marked by small ceremonies in which the priestess be-
[793] seeches or thanks the gods, but the actual day for planting is determined by weather and the condition of seed.

When the rice is transplanted in March, the whole family spends long hours in the paddy. Then the paddies swarm with people; some prepare the soil by spreading fertilizer, others stand in the ooze to set the seedlings. Transplanting is done by mutual assistance groups, which
[476] will be discussed later in this chapter. They guarantee everyone a sufficient number of helping hands during the painstaking, rapid work, which has to be finished within a limited time. In a few days the whole paddy area suddenly turns from brown into the tender green of the young shoots. Once planted, intermittent weeding is all the care that is needed.

[261] In July the rice turns brown and is ready for harvest. This is an event of joy for the whole village, for young rice is most delicious and
[857] loved by everyone. By then vacations have started, so that schoolchildren can help to cut rice and carry bundles to the spot where it is threshed in treadle-type machines, located either near the field or behind one's house. As soon as the rice is threshed, the grain is carried to a place in the village where the wind blows freely. There a woman holds a flat winnowing basket filled with grain at an angle to let the
[782] breeze separate the chaff from the grain. The first rice is cut by men
[264] and offered at the family shrine before the whole family eats a specially
[251] prepared gruel. Rice is usually stored in one or two oil drums in the kitchen-side corner of the front room. Better houses have a metal-lined
[256] storeroom. Once a week a supply is taken to the miller to be hulled and polished.

Those whose fields are sufficiently wet plant a second crop, and the cycle is repeated once more in midsummer, with the second harvest falling in late December.

● 244 Sweet potatoes can be planted throughout the greater part of the year if the soil is not too dry. They take from five to seven months to
[262] grow to full size. Although less popular than rice, no part of the plant
[231] is wasted. The large tubers are consumed, the small ones are usually fed to the pigs; the young leaves are used as vegetables, the older ones cooked into pig food. Slips are cut and used for planting a new crop.

The preferred variety of potato (*tadushi imu*) is grown in the dry paddies during the second rice season. To plant this potato, the soil must be piled up to form a long, narrow, flat-topped mound. One of the hardest jobs for farmers, this is done by men in the humid heat of a midsummer day. Women set the slips after the earth has been moved.
[251] These potatoes are the only variety which are thought to improve with

SiMaretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

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storing and are kept under the house or on a special shelf on the rafters. [251]

Onions, giant radishes, beans, and cabbages are also raised on farm lands. Night soil is rarely used for such vegetables nowadays but is still [514] used on potatoes. Several of these vegetables as well as others are raised [462] by women in small "home-garden" plots.

The hardest working period during the year is in July and August. 244 Within a few weeks after the rice harvest, the soil must be made ready for the second rice crop or the soil must be prepared for dry paddy 243 potatoes. This is also the time for planting the chief sugar crop. All [249] this takes place during the hottest time of the year, when efficiency is greatly reduced by heat and humidity.

Sugar harvest and processing fall in the period between January and 249 March. One field after another is harvested by the owners after arrangements have been made for a date when the cane can be processed. Such arrangements are made with the director of the Taira cooperative, [474] who supervises operations of the sugar mill which is owned by the co-operative. The whole family helps on the day of processing. Women carry bundles of branches and light firewood to heat the kettles. The [402] operation requires the help of someone to feed cane into the small, diesel engine driven press, some to carry the pulp away, and others to watch the kettles in which extracted juice is boiled down to molasses. Finally, a few persons stir the brown residue in wide, open pots until it becomes stalted. Then it is put into tubs that hold about 132 pounds.

The agricultural market for cash crops was totally disrupted at the 433 end of World War II. There was no immediate outlet for sugar prod- 249 ucts; crops had been destroyed or neglected, and the sugar mill was demolished in the fighting. But by this time most people were too satisfied with the great returns from forest work to invest much time and energy in a crop which takes a year and a half to show any material results. Nevertheless, sugar was the first crop to find a market again.

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Many root plants such as the giant radish and carrots used to flower out, and the root would be so stringy that it could not be eaten. About nine years before the war the Japanese brought in many new and better varieties. Nanahan has more vegetables now than the rest of Tomoyose, people say, "...because our houses are scattered and we can get to the vegetable plots easily; they in Tomoyose can't, and therefore pay less attention to vegetables." Of the seven wards of Tomoyose, only Nanahan has an agreement not to keep chickens so that their vegetables will be protected. Before the war the Irish leek and swiss chard were the only abundant vegetables; others were to be had in only small quantities. The "pine mushroom", or 'metsudake', was gathered "when we used to have pines in the neighborhood." Farmers complain that they can grow less green peas now, because of the great increase in number of rats due to loss of the cat population during the invasion.

Okinawa has always been self-sufficient in sweet potatoes except in occasional time of famine. Even then, dried products of the sweet potato are often used. Many varieties are grown the year around, but in Nanahan only five main varieties were mentioned. Okinawa #100 gives the biggest harvest and in fairly fixed amounts regardless of weather. There were many of White #100 before the war, but few now. It was delicious, but the harvest gradually declined from its former high yield. Just after the war there were many of the tumaikurū variety, but recently few have been planted. The yield had been high, but gradually the seed became bad; it was described as the "most delicious of all sweet potatoes." Yaeyamaakagu was mentioned as a variety still grown in small amounts. The variety which brings the highest market price is Kiirumugwā. This "delicious" potato yields only half that of the average, and hence its price is double.

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Perhaps the best way to view the prewar-postwar change in agriculture is to look at the amounts grown by a typical Nanahan farmer. Table I below presents this information.

Table I

Crop	Tsubo Prewar	Tsubo Postwar	Comments
Sugar cane (summer planting) (spring planting)	500 300	350 150	Postwar home use amounts to 14-15 'kin' (19-20 lb.) annually. Sells about 100 'kin' (132 lb.). Prewar, sold 1400-1500 'kin' yearly.
Sweet potatoes	700	500	Three harvests per year. Not sold much; make starch only if harvest is plentiful.
Soybeans	300	200	Generally sold about 1/3 of each prewar crop, but only when money was needed at home.
Broad beans	150	70	Prewar variety was a small plant, the postwar one very large.

1

An Historical View of the Okinawan Forest

Northern Okinawa is the woodshed of the island, and there is a steady stream of lumber for building, poles for a variety of uses, charcoal, and of small bundles of wood for the people of the south. In the village of Matsuda, the forest is part of the daily life and economic well-being of the people. 313

Little is known of the past history of the Okinawan forest. 137 174

> "Though it is impossible now to determine the nature and distribution of the original forest cover, it seems reasonable that the major part of Okinawa was originally covered by trees. The forest was probably absent from the beaches, a few marsh areas behind the beaches, rock ledges upon which trees could gain a foothold, and perhaps some areas of Regosols (shallow soils) from calcareous clays in the southern part of the island. It is evident that the present forest has been cut over many times. There seems to be no part of the island in which the forest cover has not been disturbed in some way by man."[1] [311]

The virgin stands have disappeared and left few clues, these authors continue, but it is likely that the original forest cover was comparable to the present stands in composition of species. The authors point out the relationship of cutting to settlement. Cutting must have been a continuing process. In Saion's time, in the 18th century, there was considerable tree planting and measures were taken to protect groves of trees for their value as windbreaks. Excessive cutting could hardly have taken place in olden times in the central areas of the north, whose trees, even today, can be reached only by footpath. No doubt in the past cutting has spread out from village sites and travelled roads. Fire may have been one cause of deforestation, as it has been used to clear land. There are still instances of this. 137 311 174 [245]

In Okinawa, the period from 1879 to the end of the Russo-Japanese war seems to have been one of widespread deforestation. (This was contemporary also with the reckless deforestation in the New World). The period after 1906 reflected Japanese concern with forest preservation, especially of the nationally owned forests, a program pursued with varying degrees of success. [185]

1 Okinawa forests (U.S. Geological Survey. Mil. Geol. Sect., Office of the Engineer, GHQ, FEC), 1948, 2.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Conclusion

311 184 In the comparative study of these villages, certain distinctions are worth summarizing. (1) In the southern villages, which lack forest land, there is much more dependence on the uncultivated wild land (genya) which supports the grasses. (2) The forest, in Matsuda as elsewhere in the north, is a reserve for necessities like firewood, thatch, charcoal and building materials, both for local use and southern trade. (3) The shelter belts and groves have been preserved in the north. (4) Tidewater plantings of shelter belts are needed in the south. Plantings of the Ryukyuan Forestry Agency, under American Civil Administration encouragement, have begun in the south as protection from wind and salt water spray damage. These include the mokumao, the pandanus, the hibiscus (Albizzia julibrissum Durazz, in Japanese the nemunoki) and the hirugi (Bruguiera spp.)[12] (5) Ecologically, the situation is more balanced in the north where a good start seems to have been made in arresting progressive deforestation. (6) This balance, if Matsuda is a representative village, can only be maintained by constant appraisal of the relationships of the forest to agriculture, to the growing population, and to the economic demands to which this leads, unless the wood and timber demands of the island are to be met in large part by imports.

[249] [491]

114 648 636 An occupying power like the United States, rich in modern techniques, can do much to improve the life of a small island people. If it is mindful of the history and the present features of the culture, it can suggest improvements without destroying the bases on which the culture rests.

313 114 One of its greatest accomplishments could be an aggressive and continuing program of conservation and afforestation. The present administration, through the Forestry Section of the Food and Natural Resources Department, has started a program which, if permanently pursued, could have far-reaching consequences. An emphasis on selective cutting, conservation, fire control, tidewater plantings, and many other measures could only be a credit to American administrators and foresters as well. The costs, as such things go, would be moderate.

From personal experience in village life, I have no doubt that the co-operation of villagers in all parts of the island could be readily obtained in advancing a large scale afforestation program. The readiness of the people of Matsuda cannot be an exception. These things could be accomplished without an unwieldy administrative apparatus. I have been continually struck with the ability of the Okinawans, with their skill in local organization, to accomplish

12 I am indebted to Mr. Richard Varney of the Department of Food and Natural Resources, USCAR, for this information.

SiMaretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

244 storing and are kept under the house or on a special shelf on the rafters.

[251] Onions, giant radishes, beans, and cabbages are also raised on farm lands. Night soil is rarely used for such vegetables nowadays but is still [514] used on potatoes. Several of these vegetables as well as others are raised [462] by women in small "home-garden" plots.

The hardest working period during the year is in July and August. 244 Within a few weeks after the rice harvest, the soil must be made ready 243 for the second rice crop or the soil must be prepared for dry paddy potatoes. This is also the time for planting the chief sugar crop. All [249] this takes place during the hottest time of the year, when efficiency is greatly reduced by heat and humidity.

Sugar harvest and processing fall in the period between January and 249 March. One field after another is harvested by the owners after arrangements have been made for a date when the cane can be processed. Such arrangements are made with the director of the Taira cooperative, [474] who supervises operations of the sugar mill which is owned by the co-operative. The whole family helps on the day of processing. Women carry bundles of branches and light firewood to heat the kettles. The [402] operation requires the help of someone to feed cane into the small, diesel engine driven press, some to carry the pulp away, and others to watch the kettles in which extracted juice is boiled down to molasses. Finally, a few persons stir the brown residue in wide, open pots until it becomes stalted. Then it is put into tubs that hold about 132 pounds.

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653 dren under 3 years, every adult past school age, male or female, is re-
[464] quired to work on community projects if called by the village head. Officials may pay the village for exemption from this duty. There are two kinds of community corvées, those in which every adult and qualified member of a household has to participate, and those in which only one household representative is required to attend. As many as 12 days a year may be spent by each villager on road construction, clearing of village land, improvement of village-owned tea fields, or in similar projects. In some cases, where the central government has granted support, this work may be compensated by a small payment. More often, however, it is a free contribution to the village effort.

474 The strength of deeply rooted cooperative behavior seems to have been an essential factor in introducing formal cooperatives successfully in this area. The northern village of Oku is credited with being the first community in Kunigami province to organize a cooperative store in 1906. Initiative for this organization was provided through the Japanese administration. Taira was the first village in present-day Higashi township to establish a cooperative. In 1918 the village was poverty stricken, and village leaders, the president of the Young People's Association, one of the teachers, and others, made a study of the Oku organization. They then convinced the Taira headman of the great possibilities. Over the years the Taira cooperative supported by the majority of Tairan households, through buying of mountain products, marketing, running the store, and sugar production, tried to improve the village economy. One immediate result was that the indebtedness to money lenders from outside the village, especially to the owners of sailing junks which transported mountain products south, could be avoided. Up until the war the cooperative flourished and improved economy.

The end of the war found the village cooperative totally defunct, and it took several years to restore the organization. At present it owns the store, the sugar mill, and the truck. It also controls the use of the
[245] village-owned tea fields in which everybody has the right to grow at least one row of tea bushes.

474 Shares in the cooperative are held by households, and almost every-
621 one in Taira is a member. The two directors and several officers are elected by shareholders. Actually the directorship does not change often, and the most influential leaders usually hold the office. They may initiate measures which will aid the village economy, but they have no absolute power: a check and balance system protects the people. As one person put it, "It is always necessary to have a few persons outside the business so that they can check what is going on. If people of the

313 Home Industries and Famous Products The forested northern mountains give rise to small scale lumbering, charcoal making,
314 and firewood gathering. Kunigami-son and Kushi-son emphasize the gathering of
433 bamboo and firewood. On the other hand the making of charcoal is more import-
[369] ant in Nago, Haneji, and Ōgimi. The urbanization of the south combined with
[391] the postwar extension of roads into formerly inaccessible parts of the north have accelerated exploitation of the northern forest resource. Particularly heavy is the demand for long roof poles, or kichigwā, after every major typhoon.
[237] Kunigami-son and Higashi supply the bulk of these. Where wood is plentiful behind a coastal road, one often finds lime kilns, which process the coral of the reefs.

258 The sea is also a major source of material for home industries. Sea
433 salt is made at Yagaji, Urasoe and Oroku on the west coast, at Henza and Awase
[237] on the east. Kunigami-son prides itself upon its production of seaweed. Buttons from seashells are made in Mawashi. Fish cakes ('kamaboko') are made in quantity in Itoman and Naha, with lesser amounts being produced in Ishikawa and Nago. Dried bonito ('katsuoboshi') is a specialty of Tonaki isle to the west. Motobu-chō holds second place, followed by the western isles of Tokashiki and
505 Zamami. For over a hundred years the small cargo sailboats ('Yambaru-sen')
178 of the east coast have carried forest products from the north. The extension of roads into the northern forests has greatly reduced the amount now carried by sea.

433 Horse breeding is a specialty in Nakazato (the eastern half of Kume-
[232] shima), which has 22% of the gunto's production of horses. However, the pro-
[283] duction of horse and cattle hides is concentrated in the urban areas, which
[231] account for 84% of the hides produced. Nakazato is also famous for production of silk cocoons, being responsible for about two-fifths (38.7%) of the gunto's total. The leading mainland producer is Motobu-chō, with 9%.

Although Okinawa is not self-sufficient in tea, the three areas of
[245] Gushikawa, Ishikawa and Kunigami produce over half of the local tea. In Oku
[478] village of Kunigami, the tea factory is a cooperative venture. Gushikawa
[377] and Chatan pride themselves upon possessing 'sake' and 'awamori' distilleries.
[286] Mawashi is the center of production of farm tools, and accounts for some weaving of banana cloth. Weaving of mats from the "seven isles reed" ('shichitō-i') is a local specialty of Kanegusuku.

Travertine quarries are found in Motobu-chō and Katsuren. A sandy
[314] limestone is quarried at Minatogawa in Gushichan.

It apparently did not find
178 widespread use in Tomoyose, for that village passed almost directly from the use
243 of bamboo tongs to the rotary thresher, or 'dakkokki' (see photo). Yamada first
412 saw this thresher about 1933, but Nanahan farmers began using it only in 1941.
[407]

Hulling of grain was in the past accomplished---as needed for home use
178 or sale---by using a wooden rotary mill (see photos) called fichiūshi in Yamada
252 and shiriūshi in Nanahan. In Yamada two women sat with their feet braced against it, and pulled straw ropes alternately. In Nanahan men did the hulling, and the rotary mill was lower but was three feet in diameter. In the late thirties motor-powered hulling mills were built in many areas, and farmers took their rice there for hulling and polishing.

Polishing of brown rice in Nanahan was accomplished until about 1935 by use of a mortar, or chichiūshi (see photo), and pestle, or ajin. Most families still have these in reserve, as they were used after the war and were replaced by rice mills only after 1949. People in remote areas still use them exclusively. Nowadays people have their rice hulled and polished in one operation at a rice mill, if it is close at hand.

178 Very little wheat was grown in the three farm villages studied, but
● 246 it was noticed that on the outer isles wheat was more dominant. On Henza isle, removal of the grain from the sheaf and hull was accomplished by rubbing it upon a piece of bumpy limestone. On Kudaka, separation was by rubbing on a canvas, both with the hands and feet.

178 After the war farmers took advantage of the spread of the lantana bush,
241 which had flourished due to the neglect of the land. It furnished an excellent livestock feed, and also a short pole which they could use in roofing their re-
[342] built houses. Such poles, or kichigwā, had formerly been brought down from the forested north country.

178 Chronology of Change in Livestock Recovery of the land after the war pro-
727 ceeded far more rapidly than replacement
231 of the livestock killed or eaten in the invasion. The following table illustrates the loss and slow recovery (except for swine) in livestock numbers:

Table V

Type of Livestock	1940[1]	1946[2]	1952[3]	1952 as % of 1940
Cattle	22,000	112	6,837	31.0%
Horses	25,000	899	5,110	20.4%
Swine	108,425	1,165	107,077	98.8%
Goats	106,257	1,647	58,472	55.1%

In Kachinda-son the story has been somewhat the same, with the exception that there are many more swine and cattle now than in the thirties. This is due partly to the lesser amount of land in sugar and the planting of more

1, 2 Summation....July-November, 1946, p. 26.

3 Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku, Vol. 3, No. 3, 1943, p. 1. Valid as of 31 Dec. 1952.

24| occasionally, but by no means universally used. This failure to use
514 night soil may vary from locality to locality, and from farmer to farmer. In my opinion, it has not the importance it has in China and Japan. Neither is night soil used as a food for pigs, though
231 this seems to have been the case in some parts of Okinawa as late as the 1920's.[2] But feeding human faeces to pigs was not observed in
514 any village.

24| Normally in certain parts of Matsuda, night soil is used, though
514 infrequently, in places near the house. It is not carried far. Applications are made to cultivated land and land not presently in use. In the Nagamo area, it is occasionally used on sweet potatoes and sugar cane. Night soil, gathered from the outside toilets, is
[247] allowed to dry out before being applied to fields. It is often
[482] placed around ornamental plants. The fresh liquid form, carried on the shoulder in two buckets on either end of a long pole, may be applied directly to the fields, ladling out a little of the liquid around
[463] each plant. The professional collector of night soil is uncommon in the areas visited. Only one instance was found. Two brothers, who hired themselves out, cleaned the toilets for Yen 130 per day, plus meals. They spread the night soil on the owner's fields. These two brothers served the Gushichan area.

In Hanashiro, night soil is used occasionally, and then, it was said, only by the old. Its main use was on sugar cane. As a general rule, in all the villages, night soil is most frequently used around plants already growing and around each plant individually, rather than mixing it with the soil when the field is being prepared. Its use on rice fields was not observed.

The sparing use of night soil is indicated also by the infrequency with which one meets its characteristic odor in the countryside. An observation of a traveller, almost 100 years ago, lends some credence to the thought that night soil has not been extensively used
[114] in Okinawa. "How night-soil is disposed of is not known; certainly it does not obtrude itself on the senses, as it does in China, nor is it
[177] applied in the same way."[3] In Hanashiro, the decline in use since the war was ascribed to American influences: the dangers to health, and the increased availability of artificial fertilizers.

241 (5) Commercial fertilizers. These are now substantial proportions of the expenditures of an Okinawan farmer. These fertilizers generally are broadcast over the rice and dry crop lands. The writers of a

2 Richard Goldschmidt, Neu-Japan, as cited, 135.

3 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, II, 35. The author was Dr. Green.

The mental isolation of the farm village gradually decreased under a national system of education, but the process did not end with schooling. Upon graduating, the youth, male and female, were enrolled in a national young people's association. Later the young men were drafted for service in the national army, and following discharge the veteran was enlisted in a local reserve association which met frequently for military and social purposes. When a man married, established a separate house, and began farming, membership in the farmer's association was automatically conferred. His wife upon marriage transferred from the young women's association to the women's association. There were, in fact, a variety of national organizations covering the various phases and roles of the individual's life; membership was never a matter of choice, but a thing automatically conferred. A stress on patriotism was a strong concomitant in all of these. Membership gave to the individual a sense of participating in a national society extending far beyond the limits of his small village. 177 619 575 [702]

It should be stressed that most Okinawans regard the Japanese as providers of modern, enlightened government. The Japanese administration abolished the old class divisions and freed the peasant from his serf-like status. Taxes on arable land were substantially reduced, and the villager for the first time was given some voice in government above the village level. Modern law courts were introduced and justice was administered impartially, not on a class basis as was formerly done. 177 829 [565] [671]

Inadvertently, perhaps, official Japanese policy did much to destroy the self-sufficiency of the farm village. Prior to the land reform, sugar production did not exceed local needs, but government encouragement and subsidy so increased production that by the time of World War II it exceeded consumption by 900%. This resulted in a food shortage which necessitated heavy importations of basic cereals to compensate. 177 621 433

Japanese manufactured goods also contributed to the decline in self-sufficiency. Factory-made cloth gradually displaced home-woven fabrics, and accordingly cotton and fiber banana were no longer raised. The tools, utensils, and machines of the factory slowly replaced the simpler devices used in the village. 177 439 433 [248]

Abolition of the system of communal land tenure contributed to a weakening of the family and particularly of the large extended kin group. The introduction of private property and Japanese laws of inheritance served to create a landless element which often emigrated from Okinawa in search of land or jobs elsewhere. Where formerly the kin group had clustered in certain localities, they now became dispersed over great areas, making continued interaction difficult and often impossible. 177 602 423 [147]

Sixty-six years of Japanese rule resulted in a fairly successful amalgamation of Okinawa into the Japanese state; though the Okinawan language and culture were not destroyed, they were severely altered. 177

Impact of World War II and the American Occupation The war destroyed virtually all of rural and urban Okinawa, and resulted in the death of twenty percent of the population. 727

244 [132] months. The amount of sweet potatoes grown is not closely related to the season. It depends much more on rainfall.

[131] The effects of typhoons on the plant are most noticeable after [131] transplanting. Salt water spray shrivels the transplants up and they die without developing. These conditions are more noticeable near the seashore in areas like Nagamo that lack trees and tidewater shelters.

824 Like rice, all of the sweet potato plant is used. Plant residue are turned under to fertilize the soil. This turning under of the vines or their use in composts is a doubtful blessing if the plants are diseased. The good potatoes are reserved for human consumption. [231] The poor or the diseased ones are mashed up in a stone mortar with a long pole, used like a pestle, for pig and goat food. Besides using the tops as slips, women constantly cut them off for fresh greens for the pigs. The sweet potato is the basic food because it is cheap, [262] can be grown the year round in lowlands and uplands, and can be cultivated by all members of the family. As pig food, it is a means of inexpensively raising animals which later have cash value. The [962] feeding and care of pigs is usually one of the incidental chores of women.

244 184 The varieties most commonly found in these Okinawan villages are the Okinawan #100 (Okinawan no hyakugo) and varieties known locally as the benten, a small round tuber, and the bokuto. The two chief differences between the northern and southern villages in cultivating the sweet potato are (1) the two and three pronged hoes are much more in evidence in the north. With practice, they can be used advantageously in quickly weeding a plot while not cutting the potato itself. (2) Matsuda appears to be less dependent on the [262] sweet potato as a human food. The farmer here has more rice for him- [231] self and a greater proportion of his sweet potato crop goes for animal food.

6

The Planting of Sugar Cane and Sugar Making

249 Sugar cane (kibi) is grown on dry crop land, its rows often alternating on the same plot with the sweet potato. Cane may be started with cuttings, or it may be a second growth (ratoon) from the stubs of the old plant after it has been cut down for crushing. Cuttings may be purchased or selected plants from another planting are used. The slips are cut to leave three buds. These cuttings may be planted in three ways: (1) all horizontally, (2) horizontally with the cutting which comes from the topmost part of the stalk planted slantwise, or (3) all cuttings may be planted slanting.

The soil must be thoroughly worked with the ever present hoe. Plowing and harrowing are rarely done. The earth must be thoroughly fertilized. In addition, small amounts of compost may be placed under the cutting, and less often liquid night soil might be used.

In Matsuda, the stalk is cut up with a large knife. In Nagano and Hanashiro, the oshikiribe (literally, push-cut-machine) is common. This is a device with a fixed blade, curving upward, on a stand. The cane is laid on the top of the blade. The handle is pressed down, forcing the cane stalk through the stationary blade. The use of this device is not universal. In the north, the hand cutting machine was a casualty of the war. 249 184

It is worth a slight digression here to add that, in considering various techniques as evidences of a departure from or adherence to traditional methods, the effects of the recent war must constantly be borne in mind. Sugar making is a good example. Primitive methods of making it today are a return, out of economic necessity, to earlier ways because of lack of capital to replace the former machinery. In Matsuda, the continued use of the horse drawn crushing rollers is not an expression of conservatism but of improvisation and return, in lieu of anything better, to old methods previously in use. Such devices as the oshikiriba are not good examples of this because it is not a decisively superior tool. A skilled farmer can cut the cane very efficiently with his knife. 178 727 249

Cane cuttings are made when the plant is about six months old and before it is mature. When year old plants are used for cuttings, only the top, or the youngest part is taken. The slip used may have two or three joints or buds. The length of the cutting apparently is determined by the number of joints. In Matsuda, slant planting seems to be favored because the plant is said to receive more water and to be able to withstand typhoons better. Flat planting is faster than slope planting. From one stalk usually five or six transplants are made. 249

There are two plantings of sugar cane, the spring (haru-ue) and the fall (akiue). Cane planted in the spring planting, from January to March, is harvested in April of the following year. In the fall planting from July to September, the cane is harvested a year from the following December. The cane of the fall planting is harvested but the stumps are allowed to sprout and grow again. Following this harvest, the whole plant is torn out and the field is replanted with slips. Though the ratoon crop could be continued longer, the general practice is to tear up the plants after the second growth. 249 221

The slips are about 8 sun (9.6 inches) long. In Hanashiro, they are generally planted flat with the exception of the slip nearest the top of the cane stalk, which is planted at about a 45° angle, the theory being that this part of the stalk has less vitality than the others. These slips are planted about 6-8 inches apart, 8-12 inches deep in rows about 4 feet apart. 249

In Hanashiro, at harvest time, the sugar cane is carried on the shoulder or by horsecart and stacked in piles outside the sugar mill. Though an effort is made to crush it immediately, cuttings may remain overnight or be stacked for a day or two outside the mill. The mill [482] [493]

249 [374] is owned and operated as a co-operative enterprise of the village. The mill This is the only co-operative phase of sugar growing and processing; all other operations, such as planting, harvesting, the actual making and marketing of the brown sugar are done by individual growers. In Hanashiro, the steps in sugar manufacture are (1) the crushing of the cane, (2) the boiling of the juice, (3) the handling, cooling, and packing of the brown sugar.

The cane is crushed by running it through a roller driven by a gas engine. Before the war, there were two of these rollers. The juice is channelled along small concrete conduits at the base of the roller to a cement hole in the floor. This hole is about two feet in diameter and one foot deep. From this storage hole, it is ladled into the pots for boiling. In pre-war days, the machinery was better, and instead of the small concrete hole, large vats were used. The place where the sugar is boiled adjoins the room in which the crushing is done. The dirt floor of this room has two levels: one on which the pots are placed, and under which there is a trench open at the lower level for the fuel. A man standing on the lower level, in back of the building, shovels or pitches fuel into the trench. Formerly coal was used for this purpose; now plant residues and miscanthus are [372] used. Grass is fed into the fire with a pointer on a long stick. Above this trench large pans about 4 feet in diameter are set in holes.

Pan 4	Pan 3	Pan 2	Pan 1

Trench Fire

The cane juice is first strained through a cloth or wire mesh to remove large pieces of stalk and leaves. Once in the pan, a little lime (sekkai) is added to bring out the impurities. The juice is brought to a boil and the mixture skimmed. The scum (gomi) is ladled off and put in a piece of fine cloth. This is tied up and allowed to drip in the pot and then added to the other syrup. The juice is boiled for about 2 1/2 hours. It is frequently stirred with a pan attached to a long sugar pole (satonibu). The syrup is tested by allowing drops to fall from a bamboo stick to see if it has been boiled down enough.

When the boiling is completed, the syrup is ladled out into a deep round pan, about 3 feet in diameter. It is placed on a grass mat whose center piece, made of rice straw, resembles a life saver. The bottom of the pan fits into the hole. This mat with the pot is dragged outside the building into the open.

The sugar is now vigorously stirred with long poles. The hardening syrup on the sides of the pan is scraped with the hera, the same tool used in the transplanting of the sweet potato tops. The mixture is stirred about 15 minutes with frequent testing. The harder layer is scraped off the sides, being mixed with the more liquid syrup in the bottom of the pan. These hardened scrapings speed up the hardening

of the rest of the syrup. With the stirring finished, the sugar for contemplated home use is spread out in pans to harden. That intended for export is put in specially prepared boxes, furnished by Naha export firms, stencilled and ready for shipment. 249 [439] [415]

In Matsuda, the harvesting of the cane is the same as in Hanashiro. But the old Okinawan and Japanese method of crushing the cane is still used because the destroyed machinery has not been replaced. The cane is crushed outside. Three large steel rollers are placed side by side in a frame, with gear teeth on the top meshing. A sweep about 30 feet long is attached to the center wheel.[6] A horse draws the sweep, revolving the wheels. The cane is fed into the left roller, caught as it comes out, and then fed back into the right roller. The juice is caught below. The residue (kibikasu) is left outside to dry to be used later for firewood. The juices which have been caught are taken in a low lying building with a tile roof, put in a large round pot (marunabe) or a rectangular pan (kikunabe). An open fire place is used for boiling the juice; the fire place is sunk in the ground and lined with stone, with a small opening at the bottom for putting in firewood. This mill is privately owned, the property of an association (kumiai) of about twenty men who rent it out for individual processing. As in Hanashiro, sugar is the production of the individual small farmer from its first planting until its sale for export or for home use. [727] [423] [427]

7

Other Crops

The most important of the other crops commonly grown in the villages remain to be considered. 241

(1) Soy beans (daizu in Japanese, Glycine max Merrill). In all the villages, soy beans were planted once a year, sowing in the first or second month, and harvesting in the fifth month. The field is prepared by making furrows and putting a mixture of chopped up green grasses and some animal manure, or a commercial fertilizer, in the hole in which the seed is planted. The farmer then waits for rain. After rain, he plants the seeds about three feet apart in rows from one shaku five sun (about 18 inches) for very good land to one shaku one sun (about 13 inches) for usual land. The plant is harvested with the small sickle. The beans are threshed by a flail (gurumanbo in Okinawan). The residues are used either for fertilizer or fuel.

6 This device is also relatively unchanged since Perry's time. The only difference is in the wheels which were formerly of wood, geared together by mortise and tenon joints. Stone crushers were also used formerly. In Hanashiro, I saw one of these stone rollers lying in the yard of a villager. For sugar making operations in the 1850's, see Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 20, 30.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

Village Shops and Businesses

Village stores, small in number and modest in size, furnish their own people many essential services, but the offerings differ from place to place in number and kind, so that there are always commercial contacts of a sort with nearby villages or towns. This is brought out in the accompanying table of business and personal service establishments in each of the villages. 443 628

348 365 366 368

Village Shops, Businesses, Personal Service Enterprises

Type	Number of Enterprises in:			
	Hanashiro	Hinatogawa	Nagamo	Matsuda
Rice Mills	1	a/	a/	1
Sugar Mills	1		1	3
Small Retail Shops	3	5	3	5
Power Plant		1	b/	1
Import Store	c/	1	b/	1
Saw Mill				1
Blacksmith	d/	d/	1	
Retail Butcher Shop		1		
Motion Picture Theatre	e/	e/	e/	f/
Public Bath House	b/	2	b/	2/
Village Inn		1		f/
Eating Places		1		
Barbershop	g/	e/	a/	1

a No need for rice mills, no rice grown
b Served by Hinatogawa
c In nearby Asato
d Nagamo serves these and other villages in the township
e In Horikawa, opposite Hinatogawa
f Served by Ginoza village
g Served by Gushichan village

256

Rice mills (seimaisho) are recent in rural Okinawa. The mill in Hanashiro was installed in 1940. It serves nearby villages. The mill in Matsuda, also a recent introduction, is more modern. In each case, the mill has two machines of Japanese manufacture, one for hulling, the other for polishing.

249

Sugar mills (seitojo) vary in quality in the communities. Hanashiro has a machine for crushing cane. In Matsuda, war destruction

249 forced a return to crushing the cane by the use of rollers driven by a horse at the end of a sweep. Before the war, Matsuda had sugar mills driven by machinery. Mills may either be village owned, as in Hanashiro, or owned by small co-operatives, like that in Matsuda whose members rent it to others when not using it themselves. 423 [427]

Village stores generally occupy the front part of a family's living quarters. They are operated mainly by women. A woman past middle age sitting on the floor of her shop, talking with visitors or reading the paper, is a familiar sight in an Okinawan village. A village may have several tiny stores. They do not compete with one another in the commercial sense of the word. Prices are the same. Their inventories are the standard ones. The chief differences are in size and variety. Some sell the strong alcoholic drink (awamori) called sake in Okinawa. 443 [462] [973]

Each storekeeper has a clientele of friends and relatives, but one is not under social obligation to repeatedly trade at the same place. Relatives sometimes own adjoining shops. In Japan, it is said that once a person starts trading at a shop he continues to do so. To switch would deprive the shopkeeper of business that could be counted on, and imply dissatisfaction with the service rendered. The first purchase creates mutual obligations between the storekeeper and his customer which are not broken casually.[1] This is not the case with these village stores. One patronizes the shop that is convenient, that is open when one wants to buy, that has the desired article. There is an informal atmosphere and lack of bustle in these tiny shops because so many are operated for supplementary income by wives or female relatives of the breadwinner. A wife may sit in her shop, as I have often seen her in Minatogawa, taking care of her baby, sewing on her treadle sewing machine, and interrupting her work when necessary for a customer. The cash involved is small, often only a few yen, and money is carefully accounted for. These shops satisfy a surprising amount of the village demand for food, food supplements, notions, clothing, and household goods. Larger, more expensive, or more specialized items such as books, suits, furniture are in the towns like Itoman or Naha in the south, or Nago and Ishikawa in the north. [171] [434] [404]

An inventory of one of these village stores indicates the types of articles in frequent and constant demand. In one typical store in Minatogawa the following purchases could be made:

Foods

Starch [262]
Condensed milk for children [272]

1 I was told this by Japanese and by Nisei who were in Japan during the occupation. I do not know how widespread or how characteristic this practice is of all retail trade there.

vary according to the problems and conditions in a village. The first meeting of the year is usually held around Jan. 2, when there is a party. The young men, even those of 17 drink sake at this time. Young women, who do not drink, contribute gifts of candy and soft drinks. 575

In Hanashiro, the young men cultivate a field of their own and sell the produce. They maintain a carp pond. (Before the war, there were two such ponds). They also work out for wages. Every morning rotating groups work for two hours either in the association's field or for wages. This is done before the daily work. Their earnings of Y8 an hour, low by Okinawan standards, are accumulated for special projects, such as the annual athletic meet. Occasionally they help with road maintenance, though this is a job for all the people of the village. The carp in the pond are sold to the villagers, normally in July, for medicinal purposes. [465] [825] [278]

In Minatogawa, the young men's and the young women's association are combined. The head is a young man, the second in charge a young woman. They help in times of emergency and with repairing of typhoon damage. Since there are no fields or carp ponds, they are not so active as the young men of the agricultural villages. Sometimes they do night guard duty around the village, though this practice now has fallen into disuse.

In Matsuda, the association performs tasks similar to those in Hanashiro. Rotating groups, arising at 4 in the morning, do two or three hours work before starting their own. Absentees are fined Y20 and tardy members Y5. The young men grow sugar cane on land loaned free of charge by farmers. The purpose of the project is to increase sugar cane production by providing transplants. The Matsuda group also works in the forests, for which they receive Y100 per day per person. With the permission of the village headman, they get firewood from the forests, sell it to provide funds for their projects. They stand by during typhoons. But they also have discontinued the custom of providing a 3 or 4 member patrol to walk around the village in the early morning hours. Since thievery is uncommon, the patrolling is no longer required. When the village gong sounds a fire alarm, all the young men assemble. At the harvest festivals, such as the autumnal equinoctial holiday, the young men may present a play, do Okinawan dances, and supply the motive power for the village lion. [249]

The leader (danchō) of a young man's association usually is from the older age group. Meetings are held twice a month, normally on the 1st and 15th. The annual parties are either at the beginning or the end of the year. In all the villages, the young men's associations have a leading part in the annual athletic meetings. Most of their accumulated funds are expended at this time. They not only participate, but do much of the preparatory work in co-operation with the school teachers.

One result of membership in the young men's associations is that the age range (an 8 year span) of one's acquaintance is broadened.

Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

244
storing and are kept under the house or on a special shelf on the rafters.
Onions, giant radishes, beans, and cabbages are also raised on farm [251]
lands. Night soil is rarely used for such vegetables nowadays but is still [514]
used on potatoes. Several of these vegetables as well as others are raised [462]
by women in small "home-garden" plots.

The hardest working period during the year is in July and August. 244
Within a few weeks after the rice harvest, the soil must be made ready 243
for the second rice crop or the soil must be prepared for dry paddy
potatoes. This is also the time for planting the chief sugar crop. All [249]
this takes place during the hottest time of the year, when efficiency is
greatly reduced by heat and humidity.

Sugar harvest and processing fall in the period between January and 249
March. One field after another is harvested by the owners after ar-
rangements have been made for a date when the cane can be processed.
Such arrangements are made with the director of the Taira cooperative, [474]
who supervises operations of the sugar mill which is owned by the co-
operative. The whole family helps on the day of processing. Women
carry bundles of branches and light firewood to heat the kettles. The [402]
operation requires the help of someone to feed cane into the small,
diesel engine driven press, some to carry the pulp away, and others
to watch the kettles in which extracted juice is boiled down to molas-
ses. Finally, a few persons stir the brown residue in wide, open pots
until it becomes stalted. Then it is put into tubs that hold about 132
pounds.

The agricultural market for cash crops was totally disrupted at the 433
end of World War II. There was no immediate outlet for sugar prod- 249
ucts; crops had been destroyed or neglected, and the sugar mill was
demolished in the fighting. But by this time most people were too
satisfied with the great returns from forest work to invest much time
and energy in a crop which takes a year and a half to show any mate-
rial results. Nevertheless, sugar was the first crop to find a market again.

Pineapple, introduced recently in Taira, has a promising future. 245
Tea is still grown in small quantities, but few families grow more than
they need for their own use, although it is a good potential cash crop
for this area.

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

Raising pigs is an important source of cash income for all house- 231
holds in the village. Even the poorest families own at least one, but [434]
few families have more than two; in the central village the average is
about 1.2 per household. Pigs are given special care and attention.

CHAPTER III: AGRICULTURAL HISTORY, LAND USE AND DIET

F. R. Pitts

121 178 The concept of the unchanging Orient certainly fails to appear true in the case of Okinawa, when the past is examined closely. Indeed, it seems hard to find an area where so much change has been accomplished so fast. The following is designed to show some major aspects of that change, particularly insofar as the farmer is concerned.

1. Agricultural History

175 241 198 The Early Days As early as the 1730's when the great Okinawan statesman, Saion, urged the growing of the sago palm 'sotetsu', farmers were already used to orders and suggestions from the gentry as to modification of their traditional ways. But it was not until the growth of population and the money economy that changes were to be brought about, not so much by orders from above, but chiefly by the workings of economic forces.

175 177 433 249 The ultimately most effective agent of change had been the introduction of the sugar cane plant in 1623 and its concomitant technique of sugar manufacture.[1] It was not until a decade after the Japanese took over the islands, however, that sugar production began to increase, and not until after the Russo-Japanese war that sugar really became an important crop in the economy. By 1939 the production of sugar amounted to more than a million tons, and production exceeded consumption by ninefold.[2] By the end of the 1951-1952 winter pressing season, production had declined to 256,000 tons.[3]

175 62 About the time of Commodore Perry's visit the population of Okinawa had begun to grow, and new areas were settled by both commoners and the gentry. Nanahan dates its existence from this period. Of the first three families to settle here, one came from Shuri gentry, and two others were commoners from the main settlement of Tomoyose. Of the seven settlements of the village of Yamada, three were settled by commoners and one by the gentry. All had come from the urban areas of the south in the latter part of the last century. [829] In Okinawa everyone seems to be aware of his place in history, and in the older settlements one often hears the remark, "...they are newcomers; they have been here for only two hundred years."

175 241 178 433 [179] In general the agricultural history of Okinawa falls into three periods. The first saw a self-sufficient economy, in which banana cloth was made in the village. The chief crops were millet, arrowroot, and sweet potatoes. With the introduction of a money economy, and its further intensification under the Japanese, sugar gradually turned from its previous use as a home confection to a full money crop. Rice acreage fell as more sugar was planted, and sweet potatoes found a greater place in the diet. The old crops of millet, cassava, and arrowroot were all but abandoned in Shimajiri, and became less important in the north. The third period is essentially the postwar and still continuing one, in which the growing of vegetables for the

1 Navy Handbook, p. 240.

2 CAARI, p. 156.

3 Summation of U. S. Army Military Government Activities in the Ryukyu Islands, July-November 1946, p. 25.

464 the bulldozer had done the basic shaping of the field, a new member of the
[465] 'han' was hired to finish the pounding of the paddy walls. He was paid ¥900 for six days' work, and was required to provide his own lunch. His employer had spent the first year after the war in Hokkaido, working for no money but receiving one 'shō' (3.18 pints) of rice a day. Later he rented a horse and cart from its owner at ¥60 a day and pocketed anything above that amount that he earned. During planting and harvest season he worked in the rice fields.

Horses are rented out by their owners to other people, but when a cow
445 is rented the owner's services are always included. No farmer trusts anyone
426 else with his cow. A man-and-cow hire out for ¥250-300 a day, depending on
435 the distance they must travel. A horse is most often rented to pull the sweep
379 of a rotary sugar-press, and is paid according to the amount of juice of black
• 299 sugar produced. Various prices are quoted. ¥100 is paid for each 'chō' (100 kin, or 132 pounds) of black sugar produced. One farmer charges for the use of his horse a flat rate of ¥1 for each gallon of juice squeezed. Another charges ¥60 for 50 gallons of juice if the renter lives in Nanahan or close by, and ¥70 if he lives farther away. Horses were scarce the first year after the war, and fifteen men together pulled the sweeps of the rotary presses.

464 <u>Buying of Labor and Services</u> Many times farmers have need of a great amount of labor in a short period of time. Then they
575 are most likely to call upon the services of the young people's group, the 'seinendan'. One Nanahan farmer in 1952 had this group make a paddy field for him from a dry field. In 1953 another farmer had the group make a 300 'tsubo' dry field for him out of 'arechi', or war-destroyed land. The 'seinendan' also hires its members out to work for people who need help in the busy season. The following daily wage rates were quotes: women and new
[465] members, ¥40; men of 18 and 19 years, ¥50; and men of 20 years and above, ¥60.

Abolition of the stringent Japanese regulations compelling farmers
445 to raise sugar has resulted in the reconversion of many sugar fields to rice
[648] paddies. At first this was done exclusively by hand labor, but now bull-
[439] dozers are more in favor. One farmer had 420 'tsubo' of dry land converted into paddy at a total cost for bulldozer leveling of ¥6,300. The rate for machine and operator was ¥600 an hour. The farmer owns 450 tsubo more of paddy, which provides rice for one meal a day. With this newly-converted
[262] field he plans to have his family eat rice twice daily. Labor charges for finishing the new paddy will run about ¥4,000, according to estimate.

One of his relatives is a repatriate from the hemp-growing colony at Davao, in the Philippines. This man bought land from a villager who was dissatisfied with country life, and hired a bulldozer to convert it to paddy.
[435] For conversion of 816 tsubo he paid bulldozer charges of ¥12,000 and ¥8,000 additional for labor. He had bought the dry land ('hatake') originally for ¥65 per tsubo.

About the only other service regularly engaged is the hulling and polishing of rice. Nanahan people take their threshed rice to a neighboring village where there is a 'seimaisho' (rice-cleaning mill), and pay only cash for the service. They return home with the polished rice and the bran, or

'nuka'. The latter is fed to pigs, cows, and chickens. The rice polisher keeps 445
the hulls (mumigara), but the farmers have free access to the hull pile should they want to use it for stuffing pillows. People in Kanegusuku do not usually pay in cash, but allow the miller to keep about six percent of the polished rice [437] as multure.

Exchange of Services In order to lessen the amount of money used in transactions, rural folk resort to exchange of labor as 476 [137] much as possible. However, the exchange is based upon fairly rigorous ideas of reciprocity, and a person who has been helped is expected fully to return the favor. A Nanahan man built a house with a tin roof---the only one in the village---with the aid of his wife's brother, who was a carpenter. In return he spent a greater number of days aiding his brother-in-law in construction of a new house---paying back more days because of his comparative lack of skill. People envy the carpenter, who did not finish high school, but at- [463] tended a four-month carpentry school instead. "He now makes more than a high-school graduate, and has four apprentices working for him."

Okinawan youths very early learn the patterns expected in cooperative [383] labor. The custom of iimarū is one of teen-aged boys' going around in a group to work the fields of the father of one of the boys, and moving on in turn to the fields of the other fathers.

Some loosening of patterns of use of horse-drawn sugar mills was re- [178] corded. For instance, during the prewar period the dominant family in Nanahan [249] had monopolized one particularly well-located press and boiling shed. Now they share its use with all the families living in the valley where the dominant family's 'honke' is located.

In Yamada mutual assistance through exchange of labor is called yiisē. For example, a farmer who wants to transplant rice gets help from among his relatives. One person comes from each family that can spare one, with the assurance that it will receive one person in return. If the labor cannot be returned for transplanting, the people owing a day may fill in with work on a dry field or aid in building a new house, and so forth. Thatching a roof with [452] kaya grass is also yiisē, but it partakes somewhat of the nature of a 'moai', or mutual loan group. People from the whole village may come for this. They bring bundles of grass---one, two or three---and the amount is written down so that the same amount may be returned when that person's turn comes. The similarity to 'moai' may be only in the fact that there is a written record.

The probationary adoption of a 'yōshi' may be considered a form of [597] exchange of services. A man without an heir may take into his house a nephew, say the third son of his brother, with the intention of adopting him should the boy be serious and hard-working. If the boy should not prove amenable to the arrangement---one boy said, "I stayed with my uncle two years, but left because I wanted to get an education"---his labor is considered to have paid for the expense of keeping him.

2. Rural Industries

178 Generally speaking, it can be said that much less effort is put forth
439 in the countryside now toward home industries than was the case before the
543 war. In Nanahan making of products at home has declined to the point where rather than being made for sale, they are made only for exhibit at the fair given annually at the local primary school. Even here considerable urging is required by the village officials, and entries are forthcoming only by an appeal to pride in one's village's standing at the fair.

249 Sugar Presses and Mills Okinawa has two modern western-style sugar refin-
257 eries, one at Haebaru and one on the isle of Minami Daitō. At the other end of the scale there are the some-400 horse-drawn rotary mills. Between these there are perhaps a dozen or less mills which utilize gasoline-powered motors and are geared to operate on a much larger scale than the rotary presses.

471 In rebuilding the big mill at Tomoyose which had been destroyed in the
257 war, each family that owned stock in the mill contributed the labor of one per-
461 son per day of building. On a typical day they started work at eight, had a fifteen-minute "break" at ten, and returned home for lunch for an hour at noon. After an afternoon "break", the work continued until six. Breaks and resumption of work were announced by pounding on an empty oxygen cylinder of large dimensions. The only break I observed lasted for 24 minutes. Tea was served to everyone, and the men sat around discussing how they would be able to pay for the building---which was made of sandy limestone from Minatogawa---and
471 where they would borrow money. The sugar produced was to be sold to the Ag-
257 ricultural Federation in Naha, as is the sugar produced at the smaller mills. However, the sugar was to be sold in 50 kin (66 pound) bags rather than in
[433] 100 kin barrels. The potential annual output was estimated at 15,000 bags, or approximately one-half the Tomoyose village production.

256 Kanegusuku Rice Mill There is one small rice mill in Kanegusuku. All the villagers who have rice land---or about 70% of the families---utilize this mill for polishing. No one in the village uses the
[439] old-fashioned hand mill. The owner of the rice mill says that most of the villagers cannot afford to pay cash for having their rice polished. Consequently he takes as multure about two-thirds of one 'gō' from each 'shō' of rice. This amounts to approximately six percent of their rice. The villagers evidently trust him completely, for no one was seen standing around watching while their rice was being polished.

The owner says that his machines are old and break down frequently. Three machines are required for the whole process. This is not a full-time job except during the harvesting periods. The young man who is owner regularly works on his family's lands. All operation and maintenance are done by him; he does not hire a helper even in the busiest times.

286 Mat-Making in Kanegusuku The three-cornered sedge ('sankaku-i') is a reed
433 grown in a wet field like rice, and is the basis of 'tatami omote' and 'goza' manufacture, the chief home industry of Kanegu-
[178] suku. Production of the reed in Kanegusuku today is about one-tenth the pre-

[Kitazato]

175 621 727 It is said that the division of the village cut across family lines and that the motivating factor in a household's choice of one site over another was the location of their remaining landholdings on the periphery of the village. Another factor was the presence of relatives in neighboring villages from whom they might secure land for rental. Thus, Kijikina is largely made up of households which have their lands on that side of the field or have relatives in neighboring Furushima; the Hama people mostly own the land at the north side of the field.

175 621 The Pre-war Village Prior to the war the village was, according to 'son' officials, a very prosperous community and a great economic asset to the 'son'. It possessed nearly 173 acres in arable land, most of which was flat or gently rolling. The soil was well suited to sugar cane which was the chief source of income for the village; cattle-raising for export to Japan provided an additional source of income.

Unlike Kanegusuku the lineages were said to be rather weak in Kitazato; there were a number of different kin groups, and no one of these was dominant. The houses of the village were not tightly nucleated like those of the typical Okinawan village but were scattered about in a loose grouping in the midst of the best agricultural land.

621 311 727 Land Loss At the present time (May, 1954) approximately 39% of the total land area of this village is in airfield, and an additional 34% of the total area has been ruined by activities related to its construction (sand dumped onto fields, top soil removed, erosion, etc.). There remains but 27% of the total land area for the use of the villagers, and of this only a small percentage is in arable land, since most of the good, flat farmland was lost to the airfield. The total amount of arable land remaining is 11,895 'tsubo' (less than ten acres), and this averages out to about 148 'tsubo' or 0.12 acres per household, with approximately five persons in each house. The average amounts of arable land per household in Kanegusuku, Okinawa, and Kitazato compare as follows:

Kanegusuku	---	1514.2 'tsubo'
Okinawa	---	1037.2 'tsubo' (per farm household)
Kitazato	---	148.7 'tsubo'

Land loss to the airfield affected every family in the village; some families lost all of their lands, a very few managed to retain most, but the majority of villagers (70%) lost nearly all of their holdings. For example, the mayor of the village held 2470 'tsubo' before the war and now has 570 'tsubo' left; yet, he is considered one of the more fortunate. To compensate for their losses they now farm some land which was previously left idle: "We would not have farmed such land before the war as we are farming today." Some have rented lands from neighboring villages, and a few have been given land by relatives in these villages.

621 829 727 Land Payment The people of Kitazato strongly feel that they are not being paid adequate remuneration in terms of current rental values for their land. They are well aware of the fact that the same U. S. military

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

824 Soy beans have three main uses: soy sauce which is seldom made
[262] in the home, bean curd (tōfu) and miso, a bean paste, both always
[432] home made. For this reason, soy beans are grown mostly for home use,
with the surplus sold. In Hanashiro, where the surpluses are greater,
[462] the beans may be sold in Naha, Shuri, or Itoman. Women do the selling,
[494] taking the beans to market on the buses, trucks, or three wheeled vehicles.

(2) Other types of beans such as the red dwarf bean (asuki)
241 (Phaseolus angularis Wight), the kidney bean (ingen in Japanese,
262 Phaseolus vulgaris L), the broad or horse bean (sorasame in Japanese, Vician fabia L), and peas (endō in Japanese, Pisum sativum L) are grown for home use, usually in parcels which are closest to the house.

(3) The giant radish, (daikon in Japanese, Raphanus sativus L)
[263] is, after the soy bean, the most important of the minor crops grown for home use. This is the vegetable most favored either as a condiment,
[252] or as a side dish. It is eaten sliced raw, pickled, or fried in strips in soy sauce. When eaten boiled, its flavor resembles that of a turnip.

(5) The pumpkin (Cucurbita pepo L) called nanka or kabocha, the latter name being derived from the word Cambodia from which the pumpkin was introduced into Japan. They are harvested in summer, and one crop a year, generally for home use, is grown. If the flesh
[231] becomes too ripe and turns reddish and sweet, it is not relished and the pumpkin is fed to the pigs.

(6) The cucumber (kiuri in Japanese, Cucumus sativus L) is a very minor crop. In none of the villages were they generally grown, and then only for home use.

(7) The hechima or tōgwa in Japanese, subui in Okinawan.[7] This is very large and cylindrical. In exceptional specimens, its outward appearance is indistinguishable from the water melon. Its flesh is
[184] white. In the two southern villages, the tōgwa is grown very sparingly. In Matsuda and the surrounding villages, it is more common. Here it is used to fill in during times of food shortage. Some specimens I have
[221] seen weighed over 100 pounds. It is planted after lunar New Years, harvested in the 6th or 7th lunar month, a period reaching from about January to May. From April to July, when other vegetables are scarce,
[252] it is often used as a substitute. The flesh when boiled is rather tasteless; it is commonly boiled and served with chunks of meat. The tōgwa, in the northern villages, is often stored in dark cool places away from the sunlight, often under the house. If not cut open, the
[251] melon can be saved for a year.

7 I am not certain whether this is Luffa cylindrica Roem, Luffa petola, Ser, the Luffa sponge, rag gourd, etc., whose pulp disappears when ripe to be replaced by a web of fibres.

434 The money earned by women in the marketing of the fish, after
593 deduction of travel expenses, becomes part of the family funds. Women in the fishing village have custody of the family money, due to frequent and prolonged absence of their husbands. This is an unusual practice, for in the agricultural and stonecutting areas of the village the husband handles the money, with the exception of a few yen which the wife may have at home to meet incidental expenses. The custody of the money (much made over by some observers) has no special cultural significance in my observation. It is merely a convenience, based on custom and occupation. Most earnings of husband and wife are in a common fund, though older children may handle their own money.

6

Other Activities Associated with Fishing

251 There is some local drying of fish for home use and export. Of
[439] the common fish, the most frequently dried are the mackerel, the swordfish, and the shark. Shark fins are dried for export to Japan; before the war, they were also sent to China. The small amounts dried in local villages are accumulated in places like Naha for shipment. Drying processes are of the simplest. The fish may be laid out on a piece of canvas on the ground in front of the house, an operation which creates a stench and an overwhelming concentration of the blow fly population. Racks may be improvised. Their ends, made of odd pieces of wood, support thin bamboo poles laid parallel, on which the fish are put to dry. Sometimes fish are hung on a line. If the weather is good, they dry in two or three weeks, but rain quickly produces spoilage if the fish are not taken in immediately. The mackerel when dried may be heated up by placing a piece over the open fire, then rolled between the palms to see if it has been heated enough, torn into shreds, and put on a plate. Occasionally a poor family of non-fishing people, or a widow, purchases whole fish or backs or fins to dry for home use or resale.

278 Certain fish are valued as medicines. Their scarcity in agri-
825 cultural villages prevents any but the most casual use. In Minatogawa, the commonest fish used as medicines are the lobster, the white cuttle fish, and the carp (koi), though the latter fish is rare here.

[252] The whole lobster is put into boiling water. After a few minutes,
this broth, which is the medicine, is drained off, and the lobster is cracked open and heated, this time for preparation as a food. The
757 broth, which is regarded as very disagreeable, is taken for a variety of ailments. Its commonest use is as a laxative, although it is also taken for swellings, boils, or gatherings of any kind (haremono), for pains in the small of the back and the loin, or for a cold. The lobster broth is regarded as a very effective medicine. A white cuttlefish soup is put to similar use. The carp is boiled in water and the broth is drunk for fevers. The carp may also be grown in village ponds.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

512 821 A fishing village has a different kind of regularity than an agricultural village. Activities in both are determined by the weather. During a heavy rain, everyone is in his house. But the farmer, even with a dark angry sky, can work up to the storm, and often continues working in a mild rain. The fishing village is guided both by bad and anticipated bad weather. On a fine fishing day, the village seems deserted with the men gone, and the women in the homes. But several days of rain or unfavorable weather keep the men home, and the village is alive with other activities, such as repairing nets, boats, and houses. Much of the fisherman's work at sea is at night, either in the actual fishing or in going and coming. For this reason, there is considerable daytime sleeping among them. [513] On off days, the young fishermen loll around, often finding it difficult to pass the time away.

9

Conclusion

226 184 Fishing has become the occupation of a few places, such as Itoman town, some villages on the Motobu peninsular, and Minatogawa. Ryukyuans have achieved considerable fame for their skill in fishing in waters other than their own, such as their drive-in net fishing in the East Indies and around Singapore.[3] Possibly it is the fewness of good ports, the necessity of adapting requirements to varying local geographical conditions, such as the coral reefs, or the long period of emigration that have prevented the large scale development of fishing on this island and insured the dominance of an agricultural life.

262 It is also a striking fact that, on this small island where no village is far from the sea, fish is an uncommon article of the diet. The explanation is simple. It is a problem of distribution in which [435] two considerations are involved: the higher prices obtainable in Naha, [251] and the difficulties of preserving fish while distributing them through [439] the rural villages. More often than not, the fish in a farmer's diet is the dried sardine or a canned fish from Japan, not the local catch.

Part 2

The Quarries of Minatogawa-Nagamo

1

Introduction

324 Minatogawa is famous throughout Okinawa for its stone. Stone from the village and its environs may be seen in many towns and villages [458] of the island. Before the war, there was a flourishing boat trade in wood and stone between Minatogawa and the northern region. The fine

3 For a recent statement, see Aquatic resources of the Ryukyu area, as cited, 7-9.

Home Industries, Arts, and Crafts

438 Home industries, arts, and crafts are not a conspicuous part of the life of the villages studied. Even before the war, home crafts, training in dancing, singing, landscape gardening were not cultivated to any degree.

252 Certain foods, like bean curd and bean paste, are made in the home. There is a standard method of preparing bean curd. The soy beans are soaked until soft and then mashed in a hand operated stone mill or quern. This mill has two round stones. The top stone, turned by hand, rests on the stationary bottom stone. The crushed beans, thinned by frequent dashes of water, ooze out of the space between the two stones. This liquid is collected and strained through a cloth drawn over the top of a frame box. The residue in the cloth is saved for pig food. The liquid is boiled. After it curdles, it is strained. The curds remain in the cloth, the liquid [231] is also used for the pigs. The curds, of the consistency of a soft cottage cheese, are wrapped in a cloth and put in the frame box. A tight fitting lid is put on the box and pressed down hard to expel the rest of the liquid. After the curd has been thoroughly pressed, the frame box is turned upside down, the curd taken out, and the cloth wrapper removed. The smooth mold can now be sliced. It is a common sight to see women operating these mills in the villages before a family celebration or a public holiday. Bean curd, fried, boiled in a soup, or in a mixture with vegetables, or as an ingredient [579] of sukiyaki is always served at a party.

25 Bean paste (miso), an even more important food, is also made
252 in the home. Most families serve bean paste soup (misoshiru) every
[264] meal every day. It has four basic ingredients: soy beans, rice (or barley), salt, and water. Recipes differ considerably among families. In one recipe, 8 sho of rice are boiled, after which it is spread out on a large flat basket to drain, and then placed on a mat and allowed to ferment for about one week. An equal amount of soy beans, crushed in a stone mortar, is mixed with the rice. Salt (about 7 go, one go being 1/10 of a sho) is added and the mixture is boiled.[8] The salt retards fermentation and is a preservative. If obtainable, an American hand food grinder is preferred to the mortar and pestle. The mixture is put in a large jar (tsubo) which is placed in the kitchen or in a storeroom and allowed to stand at least a year, sometimes for three. With age, the paste becomes sweeter and is considered to be better. A woman may make three large jars of bean paste 3 times a year, the frequency depending on the size of the jars. Some are 5 1/2 feet high. Occasionally the cycad is an ingredient of miso. Every house has a supply of bean paste. When ready for use, it is very soluble in water.

[804] 8 A koku equals 10 to equals 100 sho equals 1000 go, 47.96 US gallons liquid, 5.12 US dry bushels.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

tion, a frame wood building, and the main store. On the eastern end of the village the road opens into a little square in front of the simple, open prayer house with a small concrete shrine in back, housing three sacred stones. Beyond these is the township office crowned by a mighty pine tree of tremendous and symmetric proportions, acclaimed by Taira people to be the oldest existing pine in Okinawa. Across from the office are the post office and the dispensary. 36

Closer inspection of the village shows former house sites which were not rebuilt. Some still have empty concrete shells or single concrete walls and abandoned pigsties or storage sheds. Some of the vacant lots are used as potato fields, others as play areas, the favorite being a large house lot surrounded by a concrete wall, near the main store. 361 727 [311]

Houses are set back a short distance from the roads and paths, and most face south. In spite of the hedges and trees, the house is easily accessible from the street—its orientation is therefore toward the community as a whole and, as will be seen later, open to visitors who can enter freely without going through winding garden paths and knocking on doors or entering through long corridors and passages. Each house lot is small, ranging from 1300 to 6050 square feet. Houses are set so close to each other that neighborly conversations from one to the other can be conducted without leaving one's premises. Although some privacy is attained by the hibiscus hedges and fences, few secrets can be kept from neighbors. 361 351 [521]

There are several focal areas where people frequently meet and interact. The main store is a geographical center. Its two bulletin boards make it a natural congregating point. The banyan tree, overshadowing the village office and the lower water tank, is another such place, and on any day of the year scores of children can be found on or under it. In prewar times it was flanked by important structures, but now the empty lots, which are adjacent, form a green which is used on good days for village meetings. 361 [203] [139]

South of this green, and close to the water, stands the old warehouse, a concrete structure with tile roof which once served as a storage center for agricultural products shipped south by boat; now it serves as a village meeting playground, especially on rainy days. The open space around it, bordering on the sea wall, is also used as a play area and as a gathering place for young adults. Here people prepare firewood for sale and stack it to be picked up by the village truck. Houses once stood near the 10-foot sea wall but were not rebuilt after the war. [251] [344]

To the north of the store lies the upper water tank. Until several standing faucets were installed in 1955, this used to be another place where people met frequently. Water is diverted from a stream a mile 312 365

302 for a shave; but since this happens only about once a week or less, they
[305] have a stubbly beard much of the time. Men have their hair cut infrequently. From adolescence on they prefer long and unwieldy hair, combed to one side.

Almost no women use lipstick, but a few put on rouge for special occasions. More and more of the younger women use some make-up when they travel to the city, in spite of rather rude teasing from other villagers that they look like prostitutes.

291 During the hot summer most people have straw sun hats which can
293 be bought at the local store after the rainy season. They cost little and last until the end of the heat. Umbrellas are the only rain protection during wet days, since the raincoats and hats formerly made of palm thatch have almost completely disappeared.

DWELLINGS

342 All but two houses in Taira are postwar structures. The first postwar structures were small and hastily built of local, mostly inferior materials. In the last few years families have built more elaborate houses with several rooms, substantial walls and roofs, and made of quality Japanese hard woods, which will resist rapid deterioration. Only a few of the present houses, however, compare in size and workmanship with the large prewar farmhouses.

[362] On the whole, housing in central Taira is inferior to outlying parts of the community and other surrounding villages. Two house types are found: the simple, temporary house or hut with two or three rooms and a kitchen, covered by a thatch roof; and the larger, more substantial house with either thatch or tile roof, four to six rooms and a kitchen.

[251] All houses have common characteristics. They are elevated from the ground so that a 20 to 24 inch space is left underneath the floor, which is sometimes used for the storage of potatoes and firewood. The floor plan is uniform for all houses of either type (Figure 1). Living rooms, also used for sleeping, are always located in the front part of the house. A smaller room located at the right rear of the house is used as a bedroom or for sick people and parturient mothers. The kitchen is on level ground so that a step has to be taken to enter the eating corner from the kitchen. Even the simplest huts have a thin wall which separates the rear bedroom and kitchen from the front part. All outside doors are sliding panels which move in a wooden track so that the whole front of the house may be opened. A visitor can tell immediately if somebody is home and, if an informal caller, will sit on the elevated

243 offered at the village shrine by the priestess. Today key agricultural
[782] events are still marked by small ceremonies in which the priestess be-
[793] seeches or thanks the gods, but the actual day for planting is determined by weather and the condition of seed.

When the rice is transplanted in March, the whole family spends long hours in the paddy. Then the paddies swarm with people; some prepare the soil by spreading fertilizer, others stand in the ooze to set
[476] the seedlings. Transplanting is done by mutual assistance groups, which will be discussed later in this chapter. They guarantee everyone a sufficient number of helping hands during the painstaking, rapid work, which has to be finished within a limited time. In a few days the whole paddy area suddenly turns from brown into the tender green of the young shoots. Once planted, intermittent weeding is all the care that is needed.

[261] In July the rice turns brown and is ready for harvest. This is an event of joy for the whole village, for young rice is most delicious and
[857] loved by everyone. By then vacations have started, so that schoolchildren can help to cut rice and carry bundles to the spot where it is threshed in treadle-type machines, located either near the field or behind one's house. As soon as the rice is threshed, the grain is carried to a place in the village where the wind blows freely. There a woman holds a flat winnowing basket filled with grain at an angle to let the
[782] breeze separate the chaff from the grain. The first rice is cut by men
[264] and offered at the family shrine before the whole family eats a specially prepared gruel. Rice is usually stored in one or two oil drums in the
[251] kitchen-side corner of the front room. Better houses have a metal-lined
[256] storeroom. Once a week a supply is taken to the miller to be hulled and polished.

Those whose fields are sufficiently wet plant a second crop, and the cycle is repeated once more in midsummer, with the second harvest falling in late December.

244 Sweet potatoes can be planted throughout the greater part of the year if the soil is not too dry. They take from five to seven months to
[262] grow to full size. Although less popular than rice, no part of the plant
[231] is wasted. The large tubers are consumed, the small ones are usually fed to the pigs; the young leaves are used as vegetables, the older ones cooked into pig food. Slips are cut and used for planting a new crop.

The preferred variety of potato (*tadushi imu*) is grown in the dry paddies during the second rice season. To plant this potato, the soil must be piled up to form a long, narrow, flat-topped mound. One of the hardest jobs for farmers, this is done by men in the humid heat of a midsummer day. Women set the slips after the earth has been moved.
[251] These potatoes are the only variety which are thought to improve with

storing and are kept under the house or on a special shelf on the rafters. 244

Onions, giant radishes, beans, and cabbages are also raised on farm lands. Night soil is rarely used for such vegetables nowadays but is still used on potatoes. Several of these vegetables as well as others are raised by women in small "home-garden" plots. [251] [514] [462]

The hardest working period during the year is in July and August. Within a few weeks after the rice harvest, the soil must be made ready for the second rice crop or the soil must be prepared for dry paddy potatoes. This is also the time for planting the chief sugar crop. All this takes place during the hottest time of the year, when efficiency is greatly reduced by heat and humidity. 244 243 [249]

Sugar harvest and processing fall in the period between January and March. One field after another is harvested by the owners after arrangements have been made for a date when the cane can be processed. Such arrangements are made with the director of the Taira cooperative, who supervises operations of the sugar mill which is owned by the cooperative. The whole family helps on the day of processing. Women carry bundles of branches and light firewood to heat the kettles. The operation requires the help of someone to feed cane into the small, diesel engine driven press, some to carry the pulp away, and others to watch the kettles in which extracted juice is boiled down to molasses. Finally, a few persons stir the brown residue in wide, open pots until it becomes stalted. Then it is put into tubs that hold about 132 pounds. 249 [474] [402]

The agricultural market for cash crops was totally disrupted at the end of World War II. There was no immediate outlet for sugar products; crops had been destroyed or neglected, and the sugar mill was demolished in the fighting. But by this time most people were too satisfied with the great returns from forest work to invest much time and energy in a crop which takes a year and a half to show any material results. Nevertheless, sugar was the first crop to find a market again. 433 249

Pineapple, introduced recently in Taira, has a promising future. Tea is still grown in small quantities, but few families grow more than they need for their own use, although it is a good potential cash crop for this area. 245

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

Raising pigs is an important source of cash income for all households in the village. Even the poorest families own at least one, but few families have more than two; in the central village the average is about 1.2 per household. Pigs are given special care and attention. 231 [434]

231 Before a piglet is bought, its feeding habits are carefully observed by
the buyer to determine future growing potential. It is then kept in a
[417] sty: pigsties are either in the yard near the house or in a cluster of
stables on the north edge of the town. Twice a day women cook the
food in large kettles and ladle the liquid food into a trough. Nowadays
[262] pork is rarely consumed in the village except for special holidays, when
several families may slaughter pigs and sell part of the meat to every-
[438] body through the local store or preserve some of it by salting. Most
[251] farmers, however, wait for the meat buyer from the southern part of
[442] the island from whom they receive a good financial return.

Goats are raised for home consumption. They are never left to graze
[417] but are quartered in a goat pen near the pigsty and fed on grass cut
from uncultivated land. Seven families in the central village have
[492] horses. Their main use is to carry firewood from the mountains. The
small breed looks like a cross between a horse and pony and seems
especially adapted to climb the steep trails. They are also used for
plowing and for pulling two-wheeled carts. The owner of a horse
[434] may more than double his income from forest work. Horses are fre-
[427] quently rented out for half the day's income from wood carried by
them.

Silkworm raising, an important source of income in Taira before
the war, is only now being resumed by some Tairan families. The
[474] larvae are supplied through island-wide silkworm raising associations,
which repurchase the cocoons after they are spun. To raise silkworms,
a substantial house is needed so that rats cannot enter and eat the
worms. The temporary postwar structures with holes and cracks in the
walls and roof are inadequate. Only a few recently built houses can be
used. One family keeps growing worms on shelves in the front room.
[137] Most of the mulberry trees were lost during and after the war. Plans
have been made to plant new trees. Young girls feed the mulberry
[462] leaves to the gluttonous worms who require constant attention. When
the worms are ready to create their cocoons, they are taken off their
diet, and the cocoons are cleaned and sorted out. Silkworms can be
raised four times a year if there is an adequate supply of mulberry
leaves. Their sale brings a good income, which can become a substitute
[434] for cash earned in forest work.

FISHING

226 Fishing is a much less important source of livelihood than one would
[554] expect in a coastal village and is a low-prestige occupation. Only two

Table I, Cont'd.

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Crop	Tsubo Prewar	Tsubo Postwar	Comments	
Green peas	80	--	None now due to rats.	
Giant radish	50	50	Sell half; use the rest in soups.	
Burdock root	--	50	Sell 90%; use only at home for feasts.	
Carrots	1	5	Sell half the crop.	
Dryland taro	--	20		
Irish potatoes	--	50	Winter crop; seed from Hokkaido.	
Cucumbers	1-2	50	Prewar, all used at home. Now sell 90% at about ¥10 per 'kin'.	
Chives	1	1	Always use in soup. Raise for home use only.	
Wax melon	50	50	Sold half in Itoman prewar; now sell same amount in Naha.	
Pumpkins	1	1	Entirely for home use then and now.	
Kidney beans	100	100	Then and now entirely for home use, in 'gohan' and 'miso'.	
Cabbage	--	60	Sell 90% at ¥2-7 per 'kin'.	
Eggplant	--	4-5 stalks	For occasional home use.	
Green onion	--	10	Entirely for home use, in soups, etc.	
Chinese cabbage	--	20	Sell over two-thirds.	
Bitter melon	--	5	Mainly for home use.	
Mustard cabbage	--	3	Sell half. Pickle temporarily with salt for home use.	[251]
Swiss chard	5	50	Pigs eat the old and large leaves; people the young and tender small ones.	[231]
Garlic	--	3	It is pickled, and is entirely for home use.	[351]
Shallot	--	2	Entirely for home use.	
Red peppers	--	1-2 stalks	Used with soybean curd, or when one has a stomach ache.	[757]

262 Sea food eaten differs by the season. Most available in summer are bonito and the sea turtle. Common in October and later are seabream, white-fish, and globefish. Canned mackerel is by far the most common fish food eaten, and seaweed is a staple in all but the poorest homes. Though every [825] adult in the village speaks Okinawan by preference in everyday life, even the old people rarely know the dialect names for various fish, "because we are so far from the sea." The nearest coast is less than three airline miles away. Before the war most of the fish consumed was bought in Itoman, but with the removal of the railroad and the orientation of bus traffic toward Naha, very little is purchased in Itoman.

252 The entire day's supply of sweet potatoes, for man and beast, is prepared by boiling in early morning in a large pot. It takes about an hour to boil fifty pounds. Those for human consumption are placed on top, with those for the animals underlying them. Naturally those eaten by the pigs and other [231] animals are the less beautiful, and often slightly rotten ones. When the family eats 'imo', they peel off both the outer and inner skins and give them to the animals. They realize that the inner skin contains vitamins, but it is too much trouble to peel separately. People regard baked 'imo' as more delicious than boiled, but do not make them in Nanahan as a rule due to shortage of fuel. The children often stick 'imo' right into the fire while their mothers are boiling 'imo' for the day. Sometimes children under ten [857] years of age make baked 'imo' when they collect trash and burn it. When they do this is not determined, but occurs as the children suddenly decide there is enough trash to burn.

262 252 'O-kazu' (Okinawan: katimun) refers in Nanahan to any dish whose basic ingredients are lard, soy sauce, and 'aji-no-moto' (monosodium glutamate). It is generally made about two times a week. First lard is put in a pan. Then either raw 'daikon' or 'sengei' (dried and shredded 'daikon') is added, together with globe onions. Soy sauce is then added, and the mixture salted to taste. If meat is available, it is put in as soon as the lard is melted. 'Aji-no-moto' is added just before serving.

252 The making of 'miso' paste is a home task for the women and girls. The amount made depends on the weather. Good weather for proper mildewing is generally found in the spring and autumn. At the equinoxes, when most of the 'miso' is made if people have a choice in the matter, mildewing takes two or three days. The process involves two steps---the making of malt ('kōji') and the making of soybean flour or paste. For malt one must use broad beans, wheat or barley, kidney beans or, infrequently, soybeans. The malt materials are boiled until the skins come off. Then they are drained, spread out on a straw mat inside the house, and dusted with wheat flour. Rice straw is spread over the mixture to form a hotbed. When the mildew starts the mixture turns yellow, and is then spread out to dry in the sun. When dry it is stored in a box, to be mixed with soybean flour or paste later. The latter is very easily made. Boiled soybeans are ground up in a meat grinder, and dried. The flour may be stored separately, but it is most often mixed immediately with an equal amount of malt. To prevent spoiling, about three parts salt are added [251] to ten of the mixture, now called 'miso'. It is put into a pot for "ripening" during the next six months, and then is used gradually. If stored longer than one year it loses its taste.

256 until the desired white shade was obtained. After the milling, the rice is quite warm, and both the chaff and the rice have an odor similar to brewer's yeast.

[462] Women carry the rice to the mill. It is heaped up in baskets set
[482] on their heads. Rice straw or a braid of rice stalks is placed over the small towel which rests directly on the head. On this the woman
[415] sets the basket with its rice. When the milling is over, the women pick up a handful, blow off the chaff, inspect the rice for wholeness and whiteness, and then put it in a large gunny sack. The chaff is placed in a smaller one. Hulls, occasionally taken, are usually left
[824] at the mill to accumulate in a pile outside the mill and there, at frequent intervals, are burned. Sometimes the hulls or the ashes are taken for fertilizer.

Bringing rice for milling is a social occasion for the women.
[521] They often have a child on their back. While waiting for their rice to be hulled and milled, they exchange greetings and news with their neighbors or with women from adjoining villages.

As a result of the war, quality of machinery for rice milling
[727] differs with villages. Most now have access to a mill. The machinery at Matsuda, being more efficient than the older machines at Hanashiro is able to polish the rice satisfactorily after going through the mill three times. These mills are very busy during the harvest seasons.

252 There are also survivals of older methods of hulling and polishing rice. These are no longer used, though many of the old have not lost their skill. Before machine polishing was introduced, the hulls were
[412] removed by pounding the rice in a mortar, usually with a long bamboo pole narrowed in the center for a grip. After the hulls were removed, the rice was put through a quern, or a mill known as a shiriushi. This has two working parts: a base about a foot in diameter and perhaps a foot in height. It looks like a smoothed off log. In the center, there is a wooden pin, perhaps 1 1/2 feet long. Over this part, which looks like an upright piece of a log with a rolling pin stuck in its center, the upper part, made of wood and of the same diameter is fitted. A bar across the inside of the top of the upper part has a hole for the pin. On the outside, wooden plugs provide places for attaching ropes.
[462] These are pulled back and forth by women sitting opposite one another. The rice is poured in at the top, the quern is moved first clock- and then counterclockwise, the rice coming out in the rough crevice where the two pieces join. The rice is put through the quern as many times as is necessary to effect the polishing. In some querns, the inside of the upper part is grooved to quicken the polishing.

In polishing rice in this way, the mill is placed on a mat and the rice is gathered up periodically and put in baskets. It is then winnowed by tossing in a flat basket. Many of the farmers in the villages still have a shiriushi in their sheds, but it is seldom used.

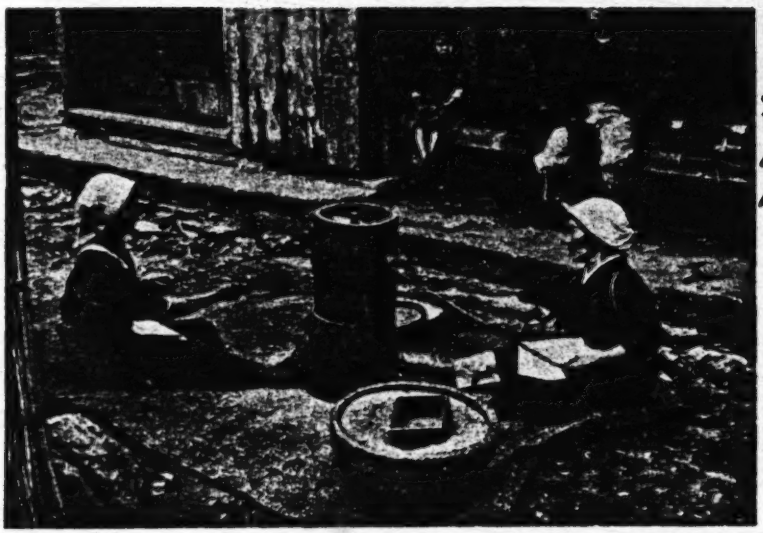
Rice may also be polished by the use of rude wooden mallets. These have a handle about 3 feet long and a head about 1 1/2 feet long. Rice is placed in a mortar with straw on top. It is pounded, often by two or three women swinging alternately. After the hulls are removed, the rice is winnowed, and put back in the mortar until a rough polish is secured. 252 [412]

Uses of rice. Every part of the rice plant has a use. The stubble, left in the ground, becomes part of next season's fertiliser. The chaff and waste dust (nuka) is saved for pigs, cows, and other domestic animals. The hulls often are used for fertiliser, before or after burning. Rice straw has a variety of uses. The most frequent and important of these is for making rope. 824

After threshing, the straw is dried two or three days. Three or four stalks of about the same length are taken and rolled between the palms. The lower palm, usually the left, is open and up. The right palm rolls the straw into a twist. As the rope grows, new stalks are inserted one at a time, and, when needed, a new length of straw is added. This is not a strong rope, but it has a variety of uses, such as tying down the grass thatch to the roof poles, children's swings, and clothes lines. Mats and pads shaped like a life saver and used to set the sugar pots on after the sugar has been boiled, are made out of rice straw. Another use is in the making of the Ōda (Okinawan). This is a mesh about one foot wide and two feet long. There are loops on each corner. The end of a pole may be inserted in these loops when gathered together. The pole is carried over the shoulder, and sweet potatoes, straw, or other articles may be easily transported. Simple brooms without a handle, little more than a bunch of straw tied together in three places are also made of rice straw. Twisting and braiding rice straw is likely to be rainy day work. These articles are most often made twice in the year, corresponding with the harvests. [283] [285] [482] [412]

At typhoon times, if rice is not completely destroyed, the damaged rice may be used for pig food. The preparation of this rice is women's work. The rice is put in a mortar and pounded with a mallet in the manner already described, although a single operator usually does the work. [731] [231] [462]

Types and preferences. As a general rule, the selection of varieties of rice for planting depends on taste, the nature of the soils, and individual judgment of the expected yield of each type. In Matsuda, it is estimated that about one half of the rice is the Formosan variety, Taichu 65 (Taichu rokujugo), in Okinawa known as horai. Another variety, Kunigami #1 (Kunigami ichigo) represents about one-fourth of the crop. Mochigome (akaho) takes up about another one-fourth. This glutinous rice has a brown reddish rust colored kernel and is used for rice cakes. A fourth variety, horai-mochimai, is also well liked. No black rice is grown here. 243 [262]



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Matsuda. Polishing rice with a hand mill. This is a posed picture, but rice was polished this way up to shortly before the war. The grass mat prevents wastage. On the left is some Yambaru bamboo. The women are barefooted. The towel-like headdress is not uncommon.

[P. 185(A)]

824 Soy beans have three main uses: soy sauce which is seldom made
[262] in the home, bean curd (tōfu) and miso, a bean paste, both always
[432] home made. For this reason, soy beans are grown mostly for home use,
[962] with the surplus sold. In Hanashiro, where the surpluses are greater,
[494] the beans may be sold in Naha, Shuri, or Itoman. Women do the selling, taking the beans to market on the buses, trucks, or three wheeled vehicles.

(2) Other types of beans such as the red dwarf bean (asuki)
241 Phaseolus angularis Wight), the kidney bean (ingen in Japanese,
262 Phaseolus vulgaris L), the broad or horse bean (soramame in Japanese, Vician fabia L), and peas (endō in Japanese, Pisum sativum L) are grown for home use, usually in parcels which are closest to the house.

(3) The giant radish, (daikon in Japanese, Raphanus sativus L)
[263] is, after the soy bean, the most important of the minor crops grown for home use. This is the vegetable most favored either as a condiment,
[252] or as a side dish. It is eaten sliced raw, pickled, or fried in strips in soy sauce. When eaten boiled, its flavor resembles that of a turnip.

(5) The pumpkin (Cucurbita pepo L) called nanka or kabocha, the latter name being derived from the word Cambodia from which the pumpkin was introduced into Japan. They are harvested in summer, and one crop a year, generally for home use, is grown. If the flesh
[231] becomes too ripe and turns reddish and sweet, it is not relished and the pumpkin is fed to the pigs.

(6) The cucumber (kiuri in Japanese, Cucumus sativus L) is a very minor crop. In none of the villages were they generally grown, and then only for home use.

(7) The hechima or tōgwa in Japanese, subui in Okinawan.[7] This is very large and cylindrical. In exceptional specimens, its outward appearance is indistinguishable from the water melon. Its flesh is
[184] white. In the two southern villages, the tōgwa is grown very sparingly. In Katsuda and the surrounding villages, it is more common. Here it is used to fill in during times of food shortage. Some specimens I have
[221] seen weighed over 100 pounds. It is planted after lunar New Years, harvested in the 6th or 7th lunar month, a period reaching from about January to May. From April to July, when other vegetables are scarce,
[252] it is often used as a substitute. The flesh when boiled is rather tasteless; it is commonly boiled and served with chunks of meat. The tōgwa, in the northern villages, is often stored in dark cool places
[251] away from the sunlight, often under the house. If not cut open, the melon can be saved for a year.

7 I am not certain whether this is Luffa cylindrica Roem, Luffa petola, Ser, the Luffa sponge, rag gourd, etc., whose pulp disappears when ripe to be replaced by a web of fibres.

melon can be saved for a year. It is also served raw with vinegar and sugar dressing, often mixed with another vegetable to make a salad called nanasugua in Okinawan. 241 262 [252]

(8) The burdock (gobo) is also very minor and usually grown for home use. It is boiled when eaten.

(9) The carrot (ninjin) is a minor crop.

(10) The trumpet or bottle gourd (yūgao) is only grown in Matsuda and for home use as a summer food. [184]

(11) Spinach (hōrensō), onions (negi), Chinese lettuce (hakusai) are not uncommon. Spinach, lettuce (chisi), and onions do not have the importance either as a crop or a food that they have with us.

(12) The taro (satoimo in Japanese, Colocasia esculenta Schott) can occasionally be seen growing in Hanashiro or Matsuda, often on the edge of a rice field. It is known locally also as taimo and apparently is the same as the Japanese dasheen. The taro is used as a side dish.

(13) The Irish potato (bareisho) is occasionally grown for sale. [432]

(14) Cabbage (tamana) is partly a cash, partly a home use crop. It is also minor. Some Okinawans like cabbage and grow it for their own use, but many dislike it and sell the crop.

(15) The grains are an unimportant part of village agriculture. The most common are barley (ōmugi), wheat (komugi) and millet. (Mugi is a general term for grain. The ō means large, the ko, small, referring to the kernels of the two grains). [193]

Although comparable statistics were not available for each of the villages, the following table from Hanashiro clearly shows the relative importance of the major crops: 241 311

HANASHIRO
Crop Acreages, 1950

Crop	Area in Chō[a]	Percent of Total
Rice	10.89	100.0
Total Dry Crop Land	59.88	100.0
Sweet Potatoes	35.86	59.9
Soy Beans	13.63	22.8
Sugar Cane	5.41	9.0
Beans and Peas (excluding soy)	2.30	3.9
Wheat	1.80	3.0
Millet	0.50	0.8
Vegetables	0.38	0.6

226 most important.

226 (1) The sword or spearfish (kajiki in Japanese, akitera in
136 Okinawan). This fish (some specimens reach 450 pounds) is caught
[227] from May through September. Fishermen go about 12 miles out for the catch. A wire leader 15 feet long with a hook is attached to a 1400 foot braided cord line about 3/16 of an inch in diameter. The line is gradually played out after the initial 700 feet are lowered. Swordfish fishing is done in the daytime. The fish is said to be scarce at night. The hook is about 2 1/2 inches long.
262 The swordfish is considered the most delicious of fish. It is ex-
[435] pensive, selling from ¥50 to ¥100 per kin (slightly over 1.3 pounds)
[432] depending on season and supply; consequently, fishermen sell rather than eat it, except in times of oversupply. Large fish are usually cut up before being sent to market; the small ones are sent whole. The swordfish is ordinarily eaten fresh. The favorite method of
[252] preparation is to fry it after dipping a slice in a batter of flour, dried milk and water. Occasionally it is eaten raw as sashimi. Dried swordfish is considered a delicacy. Unlike the shark, the fins (hane) are not dried.

226 (2) The tunny (subinouo in Japanese, subi in Okinawan). This
136 fish is caught between April and November. Here there are two ways
[227] of catching the fish, depending on the type of boat. If the large boat, the hatsudōki, is used a long line with as many as 200 hooks set 75 feet apart is used. At intervals of every three hooks, there are buoys with flags (hata). These flags, alternately white and red, are about the size of a large handkerchief. In another arrangement, the buoys may also alternate with the flags. The same line and wire leader used for the swordfish are employed with tunny catching, but the hook is smaller. When submerged the hooks are at various depths, their paths describing semi-circles from buoy to buoy. Lines may be pulled in from one to four times a day, depending on the biting. The bobbing of the buoys and the flags indicates the biting and the probable catch. A fishing party remains out for three days, leaving at five in the evening, returning about ten in the evening of the second day.

The small boats use two lines, the longer going down from the center of the boat, the shorter near one end. The method of catching the tunny is the same as that for the swordfish. In night fishing, the line might be lowered fifty feet, gradually playing out ten feet at a time. Tunny fishing is mostly a night catch. The line during night operations may be let out 700 feet, and, in the day 350 feet.

(3) The shark (fuka in Japanese). This fish is caught in the same way as the tunny. Fishing takes place both during the day and night. On the small boats, the line and its 15 foot leader with one hook, is about 840 feet long, and the entire length is let out.

(4) The mackerel (hishisaba). The main season for catching the mackerel is from March through May. These fish, usually weighing about 30 pounds, are caught by divers who seek the fish out while it is sleeping under stones. A strong line is tied around the tail and the fish is pulled up on board. There it is killed with a short

434 593 earned by women in the marketing of the fish, after deduction of travel expenses, becomes part of the family funds. Women in the fishing village have custody of the family money, due to frequent and prolonged absence of their husbands. This is an unusual practice, for in the agricultural and stonecutting areas of the village the husband handles the money, with the exception of a few yen which the wife may have at home to meet incidental expenses. The custody of the money (much made over by some observers) has no special cultural significance in my observation. It is merely a convenience, based on custom and occupation. Most earnings of husband and wife are in a common fund, though older children may handle their own money.

6

Other Activities Associated with Fishing

251 [439] There is some local drying of fish for home use and export. Of the common fish, the most frequently dried are the mackerel, the swordfish, and the shark. Shark fins are dried for export to Japan; before the war, they were also sent to China. The small amounts dried in local villages are accumulated in places like Naha for shipment. Drying processes are of the simplest. The fish may be laid out on a piece of canvas on the ground in front of the house, an operation which creates a stench and an overwhelming concentration of the blow fly population. Racks may be improvised. Their ends, made of odd pieces of wood, support thin bamboo poles laid parallel, on which the fish are put to dry. Sometimes fish are hung on a line. If the weather is good, they dry in two or three weeks, but rain quickly produces spoilage if the fish are not taken in immediately. The mackerel when dried may be heated up by placing a piece over the open fire, then rolled between the palms to see if it has been heated enough, torn into shreds, and put on a plate. Occasionally a poor family of non-fishing people, or a widow, purchases whole fish or backs or fins to dry for home use or resale.

278 825 Certain fish are valued as medicines. Their scarcity in agricultural villages prevents any but the most casual use. In Minatogma, the commonest fish used as medicines are the lobster, the white cuttle fish, and the carp (koi), though the latter fish is rare here.

[252] 757 The whole lobster is put into boiling water. After a few minutes, this broth, which is the medicine, is drained off, and the lobster is cracked open and heated, this time for preparation as a food. The broth, which is regarded as very disagreeable, is taken for a variety of ailments. Its commonest use is as a laxative, although it is also taken for swellings, boils, or gatherings of any kind (haremono), for pains in the small of the back and the loin, or for a cold. The lobster broth is regarded as a very effective medicine. A white cuttlefish soup is put to similar use. The carp is boiled in water and the broth is drunk for fevers. The carp may also be grown in village ponds.

8

Daily Life of the Fishing Village

512

Fishing families may have informal gatherings toward the end of the day. On a late summer afternoon, the family may sit in the open doorway of the house, for hedges, fences, the barriers, and trees are rare. The wife may be nursing her naked child. Her husband, a fisherman, has changed into his indigo blue and white striped kimono, a tall, broad, deeply tanned man. Next to him sits his mother, over 70 years old, her hands tattooed, as are those of all the old women. She is wearing a kimono of the same color, but of a dot pattern. They sit on unrolled mats. On the veranda, three or four men, unwashed and still in their work clothes, discuss the events of the day. A lacquer tray with tea cups is on the floor near them and the tea (as it so often is) may be cold. There is brown sugar to eat along with the tea. The grandmother may be economically smoking a half or a third of a cigarette in the typical Japanese pipe. As it grows later, the wife gets up, pours some water in the stone mortar, and smashes the sweet potatoes with the long wooden pole. The men continue talking for a while, then take their leave. The wife, her work at the mortar finished, goes into the dirt kitchen to start the evening meal.

[351] [853] [291] [304] [285] [415] [263] [276] [252]

152

The wife of the fisherman has worries that do not bother the farmer's wife. There is always the danger that her husband, or son, will not return, a real possibility, of which the frequency of widowhood in Minatogawa is proof. Every season, there is at least one instance of a fisherman who has either been lost, or whose delay in returning has provoked intense worry. If crews are still out when an unexpected storm arises, there is considerable tension in the village. Since the war, rescues at sea are more likely than before. The village headman quickly reports overdue boats. The American forces have created much good will in seeking fishermen lost at sea.

[165] [148]

562

Women, on the other hand, have opportunities for leisure when the catch is light, or weather is unfavorable. At these times, they can busy themselves with other tasks, in the field, gathering stones, getting miscanthus, but they do not have the unremitting activity of the woman in the agricultural village. There is more visiting during the day than one observes in an agricultural village.

[461] [519]

231

The fisherman, with or without land, tries to keep pigs and perhaps a few goats. In Minatogawa, the pens are often made of sandstone quarried here. Not only the floors and the sides, but the stalls are made of this material. One reason for this is the openness of the village and the danger that pigs will be killed in a storm. A typhoon may carry away the house, its owners having gone to the stronger house of a friend or relative, but pigs are an investment and an asset to be guarded.

[343]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

The Daily Diet

There is little variation in the basic diet in any of the villages. Among individual families, the chief difference is in the proportion of sweet potatoes to rice; this depends on economic status and the possession of rice fields, the poorer the family, the greater the reliance on the sweet potato. Except for seasonal foods, the diet is uniform throughout the year. Neither is there much variation in the three meals. The basic foods are: 262 [511] 262 264 272

For breakfast: A soup made out of hot water and bean paste, perhaps with bits of fish or meat added, sweet potatoes, and tea.

For lunch: Rice or sweet potatoes, raw, boiled or fried vegetables, and tea.

For dinner: Bean paste soup, rice if possible, or sweet potatoes, bean curd, and tea.

The foods which supplement these basic items are: (1) Fresh fish in season, uncommon for the reasons given in Chapter X. Imported dried sardines and canned fish from Japan are more common in agricultural villages than fresh fish. Even in Hinatogawa, fresh fish is scarce when the catch is light. In summer, the fish is too valuable to eat and only unsold fish is eaten. (2) In Matsuda village, rice and pork are more frequently eaten than in the two southern villages. Rice and pork consumption is indicative of a higher standard of living. Many families have rice twice a day. Beef may be boiled, and with vegetables added, made into a soup. In the winter, the Japanese dish sukiyaki may be eaten, but the meat in this dish is often meagre. 262 [184] [511] [252]

There are many occasional foods or side dishes of which the following are the most common: (1) bean curd (tōfu). This is made at home by women. (2) Taro (sato imo) boiled and eaten as a side dish. (3) A sweet or unsweetened fritter (tenpura). Japanese tenpura usually is shrimp or other fish fried in batter. Okinawan tenpura may or may not have a filling. Frequently the filling is a paste of brown sugar, or a slice of sweet potato. At celebrations, they may have a meat or a fish filler. (4) The rice cake (mochi) made of glutinous rice (mochigome). (5) Buckwheat paste (soba), and (6) noodles (sōmen). These are fairly cheap and are always purchased. (7) Bread (pan). This is a slightly sweetened large bun, normally with a little jam or jelly filler. The bun is baked in the large towns and distributed generally by boys on bicycles to the village stores. (8) Boiled or pickled radishes, boiled pumpkin cut in small squares and served with a piece of fish or meat. (9) Onion tops and spinach boiled with a seasoning of fish, chicken, or beef. (10) Various vegetables in season. 262 252

Home Industries, Arts, and Crafts

438 Home industries, arts, and crafts are not a conspicuous part of the life of the villages studied. Even before the war, home crafts, training in dancing, singing, landscape gardening were not cultivated to any degree.

252 Certain foods, like bean curd and bean paste, are made in the home. There is a standard method of preparing bean curd. The soy beans are soaked until soft and then mashed in a hand operated stone mill or quern. This mill has two round stones. The top stone, turned by hand, rests on the stationary bottom stone. The crushed beans, thinned by frequent dashes of water, ooze out of the space between the two stones. This liquid is collected and strained through a cloth drawn over the top of a frame box. The residue in the cloth is saved for pig food. The liquid is boiled. After it curdles, it is strained. The curds remain in the cloth, the liquid [231] is also used for the pigs. The curds, of the consistency of a soft cottage cheese, are wrapped in a cloth and put in the frame box. A tight fitting lid is put on the box and pressed down hard to expel the rest of the liquid. After the curd has been thoroughly pressed, the frame box is turned upside down, the curd taken out, and the cloth wrapper removed. The smooth mold can now be sliced. It is a common sight to see women operating these mills in the villages before a family celebration or a public holiday. Bean curd, fried, boiled in a soup, or in a mixture with vegetables, or as an ingredient [574] of sukiyaki is always served at a party.

251 252 [264] Bean paste (miso), an even more important food, is also made in the home. Most families serve bean paste soup (misoshiru) every meal every day. It has four basic ingredients: soy beans, rice (or barley), salt, and water. Recipes differ considerably among families. In one recipe, 8 sho of rice are boiled, after which it is spread out on a large flat basket to drain, and then placed on a mat and allowed to ferment for about one week. An equal amount of soy beans, crushed in a stone mortar, is mixed with the rice. Salt (about 7 go, one go being 1/10 of a sho) is added and the mixture is boiled.[8] The salt retards fermentation and is a preservative. If obtainable, an American hand food grinder is preferred to the mortar and pestle. The mixture is put in a large jar (tsubo) which is placed in the kitchen or in a storeroom and allowed to stand at least a year, sometimes for three. With age, the paste becomes sweeter and is considered to be better. A woman may make three large jars of bean paste 3 times a year, the frequency depending on the size of the jars. Some are 5 1/2 feet high. Occasionally the cycad is an ingredient of miso. Every house has a supply of bean paste. When ready for use, it is very soluble in water.

[804] 8 A koku equals 10 to equals 100 sho equals 1000 go, 47.96 US gallons liquid, 5.12 US dry bushels.

[529] Young girls with pots of hot tea circulated in the audience. The
[272] stage performance was a combination of local amateur talent and
[535] professionals from Naha. Normally the entertainment begins with a traditional Okinawan dance by a professional woman dancer, followed by a short skit. Conversations in Okinawan between an educated man
[536] and a stupid rustic are favorite subjects. Acts of this type are greatly enjoyed and cause laughter, mainly I was told because the jokes had sexual overtones. The shorter acts are followed by a play. (The theme of this play will be discussed in the following chapter).

6

Other Holidays of the Year

Chrysanthemum day, the ninth day of the ninth month (October 9, 1951), is a very minor holiday. A chrysanthemum is put in sake, and
[824] the flask is placed on the god shelf. A leaf of the plant is put in the sake when it is drunk. People at this time wish one another good health. The festival is only spottily observed.

There is a minor public holiday, the rice cake festival (mochi no matsuri), said to be native to Okinawa, on the 8th day of the 12th lunar month (January 4, 1952). On the day before, women prepare red
[262] and white cylindrical rice cakes, about 4 inches long and one inch in diameter. These are wrapped in the leaf of the sannin plant or in the
[252] leaves of sugar cane. The glutinous rice cake is made by first soaking rice in water and then mashing it in a hand mill. The rice is put in a cloth bag to allow excess water to drip out. The following morning the rice is boiled and shaped and wrapped in the leaves. The cake is doughy and insipid to taste. On the morning of the 8th, the cakes are placed on the god shelf and after prayers the cakes are removed. They are served during the day to guests. Sometimes children attach strings to these cakes and hang them about the room. The holiday is not observed by every family in the village, but it was recognised in all the villages studied.

The festival of the winter solstice, the longest night of the year (tōji) is known, but Hinatogawa was the only place in which its observance was noted. It is a home festival with prayers and the
[769] familiar offering of assorted foods to the ancestors.

Western Christmas is not observed in any of the villages. It would not be surprising if it should become a holiday, with gift
[177] giving, feasting, and drinking, but without the religious connotations. Since the occupation, Okinawans have become conscious of Christmas.[6]

[799] 6 I was told that in certain villages of the northern district, such as Kushi and Higashi near Ogimi that there is a Christmas festival, without the gift exchange, a survival of earlier missionary teaching. Time did not permit me to verify this, but there seems little doubt that a Christmas festival does exist in some Okinawan villages, judging by the frequency with which I heard of it in Matsuda and Ginoza villages.

an empty oxygen bottle with a wooden mallet to mark the time. The noon bell tells people in the fields and mountains that it is time for the midday meal and helps those who have a clock to compare the time. The evening bell indicates that it is time to end the day. Schoolchildren do not need a clock, since they get up early in the morning and go to school soon after, knowing that they are probably early. For most adults, daylight and sun position are enough to tell the approximate hour of the day. Some take arrival and departure of the bus, four times a day, as a point of orientation. 805 512 [864]

Old women are the first to rise in the morning. Long before dawn during the winter, or with the first light of the summer day, they get up and start a fire to boil sweet potatoes and heat the soybean soup. Blue smoke rising through the thatched roof into the early morning sky indicates that life in the village has begun. Children soon awake. The door is pushed open and a sleepy child appears to urinate off the edge of the house. Men are the last to rise. Considering the effect of the sake which they may have consumed on the preceding evening, it is remarkable that they are able to wake up so soon. By 6:30 the sleepiest person has risen. 512 [887] [252] [514]

The addition of outer clothes to the underclothing in which most people sleep is simple. Cold water splashed over the face and a quick turn at the toothbrush is all the toilet needed to begin a new day. [513] [515]

The task of folding comforters and taking down the mosquito net falls to one of the older children or to the mother. Older children and young girls help to carry water from the tank, the first task that has to be done after getting up. After breakfast, women feed the pigs. By about 7 o'clock everybody is ready for work. On a good day people leave for the mountains or start toward their fields—schoolchildren are on their way, too. [857] [462]

By 8 o'clock, except during very poor weather, the village is left to the old people and young children. Little boys and girls hang around, waiting for kindergarten to start at 9 o'clock. Play begins for them after they leave the house in the morning and does not end until evening. [855] [872]

For men and women, the routine of work in fields and forests is prescribed by seasonal activities which demand their special attention, but there are daily chores, such as digging potatoes, picking vegetables, and collecting feed for the animals and firewood for cooking. Only a few men who go to the mountains, taking their midday meal along, are away all day. The rest come and go during the day from the rice paddies, potato fields, or forests, so that there is repeated contact between children and their parents. A young child, even if left in the 512 461 [855]

ments fail to form rope. Her brother quietly takes the straw and without a word demonstrates the deft movement. She watches and tries again when her brother hands it back to her. She is unsuccessful. As she starts to whine again, her brother picks up a length of finished rope and gives it to her. She runs happily toward the playground, waving her rope in the air. 868 [283]

Although young children are not taken to the mountains, they can sit in the village afternoons and watch adults sawing, splitting, and working the bamboo rings used in tying faggots. Boys do not go into the mountains to cut firewood until they are about 10 years old, girls until they are 12, although they may have begged their parents for several years to let them help with cutting and hauling of firewood. But as long as they are still too young for mountain work, they try to use the cutting tools. Tools are left within reach of children so that opportunities for experimentation are almost unlimited. Only their size and weight deter the youngest children. A 2-year-old girl was seen imitating her mother by attempting to whittle off pieces of bamboo with a large 12-inch blade bushknife. A teen-age girl working nearby passed the little girl several times without saying anything. The little girl's father also worked nearby but, like everyone else, was too absorbed in his work to notice his daughter. Finally her mother looked up from where she worked, noticed the huge knife in the girl's hand, and saying in a loud, angry voice, "Why do you carry this, fool?" took the knife away. [313] [412]

Other small children pick up hoes and forks to try them in the yard or in the pigsty. Sickles and knives are used expertly by many 6-year-olds. Bandaged fingers and numerous little scars are evidences of learning and experimentation. Occasionally an adult will say to a 9- or 10-year-old. "Hold the sickle this way so you won't get hurt," but more often than not the child has already learned by himself. One 4½-year-old boy shinnied up the side of a feed box to get a sickle. There was no adult around to peel the long stalk of sugar cane he had been given, so, with expert strokes and handling of the razor-sharp tool, he shaved off the thick, hard skin. By the time his mother arrived on the scene, the child was busily chewing and sucking on a considerable length of the peeled cane. The mother was asked who had taught him to use the sickle, and she was at a loss for a reply. "I don't know! He must have watched us and learned by himself by trying it out!" she said. [412] [264]

Little girls watch their mothers cooking and doing other household work. By watching and asking questions they learn how to light a fire and when to extinguish it to cook a perfect pot of rice. They [252] [296]

Population Density The pattern revealed in a map of population density---Map 4---is approximately the same as that for percentage of arable land. It is somewhat complicated, however, by the urbanization that is going on in Nakagami. A more detailed discussion of the population movements responsible for this situation will be found in a later section of this report. 161

Farming Almost all of Okinawa's rural people farm, and many are engaged part time in home industries which utilize local products. Particularly noteworthy are the vegetable-producing areas. Kitanakagusuku and Ginowan 'sons' are centers of vegetable production for the American military forces.[1] The inland 'son' of Haebaru grows 53% of the gunto's tōgwā, a wax melon that is a favorite Okinawan food. 433 241 [262]

One of the most remarkable agricultural areas, Tomigusuku, lies south of the Naha-Mawashi-Orku urban complex. It grows many kinds of vegetables for the cities, and ranks high in other production. Tomigusuku stands first in the gunto in acreage of green beans, muskmelons, bananas and eggplant. Almost one-fifth of the latter comes from here. It ranks second in tomatoes, and ties with Yonagusuku for second place in weight of mat reeds produced. Miwa, in the far south, leads the gunto in soybean acreage, while Nishihara occupies a similar position in acreage planted to pumpkins.

The most remarkable 'son' in northern Okinawa is Nakijin on the north shore of Motobu peninsula. It leads in gunto acreage of sweet potatoes, leaf tobacco (75.2%), and cucumbers. In animals it leads in numbers of pigs and ducks. It also produces 76% of the banana cloth, or 'bashōfu', of the gunto. This 'son' is mainland Okinawa's chief wheat producer. [231] [235]

The small Okinawan acreage of Irish potatoes is found in Ōgimi-son to the northeast. Yabu is noted for its pickled giant radishes, or 'takuan'. The offshore islands lead in certain special crops. Minami Daitō leads in sugar cane, wheat and barley. Ie Shima seconds in barley, and Izena seconds in wheat. Ie Shima is far ahead in acreage of Irish beans, or 'azuki', accounting for 41% of the gunto's planted acreage of this crop. Though Ie Shima ranks only 15th in soybean acreage, it produces almost a fifth (18.4%) of the gunto's 'miso', in which soybeans are used as a base. 'Miso' making is one of the main home industries on the island. Ie Shima, Kamimotobu and Nakijin retain some of the old 'awa' (German millet) complex, between them accounting for over a third (34.3%) of the acreage of that crop in Okinawa gunto. Kamimotobu is mainland Okinawa's leader in acreage planted to ordinary millet ('kibi'; Panicum miliceum). [252]

Nakagami has little of agricultural distinction. Yomitan leads the mainland in acres of barley and number of rabbits. Gushikawa is second rank in sweet potato acreage, but produces about two-fifths (39.4%) of the gunto's sweet potato starch. It leads in numbers of goats, and is second though not outstanding in numbers of bullocks. [231]

[1] Most of this and following paragraphs derive from Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku and Okinawa guntō no tembō. Some is based on personal observation and interviewing. [127]

military competes with sugar as a primary cash crop, and cane fields are being converted back to rice paddies as fast as the farmer's resources permit. A more detailed discussion of the crop changes in the last two or three decades follows. 175 241 178 433

Chronology of Change in Crops The major changes in crops revolve chiefly around the replacement of rice as a cash crop by sugar cane, and the later reversal of this situation. About fifty years ago, rice was the chief cash crop. It was rarely consumed in the home, but was sold in order to meet the monetary expenses of taxes, and to buy occasionally the new commodities that were beginning to appear in the markets. Then, not long after the Russo-Japanese war had ended, the price of black sugar jumped almost overnight from ¥8.50 to ¥64 for a 150-'kin' barrel. Everyone wanted to get a share of this boom in sugar, and most began to convert paddy land into 'hatake' for the growing of cane. They were stuck with the 'hatake' when the price fell after two months. The Japanese subsidized sugar later, however, and most of the land that had been converted remained sugar land. [654]

When the people began returning to their farms more than a year after the end of World War II hostilities, there was little market for sugar. The subsidy had gone with defeat, and providentially the sugar lands were available for the growing of more sweet potatoes. American canned food and sweet potatoes were the main items of diet until about 1949. Gradually farmers began to convert 'hatake' to paddy fields, and to grow rice again---this time less for sale than for home consumption. [262] [177]

The old "bearded rice" varieties (fijimē and mēdakōja) of the nineteenth century were replaced gradually by the shorter-statured but higher-yielding 'hōraimai'. The bearded rice, planted only once a year, had a yield of about one-third the present variety, and had only five or six stalks per plant. The twice a year modern variety yields more and has on the average fourteen to fifteen stalks per plant. As a result of the adoption of the two-crop variety, at least one traditional ceremony was abandoned. This was the tantui, in which the whole village participated before simultaneously planting their seedbeds. Before the war, two-thirds of Okinawa's rice requirements were imported.[1] Indicative of the postwar change to rice are the figures for area of paddy-fields in Kochinda-son; the 114,142 'tsubo' of paddy in February of 1948 had increased to 306,220 'tsubo' by September of 1952. Field investigation proved that conversion to paddy has proceeded at least as fast since 1952 as it did prior to that date. 175 241 433 243 178

Before the First World War almost everyone in Nanahan raised forty to fifty 'tsubo' of millet. It was boiled with glutinous rice to make millet rice-cakes, or 'awamochi'. None is raised now. The same is true of cotton. "It grew only a foot high, but its fiber was very strong and would last a lifetime." Some other crops lasted into the post-war period. Until about 1950 textile bananas and yams were raised in Nanahan, but they both proved to be too weak in typhoons, and their cultivation was abandoned. 178 175 241 [252]

[1] Summation....July-November 1946, p. 25.

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[illegible]
[illegible]
[illegible]

Before the war Okinawa imported half its soybean requirements. By early 1951 the prewar acreage had been cut by half.[1] This resulted in the necessity to import soy sauce tax-free from Japan, which brought an ineffective protest from the Legislature early in 1954. 'Miso' paste, which is made of soybeans when they are available, is now made also of corn, broad beans, kidney beans, and various other legumes.

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As early as 1946 the occupation forces reported:

> Rapid restoration of Okinawa's prewar agriculture is hampered chiefly by an arable land shortage induced by military requirements in the southern half of the island, where roughly 30,000 acres are devoted to military use. War damage and migration from combat and, later, base development areas seriously disrupted agrarian economy and early planning was delayed pending disposition of farm tracts affected by military expansion.[2]

That loss of both upland dry fields and paddy land was affected is shown by the following:[3] (figures are in 1,000's of acres)

Table II

Type of Land	1940 Acreage	1950 Acreage	% of 1940
Cultivated land	103.8	67.2	65%
Paddy land	11.5	9.6	83%
Upland fields	92.3	57.6	62%

Even more significant is a comparison of the 1940-1950 figures with those for 1904, which show the situation which existed before any Japanese military installations were built.

Table III[4]

Year	Acres Paddy Land	Acres Dry Fields	Total Arable Acres
1904	15,779.1	93,952.6	109,731.7
1940	11,527.25	82,273.86	93,801.11
1950	9,559.56	57,610.16	67,169.72

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1 Ryukyu Islands Economic Statistics Bulletin, no. 10, January-March, 1951.

2 Summation...op. cit., p. 26.

3 Ryukyu...., p. 13.

4 The 1904 data are from Summary of the Land Adjustment in Okinawa Prefecture, Tokyo, 1904. The 1940 and 1950 figures are from the reverse side of the large map, Okinawa shotō shōzu.

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• 252

chichiūshi

wooden rotary mill

407 ←
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252 →

cakkokki

wooden rotary mill

[facing p.17]

It apparently did not find
178 widespread use in Tomoyose, for that village passed almost directly from the use
243 of bamboo tongs to the rotary thresher, or 'dakkokki' (see photo). Yamada first
412 saw this thresher about 1933, but Nanahan farmers began using it only in 1941.
[407]

Hulling of grain was in the past accomplished---as needed for home use
178 or sale---by using a wooden rotary mill (see photos) called fichiūshi in Yamada
252 and shiriūshi in Nanahan. In Yamada two women sat with their feet braced against it, and pulled straw ropes alternately. In Nanahan men did the hulling, and the rotary mill was lower but was three feet in diameter. In the late thirties motor-powered hulling mills were built in many areas, and farmers took their rice there for hulling and polishing.

Polishing of brown rice in Nanahan was accomplished until about 1935 by use of a mortar, or chichiūshi (see photo), and pestle, or ajin. Most families still have these in reserve, as they were used after the war and were replaced by rice mills only after 1949. People in remote areas still use them exclusively. Nowadays people have their rice hulled and polished in one operation at a rice mill, if it is close at hand.

178 Very little wheat was grown in the three farm villages studied, but
246 it was noticed that on the outer isles wheat was more dominant. On Henza isle, removal of the grain from the sheaf and hull was accomplished by rubbing it upon a piece of bumpy limestone. On Kudaka, separation was by rubbing on a canvas, both with the hands and feet.

178 After the war farmers took advantage of the spread of the lantana bush,
241 which had flourished due to the neglect of the land. It furnished an excellent livestock feed, and also a short pole which they could use in roofing their re-
[342] built houses. Such poles, or kichigwā, had formerly been brought down from the forested north country.

178 Chronology of Change in Livestock Recovery of the land after the war pro-
727 ceeded far more rapidly than replacement
231 of the livestock killed or eaten in the invasion. The following table illustrates the loss and slow recovery (except for swine) in livestock numbers:

Table V

Type of Livestock	1940[1]	1946[2]	1952[3]	1952 as % of 1940
Cattle	22,000	112	6,837	31.0%
Horses	25,000	899	5,110	20.4%
Swine	108,426	1,165	107,077	98.8%
Goats	106,257	1,647	58,472	55.1%

In Kachinda-son the story has been somewhat the same, with the exception that there are many more swine and cattle now than in the thirties. This is due partly to the lesser amount of land in sugar and the planting of more

1, 2 Summation....July-November, 1946, p. 26.

3 Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku, Vol. 3, No. 3, 1943, p. 1. Valid as of 31 Dec. 1952.

262 Sea food eaten differs by the season. Most available in summer are bonito and the sea turtle. Common in October and later are seabream, whitefish, and globefish. Canned mackerel is by far the most common fish food eaten, and seaweed is a staple in all but the poorest homes. Though every [325] adult in the village speaks Okinawan by preference in everyday life, even the old people rarely know the dialect names for various fish, "because we are so far from the sea." The nearest coast is less than three airline miles away. Before the war most of the fish consumed was bought in Itoman, but with the removal of the railroad and the orientation of bus traffic toward Naha, very little is purchased in Itoman.

● 252 The entire day's supply of sweet potatoes, for man and beast, is prepared by boiling in early morning in a large pot. It takes about an hour to boil fifty pounds. Those for human consumption are placed on top, with those for the animals underlying them. Naturally those eaten by the pigs and other [231] animals are the less beautiful, and often slightly rotten ones. When the family eats 'imo', they peel off both the outer and inner skins and give them to the animals. They realize that the inner skin contains vitamins, but it is too much trouble to peel separately. People regard baked 'imo' as more delicious than boiled, but do not make them in Nanahan as a rule due to shortage of fuel. The children often stick 'imo' right into the fire while their mothers are boiling 'imo' for the day. Sometimes children under ten [857] years of age make baked 'imo' when they collect trash and burn it. When they do this is not determined, but occurs as the children suddenly decide there is enough trash to burn.

262 252 'O-kazu' (Okinawan: katimun) refers in Nanahan to any dish whose basic ingredients are lard, soy sauce, and 'aji-no-moto' (monosodium glutamate). It is generally made about two times a week. First lard is put in a pan. Then either raw 'daikon' or 'sengei' (dried and shredded 'daikon') is added, together with globe onions. Soy sauce is then added, and the mixture salted to taste. If meat is available, it is put in as soon as the lard is melted. 'Aji-no-moto' is added just before serving.

252 The making of 'miso' paste is a home task for the women and girls. The amount made depends on the weather. Good weather for proper mildewing is generally found in the spring and autumn. At the equinoxes, when most of the 'miso' is made if people have a choice in the matter, mildewing takes two or three days. The process involves two steps---the making of malt ('kōji') and the making of soybean flour or paste. For malt one must use broad beans, wheat or barley, kidney beans or, infrequently, soybeans. The malt materials are boiled until the skins come off. Then they are drained, spread out on a straw mat inside the house, and dusted with wheat flour. Rice straw is spread over the mixture to form a hotbed. When the mildew starts the mixture turns yellow, and is then spread out to dry in the sun. When dry it is stored in a box, to be mixed with soybean flour or paste later. The latter is very easily made. Boiled soybeans are ground up in a meat grinder, and dried. The flour may be stored separately, but it is most often mixed immediately with an equal amount of malt. To prevent spoiling, about three parts salt are added [251] to ten of the mixture, now called 'miso'. It is put into a pot for "ripening" during the next six months, and then is used gradually. If stored longer than one year it loses its taste.

'Miso' is used not only in soups, but as a flavoring for other dishes. 262
Jūshiimē is rice fried in oil and 'miso', with green onions added. Tōfu- 252
champuru is made by putting shredded bonito and hot lard in a pan, adding a little 'miso' and some soysauce, and one-inch cubes of bean curd, or 'tōfu'. 'Tōfu' was eaten about every three days in Nanahan before the war, and every day about twenty peddlers from Tsukazan went through the countryside selling it. It is eaten not oftener than once a month now.

A strong rice drink, 'awamori', is in evidence at all parties. It is 273
sometimes diluted with orange soda, but more often it is served full-strength flavored with either garlic or red peppers. Before the war the refuse from [231]
making 'awamori', called kashijii, was very cheap---about two gallons could be had for fifteen sen---and was generally fed to pigs. However, it also fur- [257]
nished the base for kachijē-ōi, made by pouring hot water on half-boiled spinach or swiss chard, and adding the liquid from the refuse. It was said to have been very good for the stomach.

Feast Foods When a person reaches the age of 61, 73, or 85, a celebration 262
known as tushibii is held. This is the occasion for a feast of 574
whatever proportions the extended family's budget can afford. In the spring [561]
of 1954 a Nanahan lady who was a member of the dominant family reached seventy-three. The following was served at the feast:

--Paddy taro boiled in sugar syrup
--Soup containing 'konnyaku', pork, tripe, goat meat and ginger
--Giant radish and carrots, shredded in vinegar
--Several slices of fried bean curd
--Fish cake
--Deep-fried sugar batter
--A dish of 'konnyaku', 'daikon', pork and shredded radish
--Deep-fried whale tripe in peanut butter sauce
--Red rice; noodle soup
--Fried bean curd and pork, with seaweed

In addition, guests were given two boxes to take home, which contained the following:

--Two pieces of pork
--1 piece fried bean curd
--Two pieces of fish, deep-fried in batter
--1 piece of pork heart
--Two pieces of fish cake
--A red-dyed hard-boiled egg
--Two pieces of burdock root, deep-fried in batter
--Two pieces of sweet pound cake
--Two pieces of kujimuchi (a rice cake)
--Two large pieces of deep fried sugar batter
--One deep-fried flour dumpling
--Five cakes of baked rice flour, in shapes of the pine, bamboo, plum, crane and tortoise---symbols of longevity.

261 262 Famine Food and Wartime Substitutes The standard famine foods on Okinawa have always been dried sweet potato chips or refuse from the making of starch, sago palm nuts and the pulp of the same palm. The latter two are eaten with restraint, as they contain small amounts of an alkaloid poison. The sweet potato materials are made into soups, [252] and the sago palm provides a type of flour for deep frying, or 'tempura'.

During the last war, soups were also made from the stem of the plant [137] Ligularia Kaempferia, known as 'tsuwabuki' in Japanese, and chiipappā in Okinawan. One Nanahan farmer related, "The chiipappā which I ate in Kin-son during the war was delicious, and one felt better after eating it. When I came back here, I tried our local variety, but it is bitter and inedible." The giant African snail was used to alleviate famine just before the invasion. It [252] was boiled in its shell, then de-shelled and the "snail juice" washed out with a bitter orange called shiisā. The meat was then fried with vegetables and the white part of a leek.

273 177 276 272 Japanese soldiers during the war taught the Okinawans how to make a strong liquor from sugar cane, as no real 'sake' or 'awamori' was then available. Tobacco was also scarce, and pine tree bark was substituted. Some people preferred to smoke the leaves of the 'mogusa' plant, which is also used for cautery. One very poor family in Nanahan still retains the practice. Tea could not be bought in the late pre-invasion period, and the beans of the lantana bush furnished a palatable substitute.

263 [574] [757] Uses of Sugar in the Home When a guest calls at an Okinawan farmer's home, he is served tea, black sugar chunks, and quite often 'awamori'. Many other uses were related. It is used in batter for deep frying; for cure of headache, sickness, and fainting spells; for a hangover; and when food is not delicious.

361 Perry's men, the aspect of these villages was one of rare and romantic
175 beauty.[3]

2

Hanashiro

361 Hanashiro is a small village of the cluster type in Gushichan
103 township (Gushichan-son) in the southeastern part of Okinawa.[4] It is on
[491] the present Highway 64 which begins on the Chinen peninsula, travels southwesterly, following the coast at a distance to Mabuni in the southeast, then crossing the island to Nagushiku town, a village south of Itoman.

361 The village and its surroundings are small in area, the actual town
241 site including various village owned properties, taking up slightly over
443 22 acres. This is an agricultural village, with the exception of minor activities such as storekeeping and rice milling. As of December 31, 1951,
256 it had a population of 589 (269 male, 320 female), living together in
162 120 households, an average of 4.9 persons per household.

The village is believed to have been founded about 400 years ago.
361 By Okinawan standards this is not very old. It is off the main historical
[103] road which ran from Naha to Shuri to Kochinda, Gushichan, Minatogawa,
[491] through Tamagusuku township to the Chinen peninsula, probably the road travelled by Okinawan kings up to the latter part of the seventeenth century when they prayed at the altars on Kudaka Island.[5] There were in this area a series of castles on the tops of hills commanding the road
175 and its approaches, the castles, the rough determinants of various regions
349 formerly under a regional nobility. To the west there was Kochinda castle,
631 Tamagusuku on the east, Gushichan castle near Hanashiro, where a surviving stone fence can still be seen, and the castle site of Itokasu. There is reason for believing, as we mentioned in Chapter 1, that this is in the general area of oldest settlement in the island.

[Text continues on P. 49 --analyst]

3 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, Vol. I, 163, 164, 179-80, and an illustration of a "cung-qua" on p. 180. On the older village with granaries and storehouses, see Green's remarks in Hawks, Perry's expedition, as cited, Vol. II, 34, 36, and illustration in Vol. I, 178.

[103] 4 The village is also known as Hanagusuku: the meaning is the same, as
[192] shiro is the Japanese, gusuku the Okinawan word for castle. Many Okinawan place names have the suffix, —gusuku.

5 Spencer, The Noro, or priestesses of Loo Choo, as cited, 107.

One of these, the shimba (nnihija in Okinawan) is essentially a concave forked piece of metal set on a frame, which in turn rests on four props set up in sawbuck fashion. The rice sheaves are drawn through the teeth, causing the kernels to drop below. The sawbuck may be any desired height. Usually the top of the fork is waist level. The only significance of the shimba today is that it provides diversion and occupation for the old women, many of whom are too weak or too unsteady to operate the treadle thresher. The same is true of an even simpler device for threshing. Two short pieces of bamboo, or any piece of round wood, a little longer and with a slightly greater diameter than a pair of chopsticks, are loosely tied together on one end with straw or a strong blade of grass. The tied ends of the two sticks are held in the right hand, leaving the free ends to strip off the rice kernels from the straw. This labor is done by very old women. Age is no deterrent to work as long as people are able to get around. But, as in the south, the treadle thresher is universally used. This device was widely distributed by the Japanese agricultural specialists of the government throughout the empire in the years immediately before the war. In Matsuda, it is also thought to be about 15 years since its introduction. 243 407 [887] [177]

As in Japan, from which the terms were borrowed, rice in various stages of cultivation and processing is known by different names. Rice in the hull is momei; unpolished rice is genmai, and polished rice is hakumai. Rice stalks are known as wara. 824 192

Hulling and polishing rice by machinery are also new in Okinawan villages. In Hanashiro, those machines driven by an open belt are about ten years old. A hand mill, the shiriushi, to be described shortly, was in general use for polishing rice up to 1940. 256

At present everyone, no matter how poor, pays for hulling and polishing of his rice. The mill owner in Hanashiro estimated that the machinery processed in ten minutes the amount of rice that formerly took a day to hull and polish by hand. Poor families do not try to effect savings by hand work. They pay the fee, sell the polished rice, and eat sweet potatoes. [511] [262]

Unpolished rice is disliked and is never eaten. It is described as hard and bitter in taste. The machinery in a rice mill varies from place to place in quality and modernity. The mill (seimaisho) has two machines: a hulling machine (momitsuriki) and a polishing machine (seimaiki). One simple type of a hulling machine is an endless chain type of mechanism. The rice is put in little buckets on the chain which carry it to rubber layers. As the rice is forced through the layers, the hulls are cracked and pinched off, and are then blown out on a pile in back. After being hulled, the rice goes through the shaft of the milling machine. The shaft housing is grooved. As the shaft revolves, it polishes the rice which is going through it. The shaft also gets heated, and this makes the polishing easier. In the older machine in Hanashiro, the rice was put through the shaft ten times

256 until the desired white shade was obtained. After the milling, the rice is quite warm, and both the chaff and the rice have an odor similar to brewer's yeast.

[462] Women carry the rice to the mill. It is heaped up in baskets set
[482] on their heads. Rice straw or a braid of rice stalks is placed over the small towel which rests directly on the head. On this the woman
[415] sets the basket with its rice. When the milling is over, the women pick up a handful, blow off the chaff, inspect the rice for wholeness and whiteness, and then put it in a large gunny sack. The chaff is placed in a smaller one. Hulls, occasionally taken, are usually left
[824] at the mill to accumulate in a pile outside the mill and there, at frequent intervals, are burned. Sometimes the hulls or the ashes are taken for fertilizer.

[521] Bringing rice for milling is a social occasion for the women. They often have a child on their back. While waiting for their rice to be hulled and milled, they exchange greetings and news with their neighbors or with women from adjoining villages.

[727] As a result of the war, quality of machinery for rice milling differs with villages. Most now have access to a mill. The machinery at Matsuda, being more efficient than the older machines at Hanashiro is able to polish the rice satisfactorily after going through the mill three times. These mills are very busy during the harvest seasons.

252 There are also survivals of older methods of hulling and polishing rice. These are no longer used, though many of the old have not lost
[912] their skill. Before machine polishing was introduced, the hulls were removed by pounding the rice in a mortar, usually with a long bamboo pole narrowed in the center for a grip. After the hulls were removed, the rice was put through a quern, or a mill known as a shiriushi. This has two working parts: a base about a foot in diameter and perhaps a foot in height. It looks like a smoothed off log. In the center, there is a wooden pin, perhaps 1 1/2 feet long. Over this part, which looks like an upright piece of a log with a rolling pin stuck in its center, the upper part, made of wood and of the same diameter is fitted. A bar across the inside of the top of the upper part has a hole for the pin. On the outside, wooden plugs provide places for attaching ropes.
[462] These are pulled back and forth by women sitting opposite one another. The rice is poured in at the top, the quern is moved first clock- and then counterclockwise, the rice coming out in the rough crevice where the two pieces join. The rice is put through the quern as many times as is necessary to effect the polishing. In some querns, the inside of the upper part is grooved to quicken the polishing.

In polishing rice in this way, the mill is placed on a mat and the rice is gathered up periodically and put in baskets. It is then winnowed by tossing in a flat basket. Many of the farmers in the villages still have a shiriushi in their sheds, but it is seldom used.

1

Village Shops and Businesses

Village stores, small in number and modest in size, furnish their own people many essential services, but the offerings differ from place to place in number and kind, so that there are always commercial contacts of a sort with nearby villages or towns. This is brought out in the accompanying table of business and personal service establishments in each of the villages.

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Village Shops, Businesses, Personal Service Enterprises

Type	Number of Enterprises in:			
	Hanashiro	Hinatogawa	Nagamo	Matsuda
Rice Mills	1	a/	a/	1
Sugar Mills	1		1	3
Small Retail Shops	3	5	3	5
Power Plant		1	b/	1
Import Store	c/	1	b/	1
Saw Mill				1
Blacksmith	d/	d/	1	
Retail Butcher Shop		1		
Motion Picture Theatre	e/	e/	e/	f/
Public Bath House	h/	2	h/	1/
Village Inn		1		f/
Eating Places		1		
Barbershop	g/	e/	a/	1

a No need for rice mills, no rice grown
b Served by Hinatogawa
c In nearby Asato
d Nagamo serves these and other villages in the township
e In Horikawa, opposite Hinatogawa
f Served by Ginoza village
g Served by Gushichan village

256

Rice mills (seimaisho) are recent in rural Okinawa. The mill in Hanashiro was installed in 1940. It serves nearby villages. The mill in Matsuda, also a recent introduction, is more modern. In each case, the mill has two machines of Japanese manufacture, one for hulling, the other for polishing.

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Sugar mills (seitojo) vary in quality in the communities. Hanashiro has a machine for crushing cane. In Matsuda, war destruction

243 offered at the village shrine by the priestess. Today key agricultural
[782] events are still marked by small ceremonies in which the priestess be-
[793] seeches or thanks the gods, but the actual day for planting is determined by weather and the condition of seed.

When the rice is transplanted in March, the whole family spends long hours in the paddy. Then the paddies swarm with people; some prepare the soil by spreading fertilizer, others stand in the ooze to set the seedlings. Transplanting is done by mutual assistance groups, which
[476] will be discussed later in this chapter. They guarantee everyone a sufficient number of helping hands during the painstaking, rapid work, which has to be finished within a limited time. In a few days the whole paddy area suddenly turns from brown into the tender green of the young shoots. Once planted, intermittent weeding is all the care that is needed.

[261] In July the rice turns brown and is ready for harvest. This is an event of joy for the whole village, for young rice is most delicious and
[857] loved by everyone. By then vacations have started, so that schoolchildren can help to cut rice and carry bundles to the spot where it is threshed in treadle-type machines, located either near the field or behind one's house. As soon as the rice is threshed, the grain is carried to a place in the village where the wind blows freely. There a woman holds a flat winnowing basket filled with grain at an angle to let the
[782] breeze separate the chaff from the grain. The first rice is cut by men
[264] and offered at the family shrine before the whole family eats a specially
[251] prepared gruel. Rice is usually stored in one or two oil drums in the kitchen-side corner of the front room. Better houses have a metal-lined
[256] storeroom. Once a week a supply is taken to the miller to be hulled and polished.

Those whose fields are sufficiently wet plant a second crop, and the cycle is repeated once more in midsummer, with the second harvest falling in late December.

244 Sweet potatoes can be planted throughout the greater part of the year if the soil is not too dry. They take from five to seven months to
[262] grow to full size. Although less popular than rice, no part of the plant
[231] is wasted. The large tubers are consumed, the small ones are usually fed to the pigs; the young leaves are used as vegetables, the older ones cooked into pig food. Slips are cut and used for planting a new crop.

The preferred variety of potato (*tadushi imu*) is grown in the dry paddies during the second rice season. To plant this potato, the soil must be piled up to form a long, narrow, flat-topped mound. One of the hardest jobs for farmers, this is done by men in the humid heat of a midsummer day. Women set the slips after the earth has been moved.
[251] These potatoes are the only variety which are thought to improve with

2. Rural Industries

178 Generally speaking, it can be said that much less effort is put forth
438 in the countryside now toward home industries than was the case before the
543 war. In Nanahan making of products at home has declined to the point where rather than being made for sale, they are made only for exhibit at the fair given annually at the local primary school. Even here considerable urging is required by the village officials, and entries are forthcoming only by an appeal to pride in one's village's standing at the fair.

249 Sugar Presses and Mills Okinawa has two modern western-style sugar refin-
257 eries, one at Haebaru and one on the isle of Minami Daitō. At the other end of the scale there are the some-400 horse-drawn rotary mills. Between these there are perhaps a dozen or less mills which utilize gasoline-powered motors and are geared to operate on a much larger scale than the rotary presses.

471 In rebuilding the big mill at Tomoyose which had been destroyed in the
257 war, each family that owned stock in the mill contributed the labor of one per-
461 son per day of building. On a typical day they started work at eight, had a fifteen-minute "break" at ten, and returned home for lunch for an hour at noon. After an afternoon "break", the work continued until six. Breaks and resumption of work were announced by pounding on an empty oxygen cylinder of large dimensions. The only break I observed lasted for 24 minutes. Tea was served to everyone, and the men sat around discussing how they would be able to pay for the building---which was made of sandy limestone from Minatogawa---and
471 where they would borrow money. The sugar produced was to be sold to the Ag-
257 ricultural Federation in Naha, as is the sugar produced at the smaller mills. However, the sugar was to be sold in 50 kin (66 pound) bags rather than in
[433] 100 kin barrels. The potential annual output was estimated at 15,000 bags, or approximately one-half the Tomoyose village production.

256 Kanegusuku Rice Mill There is one small rice mill in Kanegusuku. All the villagers who have rice land---or about 70% of the families---utilize this mill for polishing. No one in the village uses the
[439] old-fashioned hand mill. The owner of the rice mill says that most of the villagers cannot afford to pay cash for having their rice polished. Consequently he takes as multure about two-thirds of one 'gō' from each 'shō' of rice. This amounts to approximately six percent of their rice. The villagers evidently trust him completely, for no one was seen standing around watching while their rice was being polished.

The owner says that his machines are old and break down frequently. Three machines are required for the whole process. This is not a full-time job except during the harvesting periods. The young man who is owner regularly works on his family's lands. All operation and maintenance are done by him; he does not hire a helper even in the busiest times.

286 Mat-Making in Kanegusuku The three-cornered sedge ('sankaku-i') is a reed
433 grown in a wet field like rice, and is the basis of 'tatami omote' and 'goza' manufacture, the chief home industry of Kanegu-
[178] suku. Production of the reed in Kanegusuku today is about one-tenth the pre-

2. Rural Industries

178 Generally speaking, it can be said that much less effort is put forth
438 in the countryside now toward home industries than was the case before the
543 war. In Nanahan making of products at home has declined to the point where rather than being made for sale, they are made only for exhibit at the fair given annually at the local primary school. Even here considerable urging is required by the village officials, and entries are forthcoming only by an appeal to pride in one's village's standing at the fair.

249 Sugar Presses and Mills Okinawa has two modern western-style sugar refin-
257 eries, one at Haebaru and one on the isle of Minami Daitō. At the other end of the scale there are the some-400 horse-drawn rotary mills. Between these there are perhaps a dozen or less mills which utilize gasoline-powered motors and are geared to operate on a much larger scale than the rotary presses.

471 In rebuilding the big mill at Tomoyose which had been destroyed in the
257 war, each family that owned stock in the mill contributed the labor of one per-
461 son per day of building. On a typical day they started work at eight, had a fifteen-minute "break" at ten, and returned home for lunch for an hour at noon. After an afternoon "break", the work continued until six. Breaks and resumption of work were announced by pounding on an empty oxygen cylinder of large dimensions. The only break I observed lasted for 24 minutes. Tea was served to everyone, and the men sat around discussing how they would be able to pay for the building---which was made of sandy limestone from Minatogawa---and
471 where they would borrow money. The sugar produced was to be sold to the Ag-
257 ricultural Federation in Naha, as is the sugar produced at the smaller mills. However, the sugar was to be sold in 50 kin (66 pound) bags rather than in
[433] 100 kin barrels. The potential annual output was estimated at 15,000 bags, or approximately one-half the Tomoyose village production.

256 Kanegusuku Rice Mill There is one small rice mill in Kanegusuku. All the villagers who have rice land---or about 70% of the families---utilize this mill for polishing. No one in the village uses the
[439] old-fashioned hand mill. The owner of the rice mill says that most of the villagers cannot afford to pay cash for having their rice polished. Consequently he takes as multure about two-thirds of one 'gō' from each 'shō' of rice. This amounts to approximately six percent of their rice. The villagers evidently trust him completely, for no one was seen standing around watching while their rice was being polished.

The owner says that his machines are old and break down frequently. Three machines are required for the whole process. This is not a full-time job except during the harvesting periods. The young man who is owner regularly works on his family's lands. All operation and maintenance are done by him; he does not hire a helper even in the busiest times.

286 Mat-Making in Kanegusuku The three-cornered sedge ('sankaku-i') is a reed
433 grown in a wet field like rice, and is the basis of 'tatami omote' and 'goza' manufacture, the chief home industry of Kanegu-
[178] suku. Production of the reed in Kanegusuku today is about one-tenth the pre-

178 In Kanegusuku, for example, mat weaving is still of some importance
286 as a home industry. Where formerly nearly all of the houses were engaged in
433 production of mats, today less than half are so engaged, and the acreage planted in sedge is but ten percent of the prewar level. The war caused the loss of many machines; increasing emphasis on food production has brought a conversion of sedge fields into paddies; access to the better markets in Japan is now more difficult than before the war; it is felt to be too time-consuming and the young women today do not like this work.

Formerly there were a number of men in Kanegusuku who were able to construct the looms used in mat weaving. Today, however, no one constructs his own looms; instead, they are purchased from a manufacturer in Itoman.
[463] This particular example is symptomatic of the general decline of do-it-yourself and the increasing reliance placed on specialists.

178 There are some encouraging signs of revival or new life in the manufacture of Okinawan art objects. Okinawan lacquer ware, which is acknow-
[322] ledged by some to be the world's finest, is being sold in large quantity to members of the occupation. The owner of a large pottery works in Naha told
[323] the author that pottery from tombs is being collected to serve as models in restoring an older style and superior type of pottery. An Okinawan textile
[286] technique known as biingata (Okinawan; in Japanese, 'Benigata') was virtually lost during the war, but this art is still being carried on by one Shuri family, and recent publicity and aroused interest seems likely to insure survival.

178 Power and Machinery Agricultural machinery has come into use quite
407 recently on Okinawa. Pitts states that the labor-saving rice thresher first came into widespread use in the thirties. Older methods of flailing or rubbing the rice over a mat, canvas, or stone surface were also observed as being in common use. In numerous instances it was brought out that wartime losses had necessitated a return to an earlier and cruder means of threshing.

The old-fashioned, hand-operated rice polisher has gone out of use in Kanegusuku, and all rice is now polished in the village rice mill which operates on a gasoline engine.

In many communities the gasoline-operated sugar mill has replaced the
[257] horse-powered mill. More important, however, is the fact that the small community mill remains popular, and the farmer is resistant toward using the large sugar factories (see chapter on Rural Economy).

178
377 Electricity, common only to the towns and cities before the war, is now found in many villages, and those who are without it are looking forward
[373] to its installation. The kerosene lamps now in use in most rural homes cast a dim light and constitute a serious fire hazard in homes of thatch and wood.

178 The bulldozer has come into use as a means of opening new land and
406 constructing rice fields. Farmers in Kanegusuku and Nanahan made use of this method during the period of the authors' study of these two villages. Formerly this sort of work required the labor of a number of men over a considerable

313 Home Industries and Famous Products The forested northern mountains give rise to small scale lumbering, charcoal making,
314 and firewood gathering. Kunigami-son and Kushi-son emphasize the gathering of
433 bamboo and firewood. On the other hand the making of charcoal is more import-
[369] ant in Nago, Haneji, and Ōgimi. The urbanization of the south combined with
[591] the postwar extension of roads into formerly inaccessible parts of the north have accelerated exploitation of the northern forest resource. Particularly heavy is the demand for long roof poles, or kichigwā, after every major typhoon.
[237] Kunigami-son and Higashi supply the bulk of these. Where wood is plentiful behind a coastal road, one often finds lime kilns, which process the coral of the reefs.

258 The sea is also a major source of material for home industries. Sea
433 salt is made at Yagaji, Urasoe and Oroku on the west coast, at Henza and Awase
[237] on the east. Kunigami-son prides itself upon its production of seaweed. But-tons from seashells are made in Mawashi. Fish cakes ('kamaboko') are made in quantity in Itoman and Naha, with lesser amounts being produced in Ishikawa and Nago. Dried bonito ('katsuoboshi') is a specialty of Tonaki isle to the west. Motobu-chō holds second place, followed by the western isles of Tokashiki and
505 Zamami. For over a hundred years the small cargo sailboats ('Yambaru-sen')
178 of the east coast have carried forest products from the north. The extension of roads into the northern forests has greatly reduced the amount now carried by sea.

433 Horse breeding is a specialty in Nakazato (the eastern half of Kume-
[232] shima), which has 22% of the gunto's production of horses. However, the pro-
[282] duction of horse and cattle hides is concentrated in the urban areas, which account for 84% of the hides produced. Nakazato is also famous for production
[231] of silk cocoons, being responsible for about two-fifths (38.7%) of the gunto's total. The leading mainland producer is Motobu-chō, with 9%.

Although Okinawa is not self-sufficient in tea, the three areas of
[245] Gushikawa, Ishikawa and Kunigami produce over half of the local tea. In Oku
[474] village of Kunigami, the tea factory is a cooperative venture. Gushikawa
[275] and Chatan pride themselves upon possessing 'sake' and 'awamori' distilleries.
[286] Mawashi is the center of production of farm tools, and accounts for some weaving of banana cloth. Weaving of mats from the "seven isles reed" ('shichitō-i') is a local specialty of Kanegusuku.

Travertine quarries are found in Motobu-chō and Katsuren. A sandy
[314] limestone is quarried at Minatogawa in Gushichan.

243 offered at the village shrine by the priestess. Today key agricultural
[782] events are still marked by small ceremonies in which the priestess be-
[793] seeches or thanks the gods, but the actual day for planting is determined by weather and the condition of seed.

When the rice is transplanted in March, the whole family spends long hours in the paddy. Then the paddies swarm with people; some prepare the soil by spreading fertilizer, others stand in the ooze to set the seedlings. Transplanting is done by mutual assistance groups, which
[476] will be discussed later in this chapter. They guarantee everyone a sufficient number of helping hands during the painstaking, rapid work, which has to be finished within a limited time. In a few days the whole paddy area suddenly turns from brown into the tender green of the young shoots. Once planted, intermittent weeding is all the care that is needed.

● [261] In July the rice turns brown and is ready for harvest. This is an event of joy for the whole village, for young rice is most delicious and
[857] loved by everyone. By then vacations have started, so that schoolchildren can help to cut rice and carry bundles to the spot where it is threshed in treadle-type machines, located either near the field or behind one's house. As soon as the rice is threshed, the grain is carried to a place in the village where the wind blows freely. There a woman holds a flat winnowing basket filled with grain at an angle to let the
[782] breeze separate the chaff from the grain. The first rice is cut by men
[264] and offered at the family shrine before the whole family eats a specially
[251] prepared gruel. Rice is usually stored in one or two oil drums in the kitchen-side corner of the front room. Better houses have a metal-lined
[256] storeroom. Once a week a supply is taken to the miller to be hulled and polished.

Those whose fields are sufficiently wet plant a second crop, and the cycle is repeated once more in midsummer, with the second harvest falling in late December.

244 Sweet potatoes can be planted throughout the greater part of the year if the soil is not too dry. They take from five to seven months to
[262] grow to full size. Although less popular than rice, no part of the plant
[231] is wasted. The large tubers are consumed, the small ones are usually fed to the pigs; the young leaves are used as vegetables, the older ones cooked into pig food. Slips are cut and used for planting a new crop.

The preferred variety of potato (*tadushi imu*) is grown in the dry paddies during the second rice season. To plant this potato, the soil must be piled up to form a long, narrow, flat-topped mound. One of the hardest jobs for farmers, this is done by men in the humid heat of a midsummer day. Women set the slips after the earth has been moved.
[251] These potatoes are the only variety which are thought to improve with

861 Physical punishment is much more frequent than the mothers' [124] interview answers would lead one to believe. In parent-child or sib- [593] ling interactions observed by us, the scolding or talking was usually simultaneous with a sharp crack on the head with the knuckles or a slap on the buttocks. It is true that a great deal of leeway is generally given the child, but mothers home from a strenuous day in the fields are more apt to scream and spank at the same time.

Tying of hands or feet for several minutes, or as much as an hour, is considered appropriate punishment for those who trespass into forbidden areas or play with taboo things like matches. Sometimes the child's wrists are tied with a piece of rice-straw rope to the front house posts. One 1-year-old boy wandered down to the beach to play with his 3-year-old cousin despite repeated warnings from his mother to the effect that this area was dangerous. Because he disobeyed this rule, he was tied hand and foot. In addition, he was spanked because at the same time he had abandoned his younger brother in the village to go to the beach with his cousin.

861 Another type of physical punishment, which is often threatened but 857 rarely used, is cauterizing a piece of skin on the neck, back, or hands with moxa. Children in play situations frequently act out giving moxa to a naughty child with a lot of teasing and mock anger. "Come here, you naughty one, we will give you moxa," they scream to each other. A 1-year old girl was cauterized by her father when she threw her chop- [261] sticks on the floor in a fit of anger. Because he believed that food was not only the product of hard labor but also a sort of blessing from the gods, he felt that this very painful enforcement was just.

861 Grandmothers, in particular, use pinching to enforce some rules of 867 etiquette. If a child forgets and extends his foot toward another person, she will take the flesh of the leg between her thumb and index finger, lift it and with a quick twist administer a punishment which is very painful. After the initial experience, all she has to do is to put her hand in position for pinching to her lips and breathe out audibly as if to say, "I'm warming up!" and the child will correct himself.

861 Older brothers and sisters are apt to be "quicker with the hand," ac- 593 cording to mothers. Generally they agreed that this may be the reason [857] for their effectiveness in handling their younger charges. Frequently all an older sibling needs to do is to raise a warning hand, look disapprovingly, or call with a stern voice when his charge is about to misbehave.

Although mothers do most of the spanking, scolding, and talking, children fear their fathers a great deal more than they do their mothers. Mothers claim that this is true in most cases and offer an ex-

planation: "Maybe this is because the children know well our strength. They don't know their father's strength but believe somehow that it could be much more painful." One could, of course, relate this to the cultural concept of maleness as opposed to femaleness as discussed previously. 861 593

Praising and rewarding are techniques that are administered in a very haphazard fashion in Taira. While the child is still very young, up until he is about 2, praise and rewards are lavished on him for almost anything. If he responds to his mother's entreaties to hand over a stick with which he might hurt himself or to bow when meeting someone, he is hugged, kissed, and told over and over, "Good child, good child." 861 [867]

As the child grows older, these extravagant displays of praise and reward lessen. Instead the child may receive promises of something good to eat or a coveted article of clothing in return for some good deed or commendable behavior. Generally the child has to remind his mother many times before he is actually rewarded. By the time the child is of school age he takes these promises with a grain of salt and usually forgets them himself. Only when the children were questioned by us on rewards did it become obvious that parents promised a great deal more than they could ever hope to produce. For, from the plain view of economics, no family could purchase all the goodies pledged for good behavior. Nevertheless, for younger children these promises mean something, and they always look forward to the day when their mothers will color their evening rice red or make them some fried dumplings. Rewarding a child with food proves to be as effective a technique of socialization as threatening to deprive him of food. [124] [261]

Occasionally, in a rare burst of enthusiasm, parents may reward a child to make up for all the empty promises. During one of the rice harvests, a 10-year-old boy worked alongside his parents with as much concentrated effort as any adult. All day he stayed in the fields without running away to join his playmates, as some other boys his age did. At the end of the day his mother prepared some festive food. She colored the rice, and the dinner was a merry one. The man from next door who had helped out that day sat drinking sake with the boy's father. "Here, why don't you have some sake, you did as much work as any of us," offered the father. Neighbor and mother urged the boy on and laughed merrily as the boy sipped a bit of the sake. 857 861

Even before he is able to understand the significance of the words, a child in Taira is praised and censured with "good child," and "naughty child." Especially during infancy, mothers will tease babies by gently slapping them and saying over and over with mock anger, 861

261 262 Famine Food and Wartime Substitutes The standard famine foods on Okinawa have always been dried sweet potato chips or refuse from the making of starch, sago palm nuts and the pulp of the same palm. The latter two are eaten with restraint, as they contain small [252] amounts of an alkaloid poison. The sweet potato materials are made into soups, and the sago palm provides a type of flour for deep frying, or 'tempura'.

[137] During the last war, soups were also made from the stem of the plant Ligularia Kaempferia, known as 'tsuwabuki' in Japanese, and chiipappā in Okinawan. One Nanahan farmer related, "The chiipappā which I ate in Kin-son during the war was delicious, and one felt better after eating it. When I came back here, I tried our local variety, but it is bitter and inedible." The [252] giant African snail was used to alleviate famine just before the invasion. It was boiled in its shell, then de-shelled and the "snail juice" washed out with a bitter orange called shiisā. The meat was then fried with vegetables and the white part of a leek.

273 177 276 272 Japanese soldiers during the war taught the Okinawans how to make a strong liquor from sugar cane, as no real 'sake' or 'awamori' was then available. Tobacco was also scarce, and pine tree bark was substituted. Some people preferred to smoke the leaves of the 'mogusa' plant, which is also used for cautery. One very poor family in Nanahan still retains the practice. Tea could not be bought in the late pre-invasion period, and the beans of the lantana bush furnished a palatable substitute.

263 Uses of Sugar in the Home When a guest calls at an Okinawan farmer's home, he is served tea, black sugar chunks, and quite [574] often 'awamori'. Many other uses were related. It is used in batter for deep [757] frying; for cure of headache, sickness, and fainting spells; for a hangover; and when food is not delicious.

CHAPTER IX: HEALTH

W. P. Suttles

121 This chapter will begin with a section on the human body---attitudes
128 toward and practices concerned with its care and its functions. This will be followed by a section on sanitation---attitudes and practices. A third section will deal with concepts of the supernatural and their relationship to illness. A fourth will describe the various types of "medical" practitioners found in Okinawan society, and Okinawan attitudes toward modern medicine. It will be seen that this chapter contains much that is often described under the heading "Religion" or even "Values" and contains little on the actual state of health and incidence of disease among the Okinawans. But we believe that this is as it should be in a report on Okinawan culture. That sanitation is poor and disease is prevalent is no doubt all too apparent to the medical observer. A detailed study of the diseases themselves must be made by research workers competent in that field. A study of native culture, however, reveals some of the underlying causes of poor sanitation and poor health. We feel therefore that this is a valid unit and properly put under the title "Health".

1. The Human Body: Practices and Attitudes

261 Eating and Drinking Okinawans enjoy food and drink and make numerous events the occasion for their enjoyment. Questions about holidays frequently soon elicit long descriptions of the types of dishes appropriate to each. To a Westerner the variety may not seem great, but to the Okinawans a slight difference in the consistency of a soup may call for a
262 differentiating term. The variety of foods is probably as great as it can be within the limits of Okinawan resources. Foods are valued differently.
[171] Rice ranks high, sweet potatoes low. Pork is esteemed, as in China but not in Japan.

264 Three meals a day is usual. Rice, soup, and boiled foods are served in bowls, fried foods in flat dishes. These are eaten with chopsticks. The bowl may be held in the hand near the mouth; soup may be drunk directly from it. Some foods, such as noodles, are habitually sucked up with considerable noise. This noise is neither made purposely nor is it avoided; it just does not matter. Children may bolt their food without being scolded for it, but adults seem to have no compulsion to eat fast, as the Japanese are said to
[574] have. On festive occasions men are served in the first room, women in the second. On these occasions a portion may be served already in a box so that it may be taken home. On ordinary occasions the family may eat together,
[321] though women often eat in the kitchen by the oven. Conversation of both
[574] light and serious matter may accompany eating. Serving food is essential to the entertainment of guests and to the payment of social debts.

273 Drink is also essential to entertainment. Tea is drunk first thing
[272] in the morning and at any time of the day or evening. But for men something stronger is also desirable. Usually it is the clear, strong, distilled drink

Amami Oshima and the northern islands being directly ceded, the others agreeing to vassalage. 175 648

From this time until the seventh decade of the nineteenth century, the Ryukyu kingdom existed, acknowledging both suzerainty of China and vassalage to Satsuma in a twilight of sovereignty which statecraft and the political realities of the time did not find it necessary to resolve.

During this period of contact with other countries, an intrusion of an entirely different order, but what must have been of revolutionary consequence, was the introduction of the sweet potato in 1605. "In the 10th year /1605/ Noguni Tsunkwan imported sweet potatoes from China. Nashi Oima Uyakata Shinjo obtaining them, planted them in the fields, and in a few years they were raised all over the islands.[16] In view of the widespread reluctance of peoples to adopt new foods, the swift acceptance of the sweet potato is noteworthy. It must have furnished the means of subsistence for a much greater population. The topography, the soils, the fewness of valleys, alluvial plains, and marsh land could not have permitted the growth of rice to feed great masses of people as in China and Japan. This dependence on the sweet potato has persisted to this day. Modern accounts mention the reliance of the ordinary Okinawan on the sweet potato, and in times of stress on the sago palm, or cycad. Rice is seldom if ever mentioned as the food of the common people. 175 177 162

Scarcely had the sweet potato reached Okinawa, when it was carried to Japan. At first it was known as the kara-mmu (Okinawan) or Karaimo (Japanese), that is the Chinese potato. When it reached Satsuma in Kyūshū, it became known as the Luchuan potato; as it spread northward and eastward in Japan, the Japanese, believing the plant to be a native of southern Japan, called it the Satsuma potato (satsuma imo), and it is by this last name that the sweet potato is known in Okinawa to this day.[17]

4

Inertia from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Centuries 175 178

The period 1609 to 1871, when the Japanese took their initial steps toward the eventual incorporation of the island of Okinawa within the empire, was a quiescent one, continuing a pattern of life already set. The ideals of the Confucian state were strong. In the 17th century, it [642]

16 Quoted from a manuscript history in C. S. Leavenworth, The history of the Loochoo Islands, 88. "Native historians," says Chamberlain, "inform us that it was acclimatized in Luchu and passed into common use within the short period of four years after its first introduction." No further sources are given. Chamberlain, as cited, 302.

17 On the fortunes of the sweet potato in Japan, see Rein, The industries of Japan, London, 1889, 65.

Co-operation often takes the form of a division of labor. In building an elaborate permanent house with cement foundations, siding, plank flooring and a tile roof, greater skills than the handyman techniques of a smaller house are required. In the building of a house, men with special skills, such as a carpenter, a cement mixer, a stonecutter, or a mason participate; others bring lumber and wood from the mountains, as in Matsuda, or lay the grass on the tile roof. In some cases, all the labor may be donated; in others, the carpenter, the cement mixer, the stonecutter may be hired, with helper's work done by volunteers. In simpler construction, the carpentry may be done by anyone who has this secondary skill but is primarily a farmer or a fisherman. People who have those skills are said to have half and half occupations (hannohangyō in Japanese).

7

Housebuilding Ceremonies

In building, a distinction is made between a temporary and a permanent house. A temporary house may be built following a typhoon or a fire, or it may be constructed for a poor man and in fact be a permanent house for the family, the good house to come being more an aspiration than an early reality. The marks of a permanent house are construction with beams, instead of poles, good siding, a good roof, now mostly of tile, a design based on mat size, and a cemented kitchen. Housebuilding ceremonies and celebrations apply only to the permanent house.

Ceremonies or observances during stages in the building of a house differ from place to place and among people in the same village. In Matsuda before the house is started, the owner, his friends, and neighbors gather and offer a prayer that the house be a good and a happy one. Before construction, and once each year following completion, rice cakes (mochi in Japanese) and sake are placed in each of the four corners of the house site. Three rice cakes are put on the smallest of three saucers which fit into one another. Two of these saucer sets with the rice cakes, together with a sake bottle and a small cup are placed on a tray. The east, north, west, and south corners are visited in that order. Sake is poured from the flask to a small cup. There is a short prayer. A piece of white paper, attached to a stick of dwarf bamboo (Yambaru take) about one foot long is burned. The sake is poured over the embers. The top rice cake is placed on the corner; the other two remain on the small plate. Prayers are offered for protection against the deadly snake (habu). The rice cake is then picked up. On the next corner, the ceremony is repeated.

When the ridge pole is put up, the carpenter prays that there will be no injuries. Observances at the raising of the roof (muneage in Okinawan) seem to be universal in the villages. Three parcels, one of salt, one of bean paste, and one of charcoal are wrapped in a leaf--any will do--and these are tied with a string and suspended from the inner side of the crossbeam or from the ridge pole. There are no prayers at This Time.

this time. Upon completing the house, the owner gives a party for those who helped him. During the last day of work, with the party scheduled for the evening, the workmen strive feverishly to complete the house on time. This is a party to celebrate a task completed. Sake flows freely. Occasionally on the last day, a man walks around the house talking to himself and throws salt toward the inside of the house. His words are not formalized and not known to his hearers. After finishing throwing the salt, he bangs the back of the house three times with a stick. This custom is said to be gradually disappearing, and is only occasionally practiced in Matsuda.[9]

In Hanashiro, there is a similar custom that differs in details. On the date the house is started, there is a small ceremony. A plate containing boiled rice, bean curd, a kind of fritter (tenpura in Japanese) and meat, together with a flask of sake are placed in the center of the site on which the house is to be built. Prayers are offered that the house be a good one. The ceremony of raising the roof is identical with that previously described in Matsuda. This applies only to the raising of the ridge pole, no ceremonies taking place with the erecting of the side poles. The center board, near to or nailed to the ridge pole, and from which the articles wrapped in a leaf or in sea weed are suspended, is inscribed with the word, shibiranka. Its meaning is unknown to me. One villager said it was the name of a legendary Chinese protector of houses.

In one instance from Minatogawa, instead of the salt, charcoal, and bean paste, only a bit of charcoal (tsumi in Japanese) was suspended and wrapped in seaweed (kombu in Japanese).

About 20 years ago in Hanashiro, the celebration on the day of completion was much more elaborate than now. A pig was killed, fish purchased, and a large feast was prepared to which the whole village was invited. The celebration now is confined to relatives, friends, and helpers, including the carpenter, whether hired or a volunteer.

In Minatogawa, when a good house is being built, there is the custom of going to a fortune teller (sanjinsō in Japanese) to discover the lucky day for commencing construction. This may be repeated to find the lucky day for putting up the poles and supports or putting on the roof. Here also a son about to establish a branch household and to build his own house takes a food offering to his father's house, places it on the Buddhist god shelf, gives thanks, and prays for good fortune before construction starts. When the house has been completed, similar offerings are made, either before the god shelf of the new house, if it has been installed, or again at the father's house. In this village, the usual observances are confined to the raising of the roof and to the celebration following completion of the home.

One last custom observed in all the villages is that one does not move into a new house unless the tide is coming in. Other occasions in which the tide is taken into consideration will be discussed later. The idea here seems to be that one moves at times of growing fullness and increase not at times of ebb and withdrawal.

9 I was unable to secure any explanation of the reason for this and the other practices beyond the familiar statement that "it is a custom." (shukan)

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

Introduction

The basic occupation of the Okinawans has been and continues to be agriculture. The agricultural, not the fishing, wood gathering, or stonecutting community is typical. Fishing, stonecutting and forestry have been the occupations of certain villages or areas, or of certain groups within a village. This and the following chapter describe these ways of living. 463

Agricultural practices gathered from Hanashiro, Nagamo (to some extent), and Matsuda will be presented in this chapter. Hinatogawa has been omitted because it is primarily a fishing and stonecutting community, and there is nothing distinctive or unusual in its agriculture. This presentation avoids the repetitive description of similar activities that would follow from a discussion of each village separately. Significant differences, where they appear, will be mentioned, and in this manner, I hope, the identities of the individual villages will not be lost, despite the topical arrangement. 128

Okinawan agriculture is basically the story of four crops: rice, sweet potatoes, the soy bean, and sugar cane. Rice is a minor crop. Not all farmers grow it, and rice consumption rests both on homegrown products and imports. Individual farmers occasionally grow both to sell and for home use. Today it is less of a luxury than it was before the war because of the imports and the home grown crop. In Okinawa two crops a year are possible. 241 267 433 [439]

The sweet potato is the main crop. Cultivation continues throughout the year. Potatoes often are dug on a day to day basis as required for human or animal consumption. At any one time, the patches of sweet potatoes owned by a farmer may represent all stages of growth from a fresh transplanted field to a patch ready for digging. The sweet potato is the cheapest all purpose food, both for human and animal consumption. Okinawans tire of it because poverty enforces such frequent consumption. Since the war, the increased availability of rice for home use, and the opportunities of purchasing rice have relieved this complete dependence on the sweet potato. Among some families, though these are still few, the sweet potato has become the food of animals, with only select ones used at the table. But for the great majority the sweet potato still is the basic article of diet. It is cheap and easy to cultivate either by men or women. Little can be realized from its sale.

Soy beans are grown for home consumption. Making bean curd in the home is universal. Brown sugar is produced as a cash crop. Some is used in the home as a confection both for adults and children. [432] [263]

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262

These crops do not exhaust their agriculture. Wheat and barley are grown, but not in significant quantities. Varieties of beans other than the soybean are important. Pumpkins and gourds of various kinds make valuable food supplements. The onion, the carrot, and the giant horse radish are grown for home use, occasionally for sale. More unusual products, such as the taro, are grown less frequently and then only for side dishes at meals.

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805
[177]

In their agricultural work, farmers prefer the lunar (kyūreki, literally, old calendar) to the western, solar (seireki) calendar. The lunar calendar was abolished for official purposes by the Japanese in 1874. While this change was introduced into Okinawa, the lunar calendar still has vitality in the countryside. The present published calendars show with a large numeral the day in the western count, but in each block, in smaller script, is the corresponding lunar date:

JANUARY	1952
1	
12th Month	5th day

Births, deaths, official correspondence are recorded in the western count. The farmer, however, thinks in terms of the lunar calendar. When he says he plants his sweet potatoes in May, he means May by the lunar count.

805

Western Solar and Lunar Day Equivalents

Western	1951, Year of the Hare	Lunar Count 1952, Year of the Dragon
Jan 1	Nov 24	Dec 5
Feb 1	Dec 25	Jan 6
Mar 1	Jan 24	Feb 6
Apr 1	Feb 25	Mar 7
May 1	Mar 26	Apr 8
Jun 1	Apr 27	May 9*
Jul 1	May 27	May 10*
Aug 1	Jun 29	Jun 11
Sept 1	Aug 1	Jul 12
Oct 1	Sep 1	Aug 13
Nov 1	Oct 3	Sep 14
Dec 1	Nov 3	Oct 15

* The period from May 24 to June 21, 1952, western calendar, corresponds to the lunar May 1 to May 29. The fifth month is then repeated beginning June 22 and ending July 21, western count. This intercalary month is necessary because the lunar year is about 355 days long. As a consequence about 11 days are lost each year, and an additional month is required every third year.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

HANASHIRO	MATSUDA
TENTH MONTH (Oct 30-Nov 28)	
221 241 Possible beginning of second rice harvest, though this is early. Planting rice in seed bed. Sow sweet potato slips.	Sow peas (endō-mame) and beans. Plant sweet potato slips if rain. Sow giant radish (daikon), tomatoes, barley. Weeding of radishes, and vegetables planted previous month until the 25th. Rice cutting begins.
ELEVENTH MONTH (Nov 29-Dec 27)	
Continuation of the rice harvest. Threshing and milling. Planting of sugar cane, slantwise. Sow cabbage seed. Rice seed planting begins, or continues if begun in the 10th month.	Rice cutting and harvest. Threshing and milling. Rice fields dug up. Preparation of new fields.
TWELFTH MONTH (Dec 28-Jan 26)	
Sugar making. Sow Irish potatoes (bareisho) but in small quantities	Continue digging up rice fields. Rice sown in seed beds after seed testing. Sugar making may begin.

YEAR ROUND ACTIVITIES

Sweet Potato Planting, Transplanting and Harvesting continues throughout the year, depending on time and distribution of rainfall.

4

Rice Cultivation

243 Growing rice is a most exacting task. The period from the time the seed bed is prepared until the final milling is one of tedious work and continuous apprehension. The reaction of Okinawan farmers to rice cultivation perhaps was best summed up by a Matsuda farmer who said, "Everyone dislikes the work, but rice is delicious."

[461] [262] Assuming that the field is already in existence, the cultivation of rice may be divided into the following stages: (1) preparation and laying out of the seed bed, (2) selection of the seed, (3) transplanting

One of these, the shimba (nnihija in Okinawan) is essentially a concave forked piece of metal set on a frame, which in turn rests on four props set up in sawbuck fashion. The rice sheaves are drawn through the teeth, causing the kernels to drop below. The sawbuck may be any desired height. Usually the top of the fork is waist level. The only significance of the shimba today is that it provides diversion and occupation for the old women, many of whom are too weak or too unsteady to operate the treadle thresher. The same is true of an even simpler device for threshing. Two short pieces of bamboo, or any piece of round wood, a little longer and with a slightly greater diameter than a pair of chopsticks, are loosely tied together on one end with straw or a strong blade of grass. The tied ends of the two sticks are held in the right hand, leaving the free ends to strip off the rice kernels from the straw. This labor is done by very old women. Age is no deterrent to work as long as people are able to get around. But, as in the south, the treadle thresher is universally used. This device was widely distributed by the Japanese agricultural specialists of the government throughout the empire in the years immediately before the war. In Matsuda, it is also thought to be about 15 years since its introduction.

243 407 [887] [177]

As in Japan, from which the terms were borrowed, rice in various stages of cultivation and processing is known by different names. Rice in the hull is momei; unpolished rice is genmai, and polished rice is hakumai. Rice stalks are known as wara.

824 192

Hulling and polishing rice by machinery are also new in Okinawan villages. In Hanashiro, those machines driven by an open belt are about ten years old. A hand mill, the shiriushi, to be described shortly, was in general use for polishing rice up to 1940.

256

At present everyone, no matter how poor, pays for hulling and polishing of his rice. The mill owner in Hanashiro estimated that the machinery processed in ten minutes the amount of rice that formerly took a day to hull and polish by hand. Poor families do not try to effect savings by hand work. They pay the fee, sell the polished rice, and eat sweet potatoes.

[511] [262]

Unpolished rice is disliked and is never eaten. It is described as hard and bitter in taste. The machinery in a rice mill varies from place to place in quality and modernity. The mill (seimaisho) has two machines: a hulling machine (momitsuriki) and a polishing machine (seimaiki). One simple type of a hulling machine is an endless chain type of mechanism. The rice is put in little buckets on the chain which carry it to rubber layers. As the rice is forced through the layers, the hulls are cracked and pinched off, and are then blown out on a pile in back. After being hulled, the rice goes through the shaft of the milling machine. The shaft housing is grooved. As the shaft revolves, it polishes the rice which is going through it. The shaft also gets heated, and this makes the polishing easier. In the older machine in Hanashiro, the rice was put through the shaft ten times

Rice may also be polished by the use of rude wooden mallets. These have a handle about 3 feet long and a head about 1 1/2 feet long. Rice is placed in a mortar with straw on top. It is pounded, often by two or three women swinging alternately. After the hulls are removed, the rice is winnowed, and put back in the mortar until a rough polish is secured. 252 [412]

Uses of rice. Every part of the rice plant has a use. The stubble, left in the ground, becomes a part of next season's fertilizer. The chaff and waste dust (nuka) is saved for pigs, cows, and other domestic animals. The hulls often are used for fertilizer, before or after burning. Rice straw has a variety of uses. The most frequent and important of these is for making rope. 824

After threshing, the straw is dried two or three days. Three or four stalks of about the same length are taken and rolled between the palms. The lower palm, usually the left, is open and up. The right palm rolls the straw into a twist. As the rope grows, new stalks are inserted one at a time, and, when needed, a new length of straw is added. This is not a strong rope, but it has a variety of uses, such as tying down the grass thatch to the roof poles, children's swings, and clothes lines. Mats and pads shaped like a life saver and used to set the sugar pots on after the sugar has been boiled, are made out of rice straw. Another use is in the making of the Ōda (Okinawan). This is a mesh about one foot wide and two feet long. There are loops on each corner. The end of a pole may be inserted in these loops when gathered together. The pole is carried over the shoulder, and sweet potatoes, straw, or other articles may be easily transported. Simple brooms without a handle, little more than a bunch of straw tied together in three places are also made of rice straw. Twisting and braiding rice straw is likely to be rainy day work. These articles are most often made twice in the year, corresponding with the harvests. [283] [285] [482] [412]

At typhoon times, if rice is not completely destroyed, the damaged rice may be used for pig food. The preparation of this rice is women's work. The rice is put in a mortar and pounded with a mallet in the manner already described, although a single operator usually does the work. [731] [231] [462]

Types and preferences. As a general rule, the selection of varieties of rice for planting depends on taste, the nature of the soils, and individual judgment of the expected yield of each type. In Matsuda, it is estimated that about one half of the rice is the Formosan variety, Taichu 65 (Taichu rokujugo), in Okinawa known as horai. Another variety, Kunigami 31 (Kunigami ichigo) represents about one-fourth of the crop. Mochigome (akaho) takes up about another one-fourth. This glutinous rice has a brown reddish rust colored kernel and is used for rice cakes. A fourth variety, horai-mochimai, is also well liked. No black rice is grown here. 243 [262]

In addition to these varieties, cultivated locally, imported rice is distributed through the import stores. These rices generally are from Egypt, Siam, and Burma. They are not well liked and are considered to be tough (katai). Whether this is because the variety itself is disliked or because the imports were of a poor quality is hard to say, but Egyptian, Siamese, and Burmese rice are unfavorably compared with Japanese, Formosan, or the locally grown products. Okinawans are very sensitive to the types of rice. There is no such thing as "rice." Long habituation and fondness for special kinds have induced tastes and preferences which each villager is quick to express. 439 262 [443]

In Hanashiro, the main type of rice planted is also the Taichu 65, a variety which originated in Formosa, and is generally preferred. The red variety, mochigome, does not do well here, according to local farmers, and just a little is grown. Mochigome (literally, rice-cake rice) is used in making the doughy and gummy rice cakes. 243 262

5

The Sweet Potato

The cultivation of the sweet potato (satsuma imo) is a much simpler undertaking than rice culture. Fields are prepared by hand hoeing. The plow and the harrow are not used. In sweet potato cultivation, seed potatoes are first planted in a small plot. This furnishes slips or transplants for other fields. Slips are multiplied by using the tops of one field to plant another. Propagation thus is by clones, and this vegetatively reproduced plant is the mainstay of the diet. 244 [262]

The potato seed bed, well hoed and fertilized, is generally planted in the spring. The tops to be used as slips (kasura) are cut off and planted in rows. Practice has brought deftness in this transplanting. A small amount of soil is lifted up by the spatula, (hera), and held so that an opening rather than a hole appears. The slip is shoved into the aperture and quickly pressed down by the left heel, as the farmer moves to the next planting.[5] Few tools are used in the cultivation of the sweet potato. Only the hoe and the spatula are really needed. Occasionally one finds a special hoe with a sharp angle between the blade and handle or a heart shaped hoe with a long handle. In the Hanashiro and Nagamo areas, the solid bladed hoe is the commonest tool. Two and three pronged hoes are less often used because of the hardness of the soil. [412]

The cultivation of the sweet potato, as we have said, is a year round operation, though planting may slacken off during the winter months. [221]

5 Methods of cultivation have changed little in the past 100 years. The same operation is described in Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 31-32. [114]

244 [132] months. The amount of sweet potatoes grown is not closely related to the season. It depends much more on rainfall.

[131] The effects of typhoons on the plant are most noticeable after transplanting. Salt water spray shrivels the transplants up and they [131] die without developing. These conditions are more noticeable near the seashore in areas like Nagano that lack trees and tidewater shelters.

824 Like rice, all of the sweet potato plant is used. Plant residues are turned under to fertilize the soil. This turning under of the vines or their use in composts is a doubtful blessing if the plants are diseased. The good potatoes are reserved for human consumption. [231] The poor or the diseased ones are mashed up in a stone mortar with a long pole, used like a pestle, for pig and goat food. Besides using the tops as slips, women constantly cut them off for fresh greens for the pigs. [262] The sweet potato is the basic food because it is cheap, can be grown the year round in lowlands and uplands, and can be cultivated by all members of the family. As pig food, it is a means of inexpensively raising animals which later have cash value. [462] The feeding and care of pigs is usually one of the incidental chores of women.

244 184 The varieties most commonly found in these Okinawan villages are the Okinawan #100 (Okinawan no hyakugo) and varieties known locally as the benta, a small round tuber, and the bokuto. The two chief differences between the northern and southern villages in cultivating the sweet potato are (1) the two and three pronged hoes are much more in evidence in the north. With practice, they can be used advantageously in quickly weeding a plot while not cutting the potato itself. (2) Matsuda appears to be less dependent on the [262] sweet potato as a human food. The farmer here has more rice for himself and a greater proportion of his sweet potato crop goes for [231] animal food.

6

The Planting of Sugar Cane and Sugar Making

249 Sugar cane (kibi) is grown on dry crop land, its rows often alternating on the same plot with the sweet potato. Cane may be started with cuttings, or it may be a second growth (ratoon) from the stubs of the old plant after it has been cut down for crushing. Cuttings may be purchased or selected plants from another planting are used. The slips are cut to leave three buds. These cuttings may be planted in three ways: (1) all horizontally, (2) horizontally with the cutting which comes from the topmost part of the stalk planted slantwise, or (3) all cuttings may be planted slanting.

The soil must be thoroughly worked with the ever present hoe. Plowing and harrowing are rarely done. The earth must be thoroughly fertilized. In addition, small amounts of compost may be placed under the cutting, and less often liquid night soil might be used.

824 Soy beans have three main uses: soy sauce which is seldom made
[262] in the home, bean curd (tōfu) and miso, a bean paste, both always
[432] home made. For this reason, soy beans are grown mostly for home use,
[962] with the surplus sold. In Hanashiro, where the surpluses are greater,
[494] the beans may be sold in Naha, Shuri, or Itoman. Women do the selling, taking the beans to market on the buses, trucks, or three wheeled vehicles.

(2) Other types of beans such as the red dwarf bean (asuki)
241 (Phaseolus angularis Wight), the kidney bean (ingen in Japanese,
262 Phaseolus vulgaris L), the broad or horse bean (soramame in Japanese, Vicia fabia L), and peas (endō in Japanese, Pisum sativum L) are grown for home use, usually in parcels which are closest to the house.

(3) The giant radish, (daikon in Japanese, Raphanus sativus L)
[263] is, after the soy bean, the most important of the minor crops grown for home use. This is the vegetable most favored either as a condiment,
[252] or as a side dish. It is eaten sliced raw, pickled, or fried in strips in soy sauce. When eaten boiled, its flavor resembles that of a turnip.

(5) The pumpkin (Cucurbita pepo L) called nanka or kabocha, the latter name being derived from the word Cambodia from which the pumpkin was introduced into Japan. They are harvested in summer, and one crop a year, generally for home use, is grown. If the flesh
[231] becomes too ripe and turns reddish and sweet, it is not relished and the pumpkin is fed to the pigs.

(6) The cucumber (kiuri in Japanese, Cucumus sativus L) is a very minor crop. In none of the villages were they generally grown, and then only for home use.

(7) The hechima or tōgwa in Japanese, subui in Okinawan.[7] This is very large and cylindrical. In exceptional specimens, its outward appearance is indistinguishable from the water melon. Its flesh is white. In the two southern villages, the tōgwa is grown very sparingly.
[184] In Katsuda and the surrounding villages, it is more common. Here it is used to fill in during times of food shortage. Some specimens I have
[221] seen weighed over 100 pounds. It is planted after lunar New Years, harvested in the 6th or 7th lunar month, a period reaching from about January to May. From April to July, when other vegetables are scarce,
[252] it is often used as a substitute. The flesh when boiled is rather tasteless; it is commonly boiled and served with chunks of meat. The tōgwa, in the northern villages, is often stored in dark cool places away from the sunlight, often under the house. If not cut open, the
[251] melon can be saved for a year.

7 I am not certain whether this is Luffa cylindrica Roem, Luffa petola, Ser, the Luffa sponge, rag gourd, etc., whose pulp disappears when ripe to be replaced by a web of fibres.

melon can be saved for a year. It is also served raw with vinegar and sugar dressing, often mixed with another vegetable to make a salad called nanasugwa in Okinawan. 241 262 [252]

(8) The burdock (gobo) is also very minor and usually grown for home use. It is boiled when eaten.

(9) The carrot (ninjin) is a minor crop.

(10) The trumpet or bottle gourd (yūgao) is only grown in Matsuda and for home use as a summer food. [184]

(11) Spinach (hōrensō), onions (negi), Chinese lettuce (hakusai) are not uncommon. Spinach, lettuce (chisai), and onions do not have the importance either as a crop or a food that they have with us.

(12) The taro (satoimo in Japanese, Colocasia esculenta Schott) can occasionally be seen growing in Hanashiro or Matsuda, often on the edge of a rice field. It is known locally also as taimo and apparently is the same as the Japanese dasheen. The taro is used as a side dish.

(13) The Irish potato (bareisho) is occasionally grown for sale. [432]

(14) Cabbage (tamana) is partly a cash, partly a home use crop. It is also minor. Some Okinawans like cabbage and grow it for their own use, but many dislike it and sell the crop.

(15) The grains are an unimportant part of village agriculture. The most common are barley (ōmugi), wheat (komugi) and millet. (Mugi is a general term for grain. The ō means large, the ko, small, referring to the kernels of the two grains). [193]

Although comparable statistics were not available for each of the villages, the following table from Hanashiro clearly shows the relative importance of the major crops: 241 311

HANASHIRO
Crop Acreages, 1950

Crop	Area in Chō[a/]	Percent of Total
Rice	10.89	100.0
Total Dry Crop Land	59.88	100.0
Sweet Potatoes	35.86	59.9
Soy Beans	13.63	22.8
Sugar Cane	5.41	9.0
Beans and Peas (excluding soy)	2.30	3.9
Wheat	1.80	3.0
Millet	0.50	0.8
Vegetables	0.38	0.6

241 a/ A chō is 3000 tsubo, or about 2.45 acres.
311 Source: Agricultural Section, Oushichan Village Office, Oushichan-son,
[804] Okinawa, September 1951.

In Ginoza-son, statistics for crops on an individual village basis were only obtainable in part. Some Matsuda figures which were available indicate that rice, the sweet potato, and sugar cane were the most important of the crops:

Rice lands		82,151 tsubo (about 27.4 chō)
Summer planting:	58,000	
Fall planting:	54,000	
	112,000 tsubo, including double cropping.	
Dry Crop Land		188,305 tsubo (about 62.8 chō)
Sugar Cane:		
Summer planting	2170 tsubo	
Spring planting	6840 " "	
	9010 tsubo	

The greater part of the remaining dry crop land is believed to be in sweet potatoes.

8

Native Uncultivated Plants of Use to Man
(Other than Forest Trees)

824 In the south, trees such as the banyan (gajimaru), the Japanese redwood (sugi), and the usuki are important within the village as windbreaks. The importance of miscanthus sinensis, often called kaya or susuki, has already been mentioned. Certain plants, used for medicinal purposes, are becoming scarce and are being displaced by modern drugs, but have some interest. Other plants, formerly used in home industries for weaving and making straw sandals, have also declined in importance in the villages.

In the south one of the most interesting associations is that of the Ryukyuan pine (Pinus ryukyuensis), the cycad (sotetsu in Japanese, Cycas revoluta, Thumb.) and Chinese silver grass (miscanthus sinensis). The Ryukyu pine in this area is little more than a shrub. It has some uses for firewood and for minor construction, but the lumber for substantial houses comes from the northern forests.

The cycad, now rather uncommon in this area, has had several uses. The whole plant may be a windbreak or be used for firewood. A form of starch (renpun in Japanese, kuzu in Okinawan) is made from this plant,
[262] a food traditionally used in time of great hardship or crop failure.

The starch comes from two sources: the large oval seed, ranging from orange to Chinese red when mature, and the stalk. Use of the stalk involves destruction of the plant. According to Gushichan area residents, the starch of the cycad seed was used for food in 1945, 1946, and parts of 1947. Timing is an important part of the starch making because at certain stages of development the cycad is poisonous. Today in areas where the cycad is plentiful, the seeds are still gathered and dried in large quantities. Toward the end of November in Oku and in the nearby mountain village of Hedo, and in other villages of the far north of the island, large quantities of cycad seeds can be seen drying in the compounds. In the Hanashiro and Hinatogawa area, the cycad is not plentiful enough and is too scattered for these uses. 824 262

The main uses of miscanthus are: (1) roof thatch, including the saddle back which caps the roof, (2) firewood, (3) the younger shoots for animal food, (4) fertilizer, (5) a raw material for home weaving of baskets and slings for carrying vegetables. 824

Miscanthus can be seen to best advantage in December when it is in full bloom and covers large areas of the uncultivated countryside. Considering the present economic situation in the south, these plentiful grasses are indispensable to daily living. One must see, from day to day and with his own eyes, the dependence on these wild grasses to appreciate the force of this statement.

In the southern area studied, one consequence of the war on the natural vegetation was the spread of the grasses at the expense of the pine and the cycad. Residents of the Hanashiro, Gushichan, and Hinatogawa areas have said that prior to the war, the Ryukyuan pine was plentiful and covered hill and mountain sides now quite bare, save for an occasional scrub tree. These trees were destroyed by bombing and firing. There are occasional evidences of regrowth due to natural seeding, but the clumps are small, and nothing like a stand is growing. The stands even before the war, however, must have been inconsequential compared with descriptions of the area fifty years ago given by old residents of the area. The present deforestation of large parts of southern Okinawa seems to have accelerated in the recent past. 137 727

The cycad had a similar fate in the south. The plants are numerous in the sense that one can always be observed on a walk. They grow in clumps, often alongside the pandanus. The grasses seem to have displaced the cycad and the pandanus as well. The dense settlement, cultivation, use of trees for firewood, and the recent war account for the uncultivated hillsides in which the grasses now predominate, and on some of which not a single tree or shrub is to be observed. The original native vegetation, perhaps, may still be preserved in the limestone sinks which occur here and there in this area. 137 [311]

In Hanashiro, the absence of trees and shrubs except in the settled areas has already been noticed. This is a characteristic of villages in the south. The treelessness of Hinatogawa is exceptional.

824 The most common of the Hanashiro trees are (1) the banyan or gajimaru, or yōzu. This tree is a common sight with its long roots growing around and through the stone fences. The tree with [731] its roots bracing the stone fences is excellent typhoon protection for the village. (2) The usuku (Japanese scientific name, the akou) resembles the gajimaru in appearance and serves the same purpose. The fukugi (Darcinia spicata Hook) and an occasional cycad are common windbreaks. These trees are almost invariably in combina- [417] tion with stone fences, made of blocks, or with fences made of loose stones which have settled and been bound together by small plant roots. Village typhoon protection is a simple but effective combination of stone, shrubs, and trees. There is also an occasional kuroki [534] (kurchi in Okinawan), from whose trunk the samisen, the stringed musical instrument, is made, and the palm (shuro).

There are wild plants in each of the areas but their importance has also declined. Among these is the pandanus (the adan, Japanese scientific name, the takonoki). This plant was plentiful before the war, but is now scarce except in the mountain area. It can occasionally be seen in genya land or in small clumps on an outcrop. The blades of the pandanus are long and hard, with a row of spines down both sides of the blade. It has had several uses. Formerly it was the common material for making slippers (sori), hats, cigarette cases, and hand- [463] bags. These home industries have all but disappeared, but old people [887] occasionally do a little. In preparing the pandanus blades for use, the thorns are removed and several strips are made. These are then boiled, dried, and smoothed out. Then they are woven into the desired pattern. A first class pandanus blade is about 5 feet long. In the [782] celebration of O-Bon, the fruit of the pandanus may be offered as food to the ancestors.

Another plant occasionally used is the getto, known also in Okinawa as sannin or muchigasa. Its chief use is in the festival of the 8th day of the 12th lunar month. At this time, rice cakes (mochi) are wrapped up in its long and wide and flexible fibres. These wrappings, often made by children, are hung from the ceiling or from the wall. The stem of this plant was much used in the past for rope.

824 The nigana (njana in Okinawan, Ixeris dentata Nakai) is still
262 used in this area as a food and medicine. It has an exceedingly bitter
757 root, about 1/8 of an inch in diameter in a mature plant. The root is put in hot water, and the liquid drunk as a stomach medicine. The leaves, not so bitter as the root, have a sour, slightly bitter taste. They are often served with the white cuttlefish (shiroi-ikka).

The ōbako (known in Okinawan as the hirawakusa or hirawagusa, Plantago Asiatica L, "Japanese ribwort") is used as a medicine and as a food. When vegetables are scarce, it is eaten as a green. As a medicine, the leaf is heated over a fire and the hot leaf is then pressed over a swelling.

Domestic Animals

231 [727] The effects of the war are still to be seen in the scarcity of domestic animals (kachiku). The domestic animal population is increasing. Horses were far more numerous before the war. The same is true of cattle and oxen which, however, are more numerous than horses. All are used as draft animals, with the greatest frequency in Hanashiro. Cattle and oxen are used for plowing and harrowing in the rice fields; horses for pulling carts and wagons. Horse meat is not eaten. All larger animals are tethered or in stalls. They are not allowed to graze or to roam freely around the villages or on the hillsides. Since each bit of land is owned, grazing would deprive someone of needed grasses, either the young shoots or the matured fibres. Chickens are generally kept in coops. Ducks have a little more freedom.

[492] [267] 235

231 235

DOMESTIC ANIMALS

Animal	Hanashiro	Nagamo	Minatogawa	Matsuda
Cattle and Oxen	40	5	0	1 (80)
Horses	2	1	0	20 (90)
Pigs	125	100	150	315
Goats	50	50	40	321
Chickens	a/	30	a/	706
Ducks	0	50	a/	10
Rabbits	0	0	0	6

Source: Village clerks of each village and township records. Figures are approximate as of January 1952. Pre-war estimates where known are shown in parentheses. Villages try to keep an accurate and up to date animal census. a/ Not available, village has some

231 In all the villages studied, pig raising is the most important secondary occupation of the individual farmer or fisherman. Pig raising is old in the culture. According to Chamberlain (1895), under the old kingdom every household by law had to raise goats and pigs. Pigs were fed in part on human excrement. This practice in my observation has now been abandoned.

[434] Pigs are raised for sale. They are the most significant single source of cash for the farm family and they supplement the fisherman's cash income.

231
cash income. Pigs are seldom eaten by the family that raises them. [262]
On New Year's, a family will slaughter a pig or three or four families [527]
might co-operate in sharing one. Pork may also be served at O-Bon
and at Jūgoya, the autumn equinoctial holiday season.

A family often gets its start in pig raising by obtaining a loan [426]
from a mutual loan group. (These groups will be discussed later). A [435]
young pig may cost about Y2000. Male pigs intended for market
(nikubuta in Japanese, shishiwa in Okinawan) are castrated two months
after birth. Keeping breeding pigs (tanebuta) is a special business. [232]
Men engaged in this business bring the boar to the pig raiser's home.
Each village has such a businessman or at least has convenient access
to one in a neighboring village. The fee usually charged is Y200. If
the first attempt at breeding is unsuccessful, a second opportunity is
given free. On the third try, the dealer claims his fee again. In
Matsuda, there is a belief among the old that as the tide is coming in,
if a sow is in heat, the male will be able to perform, but that in the
ebb tide he cannot.

Great care is taken in housing pigs adequately, if the family is 231
able to do so. The pig sties made of stone or coral may be better 343
than the houses of their owners. This is by no means so shortsighted
or ridiculous as it might seem. Pigs are the means, one of the very
few means, by which an agricultural family may acquire substantial [434]
sums of cash. To protect this living bank account, considerable sums
are invested in fine stone, or cement floors and an adequate roof.
The pen must be strong to withstand typhoons. With a good pig pen,
a sow, and a good litter, a family can look forward to improving its [511]
financial condition and its own housing. There is great variety in the
quality of pig pens. The pen may be in combination with the outside
toilet, but with the two places completely separate; it may be part of
a larger shed which also houses the goats, the cattle, or the horse. If a
family can afford it, the pig is housed in a stone pen with stone floors,
or with other sturdy materials.

The day to day care of pigs is mostly the work of women. While 231
the husband is at work in the fields, the wife, as an incidental part 824
of her duties, goes to the nearest plot to cut sweet potato tops, or
mashes sweet potatoes in the stone mortar in the compound, often with [462]
her infant child on her back. There are three favorite varieties of
food for pigs: (1) the leaves of the sweet potato plant not suitable for
human consumption or not needed for transplanting, (2) the potato itself.
The poorer grades of potato are put in a stone mortar and are smashed
with a long pole, or pestle. (3) A cloudy liquid consisting of the
sweet potato, waste bean curd (tōfu no kasshu) and water. This is always
given warm. The pig may also get poor rice, or rice spoiled for human
consumption by submersion as a result of a typhoon, or miscellaneous
left overs from the table.

There are no ceremonies in any of the villages associated with 231
slaughtering the pig. Villagers seldom kill their own except on

231 special holiday occasions. Pig killing or the killing of any animals
[825] is distasteful. The pig generally is driven out of the pen to a
[993] waiting truck or horse cart and hauled squealing off to market.

Considerable interest is being shown (early 1952) in the scientific
232 breeding of pigs from stock imported from the United States. Chester
[177] White is a well known word among the farmers of Matsuda. In this area, regional meetings of pig breeders and raisers from the northern part of Okinawa and the Motobu peninsula are held to discuss the care, breeding, and marketing of pigs. These farmers have come a long way from the earlier days, even 25 years ago, when the toilet and the pig pen were the same. A farmer going from one of his fields to another often stops home to look at the pigs and perhaps to discuss his problems with
[474] a friend. In Matsuda, a pig growers' association has now been started.

Domestic animals, especially the pig, can be expected to increase
231 and to reach at least their pre-war level, if the villages studied are typical. This development will be all to the good. The pig consumes food not fit or not used for human consumption. It does not compete with humans for food. It is unlikely that land now devoted to the production of human food would be diverted to animal food. In my observation, there is not a strong competition between animals and man for the products of the land. Domestic animals really round out the agriculture and consume food that otherwise would not be used.

The lack of grazing land, except on the hill sides and summits,
[311] means that domestic animals must be fed with food grown and prepared and fed to them by the farmer. Grazing also would be out of the question since the land on the hills is privately owned and split up in small parcels. The young plants are valued too highly to permit indiscriminate grazing.

Goats are cheaply raised. The only expense is the labor of
[435] getting leaves, grass, and tender shoots from the family's genya land on the hills. In the market, goat is the cheapest of all meats. There are also sharp differences in taste among villagers for goat's
[262] meat. The milk is not used as a food. Goats are tied up or kept in stalls for their entire life. They are never allowed to roam through the village or to graze on the hill sides. They are not given water and depend entirely on the water in the grasses and shoots which they are fed.

Horses, cattle, and oxen are fed grasses, mashed sweet potatoes, and waste bean curd. Though occasionally used in rice fields, the
[492] chief use of horses is in drayage. In Matsuda, the horse and the two wheeled cart make frequent trips to the mountains to transport the longpoles, firewood, and charcoal.

235 Chickens are fed anything that might be on hand. Often they are given the chaff from the rice or the rice that is blown off in
[262] winnowing. Occasionally chickens are eaten, but they are kept primarily

for eggs, which are reserved more for sale than as a food, though this varies with the well-being of the family. 235 262

10

Conclusion

The agricultural village, with its sweet potatoes, rice, soybeans and cane, its domestic animals, and its dependence on wild grasses illustrates the complex relationships between man and the land, bound together by the family system. The pattern of land ownership, a product of past land tenure, and inheritance, has been created by the family system. The land everywhere bears these traces of the work of man. Not even the barren mountain tops are exempt from his activities, for these supply the fresh grasses for his animals, grass for his roofs and for fertilizer, odd brush for his fires, stones for his fences and boundary ridges. The scarcity of land, the ownership of small scattered plots have induced a local care, through traditional conservation practices and fertilization and crop rotation to maintain a continued economic base for the future of the main and the branch families. 182

Within the family system, there is a tendency toward the persistence of the same occupation from generation to generation. Agriculture has the widest range of possibilities. The extremely old and the extremely young can engage in it. There is a place for the 80 year old grandmother cutting sweet potato tops, and for the nine year old boy to help in weeding the rice paddy. Agriculture demands no retirement from work as long as one has physical strength. Agriculture may readily become a secondary occupation. A stonecutter or a fisherman can tend his land in leisure hours or in off season. The reverse is not nearly so common. Only with difficulty can the farmer acquire the skills and tolerances demanded of a fisherman. It is an occupation known to all, for by maturity a storehouse of information has already been filled, almost unconsciously, by watching and doing. [463] [887] [857]

226 most important.

226 (1) The sword or spearfish (kajiki in Japanese, akitere in
136 Okinawan). This fish (some specimens reach 450 pounds) is caught
[227] from May through September. Fishermen go about 12 miles out for the catch. A wire leader 15 feet long with a hook is attached to a 1400 foot braided cord line about 3/16 of an inch in diameter. The line is gradually played out after the initial 700 feet are lowered. Swordfish fishing is done in the daytime. The fish is said to be scarce at night. The hook is about 2 1/2 inches long.
262 The swordfish is considered the most delicious of fish. It is ex-
[435] pensive, selling from Y50 to Y100 per kin (slightly over 1.3 pounds)
[432] depending on season and supply; consequently, fishermen sell rather than eat it, except in times of oversupply. Large fish are usually cut up before being sent to market; the small ones are sent whole. The swordfish is ordinarily eaten fresh. The favorite method of
[252] preparation is to fry it after dipping a slice in a batter of flour, dried milk and water. Occasionally it is eaten raw as sashimi. Dried swordfish is considered a delicacy. Unlike the shark, the fins (hane) are not dried.

226 (2) The tunny (subinouo in Japanese, subi in Okinawan). This
136 fish is caught between April and November. Here there are two ways
[221] of catching the fish, depending on the type of boat. If the large boat, the hatsudōki, is used a long line with as many as 200 hooks set 75 feet apart is used. At intervals of every three hooks, there are buoys with flags (hata). These flags, alternately white and red, are about the size of a large handkerchief. In another arrangement, the buoys may also alternate with the flags. The same line and wire leader used for the swordfish are employed with tunny catching, but the hook is smaller. When submerged the hooks are at various depths, their paths describing semi-circles from buoy to buoy. Lines may be pulled in from one to four times a day, depending on the biting. The bobbing of the buoys and the flags indicates the biting and the probable catch. A fishing party remains out for three days, leaving at five in the evening, returning about ten in the evening of the second day.

The small boats use two lines, the longer going down from the center of the boat, the shorter near one end. The method of catching the tunny is the same as that for the swordfish. In night fishing, the line might be lowered fifty feet, gradually playing out ten feet at a time. Tunny fishing is mostly a night catch. The line during night operations may be let out 700 feet, and, in the day 350 feet.

(3) The shark (fuka in Japanese). This fish is caught in the same way as the tunny. Fishing takes place both during the day and night. On the small boats, the line and its 15 foot leader with one hook, is about 840 feet long, and the entire length is let out.

(4) The mackerel (hishisaba). The main season for catching the mackerel is from March through May. These fish, usually weighing about 30 pounds, are caught by divers who seek the fish out while it is sleeping under stones. A strong line is tied around the tail and the fish is pulled up on board. There it is killed with a short

226
136

(9) The lobster, (ebi in Japanese, ibi in Okinawan). Catching the lobster is the work of young men, usually up to 24 years of age. A man over 35 may be too old for the hard work involved. Occasionally in summer older men engage in part time lobster catching. The fisherman secures a flashlight, covered with sheet rubber, around his left wrist with a strong rubber band. The rubber casing for the flashlight [220] is often an old bicycle inner tube. The light can be turned on or off without removing the tubing. In his right hand, the diver holds a hook (ebikake in Japanese, ibikakiya in Okinawan) over 25 inches long, which he uses to dislodge the lobsters from the rocks below. Often fishermen remain in the water for three hours, the period depending on the season, the potential catch, and on how cold the fisherman becomes. The diver wears only a pair of shorts. The lobster is a year round catch, though there are few in winter. The full moon is considered bad for lobster fishing. It is not known exactly how lobster were caught in the days before flashlights. Some old men said that nets were used.

[432] On a good day, one small boat with three or four men, can catch 150 pounds of lobster. It is not eaten frequently by the villagers, [474] but sold to the large fishing co-operative association (Suisankumiai-rengokai). The hard and disagreeable work makes the lobster expensive. [435] At present the local market is sensitive to the tastes of the Americans in Okinawa. Weekly estimates of probable demand are furnished by the [434] central office of the association to the local head of the fisherman's association, who in turn informs the fishermen. The lobster is considered a delicacy and is eaten only when there is a large catch and [262] the demand is low.

(10) The seabream (taisakana in Japanese, akamasu in Okinawan). The seabream is caught with a home made device shaped like a Y with a top bar: Ȳ. The base of the Y has a loop for the hook and line. [227] These wire devices are known as yamaguchi in Okinawan though the younger fishermen call it the sarukan. The fish are caught by a series of these wire devices strung along a line with a sinker at the end. The success of the catch can be judged by lifting the line. An ordinary catch will bring fish on 3 out of the 5 hooks.

These are the main fish caught in this area. There are small catches of the bonito (katsuo), the dolphin or porpoise (iruka), and the shrimp (zakoebi), and a small octopus (tako). But these are rather infrequent. There are hundreds of other fish caught, especially of different smaller sardines (awaishi).

227 The wire devices used for catching the seabream can be used in varying sizes to catch many different types of fish. Some, such as the ones described, are used for the bonito, and very small ones are employed in catching sardines.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

512 821 A fishing village has a different kind of regularity than an agricultural village. Activities in both are determined by the weather. During a heavy rain, everyone is in his house. But the farmer, even with a dark angry sky, can work up to the storm, and often continues working in a mild rain. The fishing village is guided both by bad and anticipated bad weather. On a fine fishing day, the village seems deserted with the men gone, and the women in the homes. But several days of rain or unfavorable weather keep the men home, and the village is alive with other activities, such as repairing nets, boats, and houses. Much of the fisherman's work at sea is at night, either in the actual fishing or in going and coming. [513] For this reason, there is considerable daytime sleeping among them. On off days, the young fishermen loll around, often finding it difficult to pass the time away.

9

Conclusion

226 184 Fishing has become the occupation of a few places, such as Itoman town, some villages on the Motobu peninsular, and Minatogawa. Ryukyuans have achieved considerable fame for their skill in fishing in waters other than their own, such as their drive-in net fishing in the East Indies and around Singapore.[3] Possibly it is the fewness of good ports, the necessity of adapting requirements to varying local geographical conditions, such as the coral reefs, or the long period of emigration that have prevented the large scale development of fishing on this island and insured the dominance of an agricultural life.

262 It is also a striking fact that, on this small island where no village is far from the sea, fish is an uncommon article of the diet. The explanation is simple. It is a problem of distribution in which [435] two considerations are involved: the higher prices obtainable in Naha, [251] and the difficulties of preserving fish while distributing them through [439] the rural villages. More often than not, the fish in a farmer's diet is the dried sardine or a canned fish from Japan, not the local catch.

Part 2

The Quarries of Minatogawa-Nagamo

1

Introduction

324 Minatogawa is famous throughout Okinawa for its stone. Stone from the village and its environs may be seen in many towns and villages [458] of the island. Before the war, there was a flourishing boat trade in wood and stone between Minatogawa and the northern region. The fine

3 For a recent statement, see Aquatic resources of the Ryukyu area, as cited, 7-9.

249 forced a return to crushing the cane by the use of rollers driven by a horse at the end of a sweep. Before the war, Matsuda had sugar mills driven by machinery. Mills may either be village
423 owned, as in Hanashiro, or owned by small co-operatives, like that
[427] in Matsuda whose members rent it to others when not using it themselves.

443 Village stores generally occupy the front part of a family's living quarters. They are operated mainly by women. A woman past
[467] middle age sitting on the floor of her shop, talking with visitors or reading the paper, is a familiar sight in an Okinawan village. A village may have several tiny stores. They do not compete with one another in the commercial sense of the word. Prices are the same. Their inventories are the standard ones. The chief differences are in size and variety. Some sell the strong alcoholic
[273] drink (awamori) called sake in Okinawa.

Each storekeeper has a clientele of friends and relatives, but one is not under social obligation to repeatedly trade at the same place. Relatives sometimes own adjoining shops. In Japan,
[171] it is said that once a person starts trading at a shop he continues to do so. To switch would deprive the shopkeeper of business that could be counted on, and imply dissatisfaction with the service rendered. The first purchase creates mutual obligations between the storekeeper and his customer which are not broken casually.[1] This is not the case with these village stores. One patronizes the shop that is convenient, that is open when one wants to buy, that has the desired article. There is an informal atmosphere and lack
[434] of bustle in these tiny shops because so many are operated for supplementary income by wives or female relatives of the breadwinner. A wife may sit in her shop, as I have often seen her in Minatogawa,
[404] taking care of her baby, sewing on her treadle sewing machine, and interrupting her work when necessary for a customer. The cash involved is small, often only a few yen, and money is carefully accounted for. These shops satisfy a surprising amount of the village demand for food, food supplements, notions, clothing, and household goods. Larger, more expensive, or more specialized items such as books, suits, furniture are in the towns like Itoman or Naha in the south, or Nago and Ishikawa in the north.

An inventory of one of these village stores indicates the types of articles in frequent and constant demand. In one typical store in Minatogawa the following purchases could be made:

Foods

[262] Starch
[272] Condensed milk for children

1 I was told this by Japanese and by Nisei who were in Japan during the occupation. I do not know how widespread or how characteristic this practice is of all retail trade there.

Japanese canned fish: mackerel, bonito, clams, whale meat hash 443
Noodles, buckwheat spaghetti and macaroni type pastes 262
Cookies, stored in glass jars, and sold singly
Sweet rolls (manju) from a town bakery, and sweetened bread (pan) 272
Tea
Aji no moto
White sugar
Soy bean oil

Soft Drinks and Candy

443
[272]

Bottled lemon and orange ades
Cocoa Cola
Gum
Various candies sold by the piece, also stored in glass jars on the counter.

Notions

Needles and thread
Buttons of various sizes
Trimmings and ribbons
Braids for making and trimming kimonos
hair pins, and combs

[412]

Clothing

Clogs (geta)
Undershirts
Fibre sandals

[291]

Toilet Articles

Perfumes and toilet waters
Shampoos, liquid and powdered.
Pomades and brilliantines
Toothbrushes
Soaps
Toilet paper

[302]
[515]

Stationery

School tablets and notebooks
Pencils
Comic books (in Japanese)

[212]

Medicines

Aspirin
Stomach powders
Eye lotions

[278]

Alcoholic Beverages

443 Japanese and American canned beer
Japanese type sake (a light rice wine resembling sauterne)
[273] Okinawan sake (awamori)

Miscellaneous

Charcoal sticks
[276] Brass and nickel plated Japanese pipes
Small dishes
[415] Sake bottles
Oil burners to keep mosquitos away
[416] Flashlights, bulbs, and batteries
Matches
Japanese and American tobaccos
Fishing lamps and the ika lamp (fishing villages only)

[437] Transactions are usually on a cash basis, although some customers pay at the end of the week. In one such store, the gross sales averaged ¥600 a day with a net profit of about 10%. (The yen is pegged at 120 to the US dollar). During the day and the early evening, the village
[366] stores are meeting places, especially if, like Hinatogawa, several together make up a small business center.

443 Supplies are delivered to village stores by truck or sometimes by bus. Often the owner goes to the larger towns to buy. Young boys are
444 an important cog in the distribution system. They deliver candies, cookies, and other small articles which are carried in five gallon lard
[850] tins on racks over the rear mudguard of their bicycles. They ride up to the store, count out their candies or cookies, receive payment, and cycle on to the next store over a route which includes several villages. These boys work out of larger towns like Itoman and Nago. Baking goods,
[262] bread (pan) really a sweet dough with a jelly-like filling, cookies and candies are distributed in this manner. Sometimes housewives make cookies and cakes to sell to village stores.

443 There is not much house to house selling or soliciting. Occasionally women come to the villages with a selection of ready made clothing or cloth. In Hinatogawa, an itinerant drug vendor periodically goes through the village ringing his bell, selling various Japanese patent medicines mainly for colds, headaches, constipation, and stomach aches.

444 Import stores (hyukujo), also operated privately, are a different
262 kind of enterprise than the village shop. They have been set up under the American occupation. Larger wholesalers supply the village re-
511 tailers. These stores deal in a restricted number of commodities, such as rice, flour, soy bean sauce, wheat, and cooking oils. Sales are made to villagers on a rationing system based on the number in the family, its age distribution, pregnancy, and whether the head is engaged in heavy
[342] work. The intent of the import stores is to make food available, at reasonable cost, to those who cannot grow their own, or whose own produce

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 , AC7 Okinawa AC7

needs supplementation. Hence, a farmer cannot buy so much as a fisherman. A rice farmer, if he is eligible at all, cannot purchase so much as a sweet potato grower. These stores fill a genuine need. They have alleviated hardship and done much to improve the monotonous pre-war diet. In the villages, they are a concrete reminder of direct American contact. There is not a store in every village, but each village has ready access to one. 444 262 511

The rural blacksmith takes care of the needs of farmers and stonecutters. One such shop in Nagamo serves many villages in the Gushichan area. The forge is of simple construction. The air is blown by a sort of box bellows. The operator sits down, as if he were in a row boat, and by pushing and pulling the handle (which has a T-end grip like a hand pump) moves the piston horizontally back and forth. The blacksmith repairs agricultural and stonecutting tools and makes new tools, chiefly hoes and spikes for the harrow. 326 413

There are no good inns, restaurants or tea houses in the villages. In Itinatogawa a Japanese inn of rude construction and comfort caters to parties for the entertainment of visitors who have business with local people. 265

Getting a haircut or a bath may involve going to another village. Like the stores, barbershops are little social centers, especially during bad weather when villagers are not working and take the opportunity to have their hair cut. 305

2

Mutual Loan Groups

In China and Japan, mutual loan groups have had a long history. In essence, they are groups associated for the purpose of borrowing and lending money, the capital being derived from contributions of the membership. There is an element of chance when members bid against one another or draw lots for a loan.[2] 474 426 [171]

Each member of a loan group advances an agreed upon share. The total amount is then available as a lump sum to one of them as a borrower. The borrower repays principal and interest in monthly installments. The remaining members advance the same amount each on the following month to another borrower. In this way, there is a continuous cycle of lending

2 They are known variously as mo-ai (Japanese), mu-e (Okinawan) tanomoshi and yurei (Japanese). Groups organized on a monthly basis are tsukikiyurei or tsukimoai (Japanese), and on an annual basis as nimu-e (Okinawan), nimmo-ai (Japanese). At present there are no annual groups because of uncertainties regarding the future value of money. Now loans are normally for a 10-12 month period.

474 426 and repayment of principal and interest. Members are involved in these transactions out of different motives. The organizer is usually the one most interested in borrowing money. Other participants may wish to earn interest on spare cash. They are the bankers of the group. Between the person who needs immediate cash and the bankers are those who would like to borrow money during the life of the group but are indifferent as to the precise time, hoping to bid and obtain a loan at a favorable rate to buy a pig or to repair a house.

The most complex of these loan groups were found in Minatogawa. A group may have any number of members; usually there are from 10 to 15, but there may be only five to nine. Each group has a set of regulations (no-ai no kisoku). In Minatogawa money is borrowed for house or boat building, for buying pigs, or for other business purposes.

The first meeting begins with a party given by the persons most [514] interested in starting the group. On the following months, more modest parties given at the homes of other members are in conjunction with the bidding and distribution of the money. The entertainments of the first and last meetings include pork or goat meat, bean curd, [262] tea, and sake. At the first meeting the organizer is the host. Rules are established as to whether the indebtedness shall be put into writing and as to guarantors. (Before the war, occasionally a borrower ran off to Japan or to one of the other islands and was never heard of again). Now a guarantor is required, but this is a formality. The [476] system really rests on mutual trust and on the co-operation of friends [517] and relatives of known honesty. One person may belong to several groups. Multiple membership is naturally confined to those with plenty of ready cash who have no immediate use for it. A group whose membership is poor will subscribe from Y100 to Y300 a month, a moderately well-to-do one from Y2000-3000. There are now about 30 in Minatogawa. Members usually are present or former residents of the village. Men and women participate. These gatherings combine business with a friendly social atmosphere so typical of Okinawan business transactions and official contacts. The mats of the room are arranged to form an empty square in the center of the room, and this square becomes a [353] combination counting board and refreshment table.

In one type, the loan is awarded after secret bidding (usually by writing on a piece of paper), the award going to the lowest bidder, for he is offering the highest discount. For example, Y20,000 are available for a loan to be repaid in ten installments of Y2100 each (Y2000 principal and Y100 interest). If a member wants the money badly enough, he may bid Y17,500, accepting that amount and paying back on the basis of Y20,000 plus interest. He thus would get the award over a man who bid at a discount of Y2000 or Y18,000.

In one form of the discount type, the organizer automatically gets the first loan. He does not bid and does not lose by discounting. He has started the group for this purpose. On the second and succeeding months, the bidding is secret and competitive. Assuming ten members pooling Y2000 each the first month, in the second nine members advance

436 175 no native money and used the Japanese cash, and that the Japanese did not permit a native coinage.[2]

436 Up to the war, only bills of low denominations circulated in the villages. In Minatogawa, an old lady, now about 73, said that before the war she had never seen a Y100 note, which at that time was worth slightly over US$25. But since the 19th century, new conditions have pried the farmer loose from barter and self-sufficiency. 434 511 There is little to warrant a belief that rural villages are self-sufficient. The most elementary obligations, such as sending one's children to school, require cash. An average rural family of five may require from Y40-60,000 a year.

Cash outlays include: (1) Entertainment, including the purchase [574] of sake. Entertainment is an integral part of the culture and cannot be dismissed as a luxury. (2) Clothing. (3) Fertilizer. (4) Tobacco. [388] (5) Soap. No soap is made in the home. American soap flakes are highly prized, but generally are not purchased because of the cost. (6) Hair cutting. (7) Food and food supplements, such as noodles [262] and vermicelli types of paste, cooking oils, salt, soy sauce, meat, fish, seaweed (kombu), rice, if not grown and purchases from the import store. (8) Fuel, charcoal, charcoal sticks. (9) Transportation for business or pleasure. (10) Newspapers. Many subscriptions are can- [204] celled when the price goes up. (11) Tools and tool repairs, but maintenance is small after the original investment. (12) School books and [872] contributions to schools for purchasing special items. (13) Medicines and mid-wives' fees. (14) Occasional purchases of lumber, stone, or [651] tile. (15) Taxes.

In the farming areas, sugar and pigs are the only significant 434 sources of cash income. Sweet potatoes, rice, eggs, and soy beans may be sold, but the amounts are either too small or the selling price too low to provide substantial amounts of cash. Occasionally younger sons may have jobs which bring in money, and a farmer or his sons may have a horse cart for hire.

In Minatogawa, cash outlays, in addition to the items already mentioned, are required for nets, gasoline, and oil. Cash comes from sales of fish, pigs, and stone. The lack of rice, an insufficient [511] sweet potato crop for year round needs, imports of firewood from the north and the occasional need to purchase grasses for thatch make this community more dependent on cash than the agricultural community.

The economic problem of the fisherman is also different from that of the farmer. Both the farmer and the fisherman must pay cash for medicines, fertilizer, alcoholic drinks, clothing, various special but traditional articles of the diet, taxes, tools, and supplies. The farmer, however, can produce much of his food. He can exist on sweet potatoes, bean curd, and bean paste soup, and if need be may spend little money on food. The fisherman cannot exist on fish alone. Fisherman without fields must depend on cash earnings to buy the

2 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, Vol. I, 160, 220-21. Chamberlain, The Luchu islands and their inhabitants, Geo. Journal 5 (1895), 313.

553 The first naming of children is done at a ceremony on the day of birth, or on the following day, if the birth took place at night. It is known as umbari. There is a small gathering of [262] relatives. Soup, rice, and a little sake may be served. Ordinary rice or rice cakes (mochigome) may be prepared and put on the [787] Buddhist god shelf. If a boy, the relatives and parents pray for his strength, if a girl for her good health. Umbagi, an Okinawan word, is also known as shichisan no iwai (Japanese). The ceremony precedes the burying of the afterbirth.

553 One important element in the naming of a child on its day of 823 birth is the state of the tide. The child is named only if the tide is coming in. It is not necessary that the tide be high. Perhaps midpoint is the best, though high tide is considered good. Practically everyone can calculate the time when the tide is coming in or out; since they all know the lunar calendar with a cycle completed in 15 days, it is a simple calculation.[6] The explanation always given for calculating the tide on this and other occasions is that when the tide is coming in, fortune and happiness will enter in the new life or the new situation. When the tide is ebbing, everything goes out and away.

852 The real celebration of the birth of a child occurs several days after birth. It usually occurs on the 5th or 6th day counting the birth day. This is known as mansan (Okinawan) and is in honor of the good health of the mother and the child. In Japanese, it is also called muikajari.[7] In all communities studied, the week long all night celebration has disappeared, though the celebration of mansan might last well into the night.

One celebration, observed in Hinatogawa, is probably typical of the thousands that take place every year in rural Okinawa. The guests came early in the evening to the parents' home, or, as in this case, to the home of the child's grandfather, since the father, a first son, lived in his parents' home. The men sat in the first room (ichibansa), [562] the women in the second (nibansa), following custom in parties in which both sexes are present. The head of the house, the grandfather, sat in front of the alcove (tokonoma) of the first room. The child's father [576] sat next to him. Each guest went on his knees, bowed, congratulated the father and presented him with a small money gift. The usual gift [931] is about Y20. This was accepted by the father, who then responded with a short speech. Sometimes these are formal and stiff, sometimes like a simple conversation. The guests also congratulated the

6 The method of computing times of high and low tide will be given later. The tide is important in the marriage ceremony, when moving into a new house, or when moving, in the case of a second or succeeding son, from a main house to establish a branch family, and at a child's party on the first anniversary of its birth.

7 The day was variously given me as 4-5th, 6th, and 7th day after birth. Muika in muikajari means 6th day.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

grandparents. The food was then served: noodles cooked with vegetables, with a slight fish flavor; rolls; tempura, a sort of fritter; a fish cake known as kamobuko with a red border symbolizing happiness, and plenty of sake (awamori). A streamer hung from the ceiling near the alcove, announcing the name and date of birth of the new born child, together with the written wish that she might live any number of 10,000 year periods. There are no special ceremonies on these occasions. Some guests drop in for a few minutes, others remain for the whole evening. The women and the children go home early, while the men continue talking and drinking. This celebration is the first of a series that continues through a person's life, and if his descendants are devoted, will end 33 years after his death. After this celebration, things settle down until the child's first birthday. 852 [262] [212]

At present a child's age is reckoned in the same way as the Western custom. A child is one year old one year after the date of his birth. This is a recent innovation in force since January 1, 1950. Formerly age was reckoned in the Chinese and Japanese manner. A child born during a year was one year old and on the following New Year became two years of age. Thus a child born on December 27 would be two on January 1. The difference between the Chinese-Japanese and the western reckoning is that the former counts the years during which a person lives with New Years as the date for increasing the age, the latter counts the number of one year periods in which a person has lived. 865 [177]

The old system of reckoning age is inconvenient and conceals age differences. A one day difference might mean a year's difference in age in the case of a child born on December 31, and another on January 1. Determining the actual age of a person was troublesome. When children started to school, they might be 6, 7, or 8 years old and still be about the same actual age.

4

The Early Years

In all the villages studied, the women returned to their normal tasks about a month after childbirth. When the mother returns to the fields, the grandmother may accompany mother and child to the fields, the grandmother watching the child, while the mother nurses it at 10, 1, and 4. If the grandmother is too old and disabled, the child might stay home with the grandmother and the mother return from the fields to feed the child. Lacking help of this kind, the mother remains at home until the other children have returned from school. 846 854 853 603

But arrangements of this sort need not last long, for very early in life the child is strapped on the back and carried around 854

155 is an impression, and I doubt that Okinawan mothers would agree
114 with me. The toddler stage, in my opinion, is a difficult one for the Okinawan child. It is an abrupt change from the continuous care and physical contact of infancy. This transition need not necessarily be abrupt. A child may be carried some and walk some. As he learns to walk, his mother is near him.

857 When the child is no longer carried, he ceases to be an observer and becomes a participant in play. Formerly he watched the activities of the older children and smiled to the attention when it was given. Now he wishes to catch up with them as they walk down the lanes; he is often left behind and is not fast enough nor expert enough to keep up. This is a problem of childhood everywhere, but I believe here
155 that the transition from one type of activity to another is more drastic. The child also receives less attention from his parents,
855 especially from his mother. This most mothers would deny. But I have often seen parents walking along a village lane, a toddler behind them crying and trying hard to keep up with them. They showed less solicitude and patience with him than they had when he was being carried. The mother gives less attention to the child during this period, particularly if she has had another child. In this, I do not mean to imply any lack of kindness or tenderness in the treatment of children, but to point out a change of emphasis. There is much more crying in the 2 to 3 year age groups than among infants who cry very little because they are entertained so much.

The toddler not only has the problem of becoming a participant in play, but of getting along without the close attention of the mother, his elder sisters, and possibly brothers.

855 Children are rather regularly spaced. The middle child of the
[842] lower three is most likely to be neglected. The baby is on the mother's back; he gets his breast feeding and is always with the mother. The older child has started to school or is leading an active play life. The middle child, too young for school and only tolerated by the older child who has his own interests, is too old for the breast and the back. The successful transition from the back carrying and breast feeding stage to walking and to the stage of independent play seems most successful when there are many children of the same age in the village, and consequently absorption in play can replace the intimate attention of parents and older siblings. A father may fill in this gap, allowing his young child to accompany him to work, but this experience generally belongs to a later period of childhood.

853 As the infant grows, nursed by the mother, he gradually receives
262 other foods, but the variety depends on the economic status of the family. The first food (other than the mother's milk) is rice water. Later rice is made into a gruel. The rice is soaked and mashed up in a quern. Families who have rice fields, or who can buy rice, may delay feeding the sweet potato to the child until the third year. Among the poor, sweet potato feeding begins much earlier. One

mother, for example, fed her child rice gruel (o[illegible]) at eight months and at the age of one year the child began eating sweet potatoes. By the time the child is ready to walk and play, he often carries with him a piece of sweet potato, and, in season, a piece of sugar cane. 853 262

A party is held on the first birthday anniversary of the child. This is more elaborate than the one which honored his birth. Birthdays are not celebrated each year. After the first anniversary, the next are on the 13th, 25th, 37th, 49th, and 61st birthdays, that is, at twelve year intervals. 852 527

The party for the first birthday of a child is particularly tender and affectionate. At one year, he can walk or stumble, and answer or smile to the calls of his parents and grandparents. He can pick up things, throw them, and make his presence felt. The exhibition of these skills becomes part of the celebration. It is customary to invite both relatives and friends, who bring a small money present, from Y20 which is usual to Y100 which is uncommon. [856]

During the party, the child is given several symbolic gifts. These are placed on a low table in the middle of the room which the child can easily walk to and reach. Usually the gifts are a book, a fountain pen (or a writing brush, fude), an abacus (soroban), and a stack of paper money. These symbolize the wish that the child will become proficient in learning, writing, counting and mathematics, and will become rich. The child is eagerly watched as he unsteadily toddles to the table to see which article he picks up first. While the act is not taken seriously, the article which the child picks up first is supposed to indicate the field of endeavor in which he will be most fortunate. 527 852 431 [212] [802] [554]

These parties, small or large, include men, women, and children, but the majority of the guests usually are men. After the child has gone to bed, the party continues. In more formal and larger parties, the guests first come up to the father, go on their knees, bow, and make a short speech of congratulation. Sometimes these speeches sound as if they are prepared beforehand, other times as if they are spoken spontaneously. There is an exchange of sake between the father and his guest, both sipping from the same cup, the usual custom. The mother and the female relatives during this time are in the kitchen preparing the food. 852 527 [576] [537]

Women sit by themselves. This is true of all celebrations when the sexes are together. Women do not drink. (In a similar party near Matsuda, the old women--usually over 60--drank a little). The jolly old women also love to dance solos in the traditional style. They dance with grace and vigor. The evening progresses without any planned entertainment. There is talking and drinking, singing, and samisen playing. Men, with a repertoire of Okinawan songs, sing in [562] [535] [387] [533]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Husband and wife usually are from the same village, but there are many exceptions. Marriages of persons from different villages have increased in the past decade. This probably should be ascribed to the greater mobility of the people and to the acceptance of free choice in marriage. It is common, for example, for a Matsuda boy to marry a Ginoza village girl. It is also common for a boy in Minatogawa to marry a girl from the nearby agricultural villages of Hanashiro, Asato, or Gushichan. This apparently is a distinct change from earlier practices. 582 621

If the family registers are accurate, the great majority of the men living in a village were born there; it is the wives who are more likely to be the newcomers. In the social structure of village life, it is the men who provide the continuity; the women are more likely to be strangers. The husband may point to his father and grandfather who live or have lived in the village; fewer wives can do the same. 591

2

The Marriage Ceremony

In my experience, no two marriage ceremonies in Okinawa are alike. Marriages take place at any time of the year, but in all three villages, they were more commonly held in the late fall or in winter. The reasons given are that the heavy clothing and elaborate headdress of the bride are not suited to the hot and humid summer and that these can be more comfortably worn in the cool winter months. The marriage feast with its fish cakes, meats, vegetables, and a variety of other perishable foods can be more easily prepared and kept in winter. In the agricultural villages, the ceremony usually takes place after the day's work; in the winter the reception may start by 5 and the main ceremonies are over by 8 in the evening. 585 [262]

Description of a ceremony at Matsuda. The party began about 5 in the afternoon. Because of the large number of guests, the primary school was used for the ceremony. At the head of the first room, the grandfather and grandmother of the groom, the groom, his father, and the go-between were seated. Other relatives of the groom found places around the sides. Later the father of the bride, who arrived shortly before his daughter, joined this group. The go-between, a young man of 24, was a friend of the couple, and his wife was a member of the groom's family. 585 576

In the other rooms, opening into one another, about 300 guests, mostly men, were assembled. During the reception and before the beginning of the ceremony, guests representing their families entered the first room to congratulate the father, the groom, and the grandparents. In this period of congratulation involving the father, the groom, and the guest, there was an exchange of sips of sake from a common cup. As in other instances of congratulation, some speeches were long, some short, some well prepared, others extemporaneous. [537]

date of their birth (using the Japanese reign date), where they had gone to school and their present occupations. This was done separately for each. After this was over, the bride and groom stood silently and politely, but without outward expression, while three guests in turn, previously chosen, made speeches, offering their congratulations and best wishes. On this particular occasion, the principal of the school at which the bride was teaching, the principal of the school at which the groom was a teacher, and a mutual friend of the couple spoke. 585 576 [537]

These proceedings do not receive the undivided attention of the guests who have been drinking sake for some time. On the tops of the tables, dancing in the traditional Okinawan manner and the accompanying singing have begun. The dances and songs, usually performed by men in their forties and fifties, were done with grace. These are part of all social gatherings of any consequence. 585 [273] 535 533 [562]

The sober attitudes of the work day are cast aside. The best clothes have been put on. There is a great contrast between the barefooted partially clothed farmer or fisherman of the daytime and his appearance at social occasions. These events are conducted with dignity and poise, at least until the sake consumption has risen to a high point. The party then becomes a noisy melee of dancing, singing, and talking, but without quarrelling or fighting. There is little self-consciousness in entertaining others. Talented guests do not have to be cajoled into performing. Dancing, singing, and samisen playing continue spontaneously, with another performer beginning after one has finished. The wedding party lasts from about 5 to 8, but many of the guests stay much later until the sake is gone. [297] [534]

Following the san-san-kudo, another but more private ceremony took place while the guests were entertaining themselves. In the wedding room, colored cakes and tea were placed on a small table. The female relatives of the bride and groom, mothers and sisters mostly, sat opposite one another and ate cakes and drank the tea together. This ceremony indicated the willingness of the bride's family to give up the daughter, and of the groom's family to receive her. After this ceremony, the bride's gifts from her parents were carried in. These vary with the family's wealth. In this case, they were a chest of drawers, a mirror, a heavy comforter, pillows, and a mosquito net. Before the war, gifts were more lavish than now. The usual presents now are a large chest of drawers (tansu), two heavy quilts or comforters (futon), a mirror (kagami), two Japanese type pillows (makura), and a large mosquito net (kaya). A poor family would be most likely to omit the chest of drawers. A new kimono and money may be included. [262] 583

A Y20 note is the usual gift of an ordinary guest at a wedding. Closer friends will give about Y100. There is no uniform practice about gifts from the groom's to the bride's family. About Y1000 may be presented prior to marriage. The bride's family uses the money to purchase the wedding gifts. 431

The day following the marriage, there is another ceremony, this 000

585 following the marriage, there is another ceremony, this time for relatives and perhaps a few close friends. The couple go to the bride's house where there is food and sake. This means the husband has really and finally accepted the daughter of the house and is thanking her parents for her.

But these events also are not observed uniformly. On the second day, there may be a gathering of friends and relatives, to be followed on the next day by visits of the bride, groom, and the groom's friends and relatives to the bride's home to give thanks for receiving the girl in marriage.

585 The food served at weddings depends on the economic circumstances
262 of the family. But at today's prices food which would be considered acceptable costs at least Y1100 per person including sake. This feast had many extras and consisted of a buckwheat (soba) noodle soup, slices of beef and pork, eggs, tenpura, a fritter without a fish or meat filling, sweet potatoes, a vegetable salad of raw radish, green onion and sea weed shoots, bean curd, a boiled fish paste, rice cakes, and a sweet round fritter (sato tenpura) very much resembling the doughnut in taste, various cakes, and a sponge cake (kasutera).

585 The marriage ceremony is performed only when the tide is coming in,
[823] for the same reasons that were noted with the birthday celebration of the child. Marriage is a time of bounty and fulfillment, not of diminution and withdrawal.

585 There was a "very ancient" Okinawan custom, cited by Spencer on
114 the authority of Shimabuku Genkichi, the student of Okinawan history, of the bride remaining in the home of her parents even after marriage, and the husband coming to her home to spend the nights with her. This Spencer ascribed to the high economic value of the woman and the custom at the time of Spencer's writing (1931) was still said to exist in parts of the northern district (Kunigami) of Okinawa.[3] The temporary return of the wife to her home after her marriage, while the husband
[548] went to a public brothel was also an old custom.[4]

585 The preceding description of a wedding ceremony in Hateuda may be
184 compared with one seen in Ushichan village close to Hanashiro. (Rural weddings are not so easy to see as one might think. There may be only one or two in a year in a village; when the parties are from different villages, the number in any one village is also reduced). In this

3 Spencer, as cited, 96. In my studies at Hateuda (which is in the Kunigami district) and in visits to Oku on the extreme northern part of the island, I did not encounter any indication of the survival of this custom. But unfortunately I was unaware of their previous existence and there may well be survivals in some of the villages.

4 Simon, Beitrage zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, 97.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

The Daily Diet

There is little variation in the basic diet in any of the villages. Among individual families, the chief difference is in the proportion of sweet potatoes to rice; this depends on economic status and the possession of rice fields, the poorer the family, the greater the reliance on the sweet potato. Except for seasonal foods, the diet is uniform throughout the year. Neither is there much variation in the three meals. The basic foods are: 262 [511] 262 264 272

For breakfast: A soup made out of hot water and bean paste, perhaps with bits of fish or meat added, sweet potatoes, and tea.

For lunch: Rice or sweet potatoes, raw, boiled or fried vegetables, and tea.

For dinner: Bean paste soup, rice if possible, or sweet potatoes, bean curd, and tea.

The foods which supplement these basic items are: (1) Fresh fish in season, uncommon for the reasons given in Chapter X. Imported dried sardines and canned fish from Japan are more common in agricultural villages than fresh fish. Even in Hinatogawa, fresh fish is scarce when the catch is light. In summer, the fish is too valuable to eat and only unsold fish is eaten. (2) In Hatsuda village, rice and pork are more frequently eaten than in the two southern villages. Rice and pork consumption is indicative of a higher standard of living. Many families have rice twice a day. Beef may be boiled, and with vegetables added, made into a soup. In the winter, the Japanese dish sukiyaki may be eaten, but the meat in this dish is often meagre. 262 [184] [511] [252]

There are many occasional foods or side dishes of which the following are the most common: (1) bean curd (tōfu). This is made at home by women. (2) Taro (sato imo) boiled and eaten as a side dish. (3) A sweet or unsweetened fritter (tenpura). Japanese tenpura usually is shrimp or other fish fried in batter. Okinawan tenpura may or may not have a filling. Frequently the filling is a paste of brown sugar, or a slice of sweet potato. At celebrations, they may have a meat or a fish filler. (4) The rice cake (mochi) made of glutinous rice (mochigome). (5) Buckwheat paste (soba), and (6) noodles (sōmen). These are fairly cheap and are always purchased. (7) Bread (pan). This is a slightly sweetened large bun, normally with a little jam or jelly filler. The bun is baked in the large towns and distributed generally by boys on bicycles to the village stores. (8) Boiled or pickled radishes, boiled pumpkin cut in small squares and served with a piece of fish or meat. (9) Onion tops and spinach boiled with a seasoning of fish, chicken, or beef. (10) Various vegetables in season. 262 252

000 vegetables in season.

262 On special occasions, cookies, cakes, and more fresh fish and meat are served. In Okinawa any food out of the ordinary is called a feast or a treat (gochisu). Fresh fish, fish cakes, beef, pork make up a feast, for these are seldom served in the routine meal. Fish, pork, and beef are universally liked, but fish is hard to get, beef is expensive, and pork is a source of cash income. Many families eat pork only at New Year.

By almost any standard, including their own, the daily Okinawan diet is monotonous and unappetizing. Nevertheless the present diet is an improvement over the pre-war one. Most villagers said that before the war, the diet consisted of the sweet potato and bean paste soup. Bean paste soup usually has a few shreds of meat or fish in it. In times of scarcity, or if the family is very poor, only the paste is used, and when this is dissolved in hot water, it makes a kind of clear bouillon which is jokingly referred to as "mirror soup" (kagami miso) because one can see his face in it. In Okinawan, it is also called "nothing in it soup" (nnshiru). Since the war, the rice imports from Java, Siam, Egypt, and other foods sold through [839] import stores have provided more variety.

Goats are a cheap source of meat, but many do not like goat's 272 meat. The milk is not used for human consumption.

Tea is served at all hours. Many Okinawans, however, have acquired a taste for coffee. Tea is steeped in a large pot and [915] placed on a tray with the cups. Once made, tea stays in the pot until it is drunk. Frequently it is lukewarm or cold. Callers are [574] served tea and small chunks of brown sugar, picked up with chopsticks. Sugar is never used to sweeten tea. There is considerable eating [264] between meals, especially if visitors drop in. Women prepare a bowl of noodles, of cooked vegetables, fry an egg, or slice up some bean [262] curd. Villagers eat enormous quantities of food.

The people are very hospitable, but hospitality does not take 574 the form of inviting friends to dinner except on special occasions, like a birthday celebration or a wedding. One family does not entertain another at dinner, but an individual member of a family who has worked at a friend's house may stay for an evening meal. Or a child may eat with the family of his playmates. Entertaining does [562] not include a man and his wife. The wife normally stays at home.[1]

1 In Hinatogawa, I was told that the beginning of the preparation of the meal was a sign for the visitor to return home. This was not due to the broad hint of the host but to the reserve (enryo) of the visitor. "Hnun ni wariu" (Okinawan) "to be pressed by food" is said by those returning home at these times. One goes home at meal times.

The tomb is revisited on the 7th day. Rice cakes, bean curd, and a little sake may be taken as offerings. The food items vary. Pork, rice, and tea may be added or substituted. The offering may consist of a variety of favored foods (a gochisō, a feast or a treat). The observances on the 14th, 21st, 28th, 35th, and 42nd day are like the preceding ones, though beginning with the 35th day, the prayers and the food offerings may be more elaborate. 765 [262]

The 49th day has special significance. At this time, the temporary white memorial tablets are removed from the god shelf and burned, and the permanent tablets hung there. This god shelf has the tablets of the immediate family in the male line: the father, grandfather, the mother and grandmother, or of deceased children. A son who establishes a branch family has a god shelf in his own house. While I found no unanimity on the point, many interpreted the 49th day as the day on which the deceased is presumed to have become a god (hotoke-san). Others have said this did not take place until the 33rd year after death, certainly a more logical time, since the observances cease at this time. On the 49th day, there are visits to the tomb and prayers before the god shelf at night. As the last of a series of observances which follow closely after death, the food offerings and the food served to guests are much more sumptuous than those of previous weeks. [778] [776]

In the annual anniversaries, differences depend on family piety and economic status. With some families, observances become more elaborate as the years go by. The prayers and the feast of the 1st and 3rd years are usually the same as that of the 49th day. Beginning with the 7th year the rice may be dyed red. Rice dyed red is used as the years from the date of death increase. In all cases, the 33rd year is the last and the most luxurious of the celebrations. The occasion begins with prayers at the god shelf, the food offering, sake, followed by a banquet for the guests, most of whom are relatives. This 33rd year celebration is the final recognition of a person's life on earth as a member of the family and ends the responsibility for observing the anniversary of his death. 769

Though rare, a family may call on a Buddhist priest to officiate at one of these memorial observances. One service, in memory of a fourth son who had died in the Philippines in 1944, was observed in Minatogawa. The priest received from the father the name, age, and place of death of his son and wrote this information on a piece of paper. The chant began with the tapping of a small bell (inkin), ringing which was repeated frequently throughout the service. The chant, which lasted about 25 minutes, was sung in an archaic Japanese which no one understood. Toward the end, the priest read the paper on which he had written the information regarding the deceased. These were the only words which could be clearly understood. The purpose here was to inform the Buddha of the name of the dead. The priest wore a black robe with gold trimming. Around his neck was a string of beads (zuzu) with a pendant purple tassel. He sat in the front of the first room with the father of the dead boy on his right. The women guests were in the second room. As the long chant continued, people began talking to one another, and when the priest 769 793 788 [292]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

By the 7th day, the reminders of New Year have been cleared away. The old offerings are taken from the god shelf and replaced by new food. The rice straw rope, if any, has been removed. 527

Of all the holidays New Year is the most eagerly anticipated and the most varied in its activities. It combines ideas of renewal and new beginnings with worship of the dead and of the founders of the village, as well as being a means of making closer ties with more distant relatives of the extended family. It is a time of work and some pleasure for the women, a time of relaxation and drinking for the men.

2

Jūrokunichi

The second public holiday, Jūrokunichi (literally 16th day) is on the 16th day of the 1st lunar month (February 21, 1951). This is a holiday of devotion and prayer at the family tomb. Worshippers go singly or in a group. The tomb is cleaned and food is left for the dead. 769 [796]

In Hanashiro, food is taken in two lacquer boxes (jūbako) the first of which contains rice cakes, the second, fritters, meat, bean curd, and other food depending on the resources of the family. For the first observance after death, two boxes are taken on this holiday. On succeeding anniversaries only the box containing the fritters, meat, bean curd and other foods is taken.[1] The purpose of this offering is to comfort the dead. The food, usually with tea and sake, is left before the tomb for about two hours and taken home, where it is eaten. (Offerings at tombs or at home are only temporary; later they are removed and eaten as ordinary food). The lacquer boxes may also be taken on New Year, at the spring equinox, and at O-Bon. [262] [415]

In Hinatogawa, descendants of the former nobility or gentry (shizoku) take four boxes, two of rice cakes, two of the miscellaneous foods, while descendants of commoners take two boxes, one of the rice cakes, and one of the assortment. Every year the same offering is made. It is not reduced to one box after the first. In Matsuda, any kind of a flower is placed by the tomb. A lacquer box with food is prepared for all who died during the preceding year, but it remains on the god shelf in the house and is not taken to the tomb. The contents of the two boxes are as previously described. On succeeding anniversaries after the first, plates instead of lacquer boxes are used. [565] [262]

1 The idea behind this is not clear. Possibly in the first year the dead person requires more food and comfort than in succeeding ones. As they do with so many other practices, most Okinawans explain it by saying that it is shūkan (the custom).

3

Celebrations Through the Festival of the Fifth Month

796 The 15th day of the second lunar month (March 22, 1951) is the Buddhist holiday, higan, celebrating the spring equinox. Here it is a home festival of thanksgiving. Barley (ōmugi) or barley cakes
[262] with brown sugar are offered with prayers for continued good fortune. Other grains, such as rice, millet (awa) may be offered, though the cakes (mugimochi) are of barley. In Hatsuda, this is not a home ceremony. An offering of white rice cakes is made by the village
[193] head man, with the assistance of lower orders of the former priestess system, at the site of the village patron deity.

527 The third day of the third month is the festival of the dolls, (hinamatsuri). It is not important in Okinawa and is spottily ob-
[524] served. In Hinatogawa, it is a woman's holiday. Women and children
[562] make dolls. Gifts of dainties and candies in red lacquer boxes are prepared. People from nearby villages come to Hinatogawa, bring their lunches, and gather shells and catch fish.

The fifth day of the fifth month is Boy's Day. This Japanese holiday is not significant in the villages. There may be banners with a picture of a carp (koi no bori) displayed, visits to the place of the patron deity, some visiting and sanisen playing, and perhaps a play.

527 The 14th day of the 5th month (June 18, 1951) is the festival of the Gods of the Sea and is observed only in Hinatogawa. It is
526 this village's greatest celebration. The boat race, held on this day, attracts many from the interior villages. In Hanashiro, most activity ceases while everyone goes to the boat races. Before the
[178] races, the villagers go to the religious sites to make small offerings
[182] and to pray. The races are held in the estuary of the river. In their excitement, children with infants on their back often wade out in the water to cheer their favorite boat.

796 The Festival of the Fifth Month (Gogatsumatsuri) is held on the 15th day of the 5th lunar month (June 19, 1951). Like the festival of the
[193] spring equinox, it is a day of thanksgiving. Thanks are given for rice instead of for barley. In Hatsuda, the ceremony is conducted by the village head man and former members of the priestess system.[2]

[114] 2 According to a Hatsuda informant, women should not sew on this
[825] day. It is a rest day. If work is done, including gathering plants for fertiliser, the dreaded poisonous snake, the habu, will come. These customs were not encountered in the other villages.

[527] Young girls with pots of hot tea circulated in the audience. The
[272] stage performance was a combination of local amateur talent and
[535] professionals from Naha. Normally the entertainment begins with a traditional Okinawan dance by a professional woman dancer, followed by a short skit. Conversations in Okinawan between an educated man
[536] and a stupid rustic are favorite subjects. Acts of this type are greatly enjoyed and cause laughter, mainly I was told because the jokes had sexual overtones. The shorter acts are followed by a play. (The theme of this play will be discussed in the following chapter).

6

Other Holidays of the Year

Chrysanthemum day, the ninth day of the ninth month (October 9, 1951), is a very minor holiday. A chrysanthemum is put in sake, and
[824] the flask is placed on the god shelf. A leaf of the plant is put in the sake when it is drunk. People at this time wish one another good health. The festival is only spottily observed.

There is a minor public holiday, the rice cake festival (mochi no matsuri), said to be native to Okinawa, on the 8th day of the 12th lunar month (January 4, 1952). On the day before, women prepare red
[262] and white cylindrical rice cakes, about 4 inches long and one inch in diameter. These are wrapped in the leaf of the sannin plant or in the
[252] leaves of sugar cane. The glutinous rice cake is made by first soaking rice in water and then mashing it in a hand mill. The rice is put in a cloth bag to allow excess water to drip out. The following morning the rice is boiled and shaped and wrapped in the leaves. The cake is doughy and insipid to taste. On the morning of the 8th, the cakes are placed on the god shelf and after prayers the cakes are removed. They are served during the day to guests. Sometimes children attach strings to these cakes and hang them about the room. The holiday is not observed by every family in the village, but it was recognized in all the villages studied.

The festival of the winter solstice, the longest night of the year (tōji) is known, but Hinatogawa was the only place in which its observance was noted. It is a home festival with prayers and the
[769] familiar offering of assorted foods to the ancestors.

Western Christmas is not observed in any of the villages. It would not be surprising if it should become a holiday, with gift
[199] giving, feasting, and drinking, but without the religious connotations. Since the occupation, Okinawans have become conscious of Christmas.[6]

[199] 6 I was told that in certain villages of the northern district, such as Kushi and Higashi near Ogimi that there is a Christmas festival, without the gift exchange, a survival of earlier missionary teaching. Time did not permit me to verify this, but there seems little doubt that a Christmas festival does exist in some Okinawan villages, judging by the frequency with which I heard of it in Matsuda and Ginosa villages.

871 and the more advanced the school, the truer this is. Friendships
are made early with children of nearby villages. Marriage may be
572 the result of early school acquaintance, encouraged by the acceptance
of free choice in marriage. A young adult has a scattering of friendships in the villages of his township. These class friendships are strong in school, in the teens, and early twenties. By the late twenties, the circle of friendships has broadened.

182 One of the most significant links between the family, village,
and school is the annual athletic meet (undōkai). It is held in the
526 fall. Preparations for this event are long and involve almost everybody.5

About a month before it is held, the meet is the topic of
526 innumerable conversations. School children practice singing and
athletic dancing drills at home. School teachers, who do most of the
[875] organizational work, practice with painful cacophony on their trumpets and
clarinets. On the streets and lanes of Hinatogawa, young men from 17
[534] to 23 practice broad jumping late into the night. Shortly before the meet, all normal school activities stop. The teachers paint signs, mimeograph programs, and plan the order of the various events. The school officials have interminable committee meetings.

There is much bustle, laundering, hair washing, and cooking in a
village the day before the meet. Special lunches including rice dyed
[262] red, bean curd, slices of fish paste, beef or pork are prepared. This field day is the closest approach to a picnic the Okinawans experience.

In good weather, the meet has a large attendance. A reserved area, with school desks and chairs is set aside for special guests. A person entering the reserved section to take his seat bows to the mayor and the
[576] group, steps forward a few paces, bows again, and takes his seat.

The mayor of the township presides over the meeting relieved by the vice-mayor or other school or village or township officials. On one day of the autumn meet, the mayor remained seated throughout the morning and afternoon in a drizzling rain. It was his duty, assisted by the principal and the teachers of the school, to give out the prizes.

Relay races, girls' dances, races and dashes for various age groups are endless. At present, the meeting is not confined to school children, but the younger men and women are included as well. The Young Men's Association is very active. Special events are included. In the Women's Association event, there was a mother and child race. In one case, a mother who entered the race with a child on her back and her young son as

[119] 5 These remarks are based on observations in Hinatogawa, Oushichan, and Hanashiro villages, and on attendance at the Oushichan meet in November 1951. From discussions, I am certain they are very similar in Matsuda, in fact all over the island.

512 care of an older sibling or the kindergarten teacher, therefore has a
461 chance to see the mother. Men and women who have gone to the
[855] mountains return with their first load of wood around 10 o'clock. The
mother will return again around noon and prepare the midday meal:
[962] noodle soup, fried cabbage with dried shrimps, perhaps rice, and always sweet potatoes. After lunch there is a short rest period. During the hot summer months this rest extends to an hour or more, and on the hottest days people lie in their houses sleeping during the noon hours. Midday is also a time for social interaction. There is some visit-
[574] ing back and forth. Old people always seek each other's company, and younger ones back from the fields or forest may join them for a while.

512 Toward evening blue smoke indicates again that food is being pre-
[231] pared. Pigs are fed by the women in late afternoon. Then women,
517 young girls, or boys fill water buckets and carry them home. After 5
515 there is a heavy run on the tank or faucets, and this is often the time when families start preparing a bath. It takes until dark to warm up an oil drum filled with water and heated underneath by scraps of wood and twigs. People take their bath after dark. Since the bath house was destroyed during the war, ablutions take place outside near the tank under a faucet or in an old oil drum in one's backyard.

512 Young men who return from the mountains wash their horses in the
[231] sea. The women who sell fish call on each house at this hour to peddle
[938] their wares. The village store, which has only seen a few customers in the morning and during noon, now has its busiest hour. Mothers send their children to buy noodles, kerosene, rice, or seaweed or else they come themselves, a baby on their back or the toddlers following them.

[889] This is also the hour when the young men and women gather to do joint work in the fields of their association or to play volleyball on the playground. Meanwhile, all forest workers have returned and busily cut the last pieces of firewood, bundling them before the store clerk comes along to buy the load. Some adults sit near the playground and watch the children.

512 Work goes on until dark. Only then do families gather for the eve-
264 ning meal. During the summer this may be as late as 8 o'clock. For many families this is the only time during the day when everybody gathers in the family circle. At this time family affairs may be discussed and plans made for the next day's work or other pending matters.

512 The evening meal consists of rice, a bean paste or noodle soup, and
262 some fish. Meat is served occasionally if a goat is killed or on holidays
264 when someone has slaughtered a pig. Most families cannot afford to buy more than small portions of meat, which are fried or made into

soup. Nothing is wasted and leftovers are kept for the next meal. The majority of people are fast eaters, and chopsticks move from bowl to mouth quickly and deftly. Some families eat silently, others enjoy talking during the meal. 512 [267] [269] [521]

Before and after full moon, people like to go out after supper and gather in small groups by the store to talk and smoke or to visit each other. Less running back and forth is observed during dark nights. There is also a seasonal variation in that respect. On cold winter nights, or when it rains, doors are closed early, and visitors slip into the house by the side kitchen door. On warm nights all houses are open, and one can see people sitting in their living room by the light of a kerosene lamp; passers-by just call over and then go in for a chat. Guests are served tea, bits of brown sugar, and other sweets. Men get together at this time and start talking over a cup of sake. A relative or neighbor, bottle in hand, walks in and joins the party. Here and there somebody pulls a samisen out of the corner and starts singing. 512 [574] [521] [262]

Evenings are also the time for village meetings, finance group meetings, family gatherings, and other formal get-togethers. Several times during the week a light shines from the village office or the store office, where some of the village leaders meet to discuss community affairs. In the winter, household-head meetings or other general meetings are called for 8 o'clock; in the summer they do not start until 9 o'clock. In the absence of clocks, few meetings ever start on time. 512 623

The young men and women have their get-togethers at the clubhouse in Udenaha. Both sexes attend, sometimes for lectures by a village official on village affairs, sometimes for lessons in bookkeeping and the use of the abacus in business, for which one village leader dedicates his time, or for other educational purposes. Once a week they have a social evening with discussion and sometimes folk dances. On nights when no meetings are scheduled, young men gather at someone's house to smoke, drink, or sing together. If enough sake is available, parties can become noisy. Occasionally a fight or quarrel starts later in the evening after everybody has drunk steadily. Such interruptions on quiet evenings are rare and seldom occur more than once or twice a month. Loud singing at midnight or later, a group of gay men knocking on somebody's door, these are the only disturbances an early sleeper may experience if a party is held somewhere. 512 883 571 [544] [578]

By 11 o'clock mosquito nets are hung in the rooms and comforters spread on the floor. Except in the house where men gather to drink, quiet descends over the village around that time. Individuals, however, may be seen until long after midnight. Taira goes to sleep late, and although people claim that everyone gets eight hours of sleep, it 512 513

243 offered at the village shrine by the priestess. Today key agricultural
[782] events are still marked by small ceremonies in which the priestess be-
[793] seeches or thanks the gods, but the actual day for planting is determined by weather and the condition of seed.

When the rice is transplanted in March, the whole family spends long hours in the paddy. Then the paddies swarm with people; some prepare the soil by spreading fertilizer, others stand in the ooze to set
[476] the seedlings. Transplanting is done by mutual assistance groups, which will be discussed later in this chapter. They guarantee everyone a sufficient number of helping hands during the painstaking, rapid work, which has to be finished within a limited time. In a few days the whole paddy area suddenly turns from brown into the tender green of the young shoots. Once planted, intermittent weeding is all the care that is needed.

[261] In July the rice turns brown and is ready for harvest. This is an event of joy for the whole village, for young rice is most delicious and
[857] loved by everyone. By then vacations have started, so that schoolchildren can help to cut rice and carry bundles to the spot where it is threshed in treadle-type machines, located either near the field or behind one's house. As soon as the rice is threshed, the grain is carried to a place in the village where the wind blows freely. There a woman holds a flat winnowing basket filled with grain at an angle to let the
[782] breeze separate the chaff from the grain. The first rice is cut by men
[264] and offered at the family shrine before the whole family eats a specially
[251] prepared gruel. Rice is usually stored in one or two oil drums in the kitchen-side corner of the front room. Better houses have a metal-lined
[256] storeroom. Once a week a supply is taken to the miller to be hulled and polished.

Those whose fields are sufficiently wet plant a second crop, and the cycle is repeated once more in midsummer, with the second harvest falling in late December.

244 Sweet potatoes can be planted throughout the greater part of the year if the soil is not too dry. They take from five to seven months to
[262] grow to full size. Although less popular than rice, no part of the plant
[231] is wasted. The large tubers are consumed, the small ones are usually fed to the pigs; the young leaves are used as vegetables, the older ones cooked into pig food. Slips are cut and used for planting a new crop.

The preferred variety of potato (*tadushi imu*) is grown in the dry paddies during the second rice season. To plant this potato, the soil must be piled up to form a long, narrow, flat-topped mound. One of the hardest jobs for farmers, this is done by men in the humid heat of a midsummer day. Women set the slips after the earth has been moved.
[251] These potatoes are the only variety which are thought to improve with

231 Before a piglet is bought, its feeding habits are carefully observed by
[417] the buyer to determine future growing potential. It is then kept in a sty: pigsties are either in the yard near the house or in a cluster of stables on the north edge of the town. Twice a day women cook the food in large kettles and ladle the liquid food into a trough. Nowadays
[262] pork is rarely consumed in the village except for special holidays, when
[438] several families may slaughter pigs and sell part of the meat to everybody through the local store or preserve some of it by salting. Most
[251] farmers, however, wait for the meat buyer from the southern part of
[442] the island from whom they receive a good financial return.

Goats are raised for home consumption. They are never left to graze
[417] but are quartered in a goat pen near the pigsty and fed on grass cut from uncultivated land. Seven families in the central village have
[492] horses. Their main use is to carry firewood from the mountains. The small breed looks like a cross between a horse and pony and seems especially adapted to climb the steep trails. They are also used for plowing and for pulling two-wheeled carts. The owner of a horse
[434] may more than double his income from forest work. Horses are fre-
[427] quently rented out for half the day's income from wood carried by them.

Silkworm raising, an important source of income in Taira before the war, is only now being resumed by some Tairan families. The
[474] larvae are supplied through island-wide silkworm raising associations, which repurchase the cocoons after they are spun. To raise silkworms, a substantial house is needed so that rats cannot enter and eat the worms. The temporary postwar structures with holes and cracks in the walls and roof are inadequate. Only a few recently built houses can be used. One family keeps growing worms on shelves in the front room.
[137] Most of the mulberry trees were lost during and after the war. Plans have been made to plant new trees. Young girls feed the mulberry
[462] leaves to the gluttonous worms who require constant attention. When the worms are ready to create their cocoons, they are taken off their diet, and the cocoons are cleaned and sorted out. Silkworms can be raised four times a year if there is an adequate supply of mulberry leaves. Their sale brings a good income, which can become a substitute
[434] for cash earned in forest work.

FISHING

226 Fishing is a much less important source of livelihood than one would
[554] expect in a coastal village and is a low-prestige occupation. Only two

of the permanent Tairan families fish; the only two majority of the fishermen are migrants from the surrounding islands who come for a season, leaving their families behind. A few families have moved in permanently. The fishermen supply Taira, but most of the catch is peddled in the Nago market by the fishermen's wives. Some of the more enterprising and mercantile-minded women in the village buy up fish and peddle it for a profit.

Two or three times a year, during February or March, large fishing boats from Henza Island land in Taira with whale meat. All the able women look forward to making extra cash at this time, for whale meat is considered a delicacy in homes where meat is rare. Blubber is eaten and used as frying fat. The distribution of whale meat is arranged by one village woman whose fishermen relatives from Henza supply it in response to her request. She acts as agent, distributing the meat to the women on consignment.

LUMBERING

The main source of immediate cash for most families is firewood. Forest land in the mountains is owned by the township and the village, except for some woods near the fields, which are personal property. The township permits the village to exploit a certain region surrounding the community in return for payment of a forest tax. This tax is levied on firewood bundles or on lumber sold by villagers. Everyone in the village is free to cut wood in the designated area in any amount he desires. This, however, does not imply that unlimited cutting is possible, for resources have been utilized so heavily that most forests near the village are almost cleaned out, and it has become increasingly difficult to find wood. Reforestation has only recently been introduced on a serious scale. Often villagers are found trespassing on land owned by the central Ryukyan government in order to cut from the less depleted forests there. Government officials are sympathetic to the villagers' plight, and they tend to dispose of such transgressions with a stern warning.

Men and women, and during vactions, some children over 12 years, go to the forest. Most people prefer to walk and work in small groups. To reach a place high up in the hills, they may have to hike almost a mile from the center of Taira. The steep, narrow paths made by woodcutters traverse the mountains. Following the approach trails during the day, one can hear voices and the sawing of wood from many directions. All lumber people carry a short handsaw and a heavy bush knife

602 on one's mother's side and, after marriage, the wife's family. In seek-
476 ing mutual assistance for rice planting, house building and other undertakings, such relatives may be approached. In other words, kin, neighbors, and members of the same geographical section of the village participate almost equally in mutual assistance groups. Maternal relatives join in family celebrations and in the discussion of family matters. Since many decisions are made jointly with the help of relatives, there are frequent occasions for the kindred to gather in the evening at one house or another.

561 Each Okinawan also belongs to an age group. As will be described in the section on socialization, beginning at kindergarten an Okinawan becomes associated with a group of boys and girls who will remain his
575 companions through school. As a member of junior high school he
653 will join the formal Student's Association, which is responsible for certain community projects. High school students and all unmarried young adults belong to the Young People's Association, which is both a social group and a cooperative work group.

575 After marriage there are several associations which one may join.
185 Adult married women who are under 57 belong to the Women's Asso-
[562] ciation, which is affiliated with an island organization dedicated to "modernizing" women's lives. The organization is lead by a few women who are in contact with the district and island organization. They attempt at semisocial gatherings to introduce changes aimed at easing
• [262] the burdens of daily life and the pressure of poverty. For example, they are trying to influence the women to return to making their own bean paste rather than spending precious cash. The leaders show the women how to make bean paste and encourage them to set aside one work-free day a month to catch up with neglected housework. Many of the efforts of the organization, however, are not too successful. Most women go back to their homes and find that the accustomed ways are easier to follow. One has learned to live with economic pressures and tradition and established custom is a strong force. So the few forward-looking women have a difficult task in rallying others.

Both adult married males and females may also join an organization similar in objective—the Home Improvement group. Although the men who are village leaders belong to this association, the majority of the members are the same women who are leaders in the Women's Association.

575 Before World War II there was an association of older men.* Al-
887 though this group seldom, if ever, meets, it still sends a representative
623 to the village council and to a few village functions.

* Apparently of relatively recent origin.

831 keep others from noticing sex activities. Keeping sex a private matter
833 does not mean that there is a feeling of shame or guilt. It is considered a natural function, and although they do not discuss marital relations, men feel free to mention sex and its pleasurable aspects. Such conversations seem to cause some embarrassment among the younger women but are thought entertaining by older ones.

To men, sex, like food and drink, is to be enjoyed and indulged in. Women, too, enjoy sex but are more reticent and give much less overt expression to their desires. There are stories about women who are sexually aggressive, but they are either characters in the folklore or women of a neighboring village who are said to be this way "because they don't work hard enough." Men enjoy sex activity until an advanced age. One man over 60 whose wife had long been dead twice took a young woman as second wife; in both cases the women left him after a short period, but dissatisfaction with his sexual capacity was supposedly not the cause. Several children in Taira were fathered by
[278] men who had passed their sixtieth birthday. People believe that potency depends on physical well-being and age, but that it can be
[262] produced by a special drink consisting of sake in which a poisonous
[273] snake, the *habu*, is steeped. As soon as one finishes drinking this brew, its effects should be felt. Sake, meat, and eggs are also thought to increase potency.

833 Women's breasts are considered sexually stimulating. Men like to caress the breasts and the skin in general. Kissing occurs during foreplay only among some younger couples; older people do not care for it. In a room or house, shared with others, few couples undress fully for intercourse. Moving the baby to one side of the mat or mattress, a husband joins his wife.

834 There are no pre- or postparturition taboos; relations continue
[843] throughout pregnancy and are resumed about a week after childbirth,
[846] when the wife has taken her first bath. Men tend to disregard the public health nurse's urging that women be given a little longer rest.

837 That extra marital affairs do occur is evidenced by the presence of
848 illegitimate children. But the mothers are likely to be widows or girls
732 who for one reason or another did not get married at the usual age. Deformity may be a reason for not finding a husband. Two children
[835] in Taira were claimed to be the issue of an incestuous relationship
[581] between a man and his widowed daughter. Although the children were conceived and born outside the village, people became suspicious after the family returned to Taira. Because the putative father failed to deny paternity strongly, villagers felt certain that their suspicions

793 lives like other villagers, spending most of her time in the fields and around her home. She has children and grandchildren, but the father of her children no longer lives in Taira. She regards the continuation of the old ceremonies as her holy duty even though she has to do without most of the accustomed material support from the village and [358] in spite of disbelief and lack of participation. She has sought in vain [346] to have the village make necessary repairs on the simple village shrine near the township office and on the little hut where the ancestral tablets of her predecessors are kept.

793 While many of the former ceremonies have been discontinued, the 782 priestess is still called on to officiate at house-building ceremonies, to purify the lot, to offer prayers when the beams are raised, and to con- [342] duct the dedication when the house is finished. If the owner is mov- [776] ing out of an old house, the priestess notifies the fire deity so that he [778] will follow to the new abode. On other occasions the priestess conducts prayers at the village shrine or at one of the other sacred places near the village. Many of the prayers are succorant—requesting the aid and blessing of the gods in accomplishing a certain goal. In general, as Lebra has pointed out (1958), ceremonies of asking for help are more numerous and elaborate than thanksgiving ones.

[312] On New Year's morning the priestess prays at the water well. Since [178] so many ceremonies have been abbreviated and are no longer carried out in traditional detail, the priestess apologizes for short cuts in her prayers. If she fails to offer prayers in all prescribed spots, she pacifies [794] the deities by facing in the direction of the sacred place where the [787] ceremony should have been conducted. Although the priestess is clearly best qualified to enter into communication with the deities, many older women seem to possess such power also, and if the priestess' assistants are not present, another older woman can function as her helper.

782 For these ceremonies food for offerings is contributed by the village. 788 The priestess, in a white gown, kneels, flanked by her assistants, also in white, in front of a tray of sake, rice, or other food for the deities. [262] Charcoal incense sticks are burned while brief prayers asking the deities for a successful crop, thanking them for a harvest, or whatever [533] is appropriate to the occasion are mumbled. On certain occasions the women sing chants. After these ceremonies, the priestess, her assistants and the few others present, usually old women, share the food offerings.

796 One of the most dramatic ceremonies is held on Boat Race Day in 793 lunar June. Priestesses from several villages gather near Taira. During the ceremony the Taira priestess stands in the middle of a circle formed by the other priestesses and helpers, beating a drum as the

744 tuberculosis, the public health nurse teaches the family how to treat the patient in the home by giving him rest and drugs provided through her. Isolation, though recommended, is not carried out effectively, as might be expected from the general treatment of sick in the village.

744 759 Like most public offices in Okinawa, the nurse's carries with it a large load of administrative duties. Between these and attending meetings and lectures at Nago hospital, there is relatively little time to cover the long distances between villages. Taira is fortunate to be the residence of the nurse, and when occasionally a nurse from another township comes to help her with inocculations, the children crowd around her and say "We want 'our' nurse to do it."

743 759 758 [844] The dispensary, or small hospital, in Taira is owned and run by a former medical corps man in the Japanese Army, referred to as "doctor." After the war the government gave permission to a number of former army medical personnel to practice on a limited scale in the villages. The Taira practitioner takes the place of a midwife, gives first aid, and diagnoses simple illnesses. If there are no complications, a patient requesting medical care may be kept at the dispensary, where a family member and the doctor's "nurse," a young female servant, attends to all his needs. If the doctor is confronted with a complicated birth or a case requiring surgical skill, he refers the patient to a private clinic in Nago or to the public hospital there. The township gives financial aid to the doctor to maintain his establishment.

[657]

757 [278] [262] [759] Penicillin has become the doctor's stock in trade, and other antibiotics and drugs are liberally administered via the hypodermic needle. But the doctor does not restrict himself entirely to the use of recognized Western medicines and practices. He may recommend special diets to which people have resorted for a long time, such as goat soup, which is believed to cure colds. Although the doctor has a high status in the community, most persons do not rely on his advice alone but resort to other practitioners and their remedies.

[759] Until a few years ago a popular medical practitioner, the bush doctor, resided in Taira. After his death nobody took over his work, and now many people have to travel far to receive treatment from a bush doctor in another village. His methods primarily include the use of moxa cautery, burning mogusa weed on the patient's skin, and acupuncture by the use of a fine golden needle. He may also prescribe a certain diet and the use of special herbal remedies, which the patient prepares for himself. Those who have great confidence in the bush doctor's competence, particularly older persons, do not consult the Taira doctor at all.

758 In all their dealings with sickness and its prevention, Taira people are severely handicapped by their economic conditions. Even families

527 —held at the old warehouse, the village office, or, during warm days,
574 outside—but also introduces all family or small group events. This is the time when guests arrive, polite greetings are exchanged with everyone in the order of his relative status, and a seat is found in accordance with it. Everyone sits quietly and politely, men with legs
[576] crossed tightly in front, women resting their buttocks between their heels. The conversation is somewhat stilted and reluctant. Meanwhile the hostess and her female helpers set cups before each guest, and they, or the male host himself, may pour tea.

537 Village celebrations of an official nature, such as "Mother's Day"
(see Chapter 6) or the reception of the newly elected mayor, or New
527 Year, are times for oratory of a sober nature. The village dignitaries
574 and honored visitors, frequently seated at tables overlooking the community on the floor, each give a speech consisting of lengthy inventories of events and accomplishments. Sometimes food and drink are not served until the last one has spoken, but more often the situation is mellowed by the simultaneous serving of food and drink, which add to the inspiration of the speaker and the enthusiasm of his listeners.

527 Special dishes are associated with different holidays, and food, when
served, begins to dispel some of the formality. Even if there are no
574 speeches, it gives everybody something to do and talk about, and as we
262 shall see shortly, more effective stimulants follow soon. The ice is broken. The food set before guests may be red-colored rice, which is served at joyful events such as New Year, or white rice, which is prepared when the dead are commemorated. For agricultural holidays the special food is made from the harvested crop, rice or potatoes. A feast plate may also include some pork, cooked in soya sauce, or presented in a mixed dish of vegetables; sometimes, it may be deep fat fried dumplings, either plain or with brown sugar stirred into the batter, or red and white fish cakes, or even several of these together. Less expensive foods, such as noodles and fried fish, are also served during feasts. Tairans have a sweet tooth and eat with relish the pound cakes and cookies which accompany or follow a meal. There is a sufficient quantity of food for the many guests, and whatever they cannot consume during the party, they may wrap up in a newspaper and take home.

527 Once food is set before the guests, the emptied tea cups are refilled,
but this time with sake. This helps immediately to loosen the formal
574 atmosphere which still prevails, at least after one or two cups have been
273 emptied. Before this happens there may be, especially during weddings, family affairs, or the Mayor's reception, a polite exchange of cups between two men, who fill each other's and present it with a little ap-

would be nothing more uproarious than a group of singing celebrants seeking further entertainment from house to house. The occasional quarrels after drinking, which are mentioned elsewhere, seemed much more frequent where only a small group of men indulged after work, especially younger ones. No major holidays ended in dissonance. 527 273 574 578

The main events for family celebrations are lunar New Year, *seimei*, a period in spring during which descent group ancestors are revered and *Bon*, a commemoration of the dead in the fall. At these times families are reunited with relatives from other villages or the city. These events are observed in the home or in front of the ancestral tombs. During *Bon* young men and women go from house to house, performing traditional dances for this holiday in front of the assembled families. 527 796 769

Celebration of special birthday cycles and agricultural events, such as the day when ditches in the paddies were cleaned in former times, are observed by villagers as a group. An important religious event for the community is Boat Race Day in lunar June. On lunar August 15, the celebration of the full August moon, some villagers present stage performances and dances at a public celebration. 527

In general, it may be said that families gather as a unit on those days on which ancestors and deceased family members are commemorated. The village jointly celebrates events which are either based on local religion or on agricultural events. The only national holiday which is now in existence was established by the post-war Ryukyuan government. It is observed by school and government offices but not by the people. [769] [621]

Sport events form another category of holidays. The most important one falls in October when both in Japan and all over the Ryukyus athletes compete against each other. Athletic meets take place for several weeks; for the village the biggest event is the competition of all athletes in the township on *undokai* day. Everyone leaves work and takes picnic food to the track at the junior high school where each village competes against the others. This lasts all day. 526 628

Wrestling matches are part of entertainment during outdoor celebrations in the early summer. They are mainly an affair for young men. Occasionally an older man who feels strong enough challenges a younger one. The villagers sit around a large circle near the beach, watching the fights while they eat holiday food and drink sake. On Boat Race Day Taira and the neighboring village of Kawata race fishing canoes against each other. Spectators at this event are enthusiastic supporters of their favorites. After the races this holiday ends like any other, in celebrations with dance and drinking. [262] [574]

women in Taira. Three young mothers, who continued to work despite the discomfort and pain of swollen extremities, consulted with the doctor in the nearby town, and a fourth described this condition, which had prohibited her from any but the most simple and undemanding work. The old people look upon unusual pregnancies in askance. "Work, good, hard physical labor is what we did and we never had any difficulties. Young people pamper themselves." 843 164 [461]

Special foods and advice are proffered the expectant mother for the benefit of the baby. "Eat this so that you will have lots of milk for the baby. Remember that spicy things are bad for the baby. Do you recall the one who was born with a great patch of hair on its arms? Its mother was frightened by a great big cat while she was carrying that child," comment villagers to the mother. Some husbands indulge their wives' cravings for special delicacies like expensive imported fruits. 843 [262]

To keep the baby in position, a sash is wound several times about the pregnant woman's abdomen by a midwife or some old woman. [292]

In the "old days" it was not unusual for a woman to return from the mountains or fields carrying her newborn. Grandmothers recall with relish the days when "Women paid little heed to their condition, did hard work, and had their babies without a whimper." "The women today pamper themselves," snap the wizened grandmothers watching an expectant mother resting between trips to the mountains. 844 843

As the day of parturition approaches, the expectant mother schedules her work to remain as close to the house as possible. When labor starts, she retires to the back room of the house, which is situated next to the kitchen. The medical practitioner, or in his absence a midwife,* is called to assist in the delivery. The husband's mother, if she lives in the house, or other older related women attend. A man may be present during his wife's first delivery but at subsequent births will wait with some of the women in the front room. In the old days a woman was supported by her husband or someone else in a half-sitting position. Nowadays, however, women give birth lying down. Only rarely does a woman in labor cry out in pain. Soft crying is permissible, but any loud demonstration would elicit contemptuous comments from the older women. "If you had worked hard, the baby would not be so big, then labor would not be difficult," is an often heard retort. 844 [759] [152]

Informal interviewing revealed that birth takes place in a large number of cases during late evening or early morning hours. Usually children of the house sleep on undisturbed. Should they awake, they are kept out of the delivery room, although the youngest may be allowed to enter to visit with his mother shortly after delivery. [858] [593]

The newborn is bathed in tepid water then bundled in blankets,

* At present there is no midwife in Taira.

853 There are no food taboos during pregnancy, and after birth mothers
262 can continue to eat what they wish except for certain "hard" foods,
[843] such as octopus, whale meat, and certain kinds of fish which are believed to stop the flow of milk. To stimulate lactation, the mother is given papaya boiled with flour and noodles or a medicine made from herbs.

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Chapter 13

Infancy

858 The infant is considered a helpless, pitiable treasure who is incapable
155 of knowing, understanding, or learning until he is around 6 years old.
855 If this senseless child is treated affectionately and indulgently, he will
177 grow to be a healthy, happy adult.

[861] With the spread of Japanese influence throughout Okinawa, according to informants, there evolved another belief, which in Taira is complementary to the idea of the senseless child. This new belief is vaguely conceptualized by most young parents but was verbalized concretely by at least two sets of parents. "Children are the gift of gods.* They are godly until they are 7 years old." Exoneration of misbehavior on the part of the child under 7 (6 years according to Western count) conjures up in the mind of the observer a picture of willful capricious gods who are totally unpredictable. A shrug of the shoulder and a phrase which completely defines both attitude and resignation in Japanese is, "helpless, against one's will." Because children are godlike in nature they do not know any better; because they do not know any better they are godlike in nature. Just why and how a child outgrows this temperament could not be explained by the parents. These beliefs foster the extreme indulgence, protection, and nurturance of young babies. Their physical and emotional needs are attended to constantly, with a great deal of affection.

* This notion may well have been influenced by Christian as much as by Japanese ideas.

845 mother and family. "Nursing two babies at once on a diet as meager as ours is too difficult," explain the mothers, and they also point out that multiple births cause great economic hardships.

854 Infancy in Taira, in congruence with the concept of the nature of an infant, is a period of indulgent and affectionate nurturance. Except for a brief period during the initial month of life, the baby is rarely left to lie on the floor to sleep, and during this period the mother or grandmother is always close by to pick him up at the slightest whimper. From the time he is a month old until shortly before the arrival of the next baby, he is constantly carried during the daytime on the back of another, an adult or an older child. At night he sleeps next to his mother. His carriers include parents, paternal grandparents, unmarried aunts and uncles, older siblings in an extended household, and parents and older siblings in a nuclear household.

854 Those mothers who have read or heard that it is good for babies to
178 cry occasionally never have an opportunity to test it. "The old people
853 feel sorry for the baby and insist upon prompt attention," complain young mothers with "modern" ideas. The immediate response of adult and child caretakers to an infant's cry is to take him to his mother, who promptly nurses him. The breast is thrust into his mouth whether he is hungry or not. "Pitiful!" exclaim old grandmothers and rush to pick up the infant. More often than not it is the newborn's father or older sibling who orders the mother to do so with the same expression.

854 There is the belief that the first four months are a trying period in
853 which the "bad" habit of crying is formed; therefore every attempt is made to keep the infant comfortable and quiet. One mother described how she and her husband took turns eating their evening meal because one of the children had formed such a bad habit. "We would take turns carrying him and walking around the yard and eating. There was nothing else we could do. Both of us did not like to have babies cry." Another mother told of how her whole family converged on her every time the infant whimpered. "Hurry and nurse it . . . must be hungry . . . may be sick . . . so pitiful!" they would say to her.

853 It is imperative that a mother have enough milk. She is given special
[262] foods and told not to get overtired. She is advised to avoid foods that could pass on properties which might be harmful to the child. Sometimes she has more milk than her infant can consume. One such fortunate mother nursed the baby of a mother whose milk supply had failed. Women who have a plentiful supply of milk are also sought out when mothers find it necessary to work at some distance from the village. In these cases reciprocal arrangements are made so the baby need not go hungry for very long.

frowned and tugged at the straps that were straining at her neck muscles. 593

At a still later date, Hanako, with her baby sister strapped to her back, played on the beach. At one point, when all the children were scattered over the beach and no one else was nearby, Hanako edged up to the fieldworker and asked, "Would you like this baby, teacher? Here, take her," she said wearily. Asked why she had changed her mind, the little girl smiled shyly, squirmed uncomfortably for a moment, then whispered, "She's too heavy." Her 3-year-old sister, off in the distance at that point, began to scream and cry at being left so far behind. Hanako turned to look back once, then walked on as the 3-year-old squatted on the sand and screamed to be carried. At that moment her mother appeared to nurse the infant, and Hanako ran to her. She bounded swiftly away to the 3-year-old as the mother started to nurse the baby. Returning a few minutes later with the 3-year-old on her back, Hanako deposited her disgustedly, panting heavily from the weight. "Shall we give baby to teacher, Hanako?" asked the mother, and without any hesitation Hanako this time nodded "Yes." The mother laughed and said, "Hah, she has had enough of her already. When the baby was tiny and cute, she was so eager to carry her and wouldn't give her to you, but they all get tired of babies in time." And with that the mother began to rock the baby back and forth in her arms. Smiling affectionately, she kissed and hugged the cooing infant and murmured, "Nobody wants you, eh?" Because she was an unusually outspoken mother she confided, "I think I have had enough too, here, I give her to you!" She laughed as she continued, "How can I make money, feed and clothe the children when I have to rush back from the mountains to nurse this baby." 857 854 [594]

When the child is about 6 months old, he is subjected to a painful operation which prepares him for the introduction to solid foods. The area around the navel is moxa-cauterized. Nine little brown dots in three rows of three attest to the practice of burning a special kind of grass on the skin in this area to protect the infant from various digestive complications. The child thus treated, the mother will begin to supplement breast feedings with rice water, milky white in appearance, that is spooned out of the boiling pot of rice. Sometime later, before the child is about one, bits of sweet potato and special kinds of fish mashed between the fingers are thrust into the mouth of the infant as he sits on his mother's lap at mealtime. Gradually he is given more and more solid foods until, finally, at the age of 2 he is eating rice, unmashed fish, potatoes and vegetables, but nursing is continued until 853 [751] [262] 862 855 262

862 855 the mother becomes pregnant. Usually, however, weaning is not started in earnest until the mother is three months pregnant.

[262] If the infant has a fever or "bad color," he may be subjected to another painful experience, blood letting. Incisions are made on those parts of the body which are thought to be affected, and blood is drawn and caught in a cup. The area is washed with sake. The mother often suckles the baby and holds him while the grandmother or some other older person performs the operation.

854 854 757

854 Babies are diapered and swaddled until they are about a year old. For the first two months their wet and soiled diapers are changed frequently; however, as time goes on, less attention is paid to wet diapers, although those soiled from excreta are promptly changed. Infants are checked often during the raw winter days, but because they are bundled so heavily, there is hardly any danger of their contracting colds as their mothers fear. Severe urine burns and annoying diaper rash are more common than colds among young babies.

[164]

[855] Although care is taken to keep the infant as clean as possible during the first year of his life, this attitude changes as the child grows older. This is in large part due to the mother's inability to devote much time to her offspring once she has resumed full participation in economics activities. Depending on the season of the year, babies are bathed from every third or fourth day to once a week. They are bathed almost daily during the first two months of their lives as a result of the insistence of the village nurse. Water is heated on the kitchen hearth and poured into a small washpan. Mothers test the warmth of the water by immersing their arms up to the elbows and adding cold or hot water as they see fit. Soap is gently applied either with a soft washcloth or with the hands and rinsed off by splashing. On chilly winter days the bath takes place indoors, but on the hot sunny days it takes place right outside the kitchen door. In drying the baby, the mother places him in a large towel and pats the dampness from his body. She is careful to dry the skin at the joints where rash is likely to erupt. Except for the very poor, all families keep a bottle of talcum powder, which is applied right after the bath. Throughout the bath, the mother talks softly to the baby, smiling and tickling him. The atmosphere of the bath at this time contrasts sharply with that of a later time when the child is 2 and 3 years old.

[594] [744] [855]

863 Although there is hardly any possibility that the infant at this time would be able to smear himself with excreta, the opportunity for doing so is present later when he no longer wears diapers but is still untrained. It rarely happens, as the child is almost constantly watched by a caretaker. One mother reported disgustedly that her infant smeared

872 attempts to hold his hand over hers and he continues to beat out the
526 rhythm of the songs. While finishing the last song, she traces lines for the snail game on the sandy ground. A 5-year-old girl, singing the final words of the song, impatiently tugs at her hand. Taking the stick from her hand, the girl erases the teacher's lines and painstakingly tries to make a perfectly round spiral. She stands back to look at the finished "snail," hands the stick back to the teacher, and returns to her place.

The snail game involves teams of two groups of children. One member of a group takes his position in the inner end of the spiral, while the other stands at the outer end. At a signal from the teacher, both run toward each other as fast as possible to cover as much of the length of the line as possible. When they meet, they play a game [524] similar to the American "rock, paper, and scissors." The loser gives up his turn to another member of his group who has to start at the beginning of the opposite end while the winner runs from the point at which the "toss" took place. At the point of meeting, another toss takes place, and the first contestant to reach the opposite end of the spiral wins a point for his team.

Another favorite game of the kindergarten children is "choosing sides." Two mixed groups stand opposite each other and at the signal one group, hand in hand, moves forward, gaily kicking their feet toward the other members of their group. "We will take, Yoshiko," they sing as they swoop in a semicircle to encircle the chosen one, who attempts to run away while her group tries to run interference. Then the next group has a turn. There is no real "winning" in this game, but the children enjoy the united chasing and united defense.

872 After playing organized games from about 9:30 until 11:15, the
262 children are temporarily disbanded while the teacher goes to prepare the powdered milk, which the children look forward to eagerly. Often the promise of milk serves as a powerful incentive to attend kindergarten for even the most incorrigible renegade. The children all scatter to run home for their small tea cups in which the coveted drink is served. As the teacher approaches the banyan tree from her home, bucket of milk and dipper in hand, she smiles to see the two lines already formed. "Today, we will serve the girls first because the boys
872 were first yesterday," she announces, and immediately there is a shout
876 of disapproval from the boys and a few menacing scowls and upraised
258 arms with clenched fists directed toward the girls. The little girls smile smugly back at the boys, and a few return the hostile threats. The most aggressive boys and girls soon become involved in a tussle, and the teacher serves notice that milk will be withdrawn for the day if order is not restored. The observer feels that in her reprimand to the

CHAPTER I: GEOGRAPHY

F. R. Pitts

131 Location Okinawa is a longish island, lying about halfway between Formosa and the southern tip of Kyushu. Together with clusters of islands lying both to the east and west, it forms the political unit known as Okinawa Guntō.

133 Along the axis of Okinawa, which trends from southwest to northeast, there is a fairly simple division into a plateau-and-mountain northern half, a central plateau area, and a low rolling southern knob. The Motobu peninsula juts westward from the northern, or Kunigami, half and forms a distinctive area. Between the Kunigami mountains and the peaks of Motobu lies the ricebowl of Okinawa---the Haneji lowland.

311 241 Arable Land In general it can be said that the farm population increases as one proceeds south. Map 2, showing the arable land under cultivation as a percentage of the total land area, illustrates this.[1]

Farms in the mountain and plateau north are found in incised V-shaped valleys. Water is plentiful, and rice paddies cover the valley floor. Villages hug the edges of the flat land, and incredibly small sweet-potato terraces rise [137] up the valley's edge. Atop the plateau one finds only silence, and a dense growth of trees and bamboo. Many of the people in the valleys are part-time [132] foresters. The Motobu mountains guard from the frequent typhoons little settlements famed for growing the indigo plant and pineapples. The peninsula's north shore is a fertile but ever-narrowing extension of the Haneji lowland.

In the central plateau area---Nakagami---sweet-potato fields compete with scrubby forest for space on the plateau. Where sufficient water is available, rice fields cover the tiny valley floors and the low-lying coastal fringes. The triangular southern end of the island is known as Shimajiri in [134] popular terminology. Shimajiri is blessed with the greatest concentration of [132] fertile arable land on Okinawa. But the blessing is somewhat reduced by greater exposure to typhoons and a chronic water shortage. Sweet potatoes and sugar cane rank first among crops here.

311 243 Riceland Okinawans prefer to eat rice rather than sweet potatoes whenever possible. It is a paradox, however, that areas of greatest farm [262] population grow the least rice. The thinly populated north has the greatest amount of riceland. Map 3 charts the distribution of riceland---or flooded fields---on Okinawa. Even in the southern 'son' of Yonagusuku and Kanegusuku flooded fields often contain the mat rush rather than rice. It is a good cash crop, and is sturdier than rice when typhoons roar through the islands.

[128] [1] The figures upon which the maps in this section and the population section are based are found in Appendix A. The figures for Japan and Kagoshima-ken are given for comparative purposes. Of all the prefectures in Japan, Kagoshima most nearly resembles Okinawa in climate and emphasis upon sweet potatoes as a staple food.

Population Density The pattern revealed in a map of population density---Map 4---is approximately the same as that for percentage of arable land. It is somewhat complicated, however, by the urbanization that is going on in Nakagami. A more detailed discussion of the population movements responsible for this situation will be found in a later section of this report. 161

Farming Almost all of Okinawa's rural people farm, and many are engaged part time in home industries which utilize local products. Particularly noteworthy are the vegetable-producing areas. Kitanakagusuku and Ginowan 'sons' are centers of vegetable production for the American military forces.[1] The inland 'son' of Haebaru grows 53% of the gunto's tōgwā, a wax melon that is a favorite Okinawan food. 433 241 [262]

One of the most remarkable agricultural areas, Tomigusuku, lies south of the Naha-Mawashi-Oroku urban complex. It grows many kinds of vegetables for the cities, and ranks high in other production. Tomigusuku stands first in the gunto in acreage of green beans, muskmelons, bananas and eggplant. Almost one-fifth of the latter comes from here. It ranks second in tomatoes, and ties with Yonagusuku for second place in weight of mat reeds produced. Miwa, in the far south, leads the gunto in soybean acreage, while Nishihara occupies a similar position in acreage planted to pumpkins.

The most remarkable 'son' in northern Okinawa is Nakijin on the north shore of Motobu peninsula. It leads in gunto acreage of sweet potatoes, leaf tobacco (75.2%), and cucumbers. In animals it leads in numbers of pigs and ducks. It also produces 76% of the banana cloth, or 'bashōfu', of the gunto. This 'son' is mainland Okinawa's chief wheat producer. [231] [235]

The small Okinawan acreage of Irish potatoes is found in Ōgimi-son to the northeast. Yabu is noted for its pickled giant radishes, or 'takuan'. The offshore islands lead in certain special crops. Minami Daitō leads in sugar cane, wheat and barley. Ie Shima seconds in barley, and Izena seconds in wheat. Ie Shima is far ahead in acreage of Irish beans, or 'azuki', accounting for 41% of the gunto's planted acreage of this crop. Though Ie Shima ranks only 15th in soybean acreage, it produces almost a fifth (18.4%) of the gunto's 'miso', in which soybeans are used as a base. 'Miso' making is one of the main home industries on the island. Ie Shima, Kamimotobu and Nakijin retain some of the old 'awa' (German millet) complex, between them accounting for over a third (34.5%) of the acreage of that crop in Okinawa gunto. Kamimotobu is mainland Okinawa's leader in acreage planted to ordinary millet ('kibi'; Panicum miliceum). [252]

Nakagami has little of agricultural distinction. Yomitan leads the mainland in acres of barley and number of rabbits. Gushikawa is second rank in sweet potato acreage, but produces about two-fifths (39.4%) of the gunto's sweet potato starch. It leads in numbers of goats, and is second though not outstanding in numbers of bullocks. [231]

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[1] Most of this and following paragraphs derive from Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku and Okinawa guntō no tembō. Some is based on personal observation and interviewing. [127]

military competes with sugar as a primary cash crop, and cane fields are being converted back to rice paddies as fast as the farmer's resources permit. A more detailed discussion of the crop changes in the last two or three decades follows. 175 241 178 433

Chronology of Change in Crops The major changes in crops revolve chiefly around the replacement of rice as a cash crop by sugar cane, and the later reversal of this situation. About fifty years ago, rice was the chief cash crop. It was rarely consumed in the home, but was sold in order to meet the monetary expenses of taxes, and to buy occasionally the new commodities that were beginning to appear in the markets. Then, not long after the Russo-Japanese war had ended, the price of black sugar jumped almost overnight from ¥8.50 to ¥64 for a 150-'kin' barrel. Everyone wanted to get a share of this boom in sugar, and most began to convert paddy land into 'hatake' for the growing of cane. They were stuck with the 'hatake' when the price fell after two months. The Japanese subsidized sugar later, however, and most of the land that had been converted remained sugar land. [654]

When the people began returning to their farms more than a year after the end of World War II hostilities, there was little market for sugar. The subsidy had gone with defeat, and providentially the sugar lands were available for the growing of more sweet potatoes. American canned food and sweet potatoes were the main items of diet until about 1949. Gradually farmers began to convert 'hatake' to paddy fields, and to grow rice again---this time less for sale than for home consumption. [262] [177]

The old "bearded rice" varieties (fijimē and mēdakōja) of the nineteenth century were replaced gradually by the shorter-statured but higher-yielding 'hōraimai'. The bearded rice, planted only once a year, had a yield of about one-third the present variety, and had only five or six stalks per plant. The twice a year modern variety yields more and has on the average fourteen to fifteen stalks per plant. As a result of the adoption of the two-crop variety, at least one traditional ceremony was abandoned. This was the tantui, in which the whole village participated before simultaneously planting their seedbeds. Before the war, two-thirds of Okinawa's rice requirements were imported.[1] Indicative of the postwar change to rice are the figures for area of paddy-fields in Kochinda-son; the 114,142 'tsubo' of paddy in February of 1948 had increased to 306,220 'tsubo' by September of 1952. Field investigation proved that conversion to paddy has proceeded at least as fast since 1952 as it did prior to that date. 175 241 433 243 178

Before the First World War almost everyone in Nanahan raised forty to fifty 'tsubo' of millet. It was boiled with glutinous rice to make millet rice-cakes, or 'awamochi'. None is raised now. The same is true of cotton. "It grew only a foot high, but its fiber was very strong and would last a lifetime." Some other crops lasted into the post-war period. Until about 1950 textile bananas and yams were raised in Nanahan, but they both proved to be too weak in typhoons, and their cultivation was abandoned. 178 175 241 [252]

[1] Summation....July-November 1946, p. 25.

178
175 Before the war Okinawa imported half its soybean requirements. By
241 early 1951 the prewar acreage had been cut by half.[1] This resulted in the
931 necessity to import soy sauce tax-free from Japan, which brought an ineffec-
143 tive protest from the Legislature early in 1954. 'Miso' paste, which is made
652 of soybeans when they are available, is now made also of corn, broad beans, kidney beans, and various other legumes.

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As early as 1946 the occupation forces reported:

> Rapid restoration of Okinawa's prewar agriculture is hampered chiefly by an arable land shortage induced by military requirements in the southern half of the island, where roughly 30,000 acres are devoted to military use. War damage and migration from combat and, later, base development areas seriously disrupted agrarian economy and early planning was delayed pending disposition of farm tracts affected by military expansion.[2]

That loss of both upland dry fields and paddy land was affected is shown by the following:[3] (figures are in 1,000's of acres)

Table II

Type of Land	1940 Acreage	1950 Acreage	% of 1940
Cultivated land	103.8	67.2	65%
Paddy land	11.5	9.6	83%
Upland fields	92.3	57.6	62%

Even more significant is a comparison of the 1940-1950 figures with those for 1904, which show the situation which existed before any Japanese military installations were built.

Table III[4]

Year	Acres Paddy Land	Acres Dry Fields	Total Arable Acres
1904	15,779.1	93,952.6	109,731.7
1940	11,527.25	82,273.86	93,801.11
1950	9,559.56	57,610.16	67,169.72

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1 Ryukyu Islands Economic Statistics Bulletin, no. 10, January-March, 1951.

2 Summation...op. cit., p. 26.

3 Ryukyu...., p. 13.

4 The 1904 data are from Summary of the Land Adjustment in Okinawa Prefecture, Tokyo, 1904. The 1940 and 1950 figures are from the reverse side of the large map, Okinawa shotō shōzu.

Land Ownership and Rental Although Nanahan has only twenty-three houses, the land register lists thirty-five land owners. Two of these are persons who are tenants and who own only the houselots where they live. In addition, three other families live in Nanahan, owning neither houselot nor land, but renting both from the owner. Five families have moved to urban areas, but have kept the land, and have rented it out, chiefly to the settlers in the community. Of the five, one had never owned a houselot. Two sold their houselots and one rented his house out. The remaining one rented his houselot, which was later converted by the tenant into a dry field. 423 427

There is almost no one in Nanahan who is neither a renter nor a rentee. Ten of the registered land owners are minors, most of whom have inherited land from their fathers who were killed in the invasion. Two are sons of the leading landowner, who has apparently registered part of his land in his sons' names to avoid heavy taxes.

The annual rent for grassland in Nanahan is ¥0.30, or thirty 'sen', per 'tsubo'. In the one 'genya' sale for which information was available, a doctor living in Kochinda village sold a Nanahan man 1,000 'tsubo' for a total of ¥3,000. Dry land, or 'hatake', rents for ¥2 per 'tsubo', although better and more fertile land may command a higher rental. Riceland is not rented out for money, but for a portion of the crop. Under the most usual arrangement the renter keeps three-fifths of the crop and delivers to the owner the remaining two-fifths. The renter must furnish all the manure, fertilizer, and labor. The Nanahan land register records nine plots as having been sold since 1947. 423 427 435

The Nanahan farmers say that the best thing the military ever did was to order in 1947 the making of a land survey and the drawing of land ownership maps. They said it is very effective in protecting boundaries and preventing quarrels. 423

3. Diet

Although daily Okinawan cuisine is in general very similar to that of Japan, some difference is seen in the dependence on the sweet potato, and the use of pork. Feast foods have more local flavor and are considerably different from those of Japan. The frequent typhoons occasionally cause temporary famine, and it is during the famines that Okinawan food and food substitutes differ most from Japanese standards. Finally, one major point of difference is in the use of sugar in the household; three centuries of experience with the crop has given rise to many traits and patterns centered around the use of sugar in the home. These four categories are discussed in this section on diet. 262 171 [263]

Ordinary Food The typical Okinawan breakfast is generally boiled sweet potatoes ('imo'), 'miso' (soybean paste) soup and vegetables. The noon meal is boiled sweet potatoes, noodles, and vegetables. The evening meal consists usually of boiled rice, 'miso' soup and vegetables. The most frequently consumed vegetables are mustard cabbage, Chinese cabbage, green onions, wax melon, giant radish, chopped dried radish, carrots and cabbage. Other foods added as occasional variety are wheat fluff, seaweed, soybean curd, and canned fish. 262

262 Sea food eaten differs by the season. Most available in summer are bonito and the sea turtle. Common in October and later are seabream, whitefish, and globefish. Canned mackerel is by far the most common fish food eaten, and seaweed is a staple in all but the poorest homes. Though every [825] adult in the village speaks Okinawan by preference in everyday life, even the old people rarely know the dialect names for various fish, "because we are so far from the sea." The nearest coast is less than three airline miles away. Before the war most of the fish consumed was bought in Itoman, but with the removal of the railroad and the orientation of bus traffic toward Naha, very little is purchased in Itoman.

252 The entire day's supply of sweet potatoes, for man and beast, is prepared by boiling in early morning in a large pot. It takes about an hour to boil fifty pounds. Those for human consumption are placed on top, with those [231] for the animals underlying them. Naturally those eaten by the pigs and other animals are the less beautiful, and often slightly rotten ones. When the family eats 'imo', they peel off both the outer and inner skins and give them to the animals. They realize that the inner skin contains vitamins, but it is too much trouble to peel separately. People regard baked 'imo' as more delicious than boiled, but do not make them in Nanahan as a rule due to shortage of fuel. The children often stick 'imo' right into the fire while their mothers are boiling 'imo' for the day. Sometimes children under ten [857] years of age make baked 'imo' when they collect trash and burn it. When they do this is not determined, but occurs as the children suddenly decide there is enough trash to burn.

262 252 'O-kazu' (Okinawan: katimun) refers in Nanahan to any dish whose basic ingredients are lard, soy sauce, and 'aji-no-moto' (monosodium glutamate). It is generally made about two times a week. First lard is put in a pan. Then either raw 'daikon' or 'sengei' (dried and shredded 'daikon') is added, together with globe onions. Soy sauce is then added, and the mixture salted to taste. If meat is available, it is put in as soon as the lard is melted. 'Aji-no-moto' is added just before serving.

252 The making of 'miso' paste is a home task for the women and girls. The amount made depends on the weather. Good weather for proper mildewing is generally found in the spring and autumn. At the equinoxes, when most of the 'miso' is made if people have a choice in the matter, mildewing takes two or three days. The process involves two steps---the making of malt ('kōji') and the making of soybean flour or paste. For malt one must use broad beans, wheat or barley, kidney beans or, infrequently, soybeans. The malt materials are boiled until the skins come off. Then they are drained, spread out on a straw mat inside the house, and dusted with wheat flour. Rice straw is spread over the mixture to form a hotbed. When the mildew starts the mixture turns yellow, and is then spread out to dry in the sun. When dry it is stored in a box, to be mixed with soybean flour or paste later. The latter is very easily made. Boiled soybeans are ground up in a meat grinder, and dried. The flour may be stored separately, but it is most often mixed immediately with an equal amount of malt. To prevent spoiling, about three parts salt are added [251] to ten of the mixture, now called 'miso'. It is put into a pot for "ripening" during the next six months, and then is used gradually. If stored longer than one year it loses its taste.

'Miso' is used not only in soups, but as a flavoring for other dishes. 262 - 252
Jūshiimē is rice fried in oil and 'miso', with green onions added. Tōfu-champuru is made by putting shredded bonito and hot lard in a pan, adding a little 'miso' and some soysauce, and one-inch cubes of bean curd, or 'tōfu'. 'Tōfu' was eaten about every three days in Nanahan before the war, and every day about twenty peddlers from Tsukazan went through the countryside selling it. It is eaten not oftener than once a month now.

A strong rice drink, 'awamori', is in evidence at all parties. It is 273
sometimes diluted with orange soda, but more often it is served full-strength flavored with either garlic or red peppers. Before the war the refuse from [231]
making 'awamori', called kashijii, was very cheap---about two gallons could be had for fifteen sen---and was generally fed to pigs. However, it also fur- [257]
nished the base for kashijā-āi, made by pouring hot water on half-boiled spinach or swiss chard, and adding the liquid from the refuse. It was said to have been very good for the stomach.

Feast Foods When a person reaches the age of 61, 73, or 85, a celebration 262
known as tushibii is held. This is the occasion for a feast of 574
whatever proportions the extended family's budget can afford. In the spring [561]
of 1954 a Nanahan lady who was a member of the dominant family reached seventy-three. The following was served at the feast:

--Paddy taro boiled in sugar syrup
--Soup containing 'konnyaku', pork, tripe, goat meat and ginger
--Giant radish and carrots, shredded in vinegar
--Several slices of fried bean curd
--Fish cake
--Deep-fried sugar batter
--A dish of 'konnyaku', 'daikon', pork and shredded radish
--Deep-fried whale tripe in peanut butter sauce
--Red rice; noodle soup
--Fried bean curd and pork, with seaweed

In addition, guests were given two boxes to take home, which contained the following:

--Two pieces of pork
--1 piece fried bean curd
--Two pieces of fish, deep-fried in batter
--1 piece of pork heart
--Two pieces of fish cake
--A red-dyed hard-boiled egg
--Two pieces of burdock root, deep-fried in batter
--Two pieces of sweet pound cake
--Two pieces of kujimuchi (a rice cake)
--Two large pieces of deep fried sugar batter
--One deep-fried flour dumpling
--Five cakes of baked rice flour, in shapes of the pine, bamboo, plum, crane, and tortoise---symbols of longevity.

261 262 Famine Food and Wartime Substitutes The standard famine foods on Okinawa have always been dried sweet potato chips or refuse from the making of starch, sago palm nuts and the pulp of the same palm. The latter two are eaten with restraint, as they contain small amounts of an alkaloid poison. The sweet potato materials are made into soups, [252] and the sago palm provides a type of flour for deep frying, or 'tempura'.

During the last war, soups were also made from the stem of the plant [137] Ligularia Kaempferia, known as 'tsuwabuki' in Japanese, and chiipappā in Okinawan. One Nanahan farmer related, "The chiipappā which I ate in Kin-son during the war was delicious, and one felt better after eating it. When I came back here, I tried our local variety, but it is bitter and inedible." The giant African snail was used to alleviate famine just before the invasion. It [252] was boiled in its shell, then de-shelled and the "snail juice" washed out with a bitter orange called shiisā. The meat was then fried with vegetables and the white part of a leek.

273 Japanese soldiers during the war taught the Okinawans how to make a 177 strong liquor from sugar cane, as no real 'sake' or 'awamori' was then avail- 276 able. Tobacco was also scarce, and pine tree bark was substituted. Some people preferred to smoke the leaves of the 'mogusa' plant, which is also used for cautery. One very poor family in Nanahan still retains the practice. Tea 272 could not be bought in the late pre-invasion period, and the beans of the lantana bush furnished a palatable substitute.

263 Uses of Sugar in the Home When a guest calls at an Okinawan farmer's home, he is served tea, black sugar chunks, and quite [574] often 'awamori'. Many other uses were related. It is used in batter for deep [757] frying; for cure of headache, sickness, and fainting spells; for a hangover; and when food is not delicious.

464 the bulldozer had done the basic shaping of the field, a new member of the
[465] 'han' was hired to finish the pounding of the paddy walls. He was paid ¥900 for six days' work, and was required to provide his own lunch. His employer had spent the first year after the war in Hokkaido, working for no money but receiving one 'shō' (3.18 pints) of rice a day. Later he rented a horse and cart from its owner at ¥60 a day and pocketed anything above that amount that he earned. During planting and harvest season he worked in the rice fields.

445 Horses are rented out by their owners to other people, but when a cow
426 is rented the owner's services are always included. No farmer trusts anyone
435 else with his cow. A man-and-cow hire out for ¥250-300 a day, depending on
379 the distance they must travel. A horse is most often rented to pull the sweep
299 of a rotary sugar-press, and is paid according to the amount of juice of black sugar produced. Various prices are quoted. ¥100 is paid for each 'chō' (100 kin, or 132 pounds) of black sugar produced. One farmer charges for the use of his horse a flat rate of ¥1 for each gallon of juice squeezed. Another charges ¥60 for 50 gallons of juice if the renter lives in Nanahan or close by, and ¥70 if he lives farther away. Horses were scarce the first year after the war, and fifteen men together pulled the sweeps of the rotary presses.

464 <u>Buying of Labor and Services</u> Many times farmers have need of a great amount
575 of labor in a short period of time. Then they are most likely to call upon the services of the young people's group, the 'seinendan'. One Nanahan farmer in 1952 had this group make a paddy field for him from a dry field. In 1953 another farmer had the group make a 300 'tsubo' dry field for him out of 'arechi', or war-destroyed land. The 'seinendan' also hires its members out to work for people who need help in the busy season. The following daily wage rates were quotes: women and new
[465] members, ¥40; men of 18 and 19 years, ¥50; and men of 20 years and above, ¥60.

445 Abolition of the stringent Japanese regulations compelling farmers
[649] to raise sugar has resulted in the reconversion of many sugar fields to rice
[433] paddies. At first this was done exclusively by hand labor, but now bulldozers are more in favor. One farmer had 420 'tsubo' of dry land converted into paddy at a total cost for bulldozer leveling of ¥6,300. The rate for machine and operator was ¥600 an hour. The farmer owns 450 tsubo more of paddy, which provides rice for one meal a day. With this newly-converted
[262] field he plans to have his family eat rice twice daily. Labor charges for finishing the new paddy will run about ¥4,000, according to estimate.

One of his relatives is a repatriate from the hemp-growing colony at Davao, in the Philippines. This man bought land from a villager who was dissatisfied with country life, and hired a bulldozer to convert it to paddy.
[435] For conversion of 816 tsubo he paid bulldozer charges of ¥12,000 and ¥8,000 additional for labor. He had bought the dry land ('hatake') originally for ¥65 per tsubo.

About the only other service regularly engaged is the hulling and polishing of rice. Nanahan people take their threshed rice to a neighboring village where there is a 'seimaisho' (rice-cleaning mill), and pay only cash for the service. They return home with the polished rice and the bran, or

511 [Kitazato]
621 the houses are the same small, poorly-built structures of thatch and scrap
735 lumber that are found on the beach. By way of contrast, the house which
[341] the author rented in Kanegusuku was the poorest and shabbiest in that vil-
[184] lage; yet, the same house in Kitazato would easily have been the best.
Shabby appearances are not limited to houses, for the people too are more poorly dressed than elsewhere on Okinawa.

621 Food Nearly everywhere on Okinawa the authors heard that the peo-
511 ple are eating better today than before the war; such is not the case for
262 Kitazato, and the villagers are most emphatic about this. Potatoes, beans, and other vegetable products form the mainstay of their diet; often times, they say, potatoes are dug up before they are fully mature, so great is the pressure for food. It is the opinion of the local agricultural office that the people are slowly starving to death, and the villagers state that they are always hungry. The local storekeepers say that the people do not have enough money to buy canned foods to supplement their diet. Though Hama is
[226] virtually on the water the villagers do no fishing since the occupation is regarded as a foreign one; however, some shell fish are collected by the women.

621 Exodus of Youth One of the marked features of the village is the
511 general absence of young men and women in the fifteen to twenty-five age
166 group, for as soon as the student completes junior high school, he or she heads for the city seeking employment. A number of the families in the village are said to subsist mainly on the money which their children send back. According to the mayor 61 families have left the village since the end of the war; he feels that if they had not left, things would be much worse. Most of those who left were families containing grown children who could work; the parents in some cases were reluctant to leave, but their children were anxious to leave. A slight decline in military employment in early 1954 resulted in several of these families' returning to the village, and the mayor was apprehensive lest more return.

621 One characteristic of the population of this village which struck
847 the author was the disproportionate number of females to males in the age group under five years. In this group there were 64 males and 33 females, whereas the groups above were more nearly proportionate. Female infanticide has been a common occurrence during times of famine or under conditions of extreme poverty in Japan and China, and the authors heard several stories giving some evidence of it on Okinawa. No factual evidence of any sort was gathered by the author in Kitazato to corroborate this interpretation of the statistics; however, the fact that the permanent resettlement of the village in its present locations took place approximately six years ago in 1948 may lend some credence to this interpretation.

621 Attitude toward Americans The villagers' initial reaction to the
829 presence of the author in the village was one of fear and veiled hostility.
[123] Gradually this was overcome, and good rapport was established. During one of his last visits to the community the author was told, "The first day you were in the village everyone wondered if the military were going to make us move again. No one slept that night." At the same time the villagers are

CHAPTER IX: HEALTH

W. P. Suttles

121 This chapter will begin with a section on the human body---attitudes
128 toward and practices concerned with its care and its functions. This will be followed by a section on sanitation---attitudes and practices. A third section will deal with concepts of the supernatural and their relationship to illness. A fourth will describe the various types of "medical" practitioners found in Okinawan society, and Okinawan attitudes toward modern medicine. It will be seen that this chapter contains much that is often described under the heading "Religion" or even "Values" and contains little on the actual state of health and incidence of disease among the Okinawans. But we believe that this is as it should be in a report on Okinawan culture. That sanitation is poor and disease is prevalent is no doubt all too apparent to the medical observer. A detailed study of the diseases themselves must be made by research workers competent in that field. A study of native culture, however, reveals some of the underlying causes of poor sanitation and poor health. We feel therefore that this is a valid unit and properly put under the title "Health".

1. The Human Body: Practices and Attitudes

261 Eating and Drinking. Okinawans enjoy food and drink and make numerous events the occasion for their enjoyment. Questions about holidays frequently soon elicit long descriptions of the types of dishes appropriate to each. To a Westerner the variety may not seem great, but to the Okinawans a slight difference in the consistency of a soup may call for a
262 differentiating term. The variety of foods is probably as great as it can be within the limits of Okinawan resources. Foods are valued differently.
[171] Rice ranks high, sweet potatoes low. Pork is esteemed, as in China but not in Japan.

264 Three meals a day is usual. Rice, soup, and boiled foods are served in bowls, fried foods in flat dishes. These are eaten with chopsticks. The bowl may be held in the hand near the mouth; soup may be drunk directly from it. Some foods, such as noodles, are habitually sucked up with considerable noise. This noise is neither made purposely nor is it avoided; it just does not matter. Children may bolt their food without being scolded for it, but adults seem to have no compulsion to eat fast, as the Japanese are said to
[574] have. On festive occasions men are served in the first room, women in the second. On these occasions a portion may be served already in a box so that it may be taken home. On ordinary occasions the family may eat together,
[521] though women often eat in the kitchen by the oven. Conversation of both
[574] light and serious matter may accompany eating. Serving food is essential to the entertainment of guests and to the payment of social debts.

273 Drink is also essential to entertainment. Tea is drunk first thing
[272] in the morning and at any time of the day or evening. But for men something stronger is also desirable. Usually it is the clear, strong, distilled drink

000 custom in the country. Hair styles vary according to age, sex, and status.
302 All boys up to junior high school age usually have shaved heads. During the high school and junior high school years they allow the hair to grow and become quite long. This style is retained until middle age, though often it is somewhat shorter than during the school years. Old and middle-aged men generally wear their hair closely cropped. Young girls through the junior high school age wear their hair in a short bobbed style with bangs, typical of the Japanese school girl. In high school and thereafter the young woman allows her hair to grow a little longer; the bangs grow out and the permanent wave is frequently adopted. After marriage and in middle age a woman is most likely to wear her hair drawn back and tied in a bun. Older women retain the old Okinawan styles, and a few use the long hairpin as mentioned above.

[178] Prewar movies and pictures of Okinawa indicate most men were bearded, but today all are clean-shaven except for a few very old men.

178 <u>Diet</u> With few exceptions most Okinawans state that they are eating
262 better foods and a greater variety of these than before the war. This is attributed to several factors. Sweet potatoes and vegetables formed the bulk of the prewar diet, and there was little money available for food purchases. More land is devoted to food production today than in the prewar period when sugar was the chief crop. There were food shortages throughout the Japanese Empire beginning with the Chinese war in 1937; these shortages gradually in-
[177] creased and became severe. After the war most Okinawans lived on American canned foods for several years; canned foods were served in the civilian internment camps and later formed the bulk of the food ration. A number of
[454] people asserted that this experience created a taste for other foods. Lastly the farm people have more money to spend today.

177 Stores in the towns and cities contain a wide variety of canned
262 American and European foods, not to mention an even greater supply of canned Japanese foods. The important factor is that none of the American or European canned goods were available before the war. Even in the village stores American flour, Coca Cola and other carbonated and non-carbonated beverages, condensed milk, candy, gum, and cigarettes can be obtained today. American foods are said to be far superior to Japanese and Okinawan foods, but most are too expensive for the average family. American tea bags, which often contain an Indian tea far inferior to the Japanese teas, are considered the height of elegance. However, many of the adopted foods are used in a manner considerably different from customary American usage. Pitts was served french-fried whale intestines dipped in peanut butter, and mayonnaise was observed in use as
[272] cooking fat. It is widely believed that some of the American soft drinks contain real fruit juices and are excellent for the health. The author was informed that people sometimes take these when they do not feel too well.

178 For the majority of villagers Japanese and Okinawan foods still con-
262 stitute the bulk of the diet, although they say that they now enjoy a greater variety of these. Rice is more commonly eaten than before, but there is a greater reliance on prepared foods of the sort which cannot be made in the village or which they are no longer inclined to prepare themselves. Canned mackerel (selling for about 17 cents per can) is now a staple item in many

households. Noodles are another item of regular purchase. Starch and bean paste are typical items which formerly were always made in the home but now may be purchased instead. 178 262

In sum Okinawan diet has improved in quantity and variety. Food tastes are more catholic today; certain foreign foods are greatly appreciated. There is a greater reliance on manufactured and processed foods, and greater cash expenditures are made for food.

Entertainment and Leisure There has been a marked decline in village celebrations and festivals in which all residents participate. Formerly O Bon, New Year's, and harvesting time were occasions for village-wide celebrations; today these are gone from most communities; celebrations are restricted to the family and friends. Most of the village celebrations were basically religious in nature and with the decline of the old religion these celebrations have been dropped. 527 796 178 621

Parties to mark an individual's change of status were formerly held on the 13th, 25th, 37th, 48th, 61st, 73rd, 85th, 88th and 97th birthdays, but today only those for the old people are observed. Frequently a party is held to mark an individual's success in the competitive examination to enter high school, but aside from that, rites of passage for the young and middle-aged are no longer observed. 527 178

The Japanese introduced one form of entertainment which has achieved immense popularity; this is a sporting event sponsored by the school. These are usually held on Sunday during the fall of the year, and usually the whole school participates. There is intra-school competition and later inter-school; intense interest is generated and often this becomes an important topic for conversation among the young men. 526 177

Local units of the national organizations such as the youths' association and the women's association frequently hold parties for their members. In fact these organizations are mainly of a social nature. 575

As noted above, prior to the war there were five motion picture theaters on Okinawa; today there are fifty-seven. American and European films constitute from one quarter to one third of the total shown. Though most of these theaters are located in the cities and towns, the young people of the nearby farming villages make frequent use of them. The popularity of the American "Western" among the young people has caused some to attribute juvenile delinquency to this, although the relatively more bloody Japanese sword-fighting pictures ('chambara') are considered harmless. 546 177

The popularity of Okinawan dancing and music seems undiminished. Radio broadcasts of Okinawan music are much enjoyed; and virtually every party provides the opportunity for music and dancing in which most of the guests participate. A few of the better-educated young people profess an appreciation of Western classical music and jazz, but most of them prefer Japanese and American love ballads though they still remain very fond of the Okinawan music. 533 535 177

1

Introduction

The basic occupation of the Okinawans has been and continues to be agriculture. The agricultural, not the fishing, wood gathering, or stonecutting community is typical. Fishing, stonecutting and forestry have been the occupations of certain villages or areas, or of certain groups within a village. This and the following chapter describe these ways of living. 463

Agricultural practices gathered from Hanashiro, Nagamo (to some extent), and Matsuda will be presented in this chapter. Minatogawa has been omitted because it is primarily a fishing and stonecutting community, and there is nothing distinctive or unusual in its agriculture. This presentation avoids the repetitive description of similar activities that would follow from a discussion of each village separately. Significant differences, where they appear, will be mentioned, and in this manner, I hope, the identities of the individual villages will not be lost, despite the topical arrangement. 128

Okinawan agriculture is basically the story of four crops: rice, sweet potatoes, the soy bean, and sugar cane. Rice is a minor crop. Not all farmers grow it, and rice consumption rests both on homegrown products and imports. Individual farmers occasionally grow both to sell and for home use. Today it is less of a luxury than it was before the war because of the imports and the home grown crop. In Okinawa two crops a year are possible. 241 262 433 [439]

The sweet potato is the main crop. Cultivation continues throughout the year. Potatoes often are dug on a day to day basis as required for human or animal consumption. At any one time, the patches of sweet potatoes owned by a farmer may represent all stages of growth from a fresh transplanted field to a patch ready for digging. The sweet potato is the cheapest all purpose food, both for human and animal consumption. Okinawans tire of it because poverty enforces such frequent consumption. Since the war, the increased availability of rice for home use, and the opportunities of purchasing rice have relieved this complete dependence on the sweet potato. Among some families, though these are still few, the sweet potato has become the food of animals, with only select ones used at the table. But for the great majority the sweet potato still is the basic article of diet. It is cheap and easy to cultivate either by men or women. Little can be realized from its sale.

Soy beans are grown for home consumption. Making bean curd in the home is universal. Brown sugar is produced as a cash crop. Some is used in the home as a confection both for adults and children. [432] [263]

824 Soy beans have three main uses: soy sauce which is seldom made
[262] in the home, bean curd (tōfu) and miso, a bean paste, both always
[432] home made. For this reason, soy beans are grown mostly for home use,
with the surplus sold. In Hanashiro, where the surpluses are greater,
[462] the beans may be sold in Naha, Shuri, or Itoman. Women do the selling,
taking the beans to market on the buses, trucks, or three wheeled
[494] vehicles.

(2) Other types of beans such as the red dwarf bean (asuki)
241 (Phaseolus angularis Wight), the kidney bean (ingen in Japanese,
262 Phaseolus vulgaris L), the broad or horse bean (soramame in Japanese,
Vician fabia L), and peas (endō in Japanese, Pisum sativum L) are
grown for home use, usually in parcels which are closest to the house.

(3) The giant radish, (daikon in Japanese, Raphanus sativus L)
[263] is, after the soy bean, the most important of the minor crops grown
for home use. This is the vegetable most favored either as a condiment,
[252] or as a side dish. It is eaten sliced raw, pickled, or fried in
strips in soy sauce. When eaten boiled, its flavor resembles that of
a turnip.

(5) The pumpkin (Cucurbita pepo L) called nanka or kabocha,
the latter name being derived from the word Cambodia from which the
pumpkin was introduced into Japan. They are harvested in summer, and
one crop a year, generally for home use, is grown. If the flesh
[231] becomes too ripe and turns reddish and sweet, it is not relished and
the pumpkin is fed to the pigs.

(6) The cucumber (kiuri in Japanese, Cucumus sativus L) is a
very minor crop. In none of the villages were they generally grown,
and then only for home use.

(7) The hechima or tōgwa in Japanese, subui in Okinawan.[7] This
is very large and cylindrical. In exceptional specimens, its outward
appearance is indistinguishable from the water melon. Its flesh is
[184] white. In the two southern villages, the tōgwa is grown very sparingly.
In Katsuda and the surrounding villages, it is more common. Here it is
used to fill in during times of food shortage. Some specimens I have
[221] seen weighed over 100 pounds. It is planted after lunar New Years,
harvested in the 6th or 7th lunar month, a period reaching from about
January to May. From April to July, when other vegetables are scarce,
[252] it is often used as a substitute. The flesh when boiled is rather
tasteless; it is commonly boiled and served with chunks of meat. The
tōgwa, in the northern villages, is often stored in dark cool places
[251] away from the sunlight, often under the house. If not cut open, the
melon can be saved for a year.

7 I am not certain whether this is Luffa cylindrica Roem, Luffa petola, Ser, the Luffa sponge, rag gourd, etc., whose pulp disappears when ripe to be replaced by a web of fibres.

8

Daily Life of the Fishing Village

Fishing families may have informal gatherings toward the end of the day. On a late summer afternoon, the family may sit in the open doorway of the house, for hedges, fences, the barriers, and trees are rare. The wife may be nursing her naked child. Her husband, a fisherman, has changed into his indigo blue and white striped kimono, a tall, broad, deeply tanned man. Next to him sits his mother, over 70 years old, her hands tattooed, as are those of all the old women. She is wearing a kimono of the same color, but of a dot pattern. They sit on unrolled mats. On the veranda, three or four men, unwashed and still in their work clothes, discuss the events of the day. A lacquer tray with tea cups is on the floor near them and the tea (as it so often is) may be cold. There is brown sugar to eat along with the tea. The grandmother may be economically smoking a half or a third of a cigarette in the typical Japanese pipe. As it grows later, the wife gets up, pours some water in the stone mortar, and smashes the sweet potatoes with the long wooden pole. The men continue talking for a while, then take their leave. The wife, her work at the mortar finished, goes into the dirt kitchen to start the evening meal.

The wife of the fisherman has worries that do not bother the farmer's wife. There is always the danger that her husband, or son, will not return, a real possibility, of which the frequency of widowhood in Minatogawa is proof. Every season, there is at least one instance of a fisherman who has either been lost, or whose delay in returning has provoked intense worry. If crews are still out when an unexpected storm arises, there is considerable tension in the village. Since the war, rescues at sea are more likely than before. The village headman quickly reports overdue boats. The American forces have created much good will in seeking fishermen lost at sea.

Woman, on the other hand, have opportunities for leisure when the catch is light, or weather is unfavorable. At these times, they can busy themselves with other tasks, in the field, gathering stones, getting miscanthus, but they do not have the unremitting activity of the woman in the agricultural village. There is more visiting during the day than one observes in an agricultural village.

The fisherman, with or without land, tries to keep pigs and perhaps a few goats. In Minatogawa, the pens are often made of sandstone quarried here. Not only the floors and the sides, but the stalls are made of this material. One reason for this is the openness of the village and the danger that pigs will be killed in a storm. A typhoon may carry away the house, its owners having gone to the stronger house of a friend or relative, but pigs are an investment and an asset to be guarded.

Land Ownership and Rental Although Nanahan has only twenty-three houses, the land register lists thirty-five land owners. Two 423 427
of these are persons who are tenants and who own only the houselots where they live. In addition, three other families live in Nanahan, owning neither houselot nor land, but renting both from the owner. Five families have moved to urban areas, but have kept the land, and have rented it out, chiefly to the settlers in the community. Of the five, one had never owned a houselot. Two sold their houselots and one rented his house out. The remaining one rented his houselot, which was later converted by the tenant into a dry field.

There is almost no one in Nanahan who is neither a renter nor a rentee. Ten of the registered land owners are minors, most of whom have inherited land from their fathers who were killed in the invasion. Two are sons of the leading landowner, who has apparently registered part of his land in his sons' names to avoid heavy taxes.

The annual rent for grassland in Nanahan is ¥0.30, or thirty 'sen', 423
per 'tsubo'. In the one 'genya' sale for which information was available, a 427
doctor living in Kochinda village sold a Nanahan man 1,000 'tsubo' for a total 435
of ¥3,000. Dry land, or 'hatake', rents for ¥2 per 'tsubo', although better and more fertile land may command a higher rental. Riceland is not rented out for money, but for a portion of the crop. Under the most usual arrangement the renter keeps three-fifths of the crop and delivers to the owner the remaining two-fifths. The renter must furnish all the manure, fertilizer, and labor. The Nanahan land register records nine plots as having been sold since 1947.

The Nanahan farmers say that the best thing the military ever did was 423
to order in 1947 the making of a land survey and the drawing of land ownership maps. They said it is very effective in protecting boundaries and preventing quarrels.

3. Diet

Although daily Okinawan cuisine is in general very similar to that of 262
Japan, some difference is seen in the dependence on the sweet potato, and the 171
use of pork. Feast foods have more local flavor and are considerably different from those of Japan. The frequent typhoons occasionally cause temporary famine, and it is during the famines that Okinawan food and food substitutes differ most from Japanese standards. Finally, one major point of difference [263]
is in the use of sugar in the household; three centuries of experience with the crop has given rise to many traits and patterns centered around the use of sugar in the home. These four categories are discussed in this section on diet.

Ordinary Food The typical Okinawan breakfast is generally boiled sweet potatoes ('imo'), 'miso' (soybean paste) soup and vegetables. 262
The noon meal is boiled sweet potatoes, noodles, and vegetables. The evening meal consists usually of boiled rice, 'miso' soup and vegetables. The most frequently consumed vegetables are mustard cabbage, Chinese cabbage, green onions, wax melon, giant radish, chopped dried radish, carrots and cabbage. Other foods added as occasional variety are wheat fluff, seaweed, soybean curd, and canned fish.

261 262 Famine Food and Wartime Substitutes The standard famine foods on Okinawa have always been dried sweet potato chips or refuse from the making of starch, sago palm nuts and the pulp of the same palm. The latter two are eaten with restraint, as they contain small [252] amounts of an alkaloid poison. The sweet potato materials are made into soups, and the sago palm provides a type of flour for deep frying, or 'tempura'.

During the last war, soups were also made from the stem of the plant [137] Ligularia Kaempferia, known as 'tsuwabuki' in Japanese, and chiipappā in Okinawan. One Nanahan farmer related, "The chiipappā which I ate in Kin-son during the war was delicious, and one felt better after eating it. When I came back here, I tried our local variety, but it is bitter and inedible." The giant African snail was used to alleviate famine just before the invasion. It [252] was boiled in its shell, then de-shelled and the "snail juice" washed out with a bitter orange called shiisā. The meat was then fried with vegetables and the white part of a leek.

273 Japanese soldiers during the war taught the Okinawans how to make a 177 strong liquor from sugar cane, as no real 'sake' or 'awamori' was then avail- 276 able. Tobacco was also scarce, and pine tree bark was substituted. Some people preferred to smoke the leaves of the 'mogusa' plant, which is also used for cautery. One very poor family in Nanahan still retains the practice. Tea 272 could not be bought in the late pre-invasion period, and the beans of the lantana bush furnished a palatable substitute.

263 Uses of Sugar in the Home When a guest calls at an Okinawan farmer's home, he is served tea, black sugar chunks, and quite [574] often 'awamori'. Many other uses were related. It is used in batter for deep [157] frying; for cure of headache, sickness, and fainting spells; for a hangover; and when food is not delicious.

These rooms, opening on the front of the house along the corridor, do not run the full length of the house. A fourth, a back room, running across the back part may open on to the kitchen. Sometimes this room is only roughly finished and used for storage or sleeping purposes or both. A grandmother often takes the grandchildren (other than the infant) to bed with her in this room. 342 [353] [513]

The kitchen is set off from the rest of the house by being on a lower level, perhaps one step. The kitchen usually has a hard dirt floor. Occasionally it is cemented. Sometimes it has a chimney, sometimes a hole in the side of the wall, which the curious smoke rejects in favor of a leisurely diffusion throughout the other rooms of the house. The kitchen is not part of the house in the sense that the other rooms are. The shoes are not removed when entering it. The kitchen opens out on to a stone or dirt path. Women frequently still eat in the kitchen because of its convenience and the need of going in and out to get water, or to wash vegetables, or to get food from the shed during the preparation of a meal. [576] [264]

The stove is basically an open hearth with a hole at the top for the cooking pan. There is also a hole directly below this into which the fuel can be placed. More elaborate stoves may have three tiers: one for the cooking, one for putting the fuel in, the lower for the ashes. The most simple, in the very poorest houses, are little more than a circular group of stones laid on the ground built up so that a pan can be placed on top. The most elaborate, made of stone, might run across the width of the kitchen and have several openings. Fuel, such as odd branches, sticks of firewood brought from the northern (Kunigami) region, crushed and dried sugar cane, or miscanthus grass of varying length is put part way into the fire and pushed further in as the ends are burned off. 354 [372]

The all stone house is smaller than the wooden house. It invariably has a tile roof, for those able to afford the stone can also buy the tile. The stone blocks used in house construction are usually about nine feet by one foot on the edge.[6] The stones used as posts are buried two feet in the ground leaving seven feet for the upright. These blocks, called ishibashida when used for house construction, have the same width and breadth; they can be cut to any desired length to even off the sides. The stones are layed like bricks with mortar to form the walls of the house. The all stone house is not common, and is usually seen in the south, where the stone is quarried, in Minatogawa, and in adjacent villages. These houses are more modern, and often bathing facilities are built in. The stone house has the advantage of being cool in summer, warm in winter. 342 [333] [184] [515]

Finally, there are the simple structures, resembling shacks or shanties more than houses. These are, as one would expect, more frequent in the areas of the war's operations. There are three main varieties, though the combinations are numerous: (1) the all grass house, now uncommon. The sides of this wattled house are usually of [362]

6 Actually they are 9 x 1 x 1 shaku. A shaku is 0.994 feet.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

The Daily Diet

There is little variation in the basic diet in any of the villages. Among individual families, the chief difference is in the proportion of sweet potatoes to rice; this depends on economic status and the possession of rice fields, the poorer the family, the greater the reliance on the sweet potato. Except for seasonal foods, the diet is uniform throughout the year. Neither is there much variation in the three meals. The basic foods are: 262 [511] 262 264 272

For breakfast: A soup made out of hot water and bean paste, perhaps with bits of fish or meat added, sweet potatoes, and tea.

For lunch: Rice or sweet potatoes, raw, boiled or fried vegetables, and tea.

For dinner: Bean paste soup, rice if possible, or sweet potatoes, bean curd, and tea.

The foods which supplement these basic items are: (1) Fresh fish in season, uncommon for the reasons given in Chapter X. Imported dried sardines and canned fish from Japan are more common in agricultural villages than fresh fish. Even in Hinatogawa, fresh fish is scarce when the catch is light. In summer, the fish is too valuable to eat and only unsold fish is eaten. (2) In Matsuda village, rice and pork are more frequently eaten than in the two southern villages. Rice and pork consumption is indicative of a higher standard of living. Many families have rice twice a day. Beef may be boiled, and with vegetables added, made into a soup. In the winter, the Japanese dish sukiyaki may be eaten, but the meat in this dish is often meagre. 262 [184] [511] [252]

There are many occasional foods or side dishes of which the following are the most common: (1) bean curd (tōfu). This is made at home by women. (2) Taro (sato imo) boiled and eaten as a side dish. (3) A sweet or unsweetened fritter (tenpura). Japanese tenpura usually is shrimp or other fish fried in batter. Okinawan tenpura may or may not have a filling. Frequently the filling is a paste of brown sugar, or a slice of sweet potato. At celebrations, they may have a meat or a fish filler. (4) The rice cake (mochi) made of glutinous rice (mochigome). (5) Buckwheat paste (soba), and (6) noodles (sōmen). These are fairly cheap and are always purchased. (7) Bread (pan). This is a slightly sweetened large bun, normally with a little jam or jelly filler. The bun is baked in the large towns and distributed generally by boys on bicycles to the village stores. (8) Boiled or pickled radishes, boiled pumpkin cut in small squares and served with a piece of fish or meat. (9) Onion tops and spinach boiled with a seasoning of fish, chicken, or beef. (10) Various vegetables in season. 262 252

000 vegetables in season.

262 On special occasions, cookies, cakes, and more fresh fish and meat are served. In Okinawa any food out of the ordinary is called a feast or a treat (gochisu). Fresh fish, fish cakes, beef, pork make up a feast, for these are seldom served in the routine meal. Fish, pork, and beef are universally liked, but fish is hard to get, beef is expensive, and pork is a source of cash income. Many families eat pork only at New Year.

By almost any standard, including their own, the daily Okinawan diet is monotonous and unappetizing. Nevertheless the present diet is an improvement over the pre-war one. Most villagers said that before the war, the diet consisted of the sweet potato and bean paste soup. Bean paste soup usually has a few shreds of meat or fish in it. In times of scarcity, or if the family is very poor, only the paste is used, and when this is dissolved in hot water, it makes a kind of clear bouillon which is jokingly referred to as "mirror soup" (kagami miso) because one can see his face in it. In Okinawa, it is also called "nothing in it soup" (nnshiru). Since the war, the rice imports from Java, Siam, Egypt, and other foods sold through [339] import stores have provided more variety.

Goats are a cheap source of meat, but many do not like goat's 272 meat. The milk is not used for human consumption.

Tea is served at all hours. Many Okinawans, however, have acquired a taste for coffee. Tea is steeped in a large pot and [415] placed on a tray with the cups. Once made, tea stays in the pot until it is drunk. Frequently it is lukewarm or cold. Callers are [574] served tea and small chunks of brown sugar, picked up with chopsticks. Sugar is never used to sweeten tea. There is considerable eating [264] between meals, especially if visitors drop in. Women prepare a bowl of noodles, of cooked vegetables, fry an egg, or slice up some bean [362] curd. Villagers eat enormous quantities of food.

The people are very hospitable, but hospitality does not take 574 the form of inviting friends to dinner except on special occasions, like a birthday celebration or a wedding. One family does not entertain another at dinner, but an individual member of a family who has worked at a friend's house may stay for an evening meal. Or a child may eat with the family of his playmates. Entertaining does [562] not include a man and his wife. The wife normally stays at home.[1]

1 In Minatogawa, I was told that the beginning of the preparation of the meal was a sign for the visitor to return home. This was not due to the broad hint of the host but to the reserve (enryo) of the visitor. "Nun ni wariu" (Okinawan) "to be pressed by food" is said by those returning home at these times. One goes home at meal times.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

3

Daily Work Habits

512 The people of a village are continually busy. Their daily work habits depend on the season and the type of work. The work day of the fisherman is the least predictable because his activities are more sensitive to the present and anticipated weather. Most farmers continue working in their fields in a slight rain, but activity ceases with heavy rains. While the farmer works steadily and hard, there is a certain elasticity in his schedule. He does not go to the fields every morning at exactly the same time. Neither does he feel compelled to put in a full day's work every day; he is guided more by the tasks to be done. Work is interrupted by an occasional smoke or conversation with friends or neighbors passing by. There is a routine in daily life, but it is not strictly adhered to. Meal times vary from day to day sometimes by an hour. Time may be taken out from the fields to gather firewood, make bean curd, to dry out bean pods, or to fix up one's house. Three or four days in a row may be devoted to helping with another's house. The sun is the guide to time. Most houses have clocks but few are running and they are not well regulated. Perhaps the chief distinction between agriculture and fishing work is that in the former, the tasks of all blend together.

[264] [476] [805]

A farmer's work day in summer begins about 8 or 9 in the morning and ends almost the same time in the evening. Full advantage is taken of the daylight hours. In summer, the evening meal is not eaten until 9 and often later. By the time the meal is finished and the table cleared, it is ten. After short visits within the family, or with neighbors, the farmer retires about 11. In the winter, the routine is the same, but the day's work stops earlier, and the evening meal is at about 6 P.M. The fishermen do not have this unbroken routine. There is often night work and the day may be used for sleeping. Intense activity is followed by periods of greater or less leisure.

4

Clothing

175 292 565 [286] 291 [537] 000

The history of costume in Okinawa is full of interest, but it is too broad a subject to deal with here. In the old Okinawan kingdom, clothing and its color, hair pins, caps, and other articles of men's wear were used to designate rank. The clothing of the commoners had much less variety. Until quite recently, banana fibre was used in farmers' clothing. A dyed indigo kimono, stripes for men and dots for women, is still worn.

Present day clothing is of a non-descript character. The war

shopping trip to a larger town. In the very common evening visiting among men, women participate very little. 562

There has been some improvement in the social position of women since the war. In Hanashiro, for example, before the war, the husband, children, and grandparents ate in the second or third room, while the wife and sometimes the eldest daughter ate in the kitchen. (The Okinawan kitchen, though part of the house, differs from the other rooms in that it has direct access to the outside, is generally on a level with the ground, and has a dirt, cement, or stone floor). The wife in preparing the meal can go back and forth readily and need not take off her clogs or wash her feet if she goes barefoot when she goes up into the rooms. Her meal is a slight interlude between duties. 562 264 [342]

In most homes now, the women eat with the family in the main house. Some old women still spend most of their time in the kitchen watching the fire and eating their meals there. One of the reasons given for the change in attitude toward women is that many of the repatriated Okinawans brought newer ideas with them and did not practice segregation at meal times. [178]

Another important fact about social life is the drinking of the men and the abstinence of the women.[3] Young men usually begin drinking sake around the age of marriage. It is exceptional for a young man in his teens or early twenties to drink. But once this dividing line is passed, it is the exceptional man who does not drink. In each village one finds a few lifelong teetotalers. Drinking is always done in company, as the climax of a task completed, because of some happy turn of events, or because there is a party or celebration. As a general rule, the village men do not drink every day, but only when a suitable occasion arises. While there is drunkenness, I did not observe the solitary, prolonged drinking commonly associated with alcoholism in western societies. Prolonged drinking at night has the expected effects the next day, but there is very little remorse, unless a man has done something of which he is subsequently ashamed. Men who have drunk too much the night before do not hesitate to lie in bed 273 [562] [133]

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 295--ANALYST]

3 In Okinawa, the commonest and cheapest alcoholic drink is sake. This is not the same as Japanese sake, the light rice wine, slightly resembling sauterne, that is usually served warm or hot. Okinawan sake is awamori, a much stronger drink of distilled rice spirits, a variety of the Japanese shochu. The alcoholic content of awamori ranges from about 25% to 30%. It is a raw liquor with an unpleasant taste. It is not the favorite, but it is the cheapest drink. Awamori is made from rice in small distilleries throughout Okinawa, bottled in large jugs and distributed to village shops. Most shops carry it. Sometimes there are special sake shops. Awamori or sake is sold for about Y14 per go (.318 pint). The normal intake for an evening is considered to be 2 go. Most men are fairly inebriated after drinking this much. The American army canteen, when available, is the favorite sake container. Japanese and American beer and Japanese sake are liked, but too expensive. 279 435 809

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Home Industries, Arts, and Crafts

438 Home industries, arts, and crafts are not a conspicuous part of the life of the villages studied. Even before the war, home crafts, training in dancing, singing, landscape gardening were not cultivated to any degree.

252 Certain foods, like bean curd and bean paste, are made in the home. There is a standard method of preparing bean curd. The soy beans are soaked until soft and then mashed in a hand operated stone mill or quern. This mill has two round stones. The top stone, turned by hand, rests on the stationary bottom stone. The crushed beans, thinned by frequent dashes of water, ooze out of the space between the two stones. This liquid is collected and strained through a cloth drawn over the top of a frame box. The residue in the cloth is saved for pig food. The liquid is boiled. After it curdles, it is strained. The curds remain in the cloth, the liquid [231] is also used for the pigs. The curds, of the consistency of a soft cottage cheese, are wrapped in a cloth and put in the frame box. A tight fitting lid is put on the box and pressed down hard to expel the rest of the liquid. After the curd has been thoroughly pressed, the frame box is turned upside down, the curd taken out, and the cloth wrapper removed. The smooth mold can now be sliced. It is a common sight to see women operating these mills in the villages before a family celebration or a public holiday. Bean curd, fried, boiled in a soup, or in a mixture with vegetables, or as an ingredient [519] of sukiyaki is always served at a party.

25 Bean paste (miso), an even more important food, is also made in the home. Most families serve bean paste soup (misoshiru) every 252 meal every day. It has four basic ingredients: soy beans, rice (or barley), salt, and water. Recipes differ considerably among [264] families. In one recipe, 8 sho of rice are boiled, after which it is spread out on a large flat basket to drain, and then placed on a mat and allowed to ferment for about one week. An equal amount of soy beans, crushed in a stone mortar, is mixed with the rice. Salt (about 7 go, one go being 1/10 of a sho) is added and the mixture is boiled.[8] The salt retards fermentation and is a preservative. If obtainable, an American hand food grinder is preferred to the mortar and pestle. The mixture is put in a large jar (tsubo) which is placed in the kitchen or in a storeroom and allowed to stand at least a year, sometimes for three. With age, the paste becomes sweeter and is considered to be better. A woman may make three large jars of bean paste 3 times a year, the frequency depending on the size of the jars. Some are 5 1/2 feet high. Occasionally the cycad is an ingredient of miso. Every house has a supply of bean paste. When ready for use, it is very soluble in water.

[604] 8 A koku equals 10 to equals 100 sho equals 1000 go, 47.96 US gallons liquid, 5.12 US dry bushels.

There are no uniform sleeping arrangements. The larger the family, the more corners of the front rooms and rear room are occupied. Since the number of comforters is limited in most families, two or three members of the family share one. Father and mother do not always sleep together, and, even if they do, an infant may sleep between them. When there are several children, another child may sleep next to the father, so that in one row there may be mother, a baby, father, and an older child. One or two children usually sleep with the grandmother in another corner. In several families an older sister may sleep with younger brothers; in others, two elder brothers, or an older sister and an older brother, may sleep next to each other. Children do not usually sleep at other people's houses, but when they reach junior high school age, a girl may stay with a girl friend or a group of boys may sleep together at one house. 513

A simple desk and chair are kept in each house where children go to school. These are put in one corner of the front room, except in large houses with a third room in front, which is reserved for schoolchildren of the house, who also sleep there. Around the study corner, books are kept on a crate or shelf. Only the biggest houses have a niche in their "first" room. Paintings and scrolls, used to decorate alcoves before the war, have been lost, and few people have acquired replacements. Many families decorate rooms by pasting pictures from magazines and newspapers on the walls. Some have reproductions of the Japanese Crown Prince Akihito, others scenic pictures from Japan. 352 353

Only a few recent buildings have inner sliding doors with paper screens. The paper is often left off during the hot season and put on before New Year. If children or cats are around, the splendor does not last long, and even an adult's hand frequently punctures the screen in trying to open the door. Holes are left unrepaired for the remainder of the year. 342 356

The eating corner between kitchen and rear room is the place where most families gather in the evening, especially during the winter. An informal caller may join them there. If it is cold, a brazier is put in the center, filled with pieces of charcoal on top of old ashes to provide heat for those sitting around it. These braziers vary in type: the poorest families use the bottom of an oil drum filled with ashes; others use pottery jars or small wooden boxes lined with metal. 342 264 354

Crockery used in most houses is of a simple type. If breakage occurs, as it often does, a cup or bowl can be replaced for a few yen at the grocery store. Well-to-do families may have an extra set of teacups, which are used for guests. Several families also own lacquer ware, but it is not in daily use. Like cups and bowls, chopsticks are simple and inexpensive. They last a long time and are seldom lost. Children do 415 [412]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

an empty oxygen bottle with a wooden mallet to mark the time. The noon bell tells people in the fields and mountains that it is time for the midday meal and helps those who have a clock to compare the time. The evening bell indicates that it is time to end the day. Schoolchildren do not need a clock, since they get up early in the morning and go to school soon after, knowing that they are probably early. For most adults, daylight and sun position are enough to tell the approximate hour of the day. Some take arrival and departure of the bus, four times a day, as a point of orientation. 805 512 [464]

Old women are the first to rise in the morning. Long before dawn during the winter, or with the first light of the summer day, they get up and start a fire to boil sweet potatoes and heat the soybean soup. Blue smoke rising through the thatched roof into the early morning sky indicates that life in the village has begun. Children soon awake. The door is pushed open and a sleepy child appears to urinate off the edge of the house. Men are the last to rise. Considering the effect of the sake which they may have consumed on the preceding evening, it is remarkable that they are able to wake up so soon. By 6:30 the sleepiest person has risen. 512 [887] [252] [514]

The addition of outer clothes to the underclothing in which most people sleep is simple. Cold water splashed over the face and a quick turn at the toothbrush is all the toilet needed to begin a new day. [513] [515]

The task of folding comforters and taking down the mosquito net falls to one of the older children or to the mother. Older children and young girls help to carry water from the tank, the first task that has to be done after getting up. After breakfast, women feed the pigs. By about 7 o'clock everybody is ready for work. On a good day people leave for the mountains or start toward their fields—schoolchildren are on their way, too. [857] [462]

By 8 o'clock, except during very poor weather, the village is left to the old people and young children. Little boys and girls hang around, waiting for kindergarten to start at 9 o'clock. Play begins for them after they leave the house in the morning and does not end until evening. [855] [872]

For men and women, the routine of work in fields and forests is prescribed by seasonal activities which demand their special attention, but there are daily chores, such as digging potatoes, picking vegetables, and collecting feed for the animals and firewood for cooking. Only a few men who go to the mountains, taking their midday meal along, are away all day. The rest come and go during the day from the rice paddies, potato fields, or forests, so that there is repeated contact between children and their parents. A young child, even if left in the 512 461 [855]

512 461 [855] [262] care of an older sibling or the kindergarten teacher, therefore has a chance to see the mother. Men and women who have gone to the mountains return with their first load of wood around 10 o'clock. The mother will return again around noon and prepare the midday meal: noodle soup, fried cabbage with dried shrimps, perhaps rice, and always sweet potatoes. After lunch there is a short rest period. During the hot summer months this rest extends to an hour or more, and on the hottest days people lie in their houses sleeping during the noon hours. Midday is also a time for social interaction. There is some visiting back and forth. Old people always seek each other's company, and younger ones back from the fields or forest may join them for a while.

[574]

512 [231] 512 515 Toward evening blue smoke indicates again that food is being prepared. Pigs are fed by the women in late afternoon. Then women, young girls, or boys fill water buckets and carry them home. After 5 there is a heavy run on the tank or faucets, and this is often the time when families start preparing a bath. It takes until dark to warm up an oil drum filled with water and heated underneath by scraps of wood and twigs. People take their bath after dark. Since the bath house was destroyed during the war, ablutions take place outside near the tank under a faucet or in an old oil drum in one's backyard.

512 [231] [938] Young men who return from the mountains wash their horses in the sea. The women who sell fish call on each house at this hour to peddle their wares. The village store, which has only seen a few customers in the morning and during noon, now has its busiest hour. Mothers send their children to buy noodles, kerosene, rice, or seaweed or else they come themselves, a baby on their back or the toddlers following them.

[889] This is also the hour when the young men and women gather to do joint work in the fields of their association or to play volleyball on the playground. Meanwhile, all forest workers have returned and busily cut the last pieces of firewood, bundling them before the store clerk comes along to buy the load. Some adults sit near the playground and watch the children.

512 264 Work goes on until dark. Only then do families gather for the evening meal. During the summer this may be as late as 8 o'clock. For many families this is the only time during the day when everybody gathers in the family circle. At this time family affairs may be discussed and plans made for the next day's work or other pending matters.

512 262 264 The evening meal consists of rice, a bean paste or noodle soup, and some fish. Meat is served occasionally if a goat is killed or on holidays when someone has slaughtered a pig. Most families cannot afford to buy more than small portions of meat, which are fried or made into

soup. Nothing is wasted and leftovers are kept for the next meal. The majority of people are fast eaters, and chopsticks move from bowl to mouth quickly and deftly. Some families eat silently, others enjoy talking during the meal. 512 267 269 [521]

Before and after full moon, people like to go out after supper and gather in small groups by the store to talk and smoke or to visit each other. Less running back and forth is observed during dark nights. There is also a seasonal variation in that respect. On cold winter nights, or when it rains, doors are closed early, and visitors slip into the house by the side kitchen door. On warm nights all houses are open, and one can see people sitting in their living room by the light of a kerosene lamp; passers-by just call over and then go in for a chat. Guests are served tea, bits of brown sugar, and other sweets. Men get together at this time and start talking over a cup of sake. A relative or neighbor, bottle in hand, walks in and joins the party. Here and there somebody pulls a samisen out of the corner and starts singing. 512 579 [521] [262]

Evenings are also the time for village meetings, finance group meetings, family gatherings, and other formal get-togethers. Several times during the week a light shines from the village office or the store office, where some of the village leaders meet to discuss community affairs. In the winter, household-head meetings or other general meetings are called for 8 o'clock; in the summer they do not start until 9 o'clock. In the absence of clocks, few meetings ever start on time. 512 623

The young men and women have their get-togethers at the clubhouse in Udenaha. Both sexes attend, sometimes for lectures by a village official on village affairs, sometimes for lessons in bookkeeping and the use of the abacus in business, for which one village leader dedicates his time, or for other educational purposes. Once a week they have a social evening with discussion and sometimes folk dances. On nights when no meetings are scheduled, young men gather at someone's house to smoke, drink, or sing together. If enough sake is available, parties can become noisy. Occasionally a fight or quarrel starts later in the evening after everybody has drunk steadily. Such interruptions on quiet evenings are rare and seldom occur more than once or twice a month. Loud singing at midnight or later, a group of gay men knocking on somebody's door, these are the only disturbances an early sleeper may experience if a party is held somewhere. 512 883 571 [544] [578]

By 11 o'clock mosquito nets are hung in the rooms and comforters spread on the floor. Except in the house where men gather to drink, quiet descends over the village around that time. Individuals, however, may be seen until long after midnight. Taira goes to sleep late, and although people claim that everyone gets eight hours of sleep, it 512 513

243 offered at the village shrine by the priestess. Today key agricultural
[782] events are still marked by small ceremonies in which the priestess be-
[793] seeches or thanks the gods, but the actual day for planting is determined by weather and the condition of seed.

When the rice is transplanted in March, the whole family spends long hours in the paddy. Then the paddies swarm with people; some prepare the soil by spreading fertilizer, others stand in the ooze to set the seedlings. Transplanting is done by mutual assistance groups, which
[476] will be discussed later in this chapter. They guarantee everyone a sufficient number of helping hands during the painstaking, rapid work, which has to be finished within a limited time. In a few days the whole paddy area suddenly turns from brown into the tender green of the young shoots. Once planted, intermittent weeding is all the care that is needed.

[261] In July the rice turns brown and is ready for harvest. This is an event of joy for the whole village, for young rice is most delicious and
[857] loved by everyone. By then vacations have started, so that schoolchildren can help to cut rice and carry bundles to the spot where it is threshed in treadle-type machines, located either near the field or behind one's house. As soon as the rice is threshed, the grain is carried to a place in the village where the wind blows freely. There a woman holds a flat winnowing basket filled with grain at an angle to let the
[782] breeze separate the chaff from the grain. The first rice is cut by men
[264] and offered at the family shrine before the whole family eats a specially
[251] prepared gruel. Rice is usually stored in one or two oil drums in the kitchen-side corner of the front room. Better houses have a metal-lined
[256] storeroom. Once a week a supply is taken to the miller to be hulled and polished.

Those whose fields are sufficiently wet plant a second crop, and the cycle is repeated once more in midsummer, with the second harvest falling in late December.

244 Sweet potatoes can be planted throughout the greater part of the year if the soil is not too dry. They take from five to seven months to
[262] grow to full size. Although less popular than rice, no part of the plant
[231] is wasted. The large tubers are consumed, the small ones are usually fed to the pigs; the young leaves are used as vegetables, the older ones cooked into pig food. Slips are cut and used for planting a new crop.

The preferred variety of potato (*tadushi imu*) is grown in the dry paddies during the second rice season. To plant this potato, the soil must be piled up to form a long, narrow, flat-topped mound. One of the hardest jobs for farmers, this is done by men in the humid heat of a midsummer day. Women set the slips after the earth has been moved.
[251] These potatoes are the only variety which are thought to improve with

846 461 before noon but for the fact that she had to return to attend to the infant.

854 853 594 [887] If a grandmother is available, the mother straps the 3-to-4 months old baby onto the grandmother's back in the morning and goes off to the mountains with her husband to haul firewood or to the fields to cultivate sweet potatoes. For the first six months she returns to the house frequently during the day to nurse the infant. It is likely that while the infant demands feeding at short intervals, a mother will work in or around the village. At one of the locations for firewood bundling she can make the bamboo rings, fit the cut wood into them, and stack the bundles.

512 854 [853] [887] Throughout the morning hours grandmother, with the infant on her back, wanders about the village. Occasionally she offers her dry breast to the bawling infant who cannot seem to wait until its mother returns from the fields or mountains. If the mother is nearby, she hurries so that the infant does not cry for long. When the hour for lunch approaches, the grandmother hurries home to begin preparations for the noonday meal. As she walks, the infant's head bobs up and down, forward and back precariously, but it continues to sleep undisturbed.

[264] After lunch has been eaten and the infant nursed, the adults in the household sip their tea and rest for an hour or so. Within that hour the mother may play with the infant or nap with it nestled in her arms. Rousing themselves from the noon nap, the adults return to the mountains and fields. The infant is again strapped to the grandmother's back, but this time as she slowly wends her way to the main thoroughfare, she calls out to someone in a house which boasts one of the few clocks in the village. "Hey, what is the time there?" The answer will quicken her pace, for it is near the time for an older sibling to return from school. As she reaches the main street, she joins other grandmothers as well as mothers who are anxiously scanning the direction from which the schoolchildren return. Each admires the infants on the other's back and exchanges timely topics of the day, but as the minutes pass and no children appear, they begin to grumble about the "irresponsible siblings who *must* be playing on their way home." At last the older child returns, and the grandmother hurries home with her charges, promptly transfering the infant onto the back of the older sibling. The old woman rushes to get her hoe and basket, mumbling to herself about the quantity of potatoes she should harvest for the next day's use.

512 854 857 887

854 857 594 An older child who ignores the crying of his infant charge will be criticized severely by his peers. If the mother happens to be in the

effectively in the case of a boy who did not respond to red pepper or black paper. The mother described how she tried to fend off the boy one day by simply refusing. As he fussed and cried there was a loud clanging of the pots in the kitchen. The boy stopped crying and looked at the mother who pretended to be very frightened. "Look now! There! It's a big rat coming for your mother's breast, let's hide it, quick, quick!" And with that she buttoned her blouse hurriedly and took the boy in her arms. She laughed as she described how she reminded him thereafter about the rat and how he ran to her and held onto her breasts protectively. 862

For the child, this whole interim period is a stormy one filled with tantrums, whining, and obstinancy. At no time, however, does the child resort to thumbsucking or other breast substitutes. For older siblings who are his caretakers, this period is a very unpleasant one. Many things displease the child. If his caretaker squats, he screams to have him stand; if he stands, he whines to have him walk. Frequently the sibling caring for him reflects the changing attitude toward the child, and, jiggles him up and down impatiently with a frown and curt comment, "What is it!" [856] [857]

As far as actual nourishment is concerned, weaning should not be so traumatic. Long before weaning commences, when the child is about one, he is given a spoon with which he can learn to feed himself. If families can afford it, they purchase new spoons and special small-sized rice bowls as well as chopsticks for these novices. When the budget is so limited that purchases of new implements are impossible, adult-sized ones are used, and often as not the tablespoon used for cooking and serving proves useful. [853] [412] [415]

At mealtime the entire household sits in the back room, which is next to the kitchen. The head of the family sits nearest to the raised hearth, and the rest of the members form a circle to the left and right of him at a low round or rectangular table. The baby sits on his mother's or grandmother's lap. Usually the mess resulting from this early training period in self-feeding is ignored. The adult holding the novice in his lap occasionally picks up the dropped rice and thrusts small pieces of fish or vegetable into his mouth. Only when he bangs the table excessively with his spoon do his elders mildly chide him. At first the adult holding him will absently reach for the offending arm and slip some food into his mouth. Later they will begin reprimanding him by scowling and glaring at him saying, "Me-me!" (child talk for "eye," meaning "I look at you disapprovingly.") But all this is done in a very gentle way, and often when the novice bursts into tears from fright of the disapproving response, he will be hugged, laughed at, and 853 264 862

264
862

[853] told, "No, no, no." In this manner the child is taught his early table manners.

As the child approaches the age of 2, the mother begins to praise him for eating without messing but still does not scold him if he fails to do so. He is the center of interest at the table, and his grandparents as well as older siblings encourage him with smiles and expressions of approval. At this time he loses interest in the spoon and is attracted to [412] the chopsticks, which everyone else at the table uses. As he struggles to handle the sticks, the adult holding him sets them in his hand. Holding his hand, with the chopsticks held in the proper position, they guide him a few times; then, as he protests and indicates annoyance at being restrained, they leave him to experiment for himself. This ritual is repeated at each meal, but the child is fed from the adult's chopsticks until he has mastered the technique for himself. The child is not hurried along in his experimentations or learning attempts. The adult praises each fortunate action and quickly slips food into the smiling, open mouth, and the child continues without protest.

Before each meal, people in the village raise their bowls and chopsticks slightly and bow their heads momentarily, murmuring, "Itadakimasu" (a polite signal that the meal is about to be partaken). Similarly, at the conclusion of the meal, the bowl is raised with a brief nod of the head, but this time the expression offered is "Gochiso-sama" (to indicate it was a treat . . . feast). Two very outspoken and good-humored mothers would nurse their young babies, then take the little hands, fold them over each other, palm sides up, gently push the bodies forward, and say, "Gochiso-sama!" Serious training in this aspect of eating etiquette, however, is left until the child is learning to feed himself.

862 Weaning, then, does not involve a dramatic change in all aspects of the diet of a child, and in many ways may be most traumatic as a with-
866 drawal of the indulgent nurturance of the mother. With the arrival of the new baby, a further step in the emotional weaning takes place. The child is denied his mother's back, for she now has a new baby to tend and eventually to carry.

Treatment of succorance during weaning contrasts sharply with that of the infancy and early childhood period. Unless there is a grandmother or older siblings in the family, this is the time of real deprivation for the child. He is ridiculed, shamed, and punished for demanding to be carried. It is a time marked with temper tantrums, extended periods of crying, and sullenness. Without doubt, this is the most trying stage in the life of a Taira child. Until the words, "You are a big

872 The principal smiles as he approaches the classroom but soon begins
[876] to frown. He sees that the boys have been misbehaving. Returning the slight bow of the first-grade teacher, he stands just inside the door, looking over the boys with a disapproving eye. Immediately order and quiet reign.

After a short review of the morning's lesson, the teacher picks up each of the books which has been issued to the children. As she explains the contents of each, she names them and lectures on the care and use of books. She interrupts her talk when she notices two children without books. Because they had no older siblings and their parents had failed to appear two days before to pay for and receive their textbooks, these children had none. She quickly jots down their names and the name of the village from which they came and assures them that they will receive their books the next day.

872 At 12:15 the children are sent out to wash their hands and told to
● 264 eat their lunches. It seems that the most wanted, long awaited event
[863] of the school day has finally arrived, for even the best behaved children break into a run before they reach the door. The teacher's plea to walk out of the room goes unheeded.

Those children with elaborate lunches and containers proudly spread their meals out on the desk. Rice balls, a fried egg seasoned with soy sauce and bits of scallion, a touch of soybean paste, and a sliver of fish, packed by the proud mother of a family of some means, are exhibited freely. With some reluctance another lunch, consisting of rice balls, pickled vegetable, and a bit of bean paste, is shown. Those with three or four sweet potatoes and a small handful of vegetable mixed with soybean paste or with sweet potatoes alone slip out bits of food from their closed containers in quick, shy movements. When the girls have satisfied their curiosity as to the contents of each other's lunch boxes, they begin to exchange bits of egg for pickled vegetables, soybean paste with scallion for a sweet potato or some fish. The boys do not exchange portions of their meal but instead eat silently and swiftly.

872 Standing beside their desks on which lie books and empty lunch
boxes, the children face the teacher. "Students, good-bye!" "Teacher,
855 good-bye!" answer the children in unison. Older siblings and the few mothers who accompanied the first graders to school gather. The questioning is rapid and amusing. "What did you do, did you behave, did you eat all of your lunch, did you learn anything?" Without waiting for answers, the older siblings, who have to remain in school until 2:35, begin to recite the rules on walking home and to reiterate the

TRAINING IN SKILLS

868 There are no complex systems of training in skills. Adults rely heavily on observation and imitation on the part of children; they seldom "teach" them to do things systematically. Parents were surprised and amused when questions such as "How do you teach children to transplant rice, harvest rice, or otherwise help in the fields?" were put to them. "We don't teach them; why they just learn by themselves," was the usual answer.

Children learn by observing and experimenting. Whatever adults are doing, children are present to watch their activities and overhear their conversations. Although parents do not seem to make any special [852] efforts to have a child attend a function so that he might learn adult ways, they take their children to the fields, parties, public meetings, and rituals long before they consider them ready to absorb any learning.

868 In the fields, children play among rows of vegetables. When a parent, grandparent, or older sibling stops for a rest to have a cup of tea, 857 the little ones pick up a hoe and attempt to imitate their elders. While 243 rice is being transplanted, throngs of children sit on the dikes in the [264] paddies, dangling their legs in the mud. They intently watch adults transplanting and weeding the paddies. Gradually they edge down into the mud to stamp with their bare feet in the ooze as they have seen adults do, until a warning shout arrests their educational water play. During the harvest season, groups of children carry mats out to the paddies and watch infants who need to be near their mothers for their feedings. While the infants sleep, the older children walk along the dikes, watching the work that is going on and clamoring to be of some help. Even a little child of kindergarten age stands by gloomily until an adult laughingly hands him a small bundle of rice sheaves to carry over to the threshing machine. By the time the child is 8, he has learned enough by watching to attempt cutting and tying small bundles of rice sheaves.

868 After the harvest, rice straw can be found in great quantities around the village. Some of the best straw is preserved to be made into rope. 283 If there are rainy days, men will sit and twist the rice straw into rope, [526] while 8- and 9-year-olds sit and watch. In a few days rope games and swings are in evidence everywhere. Little 4- and 5-year-olds stand by watching the older children, and soon they pick up stray bits of straw and twist them to no avail. A younger sibling whines as her move-

ments fail to form rope. Her brother quietly takes the straw and without a word demonstrates the deft movement. She watches and tries again when her brother hands it back to her. She is unsuccessful. As she starts to whine again, her brother picks up a length of finished rope and gives it to her. She runs happily toward the playground, waving her rope in the air. 868 [283]

Although young children are not taken to the mountains, they can sit in the village afternoons and watch adults sawing, splitting, and working the bamboo rings used in tying faggots. Boys do not go into the mountains to cut firewood until they are about 10 years old, girls until they are 12, although they may have begged their parents for several years to let them help with cutting and hauling of firewood. But as long as they are still too young for mountain work, they try to use the cutting tools. Tools are left within reach of children so that opportunities for experimentation are almost unlimited. Only their size and weight deter the youngest children. A 2-year-old girl was seen imitating her mother by attempting to whittle off pieces of bamboo with a large 12-inch blade bushknife. A teen-age girl working nearby passed the little girl several times without saying anything. The little girl's father also worked nearby but, like everyone else, was too absorbed in his work to notice his daughter. Finally her mother looked up from where she worked, noticed the huge knife in the girl's hand, and saying in a loud, angry voice, "Why do you carry this, fool?" took the knife away. [313] [412]

Other small children pick up hoes and forks to try them in the yard or in the pigsty. Sickles and knives are used expertly by many 6-year-olds. Bandaged fingers and numerous little scars are evidences of learning and experimentation. Occasionally an adult will say to a 9- or 10-year-old. "Hold the sickle this way so you won't get hurt," but more often than not the child has already learned by himself. One 4½-year-old boy shinnied up the side of a feed box to get a sickle. There was no adult around to peel the long stalk of sugar cane he had been given, so, with expert strokes and handling of the razor-sharp tool, he shaved off the thick, hard skin. By the time his mother arrived on the scene, the child was busily chewing and sucking on a considerable length of the peeled cane. The mother was asked who had taught him to use the sickle, and she was at a loss for a reply. "I don't know! He must have watched us and learned by himself by trying it out!" she said. [412] [264]

Little girls watch their mothers cooking and doing other household work. By watching and asking questions they learn how to light a fire and when to extinguish it to cook a perfect pot of rice. They [252] [296]

CHAPTER IX: HEALTH

W. P. Suttles

121 This chapter will begin with a section on the human body---attitudes
128 toward and practices concerned with its care and its functions. This will be followed by a section on sanitation---attitudes and practices. A third section will deal with concepts of the supernatural and their relationship to illness. A fourth will describe the various types of "medical" practitioners found in Okinawan society, and Okinawan attitudes toward modern medicine. It will be seen that this chapter contains much that is often described under the heading "Religion" or even "Values" and contains little on the actual state of health and incidence of disease among the Okinawans. But we believe that this is as it should be in a report on Okinawan culture. That sanitation is poor and disease is prevalent is no doubt all too apparent to the medical observer. A detailed study of the diseases themselves must be made by research workers competent in that field. A study of native culture, however, reveals some of the underlying causes of poor sanitation and poor health. We feel therefore that this is a valid unit and properly put under the title "Health".

1. The Human Body: Practices and Attitudes

261 Eating and Drinking Okinawans enjoy food and drink and make numerous events the occasion for their enjoyment. Questions about holidays frequently soon elicit long descriptions of the types of dishes appropriate to each. To a Westerner the variety may not seem great, but to the Okinawans a slight difference in the consistency of a soup may call for a
262 differentiating term. The variety of foods is probably as great as it can be within the limits of Okinawan resources. Foods are valued differently.
[171] Rice ranks high, sweet potatoes low. Pork is esteemed, as in China but not in Japan.

• 264 Three meals a day is usual. Rice, soup, and boiled foods are served in bowls, fried foods in flat dishes. These are eaten with chopsticks. The bowl may be held in the hand near the mouth; soup may be drunk directly from it. Some foods, such as noodles, are habitually sucked up with considerable noise. This noise is neither made purposely nor is it avoided; it just does not matter. Children may bolt their food without being scolded for it, but adults seem to have no compulsion to eat fast, as the Japanese are said to
[574] have. On festive occasions men are served in the first room, women in the second. On these occasions a portion may be served already in a box so that it may be taken home. On ordinary occasions the family may eat together,
[321] though women often eat in the kitchen by the oven. Conversation of both
[574] light and serious matter may accompany eating. Serving food is essential to the entertainment of guests and to the payment of social debts.

273 Drink is also essential to entertainment. Tea is drunk first thing
[272] in the morning and at any time of the day or evening. But for men something stronger is also desirable. Usually it is the clear, strong, distilled drink

had complained to the police about this but the police had said that this was a mental disorder and therefore not their affair. The disregard shown the young boys in this case accords with Okinawan attitudes toward children discussed elsewhere; they are not developed enough, perhaps, to be corruptible. Another example is that of a male employee of a 'ryōtei' in another city who is in the habit of putting on a woman's kimono and wig and singing in a falsetto voice for the amusement of male guests. He is not known to "take guests" but is very effeminate in his ordinary manner. School girls are said to form strong attachments to one another, but there is no indication of the persistence of such relationships. 838 [858]

The terms for the sex organs, tani, "penis", and hoo, "vulva", are used rather freely by older persons, but children are expected to use them only for serious purposes. It is said that if children used the terms repeatedly in joking they might be scolded for "dirty talk". An old woman once told me, in the presence of several younger women and a twelve-year-old girl, an amusing story about an old woman who always sat with her kimono pulled up and was therefore called "Hoo-Hai Ayaa", "Mother Vulva-Visible". Everyone laughed but the girl, who looked rather embarrassed. After the battle in 1945 when American food was issued in quantities, Okinawans became familiar with wiener sausages, which they still remember with relish as tani-gwaa, "little penises". As in Japanese, the word for sexual relations is formed by adding the verb "to do" to the word for vulva. This term would not be used before children or in polite conversation. 834 864

2. Sanitation

An American, watching the habits of daily living of an Okinawan family, may find his first impression to be one of shock. In the morning the sliding doors that kept out any fresh air all night are pushed open and the children, dressed in the underclothes they have slept in, walk sleepily to the step and urinate off it. Father steps down and walks a few feet around the side of the house and does the same. Grandmother is already in the kitchen preparing breakfast and smoke soon fills the upper air in the main part of the house, looking for a way out in the absence of a chimney. Father goes to the well with a small towel around his neck, throws cold water over his face, and washes it with a little soap. He then brushes his teeth long and hard and puts the family toothbrush back on the hook for Mother to use later. Mother takes down the great mosquito net the family has slept under, folds up the quilts, and brings out breakfast---tea, a thin soup, and sweet potatoes. Soon tea grounds and potato peels come flying out onto the ground in rapid succession. A chicken walks in from a neighbor's yard, pecks diffidently at a potato peel, and walks on, leaving a token of gratitude behind. The sun begins to warm the air and the flies to swarm around the toilet behind the house, into the kitchen, across the remains of the family's meal in the main rooms, and around the scraps in front. Father goes to work and the older children go to school. Mother washes the dishes at the well, in cold water without soap, and leaves them to dry in the sun. Flies light on them. 751 512 [514] [515] [264] [351] [264]

The visitor looks into the toilet. It is an oil drum with a platform over it and a wood and canvas shelter over that. The cover is off. 751 514 343

751
514 The drum is nearly full and its surface is in constant motion, a seething
343 mass of maggots. One of those men with the carts that cause you to cross
[364] to the other side of the road will come in a few days to dump it, he hopes.
574 He crosses the yard and is invited into the house. He takes off his shoes
515 and steps up onto the floor. It is surprisingly clean, he finds. A mat is
[356] spread and he sits cross-legged upon it. Tea is offered and he accepts, thinking that it must have been made from boiled water. He learns later that he was wrong. He is given a fan and perceives that its function is keeping the flies away as much as it is creating a breeze. In a spirit of friendly cooperation he and Grandfather take turns shooing the flies off the broken chunks of black sugar that have been placed before them. A larger blue-bottle fly enters and someone makes a special effort to chase
[825] it out. Should the visitor be so crude and impolite as to mention flies and in connection with the toilet, it will be pointed out that only the blue-bottle flies are hatched from the maggots in the toilet. The smaller black house-flies simply produce more flies and hence are harmless.

• [264] Bananas are served and the peels follow those of the potatoes out
onto the ground. Smaller children run in and out. One child comes in with
[515] its nose running. After a time Mother pulls up its shirt tail and wipes the
mucus off the upper lip. The child has not been well; Mother or Grandmother
[757] may take it to the yabuu, who will burn moxa on its skin at the proper
places. A neighbor's child walks by; its face and nearly hairless head are
[753] a mass of scabs and its eyes are almost shut by pus. Someone laughingly explains that this is what happens when you don't cut a baby's buttocks properly with a razor to draw out the bad blood.

The visitor is urged to take more tea and sugar. He is complimented on his interest in Okinawa and is asked innumerable questions about America. The family is eager for knowledge and for further contact. As he rises to leave, he is urged to return. He puts on his shoes, finding one slightly
[753] damp from the poor aim of the youngest child. He is cautioned to wear his hat and knows by now the unspoken fear---encephalitis---caused by too much
exposure to the sun. He notices that around the well where Mother has been
[296] doing laundry a great pool of water is gradually sinking into the sand. As he picks his way across the yard he wonders if the family would not be better off living in a houseboat, preferably in a fast-moving stream.

751 Such are some of the features of Okinawan life. Yet it would be a mistake to assume that there are no standards of sanitation. There are; they
356 are simply narrower than those of most Americans. Many Okinawans do throw
751 garbage out their front doors as indicated above, but it is also true that the floor of the house is usually cleaner than many American floors. It has to be clean; people sit on it and sleep on it. People take off their shoes before stepping up onto it or if they have been to the fields barefooted
751 they may wash their feet before stepping up onto it. But the area of clean-
liness ends with the step. Beyond the step is a different sort of territory.
[351] Yet even in the yard there is a limit to the amount of trash that may be al-
lowed to accumulate before it is swept away. The practice of urinating in
[514] the yard is distasteful to the American observer, but there is perhaps less basis for objection to it as a health hazard. Urine is relatively harmless. Feces, however, go into the toilet. If an untrained child defecates in the yard usually someone cleans up the spot.

needs supplementation. Hence, a farmer cannot buy so much as a fisherman. A rice farmer, if he is eligible at all, cannot purchase so much as a sweet potato grower. These stores fill a genuine need. They have alleviated hardship and done much to improve the monotonous pre-war diet. In the villages, they are a concrete reminder of direct American contact. There is not a store in every village, but each village has ready access to one. 444 262 511

The rural blacksmith takes care of the needs of farmers and stonecutters. One such shop in Nagamo serves many villages in the Oushichan area. The forge is of simple construction. The air is blown by a sort of box bellows. The operator sits down, as if he were in a row boat, and by pushing and pulling the handle (which has a T-end grip like a hand pump) moves the piston horizontally back and forth. The blacksmith repairs agricultural and stonecutting tools and makes new tools, chiefly hoes and spikes for the harrow. 326 413

There are no good inns, restaurants or tea houses in the villages. In Hinatogawa a Japanese inn of rude construction and comfort caters to parties for the entertainment of visitors who have business with local people. 265

Getting a haircut or a bath may involve going to another village. Like the stores, barbershops are little social centers, especially during bad weather when villagers are not working and take the opportunity to have their hair cut. 305

2

Mutual Loan Groups

In China and Japan, mutual loan groups have had a long history. In essence, they are groups associated for the purpose of borrowing and lending money, the capital being derived from contributions of the membership. There is an element of chance when members bid against one another or draw lots for a loan.[2] 474 426 [171]

Each member of a loan group advances an agreed upon share. The total amount is then available as a lump sum to one of them as a borrower. The borrower repays principal and interest in monthly installments. The remaining members advance the same amount each on the following month to another borrower. In this way, there is a continuous cycle of lending

2 They are known variously as mo-ai (Japanese), mu-e (Okinawan) tanomoshi and yūrei (Japanese). Groups organized on a monthly basis are tsukikiyurei or tsukimoai (Japanese), and on an annual basis as nimu-e (Okinawan), nimo-ai (Japanese). At present there are no annual groups because of uncertainties regarding the future value of money. Now loans are normally for a 10-12 month period.

called saki in Okinawan, 'awamori' in Japanese. This drink is sold in several 273
grades and so is Japanese 'sake', but most farmers seem to prefer a rawer,
stronger grade of 'awamori'.[1] In most homes 'awamori' is soon offered male [574]
guests if they call in the evening, sometimes in the afternoon as well. For [562]
festive occasions it is absolutely necessary. Many older men also drink it
a bit every evening in small groups or even alone. Older women may drink a
little, younger women, unless of the professional class, rarely.

When men drink together they invariably exchange drinks as a gesture of friendship. Generally the friendliness increases with each gesture, stimulating further gestures. Drunkenness is frequent. Different types of behavior among drunks are recognized and labelled appropriately. The 'uma-zake' ("horse-drunk") prances around; the 'buta-zake' ("pig drunk") sleeps; the 'ushi-zake' ("ox drunk") acts belligerent; the 'naki-zake' ("cry drunk") weeps. (These are Japanese terms, incidentally; I did not get native equivalents but assume they exist). But Okinawans who get drunk are mainly just plain friendly drunks; the belligerent drunk is very rare. Burd's description of Miyakoan drunken behavior---the sentimentality and endless expression of gratitude for friendship---would apply equally to the behavior of drunk Okinawans. And as Burd suggests, the reason may lie in the formality and etiquette that governs the relations of the sober; getting drunk is a means of relaxing the usual barriers.[2] The remarkable tolerance Okinawans show to drunks may arise from sympathy in the face of a common need. Drinking is often accompanied by singing and dancing. Men dance individually. Men who behave on most occasions with reserve and formality, may, after drinking a bit, dance with a grace and reckless ease that must be seen to be believed.

Okinawans do not drink water as frequently as Americans and even 271 272
with the more frequent tea and bottled drinks their total fluid consumption
would appear to be considerably less.

Rest and Sleep Chairs and beds are not usually found in Okinawan homes. 352
Mats serve the function of both. On formal occasions 516
Okinawans kneel. This they may do at the beginning of a formal gathering, but soon they are told to be at ease, which means sitting cross-legged for the men and with the feet to one side for the women. When relaxing at home they may put their feet out in front of them.

Okinawans sleep on the floor, usually on a quilt ('futon') on the 513
mat and with another put on over them. Often the whole family will sleep between two large quilts and under one large mosquito net suspended from the ceiling. To Americans unused to the floor it seems unbearably hard and the quilt above oppressive; it seems as though the Okinawans want too little below the body and too much above. From infancy on they sleep stretched out supine with a pillow under the head or neck. The pillow may be of cloth stuffed with husks or merely a block of wood.

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1 This observation is supported by the statement of a distiller interviewed by Lebra.

2 Burd 1952, p. 82.

249 forced a return to crushing the cane by the use of rollers driven by a horse at the end of a sweep. Before the war, Matsuda had sugar mills driven by machinery. Mills may either be village 423 owned, as in Hanashiro, or owned by small co-operatives, like that [427] in Matsuda whose members rent it to others when not using it themselves.

Village stores generally occupy the front part of a family's 443 living quarters. They are operated mainly by women. A woman past [417] middle age sitting on the floor of her shop, talking with visitors or reading the paper, is a familiar sight in an Okinawan village. A village may have several tiny stores. They do not compete with one another in the commercial sense of the word. Prices are the same. Their inventories are the standard ones. The chief differences are in size and variety. Some sell the strong alcoholic [373] drink (awamori) called sake in Okinawa.

Each storekeeper has a clientele of friends and relatives, but one is not under social obligation to repeatedly trade at the same place. Relatives sometimes own adjoining shops. In Japan, [171] it is said that once a person starts trading at a shop he continues to do so. To switch would deprive the shopkeeper of business that could be counted on, and imply dissatisfaction with the service rendered. The first purchase creates mutual obligations between the storekeeper and his customer which are not broken casually.[1] This is not the case with these village stores. One patronizes the shop that is convenient, that is open when one wants to buy, that has the desired article. There is an informal atmosphere and lack [434] of bustle in these tiny shops because so many are operated for supplementary income by wives or female relatives of the breadwinner. A wife may sit in her shop, as I have often seen her in Minatogawa, [404] taking care of her baby, sewing on her treadle sewing machine, and interrupting her work when necessary for a customer. The cash involved is small, often only a few yen, and money is carefully accounted for. These shops satisfy a surprising amount of the village demand for food, food supplements, notions, clothing, and household goods. Larger, more expensive, or more specialized items such as books, suits, furniture are in the towns like Itoman or Naha in the south, or Nago and Ishikawa in the north.

An inventory of one of these village stores indicates the types of articles in frequent and constant demand. In one typical store in Minatogawa the following purchases could be made:

Foods

[262] Starch
[271] Condensed milk for children

1 I was told this by Japanese and by Nisei who were in Japan during the occupation. I do not know how widespread or how characteristic this practice is of all retail trade there.

Japanese canned fish: mackerel, bonito, clams, whale meat hash 443
Noodles, buckwheat spaghetti and macaroni type pastes 262
Cookies, stored in glass jars, and sold singly
Sweet rolls (manju) from a town bakery, and sweetened bread (pan) 212
Tea
Aji no moto
White sugar
Soy bean oil

Soft Drinks and Candy

443
[212]

Bottled lemon and orange ades
Cocoa Cola
Gum
Various candies sold by the piece, also stored in glass jars on the counter.

Notions

Needles and thread
Buttons of various sizes
Trimmings and ribbons
Braids for making and trimming kimonos
hair pins, and combs

[412]

Clothing

Clogs (geta)
Undershirts
Fibre sandals

[291]

Toilet Articles

Perfumes and toilet waters
Shampoos, liquid and powdered.
Pomades and brilliantines
Toothbrushes
Soaps
Toilet paper

[302]
[515]

Stationery

School tablets and notebooks
Pencils
Comic books (in Japanese)

[212]

Medicines

Aspirin
Stomach powders
Eye lotions

[208]

1

The Daily Diet

There is little variation in the basic diet in any of the villages. Among individual families, the chief difference is in the proportion of sweet potatoes to rice; this depends on economic status and the possession of rice fields, the poorer the family, the greater the reliance on the sweet potato. Except for seasonal foods, the diet is uniform throughout the year. Neither is there much variation in the three meals. The basic foods are: 262 [511] 262 264 272

For breakfast: A soup made out of hot water and bean paste, perhaps with bits of fish or meat added, sweet potatoes, and tea.

For lunch: Rice or sweet potatoes, raw, boiled or fried vegetables, and tea.

For dinner: Bean paste soup, rice if possible, or sweet potatoes, bean curd, and tea.

The foods which supplement these basic items are: (1) Fresh fish in season, uncommon for the reasons given in Chapter X. Imported dried sardines and canned fish from Japan are more common in agricultural villages than fresh fish. Even in Hinatogawa, fresh fish is scarce when the catch is light. In summer, the fish is too valuable to eat and only unsold fish is eaten. (2) In Matsuda village, rice and pork are more frequently eaten than in the two southern villages. Rice and pork consumption is indicative of a higher standard of living. Many families have rice twice a day. Beef may be boiled, and with vegetables added, made into a soup. In the winter, the Japanese dish sukiyaki may be eaten, but the meat in this dish is often meagre. 262 [184] [511] [252]

There are many occasional foods or side dishes of which the following are the most common: (1) bean curd (tōfu). This is made at home by women. (2) Taro (sato imo) boiled and eaten as a side dish. (3) A sweet or unsweetened fritter (tenpura). Japanese tenpura usually is shrimp or other fish fried in batter. Okinawan tenpura may or may not have a filling. Frequently the filling is a paste of brown sugar, or a slice of sweet potato. At celebrations, they may have a meat or a fish filler. (4) The rice cake (mochi) made of glutinous rice (mochigome). (5) Buckwheat paste (soba), and (6) noodles (sōmen). These are fairly cheap and are always purchased. (7) Bread (pan). This is a slightly sweetened large bun, normally with a little jam or jelly filler. The bun is baked in the large towns and distributed generally by boys on bicycles to the village stores. (8) Boiled or pickled radishes, boiled pumpkin cut in small squares and served with a piece of fish or meat. (9) Onion tops and spinach boiled with a seasoning of fish, chicken, or beef. (10) Various vegetables in season. 262 252

000 vegetables in season.

262 On special occasions, cookies, cakes, and more fresh fish and meat are served. In Okinawa any food out of the ordinary is called a feast or a treat (gochisu). Fresh fish, fish cakes, beef, pork make up a feast, for these are seldom served in the routine meal. Fish, pork, and beef are universally liked, but fish is hard to get, beef is expensive, and pork is a source of cash income. Many families eat pork only at New Year.

By almost any standard, including their own, the daily Okinawan diet is monotonous and unappetizing. Nevertheless the present diet is an improvement over the pre-war one. Most villagers said that before the war, the diet consisted of the sweet potato and bean paste soup. Bean paste soup usually has a few shreds of meat or fish in it. In times of scarcity, or if the family is very poor, only the paste is used, and when this is dissolved in hot water, it makes a kind of clear bouillon which is jokingly referred to as "mirror soup" (kagami miso) because one can see his face in it. In Okinawan, it is also called "nothing in it soup" (nnshiru). Since the war, the rice imports from Java, Siam, Egypt, and other foods sold through [839] import stores have provided more variety.

Goats are a cheap source of meat, but many do not like goat's meat. The milk is not used for human consumption.

272

Tea is served at all hours. Many Okinawans, however, have acquired a taste for coffee. Tea is steeped in a large pot and [915] placed on a tray with the cups. Once made, tea stays in the pot until it is drunk. Frequently it is lukewarm or cold. Callers are [574] served tea and small chunks of brown sugar, picked up with chopsticks. Sugar is never used to sweeten tea. There is considerable eating [264] between meals, especially if visitors drop in. Women prepare a bowl of noodles, of cooked vegetables, fry an egg, or slice up some bean [262] curd. Villagers eat enormous quantities of food.

The people are very hospitable, but hospitality does not take 574 the form of inviting friends to dinner except on special occasions, like a birthday celebration or a wedding. One family does not entertain another at dinner, but an individual member of a family who has worked at a friend's house may stay for an evening meal. Or a child may eat with the family of his playmates. Entertaining does [562] not include a man and his wife. The wife normally stays at home.[1]

1 In Hinatogawa, I was told that the beginning of the preparation of the meal was a sign for the visitor to return home. This was not due to the broad hint of the host but to the reserve (enryo) of the visitor. "Hann ni wariu" (Okinawan) "to be pressed by food" is said by those returning home at these times. One goes home at meal time.

273 the greater part of the following day until the effects are worn off.[4]

There is tolerance of drinking and of behavior while under the influence of alcohol—with the exceptions to be discussed below. This nonchalance extends to children and young people. When an elder and highly respected friend or neighbor, perhaps their own grandfather, is drunk, they laugh indulgently at him, passing off his behavior as foolish because he is drunk.

[576] The custom of drink exchange (kempai) certainly does not keep drinking to a minimum. Drink exchange is perpetual at parties. A small cup of sake is offered to a friend. He drinks, gives the cup back to his friend who holds it while the other refills the cup. The exchange goes on again. Often three or four men are involved in this reciprocity.

Drinking, like an aperitif or cocktail before a meal, is not common. Sake may be drunk with or after the meal. Often it is served along with tea. Throughout the evening the two may be drunk alternatively. In this case, the tea is served first. Unless there are special occasions, there is very little day time drinking. [277]

273 562 In this drinking, the Okinawan woman has no part. There are a few minor exceptions. But in all the villages these exceptions were older or very elderly women. The young wife or girl in rural Okinawan villages simply does not drink. Furthermore, she seems to have no desire to. Occasionally a woman in her late forties or early fifties takes a few sips. In the southern villages, an old woman may drink a small amount with a little added sugar at a celebration. In Matsuda, shortly before New Years it is customary to give a party at village expense to all people in the village over 70 years of age. On this occasion, both the old men and old women are liberally supplied with and liberally drink the sake. [888]

These distinctions in drinking between the sexes, in my opinion, are closely tied in with the responsibilities of men and women, as they have grown up historically under the family system. The distinctions certainly cannot be explained in terms of contemporary attitudes. If drinking is an outlet for the tensions of the man, a way of relieving the boredom and monotony of every day life, how can one explain the [154]

4 There is little real violence or fighting, but there may be noisy quarrels and some shoving about. Some mild men become very quarrelsome. The only instance of violence I observed was the case of a young man about 25 who drank quite a lot, became angry with some girls in the Young Women's Association for not doing chores he thought they were responsible for. He slapped one severely. The following day he was very remorseful. His mother went to the girl's house and personally apologized for the boy's behavior. [578]

[527] Young girls with pots of hot tea circulated in the audience. The
[272] stage performance was a combination of local amateur talent and professionals from Naha. Normally the entertainment begins with
[535] a traditional Okinawan dance by a professional woman dancer, followed by a short skit. Conversations in Okinawan between an educated man
[536] and a stupid rustic are favorite subjects. Acts of this type are greatly enjoyed and cause laughter, mainly I was told because the jokes had sexual overtones. The shorter acts are followed by a play. (The theme of this play will be discussed in the following chapter).

6

Other Holidays of the Year

Chrysanthemum day, the ninth day of the ninth month (October 9,
[824] 1951), is a very minor holiday. A chrysanthemum is put in sake, and the flask is placed on the god shelf. A leaf of the plant is put in the sake when it is drunk. People at this time wish one another good health. The festival is only spottily observed.

There is a minor public holiday, the rice cake festival (mochi no matsuri), said to be native to Okinawa, on the 8th day of the 12th lunar month (January 4, 1952). On the day before, women prepare red
[262] and white cylindrical rice cakes, about 4 inches long and one inch in diameter. These are wrapped in the leaf of the sannin plant or in the
[252] leaves of sugar cane. The glutinous rice cake is made by first soaking rice in water and then mashing it in a hand mill. The rice is put in a cloth bag to allow excess water to drip out. The following morning the rice is boiled and shaped and wrapped in the leaves. The cake is doughy and insipid to taste. On the morning of the 8th, the cakes are placed on the god shelf and after prayers the cakes are removed. They are served during the day to guests. Sometimes children attach strings to these cakes and hang them about the room. The holiday is not observed by every family in the village, but it was recognised in all the villages studied.

The festival of the winter solstice, the longest night of the year (tōji) is known, but Hinatogawa was the only place in which its
[769] observance was noted. It is a home festival with prayers and the familiar offering of assorted foods to the ancestors.

Western Christmas is not observed in any of the villages. It
[177] would not be surprising if it should become a holiday, with gift giving, feasting, and drinking, but without the religious connotations. Since the occupation, Okinawans have become conscious of Christmas.[6]

[797] 6 I was told that in certain villages of the northern district, such as Kushi and Higashi near Ogimi that there is a Christmas festival, without the gift exchange, a survival of earlier missionary teaching. Time did not permit me to verify this, but there seems little doubt that a Christmas festival does exist in some Okinawan villages, judging by the frequency with which I heard of it in Hatsuda and Ginosa villages.

261 262 Famine Food and Wartime Substitutes The standard famine foods on Okinawa have always been dried sweet potato chips or refuse from the making of starch, sago palm nuts and the pulp of the same palm. The latter two are eaten with restraint, as they contain small [252] amounts of an alkaloid poison. The sweet potato materials are made into soups, and the sago palm provides a type of flour for deep frying, or 'tempura'.

[137] During the last war, soups were also made from the stem of the plant Ligularia Kaempferia, known as 'tsuwabuki' in Japanese, and chiipappā in Okinawan. One Nanahan farmer related, "The chiipappā which I ate in Kin-son during the war was delicious, and one felt better after eating it. When I came back here, I tried our local variety, but it is bitter and inedible." The giant African snail was used to alleviate famine just before the invasion. It [252] was boiled in its shell, then de-shelled and the "snail juice" washed out with a bitter orange called shiisā. The meat was then fried with vegetables and the white part of a leek.

273 177 276 Japanese soldiers during the war taught the Okinawans how to make a strong liquor from sugar cane, as no real 'sake' or 'awamori' was then available. Tobacco was also scarce, and pine tree bark was substituted. Some people preferred to smoke the leaves of the 'mogusa' plant, which is also used for cautery. One very poor family in Nanahan still retains the practice. Tea 272 could not be bought in the late pre-invasion period, and the beans of the lantana bush furnished a palatable substitute.

263 Uses of Sugar in the Home When a guest calls at an Okinawan farmer's home, he is served tea, black sugar chunks, and quite [574] often 'awamori'. Many other uses were related. It is used in batter for deep [757] frying; for cure of headache, sickness, and fainting spells; for a hangover; and when food is not delicious.

CHAPTER IX: HEALTH

W. P. Suttles

121 This chapter will begin with a section on the human body---attitudes
128 toward and practices concerned with its care and its functions. This will be followed by a section on sanitation---attitudes and practices. A third section will deal with concepts of the supernatural and their relationship to illness. A fourth will describe the various types of "medical" practitioners found in Okinawan society, and Okinawan attitudes toward modern medicine. It will be seen that this chapter contains much that is often described under the heading "Religion" or even "Values" and contains little on the actual state of health and incidence of disease among the Okinawans. But we believe that this is as it should be in a report on Okinawan culture. That sanitation is poor and disease is prevalent is no doubt all too apparent to the medical observer. A detailed study of the diseases themselves must be made by research workers competent in that field. A study of native culture, however, reveals some of the underlying causes of poor sanitation and poor health. We feel therefore that this is a valid unit and properly put under the title "Health".

1. The Human Body: Practices and Attitudes

261 Eating and Drinking Okinawans enjoy food and drink and make numerous events the occasion for their enjoyment. Questions about holidays frequently soon elicit long descriptions of the types of dishes appropriate to each. To a Westerner the variety may not seem great, but to the Okinawans a slight difference in the consistency of a soup may call for a
262 differentiating term. The variety of foods is probably as great as it can be within the limits of Okinawan resources. Foods are valued differently.
[171] Rice ranks high, sweet potatoes low. Pork is esteemed, as in China but not in Japan.

264 Three meals a day is usual. Rice, soup, and boiled foods are served in bowls, fried foods in flat dishes. These are eaten with chopsticks. The bowl may be held in the hand near the mouth; soup may be drunk directly from it. Some foods, such as noodles, are habitually sucked up with considerable noise. This noise is neither made purposely nor is it avoided; it just does not matter. Children may bolt their food without being scolded for it, but adults seem to have no compulsion to eat fast, as the Japanese are said to
[574] have. On festive occasions men are served in the first room, women in the second. On these occasions a portion may be served already in a box so that it may be taken home. On ordinary occasions the family may eat together, though women often eat in the kitchen by the oven. Conversation of both
[521] light and serious matter may accompany eating. Serving food is essential
[574] to the entertainment of guests and to the payment of social debts.

273 Drink is also essential to entertainment. Tea is drunk first thing in the morning and at any time of the day or evening. But for men something
[272] stronger is also desirable. Usually it is the clear, strong, distilled drink

called saki in Okinawan, 'awamori' in Japanese. This drink is sold in several 273
grades and so is Japanese 'sake', but most farmers seem to prefer a rawer,
stronger grade of 'awamori'.[1] In most homes 'awamori' is soon offered male
guests if they call in the evening, sometimes in the afternoon as well. For [574]
festive occasions it is absolutely necessary. Many older men also drink it [562]
a bit every evening in small groups or even alone. Older women may drink a
little, younger women, unless of the professional class, rarely.

When men drink together they invariably exchange drinks as a gesture of friendship. Generally the friendliness increases with each gesture, stimulating further gestures. Drunkenness is frequent. Different types of behavior among drunks are recognized and labelled appropriately. The 'uma-zake' ("horse-drunk") prances around; the 'buta-zake' ("pig drunk") sleeps; the 'ushi-zake' ("ox drunk") acts belligerent; the 'naki-zake' ("cry drunk") weeps. (These are Japanese terms, incidentally; I did not get native equivalents but assume they exist). But Okinawans who get drunk are mainly just plain friendly drunks; the belligerent drunk is very rare. Burd's description of Miyakoan drunken behavior---the sentimentality and endless expression of gratitude for friendship---would apply equally to the behavior of drunk Okinawans. And as Burd suggests, the reason may lie in the formality and etiquette that governs the relations of the sober; getting drunk is a means of relaxing the usual barriers.[2] The remarkable tolerance Okinawans show to drunks may arise from sympathy in the face of a common need. Drinking is often accompanied by singing and dancing. Men dance individually. Men who behave on most occasions with reserve and formality, may, after drinking a bit, dance with a grace and reckless ease that must be seen to be believed.

Okinawans do not drink water as frequently as Americans and even 271
with the more frequent tea and bottled drinks their total fluid consumption 272
would appear to be considerably less.

Rest and Sleep Chairs and beds are not usually found in Okinawan homes. 352
Mats serve the function of both. On formal occasions 516
Okinawans kneel. This they may do at the beginning of a formal gathering, but soon they are told to be at ease, which means sitting cross-legged for the men and with the feet to one side for the women. When relaxing at home they may put their feet out in front of them.

Okinawans sleep on the floor, usually on a quilt ('futon') on the 513
mat and with another put on over them. Often the whole family will sleep between two large quilts and under one large mosquito net suspended from the ceiling. To Americans unused to the floor it seems unbearably hard and the quilt above oppressive; it seems as though the Okinawans want too little below the body and too much above. From infancy on they sleep stretched out supine with a pillow under the head or neck. The pillow may be of cloth stuffed with husks or merely a block of wood.

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1 This observation is supported by the statement of a distiller interviewed by Lebra.

2 Burd 1952, p. 82.

000 custom in the country. Hair styles vary according to age, sex, and status.
302 All boys up to junior high school age usually have shaved heads. During the high school and junior high school years they allow the hair to grow and become quite long. This style is retained until middle age, though often it is somewhat shorter than during the school years. Old and middle-aged men generally wear their hair closely cropped. Young girls through the junior high school age wear their hair in a short bobbed style with bangs, typical of the Japanese school girl. In high school and thereafter the young woman allows her hair to grow a little longer; the bangs grow out and the permanent wave is frequently adopted. After marriage and in middle age a woman is most likely to wear her hair drawn back and tied in a bun. Older women retain the old Okinawan styles, and a few use the long hairpin as mentioned above.

[178] Prewar movies and pictures of Okinawa indicate most men were bearded, but today all are clean-shaven except for a few very old men.

178 <u>Diet</u> With few exceptions most Okinawans state that they are eating
262 better foods and a greater variety of these than before the war. This is attributed to several factors. Sweet potatoes and vegetables formed the bulk of the prewar diet, and there was little money available for food purchases. More land is devoted to food production today than in the prewar period when sugar was the chief crop. There were food shortages throughout the Japanese Empire beginning with the Chinese war in 1937; these shortages gradually in-
[177] creased and became severe. After the war most Okinawans lived on American canned foods for several years; canned foods were served in the civilian in-
[454] terrment camps and later formed the bulk of the food ration. A number of people asserted that this experience created a taste for other foods. Lastly the farm people have more money to spend today.

177 Stores in the towns and cities contain a wide variety of canned
262 American and European foods, not to mention an even greater suptly of canned Japanese foods. The important factor is that none of the American or European canned goods were available before the war. Even in the village stores American flour, Coca Cola and other carbonated and non-carbonated beverages, condensed milk, candy, gum, and cigarettes can be obtained today. American foods are said to be far superior to Japanese and Okinawan foods, but most are too expensive for the average family. American tea bags, which often contain an Indian tea far inferior to the Japanese teas, are considered the height of elegance. However, many of the adopted foods are used in a manner considerably different from customary American usage. Pitts was served french-fried whale intestines dipped in peanut butter, and mayonnaise was observed in use as
[272] cooking fat. It is widely believed that some of the American soft drinks contain real fruit juices and are excellent for the health. The author was informed that people sometimes take these when they do not feel too well.

178 For the majority of villagers Japanese and Okinawan foods still con-
262 stitute the bulk of the diet, although they say that they now enjoy a greater variety of these. Rice is more commonly eaten than before, but there is a greater reliance on prepared foods of the sort which cannot be made in the village or which they are no longer inclined to prepare themselves. Canned mackerel (selling for about 17 cents per can) is now a staple item in many

342 Co-operation often takes the form of a division of labor. In
476 building an elaborate permanent house with cement foundations, siding,
463 plank flooring and a tile roof, greater skills than the handyman techniques of a smaller house are required. In the building of a house, men with special skills, such as a carpenter, a cement mixer, a stonecutter, or a mason participate; others bring lumber and wood from the mountains, as in Matsuda, or lay the grass on the tile roof. In some
[464] cases, all the labor may be donated; in others, the carpenter, the cement mixer, the stonecutter may be hired, with helper's work done by volunteers. In simpler construction, the carpentry may be done by anyone who has this secondary skill but is primarily a farmer or a fisherman. People who have those skills are said to have half and half occupations (hannohangyō in Japanese).

7

Housebuilding Ceremonies

342 In building, a distinction is made between a temporary and a permanent house. A temporary house may be built following a typhoon or a fire, or it may be constructed for a poor man and in fact be a permanent house for the family, the good house to come being more an aspiration than an early reality. The marks of a permanent house are construction with beams, instead of poles, good siding, a good roof, now mostly of tile, a design based on mat size, and a cemented kitchen. Housebuilding ceremonies and celebrations apply only to the permanent house.

[84] Ceremonies or observances during stages in the building of a house differ from place to place and among people in the same village. In
342 Matsuda before the house is started, the owner, his friends, and
782 neighbors gather and offer a prayer that the house be a good and a happy one. Before construction, and once each year following completion, rice cakes (mochi in Japanese) and sake are placed in each of the four corners
[262] of the house site. Three rice cakes are put on the smallest of three saucers which fit into one another. Two of these saucer sets with the
[273] rice cakes, together with a sake bottle and a small cup are placed on a tray. The east, north, west, and south corners are visited in that
[415] order. Sake is poured from the flask to a small cup. There is a short prayer. A piece of white paper, attached to a stick of dwarf bamboo (Yanbaru take) about one foot long is burned. The sake is poured over the embers. The top rice cake is placed on the corner; the other two
[825] remain on the small plate. Prayers are offered for protection against the deadly snake (habu). The rice cake is then picked up. On the next corner, the ceremony is repeated.

When the ridge pole is put up, the carpenter prays that there will be no injuries. Observances at the raising of the roof (muneage in
[183] Okinawan) seem to be universal in the villages. Three parcels, one of salt, one of bean paste, and one of charcoal are wrapped in a leaf--any
[262] will do--and these are tied with a string and suspended from the inner side of the crossbeam or from the ridge pole. There are no prayers at this time.

this time. Upon completing the house, the owner gives a party for those who helped him. During the last day of work, with the party scheduled for the evening, the workmen strive feverishly to complete the house on time. This is a party to celebrate a task completed. Sake flows freely. Occasionally on the last day, a man walks around the house talking to himself and throws salt toward the inside of the house. His words are not formalized and not known to his hearers. After finishing throwing the salt, he bangs the back of the house three times with a stick. This custom is said to be gradually disappearing, and is only occasionally practiced in Matsuda.[9] 342 527 788 [273]

In Hanashiro, there is a similar custom that differs in details. On the date the house is started, there is a small ceremony. A plate containing boiled rice, bean curd, a kind of fritter (tenpura in Japanese) and meat, together with a flask of sake are placed in the center of the site on which the house is to be built. Prayers are offered that the house be a good one. The ceremony of raising the roof is identical with that previously described in Matsuda. This applies only to the raising of the ridge pole, no ceremonies taking place with the erecting of the side poles. The center board, near to or nailed to the ridge pole, and from which the articles wrapped in a leaf or in sea weed are suspended, is inscribed with the word, shibiranka. Its meaning is unknown to me. One villager said it was the name of a legendary Chinese protector of houses. 342 788 [262] [273] [192]

In one instance from Minatogawa, instead of the salt, charcoal, and bean paste, only a bit of charcoal (tsumi in Japanese) was suspended and wrapped in seaweed (kombu in Japanese).

About 20 years ago in Hanashiro, the celebration on the day of completion was much more elaborate than now. A pig was killed, fish purchased, and a large feast was prepared to which the whole village was invited. The celebration now is confined to relatives, friends, and helpers, including the carpenter, whether hired or a volunteer. 342 [illegible]

In Minatogawa, when a good house is being built, there is the custom of going to a fortune teller (sanjinsō in Japanese) to discover the lucky day for commencing construction. This may be repeated to find the lucky day for putting up the poles and supports or putting on the roof. Here also a son about to establish a branch household and to build his own house takes a food offering to his father's house, places it on the Buddhist god shelf, gives thanks, and prays for good fortune before construction starts. When the house has been completed, similar offerings are made, either before the god shelf of the new house, if it has been installed, or again at the father's house. In this village, the usual observances are confined to the raising of the roof and to the celebration following completion of the home. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

One last custom observed in all the villages is that one does not move into a new house unless the tide is coming in. Other occasions in which the tide is taken into consideration will be discussed later. The idea here seems to be that one moves at times of growing fullness and increase not at times of ebb and withdrawal. [823]

9 I was unable to secure any explanation of the reason for this and the other practices beyond the familiar statement that "it is a custom." (shukan)

824
313

in isolated spots the tree grows to a considerable height. This is a favored wood for housebuilding materials. It is also used for firewood.

(6) The mokumao (Australian pine, Casuarina equisetifolia L). This is a fast growing tree and quite plentiful in this area. The mokumao is commonly a shelter belt tree here. Along with the pine, and the shii, it is used for firewood.

(7) The shuro (Prachycarpus excelsus Wendl. Var.). Individual specimens of this palm are scattered through the village. It is found in local ravines, sinks, and near the natural bridge. When it was more plentiful, rope was made from its fibres. Before the war, it was the standard material of the farmer's raincoat. Rope making continues on a very restricted scale.

(8) The soshiju (Acacia confusa Merr.). Individual acacia trees are numerous but scattered. Frequently the tree grows on the house site as a typhoon protection. It is also used for firewood. Branches of the soshiju are often placed over or around young vegetables and other plants to shield them. Its leaves are placed on the dry crop lands and on paddy fields as a fertilizer.

(9) The gajimaru (Ficus retusa). This banyan tree was noticed by earlier travellers. It is a picturesque tree. The exposed roots twine around lesser shrubs, stumps, and stones. Specimens are scattered, and its chief use, here and in the southern villages, is for typhoon protection. Smaller trees, their roots growing in an around the stone fences, are a common sight. The leaves may be used for fertilizing the soil of rice fields.

824

(10) The cycad (sotetsu in Japanese, Cycas revoluta). This plant has already been discussed. While more frequent here than in the south, it is not plentiful. One must go farther north before the cycad becomes important in the daily economy. In Matsuda, the fronds are used to protect young growing plants, the leaves as a fertilizer for plants other than rice. Occasionally starch and a bread are made from the seed. Fermented drinks were once made from the cycad. There is no present market, as there was in the past, of fronds used in funeral wreathes. [273]

(11) Susuki (miscanthus sinensis, Chinese silver grass), commonly referred to as kaya, upon which we have already commented so frequently. This grass is not so important here as in the southern villages because of the availability of superior wood and fibres from the forest. It is not used as a major fuel, nor to any great extent for roofs, since the dwarf bamboo is available. The grasses collectively known as susuki are used as a fertilizer. The young shoots are often given to horses, cattle, and goats. One does not observe here the dominance of this plant, such a conspicuous part of the landscape of the south.

249 forced a return to crushing the cane by the use of rollers driven by a horse at the end of a sweep. Before the war, Matsuda had sugar mills driven by machinery. Mills may either be village 423 owned, as in Hanashiro, or owned by small co-operatives, like that [427] in Matsuda whose members rent it to others when not using it themselves.

Village stores generally occupy the front part of a family's 443 living quarters. They are operated mainly by women. A woman past middle age sitting on the floor of her shop, talking with visitors [427] or reading the paper, is a familiar sight in an Okinawan village. A village may have several tiny stores. They do not compete with one another in the commercial sense of the word. Prices are the same. Their inventories are the standard ones. The chief differences are in size and variety. Some sell the strong alcoholic [273] drink (awamori) called sake in Okinawa.

Each storekeeper has a clientele of friends and relatives, but one is not under social obligation to repeatedly trade at the same place. Relatives sometimes own adjoining shops. In Japan, it is said that once a person starts trading at a shop he continues [171] to do so. To switch would deprive the shopkeeper of business that could be counted on, and imply dissatisfaction with the service rendered. The first purchase creates mutual obligations between the storekeeper and his customer which are not broken casually.[1] This is not the case with these village stores. One patronizes the shop that is convenient, that is open when one wants to buy, that has the desired article. There is an informal atmosphere and lack [434] of bustle in these tiny shops because so many are operated for supplementary income by wives or female relatives of the breadwinner. A wife may sit in her shop, as I have often seen her in Minatogawa, [404] taking care of her baby, sewing on her treadle sewing machine, and interrupting her work when necessary for a customer. The cash involved is small, often only a few yen, and money is carefully accounted for. These shops satisfy a surprising amount of the village demand for food, food supplements, notions, clothing, and household goods. Larger, more expensive, or more specialized items such as books, suits, furniture are in the towns like Itoman or Naha in the south, or Nago and Ishikawa in the north.

An inventory of one of these village stores indicates the types of articles in frequent and constant demand. In one typical store in Minatogawa the following purchases could be made:

Foods

[262] Starch
[271] Condensed milk for children

1 I was told this by Japanese and by Nisei who were in Japan during the occupation. I do not know how widespread or how characteristic this practice is of all retail trade there.

Alcoholic Beverages

443 Japanese and American canned beer
Japanese type sake (a light rice wine resembling sauterne)
[273] Okinawan sake (awamori)

Miscellaneous

Charcoal sticks
[276] Brass and nickel plated Japanese pipes
Small dishes
[415] Sake bottles
Oil burners to keep mosquitos away
[416] Flashlights, bulbs, and batteries
Matches
Japanese and American tobaccos
Fishing lamps and the ika lamp (fishing villages only)

[437] Transactions are usually on a cash basis, although some customers pay at the end of the week. In one such store, the gross sales averaged ¥600 a day with a net profit of about 10%. (The yen is pegged at 120 to the US dollar). During the day and the early evening, the village
[366] stores are meeting places, especially if, like Hinatogawa, several together make up a small business center.

443 Supplies are delivered to village stores by truck or sometimes by bus. Often the owner goes to the larger towns to buy. Young boys are
494 an important cog in the distribution system. They deliver candies, cookies, and other small articles which are carried in five gallon lard
[850] tins on racks over the rear mudguard of their bicycles. They ride up to the store, count out their candies or cookies, receive payment, and cycle on to the next store over a route which includes several villages. These boys work out of larger towns like Itoman and Nago. Baking goods,
[262] bread (pan) really a sweet dough with a jelly-like filling, cookies and candies are distributed in this manner. Sometimes housewives make cookies and cakes to sell to village stores.

443 There is not much house to house selling or soliciting. Occasionally women come to the villages with a selection of ready made clothing or cloth. In Hinatogawa, an itinerant drug vendor periodically goes through the village ringing his bell, selling various Japanese patent medicines mainly for colds, headaches, constipation, and stomach aches.

444 Import stores (hykujō), also operated privately, are a different kind of enterprise than the village shop. They have been set up under
262 the American occupation. Larger wholesalers supply the village retailers. These stores deal in a restricted number of commodities, such
[illegible] as rice, flour, soy bean sauce, wheat, and cooking oils. Sales are made to villagers on a rationing system based on the number in the family, its
[illegible] age distribution, pregnancy, and whether the head is engaged in heavy work. The intent of the import stores is to make food available, at reasonable cost, to those who cannot grow their own, or whose own produce

date of their birth (using the Japanese reign date), where they had gone to school and their present occupations. This was done separately for each. After this was over, the bride and groom stood silently and politely, but without outward expression, while three guests in turn, previously chosen, made speeches, offering their congratulations and best wishes. On this particular occasion, the principal of the school at which the bride was teaching, the principal of the school at which the groom was a teacher, and a mutual friend of the couple spoke. 585 576 [537]

These proceedings do not receive the undivided attention of the guests who have been drinking sake for some time. On the tops of the tables, dancing in the traditional Okinawan manner and the accompanying singing have begun. The dances and songs, usually performed by men in their forties and fifties, were done with grace. These are part of all social gatherings of any consequence. 585 [273] [535] [533] [562]

The sober attitudes of the work day are cast aside. The best clothes have been put on. There is a great contrast between the barefooted partially clothed farmer or fisherman of the daytime and his appearance at social occasions. These events are conducted with dignity and poise, at least until the sake consumption has risen to a high point. The party then becomes a noisy melee of dancing, singing, and talking, but without quarrelling or fighting. There is little self-consciousness in entertaining others. Talented guests do not have to be cajoled into performing. Dancing, singing, and samisen playing continue spontaneously, with another performer beginning after one has finished. The wedding party lasts from about 5 to 8, but many of the guests stay much later until the sake is gone. [292] [534]

Following the san-san-kudo, another but more private ceremony took place while the guests were entertaining themselves. In the wedding room, colored cakes and tea were placed on a small table. The female relatives of the bride and groom, mothers and sisters mostly, sat opposite one another and ate cakes and drank the tea together. This ceremony indicated the willingness of the bride's family to give up the daughter, and of the groom's family to receive her. After this ceremony, the bride's gifts from her parents were carried in. These vary with the family's wealth. In this case, they were a chest of drawers, a mirror, a heavy comforter, pillows, and a mosquito net. Before the war, gifts were more lavish than now. The usual presents now are a large chest of drawers (tansu), two heavy quilts or comforters (futon), a mirror (kagami), two Japanese type pillows (makura), and a large mosquito net (kaya). A poor family would be most likely to omit the chest of drawers. A new kimono and money may be included. [262] 583

A Y20 note is the usual gift of an ordinary guest at a wedding. Closer friends will give about Y100. There is no uniform practice about gifts from the groom's to the bride's family. About Y1000 may be presented prior to marriage. The bride's family uses the money to purchase the wedding gifts. 431

The day following the marriage, there is another ceremony, this 000

shopping trip to a larger town. In the very common evening visiting among men, women participate very little. 562

There has been some improvement in the social position of women since the war. In Hanashiro, for example, before the war, the husband, children, and grandparents ate in the second or third room, while the wife and sometimes the eldest daughter ate in the kitchen. (The Okinawan kitchen, though part of the house, differs from the other rooms in that it has direct access to the outside, is generally on a level with the ground, and has a dirt, cement, or stone floor). The wife in preparing the meal can go back and forth readily and need not take off her clogs or wash her feet if she goes barefoot when she goes up into the rooms. Her meal is a slight interlude between duties. 562 264 [342]

In most homes now, the women eat with the family in the main house. Some old women still spend most of their time in the kitchen watching the fire and eating their meals there. One of the reasons given for the change in attitude toward women is that many of the repatriated Okinawans brought newer ideas with them and did not practice segregation at meal times. [178]

Another important fact about social life is the drinking of the men and the abstinence of the women.[3] Young men usually begin drinking sake around the age of marriage. It is exceptional for a young man in his teens or early twenties to drink. But once this dividing line is passed, it is the exceptional man who does not drink. In each village one finds a few lifelong teetotalers. Drinking is always done in company, as the climax of a task completed, because of some happy turn of events, or because there is a party or celebration. As a general rule, the village men do not drink every day, but only when a suitable occasion arises. While there is drunkenness, I did not observe the solitary, prolonged drinking commonly associated with alcoholism in western societies. Prolonged drinking at night has the expected effects the next day, but there is very little remorse, unless a man has done something of which he is subsequently ashamed. Men who have drunk too much the night before do not hesitate to lie in bed 273 [562] [133]

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 295 -- ANALYSI]

3 In Okinawa, the commonest and cheapest alcoholic drink is sake. This is not the same as Japanese sake, the light rice wine, slightly resembling sauterne, that is usually served warm or hot. Okinawan sake is awamori, a much stronger drink of distilled rice spirits, a variety of the Japanese shochu. The alcoholic content of awamori ranges from about 25% to 30%. It is a raw liquor with an unpleasant taste. It is not the favorite, but it is the cheapest drink. Awamori is made from rice in small distilleries throughout Okinawa, bottled in large jugs and distributed to village shops. Most shops carry it. Sometimes there are special sake shops. Awamori or sake is sold for about Y14 per go (.318 pint). The normal intake for an evening is considered to be 2 go. Most men are fairly inebriated after drinking this much. The American army canteen, when available, is the favorite sake container. Japanese and American beer and Japanese sake are liked, but too expensive. 279 435 804

273 the greater part of the following day until the effects are worn off.[4]

There is tolerance of drinking and of behavior while under the influence of alcohol—with the exceptions to be discussed below. This nonchalance extends to children and young people. When an elder and highly respected friend or neighbor, perhaps their own grandfather, is drunk, they laugh indulgently at him, passing off his behavior as foolish because he is drunk.

[576] The custom of drink exchange (kempai) certainly does not keep drinking to a minimum. Drink exchange is perpetual at parties. A small cup of sake is offered to a friend. He drinks, gives the cup back to his friend who holds it while the other refills the cup. The exchange goes on again. Often three or four men are involved in this reciprocity.

Drinking, like an aperitif or cocktail before a meal, is not common. Sake may be drunk with or after the meal. Often it is served along with tea. Throughout the evening the two may be drunk [207] alternatively. In this case, the tea is served first. Unless there are special occasions, there is very little day time drinking.

273 562 In this drinking, the Okinawan woman has no part. There are a few minor exceptions. But in all the villages these exceptions were older or very elderly women. The young wife or girl in rural Okinawan villages simply does not drink. Furthermore, she seems to have no desire to. Occasionally a woman in her late forties or early fifties takes a few sips. In the southern villages, an old woman may drink a small amount with a little added sugar at a celebration. In Hatsuda, shortly before New Years it is customary to give a party at village expense to all people in the village over 70 years of age. On this occasion, both the old men and old women are liberally [888] supplied with and liberally drink the sake.

These distinctions in drinking between the sexes, in my opinion, are closely tied in with the responsibilities of men and women, as they have grown up historically under the family system. The distinctions certainly cannot be explained in terms of contemporary attitudes. If drinking is an outlet for the tensions of the man, a way of relieving [154] the boredom and monotony of every day life, how can one explain the

4 There is little real violence or fighting, but there may be noisy quarrels and some shoving about. Some mild men become very quarrel- [578] some. The only instance of violence I observed was the case of a young man about 25 who drank quite a lot, became angry with some girls in the Young Women's Association for not doing chores he thought they were responsible for. He slapped one severely. The following day he was very remorseful. His mother went to the girl's house and personally apologized for the boy's behavior.

absence of need of a similar release from the boring and monotonous life of the women. Yet I noticed little in the behavior of village women to indicate they were overwhelmed by monotony or bored with life, though perhaps longer residence in the villages would have proved this observation false. Might one say that the culture does not fulfill its promise to the men, even though they are favored and catered to and that the drinking is the result of this disappointment? This neglects the fact that drinking is old in the culture and is almost always done in the company of others. If personal frustration and disappointment were the cause, one might expect more compulsive and solitary drinking and more alcoholism. 273 562 154

The sources of this distinction between the drinking men and the abstemious women, I think, lie in the values held by the culture. In the first place, sake drinking is age old in Japan, and probably in Okinawa as well. Drinking sake is associated with ceremonies, such as marriage, with religious observances, with social and public life. The public life of an official, a shopkeeper or business man, a farmer, a fisherman is not divorced from entertainment. Men have an outside life. In their dealings with other men, they are accustomed to drinking. Women do not have this outside life. They have inside duties of which the care of the children and of the house are the most important. Historically, the source of the abstemiousness of the women may be the obligations of being a mother, to be ready at all times to care and provide for or nurse her children, obligations considered incompatible with drinking. Women are expected to be polite, refined, and quiet. These ideals may be difficult to maintain in drinking. 273 562 181 [577]

At times a husband and wife may participate in social gatherings as a couple. These gatherings may either be (1) an informal, often casual, event when guests drop in and spend part of the evening, and (2) the formal affairs, such as a marriage, a birthday celebration, a holiday, an extended family reunion, or the observance of a death anniversary. On these occasions, the men occupy the first room, the women the second. The entertainment and conversations of the evening are for the most part governed by this segregation. 562 574

Though women are tolerant of drinking, domestic difficulties are often caused by the drinking of the man. Frequent drinking with its noise and late hours may result in family quarrels (fufukanka). Quarrels involving the wife and the husband's female relatives, especially the mother, are said to be uncommon. In the southern villages, the war did away with one cause of family quarrels. Men no longer go to the geisha quarter. There are naturally tensions coming out of individual antagonisms and dissatisfactions: the husband's mother who ignores her grandchild because she dislikes her daughter-in-law, pressure on a woman to produce children to satisfy the pride of the husband and of the grandparents, and failure to bear children, which usually leads to divorce initiated by the husband. Divorces, in these rural villages, were found to be uncommon.[5] 593 273 578 [586]

5 No reliable statistics could be found. These remarks and those in the next paragraph are based on personal observation, impressions and conversations.

can at least check all transients. Another important duty is to prevent the use of explosives by fishermen, a difficult if not impossible assignment, for he must catch the fisherman *flagrante delicto* when he lands with fish killed in this way. There is no indication that villagers assist the policeman in detecting offenders. 625 [226]

Policing the village itself is not a difficult job. The absence of crime and the low incidence of quarrels, disputes, and brawls would seem to make policing unnecessary. Nevertheless, the policeman interferes at times in disputes. He considers it his duty when actual blows are exchanged and somebody is hurt. In such a case he "investigates," takes notes, and makes a report to the police department. During the entire field work, reportable incidents occurred at about the rate of one a month; in the two or three cases where violence occurred, the matter was settled peacefully later, although the policeman kept a record of it. The rare quarrels which do occur are usually the result of drinking or domestic disagreements, generated by financial problems. 625 578 [674] [273]

The policeman plays the role of judge and jury. In one case a young man hit a woman and was temporarily detained by the policeman until he made apologies to the victim. In disputes over business transactions, the policeman often arbitrates. In a dispute in which a Taira woman was accused of cheating a trader from another village, the policeman heard the case and ordered the Taira woman to make refunds over a period of time. The villagers seem to accept such arbitration. Serious disagreements seem to be unthinkable, and everyone fears public censure and ostracism. Court action is extremely rare and is referred to the provincial courts in the town of Nago. 625 627 [692]

The policeman is given high status by the villagers and commands respect. He remains, probably by his own choice, a neutral person in village affairs. He attends village functions, where he is given a place among village leaders. Being friendly with many families, he visits and is visited by other men. It was noted that fishermen sometimes send a special catch to the policeman. But since this is a courtesy which is also common among farmers with regard to nonfarming people, such as teachers, one should not think of such actions as bribery. Mothers use the policeman as a threat in disciplining children. "If you do such a bad thing again, I'll take you to the police station." This, however, does not seem to instill any fear of his person, but rather a respect towards the general area in which the policeman lives. Village children play freely with the policeman's children, but his courtyard is entered less frequently by children than that of other villagers. 625 [554] [662] [861]

The head of the General Affairs Department at the township office is charged with supervision of public order. It is not clear how much this is a self-assigned task. During several occasions, when an alarm 632 647 625

the wife takes charge of household funds while her husband controls larger spendings. 593 562

Many quarrels between couples originate from financial matters. Disagreements happen frequently when a husband returns home intoxicated late at night. His wife may blame him for using money which she has put aside for a special purchase; from this incident the argument turns to family finances in general. As words become more heated, the woman holds her own, telling her husband in no uncertain terms that he is a squanderer. Some husbands settle such an argument by hitting their wives. [273] [578]

Decisions are seldom made by one person in the family. The more important the issue involved, the more people within the family are consulted. A husband and wife may discuss whether to buy or sell a pig and make a joint decision. They also decide mutually on the buying of seed rice and other agricultural matters. Men concern themselves with the building of new structures or the addition to old ones. On the other hand, women make decisions affecting the daily life of children. They determine if a child needs new clothes, if he should be taken to the doctor, or accompany the mother on a shopping trip to the city. Some fathers take an interest in their children's study habits and accomplishments at school, but few are consistent in supervising their children in this respect. Here, too, mothers seem to have a much greater influence. Girls are likely to receive even less attention from their fathers than boys. In cases of decisions that can vitally affect the future of the whole household, members of the husband's and wife's family, if they live in the village, gather to discuss plans. 593 [602]

Although women are less active politically than men, they participate in village meetings as representatives for their families. With the exception of the Women's Association leaders, their participation is more passive than that of the men. But although they seldom speak in public and sit together at the back of the meeting, women nevertheless exert a great deal of influence on community affairs. Their influence is felt even more in meetings of mutual finance associations. 575 562 623

It is unlikely at this point that a woman in the village would run for political office. Several recent developments, however, indicate a steady increase in their political participation. The headman who was elected to office in 1955 is responsible for an innovation which reflects this trend. He selected his clerk by means of a competitive examination which was open to both young men and young women. Two girls who had graduated from high school were among the candidates. They were defeated by a young man to whom the job was given because of 562 666

527 as usual. It was an affair organized by the women leaders, which, though 562 a little slow in starting, turned into a gay carousing for the older 575 women, who were less inhibited than the younger ones and needed [888] little encouragement to drink and dance.

The daily life of a woman is more monotonous than her husband's 562 and she has less leisure and recreation. After a day of hard work, men 512 sit down alone or in groups to spend the evening in relaxation with a [273] bottle of sake. After a short time they show signs of pleasant intoxication and all burdens of life seem to disappear. Such recourse to carefree diversion is generally denied women. Instead, they are loaded down with household chores and care of infants and guests after a day of work in fields and forests. They spend their little free time exchanging news with other women or talking with other family members or visitors who assemble around the charcoal fire in the back room during [273] winter evenings. Only women of advanced age feel free to join the men [888] in drinking at home.

Men have greater sexual freedom. They are at liberty to have affairs 562 with other women outside the village and on trips to the city may 837 visit tea houses and afterwards enjoy the favors of a prostitute if their pocket books allow.

Status differences based on age are reflected in the social structure 561 and clearly denoted in the kinship terms. There is a special term of 554 reference and address for "first son" and "first daughter" and for 593 "older brother" and "older sister." As mentioned, ideally the oldest son assumes responsibility for the household, for his parents, and for the ancestral tablets. Even if he leaves his parental home temporarily or permanently for the city, where economic prospects are better, he remains the nominal household head and sends money back to his family. Theoretically the oldest male may retain authority until death, 887 although in practice most men retire from this position at the age of 561 61. Their retirement is made official by an entry in the population 554 registry. They continue to live with their oldest son and act as advisors and critics. A man's loss of authority with age occurs around his late [596] fifties and early sixties and is evidenced not only by his retirement but also by his loss of the right to vote in village meetings. Veneration for age itself therefore, does not exist. Actual behavior toward the grand- [576] parental generation, all the members of which are addressed as "grandmother" or "grandfather" regardless of actual kinship, is warm, mildly playful, and indulgent. Disrespect, however, is absent.

It is characteristic of the relationship between children and grand- 603 mothers that in addressing nonrelated old women, the suffix *-san*, 601 which denotes respect, is most often dropped for the "grandmother"

831 keep others from noticing sex activities. Keeping sex a private matter
833 does not mean that there is a feeling of shame or guilt. It is considered a natural function, and although they do not discuss marital relations, men feel free to mention sex and its pleasurable aspects. Such conversations seem to cause some embarrassment among the younger women but are thought entertaining by older ones.

To men, sex, like food and drink, is to be enjoyed and indulged in. Women, too, enjoy sex but are more reticent and give much less overt expression to their desires. There are stories about women who are sexually aggressive, but they are either characters in the folklore or women of a neighboring village who are said to be this way "because they don't work hard enough." Men enjoy sex activity until an advanced age. One man over 60 whose wife had long been dead twice took a young woman as second wife; in both cases the women left him after a short period, but dissatisfaction with his sexual capacity was supposedly not the cause. Several children in Taira were fathered by
[278] men who had passed their sixtieth birthday. People believe that potency depends on physical well-being and age, but that it can be
[262] produced by a special drink consisting of sake in which a poisonous
[273] snake, the *habu*, is steeped. As soon as one finishes drinking this brew, its effects should be felt. Sake, meat, and eggs are also thought to increase potency.

833 Women's breasts are considered sexually stimulating. Men like to caress the breasts and the skin in general. Kissing occurs during foreplay only among some younger couples; older people do not care for it. In a room or house, shared with others, few couples undress fully for intercourse. Moving the baby to one side of the mat or mattress, a husband joins his wife.

834 There are no pre- or postparturition taboos; relations continue
[843] throughout pregnancy and are resumed about a week after childbirth,
[846] when the wife has taken her first bath. Men tend to disregard the public health nurse's urging that women be given a little longer rest.

837 That extra marital affairs do occur is evidenced by the presence of
848 illegitimate children. But the mothers are likely to be widows or girls
732 who for one reason or another did not get married at the usual age. Deformity may be a reason for not finding a husband. Two children
[835] in Taira were claimed to be the issue of an incestuous relationship
[581] between a man and his widowed daughter. Although the children were conceived and born outside the village, people became suspicious after the family returned to Taira. Because the putative father failed to deny paternity strongly, villagers felt certain that their suspicions

527 —held at the old warehouse, the village office, or, during warm days,
574 outside—but also introduces all family or small group events. This is the time when guests arrive, polite greetings are exchanged with everyone in the order of his relative status, and a seat is found in accordance with it. Everyone sits quietly and politely, men with legs
[516] crossed tightly in front, women resting their buttocks between their heels. The conversation is somewhat stilted and reluctant. Meanwhile the hostess and her female helpers set cups before each guest, and they, or the male host himself, may pour tea.

537 Village celebrations of an official nature, such as "Mother's Day"
527 (see Chapter 6) or the reception of the newly elected mayor, or New
574 Year, are times for oratory of a sober nature. The village dignitaries and honored visitors, frequently seated at tables overlooking the community on the floor, each give a speech consisting of lengthy inventories of events and accomplishments. Sometimes food and drink are not served until the last one has spoken, but more often the situation is mellowed by the simultaneous serving of food and drink, which add to the inspiration of the speaker and the enthusiasm of his listeners.

527 Special dishes are associated with different holidays, and food, when
574 served, begins to dispel some of the formality. Even if there are no speeches, it gives everybody something to do and talk about, and as we
262 shall see shortly, more effective stimulants follow soon. The ice is broken. The food set before guests may be red-colored rice, which is served at joyful events such as New Year, or white rice, which is prepared when the dead are commemorated. For agricultural holidays the special food is made from the harvested crop, rice or potatoes. A feast plate may also include some pork, cooked in soya sauce, or presented in a mixed dish of vegetables; sometimes, it may be deep fat fried dumplings, either plain or with brown sugar stirred into the batter, or red and white fish cakes, or even several of these together. Less expensive foods, such as noodles and fried fish, are also served during feasts. Tairans have a sweet tooth and eat with relish the pound cakes and cookies which accompany or follow a meal. There is a sufficient quantity of food for the many guests, and whatever they cannot consume during the party, they may wrap up in a newspaper and take home.

527 Once food is set before the guests, the emptied tea cups are refilled,
574 but this time with sake. This helps immediately to loosen the formal atmosphere which still prevails, at least after one or two cups have been
● 273 emptied. Before this happens there may be, especially during weddings, family affairs, or the Mayor's reception, a polite exchange of cups between two men, who fill each other's and present it with a little ap-

preciative statement or an introduction. It is polite to make the rounds in this fashion, to sit before another guest, fill his cup and utter some polite phrases, then wait for a return compliment. 527 574

By the time men—and a little later women—have been served food and drink in some quantity, there is no more stiffness in the room, for with every cup of sake animation and voice volume increase. Speeches that have not yet come to a conclusion show definite signs of inspiration; each speaker who sits down is trumped in eloquence by his successor. Long after serious oratory has been dispensed with, a happy celebrant may get up and sonorously hold forth. During fieldwork the authors were frequently the aim of such addresses. In one of them a farmer, quiet and serious during everyday routine but known for his merriment and wit when in his cups, held forth on a future visit to Taira by these Americans. "There will be skyscrapers," he said in a booming voice, "subways, wide lanes and bright lights," and on he went to the delight of everybody. 273 [537] [123]

On such occasions Tairans display their skill in playing with words and their ability to act and mimic. The assistant to the headman, similarly quiet on ordinary days, several months after our arrival came into a room where the authors were present during one of the many post-New Year celebrations. At an advanced stage of merriment himself, he turned to his host and by way of introduction said that he had just come from Hong Kong. "Oh, from Hong Kong," the host said, "that is why you cough so, kong, kong, kong," adding that he himself came from New York (pronounced in Japanese similar to *nyūyoku*, meaning "a bath"), whereupon the arriving guest went into the motions of someone taking a bath, saying "ah from *nyūyoku*," and so the fun went on, mostly as a take-off on the American guests who were present. This reminded the clerk of another story at the expense of the authors, which he told with gusto. "That first day he came to Taira, Maretzki came up to me when I was carrying pebbles from the beach and asked if he could help since he was going to haul pebbles too. Then he started to introduce himself, and I only understood 'Umaretsuki' (similar to Japanese for 'temperament') . . . I waited and waited for a story, but nothing followed. I did not know what to say." He had never repeated this story during many sober encounters. 527 574 522 123

At another event, when several teachers were present, one of the men, after much gaiety, turned to a female teacher whose husband had left for the city to find a job and called over: "Hey, your mosquito netting must be wide now, huh?" The woman blushed, covered her mouth with a handkerchief and laughed. 522

The evening is never old before one man, or several who are known 574 533 534

574 for their special skills on the samisen (a three-stringed banjolike in-
533 strument covered with snake hide), open the singing and dancing with
the first, traditional song, *Kagiyadefu*, a solemn and slow piece which
[534] is rendered in the forced, nasal voice peculiar to Okinawan song. Im-
574 mediately after this, the tempo changes, the music takes a fast, stirring
535 beat, and the first dancer, a man, gets up. Dances at social events can
be performed by a single man or a woman, or by several dancers of
either sex, but traditional group dances are done by women only. Taira
people like to dance some of the many Okinawan dances in which a
story, sung by the vocalists, is acted out. For example, a popular dance
deals with a fisherman and his catch. A hat, hastily put on, and a basket
under the arm suggest the role of the dancer, his body and hand move-
ments the actions. No one is much concerned with accurate or highly
artistic rendition of these familiar dances; many performances become
simply improvisations in which one male dancer is joined by other men
or women who, dancing freely, add their own versions to established
movements. There is much applause and laughter from the audience
around the dance floor, which sings and animatedly claps hands in
rhythm to the music. As all, men and older women, imbibe more sake,
they become gayer, and more talents are unleashed. Amusing presenta-
[831] tions of a husband and wife, in which sometimes aggression and sexual
interaction are acted out playfully, are received with great hilarity by
the audience. If such a suggestive performance is given by an old
woman and a young man, it seems to appear even funnier. As they get
tired, dancers leave the floor, making room for others.

[562] Not everybody participates with equal lack of restraint. Younger
[273] women do not drink sake and show much more inhibition; they dance
established versions of Okinawan dances in group performances if
called on, usually before the merrymakers take over. Often a mother,
young child in arm, cannot resist. Passing the infant to a relative or a
girl sitting nearby, she joins other dancers and becomes carried away
by the spirit of the event. On one occasion a young woman, seeing her
aged mother display her talents on the dance floor in comical move-
ments to the delight of everybody, angrily demanded that she come
home right away, only to be rejoined with a taunting remark by the
old lady, who defiantly swallowed some more sake and continued her
entertainment.

527 Not a single event that we attended was marred by any serious un-
273 pleasantness. No guest was ever seen to become sick, although some
578 men drank themselves into a stupor. Here and there a paper screen may
574 be broken as a result of a tumbling body, or a hard bang against a
thin panel may set the house shaking. But the end of such a feast

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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would be nothing more uproarious than a group of singing celebrants seeking further entertainment from house to house. The occasional quarrels after drinking, which are mentioned elsewhere, seemed much more frequent where only a small group of men indulged after work, especially younger ones. No major holidays ended in dissonance. 527 273 574 578

The main events for family celebrations are lunar New Year, *seimei*, a period in spring during which descent group ancestors are revered and *Bon*, a commemoration of the dead in the fall. At these times families are reunited with relatives from other villages or the city. These events are observed in the home or in front of the ancestral tombs. During *Bon* young men and women go from house to house, performing traditional dances for this holiday in front of the assembled families. 527 796 769

Celebration of special birthday cycles and agricultural events, such as the day when ditches in the paddies were cleaned in former times, are observed by villagers as a group. An important religious event for the community is Boat Race Day in lunar June. On lunar August 15, the celebration of the full August moon, some villagers present stage performances and dances at a public celebration. 527

In general, it may be said that families gather as a unit on those days on which ancestors and deceased family members are commemorated. The village jointly celebrates events which are either based on local religion or on agricultural events. The only national holiday which is now in existence was established by the post-war Ryukyuan government. It is observed by school and government offices but not by the people. [769] [621]

Sport events form another category of holidays. The most important one falls in October when both in Japan and all over the Ryukyus athletes compete against each other. Athletic meets take place for several weeks; for the village the biggest event is the competition of all athletes in the township on *undokai* day. Everyone leaves work and takes picnic food to the track at the junior high school where each village competes against the others. This lasts all day. 526 628

Wrestling matches are part of entertainment during outdoor celebrations in the early summer. They are mainly an affair for young men. Occasionally an older man who feels strong enough challenges a younger one. The villagers sit around a large circle near the beach, watching the fights while they eat holiday food and drink sake. On Boat Race Day Taira and the neighboring village of Kawata race fishing canoes against each other. Spectators at this event are enthusiastic supporters of their favorites. After the races this holiday ends like any other, in celebrations with dance and drinking. [262] [574]

'Miso' is used not only in soups, but as a flavoring for other dishes. Jūshiimē is rice fried in oil and 'miso', with green onions added. Tōfu-champuru is made by putting shredded bonito and hot lard in a pan, adding a little 'miso' and some soysauce, and one-inch cubes of bean curd, or 'tōfu'. 'Tōfu' was eaten about every three days in Nanahan before the war, and every day about twenty peddlers from Tsukazan went through the countryside selling it. It is eaten not oftener than once a month now. 262 252

A strong rice drink, 'awamori', is in evidence at all parties. It is sometimes diluted with orange soda, but more often it is served full-strength flavored with either garlic or red peppers. Before the war the refuse from making 'awamori', called kashijii, was very cheap---about two gallons could be had for fifteen sen---and was generally fed to pigs. However, it also furnished the base for kashijē-ēi, made by pouring hot water on half-boiled spinach or swiss chard, and adding the liquid from the refuse. It was said to have been very good for the stomach. 273 [231] [557]

Feast Foods When a person reaches the age of 61, 73, or 85, a celebration known as tushibii is held. This is the occasion for a feast of whatever proportions the extended family's budget can afford. In the spring of 1954 a Nanahan lady who was a member of the dominant family reached seventy-three. The following was served at the feast: 262 574 [561]

--Paddy taro boiled in sugar syrup
--Soup containing 'konnyaku', pork, tripe, goat meat and ginger
--Giant radish and carrots, shredded in vinegar
--Several slices of fried bean curd
--Fish cake
--Deep-fried sugar batter
--A dish of 'konnyaku', 'daikon', pork and shredded radish
--Deep-fried whale tripe in peanut butter sauce
--Red rice; noodle soup
--Fried bean curd and pork, with seaweed

In addition, guests were given two boxes to take home, which contained the following:

--Two pieces of pork
--1 piece fried bean curd
--Two pieces of fish, deep-fried in batter
--1 piece of pork heart
--Two pieces of fish cake
--A red-dyed hard-boiled egg
--Two pieces of burdock root, deep-fried in batter
--Two pieces of sweet pound cake
--Two pieces of kujimuchi (a rice cake)
--Two large pieces of deep fried sugar batter
--One deep-fried flour dumpling
--Five cakes of baked rice flour, in shapes of the pine, bamboo, plum, crane and tortoise---symbols of longevity.

261 262 Famine Food and Wartime Substitutes The standard famine foods on Okinawa have always been dried sweet potato chips or refuse from the making of starch, sago palm nuts and the pulp of the same palm. The latter two are eaten with restraint, as they contain small amounts of an alkaloid poison. The sweet potato materials are made into soups, [252] and the sago palm provides a type of flour for deep frying, or 'tempura'.

During the last war, soups were also made from the stem of the plant [137] Ligularia Kaempferia, known as 'tsuwabuki' in Japanese, and chiipappā in Okinawan. One Nanahan farmer related, "The chiipappā which I ate in Kin-son during the war was delicious, and one felt better after eating it. When I came back here, I tried our local variety, but it is bitter and inedible." The giant African snail was used to alleviate famine just before the invasion. It [252] was boiled in its shell, then de-shelled and the "snail juice" washed out with a bitter orange called shiisā. The meat was then fried with vegetables and the white part of a leek.

• 273 177 276 272 Japanese soldiers during the war taught the Okinawans how to make a strong liquor from sugar cane, as no real 'sake' or 'awamori' was then available. Tobacco was also scarce, and pine tree bark was substituted. Some people preferred to smoke the leaves of the 'mogusa' plant, which is also used for cautery. One very poor family in Nanahan still retains the practice. Tea could not be bought in the late pre-invasion period, and the beans of the lantana bush furnished a palatable substitute.

263 Uses of Sugar in the Home When a guest calls at an Okinawan farmer's home, he is served tea, black sugar chunks, and quite [574] often 'awamori'. Many other uses were related. It is used in batter for deep [157] frying; for cure of headache, sickness, and fainting spells; for a hangover; and when food is not delicious.

CHAPTER IX: HEALTH

W. P. Suttles

121 This chapter will begin with a section on the human body---attitudes
128 toward and practices concerned with its care and its functions. This will be followed by a section on sanitation---attitudes and practices. A third section will deal with concepts of the supernatural and their relationship to illness. A fourth will describe the various types of "medical" practitioners found in Okinawan society, and Okinawan attitudes toward modern medicine. It will be seen that this chapter contains much that is often described under the heading "Religion" or even "Values" and contains little on the actual state of health and incidence of disease among the Okinawans. But we believe that this is as it should be in a report on Okinawan culture. That sanitation is poor and disease is prevalent is no doubt all too apparent to the medical observer. A detailed study of the diseases themselves must be made by research workers competent in that field. A study of native culture, however, reveals some of the underlying causes of poor sanitation and poor health. We feel therefore that this is a valid unit and properly put under the title "Health".

1. The Human Body: Practices and Attitudes

261 Eating and Drinking Okinawans enjoy food and drink and make numerous events the occasion for their enjoyment. Questions about holidays frequently soon elicit long descriptions of the types of dishes appropriate to each. To a Westerner the variety may not seem great, but to the Okinawans a slight difference in the consistency of a soup may call for a
262 differentiating term. The variety of foods is probably as great as it can be within the limits of Okinawan resources. Foods are valued differently.
[171] Rice ranks high, sweet potatoes low. Pork is esteemed, as in China but not in Japan.

264 Three meals a day is usual. Rice, soup, and boiled foods are served in bowls, fried foods in flat dishes. These are eaten with chopsticks. The bowl may be held in the hand near the mouth; soup may be drunk directly from it. Some foods, such as noodles, are habitually sucked up with considerable noise. This noise is neither made purposely nor is it avoided; it just does not matter. Children may bolt their food without being scolded for it, but adults seem to have no compulsion to eat fast, as the Japanese are said to
[574] have. On festive occasions men are served in the first room, women in the second. On these occasions a portion may be served already in a box so that it may be taken home. On ordinary occasions the family may eat together, though women often eat in the kitchen by the oven. Conversation of both
[321] light and serious matter may accompany eating. Serving food is essential
[574] to the entertainment of guests and to the payment of social debts.

273 Drink is also essential to entertainment. Tea is drunk first thing in the morning and at any time of the day or evening. But for men something
[272] stronger is also desirable. Usually it is the clear, strong, distilled drink

called saki in Okinawan, 'awamori' in Japanese. This drink is sold in several 273
grades and so is Japanese 'sake', but most farmers seem to prefer a rawer, stronger grade of 'awamori'.[1] In most homes 'awamori' is soon offered male guests if they call in the evening, sometimes in the afternoon as well. For [574] festive occasions it is absolutely necessary. Many older men also drink it [562] a bit every evening in small groups or even alone. Older women may drink a little, younger women, unless of the professional class, rarely.

When men drink together they invariably exchange drinks as a gesture of friendship. Generally the friendliness increases with each gesture, stimulating further gestures. Drunkenness is frequent. Different types of behavior among drunks are recognized and labelled appropriately. The 'uma-zake' ("horse-drunk") prances around; the 'buta-zake' ("pig drunk") sleeps; the 'ushi-zake' ("ox drunk") acts belligerent; the 'naki-zake' ("cry drunk") weeps. (These are Japanese terms, incidentally; I did not get native equivalents but assume they exist). But Okinawans who get drunk are mainly just plain friendly drunks; the belligerent drunk is very rare. Burd's description of Miyakoan drunken behavior---the sentimentality and endless expression of gratitude for friendship---would apply equally to the behavior of drunk Okinawans. And as Burd suggests, the reason may lie in the formality and etiquette that governs the relations of the sober; getting drunk is a means of relaxing the usual barriers.[2] The remarkable tolerance Okinawans show to drunks may arise from sympathy in the face of a common need. Drinking is often accompanied by singing and dancing. Men dance individually. Men who behave on most occasions with reserve and formality, may, after drinking a bit, dance with a grace and reckless ease that must be seen to be believed.

Okinawans do not drink water as frequently as Americans and even 271
with the more frequent tea and bottled drinks their total fluid consumption 272
would appear to be considerably less.

Rest and Sleep Chairs and beds are not usually found in Okinawan homes. 352
Mats serve the function of both. On formal occasions 516
Okinawans kneel. This they may do at the beginning of a formal gathering, but soon they are told to be at ease, which means sitting cross-legged for the men and with the feet to one side for the women. When relaxing at home they may put their feet out in front of them.

Okinawans sleep on the floor, usually on a quilt ('futon') on the 513
mat and with another put on over them. Often the whole family will sleep between two large quilts and under one large mosquito net suspended from the ceiling. To Americans unused to the floor it seems unbearably hard and the quilt above oppressive; it seems as though the Okinawans want too little below the body and too much above. From infancy on they sleep stretched out supine with a pillow under the head or neck. The pillow may be of cloth stuffed with husks or merely a block of wood.

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1 This observation is supported by the statement of a distiller interviewed by Lebra.

2 Burd 1952, p. 82.

[Yamada]

its area at night (an informant hastened to add that these were not Yamada women). The unit and the village cooperated in repairing roads, the unit supplying equipment and the village labor. The unit also lent equipment for levelling the school grounds and for the 'undōkai' (sports event) lent the school a public address system. At Christmas of 1952 and again in 1953 the unit gave a Christmas party for the school children. The first year only 40 went but the second year nearly 200 went and all received presents. Two that were shown me later were a plastic car and a plastic fire truck; one was marked 65 cents. They were displayed with obvious pride. The school children in turn had sent a bundle of art work to the unit for the Perry Festival. 621 177 727

According to the villagers, late in 1953 the CO of the unit was transferred and the unit was placed under the command of the CO of another unit some miles away. This, they said, had meant the end of the monthly meetings and a decline in the good relations that had existed. The villagers' worries may have been without foundation. The last Christmas party was given after the alleged shift in command. However, some changes were occurring; for example, prostitution had reentered the village.

Informal Relations In addition to the help given to the school by the unit, certain individuals from the unit had also contributed something to it. One man is said to have taught English classes twice a week for about six months. Many of the men of the unit habitually come to the school grounds to play ball. Several are said to come two and three times a week, others come less frequently. Negro soldiers as well as whites come. They play baseball and volleyball with the men teachers and have also taught them basketball.

A few of the villagers have gained financially from the presence of the unit. In Ajimaa where the school is located there are four shops and at Kuraha there is one shop and another establishment that was formerly a cafe. The Ajimaa shops probably rarely sell anything to the soldiers, but the Kuraha shop has several steady customers for "Okinawa Gin", a rather strong variety of 'awamori'. The cafe formerly sold drinks to a regular clientele from the unit, but recently the owner invested in a taxi, has not made as much on it as he had expected and so has not had the capital for stock. There is also a laundry in Kuraha operated by a couple from Amami which does washing for men in the unit. 621 177 727 444 [273]

Several men in the unit are renting houses for their "honeys". (The term "honey" is widely used by both Americans and Okinawans for an American's Okinawan mistress.) At the time I worked in Yamada there were five "honeys", all in Kuraha, three renting one house and two another. All five were from outside the village; one was from Amami, a relative of the laundry people. According to one informant, the relationships between the soldiers and these women had been established at Senaha, Yomitan-son, a small cafe and brothel area to which some of the men of the unit go; after establishing the relationships there the men had brought the women to this village next to their unit. It was my impression that there was not much contact between these outsiders and the villagers. 621 177 727 836

However, there are several Yamada women who have been the mistresses of American soldiers in the past and there are several half-white children in 621 144 563

shopping trip to a larger town. In the very common evening visiting among men, women participate very little. 562

There has been some improvement in the social position of women since the war. In Hanashiro, for example, before the war, the husband, children, and grandparents ate in the second or third room, while the wife and sometimes the eldest daughter ate in the kitchen. (The Okinawan kitchen, though part of the house, differs from the other rooms in that it has direct access to the outside, is generally on a level with the ground, and has a dirt, cement, or stone floor). The wife in preparing the meal can go back and forth readily and need not take off her clogs or wash her feet if she goes barefoot when she goes up into the rooms. Her meal is a slight interlude between duties. 562 264 [342]

In most homes now, the women eat with the family in the main house. Some old women still spend most of their time in the kitchen watching the fire and eating their meals there. One of the reasons given for the change in attitude toward women is that many of the repatriated Okinawans brought newer ideas with them and did not practice segregation at meal times. [178]

Another important fact about social life is the drinking of the men and the abstinence of the women.[3] Young men usually begin drinking sake around the age of marriage. It is exceptional for a young man in his teens or early twenties to drink. But once this dividing line is passed, it is the exceptional man who does not drink. In each village one finds a few lifelong teetotalers. Drinking is always done in company, as the climax of a task completed, because of some happy turn of events, or because there is a party or celebration. As a general rule, the village men do not drink every day, but only when a suitable occasion arises. While there is drunkenness, I did not observe the solitary, prolonged drinking commonly associated with alcoholism in western societies. Prolonged drinking at night has the expected effects the next day, but there is very little remorse, unless a man has done something of which he is subsequently ashamed. Men who have drunk too much the night before do not hesitate to lie in bed 273 [562] [133]

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 295--ANALYST]

3 In Okinawa, the commonest and cheapest alcoholic drink is sake. This is not the same as Japanese sake, the light rice wine, slightly resembling sauterne, that is usually served warm or hot. Okinawan sake is awamori, a much stronger drink of distilled rice spirits, a variety of the Japanese shochu. The alcoholic content of awamori ranges from about 25% to 30%. It is a raw liquor with an unpleasant taste. It is not the favorite, but it is the cheapest drink. Awamori is made from rice in small distilleries throughout Okinawa, bottled in large jugs and distributed to village shops. Most shops carry it. Sometimes there are special sake shops. Awamori or sake is sold for about Y14 per go (.318 pint). The normal intake for an evening is considered to be 2 go. Most men are fairly inebriated after drinking this much. The American army canteen, when available, is the favorite sake container. Japanese and American beer and Japanese sake are liked, but too expensive. 279 435 809

313 Home Industries and Famous Products The forested northern mountains give rise
314 to small scale lumbering, charcoal making,
433 and firewood gathering. Kunigami-son and Kushi-son emphasize the gathering of bamboo and firewood. On the other hand the making of charcoal is more import-
[369] ant in Nago, Haneji, and Ōgimi. The urbanization of the south combined with
[591] the postwar extension of roads into formerly inaccessible parts of the north have accelerated exploitation of the northern forest resource. Particularly heavy is the demand for long roof poles, or kichigwā, after every major typhoon.
[237] Kunigami-son and Higashi supply the bulk of these. Where wood is plentiful behind a coastal road, one often finds lime kilns, which process the coral of the reefs.

258 The sea is also a major source of material for home industries. Sea
433 salt is made at Yagaji, Urasoe and Oroku on the west coast, at Henza and Awase
[237] on the east. Kunigami-son prides itself upon its production of seaweed. Buttons from seashells are made in Mawashi. Fish cakes ('kamaboko') are made in quantity in Itoman and Naha, with lesser amounts being produced in Ishikawa and Nago. Dried bonito ('katsuoboshi') is a specialty of Tonaki isle to the west. Motobu-chō holds second place, followed by the western isles of Tokashiki and
505 Zamami. For over a hundred years the small cargo sailboats ('Yambaru-sen')
178 of the east coast have carried forest products from the north. The extension of roads into the northern forests has greatly reduced the amount now carried by sea.

433 Horse breeding is a specialty in Nakazato (the eastern half of Kume-
[232] shima), which has 22% of the gunto's production of horses. However, the pro-
[285] duction of horse and cattle hides is concentrated in the urban areas, which
[231] account for 84% of the hides produced. Nakazato is also famous for production of silk cocoons, being responsible for about two-fifths (38.7%) of the gunto's total. The leading mainland producer is Motobu-chō, with 9%.

Although Okinawa is not self-sufficient in tea, the three areas of
[245] Gushikawa, Ishikawa and Kunigami produce over half of the local tea. In Oku
[474] village of Kunigami, the tea factory is a cooperative venture. Gushikawa
[279] and Chatan pride themselves upon possessing 'sake' and 'awamori' distilleries.
[286] Mawashi is the center of production of farm tools, and accounts for some weaving of banana cloth. Weaving of mats from the "seven isles reed" ('shichitō-i') is a local specialty of Kanegusuku.

[314] Travertine quarries are found in Motobu-chō and Katsuren. A sandy limestone is quarried at Minatogawa in Gushichan.

Since the war, the old narrow one lane roads have been broadened, permitting heavier auto traffic. Land ownership has been undisturbed, for it is not in an area in which the military has required land. Since the war, the villagers have tried to return to their former way of life, but this has been done with poorer houses and fewer possessions. 363 403 511

3

Minatogawa

Minatogawa, the second village studied, formerly was a shoe string type of settlement. Houses, shops, drinking places were along the seawall road. This pattern is now altered as a result of the war. Scattered areas have been relocated and houses built on lands formerly used for sweet potatoes. It is now an indeterminate type of village, retaining some indications of its old settlement pattern along the main road, with additions of clusters of houses in the newly settled areas. 361 [275] [311] [244]

Like Hanashiro, this village is in Gushichan township, and located on Highway 64. It is directly on the main historical road, previously mentioned, which led from Naha to the Chinen peninsula. The road, along which its houses are built, parallels for a distance the estuary of the small Minatogawa river. This narrow estuary, called Usaregawa, which connects the river mouth with the Pacific Ocean, and the small river itself (Yuhigawa) is a boundary between Gushichan and Tamagusuku townships. On either side there are steep cliffs, the sites of the best known stone quarries of Okinawa. 361 133 [491] [316]

The settlement and the adjoining lands have an area of about 256 acres. It is a mixed economy village with three distinct occupational groups: fishermen, stonecutters, and farmers. There is a second village whose borders bland with those of Minatogawa. These two villages are now known officially as Minatogawa-ikku and Minatogawa-niku. The two terms can be awkwardly translated as Minatogawa first ward, and Minatogawa second ward. But popularly they retain their older names: Minatogawa for the fishing village, and Nagamo for the agricultural second ward. These two separate but adjoining villages were until 1925 a single village. 621 463

The division was the result of distinct differences in outlook and occupation between the two sections. Minatogawa is a fishing village and has strong ties with Itoman, a town on the East China Sea shore about 4 1/2 miles away. Nagamo is an agricultural community originally settled from Naha and Shuri. Stone-cutting operations spread over both areas. While the fishing village of Minatogawa was given the emphasis in this study, it will be necessary occasionally to include Nagamo in the discussion.[8] [226] [241] [324] [128]

8 The writer did not realize until he lived here that two villages were involved, thinking that the two wards referred to a single administrative unit. By this time the work on Hanashiro had been well started, and time did not permit the intensive study of Nagamo. 114

8

Daily Life of the Fishing Village

Fishing families may have informal gatherings toward the end of the day. On a late summer afternoon, the family may sit in the open doorway of the house, for hedges, fences, the barriers, and trees are rare. The wife may be nursing her naked child. Her husband, a fisherman, has changed into his indigo blue and white striped kimono, a tall, broad, deeply tanned man. Next to him sits his mother, over 70 years old, her hands tattooed, as are those of all the old women. She is wearing a kimono of the same color, but of a dot pattern. They sit on unrolled mats. On the veranda, three or four men, unwashed and still in their work clothes, discuss the events of the day. A lacquer tray with tea cups is on the floor near them and the tea (as it so often is) may be cold. There is brown sugar to eat along with the tea. The grandmother may be economically smoking a half or a third of a cigarette in the typical Japanese pipe. As it grows later, the wife gets up, pours some water in the stone mortar, and smashes the sweet potatoes with the long wooden pole. The men continue talking for a while, then take their leave. The wife, her work at the mortar finished, goes into the dirt kitchen to start the evening meal.

512 [351] [853] [291] [304] [285] [415] [263] [276] [252]

The wife of the fisherman has worries that do not bother the farmer's wife. There is always the danger that her husband, or son, will not return, a real possibility, of which the frequency of widowhood in Minatogawa is proof. Every season, there is at least one instance of a fisherman who has either been lost, or whose delay in returning has provoked intense worry. If crews are still out when an unexpected storm arises, there is considerable tension in the village. Since the war, rescues at sea are more likely than before. The village headman quickly reports overdue boats. The American forces have created much good will in seeking fishermen lost at sea.

152 [165] [648]

Women, on the other hand, have opportunities for leisure when the catch is light, or weather is unfavorable. At these times, they can busy themselves with other tasks, in the field, gathering stones, getting miscanthus, but they do not have the unremitting activity of the woman in the agricultural village. There is more visiting during the day than one observes in an agricultural village.

562 [461] [517]

The fisherman, with or without land, tries to keep pigs and perhaps a few goats. In Minatogawa, the pens are often made of sandstone quarried here. Not only the floors and the sides, but the stalls are made of this material. One reason for this is the openness of the village and the danger that pigs will be killed in a storm. A typhoon may carry away the house, its owners having gone to the stronger house of a friend or relative, but pigs are an investment and an asset to be guarded.

231 [343]

Alcoholic Beverages

443 Japanese and American canned beer
Japanese type sake (a light rice wine resembling sauterne)
[273] Okinawan sake (awamori)

Miscellaneous

Charcoal sticks
[276] Brass and nickel plated Japanese pipes
Small dishes
[415] Sake bottles
Oil burners to keep mosquitos away
[416] Flashlights, bulbs, and batteries
Matches
Japanese and American tobaccos
Fishing lamps and the ika lamp (fishing villages only)

[437] Transactions are usually on a cash basis, although some customers pay at the end of the week. In one such store, the gross sales averaged ¥600 a day with a net profit of about 10%. (The yen is pegged at 120 to the US dollar). During the day and the early evening, the village
[366] stores are meeting places, especially if, like Hinatogawa, several together make up a small business center.

443 Supplies are delivered to village stores by truck or sometimes by bus. Often the owner goes to the larger towns to buy. Young boys are
444 an important cog in the distribution system. They deliver candies, cookies, and other small articles which are carried in five gallon lard
[850] tins on racks over the rear mudguard of their bicycles. They ride up to the store, count out their candies or cookies, receive payment, and cycle on to the next store over a route which includes several villages. These boys work out of larger towns like Itoman and Nago. Baking goods,
[262] bread (pan) really a sweet dough with a jelly-like filling, cookies and candies are distributed in this manner. Sometimes housewives make cookies and cakes to sell to village stores.

443 There is not much house to house selling or soliciting. Occasionally women come to the villages with a selection of ready made clothing or cloth. In Hinatogawa, an itinerant drug vendor periodically goes through the village ringing his bell, selling various Japanese patent medicines mainly for colds, headaches, constipation, and stomach aches.

446 Import stores (hykujō), also operated privately, are a different
262 kind of enterprise than the village shop. They have been set up under the American occupation. Larger wholesalers supply the village re-
571 tailers. These stores deal in a restricted number of commodities, such as rice, flour, soy bean sauce, wheat, and cooking oils. Sales are made to villagers on a rationing system based on the number in the family, its
[340] age distribution, pregnancy, and whether the head is engaged in heavy work. The intent of the import stores is to make food available, at reasonable cost, to those who cannot grow their own, or whose own produce

Table VIII, cont'd.

241
433

Crop	Yield per tan	Tons per acre
Cucumbers	1,570	42.4
Wax Melon	1,859	50.2
Tomatoes	2,789	75.5
Watermelons	1,557	42.0
'I' rush ('Bingo-i')	1,411	38.1
'I' sedge ('Shichitō-i')	1,715	45.3
Tea	197	5.32
Mandarin orange ('mikan')	1,183	31.95
Edible banana	1,629	44.0
Green manure crops	2,994	87.5
Sugar cane (cane weight)[1]	9,000	243.0

Use of Grass, Trees and Brush Southern Okinawa looks barren to the American observer---few trees break the skyline and great fields of long grass cover the hillsides. The comment heard most often is, "Why don't the Okinawans plow up the grass and plant crops, instead of letting all that land go to waste?" The only proper and truthful answer to this query, of course, is that the grass is utilized to the full and that none "goes to waste". 311 311 824

The "ubiquitous miscanthus" referred to by Glacken actually comprises many grasses, chief among which are 'susuku', 'kaya', and one known by the Okinawan name nā'ichū. 'Susuki' is used mainly for the making of brooms, which occurs in December after the flowering of this grass has turned the countryside from deep green to a cloudy whiteness. 'Kaya' is used mainly for the thatching of roofs, but is also fed to livestock. Among other plants of the wild land, or 'genya', are the 'mogusa' or fūchibā, used for moxibustion and as a vegetable in soups; the hirahāgusa, used to cure leech bites; and the warabinufūnii, or edible bracken fern. [137]

The Japanese butter-bur is found in the 'genya', and is utilized as a tobacco substitute in hard times, and occasionally as food. The flowering ginger, or sannin, furnishes leaves for wrapping rice cakes, and fiber for the tying of bundles of sugar cane. The leaf of the inedible potato or m-bashi (Japanese, 'kuwazu-imo') was used by very poor people before the war as a wrapper for 'miso' paste, which they peddled throughout the countryside. The plant is still used to stop the bleeding of wounds. The lantana---known in Hawaii as "haole-koa"---furnished poles for house roofs, leaves for fodder, and beans for tea during famines. Numerous other grasses and herbs are used by the older generation for medicinal purposes, as can be seen by perusal of Tawada's excellent book, Okinawa Yakuyō Shokubutsu Yakkō, 2nd edition, Naha, 1951. [176]

Almost all trees, which in Shimajiri means essentially those surrounding the houses, are used in some way above and beyond their major function as windbreaks in time of typhoons. The leaves of the yūna tree are a native

[1] This information is from the Kochinda-son Office.

261 262 Famine Food and Wartime Substitutes The standard famine foods on Okinawa have always been dried sweet potato chips or refuse from the making of starch, sago palm nuts and the pulp of the same palm. The latter two are eaten with restraint, as they contain small [252] amounts of an alkaloid poison. The sweet potato materials are made into soups, and the sago palm provides a type of flour for deep frying, or 'tempura'.

[137] During the last war, soups were also made from the stem of the plant Ligularia Kaempferia, known as 'tsuwabuki' in Japanese, and chiipappā in Okinawan. One Nanahan farmer related, "The chiipappā which I ate in Kin-son during the war was delicious, and one felt better after eating it. When I came back here, I tried our local variety, but it is bitter and inedible." The giant African snail was used to alleviate famine just before the invasion. It [252] was boiled in its shell, then de-shelled and the "snail juice" washed out with a bitter orange called shiisā. The meat was then fried with vegetables and the white part of a leek.

273 177 Japanese soldiers during the war taught the Okinawans how to make a strong liquor from sugar cane, as no real 'sake' or 'awamori' was then available. Tobacco was also scarce, and pine tree bark was substituted. Some people preferred to smoke the leaves of the 'mogusa' plant, which is also used for cautery. One very poor family in Nanahan still retains the practice. Tea 272 could not be bought in the late pre-invasion period, and the beans of the lantana bush furnished a palatable substitute.

263 Uses of Sugar in the Home When a guest calls at an Okinawan farmer's home, he is served tea, black sugar chunks, and quite [574] often 'awamori'. Many other uses were related. It is used in batter for deep [757] frying; for cure of headache, sickness, and fainting spells; for a hangover; and when food is not delicious.

434 593 earned by women in the marketing of the fish, after deduction of travel expenses, becomes part of the family funds. Women in the fishing village have custody of the family money, due to frequent and prolonged absence of their husbands. This is an unusual practice, for in the agricultural and stonecutting areas of the village the husband handles the money, with the exception of a few yen which the wife may have at home to meet incidental expenses. The custody of the money (much made over by some observers) has no special cultural significance in my observation. It is merely a convenience, based on custom and occupation. Most earnings of husband and wife are in a common fund, though older children may handle their own money.

6

Other Activities Associated with Fishing

251 [439] There is some local drying of fish for home use and export. Of the common fish, the most frequently dried are the mackerel, the swordfish, and the shark. Shark fins are dried for export to Japan; before the war, they were also sent to China. The small amounts dried in local villages are accumulated in places like Naha for shipment. Drying processes are of the simplest. The fish may be laid out on a piece of canvas on the ground in front of the house, an operation which creates a stench and an overwhelming concentration of the blow fly population. Racks may be improvised. Their ends, made of odd pieces of wood, support thin bamboo poles laid parallel, on which the fish are put to dry. Sometimes fish are hung on a line. If the weather is good, they dry in two or three weeks, but rain quickly produces spoilage if the fish are not taken in immediately. The mackerel when dried may be heated up by placing a piece over the open fire, then rolled between the palms to see if it has been heated enough, torn into shreds, and put on a plate. Occasionally a poor family of non-fishing people, or a widow, purchases whole fish or backs or fins to dry for home use or resale.

● 278 825 Certain fish are valued as medicines. Their scarcity in agricultural villages prevents any but the most casual use. In Minatogawa, the commonest fish used as medicines are the lobster, the white cuttle fish, and the carp (koi), though the latter fish is rare here.

[252] 757 The whole lobster is put into boiling water. After a few minutes, this broth, which is the medicine, is drained off, and the lobster is cracked open and heated, this time for preparation as a food. The broth, which is regarded as very disagreeable, is taken for a variety of ailments. Its commonest use is as a laxative, although it is also taken for swellings, boils, or gatherings of any kind (haremono), for pains in the small of the back and the loin, or for a cold. The lobster broth is regarded as a very effective medicine. A white cuttlefish soup is put to similar use. The carp is boiled in water and the broth is drunk for fevers. The carp may also be grown in village ponds.

Japanese canned fish: mackerel, bonito, clams, whale meat hash 443
Noodles, buckwheat spaghetti and macaroni type pastes 262
Cookies, stored in glass jars, and sold singly 212
Sweet rolls (manju) from a town bakery, and sweetened bread (pan)
Tea
Aji no moto
White sugar
Soy bean oil

Soft Drinks and Candy

443

Bottled lemon and orange ades [212]
Cocoa Cola
Gum
Various candies sold by the piece, also stored in glass jars on the counter.

Notions

Needles and thread
Buttons of various sizes
Trimmings and ribbons [412]
Braids for making and trimming kimonos
hair pins, and combs

Clothing

Clogs (geta)
Undershirts [291]
Fibre sandals

Toilet Articles

Perfumes and toilet waters
Shampoos, liquid and powdered. [302]
Pomades and brilliantines [515]
Toothbrushes
Soaps
Toilet paper

Stationery

School tablets and notebooks [212]
Pencils
Comic books (in Japanese)

Medicines

Aspirin
Stomach powders [278]
Eye lotions

164 Okinawans blame tooth decay on the brown sugar. It may be diet or water.
[753] Use of tooth brushes varies considerably with individuals and
[515] families.

The standard of cleanliness in Okinawan homes is not high,
515 but this cannot be ascribed to indifference. One should constantly
511 bear in mind that it is easy to keep clean with plenty of soap, showers, hot running water, washing machines, and flush toilets.

9

Native Medicine

● 278 The native medicine has already been referred to in the discussion of fish and wild plants used as medicines. Their use has declined with growing reliance on manufactured drugs and pharmaceuticals.

[757] The golden needle (kinbari) is still used by rural doctors (yabu)
[759] in the treatment of inflamations of the joints and rheumatism. There was one such doctor in Hinatogawa, but ordinarily he is called only when real medical attention is not available.

The needle is scarcely thicker than a horse hair. It is encased
[913] in a shaft about 2 3/8 inches long. The grip or base of the needle is 3/4 of an inch long and the needle itself 1 7/8 inches. The needle is tapped and gradually worked into the affected part, and a length from 3/4 to one inch is broken off and allowed to remain in the body and circulate to effect its curative powers.

Blood letting is still practiced, often by the individual himself. Thin cuts are made with a razor, generally on the forehead above the eyebrows and slanting toward the bridge of the nose. This is done to relieve headaches and general pains and may be resorted to after aspirin has failed to relieve a headache. On a close look, one can often observe the slight, thin, long scars, which look like tiny wrinkles, resulting from these slashes. During the operation, a sake cup is held up to the place being cut. The cup may even have a little sake in it. When done by a native doctor, the blood may be sucked through a small tube and allowed to drip into a sake cup.

Cauterization using moguza (moxa) also is still common. One can frequently see scar tissue, the results of burning moguza on the flesh, usually in the area around the wrist. Moguza is applied with glowing charcoal sticks, burning thread, or tobacco. It is used for no specific complaint, but as a counter-irritant cureall for a wide variety of ailments.

Acupuncture apparently is little used now. Formerly an area was pricked with a needle, or a series of needles brought to a point, and
[386] an indigo dye applied. One can observe these round spots, circles of dots, occasionally on the shoulders and the backs of older people. These should not be confused with tattooing.

vary according to the problems and conditions in a village. The first meeting of the year is usually held around Jan. 2, when there is a party. The young men, even those of 17 drink sake at this time. Young women, who do not drink, contribute gifts of candy and soft drinks. 575

In Hanashiro, the young men cultivate a field of their own and sell the produce. They maintain a carp pond. (Before the war, there were two such ponds). They also work out for wages. Every morning rotating groups work for two hours either in the association's field or for wages. This is done before the daily work. Their earnings of Y8 an hour, low by Okinawan standards, are accumulated for special projects, such as the annual athletic meet. Occasionally they help with road maintenance, though this is a job for all the people of the village. The carp in the pond are sold to the villagers, normally in July, for medicinal purposes. [465] [825] [298]

In Minatogawa, the young men's and the young women's association are combined. The head is a young man, the second in charge a young woman. They help in times of emergency and with repairing of typhoon damage. Since there are no fields or carp ponds, they are not so active as the young men of the agricultural villages. Sometimes they do night guard duty around the village, though this practice now has fallen into disuse.

In Matsuda, the association performs tasks similar to those in Hanashiro. Rotating groups, arising at 4 in the morning, do two or three hours work before starting their own. Absentees are fined Y20 and tardy members Y5. The young men grow sugar cane on land loaned free of charge by farmers. The purpose of the project is to increase sugar cane production by providing transplants. The Matsuda group also works in the forests, for which they receive Y100 per day per person. With the permission of the village headman, they get firewood from the forests, sell it to provide funds for their projects. They stand by during typhoons. But they also have discontinued the custom of providing a 3 or 4 member patrol to walk around the village in the early morning hours. Since thievery is uncommon, the patrolling is no longer required. When the village gong sounds a fire alarm, all the young men assemble. At the harvest festivals, such as the autumnal equinoctial holiday, the young men may present a play, do Okinawan dances, and supply the motive power for the village lion. [249]

The leader (danchō) of a young man's association usually is from the older age group. Meetings are held twice a month, normally on the 1st and 15th. The annual parties are either at the beginning or the end of the year. In all the villages, the young men's associations have a leading part in the annual athletic meetings. Most of their accumulated funds are expended at this time. They not only participate, but do much of the preparatory work in co-operation with the school teachers.

One result of membership in the young men's associations is that the age range (an 8 year span) of one's acquaintance is broadened.

831 keep others from noticing sex activities. Keeping sex a private matter
833 does not mean that there is a feeling of shame or guilt. It is considered a natural function, and although they do not discuss marital relations, men feel free to mention sex and its pleasurable aspects. Such conversations seem to cause some embarrassment among the younger women but are thought entertaining by older ones.

To men, sex, like food and drink, is to be enjoyed and indulged in. Women, too, enjoy sex but are more reticent and give much less overt expression to their desires. There are stories about women who are sexually aggressive, but they are either characters in the folklore or women of a neighboring village who are said to be this way "because they don't work hard enough." Men enjoy sex activity until an advanced age. One man over 60 whose wife had long been dead twice took a young woman as second wife; in both cases the women left him after a short period, but dissatisfaction with his sexual capacity was supposedly not the cause. Several children in Taira were fathered by
[278] men who had passed their sixtieth birthday. People believe that potency depends on physical well-being and age, but that it can be
[262] produced by a special drink consisting of sake in which a poisonous
[273] snake, the *habu*, is steeped. As soon as one finishes drinking this brew, its effects should be felt. Sake, meat, and eggs are also thought to increase potency.

833 Women's breasts are considered sexually stimulating. Men like to caress the breasts and the skin in general. Kissing occurs during foreplay only among some younger couples; older people do not care for it. In a room or house, shared with others, few couples undress fully for intercourse. Moving the baby to one side of the mat or mattress, a husband joins his wife.

834 There are no pre- or postparturition taboos; relations continue
[843] throughout pregnancy and are resumed about a week after childbirth,
[846] when the wife has taken her first bath. Men tend to disregard the public health nurse's urging that women be given a little longer rest.

837 That extra marital affairs do occur is evidenced by the presence of
848 illegitimate children. But the mothers are likely to be widows or girls
732 who for one reason or another did not get married at the usual age. Deformity may be a reason for not finding a husband. Two children
[835] in Taira were claimed to be the issue of an incestuous relationship
[581] between a man and his widowed daughter. Although the children were conceived and born outside the village, people became suspicious after the family returned to Taira. Because the putative father failed to deny paternity strongly, villagers felt certain that their suspicions

744 tuberculosis, the public health nurse teaches the family how to treat the patient in the home by giving him rest and drugs provided through her. Isolation, though recommended, is not carried out effectively, as might be expected from the general treatment of sick in the village.

744 Like most public offices in Okinawa, the nurse's carries with it a
759 large load of administrative duties. Between these and attending meetings and lectures at Nago hospital, there is relatively little time to cover the long distances between villages. Taira is fortunate to be the residence of the nurse, and when occasionally a nurse from another township comes to help her with inocculations, the children crowd around her and say "We want 'our' nurse to do it."

743 The dispensary, or small hospital, in Taira is owned and run by a
759 former medical corps man in the Japanese Army, referred to as "doc-
758 tor." After the war the government gave permission to a number of former army medical personnel to practice on a limited scale in the
[844] villages. The Taira practitioner takes the place of a midwife, gives first aid, and diagnoses simple illnesses. If there are no complications, a patient requesting medical care may be kept at the dispensary, where a family member and the doctor's "nurse," a young female servant, attends to all his needs. If the doctor is confronted with a complicated birth or a case requiring surgical skill, he refers the patient to a private
[657] clinic in Nago or to the public hospital there. The township gives financial aid to the doctor to maintain his establishment.

757 Penicillin has become the doctor's stock in trade, and other anti-
[278] biotics and drugs are liberally administered via the hypodermic needle. But the doctor does not restrict himself entirely to the use of rec-
[262] ognized Western medicines and practices. He may recommend special diets to which people have resorted for a long time, such as goat soup,
[759] which is believed to cure colds. Although the doctor has a high status in the community, most persons do not rely on his advice alone but resort to other practitioners and their remedies.

[759] Until a few years ago a popular medical practitioner, the bush doctor, resided in Taira. After his death nobody took over his work, and now many people have to travel far to receive treatment from a bush doctor in another village. His methods primarily include the use of moxa cautery, burning mogusa weed on the patient's skin, and acupuncture by the use of a fine golden needle. He may also prescribe a certain diet and the use of special herbal remedies, which the patient prepares for himself. Those who have great confidence in the bush doctor's competence, particularly older persons, do not consult the Taira doctor at all.

758 In all their dealings with sickness and its prevention, Taira people are severely handicapped by their economic conditions. Even families

759 The yabuu also prescribe herbal remedies. They do not, however,
757 prepare their medicines, but rather instruct the patient how to gather and
[278] prepare the plants for use. The act of preparing one's own medicine may thus have a magical value. Yabuu also prescribe the eating of certain parts of certain animals for their good influence on the corresponding parts of the human body. Dogs and cats are among the animals so used. (This practice may be the source of the belief widespread among Americans on Okinawa that the Okinawans eat dogs; they do, on rare occasions, but not as food, merely as medicine.)

759 Short-cut Systems Standing somewhere between the yabuu and the modern doctor are several types of practitioners who give treatments with heat, light, steam, etc. as all-purpose cures. One man was observed to use a tube in which he burned a substance, probably moxa, while he moved it over the patient's body. His system seemed to be the moxibustion of the yabuu dressed up with "scientific" gadgets. He was described by a friend as "half-doctor half-yabuu", a description that was meant to elicit a favorable response since it implies that he possesses the efficacy of both.

759 In addition to these full-time professionals on the fringes of medi-
278 cine, there are also a number of part-time penicillin-shooters, who are particularly active in areas frequented by American personnel, where they are
[164] in demand for the treatment of venereal disease. Penicillin is sold freely and in quantity, perhaps because of the prevalence of venereal disease, and has become a very popular treatment even for very minor infections. Hormone shots also seem to be widely used by untrained persons.

759 Modern Medicine There are of course modern Japanese-trained doctors on
[177] Okinawa. But they are relatively few in number, about one for every 3,900 persons.[1] Trained nurses and medical facilities are also too few and too little. But even if there were more doctors and more facilities, it is doubtful that the ordinary Okinawan would make more use of them.

759 Medical doctors have a high status in Okinawan society. They are
753 admired and respected. Parents frequently express the wish that a son
829 might grow up to become a doctor. But the advice of the doctor is not al-
[554] ways heeded. The respect may be more for his education and the social position it gives him than for his professional opinion. In the matter of illness the advice that the ordinary Okinawan respects is more likely to be that of the older members of his own family and of the familiar yuta, sanjinsoo, and yabuu, for this advice is given in terms of insufficiency of worship, soul-loss, and the influence of the twelve-year-cycle. These are concepts that are familiar to him and have an integration with other beliefs, which the concepts dealt with by the doctor do not have. The doctor's very disregard of the supernatural runs counter to the feelings of the

[1] CAARI, Vol. 1, no. 2, p. 52 gives 126 practicing physicians for Okinawa plus 50 working for GRI. Japan has about one for every 1300 persons; Japan Statistical Yearbook, 1950, gives 63,273 (p. 432) and the total population as 80,216,896 (p. 12).

Elongated roadside settlements seem to be an increasing phenomena of post-war Okinawa. In central Okinawa (Nakagami) this is particularly apparent in the areas of military camps, where the commercial value of being on the road is fully exploited. Numerous car-washing establishments, repair shops, laundries, souvenir shops, etc., line the roadsides in these settlements. With current expansion and improvement of the highway system there seems increasing likelihood that more settlements of this type will develop. 178 361 [443]

Houses and Buildings Architectural styles and the materials of construction appear to have changed but slightly as a result of the war. There are now thousands of small temporary huts made of scrap materials which will suffice until the individual family can afford a more permanent structure. When new houses are built, the styles are closely similar to those of the prewar period. The major change in the style of country houses appears to have occurred during the Japanese period of administration, for early travelers and investigators report that the typical farmer's dwelling consisted of woven bamboo walls, thatch roof, and dirt floor. These are but rarely found today, and where they do occur, there is always a raised floor as in the case of the Japanese home. In certain areas, such as Kitazato for example, there has been a reversion to this house of woven bamboo and thatch due to poverty, a lack of wood, and the readily available bamboo. The prewar house of wooden walls and frame with a tile roof still remains the most common house type and that which is most frequently built. 178 342 [171]

The use of concrete blocks in building is attributed to American influence; however, their usage to date has been limited mostly to non-residential buildings. Roofing of corrugated iron is sometimes used, but it is regarded as a temporary device. [177]

Interiors have changed but little; rooms are usually relatively bare of furnishings. Frequently the walls are covered with pictures taken from Japanese and American magazines. 177 178 353

The enclosed yard surrounding the Okinawan house often contains considerable evidence of the war. Oil drums have been put to use as rain barrels and privies; American helmets are frequently found serving as pails or buckets; old shell cases are used for support and occasionally, if a sufficient number are available, for decorative fencing; sections of portable landing-strips serve as sidewalks; and on one occasion a Japanese machine-gun was observed in use as a clothes pole. 177 351

Crafts There has been a marked decline in Okinawan handicrafts and a greater reliance placed on factory-made products. The manufacture of cloth, baskets, rope, hats, pottery, raincapes, mats, sandals, etc. has dropped markedly in comparison to the prewar era; yet, it is acknowledged that the war only served to accelerate the decline. Several factors are involved in this process. In many cases the Japanese factory products are cheaper and better than the local article. The cultural domination of Japan also created an attitude that things Ryukyuan were inferior to things Japanese; hence, Japanese products and styles assumed an ascendancy over those of Ryukyuan origin. Lastly, the war destroyed many of the places of manufacture and the machinery employed, and replacement has never been made. 177 178 433 28 [329] [127]

313 Home Industries and Famous Products The forested northern mountains give rise
314 to small scale lumbering, charcoal making,
433 and firewood gathering. Kunigami-son and Kushi-son emphasize the gathering of bamboo and firewood. On the other hand the making of charcoal is more import-
[369] ant in Nago, Haneji, and Ōgimi. The urbanization of the south combined with
[491] the postwar extension of roads into formerly inaccessible parts of the north have accelerated exploitation of the northern forest resource. Particularly heavy is the demand for long roof poles, or kichigwā, after every major typhoon.
[237] Kunigami-son and Higashi supply the bulk of these. Where wood is plentiful behind a coastal road, one often finds lime kilns, which process the coral of the reefs.

258 The sea is also a major source of material for home industries. Sea
433 salt is made at Yagaji, Urasoe and Oroku on the west coast, at Henza and Awase
[237] on the east. Kunigami-son prides itself upon its production of seaweed. Buttons from seashells are made in Mawashi. Fish cakes ('kamaboko') are made in quantity in Itoman and Naha, with lesser amounts being produced in Ishikawa and Nago. Dried bonito ('katsuoboshi') is a specialty of Tonaki isle to the west. Motobu-chō holds second place, followed by the western isles of Tokashiki and
505 Zamami. For over a hundred years the small cargo sailboats ('Yambaru-sen')
178 of the east coast have carried forest products from the north. The extension of roads into the northern forests has greatly reduced the amount now carried by sea.

433 Horse breeding is a specialty in Nakazato (the eastern half of Kume-
[232] shima), which has 22% of the gunto's production of horses. However, the pro-
[281] duction of horse and cattle hides is concentrated in the urban areas, which account for 84% of the hides produced. Nakazato is also famous for production
[231] of silk cocoons, being responsible for about two-fifths (38.7%) of the gunto's total. The leading mainland producer is Motobu-chō, with 9%.

Although Okinawa is not self-sufficient in tea, the three areas of
[245] Gushikawa, Ishikawa and Kunigami produce over half of the local tea. In Oku
[474] village of Kunigami, the tea factory is a cooperative venture. Gushikawa
[374] and Chatan pride themselves upon possessing 'sake' and 'awamori' distilleries.
[286] Mawashi is the center of production of farm tools, and accounts for some weaving of banana cloth. Weaving of mats from the "seven isles reed" ('shichitō-i') is a local specialty of Kanegusuku.

Travertine quarries are found in Motobu-chō and Katsuren. A sandy
[314] limestone is quarried at Minatogawa in Gushichan.

the thatch is old and the pine siding obviously has replaced the diagonal wattle, but in other essentials it is a simple peasant hut built in rural Okinawa for generations. 342

(1) The upright supporting poles for the frame of the rectangular house are set on flat stones. In Hinatogawa, where they are quarried, they are especially cut for this purpose. The uprights are set about six feet long, and 3 1/2 inches in diameter. The poles are set so that there are four on the sides, six in front and rear, the end poles serving a dual purpose. (Fig. 1) 347 335

(2) On the front and back, cross poles, or tie beams to support the roof are nailed on to the cut end of the upright. The poles on the sides are fastened by making a simple groove the diameter of the pole. (Fig. 2)

(3) With the frame completed, the box like structure is ready for the ridge pole and its supports. These uprights are longer, perhaps 9 or 10 feet, and provide the slant of the simple gabled roof. They are also set on stones, but inside the area inclosed by the upright supporting poles. The ridgepole is now nailed to the ends of the center posts.

(4) The problem now is to provide a frame on the slanting roof for rods of miscanthus which in turn support the thatch. For this purpose, smaller poles, like rafters, run from the peak of the roof to project over the eaves. (Fig. 3)

(5) These rafter poles, set about one foot apart, jut out over the eaves on the front and back of the house about 1 1/2 feet. The ends of these small rafter poles are joined together with a longer horizontal pole. This horizontal pole is nailed on top of the ends. (Fig. 4) These poles may not be long enough for a whole side. They are rough, often crooked. If they are not long enough, the ends of two poles may be lashed together with rope.

(6) These rafter poles are not fitted or grooved into the ridge pole. Neither are the ends mitred. Instead the poles' ends alternate with one another. (Fig. 5)

(7) Horizontal poles are then laid across the rafter poles and nailed down. These brace the structure and divide the roof into a series of rectangles.

(8) The frame of the house is now completed and it is ready for the roofing and the siding. To help in nailing the rafter poles, women prepare a braid of rice straw or miscanthus and nails are inserted into the loops of the braids. The braid is handed up to the workman who puts it between his teeth, providing a continuing source of nails, as he tacks down the poles of the roof. Old men and old women prepare the nail braid. [283] [887]

Rice may also be polished by the use of rude wooden mallets. These have a handle about 3 feet long and a head about 1 1/2 feet long. Rice is placed in a mortar with straw on top. It is pounded, often by two or three women swinging alternately. After the hulls are removed, the rice is winnowed, and put back in the mortar until a rough polish is secured. 252 [412]

Uses of rice. Every part of the rice plant has a use. The stubble, left in the ground, becomes a part of next season's fertiliser. The chaff and waste dust (nuka) is saved for pigs, cows, and other domestic animals. The hulls often are used for fertiliser, before or after burning. Rice straw has a variety of uses. The most frequent and important of these is for making rope. 824

After threshing, the straw is dried two or three days. Three or four stalks of about the same length are taken and rolled between the palms. The lower palm, usually the left, is open and up. The right palm rolls the straw into a twist. As the rope grows, new stalks are inserted one at a time, and, when needed, a new length of straw is added. This is not a strong rope, but it has a variety of uses, such as tying down the grass thatch to the roof poles, children's swings, and clothes lines. Mats and pads shaped like a life saver and used to set the sugar pots on after the sugar has been boiled, are made out of rice straw. Another use is in the making of the ōda (Okinawan). This is a mesh about one foot wide and two feet long. There are loops on each corner. The end of a pole may be inserted in these loops when gathered together. The pole is carried over the shoulder, and sweet potatoes, straw, or other articles may be easily transported. Simple brooms without a handle, little more than a bunch of straw tied together in three places are also made of rice straw. Twisting and braiding rice straw is likely to be rainy day work. These articles are most often made twice in the year, corresponding with the harvests. [283] [285] [482] [412]

At typhoon times, if rice is not completely destroyed, the damaged rice may be used for pig food. The preparation of this rice is women's work. The rice is put in a mortar and pounded with a mallet in the manner already described, although a single operator usually does the work. [731] [231] [462]

Types and preferences. As a general rule, the selection of varieties of rice for planting depends on taste, the nature of the soils, and individual judgment of the expected yield of each type. In Matsuda, it is estimated that about one half of the rice is the Formosan variety, Taichu 65 (Taichu rokujugo), in Okinawa known as horai. Another variety, Kunigami Ji (Kunigami ichigo) represents about one-fourth of the crop. Mochigome (akaho) takes up about another one-fourth. This glutinous rice has a brown reddish rust colored kernel and is used for rice cakes. A fourth variety, horai-mochimai, is also well liked. No black rice is grown here. 243 [262]

Few articles for wear or general household use are made in the home. In Hanashiro and Matsuda, different kinds of ropes are made from the palm or from rice straw. The fibre of the palm is pulled apart and carded with the hands. Lengths of the fibre are twisted by rolling between the palms of the hand. These ropes are very strong, but the palm fibre is now scarce. 283

Weaker articles made of rice straw are far more common. The chief ones are ropes (waratsuna), mats (mushiro), a rope mesh (ōda in Okinawan) carried on the ends of poles, twine, and swings (buranko) for children. Braided rice twine is used to tie the dwarf bamboo down to the roof before putting on the tile on top. In Hinatogawa, very few articles of home manufacture are made. Some mats, a very few slippers, and fishing lures are the chief articles. 824 438

The people of Matsuda have better plant fibres and more mat making is found here. Two families specialize in making mats, one using a foot operated loom from Japan, the other a very simple hand loom. Mats are made from two plants which are indigenous: the i rush and the pandanus. Two kinds are used, a three cornered (sankaku) and the round (maru), the latter considered superior. In Matsuda, there are four types of mats distinguished by the materials employed: (1) the pandanus mat, (2) the pandanus as the warp, the i rush as the weft, (3) cotton string as the warp, the i as the weft, and (4) an all i rush mat. The best quality is the all rush mat. It is a strong, closely woven and attractive mat. Weaving is done by men in their spare time, or as a full time occupation by those physically unable to do hard work. Occasionally women weave, but it is uncommon. The market is mainly local. 285 [462]

In the simple upright hand loom, the warp beam is attached to the top board of the loom. The warp is stretched taut and fastened to the bottom board of the loom (corresponding with the cloth beam). The cotton strings, which make up the warp, are alternately set forward and backward, and when the weft is pushed in it goes over one string and under another to make the weave. The weft once in place is pushed down to the bottom by a movable board, with holes which guide it up and down the warp, to make the weave. In lieu of a shuttle, the rush strips used as a weft are guided through the cotton strings of the warp with a piece of bamboo about 4 feet long notched in the end like a bottle cap opener. One end of the rush is put in the notch and the stick is pushed alternately through the threads of the warp. The ends of the weft are tied to the warp to make a fringe and secure the mat against ripping. The rush is wet with a brush before using. It takes about 12 hours to make a 3 x 6 feet mat on this type of loom. 285 286

Men in Matsuda also make rough baskets, mainly for carrying vegetables and the stationary barriers (hinpun), made of the dwarf bamboo. These are woven diagonally when the plant is green and moist. 285

In the villages there is little effort to beautify the courtyard, train trees, or to cultivate shrubs and flowers. Now and then one sees a flower bed in the compound or the remains of a rock garden with shrubs and a small pond. But there is little to suggest the Japanese skill in these matters. 351

789 824 rope was hung across the entrance of the family compound two times a year, on the 9th day of the 8th month, and on the 8th day of the 12th month. Along the rope, there were knotted blades of grass, also the san plant. The purpose is to frighten away evil spirits and evil doers. One peculiarity of this twisted rice rope is that 283 it is made in a different manner from the ordinary rope. The usual rope is a twist made by rolling the fibre between the palms to the right or away from the body. In this special rope, the roll is reversed and is to the left or toward the body. It is difficult for a person already skilled in the regular method. This villager told of going to two noro [193] priestesses in the village of Yabu who specialized in teaching this method of making ropes. The husband and the wife received instruction, paying about Y40 for it because the wife believed in the efficacy of the practice. Each year at the proper times, the husband now makes the special rope himself.

787 791 184 Some fortune telling practices shade into religious beliefs, just as religious customs have also included soothsaying and divination. The noros and the Buddhist priests formerly practiced some fortune telling. There were no fortune tellers in any of the villages studied, but villagers occasionally consult them. Here, too, the patronage comes largely from the old and from the women. Younger people, if they know about them, regard these practices as superstitions unworthy of belief. The word meishin (superstition) is frequently heard among the young in describing customs and beliefs of the old. The sign of the fortune 791 teller (sanjinsō) is the Chinese character for three written three [212] times. These characters are said to signify the three states of existence, pre-natal, the present, and the afterlife, on all of which the fortune teller is well versed. Those in Hanashiro and Hinatogawa who wish to consult a fortune teller go to Itoman; those in Hatsuda go to Nago. The cost is usually from Y40-50 a visit. Typical reasons for a consultation with a fortune teller are: (1) to find out if an ill person will become well, (2) among the fishermen, to find out if the fishermen will return when an unexpected storm has arisen, (3) to discover if a present unhappiness has been caused by the evil deed of an ancestor and if this can be corrected, and (4) to find out the lucky days for such undertakings as marriages, building a house, or beginning new phases of construction.

782 774 Old women may utter a prayer on seeing a child fall, fearing that the child's spirit might escape because of surprise or fright. (This was observed in Hinatogawa).

778 In Hatsuda, there were shelves for burning charcoal sticks in some of the numerous caves in the area. The nature of the worship could not be ascertained, but they may be offerings to deities of the cave.

514 776 782 778 Worship and prayers in the toilet seem to have completely disappeared. There were no personified toilet gods. The toilet apparently was the place in which thanks were given that a place for excrement had been provided. In all the villages, it was said to be an old belief which has now died out. There was no shelf or special place of worship in the Toilet

TRAINING IN SKILLS

868 There are no complex systems of training in skills. Adults rely heavily on observation and imitation on the part of children; they seldom "teach" them to do things systematically. Parents were surprised and amused when questions such as "How do you teach children to transplant rice, harvest rice, or otherwise help in the fields?" were put to them. "We don't teach them; why they just learn by themselves," was the usual answer.

Children learn by observing and experimenting. Whatever adults are doing, children are present to watch their activities and overhear their conversations. Although parents do not seem to make any special [852] efforts to have a child attend a function so that he might learn adult ways, they take their children to the fields, parties, public meetings, and rituals long before they consider them ready to absorb any learning.

868 In the fields, children play among rows of vegetables. When a parent, grandparent, or older sibling stops for a rest to have a cup of tea, 857 the little ones pick up a hoe and attempt to imitate their elders. While 243 rice is being transplanted, throngs of children sit on the dikes in the [264] paddies, dangling their legs in the mud. They intently watch adults transplanting and weeding the paddies. Gradually they edge down into the mud to stamp with their bare feet in the ooze as they have seen adults do, until a warning shout arrests their educational water play. During the harvest season, groups of children carry mats out to the paddies and watch infants who need to be near their mothers for their feedings. While the infants sleep, the older children walk along the dikes, watching the work that is going on and clamoring to be of some help. Even a little child of kindergarten age stands by gloomily until an adult laughingly hands him a small bundle of rice sheaves to carry over to the threshing machine. By the time the child is 8, he has learned enough by watching to attempt cutting and tying small bundles of rice sheaves.

868 After the harvest, rice straw can be found in great quantities around the village. Some of the best straw is preserved to be made into rope. 283 If there are rainy days, men will sit and twist the rice straw into rope, [526] while 8- and 9-year-olds sit and watch. In a few days rope games and swings are in evidence everywhere. Little 4- and 5-year-olds stand by watching the older children, and soon they pick up stray bits of straw and twist them to no avail. A younger sibling whines as her move-

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

ments fail to form rope. Her brother quietly takes the straw and without a word demonstrates the deft movement. She watches and tries again when her brother hands it back to her. She is unsuccessful. As she starts to whine again, her brother picks up a length of finished rope and gives it to her. She runs happily toward the playground, waving her rope in the air. 868 [283]

Although young children are not taken to the mountains, they can sit in the village afternoons and watch adults sawing, splitting, and working the bamboo rings used in tying faggots. Boys do not go into the mountains to cut firewood until they are about 10 years old, girls until they are 12, although they may have begged their parents for several years to let them help with cutting and hauling of firewood. But as long as they are still too young for mountain work, they try to use the cutting tools. Tools are left within reach of children so that opportunities for experimentation are almost unlimited. Only their size and weight deter the youngest children. A 2-year-old girl was seen imitating her mother by attempting to whittle off pieces of bamboo with a large 12-inch blade bushknife. A teen-age girl working nearby passed the little girl several times without saying anything. The little girl's father also worked nearby but, like everyone else, was too absorbed in his work to notice his daughter. Finally her mother looked up from where she worked, noticed the huge knife in the girl's hand, and saying in a loud, angry voice, "Why do you carry this, fool?" took the knife away. [313] [412]

Other small children pick up hoes and forks to try them in the yard or in the pigsty. Sickles and knives are used expertly by many 6-year-olds. Bandaged fingers and numerous little scars are evidences of learning and experimentation. Occasionally an adult will say to a 9- or 10-year-old. "Hold the sickle this way so you won't get hurt," but more often than not the child has already learned by himself. One 4½-year-old boy shinnied up the side of a feed box to get a sickle. There was no adult around to peel the long stalk of sugar cane he had been given, so, with expert strokes and handling of the razor-sharp tool, he shaved off the thick, hard skin. By the time his mother arrived on the scene, the child was busily chewing and sucking on a considerable length of the peeled cane. The mother was asked who had taught him to use the sickle, and she was at a loss for a reply. "I don't know! He must have watched us and learned by himself by trying it out!" she said. [412] [264]

Little girls watch their mothers cooking and doing other household work. By watching and asking questions they learn how to light a fire and when to extinguish it to cook a perfect pot of rice. They [252] [296]

war level. This is due to several factors. The local prices for reed products are said to be too low, and access to Japanese markets is difficult today due to the separation of Okinawa and Japan. Since the war local food shortages and changed tastes and diet have influenced change to greater rice production. Many houses in Kanegusuku lost their mat-weaving looms during the war, depriving them of this means of support. In addition, there is some feeling that it is too time-consuming and the young girls do not like it. 286 433 178

One tsubo produces about two bundles of reed, which is worth about ¥10 a bundle when dried. Usually the reed is not sold, but is made by the producer's family into mats. Two bundles of reeds make one 'goza' mat, which sells for ¥65-100 in Naha. One person can make about two of these mats in one day. However, in almost all families this is part-time work, the woman of the house weaving in her spare time. One family in the village fortunate enough to own two looms employs two village girls full time as long as a supply of reeds is available. 286 433 [435] [464]

The covering for the 'tatami' mat is called 'tatami omote'. An individual can make about six of these per day. They are faster-made than 'goza' because the ends do not have to be tied off and bordered. These sell for about ¥45 in Naha, which place people prefer to Itoman as a market for their reed products. However, rice straw to be used in the base of 'tatami' is sold in Itoman because the cost of transporting the bulky straw to Naha would be prohibitive---it is sold for only ¥1 or ¥2 per bundle. The Agricultural Cooperative is trying to arrange for the sale of 'tatami omote' in Kagoshima where ¥85 per mat can be obtained. The first such postwar collection and sale was made early in 1954. 286 433 435

Prewar Home Industry in Yamada Before the war people in Yamada made much of their own clothing, and were self-sufficient in most of the tools they used. Most of the clothing was made by the women of the village themselves. Most women wove, and many wove constantly when not in the fields. Many had their own looms, but those who did not borrowed looms from their neighbors. 294 [286]

The usual summer garment was a kimono of banana-fiber cloth and the usual winter garment one of cotton. The former was made wholly at home, from the tree to the finished garment. For the cotton kimono the threads were purchased, usually at Kadena, already dyed, and the cloth woven at home. [291]

Several families had silkworms. They got the eggs from Japan and fed the worms on mulberry leaves they grew in their yards. These women spun and wove at home but they sometimes had professional dyers at Kadena or Naha dye the threads for them. Silk garments, like store-bought garments, were only for grand occasions. 231 283 292

Before the war some Yamada women made "panama" hats in their homes as piecework for a hat company. The company furnished the materials and bought the finished product. This was one of the few sources of cash available outside the sugar crop. Baskets, carrying bags, and raincapes made of 294 [434]

342 (9) While the stones are being set and the uprights are being
[462] put on them, the women of the house and their female friends and
[476] relatives have brought in miscanthus grass and have begun making
[824] sheaves, tying each sheaf with a piece of grass. This goes on while the rafter poles are being nailed down. It is over this that the thatch is placed. The grass may be green or dry. In December it is in blossom, and when it is used, it gives the roof a snowy, fluffy appearance.

342 (10) A series of short rods of dwarf bamboo or dried miscanthus
335 stalks is then prepared to fit over the checkerboard made by the interacting poles of the roof. The ends of these, which are about 7 feet long and 1/2 inch in diameter, are inserted into the braid of two lengths of rope about 5 feet long. These rods are placed at about 3 inch intervals. These frames are laid end down slope. They
[284] are lashed to the poles and to other bracing material beneath. All
[462] this is the work of men. While some of them are on the roof, others have begun nailing the siding. (See Fig. 6 for a sketch of the frames).

This is a very cheap lumber about 6 feet x 1 inch x 3/8 inch. The sides are boarded up like shingles except that the boards have uniform thickness. Each board overlaps the next lower one by 1/2 inch, a space of about 3 inches is left from the top of the upright poles to which the siding is nailed. The siding is sufficiently thin so that one side need not be thicker than the other.

(11) The triangular odd corners formed by the cross beams, the rafters and the center post are filled by fitted pieces instead of the rows of parallel rods used for the larger and more regular areas.

342 (12) The roof is now ready for sewing the thatch on. First,
284 the women throw several sheaves of miscanthus on the roof. They are tossed by hand or pitched by a rude pitchfork made by lashing a short branch to a long pole to form a Y. This is the kishi. (Fig. 7).
[413] One workman goes inside the dwelling. He has a pole about 6 feet long (a hari, the Japanese word for needle) pointed at the end with a hole near the point. (Fig. 8). Starting from the eaves and working up, the man on the roof unties the sheaves and spreads a layer of grass along the length of the roof. This layer is held in place by a horizontal pole placed over it. The man inside has threaded the needle with stout twine; he pushes the long needle with the twine up through the network of the roof. This is taken by the workman on the roof who feeds the needle with its twine back again. This sewing continues until the three layers, the checkerboard, the parallel rods which have been lashed to it, and the grass with the poles to hold it down have been finally sewed together. As each strip is completed the workmen move up the slope a little. The grass is about 3 1/2 feet long and about one foot is allowed loose on the end to overlap the layer below. That portion of the grass which is not free is tied and sewed very securely. There is much tugging, pulling, and grunting to make the knot as tight as possible.

000 (13) As the top is reached, another operation is necessary to cap

Rice may also be polished by the use of rude wooden mallets. These have a handle about 3 feet long and a head about 1 1/2 feet long. Rice is placed in a mortar with straw on top. It is pounded, often by two or three women swinging alternately. After the hulls are removed, the rice is winnowed, and put back in the mortar until a rough polish is secured. 252 [412]

Uses of rice. Every part of the rice plant has a use. The stubble, left in the ground, becomes a part of next season's fertilizer. The chaff and waste dust (nuka) is saved for pigs, cows, and other domestic animals. The hulls often are used for fertilizer, before or after burning. Rice straw has a variety of uses. The most frequent and important of these is for making rope. 824

After threshing, the straw is dried two or three days. Three or four stalks of about the same length are taken and rolled between the palms. The lower palm, usually the left, is open and up. The right palm rolls the straw into a twist. As the rope grows, new stalks are inserted one at a time, and, when needed, a new length of straw is added. This is not a strong rope, but it has a variety of uses, such as tying down the grass thatch to the roof poles, children's swings, and clothes lines. Mats and pads shaped like a life saver and used to set the sugar pots on after the sugar has been boiled, are made out of rice straw. Another use is in the making of the Ōda (Okinawan). This is a mesh about one foot wide and two feet long. There are loops on each corner. The end of a pole may be inserted in these loops when gathered together. The pole is carried over the shoulder, and sweet potatoes, straw, or other articles may be easily transported. Simple brooms without a handle, little more than a bunch of straw tied together in three places are also made of rice straw. Twisting and braiding rice straw is likely to be rainy day work. These articles are most often made twice in the year, corresponding with the harvests. [283] [285] [482] [412]

At typhoon times, if rice is not completely destroyed, the damaged rice may be used for pig food. The preparation of this rice is women's work. The rice is put in a mortar and pounded with a mallet in the manner already described, although a single operator usually does the work. [731] [231] [462]

Types and preferences. As a general rule, the selection of varieties of rice for planting depends on taste, the nature of the soils, and individual judgment of the expected yield of each type. In Matsuda, it is estimated that about one half of the rice is the Formosan variety, Taichu 65 (Taichu rokujugo), in Okinawa known as horai. Another variety, Kunigami 31 (Kunigami ichigo) represents about one-fourth of the crop. Mochigome (akaho) takes up about another one-fourth. This glutinous rice has a brown reddish rust colored kernel and is used for rice cakes. A fourth variety, horai-mochimai, is also well liked. No black rice is grown here. 243 [262]

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Matsuda. Polishing rice with a hand mill. This is a posed picture, but rice was polished this way up to shortly before the war. The grass mat prevents wastage. On the left is some Yambaru bamboo. The women are barefooted. The towel-like headdress is not uncommon.

[P. 185(A)]

Daily Life of the Fishing Village

512

Fishing families may have informal gatherings toward the end of the day. On a late summer afternoon, the family may sit in the open doorway of the house, for hedges, fences, the barriers, and trees are rare. The wife may be nursing her naked child. Her husband, a fisherman, has changed into his indigo blue and white striped kimono, a tall, broad, deeply tanned man. Next to him sits his mother, over 70 years old, her hands tattooed, as are those of all the old women. She is wearing a kimono of the same color, but of a dot pattern. They sit on unrolled mats. On the veranda, three or four men, unwashed and still in their work clothes, discuss the events of the day. A lacquer tray with tea cups is on the floor near them and the tea (as it so often is) may be cold. There is brown sugar to eat along with the tea. The grandmother may be economically smoking a half or a third of a cigarette in the typical Japanese pipe. As it grows later, the wife gets up, pours some water in the stone mortar, and smashes the sweet potatoes with the long wooden pole. The men continue talking for a while, then take their leave. The wife, her work at the mortar finished, goes into the dirt kitchen to start the evening meal.

[351] [853] [291] [304] [285] [415] [263] [276] [252]

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The wife of the fisherman has worries that do not bother the farmer's wife. There is always the danger that her husband, or son, will not return, a real possibility, of which the frequency of widowhood in Minatogawa is proof. Every season, there is at least one instance of a fisherman who has either been lost, or whose delay in returning has provoked intense worry. If crews are still out when an unexpected storm arises, there is considerable tension in the village. Since the war, rescues at sea are more likely than before. The village headman quickly reports overdue boats. The American forces have created much good will in seeking fishermen lost at sea.

[165] [648]

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Women, on the other hand, have opportunities for leisure when the catch is light, or weather is unfavorable. At these times, they can busy themselves with other tasks, in the field, gathering stones, getting miscanthus, but they do not have the unremitting activity of the woman in the agricultural village. There is more visiting during the day than one observes in an agricultural village.

[461] [517]

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The fisherman, with or without land, tries to keep pigs and perhaps a few goats. In Minatogawa, the pens are often made of sandstone quarried here. Not only the floors and the sides, but the stalls are made of this material. One reason for this is the openness of the village and the danger that pigs will be killed in a storm. A typhoon may carry away the house, its owners having gone to the stronger house of a friend or relative, but pigs are an investment and an asset to be guarded.

[343]

824 (12) The pandanus (adan or takonoki, Japanese scientific name, Pandanus oderatissimus L) is also scattered. Formerly the pandanus was widely used in Okinawa for slippers and a Panama type hat was made for export. This home industry has disappeared from Matsuda, as it has from the south.

(13) The i (Juncus effusus, Linn. var. decipiens Buch). This rush is used in the better quality home made mats (mushiro). The i is generally the warp of these mats, with some other grass the weft. It is occasionally cultivated when rice paddies are not in use, as it requires much water. There are two varieties of i, the round, and the three cornered (sankaku). The three cornered variety is used in cheaper quality mats. The round variety with cotton string as the warp, is used in weaving the best mats.

(14) The Yambaru bamboo (Yambaru take). This I believe is the same as, or at least very similar to the Japanese sasa, or dwarf bamboo (Arundinaria communis Mak.). Yambaru take means "northern district bamoco" and throughout Okinawa the term is used to describe this valuable plant. In appearance, it resembles the susuki grass, but its stalks are much woodier, have a greater diameter, and the plant is much taller. In an uncleared forest, the Yambaru bamboo grows six to nine feet high and has a foothold wherever there is the slightest room in the forest. Patches often are intermingled with the shii, pine, and the numerous shrubs. This is the roof thatch material of the north. Its other uses include the weaving of stationary barriers (hinpun) in front of the house compound. The stalks are closely woven diagonally while still green. The plant has innumerable uses, depending on individual improvisation. While green, charcoal containers may be made out of it; it may be woven into rough baskets (zaru) for carrying sweet potatoes, or to bind up the small bundles of firewood which are sent south. In general, the smaller diameters of Yambaru bamboo are used for roofs; the larger for bamboo fences (takegaki) and the face level hinpun. Bundles of Yambaru bamboo are sent to Naha and Shuri for weaving.

[285] [415]

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The Uses of the Forest

313 Clearcutting seems to be the curse of traditional Oriental forestry. Starting at the convenient base of a hill or mountain, every tree has been cut up the hill until a steep or inaccessible part is reached. This destructive exploitation has been an established Japanese forestry practice despite the obvious inducements to soil erosion.[5]

The results of clearcutting observable near Matsuda now are a product of the overwhelming war and post-war demand for lumber and

5 A report on Japanese natural resources, as cited, 357.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Few articles for wear or general household use are made in the house. In Hanashiro and Hatsuda, different kinds of ropes are made from the palm or from rice straw. The fibre of the palm is pulled apart and carded with the hands. Lengths of the fibre are twisted by rolling between the palms of the hand. These ropes are very strong, but the palm fibre is now scarce. 283

Weaker articles made of rice straw are far more common. The chief ones are ropes (waratsuna), mats (mushiro), a rope mesh (ōda in Okinawan) carried on the ends of poles, twine, and swings (buranko) for children. Braided rice twine is used to tie the dwarf bamboo down to the roof before putting on the tile on top. In Hinatogawa, very few articles of home manufacture are made. Some mats, a very few slippers, and fishing lures are the chief articles. 824 438

The people of Hatsuda have better plant fibres and more mat making is found here. Two families specialize in making mats, one using a foot operated loom from Japan, the other a very simple hand loom. Mats are made from two plants which are indigenous: the i rush and the pandanus. Two kinds are used, a three corned (sankaku) and the round (maru), the latter considered superior. In Hatsuda, there are four types of mats distinguished by the materials employed: (1) the pandanus mat, (2) the pandanus as the warp, the i rush as the weft, (3) cotton string as the warp, the i as the weft, and (4) an all i rush mat. The best quality is the all rush mat. It is a strong, closely woven and attractive mat. Weaving is done by men in their spare time, or as a full time occupation by those physically unable to do hard work. Occasionally women weave, but it is uncommon. The market is mainly local. 285 [462]

In the simple upright hand loom, the warp beam is attached to the top board of the loom. The warp is stretched taut and fastened to the bottom board of the loom (corresponding with the cloth beam). The cotton strings, which make up the warp, are alternately set forward and backward, and when the weft is pushed in it goes over one string and under another to make the weave. The weft once in place is pushed down to the bottom by a movable board, with holes which guide it up and down the warp, to make the weave. In lieu of a shuttle, the rush strips used as a weft are guided through the cotton strings of the warp with a piece of bamboo about 4 feet long notched in the end like a bottle cap opener. One end of the rush is put in the notch and the stick is pushed alternately through the threads of the warp. The ends of the weft are tied to the warp to make a fringe and secure the mat against ripping. The rush is wet with a brush before using. It takes about 12 hours to make a 3 x 6 feet mat on this type of loom. 285 286

Men in Hatsuda also make rough baskets, mainly for carrying vegetables and the stationary barriers (hinpun), made of the dwarf bamboo. These are woven diagonally when the plant is green and moist. 285

In the villages there is little effort to beautify the courtyard, train trees, or to cultivate shrubs and flowers. Now and then one sees a flower bed in the compound or the remains of a rock garden with shrubs and a small pond. But there is little to suggest the Japanese skill in these matters. 351

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

and look after the sick. Even if they are too old for any work, like two oldsters over 80 years, they can still hold the youngest grandchild. Two exceptional old men, brothers of almost the same age, pass their time by making rope bags and mats from the fiber of the fan palm. Both are active as financial experts, investing money here and there and lending it for high interests in various shrewd transactions.

INFORMAL AND FORMAL COOPERATION

Cooperation plays a prominent part in Taira economy. Assistance is always given for major tasks, such as preparing grass land for farm use or house building, or for work which must be done quickly, such as transplanting rice or harvesting and milling sugar. In fact, since wet rice cultivation depends on assistance in any culture that works its paddies by hand, it is noteworthy that the term *iimarû*, used in Taira for labor exchange in planting and harvesting, is also extended to other mutual assistance. The term, literally translated, means "gathering by rotation." A family who plans a project that needs the help of others makes an informal arrangement with relatives or neighbors to help for one or more days. This is simply done by notifying individuals that such help is needed. No one, unless he has urgent reasons, would refuse to comply with a call for assistance. If it is a small task, a few close relatives are asked. In most larger undertakings, it is the neighborhood group that lends a hand. These mutual-assistance groups usually form within the central village and within each of the geographical clusters of the outlying village, although close relatives from other parts of the community may be called. However, the most recent arrivals in Taira, all present members of one family line who have the same surname, act jointly in reclamation of neglected fields to strengthen their economic position.

Return services are expected, but nobody would admit that there is any thought of equal compensation and would not even joke about the matter. There is a strong feeling that calculated thinking is unseemly not only among relatives but also among unrelated neighbors. One man, when asked what would happen if a person refused to comply to a request for help, answered, "There is no such dirty person, and if there were one, he would be an outcast." During the rice planting season, persons helping in another's fields will shortly be helped themselves. In housebuilding, a long time may pass until those who aided will need aid in return.

Except for people over 56, pregnant women, and mothers of chil-

financier, the abacus a mathematician, the book a scholar, and food a glutton. The villagers did not seem to place much credence in the choice. Mothers laughed when asked what choices their children made and commented, "It's something to talk about, but many times we can't even remember which child chose what!" 852

The child continues to be carried on the back until the next sibling is born, the interval being between about two or three years. By the time an infant is a year old, he has been taken through every nook and cranny of the village. He has also seen all the adults and children of the village and has witnessed the economic and social-ceremonial activities. Whereas he slept most of the time when he was young, he now begins to participate in what goes on about him. He claps his hands in glee in response to his older sibling's delight over some aspect of play or raises his arm in defiance of another child who attempts to strike at his older sibling. In spite of the fact that he is capable of crawling or learning to walk within the second half year of his life, he is kept on the back. He does not protest or clamor to be put down; he seems to prefer being carried to being left to crawl. 855 854 [856]

Caretakers are too busy with work or play to let the child crawl about freely, so there is no crawling stage in Taira. Older siblings are too involved in play to sit and patiently watch a crawler. The older child would also be severely punished should the infant pick up some object and swallow it or injure himself in his crawling. One 8-year-old found that the 10-month-old sister she toted on her back took to standing on the ground and jouncing up and down every time she squatted to play. After several unsuccessful attempts to stop this annoying behavior, she unstrapped her and allowed her to crawl about freely. The older girl became so engrossed in the game that her mouth dropped open and eyes turned round with fear when one of her playmates shouted, "Hey! the baby put some dirt into her mouth!" Immediately she rushed to "flush" the baby's mouth out with her fingers and promptly strapped her onto the back again and continued playing despite the uncomfortable jouncings. The baby did not protest at being restrapped; she just jounced and played with her hands. 857 855

A mother who sits and plucks sweet potato leaves off the vines for hog feed works more efficiently with the baby on her back. Crawling around on the loose floorboards near the fire pit or over the edge of the raised floor, the child would require constant attention. On one occasion the observer was sitting and talking with a mother who was weaving a bamboo basket in her front room. The floor was littered with bamboo shavings and slats. As the mother worked, she was relaxed. She turned and twisted the sharp ends of the bamboo slats, leaving pointed [231] [285]

855 ends swinging in the air, and dropping the huge knife in a careless
857 fashion on the floor near her. Suddenly there was the sound of a crying baby and her eldest girl appeared with the 8-month-old on her back.
[285] Unstrapping the baby, the girl plopped her onto her mother's lap. Instinctively the mother pushed the basket, bamboo slats, and knife away as she unbuttoned her blouse to nurse the baby. When the baby had had its fill, the mother called to the little caretaker to come and carry her. The older child called out that she was going to get a drink of water and disappeared around the house. She entered through the back and called to the baby to come. The baby crawled over but was attracted on the way by the big knife. Instantly the mother snatched it away, and the baby started to move toward the sharp pieces of bamboo. In desperation the mother picked up the baby and called crossly to the girl to come immediately. The older child obeyed, and the baby was strapped onto her back. "Now go and play somewhere," instructed the annoyed mother.

855 Another instance of similar nature took place in the frontyard of a
863 place which that day was the scene of "house playing." A grandmother watching the activity decided to let the year-old baby on her back down to join in the play. "Eh, go and play with your older sisters," she smiled and said to the child as she put her gently down on the ground. The child started to crawl over to the group but stopped and sat very quietly staring ahead for a minute. The grandmother, who had disappeared into the house, reappeared. "A-yah!" she exclaimed as she looked down to see the baby scratching the damp earth about her. The baby had urinated and was puddling about so that in that brief instant she had thoroughly soiled herself as well as her clothing. Grumbling and scolding, "Dirty, dirty!" she picked up and carried at arm's length the baby, who was smiling and gurgling. The old woman cleaned the baby at the water barrel and, dressing her in clean clothes, promptly put her on her back again.

855 The only children who were allowed to crawl about were the sons
184 of two fishermen. Fishermen's wives, compared to the farmer-woods-
462 men's wives, have a great deal more leisure time. They buy their potatoes and rice with money from the sale of fish. The men send their catch to the market via the bus, so their wives, except when they accompany a catch to the city, have only to care for the house and a pig and are free to watch their children as they crawl about.

854 In summary, the infancy period is characterized by consistent nur-
155 turance. Mothers, grandmothers, and child baby-tenders are helpful and demonstrative in their affection. That they value such behavior is further evidenced by their conscious teaching of young children to

Baskets, carrying bags, and raincapes made of
294 fiber from the trunk of the chigu palm, raincapes from the excess rice straw,
[285] and hats made from the leaf of the kuba palm completed the list of major items made at home.

291 178 Postwar Home Industry in Yamada Before the war many---probably most---Yamada people had never worn Western-style clothing.
177 The few school teachers and a man who worked at the 'son' office were probably the only exceptions. Some of the young men who went to Naichi to work acquired Western clothing there, but the older men and women continued to wear kimono. During the invasion, houses, looms, and other equipment---and much of the clothing---of the people of Yamada were destroyed. At Ishikawa and elsewhere after the battle they received cast-off army clothing. For a time they wore only this and what little they had salvaged from the battle. At present they have supplemented this with Japanese and American-made civilian clothing
[286] in Western types. Probably no one in Yamada weaves cloth today. Only one
[231] cloth loom was located in the whole village, and this had been put away. No one raises silkworms.

178 Basketry is still made, but only for local use. Raincoats of straw
[285] and palm bark are not made in Yamada, but a few are brought in from the north.
[294] However, the army poncho has in part replaced this garment. The kubagasa, the
[291] hat made from the kuba palm leaf, is still made and worn in Yamada, but probably not as much as before the war. A variety of store-bought hats, including sun-helmets, are worn by the younger men.

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Canvas acquired

3

Daily Work Habits

512 The people of a village are continually busy. Their daily work habits depend on the season and the type of work. The work day of the fisherman is the least predictable because his activities are more sensitive to the present and anticipated weather. Most farmers continue working in their fields in a slight rain, but activity ceases with heavy rains. While the farmer works steadily and hard, there is a certain elasticity in his schedule. He does not go to the fields every morning at exactly the same time. Neither does he feel compelled to put in a full day's work every day; he is guided more by the tasks to be done. Work is interrupted by an occasional smoke or conversation with friends or neighbors passing by. There is a routine in daily life, but it is not strictly adhered [264] to. Meal times vary from day to day sometimes by an hour. Time may be taken out from the fields to gather firewood, make bean curd, to dry out bean pods, or to fix up one's house. Three or four days in [476] a row may be devoted to helping with another's house. The sun is the guide to time. Most houses have clocks but few are running and [805] they are not well regulated. Perhaps the chief distinction between agriculture and fishing work is that in the former, the tasks of all blend together.

A farmer's work day in summer begins about 8 or 9 in the morning and ends almost the same time in the evening. Full advantage is taken of the daylight hours. In summer, the evening meal is not eaten until 9 and often later. By the time the meal is finished and the table cleared, it is ten. After short visits within the family, or with neighbors, the farmer retires about 11. In the winter, the routine is the same, but the day's work stops earlier, and the evening meal is at about 6 P.M. The fishermen do not have this unbroken routine. There is often night work and the day may be used for sleeping. Intense activity is followed by periods of greater or less leisure.

4

Clothing

195 The history of costume in Okinawa is full of interest, but it is 292 too broad a subject to deal with here. In the old Okinawan kingdom, 565 clothing and its color, hair pins, caps, and other articles of men's wear were used to designate rank. The clothing of the commoners had [286] much less variety. Until quite recently, banana fibre was used in farmers' clothing. A dyed indigo kimono, stripes for men and dots 291 for women, is still worn. [537]

Present day clothing is of a non-descript character. The war

000

Few articles for wear or general household use are made in the home. In Hanashiro and Matsuda, different kinds of ropes are made from the palm or from rice straw. The fibre of the palm is pulled apart and carded with the hands. Lengths of the fibre are twisted by rolling between the palms of the hand. These ropes are very strong, but the palm fibre is now scarce. 283

Weaker articles made of rice straw are far more common. The chief ones are ropes (waratsuna), mats (mushiro), a rope mesh (ōda in Okinawan) carried on the ends of poles, twine, and swings (buranko) for children. Braided rice twine is used to tie the dwarf bamboo down to the roof before putting on the tile on top. In Hinatogawa, very few articles of home manufacture are made. Some mats, a very few slippers, and fishing lures are the chief articles. 824 438

The people of Matsuda have better plant fibres and more mat making is found here. Two families specialize in making mats, one using a foot operated loom from Japan, the other a very simple hand loom. Mats are made from two plants which are indigenous: the i rush and the pandanus. Two kinds are used, a three cornered (sankaku) and the round (maru), the latter considered superior. In Matsuda, there are four types of mats distinguished by the materials employed: (1) the pandanus mat, (2) the pandanus as the warp, the i rush as the weft, (3) cotton string as the warp, the i as the weft, and (4) an all i rush mat. The best quality is the all rush mat. It is a strong, closely woven and attractive mat. Weaving is done by men in their spare time, or as a full time occupation by those physically unable to do hard work. Occasionally women weave, but it is uncommon. The market is mainly local. 285 [462]

In the simple upright hand loom, the warp beam is attached to the top board of the loom. The warp is stretched taut and fastened to the bottom board of the loom (corresponding with the cloth beam). The cotton strings, which make up the warp, are alternately set forward and backward, and when the weft is pushed in it goes over one string and under another to make the weave. The weft once in place is pushed down to the bottom by a movable board, with holes which guide it up and down the warp, to make the weave. In lieu of a shuttle, the rush strips used as a weft are guided through the cotton strings of the warp with a piece of bamboo about 4 feet long notched in the end like a bottle cap opener. One end of the rush is put in the notch and the stick is pushed alternately through the threads of the warp. The ends of the weft are tied to the warp to make a fringe and secure the mat against ripping. The rush is wet with a brush before using. It takes about 12 hours to make a 3 x 6 feet mat on this type of loom. 285 286

Men in Matsuda also make rough baskets, mainly for carrying vegetables and the stationary barriers (hinpan), made of the dwarf bamboo. These are woven diagonally when the plant is green and moist. 285

In the villages there is little effort to beautify the courtyard, train trees, or to cultivate shrubs and flowers. Now and then one sees a flower bed in the compound or the remains of a rock garden with shrubs and a small pond. But there is little to suggest the Japanese skill in these matters. 351

844 kimonos, and diapers. He is placed under the blanket next to the
[853] mother and given a gauze nipple dipped in tea and sugar to suck, which is often his only food for as long as two days if lactation is slow. Meanwhile the afterbirth is wrapped in straw and left under the floorboards in the kitchen to await the outgoing tide.

846 Tea is now served in the front room, and the birth is discussed by
593 the women who assisted. On one such occasion, the father and grandmother showed a little boy whose sister had just been born a great deal of affection. The father held the boy in his lap, and both adults told him that he was now a big brother.

844 At the first hour of the outgoing tide, old women—the grandmother
851 of the baby, relatives, and neighbors—wrap the afterbirth in rice straw
156 and bury it in a specified place outdoors behind the hearth. The purpose of the ceremony is to ensure that the child will be happy and sociable. To the accompaniment of laughing, loud clanging of pots and covers, and calling to each other, the women circle the house. When the burial is completed, they chant loudly, "May this baby al-
[152] ways laugh and be pleasant." A stone is then placed over the burial mound so that the infant will not be frightened in his sleep, an emotion which is inferred from the jerking of a young infant while asleep.

852 Until about 10 years ago a ceremony was performed by descendants
565 of noble families from Shuri over the newborn to ensure success in his
462 future role. For boys, a winnowing basket was propped up against a hoe on which a clump of soil and grass rested. While the father's mother
[178] held the child in one arm, she shot an arrow with a bow into the basket. This act was to make certain that the child would become a good hunter (provider) as well as a successful farmer. The grass on the hoe
[286] symbolized strength. A girl, on the other hand, received a miniature loom constructed especially for such occasions, which was to assure her success as a weaver of cloth. A spool of banana fiber was presented along with the loom.

852 There is a story that long, long ago an infant was born on the beach.
565 Immediately after he was born, as he still lay on the sand, a crab
538 crawled over his chest. This infant grew up to be a strong, famous man. Shuri descendants still have a custom of grandmothers holding a newborn boy in their laps and releasing a small crab, which scurries over the infant's chest. These practices, however, are absent in central Taira now and are rarely found in the outlying settlements of predominantly Shuri descendants.

846 Formerly mother and child were confined to the darkened delivery
178 room next to the kitchen and at the rear of the house for seven days, while an open fire was kept blazing in the brazier near the mother.

313 Home Industries and Famous Products The forested northern mountains give rise
314 to small scale lumbering, charcoal making,
433 and firewood gathering. Kunigami-son and Kushi-son emphasize the gathering of bamboo and firewood. On the other hand the making of charcoal is more import-
[369] ant in Nago, Haneji, and Ōgimi. The urbanization of the south combined with
[491] the postwar extension of roads into formerly inaccessible parts of the north have accelerated exploitation of the northern forest resource. Particularly heavy is the demand for long roof poles, or kichigwā, after every major typhoon.
[237] Kunigami-son and Higashi supply the bulk of these. Where wood is plentiful behind a coastal road, one often finds lime kilns, which process the coral of the reefs.

258 The sea is also a major source of material for home industries. Sea
433 salt is made at Yagaji, Urasoe and Oroku on the west coast, at Henza and Awase
[237] on the east. Kunigami-son prides itself upon its production of seaweed. Buttons from seashells are made in Mawashi. Fish cakes ('kamaboko') are made in quantity in Itoman and Naha, with lesser amounts being produced in Ishikawa and Nago. Dried bonito ('katsuoboshi') is a specialty of Tonaki isle to the west. Motobu-chō holds second place, followed by the western isles of Tokashiki and
505 Zamami. For over a hundred years the small cargo sailboats ('Yambaru-sen')
178 of the east coast have carried forest products from the north. The extension of roads into the northern forests has greatly reduced the amount now carried by sea.

433 Horse breeding is a specialty in Nakazato (the eastern half of Kume-
[232] shima), which has 22% of the gunto's production of horses. However, the pro-
[233] duction of horse and cattle hides is concentrated in the urban areas, which
[231] account for 84% of the hides produced. Nakazato is also famous for production of silk cocoons, being responsible for about two-fifths (38.7%) of the gunto's total. The leading mainland producer is Motobu-chō, with 9%.

Although Okinawa is not self-sufficient in tea, the three areas of
[245] Gushikawa, Ishikawa and Kunigami produce over half of the local tea. In Oku
[474] village of Kunigami, the tea factory is a cooperative venture. Gushikawa
[377] and Chatan pride themselves upon possessing 'sake' and 'awamori' distilleries.
[286] Mawashi is the center of production of farm tools, and accounts for some weaving of banana cloth. Weaving of mats from the "seven isles reed" ('shichitō-i') is a local specialty of Kanegusuku.

[314] Travertine quarries are found in Motobu-chō and Katsuren. A sandy limestone is quarried at Minatogawa in Gushichan.

2. Rural Industries

198 Generally speaking, it can be said that much less effort is put forth
433 in the countryside now toward home industries than was the case before the
543 war. In Nenahan making of products at home has declined to the point where rather than being made for sale, they are made only for exhibit at the fair given annually at the local primary school. Even here considerable urging is required by the village officials, and entries are forthcoming only by an appeal to pride in one's village's standing at the fair.

249 Sugar Presses and Mills Okinawa has two modern western-style sugar refin-
257 eries, one at Haebaru and one on the isle of Minami Daitō. At the other end of the scale there are the some-400 horse-drawn rotary mills. Between these there are perhaps a dozen or less mills which utilize gasoline-powered motors and are geared to operate on a much larger scale than the rotary presses.

471 In rebuilding the big mill at Tomoyose which had been destroyed in the
257 war, each family that owned stock in the mill contributed the labor of one per-
461 son per day of building. On a typical day they started work at eight, had a fifteen-minute "break" at ten, and returned home for lunch for an hour at noon. After an afternoon "break", the work continued until six. Breaks and resumption of work were announced by pounding on an empty oxygen cylinder of large dimensions. The only break I observed lasted for 24 minutes. Tea was served to everyone, and the men sat around discussing how they would be able to pay for the building---which was made of sandy limestone from Minatogawa---and
471 where they would borrow money. The sugar produced was to be sold to the Ag-
257 ricultural Federation in Naha, as is the sugar produced at the smaller mills. However, the sugar was to be sold in 50 kin (66 pound) bags rather than in
[433] 100 kin barrels. The potential annual output was estimated at 15,000 bags, or approximately one-half the Tomoyose village production.

256 Kanegusuku Rice Mill There is one small rice mill in Kanegusuku. All the villagers who have rice land---or about 70% of the families---utilize this mill for polishing. No one in the village uses the
[439] old-fashioned hand mill. The owner of the rice mill says that most of the villagers cannot afford to pay cash for having their rice polished. Consequently he takes as multure about two-thirds of one 'gō' from each 'shō' of rice. This amounts to approximately six percent of their rice. The villagers evidently trust him completely, for no one was seen standing around watching while their rice was being polished.

The owner says that his machines are old and break down frequently. Three machines are required for the whole process. This is not a full-time job except during the harvesting periods. The young man who is owner regularly works on his family's lands. All operation and maintenance are done by him; he does not hire a helper even in the busiest times.

286 Mat-Making in Kanegusuku The three-cornered sedge ('sankaku-i') is a reed
433 grown in a wet field like rice, and is the basis of 'tatami omote' and 'goza' manufacture, the chief home industry of Kanegu-
[178] suku. Production of the reed in Kanegusuku today is about one-tenth the pre-

war level. This is due to several factors. The local prices for reed products are said to be too low, and access to Japanese markets is difficult today due to the separation of Okinawa and Japan. Since the war local food shortages and changed tastes and diet have influenced change to greater rice production. Many houses in Kanegusuku lost their mat-weaving looms during the war, depriving them of this means of support. In addition, there is some feeling that it is too time-consuming and the young girls do not like it. 286 433 178

One tsubo produces about two bundles of reed, which is worth about ¥10 a bundle when dried. Usually the reed is not sold, but is made by the producer's family into mats. Two bundles of reeds make one 'goza' mat, which sells for ¥65-100 in Naha. One person can make about two of these mats in one day. However, in almost all families this is part-time work, the woman of the house weaving in her spare time. One family in the village fortunate enough to own two looms employs two village girls full time as long as a supply of reeds is available. 286 433 [435] [464]

The covering for the 'tatami' mat is called 'tatami omote'. An individual can make about six of these per day. They are faster-made than 'goza' because the ends do not have to be tied off and bordered. These sell for about ¥45 in Naha, which place people prefer to Itoman as a market for their reed products. However, rice straw to be used in the base of 'tatami' is sold in Itoman because the cost of transporting the bulky straw to Naha would be prohibitive---it is sold for only ¥1 or ¥2 per bundle. The Agricultural Cooperative is trying to arrange for the sale of 'tatami omote' in Kagoshima where ¥85 per mat can be obtained. The first such postwar collection and sale was made early in 1954. 286 433 435

Prewar Home Industry in Yamada Before the war people in Yamada made much of their own clothing, and were self-sufficient in most of the tools they used. Most of the clothing was made by the women of the village themselves. Most women wove, and many wove constantly when not in the fields. Many had their own looms, but those who did not borrowed looms from their neighbors. 294 [286]

The usual summer garment was a kimono of banana-fiber cloth and the usual winter garment one of cotton. The former was made wholly at home, from the tree to the finished garment. For the cotton kimono the threads were purchased, usually at Kadena, already dyed, and the cloth woven at home. [291]

Several families had silkworms. They got the eggs from Japan and fed the worms on mulberry leaves they grew in their yards. These women spun and wove at home but they sometimes had professional dyers at Kadena or Naha dye the threads for them. Silk garments, like store-bought garments, were only for grand occasions. 231 283 292

Before the war some Yamada women made "panama" hats in their homes as piecework for a hat company. The company furnished the materials and bought the finished product. This was one of the few sources of cash available outside the sugar crop. Baskets, carrying bags, and raincapes made of 294 [434]

Baskets, carrying bags, and raincapes made of
294 fiber from the trunk of the chigu palm, raincapes from the excess rice straw,
[285] and hats made from the leaf of the kuba palm completed the list of major items made at home.

291 Postwar Home Industry in Yamada Before the war many---probably most---Yamada
178 people had never worn Western-style clothing.
177 The few school teachers and a man who worked at the 'son' office were probably the only exceptions. Some of the young men who went to Naichi to work acquired Western clothing there, but the older men and women continued to wear kimono. During the invasion, houses, looms, and other equipment---and much of the clothing---of the people of Yamada were destroyed. At Ishikawa and elsewhere after the battle they received cast-off army clothing. For a time they wore only this and what little they had salvaged from the battle. At present they have supplemented this with Japanese and American-made civilian clothing
[286] in Western types. Probably no one in Yamada weaves cloth today. Only one
[231] cloth loom was located in the whole village, and this had been put away. No one raises silkworms.

178 Basketry is still made, but only for local use. Raincoats of straw
[285] and palm bark are not made in Yamada, but a few are brought in from the north.
294 However, the army poncho has in part replaced this garment. The kubagasa, the
[291] hat made from the kuba palm leaf, is still made and worn in Yamada, but probably not as much as before the war. A variety of store-bought hats, including sun-helmets, are worn by the younger men.

ooo Canvas acquired

Canvas acquired from the military has in part replaced the ricestraw mat called nukubuku, which is used for drying grain in the sun. There were also several looms for nukubuku in prewar Yamada, but few if any now. Before the war several families had looms for making mushiru, whose weft is reed ('i') and warp is cord made of pandanus root. At the present time one old man still makes mushiru. His loom is a primitive double-bar loom and it takes him more than a day to weave one mat. He cannot compete with the much faster looms used at Kanegusuku. 286 178

3. Rural Finance

The chief money crop is still sugar, and the leading financial institution in the countryside is still the 'moai', or mutual loan group. However, there are innumerable other occasions when the farmer must pay out money or borrow money. These occasions include personal loans, village taxes, levies, payments to officials, contributions of money for prizes at fairs, and occasional contributions for village improvements. Finally, there is the traditional last resort of people in financial difficulties---sale of one or more of their children. 45

Mutual Loan Groups Before the war the mutual loan group, or 'moai' (Okinawan muyē) met only once or twice a year. Each of the forty shares (kuchi) averaged ¥20, and the record book had to have the 'son' office stamp upon it. The record book could not be shown or opened except at each meeting. Almost all postwar 'moai' meet once a month, and usually this is the fifteenth of the lunar month. The reason for this date is not known. It may have some relation to the fact that habu snakes are night feeders, and may feed less on moonlit nights; or it may be due to the need for moonlight to find one's inebriated way home. 452

Since there was no livestock after the war, most 'moai' then were formed with the main purpose of buying livestock, although the winner did not have to use the money for this. Nanahan people have an unwritten rule that 'moai' money may not be used to pay off debts. The amounts of the shares of the three postwar 'moai' reflect the slowly increasing amounts of money available to the farmer. The first 'moai' had twenty shares at ¥200 each; the second one had twenty shares at ¥500 each; the third and still-continuing 'moai'---scheduled to end in April of 1955---has twenty-four shares at ¥1,000 each.

Every 'moai' has slightly different rules, but all are relatively simple. The following are the rules for the Nanahan 'moai':

1. Time of meeting is about 9 P.M. Bids will be received about 9:30, but if a person is late or absent when the bids are read, he will not be able to get the money even if he planned a low bid.

2. Bids: if a written bid is for the same amount as a verbal bid, the money goes to the person submitting the written bid.

3. The money will be collected at the house of the tuinushi (person who was the successful bidder at the last meeting). The tuinushi must get three other persons to sign a guarantee of his reliability.

178 In Kanegusuku, for example, mat weaving is still of some importance
286 as a home industry. Where formerly nearly all of the houses were engaged in
433 production of mats, today less than half are so engaged, and the acreage planted in sedge is but ten percent of the prewar level. The war caused the loss of many machines; increasing emphasis on food production has brought a conversion of sedge fields into paddies; access to the better markets in Japan is now more difficult than before the war; it is felt to be too time-consuming and the young women today do not like this work.

Formerly there were a number of men in Kanegusuku who were able to construct the looms used in mat weaving. Today, however, no one constructs his own looms; instead, they are purchased from a manufacturer in Itoman.
[463] This particular example is symptomatic of the general decline of do-it-yourself and the increasing reliance placed on specialists.

178 There are some encouraging signs of revival or new life in the manufacture of Okinawan art objects. Okinawan lacquer ware, which is acknow-
[322] ledged by some to be the world's finest, is being sold in large quantity to members of the occupation. The owner of a large pottery works in Naha told
[323] the author that pottery from tombs is being collected to serve as models in restoring an older style and superior type of pottery. An Okinawan textile
[286] technique known as <u>biingata</u> (Okinawan; in Japanese, 'Benigata') was virtually lost during the war, but this art is still being carried on by one Shuri family, and recent publicity and aroused interest seems likely to insure survival.

178 <u>Power and Machinery</u> Agricultural machinery has come into use quite
407 recently on Okinawa. Pitts states that the labor-saving rice thresher first came into widespread use in the thirties. Older methods of flailing or rubbing the rice over a mat, canvas, or stone surface were also observed as being in common use. In numerous instances it was brought out that wartime losses had necessitated a return to an earlier and cruder means of threshing.

The old-fashioned, hand-operated rice polisher has gone out of use in Kanegusuku, and all rice is now polished in the village rice mill which operates on a gasoline engine.

In many communities the gasoline-operated sugar mill has replaced the
[257] horse-powered mill. More important, however, is the fact that the small community mill remains popular, and the farmer is resistant toward using the large sugar factories (see chapter on Rural Economy).

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379 Electricity, common only to the towns and cities before the war, is now found in many villages, and those who are without it are looking forward
[373] to its installation. The kerosene lamps now in use in most rural homes cast a dim light and constitute a serious fire hazard in homes of thatch and wood.

178 The bulldozer has come into use as a means of opening new land and
406 constructing rice fields. Farmers in Kanegusuku and Nanahan made use of this method during the period of the authors' study of these two villages. Formerly this sort of work required the labor of a number of men over a considerable

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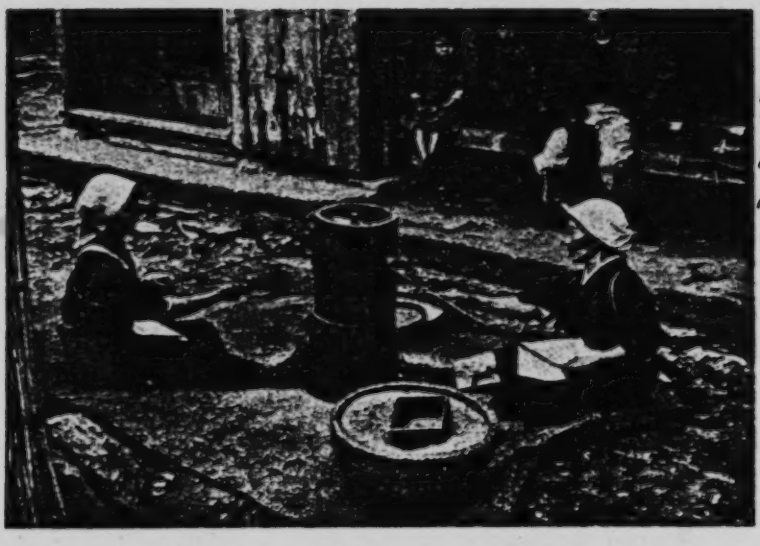
The main road through Hanashiro. This is an unposed picture. The children happened to be playing along the road. Scars can barely be seen on the close clipped heads of the young boys. The poor non-descript clothing is typical. There is a high rock hinpun or stationary gate at the entrance to the compound. The tile roof here is out of the ordinary. The gajimaru tree, used for typhoon protection, is on the left. This is also Highway 64.

[P. 51 (A)]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7



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Matsuda. Polishing rice with a hand mill. This is a posed picture, but rice was polished this way up to shortly before the war. The grass mat prevents wastage. On the left is some Yambaru bamboo. The women are barefooted. The towel-like headdress is not uncommon.

[P. 185(A)]

8

Daily Life of the Fishing Village

Fishing families may have informal gatherings toward the end of the day. On a late summer afternoon, the family may sit in the open doorway of the house, for hedges, fences, the barriers, and trees are rare. The wife may be nursing her naked child. Her husband, a fisherman, has changed into his indigo blue and white striped kimono, a tall, broad, deeply tanned man. Next to him sits his mother, over 80 years old, her hands tattooed, as are those of all the old women. She is wearing a kimono of the same color, but of a dot pattern. They sit on unrolled mats. On the veranda, three or four men, unwashed and still in their work clothes, discuss the events of the day. A lacquer tray with tea cups is on the floor near them and the tea (as it so often is) may be cold. There is brown sugar to eat along with the tea. The grandmother may be economically smoking a half or a third of a cigarette in the typical Japanese pipe. As it grows later, the wife gets up, pours some water in the stone mortar, and smashes the sweet potatoes with the long wooden pole. The men continue talking for a while, then take their leave. The wife, her work at the mortar finished, goes into the dirt kitchen to start the evening meal. 512 [351] [853] [291] [304] [285] [415] [263] [276] [252]

The wife of the fisherman has worries that do not bother the farmer's wife. There is always the danger that her husband, or son, will not return, a real possibility, of which the frequency of widowhood in Minatogawa is proof. Every season, there is at least one instance of a fisherman who has either been lost, or whose delay in returning has provoked intense worry. If crews are still out when an unexpected storm arises, there is considerable tension in the village. Since the war, rescues at sea are more likely than before. The village headman quickly reports overdue boats. The American forces have created much good will in seeking fishermen lost at sea. 152 [165] [648]

Women, on the other hand, have opportunities for leisure when the catch is light, or weather is unfavorable. At these times, they can busy themselves with other tasks, in the field, gathering stones, getting miscanthus, but they do not have the unremitting activity of the woman in the agricultural village. There is more visiting during the day than one observes in an agricultural village. 562 [961] [517]

The fisherman, with or without land, tries to keep pigs and perhaps a few goats. In Minatogawa, the pens are often made of sandstone quarried here. Not only the floors and the sides, but the stalls are made of this material. One reason for this is the openness of the village and the danger that pigs will be killed in a storm. A typhoon may carry away the house, its owners having gone to the stronger house of a friend or relative, but pigs are an investment and an asset to be guarded. 231 [343]

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Stonecutting in Minatogawa along the seashore. The long slabs are for building construction. The top left is the estuary of the river leading out to the open sea. The stance of the man in the left center of the picture is usual in cutting the stone. Note the long crow bar type tool for making the cut. The men are barefooted. Most stonecutters are quite young. There is no uniformity in headgear. The stone in the background is dark and streaked and will not be used.

Japanese canned fish: mackerel, bonito, clams, whale meat hash 443
Noodles, buckwheat spaghetti and macaroni type pastes 262
Cookies, stored in glass jars, and sold singly
Sweet rolls (manju) from a town bakery, and sweetened bread (pan) 212
Tea
Aji no moto
White sugar
Soy bean oil

Soft Drinks and Candy

443

Bottled lemon and orange ades [212]
Cocoa Cola
Gum
Various candies sold by the piece, also stored in glass jars on the counter.

Notions

Needles and thread
Buttons of various sizes
Trimmings and ribbons [412]
Braids for making and trimming kimonos
hair pins, and combs

Clothing

Clogs (geta)
Undershirts [291]
Fibre sandals

Toilet Articles

Perfumes and toilet waters
Shampoos, liquid and powdered.
Pomades and brilliantines [302]
Toothbrushes [515]
Soaps
Toilet paper

Stationery

School tablets and notebooks
Pencils [212]
Comic books (in Japanese)

Medicines

Aspirin
Stomach powders [218]
Eye lotions

872 calculating on the abacus, and a variety of other subjects. (These topics will be discussed in the chapter on education.

292 291 302 The pre-war school childrens' uniform is no longer obligatory. Children wear what they have and what their parents can afford. The girl frequently wears the familiar blue serge smock but more often her clothing is varied. Her hair has bangs in front and is cut straight, about on the level with the ear lobe. Neither do the boys wear prescribed clothing. With them too, it is a matter of what they have. A boy's hair is closely clipped to his head and will remain cut this way until he leaves junior high school, although this style also is no longer compulsory. He may have a school boy's cap, but this is not officially designated. It may be tan, white, blue, or olive drab, resembling either a military or a baseball type cap. Above the brim there is a metal tag with an abbreviation of the school name written in a Chinese character.

857 883 Three important new experiences come to him as a result of his school life. The first of these is participation in school maintenance and upkeep. One of the commonest sights in any Okinawan primary, junior high, or high school is to see children working around the buildings and grounds under the supervision of their teachers. After typhoons, which destroy many of the rude, temporary, and rebuilt buildings, they [15] straighten out the debris, and help in putting on a new thatched roof. The tasks done by school children and their teachers are those customarily performed by janitors and custodians in our school system. In junior or senior high school, if the child lives far away from the school, he may board there as well.

526 His second experience is with organized athletics. Much of this instruction is pointed to the annual athletic meets (undōkai) which have a remarkable hold in Okinawa on students, teachers, parents, and the rest of the villagers alike. This organized athletic training is a [177] Japanese introduction, but earlier accounts of a period when Japanese cultural influence was more nominal point to a love of games, races, and ball among the people.

572 The third of these new experiences is the formation of attachments with children in his own class. These friendships exist throughout life. The words, dōnen or dōsei, meaning the same year or the same age, are used by mature men and women to describe these early friendships. Close friendships almost invariably have had their origins in early close association in the same grade at school.

15 As is true of school boys the world over, truancy is not unheard of. Every once in a while, especially in junior high school, three or four boys report to the principal or his assistant because of absence from this work--but not from classes.

3

Daily Work Habits

512 The people of a village are continually busy. Their daily work habits depend on the season and the type of work. The work day of the fisherman is the least predictable because his activities are more sensitive to the present and anticipated weather. Most farmers continue working in their fields in a slight rain, but activity ceases with heavy rains. While the farmer works steadily and hard, there is a certain elasticity in his schedule. He does not go to the fields every morning at exactly the same time. Neither does he feel compelled to put in a full day's work every day; he is guided more by the tasks to be done. Work is interrupted by an occasional smoke or conversation with friends or neighbors passing by. There is a routine in daily life, but it is not strictly adhered [264] to. Meal times vary from day to day sometimes by an hour. Time may be taken out from the fields to gather firewood, make bean curd, to dry out bean pods, or to fix up one's house. Three or four days in a row may be devoted to helping with another's house. The sun is [476] the guide to time. Most houses have clocks but few are running and they are not well regulated. Perhaps the chief distinction between [805] agriculture and fishing work is that in the former, the tasks of all blend together.

A farmer's work day in summer begins about 8 or 9 in the morning and ends almost the same time in the evening. Full advantage is taken of the daylight hours. In summer, the evening meal is not eaten until 9 and often later. By the time the meal is finished and the table cleared, it is ten. After short visits within the family, or with neighbors, the farmer retires about 11. In the winter, the routine is the same, but the day's work stops earlier, and the evening meal is at about 6 P.M. The fishermen do not have this unbroken routine. There is often night work and the day may be used for sleeping. Intense activity is followed by periods of greater or less leisure.

4

Clothing

175 The history of costume in Okinawa is full of interest, but it is 292 too broad a subject to deal with here. In the old Okinawan kingdom, 565 clothing and its color, hair pins, caps, and other articles of men's wear were used to designate rank. The clothing of the commoners had [286] much less variety. Until quite recently, banana fibre was used in farmers' clothing. A dyed indigo kimono, stripes for men and dots 291 for women, is still worn. [537]

Present day clothing is of a non-descript character. The war

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1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Present day clothing is of a non-descript character. The war destroyed old stocks and villagers have been unable to buy much new clothing. Many farmers and fishermen have one western style suit, shirt, necktie, and a pair of shoes, but these are worn only on rare occasions, such as having one's picture taken. Most of the women still have a Japanese style kimono in storage. An article of army clothing, mostly American but occasionally Japanese, often is the basic garment whether it be a pair of trousers, a shirt, or a field jacket. Older women still wear a cheap cotton kimono usually indigo blue with white dots. 291 [292] [177]

In work anything at hand is worn. Fishermen, farmers, workers in the forest generally go barefoot the year round. Girls and young married women are increasingly wearing cheap and attractive house dresses which they prefer to the inconvenient kimono. Children's clothing shows similar improvisation in the use of what is available. 291

In leisure hours, clogs (geta) are often worn by men, women, and children, particularly in the evenings as a protection against snakes. Some men wear shoes consistently, but they are most commonly worn by officials, school teachers, or men in business.

There is no standard headdress. Hats are few. A few cone shaped hats are worn in the rice fields. These are made from straw or rush. An ordinary cotton cap with a visor is common. Men and women frequently wrap a cloth, usually a piece of towelling, around the head. A towel hanging from the back pocket of the trousers of a young man is part of his summer equipment.

5

Laundering and Bathing

Laundering is done by women. There are no set customs about doing it. Neither is it a community affair. In Hanashiro those who have wells do their laundry in their own compound. Those without wells either do it at a neighbor's well (without charge), or at one of the community ponds designated for this purpose. In Matsuda, the small stream, a pond, or wells are also used. 296 [312]

Clothes are rubbed, washed, and rinsed by hand. The custom practiced in Matsuda up to 20 years ago of beating clothes against stones has disappeared. If laundering is done in a spring or small stream in the summer, it is common to take a bath after the washing is done. In Minatogawa, the women collect around an open faucet, or the public water tank. These are in continuous use for laundry, hair washing, and washing vegetables.

The passion for bathing, conspicuous among the fastidious Japanese, is less in evidence in these villages. But it is also difficult to bathe. Villagers must content themselves with washing with a cloth, like a sponge bath. In Hanashiro villagers may go to 515

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

CLOTHING

Today the clothing of Taira people is predominantly Western. Until World War II some fine silk materials for dress were woven in the village, but work clothes were bought in the stores in Nago and Naha. Men and women wear simple, drab, patched, or torn clothes which are laundered frequently. Almost everybody still has a few pieces of U.S. Army fatigues which were handed out immediately after World War II; some have Japanese uniforms. 291 [177] [296]

Women wear cotton skirts and blouses, men cotton trousers, rolled up to the knees for work in the fields, and shirts. During the cold months old jackets are added. Men almost always wrap towels around their heads to hold back their long hair or, as they say, to absorb perspiration. Women also cover their heads with towels during work. Most men and women wear some underclothes; both wear pants, and most women wear slips.

Young girls are more fastidious about their daily dress than older women and all men. An adolescent girl is always well covered, unlike an older married woman who may leave her blouse open to give the baby easy access to the breast. During the heat of the summer, when men take off their shirts, old women follow their example. Most married women just work in their slip and skirt during the hottest part of the summer.

On special holidays or for trips to the city, people have better clothes. Many of these are bought by both men and women from the itinerant, secondhand clothes peddler who visits Taira several times a year before the major holidays. Some old women and a few old men still wear the dark, silk kimonos of prewar days for dress, but usually women wear one-piece dresses or two-piece suits with blouses and men Western suits with white shirts and sometimes ties. Not everybody has shoes to go with special outfits. Wooden clogs are worn by both men and women, even with Western clothes, more commonly than sneakers and shoes. 292 443

Although a Western-style hairdo as pictured in magazines or seen on American women in the central part of Okinawa serves as a model to the younger Taira women, few can afford to have their hair done in the city. Sometimes a teacher or the wife of an official returns from a trip to town with a permanent wave. Most older women wear their long hair tied in a bun at the back of the head. Younger girls who have finished school wear their hair short and straight. The priestess' daughter cuts hair in a barber chair outside her house. Men go to her 302 [177] [305]

302 for a shave; but since this happens only about once a week or less, they
[305] have a stubbly beard much of the time. Men have their hair cut infrequently. From adolescence on they prefer long and unwieldy hair, combed to one side.

Almost no women use lipstick, but a few put on rouge for special occasions. More and more of the younger women use some make-up when they travel to the city, in spite of rather rude teasing from other villagers that they look like prostitutes.

291 During the hot summer most people have straw sun hats which can
293 be bought at the local store after the rainy season. They cost little and last until the end of the heat. Umbrellas are the only rain protection during wet days, since the raincoats and hats formerly made of palm thatch have almost completely disappeared.

DWELLINGS

342 All but two houses in Taira are postwar structures. The first postwar structures were small and hastily built of local, mostly inferior materials. In the last few years families have built more elaborate houses with several rooms, substantial walls and roofs, and made of quality Japanese hard woods, which will resist rapid deterioration. Only a few of the present houses, however, compare in size and workmanship with the large prewar farmhouses.

[362] On the whole, housing in central Taira is inferior to outlying parts of the community and other surrounding villages. Two house types are found: the simple, temporary house or hut with two or three rooms and a kitchen, covered by a thatch roof; and the larger, more substantial house with either thatch or tile roof, four to six rooms and a kitchen.

[251] All houses have common characteristics. They are elevated from the ground so that a 20 to 24 inch space is left underneath the floor, which is sometimes used for the storage of potatoes and firewood. The floor plan is uniform for all houses of either type (Figure 1). Living rooms, also used for sleeping, are always located in the front part of the house. A smaller room located at the right rear of the house is used as a bedroom or for sick people and parturient mothers. The kitchen is on level ground so that a step has to be taken to enter the eating corner from the kitchen. Even the simplest huts have a thin wall which separates the rear bedroom and kitchen from the front part. All outside doors are sliding panels which move in a wooden track so that the whole front of the house may be opened. A visitor can tell immediately if somebody is home and, if an informal caller, will sit on the elevated

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

361

View of central village, Taira.

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342

House and yard.

Preparing rice paddy.

Cultivating rice.

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291

[p. 456-A]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1983 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

312
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Women washing at water tank.

Women transplanting rice.

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Women transplanting.

Carrying wood.

[482]

[p 456-B]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

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Children catching small fish.

Girls washing their laundry.

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[296]
[415]
←

[482]
→
[312]

Carrying water while their mother is recovering from giving birth.

[243]
→

Boy harvesting.

[p. 456-C]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

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←

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→

Young girl carrying baby sister.

Boys wrestling.

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←

Playing house.

Mother about to nurse her daughter says, "Now say please."

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291
→

[p 456-D]

There is no specific or preferred posture for nursing. While the mothers are in confinement for the brief period following delivery, they often lie next to the baby and feed him. Sitting while nursing is the most common posture, but mothers frequently nurse while standing or squatting. The baby is held loosely and the mother is relaxed. If others are about, she will carry on a lively conversation and occasionally pat the baby gently on or around the region of the buttocks. When alone, she holds the baby with one arm, talks softly, smiles, and with her other hand tugs gently at the baby's limbs. Each feeding is leisurely; the breast is never withdrawn from the infant's mouth. More often than not he suckles his fill and falls asleep. 853

It is as natural to suckle one's infant at a village meeting as it is to do so in the privacy of one's home. A common sight is that of a mother sitting and listening intently to speeches while cradling her suckling infant loosely in her arms. On buses, in market places, or at large public intervillage gatherings, one is sure to encounter such a scene. [291]

The breast is used to soothe a baby when he is ill, irritable, or in distress from pain. This was quite evident when all the babies in the village were being given a series of innoculations for diphtheria and typhoid. As the injections were given in one large open room, the cries of the infant being innoculated prompted others to cry. Invariably the mother offered the breast to the baby. 853 854 751

After the birth of a child, the mother sits at home during a short rest period, watching happily as neighbors, friends, and relatives continually drop in to admire the newborn. Sipping tea, the visitors offer bits of advice, exchange the latest gossip, ask to hold the infant, and take their leave with the standard phrase: "Take care of yourself." It is a pleasant interlude, but as the family resources begin to dwindle, there is a slight but perceptible change in the attitude of the mother toward her newborn. The constant stream of visitors, for whom tea and some small tidbits must be offered, and her nonparticipation in the regular economic activities prove to be a drain on the family budget, in spite of the fact that the mother and her husband have worked with extra diligence in the months prior to parturition. The mother begins to talk about the approaching feast day and the need to get new clothing for the older children. She asks anxiously about the condition of the firewood market and starts to plan her inevitable resumption of work in the mountains and fields. In spite of her feelings of protectiveness and pity for the young baby, she begins, bit by bit, to reinstate her normal routine. Although she continues to cuddle, kiss, and affectionately nurse the infant, she thinks of the good weather and of how she might have been able to make one more trip to the mountains 846 574 846 461 [843] [594]

872 express one's creativeness except in perfecting and improvising song-
876 dance performances. Lacking paper and crayons or paint, children crouch to the ground with the teacher to trace "pictures" in the sandy ground with their fingers or small sticks. The beach provides a rich playground on days when the teacher suffers laryngitis as a result of a cold and is unable to lead songs and direct the play verbally. Collecting shells, learning their names, examining washed up bits of seaweed and fish, exploring exposed stretches of rivers at low tide are real lessons in nature for the kindergarten child as he discovers these things himself and experiments without the direction of formal lessons. If he desires more information about things, he is free to ask the teacher; if he does not, no pressure is put on him to learn and know.

872 The kindergarten phase is a happy one for the child. Under the
857 direction of the teacher, who may be the mother or sister of one of his
[875] peers, he passes the two hours, from 9:30 to 11:30, of the morning, then goes on to play in and around the village for the rest of the day. He runs home only when he is hungry or when it is mealtime. And he hurries back to rejoin his peers for free play for the rest of the day.

857 Adults put little restriction on children's movement. They are free
[576] to occupy any part of the home and run around at will. Before enter-
[515] ing the house, everyone takes off his shoes; a rag lies on the ground to
[291] wipe dirty feet. Few children spend any length of time indoors, however, during daylight hours. If weather forces them to stay inside, they are found either in one of the front rooms or in the cooking area to the back.

855 Despite the occasional motor vehicle traffic through the village,
867 adults show little concern, for the kindergarten child has been well exposed to rules of safety in this respect. At the sound of warning horns, children run to the side of the main road and into the yards. The few brazen little boys who dare to chase vehicles and attempt to hang on to the rear bumper are severely reprimanded by those nearby.

A 4-year-old boy who had run out of the way of a lumbering truck stood watching as it rounded the curve and entered the village. Adults waiting for the vehicle to pass chatted idly and scanned the passengers to see if there were any familiar faces. Suddenly the 4-year-old leaned forward and threw a small branch he had in his hand under the tires of the passing truck. At once the driver, passengers, and by-standers screamed, "Fool one!" The passengers waved a warning finger at him, and he was berated by the village adults standing with him. "That was a dangerous thing to do. If you do that another time, you will be taken to the police station!" they threatened. The boy looked down at the ground and nodded to acknowledge his wrongdoing.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

practice of allowing the child to eliminate wherever he chooses is 863
necessitated by the structure of the outhouse, a concrete tank covered [514]
with a slotted wooden board or loose planks.

Girls may go pantless until they are completely toilet trained but [291]
must wear dresses. Since clothing distinguishes those who have been toilet trained, girls proudly compare bright printed panties while boys sport nondescript short pants. Untrained boys wear short shirts or cotton kimonos in summer or flannel ones in the winter.

Accidental wetting of pants and bedwetting do not present much of a problem to parents. Children, however, appear to be embarrassed in such situations. Mothers claim they do not scold or shame the children. It seems to be more of a threat to the child, who realizes his newly gained status and recognizes the accident as infantile behavior. A few children, ranging from 4 to 11, suffer from enuresis. An 11-year-old, according to the mother, wakes himself and rinses out his wet clothing without waking anyone else. She felt that he was suffering enough and so refrained from saying anything about it.

As seen in the description of the kindergarten session, constant pressure is placed on the child to keep himself clean. A mother seeing a 863
dirty child will laughingly tell him to go sleep with the rats. There 515
is a nasal affliction which is common among children up until the age of 8. Whereas the mother or grandmother tends the infant, sucking [854]
the mucus out of his nose, they do not aid the weaned child. During the preschool years, the child, with a well-practiced movement of the arm, smears the discharge over half his face, onto his kimono or shirt sleeves, or wipes it impatiently with his grimy hands. The resulting appearance prompts others to tease, "Dirty faced cat," or to question sneeringly, "Did the rat walk over your face?" It seems, however, that boys are less interested in cleanliness and tolerate dirty and unkemptness for a longer period of time than girls. By the time they are 3 years [296]
old, girls are conscious of their appearance, but this may be because they frequently accompany older girls to the wells and rivers when laundering is being done. As it was the usual procedure to end the task with washing heads and delousing, the girls were less soiled than the boys at this age. Five- and 6-year-old girls are praised for going to the well or river to wash their own clothing and heads if they go with older children. If they go alone, they are severely scolded and punished. When the faucets were installed in the village, 4-year-old girls assiduously tended to their grooming, spurred on by the praise and admiration of adults. Girls may be punished, on the other hand, for using too much soap or washing too often. One mother complained that her 8-year-old girl used to be such a stickler for cleanliness and

858 doing. He is made to feel and understand that all the things he did as
866 a kindergarten child are reprehensible. His long walks to and from
872 school give him a sense of independence in spite of the fact that classmates and siblings accompany him. The adulation of kindergarteners, who hang on to everything he reports about his new experience, creates in him a sense of superiority which he never fails to emphasize. "You don't know how to write your name . . . see, this is how you write . . ." he fairly sneers at the wondering, admiring 3- to 5-year-olds and scratches the syllabary in the sand with his fingers.

MORNING ROUTINE

512 The first grader rises early the morning of his first day of school,
872 rushes out to the pot of water standing in the yard just outside the
857 kitchen door, splashes the cold water over his face, brushes his teeth, and re-enters the house. He shivers a bit in the cold, damp morning air
[291] as he struggles to wiggle out of the clothing he wore the day before and into an outfit specially designated for school. He remembers that he has a new pair of canvas shoes and runs out to wash his feet. Clothed and shod he peers into the darkness of the house, waiting impatiently for signs of stirring. From around the corner of the house his grandmother mutters as she goes about her task of starting the fire under the soup pot.

While his mother and grandmother prepare breakfast, he sits looking through his new books; a reader, penmanship notebook, an art book, a music book, and a nature science book. His father is the last to rise, and as he goes stumbling out to wash, his mother calls for someone to amuse the baby who has meanwhile awakened. His older siblings, who are still preparing themselves for school, feign surprise as the new first grader moves to the baby. "Yah! Look, the first grader is all ready!" they laugh.

As the morning meal of rice and soup is hurriedly eaten, the adults instruct the first grader not to disgrace himself and to listen to the teacher. Already the cries of other first graders are urging him to be off to school. The older siblings leisurely gather books and lunches together, but the first grader runs out to join his classmates. All question each other excitedly for "forgotten things." Their mothers stand admiringly, but a few are disgruntled. "It is still too early to start. You are not to be in school until a half hour before the beginning bell," they warn. A sympathetic old woman volunteers, "Go, it is a long way and you will take longer to walk," she advises as the little group starts

21Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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dangers of vehicular traffic, steep banks, snakes, the beach, and the river. 855

RETURNING HOME

The first graders leave the schoolyard reluctantly, but once they reach the road their footsteps quicken. The boys shuffle along to see how much dust they can raise, for they are not so concerned about their new canvas shoes with rubber soles. The girls stop to dust off theirs at regular intervals with such comments as: "When they get very dirty, we can take them to Yamagawa well and wash them," or, "My mother says I cannot have another pair for a long time because they are so expensive," or, "On rainy days I will walk barefoot to save my shoes." 857 291

"Ai! Fool one!" suddenly exclaims one of the girls. The others turn to look at her, then follow her gaze. The boys, who have left the road, thus disregarding one of the cardinal rules of safety, are scurrying about in the bush in search of wild berries. They stand above the road eating their finds on the spot and exaggeratedly mimic the girls' censure on their behavior. There is a rumbling noise, and the girls stop on the side of the road to let the lumber truck pass before continuing their walk. An adult sitting on top of the wood in the back of the truck shouts, "Eh, get out of the bush before the snake strikes!" The girls giggle and watch the shamefaced boys scramble down the embankment to the road. They carry on a lively exchange of stories of snake victims, turning occasionally toward the boys with meaningful glances. 857 855

The midday sun is hot. The dry sandy dirt of the road reflects the heat of the sun, and little beads of perspiration run down the flushed faces of the first graders as they plod wearily homeward. Suddenly one of the girls lifts her wide-brimmed straw hat, "Oh, how cool it feels when the wind blows through the hair!" she exclaims. With a sudden burst of enthusiasm, the other girls lift their hats. Surreptitiously the boys imitate the girls. 857 [291]

The junior high school comes into view and with it the bridge over the Fukuji River, and beyond it the land bridge leading directly into the village of Taira. Spirits immediately lift, and the children's pace quickens. As they enter the village, they assume an assured appearance. Their posture is upright and proud. They parade past the main street where mothers, grandmothers, and siblings wait. Each one is greeted

857 by bystanders. Hurrying home, they put their books away carefully,
change their clothing to that designated for play. The girls, eager to
[291] assume their new status and the responsibilities that go with it, hur-
riedly sweep and mop the floors of the house. The boys, who are less
interested, rush out to play. Those with younger siblings are promptly
857 entrusted with caretaking duties, and mothers and grandmothers go
512 off to the fields.

At 8 o'clock each evening, even before the village bell is sounded for schoolchildren to start studying, the first graders are on their way home from their after-supper play time. On a quiet, still night their voices are loud and clear and their recitations spirited in comparison with those of the older children.

OBEDIENCE TRAINING

861 Not only in school is new behavior expected of the first grader. He
865 must now be more obedient toward his elders. Adults, however, dif-
ferentiate between commands for the performance of tasks and rules of safety. The standard, or more specifically the ideal, would be to command unquestioned obedience in both cases. The practice falls far from this mark, for adults lack persistence and consistency in the
[855] treatment of task performance. Obedience to rules of safety, however, is enforced with greater consistency.

There is, of course, the disposition of the adult at the time when obedience is expected, which the child learns to discriminate very early. Children are more apt to obey their elders when the latter are tired and irritable after a hard day's work than when they are relaxed. It was interesting to observe children teasing parents and escaping obedience when the adults were relatively relaxed. "Bring me those things there," a parent would command a child. The child would laughingly shout "No," and run away without punishment. For this disobedient act a child would be spanked if the parent were tired and harassed. "If you do not listen well to adults, you will grow up to be a good for nothing, a criminal," warns a mother. But adults in their inconsistent handling fail to impress on children the virtue of obedience.

861 It is interesting that, in their relationship with adults other than
their parents, children are often more obedient. People of special
865 status and authority enjoy greater obedience from children. Teachers
554 and village officials usually find their orders fulfilled. Shortly after the new water faucets were installed throughout the village, children be-

war level. This is due to several factors. The local prices for reed products are said to be too low, and access to Japanese markets is difficult today due to the separation of Okinawa and Japan. Since the war local food shortages and changed tastes and diet have influenced change to greater rice production. Many houses in Kanegusuku lost their mat-weaving looms during the war, depriving them of this means of support. In addition, there is some feeling that it is too time-consuming and the young girls do not like it. 286 433 178

One tsubo produces about two bundles of reed, which is worth about ¥10 a bundle when dried. Usually the reed is not sold, but is made by the producer's family into mats. Two bundles of reeds make one 'goza' mat, which sells for ¥65-100 in Naha. One person can make about two of these mats in one day. However, in almost all families this is part-time work, the woman of the house weaving in her spare time. One family in the village fortunate enough to own two looms employs two village girls full time as long as a supply of reeds is available. 286 433 [435] [464]

The covering for the 'tatami' mat is called 'tatami omote'. An individual can make about six of these per day. They are faster-made than 'goza' because the ends do not have to be tied off and bordered. These sell for about ¥45 in Naha, which place people prefer to Itoman as a market for their reed products. However, rice straw to be used in the base of 'tatami' is sold in Itoman because the cost of transporting the bulky straw to Naha would be prohibitive---it is sold for only ¥1 or ¥2 per bundle. The Agricultural Cooperative is trying to arrange for the sale of 'tatami omote' in Kagoshima where ¥85 per mat can be obtained. The first such postwar collection and sale was made early in 1954. 286 433 485

Prewar Home Industry in Yamada Before the war people in Yamada made much of their own clothing, and were self-sufficient in most of the tools they used. Most of the clothing was made by the women of the village themselves. Most women wove, and many wove constantly when not in the fields. Many had their own looms, but those who did not borrowed looms from their neighbors. 294 [286]

The usual summer garment was a kimono of banana-fiber cloth and the usual winter garment one of cotton. The former was made wholly at home, from the tree to the finished garment. For the cotton kimono the threads were purchased, usually at Kadena, already dyed, and the cloth woven at home. [291]

Several families had silkworms. They got the eggs from Japan and fed the worms on mulberry leaves they grew in their yards. These women spun and wove at home but they sometimes had professional dyers at Kadena or Naha dye the threads for them. Silk garments, like store-bought garments, were only for grand occasions. 231 283 292

Before the war some Yamada women made "panama" hats in their homes as piecework for a hat company. The company furnished the materials and bought the finished product. This was one of the few sources of cash available outside the sugar crop. Baskets, carrying bags, and raincapes made of 294 [434]

Baskets, carrying bags, and raincapes made of
294 fiber from the trunk of the chigu palm, raincapes from the excess rice straw,
[285] and hats made from the leaf of the kuba palm completed the list of major items made at home.

• 291 Postwar Home Industry in Yamada Before the war many---probably most---Yamada
178 people had never worn Western-style clothing.
177 The few school teachers and a man who worked at the 'son' office were probably the only exceptions. Some of the young men who went to Naichi to work acquired Western clothing there, but the older men and women continued to wear kimono. During the invasion, houses, looms, and other equipment---and much of the clothing---of the people of Yamada were destroyed. At Ishikawa and elsewhere after the battle they received cast-off army clothing; For a time they wore only this and what little they had salvaged from the battle. At present they have supplemented this with Japanese and American-made civilian clothing
[230] in Western types. Probably no one in Yamada weaves cloth today. Only one
[231] cloth loom was located in the whole village, and this had been put away. No one raises silkworms.

178 Basketry is still made, but only for local use. Raincoats of straw
[285] and palm bark are not made in Yamada, but a few are brought in from the north.
[294] However, the army poncho has in part replaced this garment. The kubagasa, the
[291] hat made from the kuba palm leaf, is still made and worn in Yamada, but probably not as much as before the war. A variety of store-bought hats, including sun-helmets, are worn by the younger men.

ooo

Canvas acquired

513 Ventilation at night may be poor; the sliding doors are usually tightly shut and locked. In larger towns and cities this practice may be explained as due to the prevalence of thieves, but in the country there must be another reason; it is probably the fear of yanakaji or of the kiji-
[775] munaa. The first, yanakaji, literally "bad winds", are ghosts, who may
[776] cause illness. The kijimunaa is a sea-being or tree-being who causes a frightening but harmless sensation of smothering and weight on the chest. These creatures may enter through open doors or windows. According to one informant their entry might be prevented by setting up a butcher knife in the opening but I have not seen it done. (It could only be done for a window; in a door it would be dangerous to the human occupants.)

In spite of their sleeping with relatively little change in position while in bed, Okinawans seem to be able to fall asleep in a variety of positions and circumstances, in busses and on trucks, in the midst of family activities, with noise and bright lights apparently presenting no obstacles. This ability may be the result of the early experience of sleeping under all sorts of conditions while being carried on the mother's back. There are two restrictions to sleeping. All avoid sleeping with the head oriented west, because that is the way a corpse is oriented. The other is that girls and women must avoid sleeping with the legs separated. Lebra observed one grandmother give her little granddaughter a hard pinch on the thigh for this.

Okinawans recognize that sleep is essential to maintaining the body. After a restless night one may say that he "had insufficient sleep".
[171] It has been asserted that the Japanese regard sleep as a luxury rather than as a necessity. This cannot be said of the Okinawans.

515 171 Cleanliness In care of the body, the Okinawans are among the cleanlier of the world's peoples. They bathe frequently, keep their nails
[302] clean by constant trimming, their teeth clean by prolonged morning brushing, and their hair neatly cut or dressed. But they are not as cleanly as the Japanese or at least as the urban Japanese. One reason why they bathe less frequently is that baths are simply less available. Many villages are without public baths. Most farmers must either pour cold water over themselves at their wells or a little hot water warmed in the kitchen. In villages
[834] where there are few wells the water must be carried. Another factor may be modesty; nudity is not taken for granted as in Japan, so that one does not strip nude at the well in the daytime. A third factor may be the lack
[703] of such highly-developed concepts of ceremonial purity and pollution as exist in Japan. There are no tabus on the activities of menstruating women on Okinawa as there are in Japan, for example.

•291 834 Nudity Pre-school children often play nude. Mothers sometimes appear to be displaying little boys nude to demonstrate their masculinity. Photographs of naked baby boys are popular. Boys may continue to swim nude until eight or so, but girls begin to put on some garment for swimming
[853] sooner. Women nurse in public and sometimes work at home with the breasts
[814] uncovered. Adults of both sexes may urinate in public, but in such a way that the body may not be seen. Adults do not appear publicly or privately
[515] before one another nude. Public bath houses have separate sections for men

and women. Two informants who had lived in Japan denied having ever heard of public baths with mixed bathing. Okinawans have occasionally been shocked by seeing Americans nude. Okinawans feel that not only should the lower part of the torso be covered for the sake of modesty but the upper part also should be covered, if one is out of doors, for reasons of health; the sun's rays are harmful if too strong. Modesty may even reach proportions uncommon in the West; one young man told Lebra that he does not enjoy going swimming because he believes he is too hairy. The same young man told how he and other boys, when in high school, used to peep through a crack in the bathhouse wall in order to see the women bathing on the other side, until they were chased away by the proprietor. This hardly suggests the casual attitude toward nudity reported for the Japanese. 291 834 [515] [826]

Body Ornamentation The Okinawans seem never to have practiced any sort of body mutilation---such as the Chinese foot-binding. However, women were tattooed on the wrists and backs of the hands until early in this century. Most women over 50 have tattooed hands. There are several stories told that purport to explain the origin of the practice---that it was to prevent Okinawan women from being kidnapped, for example---but these stories are of doubtful value. The designs have names but evidently no meaning; one old woman said that they varied with the tattoo artist, who put on whatever he wanted. Tattooing was done before puberty and marriage. It may have originally been part of a puberty rite. 178 304

Many people of both sexes between the ages of 20 and 40 have elaborate gold and silver work on their teeth. In many cases the work does not consist of fillings or bridges but of thin caps put over sound teeth for purely ornamental reasons. These can be removed without harming the teeth. People are said to be having this sort of work done today, but in time the value Americans and present-day Japanese put on "natural-looking" teeth may win out over the urge to ornament the mouth. Of course there is also a great deal genuine dental work done because of tooth decay. 301 [177]

At present American values and modern Japanese values in feminine beauty are being spread by the beauty parlor. For several years the permanent wave has been popular though perhaps not well suited to Mongoloid hair. And recently a number of young women are said to have added padded brassieres to their equipment. 177 832 [305] [302] [294]

Elimination Urination and defecation are regarded differently. Urination in public is permissible for males, if they turn away. I have seen a dignified old gentleman talking over his shoulder to a young woman while he urinated into the ditch. Women may also urinate in public, though they do so less frequently. Defecation in public is not usual; even children are scolded for it though they may occasionally do it. Feces ought to go in the proper place; one reason for using the toilet may be that the "night-soil" is used as fertilizer. 514 [863] [241]

The Okinawan term kusu is used rather more freely than its Japanese cognate, though the uses are parallel. Alone it means "feces", human or animal. It is the usual word for animal manure. In compounds it may mean 192

period of time. This was usually accomplished by reciprocal labor exchange or by hiring the local youth organization to do the job. 178 406

In sum, the rural people are making eager use of labor-saving machines when they are available. The limiting factors have been shortage caused by the war, poverty, small fields, and heavily fragmented holdings. The use of machines has contributed to a decline of reciprocal labor exchanges and has necessitated the payment of cash for the services of the specialist or machine owner. 178 40 [476] [439]

Dress A most notable feature of the postwar period has been the wholesale adoption of Western styles of dress and the great reliance placed on Japanese and American cloth and clothing. Nearly all males now dress in Western styles of dress. Very infrequently an old man will be observed in a kimono, but most males regard it as ill suited for work and modern life. Sometimes a man will wear a kimono when lounging at home, especially late in the evening after supper and bath. It is not at all unusual in the cities and towns to see a man walking toward the public bath carrying his kimono; on return he is dressed in the kimono and carries his soiled work clothing which is of Western style. Even for weddings the Western suit is used as frequently as the kimono for the groom's attire. 177 291

Young women and school girls wear Western dress exclusively. The kimono still remains the traditional mode of dress for the bride, and at New Year's time young women and girls may wear kimono. Middle-aged women use the kimono and Western-style dresses about equally. The older women dress exclusively in the kimono. The style of the kimono for the older and middle-aged woman is usually Okinawan, not Japanese. Among the young women and girls who use the kimono only as a party costume the Japanese style is followed, never the Okinawan. [292]

Native-style rain and sun hats of palm leaf and wheat straw are still widely used in the rural areas; nothing of Western or Japanese manufacture has been able to match these for light weight and effectiveness. 178 292

A major influence on Okinawan styles of dress has been the clothing of the US military forces. This has been obtained through clothes rations, surpluses, and petty black market operations. US Army fatigues, chino pants and shirts, wool pants, field jackets, fatigue caps and ponchos, are very popular particularly in the rural areas, so much so that the bulk of rural Okinawa is dressed in colors of olive drab, suntan, or field green. All attest to the durability of American cloth. A number of Okinawans asserted that used American clothing was better than new Japanese. A number of small merchants capitalizing on this belief have begun importing used American clothing, which comes in one-hundred pound bales; according to all accounts this has been well received. 291 177 [439]

Okinawans use very little in the way of personal ornamentation. The large old-fashioned hairpin, formerly worn by both sexes, is used today by only a few old women. Tattooed hands, once common to all Okinawan women, are seen today only on women over sixty. The purely ornamental insertion of gold teeth is also said to be declining; among the young educated (high school) people of the cities there is said to be some reaction against this use of gold teeth, but personal observation indicates continued popularity of the custom in the country. 301 178 [304]

464 usually people tend to regard these persons as fortunate. During the entire
562 course of the author's stay on Okinawa he heard no sharp criticism of men who
829 were in military employment, yet many statements were heard about women who were so employed. This dichotomy seems to stem from the widely held belief that the American employers have sexual access to these women, particularly
[831] the maids. Okinawan culture affords its males a high degree of sexual freedom, but not its females.

464 It is said that the women who are employed by the military are cate-
554 gorized into several grades; the highest status is accorded to the office workers and PX clerks. These are followed by the kitchen and table maids, after which comes the maids who are employed in the dependent housing units; lastly there are the barracks maids, including those of the bachelor officers' and civilians' quarters. It is also claimed that these women can be distinguished on the basis of their dress. Supposedly the office workers and
[291] PX girls dress in the fashion of Japanese business women, whereas the housing
[177] and barracks maids dress in American styles which are considered loud and flashy.

464 It is claimed that many young men will not marry women who have been
554 maids in military installations. One young man asserted that these women were
582 no better than the "honeys" (a term used by Okinawans and GI's to designate the soldier's mistress).

464 The low status and pay (¥1200-1800, or $10-15 per month) for maids is
466 offset to a large extent by the gifts, food, and in many cases board which they receive from their employers. Despite the stigma there is no shortage
[465] of applicants for these jobs. Another factor is the free bathing privileges which ordinarily accompany these jobs. Very few Okinawan homes have a bath,
[515] and public baths cost the equivalent of ten cents in American money, a sizeable outlay for the Okinawan purse.

464 Most of the discrimination is directly attributable to the sexual
554 jealousy of the Okinawan male toward the women who work and often live in
829 close daily contact with Americans. There also seems to be some discrimination against any women in the category of maid, whether employed by American or Okinawan; in the past these were often indentured servants who had been sold by their parents into this low status.

186 <u>Okinawan Attitudes toward Their American Employers</u> It was the author's im-
829 pression that even those who had worked in close daily contact with Americans for a considerable period of time shared much the same stereotypes of the American as those held by the general public. It must be remembered that the points of emphasis in any stereotype are often those traits which seem obvious because they are so unfamiliar and hence not understood by the person of a different culture. Secondly, in every stereotype there is undoubtedly some considerable measure of truth; the important factor is the base of reference. Both Americans and Okinawans judge one another on the basis of different values and cultural backgrounds.

I

The Okinawan Midwife

Children are born under the care of a midwife (sanba). Physicians do not attend at birth, but they may be called later if complications develop. Native doctors (yabu), who have now largely disappeared, are not consulted. One midwife may serve several villages. She is engaged some months before the expected birth. Midwives are highly respected. The older ones have added to their initial training a wealth of knowledge based on experience. A midwife in Ginosa village takes care of the expectant mothers of Matsuda and one in Gushichan village serves those of Hanashiro and Minatogawa. Midwives long resident in an area are beloved by the children they have delivered. The children when adult visit her, or she is invited to the homes of those at whose birth she has assisted. 844 [759] [554] [504]

Prenatal examinations are made by the midwife in the 3rd, 5th, 7th, and 9th month of pregnancy, the most thorough of those being the last three. The mother goes to the midwife for the examinations, but the birth takes place in the home. A birth other than in one's home is considered bad luck. [843] [777]

Starting with the 5th month, the belly is wrapped around with a flannel sash (a haraobi). On the 5th month, it may be 7 shaku (about 7 feet) long and about 8 inches wide; by the ninth month, a 9 shaku length is used. The sash is not needed, in one midwife's opinion, during the last month of pregnancy, but it may be left on. While the sash is worn, it is taken off three times a month for laundering. The purpose of the binding is to keep the child in its natural position and to prevent it from turning and causing an abnormal delivery. 843 292

After birth, the child may be slapped on the backside if the mother has been in labor 17 hours or more. According to one midwife, the usual labor for a first child is about 17 hours, and 7 for the second. The midwife cuts the umbilical cord and may, but not always, dispose of the afterbirth (taiban, iya in Japanese). 844

In the villages, this may be disposed of by women relatives or by the father. It is buried, following an old custom, behind the house in a place where it does not rain. In Matsuda, women relatives wrap the placenta in a cloth and bury it, while friends, relatives, and children gather around and laugh. There are variants of this custom. In Minatogawa, the afterbirth is wrapped in a cloth and buried back of the house by the father. Neighboring children gather and laugh while this is going on. The reason for the laughing is that the new born child may always smile and be gay. In another variant, the father alone does the laughing. In all villages studied, this custom in its variants still has vitality. [184]

According to a Ginosa midwife, maternal death in child birth is unusual. Hanashiro women said the same. Miscarriages in early 165 843

872 calculating on the abacus, and a variety of other subjects. (These topics will be discussed in the chapter on education.

292 291 302 The pre-war school childrens' uniform is no longer obligatory. Children wear what they have and what their parents can afford. The girl frequently wears the familiar blue serge smock but more often her clothing is varied. Her hair has bangs in front and is cut straight, about on the level with the ear lobe. Neither do the boys wear prescribed clothing. With them too, it is a matter of what they have. A boy's hair is closely clipped to his head and will remain cut this way until he leaves junior high school, although this style also is no longer compulsory. He may have a school boy's cap, but this is not officially designated. It may be tan, white, blue, or olive drab, resembling either a military or a baseball type cap. Above the brim there is a metal tag with an abbreviation of the school name written in a Chinese character.

857 883 Three important new experiences come to him as a result of his school life. The first of these is participation in school maintenance and upkeep. One of the commonest sights in any Okinawan primary, junior high, or high school is to see children working around the buildings and grounds under the supervision of their teachers. After typhoons, which destroy many of the rude, temporary, and rebuilt buildings, they 15 straighten out the debris, and help in putting on a new thatched roof. The tasks done by school children and their teachers are those customarily performed by janitors and custodians in our school system. In junior or senior high school, if the child lives far away from the school, he may board there as well.

526 [177] His second experience is with organised athletics. Much of this instruction is pointed to the annual athletic meets (undōkai) which have a remarkable hold in Okinawa on students, teachers, parents, and the rest of the villagers alike. This organised athletic training is a Japanese introduction, but earlier accounts of a period when Japanese cultural influence was more nominal point to a love of games, races, and ball among the people.

572 The third of these new experiences is the formation of attachments with children in his own class. These friendships exist throughout life. The words, dōnen or dōsei, meaning the same year or the same age, are used by mature men and women to describe these early friendships. Close friendships almost invariably have had their origins in early close association in the same grade at school.

15 As is true of school boys the world over, truancy is not unheard of. Every once in a while, especially in junior high school, three or four boys report to the principal or his assistant because of absence from this work--but not from classes.

585 During his speech, the guest remained in the most polite kneeling
576 position, resting his weight on the heels with the toes pointed downward toward the floor. His head was bowed during the talk. The father and the groom acknowledged the compliments by nodding their heads and then made their responses.

When these preliminaries were almost over, an uproar followed the announcement that the bride was arriving. The lights of a vehicle could be seen from a distance. It turned out to be a truck. In former days, the bride came in greater style: she either walked preceded by young boys bearing lanterns or rode in a palanquin (kago),
[493] or in a specially decorated horse cart.

All Okinawan brides, from the time they enter the house of the groom until they leave shortly after the completion of the ceremony, have an expression of indescribable gloom. The bride's face is set. Her eyes are downcast. She takes no notice of the guests, and responds silently to the acts which convention demands. She never smiles. This is a very serious occasion and any show of lightheartedness is considered in poor taste. The groom is not so wooden as he awaits his bride and goes through the ceremony.

585 The bride is dressed in a Japanese costume. She has a wig, usually
[292] rented for the occasion, the traditional Japanese headdress with masses
[177] of stiff lacquered hair. It is heavy and bulky and the need of keeping it on straight may account for some of the bride's immobility. She also has a bright colored Japanese style kimono with sash (obi) which may be her own, her mother's, or grandmother's. The bride's face is heavily powdered with white powder and this makes her face look like
[302] a mask. Her lips, reddened slightly, accentuate the unnatural whiteness of the face. The groom is simply dressed in a black silk kimono.

The ceremony of san-san-kudo (literally, 3, 3, 9 times) conducted by the go-between then began. It is so called because both of the principals drink 3 times from each of three different cups which are made in progressively smaller sizes so that they fit into one another. There are variations, both in the way in which the 9 sips are taken and in the cups used. Since the war, the special sets of three cups have disappeared from many homes, and three small sake cups may be used. In this ceremony, the go-between served the first cup to the groom who took 3 sips, the go-between then refilled for the bride who took 3 sips. The other two cups were presented to each principal in the same way. This ceremony was very short, lasting only as long as it takes to sip the drinks in the proper order. When the marriage ceremony (kekkonshiki) was over, the bride and the groom arose and went to the front part of the room to be presented to the guests.

585 The bride retained her sad immobility. This is all the more
576 remarkable to see when one knows the bride in daily life, vivacious and jolly and anything but impassive. The groom allowed himself a little more naturalness. The go-between spoke to the guests briefly about the couple. He told where the bride and groom were born, the

date of their birth (using the Japanese reign date), where they had gone to school and their present occupations. This was done separately for each. After this was over, the bride and groom stood silently and politely, but without outward expression, while three guests in turn, previously chosen, made speeches, offering their congratulations and best wishes. On this particular occasion, the principal of the school at which the bride was teaching, the principal of the school at which the groom was a teacher, and a mutual friend of the couple spoke. 585 576 [537]

These proceedings do not receive the undivided attention of the guests who have been drinking sake for some time. On the tops of the tables, dancing in the traditional Okinawan manner and the accompanying singing have begun. The dances and songs, usually performed by men in their forties and fifties, were done with grace. These are part of all social gatherings of any consequence. 585 [273] [535] [533] [562]

The sober attitudes of the work day are cast aside. The best clothes have been put on. There is a great contrast between the barefooted partially clothed farmer or fisherman of the daytime and his appearance at social occasions. These events are conducted with dignity and poise, at least until the sake consumption has risen to a high point. The party then becomes a noisy melee of dancing, singing, and talking, but without quarrelling or fighting. There is little self-consciousness in entertaining others. Talented guests do not have to be cajoled into performing. Dancing, singing, and samisen playing continue spontaneously, with another performer beginning after one has finished. The wedding party lasts from about 5 to 8, but many of the guests stay much later until the sake is gone. [292] [534]

Following the san-san-kudo, another but more private ceremony took place while the guests were entertaining themselves. In the wedding room, colored cakes and tea were placed on a small table. The female relatives of the bride and groom, mothers and sisters mostly, sat opposite one another and ate cakes and drank the tea together. This ceremony indicated the willingness of the bride's family to give up the daughter, and of the groom's family to receive her. After this ceremony, the bride's gifts from her parents were carried in. These vary with the family's wealth. In this case, they were a chest of drawers, a mirror, a heavy comforter, pillows, and a mosquito net. Before the war, gifts were more lavish than now. The usual presents now are a large chest of drawers (tansu), two heavy quilts or comforters (futon), a mirror (kagami), two Japanese type pillows (makura), and a large mosquito net (kaya). A poor family would be most likely to omit the chest of drawers. A new kimono and money may be included. [262] 583

A Y20 note is the usual gift of an ordinary guest at a wedding. Closer friends will give about Y100. There is no uniform practice about gifts from the groom's to the bride's family. About Y1000 may be presented prior to marriage. The bride's family uses the money to purchase the wedding gifts. 431

The day following the marriage, there is another ceremony, this 000

3

Daily Work Habits

512 The people of a village are continually busy. Their daily work habits depend on the season and the type of work. The work day of the fisherman is the least predictable because his activities are more sensitive to the present and anticipated weather. Most farmers continue working in their fields in a slight rain, but activity ceases with heavy rains. While the farmer works steadily and hard, there is a certain elasticity in his schedule. He does not go to the fields every morning at exactly the same time. Neither does he feel compelled to put in a full day's work every day; he is guided more by the tasks to be done. Work is interrupted by an occasional smoke or conversation with friends or neighbors passing by. There is a routine in daily life, but it is not strictly adhered to. Meal times vary from day to day sometimes by an hour. Time may be taken out from the fields to gather firewood, make bean curd, to dry out bean pods, or to fix up one's house. Three or four days in a row may be devoted to helping with another's house. The sun is the guide to time. Most houses have clocks but few are running and they are not well regulated. Perhaps the chief distinction between agriculture and fishing work is that in the former, the tasks of all blend together.

[269] [476] [805]

A farmer's work day in summer begins about 8 or 9 in the morning and ends almost the same time in the evening. Full advantage is taken of the daylight hours. In summer, the evening meal is not eaten until 9 and often later. By the time the meal is finished and the table cleared, it is ten. After short visits within the family, or with neighbors, the farmer retires about 11. In the winter, the routine is the same, but the day's work stops earlier, and the evening meal is at about 6 P.M. The fishermen do not have this unbroken routine. There is often night work and the day may be used for sleeping. Intense activity is followed by periods of greater or less leisure.

4

Clothing

175 292 565 The history of costume in Okinawa is full of interest, but it is too broad a subject to deal with here. In the old Okinawan kingdom, clothing and its color, hair pins, caps, and other articles of men's wear were used to designate rank. The clothing of the commoners had much less variety. Until quite recently, banana fibre was used in farmers' clothing. A dyed indigo kimono, stripes for men and dots for women, is still worn.

[286] 291 [537] 000

Present day clothing is of a non-descript character. The war

clothing is of a non-descript character. The war destroyed old stocks and villagers have been unable to buy much new clothing. Many farmers and fishermen have one western style suit, shirt, necktie, and a pair of shoes, but these are worn only on rare occasions, such as having one's picture taken. Most of the women still have a Japanese style kimono in storage. An article of army clothing, mostly American but occasionally Japanese, often is the basic garment whether it be a pair of trousers, a shirt, or a field jacket. Older women still wear a cheap cotton kimono usually indigo blue with white dots.

Present day 291 727 [292] [177]

In work anything at hand is worn. Fishermen, farmers, workers in the forest generally go barefoot the year round. Girls and young married women are increasingly wearing cheap and attractive house dresses which they prefer to the inconvenient kimono. Children's clothing shows similar improvisation in the use of what is available. 291

In leisure hours, clogs (geta) are often worn by men, women, and children, particularly in the evenings as a protection against snakes. Some men wear shoes consistently, but they are most commonly worn by officials, school teachers, or men in business.

There is no standard headdress. Hats are few. A few cone shaped hats are worn in the rice fields. These are made from straw or rush. An ordinary cotton cap with a visor is common. Men and women frequently wrap a cloth, usually a piece of towelling, around the head. A towel hanging from the back pocket of the trousers of a young man is part of his summer equipment.

5

Laundering and Bathing

Laundering is done by women. There are no set customs about doing it. Neither is it a community affair. In Hanashiro those who have wells do their laundry in their own compound. Those without wells either do it at a neighbor's well (without charge), or at one of the community ponds designated for this purpose. In Hatsuda, the small stream, a pond, or wells are also used. 296 [312]

Clothes are rubbed, washed, and rinsed by hand. The custom practiced in Hatsuda up to 20 years ago of beating clothes against stones has disappeared. If laundering is done in a spring or small stream in the summer, it is common to take a bath after the washing is done. In Hinatogawa, the women collect around an open faucet, or the public water tank. These are in continuous use for laundry, hair washing, and washing vegetables.

The passion for bathing, conspicuous among the fastidious Japanese, is less in evidence in these villages. But it is also difficult to bathe. Villagers must content themselves with washing with a cloth, like a sponge bath. In Hanashiro villagers may go to 515

The tomb is revisited on the 7th day. Rice cakes, bean curd, and a little sake may be taken as offerings. The food items vary. Pork, rice, and tea may be added or substituted. The offering may consist of a variety of favored foods (a gochisō, a feast or a treat). The observances on the 14th, 21st, 28th, 35th, and 42nd day are like the preceding ones, though beginning with the 35th day, the prayers and the food offerings may be more elaborate. 765 [262]

The 49th day has special significance. At this time, the temporary white memorial tablets are removed from the god shelf and burned, and the permanent tablets hung there. This god shelf has the tablets of the immediate family in the male line: the father, grandfather, the mother and grandmother, or of deceased children. A son who establishes a branch family has a god shelf in his own house. While I found no unanimity on the point, many interpreted the 49th day as the day on which the deceased is presumed to have become a god (hotoke-san). Others have said this did not take place until the 33rd year after death, certainly a more logical time, since the observances cease at this time. On the 49th day, there are visits to the tomb and prayers before the god shelf at night. As the last of a series of observances which follow closely after death, the food offerings and the food served to guests are much more sumptuous than those of previous weeks. [778] [776]

In the annual anniversaries, differences depend on family piety and economic status. With some families, observances become more elaborate as the years go by. The prayers and the feast of the 1st and 3rd years are usually the same as that of the 49th day. Beginning with the 7th year the rice may be dyed red. Rice dyed red is used as the years from the date of death increase. In all cases, the 33rd year is the last and the most luxurious of the celebrations. The occasion begins with prayers at the god shelf, the food offering, sake, followed by a banquet for the guests, most of whom are relatives. This 33rd year celebration is the final recognition of a person's life on earth as a member of the family and ends the responsibility for observing the anniversary of his death. 769

Though rare, a family may call on a Buddhist priest to officiate at one of these memorial observances. One service, in memory of a fourth son who had died in the Philippines in 1944, was observed in Minatogawa. The priest received from the father the name, age, and place of death of his son and wrote this information on a piece of paper. The chant began with the tapping of a small bell (inkin), ringing which was repeated frequently throughout the service. The chant, which lasted about 25 minutes, was sung in an archaic Japanese which no one understood. Toward the end, the priest read the paper on which he had written the information regarding the deceased. These were the only words which could be clearly understood. The purpose here was to inform the Buddha of the name of the dead. The priest wore a black robe with gold trimming. Around his neck was a string of beads (zuzu) with a pendant purple tassel. He sat in the front of the first room with the father of the dead boy on his right. The women guests were in the second room. As the long chant continued, people began talking to one another, and when the priest 769 793 788 [292]

The only Buddhist priest in the areas studied was at the small village of Maegawa, within walking distance of Hinatogawa and Hanashiro. He was a priest of the Jōdo sect (Jōdoshu), one of the important sects of Japan, and stressing salvation by faith. The sect of the priest in this village is of no importance, since the rural people now or before the war had neither the interest nor the capacity for doctrinal distinctions. The temples of this sect were burned during the war, including one in the village of Kochinda, a junction point between Maha and Gushichan. 793 [795] 346 727

Before the war the colors of the robes varied with the sect and with the position of the priest in the hierarchy. In the Jōdo sect, the lowest grade wore black, followed up the scale by orange, blue or green, a chocolate reddish brown, and purple, the highest. This contrasts sharply with the priest's present improvisations. His is the black robe of the Shinshu sect. It is a summer garment, made of soft light silk called shiya and resembles a man's kimono, but is longer and sweeps the floor. The garment hangs straight down and is not gathered or tucked. The only other religious possessions were a bell and a badly soiled print of the Buddha (oshaku) which hung in his room. 793 795 292 [778]

Before the war, some people in the Gushichan area requested the services of a priest at funerals. After the war, the people of Hanashiro, and other villages as well, decided because of the expense, to forego the services of a priest. 793

Occasionally this priest officiates when the bones in the temporary tombs of Hinatogawa are moved to the extended family tomb at Itoman, or in a ceremony honoring a death anniversary. Few Okinawans became priests. This priest is a native of Japan, one of the few remaining Japanese priests in the island. At eleven, he entered a Buddhist temple (tera) and has been engaged in religious activity ever since. Now about 50, he has a wife and two children; his head is unshaved and the hair is of a conventional cut. He does not depend on the priesthood for a living, but is employed as an official in a village office. [797]

The situation with regard to Buddhism was quite similar in Hatsuda, although there is no priest in the vicinity. There is little doubt, if the villages studied are typical, that this already moribund religion is disappearing altogether here, choked off by lack of temples, lack of priests, and by indifference. 771 778

It is not so with household Buddhism, if this term may be used to describe ceremonies and beliefs centering around the Buddhist god shelf or family altar (butsudan). This household altar is in the second room of every home. Around it collect the sentimental memories of the past, such as family pictures, photographs of young soldiers and dearly loved relatives. Prayers and offerings of food and drink to the dead are made before it. 771 778 183

An important part of the Buddhist altar is a frame holding the memorial tablets for the family dead. These tablets (ihai) are pieces 778 769

CLOTHING

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Although a Western-style hairdo as pictured in magazines or seen on American women in the central part of Okinawa serves as a model to the younger Taira women, few can afford to have their hair done in the city. Sometimes a teacher or the wife of an official returns from a trip to town with a permanent wave. Most older women wear their long hair tied in a bun at the back of the head. Younger girls who have finished school wear their hair short and straight. The priestess' daughter cuts hair in a barber chair outside her house. Men go to her 302 [177] [305]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

cash income, earned by several adult members in joint work, or equal 585
to about one half of a teacher's monthly salary. The girl brings a dowry [583]
consisting of furniture, household utensils, and other things, so, as one
person said, the groom is repaid in one form or another. In former [582]
times the men had to pay a fine to the parents of the bride if she married out of the village (Suttles, personal communication; Tamura, 1927 translation:44).

Even under present conditions the wedding ceremony is colorful compared to most other private ceremonies. All guests attend in their [292]
best clothes and the bride wears a special kimono and a special wig hair dress. She is seated next to the groom, who wears Western-style clothes instead of the traditional silk kimono. The whole ceremony is presided over by the go-betweens. While preliminaries take place, the bride sits almost motionless. Her face expresses what Glacken describes as "undescribable gloom" (1955:218). This continues even through the climax of the event, the ceremonial exchange of wine which symbolizes the union of the participants. During this part of the ceremony the guests, who have been enjoying food and sake and talking amicably, give this moment a solemn meaning by their silence. [537]
Speeches by the go-between and other notables follow. The virtue of the bride and her family and of the groom are told and acknowledged by a thank-you address by the groom. Parents of the couple sit close to them but have no other function than to accept congratulations. The bride then goes around introducing herself to the guests.

Children are not present at this event. They line up outside the [852]
house and peek through openings to see the bride and watch the guests, who start dances as soon as good food and wine take effect. After the formal part of the wedding, the feast ends like any such event in the village—with great gaiety. The bride acts as hostess; she changes from her kimono and heavy hair dress into more suitable clothes and sees that the guests are well taken care of. The length of this feast depends, of course, on how much food and drink the family is able to provide. Finally, when all guests have left, the bride and groom
retire to the bedroom which has been reserved for them, sometimes [352]
furnished with one or two pieces, a chest of drawers or a Western-style
closet supplied by the bride's family. The bride also provides the [513]
comforter for the marriage bed. Friends of the groom may play a prank and replace the normal-sized comforter with a small one, "so that the marriage is consumated quicker," as they say.

Sexual relations between husband and wife are not discussed in 833
public except in jocular references. In spite of the intimacy of house- 831
hold members in the confinement of a small house, one attempts to

women in Taira. Three young mothers, who continued to work despite the discomfort and pain of swollen extremities, consulted with the doctor in the nearby town, and a fourth described this condition, which had prohibited her from any but the most simple and undemanding work. The old people look upon unusual pregnancies in askance. "Work, good, hard physical labor is what we did and we never had any difficulties. Young people pamper themselves." 843 164 [461]

Special foods and advice are proffered the expectant mother for the benefit of the baby. "Eat this so that you will have lots of milk for the baby. Remember that spicy things are bad for the baby. Do you recall the one who was born with a great patch of hair on its arms? Its mother was frightened by a great big cat while she was carrying that child," comment villagers to the mother. Some husbands indulge their wives' cravings for special delicacies like expensive imported fruits. 843 [262]

To keep the baby in position, a sash is wound several times about the pregnant woman's abdomen by a midwife or some old woman. [292]

In the "old days" it was not unusual for a woman to return from the mountains or fields carrying her newborn. Grandmothers recall with relish the days when "Women paid little heed to their condition, did hard work, and had their babies without a whimper." "The women today pamper themselves," snap the wizened grandmothers watching an expectant mother resting between trips to the mountains. 844 843

As the day of parturition approaches, the expectant mother schedules her work to remain as close to the house as possible. When labor starts, she retires to the back room of the house, which is situated next to the kitchen. The medical practitioner, or in his absence a midwife,* is called to assist in the delivery. The husband's mother, if she lives in the house, or other older related women attend. A man may be present during his wife's first delivery but at subsequent births will wait with some of the women in the front room. In the old days a woman was supported by her husband or someone else in a half-sitting position. Nowadays, however, women give birth lying down. Only rarely does a woman in labor cry out in pain. Soft crying is permissible, but any loud demonstration would elicit contemptuous comments from the older women. "If you had worked hard, the baby would not be so big, then labor would not be difficult," is an often heard retort. 844 [759] [152]

Informal interviewing revealed that birth takes place in a large number of cases during late evening or early morning hours. Usually children of the house sleep on undisturbed. Should they awake, they are kept out of the delivery room, although the youngest may be allowed to enter to visit with his mother shortly after delivery. [858] [593]

The newborn is bathed in tepid water then bundled in blankets,

* At present there is no midwife in Taira.

war level. This is due to several factors. The local prices for reed products are said to be too low, and access to Japanese markets is difficult today due to the separation of Okinawa and Japan. Since the war local food shortages and changed tastes and diet have influenced change to greater rice production. Many houses in Kanegusuku lost their mat-weaving looms during the war, depriving them of this means of support. In addition, there is some feeling that it is too time-consuming and the young girls do not like it. 286 433 178

One tsubo produces about two bundles of reed, which is worth about ¥10 a bundle when dried. Usually the reed is not sold, but is made by the producer's family into mats. Two bundles of reeds make one 'goza' mat, which sells for ¥65-100 in Naha. One person can make about two of these mats in one day. However, in almost all families this is part-time work, the woman of the house weaving in her spare time. One family in the village fortunate enough to own two looms employs two village girls full time as long as a supply of reeds is available. 286 433 [435] [464]

The covering for the 'tatami' mat is called 'tatami omote'. An individual can make about six of these per day. They are faster-made than 'goza' because the ends do not have to be tied off and bordered. These sell for about ¥45 in Naha, which place people prefer to Itoman as a market for their reed products. However, rice straw to be used in the base of 'tatami' is sold in Itoman because the cost of transporting the bulky straw to Naha would be prohibitive---it is sold for only ¥1 or ¥2 per bundle. The Agricultural Cooperative is trying to arrange for the sale of 'tatami omote' in Kagoshima where ¥85 per mat can be obtained. The first such postwar collection and sale was made early in 1954. 286 433 435

<u>Prewar Home Industry in Yamada</u> Before the war people in Yamada made much of their own clothing, and were self-sufficient in most of the tools they used. Most of the clothing was made by the women of the village themselves. Most women wove, and many wove constantly when not in the fields. Many had their own looms, but those who did not borrowed looms from their neighbors. 294 [286]

The usual summer garment was a kimono of banana-fiber cloth and the usual winter garment one of cotton. The former was made wholly at home, from the tree to the finished garment. For the cotton kimono the threads were purchased, usually at Kadena, already dyed, and the cloth woven at home. [291]

Several families had silkworms. They got the eggs from Japan and fed the worms on mulberry leaves they grew in their yards. These women spun and wove at home but they sometimes had professional dyers at Kadena or Naha dye the threads for them. Silk garments, like store-bought garments, were only for grand occasions. 231 283 292

Before the war some Yamada women made "panama" hats in their homes as piecework for a hat company. The company furnished the materials and bought the finished product. This was one of the few sources of cash available outside the sugar crop. Baskets, carrying bags, and raincapes made of 294 [434]

period of time. This was usually accomplished by reciprocal labor exchange or by hiring the local youth organization to do the job. 178 406

In sum, the rural people are making eager use of labor-saving machines when they are available. The limiting factors have been shortage caused by the war, poverty, small fields, and heavily fragmented holdings. The use of machines has contributed to a decline of reciprocal labor exchanges and has necessitated the payment of cash for the services of the specialist or machine owner. 178 40 [476] [439]

Dress A most notable feature of the postwar period has been the wholesale adoption of Western styles of dress and the great reliance placed on Japanese and American cloth and clothing. Nearly all males now dress in Western styles of dress. Very infrequently an old man will be observed in a kimono, but most males regard it as ill suited for work and modern life. Sometimes a man will wear a kimono when lounging at home, especially late in the evening after supper and bath. It is not at all unusual in the cities and towns to see a man walking toward the public bath carrying his kimono; on return he is dressed in the kimono and carries his soiled work clothing which is of Western style. Even for weddings the Western suit is used as frequently as the kimono for the groom's attire. 177 291

Young women and school girls wear Western dress exclusively. The kimono still remains the traditional mode of dress for the bride, and at New Year's time young women and girls may wear kimono. Middle-aged women use the kimono and Western-style dresses about equally. The older women dress exclusively in the kimono. The style of the kimono for the older and middle-aged woman is usually Okinawan, not Japanese. Among the young women and girls who use the kimono only as a party costume the Japanese style is followed, never the Okinawan. [292]

Native-style rain and sun hats of palm leaf and wheat straw are still widely used in the rural areas; nothing of Western or Japanese manufacture has been able to match these for light weight and effectiveness. 178 292

A major influence on Okinawan styles of dress has been the clothing of the US military forces. This has been obtained through clothes rations, surpluses, and petty black market operations. US Army fatigues, chino pants and shirts, wool pants, field jackets, fatigue caps and ponchos, are very popular particularly in the rural areas, so much so that the bulk of rural Okinawa is dressed in colors of olive drab, suntan, or field green. All attest to the durability of American cloth. A number of Okinawans asserted that used American clothing was better than new Japanese. A number of small merchants capitalizing on this belief have begun importing used American clothing, which comes in one-hundred pound bales; according to all accounts this has been well received. 291 177 [439]

Okinawans use very little in the way of personal ornamentation. The large old-fashioned hairpin, formerly worn by both sexes, is used today by only a few old women. Tattooed hands, once common to all Okinawan women, are seen today only on women over sixty. The purely ornamental insertion of gold teeth is also said to be declining; among the young educated (high school) people of the cities there is said to be some reaction against this use of gold teeth, but personal observation indicates continued popularity of the custom in the country. 301 178 [304]

302 for a shave; but since this happens only about once a week or less, they
[305] have a stubbly beard much of the time. Men have their hair cut infrequently. From adolescence on they prefer long and unwieldy hair, combed to one side.

Almost no women use lipstick, but a few put on rouge for special occasions. More and more of the younger women use some make-up when they travel to the city, in spite of rather rude teasing from other villagers that they look like prostitutes.

291 During the hot summer most people have straw sun hats which can
293 be bought at the local store after the rainy season. They cost little and last until the end of the heat. Umbrellas are the only rain protection during wet days, since the raincoats and hats formerly made of palm thatch have almost completely disappeared.

DWELLINGS

342 All but two houses in Taira are postwar structures. The first postwar structures were small and hastily built of local, mostly inferior materials. In the last few years families have built more elaborate houses with several rooms, substantial walls and roofs, and made of quality Japanese hard woods, which will resist rapid deterioration. Only a few of the present houses, however, compare in size and workmanship with the large prewar farmhouses.

[362] On the whole, housing in central Taira is inferior to outlying parts of the community and other surrounding villages. Two house types are found: the simple, temporary house or hut with two or three rooms and a kitchen, covered by a thatch roof; and the larger, more substantial house with either thatch or tile roof, four to six rooms and a kitchen.

[251] All houses have common characteristics. They are elevated from the ground so that a 20 to 24 inch space is left underneath the floor, which is sometimes used for the storage of potatoes and firewood. The floor plan is uniform for all houses of either type (Figure 1). Living rooms, also used for sleeping, are always located in the front part of the house. A smaller room located at the right rear of the house is used as a bedroom or for sick people and parturient mothers. The kitchen is on level ground so that a step has to be taken to enter the eating corner from the kitchen. Even the simplest huts have a thin wall which separates the rear bedroom and kitchen from the front part. All outside doors are sliding panels which move in a wooden track so that the whole front of the house may be opened. A visitor can tell immediately if somebody is home and, if an informal caller, will sit on the elevated

war level. This is due to several factors. The local prices for reed products are said to be too low, and access to Japanese markets is difficult today due to the separation of Okinawa and Japan. Since the war local food shortages and changed tastes and diet have influenced change to greater rice production. Many houses in Kanegusuku lost their mat-weaving looms during the war, depriving them of this means of support. In addition, there is some feeling that it is too time-consuming and the young girls do not like it. 286 433 178

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294 fiber from the trunk of the chigu palm, raincapes from the excess rice straw,
[285] and hats made from the leaf of the kuba palm completed the list of major items made at home.

291 Postwar Home Industry in Yamada Before the war many---probably most---Yamada
178 people had never worn Western-style clothing.
179 The few school teachers and a man who worked at the 'son' office were probably the only exceptions. Some of the young men who went to Naichi to work acquired Western clothing there, but the older men and women continued to wear kimono. During the invasion, houses, looms, and other equipment---and much of the clothing---of the people of Yamada were destroyed. At Ishikawa and elsewhere after the battle they received cast-off army clothing. For a time they wore only this and what little they had salvaged from the battle. At present they have supplemented this with Japanese and American-made civilian clothing
[286] in Western types. Probably no one in Yamada weaves cloth today. Only one
[231] cloth loom was located in the whole village, and this had been put away. No one raises silkworms.

178 Basketry is still made, but only for local use. Raincoats of straw
[285] and palm bark are not made in Yamada, but a few are brought in from the north.
[294] However, the army poncho has in part replaced this garment. The kubagasa, the
[291] hat made from the kuba palm leaf, is still made and worn in Yamada, but probably not as much as before the war. A variety of store-bought hats, including sun-helmets, are worn by the younger men.

ooo Canvas acquired

Present day clothing is of a non-descript character. The war destroyed old stocks and villagers have been unable to buy much new clothing. Many farmers and fishermen have one western style suit, shirt, necktie, and a pair of shoes, but these are worn only on rare occasions, such as having one's picture taken. Most of the women still have a Japanese style kimono in storage. An article of army clothing, mostly American but occasionally Japanese, often is the basic garment whether it be a pair of trousers, a shirt, or a field jacket. Older women still wear a cheap cotton kimono usually indigo blue with white dots. 291 727 [292] [777]

In work anything at hand is worn. Fishermen, farmers, workers in the forest generally go barefoot the year round. Girls and young married women are increasingly wearing cheap and attractive house dresses which they prefer to the inconvenient kimono. Children's clothing shows similar improvisation in the use of what is available. 291

In leisure hours, clogs (geta) are often worn by men, women, and children, particularly in the evenings as a protection against snakes. Some men wear shoes consistently, but they are most commonly worn by officials, school teachers, or men in business.

There is no standard headdress. Hats are few. A few cone shaped hats are worn in the rice fields. These are made from straw or rush. An ordinary cotton cap with a visor is common. Men and women frequently wrap a cloth, usually a piece of towelling, around the head. A towel hanging from the back pocket of the trousers of a young man is part of his summer equipment.

5

Laundering and Bathing

Laundering is done by women. There are no set customs about doing it. Neither is it a community affair. In Hanashiro those who have wells do their laundry in their own compound. Those without wells either do it at a neighbor's well (without charge), or at one of the community ponds designated for this purpose. In Matsuda, the small stream, a pond, or wells are also used. 296 [312]

Clothes are rubbed, washed, and rinsed by hand. The custom practiced in Matsuda up to 20 years ago of beating clothes against stones has disappeared. If laundering is done in a spring or small stream in the summer, it is common to take a bath after the washing is done. In Minatogawa, the women collect around an open faucet, or the public water tank. These are in continuous use for laundry, hair washing, and washing vegetables.

The passion for bathing, conspicuous among the fastidious Japanese, is less in evidence in these villages. But it is also difficult to bathe. Villagers must content themselves with washing with a cloth, like a sponge bath. In Hanashiro villagers may go to 515

312 Water is diverted from a stream a mile
365 above the village and piped into the upper and lower tanks where
[482] people fill their buckets which they carry home on a shoulder yoke.
[857] Both tanks always attract children. Before faucets were installed, the two spigots on each tank were closed with a wooden stopper which the children often pulled to get a drink or water to play in. An open lot surrounding the upper water tank is another popular play area.

361 On the eastern side of the village below the main road lies a flat sandy plain, separating the actual beach from the houses above. Children are frequently found playing there or walking along the beach to the mouth of the Noro Mata and Fukuji rivers, which reach the sea
[764] about 400 yards away. To the west of the central village lie the tombs
[211] and the monument for the war dead of the village.

487 Many hills around the village drop off vertically toward the south;
[133] these drops are partly effects of the geological conditions, such as karst depressions, partly caused by erosion of drainage during the heavy rains. Narrow paths, leading up the steep claylike hillsides, are slippery
[491] and very treacherous during rains. On the way to school in Kawata, the neighboring village, children have to pass a section of the road where river and rains have washed away the bank so badly that a misstep on the edge of the road could lead to a fall of more than 50 feet.

312 The little river which runs through parts of the valley behind Taira
[857] is another gathering place of children. A path alongside it leads into
[487] the hills and mountain forest lands. Seven minutes walking along this path takes one to Umugui, ~~a natural~~ swimming hole which also serves as one of the favorite laundry places. During the summer the river offers several other popular swimming spots downstream from Umugui.
[296] There is also a little concrete bridge in the rice fields beyond the houses, where adults and children go to wash laundry and sometimes pots and pans. Yamagawa well is a water hole, lined with concrete, near the northwestern part of Taira. Before water faucets were installed, girls frequently went there to wash their hair and do laundry.

857 Children go to the fields to look for flowers and berries or, in the
[484] case of older boys, to cut grass for animals. Distances covered by any child depend, of course, on the age. Younger siblings under 5 accompany the older ones to places beyond the area, but no expeditions extend to areas that are not also regularly traversed by adults in the course of their daily duties. Perhaps because of the multiple rivers and water sources, the beach offers less enticement than one might expect. On some days a group may decide to play on the beach, but since sand is also available throughout the village, everybody will soon shift back to some other area inland.

137 Tropical plants, bushes, and trees grow at sea level. At higher ele-

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2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

312
854
296
415

Women washing at water tank.

Women transplanting rice.

243
291

Woman transplanting.

Carrying wood.

[482]

[p 456-B]

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Taira

857
226
854
291

Children catching small fish.

Girls washing their laundry.

857
291
302

[296]
[415]
←

[482]
→
[312]

Carrying water while their mother is recovering from giving birth.

[243]
→

Boy harvesting.

[p. 456-C]

practice of allowing the child to eliminate wherever he chooses is 863
necessitated by the structure of the outhouse, a concrete tank covered [514]
with a slotted wooden board or loose planks.

Girls may go pantless until they are completely toilet trained but [291]
must wear dresses. Since clothing distinguishes those who have been toilet trained, girls proudly compare bright printed panties while boys sport nondescript short pants. Untrained boys wear short shirts or cotton kimonos in summer or flannel ones in the winter.

Accidental wetting of pants and bedwetting do not present much of a problem to parents. Children, however, appear to be embarrassed in such situations. Mothers claim they do not scold or shame the children. It seems to be more of a threat to the child, who realizes his newly gained status and recognizes the accident as infantile behavior. A few children, ranging from 4 to 11, suffer from eneuresis. An 11-year-old, according to the mother, wakes himself and rinses out his wet clothing without waking anyone else. She felt that he was suffering enough and so refrained from saying anything about it.

As seen in the description of the kindergarten session, constant pressure is placed on the child to keep himself clean. A mother seeing a 863
dirty child will laughingly tell him to go sleep with the rats. There 515
is a nasal affliction which is common among children up until the age of 8. Whereas the mother or grandmother tends the infant, sucking [854]
the mucus out of his nose, they do not aid the weaned child. During the preschool years, the child, with a well-practiced movement of the arm, smears the discharge over half his face, onto his kimono or shirt sleeves, or wipes it impatiently with his grimy hands. The resulting appearance prompts others to tease, "Dirty faced cat," or to question sneeringly, "Did the rat walk over your face?" It seems, however, that boys are less interested in cleanliness and tolerate dirty and unkemptness for a longer period of time than girls. By the time they are 3 years
old, girls are conscious of their appearance, but this may be because [296]
they frequently accompany older girls to the wells and rivers when laundering is being done. As it was the usual procedure to end the task with washing heads and delousing, the girls were less soiled than the boys at this age. Five- and 6-year-old girls are praised for going to the well or river to wash their own clothing and heads if they go with older children. If they go alone, they are severely scolded and punished. When the faucets were installed in the village, 4-year-old girls assiduously tended to their grooming, spurred on by the praise and admiration of adults. Girls may be punished, on the other hand, for using too much soap or washing too often. One mother complained that her 8-year-old girl used to be such a stickler for cleanliness and

ments fail to form rope. Her brother quietly takes the straw and without a word demonstrates the deft movement. She watches and tries again when her brother hands it back to her. She is unsuccessful. As she starts to whine again, her brother picks up a length of finished rope and gives it to her. She runs happily toward the playground, waving her rope in the air. 868 [283]

Although young children are not taken to the mountains, they can sit in the village afternoons and watch adults sawing, splitting, and working the bamboo rings used in tying faggots. Boys do not go into the mountains to cut firewood until they are about 10 years old, girls until they are 12, although they may have begged their parents for several years to let them help with cutting and hauling of firewood. But as long as they are still too young for mountain work, they try to use the cutting tools. Tools are left within reach of children so that opportunities for experimentation are almost unlimited. Only their size and weight deter the youngest children. A 2-year-old girl was seen imitating her mother by attempting to whittle off pieces of bamboo with a large 12-inch blade bushknife. A teen-age girl working nearby passed the little girl several times without saying anything. The little girl's father also worked nearby but, like everyone else, was too absorbed in his work to notice his daughter. Finally her mother looked up from where she worked, noticed the huge knife in the girl's hand, and saying in a loud, angry voice, "Why do you carry this, fool?" took the knife away. [313] [412]

Other small children pick up hoes and forks to try them in the yard or in the pigsty. Sickles and knives are used expertly by many 6-year-olds. Bandaged fingers and numerous little scars are evidences of learning and experimentation. Occasionally an adult will say to a 9- or 10-year-old. "Hold the sickle this way so you won't get hurt," but more often than not the child has already learned by himself. One 4½-year-old boy shinnied up the side of a feed box to get a sickle. There was no adult around to peel the long stalk of sugar cane he had been given, so, with expert strokes and handling of the razor-sharp tool, he shaved off the thick, hard skin. By the time his mother arrived on the scene, the child was busily chewing and sucking on a considerable length of the peeled cane. The mother was asked who had taught him to use the sickle, and she was at a loss for a reply. "I don't know! He must have watched us and learned by himself by trying it out!" she said. [412] [264]

Little girls watch their mothers cooking and doing other household work. By watching and asking questions they learn how to light a fire and when to extinguish it to cook a perfect pot of rice. They [252] [296]

868 crouch with their mothers, who are busy with the laundry. It is not
296 long before they pick up a small article of clothing and start soaping, rubbing, and rinsing just as their mothers do.

IMITATIVE PLAY

857 What children observe in adult life is frequently acted out in play
524 situations. Before a girl is old enough to do all the household work alone, she can always find satisfaction for her desire to learn an adult role by imitating it in play. Playing "house" is an activity which all girls from the age of 4 to 9 or 10 indulge in constantly at all times of the year. The beach, yard, empty lots of uninhabited houses serve as locales for this play. Girls "act out" the role of the mother in the household in crude but painstakingly constructed "houses." Boys rarely join in this kind of play, which is not surprising, since males have very little to do with the day-to-day happenings in the house. Invariably there is a play store at which all the "mothers" converge to buy their daily supply of bean paste, noodles, or dried seaweed, but the most concentrated locale of activity is in the "kitchen of the houses." Here elaborate meals are prepared with sand for rice, grass roots for noodles, chopped up pandanus leaves for greens, and hibiscus for red coloring. Frequently during the vegatable season discarded carrots, cabbage, and turnips are used in make-believe dishes. Shells of all kinds serve as plates and bowls and sticks, into which cockle shells are wedged, as spoons. Bamboo pieces serve as chopsticks. An 8-year-old may spirit the real kitchen knife to chop up the "vegetables" if the house-playing takes place near the home. Deftly she slices the carrots and turnips and mixes them into water. If she is fortunate, she and her playmates can use a temporarily uninhabited house in which the hearth stones and wire hung pot still remain, in which case she need not construct one out of small rocks. As she orders her "children" to go to the store for rice or salt, she jogs up and down to quiet the infant that fusses on her back. Finally the meal is ready to serve. The "family" without "father" all sit in the kitchen on their knees as she busily serves the various concoctions. There is a disturbance "outside," and she turns to look as one of her children shouts, "Oh, look what the boys have done!" "Fools! Go away!" she shouts as she runs after the laughing boys who have taken a few of the bamboo sticks that delineate the house walls. "We are robbers, robbers come to rob you!" shout the boys as they run away. After the "meal" is finished and while she is washing dishes, she hears someone

857 fed every day. This is a job for him, and if he does not do it he gets
866 a scolding. . . . My husband does not believe in letting him play too much, and so K. has to take his job seriously—otherwise he will get scolded by his father."

The mother of a 5-year-old girl, after mentioning that she washes her own hair and shoes, said, "The day before yesterday she helped me clean up the place after eating, and so I told her that if she would do this two times a day for me, she would get one yen. She said she would do it, but I don't expect much because she is still
[861] too young." The girl's father is a township employee, but giving one yen as reward is also done by other mothers when they feel that a child has done more than can be expected at that age. Of her 8-year-old daughter, a mother says that "she can mop the floor, fetch water, watch the baby, and serve rice into the bowls at dinner time. But she does not really have to do these chores regularly. Whenever I am busy I ask her to do these things for me," and she adds that her girl very seldom refuses, but "if she should not do what I ask her to, I scold her." And the mother of another girl, 7 years old, tells that her daughter's job is "to mop the floor every day. She knows that it is her responsibility and she has to do it. When she does not do it,
[861] she gets a scolding until she does it. She usually does it, though, without too much difficulty." Only a few mothers point to care of younger
[855] siblings as one of the duties. It simply seems to be taken for granted so much that it is not even mentioned.

857 An enthusiastic 6-year-old girl surprised her mother one day, not
866 long after starting school, by taking the family laundry to the well
● 296 and washing it. When she returned, she hung out the wash carefully to dry, then went out to join her playmates. The mother came home, examined the wash, and found that it still needed a good scrubbing. Quickly gathering the once-washed clothing, she hurried down to the well. She chose a path around the back of the house to avoid being seen by her daughter. That night she thanked the girl for doing the wash and helping her so much. "I did not want to hurt her feelings by telling her that the washing was still dirty. It was fortunate that she did not see me going down to wash it the second time, for if she did, she would have been discouraged and might never have done it again," reported the mother.

857 The community as a whole also makes some demands on these
866 children of school age. Several times a year they sweep the streets
[653] and adjoining public areas in the morning, before they leave for school.

Children seem to have an ambivalent attitude toward greater pres-

751
514 The drum is nearly full and its surface is in constant motion, a seething
343 mass of maggots. One of those men with the carts that cause you to cross
[364] to the other side of the road will come in a few days to dump it, he hopes.
574 He crosses the yard and is invited into the house. He takes off his shoes
151 and steps up onto the floor. It is surprisingly clean, he finds. A mat is
[356] spread and he sits cross-legged upon it. Tea is offered and he accepts, thinking that it must have been made from boiled water. He learns later that he was wrong. He is given a fan and perceives that its function is keeping the flies away as much as it is creating a breeze. In a spirit of friendly cooperation he and Grandfather take turns shooing the flies off the broken chunks of black sugar that have been placed before them. A larger blue-bottle fly enters and someone makes a special effort to chase
[325] it out. Should the visitor be so crude and impolite as to mention flies and in connection with the toilet, it will be pointed out that only the blue-bottle flies are hatched from the maggots in the toilet. The smaller black house-flies simply produce more flies and hence are harmless.

[264] Bananas are served and the peels follow those of the potatoes out onto the ground. Smaller children run in and out. One child comes in with
[315] its nose running. After a time Mother pulls up its shirt tail and wipes the
[758] mucus off the upper lip. The child has not been well; Mother or Grandmother may take it to the yabuu, who will burn moxa on its skin at the proper places. A neighbor's child walks by; its face and nearly hairless head are
[753] a mass of scabs and its eyes are almost shut by pus. Someone laughingly explains that this is what happens when you don't cut a baby's buttocks properly with a razor to draw out the bad blood.

The visitor is urged to take more tea and sugar. He is complimented on his interest in Okinawa and is asked innumerable questions about America. The family is eager for knowledge and for further contact. As he rises to leave, he is urged to return. He puts on his shoes, finding one slightly
[753] damp from the poor aim of the youngest child. He is cautioned to wear his hat and knows by now the unspoken fear---encephalitis---caused by too much exposure to the sun. He notices that around the well where Mother has been
• [296] doing laundry a great pool of water is gradually sinking into the sand. As he picks his way across the yard he wonders if the family would not be better off living in a houseboat, preferably in a fast-moving stream.

751 Such are some of the features of Okinawan life. Yet it would be a mistake to assume that there are no standards of sanitation. There are; they
356 are simply narrower than those of most Americans. Many Okinawans do throw
751 garbage out their front doors as indicated above, but it is also true that the floor of the house is usually cleaner than many American floors. It has to be clean; people sit on it and sleep on it. People take off their shoes before stepping up onto it or if they have been to the fields barefooted
751 they may wash their feet before stepping up onto it. But the area of clean-
[351] liness ends with the step. Beyond the step is a different sort of territory. Yet even in the yard there is a limit to the amount of trash that may be al-
[514] lowed to accumulate before it is swept away. The practice of urinating in the yard is distasteful to the American observer, but there is perhaps less basis for objection to it as a health hazard. Urine is relatively harmless. Feces, however, go into the toilet. If an untrained child defecates in the yard usually someone cleans up the spot.

ceremony the set of three cups (sakazuki) was used. The go-between, a man and a close friend of the groom, poured sake into the top cup. The groom drank; the go-between then refilled the cup, giving it to the bride. The same procedure was repeated with the remaining two cups. 585 184

In this ceremony, after the san-san-kudo, the go-between dipped a pair of chopsticks into salt, putting a bit on the open palm of the bride who then put the salt in her mouth. This was repeated for the groom. The go-between then dipped his finger into a cup of water, touching first the forehead of the bride, then that of the groom.

The presentation of the newly married couple to the guests was also done in a different way. Because of his close friendship with the groom's father, the mayor of the township introduced the bridal pair to the guests. This was a tender and affectionate speech in which the mayor told of the birthplaces of the young man and his bride. He asked the guests, as friends and relatives of the new couple, to teach them how to live well together, how to make a living, and ended by asking everyone present to have a good time. The celebration, the sake drinking, the dancing following the ceremony were essentially the same as in Matsuda. A ring was not used in either ceremony. When used, it is ordinarily given to the bride, not placed on her finger as part of the ceremony. [576] [537] [301]

A custom followed in Hinatogawa illustrates a variation in the preliminaries before the marriage ceremony. The groom (hanamuko) and the go-between or a friend go to the bride's home. They are given refreshments. The groom acknowledges his bride. He returns to his home to await her coming. This may take some time if the tide is not right. Before the war children from 7 to 10 years of age carried long lanterns (chōchin) with candles to light the way for the bride, as she walked to the groom's house. Each child carried two lanterns, which they held very tightly, as it was considered bad luck for them to change from one hand to the other. The lanterns have now been abandoned (when the ceremony is performed) in favor of flashlights, in another triumph of the Industrial Revolution. But the children enjoyed participating because they were given small amounts of money and food. [857] [416] [177]

In the Hinatogawa custom, everyone stepped over the threshhold. Even now, if houses do not have one, a long step is made from the outer stone or ground into the room. Among the guests, there is usually a jokester who humorously announces in a loud voice the arrival of the bride.

In Hinatogawa, the groom's family presents a gift of about Y5-6000 to the bride's family. (This family would have to be in moderate circumstances to do this). Gifts from the guests are from Y20-40. The groom's friends may give money to the groom's parents to defray the heavy expenses of the banquet, and the girl's friends give money to her, presumably for the purchase of wedding articles. [431]

There is one further variation in a custom from Hanashiro. On

and women. Two informants who had lived in Japan denied having ever heard of public baths with mixed bathing. Okinawans have occasionally been shocked by seeing Americans nude. Okinawans feel that not only should the lower part of the torso be covered for the sake of modesty but the upper part also should be covered, if one is out of doors, for reasons of health; the sun's rays are harmful if too strong. Modesty may even reach proportions uncommon in the West; one young man told Lebra that he does not enjoy going swimming because he believes he is too hairy. The same young man told how he and other boys, when in high school, used to peep through a crack in the bathhouse wall in order to see the women bathing on the other side, until they were chased away by the proprietor. This hardly suggests the casual attitude toward nudity reported for the Japanese. 291 834 [515] [826]

Body Ornamentation. The Okinawans seem never to have practiced any sort of body mutilation---such as the Chinese foot-binding. However, women were tattooed on the wrists and backs of the hands until early in this century. Most women over 50 have tattooed hands. There are several stories told that purport to explain the origin of the practice---that it was to prevent Okinawan women from being kidnapped, for example---but these stories are of doubtful value. The designs have names but evidently no meaning; one old woman said that they varied with the tattoo artist, who put on whatever he wanted. Tattooing was done before puberty and marriage. It may have originally been part of a puberty rite. 178 304

Many people of both sexes between the ages of 20 and 40 have elaborate gold and silver work on their teeth. In many cases the work does not consist of fillings or bridges but of thin caps put over sound teeth for purely ornamental reasons. These can be removed without harming the teeth. People are said to be having this sort of work done today, but in time the value Americans and present-day Japanese put on "natural-looking" teeth may win out over the urge to ornament the mouth. Of course there is also a great deal genuine dental work done because of tooth decay. 301 [177]

At present American values and modern Japanese values in feminine beauty are being spread by the beauty parlor. For several years the permanent wave has been popular though perhaps not well suited to Mongoloid hair. And recently a number of young women are said to have added padded brassieres to their equipment. 177 832 [305] [302] [291]

Elimination. Urination and defecation are regarded differently. Urination in public is permissible for males, if they turn away. I have seen a dignified old gentleman talking over his shoulder to a young woman while he urinated into the ditch. Women may also urinate in public, though they do so less frequently. Defecation in public is not usual; even children are scolded for it though they may occasionally do it. Feces ought to go in the proper place; one reason for using the toilet may be that the "night-soil" is used as fertilizer. 514 [863] [241]

The Okinawan term kusu is used rather more freely than its Japanese cognate, though the uses are parallel. Alone it means "feces", human or animal. It is the usual word for animal manure. In compounds it may mean 192

period of time. This was usually accomplished by reciprocal labor exchange or by hiring the local youth organization to do the job. 178 406

In sum, the rural people are making eager use of labor-saving machines when they are available. The limiting factors have been shortage caused by the war, poverty, small fields, and heavily fragmented holdings. The use of machines has contributed to a decline of reciprocal labor exchanges and has necessitated the payment of cash for the services of the specialist or machine owner. 178 40 [476] [437]

Dress A most notable feature of the postwar period has been the wholesale adoption of Western styles of dress and the great reliance placed on Japanese and American cloth and clothing. Nearly all males now dress in Western styles of dress. Very infrequently an old man will be observed in a kimono, but most males regard it as ill suited for work and modern life. Sometimes a man will wear a kimono when lounging at home, especially late in the evening after supper and bath. It is not at all unusual in the cities and towns to see a man walking toward the public bath carrying his kimono; on return he is dressed in the kimono and carries his soiled work clothing which is of Western style. Even for weddings the Western suit is used as frequently as the kimono for the groom's attire. 177 291

Young women and school girls wear Western dress exclusively. The kimono still remains the traditional mode of dress for the bride, and at New Year's time young women and girls may wear kimono. Middle-aged women use the kimono and Western-style dresses about equally. The older women dress exclusively in the kimono. The style of the kimono for the older and middle-aged woman is usually Okinawan, not Japanese. Among the young women and girls who use the kimono only as a party costume the Japanese style is followed, never the Okinawan. [292]

Native-style rain and sun hats of palm leaf and wheat straw are still widely used in the rural areas; nothing of Western or Japanese manufacture has been able to match these for light weight and effectiveness. 178 292

A major influence on Okinawan styles of dress has been the clothing of the US military forces. This has been obtained through clothes rations, surpluses, and petty black market operations. US Army fatigues, chino pants and shirts, wool pants, field jackets, fatigue caps and ponchos, are very popular particularly in the rural areas, so much so that the bulk of rural Okinawa is dressed in colors of olive drab, suntan, or field green. All attest to the durability of American cloth. A number of Okinawans asserted that used American clothing was better than new Japanese. A number of small merchants capitalizing on this belief have begun importing used American clothing, which comes in one-hundred pound bales; according to all accounts this has been well received. 291 177 [439]

Okinawans use very little in the way of personal ornamentation. The large old-fashioned hairpin, formerly worn by both sexes, is used today by only a few old women. Tattooed hands, once common to all Okinawan women, are seen today only on women over sixty. The purely ornamental insertion of gold teeth is also said to be declining; among the young educated (high school) people of the cities there is said to be some reaction against this use of gold teeth, but personal observation indicates continued popularity of the custom in the country. 301 178 [304]

175

a suburb of Naha, thence to Shuri. They turned north, passed the ancient fortress of Nakagusuku, went over to the east coast, proceeding to the vicinity of Kanna. In Matsuda, which the exploring party apparently did not reach, there is still a story about Perry's expedition. It concerns a carving on stone placed on the top of a dramatically shaped rock on the seashore. According to local residents, this carving remained in place until it was shot off by an American soldier during the war.

Roughly around Kanna, the party crossed the island to the South China Sea or western side, and reached the village of Un-na (modern Onna), an engraving of which appears in the narrative and also in Bayard Taylor's India, China, and Japan. The return trip was down the coast, and the road led through Machinato back to Naha. Coastal explorations were extensive. A new chart was an immense improvement over Hall's. Special attention was given to the Unten (Port Melville) and Shah Bay (Miyagishima and the area south of Ogimi).

Bayard Taylor, the famous traveller who had joined the expedition and wrote parts of the narrative, spoke of the interior of Okinawa in 1853 as a "terra incognita," and he was not exaggerating as far as Western knowledge was concerned.[22] This probably applied to the Japanese as well, for their stations were in Naha and an administrator or scholar of the Tokugawa era probably found little in agriculture, plant life, land tenure, and local history and ethnography to interest him.[23]

Upland agriculture, the hoeing of sweet potatoes, the planting and transplanting of rice, the manufacture of sugar were described much as they can be observed to this day in parts of Okinawa. They noted a sameness and a lack of variety in plant life, the planting of pines along the highways, the fences used as protection against the wild boar. The communal land system was remarked upon, the writers thinking it a "metayer system," that is a form of share-cropping in which the proprietor of the land and the cultivator receive equal, or agreed upon proportions. They described houses built on small stilts, the compounds, and the village granaries. They strolled through villages, poked their heads into huts, and wrote about the utensils in the kitchens. They theorized about the possible origins of the people and their connections with other races, discovered lingams which were interpreted as the ruins of "ancient Hindoo idolatry." They spoke of the glossy upswept hair and the hair pins according to rank. [241] [137] [421] [342] [302]

The village granaries are gone; so has the land system and the costumes, and the long swept up hair of both sexes. Agricultural techniques and the care of the land have remained. [198]

[Text Continues Top of P. 38 -- Analyst]

22 See Bayard Taylor's A visit to India, China, and Japan, in the year 1853. Chapters 30, 33, 36.

23 In the early 17th century the Japanese explored the island, took a census, and reorganized political administration. CA Handbook Ryukyu (Loochoo) Islands, 40.

The writers of a recent report on Okinawan economy have emphasised that the combination of generally poor soils, the rapid decomposition of organic matter in a near tropical climate, and excessive leaching make the problem of fertilization very difficult--[4] to say nothing of the trace elements. 241 [119]

(6) Other substances are used for fertilizers. In Matsuda the barber gathers the cuttings from the luxuriant hair of his clients and places them around his sugar cane--and recommends them highly. Acacia leaves are also used for this purpose here. Leaves and miscellaneous plants are often considered to be especially good fertilizers. [305] [302] [824]

Crop rotation (rinsaku) practices differ by district. In the Hanashiro area, the sugar cane, soy bean, and sweet potato (or vegetable), sugar cane rotation is common. Rotation of paddy with another crop does not occur. Rice succeeds rice in the double cropping system here. In Matsuda, a common rotation is either (1) the sweet potato, soy beans (or grain, millet, or green peas) and the sweet potato, or (2) the soy bean, sweet potato, grain (barley or millet) rotation. Here rice is not rotated with other crops. (This however does occur in Okinawa).

242 221

Simple Rotations
Hanashiro and Nagamo

One Year

After the sweet potato harvest, the plot is planted in soybeans in the first lunar month.

The soybeans are harvested in the fifth lunar month.

Sweet potatoes follow the soybeans in the sixth lunar month

or

Vegetables alternating with the sweet potato for a year.

Two Years

Sugar cane is sown in the sixth lunar month.

Harvested two years hence, followed by ordinary beans or vegetables, again followed by cane.

4 Agricultural and economic reconstruction in the Ryukyus. A report. Agricultural mission to the Ryukyus, Nov. 1949, 46-47.

Japanese canned fish: mackerel, bonito, clams, whale meat hash 443
Noodles, buckwheat spaghetti and macaroni type pastes 262
Cookies, stored in glass jars, and sold singly
Sweet rolls (manju) from a town bakery, and sweetened bread (pan) 272
Tea
Aji no moto
White sugar
Soy bean oil

Soft Drinks and Candy

443

Bottled lemon and orange ades [272]
Cocoa Cola
Gum
Various candies sold by the piece, also stored in glass jars on the counter.

Notions

Needles and thread
Buttons of various sizes
Trimmings and ribbons [412]
Braids for making and trimming kimonos
hair pins, and combs

Clothing

Clogs (geta)
Undershirts [291]
Fibre sandals

Toilet Articles

Perfumes and toilet waters
Shampoos, liquid and powdered. [302]
Pomades and brilliantines
Toothbrushes [515]
Soaps
Toilet paper

Stationery

School tablets and notebooks
Pencils [212]
Comic books (in Japanese)

Medicines

Aspirin
Stomach powders [278]
Eye lotions

872 calculating on the abacus, and a variety of other subjects. (These topics will be discussed in the chapter on education.

292 The pre-war school childrens' uniform is no longer obligatory.
291 Children wear what they have and what their parents can afford. The girl frequently wears the familiar blue serge smock but more often her clothing is varied. Her hair has bangs in front and is cut
302 straight, about on the level with the ear lobe. Neither do the boys wear prescribed clothing. With them too, it is a matter of what they have. A boy's hair is closely clipped to his head and will remain cut this way until he leaves junior high school, although this style also is no longer compulsory. He may have a school boy's cap, but this is not officially designated. It may be tan, white, blue, or olive drab, resembling either a military or a baseball type cap. Above the brim there is a metal tag with an abbreviation of the school name written in a Chinese character.

857 Three important new experiences come to him as a result of his
883 school life. The first of these is participation in school maintenance and upkeep. One of the commonest sights in any Okinawan primary, junior high, or high school is to see children working around the buildings and grounds under the supervision of their teachers. After typhoons, which destroy many of the rude, temporary, and rebuilt buildings, they 15 straighten out the debris, and help in putting on a new thatched roof. The tasks done by school children and their teachers are those customarily performed by janitors and custodians in our school system. In junior or senior high school, if the child lives far away from the school, he may board there as well.

526 His second experience is with organised athletics. Much of this instruction is pointed to the annual athletic meets (undokai) which have a remarkable hold in Okinawa on students, teachers, parents, and the rest of the villagers alike. This organised athletic training is a
[177] Japanese introduction, but earlier accounts of a period when Japanese cultural influence was more nominal point to a love of games, races, and ball among the people.

572 The third of these new experiences is the formation of attachments with children in his own class. These friendships exist throughout life. The words, dōnen or dōsei, meaning the same year or the same age, are used by mature men and women to describe these early friendships. Close friendships almost invariably have had their origins in early close association in the same grade at school.

15 As is true of school boys the world over, truancy is not unheard of. Every once in a while, especially in junior high school, three or four boys report to the principal or his assistant because of absence from this work--but not from classes.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

During the primary and junior high school years, no exacting demands are made at home. Young girls after school strap the baby on their back and go out to play, or they may fetch water from the well, pond, or faucet, carrying it home in buckets hanging from a pole resting on their shoulders, or they may help in preparing the evening meal. Younger boys, 12 and over, help with feeding the pigs or run errands, but they have more leisure than the girls. There is night study at home, including practice on the abacus and reading to which the parents listen, correcting the errors. Formal education, for a large majority, ends with the completion of junior high school. 857 883 [482] [871]

As children grow older, they continue in off hours to help around the home, help which follows the lines of the male and female division of labor of adulthood. This is not a strict division, as there are many areas in which both sexes do common chores. In the agricultural villages, girls continue to help around the home, carry water, and hoe in the sweet potato patches. In the fishing village, they also carry water, help with the laundry, and start helping the older women in selling and distributing fish. The boys work more in the paddies. In the fishing village, they may make trips to the sea, but as a rule, this does not begin until later. [462]

For those who go to senior high school, there is a noticeable change from the earlier school experience. They enter at about 14 or 15 and remain in high school 3 years. It is a period of growing maturity, and the older they get the shyer they seem to become. Girl's hair is allowed to grow longer, perhaps to neck or shoulder length, less often in long braids, and the bangs remain. A big change takes place in the hair styles of the boys. The close clipped haircut is abandoned and the hair is allowed to grow long. Often it is not cut at all on the top, so that in two or three years, it has acquired considerable length. 873 856 302

The child who leaves school at the end of primary or junior high school is more quickly absorbed in the daily work life and traditional occupations of the family. The senior high school student has teaching, clerking, translating, or other white collar work in mind. The boy who leaves school earlier might drive a truck or a horse cart, or adopt the occupation of his father. This is likely to be a time killing period for those young men who live in the fishing village or whose families lack land. 463

6

Early Adulthood and the Engagement

In early adulthood and before marriage, a son of the house might be given a separate room or a small outlying shed which he fixes up for himself. The young girls, more and more, assume full time duties in the home, relieving the mother. Often the mother and her young daughter work together in the fields. These mature young girls also may take over the care of younger children. Young men from 17 on are 885 868

585 During his speech, the guest remained in the most polite kneeling
576 position, resting his weight on the heels with the toes pointed downward toward the floor. His head was bowed during the talk. The father and the groom acknowledged the compliments by nodding their heads and then made their responses.

When these preliminaries were almost over, an uproar followed the announcement that the bride was arriving. The lights of a vehicle could be seen from a distance. It turned out to be a truck. In former days, the bride came in greater style: she either walked preceded by young boys bearing lanterns or rode in a palanquin (kago),
[493] or in a specially decorated horse cart.

All Okinawan brides, from the time they enter the house of the groom until they leave shortly after the completion of the ceremony, have an expression of indescribable gloom. The bride's face is set. Her eyes are downcast. She takes no notice of the guests, and responds silently to the acts which convention demands. She never smiles. This is a very serious occasion and any show of lightheartedness is considered in poor taste. The groom is not so wooden as he awaits his bride and goes through the ceremony.

585 The bride is dressed in a Japanese costume. She has a wig, usually
[292] rented for the occasion, the traditional Japanese headdress with masses
[177] of stiff lacquered hair. It is heavy and bulky and the need of keeping it on straight may account for some of the bride's immobility. She also has a bright colored Japanese style kimono with sash (obi) which may be her own, her mother's, or grandmother's. The bride's face is
[302] heavily powdered with white powder and this makes her face look like a mask. Her lips, reddened slightly, accentuate the unnatural whiteness of the face. The groom is simply dressed in a black silk kimono.

The ceremony of san-san-kudo (literally, 3, 3, 9 times) conducted by the go-between then began. It is so called because both of the principals drink 3 times from each of three different cups which are made in progressively smaller sizes so that they fit into one another. There are variations, both in the way in which the 9 sips are taken and in the cups used. Since the war, the special sets of three cups have disappeared from many homes, and three small sake cups may be used. In this ceremony, the go-between served the first cup to the groom who took 3 sips, the go-between then refilled for the bride who took 3 sips. The other two cups were presented to each principal in the same way. This ceremony was very short, lasting only as long as it takes to sip the drinks in the proper order. When the marriage ceremony (kekkonshiki) was over, the bride and the groom arose and went to the front part of the room to be presented to the guests.

585 The bride retained her sad immobility. This is all the more
576 remarkable to see when one knows the bride in daily life, vivacious and jolly and anything but impassive. The groom allowed himself a little more naturalness. The go-between spoke to the guests briefly about the couple. He told where the bride and groom were born, the

515 the Japanese style public bath at Minatogawa. There are separate rooms for men and women. The body is soaped; then the soap is washed off. One gets into the hot watertub to soak. In this arrangement, all the advantages lie with the first comers. In the winter, the Minatogawans use their public bath houses. But in the summer, they soap themselves thoroughly and rinse off under a public faucet, keeping on a pair of shorts or a light skirt, depending on sex. In Matsuda, an outside tub is frequently used. This is bullet shaped, about three feet in diameter and about the same depth. Generally it has a rudely constructed roof. The bath water, not so hot as the Japanese like it, is only moderately warm.

In family tub bathing, there is an order in which the bath is taken. Guests are first, followed by the head of the house, [516] then by other males in order such as first, second, or third sons, and finally the women of the house, starting with the eldest. Many people in Matsuda go, usually about once a week, to the neighboring village of Ginoza for their bath.

6

Hair Styles

● 302 In the days of the old kingdom, men and boys wore the hair long. A patch on the crown was shaved, and the long glossy hair was gathered on all sides and made into a tight knot and pinned with two hair pins. Satow mentions that between the ages of 16 [175] and 19 the ceremony of gembutsu took place. The central part of the head was shaven, and the long hair was then put up. According to this author, the custom dated back two centuries.[2] Various oils were used on the long hair to keep it in place. This hair dress for men and boys was described by Basil Hall in 1816; Commodore Perry's staff made similar observations, and the reports of Furness (1896) and Simon (1910) indicated that there had been no changes in the style.

The cutting of men's hair is said to have begun about 40 years ago. While some thought the Japanese forced this, it seems to have been done voluntarily. A high school principal, now in his late forties, told me of his childhood remembrance of crying at seeing his young father willingly shearing off his own long and luxuriant hair.

[177] The clipped (marugari) head for young boys is a Japanese introduction. It was required for health reasons by the Japanese school teachers. The clipped cut, for young boys, has persisted, and it is

2 Satow, E. M. Notes on Loochoo. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 1 (1882), 1-8.

302

uncommon to see young boys up to 12 or 13 without the clipped head.

After the abandonment of long hair, men followed the Japanese custom which resembled the Western style. Unless men went into the army, where the hair was severely clipped, they wore their hair at moderate length. [177]

From infancy to graduation from grammar or junior high school, the hair of boys is clipped to the scalp. After 14 it is allowed to grow, sometimes to considerable length. The longest and the fullest hair (either by neglect or intention) is found in the group from 17 to about 23. There is some influence from Japanese and American movie hair styles. The word "all-baku" is used to describe this style, mostly referring to long hair parted or combed straight back and full on the sides. The young man has his choice between a short crew cut type and long hair because the hair is very thick and sticks up and is difficult to train unless long. After the early twenties the young men are likely to cut off their long hair and adopt a more conventional haircut. This lasts until old age when many, but by no means all, of the men over 55 or 60 have their hair clipped short again. [177]

In the 19th century, women's hair, according to accounts describing styles at the close of the century, was long like the men's, but differed in the manner of putting the hair up. The crown was not shave... The hair of the ordinary woman was worn long with a pug, placed indifferently on the left or right side of the head. Okinawan young women, around the turn of the century, adopted the Japanese headdress (which they still retain at their weddings), either the elaborate traditional coiffure, or the simpler and more severe style of drawing the hair straight back with a pug at the nape of the neck. Okinawan women at this time had long hair and took great pride in it, universal long hair, according to the villagers, lasting until quite recently. [175]

Before, during and after the war, great numbers of Okinawan women, except the very old, cut their hair. Present hair styles depend on the age group. Young girls up to 7 or 8 have the hair cut on the level of the ear lobe or a little higher, with bangs in front, and a high shingle in back. The hair of a young girl through high school reaches an inch or so below the neck line, she has bangs in front, but the hair is not shingled in back and hangs freely.

The late teen age group and the younger married women have become infatuated with the permanent wave. It is much admired by the younger people of both sexes, but is often unbecoming on the young women because it gives the hair a frizzled appearance. The permanent wave is much less common among the village women over thirty whose hair, almost shoulder length, is tucked in a sort of roll at the back of the neck. Old women in their sixties and seventies have quite long hair. It is done up rather severely with a top knot on the crown held by skewers, somewhat similar to the old Okinawan style.

305 302 Persons of both sexes and of all ages, including infants, visit the barbershop. With boys and men, the price includes a haircut and a shave. The upper edge of the eyebrows is always shaved to make a straight line. The eye lids are also invariably shaved. The shaving of the eyebrows and eye lids of infants is commonplace. When women go to the shop to have the neck hair trimmed, the face, the eyebrows and the eye lids may also be shaved.

7

The Nature of Social Life

562 The social life of the women is severely restricted by convention. This restriction is closely tied up with the obligations of the family system and does not imply a conscious and selfish attempt by the men to keep their women at home and distanced from society. These restrictions are the result of custom in which the women acquiesce. The few discontented exceptions are women who [577] read Japanese magazines and learn of American ideas about the position of the women. But in general women accept their status. The men have a social life quite unconscious of any obligations of this sort to the women. The point was well brought out when I asked two Okinawan teachers why it was that women had so little social life and seldom went out with their husbands. They said the subject had never occurred to them.

The center of a woman's working and social life is her home. The range of a man's activities is the village and may extend to neighboring settlements. A large part of a woman's recreation is with other women. A man's social life is spent mostly with men.

[574] A woman's opportunity to spend a social evening with men comes when her husband brings guests to their home. Here she participates in the conversation, though she usually retires earlier. With older couples, the wife is most likely to greet her guests, serve them with tea, later perhaps with sake, and then unobtrusively retire.

[593] In my observation, there is a friendly relationship between husband and wife in the home. Younger wives participate frequently in conversation. Part of a woman's social life is centered around daytime activities, like taking care of the children, running an errand, carrying rice to the mill, chores which she does in the company of other women with like duties. Her working and social life blend together more than the man's. Among the very old women, day time visiting and strolling throughout the village are very common.

A husband and a wife are not often seen together in public, except on some special occasion, such as a child's birthday party, a school athletic meeting which the whole family attends, or a

CLOTHING

Today the clothing of Taira people is predominantly Western. Until World War II some fine silk materials for dress were woven in the village, but work clothes were bought in the stores in Nago and Naha. Men and women wear simple, drab, patched, or torn clothes which are laundered frequently. Almost everybody still has a few pieces of U.S. Army fatigues which were handed out immediately after World War II; some have Japanese uniforms. 291 [177] [296]

Women wear cotton skirts and blouses, men cotton trousers, rolled up to the knees for work in the fields, and shirts. During the cold months old jackets are added. Men almost always wrap towels around their heads to hold back their long hair or, as they say, to absorb perspiration. Women also cover their heads with towels during work. Most men and women wear some underclothes; both wear pants, and most women wear slips.

Young girls are more fastidious about their daily dress than older women and all men. An adolescent girl is always well covered, unlike an older married woman who may leave her blouse open to give the baby easy access to the breast. During the heat of the summer, when men take off their shirts, old women follow their example. Most married women just work in their slip and skirt during the hottest part of the summer.

On special holidays or for trips to the city, people have better clothes. Many of these are bought by both men and women from the itinerant, secondhand clothes peddler who visits Taira several times a year before the major holidays. Some old women and a few old men still wear the dark, silk kimonos of prewar days for dress, but usually women wear one-piece dresses or two-piece suits with blouses and men Western suits with white shirts and sometimes ties. Not everybody has shoes to go with special outfits. Wooden clogs are worn by both men and women, even with Western clothes, more commonly than sneakers and shoes. 292 443

Although a Western-style hairdo as pictured in magazines or seen on American women in the central part of Okinawa serves as a model to the younger Taira women, few can afford to have their hair done in the city. Sometimes a teacher or the wife of an official returns from a trip to town with a permanent wave. Most older women wear their long hair tied in a bun at the back of the head. Younger girls who have finished school wear their hair short and straight. The priestess' daughter cuts hair in a barber chair outside her house. Men go to her 302 [177] [305]

302 for a shave; but since this happens only about once a week or less, they
[305] have a stubbly beard much of the time. Men have their hair cut infrequently. From adolescence on they prefer long and unwieldy hair, combed to one side.

Almost no women use lipstick, but a few put on rouge for special occasions. More and more of the younger women use some make-up when they travel to the city, in spite of rather rude teasing from other villagers that they look like prostitutes.

291 During the hot summer most people have straw sun hats which can
293 be bought at the local store after the rainy season. They cost little and last until the end of the heat. Umbrellas are the only rain protection during wet days, since the raincoats and hats formerly made of palm thatch have almost completely disappeared.

DWELLINGS

342 All but two houses in Taira are postwar structures. The first postwar structures were small and hastily built of local, mostly inferior materials. In the last few years families have built more elaborate houses with several rooms, substantial walls and roofs, and made of quality Japanese hard woods, which will resist rapid deterioration. Only a few of the present houses, however, compare in size and workmanship with the large prewar farmhouses.

[362] On the whole, housing in central Taira is inferior to outlying parts of the community and other surrounding villages. Two house types are found: the simple, temporary house or hut with two or three rooms and a kitchen, covered by a thatch roof; and the larger, more substantial house with either thatch or tile roof, four to six rooms and a kitchen.

[251] All houses have common characteristics. They are elevated from the ground so that a 20 to 24 inch space is left underneath the floor, which is sometimes used for the storage of potatoes and firewood. The floor plan is uniform for all houses of either type (Figure 1). Living rooms, also used for sleeping, are always located in the front part of the house. A smaller room located at the right rear of the house is used as a bedroom or for sick people and parturient mothers. The kitchen is on level ground so that a step has to be taken to enter the eating corner from the kitchen. Even the simplest huts have a thin wall which separates the rear bedroom and kitchen from the front part. All outside doors are sliding panels which move in a wooden track so that the whole front of the house may be opened. A visitor can tell immediately if somebody is home and, if an informal caller, will sit on the elevated

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

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Children catching small fish.

Girls washing their laundry.

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[296]
[415]
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[482]
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[312]

Carrying water while their mother is recovering from giving birth.

[243]
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Boy harvesting.

[p. 456-C]

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→

Young girl carrying baby sister.

Boys wrestling.

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Playing house.

Mother about to nurse her daughter says, "Now say please."

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[p 456-D]

513 Ventilation at night may be poor; the sliding doors are usually tightly shut and locked. In larger towns and cities this practice may be explained as due to the prevalence of thieves, but in the country there must be another reason; it is probably the fear of yanakaji or of the kiji-
[775] munaa. The first, yanakaji, literally "bad winds", are ghosts, who may
[776] cause illness. The kijimunaa is a sea-being or tree-being who causes a frightening but harmless sensation of smothering and weight on the chest. These creatures may enter through open doors or windows. According to one informant their entry might be prevented by setting up a butcher knife in the opening but I have not seen it done. (It could only be done for a window; in a door it would be dangerous to the human occupants.)

In spite of their sleeping with relatively little change in position while in bed, Okinawans seem to be able to fall asleep in a variety of positions and circumstances, in busses and on trucks, in the midst of family activities, with noise and bright lights apparently presenting no obstacles. This ability may be the result of the early experience of sleeping under all sorts of conditions while being carried on the mother's back. There are two restrictions to sleeping. All avoid sleeping with the head oriented west, because that is the way a corpse is oriented. The other is that girls and women must avoid sleeping with the legs separated. Lebra observed one grandmother give her little granddaughter a hard pinch on the thigh for this.

Okinawans recognize that sleep is essential to maintaining the body. After a restless night one may say that he "had insufficient sleep".
[171] It has been asserted that the Japanese regard sleep as a luxury rather than as a necessity. This cannot be said of the Okinawans.

515 Cleanliness In care of the body, the Okinawans are among the cleanlier of
171 the world's peoples. They bathe frequently, keep their nails
•[302] clean by constant trimming, their teeth clean by prolonged morning brushing, and their hair neatly cut or dressed. But they are not as cleanly as the Japanese or at least as the urban Japanese. One reason why they bathe less frequently is that baths are simply less available. Many villages are without public baths. Most farmers must either pour cold water over themselves at their wells or a little hot water warmed in the kitchen. In villages
[934] where there are few wells the water must be carried. Another factor may be modesty; nudity is not taken for granted as in Japan, so that one does not strip nude at the well in the daytime. A third factor may be the lack
[703] of such highly-developed concepts of ceremonial purity and pollution as exist in Japan. There are no tabus on the activities of menstruating women on Okinawa as there are in Japan, for example.

291 Nudity Pre-school children often play nude. Mothers sometimes appear to
834 be displaying little boys nude to demonstrate their masculinity. Photographs of naked baby boys are popular. Boys may continue to swim nude until eight or so, but girls begin to put on some garment for swimming
[853] sooner. Women nurse in public and sometimes work at home with the breasts
[814] uncovered. Adults of both sexes may urinate in public, but in such a way that the body may not be seen. Adults do not appear publicly or privately
[515] before one another nude. Public bath houses have separate sections for men

and women. Two informants who had lived in Japan denied having ever heard of 291
public baths with mixed bathing. Okinawans have occasionally been shocked by 834
seeing Americans nude. Okinawans feel that not only should the lower part of [515]
the torso be covered for the sake of modesty but the upper part also should be covered, if one is out of doors, for reasons of health; the sun's rays are harmful if too strong. Modesty may even reach proportions uncommon in the [326]
West; one young man told Lebra that he does not enjoy going swimming because he believes he is too hairy. The same young man told how he and other boys, when in high school, used to peep through a crack in the bathhouse wall in order to see the women bathing on the other side, until they were chased away by the proprietor. This hardly suggests the casual attitude toward nudity reported for the Japanese.

Body Ornamentation The Okinawans seem never to have practiced any sort of 178
body mutilation---such as the Chinese foot-binding. 304
However, women were tattooed on the wrists and backs of the hands until early in this century. Most women over 50 have tattooed hands. There are several stories told that purport to explain the origin of the practice---that it was to prevent Okinawan women from being kidnapped, for example---but these stories are of doubtful value. The designs have names but evidently no meaning; one old woman said that they varied with the tattoo artist, who put on whatever he wanted. Tattooing was done before puberty and marriage. It may have originally been part of a puberty rite.

Many people of both sexes between the ages of 20 and 40 have elab- 301
orate gold and silver work on their teeth. In many cases the work does not consist of fillings or bridges but of thin caps put over sound teeth for purely ornamental reasons. These can be removed without harming the teeth. People are said to be having this sort of work done today, but in time the [177]
value Americans and present-day Japanese put on "natural-looking" teeth may win out over the urge to ornament the mouth. Of course there is also a great deal genuine dental work done because of tooth decay.

At present American values and modern Japanese values in feminine 177
beauty are being spread by the beauty parlor. For several years the perma- 832
nent wave has been popular though perhaps not well suited to Mongoloid hair. [305]
And recently a number of young women are said to have added padded brassieres [302]
to their equipment. [291]

Elimination Urination and defecation are regarded differently. Urination 514
in public is permissible for males, if they turn away. I have seen a dignified old gentleman talking over his shoulder to a young woman while he urinated into the ditch. Women may also urinate in public, though they do so less frequently. Defecation in public is not usual; even children [863]
are scolded for it though they may occasionally do it. Feces ought to go [241]
in the proper place; one reason for using the toilet may be that the "night-soil" is used as fertilizer.

The Okinawan term kusu is used rather more freely than its Japanese 192
cognate, though the uses are parallel. Alone it means "feces", human or animal. It is the usual word for animal manure. In compounds it may mean

000 custom in the country. Hair styles vary according to age, sex, and status.
302 All boys up to junior high school age usually have shaved heads. During the high school and junior high school years they allow the hair to grow and become quite long. This style is retained until middle age, though often it is somewhat shorter than during the school years. Old and middle-aged men generally wear their hair closely cropped. Young girls through the junior high school age wear their hair in a short bobbed style with bangs, typical of the Japanese school girl. In high school and thereafter the young woman allows her hair to grow a little longer; the bangs grow out and the permanent wave is frequently adopted. After marriage and in middle age a woman is most likely to wear her hair drawn back and tied in a bun. Older women retain the old Okinawan styles, and a few use the long hairpin as mentioned above.

[178] Prewar movies and pictures of Okinawa indicate most men were bearded, but today all are clean-shaven except for a few very old men.

178 <u>Diet</u> With few exceptions most Okinawans state that they are eating
262 better foods and a greater variety of these than before the war. This is attributed to several factors. Sweet potatoes and vegetables formed the bulk of the prewar diet, and there was little money available for food purchases. More land is devoted to food production today than in the prewar period when sugar was the chief crop. There were food shortages throughout the Japanese Empire beginning with the Chinese war in 1937; these shortages gradually in-
[177] creased and became severe. After the war most Okinawans lived on American canned foods for several years; canned foods were served in the civilian internment camps and later formed the bulk of the food ration. A number of people asserted that this experience created a taste for other foods. Lastly
[434] the farm people have more money to spend today.

177 Stores in the towns and cities contain a wide variety of canned
262 American and European foods, not to mention an even greater supply of canned Japanese foods. The important factor is that none of the American or European canned goods were available before the war. Even in the village stores American flour, Coca Cola and other carbonated and non-carbonated beverages, condensed milk, candy, gum, and cigarettes can be obtained today. American foods are said to be far superior to Japanese and Okinawan foods, but most are too expensive for the average family. American tea bags, which often contain an Indian tea far inferior to the Japanese teas, are considered the height of elegance. However, many of the adopted foods are used in a manner considerably different from customary American usage. Pitts was served french-fried whale intestines dipped in peanut butter, and mayonnaise was observed in use as
[272] cooking fat. It is widely believed that some of the American soft drinks contain real fruit juices and are excellent for the health. The author was informed that people sometimes take these when they do not feel too well.

178 For the majority of villagers Japanese and Okinawan foods still con-
262 stitute the bulk of the diet, although they say that they now enjoy a greater variety of these. Rice is more commonly eaten than before, but there is a greater reliance on prepared foods of the sort which cannot be made in the village or which they are no longer inclined to prepare themselves. Canned mackerel (selling for about 17 cents per can) is now a staple item in many

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

8

Daily Life of the Fishing Village

Fishing families may have informal gatherings toward the end of the day. On a late summer afternoon, the family may sit in the open doorway of the house, for hedges, fences, the barriers, and trees are rare. The wife may be nursing her naked child. Her husband, a fisherman, has changed into his indigo blue and white striped kimono, a tall, broad, deeply tanned man. Next to him sits his mother, over 70 years old, her hands tattooed, as are those of all the old women. She is wearing a kimono of the same color, but of a dot pattern. They sit on unrolled mats. On the veranda, three or four men, unwashed and still in their work clothes, discuss the events of the day. A lacquer tray with tea cups is on the floor near them and the tea (as it so often is) may be cold. There is brown sugar to eat along with the tea. The grandmother may be economically smoking a half or a third of a cigarette in the typical Japanese pipe. As it grows later, the wife gets up, pours some water in the stone mortar, and smashes the sweet potatoes with the long wooden pole. The men continue talking for a while, then take their leave. The wife, her work at the mortar finished, goes into the dirt kitchen to start the evening meal.

512 [351] [853] [291] [304] [285] [415] [263] [276] [252]

The wife of the fisherman has worries that do not bother the farmer's wife. There is always the danger that her husband, or son, will not return, a real possibility, of which the frequency of widowhood in Hinatogawa is proof. Every season, there is at least one instance of a fisherman who has either been lost, or whose delay in returning has provoked intense worry. If crews are still out when an unexpected storm arises, there is considerable tension in the village. Since the war, rescues at sea are more likely than before. The village headman quickly reports overdue boats. The American forces have created much good will in seeking fishermen lost at sea.

152 [165] [648]

Women, on the other hand, have opportunities for leisure when the catch is light, or weather is unfavorable. At these times, they can busy themselves with other tasks, in the field, gathering stones, getting miscanthus, but they do not have the unremitting activity of the woman in the agricultural village. There is more visiting during the day than one observes in an agricultural village.

562 [961] [517]

The fisherman, with or without land, tries to keep pigs and perhaps a few goats. In Hinatogawa, the pens are often made of sandstone quarried here. Not only the floors and the sides, but the stalls are made of this material. One reason for this is the openness of the village and the danger that pigs will be killed in a storm. A typhoon may carry away the house, its owners having gone to the stronger house of a friend or relative, but pigs are an investment and an asset to be guarded.

231 [343]

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a harsh, often rasping voice. Only men play the Okinawan samisen, a stringed instrument slightly different from its Japanese counterpart. Men also join in the dancing.

In a village parties on the fifth or sixth day after the birth of a child and on his first birthday happen frequently. They are an important part of social life. A relative or a friend is always celebrating one or the other occasion, either in the village or in a neighboring one. These celebrations increase, especially for the men, the number of social occasions and recreational opportunities during the year in a culture where holidays and rest days are comparatively few. (There are no weekly rest days or week ends).

After the first birthday, little attention is paid to the succeeding ones until the thirteenth. The child's experience from the time he begins to walk until he reaches school comes from family
861 life and neighborhood play. In my observation, there is no rigid, customary way of bringing up the child. It is toilet trained around one year of age. This does not seem to be forced. Training comes
863 through imitation. Parents do not punish the child for indiscretions, though they are quick to lift him off the mat if he begins wetting. With young boys, the father may make a hissing sound while the child's penis is out. One has the impression that it is a gradual transition, mostly effected by imitation or gentle suasion.

●304 Male children are not circumcised. Circumcision is known only to those who have learned of it through books, foreign residence, or from others who have this information.[9]

867 In early training, boys are not taught that they are superior to girls. But when she reaches school age, the girl is likely to be kept
562 busier around the house. Before the war, there may have been a greater subordination of girls to boys. But any conscious training of girls to subordinate themselves to boys is unnecessary. The child grows up in a culture in which the father is waited on, the sons favored in inheritance, and in which the men have a richer social life.

855 Parents are kind to their children. They seldom spank a child,
593 though an exasperated parent may give the child a sharp slap. There is little nagging or shouting at children in anger. In my opinion,

9 Two young men, school teachers about 23 years old, expressed great astonishment when asked about circumcision. They did not know it existed.

The native medicine, including the use of plants and fish as medicines, the native doctor, the use of cauterization, the golden needle, slashing, and acupuncture, seem to be disappearing in favor of modern patent medicines and drugs, and scientific medicine, nursing, and midwifery. Of all the traditional practices (ultimately derived from China), slashing and burning with moguse seem to have the greatest vitality. 75 178 [177]

10

Tattooing

Tattooing (ireizumi)in Japanese, dake in Okinawan) is a subject of great historical interest in the Ryukyu chain. In Okinawa, it exists now only among elderly women (in the late sixties and seventies), as it was forbidden by law when the Japanese annexed the islands. Tattooing usually was done on the back of the hands, including the fingers, parts of the wrist, and the knuckles. The design was put on by spreading India ink (often with sake or awamori added) on the surface, pricking out the design and wiping off the surplus, repeating the operation for the lighter parts. To my knowledge, there was no facial tattooing. 304 [636] [386]

Until quite recently tattooing was practiced on men as well. Basil Hall in 1816 wrote of a landing in the south of Okinawa island. "Most of these people had fish spears tatooed on their arms in the form of a trident, with rude barbs." On the right arm it was called (in Hall's transcription) "oodeemaw," and on the left, "tooga." Apparently this was confined to fishermen. Furness in his account of the Luchus (1899) observed such markings among young and mature men in Itoman. The explanation given him was that they were a protection against evil spirits. Furness also discussed the theory that tattooing was historically connected with weaving. Simon, in an interesting speculative discussion, based on the designs of cloth in Miyako and their correspondence with house or family markings thought that the tattooing was a means of identifying women's membership in a family.7 304 114 [531] [789] [602]

This interesting idea unfortunately did not occur to me while in the villages, but the notion that tattooing may have been related 119 304 602

7 Hall's Voyage, as cited, Vocabulary (no pagination). Hall includes sketches of the marks. Furness, Life in the Luchu islands, as cited, 9. See also Simon's extremely interesting discussion, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, as cited, 134-150. Furness and Simon are especially valuable because they personally observed instances of tattooing at a time when it was much more commonly seen. Both authors reproduce patterns which show differences among the islands and among individuals.

114 to the family system, the extended family, or to the household
● 304 order naming system is well worth exploring. No tattooing was
602 observed among the Hinatogawa fishermen, but this may have been
an oversight. According to an old woman there, it did exist.
One would expect it from the close relationship of Hinatogawa to
Itoman. It is quite probable, in my opinion, that tattooing of
men and women have different origins.

304 According to the early observers, tattooing of women took
place around puberty, although Furness puts the age at 4 or 5 years.
Patterns differed distinctly by island.

In Okinawa, everywhere one hears the same explanation for the
origin of women's tattooing. Although there are variants, the core
of the explanation is that the Ryukyu islanders (presumably after
the Satsuma conquest of 1609) tattooed their young girls to prevent
[698] their being carried off to brothels in Japan. The tattooing was
supposed to have made the girls so unattractive that they were un-
touched. Other variations are that the tattoo indicated marriage
and thus kept the girl from being taken away. An old woman of
Hinatogawa told of a legend (not seen or heard from any other source)
in which the tattooing of women was an act of thanksgiving for a
[773] rescue at sea. A boat was sinking, and the survivors swimming saw
two hands in the sky. They stopped the waves and the storm passed,
permitting the swimmers to reach shore easily. The families were
told, and after that the hands of the women were tattooed.

[114] This subject needs considerable research. It would be of great
interest to know the relationship, if any, to the family system, the
extended family, and the household order naming system, whether it
is comparatively recent in the islands, and whether the tattooing
[177] of the fisherman is a result of Chinese or Portugese influences and a
consequence of the early Pacific trade described in Chapter II.

11

Knuckle Cracking

157 One of the most puzzling of Okinawan mannerisms is the frequency
of knuckle cracking. It may be observed in young children from 5 to
6 to old men and women in their seventies. It is done on so many
occasions that cataloging them would be a real chore. The knuckle is
cracked crisply and sharply. Young boys and girls may talk a whole
evening, cracking their knuckles incessantly. It occurs in ordinary
conversation, at lively parties, and during periods when a conversation
lags. Children say they learned it from their mothers.

It seems a habit acquired very early. Perhaps it is an indication
of tension, but I am inclined to be less specific. One Okinawan ex-
plained it as a continuation of childhood habit and ascribed it to the
limberness of the fingers coming from early training on the abacus,

and women. Two informants who had lived in Japan denied having ever heard of public baths with mixed bathing. Okinawans have occasionally been shocked by seeing Americans nude. Okinawans feel that not only should the lower part of the torso be covered for the sake of modesty but the upper part also should be covered, if one is out of doors, for reasons of health; the sun's rays are harmful if too strong. Modesty may even reach proportions uncommon in the West; one young man told Lebra that he does not enjoy going swimming because he believes he is too hairy. The same young man told how he and other boys, when in high school, used to peep through a crack in the bathhouse wall in order to see the women bathing on the other side, until they were chased away by the proprietor. This hardly suggests the casual attitude toward nudity reported for the Japanese. 291 834 [515] [826]

Body Ornamentation. The Okinawans seem never to have practiced any sort of body mutilation---such as the Chinese foot-binding. However, women were tattooed on the wrists and backs of the hands until early in this century. Most women over 50 have tattooed hands. There are several stories told that purport to explain the origin of the practice---that it was to prevent Okinawan women from being kidnapped, for example---but these stories are of doubtful value. The designs have names but evidently no meaning; one old woman said that they varied with the tattoo artist, who put on whatever he wanted. Tattooing was done before puberty and marriage. It may have originally been part of a puberty rite. 178 304

Many people of both sexes between the ages of 20 and 40 have elaborate gold and silver work on their teeth. In many cases the work does not consist of fillings or bridges but of thin caps put over sound teeth for purely ornamental reasons. These can be removed without harming the teeth. People are said to be having this sort of work done today, but in time the value Americans and present-day Japanese put on "natural-looking" teeth may win out over the urge to ornament the mouth. Of course there is also a great deal genuine dental work done because of tooth decay. 301 [177]

At present American values and modern Japanese values in feminine beauty are being spread by the beauty parlor. For several years the permanent wave has been popular though perhaps not well suited to Mongoloid hair. And recently a number of young women are said to have added padded brassieres to their equipment. 177 832 [305] [302] [294]

Elimination. Urination and defecation are regarded differently. Urination in public is permissible for males, if they turn away. I have seen a dignified old gentleman talking over his shoulder to a young woman while he urinated into the ditch. Women may also urinate in public, though they do so less frequently. Defecation in public is not usual; even children are scolded for it though they may occasionally do it. Feces ought to go in the proper place; one reason for using the toilet may be that the "night-soil" is used as fertilizer. 514 [863] [241]

The Okinawan term kusu is used rather more freely than its Japanese cognate, though the uses are parallel. Alone it means "feces", human or animal. It is the usual word for animal manure. In compounds it may mean 192

period of time. This was usually accomplished by reciprocal labor exchange or by hiring the local youth organization to do the job. 178 406

In sum, the rural people are making eager use of labor-saving machines when they are available. The limiting factors have been shortage caused by the war, poverty, small fields, and heavily fragmented holdings. The use of machines has contributed to a decline of reciprocal labor exchanges and has necessitated the payment of cash for the services of the specialist or machine owner. 178 40 [476] [437]

Dress A most notable feature of the postwar period has been the wholesale adoption of Western styles of dress and the great reliance placed on Japanese and American cloth and clothing. Nearly all males now dress in Western styles of dress. Very infrequently an old man will be observed in a kimono, but most males regard it as ill suited for work and modern life. Sometimes a man will wear a kimono when lounging at home, especially late in the evening after supper and bath. It is not at all unusual in the cities and towns to see a man walking toward the public bath carrying his kimono; on return he is dressed in the kimono and carries his soiled work clothing which is of Western style. Even for weddings the Western suit is used as frequently as the kimono for the groom's attire. 177 291

Young women and school girls wear Western dress exclusively. The kimono still remains the traditional mode of dress for the bride, and at New Year's time young women and girls may wear kimono. Middle-aged women use the kimono and Western-style dresses about equally. The older women dress exclusively in the kimono. The style of the kimono for the older and middle-aged woman is usually Okinawan, not Japanese. Among the young women and girls who use the kimono only as a party costume the Japanese style is followed, never the Okinawan. [292]

Native-style rain and sun hats of palm leaf and wheat straw are still widely used in the rural areas; nothing of Western or Japanese manufacture has been able to match these for light weight and effectiveness. 178 292

A major influence on Okinawan styles of dress has been the clothing of the US military forces. This has been obtained through clothes rations, surpluses, and petty black market operations. US Army fatigues, chino pants and shirts, wool pants, field jackets, fatigue caps and ponchos, are very popular particularly in the rural areas, so much so that the bulk of rural Okinawa is dressed in colors of olive drab, suntan, or field green. All attest to the durability of American cloth. A number of Okinawans asserted that used American clothing was better than new Japanese. A number of small merchants capitalizing on this belief have begun importing used American clothing, which comes in one-hundred pound bales; according to all accounts this has been well received. 291 177 [439]

Okinawans use very little in the way of personal ornamentation. The large old-fashioned hairpin, formerly worn by both sexes, is used today by only a few old women. Tattooed hands, once common to all Okinawan women, are seen today only on women over sixty. The purely ornamental insertion of gold teeth is also said to be declining; among the young educated (high school) people of the cities there is said to be some reaction against this use of gold teeth, but personal observation indicates continued popularity of the custom in the country. 301 178 [304]

The writers of a recent report on Okinawan economy have emphasised that the combination of generally poor soils, the rapid decomposition of organic matter in a near tropical climate, and excessive leaching make the problem of fertilization very difficult--[4] to say nothing of the trace elements. 24 [114]

(6) Other substances are used for fertilizers. In Matsuda the barber gathers the cuttings from the luxuriant hair of his clients and places them around his sugar cane--and recommends them highly. Acacia leaves are also used for this purpose here. Leaves and miscellaneous plants are often considered to be especially good fertilizers. [305] [302] [824]

Crop rotation (rinsaku) practices differ by district. In the Hanashiro area, the sugar cane, soy bean, and sweet potato (or vegetable), sugar cane rotation is common. Rotation of paddy with another crop does not occur. Rice succeeds rice in the double cropping system here. In Matsuda, a common rotation is either (1) the sweet potato, soy beans (or grain, millet, or green peas) and the sweet potato, or (2) the soy bean, sweet potato, grain (barley or millet) rotation. Here rice is not rotated with other crops. (This however does occur in Okinawa).

242 221

Simple Rotations
Hanashiro and Nagamo

One Year

After the sweet potato harvest, the plot is planted in soybeans in the first lunar month.

The soybeans are harvested in the fifth lunar month.

Sweet potatoes follow the soybeans in the sixth lunar month

or

Vegetables alternating with the sweet potato for a year.

Two Years

Sugar cane is sown in the sixth lunar month.

Harvested two years hence, followed by ordinary beans or vegetables, again followed by cane.

4 Agricultural and economic reconstruction in the Ryukyus. A report. Agricultural mission to the Ryukyus, Nov. 1949, 46-47.

needs supplementation. Hence, a farmer cannot buy so much as a fisherman. A rice farmer, if he is eligible at all, cannot purchase so much as a sweet potato grower. These stores fill a genuine need. They have alleviated hardship and done much to improve the monotonous pre-war diet. In the villages, they are a concrete reminder of direct American contact. There is not a store in every village, but each village has ready access to one. 449 262 511

The rural blacksmith takes care of the needs of farmers and stonecutters. One such shop in Nagamo serves many villages in the Gushichan area. The forge is of simple construction. The air is blown by a sort of box bellows. The operator sits down, as if he were in a row boat, and by pushing and pulling the handle (which has a T-end grip like a hand pump) moves the piston horizontally back and forth. The blacksmith repairs agricultural and stonecutting tools and makes new tools, chiefly hoes and spikes for the harrow. 326 413

There are no good inns, restaurants or tea houses in the villages. In Minatogawa a Japanese inn of rude construction and comfort caters to parties for the entertainment of visitors who have business with local people. 265

Getting a haircut or a bath may involve going to another village. Like the stores, barbershops are little social centers, especially during bad weather when villagers are not working and take the opportunity to have their hair cut. 305

2

Mutual Loan Groups

In China and Japan, mutual loan groups have had a long history. In essence, they are groups associated for the purpose of borrowing and lending money, the capital being derived from contributions of the membership. There is an element of chance when members bid against one another or draw lots for a loan.[2] 479 426 [171]

Each member of a loan group advances an agreed upon share. The total amount is then available as a lump sum to one of them as a borrower. The borrower repays principal and interest in monthly installments. The remaining members advance the same amount each on the following month to another borrower. In this way, there is a continuous cycle of lending

2 They are known variously as mo-ai (Japanese), mu-e (Okinawan) tanomoshi and yūrei (Japanese). Groups organised on a monthly basis are tsukikiyurei or tsukimoai (Japanese), and on an annual basis as nimu-e (Okinawan), ninmo-ai (Japanese). At present there are no annual groups because of uncertainties regarding the future value of money. Now loans are normally for a 10-12 month period.

305
302 Persons of both sexes and of all ages, including infants, visit the barbershop. With boys and men, the price includes a haircut and a shave. The upper edge of the eyebrows is always shaved to make a straight line. The eye lids are also invariably shaved. The shaving of the eyebrows and eye lids of infants is commonplace. When women go to the shop to have the neck hair trimmed, the face, the eyebrows and the eye lids may also be shaved.

7

The Nature of Social Life

562 The social life of the women is severely restricted by convention. This restriction is closely tied up with the obligations of the family system and does not imply a conscious and selfish attempt by the men to keep their women at home and distanced from society. These restrictions are the result of custom in which the women acquiesce. The few discontented exceptions are women who [177] read Japanese magazines and learn of American ideas about the position of the women. But in general women accept their status. The men have a social life quite unconscious of any obligations of this sort to the women. The point was well brought out when I asked two Okinawan teachers why it was that women had so little social life and seldom went out with their husbands. They said the subject had never occurred to them.

The center of a woman's working and social life is her home. The range of a man's activities is the village and may extend to neighboring settlements. A large part of a woman's recreation is with other women. A man's social life is spent mostly with men.

[574] A woman's opportunity to spend a social evening with men comes when her husband brings guests to their home. Here she participates in the conversation, though she usually retires earlier. With older couples, the wife is most likely to greet her guests, serve them with tea, later perhaps with sake, and then unobtrusively retire.

[593] In my observation, there is a friendly relationship between husband and wife in the home. Younger wives participate frequently in conversation. Part of a woman's social life is centered around daytime activities, like taking care of the children, running an errand, carrying rice to the mill, chores which she does in the company of other women with like duties. Her working and social life blend together more than the man's. Among the very old women, day time visiting and strolling throughout the village are very common.

A husband and a wife are not often seen together in public, except on some special occasion, such as a child's birthday party, a school athletic meeting which the whole family attends, or a

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

CLOTHING

Today the clothing of Taira people is predominantly Western. Until World War II some fine silk materials for dress were woven in the village, but work clothes were bought in the stores in Nago and Naha. Men and women wear simple, drab, patched, or torn clothes which are laundered frequently. Almost everybody still has a few pieces of U.S. Army fatigues which were handed out immediately after World War II; some have Japanese uniforms. 291 [177] [296]

Women wear cotton skirts and blouses, men cotton trousers, rolled up to the knees for work in the fields, and shirts. During the cold months old jackets are added. Men almost always wrap towels around their heads to hold back their long hair or, as they say, to absorb perspiration. Women also cover their heads with towels during work. Most men and women wear some underclothes; both wear pants, and most women wear slips.

Young girls are more fastidious about their daily dress than older women and all men. An adolescent girl is always well covered, unlike an older married woman who may leave her blouse open to give the baby easy access to the breast. During the heat of the summer, when men take off their shirts, old women follow their example. Most married women just work in their slip and skirt during the hottest part of the summer.

On special holidays or for trips to the city, people have better clothes. Many of these are bought by both men and women from the itinerant, secondhand clothes peddler who visits Taira several times a year before the major holidays. Some old women and a few old men still wear the dark, silk kimonos of prewar days for dress, but usually women wear one-piece dresses or two-piece suits with blouses and men Western suits with white shirts and sometimes ties. Not everybody has shoes to go with special outfits. Wooden clogs are worn by both men and women, even with Western clothes, more commonly than sneakers and shoes. 292 443

Although a Western-style hairdo as pictured in magazines or seen on American women in the central part of Okinawa serves as a model to the younger Taira women, few can afford to have their hair done in the city. Sometimes a teacher or the wife of an official returns from a trip to town with a permanent wave. Most older women wear their long hair tied in a bun at the back of the head. Younger girls who have finished school wear their hair short and straight. The priestess' daughter cuts hair in a barber chair outside her house. Men go to her 302 [177] [305]

302 for a shave; but since this happens only about once a week or less, they
[305] have a stubbly beard much of the time. Men have their hair cut infrequently. From adolescence on they prefer long and unwieldy hair, combed to one side.

Almost no women use lipstick, but a few put on rouge for special occasions. More and more of the younger women use some make-up when they travel to the city, in spite of rather rude teasing from other villagers that they look like prostitutes.

291 During the hot summer most people have straw sun hats which can
293 be bought at the local store after the rainy season. They cost little and last until the end of the heat. Umbrellas are the only rain protection during wet days, since the raincoats and hats formerly made of palm thatch have almost completely disappeared.

DWELLINGS

342 All but two houses in Taira are postwar structures. The first postwar structures were small and hastily built of local, mostly inferior materials. In the last few years families have built more elaborate houses with several rooms, substantial walls and roofs, and made of quality Japanese hard woods, which will resist rapid deterioration. Only a few of the present houses, however, compare in size and workmanship with the large prewar farmhouses.

[362] On the whole, housing in central Taira is inferior to outlying parts of the community and other surrounding villages. Two house types are found: the simple, temporary house or hut with two or three rooms and a kitchen, covered by a thatch roof; and the larger, more substantial house with either thatch or tile roof, four to six rooms and a kitchen.

[251] All houses have common characteristics. They are elevated from the ground so that a 20 to 24 inch space is left underneath the floor, which is sometimes used for the storage of potatoes and firewood. The floor plan is uniform for all houses of either type (Figure 1). Living rooms, also used for sleeping, are always located in the front part of the house. A smaller room located at the right rear of the house is used as a bedroom or for sick people and parturient mothers. The kitchen is on level ground so that a step has to be taken to enter the eating corner from the kitchen. Even the simplest huts have a thin wall which separates the rear bedroom and kitchen from the front part. All outside doors are sliding panels which move in a wooden track so that the whole front of the house may be opened. A visitor can tell immediately if somebody is home and, if an informal caller, will sit on the elevated

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public baths with mixed bathing. Okinawans have occasionally been shocked by 834
seeing Americans nude. Okinawans feel that not only should the lower part of [515]
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cognate, though the uses are parallel. Alone it means "feces", human or animal. It is the usual word for animal manure. In compounds it may mean

114 191 184 much as possible the customary ways of doing things, and though one could not hope for an unchanging or an isolated village, one could find a village relatively so, even if, as was the case with all the villages, they had felt the effects of the deadly campaign for Okinawa.

On one of these trips, I talked with the headman of the village of Hanashiro and then with the officials in the nearby village office of Oushichan, and concluded on the basis of what I saw of the agriculture and the conditions described by these officials, that this small village would be a satisfactory selection. In the beginning, an epidemic of encephalitis made it wise to be away from the village at night and for [164] the first month the investigations were confined to daytime work. This was a serious handicap which I tried to overcome later in the tour by living in the village.

While working in Hanashiro, I had frequent occasion to pass the villages of Minatogawa-ikku and Minatogawa-niku, and I was impressed with the opportunity to study the life of a village in which agriculture [226] did not predominate, and in which the chief emphasis was on fishing and stonecutting. I therefore decided to include the fishing village, and [324] took up residence there late in August 1951, making frequent trips on the side to Hanashiro.

As interest and awareness increased, I became convinced that another type of village should be added to the agricultural and fishing selections. It should be one in the northern forested area (the Kunigami region). [361] After discussing this with American and Okinawan forestry officials, I followed their suggestion and lived in the village of Matsuda in Ginoza township. It proved to be a good choice, with the possible reservation that Matsuda is somewhat of a model village whose conditions might be better than the average.

The villages needed to be small enough for one man to study. And they proved to be admirable communities for realising my original intention of showing similarities and contrasts in an agricultural village, a fishing village, and a village in a forest setting.

121 The results do not constitute a complete ethnography of each of the villages. Such was not my intention, and this could not have been done in the time available. The material has been organised around four central subjects: (1) the nature of the family system and its influence through [128] inheritance on land tenure and land use, (2) ways of life as illustrated in the studies of the agricultural, fishing-stonecutting, and forest communities, (3) daily family life as a concrete expression of the family system, and (4) wider community relationships, including political and cooperative organisations, education, and religion.

The basic theme is that a fruitful approach to the study of modern cultures lies in the borderland area between the social and the natural sciences, and that, in the case of these Okinawan villages, the study [311] would take the form of discovering in what ways the people are using their natural environment and the manner in which the culture has changed and

altered that environment to its own uses. I hope that this will result in a broader and a deeper understanding of the manner in which an old culture, subject to frequent changes, with a long history of settlement, has, through its social organization, used and is using its chief resources, the cultivated land, the fish in the seas, the deep stones imbedded in its earth, its forests, and its waters. 121 311

There were certain obstacles in carrying out this plan. As everyone knows who has attempted such tasks, after the first few days the apparent simplicities of village life vanish before one's eyes, and he is left with a mass of observations whose ramifications lead in every direction. There is simply no limit to the courses of inquiry which these "simple" villages open up. 121

There was the problem of distinguishing between what was customary and carried on for this reason and what was of basic living importance in the culture. This difficulty disappears for those who believe that every trait has some significance if it has survived, but this neglects the point that many beliefs and customs belong to segments of a population. To one group what may be done as a matter of form may be of close personal importance to another. Both points are significant, for to do what one is expected to do, even if a pure form, is in itself a fact of importance. This applies especially to religious observances and anniversaries in honor of the dead. In some cases, they seemed perfunctorily performed, particularly among the young and the better educated. The survival of certain beliefs is due to their preservation by segments of the population, and women seem to be the chief carriers of the devotional and religious tradition. Real differences, too, seem to lie in age groups, with the dividing line at about fifty-five to sixty years. Many under this age have little understanding of the history or traditional culture. The old, and particularly the old women, have carried on. 121 183 184 [562] [561]

Observation in itself is deceptive. Even the grasses, shrubs, and pine trees on the hillsides seem to be a more or less permanent part of the natural environment. Yet these were greatly changed during the war and in local areas grasses have succeeded to places formerly occupied by the pines. 121

The information was obtained in the following manner. (1) Personal conversations in the Japanese language with residents of the villages. Much of the information was secured by accompanying people to their work, attending their parties, visiting shops, rice and sugar mills, and asking questions about the things seen. (2) Direct personal observation, supplemented by conversations to check the accuracy and the significance of these observations. (3) Information gathered from village land records, statistics, land maps, and family registers. Later there was considerable difficulty in securing comparability in the statistics. For this reason the attempt to present quantitative data was in some cases abandoned in favor of a general qualitative description. (4) General discussions with the personnel of the Civil Affairs Administration and with Okinawans. (5) Personal impressions, but these have been included only when they are based on repeated observation. (6) In the historical and general 12 127

131 The settlement
631 pattern is similar to that of the central part. Villages are scattered
133 throughout the area with population distribution comparable with the cen-
361 tral area. Before the war, the densities here were over one thousand per
[161] square mile, actually considerably more if the uninhabitable lands are subtracted.[4]

How long this settlement pattern and these regional differences have existed is difficult to say. In studying contemporary environments, like
311 Okinawa, which bear the imprint of long human settlement, it is useful to try to reconstruct the nature of the landscape before the interference of man. At one time, the whole island, with the exception of stony, rocky, and shallow soils and beach and marsh land was covered with forest. There are now no virgin stands. "It is evident that the present forest has been cut over many times. There seems to be no part of the island in which the forest cover has not been disturbed in some way by man."[5] In this light, the regional differences between the forested north and the deforested south are the work of man.

361 The oldest settlements are thought to have been in the Naha and Shuri areas. Kudaka Island, off the southeast coast, according to one
[173] legend, was the site of the supernatural creation of the Okinawan people. The town of Unten, the Port Melville of Captain Hall and Commodore Perry,
[174] was, in one version, the scene of the landing of the Japanese warrior, Tametomo, but this was in the twelfth century. Northern areas were in-
[161] habited prior to the unification of the island in the twelfth century because they had their own regional chieftans before this. But the population of the north, at least up to the war, has been sparse and scattered. If the forests are any indication, it has been the central and southern regions which have been the scenes of longest settlement. Probably the
[177] settlement pattern had not changed much until the Japanese interventions of the nineteenth century and the great changes coming with the recent
[178] war, and with the extensive modifications which the Americans have made in the landscape of the central region.

3

General Climatic Conditions

132 In the Köppen system, Okinawa has a humid subtropical climate. It is a rainy climate with no marked dry season; it has a mild winter and the temperature of the warmest month is over 71.6°F. The average annual temperatures in Naha range from 61° for January and February to 82°F for July and August, and the range from the mean minimum of 55° in February to the

[Text continues top of p. 14--Analyst]

4 See the population distribution maps in CA Handbook, Ryukyu (Loo-choo Islands, 48-49.

5 Okinawan Forests. (Prepared by the USGS, Military Geology Section under the direction of Office of the Engineer, GHQ, Far East Command), 1948, 2.

northern Philippines and Formosa. From Formosa, these warm waters continue 132
northeast between the Ryukyus and the shallow parts of the China Sea. In 133
August the current flows on both sides of the islands. The behavior of the Japanese current in this area is strikingly similar to that of the Florida current of the Gulf Stream.[6]

The Ryukyus are in one of the great typhoon areas of the world. The 132
season is from May to October, times of low atmospheric pressure, when the average range is from 1007 to 1015 millibars compared with a November-April range of 1015 to 1021 millibars. The period usually described as the typhoon season actually represents minimum expectations, for, as the table shows, typhoons have occurred in every month of the year, with the lowest incidence in April. The range from a minimum of twelve to a maximum of forty-five shows the reasons for uncertainties and the uneasiness with which the weather is regarded in the islands. The period of most frequent typhoon incidence [731]
coincides with the growing season, and violent typhoons can be expected as a matter of course prior to the winter rice harvest.

In typhoons, heavy winds, and gales, damage from salt water spray, 132
especially in cultivated strips along the coast, can be expected. Local 133
topography has a determining influence on the direction and area of spray damage, but some farmers in the Nagano area estimated that spray damage [311]
had extended inland in some cases for two miles. There is also the problem of the saline content of rainwater.

Okinawa has a marine climate modified from what one might expect of 132
its latitude by the monsoon regime which affects southeast Asia. When we understand this, the nature of the rainfall and its distribution, the possibility of drought, and of typhoons and their destructiveness, we are are in a better position to appreciate the difficulties under which agriculture must be practiced.

6 Sverdrup, Johnson, and Fleming, The Oceans, 718-22 and the literature there cited. Wust has pointed out in detail the similarities between the two currents. One difference is that the salinity of the Kuroshio is less and its waters are subject to excessive cooling in winter by the cold winds from the continent. See also Nuttonson, as cited, 20.

4

The Disappointing Soils

Okinawa is small and has a large population. Agriculture has been and will continue to be the main source of livelihood for the people. For this reason, a consideration of the nature of its soils has practical interest. The soils of Okinawa fortunately have recently been surveyed, classified, mapped, and computations made of the approximate areas of each soil type.[7] 134 [241]

Estimated Acreage on Okinawa Island 134 133 [311]

1. The alluvial soils of the coastal flats and flood plains (Akamaru and Aha soils). About 80% of these are the gray clays given over to rice fields, and 20% in the brown and well drained Aha soils. These soils have no distinct profile, average more than six feet in depth, are slightly to medium acid. Deep and fertile, they are composed of loam, clay loam, and sandy loams. They are scattered over the island, frequently at the heads of bays or inlets where the short rivers come to the sea. The most conspicuous occurrences are in the Northern region, including the Motobu peninsula. They are much less frequent in the central district, and scarce in the southern district, with the most conspicuous spots along the Minatogawa river and the headwaters of a small stream south of Minatogawa. These soils are level or almost level (surface gradient 0-1.3%). The water table is seldom more than two feet below the surface. 10,900

[Text continues on top of p. 19 -- Analysis]

7 The following materials have been used: (1) Soils of Okinawa, 11 sheets, controlled photomaps, with soil map overprint, prepared under the direction of the Engineer, Far Eastern Command, by various staff members of the US Geological Survey, Dept. of the Interior, and the Soil Survey of the USDA. (2) Okinawa Soils, a map generalized map, on one sheet (1:1,000,000) prepared by the Military Geology Branch, USGS, for the Intelligence Division, Office of the Engineer, GHQ, FEC, 1951. This is a map of dominant soil types. The analysis here is based on this unclassified map. See also the discussion in Nuttonson, as cited, 37-48. The writer wishes to acknowledge the courtesy and assistance of Mr. Sherman Neuschel, Chief, Military Geology Section, FEC, and Mr. Carl Stensland, Soil Scientist, who participated in the survey of Okinawan soils. In Tokyo on my return, I profited from my discussions with Dr. Stensland, who also furnished me with grid computations for the village areas in which I was interested. 134 114 000

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Estimated Acreage on Okinawa Island

134
133
[311]

2. The alluvial clays of the coastal flats and flood plains (Awase clay). These are also deep and fertile. Lack of water prevents extensive rice cultivation. About 60% of the area is in sweet potatoes and other dry land crops, another 30% in settled areas or military installations, and 10% in rice. These are olive, gray colored soils, of calcareous clay. They also have a low surface gradient. The water table is close to the surface, about two feet on the coasts, and near the surface in the interior valleys, except that in dry periods, it might be five feet below the surface or entirely absent. The soils are slowly permeable and slowly drained. They are almost absent from the north, common but scattered in the central and southern regions. About three-fourths of the area is found on coastal flats and one fourth on the bottoms of inland valleys. The greatest area is the coastal strip along Buckner Bay from the Katchin peninsula to Yonabaru, Bucknerville, most of the perimeter of the Chinen peninsula, a narrow strip in the Sukiran, Camp Kue coastal area, and another strip along the coast south of Naha. 16,200

3. The grayish brown loamy soils (Shioya loamy sand) with limestone grains, minor impurities and some organic matter, usually resting on coral sand. The soils, too porous for rice culture, have low fertility, and are nearly level on the raised beaches. They are widely scattered along the entire coast, but the individual patches are very small. Due to low fertility and the small area, the soils are not important. 2,650

[311]

4. The clay loams and the stony clays (Okinawa clay loams and Chinen stony clays). Both occur on limestone plains. These are fertile and well drained. "Both are very crumbly, or strongly granular; although clayey and plastic, they are porous, permeable, and of good tilth." Generally these soils are neutral with a tendency toward acidity when depth to limestone exceeds ten or fifteen feet. Seventy percent of this group is the Okinawan clay loam, with a top soil of a dark brown clay loam five to ten inches thick. Of the clay loams, totalling 30,500 acres, 22,400 have a surface gradient of 2-8%; 5200, 8-15% and 2900, 15-25%. 30,500

The stony clay (Chinen stony clays), "the shallow stony soil occupying 30% of the unit, consists of dark-brown to brown clay or clay loam with loose fragments and outcrops of the limestone bedrock." Stone occupies 10-30% of the surface of these soils. Over half of the 12,000 acres is gently sloping (2-8%), the remainder being steeper (8-15%) 12,000

	Estimated Acreage on Okinawa Island
These soils on limestone plains are found chiefly in the central region, the extreme south, and along the northern coast of the Motobu peninsula. There are sizeable individual units throughout the island and on the offshore islands. These soils were found in the environs of all the villages studied.	134 133
5. The gently sloping Shuri clays. They are olive colored calcareous clays, slowly drained and moderately fertile. They are scattered in the central and southern regions.	9,300
6. The Upland Shuri Clays and rough broken land. The crumbly clay soils are "over bedrock of compact impervious clay." Sixty percent of the unit resembles the Shuri clays, but the soils are shallower and the slope is steeper. The steep areas are even shallower, and there are frequent outcrops of raw clay bedrock.	
Sloping and hilly upland 18,200	
Steep escarpments 11,200	29,400
These soils dominate the landscape of the eastern part of the central region and much of the south. They are not found to any degree in the northern area. The gentler sloping parts are in dry land crops, but much is also idle land. The steep parts are in grass or in brush, the familiar genya land.	[311]
7. The Ishikawa loams. These are deeply drained acid soils of low fertility. The thin surface is of a pale brown friable loam. It is an area suited to forestry. Of the 42,780 acres in the unit, 4480 are moderately steep, 3400 hilly, and 34,900 steep.	42,780
8. The shallow and acid soils of the mountains and hilly upland. These are the soils of low fertility of the northern forested area. They are shallow light colored acid loams with a prevailing gradient of 50-100%.	119,000
9. Rough stony land of limestone mountains and steep slopes. These patches occur in narrow ribbons throughout the island, but are most conspicuous along the Motobu peninsula, and the central region. The finger like ridges of the extreme south are notable examples.	14,900

If these acreage estimates are summarized showing the approximate areas for different types of land use, the 311

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

311 magnitude of the land problem stands out clearly:

Type of Use	Acreage
Total	287,630
Rice Fields	10,420
Dry Land Crops	57,715
Town Sites, Military Use, etc.	19,595
Shrub, Grasses, Stony Land, Escarpments	27,800
Forest	153,900
Not Broken Down a/	18,200

a/ Probably mostly cultivated land with some in town sites, some idle, some in military installations.

What stands out is the high percentage of land in forest, shrub, grasses, stony land and escarpments that has little promise for future utilization. These soils now probably enjoy their best utilization.

[118] With a growing population and more economic activity, it is likely that areas in man made installations and settlement will increase, not decrease, and that further land for these purposes will come, not from the stony or forested soils, but from the arable land.

The soil survey documents what is apparent to general observation that the soils suitable for rice, and having water for its successful growth, are a minor percentage of the total area. The chief foods, it is apparent, must continue to come from dry land crops and slope cultivation.

134 311 Even though agriculture is and will continue to be the basis of the islanders' economic life, the lack of suitability of the soils for this purpose is especially striking. Improvement of agriculture, introduction of better methods of farming, the increased use of fertilizers, while effective, could only be a palliative when the total arable land for over five hundred thousand people is in the magnitude of 86,000 acres, if we include all the 18,200 acres in the above table which are not broken down. Even if this figure is too low, the mere fact that over 180,000 of the 287,630 acres is in forest, or shrub, grass, or stony land, and of low fertility is sufficient indication of the land use problem. These facts are supported by farmers' own appraisals of the nature of the soils of their island.

161 133 311 The following table, even if inaccurate, certainly states the problem in its proper magnitude:

Table 3

Population of Okinawa Island, 1950	517,600

Approximate area in square miles	454	161
Population density per square mile	1139	133
Assumed area in cultivation in square miles a/	134.4	311
Population density per square mile of arable land	3851	

a/ See discussion above. The 134.4 square miles is an approximation derived by adding the areas in wet rice, dry land crops, and 18,200 acres which includes land in cultivation, in town sites, military installations, and in idle land, a total of 86,335. An arbitrary approximation of 80,000 acres (134.4 sq. miles) was then taken, very probably too high a figure. Nuttonson, op. cit., p. 12, gives the cultivated area as less than one-fourth of the total area, or 67,200 acres. One of course must distinguish between cultivated land and land that can be cultivated, but 80,000 acres still seems a reasonable approximation.

If we look at the geography of Okinawa from the point of view of the total physical environment and not merely from the point of view of the amount of arable land available to support the people, we are forced to the conclusion that as a result of long settlement, a growing population and the destruction of the war, combined with periodic and inevitable property and crop damage from typhoons, that the environment is not suited for the comfort and well-being of large numbers of people. Intense fertilization will keep the good soils growing crops. Increase of trade and some industrialization may help as long as they do not lead to destructive exploitation of the forests, and some small help may come from the reclamation of unused or cut over land. 178 314 511

5

Conclusion

Almost one hundred years ago, one of the observers on Commodore Perry's expedition wrote, 114 174

> "That the island has been peopled for many ages, is evidenced by the graded roads and deep cuts, the structure and manifest age of the bridges, the antiquity of the villages, the great amount of stone-work in the towns and in the fortresses--some old and dilapidated, some modern and in repair; but, above all, by the incalculable amount of labor done in grading the land for culture. That which is now so perfect, could only have been made so by degrees, like structures reared by the ant or bee."[8]

8 Hawks, Perry's Expedition, as cited, II, 36.

1

Introduction

In contemporary Okinawa, there are four distinct types of village settlement. The first and the most common is the village cluster. Houses are grouped in a central area, usually along or on both sides of a road, surrounded by farm lands and rice fields. The second, the shoe-string type, is less common. Here houses are lined along either side of a main street. The third is a here-and-there type of settlement. This has been called a yadori (Japanese) or yadui (Okinawan) village; translated as plantation, but this is too exalted a word.[1] These villages may have sub-settlements. Houses are scattered among intervening plots of cultivated land. In the fourth category are the modern improvisations: land formerly in forest, grass or shrub which has been reclaimed and used for houses and nearby cultivation, or former agricultural land now taken up for house sites, a result of increased population or of war time destruction of other parts of a village. 361 [311]

The basic type of Okinawan village is the cluster, a village small in area whose houses, close together, and on irregular winding lanes, are separated from one another by stone or rock walls, or by boundaries of trees or shrubs. The front part of the house compound usually is cut off from the road by a stone fence, running part way across, with the opening to the road obstructed by a stationary barrier, sometimes of stones, often of woven grasses. [351] [363]

In the village of a bygone age, there were large open spaces like a common on the outskirts "often appearing as glades in the forest." In this area, rice was laid out to dry, horse racing and other sports took place, the village council met, goods were bartered, justice administered, and festivals celebrated.[2] When approached from a distance, the older villages seemed literally buried in foliage. In the last century the larger villages still had rest huts (cung-qua) for travellers, usually government officials to use from one overnight stop to another. The older village also had a series of small buildings on stilts three to six feet long. These were granaries and food storehouses. Some houses were also on stilts. Older accounts have stressed the concealment of the Okinawan village, its houses separated from one another, its lanes lined or embowered with bamboo, with banana trees, or with arbors. To 36 175 [526] [35] [485] [343] [342]

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 48--GNALYST]

1 Higa, Shunchō. Structure of the Ryukyuan rural community. The Japanese journal of ethnology, 15 (1950), 63-66. In Japanese with English summary, 151.

2 The Luchu islands and their inhabitants, as cited, 457. See also Basil Hall, Account of a voyage of discovery to the west coast of Corea and the Great Loo-Choo island, 123, 124.

The village is one of a series of settlements in a long narrow valley, on a limestone plain, bordered on the east by a steep ridge, up to 300 feet in elevation and running in a northwest and southeast direction, which divides the valley from the sea. On these cliff like formations, large outcrops are covered with shrubs and miscanthus grass. Lanes and roads lead from the valley floor to the summits of these hills, where villagers collect their firewood and grass for roof thatch. On the rocky, steep slopes of this seaward ridge, above the line of cultivation, is the tomb area. Precipitous and stony hills prevent cultivation, but occasionally a sharp tongue of land reaches far up the slope, its end protected from the rains and wash by a short stone fence. 361 133 [137] [491] [824] [764] [417]

Between Oushichan and Hanashiro village, there is a bridge over a small stream, its upstream course obscured by its dispersion in the rice fields. The dirt road, gradually ascending, cuts through the main rice growing area of the village, on a gentle slope, reflected in the bench cultivation of the rice fields. Here and there are large rocks and stony outcrops, with an occasional scrub pine, cycad, or a covering of miscanthus. Cultivation goes around these large stones. 491 133 [243] [137]

The road, about one-fourth of a mile from the bridge, soon leads into what looks like, from a distance, a densely wooded area. This is the settlement. 361

With the exception of the rough stony land of the limestone mountains and steep slopes, the soils of the area are the Okinawa clay loams and the Chinen stony clays lying on the limestone plains. The farm and village area takes up approximately 427 acres, of which 257 are in gently sloping Okinawa clay loams, a deep, well drained, neutral to slightly acid and very fertile soil. Another five acres is of the same type but these are in slopes, of a gradient ranging from 8-15%. There are 80 acres in gently sloping Shuri clays, shallow, moderately fertile, an olive colored, crumbly, calcareous clay; another 35 acres in the Awase clays, deep fertile, crumbly, calcareous clay of olive-gray color, and 14 acres of rough stony land. 134 133 311

The hillsides and the summits are free of densely growing trees and shrubs, and the lowlands are given over to cultivation. There are no groves of trees to protect the crops from typhoons. The trees and the protection they give are confined to the village. This is typical of many villages of southern Okinawa, where the hills and mountains have few trees, and dense growths are associated with habitation. 311

Inside the village, winding lanes branch off the main dirt road. The older houses are on the north side of the road. On the opposite side, the houses, newer or rebuilt since the war, adjoin the cultivated area. In the older section, the dense shrubbery, the tree lined lanes, broken occasionally by stone fences, wind through the village with footpaths branching off, sometimes past an open field, a reminder of a failure to rebuild after the war. On the northern outskirts is the village office, its gong in the yard, the open field, a playground for the children. 361 363 [417] [487] [367]

361 The village is a group of houses, each with its own compound, and
351 these give it an inclosed look. There are few if any gardens or vegetable patches either in the compounds or within the village settlement.

363 The lanes resemble quiet winding country roads. The rock fences, or the lines of trees or shrubbery often conceal the houses. There is an appearance of loneliness in these lanes and roads, except at busy times of the day when the children return from school. The lack of commercial [482] activity, except for the women carrying rice on their heads to the mill [462] and for the small village stores, contributes to this impression of quiet, which one would expect from the routine of agriculture. At night, when [354] the doors are drawn, and when the flickering and smoky oil lamps are lit, the loneliness and quiet of the village is even more pronounced. The [493] lanes and the roads are deserted, save for an occasional passing truck, bicycle, or three wheeled cycle, and in one of the favorite words of all [192] Okinawans, the place is sabishii.[6]

366 Since there is little activity in the village other than farming,
368 neighboring villages and distant towns supply the additional needs. At nearby Gushichan village, there are the primary and junior high schools, the post office, the township and agricultural association offices, a barbershop, and some small stores. At Minatogawa, about one and one half miles away, there is a public bath, and across the river from this village, in Horikawa, an occasional play from the Okinawan stage, or a movie. Buses run through the village twice a day and one can make connections to Naha or Itoman, the two most likely places for buying [494] or selling. Or one can take the three wheeled cycles which pass through more frequently.

727 Physically, the village was much affected by the war. On June 11,
362 1945, the front line ran through the cultivated area between Hanashiro and Gushichan villages. Hill 95, the scene of fierce fighting was in the vicinity of Hanashiro.[7] One can still see an occasional tank track, abandoned helmets and scattered fragments of war materials in the fields. The village was affected by the war in ways which are now observable indirectly in the makeshift houses, improvised shacks, the roofs of half [355] tile and half thatch, the odd additions to the older buildings partly destroyed, and the lack of drain pipes and water catchment tanks. Houses, which to superficial appearance, have existed for generations, have been rebuilt since the war with grass substituting for the tile roofs. [311] War operations over the cultivated areas also resulted in some loss of land. A long mound in the rice areas, with paths along its ridge, was formerly a road built by the Americans in the final drive toward Mabuni. Almost all the houses in the village were destroyed.

6 This Japanese word suggests both loneliness and melancholy.

7 Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 437 (illustration), 434-42 on the struggle for Hill 95.

Since the war, the old narrow one lane roads have been broadened, permitting heavier auto traffic. Land ownership has been undisturbed, for it is not in an area in which the military has required land. Since the war, the villagers have tried to return to their former way of life, but this has been done with poorer houses and fewer possessions. 363 403 511

3

Minatogawa

Minatogawa, the second village studied, formerly was a shoe string type of settlement. Houses, shops, drinking places were along the seawall road. This pattern is now altered as a result of the war. Scattered areas have been relocated and houses built on lands formerly used for sweet potatoes. It is now an indeterminate type of village, retaining some indications of its old settlement pattern along the main road, with additions of clusters of houses in the newly settled areas. 361 [275] 311 [244]

Like Hanashiro, this village is in Gushichan township, and located on Highway 64. It is directly on the main historical road, previously mentioned, which led from Naha to the Chinen peninsula. The road, along which its houses are built, parallels for a distance the estuary of the small Minatogawa river. This narrow estuary, called Usaregawa, which connects the river mouth with the Pacific Ocean, and the small river itself (Yuhigawa) is a boundary between Gushichan and Tamagusuku townships. On either side there are steep cliffs, the sites of the best known stone quarries of Okinawa. 361 133 [491] [316]

The settlement and the adjoining lands have an area of about 256 acres. It is a mixed economy village with three distinct occupational groups: fishermen, stonecutters, and farmers. There is a second village whose borders blend with those of Minatogawa. These two villages are now known officially as Minatogawa-ikku and Minatogawa-niku. The two terms can be awkwardly translated as Minatogawa first ward, and Minatogawa second ward. But popularly they retain their older names: Minatogawa for the fishing village, and Nagamo for the agricultural second ward. These two separate but adjoining villages were until 1925 a single village. 621 463

The division was the result of distinct differences in outlook and occupation between the two sections. Minatogawa is a fishing village and has strong ties with Itoman, a town on the East China Sea shore about 4 1/2 miles away. Nagamo is an agricultural community originally settled from Naha and Shuri. Stone-cutting operations spread over both areas. While the fishing village of Minatogawa was given the emphasis in this study, it will be necessary occasionally to include Nagamo in the discussion.[8] [226] [241] [324] [128]

8 The writer did not realize until he lived here that two villages were involved, thinking that the two wards referred to a single administrative unit. By this time the work on Hanashiro had been well started, and time did not permit the intensive study of Nagamo. 114

133 Hanashiro and Oushichan villages to a broad semi-circular valley, the
361 Oushichan plain, with a gentle gradient sloping to the sea. Shortly before the coast is reached there is a sharper drop, and it is in this depression along the shore and the coastal strip that the fishing village lies.

134 The Okinawan clay loams and the Chinen stony clays are also the
133 predominating soils of the area. There are about 85 acres of the gently sloping clay loams, 155 acres of the gently sloping Chinen stony clays. While moderately fertile and well drained, these soils are also shallow and stony, with obvious defects for the pursuit of agriculture. There are 10 acres of deep, fertile poorly drained, slightly acid alluvial soils. These occur along the river and its estuary and in a small former river mouth to the south. There are about six acres in rough stony land.

731 The village has very little storm protection. There are no shelter
133 belts around it, nor are there many trees within. It is open to storms
417 and typhoons, and the water, lashed by the sea, is sufficient to break and scatter the large stones of the seawall. At present, inside the village there is none of the privacy typical of the agricultural villages and their compounds. There are few trees, shrubs, or fences. In the
361 older part of the village, the houses are closely set together. Fishing
351 nets hang on the lines of the yard. In season, the yard is covered with
227 drying fish, fish fins, and fish backs. The yards and the shore are dotted with men cleaning or repairing their boats.

362 The lack of natural beauty of the place is accentuated by the poor-
512 ness of the houses and the other buildings. Its atmosphere is unmistakably different. The village is more commercial and more lively than the quiet
484 and concealed agricultural village. Life is not so much of a routine, for much depends on the weather and the sea. The village has people who have travelled widely. Some of its fishermen have been in the waters of Java, of the South Seas, of the Andaman Islands, the Philippines, and Indo-China.

438 The village's main commercial contacts are with the remaining agricultural villages of the township from which it must obtain much of
[311] its food, for the area is not suited to agriculture, nor is much land available. For wider contacts, there are Itoman about 4 1/2 miles, and Naha about 8 1/2 miles away. Buses go through the village twice a day.
494 The three wheeled cycles are irregular but come and go more often. Fish
368 is sold at Naha. The theatre for the travelling troupe of actors from Naha and for movies is in Horikawa across the river. Many visits are
574 also made to Itoman to see relatives and friends.

The war was even more catastrophic for Hinatogawa than for Hanashiro.
727 Before the war, Hinatogawa was a thriving, prosperous and well built up small town. About 70% of its buildings had a tile roof and 30% had
[361] thatch roofs. There were about 30 stores, sake shops and drinking places, including a geisha house, along the road, serving the fishermen and the stonecutters. Of the 430 buildings in the area, only three were left

standing. At one time, the Hinatogawa beaches were seriously considered for the initial landings in Okinawa, and later as a possible second landing. After the campaign for the south had begun, Hinatogawa became a forward loading point.[10] The present village has been completely rebuilt, and the newer buildings, with few exceptions, are frail and undistinguished. The war shows its effects, too, on the southern part of the village where there is a barren acreage, formerly the site of an army camp, its top soil so shallow that the bulldozers in levelling it soon reached the rock beneath.

727 [362] [311]

Nearby Nagamo is a village of a different type. It is divided into two distinct quarters, also a result of the war. The old part formerly was to the north in the main stonecutting area, but following the destruction, a new settlement was started in the farm land a few hundred yards south. Cultivation is marginal on the shallow soil of the sloping valley before it descends into the flat coastal area in which the fishing village is located.

729 361 [134]

Hinatogawa, which means River Port, is a distinctive village reminiscent of the famous fishing town of Itoman, though without its size, beauty, or color.

103

4

Matsuda

Matsuda is a here-and-there type of village. The village area including the community owned forest is over a square mile. The countryside is dotted with several small sub-settlements. Within each sub-settlement, the houses also are scattered about and separated from one another by large trees, thick growths of shrubbery, grasses, stone fences, and cultivated fields.

361 [423] [311] [351]

The village is located in Ginoza township (Ginoza-son) on the northeast side of the island. This township is in the northern district (Kunigami, or Yambaru). The village is on Highway 13, which winds along the northeast coast through Ishikawa, Kin, Kanna, and Ginoza villages.

361 103 [491]

Though near the sea, a typical site of a northern Okinawan village, it is a settlement engaged in agriculture and forestry. Its name suggests its nature. Matsuda is a compound of the characters for pine tree, matsu, and rice field, ta, da. Though there is some fishing in the sub-settlements along the Pacific shore, it is casual and a part time occupation for farmers on the coast. The families exclusively

361 [241] [313]

226 463

[Text continues TOP of P. 55--Analyst]

10 The statistics on village destruction are taken from accounts of the villagers. They are estimates. For operations in this area, see Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 68, 74, 426-27, 436, 439.

226 engaged in fishing are permanent or transient families originally from
463 Itoman, a place name which comes up whenever fishing is mentioned anywhere in Okinawa. Agriculture and the care and utilization of the community forest make up the significant economic activities of the village.

162 Matsuda had a population of 1370 individuals (604 male, 766 female) as of November 30, 1951. There were, at this time, 243 households, an average of 5.6 persons per household. The village is said by local
361 residents and antiquarians to be about 600 years old. If the age is correct, it must be one of the older settlements in northern Okinawa. Before the war, this village was known as Kochiya.

173 Matsuda also has its lore regarding shipwrecks and foreigners. There are old men who believe Perry's party came to the village and that they left carvings on the top of a picturesque rock in the Burushii district along the coast, a not unbelievable story since the explorers certainly were not far from here.

Near the seashore, but in a very remote area, there is a natural bridge, concealed by large trees. Roots of the banyan grow through the
[137] thirty or forty foot drop from the top of the bridge until they find root in the soil below. On a ledge under this bridge, there are two
[164] old and open boxes which were used to collect the skulls and bones of unknown persons. Locally it is believed that they are the remains of shipwrecked sailors, possibly Hollanders. There are still 25 or 30 skulls there, and many of the bones are scattered on the ground. The place is seldom visited.

361 The village rests on low rolling hills. The combination of the
133 hills, the depressions, the caves and the sinks give the topography an uneven almost rugged character. There are few flat places and these are seldom wide. They are the narrow meadows or valleys between the hills.
241 The hilly nature of the surroundings determines to a large extent the
311 manner of cultivation, and historically probably has had much to do with the shapes of the individual parcels themselves. One does not see in this area the plains or small valleys with rice cultivation that is observed in Haneji township near Nago or around the island of U in Tamagusuku township, or even in the Hanashiro area of Gushichan township. In these communities, the normal pattern of cultivation is that the rice is on the lowlands, with the slopes and upland areas devoted to sugar cane, the sweet potato, or other crops, or left to native grasses. Here in the hundreds of small hills, all of these may be observed in close proximity, hard work and minute tillage comprising with the topography.

361 The village is subdivided into several distinct areas: (1) the main
311 part of the village where most of the houses, the village office, the small stores, the rice mill, the sawmill, the power plant, and the barbershop are located, (2) a reclaimed area known locally as the kaikon, newly settled and with a different type of land use due to the poorness of the land and to the fact that it is a deforested area, (3) a district near the sea coast and along the sea with scattered settlements, isolated houses, and some cultivation, and (4) the forest lands, which in the

traditional attitudes that the north was a culturally rude and physically inhospitable place. The highway which now goes through the center of the main part of the village is a good, hard surfaced, dirt road, widened since the war. A lively traffic of trucks and buses and the three wheels cycles contrasts with the narrow pre-war roads, traces and abandoned sections of which can still be seen. The frequent buses supply transportation to the larger cities and towns of the island: to Nago across the island and slightly to the north, to Ishikawa on the south, and to distant Naha, about 31 miles away.

Matsuda, unlike the southern villages, was not destroyed by the war. There were some air raids, some bombing out of the houses, but nothing like the destruction in the main areas of conflict. Early in the Okinawa campaign, the north was cut off and isolated and the struggle for the island took place in central and southern Okinawa. As a consequence, many of the old houses, sturdily built with tile roofs, have been preserved. Numerous refugees from the south gathered in this area during and after the campaign. In nearby Ginoza (Jinuza) village, slightly over a mile to the southwest, also on Highway 13, the Americans operated a hospital for Okinawan refugees. It is still in use. This relative lack of war destruction in the northern villages has, to a degree, reversed the roles of the north and the south. The opening up of the north, its prosperity, the survival of many of its old homes, give the impression of comfort and well being conspicuously lacking in most of the makeshift villages of the south.

The descriptions of these three villages perhaps make clear the diversity that can be expected among Okinawan settlements. Hanashiro, the small village cluster, with adjoining rice fields on the valley floor, its other crops on the terraced slopes, is the most typical. Minatogawa, the fishing village in an impoverished countryside of stony or shallow soil, is dependent on the seas and its catch for its livelihood and the wherewithal to buy the foods which cannot be grown in sufficient abundance. Matsuda, a collection of small settlements, scattered here and there from the coast inland, with its large preserve of community forest, is an example of agriculture in a forest setting, and of the use of the forest in daily living. This by no means exhausts the diversity. The village of Oku to the north, with its tea, its rice, its fences for wild boar protection, its cycads planted on the hillsides to prevent erosion, is still another example. But our task here is not to catalogue all diversity, but to indicate that it exists and to a much greater degree than would appear to superficial observation.

[602] of contemporary relationships. The family system does not mean only family life, or a set of obligations, or a family. It is all of these, and, in addition, a historical continuity. It is an institution in which the past is constantly intruding on the present and in which the present is a combination of acts to secure one's own livelihood and well-being as well as to perpetuate the family in the future. A simple [569] illustration will make this clear. One of the obligations of living members of a family is to observe the death anniversaries of close relatives. The last, the most important, and the most sumptuous of these observances occurs on the 33d year after the death of the relative who is mourned. Thus a grandson, most likely the first son of a first son, may end this period of memorial observances for a grandfather whom he may never have seen. There is a constant intrusion of obligations coming fro the past. These, often onerous and expensive, are honored in a positive manner.

In the present, conscious plans are made for the continuance of the family. These are achieved through three closely inter-related devices: [591] the succession of the first son to his father's house and, on his marriage, taking up residence at the father's home, the system of inheritance which [428] favors the first son, and the establishment of branch households for othe sons, awarding them, if the family's wealth permits, a house site and fie for cultivation.

In this way, the continuance of the main line and collateral branches of the family is provided for. If we pursue the illustration of inheritance a little further, we can think of the division of the land as an [428] expression of the family system applied to the use and to the sharing of the available natural resources. The system of agriculture, the scat- [311] tered ownership of small holdings, the attempts at land conservation and reclamation are best understood as reflections of duties and obligations to the present and future generations in the family system. If they are not seen in this way, they may appear to be isolated practices best discussed as techniques or as aspects of law and custom.

Not only in family observances but in public holidays as well, the [327] subtle influences of the family system can be observed. Public holidays and festivals are centered on two main themes, sometimes both together: [569] thanksgiving for good crops and reverence for those who have passed away. The holiday of O-Bon in the seventh lunar month, in which the departed dead are invited to return for a visit to the homes of their living descendants and the celebrations at lunar New Year are good examples of this.

[582] In village life, the family system is strengthened by the high incidence of intermarriage among local kinship groups. A general lack [621] of mobility in the villages studied has also led to the increase of immediate relatives living in the same village. This lends to community, and even to local government some of the characteristics of a wider family life. The establishment of branch families in the village of their parent

593 in a military installation which keeps them away from their homes, they
remain there, helping in the fields, or go out on the fishing boats, as
[582] the case may be. If a son other than the first remains in the family
after the age of marriage, it is generally for some physical or mental
disability. Under the normal operation of the family system, there is
591 no time in a person's life in which he is not part of some family unit
and living in the same house with his parents, an elder brother, or
with a wife and his children, or with his grandchildren.

727 The war enforced many exceptions to this normal life cycle, as the
593 discussion of the previous table brought out: conscription and military
service, deaths in battle or as a consequence of the campaign, widow-
hood and the orphaning of children. In the villages studied, the post-
war situation was not disrupting family life further by the movement of
younger unattached men to Naha or the larger towns, or by their separatio
from daily life while doing work for military camps. At least it was not
sufficiently frequent to result in a deterioration of normal family life.
591 In these villages branch families were established for the most part
in the village of the parent family. There are two reasons for this:
first, the desire to remain near the parents and siblings, and second,
[423] that the property which the father, or elder brother, has at his disposal
is normally real property and land holdings in the village. Cash, which
[435] agricultural or fishing family might have at its disposal, would usually
be insufficient at present prices for a second or succeeding son to be
given money to purchase land and a house site elsewhere. Occasionally a
[425] father sells land in the village to provide his son with money to purchas
a house site and fields elsewhere, but this is not usual.

The mechanics of establishing a branch household may be illustrated from practices observed in each of the villages, though the procedure is essentially the same.

Hanashiro is a settlement in the center of a cultivated area of dry
[361] field farming and rice paddies. The cultivated area begins on the outer
rim of the village. The father, or the elder brother, gives a field
(hatake in Japanese) to the son, or younger brother, if it is suitable
for a house site. If the land owned is too far away--there are no
[425] isolated homesteads--an effort is made to exchange with a neighbor, frie
or relative, the far off property for a parcel closer in. If this is
not possible, the remote piece is sold and the proceeds used to purchase
a suitable plot in the residential area. If the family is too poor to
[426] give money or land, an attempt may be made to borrow the money for pur-
chase. If none of these arrangements is possible, the son may simply
start out on his own, or less commonly, may live with his wife in the
home of his parents, or delay his marriage. But it is uncommon for a
second or succeeding son and his wife and children to live in the house
of the parents or of the elder brother.

311 In this way, the residential area gradually replaces the cultivated
591 areas which surround it. One consequence of the establishment of branch
families in agricultural villages is that it gradually decreases the

arable land available for cultivation. House sites cannot be set up on rocky or mountain land away from the village. Whether on the island as a whole the increase in population, the repatriation and the stoppage of large scale emigration will in the future seriously diminish the amount of land available for agricultural uses is an interesting question, but there certainly is a direct relationship between population growth and land taken up with house sites.[5] Not only will a growing population enforce greater demands on the land, but it will inevitably cut down on the amount. 311 591 [161]

Among the fishermen of Minatogawa, there is a little more fluidity in the establishment of branch families. There are seldom enough lands to subdivide, and only about 50% of the fishermen own land in addition to their house site. The branch household is established according to the son's taste, and the father may give money if he can afford it so the son can set himself up in Itoman, Naha, or elsewhere. The usual procedure here is to give land in a former agricultural area of the village, land which was developed in the southern part of the village as a result of the destruction of the war in other parts. Here formerly arable land was taken over directly for residential use. 591 423 [311]

In Matsuda, it is possible to use newly developed areas. This community, unlike the other two, is a series of sub-settlements. In two of these, branch families have settled, one near the seashore, and the other on reclaimed forest land. In both of these areas, the pattern of settlement is different; the clusters of houses give way to the scattered houses, some standing out alone on the top of a knoll or hill, some near the forested slopes of the hillside. In these areas, there is an atmosphere of pioneer settlement. As in Hanashiro, the buying of near land and the selling of far off land and exchange of land are practiced. Since the reclaimed area is considered to be less productive and less desirable, the poorer families are able to purchase land here for their second sons. 591 361 [425]

5

The Pivotal Importance of the First Son

The key person in the family system is the first son. He normally succeeds to the house at the death or retirement of his father. The father may not legally retire before 60. In rare cases--none were encoun- 593 596

5 In general, house and village sites are on arable land, but the quality of this land naturally varies from place to place. See any of the 11 sheets of the Okinawan Soils Map and the discussion in the Remarks column of the legend with reference to the types of soils on which village sites are found.

423 form of fields or of house sites so they may establish branch families.

(3) The inheritance and the division of land cannot be considered abstractly. It is in this area that custom and individual desire have the greatest play. A village farmer does not simply have land. Normally he has a series of scattered land holdings, varying in area, type, and productivity. A farmer does not have a compact area of rice or sweet potato land which can be easily subdivided, but a few small rice plots, of varying grade, some fields for growing sugar cane, sweet potatoes, or vegetables--also of varying grades--and parcels of genya land from which he gets firewood, grass for his thatched roof, or feed for his animals. When speaking of inheritance and division of land, one should think in concrete terms of the various types and grades of land subject to disposition. Under these circumstances, it is meaningless to say that an Okinawan farmer has an average of so many acres of land unless we are prepared also to add its category of productivity or use. The mechanics of land division are therefore directly related to land use and to the fragmentation of land.

(4) There is a tendency to give the second and other sons the scattered holdings and to subdivide these parcels if they are large enough, preserving the land closer to the house site or parcels that adjoin one another for the head of the house.

(5) Generally speaking, the first son does not subdivide a specific parcel of land with his brothers. He will take a whole piece as his own, leaving other parcels to be subdivided among his brothers.

425 (6) Inherited land can be sold, but the customarily approved reasons for doing so are few. This applies with special force to the holdings of the first son. Property can be disposed of without the sale being considered dishonorable when it is associated with a change of occupation involving moving to another place, or with acute economic distress. A man who decides to give up farming and to move his family to the city may sell his land; a man who is physically unable to work his land and has no children of sufficient age to help him may sell his land and set up a village store; a widow with minor children, already in debt, may sell her property. Sellers consult with the members of the extended family who live in the same or in nearby villages and only sell with the consent and advice of these relatives. This is conspicuously true of widows.

(7) If the first son dies without issue, he is replaced by the second son who becomes head of a house. If the first son is in a foreign country, the second son at home lives in the house, but this does not endanger the succession rights of the first son abroad. If the first son returns, he succeeds to his house, and the second or other sons living in the house will be obliged to set up a branch family. Occasionally, a second son remains in the main family, even though he cannot succeed to the house; this is during the minority of a deceased elder brother's first son who will take over the house when he is of age.

(8) Inheritance practices tend toward a slow but continuous fragmentation of land due to the need of establishing branch households. This tendency toward fragmentation is seldom overcome by reversing the process in favor of some form of land consolidation. The major obstacles to consolidation will be dealt with in the next chapter. Fragmentation is more likely to occur in the holdings of the more well-to-do who have property to divide. Among the very poor, whose holdings are small and scattered, there is an enforced primogeniture. It is not possible to divide land indefinitely. The smaller a piece of land, the more likely it will be surrounded by land owned by others, and these isolated islands are difficult either to sell or trade. 428 423 [565]

(9) Among the fishermen of Hinatogawa, practices applied to real, personal, and movable property, are similar to those of the agricultural villages (nōson). Here the influence of the family system is more on the disposition of personal than of real property, but the effects, if not the rewards, are similar. If a fisherman has dry crop fields--there is no rice land--the elder son receives all, or most of the land. All informants stressed the weight of the individual desire of the father, whose division of property is influenced by the spirit, sobriety, and dependability of his sons. Here there is also the same social disapproval of selling inherited land. The fishermen attempt to supply second sons with small boats, nets, hooks, and other gear, just as the farmer attempts to give land, domestic animals, and agricultural tools. With the very poor, second and third sons may have to be content with nothing or with a few articles of clothing. Among those fishermen who have land, the principle is established that the first son gets the greater part, if not all, of the real property. 428 423 422 [425]

3

Mechanics of Land Division

Ownership is scattered; individuals own different types of land in varying proportions and in varying grades within types. Plots of land are small in area. Rice plots are normally the smallest, followed in general in ascending order by dry crop fields, and the wild land (genya). It is from such conditions as these that the difficulties in fairness of division arise. 423 311

The following illustrations show the manner in which division is usually carried out. Let us for simplicity first assume four parcels of land:

#1, a house site
#2, a parcel of 700 tsubo third grade dry crop land (hatake)
#3, 500 tsubo of grade one dry crop land, inconvenient and far away from the home, and
#4, 1000 tsubo of grade two hatake.

428 A possible distribution is shown in the following diagram. (Fig. 1) In this arrangement, the first son gets the house site and parcel #4. The second son gets 600 tsubo of the 700 tsubo in parcel #2. The third son gets 600 tsubo in two different places, 100 from parcel #2 and all of parcel #3.

423 311 Now let us take a more complicated situation, one that more closely parallels an actual division. The land of the head of the house is distributed in the following plots:

#1 19 tsubo of first grade rice land. This is a minute holding, roughly equivalent to a rectangle 20' x 34'. The fact that it is first class paddy and very small indicates that it is a rice seed bed (naidoko).

#2, 3, 4 are parcels of rice land, second grade, of 150 tsubo each.

#5 A plot of 3d grade rice land, 300 tsubo.

#6 A plot of 150 tsubo of dry farm land (hatake). This is first grade, but far from the house and in a different area from other family holdings.

#7 One plot of 2d grade dry farm land, 350 tsubo of medium quality but close in.

#8 A plot of 500 tsubo of dry farm land, 4th grade, hence rather poor, but close to the house.

#9 A plot of 400 tsubo dry farm land, 5th grade and barely usable for cultivation, almost like genya land.

428 423 The possible distribution is shown in Fig. 2. In this arrangement, the first son gets the house site, the seed bed (#1) and the three nearby rice fields (#2,3,4), the 500 tsubo of 4th grade dry crop land (#8), and the 350 tsubo of grade 2 dry crop land (#7). The second son receives 150 tsubo of rice land through the subdivision of plot #5, 150 tsubo of first grade dry crop land (#6), and one-half of the 400 tsubo of fifth grade dry crop land (#9). The third son gets the second half of the rice plot (#5), and the second half of the dry crop land (#9).

Summarized, the totals are:

	Total Tsubo*	Rice (Ta)	Dry Crop Land (Hatake)
Total	2169	769	1400
First Son	1319	469	850
Second Son	500	150	350
Third Son	350	150	200

[809] * A tsubo is about four square yards

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ECONOMICS OF LAND DIVISION

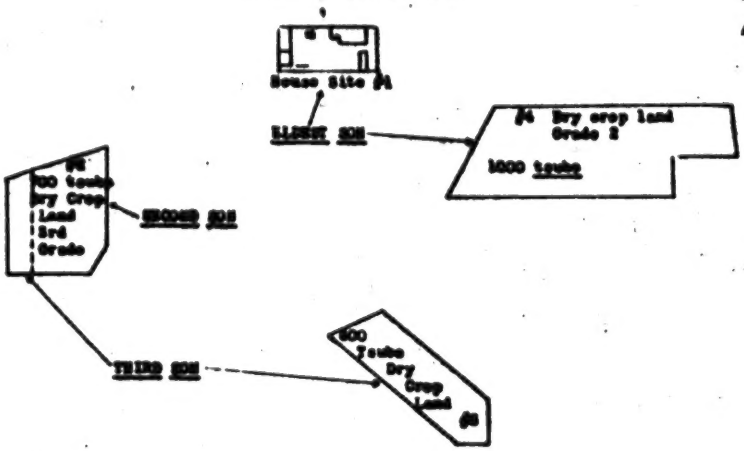

Fig. 1

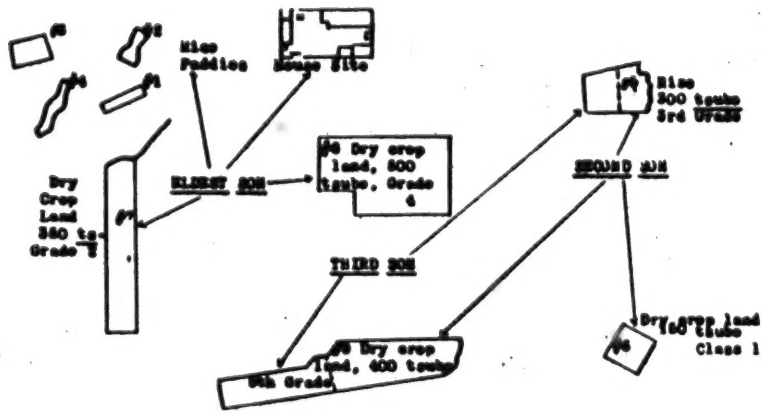

Fig. 2

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134 In Hanashiro, The genya
[824] grass and shrub are essential as a substitute for firewood. In Matsuda with large areas of community owned forest, this genya is not so important to the individual family.

428
311 In considering the inheritance of land, it is essential to understand that a family needs different types of land. Not everyone has rice paddies, but parcels of dry crop land and genya in the south are necessary to existence.

428
593 If the practices of these three villages are indicative of the division of family holdings in general, the first son obtains between 50% and 60% of the land in addition to the house site. The remainder is divided, often equally, among the other sons. In the poorer families, if the sons are widely spaced, there may be enough left over for the second son, but when the third son reaches marriageable age, there may be nothing for him. Instances of this type were observed in the village. One young farmer of Minatogawa, a third son, said he received nothing, and set out by himself, first through wages, and then through small purchases to acquire his present modest land holdings.

This discussion may suggest a greater rigidity in the system of inheritance than is actually the case. It may give the impression of a series of families headed by the first son with most of the property and with younger sons and their branch families struggling along on what land can be spared for them. There has been, for historical reasons, more fluidity than this. The large number of heads of families who themselves are not first sons indicates that many second to fifth sons as well as daughters ultimately come into control of a family estate.

There have been four main reasons for this. (1) Emigration of first sons before they became of age. They left to earn a living in foreign countries to support their parents in the villages, became established and postponed to an indefinite future their return to Okinawa. Since the end of the war, according to relatives who are living in the village, many of these have no intention of ever returning except to visit. (2) Deaths of first sons without issue, and the succession of other sons or daughters. (3) Heavy war losses, especially of males. Some of these naturally were first sons, opening the way for the succession of young widows or second sons in the case of the unmarried first sons. (4) Deaths from catastrophes like typhoons, and in the case of Minatogawa, the losses of fishermen at sea.

428
602 Inheritance practices with private ownership of land follow logically
182 from the family system. They are a means of providing the economic base by saving the estate for future generations, at the same time providing where possible for sons not in the direct line of succession. Inheritance is a connecting link between the family system and land use and land tenure. Present land use and land tenure are an interesting example of the modifications that a system of social organization, the family system, has made on the natural environment.

175 423 592 Under this old system, when a branch family was established upon the marriage of a son other than the first, his share was made available to him, although it is not clear whether he received this as a legal right, or whether, at each redistribution the father received the branch family share, later passing it on for the use of the son. In any case, provision under the old system was made for branch families in the redistribution just as in contemporary Okinawa this land is supplied, where possible, out of the private holdings of the father. The old and the new illustrate the operation of the family system under two types of land tenure.

175 423 311 Both in the Gushichan area and in Matsuda, there was agreement that the system applied only to rice lands and to dry crop land. House sites were not included in the biennial, quadrennial, or decennial redistribution. Neither were the parcels of genya land which were reserved for tomb areas (bochi, or haka). The forest lands (sanrin) or the genya lands were also communally owned. The reclamation or much of genya land in Okinawa for agricultural uses seems to be a late development, probably a direct consequence of the increase of the island's population. Fifty years ago the island of Okinawa was more heavily forested than it is now. This applies even to the south, if the statements of old people resident in the area can be accepted. Both in the northern and southern communities, pine stands in the forest and in the genya land were publicly owned, and there was a system of tree allotment. Trees, in the publicly owned areas, could be cut according to the number of [313] shares of land one had. Then in September and October of each year, each family replanted a number of trees equivalent to the number it had taken.

In these redistributions, apparently the land was not allotted to individual families directly, but first allotted to family groups (kumi) and then in turn to the individual families. There were special [571] allotment groups (jiwari-gumi). It is not clear whether this initial distribution to groups and then to individual families was universal in Okinawa, as this information comes only from Gushichan township.

This system of community ownership, with periodic allotment of rice and dry crop land, naturally called for a system of land classification. Excellent land was rare; good land was not plentiful, poor land was most abundant. The topography was rough and all good land was not in the same

1 (continued from previous page) intervals, the amount in proportion to the number of family members and their work and tax-paying capacities. It was called ji-wari (land-division). Peasants had no right to possess land, but only the right to cultivate, and taxes were imposed upon a village as a whole, not upon individuals." Higa, Shuncho. Structure of the Ryukyuan rural community. The Japanese journal of ethnology, 15 (1950), No. 2, 63-66. English summary (from which this is taken), p. 151.

place. Then, as now, paddy and dry crop land might lie together, depending upon local factors. In the periodic redistribution, each family received shares of each in non-contiguous fragmented parcels. In the nature of things, they received small shares of the excellent, moderate shares of the good, and large holdings in poor land. 175 423 311

The old classification of lands was simple and did not go beyond three general divisions of good, fair, and poor. Apparently the Japanese after 1879 introduced more refinements and increased the number of classifications to six. Land classification, then as now, was empirical. It was based on observation, local knowledge of present and past yields, and known dangers to the land. It was not based on scientific knowledge of the soils, nor is it today. 175 311 [177] [242]

Several dangers to land and crops were considered: (1) the danger of the wild boar (inoshishi). These reddish brown wild boars have disappeared from large parts of Okinawa, though occasionally one is seen in the northern forest. The boars destroyed crops by night feeding. Remnants of old fences can still be seen in the area around Matsuda. In Oku, in the extreme north, fences are still used and many can be seen along the hillsides. (2) Dangers from floods and salt water spray. Local flooding is common and often confined to a narrow area. Salt water spray and salt water in the air, especially in typhoon times, are still menaces to crops. The danger from typhoons did not enter directly into the determination of land classification because the area of destruction was so wide that it was not a factor distinguishing one plot from another. (One can however observe areas of differential damage in a village as an aftermath of typhoons). 175 241 [136] [417] [731]

This old land allotment system is now forgotten except in a few isolated areas where its main features are still apparently preserved. The best known of these is Kudaka Island off the southeastern shore of Okinawa. If the system has disappeared, except for a few isolated survivals, its influence remains to the present: it determined the pattern of land use still in effect today, the pattern of small, discontinuous parcels, and set the precedents for the mechanics of land classification. The basic classifications such as rice land, dry crop land, community forest were Japanese and are of great age. The old land allotment system is also considered to be of great antiquity.[2] 178 423 [189] [177]

2 It was a matter of considerable disappointment that I was unable to spend two or three weeks on Kudaka to study the land system there. Neither has time permitted an investigation (of great inherent interest) of the historical antecedants of the old Okinawan system. Land classification, such as we will be discussing in the next chapter, is very old in Japanese culture. The old Okinawan system bears some resemblances to the "mouth-share-land" (ku-bu-den) system of old Japan which appears in the Taihō code (702 A.D.). This was a system of distribution of communally owned land, but I have not been able to determine whether the distribution was periodic. See Wigmore, J. H. and Simmons, D. B. Notes on land tenure and local institutions in old Japan. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 19 (1891), 77 on land classification, (continued on next page)

Goldschmidt then remarks that the peasant in the last years of his possession thought only of the parcel to come in the next allotment and did nothing for his land, and that in consequence its productivity fell. There was private ownership at that time only of newly reclaimed land or land filled in along the seashore, and this land went to the person who had done the work. The Japanese, when they abolished the system, divided land among families by number of members and since this time large holdings have not been created. Goldschmidt adds that "the land still suffers now from the consequences of this old system."[4] 175 423

To discover precisely the nature of the influences of the old system cannot be done with accuracy because of the destruction of local records, the vagueness of recollection among the old and of the inability to reconstruct old boundaries. What follows therefore is partly speculative, but nevertheless useful in suggesting the reasons for the present shapes and areas of individual land parcels. One of the striking aspects of the land maps of these areas is the odd and irregular shapes of land holdings. This is not true of all Okinawa. In some areas, plots on the hillsides are symmetrical, often rectangular or square. In the areas studied, there are plots of this sort, but also many that have very irregular shapes. 174 423 423

It is possible that after the abolition of the old system, some areas in the island were resurveyed, while others were not. Such surveys could have approximated the old areas but created a more regular rectangular pattern. In Hanashiro resurveying apparently was not done. The historical reasons for the present boundaries are not known because of decades of cultivation and because the land has not always been used for the same purposes. One of the large rice growing areas in Hanashiro is a recent development. The changes from paddy to dry crop land, or the reverse, seem to have followed the fluctuations in sugar and rice prices. It was quite probable that formerly the land was less level, that it was more heavily forested, and that odd shapes were due to the cultivated areas winding around large outcrops, patches of stony land, clumps of trees, uncultivated slopes which have now been reclaimed, leveled and cultivated. 174 423 [435]

Conditions like this are a commonplace in Okinawa today. Some of these boundaries also may be following the lines of old streams. Rivers, or more properly creeks, are not numerous in Okinawa and their presence is often hidden: a stream rising in a nearby mountain and ultimately going to the sea eight or ten miles away may be lost in a wide paddy area and trickle off again in its stream bed after several hundred feet of dispersion in the paddies. The boundaries may also 174 423 [133]

4 Goldschmidt, Richard. Neu-Japan. Berlin, 1927, 131. (My translation). The same criticism appears of the system in the middle east. See footnote 2 above.

174 423 have been affected by roads and trails which have now disappeared.

Old residents[5] of Matsuda and neighboring villages were able to [115] furnish more specific clues regarding the old system and its relation to other phases of village life. These old people estimated the population of Matsuda at the close of the old system at about 360 [161] persons, compared with the present population of 1368. The system operated under much less acute population pressure than exists today. Deaths, especially from malaria, and a high infant mortality kept [165] the population down, although introduced Japanese hygienic measures helped.

Under the old system in Matsuda, there was a continual clearing [311] of land, mostly around the settlement. There seems little doubt that land reclamation and clearing has been going on slowly from the earliest historical times in Okinawa. The land cleared remained under village ownership, but the persons who cleared the property were allowed to hold it for use without giving it up for periodic redistribution. Technical ownership remained with the village.[6] Fences and stone barriers were erected as a protection against the wild boar. But the large scale reclamation and the private ownership of genya land seems to have occurred after the close of the old system.

The dividion of lands at the beginning of the new system has set the boundary pattern of many plots. In Matsuda there were instances of land which has retained the same boundaries that it had under the old system. There was general agreement among the old that the form, boundaries, and areas of land plots have changed very little since the times of the jiwari-seido. This would be par- [428] ticularly true in the case of property which had passed down through the first son. Changes came from the establishment of branch families, [425] and sales and purchases. In these areas, however, buying and selling have been infrequent.

175 423 [171] The history of land tenure in Okinawa, therefore, is different from that of Japan with its long history of tenancy, whose accumulated problems finally led to the land reform of 1946 during the Allied occupation. The present system of land tenure in Okinawa is a little over 50 years old.

178 423 311 The chief influences of the old system were to set in a form recognizable to the present, the pattern of land holding, to establish land classification, and apply it on a very localized basis.

[115] 5 I am indebted here to Shinzato Zensuke of the village of Sokei (Ginoza-son), and to Oshiro-san of Matsuda village (Ginoza-son) both over 70 years of age for their recollections of the history of the system in Matsuda.

[114] 6 This differs from Goldschmidt's account, cited above, in that in this case the land became a usufruct, in the other actual ownership.

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[217]

Every parcel of land with its grade and type is mapped, a thoroughness in land classification which has not yet been approached in the United States. While the mapping is recent, the information was always available in the village records. Village owned lands are also a survival of this system, especially the forests in the north. Community owned property is much more modest in area in the south and confined to small parcels of forest or pre-war forest, school and public building sites, community ponds, and the like.

2

Present Land Tenure and Land Classification

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The present method of land holding based on Japanese law went into effect at the end of the old land allotment system. The head of the family registered all lands, previously held as shares, in his own name. Apparently in the last distribution before the abandonment of the old system, men and women over 52 years of age received their property for life with the right to pass it on to their children. At the beginning of the new system, also, the wild land was still publicly held, but further clearing and reclamation got under way, and the genya land also began to be divided up and became part of private holdings about ten years after the new land law went into effect.

[888]

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The new system of private ownership of land introduced buying and selling (baibai), tenancy (kosaku), and land speculation. There had been some tenancy under the old system apparently however it was on a village basis with one community renting from another. There has therefore been insufficient time to develop in Okinawa the widespread abuses associated with the Japanese land tenure system prior to the land reform of 1946.[7]

In all the villages studied, individual ownership is the rule with some informal tenancy. Now an owner is not paid for the use of his land, the result of a Civil Administration measure to encourage maximum food production. Tenancy, as it was observed in the villages was usually an informal lending of the land: the use by a friend, relative, or neighbor of an unused plot.

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The present system of land use and land tenure is a result of practices and customs developed under the old allotment system, combined with the introduced Japanese system of inheritance. The family system plus these two influences have brought about the modern customs of land inheritance, the distinctions in types of land, and the fragmentation and lack of contiguity in holdings.

7 Based on conversations with villagers in Hatsuda. Uyehara, Yukuo made the same point in accounting for the low percentage of tenancy and the high percentage of independent farmers in Okinawa-ken, Ryukyu Islands, Japan. Economic Geography 9 (1933), 395-405. Reference on 399.

[115]

311 Land appraisal made by people with long experience with the
[242] capabilities of their soils under traditional methods of farming, fertilization, and land reclamation is very old in the culture. This in itself is a very significant fact about the culture aside from the obvious technical utility of a land classification system.
[556] Land classification is important as a tangible indication of wealth
[651] as appraised by representatives of the village. This classification is the basis of taxation of land. A grade two rice paddy pays a lower tax than a grade one. The system of land classification also
[433] provides a basis for estimating probable yields.

Township officials are responsible for land classification on
[632] a township basis, but each village does its own. In Gushichan township (Hanashiro and Hinatogawa) the elected mayor and his appointed subordinates and local farmers who know the land well have set up the system based on classes and grades of land. In Ginoza-son, the mayor performs a similar function. Since each village has its land classification, a table of correspondences makes possible the comparison of equivalent grades. A composite system for the township can then be made. Grade three rice land in Matsuda, for example, may be equivalent to grade two rice land in Ginoza village. By listing all these together, a village wide classification is made.

The main classifications (tōkyū) of land found in all communities are: (1) Rice lands, (ta, tambo), (2) dry crop land (hatake). It is very difficult to translate the word hatake. So far the expression dry crop land has been used. This land may be contrasted with the wet rice fields; it is dry farming land, usually on rolling slopes or upland. It is land used for cultivation of domestic plants except rice and one or two other minor crops. Rice and dry crop land are the two main classes. (3) Genya land. This word is also difficult to translate. It is variously rendered as wild or waste land, but it is neither wild nor wasteland in an economic sense. It is best described negatively as land not suited for cultivation. Despite its low value, it is important land for its production of grass, reeds, firewood and plant shoots for domestic animals. It is vital in land
[185] conservation. The genya land, sometimes on steep or gentle mountain slopes, sometimes cropping out in the midst of cultivated fields or rice paddies, with its dense growth of grass, its occasional pine tree or cycad effectively binds the soil and prevents disastrous run off and flash floods. Around the village of Hanashiro, genya land is rocky and most of its vegetation consists of grass with some shrubs. Before the war, this genya land had more pine and cycads than at present, and the disappearance of the cycad and pine furnished greater opportunity for the omnipresent miscanthus, though there are occasional regrowths of the pine. In Matsuda, the genya land often is indistinguishable from the forest. But the trees are less dense and the privately owned genya is interspersed with the small cultivated paddies and fields. (4) House sites (yashiki, takuchi). There are usually two classes: the first class site is convenient and on a main road or lane; the second class is inconvenient, a rear house, or one

off a main road or village lane. (5) Forest lands (sanrin). This is an important classification in Hatsuda, but of minor significance in Hanashiro and Minatogawa. In the latter villages forest land is not recognizable because so many of the trees have been destroyed. In general, forest lands are community owned. (6) Shelter belts or groves of trees along the seashore or on crests of hills for typhoon protection. These are known as bōfurin. The trees are distinct from the forest lands; often they stand in isolated groves. In the south trees for typhoon shelters are confined to the settled area. There are no large groves surrounding and protecting the whole cultivated countryside. (7) Religious sites (haisho). These are small in area, the sites of buildings devoted to the local tutelary deities (ujigami). (8) The village community property (kuyuchi). This may include the village office site and school grounds. (9) A miscellaneous classification (zashuchi). This is also public property, including vegetable plots, small public squares, very small parks, ponds, road meeting places and the like. These combined areas are usually small. (10) In the Gushichan area, there is one further classification: destroyed land (tsuborechi). This is land in the war area which has not been or cannot be restored. The pieces are not large. During the war a bulldozer may have made a road out of this land; it may be filled with stones or the shallow top soil of the land may have been scraped off in leveling for an army post or camp. 311 [127]

The bases for grading land within each class are different. In Gushichan township, the main consideration in grading rice land is the availability of water. First class rice land is where the water is. In this township, there are seven grades of rice land, although any one village may have only four or five. The first five grades in the township are rice lands with two yields a year. Grades one through five are determined by the yield of the plot, through past experience. Grades six and seven are one crop areas. The distinctions between the grades can be seen in the following table: 311 243 [312]

Grade of Rice Land	Expected Yield in Koku per Cho
1	24
2	18
3	15
4	12
5	7.5
6	6.7
7	6.0

[433]

A koku is 5.12 US dry bushels. A chō is 3000 tsubo, about 2.45 acres. [804]

If there is a drought in any year, the grades of land are not changed the following year, but the estimate of expected yield may

311 243 be lowered. If the rainfall is unusually low, the estimated yields may even be cut in half. Grade differences are also shown by the Oushichan tax table on rice land:

[651]

Class	Rate in Yen (per tsubo)
1	37
2	34
3	31
4	28
5	25
6	22
7	19

311 The grading of dry crop land is not so simple because various crops can be grown and there are difficulties in making equivalences of yields. The grading is more subjective and vague, with gradations based on the judgment of the land committee. It might seem that the grades of dry crop land based on subjective judgment would be difficult to agree upon. This is not the case. Farmers who have lived in the village all their lives, and who as children remembered the experience of their fathers, know their own and their neighbors' land well. Representatives from the village who suggest the grades are chosen by the farmers for their honesty, skill in agriculture, and knowledge of the land.

311 134 133 Depth of the soil, flatness, degree of stoniness and accessibility are the most important criteria. The first three of these follow naturally from conditions widespread in Okinawa. There often is very little topsoil. One can observe cuts in roads or sharp declivities which show soils only an inch or two deep before meeting the consolidated or unconsolidated rock below. The hilly and mountainous nature of the island enforces cultivation on slopes, summits, and rolling hills. Stoniness, whether large boulders or small pebbles or both is common. One of the occupations of the old in Minatogawa and Nagamo is to convert stony to arable land by tediously picking up the stones and throwing them into piles for subsequent sale in road building. But often the boulders are so large that cultivation must curve around them. These conditions can be seen to good advantage in Nagamo. In Hanashiro, the soils are flatter, less stony, and deeper. Matsuda has wide areas of poor shallow and stony soils. First class hatake land, then, is flat, deep, with few or no stones, and suitable either for sugar or the sweet potato and the various common vegetables.

[887] [241]

311 With this standard of first class hatake land, the other grades are judged, mostly by inspection and through consultation and agreement by the committee. In the Oushichan township, there are ten such grades of hatake land, the tenth grade being so poor that it is virtually genya land. In dry crop land, probably the most important

single criterion is nearness, providing the land has possibilities. Good land, unless of substantial area, if remote and far from roads, is very time consuming and inconvenient. 311

Genya land in the Gushichan area has two grades. The criterion here is the presence of grass and small shrubs that can be used for firewood. Grade two genya grows little or nothing either because of the large boulders or because it has too many small stones or unconsolidated rock with little vegetation. If it were not for stones or such topographical factors as steepness or ruggedness, some genya land could be classified as poor grade dry crop land. There are, as in rice land, tax differentials according to grade of hatake and genya land: [824] [134] [133]

Grade	Dry Crop Land Tax in Yen	Wild Land (Genya) Tax in Yen
1	13	2
2	12	1.80
3	11	
4	10	
5	9	
6	8	
7	7	
8	6	
9	5	
10	4	

[651]

In Ginoza-son, the land classification system is substantially the same. There are six different grades of land classified according to yield in go per tsubo. (A go is 1/1000 of a koku, a tsubo about 4 square yards). [809]

Grade	Yield	Remarks
1	5	Two annual plantings.
2	4	Two annual plantings.
3	3	Dependent entirely on amount of estimated rainfall.
4	2	
5	1.5	
6	1.0	Mountain paddy, very uncertain, depending on rainfall; occasionally two crops a year are possible.

[433] [241]

Dry crop land is judged by criteria similar to those in Gushichan-son. Grade 1 is good soil and convenient to water with good yields as shown by experience. Grades 2 and 3 are convenient to water, but soils are of lesser quality. The classification is also based on experience. Grade 4 is in low places, generally narrow ravines between steep wooded slopes. Grades 5 and 6 have little or no water, are stony, and inconvenient. [134] [312] [133]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

311 Land classification in Okinawa proceeds from the village to the township and then to the whole island. Each class of land in a village has its own grade. By combining these grades a township classification is made. This is done first by village committees determining the grades for each of their classes of land, and then by setting up a table of equivalences after discussion by the committee representing the whole township. Matsuda's first grade dry crop land might be considered by the land classification committee to be equal in quality to Ginoza village's second class land. While there might be only six classifications for any one village, when all these are combined, there may be ten grades for the township. This is shown by the table of correspondences for Matsuda and neighboring villages in Ginoza-son, as of November 1951.

In this illustration, Matsuda's first class rice land is considered second grade on a township wide basis; its sixth grade dry crop land is grade nine, and its first and second class houses are by comparison, grades three and four in the whole township.

311 623 632 With minor variations, the procedures in classifying land are the same in both townships. Each village makes the classification of its own land. This is done by five villagers, chosen by the people for their knowledge and integrity. In Gushichan township, village experts are designated to serve on the township committee.[8] Seven men from the villages are joined by the mayor (sonchō), the vice-mayor (joyaku), the trade and industry section head, the agricultural section head of the township office, a total of eleven men, who then determine the township classifications. These committees make inspections of doubtful cases, often after working hours. The field trips usually end [574] up with a sake party.

In Ginoza-son essentially the same procedures are followed. Each village sends representatives, the number being determined by the area of the village. In late 1951, this village-wide committee had 24 members with the township mayor as chairman. Each village prepares its own land classification map. The local classifications, later combined to make a township-wide classification, have the advantage of limiting the range of grades in a small area and of comparing parcels close together.

Occasionally the grade of a plot is changed to correct an error or to make it consistent with an improvement. A new road may make a plot of land more accessible and thus change its grade.

311 651 433 556 In all the villages studied, land classification was important for the same reasons: for tax purposes, for estimating future production, and for the individual farmer, a means of demonstrating tangible wealth.

8 One representative each is chosen from the villages of Gushichan, Aragusuku, Koshihara, and Nakaza villages, one from Oton and Hanashiro combined, one from Asato and Yoza combined, and one from Hinatogawa-ikku and Hinatogawa-niku combined.

311

TOWNSHIP LAND CLASSIFICATION
(Correspondances)

1. Rice Land (Ta)

Township Grade	Villages of: Kanna	Sokei	Oincsa	Matsuda
1	1			
2			1	1
3	2	1		
4				2
5	3	2	2	
6			3	3
7		3		
8	4	4	4	4
9	5	5	5	5
10	6	6	6	6

2. Dry Crop Land (Hatake)

1		1	1	
2			2	1
3	1	2	3	
4				2
5	2	3	4	
6		4		3
7	3		5	4
8	4	5		5
9	5	6	6	6
10	6			

3. House Sites (Yashiki)

1			1	
2	1	1		
3			2	1
4	2	2		2

4. Wild Land (Genya)

1				1
2	1	1	1	
3	2	2	2	
4				2

5. Forest Lands

1	1	1	1	1
2	2	2	2	2

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6. Miscellaneous (Zashuchi)

1	1	1	1	1
2	2	2	2	2

311 487 363 One feature typical of these villages is the boundary path (sakai), sometimes only a foot wide. The path is a boundary and a means of access. Roads and lanes are in the main areas of the village. They do not checkerboard a whole area. Too much land would be sacrificed. The farmer leaves his home, walks along the road or lane, and then takes a winding boundary path to his own field. In the aggregate, considerable land is taken up by boundary paths. Often the sides of the plot along the path are cut perpendicularly to take as full advantage of the soil as possible. There is little slope from the path to the field, and the paths of the rice paddy often look like miniature levees.

311 423 In his Narrative of a Voyage of the Ship Morison, which appeared in The Chinese Repository for 1838, S. Wells Williams wrote concerning Okinawa: "Indeed the Lilliputian minuteness with which the country is subdivided is singular." The tables and the land use maps which follow document this observation. The tables, which show the number of plots and their average size, for each village, were computed from land registers in the two township offices. The three main classifications, rice, dry crop, and wild land, have been selected. To appreciate the size of these plots, one should bear in mind that a 40' x 80' lot has over 88 tsubo and that an acre contains about 1210 tsubo. [217]

The maps represent a tiny portion of those cadastral maps collected from the township offices and of which tracings were made. They also illustrate the complete and painstaking subdivision of a village area and the general uses to which each parcel is put. [217]

Rice Land (Ta)

a. Hanashiro

Grade	No. of Plots	Average Area in Tsubo
Total	201	140.4
1	59	52.9
2	36	160.8
3	44	182.6
4	58	179.8
5	4	212.5
b. Matsuda		
Total	560	137.2
1	30	60.5
2	76	140.0
3	178	132.1
4	175	154.9
5	101	136.3

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Dry Crop Land (Hatake)

a. Hanashiro

Grade	No. of Plots	Average Area in Tsubo
Total	497	327.1
1	51	320.2
2	73	357.0
3	140	327.9
4	108	335.7
5	98	293.3
6	27	343.5

b. Minatogawa

Total	207	256.5
1	0	--
2	3	394.0
3	24	316.2
4	41	309.1
5	139	227.7

c. Matsuda

Total	1155	162.4
1	30	148.0
2	106	174.8
3	300	159.4
4	436	174.2
5	207	148.9
6	76	131.3

Wild Land (Genya)

a. Hanashiro

Total	360	462.6
1	81	378.9
2	279	486.9

b. Minatogawa

Total	71	244.3
1	20	184.2
2	47	275.7
3	2	140.0
4	2	209.5

c. Matsuda

Total	1140	327.8
1	36	560.3
2	1091	320.5
3-6	13	301.5

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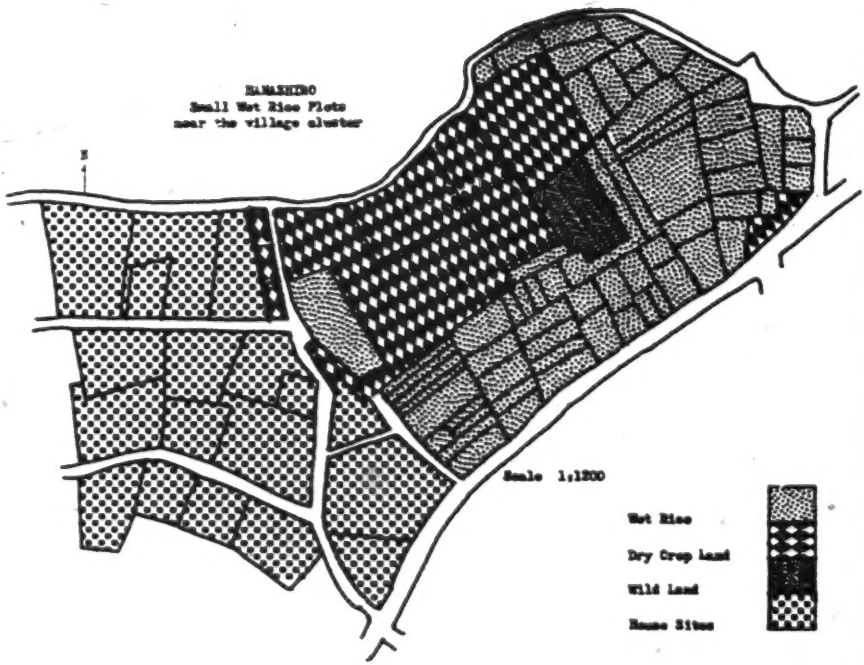
●311


HAMASHIRO
Small Wet Rice Plots
near the village cluster
N
Scale 1:1200
Wet Rice
Dry Crop Land
Wild Land
House Sites

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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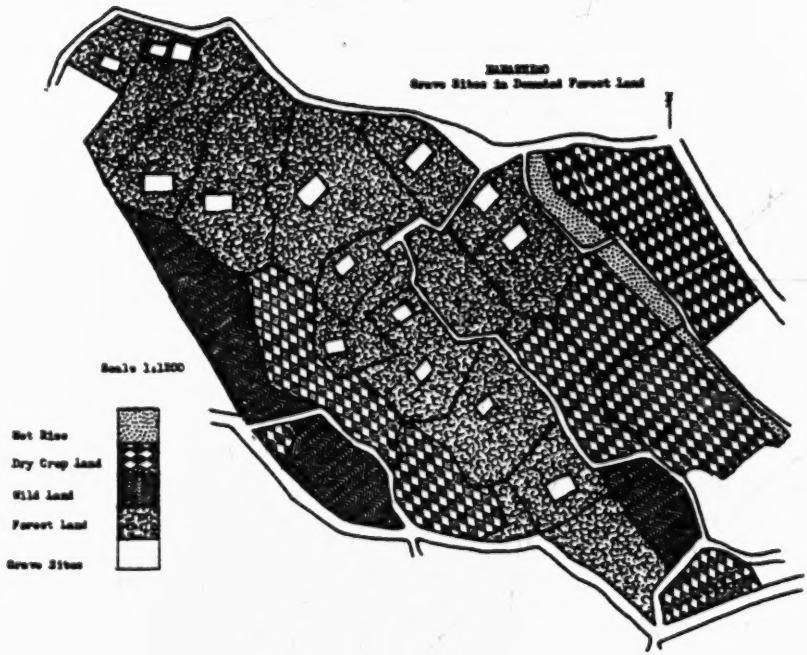

102
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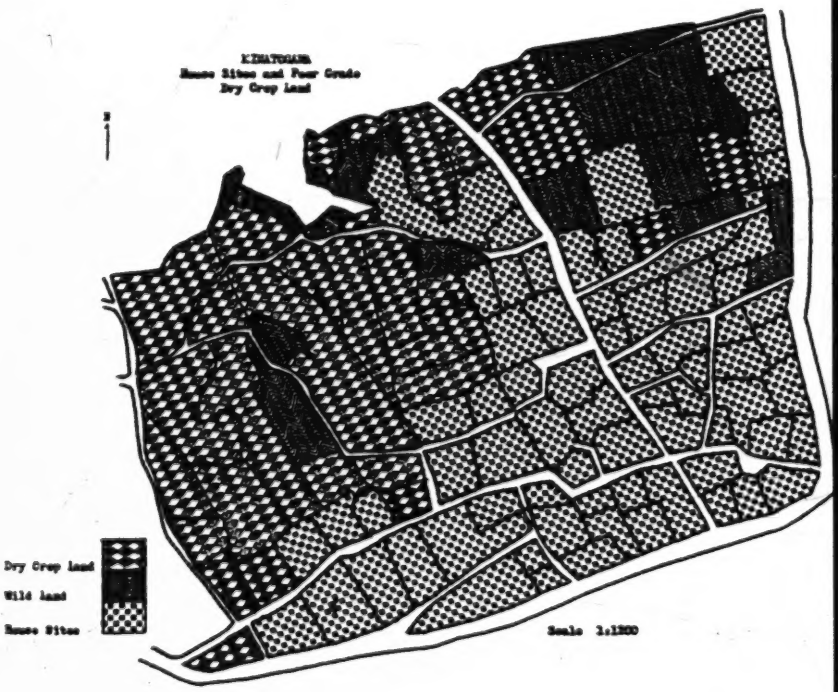
361


KINATOGAWA
House Sites and Poor Grade
Dry Crop Land
N
Dry Crop Land
Wild Land
House Sites
Scale 1:1200

102
311

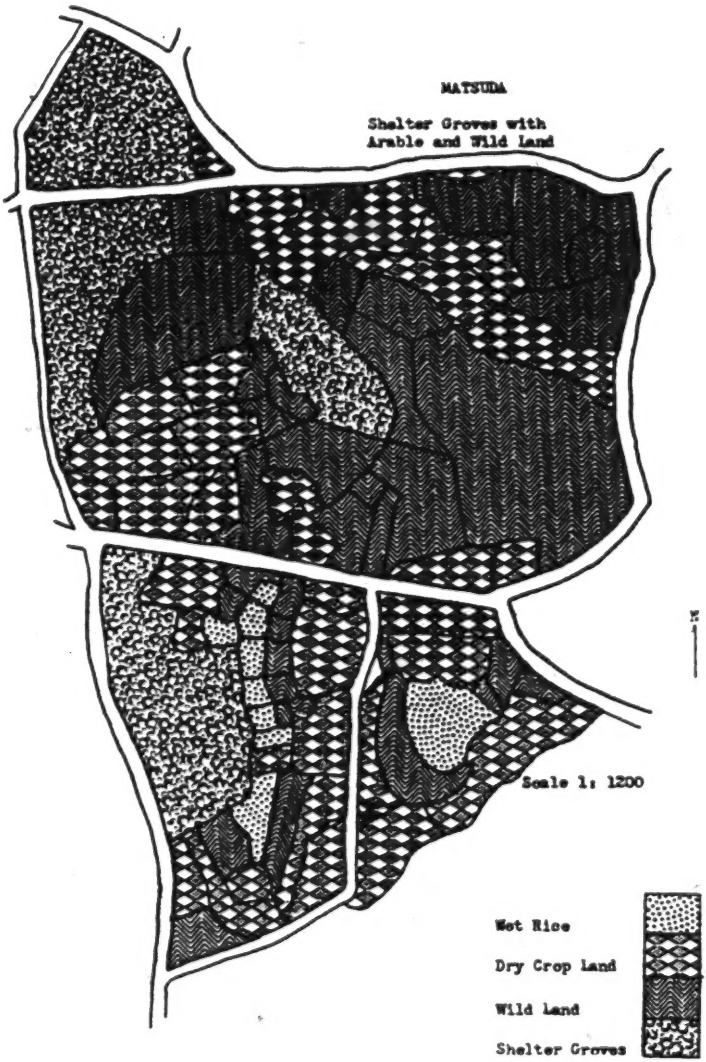
MATSUDA
Irregular Wet Rice Plots
in Wild Land

Wet Rice

Dry Crop Land

Wild Land

102
311


MATSUDA
Shelter Groves with
Arable and Wild Land
N
Scale 1: 1200
Wet Rice
Dry Crop Land
Wild Land
Shelter Groves

The deforestation of

173 the south over a period of centuries thus is related to water spray
313 and wind damage, relationships which a wise administration cannot neglect.

121 The natural tendency is to think in terms of population and land and of the food which it can produce. But if the population is envisaged in terms of forest, the land, both cultivated and uncultivated, and the role of the uncultivated land in protecting the soil, broader understandings are possible.[9]

231 It is a significant fact, to use another example, that goats are tethered and not allowed to graze. They do not roam the hillsides, nor crop off the shoots of young plants. If they did, it is possible that legislation controlling the goat might have to be enacted such as has been done in the island of Cyprus.

●311 It is important therefore, to ascertain how a culture makes
173 use of its natural environment and also how it takes care of it.
185 Typhoons cannot be controlled. Neither can periods of drought which often produce water shortages, prevent the planting of sweet potatoes, or the harvesting of a good rice crop. In areas where control is possible, the Okinawans have developed conservation measures. Almost one hundred years ago, Dr. D. S. Green, Fleet Surgeon attached to the frigate Mississippi on Perry's expedition to Japan, wrote:

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> "Two objects seem to influence the islanders in all their operations, viz: the retention of water or moisture, and the avoidance of surface-washing. To effect these desirable ends, especially in a rolling country, a great quantity of grading is required, besides very deep culture; and here both of these have been done."[10]

000 In the areas studied, no serious sheet erosion was observed.

[Text continues top of P. 157 -- Analyst]

9 The general ideas and points of view expressed by Edward Graham in his Natural principles of land use, London, New York, and Toronto, 1944, are pertinent here.

10 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, II, 26-27. The emphasis is in the original. Green continues with further details of grading around streams, along ravines, and on the uplands. His description today would still fit many parts of Okinawa. He was particularly impressed with the lands on a journey between Nugah (i.e., Nago) and Tanegah, southwest of Unten. His whole passage is well worth reading.

Two other forms of land conservation and maintenance, crop rotation and fertilizers, will be discussed under agriculture.

●311 Slow conversion of land to arable fields is constantly going on in situations in which the amount of labor involved is not even considered. One such activity in the Minatogawa area is typical. Originally the field could not be worked because of the large quantities of smaller boulders, stones, and pebbles, all small enough to be carried off, too numerous to encourage hopes for quick transformation. With difficulty this land is worked with the short handled broad bladed hoe. The hoes with two or three prongs are used for softer soils. This hard hoeing is often done by women. The surface stones are thrown aside into little piles along the road. These can now be sold for use in road construction. The vegetation on the surface is also turned under. Later in the year, after the rain has gone into the loosened soil, it is hoed again, and this time it is possible to go in deeper. Weeds, rice straw, unused miscanthus, straw from the pig or goat pen may be added, and this is allowed to rot in the soil. Then the field is hoed again, and the deeper rocks and stones, and those left behind before, are unturned and the process is repeated. In the end, and this period may vary from one to several years depending on the quantity of stones, the farmer has a plot of land, of a rich chocolate brown color, of fair texture and fertility, suitable for growing sweet potatoes.

[134] [412] [462] [491] [134]

133 311 In Matsuda, there is a slightly different situation. The topography here has a different character than that of the south. Hills, caves, sinks, and slopes are everywhere, and as a consequence, cultivation is more scattered. In the southern villages, land use follows a more recognizable pattern. The low flat areas are used for rice, the higher parts of the flat land and the slopes and the rolling upland for dry crop land, while the highest parts on the hill or mountain summits are in grasses, shrubs, and scattered scrub trees. In Matsuda, these are all mixed up. Rice may be growing in a genya area. In another part of the village, sweet potatoes may, in a similar situation, be the rule. This crazy-quilt pattern of rice, genya and dry crop land, all adjoining, stimulates the gradual conversion of genya to arable land. When rice is made out of the genya land the converted plot is known in Okinawan as gata. It is a laborious process of clearing, removing stones, hoeing, cutting perpendicular sides, making a hard surface to contain the water for the rice that will be grown. In some sections of Matsuda, the very small valleys have been converted to S-shaped rice plots.

311 134 Casual observers often see unused land and conclude that large amounts can be reclaimed. They do not see the stones, or the hard-rock which may be an inch or two below the surface. They would do well to look at village maps to see how these lands are regarded by the villagers who have tilled them. Probably more efficient conversion and reclamation could be carried on with machinery and with the generous use of fertilizers.

311 185 In the desire for more land, it should not be overlooked that the great conservation value of genya land and the poorer upland

plots lies in their being as they are, separating one cultivated area from another, binding the soil, and that they are probably serving their best purposes now, as they have in the past, in furnishing this protection. 311 185

The conservation practices of the Okinawans are at least in part a consequence of the topography. The care of upland areas and rolling hills is imperative. For a great deal of cultivation takes place here. Unlike China, there is not a strong contrast between large scale paddy rice in alluvial soils and the relative neglect of upland areas with deforestation and erosion. In China the meticulous care of the transported soils of the lowlands and the neglect of the uplands is a striking aspect of the attitude toward land. This is true, perhaps to a lesser degree, of Japan.[11] 185 133 311 [171]

In Okinawa there are insufficient delta plains and alluvial soils to provide these contrasts between lowland and upland agriculture. The scarcity of river deltas and alluvial plains means relatively little rice and the use of the rolling hills and the steeper sides of mountains. This necessity has enforced a care of the uplands. It is true that one often sees sweet potatoes or other dry crops growing in rows up and down a hill instead of along contours, and that there seems often to be a lack of appreciation of the consequences of misuse of forest land through clear cutting. But in the main in the use of the uplands for cultivation, the weed borders or rock fences, and other simple devices keep the soils from erosion. The relatively gentle topography has also contributed to this achievement.

4

Fragmentation and Consolidation

Fragmentation of land is common in Okinawa. Ownership of contiguous plots of land is not the general rule. It is a basic fact of land tenure and influences land use and agricultural practice. This fragmentation is a deterrent to the use of machinery, unless cooperatively owned or unless certain individuals specialize in the 423 241

11 See James Thorp, Geography of the soils of China, Nanking 1936, especially Chapters xii-xiv. Gourou, Pierre. The development of upland areas in China, and Trewartha, Glenn T., Utilization of Upland areas in Japan. In: The development of upland areas of the Far East, Vol. I. (Institute of Pacific Relations), New York, 1949. Trewartha describes his surprise in his earlier studies of Japan and his acquaintance "with the fact that the Japanese, like most Orientals, greatly deprecate the value of upland or non-irrigated sites for agricultural land use." (p. 59). This choosiness is not possible for the Okinawans.

423 business. Fragmentation means inconvenience, loss of time and effort
241 in the simultaneous cultivation of different fields. The situation is the same for the well-to-do and the poor alike. Large holdings do not mean single pieces of land within a large area, but many small parcels of land, of different classification and grade, scattered like those of a less prosperous farmer. There are offsetting advantages. The greatest of these is that crop destruction through typhoons, salt spray, or flooding may be less catastrophic to the individual owner with small scattered holdings than if a family has a single large plot of land.

423 Another effect of fragmentation is that it makes a particular
425 plot of land difficult to sell. If one has a small plot of land, an island in a sea of other ownership, the prospective buyer is in the same position as the seller, unless the buyer owns contiguous land and has the money to make the purchase.

423 The natural question at this point is: what are the possibilities of consolidation of ownership in the interests of more efficient and convenient agriculture? The general answer, I believe, is that fragmentation is almost inevitable, consolidation only possible.

In both of the agricultural villages studied, some voluntary consolidation (kokanbungo) has taken place, but it is not of major proportions. It occurs chiefly for two reasons: (1) clustering one's land near the house site, or having two or more parcels of contiguous land is universally desired. Going to and fro is considered troublesome and onerous. (2) When branch families are established, farmers wish to exchange a distant plot for one in the village for a house site. This is often difficult to do, for such an exchange must be mutually advantageous to bring about a transfer.

423 Typhoons are a major obstacle to voluntary consolidation into
731 large holdings. It is perhaps possible to exaggerate this, but personal experience and conversation with villagers who have lost the entire crop of one parcel but have salvaged part of the crop of another convince me of its force. A typhoon damages a whole area but the scattered holdings provide the chance that something might be saved. The total damage is the same in any event regardless of ownership. It is the distribution of loss that varies. If in the future, land consolidation were attempted on a broad scale, either by voluntary individual effort, or cooperatively, crop insurance or some form of sharing losses would seem to be necessary.

423 The present system of land ownership and of land use and the
● 311 fragmentation of land would seem to preclude any extensive mechanisa-
407 tion of agriculture. Even with consolidated holdings, the nature of the landscape might make the effort uneconomical, though this is a question for technicians in these fields.

5

Conclusion

The sources of the present land tenure and land use practices are to be sought in the old land allotment system. The original fragmentation of land was due to the land classification based in turn on the fact that excellent, good, and poor lands were not in one area, but were scattered. Further fragmentation has come from land division because of the establishment of branch families. With each generation a further fragmentation will take place. The present system of land tenure and of land use is to be explained, therefore, as a result of the ancient family system working first within the framework of the old allotment system, and then within the introduced Japanese system of inheritance, with practices of land use retaining some of the influences of the old. 423 311 428

The experience of the next few years in Japan will be interesting to observe. With equal inheritance for each child, will there be a hopeless splintering of land or land speculation in the sale of small holdings? Before any changes are made in the present Okinawan inheritance laws, the possible effects on land use and agriculture should be studied. Considerations should not be confined to a legalistic or sociological approach to the family itself. Besides of what value to the heirs would splintered, minute, and fragmented holdings be? 000

132 March through June is the season of greatest rainfall and therefore
731 of greatest flood danger. September and October rain is often light, and it is during this period that there is the greatest likelihood that the sweet potatoes will dry up. During the rainy season, there is flood damage to the rice and dry crop fields, especially if they are in the narrow ravines, or along small stream beds.

132 In Hanashiro, dependence on rainfall is immediate and direct.
312 There is no way of storing water in the mountains by accumulations of snow. Runoff from the hills into the small streams is rapid. Short
241 periods without rain are serious. The planting of the sweet potato is very sensitive to this factor. If one asks a farmer when he plants sweet potatoes, he always qualifies his reply by beginning, "If there is enough rain..."

241 There is in these villages no complex irrigation (kangai). In
312 Hanashiro, the flow of water through rice fields and its division are controlled by simple means. Water comes from the nearby hills, either in rivulets or in slightly wider ditches. In the former case, the water is divided by allowing the owner on one side of the stream to get water one day, diverting it on the next to the other side. The larger streams may be forked.

[133] Streams soon lose their identity as they descend from the hills to the lowlands, where they become the water of the paddy. The streams of Okinawa are hidden in the rice fields.

241 In Matsuda, the flow of water down the hillsides is controlled
311 largely by bench cultivation. Rice paddies go far up the narrow valleys and ravines. When these have been converted to rice fields, the water
312 flows into the highest level. A small aperture on the opposite side allows it to fall into the next lower paddy until the water reaches the level of the valley or lowland, where it may be further dispersed throughout rice fields, or trickle off again as a stream. In this way, the flow of the water, not too fast, not too sluggish, provides continually fresh water with its nutrients from the hillsides for each field, and makes possible the irrigation of large areas.

It is for these reasons that terracing is practiced. Cultivation is easier. So is irrigation. Soil runoff is avoided. Terracing is the only way that a ravine or a small slope can be used for paddies, for which a flat and level piece of land is required. Otherwise, the water necessary for the plant runs off.

Rotation #2, Matsuda

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First year, ninth month: Autumn planting of sugar cane
Second year, twelfth month: Harvest of sugar cane. Followed by: Soy bean, sweet potato, or vegetables.

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Land is seldom allowed to lie fallow intentionally for any length of time. At any one time of the year, a farmer may have idle land for which there may be a variety of reasons. He may have other tasks and be unable to cultivate all his land, or have no need of doing so, or some of his land may be so poor that he will not cultivate it unless necessary. Much depends on the individual farmer and his holdings. The village records indicate that in Hanashiro 97.2% of the rice and 83.1% of the dry crop land is under cultivation. From the preceding discussion of land classification, it is clear that many parcels are of marginal quality, and these areas may be left uncultivated, at least part of the year. During the post-war [426] period there has been some informal lending of land, free of rent, to friends and neighbors, if the farmer is not using it himself.

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[231]
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Manual labor with hand tools is the dominant method of cultivation. Domestic animals are not uncommon, but their use in farming is minor. The war increased the dependence on manual labor through the loss of domestic animals. Only cattle are now used in rice cultivation for plowing and harrowing and this is infrequent. The man or woman and the hoe are far more common. Crops are carried from the [482] fields by human labor. The basket or the straw container, or the tied rice sheaves on either end of a pole over the shoulder, and not [415] horse carts, push carts, or wheel barrows are the main means of [493] transport from field to courtyard. The barefooted farmer, with his hoe and a pole or a basket does the greatest part of the work. The common tools of agriculture are hand tools and adapted to the intensive cultivation which so often has more properly been called the work of a gardener rather than that of a farmer.

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The basic all purpose tool is the solid bladed hoe. The hoe, since deep cuts are possible with its heavy blade, takes the place of the plow. The hoe also replaces the spade, and even the rake, for it can be used to break up and smooth the soil. A poorer farmer may lack [434] many of the tools in the following list, but he will have two or three of the solid bladed hoes.

The accompanying illustration shows the most common agricultural tools:

1. The hera, a spatula or trowel, used for transplanting tops of the sweet potato. Its wooden hand grip curves toward the end of the tool. The hera is also used as a scraper to remove brown sugar from the sides of the cooking pans during the sugar making season.

2. The kama, a small sickle. Next to the hoe, it is the most

of the young shoots from the seed beds to the paddy field, (4) the care of rice until its maturity, (5) the harvest, (6) threshing, milling, and hulling, (7) the uses of rice and its byproducts, and (8) types and preferences of rice. 243

The preparation and laying out of the seed bed. A seed bed (naidoko) is a plot of first grade land, well watered, specially chosen for this purpose. It is very small in area, often around 15 tsubo, or about 540 square feet. The seed bed also may be a portion of a larger field set apart for seedlings. In this case, small boundaries are made by earthen walls, apertures left for water to flow in and out, and the little plot is then prepared for the seedlings. Considerable care is taken in the preparation of the seed bed. The soil here must be finer and more carefully worked than the paddy field, since it receives the rice seed, not the seedlings. The soil is painstakingly worked, and, with the water added, becomes a thick smooth mud. Commercial fertilizers, composts, and less commonly, night soil are then applied. After the seed is sown, water, perhaps 2 1/2 inches deep is allowed in the bed. During germination, a slow steady irrigation, a washing by new water is maintained by controlling the water trickling in and out of the openings on either side of the field. [311] [134] [312]

The selection of the seed. The seed is taken from the harvest immediately preceding. After fall harvest around December, the rice fields are dug to prepare for the new planting in January or February. The seed used from this crop is tested in one of two ways. 243 242

In Matsuda, it is common for a farmer to fetch a bucketful of sea water. To this he adds a little more salt until the density of the water is sufficient to float an egg. The rice seed is put in the water. The light and undesirable grains rise to the surface. This salt water density method is apparently very old and originally came from China. [177]

Another method, based on the same assumption that the lighter grains make undesirable seed, is used in both villages. The rice is tossed in a round, shallow, winnowing basket, and the breeze carries off the undesirable seeds to the chickens. In the summer planting the seed, after this testing, is ready to sow. In the fall and winter planting, there is one further step. After the seed has been selected by the winnowing or the density method, it is soaked in water for four or five days. Following this, it is removed from the water, put in a tub, and covered. Warm water is added, the mixture is stirred and allowed to stand for another four or five days. The water is then poured off and seed has begun to germinate. The seedlings can now be planted in the seed bed.

Transplanting the young shoots from the seed bed to the paddy field. 243 In the meantime, the paddy fields have been prepared. After the harvest, the field is drained. Small clumps of cropped rice stalks stick up two or three inches where they have been cut with the small sickle or bill knife. This stubble is turned over either by hoeing, the usual way, or

melon can be saved for a year. It is also served raw with vinegar and sugar dressing, often mixed with another vegetable to make a salad called nanasugwa in Okinawan. 241 262 [252]

(8) The burdock (gobo) is also very minor and usually grown for home use. It is boiled when eaten.

(9) The carrot (ninjin) is a minor crop.

(10) The trumpet or bottle gourd (yūgao) is only grown in Matsuda and for home use as a summer food. [184]

(11) Spinach (hōrensō), onions (negi), Chinese lettuce (hakusai) are not uncommon. Spinach, lettuce (chisi), and onions do not have the importance either as a crop or a food that they have with us.

(12) The taro (satoimo in Japanese, Colocasia esculenta Schott) can occasionally be seen growing in Hanashiro or Matsuda, often on the edge of a rice field. It is known locally also as taimo and apparently is the same as the Japanese dasheen. The taro is used as a side dish.

(13) The Irish potato (bareisho) is occasionally grown for sale. [432]

(14) Cabbage (tamana) is partly a cash, partly a home use crop. It is also minor. Some Okinawans like cabbage and grow it for their own use, but many dislike it and sell the crop.

(15) The grains are an unimportant part of village agriculture. The most common are barley (ōmugi), wheat (komugi) and millet. (Mugi is a general term for grain. The ō means large, the ko, small, referring to the kernels of the two grains). [193]

Although comparable statistics were not available for each of the villages, the following table from Hanashiro clearly shows the relative importance of the major crops: 241 311

HANASHIRO
Crop Acreages, 1950

Crop	Area in Chō a/	Percent of Total
Rice	10.89	100.0
Total Dry Crop Land	59.88	100.0
Sweet Potatoes	35.86	59.9
Soy Beans	13.63	22.8
Sugar Cane	5.41	9.0
Beans and Peas (excluding soy)	2.30	3.9
Wheat	1.80	3.0
Millet	0.50	0.8
Vegetables	0.38	0.6

241 s/ A chō is 3000 tsubo, or about 2.45 acres.
311
[804] Source: Agricultural Section, Gushichan Village Office, Gushichan-son, Okinawa, September 1951.

In Ginoza-son, statistics for crops on an individual village basis were only obtainable in part. Some Matsuda figures which were available indicate that rice, the sweet potato, and sugar cane were the most important of the crops:

Rice lands		82,151 tsubo (about 27.4 chō)
Summer planting:	58,000	
Fall planting:	54,000	
	112,000 tsubo, including double cropping.	
Dry Crop Land		188,305 tsubo (about 62.8 chō)
Sugar Cane:		
Summer planting	2170 tsubo	
Spring planting	6840 " "	
	9010 tsubo	

The greater part of the remaining dry crop land is believed to be in sweet potatoes.

8

Native Uncultivated Plants of Use to Man
(Other than Forest Trees)

824 In the south, trees such as the banyan (gajimaru), the Japanese redwood (sugi), and the usuki are important within the village as windbreaks. The importance of miscanthus sinensis, often called kaya or susuki, has already been mentioned. Certain plants, used for medicinal purposes, are becoming scarce and are being displaced by modern drugs, but have some interest. Other plants, formerly used in home industries for weaving and making straw sandals, have also declined in importance in the villages.

In the south one of the most interesting associations is that of the Ryukyuan pine (Pinus ryukyuensis), the cycad (sotetsu in Japanese, Cycas revoluta, Thumb.) and Chinese silver grass (miscanthus sinensis). The Ryukyu pine in this area is little more than a shrub. It has some uses for firewood and for minor construction, but the lumber for substantial houses comes from the northern forests.

The cycad, now rather uncommon in this area, has had several uses. The whole plant may be a windbreak or be used for firewood. A form of starch (renpun in Japanese, kuzu in Okinawan) is made from this plant, a food traditionally used in time of great hardship or crop failure.
[262]

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1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

The starch comes from two sources; the large oval seed, ranging from orange to Chinese red when mature, and the stalk. Use of the stalk involves destruction of the plant. According to Gushichan area residents, the starch of the cycad seed was used for food in 1945, 1946, and parts of 1947. Timing is an important part of the starch making because at certain stages of development the cycad is poisonous. Today in areas where the cycad is plentiful, the seeds are still gathered and dried in large quantities. Toward the end of November in Oku and in the nearby mountain village of Hedo, and in other villages of the far north of the island, large quantities of cycad seeds can be seen drying in the compounds. In the Hanashiro and Hinatogawa area, the cycad is not plentiful enough and is too scattered for these uses. 824 262

The main uses of miscanthus are: (1) roof thatch, including the saddle back which caps the roof, (2) firewood, (3) the younger shoots for animal food, (4) fertilizer, (5) a raw material for home weaving of baskets and slings for carrying vegetables. 824

Miscanthus can be seen to best advantage in December when it is in full bloom and covers large areas of the uncultivated countryside. Considering the present economic situation in the south, these plentiful grasses are indispensable to daily living. One must see, from day to day and with his own eyes, the dependence on these wild grasses to appreciate the force of this statement.

In the southern area studied, one consequence of the war on the natural vegetation was the spread of the grasses at the expense of the pine and the cycad. Residents of the Hanashiro, Gushichan, and Hinatogawa areas have said that prior to the war, the Ryukyuan pine was plentiful and covered hill and mountain sides now quite bare, save for an occasional scrub tree. These trees were destroyed by bombing and firing. There are occasional evidences of regrowth due to natural seeding, but the clumps are small, and nothing like a stand is growing. The stands even before the war, however, must have been inconsequential compared with descriptions of the area fifty years ago given by old residents of the area. The present deforestation of large parts of southern Okinawa seems to have accelerated in the recent past. 137 727

The cycad had a similar fate in the south. The plants are numerous in the sense that one can always be observed on a walk. They grow in clumps, often alongside the pandanus. The grasses seem to have displaced the cycad and the pandanus as well. The dense settlement, cultivation, use of trees for firewood, and the recent war account for the uncultivated hillsides in which the grasses now predominate, and on some of which not a single tree or shrub is to be observed. The original native vegetation, perhaps, may still be preserved in the limestone sinks which occur here and there in this area. 137 [311]

In Hanashiro, the absence of trees and shrubs except in the settled areas has already been noticed. This is a characteristic of villages in the south. The treelessness of Hinatogawa is exceptional.

231 special holiday occasions. Pig killing or the killing of any animals
[825] is distasteful. The pig generally is driven out of the pen to a
[443] waiting truck or horse cart and hauled squealing off to market.

Considerable interest is being shown (early 1952) in the scientific
232 breeding of pigs from stock imported from the United States. Chester
[197] White is a well known word among the farmers of Matsuda. In this area, regional meetings of pig breeders and raisers from the northern part of Okinawa and the Motobu peninsula are held to discuss the care, breeding, and marketing of pigs. These farmers have come a long way from the earlier days, even 25 years ago, when the toilet and the pig pen were the same. A farmer going from one of his fields to another often stops home to look at the pigs and perhaps to discuss his problems with
[474] a friend. In Matsuda, a pig growers' association has now been started.

231 Domestic animals, especially the pig, can be expected to increase and to reach at least their pre-war level, if the villages studied are typical. This development will be all to the good. The pig consumes food not fit or not used for human consumption. It does not compete with humans for food. It is unlikely that land now devoted to the production of human food would be diverted to animal food. In my observation, there is not a strong competition between animals and man for the products of the land. Domestic animals really round out the agriculture and consume food that otherwise would not be used.

[311] The lack of grazing land, except on the hill sides and summits, means that domestic animals must be fed with food grown and prepared and fed to them by the farmer. Grazing also would be out of the question since the land on the hills is privately owned and split up in small parcels. The young plants are valued too highly to permit indiscriminate grazing.

Goats are cheaply raised. The only expense is the labor of
[435] getting leaves, grass, and tender shoots from the family's genya land on the hills. In the market, goat is the cheapest of all meats.
[262] There are also sharp differences in taste among villagers for goat's meat. The milk is not used as a food. Goats are tied up or kept in stalls for their entire life. They are never allowed to roam through the village or to graze on the hill sides. They are not given water and depend entirely on the water in the grasses and shoots which they are fed.

Horses, cattle, and oxen are fed grasses, mashed sweet potatoes,
[497] and waste bean curd. Though occasionally used in rice fields, the chief use of horses is in drayage. In Matsuda, the horse and the two wheeled cart make frequent trips to the mountains to transport the longpoles, firewood, and charcoal.

235 Chickens are fed anything that might be on hand. Often they
[262] are given the chaff from the rice or the rice that is blown off in winnowing. Occasionally chickens are eaten, but they are kept primarily

324 432 The truck or horsecart of the buyer comes to the stonecutting area, the blocks are loaded and taken away. Prior to sale, for convenience, stone may be taken from the cutting area. It is loaded on horse carts, [494] the men carrying the heavy blocks by means of ropes looped around the ends of the stone and over poles which in turn rest on the shoulders. [483] A six foot length (1 ken linear measure), one foot wide and about ten [804] inches thick sells for ¥140 (1951-52).
[435]

Foot injuries are the chief hazards of this occupation. The toes may be accidentally cut by the long chisel, and there is danger 316 of bruising or crushing by accidentally dropping the block, or by rolling when it is being dislodged. Very hard and calloused hands are [164] the mark of the stonecutter; his hands are especially conspicuous for the hard, raised areas on the pals around the base of the fingers, the [142] result of the constant lifting and pounding of the long chisel. There is also danger to the eyes in flying chips but few use glasses or goggles.

Like some phases of fishing, this work is for the young and the [561] physically mature men. After the middle forties or early fifties, a man no longer does the heavy work and confines himself to lighter chores. The very old and the retired may chip and finish the foundation and the pyramidal stones.

472 If a cutter is unable to extract all the stone in a plot whose stone he has bought, there are also customary solutions. When the father dies, his son continues the workings and returns the field to the owner. If a stone worker moves to another village when only half the work has been done, he arranges for a friend, relative, or neighbor to take over the remaining part.

4

Restoring the Land

185 Formerly excavations (which might be 10 or 15 feet deep and the ● 311 size of a large room) were refilled by the buyer of the stone rights. Rocks, pebbles, and miscellaneous trash were used as fill, but following the war there has been a heavy demand for rock and stone for road [499] construction. As a consequence, many excavations are now only partly refilled. After refilling, houses are built on the sites of formerly excavated land. Here and there one can see sweet potatoes or vegetables growing on land which formerly was covered with stone. The original state of the land, its appearance after excavation and its restoration may be seen in Figure 2. Evidences of this reclamation may be seen throughout the stoneworking area.

324 Minatogawa, because it lacks vegetation for protective and decorative purposes, is a good example of the use and adaptation of stone to local needs. There are still stone fences, waist or shoulder height, and many small stone boundary lines, a foot or two and of uneven height. Coral stones, weathered by the sea, honeycombed and pocked, are seen everywhere.

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MINATOGAWA-NAGAMO STONECUTTING OPERATIONS

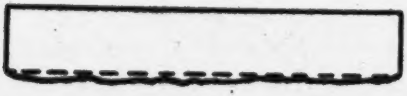

Fig. 1

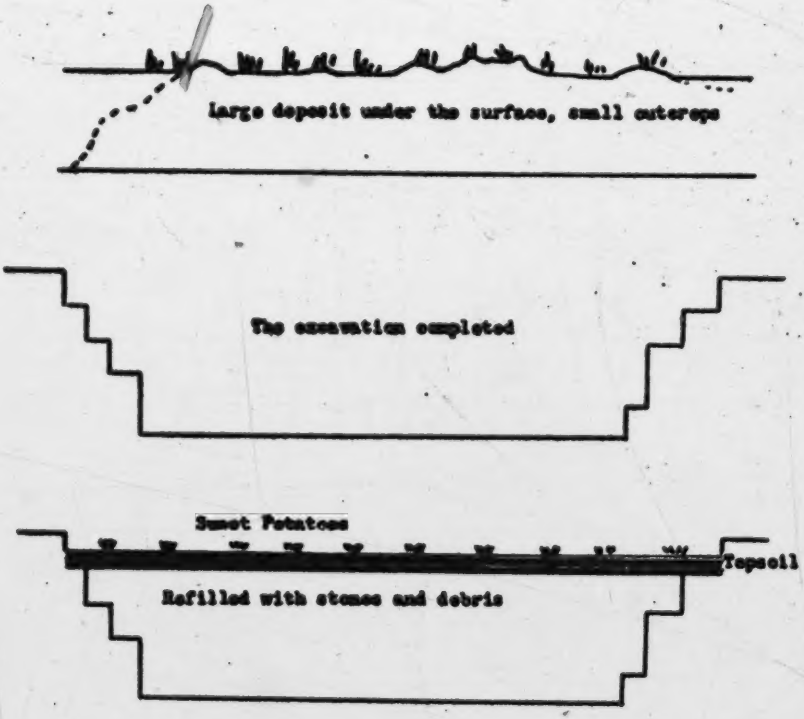

Fig. 2

1

An Historical View of the Okinawan Forest

Northern Okinawa is the woodshed of the island, and there is a steady stream of lumber for building, poles for a variety of uses, charcoal, and of small bundles of wood for the people of the south. In the village of Matsuda, the forest is part of the daily life and economic well-being of the people. 313

Little is known of the past history of the Okinawan forest. 137 174

> "Though it is impossible now to determine the nature and distribution of the original forest cover, it seems reasonable that the major part of Okinawa was originally covered by trees. The forest was probably absent from the beaches, a few marsh areas behind the beaches, rock ledges upon which trees could gain a foothold, and perhaps some areas of Regosols (shallow soils) from calcareous clays in the southern part of the island. It is evident that the present forest has been cut over many times. There seems to be no part of the island in which the forest cover has not been disturbed in some way by man."[1] [311]

The virgin stands have disappeared and left few clues, these authors continue, but it is likely that the original forest cover was comparable to the present stands in composition of species. The authors point out the relationship of cutting to settlement. Cutting must have been a continuing process. In Saion's time, in the 18th century, there was considerable tree planting and measures were taken to protect groves of trees for their value as windbreaks. Excessive cutting could hardly have taken place in olden times in the central areas of the north, whose trees, even today, can be reached only by footpath. No doubt in the past cutting has spread out from village sites and travelled roads. Fire may have been one cause of deforestation, as it has been used to clear land. There are still instances of this. 137 311 174 [245]

In Okinawa, the period from 1879 to the end of the Russo-Japanese war seems to have been one of widespread deforestation. (This was contemporary also with the reckless deforestation in the New World). The period after 1906 reflected Japanese concern with forest preservation, especially of the nationally owned forests, a program pursued with varying degrees of success. [185]

1 Okinawa forests (U.S. Geological Survey. Mil. Geol. Sect., Office of the Engineer, GHQ, FEC), 1948, 2.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

000 varying degrees of success.[2]

●311 Another period of recklessness began in 1935 and reached its climax in 1940-41. This deterioration was simultaneous with the increase in the acreage of cut over forest land in Japan beginning in 1941.[3]

313 [72] In Okinawa, exploitation of the forests immediately before and during the war were due, according to residents who lived through the experience, to unrestricted cutting for troop shelters and to the large Japanese military requirements for wood. The war's end brought no relief to the forests. Housebuilding and firewood are continuing challenges to forest conservation in Okinawa. The destruction of houses in the populated south caused continuous cutting for building and firewood. In 1947, rates of cutting were estimated to exceed replacement, the main drains being for housebuilding, firewood, and charcoal.[4]

2

The Forests and the Trees of Matsuda

423 311 Matsuda has a large area of village owned forest within its borders. These village owned lands are a survival of the old land allotment system when the arable, the forest, and the wild (ganya) lands were community owned.

[Text Continues Top of p. 226 --analyst]

2 Civil Affairs Handbook Ryukyu (Loochoo) islands, 143, gives these dates as 1879-1906. For a published summary of Okinawan forests, their pre-war and post-war problems, and the role of the Ryukyuan Forestry Agency, see H. Y. Nuttonson, Ecological crop geography and field practices of the Ryukyu islands, as cited, 49-58. Nuttonson, following E. H. Walker, makes interesting comparisons of the islands of the Ryukyus. See the remarks on Miyako, Ishigaki, and Irimote, 54-56. For a short and forceful statement of the problem as it applies to Japan, see A report on Japanese natural resources, Tokyo, 1948, 347-59. Many of these remarks apply mutatis mutandis to Okinawa.

3 Nuttonson, as cited, p. 57. Based on B. O. Hughes, A forest policy for the Ryukyu islands. (Food and Natural Resources Department, USCAR), 1951.

4 Okinawan forests, as cited, 5.

423
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Hatsuda
Land Classification

Type of Land	Area in Tsubo	Approx. Acreage Equiv.
Rice (ta)	82,151	67.9
Dry crop land (hatake)	188,306	155.6
House sites (yashiki)	17,056	14.1
Village Owned forest (sanrin)	1,259,104	1040.6
Wild land (genya) a/	376,660	311.3
Village Owned shelter belts, groves	33,654	27.8
Religious sites (haisho)	2,883	2.4
Public building sites	81	b/
Miscellaneous	3,183	2.6
Total	1,963,077	1622.3

a/ Includes village and privately owned, but almost all is privately owned.

b/ Less than 0.1 acre

Source: Ginoza-son township office, Ginoza village, Okinawan Island. Dec. 1951.

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The coniferous forest (shinyōjurin) is along the shore, reaching inland short distances in those areas not given over to cultivation. Pine stands are valuable for typhoon protection. Inland, about half a mile to a mile from shore, the coniferous stands give way to a dense mixed forest of deciduous trees and shrubs. The predominant species in this broadleaved forest (katsuyōjurin) is a live oak, the shii. Ordinarily the shii grows to be quite large, but here in the dense stands its growth is stunted. While not impenetrable, it is difficult to go through these stands once one is off the foot path. Along these paths, there are huts where one may drop in for rest or shelter, charcoal kilns, stacked firewood (maki), and piles of long poles which have been cut and stripped to be carried down the mountain paths to the road for loading in trucks. [485]

The woodlands of this area may be classified, according to use, into two categories: (1) stands, groves, or clumps of trees which provide typhoon and windbreak protection (hoanrin). Shore shelter belts or groves are known as bōchōrin, those inland or on mountain tops as bōfurin. (2) The forests, maintained and used as a resource, for such materials as firewood, lumber, and charcoal.

In Hatsuda, trees are used both for protection of houses in the

137 settled area and for protection of the surrounding crops. Around
● 311 houses, there are common stone fences, bamboo fences and trees.
Stone fences, though solid may be toppled over. Bamboo, or dwarf
[417] bamboo fences, seemingly slight, resist the winds and remain intact
because of their flexible loose weave.

137 The trees on the ridges of the low lying hills or on high pieces
133 of ground are tall, and sturdy, and jealously protected. The villagers
185 take great pride in them. Today this pride is based on the realization
[098] of their effectiveness; in former times, their protection was associated
[099] with the worship of the gods of the sacred grove (utaki). There were
[193] beliefs, which now seem to be dying out, that cutting these trees
would bring bad luck. Many villagers say that Saion in the 18th
century intentionally invented superstitions concerned with the cutting
of the trees in order to save them. Now these trees are no longer in
danger of cutting, even though the penalties of the old beliefs are no
longer feared.

The following short list does not exhaust the kinds of trees and plants found in this area. It is confined to those trees, shrubs, and grasses which are most frequently found and which have the greatest local importance.

829 (1) The Ryukyuan pine (Riukiu-matsu in Japanese, Pinus luchuensis
313 Mayr). This tree is still one of the commonest sights of the island,
even in southern Okinawa. At present, it is a source of firewood,
cheap lumber, and siding. It is not considered good housebuilding
material because of termites (shiroari). Pine was used for fishing
boats within living memory, but now they are made of much harder woods.
In this area, the coniferous groves are along the seashore. The larger
stands are not cut. Scrub pine on individually owned wild land may be
cut for firewood.

(2) The fukugi (Garcinia spicata Hook.). The fukugi is used around homes and on mountain ridges as a typhoon protection. It is fairly plentiful here and prized as a building material (kenchikuzai). The hard studs, beams and cross beams and the wide plank floors in the older and better houses are often made out of this wood.

(3) The iju (Schima luchuensis Nak.). This tree, common here, is used as a building material and is considered to be better than the Japanese redwood (sugi). It is not regarded as a good firewood.

(4) The inumaki (Podocarpus macrophyllum D. Don). This tree is not well known here, and there are no large specimens. But it is regarded as the best building material when available. Often the large, hard, rough hewn poles which are placed on stones and support the eaves of the older houses are made from this wood.

(5) The shii (Shiia cuspidata). The dense stands of this tree in the village owned forest restrict the size of the specimens, though

313 47½ [465] tion, but the village receives payment, through the township, from the central government for this labor. In November 1951, the rate was Y80 per day for each male, and Y50 for each female. Married women do not participate, except to take the place of a husband who cannot attend. This community project is a continuation of pre-war custom. On the day set aside for this work, the participants are taken part way by truck or bus. A half hour walk over the paths, often leading through dense thickets, brings them to the site selected. Everyone brings his own lunch, perhaps in a little metal box, or merely wrapped in banana leaves. Around noon, the girls take their buckets, go down hill to the stream, and carry up the water for the tea. Weeds and grasses, especially miscanthus and the dwarf bamboo are cleared cut from the predominating shii and pine. A shii is known here as the shiigi or shiija. When work begins the area is almost an impenetrable thicket. The grasses and the thick dwarf bamboo have grown up in dense stands among the trees. Only these grasses are cut. Trees are not touched, except for the very young ones in overcrowded spots, or the malformed and dying trees. With the brush and grasses cut, the stand of trees is still dense.

When the undergrowth has been cut down, one can walk through the area. The cuttings, as well as the litter on the forest floor, are not removed. This wise practice keeps the soils at least at their normal productivity. In this area, the relatively low density of population, the scattering of settlement, the large areas of [311] forest compared with the cultivated areas have not brought about conditions requiring the removal of forest litter for fertilizing fields and for fuel, a practice which creates acute problems in Japan.[9]

[637] The work is supervised by a forestry official living in the village but an employee of the township. His supervision is nominal, as everyone knows what is to be done and how to do it. Like all officials of a village, he is a friend, neighbor, or relative of those who participate. He checks off the names of those who have reported. On returning from the forest at five in the afternoon, most of the villagers bring back some wood, perhaps a long pole, a bunch of dwarf bamboo, or miscanthus to make an outdoor broom. They are lighthearted as they return single file along the winding paths back to the village.

Pine cones are gathered for their seeds by the co-operative effort of the villagers. The cones are soaked in water so the seeds can be removed more easily. The village office takes the seeds, [C55] gives them to the township office which sells them to the central government for planting purposes. Once a year, the village receives 10% of the amount of seeds it collected for its own planting purposes.

9 A report on Japanese natural resources, as cited, 358.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Every three years, the villagers thin out the dwarf bamboo and other grasses in the pine stands along the coast. Late in December or in early January, there is a community planting of pine seeds. 313 476

The tools used in forest work are: the hand sickle (kana), a bill or hook knife, the tool so familiar in agriculture; an ordinary long knife resembling a butcher knife or a machete (here called a yamakatana, or "mountain knife"), and a hooked knife on the end of a long handle (zōringama). 412

Forest care goes well back into Okinawan history and antedates more recent Japanese methods. This care probably was an obligation in the old system of land tenure under which villagers had access to forest lands with the corresponding obligation to replant. 313

4

An Example of Reclamation

There are cut-over tracts in Matsuda village. The Japanese government, according to local residents, tried to convert these cleared areas into agricultural land. This land reclamation (kaitaku) began about 1935. The land was cleared of its remaining trees and shrubs mainly by firing. (Fire has been used in Okinawa, possibly from early times, in the clearing of land. In 1947 the use of fire in clearing and the hazards in creating forest fires were pointed out by observers who blamed carelessness in firing as the cause of the forest fires in the dry season).[10] Firing was easier and some nutrients from the ash were available to the poor soils. 185 311 [372]

In Matsuda, the cleared land was hoed and the rocks were removed. It had to be hoed deeply to make cultivation possible. The land was enriched with composts containing horse, pig, and goat manures. The original plan was to promote a more extensive type of agriculture on the reclaimed land because it was poorly adapted to the cultivating methods on the better and more accessible soils. A here-and-there (yadori type) settlement was planned. The houses were to be scattered on hillsides, or in the valleys, to provide sufficient land, admittedly poor, for the settlers to cultivate. The size of the contemplated holdings precluded hand labor of the intensity characteristic of the usual agriculture. The use of draft animals, plows, and harrows was part of the plan. [241] [361] [241]

The war and the disappearance of so many of the draft animals prevented its realization. Before the war, it was intended that each family should have a 3000 tsubo tract (2.45 acres). Today the residents on these lands cultivate only about 1000 tsubo, about the limit of manual cultivation considering the soils and the stone that remains. As a consequence, parts of the area are returning to weeds, grasses, and shrubs.

10 Okinawa forests, as cited, 7.

wood and lumber for Japanese army uses and for air raid shelters were in demand, (2) the burning in the course of the war, and (3) the intense cutting after the war for firewood and rebuilding. 313 727

Okinawan traditions relating to forest care have a positive value and it is worth while to recapitulate them here. Local old men and antiquarians in Matsuda give credit to Saion who wrote a long treatise on agriculture and is said to have intentionally devised superstitions to save trees. Death or misfortune would come to him who cut the trees, especially those in sacred groves or on the tops of mountains. Some local residents have said that the gods of the mountain are really not of religious inspiration at all, but had their origin in the conscious desire of Saion to save the trees. While there does not seem to be any truth in this assertion, since these deities of the sacred groves and mountain tops reach far back into antiquity, there is no doubt that sacred groves and houses of the mountain gods saved trees that otherwise would have been cut down. (In China and Japan, religious shrines and holy places have also been areas of the preservation of trees). 313 173 [178] [171]

Present attitudes were summarized by a Matsuda school principal who said that beliefs in mountain gods and in death and misfortune following cutting trees were dying out, and that these old beliefs had been replaced by awareness of the scientific reasons for preserving the trees. [183] [176] [177]

In Matsuda, pride in the trees, in the groves that line its hill tops and overlook the narrow valleys and ravines planted to rice and other crops is a conspicuous part of village experience. There are trees along the main road near the town that are said to have been planted in Saion's time under his inspiration.

These favorable traditions are helpful. They do not guarantee the preservation of the forests. Previous experience has shown this. From what may be surmised of the history of Okinawan forests, the destruction of modern times has been correlated with war and the expansion of economic activities. We may speculate, too, that previous deforestation was slow, inexorable and related to the clearing of accessible stands near settlements, and the extension of these settled areas as they grew. "Most of the accessible primitive forests have been exhausted," Dr. Green wrote in his report to Commodore Perry.[11] The need for fuel increases with population. In China, Japan, Korea, and Okinawa, the relation of forests, either as a source for lumber or fuel, to population growth and settlement is a very intimate one. This is a basic consideration in discussing not only the "patterns of culture" but the relation of culture to the natural environment in this part of the world. [311] [161] [171]

11 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, Vol. II, 35

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Conclusion

311 184 In the comparative study of these villages, certain distinctions are worth summarizing. (1) In the southern villages, which lack forest land, there is much more dependence on the uncultivated wild land (genya) which supports the grasses. (2) The forest, in Matsuda as elsewhere in the north, is a reserve for necessities like firewood, thatch, charcoal and building materials, both for local use and southern trade. (3) The shelter belts and groves have been preserved in the north. (4) Tidewater plantings of shelter belts are needed in the south. Plantings of the Ryukyuan Forestry Agency, under American Civil Administration encouragement, have begun in the south as protection from wind and salt water spray damage. These include the mokumao, the pandanus, the hibiscus (Albizzia julibrissum Durazz, in Japanese the nemunoki) and the hirugi (Bruguieria spp.)[12] (5) Ecologically, the situation is more balanced in the north where a good start seems to have been made in arresting progressive deforestation. (6) This balance, if Matsuda is a representative village, can only be maintained by constant appraisal of the relationships of the forest to agriculture, to the growing population, and to the economic demands to which this leads, unless the wood and timber demands of the island are to be met in large part by imports.

[245] [647]

114 648 636 An occupying power like the United States, rich in modern techniques, can do much to improve the life of a small island people. If it is mindful of the history and the present features of the culture, it can suggest improvements without destroying the bases on which the culture rests.

313 114 One of its greatest accomplishments could be an aggressive and continuing program of conservation and afforestation. The present administration, through the Forestry Section of the Food and Natural Resources Department, has started a program which, if permanently pursued, could have far-reaching consequences. An emphasis on selective cutting, conservation, fire control, tidewater plantings, and many other measures could only be a credit to American administrators and foresters as well. The costs, as such things go, would be moderate.

From personal experience in village life, I have no doubt that the co-operation of villagers in all parts of the island could be readily obtained in advancing a large scale afforestation program. The readiness of the people of Matsuda cannot be an exception. These things could be accomplished without an unwieldy administrative apparatus. I have been continually struck with the ability of the Okinawans, with their skill in local organization, to accomplish

12 I am indebted to Mr. Richard Varney of the Department of Food and Natural Resources, USCAR, for this information.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

necessities of life. Fishermen are more accustomed to dealing in currency transactions and these are more frequent and freer than in the farming village. 434 511 184 [437]

The economic history of the average Okinawan agricultural village from the late 19th century when Japanese control became firm to the present is largely an account of the fluctuations in rice, sweet potato and sugar cane production. This history is difficult to reconstruct on a local level because of the destruction of records and inexact memories. The point is nevertheless worth making, if only to stress again that these villages are not isolated rural economies. The general experience seems to have been that crop acreages have contracted and expanded in response to local needs and to the demands of trade with Japan. 433 [439]

In the Hanashiro area, to use one example, there is a current interest in rice production because of its high value, and sugar cane seems to be displacing some sweet potato acreage. Sugar, even though coarse and unrefined, has a market in Japan strong enough to warrant production for the cash income at the expense of the cheap and plentiful sweet potato. 433 435

One of the most significant facts of economic life in these villages has been the maintenance of individual farms and crop variety. Plantation monoculture, subject to international price fluctuations and often conducive to local impoverishment, has not developed. 423 311

Private ownership in land, the inheritance of land within the family system, individual farms, tiny as they are, have undoubtedly been a stabilizing influence on these village economies. 423 428

764 The beginning of a funeral procession is announced by a gong in the yard of a village office. The head man and other leaders and elders of the village attend the funeral. The mayor of the township or his representative joins in the procession.

[793] A Buddhist priest (bōzu-san) did not officiate at this funeral. Priests are scarce in rural Okinawa. Most of them were Japanese who returned to Japan after the war. Families can also save by dispensing with the Buddhist service. The participation of Buddhist priests, already nominal before the war, has now in the villages studied, virtually disappeared.

764 431 It is customary at a death to give a ten or twenty yen offering to the family. The money is put in a small envelop with an expression of sympathy written on it. (In Okinawa money is the usual gift at marriage, birthday celebrations, and at death. The gift may be put in a small envelop but it is common also to give a loose bill).

765 [782] [761] Early on the morning following the funeral, the tomb is visited by members of the family. Food offerings of rice, tea, sake, and a flower may be placed in front of the tomb. A charcoal stick is burned. These visits with the offerings and prayers on the following morning are associated with a belief, still held by the old, that the dead person might still be alive and that the pounding of an adult on the wall or the crying of a child might be heard so that the living could be rescued from the tomb. The belief that the person might still be alive and possibly could be heard seems to persist in Hanashiro and Hinatogawa. It was not encountered in Matsuda, although it might well exist.

2

Burial Places and the Family System

764 Okinawan tombs have excited the interest of foreigners from the earliest days of European contact. There are no cemeteries in the usual sense of the word, but areas scattered throughout the countryside, usually on the tops of hills, or on the stony sides of mountains, are given over to burial grounds. Tombs are not located on land suitable [311] for agriculture. It has been said that the Japanese forbad using agricultural land for tombs, but the practice in Okinawa seems to antedate these Japanese interferences in the culture of the rural areas. In the interior, the tombs are always on wild (genya) land. But one can also see tombs along the seashore and on offshore rocks. The outstanding [565] exceptions to this are the royal tomb area in Shuri, now largely destroyed, and the large and dramatically placed tombs in the center of Itoman town. In the case of Itoman, it is quite probable that the growing town has surrounded the areas taken as tomb sites.

Of the several types of tombs, the turtleback (kamekokata) is the most famous. It has been variously described by European travellers as

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

CONCLUSION

The description of village life presented in the preceding pages is not the delineation of an ancient way of life essentially unchanged from the remote past. Neither is it the study of an old way of living which is now passing away. Rather it is a glimpse of a culture, at a particular moment in time, which has been changing, sometimes slowly, sometimes with great rapidity. The theme of inertia and change, developed in the second chapter, furnishes an opportunity for understanding the culture in the perspective of history. Even though the changes of the last decade have been impressive, they are less striking when placed beside some of the great changes of the past. 128 178

This small island, known to Oriental antiquity and to the Western world after the Age of Discovery, is an excellent illustration of the combination of influences from the outside and of the progressive changes made in the natural environment as a consequence of long human settlement. This theme, imperfectly documented, has repeatedly appeared in this work in order that the affinities of soil and land conservation and forest care with social and cultural questions, such as organization of government, the family system, and economic problems may be recognised. 177 311 182

This idea of a changing culture, in a physical environment of meticulous tillage and of minute subdivision, enables us to see more clearly the inter-relationships of the family system, inheritance, land tenure, the care and conservation of the land, and the methods of agriculture. It is the values within the family system that have given content and meaning to the natural resources, to the tiny paddies, the stony sweet potato patches, and the barren wild land. The tombs and the grave sites also find a place in this minute appraisal of the value and the use of land. 178 182 311

This minute knowledge of the land, obvious as it is to observation, is one of the outstanding cultural characteristics of the people. Indeed this is true of other Oriental peoples as well, even though their preferences have been for the transported soils of the alluvial plains and the deltas. This detailed knowledge of land, of its productivity as gauged by the farmers' patient success in tilling it, is used to build up the system of land classification. 311 181

No less striking is the intimate knowledge of small localities. A tiny village may have five or six of these localities, dignified with a name which, in our culture, would be given to a portion of a large city. Every little spot has a name, even though the origins and the circumstances of the naming are lost in hazy memory.

In this use and tillage of land, perhaps the most important comparison to be made is that, unlike China, Japan, and Korea, dry land and upland agriculture is the chief reliance of the people. There are no Yangtze river deltas and no Kanto plains in Okinawa. The care, conservation and use of land have crept up the hillsides over the most settled [171]

311 parts of the island, and the small deltas, the tiny alluvial plains,
18 the short and narrow valleys are left to produce what little rice can be grown.

Okinawa is not Japan and perhaps it is unrewarding to attempt
171 comparisons between the Okinawans and the Japanese. Okinawa is an island whose rural life is but little disturbed by urban development.
369 Only two places, Naha and Shuri, could be classified as small cities. Important places like Nago, Ishikawa, and Yonabaru are only small towns.

Japan is a culture rich in both its rural and its urban life. The investigation of the life of the great metropolitan cities of Japan is more scattered in specialized studies, more casual, perhaps more impressionistic than the study of some of its villages. Japanese and Okinawan rural life have many things in common, though the Japanese experience may now be distinctly different because of the land reform.

But along with the rural village, there are the great cities of Tokyo, Yokohama, Kyoto, Osaka, Kobe, and Nagoya, and these circumstances make an appraisal of Japanese culture even more complex and elusive.

177 Certainly the long cultural ties with Japan have left their impressions on the people of Okinawa. The Japanese language, the Japanese system of education, altered after the war, Japanese tools, and Japanese literature are clear examples of this direct influence. But there are differences too. Adoption is much less common in Okinawa. The Buddhist influence, except for the altars of household Buddhism, is weak. The Okinawans, during the war, seemed less inclined than the Japanese toward fanatical self-sacrifice in behalf of the emperor cult.

157 In this work, I have avoided discussing the popular subject of
128 the "psychology" of the people. After a few commonplaces, one embarks on a series of impressions which may or may not have validity and which most certainly would be subject to endless qualification. I have therefore, for the most part, left the characteristics of the people to emerge from the descriptions of their historical experience, their social organization, and their family and community life, trusting that from these details one can form an impression of the way in which a people are living and how they meet the manifold problems which confront them.

156 In my own studies, I have been impressed with the feeling of belonging which seems to be the possession of the individual from infancy until his children lay him to rest in the family tomb. There is also a stability in family life, and this stability does not seem so pivoted, as in our culture, on the continued mutual love and affection of the father and the mother. There also seems to be little stress on personal competition.

The infant as well as the mature adult are conditioned to conformity both by the historical obligations and duties under the family

621 Although a number of important shrines and worship places are located in the Kawata area, the main shrine is in Taira.

173 648 722 621 To this tranquil area the activities of World War II brought a great upheaval. Although the main stream of refugees from the south, following threats of United States troups' invasion, did not reach this northern area, Japanese guerilla forces settled in the hills of Higashi township. This, and the constant warnings from the Japanese of the "terrors" of American occupation, caused the population of all villages to take refuge in the mountains, carrying along what few possessions they could, including livestock. Families were separated and individuals lived in constant fear of soldiers from both sides. Nightly excursions to the fields to harvest whatever could be found helped to maintain a meager diet. It is characteristic of the stresses of this period that among the children of central Taira only one was born in 1945.

173 648 722 621 The war ended for Taira people when American troops had cleared the northern areas of Japanese troops. In this action several villages were destroyed, among them Taira. The present economic struggle of Higashi township, an area which was always handicapped by lack of farmland and poor soil, is partly due to the war. On the other hand, the demand for lumber for an island-wide reconstruction program lent a temporary boom to the economy. In the process, however, forests [185] which had been heavily cut before the war fell prey to rapid and poorly planned cutting. At present the whole township is in the throes of economic readjustment.

173 167 621 In the past 50 years, Taira, like the rest of Okinawa, has sent some of its overflow of population to various areas in the world, including Japan, and especially to the industrial areas of Kobe and Osaka, Saipan, and Brazil. At least five of the families in central Taira lived either in Japan or the Pacific Islands and returned shortly after World War II. Emigrants to Brazil have stayed with the exception of one prominent person who returned to Taira several years before the war. Some of the families lived as many as 18 or 20 years abroad, and several children in the study were born in Japan and returned to the village as infants. Among the villagers are many who have served in the Japanese Army in Asia or in the South Seas.

The repatriation of these families does not seem to have caused any serious disturbances to the village, since many people were killed during the war and several families moved to the city. An exodus to the [311] outlying areas of the village also provided room for returnees, so, although rice land is scarce, there is still some uncultivated farmland, admittedly mostly of poor quality.

The community is dispersed. In the outlying parts, as far as 2 miles

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

tion, a frame wood building, and the main store. On the eastern end of the village the road opens into a little square in front of the simple, open prayer house with a small concrete shrine in back, housing three sacred stones. Beyond these is the township office crowned by a mighty pine tree of tremendous and symmetric proportions, acclaimed by Taira people to be the oldest existing pine in Okinawa. Across from the office are the post office and the dispensary. 36

Closer inspection of the village shows former house sites which were not rebuilt. Some still have empty concrete shells or single concrete walls and abandoned pigsties or storage sheds. Some of the vacant lots are used as potato fields, others as play areas, the favorite being a large house lot surrounded by a concrete wall, near the main store. 361 727 [311]

Houses are set back a short distance from the roads and paths, and most face south. In spite of the hedges and trees, the house is easily accessible from the street—its orientation is therefore toward the community as a whole and, as will be seen later, open to visitors who can enter freely without going through winding garden paths and knocking on doors or entering through long corridors and passages. Each house lot is small, ranging from 1300 to 6050 square feet. Houses are set so close to each other that neighborly conversations from one to the other can be conducted without leaving one's premises. Although some privacy is attained by the hibiscus hedges and fences, few secrets can be kept from neighbors. 361 351 [521]

There are several focal areas where people frequently meet and interact. The main store is a geographical center. Its two bulletin boards make it a natural congregating point. The banyan tree, overshadowing the village office and the lower water tank, is another such place, and on any day of the year scores of children can be found on or under it. In prewar times it was flanked by important structures, but now the empty lots, which are adjacent, form a green which is used on good days for village meetings. 361 [203] [139]

South of this green, and close to the water, stands the old warehouse, a concrete structure with tile roof which once served as a storage center for agricultural products shipped south by boat; now it serves as a village meeting playground, especially on rainy days. The open space around it, bordering on the sea wall, is also used as a play area and as a gathering place for young adults. Here people prepare firewood for sale and stack it to be picked up by the village truck. Houses once stood near the 10-foot sea wall but were not rebuilt after the war. [251] [344]

To the north of the store lies the upper water tank. Until several standing faucets were installed in 1955, this used to be another place where people met frequently. Water is diverted from a stream a mile 312 365

512 513 is more likely that the majority of adults have to be satisfied with six and a half hours.

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Chapter 3

Basic Economy

INTRODUCTION

241 433 Taira depends on its fields and forests for a living. Rice and the sweet potato are the principle staple crops; wheat, beans, and vegetables are additional subsistence crops. Firewood and building materials, sugar, pineapple, and silk are main sources of cash. Tea is raised for home consumption.

311 [243] [249] Since the few rivers around Taira are short and the valleys narrow, the area available for wet rice cultivation is limited. Farm land for sweet potatoes is also not too abundant in this mountainous region and is located either on the gently sloped hills or on a few plateaus between valleys. Here and there it rises on skillfully terraced steps along the steep sides of mountains.

311 423 241 The size of land holdings and the quality of soil partly determine whether a family is able to grow additional cash crops or merely subsist. The average holding for each family is about 5 acres of rice land and 6 acres of other farming land. Yet it is important to note that the range and quality of this land vary widely. Some families own only [433] 1½ acres of rice land and an acre of other farm land, while others own as much as 14 acres of rice land and 12 acres of other farm land; good rice paddies produce three times the quantity of poor ones and are wet enough to allow for two crops per year. Of the 141 families questioned, [511] only 15 grew enough rice to be self-sufficient; 123 had to buy extra [433] rice, and only two families raised a surplus for sale. All families grew enough vegetables for home use, and only 18 bought sweet potatoes. Sixty families grew a surplus of vegetables and 16 a surplus of sweet potatoes.

CHAPTER I: GEOGRAPHY

F. R. Pitts

131 Location: Okinawa is a longish island, lying about halfway between Formosa and the southern tip of Kyushu. Together with clusters of islands lying both to the east and west, it forms the political unit known as Okinawa Gun[3].

133 Along the axis of Okinawa, which trends from southwest to northeast, there is a fairly simple division into a plateau-and-mountain northern half, a central plateau area, and a low rolling southern knob. The Motobu peninsula juts westward from the northern, or Kunigami, half and forms a distinctive area. Between the Kunigami mountains and the peaks of Motobu lies the ricebowl of Okinawa---the Haneji lowland.

311 241 Arable Land In general it can be said that the farm population increases as one proceeds south. Map 2, showing the arable land under cultivation as a percentage of the total land area, illustrates this.[1]

Farms in the mountain and plateau north are found in incised V-shaped valleys. Water is plentiful, and rice paddies cover the valley floor. Villages hug the edges of the flat land, and incredibly small sweet-potato terraces rise [137] up the valley's edge. Atop the plateau one finds only silence, and a dense growth of trees and bamboo. Many of the people in the valleys are part-time [132] foresters. The Motobu mountains guard from the frequent typhoons little settlements famed for growing the indigo plant and pineapples. The peninsula's north shore is a fertile but ever-narrowing extension of the Haneji lowland.

In the central plateau area---Nakagami---sweet-potato fields compete with scrubby forest for space on the plateau. Where sufficient water is available, rice fields cover the tiny valley floors and the low-lying coastal fringes. The triangular southern end of the island is known as Shimajiri in [134] popular terminology. Shimajiri is blessed with the greatest concentration of [132] fertile arable land on Okinawa. But the blessing is somewhat reduced by greater exposure to typhoons and a chronic water shortage. Sweet potatoes and sugar cane rank first among crops here.

311 243 Riceland Okinawans prefer to eat rice rather than sweet potatoes whenever possible. It is a paradox, however, that areas of greatest farm [262] population grow the least rice. The thinly populated north has the greatest amount of riceland. Map 3 charts the distribution of riceland---or flooded fields---on Okinawa. Even in the southern 'son' of Yonagusuku and Kanegusuku flooded fields often contain the mat rush rather than rice. It is a good cash crop, and is sturdier than rice when typhoons roar through the islands.

[128] [1] The figures upon which the maps in this section and the population section are based are found in Appendix A. The figures for Japan and Kagoshima-ken are given for comparative purposes. Of all the prefectures in Japan, Kagoshima most nearly resembles Okinawa in climate and emphasis upon sweet potatoes as a staple food.

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Map 2 [1]

[P 2-A]

1. [See pages 222-224 for data upon which this map was based--Analyst]

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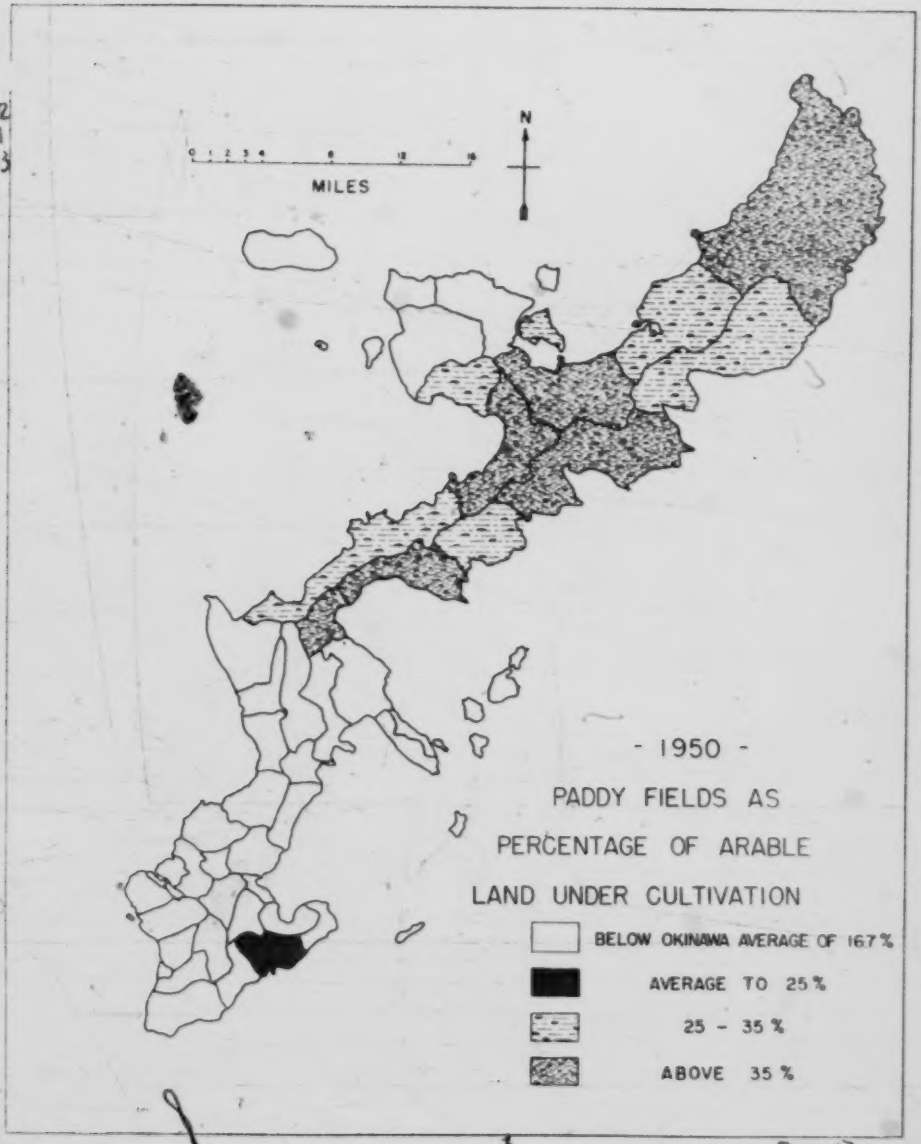

Map 3 [1] [P 2-B]

1. [See pages 222-224 for data upon which this map was based--Analyst]

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175 Before the war Okinawa imported half its soybean requirements. By
241 early 1951 the prewar acreage had been cut by half.[1] This resulted in the
339 necessity to import soy sauce tax-free from Japan, which brought an ineffec-
243 tive protest from the Legislature early in 1954. 'Miso' paste, which is made
252 of soybeans when they are available, is now made also of corn, broad beans, kidney beans, and various other legumes.

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As early as 1946 the occupation forces reported:

> Rapid restoration of Okinawa's prewar agriculture is hampered chiefly by an arable land shortage induced by military requirements in the southern half of the island, where roughly 30,000 acres are devoted to military use. War damage and migration from combat and, later, base development areas seriously disrupted agrarian economy and early planning was delayed pending disposition of farm tracts affected by military expansion.[2]

That loss of both upland dry fields and paddy land was affected is shown by the following:[3] (figures are in 1,000's of acres)

Table II

Type of Land	1940 Acreage	1950 Acreage	% of 1940
Cultivated land	103.8	67.2	65%
Paddy land	11.5	9.6	83%
Upland fields	92.3	57.6	62%

Even more significant is a comparison of the 1940-1950 figures with those for 1904, which show the situation which existed before any Japanese military installations were built.

Table III[4]

Year	Acres Paddy Land	Acres Dry Fields	Total Arable Acres
1904	15,779.1	93,952.6	109,731.7
1940	11,527.25	82,273.86	93,801.11
1950	9,559.56	57,610.16	67,169.72

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[1] Ryukyu Islands Economic Statistics Bulletin, no. 10, January-March, 1951.

[2] Summation...op. cit., p. 26.

[3] Ryukyu...., p. 13.

[4] The 1904 data are from Summary of the Land Adjustment in Okinawa Prefecture, Tokyo, 1904. The 1940 and 1950 figures are from the reverse side of the large map, Okinawa shotō shōzu.

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In all cases, Kunigami seems to have held up the best, and Nakagami has fared the worst. Again this reflects the military interest of both the Japanese and the Americans. The comparison of 1904 acreage with that of 1950 in each of the three areas is shown below:

Table IV

Area	1904 Acreage		1950 Acreage		% Decrease	
	Paddy	Dry	Paddy	Dry	Paddy	Dry
Kunigami	6,530.5	28,398.5	5,463.0	20,773.8	16%	27%
Nakagami	3,861.2	34,176.1	1,675.1	14,932.0	57%	56%
Shimajiri	5,370.3	30,978.7	2,443.9	21,904.4	55%	29%
Okinawa Island[1]	15,779.1	93,952.6	9,589.0	57,610.2	39%	39%

Chronology of Changes in Farming Technique It is impossible to give for the whole of Okinawa a schedule showing just when each technical innovation was introduced. Some parts of Shimajiri and Nakagami were in advance of the rest of the island; conversely, one finds on the outer islands practices still carried on that the more progressive areas abandoned more than two decades ago. 178 241

In Yamada the transplanting of rice was originally done by scattering (bara'ii) of the shoots. Shortly before 1930 this method was replaced by planting in rows, with a string to mark the distance. The spaces were filled in by planting while walking backwards. About 1950 people started transplanting while moving forward. This has been replaced in part---at least in areas where the mud is firm and clayey---by the planting frame, the 'waku'. 178 243

Farmers kept the harvested rice in conical stacks (majin) several feet high. The bundles (tabai) had the heads facing inward to prevent attack by rats. The number of these stacks was indicative of the farmer's prestige in the community. The sheaves were removed from the bottom layer always, and only when rice was needed for food. [554]

Removal of the grain from the stalk was accomplished by the kūrashijii. This was a pair of bamboo tongs held in the right hand, while the sheaf was drawn through the tongs with the left hand. When the new variety of rice was introduced, use of the kanabā became common. This iron-comb-like device, through which the sheaves were drawn one at a time, can still be found in use on the isle of Sesoko, off the Motobu peninsula. It apparently did not find 178 243 412

[1] The discrepancy in the 1904 totals for Okinawa Island and grand totals for the three division of the island is accounted for by 17.1 acres of paddy land and 256.7 acres of dry fields in Naha, and 142.6 acres of dry fields in Shuri.

swiss chard for pig feed, as well as the greater availability of lantana bushes for livestock feed. The following table compares the 1931 figures with those for 1952: 178 727 231

Table VI

Livestock Type	1931	1952	1952 as % of 1931
Cattle	41	229	558.0%
Horses	1,676	74	4.4%
Swine	1,774	2,490	140.0%
Goats	4,217	1,400	33.3%

The "great rabbit boom" is often spoken of by farmers in an amusing vein. In the winter of 1946-1947 rabbits assumed the form of currency, and in a mad fever people bought rabbits and sold them, never realizing their true value. A Nanahan farmer related: 175 231 [43]

> I hitched a ride on a truck, and went up to the Katchin peninsula. There I bought a rabbit for ¥600. I sold it the next day to B. for ¥1200. He resold it for ¥700 profit to a Gisshi farmer who was waiting to buy one. Then I went up again, stayed overnight, and sold the new rabbit for ¥1000 profit. Again and again I went, and finally amassed ¥5000 in profits. With these rabbit profits I bought what I thought was a pregnant goat for ¥7000. It wasn't pregnant, and I had to sell it for ¥3000, taking a loss. But then I bought a pig from B. for ¥2500 and sold it to 'One-armed K' for ¥3000.
>
> In Tsukazan, which was the center of the rabbit trade in this area, a man sold all of his land to invest in rabbits, but he lost everything on the deal.

2. Land Use

The basic pattern of land use has been described in Glacken's Okinawan Village Studies (SIRI Report No. 4), and in Nuttonson, Ecological Crop Geography and Field Practices of the Ryukyu Islands, Natural Vegetation of the Ryukyus, and Agro-Climatic Analogues in the Northern Hemisphere. Although agriculture is not quite as intensive nor yields so high as in Japan, still much intercropping, double-cropped and rotation of crops is carried on. Because sugar cane takes a year or more to mature, various crops such as kidney beans, giant radish, cucumbers, broad beans, soy beans and mustard cabbage are interplanted with the cane. They mature and are harvested before the cane grows too tall and cuts off the sunlight. Sugar cane is rotated in a two-crop cycle of cane and sweet potatoes; or it is rotated with soybeans and sweet potato in a three-crop cycle. Very rarely is cane replanted in a field which has just produced a crop. In this way the farmers hope to diminish the damage done by worms and insects. 311 241

241 311 312 Yields Per Acre Because Okinawa is a sub-tropical country, crops can be grown the year around. Hence the low productivity of a land subject to natural disaster such as drought and typhoons is somewhat compensated for. In the limestone areas of Shimajiri ground water is scarce except after [131] fairly heavy rains. Nanahan has nine small ponds, or kumui, where people wash clothes and sweet potatoes and in which grows the water convolvulus, or unchēbā. Farmers say that if a drought lasts three months, crops do not yield [132] at all. All remember the great drought of 1895 (Meiji 28-nen) when no rain fell for seven or eight months. Even wells dug in river bottoms dried up. The 23 households of Nanahan at present have eight small wells and one large community well which was dug in 1948. Little ditches on the hillsides lead rainwater to the rice paddies, and are fixed so that the water can be directed into wells. If a paddy field is near the farmer's house, a drainage ditch is dug to it for the disposal of used household water which is considered to contribute to a field's fertility. Tables VII and VIII show the yield of crops in Okianwan and American terms.

241 433

Table VII

Crop	Yield per tan[1]	Bushels per acre[2]
Summer rice	1.10 koku	41.1 bushels brown rice
Winter rice	1.16 koku	43.3 bushels brown rice
Upland rice	.72 koku	26.9 bushels brown rice
Common barley	.51 koku	10.4 bushels
Wheat	.59 koku	12.1 bushels
Naked barley	.52 koku	10.6 bushels
Millet	.38 koku	7.85 bushels
Common European millet	.40 koku	8.17 bushels
Soybeans	.70 koku	14.3 bushels
Green peas	.55 koku	11.3 bushels
Broad beans	.71 koku	14.6 bushels
Kidney beans	.71 koku	14.6 bushels
Peanuts	.83 koku	17.2 bushels

Table VIII

Crop	Yield per tan	Tons per acre
Sweet potatoes	1,762 kin	47.6
Irish potatoes	2,176	58.8
Cabbage	3,540	96.1
Other leafy vegetables	1,669	45.1
Giant radish	2,677	72.2
Carrots	2,439	65.85
Pumpkins	2,090	56.5

[1] Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku, Vol. 3, No. 3, p. 1, 1953 (data for Okinawa Guntō).

[2] Converted according to standard indices, as given in SCAP, Natural Resources Section, Report No. 143, Tokyo, 1951.

Table VIII, cont'd.

Crop	Yield per tan	Tons per acre
Cucumbers	1,570	42.4
Wax Melon	1,859	50.2
Tomatoes	2,789	75.5
Watermelons	1,557	42.0
'I' rush ('Bingo-i')	1,411	38.1
'I' sedge ('Shichitō-i')	1,715	46.3
Tea	197	5.32
Mandarin orange ('mikan')	1,183	31.95
Edible banana	1,629	44.0
Green manure crops	2,994	87.5
Sugar cane (cane weight)[1]	9,000	243.0

241
433

Use of Grass, Trees and Brush Southern Okinawa looks barren to the American observer---few trees break the skyline and great fields of long grass cover the hillsides. The comment heard most often is, "Why don't the Okinawans plow up the grass and plant crops, instead of letting all that land go to waste?" The only proper and truthful answer to this query, of course, is that the grass is utilized to the full and that none "goes to waste". 311 311 824

The "ubiquitous miscanthus" referred to by Glacken actually comprises many grasses, chief among which are 'susuku', 'kaya', and one known by the Okinawan name nāichū. 'Susuki' is used mainly for the making of brooms, which occurs in December after the flowering of this grass has turned the countryside from deep green to a cloudy whiteness. 'Kaya' is used mainly for the thatching of roofs, but is also fed to livestock. Among other plants of the wild land, or 'genya', are the 'mogusa' or fūchibā, used for moxibustion and as a vegetable in soups; the hirahāgusa, used to cure leech bites; and the warabinufūnii, or edible bracken fern. [137]

The Japanese butter-bur is found in the 'genya', and is utilized as a tobacco substitute in hard times, and occasionally as food. The flowering ginger, or sannin, furnishes leaves for wrapping rice cakes, and fiber for the tying of bundles of sugar cane. The leaf of the inedible potato or m-bashi (Japanese, 'kuwazu-imo') was used by very poor people before the war as a wrapper for 'miso' paste, which they peddled throughout the countryside. The plant is still used to stop the bleeding of wounds. The lantana---known in Hawaii as "haole-koa"---furnished poles for house roofs, leaves for fodder, and beans for tea during famines. Numerous other grasses and herbs are used by the older generation for medicinal purposes, as can be seen by perusal of Tawada's excellent book, Okinawa Yakuyō Shokubutsu Yakkō, 2nd edition, Naha, 1951. [176]

Almost all trees, which in Shimajiri means essentially those surrounding the houses, are used in some way above and beyond their major function as windbreaks in time of typhoons. The leaves of the yūna tree are a native

[1] This information is from the Kochinda-son Office.

The leaves of the yūna tree are a native
311 substitute for toilet paper, and are still used in some villages, though people
824 deny that the practice continues. When pressed they may intimate that so-and-
[514] so, "the poor family over the hill", retains the practice. Banyan trees fur-
[178] nish leaves for green manure, as do many other varieties. Before the war many
people grew kuroki for eventual use in the making of samisens. The top of the
[534] tree was cut when young so that it would become stubby and thick. The neigh-
boring village of Tsukazan boasts of a samisen-maker whose fame has taken him to Naha. The 'kusunoki' tree is considered to be the best tree to plant near the house, for it discourages termites.

241 Fertilizers Okinawan farmers in most areas utilize the traditional night soil and green manures, as well as the modern synthetic fertilizers.
[514] Almost every house has two toilets. The one not in use is utilized as a
[237] night-soil decay pit. Pig manure is mixed with the human excreta, water added, and the whole let set for about a fortnight before use on the fields. Use of animal manure in the paddies was abandoned with the introduction of the new variety of rice. Animal manure produced good heads on the old variety but makes heavy stalks only on the new.

241 Green manure is extensively used as a plant nutrient in the paddy
824 fields. Indeed, some paddies in winter are devoted to the raising of green manure, which is plowed under before spring planting. Outer leaves of cabbage are fed to goats to become manure for the dry fields, or the leaves are trampled into the mud of the paddy to decay. Thistles, 'kuwazu-imo' leaves, and tree leaves of the yūna and banyan are only a few of the many types of green manure. Compost, or 'taihi', is made for the dry fields and some paddies by mixing animal manure with 'genya' grasses, rice straw, and other plant remains. Before the war, compost was not used for vegetables, because it would cause a shortage in the amount available for the cane fields. Nowadays compost is more available, and many vegetables assume huge proportions. One Nanahan farmer produced a wax melon weighting 97 'kin', or 128 pounds.

241 Commercial fertilizers available to the farmers include ammonium sulphate ('ryusan ammoniya', 'ryūan'), synthesized fertilizer ('kasei hiryo'), ammonium nitrate ('ryusan kari'), nitrogen-lime ('sekkai chisso'), urea ('nyōso'), potassium chloride ('enkakari'), and superphosphate of lime ('Karinsan sekkai'). Ammonium sulphate is preferred for sugar cane. During the last four or five years the Agricultural Federation ('Nōren') in Naha has enforced a tie-in sale so that when a farmer buys two sacks of ammonium sulphate, he must also buy one sack of superphosphate of lime. Farmers in Tomoyose quite often dispose of the latter by dumping it beside the road, as they believe that it is not good for the soil found on their farms. One enterprising Nanahan farmer, who for several years was a member of the Kochinda-son agricultural committee, enquires about the cast-off fertilizer, and when he finds it he uses it to good effect. When he was interviewed concerning this, he expressed anger at what he considered the backwardness of his neighbors.

Okinawans were first introduced to chemical fertilizer in the mid-
[177] twenties, when a black fertilizer appeared. This was later replaced by the various white products, which since some time before the war have been supplemented by soybean waste when available.

mean the same thing, village, although the term 'aza' tends to be geographical in connotation whereas 'ku' refers more to the political community. Official land maps use the designation 'aza' and the same term is used for one's postal address. Conversely, the 'koseki' (household registry) kept in the township office is labelled as the 'koseki' of a certain 'ku', and the political head or mayor of a village is referred to as the 'kuchō' ('ku' leader or head). The villagers never use the term 'ku' in referring to their village; instead the terms 'aza', mura, or 'buraku' are used. The township of Kanegusuku-son located in southern Okinawa approximately three miles south of Naha on the west coast is subdivided into eight villages or 'aza', each of these comprising a separate settlement surrounded by its fields. 621

Every 'aza' consists of a number of haru (cognate to the Japanese hara) which best translates as "field". Kanegusuku, one of the eight villages of Kanegusuku-son and the one from which it takes its name, consists of eight haru, though the number in a given village is completely arbitrary. These haru or fields are local designations for the various areas of a village and are well known to all the villagers. The haru names are fairly similar from village to village throughout Okinawa though occasionally local geographical features or place names, particularly those of streams, are used. Names like wii baru (upper field), agari baru (east field), iri baru (west field), kushi baru (back field), mee baru (front field), shicha baru (lower field) are found in nearly every village. It is interesting to note that the names north field and south field rarely occur, and where they do occur, the author suspects that they have been put in use quite recently, for in the old, typical Okinawan village all of the houses face south, and the field names are usually ordered around this orientation. Thus, mee baru (front field) is usually south of the village while kushi baru (back field) is usually on the north side. This carries over into the household naming system (yago) employed by the villagers to designate each of the house lots within the settlement. 621 103

Each haru is broken into many small parcels or plots of land. On the village land maps every plot is assigned to one of six categories---house or building land, irrigated land, dry farm land, grass land, forest land, and miscellaneous, including tomb land. Each plot is also given a number on the land maps and in the land registry ('tochi daichō') for the purpose of identification, though oftentimes the villagers refer to them by local names. 621 311 [423]

2. Political Organization[1]

There are three levels of government (exclusive of military government) existing on Okinawa today---the central government (Government of the Ryukyu Islands), municipal governments ('shi-chō-son'), and 'ku' (ward or village) governments. The structure of government is pyramidal, there is a hierarchial chain of command, and each echelon of government exceeds in authority the unit immediately below it. There is no allocation of rights and powers as exists among the various national, state, and local segments of American government, since the state operates as a highly-organized and heavily centralized unitary whole. Variation in the form and function of local government from one area to another is slight. Individuals appear to play but a small role in this 642 [631]

[1] A major part of the information presented in this chapter derives from the author's study in the township of Kanegusuku-son and particularly in one of its villages, Kanegusuku-ku. This has been supplemented by data gathered in briefer studies in other parts of Okinawa. 101

allotment system was now entered in the newly-created land registries as the 175
property of the household head. In the past inheritance of the position of 648
household head by the first son had been largely a matter of status succes- 177
sion involving leadership of the family and certain ceremonial obligations.
Property succession had not been an important factor, for the private 423
property of the family had usually amounted to no more than the family 177
house and lot. Under the old land allotment system there was always land
available for younger sons who set up independent houses, but under Japanese 423
law the bulk of the family property was inherited by the first son. What had 428
been the function of the community in the past now became the responsibility 592
of the family, and since family holdings were usually small, the younger sons
were often landless. Informants stated that a father will usually do every-
thing possible to provide his younger sons with land, but he cannot do this
if it means jeopardizing the resources of the house. Continuation of the
family line for the purpose of continuity in worshipping the ancestors is
the chief responsibility incumbent on the household head, and in the rural
areas the land provides the major support for the house. With the rise in [166]
population there developed an increasing trend for younger sons to emigrate
from the rural areas in search of land or jobs elsewhere. The end result [602]
was a considerable weakening of family and especially kin group ties and a [621]
rapid decline in the communal character of the rural villages.

Though the creation of private property made possible the sale, pur- 175
chase, and rental of land, landlordism never gained a foothold on Okinawa. 423
Undoubtedly this is primarily due to the recency of private property and the 427
lack of time for large accumulations of land to be made. It is also in part
due to a lack of capital in the rural areas; most capital on Okinawa after [471]
the annexation and before World War II was confined to the hands of Japanese
businessmen and members of the former upper classes who seemed disinclined to
invest in land. Likewise the official Japanese attitude toward Okinawa was [648]
to regard it as a rather backward part of Japan not to be exploited as a
colonial dependency as in the case of Formosa and Korea. Glacken has sug- [171]
gested that the heavy fragmentation of the typical Okinawan farm would be an
obstacle to its sale; yet, the Chinese farmland is also highly fragmented
and landlordism has been common there for centuries.[1]

After the abolition of the communal allotment system taxes were ex- 175
tended to cover all categories of land whereas previously they had been ap- 423
plied only to arable land; however, government income from land taxes sharply 651
declined, as the moderate levies of the Japanese administration were con-
siderably below those of the Okinawan monarchy. Despite this reduction in [311]
tax load there has been a steady decline in the amount of land cultivated
since the termination of the old land system; this is clearly shown in Tables
III and IV in Chapter III, Agricultural History, Land Use and Diet.

3. World War II and the American Occupation

175
During World War II Okinawa became the scene of one of the most vio- 727
lent battles of modern times. The entire island was turned into a combat

[1] Glacken, 1951, p. 160.

4. A Comparison of Land Tenure in Two Rural Villages: Kanegusuku and Kitazato

621 Kanegusuku The village of Kanegusuku is located in the southwestern cor-
[34] ner of Kanegusuku-son approximately three miles due south of Naha on the west coast, and it is immediately north of the town of Itoman. As is typical of the old Okinawan villages it is situated on high ground with all of its houses facing in a southerly direction. Aside from a detached cluster of eleven houses, the village houses are close together in
[12] a contiguous settlement. The village was selected for study because of its infrequent contact with Americans, relative lack of war damage, and a reputed antiquity and conservatism. As of December, 1953, the population was 507 persons forming 108 families occupying 103 houses. The present population is said to be about the same as before the war despite a 20% loss of life during the battle; this loss has been made up by repatriates from overseas and immigrants from other areas of Okinawa. The repatriates and some of the immigrants either had formerly resided in the village or regarded it as their ancestral home. There are nine families who were native to some other part of Okinawa before the war and have no previous connections with the village. The majority of the families have been in this village for
[592] many generations. There are approximately five persons in each household, which usually consists of a nuclear family, husband and wife and their children; but the composition of a number of households has been changed due to wartime losses.

Socially the village is segmented into eight lineages which con-
[613] stitute 92% of the total population; the remaining 8% is made up of unrelated families new to the village since the end of the war. One lineage includes nearly 61% of the village in its membership. Each of these lineages
[582] is related to lineages in other villages. Approximately 66% of the village marriages have been within the village, and nearly 50% of the marriages have been between persons of the same kin group. Thus, the composition of the village is fairly homogeneous, and both the community and the kin groups are strong cohesive units.

621 Occupation 98 of the 103 houses are engaged full time in farming;
463 the household heads of the five remaining houses are employed outside the
241 village in non-agricultural pursuits although all participate in some part-time farming. In addition to these five there were approximately fifteen young men, not household heads, who also worked outside. Most of these commuted daily to the greater Naha area where they were engaged in military employment or construction work. For the majority of villagers farming was the sole occupation.

621 Arable Land Over 66% of the total area of this village is under
311 cultivation, and about 38% of the cultivated land is in irrigated fields.
[434] The chief sources of income derive from rice and mats made from a sedge which is grown in an irrigated field. In terms of the average amount of
[136] arable land per household Kanegusuku is somewhat better off than the average for Okinawa: 1514.2 'tsubo' for Kanegusuku as compared with 1037.6 'tsubo' for Okinawa.

[Kanegusuku]

Non-cultivated land, however, is equally important to the average farm household in providing fuel, thatching, green manure, and many other necessities. 621 [311]

Land Holdings A breakdown of the 103 houses of Kanegusuku shows that 97 own land; 6 houses own no land of any type. Of the 103 houses, 56 rent land, and 6 of these rent all the land which they use. The remaining 50 own some land and rent some land. The figures are somewhat misleading, as included among the renters are those who rent only house lots; also included are some houses which have more than enough land for their own needs, but have rented plots contiguous to their main plots and in turn rent out their inaccessible plots to others. 621 423 427

In terms of total land per household 60% possess one or more acres of land which includes house lots, grass land, and forest in addition to cultivated fields. Nearly 73% of the village houses possess three-quarters of an acre or more of land which might arbitrarily be taken as the minimum necessary for mere existence, since farmers say that from 1000 to 2000 'tsubo' (1224 'tsubo' equal one acre) are needed for the average family. This leaves 27% of the village or exactly 28 houses with insufficient land for their needs. An investigation revealed that 13 of these 28 "have-not" houses were new to the village since the war. This group includes former residents of other Okinawan communities as well as repatriate families, of which 4 can be classed as having insufficient land. Three of these 28 houses without sufficient land were headed by widows, and two of these significantly were women who were not residents of the village, so that they were without close relatives in the village to help them. One person, the sole occupant of his house, was mentally unfit to take care of his lands and was helped by relatives. The remaining 11 of these 28 houses were headed by persons who were old residents of the village, but of these 9 were houses headed by younger sons who had established independent branch houses since the end of the war. Thus, out of a total of 28 landless and virtually landless houses, only two were headed by first sons who were native to the village. Although this group constitutes but 27% of the houses, it rents 51% of all the land rented by villagers. 621 423 [427]

Fields There are on the average 11 plots of land per household in Kanegusuku; of these 6 are cultivated fields while the remainder are in grass land, house lot, and forest or wood land. The average rice field is a little over a quarter of an acre in size, whereas the average dry field is about one-sixth of an acre in size. [311] [241]

Owners The land records list 160 landowners in Kanegusuku; 146 of these now reside in the village and 14 are listed as absent. Since there are but 103 houses in the village, a number of houses have more than one landowner. This is in part a result of the war, which broke up a number of families by deaths and also caused a severe housing shortage; consequently, there is some doubling up in a number of houses. Another factor is that in the land-rich houses (comparatively speaking) a father often has set aside some land for his younger sons and has entered this land in their names even though they are still quite young. [362]

[Kitazato]

175 621 727 It is said that the division of the village cut across family lines and that the motivating factor in a household's choice of one site over another was the location of their remaining landholdings on the periphery of the village. Another factor was the presence of relatives in neighboring villages from whom they might secure land for rental. Thus, Kijikina is largely made up of households which have their lands on that side of the field or have relatives in neighboring Furushima; the Hama people mostly own the land at the north side of the field.

175 621 The Pre-war Village Prior to the war the village was, according to 'son' officials, a very prosperous community and a great economic asset to the 'son'. It possessed nearly 173 acres in arable land, most of which was flat or gently rolling. The soil was well suited to sugar cane which was the chief source of income for the village; cattle-raising for export to Japan provided an additional source of income.

[249] [534] [233] [439]

Unlike Kanegusuku the lineages were said to be rather weak in Kitazato; there were a number of different kin groups, and no one of these was dominant. The houses of the village were not tightly nucleated like those of the typical Okinawan village but were scattered about in a loose grouping in the midst of the best agricultural land.

[36]

621 311 727 Land Loss At the present time (May, 1954) approximately 39% of the total land area of this village is in airfield, and an additional 34% of the total area has been ruined by activities related to its construction (sand dumped onto fields, top soil removed, erosion, etc.). There remains but 27% of the total land area for the use of the villagers, and of this only a small percentage is in arable land, since most of the good, flat farmland was lost to the airfield. The total amount of arable land remaining is 11,895 'tsubo' (less than ten acres), and this averages out to about 148 'tsubo' or 0.12 acres per household, with approximately five persons in each house. The average amounts of arable land per household in Kanegusuku, Okinawa, and Kitazato compare as follows:

[134]

Kanegusuku	---	1514.2 'tsubo'
Okinawa	---	1037.2 'tsubo' (per farm household)
Kitazato	---	148.7 'tsubo'

Land loss to the airfield affected every family in the village; some families lost all of their lands, a very few managed to retain most, but the majority of villagers (70%) lost nearly all of their holdings. For example, the mayor of the village held 2470 'tsubo' before the war and now has 570 'tsubo' left; yet, he is considered one of the more fortunate. To compensate for their losses they now farm some land which was previously left idle: "We would not have farmed such land before the war as we are farming today." Some have rented lands from neighboring villages, and a few have been given land by relatives in these villages.

621 829 727 Land Payment The people of Kitazato strongly feel that they are not being paid adequate remuneration in terms of current rental values for their land. They are well aware of the fact that the same U. S. military

178
Military installations have attracted people from all areas, and at 177
the present time over twenty-five percent of the total labor force is employed 727
by the military or in subsidiary occupations. Some of these people are drawn [464]
from the landless element which formerly would have emigrated. In other areas
land has been left idle by those who have sought salaried jobs in preference [311]
to farming. In places, extensive military land use has greatly increased
land pressure. The circulation of money has been accelerated, and new pat- [491]
terns of living have evolved. Many miles of all-weather roads have been con-
structed and the island transportation system has improved to a point where
villagers have a mobility undreamed of in the prewar era.

The major forces for change have been technological and economic. 177
Where changes have occurred in the social system, they have come about largely 178
as a result of these factors. Man has always tended to accept new things
faster than new ideas, but in final analysis these will alter ideas too. It
has been said that the streetcar and trains have contributed more to the
breakdown of the idea of caste in India than any other single factor; so too
on Okinawa, the changes effected by a new technology, greater circulation of
money, and improved mobility operate to alter the fabric of life. Most rural 177
Okinawans would be decidedly opposed to any overt action designed toward 369
weakening the unity of their village; yet, when they put aside farming to 621
commute daily to a city job, avail themselves of the newspapers, movies, and 178
radio programs emanating from the city, and no longer participate in labor
exchanges and other cooperative ventures, it is to precisely this end that
they are contributing.

It is the opinion of the author that the major forces for change in 177
contemporary Okinawa were already operative before the war. The real impact 178
of the American occupation has been a rapid acceleration of the forces of
change which have been slowly building up since the beginning of the century.

<u>Aspects of Change in Rural Okinawa: Transportation</u> One of the most im- 178
pressive changes in 491
post-war Okinawa with far-reaching cultural implications has been the im-
proved transportation system which has made possible a greater mobility. A
network of modern highways now girdle the land where formerly narrow dirt
roads and paths had sufficed. To one who had last seen the island in 1945
the contrast in 1954 was most remarkable.

The increase in motor vehicles has been more than ten-fold over the 178
prewar period. Most villages now have easy access to bus lines which connect [494]
to virtually all points of the island. Where formerly villagers but rarely
went to town, they now make such trips frequently. It is not uncommon in the [484]
Shimajiri and Nakagami areas of the island for an individual to commute each
day from his village to his place of employment in a military camp, town, or
city.

The improvement in transportation has enabled the farmers to bring 178
products to the best markets. Formerly most Kanegusuku products were sold 443
in nearby Itoman, but today with the advent of rapid bus service to Naha
many items are taken there for sale.

Statistics show (see chapter on Agricultural History) that since the termination of the communal land holding system in 1903, there has been a steady decrease in the amount of land cultivated on Okinawa. That this has continued unabated at the same time that the population has rapidly increased seems a paradox. Most certainly improvements in crop yields through research development have not been sufficient to offset this. Nor has the tax burden been excessive or crushing; in fact, quite the contrary is true since the Japanese substantially reduced land taxes when they abolished the communal system. What is more, the shortage of food has for many years necessitated importation of a considerable portion of the food consumed, and in view of the limited job opportunities in pre-war Okinawa, it seems unlikely that this means of livelihood would be overlooked. It would seem that the major reasons for this decline are cultural and historical. 178 241 [311]

It will be recalled that the farmer in the Okinawan kingdom lived in a state of serfdom; class differences were in effect those of caste. When freed from the restrictions by the Japanese, many were likely eager to depart from the farm village. The status of the farmer traditionally has been quite low on Okinawa. People dislike farming, and those who do farm state quite frankly that they are farmers only because they know nothing else, being poorly educated or possessed of little ability. No young men were heard to express a desire to become farmers, and no father wishes this occupation for his son. Pitts and the author noted in studying the household registries for their respective villages that not infrequently the first son has left the farm to seek employment elsewhere, quite contrary to usual Japanese practice. Farming is not a goal for the Okinawan youth today, and at the University of the Ryukyus the quotas for admission to agricultural studies were barely filled in 1954 whereas some of the other departments had three and four times as many applicants as openings. Centuries of a communal land ownership system left the farmer with no feeling of attachment toward his soil such as exists among the Chinese peasantry. Land was frequently reapportioned, and no plots were retained long enough by a given cultivator to give him a feeling of proprietorship. It is said that few ever tried to improve their holdings, as they felt these would soon be allotted to another. 178 241 554 [566]

The nature of taxation under the communal land system together with slowly rising population also made necessary a greater exploitation of land resources than is necessary today. The old tax rate was fixed and was set at a ratio of 40%. If the government had set 100 koku per year as the expected yield for a given village, then the government demanded 40 koku from that village each year. This may perhaps have been satisfactory to the villagers at the time of assessment, but as the population slowly rose there were more mouths to feed out of the villagers' 60 koku portion, and there was no respite from the tax demands in time of crop failure. Consequently, there was increasing pressure to bring more and more land under cultivation; undoubtedly, inferior, low-yield, idle soils were made into farm land. After the peasant was freed from this system and the trend toward sugar production began, foods were imported from outside, and the slow contraction of arable land figures began. 178 241 651 311

The average Japanese farm of 2 1/2 acres and the average Chinese farm of over 4 acres contrast strongly with the Okinawan average (and most are 241 433

241 average, since the range is narrow) of approximately one acre.[1] Even by the
433 most skillful and intensive gardening methods there are limits to what can be extracted from the best of soils. One might say that the average Okinawan farmer is engaged in sub-subsistence farming. With the traditionally low
241 status accorded a farmer and the minute size of his holdings it is hardly any
554 wonder that the Okinawan does not like farming and is eager to accept whatever is available elsewhere.

178 Land loss to military installations has accelerated a process which
241 has been operative for fifty years. In this case, however, the effect has
311 been concentrated in certain areas and not distributed over the island at large; consequently, there has been considerable hardship in these localities.
727 But the main point of bitterness where it has been so engendered is over the loss of livelihood rather than over the loss of the land per se. The point, they feel, is that not only have they lost their lands but that they also are not receiving adequate compensation for this loss. It would not be an exaggeration to state that most perhaps would prefer to be landlords, under reasonable terms, to the military than farm the land if it were available again.

178 Okinawan food production has passed through three phases in the last
433 fifty to sixty years. During the first phase prior to the land reform of 1899-1903 there was a self-sufficiency of food in the rural areas. After the reform, the Japanese subsidized sugar and did much to encourage its production, which rose to a point 900% above local consumption. This led to a sharp decline in acreage planted in other foods, particularly grains---rice, wheat, millet. Since 1943 there has been a shift toward increasing food production[2], and sugar has dropped to about one-tenth its prewar level. In some villages such as Kanegusuku where mat weaving was formerly of considerable importance the irrigated fields formerly planted in sedge have been replanted with rice. Despite the increasing emphasis on food production it is unlikely that the village will ever return to self-sufficiency, for in recent years new tastes have altered the diet and created a dependence on foods not produced within the village.

178 <u>Settlement Patterns</u> The reconstruction of villages after the war
361 often did not follow the prewar pattern. Suttles states that prewar Yamada was a scattered settlement made up of several small hamlets, whereas the new postwar settlement is a nucleated one. The new site is at an important crossroads, while the heart of the old village is virtually empty. North of Yamada on the Highway to Nago one can see where the new road has departed from the old one; in several cases the villagers have moved closer to the new road despite the fact that it was much dustier there.

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1 Cressey, George B., <u>Asia's Lands and Peoples</u>. New York, 1944, p. 84, p. 191.

2 Several informants stated that the word went out to the farmers in that year to concentrate all efforts on food production. Undoubtedly this was linked to the turn of events in the war for the Japanese.

APPENDIX "A"

128 This appendix contains figures upon which Maps 2 through 7 were based. List A is for Map 2, List B for Map 3, and so forth. The figures for Japan and Kagoshima are derived from the Japan Statistical Yearbook, 1950. All other figures are based on data in Ryūkyū tōkei hokoku.

311 241 List A Arable land under cultivation as a percentage of total land area. The 31 December 1950 figures are used for area of arable land. Figures for total land area are for 31 December 1952. However, the calculation is valid as of the former date because the areas of political units did not change in the two years. The amount of arable land in Naha is negligible; the area for Tokashiki was not available in 'chō'.

311 243 List B Flooded fields (riceland) as a percentage of total arable land under cultivation, 1950. The figures for Japan and Kagoshima are valid as of 1 August 1947. No acreage of riceland was reported from Ie Shima, Naha, Aguni, Minami Daitō or Kita Daitō.

161 List C Population density per square kilometer. The data for Japan and Kagoshima are valid as of 1 August 1948. The data for Okinawa Guntō are valid as of 31 December 1952.

List D Number of persons per acre of arable land under cultivation, 1950. Data for Japan and Kagoshima are valid as of 1 August 1948. The census of persons in Okinawa Guntō was taken on 1 December 1950. The data on acreage of arable land under cultivation were reported 31 December 1950. Inasmuch as December is not a month when new land is reclaimed, the map and figures may be considered valid as of 1 December 1950. No figure is given for Naha because the acreage of arable land is negligible. No figure is given for Minami Daitō because of the great acreage planted to sugar cane. About 9,400 'tan' of the 11,000 'tan' of arable land there is in this crop.

List E Percentage of increase in population, 1940-1950. Data for Japan and Kagoshima are not available for those years. Data for Okinawa Guntō are valid as of 1 October 1940 and 1 December 1950. A minus sign (-) denotes a net decrease. At the time of the 1940 census, some political units were not separate, but were included in towns or cities nearby; therefore the 1950 figure of necessity includes both areas as one.

List F Percentage of increase in population, 1950-1952. Data for Japan and Kagoshima are not available for those years. Data for Okinawa Guntō are valid as of 1 December 1950 and 31 December 1952. The total percentage of increase in the 25 months was 5.55%---these percentages are reported on page 76 of Civil Affairs Activities in the Ryukyu Islands. On the map any area with an increase of less than 5.55% and a decrease of less than 5% was considered an area of moderate emigration. Any area where the decrease exceeded 5% was considered as an area of excessive emigration. An area with more than 5.55% increase but less than 10% increase during that period was considered an area of moderate immigration. Areas in which the increase exceeded 10% are considered as having urban characteristics.

3: Pitts et al. E,K-5 (1953-1954) 1955 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Political Unit	List A	List B	List C	List D	List E	List F
Japan	32.8	55.4	217.7	6.30	----	----
Kagoshima	19.2	37.5	225.5	5.14	----	----
Okinawa Guntō	15.7	16.7	424.6	12.40	22.8	8.9
Kunigami	3.1	36.7	57.1	9.58	20	-7.0
Ogimi	10.3	25.8	139.3	7.72	15	-3.8
Higashi	5.9	33.8	487.6	8.27	11	-5.5
Haneji	9.7	52.0	172.7	8.76	43	-2.0
Yagaji	24.9	26.9	745.2	9.35		-20.5
Nakijin	21.6	13.7	382.2	8.58	29	3.0
Kamimotobu	28.4	4.2	579.7	10.20	35	-1.0
Motobu	12.1	11.3	442.6	17.27		-5.8
Yabu	9.8	29.4	258.6	10.77	45	-3.2
Nago	7.7	46.0	371.2	19.38		15.0
Onna	10.0	32.2	143.9	6.79	33	-2.1
Kushi	4.2	47.2	55.6	7.72	36	-7.8
Ginoza	10.9	25.3	170.1	7.88	56	-11.7
Kin	9.5	35.0	175.1	8.21		-7.0
Ie	24.0	----	281.9	5.84	-4	3.5
Iheya	16.4	39.2	127.2	4.88	47	6.2
Izena	36.1	40.8	505.9	4.63	9	3.7
Ishikawa	15.7	37.3	977.0	26.90	115	4.9
Misato	13.6	14.5	686.0	23.68		1.6
Tonagusuku	35.1	7.3	699.4	14.12	55	7.1
Katsuren	27.5	5.6	848.4	15.32	44	5.2
Gushikawa	21.9	10.6	983.2	21.40	99	-1.2
Goeku	3.7	16.0	861.7	89.50	128	13.3
Yomitan	7.3	3.9	473.6	29.00	4	5.4
Kadena	4.2	.4	562.3	46.75	11	19.2
Chatan	.1	11.8	853.8	267.20		2.5
Kitanakagusuku	16.0	8.8	700.5	19.43	6	2.1
Nakagusuku	20.1	4.1	631.2	14.60		3.5
Ginowan	21.9	9.3	926.0	17.92	24	5.8
Nishihara	42.2	1.2	457.1	5.73	-21	10.2
Urasoe	24.0	12.0	705.2	12.32	8	4.0

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	Political Unit	List A	List B	List C	List D	List E	List F
311							
241							
243	Shuri	23.9	.2	9393.9	59.1	14	9.5
161	Naha	----	----	10447.5	----	-33	14.4
	Mawashi	13.0	2.1	3605.6	71.5	83	15.8
	Oroku	11.1	2.0	1157.4	45.8	33	6.6
	Tomigusuku	41.7	9.7	490.4	6.36	1	-6.0
	Itoman	25.3	16.0	8927.5	231.5	116	10.2
	Kanegusuku	47.8	9.4	574.6	5.72	12	0.8
	Miwa	36.6	1.8	347.8	4.60	-13	7.1
	Takamine	30.2	8.1	389.4	5.84	- 8	2.5
	Kochinda	40.4	8.9	566.2	6.28	- 6	2.4
	Gushichan	38.3	15.5	480.0	5.90	- 5	0.4
	Tamagusuku	32.0	23.1	561.2	8.25	27	-2.2
	Chinen	29.3	14.2	589.3	10.20	28	1[illegible]
	Sashiki	24.2	16.5	728.8	14.97	33	-3.2
	Yonabaru	20.0	.5	1541.5	34.9	- 5	16.3
	Ōzato	38.0	11.5	544.1	6.60		
	Haebaru	56.3	4.0	693.9	5.57	-16	3.2
	Nakazato	17.3	39.0	213.1	6.31	24	-1.4
	Gushikawa	27.2	23.6	264.9	5.38	20	1.6
	Tokashiki	----	22.0	51.4	7.39	11	-10.9
	Zamami	8.4	18.7	99.6	6.74	-13	- 3.5
	Aguni	34.0	----	320.2	4.52	- 1	11.5
	Tonaki	27.1	1.3	264.5	7.39	64	- 1.0
	Minami Daitō	36.5	----	67.3	----	-54	15.4
	Kita Daitō	26.4	----	39.4	1.21		-14.0

592 342 magazines and pasted on the wall, and here he entertains visitors who come for conversation or study.

3

Types of Houses

342 In all the villages studied, the houses may be divided into three general categories: (1) the Japanese style house with the thatch or tile roof, (2) the smaller stone house with the Japanese type floor plan, and (3) various shacks resembling in some details the simple structure of the old Okinawan rural house.

[313] [439] The sturdy Japanese type house is made of excellent hardwoods imported from Japan or brought from the forests of northern Okinawa. This house was often constructed without nails. It was put together [335] by mortise and tenon joints, and also with a piece of wood, square on the edge and about three inches long which functions like a dowel. This is known as a kusabi. In modern houses, both of the simple and more complex types, nails are more commonly used.

[355] The eaves of this house are supported by strong poles, unfinished, usually from the Japanese redwood (suri in Japanese, Cryptomeria [410] japonica, D. Don) or the ihumaki (Podocarpus macrophyllus D. Don). The poles are placed on flat triangular stones for foundation support. The houses have plank floors. Both the tile and the thatch roof types (to be [352] described later) have the same floor plan with the size of the rooms determined by the number of mats (tatami in Japanese) desired.

The half tile, half thatch roof is not uncommon, an indication either of a roof partially destroyed by the war which has been repaired by thatch, or athatched roof gradually being replaced by tile. This is a slow process, as tile is costly. Basically, all of these houses have the same general plan, except for differences in roof materials.

[355] The older Japanese type houses with a tile roof and the newer ones being built on that model are provided with a drain pipe for rain water catchment. This pipe, running along the length and the width of the [415] roof channels the water into a large tank on the ground, reducing the labor involved in carrying water from village ponds or central springs. [312] Many of these rain water catchments disappeared when the old houses were destroyed in the war. Drain pipes cannot be attached to the thatch. In general, rain water is not now a plentiful source of supply in the villages, though buckets and tubs are frequently put out during a heavy downpour, and this water is used for drinking and cooking until it begins to spoil. It may supplement the water carried from a central village faucet, the well, or a pond.

The construction of the Japanese type house is complex. Basically, the design of the house is derived from the arrangement of three rooms,

off a main road or village lane. (5) Forest lands (sanrin). This is an important classification in Matsuda, but of minor significance in Hanashiro and Hinatogawa. In the latter villages forest land is not recognisable because so many of the trees have been destroyed. In general, forest lands are community owned. (6) Shelter belts or groves of trees along the seashore or on crests of hills for typhoon protection. These are known as bōfurin. The trees are distinct from the forest lands; often they stand in isolated groves. In the south trees for typhoon shelters are confined to the settled area. There are no large groves surrounding and protecting the whole cultivated countryside. (7) Religious sites (haisho). These are small in area, the sites of buildings devoted to the local tutelary deities (ujigami). (8) The village community property (kyōchi). This may include the village office site and school grounds. (9) A miscellaneous classification (zashuchi). This is also public property, including vegetable plots, small public squares, very small parks, ponds, road meeting places and the like. These combined areas are usually small. (10) In the Gushichan area, there is one further classification: destroyed land (tsuborechi). This is land in the war area which has not been or cannot be restored. The pieces are not large. During the war a bulldozer may have made a road out of this land; it may be filled with stones or the shallow top soil of the land may have been scraped off in leveling for an army post or camp. 311 [927]

The bases for grading land within each class are different. In Gushichan township, the main consideration in grading rice land is the availability of water. First class rice land is where the water is. In this township, there are seven grades of rice land, although any one village may have only four or five. The first five grades in the township are rice lands with two yields a year. Grades one through five are determined by the yield of the plot, through past experience. Grades six and seven are one crop areas. The distinctions between the grades can be seen in the following table: 311 243 [3|2]

Grade of Rice Land	Expected Yield in Koku per Cho
1	24
2	18
3	15
4	12
5	7.5
6	6.7
7	6.0

[933]

A koku is 5.12 US dry bushels. A chō is 3000 tsubo, about 2.45 acres. [804]

If there is a drought in any year, the grades of land are not changed the following year, but the estimate of expected yield may

single criterion is nearness, providing the land has possibilities. Good land, unless of substantial area, if remote and far from roads, is very time consuming and inconvenient. 311

Genya land in the Gushichan area has two grades. The criterion here is the presence of grass and small shrubs that can be used for firewood. Grade two genya grows little or nothing either because of the large boulders or because it has too many small stones or unconsolidated rock with little vegetation. If it were not for stones or such topographical factors as steepness or ruggedness, some genya land could be classified as poor grade dry crop land. There are, as in rice land, tax differentials according to grade of hatake and genya land: [824] [134] [133]

Grade	Dry Crop Land Tax in Yen	Wild Land (Genya) Tax in Yen
1	13	2
2	12	1.80
3	11	
4	10	
5	9	
6	8	
7	7	
8	6	
9	5	
10	4	

[651]

In Ginoza-son, the land classification system is substantially the same. There are six different grades of land classified according to yield in go per tsubo. (A go is 1/1000 of a koku, a tsubo about 4 square yards). [804]

Grade	Yield	Remarks
1	5	Two annual plantings.
2	4	Two annual plantings.
3	3	Dependent entirely on amount of estimated rainfall.
4	2	
5	1.5	
6	1.0	Mountain paddy, very uncertain, depending on rainfall; occasionally two crops a year are possible.

[433] [241]

Dry crop land is judged by criteria similar to those in Gushichan-son. Grade 1 is good soil and convenient to water with good yields as shown by experience. Grades 2 and 3 are convenient to water, but soils are of lesser quality. The classification is also based on experience. Grade 4 is in low places, generally narrow ravines between steep wooded slopes. Grades 5 and 6 have little or no water, are stony, and inconvenient. [134] [312] [133]

In the areas studied, no serious sheet erosion was observed

No doubt this may be a problem in parts of Okinawa, but it is doubtful that this menace will threaten the habitability of the island. Occasionally one can see a freshly hoed field on a slope that is losing its soil during a downpour. But the fact that the hills and mountains are covered with vegetation, are not too steep, and that grasses and shrubs are cut off allowing the stubble with the roots to remain in the soil effectively binds the soil of the hills and at the same time prevents flash floods. With the exception of stony soils, the land of the areas studied had a plant cover. This statement is not inconsistent with the previous remarks regarding deforestation, as the disappearance of the pine, the cycad, and the pandanus has been offset by the spread of kaya (miscanthus) grass. Boundary paths also keep the soil in place. They often roughly follow the slope and are sufficiently crooked and winding and of sufficient depth to prevent washing away of large quantities of soil. While there is no complex irrigation system in these areas, the small ditches which carry the water down the slope are winding and covered on their borders by weeds. Occasionally one can see a farmer shovelling up the soil accumulated in a natural catchment in a bend of one of these ditches and restoring the lost soil to his land.

134 133 137 185 [487] [312]

In all areas, equally simple devices to protect the soil could be observed. Roadside borders of stone, like the stone of a rock garden, often line the fields adjoining main roads. (One could write a long essay on stones and the part they play in the culture of the people). These stones come from the fields. If fields do not have stone borders, weeds are left to grow. They are cropped, but the roots are left in the soil. In Hanashiro, stone fences on slopes and contour breaks are a common sight. Sometimes these have the appearance of blunt wedges, the end of the wedge going up the ravine. These stones have been painstakingly gathered from nearby areas.

185 417

Terracing is practiced in a crude form in these areas. It really is step or bench cultivation, the plots being above one another in step like order. The function of terracing is, in the case of the dry crop land, to bring more land under cultivation, protecting it from washing away; in the case of the rice fields, it supplies flat land for cultivation at different levels. In the areas studied, terracing did not go all the way up the mountain side, although this practice can be observed in parts of Okinawa.

185 241

Very frequently the ledges of the terraces are covered with a border of weeds or cropped grass which prevent soil runoff down the hill. In the Matsuda area, rice is grown up a narrow mountain valley, or ravine, with trees and shrubbery on the hillsides growing to the very edge of the cultivated plots. In rice terracing, the boundary paths often divide one step from another with openings in the ditches to allow the passage of water to the level below.

132 March through June is the season of greatest rainfall and therefore
731 of greatest flood danger. September and October rain is often light, and it is during this period that there is the greatest likelihood that the sweet potatoes will dry up. During the rainy season, there is flood damage to the rice and dry crop fields, especially if they are in the narrow ravines, or along small stream beds.

132 In Hanashiro, dependence on rainfall is immediate and direct.
312 There is no way of storing water in the mountains by accumulations of snow. Runoff from the hills into the small streams is rapid. Short
241 periods without rain are serious. The planting of the sweet potato is very sensitive to this factor. If one asks a farmer when he plants sweet potatoes, he always qualifies his reply by beginning, "If there is enough rain..."

241 There is in these villages no complex irrigation (kangai). In
312 Hanashiro, the flow of water through rice fields and its division are controlled by simple means. Water comes from the nearby hills, either in rivulets or in slightly wider ditches. In the former case, the water is divided by allowing the owner on one side of the stream to get water one day, diverting it on the next to the other side. The larger streams may be forked.

[133] Streams soon lose their identity as they descend from the hills to the lowlands, where they become the water of the paddy. The streams of Okinawa are hidden in the rice fields.

241 In Matsuda, the flow of water down the hillsides is controlled
311 largely by bench cultivation. Rice paddies go far up the narrow valleys
312 and ravines. When these have been converted to rice fields, the water flows into the highest level. A small aperture on the opposite side allows it to fall into the next lower paddy until the water reaches the level of the valley or lowland, where it may be further dispersed throughout rice fields, or trickle off again as a stream. In this way, the flow of the water, not too fast, not too sluggish, provides continually fresh water with its nutrients from the hillsides for each field, and makes possible the irrigation of large areas.

It is for these reasons that terracing is practiced. Cultivation is easier. So is irrigation. Soil runoff is avoided. Terracing is the only way that a ravine or a small slope can be used for paddies, for which a flat and level piece of land is required. Otherwise, the water necessary for the plant runs off.

241

Not all of the upland or slope cultivation is done by terracing, as we have seen. Crops other than rice are often grown on hillsides, or up slopes, less often following the contour of the land. The precautions here are also suited to the cultivation: weeds or grasses grow along boundary lines or divide off sharp drops, or small stone fences may be used.

In Nagamo, where there is no rice grown, there is little water from these sources. It comes from rainfall and amounts of sugar cane and sweet potato that are grown depend on its quantity and regularity. Water regardless of crop is a constant problem. [312]

In Okinawan agriculture, constant fertilization is necessary. There are too many people to leave land fallow in ordinary times. Each plot must be used if the farmer has the time and energy to do so. Since the island is in a humid subtropical climate, the organic materials in the soil (humus) are quickly oxidized. Porous soils encourage the leaching of minerals from the top soil, especially with torrential rains. The fewness of domestic animals increases the dependence on plant residues and artificial fertilizers. One of the commonest complaints of the Okinawan farmer, in addition to the poorness of his soil and crop damage from typhoons, is that it must be unceasingly fertilized. It is a treadmill. He must walk fast to stay in the same place. [134] [231]

There is very little difference in the use of fertilizers in the communities studied. Fertilizers most frequently used are:

(1) Composts. A typical mixture (though there are many combinations) may be composed of dried miscanthus, or any kind of grass, ashes and cinders, perhaps some pieces of charcoal, and goat droppings. This is left a month outside in a pile and put on the fields and hoed under.

(2) Plant residues. These are put on the soil, both of paddy and dry crop land, and hoed under. Plants are the greatest single source of fertilizer. The cut over rice plant is turned under in the paddy field. Tops of the sweet potato, if not used as slips or for food for animals, miscanthus grass, and burned rice hulls are other sources of fertilizer. [824]

(3) Animal manures mixed usually with pen grass. Animal fertilizers are not abundant, an indirect effect of the war which greatly reduced the number of horses, cattle, pigs, goats, and the smaller domestic animals. When available, goat, pig, or horse manures are used. Pig or goat pen grass is gathered up and spread on the fields. Pig manure is the best source of animal fertilizer, for pigs are the most numerous of the larger domestic animals. [727] [232] [231]

(4) Night soil. The use of night soil, called jinpun in Okinawan, has declined from pre-war times. It is often said that it is not used at all. But this statement must be qualified. It is [514]

of the young shoots from the seed beds to the paddy field, (4) the care of rice until its maturity, (5) the harvest, (6) threshing, milling, and hulling, (7) the uses of rice and its byproducts, and (8) types and preferences of rice. 243

The preparation and laying out of the seed bed. A seed bed (naidoko) is a plot of first grade land, well watered, specially chosen for this purpose. It is very small in area, often around 15 tsubo, or about 540 square feet. The seed bed also may be a portion of a larger field set apart for seedlings. In this case, small boundaries are made by earthen walls, apertures left for water to flow in and out, and the little plot is then prepared for the seedlings. Considerable care is taken in the preparation of the seed bed. The soil here must be finer and more carefully worked than the paddy field, since it receives the rice seed, not the seedlings. The soil is painstakingly worked, and, with the water added, becomes a thick smooth mud. Commercial fertilizers, composts, and less commonly, night soil are then applied. After the seed is sown, water, perhaps 2 1/2 inches deep is allowed in the bed. During germination, a slow steady irrigation, a washing by new water is maintained by controlling the water trickling in and out of the openings on either side of the field. [311] [134] [312]

The selection of the seed. The seed is taken from the harvest immediately preceding. After fall harvest around December, the rice fields are dug to prepare for the new planting in January or February. The seed used from this crop is tested in one of two ways. 243 242

In Matsuda, it is common for a farmer to fetch a bucketful of sea water. To this he adds a little more salt until the density of the water is sufficient to float an egg. The rice seed is put in the water. The light and undesirable grains rise to the surface. This salt water density method is apparently very old and originally came from China. [177]

Another method, based on the same assumption that the lighter grains make undesirable seed, is used in both villages. The rice is tossed in a round, shallow, winnowing basket, and the breeze carries off the undesirable seeds to the chickens. In the summer planting the seed, after this testing, is ready to sow. In the fall and winter planting, there is one further step. After the seed has been selected by the winnowing or the density method, it is soaked in water for four or five days. Following this, it is removed from the water, put in a tub, and covered. Warm water is added, the mixture is stirred and allowed to stand for another four or five days. The water is then poured off and seed has begun to germinate. The seedlings can now be planted in the seed bed.

Transplanting the young shoots from the seed bed to the paddy field. 243
In the meantime, the paddy fields have been prepared. After the harvest, the field is drained. Small clumps of cropped rice stalks stick up two or three inches where they have been cut with the small sickle or bill knife. This stubble is turned over either by hoeing, the usual way, or

Present day clothing is of a non-descript character. The war destroyed old stocks and villagers have been unable to buy much new clothing. Many farmers and fishermen have one western style suit, shirt, necktie, and a pair of shoes, but these are worn only on rare occasions, such as having one's picture taken. Most of the women still have a Japanese style kimono in storage. An article of army clothing, mostly American but occasionally Japanese, often is the basic garment whether it be a pair of trousers, a shirt, or a field jacket. Older women still wear a cheap cotton kimono usually indigo blue with white dots. 291 727 [292] [177]

In work anything at hand is worn. Fishermen, farmers, workers in the forest generally go barefoot the year round. Girls and young married women are increasingly wearing cheap and attractive house dresses which they prefer to the inconvenient kimono. Children's clothing shows similar improvisation in the use of what is available. 291

In leisure hours, clogs (geta) are often worn by men, women, and children, particularly in the evenings as a protection against snakes. Some men wear shoes consistently, but they are most commonly worn by officials, school teachers, or men in business.

There is no standard headdress. Hats are few. A few cone shaped hats are worn in the rice fields. These are made from straw or rush. An ordinary cotton cap with a visor is common. Men and women frequently wrap a cloth, usually a piece of towelling, around the head. A towel hanging from the back pocket of the trousers of a young man is part of his summer equipment.

5

Laundering and Bathing

Laundering is done by women. There are no set customs about doing it. Neither is it a community affair. In Hanashiro those who have wells do their laundry in their own compound. Those without wells either do it at a neighbor's well (without charge), or at one of the community ponds designated for this purpose. In Matsuda, the small stream, a pond, or wells are also used. 296 [312]

Clothes are rubbed, washed, and rinsed by hand. The custom practiced in Matsuda up to 20 years ago of beating clothes against stones has disappeared. If laundering is done in a spring or small stream in the summer, it is common to take a bath after the washing is done. In Minatogawa, the women collect around an open faucet, or the public water tank. These are in continuous use for laundry, hair washing, and washing vegetables.

The passion for bathing, conspicuous among the fastidious Japanese, is less in evidence in these villages. But it is also difficult to bathe. Villagers must content themselves with washing with a cloth, like a sponge bath. In Hanashiro villagers may go to 515

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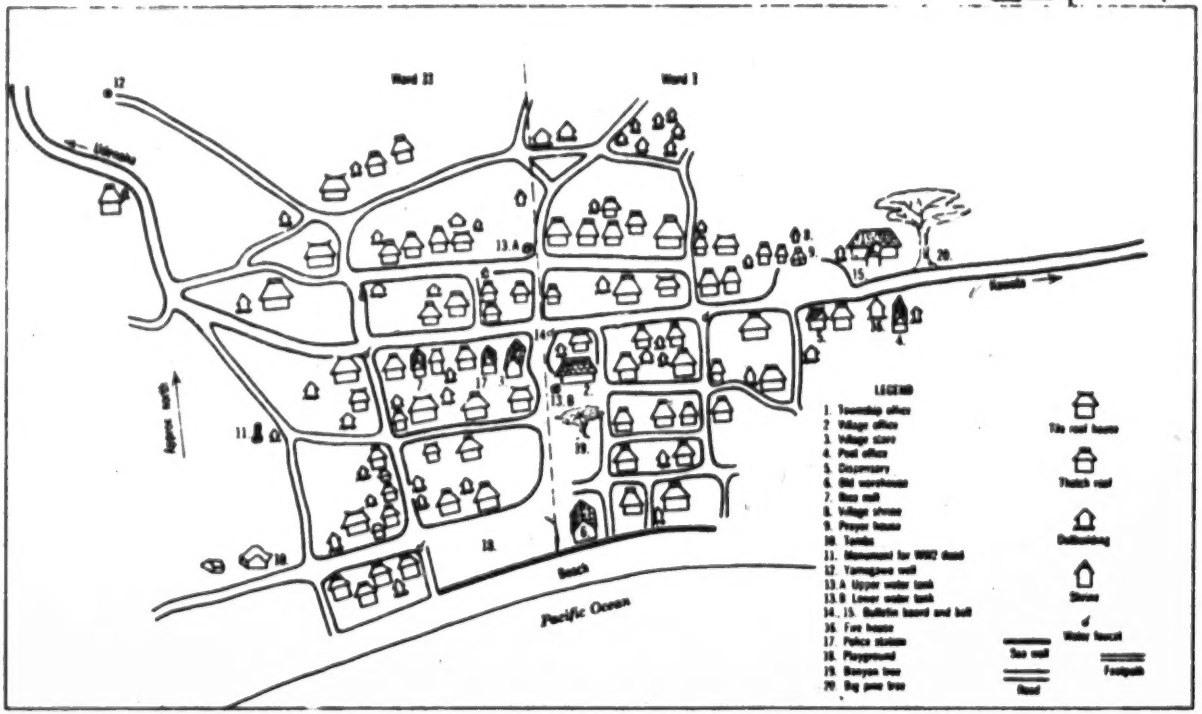

Map 2. Taira, central community.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

tion, a frame wood building, and the main store. On the eastern end of the village the road opens into a little square in front of the simple, open prayer house with a small concrete shrine in back, housing three sacred stones. Beyond these is the township office crowned by a mighty pine tree of tremendous and symmetric proportions, acclaimed by Taira people to be the oldest existing pine in Okinawa. Across from the office are the post office and the dispensary. 36

Closer inspection of the village shows former house sites which were not rebuilt. Some still have empty concrete shells or single concrete walls and abandoned pigsties or storage sheds. Some of the vacant lots are used as potato fields, others as play areas, the favorite being a large house lot surrounded by a concrete wall, near the main store. 361 727 [311]

Houses are set back a short distance from the roads and paths, and most face south. In spite of the hedges and trees, the house is easily accessible from the street—its orientation is therefore toward the community as a whole and, as will be seen later, open to visitors who can enter freely without going through winding garden paths and knocking on doors or entering through long corridors and passages. Each house lot is small, ranging from 1300 to 6050 square feet. Houses are set so close to each other that neighborly conversations from one to the other can be conducted without leaving one's premises. Although some privacy is attained by the hibiscus hedges and fences, few secrets can be kept from neighbors. 361 351 [521]

There are several focal areas where people frequently meet and interact. The main store is a geographical center. Its two bulletin boards make it a natural congregating point. The banyan tree, overshadowing the village office and the lower water tank, is another such place, and on any day of the year scores of children can be found on or under it. In prewar times it was flanked by important structures, but now the empty lots, which are adjacent, form a green which is used on good days for village meetings. 361 [203] [137]

South of this green, and close to the water, stands the old warehouse, a concrete structure with tile roof which once served as a storage center for agricultural products shipped south by boat; now it serves as a village meeting playground, especially on rainy days. The open space around it, bordering on the sea wall, is also used as a play area and as a gathering place for young adults. Here people prepare firewood for sale and stack it to be picked up by the village truck. Houses once stood near the 10-foot sea wall but were not rebuilt after the war. [251] [344]

To the north of the store lies the upper water tank. Until several standing faucets were installed in 1955, this used to be another place where people met frequently. Water is diverted from a stream a mile 312 365

312 water is diverted from a stream a mile
365 above the village and piped into the upper and lower tanks where
[482] people fill their buckets which they carry home on a shoulder yoke.
[857] Both tanks always attract children. Before faucets were installed, the two spigots on each tank were closed with a wooden stopper which the children often pulled to get a drink or water to play in. An open lot surrounding the upper water tank is another popular play area.

361 On the eastern side of the village below the main road lies a flat sandy plain, separating the actual beach from the houses above. Children are frequently found playing there or walking along the beach to the mouth of the Noro Mata and Fukuji rivers, which reach the sea
[764] about 400 yards away. To the west of the central village lie the tombs
[211] and the monument for the war dead of the village.

487 Many hills around the village drop off vertically toward the south;
[133] these drops are partly effects of the geological conditions, such as karst depressions, partly caused by erosion of drainage during the heavy rains. Narrow paths, leading up the steep claylike hillsides, are slippery
[491] and very treacherous during rains. On the way to school in Kawata, the neighboring village, children have to pass a section of the road where river and rains have washed away the bank so badly that a misstep on the edge of the road could lead to a fall of more than 50 feet.

312 The little river which runs through parts of the valley behind Taira
[857] is another gathering place of children. A path alongside it leads into
[487] the hills and mountain forest lands. Seven minutes walking along this path takes one to Umugui, a natural swimming hole which also serves as one of the favorite laundry places. During the summer the river offers several other popular swimming spots downstream from Umugui.
[296] There is also a little concrete bridge in the rice fields beyond the houses, where adults and children go to wash laundry and sometimes pots and pans. Yamagawa well is a water hole, lined with concrete, near the northwestern part of Taira. Before water faucets were installed, girls frequently went there to wash their hair and do laundry.

857 Children go to the fields to look for flowers and berries or, in the
[484] case of older boys, to cut grass for animals. Distances covered by any child depend, of course, on the age. Younger siblings under 5 accompany the older ones to places beyond the area, but no expeditions extend to areas that are not also regularly traversed by adults in the course of their daily duties. Perhaps because of the multiple rivers and water sources, the beach offers less enticement than one might expect. On some days a group may decide to play on the beach, but since sand is also available throughout the village, everybody will soon shift back to some other area inland.

137 Tropical plants, bushes, and trees grow at sea level. At higher ele-

415 not use household equipment in their games. Instead they find broken Children do
857 dishes, old cans, and other discarded items in the trash heap.

354 The kitchen has no equipment other than the open fireplace with
[176] three hearth stones and a shelf above it on which a salt column, sym-
[654] bolizing kitchen deities, is kept. During the last few years, the Ryukyan government Home Extension Service has been trying to introduce brick stoves into farmhouses. Several families now have this kind of stove although it is expensive to build.

356 As far as can be superficially discerned, the home is kept clean. A visitor usually finds the floor of the house free of dirt. Footgear is taken off before entering, and children are reminded to wash their bare feet before going into the house. Less care is given to the area around the kitchen.

● 312 Outside the kitchen stand one or two jars to store water. A dipper is
415 kept nearby, and children playing in the vicinity or adults often walk to one of these jars for water, which they drink out of a dipper. There may also be an array of pots, pans, crates, baskets, and other equipment piled up around the kitchen. Knives and hatchets are openly left around among the equipment behind the kitchen.

351 The courtyard is an important place for domestic activities. Here women and girls wash dishes, mix pig food in large kettles, make bean paste in a hand stone grinder, and prepare grain for storage. There are
[231] vegetable patches in one corner of the yard, chicken coops, pigsties,
[514] goat pens, and an outhouse in another. Most garbage is fed to the pigs;
[364] the rest is thrown over the sea wall to roll down onto the beach.

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Chapter 2

Daily Routine

805 There are few clocks in central Taira. Except for the township office,
512 post office, and village store, only two or three families own a timepiece. Twice a day, at noon and 10 o'clock in the evening, a clerk strikes

462 heavy sods in the rice paddy; nevertheless, women and younger girls
[241] often do this work along with the men and boys if time runs short. There are some women who prepare their farm land without the help of their husbands.

[313] In mountain work, women produce almost as much as men except that they do not handle the large logs. Even pregnant women make
[843] three or four daily mountain trips, sometimes up until the day of childbirth. Only the mode of carrying wood, like any load, differs for
[482] the sexes: a man uses a carrying stick supported on his shoulder, with two bundles attached to each end; a woman carries bundles on her back, tied and held in place by a tump line tied over her forehead. Women can carry loads of 100 to 120 pounds in this manner.

[312] Men seldom carry water from the tank or faucet to the house; this is considered women's work, although younger boys are expected to
241 help at times. Work in the potato fields is mainly women's respon-
462 sibility. Their hands are also preferred in rice transplanting, where dexterity is needed in pulling out the tender shoots from the seed bed and replanting them in straight rows at measured intervals. Occasionally a young man helps, and boys sometimes try to work along with their sisters when they learn transplanting. Both men and women sow
462 the seed beds. In special activities, such as house building, a more dis-
[342] tinct division of labor can be observed. In any building activity, men do the structural work and women carry materials and cook for the
[653] men. The same division of labor is found on community projects, road building, fencing against wild pigs, or repairing the water pipes. In general, however, no special comment is made if either a man or woman performs work usually done by the opposite sex.

887 Men and women work in the fields and forests from ages 15 to 60.
462 When they approach 60, men like to "retire." If possible, they turn over their responsibilities as household heads to their eldest sons. From
[464] then on, they tend to stay home more and more. They can still help with less demanding work, making bamboo rings for firewood bundles, sawing wood, or doing odd jobs around the house. Approaching old age, most men become economically useless and in other ways contribute little to society. For old women, quite the contrary is true. Even grandmothers who are well over 60 seem strong and active. Most of
[241] them go to the fields to plant or harvest potatoes or other vegetables. One woman, well into her sixties and bent over from arthritis, took long walks to distant potato fields, with a heavy load of slips or potatoes in a basket on her back, a hoe on top of it, supporting herself on a
[855] stick. Other grandmothers look after the youngest children, thus freeing the mother for work. Old women also cook, help bundle firewood,

793 lives like other villagers, spending most of her time in the fields and around her home. She has children and grandchildren, but the father of her children no longer lives in Taira. She regards the continuation of the old ceremonies as her holy duty even though she has to do without most of the accustomed material support from the village and [358] in spite of disbelief and lack of participation. She has sought in vain [346] to have the village make necessary repairs on the simple village shrine near the township office and on the little hut where the ancestral tablets of her predecessors are kept.

793 While many of the former ceremonies have been discontinued, the 782 priestess is still called on to officiate at house-building ceremonies, to [342] purify the lot, to offer prayers when the beams are raised, and to con- [776] duct the dedication when the house is finished. If the owner is mov- [778] ing out of an old house, the priestess notifies the fire deity so that he will follow to the new abode. On other occasions the priestess conducts prayers at the village shrine or at one of the other sacred places near the village. Many of the prayers are succorant—requesting the aid and blessing of the gods in accomplishing a certain goal. In general, as Lebra has pointed out (1958), ceremonies of asking for help are more numerous and elaborate than thanksgiving ones.

[312] On New Year's morning the priestess prays at the water well. Since [178] so many ceremonies have been abbreviated and are no longer carried out in traditional detail, the priestess apologizes for short cuts in her prayers. If she fails to offer prayers in all prescribed spots, she pacifies [794] the deities by facing in the direction of the sacred place where the [787] ceremony should have been conducted. Although the priestess is clearly best qualified to enter into communication with the deities, many older women seem to possess such power also, and if the priestess' assistants are not present, another older woman can function as her helper.

782 For these ceremonies food for offerings is contributed by the village. 788 The priestess, in a white gown, kneels, flanked by her assistants, also [262] in white, in front of a tray of sake, rice, or other food for the deities. Charcoal incense sticks are burned while brief prayers asking the deities for a successful crop, thanking them for a harvest, or whatever [533] is appropriate to the occasion are mumbled. On certain occasions the women sing chants. After these ceremonies, the priestess, her assistants and the few others present, usually old women, share the food offerings.

796 One of the most dramatic ceremonies is held on Boat Race Day in 793 lunar June. Priestesses from several villages gather near Taira. During the ceremony the Taira priestess stands in the middle of a circle formed by the other priestesses and helpers, beating a drum as the

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Women washing at water tank.

Women transplanting rice.

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Woman transplanting.

Carrying wood.

[482]

[p 456-B]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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Children catching small fish.

Girls washing their laundry.

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Carrying water while their mother is recovering from giving birth.

[243]
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Boy harvesting.

[p. 456-C]

241 311 312 **Yields Per Acre** Because Okinawa is a sub-tropical country, crops can be grown the year around. Hence the low productivity of a land subject to natural disaster such as drought and typhoons is somewhat compensated for. In the limestone areas of Shimajiri ground water is scarce except after [131] fairly heavy rains. Nanahan has nine small ponds, or kumui, where people wash clothes and sweet potatoes and in which grows the water convolvulus, or unchēbā. Farmers say that if a drought lasts three months, crops do not yield [132] at all. All remember the great drought of 1895 (Meiji 28-nen) when no rain fell for seven or eight months. Even wells dug in river bottoms dried up. The 23 households of Nanahan at present have eight small wells and one large community well which was dug in 1948. Little ditches on the hillsides lead rainwater to the rice paddies, and are fixed so that the water can be directed into wells. If a paddy field is near the farmer's house, a drainage ditch is dug to it for the disposal of used household water which is considered to contribute to a field's fertility. Tables VII and VIII show the yield of crops in Okinawan and American terms.

241 433

Table VII

Crop	Yield per tan[1]	Bushels per acre[2]
Summer rice	1.10 koku	41.1 bushels brown rice
Winter rice	1.16 koku	43.3 bushels brown rice
Upland rice	.72 koku	26.9 bushels brown rice
Common barley	.51 koku	10.4 bushels
Wheat	.59 koku	12.1 bushels
Naked barley	.52 koku	10.6 bushels
Millet	.38 koku	7.85 bushels
Common European millet	.40 koku	8.17 bushels
Soybeans	.70 koku	14.3 bushels
Green peas	.55 koku	11.3 bushels
Broad beans	.71 koku	14.6 bushels
Kidney beans	.71 koku	14.6 bushels
Peanuts	.83 koku	17.2 bushels

Table VIII

Crop	Yield per tan	Tons per acre
Sweet potatoes	1,762 kin	47.6
Irish potatoes	2,176	58.8
Cabbage	3,540	96.1
Other leafy vegetables	1,669	45.1
Giant radish	2,677	72.2
Carrots	2,439	65.85
Pumpkins	2,090	56.5

[1] Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku, Vol. 3, No. 3, p. 1, 1953 (data for Okinawa Guntō).

[2] Converted according to standard indices, as given in SCAP, Natural Resources Section, Report No. 143, Tokyo, 1951.

The yard in which the Okinawan home stands is also rather uniform in 351
its appearance. It is usually surrounded by a stone wall or a thick hedge for protection against winds. Inside the gate is a himpung, a short wall that prevents one from looking straight through the gate into the house. The space between the himpung and the house is hard earth; this is where mats are spread for drying grain and where many other household tasks are performed. This yard space may be lined on one or both sides with outbuildings for the [343]
storage of tools and crops and for housing livestock---two or three goats, [231]
and here and there an ox or a horse. Behind the house is a pigsty. There may also be a chicken-coop, but chickens often run loose. There are usually a few trees in the yard, often a clump of bananas. Behind the house is also [514]
the toilet; formerly it was combined with the pigsty, but now it is usually an oil-drum. In many villages every house has its own well, but even where [312]
wells are fewer there is almost sure to be a cistern beside the house to catch rain-water. The house and yard will be discussed again later in rela- 128
tion to sanitation and health (see Chapter IX).[1]

The social unit that occupies such a house and yard is the family. 592
The structure of the family is also dealt with in detail by Pitts in Chapter VII. Let it suffice to say here that ideally the first son stays with his [591]
parents after his marriage while younger sons establish separate households. Thus the family consists of a couple and their unmarried children or a couple with a married first son, his wife and children, and his unmarried brothers and sisters. The deaths of one or more members may reduce the family without breaking it up. Two married couples, parents and grandparents of the youngest generation, is the usual maximum. If two married sons live under the same roof it is usually regarded as a temporary expedient. Thus while the total number of persons in the household may be as many as a dozen, the average number is a little less than five.

The family, that is, the members of the household, is an economic unit, a social unit, and a ceremonial unit. As an economic unit the members of a household work together, producing for and consuming from a common stock. They cooperate with other households on the basis of common interest as neighbors. They form a social unit within the "han", the "ku", and the "son", they are [666]
registered as a unit in the "koseki", and may have only one vote---cast by the head of the house---in local elections. As a ceremonial unit they form part of a numbered and graded system based on common descent.

The Structure of Kinship Relations In traditional Okinawan society, as in 593
other societies of East Asia, the funda- 602
mental unit is the family and the basic axis within the family is a vertical one running through the male line, the father-oldest son axis.[2] The basic values that support this structure are unity and continuity. Individuals are of varying importance to the family depending on their closeness to the father-first son axis; females are less important than males; younger sons

[1] For a more detailed account of the house and yard see Glacken, 1953, Chapter 5.

[2] I have borrowed this concept from Francis L. K. Hsu, to whose writings I am indebted.

[Kitazato]

is paying adequate rentals for lands used in Japan, and it is their contention that Okinawa is being discriminated against because she is weak. Because of this some wish that Japan were back in control, believing that their interests would be better served. One hears no comments on the presence of Americans in the islands or on the legality of building bases there, for they concede that the outcome of the war granted that; yet, they are bitter about the loss of their livelihood and what they feel to be neglect on the part of the military government. Long accustomed to a paternalistic government which directed many aspects of their lives, they are now at a loss to understand this seeming indifference to their present circumstances. They are completely unmoved by argument, which might seem logical to an American, that Congress has not appropriated sufficient funds, for they do not distinguish between the various divisions of American government---it is all American to them. They point to the high standard of living enjoyed by the American personnel and their families stationed on the island and make the inference that there seems to be no lack of funds for their needs. 621 829 727

The villagers say that they have received three payments from military government through May, 1954. The first of these paid for the cost of removing and rebuilding their homes. This amounted to a flat payment of ¥6000 ($50) per house, which they say was inadequate. The first of the land payments was made in June of 1953; the villagers assert that they were paid at pre-war rates, and one person who owned 5480 'tsubo' described the payment as a "laugh". The second payment for the use of their lands was made in May, 1954, while the author was studying the village. This time the payments were said to be substantially higher especially in certain categories; yet, they contend that payments are still far below current rentals. In this payment, ¥5.40 per 'tsubo' per year was paid for grade one house lots, but in Kijikina the owner of one house claimed that he paid ¥24 per 'tsubo' per year for rental on his house lot. Grade one dry fields were paid for by the military government at a rate of ¥3 per 'tsubo' per year; the farmers say that they can get about ¥60 per 'tsubo' in annual yield if this land is planted in beans or potatoes, and local rentals on this same type of land are about ¥15. They are angry at receiving but ¥3 for their land and having to pay ¥15 to rent equivalent land. They are also dissatisfied with the manner of payment for grass land and tomb land which are paid for by the plot regardless of size; thus, they say that the person who has two small plots of 10 'tsubo' each receives twice as much as the man who owns a single, larger 100 'tsubo' plot.

Effect of the Land Loss on the Village: Physical Appearance On first entering any one of the three segments of Kitazato one is struck almost immediately by a level of poverty considerably below that of other Okinawan villages. This is particularly true of Hama, whose houses are jammed tightly together on a treeless beach. Most of the houses consist of a single room which serves as living and sleeping quarters; a small lean-to kitchen is attached on the side. The floor space of the houses was considerably smaller than those of Kanegusuku. Several brackish wells supply the community with water. The Anahana and Kijikina settlements in the hills have a more attractive appearance due to a large number of young pine trees and a small stream in the area, giving a park-like atmosphere; however, 621 735 511 [342] [312] [342]

751 Social factors contributing to poor sanitation stem mainly from the
312 failure of the individual in Okinawan society to take individual action.
364 For example, four unrelated families, one of which I knew well, rented the
156 four quarters of a house in the city. The well beside the house was badly in need of a drainage system; the water from everyone's laundry and bathing formed a large puddle around the concrete well-top and eventually sank into the ground, no doubt to re-enter the well, which of course also provided drinking water. No one made a move to do anything about this individually. Finally the owner of the house suggested that the several families join with him on a certain day in digging a drainage ditch. This was done. However, instead of digging a ditch to allow the water to run down hill and away, they dug the ditch only a few feet into a tiny field on the same level as the house and well. They did not feel that they could dig a ditch that led the water onto the land of the family who lived below, despite the fact that this was the natural lay of the land and despite the fact that the water was now sinking into the ground above the well of another neighbor. It was felt that only if all the neighbors joined to dig ditches together to allow all the water to drain to the municipal drainage ditch beside the street, only then would it be proper to let one's old wash water drain into another's yard. So far as I know this joint action was never taken.

751 At the same house, when one of the tenants moved out they dumped a
364 great pile of garbage in front of their room. Another tenant moved into the
156 room and, although the wife commented on the "bad sanitation" ('eisei ga warui'), for some time nothing was done about the pile of garbage. In this case the reason for inaction may have been pride rather than consideration of another's feelings. It seems likely that the new tenant felt that it was not his responsibility to remove the garbage and that it was also beneath his dignity to do so.

ooo Social factors of this sort can perhaps be attacked in two ways. First, by appealing to the individual, to his pride and his esthetic sense, and by creating a greater degree of personal identification, it may be possible to extend the "sphere of sanitation" beyond the floor of the house and out into the yard and perhaps even to the street. But this would not be an easy task. At the present time the average Okinawan is probably less embarrassed by a pile of garbage in his yard and the hundreds of flies that infest it, than he would be to be seen doing the menial task of cleaning it up. He would not feel embarrassed, however, if it were a community endeavor. And therefore as a second method of attack one might encourage more group action. But this requires the development of outspoken leadership.

178 It is possible that standards of sanitation are lower at the pre-
751 sent time than before the war. Residents of the village of Yamada spoke
744 of the "big cleanings" ('ōsōji') that were held at regular intervals before
[625] the war. On orders from the 'son' office every household in the village was obliged to clean up its house and yard and submit to inspection by the local police officer, a man who was much more feared than his present counterpart. At present clean-ups may be encouraged by the Youth Organization, Women's Organization, etc., but there is certainly less compulsion than
ooo formerly. Moreover, during the last days of the battle and for a period of

000 2) Stricter licensing of medical practitioners and gradual elimination of quacks. Again this must be done on the basis of a thorough knowledge of what native concepts are involved and it must be done in such a way that the undesirable practitioners do not appear to have suddenly lost their livelihood.

3) Encouragement of cooperation in clean-ups and the construction of sanitary facilities at the ku and han level, by appealing to local pride and by demonstrating that persons of high status may engage in physical labor.

[312] 4) The drilling of wells in areas that have insufficient water, for example in the village of Komesu in Miwa-son, where the only water is obtained from two wells outside the village itself, or on the island of Sesoko, where 3,000 people depend upon rainfall. In these communities sanitation is especially poor and skin disease rife.

Education Educational authorities are to be commended for the school reconstruction program, the extension of the schooling period, and the bringing of rural schools more nearly up to urban standards. In addition to the continuation of the building program we recommend:

1) Increasing the pay of teachers at least until it is comparably higher than that of policemen before the war (without of course downgrading the pay of policemen in the process). After the land question this is probably the problem most deserving immediate consideration. It must be remembered that teachers are a key group in the moulding of public opinion and that any hostility they might feel against the United States as a result of a decline in status since the war might easily be conveyed to their pupils and to other less-educated groups.

2) Encouraging students in the applied sciences, particularly agriculture, through scholarships, prizes, etc.

3) Discouraging the teaching of English below the high school level, as a waste of time, and determining that English be taught in high schools and at the university by competent teachers, of whom there are at present very few. It must be added that an American who has had no special training in the teaching of English to foreigners is probably not much better as a teacher than the Okinawan who knows all about teaching English but cannot speak it. Trained persons are essential.

4) The hiring at the university of competent Japanese scholars, who have considerably more prestige than either Okinawan or American scholars, for the teaching of subjects such as physical and biological sciences.

5) The hiring at the university of one or more of the noted Okinawan scholars now working in Japan.

Political Organization We did not do research on this problem as such but we feel that it warrants consideration as a highly important problem. We recommend that a research worker or team competent in political science and

standing. At one time, the Minatogawa beaches were seriously considered for the initial landings in Okinawa, and later as a possible second landing. After the campaign for the south had begun, Minatogawa became a forward loading point.[10] The present village has been completely rebuilt, and the newer buildings, with few exceptions, are frail and undistinguished. The war shows its effects, too, on the southern part of the village where there is a barren acreage, formerly the site of an army camp, its top soil so shallow that the bulldozers in levelling it soon reached the rock beneath.

Nearby Nagamo is a village of a different type. It is divided into two distinct quarters, also a result of the war. The old part formerly was to the north in the main stonecutting area, but following the destruction, a new settlement was started in the farm land a few hundred yards south. Cultivation is marginal on the shallow soil of the sloping valley before it descends into the flat coastal area in which the fishing village is located.

Minatogawa, which means River Port, is a distinctive village reminiscent of the famous fishing town of Itoman, though without its size, beauty, or color.

4

Matsuda

Matsuda is a here-and-there type of village. The village area including the community owned forest is over a square mile. The countryside is dotted with several small sub-settlements. Within each sub-settlement, the houses also are scattered about and separated from one another by large trees, thick growths of shrubbery, grasses, stone fences, and cultivated fields.

The village is located in Ginoza township (Ginoza-son) on the northeast side of the island. This township is in the northern district (Kunigami, or Yambaru). The village is on Highway 13, which winds along the northeast coast through Ishikawa, Kin, Kanna, and Ginoza villages.

Though near the sea, a typical site of a northern Okinawan village, it is a settlement engaged in agriculture and forestry. Its name suggests its nature. Matsuda is a compound of the characters for pine tree, matsu, and rice field, ta, da. Though there is some fishing in the sub-settlements along the Pacific shore, it is casual and a part time occupation for farmers on the coast. Th families exclusively

[Text Continues TOP of P. 55--Analyst]

10 The statistics on village destruction are taken from accounts of the villagers. They are estimates. For operations in this area, see Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 68, 74, 426-27, 436, 439.

592 342 magazines and pasted on the wall, and here he entertains visitors who come for conversation or study.

3

Types of Houses

342 In all the villages studied, the houses may be divided into three general categories: (1) the Japanese style house with the thatch or tile roof, (2) the smaller stone house with the Japanese type floor plan, and (3) various shacks resembling in some details the simple structure of the old Okinawan rural house.

[313] [439] [335] The sturdy Japanese type house is made of excellent hardwoods imported from Japan or brought from the forests of northern Okinawa. This house was often constructed without nails. It was put together by mortise and tenon joints, and also with a piece of wood, square on the edge and about three inches long which functions like a dowel. This is known as a kusabi. In modern houses, both of the simple and more complex types, nails are more commonly used.

[355] [411] [352] The eaves of this house are supported by strong poles, unfinished, usually from the Japanese redwood (suri in Japanese, Cryptomeria japonica, D. Don) or the inumaki (Podocarpus macrophyllus D. Don). The poles are placed on flat triangular stones for foundation support. The houses have plank floors. Both the tile and the thatch roof types (to be described later) have the same floor plan with the size of the rooms determined by the number of mats (tatami in Japanese) desired.

The half tile, half thatch roof is not uncommon, an indication either of a roof partially destroyed by the war which has been repaired by thatch, or athatched roof gradually being replaced by tile. This is a slow process, as tile is costly. Basically, all of these houses have the same general plan, except for differences in roof materials.

[355] [415] [312] The older Japanese type houses with a tile roof and the newer ones being built on that model are provided with a drain pipe for rain water catchment. This pipe, running along the length and the width of the roof channels the water into a large tank on the ground, reducing the labor involved in carrying water from village ponds or central springs. Many of these rain water catchments disappeared when the old houses were destroyed in the war. Drain pipes cannot be attached to the thatch. In general, rain water is not now a plentiful source of supply in the villages, though buckets and tubs are frequently put out during a heavy downpour, and this water is used for drinking and cooking until it begins to spoil. It may supplement the water carried from a central village faucet, the well, or a pond.

The construction of the Japanese type house is complex. Basically, the design of the house is derived from the arrangement of three rooms,

175 423 592 Under this old system, when a branch family was established upon the marriage of a son other than the first, his share was made available to him, although it is not clear whether he received this as a legal right, or whether, at each redistribution the father received the branch family share, later passing it on for the use of the son. In any case, provision under the old system was made for branch families in the redistribution just as in contemporary Okinawa this land is supplied, when possible, out of the private holdings of the father. The old and the new illustrate the operation of the family system under two types of land tenure.

175 423 311 Both in the Gushichan area and in Matsuda, there was agreement that the system applied only to rice lands and to dry crop land. House sites were not included in the biennial, quadrennial, or decennial redistribution. Neither were the parcels of genya land which were reserved for tomb areas (bochi, or haka). The forest lands (sanrin) or the genya lands were also communally owned. The reclamation or much of genya land in Okinawa for agricultural uses seems to be a late development, probably a direct consequence of the increase of the island's population. Fifty years ago the island of Okinawa was more heavily forested than it is now. This applies even to the south, if the statements of old people resident in the area can be accepted. Both in the northern and southern communities, pine stands in the forest and in the genya land were publicly owned, and there was a system of tree allotment. Trees, in the publicly owned areas, could be cut according to the number of [313] shares of land one had. Then in September and October of each year, each family replanted a number of trees equivalent to the number it had taken.

In these redistributions, apparently the land was not allotted to individual families directly, but first allotted to family groups (kumi) and then in turn to the individual families. There were special [571] allotment groups (jiwari-gumi). It is not clear whether this initial distribution to groups and then to individual families was universal in Okinawa, as this information comes only from Gushichan township.

This system of community ownership, with periodic allotment of rice and dry crop land, naturally called for a system of land classification. Excellent land was rare; good land was not plentiful, poor land was most abundant. The topography was rough and all good land was not in the same

1 (continued from previous page) intervals, the amount in proportion to the number of family members and their work and tax-paying capacities. It was called ji-wari (land-division). Peasants had no right to possess land, but only the right to cultivate, and taxes were imposed upon a village as a whole, not upon individuals." Higa, Shuncho. Structure of the Ryukyuan rural community. The Japanese journal of ethnology, 15 (1950), No. 2, 63-66. English summary (from which this is taken), p. 151.

3

Care and Conservation of Land

One of the significant tasks of our time is the study of the relation between population growth and density and the exploitation of renewable and non-renewable resources: the effects of a culture on the land, the forests, the soils and the vegetation must be considered in ethnographic and geographic work. If this is not done the culture is studied as if it rested, like a plate on a table, on a geographic base, without bothering to discover the nature of the environment or what the culture is doing to it. 121 114

Nineteenth century studies of primitive and advanced societies emphasized the influence of the physical environment in molding a culture. This crude fallacy, often known as geographic determinism or environmentalism, was exploded by studies made of cultures in all parts of the world in which it became clear that the physical environment is not the cause of cultural differences.

But the reverse of this approach, the examination of what a culture is doing to its physical environment, its soils, its vegetation, and its forests has not been carried on with the vigor with which other aspects of culture have been studied. This point of view has practical significance in day to day administration. Economic matters such as foreign trade or the labor force requirement should not be a separate and independent segment for study. Changes in inheritance should not be viewed solely with reference to the family system. Forest conservation should not be regarded only as a technique and a necessary department in the government.

The effects of the devastating typhoons, for example, need no elaboration: the destruction of life, crops, houses, of boats, and breakwaters. But their effects are also influenced by other factors. The two southern villages were in the midst of some of the violent fighting of the Okinawan campaign. Large numbers of houses in both communities were destroyed by the war. The new buildings to replace them are so frail that in typhoon times they are often destroyed. This rebuilding requires more wood and more grass. Thus, such factors as the war, the inability to reconstruct permanent housing, typhoons, and the natural growing of <u>miscanthus</u> grass are joined together in a close relationship. 731 727 367 824 182

In the south the relationship of typhoon destruction to deforestation is striking. There is need for tidebreak groves and shelter belts along the coast to protect crops from wind and saltwater spray, a need which fortunately the Ryukyuan Forest Agency is attempting to meet. Deforestation in the south seems inescapably tied up with long occupance. The center of population has always been in the southern part of the island. Not only should there be trees, but they should be planted in the right places. The deforestation of 731 137 [313] [361]

The deforestation of
731 the south over a period of centuries thus is related to water spray
313 and wind damage, relationships which a wise administration cannot neglect.

121 The natural tendency is to think in terms of population and land and of the food which it can produce. But if the population is envisaged in terms of forest, the land, both cultivated and uncultivated, and the role of the uncultivated land in protecting the soil, broader understandings are possible.[9]

231 It is a significant fact, to use another example, that goats are tethered and not allowed to graze. They do not roam the hillsides, nor crop off the shoots of young plants. If they did, it is possible that legislation controlling the goat might have to be enacted such as has been done in the island of Cyprus.

311 It is important therefore, to ascertain how a culture makes
731 use of its natural environment and also how it takes care of it.
185 Typhoons cannot be controlled. Neither can periods of drought which often produce water shortages, prevent the planting of sweet potatoes, or the harvesting of a good rice crop. In areas where control is possible, the Okinawans have developed conservation measures. Almost one hundred years ago, Dr. D. S. Green, Fleet Surgeon attached to the frigate Mississippi on Perry's expedition to Japan, wrote:

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> "Two objects seem to influence the islanders in all their operations, viz: the retention of water or moisture, and the avoidance of surface-washing. To effect these desirable ends, especially in a rolling country, a great quantity of grading is required, besides very deep culture; and here both of these have been done."[10]

000 In the areas studied, no serious sheet erosion was observed.

[Text continues top of P. 157 -- analyst]

9 The general ideas and points of view expressed by Edward Graham in his Natural principles of land use, London, New York, and Toronto, 1944, are pertinent here.

10 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, II, 26-27. The emphasis is in the original. Green continues with further details of grading around streams, along ravines, and on the uplands. His description today would still fit many parts of Okinawa. He was particularly impressed with the lands on a journey between Nugah (i.e., Nago) and Tanegah, southwest of Unten. His whole passage is well worth reading.

Two other forms of land conservation and maintenance, crop rotation and fertilizers, will be discussed under agriculture.

1

An Historical View of the Okinawan Forest

Northern Okinawa is the woodshed of the island, and there is a steady stream of lumber for building, poles for a variety of uses, charcoal, and of small bundles of wood for the people of the south. In the village of Matsuda, the forest is part of the daily life and economic well-being of the people. 313

Little is known of the past history of the Okinawan forest. 137 174

> "Though it is impossible now to determine the nature and distribution of the original forest cover, it seems reasonable that the major part of Okinawa was originally covered by trees. The forest was probably absent from the beaches, a few marsh areas behind the beaches, rock ledges upon which trees could gain a foothold, and perhaps some areas of Regosols (shallow soils) from calcareous clays in the southern part of the island. It is evident that the present forest has been cut over many times. There seems to be no part of the island in which the forest cover has not been disturbed in some way by man."[1] [311]

The virgin stands have disappeared and left few clues, these authors continue, but it is likely that the original forest cover was comparable to the present stands in composition of species. The authors point out the relationship of cutting to settlement. Cutting must have been a continuing process. In Saion's time, in the 18th century, there was considerable tree planting and measures were taken to protect groves of trees for their value as windbreaks. Excessive cutting could hardly have taken place in olden times in the central areas of the north, whose trees, even today, can be reached only by footpath. No doubt in the past cutting has spread out from village sites and travelled roads. Fire may have been one cause of deforestation, as it has been used to clear land. There are still instances of this. 137 311 174 [245]

In Okinawa, the period from 1879 to the end of the Russo-Japanese war seems to have been one of widespread deforestation. (This was contemporary also with the reckless deforestation in the New World). The period after 1906 reflected Japanese concern with forest preservation, especially of the nationally owned forests, a program pursued with varying degrees of success. [185]

1 Okinawa forests (U.S. Geological Survey. Mil. Geol. Sect., Office of the Engineer, GHQ, FEC), 1948, 2.

000 varying degrees of success.[2]

311 Another period of recklessness began in 1935 and reached its climax in 1940-41. This deterioration was simultaneous with the increase in the acreage of cut over forest land in Japan beginning in 1941.[3]

313 [72] In Okinawa, exploitation of the forests immediately before and during the war were due, according to residents who lived through the experience, to unrestricted cutting for troop shelters and to the large Japanese military requirements for wood. The war's end brought no relief to the forests. Housebuilding and firewood are continuing challenges to forest conservation in Okinawa. The destruction of houses in the populated south caused continuous cutting for building and firewood. In 1947, rates of cutting were estimated to exceed replacement, the main drains being for housebuilding, firewood, and charcoal.[4]

2

The Forests and the Trees of Matsuda

423 311 Matsuda has a large area of village owned forest within its borders. These village owned lands are a survival of the old land allotment system when the arable, the forest, and the wild (genya) lands were community owned.

[Text Continues Top of p. 226 --analyst]

2 Civil Affairs Handbook Ryukyu (Loochoo) islands, 143, gives these dates as 1879-1906. For a published summary of Okinawan forests, their pre-war and post-war problems, and the role of the Ryukyuan Forestry Agency, see H. Y. Nuttonson, Ecological crop geography and field practices of the Ryukyu islands, as cited, 49-58. Nuttonson, following E. H. Walker, makes interesting comparisons of the islands of the Ryukyus. See the remarks on Miyako, Ishigaki, and Irimote, 54-56. For a short and forceful statement of the problem as it applies to Japan, see A report on Japanese natural resources, Tokyo, 1948, 347-59. Many of these remarks apply mutatis mutandis to Okinawa.

3 Nuttonson, as cited, p. 57. Based on B. O. Hughes, A forest policy for the Ryukyu islands. (Food and Natural Resources Department, USCAR), 1951.

4 Okinawan forests, as cited, 5.

137 settled area and for protection of the surrounding crops. Around
311 houses, there are common stone fences, bamboo fences and trees.
Stone fences, though solid may be toppled over. Bamboo, or dwarf
[919] bamboo fences, seemingly slight, resist the winds and remain intact
because of their flexible loose weave.

137 The trees on the ridges of the low lying hills or on high pieces
133 of ground are tall, and sturdy, and jealously protected. The villagers
185 take great pride in them. Today this pride is based on the realization
of their effectiveness; in former times, their protection was associated
with the worship of the gods of the sacred grove (utaki). There were
[998] beliefs, which now seem to be dying out, that cutting these trees
[999] would bring bad luck. Many villagers say that Saion in the 18th
[193] century intentionally invented superstitions concerned with the cutting
of the trees in order to save them. Now these trees are no longer in
danger of cutting, even though the penalties of the old beliefs are no
longer feared.

The following short list does not exhaust the kinds of trees and plants found in this area. It is confined to those trees, shrubs, and grasses which are most frequently found and which have the greatest local importance.

829 (1) The Ryukyuan pine (Riukiu-matsu in Japanese, Pinus luchuensis
313 Mayr). This tree is still one of the commonest sights of the island,
even in southern Okinawa. At present, it is a source of firewood,
cheap lumber, and siding. It is not considered good housebuilding
material because of termites (shiroari). Pine was used for fishing
boats within living memory, but now they are made of much harder woods.
In this area, the coniferous groves are along the seashore. The larger
stands are not cut. Scrub pine on individually owned wild land may be
cut for firewood.

(2) The fukugi (Garcinia spicata Hook.). The fukugi is used around homes and on mountain ridges as a typhoon protection. It is fairly plentiful here and prized as a building material (kenchikuzai). The hard studs, beams and cross beams and the wide plank floors in the older and better houses are often made out of this wood.

(3) The iju (Schima luchuensis Nak.). This tree, common here, is used as a building material and is considered to be better than the Japanese redwood (sugi). It is not regarded as a good firewood.

(4) The inumaki (Podocarpus macrophyllum D. Don). This tree is not well known here, and there are no large specimens. But it is regarded as the best building material when available. Often the large, hard, rough hewn poles which are placed on stones and support the eaves of the older houses are made from this wood.

(5) The shii (Shiia cuspidata). The dense stands of this tree in the village owned forest restrict the size of the specimens, though

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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313

is isolated spots the tree grows to a considerable height. This is a favored wood for housebuilding materials. It is also used for firewood.

(6) The mokumao (Australian pine, Casuarina equisetifolia L). This is a fast growing tree and quite plentiful in this area. The mokumao is commonly a shelter belt tree here. Along with the pine, and the shii, it is used for firewood.

(7) The shuro (Trachycarpus excelsus Wendl. Var.). Individual specimens of this palm are scattered through the village. It is found in local ravines, sinks, and near the natural bridge. When it was more plentiful, rope was made from its fibres. Before the war, it was the standard material of the farmer's raincoat. Rope making continues on a very restricted scale.

(8) The soshiju (Acacia confusa Merr.). Individual acacia trees are numerous but scattered. Frequently the tree grows on the house site as a typhoon protection. It is also used for firewood. Branches of the soshiju are often placed over or around young vegetables and other plants to shield them. Its leaves are placed on the dry crop lands and on paddy fields as a fertilizer.

(9) The gajimaru (Ficus retusa). This banyan tree was noticed by earlier travellers. It is a picturesque tree. The exposed roots twine around lesser shrubs, stumps, and stones. Specimens are scattered, and its chief use, here and in the southern villages, is for typhoon protection. Smaller trees, their roots growing in an around the stone fences, are a common sight. The leaves may be used for fertilizing the soil of rice fields.

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(10) The cycad (sotetsu in Japanese, Cycas revoluta). This plant has already been discussed. While more frequent here than in the south, it is not plentiful. One must go farther north before the cycad becomes important in the daily economy. In Matsuda, the fronds are used to protect young growing plants, the leaves as a fertilizer for plants other than rice. Occasionally starch and a bread are made from the seed. Fermented drinks were once made from the cycad. There is no present market, as there was in the past, of fronds used in funeral wreathes. [273]

(11) Susuki (Miscanthus sinensis, Chinese silver grass), commonly referred to as kaya, upon which we have already commented so frequently. This grass is not so important here as in the southern villages because of the availability of superior wood and fibres from the forest. It is not used as a major fuel, nor to any great extent for roofs, since the dwarf bamboo is available. The grasses collectively known as susuki are used as a fertilizer. The young shoots are often given to horses, cattle, and goats. One does not observe here the dominance of this plant, such a conspicuous part of the landscape of the south.

824 (12) The pandanus (adan or takonoki, Japanese scientific name, Pandanus oderatissimus L) is also scattered. Formerly the pandanus was widely used in Okinawa for slippers and a Panama type hat was made for export. This home industry has disappeared from Matsuda, as it has from the south.

(13) The i (Juncus effusus, Linn. var. decipiens Buch). This rush is used in the better quality home made mats (mushiro). The i is generally the warp of these mats, with some other grass the weft. It is occasionally cultivated when rice paddies are not in use, as it requires much water. There are two varieties of i, the round, and the three cornered (sankaku). The three cornered variety is used in cheaper quality mats. The round variety with cotton string as the warp, is used in weaving the best mats.

(14) The Yambaru bamboo (Yambaru take). This I believe is the same as, or at least very similar to the Japanese sasa, or dwarf bamboo (Arundinaria communis Mak.). Yambaru take means "northern district bamboo" and throughout Okinawa the term is used to describe this valuable plant. In appearance, it resembles the susuki grass, but its stalks are much woodier, have a greater diameter, and the plant is much taller. In an uncleared forest, the Yambaru bamboo grows six to nine feet high and has a foothold wherever there is the slightest room in the forest. Patches often are intermingled with the shii, pine, and the numerous shrubs. This is the roof thatch material of the north. Its other uses include the weaving of stationary barriers (hinpun) in front of the house compound. The stalks are closely woven diagonally while still green. The plant has innumerable uses, depending on individual improvisation. While green, charcoal containers may be made out of it; it may be woven into rough
285 baskets (zaru) for carrying sweet potatoes, or to bind up the small
415 bundles of firewood which are sent south. In general, the smaller diameters of Yambaru bamboo are used for roofs; the larger for bamboo fences (takegaki) and the face level hinpun. Bundles of Yambaru bamboo are sent to Naha and Shuri for weaving.

3

The Uses of the Forest

313 Clearcutting seems to be the curse of traditional Oriental forestry. Starting at the convenient base of a hill or mountain, every tree has been cut up the hill until a steep or inaccessible part is reached. This destructive exploitation has been an established Japanese forestry practice despite the obvious inducements to soil erosion.[5]

The results of clearcutting observable near Matsuda now are a product of the overwhelming war and post-war demand for lumber and

5 A report on Japanese natural resources, as cited, 357.

fuel. The usual practice here too is to clear cut up a steep hill or mountain, the lower and more convenient the spot, the more efficient the clearcutting. Weeds, shrubs, grasses, and the Yambaru bamboo have quickly taken the place of the trees. The man induced climax vegetation is grass and shrub. 313 [137]

Forest destruction in Okinawa does not seem to have reached the alarming proportions observed in Japan.[6] The destruction of the war increased the demand for lumber and firewood. This demand accelerated the dangerous practices and led to widespread waste.[7] Fortunately, if Matsuda is a good example, the roads were poor and underdeveloped, and the mills small. There was some brake on uncontrolled deforestation.

In the accompanying photograph of the Matsuda forest area, there was access to the summit and the trees there were cut down. For some reason, probably the steepness of the mountain side, the pine and shii on the slopes were not cut. The result was that tall stands of dwarf bamboo took over the spaces on the summit left by the trees, while the trees continued to grow on the mountain sides. [137]

Since the forest is owned by the village, any resident may cut trees for his own use. This custom has few dangers because it is a large forest with a small population in the environs. The cutting is scattered. The villager selects the tree with the consent of the village official in charge of forest control, cuts it and takes it to his courtyard. There is a charge of Y1 for each large tree, or Y1 for five small trees. This money goes to the village office. Villagers' personal needs are a small drain on the forest resource. [423] [624] [651]

The village government also sells wood. In lulls in farming, or when the farmer needs some cash, he may cut trees for the village. Wood cutting for lumber is a year round activity. September to December is the season for cutting firewood. There are two common practices in commercial dealings with wood and lumber. For cutting and gathering firewood, the village office pays Y5 a bundle, Y4 goes to the person cutting the wood, and Y1 to the village office, 60% of which it retains and 40% going to the township office. 313 655

Cutting and gathering wood is by no means an easy task. The walk to the forest may take an hour one way, though there may be truck transportation part way. The trees must be cut, the wood chopped up and made into the familiar bundles tied with a stout rush (often the i) and carried back or put in a central location to be picked up later. This marketing of wood on an individual basis is casual and intermittent. More continuous and larger scale exploitation takes place when the village office sells a certain area for cutting. The village takes 60%, the township 40% of the proceeds. 313 [655]

6 Ibid, 285-87. [Text continues on p. 232.--Analyst]
7 Okinawan forests, as cited, 2-3, 5-8.

40% of the proceeds. The trees thus sold are all cut down. After clearcutting, the area is left to natural reseeding. About twenty years hence, the clearing will again be sufficiently forested to permit repetition of the same procedure. This follows an established Japanese pre-war practice. This was known as the five year period share (gonenkanbun). The forest is divided into subdivisions, each 110 chō in area. (A chō is 2.45 acres). These 110 chō plots are in turn subdivided into five parcels of twenty-two chō each. Each year one of these five subdivisions may be cleared. 313 [804]

Throughout the forest, divided up into these plots, there may be a five year cycle of cutting, but not all the plots are available every year. If this were so, the forest could be cut over in five years. The system is planned so that there will always be parcels being cleared, those in various stages of regrowth, and mature stands. During and after the war, this practice broke down in favor of uncontrolled cutting.

If a family has little cash, a villager may pay his taxes in part by cutting wood. The village office pays Y4 for a bundle of firewood (late 1951), Y2 going to the villager as a cash payment, and Y2 being applied to his taxes for the year. [651]

The farmer makes frequent excursions to the mountains to obtain firewood or poles to make improvements in the compound, such as repairing a tool or food shed. Men do this work, especially when the distances are far, but the participation of women is by no means exceptional. Along the roads of northern Okinawa, one can frequently see old women walking down from the mountains carrying bundles of firewood on heavy poles. Much of the wood is hand carried from the mountains; if the farmer has a horse and cart or a truck, the wood is carried to a convenient road for loading and transport. [462] [482] [887] [494]

Charcoal is manufactured in the forest area. In Okinawa charcoal has many uses, mainly for heating and cooking, and for charcoal sticks (senko). Lumps of charcoal are placed in braziers and the sticks are used as touchwood in place of matches and in ceremonial and religious observances. Charcoal containers (tangu) are often constructed on the spot. These are round or box-shaped and made out of the dwarf bamboo. 314 [372] [996] [415]

Charcoal kilns are privately owned. They are of the simplest sort. The kiln may be covered with a rude housing, built up by poles and a thatch roof. A mound of large boulders and dirt is built with an opening on the dirt floor running the length of the firing area. Poles which have been stripped and cut in various lengths, from five to nine feet, are shoved in the opening and moved forward as they burn. The smoke comes out the back.

Forest maintenance and improvement is, in part, a result of community endeavor. With some exceptions, each person in the village from 16 to 60 participates one day a year in forest improvement (sōrin).[8] The participants are boys past school age, unmarried girls, and all men up to the age of 60. These people work without personal remunera- 313 [476]

[8] The usual meaning of sōrin is afforestation or reforestation. In Matsuda it is used in the sense of care and improvement of the forest.

313 476 [465] tion, but the village receives payment, through the township, from the central government for this labor. In November 1951, the rate was Y80 per day for each male, and Y50 for each female. Married women do not participate, except to take the place of a husband who cannot attend. This community project is a continuation of pre-war custom. On the day set aside for this work, the participants are taken part way by truck or bus. A half hour walk over the paths, often leading through dense thickets, brings them to the site selected. Everyone brings his own lunch, perhaps in a little metal box, or merely wrapped in banana leaves. Around noon, the girls take their buckets, go down hill to the stream, and carry up the water for the tea. Weeds and grasses, especially miscanthus and the dwarf bamboo are cleared out from the predominating shii and pine. A shii is known here as the shiigi or shiija. When work begins the area is almost an impenetrable thicket. The grasses and the thick dwarf bamboo have grown up in dense stands among the trees. Only these grasses are cut. Trees are not touched, except for the very young ones in overcrowded spots, or the malformed and dying trees. With the brush and grasses cut, the stand of trees is still dense.

When the undergrowth has been cut down, one can walk through the area. The cuttings, as well as the litter on the forest floor, are not removed. This wise practice keeps the soils at least at their normal productivity. In this area, the relatively low density of population, the scattering of settlement, the large areas of [311] forest compared with the cultivated areas have not brought about conditions requiring the removal of forest litter for fertilizing fields and for fuel, a practice which creates acute problems in Japan.[9]

[637] The work is supervised by a forestry official living in the village but an employee of the township. His supervision is nominal, as everyone knows what is to be done and how to do it. Like all officials of a village, he is a friend, neighbor, or relative of those who participate. He checks off the names of those who have reported. On returning from the forest at five in the afternoon, most of the villagers bring back some wood, perhaps a long pole, a bunch of dwarf bamboo, or miscanthus to make an outdoor broom. They are lighthearted as they return single file along the winding paths back to the village.

Pine cones are gathered for their seeds by the co-operative effort of the villagers. The cones are soaked in water so the seeds can be removed more easily. The village office takes the seeds, [655] gives them to the township office which sells them to the central government for planting purposes. Once a year, the village receives 10% of the amount of seeds it collected for its own planting purposes.

9 A report on Japanese natural resources, as cited, 358.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Every three years, the villagers thin out the dwarf bamboo and other grasses in the pine stands along the coast. Late in December or in early January, there is a community planting of pine seeds. 313 476

The tools used in forest work are: the hand sickle (kama), a bill or hook knife, the tool so familiar in agriculture; an ordinary long knife resembling a butcher knife or a machete (here called a yamakatana, or "mountain knife"), and a hooked knife on the end of a long handle (nōringama). 412

Forest care goes well back into Okinawan history and antedates more recent Japanese methods. This care probably was an obligation in the old system of land tenure under which villagers had access to forest lands with the corresponding obligation to replant. 313

4

An Example of Reclamation

There are cut-over tracts in Matsuda village. The Japanese government, according to local residents, tried to convert these cleared areas into agricultural land. This land reclamation (kaitaku) began about 1935. The land was cleared of its remaining trees and shrubs mainly by firing. (Fire has been used in Okinawa, possibly from early times, in the clearing of land. In 1947 the use of fire in clearing and the hazards in creating forest fires were pointed out by observers who blamed carelessness in firing as the cause of the forest fires in the dry season).[10] Firing was easier and some nutrients from the ash were available to the poor soils. 185 311 [372]

In Matsuda, the cleared land was hoed and the rocks were removed. It had to be hoed deeply to make cultivation possible. The land was enriched with composts containing horse, pig, and goat manures. The original plan was to promote a more extensive type of agriculture on the reclaimed land because it was poorly adapted to the cultivating methods on the better and more accessible soils. A here-and-there (yadori type) settlement was planned. The houses were to be scattered on hillsides, or in the valleys, to provide sufficient land, admittedly poor, for the settlers to cultivate. The size of the contemplated holdings precluded hand labor of the intensity characteristic of the usual agriculture. The use of draft animals, plows, and harrows was part of the plan. [241] [361] [241]

The war and the disappearance of so many of the draft animals prevented its realization. Before the war, it was intended that each family should have a 3000 tsubo tract (2.45 acres). Today the residents on these lands cultivate only about 1000 tsubo, about the limit of manual cultivation considering the soils and the stone that remains. As a consequence, parts of the area are returning to weeds, grasses, and shrubs.

10 Okinawa forests, as cited, 7.

361 [167] After the war, this cleared land was further settled, with American encouragement, by families returning from abroad. This subdivision of Matsuda, a here-and-there settlement, is called "the clearing" (kaikon). Its houses are few and far apart, and with its isolated farmsteads is in contrast with the thickly settled cluster of a typical agricultural village.

5

Conservation

313 [647] In Matsuda, the preservation of the forest is constantly encouraged. This awareness, inspired by officials of the Ryukyuan Forestry Agency and its American advisors, reaches down to the school children. Before any burning is done, a permit must be secured. Fire lanes (bōkasen) are cut to prevent the spread of fire. These lanes are circular, and an area on the lee side is burned to prevent spread of the fire in the direction of the wind.

Fire Lane (Bōkasen)

In addition to the fire protection, officials of the Ryukyu Forestry Agency and specialists in the American Civil Administration are trying to discourage overcutting (kanbatsu) which in this area has affected the most numerous species, the pine, the shii, and the Japanese redwood. Since clearcutting (kaibatsu) so easily leads to overcutting, the former practice is also being discouraged. The newer emphasis is on selective cutting (takubatsu).

[873] School children participate in forest conservation. The children attending high school at nearby Ginoza village take part in forest improvement. An active campaign for conservation and forest fire prevention could not begin immediately after the war. In the post-war confusion, it was not until about 1950, with the establishment of [647] the Ryukyuan Forestry Agency, that active supervision on a central government level could be seriously instituted. On an island wide basis, posters and literature pointing to the dangers of forest fires have tried to bring this message to the Okinawans as well as to the [208] Americans. The name of Saion has been used to tie the preservation of the Okinawan forests in with the history and traditions of the people. The famous "Smoky" appears on posters as well.

[727] In the Matsuda area, the recent periods of relaxation or loss of control, according to local residents, were (1) about 1940 when

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

wood and lumber for Japanese army uses and for air raid shelters were in demand, (2) the burning in the course of the war, and (3) the intense cutting after the war for firewood and rebuilding. 313 727

Okinawan traditions relating to forest care have a positive value and it is worth while to recapitulate them here. Local old men and antiquarians in Matsuda give credit to Saion who wrote a long treatise on agriculture and is said to have intentionally devised superstitions to save trees. Death or misfortune would come to him who cut the trees, especially those in sacred groves or on the tops of mountains. Some local residents have said that the gods of the mountain are really not of religious inspiration at all, but had their origin in the conscious desire of Saion to save the trees. While there does not seem to be any truth in this assertion, since these deities of the sacred groves and mountain tops reach far back into antiquity, there is no doubt that sacred groves and houses of the mountain gods saved trees that otherwise would have been cut down. (In China and Japan, religious shrines and holy places have also been areas of the preservation of trees). 313 173 [178] [171]

Present attitudes were summarized by a Matsuda school principal who said that beliefs in mountain gods and in death and misfortune following cutting trees were dying out, and that these old beliefs had been replaced by awareness of the scientific reasons for preserving the trees. [183] [176] [177]

In Matsuda, pride in the trees, in the groves that line its hill tops and overlook the narrow valleys and ravines planted to rice and other crops is a conspicuous part of village experience. There are trees along the main road near the town that are said to have been planted in Saion's time under his inspiration.

These favorable traditions are helpful. They do not guarantee the preservation of the forests. Previous experience has shown this. From what may be surmised of the history of Okinawan forests, the destruction of modern times has been correlated with war and the expansion of economic activities. We may speculate, too, that previous deforestation was slow, inexorable and related to the clearing of accessible stands near settlements, and the extension of these settled areas as they grew. "Most of the accessible primitive forests have been exhausted," Dr. Green wrote in his report to Commodore Perry.11 The need for fuel increases with population. In China, Japan, Korea, and Okinawa, the relation of forests, either as a source for lumber or fuel, to population growth and settlement is a very intimate one. This is a basic consideration in discussing not only the "patterns of culture" but the relation of culture to the natural environment in this part of the world. [311] [161] [171]

11 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, Vol. II, 35

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Conclusion

311 184 In the comparative study of these villages, certain distinctions are worth summarizing. (1) In the southern villages, which lack forest land, there is much more dependence on the uncultivated wild land (ganya) which supports the grasses. (2) The forest, in Matsuda as elsewhere in the north, is a reserve for necessities like firewood, thatch, charcoal and building materials, both for local use and southern trade. (3) The shelter belts and groves have been preserved in the north. (4) Tidewater plantings of shelter belts are needed in the south. Plantings of the Ryukyuan Forestry Agency, under American Civil Administration encouragement, have begun in the south as protection from wind and salt water spray damage. These include the mokumao, the pandanus, the hibiscus (Albiszia julibrissum Durazz, in Japanese the nemunoki) and the hirugi (Bruguiaria spp.)[12] (5) Ecologically, the situation is more balanced in the north where a good start seems to have been made in arresting progressive deforestation. (6) This balance, if Matsuda is a representative village, can only be maintained by constant appraisal of the relationships of the forest to agriculture, to the growing population, and to the economic demands to which this leads, unless the wood and timber demands of the island are to be met in large part by imports.

[245] [647]

114 648 636 An occupying power like the United States, rich in modern techniques, can do much to improve the life of a small island people. If it is mindful of the history and the present features of the culture, it can suggest improvements without destroying the bases on which the culture rests.

313 114 One of its greatest accomplishments could be an aggressive and continuing program of conservation and afforestation. The present administration, through the Forestry Section of the Food and Natural Resources Department, has started a program which, if permanently pursued, could have far-reaching consequences. An emphasis on selective cutting, conservation, fire control, tidewater plantings, and many other measures could only be a credit to American administrators and foresters as well. The costs, as such things go, would be moderate.

From personal experience in village life, I have no doubt that the co-operation of villagers in all parts of the island could be readily obtained in advancing a large scale afforestation program. The readiness of the people of Matsuda cannot be an exception. These things could be accomplished without an unwieldy administrative apparatus. I have been continually struck with the ability of the Okinawans, with their skill in local organization, to accomplish

12 I am indebted to Mr. Richard Varney of the Department of Food and Natural Resources, USCAR, for this information.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

things quickly and simply. One need not think of large centralized programs but of many small efforts, working through the simple channels of local government.

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In the decades to come, a thriving and self-supporting forest, with shelter belts and tidewater plantings, will be a great asset to the Okinawans, an accomplishment in which the American people can share with pride.

But actually no family is entirely self-sufficient, for each needs to purchase foodstuff as well as ready-made clothes, manufactured mostly in Japan, more substantial building materials, such as better grades of wood, tiles, and cement, tobacco, alcoholic beverages, sweets, toilet articles, some medical supplies, and other luxuries. Farmers buy their tools; students their books and writing materials. Finally, cash is needed to pay taxes. 433 438

In addition to the utilization of sugar, pineapple, firewood, and building materials for cash, Tairans also raise pigs for sale to slaughter houses, and some families derive an income from raising silkworms and producing tea. Fishermen sell fish inside and outside the village, and a small group of people are salaried workers or have an income from specialized services. [231]

Village leaders fear dependence on rapidly dwindling forest resources, still the main source of ready cash. They realize that the present modest living conditions of all families could be much improved if Tairans concentrated on increasing the cultivation of subsistence crops and farmed more intensively to raise cash crops. Most people lack this insight, however, and live on a day-to-day basis without much thought of the future. This is an island-wide problem which has the attention of central government agencies, and a great deal of educational propaganda comes to the village through government channels. 433 241 [313] [185] [654]

AGRICULTURE

The productivity of the land varies not only with its quality but also with the industriousness of the owners. Farmers who show foresight, those who seem to be under less pressure for immediate cash, take off more time from forest work to cultivate fields during planting season. The village headman and council members remind everybody during village meetings and informal discussions that work in the fields should not be neglected. With the approval of the whole community, the first and 15th of each lunar month have been set aside for farming. On these two days it is forbidden to go to the forests to cut wood. Such agreements are usually observed (as a rule), and they help to achieve their purpose but are not completely effective. 241 185 [433] [623] [313]

Rice is planted and harvested twice a year. The first rice is prepared in January when seeds are put into special beds where they are left to grow into young shoots until March. Until about 30 years ago it was said that all people seeded rice on the same day while prayers were 243 [782] [793]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

of the permanent Tairan families fish; the majority of the fishermen are migrants from the surrounding islands who come for a season, leaving their families behind. A few families have moved in permanently. The fishermen supply Taira, but most of the catch is peddled in the Nago market by the fishermen's wives. Some of the more enterprising and mercantile-minded women in the village buy up fish and peddle it for a profit.

Two or three times a year, during February or March, large fishing boats from Henza Island land in Taira with whale meat. All the able women look forward to making extra cash at this time, for whale meat is considered a delicacy in homes where meat is rare. Blubber is eaten and used as frying fat. The distribution of whale meat is arranged by one village woman whose fishermen relatives from Henza supply it in response to her request. She acts as agent, distributing the meat to the women on consignment.

LUMBERING

The main source of immediate cash for most families is firewood. Forest land in the mountains is owned by the township and the village, except for some woods near the fields, which are personal property. The township permits the village to exploit a certain region surrounding the community in return for payment of a forest tax. This tax is levied on firewood bundles or on lumber sold by villagers. Everyone in the village is free to cut wood in the designated area in any amount he desires. This, however, does not imply that unlimited cutting is possible, for resources have been utilized so heavily that most forests near the village are almost cleaned out, and it has become increasingly difficult to find wood. Reforestation has only recently been introduced on a serious scale. Often villagers are found trespassing on land owned by the central Ryukyan government in order to cut from the less depleted forests there. Government officials are sympathetic to the villagers' plight, and they tend to dispose of such transgressions with a stern warning.

Men and women, and during vactions, some children over 12 years, go to the forest. Most people prefer to walk and work in small groups. To reach a place high up in the hills, they may have to hike almost a mile from the center of Taira. The steep, narrow paths made by woodcutters traverse the mountains. Following the approach trails during the day, one can hear voices and the sawing of wood from many directions. All lumber people carry a short handsaw and a heavy bush knife

313 which they use interchangeably. After sufficient trees have been cut and
[412] cleared of branches, a large bundle of firewood is carried to the village. Most forest workers make four or five trips a day into the hills—two or three during the hot summer season. As the afternoon ends, they sit down along the road in the village or nearby to prepare firewood
474 bundles. Pieces of wood are inserted through a bamboo loop of stand-
313 ard size, prescribed by the cooperative store, until a tight, uniform bundle is obtained. The last piece has to be driven into the bundle by force. All over the village one can hear the knocking of wood pieces
[592] which marks the end of a forest worker's daily labor. Each household works independently and sells firewood to the cooperative. A store
[436] clerk travels around the village in late afternoon, checks all bundles, and issues credit slips to each household; these can be changed into money at the store. The following morning the truck, owned by the
[438] cooperative, carries the firewood to Naha or Itoman where it is sold to a dealer who redistributes it to individual consumers or public bathhouses. The northern part of the island has always supplied firewood to the population of southern Okinawa to be used for kitchen hearths
[354] and bath stoves. In recent years kerosene kitchen stoves have become so popular that the depletion of wood resources tends to coincide with decreasing demand.

TRADES AND PROFESSIONS

463 Other ways of making a living exist. A few artisans in Taira derive part of their income from wage labor. A number of Taira men earn their living by carpentering, although they do most of their work in the south. They return occasionally when their services are needed for local house building. When working on local construction, they are
[465] paid in money, free lodging, and meals. There are also a few part-time resident carpenters who, whenever they are not employed in house building or repairs, spend their time farming and cutting wood. New
[342] buildings are usually put up between the beginning of the second rice crop and the New Year.

463 Several persons are salaried township or village officials. They are
466 paid monthly and work a 44-hour week, not counting many extra meet-
[647] ings and duties connected with their work. All office workers however have fields, either their own or those of their parents, where they spend Sundays helping in agricultural pursuits. During rice planting season, they are given special time off to attend to their fields.

Also among the salaried workers are store employees, a full-time

462 heavy sods in the rice paddy; nevertheless, women and younger girls
[241] often do this work along with the men and boys if time runs short. There are some women who prepare their farm land without the help of their husbands.

[313] In mountain work, women produce almost as much as men except that they do not handle the large logs. Even pregnant women make
[843] three or four daily mountain trips, sometimes up until the day of childbirth. Only the mode of carrying wood, like any load, differs for
[482] the sexes: a man uses a carrying stick supported on his shoulder, with two bundles attached to each end; a woman carries bundles on her back, tied and held in place by a tump line tied over her forehead. Women can carry loads of 100 to 120 pounds in this manner.

[312] Men seldom carry water from the tank or faucet to the house; this is considered women's work, although younger boys are expected to
241 help at times. Work in the potato fields is mainly women's respon-
462 sibility. Their hands are also preferred in rice transplanting, where dexterity is needed in pulling out the tender shoots from the seed bed and replanting them in straight rows at measured intervals. Occasionally a young man helps, and boys sometimes try to work along with their sisters when they learn transplanting. Both men and women sow
462 the seed beds. In special activities, such as house building, a more dis-
[342] tinct division of labor can be observed. In any building activity, men do the structural work and women carry materials and cook for the
[653] men. The same division of labor is found on community projects, road building, fencing against wild pigs, or repairing the water pipes. In general, however, no special comment is made if either a man or woman performs work usually done by the opposite sex.

887 Men and women work in the fields and forests from ages 15 to 60.
462 When they approach 60, men like to "retire." If possible, they turn over their responsibilities as household heads to their eldest sons. From
[464] then on, they tend to stay home more and more. They can still help with less demanding work, making bamboo rings for firewood bundles, sawing wood, or doing odd jobs around the house. Approaching old age, most men become economically useless and in other ways contribute little to society. For old women, quite the contrary is true. Even grandmothers who are well over 60 seem strong and active. Most of
[241] them go to the fields to plant or harvest potatoes or other vegetables. One woman, well into her sixties and bent over from arthritis, took long walks to distant potato fields, with a heavy load of slips or potatoes in a basket on her back, a hoe on top of it, supporting herself on a
[855] stick. Other grandmothers look after the youngest children, thus freeing the mother for work. Old women also cook, help bundle firewood,

ments fail to form rope. Her brother quietly takes the straw and without a word demonstrates the deft movement. She watches and tries again when her brother hands it back to her. She is unsuccessful. As she starts to whine again, her brother picks up a length of finished rope and gives it to her. She runs happily toward the playground, waving her rope in the air. 868 [283]

Although young children are not taken to the mountains, they can sit in the village afternoons and watch adults sawing, splitting, and working the bamboo rings used in tying faggots. Boys do not go into the mountains to cut firewood until they are about 10 years old, girls until they are 12, although they may have begged their parents for several years to let them help with cutting and hauling of firewood. But as long as they are still too young for mountain work, they try to use the cutting tools. Tools are left within reach of children so that opportunities for experimentation are almost unlimited. Only their size and weight deter the youngest children. A 2-year-old girl was seen imitating her mother by attempting to whittle off pieces of bamboo with a large 12-inch blade bushknife. A teen-age girl working nearby passed the little girl several times without saying anything. The little girl's father also worked nearby but, like everyone else, was too absorbed in his work to notice his daughter. Finally her mother looked up from where she worked, noticed the huge knife in the girl's hand, and saying in a loud, angry voice, "Why do you carry this, fool?" took the knife away. [313] [412]

Other small children pick up hoes and forks to try them in the yard or in the pigsty. Sickles and knives are used expertly by many 6-year-olds. Bandaged fingers and numerous little scars are evidences of learning and experimentation. Occasionally an adult will say to a 9- or 10-year-old. "Hold the sickle this way so you won't get hurt," but more often than not the child has already learned by himself. One 4½-year-old boy shinnied up the side of a feed box to get a sickle. There was no adult around to peel the long stalk of sugar cane he had been given, so, with expert strokes and handling of the razor-sharp tool, he shaved off the thick, hard skin. By the time his mother arrived on the scene, the child was busily chewing and sucking on a considerable length of the peeled cane. The mother was asked who had taught him to use the sickle, and she was at a loss for a reply. "I don't know! He must have watched us and learned by himself by trying it out!" she said. [412] [264]

Little girls watch their mothers cooking and doing other household work. By watching and asking questions they learn how to light a fire and when to extinguish it to cook a perfect pot of rice. They [252] [296]

313 Home Industries and Famous Products The forested northern mountains give rise
314 to small scale lumbering, charcoal making,
433 and firewood gathering. Kunigami-son and Kushi-son emphasize the gathering of bamboo and firewood. On the other hand the making of charcoal is more import-
[369] ant in Nago, Haneji, and Ōgimi. The urbanization of the south combined with
[391] the postwar extension of roads into formerly inaccessible parts of the north have accelerated exploitation of the northern forest resource. Particularly heavy is the demand for long roof poles, or kichigwā, after every major typhoon.
[237] Kunigami-son and Higashi supply the bulk of these. Where wood is plentiful behind a coastal road, one often finds lime kilns, which process the coral of the reefs.

258 The sea is also a major source of material for home industries. Sea
433 salt is made at Yagaji, Urasoe and Oroku on the west coast, at Henza and Awase
[237] on the east. Kunigami-son prides itself upon its production of seaweed. Buttons from seashells are made in Mawashi. Fish cakes ('kamaboko') are made in quantity in Itoman and Naha, with lesser amounts being produced in Ishikawa and Nago. Dried bonito ('katsuoboshi') is a specialty of Tonaki isle to the west. Motobu-chō holds second place, followed by the western isles of Tokashiki and
505 Zamami. For over a hundred years the small cargo sailboats ('Yambaru-sen')
178 of the east coast have carried forest products from the north. The extension of roads into the northern forests has greatly reduced the amount now carried by sea.

433 Horse breeding is a specialty in Nakazato (the eastern half of Kume-
[232] shima), which has 22% of the gunto's production of horses. However, the pro-
[233] duction of horse and cattle hides is concentrated in the urban areas, which
[231] account for 84% of the hides produced. Nakazato is also famous for production of silk cocoons, being responsible for about two-fifths (38.7%) of the gunto's total. The leading mainland producer is Motobu-chō, with 9%.

Although Okinawa is not self-sufficient in tea, the three areas of
[245] Gushikawa, Ishikawa and Kunigami produce over half of the local tea. In Oku
[474] village of Kunigami, the tea factory is a cooperative venture. Oushikawa
[275] and Chatan pride themselves upon possessing 'sake' and 'awamori' distilleries.
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[314] Travertine quarries are found in Motobu-chō and Katsuren. A sandy limestone is quarried at Minatogawa in Oushichan.

40% of the proceeds. The trees thus sold are all cut down. After clearcutting, the area is left to natural reseeding. About twenty years hence, the clearing will again be sufficiently forested to permit repetition of the same procedure. This follows an established Japanese pre-war practice. This was known as the five year period share (gonenkanbun). The forest is divided into subdivisions, each 110 chō in area. (A chō is 2.45 acres). These 110 chō plots are in turn subdivided into five parcels of twenty-two chō each. Each year one of these five subdivisions may be cleared. 313 [804]

Throughout the forest, divided up into these plots, there may be a five year cycle of cutting, but not all the plots are available every year. If this were so, the forest could be cut over in five years. The system is planned so that there will always be parcels being cleared, those in various stages of regrowth, and mature stands. During and after the war, this practice broke down in favor of uncontrolled cutting.

If a family has little cash, a villager may pay his taxes in part by cutting wood. The village office pays Y4 for a bundle of firewood (late 1951), Y2 going to the villager as a cash payment, and Y2 being applied to his taxes for the year. [651]

The farmer makes frequent excursions to the mountains to obtain firewood or poles to make improvements in the compound, such as repairing a tool or food shed. Men do this work, especially when the distances are far, but the participation of women is by no means exceptional. Along the roads of northern Okinawa, one can frequently see old women walking down from the mountains carrying bundles of firewood on heavy poles. Much of the wood is hand carried from the mountains; if the farmer has a horse and cart or a truck, the wood is carried to a convenient road for loading and transport. [462] [482] [887] [494]

Charcoal is manufactured in the forest area. In Okinawa charcoal has many uses, mainly for heating and cooking, and for charcoal sticks (senko). Lumps of charcoal are placed in braziers and the sticks are used as touchwood in place of matches and in ceremonial and religious observances. Charcoal containers (tangu) are often constructed on the spot. These are round or box-shaped and made out of the dwarf bamboo. 314 [372] [996] [416]

Charcoal kilns are privately owned. They are of the simplest sort. The kiln may be covered with a rude housing, built up by poles and a thatch roof. A mound of large boulders and dirt is built with an opening on the dirt floor running the length of the firing area. Poles which have been stripped and cut in various lengths, from five to nine feet, are shoved in the opening and moved forward as they burn. The smoke comes out the back.

Forest maintenance and improvement is, in part, a result of community endeavor. With some exceptions, each person in the village from 16 to 60 participates one day a year in forest improvement (sōrin).[8] The participants are boys past school age, unmarried girls, and all men up to the age of 60. These people work without personal remunera- 313 [476]

[8] The usual meaning of sōrin is afforestation or reforestation. In Matsuda it is used in the sense of care and improvement of the forest.

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Since the war, the old narrow one lane roads have been broadened, permitting heavier auto traffic. Land ownership has been undisturbed, for it is not in an area in which the military has required land. Since the war, the villagers have tried to return to their former way of life, but this has been done with poorer houses and fewer possessions.

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Minatogawa

Minatogawa, the second village studied, formerly was a shoe string type of settlement. Houses, shops, drinking places were along the seawall road. This pattern is now altered as a result of the war. Scattered areas have been relocated and houses built on lands formerly used for sweet potatoes. It is now an indeterminate type of village, retaining some indications of its old settlement pattern along the main road, with additions of clusters of houses in the newly settled areas.

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Like Hanashiro, this village is in Gushichan township, and located on Highway 64. It is directly on the main historical road, previously mentioned, which led from Naha to the Chinen peninsula. The road, along which its houses are built, parallels for a distance the estuary of the small Minatogawa river. This narrow estuary, called Usaregawa, which connects the river mouth with the Pacific Ocean, and the small river itself (Yuhigawa) is a boundary between Gushichan and Tamagusuku townships. On either side there are steep cliffs, the sites of the best known stone quarries of Okinawa.

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The settlement and the adjoining lands have an area of about 256 acres. It is a mixed economy village with three distinct occupational groups: fishermen, stonecutters, and farmers. There is a second village whose borders blend with those of Minatogawa. These two villages are now known officially as Minatogawa-ikku and Minatogawa-niku. The two terms can be awkwardly translated as Minatogawa first ward, and Minatogawa second ward. But popularly they retain their older names: Minatogawa for the fishing village, and Nagamo for the agricultural second ward. These two separate but adjoining villages were until 1925 a single village.

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The division was the result of distinct differences in outlook and occupation between the two sections. Minatogawa is a fishing village and has strong ties with Itoman, a town on the East China Sea shore about 4 1/2 miles away. Nagamo is an agricultural community originally settled from Naha and Shuri. Stone-cutting operations spread over both areas. While the fishing village of Minatogawa was given the emphasis in this study, it will be necessary occasionally to include Nagamo in the discussion.[8]

[226]
[241]
[324]
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8 The writer did not realize until he lived here that two villages were involved, thinking that the two wards referred to a single administrative unit. By this time the work on Hanashiro had been well started, and time did not permit the intensive study of Nagamo.

114

sandstone one sees in the new buildings of Naha often is from the quarries of this area. Stone quarries are scattered in various parts of Okinawa, but the Hinatogawa stone is considered the best. 324 [316]

Sandstone quarrying started, according to older settlers, about sixty years ago. Cutting began on the coast, gradually working up slope over rolling stony land. It is an interesting example of the transformation of a landscape by man. Now with the old methods still in use, the cutting has extended beyond the village. Stonecutting operations in the main are in the steep bluffs around both villages, although there are numerous cuttings in the newer settlements of Hinatogawa and along the seashore. Frequently the cut stone blocks lie near the temporary Hinatogawa tombs which dot the rocky coast. By the simplest methods, large quantities of stone have been and continue to be removed. All work is done by hand; machinery was installed by the Americans after the war, but it is out of working order and stands idle. 316 [133] [764]

Before the war, stonecutting in this vicinity was a more thriving industry than now. Quarries are also found in neighboring Tamagusuku township and there is a distributing outlet in Horikawa, the village across the river. Before the war from 300-500 men are said to have engaged in stonecutting. Now there are about 120 in both villages. Many of these stone workers had come from other parts of Okinawa and the Ryukyus: men from the offshore islands, Ie-shima, the Kerama chain, and Iheya, and on the south east, from Kudaka, Tsuken, and Hoanza islands. Most of those settlers from the offshore islands have left. A few, born on Ie-shima, or from the northern district still remain. [464]

Since the war coastwise shipping of lumber and firewood from the north and stone from the south had declined sharply. Trucks have largely displaced the boats. Transport costs are high and the stone is in demand in closer markets. 505 494

2

Acquiring and Working the Land

Customary practices govern the quarrying of stone. These eliminate the need for written agreements. Interested persons know the properties and the possibilities of each site. These customary practices are concerned with the acquisition, the working and the restoration of land. Techniques for working the stone have remained nearly the same for at least sixty years. 316

The stonecutter purchases rights to the stone, not the land itself. When the stone has been extracted, the land is returned to its owner. This is unimproved land, but after the stone has been quarried, a house may be built on the site. When a stonecutter (sekko) wishes to acquire a certain holding, he calls on the owner of the land. Following oral negotiations, the price is agreed upon. A good price 316 425 [435]

316 (1951-52) is from Y300-400 per tsubo (about four square yards), much
425 higher than ordinary agricultural land. The price varies with supposed
435 quality. The good judgment of the purchaser is necessary for success. He must estimate the quantity of stone, its depth, whether there may be cracks, fissures, or black streaks below, and the effect of underground water as he cuts down deeper. In a year, a good stonecutter can remove stone from about four tsubo of land. If he has extra capital, he may hire help.

316 The types of employment found are either the single operator or the
472 small operator who has one or more employees. The industry is not notable for large capital outlays, or many employees of a single operator. A simple partnership is common. There may be some division of labor, with the owner of the rights doing all the cutting, while a friend or relative who does this as a secondary occupation assists in the removal of the stone and in loading it on a horse cart. The operator who has a piece of land too large to work by himself may hire someone. The employee (yatoi in Japanese, ninpu in Okinawan) is paid according to skill: Y100 a day for a beginning 17 or 18 year old boy, Y150 to the experienced, [965] and Y200 to the worker who can do all phases of the work quickly and skillfully.

Much depends on the nature of the stone being worked. This varies by locality and with moisture content. It will require 8 hours for [804] a man to cut a six shaku (about six feet) length of hard rock 1 shaku 2 sun (14.4 inches) deep, but he may be able to make three cuttings of [461] moist or wet rock in the same period. Working time naturally varies with the strength and skill of the cutter. For this reason, piece [965] work payment is common. The employee, however, may work unused portions of the holdings, receiving two-thirds of the value of the stone cut.

3

Tools and Types of Stone Cut

413 Six tools are used in cutting and extracting the sandstone: (1) the hichi (Okinawan). This tool, about six feet long, resembles a crow bar, but has a sharp chisel edge for cutting the stone. (2) A sharp hand axe (ono in Japanese, yūki in Okinawan) for chipping and finishing, (3) the ishiyūki, a smaller axe, used like the yūki, for chipping and finishing but principally in shaping pyramidal stones (kenchi). The tool is also used to knock off the rough edges of the stone, where it has been split, an operation often performed by old men. (4) The kusukacha (Okinawan). This reminds one of a small light golf iron. It has a handle four or five feet long with a metal strip attached at an angle to one end. It is used to rake off chippings and dust that accumulate in the groove while the cut is being made with the long chisel. (5) Wedges (iya in Okinawan), and (6) sledge hammers are used to split off the stone after the cut has been made.

316 Methods of working with these tools are very simple. The surface dirt is cleared away until the stone to be cut is visible and clean.

A cutting line is then drawn over the surface of the stone. The worker straddles the cutting line, lifts the long bar up and down, making the cut along the line to the desired depth. It is slow and tedious work. 316

When the stone has been cut along a length of 6 or 9 feet and to a depth of about 14 inches, small holes along the bottom of the cut are made with a pick. These provide a hold for the wedges. Shavings or pieces of wood are put on either side of the wedges, three of which are used for a 6 foot length. The wedges are then struck seriatim with a sledge hammer and the stone is cracked across the bottom. When cracked, it is pried loose by the long bar, using the wedge as the fulcrum.

The cutting continues all day, or until the desired length and depth is reached for that particular cut. As the top layer is removed, the cutters go down deeper until they reach water, or until the seepage is too great to permit further cutting. Many times they cut 10 or 15 feet below the level of the surrounding land, stopping when the quality of the stone becomes poor. It may be black streaked, cracked, or have large fissures.

The long chisel is a relatively new addition to the tools of stonecutting. About 60 years ago, only the hand axe was used. This made the cut much rougher, compared with the clean cut of the bar chisel. After removal the block is rough on the lower edge. (Fig. 1) With gentle and slow chipping, this rough edge is smoothed off by the hand axe and the stone is ready for use. [413] 324

Three different types of stones are cut: (1) foundation stone (ishiji in Okinawan) used in housebuilding. This is the stone on which the poles supporting the eaves rest. At its base, the stone is about 16 inches square, at the apex about 14 inches, with a height of 9 inches to one foot. (2) Pyramidal stones with a square base (called kenchi both in Japanese and Okinawan). These are made from larger and imperfect cuttings or from odd shaped stones. They are chipped down and finished to the desired size. They are extensively used in breakwaters, and, occasionally in stone fences. When used as a breakwater, the stones are placed with the base toward the water, the apex being shoreward. The interstices may be filled with cement or clay. [333]

The block is the most important cut. It may be any length. When used in building construction, the blocks are generally about 9 feet long, one foot wide, and from 10-12 inches thick. These are called ishibashida (Japanese and Okinawan). In housebuilding stone, the width and the thickness are about the same, from ten inches to one foot on the side. In housebuilding the blocks are laid like bricks, so that joinings are not in the same vertical line. [333]

Cutters normally do not use the stone for personal use. More is to be gained by selling. This is done on an individual basis. 324 432

324 The truck or horsecart of the buyer comes to the stonecutting area,
432 the blocks are loaded and taken away. Prior to sale, for convenience,
[494] stone may be taken from the cutting area. It is loaded on horse carts,
[483] the men carrying the heavy blocks by means of ropes looped around the
[804] ends of the stone and over poles which in turn rest on the shoulders.
[435] A six foot length (1 ken linear measure), one foot wide and about ten inches thick sells for ¥140 (1951-52).

Foot injuries are the chief hazards of this occupation. The toes may be accidentally cut by the long chisel, and there is danger
316 of bruising or crushing by accidentally dropping the block, or by rolling when it is being dislodged. Very hard and calloused hands are
[164] the mark of the stonecutter; his hands are especially conspicuous for the hard, raised areas on the pals around the base of the fingers, the
[142] result of the constant lifting and pounding of the long chisel. There is also danger to the eyes in flying chips but few use glasses or goggles.

Like some phases of fishing, this work is for the young and the
[561] physically mature men. After the middle forties or early fifties, a man no longer does the heavy work and confines himself to lighter chores. The very old and the retired may chip and finish the foundation and the pyramidal stones.

472 If a cutter is unable to extract all the stone in a plot whose stone he has bought, there are also customary solutions. When the father dies, his son continues the workings and returns the field to the owner. If a stone worker moves to another village when only half the work has been done, he arranges for a friend, relative, or neighbor to take over the remaining part.

4

Restoring the Land

185 Formerly excavations (which might be 10 or 15 feet deep and the
311 size of a large room) were refilled by the buyer of the stone rights. Rocks, pebbles, and miscellaneous trash were used as fill, but following the war there has been a heavy demand for rock and stone for road
[499] construction. As a consequence, many excavations are now only partly refilled. After refilling, houses are built on the sites of formerly excavated land. Here and there one can see sweet potatoes or vegetables growing on land which formerly was covered with stone. The original state of the land, its appearance after excavation and its restoration may be seen in Figure 2. Evidences of this reclamation may be seen throughout the stoneworking area.

324 Minatogawa, because it lacks vegetation for protective and decorative purposes, is a good example of the use and adaptation of stone to local needs. There are still stone fences, waist or shoulder height, and many small stone boundary lines, a foot or two and of uneven height. Coral stones, weathered by the sea, honeycombed and pocked, are seen everywhere.

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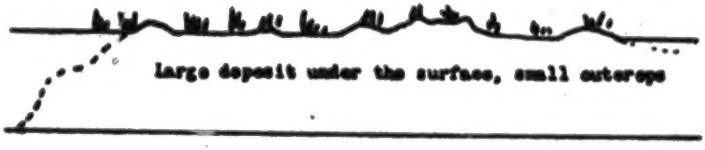
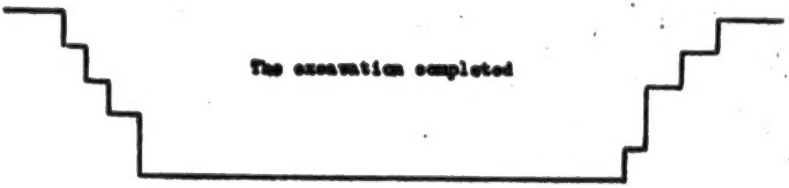
MINATOGAWA-NAGAMO STONECUTTING OPERATIONS

Fig. 1





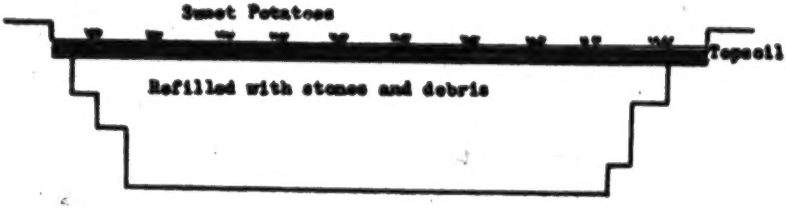


Fig. 2

313 Home Industries and Famous Products The forested northern mountains give rise to small scale lumbering, charcoal making,
314 and firewood gathering. Kunigami-son and Kushi-son emphasize the gathering of
433 bamboo and firewood. On the other hand the making of charcoal is more import-
[369] ant in Nago, Haneji, and Ōgimi. The urbanization of the south combined with
[491] the postwar extension of roads into formerly inaccessible parts of the north have accelerated exploitation of the northern forest resource. Particularly heavy is the demand for long roof poles, or kichigwā, after every major typhoon.
[237] Kunigami-son and Higashi supply the bulk of these. Where wood is plentiful behind a coastal road, one often finds lime kilns, which process the coral of the reefs.

258 The sea is also a major source of material for home industries. Sea
433 salt is made at Yagaji, Urasoe and Oroku on the west coast, at Henza and Awase
[237] on the east. Kunigami-son prides itself upon its production of seaweed. Buttons from seashells are made in Mawashi. Fish cakes ('kamaboko') are made in quantity in Itoman and Naha, with lesser amounts being produced in Ishikawa and Nago. Dried bonito ('katsuoboshi') is a specialty of Tonaki isle to the west. Motobu-chō holds second place, followed by the western isles of Tokashiki and
505 Zamami. For over a hundred years the small cargo sailboats ('Yambaru-sen')
178 of the east coast have carried forest products from the north. The extension of roads into the northern forests has greatly reduced the amount now carried by sea.

433 Horse breeding is a specialty in Nakazato (the eastern half of Kume-
[232] shima), which has 22% of the gunto's production of horses. However, the pro-
[282] duction of horse and cattle hides is concentrated in the urban areas, which
[231] account for 84% of the hides produced. Nakazato is also famous for production of silk cocoons, being responsible for about two-fifths (38.7%) of the gunto's total. The leading mainland producer is Motobu-chō, with 9%.

Although Okinawa is not self-sufficient in tea, the three areas of
[245] Gushikawa, Ishikawa and Kunigami produce over half of the local tea. In Oku
[479] village of Kunigami, the tea factory is a cooperative venture. Gushikawa
[274] and Chatan pride themselves upon possessing 'sake' and 'awamori' distilleries.
[286] Mawashi is the center of production of farm tools, and accounts for some weaving of banana cloth. Weaving of mats from the "seven isles reed" ('shichitō-i') is a local specialty of Kanegusuku.

[314] Travertine quarries are found in Motobu-chō and Katsuren. A sandy limestone is quarried at Minatogawa in Gushichan.

The time at which a young man becomes a full fledged fisherman depends on his own ability and progress. Age is not a criterion of skill after a young man has had experience. Perhaps when he is 24, a young man can handle every phase of the work, including catching the swordfish. It is common for a young and an old man to work together, the one as master, the other as novice. There is no stated apprenticeship period. In bad weather, or in rough seas, only the unusually apt young fisherman is allowed to bring in a large fish by himself because of the danger of capsizing. 226 868

2

Types of Boats

All boats are now motor driven. There are 42 in the village, 41 of which are small skiffs. Three types of boats are distinguished: (1) the hatsudoki. This is little more than a good sized motorboat with a cabin. It carries about 8 men. There is one in the village. The small scale individualized character of fishing here is indicated by the smallness of the remaining craft. (2) the kuribune (literally, "hollowed out boat," from the verb kuru, to carve or to hollow out). Properly speaking, it is a boat carved out of a log, usually of the Japanese redwood (sugi) imported from Japan, but the term is extended to mean any small boat. This type has largely disappeared, and only one remains in the village. The hollowed out boat seems, in this area at least, to have become a lost art. It has been displaced by (3) the hagibune (jointed, pieced together boat). This is also made from the Japanese redwood and is constructed, often by the fishermen themselves, out of planks about 2 1/2 inches thick. There were 40 of these hagibune in January 1952. The number is never constant due to new building, losses at sea, or on shore from typhoon destruction. 501

These small boats do not require much maintenance. At typhoon times, they are lifted from the shore up over the breakwater and lashed down on the side of the road. This may not avoid destruction. If the breaking waves are high and strong, they crush the breakwater, hurling its stones against the boats. Every two months, the boats are thoroughly treated by rubbing with shark oil. Cracks and small holes are repaired with small wooden plugs, called fundu in Okinawan. These are shaped like a stylized butterfly. They are inserted in the bottom of the sides of the boats across the running planks, that is, against the grain. 504 [731] 501 322

3

Common Fish and How They Are Caught

In this area, many different kinds of fish are caught, but the following discussion is limited to the most plentiful and economically 226

178 In Kanegusuku, for example, mat weaving is still of some importance
286 as a home industry. Where formerly nearly all of the houses were engaged in
433 production of mats, today less than half are so engaged, and the acreage planted in sedge is but ten percent of the prewar level. The war caused the loss of many machines; increasing emphasis on food production has brought a conversion of sedge fields into paddies; access to the better markets in Japan is now more difficult than before the war; it is felt to be too time-consuming and the young women today do not like this work.

Formerly there were a number of men in Kanegusuku who were able to construct the looms used in mat weaving. Today, however, no one constructs his own looms; instead, they are purchased from a manufacturer in Itoman.
[463] This particular example is symptomatic of the general decline of do-it-yourself and the increasing reliance placed on specialists.

178 There are some encouraging signs of revival or new life in the manufacture of Okinawan art objects. Okinawan lacquer ware, which is acknow-
[322] ledged by some to be the world's finest, is being sold in large quantity to
[323] members of the occupation. The owner of a large pottery works in Naha told the author that pottery from tombs is being collected to serve as models in
[286] restoring an older style and superior type of pottery. An Okinawan textile technique known as <u>biingata</u> (Okinawan; in Japanese, 'Benigata') was virtually lost during the war, but this art is still being carried on by one Shuri family, and recent publicity and aroused interest seems likely to insure survival.

178 <u>Power and Machinery</u> Agricultural machinery has come into use quite
407 recently on Okinawa. Pitts states that the labor-saving rice thresher first came into widespread use in the thirties. Older methods of flailing or rubbing the rice over a mat, canvas, or stone surface were also observed as being in common use. In numerous instances it was brought out that wartime losses had necessitated a return to an earlier and cruder means of threshing.

The old-fashioned, hand-operated rice polisher has gone out of use in Kanegusuku, and all rice is now polished in the village rice mill which operates on a gasoline engine.

In many communities the gasoline-operated sugar mill has replaced the
[257] horse-powered mill. More important, however, is the fact that the small community mill remains popular, and the farmer is resistant toward using the large sugar factories (see chapter on Rural Economy).

178
377 Electricity, common only to the towns and cities before the war, is now found in many villages, and those who are without it are looking forward
[373] to its installation. The kerosene lamps now in use in most rural homes cast a dim light and constitute a serious fire hazard in homes of thatch and wood.

178 The bulldozer has come into use as a means of opening new land and
406 constructing rice fields. Farmers in Kanegusuku and Nanahan made use of this method during the period of the authors' study of these two villages. Formerly this sort of work required the labor of a number of men over a considerable

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114 much as possible the customary ways of doing things, and though one could
121 not hope for an unchanging or an isolated village, one could find a vil-
184 lage relatively so, even if, as was the case with all the villages, they had felt the effects of the deadly campaign for Okinawa.

On one of these trips, I talked with the headman of the village of Hanashiro and then with the officials in the nearby village office of Oushichan, and concluded on the basis of what I saw of the agriculture and the conditions described by these officials, that this small village would be a satisfactory selection. In the beginning, an epidemic of encephalitis made it wise to be away from the village at night and for
[164] the first month the investigations were confined to daytime work. This was a serious handicap which I tried to overcome later in the tour by living in the village.

While working in Hanashiro, I had frequent occasion to pass the villages of Minatogawa-ikku and Minatogawa-niku, and I was impressed with the opportunity to study the life of a village in which agriculture
[226] did not predominate, and in which the chief emphasis was on fishing and stonecutting. I therefore decided to include the fishing village, and
[324] took up residence there late in August 1951, making frequent trips on the side to Hanashiro.

As interest and awareness increased, I became convinced that another type of village should be added to the agricultural and fishing selections. It should be one in the northern forested area (the Kunigami region).
[361] After discussing this with American and Okinawan forestry officials, I followed their suggestion and lived in the village of Matsuda in Ginoza township. It proved to be a good choice, with the possible reservation that Matsuda is somewhat of a model village whose conditions might be better than the average.

The villages needed to be small enough for one man to study. And they proved to be admirable communities for realizing my original intention of showing similarities and contrasts in an agricultural village, a fishing village, and a village in a forest setting.

121 The results do not constitute a complete ethnography of each of the villages. Such was not my intention, and this could not have been done in the time available. The material has been organized around four central subjects: (1) the nature of the family system and its influence through
[128] inheritance on land tenure and land use, (2) ways of life as illustrated in the studies of the agricultural, fishing-stonecutting, and forest communities, (3) daily family life as a concrete expression of the family system, and (4) wider community relationships, including political and cooperative organizations, education, and religion.

The basic theme is that a fruitful approach to the study of modern cultures lies in the borderland area between the social and the natural sciences, and that, in the case of these Okinawan villages, the study
[311] would take the form of discovering in what ways the people are using their natural environment and the manner in which the culture has changed and

Since the war, the old narrow one lane roads have been broadened, permitting heavier auto traffic. Land ownership has been undisturbed, for it is not in an area in which the military has required land. Since the war, the villagers have tried to return to their former way of life, but this has been done with poorer houses and fewer possessions. 363 403 511

3

Minatogawa

Minatogawa, the second village studied, formerly was a shoe string type of settlement. Houses, shops, drinking places were along the seawall road. This pattern is now altered as a result of the war. Scattered areas have been relocated and houses built on lands formerly used for sweet potatoes. It is now an indeterminate type of village, retaining some indications of its old settlement pattern along the main road, with additions of clusters of houses in the newly settled areas. 361 [275] [311] [244]

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Part 1

Minatogawa, the Fishing Community

1

Introduction

Fishing families are a closely knit group. They are usually interrelated. For the most part, the main houses of their extended families are in the fishing town of Itoman. Fathers, sons, wives, daughters, grandparents participate in some phase of fishing activity. 226 [596] 607

In an agricultural community, the first son remains in the home working the fields of his father. In fishing, through long custom, there is an avoidance of teamwork among close relatives. Members of the immediate family will not go out on the same fishing boat. A father will not take his son, an elder brother will not take a younger. Partners and working teams on boats are more distant relatives or friends. If a father and a son are on the same boat and it is lost, the present and the succeeding head both perish. To this incontrovertible possibility, there has been added the belief that if two persons of the same immediate family go to sea together on the same boat, there will be a disaster. And actual and near disasters are frequent enough to make both points of view understandable. The sons of fishermen, who are learning the ways of the fish and of the sea, go on the boats of others. Many younger fishermen regard the belief that it is inviting disaster to have two members of the samb immediate family together on the same boat as a superstition (meishin), but to my knowledge, no fisherman ignores the custom. 226 593 [183]

In Minatogawa, about one half of the fishermen have fields of their own, usually small and poor. Perhaps twenty men in the village may be classed as half farmers and half fishermen, but even in these cases it is the wives and the children who have the continuing responsibility for the fields. 226 241 [423]

Neither is it rare for a fisherman to be a stonecutter. Perhaps another twenty men are engaged in the summer in fishing, and in stonecutting in the winter, or on unfavorable fishing days. The three main occupations of the village, including Nagamo, are thus found in varying combinations. Fishing is the most exacting and offers few opportunities for amateurs. Stonecutting requires strength and endurance. For those who have land, agriculture offers possibilities of growing one's own food and of avoiding cash outlays. 226 324 463

In an average summer month, there may be about 20 good fishing days. But because of unusual or unexpected rains or typhoons opportunities may be fewer. In 1951, there were only about ten working days in each of the summer months. In winter fishing days average about a week in a 226 96 [132]

512 821 A fishing village has a different kind of regularity than an agricultural village. Activities in both are determined by the weather. During a heavy rain, everyone is in his house. But the farmer, even with a dark angry sky, can work up to the storm, and often continues working in a mild rain. The fishing village is guided both by bad and anticipated bad weather. On a fine fishing day, the village seems deserted with the men gone, and the women in the homes. But several days of rain or unfavorable weather keep the men home, and the village is alive with other activities, such as repairing nets, boats, and houses. Much of the fisherman's work at sea is at night, either in the actual fishing or in going and coming. [513] For this reason, there is considerable daytime sleeping among them. On off days, the young fishermen loll around, often finding it difficult to pass the time away.

9

Conclusion

226 184 Fishing has become the occupation of a few places, such as Itoman town, some villages on the Motobu peninsular, and Minatogawa. Ryukyuans have achieved considerable fame for their skill in fishing in waters other than their own, such as their drive-in net fishing in the East Indies and around Singapore.[3] Possibly it is the fewness of good ports, the necessity of adapting requirements to varying local geographical conditions, such as the coral reefs, or the long period of emigration that have prevented the large scale development of fishing on this island and insured the dominance of an agricultural life.

262 It is also a striking fact that, on this small island where no village is far from the sea, fish is an uncommon article of the diet. The explanation is simple. It is a problem of distribution in which [435] two considerations are involved: the higher prices obtainable in Naha, [251] and the difficulties of preserving fish while distributing them through [439] the rural villages. More often than not, the fish in a farmer's diet is the dried sardine or a canned fish from Japan, not the local catch.

Part 2

The Quarries of Minatogawa-Nagamo

1

Introduction

324 Minatogawa is famous throughout Okinawa for its stone. Stone [458] from the village and its environs may be seen in many towns and villages of the island. Before the war, there was a flourishing boat trade in wood and stone between Minatogawa and the northern region. The fine

3 For a recent statement, see Aquatic resources of the Ryukyu area, as cited, 7-9.

324
516
291

Stonecutting in Minatogawa along the seashore. The long slabs are for building construction. The top left is the estuary of the river leading out to the open sea. The stance of the man in the left center of the picture is usual in cutting the stone. Note the long crow bar type tool for making the cut. The men are barefooted. Most stonecutters are quite young. There is no uniformity in headgear. The stone in the background is dark and streaked and will not be used.

sandstone one sees in the new buildings of Naha often is from the quarries of this area. Stone quarries are scattered in various parts of Okinawa, but the Minatogawa stone is considered the best. 324 [316]

Sandstone quarrying started, according to older settlers, about sixty years ago. Cutting began on the coast, gradually working up slope over rolling stony land. It is an interesting example of the transformation of a landscape by man. Now with the old methods still in use, the cutting has extended beyond the village. Stonecutting operations in the main are in the steep bluffs around both villages, although there are numerous cuttings in the newer settlements of Minatogawa and along the seashore. Frequently the cut stone blocks lie near the temporary Minatogawa tombs which dot the rocky coast. By the simplest methods, large quantities of stone have been and continue to be removed. All work is done by hand; machinery was installed by the Americans after the war, but it is out of working order and stands idle. 316 [133] [764]

Before the war, stonecutting in this vicinity was a more thriving industry than now. Quarries are also found in neighboring Tamagusuku township and there is a distributing outlet in Horikawa, the village across the river. Before the war from 300-500 men are said to have engaged in stonecutting. Now there are about 120 in both villages. Many of these stone workers had come from other parts of Okinawa and the Ryukyus: men from the offshore islands, Ie-shima, the Kerama chain, and Ikeya, and on the south east, from Kudaka, Tsuken, and Hoanza islands. Most of those settlers from the offshore islands have left. A few, born on Ie-shima, or from the northern district still remain. [464]

Since the war coastwise shipping of lumber and firewood from the north and stone from the south had declined sharply. Trucks have largely displaced the boats. Transport costs are high and the stone is in demand in closer markets. 505 494

2

Acquiring and Working the Land

Customary practices govern the quarrying of stone. These eliminate the need for written agreements. Interested persons know the properties and the possibilities of each site. These customary practices are concerned with the acquisition, the working and the restoration of land. Techniques for working the stone have remained nearly the same for at least sixty years. 316

The stonecutter purchases rights to the stone, not the land itself. When the stone has been extracted, the land is returned to its owner. This is unimproved land, but after the stone has been quarried, a house may be built on the site. When a stonecutter (sekko) wishes to acquire a certain holding, he calls on the owner of the land. Following oral negotiations, the price is agreed upon. A good price 316 425 [435]

A cutting line is then drawn over the surface of the stone. The worker straddles the cutting line, lifts the long bar up and down, making the cut along the line to the desired depth. It is slow and tedious work. 316

When the stone has been cut along a length of 6 or 9 feet and to a depth of about 14 inches, small holes along the bottom of the cut are made with a pick. These provide a hold for the wedges. Shavings or pieces of wood are put on either side of the wedges, three of which are used for a 6 foot length. The wedges are then struck seriatim with a sledge hammer and the stone is cracked across the bottom. When cracked, it is pried loose by the long bar, using the wedge as the fulcrum.

The cutting continues all day, or until the desired length and depth is reached for that particular cut. As the top layer is removed, the cutters go down deeper until they reach water, or until the seepage is too great to permit further cutting. Many times they cut 10 or 15 feet below the level of the surrounding land, stopping when the quality of the stone becomes poor. It may be black streaked, cracked, or have large fissures.

The long chisel is a relatively new addition to the tools of stonecutting. About 60 years ago, only the hand axe was used. This made the cut much rougher, compared with the clean cut of the bar chisel. After removal the block is rough on the lower edge. (Fig. 1) With gentle and slow chipping, this rough edge is smoothed off by the hand axe and the stone is ready for use. [413] 324

Three different types of stones are cut: (1) foundation stone (ishiji in Okinawan) used in housebuilding. This is the stone on which the poles supporting the eaves rest. At its base, the stone is about 16 inches square, at the apex about 14 inches, with a height of 9 inches to one foot. (2) Pyramidal stones with a square base (called kenchi both in Japanese and Okinawan). These are made from larger and imperfect cuttings or from odd shaped stones. They are chipped down and finished to the desired size. They are extensively used in breakwaters, and, occasionally in stone fences. When used as a breakwater, the stones are placed with the base toward the water, the apex being shoreward. The interstices may be filled with cement or clay. [333]

The block is the most important cut. It may be any length. When used in building construction, the blocks are generally about 9 feet long, one foot wide, and from 10-12 inches thick. These are called ishibashida (Japanese and Okinawan). In housebuilding stone, the width and the thickness are about the same, from ten inches to one foot on the side. In housebuilding the blocks are laid like bricks, so that joinings are not in the same vertical line. [333]

Cutters normally do not use the stone for personal use. More is to be gained by selling. This is done on an individual basis. 324 432

324 The truck or horsecart of the buyer comes to the stonecutting area,
432 the blocks are loaded and taken away. Prior to sale, for convenience,
stone may be taken from the cutting area. It is loaded on horse carts,
[494] the men carrying the heavy blocks by means of ropes looped around the
[483] ends of the stone and over poles which in turn rest on the shoulders.
A six foot length (1 ken linear measure), one foot wide and about ten
[804] inches thick sells for ¥140 (1951-52).
[435]

Foot injuries are the chief hazards of this occupation. The toes may be accidentally cut by the long chisel, and there is danger
316 of bruising or crushing by accidentally dropping the block, or by rolling when it is being dislodged. Very hard and calloused hands are
[164] the mark of the stonecutter; his hands are especially conspicuous for the hard, raised areas on the pals around the base of the fingers, the
[142] result of the constant lifting and pounding of the long chisel. There is also danger to the eyes in flying chips but few use glasses or goggles.

Like some phases of fishing, this work is for the young and the
[561] physically mature men. After the middle forties or early fifties, a man no longer does the heavy work and confines himself to lighter chores. The very old and the retired may chip and finish the foundation and the pyramidal stones.

472 If a cutter is unable to extract all the stone in a plot whose stone he has bought, there are also customary solutions. When the father dies, his son continues the workings and returns the field to the owner. If a stone worker moves to another village when only half the work has been done, he arranges for a friend, relative, or neighbor to take over the remaining part.

4

Restoring the Land

185 Formerly excavations (which might be 10 or 15 feet deep and the
311 size of a large room) were refilled by the buyer of the stone rights. Rocks, pebbles, and miscellaneous trash were used as fill, but following the war there has been a heavy demand for rock and stone for road
[499] construction. As a consequence, many excavations are now only partly refilled. After refilling, houses are built on the sites of formerly excavated land. Here and there one can see sweet potatoes or vegetables growing on land which formerly was covered with stone. The original state of the land, its appearance after excavation and its restoration may be seen in Figure 2. Evidences of this reclamation may be seen throughout the stoneworking area.

324 Minatogawa, because it lacks vegetation for protective and decorative purposes, is a good example of the use and adaptation of stone to local needs. There are still stone fences, waist or shoulder height, and many small stone boundary lines, a foot or two and of uneven height. Coral stones, weathered by the sea, honeycombed and pocked, are seen everywhere.

417 the house from the glances of the curious. It has been suggested that the stationary gate at the entrance of the courtyard is of Chinese [177] origin, that its purpose originally was to scare away spirits, and that its former presence in the tomb compound indicates that it was intro- [164] duced along with the turtleback or horseshoe tomb from Fukien province in China.[2]

175 Captain Hall described Okinawan house exteriors and the surrounding 351 buildings, including those of the common people. The house was "buried in foliage" and hidden from view. It was surrounded by a light fence of 342 rods, about one foot apart with creepers on top. These rods were probably stalks of miscanthus grass, or of the dwarf bamboo. The site had a wicker gate, possibly meaning the hinpun made out of the dried grass stalks. One house which he described was divided into two compartments, eight feet square, with a small veranda at one end. The floors, made of bamboo, and about six feet above the ground, were covered with a straw mat. The walls, about five feet high, were wattled with split bamboo, and the house had a pointed thatched roof.

[352] In the interior, there were shelves for bowls and cups, and in a [354] loft or garret tools, nets, or baskets were stored. These installations now are often found in the kitchen. In the middle of one side of the house there was a fireplace, sunk below the level of the ground.

[343] Outside, in the compound, a pigeon house, poultry yard and spinning 175 wheels were observed. In another passage, Hall describes a cottage of 342 "wattled rattans" with a light open bamboo roof with thatch and creepers, one wing of which was occupied by goats. The compound consisted of a stable, a pig sty, and a poultry house. There was also a mill. The granary was on posts about six feet above the ground with firewood [325] piled below. There was an anvil with a forge of masonry but no bellows.[3]

The houses of the poor, said Fahs in his report to Commodore Perry, were made of bamboo and had no floors.[4] Accounts around the turn of the century say that houses and granaries were supported by corner posts of considerable height. Schwartz said these posts were about five feet high. The house walls of straw thatch were held in place by bamboo grass matting with a space two feet in width acting both as a door and a window, a matting curtain covering the aperture.[5]

[Text Continues TOP of p. 73 -- Analyst]

2 Simon, as cited, 80. C. W. Bishop has suggested that the stone houses of the Ainus of Hokkaido point to contact with southern insular peoples. Also, the primitive Japanese hut which was illustrated resembled the one we have been describing for Okinawa. It had a thatched roof and a courtyard which was cut off from the outside view by the hinpun. The historical geography of early Japan. Geo. Review, 13 (1923), 40-63. Note especially Figures 5 and 6. (This article was reprinted in Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1925).

3 Captain Basil Hall, Voyage to Corea and the Great Loo Choo, as cited, 124, 141, 142-43.

4 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, Vol. II, 50.

5 Henry B. Schwartz, In Togo's country. New York and Cincinnati, 1908, 148-49.

(13) As the top is reached, another operation is necessary to cap the peak of the roof. The two layers of grass require, when they meet, something to cap over them. This is done by laying down over the peak a rectangular frame of poles to form the base for the cap. The grass is then heaped up on this bed. It is held down by long rods of dwarf bamboo or miscanthus, forming a rough arch and running lengthwise. These rods with the grass underneath are sewn on to the ridge pole and the surrounding network of poles underneath with heavy twine or rope. Often also sharp sticks are placed cross ways. These are known as kansashi and derive their name from the pin used by Japanese women to fasten up their hair when they wear the traditional headdress. These sticks in fact perform this function; perhaps even better, they can be compared to the long hat pin. A thatched roof so constructed will last a long time, often 5 or 10 years, though it may be changed more often if damaged. Very often if the house has a thatch roof and the sides are made of a weak material, the house, including the roof is bound around with a heavy thick wire, cable or rope to protect it from typhoons. (Fig. 9 for a sketch of the roof). 342 335

The interior of the simple house which we have been describing is finished off in a simple manner with flooring and siding, also of cheap quality.

It may be added, parenthetically, that there are two different methods of laying the tile roof. In the hipped type, the tile slants from the roof to the eaves. The variant is the hipped type with a small gable. Occasionally, on the tile roof, an ornamental lion shaped terra cotta figure is placed for decorative purposes. 342 [532]

Tile is set over a foundation of long rods of small bamboo, dwarf bamboo or mature large size miscanthus. Rice straw is used to tie these rods together and to the frame. Mud, usually found in the yard and often containing considerable clay, is placed over this rod base and the tile is set so that the crests of the two pieces of tile which meet on the bottom are cupped by a tile on top. (Fig. 10).

5

Tools

Carpenters' tools are Japanese imports, although local blacksmiths make tools based on the Japanese design or repair them. The common tools are: 413 [439] [326]

(1) The plane (kanna in Japanese). The plane iron is set in a rectangular block of wood. In working wood, the plane is drawn toward the operator.

(2) A smaller plane

243 by plowing.

There is water on the land when it is dug and harrowed, but it is not flooded. Not all rice land is harrowed. If it is not harrowed, the same result is accomplished by further hoeing. The harrow (maguwa [407] in Japanese, maga in Okinawan) is partly a home made tool and looks like a large clumsily constructed rake. Essentially it is a piece of timber with a row of strong spikes. This timber ordinarily is made of pine, but other woods may be used. Twelve nails, spaced at about two inch intervals, are driven into the board. These nails or spikes, [414] about 8 sun (almost 10 inches long), square at the head, and with a [326] sharp point, are made by a blacksmith for about Yen 20 each. The harrow is drawn by cattle; two shafts, with a yoke over the animal's [231] head complete the simple implement. The plow is used in the preparation [435] of the field, but far more commonly, the work is done with a hoe.

In the fall and winter planting of rice, the seedlings remain in the seed bed for about 40 days. In the summer, the period is only 20 days and may be less. The winter shoots are from 7-8 inches long, the summer shoots from 4-7 inches. The length is important, for if the seedlings are too long, losses in transplanting will, according to Hanashiro farmers, increase to almost half. In rare instances, due to adverse conditions, seedlings in the seed bed reach 15-20 inches in length. The losses here are said to be considerable in transplanting.

[462] The hoeing or the plowing and harrowing of a field is almost exclusively done by men. It is tiring, uncomfortable, and heavy work. It is much more common to see women hoeing the dry crop land. But transplanting is done by men, women, and the older children. A handful of seedlings in the bed is pulled out and bound with straw, grass, or a rush. There is a knack in pulling these out. They must be jerked quickly, but dexterously to avoid root damage. The bundle is tossed either into a central place or into the paddy field to be planted, if it is adjoining. In the latter case, the bunches are tossed to various parts of the paddy.

243 The seedlings are generally set out in rows. For this purpose, a
804 string with small markers like buttons (shirushi) is used. These are 7 sun (about 8.4 inches) apart. Both the rows and the hills are 7 sun apart. Differences between rows and hills may vary considerably. In these localities, the distances were generally the same. The string is stretched from one end of the row to the other. Each seedling is planted at the interval indicated by the marker on the string. This method of planting is not universal. When there is little time, the seedlings might be scatter planted.

243 Another method of obtaining the checker-board pattern is by means
804 of a home made hexagonal frame, the waku (literally, a reel or a frame).
413 Each of the six sides is divided into nine squares, 7 sun on the side. The overall length is over six feet. The frame is set along the outside border, or at any desired starting point. When in place, the

needs supplementation. Hence, a farmer cannot buy so much as a fisherman. A rice farmer, if he is eligible at all, cannot purchase so much as a sweet potato grower. These stores fill a genuine need. They have alleviated hardship and done much to improve the monotonous pre-war diet. In the villages, they are a concrete reminder of direct American contact. There is not a store in every village, but each village has ready access to one. 444 262 511

The rural blacksmith takes care of the needs of farmers and stonecutters. One such shop in Nagamo serves many villages in the Oushichan area. The forge is of simple construction. The air is blown by a sort of box bellows. The operator sits down, as if he were in a row boat, and by pushing and pulling the handle (which has a T-end grip like a hand pump) moves the piston horizontally back and forth. The blacksmith repairs agricultural and stonecutting tools and makes new tools, chiefly hoes and spikes for the harrow. 326 413

There are no good inns, restaurants or tea houses in the villages. In Hinatogawa a Japanese inn of rude construction and comfort caters to parties for the entertainment of visitors who have business with local people. 265

Getting a haircut or a bath may involve going to another village. Like the stores, barbershops are little social centers, especially during bad weather when villagers are not working and take the opportunity to have their hair cut. 305

2

Mutual Loan Groups

In China and Japan, mutual loan groups have had a long history. In essence, they are groups associated for the purpose of borrowing and lending money, the capital being derived from contributions of the membership. There is an element of chance when members bid against one another or draw lots for a loan.[2] 474 426 [171]

Each member of a loan group advances an agreed upon share. The total amount is then available as a lump sum to one of them as a borrower. The borrower repays principal and interest in monthly installments. The remaining members advance the same amount each on the following month to another borrower. In this way, there is a continuous cycle of lending

2 They are known variously as mo-ai (Japanese), mu-e (Okinawan) tanomoshi and yûrei (Japanese). Groups organized on a monthly basis are tsukikiyurei or tsukimoai (Japanese), and on an annual basis as nimu-e (Okinawan), ninmo-ai (Japanese). At present there are no annual groups because of uncertainties regarding the future value of money. Now loans are normally for a 10-12 month period.

These rooms, opening on the front of the house along the corridor, do not run the full length of the house. A fourth, a back room, running across the back part may open on to the kitchen. Sometimes this room is only roughly finished and used for storage or sleeping purposes or both. A grandmother often takes the grandchildren (other than the infant) to bed with her in this room. 342 [353] [513]

The kitchen is set off from the rest of the house by being on a lower level, perhaps one step. The kitchen usually has a hard dirt floor. Occasionally it is cemented. Sometimes it has a chimney, sometimes a hole in the side of the wall, which the curious smoke rejects in favor of a leisurely diffusion throughout the other rooms of the house. The kitchen is not part of the house in the sense that the other rooms are. The shoes are not removed when entering it. The kitchen opens out on to a stone or dirt path. Women frequently still eat in the kitchen because of its convenience and the need of going in and out to get water, or to wash vegetables, or to get food from the shed during the preparation of a meal. [576] [264]

The stove is basically an open hearth with a hole at the top for the cooking pan. There is also a hole directly below this into which the fuel can be placed. More elaborate stoves may have three tiers: one for the cooking, one for putting the fuel in, the lower for the ashes. The most simple, in the very poorest houses, are little more than a circular group of stones laid on the ground built up so that a pan can be placed on top. The most elaborate, made of stone, might run across the width of the kitchen and have several openings. Fuel, such as odd branches, sticks of firewood brought from the northern (Kunigami) region, crushed and dried sugar cane, or miscanthus grass of varying length is put part way into the fire and pushed further in as the ends are burned off. 354 [372]

The all stone house is smaller than the wooden house. It invariably has a tile roof, for those able to afford the stone can also buy the tile. The stone blocks used in house construction are usually about nine feet by one foot on the edge.[6] The stones used as posts are buried two feet in the ground leaving seven feet for the upright. These blocks, called ishibashida when used for house construction, have the same width and breadth; they can be cut to any desired length to even off the sides. The stones are layed like bricks with mortar to form the walls of the house. The all stone house is not common, and is usually seen in the south, where the stone is quarried, in Minatogawa, and in adjacent villages. These houses are more modern, and often bathing facilities are built in. The stone house has the advantage of being cool in summer, warm in winter. 342 [333] [184] [515]

Finally, there are the simple structures, resembling shacks or shanties more than houses. These are, as one would expect, more frequent in the areas of the war's operations. There are three main varieties, though the combinations are numerous: (1) the all grass house, now uncommon. The sides of this wattled house are usually of [362]

6 Actually they are 9 x 1 x 1 shaku. A shaku is 0.994 feet.

A cutting line is then drawn over the surface of the stone. The worker straddles the cutting line, lifts the long bar up and down, making the cut along the line to the desired depth. It is slow and tedious work. 316

When the stone has been cut along a length of 6 or 9 feet and to a depth of about 14 inches, small holes along the bottom of the cut are made with a pick. These provide a hold for the wedges. Shavings or pieces of wood are put on either side of the wedges, three of which are used for a 6 foot length. The wedges are then struck seriatim with a sledge hammer and the stone is cracked across the bottom. When cracked, it is pried loose by the long bar, using the wedge as the fulcrum.

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Cutters normally do not use the stone for personal use. More is to be gained by selling. This is done on an individual basis. 324 432

592
342 magazines and pasted on the wall, and here he entertains visitors who come for conversation or study.

3

Types of Houses

342 In all the villages studied, the houses may be divided into three general categories: (1) the Japanese style house with the thatch or tile roof, (2) the smaller stone house with the Japanese type floor plan, and (3) various shacks resembling in some details the simple structure of the old Okinawan rural house.

[313] [439] The sturdy Japanese type house is made of excellent hardwoods imported from Japan or brought from the forests of northern Okinawa. This house was often constructed without nails. It was put together by mortise and tenon joints, and also with a piece of wood, square on [335] the edge and about three inches long which functions like a dowel. This is known as a kusabi. In modern houses, both of the simple and more complex types, nails are more commonly used.

[355] The eaves of this house are supported by strong poles, unfinished, usually from the Japanese redwood (suri in Japanese, Cryptomeria Japonica, D. Don) or the ihumaki (Podocarpus macrophyllus D. Don). The [411] poles are placed on flat triangular stones for foundation support. The houses have plank floors. Both the tile and the thatch roof types (to be [352] described later) have the same floor plan with the size of the rooms determined by the number of mats (tatami in Japanese) desired.

The half tile, half thatch roof is not uncommon, an indication either of a roof partially destroyed by the war which has been repaired by thatch, or athatched roof gradually being replaced by tile. This is a slow process, as tile is costly. Basically, all of these houses have the same general plan, except for differences in roof materials.

[355] The older Japanese type houses with a tile roof and the newer ones being built on that model are provided with a drain pipe for rain water catchment. This pipe, running along the length and the width of the [415] roof channels the water into a large tank on the ground, reducing the labor involved in carrying water from village ponds or central springs. [312] Many of these rain water catchments disappeared when the old houses were destroyed in the war. Drain pipes cannot be attached to the thatch. In general, rain water is not now a plentiful source of supply in the villages, though buckets and tubs are frequently put out during a heavy downpour, and this water is used for drinking and cooking until it begins to spoil. It may supplement the water carried from a central village faucet, the well, or a pond.

The construction of the Japanese type house is complex. Basically, the design of the house is derived from the arrangement of three rooms,

BUILDING A SIMPLE HOUSE

342
335

Fig. 1

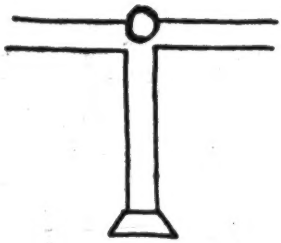


Fig. 2

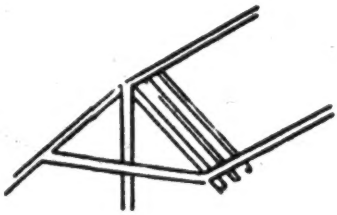


Fig. 3

Fig. 4

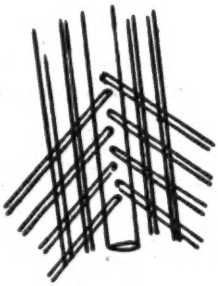


Fig. 5

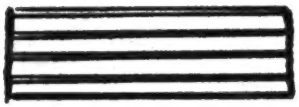


Fig. 6

the thatch is old and the pine siding obviously has replaced the diagonal wattle, but in other essentials it is a simple peasant hut built in rural Okinawa for generations. 342

(1) The upright supporting poles for the frame of the rectangular house are set on flat stones. In Minatogawa, where they are quarried, they are especially cut for this purpose. The uprights are set about six feet long, and 3 1/2 inches in diameter. The poles are set so that there are four on the sides, six in front and rear, the end poles serving a dual purpose. (Fig. 1) 342 335

(2) On the front and back, cross poles, or tie beams to support the roof are nailed on to the cut end of the upright. The poles on the sides are fastened by making a simple groove the diameter of the pole. (Fig. 2)

(3) With the frame completed, the box like structure is ready for the ridge pole and its supports. These uprights are longer, perhaps 9 or 10 feet, and provide the slant of the simple gabled roof. They are also set on stones, but inside the area inclosed by the upright supporting poles. The ridgepole is now nailed to the ends of the center posts.

(4) The problem now is to provide a frame on the slanting roof for rods of miscanthus which in turn support the thatch. For this purpose, smaller poles, like rafters, run from the peak of the roof to project over the eaves. (Fig. 3)

(5) These rafter poles, set about one foot apart, jut out over the eaves on the front and back of the house about 1 1/2 feet. The ends of these small rafter poles are joined together with a longer horizontal pole. This horizontal pole is nailed on top of the ends. (Fig. 4) These poles may not be long enough for a whole side. They are rough, often crooked. If they are not long enough, the ends of two poles may be lashed together with rope.

(6) These rafter poles are not fitted or grooved into the ridge pole. Neither are the ends mitred. Instead the poles' ends alternate with one another. (Fig. 5)

(7) Horizontal poles are then laid across the rafter poles and nailed down. These brace the structure and divide the roof into a series of rectangles.

(8) The frame of the house is now completed and it is ready for the roofing and the siding. To help in nailing the rafter poles, women prepare a braid of rice straw or miscanthus and nails are inserted into the loops of the braids. The braid is handed up to the workman who puts it between his teeth, providing a continuing source of nails, as he tacks down the poles of the roof. Old men and old women prepare the nail braid. [283] [887]

342 (9) While the stones are being set and the uprights are being
[462] put on them, the women of the house and their female friends and
[476] relatives have brought in miscanthus grass and have begun making
[824] sheaves, tying each sheaf with a piece of grass. This goes on while the rafter poles are being nailed down. It is over this that the thatch is placed. The grass may be green or dry. In December it is in blossom, and when it is used, it gives the roof a snowy, fluffy appearance.

342 (10) A series of short rods of dwarf bamboo or dried miscanthus
335 stalks is then prepared to fit over the checkerboard made by the interacting poles of the roof. The ends of these, which are about 7 feet long and 1/2 inch in diameter, are inserted into the braid of two lengths of rope about 5 feet long. These rods are placed at about 3 inch intervals. These frames are laid end down slope. They
[284] are lashed to the poles and to other bracing material beneath. All
[462] this is the work of men. While some of them are on the roof, others have begun nailing the siding. (See Fig. 6 for a sketch of the frames).

This is a very cheap lumber about 6 feet x 1 inch x 3/8 inch. The sides are boarded up like shingles except that the boards have uniform thickness. Each board overlaps the next lower one by 1/2 inch, a space of about 3 inches is left from the top of the upright poles to which the siding is nailed. The siding is sufficiently thin so that one side need not be thicker than the other.

(11) The triangular odd corners formed by the cross beams, the rafters and the center post are filled by fitted pieces instead of the rows of parallel rods used for the larger and more regular areas.

342 (12) The roof is now ready for sewing the thatch on. First,
284 the women throw several sheaves of miscanthus on the roof. They are tossed by hand or pitched by a rude pitchfork made by lashing a short branch to a long pole to form a Y. This is the kishi. (Fig. 7).
[413] One workman goes inside the dwelling. He has a pole about 6 feet long (i hari, the Japanese word for needle) pointed at the end with a hole near the point. (Fig. 8). Starting from the eaves and working up, the man on the roof unties the sheaves and spreads a layer of grass along the length of the roof. This layer is held in place by a horizontal pole placed over it. The man inside has threaded the needle with stout twine; he pushes the long needle with the twine up through the network of the roof. This is taken by the workman on the roof who feeds the needle with its twine back again. This sewing continues until the three layers, the checkerboard, the parallel rods which have been lashed to it, and the grass with the poles to hold it down have been finally sewed together. As each strip is completed the workmen move up the slope a little. The grass is about 3 1/2 feet long and about one foot is allowed loose on the end to overlap the layer below. That portion of the grass which is not free is tied and sewed very securely. There is much tugging, pulling, and grunting to make the knot as tight as possible.

000 (13) As the top is reached, another operation is necessary to cap

(13) As the top is reached, another operation is necessary to cap the peak of the roof. The two layers of grass require, when they meet, something to cap over them. This is done by laying down over the peak a rectangular frame of poles to form the base for the cap. The grass is then heaped up on this bed. It is held down by long rods of dwarf bamboo or miscanthus, forming a rough arch and running lengthwise. These rods with the grass underneath are sewn on to the ridge pole and the surrounding network of poles underneath with heavy twine or rope. Often also sharp sticks are placed cross ways. These are known as kansashi and derive their name from the pin used by Japanese women to fasten up their hair when they wear the traditional headdress. These sticks in fact perform this function; perhaps even better, they can be compared to the long hat pin. A thatched roof so constructed will last a long time, often 5 or 10 years, though it may be changed more often if damaged. Very often if the house has a thatch roof and the sides are made of a weak material, the house, including the roof is bound around with a heavy thick wire, cable or rope to protect it from typhoons. (Fig. 9 for a sketch of the roof). 342 335

The interior of the simple house which we have been describing is finished off in a simple manner with flooring and siding, also of cheap quality.

It may be added, parenthetically, that there are two different methods of laying the tile roof. In the hipped type, the tile slants from the roof to the eaves. The variant is the hipped type with a small gable. Occasionally, on the tile roof, an ornamental lion shaped terra cotta figure is placed for decorative purposes. 342 [532]

Tile is set over a foundation of long rods of small bamboo, dwarf bamboo or mature large size miscanthus. Rice straw is used to tie these rods together and to the frame. Mud, usually found in the yard and often containing considerable clay, is placed over this rod base and the tile is set so that the crests of the two pieces of tile which meet on the bottom are cupped by a tile on top. (Fig. 10).

5

Tools

Carpenters' tools are Japanese imports, although local blacksmiths make tools based on the Japanese design or repair them. The common tools are: 413 [439] [326]

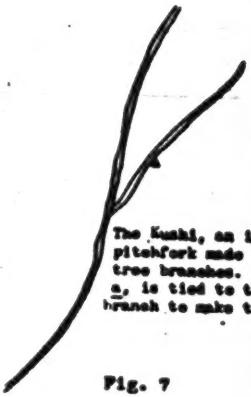
(1) The plane (kanna in Japanese). The plane iron is set in a rectangular block of wood. In working wood, the plane is drawn toward the operator.

(2) A smaller plane

BUILDING A SIMPLE HOUSE

342

[413]



The Kushi, an improvised pitchfork made out of tree branches. The piece, a, is tied to the main branch to make the fork.

Fig. 7

The Mari

Fig. 8

[335]

CAPPING THE ROOF

Fig. 9

TILE SETTING

Fig. 10

342 floor, resting his feet outside on the ground. An overhanging roof protects him from the rain. Larger houses have an entrance hall and a porch running along the front. Since these porches also have sliding-door panels, few people bother to use the entrance except on formal visits.

The simple structures have a framework which is basically the same [335] as that of the more complex ones. Neither is constructed with nails but held together by mortise and tenon joints. Thick layers of thatch or a tile roof give adequate protection from rains. Thatch roofs need re- [356] placement every few years, but they keep the house cooler than the more permanent, more expensive clay or cement tile roofs. House walls are made of very thin, cheap wood which weathers fast and cracks, allowing winds to enter freely. Only the new houses have solid double walls. The floor in the simple buildings consists of planks which in many houses are not nailed down; during the winter months the cold penetrates through the wide slots between the boards. Better houses have ceilings and doors to separate the "first" and "second" room in the front of the house, as well as solid floors.

Smoke from the open fireplace in the kitchen rises into the roof and [151] seeps through the thatch. Poor eyesight, common among children, is believed by the villagers to result from smoke-filled houses and poor lighting. In the evening, dim light is provided by one or two kerosene lamps.

342 The ancestral shrine, a built-in shelf for the ancestral tablets, has 353 its place in the "second" room. This shrine is only found in the homes 769 of oldest sons. It is not treated with special reverence. Photographs of the deceased as well as of living relatives are kept there as well as personal belongings—a letter, money, a bottle of sake, or gifts. During [822] religious holidays of ancestral worship, red hibiscus flowers, the color for the dead, are placed on the shelf. Since the shelf is high from the floor, small children cannot get at it.

352 The only furniture in all houses is a low table on which food and [516] drinks are served. Everybody sits on the floor, legs crossed and feet tucked under their thighs in the case of men or put behind to one side in the case of women. Very few houses in Taira have the thick, padded straw mats found in the homes of more well-to-do people in Okinawa. But every family has several thin mats of woven reed standing in one corner of the room; these are spread out for guests to sit on or for a member of the household who lies down during the day. Storage 353 shelves are used in simple houses, but in the better houses mattresses, comforters, and hard pillows are kept in a built-in closet space during [356] the day. On sunny days women air the bedding by spreading it over walls, fences, or in the grass.

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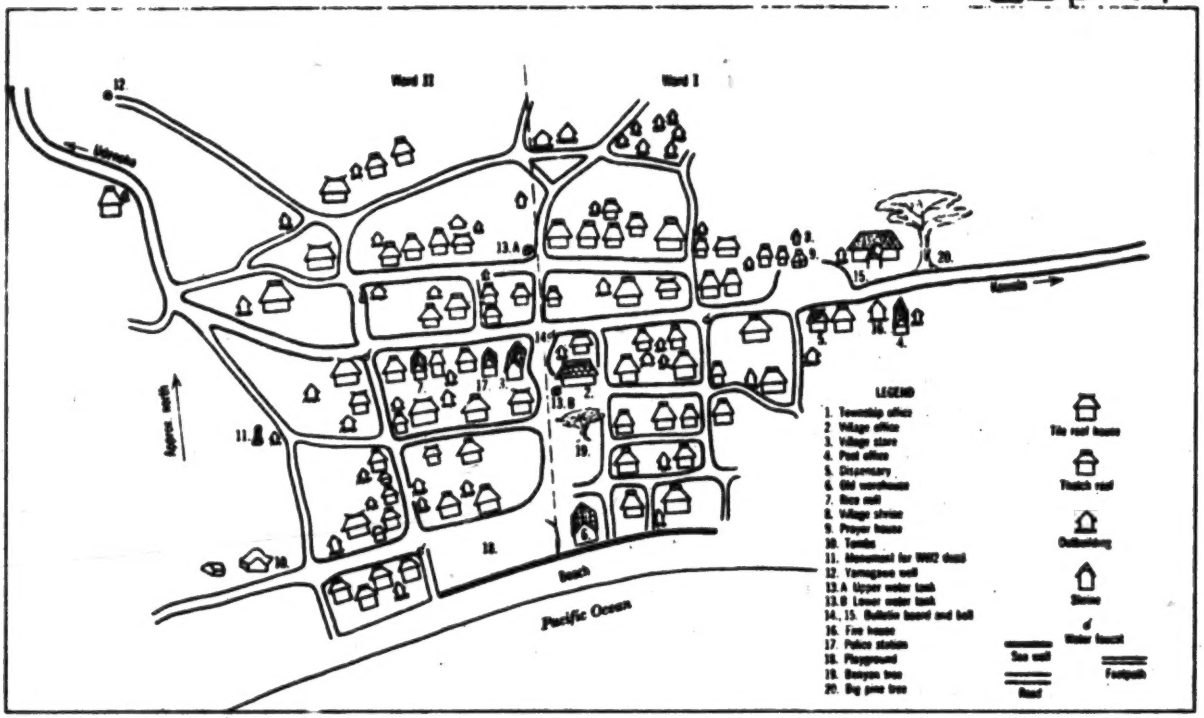

Map 2. Taira, central community.

175

a suburb of Naha, thence to Shuri. They turned north, passed the ancient fortress of Nakagusuku, went over to the east coast, proceeding to the vicinity of Kanna. In Matsuda, which the exploring party apparently did not reach, there is still a story about Perry's expedition. It concerns a carving on stone placed on the top of a dramatically shaped rock on the seashore. According to local residents, this carving remained in place until it was shot off by an American soldier during the war.

Roughly around Kanna, the party crossed the island to the South China Sea or western side, and reached the village of Un-na (modern Onna), an engraving of which appears in the narrative and also in Bayard Taylor's India, China, and Japan. The return trip was down the coast, and the road led through Nachinato back to Naha. Coastal explorations were extensive. A new chart was an immense improvement over Hall's. Special attention was given to the Unten (Port Melville) and Shah Bay (Miyagishima and the area south of Ogimi).

Bayard Taylor, the famous traveller who had joined the expedition and wrote parts of the narrative, spoke of the interior of Okinawa in 1853 as a "terra incognita," and he was not exaggerating as far as Western knowledge was concerned.[22] This probably applied to the Japanese as well, for their stations were in Naha and an administrator or scholar of the Tokugawa era probably found little in agriculture, plant life, land tenure, and local history and ethnography to interest him.[23]

Upland agriculture, the hoeing of sweet potatoes, the planting and transplanting of rice, the manufacture of sugar were described much as they can be observed to this day in parts of Okinawa. They noted a sameness and a lack of variety in plant life, the planting of pines along the highways, the fences used as protection against the wild boar. The communal land system was remarked upon, the writers thinking it a "metayer system," that is a form of share-cropping in which the proprietor of the land and the cultivator receive equal, or agreed upon proportions. They described houses built on small stilts, the compounds, and the village granaries. They strolled through villages, poked their heads into huts, and wrote about the utensils in the kitchens. They theorized about the possible origins of the people and their connections with other races, discovered lingams which were interpreted as the ruins of "ancient Hindoo idolatry." They spoke of the glossy upswept hair and the hair pins according to rank.

[24] [137] [421] [342] [302]

The village granaries are gone; so has the land system and the costumes, and the long swept up hair of both sexes. Agricultural techniques and the care of the land have remained. [108]

[Text Continues Top of P. 38 -- Analyst]

22 See Bayard Taylor's A visit to India, China, and Japan, in the year 1853. Chapters 30, 33, 36.

23 In the early 17th century the Japanese explored the island, took a census, and reorganized political administration. CA Handbook Ryukyu (Loochoo) Islands, 40.

1

Introduction

In contemporary Okinawa, there are four distinct types of village settlement. The first and the most common is the village cluster. Houses are grouped in a central area, usually along or on both sides of a road, surrounded by farm lands and rice fields. The second, the shoe-string type, is less common. Here houses are lined along either side of a main street. The third is a here-and-there type of settlement. This has been called a yadori (Japanese) or yadui (Okinawan) village, translated as plantation, but this is too exalted a word.[1] These villages may have sub-settlements. Houses are scattered among intervening plots of cultivated land. In the fourth category are the modern improvisations: land formerly in forest, grass or shrub which has been reclaimed and used for houses and nearby cultivation, or former agricultural land now taken up for house sites, a result of increased population or of war time destruction of other parts of a village. 361 [311]

The basic type of Okinawan village is the cluster, a village small in area whose houses, close together, and on irregular winding lanes, are separated from one another by stone or rock walls, or by boundaries of trees or shrubs. The front part of the house compound usually is cut off from the road by a stone fence, running part way across, with the opening to the road obstructed by a stationary barrier, sometimes of stones, often of woven grasses. [351] [363]

In the village of a bygone age, there were large open spaces like a common on the outskirts "often appearing as glades in the forest." In this area, rice was laid out to dry, horse racing and other sports took place, the village council met, goods were bartered, justice administered, and festivals celebrated.[2] When approached from a distance, the older villages seemed literally buried in foliage. In the last century the larger villages still had rest huts (cung-qua) for travellers, usually government officials to use from one overnight stop to another. The older village also had a series of small buildings on stilts three to six feet long. These were granaries and food storehouses. Some houses were also on stilts. Older accounts have stressed the concealment of the Okinawan village, its houses separated from one another, its lanes lined or embowered with bamboo, with banana trees, or with arbors. To 361 175 [526] [35] [485] [343] [342]

[TEXT continues TOP of P. 48--Analyst]

1 Higa, Shunchō. Structure of the Ryukyuan rural community. The Japanese journal of ethnology, 15 (1950), 63-66. In Japanese with English summary, 151.

2 The Luchu islands and their inhabitants, as cited, 457. See also Basil Hall, Account of a voyage of discovery to the west coast of Corea and the Great Loo-Choo island, 123, 124.

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The main road through Hanashiro. This is an unposed picture. The children happened to be playing along the road. Scars can barely be seen on the close clipped heads of the young boys. The poor non-descript clothing is typical. There is a high rock hinpun or stationary gate at the entrance to the compound. The tile roof here is out of the ordinary. The gajimaru tree, used for typhoon protection, is on the left. This is also Highway 64.

[P. 51 (A)]

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351

Treeless Minatogawa. This is the business district of the village. The buildings are small village shops. The building in the upper left is the village inn. The road winding toward the right is Highway 64 leading to Gushichan. Minatogawa stone is visible on the back of the store on the right of the picture. The low stone hedges in the foreground are typical of Minatogawa.

[P. 51(B)]

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137

In the center of Matsuda. Large trees growing in the settlement. Small garden plots are near the houses and sheds. These houses have thatched roofs except the tile roof in the left center of the picture. A freshly hoed plot is in the foreground.

[p. 56]

361 traditional attitudes that the north was a culturally rude and physically
311 inhospitable place. The highway which now goes through the center of the
main part of the village is a good, hard surfaced, dirt road, widened
[491] since the war. A lively traffic of trucks and buses and the three wheels
cycles contrasts with the narrow pre-war roads, traces and abandoned
sections of which can still be seen. The frequent buses supply transpor-
[494] tation to the larger cities and towns of the island: to Nago across the
island and slightly to the north, to Ishikawa on the south, and to distant
Naha, about 31 miles away.

927 Matsuda, unlike the southern villages, was not destroyed by the war.
There were some air raids, some bombing out of the houses, but nothing
like the destruction in the main areas of conflict. Early in the Okinawa
campaign, the north was cut off and isolated and the struggle for the
[362] island took place in central and southern Okinawa. As a consequence,
[342] many of the old houses, sturdily built with tile roofs, have been preserv
Numerous refugees from the south gathered in this area during and after
[166] the campaign. In nearby Ginoza (Jinuza) village, slightly over a mile
to the southwest, also on Highway 13, the Americans operated a hospital
[193] for Okinawan refugees. It is still in use. This relative lack of war
destruction in the northern villages has, to a degree, reversed the roles
184 of the north and the south. The opening up of the north, its prosperity,
the survival of many of its old homes, give the impression of comfort
and well being conspicuously lacking in most of the makeshift villages
of the south.

The descriptions of these three villages perhaps make clear the diversity that can be expected among Okinawan settlements. Hanashiro, the small village cluster, with adjoining rice fields on the valley floor, its other crops on the terraced slopes, is the most typical. Minatogawa, the fishing village in an impoverished countryside of stony or shallow soil is dependent on the seas and its catch for its livelihood and the wherewithal to buy the foods which cannot be grown in sufficient abundance. Matsuda, a collection of small settlements, scattered here and there from the coast inland, with its large preserve of community forest, is an example of agriculture in a forest setting, and of the use of the forest in daily living. This by no means exhausts the diversity. The village of
[136] Oku to the north, with its tea, its rice, its fences for wild boar pro-
[242] tection, its cycads planted on the hillsides to prevent erosion, is still another example. But our task here is not to catalogue all diversity, but to indicate that it exists and to a much greater degree than would appear to superficial observation.

1

Historical Notes on Housing

In all villages, much time is spent, in addition to agricultural or fishing tasks, in housebuilding, either for one's self or for friends and neighbors. Housebuilding is the most time consuming of a man's tasks after his primary occupation. Repairs to or reconstruction of the poorer houses are continuous. The man with a good house and a tile roof has little to worry about. But he will often be found helping someone less fortunate. 342 461 [476]

The traditional houses of Naha and Shuri showed both Chinese and Japanese influences. The traditional house and compound of the rural village has been compared with the ancient Japanese house, and it bears some similarities with houses found among the Ainu. 342 171

It would seem from the observations and researches of earlier students that the house was always built above the ground without excavation, and sometimes on stilts. The supporting posts making up the rectangular house were either placed in holes or on stones on the ground. The supporting posts, the ridge poles, the cross beams were branches or trunks of trees trimmed and cut for length. Roofs of thatch had the apex of the roof covered by a saddle or arch shaped thatch made, like the rest of the roof, of grass. Smoke escaped either through an aperture in the ceiling or through a window, as it still does in many of the poorer houses. The houses were filled with smoke. The oldest rural houses apparently had only a dirt floor with scattered mats, though some had a raised floor. 175 342 [352]

The food storage sheds or small granaries were raised on stilts. Engravings of these have appeared both in Perry's writings and in Bayard Taylor's works. There is some question whether this granary (now disappeared) was indigenous or a borrowing. The purpose of the raised granary was probably to protect against dampness and to prevent infestation by rats and vermin. These granaries were open sided with no boarded up walls, and, in Okinawa, were circular.[1] 175 343

Animal pens or stalls were not attached to the house, but were always separate. In the courtyard, earthen rain water vessels were inbedded half way into the ground to catch the rain water. There were stalls for goats and pig pens, and the pig pens were used also as a toilet. This is no longer practiced to my knowledge, although the outhouse with its holes in the ground is found under the same roof as the pig pen. The entrance to the courtyard was oppositie the front of the house. The protective stationary gate, the hinpun (in Okinawan), made of reeds or stones, stood at the entrance inside the court, as it does now, to shield the people of [417] [415] [364] 417

1 For drawings of the granaries, see Satow, E. M. Notes on Loochoo. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 1 (1882), 1-8. The drawings follow the text. See also Simon, Beitrage zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, as cited, 75-85.

417 the house from the glances of the curious. It has been suggested that the stationary gate at the entrance of the courtyard is of Chinese origin, that its purpose originally was to scare away spirits, and that its former presence in the tomb compound indicates that it was introduced along with the turtleback or horseshoe tomb from Fukien province in China.[2]

[177] [164]

175 351 340 Captain Hall described Okinawan house exteriors and the surrounding buildings, including those of the common people. The house was "buried in foliage" and hidden from view. It was surrounded by a light fence of rods, about one foot apart with creepers on top. These rods were probably stalks of miscanthus grass, or of the dwarf bamboo. The site had a wicker gate, possibly meaning the hinpun made out of the dried grass stalks. One house which he described was divided into two compartments, eight feet square, with a small veranda at one end. The floors, made of bamboo, and about six feet above the ground, were covered with a straw mat. The walls, about five feet high, were wattled with split bamboo, and the house had a pointed thatched roof.

[352] In the interior, there were shelves for bowls and cups, and in a loft or garret tools, nets, or baskets were stored. These installations now are often found in the kitchen. In the middle of one side of the house there was a fireplace, sunk below the level of the ground.

[354]

[343] 175 342 Outside, in the compound, a pigeon house, poultry yard and spinning wheels were observed. In another passage, Hall describes a cottage of "wattled rattans" with a light open bamboo roof with thatch and creepers, one wing of which was occupied by goats. The compound consisted of a stable, a pig sty, and a poultry house. There was also a mill. The granary was on posts about six feet above the ground with firewood piled below. There was an anvil with a forge of masonry but no bellows.[3]

[325]

The houses of the poor, said Fahs in his report to Commodore Perry, were made of bamboo and had no floors.[4] Accounts around the turn of the century say that houses and granaries were supported by corner posts of considerable height. Schwartz said these posts were about five feet high. The house walls of straw thatch were held in place by bamboo grass matting with a space two feet in width acting both as a door and a window, a matting curtain covering the aperture.[5]

[Text Continues TOP of p. 73--Analyst]

2 Simon, as cited, 80. C. W. Bishop has suggested that the stone houses of the Ainus of Hokkaido point to contact with southern insular peoples. Also, the primitive Japanese hut which was illustrated resembled the one we have been describing for Okinawa. It had a thatched roof and a courtyard which was cut off from the outside view by the hinpun. The historical geography of early Japan. Geo. Review, 13 (1923), 40-63. Note especially Figures 5 and 6. (This article was reprinted in Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1925).

3 Captain Basil Hall, Voyage to Corea and the Great Loo Choo, as cited, 124, 141, 142-43.

4 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, Vol. II, 50.

5 Henry B. Schwartz, In Togo's country. New York and Cincinnati, 1908, 148-49.

2

The Courtyard or Compound

The usual present day Okinawan dwelling is in an inclosed courtyard or compound. This varies in size. The average size of these house sites (yashiki in Japanese) is shown in the following table: 351

	Area in Tsubo a/	Approximate Equivalent in Acres
Hanashiro	184.3	0.15
Minatogawa	70.7	0.06
Matsuda	116.4	0.10

a/ Computed from lists of village house sites in the land registers of each township. The conversion figure of 1210 tsubo (about four square yards) to the acre has been used.

The traditional house site has definite characteristics, obscured in present day Okinawa because of the war destruction. In the rebuilding, much of the housing and the outlying sheds were of poor quality. They are difficult to classify, except in a general category such as shacks or shanties. [362]

The house site, surrounded by its shrubs, trees, or stone fence and with the hinpun at the entrance, or the open side, forms a private courtyard with the buildings arranged around the three sides. There are a large number of possible combinations. A compound in which the house is located across the back part of the site, its front facing the hinpun and the road or lane is typical. On either side, there might be a combined outside toilet and pig or goat pen, or separate buildings for the toilet and the pigs or goats, a food storehouse, and a tool shed. The auxiliary buildings are small, and more correctly should be described as sheds. The outside toilet, with a dirt, stone block, or cement floor, is usually small with one or two holes in the floor. It is used in a squatting position. [343]

All kinds of variations from this description can be observed at will. In the fishing village of Minatogawa, the compound is open. Little hedges a foot or so high or small rock borders take the place of the dense shrubs and trees of another site. Lines are stretched out in the yard. Nets are hanging, and fish are drying on the mats in the courtyard. Sometimes, more out of convention than practical utility, there is a hinpun in front of a house that has no other construction to seal it off from view. And these hinpun might even be made of stray boards or of corrugated iron.

It is not unusual in a compound, in cases in which the house is small, for a young man of the house to have a small separate building. Here he has his blankets, personal articles, pictures clipped from 592 342

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

592 342 magazines and pasted on the wall, and here he entertains visitors who come for conversation or study.

3

Types of Houses

342 In all the villages studied, the houses may be divided into three general categories: (1) the Japanese style house with the thatch or tile roof, (2) the smaller stone house with the Japanese type floor plan, and (3) various shacks resembling in some details the simple structure of the old Okinawan rural house.

[313] [439] [335] The sturdy Japanese type house is made of excellent hardwoods imported from Japan or brought from the forests of northern Okinawa. This house was often constructed without nails. It was put together by mortise and tenon joints, and also with a piece of wood, square on the edge and about three inches long which functions like a dowel. This is known as a kusabi. In modern houses, both of the simple and more complex types, nails are more commonly used.

[355] [911] [352] The eaves of this house are supported by strong poles, unfinished, usually from the Japanese redwood (sugi in Japanese, Cryptomeria japonica, D. Don) or the inumaki (Podocarpus macrophyllus D. Don). The poles are placed on flat triangular stones for foundation support. The houses have plank floors. Both the tile and the thatch roof types (to be described later) have the same floor plan with the size of the rooms determined by the number of mats (tatami in Japanese) desired.

The half tile, half thatch roof is not uncommon, an indication either of a roof partially destroyed by the war which has been repaired by thatch, or athatched roof gradually being replaced by tile. This is a slow process, as tile is costly. Basically, all of these houses have the same general plan, except for differences in roof materials.

[355] [415] [312] The older Japanese type houses with a tile roof and the newer ones being built on that model are provided with a drain pipe for rain water catchment. This pipe, running along the length and the width of the roof channels the water into a large tank on the ground, reducing the labor involved in carrying water from village ponds or central springs. Many of these rain water catchments disappeared when the old houses were destroyed in the war. Drain pipes cannot be attached to the thatch. In general, rain water is not now a plentiful source of supply in the villages, though buckets and tubs are frequently put out during a heavy downpour, and this water is used for drinking and cooking until it begins to spoil. It may supplement the water carried from a central village faucet, the well, or a pond.

The construction of the Japanese type house is complex. Basically, the design of the house is derived from the arrangement of three rooms,

342

A house in Hanashiro. This was partly destroyed during the war. The left side of the house is a post-war improvisation. The owner of this house is replacing the kaya, or grass thatch, with tile as he is able to afford it. The cap of the roof is one of the many variant styles. The opening to the left of the picture leads to the kitchen.

plus a sort of veranda, or inside hallway, an inner small porch parallaling it, and an outer porch—but in some cases there is only a stepping stone. The outer walls are usually of Japanese redwood. The houses are unpainted. 342

A narrow porch runs around the front and the side of the house opposite the kitchen. Between the porch and the room proper, there is a space for a paper sliding door (shōji in Japanese) and a connecting corridor (or veranda) known as an en (in Japanese). This corridor is about 35 sun, or almost a yard wide. The sliding doors covered with paper, so familiar in the houses of Japan, have all disappeared, though provision is made for them in the construction. Before the war, some houses had them; in others they were never installed. The rooms, therefore, are usually open, joined in front by the corridor. Partitions may cut off the whole room or be built up to face level. The outer porch (haji in Japanese) is in the courtyard in front or on a line with the poles which support the eaves. It may be off the ground about a foot; sometimes a cemented area or a stone walk two or three feet wide and on the ground acts as a substitute for this porch.

The pre-war house, of which a few remain in the southern villages, more in the north, normally has three rooms and a kitchen, with a back part for storage. The size of the house is determined by the number of mats which each room will have, and this Japanese convention produces uniformity and regularity in house construction. Actually only a small minority of houses have these mats. They were more common before the war. The pre-war ones have largely been destroyed or worn out, but during winter months or occasionally at parties or celebrations those remaining are taken out and used. A more modest mat, called a mushiro (in Japanese), made in Okinawa, often in the home or in the village, has taken the place of the tatami. It has the same function as a throw rug, but is rolled up when not in use. [352]

The names of the rooms also follow Japanese custom. The first room (ichibanza in Japanese) is the best. It contains the alcove, or recessed part, suitable for hanging a scroll (kakemono in Japanese), or for ornamental and religious objects. This is the room for guests; at parties or celebrations the men gather here, the women meeting in the second room. 342 353

The second room (nibanza in Japanese) has the Buddhist god shelf, universal in all houses except the very poor or makeshift ones. This shelf has the memorial tablets (ihai in Japanese) of the dead of the family. At parties and celebrations, the second room is the gathering place of the women. [769]

The third room (sanbanza) which adjoins the kitchen is a dining room. It has a small, low table for meals, perhaps a wall shelf. All of these rooms are also sleeping rooms (nema in Japanese). [352]

[Text Continues Top of P. 78--analyst]

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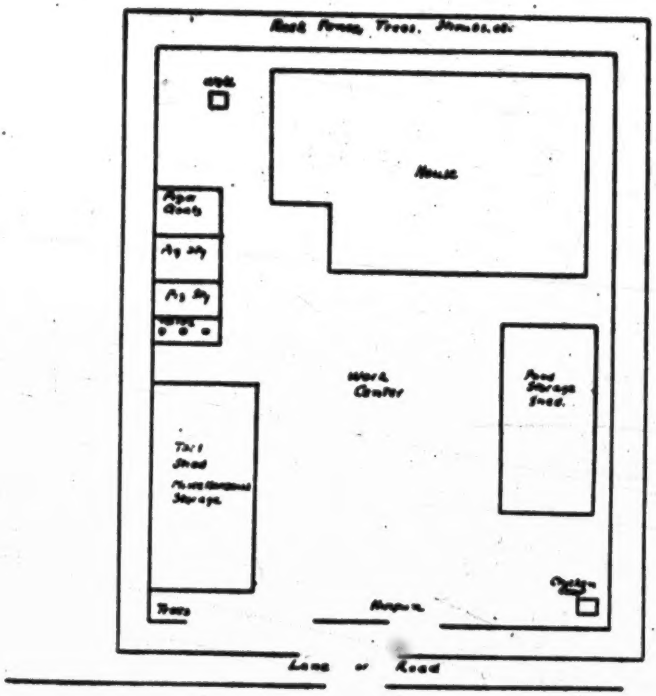
343

DIAGRAM OF A HOUSE COMPOUND



These rooms, opening on the front of the house along the corridor, do not run the full length of the house. A fourth, a back room, running across the back part may open on to the kitchen. Sometimes this room is only roughly finished and used for storage or sleeping purposes or both. A grandmother often takes the grandchildren (other than the infant) to bed with her in this room. 342 [353] [513]

The kitchen is set off from the rest of the house by being on a lower level, perhaps one step. The kitchen usually has a hard dirt floor. Occasionally it is cemented. Sometimes it has a chimney, sometimes a hole in the side of the wall, which the curious smoke rejects in favor of a leisurely diffusion throughout the other rooms of the house. The kitchen is not part of the house in the sense that the other rooms are. The shoes are not removed when entering it. The kitchen opens out on to a stone or dirt path. Women frequently still eat in the kitchen because of its convenience and the need of going in and out to get water, or to wash vegetables, or to get food from the shed during the preparation of a meal. [576] [264]

The stove is basically an open hearth with a hole at the top for the cooking pan. There is also a hole directly below this into which the fuel can be placed. More elaborate stoves may have three tiers: one for the cooking, one for putting the fuel in, the lower for the ashes. The most simple, in the very poorest houses, are little more than a circular group of stones laid on the ground built up so that a pan can be placed on top. The most elaborate, made of stone, might run across the width of the kitchen and have several openings. Fuel, such as odd branches, sticks of firewood brought from the northern (Kunigami) region, crushed and dried sugar cane, or miscanthus grass of varying length is put part way into the fire and pushed further in as the ends are burned off. 354 [372]

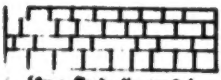
The all stone house is smaller than the wooden house. It invariably has a tile roof, for those able to afford the stone can also buy the tile. The stone blocks used in house construction are usually about nine feet by one foot on the edge.[6] The stones used as posts are buried two feet in the ground leaving seven feet for the upright. These blocks, called ishibashida when used for house construction, have the same width and breadth; they can be cut to any desired length to even off the sides. The stones are layed like bricks with mortar to form the walls of the house. The all stone house is not common, and is usually seen in the south, where the stone is quarried, in Minatogawa, and in adjacent villages. These houses are more modern, and often bathing facilities are built in. The stone house has the advantage of being cool in summer, warm in winter. 342 [333] [184] [515]

Finally, there are the simple structures, resembling shacks or shanties more than houses. These are, as one would expect, more frequent in the areas of the war's operations. There are three main varieties, though the combinations are numerous: (1) the all grass house, now uncommon. The sides of this wattled house are usually of [362]

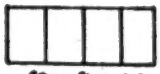
6 Actually they are 9 x 1 x 1 shaku. A shaku is 0.994 feet.

TYPES OF RINPUN

417

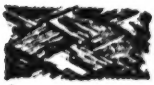


Stone Block - Horizontal
11' x 4', Thickness about 8"



Stone Block - Vertical
4' x 2½', Thickness about 8"

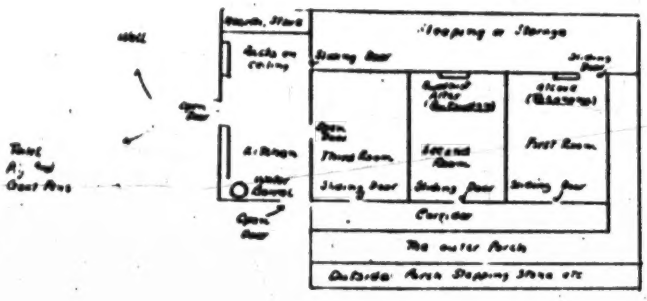
The Lattice (Thermitus)
Lattice 3' x 3'-6"



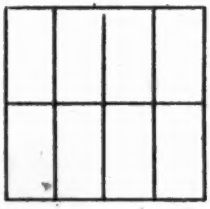
Diagonal Weave made of green
Yambaru Bamboo
Typical size 6'x6'

ARRANGEMENT OF THE ROOMS

342

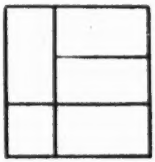


8 Mat Room



Size of mats
3' x 6'

4 1/2 Mat Room [352]



an interwoven diagonal weave of miscanthus whose hollow stalks at maturity are strong but brittle, resembling in appearance a very small piece of bamboo. (2) The house with a simple thatch roof with walls of various sized rocks or small pebbles cemented together with mud taken from the yard, and (3) a thatch roof house whose frame is built with small rough hewn poles, over which a thin cheap pine siding is nailed. The construction of this house will be described in some detail below because, with the exception of the modern pine siding to replace the straw or diagonal weave, it is, according to the Okinawans, the oldest type of native rural house. 342

The house must have heat during the winter. The kitchen hearth is not used for this purpose. The kitchen fires are allowed to die down and are only started at meal times. It would be too expensive or wasteful of gathered fuel to do otherwise. Room heat is provided by a brazier (hibachi in Japanese). This may be a large square box with an inset lined with metal in which ashes and charcoal are placed. Some winter cooking may be done here. The hibachi may also be a large earthenware pot in which coals of charcoal are placed. 354 [415]

In some old homes, another device suitable both for heating and cooking, can still be seen. This was observed in Matsuda, but not in the southern villages. This is also a sort of hearth (jiru in Japanese). The jiru consists of a hanging bamboo pole one end of which is secured by a rope tied to a lattice in the ceiling. On the other end of the pole, about three feet long, there is an iron hook with another device, like an arm bent at the elbow, allowing the height of the hook above the fire to be adjusted. The handle of the pot is placed on this hook and the pot hangs at any desired distance over a bed of coals and ashes. This hearth is not in the kitchen, but at one corner of the dining room, usually where the two open rooms adjoin. The jiru is rare in the villages at the present time. It is from this device that the former practice of a mother and a new born infant "roasting" themselves takes its name; both the mother and the new born child were exposed, in a closed room, to heat from the jiru or from a brazier, even in the intensest heat of summer.[7] [184] [852]

h

Building a Simple House

The following description is based on observations made of the construction of a simple house in Hinatogawa. The steps are given in some detail because it was said that this house was being constructed in the manner of the traditional rural Okinawan house. 342

Rough hewn poles were used. The traditional method of putting on

7 This will be discussed in Chapter 13 on family life in the section on the rearing of children.

BUILDING A SIMPLE HOUSE

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335

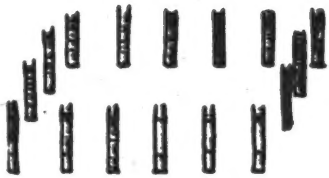

Fig. 1

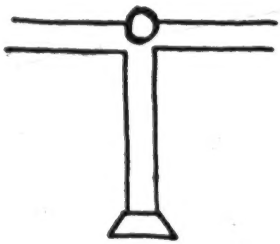

Fig. 2

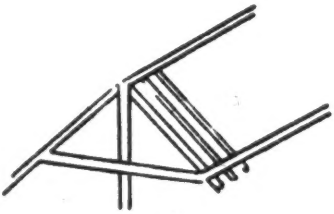

Fig. 3

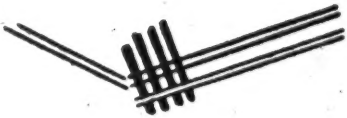

Fig. 4

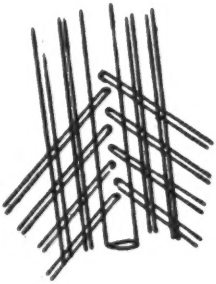

Fig. 5

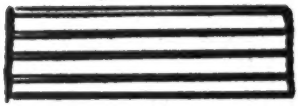

Fig. 6

the thatch is old and the pine siding obviously has replaced the diagonal wattle, but in other essentials it is a simple peasant hut built in rural Okinawa for generations. 342

(1) The upright supporting poles for the frame of the rectangular house are set on flat stones. In Minatogawa, where they are quarried, they are especially cut for this purpose. The uprights are set about six feet long, and 3 1/2 inches in diameter. The poles are set so that there are four on the sides, six in front and rear, the end poles serving a dual purpose. (Fig. 1) 342 335

(2) On the front and back, cross poles, or tie beams to support the roof are nailed on to the cut end of the upright. The poles on the sides are fastened by making a simple groove the diameter of the pole. (Fig. 2)

(3) With the frame completed, the box like structure is ready for the ridge pole and its supports. These uprights are longer, perhaps 9 or 10 feet, and provide the slant of the simple gabled roof. They are also set on stones, but inside the area inclosed by the upright supporting poles. The ridgepole is now nailed to the ends of the center posts.

(4) The problem now is to provide a frame on the slanting roof for rods of miscanthus which in turn support the thatch. For this purpose, smaller poles, like rafters, run from the peak of the roof to project over the eaves. (Fig. 3)

(5) These rafter poles, set about one foot apart, jut out over the eaves on the front and back of the house about 1 1/2 feet. The ends of these small rafter poles are joined together with a longer horizontal pole. This horizontal pole is nailed on top of the ends. (Fig. 4) These poles may not be long enough for a whole side. They are rough, often crooked. If they are not long enough, the ends of two poles may be lashed together with rope.

(6) These rafter poles are not fitted or grooved into the ridge pole. Neither are the ends mitred. Instead the poles' ends alternate with one another. (Fig. 5)

(7) Horizontal poles are then laid across the rafter poles and nailed down. These brace the structure and divide the roof into a series of rectangles.

(8) The frame of the house is now completed and it is ready for the roofing and the siding. To help in nailing the rafter poles, women prepare a braid of rice straw or miscanthus and nails are inserted into the loops of the braids. The braid is handed up to the workman who puts it between his teeth, providing a continuing source of nails, as he tacks down the poles of the roof. Old men and old women prepare the nail braid. [283] [887]

342 (9) While the stones are being set and the uprights are being
[462] put on them, the women of the house and their female friends and
[476] relatives have brought in miscanthus grass and have begun making
[824] sheaves, tying each sheaf with a piece of grass. This goes on while the rafter poles are being nailed down. It is over this that the thatch is placed. The grass may be green or dry. In December it is in blossom, and when it is used, it gives the roof a snowy, fluffy appearance.

342 (10) A series of short rods of dwarf bamboo or dried miscanthus
335 stalks is then prepared to fit over the checkerboard made by the interacting poles of the roof. The ends of these, which are about 7 feet long and 1/2 inch in diameter, are inserted into the braid of two lengths of rope about 5 feet long. These rods are placed at about 3 inch intervals. These frames are laid end down slope. They
[284] are lashed to the poles and to other bracing material beneath. All
[462] this is the work of men. While some of them are on the roof, others have begun nailing the siding. (See Fig. 6 for a sketch of the frames).

This is a very cheap lumber about 6 feet x 1 inch x 3/8 inch. The sides are boarded up like shingles except that the boards have uniform thickness. Each board overlaps the next lower one by 1/2 inch, a space of about 3 inches is left from the top of the upright poles to which the siding is nailed. The siding is sufficiently thin so that one side need not be thicker than the other.

(11) The triangular odd corners formed by the cross beams, the rafters and the center post are filled by fitted pieces instead of the rows of parallel rods used for the larger and more regular areas.

342 (12) The roof is now ready for sewing the thatch on. First,
284 the women throw several sheaves of miscanthus on the roof. They are tossed by hand or pitched by a rude pitchfork made by lashing a short branch to a long pole to form a Y. This is the kishi. (Fig. 7).
[413] One workman goes inside the dwelling. He has a pole about 6 feet long (hari, the Japanese word for needle) pointed at the end with a hole near the point. (Fig. 8). Starting from the eaves and working up, the man on the roof unties the sheaves and spreads a layer of grass along the length of the roof. This layer is held in place by a horizontal pole placed over it. The man inside has threaded the needle with stout twine; he pushes the long needle with the twine up through the network of the roof. This is taken by the workman on the roof who feeds the needle with its twine back again. This sewing continues until the three layers, the checkerboard, the parallel rods which have been lashed to it, and the grass with the poles to hold it down have been finally sewed together. As each strip is completed the workmen move up the slope a little. The grass is about 3 1/2 feet long and about one foot is allowed loose on the end to overlap the layer below. That portion of the grass which is not free is tied and sewed very securely. There is much tugging, pulling, and grunting to make the knot as tight as possible.

000 (13) As the top is reached, another operation is necessary to cap

(13) As the top is reached, another operation is necessary to cap the peak of the roof. The two layers of grass require, when they meet, something to cap over them. This is done by laying down over the peak a rectangular frame of poles to form the base for the cap. The grass is then heaped up on this bed. It is held down by long rods of dwarf bamboo or miscanthus, forming a rough arch and running lengthwise. These rods with the grass underneath are sewn on to the ridge pole and the surrounding network of poles underneath with heavy twine or rope. Often also sharp sticks are placed cross ways. These are known as kansashi and derive their name from the pin used by Japanese women to fasten up their hair when they wear the traditional headdress. These sticks in fact perform this function; perhaps even better, they can be compared to the long hat pin. A thatched roof so constructed will last a long time, often 5 or 10 years, though it may be changed more often if damaged. Very often if the house has a thatch roof and the sides are made of a weak material, the house, including the roof is bound around with a heavy thick wire, cable or rope to protect it from typhoons. (Fig. 9 for a sketch of the roof). 342 335

The interior of the simple house which we have been describing is finished off in a simple manner with flooring and siding, also of cheap quality.

It may be added, parenthetically, that there are two different methods of laying the tile roof. In the hipped type, the tile slants from the roof to the eaves. The variant is the hipped type with a small gable. Occasionally, on the tile roof, an ornamental lion shaped terra cotta figure is placed for decorative purposes. 342 [532]

Tile is set over a foundation of long rods of small bamboo, dwarf bamboo or mature large size miscanthus. Rice straw is used to tie these rods together and to the frame. Mud, usually found in the yard and often containing considerable clay, is placed over this rod base and the tile is set so that the crests of the two pieces of tile which meet on the bottom are cupped by a tile on top. (Fig. 10).

5

Tools

Carpenters' tools are Japanese imports, although local blacksmiths make tools based on the Japanese design or repair them. The common tools are: 413 [439] [326]

(1) The plane (kanna in Japanese). The plane iron is set in a rectangular block of wood. In working wood, the plane is drawn toward the operator.

(2) A smaller plane

342

[413]

BUILDING A SIMPLE HOUSE

The Kushi, an improvised pitchfork made out of tree branches. The piece, a, is tied to the main branch to make the fork.

Fig. 7

The Hari

Fig. 8

[335]

CAPPING THE ROOF

Fig. 9

TILE SETTING

Fig. 10

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

413

(3) Chisels (nomi in Japanese) of various sizes.

(4) The hand saw (nokogiri in Japanese). There are two kinds: a single edge for cross cut, or a double edge, the second for rippling. The saw has a short blade and a long handle.

(5) A kind of hatchet (te-ono in Japanese).

(6) A rabbet plane (motoichi)

(7) The square (kanejaku)

(8) A gimlet, the large hand operated boring tool with a T shaped handle (ōkii ana in Japanese, bōtō in Okinawan).

(9) The common brace and bit.

(10) The hammer, both claw and ball pein.

(11) The sumi tsubo (in Japanese). This is a reel with a string. As the string is drawn out from the reel, it passes through an India ink paste which is in a shallow flat dish situated at the point where the string comes out. The inked string is made taut along the line to be cut, snapped sharply, resulting in a black line along the desired cutting edge.

(12) The sumisashi (in Japanese), a short stick, dipped in ink, which is used for drawing a cutting line by hand usually with a square or rule to join longer lines made by the inked string.

(13) A plane for use on curved surfaces (the maruka in Japanese.)

(14) A sandshaker. When mortar is needed, an improvised sandshaker may be constructed. Long poles are set up wigwam fashion. One end of a wire is fastened to the apex of the poles, the other to the end of a wire net. The other end of the wire net is held in the hands. Sand is put on the mesh, and the device is then shaken so that the fine sand goes through. Long poles such as those used for the sandshaker or in building construction are called maruta (in Japanese). [417]

6

Co-operation in Housebuilding

342 476

In Okinawa, co-operation among villagers in larger tasks is not conspicuous.[8] Housebuilding is an exception. Depending on the size, any number of people in a village may participate in building a house. If the house is small, only friends or immediate relatives are likely to assist. But if it is a large house, friends or neighbors may work one or two days, and relatives three or four days.

8 The nature of village co-operation will be discussed in Chap. 18

342 476 463 [464] Co-operation often takes the form of a division of labor. In building an elaborate permanent house with cement foundations, siding, plank flooring and a tile roof, greater skills than the handyman techniques of a smaller house are required. In the building of a house, men with special skills, such as a carpenter, a cement mixer, a stonecutter, or a mason participate; others bring lumber and wood from the mountains, as in Matsuda, or lay the grass on the tile roof. In some cases, all the labor may be donated; in others, the carpenter, the cement mixer, the stonecutter may be hired, with helper's work done by volunteers. In simpler construction, the carpentry may be done by anyone who has this secondary skill but is primarily a farmer or a fisherman. People who have those skills are said to have half and half occupations (hannohangyō in Japanese).

7

Housebuilding Ceremonies

342 In building, a distinction is made between a temporary and a permanent house. A temporary house may be built following a typhoon or a fire, or it may be constructed for a poor man and in fact be a permanent house for the family, the good house to come being more an aspiration than an early reality. The marks of a permanent house are construction with beams, instead of poles, good siding, a good roof, now mostly of tile, a design based on mat size, and a cemented kitchen. Housebuilding ceremonies and celebrations apply only to the permanent house.

[184] 342 782 [262] [273] [915] [825] Ceremonies or observances during stages in the building of a house differ from place to place and among people in the same village. In Matsuda before the house is started, the owner, his friends, and neighbors gather and offer a prayer that the house be a good and a happy one. Before construction, and once each year following completion, rice cakes (mochi in Japanese) and sake are placed in each of the four corners of the house site. Three rice cakes are put on the smallest of three saucers which fit into one another. Two of these saucer sets with the rice cakes, together with a sake bottle and a small cup are placed on a tray. The east, north, west, and south corners are visited in that order. Sake is poured from the flask to a small cup. There is a short prayer. A piece of white paper, attached to a stick of dwarf bamboo (Yambaru take) about one foot long is burned. The sake is poured over the embers. The top rice cake is placed on the corner; the other two remain on the small plate. Prayers are offered for protection against the deadly snake (habu). The rice cake is then picked up. On the next corner, the ceremony is repeated.

[183] [262] When the ridge pole is put up, the carpenter prays that there will be no injuries. Observances at the raising of the roof (muneage in Okinawan) seem to be universal in the villages. Three parcels, one of salt, one of bean paste, and one of charcoal are wrapped in a leaf--any will do--and these are tied with a string and suspended from the inner side of the crossbeam or from the ridge pole. There are no prayers at this time.

this time. Upon completing the house, the owner gives a party for those who helped him. During the last day of work, with the party scheduled for the evening, the workmen strive feverishly to complete the house on time. This is a party to celebrate a task completed. Sake flows freely. Occasionally on the last day, a man walks around the house talking to himself and throws salt toward the inside of the house. His words are not formalized and not known to his hearers. After finishing throwing the salt, he bangs the back of the house three times with a stick. This custom is said to be gradually disappearing, and is only occasionally practiced in Matsuda.[9]

In Hanashiro, there is a similar custom that differs in details. On the date the house is started, there is a small ceremony. A plate containing boiled rice, bean curd, a kind of fritter (tenpura in Japanese) and meat, together with a flask of sake are placed in the center of the site on which the house is to be built. Prayers are offered that the house be a good one. The ceremony of raising the roof is identical with that previously described in Matsuda. This applies only to the raising of the ridge pole, no ceremonies taking place with the erecting of the side poles. The center board, near to or nailed to the ridge pole, and from which the articles wrapped in a leaf or in sea weed are suspended, is inscribed with the word, shibiranka. Its meaning is unknown to me. One villager said it was the name of a legendary Chinese protector of houses.

In one instance from Minatogawa, instead of the salt, charcoal, and bean paste, only a bit of charcoal (tsumi in Japanese) was suspended and wrapped in seaweed (kombu in Japanese).

About 20 years ago in Hanashiro, the celebration on the day of completion was much more elaborate than now. A pig was killed, fish purchased, and a large feast was prepared to which the whole village was invited. The celebration now is confined to relatives, friends, and helpers, including the carpenter, whether hired or a volunteer.

In Minatogawa, when a good house is being built, there is the custom of going to a fortune teller (sanjinsō in Japanese) to discover the lucky day for commencing construction. This may be repeated to find the lucky day for putting up the poles and supports or putting on the roof. Here also a son about to establish a branch household and to build his own house takes a food offering to his father's house, places it on the Buddhist god shelf, gives thanks, and prays for good fortune before construction starts. When the house has been completed, similar offerings are made, either before the god shelf of the new house, if it has been installed, or again at the father's house. In this village, the usual observances are confined to the raising of the roof and to the celebration following completion of the home.

One last custom observed in all the villages is that one does not move into a new house unless the tide is coming in. Other occasions in which the tide is taken into consideration will be discussed later. The idea here seems to be that one moves at times of growing fullness and increase not at times of ebb and withdrawal.

9 I was unable to secure any explanation of the reason for this and the other practices beyond the familiar statement that "it is a custom." (shukan)

shopping trip to a larger town. In the very common evening visiting among men, women participate very little. 562

There has been some improvement in the social position of women since the war. In Hanashiro, for example, before the war, the husband, children, and grandparents ate in the second or third room, while the wife and sometimes the eldest daughter ate in the kitchen. (The Okinawan kitchen, though part of the house, differs from the other rooms in that it has direct access to the outside, is generally on a level with the ground, and has a dirt, cement, or stone floor). The wife in preparing the meal can go back and forth readily and need not take off her clogs or wash her feet if she goes barefoot when she goes up into the rooms. Her meal is a slight interlude between duties. 562 264 [342]

In most homes now, the women eat with the family in the main house. Some old women still spend most of their time in the kitchen watching the fire and eating their meals there. One of the reasons given for the change in attitude toward women is that many of the repatriated Okinawans brought newer ideas with them and did not practice segregation at meal times. [178]

Another important fact about social life is the drinking of the men and the abstinence of the women.[3] Young men usually begin drinking sake around the age of marriage. It is exceptional for a young man in his teens or early twenties to drink. But once this dividing line is passed, it is the exceptional man who does not drink. In each village one finds a few lifelong teetotalers. Drinking is always done in company, as the climax of a task completed, because of some happy turn of events, or because there is a party or celebration. As a general rule, the village men do not drink every day, but only when a suitable occasion arises. While there is drunkenness, I did not observe the solitary, prolonged drinking commonly associated with alcoholism in western societies. Prolonged drinking at night has the expected effects the next day, but there is very little remorse, unless a man has done something of which he is subsequently ashamed. Men who have drunk too much the night before do not hesitate to lie in bed 273 [562] [133]

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 295--ANALYST]

3 In Okinawa, the commonest and cheapest alcoholic drink is sake. This is not the same as Japanese sake, the light rice wine, slightly resembling sauterne, that is usually served warm or hot. Okinawan sake is awamori, a much stronger drink of distilled rice spirits, a variety of the Japanese shochu. The alcoholic content of awamori ranges from about 25% to 30%. It is a raw liquor with an unpleasant taste. It is not the favorite, but it is the cheapest drink. Awamori is made from rice in small distilleries throughout Okinawa, bottled in large jugs and distributed to village shops. Most shops carry it. Sometimes there are special sake shops. Awamori or sake is sold for about Y14 per go (.318 pint). The normal intake for an evening is considered to be 2 go. Most men are fairly inebriated after drinking this much. The American army canteen, when available, is the favorite sake container. Japanese and American beer and Japanese sake are liked, but too expensive. 279 435 804

484 studied remarked on the discomfort of the rustic north. Many
[829] people in Matsuda thought the people of the northern district more honest than those of the south. This attitude is partly due to knowledge of crime in Naha. Direct or personal knowledge of other islands of the Ryukyus is exceptional. Few people know more than travelers' tales about Yaeyama, Miyako, or Amami.

562 Men are better informed about current events than the women.
Women do not participate so much in social life, nor do they read
521 so much. Conversations at small gatherings are often on a very serious level. A local antiquarian telling of vanished customs and conditions has a very attentive audience. So has a returned traveler
814 from Japan. These people have a sense of history, curiosity, and respect for knowledge and education.

3

Village Co-operation

621 One of the most important things to learn about a culture is
476 the nature of its co-operative endeavor. It is useful knowledge in understanding the transition zone between individual and family living and participation in community activities. In these communities, co-operation involves considering the relation of families resident in the village to one another, to their community organizations, and to local government. These relations are stronger than the tie of an individual to an extended family. The nature and the limitations of co-operation can best be described by pointing to examples from each of the villages.

In Hanashiro, mutual help is mainly found, as one might expect, among close and distant relatives of the same family of families related by marriage, who are living in the village. There are extended family ties, which may involve several villages, but this does not
[614] mean that tasks are done co-operatively within the extended family. It is uncommon to go to another village to help a relative with his harvest or his housebuilding--and the distance would increase the unlikelihood. Immediate ties to friends, relatives, and neighbors are stronger than those to the more distant members of the extended family.

Within the village, organized co-operation is not conspicuous. Help is given in the form of labor not in money. There is no accounting on a reciprocity basis. At any harvest time--the rice harvest is usually the most urgent--a relative, neighbor or friend may help one day and receive the same aid on the following day. The whole village does not turn out to help each farmer in turn until the crops are in. This work is done by individuals or by very small groups. Since the nature and the amount of help is known and acknowledged, no bookkeeping is needed or desired. The closest approach to villagewide help to
[342] an individual family occurs in housebuilding. All residents of the

village volunteer to help if they have the time; each day a group of 5 or more appear, to be replaced the following day by another group until the house is finished. This type of help is more characteristic of the construction or repair of a simple house with a thatched roof than it is with a more expensive and elaborate house which requires specialists. 621 496 342

No days are specifically set aside for community projects, but these are done through co-operative effort. The amount of time given depends on needs as they arise. The care and maintenance of roads and lanes are the most frequent projects. If a road or lane is needed, the village headman and the council discuss the matter, consult the villagers, and the task is then undertaken. Road and lane maintenance includes cutting weeds and clearing away brush to cut down the danger from snakes. These procedures apply also to the construction and care of community owned buildings, such as the village office and the sugar mill. Hanashiro is small enough so that elaborate plans are not required and the desired ends can be accomplished by casual forms of mutual help. 621 496 [491]

The problems of Hinatogawa are different, but the type of co-operation is essentially the same. Because of its situation, typhoon damage is often severe. Cleaning up and repairing after a typhoon is a co-operative enterprise, since there is so much damage to community property such as roads and breakwaters. In the typhoon "Ruth" in 1951, the wind driven waves lashed the breakwater with such violence that the stones were dislodged and scattered over the main road. Repairing typhoon damage is partly a community, partly a family affair. Many of the frailer houses are blown down and must be reconstructed from their foundations. Help in beaching and lashing down boats in anticipation of a typhoon is given by relatives and friends. Road maintenance and construction, village building, the laying of stones around a community water tank or faucet are tasks accomplished by community effort. House-building is done mostly through the co-operation of friends and relatives. There may be visits to Itoman to help members of the extended family there. The ties with Itoman are close. [731] [614]

Matsuda is a larger village whose scattered settlements and community forests have resulted in a more planned community co-operation than exists in the southern villages. Three general forms can be distinguished: (1) officially supervised co-operative work on the roads and in the forests in which every male over school age and the unmarried girls are expected to work a stated number of days in a year. Records are kept of this work. One might regard this as obligatory, but it is more correct to say that it is a universally acknowledged duty requiring no enforcement procedure. (2) Voluntary co-operation in the building of a house, and (3) less formal and more casual help, among relatives and friends in a wide variety of daily tasks, including harvesting, carrying wood, threshing rice, and the like.

In the officially supervised co-operative work, the participating

621 individuals give one day each year to forest maintenance and planting.
476 Twice during the year one day is given to cleaning up and repairing village roads and paths, to improve village cleanliness, and to reduce the danger from snakes. These clean-up activities, which take place in March, April and November, include cutting the grass and weeds along the roadside, cleaning off accumulated debris, and filling in ruts, holes, and rough spots.

621 The closest approach to village-wide co-operation in private
476 undertakings is in housebuilding. Regardless of the financial standing of the owner, whenever a new house is being built, there are volunteer
● 342 helpers from the whole village. This is the only area in which this co-operation exists. It does not occur in agriculture or at harvest times. Each day a different crew helps, but this assistance does not
[463] apply to the more specialized tasks. The skilled work on the larger new houses requires carpenters, masons, and tile setters. There is no rigid system of reciprocity nor does a villager keep a record of the days he has worked for the others and the days due him. Many who help already have substantial houses themselves and have no need of reciprocal aid. Following a custom in all the villages, when the
[594] building is finished, the owner gives a housewarming party, with plenty of sake and food. Both hired and volunteer workers are invited.

476 If we may judge by these villages, the Okinawan is individualistic in his approach to his work. Aside from the work on the roads and in the forests, help in emergencies, and the special case of housebuilding, the circle of mutual help is confined within the family or close associates. In no case, did the co-operation of a whole or a substantial part of the village extend to agriculture.

This preceding discussion does not exhaust the field of cooperative endeavor. The co-operative associations and mutual loan groups have already been discussed. Community organizations and neighborhood associations will be considered in Section 5. But these are either more restricted in membership or have a more planned organizational character.

591 In closing this discussion, a further point should be made to avoid misunderstanding. The farmer, fisherman, or stonecutter, the worker in the forest approaches his task as an individual. But group consultation and the sharing of responsibility in other activities is a positive characteristic of the culture. The principle of prior discussion, arriving at a decision acceptable to the group, is a conspicuous part of family life and is implicit in the family system. The same attitude appears in group and community organizations, and in the conduct, as we shall see, of village government.

4

Village Leadership

565
[727] The recent war brought about a levelling in village life. Before

302 for a shave; but since this happens only about once a week or less, they
[305] have a stubbly beard much of the time. Men have their hair cut infrequently. From adolescence on they prefer long and unwieldy hair, combed to one side.

Almost no women use lipstick, but a few put on rouge for special occasions. More and more of the younger women use some make-up when they travel to the city, in spite of rather rude teasing from other villagers that they look like prostitutes.

291 During the hot summer most people have straw sun hats which can
293 be bought at the local store after the rainy season. They cost little and last until the end of the heat. Umbrellas are the only rain protection during wet days, since the raincoats and hats formerly made of palm thatch have almost completely disappeared.

DWELLINGS

●342 All but two houses in Taira are postwar structures. The first postwar structures were small and hastily built of local, mostly inferior materials. In the last few years families have built more elaborate houses with several rooms, substantial walls and roofs, and made of quality Japanese hard woods, which will resist rapid deterioration. Only a few of the present houses, however, compare in size and workmanship with the large prewar farmhouses.

[362] On the whole, housing in central Taira is inferior to outlying parts of the community and other surrounding villages. Two house types are found: the simple, temporary house or hut with two or three rooms and a kitchen, covered by a thatch roof; and the larger, more substantial house with either thatch or tile roof, four to six rooms and a kitchen.

[251] All houses have common characteristics. They are elevated from the ground so that a 20 to 24 inch space is left underneath the floor, which is sometimes used for the storage of potatoes and firewood. The floor plan is uniform for all houses of either type (Figure 1). Living rooms, also used for sleeping, are always located in the front part of the house. A smaller room located at the right rear of the house is used as a bedroom or for sick people and parturient mothers. The kitchen is on level ground so that a step has to be taken to enter the eating corner from the kitchen. Even the simplest huts have a thin wall which separates the rear bedroom and kitchen from the front part. All outside doors are sliding panels which move in a wooden track so that the whole front of the house may be opened. A visitor can tell immediately if somebody is home and, if an informal caller, will sit on the elevated

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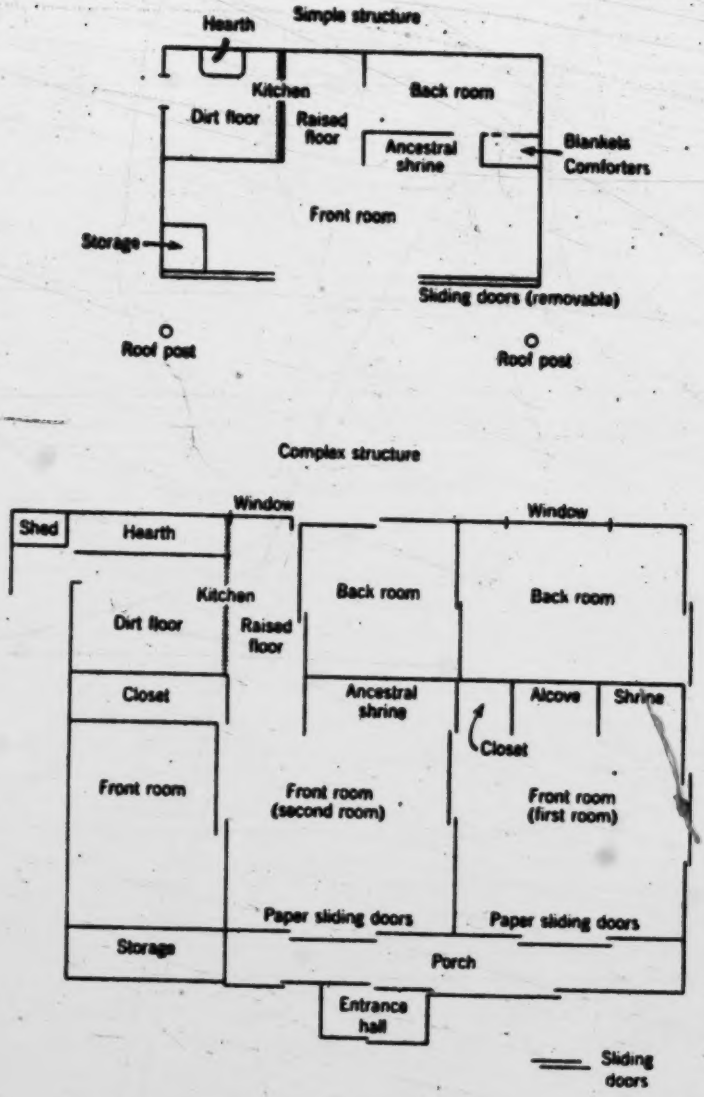

Figure 1. House plan showing simple and complex structures.

342 floor, resting his feet outside on the ground. An overhanging roof protects him from the rain. Larger houses have an entrance hall and a porch running along the front. Since these porches also have sliding-door panels, few people bother to use the entrance except on formal visits.

The simple structures have a framework which is basically the same [335] as that of the more complex ones. Neither is constructed with nails but held together by mortise and tenon joints. Thick layers of thatch or a tile roof give adequate protection from rains. Thatch roofs need re- [356] placement every few years, but they keep the house cooler than the more permanent, more expensive clay or cement tile roofs. House walls are made of very thin, cheap wood which weathers fast and cracks, allowing winds to enter freely. Only the new houses have solid double walls. The floor in the simple buildings consists of planks which in many houses are not nailed down; during the winter months the cold penetrates through the wide slots between the boards. Better houses have ceilings and doors to separate the "first" and "second" room in the front of the house, as well as solid floors.

Smoke from the open fireplace in the kitchen rises into the roof and [151] seeps through the thatch. Poor eyesight, common among children, is believed by the villagers to result from smoke-filled houses and poor lighting. In the evening, dim light is provided by one or two kerosene lamps.

342 The ancestral shrine, a built-in shelf for the ancestral tablets, has 353 its place in the "second" room. This shrine is only found in the homes 769 of oldest sons. It is not treated with special reverence. Photographs of the deceased as well as of living relatives are kept there as well as personal belongings—a letter, money, a bottle of sake, or gifts. During [822] religious holidays of ancestral worship, red hibiscus flowers, the color for the dead, are placed on the shelf. Since the shelf is high from the floor, small children cannot get at it.

352 The only furniture in all houses is a low table on which food and [516] drinks are served. Everybody sits on the floor, legs crossed and feet tucked under their thighs in the case of men or put behind to one side in the case of women. Very few houses in Taira have the thick, padded straw mats found in the homes of more well-to-do people in Okinawa. But every family has several thin mats of woven reed standing in one corner of the room; these are spread out for guests to sit on or for a member of the household who lies down during the day. Storage 353 shelves are used in simple houses, but in the better houses mattresses, comforters, and hard pillows are kept in a built-in closet space during [356] the day. On sunny days women air the bedding by spreading it over walls, fences, or in the grass.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

There are no uniform sleeping arrangements. The larger the family, the more corners of the front rooms and rear room are occupied. Since the number of comforters is limited in most families, two or three members of the family share one. Father and mother do not always sleep together, and, even if they do, an infant may sleep between them. When there are several children, another child may sleep next to the father, so that in one row there may be mother, a baby, father, and an older child. One or two children usually sleep with the grandmother in another corner. In several families an older sister may sleep with younger brothers; in others, two elder brothers, or an older sister and an older brother, may sleep next to each other. Children do not usually sleep at other people's houses, but when they reach junior high school age, a girl may stay with a girl friend or a group of boys may sleep together at one house. 513

A simple desk and chair are kept in each house where children go to school. These are put in one corner of the front room, except in large houses with a third room in front, which is reserved for schoolchildren of the house, who also sleep there. Around the study corner, books are kept on a crate or shelf. Only the biggest houses have a niche in their "first" room. Paintings and scrolls, used to decorate alcoves before the war, have been lost, and few people have acquired replacements. Many families decorate rooms by pasting pictures from magazines and newspapers on the walls. Some have reproductions of the Japanese Crown Prince Akihito, others scenic pictures from Japan. 352 353

Only a few recent buildings have inner sliding doors with paper screens. The paper is often left off during the hot season and put on before New Year. If children or cats are around, the splendor does not last long, and even an adult's hand frequently punctures the screen in trying to open the door. Holes are left unrepaired for the remainder of the year. 342 356

The eating corner between kitchen and rear room is the place where most families gather in the evening, especially during the winter. An informal caller may join them there. If it is cold, a brazier is put in the center, filled with pieces of charcoal on top of old ashes to provide heat for those sitting around it. These braziers vary in type: the poorest families use the bottom of an oil drum filled with ashes; others use pottery jars or small wooden boxes lined with metal. 342 264 354

Crockery used in most houses is of a simple type. If breakage occurs, as it often does, a cup or bowl can be replaced for a few yen at the grocery store. Well-to-do families may have an extra set of teacups, which are used for guests. Several families also own lacquer ware, but it is not in daily use. Like cups and bowls, chopsticks are simple and inexpensive. They last a long time and are seldom lost. Children do 415 [912]

313 which they use interchangeably. After sufficient trees have been cut and
[412] cleared of branches, a large bundle of firewood is carried to the village. Most forest workers make four or five trips a day into the hills—two or three during the hot summer season. As the afternoon ends, they sit down along the road in the village or nearby to prepare firewood
474 bundles. Pieces of wood are inserted through a bamboo loop of stand-
313 ard size, prescribed by the cooperative store, until a tight, uniform bundle is obtained. The last piece has to be driven into the bundle by force. All over the village one can hear the knocking of wood pieces
[592] which marks the end of a forest worker's daily labor. Each household works independently and sells firewood to the cooperative. A store
[436] clerk travels around the village in late afternoon, checks all bundles, and issues credit slips to each household; these can be changed into money at the store. The following morning the truck, owned by the
[438] cooperative, carries the firewood to Naha or Itoman where it is sold to a dealer who redistributes it to individual consumers or public bathhouses. The northern part of the island has always supplied firewood to the population of southern Okinawa to be used for kitchen hearths
[354] and bath stoves. In recent years kerosene kitchen stoves have become so popular that the depletion of wood resources tends to coincide with decreasing demand.

TRADES AND PROFESSIONS

463 Other ways of making a living exist. A few artisans in Taira derive part of their income from wage labor. A number of Taira men earn their living by carpentering, although they do most of their work in the south. They return occasionally when their services are needed for local house building. When working on local construction, they are
[465] paid in money, free lodging, and meals. There are also a few part-time resident carpenters who, whenever they are not employed in house building or repairs, spend their time farming and cutting wood. New
[342] buildings are usually put up between the beginning of the second rice crop and the New Year.

463 Several persons are salaried township or village officials. They are paid monthly and work a 44-hour week, not counting many extra meet-
466 ings and duties connected with their work. All office workers however
[647] have fields, either their own or those of their parents, where they spend Sundays helping in agricultural pursuits. During rice planting season, they are given special time off to attend to their fields.

Also among the salaried workers are store employees, a full-time

462 heavy sods in the rice paddy; nevertheless, women and younger girls
[241] often do this work along with the men and boys if time runs short. There are some women who prepare their farm land without the help of their husbands.

[313] In mountain work, women produce almost as much as men except that they do not handle the large logs. Even pregnant women make
[843] three or four daily mountain trips, sometimes up until the day of childbirth. Only the mode of carrying wood, like any load, differs for
[482] the sexes: a man uses a carrying stick supported on his shoulder, with two bundles attached to each end; a woman carries bundles on her back, tied and held in place by a tump line tied over her forehead. Women can carry loads of 100 to 120 pounds in this manner.

[312] Men seldom carry water from the tank or faucet to the house; this is considered women's work, although younger boys are expected to
241 help at times. Work in the potato fields is mainly women's respon-
462 sibility. Their hands are also preferred in rice transplanting, where dexterity is needed in pulling out the tender shoots from the seed bed and replanting them in straight rows at measured intervals. Occasionally a young man helps, and boys sometimes try to work along with their sisters when they learn transplanting. Both men and women sow
462 the seed beds. In special activities, such as house building, a more dis-
[342] tinct division of labor can be observed. In any building activity, men do the structural work and women carry materials and cook for the
[653] men. The same division of labor is found on community projects, road building, fencing against wild pigs, or repairing the water pipes. In general, however, no special comment is made if either a man or woman performs work usually done by the opposite sex.

887 Men and women work in the fields and forests from ages 15 to 60.
462 When they approach 60, men like to "retire." If possible, they turn over their responsibilities as household heads to their eldest sons. From
[464] then on, they tend to stay home more and more. They can still help with less demanding work, making bamboo rings for firewood bundles, sawing wood, or doing odd jobs around the house. Approaching old age, most men become economically useless and in other ways contribute little to society. For old women, quite the contrary is true. Even grandmothers who are well over 60 seem strong and active. Most of
[241] them go to the fields to plant or harvest potatoes or other vegetables. One woman, well into her sixties and bent over from arthritis, took long walks to distant potato fields, with a heavy load of slips or potatoes in a basket on her back, a hoe on top of it, supporting herself on a
[855] stick. Other grandmothers look after the youngest children, thus freeing the mother for work. Old women also cook, help bundle firewood,

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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like "owners" of the concrete objects which they inhabit. These objects can be made subservient to human needs if care is taken not to offend the deities. As long as proper ritual observances are performed, humans need not fear their hostility. They are addressed in prayers and chants, and people make offerings to them at several ceremonies during the year. No one in Taira, including the priestess, has any exact knowledge about their characteristics, and there is no theological dogma, but people know that when building a house, for example, one must announce his intention to the deities and pacify these spirits who have been carried with the lumber from the mountains or with gravel from the beach and the sea. They must be thanked for letting the builder use such materials and sent back to their natural abode. Before the house is finished, the surrounding plot of land must be cleared of all evil spirits. Neglect of such ceremonies can turn supernatural beings into adversaries. One family who neglected proper rituals on their house lot when they built their home tried to appease angry deities by holding a ceremony a year after the house was finished because bad luck had befallen members of the household. Although most supernatural beings can be pacified by proper observance of rituals, there are some who are inherently malevolent. These ogres may be seen in the form of fire balls or in some other shape or physical appearance.

776 782 776 782 342 [777] [821]

The worship of these nature deities and the observance of ceremonies in their behalf are in the hands of the high priestess and her female assistants. In former times each main house, later each village, had its own priestess. The present high priestess in Taira derives her office from a much later institution, a nation-wide hierarchy of religious officials established by the Okinawan king in an effort to combine religion with political influence and supervision in the villages. Today the high priestess has no association with the central government; the Japanese abolished the system. The hierarchy of female religious officials (see Lebra: 1958), those representing main houses, and the chief village priestess is no longer clearly delineated in Taira, since representatives of several offices have left the island or died, and the vacancies have not been filled. The high priestess has taken over most of the religious functions. Her chief assistants are older women from the two main houses. While these three women officiate, several other women are in attendance as helpers. In spite of the diminishing role of animistic religion in the daily life of younger people, the high priestess still enjoys prestige in the community. She is exempted from communal labor in recognition of her status.

793 562 794 [177] [613] [554] [653]

The present high priestess is a woman in her fifties who works and 793

793 lives like other villagers, spending most of her time in the fields and around her home. She has children and grandchildren, but the father of her children no longer lives in Taira. She regards the continuation of the old ceremonies as her holy duty even though she has to do without most of the accustomed material support from the village and [358] in spite of disbelief and lack of participation. She has sought in vain [346] to have the village make necessary repairs on the simple village shrine near the township office and on the little hut where the ancestral tablets of her predecessors are kept.

793 While many of the former ceremonies have been discontinued, the 782 priestess is still called on to officiate at house-building ceremonies, to [342] purify the lot, to offer prayers when the beams are raised, and to conduct the dedication when the house is finished. If the owner is mov- [776] ing out of an old house, the priestess notifies the fire deity so that he [778] will follow to the new abode. On other occasions the priestess conducts prayers at the village shrine or at one of the other sacred places near the village. Many of the prayers are succorant—requesting the aid and blessing of the gods in accomplishing a certain goal. In general, as Lebra has pointed out (1958), ceremonies of asking for help are more numerous and elaborate than thanksgiving ones.

[312] On New Year's morning the priestess prays at the water well. Since [178] so many ceremonies have been abbreviated and are no longer carried out in traditional detail, the priestess apologizes for short cuts in her prayers. If she fails to offer prayers in all prescribed spots, she pacifies [794] the deities by facing in the direction of the sacred place where the [787] ceremony should have been conducted. Although the priestess is clearly best qualified to enter into communication with the deities, many older women seem to possess such power also, and if the priestess' assistants are not present, another older woman can function as her helper.

782 For these ceremonies food for offerings is contributed by the village. 788 The priestess, in a white gown, kneels, flanked by her assistants, also [262] in white, in front of a tray of sake, rice, or other food for the deities. Charcoal incense sticks are burned while brief prayers asking the deities for a successful crop, thanking them for a harvest, or whatever [533] is appropriate to the occasion are mumbled. On certain occasions the women sing chants. After these ceremonies, the priestess, her assistants and the few others present, usually old women, share the food offerings.

796 One of the most dramatic ceremonies is held on Boat Race Day in 793 lunar June. Priestesses from several villages gather near Taira. During the ceremony the Taira priestess stands in the middle of a circle formed by the other priestesses and helpers, beating a drum as the

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1983 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

 775

ple did not carry it through the streets but along the shore to a spot 784
nearby where the car could pull up.

Communication with ancestral or family spirits lies in the hands of [766]
individual households or the larger kin group. In general, as with the 782
nature deities, women maintain the relationship. The oldest woman 794
in the house prays and makes offerings in front of the divine shelf or by 769
the tombs. Sometimes the high priestess, whose only regular role in the [562]
cult of ancestors centers around the mythical founder of the village
to whom vague references are made, is asked to conduct a special [793]
prayer for a family at its ancestral shrine. Such invitations are usually
the result of consultation with another religious practitioner to whom [756]
one turns in case of misfortune.*

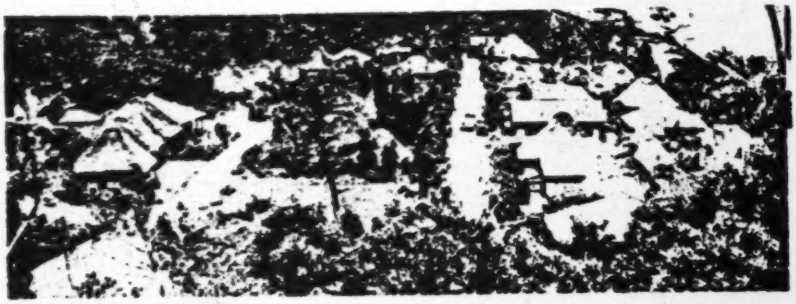
Those who are considering a special undertaking, such as building a 791
new house or moving to another one, or transporting ancestral tablets
from one home shrine to another, seek the advice of a diviner, the [342]
sanjinsō or *yekisha*. This expert, always a man, consults books on the
workings of the universe, special astrological calendars from which he
can predict events by using a horoscope calculated on the birth date of
the person seeking advice.

Although it would seem from the attendance at ceremonies that 771
older people, mostly women, are the supporters of religion, even the 182
most modern of the Tairans seem to share beliefs in the power of the
supernatural forces and are loath to make an open break with traditions. One may verbalize that the old religion is just "superstition," but when it comes to dealing with adverse events, when somebody suggests that perhaps the *yuta* should be consulted, or a special offering is in order, or when the old special wine of the gods is prepared from rice for Boat Race Day, then many of the apparent apostates cooperate. To some extent this is done to appease the older people, but fear of neglecting duties, especially toward ancestors, is probably much stronger in general than people's behavior would suggest. Religious in- [621]
fluence, then, which controlled so many facets of village life in former days, still acts as a strong force in uniting the members of families and descent groups as well as in binding together the community as a unit separate from other communities.

* See Chapter 9 for description of the *yuta* or shaman.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

361



View of central village, Taira.

351
342

House and yard.

Preparing rice paddy.

Cultivating rice.

243
291

[p. 456-A]

It apparently did not find
178 widespread use in Tomoyose, for that village passed almost directly from the use
243 of bamboo tongs to the rotary thresher, or 'dakkokki' (see photo). Yamada first
412 saw this thresher about 1933, but Nanahan farmers began using it only in 1941.
[407]

Hulling of grain was in the past accomplished---as needed for home use
178 or sale---by using a wooden rotary mill (see photos) called fichiūshi in Yamada
252 and shiriūshi in Nanahan. In Yamada two women sat with their feet braced against it, and pulled straw ropes alternately. In Nanahan men did the hulling, and the rotary mill was lower but was three feet in diameter. In the late thirties motor-powered hulling mills were built in many areas, and farmers took their rice there for hulling and polishing.

Polishing of brown rice in Nanahan was accomplished until about 1935 by use of a mortar, or chichiūshi (see photo), and pestle, or ajin. Most families still have these in reserve, as they were used after the war and were replaced by rice mills only after 1949. People in remote areas still use them exclusively. Nowadays people have their rice hulled and polished in one operation at a rice mill, if it is close at hand.

178 Very little wheat was grown in the three farm villages studied, but
246 it was noticed that on the outer isles wheat was more dominant. On Henza isle, removal of the grain from the sheaf and hull was accomplished by rubbing it upon a piece of bumpy limestone. On Kudaka, separation was by rubbing on a canvas, both with the hands and feet.

178 After the war farmers took advantage of the spread of the lantana bush,
241 which had flourished due to the neglect of the land. It furnished an excellent livestock feed, and also a short pole which they could use in roofing their re-
[342] built houses. Such poles, or kichigwā, had formerly been brought down from the forested north country.

178 Chronology of Change in Livestock Recovery of the land after the war pro-
727 ceeded far more rapidly than replacement
231 of the livestock killed or eaten in the invasion. The following table illustrates the loss and slow recovery (except for swine) in livestock numbers:

Table V

Type of Livestock	1940[1]	1946[2]	1952[3]	1952 as % of 1940
Cattle	22,000	112	6,837	31.0%
Horses	25,000	899	5,110	20.4%
Swine	108,426	1,165	107,077	98.8%
Goats	106,257	1,647	58,472	55.1%

In Kachinda-son the story has been somewhat the same, with the exception that there are many more swine and cattle now than in the thirties. This is due partly to the lesser amount of land in sugar and the planting of more

1, 2 Summation....July-November, 1946, p. 26.

3 Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku, Vol. 3, No. 3, 1943, p. 1. Valid as of 31 Dec. 1952.

CHAPTER V: FAMILY LIFE

W. P. Suttles

1. Kinship Organization

342 The Household and the Family Okinawan homes, both in the country and in the towns, show a surprising uniformity in struc-
[183] ture, in floor plan, and even in orientation. This uniformity reflects the stability of society and at the same time reenforces it. The home of the
[361] Okinawan farmer usually faces south; indeed the older villages as a whole were established on southward-facing slopes.

The house consists of two main rooms separated by sliding doors, a long and narrow back room behind the two front rooms, and a kitchen to one side, usually the west. The measurements are usually in multiples of three feet (the Japanese foot being almost identical with the English foot); the two main rooms are usually the same size, 9 by 9 or 12 by 12 feet, and the others are somewhat smaller. The roofs of most houses are thatched with "kaya", but people who can afford it have wholly or partly tiled roofs. The roof of the kitchen may have a separate peak and ridgepole from that of the main part of the house. Usually the roof of the main part of the house extends beyond the front rooms so that there is a narrow veranda across the front and halfway around the side opposite the kitchen. The house usually has no windows. The kitchen has an outside door and the front rooms have sliding doors all the way around under the veranda; these are usually open except at night or during bad weather.

The main part of the house has a floor of boards but the kitchen often has only an earth floor or else consists of two sections, one floored and one not. The kitchen is thus usually lower than the main part of the house and is referred to as "below" while the main part is "above", but this also implies a difference in status. The room farthest from the kitchen is called the "first room" and the middle room is the "second room". The back room may be
353 a single long room or may be divided into two. At the back of the kitchen is
[354] the oven, usually made of earth or bricks with two or three holes for pots and pans to fit into. At the back of the second room, if the house is a "main house"---that of an eldest son, is the tootoomee (J. 'butsudan'), a cabinet for the ancestral tablets. At the back of the first room there is often an alcove containing a scroll and perhaps a family treasure; this is the utuku (J. 'tokonoma').

In the homes of more prosperous families the floors of the front rooms are permanently covered with "tatami", the thick mats used by the Japanese, but in most homes the only mats are the thinner mushiru, which are spread out
352 only when needed. Furniture is simple; the mushiru are the equivalent of chairs
[354] and beds; a low table may be brought out to put food upon at meal-time and a pot of burning charcoal may be brought out in cold weather for a little heat. Usually one sees only a basket of teacups and a tobacco-box. On formal ocas-
592 sions the men sit in the first room and the women in the second, but usually
562 the partition is removed and the family simply lives in the whole space.

[Kitazato]

is paying adequate rentals for lands used in Japan, and it is their contention that Okinawa is being discriminated against because she is weak. Because of this some wish that Japan were back in control, believing that their interests would be better served. One hears no comments on the presence of Americans in the islands or on the legality of building bases there, for they concede that the outcome of the war granted that; yet, they are bitter about the loss of their livelihood and what they feel to be neglect on the part of the military government. Long accustomed to a paternalistic government which directed many aspects of their lives, they are now at a loss to understand this seeming indifference to their present circumstances. They are completely unmoved by argument, which might seem logical to an American, that Congress has not appropriated sufficient funds, for they do not distinguish between the various divisions of American government---it is all American to them. They point to the high standard of living enjoyed by the American personnel and their families stationed on the island and make the inference that there seems to be no lack of funds for their needs. 621 829 727

The villagers say that they have received three payments from military government through May, 1954. The first of these paid for the cost of removing and rebuilding their homes. This amounted to a flat payment of ¥6000 ($50) per house, which they say was inadequate. The first of the land payments was made in June of 1953; the villagers assert that they were paid at pre-war rates, and one person who owned 5480 'tsubo' described the payment as a "laugh". The second payment for the use of their lands was made in May, 1954, while the author was studying the village. This time the payments were said to be substantially higher especially in certain categories; yet, they contend that payments are still far below current rentals. In this payment, ¥5.40 per 'tsubo' per year was paid for grade one house lots, but in Kijikina the owner of one house claimed that he paid ¥24 per 'tsubo' per year for rental on his house lot. Grade one dry fields were paid for by the military government at a rate of ¥3 per 'tsubo' per year; the farmers say that they can get about ¥60 per 'tsubo' in annual yield if this land is planted in beans or potatoes, and local rentals on this same type of land are about ¥15. They are angry at receiving but ¥3 for their land and having to pay ¥15 to rent equivalent land. They are also dissatisfied with the manner of payment for grass land and tomb land which are paid for by the plot regardless of size; thus, they say that the person who has two small plots of 10 'tsubo' each receives twice as much as the man who owns a single, larger 100 'tsubo' plot.

Effect of the Land Loss on the Village: Physical Appearance On first entering any one of the three segments of Kitazato one is struck almost immediately by a level of poverty considerably below that of other Okinawan villages. This is particularly true of Hama, whose houses are jammed tightly together on a treeless beach. Most of the houses consist of a single room which serves as living and sleeping quarters; a small lean-to kitchen is attached on the side. The floor space of the houses was considerably smaller than those of Kanegusuku. Several brackish wells supply the community with water. The Anahana and Kijikina settlements in the hills have a more attractive appearance due to a large number of young pine trees and a small stream in the area, giving a park-like atmosphere; however, 621 735 511 [342] [312] [342]

511 [Kitazato]
621 the houses are the same small, poorly-built structures of thatch and scrap
735 lumber that are found on the beach. By way of contrast, the house which
[342] the author rented in Kanegusuku was the poorest and shabbiest in that vil-
[184] lage; yet, the same house in Kitazato would easily have been the best.
Shabby appearances are not limited to houses, for the people too are more poorly dressed than elsewhere on Okinawa.

621 Food Nearly everywhere on Okinawa the authors heard that the peo-
511 ple are eating better today than before the war; such is not the case for
262 Kitazato, and the villagers are most emphatic about this. Potatoes, beans, and other vegetable products form the mainstay of their diet; often times, they say, potatoes are dug up before they are fully mature, so great is the pressure for food. It is the opinion of the local agricultural office that the people are slowly starving to death, and the villagers state that they are always hungry. The local storekeepers say that the people do not have enough money to buy canned foods to supplement their diet. Though Hama is
[226] virtually on the water the villagers do no fishing since the occupation is regarded as a foreign one; however, some shell fish are collected by the women.

621 Exodus of Youth One of the marked features of the village is the
511 general absence of young men and women in the fifteen to twenty-five age
166 group, for as soon as the student completes junior high school, he or she heads for the city seeking employment. A number of the families in the village are said to subsist mainly on the money which their children send back. According to the mayor 61 families have left the village since the end of the war; he feels that if they had not left, things would be much worse. Most of those who left were families containing grown children who could work; the parents in some cases were reluctant to leave, but their children were anxious to leave. A slight decline in military employment in early 1954 resulted in several of these families' returning to the village, and the mayor was apprehensive lest more return.

621 One characteristic of the population of this village which struck
847 the author was the disproportionate number of females to males in the age group under five years. In this group there were 54 males and 33 females, whereas the groups above were more nearly proportionate. Female infanticide has been a common occurrence during times of famine or under conditions of extreme poverty in Japan and China, and the authors heard several stories giving some evidence of it on Okinawa. No factual evidence of any sort was gathered by the author in Kitazato to corroborate this interpretation of the statistics; however, the fact that the permanent resettlement of the village in its present locations took place approximately six years ago in 1948 may lend some credence to this interpretation.

621 Attitude toward Americans The villagers' initial reaction to the
829 presence of the author in the village was one of fear and veiled hostility.
Gradually this was overcome, and good rapport was established. During one
[123] of his last visits to the community the author was told, "The first day you were in the village everyone wondered if the military were going to make us move again. No one slept that night." At the same time the villagers are

Elongated roadside settlements seem to be an increasing phenomena of post-war Okinawa. In central Okinawa (Nakagami) this is particularly apparent in the areas of military camps, where the commercial value of being on the road is fully exploited. Numerous car-washing establishments, repair shops, laundries, souvenir shops, etc., line the roadsides in these settlements. With current expansion and improvement of the highway system there seems increasing likelihood that more settlements of this type will develop. 178 361 [443]

Houses and Buildings Architectural styles and the materials of construction appear to have changed but slightly as a result of the war. There are now thousands of small temporary huts made of scrap materials which will suffice until the individual family can afford a more permanent structure. When new houses are built, the styles are closely similar to those of the prewar period. The major change in the style of country houses appears to have occurred during the Japanese period of administration, for early travelers and investigators report that the typical farmer's dwelling consisted of woven bamboo walls, thatch roof, and dirt floor. These are but rarely found today, and where they do occur, there is always a raised floor as in the case of the Japanese home. In certain areas, such as Kitazato for example, there has been a reversion to this house of woven bamboo and thatch due to poverty, a lack of wood, and the readily available bamboo. The prewar house of wooden walls and frame with a tile roof still remains the most common house type and that which is most frequently built. 178 342 [71]

The use of concrete blocks in building is attributed to American influence; however, their usage to date has been limited mostly to non-residential buildings. Roofing of corrugated iron is sometimes used, but it is regarded as a temporary device. [77]

Interiors have changed but little; rooms are usually relatively bare of furnishings. Frequently the walls are covered with pictures taken from Japanese and American magazines. 177 178 353

The enclosed yard surrounding the Okinawan house often contains considerable evidence of the war. Oil drums have been put to use as rain barrels and privies; American helmets are frequently found serving as pails or buckets; old shell cases are used for support and occasionally, if a sufficient number are available, for decorative fencing; sections of portable landing-strips serve as sidewalks; and on one occasion a Japanese machine-gun was observed in use as a clothes pole. 177 351

Crafts There has been a marked decline in Okinawan handicrafts and a greater reliance placed on factory-made products. The manufacture of cloth, baskets, rope, hats, pottery, raincapes, mats, sandals, etc. has dropped markedly in comparison to the prewar era; yet, it is acknowledged that the war only served to accelerate the decline. Several factors are involved in this process. In many cases the Japanese factory products are cheaper and better than the local article. The cultural domination of Japan also created an attitude that things Ryukyuan were inferior to things Japanese; hence, Japanese products and styles assumed an ascendancy over those of Ryukyuan origin. Lastly, the war destroyed many of the places of manufacture and the machinery employed, and replacement has never been made. 177 178 433 28 [329] [727]

fads of Western inspiration. Vaccination, the calendar, European dress for officials, photography, edicts against long hair belong to the late 1870's. Chamberlain has spoken of the years 1885-87 as the "years of the great foreign fever."[24] Japan was the medium through which Western ideas were brought to bear on the old Okinawan culture. This new intrusion, indirectly set off both by the Perry expedition and the determination of the Japanese to change their own country, was modern Japan, compounded of traditional and Western ideas. When we speak of the "Japanization" of the islands, we must remember that some of this is also Westernization.

Foremost among these changes was the introduction of the new Japanese education. Education came to the rural areas and provided the basis, as in Japan, for mass literacy. This was not an easy task. Nor was it accomplished at once. Chamberlain in 1895 tells of the signs at the entrance to each village, giving the population, the number of children of school age and the number of children actually attending school, a "device not used in Japan itself, but resorted to here with the object of shaming parents into sending their children to school. To get the girls sent there has been found very difficult--the Further Isles almost impossible." The extent of this change can be appreciated by Chamberlain's further remark that few outside of Naha understood Japanese, and that the language was taught the first year so that it could be used later in instruction in other subjects.[25] Before World War II, as now, Japanese was spoken and understood by all, except the very old, the Japanese language existing side by side with Okinawan which remained the language of children, intimates, and of the village. The adoption of Japanese dress, the cutting of the hair, the learning of the Japanese language were the avenues to official employment.

Another great change was the abolition of the old system of land tenure, something we shall dwell upon at length later. By a series of laws over the period 1899-1903, the old system of village communal ownership with a periodic distribution of the rice lands and the dry crop land was abolished and private ownership and inheritance of land were instituted. The abolition of the old land allotment system must have changed the aspect of the villages, for village-owned granaries, were part of the central area of a village.[26] This change in land tenure, as Spencer has suggested, contributed to the further economic decline of the native religion of the noro priestesses whose lands, still retained, were now subject to different laws of inheritance.[27]

[Text continues on top of P. 40 — Analyst]

24 Basil Hall Chamberlain. Things Japanese, 238. See his comments on "fashionable crazes," 155-57.

25 The Luchu islands and their inhabitants, as cited, 457-58. Chamberlain adds, page 457, an interesting table showing school attendance by district which indicated that eligibles going to school were in a distinct minority.

26 Hawks, Perry's Expedition to Japan, as cited, I, 314; II, 34.

27 The Noro, or priestesses of Loo-choo, as cited, 109. This is an interesting example of the relation of an old religion to economic changes brought about by a revolution in land tenure induced from above.

1

Introduction

In contemporary Okinawa, there are four distinct types of village settlement. The first and the most common is the village cluster. Houses are grouped in a central area, usually along or on both sides of a road, surrounded by farm lands and rice fields. The second, the shoe-string type, is less common. Here houses are lined along either side of a main street. The third is a here-and-there type of settlement. This has been called a yadori (Japanese) or yadui (Okinawan) village, translated as plantation, but this is too exalted a word.[1] These villages may have sub-settlements. Houses are scattered among intervening plots of cultivated land. In the fourth category are the modern improvisations: land formerly in forest, grass or shrub which has been reclaimed and used for houses and nearby cultivation, or former agricultural land now taken up for house sites, a result of increased population or of war time destruction of other parts of a village. 361 [311]

The basic type of Okinawan village is the cluster, a village small in area whose houses, close together, and on irregular winding lanes, are separated from one another by stone or rock walls, or by boundaries of trees or shrubs. The front part of the house compound usually is cut off from the road by a stone fence, running part way across, with the opening to the road obstructed by a stationary barrier, sometimes of stones, often of woven grasses. [351] [363]

In the village of a bygone age, there were large open spaces like a common on the outskirts "often appearing as glades in the forest." In this area, rice was laid out to dry, horse racing and other sports took place, the village council met, goods were bartered, justice administered, and festivals celebrated.[2] When approached from a distance, the older villages seemed literally buried in foliage. In the last century the larger villages still had rest huts (cung-qua) for travellers, usually government officials to use from one overnight stop to another. The older village also had a series of small buildings on stilts three to six feet long. These were granaries and food storehouses. Some houses were also on stilts. Older accounts have stressed the concealment of the Okinawan village, its houses separated from one another, its lanes lined or embowered with bamboo, with banana trees, or with arbors. To 361 175 [526] [351] [485] [343] [342]

[TEXT Continues TOP of P. 48--Analyst]

1 Higa, Shunchō. Structure of the Ryukyuan rural community. The Japanese journal of ethnology, 15 (1950), 63-66. In Japanese with English summary, 151.

2 The Luchu islands and their inhabitants, as cited, 457. See also Basil Hall, Account of a voyage of discovery to the west coast of Corea and the Great Loo-Choo island, 123, 124.

1

Historical Notes on Housing

In all villages, much time is spent, in addition to agricultural or fishing tasks, in housebuilding, either for one's self or for friends and neighbors. Housebuilding is the most time consuming of a man's tasks after his primary occupation. Repairs to or reconstruction of the poorer houses are continuous. The man with a good house and a tile roof has little to worry about. But he will often be found helping someone less fortunate. 342 461 [476]

The traditional houses of Naha and Shuri showed both Chinese and Japanese influences. The traditional house and compound of the rural village has been compared with the ancient Japanese house, and it bears some similarities with houses found among the Ainu. 342 171

It would seem from the observations and researches of earlier students that the house was always built above the ground without excavation, and sometimes on stilts. The supporting posts making up the rectangular house were either placed in holes or on stones on the ground. The supporting posts, the ridge poles, the cross beams were branches or trunks of trees trimmed and cut for length. Roofs of thatch had the apex of the roof covered by a saddle or arch shaped thatch made, like the rest of the roof, of grass. Smoke escaped either through an aperture in the ceiling or through a window, as it still does in many of the poorer houses. The houses were filled with smoke. The oldest rural houses apparently had only a dirt floor with scattered mats, though some had a raised floor. 175 342 [352]

The food storage sheds or small granaries were raised on stilts. Engravings of these have appeared both in Perry's writings and in Bayard Taylor's works. There is some question whether this granary (now disappeared) was indigenous or a borrowing. The purpose of the raised granary was probably to protect against dampness and to prevent infestation by rats and vermin. These granaries were open sided with no boarded up walls, and, in Okinawa, were circular.[1] 175 343

Animal pens or stalls were not attached to the house, but were always separate. In the courtyard, earthen rain water vessels were imbedded half way into the ground to catch the rain water. There were stalls for goats and pig pens, and the pig pens were used also as a toilet. This is no longer practiced to my knowledge, although the outhouse with its holes in the ground is found under the same roof as the pig pen. The entrance to the courtyard was oppositie the front of the house. The protective stationary gate, the hinpun (in Okinawan), made of reeds or stones, stood at the entrance inside the court, as it does now, to shield the people of [417] [415] [364] 417

[1] For drawings of the granaries, see Satow, E. M. Notes on Loochoo. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 1 (1882), 1-8. The drawings follow the text. See also Simon, Beitrage zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, as cited, 75-85.

417 the house from the glances of the curious. It has been suggested that the stationary gate at the entrance of the courtyard is of Chinese [177] origin, that its purpose originally was to scare away spirits, and that its former presence in the tomb compound indicates that it was intro- [164] duced along with the turtleback or horseshoe tomb from Fukien province in China.[2]

175 Captain Hall described Okinawan house exteriors and the surrounding 351 buildings, including those of the common people. The house was "buried 340 in foliage" and hidden from view. It was surrounded by a light fence of rods, about one foot apart with creepers on top. These rods were probably stalks of miscanthus grass, or of the dwarf bamboo. The site had a wicker gate, possibly meaning the hinpun made out of the dried grass stalks. One house which he described was divided into two compartments, eight feet square, with a small veranda at one end. The floors, made of bamboo, and about six feet above the ground, were covered with a straw mat. The walls, about five feet high, were wattled with split bamboo, and the house had a pointed thatched roof.

[352] In the interior, there were shelves for bowls and cups, and in a [354] loft or garret tools, nets, or baskets were stored. These installations now are often found in the kitchen. In the middle of one side of the house there was a fireplace, sunk below the level of the ground.

[343] Outside, in the compound, a pigeon house, poultry yard and spinning 175 wheels were observed. In another passage, Hall describes a cottage of 342 "wattled rattans" with a light open bamboo roof with thatch and creepers, one wing of which was occupied by goats. The compound consisted of a stable, a pig sty, and a poultry house. There was also a mill. The granary was on posts about six feet above the ground with firewood [325] piled below. There was an anvil with a forge of masonry but no bellows.[3]

The houses of the poor, said Fahs in his report to Commodore Perry, were made of bamboo and had no floors.[4] Accounts around the turn of the century say that houses and granaries were supported by corner posts of considerable height. Schwartz said these posts were about five feet high. The house walls of straw thatch were held in place by bamboo grass matting with a space two feet in width acting both as a door and a window, a matting curtain covering the aperture.[5]

[Text Continues TOP of p. 73--Analyst]

2 Simon, as cited, 80. C. W. Bishop has suggested that the stone houses of the Ainus of Hokkaido point to contact with southern insular peoples. Also, the primitive Japanese hut which was illustrated resembled the one we have been describing for Okinawa. It had a thatched roof and a courtyard which was cut off from the outside view by the hinpun. The historical geography of early Japan. Geo. Review, 13 (1923), 40-63. Note especially Figures 5 and 6. (This article was reprinted in Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1925).

3 Captain Basil Hall, Voyage to Corea and the Great Loo Choo, as cited, 124, 141, 142-43.

4 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, Vol. II, 50.

5 Henry B. Schwartz, In Togo's country. New York and Cincinnati, 1908, 148-49.

2

The Courtyard or Compound

The usual present day Okinawan dwelling is in an inclosed courtyard or compound. This varies in size. The average size of these house sites (yashiki in Japanese) is shown in the following table: 351

	Area in Tsubo a/	Approximate Equivalent in Acres
Hanashiro	184.3	0.15
Minatogawa	70.7	0.06
Matsuda	116.4	0.10

a/ Computed from lists of village house sites in the land registers of each township. The conversion figure of 1210 tsubo (about four square yards) to the acre has been used.

The traditional house site has definite characteristics, obscured in present day Okinawa because of the war destruction. In the rebuilding, much of the housing and the outlying sheds were of poor quality. They are difficult to classify, except in a general category such as shacks or shanties. [362]

The house site, surrounded by its shrubs, trees, or stone fence and with the hinpun at the entrance, or the open side, forms a private courtyard with the buildings arranged around the three sides. There are a large number of possible combinations. A compound in which the house is located across the back part of the site, its front facing the hinpun and the road or lane is typical. On either side, there might be a combined outside toilet and pig or goat pen, or separate buildings for the toilet and the pigs or goats, a food storehouse, and a tool shed. The auxiliary buildings are small, and more correctly should be described as sheds. The outside toilet, with a dirt, stone block, or cement floor, is usually small with one or two holes in the floor. It is used in a squatting position. [343]

All kinds of variations from this description can be observed at will. In the fishing village of Minatogawa, the compound is open. Little hedges a foot or so high or small rock borders take the place of the dense shrubs and trees of another site. Lines are stretched out in the yard. Nets are hanging, and fish are drying on the mats in the courtyard. Sometimes, more out of convention than practical utility, there is a hinpun in front of a house that has no other construction to seal it off from view. And these hinpun might even be made of stray boards or of corrugated iron.

It is not unusual in a compound, in cases in which the house is small, for a young man of the house to have a small separate building. Here he has his blankets, personal articles, pictures clipped from 592 342

DIAGRAM OF A HOUSE COMPOUND

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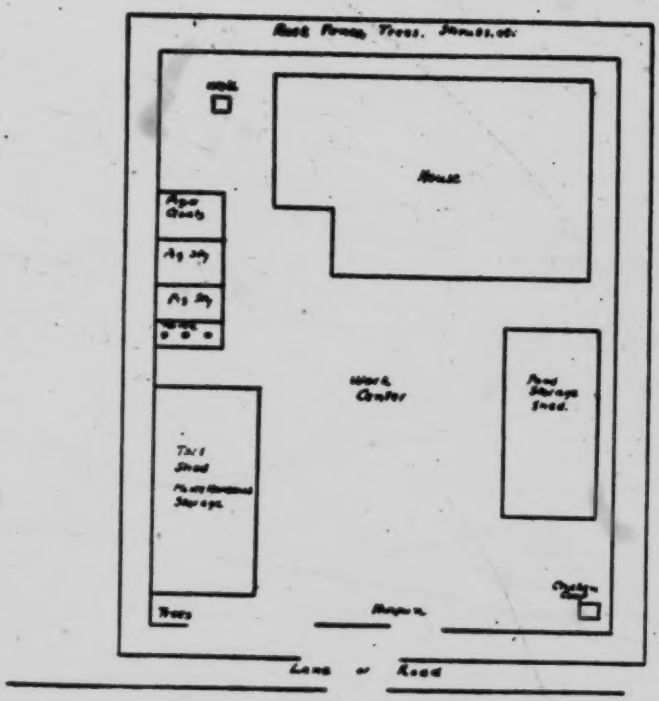
342
343



231

cash income. Pigs are seldom eaten by the family that raises them. On New Year's, a family will slaughter a pig or three or four families might co-operate in sharing one. Pork may also be served at O-Bon and at Jūgoya, the autumn equinoctial holiday season. [262] [527]

A family often gets its start in pig raising by obtaining a loan from a mutual loan group. (These groups will be discussed later). A young pig may cost about Y2000. Male pigs intended for market (nikubuta in Japanese, shishiwa in Okinawan) are castrated two months after birth. Keeping breeding pigs (tanebuta) is a special business. Men engaged in this business bring the boar to the pig raiser's home. Each village has such a businessman or at least has convenient access to one in a neighboring village. The fee usually charged is Y200. If the first attempt at breeding is unsuccessful, a second opportunity is given free. On the third try, the dealer claims his fee again. In Hatsuda, there is a belief among the old that as the tide is coming in, if a sow is in heat, the male will be able to perform, but that in the ebb tide he cannot. [426] [435] [232]

Great care is taken in housing pigs adequately, if the family is able to do so. The pig sties made of stone or coral may be better than the houses of their owners. This is by no means so shortsighted or ridiculous as it might seem. Pigs are the means, one of the very few means, by which an agricultural family may acquire substantial sums of cash. To protect this living bank account, considerable sums are invested in fine stone, or cement floors and an adequate roof. The pen must be strong to withstand typhoons. With a good pig pen, a sow, and a good litter, a family can look forward to improving its financial condition and its own housing. There is great variety in the quality of pig pens. The pen may be in combination with the outside toilet, but with the two places completely separate; it may be part of a larger shed which also houses the goats, the cattle, or the horse. If a family can afford it, the pig is housed in a stone pen with stone floors, or with other sturdy materials. 231 343 [434] [511]

The day to day care of pigs is mostly the work of women. While the husband is at work in the fields, the wife, as an incidental part of her duties, goes to the nearest plot to cut sweet potato tops, or mashes sweet potatoes in the stone mortar in the compound, often with her infant child on her back. There are three favorite varieties of food for pigs: (1) the leaves of the sweet potato plant not suitable for human consumption or not needed for transplanting, (2) the potato itself. The poorer grades of potato are put in a stone mortar and are smashed with a long pole, or pestle. (3) A cloudy liquid consisting of the sweet potato, waste bean curd (tōfu no kasshu) and water. This is always given warm. The pig may also get poor rice, or rice spoiled for human consumption by submersion as a result of a typhoon, or miscellaneous left overs from the table. 231 [824] [462]

There are no ceremonies in any of the villages associated with slaughtering the pig. Villagers seldom kill their own except on 231

8

Daily Life of the Fishing Village

512

Fishing families may have informal gatherings toward the end of the day. On a late summer afternoon, the family may sit in the open doorway of the house, for hedges, fences, the barriers, and trees are rare. The wife may be nursing her naked child. Her husband, a fisherman, has changed into his indigo blue and white striped kimono, a tall, broad, deeply tanned man. Next to him sits his mother, over 70 years old, her hands tattooed, as are those of all the old women. She is wearing a kimono of the same color, but of a dot pattern. They sit on unrolled mats. On the veranda, three or four men, unwashed and still in their work clothes, discuss the events of the day. A lacquer tray with tea cups is on the floor near them and the tea (as it so often is) may be cold. There is brown sugar to eat along with the tea. The grandmother may be economically smoking a half or a third of a cigarette in the typical Japanese pipe. As it grows later, the wife gets up, pours some water in the stone mortar, and smashes the sweet potatoes with the long wooden pole. The men continue talking for a while, then take their leave. The wife, her work at the mortar finished, goes into the dirt kitchen to start the evening meal.

[351] [853] [291] [304] [285] [415] [263] [276] [252]

152

The wife of the fisherman has worries that do not bother the farmer's wife. There is always the danger that her husband, or son, will not return, a real possibility, of which the frequency of widowhood in Minatogawa is proof. Every season, there is at least one instance of a fisherman who has either been lost, or whose delay in returning has provoked intense worry. If crews are still out when an unexpected storm arises, there is considerable tension in the village. Since the war, rescues at sea are more likely than before. The village headman quickly reports overdue boats. The American forces have created much good will in seeking fishermen lost at sea.

[165] [698]

562

Women, on the other hand, have opportunities for leisure when the catch is light, or weather is unfavorable. At these times, they can busy themselves with other tasks, in the field, gathering stones, getting miscanthus, but they do not have the unremitting activity of the woman in the agricultural village. There is more visiting during the day than one observes in an agricultural village.

[461] [517]

231

The fisherman, with or without land, tries to keep pigs and perhaps a few goats. In Minatogawa, the pens are often made of sandstone quarried here. Not only the floors and the sides, but the stalls are made of this material. One reason for this is the openness of the village and the danger that pigs will be killed in a storm. A typhoon may carry away the house, its owners having gone to the stronger house of a friend or relative, but pigs are an investment and an asset to be guarded.

[343]

The yard in which the Okinawan home stands is also rather uniform in 351
its appearance. It is usually surrounded by a stone wall or a thick hedge for protection against winds. Inside the gate is a himpung, a short wall that prevents one from looking straight through the gate into the house. The space between the himpung and the house is hard earth; this is where mats are spread for drying grain and where many other household tasks are performed. This yard space may be lined on one or both sides with outbuildings for the [343] storage of tools and crops and for housing livestock---two or three goats, [231] and here and there an ox or a horse. Behind the house is a pigsty. There may also be a chicken-coop, but chickens often run loose. There are usually a few trees in the yard, often a clump of bananas. Behind the house is also [514] the toilet; formerly it was combined with the pigsty, but now it is usually an oil-drum. In many villages every house has its own well, but even where [312] wells are fewer there is almost sure to be a cistern beside the house to catch rain-water. The house and yard will be discussed again later in rela- 128
tion to sanitation and health (see Chapter IX).[1]

The social unit that occupies such a house and yard is the family. 592
The structure of the family is also dealt with in detail by Pitts in Chapter VII. Let it suffice to say here that ideally the first son stays with his [591] parents after his marriage while younger sons establish separate households. Thus the family consists of a couple and their unmarried children or a couple with a married first son, his wife and children, and his unmarried brothers and sisters. The deaths of one or more members may reduce the family without breaking it up. Two married couples, parents and grandparents of the youngest generation, is the usual maximum. If two married sons live under the same roof it is usually regarded as a temporary expedient. Thus while the total number of persons in the household may be as many as a dozen, the average number is a little less than five.

The family, that is, the members of the household, is an economic unit, a social unit, and a ceremonial unit. As an economic unit the members of a household work together, producing for and consuming from a common stock. They cooperate with other households on the basis of common interest as neighbors. They form a social unit within the "han", the "ku", and the "son", they are [666] registered as a unit in the "koseki", and may have only one vote---cast by the head of the house---in local elections. As a ceremonial unit they form part of a numbered and graded system based on common descent.

The Structure of Kinship Relations In traditional Okinawan society, as in 593 other societies of East Asia, the fundamental unit is the family and the basic axis within the family is a vertical 602 one running through the male line, the father-oldest son axis.[2] The basic values that support this structure are unity and continuity. Individuals are of varying importance to the family depending on their closeness to the father-first son axis; females are less important than males; younger sons

[1] For a more detailed account of the house and yard see Glacken, 1953, Chapter 5.

[2] I have borrowed this concept from Francis L. K. Hsu, to whose writings I am indebted.

had complained to the police about this but the police had said that this 838
was a mental disorder and therefore not their affair. The disregard shown
the young boys in this case accords with Okinawan attitudes toward children [858]
discussed elsewhere; they are not developed enough, perhaps, to be corrupt-
ible. Another example is that of a male employee of a 'ryōtei' in another
city who is in the habit of putting on a woman's kimono and wig and singing
in a falsetto voice for the amusement of male guests. He is not known to
"take guests" but is very effeminate in his ordinary manner. School girls
are said to form strong attachments to one another, but there is no in-
dication of the persistence of such relationships.

The terms for the sex organs, tani, "penis", and hoo, "vulva", are 834
used rather freely by older persons, but children are expected to use them 864
only for serious purposes. It is said that if children used the terms re-
peatedly in joking they might be scolded for "dirty talk". An old woman
once told me, in the presence of several younger women and a twelve-year-
old girl, an amusing story about an old woman who always sat with her kimono
pulled up and was therefore called "Hoo-Hai Ayaa", "Mother Vulva-Visible".
Everyone laughed but the girl, who looked rather embarrassed. After the
battle in 1945 when American food was issued in quantities, Okinawans be-
came familiar with wiener sausages, which they still remember with relish
as tani-gwaa, "little penises". As in Japanese, the word for sexual re-
lations is formed by adding the verb "to do" to the word for vulva. This
term would not be used before children or in polite conversation.

2. Sanitation

751
An American, watching the habits of daily living of an Okinawan 512
family, may find his first impression to be one of shock. In the morning
the sliding doors that kept out any fresh air all night are pushed open and [514]
the children, dressed in the underclothes they have slept in, walk sleepily
to the step and urinate off it. Father steps down and walks a few feet
around the side of the house and does the same. Grandmother is already in
the kitchen preparing breakfast and smoke soon fills the upper air in the
main part of the house, looking for a way out in the absence of a chimney.
Father goes to the well with a small towel around his neck, throws cold [515]
water over his face, and washes it with a little soap. He then brushes his
teeth long and hard and puts the family toothbrush back on the hook for
Mother to use later. Mother takes down the great mosquito net the family [264]
has slept under, folds up the quilts, and brings out breakfast---tea, a
thin soup, and sweet potatoes. Soon tea grounds and potato peels come fly- [351]
ing out onto the ground in rapid succession. A chicken walks in from a
neighbor's yard, pecks diffidently at a potato peel, and walks on, leaving
a token of gratitude behind. The sun begins to warm the air and the flies
to swarm around the toilet behind the house, into the kitchen, across the
remains of the family's meal in the main rooms, and around the scraps in
front. Father goes to work and the older children go to school. Mother [264]
washes the dishes at the well, in cold water without soap, and leaves them
to dry in the sun. Flies light on them.

751
The visitor looks into the toilet. It is an oil drum with a plat- 514
form over it and a wood and canvas shelter over that. The cover is off. 343

751
514 The drum is nearly full and its surface is in constant motion, a seething
•343 mass of maggots. One of those men with the carts that cause you to cross
[364] to the other side of the road will come in a few days to dump it, he hopes.
574 He crosses the yard and is invited into the house. He takes off his shoes
751 and steps up onto the floor. It is surprisingly clean, he finds. A mat is
[356] spread and he sits cross-legged upon it. Tea is offered and he accepts, thinking that it must have been made from boiled water. He learns later that he was wrong. He is given a fan and perceives that its function is keeping the flies away as much as it is creating a breeze. In a spirit of friendly cooperation he and Grandfather take turns shooing the flies off the broken chunks of black sugar that have been placed before them. A larger blue-bottle fly enters and someone makes a special effort to chase
[825] it out. Should the visitor be so crude and impolite as to mention flies and in connection with the toilet, it will be pointed out that only the blue-bottle flies are hatched from the maggots in the toilet. The smaller black house-flies simply produce more flies and hence are harmless.

[264] Bananas are served and the peels follow those of the potatoes out onto the ground. Smaller children run in and out. One child comes in with
[515] its nose running. After a time Mother pulls up its shirt tail and wipes the mucus off the upper lip. The child has not been well; Mother or Grandmother
[757] may take it to the yabuu, who will burn moxa on its skin at the proper places. A neighbor's child walks by; its face and nearly hairless head are
[753] a mass of scabs and its eyes are almost shut by pus. Someone laughingly explains that this is what happens when you don't cut a baby's buttocks properly with a razor to draw out the bad blood.

The visitor is urged to take more tea and sugar. He is complimented on his interest in Okinawa and is asked innumerable questions about America. The family is eager for knowledge and for further contact. As he rises to leave, he is urged to return. He puts on his shoes, finding one slightly
[753] damp from the poor aim of the youngest child. He is cautioned to wear his hat and knows by now the unspoken fear---encephalitis---caused by too much exposure to the sun. He notices that around the well where Mother has been
[296] doing laundry a great pool of water is gradually sinking into the sand. As he picks his way across the yard he wonders if the family would not be better off living in a houseboat, preferably in a fast-moving stream.

751 Such are some of the features of Okinawan life. Yet it would be a mistake to assume that there are no standards of sanitation. There are; they
356 are simply narrower than those of most Americans. Many Okinawans do throw
751 garbage out their front doors as indicated above, but it is also true that the floor of the house is usually cleaner than many American floors. It has to be clean; people sit on it and sleep on it. People take off their shoes before stepping up onto it or if they have been to the fields barefooted
751 they may wash their feet before stepping up onto it. But the area of clean-
[351] liness ends with the step. Beyond the step is a different sort of territory. Yet even in the yard there is a limit to the amount of trash that may be al-
[514] lowed to accumulate before it is swept away. The practice of urinating in the yard is distasteful to the American observer, but there is perhaps less basis for objection to it as a health hazard. Urine is relatively harmless. Feces, however, go into the toilet. If an untrained child defecates in the yard usually someone cleans up the spot.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

tion, a frame wood building, and the main store. On the eastern end of the village the road opens into a little square in front of the simple, open prayer house with a small concrete shrine in back, housing three sacred stones. Beyond these is the township office crowned by a mighty pine tree of tremendous and symmetric proportions, acclaimed by Taira people to be the oldest existing pine in Okinawa. Across from the office are the post office and the dispensary. 36

Closer inspection of the village shows former house sites which were not rebuilt. Some still have empty concrete shells or single concrete walls and abandoned pigsties or storage sheds. Some of the vacant lots are used as potato fields, others as play areas, the favorite being a large house lot surrounded by a concrete wall, near the main store. 361 727 [311]

Houses are set back a short distance from the roads and paths, and most face south. In spite of the hedges and trees, the house is easily accessible from the street—its orientation is therefore toward the community as a whole and, as will be seen later, open to visitors who can enter freely without going through winding garden paths and knocking on doors or entering through long corridors and passages. Each house lot is small, ranging from 1300 to 6050 square feet. Houses are set so close to each other that neighborly conversations from one to the other can be conducted without leaving one's premises. Although some privacy is attained by the hibiscus hedges and fences, few secrets can be kept from neighbors. 361 351 [521]

There are several focal areas where people frequently meet and interact. The main store is a geographical center. Its two bulletin boards make it a natural congregating point. The banyan tree, overshadowing the village office and the lower water tank, is another such place, and on any day of the year scores of children can be found on or under it. In prewar times it was flanked by important structures, but now the empty lots, which are adjacent, form a green which is used on good days for village meetings. 361 [203] [139]

South of this green, and close to the water, stands the old warehouse, a concrete structure with tile roof which once served as a storage center for agricultural products shipped south by boat; now it serves as a village meeting playground, especially on rainy days. The open space around it, bordering on the sea wall, is also used as a play area and as a gathering place for young adults. Here people prepare firewood for sale and stack it to be picked up by the village truck. Houses once stood near the 10-foot sea wall but were not rebuilt after the war. [251] [344]

To the north of the store lies the upper water tank. Until several standing faucets were installed in 1955, this used to be another place where people met frequently. Water is diverted from a stream a mile 312 365

642 highly structured system; the overall impression is of rule by bureaucracy. Most importantly the average individual accepts all of this as in the natural ordering of things. The best possible relationship of the state to the people is thought to be a paternalistic one, like father to children. Such an attitude is wholly in keeping with a culture which has traditionally stressed family and community over individual, and obligations over rights.
[181]

632 'Son' Government The administrative center of every 'son' is the township office ('sonyakuba') which serves as the connecting link between the people of its villages and the central government in Naha. The main functions of this office are to transmit and implement the directives and laws of the central government to the people, to collect taxes, and to keep records---the most important of these being the household registry ('koseki') and land records ('tochi daichō'). The size of the office staff is largely determined by the township size; in the larger townships there are many departments and employees, but in a small 'son' several departments may be grouped under a single head.

632 The building housing this office is usually a single-storied structure
344 located in the largest village of the township; a post office, school, agri-
[368] cultural office, and store are often nearby. The interior of the office building is one large room sometimes sub-divided into smaller offices by the use of screens; one end of the room is set aside for meetings. On the exterior of the building along one side the names of the various departments are above the windows. When a villager calls at the office on business, he ordinarily does not enter the building but stands outside the window appropriate to his business until a clerk or official of that department opens it and speaks to him.

632 At the head of the township government is the 'sonchō' ('son' mayor),
354 who in addition to directing its affairs functions as the liaison between the 'son' and the central government. It was the author's impression after spending considerable time in one 'son' office and visiting several others that the 'sonchō' is usually a very busy man and that he is more often away from his office than in it. In addition to directing the activities of his office, he makes numerous inspections within the township, attends meetings and conferences in other parts of the island, and once a month participates in a council of all the mayors of the municipalities, which is held in Naha. The latter enables the mayors of the municipalities to discuss common problems and to come in contact with the officials of the central government. Three times each month he meets with the mayors ('kuchō') of the villages within his township for a discussion of local problems. It is said that the office can be a stepping stone for the politically ambitious since his activities bring a wide range of contacts; this cannot be said for any other office in the 'son' or 'ku'. During the course of his research on Okinawa the author met the mayors of five or six municipalities, and in all cases he was impressed by the intelligence and ability of these men. A mayor is elected for a term of four years and is eligible for reelection.

632 The chief lieutenants of the 'sonchō' are the assistant mayor ('joyaku') and the revenue officer or treasurer ('shūnyūyaku'); the latter usually directs all financial matters, and his major function is tax collection and

621 For administrative purposes villages are subdivided into sections or
177 neighborhoods called 'han' or 'kumi'. There is considerable variation in the use of these terms throughout Okinawa, in part occasioned by the recency of their introduction and by the confusion following the end of the war. In 1940
[648] the Japanese government ordered all municipalities ('shi-chō-son') subdivided into 'rimpō-han' (settlement sections) which in turn were subdivided into 'tonari-gumi' (neighborhood groups). The move was a political one designed to insure more effective control; the divisions were often quite arbitrary and had little relation to social groupings. The term 'kumi', however, had been in use for a long time in both Japan and Okinawa, referring to a group of households. That
[178] these subdivisions have survived into the postwar period indicates that they are fulfilling a function necessary to village administration.

621 A large village such as Henza (of Henza Shima), which has a population
624 of 3800, is subdivided into 5 'han' each headed by an official called 'hanchō'. Every 'han' is subdivided into 'kumi'; there are 41 'kumi' in the village, approximately 8 to each 'han'. Each 'kumi' contains from 12-20 houses; the head of the 'kumi' is the 'kumichō'. In a smaller village such as Kanegusuku-ku which has a population of 507, the 'han' no longer exists; instead the term 'kumi' is applied to the four subdivisions of the village. In Kanegusuku the 'kumichō' functions as the intermediary between the 'kuchō' and the people of the area; there are on the average 25 houses in each 'kumi'. 'Kumichō' are elected each year by the 'kumi' though in actuality the position is really rotated among the households within the 'kumi'. One of the chief functions of the 'kumi' is to provide labor for community work projects. When the township office requests that the 'kuchō' have his village repair a section of a road, he calls in the 'kumichō' and tells them how many workers will be needed. The 'kumichō' notify the household heads within their 'kumi' and the households supply in rotation the needed labor. When local clean-up is in order as preparation for a township inspection, the 'kumichō' supervises the work in his area. Tax collections for village finances are generally made by him, and when tax collections are made by the township, he notifies his constituents as to the time and place of payment.

The importance of the 'kumichō' or 'hanchō' is dependent on the physical nature of the village and its size. In a small tightly-nucleated village like Kanegusuku the 'kumichō' functions mainly as an intermediary or messenger between the 'kuchō' and the people of the 'kumi' and as a foreman on their work details. In a larger village whose 'han' are scattered into more isolated neighborhoods or settlements the 'hanchō' often functions more like a 'kuchō'. In Kanegusuku the divisions are more or less arbitrary ones, and there is definitely no feeling of strong identity with a particular 'kumi'. However, in the village of Tomoyose where Pitts studied, the isolated settlement of Nanahan (literally ("Han Seven") felt itself to be a distinct unit and functioned not unlike a very small village.

621 Most villages have a small building set aside for use as an office or
344 meeting place. These are usually called muraya in Okinawan or 'jimusho' in Japanese. In a large village like Henza the office is nearly as large as those of some of the smaller 'son', containing desks, telephone, records, and a full-time staff. In Kanegusuku a small bare hut large enough for only a dozen people suffices. When village meetings are held, the officials sit inside the building while the people sit outside facing them. Village records are stored in the home of the 'kuchō' or the clerk.

contact with Okinawa may have taken place in 743 A.D., but this may have been confined to the island of Kume, west of Naha, and not involved Okinawa itself.[6] 175 177 648

The modern Japanese contact with Okinawa which brought about the fall of the Tenson dynasty is associated with the arrival at Unten of Tametomo in the latter part of the twelfth century. Some have regarded this as historical, others as perhaps legendary.

Unten, on the Motobu peninsula, is one of the important places in the historical geography of Okinawa island. This is the Port Melville of the Western explorers, Hall and Perry, both of whom charted the bay and its harbor.

Tametomo, of the Minemoto clan, exiled after the final defeat of the Minemoto by the Taira clan in Japan, ultimately reached Unten and there married the daughter of one of the regional nobles, and after a period of civil war, the Tenson dynasty collapsed. In 1187 A. D., the son of Minemoto Tametomo by his Okinawan wife became King Shunten. Shunten, the first of three "Japanese kings," was followed by his son Shumma Junki (1238-1248), and his grandson Gihon (1249-1260). In 1260, the legitimate dynasty was restored under king Eiso.[7]

After his succession, Eiso toured the islands and is credited with setting regular boundaries to rice-fields. "It has been said that this greatly attracted the people so that they started to look after farming." Graves, according to a manuscript history, were first built in the island, at Urazoye, and the Buddhist temple, Gokurakuji was constructed with an officiating priest named Jenkan in charge of the temple.[8] [764] [346]

The Japanese syllabary may have been introduced at this time. Buddhism apparently did not take hold. Chinese attacks on the islands in connection with the Mongol wars and the attempted invasion of Japan seem to have left no mark on the island. [218] [719]

The year 1372 is the beginning of the period of relationships with the Chinese, in this case, the Ming dynasty. This is contemporary with the growth of a vast trade network involving Korea, Japan, China, the Ryukyus, and Southeast Asia. It is not clear whether the trade voyages under King Satsudo (reigned 1350-1399) to South China, Malaya, and the Philippines were instrumental in stimulating the Ming dynasty to engage in the Pacific trade, or whether the forced alliance of the Ryukyus with the Chinese 175 648 439

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP of P. 30--Analyst]

6 CA Handbook, as cited, 41, and Chamberlain, as cited, 306.

7 Chamberlain, as cited, 308

8 Manuscript history in Leavenworth, The Loochoo islands, 80. On the Japanese syllabary, see Chamberlain, as cited, 308.

358 children, whether in primary, junior, or senior high school, clean up the grounds and do repair and upkeep work. Young teachers, many of whom are single, supervise the work, and often stay during the [875] evening hours to plan the day's work or to study. Male teachers are night watchmen at the school, sleeping there in rotation.

346 The main problems of education are (1) adequate school buildings. Their condition reflects the haphazard tragedies of war. Schools vary in quality from place to place. The high school at Ginoza and the elementary school at Matsuda, for example, are excellent buildings; in other places, such as Gushichan village, the classroom buildings are little more than shanties with thatched roofs, and a siding of boards, corrugated iron, or other materials at hand. At typhoon times, some [358] of these are flattened, and it is normal to see school children helping to clear the grounds and putting on new thatch. It is my impression [727] generally that conditions are worse in southern Okinawa than in the northern area where war destruction was much less. The Civil Administration is well aware of these problems and the school construction program is, to all appearances, progressing. (2) Much the same situation and for the same reasons, exists with regard to school equipment. Rickety [352] chairs, old benches, bad blackboards contrast with the equipment of the new schools or of the old which escaped destruction.

875 (3) The post-war period has made a difference in the status of the school teacher (sensei). The destruction and disruption of the war, scarcity, high prices and low salaries have made his position in most [727] cases a precarious one. Before the war, the school teacher had prestige and money. Only the prestige remains. One high school principal estimated that the post-war prices have increased 100 times, the teachers' [465] salaries about fifty times. Immediately before the war, the starting salary of a beginning teacher was Y45 a month. (The value of the pre-[435] war Japanese yen was about US $0.27). A school principal received Y100 a month. Now the beginning salary for school teachers is about Y2200 and for principals Y5000. (The present value of the Okinawan yen is officially pegged at 120 to the dollar). Increases averaging about 30% went into effect in October 1951.

The school teacher has little or no money for clothing; his dress is the same nondescript combination of old civilian and army clothing that one sees on everyone else. This situation, serious in any country, is particularly so in a culture that has always regarded the teacher with such honor. The teaching profession is the source of many careers [555] in public office. Even in casual observation, one frequently finds that mayors, vice-mayors, former members of the Japanese civil service, started life as teachers.

The Okinawan teacher works hard and enthusiastically, but new attitudes are appearing which must be recognized. There is a desire to leave the profession, particularly noticeable in the male teachers under 30. Economic difficulties are reflected in frustration and discouragement. Okinawan school teachers, if the ones I knew are representative, have enthusiasm for ideas of democracy and freedom and for reforms that have

The only Buddhist priest in the areas studied was at the small village of Maegawa, within walking distance of Minatogawa and Hanashiro. He was a priest of the Jōdo sect (Jōdoshu), one of the important sects of Japan, and stressing salvation by faith. The sect of the priest in this village is of no importance, since the rural people now or before the war had neither the interest nor the capacity for doctrinal distinctions. The temples of this sect were burned during the war, including one in the village of Kochinda, a junction point between Naha and Gushichan. 793 [795] 346 727

Before the war the colors of the robes varied with the sect and with the position of the priest in the hierarchy. In the Jōdo sect, the lowest grade wore black, followed up the scale by orange, blue or green, a chocolate reddish brown, and purple, the highest. This contrasts sharply with the priest's present improvisations. His is the black robe of the Shinshu sect. It is a summer garment, made of soft light silk called shiya and resembles a man's kimono, but is longer and sweeps the floor. The garment hangs straight down and is not gathered or tucked. The only other religious possessions were a bell and a badly soiled print of the Buddha (oshaku) which hung in his room. 793 795 292 [778]

Before the war, some people in the Gushichan area requested the services of a priest at funerals. After the war, the people of Hanashiro, and other villages as well, decided because of the expense, to forego the services of a priest. 793

Occasionally this priest officiates when the bones in the temporary tombs of Minatogawa are moved to the extended family tomb at Itoman, or in a ceremony honoring a death anniversary. Few Okinawans became priests. This priest is a native of Japan, one of the few remaining Japanese priests in the island. At eleven, he entered a Buddhist temple (tera) and has been engaged in religious activity ever since. Now about 50, he has a wife and two children; his head is unshaved and the hair is of a conventional cut. He does not depend on the priesthood for a living, but is employed as an official in a village office. [797]

The situation with regard to Buddhism was quite similar in Matsuda, although there is no priest in the vicinity. There is little doubt, if the villages studied are typical, that this already moribund religion is disappearing altogether here, choked off by lack of temples, lack of priests, and by indifference. 771 178

It is not so with household Buddhism, if this term may be used to describe ceremonies and beliefs centering around the Buddhist god shelf or family altar (butsudan). This household altar is in the second room of every home. Around it collect the sentimental memories of the past, such as family pictures, photographs of young soldiers and dearly loved relatives. Prayers and offerings of food and drink to the dead are made before it. 771 778 183

An important part of the Buddhist altar is a frame holding the memorial tablets for the family dead. These tablets (ihai) are pieces 778 769

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

4

Ancestor Worship

"Ancestor worship" has been used to describe the devotion to the spirit of the dead and the long continued remembrance of them by the living. While it is too deeply intrenched to be changed, the term is not satisfactory. It is really the worship of those who precede one in death, and these may be ascendants or descendants. The term, "ancestor worship," also conceals the fact that there is a partnership of the living and the dead, which, continued by the living generation in the production of children, will carry over in the future, so that family continuity from the remote past to the remote future is never broken. It is, in the phrase of John Hubbard, "a chain of worship,"[2] not merely the worship of the past and of the dead. But whether in the popular mind these two conceptions, worship of the dead and the family as a continuity, are closely and consciously related is impossible for me to say. The two ideas exist side by side on the level of feeling: to respect one's ancestors and to have children. 769 602

Another form of ancestor worship occurs in observances honoring the first ancestor or the founder of the village. Each village has a place of the guardian god (ujigami), located on the supposed site where the founder of the village first settled, which perpetuates the memory of the founder, who may, in some cases, also be the first ancestor of a family living in the village. (It has been suggested that the ujigami also might be related historically to the fire deity). Ceremonies at the place of the village guardian god have a public character and were often conducted by the priestesses. 776 778 [793]

Hanashiro. The place of the guardian god, a small building, is located on a plot of village owned land, off the main road at the edge of the settlement where the cultivated land begins. It is not well kept up. There is no attendant or caretaker. When necessary, it is reconstructed by volunteer village effort. Broken stone stairs lead up to the small tile roofed building. Inside, there are 5 stones, about 10 inches on the side and 4 inches thick. Some have thought these also represent the primitive hearth stones associated with worship of the fire god. One villager described it as a woman's deity place. Before the war, emigrants to the South Seas, South America, Manchuria, or Japan and their relatives prayed here for the good health and early return of those departing. [346] [358] [167]

Now there is public worship at the place on several occasions during the year. On the 3rd day of the 3rd month, a woman's holiday, women and children go to the seashore around Minatogawa, and, on returning, pray at the place of the guardian god. On O-Bon, the village lion appears in front of this site. There is samisen playing and the whole village offers a prayer. (Not all villages have the lion costume. 778 796 [536] [825]

2 Quoted in L. Cranmer-Byng, The vision of Asia, New York, 1933, 42.

793 lives like other villagers, spending most of her time in the fields and around her home. She has children and grandchildren, but the father of her children no longer lives in Taira. She regards the continuation of the old ceremonies as her holy duty even though she has to do without most of the accustomed material support from the village and [358] in spite of disbelief and lack of participation. She has sought in vain [346] to have the village make necessary repairs on the simple village shrine near the township office and on the little hut where the ancestral tablets of her predecessors are kept.

793 While many of the former ceremonies have been discontinued, the 782 priestess is still called on to officiate at house-building ceremonies, to purify the lot, to offer prayers when the beams are raised, and to con- [342] duct the dedication when the house is finished. If the owner is mov- [776] ing out of an old house, the priestess notifies the fire deity so that he [778] will follow to the new abode. On other occasions the priestess conducts prayers at the village shrine or at one of the other sacred places near the village. Many of the prayers are succorant—requesting the aid and blessing of the gods in accomplishing a certain goal. In general, as Lebra has pointed out (1958), ceremonies of asking for help are more numerous and elaborate than thanksgiving ones.

[312] On New Year's morning the priestess prays at the water well. Since [178] so many ceremonies have been abbreviated and are no longer carried out in traditional detail, the priestess apologizes for short cuts in her prayers. If she fails to offer prayers in all prescribed spots, she pacifies [794] the deities by facing in the direction of the sacred place where the [787] ceremony should have been conducted. Although the priestess is clearly best qualified to enter into communication with the deities, many older women seem to possess such power also, and if the priestess' assistants are not present, another older woman can function as her helper.

782 For these ceremonies food for offerings is contributed by the village. 788 The priestess, in a white gown, kneels, flanked by her assistants, also in white, in front of a tray of sake, rice, or other food for the deities. [262] Charcoal incense sticks are burned while brief prayers asking the deities for a successful crop, thanking them for a harvest, or whatever [533] is appropriate to the occasion are mumbled. On certain occasions the women sing chants. After these ceremonies, the priestess, her assistants and the few others present, usually old women, share the food offerings.

796 One of the most dramatic ceremonies is held on Boat Race Day in 793 lunar June. Priestesses from several villages gather near Taira. During the ceremony the Taira priestess stands in the middle of a circle formed by the other priestesses and helpers, beating a drum as the

871 call that in their quest for education, adolescents and even adults at-
177 tended the elementary grades. The introduction of a formal school system in the village marked the beginning of changes in the culture; the Japanese language was introduced, and teachers transmitted Japanese culture as part of the curriculum (Kerr, 1958). It is found today
[191] that people too old to have attended school—which in the early years was not compulsory—are the only ones who do not speak Japanese and who are illiterate. Their number is small, probably less than 3% of Taira's population.

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346 The school was moved about 40 years ago to nearby Kawata village,
[871] where a substantial schoolhouse was built. Today the elementary school is located there, about a one-mile walk from central Taira, but 3 miles from the outlying subvillage of Izena. The junior high school lies halfway between Taira and Kawata. During the war all school buildings were destroyed, but two new permanent structures for the elementary school were finished in 1954; one of these is a wooden building with a tile roof, the other an all-concrete, flat-roof structure of simple, modern design. Four classrooms and a teacher's room are located in these buildings. The remaining temporary, thatched-roof huts with three more classrooms will disappear as soon as the school rebuilding program is completed.

Built against a hill, the school has spacious grounds in front for sports and play. Classrooms for 30 to 35 students are fairly adequate in size and, in the new buildings, are well lighted by glass windows on sunny days but dark when skies are overcast because of the overhanging roof, which protects the hallway outside the classrooms from frequent showers, and the lack of artificial lighting. A building immediately be-
[514] hind the classrooms houses latrines, separated for boys and girls, although both pass through the same passageway where boys use the urinals. Equipment is extremely poor and a great problem for principal and teachers. Simple, rickety desks and chairs of unfinished wood are bought or made by parents for their children. They are standard in design but differ in height according to the size of the child. Many first graders' furniture is made with future growth in mind, while some older students have outgrown their desks and chairs. An older sibling may pass on his table to a younger one if it is still serviceable after several years of nonchalant treatment.

876 Teaching aids are few. A small organ is available for music lessons
[533] and is carried by several boys on the shoulders to the classroom where it is needed. Sometimes a teacher accompanies a singing class on a mouth organ. Visual aid material, maps, pictures, and charts are displayed in school rooms along with students' physical measurement tables and

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

sometimes a chart indicating their birthdays. There are also exhibits 876
of students' drawings, which enliven the simple rooms. Each classroom
has at least one blackboard built into the wall. By withdrawing re-
movable walls in the new building, individual rooms can be converted [346]
into one large auditorium with a small stage for special occasions.

The personal equipment carried by students, other than books, con- 872
sists of notebooks, pencils, a ruler, abacus, and, for those who can af-
ford it, crayons and drawing paper. Sports equipment is also scanty,
and replacement budgets are too low to remedy the situation. Students
bring their own tools for garden and agricultural work as well as for
work on the school grounds.

The teachers' room has desks for each teacher and the principal and 875
a large table in the center for meetings. A small corner is reserved for
a kerosene stove to prepare tea. There are also two cots for the teacher 346
who remains on duty as night watchmen or for a child who feels ill
during school hours. No privacy is provided for teachers, since students
enter the room on any pretext or crowd around the windows if some-
thing attracts their curiosity.

Upkeep of the school is the responsibility of teachers and students; 872
the only paid help is a girl who acts as janitor, nurse, and servant. The
students, supervised by their teachers, tidy up classrooms after school, 358
scrub walls and floors at regular intervals, take care of the hallway, cut
grass, and weeds, and clear ditches on the school grounds. When school
repairs are needed, teachers and parents help if no specialist's work is
needed, as in repairing the thatch roof of temporary buildings.

The present school system, although under American supervision, 871
follows the Japanese pattern. A six-year elementary school education
and three years of junior high school are compulsory. After graduation [177]
at about the age of 15, students can enter high school if they choose and
can qualify by passing the extremely rigid entrance examinations,
which eliminate a considerable number of applicants. High school [873]
students have to move to Ogimi in a nearby township where they room
and board while attending school.

The curriculum in the Okinawan schools is on the whole similar 871
to that in Japan. Japanese language continues to be the medium, and 177
textbooks, as well as other school materials, are purchased from Japan.
Children therefore continue to be familiarized with the culture of [191]
Japan as were their parents in the days before American administra-
tion. A number of changes have taken place since that time, however.
Since the Ryukyus are at present under an independent administration,
all symbols and paraphernalia pertaining to the Japanese Imperial
House and to the Japanese nation have been removed from the schools.

872 from the ranks of the older children. Instantly the principal turns a
[876] disapproving eye on them. He continues with a long list of rules concerning classroom behavior as well as safety. Finally the students are dismissed to march to their classrooms. In their eagerness the first graders break ranks and are sternly commanded to stay in line.

[346] The first-grade rooms are located in a temporary, wooden, thatched structure. The sides are open, and the dirt floor is hard and swept clean. As the group enters the room, a wild confusion develops as each child searches for his desk. The children with new desks have little difficulty, as they had played with them for days at home until they were brought to school earlier, but those who have inherited outgrown older siblings' desks and chairs are in sad disarray. Amid the screams and shouts of two roomsful of first graders, two high pitched female adult voices call for attention. Gradually the voices diminish on both sides of the thin wall until only the two teachers' voices are audible.

872 Roll call is taken after instructions are given as to how one is to
863 answer, ask to be excused, and to sit. After a brief consultation just outside the door, the two teachers organize their groups into two lines, males in one and females in the other. The observer standing just outside the windows of both rooms hears identical speeches on the merits of using the toilets before school starts. Continuing, the teachers locate facilities for the boys and those for the girls. The boys are allowed to go first, then the girls.

872 Back from the toilets, the little girls obediently march to their places and sit quietly at attention with their hands folded on their desk tops. The boys are noisily making their way to their places. Giggling and
[865] pushing each other, they knock into chairs and tables, annoying the girls.

872 During the first week of school, the teacher's chief task is to make
876 the first graders stop talking and playing in class. On one occasion when numerous appeals, threats, and commands had failed, one exasperated teacher remarked to the fieldworker, "Just like kindergarteners." Then she turned back to the children and called out loudly, "First graders!" "Yes!" shouted the children. "You are first graders, remember that. You are not kindergarten children who don't know anything or don't understand what teacher is saying. For those who cannot understand and do not listen, I will arrange for demotion to kindergarten, understand?" "Yes," replied the children sheepishly.

"Because so much time is taken in orienting the child the first day of school, we can only have a short lesson," explains the teacher apologetically to the observers. The parents nod appreciatively. A printed syllabary hanging to one side of the blackboard becomes the focus of

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

Village Shops and Businesses

Village stores, small in number and modest in size, furnish their own people many essential services, but the offerings differ from place to place in number and kind, so that there are always commercial contacts of a sort with nearby villages or towns. This is brought out in the accompanying table of business and personal service establishments in each of the villages.

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Village Shops, Businesses, Personal Service Enterprises

Type	Number of Enterprises in:			
	Hanashiro	Hinatogawa	Nagamo	Hatsuda
Rice Mills	1	a/	a/	1
Sugar Mills	1		1	3
Small Retail Shops	3	5	3	5
Power Plant		1	b/	1
Import Store	c/	1	h/	1
Saw Mill				1
Blacksmith	d/	d/	1	
Retail Butcher Shop		1		
Motion Picture Theatre	e/	e/	e/	f/
Public Bath House	h/	2	h/	2/
Village Inn		1		f/
Eating Places		1		
Barbershop	g/	e/	a/	1

a No need for rice mills, no rice grown
b Served by Hinatogawa
c In nearby Asato
d Nagamo serves these and other villages in the township
e In Horikawa, opposite Hinatogawa
f Served by Ginoza village
g Served by Gushichan village

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Rice mills (seimaisho) are recent in rural Okinawa. The mill in Hanashiro was installed in 1940. It serves nearby villages. The mill in Hatsuda, also a recent introduction, is more modern. In each case, the mill has two machines of Japanese manufacture, one for hulling, the other for polishing.

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Sugar mills (seitojo) vary in quality in the communities. Hanashiro has a machine for crushing cane. In Hatsuda, war destruction

361 195 Perry's men, the aspect of these villages was one of rare and romantic beauty.[3]

2

Hanashiro

361 103 [491] Hanashiro is a small village of the cluster type in Gushichan township (Gushichan-son) in the southeastern part of Okinawa.[4] It is on the present Highway 64 which begins on the Chinen peninsula, travels southwesterly, following the coast at a distance to Mabuni in the southeast, then crossing the island to Nagushiku town, a village south of Itoman.

361 241 443 256 162 The village and its surroundings are small in area, the actual town site including various village owned properties, taking up slightly over 22 acres. This is an agricultural village, with the exception of minor activities such as storekeeping and rice milling. As of December 31, 1951, it had a population of 589 (269 male, 320 female), living together in 120 households, an average of 4.9 persons per household.

361 [103] [491] The village is believed to have been founded about 400 years ago. By Okinawan standards this is not very old. It is off the main historical road which ran from Naha to Shuri to Kochinda, Gushichan, Minatogawa, through Tamagusuku township to the Chinen peninsula, probably the road travelled by Okinawan kings up to the latter part of the seventeenth century when they prayed at the altars on Kudaka Island.[5] There were in this area a series of castles on the tops of hills commanding the road and its approaches, the castles, the rough determinants of various regions formerly under a regional nobility. To the west there was Kochinda castle, 195 349 631 Tamagusuku on the east, Gushichan castle near Hanashiro, where a surviving stone fence can still be seen, and the castle site of Itokazu. There is reason for believing, as we mentioned in Chapter 1, that this is in the general area of oldest settlement in the island.

[Text continues on P. 49 --analyst]

3 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, Vol. I, 163, 164, 179-80, and an illustration of a "cung-qua" on p. 180. On the older village with granaries and storehouses, see Green's remarks in Hawks, Perry's expedition, as cited, Vol. II, 34, 36, and illustration in Vol. I, 178.

[103] [192] 4 The village is also known as Hanagusuku: the meaning is the same, as shiro is the Japanese, gusuku the Okinawan word for castle. Many Okinawan place names have the suffix, —gusuku.

5 Spencer, The Noro, or priestesses of Loo Choo, as cited, 107.

1

Introduction

In contemporary Okinawa, there are four distinct types of village settlement. The first and the most common is the village cluster. Houses are grouped in a central area, usually along or on both sides of a road, surrounded by farm lands and rice fields. The second, the shoe-string type, is less common. Here houses are lined along either side of a main street. The third is a here-and-there type of settlement. This has been called a yadori (Japanese) or yadui (Okinawan) village, translated as plantation, but this is too exalted a word.[1] These villages may have sub-settlements. Houses are scattered among intervening plots of cultivated land. In the fourth category are the modern improvisations: land formerly in forest, grass or shrub which has been reclaimed and used for houses and nearby cultivation, or former agricultural land now taken up for house sites, a result of increased population or of war time destruction of other parts of a village.

The basic type of Okinawan village is the cluster, a village small in area whose houses, close together, and on irregular winding lanes, are separated from one another by stone or rock walls, or by boundaries of trees or shrubs. The front part of the house compound usually is cut off from the road by a stone fence, running part way across, with the opening to the road obstructed by a stationary barrier, sometimes of stones, often of woven grasses.

In the village of a bygone age, there were large open spaces like a common on the outskirts "often appearing as glades in the forest." In this area, rice was laid out to dry, horse racing and other sports took place, the village council met, goods were bartered, justice administered, and festivals celebrated.[2] When approached from a distance, the older villages seemed literally buried in foliage. In the last century the larger villages still had rest huts (cung-qua) for travellers, usually government officials to use from one overnight stop to another. The older village also had a series of small buildings on stilts three to six feet long. These were granaries and food storehouses. Some houses were also on stilts. Older accounts have stressed the concealment of the Okinawan village, its houses separated from one another, its lanes lined or embowered with bamboo, with banana trees, or with arbors. To

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 48--ANALYST]

1 Higa, Shunchō. Structure of the Ryukyuan rural community. The Japanese journal of ethnology, 15 (1950), 63-66. In Japanese with English summary, 151.

2 The Luchu islands and their inhabitants, as cited, 457. See also Basil Hall, Account of a voyage of discovery to the west coast of Corea and the Great Loo-Choo island, 123, 124.

361
351 The village is a group of houses, each with its own compound, and these give it an inclosed look. There are few if any gardens or vegetable patches either in the compounds or within the village settlement.

36 The lanes resemble quiet winding country roads. The rock fences, or the lines of trees or shrubbery often conceal the houses. There is an appearance of loneliness in these lanes and roads, except at busy times of the day when the children return from school. The lack of commercial [485] activity, except for the women carrying rice on their heads to the mill [462] and for the small village stores, contributes to this impression of quiet, which one would expect from the routine of agriculture. At night, when [354] the doors are drawn, and when the flickering and smoky oil lamps are lit, the loneliness and quiet of the village is even more pronounced. The [493] lanes and the roads are deserted, save for an occasional passing truck, [192] bicycle, or three wheeled cycle, and in one of the favorite words of all Okinawans, the place is sabishii.[6]

366 Since there is little activity in the village other than farming,
368 neighboring villages and distant towns supply the additional needs. At nearby Gushichan village, there are the primary and junior high schools, the post office, the township and agricultural association offices, a barbershop, and some small stores. At Minatogawa, about one and one half miles away, there is a public bath, and across the river from this village, in Horikawa, an occasional play from the Okinawan stage, or a movie. Buses run through the village twice a day and one can make connections to Naha or Itoman, the two most likely places for buying [494] or selling. Or one can take the three wheeled cycles which pass through more frequently.

[27] Physically, the village was much affected by the war. On June 11,
362 1945, the front line ran through the cultivated area between Hanashiro and Gushichan villages. Hill 95, the scene of fierce fighting was in the vicinity of Hanashiro.[7] One can still see an occasional tank track, abandoned helmets and scattered fragments of war materials in the fields. The village was affected by the war in ways which are now observable indirectly in the makeshift houses, improvised shacks, the roofs of half [355] tile and half thatch, the odd additions to the older buildings partly destroyed, and the lack of drain pipes and water catchment tanks. Houses, which to superficial appearance, have existed for generations, have been rebuilt since the war with grass substituting for the tile roofs. [311] War operations over the cultivated areas also resulted in some loss of land. A long mound in the rice areas, with paths along its ridge, was formerly a road built by the Americans in the final drive toward Mabuni. Almost all the houses in the village were destroyed.

6 This Japanese word suggests both loneliness and melancholy.

7 Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 437 (illustration), 434-42 on the struggle for Hill 95.

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Treeless Minatogawa. This is the business district of the village. The buildings are small village shops. The building in the upper left is the village inn. The road winding toward the right is Highway 64 leading to Gushichan. Minatogawa stone is visible on the back of the store on the right of the picture. The low stone hedges in the foreground are typical of Minatogawa.

[P. 51(B)]

133 Hanashiro and Oushichan villages to a broad semi-circular valley, the
361 Oushichan plain, with a gentle gradient sloping to the sea. Shortly before the coast is reached there is a sharper drop, and it is in this depression along the shore and the coastal strip that the fishing village lies.

134 The Okinawan clay loams and the Chinen stony clays are also the
133 predominating soils of the area. There are about 85 acres of the gently sloping clay loams, 155 acres of the gently sloping Chinen stony clays. While moderately fertile and well drained, these soils are also shallow and stony, with obvious defects for the pursuit of agriculture. There are 10 acres of deep, fertile poorly drained, slightly acid alluvial soils. These occur along the river and its estuary and in a small former river mouth to the south. There are about six acres in rough stony land.

731 The village has very little storm protection. There are no shelter
133 belts around it, nor are there many trees within. It is open to storms
417 and typhoons, and the water, lashed by the sea, is sufficient to break and scatter the large stones of the seawall. At present, inside the village there is none of the privacy typical of the agricultural villages and their compounds. There are few trees, shrubs, or fences. In the
361 older part of the village, the houses are closely set together. Fishing
351 nets hang on the lines of the yard. In season, the yard is covered with
227 drying fish, fish fins, and fish backs. The yards and the shore are dotted with men cleaning or repairing their boats.

362 The lack of natural beauty of the place is accentuated by the poor-
512 ness of the houses and the other buildings. Its atmosphere is unmistakably different. The village is more commercial and more lively than the quiet
484 and concealed agricultural village. Life is not so much of a routine, for much depends on the weather and the sea. The village has people who have travelled widely. Some of its fishermen have been in the waters of Java, of the South Seas, of the Andaman Islands, the Philippines, and Indo-China.

438 The village's main commercial contacts are with the remaining agricultural villages of the township from which it must obtain much of its food, for the area is not suited to agriculture, nor is much land
[311] available. For wider contacts, there are Itoman about 4 1/2 miles, and Naha about 8 1/2 miles away. Buses go through the village twice a day.
494 The three wheeled cycles are irregular but come and go more often. Fish
368 is sold at Naha. The theatre for the travelling troupe of actors from Naha and for movies is in Horikawa across the river. Many visits are
574 also made to Itoman to see relatives and friends.

The war was even more catastrophic for Minatogawa than for Hanashiro.
727 Before the war, Minatogawa was a thriving, prosperous and well built up small town. About 70% of its buildings had a tile roof and 30% had
[361] thatch roofs. There were about 30 stores, sake shops and drinking places, including a geisha house, along the road, serving the fishermen and the stonecutters. Of the 430 buildings in the area, only three were left

standing. At one time, the Hinatogawa beaches were seriously considered for the initial landings in Okinawa, and later as a possible second landing. After the campaign for the south had begun, Hinatogawa became a forward loading point.[10] The present village has been completely rebuilt, and the newer buildings, with few exceptions, are frail and undistinguished. The war shows its effects, too, on the southern part of the village where there is a barren acreage, formerly the site of an army camp, its top soil so shallow that the bulldozers in levelling it soon reached the rock beneath.

Nearby Nagamo is a village of a different type. It is divided into two distinct quarters, also a result of the war. The old part formerly was to the north in the main stonecutting area, but following the destruction, a new settlement was started in the farm land a few hundred yards south. Cultivation is marginal on the shallow soil of the sloping valley before it descends into the flat coastal area in which the fishing village is located.

Hinatogawa, which means River Port, is a distinctive village reminiscent of the famous fishing town of Itoman, though without its size, beauty, or color.

4

Matsuda

Matsuda is a here-and-there type of village. The village area including the community owned forest is over a square mile. The countryside is dotted with several small sub-settlements. Within each sub-settlement, the houses also are scattered about and separated from one another by large trees, thick growths of shrubbery, grasses, stone fences, and cultivated fields.

The village is located in Ginoza township (Ginoza-son) on the northeast side of the island. This township is in the northern district (Kunigami, or Yambaru). The village is on Highway 13, which winds along the northeast coast through Ishikawa, Kin, Kanna, and Ginoza villages.

Though near the sea, a typical site of a northern Okinawan village, it is a settlement engaged in agriculture and forestry. Its name suggests its nature. Matsuda is a compound of the characters for pine tree, matsu, and rice field, ta, da. Though there is some fishing in the sub-settlements along the Pacific shore, it is casual and a part time occupation for farmers on the coast. The families exclusively

[Text Continues TOP of P. 55--Analyst]

10 The statistics on village destruction are taken from accounts of the villagers. They are estimates. For operations in this area, see Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 68, 74, 426-27, 436, 439.

417 the house from the glances of the curious. It has been suggested that the stationary gate at the entrance of the courtyard is of Chinese [192] origin, that its purpose originally was to scare away spirits, and that its former presence in the tomb compound indicates that it was intro- [164] duced along with the turtleback or horseshoe tomb from Fukien province in China.[2]

175 Captain Hall described Okinawan house exteriors and the surrounding 351 buildings, including those of the common people. The house was "buried in foliage" and hidden from view. It was surrounded by a light fence of 340 rods, about one foot apart with creepers on top. These rods were probably stalks of miscanthus grass, or of the dwarf bamboo. The site had a wicker gate, possibly meaning the hinpun made out of the dried grass stalks. One house which he described was divided into two compartments, eight feet square, with a small veranda at one end. The floors, made of bamboo, and about six feet above the ground, were covered with a straw mat. The walls, about five feet high, were wattled with split bamboo, and the house had a pointed thatched roof.

[352] In the interior, there were shelves for bowls and cups, and in a [354] loft or garret tools, nets, or baskets were stored. These installations now are often found in the kitchen. In the middle of one side of the house there was a fireplace, sunk below the level of the ground.

[343] Outside, in the compound, a pigeon house, poultry yard and spinning 175 wheels were observed. In another passage, Hall describes a cottage of 342 "wattled rattans" with a light open bamboo roof with thatch and creepers, one wing of which was occupied by goats. The compound consisted of a stable, a pig sty, and a poultry house. There was also a mill. The [325] granary was on posts about six feet above the ground with firewood piled below. There was an anvil with a forge of masonry but no bellows.[3]

The houses of the poor, said Fahs in his report to Commodore Perry, were made of bamboo and had no floors.[4] Accounts around the turn of the century say that houses and granaries were supported by corner posts of considerable height. Schwartz said these posts were about five feet high. The house walls of straw thatch were held in place by bamboo grass matting with a space two feet in width acting both as a door and a window, a matting curtain covering the aperture.[5]

[Text Continues TOP of p. 73--Analyst]

2 Simon, as cited, 80. C. W. Bishop has suggested that the stone houses of the Ainus of Hokkaido point to contact with southern insular peoples. Also, the primitive Japanese hut which was illustrated resembled the one we have been describing for Okinawa. It had a thatched roof and a courtyard which was cut off from the outside view by the hinpun. The historical geography of early Japan. Geo. Review, 13 (1923), 40-63. Note especially Figures 5 and 6. (This article was reprinted in Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1925).

3 Captain Basil Hall, Voyage to Corea and the Great Loo Choo, as cited, 124, 141, 142-43.

4 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, Vol. II, 50.

5 Henry B. Schwartz, In Togo's country. New York and Cincinnati, 1908, 148-49.

2

The Courtyard or Compound

The usual present day Okinawan dwelling is in an inclosed courtyard or compound. This varies in size. The average size of these house sites (yashiki in Japanese) is shown in the following table: 351

	Area in Tsubo a/	Approximate Equivalent in Acres
Hanashiro	184.3	0.15
Minatogawa	70.7	0.06
Matsuda	116.4	0.10

a/ Computed from lists of village house sites in the land registers of each township. The conversion figure of 1210 tsubo (about four square yards) to the acre has been used.

The traditional house site has definite characteristics, obscured in present day Okinawa because of the war destruction. In the rebuilding, much of the housing and the outlying sheds were of poor quality. They are difficult to classify, except in a general category such as shacks or shanties. [362]

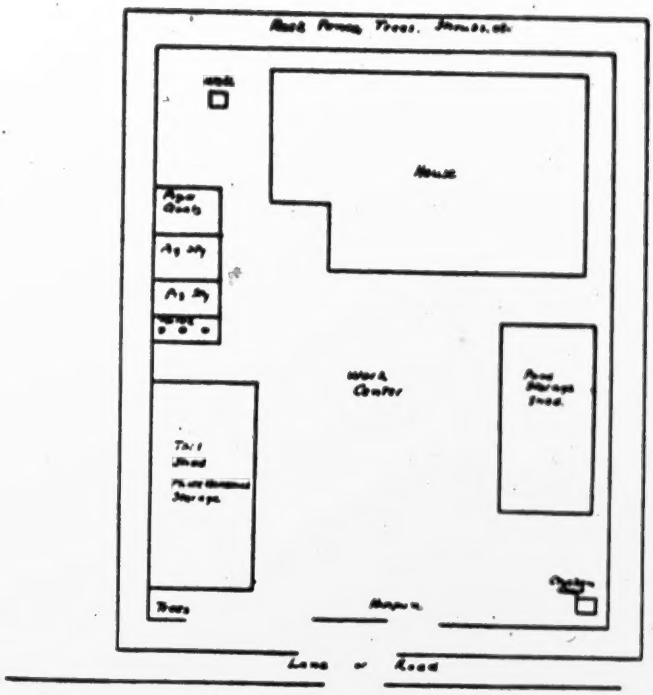
The house site, surrounded by its shrubs, trees, or stone fence and with the hinpun at the entrance, or the open side, forms a private courtyard with the buildings arranged around the three sides. There are a large number of possible combinations. A compound in which the house is located across the back part of the site, its front facing the hinpun and the road or lane is typical. On either side, there might be a combined outside toilet and pig or goat pen, or separate buildings for the toilet and the pigs or goats, a food storehouse, and a tool shed. The auxiliary buildings are small, and more correctly should be described as sheds. The outside toilet, with a dirt, stone block, or cement floor, is usually small with one or two holes in the floor. It is used in a squatting position. [343]

All kinds of variations from this description can be observed at will. In the fishing village of Minatogawa, the compound is open. Little hedges a foot or so high or small rock borders take the place of the dense shrubs and trees of another site. Lines are stretched out in the yard. Nets are hanging, and fish are drying on the mats in the courtyard. Sometimes, more out of convention than practical utility, there is a hinpun in front of a house that has no other construction to seal it off from view. And these hinpun might even be made of stray boards or of corrugated iron.

It is not unusual in a compound, in cases in which the house is small, for a young man of the house to have a small separate building. Here he has his blankets, personal articles, pictures clipped from 592 342

DIAGRAM OF A HOUSE COMPOUND

351
342
343



8

Daily Life of the Fishing Village

Fishing families may have informal gatherings toward the end of the day. On a late summer afternoon, the family may sit in the open doorway of the house, for hedges, fences, the barriers, and trees are rare. The wife may be nursing her naked child. Her husband, a fisherman, has changed into his indigo blue and white striped kimono, a tall, broad, deeply tanned man. Next to him sits his mother, over 70 years old, her hands tattooed, as are those of all the old women. She is wearing a kimono of the same color, but of a dot pattern. They sit on unrolled mats. On the veranda, three or four men, unwashed and still in their work clothes, discuss the events of the day. A lacquer tray with tea cups is on the floor near them and the tea (as it so often is) may be cold. There is brown sugar to eat along with the tea. The grandmother may be economically smoking a half or a third of a cigarette in the typical Japanese pipe. As it grows later, the wife gets up, pours some water in the stone mortar, and smashes the sweet potatoes with the long wooden pole. The men continue talking for a while, then take their leave. The wife, her work at the mortar finished, goes into the dirt kitchen to start the evening meal.

The wife of the fisherman has worries that do not bother the farmer's wife. There is always the danger that her husband, or son, will not return, a real possibility, of which the frequency of widowhood in Minatogawa is proof. Every season, there is at least one instance of a fisherman who has either been lost, or whose delay in returning has provoked intense worry. If crews are still out when an unexpected storm arises, there is considerable tension in the village. Since the war, rescues at sea are more likely than before. The village headman quickly reports overdue boats. The American forces have created much good will in seeking fishermen lost at sea.

Woman, on the other hand, have opportunities for leisure when the catch is light, or weather is unfavorable. At these times, they can busy themselves with other tasks, in the field, gathering stones, getting miscanthus, but they do not have the unremitting activity of the woman in the agricultural village. There is more visiting during the day than one observes in an agricultural village.

The fisherman, with or without land, tries to keep pigs and perhaps a few goats. In Minatogawa, the pens are often made of sandstone quarried here. Not only the floors and the sides, but the stalls are made of this material. One reason for this is the openness of the village and the danger that pigs will be killed in a storm. A typhoon may carry away the house, its owners having gone to the stronger house of a friend or relative, but pigs are an investment and an asset to be guarded.

Few articles for wear or general household use are made in the 283
home. In Hanashiro and Matsuda, different kinds of ropes are made from the palm or from rice straw. The fibre of the palm is pulled apart and carded with the hands. Lengths of the fibre are twisted by rolling between the palms of the hand. These ropes are very strong, but the palm fibre is now scarce.

Weaker articles made of rice straw are far more common. The chief 824
ones are ropes (warazuna), mats (mushiro), a rope mesh (ōda in Okinawan) carried on the ends of poles, twine, and swings (buranko) for children. Braided rice twine is used to tie the dwarf bamboo down to the roof before putting on the tile on top. In Hinatogawa, very few articles of home 438
manufacture are made. Some mats, a very few slippers, and fishing lures are the chief articles.

The people of Matsuda have better plant fibres and more mat making 285
is found here. Two families specialize in making mats, one using a foot operated loom from Japan, the other a very simple hand loom. Mats are made from two plants which are indigenous: the i rush and the pandanus. Two kinds are used, a three corned (sankaku) and the round (maru), the latter considered superior. In Matsuda, there are four types of mats distinguished by the materials employed: (1) the pandanus mat, (2) the pandanus as the warp, the i rush as the weft, (3) cotton string as the warp, the i as the weft, and (4) an all i rush mat. The best quality is the all rush mat. It is a strong, closely woven and attractive mat. [462]
Weaving is done by men in their spare time, or as a full time occupation by those physically unable to do hard work. Occasionally women weave, but it is uncommon. The market is mainly local.

In the simple upright hand loom, the warp beam is attached to the 285
top board of the loom. The warp is stretched taut and fastened to the 286
bottom board of the loom (corresponding with the cloth beam). The cotton strings, which make up the warp, are alternately set forward and backward, and when the weft is pushed in it goes over one string and under another to make the weave. The weft once in place is pushed down to the bottom by a movable board, with holes which guide it up and down the warp, to make the weave. In lieu of a shuttle, the rush strips used as a weft are guided through the cotton strings of the warp with a piece of bamboo about 4 feet long notched in the end like a bottle cap opener. One end of the rush is put in the notch and the stick is pushed alternately through the threads of the warp. The ends of the weft are tied to the warp to make a fringe and secure the mat against ripping. The rush is wet with a brush before using. It takes about 12 hours to make a 3 x 6 feet mat on this type of loom.

Men in Matsuda also make rough baskets, mainly for carrying vegetables 285
and the stationary barriers (hinpun), made of the dwarf bamboo. These are woven diagonally when the plant is green and moist.

In the villages there is little effort to beautify the courtyard, 351
train trees, or to cultivate shrubs and flowers. Now and then one sees a flower bed in the compound or the remains of a rock garden with shrubs and a small pond. But there is little to suggest the Japanese skill in these matters.

tion, a frame wood building, and the main store. On the eastern end of the village the road opens into a little square in front of the simple, open prayer house with a small concrete shrine in back, housing three sacred stones. Beyond these is the township office crowned by a mighty pine tree of tremendous and symmetric proportions, acclaimed by Taira people to be the oldest existing pine in Okinawa. Across from the office are the post office and the dispensary. 36

Closer inspection of the village shows former house sites which were not rebuilt. Some still have empty concrete shells or single concrete walls and abandoned pigsties or storage sheds. Some of the vacant lots are used as potato fields, others as play areas, the favorite being a large house lot surrounded by a concrete wall, near the main store. 361 727 [311]

Houses are set back a short distance from the roads and paths, and most face south. In spite of the hedges and trees, the house is easily accessible from the street—its orientation is therefore toward the community as a whole and, as will be seen later, open to visitors who can enter freely without going through winding garden paths and knocking on doors or entering through long corridors and passages. Each house lot is small, ranging from 1300 to 6050 square feet. Houses are set so close to each other that neighborly conversations from one to the other can be conducted without leaving one's premises. Although some privacy is attained by the hibiscus hedges and fences, few secrets can be kept from neighbors. 361 351 [521]

There are several focal areas where people frequently meet and interact. The main store is a geographical center. Its two bulletin boards make it a natural congregating point. The banyan tree, overshadowing the village office and the lower water tank, is another such place, and on any day of the year scores of children can be found on or under it. In prewar times it was flanked by important structures, but now the empty lots, which are adjacent, form a green which is used on good days for village meetings. 361 [203] [137]

South of this green, and close to the water, stands the old warehouse, a concrete structure with tile roof which once served as a storage center for agricultural products shipped south by boat; now it serves as a village meeting playground, especially on rainy days. The open space around it, bordering on the sea wall, is also used as a play area and as a gathering place for young adults. Here people prepare firewood for sale and stack it to be picked up by the village truck. Houses once stood near the 10-foot sea wall but were not rebuilt after the war. [251] [344]

To the north of the store lies the upper water tank. Until several standing faucets were installed in 1955, this used to be another place where people met frequently. Water is diverted from a stream a mile 312 365

415 not use household equipment in their games. Instead they find broken Children do
857 dishes, old cans, and other discarded items in the trash heap.

354 The kitchen has no equipment other than the open fireplace with
[716] three hearth stones and a shelf above it on which a salt column, sym-
[654] bolizing kitchen deities, is kept. During the last few years, the Ryukyan government Home Extension Service has been trying to introduce brick stoves into farmhouses. Several families now have this kind of stove although it is expensive to build.

356 As far as can be superficially discerned, the home is kept clean. A visitor usually finds the floor of the house free of dirt. Footgear is taken off before entering, and children are reminded to wash their bare feet before going into the house. Less care is given to the area around the kitchen.

312 Outside the kitchen stand one or two jars to store water. A dipper is
415 kept nearby, and children playing in the vicinity or adults often walk to one of these jars for water, which they drink out of a dipper. There may also be an array of pots, pans, crates, baskets, and other equipment piled up around the kitchen. Knives and hatchets are openly left around among the equipment behind the kitchen.

● 351 The courtyard is an important place for domestic activities. Here women and girls wash dishes, mix pig food in large kettles, make bean paste in a hand stone grinder, and prepare grain for storage. There are
[32] vegetable patches in one corner of the yard, chicken coops, pigsties,
[514] goat pens, and an outhouse in another. Most garbage is fed to the pigs;
[364] the rest is thrown over the sea wall to roll down onto the beach.

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Chapter 2

Daily Routine

805 There are few clocks in central Taira. Except for the township office,
512 post office, and village store, only two or three families own a timepiece. Twice a day, at noon and 10 o'clock in the evening, a clerk strikes

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

361

View of central village, Taira.

351
342

House and yard.

Preparing rice paddy.

Cultivating rice.

243
291

[p 456-A]

The yard in which the Okinawan home stands is also rather uniform in its appearance. It is usually surrounded by a stone wall or a thick hedge for protection against winds. Inside the gate is a himpung, a short wall that prevents one from looking straight through the gate into the house. The space between the himpung and the house is hard earth; this is where mats are spread for drying grain and where many other household tasks are performed. This yard space may be lined on one or both sides with outbuildings for the storage of tools and crops and for housing livestock---two or three goats, and here and there an ox or a horse. Behind the house is a pigsty. There may also be a chicken-coop, but chickens often run loose. There are usually a few trees in the yard, often a clump of bananas. Behind the house is also the toilet; formerly it was combined with the pigsty, but now it is usually an oil-drum. In many villages every house has its own well, but even where wells are fewer there is almost sure to be a cistern beside the house to catch rain-water. The house and yard will be discussed again later in relation to sanitation and health (see Chapter IX).[1] 351 [343] [231] [514] [312] 128

The social unit that occupies such a house and yard is the family. The structure of the family is also dealt with in detail by Pitts in Chapter VII. Let it suffice to say here that ideally the first son stays with his parents after his marriage while younger sons establish separate households. Thus the family consists of a couple and their unmarried children or a couple with a married first son, his wife and children, and his unmarried brothers and sisters. The deaths of one or more members may reduce the family without breaking it up. Two married couples, parents and grandparents of the youngest generation, is the usual maximum. If two married sons live under the same roof it is usually regarded as a temporary expedient. Thus while the total number of persons in the household may be as many as a dozen, the average number is a little less than five. 592 [591]

The family, that is, the members of the household, is an economic unit, a social unit, and a ceremonial unit. As an economic unit the members of a household work together, producing for and consuming from a common stock. They cooperate with other households on the basis of common interest as neighbors. They form a social unit within the "han", the "ku", and the "son", they are registered as a unit in the "koseki", and may have only one vote---cast by the head of the house---in local elections. As a ceremonial unit they form part of a numbered and graded system based on common descent. [666]

The Structure of Kinship Relations In traditional Okinawan society, as in other societies of East Asia, the fundamental unit is the family and the basic axis within the family is a vertical one running through the male line, the father-oldest son axis.[2] The basic values that support this structure are unity and continuity. Individuals are of varying importance to the family depending on their closeness to the father-first son axis; females are less important than males; younger sons 593 602

[1] For a more detailed account of the house and yard see Glacken, 1953, Chapter 5.

[2] I have borrowed this concept from Francis L. K. Hsu, to whose writings I am indebted.

had complained to the police about this but the police had said that this 838
was a mental disorder and therefore not their affair. The disregard shown
the young boys in this case accords with Okinawan attitudes toward children [858]
discussed elsewhere; they are not developed enough, perhaps, to be corrupt-
ible. Another example is that of a male employee of a 'ryōtei' in another
city who is in the habit of putting on a woman's kimono and wig and singing
in a falsetto voice for the amusement of male guests. He is not known to
"take guests" but is very effeminate in his ordinary manner. School girls
are said to form strong attachments to one another, but there is no in-
dication of the persistence of such relationships.

The terms for the sex organs, tani, "penis", and hoo, "vulva", are 834
used rather freely by older persons, but children are expected to use them 864
only for serious purposes. It is said that if children used the terms re-
peatedly in joking they might be scolded for "dirty talk". An old woman
once told me, in the presence of several younger women and a twelve-year-
old girl, an amusing story about an old woman who always sat with her kimono
pulled up and was therefore called "Hoo-Hai Ayaa", "Mother Vulva-Visible".
Everyone laughed but the girl, who looked rather embarrassed. After the
battle in 1945 when American food was issued in quantities, Okinawans be-
came familiar with wiener sausages, which they still remember with relish
as tani-gwaa, "little penises". As in Japanese, the word for sexual re-
lations is formed by adding the verb "to do" to the word for vulva. This
term would not be used before children or in polite conversation.

2. Sanitation

751
An American, watching the habits of daily living of an Okinawan 512
family, may find his first impression to be one of shock. In the morning
the sliding doors that kept out any fresh air all night are pushed open and [514]
the children, dressed in the underclothes they have slept in, walk sleepily
to the step and urinate off it. Father steps down and walks a few feet
around the side of the house and does the same. Grandmother is already in
the kitchen preparing breakfast and smoke soon fills the upper air in the
main part of the house, looking for a way out in the absence of a chimney.
Father goes to the well with a small towel around his neck, throws cold [515]
water over his face, and washes it with a little soap. He then brushes his
teeth long and hard and puts the family toothbrush back on the hook for
Mother to use later. Mother takes down the great mosquito net the family
has slept under, folds up the quilts, and brings out breakfast---tea, a [264]
thin soup, and sweet potatoes. Soon tea grounds and potato peels come fly- [351]
ing out onto the ground in rapid succession. A chicken walks in from a
neighbor's yard, pecks diffidently at a potato peel, and walks on, leaving
a token of gratitude behind. The sun begins to warm the air and the flies
to swarm around the toilet behind the house, into the kitchen, across the
remains of the family's meal in the main rooms, and around the scraps in
front. Father goes to work and the older children go to school. Mother [264]
washes the dishes at the well, in cold water without soap, and leaves them
to dry in the sun. Flies light on them.

751
The visitor looks into the toilet. It is an oil drum with a plat- 514
form over it and a wood and canvas shelter over that. The cover is off. 343

751
514 The drum is nearly full and its surface is in constant motion, a seething
343 mass of maggots. One of those men with the carts that cause you to cross
[264] to the other side of the road will come in a few days to dump it, he hopes.
574 He crosses the yard and is invited into the house. He takes off his shoes
751 and steps up onto the floor. It is surprisingly clean, he finds. A mat is
[356] spread and he sits cross-legged upon it. Tea is offered and he accepts, thinking that it must have been made from boiled water. He learns later that he was wrong. He is given a fan and perceives that its function is keeping the flies away as much as it is creating a breeze. In a spirit of friendly cooperation he and Grandfather take turns shooing the flies off the broken chunks of black sugar that have been placed before them. A larger blue-bottle fly enters and someone makes a special effort to chase
[825] it out. Should the visitor be so crude and impolite as to mention flies and in connection with the toilet, it will be pointed out that only the blue-bottle flies are hatched from the maggots in the toilet. The smaller black house-flies simply produce more flies and hence are harmless.

[264] Bananas are served and the peels follow those of the potatoes out
onto the ground. Smaller children run in and out. One child comes in with
[315] its nose running. After a time Mother pulls up its shirt tail and wipes the
mucus off the upper lip. The child has not been well; Mother or Grandmother
[757] may take it to the yabuu, who will burn moxa on its skin at the proper
places. A neighbor's child walks by; its face and nearly hairless head are
[753] a mass of scabs and its eyes are almost shut by pus. Someone laughingly explains that this is what happens when you don't cut a baby's buttocks properly with a razor to draw out the bad blood.

The visitor is urged to take more tea and sugar. He is complimented on his interest in Okinawa and is asked innumerable questions about America. The family is eager for knowledge and for further contact. As he rises to leave, he is urged to return. He puts on his shoes, finding one slightly
[753] damp from the poor aim of the youngest child. He is cautioned to wear his hat and knows by now the unspoken fear---encephalitis---caused by too much exposure to the sun. He notices that around the well where Mother has been
[296] doing laundry a great pool of water is gradually sinking into the sand. As he picks his way across the yard he wonders if the family would not be better off living in a houseboat, preferably in a fast-moving stream.

751 Such are some of the features of Okinawan life. Yet it would be a mistake to assume that there are no standards of sanitation. There are; they
356 are simply narrower than those of most Americans. Many Okinawans do throw
751 garbage out their front doors as indicated above, but it is also true that the floor of the house is usually cleaner than many American floors. It has to be clean; people sit on it and sleep on it. People take off their shoes before stepping up onto it or if they have been to the fields barefooted
751 they may wash their feet before stepping up onto it. But the area of cleanliness ends with the step. Beyond the step is a different sort of territory.
• [351] Yet even in the yard there is a limit to the amount of trash that may be al-
[514] lowed to accumulate before it is swept away. The practice of urinating in the yard is distasteful to the American observer, but there is perhaps less basis for objection to it as a health hazard. Urine is relatively harmless. Feces, however, go into the toilet. If an untrained child defecates in the yard usually someone cleans up the spot.

Elongated roadside settlements seem to be an increasing phenomena of post-war Okinawa. In central Okinawa (Nakagami) this is particularly apparent in the areas of military camps, where the commercial value of being on the road is fully exploited. Numerous car-washing establishments, repair shops, laundries, souvenir shops, etc., line the roadsides in these settlements. With current expansion and improvement of the highway system there seems increasing likelihood that more settlements of this type will develop. 178 361 [443]

Houses and Buildings Architectural styles and the materials of construction appear to have changed but slightly as a result of the war. There are now thousands of small temporary huts made of scrap materials which will suffice until the individual family can afford a more permanent structure. When new houses are built, the styles are closely similar to those of the prewar period. The major change in the style of country houses appears to have occurred during the Japanese period of administration, for early travelers and investigators report that the typical farmer's dwelling consisted of woven bamboo walls, thatch roof, and dirt floor. These are but rarely found today, and where they do occur, there is always a raised floor as in the case of the Japanese home. In certain areas, such as Kitazato for example, there has been a reversion to this house of woven bamboo and thatch due to poverty, a lack of wood, and the readily available bamboo. The prewar house of wooden walls and frame with a tile roof still remains the most common house type and that which is most frequently built. 178 342 [171]

The use of concrete blocks in building is attributed to American influence; however, their usage to date has been limited mostly to non-residential buildings. Roofing of corrugated iron is sometimes used, but it is regarded as a temporary device. [177]

Interiors have changed but little; rooms are usually relatively bare of furnishings. Frequently the walls are covered with pictures taken from Japanese and American magazines. 177 178 353

The enclosed yard surrounding the Okinawan house often contains considerable evidence of the war. Oil drums have been put to use as rain barrels and privies; American helmets are frequently found serving as pails or buckets; old shell cases are used for support and occasionally, if a sufficient number are available, for decorative fencing; sections of portable landing-strips serve as sidewalks; and on one occasion a Japanese machine-gun was observed in use as a clothes pole. 177 351

Crafts There has been a marked decline in Okinawan handicrafts and a greater reliance placed on factory-made products. The manufacture of cloth, baskets, rope, hats, pottery, raincapes, mats, sandals, etc. has dropped markedly in comparison to the prewar era; yet, it is acknowledged that the war only served to accelerate the decline. Several factors are involved in this process. In many cases the Japanese factory products are cheaper and better than the local article. The cultural domination of Japan also created an attitude that things Ryukyuan were inferior to things Japanese; hence, Japanese products and styles assumed an ascendancy over those of Ryukyuan origin. Lastly, the war destroyed many of the places of manufacture and the machinery employed, and replacement has never been made. 177 178 433 28 [329] [727]

1

Historical Notes on Housing

In all villages, much time is spent, in addition to agricultural or fishing tasks, in housebuilding, either for one's self or for friends and neighbors. Housebuilding is the most time consuming of a man's tasks after his primary occupation. Repairs to or reconstruction of the poorer houses are continuous. The man with a good house and a tile roof has little to worry about. But he will often be found helping someone less fortunate. 342 461 [476]

The traditional houses of Naha and Shuri showed both Chinese and Japanese influences. The traditional house and compound of the rural village has been compared with the ancient Japanese house, and it bears some similarities with houses found among the Ainu. 342 171

It would seem from the observations and researches of earlier students that the house was always built above the ground without excavation, and sometimes on stilts. The supporting posts making up the rectangular house were either placed in holes or on stones on the ground. The supporting posts, the ridge poles, the cross beams were branches or trunks of trees trimmed and cut for length. Roofs of thatch had the apex of the roof covered by a saddle or arch shaped thatch made, like the rest of the roof, of grass. Smoke escaped either through an aperture in the ceiling or through a window, as it still does in many of the poorer houses. The houses were filled with smoke. The oldest rural houses apparently had only a dirt floor with scattered mats, though some had a raised floor. 175 342 [352]

The food storage sheds or small granaries were raised on stilts. Engravings of these have appeared both in Perry's writings and in Bayard Taylor's works. There is some question whether this granary (now disappeared) was indigenous or a borrowing. The purpose of the raised granary was probably to protect against dampness and to prevent infestation by rats and vermin. These granaries were open sided with no boarded up walls, and, in Okinawa, were circular.[1] 175 343

Animal pens or stalls were not attached to the house, but were always separate. In the courtyard, earthen rain water vessels were inbedded half way into the ground to catch the rain water. There were stalls for goats and pig pens, and the pig pens were used also as a toilet. This is no longer practiced to my knowledge, although the outhouse with its holes in the ground is found under the same roof as the pig pen. The entrance to the courtyard was oppositie the front of the house. The protective stationary gate, the hinpun (in Okinawan), made of reeds or stones, stood at the entrance inside the court, as it does now, to shield the people of [417] [915] [364] 417

1 For drawings of the granaries, see Satow, E. M. Notes on Loochoo. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 1 (1882), 1-8. The drawings follow the text. See also Simon, Beitrage zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, as cited, 75-85.

417 the house from the glances of the curious. It has been suggested that the stationary gate at the entrance of the courtyard is of Chinese [199] origin, that its purpose originally was to scare away spirits, and that its former presence in the tomb compound indicates that it was intro- [164] duced along with the turtleback or horseshoe tomb from Fukien province in China.[2]

175 Captain Hall described Okinawan house exteriors and the surrounding 351 buildings, including those of the common people. The house was "buried in foliage" and hidden from view. It was surrounded by a light fence of 349 rods, about one foot apart with creepers on top. These rods were probably stalks of miscanthus grass, or of the dwarf bamboo. The site had a wicker gate, possibly meaning the hinpun made out of the dried grass stalks. One house which he described was divided into two compartments, eight feet square, with a small veranda at one end. The floors, made of bamboo, and about six feet above the ground, were covered with a straw mat. The walls, about five feet high, were wattled with split bamboo, and the house had a pointed thatched roof.

[352] In the interior, there were shelves for bowls and cups, and in a [354] loft or garret tools, nets, or baskets were stored. These installations now are often found in the kitchen. In the middle of one side of the house there was a fireplace, sunk below the level of the ground.

[343] Outside, in the compound, a pigeon house, poultry yard and spinning 175 wheels were observed. In another passage, Hall describes a cottage of 342 "wattled rattans" with a light open bamboo roof with thatch and creepers, one wing of which was occupied by goats. The compound consisted of a stable, a pig sty, and a poultry house. There was also a mill. The [325] granary was on posts about six feet above the ground with firewood piled below. There was an anvil with a forge of masonry but no bellows.[3]

The houses of the poor, said Fahs in his report to Commodore Perry, were made of bamboo and had no floors.[4] Accounts around the turn of the century say that houses and granaries were supported by corner posts of considerable height. Schwartz said these posts were about five feet high. The house walls of straw thatch were held in place by bamboo grass matting with a space two feet in width acting both as a door and a window, a matting curtain covering the aperture.[5]

[Text continues TOP of p. 73--Analyst]

2 Simon, as cited, 80. C. W. Bishop has suggested that the stone houses of the Ainus of Hokkaido point to contact with southern insular peoples. Also, the primitive Japanese hut which was illustrated resembled the one we have been describing for Okinawa. It had a thatched roof and a courtyard which was cut off from the outside view by the hinpun. The historical geography of early Japan. Geo. Review, 13 (1923), 40-63. Note especially Figures 5 and 6. (This article was reprinted in Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1925).

3 Captain Basil Hall, Voyage to Corea and the Great Loo Choo, as cited, 124, 141, 142-43.

4 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, Vol. II, 50.

5 Henry B. Schwartz, In Togo's country. New York and Cincinnati, 1908, 148-49.

592 342 magazines and pasted on the wall, and here he entertains visitors who come for conversation or study.

3

Types of Houses

342 In all the villages studied, the houses may be divided into three general categories: (1) the Japanese style house with the thatch or tile roof, (2) the smaller stone house with the Japanese type floor plan, and (3) various shacks resembling in some details the simple structure of the old Okinawan rural house.

[313] [439] [335] The sturdy Japanese type house is made of excellent hardwoods imported from Japan or brought from the forests of northern Okinawa. This house was often constructed without nails. It was put together by mortise and tenon joints, and also with a piece of wood, square on the edge and about three inches long which functions like a dowel. This is known as a kusabi. In modern houses, both of the simple and more complex types, nails are more commonly used.

[355] [411] [352] The eaves of this house are supported by strong poles, unfinished, usually from the Japanese redwood (sugi in Japanese, Cryptomeria japonica, D. Don) or the inumaki (Podocarpus macrophyllus D. Don). The poles are placed on flat triangular stones for foundation support. The houses have plank floors. Both the tile and the thatch roof types (to be described later) have the same floor plan with the size of the rooms determined by the number of mats (tatami in Japanese) desired.

The half tile, half thatch roof is not uncommon, an indication either of a roof partially destroyed by the war which has been repaired by thatch, or athatched roof gradually being replaced by tile. This is a slow process, as tile is costly. Basically, all of these houses have the same general plan, except for differences in roof materials.

[355] [415] [312] The older Japanese type houses with a tile roof and the newer ones being built on that model are provided with a drain pipe for rain water catchment. This pipe, running along the length and the width of the roof channels the water into a large tank on the ground, reducing the labor involved in carrying water from village ponds or central springs. Many of these rain water catchments disappeared when the old houses were destroyed in the war. Drain pipes cannot be attached to the thatch. In general, rain water is not now a plentiful source of supply in the villages, though buckets and tubs are frequently put out during a heavy downpour, and this water is used for drinking and cooking until it begins to spoil. It may supplement the water carried from a central village faucet, the well, or a pond.

The construction of the Japanese type house is complex. Basically, the design of the house is derived from the arrangement of three rooms,

plus a sort of veranda, or inside hallway, an inner small porch paralleling it, and an outer porch--but in some cases there is only a stepping stone. The outer walls are usually of Japanese redwood. The houses are unpainted. 342

A narrow porch runs around the front and the side of the house opposite the kitchen. Between the porch and the room proper, there is a space for a paper sliding door (shōji in Japanese) and a connecting corridor (or veranda) known as an en (in Japanese). This corridor is about 35 sun, or almost a yard wide. The sliding doors covered with paper, so familiar in the houses of Japan, have all disappeared, though provision is made for them in the construction. Before the war, some houses had them; in others they were never installed. The rooms, therefore, are usually open, joined in front by the corridor. Partitions may cut off the whole room or be built up to face level. The outer porch (haji in Japanese) is in the courtyard in front or on a line with the poles which support the eaves. It may be off the ground about a foot; sometimes a cemented area or a stone walk two or three feet wide and on the ground acts as a substitute for this porch.

The pre-war house, of which a few remain in the southern villages, more in the north, normally has three rooms and a kitchen, with a back part for storage. The size of the house is determined by the number of mats which each room will have, and this Japanese convention produces uniformity and regularity in house construction. Actually only a small minority of houses have these mats. They were more common before the war. The pre-war ones have largely been destroyed or worn out, but during winter months or occasionally at parties or celebrations those remaining are taken out and used. A more modest mat, called a mushiro (in Japanese), made in Okinawa, often in the home or in the village, has taken the place of the tatami. It has the same function as a throw rug, but is rolled up when not in use. [352]

The names of the rooms also follow Japanese custom. The first room (ichibanza in Japanese) is the best. It contains the alcove, or recessed part, suitable for hanging a scroll (kakemono in Japanese), or for ornamental and religious objects. This is the room for guests; at parties or celebrations the men gather here, the women meeting in the second room. 342 353

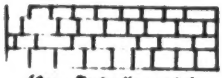
The second room (nibanza in Japanese) has the Buddhist god shelf, universal in all houses except the very poor or makeshift ones. This shelf has the memorial tablets (ihai in Japanese) of the dead of the family. At parties and celebrations, the second room is the gathering place of the women. [769]

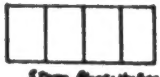
The third room (sanbanza) which adjoins the kitchen is a dining room. It has a small, low table for meals, perhaps a wall shelf. All of these rooms are also sleeping rooms (nema in Japanese). [352]

[Text Continues Top of P. 78--analyst]

TYPES OF HEIFUN

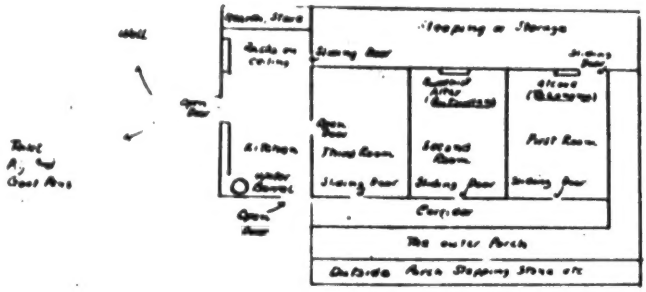
417



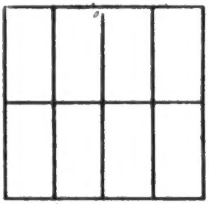


ARRANGEMENT OF THE ROOMS

342



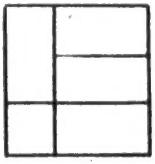
8 Mat Room



Size of mats
3' x 6'

4 1/2 Mat Room

[352]



358 children, whether in primary, junior, or senior high school, clean up the grounds and do repair and upkeep work. Young teachers, many [875] of whom are single, supervise the work, and often stay during the evening hours to plan the day's work or to study. Male teachers are night watchmen at the school, sleeping there in rotation.

346 The main problems of education are (1) adequate school buildings. Their condition reflects the haphazard tragedies of war. Schools vary in quality from place to place. The high school at Ginoza and the elementary school at Matsuda, for example, are excellent buildings; in other places, such as Gushichan village, the classroom buildings are little more than shanties with thatched roofs, and a siding of boards, corrugated iron, or other materials at hand. At typhoon times, some [358] of these are flattened, and it is normal to see school children helping to clear the grounds and putting on new thatch. It is my impression [727] generally that conditions are worse in southern Okinawa than in the northern area where war destruction was much less. The Civil Administration is well aware of these problems and the school construction program is, to all appearances, progressing. (2) Much the same situation and for the same reasons, exists with regard to school equipment. Rickety [352] chairs, old benches, bad blackboards contrast with the equipment of the new schools or of the old which escaped destruction.

875 (3) The post-war period has made a difference in the status of the school teacher (sensei). The destruction and disruption of the war, scarcity, high prices and low salaries have made his position in most [727] cases a precarious one. Before the war, the school teacher had prestige and money. Only the prestige remains. One high school principal estimated that the post-war prices have increased 100 times, the teachers' [465] salaries about fifty times. Immediately before the war, the starting salary of a beginning teacher was Y45 a month. (The value of the pre-[435] war Japanese yen was about US $0.27). A school principal received Y100 a month. Now the beginning salary for school teachers is about Y2200 and for principals Y5000. (The present value of the Okinawan yen is officially pegged at 120 to the dollar). Increases averaging about 30% went into effect in October 1951.

The school teacher has little or no money for clothing; his dress is the same nondescript combination of old civilian and army clothing that one sees on everyone else. This situation, serious in any country, is particularly so in a culture that has always regarded the teacher with such honor. The teaching profession is the source of many careers [555] in public office. Even in casual observation, one frequently finds that mayors, vice-mayors, former members of the Japanese civil service, started life as teachers.

The Okinawan teacher works hard and enthusiastically, but new attitudes are appearing which must be recognized. There is a desire to leave the profession, particularly noticeable in the male teachers under 30. Economic difficulties are reflected in frustration and discouragement. Okinawan school teachers, if the ones I knew are representative, have enthusiasm for ideas of democracy and freedom and for reforms that have

342 floor, resting his feet outside on the ground. An overhanging roof protects him from the rain. Larger houses have an entrance hall and a porch running along the front. Since these porches also have sliding door panels, few people bother to use the entrance except on formal visits.

The simple structures have a framework which is basically the same [336] as that of the more complex ones. Neither is constructed with nails but held together by mortise and tenon joints. Thick layers of thatch or a tile roof give adequate protection from rains. Thatch roofs need re- [356] placement every few years, but they keep the house cooler than the more permanent, more expensive clay or cement tile roofs. House walls are made of very thin, cheap wood which weathers fast and cracks, allowing winds to enter freely. Only the new houses have solid double walls. The floor in the simple buildings consists of planks which in many houses are not nailed down; during the winter months the cold penetrates through the wide slots between the boards. Better houses have ceilings and doors to separate the "first" and "second" room in the front of the house, as well as solid floors.

Smoke from the open fireplace in the kitchen rises into the roof and [151] seeps through the thatch. Poor eyesight, common among children, is believed by the villagers to result from smoke-filled houses and poor lighting. In the evening, dim light is provided by one or two kerosene lamps.

342 The ancestral shrine, a built-in shelf for the ancestral tablets, has 353 its place in the "second" room. This shrine is only found in the homes 769 of oldest sons. It is not treated with special reverence. Photographs of the deceased as well as of living relatives are kept there as well as personal belongings—a letter, money, a bottle of sake, or gifts. During [822] religious holidays of ancestral worship, red hibiscus flowers, the color for the dead, are placed on the shelf. Since the shelf is high from the floor, small children cannot get at it.

●352 The only furniture in all houses is a low table on which food and [516] drinks are served. Everybody sits on the floor, legs crossed and feet tucked under their thighs in the case of men or put behind to one side in the case of women. Very few houses in Taira have the thick, padded straw mats found in the homes of more well-to-do people in Okinawa. But every family has several thin mats of woven reed standing in one corner of the room; these are spread out for guests to sit on or for a member of the household who lies down during the day. Storage 353 shelves are used in simple houses, but in the better houses mattresses, comforters, and hard pillows are kept in a built-in closet space during [356] the day. On sunny days women air the bedding by spreading it over walls, fences, or in the grass.

There are no uniform sleeping arrangements. The larger the family, the more corners of the front rooms and rear room are occupied. Since the number of comforters is limited in most families, two or three members of the family share one. Father and mother do not always sleep together, and, even if they do, an infant may sleep between them. When there are several children, another child may sleep next to the father, so that in one row there may be mother, a baby, father, and an older child. One or two children usually sleep with the grandmother in another corner. In several families an older sister may sleep with younger brothers; in others, two elder brothers, or an older sister and an older brother, may sleep next to each other. Children do not usually sleep at other people's houses, but when they reach junior high school age, a girl may stay with a girl friend or a group of boys may sleep together at one house. 513

A simple desk and chair are kept in each house where children go to school. These are put in one corner of the front room, except in large houses with a third room in front, which is reserved for schoolchildren of the house, who also sleep there. Around the study corner, books are kept on a crate or shelf. Only the biggest houses have a niche in their "first" room. Paintings and scrolls, used to decorate alcoves before the war, have been lost, and few people have acquired replacements. Many families decorate rooms by pasting pictures from magazines and newspapers on the walls. Some have reproductions of the Japanese Crown Prince Akihito, others scenic pictures from Japan. 352 353

Only a few recent buildings have inner sliding doors with paper screens. The paper is often left off during the hot season and put on before New Year. If children or cats are around, the splendor does not last long, and even an adult's hand frequently punctures the screen in trying to open the door. Holes are left unrepaired for the remainder of the year. 342 356

The eating corner between kitchen and rear room is the place where most families gather in the evening, especially during the winter. An informal caller may join them there. If it is cold, a brazier is put in the center, filled with pieces of charcoal on top of old ashes to provide heat for those sitting around it. These braziers vary in type: the poorest families use the bottom of an oil drum filled with ashes; others use pottery jars or small wooden boxes lined with metal. 342 264 354

Crockery used in most houses is of a simple type. If breakage occurs, as it often does, a cup or bowl can be replaced for a few yen at the grocery store. Well-to-do families may have an extra set of teacups, which are used for guests. Several families also own lacquer ware, but it is not in daily use. Like cups and bowls, chopsticks are simple and inexpensive. They last a long time and are seldom lost. Children do 415 [412]

cash income, earned by several adult members in joint work, or equal 585
to about one half of a teacher's monthly salary. The girl brings a dowry [583]
consisting of furniture, household utensils, and other things, so, as one
person said, the groom is repaid in one form or another. In former [582]
times the men had to pay a fine to the parents of the bride if she married out of the village (Suttles, personal communication; Tamura, 1927 translation:44).

Even under present conditions the wedding ceremony is colorful
compared to most other private ceremonies. All guests attend in their [292]
best clothes and the bride wears a special kimono and a special wig
hair dress. She is seated next to the groom, who wears Western-style
clothes instead of the traditional silk kimono. The whole ceremony
is presided over by the go-betweens. While preliminaries take place,
the bride sits almost motionless. Her face expresses what Glacken
describes as "undescribable gloom" (1955:218). This continues even
through the climax of the event, the ceremonial exchange of wine
which symbolizes the union of the participants. During this part of the
ceremony the guests, who have been enjoying food and sake and talk-
ing amicably, give this moment a solemn meaning by their silence.
Speeches by the go-between and other notables follow. The virtue of [537]
the bride and her family and of the groom are told and acknowledged
by a thank-you address by the groom. Parents of the couple sit close
to them but have no other function than to accept congratulations.
The bride then goes around introducing herself to the guests.

Children are not present at this event. They line up outside the [852]
house and peek through openings to see the bride and watch the
guests, who start dances as soon as good food and wine take effect.
After the formal part of the wedding, the feast ends like any such
event in the village—with great gaiety. The bride acts as hostess; she
changes from her kimono and heavy hair dress into more suitable
clothes and sees that the guests are well taken care of. The length of
this feast depends, of course, on how much food and drink the family is
able to provide. Finally, when all guests have left, the bride and groom
retire to the bedroom which has been reserved for them, sometimes [352]
furnished with one or two pieces, a chest of drawers or a Western-style
closet supplied by the bride's family. The bride also provides the [513]
comforter for the marriage bed. Friends of the groom may play a prank
and replace the normal-sized comforter with a small one, "so that the
marriage is consumated quicker," as they say.

Sexual relations between husband and wife are not discussed in 833
public except in jocular references. In spite of the intimacy of house-
hold members in the confinement of a small house, one attempts to 831

CHAPTER V: FAMILY LIFE

W. P. Suttles

1. Kinship Organization

342 The Household and the Family Okinawan homes, both in the country and in the towns, show a surprising uniformity in struc-
[183] ture, in floor plan, and even in orientation. This uniformity reflects the stability of society and at the same time reenforces it. The home of the
[361] Okinawan farmer usually faces south; indeed the older villages as a whole were established on southward-facing slopes.

The house consists of two main rooms separated by sliding doors, a long and narrow back room behind the two front rooms, and a kitchen to one side, usually the west. The measurements are usually in multiples of three feet (the Japanese foot being almost identical with the English foot); the two main rooms are usually the same size, 9 by 9 or 12 by 12 feet, and the others are somewhat smaller. The roofs of most houses are thatched with "kaya", but people who can afford it have wholly or partly tiled roofs. The roof of the kitchen may have a separate peak and ridgepole from that of the main part of the house. Usually the roof of the main part of the house extends beyond the front rooms so that there is a narrow veranda across the front and halfway around the side opposite the kitchen. The house usually has no windows. The kitchen has an outside door and the front rooms have sliding doors all the way around under the veranda; these are usually open except at night or during bad weather.

The main part of the house has a floor of boards but the kitchen often has only an earth floor or else consists of two sections, one floored and one not. The kitchen is thus usually lower than the main part of the house and is referred to as "below" while the main part is "above", but this also implies a difference in status. The room farthest from the kitchen is called the "first room" and the middle room is the "second room". The back room may be
353 a single long room or may be divided into two. At the back of the kitchen is
[354] the oven, usually made of earth or bricks with two or three holes for pots and pans to fit into. At the back of the second room, if the house is a "main house"---that of an eldest son, is the tootoomee (J. 'butsudan'), a cabinet for the ancestral tablets. At the back of the first room there is often an alcove containing a scroll and perhaps a family treasure; this is the u-tuku (J. 'tokonoma').

In the homes of more prosperous families the floors of the front rooms are permanently covered with "tatami", the thick mats used by the Japanese, but in most homes the only mats are the thinner mushiru, which are spread out
• 352 only when needed. Furniture is simple; the mushiru are the equivalent of chairs
[354] and beds; a low table may be brought out to put food upon at meal-time and a pot of burning charcoal may be brought out in cold weather for a little heat. Usually one sees only a basket of teacups and a tobacco-box. On formal ocas-
592 sions the men sit in the first room and the women in the second, but usually
562 the partition is removed and the family simply lives in the whole space.

called saki in Okinawan, 'awamori' in Japanese. This drink is sold in several 273
grades and so is Japanese 'sake', but most farmers seem to prefer a rawer, stronger grade of 'awamori'.[1] In most homes 'awamori' is soon offered male guests if they call in the evening, sometimes in the afternoon as well. For festive occasions it is absolutely necessary. Many older men also drink it a bit every evening in small groups or even alone. Older women may drink a little, younger women, unless of the professional class, rarely. [574] [562]

When men drink together they invariably exchange drinks as a gesture of friendship. Generally the friendliness increases with each gesture, stimulating further gestures. Drunkenness is frequent. Different types of behavior among drunks are recognized and labelled appropriately. The 'uma-zake' ("horse-drunk") prances around; the 'buta-zake' ("pig drunk") sleeps; the 'ushi-zake' ("ox drunk") acts belligerent; the 'naki-zake' ("cry drunk") weeps. (These are Japanese terms, incidentally; I did not get native equivalents but assume they exist). But Okinawans who get drunk are mainly just plain friendly drunks; the belligerent drunk is very rare. Burd's description of Miyakoan drunken behavior---the sentimentality and endless expression of gratitude for friendship---would apply equally to the behavior of drunk Okinawans. And as Burd suggests, the reason may lie in the formality and etiquette that governs the relations of the sober; getting drunk is a means of relaxing the usual barriers.[2] The remarkable tolerance Okinawans show to drunks may arise from sympathy in the face of a common need. Drinking is often accompanied by singing and dancing. Men dance individually. Men who behave on most occasions with reserve and formality, may, after drinking a bit, dance with a grace and reckless ease that must be seen to be believed.

Okinawans do not drink water as frequently as Americans and even 271
with the more frequent tea and bottled drinks their total fluid consumption 272
would appear to be considerably less.

Rest and Sleep Chairs and beds are not usually found in Okinawan homes. 352
Mats serve the function of both. On formal occasions 516
Okinawans kneel. This they may do at the beginning of a formal gathering, but soon they are told to be at ease, which means sitting cross-legged for the men and with the feet to one side for the women. When relaxing at home they may put their feet out in front of them.

Okinawans sleep on the floor, usually on a quilt ('futon') on the 513
mat and with another put on over them. Often the whole family will sleep between two large quilts and under one large mosquito net suspended from the ceiling. To Americans unused to the floor it seems unbearably hard and the quilt above oppressive; it seems as though the Okinawans want too little below the body and too much above. From infancy on they sleep stretched out supine with a pillow under the head or neck. The pillow may be of cloth stuffed with husks or merely a block of wood.

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1 This observation is supported by the statement of a distiller interviewed by Lebra.

2 Burd 1952, p. 82.

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The names of the rooms also follow Japanese custom. The first room (ichibanza in Japanese) is the best. It contains the alcove, or recessed part, suitable for hanging a scroll (kakemono in Japanese), or for ornamental and religious objects. This is the room for guests; at parties or celebrations the men gather here, the women meeting in the second room. 342 353

The second room (nibanza in Japanese) has the Buddhist god shelf, universal in all houses except the very poor or makeshift ones. This shelf has the memorial tablets (ihai in Japanese) of the dead of the family. At parties and celebrations, the second room is the gathering place of the women. [369]

The third room (sanbanza) which adjoins the kitchen is a dining room. It has a small, low table for meals, perhaps a wall shelf. All of these rooms are also sleeping rooms (nema in Japanese). [352]

[Text Continues Top of P. 78--analyst]

These rooms, opening on the front of the house along the corridor, do not run the full length of the house. A fourth, a back room, running across the back part may open on to the kitchen. Sometimes this room is only roughly finished and used for storage or sleeping purposes or both. A grandmother often takes the grandchildren (other than the infant) to bed with her in this room. 342 [353] [513]

The kitchen is set off from the rest of the house by being on a lower level, perhaps one step. The kitchen usually has a hard dirt floor. Occasionally it is cemented. Sometimes it has a chimney, sometimes a hole in the side of the wall, which the curious smoke rejects in favor of a leisurely diffusion throughout the other rooms of the house. The kitchen is not part of the house in the sense that the other rooms are. The shoes are not removed when entering it. The kitchen opens out on to a stone or dirt path. Women frequently still eat in the kitchen because of its convenience and the need of going in and out to get water, or to wash vegetables, or to get food from the shed during the preparation of a meal. [576] [264]

The stove is basically an open hearth with a hole at the top for the cooking pan. There is also a hole directly below this into which the fuel can be placed. More elaborate stoves may have three tiers; one for the cooking, one for putting the fuel in, the lower for the ashes. The most simple, in the very poorest houses, are little more than a circular group of stones laid on the ground built up so that a pan can be placed on top. The most elaborate, made of stone, might run across the width of the kitchen and have several openings. Fuel, such as odd branches, sticks of firewood brought from the northern (Kunigami) region, crushed and dried sugar cane, or miscanthus grass of varying length is put part way into the fire and pushed further in as the ends are burned off. 354 [372]

The all stone house is smaller than the wooden house. It invariably has a tile roof, for those able to afford the stone can also buy the tile. The stone blocks used in house construction are usually about nine feet by one foot on the edge.[6] The stones used as posts are buried two feet in the ground leaving seven feet for the upright. These blocks, called ishibashida when used for house construction, have the same width and breadth; they can be cut to any desired length to even off the sides. The stones are layed like bricks with mortar to form the walls of the house. The all stone house is not common, and is usually seen in the south, where the stone is quarried, in Minatogawa, and in adjacent villages. These houses are more modern, and often bathing facilities are built in. The stone house has the advantage of being cool in summer, warm in winter. 342 [333] [184] [515]

Finally, there are the simple structures, resembling shacks or shanties more than houses. These are, as one would expect, more frequent in the areas of the war's operations. There are three main varieties, though the combinations are numerous: (1) the all grass house, now uncommon. The sides of this wattled house are usually of [362]

6 Actually they are 9 x 1 x 1 shaku. A shaku is 0.994 feet.

474 426 and repayment of principal and interest. Members are involved in these transactions out of different motives. The organizer is usually the one most interested in borrowing money. Other participants may wish to earn interest on spare cash. They are the bankers of the group. Between the person who needs immediate cash and the bankers are those who would like to borrow money during the life of the group but are indifferent as to the precise time, hoping to bid and obtain a loan at a favorable rate to buy a pig or to repair a house.

The most complex of these loan groups were found in Minatogawa. A group may have any number of members; usually there are from 10 to 15, but there may be only five to nine. Each group has a set of regulations (no-ai no kisoku). In Minatogawa money is borrowed for house or boat building, for buying pigs, or for other business purposes.

The first meeting begins with a party given by the persons most [574] interested in starting the group. On the following months, more modest parties given at the homes of other members are in conjunction with the bidding and distribution of the money. The entertainments [262] of the first and last meetings include pork or goat meat, bean curd, tea, and sake. At the first meeting the organizer is the host. Rules are established as to whether the indebtedness shall be put into writing and as to guarantors. (Before the war, occasionally a borrower ran off to Japan or to one of the other islands and was never heard of again). Now a guarantor is required, but this is a formality. The [476] [577] system really rests on mutual trust and on the co-operation of friends and relatives of known honesty. One person may belong to several groups. Multiple membership is naturally confined to those with plenty of ready cash who have no immediate use for it. A group whose membership is poor will subscribe from Y100 to Y300 a month, a moderately well-to-do one from Y2000-3000. There are now about 30 in Minatogawa. Members usually are present or former residents of the village. Men and women participate. These gatherings combine business with a friendly social atmosphere so typical of Okinawan business transactions and official contacts. The mats of the room are arranged to form an empty square in the center of the room, and this square becomes a [353] combination counting board and refreshment table.

In one type, the loan is awarded after secret bidding (usually by writing on a piece of paper), the award going to the lowest bidder, for he is offering the highest discount. For example, Y20,000 are available for a loan to be repaid in ten installments of Y2100 each (Y2000 principal and Y100 interest). If a member wants the money badly enough, he may bid Y17,500, accepting that amount and paying back on the basis of Y20,000 plus interest. He thus would get the award over a man who bid at a discount of Y2000 or Y18,000.

In one form of the discount type, the organizer automatically gets the first loan. He does not bid and does not lose by discounting. He has started the group for this purpose. On the second and succeeding months, the bidding is secret and competitive. Assuming ten members pooling Y2000 each the first month, in the second nine members advance

543 these matters. In township exhibits of arts and crafts, there are evidences of these skills, such as the training of a chrysanthemum, a favorite choice, but these are not part of daily life.

532 Yet there is evidence of artistic talent and interest which teachers and parents encourage in the young. Okinawan children draw and copy well. It is not unusual to see an otherwise bare room of a [353] poor farmer's home decorated with the paintings or drawings of a son or daughter. While clearly the work of novices, they often show feeling for line and color. School buildings, houses, and landscapes are the favorite subjects. Drawing skills come as no surprise because of the close relationship, in countries using the Chinese character, 815 of calligraphy and art. Teachers of drawing and art in the schools 212 are skillful in rapid sketching, and part of this skill must be the result of early training in the sequence of strokes and in writing the Chinese character with confidence and boldness.

535 Dancing and samisen playing are learned by imitation and self-533 instruction. Music is learned by ear, the dancing by observing the old 868 and skilled. Parents do not instruct their children in these arts; they pick up the skill themselves. There are no village teachers nor do the schools teach native dances, songs, or samisen playing. (In [562] recent years instruction books have been furnished when a samisen is purchased). Samisen playing is a monopoly of the men, many of whom also have a repertoire of traditional dances. These performers are always in demand on social occasions. Both old and young men dance, but only the old women feel free to do so. Seeing a seventy or eighty year old grandmother dancing at a party is commonplace, but I have never seen a young girl or a young woman in her thirties doing this. (Young girls and young women may participate in formal dances in processions and on holidays). Among the younger people, there is considerable interest, but little facility in American dancing.

532 Hanging scrolls (kakemono) are often purchased by the villagers. But these are dashed off affairs, following Japanese art conventions, such as the jolly Japanese patron saint, tigers, the bamboo-plum blossom-cherry triad, and the turtle and the cormorant, etc.

181 One has the impression of latent talent in music, dancing, and drawing but that the cultural conditions have not been favorable to [533] their development. Social events and parties are unthinkable without [535] singing, dancing, and samisen playing. Good drawing and calligraphy [532] are admired. But none of these seem to be highly developed folk arts. [868] Possibly one reason is that the transmission of the skills has been purely imitative, and that a body of knowledge has not accumulated in books, organized teaching, or through apprenticeship and hereditary [369] occupations by which ideas can be improved upon by wider dissemination. The cultural isolation of rural villages may have prevented the building up of a tradition in art and handicraft. Naha and Shuri, the historical [636] cultural centers, have produced the fine examples of lacquer ware, ceramics, and paintings. Possibly also Japanese repression of the native culture has been the main reason. Whatever they are, the lack of advance-

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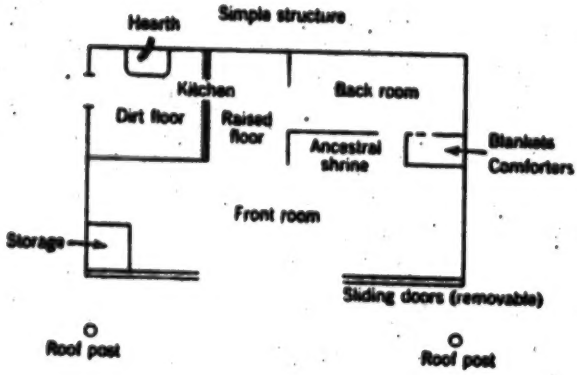

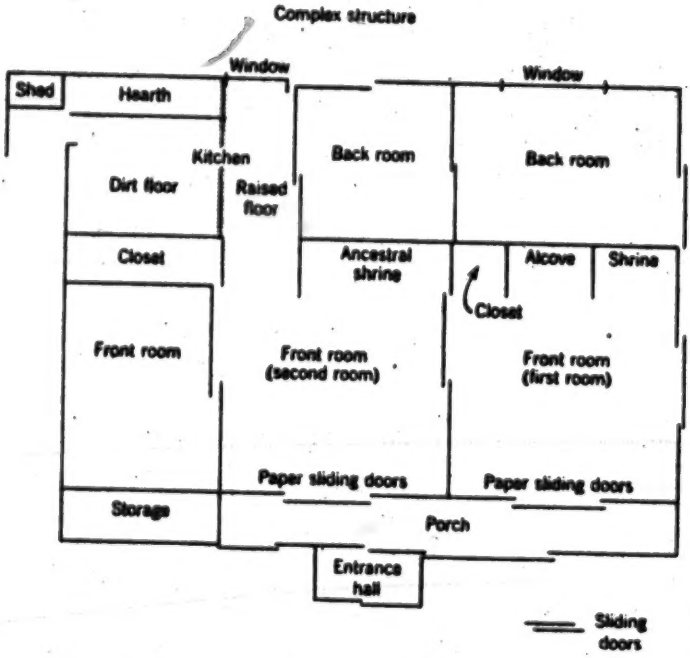

Figure 1. House plan showing simple and complex structures.

342 floor, resting his feet outside on the ground. An overhanging roof protects him from the rain. Larger houses have an entrance hall and a porch running along the front. Since these porches also have sliding door panels, few people bother to use the entrance except on formal visits.

The simple structures have a framework which is basically the same [335] as that of the more complex ones. Neither is constructed with nails but held together by mortise and tenon joints. Thick layers of thatch or a tile roof give adequate protection from rains. Thatch roofs need re- [356] placement every few years, but they keep the house cooler than the more permanent, more expensive clay or cement tile roofs. House walls are made of very thin, cheap wood which weathers fast and cracks, allowing winds to enter freely. Only the new houses have solid double walls. The floor in the simple buildings consists of planks which in many houses are not nailed down; during the winter months the cold penetrates through the wide slots between the boards. Better houses have ceilings and doors to separate the "first" and "second" room in the front of the house, as well as solid floors.

Smoke from the open fireplace in the kitchen rises into the roof and [151] seeps through the thatch. Poor eyesight, common among children, is believed by the villagers to result from smoke-filled houses and poor lighting. In the evening, dim light is provided by one or two kerosene lamps.

342 The ancestral shrine, a built-in shelf for the ancestral tablets, has 353 its place in the "second" room. This shrine is only found in the homes 769 of oldest sons. It is not treated with special reverence. Photographs of the deceased as well as of living relatives are kept there as well as personal belongings—a letter, money, a bottle of sake, or gifts. During [827] religious holidays of ancestral worship, red hibiscus flowers, the color for the dead, are placed on the shelf. Since the shelf is high from the floor, small children cannot get at it.

352 The only furniture in all houses is a low table on which food and [516] drinks are served. Everybody sits on the floor, legs crossed and feet tucked under their thighs in the case of men or put behind to one side in the case of women. Very few houses in Taira have the thick, padded straw mats found in the homes of more well-to-do people in Okinawa. But every family has several thin mats of woven reed standing in one corner of the room; these are spread out for guests to sit on or for a member of the household who lies down during the day. Storage 353 shelves are used in simple houses, but in the better houses mattresses, comforters, and hard pillows are kept in a built-in closet space during [356] the day. On sunny days women air the bedding by spreading it over walls, fences, or in the grass.

There are no uniform sleeping arrangements. The larger the family, the more corners of the front rooms and rear room are occupied. Since the number of comforters is limited in most families, two or three members of the family share one. Father and mother do not always sleep together, and, even if they do, an infant may sleep between them. When there are several children, another child may sleep next to the father, so that in one row there may be mother, a baby, father, and an older child. One or two children usually sleep with the grandmother in another corner. In several families an older sister may sleep with younger brothers; in others, two elder brothers, or an older sister and an older brother, may sleep next to each other. Children do not usually sleep at other people's houses, but when they reach junior high school age, a girl may stay with a girl friend or a group of boys may sleep together at one house. 513

A simple desk and chair are kept in each house where children go to school. These are put in one corner of the front room, except in large houses with a third room in front, which is reserved for schoolchildren of the house, who also sleep there. Around the study corner, books are kept on a crate or shelf. Only the biggest houses have a niche in their "first" room. Paintings and scrolls, used to decorate alcoves before the war, have been lost, and few people have acquired replacements. Many families decorate rooms by pasting pictures from magazines and newspapers on the walls. Some have reproductions of the Japanese Crown Prince Akihito, others scenic pictures from Japan. 352 353

Only a few recent buildings have inner sliding doors with paper screens. The paper is often left off during the hot season and put on before New Year. If children or cats are around, the splendor does not last long, and even an adult's hand frequently punctures the screen in trying to open the door. Holes are left unrepaired for the remainder of the year. 342 356

The eating corner between kitchen and rear room is the place where most families gather in the evening, especially during the winter. An informal caller may join them there. If it is cold, a brazier is put in the center, filled with pieces of charcoal on top of old ashes to provide heat for those sitting around it. These braziers vary in type: the poorest families use the bottom of an oil drum filled with ashes; others use pottery jars or small wooden boxes lined with metal. 342 264 354

Crockery used in most houses is of a simple type. If breakage occurs, as it often does, a cup or bowl can be replaced for a few yen at the grocery store. Well-to-do families may have an extra set of teacups, which are used for guests. Several families also own lacquer ware, but it is not in daily use. Like cups and bowls, chopsticks are simple and inexpensive. They last a long time and are seldom lost. Children do 415 [412]

CHAPTER V: FAMILY LIFE

W. P. Suttles

1. Kinship Organization

342 The Household and the Family Okinawan homes, both in the country and in the towns, show a surprising uniformity in struc-
[183] ture, in floor plan, and even in orientation. This uniformity reflects the stability of society and at the same time reenforces it. The home of the
[361] Okinawan farmer usually faces south; indeed the older villages as a whole were established on southward-facing slopes.

The house consists of two main rooms separated by sliding doors, a long and narrow back room behind the two front rooms, and a kitchen to one side, usually the west. The measurements are usually in multiples of three feet (the Japanese foot being almost identical with the English foot); the two main rooms are usually the same size, 9 by 9 or 12 by 12 feet, and the others are somewhat smaller. The roofs of most houses are thatched with "kaya", but people who can afford it have wholly or partly tiled roofs. The roof of the kitchen may have a separate peak and ridgepole from that of the main part of the house. Usually the roof of the main part of the house extends beyond the front rooms so that there is a narrow veranda across the front and halfway around the side opposite the kitchen. The house usually has no windows. The kitchen has an outside door and the front rooms have sliding doors all the way around under the veranda; these are usually open except at night or during bad weather.

The main part of the house has a floor of boards but the kitchen often has only an earth floor or else consists of two sections, one floored and one not. The kitchen is thus usually lower than the main part of the house and is referred to as "below" while the main part is "above", but this also implies a difference in status. The room farthest from the kitchen is called the "first room" and the middle room is the "second room". The back room may be
353 a single long room or may be divided into two. At the back of the kitchen is
[354] the oven, usually made of earth or bricks with two or three holes for pots and pans to fit into. At the back of the second room, if the house is a "main house"---that of an eldest son, is the tootoomee (J. 'butsudan'), a cabinet for the ancestral tablets. At the back of the first room there is often an alcove containing a scroll and perhaps a family treasure; this is the u-tuku (J. 'tokonoma').

In the homes of more prosperous families the floors of the front rooms are permanently covered with "tatami", the thick mats used by the Japanese, but in most homes the only mats are the thinner mushiru, which are spread out
352 only when needed. Furniture is simple; the mushiru are the equivalent of chairs
[354] and beds; a low table may be brought out to put food upon at meal-time and a pot of burning charcoal may be brought out in cold weather for a little heat. Usually one sees only a basket of teacups and a tobacco-box. On formal ocas-
592 sions the men sit in the first room and the women in the second, but usually
562 the partition is removed and the family simply lives in the whole space.

At the same time, each person, both men and women, bore a given name 551
that was purely Okinawan. These names are called warabinaa, "child names". They are few in number. Several of them---perhaps all of them---are meaningful, such as Kamii, "turtle", Ushi, "ox". Several of them were given both to males and to females. They were transmitted according to rules that seem now to be not too well understood. According to one old woman, a man should give his name to his sons' first sons and his wife hers to the sons' first daughters. Subsequent grandchildren should receive the names of the grandparents' siblings or other relatives. A younger woman said that a first son got his father's father's name and a woman her mother's mother's. But unfortunately not enough information was obtained to support the last assertion or to reveal any further pattern. (This is a subject that would be well worth further [174]
study; the possibility that the naming system is a reflection of a former system of double descent should not be overlooked.)

Among the commoners (hyakusoo, cognate of Japanese 'hyakushō', peasants"), surnames were perhaps not universally taken until after the Japanese [565]
annexation. Nor did they have Chinese-style given names. Their common descent [177]
groups, usually called munchu, seem to bear names that are place names. They [614]
did have house names (yaanuyaa, J. 'yagō'), and Okinawan-style given names. Probably a commoner was known only by these two. Even today among the older Okinawans a man is more likely to be known as Taasachi-gwaa nu Sanree, "Sanree ("Third"?) of the house Taasachi-gwaa ("Little End-of-the-Rice-Field")", than by the name found in the 'koseki'.

Today everyone is registered by and officially known by a surname and 551
given name. The surnames are mainly taken from Okinawan place names but the 177
readings assigned the characters are frequently Japanized. Thus Ufu-gusuku, "great-castle' becomes 'Ōshiro' and Nakandakari becomes 'Nakamura'. Many of the given names for males are of two characters read in the Sino-Japanese manner, like the given names formerly used only by the gentry, but many also are purely Japanese---Masaru, Takeo, Toshiyasu---the last possibly being the Japanese reading of a name that once might have been given its "Chinese" reading. Girls are given such Japanese names as 'Yoshiko' and 'Masako'. And the youngest child recorded in the 'koseki' for Yamada, the first to bear the name, was an infant girl named 'Chiemi', obviously after a currently popular Japanese "starlet".

The Ancestral Tablets In every main house there is a shelf or if 769
possible a cabinet (tootoomee, J. 'butsudan') for the ancestral tablets (ifee, 353
J. 'ihai'). If it is a cabinet it contains three shelves; on the top shelf 592
stand the tablets flanked by a pair of vases, on the second shelf a pair of tea-cups and a wine cup, and on the third an incense burner (u-kooru). The paraphernalia vary somewhat with the means of the family. The tablets are 769
red lacquered slips of wood held in two rows in a black frame. On the upper 592
row are written the names of deceased male members of the family, on the lower row names of deceased females. The ancestral tablets together with the house name form an inseparable unit. The main house of the Taba lineage is the [613]
main house and has the house name "great Taba" because it is the location of the ancestral tablet of the founder of the lineage. The tablets at "new little Taba" contain the tablet for the founder of that house. The tablets are

Elongated roadside settlements seem to be an increasing phenomena of post-war Okinawa. In central Okinawa (Nakagami) this is particularly apparent in the areas of military camps, where the commercial value of being on the road is fully exploited. Numerous car-washing establishments, repair shops, laundries, souvenir shops, etc., line the roadsides in these settlements. With current expansion and improvement of the highway system there seems increasing likelihood that more settlements of this type will develop. 178 361 [443]

Houses and Buildings Architectural styles and the materials of construction appear to have changed but slightly as a result of the war. There are now thousands of small temporary huts made of scrap materials which will suffice until the individual family can afford a more permanent structure. When new houses are built, the styles are closely similar to those of the prewar period. The major change in the style of country houses appears to have occurred during the Japanese period of administration, for early travelers and investigators report that the typical farmer's dwelling consisted of woven bamboo walls, thatch roof, and dirt floor. These are but rarely found today, and where they do occur, there is always a raised floor as in the case of the Japanese home. In certain areas, such as Kitazato for example, there has been a reversion to this house of woven bamboo and thatch due to poverty, a lack of wood, and the readily available bamboo. The prewar house of wooden walls and frame with a tile roof still remains the most common house type and that which is most frequently built. 178 342 [171]

The use of concrete blocks in building is attributed to American influence; however, their usage to date has been limited mostly to non-residential buildings. Roofing of corrugated iron is sometimes used, but it is regarded as a temporary device. [177]

Interiors have changed but little; rooms are usually relatively bare of furnishings. Frequently the walls are covered with pictures taken from Japanese and American magazines. 177 178 353

The enclosed yard surrounding the Okinawan house often contains considerable evidence of the war. Oil drums have been put to use as rain barrels and privies; American helmets are frequently found serving as pails or buckets; old shell cases are used for support and occasionally, if a sufficient number are available, for decorative fencing; sections of portable landing-strips serve as sidewalks; and on one occasion a Japanese machine-gun was observed in use as a clothes pole. 177 351

Crafts There has been a marked decline in Okinawan handicrafts and a greater reliance placed on factory-made products. The manufacture of cloth, baskets, rope, hats, pottery, raincapes, mats, sandals, etc. has dropped markedly in comparison to the prewar era; yet, it is acknowledged that the war only served to accelerate the decline. Several factors are involved in this process. In many cases the Japanese factory products are cheaper and better than the local article. The cultural domination of Japan also created an attitude that things Ryukyuan were inferior to things Japanese; hence, Japanese products and styles assumed an ascendancy over those of Ryukyuan origin. Lastly, the war destroyed many of the places of manufacture and the machinery employed, and replacement has never been made. 177 178 433 28 [329] [127]

361 The village is a group of houses, each with its own compound, and
351 these give it an inclosed look. There are few if any gardens or vegetable patches either in the compounds or within the village settlement.

363 The lanes resemble quiet winding country roads. The rock fences, or the lines of trees or shrubbery often conceal the houses. There is an appearance of loneliness in these lanes and roads, except at busy times of the day when the children return from school. The lack of commercial [482] activity, except for the women carrying rice on their heads to the mill [462] and for the small village stores, contributes to this impression of quiet, which one would expect from the routine of agriculture. At night, when [354] the doors are drawn, and when the flickering and smoky oil lamps are lit, the loneliness and quiet of the village is even more pronounced. The [493] lanes and the roads are deserted, save for an occasional passing truck, [192] bicycle, or three wheeled cycle, and in one of the favorite words of all Okinawans, the place is sabishii.[6]

366 Since there is little activity in the village other than farming,
368 neighboring villages and distant towns supply the additional needs. At nearby Gushichan village, there are the primary and junior high schools, the post office, the township and agricultural association offices, a barbershop, and some small stores. At Minatogawa, about one and one half miles away, there is a public bath, and across the river from this village, in Horikawa, an occasional play from the Okinawan stage, or a movie. Buses run through the village twice a day and one can make connections to Naha or Itoman, the two most likely places for buying [494] or selling. Or one can take the three wheeled cycles which pass through more frequently.

727 Physically, the village was much affected by the war. On June 11,
362 1945, the front line ran through the cultivated area between Hanashiro and Gushichan villages. Hill 95, the scene of fierce fighting was in the vicinity of Hanashiro.[7] One can still see an occasional tank track, abandoned helmets and scattered fragments of war materials in the fields. The village was affected by the war in ways which are now observable indirectly in the makeshift houses, improvised shacks, the roofs of half [355] tile and half thatch, the odd additions to the older buildings partly destroyed, and the lack of drain pipes and water catchment tanks. Houses, which to superficial appearance, have existed for generations, have been rebuilt since the war with grass substituting for the tile roofs. [311] War operations over the cultivated areas also resulted in some loss of land. A long mound in the rice areas, with paths along its ridge, was formerly a road built by the Americans in the final drive toward Mabuni. Almost all the houses in the village were destroyed.

6 This Japanese word suggests both loneliness and melancholy.

7 Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 437 (illustration), 434-42 on the struggle for Hill 95.

417 the house from the glances of the curious. It has been suggested that the stationary gate at the entrance of the courtyard is of Chinese [177] origin, that its purpose originally was to scare away spirits, and that its former presence in the tomb compound indicates that it was intro- [164] duced along with the turtleback or horseshoe tomb from Fukien province in China.[2]

175 Captain Hall described Okinawan house exteriors and the surrounding 351 buildings, including those of the common people. The house was "buried 342 in foliage" and hidden from view. It was surrounded by a light fence of rods, about one foot apart with creepers on top. These rods were probably stalks of miscanthus grass, or of the dwarf bamboo. The site had a wicker gate, possibly meaning the hinpun made out of the dried grass stalks. One house which he described was divided into two compartments, eight feet square, with a small veranda at one end. The floors, made of bamboo, and about six feet above the ground, were covered with a straw mat. The walls, about five feet high, were wattled with split bamboo, and the house had a pointed thatched roof.

[352] In the interior, there were shelves for bowls and cups, and in a [354] loft or garret tools, nets, or baskets were stored. These installations now are often found in the kitchen. In the middle of one side of the house there was a fireplace, sunk below the level of the ground.

[343] Outside, in the compound, a pigeon house, poultry yard and spinning 175 wheels were observed. In another passage, Hall describes a cottage of 342 "wattled rattans" with a light open bamboo roof with thatch and creepers, one wing of which was occupied by goats. The compound consisted of a stable, a pig sty, and a poultry house. There was also a mill. The granary was on posts about six feet above the ground with firewood [325] piled below. There was an anvil with a forge of masonry but no bellows.[3]

The houses of the poor, said Fahs in his report to Commodore Perry, were made of bamboo and had no floors.[4] Accounts around the turn of the century say that houses and granaries were supported by corner posts of considerable height. Schwartz said these posts were about five feet high. The house walls of straw thatch were held in place by bamboo grass matting with a space two feet in width acting both as a door and a window, a matting curtain covering the aperture.[5]

[Text Continues TOP of p. 73 -- Analyst]

2 Simon, as cited, 80. C. W. Bishop has suggested that the stone houses of the Ainus of Hokkaido point to contact with southern insular peoples. Also, the primitive Japanese hut which was illustrated resembled the one we have been describing for Okinawa. It had a thatched roof and a courtyard which was cut off from the outside view by the hinpun. The historical geography of early Japan. Geo. Review, 13 (1923), 40-63. Note especially Figures 5 and 6. (This article was reprinted in Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1925).

3 Captain Basil Hall, Voyage to Corea and the Great Loo Choo, as cited, 124, 141, 142-43.

4 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, Vol. II, 50.

5 Henry B. Schwartz, In Togo's country. New York and Cincinnati, 1908, 148-49.

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The kitchen is set off from the rest of the house by being on a lower level, perhaps one step. The kitchen usually has a hard dirt floor. Occasionally it is cemented. Sometimes it has a chimney, sometimes a hole in the side of the wall, which the curious smoke rejects in favor of a leisurely diffusion throughout the other rooms of the house. The kitchen is not part of the house in the sense that the other rooms are. The shoes are not removed when entering it. The kitchen opens out on to a stone or dirt path. Women frequently still eat in the kitchen because of its convenience and the need of going in and out to get water, or to wash vegetables, or to get food from the shed during the preparation of a meal. [576] [264]

The stove is basically an open hearth with a hole at the top for the cooking pan. There is also a hole directly below this into which the fuel can be placed. More elaborate stoves may have three tiers: one for the cooking, one for putting the fuel in, the lower for the ashes. The most simple, in the very poorest houses, are little more than a circular group of stones laid on the ground built up so that a pan can be placed on top. The most elaborate, made of stone, might run across the width of the kitchen and have several openings. Fuel, such as odd branches, sticks of firewood brought from the northern (Kunigami) region, crushed and dried sugar cane, or miscanthus grass of varying length is put part way into the fire and pushed further in as the ends are burned off. 354 [372]

The all stone house is smaller than the wooden house. It invariably has a tile roof, for those able to afford the stone can also buy the tile. The stone blocks used in house construction are usually about nine feet by one foot on the edge.[6] The stones used as posts are buried two feet in the ground leaving seven feet for the upright. These blocks, called ishibashida when used for house construction, have the same width and breadth; they can be cut to any desired length to even off the sides. The stones are layed like bricks with mortar to form the walls of the house. The all stone house is not common, and is usually seen in the south, where the stone is quarried, in Minatogawa, and in adjacent villages. These houses are more modern, and often bathing facilities are built in. The stone house has the advantage of being cool in summer, warm in winter. 342 [333] [184] [515]

Finally, there are the simple structures, resembling shacks or shanties more than houses. These are, as one would expect, more frequent in the areas of the war's operations. There are three main varieties, though the combinations are numerous: (1) the all grass house, now uncommon. The sides of this wattled house are usually of [362]

6 Actually they are 9 x 1 x 1 shaku. A shaku is 0.994 feet.

an interwoven diagonal weave of miscanthus whose hollow stalks at maturity are strong but brittle, resembling in appearance a very small piece of bamboo. (2) The house with a simple thatch roof with walls of various sized rocks or small pebbles cemented together with mud taken from the yard, and (3) a thatch roof house whose frame is built with small rough hewn poles, over which a thin cheap pine siding is nailed. The construction of this house will be described in some detail below because, with the exception of the modern pine siding to replace the straw or diagonal weave, it is, according to the Okinawans, the oldest type of native rural house. 342

The house must have heat during the winter. The kitchen hearth is not used for this purpose. The kitchen fires are allowed to die down and are only started at meal times. It would be too expensive or wasteful of gathered fuel to do otherwise. Room heat is provided by a brazier (hibachi in Japanese). This may be a large square box with an inset lined with metal in which ashes and charcoal are placed. Some winter cooking may be done here. The hibachi may also be a large earthenware pot in which coals of charcoal are placed. 354 [415]

In some old homes, another device suitable both for heating and cooking, can still be seen. This was observed in Matsuda, but not in the southern villages. This is also a sort of hearth (jiru in Japanese). The jiru consists of a hanging bamboo pole one end of which is secured by a rope tied to a lattice in the ceiling. On the other end of the pole, about three feet long, there is an iron hook with another device, like an arm bent at the elbow, allowing the height of the hook above the fire to be adjusted. The handle of the pot is placed on this hook and the pot hangs at any desired distance over a bed of coals and ashes. This hearth is not in the kitchen, but at one corner of the dining room, usually where the two open rooms adjoin. The jiru is rare in the villages at the present time. It is from this device that the former practice of a mother and a new born infant "roasting" themselves takes its name; both the mother and the new born child were exposed, in a closed room, to heat from the jiru or from a brazier, even in the intensest heat of summer.[7] [184] [85]

4

Building a Simple House

The following description is based on observations made of the construction of a simple house in Hinatogawa. The steps are given in some detail because it was said that this house was being constructed in the manner of the traditional rural Okinawan house. 342

Rough hewn poles were used. The traditional method of putting on

7 This will be discussed in Chapter 13 on family life in the section on the rearing of children.

away evil spirits (bakemono).[1] From the pig sty the child is then taken to the kitchen, where a pot of rice has been cooking. Soot from the outside of the pot is taken up with the middle finger of the right hand and a round black spot pressed on the forehead above the bridge of the nose between the eyebrows. The reason for this could not be ascertained. 844 852

Beliefs in the power of a pig sty to ward off evil spirits are still held in Minatogawa and the customs were generally practiced up to the beginning of the war. But these beliefs were related more to celebrations following the birth of the child than to the birth itself. The elements of these beliefs seemed to be that the afterworld was close to this world. If a child were not protected, the spirits of the afterworld would steal the child and take him back. The party celebrating the birth lasted a whole week, usually starting each evening about 8 and ending at 8 the following morning. Guests stayed up all night to prevent the child from being stolen, for if anyone went to sleep, the spirit would enter. Spirits followed behind the guest and were especially dangerous after 10 at night. The spirits however were frightened by the pigs; guests arriving during the danger hours went to the pig pen first to scare off the spirit following them, before entering the house. There was no evidence, in the parties I attended, of any present observance of this custom by young parents. The week of all night parties is no longer held. 854 776 231 [772] [574] [183]

These beliefs were found in Minatogawa. Hanashiro informants had heard of such customs, but were vague about them. While their seeming absence in Hatsuda may be due to incomplete data, there may be another explanation. These beliefs may have been picked up by fishing people from other sources. [184]

One other birth custom known as jiru belongs to the recent history of the island. Jiru, as explained in Chapter V, is a fire place sunk in the floor of an Okinawan house, often in the corner of the dining room which adjoins a hall or a sleeping room, and near the kitchen. Convalescence was called jiru because mother and child warmed themselves by the device. Today convalescence may be called jiru, though it has nothing to do with the old custom, which in the literature has been referred to as "roasting." 846 [354]

1 When I discussed this and the following beliefs relating to pigs with people in Hatsuda, they ridiculed them and said there was no truth in it, implying that people in the south did not know what they were talking about. Subsequent rechecking convinced me that this was not so and that the beliefs in Minatogawa represent differences in the rural culture. 184

846 [354] In Matsuda, the jiru used after childbirth was either a small fireplace about three feet square set in the floor or an ordinary brazier (hibachi). The mother and the child were put in a dark sleeping room outfitted with the warmer. Sometimes the entire body of the mother was heated; in other cases, she seems to have placed herself so that the vagina received most of the heat. This was done regardless of season and happened in the hottest summer. The mother and child stayed in this room for 20 days. Attending female relatives went in and out only to keep things clean and to take care of the laundry. This form of jiru is said to have been practiced in Matsuda until 10 or 15 years ago.

In Hanashiro, this custom of warming was substantially the same. Regardless of season, the mother with her child retired to a dark room heated with a stove or a brazier. The mother nursed the child and no one entered or disturbed the two except for necessary attentions. No special portions of the body were heated. According to one Hanashiro woman, this custom existed up to 1940.[2] In present day practice, the mother rests for about 9 days including the day the child is born. During this period, the two are left alone. Necessary changes of clothing are put out and washed by female relatives. Following the rest period, the mother gets up, female friends and relatives clean the place thoroughly, and the house is back to normal.

In Minatogawa, warming is said to have disappeared about 20 years ago. The present period of convalescence lasts also about 9 days, with visits by grandparents on the day of birth, friends of the father on the second day, and those of the mother on the third.

[M 849] These customs seem to have died out because of the introduction, through Japan, of modern medicine and the growth of midwifery. The knowledge of a Japanese trained midwife is based on a study of anatomy and a thorough exposition of child birth and child care. Some lore, such as lucky days, and the reckoning of the tide enter, but her techniques are based on medical practice.[3]

2 An old man, a village official, said warming had disappeared 30 years ago, but in this matter the mother's testimony is probably the more reliable. In either event, both point to the relative recency of the practice.

3 One Japanese midwife uses as her guide two volumes by Kinoshita, Seichu. Sanbagakugi (Lectures on the Science of Midwifery), 1923. Vol. I deals with normal, Vol. II with difficult deliveries.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Survivals of the Priestess (Noro) System

The origin of the priestess system has been traced to primitive fire or hearth worship. A woman was a priestess to the God of Fire (hi no kami) represented in the hearth stone. A set of three rather long stones sometimes set in a triangle often represented the hearth. (These stones in the place of the guardian gods of the village may have the same meaning. In the poorer kitchens, stones set in this manner for the hearth are common to this day). In every house there was a primitive hearth (kanado). "Here, before this hearth, the ancestors of the household are worshipped, the Fire coming to summarize the ancestors who have sat before the hearth in past generations."[3] Each household of a village, each village, and each township had a hearth attendant. The priestess (noro) of the whole township "represents the original worship of the predominant hearth of that region." The duties of the rural priestesses included worshipping at the ancestral shrines, deciding the lucky days for planting, and officiating at marriage and burial ceremonies.

This priestess system was made an institutionalized state religion by King Shō Shin (1477-1526). Their political power was broken by Shō Sōkan, a prime minister of King Shō Tei (1669-1709). The most logical explanation offered for their fall from political power is the influence of Confucianism with its standards of male dominance and the subordination of women. By the end of the 17th century, its economic and political power were declining, but its influence on individual worship, especially, in rural Okinawa, lasted down to the beginning of the recent war.[4]

The priestess system had a place in inheritance customs of the old land tenure system. "Under the ancient system," said Spencer, "certain valuable farm lands were the possession of the Noro, the remainder of the land being held by the community and reassigned at various periods."[5] Inheritance within the system insured the handing down of these properties in the female line. This succession could be accomplished in a number of ways. The female child of the brother of a priestess might succeed her. This is believed to be the method of succession in ancient times. In later times, the noro married and succession was traced in the male line. The wife of a son of the priestess,

3 This material is based on the article of R. S. Spencer, Noro or Priestesses of Loo-Choo, as cited. The quotation is on p. 97.

4 Ibid, 98, 108.

5 Ibid, 109. The material following is to be found on p. 110.

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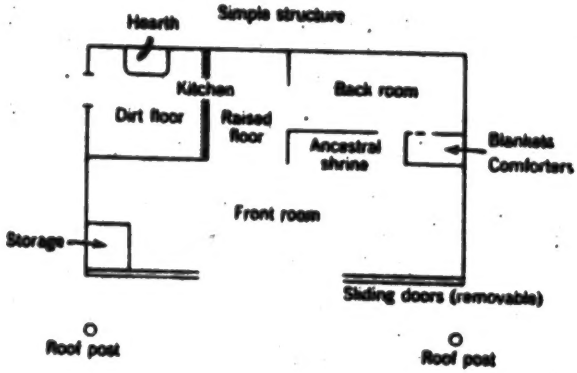

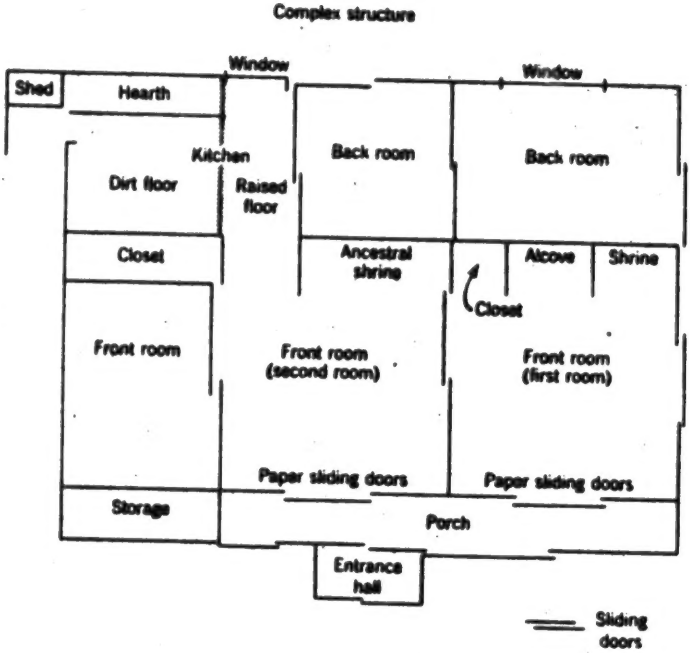

Figure 1. House plan showing simple and complex structures.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1983 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

There are no uniform sleeping arrangements. The larger the family, the more corners of the front rooms and rear room are occupied. Since the number of comforters is limited in most families, two or three members of the family share one. Father and mother do not always sleep together, and, even if they do, an infant may sleep between them. When there are several children, another child may sleep next to the father, so that in one row there may be mother, a baby, father, and an older child. One or two children usually sleep with the grandmother in another corner. In several families an older sister may sleep with younger brothers; in others, two elder brothers, or an older sister and an older brother, may sleep next to each other. Children do not usually sleep at other people's houses, but when they reach junior high school age, a girl may stay with a girl friend or a group of boys may sleep together at one house. 513

A simple desk and chair are kept in each house where children go to school. These are put in one corner of the front room, except in large houses with a third room in front, which is reserved for schoolchildren of the house, who also sleep there. Around the study corner, books are kept on a crate or shelf. Only the biggest houses have a niche in their "first" room. Paintings and scrolls, used to decorate alcoves before the war, have been lost, and few people have acquired replacements. Many families decorate rooms by pasting pictures from magazines and newspapers on the walls. Some have reproductions of the Japanese Crown Prince Akihito, others scenic pictures from Japan. 352 353

Only a few recent buildings have inner sliding doors with paper screens. The paper is often left off during the hot season and put on before New Year. If children or cats are around, the splendor does not last long, and even an adult's hand frequently punctures the screen in trying to open the door. Holes are left unrepaired for the remainder of the year. 342 356

The eating corner between kitchen and rear room is the place where most families gather in the evening, especially during the winter. An informal caller may join them there. If it is cold, a brazier is put in the center, filled with pieces of charcoal on top of old ashes to provide heat for those sitting around it. These braziers vary in type: the poorest families use the bottom of an oil drum filled with ashes; others use pottery jars or small wooden boxes lined with metal. 342 264 354

Crockery used in most houses is of a simple type. If breakage occurs, as it often does, a cup or bowl can be replaced for a few yen at the grocery store. Well-to-do families may have an extra set of teacups, which are used for guests. Several families also own lacquer ware, but it is not in daily use. Like cups and bowls, chopsticks are simple and inexpensive. They last a long time and are seldom lost. Children do 415 [412]

415 not use household equipment in their games. Instead they find broken Children do
857 dishes, old cans, and other discarded items in the trash heap.

354 The kitchen has no equipment other than the open fireplace with
[776] three hearth stones and a shelf above it on which a salt column, sym-
[654] bolizing kitchen deities, is kept. During the last few years, the Ryukyan government Home Extension Service has been trying to introduce brick stoves into farmhouses. Several families now have this kind of stove although it is expensive to build.

356 As far as can be superficially discerned, the home is kept clean. A visitor usually finds the floor of the house free of dirt. Footgear is taken off before entering, and children are reminded to wash their bare feet before going into the house. Less care is given to the area around the kitchen.

312 Outside the kitchen stand one or two jars to store water. A dipper is
415 kept nearby, and children playing in the vicinity or adults often walk to one of these jars for water, which they drink out of a dipper. There may also be an array of pots, pans, crates, baskets, and other equipment piled up around the kitchen. Knives and hatchets are openly left around among the equipment behind the kitchen.

351 The courtyard is an important place for domestic activities. Here women and girls wash dishes, mix pig food in large kettles, make bean paste in a hand stone grinder, and prepare grain for storage. There are
[34] vegetable patches in one corner of the yard, chicken coops, pigsties,
[514] goat pens, and an outhouse in another. Most garbage is fed to the pigs;
[364] the rest is thrown over the sea wall to roll down onto the beach.

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Chapter 2

Daily Routine

805 There are few clocks in central Taira. Except for the township office,
512 post office, and village store, only two or three families own a timepiece. Twice a day, at noon and 10 o'clock in the evening, a clerk strikes

313 which they use interchangeably. After sufficient trees have been cut and
[412] cleared of branches, a large bundle of firewood is carried to the village. Most forest workers make four or five trips a day into the hills—two or three during the hot summer season. As the afternoon ends, they sit down along the road in the village or nearby to prepare firewood
474 bundles. Pieces of wood are inserted through a bamboo loop of stand-
313 ard size, prescribed by the cooperative store, until a tight, uniform bundle is obtained. The last piece has to be driven into the bundle by force. All over the village one can hear the knocking of wood pieces
[592] which marks the end of a forest worker's daily labor. Each household works independently and sells firewood to the cooperative. A store
[436] clerk travels around the village in late afternoon, checks all bundles, and issues credit slips to each household; these can be changed into money at the store. The following morning the truck, owned by the
[438] cooperative, carries the firewood to Naha or Itoman where it is sold to a dealer who redistributes it to individual consumers or public bathhouses. The northern part of the island has always supplied firewood to the population of southern Okinawa to be used for kitchen hearths
[354] and bath stoves. In recent years kerosene kitchen stoves have become so popular that the depletion of wood resources tends to coincide with decreasing demand.

TRADES AND PROFESSIONS

463 Other ways of making a living exist. A few artisans in Taira derive part of their income from wage labor. A number of Taira men earn their living by carpentering, although they do most of their work in the south. They return occasionally when their services are needed for local house building. When working on local construction, they are
[465] paid in money, free lodging, and meals. There are also a few part-time resident carpenters who, whenever they are not employed in house building or repairs, spend their time farming and cutting wood. New
[342] buildings are usually put up between the beginning of the second rice crop and the New Year.

463 Several persons are salaried township or village officials. They are paid monthly and work a 44-hour week, not counting many extra meet-
466 ings and duties connected with their work. All office workers however
[647] have fields, either their own or those of their parents, where they spend Sundays helping in agricultural pursuits. During rice planting season, they are given special time off to attend to their fields.

Also among the salaried workers are store employees, a full-time

CHAPTER V: FAMILY LIFE

W. P. Suttles

1. Kinship Organization

342 The Household and the Family Okinawan homes, both in the country and in the towns, show a surprising uniformity in struc-
[183] ture, in floor plan, and even in orientation. This uniformity reflects the stability of society and at the same time reenforces it. The home of the
[361] Okinawan farmer usually faces south; indeed the older villages as a whole were established on southward-facing slopes.

The house consists of two main rooms separated by sliding doors, a long and narrow back room behind the two front rooms, and a kitchen to one side, usually the west. The measurements are usually in multiples of three feet (the Japanese foot being almost identical with the English foot); the two main rooms are usually the same size, 9 by 9 or 12 by 12 feet, and the others are somewhat smaller. The roofs of most houses are thatched with "kaya", but people who can afford it have wholly or partly tiled roofs. The roof of the kitchen may have a separate peak and ridgepole from that of the main part of the house. Usually the roof of the main part of the house extends beyond the front rooms so that there is a narrow veranda across the front and halfway around the side opposite the kitchen. The house usually has no windows. The kitchen has an outside door and the front rooms have sliding doors all the way around under the veranda; these are usually open except at night or during bad weather.

The main part of the house has a floor of boards but the kitchen often has only an earth floor or else consists of two sections, one floored and one not. The kitchen is thus usually lower than the main part of the house and is referred to as "below" while the main part is "above", but this also implies a difference in status. The room farthest from the kitchen is called the "first room" and the middle room is the "second room". The back room may be
353 a single long room or may be divided into two. At the back of the kitchen is
[354] the oven, usually made of earth or bricks with two or three holes for pots and pans to fit into. At the back of the second room, if the house is a "main house"---that of an eldest son, is the tootoomee (J. 'butsudan'), a cabinet for the ancestral tablets. At the back of the first room there is often an alcove containing a scroll and perhaps a family treasure; this is the utuku (J. 'tokonoma').

In the homes of more prosperous families the floors of the front rooms are permanently covered with "tatami", the thick mats used by the Japanese, but in most homes the only mats are the thinner mushiru, which are spread out
352 only when needed. Furniture is simple; the mushiru are the equivalent of chairs
[354] and beds; a low table may be brought out to put food upon at meal-time and a pot of burning charcoal may be brought out in cold weather for a little heat. Usually one sees only a basket of teacups and a tobacco-box. On formal ocas-
592 sions the men sit in the first room and the women in the second, but usually
562 the partition is removed and the family simply lives in the whole space.

843 be drawn into the tomb. Some say the prospective father should also avoid these situations. Another set of observances has an easy delivery as its aim. The woman is urged to work hard and not to overeat so that the unborn child may not become too large. During the fifth month a "belly band" is wrapped tightly about her for the same purpose, especially to keep the head small.

A woman neither hides her pregnancy nor displays it unnecessarily---if she is married and it is her husband's child. If this is not the case she may attempt to hide the fact. On the other hand if she is bearing what may be her husband's first son , she may be very pleased at the prospect, but she does not go out of her way to show it.

843 No clear statement was given to the effect that the "soul" enters the
774 body of the unborn child at a particular time, but statements are made about dangers to the shii of the child. One informant suggested that this soul-like
[847] entity enters the body of the mother during the third month and that for this reason a moxibustionist had refused to abort a woman after her third month had passed.

847 Abortion Abortions have always been and continue to be performed on Okinawa. The most frequent reason is said to be the desire not to bear an illegitimate child. An old-fashioned home method is to brew camphor-wood leaves and drink the brew or to burn the leaves and breathe the smoke. Experts in cautery are also believed to be able to cause an abortion by burning moxa on the proper areas of the body. But at the present time women are said to be aborted more frequently by midwives. The practice does not appear to be regarded as illegal.

844 Birth A woman tries to work up until the time of childbirth. If she has had several children already she knows when labor starts, how long it is likely to last, and may go out to the fields confident that she can return in time. Delivery is in the kucha, the back room of the house. Women of the family are present and men are not forbidden, though children are sent out. Often a woman's husband grasps her during delivery. Formerly she squatted on the floor holding a rope suspended from a house-beam above her. At present she is usually made to lie down. The labor is spoken of as "pain" but the woman must not cry out; she may only grunt when putting her strength into the ejection of the baby. If she were to cry out because of the pain she would later feel very ashamed---"because it is something that happens to every woman; people would talk about her."

Formerly the newly-born child was neither bathed nor dressed but simply wrapped in an old kimono; now it is bathed in boiled water and dressed. The
853 infant is permitted to nurse from about the fourth day on, after there is milk in the mother's breasts. Before this it may be given a little sugar in water and possibly allowed to suck a little colostrum about the second day after birth.

178
846 Formerly the mother was kept in the kucha for about a week in front
[354] of a fire burning on the jiiru, an open hearth in country homes, a kind of brasier in the city.

brazier in the city. She was kept warm continuously, even in hot weather, so that, it is said, women often broke out in skin eruptions from the heat. At present younger women are not following this practice and many regard it as a foolish custom. The absence of jiiru in post-war houses may be a factor in the decline of the custom. 178 846 [354]

Post-natal Observances During the first year of life the child is the center of several ceremonies. They are in brief: 852

1) Mbagii suuji, "Red rice ceremony". Held on the day of birth. Relatives, friends, and neighbors come. Rice dyed red and a soup of taro stems (a symbol of many children) are offered to the ancestral tablets and served to the guests. The afterbirth is buried behind the house while the children are made to laugh so that the baby will have a good disposition. [844]

2) Naajiki, "Naming". Held during the first week. Practices vary. In one variety the baby's grandmother releases a crab and a grasshopper and shoots an arrow at a winnowing tray; in another she divines with rice grains to see if the name she has selected is proper. This rite was formerly held to give the baby its native Okinawan name. [553] [787]

3) Mansang, "Full birth". Held on the 7th or 30th day after the birth to celebrate the full term. A feast is served to relative, friends, and neighbors.

4) Naa'njii, "First going out". Held for a boy on the first day of the ten-day cycle, designated as kanii, on the second kanii day for a girl. The baby's grandmother makes it pray to the ancestral tablets and to the oven god, then marks its forehead with soot and takes it out, formerly to pray to the god of the pigsty-privy. [769] [782]

5) Hachi-atchii, "First walking". Held whenever the mother is first able to go to visit her parents and siblings. She takes gifts of food to them and in return they give money to the baby.

6) Tanka, "Birthday". Held on the first anniversary of the birth. A feast is prepared and many relatives and friends come bringing gifts of money. The child's future career is divined by placing a number of objects in front of it---money, a book, an abacus, food, etc. If the child chooses the money he will be rich; if the book, a scholar; if the food, a glutton; and so forth. The odds are usually weighted in favor of a desirable future. [527] [787]

There seems to be some variation in all of these practices. Several may be obsolescent because some of the elements entering into them are no longer in use, the pigsty-privy and the native names, for example. [178]

Infanticide New-born babies may be done away with if they are not wanted, but this is probably not at all common under ordinary circumstances. One example was recorded: An old woman who died recently lay for about a week on her death bed unable to talk. Her children gathered about her, wondering if some sin ('tsumi') were not in need of atonement ('tsugunai'). 847 783

361 The village is a group of houses, each with its own compound, and
351 these give it an inclosed look. There are few if any gardens or vegetable patches either in the compounds or within the village settlement.

363 The lanes resemble quiet winding country roads. The rock fences, or the lines of trees or shrubbery often conceal the houses. There is an appearance of loneliness in these lanes and roads, except at busy times of the day when the children return from school. The lack of commercial [482] activity, except for the women carrying rice on their heads to the mill [462] and for the small village stores, contributes to this impression of quiet, which one would expect from the routine of agriculture. At night, when [354] the doors are drawn, and when the flickering and smoky oil lamps are lit, the loneliness and quiet of the village is even more pronounced. The [493] lanes and the roads are deserted, save for an occasional passing truck, bicycle, or three wheeled cycle, and in one of the favorite words of all [192] Okinawans, the place is sabishii.[6]

Since there is little activity in the village other than farming,
366 neighboring villages and distant towns supply the additional needs. At
368 nearby Gushichan village, there are the primary and junior high schools, the post office, the township and agricultural association offices, a barbershop, and some small stores. At Minatogawa, about one and one half miles away, there is a public bath, and across the river from this village, in Horikawa, an occasional play from the Okinawan stage, or a movie. Buses run through the village twice a day and one can make connections to Naha or Itoman, the two most likely places for buying [494] or selling. Or one can take the three wheeled cycles which pass through more frequently.

127 Physically, the village was much affected by the war. On June 11,
362 1945, the front line ran through the cultivated area between Hanashiro and Gushichan villages. Hill 95, the scene of fierce fighting was in the vicinity of Hanashiro.[7] One can still see an occasional tank track, abandoned helmets and scattered fragments of war materials in the fields. The village was affected by the war in ways which are now observable indirectly in the makeshift houses, improvised shacks, the roofs of half [355] tile and half thatch, the odd additions to the older buildings partly destroyed, and the lack of drain pipes and water catchment tanks. Houses, which to superficial appearance, have existed for generations, have been rebuilt since the war with grass substituting for the tile roofs. [311] War operations over the cultivated areas also resulted in some loss of land. A long mound in the rice areas, with paths along its ridge, was formerly a road built by the Americans in the final drive toward Mabuni. Almost all the houses in the village were destroyed.

6 This Japanese word suggests both loneliness and melancholy.

7 Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 437 (illustration), 434-42 on the struggle for Hill 95.

592 342 magazines and pasted on the wall, and here he entertains visitors who come for conversation or study.

3

Types of Houses

342 In all the villages studied, the houses may be divided into three general categories: (1) the Japanese style house with the thatch or tile roof, (2) the smaller stone house with the Japanese type floor plan, and (3) various shacks resembling in some details the simple structure of the old Okinawan rural house.

[313] [439] [335] The sturdy Japanese type house is made of excellent hardwoods imported from Japan or brought from the forests of northern Okinawa. This house was often constructed without nails. It was put together by mortise and tenon joints, and also with a piece of wood, square on the edge and about three inches long which functions like a dowel. This is known as a kusabi. In modern houses, both of the simple and more complex types, nails are more commonly used.

[355] [411] [352] The eaves of this house are supported by strong poles, unfinished, usually from the Japanese redwood (sugi in Japanese, Cryptomeria japonica, D. Don) or the inumaki (Podocarpus macrophyllus D. Don). The poles are placed on flat triangular stones for foundation support. The houses have plank floors. Both the tile and the thatch roof types (to be described later) have the same floor plan with the size of the rooms determined by the number of mats (tatami in Japanese) desired.

The half tile, half thatch roof is not uncommon, an indication either of a roof partially destroyed by the war which has been repaired by thatch, or athatched roof gradually being replaced by tile. This is a slow process, as tile is costly. Basically, all of these houses have the same general plan, except for differences in roof materials.

[355] [415] [312] The older Japanese type houses with a tile roof and the newer ones being built on that model are provided with a drain pipe for rain water catchment. This pipe, running along the length and the width of the roof channels the water into a large tank on the ground, reducing the labor involved in carrying water from village ponds or central springs. Many of these rain water catchments disappeared when the old houses were destroyed in the war. Drain pipes cannot be attached to the thatch. In general, rain water is not now a plentiful source of supply in the villages, though buckets and tubs are frequently put out during a heavy downpour, and this water is used for drinking and cooking until it begins to spoil. It may supplement the water carried from a central village faucet, the well, or a pond.

The construction of the Japanese type house is complex. Basically, the design of the house is derived from the arrangement of three rooms,

342 floor, resting his feet outside on the ground. An overhanging roof protects him from the rain. Larger houses have an entrance hall and a porch running along the front. Since these porches also have sliding-door panels, few people bother to use the entrance except on formal visits.

The simple structures have a framework which is basically the same [335] as that of the more complex ones. Neither is constructed with nails but held together by mortise and tenon joints. Thick layers of thatch or a tile roof give adequate protection from rains. Thatch roofs need re- [356] placement every few years, but they keep the house cooler than the more permanent, more expensive clay or cement tile roofs. House walls are made of very thin, cheap wood which weathers fast and cracks, allowing winds to enter freely. Only the new houses have solid double walls. The floor in the simple buildings consists of planks which in many houses are not nailed down; during the winter months the cold penetrates through the wide slots between the boards. Better houses have ceilings and doors to separate the "first" and "second" room in the front of the house, as well as solid floors.

Smoke from the open fireplace in the kitchen rises into the roof and [151] seeps through the thatch. Poor eyesight, common among children, is believed by the villagers to result from smoke-filled houses and poor lighting. In the evening, dim light is provided by one or two kerosene lamps.

342 The ancestral shrine, a built-in shelf for the ancestral tablets, has 353 its place in the "second" room. This shrine is only found in the homes 769 of oldest sons. It is not treated with special reverence. Photographs of the deceased as well as of living relatives are kept there as well as personal belongings—a letter, money, a bottle of sake, or gifts. During [822] religious holidays of ancestral worship, red hibiscus flowers, the color for the dead, are placed on the shelf. Since the shelf is high from the floor, small children cannot get at it.

352 The only furniture in all houses is a low table on which food and [516] drinks are served. Everybody sits on the floor, legs crossed and feet tucked under their thighs in the case of men or put behind to one side in the case of women. Very few houses in Taira have the thick, padded straw mats found in the homes of more well-to-do people in Okinawa. But every family has several thin mats of woven reed standing in one corner of the room; these are spread out for guests to sit on or for a member of the household who lies down during the day. Storage 353 shelves are used in simple houses, but in the better houses mattresses, comforters, and hard pillows are kept in a built-in closet space during [356] the day. On sunny days women air the bedding by spreading it over walls, fences, or in the grass.

There are no uniform sleeping arrangements. The larger the family, the more corners of the front rooms and rear room are occupied. Since the number of comforters is limited in most families, two or three members of the family share one. Father and mother do not always sleep together, and, even if they do, an infant may sleep between them. When there are several children, another child may sleep next to the father, so that in one row there may be mother, a baby, father, and an older child. One or two children usually sleep with the grandmother in another corner. In several families an older sister may sleep with younger brothers; in others, two elder brothers, or an older sister and an older brother, may sleep next to each other. Children do not usually sleep at other people's houses, but when they reach junior high school age, a girl may stay with a girl friend or a group of boys may sleep together at one house. 513

A simple desk and chair are kept in each house where children go to school. These are put in one corner of the front room, except in large houses with a third room in front, which is reserved for schoolchildren of the house, who also sleep there. Around the study corner, books are kept on a crate or shelf. Only the biggest houses have a niche in their "first" room. Paintings and scrolls, used to decorate alcoves before the war, have been lost, and few people have acquired replacements. Many families decorate rooms by pasting pictures from magazines and newspapers on the walls. Some have reproductions of the Japanese Crown Prince Akihito, others scenic pictures from Japan. 352 353

Only a few recent buildings have inner sliding doors with paper screens. The paper is often left off during the hot season and put on before New Year. If children or cats are around, the splendor does not last long, and even an adult's hand frequently punctures the screen in trying to open the door. Holes are left unrepaired for the remainder of the year. 342 356

The eating corner between kitchen and rear room is the place where most families gather in the evening, especially during the winter. An informal caller may join them there. If it is cold, a brazier is put in the center, filled with pieces of charcoal on top of old ashes to provide heat for those sitting around it. These braziers vary in type: the poorest families use the bottom of an oil drum filled with ashes; others use pottery jars or small wooden boxes lined with metal. 342 264 354

Crockery used in most houses is of a simple type. If breakage occurs, as it often does, a cup or bowl can be replaced for a few yen at the grocery store. Well-to-do families may have an extra set of teacups, which are used for guests. Several families also own lacquer ware, but it is not in daily use. Like cups and bowls, chopsticks are simple and inexpensive. They last a long time and are seldom lost. Children do 415 [412]

415 not use household equipment in their games. Instead they find broken 857 dishes, old cans, and other discarded items in the trash heap. Children do

354 The kitchen has no equipment other than the open fireplace with [176] three hearth stones and a shelf above it on which a salt column, sym- [654] bolizing kitchen deities, is kept. During the last few years, the Ryukyan government Home Extension Service has been trying to introduce brick stoves into farmhouses. Several families now have this kind of stove although it is expensive to build.

356 As far as can be superficially discerned, the home is kept clean. A visitor usually finds the floor of the house free of dirt. Footgear is taken off before entering, and children are reminded to wash their bare feet before going into the house. Less care is given to the area around the kitchen.

312 Outside the kitchen stand one or two jars to store water. A dipper is 415 kept nearby, and children playing in the vicinity or adults often walk to one of these jars for water, which they drink out of a dipper. There may also be an array of pots, pans, crates, baskets, and other equipment piled up around the kitchen. Knives and hatchets are openly left around among the equipment behind the kitchen.

351 The courtyard is an important place for domestic activities. Here women and girls wash dishes, mix pig food in large kettles, make bean paste in a hand stone grinder, and prepare grain for storage. There are [93] vegetable patches in one corner of the yard, chicken coops, pigsties, [514] goat pens, and an outhouse in another. Most garbage is fed to the pigs; [364] the rest is thrown over the sea wall to roll down onto the beach.

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Chapter 2

Daily Routine

805 There are few clocks in central Taira. Except for the township office, 512 post office, and village store, only two or three families own a timepiece. Twice a day, at noon and 10 o'clock in the evening, a clerk strikes

751
514 The drum is nearly full and its surface is in constant motion, a seething
343 mass of maggots. One of those men with the carts that cause you to cross
[364] to the other side of the road will come in a few days to dump it, he hopes.
574 He crosses the yard and is invited into the house. He takes off his shoes
751 and steps up onto the floor. It is surprisingly clean, he finds. A mat is
[356] spread and he sits cross-legged upon it. Tea is offered and he accepts, thinking that it must have been made from boiled water. He learns later that he was wrong. He is given a fan and perceives that its function is keeping the flies away as much as it is creating a breeze. In a spirit of friendly cooperation he and Grandfather take turns shooing the flies off the broken chunks of black sugar that have been placed before them. A larger blue-bottle fly enters and someone makes a special effort to chase
[825] it out. Should the visitor be so crude and impolite as to mention flies and in connection with the toilet, it will be pointed out that only the blue-bottle flies are hatched from the maggots in the toilet. The smaller black house-flies simply produce more flies and hence are harmless.

[264] Bananas are served and the peels follow those of the potatoes out onto the ground. Smaller children run in and out. One child comes in with
[515] its nose running. After a time Mother pulls up its shirt tail and wipes the mucus off the upper lip. The child has not been well; Mother or Grandmother
[757] may take it to the yabuu, who will burn moxa on its skin at the proper places. A neighbor's child walks by; its face and nearly hairless head are
[753] a mass of scabs and its eyes are almost shut by pus. Someone laughingly explains that this is what happens when you don't cut a baby's buttocks properly with a razor to draw out the bad blood.

The visitor is urged to take more tea and sugar. He is complimented on his interest in Okinawa and is asked innumerable questions about America. The family is eager for knowledge and for further contact. As he rises to leave, he is urged to return. He puts on his shoes, finding one slightly
[753] damp from the poor aim of the youngest child. He is cautioned to wear his hat and knows by now the unspoken fear---encephalitis---caused by too much exposure to the sun. He notices that around the well where Mother has been
[296] doing laundry a great pool of water is gradually sinking into the sand. As he picks his way across the yard he wonders if the family would not be better off living in a houseboat, preferably in a fast-moving stream.

751 Such are some of the features of Okinawan life. Yet it would be a mistake to assume that there are no standards of sanitation. There are; they
356 are simply narrower than those of most Americans. Many Okinawans do throw
751 garbage out their front doors as indicated above, but it is also true that the floor of the house is usually cleaner than many American floors. It has to be clean; people sit on it and sleep on it. People take off their shoes before stepping up onto it or if they have been to the fields barefooted
751 they may wash their feet before stepping up onto it. But the area of cleanliness ends with the step. Beyond the step is a different sort of territory.
[351] Yet even in the yard there is a limit to the amount of trash that may be al-
[514] lowed to accumulate before it is swept away. The practice of urinating in the yard is distasteful to the American observer, but there is perhaps less basis for objection to it as a health hazard. Urine is relatively harmless. Feces, however, go into the toilet. If an untrained child defecates in the yard usually someone cleans up the spot.

873 [368]

Hanashiro the children take the short walk to primary and junior high school at Gushichan village; for senior high school they go to Chinen, 5 or 6 miles away. Most of them walk. Matsuda has an elementary school with the junior and senior high schools at Ginoza village, about 1 1/2 miles away. In senior high school, there is more specialization. The general science course is divided into physics (butsuri), chemistry (kagaku), and biology (seibutsu). Mathematics is split up into geometry (kika) and algebra (daitsu). There is further instruction in agriculture for the boys, some for the girls. The girls continue with domestic science, including sewing.

In the secondary schools, vocational education is well represented in the curriculum. The courses are planned as a preparation for the type of work students will do as adults in a village. The instructors seem competent although the subject matter does not include modern advances. There should not, in my opinion, be a further growth in vocational at the expense of general education, except after careful study of long term requirements. The great masses of people will continue to depend on agriculture, forestry, and to some extent on fishing for their existence, and vocational education should be built around a recognition of these facts. It should concentrate on supplying new knowledge related to these main fields. [875] 114

New technical skills that we desire to develop should be governed by these considerations: (1) the improvement of agriculture, forestry, and fishing. (2) The long range plans of the military and civil administration and the skills they will require. (3) New skills that will be needed with any development of foreign trade or of local industrialization.

Vocational education also should be developed along lines consistent with the type of professional training we are prepared to encourage. If biologists, botanists, agriculturalists, soil scientists, foresters, statisticians, social scientists are being trained, vocational and technical education should also follow along these general lines to create a source both of initial interest and of possible technicians to assist the professional workers. This would also apply to the public health fields, such as nurses' aides, midwives, laboratory technicians.

The distinguishing feature of the new education (shinkyoiku) is the introduction of democratic ideas (minshushugi). The status of girl students and of women teachers has also changed. Before the war, the children were taught in the same room, but the boys and girls were separated. Now there is no segregation. Women teachers' salaries, formerly about 20% less than the mens', are now the same. 871 [562] [875]

3

Schools and the Teacher

358

There is much more to a school day than actual instruction. The

358 children, whether in primary, junior, or senior high school, clean up the grounds and do repair and upkeep work. Young teachers, many [875] of whom are single, supervise the work, and often stay during the evening hours to plan the day's work or to study. Male teachers are night watchmen at the school, sleeping there in rotation.

346 The main problems of education are (1) adequate school buildings. Their condition reflects the haphazard tragedies of war. Schools vary in quality from place to place. The high school at Ginoza and the elementary school at Matsuda, for example, are excellent buildings; in other places, such as Gushichan village, the classroom buildings are little more than shanties with thatched roofs, and a siding of boards, [358] corrugated iron, or other materials at hand. At typhoon times, some of these are flattened, and it is normal to see school children helping to clear the grounds and putting on new thatch. It is my impression [727] generally that conditions are worse in southern Okinawa than in the northern area where war destruction was much less. The Civil Administration is well aware of these problems and the school construction program is, to all appearances, progressing. (2) Much the same situation and for the same reasons, exists with regard to school equipment. Rickety [352] chairs, old benches, bad blackboards contrast with the equipment of the new schools or of the old which escaped destruction.

875 (3) The post-war period has made a difference in the status of the school teacher (sensei). The destruction and disruption of the war, scarcity, high prices and low salaries have made his position in most [727] cases a precarious one. Before the war, the school teacher had prestige and money. Only the prestige remains. One high school principal estimated that the post-war prices have increased 100 times, the teachers' [465] salaries about fifty times. Immediately before the war, the starting salary of a beginning teacher was Y45 a month. (The value of the pre- [435] war Japanese yen was about US $0.27). A school principal received Y100 a month. Now the beginning salary for school teachers is about Y2200 and for principals Y5000. (The present value of the Okinawan yen is officially pegged at 120 to the dollar). Increases averaging about 30% went into effect in October 1951.

The school teacher has little or no money for clothing; his dress is the same nondescript combination of old civilian and army clothing that one sees on everyone else. This situation, serious in any country, is particularly so in a culture that has always regarded the teacher with such honor. The teaching profession is the source of many careers [555] in public office. Even in casual observation, one frequently finds that mayors, vice-mayors, former members of the Japanese civil service, started life as teachers.

The Okinawan teacher works hard and enthusiastically, but new attitudes are appearing which must be recognized. There is a desire to leave the profession, particularly noticeable in the male teachers under 30. Economic difficulties are reflected in frustration and discouragement. Okinawan school teachers, if the ones I knew are representative, have enthusiasm for ideas of democracy and freedom and for reforms that have

4

Ancestor Worship

"Ancestor worship" has been used to describe the devotion to the spirit of the dead and the long continued remembrance of them by the living. While it is too deeply intrenched to be changed, the term is not satisfactory. It is really the worship of those who precede one in death, and these may be ascendants or descendants. The term, "ancestor worship," also conceals the fact that there is a partnership of the living and the dead, which, continued by the living generation in the production of children, will carry over in the future, so that family continuity from the remote past to the remote future is never broken. It is, in the phrase of John Hubbard, "a chain of worship,"[2] not merely the worship of the past and of the dead. But whether in the popular mind these two conceptions, worship of the dead and the family as a continuity, are closely and consciously related is impossible for me to say. The two ideas exist side by side on the level of feeling: to respect one's ancestors and to have children. 769 602

Another form of ancestor worship occurs in observances honoring the first ancestor or the founder of the village. Each village has a place of the guardian god (ujigami), located on the supposed site where the founder of the village first settled, which perpetuates the memory of the founder, who may, in some cases, also be the first ancestor of a family living in the village. (It has been suggested that the ujigami also might be related historically to the fire deity). Ceremonies at the place of the village guardian god have a public character and were often conducted by the priestesses. 776 778 [993]

Hanashiro. The place of the guardian god, a small building, is located on a plot of village owned land, off the main road at the edge of the settlement where the cultivated land begins. It is not well kept up. There is no attendant or caretaker. When necessary, it is reconstructed by volunteer village effort. Broken stone stairs lead up to the small tile roofed building. Inside, there are 5 stones, about 10 inches on the side and 4 inches thick. Some have thought these also represent the primitive hearth stones associated with worship of the fire god. One villager described it as a woman's deity place. Before the war, emigrants to the South Seas, South America, Manchuria, or Japan and their relatives prayed here for the good health and early return of those departing. [346] [358] [167]

Now there is public worship at the place on several occasions during the year. On the 3rd day of the 3rd month, a woman's holiday, women and children go to the seashore around Minatogawa, and, on returning, pray at the place of the guardian god. On O-Bon, the village lion appears in front of this site. There is samisen playing and the whole village offers a prayer. (Not all villages have the lion costume. 778 796 [536] [825]

2 Quoted in L. Cranmer-Byng, The vision of Asia, New York, 1933, 42.

778 One person in front fills in the head and forelegs, another in back
796 provides the rear and hindlegs. The lion, with its human mechanism,
536 is a common sight at festivals and parades. It is a symbol of health
825 and strength worthy of imitation). In the Festival of the Full Moon, during the autumnal equinox, the lion appears again and the whole village participates in prayers before the festivities begin.

778 On the 1st and 15th of each lunar month, the headman goes to the
796 place of the guardian god and makes an offering of tea, burns a charcoal
[764] stick, and says a prayer. On the 9th day of the 9th lunar month, the
[825] village council and the elders assemble before the village burial palanquin (gan), offer prayer at the founder's site and then before the village office where the lion is standing.

Minatogawa. This village has three deity places and various explanations are given for this. Some believe that two of them represent
778 sites of co-founders, a first son, and his younger brother, the second
776 son. The third site is vaguely known as a village god place. It is a small outdoor place of worship on the main village road, with a step and a shelf for charcoal sticks. The founders' sites are located in the center of the settled area, but on different sides of the road. In the site of the second son, there are three stones, shaped like life savers but with a bottom for placing the charcoal sticks, three glasses for tea, and three bottles. The site of the supposed first son, less well kept, has a small altar, four stones, tea cups, and cans for the burning of incense.

778 On New Year and at O-Bon, the whole, or substantial portions, of
796 the village pray first at the supposed first son's site, then at the second son's. Prayers are offered also at the roadside deity place.
[782] Some of the younger villagers hope that as the older residents die off,
[358] the expenses of providing offerings and upkeep for all three can be eliminated and that simpler observances can take place at the roadside shrine. The situation now is complicated by the fact that many people regard themselves as descendants of one or the other co-founder.

778 Matsuda. In this village, the founder's site is reached by stairs
789 leading up a hillside. It is in the settled area near a dense growth
[793] of trees and shrubs. Close by there is a shed in which the lion skin is kept. In this village the founder's site seemed less important than another religious place, on the main road, in which women of lesser rank in the former priestess system participate in ceremonies. In this village there seems to be less participation by all the people of the village at the place of the guardian or founder deity, and, instead, representatives, like the headman, elders, and the former priestesses
[796] conduct the ceremonies at New Year, O-Bon, and at the equinoctial holidays.

793 lives like other villagers, spending most of her time in the fields and around her home. She has children and grandchildren, but the father of her children no longer lives in Taira. She regards the continuation of the old ceremonies as her holy duty even though she has to do without most of the accustomed material support from the village and [358] in spite of disbelief and lack of participation. She has sought in vain [346] to have the village make necessary repairs on the simple village shrine near the township office and on the little hut where the ancestral tablets of her predecessors are kept.

793 While many of the former ceremonies have been discontinued, the 782 priestess is still called on to officiate at house-building ceremonies, to purify the lot, to offer prayers when the beams are raised, and to con- [342] duct the dedication when the house is finished. If the owner is mov- [776] ing out of an old house, the priestess notifies the fire deity so that he [778] will follow to the new abode. On other occasions the priestess conducts prayers at the village shrine or at one of the other sacred places near the village. Many of the prayers are succorant—requesting the aid and blessing of the gods in accomplishing a certain goal. In general, as Lebra has pointed out (1958), ceremonies of asking for help are more numerous and elaborate than thanksgiving ones.

[312] On New Year's morning the priestess prays at the water well. Since [178] so many ceremonies have been abbreviated and are no longer carried out in traditional detail, the priestess apologizes for short cuts in her prayers. If she fails to offer prayers in all prescribed spots, she pacifies [794] the deities by facing in the direction of the sacred place where the [787] ceremony should have been conducted. Although the priestess is clearly best qualified to enter into communication with the deities, many older women seem to possess such power also, and if the priestess' assistants are not present, another older woman can function as her helper.

782 For these ceremonies food for offerings is contributed by the village. 788 The priestess, in a white gown, kneels, flanked by her assistants, also in white, in front of a tray of sake, rice, or other food for the deities. [262] Charcoal incense sticks are burned while brief prayers asking the deities for a successful crop, thanking them for a harvest, or whatever [533] is appropriate to the occasion are mumbled. On certain occasions the women sing chants. After these ceremonies, the priestess, her assistants and the few others present, usually old women, share the food offerings.

796 One of the most dramatic ceremonies is held on Boat Race Day in 793 lunar June. Priestesses from several villages gather near Taira. During the ceremony the Taira priestess stands in the middle of a circle formed by the other priestesses and helpers, beating a drum as the

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

sometimes a chart indicating their birthdays. There are also exhibits of students' drawings, which enliven the simple rooms. Each classroom has at least one blackboard built into the wall. By withdrawing removable walls in the new building, individual rooms can be converted into one large auditorium with a small stage for special occasions. 876 [346]

The personal equipment carried by students, other than books, consists of notebooks, pencils, a ruler, abacus, and, for those who can afford it, crayons and drawing paper. Sports equipment is also scanty, and replacement budgets are too low to remedy the situation. Students bring their own tools for garden and agricultural work as well as for work on the school grounds. 872

The teachers' room has desks for each teacher and the principal and a large table in the center for meetings. A small corner is reserved for a kerosene stove to prepare tea. There are also two cots for the teacher who remains on duty as night watchmen or for a child who feels ill during school hours. No privacy is provided for teachers, since students enter the room on any pretext or crowd around the windows if something attracts their curiosity. 875 346

Upkeep of the school is the responsibility of teachers and students; the only paid help is a girl who acts as janitor, nurse, and servant. The students, supervised by their teachers, tidy up classrooms after school, scrub walls and floors at regular intervals, take care of the hallway, cut grass, and weeds, and clear ditches on the school grounds. When school repairs are needed, teachers and parents help if no specialist's work is needed, as in repairing the thatch roof of temporary buildings. 872 358

The present school system, although under American supervision, follows the Japanese pattern. A six-year elementary school education and three years of junior high school are compulsory. After graduation at about the age of 15, students can enter high school if they choose and can qualify by passing the extremely rigid entrance examinations, which eliminate a considerable number of applicants. High school students have to move to Ogimi in a nearby township where they room and board while attending school. 871 [177] [873]

The curriculum in the Okinawan schools is on the whole similar to that in Japan. Japanese language continues to be the medium, and textbooks, as well as other school materials, are purchased from Japan. Children therefore continue to be familiarized with the culture of Japan as were their parents in the days before American administration. A number of changes have taken place since that time, however. Since the Ryukyus are at present under an independent administration, all symbols and paraphernalia pertaining to the Japanese Imperial House and to the Japanese nation have been removed from the schools. 871 177 [191]

872 ment. But how should a Taira child grasp, for instance, the meaning
876 of a large hotel in the city, where travelers can stop, engage one or
several rooms, have meals served either individually in the room or
[485] at the restaurant? The little Taira guesthouse, run by the doctor and to all extent and purposes a private home, is hardly an adequate model.

876 Learning by doing is, on the whole, an innovation in the school
program. To find out what fifth- and sixth-grade students might have
872 learned in the home by actually doing things, the school circulated
857 a questionnaire which covered such items as: "Have you ever tried to make a simple telescope? Did you ever watch a plant grow from the time of seeding and make a scientific description of its progress? Did you ever build a small toolshed or other small structure by yourself? Did you ever make regular observations of weather phenomena and keep a record?" From our previous description of typical activities of Taira children, it is not surprising to learn that very few of these or similar experiences appeared on the answers in the affirmative.

876 At school, participation and learning by doing are found at least
in a few instances. The basic skills of cleaning rooms by using rag
868 and mop, as well as maintaining school grounds by cutting grass with
[358] a sickle and weeding with a hoe, may not have high educational value, but they carry over to the home and village situation. In the upper grades, students begin to do some gardening at school. Later
[241] in junior high school they work in their own small garden plots on the school grounds and in school rice paddies under teachers' supervision. Unlike the home situation, where learning also takes place by observation and doing, the teacher lays a foundation for solid knowledge by instruction and demonstration of proper techniques and by criticism of errors. The large number of students who work under guidance of a single teacher limits the practical value of such learning situations. It is evident, however, that there is an important qualitative difference between learning in the home situation and at school. Where the child does a chore in the village without trying to meet standards set by parents, the school child finds that the teacher scrutinizes his work carefully, judges, compares, picks and chooses the best performers from the poorer ones, and imposes standards for all to meet or excel. If a standard is set at all in the village, adults tend to either overlook it or simply fail to enforce it.

The community is dispersed. In the outlying parts, as far as 2 miles from the center (see map 1), the houses are scattered between the paddies or farm lands in sections which form subvillages or wards. As mentioned above, settlers from the south took up residence in these areas. Recently families from the main village have also moved to the more remote parts of the community, such as Udenaha, because they can reach their fields more conveniently. Although the name Taira refers to the political unit of main village and outlying parts, including Udenaha and Izena, most references in this study pertain only to the central community. Its 60 households, with about 330 individuals, form the primary social unit from which the sample of 24 children was chosen.

Central Taira nestles along the inner shore of Taira Bay, which opens into the Pacific Ocean. At this point the median range mountains recede from the coastline. Behind the village, rice paddies spread in a crazed pattern at the bottom and on the terraced sides of several valleys which are separated from each other by sparsely wooded hills. Here and there the red earth of an eroded section shows like a scab through the green slopes.

In traveling by road from the south, most people choose the highway along the East China Sea coast, which is connected with the road which crosses the island. Higashi township is entered through a low saddle in the mountains which separate the two coastlines. To the right and left begins Taira's forest. Central Taira is reached through a winding lane bordered by pine trees. To the left the view opens into one of the neatly cultivated rice fields, backed by the hills on whose flat tops and terraced sides village people cultivate their farm lands.

The central village itself lies on a sand bluff, separating the valley from the ocean, so that there is a slight drop toward both sides (see map 2). The main road runs the length of the village. Except for the thoroughfare, which is dirt and gravel, the side roads are not surfaced, and after heavy rains puddles form and remain for more than a day, to the delight of children who play in them.

When Taira was destroyed during World War II, along with its houses went much of the foliage which once served as a windbreak. A few fukugi trees * line the main street, and hibiscus hedges here and there hide some of the houses from a first inspection. There are bushes around the edges of the village.

The war-time destruction is hardly apparent on a first walk through the village. Along the main street, lined by houses, one finds the rice mill, a substantial new building of concrete and wood, the police sta-

* A small- to medium-sized evergreen tree with a narrow, upright, very dark green crown of leaves.

[Text continues on p. 377]

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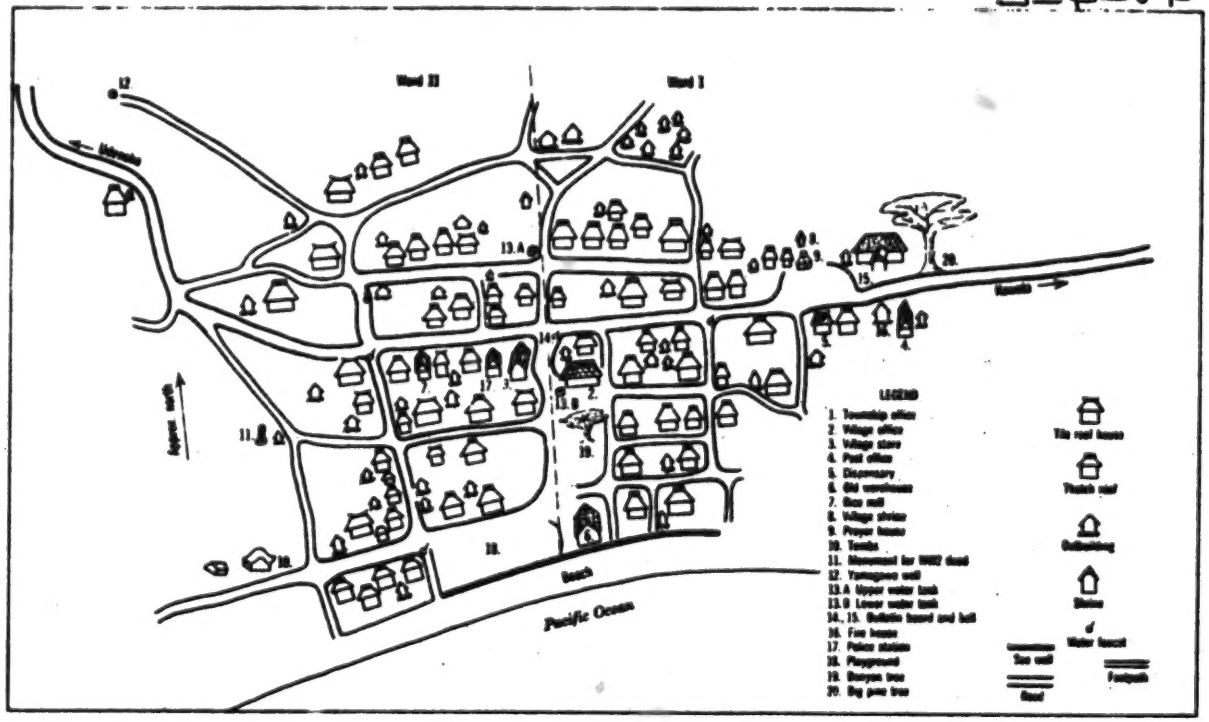

Map 2. Taira, central community.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

tion, a frame wood building, and the main store. On the eastern end of the village the road opens into a little square in front of the simple, open prayer house with a small concrete shrine in back, housing three sacred stones. Beyond these is the township office crowned by a mighty pine tree of tremendous and symmetric proportions, acclaimed by Taira people to be the oldest existing pine in Okinawa. Across from the office are the post office and the dispensary. 36

Closer inspection of the village shows former house sites which were not rebuilt. Some still have empty concrete shells or single concrete walls and abandoned pigsties or storage sheds. Some of the vacant lots are used as potato fields, others as play areas, the favorite being a large house lot surrounded by a concrete wall, near the main store. 361 727 [311]

Houses are set back a short distance from the roads and paths, and most face south. In spite of the hedges and trees, the house is easily accessible from the street—its orientation is therefore toward the community as a whole and, as will be seen later, open to visitors who can enter freely without going through winding garden paths and knocking on doors or entering through long corridors and passages. Each house lot is small, ranging from 1300 to 6050 square feet. Houses are set so close to each other that neighborly conversations from one to the other can be conducted without leaving one's premises. Although some privacy is attained by the hibiscus hedges and fences, few secrets can be kept from neighbors. 361 351 [521]

There are several focal areas where people frequently meet and interact. The main store is a geographical center. Its two bulletin boards make it a natural congregating point. The banyan tree, overshadowing the village office and the lower water tank, is another such place, and on any day of the year scores of children can be found on or under it. In prewar times it was flanked by important structures, but now the empty lots, which are adjacent, form a green which is used on good days for village meetings. 361 [203] [139]

South of this green, and close to the water, stands the old warehouse, a concrete structure with tile roof which once served as a storage center for agricultural products shipped south by boat; now it serves as a village meeting playground, especially on rainy days. The open space around it, bordering on the sea wall, is also used as a play area and as a gathering place for young adults. Here people prepare firewood for sale and stack it to be picked up by the village truck. Houses once stood near the 10-foot sea wall but were not rebuilt after the war. [251] [344]

To the north of the store lies the upper water tank. Until several standing faucets were installed in 1955, this used to be another place where people met frequently. Water is diverted from a stream a mile 312 365

I: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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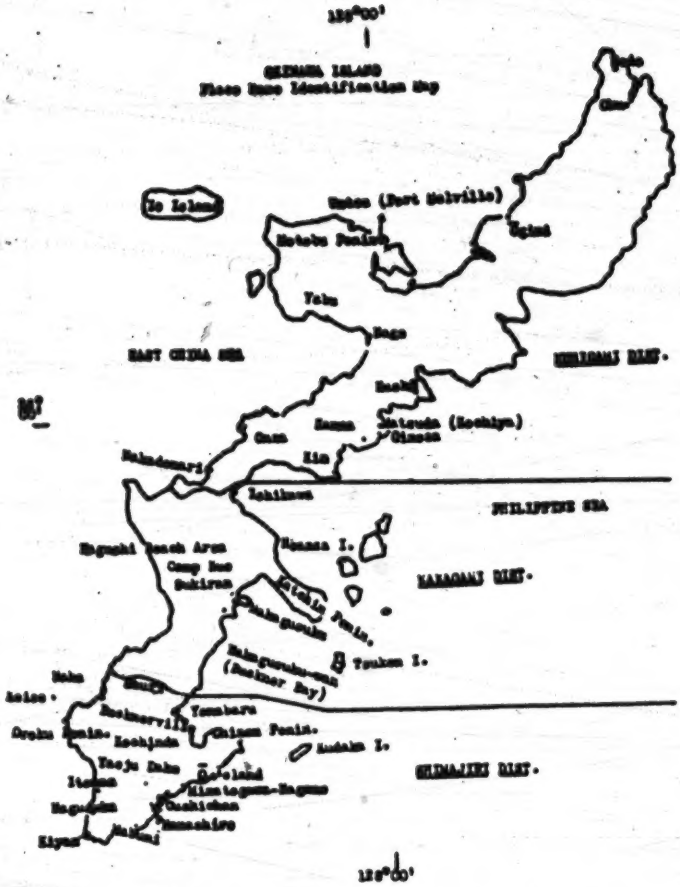
OKINAWA ISLAND
Place Name Identification Map
Ie Island
Naha (Port Heiville)
Yaku
Naze
EAST CHINA SEA
Kuchinoshima
Tanegashima
Kagoshima
Sakurajima
Ibusuki
Kinko
Kanoya
Kokubu
Kagoshima
Kimotsuki
Kiyomi
Hyuga
Miyazaki
Nobeoka
Oita
Beppu
Kitakyushu
Shimonoseki
Hagi
Tsuyama
Tottori
Matsue
Hamada
Yonago
Tottori
Kyoto
Osaka
Kobe
Nara
Wakayama
Tanabe
Shingu
Kushimoto
Kii Hanto
Tokushima
Kochi
Tosa
Muroto
Kochi
Tosa Bay
Tosa
Kochi
Nakamura
Shimanto
Uwajima
Ehime
Matsuyama
Imabari
Takamatsu
Kagawa
Tokushima
Naruto
Kobe
Osaka
Kyoto
Nara
Wakayama
Tanabe
Shingu
Kushimoto
Kii Hanto
Tokushima
Naruto

114 121 184 much as possible the customary ways of doing things, and though one could not hope for an unchanging or an isolated village, one could find a village relatively so, even if, as was the case with all the villages, they had felt the effects of the deadly campaign for Okinawa.

On one of these trips, I talked with the headman of the village of Hanashiro and then with the officials in the nearby village office of Gushichan, and concluded on the basis of what I saw of the agriculture and the conditions described by these officials, that this small village would be a satisfactory selection. In the beginning, an epidemic of encephalitis made it wise to be away from the village at night and for [164] the first month the investigations were confined to daytime work. This was a serious handicap which I tried to overcome later in the tour by living in the village.

While working in Hanashiro, I had frequent occasion to pass the villages of Minatogawa-ikku and Minatogawa-niku, and I was impressed with the opportunity to study the life of a village in which agriculture [226] did not predominate, and in which the chief emphasis was on fishing and [324] stonecutting. I therefore decided to include the fishing village, and took up residence there late in August 1951, making frequent trips on the side to Hanashiro.

As interest and awareness increased, I became convinced that another type of village should be added to the agricultural and fishing selections. It should be one in the northern forested area (the Kunigami region). [361] After discussing this with American and Okinawan forestry officials, I followed their suggestion and lived in the village of Matsuda in Ginoza township. It proved to be a good choice, with the possible reservation that Matsuda is somewhat of a model village whose conditions might be better than the average.

The villages needed to be small enough for one man to study. And they proved to be admirable communities for realizing my original intention of showing similarities and contrasts in an agricultural village, a fishing village, and a village in a forest setting.

121 The results do not constitute a complete ethnography of each of the villages. Such was not my intention, and this could not have been done in the time available. The material has been organized around four central subjects: (1) the nature of the family system and its influence through [128] inheritance on land tenure and land use, (2) ways of life as illustrated in the studies of the agricultural, fishing-stonecutting, and forest communities, (3) daily family life as a concrete expression of the family system, and (4) wider community relationships, including political and cooperative organizations, education, and religion.

The basic theme is that a fruitful approach to the study of modern cultures lies in the borderland area between the social and the natural sciences, and that, in the case of these Okinawan villages, the study [311] would take the form of discovering in what ways the people are using their natural environment and the manner in which the culture has changed and

chain, Ie, Iheya, and Kudaka islands. The main island is about sixty miles long, its length running generally northeast to southwest. It has an irregular coast line, peninsulas which jut out into the sea, and two isthmuses, one near present Camp Kue, the other farther north at Ishikawa. The width of the island varies from two to eighteen miles. 133 131

Okinawa may be divided into three geographical regions, which also roughly correspond to the ancient division of the island into a northern district (Kunigami or Yambaru), a central district (Nakagami), and a southern district (Shimajiri). [631]

The northern district takes up about two-thirds of the area of the island. It begins at the northern isthmus which runs from Ishikawa town on the Pacific side to Nakadomari on the East China Sea side. South of this line, the island runs more or less in a north-south direction; north of the line, the island is situated in a pronounced northeast-southwest direction. Certain features distinguish this northern area from the two southern parts of Okinawa. A mountain ridge, almost entirely forested, runs down the center. Drainage from the short streams which rise in the mountains is down the east and west slopes. Villages and towns are on or near the coastal flatlands or on the coastal rolling hills. There are few settlements in the interior of the northern part of the island. 131 631 133 [137] [361]

The central region of the island extends south from the Ishikawa-Nakadomari isthmus to the Naha-Yonabaru line. A corridor beginning on the eastern side at Yonabaru on Buckner Bay (formerly Nakagusuku-wan) connects with a long valley beginning around Naha. This provides a natural route cutting across the southern part of the island. The central region is the area of oldest settlement. It and the region to the south were the areas of the most intensive warfare during the campaign for Okinawa. The central region has a patternless physiography. Low rolling eroded hills, stony hills with sharp relief, dissected uplands and escarpments alternate with small alluvial valleys and flatlands. On these and on the lower slopes of the less stony hills cultivation takes place. Limestone sinks and caverns are commonplace. The most rugged terrain in this area is the region around Shuri and its northern approaches, the scene of the most prolonged fighting of the war in Okinawa. Unlike the north, settlements are scattered throughout the countryside, usually on the low lands at the base of hills, along the coasts, or in narrow winding valleys with low passes leading from one to the other. [487] [361]

The third region of the island extends from the Naha-Yonabaru line to the southern tip of the island. It is like the central part in the haphazard distribution of its land forms but somewhat flatter. Part of it is a limestone plain. The highest elevations are around the hills and mountains along Buckner Bay, with its narrow flat coastal strips, and along the southern portion of the Chinen peninsula, which also has flat beaches and beach ridges. It is an area of small plains, long, narrow but steep limestone mountains, and of rolling hills, escarpments which often abruptly end on the water's edge. In the area of one of these escarpments, Yaeju Dake, the final battle scenes of the war took place. The settlement

131 pattern is similar to that of the central part. Villages are scattered
631 throughout the area with population distribution comparable with the cen-
133 tral area. Before the war, the densities here were over one thousand per
36 square mile, actually considerably more if the uninhabitable lands are
[161] subtracted.[4]

The Settlement

How long this settlement pattern and these regional differences have existed is difficult to say. In studying contemporary environments, like
311 Okinawa, which bear the imprint of long human settlement, it is useful to try to reconstruct the nature of the landscape before the interference of man. At one time, the whole island, with the exception of stony, rocky, and shallow soils and beach and marsh land was covered with forest. There are now no virgin stands. "It is evident that the present forest has been cut over many times. There seems to be no part of the island in which the forest cover has not been disturbed in some way by man."[5] In this light, the regional differences between the forested north and the deforested south are the work of man.

361 The oldest settlements are thought to have been in the Naha and Shuri areas. Kudaka Island, off the southeast coast, according to one
[173] legend, was the site of the supernatural creation of the Okinawan people. The town of Unten, the Port Melville of Captain Hall and Commodore Perry,
[174] was, in one version, the scene of the landing of the Japanese warrior, Tametomo, but this was in the twelfth century. Northern areas were in-
[161] habited prior to the unification of the island in the twelfth century because they had their own regional chieftans before this. But the population of the north, at least up to the war, has been sparse and scattered. If the forests are any indication, it has been the central and southern regions which have been the scenes of longest settlement. Probably the
[177] settlement pattern had not changed much until the Japanese interventions
[178] of the nineteenth century and the great changes coming with the recent war, and with the extensive modifications which the Americans have made in the landscape of the central region.

3

General Climatic Conditions

132 In the Köppen system, Okinawa has a humid subtropical climate. It is a rainy climate with no marked dry season; it has a mild winter and the temperature of the warmest month is over 71.6°F. The average annual temperatures in Naha range from 61° for January and February to 82°F for July and August, and the range from the mean minimum of 55° in February to the

[Text continues top of p. 14--analyst]

4 See the population distribution maps in CA Handbook, Ryukyu (Loo-choo Islands, 48-49.

5 Okinawan Forests. (Prepared by the USGS, Military Geology Section under the direction of Office of the Engineer, GHQ, Far East Command), 1948, 2.

1

Introduction

In contemporary Okinawa, there are four distinct types of village settlement. The first and the most common is the village cluster. Houses are grouped in a central area, usually along or on both sides of a road, surrounded by farm lands and rice fields. The second, the shoe-string type, is less common. Here houses are lined along either side of a main street. The third is a here-and-there type of settlement. This has been called a yadori (Japanese) or yadui (Okinawan) village, translated as plantation, but this is too exalted a word.[1] These villages may have sub-settlements. Houses are scattered among intervening plots of cultivated land. In the fourth category are the modern improvisations: land formerly in forest, grass or shrub which has been reclaimed and used for houses and nearby cultivation, or former agricultural land now taken up for house sites, a result of increased population or of war time destruction of other parts of a village. 361 [311]

The basic type of Okinawan village is the cluster, a village small in area whose houses, close together, and on irregular winding lanes, are separated from one another by stone or rock walls, or by boundaries of trees or shrubs. The front part of the house compound usually is cut off from the road by a stone fence, running part way across, with the opening to the road obstructed by a stationary barrier, sometimes of stones, often of woven grasses. [351] [363]

In the village of a bygone age, there were large open spaces like a common on the outskirts "often appearing as glades in the forest." In this area, rice was laid out to dry, horse racing and other sports took place, the village council met, goods were bartered, justice administered, and festivals celebrated.[2] When approached from a distance, the older villages seemed literally buried in foliage. In the last century the larger villages still had rest huts (cung-qua) for travellers, usually government officials to use from one overnight stop to another. The older village also had a series of small buildings on stilts three to six feet long. These were granaries and food storehouses. Some houses were also on stilts. Older accounts have stressed the concealment of the Okinawan village, its houses separated from one another, its lanes lined or embowered with bamboo, with banana trees, or with arbors. To 361 175 [526] [351] [48] [343] [342]

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 48--Analyst]

1 Higa, Shunchō. Structure of the Ryukyuan rural community. The Japanese journal of ethnology, 15 (1950), 63-66. In Japanese with English summary, 151.

2 The Luchu islands and their inhabitants, as cited, 457. See also Basil Hall, Account of a voyage of discovery to the west coast of Corea and the Great Loo-Choo island, 123, 124.

361 175 Perry's men, the aspect of these villages was one of rare and romantic beauty.[3]

2

Hanashiro

361 103 [491] Hanashiro is a small village of the cluster type in Gushichan township (Gushichan-son) in the southeastern part of Okinawa.[4] It is on the present Highway 64 which begins on the Chinen peninsula, travels southwesterly, following the coast at a distance to Mabuni in the southeast, then crossing the island to Nagushiku town, a village south of Itoman.

361 241 443 256 162 The village and its surroundings are small in area, the actual town site including various village owned properties, taking up slightly over 22 acres. This is an agricultural village, with the exception of minor activities such as storekeeping and rice milling. As of December 31, 1951, it had a population of 589 (269 male, 320 female), living together in 120 households, an average of 4.9 persons per household.

361 [103] [491] 175 349 631 The village is believed to have been founded about 400 years ago. By Okinawan standards this is not very old. It is off the main historical road which ran from Naha to Shuri to Kochinda, Gushichan, Minatogawa, through Tamagusuku township to the Chinen peninsula, probably the road travelled by Okinawan kings up to the latter part of the seventeenth century when they prayed at the altars on Kudaka Island.[5] There were in this area a series of castles on the tops of hills commanding the road and its approaches, the castles, the rough determinants of various regions formerly under a regional nobility. To the west there was Kochinda castle, Tamagusuku on the east, Gushichan castle near Hanashiro, where a surviving stone fence can still be seen, and the castle site of Itokazu. There is reason for believing, as we mentioned in Chapter 1, that this is in the general area of oldest settlement in the island.

[Text continues on P. 49 --analyst]

3 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, Vol. I, 163, 164, 179-80, and an illustration of a "cung-qua" on p. 180. On the older village with granaries and storehouses, see Green's remarks in Hawks, Perry's expedition, as cited, Vol. II, 34, 36, and illustration in Vol. I, 178.

[103] [192] 4 The village is also known as Hanagusuku: the meaning is the same, as shiro is the Japanese, gusuku the Okinawan word for castle. Many Okinawan place names have the suffix, —gusuku.

5 Spencer, The Noro, or priestesses of Loo Choo, as cited, 107.

The village is one of a series of settlements in a long narrow valley, on a limestone plain, bordered on the east by a steep ridge, up to 300 feet in elevation and running in a northwest and southeast direction, which divides the valley from the sea. On these cliff like formations, large outcrops are covered with shrubs and miscanthus grass. Lanes and roads lead from the valley floor to the summits of these hills, where villagers collect their firewood and grass for roof thatch. On the rocky, steep slopes of this seaward ridge, above the line of cultivation, is the tomb area. Precipitous and stony hills prevent cultivation, but occasionally a sharp tongue of land reaches far up the slope, its end protected from the rains and wash by a short stone fence. 361 133 [137] [491] [824] [764] [417]

Between Oushichan and Hanashiro village, there is a bridge over a small stream, its upstream course obscured by its dispersion in the rice fields. The dirt road, gradually ascending, cuts through the main rice growing area of the village, on a gentle slope, reflected in the bench cultivation of the rice fields. Here and there are large rocks and stony outcrops, with an occasional scrub pine, cycad, or a covering of miscanthus. Cultivation goes around these large stones. 491 133 [243] [137]

The road, about one-fourth of a mile from the bridge, soon leads into what looks like, from a distance, a densely wooded area. This is the settlement. 361

With the exception of the rough stony land of the limestone mountains and steep slopes, the soils of the area are the Okinawa clay loams and the Chinen stony clays lying on the limestone plains. The farm and village area takes up approximately 427 acres, of which 257 are in gently sloping Okinawa clay loams, a deep, well drained, neutral to slightly acid and very fertile soil. Another five acres is of the same type but these are in slopes, of a gradient ranging from 8-15%. There are 80 acres in gently sloping Shuri clays, shallow, moderately fertile, an olive colored, crumbly, calcareous clay; another 35 acres in the Awase clays, deep fertile, crumbly, calcareous clay of olive-gray color, and 14 acres of rough stony land. 134 133 311

The hillsides and the summits are free of densely growing trees and shrubs, and the lowlands are given over to cultivation. There are no groves of trees to protect the crops from typhoons. The trees and the protection they give are confined to the village. This is typical of many villages of southern Okinawa, where the hills and mountains have few trees, and dense growths are associated with habitation. 311

Inside the village, winding lanes branch off the main dirt road. The older houses are on the north side of the road. On the opposite side, the houses, newer or rebuilt since the war, adjoin the cultivated area. In the older section, the dense shrubbery, the tree lined lanes, broken occasionally by stone fences, wind through the village with footpaths branching off, sometimes past an open field, a reminder of a failure to rebuild after the war. On the northern outskirts is the village office, its gong in the yard, the open field, a playground for the children. 361 363 [417] [487] [367]

361 The village is a group of houses, each with its own compound, and
351 these give it an inclosed look. There are few if any gardens or vegetable patches either in the compounds or within the village settlement.

363 The lanes resemble quiet winding country roads. The rock fences, or the lines of trees or shrubbery often conceal the houses. There is an appearance of loneliness in these lanes and roads, except at busy times of the day when the children return from school. The lack of commercial
[487] activity, except for the women carrying rice on their heads to the mill
[462] and for the small village stores, contributes to this impression of quiet, which one would expect from the routine of agriculture. At night, when
[354] the doors are drawn, and when the flickering and smoky oil lamps are lit, the loneliness and quiet of the village is even more pronounced. The
[493] lanes and the roads are deserted, save for an occasional passing truck,
[192] bicycle, or three wheeled cycle, and in one of the favorite words of all Okinawans, the place is sabishii.[6]

366 Since there is little activity in the village other than farming,
368 neighboring villages and distant towns supply the additional needs. At nearby Gushichan village, there are the primary and junior high schools, the post office, the township and agricultural association offices, a barbershop, and some small stores. At Minatogawa, about one and one half miles away, there is a public bath, and across the river from this village, in Horikawa, an occasional play from the Okinawan stage, or a movie. Buses run through the village twice a day and one can make connections to Naha or Itoman, the two most likely places for buying
[494] or selling. Or one can take the three wheeled cycles which pass through more frequently.

927 Physically, the village was much affected by the war. On June 11,
362 1945, the front line ran through the cultivated area between Hanashiro and Gushichan villages. Hill 95, the scene of fierce fighting was in the vicinity of Hanashiro.[7] One can still see an occasional tank track, abandoned helmets and scattered fragments of war materials in the fields. The village was affected by the war in ways which are now observable indirectly in the makeshift houses, improvised shacks, the roofs of half
[355] tile and half thatch, the odd additions to the older buildings partly destroyed, and the lack of drain pipes and water catchment tanks. Houses, which to superficial appearance, have existed for generations, have been rebuilt since the war with grass substituting for the tile roofs.
[311] War operations over the cultivated areas also resulted in some loss of land. A long mound in the rice areas, with paths along its ridge, was formerly a road built by the Americans in the final drive toward Mabuni. Almost all the houses in the village were destroyed.

6 This Japanese word suggests both loneliness and melancholy.

7 Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 437 (illustration), 434-42 on the struggle for Hill 95.

Since the war, the old narrow one lane roads have been broadened, permitting heavier auto traffic. Land ownership has been undisturbed, for it is not in an area in which the military has required land. Since the war, the villagers have tried to return to their former way of life, but this has been done with poorer houses and fewer possessions. 363 403 511

3

Minatogawa

Minatogawa, the second village studied, formerly was a shoe string type of settlement. Houses, shops, drinking places were along the seawall road. This pattern is now altered as a result of the war. Scattered areas have been relocated and houses built on lands formerly used for sweet potatoes. It is now an indeterminate type of village, retaining some indications of its old settlement pattern along the main road, with additions of clusters of houses in the newly settled areas. 361 [275] [311] [244]

Like Hanashiro, this village is in Gushichan township, and located on Highway 64. It is directly on the main historical road, previously mentioned, which led from Naha to the Chinen peninsula. The road, along which its houses are built, parallels for a distance the estuary of the small Minatogawa river. This narrow estuary, called Usaregawa, which connects the river mouth with the Pacific Ocean, and the small river itself (Yuhigawa) is a boundary between Gushichan and Tamagusuku townships. On either side there are steep cliffs, the sites of the best known stone quarries of Okinawa. 361 133 [491] [316]

The settlement and the adjoining lands have an area of about 256 acres. It is a mixed economy village with three distinct occupational groups: fishermen, stonecutters, and farmers. There is a second village whose borders blend with those of Minatogawa. These two villages are now known officially as Minatogawa-ikku and Minatogawa-niku. The two terms can be awkwardly translated as Minatogawa first ward, and Minatogawa second ward. But popularly they retain their older names: Minatogawa for the fishing village, and Nagamo for the agricultural second ward. These two separate but adjoining villages were until 1925 a single village. 621 463

The division was the result of distinct differences in outlook and occupation between the two sections. Minatogawa is a fishing village and has strong ties with Itoman, a town on the East China Sea shore about 4 1/2 miles away. Nagamo is an agricultural community originally settled from Naha and Shuri. Stone-cutting operations spread over both areas. While the fishing village of Minatogawa was given the emphasis in this study, it will be necessary occasionally to include Nagamo in the discussion.[8] [226] [241] [324] [128]

8 The writer did not realize until he lived here that two villages were involved, thinking that the two wards referred to a single administrative unit. By this time the work on Hanashiro had been well started, and time did not permit the intensive study of Nagamo. 114

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Treeless Minatogawa. This is the business district of the village. The buildings are small village shops. The building in the upper left is the village inn. The road winding toward the right is Highway 64 leading to Gushichan. Minatogawa stone is visible on the back of the store on the right of the picture. The low stone hedges in the foreground are typical of Minatogawa.

[P. 51(B)]

The people of Nagamo are farmers. The seat of their extended families is in Naha and Shuri, and they have their own local deity places (ujigami in Japanese). The people of Minatogawa are fishermen, their extended family seats are in Itoman. They too have their local deities and many of their religious ceremonies are centered around the gods of the sea and the dragon of the sea god's palace. 596 706 708

The population of Minatogawa, as of December 31, 1951, was 1108 (515 males, 593 females) in 213 households, an average of 5.2 persons per household, and of adjoining Nagamo, 564 persons (262 males, 302 females) with 113 households, an average of 5.0 persons per household. 162.

The fishing village of Minatogawa is believed to be about 250 years old. It was founded, according to local residents, by the fishermen of Itoman who were accustomed to fish off shore near the islands around the southeastern and southwestern parts of Okinawa. The place was first established as a temporary location for the fishing boats and later permanent settlement took place. The tombs of Itoman are still the ultimate burying ground for large numbers of the Minatogawa fishermen. After 250 years the ties with the parent town are still strong. 361 173 [764]

The village has two traditions involving contacts with other peoples. The first is concerned with the Chinese. One is a spot on the shore where some Chinese are said to have landed over 200 years ago. Many fishermen pray to it on certain occasions of the year. Little is known of what happened to the Chinese, but supposedly they were buried high up the side of a steep mountain nearby, inside a cave with stalactites. Bones said to be of these Chinese may still be seen there. The cave is difficult of access. 173 170 [778]

There is also the tradition of London sailors said to have been shipwrecked at the port of Kiyan on the southwest tip of Okinawa. A child was born of the union of one of these sailors with an Okinawan woman and the sailor later returned to England. The tomb of the woman and the child is revered as a religious site. It is now a small shrine on the outskirts of Itoman called Rondongama, Rondon for London.[9] Old women of Minatogawa sing a song of this old love called Michinakankai. The theme of the song is the unashamed love of the woman for her departed London lover, an Okinawan anticipation of Madame Butterfly. [778] [533]

In this area the low, bare hills form in a haphazard way a series of valleys, some long and narrow, others like an amphitheatre with an open face to the sea. Low passes connect the valleys. One such pass, about 150 feet high, now on Highway 64, leads from the valley of 133 361

[Text Continues on Top of P. 53--Analyst]

9 The writer visited both the cave and the site near Itoman town in August 1951. The shrine is now situated on a small hill on the outskirts of Itoman. The bones were moved here during the war from Haizato village to escape Japanese bombing. A large cave nearby, associated with the mother and the child, is overgrown and very dangerous to enter because of the danger of snakes.

133 Hanashiro and Oushichan villages to a broad semi-circular valley, the
361 Oushichan plain, with a gentle gradient sloping to the sea. Shortly before the coast is reached there is a sharper drop, and it is in this depression along the shore and the coastal strip that the fishing village lies.

134 The Okinawan clay loams and the Chinen stony clays are also the
133 predominating soils of the area. There are about 85 acres of the gently sloping clay loams, 155 acres of the gently sloping Chinen stony clays. While moderately fertile and well drained, these soils are also shallow and stony, with obvious defects for the pursuit of agriculture. There are 10 acres of deep, fertile poorly drained, slightly acid alluvial soils. These occur along the river and its estuary and in a small former river mouth to the south. There are about six acres in rough stony land.

731 The village has very little storm protection. There are no shelter
133 belts around it, nor are there many trees within. It is open to storms
417 and typhoons, and the water, lashed by the sea, is sufficient to break and scatter the large stones of the seawall. At present, inside the village there is none of the privacy typical of the agricultural villages
361 and their compounds. There are few trees, shrubs, or fences. In the
351 older part of the village, the houses are closely set together. Fishing
227 nets hang on the lines of the yard. In season, the yard is covered with drying fish, fish fins, and fish backs. The yards and the shore are dotted with men cleaning or repairing their boats.

362 The lack of natural beauty of the place is accentuated by the poor-
517 ness of the houses and the other buildings. Its atmosphere is unmistakably
484 different. The village is more commercial and more lively than the quiet and concealed agricultural village. Life is not so much of a routine, for much depends on the weather and the sea. The village has people who have travelled widely. Some of its fishermen have been in the waters of Java, of the South Seas, of the Andaman Islands, the Philippines, and Indo-China.

438 The village's main commercial contacts are with the remaining
[311] agricultural villages of the township from which it must obtain much of its food, for the area is not suited to agriculture, nor is much land available. For wider contacts, there are Itoman about 4 1/2 miles, and Naha about 8 1/2 miles away. Buses go through the village twice a day.
494 The three wheeled cycles are irregular but come and go more often. Fish
368 is sold at Naha. The theatre for the travelling troupe of actors from Naha and for movies is in Horikawa across the river. Many visits are
574 also made to Itoman to see relatives and friends.

The war was even more catastrophic for Minatogawa than for Hanashiro.
727 Before the war, Minatogawa was a thriving, prosperous and well built up small town. About 70% of its buildings had a tile roof and 30% had
[361] thatch roofs. There were about 30 stores, sake shops and drinking places, including a geisha house, along the road, serving the fishermen and the stonecutters. Of the 430 buildings in the area, only three were left

standing. At one time, the Hinatogawa beaches were seriously considered for the initial landings in Okinawa, and later as a possible second landing. After the campaign for the south had begun, Hinatogawa became a forward loading point.[10] The present village has been completely rebuilt, and the newer buildings, with few exceptions, are frail and undistinguished. The war shows its effects, too, on the southern part of the village where there is a barren acreage, formerly the site of an army camp, its top soil so shallow that the bulldozers in levelling it soon reached the rock beneath.

Nearby Nagamo is a village of a different type. It is divided into two distinct quarters, also a result of the war. The old part formerly was to the north in the main stonecutting area, but following the destruction, a new settlement was started in the farm land a few hundred yards south. Cultivation is marginal on the shallow soil of the sloping valley before it descends into the flat coastal area in which the fishing village is located.

Minatogawa, which means River Port, is a distinctive village reminiscent of the famous fishing town of Itoman, though without its size, beauty, or color.

4

Matsuda

Matsuda is a here-and-there type of village. The village area including the community owned forest is over a square mile. The countryside is dotted with several small sub-settlements. Within each sub-settlement, the houses also are scattered about and separated from one another by large trees, thick growths of shrubbery, grasses, stone fences, and cultivated fields.

The village is located in Ginoza township (Ginoza-son) on the northeast side of the island. This township is in the northern district (Kunigami, or Yambaru). The village is on Highway 13, which winds along the northeast coast through Ishikawa, Kin, Kanna, and Ginoza villages.

Though near the sea, a typical site of a northern Okinawan village, it is a settlement engaged in agriculture and forestry. Its name suggests its nature. Matsuda is a compound of the characters for pine tree, matsu, and rice field, ta, da. Though there is some fishing in the sub-settlements along the Pacific shore, it is casual and a part time occupation for farmers on the coast. The families exclusively

[Text Continues TOP of P. 55--Analyst]

10 The statistics on village destruction are taken from accounts of the villagers. They are estimates. For operations in this area, see Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 68, 74, 426-27, 436, 439.

326 463 engaged in fishing are permanent or transient families originally from Itoman, a place name which comes up whenever fishing is mentioned anywhere in Okinawa. Agriculture and the care and utilization of the community forest make up the significant economic activities of the village.

162 Matsuda had a population of 1370 individuals (604 male, 766 female) as of November 30, 1951. There were, at this time, 243 households, an average of 5.6 persons per household. The village is said by local residents and antiquarians to be about 600 years old. If the age is correct, it must be one of the older settlements in northern Okinawa. Before the war, this village was known as Kochiya.

Matsuda also has its lore regarding shipwrecks and foreigners. There are old men who believe Perry's party came to the village and that they left carvings on the top of a picturesque rock in the Burushii district along the coast, a not unbelievable story since the explorers certainly were not far from here.

Near the seashore, but in a very remote area, there is a natural bridge, concealed by large trees. Roots of the banyan grow through the thirty or forty foot drop from the top of the bridge until they find root in the soil below. On a ledge under this bridge, there are two old and open boxes which were used to collect the skulls and bones of unknown persons. Locally it is believed that they are the remains of shipwrecked sailors, possibly Hollanders. There are still 25 or 30 skulls there, and many of the bones are scattered on the ground. The place is seldom visited.

361 133 The village rests on low rolling hills. The combination of the hills, the depressions, the caves and the sinks give the topography an uneven almost rugged character. There are few flat places and these are seldom wide. They are the narrow meadows or valleys between the hills. The hilly nature of the surroundings determines to a large extent the manner of cultivation, and historically probably has had much to do with the shapes of the individual parcels themselves. One does not see in this area the plains or small valleys with rice cultivation that is observed in Haneji township near Nago or around the island of Ū in Tamagusuku township, or even in the Hanashiro area of Gushichan township. In these communities, the normal pattern of cultivation is that the rice is on the lowlands, with the slopes and upland areas devoted to sugar cane, the sweet potato, or other crops, or left to native grasses. Here in the hundreds of small hills, all of these may be observed in close proximity, hard work and minute tillage comprising with the topography.

361 311 The village is subdivided into several distinct areas: (1) the main part of the village where most of the houses, the village office, the small stores, the rice mill, the sawmill, the power plant, and the barbershop are located, (2) a reclaimed area known locally as the kaikon, newly settled and with a different type of land use due to the poorness of the land and to the fact that it is a deforested area, (3) a district near the sea coast and along the sea with scattered settlements, isolated houses, and some cultivation, and (4) the forest lands, which in the

361
342
137

In the center of Matsuda. Large trees growing in the settlement. Small garden plots are near the houses and sheds. These houses have thatched roofs except the tile roof in the left center of the picture. A freshly hoed plot is in the foreground.

[p. 56]

traditional attitudes that the north was a culturally rude and physically inhospitable place. The highway which now goes through the center of the main part of the village is a good, hard surfaced, dirt road, widened since the war. A lively traffic of trucks and buses and the three wheel cycles contrasts with the narrow pre-war roads, traces and abandoned sections of which can still be seen. The frequent buses supply transportation to the larger cities and towns of the island: to Nago across the island and slightly to the north, to Ishikawa on the south, and to distant Naha, about 31 miles away.

Matsuda, unlike the southern villages, was not destroyed by the war. There were some air raids, some bombing out of the houses, but nothing like the destruction in the main areas of conflict. Early in the Okinawa campaign, the north was cut off and isolated and the struggle for the island took place in central and southern Okinawa. As a consequence, many of the old houses, sturdily built with tile roofs, have been preserved. Numerous refugees from the south gathered in this area during and after the campaign. In nearby Ginoza (Jinuza) village, slightly over a mile to the southwest, also on Highway 13, the Americans operated a hospital for Okinawan refugees. It is still in use. This relative lack of war destruction in the northern villages has, to a degree, reversed the roles of the north and the south. The opening up of the north, its prosperity, the survival of many of its old homes, give the impression of comfort and well being conspicuously lacking in most of the makeshift villages of the south.

The descriptions of these three villages perhaps make clear the diversity that can be expected among Okinawan settlements. Hanashiro, the small village cluster, with adjoining rice fields on the valley floor, its other crops on the terraced slopes, is the most typical. Minatogawa, the fishing village in an impoverished countryside of stony or shallow soil, is dependent on the seas and its catch for its livelihood and the wherewithal to buy the foods which cannot be grown in sufficient abundance. Matsuda, a collection of small settlements, scattered here and there from the coast inland, with its large preserve of community forest, is an example of agriculture in a forest setting, and of the use of the forest in daily living. This by no means exhausts the diversity. The village of Oku to the north, with its tea, its rice, its fences for wild boar protection, its cycads planted on the hillsides to prevent erosion, is still another example. But our task here is not to catalogue all diversity, but to indicate that it exists and to a much greater degree than would appear to superficial observation.

593 in a military installation which keeps them away from their homes, they
remain there, helping in the fields, or go out on the fishing boats, as
[582] the case may be. If a son other than the first remains in the family
after the age of marriage, it is generally for some physical or mental
disability. Under the normal operation of the family system, there is
591 no time in a person's life in which he is not part of some family unit
and living in the same house with his parents, an elder brother, or
with a wife and his children, or with his grandchildren.

727 The war enforced many exceptions to this normal life cycle, as the
593 discussion of the previous table brought out: conscription and military
service, deaths in battle or as a consequence of the campaign, widow-
hood and the orphaning of children. In the villages studied, the post-
war situation was not disrupting family life further by the movement of
younger unattached men to Naha or the larger towns, or by their separatio
from daily life while doing work for military camps. At least it was not
sufficiently frequent to result in a deterioration of normal family life.
591 In these villages branch families were established for the most part
in the village of the parent family. There are two reasons for this:
first, the desire to remain near the parents and siblings, and second,
[423] that the property which the father, or elder brother, has at his disposal
is normally real property and land holdings in the village. Cash, which a
[435] agricultural or fishing family might have at its disposal, would usually
be insufficient at present prices for a second or succeeding son to be
given money to purchase land and a house site elsewhere. Occasionally a
[425] father sells land in the village to provide his son with money to purchas
a house site and fields elsewhere, but this is not usual.

The mechanics of establishing a branch household may be illustrated from practices observed in each of the villages, though the procedure is essentially the same.

[361] Hanashiro is a settlement in the center of a cultivated area of dry
field farming and rice paddies. The cultivated area begins on the outer
rim of the village. The father, or the elder brother, gives a field
(hatake in Japanese) to the son, or younger brother, if it is suitable
for a house site. If the land owned is too far away--there are no
[425] isolated homesteads--an effort is made to exchange with a neighbor, frien
or relative, the far off property for a parcel closer in. If this is
not possible, the remote piece is sold and the proceeds used to purchase
a suitable plot in the residential area. If the family is too poor to
[426] give money or land, an attempt may be made to borrow the money for pur-
chase. If none of these arrangements is possible, the son may simply
start out on his own, or less commonly, may live with his wife in the
home of his parents, or delay his marriage. But it is uncommon for a
second or succeeding son and his wife and children to live in the house
of the parents or of the elder brother.

311 In this way, the residential area gradually replaces the cultivated
591 areas which surround it. One consequence of the establishment of branch
families in agricultural villages is that it gradually decreases the

arable land available for cultivation. House sites cannot be set up on rocky or mountain land away from the village. Whether on the island as a whole the increase in population, the repatriation and the stoppage of large scale emigration will in the future seriously diminish the amount of land available for agricultural uses is an interesting question, but there certainly is a direct relationship between population growth and land taken up with house sites.[5] Not only will a growing population enforce greater demands on the land, but it will inevitably cut down on the amount. 311 591 [161]

Among the fishermen of Minatogawa, there is a little more fluidity in the establishment of branch families. There are seldom enough lands to subdivide, and only about 50% of the fishermen own land in addition to their house site. The branch household is established according to the son's taste, and the father may give money if he can afford it so the son can set himself up in Itoman, Naha, or elsewhere. The usual procedure here is to give land in a former agricultural area of the village, land which was developed in the southern part of the village as a result of the destruction of the war in other parts. Here formerly arable land was taken over directly for residential use. 591 423 [311]

In Matsuda, it is possible to use newly developed areas. This community, unlike the other two, is a series of sub-settlements. In two of these, branch families have settled, one near the seashore, and the other on reclaimed forest land. In both of these areas, the pattern of settlement is different; the clusters of houses give way to the scattered houses, some standing out alone on the top of a knoll or hill, some near the forested slopes of the hillside. In these areas, there is an atmosphere of pioneer settlement. As in Hanashiro, the buying of near land and the selling of far off land and exchange of land are practiced. Since the reclaimed area is considered to be less productive and less desirable, the poorer families are able to purchase land here for their second sons. 591 361 [425]

5

The Pivotal Importance of the First Son

The key person in the family system is the first son. He normally succeeds to the house at the death or retirement of his father. The father may not legally retire before 60. In rare cases--none were encoun- 593 596

5 In general, house and village sites are on arable land, but the quality of this land naturally varies from place to place. See any of the 11 sheets of the Okinawan Soils Map and the discussion in the Remarks column of the legend with reference to the types of soils on which village sites are found.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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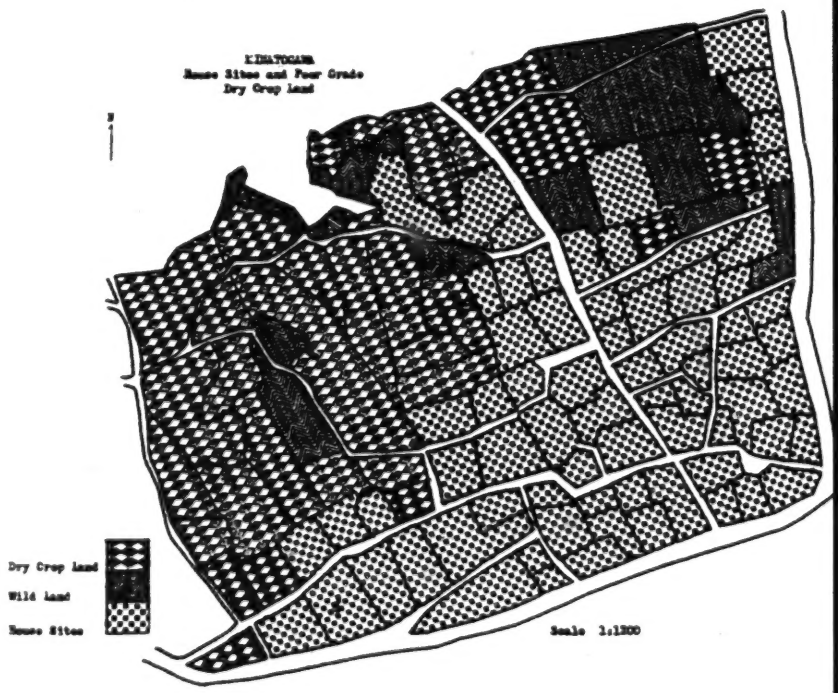

3

Care and Conservation of Land

One of the significant tasks of our time is the study of the relation between population growth and density and the exploitation of renewable and non-renewable resources: the effects of a culture on the land, the forests, the soils and the vegetation must be considered in ethnographic and geographic work. If this is not done the culture is studied as if it rested, like a plate on a table, on a geographic base, without bothering to discover the nature of the environment or what the culture is doing to it. 121 114

Nineteenth century studies of primitive and advanced societies emphasized the influence of the physical environment in molding a culture. This crude fallacy, often known as geographic determinism or environmentalism, was exploded by studies made of cultures in all parts of the world in which it became clear that the physical environment is not the cause of cultural differences.

But the reverse of this approach, the examination of what a culture is doing to its physical environment, its soils, its vegetation, and its forests has not been carried on with the vigor with which other aspects of culture have been studied. This point of view has practical significance in day to day administration. Economic matters such as foreign trade or the labor force requirement should not be a separate and independent segment for study. Changes in inheritance should not be viewed solely with reference to the family system. Forest conservation should not be regarded only as a technique and a necessary department in the government.

The effects of the devastating typhoons, for example, need no elaboration: the destruction of life, crops, houses, of boats, and breakwaters. But their effects are also influenced by other factors. The two southern villages were in the midst of some of the violent fighting of the Okinawan campaign. Large numbers of houses in both communities were destroyed by the war. The new buildings to replace them are so frail that in typhoon times they are often destroyed. This rebuilding requires more wood and more grass. Thus, such factors as the war, the inability to reconstruct permanent housing, typhoons, and the natural growing of <u>miscanthus</u> grass are joined together in a close relationship. 731 727 362 824 182

In the south the relationship of typhoon destruction to deforestation is striking. There is need for tidebreak groves and shelter belts along the coast to protect crops from wind and saltwater spray, a need which fortunately the Ryukyuan Forest Agency is attempting to meet. Deforestation in the south seems inescapably tied up with long occupance. The center of population has always been in the southern part of the island. Not only should there be trees, but they should be planted in the right places. The deforestation of 731 137 [313] [361]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Every three years, the villagers thin out the dwarf bamboo and other grasses in the pine stands along the coast. Late in December or in early January, there is a community planting of pine seeds. 313 476

The tools used in forest work are: the hand sickle (kana), a bill or hook knife, the tool so familiar in agriculture; an ordinary long knife resembling a butcher knife or a machete (here called a yamakatana, or "mountain knife"), and a hooked knife on the end of a long handle (sōringama). 412

Forest care goes well back into Okinawan history and antedates more recent Japanese methods. This care probably was an obligation in the old system of land tenure under which villagers had access to forest lands with the corresponding obligation to replant. 313

4

An Example of Reclamation

There are cut-over tracts in Matsuda village. The Japanese government, according to local residents, tried to convert these cleared areas into agricultural land. This land reclamation (kaitaku) began about 1935. The land was cleared of its remaining trees and shrubs mainly by firing. (Fire has been used in Okinawa, possibly from early times, in the clearing of land. In 1947 the use of fire in clearing and the hazards in creating forest fires were pointed out by observers who blamed carelessness in firing as the cause of the forest fires in the dry season).[10] Firing was easier and some nutrients from the ash were available to the poor soils. 185 311 [372]

In Matsuda, the cleared land was hoed and the rocks were removed. It had to be hoed deeply to make cultivation possible. The land was enriched with composts containing horse, pig, and goat manures. The original plan was to promote a more extensive type of agriculture on the reclaimed land because it was poorly adapted to the cultivating methods on the better and more accessible soils. A here-and-there (yadori type) settlement was planned. The houses were to be scattered on hillsides, or in the valleys, to provide sufficient land, admittedly poor, for the settlers to cultivate. The size of the contemplated holdings precluded hand labor of the intensity characteristic of the usual agriculture. The use of draft animals, plows, and harrows was part of the plan. [241] [361] [241]

The war and the disappearance of so many of the draft animals prevented its realization. Before the war, it was intended that each family should have a 3000 tsubo tract (2.45 acres). Today the residents on these lands cultivate only about 1000 tsubo, about the limit of manual cultivation considering the soils and the stone that remains. As a consequence, parts of the area are returning to weeds, grasses, and shrubs.

10 Okinawa forests, as cited, 7.

361 [167] After the war, this cleared land was further settled, with American encouragement, by families returning from abroad. This subdivision of Matsuda, a here-and-there settlement, is called "the clearing" (kaikon). Its houses are few and far apart, and with its isolated farmsteads is in contrast with the thickly settled cluster of a typical agricultural village.

5

Conservation

313 [647] In Matsuda, the preservation of the forest is constantly encouraged. This awareness, inspired by officials of the Ryukyuan Forestry Agency and its American advisors, reaches down to the school children. Before any burning is done, a permit must be secured. Fire lanes (bōkasen) are cut to prevent the spread of fire. These lanes are circular, and an area on the lee side is burned to prevent spread of the fire in the direction of the wind.

Fire Lane (Bōkasen)

In addition to the fire protection, officials of the Ryukyu Forestry Agency and specialists in the American Civil Administration are trying to discourage overcutting (kanbatsu) which in this area has affected the most numerous species, the pine, the shii, and the Japanese redwood. Since clearcutting (kaibatsu) so easily leads to overcutting, the former practice is also being discouraged. The newer emphasis is on selective cutting (takubatsu).

[813] School children participate in forest conservation. The children attending high school at nearby Ginoza village take part in forest improvement. An active campaign for conservation and forest fire prevention could not begin immediately after the war. In the post-war confusion, it was not until about 1950, with the establishment of [647] the Ryukyuan Forestry Agency, that active supervision on a central government level could be seriously instituted. On an island wide basis, posters and literature pointing to the dangers of forest fires [208] have tried to bring this message to the Okinawans as well as to the Americans. The name of Saion has been used to tie the preservation of the Okinawan forests in with the history and traditions of the people. The famous "Smoky" appears on posters as well.

[727] In the Matsuda area, the recent periods of relaxation or loss of control, according to local residents, were (1) about 1940 when

173 the two main "houses," or family lines in Taira, and for several cen-
621 turies Taira must have been a small, closely knit community of in-
errelated people.

Between 1875 and 1895, when the court life at the old capitol of

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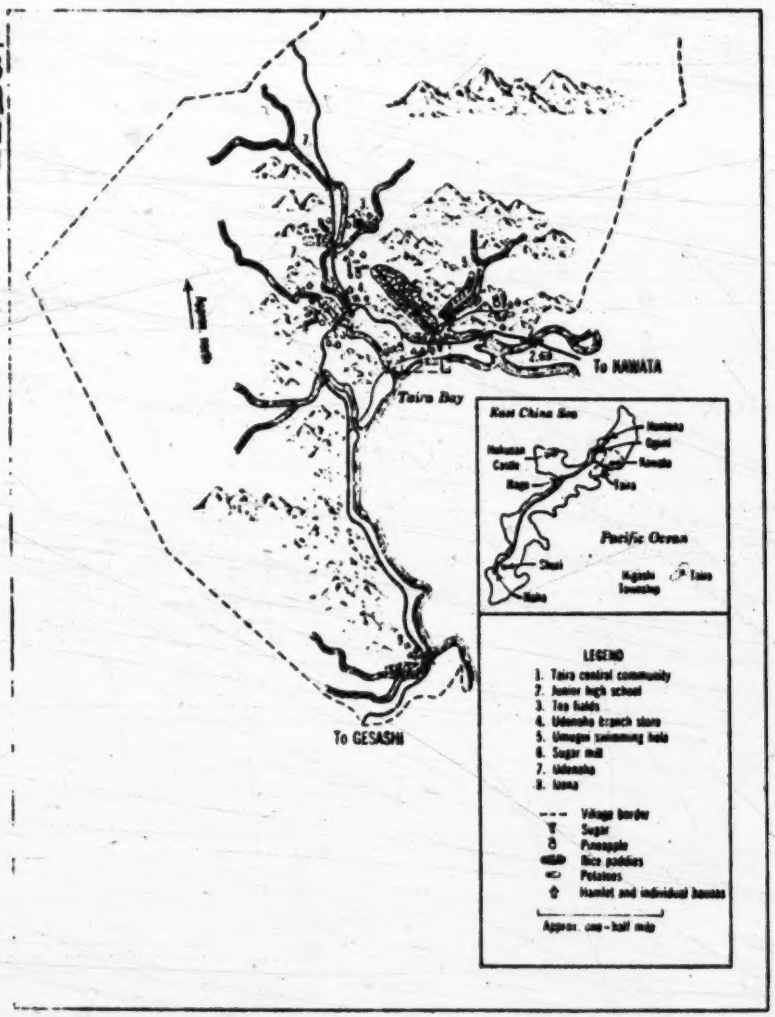


Map 1. Taira village (Higashi Township).

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

the community is dispersed. In the outlying parts, as far as 2 miles 361
from the center (see map 1), the houses are scattered between the paddies or farm lands in sections which form subvillages or wards. As mentioned above, settlers from the south took up residence in these areas. Recently families from the main village have also moved to the more remote parts of the community, such as Udenaha, because they can reach their fields more conveniently. Although the name Taira [101]
refers to the political unit of main village and outlying parts, including Udenaha and Izena, most references in this study pertain only to the central community. Its 60 households, with about 330 individuals, [162]
form the primary social unit from which the sample of 24 children was [124]
chosen.

Central Taira nestles along the inner shore of Taira Bay, which 361
opens into the Pacific Ocean. At this point the median range mountains recede from the coastline. Behind the village, rice paddies spread 133
in a crazed pattern at the bottom and on the terraced sides of several [243]
valleys which are separated from each other by sparsely wooded hills. Here and there the red earth of an eroded section shows like a scab through the green slopes.

In traveling by road from the south, most people choose the highway [491]
along the East China Sea coast, which is connected with the road which crosses the island. Higashi township is entered through a low saddle in the mountains which separate the two coastlines. To the right and left begins Taira's forest. Central Taira is reached through a winding lane bordered by pine trees. To the left the view opens into one of the neatly cultivated rice fields, backed by the hills on whose flat tops and terraced sides village people cultivate their farm lands.

The central village itself lies on a sand bluff, separating the valley 361
from the ocean, so that there is a slight drop toward both sides (see map 2). The main road runs the length of the village. Except for the [363]
thoroughfare, which is dirt and gravel, the side roads are not surfaced, and after heavy rains puddles form and remain for more than a day, to the delight of children who play in them.

When Taira was destroyed during World War II, along with its 363
houses went much of the foliage which once served as a windbreak. A 137
few fukugi trees * line the main street, and hibiscus hedges here and 725
there hide some of the houses from a first inspection. There are bushes around the edges of the village.

The war-time destruction is hardly apparent on a first walk through 36
the village. Along the main street, lined by houses, one finds the rice mill, a substantial new building of concrete and wood, the police sta-

* A small- to medium-sized evergreen tree with a narrow, upright, very dark green crown of leaves.

[Text continues on p. 377]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

tion, a frame wood building, and the main store. On the eastern end of the village the road opens into a little square in front of the simple, open prayer house with a small concrete shrine in back, housing three sacred stones. Beyond these is the township office crowned by a mighty pine tree of tremendous and symmetric proportions, acclaimed by Taira people to be the oldest existing pine in Okinawa. Across from the office are the post office and the dispensary. 36

Closer inspection of the village shows former house sites which were not rebuilt. Some still have empty concrete shells or single concrete walls and abandoned pigsties or storage sheds. Some of the vacant lots are used as potato fields, others as play areas, the favorite being a large house lot surrounded by a concrete wall, near the main store. 361 727 [311]

Houses are set back a short distance from the roads and paths, and most face south. In spite of the hedges and trees, the house is easily accessible from the street—its orientation is therefore toward the community as a whole and, as will be seen later, open to visitors who can enter freely without going through winding garden paths and knocking on doors or entering through long corridors and passages. Each house lot is small, ranging from 1300 to 6050 square feet. Houses are set so close to each other that neighborly conversations from one to the other can be conducted without leaving one's premises. Although some privacy is attained by the hibiscus hedges and fences, few secrets can be kept from neighbors. 361 351 [521]

There are several focal areas where people frequently meet and interact. The main store is a geographical center. Its two bulletin boards make it a natural congregating point. The banyan tree, overshadowing the village office and the lower water tank, is another such place, and on any day of the year scores of children can be found on or under it. In prewar times it was flanked by important structures, but now the empty lots, which are adjacent, form a green which is used on good days for village meetings. 361 [203] [139]

South of this green, and close to the water, stands the old warehouse, a concrete structure with tile roof which once served as a storage center for agricultural products shipped south by boat; now it serves as a village meeting playground, especially on rainy days. The open space around it, bordering on the sea wall, is also used as a play area and as a gathering place for young adults. Here people prepare firewood for sale and stack it to be picked up by the village truck. Houses once stood near the 10-foot sea wall but were not rebuilt after the war. [251] [344]

To the north of the store lies the upper water tank. Until several standing faucets were installed in 1955, this used to be another place where people met frequently. Water is diverted from a stream a mile 312 365

312 Water is diverted from a stream a mile
365 above the village and piped into the upper and lower tanks where
[482] people fill their buckets which they carry home on a shoulder yoke.
[857] Both tanks always attract children. Before faucets were installed, the two spigots on each tank were closed with a wooden stopper which the children often pulled to get a drink or water to play in. An open lot surrounding the upper water tank is another popular play area.

361 On the eastern side of the village below the main road lies a flat sandy plain, separating the actual beach from the houses above. Children are frequently found playing there or walking along the beach to the mouth of the Noro Mata and Fukuji rivers, which reach the sea
[764] about 400 yards away. To the west of the central village lie the tombs
[211] and the monument for the war dead of the village.

487 Many hills around the village drop off vertically toward the south;
[133] these drops are partly effects of the geological conditions, such as karst depressions, partly caused by erosion of drainage during the heavy rains. Narrow paths, leading up the steep claylike hillsides, are slippery
[491] and very treacherous during rains. On the way to school in Kawata, the neighboring village, children have to pass a section of the road where river and rains have washed away the bank so badly that a misstep on the edge of the road could lead to a fall of more than 50 feet.

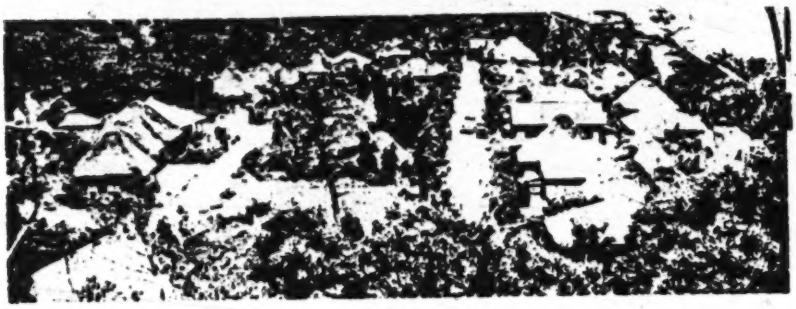
312 The little river which runs through parts of the valley behind Taira
[857] is another gathering place of children. A path alongside it leads into
[487] the hills and mountain forest lands. Seven minutes walking along this path takes one to Umugui, a natural swimming hole which also serves as one of the favorite laundry places. During the summer the river offers several other popular swimming spots downstream from Umugui.
[296] There is also a little concrete bridge in the rice fields beyond the houses, where adults and children go to wash laundry and sometimes pots and pans. Yamagawa well is a water hole, lined with concrete, near the northwestern part of Taira. Before water faucets were installed, girls frequently went there to wash their hair and do laundry.

857 Children go to the fields to look for flowers and berries or, in the
[484] case of older boys, to cut grass for animals. Distances covered by any child depend, of course, on the age. Younger siblings under 5 accompany the older ones to places beyond the area, but no expeditions extend to areas that are not also regularly traversed by adults in the course of their daily duties. Perhaps because of the multiple rivers and water sources, the beach offers less enticement than one might expect. On some days a group may decide to play on the beach, but since sand is also available throughout the village, everybody will soon shift back to some other area inland.

137 Tropical plants, bushes, and trees grow at sea level. At higher ele-

2:Maretaki & Maretaki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

361



View of central village, Taira.

351
342

House and yard.

Preparing rice paddy.

Cultivating rice.

243
291

[p. 456-A]

Amami Oshima, Okinawa, Miyako, and Yaeyama.[1] Although they appear to differ 197
widely, mutual intelligibility prevails, and informants from other islands assured me that they had managed to understand Okinawan in a short time though most preferred to use Japanese rather than attempt the new dialect.

Okinawan Dialects The Okinawan dialect area, Okinawa and its offshore islands, contains many sub-dialects or local speech groups, all of which are easily mutually intelligible. It would be an exaggeration to state that there is a distinctive dialect for each community; yet the variety and diversity of local speech forms constantly impresses one. Nakasone has distinguished five dialects in the Kunigami area alone, and this does not include nearly a dozen and a half distinctive speech islands within the same area.[2] These local speech peculiarities are often pointed out with considerable pride [621] and seem much prized as symbolic of a community's identity.

The dialects of Naha, Shuri, and certain of the larger towns such as Itoman and Yonabaru, are quite distinctive and easily recognized by the Okinawans. Naha dialect is most widely spoken and easily understood throughout the [554] island, and because of its association with the capital carries the greatest prestige among Okinawan speakers. Old residents of Naha complain that their [177] dialect has deteriorated and become coarsened since the war due to the heavy influx from other areas of people who speak the dialect imperfectly. By this they refer to the loss of certain polite forms and the inundations of Japanese. Some Shuri people will contend that the "best" Okinawan is spoken in their city. In the past this was undoubtedly a widely accepted point of view, but [648] with the advent of Japanese administration---exile of the king, removal of the [177] capital to Naha, abolition of the upper classes---Shuri's prestige as a cultural center rapidly declined. A number of informants, rural and urban, felt [545] that the "purest" Okinawan was heard in the Naha theaters, particularly at the Naha Gekijō, where daily performances of modern and historical dramas are presented. Itoman dialect is considered to be very coarse and rough by the people [554] of other communities, and hence is accorded a low prestige. This is in part [226] due to certain prosodic features of the dialect which render it unlike other Okinawan dialects, but more likely it is due to the fact that this town largely derives its livelihood from fishing, an occupation regarded with opprobrium by farmers and urbanites alike. The neighboring farm village of Kanegusuku, though less than a quarter of a mile away and long associated with Itoman, preserves a dialect distinct from it.

This dialectic diversity on Okinawa reflects to a certain extent the [361] physical isolation of the typical village, a tightly-nucleated cluster of dwellings surrounded by fields. It is also a product of the social structure 197 in the Okinawan kingdom. Prior to annexation by Japan (1879), farmers were 105 little more than serfs bound to the soil and forbidden to leave their native [566] village, while the gentry and nobility were for the most part concentrated in [565] the urban Naha-Shuri district. Rural villages tended to be isolated, self- [621] sustaining units; most were composed of a dominant kin group (munchu) and several smaller and possibly remotely related kin groups, or of several unrelated kin groups more nearly equal in size. A munchu was made up of a number

[1] Miyanaga /Miyara/, 1950, p. 39.

[2] Nakasone, 1937, pp. 242-258.

CHAPTER V: FAMILY LIFE

W. P. Suttles

1. Kinship Organization

342 The Household and the Family Okinawan homes, both in the country and in the towns, show a surprising uniformity in struc-
[183] ture, in floor plan, and even in orientation. This uniformity reflects the stability of society and at the same time reenforces it. The home of the
[361] Okinawan farmer usually faces south; indeed the older villages as a whole were established on southward-facing slopes.

The house consists of two main rooms separated by sliding doors, a long and narrow back room behind the two front rooms, and a kitchen to one side, usually the west. The measurements are usually in multiples of three feet (the Japanese foot being almost identical with the English foot); the two main rooms are usually the same size, 9 by 9 or 12 by 12 feet, and the others are somewhat smaller. The roofs of most houses are thatched with "kaya", but people who can afford it have wholly or partly tiled roofs. The roof of the kitchen may have a separate peak and ridgepole from that of the main part of the house. Usually the roof of the main part of the house extends beyond the front rooms so that there is a narrow veranda across the front and halfway around the side opposite the kitchen. The house usually has no windows. The kitchen has an outside door and the front rooms have sliding doors all the way around under the veranda; these are usually open except at night or during bad weather.

The main part of the house has a floor of boards but the kitchen often has only an earth floor or else consists of two sections, one floored and one not. The kitchen is thus usually lower than the main part of the house and is referred to as "below" while the main part is "above", but this also implies a difference in status. The room farthest from the kitchen is called the "first room" and the middle room is the "second room". The back room may be
353 a single long room or may be divided into two. At the back of the kitchen is
[354] the oven, usually made of earth or bricks with two or three holes for pots and pans to fit into. At the back of the second room, if the house is a "main house"---that of an eldest son, is the tootoomee (J. 'butsudan'), a cabinet for the ancestral tablets. At the back of the first room there is often an alcove containing a scroll and perhaps a family treasure; this is the u-tuku (J. 'tokonoma').

In the homes of more prosperous families the floors of the front rooms are permanently covered with "tatami", the thick mats used by the Japanese, but in most homes the only mats are the thinner mushiru, which are spread out
352 only when needed. Furniture is simple; the mushiru are the equivalent of chairs
[354] and beds; a low table may be brought out to put food upon at meal-time and a pot of burning charcoal may be brought out in cold weather for a little heat. Usually one sees only a basket of teacups and a tobacco-box. On formal occa-
592 sions the men sit in the first room and the women in the second, but usually
562 the partition is removed and the family simply lives in the whole space.

CHAPTER VIII LAND TENURE

W. P. Lebra

423 During the lifetime of the oldest living generation of Okinawans
there have been operative two radically differing systems of land tenure---
178 at first a system of communal land ownership and later a system of private
ownership of land by families. At the present time a third system may be
said to be emerging---private ownership by individuals. Changes in the
systems of land tenure have been accompanied by significant changes in the
family, economy, and community. During the wartime and post-war periods
extensive land losses to military installations have severely disrupted the
livelihood of a number of communities, thus furthering the process of
change.

175 1. The Okinawan Kingdom and the Land Allotment System ('jiwari seido')

Prior to 1879 when Japan formally annexed the Ryukyus, Okinawa was
[642] a small semi-independent kingdom (it was a tribute-paying dependency of
the daimiate of Satsuma in Japan) controlling the southern Ryukyus. The
175 urban Naha-Shuri area served as the administrative and commercial center
565 for the kingdom, and nearly all of the upper classes, gentry and nobility,
were concentrated there. They formed a ruling class similar to that of
[423] China, functioning as a literati and administrative bureaucracy. Feudalism
had been abolished in the fifteenth century, and aside from a small per-
centage of the nobility who were allowed to retain their hereditary fiefs,
the bulk of the upper classes subsisted on pensions granted by the ruler.
This group was very large and constituted approximately one-third of the
total population.

175 The farming population lived in a state of serfdom, being forbidden
[566] even to move from their native village or to change their hereditary occu-
pation. Farm villages were self-sustaining and physically isolated entities
[361] consisting of tightly-nucleated clusters of dwellings surrounded by fields.
Each village was segmented into several lineages whose houses were generally
[621] clustered together; these kin groups were related through the male line and
[613] shared a common ancestor, ritual observances, and often a local tomb for
[614] temporary burial. Each lineage was usually related to certain lineages of
other villages, thus forming a larger relationship or patri-sib which shared
a remote common ancestor, ritual observances, and a common tomb for perma-
nent burial. Usually the membership of this larger kinship group was con-
[582] centrated in the villages of a given district or area. Village endogamy
was an obligatory marriage practice, and kin group endogamy was a preferred
though not an obligatory practice.

178 Private ownership of land on Okinawa is a recent phenomenon, as
423 recent, in fact, as the beginning of the twentieth century. Under the old
175 kingdom communal ownership of the land obtained for all except a small seg-
423 ment of the upper classes. In theory all land was the property of the ruler,
[632] but in practice the district, or majiri (political unit roughly equivalent

4. A Comparison of Land Tenure in Two Rural Villages: Kanegusuku and Kitazato

621 Kanegusuku The village of Kanegusuku is located in the southwestern cor-
[34] ner of Kanegusuku-son approximately three miles due south of Naha on the west coast, and it is immediately north of the town of Itoman. As is typical of the old Okinawan villages it is situated on high ground with all of its houses facing in a southerly direction. Aside from a detached cluster of eleven houses, the village houses are close together in
[12] a contiguous settlement. The village was selected for study because of its infrequent contact with Americans, relative lack of war damage, and a reputed antiquity and conservatism. As of December, 1953, the population was 507 persons forming 108 families occupying 103 houses. The present population is said to be about the same as before the war despite a 20% loss of life during the battle; this loss has been made up by repatriates from overseas and immigrants from other areas of Okinawa. The repatriates and some of the immigrants either had formerly resided in the village or regarded it as their ancestral home. There are nine families who were native to some other part of Okinawa before the war and have no previous connections with the village. The majority of the families have been in this village for
[592] many generations. There are approximately five persons in each household, which usually consists of a nuclear family, husband and wife and their children; but the composition of a number of households has been changed due to wartime losses.

Socially the village is segmented into eight lineages which con-
[613] stitute 92% of the total population; the remaining 8% is made up of unrelated families new to the village since the end of the war. One lineage includes nearly 61% of the village in its membership. Each of these lineages is related to lineages in other villages. Approximately 66% of the village
[582] marriages have been within the village, and nearly 50% of the marriages have been between persons of the same kin group. Thus, the composition of the village is fairly homogeneous, and both the community and the kin groups are strong cohesive units.

621 Occupation 98 of the 103 houses are engaged full time in farming;
463 the household heads of the five remaining houses are employed outside the village in non-agricultural pursuits although all participate in some part-
241 time farming. In addition to these five there were approximately fifteen young men, not household heads, who also worked outside. Most of these commuted daily to the greater Naha area where they were engaged in military employment or construction work. For the majority of villagers farming was the sole occupation.

621 Arable Land Over 66% of the total area of this village is under
311 cultivation, and about 38% of the cultivated land is in irrigated fields.
[434] The chief sources of income derive from rice and mats made from a sedge which is grown in an irrigated field. In terms of the average amount of
[136] arable land per household Kanegusuku is somewhat better off than the average for Okinawa: 1514.2 'tsubo' for Kanegusuku as compared with 1037.6 'tsubo' for Okinawa.

[Kitazato]

175 621 727 It is said that the division of the village cut across family lines and that the motivating factor in a household's choice of one site over another was the location of their remaining landholdings on the periphery of the village. Another factor was the presence of relatives in neighboring villages from whom they might secure land for rental. Thus, Kijikina is largely made up of households which have their lands on that side of the field or have relatives in neighboring Furushima; the Hama people mostly own the land at the north side of the field.

175 621 The Pre-war Village Prior to the war the village was, according to 'son' officials, a very prosperous community and a great economic asset to the 'son'. It possessed nearly 173 acres in arable land, most of which [249] was flat or gently rolling. The soil was well suited to sugar cane which [534] was the chief source of income for the village; cattle-raising for export [233] to Japan provided an additional source of income. [439]

Unlike Kanegusuku the lineages were said to be rather weak in Kitazato; there were a number of different kin groups, and no one of these was [367] dominant. The houses of the village were not tightly nucleated like those of the typical Okinawan village but were scattered about in a loose grouping in the midst of the best agricultural land.

621 311 727 Land Loss At the present time (May, 1954) approximately 39% of the total land area of this village is in airfield, and an additional 34% of the total area has been ruined by activities related to its construction (sand dumped onto fields, top soil removed, erosion, etc.). There remains but 27% of the total land area for the use of the villagers, and of this only a small percentage is in arable land, since most of the good, flat farmland was lost to the airfield. The total amount of arable land remaining is [134] 11,895 'tsubo' (less than ten acres), and this averages out to about 148 'tsubo' or 0.12 acres per household, with approximately five persons in each house. The average amounts of arable land per household in Kanegusuku, Okinawa, and Kitazato compare as follows:

Kanegusuku	--- 1514.2 'tsubo'	
Okinawa	--- 1037.2 'tsubo'	(per farm household)
Kitazato	--- 148.7 'tsubo'	

Land loss to the airfield affected every family in the village; some families lost all of their lands, a very few managed to retain most, but the majority of villagers (70%) lost nearly all of their holdings. For example, the mayor of the village held 2470 'tsubo' before the war and now has 570 'tsubo' left; yet, he is considered one of the more fortunate. To compensate for their losses they now farm some land which was previously left idle: "We would not have farmed such land before the war as we are farming today." Some have rented lands from neighboring villages, and a few have been given land by relatives in these villages.

621 829 727 Land Payment The people of Kitazato strongly feel that they are not being paid adequate remuneration in terms of current rental values for their land. They are well aware of the fact that the same U. S. military

241 433 average, since the range is narrow) of approximately one acre.[1] Even by the most skillful and intensive gardening methods there are limits to what can be extracted from the best of soils. One might say that the average Okinawan farmer is engaged in sub-subsistence farming. With the traditionally low 241 554 status accorded a farmer and the minute size of his holdings it is hardly any wonder that the Okinawan does not like farming and is eager to accept whatever is available elsewhere.

178 241 311 727 Land loss to military installations has accelerated a process which has been operative for fifty years. In this case, however, the effect has been concentrated in certain areas and not distributed over the island at large; consequently, there has been considerable hardship in these localities. But the main point of bitterness where it has been so engendered is over the loss of livelihood rather than over the loss of the land per se. The point, they feel, is that not only have they lost their lands but that they also are not receiving adequate compensation for this loss. It would not be an exaggeration to state that most perhaps would prefer to be landlords, under reasonable terms, to the military than farm the land if it were available again.

178 433 Okinawan food production has passed through three phases in the last fifty to sixty years. During the first phase prior to the land reform of 1899-1903 there was a self-sufficiency of food in the rural areas. After the reform, the Japanese subsidized sugar and did much to encourage its production, which rose to a point 900% above local consumption. This led to a sharp decline in acreage planted in other foods, particularly grains---rice, wheat, millet. Since 1943 there has been a shift toward increasing food production[2], and sugar has dropped to about one-tenth its prewar level. In some villages such as Kanegusuku where mat weaving was formerly of considerable importance the irrigated fields formerly planted in sedge have been replanted with rice. Despite the increasing emphasis on food production it is unlikely that the village will ever return to self-sufficiency, for in recent years new tastes have altered the diet and created a dependence on foods not produced within the village.

178 361 <u>Settlement Patterns</u> The reconstruction of villages after the war often did not follow the prewar pattern. Suttles states that prewar Yamada was a scattered settlement made up of several small hamlets, whereas the new postwar settlement is a nucleated one. The new site is at an important crossroads, while the heart of the old village is virtually empty. North of Yamada on the highway to Nago one can see where the new road has departed from the old one; in several cases the villagers have moved closer to the new road despite the fact that it was much dustier there.

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1 Cressey, George B., <u>Asia's Lands and Peoples</u>, New York, 1944, p. 84, p. 191.

2 Several informants stated that the word went out to the farmers in that year to concentrate all efforts on food production. Undoubtedly this was linked to the turn of events in the war for the Japanese.

Elongated roadside settlements seem to be an increasing phenomena of 178
post-war Okinawa. In central Okinawa (Nakagami) this is particularly appar- 361
ent in the areas of military camps, where the commercial value of being on
the road is fully exploited. Numerous car-washing establishments, repair [443]
shops, laundries, souvenir shops, etc., line the roadsides in these settle-
ments. With current expansion and improvement of the highway system there
seems increasing likelihood that more settlements of this type will develop.

Houses and Buildings Architectural styles and the materials of con- 178
struction appear to have changed but slightly as a result of the war. There 342
are now thousands of small temporary huts made of scrap materials which will
suffice until the individual family can afford a more permanent structure.
When new houses are built, the styles are closely similar to those of the pre-
war period. The major change in the style of country houses appears to have
occurred during the Japanese period of administration, for early travelers
and investigators report that the typical farmer's dwelling consisted of woven
bamboo walls, thatch roof, and dirt floor. These are but rarely found today, [171]
and where they do occur, there is always a raised floor as in the case of the
Japanese home. In certain areas, such as Kitazato for example, there has been
a reversion to this house of woven bamboo and thatch due to poverty, a lack
of wood, and the readily available bamboo. The prewar house of wooden walls
and frame with a tile roof still remains the most common house type and that
which is most frequently built.

The use of concrete blocks in building is attributed to American in- [177]
fluence; however, their usage to date has been limited mostly to non-residen-
tial buildings. Roofing of corrugated iron is sometimes used, but it is
regarded as a temporary device.

Interiors have changed but little; rooms are usually relatively bare 177
of furnishings. Frequently the walls are covered with pictures taken from 178
Japanese and American magazines. 353

The enclosed yard surrounding the Okinawan house often contains con- 177
siderable evidence of the war. Oil drums have been put to use as rain barrels 351
and privies; American helmets are frequently found serving as pails or buckets;
old shell cases are used for support and occasionally, if a sufficient number
are available, for decorative fencing; sections of portable landing-strips
serve as sidewalks; and on one occasion a Japanese machine-gun was observed
in use as a clothes pole.

Crafts There has been a marked decline in Okinawan handicrafts and 177
a greater reliance placed on factory-made products. The manufacture of cloth, 178
baskets, rope, hats, pottery, raincapes, mats, sandals, etc. has dropped mar- 433
kedly in comparison to the prewar era; yet, it is acknowledged that the war 28
only served to accelerate the decline. Several factors are involved in this
process. In many cases the Japanese factory products are cheaper and better [329]
than the local article. The cultural domination of Japan also created an
attitude that things Ryukyuan were inferior to things Japanese; hence,
Japanese products and styles assumed an ascendancy over those of Ryukyuan
origin. Lastly, the war destroyed many of the places of manufacture and the [727]
machinery employed, and replacement has never been made.

CHAPTER XII: OKINAWAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS

[Yamada]

|2| In this chapter we shall describe the effects of the occupation and types of relationships that have developed between Americans and Okinawans in a rural setting. We shall discuss the problems of Okinawan military employment. And we shall discuss the nature of Okinawan attitudes toward the United States, toward Japan, and toward themselves as a separate ethnic unit.

1. The Rural Setting: Yamada

W. P. Suttles

|62| Changes in Structure and Orientation The village of Yamada lies in southern Onna-son on the China Sea shore of [361] Okinawa just south of the Ishikawa isthmus. The village is actually composed of several settlements that form a single 'ku' (the administrative unit) in a single 'aza' (the land unit). The topography of the 'aza' is rather uneven. [241] The great majority of the people are farmers. They raise a little tea on one of the higher hills, sweet potatoes and other root crops and a little wheat on their upland fields, and a considerable amount of rice in paddies at the bottoms of their narrow valleys.

Before the war Aza Yamada consisted of seven settlements. Two were the old villages of Yamada and Kuraha. Four were yaarui (J. 'yadori'), smaller, separate settlements established by settlers (chijuunin, J. 'kiryūmin') who had left the urban areas of the south in the latter part of the last century. Of these four, three, the mee ("front") and kushi ("rear") yaarui of Tirabaru and the yaarui of Uema were settled by commoners (hyakusoo, J. 'heimin'); the fourth and most isolated, Tirabaru, was settled by gentry (yukatchu, J. 'shizoku'). The seventh settlement, Ajimaa, was a recent clustering of houses and shops around the crossroads and school.

For purposes of administration the aza was divided into 'han'. Since administration meant mainly the communication of instructions from above, number of houses and distance were probably the principal factors in determining the size of the 'han'. Thus the three larger settlements, Yamada, Kuraha, and Ajimaa, were each a 'han'; two of the yaarui that were close together, the mee and kushi yaarui of Tirabaru, formed a single 'han'; but the remaining two yaarui, Uema and Tarigaa, were separate 'han', probably because they were too far apart for one 'hanchō' to transmit information to both.

But for purposes of cooperation in certain economic and social activities, a unit larger than the single yaarui was evidently needed. This unit was the chinju (J. 'kinjo', meaning "neighborhood"). The three larger settlements were each a chinju, besides being each a 'han'. The two yaarui that formed a single 'han' also formed a single chinju. But the two yaarui that formed separate 'han' also formed a single chinju, their distance apart apparently being of less importance than the need for a larger cooperative unit.

[Yamada]

Thus Aza Yamada consisted of seven settlements grouped into six 'han' 621
and into five chinju. The chinju was probably the older, "natural" unit, [177]
while the 'han' was a unit introduced by the Japanese administration.

During the last few months before the battle for Okinawa, the area 175
south of Yamada was used as an ammunition dump by the Japanese navy, one 621
small unit was stationed in Tarigaa, and a number of Okinawan civilians 726
drafted for labor were quartered there with the local people. These out- 727
siders dispersed as the raiding by American planes increased and by the time the landing took place, on 1 April 1945, the people of Yamada had for the most part gone into caves and prepared underground shelters. Two or three days after the landing the 6th MarDiv passed through Yamada, discovering some of the people and sending them behind the lines, but missing many. Some of those taken were almost immediately allowed to return to their homes. Then, after about a week, all were rounded up, taken to the school, and there loaded onto trucks and taken to Ishikawa. During the following weeks all the buildings in Yamada that had survived the softening-up process that preceded the landing were burned "as a sanitary measure" with the exception of one house and one school building. A part of the Yamada people were moved again to a village north of Kin while the rest stayed in Ishikawa, which was becoming the largest concentration of civilians on the island. Aza Yamada, empty of Okinawans, was occupied by several American units; concrete foundations for quonset huts were laid on the level fields of Tirabaru; the walls and floor of the remaining school building were removed so as to make a garage for a motor pool.

The people of Yamada were permitted to move back to their village 175
during the summer of 1946. Some staved in Ishikawa, however, and some 621
returned to Yamada only to go back to Ishikawa later. (One woman said they 727
were told at the time that if they did not return to Yamada then they could never return later.) The houses at Yamada had to be rebuilt and fields reclaimed; American aid in materials was given but the job was not an easy one. For some of those who had employment with American units or whose families were too broken by the war to provide the basis for a farming household, the new city of Ishikawa, crowded and unsanitary as it was (and still is), was more attractive than the ruins of the country village. But in addition to those from Ishikawa, former Yamada people were being shipped home from Japan, the South Seas, and Manchuria, and although some of these too drifted to the city, the population of Yamada is now somewhat larger than it was before the war.

The postwar village of Yamada looks considerably different from the 621
prewar one. While the old village consisted of several widely separated 178
settlements, the new one is fairly compact. The center is Ajimaa at the old [361]
cross-roads below the school. Yamada 'mura-uchi' is empty but for three families. The yaarui of Uema and Tarigaa were never reoccupied and Tirabaru exists only as a sort of pseudopodium of Ajimaa stretching toward but not reaching its former location. The greater part of the 'mura-uchi' and yaarui people are in Ajimaa and the present Tirabaru. Kuraha, formerly down on the beach, has been rebuilt above the water, just below Ajimaa, at a new and potentially more important crossroads.

[Yamada]

621 One reason for this greater concentration may have been the greater
• 261 need for cooperation during the period of rebuilding; another may have been
178 the greater dependence since the war on the outside and the resulting greater
177 dependence on the new highways and busses; but a third reason for the present concentration seems to have been a feeling of uneasiness in the presence of American units. There are still units on three sides of Yamada, two in the hills behind and one towards the sea between the settlement and the next village of Maeda. A Tarigaa woman gave the presence of American soldiers in the hills as a definite reason for not returning to her isolated home. A part of the rebuilt Ajimaa extended for a time in the direction of the nearest unit but in the last two or three years these houses have one by one been removed toward the center of the settlement.

621 The present aza is divided into five 'han', which are said also to
178 function as chinju. However, the division seems to have been made along 'koaza' boundaries and this has resulted in a very uneven distribution of households per 'han'. Since the settlement pattern is still changing it seems likely that units of a more equal size will develop.

621 The orientation of Yamada, as well as its settlement pattern, has
178 changed. Before the war contacts were nearly all to the north and south
484 along the west shore of the island; people went south to Kadena on their rare shopping trips. Now, good highways and an excellent bus system not only run north and south but also link the west shore with the east shore via Nakadomari and Ishikawa. Since the war and the internment of many of the Yamada people at Ishikawa, going to town had meant going to Ishikawa, and people who once went twice a year to Kadena may now go to Ishikawa twice a week. People still go south to Kadena, but now more often as employees of the Americans commuting to work.

621 Formal Relations At the time that the Yamada people returned to their
177 village in 1946 they received material aid from the
727 American Military Government, with which to rebuild. For a time after, they continued to receive a food ration ('haikyū') that was distributed from the
[648] 'haikyūjo', which later became the cooperative store. However, for several years now they seem to have had very little direct contact with the Military Government or its successor USCAR. On the other hand they have had considerable contact, both formal and informal, with the 'butai', the "unit", that is stationed just a few hundred yards from the settlement of Kuraha. This relationship was evidently in a process of change while I worked in Yamada early in 1954.

All of the villagers with whom I discussed the matter seemed agreed that for a period in the recent past the relationship had been very good. During the previous year the CO of the unit had held monthly meetings with the 'kuchō' of Yamada and three neighboring villages and with the teachers of the Yamada school, which serves all four villages. The purpose of these meetings was said to be the discussion of mutual problems, and in this they had a fair degree of success. For example the local people asked the unit to decrease the speed of trucks coming through the village, and this was done. The unit in turn asked the villagers to try to stop women from sneaking into

361 The village is a group of houses, each with its own compound, and
351 these give it an inclosed look. There are few if any gardens or vegetabl
patches either in the compounds or within the village settlement.

363 The lanes resemble quiet winding country roads. The rock fences,
or the lines of trees or shrubbery often conceal the houses. There is an
appearance of loneliness in these lanes and roads, except at busy times
of the day when the children return from school. The lack of commercial
[482] activity, except for the women carrying rice on their heads to the mill
[462] and for the small village stores, contributes to this impression of quiet,
which one would expect from the routine of agriculture. At night, when
[354] the doors are drawn, and when the flickering and smoky oil lamps are lit,
the loneliness and quiet of the village is even more pronounced. The
[493] lanes and the roads are deserted, save for an occasional passing truck,
bicycle, or three wheeled cycle, and in one of the favorite words of all
[192] Okinawans, the place is sabishii.[6]

Since there is little activity in the village other than farming,
366 neighboring villages and distant towns supply the additional needs. At
368 nearby Gushichan village, there are the primary and junior high schools,
the post office, the township and agricultural association offices, a
barbershop, and some small stores. At Minatogawa, about one and one
half miles away, there is a public bath, and across the river from this
village, in Horikawa, an occasional play from the Okinawan stage, or
a movie. Buses run through the village twice a day and one can make
connections to Naha or Itoman, the two most likely places for buying
[494] or selling. Or one can take the three wheeled cycles which pass through
more frequently.

727 Physically, the village was much affected by the war. On June 11,
1945, the front line ran through the cultivated area between Hanashiro
362 and Gushichan villages. Hill 95, the scene of fierce fighting was in
the vicinity of Hanashiro.[7] One can still see an occasional tank track,
abandoned helmets and scattered fragments of war materials in the fields.
The village was affected by the war in ways which are now observable
indirectly in the makeshift houses, improvised shacks, the roofs of half
[355] tile and half thatch, the odd additions to the older buildings partly
destroyed, and the lack of drain pipes and water catchment tanks. Houses,
which to superficial appearance, have existed for generations, have
been rebuilt since the war with grass substituting for the tile roofs.
[311] War operations over the cultivated areas also resulted in some loss of
land. A long mound in the rice areas, with paths along its ridge, was
formerly a road built by the Americans in the final drive toward Mabuni.
Almost all the houses in the village were destroyed.

6 This Japanese word suggests both loneliness and melancholy.

7 Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 437 (illustration), 434-42 on the struggle for Hill 95.

133 Hanashiro and Oushichan villages to a broad semi-circular valley, the
361 Oushichan plain, with a gentle gradient sloping to the sea. Shortly before the coast is reached there is a sharper drop, and it is in this depression along the shore and the coastal strip that the fishing village lies.

134 The Okinawan clay loams and the Chinen stony clays are also the
133 predominating soils of the area. There are about 85 acres of the gently sloping clay loams, 155 acres of the gently sloping Chinen stony clays. While moderately fertile and well drained, these soils are also shallow and stony, with obvious defects for the pursuit of agriculture. There are 10 acres of deep, fertile poorly drained, slightly acid alluvial soils. These occur along the river and its estuary and in a small former river mouth to the south. There are about six acres in rough stony land.

731 The village has very little storm protection. There are no shelter
133 belts around it, nor are there many trees within. It is open to storms
419 and typhoons, and the water, lashed by the sea, is sufficient to break and scatter the large stones of the seawall. At present, inside the village there is none of the privacy typical of the agricultural villages
361 and their compounds. There are few trees, shrubs, or fences. In the
351 older part of the village, the houses are closely set together. Fishing nets hang on the lines of the yard. In season, the yard is covered with
320 drying fish, fish fins, and fish backs. The yards and the shore are dotted with men cleaning or repairing their boats.

362 The lack of natural beauty of the place is accentuated by the poor-
517 ness of the houses and the other buildings. Its atmosphere is unmistakably different. The village is more commercial and more lively than the quiet
484 and concealed agricultural village. Life is not so much of a routine, for much depends on the weather and the sea. The village has people who have travelled widely. Some of its fishermen have been in the waters of Java, of the South Seas, of the Andaman Islands, the Philippines, and Indo-China.

438 The village's main commercial contacts are with the remaining agricultural villages of the township from which it must obtain much of
[311] its food, for the area is not suited to agriculture, nor is much land available. For wider contacts, there are Itoman about 4 1/2 miles, and Naha about 8 1/2 miles away. Buses go through the village twice a day.
494 The three wheeled cycles are irregular but come and go more often. Fish
368 is sold at Naha. The theatre for the travelling troupe of actors from Naha and for movies is in Horikawa across the river. Many visits are
574 also made to Itoman to see relatives and friends.

The war was even more catastrophic for Hinatogawa than for Hanashiro.
727 Before the war, Hinatogawa was a thriving, prosperous and well built up small town. About 70% of its buildings had a tile roof and 30% had
[361] thatch roofs. There were about 30 stores, sake shops and drinking places, including a geisha house, along the road, serving the fishermen and the stonecutters. Of the 430 buildings in the area, only three were left

standing. At one time, the Hinatogawa beaches were seriously considered for the initial landings in Okinawa, and later as a possible second landing. After the campaign for the south had begun, Hinatogawa became a forward loading point.[10] The present village has been completely rebuilt, and the newer buildings, with few exceptions, are frail and undistinguished. The war shows its effects, too, on the southern part of the village where there is a barren acreage, formerly the site of an army camp, its top soil so shallow that the bulldozers in levelling it soon reached the rock beneath.

Nearby Nagamo is a village of a different type. It is divided into two distinct quarters, also a result of the war. The old part formerly was to the north in the main stonecutting area, but following the destruction, a new settlement was started in the farm land a few hundred yards south. Cultivation is marginal on the shallow soil of the sloping valley before it descends into the flat coastal area in which the fishing village is located.

Hinatogawa, which means River Port, is a distinctive village reminiscent of the famous fishing town of Itoman, though without its size, beauty, or color.

4

Matsuda

Matsuda is a here-and-there type of village. The village area including the community owned forest is over a square mile. The countryside is dotted with several small sub-settlements. Within each sub-settlement, the houses also are scattered about and separated from one another by large trees, thick growths of shrubbery, grasses, stone fences, and cultivated fields.

The village is located in Ginoza township (Ginoza-son) on the northeast side of the island. This township is in the northern district (Kunigami, or Yambaru). The village is on Highway 13, which winds along the northeast coast through Ishikawa, Kin, Kanna, and Ginoza villages.

Though near the sea, a typical site of a northern Okinawan village, it is a settlement engaged in agriculture and forestry. Its name suggests its nature. Matsuda is a compound of the characters for pine tree, matsu, and rice field, ta, da. Though there is some fishing in the sub-settlements along the Pacific shore, it is casual and a part time occupation for farmers on the coast. The families exclusively

[Text Continues TOP of P. 55--Analyst]

10 The statistics on village destruction are taken from accounts of the villagers. They are estimates. For operations in this area, see Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 68, 74, 426-27, 436, 439.

361 traditional attitudes that the north was a culturally rude and physically
311 inhospitable place. The highway which now goes through the center of the main part of the village is a good, hard surfaced, dirt road, widened
[491] since the war. A lively traffic of trucks and buses and the three wheel cycles contrasts with the narrow pre-war roads, traces and abandoned
[494] sections of which can still be seen. The frequent buses supply transportation to the larger cities and towns of the island: to Nago across the island and slightly to the north, to Ishikawa on the south, and to distant Naha, about 31 miles away.

727 Matsuda, unlike the southern villages, was not destroyed by the war. There were some air raids, some bombing out of the houses, but nothing like the destruction in the main areas of conflict. Early in the Okinawa campaign, the north was cut off and isolated and the struggle for the
[362] island took place in central and southern Okinawa. As a consequence, many of the old houses, sturdily built with tile roofs, have been preserved.
[342] Numerous refugees from the south gathered in this area during and after
[166] the campaign. In nearby Ginoza (Jinuza) village, slightly over a mile to the southwest, also on Highway 13, the Americans operated a hospital
[743] for Okinawan refugees. It is still in use. This relative lack of war destruction in the northern villages has, to a degree, reversed the roles of the north and the south. The opening up of the north, its prosperity,
184 the survival of many of its old homes, give the impression of comfort and well being conspicuously lacking in most of the makeshift villages of the south.

The descriptions of these three villages perhaps make clear the diversity that can be expected among Okinawan settlements. Hanashiro, the small village cluster, with adjoining rice fields on the valley floor, its other crops on the terraced slopes, is the most typical. Minatogawa, the fishing village in an impoverished countryside of stony or shallow soil, is dependent on the seas and its catch for its livelihood and the wherewithal to buy the foods which cannot be grown in sufficient abundance. Matsuda, a collection of small settlements, scattered here and there from the coast inland, with its large preserve of community forest, is an example of agriculture in a forest setting, and of the use of the forest in daily living. This by no means exhausts the diversity. The village of
[136] Oku to the north, with its tea, its rice, its fences for wild boar pro-
[242] tection, its cycads planted on the hillsides to prevent erosion, is still another example. But our task here is not to catalogue all diversity, but to indicate that it exists and to a much greater degree than would appear to superficial observation.

2

The Courtyard or Compound

The usual present day Okinawan dwelling is in an inclosed courtyard or compound. This varies in size. The average size of these house sites (yashiki in Japanese) is shown in the following table: 351

	Area in Tsubo a/	Approximate Equivalent in Acres
Hanashiro	184.3	0.15
Minatogawa	70.7	0.06
Matsuda	116.4	0.10

a/ Computed from lists of village house sites in the land registers of each township. The conversion figure of 1210 tsubo (about four square yards) to the acre has been used.

The traditional house site has definite characteristics, obscured in present day Okinawa because of the war destruction. In the rebuilding, much of the housing and the outlying sheds were of poor quality. They are difficult to classify, except in a general category such as shacks or shanties. [362]

The house site, surrounded by its shrubs, trees, or stone fence and with the hinpun at the entrance, or the open side, forms a private courtyard with the buildings arranged around the three sides. There are a large number of possible combinations. A compound in which the house is located across the back part of the site, its front facing the hinpun and the road or lane is typical. On either side, there might be a combined outside toilet and pig or goat pen, or separate buildings for the toilet and the pigs or goats, a food storehouse, and a tool shed. The auxiliary buildings are small, and more correctly should be described as sheds. The outside toilet, with a dirt, stone block, or cement floor, is usually small with one or two holes in the floor. It is used in a squatting position. [343]

All kinds of variations from this description can be observed at will. In the fishing village of Minatogawa, the compound is open. Little hedges a foot or so high or small rock borders take the place of the dense shrubs and trees of another site. Lines are stretched out in the yard. Nets are hanging, and fish are drying on the mats in the courtyard. Sometimes, more out of convention than practical utility, there is a hinpun in front of a house that has no other construction to seal it off from view. And these hinpun might even be made of stray boards or of corrugated iron.

It is not unusual in a compound, in cases in which the house is small, for a young man of the house to have a small separate building. Here he has his blankets, personal articles, pictures clipped from 592 342

These rooms, opening on the front of the house along the corridor, do not run the full length of the house. A fourth, a back room, running across the back part may open on to the kitchen. Sometimes this room is only roughly finished and used for storage or sleeping purposes or both. A grandmother often takes the grandchildren (other than the infant) to bed with her in this room. 342 [353] [513]

The kitchen is set off from the rest of the house by being on a lower level, perhaps one step. The kitchen usually has a hard dirt floor. Occasionally it is cemented. Sometimes it has a chimney, sometimes a hole in the side of the wall, which the curious smoke rejects in favor of a leisurely diffusion throughout the other rooms of the house. The kitchen is not part of the house in the sense that the other rooms are. The shoes are not removed when entering it. The kitchen opens out on to a stone or dirt path. Women frequently still eat in the kitchen because of its convenience and the need of going in and out to get water, or to wash vegetables, or to get food from the shed during the preparation of a meal. [576] [264]

The stove is basically an open hearth with a hole at the top for the cooking pan. There is also a hole directly below this into which the fuel can be placed. More elaborate stoves may have three tiers: one for the cooking, one for putting the fuel in, the lower for the ashes. The most simple, in the very poorest houses, are little more than a circular group of stones laid on the ground built up so that a pan can be placed on top. The most elaborate, made of stone, might run across the width of the kitchen and have several openings. Fuel, such as odd branches, sticks of firewood brought from the northern (Kunigami) region, crushed and dried sugar cane, or miscanthus grass of varying length is put part way into the fire and pushed further in as the ends are burned off. 354 [372]

The all stone house is smaller than the wooden house. It invariably has a tile roof, for those able to afford the stone can also buy the tile. The stone blocks used in house construction are usually about nine feet by one foot on the edge.[6] The stones used as posts are buried two feet in the ground leaving seven feet for the upright. These blocks, called ishibashira when used for house construction, have the same width and breadth; they can be cut to any desired length to even off the sides. The stones are layed like bricks with mortar to form the walls of the house. The all stone house is not common, and is usually seen in the south, where the stone is quarried, in Minatogawa, and in adjacent villages. These houses are more modern, and often bathing facilities are built in. The stone house has the advantage of being cool in summer, warm in winter. 342 [333] [184] [515]

Finally, there are the simple structures, resembling shacks or shanties more than houses. These are, as one would expect, more frequent in the areas of the war's operations. There are three main varieties, though the combinations are numerous: (1) the all grass house, now uncommon. The sides of this wattled house are usually of [362]

6 Actually they are 9 x 1 x 1 shaku. A shaku is 0.994 feet.

3

Care and Conservation of Land

One of the significant tasks of our time is the study of the relation between population growth and density and the exploitation of renewable and non-renewable resources: the effects of a culture on the land, the forests, the soils and the vegetation must be considered in ethnographic and geographic work. If this is not done the culture is studied as if it rested, like a plate on a table, on a geographic base, without bothering to discover the nature of the environment or what the culture is doing to it. 121 114

Nineteenth century studies of primitive and advanced societies emphasized the influence of the physical environment in molding a culture. This crude fallacy, often known as geographic determinism or environmentalism, was exploded by studies made of cultures in all parts of the world in which it became clear that the physical environment is not the cause of cultural differences.

But the reverse of this approach, the examination of what a culture is doing to its physical environment, its soils, its vegetation, and its forests has not been carried on with the vigor with which other aspects of culture have been studied. This point of view has practical significance in day to day administration. Economic matters such as foreign trade or the labor force requirement should not be a separate and independent segment for study. Changes in inheritance should not be viewed solely with reference to the family system. Forest conservation should not be regarded only as a technique and a necessary department in the government.

The effects of the devastating typhoons, for example, need no elaboration; the destruction of life, crops, houses, of boats, and breakwaters. But their effects are also influenced by other factors. The two southern villages were in the midst of some of the violent fighting of the Okinawan campaign. Large numbers of houses in both communities were destroyed by the war. The new buildings to replace them are so frail that in typhoon times they are often destroyed. This rebuilding requires more wood and more grass. Thus, such factors as the war, the inability to reconstruct permanent housing, typhoons, and the natural growing of miscanthus grass are joined together in a close relationship. 731 727 367 824 182

In the south the relationship of typhoon destruction to deforestation is striking. There is need for tidebreak groves and shelter belts along the coast to protect crops from wind and salt-water spray, a need which fortunately the Ryukyuan Forest Agency is attempting to meet. Deforestation in the south seems inescapably tied up with long occupance. The center of population has always been in the southern part of the island. Not only should there be trees, but they should be planted in the right places. The deforestation of 731 137 [313] [361]

system and by the public life which they lead. There is a blending and shading of the private life of the home with the public life of the lanes, the shops, and the homes of others. The process is so subtle that one can live among them and be unaware of it. But children do more than grow up. They grow and reach maturity impressed with their duties and obligations. It is this cultural environment, rather than single element explanations such as breast feeding, which in my opinion accounts for the politeness, the essential gentleness, and the sense of security of the people. These characteristics can best be understood by knowing history, by knowing how people live within a family, how families live together, what these groups of families do to their arable land, their plants, their stones, their trees, and their forested and wild land, and how the private life of an individual or a family blends in with the wider public experience of the community.

156 [155]

The recent war has been a powerful agent of cultural change in Okinawa. The destruction of the south, the comparative well-being of the north have equalized the roles of the two great divisions of the island, and the north is no longer a rustic hinterland. The years of military service in the Japanese army interfered with the transmission of the traditional culture from the old to the young. One of the striking aspects is the differences in types of information possessed by the old and the young. Men fifty years or over speak of things of which younger men and women have never heard. What is part of one man's culture is foreign to the other.

727 178 184

Before the war success in transmitting the traditional culture to the young depended to a great extent on the hierarchy of the family system and its scale of values. Women were subordinated to men and the younger deferred to the elder. Obedience of children and acknowledgment of parental leadership were said to characterize the pre-war society. In many ways, all these things still do. But there are indications of a growing dependence of the older on the advice and knowledge of the young.

[867] [593]

The war and its aftermath produced conditions favorable to the leadership of younger people, especially younger men. It was easy for them to drive trucks. It was no chore to become acquainted with Americans and adapt themselves to their ways. They could learn, and comprehend more easily, some of the Western concepts implicit in governmental change. A twenty year old is not impressed with skill at typing. A sixty year old person looks upon this skill with a certain wonder.

[177]

The destruction of pre-war housing and its replacement by inferior makeshift housing have had an unsettling effect on village life. Sleeping habits and living arrangements were disrupted. The destruction even affected the use of rainwater coming from the drains on the tile roofs. It converted villages with their houses and an occasional garden into a camp-like atmosphere.

[362]

The post-war repatriation often brought to villagers a more personal awareness of the outside world. Those who returned, especially from the non-Oriental countries, created an atmosphere congenial to change.

[167] [177]

302 for a shave; but since this happens only about once a week or less, they
[305] have a stubbly beard much of the time. Men have their hair cut infrequently. From adolescence on they prefer long and unwieldy hair, combed to one side.

Almost no women use lipstick, but a few put on rouge for special occasions. More and more of the younger women use some make-up when they travel to the city, in spite of rather rude teasing from other villagers that they look like prostitutes.

291 During the hot summer most people have straw sun hats which can
293 be bought at the local store after the rainy season. They cost little and last until the end of the heat. Umbrellas are the only rain protection during wet days, since the raincoats and hats formerly made of palm thatch have almost completely disappeared.

DWELLINGS

342 All but two houses in Taira are postwar structures. The first postwar structures were small and hastily built of local, mostly inferior materials. In the last few years families have built more elaborate houses with several rooms, substantial walls and roofs, and made of quality Japanese hard woods, which will resist rapid deterioration. Only a few of the present houses, however, compare in size and workmanship with the large prewar farmhouses.

[362] On the whole, housing in central Taira is inferior to outlying parts of the community and other surrounding villages. Two house types are found: the simple, temporary house or hut with two or three rooms and a kitchen, covered by a thatch roof; and the larger, more substantial house with either thatch or tile roof, four to six rooms and a kitchen.

[251] All houses have common characteristics. They are elevated from the ground so that a 20 to 24 inch space is left underneath the floor, which is sometimes used for the storage of potatoes and firewood. The floor plan is uniform for all houses of either type (Figure 1). Living rooms, also used for sleeping, are always located in the front part of the house. A smaller room located at the right rear of the house is used as a bedroom or for sick people and parturient mothers. The kitchen is on level ground so that a step has to be taken to enter the eating corner from the kitchen. Even the simplest huts have a thin wall which separates the rear bedroom and kitchen from the front part. All outside doors are sliding panels which move in a wooden track so that the whole front of the house may be opened. A visitor can tell immediately if somebody is home and, if an informal caller, will sit on the elevated

[Kanegusuku]

Non-cultivated land, however, is equally important to the average farm household in providing fuel, thatching, green manure, and many other necessities. 621 [311]

Land Holdings A breakdown of the 103 houses of Kanegusuku shows that 97 own land; 6 houses own no land of any type. Of the 103 houses, 56 rent land, and 6 of these rent all the land which they use. The remaining 50 own some land and rent some land. The figures are somewhat misleading, as included among the renters are those who rent only house lots; also included are some houses which have more than enough land for their own needs, but have rented plots contiguous to their main plots and in turn rent out their inaccessible plots to others. 621 423 427

In terms of total land per household 60% possess one or more acres of land which includes house lots, grass land, and forest in addition to cultivated fields. Nearly 73% of the village houses possess three-quarters of an acre or more of land which might arbitrarily be taken as the minimum necessary for mere existence, since farmers say that from 1000 to 2000 'tsubo' (1224 'tsubo' equal one acre) are needed for the average family. This leaves 27% of the village or exactly 28 houses with insufficient land for their needs. An investigation revealed that 13 of these 28 "have-not" houses were new to the village since the war. This group includes former residents of other Okinawan communities as well as repatriate families, of which 4 can be classed as having insufficient land. Three of these 28 houses without sufficient land were headed by widows, and two of these significantly were women who were not residents of the village, so that they were without close relatives in the village to help them. One person, the sole occupant of his house, was mentally unfit to take care of his lands and was helped by relatives. The remaining 11 of these 28 houses were headed by persons who were old residents of the village, but of these 9 were houses headed by younger sons who had established independent branch houses since the end of the war. Thus, out of a total of 28 landless and virtually landless houses, only two were headed by first sons who were native to the village. Although this group constitutes but 27% of the houses, it rents 51% of all the land rented by villagers. 621 423 [427]

Fields There are on the average 11 plots of land per household in Kanegusuku; of these 6 are cultivated fields while the remainder are in grass land, house lot, and forest or wood land. The average rice field is a little over a quarter of an acre in size, whereas the average dry field is about one-sixth of an acre in size. [311] [241]

Owners The land records list 160 landowners in Kanegusuku; 146 of these now reside in the village and 14 are listed as absent. Since there are but 103 houses in the village, a number of houses have more than one landowner. This is in part a result of the war, which broke up a number of families by deaths and also caused a severe housing shortage; consequently, there is some doubling up in a number of houses. Another factor is that in the land-rich houses (comparatively speaking) a father often has set aside some land for his younger sons and has entered this land in their names even though they are still quite young. [362]

1

Introduction

In contemporary Okinawa, there are four distinct types of village settlement. The first and the most common is the village cluster. Houses are grouped in a central area, usually along or on both sides of a road, surrounded by farm lands and rice fields. The second, the shoe-string type, is less common. Here houses are lined along either side of a main street. The third is a here-and-there type of settlement. This has been called a yadori (Japanese) or yadui (Okinawan) village, translated as plantation, but this is too exalted a word.[1] These villages may have sub-settlements. Houses are scattered among intervening plots of cultivated land. In the fourth category are the modern improvisations: land formerly in forest, grass or shrub which has been reclaimed and used for houses and nearby cultivation, or former agricultural land now taken up for house sites, a result of increased population or of war time destruction of other parts of a village. 361 [311]

The basic type of Okinawan village is the cluster, a village small in area whose houses, close together, and on irregular winding lanes, are separated from one another by stone or rock walls, or by boundaries of trees or shrubs. The front part of the house compound usually is cut off from the road by a stone fence, running part way across, with the opening to the road obstructed by a stationary barrier, sometimes of stones, often of woven grasses. [351] [363]

In the village of a bygone age, there were large open spaces like a common on the outskirts "often appearing as glades in the forest." In this area, rice was laid out to dry, horse racing and other sports took place, the village council met, goods were bartered, justice administered, and festivals celebrated.[2] When approached from a distance, the older villages seemed literally buried in foliage. In the last century the larger villages still had rest huts (cung-qua) for travellers, usually government officials to use from one overnight stop to another. The older village also had a series of small buildings on stilts three to six feet long. These were granaries and food storehouses. Some houses were also on stilts. Older accounts have stressed the concealment of the Okinawan village, its houses separated from one another, its lanes lined or embowered with bamboo, with banana trees, or with arbors. To 36 17 [526] [35] [48] [343] [342]

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 48--ANALYST]

1 Higa, Shuncho. Structure of the Ryukyuan rural community. The Japanese journal of ethnology, 15 (1950), 63-66. In Japanese with English summary, 151.

2 The Luchu islands and their inhabitants, as cited, 457. See also Basil Hall, Account of a voyage of discovery to the west coast of Corea and the Great Loo-Choo island, 123, 124.

The village is one of a series of settlements in a long narrow valley, on a limestone plain, bordered on the east by a steep ridge, up to 300 feet in elevation and running in a northwest and southeast direction, which divides the valley from the sea. On these cliff like formations, large outcrops are covered with shrubs and miscanthus grass. Lanes and roads lead from the valley floor to the summits of these hills, where villagers collect their firewood and grass for roof thatch. On the rocky, steep slopes of this seaward ridge, above the line of cultivation, is the tomb area. Precipitous and stony hills prevent cultivation, but occasionally a sharp tongue of land reaches far up the slope, its end protected from the rains and wash by a short stone fence. 361 133 [137] [491] [824] [764] [417]

Between Gushichan and Hanashiro village, there is a bridge over a small stream, its upstream course obscured by its dispersion in the rice fields. The dirt road, gradually ascending, cuts through the main rice growing area of the village, on a gentle slope, reflected in the bench cultivation of the rice fields. Here and there are large rocks and stony outcrops, with an occasional scrub pine, cycad, or a covering of miscanthus. Cultivation goes around these large stones. 491 133 [243] [137]

The road, about one-fourth of a mile from the bridge, soon leads into what looks like, from a distance, a densely wooded area. This is the settlement. 361

With the exception of the rough stony land of the limestone mountains and steep slopes, the soils of the area are the Okinawa clay loams and the Chinen stony clays lying on the limestone plains. The farm and village area takes up approximately 427 acres, of which 257 are in gently sloping Okinawa clay loams, a deep, well drained, neutral to slightly acid and very fertile soil. Another five acres is of the same type but these are in slopes, of a gradient ranging from 8-15%. There are 80 acres in gently sloping Shuri clays, shallow, moderately fertile, an olive colored, crumbly, calcareous clay; another 35 acres in the Awase clays, deep fertile, crumbly, calcareous clay of olive-gray color, and 14 acres of rough stony land. 134 133 311

The hillsides and the summits are free of densely growing trees and shrubs, and the lowlands are given over to cultivation. There are no groves of trees to protect the crops from typhoons. The trees and the protection they give are confined to the village. This is typical of many villages of southern Okinawa, where the hills and mountains have few trees, and dense growths are associated with habitation. 311

Inside the village, winding lanes branch off the main dirt road. The older houses are on the north side of the road. On the opposite side, the houses, never or rebuilt since the war, adjoin the cultivated area. In the older section, the dense shrubbery, the tree lined lanes, broken occasionally by stone fences, wind through the village with footpaths branching off, sometimes past an open field, a reminder of a failure to rebuild after the war. On the northern outskirts is the village office, its gong in the yard, the open field, a playground for the children. 361 363 [417] [487] [367]

361 The village is a group of houses, each with its own compound, and
351 these give it an inclosed look. There are few if any gardens or vegetable patches either in the compounds or within the village settlement.

363 The lanes resemble quiet winding country roads. The rock fences, or the lines of trees or shrubbery often conceal the houses. There is an appearance of loneliness in these lanes and roads, except at busy times of the day when the children return from school. The lack of commercial
[482] activity, except for the women carrying rice on their heads to the mill
[462] and for the small village stores, contributes to this impression of quiet, which one would expect from the routine of agriculture. At night, when
[354] the doors are drawn, and when the flickering and smoky oil lamps are lit, the loneliness and quiet of the village is even more pronounced. The
[493] lanes and the roads are deserted, save for an occasional passing truck, bicycle, or three wheeled cycle, and in one of the favorite words of all
[491] Okinawans, the place is sabishii.[6]

Since there is little activity in the village other than farming,
366 neighboring villages and distant towns supply the additional needs. At
368 nearby Gushichan village, there are the primary and junior high schools, the post office, the township and agricultural association offices, a barbershop, and some small stores. At Minatogawa, about one and one half miles away, there is a public bath, and across the river from this village, in Horikawa, an occasional play from the Okinawan stage, or a movie. Buses run through the village twice a day and one can make connections to Naha or Itoman, the two most likely places for buying
[494] or selling. Or one can take the three wheeled cycles which pass through more frequently.

927 Physically, the village was much affected by the war. On June 11,
362 1945, the front line ran through the cultivated area between Hanashiro and Gushichan villages. Hill 95, the scene of fierce fighting was in the vicinity of Hanashiro.[7] One can still see an occasional tank track, abandoned helmets and scattered fragments of war materials in the fields. The village was affected by the war in ways which are now observable indirectly in the makeshift houses, improvised shacks, the roofs of half
[355] tile and half thatch, the odd additions to the older buildings partly destroyed, and the lack of drain pipes and water catchment tanks. Houses, which to superficial appearance, have existed for generations, have been rebuilt since the war with grass substituting for the tile roofs.
[311] War operations over the cultivated areas also resulted in some loss of land. A long mound in the rice areas, with paths along its ridge, was formerly a road built by the Americans in the final drive toward Mabuni. Almost all the houses in the village were destroyed.

6 This Japanese word suggests both loneliness and melancholy.

7 Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 437 (illustration), 434-42 on the struggle for Hill 95.

Since the war, the old narrow one lane roads have been broadened, permitting heavier auto traffic. Land ownership has been undisturbed, for it is not in an area in which the military has required land. Since the war, the villagers have tried to return to their former way of life, but this has been done with poorer houses and fewer possessions.

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Minatogawa

Minatogawa, the second village studied, formerly was a shoe string type of settlement. Houses, shops, drinking places were along the seawall road. This pattern is now altered as a result of the war. Scattered areas have been relocated and houses built on lands formerly used for sweet potatoes. It is now an indeterminate type of village, retaining some indications of its old settlement pattern along the main road, with additions of clusters of houses in the newly settled areas.

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Like Hanashiro, this village is in Gushichan township, and located on Highway 64. It is directly on the main historical road, previously mentioned, which led from Naha to the Chinen peninsula. The road, along which its houses are built, parallels for a distance the estuary of the small Minatogawa river. This narrow estuary, called Usaregawa, which connects the river mouth with the Pacific Ocean, and the small river itself (Yuhigawa) is a boundary between Gushichan and Tamagusuku townships. On either side there are steep cliffs, the sites of the best known stone quarries of Okinawa.

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The settlement and the adjoining lands have an area of about 256 acres. It is a mixed economy village with three distinct occupational groups: fishermen, stonecutters, and farmers. There is a second village whose borders blend with those of Minatogawa. These two villages are now known officially as Minatogawa-ikku and Minatogawa-niku. The two terms can be awkwardly translated as Minatogawa first ward, and Minatogawa second ward. But popularly they retain their older names: Minatogawa for the fishing village, and Nagamo for the agricultural second ward. These two separate but adjoining villages were until 1925 a single village.

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The division was the result of distinct differences in outlook and occupation between the two sections. Minatogawa is a fishing village and has strong ties with Itoman, a town on the East China Sea shore about 4 1/2 miles away. Nagamo is an agricultural community originally settled from Naha and Shuri. Stone-cutting operations spread over both areas. While the fishing village of Minatogawa was given the emphasis in this study, it will be necessary occasionally to include Nagamo in the discussion.[8]

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8 The writer did not realize until he lived here that two villages were involved, thinking that the two wards referred to a single administrative unit. By this time the work on Hanashiro had been well started, and time did not permit the intensive study of Nagamo.

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Treeless Minatogawa. This is the business district of the village. The buildings are small village shops. The building in the upper left is the village inn. The road winding toward the right is Highway 64 leading to Gushichan. Minatogawa stone is visible on the back of the store on the right of the picture. The low stone hedges in the foreground are typical of Minatogawa.

[P. 51(B)]

311 487 363 One feature typical of these villages is the boundary path (sahi), sometimes only a foot wide. The path is a boundary and a means of access. Roads and lanes are in the main areas of the village. They do not checkerboard a whole area. Too much land would be sacrificed. The farmer leaves his home, walks along the road or lane, and then takes a winding boundary path to his own field. In the aggregate, considerable land is taken up by boundary paths. Often the sides of the plot along the path are cut perpendicularly to take as full advantage of the soil as possible. There is little slope from the path to the field, and the paths of the rice paddy often look like miniature levees.

311 423 In his Narrative of a Voyage of the Ship Morison, which appeared in The Chinese Repository for 1838, S. Wells Williams wrote concerning Okinawa: "Indeed the Lilliputian minuteness with which the country is subdivided is singular." The tables and the land use maps which follow document this observation. The tables, which show the [217] number of plots and their average size, for each village, were computed from land registers in the two township offices. The three main classifications, rice, dry crop, and wild land, have been selected. To appreciate the size of these plots, one should bear in mind that a 40' x 80' lot has over 88 tsubo and that an acre contains about 1210 tsubo.

[217] The maps represent a tiny portion of those cadastral maps collected from the township offices and of which tracings were made. They also illustrate the complete and painstaking subdivision of a village area and the general uses to which each parcel is put.

Rice Land (Ta)

a. Hanashiro

Grade	No. of Plots	Average Area in Tsubo
Total	201	140.4
1	59	52.9
2	36	160.8
3	44	182.6
4	58	179.8
5	4	212.5

b. Matsuda

Total	560	137.2
1	30	60.5
2	76	140.0
3	178	132.1
4	175	154.9
5	101	136.3

the community is dispersed. In the outlying parts, as far as 2 miles from the center (see map 1), the houses are scattered between the paddies or farm lands in sections which form subvillages or wards. As mentioned above, settlers from the south took up residence in these areas. Recently families from the main village have also moved to the more remote parts of the community, such as Udenaha, because they can reach their fields more conveniently. Although the name Taira refers to the political unit of main village and outlying parts, including Udenaha and Izena, most references in this study pertain only to the central community. Its 60 households, with about 330 individuals, form the primary social unit from which the sample of 24 children was chosen.

Central Taira nestles along the inner shore of Taira Bay, which opens into the Pacific Ocean. At this point the median range mountains recede from the coastline. Behind the village, rice paddies spread in a crazed pattern at the bottom and on the terraced sides of several valleys which are separated from each other by sparsely wooded hills. Here and there the red earth of an eroded section shows like a scab through the green slopes.

In traveling by road from the south, most people choose the highway along the East China Sea coast, which is connected with the road which crosses the island. Higashi township is entered through a low saddle in the mountains which separate the two coastlines. To the right and left begins Taira's forest. Central Taira is reached through a winding lane bordered by pine trees. To the left the view opens into one of the neatly cultivated rice fields, backed by the hills on whose flat tops and terraced sides village people cultivate their farm lands.

The central village itself lies on a sand bluff, separating the valley from the ocean, so that there is a slight drop toward both sides (see map 2). The main road runs the length of the village. Except for the thoroughfare, which is dirt and gravel, the side roads are not surfaced, and after heavy rains puddles form and remain for more than a day, to the delight of children who play in them.

When Taira was destroyed during World War II, along with its houses went much of the foliage which once served as a windbreak. A few fukugi trees * line the main street, and hibiscus hedges here and there hide some of the houses from a first inspection. There are bushes around the edges of the village.

The war-time destruction is hardly apparent on a first walk through the village. Along the main street, lined by houses, one finds the rice mill, a substantial new building of concrete and wood, the police sta-

* A small- to medium-sized evergreen tree with a narrow, upright, very dark green crown of leaves.

[Text continues on p. 377]

1

Historical Notes on Housing

In all villages, much time is spent, in addition to agricultural or fishing tasks, in housebuilding, either for one's self or for friends and neighbors. Housebuilding is the most time consuming of a man's tasks after his primary occupation. Repairs to or reconstruction of the poorer houses are continuous. The man with a good house and a tile roof has little to worry about. But he will often be found helping someone less fortunate. 342 461 [476]

The traditional houses of Naha and Shuri showed both Chinese and Japanese influences. The traditional house and compound of the rural village has been compared with the ancient Japanese house, and it bears some similarities with houses found among the Ainu. 342 171

It would seem from the observations and researches of earlier students that the house was always built above the ground without excavation, and sometimes on stilts. The supporting posts making up the rectangular house were either placed in holes or on stones on the ground. The supporting posts, the ridge poles, the cross beams were branches or trunks of trees trimmed and cut for length. Roofs of thatch had the apex of the roof covered by a saddle or arch shaped thatch made, like the rest of the roof, of grass. Smoke escaped either through an aperture in the ceiling or through a window, as it still does in many of the poorer houses. The houses were filled with smoke. The oldest rural houses apparently had only a dirt floor with scattered mats, though some had a raised floor. 175 342 [352]

The food storage sheds or small granaries were raised on stilts. Engravings of these have appeared both in Perry's writings and in Bayard Taylor's works. There is some question whether this granary (now disappeared) was indigenous or a borrowing. The purpose of the raised granary was probably to protect against dampness and to prevent infestation by rats and vermin. These granaries were open sided with no boarded up walls, and, in Okinawa, were circular.[1] 175 343

Animal pens or stalls were not attached to the house, but were always separate. In the courtyard, earthen rain water vessels were inbedded half way into the ground to catch the rain water. There were stalls for goats and pig pens, and the pig pens were used also as a toilet. This is no longer practiced to my knowledge, although the outhouse with its holes in the ground is found under the same roof as the pig pen. The entrance to the courtyard was oppositie the front of the house. The protective stationary gate, the hinpun (in Okinawan), made of reeds or stones, stood at the entrance inside the court, as it does now, to shield the people of [417] [415] [364] 417

1 For drawings of the granaries, see Satow, E. M. Notes on Loochoo. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 1 (1882), 1-8. The drawings follow the text. See also Simon, Beitrage zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, as cited, 75-85.

593 The husband or father is not a tyrant. Nevertheless the wife is unlikely to challenge her husband directly on any important matter. If she is scolded, she may continue with her work in silence, ignoring her husband.

562 177 Women who have lived abroad in places like Hawaii or who have experienced the metropolitan life of Japanese cities are more likely to be dissatisfied. Occasionally one meets a woman who thinks this is a man's world (otoko no tenka) and that women should have more privileges than they now have. This attitude has been sharpened through American influences, directly by contact with American soldiers and civilians, indirectly by discussions which appear in Japanese periodicals of the life of American women. How widely this attitude exists is difficult to say, though I believe that at present (January 1952) it is not a strong force among women in the villages.

562 Though her place is at home, the woman is by no means removed from the wider aspects of village life. She may take an active part in the Women's Association. She may handle the family money or part of it. She may operate a little store to supplement her husband's income from the fields, or if she is a widow, to provide for her own support. She may participate in mutual loan groups. And she may be the head of a household.

8

Public Health

The people of the villages are conscious of health and sanitation, an awareness gained under the Japanese. This awareness and desire for cleanliness and sanitation meet major obstacles in the lack of running water, the distance to public baths, the expense and trouble (or both) of heating quantities of water, the cost of soap, the poorness of the outdoor toilets especially in the devastated areas.

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An analysis of village health problems requires the specialized knowledge of the physician or doctor of public health. The observations of a layman however may have some interest.

511 364 751 The general sanitary conditions are not good. The weak spots are (1) Poor outdoor toilets and their haphazard location with relation to wells. (2) The dirty and smoky Okinawan kitchen. Many have dirt floors and little effort is made to keep them clean. The situation is better with the stone floor or cemented kitchen. Women complain about smoke smarting and injuring their eyes. All of the rooms of an Okinawan house, especially in winter, are likely to be very smoky around meal times. (3) Food preparation and dishwashing are often done in dirty surroundings. Foods are fried or boiled, and this is all to the good. In making tea, the water is seldom boiled; more often it is only brought to a boil or allowed to get hot.

415 not use household equipment in their games. Instead they find broken Children do
857 dishes, old cans, and other discarded items in the trash heap.

354 The kitchen has no equipment other than the open fireplace with
[176] three hearth stones and a shelf above it on which a salt column, sym-
[654] bolizing kitchen deities, is kept. During the last few years, the Ryukyan government Home Extension Service has been trying to introduce brick stoves into farmhouses. Several families now have this kind of stove although it is expensive to build.

356 As far as can be superficially discerned, the home is kept clean. A visitor usually finds the floor of the house free of dirt. Footgear is taken off before entering, and children are reminded to wash their bare feet before going into the house. Less care is given to the area around the kitchen.

312 Outside the kitchen stand one or two jars to store water. A dipper is
415 kept nearby, and children playing in the vicinity or adults often walk to one of these jars for water, which they drink out of a dipper. There may also be an array of pots, pans, crates, baskets, and other equipment piled up around the kitchen. Knives and hatchets are openly left around among the equipment behind the kitchen.

351 The courtyard is an important place for domestic activities. Here women and girls wash dishes, mix pig food in large kettles, make bean paste in a hand stone grinder, and prepare grain for storage. There are
[93] vegetable patches in one corner of the yard, chicken coops, pigsties,
[519] goat pens, and an outhouse in another. Most garbage is fed to the pigs;
[364] the rest is thrown over the sea wall to roll down onto the beach.

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Chapter 2

Daily Routine

805 There are few clocks in central Taira. Except for the township office,
512 post office, and village store, only two or three families own a timepiece. Twice a day, at noon and 10 o'clock in the evening, a clerk strikes

857 the infant still at the breast who is taken on shopping trips to Nago, the nearest town, or to neighboring townships to visit maternal relatives. When whale meat was marketed from the village on weekends, a school age child was taken along to carry the infant because the mother was burdened with her basket of meat, but this was infrequent. Few children have explored their township beyond Miyagi, a village 5 miles to the east of Taira or Gesashi, 4 miles to the southwest.

[364] Children also rummage through the garbage heaps, where they find useful things like tin cans, bottles, and discarded bits of vegetable with which to play house or store.

857 241 During the harvest and planting seasons, children accompany adults to the rice paddies and potato fields near the village. Mats are spread out on the dikes and kindergarten children gaily dangle their feet in the oozy mud while "keeping watch over the sleeping infants." Those who whimper to help are given small sheaves of rice to carry to their fathers and older brothers, who thresh them in the dry fields or on the flat grounds bordering the paddies.

855 [412] Many 4-year-olds are adept at handling knives. As implements like knives, hatchets, pronged hoes, sickles, rakes, and saws were often left within reach of children, it was not unusual for them to use them. Although many cut themselves, adults do not seem to take special care to put them out of reach. Children of kindergarten age are frequently scolded for playing with sharp instruments, but with persistent crying or begging they usually gain reluctant consent.

852 855 527 During all holiday events, children participate without much control from adults. Young children are carried by their mothers as they make the visiting rounds or sit on the floor in the building where the whole village congregates. Toddlers explore the surroundings and, finding themselves in the middle of the dance floor, are gently pushed aside and handed back to their mother. Older children hang around while food is served; then they disappear to play games of their own. During sport events, track meets, wrestling, and at dance performances, children are as interested spectators as their parents. Nobody would think of leaving a child at home on a holiday, and nobody would demand that the child sit quietly through lengthy speeches or ceremonies.

868 535 [872] Children learn dances from kindergarten days on, either by watching or by coaching from an older person, a friend, one's older sister, or mother. Sometimes they are called on to perform for adults, or a special children's performance is given under the direction of the kindergarten teacher. Adults enjoy these dances as much as if they were done by grownups. They are amused and delighted if a little girl

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514 The drum is nearly full and its surface is in constant motion, a seething
343 mass of maggots. One of those men with the carts that cause you to cross
[364] to the other side of the road will come in a few days to dump it, he hopes.
574 He crosses the yard and is invited into the house. He takes off his shoes
751 and steps up onto the floor. It is surprisingly clean, he finds. A mat is
[356] spread and he sits cross-legged upon it. Tea is offered and he accepts, thinking that it must have been made from boiled water. He learns later that he was wrong. He is given a fan and perceives that its function is keeping the flies away as much as it is creating a breeze. In a spirit of friendly cooperation he and Grandfather take turns shooing the flies off the broken chunks of black sugar that have been placed before them. A larger blue-bottle fly enters and someone makes a special effort to chase
[825] it out. Should the visitor be so crude and impolite as to mention flies and in connection with the toilet, it will be pointed out that only the blue-bottle flies are hatched from the maggots in the toilet. The smaller black house-flies simply produce more flies and hence are harmless.

[264] Bananas are served and the peels follow those of the potatoes out onto the ground. Smaller children run in and out. One child comes in with
[515] its nose running. After a time Mother pulls up its shirt tail and wipes the mucus off the upper lip. The child has not been well; Mother or Grandmother
[757] may take it to the yabuu, who will burn moxa on its skin at the proper places. A neighbor's child walks by; its face and nearly hairless head are
[753] a mass of scabs and its eyes are almost shut by pus. Someone laughingly explains that this is what happens when you don't cut a baby's buttocks properly with a razor to draw out the bad blood.

The visitor is urged to take more tea and sugar. He is complimented on his interest in Okinawa and is asked innumerable questions about America. The family is eager for knowledge and for further contact. As he rises to leave, he is urged to return. He puts on his shoes, finding one slightly
[753] damp from the poor aim of the youngest child. He is cautioned to wear his hat and knows by now the unspoken fear---encephalitis---caused by too much exposure to the sun. He notices that around the well where Mother has been
[296] doing laundry a great pool of water is gradually sinking into the sand. As he picks his way across the yard he wonders if the family would not be better off living in a houseboat, preferably in a fast-moving stream.

751 Such are some of the features of Okinawan life. Yet it would be a mistake to assume that there are no standards of sanitation. There are; they
356 are simply narrower than those of most Americans. Many Okinawans do throw
751 garbage out their front doors as indicated above, but it is also true that the floor of the house is usually cleaner than many American floors. It has to be clean; people sit on it and sleep on it. People take off their shoes before stepping up onto it or if they have been to the fields barefooted
751 they may wash their feet before stepping up onto it. But the area of cleanliness ends with the step. Beyond the step is a different sort of territory.
[351] Yet even in the yard there is a limit to the amount of trash that may be al-
[514] lowed to accumulate before it is swept away. The practice of urinating in the yard is distasteful to the American observer, but there is perhaps less basis for objection to it as a health hazard. Urine is relatively harmless. Feces, however, go into the toilet. If an untrained child defecates in the yard usually someone cleans up the spot.

751 Social factors contributing to poor sanitation stem mainly from the
312 failure of the individual in Okinawan society to take individual action.
364 For example, four unrelated families, one of which I knew well, rented the
156 four quarters of a house in the city. The well beside the house was badly in need of a drainage system; the water from everyone's laundry and bathing formed a large puddle around the concrete well-top and eventually sank into the ground, no doubt to re-enter the well, which of course also provided drinking water. No one made a move to do anything about this individually. Finally the owner of the house suggested that the several families join with him on a certain day in digging a drainage ditch. This was done. However, instead of digging a ditch to allow the water to run down hill and away, they dug the ditch only a few feet into a tiny field on the same level as the house and well. They did not feel that they could dig a ditch that led the water onto the land of the family who lived below, despite the fact that this was the natural lay of the land and despite the fact that the water was now sinking into the ground above the well of another neighbor. It was felt that only if all the neighbors joined to dig ditches together to allow all the water to drain to the municipal drainage ditch beside the street, only then would it be proper to let one's old wash water drain into another's yard. So far as I know this joint action was never taken.

751 At the same house, when one of the tenants moved out they dumped a
364 great pile of garbage in front of their room. Another tenant moved into the
156 room and, although the wife commented on the "bad sanitation" ('eisei ga warui'), for some time nothing was done about the pile of garbage. In this case the reason for inaction may have been pride rather than consideration of another's feelings. It seems likely that the new tenant felt that it was not his responsibility to remove the garbage and that it was also beneath his dignity to do so.

Social factors of this sort can perhaps be attacked in two ways. First, by appealing to the individual, to his pride and his esthetic sense, and by creating a greater degree of personal identification, it may be possible to extend the "sphere of sanitation" beyond the floor of the house and out into the yard and perhaps even to the street. But this would not be an easy task. At the present time the average Okinawan is probably less embarrassed by a pile of garbage in his yard and the hundreds of flies that infest it, than he would be to be seen doing the menial task of cleaning it up. He would not feel embarrassed, however, if it were a community endeavor. And therefore as a second method of attack one might encourage more group action. But this requires the development of outspoken leadership.

178 It is possible that standards of sanitation are lower at the pre-
751 sent time than before the war. Residents of the village of Yamada spoke
744 of the "big cleanings" ('ôsôji') that were held at regular intervals before
[625] the war. On orders from the 'son' office every household in the village was obliged to clean up its house and yard and submit to inspection by the local police officer, a man who was much more feared than his present counterpart. At present clean-ups may be encouraged by the Youth Organization, Women's Organization, etc., but there is certainly less compulsion than formerly. Moreover, during the last days of the battle and for a period of

52 178 621 The general characteristics of the changed entertainment patterns have been a greater reliance on entertainment provided by sources outside the village---the school, radio, movies---and a sharp decline in celebrations and festivals of the sort which emphasized village participation and unity.

757 753 177 Health and Medicine Changes in medical practice well illustrate the principle that material things find more ready acceptance than ideas in the diffusion of culture; in short, Okinawans have been willing to adopt modern medicine when available, but not modern medical principles. Pills, shots, surgery, dentistry, penicillin, and DDT have found acceptance, while modern scientific concepts of disease, health, and sanitation seem to have made relatively little headway. The germ theory, for example, has barely penetrated.

753 751 177 However, on talking to people of different ages one becomes aware that many changes in standards of sanitation and ideas about health and disease actually have taken place in the last fifty years. For example, evidence of the practice of tattooing various parts of the body as a cure for certain ills is rarely seen on persons under seventy. Similarly, though many of the younger generation may appear abysmally ignorant of modern knowledge of disease, they are always less ignorant and better informed than the preceding generation. Considerable progress toward better sanitation was made under the [364] [231] Japanese. Formerly the Okinawan privy was built atop the pigpen, and the pig subsisted in part on human feces. Stern measures were required to force the abandonment of this practice. The Japanese also introduced monthly sanitation inspections; inoculations for babies and school children were made compulsory. [515] Through the influence of the schools the toothbrush (usually one) became a part of every home. [582] The Japanese also sent notable scholars into the countryside to lecture the people on the dangers of in-breeding practices, particularly kin-group endogamy.

757 177 Penicillin, which was introduced by the Americans, has become a popular treatment, achieving equality with moxacautery and cutting to let blood. It can be obtained easily at any drug shop, and every doctor, midwife, herbalist, and practitioner of any sort is prepared to administer shots. Reliance excessive even by American standards is placed on this drug. There seems, in fact, to be a fondness for shots which does not end with penicillin; hormone shots and various other injections are widely advertised. It is the opinion of the author that any type of modern medicine which cuts, punctures, or otherwise disfigures the skin will find ready acceptance; this, it is felt, is merely an extension of the tradition of acupuncture, moxacautery, tattooing, and cutting. Bettelheim states that in the 1850's the Okinawans made inquiries as to how inoculations for smallpox might be obtained.[1]

759 178 There is some indication that the yabu, a practitioner whose chief stocks-in-trade are herbs and moxacautery, is slowly disappearing; in several communities the author was told that since the old yabu died there had been no replacement.

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[1] Bettelheim, B. J., Loochoo Mission, London, n.d., pp. 34-36.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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Village Shops and Businesses

Village stores, small in number and modest in size, furnish their own people many essential services, but the offerings differ from place to place in number and kind, so that there are always commercial contacts of a sort with nearby villages or towns. This is brought out in the accompanying table of business and personal service establishments in each of the villages. 443 628

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Village Shops, Businesses, Personal Service Enterprises

Type	Number of Enterprises in:			
	Hanashiro	Minatogawa	Nagamo	Matsuda
Rice Mills	1	a/	a/	1
Sugar Mills	1		1	3
Small Retail Shops	3	5	3	5
Power Plant		1	b/	1
Import Store	c/	1	b/	1
Saw Mill				1
Blacksmith	d/	d/	1	
Retail Butcher Shop		1		
Motion Picture Theatre	e/	e/	e/	f/
Public Bath House	h/	2	h/	2/
Village Inn		1		f/
Eating Places		1		
Barbershop	g/	e/	a/	1

a No need for rice mills, no rice grown
b Served by Minatogawa
c In nearby Asato
d Nagamo serves these and other villages in the township
e In Horikawa, opposite Minatogawa
f Served by Ginoza village
g Served by Oushichan village

Rice mills (seimaisho) are recent in rural Okinawa. The mill in Hanashiro was installed in 1940. It serves nearby villages. The mill in Matsuda, also a recent introduction, is more modern. In each case, the mill has two machines of Japanese manufacture, one for hulling, the other for polishing. 256

Sugar mills (seitojo) vary in quality in the communities. Hanashiro has a machine for crushing cane. In Matsuda, war destruction 249

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

tion, a frame wood building, and the main store. On the eastern end of the village the road opens into a little square in front of the simple, open prayer house with a small concrete shrine in back, housing three sacred stones. Beyond these is the township office crowned by a mighty pine tree of tremendous and symmetric proportions, acclaimed by Taira people to be the oldest existing pine in Okinawa. Across from the office are the post office and the dispensary. 36

Closer inspection of the village shows former house sites which were not rebuilt. Some still have empty concrete shells or single concrete walls and abandoned pigsties or storage sheds. Some of the vacant lots are used as potato fields, others as play areas, the favorite being a large house lot surrounded by a concrete wall, near the main store. 361 727 [311]

Houses are set back a short distance from the roads and paths, and most face south. In spite of the hedges and trees, the house is easily accessible from the street—its orientation is therefore toward the community as a whole and, as will be seen later, open to visitors who can enter freely without going through winding garden paths and knocking on doors or entering through long corridors and passages. Each house lot is small, ranging from 1300 to 6050 square feet. Houses are set so close to each other that neighborly conversations from one to the other can be conducted without leaving one's premises. Although some privacy is attained by the hibiscus hedges and fences, few secrets can be kept from neighbors. 361 351 [521]

There are several focal areas where people frequently meet and interact. The main store is a geographical center. Its two bulletin boards make it a natural congregating point. The banyan tree, overshadowing the village office and the lower water tank, is another such place, and on any day of the year scores of children can be found on or under it. In prewar times it was flanked by important structures, but now the empty lots, which are adjacent, form a green which is used on good days for village meetings. 361 [203] [139]

South of this green, and close to the water, stands the old warehouse, a concrete structure with tile roof which once served as a storage center for agricultural products shipped south by boat; now it serves as a village meeting playground, especially on rainy days. The open space around it, bordering on the sea wall, is also used as a play area and as a gathering place for young adults. Here people prepare firewood for sale and stack it to be picked up by the village truck. Houses once stood near the 10-foot sea wall but were not rebuilt after the war. [251] [344]

To the north of the store lies the upper water tank. Until several standing faucets were installed in 1955, this used to be another place where people met frequently. Water is diverted from a stream a mile 312 365

312 Water is diverted from a stream a mile
365 above the village and piped into the upper and lower tanks where
[482] people fill their buckets which they carry home on a shoulder yoke.
[857] Both tanks always attract children. Before faucets were installed, the two spigots on each tank were closed with a wooden stopper which the children often pulled to get a drink or water to play in. An open lot surrounding the upper water tank is another popular play area.

361 On the eastern side of the village below the main road lies a flat sandy plain, separating the actual beach from the houses above. Children are frequently found playing there or walking along the beach to the mouth of the Noro Mata and Fukuji rivers, which reach the sea
[764] about 400 yards away. To the west of the central village lie the tombs
[211] and the monument for the war dead of the village.

487 Many hills around the village drop off vertically toward the south;
[133] these drops are partly effects of the geological conditions, such as karst depressions, partly caused by erosion of drainage during the heavy rains. Narrow paths, leading up the steep claylike hillsides, are slippery
[491] and very treacherous during rains. On the way to school in Kawata, the neighboring village, children have to pass a section of the road where river and rains have washed away the bank so badly that a misstep on the edge of the road could lead to a fall of more than 50 feet.

312 The little river which runs through parts of the valley behind Taira
[857] is another gathering place of children. A path alongside it leads into
[487] the hills and mountain forest lands. Seven minutes walking along this path takes one to Umugui, a natural swimming hole which also serves as one of the favorite laundry places. During the summer the river offers several other popular swimming spots downstream from Umugui.
[296] There is also a little concrete bridge in the rice fields beyond the houses, where adults and children go to wash laundry and sometimes pots and pans. Yamagawa well is a water hole, lined with concrete, near the northwestern part of Taira. Before water faucets were installed, girls frequently went there to wash their hair and do laundry.

857 Children go to the fields to look for flowers and berries or, in the
[484] case of older boys, to cut grass for animals. Distances covered by any child depend, of course, on the age. Younger siblings under 5 accompany the older ones to places beyond the area, but no expeditions extend to areas that are not also regularly traversed by adults in the course of their daily duties. Perhaps because of the multiple rivers and water sources, the beach offers less enticement than one might expect. On some days a group may decide to play on the beach, but since sand is also available throughout the village, everybody will soon shift back to some other area inland.

137 Tropical plants, bushes, and trees grow at sea level. At higher ele-

361 The village is a group of houses, each with [illegible] farm compound, and
351 these give it an inclosed look. There are few [illegible] gardens or vegetable patches either in the compounds or within the village settlement.

363 The lanes resemble quiet winding country roads. The rock fences, or the lines of trees or shrubbery often conceal the houses. There is an appearance of loneliness in these lanes and roads, except at busy times of the day when the children return from school. The lack of commercial
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[462] and for the small village stores, contributes to this impression of quiet,
[354] which one would expect from the routine of agriculture. At night, when the doors are drawn, and when the flickering and smoky oil lamps are lit,
[403] the loneliness and quiet of the village is even more pronounced. The lanes and the roads are deserted, save for an occasional passing truck,
[149] bicycle, or three wheeled cycle, and in one of the favorite words of all Okinawans, the place is sabishii.[6]

366 Since there is little activity in the village other than farming, neighboring villages and distant towns supply the additional needs. At
368 nearby Gushichan village, there are the primary and junior high schools, the post office, the township and agricultural association offices, a barbershop, and some small stores. At Minatogawa, about one and one half miles away, there is a public bath, and across the river from this village, in Horikawa, an occasional play from the Okinawan stage, or a movie. Buses run through the village twice a day and one can make connections to Naha or Itoman, the two most likely places for buying
[494] or selling. Or one can take the three wheeled cycles which pass through more frequently.

[22] Physically, the village was much affected by the war. On June 11,
362 1945, the front line ran through the cultivated area between Hanashiro and Gushichan villages. Hill 95, the scene of fierce fighting was in the vicinity of Hanashiro.[7] One can still see an occasional tank track, abandoned helmets and scattered fragments of war materials in the fields. The village was affected by the war in ways which are now observable indirectly in the makeshift houses, improvised shacks, the roofs of half
[355] tile and half thatch, the odd additions to the older buildings partly destroyed, and the lack of drain pipes and water catchment tanks. Houses, which to superficial appearance, have existed for generations, have been rebuilt since the war with grass substituting for the tile roofs.
[311] War operations over the cultivated areas also resulted in some loss of land. A long mound in the rice areas, with paths along its ridge, was formerly a road built by the Americans in the final drive toward Mabuni. Almost all the houses in the village were destroyed.

6 This Japanese word suggests both loneliness and melancholy.

7 Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 437 (illustration), 434-42 on the struggle for Hill 95.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

Village Shops and Businesses

Village stores, small in number and modest in size, furnish their own people many essential services, but the offerings differ from place to place in number and kind, so that there are always commercial contacts of a sort with nearby villages or towns. This is brought out in the accompanying table of business and personal service establishments in each of the villages.

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Village Shops, Businesses, Personal Service Enterprises

Type	Number of Enterprises in:			
	Hanashiro	Hinatogawa	Nagamo	Matsuda
Rice Mills	1	a/	a/	1
Sugar Mills	1		1	3
Small Retail Shops	3	5	3	5
Power Plant		1	b/	1
Import Store	c/	1	b/	1
Saw Mill				1
Blacksmith	d/	d/	1	
Retail Butcher Shop		1		
Motion Picture Theatre	e/	e/	e/	f/
Public Bath House	h/	2	b/	2/
Village Inn		1		f/
Eating Places		1		
Barbershop	g/	e/	a/	1

a No need for rice mills, no rice grown
b Served by Hinatogawa
c In nearby Asato
d Nagamo serves these and other villages in the township
e In Horikawa, opposite Hinatogawa
f Served by Ginoza village
g Served by Gushichan village

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Rice mills (seimaisho) are recent in rural Okinawa. The mill in Hanashiro was installed in 1940. It serves nearby villages. The mill in Matsuda, also a recent introduction, is more modern. In each case, the mill has two machines of Japanese manufacture, one for hulling, the other for polishing.

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Sugar mills (seitojo) vary in quality in the communities. Hanashiro has a machine for crushing cane. In Matsuda, war destruction

Alcoholic Beverages

443 Japanese and American canned beer
[273] Japanese type sake (a light rice wine resembling sauterne)
Okinawan sake (awamori)

Miscellaneous

Charcoal sticks
[276] Brass and nickel plated Japanese pipes
Small dishes
[415] Sake bottles
Oil burners to keep mosquitos away
[416] Flashlights, bulbs, and batteries
Matches
Japanese and American tobaccos
Fishing lamps and the ika lamp (fishing villages only)

[435] Transactions are usually on a cash basis, although some customers pay at the end of the week. In one such store, the gross sales averaged ¥600 a day with a net profit of about 10%. (The yen is pegged at 120 to the US dollar). During the day and the early evening, the village
[366] stores are meeting places, especially if, like Hinatogawa, several together make up a small business center.

443 Supplies are delivered to village stores by truck or sometimes by
444 bus. Often the owner goes to the larger towns to buy. Young boys are an important cog in the distribution system. They deliver candies, cookies, and other small articles which are carried in five gallon lard
[850] tins on racks over the rear mudguard of their bicycles. They ride up to the store, count out their candies or cookies, receive payment, and cycle on to the next store over a route which includes several villages. These boys work out of larger towns like Itoman and Nago. Baking goods,
[262] bread (pan) really a sweet dough with a jelly-like filling, cookies and candies are distributed in this manner. Sometimes housewives make cookies and cakes to sell to village stores.

443 There is not much house to house selling or soliciting. Occasionally women come to the villages with a selection of ready made clothing or cloth. In Hinatogawa, an itinerant drug vendor periodically goes through the village ringing his bell, selling various Japanese patent medicines mainly for colds, headaches, constipation, and stomach aches.

444 Import stores (hykujo), also operated privately, are a different
362 kind of enterprise than the village shop. They have been set up under the American occupation. Larger wholesalers supply the village re-
51 tailers. These stores deal in a restricted number of commodities, such as rice, flour, soy bean sauce, wheat, and cooking oils. Sales are made to villagers on a rationing system based on the number in the family, its
[440] age distribution, pregnancy, and whether the head is engaged in heavy work. The intent of the import stores is to make food available, at reasonable cost, to those who cannot grow their own, or whose own produce

The village is one of a series of settlements in a long narrow valley, on a limestone plain, bordered on the east by a steep ridge, up to 300 feet in elevation and running in a northwest and southeast direction, which divides the valley from the sea. On these cliff like formations, large outcrops are covered with shrubs and miscanthus grass. Lanes and roads lead from the valley floor to the summits of these hills, where villagers collect their firewood and grass for roof thatch. On the rocky, steep slopes of this seaward ridge, above the line of cultivation, is the tomb area. Precipitous and stony hills prevent cultivation, but occasionally a sharp tongue of land reaches far up the slope, its end protected from the rains and wash by a short stone fence. 361 133 [137] [491] [824] [764] [417]

Between Gushichan and Hanashiro village, there is a bridge over a small stream, its upstream course obscured by its dispersion in the rice fields. The dirt road, gradually ascending, cuts through the main rice growing area of the village, on a gentle slope, reflected in the bench cultivation of the rice fields. Here and there are large rocks and stony outcrops, with an occasional scrub pine, cycad, or a covering of miscanthus. Cultivation goes around these large stones. 491 133 [243] [137]

The road, about one-fourth of a mile from the bridge, soon leads into what looks like, from a distance, a densely wooded area. This is the settlement. 361

With the exception of the rough stony land of the limestone mountains and steep slopes, the soils of the area are the Okinawa clay loams and the Chinen stony clays lying on the limestone plains. The farm and village area takes up approximately 427 acres, of which 257 are in gently sloping Okinawa clay loams, a deep, well drained, neutral to slightly acid and very fertile soil. Another five acres is of the same type but these are in slopes, of a gradient ranging from 8-15%. There are 80 acres in gently sloping Shuri clays, shallow, moderately fertile, an olive colored, crumbly, calcareous clay; another 35 acres in the Awase clays, deep fertile, crumbly, calcareous clay of olive-gray color, and 14 acres of rough stony land. 134 133 311

The hillsides and the summits are free of densely growing trees and shrubs, and the lowlands are given over to cultivation. There are no groves of trees to protect the crops from typhoons. The trees and the protection they give are confined to the village. This is typical of many villages of southern Okinawa, where the hills and mountains have few trees, and dense growths are associated with habitation. 311

Inside the village, winding lanes branch off the main dirt road. The older houses are on the north side of the road. On the opposite side, the houses, newer or rebuilt since the war, adjoin the cultivated area. In the older section, the dense shrubbery, the tree lined lanes, broken occasionally by stone fences, wind through the village with footpaths branching off, sometimes past an open field, a reminder of a failure to rebuild after the war. On the northern outskirts is the village office, its gong in the yard, the open field, a playground for the children. 361 363 [417] [487] [367]

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133 Hanashiro and Oushichan villages to a broad semi-circular valley, the
361 Oushichan plain, with a gentle gradient sloping to the sea. Shortly before the coast is reached there is a sharper drop, and it is in this depression along the shore and the coastal strip that the fishing village lies.

134 The Okinawan clay loams and the Chinen stony clays are also the
133 predominating soils of the area. There are about 85 acres of the gently sloping clay loams, 155 acres of the gently sloping Chinen stony clays. While moderately fertile and well drained, these soils are also shallow and stony, with obvious defects for the pursuit of agriculture. There are 10 acres of deep, fertile poorly drained, slightly acid alluvial soils. These occur along the river and its estuary and in a small former river mouth to the south. There are about six acres in rough stony land.

731 The village has very little storm protection. There are no shelter
133 belts around it, nor are there many trees within. It is open to storms
417 and typhoons, and the water, lashed by the sea, is sufficient to break and scatter the large stones of the seawall. At present, inside the village there is none of the privacy typical of the agricultural villages
361 and their compounds. There are few trees, shrubs, or fences. In the
351 older part of the village, the houses are closely set together. Fishing
227 nets hang on the lines of the yard. In season, the yard is covered with drying fish, fish fins, and fish backs. The yards and the shore are dotted with men cleaning or repairing their boats.

362 The lack of natural beauty of the place is accentuated by the poor-
517 ness of the houses and the other buildings. Its atmosphere is unmistakably
484 different. The village is more commercial and more lively than the quiet and concealed agricultural village. Life is not so much of a routine, for much depends on the weather and the sea. The village has people who have travelled widely. Some of its fishermen have been in the waters of Java, of the South Seas, of the Andaman Islands, the Philippines, and Indo-China.

438 The village's main commercial contacts are with the remaining
[311] agricultural villages of the township from which it must obtain much of its food, for the area is not suited to agriculture, nor is much land available. For wider contacts, there are Itoman about 4 1/2 miles, and Naha about 8 1/2 miles away. Buses go through the village twice a day.
494 The three wheeled cycles are irregular but come and go more often. Fish
368 is sold at Naha. The theatre for the travelling troupe of actors from Naha and for movies is in Horikawa across the river. Many visits are
574 also made to Itoman to see relatives and friends.

The war was even more catastrophic for Minatogawa than for Hanashiro.
727 Before the war, Minatogawa was a thriving, prosperous and well built up small town. About 70% of its buildings had a tile roof and 30% had
[361] thatch roofs. There were about 30 stores, sake shops and drinking places, including a geisha house, along the road, serving the fishermen and the stonecutters. Of the 430 buildings in the area, only three were left

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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I

Community Recreation

Were it not for the public holidays and festivals, the family 529
celebrations and informal social gatherings, opportunities for
recreation would be very limited. Seeing a Japanese motion picture [368]
usually involves going to another village. Young people, especially [177]
those studying English, go to American movies in Naha when they can
afford it. Many went to see Hamlet when it played there.

A Naha troupe presents plays in the rural villages. These ap- 595
pearances are advertised by a sound truck travelling throughout the
countryside. Plays are of two main types: the historical drama and 536
those of domestic life and manners. The historical plays are usually
based on the heroic age in Okinawa, and are so filled with episodes
and sword play that it is difficult, even for an Okinawan, to follow
the plot. All plays are given in Okinawan.

The plot of a play of manners is of more interest, since it is concerned with the conflicts of obligations, duties, and personal desires. One such play, The Chaste Woman and the Dutiful Son, concerns a married couple who have one son. The husband drank too much and went with another woman. The wife objected, the husband tells her he no longer wants her and desires a divorce. The divorce attained, he takes the other woman as a second wife and moves with her to Nago, where he lives. Twenty years after, the second wife becomes ill, and dies, and the husband finds it increasingly difficult to earn a livelihood. The first wife, in the meantime, anxious to bring up her child well, has sent him to school. At the age of 20 he has become a school teacher. [875]
The successful young man--becoming a teacher is a great success--marries. The young couple have a child and everyone is happy.

The father in Nago earns a precarious living selling firewood. One day he reads of the success of his son in a newspaper. (This provides the actor with an opportunity for exaggerated astonishment and much staggering around). More soberly, the father decides to visit the first wife and their son. Lack of pride and poverty permits him to do this.

The first wife gives him an angry reception. When he has forced his way into the house, there is a loud quarrel. The successful young school teacher returns home, sees the quarrel, and asks his mother the identity of the man. The mother replies that she does not know him. The son inquires the reason for such a violent quarrel between his mother and a stranger. The mother had previously told her son his father had died. She now says she lied, and in the ensuing revelations, the son weeps a little. The father implores his son to intervene in obtaining the forgiveness of his former wife. But she will not forgive--neither will she forget--and does not want the old man around at all. The son

575 [592] Friendships formed here and in school are the basis of later lifelong associations.

Young Women's Associations (joshiseinen) are not so well developed. Hanashiro has none. In Minatogawa the young men's and the young women's groups are combined. Matsuda has a separate organization of girls from 17 to 23. The latter age is considered the probable date of marriage, when the young woman will enter the Women's Association. Their duties parallel those of the young men: village maintenance, selling firewood, planting sugar cane, taking part in harvest ceremonies and participating with the young men in the New Year's party.

In the villages, a volunteer organization is responsible for fire fighting. The fire brigades (sobodan) usually are under the direction [368] of the young men's association. The village gong is sounded, the volunteers assemble, and the fire is put out by using a bucket brigade.

[177] Parent Teacher Associations, after the American model, have been formed in the rural area, but it is too early to form a judgment of their effectiveness.

575 621 There are also the neighborhood associations. A village is divided into areas or zones (han), each with its own head (hanchō). Neighborhood groups had existed before the introduction of the Japanese neighborhood association (tonari gumi) in about 1935 or 1936. These older groups (kumi) had from 30 to 70 families, each with a head (kumichō). These groups often assisted in a family crisis, with housebuilding, or furnished pallbearers for a funeral.

Before and during the war, the Japanese used the neighborhood associations in their rationing, food distribution, civil defense, and other programs.

The neighborhood associations remained after the war, but they are now known as hans. The leader of each neighborhood group is a link in the chain of communication from the township office to the individual [632] villager. The township mayor transmits a new regulation or a directive from a higher governmental authority to each village headman who informs the heads of each of the neighborhood groups, who can then tell the people living in his area. The people within a neighborhood group may also co-operate with one another in housebuilding. The young men may be pallbearers for a deceased resident of the neighborhood. The group head also informs the people of village meetings (jōkai). These heads may be elected, but usually they serve by rotation (kotai), with a change every three months. In Matsuda, the group head is selected for one year and household heads service under him for one month in rotation to perform stand-by (tōban suru, to be on duty) duties and help the neighborhood head in his work.

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873 [368]

Hanashiro the children take the short walk to primary and junior high school at Gushichan village; for senior high school they go to Chinen, 5 or 6 miles away. Most of them walk. Matsuda has an elementary school with the junior and senior high schools at Ginoza village, about 1 1/2 miles away. In senior high school, there is more specialization. The general science course is divided into physics (butsuri), chemistry (kagaku), and biology (seibutsu). Mathematics is split up into geometry (kika) and algebra (daitsu). There is further instruction in agriculture for the boys, some for the girls. The girls continue with domestic science, including sewing.

In the secondary schools, vocational education is well represented in the curriculum. The courses are planned as a preparation for the type of work students will do as adults in a village. The instructors seem competent although the subject matter does not include modern advances. There should not, in my opinion, be a further growth in vocational at the expense of general education, except after careful study of long term requirements. The great masses of people will continue to depend on agriculture, forestry, and to some extent on fishing for their existence, and vocational education should be built around a recognition of these facts. It should concentrate on supplying new knowledge related to these main fields. [875] 114

New technical skills that we desire to develop should be governed by these considerations: (1) the improvement of agriculture, forestry, and fishing. (2) The long range plans of the military and civil administration and the skills they will require. (3) New skills that will be needed with any development of foreign trade or of local industrialization.

Vocational education also should be developed along lines consistent with the type of professional training we are prepared to encourage. If biologists, botanists, agriculturalists, soil scientists, foresters, statisticians, social scientists are being trained, vocational and technical education should also follow along these general lines to create a source both of initial interest and of possible technicians to assist the professional workers. This would also apply to the public health fields, such as nurses' aides, midwives, laboratory technicians.

The distinguishing feature of the new education (shinkyoiku) is the introduction of democratic ideas (minshushugi). The status of girl students and of women teachers has also changed. Before the war, the children were taught in the same room, but the boys and girls were separated. Now there is no segregation. Women teachers' salaries, formerly about 20% less than the mens', are now the same. 871 [562] [875]

3

Schools and the Teacher

There is much more to a school day than actual instruction. The 358

called for 'awamori'. After a few drinks he asked in a fairly serious manner, "Have you bought a woman yet during your stay? You really ought to try an Okinawan woman before you go." His daughter-in-law and two half-grown sons looked on in amusement. The question is not uncommon; on another occasion it was, "Have you tasted Okinawan women?" 831 522

In common talk, and perhaps in feeling, sex seems to be identified almost wholly with prostitution and the sex act with the hiring of a juri. The sight of a seed boar being led across a field evoked the comment, "That pig's a man; he's on his way to buy a woman." Perhaps the above statement should be narrowed down to something like: the pleasurable aspects of sex are identified with prostitution. And sexual pleasure, like the pleasures of eating and drinking, singing and dancing, is something that guests may be treated to. (Hence the concern that the visitor sample all the pleasures that Okinawa offers and a pride in those for which it is famous.) In view of the fact that children grow up hearing about juri and jurinuyaa and associating them with other pleasures before they have any notion of their sexual functions, it is not surprising that when they become adults they display attitudes that are different from those found among Americans. 548 831

Before the war in the Tsuji district of Naha there were about three thousand juri.[1] The district was the center of the social life of the men of the upper classes. Business men, government officials, and teachers were entertained there. No doubt all did not "buy" juri, but sex was one of the principal commodities dispensed there. Also it is unlikely that the average farmer ever went there, but the indications are that he would have if he could have. A man is expected to want these things if he can afford them. The values of the farmer are not likely to be very different from those of the better-off city man. The jurinuyaa has played an important role in Okinawa society in the past and is not likely to disappear very soon. [565] [184]

Maturity and Old Age: Associations Men may continue to belong to the 'Seinenkai' until thirty; women drop out at marriage. The reason that men stay longer may be to give greater continuity to the organization and to provide older members as leaders, but in view of the recreational activities of the organization it seems as likely that the rule is merely a part of the general tendency to give more freedom to men and more responsibility to women. 575 562

Adult Associations ('Seijinkai') are said to exist in some villages but are not of any great importance. Associations formed by persons of the same age ('dōnenkai') also exist. In Japan such organizations are often composed of persons who were in the same class in school[2]; on Okinawa the number of older persons who attended school probably does not permit the formation of very large associations. The tendency among younger persons is not very noticeabe. Younger men may organize 'shōbōkai', volunteer fire brigades; such an organization patrolled the streets of Ishikawa nightly. We did not see any evidence of the persistence of any organizations based on former military service; the Japanese Army Reservists' Association may never have been very active on Okinawa. 575 [171] [368] [177]

1 Yanagida, 1951, p. 309.

2 Embree, 1939, p. 163ff.

642 highly structured system; the overall impression is of rule by bureaucracy. Most importantly the average individual accepts all of this as in the natural ordering of things. The best possible relationship of the state to the people is thought to be a paternalistic one, like father to children. Such an attitude is wholly in keeping with a culture which has traditionally stressed family and community over individual, and obligations over rights.

[181]

632 'Son' Government The administrative center of every 'son' is the township office ('sonyakuba') which serves as the connecting link between the people of its villages and the central government in Naha. The main functions of this office are to transmit and implement the directives and laws of the central government to the people, to collect taxes, and to keep records---the most important of these being the household registry ('koseki') and land records ('tochi daichō'). The size of the office staff is largely determined by the township size; in the larger townships there are many departments and employees, but in a small 'son' several departments may be grouped under a single head.

632 344 [368] The building housing this office is usually a single-storied structure located in the largest village of the township; a post office, school, agricultural office, and store are often nearby. The interior of the office building is one large room sometimes sub-divided into smaller offices by the use of screens; one end of the room is set aside for meetings. On the exterior of the building along one side the names of the various departments are above the windows. When a villager calls at the office on business, he ordinarily does not enter the building but stands outside the window appropriate to his business until a clerk or official of that department opens it and speaks to him.

632 554 At the head of the township government is the 'sonchō' ('son' mayor), who in addition to directing its affairs functions as the liaison between the 'son' and the central government. It was the author's impression after spending considerable time in one 'son' office and visiting several others that the 'sonchō' is usually a very busy man and that he is more often away from his office than in it. In addition to directing the activities of his office, he makes numerous inspections within the township, attends meetings and conferences in other parts of the island, and once a month participetes in a council of all the mayors of the municipalities, which is held in Naha. The latter enables the mayors of the municipalities to discuss common problems and to come in contact with the officials of the central government. Three times each month he meets with the mayors ('kuchō') of the villages within his township for a discussion of local problems. It is said that the office can be a stepping stone for the politically ambitious since his activities bring a wide range of contacts; this cannot be said for any other office in the 'son' or 'ku'. During the course of his research on Okinawa the author met the mayors of five or six municipalities, and in all cases he was impressed by the intelligence and ability of these men. A mayor is elected for a term of four years and is eligible for reelection.

632 The chief lieutenants of the 'sonchō' are the assistant mayor ('joyaku') and the revenue officer or treasurer ('shūnyūyaku'); the latter usually directs all financial matters, and his major function is tax collection and

1115 439 at Naha, and junks from the south seas touched at that port. Loochooans in this manner became known to the Portugese.[15]

175 648 Political relationships with countries other than China had accompanied this trade. Following the establishment of relations with China in 1372, there were contacts with Korea in 1389 when the woods from the southeastern trade, paper, and other articles originating in Indo-China and the East Indies were presented by King Satsudo of the Ryukyus to the Korean court. These relations with Korea were renewed in 1392 under the new Yi dynasty. The usual route north was from Naha to Hakata in Kyūshū to the Korean port of Pusan on the southeast coast, thence overland to the capital city of Seoul. Relationships between the two peoples finally broke off in 1500, although Koreans actually were settled in Okinawa and some were evacuated in 1574.

[100] This was therefore a period of considerable cultural contact with China, Japan, Korea, and with the countries of Southeast Asia, and indirectly with the arts and manufacture of the Mahomedan world and of the Portugese in the crossroads port of Malacca.

175 648 430 This lively and important trade was brought to an end through three situations: the existence of Japanese pirates, necessitating, at a period toward the close of the era, hiring Japanese Buddhist priests as ambassadors and cargo protectors, (2) the appearance of the Portugese in the East China Sea, and around 1542 at Tanegashima, one of the northern islands of the Ryukyus southeast of Kyūshū, and (3) the maritime expansion of Japan in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the coup de grace to the Ryukyuan trade.

175 177 369 It is likely that many of these outside contacts, even up to the end of the nineteenth century, really affected Naha and Shuri, and that the rural areas were essentially unchanged. This would mean that the two cities had a culture revealing a strong Chinese influence, but also of Japan and perhaps indirectly of other nations, while the rural areas languished in the older elements of the folk culture, such as the priesthood dominated by women. Other facts which will be brought out in the chapters to which they belong tend to substantiate this interpretation that we cannot speak simply of a homogeneous Okinawan culture.

175 648 [439] The conquest of the islands by the Japanese in 1609 was a consequence of the growing trade that had developed with Japan, first with the Shogunate, later, more specifically, with the Satsuma clan. Ultimately the Satsuma clan succeeded in displacing the Shogunate in the Loochoo trade and with the conquest of 1609 the kingdom came under Satsuma influence,

[TEXT Continues TOP of P. 33--Analyst]

15 On this trade, which is much too complex to treat in a short summary, see Haguenauer, as cited, 4-16. Much new material appeared in two articles by R. Binkenstein, Zur Frage der Ryūkyū Gesandtschaften, Monumenta Nipponica, 4(1941), 256-69, and Die Ryūkyū-Expedition unter Shimazu Iehisa, ibid, 622-28.

543 these matters. In township exhibits of arts and crafts, there are evidences of these skills, such as the training of a chrysanthemum, a favorite choice, but these are not part of daily life.

532 Yet there is evidence of artistic talent and interest which teachers and parents encourage in the young. Okinawan children draw
[353] and copy well. It is not unusual to see an otherwise bare room of a poor farmer's home decorated with the paintings or drawings of a son or daughter. While clearly the work of novices, they often show feeling for line and color. School buildings, houses, and landscapes are the favorite subjects. Drawing skills come as no surprise because of the close relationship, in countries using the Chinese character,
875 of calligraphy and art. Teachers of drawing and art in the schools
212 are skillful in rapid sketching, and part of this skill must be the result of early training in the sequence of strokes and in writing the Chinese character with confidence and boldness.

535 Dancing and samisen playing are learned by imitation and self-
533 instruction. Music is learned by ear, the dancing by observing the old and skilled. Parents do not instruct their children in these arts;
868 they pick up the skill themselves. There are no village teachers nor do the schools teach native dances, songs, or samisen playing. (In
[562] recent years instruction books have been furnished when a samisen is purchased). Samisen playing is a monopoly of the men, many of whom also have a repertoire of traditional dances. These performers are always in demand on social occasions. Both old and young men dance, but only the old women feel free to do so. Seeing a seventy or eighty year old grandmother dancing at a party is commonplace, but I have never seen a young girl or a young woman in her thirties doing this. (Young girls and young women may participate in formal dances in processions and on holidays). Among the younger people, there is considerable interest, but little facility in American dancing.

532 Hanging scrolls (kakemono) are often purchased by the villagers. But these are dashed off affairs, following Japanese art conventions, such as the jolly Japanese patron saint, tigers, the bamboo-plum blossom-cherry triad, and the turtle and the cormorant, etc.

181 One has the impression of latent talent in music, dancing, and drawing but that the cultural conditions have not been favorable to
[533] their development. Social events and parties are unthinkable without
[535] singing, dancing, and samisen playing. Good drawing and calligraphy
[532] are admired. But none of these seem to be highly developed folk arts.
[868] Possibly one reason is that the transmission of the skills has been purely imitative, and that a body of knowledge has not accumulated in books, organised teaching, or through apprenticeship and hereditary occupations by which ideas can be improved upon by wider dissemination.
[369] The cultural isolation of rural villages may have prevented the building up of a tradition in art and handicraft. Naha and Shuri, the historical cultural centers, have produced the fine examples of lacquer ware,
[636] ceramics, and paintings. Possibly also Japanese repression of the native culture has been the main reason. Whatever they are, the lack of advance-

311 parts of the island, and the small deltas, the tiny alluvial plains,
18 the short and narrow valleys are left to produce what little rice can be grown.

Okinawa is not Japan and perhaps it is unrewarding to attempt
171 comparisons between the Okinawans and the Japanese. Okinawa is an island whose rural life is but little disturbed by urban development.
369 Only two places, Naha and Shuri, could be classified as small cities. Important places like Nago, Ishikawa, and Yonabaru are only small towns.

Japan is a culture rich in both its rural and its urban life. The investigation of the life of the great metropolitan cities of Japan is more scattered in specialized studies, more casual, perhaps more impressionistic than the study of some of its villages. Japanese and Okinawan rural life have many things in common, though the Japanese experience may now be distinctly different because of the land reform.

But along with the rural village, there are the great cities of Tokyo, Yokohama, Kyoto, Osaka, Kobe, and Nagoya, and these circumstances make an appraisal of Japanese culture even more complex and elusive.

177 Certainly the long cultural ties with Japan have left their impressions on the people of Okinawa. The Japanese language, the Japanese system of education, altered after the war, Japanese tools, and Japanese literature are clear examples of this direct influence. But there are differences too. Adoption is much less common in Okinawa. The Buddhist influence, except for the alters of household Buddhism, is weak. The Okinawans, during the war, seemed less inclined than the Japanese toward fanatical self-sacrifice in behalf of the emperor cult.

157 In this work, I have avoided discussing the popular subject of
128 the "psychology" of the people. After a few commonplaces, one embarks on a series of impressions which may or may not have validity and which most certainly would be subject to endless qualification. I have therefore, for the most part, left the characteristics of the people to emerge from the descriptions of their historical experience, their social organization, and their family and community life, trusting that from these details one can form an impression of the way in which a people are living and how they meet the manifold problems which confront them.

156 In my own studies, I have been impressed with the feeling of belonging which seems to be the possession of the individual from infancy until his children lay him to rest in the family tomb. There is also a stability in family life, and this stability does not seem so pivoted, as in our culture, on the continued mutual love and affection of the father and the mother. There also seems to be little stress on personal competition.

The infant as well as the mature adult are conditioned to conformity both by the historical obligations and duties under the family

313 Home Industries and Famous Products The forested northern mountains give rise
314 to small scale lumbering, charcoal making,
432 and firewood gathering. Kunigami-son and Kushi-son emphasize the gathering of bamboo and firewood. On the other hand the making of charcoal is more important in Nago, Haneji, and Ōgimi. The urbanization of the south combined with
[369] the postwar extension of roads into formerly inaccessible parts of the north
[391] have accelerated exploitation of the northern forest resource. Particularly heavy is the demand for long roof poles, or kichigwā, after every major typhoon.
[237] Kunigami-son and Higashi supply the bulk of these. Where wood is plentiful behind a coastal road, one often finds lime kilns, which process the coral of the reefs.

258 The sea is also a major source of material for home industries. Sea
433 salt is made at Yagaji, Urasoe and Oroku on the west coast, at Henza and Awase
[237] on the east. Kunigami-son prides itself upon its production of seaweed. Buttons from seashells are made in Mawashi. Fish cakes ('kamaboko') are made in quantity in Itoman and Naha, with lesser amounts being produced in Ishikawa and Nago. Dried bonito ('katsuoboshi') is a specialty of Tonaki isle to the west. Motobu-chō holds second place, followed by the western isles of Tokashiki and
505 Zamami. For over a hundred years the small cargo sailboats ('Yambaru-sen')
178 of the east coast have carried forest products from the north. The extension of roads into the northern forests has greatly reduced the amount now carried by sea.

433 Horse breeding is a specialty in Nakazato (the eastern half of Kume-
[232] shima), which has 22% of the gunto's production of horses. However, the pro-
[285] duction of horse and cattle hides is concentrated in the urban areas, which
[281] account for 84% of the hides produced. Nakazato is also famous for production of silk cocoons, being responsible for about two-fifths (38.7%) of the gunto's total. The leading mainland producer is Motobu-chō, with 9%.

Although Okinawa is not self-sufficient in tea, the three areas of
[245] Gushikawa, Ishikawa and Kunigami produce over half of the local tea. In Oku
[474] village of Kunigami, the tea factory is a cooperative venture. Gushikawa
[274] and Chatan pride themselves upon possessing 'sake' and 'awamori' distilleries.
[286] Mawashi is the center of production of farm tools, and accounts for some weaving of banana cloth. Weaving of mats from the "seven isles reed" ('shichitō-i') is a local specialty of Kanegusuku.

[314] Travertine quarries are found in Motobu-chō and Katsuren. A sandy limestone is quarried at Minatogawa in Gushichan.

When a great number of people are repatriated, it is far more likely that more will find their way into urban areas than into rural areas. This tends to remain true in spite of prior resettlement in the country villages. 167 727

People and the Arable Land One of the best indicators of urbanization is the number of persons for each acre of arable land under cultivation. In Okinawa, cultivation of the sweet potato permits a much larger population to live off an acre of land than would be true if other crops were raised in its place. The following scale has been set up, and is the basis for Map 5:[1] 161 389

Areas of Occasional Surplus	Up to 6 persons per acre
Areas of Moderate Self-sufficiency	6-9 persons per acre
Areas of Definite Deficiency	9-20 persons per acre
Semi-urbanized Areas	20-30 persons per acre
Urban Areas	Over 30 persons per acre

In examining Map 5, which is based on conditions at the end of 1950, it is seen that the entire area from Oroku to Ishikawa, and from Katsuren to Yomitan, is included in the food-deficient areas. This is true also of Nago, the southwestern half of the Motobu peninsula, and the far north 'son' of Kunigami. The urban node in the south results from prewar settlement. The urbanized areas of Kadena, Chatan and Goeku of course are postwar phenomena. The fact that this urbanized three-'son' block is bordered by semi-urbanized areas, while the urban areas of the south are not, indicates that a greater center of attraction is found in this area. The answer is the amount of military employment available here.

In discussing the postwar growth and rearrangements of population it is convenient to divide the discussion into two parts. The first will deal with the period prior to 1951, when repatriation and a mild amount of construction were prevalent. The second period under consideration is from 1 January 1951 to 31 December 1952, during which time accelerated military construction was the rule, and repatriation almost non-existent. 161 128

Population Increase from 1940 to 1950 In this decade the population of the Ryukyus increased by 20%, while that of Okinawa Guntō increased by 22%. Map 6 indicates the areas of relative decrease and increase. Much of Shimajiri suffered great losses in the fighting, and by the end of 1950 still registered a net decrease for the decade. The relatively undestroyed areas from Ishikawa north experienced a greater than average growth, and the scattered military installations in Goeku, Misato and Gushikawa attracted a great number of people. Ishikawa owed its growth mainly to its designation as the postwar temporary capital city. 161

The setting up of a military government area on the Chinen peninsula attracted a few people there, as did the repair of the Japanese airbase in Oroku. The height, relative remoteness and almost total destruction of Shuri, combined with the military requisitioning of much of the Naha port area, contributed greatly to the unexpected growth of Mawashi.

[1] Figures for each political area for all maps are given in the appendix.

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161
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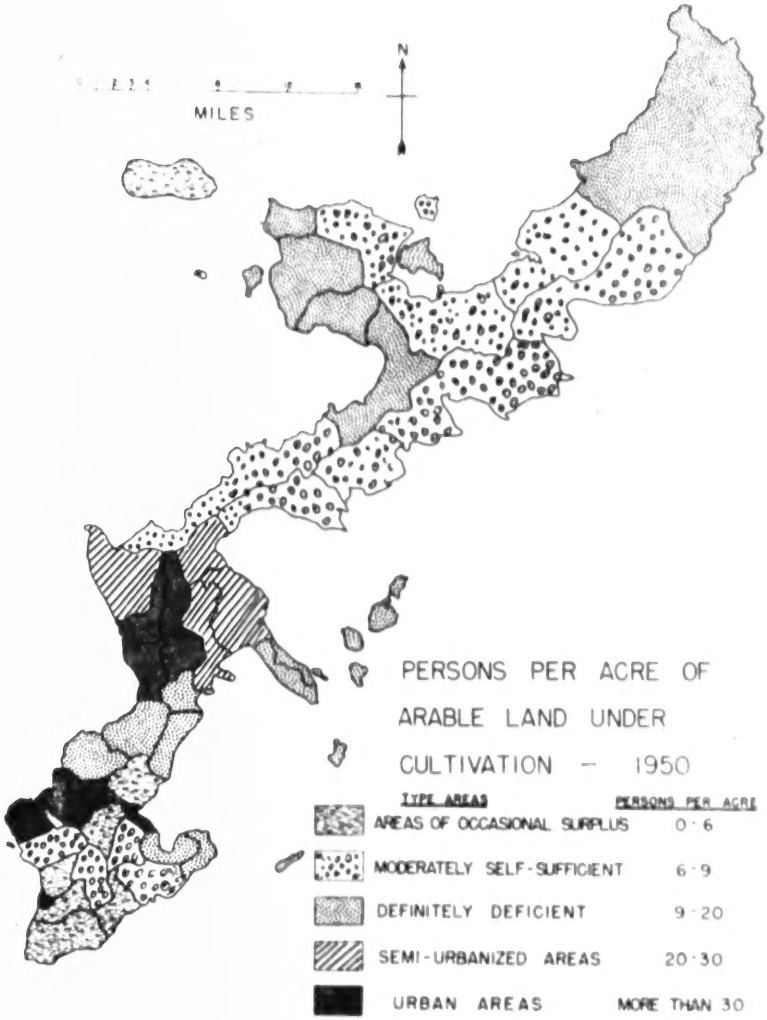

MAP 5 [1/A]

[P. 96-A]

[1/A] [See pages 222-224 for data upon which this map was based--Analyst]

[Koohinda-son]

The husband sought military employment after the divorce. Haru has now also gone to the city to find military employment because her younger brother, who is household head, became angry and said, "...even the animals know enough to suckle their young." An observer commented, "Haru is mentally deficient, so that is why she was jealous." 586 159

Case 2

Kanā at the age of 32 was Chūsei's third wife, and he was her fourth husband. His seventy-year-old mother, Ushii, had become blind as a result of the war. Kanā insulted her mother-in-law somehow. In turn Ushii insulted Kanā by saying she couldn't work very hard. Chūsei divorced Kanā for the quarrel, and she moved to an offshore island. More recently she remarried to a man two villages away, and they have two children. Her new husband fishes during the summer and works for a big sugar mill during the winter.

Case 3

The husband, Jirō, was a second son of 23 years, who had become an adopted husband, or 'yōshi'. His wife Yae, who was a common law child, bore him a son. Because he violently disliked farming he sold the land he inherited and bought a mat-making shop in Naha. His real father, killed in the war, had operated such a business. Jirō also took up a concubine in Naha.

Though she had borne Jirō a son, Yae divorced him because she didn't like the idea of a concubine, and preferred farming to life in Naha. Later Jirō sold the houselot in the village, took the house apart and reassembled it in Naha. The mat shop failed after one year. He now plans to make his living by doing nothing but renting out rooms. He married his concubine eighteen months later, after she bore him a son. Yae married a few days after the divorce, to a man from a neighboring village. She now has two sons.

Diagnosis In the first case cited above, we can see several factors that help us to understand Okinawan society. Attitudes expressed include: [593]

a) A wife should not be jealous of her husband's attention to other women;
b) A brother need not support his sister if she refuses to care for her own child; and
c) A mother's first duty is to care for her own child.

Both divorced persons eventually sought military employment. So we see that urbanization is not alone a matter of pull from the city, but contains in addition an element of being "pushed from the village". [369]

The Chūsei-Kanā divorce was brought on by an insult to the husband's mother. In Okinawa as in Japan the mother-in-law wields a good deal of authority. [606] [171]

In the third case cited, it was found that Jirō had a very bad reputation in the village because he was a 'yōshi' who sold his inherited [829]

'Koseki' Changes The present 'koseki'---those used when this SIRI team visited Okinawa---are temporary ones set up about 1948. 161 217
In some very few areas 'koseki' remain from before the war. Registration in the 'koseki' is not automatic when an individual or family moves into a community. Hence there may even be persons who have bought houselots in a village, rented land there and raised crops---without ever having contacted the 'son' office for change of 'koseki'. Three such instances were observed in Nanahan. Areas such as Goeku-son and the Naha-Mawashi area, which contain many "floaters", may actually have a much larger population than is reported in the census figures.

'Koseki' Inaccuracies The present 'koseki' not only does not contain information on 'museki' persons, but it is often very far behind---sometimes as much as two years---in recording the movement of persons and families out of the villages and into urban centers.

Because old 'koseki' were for the most part destroyed, information on birthdates is very often inaccurate. The Kochinda 'koseki', for example, is full of requests for changes in birthdates, changes ostensibly sought on the basis of more accurate family records recently discovered or assembled. However, some changes may conceivably be sought in order deliberately to misrepresent one's age to a Company or to the military. Also, the possibility should not be ruled out that some persons change their recorded birthdate in order to bring about a change in their luck. [377]

Accuracy of Kochinda-son Data The statistics on household heads presented above represents the total number of people registered in the Kochinda 'koseki'. It does not take into consideration those persons and families who are recorded as having temporarily moved elsewhere. 217 162 592

Many people in Kochinda who have moved to the city have failed to record that fact in the 'koseki'. Many times this is attributable to apathy and poverty, but may often involve the matter of pride in having one's record in the same 'koseki' as one's close relatives. There is an additional factor at work: most Okinawans realize that the present urban trend brought about by the presence of the military is a temporary phenomenon, and they fully expect to return to the village in event of a lessening of urban opportunities. Thus Okinawa follows the Japanese pattern---by tightening their belts and working a little harder, the farmers can always make their plots feed an additional mouth until some adjustment can be made. [369] [829]

Hence the Kochinda statistics as presented above represent some 2,000 household heads and some 10,000 persons, rather than the census count of some 8,500 persons and 1,970 household heads.

The New 'Koseki' Early in 1954 the Government of the Ryukyu Islands ordered a new 'koseki' to be compiled. It will no doubt be more complete in most respects than is the temporary 'koseki'. The demand for a new 'koseki' came about chiefly because Japanese governmental pension agencies 217 [648]

178
Military installations have attracted people from all areas, and at 177
the present time over twenty-five percent of the total labor force is employed 727
by the military or in subsidiary occupations. Some of these people are drawn [464]
from the landless element which formerly would have emigrated. In other areas
land has been left idle by those who have sought salaried jobs in preference
to farming. In places, extensive military land use has greatly increased [311]
land pressure. The circulation of money has been accelerated, and new pat- [491]
terns of living have evolved. Many miles of all-weather roads have been constructed and the island transportation system has improved to a point where villagers have a mobility undreamed of in the prewar era.

The major forces for change have been technological and economic. 177
Where changes have occurred in the social system, they have come about largely 178
as a result of these factors. Man has always tended to accept new things faster than new ideas, but in final analysis these will alter ideas too. It has been said that the streetcar and trains have contributed more to the breakdown of the idea of caste in India than any other single factor; so too on Okinawa, the changes effected by a new technology, greater circulation of money, and improved mobility operate to alter the fabric of life. Most rural 177
Okinawans would be decidedly opposed to any overt action designed toward 369
weakening the unity of their village; yet, when they put aside farming to 621
commute daily to a city job, avail themselves of the newspapers, movies, and 178
radio programs emanating from the city, and no longer participate in labor exchanges and other cooperative ventures, it is to precisely this end that they are contributing.

It is the opinion of the author that the major forces for change in 177
contemporary Okinawa were already operative before the war. The real impact 178
of the American occupation has been a rapid acceleration of the forces of change which have been slowly building up since the beginning of the century.

<u>Aspects of Change in Rural Okinawa: Transportation</u> One of the most im- 178
pressive changes in 491
post-war Okinawa with far-reaching cultural implications has been the improved transportation system which has made possible a greater mobility. A network of modern highways now girdle the land where formerly narrow dirt roads and paths had sufficed. To one who had last seen the island in 1945 the contrast in 1954 was most remarkable.

The increase in motor vehicles has been more than ten-fold over the 178
prewar period. Most villages now have easy access to bus lines which connect [494]
to virtually all points of the island. Where formerly villagers but rarely
went to town, they now make such trips frequently. It is not uncommon in the [484]
Shimajiri and Nakagami areas of the island for an individual to commute each day from his village to his place of employment in a military camp, town, or city.

The improvement in transportation has enabled the farmers to bring 178
products to the best markets. Formerly most Kanegusuku products were sold 443
in nearby Itoman, but today with the advent of rapid bus service to Naha many items are taken there for sale.

178 The new roads and buses have done much to break down the isolation
369 of the village; the physical barriers separating village from town have greatly diminished. This has enabled the rural dweller to enter the labor markets of the urban areas and to expand greatly the markets for his products.

178 Communications Equally as impressive as the changes in transpor-
20 tation have been those in communications. Today newspapers, radios, tele-
178 phones, and movies are making their influences felt in the country. Prior to the war there were five motion-picture theaters on Okinawa; today there
546 are fifty-seven, and approximately one-third of the films shown are of
[177] Western origin. Though the theaters are concentrated in the towns and cities, the young people of neighboring farm villages often make regular use of them. Some of the young people in Kanegusuku go to the theaters in Itoman several times a week.

178 Everyone asserts that newspapers are becoming more common in the
204 rural areas. In the isolated village of Oku at the northern end of Okinawa the mayor informed us that nearly 90% of the houses subscribe regularly to a newspaper.

178 In Kanegusuku seventy of its 103 houses obtained radios this year
207 under the group listening system. A number of those who were unable to
203 secure radios (due to a lack of equipment) are hoping to do so in the near future. In some villages the group listening system has been utilized as a public address system for official announcements. This has greatly simplified the problem of conveying information or orders to the villagers. Pitts made use of this system on Henza Shima to explain his purpose in studying there. In this same village the regular Shuri broadcasts are sometimes replaced with Okinawan music played on a phonograph owned by the village. On Izena Shima the system is used to announce the arrivals and departures of the two ferryboats which serve the island.

The radio has been eagerly received in all communities which the author visited and has been instrumental in bringing the villagers into contact with the outside world.

177 Agriculture and the Rural Economy Major changes in Okinawan agricul-
178 ture have been slight. Improvements have been made in yields as the result of scientific research conducted by the Japanese, a few new minor crops have
241 been introduced, modern fertilizers have been made available, and the system of land tenure was radically altered by the Japanese; but the basic agricultural methods have remained the same. The major crops have not changed though their ratios have fluctuated, and most importantly, farm holdings remain as scattered and heavily fragmented as ever. There is at present no trend or even a suggestion of a trend toward consolidation of holdings nor is there any indication of a lessening of land pressure. So long as the farms remain small, fragmented, and widely scattered, there will be no possibility of using machinery or scientific methods. The present system of intensive gardening does produce a high yield per acre, but it also demands a large labor supply.

Education The Japanese established the first schools in the rural areas some time before World War I. Great emphasis was placed on making Japanese speakers and nationals out of Okinawans. Today most of the population is bilingual; those who speak only a dialect of the Ryukyuan language are persons over sixty and pre-school children. Most Okinawans have come to regard themselves as Japanese. 871 177 [191] [829]

A major change in the postwar educational system has been the addition of three years to the period of compulsory schooling, making a total of nine years. Since the schools continue to provide a Japanese education, the effect will be to increase the Japanization of Okinawa, raise literacy, and ultimately make all speakers bilingual. As a student is usually excused from all work by the family, this measure has served to withhold a large number of teenagers from the labor market.

In the rural areas the author heard frequent praise for the extension of the schooling period and the new school construction program initiated by the military government. Most rural peoples stated that educational opportunities were poor for them in the prewar period; high school education was said to be particularly difficult for a village child to achieve. Now they feel that they are realizing equality with the urban areas. The urbanite is more likely to suggest that the quality of education has deteriorated in the postwar period. Both rural and urban people were agreed that one decided improvement has been that students no longer fight among themselves. Before and during the war all students were organized into small groups based on area of residence; each group was headed by a student leader who shepherded his charges to and from school in semi-military formation. Rivalry between these organized groups frequently led to gang fighting so severe that the intervention of teachers or police was often necessary to restore order. 871 369 178 877 178

Rural people regard education as providing one of the best opportunities for improving one's status; consequently, the improvement of educational opportunities will have far-reaching effects on social mobility. Those who acquire a high school or university education rarely remain in the village, and the few who do remain adopt an occupation other than farming. 871 554

Economy Money was virtually non-existent in the old Okinawan village; barter was the chief means of exchange. Taxes under the communal land holding system were paid in grain and cloth. The land reforms initiated by the Japanese brought the introduction of tax payments in cash. Increasing emphasis on sugar production due to governmental encouragement and subsidy did much to destroy the self-sufficiency of the village and brought dependence on a cash crop. The period of Japanese administration was marked by a gradual adoption of a money economy in the rural areas. 437 436 178 177

Okinawans state that there is a far greater amount of money in the village today than in the prewar period. Some assert that due to governmental price controls they were never able to realize a fair return for their products (chiefly sugar) in the prewar era, but the great increase in money in recent years seems largely attributable to factors relating to the military occupation. Today over twenty-five percent of the total labor force is employed by the military and in subsidiary occupations such as construction; this steep rise in 434 178 [435] [464]

434 salaried employees has greatly increased the amount of money in circulation.
178 The large expenditures made by members of the military forces have also con-
464 tributed significantly. The farmer, in turn, has been able to realize a larger return for his products than was formerly possible, and in many farm villages a sizable number of individuals are engaged in military employment.

Farmers are spending more than ever before; self-sufficiency has further declined in that many articles formerly made at home are now purchased.
[511] The standard of living, especially diet, is said to have improved considerably.
[592] Formerly all income and resources were controlled by the household head for the entire family; today individual purses are said to be increasingly common.

621 Community Organization and Social Structure The solidarity and
178 integration of the village was severely diminished by the war and its aftermath. The prewar village was quite homogeneous; most of its families had resided there for many generations, village marriage practices tended to be endogamous, and nearly all were engaged in farming as their major occupation. Today in most villages there are a number of families new to the village since the war, and there are an increasing number of individuals who are employed outside the village in non-agricultural pursuits. Both groups tend to play a lesser role in community affairs than the old residents who continue to farm.

476 There has been a considerable decline in reciprocal labor exchanges.
178 The man who is daily employed outside the village is automatically prevented from participating in such ventures. The widow who heads a household without any adult male members is often unable to participate or must limit her participation since a day's work by a man must be matched by two by a woman. Likewise the man who hires a bulldozer to clear some land or build a rice field instead of engaging his relatives and neighbors in a cooperative exchange is also contributing to the decline of the practice.

• 369 Formerly those who left the village usually emigrated to other parts
178 of the Japanese Empire, but today they usually obtain employment in the cities
621 or military camps. Consequently, they continue to exert some influence in their place of origin, since interaction is more likely.

621 In a community like Kitazato which has suffered poverty, hunger, land
178 loss, and exodus of members to other communities, there seems to be a reintensification of community spirit stressing cooperation and unity. This is in marked contrast to Kanagusuku and elsewhere, suggesting that when a major value---communal unity---is directly threatened, there is a reaction and reintensification of this value. Elsewhere where the process of change has been more subtle, no reaction has occurred.

585 Okinawan class divisions were officially abolished early in the period
177 of Japanese administration; yet they continued to be of some importance with regard to status and marriage for some time. Today people say that they are no longer of any importance except to a few of the very old. Distinctions on
[559] the basis of wealth were largely erased by the war. It is frequently said, "After the war everyone was equal."

where they are observed there are generally few participants. Also many ceremonies have lost all meaning save that of custom, which is considered sufficient reason for their observance. 796 178

The authors heard dissatisfaction expressed with regard to current funeral practices. At one bone-washing ceremony witnessed by the author, several of the men stated that the practice was pointless and should therefore cease. Statements favorable to the Japanese practice of cremation were frequently heard. 764 765 829

Urbanization Prior to Japanese annexation there existed a sharp urban-rural dichotomy in Okinawan culture. This might best be characterized as a rural peasantry and an urban gentry-nobility. The latter group was in contact with Japan and China and was literate, while the former was divided into many small, isolated villages, lived in a state of serfdom, and was largely uneducated. The urban culture was strongly influenced by its foreign contacts, but in the rural areas an indigenous culture was preserved virtually untouched by outside influences. 369 177 [565]

The Japanese impact was first felt in the urban areas, and the city of Naha gradually assumed the characteristics of a Japanese city. It became the center for the diffusion of things Japanese into the countryside. Despite a number of important changes---abolition of communal land tenure, introduction of private property, gradual penetration of a money economy, introduction of schools and national organizations---rural-urban differences remained strong. The character of the village tended to remain homogeneous and conservative, and contacts with the city were infrequent. When one emigrated from the village, the move usually was to a point outside the country rather than to another part of the island.

World War II shattered the isolation and homogeneity of the village. The American occupation coupled with the cumulative effect of the change initiated by the Japanese has served to bring the village into a closer relationship with the urban areas. The result has been the urbanization of the rural areas. By means of newspapers, motion pictures, and radio the villager has come to share the cultural life of the city. Rural-urban differences in diet, dress, education, entertainment, mobility, and values are tending to disappear. Marked improvements in transportation have given the villager a new mobility, enabling him to participate in the labor market of the city and giving new outlets for his products. The nature of the village is increasingly more heterogeneous due to the presence of newcomers, increased occupational specialization, and greater interaction with the outside world. There is a greater reliance on goods produced by industrial society, and a number of villagers commute daily to a place of employment in the city or in nearby military installations. The trend is toward an ultimate disappearance of rural-urban differences; the process is one that is well advanced in the United States, but in Okinawa it is in an early stage. 369 177 178 621

Conclusion Okinawa has been in a process of change for over fifty years. World War II and the American military occupation have served to accelerate greatly the forces for change. Despite this, Okinawan culture has not been overwhelmed and has managed to preserve its identity. A number of 177 178

These rooms, opening on the front of the house along the corridor, do not run the full length of the house. A fourth, a back room, running across the back part may open on to the kitchen. Sometimes this room is only roughly finished and used for storage or sleeping purposes or both. A grandmother often takes the grandchildren (other than the infant) to bed with her in this room. 342 [353] [513]

The kitchen is set off from the rest of the house by being on a lower level, perhaps one step. The kitchen usually has a hard dirt floor. Occasionally it is cemented. Sometimes it has a chimney, sometimes a hole in the side of the wall, which the curious smoke rejects in favor of a leisurely diffusion throughout the other rooms of the house. The kitchen is not part of the house in the sense that the other rooms are. The shoes are not removed when entering it. The kitchen opens out on to a stone or dirt path. Women frequently still eat in the kitchen because of its convenience and the need of going in and out to get water, or to wash vegetables, or to get food from the shed during the preparation of a meal. [576] [264]

The stove is basically an open hearth with a hole at the top for the cooking pan. There is also a hole directly below this into which the fuel can be placed. More elaborate stoves may have three tiers: one for the cooking, one for putting the fuel in, the lower for the ashes. The most simple, in the very poorest houses, are little more than a circular group of stones laid on the ground built up so that a pan can be placed on top. The most elaborate, made of stone, might run across the width of the kitchen and have several openings. Fuel, such as odd branches, sticks of firewood brought from the northern (Kunigami) region, crushed and dried sugar cane, or miscanthus grass of varying length is put part way into the fire and pushed further in as the ends are burned off. 354 [372]

The all stone house is smaller than the wooden house. It invariably has a tile roof, for those able to afford the stone can also buy the tile. The stone blocks used in house construction are usually about nine feet by one foot on the edge.[6] The stones used as posts are buried two feet in the ground leaving seven feet for the upright. These blocks, called ishibashida when used for house construction, have the same width and breadth; they can be cut to any desired length to even off the sides. The stones are layed like bricks with mortar to form the walls of the house. The all stone house is not common, and is usually seen in the south, where the stone is quarried, in Minatogawa, and in adjacent villages. These houses are more modern, and often bathing facilities are built in. The stone house has the advantage of being cool in summer, warm in winter. 342 [333] [184] [515]

Finally, there are the simple structures, resembling shacks or shanties more than houses. These are, as one would expect, more frequent in the areas of the war's operations. There are three main varieties, though the combinations are numerous: (1) the all grass house, now uncommon. The sides of this wattled house are usually of [362]

6 Actually they are 9 x 1 x 1 shaku. A shaku is 0.994 feet.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

249 [AA] The mill is owned and operated as a co-operative enterprise of the village. This is the only co-operative phase of sugar growing and processing; all other operations, such as planting, harvesting, the actual making and marketing of the brown sugar are done by individual growers. In Hanashiro, the steps in sugar manufacture are (1) the crushing of the cane, (2) the boiling of the juice, (3) the handling, cooling, and packing of the brown sugar.

The cane is crushed by running it through a roller driven by a gas engine. Before the war, there were two of these rollers. The juice is channelled along small concrete conduits at the base of the roller to a cement hole in the floor. This hole is about two feet in diameter and one foot deep. From this storage hole, it is ladled into the pots for boiling. In pre-war days, the machinery was better, and instead of the small concrete hole, large vats were used. The place where the sugar is boiled adjoins the room in which the crushing is done. The dirt floor of this room has two levels: one on which the pots are placed, and under which there is a trench open at the lower level for the fuel. A man standing on the lower level, in back of the building, shovels or pitches fuel into the trench. Formerly coal was used for this purpose; now plant residues and miscanthus are [372] used. Grass is fed into the fire with a pointer on a long stick. Above this trench large pans about 4 feet in diameter are set in holes.

Pan 4 Pan 3 Pan 2 Pan 1

Trench Fire

The cane juice is first strained through a cloth or wire mesh to remove large pieces of stalk and leaves. Once in the pan, a little lime (sekkai) is added to bring out the impurities. The juice is brought to a boil and the mixture skimmed. The scum (gomi) is ladled off and put in a piece of fine cloth. This is tied up and allowed to drip in the pot and then added to the other syrup. The juice is boiled for about 2 1/2 hours. It is frequently stirred with a pan attached to a long sugar pole (satonibu). The syrup is tested by allowing drops to fall from a bamboo stick to see if it has been boiled down enough.

When the boiling is completed, the syrup is ladled out into a deep round pan, about 3 feet in diameter. It is placed on a grass mat whose center piece, made of rice straw, resembles a life saver. The bottom of the pan fits into the hole. This mat with the pot is dragged outside the building into the open.

The sugar is now vigorously stirred with long poles. The hardening syrup on the sides of the pan is scraped with the hera, the same tool used in the transplanting of the sweet potato tops. The mixture is stirred about 15 minutes with frequent testing. The harder layer is scraped off the sides, being mixed with the more liquid syrup in the bottom of the pan. These hardened scrapings speed up the hardening

40% of the proceeds. The trees thus sold are all cut down. After clearcutting, the area is left to natural reseeding. About twenty years hence, the clearing will again be sufficiently forested to permit repetition of the same procedure. This follows an established Japanese pre-war practice. This was known as the five year period share (gonenkanbun). The forest is divided into subdivisions, each 110 chō in area. (A chō is 2.45 acres). These 110 chō plots are in turn subdivided into five parcels of twenty-two chō each. Each year one of these five subdivisions may be cleared. 313 [804]

Throughout the forest, divided up into these plots, there may be a five year cycle of cutting, but not all the plots are available every year. If this were so, the forest could be cut over in five years. The system is planned so that there will always be parcels being cleared, those in various stages of regrowth, and mature stands. During and after the war, this practice broke down in favor of uncontrolled cutting.

If a family has little cash, a villager may pay his taxes in part by cutting wood. The village office pays Y4 for a bundle of firewood (late 1951), Y2 going to the villager as a cash payment, and Y2 being applied to his taxes for the year. [651]

The farmer makes frequent excursions to the mountains to obtain firewood or poles to make improvements in the compound, such as repairing a tool or food shed. Men do this work, especially when the distances are far, but the participation of women is by no means exceptional. Along the roads of northern Okinawa, one can frequently see old women walking down from the mountains carrying bundles of firewood on heavy poles. Much of the wood is hand carried from the mountains; if the farmer has a horse and cart or a truck, the wood is carried to a convenient road for loading and transport. [462] [482] [887] [494]

Charcoal is manufactured in the forest area. In Okinawa charcoal has many uses, mainly for heating and cooking, and for charcoal sticks (senko). Lumps of charcoal are placed in braziers and the sticks are used as touchwood in place of matches and in ceremonial and religious observances. Charcoal containers (tangu) are often constructed on the spot. These are round or box-shaped and made out of the dwarf bamboo. 314 [372] [996] [415]

Charcoal kilns are privately owned. They are of the simplest sort. The kiln may be covered with a rude housing, built up by poles and a thatch roof. A mound of large boulders and dirt is built with an opening on the dirt floor running the length of the firing area. Poles which have been stripped and cut in various lengths, from five to nine feet, are shoved in the opening and moved forward as they burn. The smoke comes out the back.

Forest maintenance and improvement is, in part, a result of community endeavor. With some exceptions, each person in the village from 16 to 60 participates one day a year in forest improvement (sōrin).[8] The participants are boys past school age, unmarried girls, and all men up to the age of 60. These people work without personal remunera- 313 [476]

[8] The usual meaning of sōrin is afforestation or reforestation. In Matsuda it is used in the sense of care and improvement of the forest.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Every three years, the villagers thin out the dwarf bamboo and other grasses in the pine stands along the coast. Late in December or in early January, there is a community planting of pine seeds. 313 476

The tools used in forest work are: the hand sickle (kama), a bill or hook knife, the tool so familiar in agriculture; an ordinary long knife resembling a butcher knife or a machete (here called a yamakatana, or "mountain knife"), and a hooked knife on the end of a long handle (sōringama). 412

Forest care goes well back into Okinawan history and antedates more recent Japanese methods. This care probably was an obligation in the old system of land tenure under which villagers had access to forest lands with the corresponding obligation to replant. 313

4

An Example of Reclamation

There are cut-over tracts in Matsuda village. The Japanese government, according to local residents, tried to convert these cleared areas into agricultural land. This land reclamation (kaitaku) began about 1935. The land was cleared of its remaining trees and shrubs mainly by firing. (Fire has been used in Okinawa, possibly from early times, in the clearing of land. In 1947 the use of fire in clearing and the hazards in creating forest fires were pointed out by observers who blamed carelessness in firing as the cause of the forest fires in the dry season).[10] Firing was easier and some nutrients from the ash were available to the poor soils. 185 311 [372]

In Matsuda, the cleared land was hoed and the rocks were removed. It had to be hoed deeply to make cultivation possible. The land was enriched with composts containing horse, pig, and goat manures. The original plan was to promote a more extensive type of agriculture on the reclaimed land because it was poorly adapted to the cultivating methods on the better and more accessible soils. A here-and-there (yadori type) settlement was planned. The houses were to be scattered on hillsides, or in the valleys, to provide sufficient land, admittedly poor, for the settlers to cultivate. The size of the contemplated holdings precluded hand labor of the intensity characteristic of the usual agriculture. The use of draft animals, plows, and harrows was part of the plan. [241] [361] [241]

The war and the disappearance of so many of the draft animals prevented its realization. Before the war, it was intended that each family should have a 3000 tsubo tract (2.45 acres). Today the residents on these lands cultivate only about 1000 tsubo, about the limit of manual cultivation considering the soils and the stone that remains. As a consequence, parts of the area are returning to weeds, grasses, and shrubs.

10 Okinawa forests, as cited, 7.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Survivals of the Priestess (Noro) System

The origin of the priestess system has been traced to primitive fire or hearth worship. A woman was a priestess to the God of Fire (hi no kami) represented in the hearth stone. A set of three rather long stones sometimes set in a triangle often represented the hearth. (These stones in the place of the guardian gods of the village may have the same meaning. In the poorer kitchens, stones set in this manner for the hearth are common to this day). In every house there was a primitive hearth (kannio). "Here, before this hearth, the ancestors of the household are worshipped, the Fire coming to summarize the ancestors who have sat before the hearth in past generations."[3] Each household of a village, each village, and each township had a hearth attendant. The priestess (noro) of the whole township "represents the original worship of the predominant hearth of that region." The duties of the rural priestesses included worshipping at the ancestral shrines, deciding the lucky days for planting, and officiating at marriage and burial ceremonies.

This priestess system was made an institutionalized state religion by King Shō Shin (1477-1526). Their political power was broken by Shō Jōkwa, a prime minister of King Shō Tei (1669-1709). The most logical explanation offered for their fall from political power is the influence of Confucianism with its standards of male dominance and the subordination of women. By the end of the 17th century, its economic and political power were declining, but its influence on individual worship, especially, in rural Okinawa, lasted down to the beginning of the recent war.[4]

The priestess system had a place in inheritance customs of the old land tenure system. "Under the ancient system," said Spencer, "certain valuable farm lands were the possession of the Noro, the remainder of the land being held by the community and reassigned at various periods."[5] Inheritance within the system insured the handing down of these properties in the female line. This succession could be accomplished in a number of ways. The female child of the brother of a priestess might succeed her. This is believed to be the method of succession in ancient times. In later times, the noro married and succession was traced in the male line. The wife of a son of the priestess,

3 This material is based on the article of R. S. Spencer, Noro or Priestesses of Loo-Choo, as cited. The quotation is on p. 97.

4 Ibid, 98, 108.

5 Ibid, 109. The material following is to be found on p. 110.

The group sat in a circle. The priestess occupied the highest spot, her female assistants somewhat lower places, and the men, for once, in the lowest position. The priestess, her women and the male entourage held public worship on the 15th day of the 5th, the 15th and 16th day of the 6th, and the 10th day of the 8th lunar months. On these days there were prayers for good crops, for freedom from disasters and typhoon damage. On the 10th day of the 8th month, there were special prayers that neither diseases nor epidemics enter Hatsuda. These three periods may be rest days on which the villagers may assemble at the place where the prayers are being offered. Because there is no priestess, these ceremonies are now conducted by former assistants. The meetings are attended by fewer and fewer people and the ceremonies may disappear altogether. 793 796 [782]

6

Gods of the Fire, Wells, and Sacred Groves

There are also other forms of worship which still survive. These are (1) the god of fire (hi no kami), (2) spirits of the sea, of wells, springs, and groves, and (3) types of fortune telling which blend into religious belief. 776 [787]

Gods of the Fire. In every Okinawan kitchen, there is a place above the stove or hearth dedicated to the kitchen or the fire god. There is no image or personification of the god. Usually the place is a very small shelf on which charcoal sticks are burned for the god of the hearth. This is done by women exclusively. The women may light the sticks daily, but it is more usual for the housewife to perform the observance on the 1st and 15th of the lunar month. This was true of all the villages, and I have never seen a kitchen which lacked a place for the fire god.[7] 776 778 372 782 [562]

Gods of the Well (ido no kami). In Hanashiro, prayers are offered in front of the two public wells on lunar New Year. The whole village does not participate. Two or three older men from each extended family perform the rite. The gods of the well are told that the villagers need water; they are thanked for what they have had, and asked to continue to furnish a plentiful supply. 776 778 796

7 The Shinto god shelf (kamidana) is extremely rare. In my observation, it was present only in the homes of Okinawans who had lived in Japan. One in Hatsuda, located in the first room, had two shelves, on both of which a small urn for burning incense sticks was placed between two flower vases. The place on the left represents the founder, the one on the right, his immediate descendant. The family prays to the Shinto god on the 1st and 15th of the lunar month. The husband and wife pray first, followed by the children. A rice offering is placed on the shelf. On it there was a small figurine of the fox god (inari-san) and a mirror, both Shinto symbols. 177 184

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Chapter 8

Religion

771 The religious beliefs of people in Taira and their ritual practices rec-
177 ognize the existence of two different sources of supernatural forces.
[776] The old Okinawan religion, which is still practiced by many persons
in the village, centers on beliefs in a host of nonhuman spirits that
[769] inhabit certain localities. A historically more recent Confuscian-
Bhuddist influence from China and Japan has added to these beliefs
the veneration of ancestors who, in their divine state after death, con-
[782] trol many activities of the living. Under the influence of these two
forces, the animistic and the ancestral, life must be conducted in such
[784] a way that both remain appeased at all times by proper worship and
performance of ritual as well as by avoidance of actions which might
offend these supernatural forces.

771 Even though many younger people laugh away the adherence to
[154] beliefs, especially in animistic deities, there is much evidence that the
life of almost all people is controlled by fears, anxieties, and desires
for appeasement stemming from these religious beliefs. Although his-
torically the animistic and ancestral religious beliefs were separate,
they are synchronized at present so that it is not always possible to
make a clear distinction between each system (Lebra: 1958).

776 The supernatural beings of nature live all around the village. There
are mountain deities, deities of the sea, of the well, of trees, and other
places. Any localities connected with productive activities, such as the
store, the sugar mill, the sugar press, and the village truck, have their
[372] own deities. There is also the Deity of Fire, associated with the hearth
and the house. He is represented in three hearth stones found in most
simple kitchens. Three upright small stones, resembling the hearth
stones, are the divine symbols in the village shrine where all these
supernatural beings are worshipped.

[782] The supernatural beings living in and around the village appear

Although Okinawans occasionally refer to Heaven or the Gods of Heaven (J. 'Ten no kami-sama'; Okinawan U-kami-ganashii, etc.), the concept does not seem to be well defined. The clearest statement heard on the subject was the one just mentioned in connection with the Fire God. Since the dead, or some of them, rise to Heaven, the term "Gods of Heaven" may include them, but there are evidently other greater beings too. These may be identical with the figures of the native origin myth. But aside from a few enthusiasts, mainly local historians and shamans (yuta), few Okinawans seem informed about or concerned with native cosmology, or any other. This may in part be the result of a generation or so of Japanese education with educators attempting to take the Japanese mythology seriously and making Okinawan mythology jibe with it. But it is more likely that this lack of concern with Heaven is due rather to an old tendency common in East Asia to settle matters at the local level without bothering the higher authorities, in dealing with both political problems and spiritual problems. 772 [705] [706] [177] [181]

In the Okinawan universe there are also a few earthly beings with supernatural power. The akamataa is a real species of non-poisonous snake. But it is believed to be able to change itself into a handsome young man, in which form it seduces unwitting young women. One young woman who was seduced is said to have given birth to a whole tubful of baby akamataa. 776

The kijimunaa is a wholly mythical being but seems to belong more in the natural world. According to some it lives in old trees, but according to others it is a sea-being who lives on fish and shellfish and who will become the helper of a fisherman who makes friends with it. Regardless of habitat, the kijimunaa is believed to approach a sleeping person and sit on his chest, nearly suffocating him and preventing him from crying out. Apparently the being is not dangerous but merely annoying.

Another being that is feared is the tamagai or 'hidama', "fireball". This was described in Yamada as a light that appears at certain times as an omen. However, in a village in Southern Okinawa it is regarded as the cause of fire. Since it is a female being the young men of this village drive it away by forming a procession and marching through the village shouting "Hoo hai!" ("Your vulva's showing.") [787] [184] [372]

The Itoman people speak of the ja or 'ryu', the "dragon". This being lives in the sea or the clouds; its tail is the whirlwind; its feces, if one is fortunate enough to find them; are like coal tar and are a very valuable medicine. Other Okinawans seem to regard this as something only the Itoman people know about. [757] [184]

One more concept is perhaps worth mentioning; this is shiji. Certain places, the sacred hilltop of the village, etc., are said to be shijidakasang, "high in shiji", and therefore to be approached with respect. It is also said of persons, especially those believed to be destined to become religious practitioners. The term shiji evidently signifies a sort of supernatural power that adheres to places and people, perhaps like the Oceanian concept "mana". Haring has suggested that the Japanese concept 778 [171]

178 In Kanegusuku, for example, mat weaving is still of some importance
286 as a home industry. Where formerly nearly all of the houses were engaged in
433 production of mats, today less than half are so engaged, and the acreage planted in sedge is but ten percent of the prewar level. The war caused the loss of many machines; increasing emphasis on food production has brought a conversion of sedge fields into paddies; access to the better markets in Japan is now more difficult than before the war; it is felt to be too time-consuming and the young women today do not like this work.

Formerly there were a number of men in Kanegusuku who were able to construct the looms used in mat weaving. Today, however, no one constructs his own looms; instead, they are purchased from a manufacturer in Itoman.
[463] This particular example is symptomatic of the general decline of do-it-yourself and the increasing reliance placed on specialists.

178 There are some encouraging signs of revival or new life in the manufacture of Okinawan art objects. Okinawan lacquer ware, which is acknow-
[322] ledged by some to be the world's finest, is being sold in large quantity to members of the occupation. The owner of a large pottery works in Naha told
[323] the author that pottery from tombs is being collected to serve as models in restoring an older style and superior type of pottery. An Okinawan textile
[286] technique known as biingata (Okinawan; in Japanese, 'Benigata') was virtually lost during the war, but this art is still being carried on by one Shuri family, and recent publicity and aroused interest seems likely to insure survival.

178 Power and Machinery Agricultural machinery has come into use quite
407 recently on Okinawa. Pitts states that the labor-saving rice thresher first came into widespread use in the thirties. Older methods of flailing or rubbing the rice over a mat, canvas, or stone surface were also observed as being in common use. In numerous instances it was brought out that wartime losses had necessitated a return to an earlier and cruder means of threshing.

The old-fashioned, hand-operated rice polisher has gone out of use in Kanegusuku, and all rice is now polished in the village rice mill which operates on a gasoline engine.

In many communities the gasoline-operated sugar mill has replaced the
[257] horse-powered mill. More important, however, is the fact that the small community mill remains popular, and the farmer is resistant toward using the large sugar factories (see chapter on Rural Economy).

178
377 Electricity, common only to the towns and cities before the war, is now found in many villages, and those who are without it are looking forward
[373] to its installation. The kerosene lamps now in use in most rural homes cast a dim light and constitute a serious fire hazard in homes of thatch and wood.

178 The bulldozer has come into use as a means of opening new land and constructing rice fields. Farmers in Kanegusuku and Nanahan made use of this
406 method during the period of the authors' study of these two villages. Formerly this sort of work required the labor of a number of men over a considerable

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464 the bulldozer had done the basic shaping of the field, a new member of the
[465] 'han' was hired to finish the pounding of the paddy walls. He was paid ¥900 for six days' work, and was required to provide his own lunch. His employer had spent the first year after the war in Hokkaido, working for no money but receiving one 'shō' (3.18 pints) of rice a day. Later he rented a horse and cart from its owner at ¥60 a day and pocketed anything above that amount that he earned. During planting and harvest season he worked in the rice fields.

Horses are rented out by their owners to other people, but when a cow
445 is rented the owner's services are always included. No farmer trusts anyone
426 else with his cow. A man-and-cow hire out for ¥250-300 a day, depending on
435 the distance they must travel. A horse is most often rented to pull the sweep
• 379 of a rotary sugar-press, and is paid according to the amount of juice of black
249 sugar produced. Various prices are quoted. ¥100 is paid for each 'chō' (100 kin, or 132 pounds) of black sugar produced. One farmer charges for the use of his horse a flat rate of ¥1 for each gallon of juice squeezed. Another charges ¥60 for 50 gallons of juice if the renter lives in Nanahan or close by, and ¥70 if he lives farther away. Horses were scarce the first year after the war, and fifteen men together pulled the sweeps of the rotary presses.

464 <u>Buying of Labor and Services</u> Many times farmers have need of a great amount
575 of labor in a short period of time. Then they are most likely to call upon the services of the young people's group, the 'seinendan'. One Nanahan farmer in 1952 had this group make a paddy field for him from a dry field. In 1953 another farmer had the group make a 300 'tsubo' dry field for him out of 'arechi', or war-destroyed land. The 'seinendan' also hires its members out to work for people who need help in the busy season. The following daily wage rates were quotes: women and new
[465] members, ¥40; men of 18 and 19 years, ¥50; and men of 20 years and above, ¥60.

Abolition of the stringent Japanese regulations compelling farmers
445 to raise sugar has resulted in the reconversion of many sugar fields to rice
[648] paddies. At first this was done exclusively by hand labor, but now bull-
[439] dozers are more in favor. One farmer had 420 'tsubo' of dry land converted into paddy at a total cost for bulldozer leveling of ¥6,300. The rate for machine and operator was ¥600 an hour. The farmer owns 450 tsubo more of paddy, which provides rice for one meal a day. With this newly-converted
[262] field he plans to have his family eat rice twice daily. Labor charges for finishing the new paddy will run about ¥4,000, according to estimate.

One of his relatives is a repatriate from the hemp-growing colony at Davao, in the Philippines. This man bought land from a villager who was dissatisfied with country life, and hired a bulldozer to convert it to paddy.
[435] For conversion of 816 tsubo he paid bulldozer charges of ¥12,000 and ¥8,000 additional for labor. He had bought the dry land ('hatake') originally for ¥65 per tsubo.

About the only other service regularly engaged is the hulling and polishing of rice. Nanahan people take their threshed rice to a neighboring village where there is a 'seimaisho' (rice-cleaning mill), and pay only cash for the service. They return home with the polished rice and the bran, or

164 blame tooth decay on the brown sugar. It may be diet or water. Okinawans
[053] Use of tooth brushes varies considerably with individuals and
[515] families.

515 The standard of cleanliness in Okinawan homes is not high,
511 but this cannot be ascribed to indifference. One should constantly bear in mind that it is easy to keep clean with plenty of soap, showers, hot running water, washing machines, and flush toilets.

9

Native Medicine

208 The native medicine has already been referred to in the discussion of fish and wild plants used as medicines. Their use has declined with growing reliance on manufactured drugs and pharmaceuticals.

050 The golden needle (kinbari) is still used by rural doctors (yabu)
[059] in the treatment of inflamations of the joints and rheumatism. There was one such doctor in Minatogawa, but ordinarily he is called only when real medical attention is not available.

[413] The needle is scarcely thicker than a horse hair. It is encased in a shaft about 2 3/8 inches long. The grip or base of the needle is 3/4 of an inch long and the needle itself 1 7/8 inches. The needle is tapped and gradually worked into the affected part, and a length from 3/4 to one inch is broken off and allowed to remain in the body and circulate to effect its curative powers.

Blood letting is still practiced, often by the individual himself. Thin cuts are made with a razor, generally on the forehead above the eyebrows and slanting toward the bridge of the nose. This is done to relieve headaches and general pains and may be resorted to after aspirin has failed to relieve a headache. On a close look, one can often observe the slight, thin, long scars, which look like tiny wrinkles, resulting from these slashes. During the operation, a sake cup is held up to the place being cut. The cup may even have a little sake in it. When done by a native doctor, the blood may be sucked through a small tube and allowed to drip into a sake cup.

Cauterization using mogusa (moxa) also is still common. One can frequently see scar tissue, the results of burning mogusa on the flesh, usually in the area around the wrist. Mogusa is applied with glowing charcoal sticks, burning thread, or tobacco. It is used for no specific complaint, but as a counter-irritant cureall for a wide variety of ailments.

Acupuncture apparently is little used now. Formerly an area was
[386] pricked with a needle, or a series of needles brought to a point, and an indigo dye applied. One can observe these round spots, circles of dots, occasionally on the shoulders and the backs of older people. These should not be confused with tattooing.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

The native medicine, including the use of plants and fish as medicines, the native doctor, the use of cauterization, the golden needle, slashing, and acupuncture, seem to be disappearing in favor of modern patent medicines and drugs, and scientific medicine, nursing, and midwifery. Of all the traditional practices (ultimately derived from China), slashing and burning with moguza seem to have the greatest vitality. 75 178 [177]

10

Tattooing

Tattooing (ireizumi)in Japanese, dake in Okinawan) is a subject of great historical interest in the Ryukyu chain. In Okinawa, it exists now only among elderly women (in the late sixties and seventies), as it was forbidden by law when the Japanese annexed the islands. Tattooing usually was done on the back of the hands, including the fingers, parts of the wrist, and the knuckles. The design was put on by spreading India ink (often with sake or awamori added) on the surface, pricking out the design and wiping off the surplus, repeating the operation for the lighter parts. To my knowledge, there was no facial tattooing. 304 [636] [386]

Until quite recently tattooing was practiced on men as well. Basil Hall in 1816 wrote of a landing in the south of Okinawa island. "Most of these people had fish spears tatooed on their arms in the form of a trident, with rude barbs." On the right arm it was called (in Hall's transcription) "oodeemaw," and on the left, "tooga." Apparently this was confined to fishermen. Furness in his account of the Luchus (1899) observed such markings among young and mature men in Itoman. The explanation given him was that they were a protection against evil spirits. Furness also discussed the theory that tattooing was historically connected with weaving. Simon, in an interesting speculative discussion, based on the designs of cloth in Miyako and their correspondence with house or family markings thought that the tattooing was a means of identifying women's membership in a family.7 304 114 [531] [789] [602]

This interesting idea unfortunately did not occur to me while in the villages, but the notion that tattooing may have been related 119 304 602

7 Hall's Voyage, as cited, Vocabulary (no pagination). Hall includes sketches of the marks. Furness, Life in the Luchu islands, as cited, 9. See also Simon's extremely interesting discussion, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, as cited, 134-150. Furness and Simon are especially valuable because they personally observed instances of tattooing at a time when it was much more commonly seen. Both authors reproduce patterns which show differences among the islands and among individuals.

436 175 no native money and used the Japanese cash, and that the Japanese did not permit a native coinage.[2]

436 Up to the war, only bills of low denominations circulated in the villages. In Hinatogawa, an old lady, now about 73, said that before the war she had never seen a Y100 note, which at that time was worth slightly over US$25. But since the 19th century, new conditions have pried the farmer loose from barter and self-sufficiency. 434 511 There is little to warrant a belief that rural villages are self-sufficient. The most elementary obligations, such as sending one's children to school, require cash. An average rural family of five may require from Y40-60,000 a year.

Cash outlays include: (1) Entertainment, including the purchase [574] of sake. Entertainment is an integral part of the culture and cannot be dismissed as a luxury. (2) Clothing. (3) Fertilizer. (4) Tobacco. [388] (5) Soap. No soap is made in the home. American soap flakes are highly prised, but generally are not purchased because of the cost. (6) Hair cutting. (7) Food and food supplements, such as noodles [262] and vermicelli types of paste, cooking oils, salt, soy sauce, meat, fish, seaweed (kombu), rice, if not grown and purchases from the import store. (8) Fuel, charcoal, charcoal sticks. (9) Transportation for business or pleasure. (10) Newspapers. Many subscriptions are can- [204] celled when the price goes up. (11) Tools and tool repairs, but maintenance is small after the original investment. (12) School books and [872] contributions to schools for purchasing special items. (13) Medicines and mid-wives' fees. (14) Occasional purchases of lumber, stone, or [651] tile. (15) Taxes.

In the farming areas, sugar and pigs are the only significant 434 sources of cash income. Sweet potatoes, rice, eggs, and soy beans may be sold, but the amounts are either too small or the selling price too low to provide substantial amounts of cash. Occasionally younger sons may have jobs which bring in money, and a farmer or his sons may have a horse cart for hire.

In Hinatogawa, cash outlays, in addition to the items already mentioned, are required for nets, gasoline, and oil. Cash comes from sales of fish, pigs, and stone. The lack of rice, an insufficient [511] sweet potato crop for year round needs, imports of firewood from the north and the occasional need to purchase grasses for thatch make this community more dependent on cash than the agricultural community.

The economic problem of the fisherman is also different from that of the farmer. Both the farmer and the fisherman must pay cash for medicines, fertilizer, alcoholic drinks, clothing, various special but traditional articles of the diet, taxes, tools, and supplies. The farmer, however, can produce much of his food. He can exist on sweet potatoes, bean curd, and bean paste soup, and if need be may spend little money on food. The fisherman cannot exist on fish alone. Fishermen without fields must depend on cash earnings to buy the

2 Hawks, Perry's expediti , to Japan, Vol. I, 160, 220-21. Chamberlain, The Luchu islands and their inhabitants, Geo. journal 5 (1895), 313.

period of time. This was usually accomplished by reciprocal labor exchange or by hiring the local youth organization to do the job. 178 406

In sum, the rural people are making eager use of labor-saving machines when they are available. The limiting factors have been shortage caused by the war, poverty, small fields, and heavily fragmented holdings. The use of machines has contributed to a decline of reciprocal labor exchanges and has necessitated the payment of cash for the services of the specialist or machine owner. 178 406 [476] [437]

Dress A most notable feature of the postwar period has been the wholesale adoption of Western styles of dress and the great reliance placed on Japanese and American cloth and clothing. Nearly all males now dress in Western styles of dress. Very infrequently an old man will be observed in a kimono, but most males regard it as ill suited for work and modern life. Sometimes a man will wear a kimono when lounging at home, especially late in the evening after supper and bath. It is not at all unusual in the cities and towns to see a man walking toward the public bath carrying his kimono; on return he is dressed in the kimono and carries his soiled work clothing which is of Western style. Even for weddings the Western suit is used as frequently as the kimono for the groom's attire. 177 291

Young women and school girls wear Western dress exclusively. The kimono still remains the traditional mode of dress for the bride, and at New Year's time young women and girls may wear kimono. Middle-aged women use the kimono and Western-style dresses about equally. The older women dress exclusively in the kimono. The style of the kimono for the older and middle-aged woman is usually Okinawan, not Japanese. Among the young women and girls who use the kimono only as a party costume the Japanese style is followed, never the Okinawan. [292]

Native-style rain and sun hats of palm leaf and wheat straw are still widely used in the rural areas; nothing of Western or Japanese manufacture has been able to match these for light weight and effectiveness. 178 292

A major influence on Okinawan styles of dress has been the clothing of the US military forces. This has been obtained through clothes rations, surpluses, and petty black market operations. US Army fatigues, chino pants and shirts, wool pants, field jackets, fatigue caps and ponchos, are very popular particularly in the rural areas, so much so that the bulk of rural Okinawa is dressed in colors of olive drab, suntan, or field green. All attest to the durability of American cloth. A number of Okinawans asserted that used American clothing was better than new Japanese. A number of small merchants capitalizing on this belief have begun importing used American clothing, which comes in one-hundred pound bales; according to all accounts this has been well received. 291 177 [439]

Okinawans use very little in the way of personal ornamentation. The large old-fashioned hairpin, formerly worn by both sexes, is used today by only a few old women. Tattooed hands, once common to all Okinawan women, are seen today only on women over sixty. The purely ornamental insertion of gold teeth is also said to be declining; among the young educated (high school) people of the cities there is said to be some reaction against this use of gold teeth, but personal observation indicates continued popularity of the custom in the country. 301 178 [304]

244
storing and are kept under the house or on a special shelf on the rafters. [251]
Onions, giant radishes, beans, and cabbages are also raised on farm lands. Night soil is rarely used for such vegetables nowadays but is still [514] used on potatoes. Several of these vegetables as well as others are raised [462] by women in small "home-garden" plots.

The hardest working period during the year is in July and August. 244
Within a few weeks after the rice harvest, the soil must be made ready 243
for the second rice crop or the soil must be prepared for dry paddy potatoes. This is also the time for planting the chief sugar crop. All [249] this takes place during the hottest time of the year, when efficiency is greatly reduced by heat and humidity.

Sugar harvest and processing fall in the period between January and 249
March. One field after another is harvested by the owners after arrangements have been made for a date when the cane can be processed. Such arrangements are made with the director of the Taira cooperative, [474] who supervises operations of the sugar mill which is owned by the co-operative. The whole family helps on the day of processing. Women carry bundles of branches and light firewood to heat the kettles. The [402] operation requires the help of someone to feed cane into the small, diesel engine driven press, some to carry the pulp away, and others to watch the kettles in which extracted juice is boiled down to molasses. Finally, a few persons stir the brown residue in wide, open pots until it becomes stalted. Then it is put into tubs that hold about 132 pounds.

The agricultural market for cash crops was totally disrupted at the 433
end of World War II. There was no immediate outlet for sugar prod- 249
ucts; crops had been destroyed or neglected, and the sugar mill was demolished in the fighting. But by this time most people were too satisfied with the great returns from forest work to invest much time and energy in a crop which takes a year and a half to show any material results. Nevertheless, sugar was the first crop to find a market again.

Pineapple, introduced recently in Taira, has a promising future. 245
Tea is still grown in small quantities, but few families grow more than they need for their own use, although it is a good potential cash crop for this area.

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

Raising pigs is an important source of cash income for all house- 231
holds in the village. Even the poorest families own at least one, but [434] few families have more than two; in the central village the average is about 1.2 per household. Pigs are given special care and attention.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

249 forced a return to crushing the cane by the use of rollers driven by a horse at the end of a sweep. Before the war, Matsuda had sugar mills driven by machinery. Mills may either be village
423 owned, as in Hanashiro, or owned by small co-operatives, like that
[427] in Matsuda whose members rent it to others when not using it themselves.

443 Village stores generally occupy the front part of a family's living quarters. They are operated mainly by women. A woman past
[407] middle age sitting on the floor of her shop, talking with visitors or reading the paper, is a familiar sight in an Okinawan village. A village may have several tiny stores. They do not compete with one another in the commercial sense of the word. Prices are the same. Their inventories are the standard ones. The chief dif-
[373] ferences are in size and variety. Some sell the strong alcoholic drink (awamori) called sake in Okinawa.

Each storekeeper has a clientele of friends and relatives, but one is not under social obligation to repeatedly trade at the same place. Relatives sometimes own adjoining shops. In Japan,
[171] it is said that once a person starts trading at a shop he continues to do so. To switch would deprive the shopkeeper of business that could be counted on, and imply dissatisfaction with the service rendered. The first purchase creates mutual obligations between the storekeeper and his customer which are not broken casually.[1] This is not the case with these village stores. One patronizes the shop that is convenient, that is open when one wants to buy, that has the desired article. There is an informal atmosphere and lack
[434] of bustle in these tiny shops because so many are operated for supplementary income by wives or female relatives of the breadwinner.
[404] A wife may sit in her shop, as I have often seen her in Minatogawa, taking care of her baby, sewing on her treadle sewing machine, and interrupting her work when necessary for a customer. The cash involved is small, often only a few yen, and money is carefully accounted for. These shops satisfy a surprising amount of the village demand for food, food supplements, notions, clothing, and household goods. Larger, more expensive, or more specialized items such as books, suits, furniture are in the towns like Itoman or Naha in the south, or Nago and Ishikawa in the north.

An inventory of one of these village stores indicates the types of articles in frequent and constant demand. In one typical store in Minatogawa the following purchases could be made:

Foods

[262] Starch
[271] Condensed milk for children

1 I was told this by Japanese and by Nisei who were in Japan during the occupation. I do not know how widespread or how characteristic this practice is of all retail trade there.

178 In Kanegusuku, for example, mat weaving is still of some importance
286 as a home industry. Where formerly nearly all of the houses were engaged in
433 production of mats, today less than half are so engaged, and the acreage planted in sedge is but ten percent of the prewar level. The war caused the loss of many machines; increasing emphasis on food production has brought a conversion of sedge fields into paddies; access to the better markets in Japan is now more difficult than before the war; it is felt to be too time-consuming and the young women today do not like this work.

Formerly there were a number of men in Kanegusuku who were able to construct the looms used in mat weaving. Today, however, no one constructs his own looms; instead, they are purchased from a manufacturer in Itoman.
[463] This particular example is symptomatic of the general decline of do-it-yourself and the increasing reliance placed on specialists.

178 There are some encouraging signs of revival or new life in the manufacture of Okinawan art objects. Okinawan lacquer ware, which is acknow-
[322] ledged by some to be the world's finest, is being sold in large quantity to members of the occupation. The owner of a large pottery works in Naha told
[323] the author that pottery from tombs is being collected to serve as models in restoring an older style and superior type of pottery. An Okinawan textile
[286] technique known as biingata (Okinawan; in Japanese, 'Benigata') was virtually lost during the war, but this art is still being carried on by one Shuri family, and recent publicity and aroused interest seems likely to insure survival.

178 Power and Machinery Agricultural machinery has come into use quite
407 recently on Okinawa. Pitts states that the labor-saving rice thresher first came into widespread use in the thirties. Older methods of flailing or rubbing the rice over a mat, canvas, or stone surface were also observed as being in common use. In numerous instances it was brought out that wartime losses had necessitated a return to an earlier and cruder means of threshing.

The old-fashioned, hand-operated rice polisher has gone out of use in Kanegusuku, and all rice is now polished in the village rice mill which operates on a gasoline engine.

In many communities the gasoline-operated sugar mill has replaced the
[257] horse-powered mill. More important, however, is the fact that the small community mill remains popular, and the farmer is resistant toward using the large sugar factories (see chapter on Rural Economy).

178
379 Electricity, common only to the towns and cities before the war, is now found in many villages, and those who are without it are looking forward
[373] to its installation. The kerosene lamps now in use in most rural homes cast a dim light and constitute a serious fire hazard in homes of thatch and wood.

178 The bulldozer has come into use as a means of opening new land and
406 constructing rice fields. Farmers in Kanegusuku and Nanahan made use of this method during the period of the authors' study of these two villages. Formerly this sort of work required the labor of a number of men over a considerable

period of time. This was usually accomplished by reciprocal labor exchange or by hiring the local youth organization to do the job. 178 406

In sum, the rural people are making eager use of labor-saving machines when they are available. The limiting factors have been shortage caused by the war, poverty, small fields, and heavily fragmented holdings. The use of machines has contributed to a decline of reciprocal labor exchanges and has necessitated the payment of cash for the services of the specialist or machine owner. 178 40 [476] [437]

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423 241 business. Fragmentation means inconvenience, loss of time and effort in the simultaneous cultivation of different fields. The situation is the same for the well-to-do and the poor alike. Large holdings do not mean single pieces of land within a large area, but many small parcels of land, of different classification and grade, scattered like those of a less prosperous farmer. There are offsetting advantages. The greatest of these is that crop destruction through typhoons, salt spray, or flooding may be less catastrophic to the individual owner with small scattered holdings than if a family has a single large plot of land.

423 425 Another effect of fragmentation is that it makes a particular plot of land difficult to sell. If one has a small plot of land, an island in a sea of other ownership, the prospective buyer is in the same position as the seller, unless the buyer owns contiguous land and has the money to make the purchase.

423 The natural question at this point is: what are the possibilities of consolidation of ownership in the interests of more efficient and convenient agriculture? The general answer, I believe, is that fragmentation is almost inevitable, consolidation only possible.

In both of the agricultural villages studied, some voluntary consolidation (kokanbungo) has taken place, but it is not of major proportions. It occurs chiefly for two reasons: (1) clustering one's land near the house site, or having two or more parcels of contiguous land is universally desired. Going to and fro is considered troublesome and onerous. (2) When branch families are established, farmers wish to exchange a distant plot for one in the village for a house site. This is often difficult to do, for such an exchange must be mutually advantageous to bring about a transfer.

423 731 Typhoons are a major obstacle to voluntary consolidation into large holdings. It is perhaps possible to exaggerate this, but personal experience and conversation with villagers who have lost the entire crop of one parcel but have salvaged part of the crop of another convince me of its force. A typhoon damages a whole area but the scattered holdings provide the chance that something might be saved. The total damage is the same in any event regardless of ownership. It is the distribution of loss that varies. If in the future, land consolidation were attempted on a broad scale, either by voluntary individual effort, or cooperatively, crop insurance or some form of sharing losses would seem to be necessary.

423 311 407 The present system of land ownership and of land use and the fragmentation of land would seem to preclude any extensive mechanisation of agriculture. Even with consolidated holdings, the nature of the landscape might make the effort uneconomical, though this is a question for technicians in these fields.

common and indispensable tool. It has many uses, including cutting rice stalks at harvest, brush, and sweet potato tops. 412

3. A small sharp pointed hoe, with a short handle, used in sweet potato planting.

4. A two pronged hoe, the futamata, used mostly with sweet potatoes. The two pronged hoe is used in softer soils. It is much more common in Matsuda than in the southern villages.

5. The three pronged hoe, the mutsumata, also used in sweet potato cultivation and in digging. These prongs, with skilful use, do not cut the potato. It is also much more common in Matsuda than in Hanashiro or Nagamo.

6. The common all purpose hoe (kuwa). It has a thick, solid, wide blade. The handle (about 3 1/2 feet long) is stout. The hoe is much sturdier than the ordinary American garden hoe.

7. Another hoe, longer and with a sharper angle between the handle and the blade. It has a variety of uses.

8. A long handled hoe with a heart shaped blade. It is used for making furrows.

9. An ordinary rake.

10. A cultivator and weeding tool for rice paddies. (The pole in back near the handle of the pitchfork is a prop to hold the tool upright for the picture). Only the more prosperous farmers possess this tool. Rice weeding is done almost entirely by hand. [434]

11. An ordinary pitchfork.

12. The plow (suki) 407

13. The harrow (maguwa), and

14. The waku, a hexagonal wooden frame used in laying out a rice field for transplanting. The last three tools or devices, which are not shown in the picture, will be described under rice cultivation. 413

3

The Annual Work Cycle

The following charts show the annual work cycle by lunar month of two farmers, one in Hanashiro, one in Matsuda. The Western calendar equivalents for 1951-52 are shown below the lunar month. Because the lunar year is shorter, there is a gap, as the period actually covered is from February 6, 1951 to January 26, 1952. These materials are based on observation and conversation with the farmers concerned. 221 241 [805] [114]

HAMASHIRO	MATSUDA
FIFTH MONTH (June 5-July 3)	
This and succeeding month the busiest of the year. Harvesting and threshing of soy beans. Plant sweet potato slips.	Busiest month continuing through the sixth month. Soy bean harvest. Plots formerly occupied by soy beans put in sweet potato slips which were sown in the 4th month. Heaviest sweet potato planting of the year.
SIXTH MONTH (July 4-Aug 2)	
This and the previous month the busiest time of the year. Continue with soy bean harvest if required. Harvest of red beans, kidney beans (ingenmame). Plant sweet potato slips. Beginning of summer planting of sugar cane which continues until the 8th month. The rice harvest. Rice threshing. Begin digging up the wet and drained fields. Beginning of transplanting preparations.	This and the previous month the busiest time of the year. Sweet potato planting. Rice harvest begins about 10th of the month. Rice threshing with the treadle thresher (dakkoki). Rice land with cropped plants turned under. From 10-20th preoccupation with rice. Replanting of rice seed beds after testing. From 20th to 30th rice planting. Other rice lands fertilized, prepared for transplants. Beginning of transplanting.
SEVENTH MONTH (Aug 3-31)	
Planting of rice in the seed bed. Beginning of transplanting of rice shoots from seed bed (about 20 days for growth). Continues through 8th month.	Transplanting rice continues until the 10th. Plant sugar cane. Plant sugar cane slips if there is rain. Begin weeding rice fields about the 10th.
EIGHTH MONTH (Sep 1-30)	
Plant onions, tomatoes, carrots, lettuce. Plant wheat (komugi), barley (ōmugi), and naked barley (hadaka mugi). Plant sweet potato slips. Continue and complete the rice transplanting. Begin weeding the rice plants.	Rice field weeding continues. Done three times in three weeks until about the 15th. Plant sweet potato slips if sufficient rain.
NINTH MONTH (Oct 1-29)	
Sow horse beans (sora-mame) and barley	If rain, sow sweet potato slips, sow wheat, radishes, tomatoes, leafy vegetables (ha no yasai) and Chinese cabbage (hakusai)

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[407]

243 by plowing.

There is water on the land when it is dug and harrowed, but it is not flooded. Not all rice land is harrowed. If it is not harrowed, the same result is accomplished by further hoeing. The harrow (maguwa in Japanese, maga in Okinawan) is partly a home made tool and looks like a large clumsily constructed rake. Essentially it is a piece of timber with a row of strong spikes. This timber ordinarily is made of pine, but other woods may be used. Twelve nails, spaced at about two inch intervals, are driven into the board. These nails or spikes, about 8 sun (almost 10 inches long), square at the head, and with a sharp point, are made by a blacksmith for about Yen 20 each. The harrow is drawn by cattle; two shafts, with a yoke over the animal's head complete the simple implement. The plow is used in the preparation of the field, but far more commonly, the work is done with a hoe.

[407] [414] [326] [23] [435]

In the fall and winter planting of rice, the seedlings remain in the seed bed for about 40 days. In the summer, the period is only 20 days and may be less. The winter shoots are from 7-8 inches long, the summer shoots from 4-7 inches. The length is important, for if the seedlings are too long, losses in transplanting will, according to Hanashiro farmers, increase to almost half. In rare instances, due to adverse conditions, seedlings in the seed bed reach 15-20 inches in length. The losses here are said to be considerable in transplanting.

[462] The hoeing or the plowing and harrowing of a field is almost exclusively done by men. It is tiring, uncomfortable, and heavy work. It is much more common to see women hoeing the dry crop land. But transplanting is done by men, women, and the older children. A handful of seedlings in the bed is pulled out and bound with straw, grass, or a rush. There is a knack in pulling these out. They must be jerked quickly, but dexterously to avoid root damage. The bundle is tossed either into a central place or into the paddy field to be planted, if it is adjoining. In the latter case, the bunches are tossed to various parts of the paddy.

243 804 The seedlings are generally set out in rows. For this purpose, a string with small markers like buttons (shirushi) is used. These are 7 sun (about 8.4 inches) apart. Both the rows and the hills are 7 sun apart. Differences between rows and hills may vary considerably. In these localities, the distances were generally the same. The string is stretched from one end of the row to the other. Each seedling is planted at the interval indicated by the marker on the string. This method of planting is not universal. When there is little time, the seedlings might be scatter planted.

243 804 413 Another method of obtaining the checker-board pattern is by means of a home made hexagonal frame, the waku (literally, a reel or a frame). Each of the six sides is divided into nine squares, 7 sun on the side. The overall length is over six feet. The frame is set along the outside border, or at any desired starting point. When in place, the

bottom will imprint nine squares on the wet soil, and as it is turned another nine will be imprinted so that when continued the field is laid out in tiny squares. Three or four seedlings are planted on the corners of the square made by the waku. 243 804 413

Men operate the frame. As they turn it, making the square pattern on the damp soil, women follow behind with the seedlings. The frame has been in use in Matsuda for about fifteen years. An Okinawan agricultural school student is said to have invented it. It was not used in the southern villages studied, an interesting sidelight on the slowness of innovation even on a small island like Okinawa, for many farmers in the south expressed surprise at its use and had not heard of it. The device is helpful to those with large plots. In Matsuda, there are not many of these frames, but borrowing is frequent. [462] [176] [184] [426]

In contrast with recent introductions, such as the universal treadle thresher, the frame seems to be confined to one geographic area. The reason for this may be that the use of the thresher was actively encouraged by the Japanese as a successful time and labor saving device, while the frame was not similarly publicized. 243 804 [407]

Another method, a more traditional one, is to use a piece of wood the same length as the waku with seven little knobs and the two ends to give the nine spaces. This is the jiyogi. A piece of string stretched from one end of the field to the other is used to get a straight line along a row. When the planting has taken place along one row, the jiyogi is used to measure off one space between rows, the guide line is moved over and the operation repeated. This achieves the same purpose as the frame or the string with the markers. Men are more likely to handle these operations, the women following along with the transplanting. But the division of labor is by no means hard and fast. [462]

Care of rice until its maturity. Rice set out in squares is easier to cultivate, weed, and harvest. During its growth, it will be necessary occasionally to loosen the soil or to break up clods which escaped the initial working. There may be some temporary drainage of water off the fields at these times. 243

Weeding rice is usually done by hand, though once in a while a farmer has a hand cultivator. Weeding the rice field is an unrelenting job which is done about once a week. More attention is given to this task when the plants are younger. Weeding is worked in with other daily chores, and all members of the family may participate.

The rice is now allowed to grow with the hope that strong winds or a typhoon will not blow over the slender shoots or submerge them. If the rice is submerged when the shoots are still fairly young, they will gradually right themselves. Farmers say that attempting to upright the plants by hand will not work. The quality of rice once submerged is poor and sometimes half the rice in the plot is lost. If the submersion occurs when the plants are near maturity and the stalks are 20 or 25

243 inches high, the bottom of the paddy becomes a tangled mass. Farmers walk disconsolately away from a field like this, often without even attempting to harvest the crop. The seeds once soaked will produce inferior rice. In this case, the farmer may turn the whole crop under or salvage some for pig food. The growing of rice is one long gamble with the wind and with typhoons, and there is seldom a year in which some rice is not destroyed.

[221] The harvest. The cutting of rice at harvest time, July and November in the western calendar, is done in a uniform manner. (Harvest times may vary somewhat from place to place). A bunch of the long stalks is grasped in one hand and cut off with the small sickle. A stubble of a few inches is left in the field. The sheaves are tied up with a piece of rice straw and thrown in piles. The commonest and [482] most convenient way of carrying the sheaves from the field is to tie several together. A large bundle of these is carried on either end of a pole which rests on the shoulder. The ends of the pole are cut like tenons and stuck in the bundles below the binding. The rice is carried to the courtyard to be threshed. If necessary, it will be allowed to dry for a few days.

243 Threshing, hulling, and milling. Rice is threshed either in the
● 407 courtyard of the home or in a flat place near the house. During rice harvest, the threshing machines can be heard all over the village, the noise suggesting the sounds of cars on a railroad track, heard from a distance. The device now universally used for threshing rice is the dakkoki.

This has a foot treadle, similar to an old fashioned sewing machine. Working the treadle up and down causes a drum, set at about waist length, to revolve. This drum has a series of wires set in rows and bent over, appearing like large staples. These staples are parallel with the line of rotation of the drum.

A conveniently handled bunch of stalks (wara) is held on the revolving drum, the rice seeds touch the staples, which knock the kernels off. They drop to the floor of the device. Often the top has a canvas cover to catch the flying rice kernels and the machines is set in the middle of a large piece of canvas so that the grain can easily be re-
[467] covered. Both men and women do this work, although women seem to do more of it. They are free to work while at home, alternating the task with other chores. They keep up with the man and the elder children who are carrying the rice bundles in from the fields. After threshing, rice straw is thrown aside. It has many subsequent uses.

[177] The dakkoki, an introduction from Japan, is new in Okinawa. In Hanashiro it has been used scarcely 15 years. Prior to this, more primitive methods were used which can still be observed in Matsuda today. These old methods are no longer important, but they are of interest because they were used, instead of the treadle thresher, up to pre-war times.

One of these, the shimba (nnihija in Okinawan) is essentially a concave forked piece of metal set on a frame, which in turn rests on four props set up in sawbuck fashion. The rice sheaves are drawn through the teeth, causing the kernels to drop below. The sawbuck may be any desired height. Usually the top of the fork is waist level. The only significance of the shimba today is that it provides diversion and occupation for the old women, many of whom are too weak or too unsteady to operate the treadle thresher. The same is true of an even simpler device for threshing. Two short pieces of bamboo, or any piece of round wood, a little longer and with a slightly greater diameter than a pair of chopsticks, are loosely tied together on one end with straw or a strong blade of grass. The tied ends of the two sticks are held in the right hand, leaving the free ends to strip off the rice kernels from the straw. This labor is done by very old women. Age is no deterrent to work as long as people are able to get around. But, as in the south, the treadle thresher is universally used. This device was widely distributed by the Japanese agricultural specialists of the government throughout the empire in the years immediately before the war. In Matsuda, it is also thought to be about 15 years since its introduction.

243 407 [887] [177]

As in Japan, from which the terms were borrowed, rice in various stages of cultivation and processing is known by different names. Rice in the hull is momei; unpolished rice is genmai, and polished rice is hakumai. Rice stalks are known as wara.

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Hulling and polishing rice by machinery are also new in Okinawan villages. In Hanashiro, those machines driven by an open belt are about ten years old. A hand mill, the shiriushi, to be described shortly, was in general use for polishing rice up to 1940.

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At present everyone, no matter how poor, pays for hulling and polishing of his rice. The mill owner in Hanashiro estimated that the machinery processed in ten minutes the amount of rice that formerly took a day to hull and polish by hand. Poor families do not try to effect savings by hand work. They pay the fee, sell the polished rice, and eat sweet potatoes.

[511] [262]

Unpolished rice is disliked and is never eaten. It is described as hard and bitter in taste. The machinery in a rice mill varies from place to place in quality and modernity. The mill (seimaisho) has two machines: a hulling machine (momitsuriki) and a polishing machine (seimaiki). One simple type of a hulling machine is an endless chain type of mechanism. The rice is put in little buckets on the chain which carry it to rubber layers. As the rice is forced through the layers, the hulls are cracked and pinched off, and are then blown out on a pile in back. After being hulled, the rice goes through the shaft of the milling machine. The shaft housing is grooved. As the shaft revolves, it polishes the rice which is going through it. The shaft also gets heated, and this makes the polishing easier. In the older machine in Hanashiro, the rice was put through the shaft ten times

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Matsuda. Polishing rice with a hand mill. This is a posed picture, but rice was polished this way up to shortly before the war. The grass mat prevents wastage. On the left is some Yambaru bamboo. The women are barefooted. The towel-like headdress is not uncommon.

[P. 185(A)]

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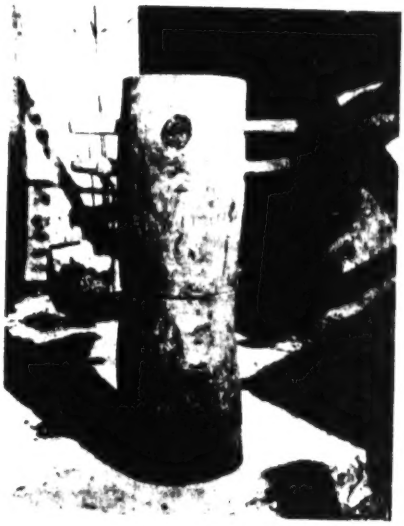
chichiūshi



wooden rotary mill

407 ←
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yakkokki

wooden rotary mill

[facing p.17]

It apparently did not find
178 widespread use in Tomoyose, for that village passed almost directly from the use
243 of bamboo tongs to the rotary thresher, or 'dakkokki' (see photo). Yamada first
412 saw this thresher about 1933, but Nanahan farmers began using it only in 1941.
[407]

Hulling of grain was in the past accomplished---as needed for home use
178 or sale---by using a wooden rotary mill (see photos) called fichiūshi in Yamada
252 and shiriūshi in Nanahan. In Yamada two women sat with their feet braced against it, and pulled straw ropes alternately. In Nanahan men did the hulling, and the rotary mill was lower but was three feet in diameter. In the late thirties motor-powered hulling mills were built in many areas, and farmers took their rice there for hulling and polishing.

Polishing of brown rice in Nanahan was accomplished until about 1935 by use of a mortar, or chichiūshi (see photo), and pestle, or ajin. Most families still have these in reserve, as they were used after the war and were replaced by rice mills only after 1949. People in remote areas still use them exclusively. Nowadays people have their rice hulled and polished in one operation at a rice mill, if it is close at hand.

178 Very little wheat was grown in the three farm villages studied, but
246 it was noticed that on the outer isles wheat was more dominant. On Henza isle, removal of the grain from the sheaf and hull was accomplished by rubbing it upon a piece of bumpy limestone. On Kudaka, separation was by rubbing on a canvas, both with the hands and feet.

178 After the war farmers took advantage of the spread of the lantana bush,
241 which had flourished due to the neglect of the land. It furnished an excellent
[342] livestock feed, and also a short pole which they could use in roofing their rebuilt houses. Such poles, or kichigwā, had formerly been brought down from the forested north country.

178 Chronology of Change in Livestock Recovery of the land after the war pro-
729 ceeded far more rapidly than replacement
231 of the livestock killed or eaten in the invasion. The following table illustrates the loss and slow recovery (except for swine) in livestock numbers:

Table V

Type of Livestock	1940[1]	1946[2]	1952[3]	1952 as % of 1940
Cattle	22,000	112	6,837	31.0%
Horses	25,000	899	5,110	20.4%
Swine	108,426	1,165	107,077	98.8%
Goats	106,257	1,647	58,472	55.1%

In Kachinda-son the story has been somewhat the same, with the exception that there are many more swine and cattle now than in the thirties. This is due partly to the lesser amount of land in sugar and the planting of more

1, 2 Summation....July-November, 1946, p. 26.

3 Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku, Vol. 3, No. 3, 1943, p. 1. Valid as of 31 Dec. 1952.

178 In Kanegusuku, for example, mat weaving is still of some importance
286 as a home industry. Where formerly nearly all of the houses were engaged in
433 production of mats, today less than half are so engaged, and the acreage planted in sedge is but ten percent of the prewar level. The war caused the loss of many machines; increasing emphasis on food production has brought a conversion of sedge fields into paddies; access to the better markets in Japan is now more difficult than before the war; it is felt to be too time-consuming and the young women today do not like this work.

Formerly there were a number of men in Kanegusuku who were able to construct the looms used in mat weaving. Today, however, no one constructs his own looms; instead, they are purchased from a manufacturer in Itoman.
[463] This particular example is symptomatic of the general decline of do-it-yourself and the increasing reliance placed on specialists.

178 There are some encouraging signs of revival or new life in the manufacture of Okinawan art objects. Okinawan lacquer ware, which is acknow-
[322] ledged by some to be the world's finest, is being sold in large quantity to members of the occupation. The owner of a large pottery works in Naha told
[323] the author that pottery from tombs is being collected to serve as models in restoring an older style and superior type of pottery. An Okinawan textile
[286] technique known as biingata (Okinawan; in Japanese, 'Benigata') was virtually lost during the war, but this art is still being carried on by one Shuri family, and recent publicity and aroused interest seems likely to insure survival.

178 Power and Machinery Agricultural machinery has come into use quite
● 407 recently on Okinawa. Pitts states that the labor-saving rice thresher first came into widespread use in the thirties. Older methods of flailing or rubbing the rice over a mat, canvas, or stone surface were also observed as being in common use. In numerous instances it was brought out that wartime losses had necessitated a return to an earlier and cruder means of threshing.

The old-fashioned, hand-operated rice polisher has gone out of use in Kanegusuku, and all rice is now polished in the village rice mill which operates on a gasoline engine.

In many communities the gasoline-operated sugar mill has replaced the horse-powered mill. More important, however, is the fact that the small com-
[257] munity mill remains popular, and the farmer is resistant toward using the large sugar factories (see chapter on Rural Economy).

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379 Electricity, common only to the towns and cities before the war, is now found in many villages, and those who are without it are looking forward
[379] to its installation. The kerosene lamps now in use in most rural homes cast a dim light and constitute a serious fire hazard in homes of thatch and wood.

178 The bulldozer has come into use as a means of opening new land and
406 constructing rice fields. Farmers in Kanegusuku and Nanahan made use of this method during the period of the authors' study of these two villages. Formerly this sort of work required the labor of a number of men over a considerable

311 Slow conversion of land to arable fields is constantly going on in situations in which the amount of labor involved is not even considered. One such activity in the Minatogawa area is typical. [134] Originally the field could not be worked because of the large quantities of smaller boulders, stones, and pebbles, all small enough to be carried off, too numerous to encourage hopes for quick transformation. [412] With difficulty this land is worked with the short handled broad bladed hoe. The hoes with two or three prongs are used for softer soils. This hard hoeing is often done by women. [462] The surface stones are thrown aside into little piles along the road. [491] These can now be sold for use in road construction. The vegetation on the surface is also turned under. Later in the year, after the rain has gone into the loosened soil, it is hoed again, and this time it is possible to go in deeper. Weeds, rice straw, unused miscanthus, straw from the pig or goat pen may be added, and this is allowed to rot in the soil. Then the field is hoed again, and the deeper rocks and stones, and those left behind before, are unturned and the process is repeated. In the end, and this period may vary from one to several years depending on the quantity of stones, the farmer has a plot of [134] land, of a rich chocolate brown color, of fair texture and fertility, suitable for growing sweet potatoes.

133 311 In Matsuda, there is a slightly different situation. The topography here has a different character than that of the south. Hills, caves, sinks, and slopes are everywhere, and as a consequence, cultivation is more scattered. In the southern villages, land use follows a more recognizable pattern. The low flat areas are used for rice, the higher parts of the flat land and the slopes and the rolling upland for dry crop land, while the highest parts on the hill or mountain summits are in grasses, shrubs, and scattered scrub trees. In Matsuda, these are all mixed up. Rice may be growing in a genya area. In another part of the village, sweet potatoes may, in a similar situation, be the rule. This crazy-quilt pattern of rice, genya and dry crop land, all adjoining, stimulates the gradual conversion of genya to arable land. When rice is made out of the genya land the converted plot is known in Okinawan as gata. It is a laborious process of clearing, removing stones, hoeing, cutting perpendicular sides, making a hard surface to contain the water for the rice that will be grown. In some sections of Matsuda, the very small valleys have been converted to S-shaped rice plots.

311 134 Casual observers often see unused land and conclude that large amounts can be reclaimed. They do not see the stones, or the hard-rock which may be an inch or two below the surface. They would do well to look at village maps to see how these lands are regarded by the villagers who have tilled them. Probably more efficient conversion and reclamation could be carried on with machinery and with the generous use of fertilizers.

311 185 In the desire for more land, it should not be overlooked that the great conservation value of genya land and the poorer upland

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Rotation #2, Matsuda

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First year, ninth month: Autumn planting of sugar cane
Second year, twelfth month: Harvest of sugar cane. Followed by: Soy bean, sweet potato, or vegetables.

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Land is seldom allowed to lie fallow intentionally for any length of time. At any one time of the year, a farmer may have idle land for which there may be a variety of reasons. He may have other tasks and be unable to cultivate all his land, or have no need of doing so, or some of his land may be so poor that he will not cultivate it unless necessary. Much depends on the individual farmer and his holdings. The village records indicate that in Hanashiro 97.2% of the rice and 83.1% of the dry crop land is under cultivation. From the preceding discussion of land classification, it is clear that many parcels are of marginal quality, and these areas may be left uncultivated, at least part of the year. During the post-war period there has been some informal lending of land, free of rent, to friends and neighbors, if the farmer is not using it himself.

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Manual labor with hand tools is the dominant method of cultivation. Domestic animals are not uncommon, but their use in farming is minor. The war increased the dependence on manual labor through the loss of domestic animals. Only cattle are now used in rice cultivation for plowing and harrowing and this is infrequent. The man or woman and the hoe are far more common. Crops are carried from the fields by human labor. The basket or the straw container, or the tied rice sheaves on either end of a pole over the shoulder, and not horse carts, push carts, or wheel barrows are the main means of transport from field to courtyard. The barefooted farmer, with his hoe and a pole or a basket does the greatest part of the work. The common tools of agriculture are hand tools and adapted to the intensive cultivation which so often has more properly been called the work of a gardener rather than that of a farmer.

[482]
[415]
[493]

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The basic all purpose tool is the solid bladed hoe. The hoe, since deep cuts are possible with its heavy blade, takes the place of the plow. The hoe also replaces the spade, and even the rake, for it can be used to break up and smooth the soil. A poorer farmer may lack many of the tools in the following list, but he will have two or three of the solid bladed hoes.

[434]

The accompanying illustration shows the most common agricultural tools:

1. The hera, a spatula or trowel, used for transplanting tops of the sweet potato. Its wooden hand grip curves toward the end of the tool. The hera is also used as a scraper to remove brown sugar from the sides of the cooking pans during the sugar making season.

2. The kama, a small sickle. Next to the hoe, it is the most

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Agricultural Tools

From front to rear:

The hara, a spatula or trowel
The kama, a small sickle
A small sharp pointed hoe
The futamata, a two pronged hoe
The mutsumata, a three pronged hoe
The kuwa, the all purpose hoe
Another hoe, long handled
A heart shaped hoe
A common rake
A hand rice cultivator (propped up in back)
An ordinary pitchfork

common and indispensable tool. It has many uses, including cutting rice stalks at harvest, brush, and sweet potato tops. 412

3. A small sharp pointed hoe, with a short handle, used in sweet potato planting.

4. A two pronged hoe, the futamata, used mostly with sweet potatoes. The two pronged hoe is used in softer soils. It is much more common in Matsuda than in the southern villages.

5. The three pronged hoe, the mutsumata, also used in sweet potato cultivation and in digging. These prongs, with skilful use, do not cut the potato. It is also much more common in Matsuda than in Hanashiro or Nagamo.

6. The common all purpose hoe (kuwa). It has a thick, solid, wide blade. The handle (about 3 1/2 feet long) is stout. The hoe is much sturdier than the ordinary American garden hoe.

7. Another hoe, longer and with a sharper angle between the handle and the blade. It has a variety of uses.

8. A long handled hoe with a heart shaped blade. It is used for making furrows.

9. An ordinary rake.

10. A cultivator and weeding tool for rice paddies. (The pole in back near the handle of the pitchfork is a prop to hold the tool upright for the picture). Only the more prosperous farmers possess this tool. Rice weeding is done almost entirely by hand. [434]

11. An ordinary pitchfork.

12. The plow (suki) 407

13. The harrow (maguwa), and

14. The waku, a hexagonal wooden frame used in laying out a rice field for transplanting. The last three tools or devices, which are not shown in the picture, will be described under rice cultivation. 413

3

The Annual Work Cycle

The following charts show the annual work cycle by lunar month of two farmers, one in Hanashiro, one in Matsuda. The Western calendar equivalents for 1951-52 are shown below the lunar month. Because the lunar year is shorter, there is a gap, as the period actually covered is from February 6, 1951 to January 26, 1952. These materials are based on observation and conversation with the farmers concerned. 221 241 [805] [114]

256 until the desired white shade was obtained. After the milling, the rice is quite warm, and both the chaff and the rice have an odor similar to brewer's yeast.

[462] Women carry the rice to the mill. It is heaped up in baskets set
[482] on their heads. Rice straw or a braid of rice stalks is placed over the small towel which rests directly on the head. On this the women
[415] sets the basket with its rice. When the milling is over, the women pick up a handful, blow off the chaff, inspect the rice for wholeness and whiteness, and then put it in a large gunny sack. The chaff is placed in a smaller one. Hulls, occasionally taken, are usually left at the mill to accumulate in a pile outside the mill and there, at
[824] frequent intervals, are burned. Sometimes the hulls or the ashes are taken for fertilizer.

Bringing rice for milling is a social occasion for the women.
[521] They often have a child on their back. While waiting for their rice to be hulled and milled, they exchange greetings and news with their neighbors or with women from adjoining villages.

As a result of the war, quality of machinery for rice milling
[727] differs with villages. Most now have access to a mill. The machinery at Matsuda, being more efficient than the older machines at Hanashiro is able to polish the rice satisfactorily after going through the mill three times. These mills are very busy during the harvest seasons.

252 There are also survivals of older methods of hulling and polishing rice. These are no longer used, though many of the old have not lost
[912] their skill. Before machine polishing was introduced, the hulls were removed by pounding the rice in a mortar, usually with a long bamboo pole narrowed in the center for a grip. After the hulls were removed, the rice was put through a quern, or a mill known as a shiriushi. This has two working parts: a base about a foot in diameter and perhaps a foot in height. It looks like a smoothed off log. In the center, there is a wooden pin, perhaps 1 1/2 feet long. Over this part, which looks like an upright piece of a log with a rolling pin stuck in its center, the upper part, made of wood and of the same diameter is fitted. A bar across the inside of the top of the upper part has a hole for the pin. On the outside, wooden plugs provide places for attaching ropes.
[462] There are pulled back and forth by women sitting opposite one another. The rice is poured in at the top, the quern is moved first clock- and then counterclockwise, the rice coming out in the rough crevice where the two pieces join. The rice is put through the quern as many times as is necessary to effect the polishing. In some querns, the inside of the upper part is grooved to quicken the polishing.

In polishing rice in this way, the mill is placed on a mat and the rice is gathered up periodically and put in baskets. It is then winnowed by tossing in a flat basket. Many of the farmers in the village still have a shiriushi in their sheds, but it is seldom used.

Rice may also be polished by the use of rude wooden mallets. These have a handle about 3 feet long and a head about 1 1/2 feet long. Rice is placed in a mortar with straw on top. It is pounded, often by two or three women swinging alternately. After the hulls are removed, the rice is winnowed, and put back in the mortar until a rough polish is secured. 252 [412]

Uses of rice. Every part of the rice plant has a use. The stubble, left in the ground, becomes a part of next season's fertiliser. The chaff and waste dust (nuka) is saved for pigs, cows, and other domestic animals. The hulls often are used for fertiliser, before or after burning. Rice straw has a variety of uses. The most frequent and important of these is for making rope. 824

After threshing, the straw is dried two or three days. Three or four stalks of about the same length are taken and rolled between the palms. The lower palm, usually the left, is open and up. The right palm rolls the straw into a twist. As the rope grows, new stalks are inserted one at a time, and, when needed, a new length of straw is added. This is not a strong rope, but it has a variety of uses, such as tying down the grass thatch to the roof poles, children's swings, and clothes lines. Mats and pads shaped like a life saver and used to set the sugar pots on after the sugar has been boiled, are made out of rice straw. Another use is in the making of the Ōda (Okinawan). This is a mesh about one foot wide and two feet long. There are loops on each corner. The end of a pole may be inserted in these loops when gathered together. The pole is carried over the shoulder, and sweet potatoes, straw, or other articles may be easily transported. Simple brooms without a handle, little more than a bunch of straw tied together in three places are also made of rice straw. Twisting and braiding rice straw is likely to be rainy day work. These articles are most often made twice in the year, corresponding with the harvests. [283] [285] [482] [412]

At typhoon times, if rice is not completely destroyed, the damaged rice may be used for pig food. The preparation of this rice is women's work. The rice is put in a mortar and pounded with a mallet in the manner already described, although a single operator usually does the work. [731] [231] [462]

Types and preferences. As a general rule, the selection of varieties of rice for planting depends on taste, the nature of the soils, and individual judgment of the expected yield of each type. In Matsuda, it is estimated that about one half of the rice is the Formosan variety, Taichu 65 (Taichu rokujugo), in Okinawa known as horai. Another variety, Kunigami #1 (Kunigami ichigo) represents about one-fourth of the crop. Mochigome (akaho) takes up about another one-fourth. This glutinous rice has a brown reddish rust colored kernel and is used for rice cakes. A fourth variety, horai-mochimai, is also well liked. No black rice is grown here. 243 [262]

In addition to these varieties, cultivated locally, imported rice is distributed through the import stores. These rices generally are from Egypt, Siam, and Burma. They are not well liked and are considered to be tough (katai). Whether this is because the variety itself is disliked or because the imports were of a poor quality is hard to say, but Egyptian, Siamese, and Burmese rice are unfavorably compared with Japanese, Formosan, or the locally grown products. Okinawans are very sensitive to the types of rice. There is no such thing as "rice." Long habituation and fondness for special kinds have induced tastes and preferences which each villager is quick to express. 439 262 [443]

In Hanashiro, the main type of rice planted is also the Taichu 65, a variety which originated in Formosa, and is generally preferred. The red variety, mochigome, does not do well here, according to local farmers, and just a little is grown. Mochigome (literally, rice-cake rice) is used in making the doughy and gummy rice cakes. 243 262

5

The Sweet Potato

The cultivation of the sweet potato (satsuma imo) is a much simpler undertaking than rice culture. Fields are prepared by hand hoeing. The plow and the harrow are not used. In sweet potato cultivation, seed potatoes are first planted in a small plot. This furnishes slips or transplants for other fields. Slips are multiplied by using the tops of one field to plant another. Propagation thus is by clones, and this vegetatively reproduced plant is the mainstay of the diet. 244 [262]

The potato seed bed, well hoed and fertilized, is generally planted in the spring. The tops to be used as slips (kasura) are cut off and planted in rows. Practice has brought deftness in this transplanting. A small amount of soil is lifted up by the spatula, (hera), and held so that an opening rather than a hole appears. The slip is shoved into the aperture and quickly pressed down by the left heel, as the farmer moves to the next planting.[5] Few tools are used in the cultivation of the sweet potato. Only the hoe and the spatula are really needed. Occasionally one finds a special hoe with a sharp angle between the blade and handle or a heart shaped hoe with a long handle. In the Hanashiro and Nagamo areas, the solid bladed hoe is the commonest tool. Two and three pronged hoes are less often used because of the hardness of the soil. [412]

The cultivation of the sweet potato, as we have said, is a year round operation, though planting may slacken off during the winter months. [221]

5 Methods of cultivation have changed little in the past 100 years. The same operation is described in Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 31-32. [114]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Every three years, the villagers thin out the dwarf bamboo and other grasses in the pine stands along the coast. Late in December or in early January, there is a community planting of pine seeds. 313 476

The tools used in forest work are: the hand sickle (kama), a bill or hook knife, the tool so familiar in agriculture; an ordinary long knife resembling a butcher knife or a machete (here called a yamakatana, or "mountain knife"), and a hooked knife on the end of a long handle (sōringama). 412

Forest care goes well back into Okinawan history and antedates more recent Japanese methods. This care probably was an obligation in the old system of land tenure under which villagers had access to forest lands with the corresponding obligation to replant. 313

4

An Example of Reclamation

There are cut-over tracts in Matsuda village. The Japanese government, according to local residents, tried to convert these cleared areas into agricultural land. This land reclamation (kaitaku) began about 1935. The land was cleared of its remaining trees and shrubs mainly by firing. (Fire has been used in Okinawa, possibly from early times, in the clearing of land. In 1947 the use of fire in clearing and the hazards in creating forest fires were pointed out by observers who blamed carelessness in firing as the cause of the forest fires in the dry season).[10] Firing was easier and some nutrients from the ash were available to the poor soils. 185 311 [372]

In Matsuda, the cleared land was hoed and the rocks were removed. It had to be hoed deeply to make cultivation possible. The land was enriched with composts containing horse, pig, and goat manures. The original plan was to promote a more extensive type of agriculture on the reclaimed land because it was poorly adapted to the cultivating methods on the better and more accessible soils. A here-and-there (yadori type) settlement was planned. The houses were to be scattered on hillsides, or in the valleys, to provide sufficient land, admittedly poor, for the settlers to cultivate. The size of the contemplated holdings precluded hand labor of the intensity characteristic of the usual agriculture. The use of draft animals, plows, and harrows was part of the plan. [241] [361] [241]

The war and the disappearance of so many of the draft animals prevented its realization. Before the war, it was intended that each family should have a 3000 tsubo tract (2.45 acres). Today the residents on these lands cultivate only about 1000 tsubo, about the limit of manual cultivation considering the soils and the stone that remains. As a consequence, parts of the area are returning to weeds, grasses, and shrubs.

10 Okinawa forests, as cited, 7.

Japanese canned fish: mackerel, bonito, clams, whale meat hash 443
Noodles, buckwheat spaghetti and macaroni type pastes 262
Cookies, stored in glass jars, and sold singly
Sweet rolls (manju) from a town bakery, and sweetened bread (pan) 212
Tea
Aji no moto
White sugar
Soy bean oil

Soft Drinks and Candy

443
[212]

Bottled lemon and orange ades
Cocoa Cola
Gum
Various candies sold by the piece, also stored in glass jars on the counter.

Notions

Needles and thread
Buttons of various sizes
Trimmings and ribbons
Braids for making and trimming kimonos
hair pins, and combs

[412]

Clothing

Clogs (geta)
Undershirts
Fibre sandals

[291]

Toilet Articles

Perfumes and toilet waters
Shampoos, liquid and powdered.
Pomades and brilliantines
Toothbrushes
Soaps
Toilet paper

[302]
[515]

Stationery

School tablets and notebooks
Pencils
Comic books (in Japanese)

[212]

Medicines

Aspirin
Stomach powders
Eye lotions

[218]

There are no uniform sleeping arrangements. The larger the family, the more corners of the front rooms and rear room are occupied. Since the number of comforters is limited in most families, two or three members of the family share one. Father and mother do not always sleep together, and, even if they do, an infant may sleep between them. When there are several children, another child may sleep next to the father, so that in one row there may be mother, a baby, father, and an older child. One or two children usually sleep with the grandmother in another corner. In several families an older sister may sleep with younger brothers; in others, two elder brothers, or an older sister and an older brother, may sleep next to each other. Children do not usually sleep at other people's houses, but when they reach junior high school age, a girl may stay with a girl friend or a group of boys may sleep together at one house. 513

A simple desk and chair are kept in each house where children go to school. These are put in one corner of the front room, except in large houses with a third room in front, which is reserved for schoolchildren of the house, who also sleep there. Around the study corner, books are kept on a crate or shelf. Only the biggest houses have a niche in their "first" room. Paintings and scrolls, used to decorate alcoves before the war, have been lost, and few people have acquired replacements. Many families decorate rooms by pasting pictures from magazines and newspapers on the walls. Some have reproductions of the Japanese Crown Prince Akihito, others scenic pictures from Japan. 352 353

Only a few recent buildings have inner sliding doors with paper screens. The paper is often left off during the hot season and put on before New Year. If children or cats are around, the splendor does not last long, and even an adult's hand frequently punctures the screen in trying to open the door. Holes are left unrepaired for the remainder of the year. 342 356

The eating corner between kitchen and rear room is the place where most families gather in the evening, especially during the winter. An informal caller may join them there. If it is cold, a brazier is put in the center, filled with pieces of charcoal on top of old ashes to provide heat for those sitting around it. These braziers vary in type: the poorest families use the bottom of an oil drum filled with ashes; others use pottery jars or small wooden boxes lined with metal. 342 264 354

Crockery used in most houses is of a simple type. If breakage occurs, as it often does, a cup or bowl can be replaced for a few yen at the grocery store. Well-to-do families may have an extra set of teacups, which are used for guests. Several families also own lacquer ware, but it is not in daily use. Like cups and bowls, chopsticks are simple and inexpensive. They last a long time and are seldom lost. Children do 415 [412]

of the permanent Tairan families fish; the majority of the fishermen are migrants from the surrounding islands who come for a season, leaving their families behind. A few families have moved in permanently. The fishermen supply Taira, but most of the catch is peddled in the Nago market by the fishermen's wives. Some of the more enterprising and mercantile-minded women in the village buy up fish and peddle it for a profit.

Two or three times a year, during February or March, large fishing boats from Henza Island land in Taira with whale meat. All the able women look forward to making extra cash at this time, for whale meat is considered a delicacy in homes where meat is rare. Blubber is eaten and used as frying fat. The distribution of whale meat is arranged by one village woman whose fishermen relatives from Henza supply it in response to her request. She acts as agent, distributing the meat to the women on consignment.

LUMBERING

The main source of immediate cash for most families is firewood. Forest land in the mountains is owned by the township and the village, except for some woods near the fields, which are personal property. The township permits the village to exploit a certain region surrounding the community in return for payment of a forest tax. This tax is levied on firewood bundles or on lumber sold by villagers. Everyone in the village is free to cut wood in the designated area in any amount he desires. This, however, does not imply that unlimited cutting is possible, for resources have been utilized so heavily that most forests near the village are almost cleaned out, and it has become increasingly difficult to find wood. Reforestation has only recently been introduced on a serious scale. Often villagers are found trespassing on land owned by the central Ryukyan government in order to cut from the less depleted forests there. Government officials are sympathetic to the villagers' plight, and they tend to dispose of such transgressions with a stern warning.

Men and women, and during vactions, some children over 12 years, go to the forest. Most people prefer to walk and work in small groups. To reach a place high up in the hills, they may have to hike almost a mile from the center of Taira. The steep, narrow paths made by woodcutters traverse the mountains. Following the approach trails during the day, one can hear voices and the sawing of wood from many directions. All lumber people carry a short handsaw and a heavy bush knife

313 which they use interchangeably. After sufficient trees have been cut and
[412] cleared of branches, a large bundle of firewood is carried to the village. Most forest workers make four or five trips a day into the hills—two or three during the hot summer season. As the afternoon ends, they sit down along the road in the village or nearby to prepare firewood
474 bundles. Pieces of wood are inserted through a bamboo loop of stand-
313 ard size, prescribed by the cooperative store, until a tight, uniform bundle is obtained. The last piece has to be driven into the bundle by force. All over the village one can hear the knocking of wood pieces
[592] which marks the end of a forest worker's daily labor. Each household works independently and sells firewood to the cooperative. A store
[436] clerk travels around the village in late afternoon, checks all bundles, and issues credit slips to each household; these can be changed into money at the store. The following morning the truck, owned by the
[438] cooperative, carries the firewood to Naha or Itoman where it is sold to a dealer who redistributes it to individual consumers or public bathhouses. The northern part of the island has always supplied firewood to the population of southern Okinawa to be used for kitchen hearths
[354] and bath stoves. In recent years kerosene kitchen stoves have become so popular that the depletion of wood resources tends to coincide with decreasing demand.

TRADES AND PROFESSIONS

463 Other ways of making a living exist. A few artisans in Taira derive part of their income from wage labor. A number of Taira men earn their living by carpentering, although they do most of their work in the south. They return occasionally when their services are needed for
[465] local house building. When working on local construction, they are paid in money, free lodging, and meals. There are also a few part-time resident carpenters who, whenever they are not employed in house building or repairs, spend their time farming and cutting wood. New
[342] buildings are usually put up between the beginning of the second rice crop and the New Year.

463 Several persons are salaried township or village officials. They are
466 paid monthly and work a 44-hour week, not counting many extra meet-
[647] ings and duties connected with their work. All office workers however have fields, either their own or those of their parents, where they spend Sundays helping in agricultural pursuits. During rice planting season, they are given special time off to attend to their fields.

Also among the salaried workers are store employees, a full-time

effectively in the case of a boy who did not respond to red pepper or black paper. The mother described how she tried to fend off the boy one day by simply refusing. As he fussed and cried there was a loud clanging of the pots in the kitchen. The boy stopped crying and looked at the mother who pretended to be very frightened. "Look now! There! It's a big rat coming for your mother's breast, let's hide it, quick, quick!" And with that she buttoned her blouse hurriedly and took the boy in her arms. She laughed as she described how she reminded him thereafter about the rat and how he ran to her and held onto her breasts protectively. 862

For the child, this whole interim period is a stormy one filled with tantrums, whining, and obstinancy. At no time, however, does the child resort to thumbsucking or other breast substitutes. For older siblings who are his caretakers, this period is a very unpleasant one. Many things displease the child. If his caretaker squats, he screams to have him stand; if he stands, he whines to have him walk. Frequently the sibling caring for him reflects the changing attitude toward the child, and, jiggles him up and down impatiently with a frown and curt comment, "What is it!" [856] [857]

As far as actual nourishment is concerned, weaning should not be so traumatic. Long before weaning commences, when the child is about one, he is given a spoon with which he can learn to feed himself. If families can afford it, they purchase new spoons and special small-sized rice bowls as well as chopsticks for these novices. When the budget is so limited that purchases of new implements are impossible, adult-sized ones are used, and often as not the tablespoon used for cooking and serving proves useful. [853] [412] [415]

At mealtime the entire household sits in the back room, which is next to the kitchen. The head of the family sits nearest to the raised hearth, and the rest of the members form a circle to the left and right of him at a low round or rectangular table. The baby sits on his mother's or grandmother's lap. Usually the mess resulting from this early training period in self-feeding is ignored. The adult holding the novice in his lap occasionally picks up the dropped rice and thrusts small pieces of fish or vegetable into his mouth. Only when he bangs the table excessively with his spoon do his elders mildly chide him. At first the adult holding him will absently reach for the offending arm and slip some food into his mouth. Later they will begin reprimanding him by scowling and glaring at him saying, "Me-me!" (child talk for "eye," meaning "I look at you disapprovingly.") But all this is done in a very gentle way, and often when the novice bursts into tears from fright of the disapproving response, he will be hugged, laughed at, and 853 264 862

264
862

[853] told, "No, no, no." In this manner the child is taught his early table manners.

As the child approaches the age of 2, the mother begins to praise him for eating without messing but still does not scold him if he fails to do so. He is the center of interest at the table, and his grandparents as well as older siblings encourage him with smiles and expressions of approval. At this time he loses interest in the spoon and is attracted to [412] the chopsticks, which everyone else at the table uses. As he struggles to handle the sticks, the adult holding him sets them in his hand. Holding his hand, with the chopsticks held in the proper position, they guide him a few times; then, as he protests and indicates annoyance at being restrained, they leave him to experiment for himself. This ritual is repeated at each meal, but the child is fed from the adult's chopsticks until he has mastered the technique for himself. The child is not hurried along in his experimentations or learning attempts. The adult praises each fortunate action and quickly slips food into the smiling, open mouth, and the child continues without protest.

Before each meal, people in the village raise their bowls and chopsticks slightly and bow their heads momentarily, murmuring, "Itadakimasu" (a polite signal that the meal is about to be partaken). Similarly, at the conclusion of the meal, the bowl is raised with a brief nod of the head, but this time the expression offered is "Gochiso-sama" (to indicate it was a treat . . . feast). Two very outspoken and good-humored mothers would nurse their young babies, then take the little hands, fold them over each other, palm sides up, gently push the bodies forward, and say, "Gochiso-sama!" Serious training in this aspect of eating etiquette, however, is left until the child is learning to feed himself.

862 Weaning, then, does not involve a dramatic change in all aspects of
866 the diet of a child, and in many ways may be most traumatic as a withdrawal of the indulgent nurturance of the mother. With the arrival of the new baby, a further step in the emotional weaning takes place. The child is denied his mother's back, for she now has a new baby to tend and eventually to carry.

Treatment of succorance during weaning contrasts sharply with that of the infancy and early childhood period. Unless there is a grandmother or older siblings in the family, this is the time of real deprivation for the child. He is ridiculed, shamed, and punished for demanding to be carried. It is a time marked with temper tantrums, extended periods of crying, and sullenness. Without doubt, this is the most trying stage in the life of a Taira child. Until the words, "You are a big

857 the infant still at the breast who is taken on shopping trips to Nago, the nearest town, or to neighboring townships to visit maternal relatives. When whale meat was marketed from the village on weekends, a school age child was taken along to carry the infant because the mother was burdened with her basket of meat, but this was infrequent. Few children have explored their township beyond Miyagi, a village 5 miles to the east of Taira or Gesashi, 4 miles to the southwest.

[364] Children also rummage through the garbage heaps, where they find useful things like tin cans, bottles, and discarded bits of vegetable with which to play house or store.

857 241 During the harvest and planting seasons, children accompany adults to the rice paddies and potato fields near the village. Mats are spread out on the dikes and kindergarten children gaily dangle their feet in the oozy mud while "keeping watch over the sleeping infants." Those who whimper to help are given small sheaves of rice to carry to their fathers and older brothers, who thresh them in the dry fields or on the flat grounds bordering the paddies.

855 [412] Many 4-year-olds are adept at handling knives. As implements like knives, hatchets, pronged hoes, sickles, rakes, and saws were often left within reach of children, it was not unusual for them to use them. Although many cut themselves, adults do not seem to take special care to put them out of reach. Children of kindergarten age are frequently scolded for playing with sharp instruments, but with persistent crying or begging they usually gain reluctant consent.

852 855 527 During all holiday events, children participate without much control from adults. Young children are carried by their mothers as they make the visiting rounds or sit on the floor in the building where the whole village congregates. Toddlers explore the surroundings and, finding themselves in the middle of the dance floor, are gently pushed aside and handed back to their mother. Older children hang around while food is served; then they disappear to play games of their own. During sport events, track meets, wrestling, and at dance performances, children are as interested spectators as their parents. Nobody would think of leaving a child at home on a holiday, and nobody would demand that the child sit quietly through lengthy speeches or ceremonies.

868 535 [872] Children learn dances from kindergarten days on, either by watching or by coaching from an older person, a friend, one's older sister, or mother. Sometimes they are called on to perform for adults, or a special children's performance is given under the direction of the kindergarten teacher. Adults enjoy these dances as much as if they were done by grownups. They are amused and delighted if a little girl

ments fail to form rope. Her brother quietly takes the straw and without a word demonstrates the deft movement. She watches and tries again when her brother hands it back to her. She is unsuccessful. As she starts to whine again, her brother picks up a length of finished rope and gives it to her. She runs happily toward the playground, waving her rope in the air. 868 [283]

Although young children are not taken to the mountains, they can sit in the village afternoons and watch adults sawing, splitting, and working the bamboo rings used in tying faggots. Boys do not go into the mountains to cut firewood until they are about 10 years old, girls until they are 12, although they may have begged their parents for several years to let them help with cutting and hauling of firewood. But as long as they are still too young for mountain work, they try to use the cutting tools. Tools are left within reach of children so that opportunities for experimentation are almost unlimited. Only their size and weight deter the youngest children. A 2-year-old girl was seen imitating her mother by attempting to whittle off pieces of bamboo with a large 12-inch blade bushknife. A teen-age girl working nearby passed the little girl several times without saying anything. The little girl's father also worked nearby but, like everyone else, was too absorbed in his work to notice his daughter. Finally her mother looked up from where she worked, noticed the huge knife in the girl's hand, and saying in a loud, angry voice, "Why do you carry this, fool?" took the knife away. [313] [412]

Other small children pick up hoes and forks to try them in the yard or in the pigsty. Sickles and knives are used expertly by many 6-year-olds. Bandaged fingers and numerous little scars are evidences of learning and experimentation. Occasionally an adult will say to a 9- or 10-year-old. "Hold the sickle this way so you won't get hurt," but more often than not the child has already learned by himself. One 4½-year-old boy shinnied up the side of a feed box to get a sickle. There was no adult around to peel the long stalk of sugar cane he had been given, so, with expert strokes and handling of the razor-sharp tool, he shaved off the thick, hard skin. By the time his mother arrived on the scene, the child was busily chewing and sucking on a considerable length of the peeled cane. The mother was asked who had taught him to use the sickle, and she was at a loss for a reply. "I don't know! He must have watched us and learned by himself by trying it out!" she said. [412] [264]

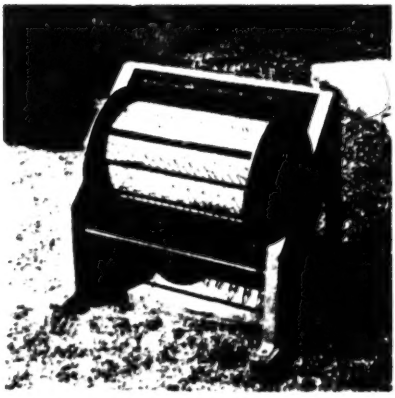
Little girls watch their mothers cooking and doing other household work. By watching and asking questions they learn how to light a fire and when to extinguish it to cook a perfect pot of rice. They [252] [296]

412
252

chichiūshi

wooden rotary mill

407
412
252



dakkokki

wooden rotary mill

[facing p. 17]

178
175
241
727
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In all cases, Kunigami seems to have held up the best, and Nakagami has fared the worst. Again this reflects the military interest of both the Japanese and the Americans. The comparison of 1904 acreage with that of 1950 in each of the three areas is shown below:

Table IV

Area	1904 Acreage		1950 Acreage		% Decrease	
	Paddy	Dry	Paddy	Dry	Paddy	Dry
Kunigami	6,530.5	28,398.5	5,463.0	20,773.8	16%	27%
Nakagami	3,861.2	34,176.1	1,675.1	14,932.0	57%	55%
Shimajiri	5,370.3	30,978.7	2,443.9	21,904.4	55%	29%
Okinawa Island[1]	15,719.1	93,952.6	9,589.0	57,610.2	39%	39%

Chronology of Changes in Farming Technique It is impossible to give for the whole of Okinawa a schedule showing just when each technical innovation was introduced. Some parts of Shimajiri and Nakagami were in advance of the rest of the island; conversely, one finds on the outer islands practices still carried on that the more progressive areas abandoned more than two decades ago. 178 241

In Yamada the transplanting of rice was originally done by scattering (bara'ii) of the shoots. Shortly before 1930 this method was replaced by planting in rows, with a string to mark the distance. The spaces were filled in by planting while walking backwards. About 1950 people started transplanting while moving forward. This has been replaced in part---at least in areas where the mud is firm and clayey---by the planting frame, the 'waku'. 178 243

Farmers kept the harvested rice in conical stacks (majin) several feet high. The bundles (tabai) had the heads facing inward to prevent attack by rats. The number of these stacks was indicative of the farmer's prestige in the community. The sheaves were removed from the bottom layer always, and only when rice was needed for food. [554]

Removal of the grain from the stalk was accomplished by the kūrashijii. This was a pair of bamboo tongs held in the right hand, while the sheaf was drawn through the tongs with the left hand. When the new variety of rice was introduced, use of the kanabā became common. This iron-comb-like device, through which the sheaves were drawn one at a time, can still be found in use on the isle of Sesoko, off the Motobu peninsula. It apparently did not find 178 243 412

[1] The discrepancy in the 1904 totals for Okinawa Island and grand totals for the three division of the island is accounted for by 17.1 acres of paddy land and 256.7 acres of dry fields in Naha, and 142.6 acres of dry fields in Shuri.

It apparently did not find
178 widespread use in Tomoyose, for that village passed almost directly from the use
243 of bamboo tongs to the rotary thresher, or 'dakkokki' (see photo). Yamada first
• 412 saw this thresher about 1933, but Nanahan farmers began using it only in 1941.
[407]

Hulling of grain was in the past accomplished---as needed for home use
178 or sale---by using a wooden rotary mill (see photos) called fichiūshi in Yamada
252 and shirifūshi in Nanahan. In Yamada two women sat with their feet braced against it, and pulled straw ropes alternately. In Nanahan men did the hulling, and the rotary mill was lower but was three feet in diameter. In the late thirties motor-powered hulling mills were built in many areas, and farmers took their rice there for hulling and polishing.

Polishing of brown rice in Nanahan was accomplished until about 1935 by use of a mortar, or chichiūshi (see photo), and pestle, or ajin. Most families still have these in reserve, as they were used after the war and were replaced by rice mills only after 1949. People in remote areas still use them exclusively. Nowadays people have their rice hulled and polished in one operation at a rice mill, if it is close at hand.

178 Very little wheat was grown in the three farm villages studied, but
246 it was noticed that on the outer isles wheat was more dominant. On Henza isle, removal of the grain from the sheaf and hull was accomplished by rubbing it upon a piece of bumpy limestone. On Kudaka, separation was by rubbing on a canvas, both with the hands and feet.

178 After the war farmers took advantage of the spread of the lantana bush,
241 which had flourished due to the neglect of the land. It furnished an excellent livestock feed, and also a short pole which they could use in roofing their re-
[342] built houses. Such poles, or kichigwā, had formerly been brought down from the forested north country.

178 Chronology of Change in Livestock Recovery of the land after the war pro-
729 ceeded far more rapidly than replacement
231 of the livestock killed or eaten in the invasion. The following table illustrates the loss and slow recovery (except for swine) in livestock numbers:

Table V

Type of Livestock	1940[1]	1946[2]	1952[3]	1952 as % of 1940
Cattle	22,000	112	6,837	31.0%
Horses	25,000	899	5,110	20.4%
Swine	108,425	1,165	107,077	98.8%
Goats	106,257	1,647	58,472	55.1%

In Kachinda-son the story has been somewhat the same, with the exception that there are many more swine and cattle now than in the thirties. This is due partly to the lesser amount of land in sugar and the planting of more

1, 2 Summation....July-November, 1946, p. 26.

3 Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku, Vol. 3, No. 3, 1943, p. 1. Valid as of 31 Dec. 1952.

342 (9) While the stones are being set and the uprights are being
[462] put on them, the women of the house and their female friends and
[476] relatives have brought in miscanthus grass and have begun making
[824] sheaves, tying each sheaf with a piece of grass. This goes on while the rafter poles are being nailed down. It is over this that the thatch is placed. The grass may be green or dry. In December it is in blossom, and when it is used, it gives the roof a snowy, fluffy appearance.

342 (10) A series of short rods of dwarf bamboo or dried miscanthus
335 stalks is then prepared to fit over the checkerboard made by the intersecting poles of the roof. The ends of these, which are about 7 feet long and 1/2 inch in diameter, are inserted into the braid of two lengths of rope about 5 feet long. These rods are placed at about 3 inch intervals. These frames are laid end down slope. They
[284] are lashed to the poles and to other bracing material beneath. All
[462] this is the work of men. While some of them are on the roof, others have begun nailing the siding. (See Fig. 6 for a sketch of the frames).

This is a very cheap lumber about 6 feet x 1 inch x 3/8 inch. The sides are boarded up like shingles except that the boards have uniform thickness. Each board overlaps the next lower one by 1/2 inch, a space of about 3 inches is left from the top of the upright poles to which the siding is nailed. The siding is sufficiently thin so that one side need not be thicker than the other.

(11) The triangular odd corners formed by the cross beams, the rafters and the center post are filled by fitted pieces instead of the rows of parallel rods used for the larger and more regular areas.

342 (12) The roof is now ready for sewing the thatch on. First,
284 the women throw several sheaves of miscanthus on the roof. They are tossed by hand or pitched by a rude pitchfork made by lashing a short branch to a long pole to form a Y. This is the kishi. (Fig. 7).
[413] One workman goes inside the dwelling. He has a pole about 6 feet long (hari, the Japanese word for needle) pointed at the end with a hole near the point. (Fig. 8). Starting from the eaves and working up, the man on the roof unties the sheaves and spreads a layer of grass along the length of the roof. This layer is held in place by a horizontal pole placed over it. The man inside has threaded the needle with stout twine; he pushes the long needle with the twine up through the network of the roof. This is taken by the workman on the roof who feeds the needle with its twine back again. This sewing continues until the three layers, the checkerboard, the parallel rods which have been lashed to it, and the grass with the poles to hold it down have been finally sewed together. As each strip is completed the workmen move up the slope a little. The grass is about 3 1/2 feet long and about one foot is allowed loose on the end to overlap the layer below. That portion of the grass which is not free is tied and sewed very securely. There is much tugging, pulling, and grunting to make the knot as tight as possible.

000 (13) As the top is reached, another operation is necessary to cap

(13) As the top is reached, another operation is necessary to cap the peak of the roof. The two layers of grass require, when they meet, something to cap over them. This is done by laying down over the peak a rectangular frame of poles to form the base for the cap. The grass is then heaped up on this bed. It is held down by long rods of dwarf bamboo or miscanthus, forming a rough arch and running lengthwise. These rods with the grass underneath are sewn on to the ridge pole and the surrounding network of poles underneath with heavy twine or rope. Often also sharp sticks are placed cross ways. These are known as kansashi and derive their name from the pin used by Japanese women to fasten up their hair when they wear the traditional headdress. These sticks in fact perform this function; perhaps even better, they can be compared to the long hat pin. A thatched roof so constructed will last a long time, often 5 or 10 years, though it may be changed more often if damaged. Very often if the house has a thatch roof and the sides are made of a weak material, the house, including the roof is bound around with a heavy thick wire, cable or rope to protect it from typhoons. (Fig. 9 for a sketch of the roof). 342 335

The interior of the simple house which we have been describing is finished off in a simple manner with flooring and siding, also of cheap quality.

It may be added, parenthetically, that there are two different methods of laying the tile roof. In the hipped type, the tile slants from the roof to the eaves. The variant is the hipped type with a small gable. Occasionally, on the tile roof, an ornamental lion shaped terra cotta figure is placed for decorative purposes. 342 [532]

Tile is set over a foundation of long rods of small bamboo, dwarf bamboo or mature large size miscanthus. Rice straw is used to tie these rods together and to the frame. Mud, usually found in the yard and often containing considerable clay, is placed over this rod base and the tile is set so that the crests of the two pieces of tile which meet on the bottom are cupped by a tile on top. (Fig. 10).

5

Tools

Carpenters' tools are Japanese imports, although local blacksmiths make tools based on the Japanese design or repair them. The common tools are: 413 [439] [326]

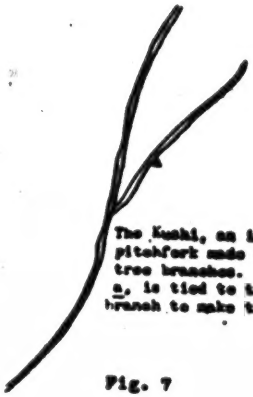
(1) The plane (kanna in Japanese). The plane iron is set in a rectangular block of wood. In working wood, the plane is drawn toward the operator.

(2) A smaller plane

342

[413]

BUILDING A SIMPLE HOUSE



The Kushi, an improvised pitchfork made out of tree branches. The piece, a, is tied to the main branch to make the fork.

Fig. 7

The Hari

Fig. 8

[335]

CAPPING THE ROOF

Fig. 9

TILE SETTING

Fig. 10

413

(3) Chisels (nomi in Japanese) of various sizes.

(4) The hand saw (nokogiri in Japanese). There are two kinds: a single edge for cross cut, or a double edge, the second for rippling. The saw has a short blade and a long handle.

(5) A kind of hatchet (te-ono in Japanese).

(6) A rabbet plane (motoichi)

(7) The square (kanejaku)

(8) A gimlet, the large hand operated boring tool with a T shaped handle (ōkii ana in Japanese, bōtō in Okinawan).

(9) The common brace and bit.

(10) The hammer, both claw and ball pein.

(11) The sumi tsubo (in Japanese). This is a reel with a string. As the string is drawn out from the reel, it passes through an India ink paste which is in a shallow flat dish situated at the point where the string comes out. The inked string is made taut along the line to be cut, snapped sharply, resulting in a black line along the desired cutting edge.

(12) The sumisashi (in Japanese), a short stick, dipped in ink, which is used for drawing a cutting line by hand usually with a square or rule to join longer lines made by the inked string.

(13) A plane for use on curved surfaces (the maruka in Japanese.)

(14) A sandshaker. When mortar is needed, an improvised sandshaker may be constructed. Long poles are set up wigwam fashion. One end of a wire is fastened to the apex of the poles, the other to the end of a wire net. The other end of the wire net is held in the hands. Sand is put on the mesh, and the device is then shaken so that the fine sand goes through. Long poles such as those used for the sandshaker or in building construction are called maruta (in Japanese). [417]

6

Co-operation in Housebuilding

In Okinawa, co-operation among villagers in larger tasks is not conspicuous.[6] Housebuilding is an exception. Depending on the size, any number of people in a village may participate in building a house. If the house is small, only friends or immediate relatives are likely to assist. But if it is a large house, friends or neighbors may work one or two days, and relatives three or four days. 342 476

6 The nature of village co-operation will be discussed in Chap. 18

common and indispensable tool. It has many uses, including cutting rice stalks at harvest, brush, and sweet potato tops. 412

3. A small sharp pointed hoe, with a short handle, used in sweet potato planting.

4. A two pronged hoe, the futamata, used mostly with sweet potatoes. The two pronged hoe is used in softer soils. It is much more common in Matsuda than in the southern villages.

5. The three pronged hoe, the mutsumata, also used in sweet potato cultivation and in digging. These prongs, with skilful use, do not cut the potato. It is also much more common in Matsuda than in Hanashiro or Nagamo.

6. The common all purpose hoe (kuwa). It has a thick, solid, wide blade. The handle (about 3 1/2 feet long) is stout. The hoe is much sturdier than the ordinary American garden hoe.

7. Another hoe, longer and with a sharper angle between the handle and the blade. It has a variety of uses.

8. A long handled hoe with a heart shaped blade. It is used for making furrows.

9. An ordinary rake.

10. A cultivator and weeding tool for rice paddies. (The pole in back near the handle of the pitchfork is a prop to hold the tool upright for the picture). Only the more prosperous farmers possess this tool. Rice weeding is done almost entirely by hand. [434]

11. An ordinary pitchfork.

12. The plow (suki) 407

13. The harrow (maguwa), and

14. The waku, a hexagonal wooden frame used in laying out a rice field for transplanting. The last three tools or devices, which are not shown in the picture, will be described under rice cultivation. 413

3

The Annual Work Cycle

The following charts show the annual work cycle by lunar month of two farmers, one in Hanashiro, one in Matsuda. The Western calendar equivalents for 1951-52 are shown below the lunar month. Because the lunar year is shorter, there is a gap, as the period actually covered is from February 6, 1951 to January 26, 1952. These materials are based on observation and conversation with the farmers concerned. 221 241 [805] [114]

243 by plowing.

There is water on the land when it is dug and harrowed, but it is not flooded. Not all rice land is harrowed. If it is not harrowed, the same result is accomplished by further hoeing. The harrow (magum [407] in Japanese, maga in Okinawan) is partly a home made tool and looks like a large clumsily constructed rake. Essentially it is a piece of timber with a row of strong spikes. This timber ordinarily is made of pine, but other woods may be used. Twelve nails, spaced at about two inch intervals, are driven into the board. These nails or spikes, [414] about 8 sun (almost 10 inches long), square at the head, and with a [306] sharp point, are made by a blacksmith for about Yen 20 each. The [23] harrow is drawn by cattle; two shafts, with a yoke over the animal's [435] head complete the simple implement. The plow is used in the preparation of the field, but far more commonly, the work is done with a hoe.

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bottom will imprint nine squares on the wet soil, and as it is turned another nine will be imprinted so that when continued the field is laid out in tiny squares. Three or four seedlings are planted on the corners of the square made by the waku. 243 804 413

Men operate the frame. As they turn it, making the square pattern on the damp soil, women follow behind with the seedlings. The frame has been in use in Matsuda for about fifteen years. An Okinawan agricultural school student is said to have invented it. It was not used in the southern villages studied, an interesting sidelight on the slowness of innovation even on a small island like Okinawa, for many farmers in the south expressed surprise at its use and had not heard of it. The device is helpful to those with large plots. In Matsuda, there are not many of these frames, but borrowing is frequent. [462] [176] [184] [426]

In contrast with recent introductions, such as the universal treadle thresher, the frame seems to be confined to one geographic area. The reason for this may be that the use of the thresher was actively encouraged by the Japanese as a successful time and labor saving device, while the frame was not similarly publicized. 243 804 [407]

Another method, a more traditional one, is to use a piece of wood the same length as the waku with seven little knobs and the two ends to give the nine spaces. This is the jiyogi. A piece of string stretched from one end of the field to the other is used to get a straight line along a row. When the planting has taken place along one row, the jiyogi is used to measure off one space between rows, the guide line is moved over and the operation repeated. This achieves the same purpose as the frame or the string with the markers. Men are more likely to handle these operations, the women following along with the transplanting. But the division of labor is by no means hard and fast. [462]

Care of rice until its maturity. Rice set out in squares is easier to cultivate, weed, and harvest. During its growth, it will be necessary occasionally to loosen the soil or to break up clods which escaped the initial working. There may be some temporary drainage of water off the fields at these times. 243

Weeding rice is usually done by hand, though once in a while a farmer has a hand cultivator. Weeding the rice field is an unrelenting job which is done about once a week. More attention is given to this task when the plants are younger. Weeding is worked in with other daily chores, and all members of the family may participate.

The rice is now allowed to grow with the hope that strong winds or a typhoon will not blow over the slender shoots or submerge them. If the rice is submerged when the shoots are still fairly young, they will gradually right themselves. Farmers say that attempting to upright the plants by hand will not work. The quality of rice once submerged is poor and sometimes half the rice in the plot is lost. If the submersion occurs when the plants are near maturity and the stalks are 20 or 25

316 (1951-52) is from Y300-400 per tsubo (about four square yards), much
425 higher than ordinary agricultural land. The price varies with supposed
435 quality. The good judgment of the purchaser is necessary for success. He must estimate the quantity of stone, its depth, whether there may be cracks, fissures, or black streaks below, and the effect of underground water as he cuts down deeper. In a year, a good stonecutter can remove stone from about four tsubo of land. If he has extra capital, he may hire help.

316 The types of employment found are either the single operator or the
472 small operator who has one or more employees. The industry is not notable for large capital outlays, or many employees of a single operator. A simple partnership is common. There may be some division of labor, with the owner of the rights doing all the cutting, while a friend or relative who does this as a secondary occupation assists in the removal of the stone and in loading it on a horse cart. The operator who has a piece of land too large to work by himself may hire someone. The employee (yatoi in Japanese, ninpu in Okinawan) is paid according to skill: Y100 a day for a beginning 17 or 18 year old boy, Y150 to the experienced,
[965] and Y200 to the worker who can do all phases of the work quickly and skillfully.

Much depends on the nature of the stone being worked. This varies by locality and with moisture content. It will require 8 hours for
[804] a man to cut a six shaku (about six feet) length of hard rock 1 shaku
[961] 2 sun (14.4 inches) deep, but he may be able to make three cuttings of moist or wet rock in the same period. Working time naturally varies with the strength and skill of the cutter. For this reason, piece
[965] work payment is common. The employee, however, may work unused portions of the holdings, receiving two-thirds of the value of the stone cut.

3

Tools and Types of Stone Cut

● 413 Six tools are used in cutting and extracting the sandstone: (1) the hichi (Okinawan). This tool, about six feet long, resembles a crow bar, but has a sharp chisel edge for cutting the stone. (2) A sharp hand axe (ono in Japanese, yuki in Okinawan) for chipping and finishing, (3) the ishiyuki, a smaller axe, used like the yuki, for chipping and finishing but principally in shaping pyramidal stones (kenchi). The tool is also used to knock off the rough edges of the stone, where it has been split, an operation often performed by old men. (4) The kusukacha (Okinawan). This reminds one of a small light golf iron. It has a handle four or five feet long with a metal strip attached at an angle to one end. It is used to rake off chippings and dust that accumulate in the groove while the cut is being made with the long chisel. (5) Wedges (iya in Okinawan), and (6) sledge hammers are used to split off the stone after the cut has been made.

316 Methods of working with these tools are very simple. The surface dirt is cleared away until the stone to be cut is visible and clean.

A cutting line is then drawn over the surface of the stone. The worker straddles the cutting line, lifts the long bar up and down, making the cut along the line to the desired depth. It is slow and tedious work. 316

When the stone has been cut along a length of 6 or 9 feet and to a depth of about 14 inches, small holes along the bottom of the cut are made with a pick. These provide a hold for the wedges. Shavings or pieces of wood are put on either side of the wedges, three of which are used for a 6 foot length. The wedges are then struck seriatim with a sledge hammer and the stone is cracked across the bottom. When cracked, it is pried loose by the long bar, using the wedge as the fulcrum.

The cutting continues all day, or until the desired length and depth is reached for that particular cut. As the top layer is removed, the cutters go down deeper until they reach water, or until the seepage is too great to permit further cutting. Many times they cut 10 or 15 feet below the level of the surrounding land, stopping when the quality of the stone becomes poor. It may be black streaked, cracked, or have large fissures.

The long chisel is a relatively new addition to the tools of stonecutting. About 60 years ago, only the hand axe was used. This made the cut much rougher, compared with the clean cut of the bar chisel. After removal the block is rough on the lower edge. (Fig. 1) With gentle and slow chipping, this rough edge is smoothed off by the hand axe and the stone is ready for use. [413] 324

Three different types of stones are cut: (1) foundation stone (ishiji in Okinawan) used in housebuilding. This is the stone on which the poles supporting the eaves rest. At its base, the stone is about 16 inches square, at the apex about 14 inches, with a height of 9 inches to one foot. (2) Pyramidal stones with a square base (called kenchi both in Japanese and Okinawan). These are made from larger and imperfect cuttings or from odd shaped stones. They are chipped down and finished to the desired size. They are extensively used in breakwaters, and, occasionally in stone fences. When used as a breakwater, the stones are placed with the base toward the water, the apex being shoreward. The interstices may be filled with cement or clay. [333]

The block is the most important cut. It may be any length. When used in building construction, the blocks are generally about 9 feet long, one foot wide, and from 10-12 inches thick. These are called ishibashida (Japanese and Okinawan). In housebuilding stone, the width and the thickness are about the same, from ten inches to one foot on the side. In housebuilding the blocks are laid like bricks, so that joinings are not in the same vertical line. [333]

Cutters normally do not use the stone for personal use. More is to be gained by selling. This is done on an individual basis. 324 432

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

needs supplementation. Hence, a farmer cannot buy so much as a fisherman. A rice farmer, if he is eligible at all, cannot purchase so much as a sweet potato grower. These stores fill a genuine need. They have alleviated hardship and done much to improve the monotonous pre-war diet. In the villages, they are a concrete reminder of direct American contact. There is not a store in every village, but each village has ready access to one. 444 262 511

The rural blacksmith takes care of the needs of farmers and stonecutters. One such shop in Nagamo serves many villages in the Gushichan area. The forge is of simple construction. The air is blown by a sort of box bellows. The operator sits down, as if he were in a row boat, and by pushing and pulling the handle (which has a T-end grip like a hand pump) moves the piston horizontally back and forth. The blacksmith repairs agricultural and stonecutting tools and makes new tools, chiefly hoes and spikes for the harrow. 326 413

There are no good inns, restaurants or tea houses in the villages. In Hinatogawa a Japanese inn of rude construction and comfort caters to parties for the entertainment of visitors who have business with local people. 265

Getting a haircut or a bath may involve going to another village. Like the stores, barbershops are little social centers, especially during bad weather when villagers are not working and take the opportunity to have their hair cut. 305

2

Mutual Loan Groups

In China and Japan, mutual loan groups have had a long history. In essence, they are groups associated for the purpose of borrowing and lending money, the capital being derived from contributions of the membership. There is an element of chance when members bid against one another or draw lots for a loan.[2] 474 426 [171]

Each member of a loan group advances an agreed upon share. The total amount is then available as a lump sum to one of them as a borrower. The borrower repays principal and interest in monthly installments. The remaining members advance the same amount each on the following month to another borrower. In this way, there is a continuous cycle of lending

2 They are known variously as mo-ai (Japanese), mu-e (Okinawan) tanomoshi and yūrei (Japanese). Groups organized on a monthly basis are tsukikiyurei or tsukimoai (Japanese), and on an annual basis as nimu-e (Okinawan), nimmo-ai (Japanese). At present there are no annual groups because of uncertainties regarding the future value of money. Now loans are normally for a 10-12 month period.

164 Okinawans
[753] blame tooth decay on the brown sugar. It may be diet or water.
[515] Use of tooth brushes varies considerably with individuals and families.

515 The standard of cleanliness in Okinawan homes is not high,
511 but this cannot be ascribed to indifference. One should constantly bear in mind that it is easy to keep clean with plenty of soap, showers, hot running water, washing machines, and flush toilets.

9

Native Medicine

278 The native medicine has already been referred to in the discussion of fish and wild plants used as medicines. Their use has declined with growing reliance on manufactured drugs and pharmaceuticals.

757 The golden needle (kinbari) is still used by rural doctors (yabu)
[759] in the treatment of inflamations of the joints and rheumatism. There was one such doctor in Minatogawa, but ordinarily he is called only when real medical attention is not available.

[913] The needle is scarcely thicker than a horse hair. It is encased in a shaft about 2 3/8 inches long. The grip or base of the needle is 3/4 of an inch long and the needle itself 1 7/8 inches. The needle is tapped and gradually worked into the affected part, and a length from 3/4 to one inch is broken off and allowed to remain in the body and circulate to effect its curative powers.

Blood letting is still practiced, often by the individual himself. Thin cuts are made with a razor, generally on the forehead above the eyebrows and slanting toward the bridge of the nose. This is done to relieve headaches and general pains and may be resorted to after aspirin has failed to relieve a headache. On a close look, one can often observe the slight, thin, long scars, which look like tiny wrinkles, resulting from these slashes. During the operation, a sake cup is held up to the place being cut. The cup may even have a little sake in it. When done by a native doctor, the blood may be sucked through a small tube and allowed to drip into a sake cup.

Cauterization using mogusa (moxa) also is still common. One can frequently see scar tissue, the results of burning mogusa on the flesh, usually in the area around the wrist. Mogusa is applied with glowing charcoal sticks, burning thread, or tobacco. It is used for no specific complaint, but as a counter-irritant cureall for a wide variety of ailments.

Acupuncture apparently is little used now. Formerly an area was pricked with a needle, or a series of needles brought to a point, and
[386] an indigo dye applied. One can observe these round spots, circles of dots, occasionally on the shoulders and the backs of older people. These should not be confused with tattooing.

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1

Historical Notes on Housing

In all villages, much time is spent, in addition to agricultural or fishing tasks, in housebuilding, either for one's self or for friends and neighbors. Housebuilding is the most time consuming of a man's tasks after his primary occupation. Repairs to or reconstruction of the poorer houses are continuous. The man with a good house and a tile roof has little to worry about. But he will often be found helping someone less fortunate. 342 461 [476]

The traditional houses of Naha and Shuri showed both Chinese and Japanese influences. The traditional house and compound of the rural village has been compared with the ancient Japanese house, and it bears some similarities with houses found among the Ainu. 342 171

It would seem from the observations and researches of earlier students that the house was always built above the ground without excavation, and sometimes on stilts. The supporting posts making up the rectangular house were either placed in holes or on stones on the ground. The supporting posts, the ridge poles, the cross beams were branches or trunks of trees trimmed and cut for length. Roofs of thatch had the apex of the roof covered by a saddle or arch shaped thatch made, like the rest of the roof, of grass. Smoke escaped either through an aperture in the ceiling or through a window, as it still does in many of the poorer houses. The houses were filled with smoke. The oldest rural houses apparently had only a dirt floor with scattered mats, though some had a raised floor. 175 342 [352]

The food storage sheds or small granaries were raised on stilts. Engravings of these have appeared both in Perry's writings and in Bayard Taylor's works. There is some question whether this granary (now disappeared) was indigenous or a borrowing. The purpose of the raised granary was probably to protect against dampness and to prevent infestation by rats and vermin. These granaries were open sided with no boarded up walls, and, in Okinawa, were circular.[1] 175 343

Animal pens or stalls were not attached to the house, but were always separate. In the courtyard, earthen rain water vessels were imbedded half way into the ground to catch the rain water. There were stalls for goats and pig pens, and the pig pens were used also as a toilet. This is no longer practiced to my knowledge, although the outhouse with its holes in the ground is found under the same roof as the pig pen. The entrance to the courtyard was opposite the front of the house. The protective stationary gate, the hinpun (in Okinawan), made of reeds or stones, stood at the entrance inside the court, as it does now, to shield the people of [417] [415] [364] 417

1 For drawings of the granaries, see Satow, E. M. Notes on Loochoo. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 1 (1882), 1-8. The drawings follow the text. See also Simon, Beitrage zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, as cited, 75-85.

592 342 magazines and pasted on the wall, and here he entertains visitors who come for conversation or study.

3

Types of Houses

342 In all the villages studied, the houses may be divided into three general categories: (1) the Japanese style house with the thatch or tile roof, (2) the smaller stone house with the Japanese type floor plan, and (3) various shacks resembling in some details the simple structure of the old Okinawan rural house.

[313] [439] The sturdy Japanese type house is made of excellent hardwoods imported from Japan or brought from the forests of northern Okinawa. This house was often constructed without nails. It was put together [335] by mortise and tenon joints, and also with a piece of wood, square on the edge and about three inches long which functions like a dowel. This is known as a kusabi. In modern houses, both of the simple and more complex types, nails are more commonly used.

[355] The eaves of this house are supported by strong poles, unfinished, usually from the Japanese redwood (sugi in Japanese, Cryptomeria japonica, D. Don) or the ihumaki (Podocarpus macrophyllus D. Don). The [411] poles are placed on flat triangular stones for foundation support. The houses have plank floors. Both the tile and the thatch roof types (to be described later) have the same floor plan with the size of the rooms determined by the number of mats (tatami in Japanese) desired. [352]

The half tile, half thatch roof is not uncommon, an indication either of a roof partially destroyed by the war which has been repaired by thatch, or athatched roof gradually being replaced by tile. This is a slow process, as tile is costly. Basically, all of these houses have the same general plan, except for differences in roof materials.

[355] The older Japanese type houses with a tile roof and the newer ones being built on that model are provided with a drain pipe for rain water catchment. This pipe, running along the length and the width of the [415] roof channels the water into a large tank on the ground, reducing the labor involved in carrying water from village ponds or central springs. [312] Many of these rain water catchments disappeared when the old houses were destroyed in the war. Drain pipes cannot be attached to the thatch. In general, rain water is not now a plentiful source of supply in the villages, though buckets and tubs are frequently put out during a heavy downpour, and this water is used for drinking and cooking until it begins to spoil. It may supplement the water carried from a central village faucet, the well, or a pond.

The construction of the Japanese type house is complex. Basically, the design of the house is derived from the arrangement of three rooms,

an interwoven diagonal weave of miscanthus whose hollow stalks at maturity are strong but brittle, resembling in appearance a very small piece of bamboo. (2) The house with a simple thatch roof with walls of various sized rocks or small pebbles cemented together with mud taken from the yard, and (3) a thatch roof house whose frame is built with small rough hewn poles, over which a thin cheap pine siding is nailed. The construction of this house will be described in some detail below because, with the exception of the modern pine siding to replace the straw or diagonal weave, it is, according to the Okinawans, the oldest type of native rural house. 342

The house must have heat during the winter. The kitchen hearth is not used for this purpose. The kitchen fires are allowed to die down and are only started at meal times. It would be too expensive or wasteful of gathered fuel to do otherwise. Room heat is provided by a brazier (hibachi in Japanese). This may be a large square box with an inset lined with metal in which ashes and charcoal are placed. Some winter cooking may be done here. The hibachi may also be a large earthenware pot in which coals of charcoal are placed. 354 [415]

In some old homes, another device suitable both for heating and cooking, can still be seen. This was observed in Matsuda, but not in the southern villages. This is also a sort of hearth (jiru in Japanese). The jiru consists of a hanging bamboo pole one end of which is secured by a rope tied to a lattice in the ceiling. On the other end of the pole, about three feet long, there is an iron hook with another device, like an arm bent at the elbow, allowing the height of the hook above the fire to be adjusted. The handle of the pot is placed on this hook and the pot hangs at any desired distance over a bed of coals and ashes. This hearth is not in the kitchen, but at one corner of the dining room, usually where the two open rooms adjoin. The jiru is rare in the villages at the present time. It is from this device that the former practice of a mother and a new born infant "roasting" themselves takes its name; both the mother and the new born child were exposed, in a closed room, to heat from the jiru or from a brazier, even in the intensest heat of summer.[7] [184] [852]

4

Building a Simple House

The following description is based on observations made of the construction of a simple house in Hinatogawa. The steps are given in some detail because it was said that this house was being constructed in the manner of the traditional rural Okinawan house. 342

Rough hewn poles were used. The traditional method of putting on

7 This will be discussed in Chapter 13 on family life in the section on the rearing of children.

342 Co-operation often takes the form of a division of labor. In
426 building an elaborate permanent house with cement foundations, siding,
463 plank flooring and a tile roof, greater skills than the handyman
techniques of a smaller house are required. In the building of a house,
men with special skills, such as a carpenter, a cement mixer, a stone-
cutter, or a mason participate; others bring lumber and wood from the
mountains, as in Matsuda, or lay the grass on the tile roof. In some
[464] cases, all the labor may be donated; in others, the carpenter, the cement
mixer, the stonecutter may be hired, with helper's work done by volun-
teers. In simpler construction, the carpentry may be done by anyone
who has this secondary skill but is primarily a farmer or a fisherman.
People who have those skills are said to have half and half occupa-
tions (hannohangyō in Japanese).

7

Housebuilding Ceremonies

342 In building, a distinction is made between a temporary and a permanent
house. A temporary house may be built following a typhoon or a fire,
or it may be constructed for a poor man and in fact be a permanent house
for the family, the good house to come being more an aspiration than an
early reality. The marks of a permanent house are construction with
beams, instead of poles, good siding, a good roof, now mostly of tile,
a design based on mat size, and a cemented kitchen. Housebuilding cere-
ies and celebrations apply only to the permanent house.

[184] Ceremonies or observances during stages in the building of a house
differ from place to place and among people in the same village. In
342 Matsuda before the house is started, the owner, his friends, and
782 neighbors gather and offer a prayer that the house be a good and a happy
one. Before construction, and once each year following completion, rice
cakes (mochi in Japanese) and sake are placed in each of the four corners
[262] of the house site. Three rice cakes are put on the smallest of three
[203] saucers which fit into one another. Two of these saucer sets with the
rice cakes, together with a sake bottle and a small cup are placed on
[415] a tray. The east, north, west, and south corners are visited in that
order. Sake is poured from the flask to a small cup. There is a short
prayer. A piece of white paper, attached to a stick of dwarf bamboo
(Yambaru take) about one foot long is burned. The sake is poured over
the embers. The top rice cake is placed on the corner; the other two
remain on the small plate. Prayers are offered for protection against
[825] the deadly snake (habu). The rice cake is then picked up. On the next
corner, the ceremony is repeated.

When the ridge pole is put up, the carpenter prays that there will
be no injuries. Observances at the raising of the roof (muneage in
[183] Okinawan) seem to be universal in the villages. Three parcels, one of
salt, one of bean paste, and one of charcoal are wrapped in a leaf--any
[262] will do--and these are tied with a string and suspended from the inner
side of the crossbeam or from the ridge pole. There are no prayers at
This Time.

Rotation #2, Matsuda

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First year, ninth month: Autumn planting of sugar cane
Second year, twelfth month: Harvest of sugar cane. Followed by: Soy bean, sweet potato, or vegetables.

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Land is seldom allowed to lie fallow intentionally for any length of time. At any one time of the year, a farmer may have idle land for which there may be a variety of reasons. He may have other tasks and be unable to cultivate all his land, or have no need of doing so, or some of his land may be so poor that he will not cultivate it unless necessary. Much depends on the individual farmer and his holdings. The village records indicate that in Hanashiro 97.2% of the rice and 83.1% of the dry crop land is under cultivation. From the preceding discussion of land classification, it is clear that many parcels are of marginal quality, and these areas may be left uncultivated, at least part of the year. During the post-war [426] period there has been some informal lending of land, free of rent, to friends and neighbors, if the farmer is not using it himself.

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[231]
[227]

Manual labor with hand tools is the dominant method of cultivation. Domestic animals are not uncommon, but their use in farming is minor. The war increased the dependence on manual labor through the loss of domestic animals. Only cattle are now used in rice cultivation for plowing and harrowing and this is infrequent. The man or woman and the hoe are far more common. Crops are carried from the [482] fields by human labor. The basket or the straw container, or the tied rice sheaves on either end of a pole over the shoulder, and not [415] horse carts, push carts, or wheel barrows are the main means of transport from field to courtyard. The barefooted farmer, with his [493] hoe and a pole or a basket does the greatest part of the work. The common tools of agriculture are hand tools and adapted to the intensive cultivation which so often has more properly been called the work of a gardener rather than that of a farmer.

412

The basic all purpose tool is the solid bladed hoe. The hoe, since deep cuts are possible with its heavy blade, takes the place of the plow. The hoe also replaces the spade, and even the rake, for it can be used to break up and smooth the soil. A poorer farmer may lack [434] many of the tools in the following list, but he will have two or three of the solid bladed hoes.

The accompanying illustration shows the most common agricultural tools:

1. The hera, a spatula or trowel, used for transplanting tops of the sweet potato. Its wooden hand grip curves toward the end of the tool. The hera is also used as a scraper to remove brown sugar from the sides of the cooking pans during the sugar making season.

2. The kama, a small sickle. Next to the hoe, it is the most

256 until the desired white shade was obtained. After the milling, the rice is quite warm, and both the chaff and the rice have an odor similar to brewer's yeast.

[462] Women carry the rice to the mill. It is heaped up in baskets set
[482] on their heads. Rice straw or a braid of rice stalks is placed over the small towel which rests directly on the head. On this the woman
[415] sets the basket with its rice. When the milling is over, the women pick up a handful, blow off the chaff, inspect the rice for wholeness and whiteness, and then put it in a large gunny sack. The chaff is placed in a smaller one. Hulls, occasionally taken, are usually left
[824] at the mill to accumulate in a pile outside the mill and there, at frequent intervals, are burned. Sometimes the hulls or the ashes are taken for fertilizer.

[521] Bringing rice for milling is a social occasion for the women. They often have a child on their back. While waiting for their rice to be hulled and milled, they exchange greetings and news with their neighbors or with women from adjoining villages.

[727] As a result of the war, quality of machinery for rice milling differs with villages. Most now have access to a mill. The machinery at Matsuda, being more efficient than the older machines at Hanashiro is able to polish the rice satisfactorily after going through the mill three times. These mills are very busy during the harvest seasons.

252 There are also survivals of older methods of hulling and polishing rice. These are no longer used, though many of the old have not lost
[912] their skill. Before machine polishing was introduced, the hulls were removed by pounding the rice in a mortar, usually with a long bamboo pole narrowed in the center for a grip. After the hulls were removed, the rice was put through a quern, or a mill known as a shiriushi. This has two working parts: a base about a foot in diameter and perhaps a foot in height. It looks like a smoothed off log. In the center, there is a wooden pin, perhaps 1 1/2 feet long. Over this part, which looks like an upright piece of a log with a rolling pin stuck in its center, the upper part, made of wood and of the same diameter is fitted. A bar across the inside of the top of the upper part has a hole for the pin. On the outside, wooden plugs provide places for attaching ropes.
[962] These are pulled back and forth by women sitting opposite one another. The rice is poured in at the top, the quern is moved first clock- and then counterclockwise, the rice coming out in the rough crevice where the two pieces join. The rice is put through the quern as many times as is necessary to effect the polishing. In some querns, the inside of the upper part is grooved to quicken the polishing.

In polishing rice in this way, the mill is placed on a mat and the rice is gathered up periodically and put in baskets. It is then winnowed by tossing in a flat basket. Many of the farmers in the villages still have a shiriushi in their sheds, but it is seldom used.

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Matsuda. Polishing rice with a hand mill. This is a posed picture, but rice was polished this way up to shortly before the war. The grass mat prevents wastage. On the left is some Yambaru bamboo. The women are barefooted. The towel-like headdress is not uncommon.

[P. 185(A)]

of the rest of the syrup. With the stirring finished, the sugar for contemplated home use is spread out in pans to harden. That intended for export is put in specially prepared boxes, furnished by Naha export firms, stencilled and ready for shipment. 249 [439] [415]

In Matsuda, the harvesting of the cane is the same as in Hanashiro. But the old Okinawan and Japanese method of crushing the cane is still used because the destroyed machinery has not been replaced. The cane is crushed outside. Three large steel rollers are placed side by side in a frame, with gear teeth on the top meshing. A sweep about 30 feet long is attached to the center wheel.[6] A horse draws the sweep, revolving the wheels. The cane is fed into the left roller, caught as it comes out, and then fed back into the right roller. The juice is caught below. The residue (kibikasu) is left outside to dry to be used later for firewood. The juices which have been caught are taken in a low lying building with a tile roof, put in a large round pot (marunabe) or a rectangular pan (kikunabe). An open fire place is used for boiling the juice; the fire place is sunk in the ground and lined with stone, with a small opening at the bottom for putting in firewood. This mill is privately owned, the property of an association (kumiai) of about twenty men who rent it out for individual processing. As in Hanashiro, sugar is the production of the individual small farmer from its first planting until its sale for export or for home use. [727] [423] [429]

7

Other Crops

The most important of the other crops commonly grown in the villages remain to be considered. 241

(1) Soy beans (daisu in Japanese, Glycine max Merrill). In all the villages, soy beans were planted once a year, sowing in the first or second month, and harvesting in the fifth month. The field is prepared by making furrows and putting a mixture of chopped up green grasses and some animal manure, or a commercial fertilizer, in the hole in which the seed is planted. The farmer then waits for rain. After rain, he plants the seeds about three feet apart in rows from one shaku five sun (about 18 inches) for very good land to one shaku one sun (about 13 inches) for usual land. The plant is harvested with the small sickle. The beans are threshed by a flail (gurumanbo in Okinawan). The residues are used either for fertilizer or fuel.

6 This device is also relatively unchanged since Perry's time. The only difference is in the wheels which were formerly of wood, geared together by mortise and tenon joints. Stone crushers were also used formerly. In Hanashiro, I saw one of these stone rollers lying in the yard of a villager. For sugar making operations in the 1850's, see Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 20, 30.

226 476 The boat, as in the previous example, is considered a person. The cook is usually a boy about 16 or 17 years old. If we further assume a catch valued at Y10,000, with a deduction of Y1000 for gas and oil, there is a remainder of Y9,000 to be divided. The boat's share, A, is 30%, or Y2700, with Y6300 for further distribution. The following formula is then applied to this remainder:

Captain	1.5 shares	
Engineer	1.5 shares	
Fishermen	7.0 shares,	one for each of 7 men
Cook	0.7 shares	
	10.7	

The value of each share is Y588.78 (Y6300 divided by 10.7). If the amounts are rounded off, the final distribution is:

Captain	Y883	(1.5 x 588.78)
Engineer	883	(1.5 x 588.78)
Fishermen	4121	(1 x 588.78 x 7)
Cook	412	(0.7 x 588.78)
	Y6300	

The distribution takes place at the conclusion of a voyage. Obligations (giri) between the owner and the others, on these larger boats, are also based on custom. If a crew member is injured on a voyage and prevented from going on the next one, he receives a share for the voyage he was on, and some money, depending on the catch but not a full share, during convalescence. If a fisherman is ill and has been injured outside of his work, he does not receive this consideration.

5

Sale and Distribution of Fish

443 [962] [935] The sale and the distribution of fish is the work of women. Men occasionally do this, but their function is to catch the fish, maintain the boats and gear, and make the lures. The bulk of the fish is sold at Naha because the highest prices generally are paid there. This makes it difficult for adjacent villages to obtain fish, even in season. When the fish is especially plentiful and low in price at Naha, the women go to the agricultural villages of the interior. Fish are carried in baskets. The pre-war custom of carrying the fish basket on the head and walking from village to village, or to the railroad station at Kochinda, thence by rail to Naha, has given way to truck, bus, or the three wheeled cycle. Often in the evening, these cycles, which can seat six comfortably, are filled with eight or ten laughing and voluble women, and their fish, the vehicle chugging slowly and painfully up and then coasting down the grades. [915] [982] [999]

000 One can infrequently observe women walking from Hinatogawa to

8

Daily Life of the Fishing Village

Fishing families may have informal gatherings toward the end of the day. On a late summer afternoon, the family may sit in the open doorway of the house, for hedges, fences, the barriers, and trees are rare. The wife may be nursing her naked child. Her husband, a fisherman, has changed into his indigo blue and white striped kimono, a tall, broad, deeply tanned man. Next to him sits his mother, over 70 years old, her hands tattooed, as are those of all the old women. She is wearing a kimono of the same color, but of a dot pattern. They sit on unrolled mats. On the veranda, three or four men, unwashed and still in their work clothes, discuss the events of the day. A lacquer tray with tea cups is on the floor near them and the tea (as it so often is) may be cold. There is brown sugar to eat along with the tea. The grandmother may be economically smoking a half or a third of a cigarette in the typical Japanese pipe. As it grows later, the wife gets up, pours some water in the stone mortar, and smashes the sweet potatoes with the long wooden pole. The men continue talking for a while, then take their leave. The wife, her work at the mortar finished, goes into the dirt kitchen to start the evening meal.

The wife of the fisherman has worries that do not bother the farmer's wife. There is always the danger that her husband, or son, will not return, a real possibility, of which the frequency of widowhood in Minatogawa is proof. Every season, there is at least one instance of a fisherman who has either been lost, or whose delay in returning has provoked intense worry. If crews are still out when an unexpected storm arises, there is considerable tension in the village. Since the war, rescues at sea are more likely than before. The village headman quickly reports overdue boats. The American forces have created much good will in seeking fishermen lost at sea.

Women, on the other hand, have opportunities for leisure when the catch is light, or weather is unfavorable. At these times, they can busy themselves with other tasks, in the field, gathering stones, getting miscanthus, but they do not have the unremitting activity of the woman in the agricultural village. There is more visiting during the day than one observes in an agricultural village.

The fisherman, with or without land, tries to keep pigs and perhaps a few goats. In Minatogawa, the pens are often made of sandstone quarried here. Not only the floors and the sides, but the stalls are made of this material. One reason for this is the openness of the village and the danger that pigs will be killed in a storm. A typhoon may carry away the house, its owners having gone to the stronger house of a friend or relative, but pigs are an investment and an asset to be guarded.

824 (12) The pandanus (adan or takonoki, Japanese scientific name, Pandanus oderatissimus L) is also scattered. Formerly the pandanus was widely used in Okinawa for slippers and a Panama type hat was made for export. This home industry has disappeared from Matsuda, as it has from the south.

(13) The i (Juncus effusus, Linn. var. decipiens Buch). This rush is used in the better quality home made mats (mushiro). The i is generally the warp of these mats, with some other grass the weft. It is occasionally cultivated when rice paddies are not in use, as it requires much water. There are two varieties of i, the round, and the three cornered (sankaku). The three cornered variety is used in cheaper quality mats. The round variety with cotton string as the warp, is used in weaving the best mats.

(14) The Yambaru bamboo (Yambaru take). This I believe is the same as, or at least very similar to the Japanese sasa, or dwarf bamboo (Arundinaria communis Mak.). Yambaru take means "northern district bamboo" and throughout Okinawa the term is used to describe this valuable plant. In appearance, it resembles the susuki grass, but its stalks are much woodier, have a greater diameter, and the plant is much taller. In an uncleared forest, the Yambaru bamboo grows six to nine feet high and has a foothold wherever there is the slightest room in the forest. Patches often are intermingled with the shii, pine, and the numerous shrubs. This is the roof thatch material of the north. Its other uses include the weaving of stationary barriers (hinpun) in front of the house compound. The stalks are closely woven diagonally while still green. The plant has innumerable uses, depending on individual improvisation. While green, charcoal containers may be made out of it; it may be woven into rough baskets (zaru) for carrying sweet potatoes, or to bind up the small bundles of firewood which are sent south. In general, the smaller diameters of Yambaru bamboo are used for roofs; the larger for bamboo fences (takegaki) and the face level hinpun. Bundles of Yambaru bamboo are sent to Naha and Shuri for weaving.

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3

The Uses of the Forest

313 Clearcutting seems to be the curse of traditional Oriental forestry. Starting at the convenient base of a hill or mountain, every tree has been cut up the hill until a steep or inaccessible part is reached. This destructive exploitation has been an established Japanese forestry practice despite the obvious inducements to soil erosion.[5]

The results of clearcutting observable near Matsuda now are a product of the overwhelming war and post-war demand for lumber and

5 A report on Japanese natural resources, as cited, 357.

40% of the proceeds. The trees thus sold are all cut down. After clearcutting, the area is left to natural reseeding. About twenty years hence, the clearing will again be sufficiently forested to permit repetition of the same procedure. This follows an established Japanese pre-war practice. This was known as the five year period share (gonenkanbun). The forest is divided into subdivisions, each 110 chō in area. (A chō is 2.45 acres). These 110 chō plots are in turn subdivided into five parcels of twenty-two chō each. Each year one of these five subdivisions may be cleared. 313 [804]

Throughout the forest, divided up into these plots, there may be a five year cycle of cutting, but not all the plots are available every year. If this were so, the forest could be cut over in five years. The system is planned so that there will always be parcels being cleared, those in various stages of regrowth, and mature stands. During and after the war, this practice broke down in favor of uncontrolled cutting.

If a family has little cash, a villager may pay his taxes in part by cutting wood. The village office pays Y4 for a bundle of firewood (late 1951), Y2 going to the villager as a cash payment, and Y2 being applied to his taxes for the year. [651]

The farmer makes frequent excursions to the mountains to obtain firewood or poles to make improvements in the compound, such as repairing a tool or food shed. Men do this work, especially when the distances are far, but the participation of women is by no means exceptional. Along the roads of northern Okinawa, one can frequently see old women walking down from the mountains carrying bundles of firewood on heavy poles. Much of the wood is hand carried from the mountains; if the farmer has a horse and cart or a truck, the wood is carried to a convenient road for loading and transport. [462] [482] [887] [494]

Charcoal is manufactured in the forest area. In Okinawa charcoal has many uses, mainly for heating and cooking, and for charcoal sticks (senko). Lumps of charcoal are placed in braziers and the sticks are used as touchwood in place of matches and in ceremonial and religious observances. Charcoal containers (tangu) are often constructed on the spot. These are round or box-shaped and made out of the dwarf bamboo. 314 [372] [096] [415]

Charcoal kilns are privately owned. They are of the simplest sort. The kiln may be covered with a rude housing, built up by poles and a thatch roof. A mound of large boulders and dirt is built with an opening on the dirt floor running the length of the firing area. Poles which have been stripped and cut in various lengths, from five to nine feet, are shoved in the opening and moved forward as they burn. The smoke comes out the back.

Forest maintenance and improvement is, in part, a result of community endeavor. With some exceptions, each person in the village from 16 to 60 participates one day a year in forest improvement (sōrin).[8] The participants are boys past school age, unmarried girls, and all men up to the age of 60. These people work without personal remunera- 313 [476]

[8] The usual meaning of sōrin is afforestation or reforestation. In Matsuda it is used in the sense of care and improvement of the forest.

Alcoholic Beverages

443 Japanese and American canned beer
[273] Japanese type sake (a light rice wine resembling sauterne)
Okinawan sake (awamori)

Miscellaneous

Charcoal sticks
[276] Brass and nickel plated Japanese pipes
Small dishes
[415] Sake bottles
Oil burners to keep mosquitos away
[416] Flashlights, bulbs, and batteries
Matches
Japanese and American tobaccos
Fishing lamps and the ika lamp (fishing villages only)

[437] Transactions are usually on a cash basis, although some customers pay at the end of the week. In one such store, the gross sales averaged ¥600 a day with a net profit of about 10%. (The yen is pegged at 120 to the US dollar). During the day and the early evening, the village
[366] stores are meeting places, especially if, like Hinatogawa, several together make up a small business center.

443 Supplies are delivered to village stores by truck or sometimes by
444 bus. Often the owner goes to the larger towns to buy. Young boys are an important cog in the distribution system. They deliver candies, cookies, and other small articles which are carried in five gallon lard
[850] tins on racks over the rear mudguard of their bicycles. They ride up to the store, count out their candies or cookies, receive payment, and cycle on to the next store over a route which includes several villages. These boys work out of larger towns like Itoman and Nago. Baking goods,
[262] bread (pan) really a sweet dough with a jelly-like filling, cookies and candies are distributed in this manner. Sometimes housewives make cookies and cakes to sell to village stores.

443 There is not much house to house selling or soliciting. Occasionally women come to the villages with a selection of ready made clothing or cloth. In Hinatogawa, an itinerant drug vendor periodically goes through the village ringing his bell, selling various Japanese patent medicines mainly for colds, headaches, constipation, and stomach aches.

444 Import stores (hyakujō), also operated privately, are a different
262 kind of enterprise than the village shop. They have been set up under the American occupation. Larger wholesalers supply the village re-
511 tailers. These stores deal in a restricted number of commodities, such as rice, flour, soy bean sauce, wheat, and cooking oils. Sales are made to villagers on a rationing system based on the number in the family, its
[442] age distribution, pregnancy, and whether the head is engaged in heavy work. The intent of the import stores is to make food available, at reasonable cost, to those who cannot grow their own, or whose own produce

000 vegetables in season.

262 On special occasions, cookies, cakes, and more fresh fish and meat are served. In Okinawa any food out of the ordinary is called a feast or a treat (gochisu). Fresh fish, fish cakes, beef, pork make up a feast, for these are seldom served in the routine meal. Fish, pork, and beef are universally liked, but fish is hard to get, beef is expensive, and pork is a source of cash income. Many families eat pork only at New Year.

By almost any standard, including their own, the daily Okinawan diet is monotonous and unappetizing. Nevertheless the present diet is an improvement over the pre-war one. Most villagers said that before the war, the diet consisted of the sweet potato and bean paste soup. Bean paste soup usually has a few shreds of meat or fish in it. In times of scarcity, or if the family is very poor, only the paste is used, and when this is dissolved in hot water, it makes a kind of clear bouillon which is jokingly referred to as "mirror soup" (kagami miso) because one can see his face in it. In Okinawan, it is also called "nothing in it soup" (nnshiru). Since the war, the rice imports from Java, Siam, Egypt, and other foods sold through [839] import stores have provided more variety.

Goats are a cheap source of meat, but many do not like goat's 272 meat. The milk is not used for human consumption.

Tea is served at all hours. Many Okinawans, however, have acquired a taste for coffee. Tea is steeped in a large pot and [915] placed on a tray with the cups. Once made, tea stays in the pot until it is drunk. Frequently it is lukewarm or cold. Callers are [574] served tea and small chunks of brown sugar, picked up with chopsticks. Sugar is never used to sweeten tea. There is considerable eating [264] between meals, especially if visitors drop in. Women prepare a bowl of noodles, of cooked vegetables, fry an egg, or slice up some bean [262] curd. Villagers eat enormous quantities of food.

The people are very hospitable, but hospitality does not take 574 the form of inviting friends to dinner except on special occasions, like a birthday celebration or a wedding. One family does not entertain another at dinner, but an individual member of a family who has worked at a friend's house may stay for an evening meal. Or a child may eat with the family of his playmates. Entertaining does [562] not include a man and his wife. The wife normally stays at home.[1]

1 In Hinatogawa, I was told that the beginning of the preparation of the meal was a sign for the visitor to return home. This was not due to the broad hint of the host but to the reserve (enryo) of the visitor. "Nnun ni wariu" (Okinawan) "to be pressed by food" is said by those returning home at these times. One goes home at meal times.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

By the 7th day, the reminders of New Year have been cleared away. The old offerings are taken from the god shelf and replaced by new food. The rice straw rope, if any, has been removed. 527

Of all the holidays New Year is the most eagerly anticipated and the most varied in its activities. It combines ideas of renewal and new beginnings with worship of the dead and of the founders of the village, as well as being a means of making closer ties with more distant relatives of the extended family. It is a time of work and some pleasure for the women, a time of relaxation and drinking for the men.

2

Jūrokunichi

The second public holiday, Jūrokunichi (literally 16th day) is on the 16th day of the 1st lunar month (February 21, 1951). This is a holiday of devotion and prayer at the family tomb. Worshippers go singly or in a group. The tomb is cleaned and food is left for the dead. 769 [D96]

In Hanashiro, food is taken in two lacquer boxes (jūbako) the first of which contains rice cakes, the second, fritters, meat, bean curd, and other food depending on the resources of the family. For the first observance after death, two boxes are taken on this holiday. On succeeding anniversaries only the box containing the fritters, meat, bean curd and other foods is taken.[1] The purpose of this offering is to comfort the dead. The food, usually with tea and sake, is left before the tomb for about two hours and taken home, where it is eaten. (Offerings at tombs or at home are only temporary; later they are removed and eaten as ordinary food). The lacquer boxes may also be taken on New Year, at the spring equinox, and at O-Bon. [262] [415]

In Hinatogawa, descendants of the former nobility or gentry (shisoku) take four boxes, two of rice cakes, two of the miscellaneous foods, while descendants of commoners take two boxes, one of the rice cakes, and one of the assortment. Every year the same offering is made. It is not reduced to one box after the first. In Matsuda, any kind of a flower is placed by the tomb. A lacquer box with food is prepared for all who died during the preceding year, but it remains on the god shelf in the house and is not taken to the tomb. The contents of the two boxes are as previously described. On succeeding anniversaries after the first, plates instead of lacquer boxes are used. [565] [262]

1 The idea behind this is not clear. Possibly in the first year the dead person requires more food and comfort than in succeeding ones. As they do with so many other practices, most Okinawans explain it by saying that it is shūkan (the custom).

There are no uniform sleeping arrangements. The larger the family, 513
the more corners of the front rooms and rear room are occupied. Since the number of comforters is limited in most families, two or three members of the family share one. Father and mother do not always sleep together, and, even if they do, an infant may sleep between them. When there are several children, another child may sleep next to the father, so that in one row there may be mother, a baby, father, and an older child. One or two children usually sleep with the grandmother in another corner. In several families an older sister may sleep with younger brothers; in others, two elder brothers, or an older sister and an older brother, may sleep next to each other. Children do not usually sleep at other people's houses, but when they reach junior high school age, a girl may stay with a girl friend or a group of boys may sleep together at one house.

A simple desk and chair are kept in each house where children go to 352
school. These are put in one corner of the front room, except in large houses with a third room in front, which is reserved for schoolchildren of the house, who also sleep there. Around the study corner, books are 353
kept on a crate or shelf. Only the biggest houses have a niche in their "first" room. Paintings and scrolls, used to decorate alcoves before the war, have been lost, and few people have acquired replacements. Many families decorate rooms by pasting pictures from magazines and newspapers on the walls. Some have reproductions of the Japanese Crown Prince Akihito, others scenic pictures from Japan.

Only a few recent buildings have inner sliding doors with paper 342
screens. The paper is often left off during the hot season and put on 356
before New Year. If children or cats are around, the splendor does not last long, and even an adult's hand frequently punctures the screen in trying to open the door. Holes are left unrepaired for the remainder of the year.

The eating corner between kitchen and rear room is the place where 342
most families gather in the evening, especially during the winter. An 264
informal caller may join them there. If it is cold, a brazier is put in the center, filled with pieces of charcoal on top of old ashes to provide 354
heat for those sitting around it. These braziers vary in type: the poorest families use the bottom of an oil drum filled with ashes; others use pottery jars or small wooden boxes lined with metal.

Crockery used in most houses is of a simple type. If breakage oc- 415
curs, as it often does, a cup or bowl can be replaced for a few yen at the grocery store. Well-to-do families may have an extra set of teacups, which are used for guests. Several families also own lacquer ware, but it is not in daily use. Like cups and bowls, chopsticks are simple and [412]
inexpensive. They last a long time and are seldom lost. Children do

415 not use household equipment in their games. Instead they find broken Children do
857 dishes, old cans, and other discarded items in the trash heap.

354 The kitchen has no equipment other than the open fireplace with
[716] three hearth stones and a shelf above it on which a salt column, sym-
[654] bolizing kitchen deities, is kept. During the last few years, the Ryukyan government Home Extension Service has been trying to introduce brick stoves into farmhouses. Several families now have this kind of stove although it is expensive to build.

356 As far as can be superficially discerned, the home is kept clean. A visitor usually finds the floor of the house free of dirt. Footgear is taken off before entering, and children are reminded to wash their bare feet before going into the house. Less care is given to the area around the kitchen.

312 Outside the kitchen stand one or two jars to store water. A dipper is
415 kept nearby, and children playing in the vicinity or adults often walk to one of these jars for water, which they drink out of a dipper. There may also be an array of pots, pans, crates, baskets, and other equipment piled up around the kitchen. Knives and hatchets are openly left around among the equipment behind the kitchen.

351 The courtyard is an important place for domestic activities. Here women and girls wash dishes, mix pig food in large kettles, make bean paste in a hand stone grinder, and prepare grain for storage. There are
[53] vegetable patches in one corner of the yard, chicken coops, pigsties,
[514] goat pens, and an outhouse in another. Most garbage is fed to the pigs;
[364] the rest is thrown over the sea wall to roll down onto the beach.

*
*
*

Chapter 2

Daily Routine

805 There are few clocks in central Taira. Except for the township office,
512 post office, and village store, only two or three families own a timepiece. Twice a day, at noon and 10 o'clock in the evening, a clerk strikes

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

312
854
296
415

Women washing at water tank.

Women transplanting rice.

243
291

Women transplanting.

Carrying wood.

[482]
→

[p 456-B]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

857
226
854
291

Children catching small fish.

Girls washing their laundry.

857
291
302

[296]
[415]
←

[482]
→
[312]

Carrying water while their mother is recovering from giving birth.

[243]
→

Boy harvesting.

[p. 456-C]

effectively in the case of a boy who did not respond to red pepper or black paper. The mother described how she tried to fend off the boy one day by simply refusing. As he fussed and cried there was a loud clanging of the pots in the kitchen. The boy stopped crying and looked at the mother who pretended to be very frightened. "Look now! There! It's a big rat coming for your mother's breast, let's hide it, quick, quick!" And with that she buttoned her blouse hurriedly and took the boy in her arms. She laughed as she described how she reminded him thereafter about the rat and how he ran to her and held onto her breasts protectively. 862

For the child, this whole interim period is a stormy one filled with tantrums, whining, and obstinancy. At no time, however, does the child resort to thumbsucking or other breast substitutes. For older siblings who are his caretakers, this period is a very unpleasant one. Many things displease the child. If his caretaker squats, he screams to have him stand; if he stands, he whines to have him walk. Frequently the sibling caring for him reflects the changing attitude toward the child, and, jiggles him up and down impatiently with a frown and curt comment, "What is it!" [856] [857]

As far as actual nourishment is concerned, weaning should not be so traumatic. Long before weaning commences, when the child is about one, he is given a spoon with which he can learn to feed himself. If families can afford it, they purchase new spoons and special small-sized rice bowls as well as chopsticks for these novices. When the budget is so limited that purchases of new implements are impossible, adult-sized ones are used, and often as not the tablespoon used for cooking and serving proves useful. [853] [412] [415]

At mealtime the entire household sits in the back room, which is next to the kitchen. The head of the family sits nearest to the raised hearth, and the rest of the members form a circle to the left and right of him at a low round or rectangular table. The baby sits on his mother's or grandmother's lap. Usually the mess resulting from this early training period in self-feeding is ignored. The adult holding the novice in his lap occasionally picks up the dropped rice and thrusts small pieces of fish or vegetable into his mouth. Only when he bangs the table excessively with his spoon do his elders mildly chide him. At first the adult holding him will absently reach for the offending arm and slip some food into his mouth. Later they will begin reprimanding him by scowling and glaring at him saying, "Me-me!" (child talk for "eye," meaning "I look at you disapprovingly.") But all this is done in a very gentle way, and often when the novice bursts into tears from fright of the disapproving response, he will be hugged, laughed at, and 853 264 862

Alcoholic Beverages

443 Japanese and American canned beer
[273] Japanese type sake (a light rice wine resembling sauterne)
Okinawan sake (awamori)

Miscellaneous

Charcoal sticks
[276] Brass and nickel plated Japanese pipes
Small dishes
[415] Sake bottles
Oil burners to keep mosquitos away
[416] Flashlights, bulbs, and batteries
Matches
Japanese and American tobaccos
Fishing lamps and the ika lamp (fishing villages only)

[437] Transactions are usually on a cash basis, although some customers pay at the end of the week. In one such store, the gross sales averaged ¥600 a day with a net profit of about 10%. (The yen is pegged at 120 to the US dollar). During the day and the early evening, the village
[366] stores are meeting places, especially if, like Hinatogawa, several together make up a small business center.

443 Supplies are delivered to village stores by truck or sometimes by bus. Often the owner goes to the larger towns to buy. Young boys are
444 an important cog in the distribution system. They deliver candies, cookies, and other small articles which are carried in five gallon lard
[850] tins on racks over the rear mudguard of their bicycles. They ride up to the store, count out their candies or cookies, receive payment, and cycle on to the next store over a route which includes several villages. These boys work out of larger towns like Itoman and Nago. Baking goods,
[262] bread (pan) really a sweet dough with a jelly-like filling, cookies and candies are distributed in this manner. Sometimes housewives make cookies and cakes to sell to village stores.

443 There is not much house to house selling or soliciting. Occasionally women come to the villages with a selection of ready made clothing or cloth. In Hinatogawa, an itinerant drug vendor periodically goes through the village ringing his bell, selling various Japanese patent medicines mainly for colds, headaches, constipation, and stomach aches.

444 Import stores (hykujō), also operated privately, are a different kind of enterprise than the village shop. They have been set up under
262 the American occupation. Larger wholesalers supply the village retailers. These stores deal in a restricted number of commodities, such
511 as rice, flour, soy bean sauce, wheat, and cooking oils. Sales are made to villagers on a rationing system based on the number in the family, its
[342] age distribution, pregnancy, and whether the head is engaged in heavy work. The intent of the import stores is to make food available, at reasonable cost, to those who cannot grow their own, or whose own produce

ceremony the set of three cups (sakazuki) was used. The go-between, a man and a close friend of the groom, poured sake into the top cup. The groom drank; the go-between then refilled the cup, giving it to the bride. The same procedure was repeated with the remaining two cups. 585 184

In this ceremony, after the san-san-kudo, the go-between dipped a pair of chopsticks into salt, putting a bit on the open palm of the bride who then put the salt in her mouth. This was repeated for the groom. The go-between then dipped his finger into a cup of water, touching first the forehead of the bride, then that of the groom.

The presentation of the newly married couple to the guests was also done in a different way. Because of his close friendship with the groom's father, the mayor of the township introduced the bridal pair to the guests. This was a tender and affectionate speech in which the mayor told of the birthplaces of the young man and his bride. He asked the guests, as friends and relatives of the new couple, to teach them how to live well together, how to make a living, and ended by asking everyone present to have a good time. The celebration, the sake drinking, the dancing following the ceremony were essentially the same as in Matsuda. A ring was not used in either ceremony. When used, it is ordinarily given to the bride, not placed on her finger as part of the ceremony. [576] [537] [301]

A custom followed in Hinatogawa illustrates a variation in the preliminaries before the marriage ceremony. The groom (hanamuko) and the go-between or a friend go to the bride's home. They are given refreshments. The groom acknowledges his bride. He returns to his home to await her coming. This may take some time if the tide is not right. Before the war children from 7 to 10 years of age carried long lanterns (chōchin) with candles to light the way for the bride, as she walked to the groom's house. Each child carried two lanterns, which they held very tightly, as it was considered bad luck for them to change from one hand to the other. The lanterns have now been abandoned (when the ceremony is performed) in favor of flashlights, in another triumph of the Industrial Revolution. But the children enjoyed participating because they were given small amounts of money and food. [857] [416] [177]

In the Hinatogawa custom, everyone stepped over the threshhold. Even now, if houses do not have one, a long step is made from the outer stone or ground into the room. Among the guests, there is usually a jokester who humorously announces in a loud voice the arrival of the bride.

In Hinatogawa, the groom's family presents a gift of about Y5-6000 to the bride's family. (This family would have to be in moderate circumstances to do this). Gifts from the guests are from Y20-40. The groom's friends may give money to the groom's parents to defray the heavy expenses of the banquet, and the girl's friends give money to her, presumably for the purchase of wedding articles. [431]

There is one further variation in a custom from Hanashiro. On

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

4

O-Bon

The festival of O-Bon takes place on the 15th and 16th of the 7th lunar month (August 17-18, 1951), or from the 13th to the 16th, if preliminary preparations are included.[3] This very important holiday lacks the variety of themes which appear in the celebration of New Year. O-Bon is a festival to entice the spirits of the dead to their earthly home, and then, what is just as important, to induce them, after their visit, to return to the other world. O-Bon is an occasion for extended family reunions. 796 775 769

Generally on the 7th day of the month, about a week before O-Bon, the family or representatives of the family visit the tombs, take an offering of sake, and clean up around the tomb. At this time, the dead are asked to come back on O-Bon. This is the tanabata matsuri.[4]

On the evening of the 13th, two candles are placed within the compound entrance to guide the spirits back. This act of welcome is known as unke or omukaebi.

In Hanashiro, on the 15th there are prayers and offerings to the dead. Candles are then relit at the compound entrance and the spirits beseeched to return to the afterworld (ukui in Okinawan, okuribi in Japanese, meaning sending back). This may also be done on the 16th. Members gather at the home of the head of the house of the main family. The 16th is passed in rest and recreation. In Hinatogama, observing the holiday may require a visit to Itoman. The Matsuda custom is like that of Hanashire.

O-Bon is a colorful holiday. Lanterns are freely used. Whether the people believe that the spirits of the dead return is a question to which there is no easy answer. Many observe the formalities and the customs of O-Bon without believing that the spirits have actually returned. There is formal compliance, but in my opinion real belief is to be found mostly among women of middle age and older. [416] [183]

3 O-Bon has been variously translated as "The Lantern Festival," "Festival of the Dead," "All Souls Day," but I prefer here to retain the Japanese word, as these translations are only misleading approximations.

4 For an interesting discussion of the origin of tanabata in Japan, see Chamberlain, Things Japanese, 436-37. In Okinawa one occasionally hears this referred to as a "star festival."

The village is one of a series of settlements in a long narrow valley, on a limestone plain, bordered on the east by a steep ridge, up to 300 feet in elevation and running in a northwest and southeast direction, which divides the valley from the sea. On these cliff like formations, large outcrops are covered with shrubs and miscanthus grass. Lanes and roads lead from the valley floor to the summits of these hills, where villagers collect their firewood and grass for roof thatch. On the rocky, steep slopes of this seaward ridge, above the line of cultivation, is the tomb area. Precipitous and stony hills prevent cultivation, but occasionally a sharp tongue of land reaches far up the slope, its end protected from the rains and wash by a short stone fence. 361 133 [137] [491] [824] [764] [417]

Between Oushichan and Hanashiro village, there is a bridge over a small stream, its upstream course obscured by its dispersion in the rice fields. The dirt road, gradually ascending, cuts through the main rice growing area of the village, on a gentle slope, reflected in the bench cultivation of the rice fields. Here and there are large rocks and stony outcrops, with an occasional scrub pine, cycad, or a covering of miscanthus. Cultivation goes around these large stones. 491 133 [243] [137]

The road, about one-fourth of a mile from the bridge, soon leads into what looks like, from a distance, a densely wooded area. This is the settlement. 361

With the exception of the rough stony land of the limestone mountains and steep slopes, the soils of the area are the Okinawa clay loams and the Chinen stony clays lying on the limestone plains. The farm and village area takes up approximately 427 acres, of which 257 are in gently sloping Okinawa clay loams, a deep, well drained, neutral to slightly acid and very fertile soil. Another five acres is of the same type but these are in slopes, of a gradient ranging from 8-15%. There are 80 acres in gently sloping Shuri clays, shallow, moderately fertile, an olive colored, crumbly, calcareous clay; another 35 acres in the Awase clays, deep fertile, crumbly, calcareous clay of olive-gray color, and 14 acres of rough stony land. 134 133 311

The hillsides and the summits are free of densely growing trees and shrubs, and the lowlands are given over to cultivation. There are no groves of trees to protect the crops from typhoons. The trees and the protection they give are confined to the village. This is typical of many villages of southern Okinawa, where the hills and mountains have few trees, and dense growths are associated with habitation. 311

Inside the village, winding lanes branch off the main dirt road. The older houses are on the north side of the road. On the opposite side, the houses, newer or rebuilt since the war, adjoin the cultivated area. In the older section, the dense shrubbery, the tree lined lanes, broken occasionally by stone fences, wind through the village with footpaths branching off, sometimes past an open field, a reminder of a failure to rebuild after the war. On the northern outskirts is the village office, its gong in the yard, the open field, a playground for the children. 361 363 [417] [487] [367]

133 Hanashiro and Oushichan villages to a broad semi-circular valley, the
361 Oushichan plain, with a gentle gradient sloping to the sea. Shortly before the coast is reached there is a sharper drop, and it is in this depression along the shore and the coastal strip that the fishing village lies.

134 The Okinawan clay loams and the Chinen stony clays are also the
133 predominating soils of the area. There are about 85 acres of the gently sloping clay loams, 155 acres of the gently sloping Chinen stony clays. While moderately fertile and well drained, these soils are also shallow and stony, with obvious defects for the pursuit of agriculture. There are 10 acres of deep, fertile poorly drained, slightly acid alluvial soils. These occur along the river and its estuary and in a small former river mouth to the south. There are about six acres in rough stony land.

731 The village has very little storm protection. There are no shelter
133 belts around it, nor are there many trees within. It is open to storms and typhoons, and the water, lashed by the sea, is sufficient to break
417 and scatter the large stones of the seawall. At present, inside the village there is none of the privacy typical of the agricultural villages and their compounds. There are few trees, shrubs, or fences. In the
361 older part of the village, the houses are closely set together. Fishing
351 nets hang on the lines of the yard. In season, the yard is covered with
220 drying fish, fish fins, and fish backs. The yards and the shore are dotted with men cleaning or repairing their boats.

362 The lack of natural beauty of the place is accentuated by the poor-
512 ness of the houses and the other buildings. Its atmosphere is unmistakably different. The village is more commercial and more lively than the quiet
484 and concealed agricultural village. Life is not so much of a routine, for much depends on the weather and the sea. The village has people who have travelled widely. Some of its fishermen have been in the waters of Java, of the South Seas, of the Andaman Islands, the Philippines, and Indo-China.

438 The village's main commercial contacts are with the remaining agricultural villages of the township from which it must obtain much of
[311] its food, for the area is not suited to agriculture, nor is much land available. For wider contacts, there are Itoman about 4 1/2 miles, and Naha about 8 1/2 miles away. Buses go through the village twice a day.
494 The three wheeled cycles are irregular but come and go more often. Fish
368 is sold at Naha. The theatre for the travelling troupe of actors from Naha and for movies is in Horikawa across the river. Many visits are
574 also made to Itoman to see relatives and friends.

The war was even more catastrophic for Minatogawa than for Hanashiro.
727 Before the war, Minatogawa was a thriving, prosperous and well built up small town. About 70% of its buildings had a tile roof and 30% had
[361] thatch roofs. There were about 30 stores, sake shops and drinking places, including a geisha house, along the road, serving the fishermen and the stonecutters. Of the 430 buildings in the area, only three were left

1

Historical Notes on Housing

In all villages, much time is spent, in addition to agricultural or fishing tasks, in housebuilding, either for one's self or for friends and neighbors. Housebuilding is the most time consuming of a man's tasks after his primary occupation. Repairs to or reconstruction of the poorer houses are continuous. The man with a good house and a tile roof has little to worry about. But he will often be found helping someone less fortunate. 342 461 [476]

The traditional houses of Naha and Shuri showed both Chinese and Japanese influences. The traditional house and compound of the rural village has been compared with the ancient Japanese house, and it bears some similarities with houses found among the Ainu. 342 171

It would seem from the observations and researches of earlier students that the house was always built above the ground without excavation, and sometimes on stilts. The supporting posts making up the rectangular house were either placed in holes or on stones on the ground. The supporting posts, the ridge poles, the cross beams were branches or trunks of trees trimmed and cut for length. Roofs of thatch had the apex of the roof covered by a saddle or arch shaped thatch made, like the rest of the roof, of grass. Smoke escaped either through an aperture in the ceiling or through a window, as it still does in many of the poorer houses. The houses were filled with smoke. The oldest rural houses apparently had only a dirt floor with scattered mats, though some had a raised floor. 175 342 [352]

The food storage sheds or small granaries were raised on stilts. Engravings of these have appeared both in Perry's writings and in Bayard Taylor's works. There is some question whether this granary (now disappeared) was indigenous or a borrowing. The purpose of the raised granary was probably to protect against dampness and to prevent infestation by rats and vermin. These granaries were open sided with no boarded up walls, and, in Okinawa, were circular.[1] 175 343

Animal pens or stalls were not attached to the house, but were always separate. In the courtyard, earthen rain water vessels were inbedded half way into the ground to catch the rain water. There were stalls for goats and pig pens, and the pig pens were used also as a toilet. This is no longer practiced to my knowledge, although the outhouse with its holes in the ground is found under the same roof as the pig pen. The entrance to the courtyard was oppositie the front of the house. The protective stationary gate, the hinpun (in Okinawan), made of reeds or stones, stood at the entrance inside the court, as it does now, to shield the people of [417] [415] [364] 417

1 For drawings of the granaries, see Satow, E. M. Notes on Loochoo. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 1 (1882), 1-8. The drawings follow the text. See also Simon, Beitrage zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, as cited, 75-85.

417 the house from the glances of the curious. It has been suggested that the stationary gate at the entrance of the courtyard is of Chinese [177] origin, that its purpose originally was to scare away spirits, and that its former presence in the tomb compound indicates that it was intro- [164] duced along with the turtleback or horseshoe tomb from Fukien province in China.[2]

175 Captain Hall described Okinawan house exteriors and the surrounding 351 buildings, including those of the common people. The house was "buried 340 in foliage" and hidden from view. It was surrounded by a light fence of rods, about one foot apart with creepers on top. These rods were probably stalks of miscanthus grass, or of the dwarf bamboo. The site had a wicker gate, possibly meaning the hinpun made out of the dried grass stalks. One house which he described was divided into two compartments, eight feet square, with a small veranda at one end. The floors, made of bamboo, and about six feet above the ground, were covered with a straw mat. The walls, about five feet high, were wattled with split bamboo, and the house had a pointed thatched roof.

[352] In the interior, there were shelves for bowls and cups, and in a [354] loft or garret tools, nets, or baskets were stored. These installations now are often found in the kitchen. In the middle of one side of the house there was a fireplace, sunk below the level of the ground.

[343] Outside, in the compound, a pigeon house, poultry yard and spinning 175 wheels were observed. In another passage, Hall describes a cottage of 342 "wattled rattans" with a light open bamboo roof with thatch and creepers, one wing of which was occupied by goats. The compound consisted of a stable, a pig sty, and a poultry house. There was also a mill. The granary was on posts about six feet above the ground with firewood [325] piled below. There was an anvil with a forge of masonry but no bellows.[3]

The houses of the poor, said Fahs in his report to Commodore Perry, were made of bamboo and had no floors.[4] Accounts around the turn of the century say that houses and granaries were supported by corner posts of considerable height. Schwartz said these posts were about five feet high. The house walls of straw thatch were held in place by bamboo grass matting with a space two feet in width acting both as a door and a window, a matting curtain covering the aperture.[5]

[Text continues TOP of p. 73--Analyst]

2 Simon, as cited, 80. C. W. Bishop has suggested that the stone houses of the Ainus of Hokkaido point to contact with southern insular peoples. Also, the primitive Japanese hut which was illustrated resembled the one we have been describing for Okinawa. It had a thatched roof and a courtyard which was cut off from the outside view by the hinpun. The historical geography of early Japan. Geo. Review, 13 (1923), 40-63. Note especially Figures 5 and 6. (This article was reprinted in Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1925).

3 Captain Basil Hall, Voyage to Corea and the Great Loo Choo, as cited, 124, 141, 142-43.

4 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, Vol. II, 50.

5 Henry B. Schwartz, In Togo's country. New York and Cincinnati, 1908, 148-49.

592 342 magazines and pasted on the wall, and here he entertains visitors who come for conversation or study.

3

Types of Houses

342 In all the villages studied, the houses may be divided into three general categories: (1) the Japanese style house with the thatch or tile roof, (2) the smaller stone house with the Japanese type floor plan, and (3) various shacks resembling in some details the simple structure of the old Okinawan rural house.

[313] [439] [335] The sturdy Japanese type house is made of excellent hardwoods imported from Japan or brought from the forests of northern Okinawa. This house was often constructed without nails. It was put together by mortise and tenon joints, and also with a piece of wood, square on the edge and about three inches long which functions like a dowel. This is known as a kusabi. In modern houses, both of the simple and more complex types, nails are more commonly used.

[355] [411] [352] The eaves of this house are supported by strong poles, unfinished, usually from the Japanese redwood (sugi in Japanese, Cryptomeria japonica, D. Don) or the inumaki (Podocarpus macrophyllus D. Don). The poles are placed on flat triangular stones for foundation support. The houses have plank floors. Both the tile and the thatch roof types (to be described later) have the same floor plan with the size of the rooms determined by the number of mats (tatami in Japanese) desired.

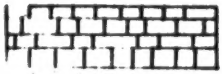
The half tile, half thatch roof is not uncommon, an indication either of a roof partially destroyed by the war which has been repaired by thatch, or athatched roof gradually being replaced by tile. This is a slow process, as tile is costly. Basically, all of these houses have the same general plan, except for differences in roof materials.

[355] [415] [312] The older Japanese type houses with a tile roof and the newer ones being built on that model are provided with a drain pipe for rain water catchment. This pipe, running along the length and the width of the roof channels the water into a large tank on the ground, reducing the labor involved in carrying water from village ponds or central springs. Many of these rain water catchments disappeared when the old houses were destroyed in the war. Drain pipes cannot be attached to the thatch. In general, rain water is not now a plentiful source of supply in the villages, though buckets and tubs are frequently put out during a heavy downpour, and this water is used for drinking and cooking until it begins to spoil. It may supplement the water carried from a central village faucet, the well, or a pond.

The construction of the Japanese type house is complex. Basically, the design of the house is derived from the arrangement of three rooms,

TYPES OF HIKIFUN

417



Stone Block - Horizontal
4' x 9', Thickness about 9"

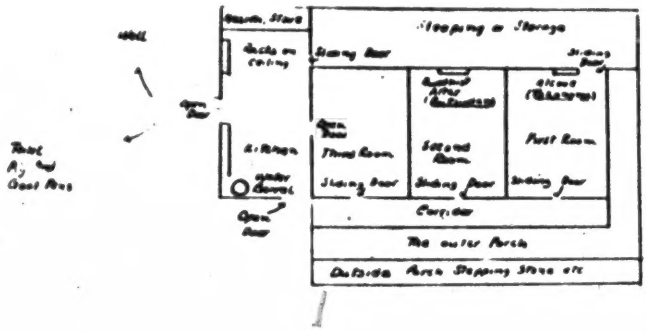
Stone Block - Vertical
4' x 9', Thickness about 9"

The Lattice (Plasterboard)
Lattice 3' x 5'6"

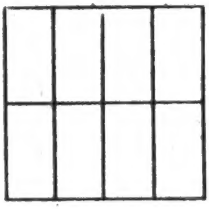
Bamboo, Wooden made of green
Yambaru bamboo
Typical size 5'x6'

ARRANGEMENT OF THE ROOMS

342



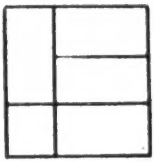
8 Mat Room



Size of mats
3' x 6'

4 1/2 Mat Room

[352]



413

(3) Chisels (nomi in Japanese) of various sizes.

(4) The hand saw (nokogiri in Japanese). There are two kinds: a single edge for cross cut, or a double edge, the second for rippling. The saw has a short blade and a long handle.

(5) A kind of hatchet (te-ono in Japanese).

(6) A rabbet plane (motoichi)

(7) The square (kanejaku)

(8) A gimlet, the large hand operated boring tool with a T shaped handle (ōkii ana in Japanese, bōtō in Okinawan).

(9) The common brace and bit.

(10) The hammer, both claw and ball pein.

(11) The sumi tsubo (in Japanese). This is a reel with a string. As the string is drawn out from the reel, it passes through an India ink paste which is in a shallow flat dish situated at the point where the string comes out. The inked string is made taut along the line to be cut, snapped sharply, resulting in a black line along the desired cutting edge.

(12) The sumisashi (in Japanese), a short stick, dipped in ink, which is used for drawing a cutting line by hand usually with a square or rule to join longer lines made by the inked string.

(13) A plane for use on curved surfaces (the maruka in Japanese.)

(14) A sandshaker. When mortar is needed, an improvised sandshaker may be constructed. Long poles are set up wigwam fashion. One end of a wire is fastened to the apex of the poles, the other to the end of a wire net. The other end of the wire net is held in the hands. Sand is put on the mesh, and the device is then shaken so that the fine sand goes through. Long poles such as those used for the sandshaker or in building construction are called maruta (in Japanese). [417]

6

Co-operation in Housebuilding

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476

In Okinawa, co-operation among villagers in larger tasks is not conspicuous.[8] Housebuilding is an exception. Depending on the size, any number of people in a village may participate in building a house. If the house is small, only friends or immediate relatives are likely to assist. But if it is a large house, friends or neighbors may work one or two days, and relatives three or four days.

8 The nature of village co-operation will be discussed in Chap. 18

place. Then, as now, paddy and dry crop land might lie together, depending upon local factors. In the periodic redistribution, each family received shares of each in non-contiguous fragmented parcels. In the nature of things, they received small shares of the excellent, moderate shares of the good, and large holdings in poor land. 175 423 311

The old classification of lands was simple and did not go beyond three general divisions of good, fair, and poor. Apparently the Japanese after 1879 introduced more refinements and increased the number of classifications to six. Land classification, then as now, was empirical. It was based on observation, local knowledge of present and past yields, and known dangers to the land. It was not based on scientific knowledge of the soils, nor is it today. 175 311 [177] [242]

Several dangers to land and crops were considered: (1) the danger of the wild boar (inoshishi). These reddish brown wild boars have disappeared from large parts of Okinawa, though occasionally one is seen in the northern forest. The boars destroyed crops by night feeding. Remnants of old fences can still be seen in the area around Matsuda. In Oku, in the extreme north, fences are still used and many can be seen along the hillsides. (2) Dangers from floods and salt water spray. Local flooding is common and often confined to a narrow area. Salt water spray and salt water in the air, especially in typhoon times, are still menaces to crops. The danger from typhoons did not enter directly into the determination of land classification because the area of destruction was so wide that it was not a factor distinguishing one plot from another. (One can however observe areas of differential damage in a village as an aftermath of typhoons). 175 241 [136] [417] [731]

This old land allotment system is now forgotten except in a few isolated areas where its main features are still apparently preserved. The best known of these is Kudaka Island off the southeastern shore of Okinawa. If the system has disappeared, except for a few isolated survivals, its influence remains to the present: it determined the pattern of land use still in effect today, the pattern of small, discontinuous parcels, and set the precedents for the mechanics of land classification. The basic classifications such as rice land, dry crop land, community forest were Japanese and are of great age. The old land allotment system is also considered to be of great antiquity.[2] 178 423 [184] [177]

2 It was a matter of considerable disappointment that I was unable to spend two or three weeks on Kudaka to study the land system there. Neither has time permitted an investigation (of great inherent interest) of the historical antecedants of the old Okinawan system. Land classification, such as we will be discussing in the next chapter, is very old in Japanese culture. The old Okinawan system bears some resemblances to the "mouth-share-land" (ku-bu-den) system of old Japan which appears in the Taihō code (702 A.D.). This was a system of distribution of communally owned land, but I have not been able to determine whether the distribution was periodic. See Wigmore, J. H. and Simmons, D. B. Notes on land tenure and local institutions in old Japan. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 19 (1891), 77 on land classification, (continued on next page)

In the areas studied, no serious sheet erosion was observed

No doubt this may be a problem in parts of Okinawa, but it is doubtful that this menace will threaten the habitability of the island. Occasionally one can see a freshly hoed field on a slope that is losing its soil during a downpour. But the fact that the hills and mountains are covered with vegetation, are not too steep, and that grasses and shrubs are cut off allowing the stubble with the roots to remain in the soil effectively binds the soil of the hills and at the same time prevents flash floods. With the exception of stony soils, the land of the areas studied had a plant cover. This statement is not inconsistent with the previous remarks regarding deforestation, as the disappearance of the pine, the cycad, and the pandanus has been offset by the spread of kaya (miscanthus) grass. Boundary paths also keep the soil in place. They often roughly follow the slope and are sufficiently crooked and winding and of sufficient depth to prevent washing away of large quantities of soil. While there is no complex irrigation system in these areas, the small ditches which carry the water down the slope are winding and covered on their borders by weeds. Occasionally one can see a farmer shovelling up the soil accumulated in a natural catchment in a bend of one of these ditches and restoring the lost soil to his land.

134 133 137 185 [487] [312]

In all areas, equally simple devices to protect the soil could be observed. Roadside borders of stone, like the stone of a rock garden, often line the fields adjoining main roads. (One could write a long essay on stones and the part they play in the culture of the people). These stones come from the fields. If fields do not have stone borders, weeds are left to grow. They are cropped, but the roots are left in the soil. In Hanashiro, stone fences on slopes and contour breaks are a common sight. Sometimes these have the appearance of blunt wedges, the end of the wedge going up the ravine. These stones have been painstakingly gathered from nearby areas.

185 417

Terracing is practiced in a crude form in these areas. It really is step or bench cultivation, the plots being above one another in step like order. The function of terracing is, in the case of the dry crop land, to bring more land under cultivation, protecting it from washing away; in the case of the rice fields, it supplies flat land for cultivation at different levels. In the areas studied, terracing did not go all the way up the mountain side, although this practice can be observed in parts of Okinawa.

185 241

Very frequently the ledges of the terraces are covered with a border of weeds or cropped grass which prevent soil runoff down the hill. In the Matsuda area, rice is grown up a narrow mountain valley, or ravine, with trees and shrubbery on the hillsides growing to the very edge of the cultivated plots. In rice terracing, the boundary paths often divide one step from another with openings in the ditches to allow the passage of water to the level below.

824 The most common of the Hanashiro trees are (1) the banyan or gajimaru, or yōzu. This tree is a common sight with its long roots growing around and through the stone fences. The tree with [731] its roots bracing the stone fences is excellent typhoon protection for the village. (2) The usuku (Japanese scientific name, the akou) resembles the gajimaru in appearance and serves the same purpose. The fukugi (Darcinia spicata Hook) and an occasional cycad are common windbreaks. These trees are almost invariably in combination with stone fences, made of blocks, or with fences made of loose [417] stones which have settled and been bound together by small plant roots. Village typhoon protection is a simple but effective combination of stone, shrubs, and trees. There is also an occasional kuroki (kurchi in Okinawan), from whose trunk the samisen, the stringed [534] musical instrument, is made, and the palm (shuro).

There are wild plants in each of the areas but their importance has also declined. Among these is the pandanus (the adan, Japanese scientific name, the takonoki). This plant was plentiful before the war, but is now scarce except in the mountain area. It can occasionally be seen in genya land or in small clumps on an outcrop. The blades of the pandanus are long and hard, with a row of spines down both sides of the blade. It has had several uses. Formerly it was the common material for making slippers (zori), hats, cigarette cases, and hand-[463] bags. These home industries have all but disappeared, but old people occasionally do a little. In preparing the pandanus blades for use, [887] the thorns are removed and several strips are made. These are then boiled, dried, and smoothed out. Then they are woven into the desired pattern. A first class pandanus blade is about 5 feet long. In the [782] celebration of O-Bon, the fruit of the pandanus may be offered as food to the ancestors.

Another plant occasionally used is the getto, known also in Okinawa as sannin or muchigasa. Its chief use is in the festival of the 8th day of the 12th lunar month. At this time, rice cakes (mochi) are wrapped up in its long and wide and flexible fibres. These wrappings, often made by children, are hung from the ceiling or from the wall. The stem of this plant was much used in the past for rope.

824 The nigana (njana in Okinawan, Ixeris dentata Nakai) is still
262 used in this area as a food and medicine. It has an exceedingly bitter
957 root, about 1/8 of an inch in diameter in a mature plant. The root is put in hot water, and the liquid drunk as a stomach medicine. The leaves, not so bitter as the root, have a sour, slightly bitter taste. They are often served with the white cuttlefish (shiroi-ikka).

The ōbako (known in Okinawan as the hirawakusa or hirawagusa, Plantago Asiatica L, "Japanese ribwort") is used as a medicine and as a food. When vegetables are scarce, it is eaten as a green. As a medicine, the leaf is heated over a fire and the hot leaf is then pressed over a swelling.

137 settled area and for protection of the surrounding crops. Around
311 houses, there are common stone fences, bamboo fences and trees.
Stone fences, though solid may be toppled over. Bamboo, or dwarf
[417] bamboo fences, seemingly slight, resist the winds and remain intact
because of their flexible loose weave.

137 The trees on the ridges of the low lying hills or on high pieces
133 of ground are tall, and sturdy, and jealously protected. The villagers
185 take great pride in them. Today this pride is based on the realization
[078] of their effectiveness; in former times, their protection was associated
[777] with the worship of the gods of the sacred grove (utaki). There were
[173] beliefs, which now seem to be dying out, that cutting these trees
would bring bad luck. Many villagers say that Saion in the 18th
century intentionally invented superstitions concerned with the cutting
of the trees in order to save them. Now these trees are no longer in
danger of cutting, even though the penalties of the old beliefs are no
longer feared.

The following short list does not exhaust the kinds of trees and plants found in this area. It is confined to those trees, shrubs, and grasses which are most frequently found and which have the greatest local importance.

829 (1) The Ryukyuan pine (Riukiu-matsu in Japanese, Pinus luchuensis
313 Mayr). This tree is still one of the commonest sights of the island, even in southern Okinawa. At present, it is a source of firewood, cheap lumber, and siding. It is not considered good housebuilding material because of termites (shiroari). Pine was used for fishing boats within living memory, but now they are made of much harder woods. In this area, the coniferous groves are along the seashore. The larger stands are not cut. Scrub pine on individually owned wild land may be cut for firewood.

(2) The fukugi (Garcinia spicata Hook.). The fukugi is used around homes and on mountain ridges as a typhoon protection. It is fairly plentiful here and prized as a building material (kenchikuzai). The hard studs, beams and cross beams and the wide plank floors in the older and better houses are often made out of this wood.

(3) The iju (Schima luchuensis Nak.). This tree, common here, is used as a building material and is considered to be better than the Japanese redwood (sugi). It is not regarded as a good firewood.

(4) The inumaki (Podocarpus macrophyllum D. Don). This tree is not well known here, and there are no large specimens. But it is regarded as the best building material when available. Often the large, hard, rough hewn poles which are placed on stones and support the eaves of the older houses are made from this wood.

(5) The shii (Shiia cuspidata). The dense stands of this tree in the village owned forest restrict the size of the specimens, though

231 Before a piglet is bought, its feeding habits are carefully observed by the buyer to determine future growing potential. It is then kept in a [417] sty: pigsties are either in the yard near the house or in a cluster of stables on the north edge of the town. Twice a day women cook the food in large kettles and ladle the liquid food into a trough. Nowadays [262] pork is rarely consumed in the village except for special holidays, when several families may slaughter pigs and sell part of the meat to every- [438] body through the local store or preserve some of it by salting. Most [251] farmers, however, wait for the meat buyer from the southern part of [442] the island from whom they receive a good financial return.

Goats are raised for home consumption. They are never left to graze [417] but are quartered in a goat pen near the pigsty and fed on grass cut from uncultivated land. Seven families in the central village have [492] horses. Their main use is to carry firewood from the mountains. The small breed looks like a cross between a horse and pony and seems especially adapted to climb the steep trails. They are also used for plowing and for pulling two-wheeled carts. The owner of a horse [434] may more than double his income from forest work. Horses are fre- [427] quently rented out for half the day's income from wood carried by them.

Silkworm raising, an important source of income in Taira before the war, is only now being resumed by some Tairan families. The [474] larvae are supplied through island-wide silkworm raising associations, which repurchase the cocoons after they are spun. To raise silkworms, a substantial house is needed so that rats cannot enter and eat the worms. The temporary postwar structures with holes and cracks in the walls and roof are inadequate. Only a few recently built houses can be used. One family keeps growing worms on shelves in the front room. [137] Most of the mulberry trees were lost during and after the war. Plans have been made to plant new trees. Young girls feed the mulberry [462] leaves to the gluttonous worms who require constant attention. When the worms are ready to create their cocoons, they are taken off their diet, and the cocoons are cleaned and sorted out. Silkworms can be raised four times a year if there is an adequate supply of mulberry leaves. Their sale brings a good income, which can become a substitute [434] for cash earned in forest work.

FISHING

226 Fishing is a much less important source of livelihood than one would [554] expect in a coastal village and is a low-prestige occupation. Only two

175

a suburb of Naha, thence to Shuri. They turned north, passed the ancient fortress of Nakagusuku, went over to the east coast, proceeding to the vicinity of Kanna. In Matsuda, which the exploring party apparently did not reach, there is still a story about Perry's expedition. It concerns a carving on stone placed on the top of a dramatically shaped rock on the seashore. According to local residents, this carving remained in place until it was shot off by an American soldier during the war.

Roughly around Kanna, the party crossed the island to the South China Sea or western side, and reached the village of Un-na (modern Onna), an engraving of which appears in the narrative and also in Bayard Taylor's India, China, and Japan. The return trip was down the coast, and the road led through Nachinato back to Naha. Coastal explorations were extensive. A new chart was an immense improvement over Hall's. Special attention was given to the Unten (Port Melville) and Shah Bay (Miyagishima and the area south of Ogimi).

Bayard Taylor, the famous traveller who had joined the expedition and wrote parts of the narrative, spoke of the interior of Okinawa in 1853 as a "terra incognita," and he was not exaggerating as far as Western knowledge was concerned.[22] This probably applied to the Japanese as well, for their stations were in Naha and an administrator or scholar of the Tokugawa era probably found little in agriculture, plant life, land tenure, and local history and ethnography to interest him.[23]

Upland agriculture, the hoeing of sweet potatoes, the planting and transplanting of rice, the manufacture of sugar were described much as they can be observed to this day in parts of Okinawa. They noted a sameness and a lack of variety in plant life, the planting of pines along the highways, the fences used as protection against the wild boar. The communal land system was remarked upon, the writers thinking it a "metayer system," that is a form of share-cropping in which the proprietor of the land and the cultivator receive equal, or agreed upon proportions. They described houses built on small stilts, the compounds, and the village granaries. They strolled through villages, poked their heads into huts, and wrote about the utensils in the kitchens. They theorized about the possible origins of the people and their connections with other races, discovered lingams which were interpreted as the ruins of "ancient Hindoo idolatry." They spoke of the glossy upswept hair and the hair pins according to rank.

[241] [137] [421] [342] [302]

The village granaries are gone; so has the land system and the costumes, and the long swept up hair of both sexes. Agricultural techniques and the care of the land have remained. [198]

[Text Continues Top of P. 38--Analyst]

22 See Bayard Taylor's A visit to India, China, and Japan, in the year 1853. Chapters 30, 33, 36.

23 In the early 17th century the Japanese explored the island, took a census, and reorganized political administration. CA Handbook Ryukyu (Loochoo) Islands, 40.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1.

The Family System, Inheritance, and Succession

The family system is distinct from the inheritance of property. But in the succession of the first son to the house and in the establishment of branch families, the operation of the family system shows its effects on the practices involved in the inheritance of land and other property. 602 428 [182]

The family system can, and actually has operated in Okinawa independently of a system of private ownership in land, and, at present its obligations are as strong on a landless villager as on one who has many fields or other property. Succession in the family system is succession to a series of rights and duties and responsibilities, much watered down, it is true, from what they once were. These rights and duties may involve the disposition of rice fields, a house site, or personal and movable property, such as the majority of Hinatogawa fishermen possess in a boat, nets, hooks, and other fishing equipment. [923]

Since agriculture and the employment of land are fundamental to the life and economy of Okinawan villages, practices involving the inheritance of land should receive the greatest emphasis. In this chapter, land is considered in a general way, reserving for the following chapter a detailed analysis of types and grades of land based on the Okinawan township system of land classification. 428

Since the first son and his succession to the house are so important to the continuity of the family, one might expect outright primogeniture in inheritance of real property. Such is not the case. The present system of inheritance of property was defined in Japanese law which provided for inheritance by sons other than the first and by daughters as well. This is based on Japanese law as it stood prior to the passage and promulgation of the Japanese land reform law of October 1946 and prior to the post-war revisions of the Japanese Civil Code.[1] [421] [177]

1 In this and in the following chapters, words in parentheses are, unless otherwise designated, Japanese equivalents of English terms. For an interesting historical discussion of the concepts of katoku-sōzoku (succession to house headship) and isan sōzoku (succession to property), see Hozumi, Nobushige, Ancestor worship and Japanese law. Third and revised edition, Tokyo, Osaka, and Kyoto, 1913, 170-87, esp. 181-82. Hozumi notes that in old Chinese history, katoku (house authority) was used as a synonym for eldest son, 172-73. On the Japanese reforms following the war, see Arthur F. Raper et al., The Japanese village in transition, (GHQ, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, Natural Resources Section Report No. 136), Tokyo, 1950, 161-70, 258-61, and Laurence I. Hewes Jr., Japanese Land Reform Program (GHQ, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers. Natural Resources Section Report No. 127), Tokyo, 1950, 9-36. [113]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

quire room and board are sometimes put up without compensation, and they agree, perhaps, to give some help with studies of the landlord's children. Only the village "doctor" takes transient guests, mostly visiting officials from the city, who pay for lodgings. 427 [875] [485]

Although the household head is a legal owner of the family property, there is a feeling that it belongs to the family and everyone in the household identifies himself with his land and house. This is expressed in the language. A person who is asked, "Whose rice paddy is this?" would answer that it is the household's or "ours." 423 592

In addition to the communal land holdings and the property of the cooperative described earlier, the following items are shared. The government supplies a breeding boar to each village; it is then left in the care of one farmer. This animal is available to pig owners for studding on request, and a small charge is made for the upkeep of the boar. A few tools are jointly owned by several households. Threshing machines were bought jointly after the war by two or more families to defray the high cost of such equipment. These families could be neighbors or relatives. Today many are complaining that joint ownership works hardships during the busy harvest season when there is heavy demand for the machines. As a result, everybody wishes to own his own machine as soon as he can afford to. For tea harvesting, special clippers are owned by the village cooperative and loaned to people as they need them. Since tea harvesting, though seasonal, is not done by all families during the same day, sharing of these tools presents no difficulties. 422 [231] [654] [476] [474]

Property of others is very much respected. Stealing among villagers is almost unheard of, except for some pilfering of green vegetables and fruits by children. Only one case was reported during the field-work period—a person tried to take some goods without payment from the community store. When a village meeting was called, and it was announced that the person's identity was known to the store manager, the merchandise was later replaced. Willful damage to fields is similarly strictly forbidden. No child would really think of doing such damage. But there are no formal rules about trespassing. Movement across other people's property is completely free and unchallenged. 421 685 [627] [867]

(8) Inheritance practices tend toward a slow but continuous fragmentation of land due to the need of establishing branch households. This tendency toward fragmentation is seldom overcome by reversing the process in favor of some form of land consolidation. The major obstacles to consolidation will be dealt with in the next chapter. Fragmentation is more likely to occur in the holdings of the more well-to-do who have property to divide. Among the very poor, whose holdings are small and scattered, there is an enforced primogeniture. It is not possible to divide land indefinitely. The smaller a piece of land, the more likely it will be surrounded by land owned by others, and these isolated islands are difficult either to sell or trade. 428 423 [565]

(9) Among the fishermen of Hinatogawa, practices applied to real, personal, and movable property, are similar to those of the agricultural villages (nōson). Here the influence of the family system is more on the disposition of personal than of real property, but the effects, if not the rewards, are similar. If a fisherman has dry crop fields--there is no rice land--the elder son receives all, or most of the land. All informants stressed the weight of the individual desire of the father, whose division of property is influenced by the spirit, sobriety, and dependability of his sons. Here there is also the same social disapproval of selling inherited land. The fishermen attempt to supply second sons with small boats, nets, hooks, and other gear, just as the farmer attempts to give land, domestic animals, and agricultural tools. With the very poor, second and third sons may have to be content with nothing or with a few articles of clothing. Among those fishermen who have land, the principle is established that the first son gets the greater part, if not all, of the real property. 428 423 422 [425]

3

Mechanics of Land Division

Ownership is scattered; individuals own different types of land in varying proportions and in varying grades within types. Plots of land are small in area. Rice plots are normally the smallest, followed in general in ascending order by dry crop fields, and the wild land (genya). It is from such conditions as these that the difficulties in fairness of division arise. 423 311

The following illustrations show the manner in which division is usually carried out. Let us for simplicity first assume four parcels of land:

#1, a house site
#2, a parcel of 700 tsubo third grade dry crop land (hatake)
#3, 500 tsubo of grade one dry crop land, inconvenient and far away from the home, and
#4, 1000 tsubo of grade two hatake.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

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fads of Western inspiration. Vaccination, the calendar, European dress for officials, photography, edicts against long hair belong to the late 1870's. Chamberlain has spoken of the years 1885-87 as the "years of the great foreign fever."[24] Japan was the medium through which Western ideas were brought to bear on the old Okinawan culture. This new intrusion, indirectly set off both by the Perry expedition and the determination of the Japanese to change their own country, was modern Japan, compounded of traditional and Western ideas. When we speak of the "Japanization" of the islands, we must remember that some of this is also Westernization.

Foremost among these changes was the introduction of the new Japanese education. Education came to the rural areas and provided the basis, as in Japan, for mass literacy. This was not an easy task. Nor was it accomplished at once. Chamberlain in 1895 tells of the signs at the entrance to each village, giving the population, the number of children of school age and the number of children actually attending school, a "device not used in Japan itself, but resorted to here with the object of shaming parents into sending their children to school. To get the girls sent there has been found very difficult--the Further Isles almost impossible." The extent of this change can be appreciated by Chamberlain's further remark that few outside of Naha understood Japanese, and that the language was taught the first year so that it could be used later in instruction in other subjects.[25] Before World War II, as now, Japanese was spoken and understood by all, except the very old, the Japanese language existing side by side with Okinawan which remained the language of children, intimates, and of the village. The adoption of Japanese dress, the cutting of the hair, the learning of the Japanese language were the avenues to official employment.

Another great change was the abolition of the old system of land tenure, something we shall dwell upon at length later. By a series of laws over the period 1899-1903, the old system of village communal ownership with a periodic distribution of the rice lands and the dry crop land was abolished and private ownership and inheritance of land were instituted. The abolition of the old land allotment system must have changed the aspect of the villages, for village-owned granaries, were part of the central area of a village.[26] This change in land tenure, as Spencer has suggested, contributed to the further economic decline of the native religion of the noro priestesses whose lands, still retained, were now subject to different laws of inheritance.[27]

[TEXT Continues on Top of P. 40 — Analyst]

24 Basil Hall Chamberlain. Things Japanese, 238. See his comments on "fashionable crazes," 155-57.

25 The Luchu islands and their inhabitants, as cited, 457-58. Chamberlain adds, page 457, an interesting table showing school attendance by district which indicated that eligibles going to school were in a distinct minority.

26 Hawks, Perry's Expedition to Japan, as cited, I, 314; II, 34.

27 The Noro, or priestesses of Loo-choo, as cited, 109. This is an interesting example of the relation of an old religion to economic changes brought about by a revolution in land tenure induced from above.

Since the war, the old narrow one lane roads have been broadened, permitting heavier auto traffic. Land ownership has been undisturbed, for it is not in an area in which the military has required land. Since the war, the villagers have tried to return to their former way of life, but this has been done with poorer houses and fewer possessions. 363 403 511

3

Minatogawa

Minatogawa, the second village studied, formerly was a shoe string type of settlement. Houses, shops, drinking places were along the seawall road. This pattern is now altered as a result of the war. Scattered areas have been relocated and houses built on lands formerly used for sweet potatoes. It is now an indeterminate type of village, retaining some indications of its old settlement pattern along the main road, with additions of clusters of houses in the newly settled areas. 361 [275] [311] [244]

Like Hanashiro, this village is in Gushichan township, and located on Highway 64. It is directly on the main historical road, previously mentioned, which led from Naha to the Chinen peninsula. The road, along which its houses are built, parallels for a distance the estuary of the small Minatogawa river. This narrow estuary, called Usaregawa, which connects the river mouth with the Pacific Ocean, and the small river itself (Yuhigawa) is a boundary between Gushichan and Tamagusuku townships. On either side there are steep cliffs, the sites of the best known stone quarries of Okinawa. 361 133 [491] [316]

The settlement and the adjoining lands have an area of about 256 acres. It is a mixed economy village with three distinct occupational groups: fishermen, stonecutters, and farmers. There is a second village whose borders blend with those of Minatogawa. These two villages are now known officially as Minatogawa-ikku and Minatogawa-niku. The two terms can be awkwardly translated as Minatogawa first ward, and Minatogawa second ward. But popularly they retain their older names: Minatogawa for the fishing village, and Nagamo for the agricultural second ward. These two separate but adjoining villages were until 1925 a single village. 621 463

The division was the result of distinct differences in outlook and occupation between the two sections. Minatogawa is a fishing village and has strong ties with Itoman, a town on the East China Sea shore about 4 1/2 miles away. Nagamo is an agricultural community originally settled from Naha and Shuri. Stone-cutting operations spread over both areas. While the fishing village of Minatogawa was given the emphasis in this study, it will be necessary occasionally to include Nagamo in the discussion.[8] [226] [241] [324] [128]

8 The writer did not realize until he lived here that two villages were involved, thinking that the two wards referred to a single administrative unit. By this time the work on Hanashiro had been well started, and time did not permit the intensive study of Nagamo. 114

standing. At one time, the Hinatogawa beaches were seriously considered for the initial landings in Okinawa, and later as a possible second landing. After the campaign for the south had begun, Hinatogawa became a forward loading point.[10] The present village has been completely rebuilt, and the newer buildings, with few exceptions, are frail and undistinguished. The war shows its effects, too, on the southern part of the village where there is a barren acreage, formerly the site of an army camp, its top soil so shallow that the bulldozers in levelling it soon reached the rock beneath.

Nearby Nagamo is a village of a different type. It is divided into two distinct quarters, also a result of the war. The old part formerly was to the north in the main stonecutting area, but following the destruction, a new settlement was started in the farm land a few hundred yards south. Cultivation is marginal on the shallow soil of the sloping valley before it descends into the flat coastal area in which the fishing village is located.

Hinatogawa, which means River Port, is a distinctive village reminiscent of the famous fishing town of Itoman, though without its size, beauty, or color.

4

Matsuda

Matsuda is a here-and-there type of village. The village area including the community owned forest is over a square mile. The countryside is dotted with several small sub-settlements. Within each sub-settlement, the houses also are scattered about and separated from one another by large trees, thick growths of shrubbery, grasses, stone fences, and cultivated fields.

The village is located in Ginoza township (Ginoza-son) on the northeast side of the island. This township is in the northern district (Kunigami, or Yambaru). The village is on Highway 13, which winds along the northeast coast through Ishikawa, Kin, Kanna, and Ginoza villages.

Though near the sea, a typical site of a northern Okinawan village, it is a settlement engaged in agriculture and forestry. Its name suggests its nature. Matsuda is a compound of the characters for pine tree, matsu, and rice field, ta, da. Though there is some fishing in the sub-settlements along the Pacific shore, it is casual and a part time occupation for farmers on the coast. The families exclusively

[Text Continues TOP of P. 55--Analyst]

10 The statistics on village destruction are taken from accounts of the villagers. They are estimates. For operations in this area, see Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 68, 74, 426-27, 436, 439.

plus the excess of births over deaths were sufficient six years after the conclusion of the war to bring the post-war population of the village within 200 of the pre-war level.

Okinawans returning to Hanashiro came largely from Japan, the Philippines, Manchuria, Formosa, the South Seas and a few from Hawaii. From Hinatogawa, the areas of former settlement were broader, probably reflecting a wider activity of the fishermen. They came from Java, Palau, Singapore, the Philippine Islands, and Taraua. Some had previously returned voluntarily from Hawaii and Peru before the war. The largest segments came from the Philippines and Taraua, the smaller groups from Hawaii and Peru. The repatriates to Matsuda also came from Japan, the Philippines, Hawaii, and the South Seas.

One consequence of the pre-war emigration and of the repatriation that followed was that each village after the war had a group of people who had been in foreign countries or had relatives still residing in foreign areas.

In the villages studied, according to the residents living there now, repatriation was not accompanied by the tensions and the ill feeling that was so conspicuous in post-war Europe, especially Germany. There were no cliques between those who had stayed during the war and those who returned to live beside them.

The reasons for this are probably these: many of the repatriates even though absent a long time owned land in a village. This was true of Hanashiro and Matsuda, the agricultural villages, and to a lesser extent of Hinatogawa. Some adjustments were necessary. The land owned by these people had not been idle during their absence. If a first son returned, in most cases his younger brother was cultivating the fields and occupying the family house. He, in the absence of his eldest brother, acted as head of the house. When the first son returned, he received the possessions and assumed the responsibilities of the head of the house, and in turn gave his younger brother land to establish a branch household. When the returned member of the family was a second son, the adjustment was easier. The first son, if possible, gave his younger brother a house site and fields to cultivate.[6]

Other relatives, parents, younger or older sisters, nephews, or nieces were absorbed within the family, the parents or grandparents resuming a retirement which they would have had in any case, while the younger relatives became working and contributing members to the family. They did not come back to an altogether strange place. They or their parents had been born there, and their names had remained in the village family register.

6 The reasons for these acts will be made clear in Chapter 6 on the family system.

593 in a military installation which keeps them away from their homes, they
remain there, helping in the fields, or go out on the fishing boats, as
[582] the case may be. If a son other than the first remains in the family
after the age of marriage, it is generally for some physical or mental
disability. Under the normal operation of the family system, there is
591 no time in a person's life in which he is not part of some family unit
and living in the same house with his parents, an elder brother, or
with a wife and his children, or with his grandchildren.

727 The war enforced many exceptions to this normal life cycle, as the
593 discussion of the previous table brought out: conscription and military
service, deaths in battle or as a consequence of the campaign, widow-
hood and the orphaning of children. In the villages studied, the post-
war situation was not disrupting family life further by the movement of
younger unattached men to Naha or the larger towns, or by their separatio
from daily life while doing work for military camps. At least it was not
sufficiently frequent to result in a deterioration of normal family life.
591 In these villages branch families were established for the most part
in the village of the parent family. There are two reasons for this:
first, the desire to remain near the parents and siblings, and second,
[423] that the property which the father, or elder brother, has at his disposal
is normally real property and land holdings in the village. Cash, which a
[435] agricultural or fishing family might have at its disposal, would usually
be insufficient at present prices for a second or succeeding son to be
given money to purchase land and a house site elsewhere. Occasionally a
[425] father sells land in the village to provide his son with money to purchas
a house site and fields elsewhere, but this is not usual.

The mechanics of establishing a branch household may be illustrated
from practices observed in each of the villages, though the procedure is
essentially the same.

Hanashiro is a settlement in the center of a cultivated area of dry
[361] field farming and rice paddies. The cultivated area begins on the outer
rim of the village. The father, or the elder brother, gives a field
(hatake in Japanese) to the son, or younger brother, if it is suitable
for a house site. If the land owned is too far away--there are no
[425] isolated homesteads--an effort is made to exchange with a neighbor, frie
or relative, the far off property for a parcel closer in. If this is
not possible, the remote piece is sold and the proceeds used to purchase
a suitable plot in the residential area. If the family is too poor to
[426] give money or land, an attempt may be made to borrow the money for pur-
chase. If none of these arrangements is possible, the son may simply
start out on his own, or less commonly, may live with his wife in the
home of his parents, or delay his marriage. But it is uncommon for a
second or succeeding son and his wife and children to live in the house
of the parents or of the elder brother.

311 In this way, the residential area gradually replaces the cultivated
591 areas which surround it. One consequence of the establishment of branch
families in agricultural villages is that it gradually decreases the

arable land available for cultivation. House sites cannot be set up on rocky or mountain land away from the village. Whether on the island as a whole the increase in population, the repatriation and the stoppage of large scale emigration will in the future seriously diminish the amount of land available for agricultural uses is an interesting question, but there certainly is a direct relationship between population growth and land taken up with house sites.[5] Not only will a growing population enforce greater demands on the land, but it will inevitably cut down on the amount. 311 591 [161]

Among the fishermen of Minatogawa, there is a little more fluidity in the establishment of branch families. There are seldom enough lands to subdivide, and only about 50% of the fishermen own land in addition to their house site. The branch household is established according to the son's taste, and the father may give money if he can afford it so the son can set himself up in Itoman, Naha, or elsewhere. The usual procedure here is to give land in a former agricultural area of the village, land which was developed in the southern part of the village as a result of the destruction of the war in other parts. Here formerly arable land was taken over directly for residential use. 591 423 [311]

In Matsuda, it is possible to use newly developed areas. This community, unlike the other two, is a series of sub-settlements. In two of these, branch families have settled, one near the seashore, and the other on reclaimed forest land. In both of these areas, the pattern of settlement is different; the clusters of houses give way to the scattered houses, some standing out alone on the top of a knoll or hill, some near the forested slopes of the hillside. In these areas, there is an atmosphere of pioneer settlement. As in Hanashiro, the buying of near land and the selling of far off land and exchange of land are practiced. Since the reclaimed area is considered to be less productive and less desirable, the poorer families are able to purchase land here for their second sons. 591 361 [425]

5

The Pivotal Importance of the First Son

The key person in the family system is the first son. He normally succeeds to the house at the death or retirement of his father. The father may not legally retire before 60. In rare cases--none were encoun- 593 596

5 In general, house and village sites are on arable land, but the quality of this land naturally varies from place to place. See any of the 11 sheets of the Okinawan Soils Map and the discussion in the Remarks column of the legend with reference to the types of soils on which village sites are found.

1

The Family System, Inheritance, and Succession

The family system is distinct from the inheritance of property. But in the succession of the first son to the house and in the establishment of branch families, the operation of the family system shows its effects on the practices involved in the inheritance of land and other property. 602 428 [182]

The family system can, and actually has operated in Okinawa independently of a system of private ownership in land, and, at present its obligations are as strong on a landless villager as on one who has many fields or other property. Succession in the family system is succession to a series of rights and duties and responsibilities, much watered-down, it is true, from what they once were. These rights and duties may involve the disposition of rice fields, a house site, or personal and movable property, such as the majority of Hinatogawa fishermen possess in a boat, nets, hooks, and other fishing equipment. [423]

Since agriculture and the employment of land are fundamental to the life and economy of Okinawan villages, practices involving the inheritance of land should receive the greatest emphasis. In this chapter, land is considered in a general way, reserving for the following chapter a detailed analysis of types and grades of land based on the Okinawan township system of land classification. 428

Since the first son and his succession to the house are so important to the continuity of the family, one might expect outright primogeniture in inheritance of real property. Such is not the case. The present system of inheritance of property was defined in Japanese law which provided for inheritance by sons other than the first and by daughters as well. This is based on Japanese law as it stood prior to the passage and promulgation of the Japanese land reform law of October 1946 and prior to the post-war revisions of the Japanese Civil Code.[1] [421] [177]

1 In this and in the following chapters, words in parentheses are, unless otherwise designated, Japanese equivalents of English terms. For an interesting historical discussion of the concepts of katoku-sōzoku (succession to house headship) and isan sōzoku (succession to property), see Hozumi, Nobushige, Ancestor worship and Japanese law. Third and revised edition, Tokyo, Osaka, and Kyoto, 1913, 170-87, esp. 181-82. Hozumi notes that in old Chinese history, katoku (house authority) was used as a synonym for eldest son, 172-73. On the Japanese reforms following the war, see Arthur F. Raper et al., The Japanese village in transition, (GHQ, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, Natural Resources Section Report No. 136), Tokyo, 1950, 161-70, 258-61, and Laurence I. Hewes Jr., Japanese Land Reform Program (GHQ, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers. Natural Resources Section Report No. 127), Tokyo, 1950, 9-36. [113]

(8) Inheritance practices tend toward a slow but continuous fragmentation of land due to the need of establishing branch households. This tendency toward fragmentation is seldom overcome by reversing the process in favor of some form of land consolidation. The major obstacles to consolidation will be dealt with in the next chapter. Fragmentation is more likely to occur in the holdings of the more well-to-do who have property to divide. Among the very poor, whose holdings are small and scattered, there is an enforced primogeniture. It is not possible to divide land indefinitely. The smaller a piece of land, the more likely it will be surrounded by land owned by others, and these isolated islands are difficult either to sell or trade. 428 423 [565]

(9) Among the fishermen of Hinatogawa, practices applied to real, personal, and movable property, are similar to those of the agricultural villages (nōson). Here the influence of the family system is more on the disposition of personal than of real property, but the effects, if not the rewards, are similar. If a fisherman has dry crop fields--there is no rice land--the elder son receives all, or most of the land. All informants stressed the weight of the individual desire of the father, whose division of property is influenced by the spirit, sobriety, and dependability of his sons. Here there is also the same social disapproval of selling inherited land. The fishermen attempt to supply second sons with small boats, nets, hooks, and other gear, just as the farmer attempts to give land, domestic animals, and agricultural tools. With the very poor, second and third sons may have to be content with nothing or with a few articles of clothing. Among those fishermen who have land, the principle is established that the first son gets the greater part, if not all, of the real property. 428 423 422 [425]

3

Mechanics of Land Division

Ownership is scattered; individuals own different types of land in varying proportions and in varying grades within types. Plots of land are small in area. Rice plots are normally the smallest, followed in general in ascending order by dry crop fields, and the wild land (genya). It is from such conditions as these that the difficulties in fairness of division arise. 423 311

The following illustrations show the manner in which division is usually carried out. Let us for simplicity first assume four parcels of land:

#1, a house site
#2, a parcel of 700 tsubo third grade dry crop land (hatake)
#3, 500 tsubo of grade one dry crop land, inconvenient and far away from the home, and
#4, 1000 tsubo of grade two hatake.

428 A possible distribution is shown in the following diagram. (Fig. 1). In this arrangement, the first son gets the house site and parcel #4. The second son gets 600 tsubo of the 700 tsubo in parcel #2. The third son gets 600 tsubo in two different places, 100 from parcel #2 and all of parcel #3.

423 311 Now let us take a more complicated situation, one that more closely parallels an actual division. The land of the head of the house is distributed in the following plots:

#1 19 tsubo of first grade rice land. This is a minute holding, roughly equivalent to a rectangle 20' x 34'. The fact that it is first class paddy and very small indicates that it is a rice seed bed (naidoko).

#2, 3, 4 are parcels of rice land, second grade, of 150 tsubo each.

#5 A plot of 3d grade rice land, 300 tsubo.

#6 A plot of 150 tsubo of dry farm land (hatake). This is first grade, but far from the house and in a different area from other family holdings.

#7 One plot of 2d grade dry farm land, 350 tsubo of medium quality but close in.

#8 A plot of 500 tsubo of dry farm land, 4th grade, hence rather poor, but close to the house.

#9 A plot of 400 tsubo dry farm land, 5th grade and barely usable for cultivation, almost like genya land.

428 423 The possible distribution is shown in Fig. 2. In this arrangement, the first son gets the house site, the seed bed (#1) and the three nearby rice fields (#2,3,4), the 500 tsubo of 4th grade dry crop land (#8), and the 350 tsubo of grade 2 dry crop land (#7). The second son receives 150 tsubo of rice land through the subdivision of plot #5, 150 tsubo of first grade dry crop land (#6), and one-half of the 400 tsubo of fifth grade dry crop land (#9). The third son gets the second half of the rice plot (#5), and the second half of the dry crop land (#9).

Summarized, the totals are:

	Total Tsubo*	Rice (Ta)	Dry Crop Land (Hatake)
Total	2169	769	1400
First Son	1319	469	850
Second Son	500	150	350
Third Son	350	150	200

[804] * A tsubo is about four square yards

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ECONOMICS OF LAND DIVISION

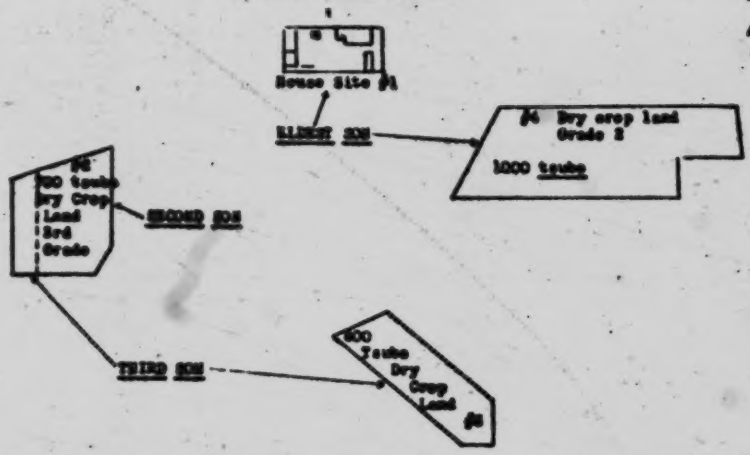

Fig. 1

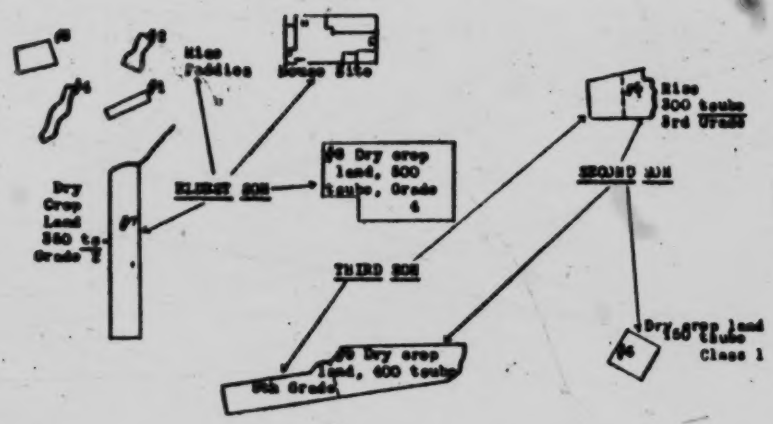

Fig. 2

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In this illustration, the first son receives slightly over 60% of the land, ignoring type and grade within type. There was general agreement in all villages that the grade of land within each classification (grades 1 to 4 in dry crop land, for example) had little significance in inheritance matters. The grade is more important for tax purposes. [242] [651]

The example also illustrates two other principles: the natural desire to keep contiguous or close in land within the main family, using inconvenient or far off land where possible for house sites for branch families, or for arable land for second and other sons. In this illustration, the shares of the second and of the third sons could be equalized by subdividing plot #6, although its small area would not make it worth while, as 75 tsubo is a very low average size for dry crop land. [241]

Another practice, noted in Hanashiro and in Matsuda, is that the first son receives everything on the retirement of the father. This may be contrasted with a situation in which the father divides the property before younger sons marry and establish branch families. In such cases, the father might take the income from part of the property. But the more general practice is for the father to give all to the first son. Fathers may also make a will. When the first son receives all, it is the custom for him to hold property which the younger sons will need in establishing their branch families. It is in cases where the first son is given full disposition of the property that quarrels are most likely to occur, for much depends on the generosity and sense of fairness of the elder brother.[3] [593]

423 34

In Hanashiro and Minatogawa, it is important that younger brothers receive genya land. Genya is often translated as wild land. In Japan the term is usually used to describe treeless, waste, hilly, rocky, or rolling land unsuitable for cultivation. In Okinawa, the genya land may be in the center of a rice field; it may be a rocky mound with cultivation around it. It may be land in the mountains. It is almost invariably in grass (miscanthus) with an occasional cycad or scrub pine. [137] It is not owned in large tracts. In Hanashiro, the largest single parcel [423] is 4564 tsubo (3.77 acres), in Minatogawa 1333 (tsubo) (1.9 acres), and in Matsuda 6398 tsubo (5.28 acres), but these are far above the average. In Hanashiro it is important because grass is constantly needed for thatched roofs and other uses. [824] The importance of genya and its grass was well illustrated in Minatogawa after the typhoon, Ruth, of October 13-14, 1951. [731] These villagers own little land and many have no genya. They were obliged to buy the grass to replace the roofs of many of the frailer houses which had been partially or completely destroyed by the typhoon. [432] Genya is also used for family tombs. In Hanashiro, the genya [964]

[Text continues top of P. 133--Analyst]

3 The problem can be appreciated by analyzing the acreage areas of each classification of land and the grades within it, bearing in mind that the average farmer has hatake, genya, and often rice paddies. These statistics will be given in the following chapter.

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134 In Hamashiro, The genya
[824] grass and shrub are essential as a substitute for firewood. In Matsuda with large areas of community owned forest, this genya is not so important to the individual family.

428
311 In considering the inheritance of land, it is essential to understand that a family needs different types of land. Not everyone has rice paddies, but parcels of dry crop land and genya in the south are necessary to existence.

428
593 If the practices of these three villages are indicative of the division of family holdings in general, the first son obtains between 50% and 60% of the land in addition to the house site. The remainder is divided, often equally, among the other sons. In the poorer families, if the sons are widely spaced, there may be enough left over for the second son, but when the third son reaches marriageable age, there may be nothing for him. Instances of this type were observed in the village. One young farmer of Minatogawa, a third son, said he received nothing, and set out by himself, first through wages, and then through small purchases to acquire his present modest land holdings.

This discussion may suggest a greater rigidity in the system of inheritance than is actually the case. It may give the impression of a series of families headed by the first son with most of the property and with younger sons and their branch families struggling along on what land can be spared for them. There has been, for historical reasons, more fluidity than this. The large number of heads of families who themselves are not first sons indicates that many second to fifth sons as well as daughters ultimately come into control of a family estate.

There have been four main reasons for this. (1) Emigration of first sons before they became of age. They left to earn a living in foreign countries to support their parents in the villages, became established and postponed to an indefinite future their return to Okinawa. Since the end of the war, according to relatives who are living in the village, many of these have no intention of ever returning except to visit. (2) Deaths of first sons without issue, and the succession of other sons or daughters. (3) Heavy war losses, especially of males. Some of these naturally were first sons, opening the way for the succession of young widows or second sons in the case of the unmarried first sons. (4) Deaths from catastrophes like typhoons, and in the case of Minatogawa, the losses of fishermen at sea.

428
602 Inheritance practices with private ownership of land follow logically
182 from the family system. They are a means of providing the economic base by saving the estate for future generations, at the same time providing where possible for sons not in the direct line of succession. Inheritance is a connecting link between the family system and land use and land tenure. Present land use and land tenure are an interesting example of the modifications that a system of social organization, the family system, has made on the natural environment.

1

The Old Land Allotment System

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423
[177]

Okinawa became part of a province of Japan in 1879 and in the late of 1899-1903 fundamental changes were introduced in the land laws. Present land use and tenure is a result of (1) the family system with the original influence from China, with Japanese and Okinawan modifications, and (2) the Japanese system of inheritance, as outlined in the old civil code.

Prior to the Japanese reforms of 1899-1903, which introduced private ownership and private disposition of land, arable land in Okinawa was communally owned by a village and periodically redistributed to villagers for their use. This was known as the allotment system (jiwari-seido).

Until 1899, the arable land was owned by the village. Peasants had the right of cultivation, but not of ownership. Land was redistributed by village elders at stated intervals. These apparently varied among villages, as intervals of two, four, and ten years for the periodic redistribution have been mentioned by old men who, as youths, lived under the old allotment system. In the Gushichan area, according to one old man, this redistribution took place every ten years. It was found that there was much more awareness of the old land allotment system in the northern village of Matsuda than in the southern villages studied. [184]

In each redistribution, every living member of the family, from the newest born infant to the oldest person, was given a share. Apparently there were also local variations in determining each share. In the Gushichan area, according to the same old man, allotments were made according to the strength and competence of individuals. A distinction was made between a full grown male and a woman or a child, and there were differentials between the rich and the poor. The head of the house in practice received and controlled the shares of his family. There are no parallel data for Matsuda on this point. At each redistribution, additions or deductions in shares were made for births or deaths, though there is some doubt that this practice was universal. Matsuda old men mentioned this, and the Gushichan informants said the practice was not followed here; presumably a family share prevailed.[1] [184]

[Text continues top of p. 136--analyst]

1 This discussion is confined to the two agricultural areas studied. Conditions apparently were the same for a whole township; since the areas are now roughly the same as they were, Hanashiro as part of the Gushichan township would have the same conditions. No information was available in the fishing village of Minatogawa. The very old here had only a vague memory of the old system. "Until 1899-1903, when the Land Reform Law was enacted, land was owned communally by the village, which divided the land among peasants at regular (contd. on next page)

175 423 592 Under this old system, when a branch family was established upon the marriage of a son other than the first, his share was made available to him, although it is not clear whether he received this as a legal right, or whether, at each redistribution the father received the branch family share, later passing it on for the use of the son. In any case, provision under the old system was made for branch families in the redistribution just as in contemporary Okinawa this land is supplied, when possible, out of the private holdings of the father. The old and the new illustrate the operation of the family system under two types of land tenure.

175 423 311 Both in the Gushichan area and in Matsuda, there was agreement that the system applied only to rice lands and to dry crop land. House sites were not included in the biennial, quadrennial, or decennial redistribution. Neither were the parcels of genya land which were reserved for tomb areas (bochi, or haka). The forest lands (sanrin) or the genya lands were also communally owned. The reclamation or much of genya land in Okinawa for agricultural uses seems to be a late development, probably a direct consequence of the increase of the island's population. Fifty years ago the island of Okinawa was more heavily forested than it is now. This applies even to the south, if the statements of old people resident in the area can be accepted. Both in the northern and southern communities, pine stands in the forest and in the genya land were publicly owned, and there was a system of tree allotment. Trees, in the publicly owned areas, could be cut according to the number of [313] shares of land one had. Then in September and October of each year, each family replanted a number of trees equivalent to the number it had taken.

In these redistributions, apparently the land was not allotted to individual families directly, but first allotted to family groups (kumi) and then in turn to the individual families. There were special [571] allotment groups (jiwari-gumi). It is not clear whether this initial distribution to groups and then to individual families was universal in Okinawa, as this information comes only from Gushichan township.

This system of community ownership, with periodic allotment of rice and dry crop land, naturally called for a system of land classification. Excellent land was rare; good land was not plentiful, poor land was most abundant. The topography was rough and all good land was not in the same

1 (continued from previous page) intervals, the amount in proportion to the number of family members and their work and tax-paying capacities. It was called ji-wari (land-division). Peasants had no right to possess land, but only the right to cultivate, and taxes were imposed upon a village as a whole, not upon individuals." Higa, Shuncho. Structure of the Ryukyuan rural community. The Japanese journal of ethnology, 15 (1950), No. 2, 63-66. English summary (from which this is taken), p. 151.

place. Then, as now, paddy and dry crop land might lie together, depending upon local factors. In the periodic redistribution, each family received shares of each in non-contiguous fragmented parcels. In the nature of things, they received small shares of the excellent, moderate shares of the good, and large holdings in poor land. 175 423 311

The old classification of lands was simple and did not go beyond three general divisions of good, fair, and poor. Apparently the Japanese after 1879 introduced more refinements and increased the number of classifications to six. Land classification, then as now, was empirical. It was based on observation, local knowledge of present and past yields, and known dangers to the land. It was not based on scientific knowledge of the soils, nor is it today. 175 311 [177] [242]

Several dangers to land and crops were considered: (1) the danger of the wild boar (inoshishi). These reddish brown wild boars have disappeared from large parts of Okinawa, though occasionally one is seen in the northern forest. The boars destroyed crops by night feeding. Remnants of old fences can still be seen in the area around Matsuda. In Oku, in the extreme north, fences are still used and many can be seen along the hillsides. (2) Dangers from floods and salt water spray. Local flooding is common and often confined to a narrow area. Salt water spray and salt water in the air, especially in typhoon times, are still menaces to crops. The danger from typhoons did not enter directly into the determination of land classification because the area of destruction was so wide that it was not a factor distinguishing one plot from another. (One can however observe areas of differential damage in a village as an aftermath of typhoons). 175 241 [136] [417] [731]

This old land allotment system is now forgotten except in a few isolated areas where its main features are still apparently preserved. The best known of these is Kudaka Island off the southeastern shore of Okinawa. If the system has disappeared, except for a few isolated survivals, its influence remains to the present: it determined the pattern of land use still in effect today, the pattern of small, discontinuous parcels, and set the precedents for the mechanics of land classification. The basic classifications such as rice land, dry crop land, community forest were Japanese and are of great age. The old land allotment system is also considered to be of great antiquity.[2] 178 423 [189] [177]

2 It was a matter of considerable disappointment that I was unable to spend two or three weeks on Kudaka to study the land system there. Neither has time permitted an investigation (of great inherent interest) of the historical antecedants of the old Okinawan system. Land classification, such as we will be discussing in the next chapter, is very old in Japanese culture. The old Okinawan system bears some resemblances to the "mouth-share-land" (ku-bu-den) system of old Japan which appears in the Taihō code (702 A.D.). This was a system of distribution of communally owned land, but I have not been able to determine whether the distribution was periodic. See Wigmore, J. H. and Simmons, D. B. Notes on land tenure and local institutions in old Japan. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 19 (1891), 77 on land classification, (continued on next page)

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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Commodore Perry and his staff noted the land tenure system of the Great Lew Chew but did not get any details and were not quite certain what it was.

"Another obstacle in the way of their improvement is the impossibility of their ever procuring a vested right of ownership in the land. As far as the Commodore could gather information on the subject, it would appear that the soil is held by the government, and its agents are employed to collect and consume its produce. According to the best accounts that could be obtained, the actual cultivator receives not more than two-tenths of the produce. Of the remainder, six-tenths go to the lord of the soil, or ruler, and two-tenths for the expense of supervision of the land, costs of collection, etc. The peasant has thus no stimulus to exertion. Wretched, however, as this system is, and degraded as is the condition of the operative, it is astonishing to see the large returns from agricultural labor." These returns are attributed by the authors to a combination of skill, soil, and climate.[3]

[433]

Goldschmidt (1927) wrote that under the old system the land was the property of the villages and was divided by the elders of the village "according to ancient precept," into equal parcels, considering its location, and that every individual received a parcel. "Large families had therefore correspondingly more parcels; daughters who married took at marriage their parcels with them. Every six years there was a new division, so that everyone received another plot of land and no one could complain, in the long run, over an unjust distribution."

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2 (continued from previous page) 86 on communal ownership, 157 on mouth-share-land. The old Okinawan allotment system also is similar to the practice of masha' in the middle East. A village maintains its lands in common and apportions them among villagers periodically. This is found in parts of Iran, Jordan, Arab Palestine, and Syria. See Tannous, Affif I. Land tenure in the middle East. Foreign agriculture (U.S. Dept. of Agriculture), 7 (1943), 171-77.

3 Elsewhere the narrative remarks that, "All the land in Lew Chew is held by government and rented to large tenants, who, in their turn, sub-let it to smaller ones, who are the direct cultivators of the soil." And in another place, it is said that the lands were held by the government as a "metayer system, brought down almost to individuals (or possibly upon an allotment system)." The metayer system, as described by Dr. Green, was a "plan of paying (in this instance as 'taxes') a certain proportion of the produce." Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, I, 220; II, 25-26, 28. See also I, 311.

Goldschmidt then remarks that the peasant in the last years of his possession thought only of the parcel to come in the next allotment and did nothing for his land, and that in consequence its productivity fell. There was private ownership at that time only of newly reclaimed land or land filled in along the seashore, and this land went to the person who had done the work. The Japanese, when they abolished the system, divided land among families by number of members and since this time large holdings have not been created. Goldschmidt adds that "the land still suffers now from the consequences of this old system."[4] 175 423

To discover precisely the nature of the influences of the old system cannot be done with accuracy because of the destruction of local records, the vagueness of recollection among the old and of the inability to reconstruct old boundaries. What follows therefore is partly speculative, but nevertheless useful in suggesting the reasons for the present shapes and areas of individual land parcels. One of the striking aspects of the land maps of these areas is the odd and irregular shapes of land holdings. This is not true of all Okinawa. In some areas, plots on the hillsides are symmetrical, often rectangular or square. In the areas studied, there are plots of this sort, but also many that have very irregular shapes. 174 423 423

It is possible that after the abolition of the old system, some areas in the island were resurveyed, while others were not. Such surveys could have approximated the old areas but created a more regular rectangular pattern. In Hanashiro resurveying apparently was not done. The historical reasons for the present boundaries are not known because of decades of cultivation and because the land has not always been used for the same purposes. One of the large rice growing areas in Hanashiro is a recent development. The changes from paddy to dry crop land, or the reverse, seem to have followed the fluctuations in sugar and rice prices. It was quite probable that formerly the land was less level, that it was more heavily forested, and that odd shapes were due to the cultivated areas winding around large outcrops, patches of stony land, clumps of trees, uncultivated slopes which have now been reclaimed, leveled and cultivated. 174 423 311 [435]

Conditions like this are a commonplace in Okinawa today. Some of these boundaries also may be following the lines of old streams. Rivers, or more properly creeks, are not numerous in Okinawa and their presence is often hidden: a stream rising in a nearby mountain and ultimately going to the sea eight or ten miles away may be lost in a wide paddy area and trickle off again in its stream bed after several hundred feet of dispersion in the paddies. The boundaries may also 174 423 [133]

4 Goldschmidt, Richard. Neu-Japan. Berlin, 1927, 131. (My translation). The same criticism appears of the system in the middle east. See footnote 2 above.

179 423 have been affected by roads and trails which have now disappeared.

Old residents[5] of Matsuda and neighboring villages were able to [115] furnish more specific clues regarding the old system and its relation to other phases of village life. These old people estimated the population of Matsuda at the close of the old system at about 360 [161] persons, compared with the present population of 1368. The system operated under much less acute population pressure than exists today. Deaths, especially from malaria, and a high infant mortality kept [165] the population down, although introduced Japanese hygienic measures helped.

Under the old system in Matsuda, there was a continual clearing [311] of land, mostly around the settlement. There seems little doubt that land reclamation and clearing has been going on slowly from the earliest historical times in Okinawa. The land cleared remained under village ownership, but the persons who cleared the property were allowed to hold it for use without giving it up for periodic redistribution. Technical ownership remained with the village.[6] Fences and stone barriers were erected as a protection against the wild boar. But the large scale reclamation and the private ownership of genya land seems to have occurred after the close of the old system.

The division of lands at the beginning of the new system has set the boundary pattern of many plots. In Matsuda there were instances of land which has retained the same boundaries that it had under the old system. There was general agreement among the old that the form, boundaries, and areas of land plots have changed very little since the times of the jiwari-seido. This would be par- [428] ticularly true in the case of property which had passed down through the first son. Changes came from the establishment of branch families, [425] and sales and purchases. In these areas, however, buying and selling have been infrequent.

195 The history of land tenure in Okinawa, therefore, is different 423 from that of Japan with its long history of tenancy, whose accumu- [171] lated problems finally led to the land reform of 1946 during the Allied occupation. The present system of land tenure in Okinawa is a little over 50 years old.

178 The chief influences of the old system were to set in a form 423 recognizable to the present, the pattern of land holding, to estab- 311 lish land classification, and apply it on a very localized basis.

[115] 5 I am indebted here to Shinzato Zensuke of the village of Sokei (Ginoza-son), and to Oshiro-san of Matsuda village (Ginoza-son) both over 70 years of age for their recollections of the history of the system in Matsuda.

[114] 6 This differs from Goldschmidt's account, cited above, in that in this case the land became a usufruct, in the other actual ownership.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Every parcel of land with its grade and type is mapped, a thoroughness in land classification which has not yet been approached in the United States. While the mapping is recent, the information was always available in the village records. Village owned lands are also a survival of this system, especially the forests in the north. Community owned property is much more modest in area in the south and confined to small parcels of forest or pre-war forest, school and public building sites, community ponds, and the like. 178 423 311 [217]

2

Present Land Tenure and Land Classification

The present method of land holding based on Japanese law went into effect at the end of the old land allotment system. The head of the family registered all lands, previously held as shares, in his own name. Apparently in the last distribution before the abandonment of the old system, men and women over 52 years of age received their property for life with the right to pass it on to their children. At the beginning of the new system, also, the wild land was still publicly held, but further clearing and reclamation got under way, and the genya land also began to be divided up and became part of private holdings about ten years after the new land law went into effect. 423 [888]

The new system of private ownership of land introduced buying and selling (baibai), tenancy (kosaku), and land speculation. There had been some tenancy under the old system apparently however it was on a village basis with one community renting from another. There has therefore been insufficient time to develop in Okinawa the widespread abuses associated with the Japanese land tenure system prior to the land reform of 1946.[7] 423 427

In all the villages studied, individual ownership is the rule with some informal tenancy. Now an owner is not paid for the use of his land, the result of a Civil Administration measure to encourage maximum food production. Tenancy, as it was observed in the villages was usually an informal lending of the land: the use by a friend, relative, or neighbor of an unused plot.

The present system of land use and land tenure is a result of practices and customs developed under the old allotment system, combined with the introduced Japanese system of inheritance. The family system plus these two influences have brought about the modern customs of land inheritance, the distinctions in types of land, and the fragmentation and lack of contiguity in holdings. 178 423 311 428

7 Based on conversations with villagers in Matsuda. Uyehara, Yukio made the same point in accounting for the low percentage of tenancy and the high percentage of independent farmers in Okinawa-ken, Ryukyu Islands, Japan. Economic Geography 9 (1933), 395-405. Reference on 399. [115]

311 487 363 One feature typical of these villages is the boundary path (sahi), sometimes only a foot wide. The path is a boundary and a means of access. Roads and lanes are in the main areas of the village. They do not checkerboard a whole area. Too much land would be sacrificed. The farmer leaves his home, walks along the road or lane, and then takes a winding boundary path to his own field. In the aggregate, considerable land is taken up by boundary paths. Often the sides of the plot along the path are cut perpendicularly to take as full advantage of the soil as possible. There is little slope from the path to the field, and the paths of the rice paddy often look like miniature levees.

311 423 In his Narrative of a Voyage of the Ship Morison, which appeared in The Chinese Repository for 1836, S. Wells Williams wrote concerning Okinawa: "Indeed the Lilliputian minuteness with which the country is subdivided is singular." The tables and the land use maps which follow document this observation. The tables, which show the [217] number of plots and their average size, for each village, were computed from land registers in the two township offices. The three main classifications, rice, dry crop, and wild land, have been selected. To appreciate the size of these plots, one should bear in mind that a 40' x 80' lot has over 88 tsubo and that an acre contains about 1210 tsubo.

[217] The maps represent a tiny portion of those cadastral maps collected from the township offices and of which tracings were made. They also illustrate the complete and painstaking subdivision of a village area and the general uses to which each parcel is put.

Rice Land (Ta)

a. Hanashiro

Grade	No. of Plots	Average Area in Tsubo
Total	201	140.4
1	59	52.9
2	36	160.8
3	44	182.6
4	58	179.8
5	4	212.5

b. Matsuda

Total	560	137.2
1	30	60.5
2	76	140.0
3	178	132.1
4	175	154.9
5	101	136.3

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Dry Crop Land (Hatake)

a. Hanashiro

Grade	No. of Plots	Average Area in Tsubo
Total	497	327.1
1	51	320.2
2	73	357.0
3	140	327.9
4	108	335.7
5	98	293.3
6	27	343.5

b. Minatogawa

Total	207	256.5
1	0	—
2	3	394.0
3	24	316.2
4	41	309.1
5	139	227.7

c. Matsuda

Total	1155	162.4
1	30	148.0
2	106	174.8
3	300	159.4
4	436	174.2
5	207	148.9
6	76	131.3

Wild Land (Genya)

a. Hanashiro

Total	360	462.6
1	81	378.9
2	279	486.9

b. Minatogawa

Total	71	244.3
1	20	184.2
2	47	275.7
3	2	140.0
4	2	209.5

c. Matsuda

Total	1140	327.8
1	36	560.3
2	1091	320.5
3-6	13	301.5

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

plots lies in their being as they are, separating one cultivated area from another, binding the soil, and that they are probably serving their best purposes now, as they have in the past, in furnishing this protection. 311 185

The conservation practices of the Okinawans are at least in part a consequence of the topography. The care of upland areas and rolling hills is imperative. For a great deal of cultivation takes place here. Unlike China, there is not a strong contrast between large scale paddy rice in alluvial soils and the relative neglect of upland areas with deforestation and erosion. In China the meticulous care of the transported soils of the lowlands and the neglect of the uplands is a striking aspect of the attitude toward land. This is true, perhaps to a lesser degree, of Japan.[11] 185 133 311 [171]

In Okinawa there are insufficient delta plains and alluvial soils to provide these contrasts between lowland and upland agriculture. The scarcity of river deltas and alluvial plains means relatively little rice and the use of the rolling hills and the steeper sides of mountains. This necessity has enforced a care of the uplands. It is true that one often sees sweet potatoes or other dry crops growing in rows up and down a hill instead of along contours, and that there seems often to be a lack of appreciation of the consequences of misuse of forest land through clear cutting. But in the main in the use of the uplands for cultivation, the weed borders or rock fences, and other simple devices keep the soils from erosion. The relatively gentle topography has also contributed to this achievement.

4

Fragmentation and Consolidation

Fragmentation of land is common in Okinawa. Ownership of contiguous plots of land is not the general rule. It is a basic fact of land tenure and influences land use and agricultural practice. This fragmentation is a deterrent to the use of machinery, unless cooperatively owned or unless certain individuals specialize in the 423 241

11 See James Thorp, Geography of the soils of China, Nanking 1936, especially Chapters xii-xiv. Gourou, Pierre. The development of upland areas in China, and Trewartha, Glenn T., Utilization of Upland areas in Japan. In: The development of upland areas of the Far East, Vol. I. (Institute of Pacific Relations), New York, 1949. Trewartha describes his surprise in his earlier studies of Japan and his acquaintance "with the fact that the Japanese, like most Orientals, greatly deprecate the value of upland or non-irrigated sites for agricultural land use." (p. 59). This choosiness is not possible for the Okinawans.

423 241 business. Fragmentation means inconvenience, loss of time and effort in the simultaneous cultivation of different fields. The situation is the same for the well-to-do and the poor alike. Large holdings do not mean single pieces of land within a large area, but many small parcels of land, of different classification and grade, scattered like those of a less prosperous farmer. There are offsetting advantages. The greatest of these is that crop destruction through typhoons, salt spray, or flooding may be less catastrophic to the individual owner with small scattered holdings than if a family has a single large plot of land.

423 425 Another effect of fragmentation is that it makes a particular plot of land difficult to sell. If one has a small plot of land, an island in a sea of other ownership, the prospective buyer is in the same position as the seller, unless the buyer owns contiguous land and has the money to make the purchase.

423 The natural question at this point is: what are the possibilities of consolidation of ownership in the interests of more efficient and convenient agriculture? The general answer, I believe, is that fragmentation is almost inevitable, consolidation only possible.

In both of the agricultural villages studied, some voluntary consolidation (kokanbungo) has taken place, but it is not of major proportions. It occurs chiefly for two reasons: (1) clustering one's land near the house site, or having two or more parcels of contiguous land is universally desired. Going to and fro is considered troublesome and onerous. (2) When branch families are established, farmers wish to exchange a distant plot for one in the village for a house site. This is often difficult to do, for such an exchange must be mutually advantageous to bring about a transfer.

423 731 Typhoons are a major obstacle to voluntary consolidation into large holdings. It is perhaps possible to exaggerate this, but personal experience and conversation with villagers who have lost the entire crop of one parcel but have salvaged part of the crop of another convince me of its force. A typhoon damages a whole area but the scattered holdings provide the chance that something might be saved. The total damage is the same in any event regardless of ownership. It is the distribution of loss that varies. If in the future, land consolidation were attempted on a broad scale, either by voluntary individual effort, or cooperatively, crop insurance or some form of sharing losses would seem to be necessary.

423 311 407 The present system of land ownership and of land use and the fragmentation of land would seem to preclude any extensive mechanisation of agriculture. Even with consolidated holdings, the nature of the landscape might make the effort uneconomical, though this is a question for technicians in these fields.

5

Conclusion

The sources of the present land tenure and land use practices are to be sought in the old land allotment system. The original fragmentation of land was due to the land classification based in turn on the fact that excellent, good, and poor lands were not in one area, but were scattered. Further fragmentation has come from land division because of the establishment of branch families. With each generation a further fragmentation will take place. The present system of land tenure and of land use is to be explained, therefore, as a result of the ancient family system working first within the framework of the old allotment system, and then within the introduced Japanese system of inheritance, with practices of land use retaining some of the influences of the old. 423 311 428

The experience of the next few years in Japan will be interesting to observe. With equal inheritance for each child, will there be a hopeless splintering of land or land speculation in the sale of small holdings? Before any changes are made in the present Okinawan inheritance laws, the possible effects on land use and agriculture should be studied. Considerations should not be confined to a legalistic or sociological approach to the family itself. Besides of what value to the heirs would splintered, minute, and fragmented holdings be? 000

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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These illustrations, while suggesting the common practice, are oversimplified. Rotation is more complicated because all of a farmer's scattered holdings may be involved in an overall rotation, and one plot may serve several different purposes. In the following example of a plot divided up into five small parcels, the planting and transplanting of the sweet potato is part of the mechanism of rotation:

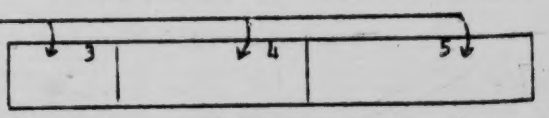
Time: September 1951

Newly hoed. To be planted in beans (sora-mame), Sept. 1951. 1	Planted in Sweet Potatoes in July 1951. To be harvested in Jan. 2	Soy beans harvested in May Now in weeds and grass 3	Now being freshly planted with slips from Parcel 4. Hoeing Completed.
Planted in Sweet Potatoes on Sept. 20, 1951. Slips from this parcel are vegetatively reproduced on parcels 3 & 5. 4			5

In the following illustration, sweet potatoes and beans provide rotation both of crop and of field:

1 Sweet Potato Seed Bed Potatoes planted in Feb. May and July cuttings supply 2, 3, 4, 5	2 Planted in Soybeans in January. Harvested in May. Sweet potato cuttings planted after the soy bean harvest. The plot is entirely in sweet potatoes by May.

Planted With Sweet Potato Slips or Clones:



A crop rotation with sugar cane depends on whether it is a spring (harue) or a summer (natsue). In the spring planting, lunar calendar:

> Sugar cane cuttings are planted in the second month, to be harvested one year later. At that harvest, the plants are not torn out, but the stubs are allowed to sprout (the stubble or ratoon crop), the

Rotation #2, Matsuls

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First year, ninth month: Autumn planting of sugar cane
Second year, twelfth month: Harvest of sugar cane. Followed by: Soy bean, sweet potato, or vegetables.

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Land is seldom allowed to lie fallow intentionally for any length of time. At any one time of the year, a farmer may have idle land for which there may be a variety of reasons. He may have other tasks and be unable to cultivate all his land, or have no need of doing so, or some of his land may be so poor that he will not cultivate it unless necessary. Much depends on the individual farmer and his holdings. The village records indicate that in Hanashiro 97.2% of the rice and 83.1% of the dry crop land is under cultivation. From the preceding discussion of land classification, it is clear that many parcels are of marginal quality, and these areas may be left uncultivated, at least part of the year. During the post-war [426] period there has been some informal lending of land, free of rent, to friends and neighbors, if the farmer is not using it himself.

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Manual labor with hand tools is the dominant method of cultivation. Domestic animals are not uncommon, but their use in farming is minor. The war increased the dependence on manual labor through the loss of domestic animals. Only cattle are now used in rice cultivation for plowing and harrowing and this is infrequent. The man or woman and the hoe are far more common. Crops are carried from the fields by human labor. The basket or the straw container, or the tied rice sheaves on either end of a pole over the shoulder, and not horse carts, push carts, or wheel barrows are the main means of transport from field to courtyard. The barefooted farmer, with his hoe and a pole or a basket does the greatest part of the work. The common tools of agriculture are hand tools and adapted to the intensive cultivation which so often has more properly been called the work of a gardener rather than that of a farmer.

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The basic all purpose tool is the solid bladed hoe. The hoe, since deep cuts are possible with its heavy blade, takes the place of the plow. The hoe also replaces the spade, and even the rake, for it can be used to break up and smooth the soil. A poorer farmer may lack many of the tools in the following list, but he will have two or three of the solid bladed hoes.

The accompanying illustration shows the most common agricultural tools:

1. The hera, a spatula or trowel, used for transplanting tops of the sweet potato. Its wooden hand grip curves toward the end of the tool. The hera is also used as a scraper to remove brown sugar from the sides of the cooking pans during the sugar making season.

2. The kama, a small sickle. Next to the hoe, it is the most

of the rest of the syrup. With the stirring finished, the sugar for contemplated home use is spread out in pans to harden. That intended for export is put in specially prepared boxes, furnished by Naha export firms, stencilled and ready for shipment. 249 [439] [415]

In Matsuda, the harvesting of the cane is the same as in Hanashiro, but the old Okinawan and Japanese method of crushing the cane is still used because the destroyed machinery has not been replaced. The cane is crushed outside. Three large steel rollers are placed side by side in a frame, with gear teeth on the top meshing. A sweep about 30 feet long is attached to the center wheel.[6] A horse draws the sweep, revolving the wheels. The cane is fed into the left roller, caught as it comes out, and then fed back into the right roller. The juice is caught below. The residue (kibikasu) is left outside to dry to be used later for firewood. The juices which have been caught are taken in a low lying building with a tile roof, put in a large round pot (marunabe) or a rectangular pan (kikunabe). An open fire place is used for boiling the juice; the fire place is sunk in the ground and lined with stone, with a small opening at the bottom for putting in firewood. This mill is privately owned, the property of an association (kumiai) of about twenty men who rent it out for individual processing. As in Hanashiro, sugar is the production of the individual small farmer from its first planting until its sale for export or for home use. [427] [423] [427]

7

Other Crops

The most important of the other crops commonly grown in the villages remain to be considered. 241

(1) Soy beans (daisu in Japanese, Glycine max Merrill). In all the villages, soy beans were planted once a year, sowing in the first or second month, and harvesting in the fifth month. The field is prepared by making furrows and putting a mixture of chopped up green grasses and some animal manure, or a commercial fertilizer, in the hole in which the seed is planted. The farmer then waits for rain. After rain, he plants the seeds about three feet apart in rows from one shaku five sun (about 18 inches) for very good land to one shaku one sun (about 13 inches) for usual land. The plant is harvested with the small sickle. The beans are threshed by a flail (gurumanbo in Okinawan). The residues are used either for fertilizer or fuel.

6 This device is also relatively unchanged since Perry's time. The only difference is in the wheels which were formerly of wood, geared together by mortise and tenon joints. Stone crushers were also used formerly. In Hanashiro, I saw one of these stone rollers lying in the yard of a villager. For sugar making operations in the 1850's, see Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 20, 30.

Part 1

Minatogawa, the Fishing Community

1

Introduction

Fishing families are a closely knit group. They are usually interrelated. For the most part, the main houses of their extended families are in the fishing town of Itoman. Fathers, sons, wives, daughters, grandparents participate in some phase of fishing activity. 226 [596] 607

In an agricultural community, the first son remains in the home working the fields of his father. In fishing, through long custom, there is an avoidance of teamwork among close relatives. Members of the immediate family will not go out on the same fishing boat. A father will not take his son, an elder brother will not take a younger. Partners and working teams on boats are more distant relatives or friends. If a father and a son are on the same boat and it is lost, the present and the succeeding head both perish. To this incontrovertible possibility, there has been added the belief that if two persons of the same immediate family go to sea together on the same boat, there will be a disaster. And actual and near disasters are frequent enough to make both points of view understandable. The sons of fishermen, who are learning the ways of the fish and of the sea, go on the boats of others. Many younger fishermen regard the belief that it is inviting disaster to have two members of the same immediate family together on the same boat as a superstition (meishin), but to my knowledge, no fisherman ignores the custom. 226 593 [183]

In Minatogawa, about one half of the fishermen have fields of their own, usually small and poor. Perhaps twenty men in the village may be classed as half farmers and half fishermen, but even in these cases it is the wives and the children who have the continuing responsibility for the fields. 226 241 [923]

Neither is it rare for a fisherman to be a stonecutter. Perhaps another twenty men are engaged in the summer in fishing, and in stonecutting in the winter, or on unfavorable fishing days. The three main occupations of the village, including Nagamo, are thus found in varying combinations. Fishing is the most exacting and offers few opportunities for amateurs. Stonecutting requires strength and endurance. For those who have land, agriculture offers possibilities of growing one's own food and of avoiding cash outlays. 226 324 463

In an average summer month, there may be about 20 good fishing days. But because of unusual or unexpected rains or typhoons opportunities may be fewer. In 1951, there were only about ten working days in each of the summer months. In winter fishing days average about a week in a 226 46 [132]

000 varying degrees of success.[2]

311 Another period of recklessness began in 1935 and reached its climax in 1940-41. This deterioration was simultaneous with the increase in the acreage of cut over forest land in Japan beginning in 1941.[3]

313 [N2] In Okinawa, exploitation of the forests immediately before and during the war were due, according to residents who lived through the experience, to unrestricted cutting for troop shelters and to the large Japanese military requirements for wood. The war's end brought no relief to the forests. Housebuilding and firewood are continuing challenges to forest conservation in Okinawa. The destruction of houses in the populated south caused continuous cutting for building and firewood. In 1947, rates of cutting were estimated to exceed replacement, the main drains being for housebuilding, firewood, and charcoal.[4]

2

The Forests and the Trees of Matsuda

423 311 Matsuda has a large area of village owned forest within its borders. These village owned lands are a survival of the old land allotment system when the arable, the forest, and the wild (gunya) lands were community owned.

[Text Continues Top of p. 226 --analyst]

2 Civil Affairs Handbook Ryukyu (Loochoo) islands, 143, gives these dates as 1879-1906. For a published summary of Okinawan forests, their pre-war and post-war problems, and the role of the Ryukyuan Forestry Agency, see H. Y. Nuttonson, Ecological crop geography and field practices of the Ryukyu islands, as cited, 49-58. Nuttonson, following E. H. Walker, makes interesting comparisons of the islands of the Ryukyus. See the remarks on Miyako, Ishigaki, and Irimote, 54-56. For a short and forceful statement of the problem as it applies to Japan, see A report on Japanese natural resources, Tokyo, 1948, 347-59. Many of these remarks apply mutatis mutandis to Okinawa.

3 Nuttonson, as cited, p. 57. Based on B. O. Hughes, A forest policy for the Ryukyu islands. (Food and Natural Resources Department, USCAR), 1951.

4 Okinawan forests, as cited, 5.

1: Glacken E-5 .(1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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Hatsuda
Land Classification

Type of Land	Area in Tsubo	Approx. Acreage Equiv.
Rice (ta)	82,151	67.9
Dry crop land (hatake)	188,305	155.6
House sites (yashiki)	17,056	14.1
Village Owned forest (sanrin)	1,259,104	104.0.6
Wild land (genya) a/	376,660	311.3
Village Owned shelter belts, groves	33,654	27.8
Religious sites (haisho)	2,883	2.4
Public building sites	81	b/
Miscellaneous	3,183	2.6
Total	1,963,077	1622.3

a/ Includes village and privately owned, but almost all is privately owned.

b/ Less than 0.1 acre

Source: Ginoza-son township office, Ginoza village, Okinawan Island. Dec. 1951.

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The coniferous forest (shinyōjurin) is along the shore, reaching inland short distances in those areas not given over to cultivation. Pine stands are valuable for typhoon protection. Inland, about half a mile to a mile from shore, the coniferous stands give way to a dense mixed forest of deciduous trees and shrubs. The predominant species in this broadleaved forest (katsuyōjurin) is a live oak, the shii. Ordinarily the shii grows to be quite large, but here in the dense stands its growth is stunted. While not impenetrable, it is difficult to go through these stands once one is off the foot path. Along these paths, there are huts where one may drop in for rest or shelter, charcoal kilns, stacked firewood (maki), and piles of long poles which have been cut and stripped to be carried down the mountain paths to the road for loading in trucks. [485]

The woodlands of this area may be classified, according to use, into two categories: (1) stands, groves, or clumps of trees which provide typhoon and windbreak protection (hoanrin). Shore shelter belts or groves are known as bōchōrin, those inland or on mountain tops as bōfurin. (2) The forests, maintained and used as a resource, for such materials as firewood, lumber, and charcoal.

In Hatsuda, trees are used both for protection of houses in the

fuel. The usual practice here too is to clear cut up a steep hill or mountain, the lower and more convenient the spot, the more efficient the clearcutting. Weeds, shrubs, grasses, and the Yambaru bamboo have quickly taken the place of the trees. The man induced climax vegetation is grass and shrub. 313 [137]

Forest destruction in Okinawa does not seem to have reached the alarming proportions observed in Japan.[6] The destruction of the war increased the demand for lumber and firewood. This demand accelerated the dangerous practices and led to widespread waste.[7] Fortunately, if Hatsuda is a good example, the roads were poor and underdeveloped, and the mills small. There was some brake on uncontrolled deforestation.

In the accompanying photograph of the Hatsuda forest area, there was access to the summit and the trees there were cut down. For some reason, probably the steepness of the mountain side, the pine and shii on the slopes were not cut. The result was that tall stands of dwarf bamboo took over the spaces on the summit left by the trees, while the trees continued to grow on the mountain sides. [137]

Since the forest is owned by the village, any resident may cut trees for his own use. This custom has few dangers because it is a large forest with a small population in the environs. The cutting is scattered. The villager selects the tree with the consent of the village official in charge of forest control, cuts it and takes it to his courtyard. There is a charge of Y1 for each large tree, or Y1 for five small trees. This money goes to the village office. Villagers' personal needs are a small drain on the forest resource. [423] [624] [651]

The village government also sells wood. In lulls in farming, or when the farmer needs some cash, he may cut trees for the village. Wood cutting for lumber is a year round activity. September to December is the season for cutting firewood. There are two common practices in commercial dealings with wood and lumber. For cutting and gathering firewood, the village office pays Y5 a bundle, Y4 goes to the person cutting the wood, and Y1 to the village office, 60% of which it retains and 40% going to the township office. 313 655

Cutting and gathering wood is by no means an easy task. The walk to the forest may take an hour one way, though there may be truck transportation part way. The trees must be cut, the wood chopped up and made into the familiar bundles tied with a stout rush (often the i) and carried back or put in a central location to be picked up later. This marketing of wood on an individual basis is casual and intermittent. More continuous and larger scale exploitation takes place when the village office sells a certain area for cutting. The village takes 60%, the township 40% of the proceeds. 313 [655]

6 Ibid, 285-87. [Text continues on p. 232.--Analyst]
7 Okinawan forests, as cited, 2-3, 5-8.

249 forced a return to crushing the cane by the use of rollers driven by a horse at the end of a sweep. Before the war, Hatsuda had sugar mills driven by machinery. Mills may either be village
423 owned, as in Hanashiro, or owned by small co-operatives, like that
[427] in Hatsuda whose members rent it to others when not using it themselves.

443 Village stores generally occupy the front part of a family's living quarters. They are operated mainly by women. A woman past
[427] middle age sitting on the floor of her shop, talking with visitors or reading the paper, is a familiar sight in an Okinawan village. A village may have several tiny stores. They do not compete with one another in the commercial sense of the word. Prices are the same. Their inventories are the standard ones. The chief dif-
[373] ferences are in size and variety. Some sell the strong alcoholic drink (awamori) called sake in Okinawa.

Each storekeeper has a clientele of friends and relatives, but one is not under social obligation to repeatedly trade at the same place. Relatives sometimes own adjoining shops. In Japan,
[171] it is said that once a person starts trading at a shop he continues to do so. To switch would deprive the shopkeeper of business that could be counted on, and imply dissatisfaction with the service rendered. The first purchase creates mutual obligations between the storekeeper and his customer which are not broken casually.[1] This is not the case with these village stores. One patronizes the shop that is convenient, that is open when one wants to buy, that has the desired article. There is an informal atmosphere and lack
[434] of bustle in these tiny shops because so many are operated for supplementary income by wives or female relatives of the breadwinner. A wife may sit in her shop, as I have often seen her in Minatogawa,
[404] taking care of her baby, sewing on her treadle sewing machine, and interrupting her work when necessary for a customer. The cash involved is small, often only a few yen, and money is carefully accounted for. These shops satisfy a surprising amount of the village demand for food, food supplements, notions, clothing, and household goods. Larger, more expensive, or more specialized items such as books, suits, furniture are in the towns like Itoman or Naha in the south, or Nago and Ishikawa in the north.

An inventory of one of these village stores indicates the types of articles in frequent and constant demand. In one typical store in Minatogawa the following purchases could be made:

Foods

[262] Starch
[271] Condensed milk for children

1 I was told this by Japanese and by Nisei who were in Japan during the occupation. I do not know how widespread or how characteristic this practice is of all retail trade there.

necessities of life. Fishermen are more accustomed to dealing in currency transactions and these are more frequent and freer than in the farming village. 434 511 184 [437]

The economic history of the average Okinawan agricultural village from the late 19th century when Japanese control became firm to the present is largely an account of the fluctuations in rice, sweet potato and sugar cane production. This history is difficult to reconstruct on a local level because of the destruction of records and inexact memories. The point is nevertheless worth making, if only to stress again that these villages are not isolated rural economies. The general experience seems to have been that crop acreages have contracted and expanded in response to local needs and to the demands of trade with Japan. 433 [439]

In the Hanashiro area, to use one example, there is a current interest in rice production because of its high value, and sugar cane seems to be displacing some sweet potato acreage. Sugar, even though coarse and unrefined, has a market in Japan strong enough to warrant production for the cash income at the expense of the cheap and plentiful sweet potato. 433 435

One of the most significant facts of economic life in these villages has been the maintenance of individual farms and crop variety. Plantation monoculture, subject to international price fluctuations and often conducive to local impoverishment, has not developed. 423 311

Private ownership in land, the inheritance of land within the family system, individual farms, tiny as they are, have undoubtedly been a stabilising influence on these village economies. 423 428

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The family register is a basic official document recording officially all the family data for each household. These have been compiled since the war. The old registers which gave the family history in great and accurate detail were destroyed as a consequence of the war or intentionally by the Japanese. The standard form for the register contains (1) the place of permanent domicile of the family head (honseki), (2) the place of present residence (genjūshō), (3) the name of the previous head of the family (senkonushi), (4) the head of the family (koshu), his birthdate, and his relationship to the preceding head, (5) the name of the father and mother of the present head, (6) the name of the wife, her birthdate, whether she is a first or succeeding daughter, the names of her parents, (7) the date of the marriage, (8) names of each family member with birthdate and relationship to the head. All matters pertaining to the family are recorded in one place. The register contains information about births, deaths, marriages, and additions, deletions, or notations as to foreign residence. If a second son establishes a branch family, a line is drawn through his name on the register and a notation refers to a new sheet set up for his family. Deaths are shown by drawing a red line through the name.

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The registry of seals (inkanbō) is a list of the seals of everyone in the township. The individual stamps his seal in the registry himself. The registry shows the date on which the seal is registered, the present address, permanent address, and the name and birthdate of its owner. Seals (han) are used whenever a signature would be required here. When used they are pressed into an India ink paste and stamped on the document requiring the seal.

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Following general affairs, there is (3) the tax collection (zaisei) (4) school affairs (kōmu), (5) a section devoted to agriculture, industry, fishing, or other important occupations in the township (sangyō), (6) health and sanitation (eisei) concerned with community sanitation, health and vital statistics, and (7) a relief and welfare section (shakaijigyō) which administers relief to the indigent.

[423]

The village office also issues to each landowner a certificate of ownership (shoyūkenshōmeisho) with the seal of the mayor for each parcel a villager owns. These sheets, a separate one for each parcel, are bound up in a small book.

[627]

The mayor and his staff hear complaints from individual taxpayers regarding assessments, the amount of the tax, or the classification of land. The atmosphere of a township office is friendly and informal. Callers bow on entering. The mayor is readily accessible. (In my experience, mayors and headmen are very high types of individuals). Most members of the staff bring their own lunches. Each office has a young girl or boy to serve tea and to watch the fire.

The legislative functions of township government are performed by an assembly (gikai), whose members, elected at large, enact ordinances and approve the mayor's appointment of a vice mayor. The mayor, his administrative staff, and the township assembly administer the township.

I: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Survivals of the Priestess (Noro) System

The origin of the priestess system has been traced to primitive fire or hearth worship. A woman was a priestess to the God of Fire (hi no kami) represented in the hearth stone. A set of three rather long stones sometimes set in a triangle often represented the hearth. (These stones in the place of the guardian gods of the village may have the same meaning. In the poorer kitchens, stones set in this manner for the hearth are common to this day). In every house there was a primitive hearth (kanado). "Here, before this hearth, the ancestors of the household are worshipped, the Fire coming to summarize the ancestors who have sat before the hearth in past generations."[3] Each household of a village, each village, and each township had a hearth attendant. The priestess (noro) of the whole township "represents the original worship of the predominant hearth of that region." The duties of the rural priestesses included worshipping at the ancestral shrines, deciding the lucky days for planting, and officiating at marriage and burial ceremonies.

This priestess system was made an institutionalized state religion by King Shō Shin (1477-1526). Their political power was broken by Shō Jōkō, a prime minister of King Shō Tei (1669-1709). The most logical explanation offered for their fall from political power is the influence of Confucianism with its standards of male dominance and the subordination of women. By the end of the 17th century, its economic and political power were declining, but its influence on individual worship, especially, in rural Okinawa, lasted down to the beginning of the recent war.[4]

The priestess system had a place in inheritance customs of the old land tenure system. "Under the ancient system," said Spencer, "certain valuable farm lands were the possession of the Noro, the remainder of the land being held by the community and reassigned at various periods."[5] Inheritance within the system insured the handing down of these properties in the female line. This succession could be accomplished in a number of ways. The female child of the brother of a priestess might succeed her. This is believed to be the method of succession in ancient times. In later times, the noro married and succession was traced in the male line. The wife of a son of the priestess,

3 This material is based on the article of R. S. Spencer, Noro or Priestesses of Loo-Choo, as cited. The quotation is on p. 97.

4 Ibid, 98, 108.

5 Ibid, 109. The material following is to be found on p. 110.

793 or her granddaughter might succeed her. In earlier times, priestesses
423 were unmarried. But with private ownership in land the fields owned by
428 the priestess were divided according to the new laws and fell into possession of the priestess' family.

793 Spencer pointed out in his discussion of their status in 1931 that
[791] they still had considerable influence. There was one in practically every village, although they were losing out to the female fortune tellers (yuta). Spencer cited the case of the principal of the primary school at Itoman who could get controversial plans adopted readily if a priestess sponsored them. This was over 30 years after the abolition of the old allotment system, and their economic power had vanished. But they were important figures in festivals and holidays. Their private services included advice and prayer on journeys and business undertakings. This brief summary of their past history will make the discussion that follows clearer.

793 The Japanese discouraged the priestess system, regarding it as a
178 superstition. In the years immediately preceding the war, the priestesses seem to have prospered more in the northern district of Okinawa. By 1951, the noros were virtually forgotten, victims of a long decline, Japanese discouragement, the war, public indifference, and the conviction, among the young and middle aged people, that the priestesses taught only superstitions (meishin) like the fortune tellers and the soothsayers.

Hanashiro had a priestess before the war; when she died, there was no young female relative to replace her. Now there are none in Hanashiro, Hagamo, or Hinatogawa. Their failure to revive after the war is attributed by the villagers to the influence of education among the people. In Hatsuda, there are some last survivals of the system, but the Ginosa priestess has also died, and there was no one to replace her.

793 Before the war, the priestess (noro in Japanese, nuru in Okinawan) and her assistants conducted services in Hatsuda.[6] The priestess, who was then about 60, lived in Ginosa village, and was carried by two men on a palanquin (kago) from her village to Hatsuda. The high priestess and her assistants constituted a ten woman group. The first in rank after her lived in Ginosa, and the other eight in Hatsuda. These participants in the festivals and religious ceremonies were known as kannushi-san (Japanese) or kamichuyu (Okinawan). The priestess was assisted by a second woman, first in rank after the noro herself (uchigami in Okinawan), a third (nigami in Okinawan), and the fourth (yurashigami in Okinawan). The fifth to ninth women were learners and followers. They could be either young or old women. All ranks wore a simple garment, similar in cut to a kimono, made of white gauze-like material. For a head covering, a piece of the same material was wrapped around the head like a towel. Four men attended the priestess and her women assistants but only at public ceremonies.

[E5] 6 The material which follows is based on information from a lady about 50, a resident of Hatsuda, who was a second ranking assistant (nigami) to the noro. She now operates a tiny store in Hatsuda.

512 513 is more likely that the majority of adults have to be satisfied with six and a half hours.

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Chapter 3

Basic Economy

INTRODUCTION

241 433 Taira depends on its fields and forests for a living. Rice and the sweet potato are the principle staple crops; wheat, beans, and vegetables are additional subsistence crops. Firewood and building materials, sugar, pineapple, and silk are main sources of cash. Tea is raised for home consumption.

311 [543] [544] Since the few rivers around Taira are short and the valleys narrow, the area available for wet rice cultivation is limited. Farm land for sweet potatoes is also not too abundant in this mountainous region and is located either on the gently sloped hills or on a few plateaus between valleys. Here and there it rises on skillfully terraced steps along the steep sides of mountains.

311 423 241 The size of land holdings and the quality of soil partly determine whether a family is able to grow additional cash crops or merely subsist. The average holding for each family is about 5 acres of rice land and 6 acres of other farming land. Yet it is important to note that the range and quality of this land vary widely. Some families own only [433] 1½ acres of rice land and an acre of other farm land, while others own as much as 14 acres of rice land and 12 acres of other farm land; good rice paddies produce three times the quantity of poor ones and are wet enough to allow for two crops per year. Of the 141 families questioned, [511] only 15 grew enough rice to be self-sufficient; 123 had to buy extra [433] rice, and only two families raised a surplus for sale. All families grew enough vegetables for home use, and only 18 bought sweet potatoes. Sixty families grew a surplus of vegetables and 16 a surplus of sweet potatoes

of the permanent Tairan families fish; the majority of the fishermen are migrants from the surrounding islands who come for a season, leaving their families behind. A few families have moved in permanently. The fishermen supply Taira, but most of the catch is peddled in the Nago market by the fishermen's wives. Some of the more enterprising and mercantile-minded women in the village buy up fish and peddle it for a profit.

Two or three times a year, during February or March, large fishing boats from Henza Island land in Taira with whale meat. All the able women look forward to making extra cash at this time, for whale meat is considered a delicacy in homes where meat is rare. Blubber is eaten and used as frying fat. The distribution of whale meat is arranged by one village woman whose fishermen relatives from Henza supply it in response to her request. She acts as agent, distributing the meat to the women on consignment.

LUMBERING

The main source of immediate cash for most families is firewood. Forest land in the mountains is owned by the township and the village, except for some woods near the fields, which are personal property. The township permits the village to exploit a certain region surrounding the community in return for payment of a forest tax. This tax is levied on firewood bundles or on lumber sold by villagers. Everyone in the village is free to cut wood in the designated area in any amount he desires. This, however, does not imply that unlimited cutting is possible, for resources have been utilized so heavily that most forests near the village are almost cleaned out, and it has become increasingly difficult to find wood. Reforestation has only recently been introduced on a serious scale. Often villagers are found trespassing on land owned by the central Ryukyan government in order to cut from the less depleted forests there. Government officials are sympathetic to the villagers' plight, and they tend to dispose of such transgressions with a stern warning.

Men and women, and during vactions, some children over 12 years, go to the forest. Most people prefer to walk and work in small groups. To reach a place high up in the hills, they may have to hike almost a mile from the center of Taira. The steep, narrow paths made by woodcutters traverse the mountains. Following the approach trails during the day, one can hear voices and the sawing of wood from many directions. All lumber people carry a short handsaw and a heavy bush knife

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Chapter 4

Property

Rice paddies, farm land and some grass land, trees on private land, a house site and house, as well as livestock and tools, are owned by the heads of households. Land is registered in the household head's name, and he has sole right to dispose of it. Ordinarily younger sons have no right to their father's property, but a man may will property to them. If there is no will, however, everything reverts to the eldest son. Despite this, several families of younger sons were found to have land holdings equal to those of eldest sons. 423 [428]

A widow with young sons may hold land in trust for her sons or, if there are no male heirs, may inherit the land outright. Divorcees and spinsters may also acquire land by purchase, and there are several women in Taira who are household heads and owners of real estate. [589] [428] [592]

Because of the war and a general shift in population, much land and many house sites have changed owners, and former wealthy families are no longer the largest landowners. When they returned, several families with small prewar land holdings were able to raise the necessary cash to buy land. [556]

There is little sentimental attachment to a particular plot of land, and households have never been associated with particular plots. Rather, land is considered a necessary commodity, and thus it frequently changes hands. This sentiment may derive from the communal land-holding system with its periodic redistribution of plots to individuals, which was found throughout Okinawa until abolished under Japanese administration at the turn of the century. 423 592 [177]

Forest land from which villagers derive an income is owned by the village. Being a member of the community confers the right to use village forests, subject to regulations made by the village. Of particular interest is the village-owned tea field, which the village cooperative controls. The field has been subdivided, and each household in the 423 621 474

423 community is entitled to the use of one of the equal-sized lots. A small
[621] yearly payment is made to the cooperative, which passes these proceeds
[474] on to the village to pay salaries for officials and other expenses.

Tenancy was never a problem in the Taira area. Under the old sys-
[427] tem everyone was entitled to land. The final distribution in the change to individual ownership gave everyone sufficient land. Although many new landowners sold and mortgaged their property in other parts of Okinawa, one source states that "in the villages of Kawata, Taira and Miyagushiku . . . none of 348 families was found landless . . ." (Tamura 1927:292 translation). Today several families hold mortgages
[426] on their land, usually for loans to put up new buildings or some other capital investment. Nevertheless, a shortage of rice paddies is obvious, since a part of the land around Taira is owned by people from the neighboring village, and an extension of paddy land in this mountainous district would be feasible only with the aid of irrigation projects.

427 The renting of property from persons who have moved to the city is not uncommon and is a means of bolstering one's own rice or farm land. People who move out of the community, either temporarily or for longer periods, may rent their land or let relatives and even non-relatives use it. In most cases no compensation is paid for the use of farm land, although in rare cases where the owner continues to live in the village, some agreement is made to share the harvested crop. Rice paddies, however, are rented for half the crop. The owner returns from the city during harvesting time to help in cutting and threshing the rice. If unable to return, he may hire a person to help or to make adjustments in the division of the yield. Taira people do not rent their paddies or farm lands for money. An exception may be made in the case of outside fishermen who move into the village and who may rent a small area of land from a villager. In a few cases land has been left in the care of a family member by a relative who went overseas. One of the most substantial farmers in Taira holds several such properties, part of which he owns and part of which he holds in custodianship for a relative overseas. In such a case he is entitled to exploit the land without any compensation for the departed family member.

[423] Almost all local families own their houses and house lots. The
[122] thought of renting a room or house for money is somewhat foreign to the village, and in the case of the authors, "rent" for two rooms, as originally suggested by the owner of the house, was nominal. Fishermen, however, have to rent a room or a whole house. Their rent is an informal arrangement of payment in kind, fish, or other sea products.
[575] In addition, bachelor teachers from outside the community who re-

quire room and board are sometimes put up without compensation, and they agree, perhaps, to give some help with studies of the landlord's children. Only the village "doctor" takes transient guests, mostly visiting officials from the city, who pay for lodgings. 427 875 485

Although the household head is a legal owner of the family property, there is a feeling that it belongs to the family and everyone in the household identifies himself with his land and house. This is expressed in the language. A person who is asked, "Whose rice paddy is this?" would answer that it is the household's or "ours." 423 592

In addition to the communal land holdings and the property of the cooperative described earlier, the following items are shared. The government supplies a breeding boar to each village; it is then left in the care of one farmer. This animal is available to pig owners for studding on request, and a small charge is made for the upkeep of the boar. A few tools are jointly owned by several households. Threshing machines were bought jointly after the war by two or more families to defray the high cost of such equipment. These families could be neighbors or relatives. Today many are complaining that joint ownership works hardships during the busy harvest season when there is heavy demand for the machines. As a result, everybody wishes to own his own machine as soon as he can afford to. For tea harvesting, special clippers are owned by the village cooperative and loaned to people as they need them. Since tea harvesting, though seasonal, is not done by all families during the same day, sharing of these tools presents no difficulties. 231 654 476 474

Property of others is very much respected. Stealing among villagers is almost unheard of, except for some pilfering of green vegetables and fruits by children. Only one case was reported during the field-work period—a person tried to take some goods without payment from the community store. When a village meeting was called, and it was announced that the person's identity was known to the store manager, the merchandise was later replaced. Willful damage to fields is similarly strictly forbidden. No child would really think of doing such damage. But there are no formal rules about trespassing. Movement across other people's property is completely free and unchallenged. 421 685 627 867

Land Ownership and Rental Although Nanahan has only twenty-three houses, the land register lists thirty-five land owners. Two of these are persons who are tenants and who own only the houselots where they live. In addition, three other families live in Nanahan, owning neither houselot nor land, but renting both from the owner. Five families have moved to urban areas, but have kept the land, and have rented it out, chiefly to the settlers in the community. Of the five, one had never owned a houselot. Two sold their houselots and one rented his house out. The remaining one rented his houselot, which was later converted by the tenant into a dry field. 423 427

There is almost no one in Nanahan who is neither a renter nor a rentee. Ten of the registered land owners are minors, most of whom have inherited land from their fathers who were killed in the invasion. Two are sons of the leading landowner, who has apparently registered part of his land in his sons' names to avoid heavy taxes.

The annual rent for grassland in Nanahan is ¥0.30, or thirty 'sen', per 'tsubo'. In the one 'genya' sale for which information was available, a doctor living in Kochinda village sold a Nanahan man 1,000 'tsubo' for a total of ¥3,000. Dry land, or 'hatake', rents for ¥2 per 'tsubo', although better and more fertile land may command a higher rental. Riceland is not rented out for money, but for a portion of the crop. Under the most usual arrangement the renter keeps three-fifths of the crop and delivers to the owner the remaining two-fifths. The renter must furnish all the manure, fertilizer, and labor. The Nanahan land register records nine plots as having been sold since 1947. 423 427 435

The Nanahan farmers say that the best thing the military ever did was to order in 1947 the making of a land survey and the drawing of land ownership maps. They said it is very effective in protecting boundaries and preventing quarrels. 423

3. Diet

Although daily Okinawan cuisine is in general very similar to that of Japan, some difference is seen in the dependence on the sweet potato, and the use of pork. Feast foods have more local flavor and are considerably different from those of Japan. The frequent typhoons occasionally cause temporary famine, and it is during the famines that Okinawan food and food substitutes differ most from Japanese standards. Finally, one major point of difference is in the use of sugar in the household; three centuries of experience with the crop has given rise to many traits and patterns centered around the use of sugar in the home. These four categories are discussed in this section on diet. 262 171 [263]

Ordinary Food The typical Okinawan breakfast is generally boiled sweet potatoes ('imo'), 'miso' (soybean paste) soup and vegetables. The noon meal is boiled sweet potatoes, noodles, and vegetables. The evening meal consists usually of boiled rice, 'miso' soup and vegetables. The most frequently consumed vegetables are mustard cabbage, Chinese cabbage, green onions, wax melon, giant radish, chopped dried radish, carrots and cabbage. Other foods added as occasional variety are wheat fluff, seaweed, soybean curd, and canned fish. 262

746 one case investigated, the village secretary and most of the village people thought that a certain old repatriate should be on relief, if only to receive money to obtain the tobacco he could not buy. The 'son' office was not told about his elder brother's second son, who lives in Osaka. Nor was any check made on the untrue report that he was ill, for no medical proof or witnesses are needed. Upon moving from his sister-in-law's house to a grass shack next door, he was placed upon the relief list to receive the monthly maximum of ¥250 (about $2.08).

746 [77] The 'son' office also supervises the distribution to persons on relief of clothes supplied by the American relief agency RIVAC (Ryukyu Islands Voluntary Agencies Committee). Each person receives free two or three useful items upon signing for their receipt with his chop. These are greatly appreciated by the recipients.

621 427 Rentals of Village-Owned Land Each village generally owns some grassland, some forest land, and a pond or two. These they rent out to the highest bidder. The 'genya' or grassland is rented anew each year, and the person may keep it in grass, or may convert it to dry crop land ('hatake'). The only requirement is that he must not let the grass grow long and shade the nearby crops. The plot owned by Tomoyose village used to be the village horse-powered sugar mill before the better one was built before the war.

Ponds owned by the village are rented out to the highest bidder in a [22] secret bid, for a period of two years. The renter uses the pond to raise [42] carp. Forest land, I was told, is not supposed to be owned by the village, so it is recorded in the land register as the property of a prominent private individual.

65 [63] Taxes The Okinawan farmer is subject to a great number of official taxes. The following is a list of the fifteen 'sonzei', or township taxes, of Kanegusuku-son. Legally these are called district taxes, or 'chihō-zei'.

Tax Name	Translation
Sonmin-zei	Township Citizens' Tax (on all persons who are able to work, except students)
Tochi-zei	Land Tax
Fudōsan Shutoku zei	Real Estate Acquisition Tax
Kaoku-zei	House (or Building) Tax
Kōgyō-zei	Tax for Industry (eg: 'sake' factory)
Gyubasha-zei	Tax for Horsecart or Oxcart
Jidōsha-zei	Auto, Bus and Jitney Tax (Motor Vehicle Tax)
Rajio-zei	Radio Tax
Denchū-zei	Electric Pole Tax
Tochiku-zei	Slaughter Tax
Chikken-zei	Dog Tax
Sampaku-zei	Boat Tax
Jitensha-zei	Bicycle Tax
Denwa-zei	Telephone Tax
Jigyō-zei	Business Tax

mean the same thing, village, although the term 'aza' tends to be geographical 621
in connotation whereas 'ku' refers more to the political community. Official land maps use the designation 'aza' and the same term is used for one's postal address. Conversely, the 'koseki' (household registry) kept in the township office is labelled as the 'koseki' of a certain 'ku', and the political head or mayor of a village is referred to as the 'kuchō' ('ku' leader or head). The villagers never use the term 'ku' in referring to their village; instead the terms 'aza', mura, or 'buraku' are used. The township of Kanegusuku-son located in southern Okinawa approximately three miles south of Naha on the west coast is subdivided into eight villages or 'aza', each of these comprising a separate settlement surrounded by its fields.

Every 'aza' consists of a number of haru (cognate to the Japanese hara) which best translates as "field". Kanegusuku, one of the eight villages of Kanegusuku-son and the one from which it takes its name, consists of eight haru, though the number in a given village is completely arbitrary. These haru or fields are local designations for the various areas of a village and are well known to all the villagers. The haru names are fairly similar from vil- 621
lage to village throughout Okinawa though occasionally local geographical fea- 103
tures or place names, particularly those of streams, are used. Names like wii baru (upper field), agari baru (east field), iri baru (west field), kushi baru (back field), mee baru (front field), shicha baru (lower field) are found in nearly every village. It is interesting to note that the names north field and south field rarely occur, and where they do occur, the author suspects that they have been put in use quite recently, for in the old, typical Okinawan village all of the houses face south, and the field names are usually ordered around this orientation. Thus, mee baru (front field) is usually south of the village while kushi baru (back field) is usually on the north side. This carries over into the household naming system (yago) employed by the villagers to designate each of the house lots within the settlement.

Each haru is broken into many small parcels or plots of land. On the 621
village land maps every plot is assigned to one of six categories---house or 311
building land, irrigated land, dry farm land, grass land, forest land, and miscellaneous, including tomb land. Each plot is also given a number on the [423]
land maps and in the land registry ('tochi daichō') for the purpose of identification, though oftentimes the villagers refer to them by local names.

2. Political Organization[1]

There are three levels of government (exclusive of military government) 642
existing on Okinawa today---the central government (Government of the Ryukyu [634]
Islands), municipal governments ('shi-chō-son'), and 'ku' (ward or village) governments. The structure of government is pyramidal, there is a hierarchial chain of command, and each echelon of government exceeds in authority the unit immediately below it. There is no allocation of rights and powers as exists among the various national, state, and local segments of American government, since the state operates as a highly-organized and heavily centralized unitary whole. Variation in the form and function of local government from one area to another is slight. Individuals appear to play but a small role in this

[1] A major part of the information presented in this chapter derives from the 101
author's study in the township of Kanegusuku-son and particularly in one of its villages, Kanegusuku-ku. This has been supplemented by data gathered in briefer studies in other parts of Okinawa.

632 423 [651] The Land Affairs Department maintains the land ownership records ('tochi daichō') and issues certificates of land title ('chiken'). The head of this department ('tochijimuchō' or 'tochi gakari') together with the village mayor ('kuchō') and his council assesses land values for tax purposes.

632 744 The Departments of Public Welfare and Social Affairs are concerned with matters relating to relief, health, sanitation, etc. The functions of these overlap somewhat with those of the police and the Naha Health Center. One day each month a nurse from the Health Center is at the township office giving shots to children. Once a month there is a sanitation inspection of all the villages within the 'son'; the emphasis shifts each month---thus, one month it may be for mosquito control and the next it may be extermination of flies. Relief measures are also handled from these departments.

632 178 A 'son' assemoly ('senkai' or 'songikai') functions as the legislative branch of 'son' government; it is empowered to enact local ordinances, approve the mayor's selection of employees for the village office, and make local tax levies. In Kanegusuku-son each of the eight villages selects two representatives ('sonkaigiin') for the assembly, and the term of office is four years. Before the end of the war this body was an appointive one selected by the mayors of the villages ('kuchō'); in turn the assembly appointed the township mayor. The bulk of the population had no voice in local government; today, however, both the mayor and the assembly stand for election. In all elections [664] for municipal and central government offices universal suffrage now obtains; all those twenty and above are entitled to vote.

632 622 The meetings of the 'son' assembly are too infrequent to provide effective representation at all times for the people. Regular contact between the people and the township office is maintained by frequent meetings of all the village mayors ('kuchō') with the township mayor ('sonchō'). This group, known as 'kuchōkai' (village mayors' assembly), meets three times each month generally on the fifth, fifteenth, and twenty-fifth, though in times of emergency or pressing business it may meet oftener. Problems of general concern to the villages are discussed. These meetings enable the township mayor to keep in touch with the problems of the villages and what the people are thinking; they also provide the opportunity to inform and instruct the village mayors regarding directives or projects to be carried out in the villages.

632 651 One of the chief functions of the township government is to collect taxes for the central government and for its own needs. The following township taxes ('senzei', or in legal terminology, 'chihōzei') are those levied by Kanegusuku-son:

senmin-zei	Villagers' Tax. This is a head tax on all persons who are able to work between the ages of 17 and 60 excluding students, blind, sick, and crippled persons.
tochi-zei	Land Tax. For details see chapter on Land Tenure.
fudōsan shutoku-zei	Real Estate Acquisition Tax.
kaoku-zei	House or Building Tax.

CHAPTER VIII LAND TENURE

W. P. Lebra

423 During the lifetime of the oldest living generation of Okinawans
178 there have been operative two radically differing systems of land tenure---at first a system of communal land ownership and later a system of private ownership of land by families. At the present time a third system may be said to be emerging---private ownership by individuals. Changes in the systems of land tenure have been accompanied by significant changes in the family, economy, and community. During the wartime and post-war periods extensive land losses to military installations have severely disrupted the livelihood of a number of communities, thus furthering the process of change.

175 ## 1. The Okinawan Kingdom and the Land Allotment System ('jiwari seido')

Prior to 1879 when Japan formally annexed the Ryukyus, Okinawa was
[642] a small semi-independent kingdom (it was a tribute-paying dependency of the daimiate of Satsuma in Japan) controlling the southern Ryukyus. The
175 urban Naha-Shuri area served as the administrative and commercial center
565 for the kingdom, and nearly all of the upper classes, gentry and nobility, were concentrated there. They formed a ruling class similar to that of
[423] China, functioning as a literati and administrative bureaucracy. Feudalism had been abolished in the fifteenth century, and aside from a small percentage of the nobility who were allowed to retain their hereditary fiefs, the bulk of the upper classes subsisted on pensions granted by the ruler. This group was very large and constituted approximately one-third of the total population.

175 The farming population lived in a state of serfdom, being forbidden
[566] even to move from their native village or to change their hereditary occu-
[36] pation. Farm villages were self-sustaining and physically isolated entities consisting of tightly-nucleated clusters of dwellings surrounded by fields.
[621] Each village was segmented into several lineages whose houses were generally
[613] clustered together; these kin groups were related through the male line and shared a common ancestor, ritual observances, and often a local tomb for
[614] temporary burial. Each lineage was usually related to certain lineages of other villages, thus forming a larger relationship or patri-sib which shared a remote common ancestor, ritual observances, and a common tomb for permanent burial. Usually the membership of this larger kinship group was con-
[582] centrated in the villages of a given district or area. Village endogamy was an obligatory marriage practice, and kin group endogamy was a preferred though not an obligatory practice.

178 Private ownership of land on Okinawa is a recent phenomenon, as
423 recent, in fact, as the beginning of the twentieth century. Under the old
175 kingdom communal ownership of the land obtained for all except a small seg-
423 ment of the upper classes. In theory all land was the property of the ruler,
[632] but in practice the district, or majiri (political unit roughly equivalent

to the modern'son'), was the land-holding unit. The administration of the majiri supervised the distribution of land to the villages or mura (political unit equivalent to present-day 'ku') where it was divided among the various families. The amount of land allocated to a given family was dependent on its size, age and sex of members, and social position; consequently the houses of the nuru priestess and local officials received a proportionately larger allotment than the houses of ordinary farmers. The distribution of arable land under this system at the end of the nineteenth century was as follows: 67.1% farmers, 13% local lords, 8.3% nuru priestesses and local officials, 10.9% newly-cleared land.[1] The farmers worked the lands of all groups. 175 423 632

The origin of this communal land allotment system ('jiwari seidō') lies deep in Okinawa's past far beyond the beginning of its recorded history. Redistributions were made periodically to compensate for changes in household size and fertility of holdings. These reallotments occurred at from four to thirty year intervals at the option of the local (majiri) administration, with the average being about every tenth year. Certain lands were excluded from redistribution, particularly the lands of the local lords. Usually the lands of the so-called yādui settlements made up of the younger sons of gentry families were also excluded. Newly-cleared land was placed in a special category in order to encourage land development; ordinarily it was treated as the private property of the family that cleared it and was not subject to reallotment. Despite these exceptions nearly 75% of the arable land was subject to periodic redistribution.

Under this system the tax-bearing unit was the majiri, not the family. Each majiri was headed by a jiturei, an appointed official from Shuri, who functioned as an administrator, judge, and policeman; he was held responsible for the tax payment of his district and was subject to recall and punishment in the event of default. The state took no action against the family or household which failed to pay its tax; such matters were left to the jiturei and his assistants, who were free to deprive the offending family of all its lands if they saw fit. When a house defaulted, its lineage was held accountable and forced to make up the deficit; if the lineage was unable to meet its obligations, the entire village (mura) had to assume the responsibility. A marked feature of the old village was a number of granaries set aside for the community's annual tax levy. 175 423 651 632 [672] [613] [621]

Land valuations were permanently fixed in 1610 when the daimyo of Satsuma had the region surveyed to determine the amount of tribute which could be extracted. There was no reassessment until after the annexation, although the overall tax levy was raised in 1635 and again in 1722. Only arable land was subject to taxation; no taxes were levied against house lots which were privately owned, nor against the forest and grass lands which were communal property. The tax levy for each majiri was based on the estimated productivity of its land at the time of the survey; it was a fixed tax and was never altered. It had been set so that in theory 40% of the yearly crop went to the government and 60% was to be retained by the 175 423 651

[1] Higa, 1950, p. 64.

175 family, but in actual practice the family often received a far lower percent-
423 age, since with a fixed tax there was no possibility of compensating for crop
651 failure, decline in productivity, and population growth. Tax payments were made in grain though cloth was also accepted. In addition to the inflexibility of the tax system there was a lack of uniformity in tax levies; certain areas such as Kunigami and the outer islands bore an unequal tax load, and farmers in all areas paid a proportionately higher tax than the officials and upper classes. These inequalities inherent in the system plus
[433] the periodic redistribution of plots served to curb any interest which the farmer might have had in improving his holdings; consequently, productivity was said to be very low.

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178 Vestiges of this system may still be found in some of the peripheral areas of Okinawa. The village of Oku in northern Kunigami-son still has communal ownership of its forest lands, and on Kudaka Shima off Chinen Peninsula a villager must turn his land over to the community when he goes to live elsewhere.

2. Okinawa-ken (1879-1945). Japanese Administration and the Termination of the Land Allotment System

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648 Following the annexation of Okinawa, the new government embarked on a program designed to integrate Okinawa (and the southern Ryukyus) into the
177 national state. The task facing the early administrators was a difficult one, for in addition to differences in language and culture Okinawa was poor in natural resources and possessed an antiquated administrative system. It was soon realized that modernization could not be accomplished overnight; therefore the Japanese allowed virtually all of the old customs to be retained during the first twenty years of their administration, and efforts were directed toward educating a sufficient number of Okinawans to assist
[565] them in carrying out the program. Though the old class system was abolished, members of the former classes continued to subsist on pensions now paid by the new government, and in the rural areas life continued much as before except that the mura replaced the majiri as the land-holding and disbursing
175 unit. By 1899 the government was prepared to introduce more radical changes,
648 and in March of that year Law 59 relating to land adjustment was promulgated.
177 Its objectives were to confirm private ownership and to determine land values for tax purposes. The importance which the administration attached
423 to this measure was clearly stated by Narahara Shigeru, superintendent of the Land Adjustment Board, "Now, the only way to reform the administration is to destroy old customs, but its accomplishment must be commenced with the reform of the system of land taxation, the very foundation of the old customs."[1] Following a mapping survey which began in 1899, officials went into the villages to explain the purposes of the law and to settle conflicting claims. Private ownership was generally confirmed in favor of the cultivator. By 1903 the land reform was carried through to a successful completion.

Private ownership of land was accompanied by the introduction of Japanese laws of property and inheritance; their combined effect was to alter substantially the prevailing social organization and economic balance of the rural community. Land formerly held by the family under the communal

[1] Summary of the Land Adjustment in the Okinawa Prefecture, 1904, p. ii.

allotment system was now entered in the newly-created land registries as the 175
property of the household head. In the past inheritance of the position of 648
household head by the first son had been largely a matter of status succes- 177
sion involving leadership of the family and certain ceremonial obligations.
Property succession had not been an important factor, for the private 423
property of the family had usually amounted to no more than the family 177
house and lot. Under the old land allotment system there was always land
available for younger sons who set up independent houses, but under Japanese 423
law the bulk of the family property was inherited by the first son. What had 428
been the function of the community in the past now became the responsibility 592
of the family, and since family holdings were usually small, the younger sons
were often landless. Informants stated that a father will usually do every-
thing possible to provide his younger sons with land, but he cannot do this
if it means jeopardizing the resources of the house. Continuation of the
family line for the purpose of continuity in worshipping the ancestors is
the chief responsibility incumbent on the household head, and in the rural
areas the land provides the major support for the house. With the rise in [166]
population there developed an increasing trend for younger sons to emigrate
from the rural areas in search of land or jobs elsewhere. The end result [602]
was a considerable weakening of family and especially kin group ties and a [621]
rapid decline in the communal character of the rural villages.

Though the creation of private property made possible the sale, pur- 175
chase, and rental of land, landlordism never gained a foothold on Okinawa. 423
Undoubtedly this is primarily due to the recency of private property and the 427
lack of time for large accumulations of land to be made. It is also in part [471]
due to a lack of capital in the rural areas; most capital on Okinawa after
the annexation and before World War II was confined to the hands of Japanese
businessmen and members of the former upper classes who seemed disinclined to
invest in land. Likewise the official Japanese attitude toward Okinawa was [648]
to regard it as a rather backward part of Japan not to be exploited as a
colonial dependency as in the case of Formosa and Korea. Glacken has sug- [171]
gested that the heavy fragmentation of the typical Okinawan farm would be an
obstacle to its sale; yet, the Chinese farmland is also highly fragmented
and landlordism has been common there for centuries.[1]

After the abolition of the communal allotment system taxes were ex- 175
tended to cover all categories of land whereas previously they had been ap- 423
plied only to arable land; however, government income from land taxes sharply 651
declined, as the moderate levies of the Japanese administration were con-
siderably below those of the Okinawan monarchy. Despite this reduction in [311]
tax load there has been a steady decline in the amount of land cultivated
since the termination of the old land system; this is clearly shown in Tables
III and IV in Chapter III, Agricultural History, Land Use and Diet.

3. World War II and the American Occupation

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During World War II Okinawa became the scene of one of the most vio- 727
lent battles of modern times. The entire island was turned into a combat

[1] Glacken, 1951, p. 160.

175 area which resulted in a twenty percent reduction in the civilian population
927 and in the destruction of virtually every city, town, and village. The densely-populated southern half of the island, scene of the heaviest fighting, was particularly devastated.

Staggering reconstruction tasks faced the military government at the conclusion of the war, and at first nearly all its efforts were absorbed in managing the problems of food and health for the civilian population. In the course of the campaign nearly all of the people had been removed into civilian internment camps, and many remained there for nearly a year or more before returning to their homes. Most returned to find their homes destroyed and fields overgrown with weeds or littered with the debris of war. In a few areas whole villages were replaced by military installations. The average village found itself without housing, its fields in an unusable condition, and its families decimated. In most cases the district office ('sonyakuba') had been destroyed and with it all family and land records. The physical destruction of the war and the humiliation of defeat left the population apathetic and indifferent for some time. One informant stated this feeling succinctly, "After the war we were left with only the will to live, nothing more." A former war-time and post-war mayor of one village informed the author that nearly six years were required to restore the land to its pre-war state, and he expressed the opinion that this recovery was unduly prolonged by the generous food ration issued by the military government: "No one wanted to work as long as there was free food. Without this food it could have been done in two or three years."

175 On April 14, 1950, the military governor issued Special Proclamation
423 36 which authorized the issuance of new certificates of land title.[1] The measure necessitated surveying and preparing new land maps and issuing new
[648] titles. It was first necessary to set up schools to train personnel for carrying out the assignment. The mapping job was one which the authors heard praised in all farm villages, with a number of informants remarking that Okinawa now had the best land maps of any time in its history. In the confirmation of ownership local bodies were made sovereign, but the individual had the right of appeal to the courts.

423 Copies of the land titles are kept in three offices, the land regis-
647 try and tax collection offices in the district office ('sonyakuba') and in the Central Land Office located in Naha. Under the law all land transactions, rental or sale, must be registered within thirty days; however, even the most casual check of these records plus a knowledge of local holdings indicates that this is not being done, for both the bookkeeping and registration appear to lag far behind transactions. This does not seem to be the result of any deliberate attempt to withhold information but rather appears due to a lack of concern for such details on the part of the individuals concerned. The same sort of situation prevails in the registration of births and deaths. Another factor might well be that the large number of land transactions occurring in the postwar period have left the farmer disinclined

[1] Ryukyu Statistical Bulletin, no. 5, May 1950.

to take registration seriously until conditions are more stable. The Central 423 ●
Land Office in Naha appears to be almost wholly out of touch with local 647
changes; for example, the extensive land changes subsequently described for Kitazato did not appear to be known or recorded on the maps in that office.

Taxation of farm lands is a very complex matter. Land assessments 651
are made by the district land office in conjunction with village leaders; 423
consequently, there is not only some variation in grading from 'son' to 'son' but also from village to village within the same 'son'. All land is divided into six categories: 1) rice lands or irrigated fields, 2) farm land or dry fields, 3) grass land or meadow (often erroneously translated as wasteland), 4) forest, 5) house or building land, and 6) miscellaneous, including graves, ponds, etc. It will be noted that only the first two categories are food-producing. The first five categories are sub-divided into grades depending on a variety of factors such as fertility, accessibility, availability of water, etc. In Kami Motobu-son there are sixteen grades of land within the five graded categories; thus, there are five grades of rice land, five grades of dry field, two grades of grass land, two grades of forest land, and two grades of house land. The tax is computed by the tax rate per grade of category times the area in 'tsubo' (1224 'tsubo' equal one acre). In Kami Motobu-son grade one dry fields carry an annual tax of 15 'sen' per tsubo; therefore, at current exchange rates (¥120 equal $1.00) a house would pay a tax of $1.53 (¥183.60) for an acre of this grade one land.

In regard to the matter of property inheritance there is some dis- 428
satisfaction with the present laws on the part of educated Okinawans. They 829
feel that the new Japanese constitution adopted during the American Occupa- [642]
tion should also be enacted for the Ryukyus. The constitutional reform which took place in Japan after the war did not apply to the Ryukyus; consequently, Okinawa still operates under the old Japanese civil code except for certain gross inequities which have been corrected by military government proclamation. The new Japanese law holds that all children, regardless of sex or birth order, are entitled to an equal share of the parents' estate. In contrast, the old law, which still obtains on Okinawa, grants the bulk of the estate to the first-born son. Under this law property in reality is [423]
held for the family by the first son or household head; it is not his to dispose of as he sees fit. Educated Okinawans who discussed this subject 428
with the author expressed the opinion that the old law was undemocratic in 829
giving emphasis to the family over the individual, and they felt that Oki- 184
nawa should keep pace with Japan in this respect. It should be emphasized, however, that these persons were not farmers; the latter, most of whom are not too well educated, tend to regard the present laws as just, since the emphasis is on preserving the continuity of the family. A further subdivision of the typical Okinawan farm into still more fragmented plots would do little to improve the prosperity of the rural areas.

[Kanegusuku]

Non-cultivated land, however, is equally important to the average farm household in providing fuel, thatching, green manure, and many other necessities. 621 [311]

Land Holdings A breakdown of the 103 houses of Kanegusuku shows that 97 own land; 6 houses own no land of any type. Of the 103 houses, 56 rent land, and 6 of these rent all the land which they use. The remaining 50 own some land and rent some land. The figures are somewhat misleading, as included among the renters are those who rent only house lots; also included are some houses which have more than enough land for their own needs, but have rented plots contiguous to their main plots and in turn rent out their inaccessible plots to others. 621 423 427

In terms of total land per household 60% possess one or more acres of land which includes house lots, grass land, and forest in addition to cultivated fields. Nearly 73% of the village houses possess three-quarters of an acre or more of land which might arbitrarily be taken as the minimum necessary for mere existence, since farmers say that from 1000 to 2000 'tsubo' (1224 'tsubo' equal one acre) are needed for the average family. This leaves 27% of the village or exactly 28 houses with insufficient land for their needs. An investigation revealed that 13 of these 28 "have-not" houses were new to the village since the war. This group includes former residents of other Okinawan communities as well as repatriate families, of which 4 can be classed as having insufficient land. Three of these 28 houses without sufficient land were headed by widows, and two of these significantly were women who were not residents of the village, so that they were without close relatives in the village to help them. One person, the sole occupant of his house, was mentally unfit to take care of his lands and was helped by relatives. The remaining 11 of these 28 houses were headed by persons who were old residents of the village, but of these 9 were houses headed by younger sons who had established independent branch houses since the end of the war. Thus, out of a total of 28 landless and virtually landless houses, only two were headed by first sons who were native to the village. Although this group constitutes but 27% of the houses, it rents 51% of all the land rented by villagers. 621 423 [327]

Fields There are on the average 11 plots of land per household in Kanegusuku; of these 6 are cultivated fields while the remainder are in grass land, house lot, and forest or wood land. The average rice field is a little over a quarter of an acre in size, whereas the average dry field is about one-sixth of an acre in size. [311] [241]

Owners The land records list 160 landowners in Kanegusuku; 146 of these now reside in the village and 14 are listed as absent. Since there are but 103 houses in the village, a number of houses have more than one landowner. This is in part a result of the war, which broke up a number of families by deaths and also caused a severe housing shortage; consequently, there is some doubling up in a number of houses. Another factor is that in the land-rich houses (comparatively speaking) a father often has set aside some land for his younger sons and has entered this land in their names even though they are still quite young. [362]

[Kanegusuku]

621 423 425 [427] [169] Absentee Owners There are 14 former residents of the village who still own land in it; their holdings amount to 5% of the total acreage. Most of these have either rented their land to villagers or have loaned it out to relatives; only a couple have allowed their holdings to remain idle. Absentee landlordism is definitely not a problem in Kanegusuku. Most who leave the village to seek employment in the cities seem reluctant to sell their land, and this does not appear to be because of any deep attachment for the soil. They feel that land is a security against the loss of a job or failure in the city; the land will always provide a subsistence. It is also significant that they are most reluctant to part with their house lots, especially old family sites. The house lot in such cases is regarded as an important tie to the ancestors of the family, and since the dead can influence the fortunes of the living, it is feared that misfortune may follow the sale of a house lot, particularly to a person who is not a close relative. In most of the now unoccupied house lots of Kanegusuku one can find a small site for prayer (uganju) marked by a small censer and bits of incense. Periodically certain of the older members (usually female) of the family return to pay their respects to the ancestors at these spots. One gets the impression that this is done not so much in the spirit of venerating as in the spirit of propitiating.

425 427 Land Transactions Since the land registries were established again in 1950 there has been a sizable turnover in land holdings. From the last quarter of 1950 through the first quarter of 1954 59 plots have been sold and 154 plots have been rented out. As registrations usually lag far behind transactions, the above figures are undoubtedly too low, and this is especially true of the rentals.

427 Land Rentals Land rentals vary widely depending on the type of land, location, quality, and the relationship between owner and tenant. As a general rule payments are made in cash for house lots, grass land, and forest. If the owner and tenant are close relatives a lower rental will be charged, or in the case of house lots most likely no charge will be made at all. For rice fields the rent is always a percentage of the crop; this too will vary depending on the factors previously mentioned, though sometimes it will run as high as from thirty to forty percent of the yield. Dry fields are paid for in cash or produce depending on the crop and the arrangement; usually items that store well such as beans are acceptable as rent. In all cases, it must be stressed, much depends on the owner-tenant relationship; the land records show many instances of brother renting from brother. In most of these cases, according to informants, a lower rental or sometimes none at all is charged, especially if the one brother is considerably more prosperous than the other. Often persons who seek temporary employment elsewhere will lend their lands to close relatives during their absence rather than rent it out for a short term.

The terms "owner" and "renter" seem virtually meaningless unless referred to in context. For example, most widows have been forced to rent out their rice land, as its maintenance is considered too difficult for a woman. Likewise a number of children orphaned by the war are too young to work their holdings, and these are rented out or worked for them by relatives. At the

[Kanegusuku]

time of the author's stay in the village there was no individual or family which could be classified as rentier. 427

Changes Effected by the War War-caused changes in the distribution of land holdings among the various households were considerable. Many of the land-rich houses, if such a term may be used where the "richest" has but eleven acres, are such today because of the war, and conversely some houses have become impoverished or had their resources severely strained because of it. Unlike many other communities Kanegusuku was fortunate in that only about 4% of its total land area was permanently ruined as a result of the war. Some land was lost to a road, but most of the loss was due to a small military camp (about company size) now converted into a tuberculosis sanatorium. Since land holdings are usually fragmented and scattered, no one family lost all its land, though one family lost nearly one-half and several approximately one quarter. The loss to the sanatorium is not compensated for by jobs for Kanegusuku people since no villager is employed there. This is explained by the fact that the director is from Itoman; so "naturally" he could not be expected to hire Kanegusuku people. 621 423 177 727 [186]

The composition of the household has changed in many homes since the war as a result of the large number of deaths. Today a number of households consist of the usual nuclear family of husband, wife, and their offspring plus a related "broken" family such as widowed sister and her children or widower brother and his children or parent and unmarried siblings. In most cases the holdings of both families are pooled and the household functions as a single economic unit, though separate purses are sometimes maintained. There are several old people who live alone in their houses, but they are usually watched over by near relatives. 621 592 177 727

The richest landowner (eleven acres) in the village today was a second son in very moderate circumstances before the war. As a second son he was given by his parents to childless relatives for adoption. During the war his adoptive parents died, leaving him their entire estate. The war also caused the death of his real father and elder brother, leaving him the sole heir to their property. He has since married a woman who as the surviving member of her family is heiress to its property. Consequently, this house now holds the land of three families. The villagers are somewhat envious, but they say that misfortunte may result since this house now must make the ritual observances to the ancestors of three families, which is felt to be too great a task for anyone, and inadequate attention may lead to calamity. 621 556 727 [769]

The women who were widowed by the war and who have chosen to maintain separate households have had in most cases a difficult time of it, and particularly those widows without grown sons have been hard pressed. Farming an irrigated field is said to be impossible for a woman alone; therefore, most of them have had to rent out their rice lands, thereby losing much of its return. It is also very difficult for a house which contains only women to participate in reciprocal labor exchanges, since two days of labor by a woman are equated to one day of labor by a man. 621 589 727 [462] [427] [476]

[Kanegusuku]

621 The group most dissatisfied with its lot today are the repatriates
423 from the former Japanese possessions. A few of these families were able upon
727 return to take up the lands left by relatives killed in the war or were given land by prosperous relatives, and four repatriate families are virtually landless. All of them, regardless of the size of their present holdings, chafe at their circumstances. One repatriate told the author that he had farmed nearly twenty-five acres in a single plot of sugar on Saipan and that he could never be satisfied with Kanegusuku after this. He is hoping that he will eventually be permitted to return to Saipan.

Before the war that segment of the village which possessed the least amount of land consisted almost exclusively of younger sons who had established branch families. Today this group has been augmented by repatriates from the former Japanese possessions and by emigrants from other Okinawan communities.

621 Farm Laborers During the course of the author's stay in Kanegusuku
241 there was only one full-time farm laborer in the village. This man came from one of the southern islands in the Ryukyus and was employed for less than a
[463] month. After his discharge, the former employer remarked that no outsider has enough interest in the lands of another family to make his employment worthwhile. Transplanting and harvesting rice place the heaviest labor de-
[857] mands upon the family; at these times virtually every member of the family
[476] works in the fields; even the grade-school children are given minor tasks, and the family labor force is supplemented by close relatives or neighbors in a reciprocal labor exchange.

829 Attitudes toward the Land One does not hear or see evidence of
554 any great love or attachment for the soil on the part of the Okinawan farmer. In fact, quite the contrary seems true. Most regard their occupation as a
463 lowly one and feel that they are farmers because they know no other occupa-
241 tion. Land is of value because it provides a livelihood, nothing more, though some exception might be made for house land. Nearly all of the younger generation reflect the thinking of their fathers, and they are eager to get a good education (the diligence of even the average Okinawan student would strike the American teacher as amazing), secure a job in the town or city, and leave the drudgery of the farm village forever. Most
[433] farms are so small that they provide no more than mere subsistence for their cultivators; consequently, the young men see no sense in attending agricultural school when they will have little more than an acre to work. One young man from a fairly prosperous family in the village recently secured a job as a stevedore in Naha, and both he and his wife expressed their pleasure over what they regard as a definite improvement in their status. Though they have not sold the land which they own, they hope that it will never be necessary to return and farm it.

To a large extent this attitude toward the land and farming as an
[178] occupation is directly related to the economic and cultural changes taking place on Okinawa today; the city is an exciting place to live in and employment there is economically more advantageous than farming. Nevertheless, this seems in part the product of the old land system and the low, serf-like status accorded farmers under it. Some of the earlier visitors and officials

CHAPTER XI: CULTURE CHANGE IN RURAL OKINAWA

W. P. Lebra

175 Within a span of less than fifty years Okinawa has been twice sub-
177 jected to periods of accelerated culture change. The first began in 1899 when the Japanese administration abolished the system of communal land ownership and taxation then extant in the rural areas and introduced private ownership. Land reform was followed by modernization of the government and the establishment of compulsory education. A second period of rapid change began in World War II with the American invasion and the establishment of military government.

175 The Japanese Impact (1879-1945) During the first twenty years of Japanese
423 administration relatively few changes were
177 introduced, but beginning with the land reform of 1899-1903 there followed a series of changes which completely altered the fabric of Okinawan society. The policies of the Japanese administration and the results of the long period of close contact with Japanese culture effected the conversion of Okinawans into Japanese nationals, destruction of the self-sufficiency of the rural village, modernization of government, weakening of the kin group, and greater participation in national life.

177 The transformation of Okinawans into Japanese nationals was accom-
871 plished through the establishment of a national school system which indoctrinated the students with the language and culture of Japan. Official Japanese policy aimed at the eradication of Okinawan culture; this was carried out through the schools and by means of repressive laws, police measures, and the
177 practice of discrediting things Okinawan. Although there was some Okinawan
829 reaction to this discrimination, the government was ultimately successful in creating a favorable response to Japanese culture. Its accomplishment was largely due to the close affinity of the Japanese and Okinawans. The linguistic and cultural resemblances between the two are so close as to make their differences bridgeable. A wider gulf might have produced antipathy, but instead the superior civilization of the Japanese came to be regarded as worthy of emulation.

177 The Japanese did discriminate against Okinawan culture, but as an alternative they offered, in theory at least, equal participation in their own culture. The process of assimilation was greatly facilitated by the cultural indoctrination of the schools; each successive generation came to feel and act more Japanese than the previous one. Okinawan culture was not eradicated, as the space of time was too short, but its creativity was reduced. An important factor in aiding the acceptance of Japanese culture was that the ideas and technology of the modern world came to Okinawa through Japan; hence, much of what was of foreign origin was accepted by the Okinawans as Japanese.

An important aspect of the change which came about under the Japanese
177 administration was the realization for the average individual of a greater
619 participation in the social and political life of the country. The mental

The mental
isolation of the farm village gradually decreased under a national system of 177
education, but the process did not end with schooling. Upon graduating, the 619
youth, male and female, were enrolled in a national young people's association. 575
Later the young men were drafted for service in the national army, and follow- [702]
ing discharge the veteran was enlisted in a local reserve association which
met frequently for military and social purposes. When a man married, estab-
lished a separate house, and began farming, membership in the farmer's associa-
tion was automatically conferred. His wife upon marriage transferred from the
young women's association to the women's association. There were, in fact, a
variety of national organizations covering the various phases and roles of
the individual's life; membership was never a matter of choice, but a thing
automatically conferred. A stress on patriotism was a strong concomitant in
all of these. Membership gave to the individual a sense of participating in
a national society extending far beyond the limits of his small village.

It should be stressed that most Okinawans regard the Japanese as pro- 177
viders of modern, enlightened government. The Japanese administration abol- 829
ished the old class divisions and freed the peasant from his serf-like status. [565]
Taxes on arable land were substantially reduced, and the villager for the
first time was given some voice in government above the village level. Modern [671]
law courts were introduced and justice was administered impartially, not on a
class basis as was formerly done.

Inadvertently, perhaps, official Japanese policy did much to destroy 177
the self-sufficiency of the farm village. Prior to the land reform, sugar 621
production did not exceed local needs, but government encouragement and sub- 433
sidy so increased production that by the time of World War II it exceeded con-
sumption by 900%. This resulted in a food shortage which necessitated heavy
importations of basic cereals to compensate.

Japanese manufactured goods also contributed to the decline in self- 177
sufficiency. Factory-made cloth gradually displaced home-woven fabrics, and 439
accordingly cotton and fiber banana were no longer raised. The tools, uten- 433
sils, and machines of the factory slowly replaced the simpler devices used [249]
in the village.

Abolition of the system of communal land tenure contributed to a weak- 177
ening of the family and particularly of the large extended kin group. The 602
introduction of private property and Japanese laws of inheritance served to 423
create a landless element which often emigrated from Okinawa in search of land [167]
or jobs elsewhere. Where formerly the kin group had clustered in certain
localities, they now became dispersed over great areas, making continued inter-
action difficult and often impossible.

Sixty-six years of Japanese rule resulted in a fairly successful amal- 177
gamation of Okinawa into the Japanese state; though the Okinawan language and
culture were not destroyed, they were severely altered.

Impact of World War II and the American Occupation The war destroyed vir- 727
tually all of rural and
urban Okinawa, and resulted in the death of twenty percent of the population.

Within the village there are no class differences. Considerable prestige continues to be accorded certain occupations---teacher, doctor, government official. Land ownership does not appear to be an important status factor, and there is no landlord class. 621 554

Family The Okinawan family system has been in a process of change for over fifty years. Abolition of the system of communal land tenure and the introduction of private property and Japanese laws of inheritance provided the first shock. The bulk of the estate was hereafter conferred upon the first son while younger sons were frequently landless; consequently, many left the village in search of livelihood elsewhere. Where formerly the kin group was concentrated in a given locality, now its members are often scattered about, making interaction infrequent. A gradual decline in the practice of kin group endogamy also has contributed to weakening the solidarity of the kin group. There seems to be an increasing trend for large kin groups to fragment into smaller segments. According to young people who were consulted on the subject, their generation has little interest in kin group affairs; this may be misleading, as it is chiefly a matter which occupies the attention of older people. Perhaps one young man stated the situation accurately when he said, "I have no interest in such matters now, but I suppose I will when I am past forty." 593 178 [423] [428] 61 178

Many families were shattered by the war, and in the postwar period there has been a weakening of the family due to a variety of factors which might best be described as growing individualism. One factor, noted previously, was an increasing tendency for members of the household to maintain separate purses where formerly all earnings were turned over to the head of the house. There is some sentiment among the more educated for changing existing inheritance laws in favor of equal shares for all heirs regardless of sex or birth order. The author also heard complaints that young people often run off to seek lucrative jobs elsewhere unmindful of their family obligations. 593 178

Marriage In contrast to the prewar period when most marriages were arranged, the young people today claim that they will marry someone of their own choice. This seems to be generally true, but often the parents will go through the process of arranging after the young people have decided. Young people also will vehemently deny that they will make use of a fortune teller to determine the most propitious day, but their mothers most likely will do this and then will exert their influence for the proper day. In all likelihood the young people will accept in order not to displease the parents. 584 178 [585]

If a person, particularly a young woman, delays too long in becoming married, the family will arrange a match. In one such case known to the author a well-educated woman of twenty-five who had financial independence as a school teacher was urged into a match much against her own feelings. She explained her compliance as obligation to her family for having provided her with an excellent education.

Pitts' population studies indicate that the average age of marriage has dropped slightly in the postwar period due to the fact that Okinawan men are no longer delayed by military service. Despite this slight drop in the 582 178

593 in a military installation which keeps them away from their homes, they
[582] remain there, helping in the fields, or go out on the fishing boats, as the case may be. If a son other than the first remains in the family after the age of marriage, it is generally for some physical or mental disability. Under the normal operation of the family system, there is
591 no time in a person's life in which he is not part of some family unit and living in the same house with his parents, an elder brother, or with a wife and his children, or with his grandchildren.

727 The war enforced many exceptions to this normal life cycle, as the
593 discussion of the previous table brought out: conscription and military service, deaths in battle or as a consequence of the campaign, widowhood and the orphaning of children. In the villages studied, the post-war situation was not disrupting family life further by the movement of younger unattached men to Naha or the larger towns, or by their separation from daily life while doing work for military camps. At least it was not sufficiently frequent to result in a deterioration of normal family life. In these villages branch families were established for the most part
591 in the village of the parent family. There are two reasons for this: first, the desire to remain near the parents and siblings, and second,
[423] that the property which the father, or elder brother, has at his disposal is normally real property and land holdings in the village. Cash, which a
[435] agricultural or fishing family might have at its disposal, would usually be insufficient at present prices for a second or succeeding son to be given money to purchase land and a house site elsewhere. Occasionally a
●[425] father sells land in the village to provide his son with money to purchase a house site and fields elsewhere, but this is not usual.

The mechanics of establishing a branch household may be illustrated from practices observed in each of the villages, though the procedure is essentially the same.

Hanashiro is a settlement in the center of a cultivated area of dry
[361] field farming and rice paddies. The cultivated area begins on the outer rim of the village. The father, or the elder brother, gives a field (hatake in Japanese) to the son, or younger brother, if it is suitable for a house site. If the land owned is too far away--there are no
[425] isolated homesteads--an effort is made to exchange with a neighbor, friend or relative, the far off property for a parcel closer in. If this is not possible, the remote piece is sold and the proceeds used to purchase a suitable plot in the residential area. If the family is too poor to
[426] give money or land, an attempt may be made to borrow the money for purchase. If none of these arrangements is possible, the son may simply start out on his own, or less commonly, may live with his wife in the home of his parents, or delay his marriage. But it is uncommon for a second or succeeding son and his wife and children to live in the house of the parents or of the elder brother.

311 In this way, the residential area gradually replaces the cultivated
591 areas which surround it. One consequence of the establishment of branch families in agricultural villages is that it gradually decreases the

arable land available for cultivation. House sites cannot be set up on rocky or mountain land away from the village. Whether on the island as a whole the increase in population, the repatriation and the stoppage of large scale emigration will in the future seriously diminish the amount of land available for agricultural uses is an interesting question, but there certainly is a direct relationship between population growth and land taken up with house sites.[5] Not only will a growing population enforce greater demands on the land, but it will inevitably cut down on the amount. 311 591 [161]

Among the fishermen of Minatogawa, there is a little more fluidity in the establishment of branch families. There are seldom enough lands to subdivide, and only about 50% of the fishermen own land in addition to their house site. The branch household is established according to the son's taste, and the father may give money if he can afford it so the son can set himself up in Itoman, Naha, or elsewhere. The usual procedure here is to give land in a former agricultural area of the village, land which was developed in the southern part of the village as a result of the destruction of the war in other parts. Here formerly arable land was taken over directly for residential use. 591 423 [311]

In Matsuda, it is possible to use newly developed areas. This community, unlike the other two, is a series of sub-settlements. In two of these, branch families have settled, one near the seashore, and the other on reclaimed forest land. In both of these areas, the pattern of settlement is different; the clusters of houses give way to the scattered houses, some standing out alone on the top of a knoll or hill, some near the forested slopes of the hillside. In these areas, there is an atmosphere of pioneer settlement. As in Hanashiro, the buying of near land and the selling of far off land and exchange of land are practiced. Since the reclaimed area is considered to be less productive and less desirable, the poorer families are able to purchase land here for their second sons. 591 361 [425]

5

The Pivotal Importance of the First Son

The key person in the family system is the first son. He normally succeeds to the house at the death or retirement of his father. The father may not legally retire before 60. In rare cases--none were encoun- 593 596

5 In general, house and village sites are on arable land, but the quality of this land naturally varies from place to place. See any of the 11 sheets of the Okinawan Soils Map and the discussion in the Remarks column of the legend with reference to the types of soils on which village sites are found.

428 form of fields or of house sites so they may establish branch families.

(3) The inheritance and the division of land cannot be considered abstractly. It is in this area that custom and individual desire have the greatest play. A village farmer does not simply have land. Normally he has a series of scattered land holdings, varying in area, type, and productivity. A farmer does not have a compact area of rice or sweet potato land which can be easily subdivided, but a few small rice plots, of varying grade, some fields for growing sugar cane, sweet potatoes, or vegetables--also of varying grades--and parcels of genya land from which he gets firewood, grass for his thatched roof, or feed for his animals. When speaking of inheritance and division of land, one should think in concrete terms of the various types and grades of land subject to disposition. Under these circumstances, it is meaningless to say that an Okinawan farmer has an average of so many acres of land unless we are prepared also to add its category of productivity or use. The mechanics of land division are therefore directly related to land use and to the fragmentation of land.

[311]

(4) There is a tendency to give the second and other sons the scattered holdings and to subdivide these parcels if they are large enough, preserving the land closer to the house site or parcels that adjoin one another for the head of the house.

(5) Generally speaking, the first son does not subdivide a specific parcel of land with his brothers. He will take a whole piece as his own, leaving other parcels to be subdivided among his brothers.

425 (6) Inherited land can be sold, but the customarily approved reasons for doing so are few. This applies with special force to the holdings of the first son. Property can be disposed of without the sale being considered dishonorable when it is associated with a change of occupation involving moving to another place, or with acute economic distress. A man who decides to give up farming and to move his family to the city may sell his land; a man who is physically unable to work his land and has no children of sufficient age to help him may sell his land and set up a village store; a widow with minor children, already in debt, may sell her property. Sellers consult with the members of the extended family who live in the same or in nearby villages and only sell with the consent and advice of these relatives. This is conspicuously true of widows.

592 (7) If the first son dies without issue, he is replaced by the second son who becomes head of a house. If the first son is in a foreign country, the second son at home lives in the house, but this does not endanger the succession rights of the first son abroad. If the first son returns, he succeeds to his house, and the second or other sons living in the house will be obliged to set up a branch family. Occasionally, a second son remains in the main family, even though he cannot succeed to the house; this is during the minority of a deceased elder brother's first son who will take over the house when he is of age.

(8) Inheritance practices tend toward a slow but continuous fragmentation of land due to the need of establishing branch households. This tendency toward fragmentation is seldom overcome by reversing the process in favor of some form of land consolidation. The major obstacles to consolidation will be dealt with in the next chapter. Fragmentation is more likely to occur in the holdings of the more well-to-do who have property to divide. Among the very poor, whose holdings are small and scattered, there is an enforced primogeniture. It is not possible to divide land indefinitely. The smaller a piece of land, the more likely it will be surrounded by land owned by others, and these isolated islands are difficult either to sell or trade. 428 423 [565]

(9) Among the fishermen of Hinatogawa, practices applied to real, personal, and movable property, are similar to those of the agricultural villages (nōson). Here the influence of the family system is more on the disposition of personal than of real property, but the effects, if not the rewards, are similar. If a fisherman has dry crop fields--there is no rice land--the elder son receives all, or most of the land. All informants stressed the weight of the individual desire of the father, whose division of property is influenced by the spirit, sobriety, and dependability of his sons. Here there is also the same social disapproval of selling inherited land. The fishermen attempt to supply second sons with small boats, nets, hooks, and other gear, just as the farmer attempts to give land, domestic animals, and agricultural tools. With the very poor, second and third sons may have to be content with nothing or with a few articles of clothing. Among those fishermen who have land, the principle is established that the first son gets the greater part, if not all, of the real property. 428 423 422 [425]

3

Mechanics of Land Division

Ownership is scattered; individuals own different types of land in varying proportions and in varying grades within types. Plots of land are small in area. Rice plots are normally the smallest, followed in general in ascending order by dry crop fields, and the wild land (genya). It is from such conditions as these that the difficulties in fairness of division arise. 423 311

The following illustrations show the manner in which division is usually carried out. Let us for simplicity first assume four parcels of land:

#1, a house site
#2, a parcel of 700 tsubo third grade dry crop land (hatake)
#3, 500 tsubo of grade one dry crop land, inconvenient and far away from the home, and
#4, 1000 tsubo of grade two hatake.

174 423 have been affected by roads and trails which have now disappeared.

Old residents[5] of Matsuda and neighboring villages were able to [115] furnish more specific clues regarding the old system and its relation to other phases of village life. These old people estimated the population of Matsuda at the close of the old system at about 360 [161] persons, compared with the present population of 1368. The system operated under much less acute population pressure than exists today. Deaths, especially from malaria, and a high infant mortality kept [165] the population down, although introduced Japanese hygienic measures helped.

Under the old system in Matsuda, there was a continual clearing [311] of land, mostly around the settlement. There seems little doubt that land reclamation and clearing has been going on slowly from the earliest historical times in Okinawa. The land cleared remained under village ownership, but the persons who cleared the property were allowed to hold it for use without giving it up for periodic redistribution. Technical ownership remained with the village.[6] Fences and stone barriers were erected as a protection against the wild boar. But the large scale reclamation and the private ownership of genya land seems to have occurred after the close of the old system.

The dividion of lands at the beginning of the new system has set the boundary pattern of many plots. In Matsuda there were instances of land which has retained the same boundaries that it had under the old system. There was general agreement among the old that the form, boundaries, and areas of land plots have changed very little since the times of the jiwari-seido. This would be par- [428] ticularly true in the case of property which had passed down through the first son. Changes came from the establishment of branch families, [425] and sales and purchases. In these areas, however, buying and selling have been infrequent.

175 423 [171] The history of land tenure in Okinawa, therefore, is different from that of Japan with its long history of tenancy, whose accumulated problems finally led to the land reform of 1946 during the Allied occupation. The present system of land tenure in Okinawa is a little over 50 years old.

178 423 311 The chief influences of the old system were to set in a form recognizable to the present, the pattern of land holding, to establish land classification, and apply it on a very localized basis.

[115] 5 I am indebted here to Shinzato Zensuke of the village of Sokei (Ginoza-son), and to Oshiro-san of Matsuda village (Ginoza-son) both over 70 years of age for their recollections of the history of the system in Matsuda.

[114] 6 This differs from Goldschmidt's account, cited above, in that in this case the land became a usufruct, in the other actual ownership.

423 241 business. Fragmentation means inconvenience, loss of time and effort in the simultaneous cultivation of different fields. The situation is the same for the well-to-do and the poor alike. Large holdings do not mean single pieces of land within a large area, but many small parcels of land, of different classification and grade, scattered like those of a less prosperous farmer. There are offsetting advantages. The greatest of these is that crop destruction through typhoons, salt spray, or flooding may be less catastrophic to the individual owner with small scattered holdings than if a family has a single large plot of land.

423 425 Another effect of fragmentation is that it makes a particular plot of land difficult to sell. If one has a small plot of land, an island in a sea of other ownership, the prospective buyer is in the same position as the seller, unless the buyer owns contiguous land and has the money to make the purchase.

423 The natural question at this point is: what are the possibilities of consolidation of ownership in the interests of more efficient and convenient agriculture? The general answer, I believe, is that fragmentation is almost inevitable, consolidation only possible.

In both of the agricultural villages studied, some voluntary consolidation (kokanbungo) has taken place, but it is not of major proportions. It occurs chiefly for two reasons: (1) clustering one's land near the house site, or having two or more parcels of contiguous land is universally desired. Going to and fro is considered troublesome and onerous. (2) When branch families are established, farmers wish to exchange a distant plot for one in the village for a house site. This is often difficult to do, for such an exchange must be mutually advantageous to bring about a transfer.

423 731 Typhoons are a major obstacle to voluntary consolidation into large holdings. It is perhaps possible to exaggerate this, but personal experience and conversation with villagers who have lost the entire crop of one parcel but have salvaged part of the crop of another convince me of its force. A typhoon damages a whole area but the scattered holdings provide the chance that something might be saved. The total damage is the same in any event regardless of ownership. It is the distribution of loss that varies. If in the future, land consolidation were attempted on a broad scale, either by voluntary individual effort, or cooperatively, crop insurance or some form of sharing losses would seem to be necessary.

423 311 407 The present system of land ownership and of land use and the fragmentation of land would seem to preclude any extensive mechanization of agriculture. Even with consolidated holdings, the nature of the landscape might make the effort uneconomical, though this is a question for technicians in these fields.

sandstone one sees in the new buildings of Naha often is from the quarries of this area. Stone quarries are scattered in various parts of Okinawa, but the Hinatogawa stone is considered the best. 324 [316]

Sandstone quarrying started, according to older settlers, about sixty years ago. Cutting began on the coast, gradually working up slope over rolling stony land. It is an interesting example of the transformation of a landscape by man. Now with the old methods still in use, the cutting has extended beyond the village. Stonecutting operations in the main are in the steep bluffs around both villages, although there are numerous cuttings in the newer settlements of Hinatogawa and along the seashore. Frequently the cut stone blocks lie near the temporary Hinatogawa tombs which dot the rocky coast. By the simplest methods, large quantities of stone have been and continue to be removed. All work is done by hand; machinery was installed by the Americans after the war, but it is out of working order and stands idle. 316 [133] [764]

Before the war, stonecutting in this vicinity was a more thriving industry than now. Quarries are also found in neighboring Tamagusuku township and there is a distributing outlet in Horikawa, the village across the river. Before the war from 300-500 men are said to have engaged in stonecutting. Now there are about 120 in both villages. Many of these stone workers had come from other parts of Okinawa and the Ryukyus: men from the offshore islands, Ie-shima, the Kerama chain, and Iheya, and on the south east, from Kudaka, Tsuken, and Heanza islands. Most of these settlers from the offshore islands have left. A few, born on Ie-shima, or from the northern district still remain. [464]

Since the war coastwise shipping of lumber and firewood from the north and stone from the south had declined sharply. Trucks have largely displaced the boats. Transport costs are high and the stone is in demand in closer markets. 505 494

2

Acquiring and Working the Land

Customary practices govern the quarrying of stone. These eliminate the need for written agreements. Interested persons know the properties and the possibilities of each site. These customary practices are concerned with the acquisition, the working and the restoration of land. Techniques for working the stone have remained nearly the same for at least sixty years. 316

The stonecutter purchases rights to the stone, not the land itself. When the stone has been extracted, the land is returned to its owner. This is unimproved land, but after the stone has been quarried, a house may be built on the site. When a stonecutter (sekko) wishes to acquire a certain holding, he calls on the owner of the land. Following oral negotiations, the price is agreed upon. A good price 316 425 [435]

316 (1951-52) is from Y300-400 per tsubo (about four square yards), much
425 higher than ordinary agricultural land. The price varies with supposed
435 quality. The good judgment of the purchaser is necessary for success. He must estimate the quantity of stone, its depth, whether there may be cracks, fissures, or black streaks below, and the effect of underground water as he cuts down deeper. In a year, a good stonecutter can remove stone from about four tsubo of land. If he has extra capital, he may hire help.

316 The types of employment found are either the single operator or the
472 small operator who has one or more employees. The industry is not notable for large capital outlays, or many employees of a single operator. A simple partnership is common. There may be some division of labor, with the owner of the rights doing all the cutting, while a friend or relative who does this as a secondary occupation assists in the removal of the stone and in loading it on a horse cart. The operator who has a piece of land too large to work by himself may hire someone. The employee (yatoi in Japanese, ninpu in Okinawan) is paid according to skill: Y100
[465] a day for a beginning 17 or 18 year old boy, Y150 to the experienced, and Y200 to the worker who can do all phases of the work quickly and skillfully.

Much depends on the nature of the stone being worked. This varies
[804] by locality and with moisture content. It will require 8 hours for a man to cut a six shaku (about six feet) length of hard rock 1 shaku
[461] 2 sun (14.4 inches) deep, but he may be able to make three cuttings of moist or wet rock in the same period. Working time naturally varies with the strength and skill of the cutter. For this reason, piece
[465] work payment is common. The employee, however, may work unused portions of the holdings, receiving two-thirds of the value of the stone cut.

3

Tools and Types of Stone Cut

413 Six tools are used in cutting and extracting the sandstone: (1) the hichi (Okinawan). This tool, about six feet long, resembles a crow bar, but has a sharp chisel edge for cutting the stone. (2) A sharp hand axe (ono in Japanese, yūki in Okinawan) for chipping and finishing, (3) the ishiyūki, a smaller axe, used like the yūki, for chipping and finishing but principally in shaping pyramidal stones (kenchi). The tool is also used to knock off the rough edges of the stone, where it has been split, an operation often performed by old men. (4) The kusukacha (Okinawan). This reminds one of a small light golf iron. It has a handle four or five feet long with a metal strip attached at an angle to one end. It is used to rake off chippings and dust that accumulate in the groove while the cut is being made with the long chisel. (5) Wedges (iya in Okinawan), and (6) sledge hammers are used to split off the stone after the cut has been made.

316 Methods of working with these tools are very simple. The surface dirt is cleared away until the stone to be cut is visible and clean.

[Kanegusuku]

621 423 425 [427] Absentee Owners There are 14 former residents of the village who still own land in it; their holdings amount to 5% of the total acreage. Most of these have either rented their land to villagers or have loaned it out to relatives; only a couple have allowed their holdings to remain idle. Absentee landlordism is definitely not a problem in Kanegusuku. Most who leave the village to seek employment in the cities seem reluctant to sell their land, and this does not appear to be because of any deep attachment for the soil. They feel that land is a security against the loss of a job or failure in the city; the land will always provide a subsistence. It is also significant that they are most reluctant to part with their house lots, especially old family sites. The house lot in such cases is regarded as an [649] important tie to the ancestors of the family, and since the dead can influence the fortunes of the living, it is feared that misfortune may follow the sale of a house lot, particularly to a person who is not a close relative. In most of the now unoccupied house lots of Kanegusuku one can find a small site for prayer (uganju) marked by a small censer and bits of incense. Periodically certain of the older members (usually female) of the family return to pay their respects to the ancestors at these spots. One gets the impression that this is done not so much in the spirit of venerating as in the spirit of propitiating.

425 427 Land Transactions Since the land registries were established again in 1950 there has been a sizable turnover in land holdings. From the last quarter of 1950 through the first quarter of 1954 59 plots have been sold and 154 plots have been rented out. As registrations usually lag far behind transactions, the above figures are undoubtedly too low, and this is especially true of the rentals.

427 Land Rentals Land rentals vary widely depending on the type of land, location, quality, and the relationship between owner and tenant. As a general rule payments are made in cash for house lots, grass land, and forest. If the owner and tenant are close relatives a lower rental will be charged, or in the case of house lots most likely no charge will be made at all. For rice fields the rent is always a percentage of the crop; this too will vary depending on the factors previously mentioned, though sometimes it will run as high as from thirty to forty percent of the yield. Dry fields are paid for in cash or produce depending on the crop and the arrangement; usually items that store well such as beans are acceptable as rent. In all cases, it must be stressed, much depends on the owner-tenant relationship; the land records show many instances of brother renting from brother. In most of these cases, according to informants, a lower rental or sometimes none at all is charged, especially if the one brother is considerably more prosperous than the other. Often persons who seek temporary employment elsewhere will lend their lands to close relatives during their absence rather than rent it out for a short term.

The terms "owner" and "renter" seem virtually meaningless unless referred to in context. For example, most widows have been forced to rent out their rice land, as its maintenance is considered too difficult for a woman. Likewise a number of children orphaned by the war are too young to work their holdings, and these are rented out or worked for them by relatives. At the

593 in a military installation which keeps them away from their homes, they
remain there, helping in the fields, or go out on the fishing boats, as
[582] the case may be. If a son other than the first remains in the family
after the age of marriage, it is generally for some physical or mental
disability. Under the normal operation of the family system, there is
591 no time in a person's life in which he is not part of some family unit
and living in the same house with his parents, an elder brother, or
with a wife and his children, or with his grandchildren.

929 The war enforced many exceptions to this normal life cycle, as the
593 discussion of the previous table brought out: conscription and military
service, deaths in battle or as a consequence of the campaign, widow-
hood and the orphaning of children. In the villages studied, the post-
war situation was not disrupting family life further by the movement of
younger unattached men to Naha or the larger towns, or by their separatio
from daily life while doing work for military camps. At least it was not
sufficiently frequent to result in a deterioration of normal family life.
In those villages branch families were established for the most part
591 in the village of the parent family. There are two reasons for this:
first, the desire to remain near the parents and siblings, and second,
[423] that the property which the father, or elder brother, has at his disposal
is normally real property and land holdings in the village. Cash, which
[435] agricultural or fishing family might have at its disposal, would usually
be insufficient at present prices for a second or succeeding son to be
given money to purchase land and a house site elsewhere. Occasionally a
[425] father sells land in the village to provide his son with money to purcha
a house site and fields elsewhere, but this is not usual.

The mechanics of establishing a branch household may be illustrated
from practices observed in each of the villages, though the procedure is
essentially the same.

Hanashiro is a settlement in the center of a cultivated area of dry
[361] field farming and rice paddies. The cultivated area begins on the outer
rim of the village. The father, or the elder brother, gives a field
(hatake in Japanese) to the son, or younger brother, if it is suitable
for a house site. If the land owned is too far away--there are no
[425] isolated homesteads--an effort is made to exchange with a neighbor, fri
or relative, the far off property for a parcel closer in. If this is
not possible, the remote piece is sold and the proceeds used to purchas
a suitable plot in the residential area. If the family is too poor to
give money or land, an attempt may be made to borrow the money for pur-
[426] chase. If none of these arrangements is possible, the son may simply
start out on his own, or less commonly, may live with his wife in the
home of his parents, or delay his marriage. But it is uncommon for a
second or succeeding son and his wife and children to live in the house
of the parents or of the elder brother.

311 In this way, the residential area gradually replaces the cultivate
591 areas which surround it. One consequence of the establishment of branc
families in agricultural villages is that it gradually decreases the

Rotation #2, Matsuki

242
221

First year, ninth month: Autumn planting of sugar cane
Second year, twelfth month: Harvest of sugar cane. Followed by: Soy bean, sweet potato, or vegetables.

311
423

Land is seldom allowed to lie fallow intentionally for any length of time. At any one time of the year, a farmer may have idle land for which there may be a variety of reasons. He may have other tasks and be unable to cultivate all his land, or have no need of doing so, or some of his land may be so poor that he will not cultivate it unless necessary. Much depends on the individual farmer and his holdings. The village records indicate that in Hanashiro 97.2% of the rice and 83.1% of the dry crop land is under cultivation. From the preceding discussion of land classification, it is clear that many parcels are of marginal quality, and these areas may be left uncultivated, at least part of the year. During the post-war period there has been some informal lending of land, free of rent, to friends and neighbors, if the farmer is not using it himself. [426]

24
[231]
[227]
[482]
[415]
[493]

Manual labor with hand tools is the dominant method of cultivation. Domestic animals are not uncommon, but their use in farming is minor. The war increased the dependence on manual labor through the loss of domestic animals. Only cattle are now used in rice cultivation for plowing and harrowing and this is infrequent. The man or woman and the hoe are far more common. Crops are carried from the fields by human labor. The basket or the straw container, or the tied rice sheaves on either end of a pole over the shoulder, and not horse carts, push carts, or wheel barrows are the main means of transport from field to courtyard. The barefooted farmer, with his hoe and a pole or a basket does the greatest part of the work. The common tools of agriculture are hand tools and adapted to the intensive cultivation which so often has more properly been called the work of a gardener rather than that of a farmer.

412
[434]

The basic all purpose tool is the solid bladed hoe. The hoe, since deep cuts are possible with its heavy blade, takes the place of the plow. The hoe also replaces the spade, and even the rake, for it can be used to break up and smooth the soil. A poorer farmer may lack many of the tools in the following list, but he will have two or three of the solid bladed hoes.

The accompanying illustration shows the most common agricultural tools:

1. The hera, a spatula or trowel, used for transplanting tops of the sweet potato. Its wooden hand grip curves toward the end of the tool. The hera is also used as a scraper to remove brown sugar from the sides of the cooking pans during the sugar making season.

2. The kama, a small sickle. Next to the hoe, it is the most

bottom will imprint nine squares on the wet soil, and as it is turned another nine will be imprinted so that when continued the field is laid out in tiny squares. Three or four seedlings are planted on the corners of the square made by the waku. 243 804 413

Men operate the frame. As they turn it, making the square pattern on the damp soil, women follow behind with the seedlings. The frame has been in use in Matsuda for about fifteen years. An Okinawan agricultural school student is said to have invented it. It was not used in the southern villages studied, an interesting sidelight on the slowness of innovation even on a small island like Okinawa, for many farmers in the south expressed surprise at its use and had not heard of it. The device is helpful to those with large plots. In Matsuda, there are not many of these frames, but borrowing is frequent. [462] [176] [184] [426]

In contrast with recent introductions, such as the universal treadle thresher, the frame seems to be confined to one geographic area. The reason for this may be that the use of the thresher was actively encouraged by the Japanese as a successful time and labor saving device, while the frame was not similarly publicized. 243 804 [407]

Another method, a more traditional one, is to use a piece of wood the same length as the waku with seven little knobs and the two ends to give the nine spaces. This is the jiyogi. A piece of string stretched from one end of the field to the other is used to get a straight line along a row. When the planting has taken place along one row, the jiyogi is used to measure off one space between rows, the guide line is moved over and the operation repeated. This achieves the same purpose as the frame or the string with the markers. Men are more likely to handle these operations, the women following along with the transplanting. But the division of labor is by no means hard and fast. [462]

Care of rice until its maturity. Rice set out in squares is easier to cultivate, weed, and harvest. During its growth, it will be necessary occasionally to loosen the soil or to break up clods which escaped the initial working. There may be some temporary drainage of water off the fields at these times. 243

Weeding rice is usually done by hand, though once in a while a farmer has a hand cultivator. Weeding the rice field is an unrelenting job which is done about once a week. More attention is given to this task when the plants are younger. Weeding is worked in with other daily chores, and all members of the family may participate.

The rice is now allowed to grow with the hope that strong winds or a typhoon will not blow over the slender shoots or submerge them. If the rice is submerged when the shoots are still fairly young, they will gradually right themselves. Farmers say that attempting to upright the plants by hand will not work. The quality of rice once submerged is poor and sometimes half the rice in the plot is lost. If the submersion occurs when the plants are near maturity and the stalks are 20 or 25

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cash income. Pigs are seldom eaten by the family that raises them. [262]
On New Year's, a family will slaughter a pig or three or four families [527]
might co-operate in sharing one. Pork may also be served at O-Bon
and at Jūgoya, the autumn equinoctial holiday season.

A family often gets its start in pig raising by obtaining a loan [426]
from a mutual loan group. (These groups will be discussed later). A [435]
young pig may cost about ¥2000. Male pigs intended for market
(nikubuta in Japanese, shishiwa in Okinawan) are castrated two months
after birth. Keeping breeding pigs (tanebuta) is a special business. [232]
Men engaged in this business bring the boar to the pig raiser's home.
Each village has such a businessman or at least has convenient access
to one in a neighboring village. The fee usually charged is ¥200. If
the first attempt at breeding is unsuccessful, a second opportunity is
given free. On the third try, the dealer claims his fee again. In
Matsuda, there is a belief among the old that as the tide is coming in,
if a sow is in heat, the male will be able to perform, but that in the
ebb tide he cannot.

Great care is taken in housing pigs adequately, if the family is 231
able to do so. The pig sties made of stone or coral may be better 343
than the houses of their owners. This is by no means so shortsighted
or ridiculous as it might seem. Pigs are the means, one of the very [434]
few means, by which an agricultural family may acquire substantial
sums of cash. To protect this living bank account, considerable sums
are invested in fine stone, or cement floors and an adequate roof.
The pen must be strong to withstand typhoons. With a good pig pen, [511]
a sow, and a good litter, a family can look forward to improving its
financial condition and its own housing. There is great variety in the
quality of pig pens. The pen may be in combination with the outside
toilet, but with the two places completely separate; it may be part of
a larger shed which also houses the goats, the cattle, or the horse. If a
family can afford it, the pig is housed in a stone pen with stone floors,
or with other sturdy materials.

The day to day care of pigs is mostly the work of women. While 231
the husband is at work in the fields, the wife, as an incidental part 824
of her duties, goes to the nearest plot to cut sweet potato tops, or [462]
mashes sweet potatoes in the stone mortar in the compound, often with
her infant child on her back. There are three favorite varieties of
food for pigs: (1) the leaves of the sweet potato plant not suitable for
human consumption or not needed for transplanting, (2) the potato itself.
The poorer grades of potato are put in a stone mortar and are smashed
with a long pole, or pestle. (3) A cloudy liquid consisting of the
sweet potato, waste bean curd (tōfu no kasshu) and water. This is always
given warm. The pig may also get poor rice, or rice spoiled for human
consumption by submersion as a result of a typhoon, or miscellaneous
left overs from the table.

There are no ceremonies in any of the villages associated with 231
slaughtering the pig. Villagers seldom kill their own except on

In Hanashiro, the fish were raised for sale by the young men's association. The supply of fish is too uncertain and too seasonal for these remedies to be an effective part of the traditional medicine. Like the native plants, and many of the traditional medical practices, they are yielding to the drugs which can be found in the small village shops: stomach and headache powders, eye lotions, aspirin, and other pharmaceuticals and patent medicines.

The economic and occupational organization of village fishing is very informal. Partnerships are made on a basis of friendship and continue so until one party, for any reason, decides to leave. There are about 40 of these partnerships among the 120 odd adult fishermen.[2] The fishermen of the village also have a fisherman's association (suisankumiai) similar in function to the agricultural associations which the Japanese instituted throughout the empire. This association has a head (suisankumiaichō). Like so many official and administrative jobs in a village, these offices are thrust upon the man. He seldom seeks them. In the larger places where there is more remuneration, the man might seek the job. The head of the association is chosen by the fishermen of the village. He receives Y10 a month for each fisherman he represents. This is a supplementary job, as he could not exist on this sum. Lack of cash prevents any ambitious services to the membership. The association buys and sells gas and oil, nets, lines, hooks, and other necessary items which have been imported either from the United States or from Japan. Occasionally, the association has sufficient funds for small temporary loans for purchasing imported gear, loans from Y100 to Y 500 for a period of a week or two. The main function of the association is the exchange of information between the local head and representatives from the larger association in Naha. This becomes a study of the daily market demands; the information provided is a guide to fishermen in meeting the demand. This is all very informal. The head of the association circulates among the fishermen, giving them tips on what to expect and how prices are going.

7

The Rough Language of Hinatogawa

The Hinatogawans have one characteristic which is not shared by their agricultural neighbors of Nagano, nor indeed by any of the agricultural villages. This is their rough (arai) language, so described by Hinatogawans with a certain amount of pride. This language, if used in the other village, would be considered insulting. It is notable for the freedom with which nicknames, some funny, some disparaging, some pointed at infirmities, are used.

[2] The word used here is kumiai but actually these partnerships do not have the organized co-operative character that this word usually implies when used in an economic sense.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

needs supplementation. Hence, a farmer cannot buy so much as a fisherman. A rice farmer, if he is eligible at all, cannot purchase so much as a sweet potato grower. These stores fill a genuine need. They have alleviated hardship and done much to improve the monotonous pre-war diet. In the villages, they are a concrete reminder of direct American contact. There is not a store in every village, but each village has ready access to one. 444 262 511

The rural blacksmith takes care of the needs of farmers and stonecutters. One such shop in Nagamo serves many villages in the Oushichan area. The forge is of simple construction. The air is blown by a sort of box bellows. The operator sits down, as if he were in a row boat, and by pushing and pulling the handle (which has a T-end grip like a hand pump) moves the piston horizontally back and forth. The blacksmith repairs agricultural and stonecutting tools and makes new tools, chiefly hoes and spikes for the harrow. 326 413

There are no good inns, restaurants or tea houses in the villages. In Hinatogawa a Japanese inn of rude construction and comfort caters to parties for the entertainment of visitors who have business with local people. 265

Getting a haircut or a bath may involve going to another village. Like the stores, barbershops are little social centers, especially during bad weather when villagers are not working and take the opportunity to have their hair cut. 305

2

Mutual Loan Groups

In China and Japan, mutual loan groups have had a long history. In essence, they are groups associated for the purpose of borrowing and lending money, the capital being derived from contributions of the membership. There is an element of chance when members bid against one another or draw lots for a loan.[2] 474 426 [171]

Each member of a loan group advances an agreed upon share. The total amount is then available as a lump sum to one of them as a borrower. The borrower repays principal and interest in monthly installments. The remaining members advance the same amount each on the following month to another borrower. In this way, there is a continuous cycle of lending

2 They are known variously as mo-ai (Japanese), mu-e (Okinawan) tanomoshi and yurei (Japanese). Groups organised on a monthly basis are tsukikiyurei or tsukimoai (Japanese), and on an annual basis as nimu-e (Okinawan), nimo-ai (Japanese). At present there are no annual groups because of uncertainties regarding the future value of money. Now loans are normally for a 10-12 month period.

474 426 and repayment of principal and interest. Members are involved in these transactions out of different motives. The organizer is usually the one most interested in borrowing money. Other participants may wish to earn interest on spare cash. They are the bankers of the group. Between the person who needs immediate cash and the bankers are those who would like to borrow money during the life of the group but are indifferent as to the precise time, hoping to bid and obtain a loan at a favorable rate to buy a pig or to repair a house.

The most complex of these loan groups were found in Minatogawa. A group may have any number of members; usually there are from 10 to 15, but there may be only five to nine. Each group has a set of regulations (no-ai no kisoku). In Minatogawa money is borrowed for house or boat building, for buying pigs, or for other business purposes.

The first meeting begins with a party given by the persons most [514] interested in starting the group. On the following months, more modest parties given at the homes of other members are in conjunction with the bidding and distribution of the money. The entertainments of the first and last meetings include pork or goat meat, bean curd, [262] tea, and sake. At the first meeting the organizer is the host. Rules are established as to whether the indebtedness shall be put into writing and as to guarantors. (Before the war, occasionally a borrower ran off to Japan or to one of the other islands and was never heard of again). Now a guarantor is required, but this is a formality. The [476] system really rests on mutual trust and on the co-operation of friends [517] and relatives of known honesty. One person may belong to several groups. Multiple membership is naturally confined to those with plenty of ready cash who have no immediate use for it. A group whose membership is poor will subscribe from Y100 to Y300 a month, a moderately well-to-do one from Y2000-3000. There are now about 30 in Minatogawa. Members usually are present or former residents of the village. Men and women participate. These gatherings combine business with a friendly social atmosphere so typical of Okinawan business transactions and official contacts. The mats of the room are arranged to form an [353] empty square in the center of the room, and this square becomes a combination counting board and refreshment table.

In one type, the loan is awarded after secret bidding (usually by writing on a piece of paper), the award going to the lowest bidder, for he is offering the highest discount. For example, Y20,000 are available for a loan to be repaid in ten installments of Y2100 each (Y2000 principal and Y100 interest). If a member wants the money badly enough, he may bid Y17,500, accepting that amount and paying back on the basis of Y20,000 plus interest. He thus would get the award over a man who bid at a discount of Y2000 or Y18,000.

In one form of the discount type, the organizer automatically gets the first loan. He does not bid and does not lose by discounting. He has started the group for this purpose. On the second and succeeding months, the bidding is secret and competitive. Assuming ten members pooling Y2000 each the first month, in the second nine members advance

Y2000 each to make Y18,000 available. If the lowest bid is Y1800 per share, the borrower accepts a discount (waribiki) of Y200 for each Y2000 advanced and will repay Y2100 a month, which includes Y100 interest (rishi) 474 426

Amount of the loan	Y18,000 (2000 x 9)
Less Discount	- 1,800 (200 x 9)
Actual Amount Received	Y16,200
Interest paid	900 (100 x 9)
Actual Cost of the Loan	Y2700 (Y1800 plus Y900)

The proceeds from the discount may be distributed as a dividend to those who furnished the money, or it may be held in the group for additional loans.

The essentials are summarized in the accompanying tables. There are 11 members, A through K. The first month, A, the initiator, gets Y20,000, and by the end of the period (the beginning of the 11th month) has repaid Y21,000 in ten monthly installments of Y2100 each. In the seventh month G is the borrower. He bid Y1880 for Y2000 loan from each of the remaining members and received Y7520 (Y1880 x 4) and repays Y8400 (Y2100 x 4). In this example, K is the man with the money. He has advanced Y18,385, the sum of column K, and has received principal, interest, and discount payments of Y21000 (total of line 11, A through J), making Y2615 for himself).

This type of mutual loan group was found only in Minatogawa. There is a three time rule for the initiator (hakkinin) of the group. [184] He is expected, after the life of the first one, to start two more, whose membership may or may not be the same. It is considered unlucky [177] for him to fail to do this. He will suffer misfortune, such as illness, poverty, or death. Whether these eventualities are feared is hard to say, but the three time rule is always observed. The initiator also is responsible for calling on guarantors to pay amounts in default.

Since these groups are composed of individuals who trust one another, there is flexibility in handling the funds. Generally one meeting a month is held. But there may be 15 in a year. If extra money is picked up in the summer months, two meetings might be held in July, August, and September. Certain fictions are recognized. If A needs more than Y20,000, he may, when it is D's turn, and with his consent, act as if he were D, and get an additional loan in place of D. These maneuverings depend on consultation and discussion within the group. Very short term loans are seldom made. But the same object can be achieved by splitting a loan with the actual borrower, the silent borrower assuming the interest and repayments for his portion of the total.

The discount type is more adapted to a cash economy in which fisherman or business men have available money, and borrowers are willing to pay substantial amounts for immediate loans. The agricultural [184]

[Text continues Top of P. 248 -- analyst]

Minatogawa Loan Groups--Loans and Repayments

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Period	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
1st Month	*	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000
2nd	2100	*	1800	1800	1800	1800	1800	1800	1800	1800	1800
3rd	2100	2100	*	1825	1825	1825	1825	1825	1825	1825	1825
4th	2100	2100	2100	*	1850	1850	1850	1850	1850	1850	1850
5th	2100	2100	2100	2100	*	1770	1770	1770	1770	1770	1770
6th	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	*	1840	1840	1840	1840	1840
7th	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	*	1880	1880	1880	1880
8th	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	*	1810	1810	1810
9th	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	*	1910	1910
10th	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	*	1700
11th	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	---
Amount of Loan	20000	18000	16000	14000	12000	10000	8000	6000	4000	2000	0000
Loan less Discount	20000*	16200	14600	12950	10620	9200	7520	5430	3820	1700	0000
Amount Paid Back	21000	18900	16800	14700	12600	10500	8400	6300	4200	2100	0000

The Asterisk represents the borrower.
Amounts to the right of the asterisk represent loans to him.
Amounts below the asterisk represent his repayments
Amounts above the asterisk show his loans to others.

* The examples are the assumed highest bids. A received the loan without discount.

Monthly Balances and Final Settlement
(Based on Previous Table)

	Amount Returned	Amount Paid Out
1st Month		20,000
2nd	2,100	16,200
3rd	4,200	14,600
4th	6,300	12,950
5th	8,400	10,620
6th	10,500	9,200
7th	12,600	7,520
8th	14,700	5,430
9th	16,800	3,820
10th	18,900	1,700
11th	21,000	
Total	115,500	102,040
Difference (Value of Interest and Discounts)		Y 13,460

villages have the simple interest type, with or without the bidding feature. The order of borrowing may be determined by discussion, and, if more than one person wishes a loan at the same time, lots are drawn. 404 426 184

In the interest (rishi) type, a man borrows, for example, Y2000 with ten men contributing Y200 each and repays Y2200 in ten monthly installments. (Here the interest is Y10 per month for each Y100 advanced). If a borrower cannot meet a payment, the members make up the deficit which then becomes an additional obligation on the part of the borrower. 404 426

Mutual loan groups were found in Hatsuda and Hanashiro, though they are not so strong as in Hinatogawa. The amounts involved are less, reflecting the poorer cash standing of the farmer. Guarantors (hōshōnin) are not required since the members know one another well. Loans are generally made for the construction or repair of houses, pens, sheds, or stalls, for hiring a pig breeder, to buy a domestic animal, or to tide one over a crop failure. A group may be organised for the specific purpose of enabling each member, during the life of the loan group, to purchase a small pig.

Women may have their own groups. In Hanashiro the only group known to me was composed of women. Again, assume twenty members who advance Y100 each, a total of Y2000 initially, and who have agreed upon an interest rate of Y10 per month on each Y100 borrowed. The life of the group is twenty months. The progress of the loans and monthly repayments is shown in the following table. It illustrates the continuous turning in of principal and interest payments to furnish capital for new loans. The multiplications in parentheses show the number of members times the amount involved per member in each transaction. In Hanashiro, there are three of these women's groups. This is said to be a decline from the pre-war number. [562]

In Hatsuda these groups are not important in financing the farmer. It is estimated that there are five groups, with 15-20 members each, operating in Hatsuda. Bidding may be dispensed with, the interest is divided among the borrowers and not turned back for further loans, and the sequence of borrowers is determined either by discussion or by lot. These were Y500 groups, higher monthly advances than in Hanashiro, but the principle is the same.

The limited use of these mutual loan groups in the agricultural villages may be temporary, and may not be typical of all Okinawa. According to residents of Hanashiro and Hatsuda, they were not widely used before the war. They have now further declined in importance except in Hinatogawa. It is rather difficult to account for this, considering the need for money and the reluctance of villagers to go to banks and institutions for loans. The fear of red tape and entertainment costs is the chief deterrent to institutional borrowing. Perhaps the failure is merely indicative of insufficient money to lend, and inability to repay what is borrowed. Farmers have little money to advance, little surplus to repay loans from others. [934] [953]

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Hanashiro
Women's Mutual Loan Group
The Cycle of Loans and Repayments

Borrower of the:	Advances Made by Members	Repayments Made by Borrower-Members	Amount Available For Lending Each Month
1st Month	Y2000 (100 x 20)		Y 2000
2nd	1900 (100 x 19)	Y110 (110 x 1)	2010
3rd	1800 (100 x 18)	220 (110 x 2)	2020
4th	1700 (100 x 17)	330 (110 x 3)	2030
5th	1600 (100 x 16)	440 (110 x 4)	2040
6th	1500 (100 x 15)	550 (110 x 5)	2050
7th	1400 (100 x 14)	660 (110 x 6)	2060
8th	1300 (100 x 13)	770 (110 x 7)	2070
9th	1200 (100 x 12)	880 (110 x 8)	2080
10th	1100 (100 x 11)	990 (110 x 9)	2090
11th	1000 (100 x 10)	1100 (110 x 10)	2100
12th	900 (100 x 9)	1210 (110 x 11)	2110
13th	800 (100 x 8)	1320 (110 x 12)	2120
14th	700 (100 x 7)	1430 (110 x 13)	2130
15th	600 (100 x 6)	1540 (110 x 14)	2140
16th	500 (100 x 5)	1650 (110 x 15)	2150
17th	400 (100 x 4)	1760 (110 x 16)	2160
18th	300 (100 x 3)	1870 (110 x 17)	2170
19th	200 (100 x 2)	1980 (110 x 18)	2180
20th		2090 (110 x 19)	End of Period

The twentieth member, the banker gets Y2090 from the other members, which, when added to the Y100 plus Y10 interest which he would have paid had he borrowed the money, equals Y2200.

[655]
[177]

The availability of government loans for homes, part of the American program for the rehabilitation of the Ryukyus may point the way to an acceptable type of financing in which resistance to institutional borrowing is lowered. The mutual loan groups and bank and government loans, however, operate in different spheres. The sums involved in the small loan groups are too modest for a major undertaking, but they are substantial enough to help with minor, yet otherwise difficult, purchases or improvements.

3

Associations

474 Associations and co-operative groups of farmers, fishermen, and animal breeders, part of the Japanese program for the organization

423 community is entitled to the use of one of the equal-sized lots. A small [621] yearly payment is made to the cooperative, which passes these proceeds [474] on to the village to pay salaries for officials and other expenses.

[427] Tenancy was never a problem in the Taira area. Under the old system everyone was entitled to land. The final distribution in the change to individual ownership gave everyone sufficient land. Although many new landowners sold and mortgaged their property in other parts of Okinawa, one source states that "in the villages of Kawata, Taira and Miyagushiku . . . none of 348 families was found landless . . ." [426] (Tamura 1927:292 translation). Today several families hold mortgages on their land, usually for loans to put up new buildings or some other capital investment. Nevertheless, a shortage of rice paddies is obvious, since a part of the land around Taira is owned by people from the neighboring village, and an extension of paddy land in this mountainous district would be feasible only with the aid of irrigation projects.

427 The renting of property from persons who have moved to the city is not uncommon and is a means of bolstering one's own rice or farm land. People who move out of the community, either temporarily or for longer periods, may rent their land or let relatives and even nonrelatives use it. In most cases no compensation is paid for the use of farm land, although in rare cases where the owner continues to live in the village, some agreement is made to share the harvested crop. Rice paddies, however, are rented for half the crop. The owner returns from the city during harvesting time to help in cutting and threshing the rice. If unable to return, he may hire a person to help or to make adjustments in the division of the yield. Taira people do not rent their paddies or farm lands for money. An exception may be made in the case of outside fishermen who move into the village and who may rent a small area of land from a villager. In a few cases land has been left in the care of a family member by a relative who went overseas. One of the most substantial farmers in Taira holds several such properties, part of which he owns and part of which he holds in custodianship for a relative overseas. In such a case he is entitled to exploit the land without any compensation for the departed family member.

[423] Almost all local families own their houses and house lots. The [122] thought of renting a room or house for money is somewhat foreign to the village, and in the case of the authors, "rent" for two rooms, as originally suggested by the owner of the house, was nominal. Fishermen, however, have to rent a room or a whole house. Their rent is an informal arrangement of payment in kind, fish, or other sea products. [875] In addition, bachelor teachers from outside the community who re-

464 the bulldozer had done the basic shaping of the field, a new member of the
[463] 'han' was hired to finish the pounding of the paddy walls. He was paid ¥900 for six days' work, and was required to provide his own lunch. His employer had spent the first year after the war in Hokkaido, working for no money but receiving one 'shō' (3.18 pints) of rice a day. Later he rented a horse and cart from its owner at ¥60 a day and pocketed anything above that amount that he earned. During planting and harvest season he worked in the rice fields.

445 Horses are rented out by their owners to other people, but when a cow
is rented the owner's services are always included. No farmer trusts anyone
• 426 else with his cow. A man-and-cow hire out for ¥250-300 a day, depending on
435 the distance they must travel. A horse is most often rented to pull the sweep
of a rotary sugar-press, and is paid according to the amount of juice of black
379 sugar produced. Various prices are quoted. ¥100 is paid for each 'chō' (100
249 kin, or 132 pounds) of black sugar produced. One farmer charges for the use of his horse a flat rate of ¥1 for each gallon of juice squeezed. Another charges ¥60 for 50 gallons of juice if the renter lives in Nanahan or close by, and ¥70 if he lives farther away. Horses were scarce the first year after the war, and fifteen men together pulled the sweeps of the rotary presses.

464 <u>Buying of Labor and Services</u> Many times farmers have need of a great amount
of labor in a short period of time. Then they
575 are most likely to call upon the services of the young people's group, the 'seinendan'. One Nanahan farmer in 1952 had this group make a paddy field for him from a dry field. In 1953 another farmer had the group make a 300 'tsubo' dry field for him out of 'arechi', or war-destroyed land. The 'seinendan' also hires its members out to work for people who need help in the busy season. The following daily wage rates were quotes: women and new
[465] members, ¥40; men of 18 and 19 years, ¥50; and men of 20 years and above, ¥60.

445 Abolition of the stringent Japanese regulations compelling farmers
to raise sugar has resulted in the reconversion of many sugar fields to rice
[648] paddies. At first this was done exclusively by hand labor, but now bull-
[433] dozers are more in favor. One farmer had 420 'tsubo' of dry land converted into paddy at a total cost for bulldozer leveling of ¥6,300. The rate for machine and operator was ¥600 an hour. The farmer owns 450 tsubo more of paddy, which provides rice for one meal a day. With this newly-converted
[262] field he plans to have his family eat rice twice daily. Labor charges for finishing the new paddy will run about ¥4,000, according to estimate.

One of his relatives is a repatriate from the hemp-growing colony at Davao, in the Philippines. This man bought land from a villager who was dissatisfied with country life, and hired a bulldozer to convert it to paddy.
[435] For conversion of 816 tsubo he paid bulldozer charges of ¥12,000 and ¥8,000 additional for labor. He had bought the dry land ('hatake') originally for ¥65 per tsubo.

About the only other service regularly engaged is the hulling and polishing of rice. Nanahan people take their threshed rice to a neighboring village where there is a 'seimaisho' (rice-cleaning mill), and pay only cash for the service. They return home with the polished rice and the bran, or

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Every parcel of land with its grade and type is mapped, a thoroughness in land classification which has not yet been approached in the United States. While the mapping is recent, the information was always available in the village records. Village owned lands are also a survival of this system, especially the forests in the north. Community owned property is much more modest in area in the south and confined to small parcels of forest or pre-war forest, school and public building sites, community ponds, and the like.

2

Present Land Tenure and Land Classification

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The present method of land holding based on Japanese law went into effect at the end of the old land allotment system. The head of the family registered all lands, previously held as shares, in his own name. Apparently in the last distribution before the abandonment of the old system, men and women over 52 years of age received their property for life with the right to pass it on to their children. At the beginning of the new system, also, the wild land was still publicly held, but further clearing and reclamation got under way, and the genya land also began to be divided up and became part of private holdings about ten years after the new land law went into effect. [888]

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The new system of private ownership of land introduced buying and selling (baibai), tenancy (kosaku), and land speculation. There had been some tenancy under the old system apparently however it was on a village basis with one community renting from another. There has therefore been insufficient time to develop in Okinawa the widespread abuses associated with the Japanese land tenure system prior to the land reform of 1946.[7]

In all the villages studied, individual ownership is the rule with some informal tenancy. Now an owner is not paid for the use of his land, the result of a Civil Administration measure to encourage maximum food production. Tenancy, as it was observed in the villages was usually an informal lending of the land: the use by a friend, relative, or neighbor of an unused plot.

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The present system of land use and land tenure is a result of practices and customs developed under the old allotment system, combined with the introduced Japanese system of inheritance. The family system plus these two influences have brought about the modern customs of land inheritance, the distinctions in types of land, and the fragmentation and lack of contiguity in holdings.

7 Based on conversations with villagers in Matsuda. Uyehara, Yukuo made the same point in accounting for the low percentage of tenancy and the high percentage of independent farmers in Okinawa-ken, Ryukyu Islands, Japan. Economic Geography 9 (1933), 395-405. Reference on 399. [115]

of the rest of the syrup. With the stirring finished, the sugar for contemplated home use is spread out in pans to harden. That intended for export is put in specially prepared boxes, furnished by Naha export firms, stencilled and ready for shipment. 249 [439] [415]

In Matsuda, the harvesting of the cane is the same as in Hanashiro. But the old Okinawan and Japanese method of crushing the cane is still used because the destroyed machinery has not been replaced. The cane is crushed outside. Three large steel rollers are placed side by side in a frame, with gear teeth on the top meshing. A sweep about 30 feet long is attached to the center wheel.[6] A horse draws the sweep, revolving the wheels. The cane is fed into the left roller, caught as it comes out, and then fed back into the right roller. The juice is caught below. The residue (kibikasu) is left outside to dry to be used later for firewood. The juices which have been caught are taken in a low lying building with a tile roof, put in a large round pot (marunabe) or a rectangular pan (kikunabe). An open fire place is used for boiling the juice; the fire place is sunk in the ground and lined with stone, with a small opening at the bottom for putting in firewood. This mill is privately owned, the property of an association (kumiai) of about twenty men who rent it out for individual processing. As in Hanashiro, sugar is the production of the individual small farmer from its first planting until its sale for export or for home use. [727] [423] [427]

7

Other Crops

The most important of the other crops commonly grown in the villages remain to be considered. 241

(1) Soy beans (daizu in Japanese, Glycine max Merrill). In all the villages, soy beans were planted once a year, sowing in the first or second month, and harvesting in the fifth month. The field is prepared by making furrows and putting a mixture of chopped up green grasses and some animal manure, or a commercial fertilizer, in the hole in which the seed is planted. The farmer then waits for rain. After rain, he plants the seeds about three feet apart in rows from one shaku five sun (about 18 inches) for very good land to one shaku one sun (about 13 inches) for usual land. The plant is harvested with the small sickle. The beans are threshed by a flail (gurumanbo in Okinawan). The residues are used either for fertilizer or fuel.

6 This device is also relatively unchanged since Perry's time. The only difference is in the wheels which were formerly of wood, geared together by mortise and tenon joints. Stone crushers were also used formerly. In Hanashiro, I saw one of these stone rollers lying in the yard of a villager. For sugar making operations in the 1850's, see Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 20, 30.

249 forced a return to crushing the cane by the use of rollers driven by a horse at the end of a sweep. Before the war, Matsuda had sugar mills driven by machinery. Mills may either be village owned, as in Hanashiro, or owned by small co-operatives, like that in Matsuda whose members rent it to others when not using it themselves. 423 [427]

Village stores generally occupy the front part of a family's living quarters. They are operated mainly by women. A woman past middle age sitting on the floor of her shop, talking with visitors or reading the paper, is a familiar sight in an Okinawan village. A village may have several tiny stores. They do not compete with one another in the commercial sense of the word. Prices are the same. Their inventories are the standard ones. The chief differences are in size and variety. Some sell the strong alcoholic drink (awamori) called sake in Okinawa. 443 [462] [373]

Each storekeeper has a clientele of friends and relatives, but one is not under social obligation to repeatedly trade at the same place. Relatives sometimes own adjoining shops. In Japan, it is said that once a person starts trading at a shop he continues to do so. To switch would deprive the shopkeeper of business that could be counted on, and imply dissatisfaction with the service rendered. The first purchase creates mutual obligations between the storekeeper and his customer which are not broken casually.[1] This is not the case with these village stores. One patronizes the shop that is convenient, that is open when one wants to buy, that has the desired article. There is an informal atmosphere and lack of bustle in these tiny shops because so many are operated for supplementary income by wives or female relatives of the breadwinner. A wife may sit in her shop, as I have often seen her in Minatogawa, taking care of her baby, sewing on her treadle sewing machine, and interrupting her work when necessary for a customer. The cash involved is small, often only a few yen, and money is carefully accounted for. These shops satisfy a surprising amount of the village demand for food, food supplements, notions, clothing, and household goods. Larger, more expensive, or more specialized items such as books, suits, furniture are in the towns like Itoman or Naha in the south, or Nago and Ishikawa in the north. [171] [434] [404]

An inventory of one of these village stores indicates the types of articles in frequent and constant demand. In one typical store in Minatogawa the following purchases could be made:

Foods

[262] Starch
[271] Condensed milk for children

1 I was told this by Japanese and by Nisei who were in Japan during the occupation. I do not know how widespread or how characteristic this practice is of all retail trade there.

231 Before a piglet is bought, its feeding habits are carefully observed by the buyer to determine future growing potential. It is then kept in a [417] sty: pigsties are either in the yard near the house or in a cluster of stables on the north edge of the town. Twice a day women cook the food in large kettles and ladle the liquid food into a trough. Nowadays [262] pork is rarely consumed in the village except for special holidays, when several families may slaughter pigs and sell part of the meat to every- [438] body through the local store or preserve some of it by salting. Most [251] farmers, however, wait for the meat buyer from the southern part of [442] the island from whom they receive a good financial return.

Goats are raised for home consumption. They are never left to graze [417] but are quartered in a goat pen near the pigsty and fed on grass cut from uncultivated land. Seven families in the central village have [492] horses. Their main use is to carry firewood from the mountains. The small breed looks like a cross between a horse and pony and seems especially adapted to climb the steep trails. They are also used for plowing and for pulling two-wheeled carts. The owner of a horse [434] may more than double his income from forest work. Horses are fre- [427] quently rented out for half the day's income from wood carried by them.

Silkworm raising, an important source of income in Taira before the war, is only now being resumed by some Tairan families. The [474] larvae are supplied through island-wide silkworm raising associations, which repurchase the cocoons after they are spun. To raise silkworms, a substantial house is needed so that rats cannot enter and eat the worms. The temporary postwar structures with holes and cracks in the walls and roof are inadequate. Only a few recently built houses can be used. One family keeps growing worms on shelves in the front room. [137] Most of the mulberry trees were lost during and after the war. Plans have been made to plant new trees. Young girls feed the mulberry [462] leaves to the gluttonous worms who require constant attention. When the worms are ready to create their cocoons, they are taken off their diet, and the cocoons are cleaned and sorted out. Silkworms can be raised four times a year if there is an adequate supply of mulberry leaves. Their sale brings a good income, which can become a substitute [434] for cash earned in forest work.

FISHING

226 Fishing is a much less important source of livelihood than one would [554] expect in a coastal village and is a low-prestige occupation. Only two

423 community is entitled to the use of one of the equal-sized lots. A small [621] yearly payment is made to the cooperative, which passes these proceeds [474] on to the village to pay salaries for officials and other expenses.

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quire room and board are sometimes put up without compensation, 427
and they agree, perhaps, to give some help with studies of the land- [875]
lord's children. Only the village "doctor" takes transient guests, mostly [485]
visiting officials from the city, who pay for lodgings.

Although the household head is a legal owner of the family property, 423
there is a feeling that it belongs to the family and everyone in the 592
household identifies himself with his land and house. This is expressed in the language. A person who is asked, "Whose rice paddy is this?" would answer that it is the household's or "ours."

In addition to the communal land holdings and the property of the 422
cooperative described earlier, the following items are shared. The [231]
government supplies a breeding boar to each village; it is then left in [654]
the care of one farmer. This animal is available to pig owners for studding on request, and a small charge is made for the upkeep of the boar. A few tools are jointly owned by several households. Threshing [476]
machines were bought jointly after the war by two or more families to defray the high cost of such equipment. These families could be neighbors or relatives. Today many are complaining that joint ownership works hardships during the busy harvest season when there is heavy demand for the machines. As a result, everybody wishes to own his own machine as soon as he can afford to. For tea harvesting, special clippers [474]
are owned by the village cooperative and loaned to people as they need them. Since tea harvesting, though seasonal, is not done by all families during the same day, sharing of these tools presents no difficulties.

Property of others is very much respected. Stealing among villagers is 421
almost unheard of, except for some pilfering of green vegetables and 685
fruits by children. Only one case was reported during the field-work [627]
period—a person tried to take some goods without payment from the community store. When a village meeting was called, and it was announced that the person's identity was known to the store manager, the merchandise was later replaced. Willful damage to fields is similarly [867]
strictly forbidden. No child would really think of doing such damage. But there are no formal rules about trespassing. Movement across other people's property is completely free and unchallenged.

Land Ownership and Rental Although Nanahan has only twenty-three houses, the land register lists thirty-five land owners. Two of these are persons who are tenants and who own only the houselots where they live. In addition, three other families live in Nanahan, owning neither houselot nor land, but renting both from the owner. Five families have moved to urban areas, but have kept the land, and have rented it out, chiefly to the settlers in the community. Of the five, one had never owned a houselot. Two sold their houselots and one rented his house out. The remaining one rented his houselot, which was later converted by the tenant into a dry field. 423 427

There is almost no one in Nanahan who is neither a renter nor a rentee. Ten of the registered land owners are minors, most of whom have inherited land from their fathers who were killed in the invasion. Two are sons of the leading landowner, who has apparently registered part of his land in his sons' names to avoid heavy taxes.

The annual rent for grassland in Nanahan is ¥0.30, or thirty 'sen', per 'tsubo'. In the one 'genya' sale for which information was available, a doctor living in Kochinda village sold a Nanahan man 1,000 'tsubo' for a total of ¥3,000. Dry land, or 'hatake', rents for ¥2 per 'tsubo', although better and more fertile land may command a higher rental. Riceland is not rented out for money, but for a portion of the crop. Under the most usual arrangement the renter keeps three-fifths of the crop and delivers to the owner the remaining two-fifths. The renter must furnish all the manure, fertilizer, and labor. The Nanahan land register records nine plots as having been sold since 1947. 423 427 435

The Nanahan farmers say that the best thing the military ever did was to order in 1947 the making of a land survey and the drawing of land ownership maps. They said it is very effective in protecting boundaries and preventing quarrels. 423

3. Diet

Although daily Okinawan cuisine is in general very similar to that of Japan, some difference is seen in the dependence on the sweet potato, and the use of pork. Feast foods have more local flavor and are considerably different from those of Japan. The frequent typhoons occasionally cause temporary famine, and it is during the famines that Okinawan food and food substitutes differ most from Japanese standards. Finally, one major point of difference is in the use of sugar in the household; three centuries of experience with the crop has given rise to many traits and patterns centered around the use of sugar in the home. These four categories are discussed in this section on diet. 262 171 [263]

Ordinary Food The typical Okinawan breakfast is generally boiled sweet potatoes ('imo'), 'miso' (soybean paste) soup and vegetables. The noon meal is boiled sweet potatoes, noodles, and vegetables. The evening meal consists usually of boiled rice, 'miso' soup and vegetables. The most frequently consumed vegetables are mustard cabbage, Chinese cabbage, green onions, wax melon, giant radish, chopped dried radish, carrots and cabbage. Other foods added as occasional variety are wheat fluff, seaweed, soybean curd, and canned fish. 262

746 one case investigated, the village secretary and most of the village people thought that a certain old repatriate should be on relief, if only to receive money to obtain the tobacco he could not buy. The 'son' office was not told about his elder brother's second son, who lives in Osaka. Nor was any check made on the untrue report that he was ill, for no medical proof or witnesses are needed. Upon moving from his sister-in-law's house to a grass shack next door, he was placed upon the relief list to receive the monthly maximum of ¥250 (about $2.08).

746 [747] The 'son' office also supervises the distribution to persons on relief of clothes supplied by the American relief agency RIVAC (Ryukyu Islands Voluntary Agencies Committee). Each person receives free two or three useful items upon signing for their receipt with his chop. These are greatly appreciated by the recipients.

621 427 **Rentals of Village-Owned Land** Each village generally owns some grassland, some forest land, and a pond or two. These they rent out to the highest bidder. The 'genya' or grassland is rented anew each year, and the person may keep it in grass, or may convert it to dry crop land ('hatake'). The only requirement is that he must not let the grass grow long and shade the nearby crops. The plot owned by Tomoyose village used to be the village horse-powered sugar mill before the better one was built before the war.

Ponds owned by the village are rented out to the highest bidder in a [228] secret bid, for a period of two years. The renter uses the pond to raise [423] carp. Forest land, I was told, is not supposed to be owned by the village, so it is recorded in the land register as the property of a prominent private individual.

651 [632] **Taxes** The Okinawan farmer is subject to a great number of official taxes. The following is a list of the fifteen 'sonzei', or township taxes, of Kanegusuku-son. Legally these are called district taxes, or 'chihō-zei'.

Tax Name	Translation
Sonmin-zei	Township Citizens' Tax (on all persons who are able to work, except students)
Tochi-zei	Land Tax
Fudōsan Shutoku zei	Real Estate Acquisition Tax
Kaoku-zei	House (or Building) Tax
Kōgyō-zei	Tax for Industry (eg: 'sake' factory)
Gyubasha-zei	Tax for Horsecart or Oxcart
Jidōsha-zei	Auto, Bus and Jitney Tax (Motor Vehicle Tax)
Rajio-zei	Radio Tax
Denchū-zei	Electric Pole Tax
Tochiku-zei	Slaughter Tax
Chikken-zei	Dog Tax
Sempaku-zei	Boat Tax
Jitensha-zei	Bicycle Tax
Denwa-zei	Telephone Tax
Jigyō-zei	Business Tax

allotment system was now entered in the newly-created land registries as the 175
property of the household head. In the past inheritance of the position of 648
household head by the first son had been largely a matter of status succes- 177
sion involving leadership of the family and certain ceremonial obligations. 423
Property succession had not been an important factor, for the private
property of the family had usually amounted to no more than the family 177
house and lot. Under the old land allotment system there was always land 423
available for younger sons who set up independent houses, but under Japanese 428
law the bulk of the family property was inherited by the first son. What had 592
been the function of the community in the past now became the responsibility
of the family, and since family holdings were usually small, the younger sons
were often landless. Informants stated that a father will usually do every-
thing possible to provide his younger sons with land, but he cannot do this
if it means jeopardizing the resources of the house. Continuation of the
family line for the purpose of continuity in worshipping the ancestors is
the chief responsibility incumbent on the household head, and in the rural
areas the land provides the major support for the house. With the rise in [166]
population there developed an increasing trend for younger sons to emigrate
from the rural areas in search of land or jobs elsewhere. The end result [602]
was a considerable weakening of family and especially kin group ties and a [621]
rapid decline in the communal character of the rural villages.

Though the creation of private property made possible the sale, pur- 175
chase, and rental of land, landlordism never gained a foothold on Okinawa. 423
Undoubtedly this is primarily due to the recency of private property and the 427
lack of time for large accumulations of land to be made. It is also in part [471]
due to a lack of capital in the rural areas; most capital on Okinawa after
the annexation and before World War II was confined to the hands of Japanese
businessmen and members of the former upper classes who seemed disinclined to
invest in land. Likewise the official Japanese attitude toward Okinawa was [648]
to regard it as a rather backward part of Japan not to be exploited as a
colonial dependency as in the case of Formosa and Korea. Glacken has sug- [171]
gested that the heavy fragmentation of the typical Okinawan farm would be an
obstacle to its sale; yet, the Chinese farmland is also highly fragmented
and landlordism has been common there for centuries.[1]

After the abolition of the communal allotment system taxes were ex- 175
tended to cover all categories of land whereas previously they had been ap- 423
plied only to arable land; however, government income from land taxes sharply 651
declined, as the moderate levies of the Japanese administration were con-
siderably below those of the Okinawan monarchy. Despite this reduction in [311]
tax load there has been a steady decline in the amount of land cultivated
since the termination of the old land system; this is clearly shown in Tables
III and IV in Chapter III, Agricultural History, Land Use and Diet.

3. World War II and the American Occupation

175
During World War II Okinawa became the scene of one of the most vio- 727
lent battles of modern times. The entire island was turned into a combat

[1] Glacken, 1951, p. 160.

[Kanegusuku]

Non-cultivated land, however, is equally important to the average farm household in providing fuel, thatching, green manure, and many other necessities. 621 [311]

Land Holdings A breakdown of the 103 houses of Kanegusuku shows that 97 own land; 6 houses own no land of any type. Of the 103 houses, 56 rent land, and 6 of these rent all the land which they use. The remaining 50 own some land and rent some land. The figures are somewhat misleading, as included among the renters are those who rent only house lots; also included are some houses which have more than enough land for their own needs, but have rented plots contiguous to their main plots and in turn rent out their inaccessible plots to others. 621 423 427

In terms of total land per household 60% possess one or more acres of land which includes house lots, grass land, and forest in addition to cultivated fields. Nearly 73% of the village houses possess three-quarters of an acre or more of land which might arbitrarily be taken as the minimum necessary for mere existence, since farmers say that from 1000 to 2000 'tsubo' (1224 'tsubo' equal one acre) are needed for the average family. This leaves 27% of the village or exactly 28 houses with insufficient land for their needs. An investigation revealed that 13 of these 28 "have-not" houses were new to the village since the war. This group includes former residents of other Okinawan communities as well as repatriate families, of which 4 can be classed as having insufficient land. Three of these 28 houses without sufficient land were headed by widows, and two of these significantly were women who were not residents of the village, so that they were without close relatives in the village to help them. One person, the sole occupant of his house, was mentally unfit to take care of his lands and was helped by relatives. The remaining 11 of these 28 houses were headed by persons who were old residents of the village, but of these 9 were houses headed by younger sons who had established independent branch houses since the end of the war. Thus, out of a total of 28 landless and virtually landless houses, only two were headed by first sons who were native to the village. Although this group constitutes but 27% of the houses, it rents 51% of all the land rented by villagers. 621 423 [427]

Fields There are on the average 11 plots of land per household in Kanegusuku; of these 6 are cultivated fields while the remainder are in grass land, house lot, and forest or wood land. The average rice field is a little over a quarter of an acre in size, whereas the average dry field is about one-sixth of an acre in size. [311] [241]

Owners The land records list 160 landowners in Kanegusuku; 146 of these now reside in the village and 14 are listed as absent. Since there are but 103 houses in the village, a number of houses have more than one landowner. This is in part a result of the war, which broke up a number of families by deaths and also caused a severe housing shortage; consequently, there is some doubling up in a number of houses. Another factor is that in the land-rich houses (comparatively speaking) a father often has set aside some land for his younger sons and has entered this land in their names even though they are still quite young. [362]

[Kanegusuku]

621 423 425 [427] [769] Absentee Owners There are 14 former residents of the village who still own land in it; their holdings amount to 5% of the total acreage. Most of these have either rented their land to villagers or have loaned it out to relatives; only a couple have allowed their holdings to remain idle. Absentee landlordism is definitely not a problem in Kanegusuku. Most who leave the village to seek employment in the cities seem reluctant to sell their land, and this does not appear to be because of any deep attachment for the soil. They feel that land is a security against the loss of a job or failure in the city; the land will always provide a subsistence. It is also significant that they are most reluctant to part with their house lots, especially old family sites. The house lot in such cases is regarded as an important tie to the ancestors of the family, and since the dead can influence the fortunes of the living, it is feared that misfortune may follow the sale of a house lot, particularly to a person who is not a close relative. In most of the now unoccupied house lots of Kanegusuku one can find a small site for prayer (uganju) marked by a small censer and bits of incense. Periodically certain of the older members (usually female) of the family return to pay their respects to the ancestors at these spots. One gets the impression that this is done not so much in the spirit of venerating as in the spirit of propitiating.

425 427 Land Transactions Since the land registries were established again in 1950 there has been a sizable turnover in land holdings. From the last quarter of 1950 through the first quarter of 1954 59 plots have been sold and 154 plots have been rented out. As registrations usually lag far behind transactions, the above figures are undoubtedly too low, and this is especially true of the rentals.

427 Land Rentals Land rentals vary widely depending on the type of land, location, quality, and the relationship between owner and tenant. As a general rule payments are made in cash for house lots, grass land, and forest. If the owner and tenant are close relatives a lower rental will be charged, or in the case of house lots most likely no charge will be made at all. For rice fields the rent is always a percentage of the crop; this too will vary depending on the factors previously mentioned, though sometimes it will run as high as from thirty to forty percent of the yield. Dry fields are paid for in cash or produce depending on the crop and the arrangement; usually items that store well such as beans are acceptable as rent. In all cases, it must be stressed, much depends on the owner-tenant relationship; the land records show many instances of brother renting from brother. In most of these cases, according to informants, a lower rental or sometimes none at all is charged, especially if the one brother is considerably more prosperous than the other. Often persons who seek temporary employment elsewhere will lend their lands to close relatives during their absence rather than rent it out for a short term.

The terms "owner" and "renter" seem virtually meaningless unless referred to in context. For example, most widows have been forced to rent out their rice land, as its maintenance is considered too difficult for a woman. Likewise a number of children orphaned by the war are too young to work their holdings, and these are rented out or worked for them by relatives. At the

[Kanegusuku]

time of the author's stay in the village there was no individual or family which could be classified as rentier. 427

Changes Effected by the War War-caused changes in the distribution of land holdings among the various households were considerable. Many of the land-rich houses, if such a term may be used where the "richest" has but eleven acres, are such today because of the war, and conversely some houses have become impoverished or had their resources severely strained because of it. Unlike many other communities Kanegusuku was fortunate in that only about 4% of its total land area was permanently ruined as a result of the war. Some land was lost to a road, but most of the loss was due to a small military camp (about company size) now converted into a tuberculosis sanatorium. Since land holdings are usually fragmented and scattered, no one family lost all its land, though one family lost nearly one-half and several approximately one quarter. The loss to the sanatorium is not compensated for by jobs for Kanegusuku people since no villager is employed there. This is explained by the fact that the director is from Itoman; so "naturally" he could not be expected to hire Kanegusuku people. 621 423 177 727 [186]

The composition of the household has changed in many homes since the war as a result of the large number of deaths. Today a number of households consist of the usual nuclear family of husband, wife, and their offspring plus a related "broken" family such as widowed sister and her children or widower brother and his children or parent and unmarried siblings. In most cases the holdings of both families are pooled and the household functions as a single economic unit, though separate purses are sometimes maintained. There are several old people who live alone in their houses, but they are usually watched over by near relatives. 621 592 177 727

The richest landowner (eleven acres) in the village today was a second son in very moderate circumstances before the war. As a second son he was given by his parents to childless relatives for adoption. During the war his adoptive parents died, leaving him their entire estate. The war also caused the death of his real father and elder brother, leaving him the sole heir to their property. He has since married a woman who as the surviving member of her family is heiress to its property. Consequently, this house now holds the land of three families. The villagers are somewhat envious, but they say that misfortunte may result since this house now must make the ritual observances to the ancestors of three families, which is felt to be too great a task for anyone, and inadequate attention may lead to calamity. 621 556 727 [769]

The women who were widowed by the war and who have chosen to maintain separate households have had in most cases a difficult time of it, and particularly those widows without grown sons have been hard pressed. Farming an irrigated field is said to be impossible for a woman alone; therefore, most of them have had to rent out their rice lands, thereby losing much of its return. It is also very difficult for a house which contains only women to participate in reciprocal labor exchanges, since two days of labor by a woman are equated to one day of labor by a man. 621 589 727 [462] [427] [476]

[Kitazato]

somewhat appalled by what they regard as a lack of concern on the part of Americans for their plight. As they have been long accustomed to a paternalistic government, this seems to be a deliberately negligent attitude, and they express this feeling not infrequently. The following statements were heard by the author, "We never see any Americans who come to inspect or look at things" and "No Americans ever come to see how we are." 621 829

National Organizations National organizations such as the youth association and the women's association are rather weak in Kitazato when compared with Kanegusuku. They say that they have little spare time for such organizations, which is undoubtedly true, and the scattered nature of the village makes meeting a chore for some in the outlying sections. The ranks of the youth association are thinned by the loss of members who have sought employment in the city or military camps. Even the agricultural association is not as active as elsewhere, since the farmers feel that little can be done to improve their situation. The farmers and the head of the 'son' agricultural office were disgusted by the stupidity of a plan tendered by the central agricultural office to relieve the distress of Kitazato and other dispossessed farmers in Kami Motobu-son. This plan called for the planting of sugar cane as a cash crop and the use of the proceeds to buy food. It failed to take into consideration that sugar takes a long time to mature and that the people would have nothing to eat in the interim, and even if they were to plant their entire holdings in sugar, it would not bring enough cash to feed them. 621 575 621 829 242 241

Village Solidarity Village solidarity seems very high in Kitazato, much higher than in Kanegusuku. Undoubtedly this is largely due to the common problem which faces them all; nevertheless several other factors appear to be involved. The gentry origin of Kitazato kept it aloof from its immediate neighbors for many years, and apparently no real contacts were established in neighboring villages until after the annexation. Even today the people of this village speak a dialect markedly distinct from that of their nearest neighbors; thus, the upper-class origin and the physical and linguistic isolation of the village has perhaps contributed much to its integration and solidarity. The relative weakness of kin groupings seems to be another factor. In Kanegusuku one gets the impression that the strength of the lineages mitigates against informal village-wide cooperation and only through formal organizations such as the youth association is any real village-wide cooperation realized. In Kitazato the weak kin groupings seem no obstacle to this. 621 186 [197]

It seemed to the author that the people of Kitazato never tired of reiterating how well they cooperated together and how much they enjoyed working together as a village. "We want to stay together as a village, as we cooperate so well together." This is typical of the statements which were made. Many say that they would not object to emigration provided they might emigrate as a village.

Land Rentals Two serious problems face the people of Kitazato in regard to renting the land of neighboring villages. They are unable to pay 621 427

[Kitazato]

621 for the lands which they rent, since they have no cash; and they feel that
427 the amount of rent in product from their low yield soils is too great to justify the expenditure of labor. Several other villages in the area lost land to the airfield, so that there is very little land available for rental today. The land which they have rented is of a poor quality, and, consequently, yields are very low. A few fortunate ones have had relatives in neighboring villages who have supplied them with land at a low rental; several who have brothers in neighboring villages have been given free use of some lands. These, however, constitute a small portion of the total village.

628 Neighboring villagers who were interviewed expressed their sympathy for Kitazato's loss of its livelihood. They state that relations between them are good.

621 Morale The villagers are in a low state of morale, and they fre-
829 quently express the opinion that their situation is hopeless. The young people see no future in remaining in the village and are anxious to leave as soon as they are able. Older adults cannot conceive of leaving the village; yet, they are depressed by their circumstances. A number of the middle-aged men remarked that it was too late for them to learn another occupation even if they could get away. The older people particularly mourn the loss of their village: "Our village was beautiful, and we loved it," and "Our land is hopeless now; we cry in our minds just to look at it." All age groups were heard to express statements such as, "Each year things are worse," and "We are slowly starving to death." One informant told the author that he believed someone had been stealing potatoes from his field.

The head of the local agricultural office believes that the village should be brought together again as a single community on the site of the old village near the airfield and that they should be given permission to farm the unused land contiguous to the field. In this way, he feels, they might be able to pull themselves together and start rebuilding anew. He is worried that the people will become so demoralized by their present state as to become slothful, and he is of the opinion that the people cannot continue much longer in their present state.

Outlook for the Future The people of Kitazato are uneasy and pessimistic about their future, and the local 'son' officials, political and agricultural, feel that the villagers cannot long continue in their
621 state of poverty and borderline starvation. It seems to the author that the future holds but three possibilities for them---continued endurance of their present situation, emigration, or an increase in the rent paid for the use of their land.

Without an improvement in their present circumstances, ultimate starvation would seem the only possibility; the figures on land holdings
[433] alone will validate that, for ten acres will not provide subsistence for over four hundred no matter how intensive the agricultural techniques. There does not appear sufficient land available for rental with which they might supplement their meager holdings. Many villagers are too poor to cut loose from the wretched plots they farm; it takes cash to move and set up

[602] of contemporary relationships. The family system does not mean only family life, or a set of obligations, or a family. It is all of these, and, in addition, a historical continuity. It is an institution in which the past is constantly intruding on the present and in which the present is a combination of acts to secure one's own livelihood and well-being as well as to perpetuate the family in the future. A simple [769] illustration will make this clear. One of the obligations of living members of a family is to observe the death anniversaries of close relatives. The last, the most important, and the most sumptuous of these observances occurs on the 33d year after the death of the relative who is mourned. Thus a grandson, most likely the first son of a first son, may end this period of memorial observances for a grandfather whom he may never have seen. There is a constant intrusion of obligations coming from the past. These, often onerous and expensive, are honored in a positive manner.

In the present, conscious plans are made for the continuance of the family. These are achieved through three closely inter-related devices: [591] the succession of the first son to his father's house and, on his marriage, taking up residence at the father's home, the system of inheritance which [428] favors the first son, and the establishment of branch households for other sons, awarding them, if the family's wealth permits, a house site and field for cultivation.

In this way, the continuance of the main line and collateral branches of the family is provided for. If we pursue the illustration of inheritance a little further, we can think of the division of the land as an [428] expression of the family system applied to the use and to the sharing of [311] the available natural resources. The system of agriculture, the scattered ownership of small holdings, the attempts at land conservation and reclamation are best understood as reflections of duties and obligations to the present and future generations in the family system. If they are not seen in this way, they may appear to be isolated practices best discussed as techniques or as aspects of law and custom.

Not only in family observances but in public holidays as well, the [527] subtle influences of the family system can be observed. Public holidays and festivals are centered on two main themes, sometimes both together: [769] thanksgiving for good crops and reverence for those who have passed away. The holiday of O-Bon in the seventh lunar month, in which the departed dead are invited to return for a visit to the homes of their living descendants and the celebrations at lunar New Year are good examples of this.

[582] In village life, the family system is strengthened by the high incidence of intermarriage among local kinship groups. A general lack [621] of mobility in the villages studied has also led to the increase of immediate relatives living in the same village. This lends to community, and even to local government some of the characteristics of a wider family life. The establishment of branch families in the village of their parent

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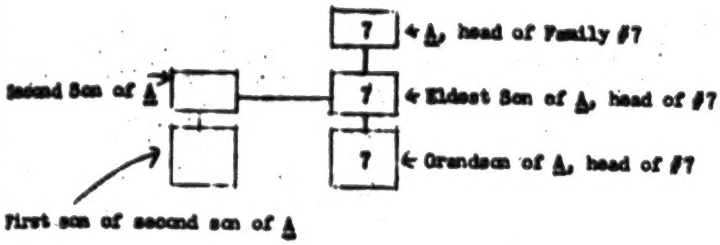
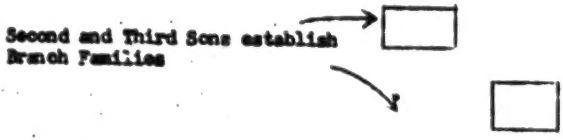
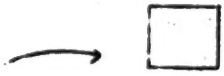




Daughters marry and go to Husband's Father's House or to Branch Families established by their husbands.



[591]

The family system, through the succession of the first son to his father's house, prevents the extinction of the main family line, and at the same time creates branch families with close ties with the parent family. [611]

Lacking a son, adoption (to be discussed below) is available to provide against extinction of any family, but in Okinawan villages it has seldom been necessary to use it. [597]

The emphasis in the family system is on providing for the eldest son who succeeds to the father's estate. The sons other than the first must be prepared to accept little or nothing, in the case of the very poor, when they marry and separate themselves from the parental house. [428]

In these Okinawan villages, the second and succeeding sons (or younger brothers if the head of the house is the eldest brother) remain in the family until marriage, usually around 25. They do not live in separate houses, but may have separate rooms, or a small shack in the compound for sleeping purposes. Unless they live in another town or work

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[582]
[513]

593 tered in the villages--a first son may be passed over in favor of a
596 second son because of mental disability, gross incompetence, or excessive drinking, or the father, by selling his land to his other sons may in effect disinherit his first son. These actions involve
[428] the courts and it is rare for villagers to engage in litigation. In
[691] practice, the first son almost invariably succeeds. On his marriage, the first son and his wife live in the home of his parents. There are some exceptions to this. Since the war, some first sons in agri-
[464] cultural communities have found opportunities in business in Naha, in larger towns like Itoman or Nago, in military government or in Okinawan government positions. In this case, the first son does not live with his parents, but he continues with this new work in the strange town, the
[591] parents on their retirement, or as they become more helpless, joining the son. But in cases where the first son continues in the occupation of his father, this is the usual and expected practice. Only long standing incompatability between father and son prevents such an arrangement.

593 One point regarding the future of the family system that may assume
464 importance in Okinawa is that the responsibilities of the first son increase with any decline in opportunities for succeeding sons. The
166 traditional outlet for sons other than the first in Oriental countries has been migration to the cities, to lands of new settlement, or emigra-
167 tion to foreign countries. In Okinawa, emigration to various parts of the world, the South Seas, Hawaii, Peru, Brazil has been the most important of these outlets. Its history cannot be understood without appreciating this fact. Both first and succeeding sons have emigrated. With the virtual stoppage of emigration, the only solution for second and succeeding sons would seem to lie in opportunities coming from military installations, government work, industrial and urban development, in addition to the present opportunities in agriculture. If with a growing population, the family system begins to break apart, it will probably be first noticed in the inability of the first sons to bear increased responsibilities.

593 For this reason, it is interesting to record some observed atti-
596 tudes of first and other sons in the villages studied. These attitudes are personal ones. No inter-village comparisons can be made. The first is one of pride in being a first son and in assuming the headship of the house but dislike of the responsibility of providing for siblings, especially when the estate is not large. Dislike of the responsibilities of being the first son was most observable in Minatogawa. Here the lack of land, succession merely to a house site, a boat or fishing gear, but with the same responsibility for care for younger brothers and sisters, parents and grandparents put the clearest burden on the first son. The financial burden of paying for anniversary celebrations on the death of a relative is especially onerous. There is only minor help from younger brothers. This fact is not resented as a lack of generosity of the younger brothers who by now would have branch houses of their own; it is part of the family system. Younger brothers might contribute, as one first son jokingly said, fifty yen to a celebration that cost two thousand.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

The Family System, Inheritance, and Succession

The family system is distinct from the inheritance of property. But in the succession of the first son to the house and in the establishment of branch families, the operation of the family system shows its effects on the practices involved in the inheritance of land and other property. 602 428 [182]

The family system can, and actually has operated in Okinawa independently of a system of private ownership in land, and, at present its obligations are as strong on a landless villager as on one who has many fields or other property. Succession in the family system is succession to a series of rights and duties and responsibilities, much watered down, it is true, from what they once were. These rights and duties may involve the disposition of rice fields, a house site, or personal and movable property, such as the majority of Minatogawa fishermen possess in a boat, nets, hooks, and other fishing equipment. [423]

Since agriculture and the employment of land are fundamental to the life and economy of Okinawan villages, practices involving the inheritance of land should receive the greatest emphasis. In this chapter, land is considered in a general way, reserving for the following chapter a detailed analysis of types and grades of land based on the Okinawan township system of land classification. 428

Since the first son and his succession to the house are so important to the continuity of the family, one might expect outright primogeniture in inheritance of real property. Such is not the case. The present system of inheritance of property was defined in Japanese law which provided for inheritance by sons other than the first and by daughters as well. This is based on Japanese law as it stood prior to the passage and promulgation of the Japanese land reform law of October 1946 and prior to the post-war revisions of the Japanese Civil Code.[1] [421] [177]

1 In this and in the following chapters, words in parentheses are, unless otherwise designated, Japanese equivalents of English terms. For an interesting historical discussion of the concepts of katoku-sōzoku (succession to house headship) and isan sōzoku (succession to property), see Hozumi, Nobushige, Ancestor worship and Japanese law. Third and revised edition, Tokyo, Osaka, and Kyoto, 1913, 170-87, esp. 181-82. Hozumi notes that in old Chinese history, katoku (house authority) was used as a synonym for eldest son, 172-73. On the Japanese reforms following the war, see Arthur F. Raper et al., The Japanese village in transition, (GHQ, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, Natural Resources Section Report No. 136), Tokyo, 1950, 161-70, 258-61, and Laurence I. Hewes Jr., Japanese Land Reform Program (GHQ, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers. Natural Resources Section Report No. 127), Tokyo, 1950, 9-36. [113]

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There is a distinction between succeeding to the headship of a house and inheriting property which the head of a house may possess. In the first case, the first son assumes the direction of the family; in the second, he receives property which will enable him to do this. This old distinction is still maintained.

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One of the striking differences between post-war Japan and its former province in the Ryukyus is that in the latter inheritance and succession were left untouched, while in Japan a thorough going revision of traditional laws and customs completely altered the system of inheritance and, in effect, abolished the operation of the family system in matters of land tenure and inheritance.[2]

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In present day Okinawa, property, real or personal, may be passed from father to sons, or daughters, in the absence of sons, in two ways: by personal disposition of the property on his retirement, or by division of the property on the father's death. In either case, the function of inheritance in the culture is to insure, by a system of preferential inheritance in favor of the first son, or his successor, the maintenance of the family house on its site, of the family estate in land, and at the same time, to provide either during the father's lifetime or after his death, sufficient property given before or at marriage, to enable younger sons to establish branch houses. This property given to sons other than the first, includes a house site (yashiki, takuchi) arable dry land (hatake) and the non-arable but highly useful genya land. These dispositions parallel the distinctions between a main family (honke) and its branch family (bunke).

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Parallels Between the Family System and Inheritance of Land

Family System	Inheritance
First son becomes head of the house on death or retirement of the father.	First son inherits the family house site and has preferential status in obtaining other parcels of land.
Second and other sons establish branch households on marriage.	Second and other sons receive from the father, or elder brother, a house site, a paddy field, dry crop land, or genya land, if available

The first son by remaining in the home of his parents keeps at least part of the family estate (zaisan) within the main family, with the hope that sufficient lands will be left over to insure the well-being of the branch families that spring from it.

2 For some Japanese reactions to the new system, see The Japanese village in transition, as cited, 211-12.

Daughters are not considered in inheritance matters if there are male heirs. A daughter's share of family possessions normally comes to her as a marriage present: a kimono, a chest, a mirror, a pillow, and a quilt-like blanket (futon), and other personal articles, or money, depending on the economic abilities of the father. In the absence of male heirs, women (either as wives or daughters) can and do inherit the house and property. In a family without sons, the head has several alternatives: he may allow the daughter to inherit, or adopt a bridegroom for his own house, the first distasteful to the father because there is no one to continue the family line, the second distasteful to the groom who must desert his own family. A third alternative is to adopt a young male child of a relative. 428 [562] [583] [597]

The passing down of property in these villages is governed in large part also by custom and the individual desire of the parents. In the villages, there were no instances of which I knew in which disputes over inheritance and the disposition of property had been carried to court for settlement. Quarrels among a father and his sons or the first sons and his younger brothers are said to be rather common. Much depends on the temperament and the generosity of the first son who controls the property on the death or retirement of his father. The problem was often put in this way: the first son must look after his younger brothers and give them land, but he must also keep his eye on the estate he will be able to pass down to his own children. [692] [578]

2

Essentials of the Inheritance System.

The essentials of the inheritance system, as it was found to be working in these villages, were substantially the same. (1) In the division of property on the death or retirement of the father (or the head of the house), the house site itself is never divided. The family residence, the buildings in the compound remain intact. The house is a symbol of a family's existence and its future. If it is also the main house of the extended family, it is the site of the original founder and is even more inviolate.

An interesting question arises when the first sons are male twins. An old practice, now abandoned, was that the second of the twins inherited as the first son. This was based on a belief that the last child out of the womb was the first one in, and therefore the older. In the villages, one still hears this explanation from older people, but now the universal practice is for the first born to become the first son.

(2) The rest of the property is divided, in varying proportions, among the remaining sons. The first son gets the money, but he is expected to share this. He normally gets at least half the property, the remaining half being divided up among the other sons, either in the

428 form of fields or of house sites so they may establish branch families.

(3) The inheritance and the division of land cannot be considered abstractly. It is in this area that custom and individual desire have the greatest play. A village farmer does not simply have land. Normally he has a series of scattered land holdings, varying in area, type, and productivity. A farmer does not have a compact area of rice or sweet potato land which can be easily subdivided, but a few small rice plots, of varying grade, some fields for growing sugar cane, sweet potatoes, or vegetables--also of varying grades--and parcels of genya land from which he gets firewood, grass for his thatched roof, or feed for his animals. When speaking of inheritance and division of land, one should think in concrete terms of the various types and grades of land subject to disposition. Under these circumstances, it is meaningless to say that an Okinawan farmer has an average of so many acres of land unless we are prepared also to add its category of productivity or use. The mechanics of land division are therefore directly related to land use and to the fragmentation of land.

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(4) There is a tendency to give the second and other sons the scattered holdings and to subdivide these parcels if they are large enough, preserving the land closer to the house site or parcels that adjoin one another for the head of the house.

(5) Generally speaking, the first son does not subdivide a specific parcel of land with his brothers. He will take a whole piece as his own, leaving other parcels to be subdivided among his brothers.

425 (6) Inherited land can be sold, but the customarily approved reasons for doing so are few. This applies with special force to the holdings of the first son. Property can be disposed of without the sale being considered dishonorable when it is associated with a change of occupation involving moving to another place, or with acute economic distress. A man who decides to give up farming and to move his family to the city may sell his land; a man who is physically unable to work his land and has no children of sufficient age to help him may sell his land and set up a village store; a widow with minor children, already in debt, may sell her property. Sellers consult with the members of the extended family who live in the same or in nearby villages and only sell with the consent and advice of these relatives. This is conspicuously true of widows.

(7) If the first son dies without issue, he is replaced by the second son who becomes head of a house. If the first son is in a foreign country, the second son at home lives in the house, but this does not endanger the succession rights of the first son abroad. If the first son returns, he succeeds to his house, and the second or other sons living in the house will be obliged to set up a branch family. Occasionally, a second son remains in the main family, even though he cannot succeed to the house; this is during the minority of a deceased elder brother's first son who will take over the house when he is of age.

(8) Inheritance practices tend toward a slow but continuous fragmentation of land due to the need of establishing branch households. This tendency toward fragmentation is seldom overcome by reversing the process in favor of some form of land consolidation. The major obstacles to consolidation will be dealt with in the next chapter. Fragmentation is more likely to occur in the holdings of the more well-to-do who have property to divide. Among the very poor, whose holdings are small and scattered, there is an enforced primogeniture. It is not possible to divide land indefinitely. The smaller a piece of land, the more likely it will be surrounded by land owned by others, and these isolated islands are difficult either to sell or trade. 428 423 [565]

(9) Among the fishermen of Hinatogawa, practices applied to real, personal, and movable property, are similar to those of the agricultural villages (nōson). Here the influence of the family system is more on the disposition of personal than of real property, but the effects, if not the rewards, are similar. If a fisherman has dry crop fields--there is no rice land--the elder son receives all, or most of the land. All informants stressed the weight of the individual desire of the father, whose division of property is influenced by the spirit, sobriety, and dependability of his sons. Here there is also the same social disapproval of selling inherited land. The fishermen attempt to supply second sons with small boats, nets, hooks, and other gear, just as the farmer attempts to give land, domestic animals, and agricultural tools. With the very poor, second and third sons may have to be content with nothing or with a few articles of clothing. Among those fishermen who have land, the principle is established that the first son gets the greater part, if not all, of the real property. 428 423 422 [425]

3

Mechanics of Land Division

Ownership is scattered; individuals own different types of land in varying proportions and in varying grades within types. Plots of land are small in area. Rice plots are normally the smallest, followed in general in ascending order by dry crop fields, and the wild land (genya). It is from such conditions as these that the difficulties in fairness of division arise. 423 311

The following illustrations show the manner in which division is usually carried out. Let us for simplicity first assume four parcels of land:

#1, a house site
#2, a parcel of 700 tsubo third grade dry crop land (hatake)
#3, 500 tsubo of grade one dry crop land, inconvenient and far away from the home, and
#4, 1000 tsubo of grade two hatake.

428 A possible distribution is shown in the following diagram. (Fig. 1). In this arrangement, the first son gets the house site and parcel #4. The second son gets 600 tsubo of the 700 tsubo in parcel #2. The third son gets 600 tsubo in two different places, 100 from parcel #2 and all of parcel #3.

423 311 Now let us take a more complicated situation, one that more closely parallels an actual division. The land of the head of the house is distributed in the following plots:

#1 19 tsubo of first grade rice land. This is a minute holding, roughly equivalent to a rectangle 20' x 34'. The fact that it is first class paddy and very small indicates that it is a rice seed bed (naidoko).

#2, 3, 4 are parcels of rice land, second grade, of 150 tsubo each.

#5 A plot of 3d grade rice land, 300 tsubo.

#6 A plot of 150 tsubo of dry farm land (hatake). This is first grade, but far from the house and in a different area from other family holdings.

#7 One plot of 2d grade dry farm land, 350 tsubo of medium quality but close in.

#8 A plot of 500 tsubo of dry farm land, 4th grade, hence rather poor, but close to the house.

#9 A plot of 400 tsubo dry farm land, 5th grade and barely usable for cultivation, almost like genya land.

428 423 The possible distribution is shown in Fig. 2. In this arrangement, the first son gets the house site, the seed bed (#1) and the three nearby rice fields (#2,3,4), the 500 tsubo of 4th grade dry crop land (#8), and the 350 tsubo of grade 2 dry crop land (#7). The second son receives 150 tsubo of rice land through the subdivision of plot #5, 150 tsubo of first grade dry crop land (#6), and one-half of the 400 tsubo of fifth grade dry crop land (#9). The third son gets the second half of the rice plot (#5), and the second half of the dry crop land (#9).

Summarized, the totals are:

	Total Tsubo*	Rice (Ta)	Dry Crop Land (Hatake)
Total	2169	769	1400
First Son	1319	469	850
Second Son	500	150	350
Third Son	350	150	200

[809] * A tsubo is about four square yards

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MECHANICS OF LAND DIVISION

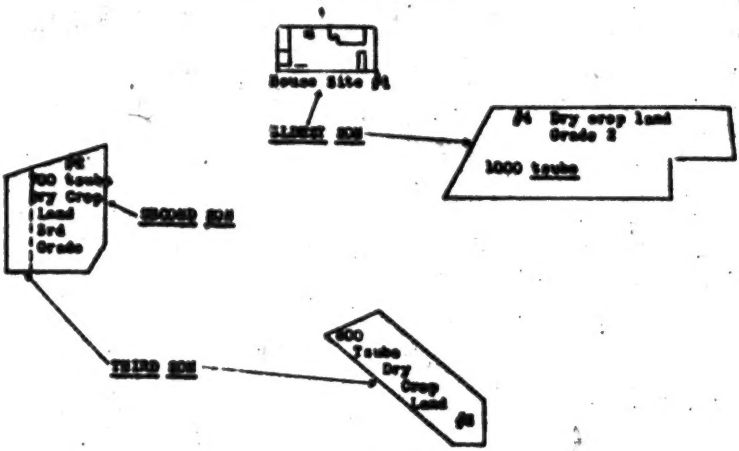

Fig. 1

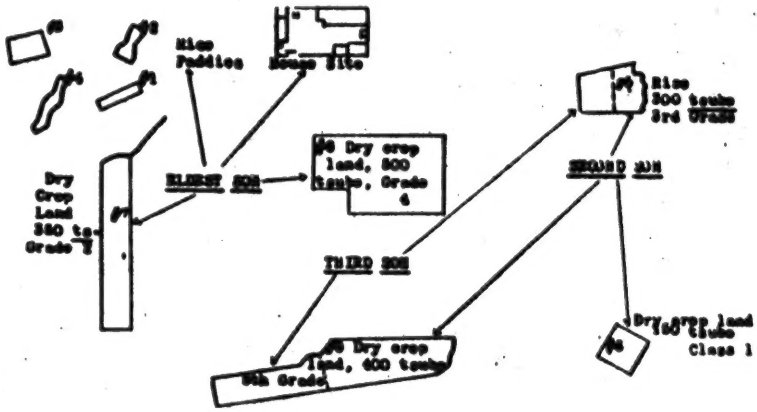

Fig. 2

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In this illustration, the first son receives slightly over 60% of the land, ignoring type and grade within type. There was general agreement [242] in all villages that the grade of land within each classification (grades 1 to 4 in dry crop land, for example) had little significance in inheri- [651] tance matters. The grade is more important for tax purposes.

The example also illustrates two other principles: the natural desire to keep contiguous or close in land within the main family, using inconvenient or far off land where possible for house sites for branch families, or for arable land for second and other sons. In this illustration, the shares of the second and of the third sons could be equalized by subdividing plot #6, although its small area would not make it worth while, as 75 tsubo is a very low average size for dry crop land. [241]

Another practice, noted in Hanashiro and in Matsuda, is that the first son receives everything on the retirement of the father. This may be contrasted with a situation in which the father divides the property before younger sons marry and establish branch families. In such cases, the father might take the income from part of the property. But the more general practice is for the father to give all to the first son. Fathers may also make a will. When the first son receives all, it is the custom for him to hold property which the younger sons will need in establishing their branch families. It is in cases where the first son is given full disposition of the property that quarrels are most likely to occur, for much depends on the generosity and sense of fairness of the elder brother.[3] [593]

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In Hanashiro and Minatogawa, it is important that younger brothers receive genya land. Genya is often translated as wild land. In Japan the term is usually used to describe treeless, waste, hilly, rocky, or rolling land unsuitable for cultivation. In Okinawa, the genya land may be in the center of a rice field; it may be a rocky mound with cultivation around it. It may be land in the mountains. It is almost invariably in grass (miscanthus) with an occasional cycad or scrub pine. [137] It is not owned in large tracts. In Hanashiro, the largest single parcel [423] is 4564 tsubo (3.77 acres), in Minatogawa 1333 (tsubo) (1.9 acres), and in Matsuda 6398 tsubo (5.28 acres), but these are far above the average. In Hanashiro it is important because grass is constantly needed for thatched roofs and other uses. The importance of genya and its grass [824] was well illustrated in Minatogawa after the typhoon, Ruth, of October [731] 13-14, 1951. These villagers own little land and many have no genya. They were obliged to buy the grass to replace the roofs of many of the [432] frailer houses which had been partially or completely destroyed by the typhoon. Genya is also used for family tombs. In Hanashiro, the genya [764]

[Text continues top of P. 133--Analyst]

3 The problem can be appreciated by analyzing the acreage areas of each classification of land and the grades within it, bearing in mind that the average farmer has hatake, genya, and often rice paddies. These statistics will be given in the following chapter.

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134 In Hanashiro, The genya
[824] grass and shrub are essential as a substitute for firewood. In Hatsuda with large areas of community owned forest, this genya is not so important to the individual family.

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311 In considering the inheritance of land, it is essential to understand that a family needs different types of land. Not everyone has rice paddies, but parcels of dry crop land and genya in the south are necessary to existence.

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593 If the practices of these three villages are indicative of the division of family holdings in general, the first son obtains between 50% and 60% of the land in addition to the house site. The remainder is divided, often equally, among the other sons. In the poorer families, if the sons are widely spaced, there may be enough left over for the second son, but when the third son reaches marriageable age, there may be nothing for him. Instances of this type were observed in the villages. One young farmer of Hinatogawa, a third son, said he received nothing, and set out by himself, first through wages, and then through small purchases to acquire his present modest land holdings.

This discussion may suggest a greater rigidity in the system of inheritance than is actually the case. It may give the impression of a series of families headed by the first son with most of the property and with younger sons and their branch families struggling along on what land can be spared for them. There has been, for historical reasons, more fluidity than this. The large number of heads of families who themselves are not first sons indicates that many second to fifth sons as well as daughters ultimately come into control of a family estate.

There have been four main reasons for this. (1) Emigration of first sons before they became of age. They left to earn a living in foreign countries to support their parents in the villages, became established and postponed to an indefinite future their return to Okinawa. Since the end of the war, according to relatives who are living in the village, many of these have no intention of ever returning except to visit. (2) Deaths of first sons without issue, and the succession of other sons or daughters. (3) Heavy war losses, especially of males. Some of these naturally were first sons, opening the way for the succession of young widows or second sons in the case of the unmarried first sons. (4) Deaths from catastrophes like typhoons, and in the case of Hinatogawa, the losses of fishermen at sea.

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602 Inheritance practices with private ownership of land follow logically
182 from the family system. They are a means of providing the economic base by saving the estate for future generations, at the same time providing where possible for sons not in the direct line of succession. Inheritance is a connecting link between the family system and land use and land tenure. Present land use and land tenure are an interesting example of the modifications that a system of social organization, the family system, has made on the natural environment.

179 423 have been affected by roads and trails which have now disappeared.

[115] Old residents[5] of Matsuda and neighboring villages were able to furnish more specific clues regarding the old system and its relation to other phases of village life. These old people estimated the [161] population of Matsuda at the close of the old system at about 360 persons, compared with the present population of 1368. The system operated under much less acute population pressure than exists today. Deaths, especially from malaria, and a high infant mortality kept [165] the population down, although introduced Japanese hygienic measures helped.

[311] Under the old system in Matsuda, there was a continual clearing of land, mostly around the settlement. There seems little doubt that land reclamation and clearing has been going on slowly from the earliest historical times in Okinawa. The land cleared remained under village ownership, but the persons who cleared the property were allowed to hold it for use without giving it up for periodic redistribution. Technical ownership remained with the village.[6] Fences and stone barriers were erected as a protection against the wild boar. But the large scale reclamation and the private ownership of genya land seems to have occurred after the close of the old system.

The dividion of lands at the beginning of the new system has set the boundary pattern of many plots. In Matsuda there were instances of land which has retained the same boundaries that it had under the old system. There was general agreement among the old that the form, boundaries, and areas of land plots have changed very little since the times of the jiwari-seido. This would be par- [428] ticularly true in the case of property which had passed down through the first son. Changes came from the establishment of branch families, [425] and sales and purchases. In these areas, however, buying and selling have been infrequent.

195 423 [171] The history of land tenure in Okinawa, therefore, is different from that of Japan with its long history of tenancy, whose accumulated problems finally led to the land reform of 1946 during the Allied occupation. The present system of land tenure in Okinawa is a little over 50 years old.

178 423 311 The chief influences of the old system were to set in a form recognizable to the present, the pattern of land holding, to establish land classification, and apply it on a very localized basis.

[115] 5 I am indebted here to Shinzato Zensuke of the village of Sokei (Ginoza-son), and to Oshiro-san of Matsuda village (Ginoza-son) both over 70 years of age for their recollections of the history of the system in Matsuda.

[114] 6 This differs from Goldschmidt's account, cited above, in that in this case the land became a usufruct, in the other actual ownership.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Every parcel of land with its grade and type is mapped, a thoroughness in land classification which has not yet been approached in the United States. While the mapping is recent, the information was always available in the village records. Village owned lands are also a survival of this system, especially the forests in the north. Community owned property is much more modest in area in the south and confined to small parcels of forest or pre-war forest, school and public building sites, community ponds, and the like.

2

Present Land Tenure and Land Classification

The present method of land holding based on Japanese law went into effect at the end of the old land allotment system. The head of the family registered all lands, previously held as shares, in his own name. Apparently in the last distribution before the abandonment of the old system, men and women over 52 years of age received their property for life with the right to pass it on to their children. At the beginning of the new system, also, the wild land was still publicly held, but further clearing and reclamation got under way, and the genya land also began to be divided up and became part of private holdings about ten years after the new land law went into effect.

The new system of private ownership of land introduced buying and selling (baibai), tenancy (kosaku), and land speculation. There had been some tenancy under the old system apparently however it was on a village basis with one community renting from another. There has therefore been insufficient time to develop in Okinawa the widespread abuses associated with the Japanese land tenure system prior to the land reform of 1946.[7]

In all the villages studied, individual ownership is the rule with some informal tenancy. Now an owner is not paid for the use of his land, the result of a Civil Administration measure to encourage maximum food production. Tenancy, as it was observed in the villages was usually an informal lending of the land: the use by a friend, relative, or neighbor of an unused plot.

The present system of land use and land tenure is a result of practices and customs developed under the old allotment system, combined with the introduced Japanese system of inheritance. The family system plus these two influences have brought about the modern customs of land inheritance, the distinctions in types of land, and the fragmentation and lack of contiguity in holdings.

7 Based on conversations with villagers in Hatsuda. Uyehara, Yukuo made the same point in accounting for the low percentage of tenancy and the high percentage of independent farmers in Okinawa-ken, Ryukyu Islands, Japan. Economic Geography 9 (1933), 395-405. Reference on 399.

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Conclusion

The sources of the present land tenure and land use practices are to be sought in the old land allotment system. The original fragmentation of land was due to the land classification based in turn on the fact that excellent, good, and poor lands were not in one area, but were scattered. Further fragmentation has come from land division because of the establishment of branch families. With each generation a further fragmentation will take place. The present system of land tenure and of land use is to be explained, therefore, as a result of the ancient family system working first within the framework of the old allotment system, and then within the introduced Japanese system of inheritance, with practices of land use retaining some of the influences of the old. 423 311 428

The experience of the next few years in Japan will be interesting to observe. With equal inheritance for each child, will there be a hopeless splintering of land or land speculation in the sale of small holdings? Before any changes are made in the present Okinawan inheritance laws, the possible effects on land use and agriculture should be studied. Considerations should not be confined to a legalistic or sociological approach to the family itself. Besides of what value to the heirs would splintered, minute, and fragmented holdings be? 000

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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necessities of life. Fishermen are more accustomed to dealing in currency transactions and these are more frequent and freer than in the farming village.

The economic history of the average Okinawan agricultural village from the late 19th century when Japanese control became firm to the present is largely an account of the fluctuations in rice, sweet potato and sugar cane production. This history is difficult to reconstruct on a local level because of the destruction of records and inexact memories. The point is nevertheless worth making, if only to stress again that these villages are not isolated rural economies. The general experience seems to have been that crop acreages have contracted and expanded in response to local needs and to the demands of trade with Japan.

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In the Hanashiro area, to use one example, there is a current interest in rice production because of its high value, and sugar cane seems to be displacing some sweet potato acreage. Sugar, even though coarse and unrefined, has a market in Japan strong enough to warrant production for the cash income at the expense of the cheap and plentiful sweet potato.

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One of the most significant facts of economic life in these villages has been the maintenance of individual farms and crop variety. Plantation monoculture, subject to international price fluctuations and often conducive to local impoverishment, has not developed.

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Private ownership in land, the inheritance of land within the family system, individual farms, tiny as they are, have undoubtedly been a stabilizing influence on these village economies.

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1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Survivals of the Priestess (Noro) System

The origin of the priestess system has been traced to primitive fire or hearth worship. A woman was a priestess to the God of Fire (hi no kami) represented in the hearth stone. A set of three rather long stones sometimes set in a triangle often represented the hearth. (These stones in the place of the guardian gods of the village may have the same meaning. In the poorer kitchens, stones set in this manner for the hearth are common to this day). In every house there was a primitive hearth (kamado). "Here, before this hearth, the ancestors of the household are worshipped, the Fire coming to summarize the ancestors who have sat before the hearth in past generations."[3] Each household of a village, each village, and each township had a hearth attendant. The priestess (noro) of the whole township "represents the original worship of the predominant hearth of that region." The duties of the rural priestesses included worshipping at the ancestral shrines, deciding the lucky days for planting, and officiating at marriage and burial ceremonies.

This priestess system was made an institutionalized state religion by King Shō Shin (1477-1526). Their political power was broken by Shō Jōkun, a prime minister of King Shō Tei (1669-1709). The most logical explanation offered for their fall from political power is the influence of Confucianism with its standards of male dominance and the subordination of women. By the end of the 17th century, its economic and political power were declining, but its influence on individual worship, especially, in rural Okinawa, lasted down to the beginning of the recent war.[4]

The priestess system had a place in inheritance customs of the old land tenure system. "Under the ancient system," said Spencer, "certain valuable farm lands were the possession of the Noro, the remainder of the land being held by the community and reassigned at various periods."[5] Inheritance within the system insured the handing down of these properties in the female line. This succession could be accomplished in a number of ways. The female child of the brother of a priestess might succeed her. This is believed to be the method of succession in ancient times. In later times, the noro married and succession was traced in the male line. The wife of a son of the priestess,

3 This material is based on the article of R. S. Spencer, Noro or Priestesses of Loo-Choo, as cited. The quotation is on p. 97.

4 Ibid, 98, 108.

5 Ibid, 109. The material following is to be found on p. 110.

793 or her granddaughter might succeed her. In earlier times, priestesses
423 were unmarried. But with private ownership in land the fields owned by
428 the priestess were divided according to the new laws and fell into possession of the priestess' family.

793 Spencer pointed out in his discussion of their status in 1931 that
[791] they still had considerable influence. There was one in practically every village, although they were losing out to the female fortune tellers (yuta). Spencer cited the case of the principal of the primary school at Itoman who could get controversial plans adopted readily if a priestess sponsored them. This was over 30 years after the abolition of the old allotment system, and their economic power had vanished. But they were important figures in festivals and holidays. Their private services included advice and prayer on journeys and business undertakings. This brief summary of their past history will make the discussion that follows clearer.

793 The Japanese discouraged the priestess system, regarding it as a
178 superstition. In the years immediately preceding the war, the priestesses seem to have prospered more in the northern district of Okinawa. By 1951, the noros were virtually forgotten, victims of a long decline, Japanese discouragement, the war, public indifference, and the conviction, among the young and middle aged people, that the priestesses taught only superstitions (meishin) like the fortune tellers and the soothsayers.

Hanashiro had a priestess before the war; when she died, there was no young female relative to replace her. Now there are none in Hanashiro, Nagamo, or Hinatogawa. Their failure to revive after the war is attributed by the villagers to the influence of education among the people. In Hatsuda, there are some last survivals of the system, but the Ginosa priestess has also died, and there was no one to replace her.

793 Before the war, the priestess (noro in Japanese, nuru in Okinawan)
and her assistants conducted services in Hatsuda.[6] The priestess, who was then about 60, lived in Ginosa village, and was carried by two men on a palanquin (kago) from her village to Hatsuda. The high priestess and her assistants constituted a ten woman group. The first in rank after her lived in Ginosa, and the other eight in Hatsuda. These participants in the festivals and religious ceremonies were known as kannushi-san (Japanese) or kamichuyu (Okinawan). The priestess was assisted by a second woman, first in rank after the noro herself (uchigami in Okinawan), a third (nigami in Okinawan), and the fourth (yurashigami in Okinawan). The fifth to ninth women were learners and followers. They could be either young or old women. All ranks wore a simple garment, similar in cut to a kimono, made of white gauze-like material. For a head covering, a piece of the same material was wrapped around the head like a towel. Four men attended the priestess and her women assistants but only at public ceremonies.

[115] 6 The material which follows is based on information from a lady about 50, a resident of Hatsuda, who was a second ranking assistant (nigami) to the noro. She now operates a tiny store in Hatsuda.

Chapter 4

Property

Rice paddies, farm land and some grass land, trees on private land, a house site and house, as well as livestock and tools, are owned by the heads of households. Land is registered in the household head's name, and he has sole right to dispose of it. Ordinarily younger sons have no right to their father's property, but a man may will property to them. If there is no will, however, everything reverts to the eldest son. Despite this, several families of younger sons were found to have land holdings equal to those of eldest sons. 423 [428]

A widow with young sons may hold land in trust for her sons or, if there are no male heirs, may inherit the land outright. Divorcees and spinsters may also acquire land by purchase, and there are several women in Taira who are household heads and owners of real estate. [589] [428] [592]

Because of the war and a general shift in population, much land and many house sites have changed owners, and former wealthy families are no longer the largest landowners. When they returned, several families with small prewar land holdings were able to raise the necessary cash to buy land. [556]

There is little sentimental attachment to a particular plot of land, and households have never been associated with particular plots. Rather, land is considered a necessary commodity, and thus it frequently changes hands. This sentiment may derive from the communal land-holding system with its periodic redistribution of plots to individuals, which was found throughout Okinawa until abolished under Japanese administration at the turn of the century. 423 592 [177]

Forest land from which villagers derive an income is owned by the village. Being a member of the community confers the right to use village forests, subject to regulations made by the village. Of particular interest is the village-owned tea field, which the village cooperative controls. The field has been subdivided, and each household in the 423 621 474

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

worthy that so few women marry before they are twenty and that many marry in their middle and later twenties. For those whose formal education ends at the age of 15 there may, therefore, be an interval of five to ten years until matrimony.* 582

One might ask whether sibling position affects marriage age, either because first-born must marry first or because of the inheritance pattern, young sons seldom inheriting either a house or land. The record of 59 marriages in central Taira shows no clear pattern in this respect; oldest sons and daughters do not seem to marry earlier more frequently than those in lower ordinal positions. A more plausible explanation for late marriage is that young men tend to spend some time after school outside the community and, prior to the war, even outside the country. The rationale for a period abroad is in part economic, but "wanderlust" or curiosity undoubtedly contribute. Furthermore, there is no doubt that the period between the end of school and marriage is an extremely enjoyable one, for now work and duties are mixed with comradeship and amusements in contrast to the new duties and responsibilities one assumes with marriage and children. This is especially true for women. [428] 582 885

The most striking fact concerning Taira marriages is that among the total of 59 unions, 18 wives were older than their husbands. Marriage records from the other parts of Taira reveal the same age discrepancy. In comparison with Western countries, and what we know of most other societies, this discrepancy is unusual. Similar findings were suggested from studies in Japan. Here, however, the explanation seems to be that such marriages tend to occur between a first son and a woman who is older than he because a mature woman is desired to take over responsibilities as an oldest son's wife. In Taira only nine (one half) of the age reversals involve marriages of oldest sons. Since there are 29 first-born males included in the sample of 59, the proportion of age reversal marriages of oldest sons is no greater 582 593

* There were no dependable data to indicate whether the present trend toward a relatively late marriage represents a change from a previous pattern. Informants' statements suggest that marriages took place at an earlier age in past times, perhaps prior to the turn of the century. Other references to marriage in Okinawa would support this information. The *Civil Affairs Handbook, Ryukyu Islands*, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, 1944, states that: "The usual age of marriage as reported in 1925 was 18 or 19 for men, 17 or 18 for women. An analysis of the marriage statistics for 1934, however, indicates that the average age at marriage was about four years older. In 1937, the average was reported as 27 years for men and 24 for women" (page 64). The rapid increase in age between 1925 and 1937 suggested by this source can only be accepted with reservations. 582 178 [113]

were justified. Both children were slightly retarded, and people believed that this fact added even more proof. 848

An illegitimate child is loved by everybody and treated like any legitimate child. The bastard's name is listed in the registry under his mother's and his illegitimacy noted. Since World War II the distinguishing red ink mark is no longer used in recording these children. Unless the mother marries the child's real father, the offspring has no legal rights of inheritance. If she marries another man, the child may receive affectionate treatment from the stepfather, but he remains legally her son. Socially such a child does not suffer any form of ostracism, but adults make references to his status within his earshot. One such girl proudly said that people had told her that she was half-Japanese. 837 732 217 428 554

Legally a man cannot have more than one wife, but there are cases of multiple marriage even in Taira. It takes a substantial income for such an arrangement, since a second wife is given a separate place to live. A younger "wife" is usually taken if there is no male heir born by the legal wife or if the marriage remains childless altogether. A man, formerly a resident of the village, took a young concubine late in life after his sons were killed during the war. She bore him a son, apparently with the consent of the first wife, since there was amicable interaction between the two although they lived separately. The husband registers such children as his legal offspring. 595 842

Two modes of divorce are possible. A couple may agree to separate and call a family council of parents and relatives on both sides. The township office is then notified and separation acknowledged. Once children have been born, such divorces are not too frequent; at least there were few cases of divorced women with children in Taira. A husband may initiate a divorce by telling his wife of his desire to separate. Extra-marital relationships of the wife would be sufficient cause, as would be sterility, which is interpreted as her fault. In Taira a settlement within the family is the more frequent mode of divorce although relatively rare. One official estimated that the rate of divorce for the whole township is two per year. Among the 59 marriages we found listings for five subsequent divorces. During fieldwork, many debates about modernizing divorce laws were held among members of the Women's Association, which advocated the abolition of the unilateral emphasis that gave husbands all the rights and wives almost none. Only a crime committed by a man would be sufficient cause under existing law to permit the wife to initiate a divorce. 586 837 842 671 575

162 this may be the result of the war; the southern islands escaped heavy damage and loss of life. The urban area of Naha-Mawashi has a well-balanced sex ratio, and is probably a reflection of the number of men who directly or indirectly are connected with military employment.

The total number of persons per household has not appreciably changed in the fifteen years from 1937 to 1952:

Table Ia

Political Unit	Persons per Household, 1937	Persons per HH, 1952
Okinawa-ken	4.67	4.70
Naha	4.21	4.41
Shuri	4.18	4.17

The loss of men in the war was compensated for by those men who returned from Japan and those who repatriated from the Mandated Islands.

632
16

2. Population Characteristics of a Rural 'Son'

Kochinda-son lies almost in the center of the southern section of Shimajiri. It does not border anywhere on the sea, and is entirely rural in that it has no industries of urban character. It is realized that no one area will be entirely typical of the whole of Okinawa; however, the population dynamics of this 'son' will undoubtedly be reflected in kind, if not in degree, by that of other farming areas. Fishing towns such as Itoman, Henza, Yakena and Yonabaru each probably have special types of adjustments that are not true of Kochinda.

[127] This researcher was permitted to copy the entire 'koseki' (population register) of Kochinda-son. In addition explanatory information was given by the 'son' office personnel when requested. In many cases it was possible to follow up and interview persons cognizant of the details of certain situations.

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16
[428]
[178]
[179]

Okinawa still follows the prewar Japanese system of inheritance by first sons. Under normal conditions in the countryside, the first sons would inherit the bulk of the farm plots, and second sons would inherit a few plots and set up separate households. Or the second and following sons might go to Naha, Osaka or the south seas to seek employment. The war disrupted this pattern, and it is germane to examine the types and numbers of household heads, as one index of postwar change.

Because the solution of the population problem is a factor in Civil Administration planing for Okinawa, it is of importance to know the fertility ratio and the amount of spacing between births. The Okinawans, like the Japanese, tend to register a marriage after the birth of the first child. This should be quantified if possible. In addition, age at marriage should be known, since it bears a direct relationship to population increase. The number of illegitimate and common law children in the villages indicates

allotment system was now entered in the newly-created land registries as the 175
property of the household head. In the past inheritance of the position of 648
household head by the first son had been largely a matter of status succes- 177
sion involving leadership of the family and certain ceremonial obligations. 423
Property succession had not been an important factor, for the private 177
property of the family had usually amounted to no more than the family 423
house and lot. Under the old land allotment system there was always land 428
available for younger sons who set up independent houses, but under Japanese 592
law the bulk of the family property was inherited by the first son. What had
been the function of the community in the past now became the responsibility
of the family, and since family holdings were usually small, the younger sons
were often landless. Informants stated that a father will usually do every-
thing possible to provide his younger sons with land, but he cannot do this
if it means jeopardizing the resources of the house. Continuation of the
family line for the purpose of continuity in worshipping the ancestors is
the chief responsibility incumbent on the household head, and in the rural
areas the land provides the major support for the house. With the rise in [166]
population there developed an increasing trend for younger sons to emigrate
from the rural areas in search of land or jobs elsewhere. The end result [602]
was a considerable weakening of family and especially kin group ties and a [621]
rapid decline in the communal character of the rural villages.

Though the creation of private property made possible the sale, pur- 175
chase, and rental of land, landlordism never gained a foothold on Okinawa. 423
Undoubtedly this is primarily due to the recency of private property and the 427
lack of time for large accumulations of land to be made. It is also in part [471]
due to a lack of capital in the rural areas; most capital on Okinawa after
the annexation and before World War II was confined to the hands of Japanese
businessmen and members of the former upper classes who seemed disinclined to
invest in land. Likewise the official Japanese attitude toward Okinawa was [648]
to regard it as a rather backward part of Japan not to be exploited as a
colonial dependency as in the case of Formosa and Korea. Glacken has sug- [171]
gested that the heavy fragmentation of the typical Okinawan farm would be an
obstacle to its sale; yet, the Chinese farmland is also highly fragmented
and landlordism has been common there for centuries.[1]

After the abolition of the communal allotment system taxes were ex- 175
tended to cover all categories of land whereas previously they had been ap- 423
plied only to arable land; however, government income from land taxes sharply 651
declined, as the moderate levies of the Japanese administration were con-
siderably below those of the Okinawan monarchy. Despite this reduction in [311]
tax load there has been a steady decline in the amount of land cultivated
since the termination of the old land system; this is clearly shown in Tables
III and IV in Chapter III, Agricultural History, Land Use and Diet.

3. World War II and the American Occupation

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During World War II Okinawa became the scene of one of the most vio- 727
lent battles of modern times. The entire island was turned into a combat

[1] Glacken, 1951, p. 160.

to take registration seriously until conditions are more stable. The Central 423
Land Office in Naha appears to be almost wholly out of touch with local 647
changes; for example, the extensive land changes subsequently described for Kitazato did not appear to be known or recorded on the maps in that office.

Taxation of farm lands is a very complex matter. Land assessments 651
are made by the district land office in conjunction with village leaders; 423
consequently, there is not only some variation in grading from 'son' to 'son' but also from village to village within the same 'son'. All land is divided into six categories: 1) rice lands or irrigated fields, 2) farm land or dry fields, 3) grass land or meadow (often erroneously translated as wasteland), 4) forest, 5) house or building land, and 6) miscellaneous, including graves, ponds, etc. It will be noted that only the first two categories are food-producing. The first five categories are sub-divided into grades depending on a variety of factors such as fertility, accessibility, availability of water, etc. In Kami Motobu-son there are sixteen grades of land within the five graded categories; thus, there are five grades of rice land, five grades of dry field, two grades of grass land, two grades of forest land, and two grades of house land. The tax is computed by the tax rate per grade of category times the area in 'tsubo' (1224 'tsubo' equal one acre). In Kami Motobu-son grade one dry fields carry an annual tax of 15 'sen' per tsubo; therefore, at current exchange rates (¥120 equal $1.00) a house would pay a tax of $1.53 (¥183.60) for an acre of this grade one land.

In regard to the matter of property inheritance there is some dis- 428
satisfaction with the present laws on the part of educated Okinawans. They 829
feel that the new Japanese constitution adopted during the American Occupation should also be enacted for the Ryukyus. The constitutional reform [642]
which took place in Japan after the war did not apply to the Ryukyus; consequently, Okinawa still operates under the old Japanese civil code except for certain gross inequities which have been corrected by military government proclamation. The new Japanese law holds that all children, regardless of sex or birth order, are entitled to an equal share of the parents' estate. In contrast, the old law, which still obtains on Okinawa, grants the bulk of the estate to the first-born son. Under this law property in reality is [423]
held for the family by the first son or household head; it is not his to dispose of as he sees fit. Educated Okinawans who discussed this subject 428
with the author expressed the opinion that the old law was undemocratic in 829
giving emphasis to the family over the individual, and they felt that Okinawa should keep pace with Japan in this respect. It should be emphasized, 184
however, that these persons were not farmers; the latter, most of whom are not too well educated, tend to regard the present laws as just, since the emphasis is on preserving the continuity of the family. A further subdivision of the typical Okinawan farm into still more fragmented plots would do little to improve the prosperity of the rural areas.

Within the village there are no class differences. Considerable prestige continues to be accorded certain occupations---teacher, doctor, government official. Land ownership does not appear to be an important status factor, and there is no landlord class. 621 554

Family The Okinawan family system has been in a process of change for over fifty years. Abolition of the system of communal land tenure and the introduction of private property and Japanese laws of inheritance provided the first shock. The bulk of the estate was hereafter conferred upon the first son while younger sons were frequently landless; consequently, many left the village in search of livelihood elsewhere. Where formerly the kin group was concentrated in a given locality, now its members are often scattered about, making interaction infrequent. A gradual decline in the practice of kin group endogamy also has contributed to weakening the solidarity of the kin group. There seems to be an increasing trend for large kin groups to fragment into smaller segments. According to young people who were consulted on the subject, their generation has little interest in kin group affairs; this may be misleading, as it is chiefly a matter which occupies the attention of older people. Perhaps one young man stated the situation accurately when he said, "I have no interest in such matters now, but I suppose I will when I am past forty." 593 178 [423] [428] 61 178

Many families were shattered by the war, and in the postwar period there has been a weakening of the family due to a variety of factors which might best be described as growing individualism. One factor, noted previously, was an increasing tendency for members of the household to maintain separate purses where formerly all earnings were turned over to the head of the house. There is some sentiment among the more educated for changing existing inheritance laws in favor of equal shares for all heirs regardless of sex or birth order. The author also heard complaints that young people often run off to seek lucrative jobs elsewhere unmindful of their family obligations. 593 178

Marriage In contrast to the prewar period when most marriages were arranged, the young people today claim that they will marry someone of their own choice. This seems to be generally true, but often the parents will go through the process of arranging after the young people have decided. Young people also will vehemently deny that they will make use of a fortune teller to determine the most propitious day, but their mothers most likely will do this and then will exert their influence for the proper day. In all likelihood the young people will accept in order not to displease the parents. 584 178 [585]

If a person, particularly a young woman, delays too long in becoming married, the family will arrange a match. In one such case known to the author a well-educated woman of twenty-five who had financial independence as a school teacher was urged into a match much against her own feelings. She explained her compliance as obligation to her family for having provided her with an excellent education.

Pitts' population studies indicate that the average age of marriage has dropped slightly in the postwar period due to the fact that Okinawan men are no longer delayed by military service. Despite this slight drop in the 582 178

swiss chard for pig feed, as well as the greater availability of lantana bushes for livestock feed. The following table compares the 1931 figures with those for 1952: 178 727 231

Table VI

Livestock Type	1931	1952	1952 as % of 1931
Cattle	41	229	558.0%
Horses	1,676	74	4.4%
Swine	1,774	2,490	140.0%
Goats	4,217	1,400	33.3%

The "great rabbit boom" is often spoken of by farmers in an amusing vein. In the winter of 1946-1947 rabbits assumed the form of currency, and in a mad fever people bought rabbits and sold them, never realizing their true value. A Nanahan farmer related: 175 231 [43]•

> I hitched a ride on a truck, and went up to the Katchin peninsula. There I bought a rabbit for ¥600. I sold it the next day to B. for ¥1200. He resold it for ¥700 profit to a Gisshi farmer who was waiting to buy one. Then I went up again, stayed overnight, and sold the new rabbit for ¥1000 profit. Again and again I went, and finally amassed ¥5000 in profits. With these rabbit profits I bought what I thought was a pregnant goat for ¥7000. It wasn't pregnant, and I had to sell it for ¥3000, taking a loss. But then I bought a pig from B. for ¥2500 and sold it to 'One-armed K' for ¥3000.
>
> In Tsukazan, which was the center of the rabbit trade in this area, a man sold all of his land to invest in rabbits, but he lost everything on the deal.

2. Land Use

The basic pattern of land use has been described in Glacken's Okinawan Village Studies (SIRI Report No. 4), and in Nuttonson, Ecological Crop Geography and Field Practices of the Ryukyu Islands, Natural Vegetation of the Ryukyus, and Agro-Climatic Analogues in the Northern Hemisphere. Although agriculture is not quite as intensive nor yields so high as in Japan, still much intercropping, double-cropped and rotation of crops is carried on. Because sugar cane takes a year or more to mature, various crops such as kidney beans, giant radish, cucumbers, broad beans, soy beans and mustard cabbage are interplanted with the cane. They mature and are harvested before the cane grows too tall and cuts off the sunlight. Sugar cane is rotated in a two-crop cycle of cane and sweet potatoes; or it is rotated with soybeans and sweet potato in a three-crop cycle. Very rarely is cane replanted in a field which has just produced a crop. In this way the farmers hope to diminish the damage done by worms and insects. 311 241

553 The first naming of children is done at a ceremony on the day of birth, or on the following day, if the birth took place at night. It is known as ubagi. There is a small gathering of [262] relatives. Soup, rice, and a little sake may be served. Ordinary rice or rice cakes (mochigome) may be prepared and put on the [788] Buddhist god shelf. If a boy, the relatives and parents pray for his strength, if a girl for her good health. Ubagi, an Okinawan word, is also known as sūchūsan no iwai (Japanese). The ceremony precedes the burying of the afterbirth.

553 One important element in the naming of a child on its day of 823 birth is the state of the tide. The child is named only if the tide is coming in. It is not necessary that the tide be high. Perhaps midpoint is the best, though high tide is considered good. Practically everyone can calculate the time when the tide is coming in or out; since they all know the lunar calendar with a cycle completed in 15 days, it is a simple calculation.[6] The explanation always given for calculating the tide on this and other occasions is that when the tide is coming in, fortune and happiness will enter in the new life or the new situation. When the tide is ebbing, everything goes out and away.

852 The real celebration of the birth of a child occurs several days after birth. It usually occurs on the 5th or 6th day counting the birth day. This is known as mansan (Okinawan) and is in honor of the good health of the mother and the child. In Japanese, it is also called muikajari.[7] In all communities studied, the week long all night celebration has disappeared, though the celebration of mansan might last well into the night.

One celebration, observed in Hinatogawa, is probably typical of the thousands that take place every year in rural Okinawa. The guests came early in the evening to the parents' home, or, as in this case, to the home of the child's grandfather, since the father, a first son, lived in his parents' home. The men sat in the first room (ichibansa), [562] the women in the second (nibansa), following custom in parties in which both sexes are present. The head of the house, the grandfather, sat in front of the alcove (tokonoma) of the first room. The child's father [576] sat next to him. Each guest went on his knees, bowed, congratulated the father and presented him with a small money gift. The usual gift [931] is about T20. This was accepted by the father, who then responded with a short speech. Sometimes these are formal and stiff, sometimes like a simple conversation. The guests also congratulated the

6 The method of computing times of high and low tide will be given later. The tide is important in the marriage ceremony, when moving into a new house, or when moving, in the case of a second or succeeding son, from a main house to establish a branch family, and at a child's party on the first anniversary of its birth.

7 The day was variously given me as 4-5th, 6th, and 7th day after birth. Muika in muikajari means 6th day.

mother, for example, fed her child rice gruel (okayu) at eight months and at the age of one year the child began eating sweet potatoes. By the time the child is ready to walk and play, he often carries with him a piece of sweet potato, and, in season, a piece of sugar cane. 853 262

A party is held on the first birthday anniversary of the child. This is more elaborate than the one which honored his birth. Birthdays are not celebrated each year. After the first anniversary, the next are on the 13th, 25th, 37th, 49th, and 61st birthdays, that is, at twelve year intervals. 852 527

The party for the first birthday of a child is particularly tender and affectionate. At one year, he can walk or stumble, and answer or smile to the calls of his parents and grandparents. He can pick up things, throw them, and make his presence felt. The exhibition of these skills becomes part of the celebration. It is customary to invite both relatives and friends, who bring a small money present, from Y20 which is usual to Y100 which is uncommon. [856]

During the party, the child is given several symbolic gifts. These are placed on a low table in the middle of the room which the child can easily walk to and reach. Usually the gifts are a book, a fountain pen (or a writing brush, fude), an abacus (soroban), and a stack of paper money. These symbolize the wish that the child will become proficient in learning, writing, counting and mathematics, and will become rich. The child is eagerly watched as he unsteadily toddles to the table to see which article he picks up first. While the act is not taken seriously, the article which the child picks up first is supposed to indicate the field of endeavor in which he will be most fortunate. 527 852 431 [212] [802] [554]

These parties, small or large, include men, women, and children, but the majority of the guests usually are men. After the child has gone to bed, the party continues. In more formal and larger parties, the guests first come up to the father, go on their knees, bow, and make a short speech of congratulation. Sometimes these speeches sound as if they are prepared beforehand, other times as if they are spoken spontaneously. There is an exchange of sake between the father and his guest, both sipping from the same cup, the usual custom. The mother and the female relatives during this time are in the kitchen preparing the food. 852 527 [576] [537]

Women sit by themselves. This is true of all celebrations when the sexes are together. Women do not drink. (In a similar party near Hatsuda, the old women--usually over 60--drank a little). The jolly old women also love to dance solos in the traditional style. They dance with grace and vigor. The evening progresses without any planned entertainment. There is talking and drinking, singing, and samisen playing. Men, with a repertoire of Okinawan songs, sing in [562] [535] [882] [533]

date of their birth (using the Japanese reign date), where they had gone to school and their present occupations. This was done separately for each. After this was over, the bride and groom stood silently and politely, but without outward expression, while three guests in turn, previously chosen, made speeches, offering their congratulations and best wishes. On this particular occasion, the principal of the school at which the bride was teaching, the principal of the school at which the groom was a teacher, and a mutual friend of the couple spoke. 585 576 [537]

These proceedings do not receive the undivided attention of the guests who have been drinking sake for some time. On the tops of the tables, dancing in the traditional Okinawan manner and the accompanying singing have begun. The dances and songs, usually performed by men in their forties and fifties, were done with grace. These are part of all social gatherings of any consequence. 585 [273] 535 [533] [562]

The sober attitudes of the work day are cast aside. The best clothes have been put on. There is a great contrast between the barefooted partially clothed farmer or fisherman of the daytime and his appearance at social occasions. These events are conducted with dignity and poise, at least until the sake consumption has risen to a high point. The party then becomes a noisy melee of dancing, singing, and talking, but without quarrelling or fighting. There is little self-consciousness in entertaining others. Talented guests do not have to be cajoled into performing. Dancing, singing, and samisen playing continue spontaneously, with another performer beginning after one has finished. The wedding party lasts from about 5 to 8, but many of the guests stay much later until the sake is gone. [292] [534]

Following the san-san-kudo, another but more private ceremony took place while the guests were entertaining themselves. In the wedding room, colored cakes and tea were placed on a small table. The female relatives of the bride and groom, mothers and sisters mostly, sat opposite one another and ate cakes and drank the tea together. This ceremony indicated the willingness of the bride's family to give up the daughter, and of the groom's family to receive her. After this ceremony, the bride's gifts from her parents were carried in. These vary with the family's wealth. In this case, they were a chest of drawers, a mirror, a heavy comforter, pillows, and a mosquito net. Before the war, gifts were more lavish than now. The usual presents now are a large chest of drawers (tansu), two heavy quilts or comforters (futon), a mirror (kagami), two Japanese type pillows (makura), and a large mosquito net (kaya). A poor family would be most likely to omit the chest of drawers. A new kimono and money may be included. [262] 583

A Y20 note is the usual gift of an ordinary guest at a wedding. Closer friends will give about Y100. There is no uniform practice about gifts from the groom's to the bride's family. About Y1000 may be presented prior to marriage. The bride's family uses the money to purchase the wedding gifts. 431

The day following the marriage, there is another ceremony, this 000

ceremony the set of three cups (sakazuki) was used. The go-between, a man and a close friend of the groom, poured sake into the top cup. The groom drank; the go-between then refilled the cup, giving it to the bride. The same procedure was repeated with the remaining two cups. 585 184

In this ceremony, after the san-san-kudo, the go-between dipped a pair of chopsticks into salt, putting a bit on the open palm of the bride who then put the salt in her mouth. This was repeated for the groom. The go-between then dipped his finger into a cup of water, touching first the forehead of the bride, then that of the groom.

The presentation of the newly married couple to the guests was also done in a different way. Because of his close friendship with the groom's father, the mayor of the township introduced the bridal pair to the guests. This was a tender and affectionate speech in which the mayor told of the birthplaces of the young man and his bride. He asked the guests, as friends and relatives of the new couple, to teach them how to live well together, how to make a living, and ended by asking everyone present to have a good time. The celebration, the sake drinking, the dancing following the ceremony were essentially the same as in Matsuda. A ring was not used in either ceremony. When used, it is ordinarily given to the bride, not placed on her finger as part of the ceremony. [576] [537] [301]

A custom followed in Minatogawa illustrates a variation in the preliminaries before the marriage ceremony. The groom (hanamuko) and the go-between or a friend go to the bride's home. They are given refreshments. The groom acknowledges his bride. He returns to his home to await her coming. This may take some time if the tide is not right. Before the war children from 7 to 10 years of age carried long lanterns (chōchin) with candles to light the way for the bride, as she walked to the groom's house. Each child carried two lanterns, which they held very tightly, as it was considered bad luck for them to change from one hand to the other. The lanterns have now been abandoned (when the ceremony is performed) in favor of flashlights, in another triumph of the Industrial Revolution. But the children enjoyed participating because they were given small amounts of money and food. [857] [416] [177]

In the Minatogawa custom, everyone stepped over the threshhold. Even now, if houses do not have one, a long step is made from the outer stone or ground into the room. Among the guests, there is usually a jokester who humorously announces in a loud voice the arrival of the bride.

In Minatogawa, the groom's family presents a gift of about Y5-6000 to the bride's family. (This family would have to be in moderate circumstances to do this). Gifts from the guests are from Y20-40. The groom's friends may give money to the groom's parents to defray the heavy expenses of the banquet, and the girl's friends give money to her, presumably for the purchase of wedding articles. [431]

There is one further variation in a custom from Hanashiro. On

585 the day of the wedding ceremony, preparations are made at the
184 bride's home. Food is served for relatives and friends, and the party then proceeds to the groom's home for the ceremony.

Gifts from the groom's family depend upon economic circumstances,
[431] but usually range from ¥50 to ¥100 up to ¥1000. In Hanashiro, something, no matter how small, is always given by the groom's family to the bride's family. Since the war, gifts of chests of drawers and blankets are less common because of high prices.

On the third day, in this Hanashiro custom, the bride and the groom with relatives and friends visit the bride's parents during the day. On the same evening, the visit is returned by the bride's family.

585 There is a general agreement in all the villages that as a con-
178 sequence of the war, the preliminaries to marriage, the ceremony, the gifts, and the events following the ceremony have become simpler.
727 Part of this is due to the high cost of food and entertainment. In the competition with other ceremonies and celebrations, the tendency
435 has been, in the interest of economy, to simplify the old customs, or when this is not possible, to combine celebrations coming close together in the year. One frequently hears the word keizai (economy) used in this connection.

3

Contemporary Attitudes Toward Marriage

58 Marriage customs today are different from those of even 20 years
178 ago. From information collected from the villages, the chief changes in marriage customs have been: (1) the preliminaries and the ceremony have been simplified, (2) marriage takes place at a much older age, (3) marriages between individuals of different villages are more common, (4) there is a shorter engagement period and its significance has declined, (5) the custom in which the bride temporarily returns to her home has disappeared or become rare, (6) the go-between, formerly a respected elder negotiating a marriage, is now a friend, generally the same age as the principals, offering help and advice, and (7) the arranged marriage has given way to freer choice in marriage in which the parents' consent has become largely a formality.

581 Judging by the statements of residents of all villages, many of
582 whom were married under the old arrangement, there is almost universal approval of free choice in marriage. Divorces were said to have been
[586] common under the old system, mainly because of the wife's barrenness or unattractiveness. The chances that the marriage will be a happy one are
[562] thought to be greater under the new. Among women, it harmonizes with ideas of equality which they have heard of or read about in Japanese
[199] magazines since the occupation.

764 The beginning of a funeral procession is announced by a gong in the yard of a village office. The head man and other leaders and elders of the village attend the funeral. The mayor of the township or his representative joins in the procession.

[793] A Buddhist priest (bōsu-san) did not officiate at this funeral. Priests are scarce in rural Okinawa. Most of them were Japanese who returned to Japan after the war. Families can also save by dispensing with the Buddhist service. The participation of Buddhist priests, already nominal before the war, has now in the villages studied, virtually disappeared.

764 431 It is customary at a death to give a ten or twenty yen offering to the family. The money is put in a small envelop with an expression of sympathy written on it. (In Okinawa money is the usual gift at marriage, birthday celebrations, and at death. The gift may be put in a small envelop but it is common also to give a loose bill).

765 [782] [761] Early on the morning following the funeral, the tomb is visited by members of the family. Food offerings of rice, tea, sake, and a flower may be placed in front of the tomb. A charcoal stick is burned. These visits with the offerings and prayers on the following morning are associated with a belief, still held by the old, that the dead person might still be alive and that the pounding of an adult on the wall or the crying of a child might be heard so that the living could be rescued from the tomb. The belief that the person might still be alive and possibly could be heard seems to persist in Hanashiro and Minatogawa. It was not encountered in Matsuda, although it might well exist.

2

Burial Places and the Family System

764 [311] [565] Okinawan tombs have excited the interest of foreigners from the earliest days of European contact. There are no cemeteries in the usual sense of the word, but areas scattered throughout the countryside, usually on the tops of hills, or on the stony sides of mountains, are given over to burial grounds. Tombs are not located on land suitable for agriculture. It has been said that the Japanese forbad using agricultural land for tombs, but the practice in Okinawa seems to antedate these Japanese interferences in the culture of the rural areas. In the interior, the tombs are always on wild (genya) land. But one can also see tombs along the seashore and on offshore rocks. The outstanding exceptions to this are the royal tomb area in Shuri, now largely destroyed, and the large and dramatically placed tombs in the center of Itoman town. In the case of Itoman, it is quite probable that the growing town has surrounded the areas taken as tomb sites.

Of the several types of tombs, the turtleback (kamekokata) is the most famous. It has been variously described by European travellers as

a running mate was vigorously applauded. The infant on her back was sleeping! 526

Four teams, the village officials, the teachers, high school students, and members of the Young Men's Association competed in a relay race. Later the teachers, and the mayor, participated in a rope and loop race. A rope about 20 feet long was tied to a stake driven in the ground. On the other end of the rope was a large loop. The trick is to run from a starting point, put the loop over the head, let it drop down and then step out. In the meantime, the opposing team has been trying to prevent the player from getting the loop by jerking the rope away, or throwing it at a distance. Other comedy events based on groping blindfolded to selected goals or objects were part of the program.

The races produce the greatest excitement, especially in the inter-village competition. A team from each village competes in a relay and runners representing their village participate in various dashes. In these competitive events, the old women become very excited. [628]

On this occasion the township gives a present to all people present who are 70 years old or over. The gift is now a plain towel; formerly the towel was embroidered with characters expressing wishes for a long life, but this practice has been abandoned for reasons of economy. [431]

The prizes, presented by the mayor to the contestants, are modest and generously given. The young men get four cigarettes, the women a paper of tooth powder, and the children, small school notebooks. The prize winners line up; each one steps up, makes a bow, receives his prize, lifts it up slightly, a typical Okinawan gesture of thanks noted by Basil Hall in 1816, bows again and retires. [576]

Though it centers around the school, the athletic meet is one of the strong forces bringing both families and village communities together. It would be hard to exaggerate the interest in the meet or the work that goes into its preparation. The fact that the mayor of the township, his staff, the village headmen, the principals of high schools, every parent and all the children who could possibly come, were present is enough to show its importance and vitality. 526 182

ordinary Okinawan. Besides, the doctor's interpretation of illness and its 759
cause is more likely to put the responsibility for it on the shoulders of 753
the individual, whereas the traditional interpretation makes the individual 829
less responsible. This, I suspect, is likely to make the doctor's interpretation less popular. Also the treatment received from the native practitioners is familiar and predictable, while the doctor's methods vary more greatly with the nature of the illness, as do his fees.

Another factor contributing to the tendency not to go to the medi- 759
cal doctor may be the very respect in which he is held socially. I have already suggested that in the fields of religion and politics Okinawans try to solve problems at the local level without appealing to higher authorities. This may also be true in dealing with illness. The relations between patient and doctor are certainly of a more formal sort than those between patient and yuta or yabuu. And around the relationship between patient and doctor there have grown up customs that may make the patient hesitate before entering a doctor's care. For example, a patient who is discharged from a hospital after a successful surgical operation (this may not be true of the largest and most modern hospitals) is expected to show his gratitude by giving a 'Tai-in no O-iwai' ("Leaving the Hospital Celebration") on the day of his departure. For this he hires a yuta or some [431]
appropriate person to pray for him, he gives gifts to the doctor and the nurses who attended him, and distributes holiday cakes to the other patients. If this is done in style it may cost the patient nearly as much as the operation itself.

5. Prospect of Change

Earlier in this chapter I suggested that Okinawan standards of 000
sanitation might be raised by appealing to individual family pride in appearances. The sphere of sanitation might be pushed out of the house and across the yard by increasing the family's feeling of identification with it. An esthetic appeal might also be made. Okinawans are certainly not insensitive to beauty, and many do have little patches of flowers beside these houses. Standards could also be raised by encouraging more community endeavors. There seem to be a much greater need for this in the city than in the country, where long-established patterns of cooperation in agricultural practices, house-building, etc., exist. It is my impression that in the cities the 'han' or some even smaller unit could be used more effectively in keeping yards and streets clean and drained. It must be remembered that what is needed is constant cleanliness, not merely the sort of holiday cleanliness that comes with periodic inspection. It must also be stressed that the reasons for unsanitary conditions are part of a vicious circle. Filth leads to a high rate of infection from disease and parasites, this leads to diminishing energy and greater poverty, and these in turn cause more unsanitary conditions.

But improving sanitation will probably be rather easy compared to the problem of changing Okinawan attitudes toward disease. In talking with 753
Okinawans, it was in comparing Okinawan and American treatment of disease 177

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In this illustration, the first son receives slightly over 60% of the land, ignoring type and grade within type. There was general agreement [242] in all villages that the grade of land within each classification (grades 1 to 4 in dry crop land, for example) had little significance in inheritance matters. [651] The grade is more important for tax purposes.

The example also illustrates two other principles: the natural desire to keep contiguous or close in land within the main family, using inconvenient or far off land where possible for house sites for branch families, or for arable land for second and other sons. In this illustration, the shares of the second and of the third sons could be equalized by subdividing plot #6, although its small area would not make it worth while, as 75 tsubo is a very low average size for dry crop land. [241]

Another practice, noted in Hanashiro and in Matsuda, is that the first son receives everything on the retirement of the father. This may be contrasted with a situation in which the father divides the property before younger sons marry and establish branch families. In such cases, the father might take the income from part of the property. But the more general practice is for the father to give all to the first son. Fathers may also make a will. When the first son receives all, it is the custom for him to hold property which the younger sons will need in establishing their branch families. It is in cases where the first son is given full disposition of the property that quarrels are most likely to occur, for much depends on the generosity and sense of fairness of the elder brother.[3] [593]

423
134

In Hanashiro and Minatogawa, it is important that younger brothers receive genya land. Genya is often translated as wild land. In Japan the term is usually used to describe treeless, waste, hilly, rocky, or rolling land unsuitable for cultivation. In Okinawa, the genya land may be in the center of a rice field; it may be a rocky mound with cultivation around it. It may be land in the mountains. It is almost invariably in grass (miscanthus) with an occasional cycad or scrub pine. [137] It is not owned in large tracts. In Hanashiro, the largest single parcel [423] is 4564 tsubo (3.77 acres), in Minatogawa 1333 (tsubo) (1.9 acres), and in Matsuda 6398 tsubo (5.28 acres), but these are far above the average. In Hanashiro it is important because grass is constantly needed for [824] thatched roofs and other uses. The importance of genya and its grass was well illustrated in Minatogawa after the typhoon, Ruth, of October [731] 13-14, 1951. These villagers own little land and many have no genya. [432] They were obliged to buy the grass to replace the roofs of many of the frailer houses which had been partially or completely destroyed by the typhoon. Genya is also used for family tombs. In Hanashiro, the genya [764]

[Text continues Top of P. 133--Analyst]

3 The problem can be appreciated by analyzing the acreage areas of each classification of land and the grades within it, bearing in mind that the average farmer has hatake, genya, and often rice paddies. These statistics will be given in the following chapter.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

Introduction

The basic occupation of the Okinawans has been and continues to be agriculture. The agricultural, not the fishing, wood gathering, or stonecutting community is typical. Fishing, stonecutting and forestry have been the occupations of certain villages or areas, or of certain groups within a village. This and the following chapter describe these ways of living. 463

Agricultural practices gathered from Hanashiro, Nagano (to some extent), and Matsuda will be presented in this chapter. Hinatogawa has been omitted because it is primarily a fishing and stonecutting community, and there is nothing distinctive or unusual in its agriculture. This presentation avoids the repetitive description of similar activities that would follow from a discussion of each village separately. Significant differences, where they appear, will be mentioned, and in this manner, I hope, the identities of the individual villages will not be lost, despite the topical arrangement. 128

Okinawan agriculture is basically the story of four crops: rice, sweet potatoes, the soy bean, and sugar cane. Rice is a minor crop. Not all farmers grow it, and rice consumption rests both on homegrown products and imports. Individual farmers occasionally grow both to sell and for home use. Today it is less of a luxury than it was before the war because of the imports and the home grown crop. In Okinawa two crops a year are possible. 241 [439]

The sweet potato is the main crop. Cultivation continues throughout the year. Potatoes often are dug on a day to day basis as required for human or animal consumption. At any one time, the patches of sweet potatoes owned by a farmer may represent all stages of growth from a fresh transplanted field to a patch ready for digging. The sweet potato is the cheapest all purpose food, both for human and animal consumption. Okinawans tire of it because poverty enforces such frequent consumption. Since the war, the increased availability of rice for home use, and the opportunities of purchasing rice have relieved this complete dependence on the sweet potato. Among some families, though these are still few, the sweet potato has become the food of animals, with only select ones used at the table. But for the great majority the sweet potato still is the basic article of diet. It is cheap and easy to cultivate either by men or women. Little can be realized from its sale.

Soy beans are grown for home consumption. Making bean curd in the home is universal. Brown sugar is produced as a cash crop. Some is used in the home as a confection both for adults and children. [432] [263]

824 Soy beans have three main uses: soy sauce which is seldom made
[262] in the home, bean curd (tōfu) and miso, a bean paste, both always
[432] home made. For this reason, soy beans are grown mostly for home use,
with the surplus sold. In Hanashiro, where the surpluses are greater,
[462] the beans may be sold in Naha, Shuri, or Itoman. Women do the selling,
[494] taking the beans to market on the buses, trucks, or three wheeled vehicles.

(2) Other types of beans such as the red dwarf bean (asuki)
241 (Phaseolus angularis Wight), the kidney bean (ingen in Japanese,
262 Phaseolus vulgaris L), the broad or horse bean (soramame in Japanese, Vician fabia L), and peas (endō in Japanese, Pisum sativum L) are grown for home use, usually in parcels which are closest to the house.

(3) The giant radish, (daikon in Japanese, Raphanus sativus L)
[263] is, after the soy bean, the most important of the minor crops grown
for home use. This is the vegetable most favored either as a condiment,
[252] or as a side dish. It is eaten sliced raw, pickled, or fried in stripe in soy sauce. When eaten boiled, its flavor resembles that of a turnip.

(5) The pumpkin (Cucurbita pepo L) called nanka or kabocha, the latter name being derived from the word Cambodia from which the pumpkin was introduced into Japan. They are harvested in summer, and one crop a year, generally for home use, is grown. If the flesh
[231] becomes too ripe and turns reddish and sweet, it is not relished and the pumpkin is fed to the pigs.

(6) The cucumber (kiuri in Japanese, Cucumus sativus L) is a very minor crop. In none of the villages were they generally grown, and then only for home use.

(7) The hechima or tōgwa in Japanese, subui in Okinawan.[7] This is very large and cylindrical. In exceptional specimens, its outward appearance is indistinguishable from the water melon. Its flesh is
[184] white. In the two southern villages, the tōgwa is grown very sparingly.
In Katsuda and the surrounding villages, it is more common. Here it is used to fill in during times of food shortage. Some specimens I have
[221] seen weighed over 100 pounds. It is planted after lunar New Years,
harvested in the 6th or 7th lunar month, a period reaching from about January to May. From April to July, when other vegetables are scarce,
[252] it is often used as a substitute. The flesh when boiled is rather tasteless; it is commonly boiled and served with chunks of meat. The tōgwa, in the northern villages, is often stored in dark cool places
[251] away from the sunlight, often under the house. If not cut open, the melon can be saved for a year.

7 I am not certain whether this is Luffa cylindrica Roem, Luffa petola, Ser, the Luffa sponge, rag gourd, etc., whose pulp disappears when ripe to be replaced by a web of fibres.

melon can be saved for a year. It is also served raw with vinegar and sugar dressing, often mixed with another vegetable to make a salad called namasuguwa in Okinawan. 241 262 [252]

(8) The burdock (gobo) is also very minor and usually grown for home use. It is boiled when eaten.

(9) The carrot (ninjin) is a minor crop.

(10) The trumpet or bottle gourd (yūgao) is only grown in Matsuda and for home use as a summer food. [184]

(11) Spinach (hōrensō), onions (negi), Chinese lettuce (hakusai) are not uncommon. Spinach, lettuce (chisi), and onions do not have the importance either as a crop or a food that they have with us.

(12) The taro (satoimo in Japanese, Colocasia esculenta Schott) can occasionally be seen growing in Hanashiro or Matsuda, often on the edge of a rice field. It is known locally also as taimo and apparently is the same as the Japanese dasheen. The taro is used as a side dish.

(13) The Irish potato (bareisho) is occasionally grown for sale. [432]

(14) Cabbage (tamana) is partly a cash, partly a home use crop. It is also minor. Some Okinawans like cabbage and grow it for their own use, but many dislike it and sell the crop.

(15) The grains are an unimportant part of village agriculture. The most common are barley (ōmugi), wheat (komugi) and millet. (Mugi is a general term for grain. The ō means large, the ko, small, referring to the kernels of the two grains). [193]

Although comparable statistics were not available for each of the villages, the following table from Hanashiro clearly shows the relative importance of the major crops: 241 311

HANASHIRO
Crop Acreages, 1950

Crop	Area in Chō[a]	Percent of Total
Rice	10.89	100.0
Total Dry Crop Land	59.88	100.0
Sweet Potatoes	35.86	59.9
Soy Beans	13.63	22.8
Sugar Cane	5.41	9.0
Beans and Peas (excluding soy)	2.30	3.9
Wheat	1.80	3.0
Millet	0.50	0.8
Vegetables	0.38	0.6

226 most important.

226 136 [227] (1) The sword or spearfish (kajiki in Japanese, akitere in Okinawan). This fish (some specimens reach 450 pounds) is caught from May through September. Fishermen go about 12 miles out for the catch. A wire leader 15 feet long with a hook is attached to a 1400 foot braided cord line about 3/16 of an inch in diameter. The line is gradually played out after the initial 700 feet are lowered. Swordfish fishing is done in the daytime. The fish is said to be scarce at night. The hook is about 2 1/2 inches long. 262 [435] [432] The swordfish is considered the most delicious of fish. It is expensive, selling from Y50 to Y100 per kin (slightly over 1.3 pounds) depending on season and supply; consequently, fishermen sell rather than eat it, except in times of oversupply. Large fish are usually cut up before being sent to market; the small ones are sent whole. The swordfish is ordinarily eaten fresh. The favorite method of [252] preparation is to fry it after dipping a slice in a batter of flour, dried milk and water. Occasionally it is eaten raw as sashimi. Dried swordfish is considered a delicacy. Unlike the shark, the fins (hane) are not dried.

226 136 [227] (2) The tunny (subinouo in Japanese, subi in Okinawan). This fish is caught between April and November. Here there are two ways of catching the fish, depending on the type of boat. If the large boat, the hatsudōki, is used a long line with as many as 200 hooks set 75 feet apart is used. At intervals of every three hooks, there are buoys with flags (hata). These flags, alternately white and red, are about the size of a large handkerchief. In another arrangement, the buoys may also alternate with the flags. The same line and wire leader used for the swordfish are employed with tunny catching, but the hook is smaller. When submerged the hooks are at various depths, their paths describing semi-circles from buoy to buoy. Lines may be pulled in from one to four times a day, depending on the biting. The bobbing of the buoys and the flags indicates the biting and the probable catch. A fishing party remains out for three days, leaving at five in the evening, returning about ten in the evening of the second day.

The small boats use two lines, the longer going down from the center of the boat, the shorter near one end. The method of catching the tunny is the same as that for the swordfish. In night fishing, the line might be lowered fifty feet, gradually playing out ten feet at a time. Tunny fishing is mostly a night catch. The line during night operations may be let out 700 feet, and, in the day 350 feet.

(3) The shark (fuka in Japanese). This fish is caught in the same way as the tunny. Fishing takes place both during the day and night. On the small boats, the line and its 15 foot leader with one hook, is about 840 feet long, and the entire length is let out.

(4) The mackerel (hishisaba). The main season for catching the mackerel is from March through May. These fish, usually weighing about 30 pounds, are caught by divers who seek the fish out while it is sleeping under stones. A strong line is tied around the tail and the fish is pulled up on board. There it is killed with a short

226
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(9) The lobster, (ebi in Japanese, ibi in Okinawan). Catching the lobster is the work of young men, usually up to 24 years of age. A man over 35 may be too old for the hard work involved. Occasionally in summer older men engage in part time lobster catching. The fisherman secures a flashlight, covered with sheet rubber, around his left wrist with a strong rubber band. The rubber casing for the flashlight [227] is often an old bicycle inner tube. The light can be turned on or off without removing the tubing. In his right hand, the diver holds a hook (ebikake in Japanese, ibikakiya in Okinawan) over 25 inches long, which he uses to dislodge the lobsters from the rocks below. Often fishermen remain in the water for three hours, the period depending on the season, the potential catch, and on how cold the fisherman becomes. The diver wears only a pair of shorts. The lobster is a year round catch, though there are few in winter. The full moon is considered bad for lobster fishing. It is not known exactly how lobster were caught in the days before flashlights. Some old men said that nets were used.

[432] On a good day, one small boat with three or four men, can catch [434] 150 pounds of lobster. It is not eaten frequently by the villagers, but sold to the large fishing co-operative association (Suisankumiai-rengokai). The hard and disagreeable work makes the lobster expensive. [435] At present the local market is sensitive to the tastes of the Americans in Okinawa. Weekly estimates of probable demand are furnished by the [434] central office of the association to the local head of the fisherman's association, who in turn informs the fishermen. The lobster is considered a delicacy and is eaten only when there is a large catch and [262] the demand is low.

(10) The seabream (taisakana in Japanese, akamasu in Okinawan). The seabream is caught with a home made device shaped like a Y with [227] a top bar: Ȳ. The base of the Y has a loop for the hook and line. These wire devices are known as yamaguchi in Okinawan though the younger fishermen call it the sarukan. The fish are caught by a series of these wire devices strung along a line with a sinker at the end. The success of the catch can be judged by lifting the line. An ordinary catch will bring fish on 3 out of the 5 hooks.

These are the main fish caught in this area. There are small catches of the bonito (katsuo), the dolphin or porpoise (iruka), and the shrimp (zakoebi), and a small octopus (tako). But these are rather infrequent. There are hundreds of other fish caught, especially of different smaller sardines (awaishi).

227 The wire devices used for catching the seabream can be used in varying sizes to catch many different types of fish. Some, such as the ones described, are used for the bonito, and very small ones are employed in catching sardines.

A cutting line is then drawn over the surface of the stone. The worker straddles the cutting line, lifts the long bar up and down, making the cut along the line to the desired depth. It is slow and tedious work. 316

When the stone has been cut along a length of 6 or 9 feet and to a depth of about 14 inches, small holes along the bottom of the cut are made with a pick. These provide a hold for the wedges. Shavings or pieces of wood are put on either side of the wedges, three of which are used for a 6 foot length. The wedges are then struck seriatim with a sledge hammer and the stone is cracked across the bottom. When cracked, it is pried loose by the long bar, using the wedge as the fulcrum.

The cutting continues all day, or until the desired length and depth is reached for that particular cut. As the top layer is removed, the cutters go down deeper until they reach water, or until the seepage is too great to permit further cutting. Many times they cut 10 or 15 feet below the level of the surrounding land, stopping when the quality of the stone becomes poor. It may be black streaked, cracked, or have large fissures.

The long chisel is a relatively new addition to the tools of stonecutting. About 60 years ago, only the hand axe was used. This made the cut much rougher, compared with the clean cut of the bar chisel. After removal the block is rough on the lower edge. (Fig. 1) With gentle and slow chipping, this rough edge is smoothed off by the hand axe and the stone is ready for use. [413] 324

Three different types of stones are cut: (1) foundation stone (ishiji in Okinawan) used in housebuilding. This is the stone on which the poles supporting the eaves rest. At its base, the stone is about 16 inches square, at the apex about 14 inches, with a height of 9 inches to one foot. (2) Pyramidal stones with a square base (called kenchi both in Japanese and Okinawan). These are made from larger and imperfect cuttings or from odd shaped stones. They are chipped down and finished to the desired size. They are extensively used in breakwaters, and, occasionally in stone fences. When used as a breakwater, the stones are placed with the base toward the water, the apex being shoreward. The interstices may be filled with cement or clay. [333]

The block is the most important cut. It may be any length. When used in building construction, the blocks are generally about 9 feet long, one foot wide, and from 10-12 inches thick. These are called ishibashida (Japanese and Okinawan). In housebuilding stone, the width and the thickness are about the same, from ten inches to one foot on the side. In housebuilding the blocks are laid like bricks, so that joinings are not in the same vertical line. [333]

Cutters normally do not use the stone for personal use. More is to be gained by selling. This is done on an individual basis. 324 432

324 The truck or horsecart of the buyer comes to the stonecutting area,
432 the blocks are loaded and taken away. Prior to sale, for convenience,
stone may be taken from the cutting area. It is loaded on horse carts,
[994] the men carrying the heavy blocks by means of ropes looped around the
[983] ends of the stone and over poles which in turn rest on the shoulders.
[804] A six foot length (1 ken linear measure), one foot wide and about ten
[435] inches thick sells for ¥140 (1951-52).

Foot injuries are the chief hazards of this occupation. The toes may be accidentally cut by the long chisel, and there is danger of bruising or crushing by accidentally dropping the block, or by
316 rolling when it is being dislodged. Very hard and calloused hands are
[164] the mark of the stonecutter; his hands are especially conspicuous for the hard, raised areas on the palm around the base of the fingers, the
[142] result of the constant lifting and pounding of the long chisel. There is also danger to the eyes in flying chips but few use glasses or goggles.

Like some phases of fishing, this work is for the young and the
[561] physically mature men. After the middle forties or early fifties, a man no longer does the heavy work and confines himself to lighter chores. The very old and the retired may chip and finish the foundation and the pyramidal stones.

472 If a cutter is unable to extract all the stone in a plot whose stone he has bought, there are also customary solutions. When the father dies, his son continues the workings and returns the field to the owner. If a stone worker moves to another village when only half the work has been done, he arranges for a friend, relative, or neighbor to take over the remaining part.

4

Restoring the Land

185 Formerly excavations (which might be 10 or 15 feet deep and the
311 size of a large room) were refilled by the buyer of the stone rights. Rocks, pebbles, and miscellaneous trash were used as fill, but following the war there has been a heavy demand for rock and stone for road
[499] construction. As a consequence, many excavations are now only partly refilled. After refilling, houses are built on the sites of formerly excavated land. Here and there one can see sweet potatoes or vegetables growing on land which formerly was covered with stone. The original state of the land, its appearance after excavation and its restoration may be seen in Figure 2. Evidences of this reclamation may be seen throughout the stoneworking area.

324 Minatogawa, because it lacks vegetation for protective and decorative purposes, is a good example of the use and adaptation of stone to local needs. There are still stone fences, waist or shoulder height, and many small stone boundary lines, a foot or two and of uneven height. Coral stones, weathered by the sea, honeycombed and pocked, are seen everywhere.

Others include levies upon
651 organizations and families to support the athletic meets, or 'undōkwai',
[526] which are such a popular part of life in Okinawa.

575 Before the war the women's group ('fujinkai') and the young people's
178 group ('seinendan') levied a certain amount of soybeans against each member, and when they were delivered the sale brought in money to finance their activities. These organizations also made up special meals for local athletic
[526] favorites while they were in training, and provided a feast for them at the
526 end of the contests. Today the 'undōkwai' is on more of a monetary basis,
651 and there is a levy called the 'undōkwai no keihi'. In October of 1953, the
632 cost of the grand athletic meeting held in Naha was divided among the 'son' according to the number of champions sent to the contest. Kochinda-son was top grade in Shimajiri, and Tomoyose was a middle-grade village within Kochinda-son. This grade was judged by the amount of arable land, its yield, and the population. Within the village, households in turn are assessed by three grades, according to their income tax records. These three grades were "minimum," under ¥20; "middle", ¥20-50; and "maximum", ¥50-54.

621 Local Philanthropy From time to time the leading household heads are called
741 upon to donate money for improvement of village facilities. Names of contributors and amounts given are written upon a wooden plaque and hung in the village meeting house. The building of this meeting house itself involved the gathering of such a fund, to which Nanahan people gave a total of ¥1,450. Later a request for funds to buy a funeral stretcher brought ¥350 from the household heads, and a road repair campaign netted ¥1,550 from Nanahan.

Somewhat the reverse of the above occurred after the Russo-Japanese war when a particularly handsome soldier from the neighboring village came back from the front. All the leading 'geisha' in Naha had long had the habit of asking him to come to their establishments without charge. His return brought such joy to their hearts that they got together a sum of money and bought him a large plot of land near Nanahan.

52 Prizes at Contests From the time a youngster enters school and participates in his first contest to the time when he shows an animal at his last village or 'son' festival before retiring, all winners look forward to some sort of prize to mark the occasion. In school the prizes are generally beautifully handwritten scrolls, but as one gets older the prizes assume the form of wooden trays and articles of practical use in the home.

858 Sale of Children When the SIRI team first arrived on Okinawa and mentioned
432 that we were interested in finding if the Okinawans still
[183] practiced the sale of children, sophisticated respondents feigned indignation. Later on, as we were able to gain rapport in the countryside, a number of such instances were forthcoming.

In Tomoyose a man got into debt over an effort to make a fortune in sugar along about 1910. He was so heavily in debt to village people that he was socially unable to live in the community, and moved to Itoman. There he sold his son to a fisherman. The son is now a grown man with an Okinawan wife and a mistress from Amami. His business is still fishing, although he also owns a truck.

One of the most respected household heads in Nanahan was sold when a boy. His poor Shuri parents sold him to rich Nanahan relatives, even though he was a first son. His relative, a woman who still lives there, had him work her fields for his support. However, she allowed him to work off-season as a day laborer, and he was permitted to keep his earned money. People commented: "He was and still is honest." 858 432

One of the consistent themes of Okinawan literature is the sale of children to Itoman. The practice continues today, perhaps in less intensive form. A grown man who now lives in Yamada was sold from Yamada to Itoman people when he was a boy. He returned to Yamada when the village was resettled after the war, considering that his time was up. He is one of the men who fish part-time, having learned something of fishing from the Itoman people.

Three boys at least were being held during our stay by an Itoman man. He and the boys move about quite a bit, but he has his home in Itoman. The boys, at least one of whom is from Ie Shima, call him "uncle". The boys are about junior high school age but are not in school. When a woman who knew about the situation was asked why this was not reported to the police, she expressed surprise at the idea. She did not know if the practice were illegal or not, and more or less defended the man---a relative by marriage---by saying that Itoman people had always done this. She added that the man treated the boys well, though she knows the stories about how badly the Itoman people treated the boys they bought in the past. One has run away several times but he always comes back.

One respondent, whose knowledge and intelligence command respect, says that both boys and girls are still being bought regularly from the off-shore islands. The boys are sold to fishermen, and the girls to brothel-keepers. He believes the treatment of the boys may be no better than it ever was but commented that at least they are learning a trade that they can follow when they are freed; the girls are more to be pitied. [548]

It is evident that the child of a very poor family cannot yet regard the traditional disciplinary threat---"If you don't be good, I'll sell you to Itoman"---as an idle one.

175
423 Commodore Perry and his staff noted the land tenure system of the Great Lew Chew but did not get any details and were not quite certain what it was.

> "Another obstacle in the way of their improvement is the impossibility of their ever procuring a vested right of ownership in the land. As far as the Commodore could gather information on the subject, it would appear that the soil is held by the government, and its agents are employed to collect and consume its produce. According to the best accounts that could be obtained, the actual cultivator receives not more than two-tenths of the produce. Of the remainder, six-tenths go to the lord of the soil, or ruler, and two-tenths for the expense of supervision of the land, costs of collection, etc. The peasant has thus no stimulus to exertion. Wretched, however, as this system is, and degraded as is the condition of the operative, it is astonishing to see the large [433] returns from agricultural labor." These returns are attributed by the authors to a combination of skill, soil, and climate.[3]

Goldschmidt (1927) wrote that under the old system the land was the property of the villages and was divided by the elders of the village "according to ancient precept," into equal parcels, considering its location, and that every individual received a parcel. "Large families had therefore correspondingly more parcels; daughters who married took at marriage their parcels with them. Every six years there was a new division, so that everyone received another plot of land and no one could complain, in the long run, over an unjust distribution."

[178] [423] [171]

2 (continued from previous page) 86 on communal ownership, 157 on mouth-share-land. The old Okinawan allotment system also is similar to the practice of masha' in the middle East. A village maintains its lands in common and apportions them among villagers periodically. This is found in parts of Iran, Jordan, Arab Palestine, and Syria. See Tannous, Affif I. Land tenure in the middle East. Foreign agriculture (U.S. Dept. of Agriculture), 7 (1943), 171-77.

3 Elsewhere the narrative remarks that, "All the land in Lew Chew is held by government and rented to large tenants, who, in their turn, sub-let it to smaller ones, who are the direct cultivators of the soil." And in another place, it is said that the lands were held by the government as a "metayer system, brought down almost to individuals (or possibly upon an allotment system)." The metayer system, as described by Dr. Green, was a "plan of paying (in this instance as 'taxes') a certain proportion of the produce." Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, I, 220; II, 25-26, 28. See also I, 311.

311 Land appraisal made by people with long experience with the
[242] capabilities of their soils under traditional methods of farming, fertilization, and land reclamation is very old in the culture. This in itself is a very significant fact about the culture aside from the obvious technical utility of a land classification system.
[556] Land classification is important as a tangible indication of wealth
[651] as appraised by representatives of the village. This classification is the basis of taxation of land. A grade two rice paddy pays a lower tax than a grade one. The system of land classification also
[433] provides a basis for estimating probable yields.

Township officials are responsible for land classification on
[632] a township basis, but each village does its own. In Gushichan township (Hanashiro and Hinatogawa) the elected mayor and his appointed subordinates and local farmers who know the land well have set up the system based on classes and grades of land. In Ginoza-son, the mayor performs a similar function. Since each village has its land classification, a table of correspondences makes possible the comparison of equivalent grades. A composite system for the township can then be made. Grade three rice land in Matsuda, for example, may be equivalent to grade two rice land in Ginoza village. By listing all these together, a village wide classification is made.

The main classifications (tōkyū) of land found in all communities are: (1) Rice lands, (ta, tambo), (2) dry crop land (hatake). It is very difficult to translate the word hatake. So far the expression dry crop land has been used. This land may be contrasted with the wet rice fields; it is dry farming land, usually on rolling slopes or upland. It is land used for cultivation of domestic plants except rice and one or two other minor crops. Rice and dry crop land are the two main classes. (3) Genya land. This word is also difficult to translate. It is variously rendered as wild or waste land, but it is neither wild nor wasteland in an economic sense. It is best described negatively as land not suited for cultivation. Despite its low value, it is important land for its production of grass, reeds, firewood and plant shoots for domestic animals. It is vital in land conservation. The genya land, sometimes on steep or gentle mountain
[185] slopes, sometimes cropping out in the midst of cultivated fields or rice paddies, with its dense growth of grass, its occasional pine tree or cycad effectively binds the soil and prevents disastrous run off and flash floods. Around the village of Hanashiro, genya land is rocky and most of its vegetation consists of grass with some shrubs. Before the war, this genya land had more pine and cycads than at present, and the disappearance of the cycad and pine furnished greater opportunity for the omnipresent miscanthus, though there are occasional regrowths of the pine. In Matsuda, the genya land often is indistinguishable from the forest. But the trees are less dense and the privately owned genya is interspersed with the small cultivated paddies and fields. (4) House sites (yashiki, takuchi). There are usually two classes: the first class site is convenient and on a main road or lane; the second class is inconvenient, a rear house, or one

off a main road or village lane. (5) Forest lands (sanrin). This is an important classification in Matsuda, but of minor significance in Hanashiro and Minatogawa. In the latter villages forest land is not recognizable because so many of the trees have been destroyed. In general, forest lands are community owned. (6) Shelter belts or groves of trees along the seashore or on crests of hills for typhoon protection. These are known as bōfurin. The trees are distinct from the forest lands; often they stand in isolated groves. In the south trees for typhoon shelters are confined to the settled area. There are no large groves surrounding and protecting the whole cultivated countryside. (7) Religious sites (haisho). These are small in area, the sites of buildings devoted to the local tutelary deities (ujigami). (8) The village community property (kuyūchi). This may include the village office site and school grounds. (9) A miscellaneous classification (zashuchi). This is also public property, including vegetable plots, small public squares, very small parks, ponds, road meeting places and the like. These combined areas are usually small. (10) In the Gushichan area, there is one further classification: destroyed land (tsuborechi). This is land in the war area which has not been or cannot be restored. The pieces are not large. During the war a bulldozer may have made a road out of this land; it may be filled with stones or the shallow top soil of the land may have been scraped off in leveling for an army post or camp. 311 [127]

The bases for grading land within each class are different. In Gushichan township, the main consideration in grading rice land is the availability of water. First class rice land is where the water is. In this township, there are seven grades of rice land, although any one village may have only four or five. The first five grades in the township are rice lands with two yields a year. Grades one through five are determined by the yield of the plot, through past experience. Grades six and seven are one crop areas. The distinctions between the grades can be seen in the following table: 311 243 [3|2]

Grade of Rice Land	Expected Yield in Koku per Cho
1	24
2	18
3	15
4	12
5	7.5
6	6.7
7	6.0

[433]

A koku is 5.12 US dry bushels. A chō is 3000 tsubo, about 2.45 acres. [804]

If there is a drought in any year, the grades of land are not changed the following year, but the estimate of expected yield may

single criterion is nearness, providing the land has possibilities. Good land, unless of substantial area, if remote and far from roads, is very time consuming and inconvenient. 311

Genya land in the Gushichan area has two grades. The criterion here is the presence of grass and small shrubs that can be used for firewood. Grade two genya grows little or nothing either because of the large boulders or because it has too many small stones or unconsolidated rock with little vegetation. If it were not for stones or such topographical factors as steepness or ruggedness, some genya land could be classified as poor grade dry crop land. There are, as in rice land, tax differentials according to grade of hataka and genya land: [824] [134] [133]

Grade	Dry Crop Land Tax in Yen	Wild Land (Genya) Tax in Yen
1	13	2
2	12	1.80
3	11	
4	10	
5	9	
6	8	
7	7	
8	6	
9	5	
10	4	

[651]

In Ginoza-son, the land classification system is substantially the same. There are six different grades of land classified according to yield in go per tsubo. (A go is 1/1000 of a koku, a tsubo about 4 square yards). [804]

Grade	Yield	Remarks
1	5	Two annual plantings.
2	4	Two annual plantings.
3	3	Dependent entirely on amount of estimated rainfall.
4	2	
5	1.5	
6	1.0	Mountain paddy, very uncertain, depending on rainfall; occasionally two crops a year are possible.

[433] [241]

Dry crop land is judged by criteria similar to those in Gushichan-son. Grade 1 is good soil and convenient to water with good yields as shown by experience. Grades 2 and 3 are convenient to water, but soils are of lesser quality. The classification is also based on experience. Grade 4 is in low places, generally narrow ravines between steep wooded slopes. Grades 5 and 6 have little or no water, are stony, and inconvenient. [134] [312] [133]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

311 Land classification in Okinawa proceeds from the village to the township and then to the whole island. Each class of land in a village has its own grade. By combining these grades a township classification is made. This is done first by village committees determining the grades for each of their classes of land, and then by setting up a table of equivalences after discussion by the committee representing the whole township. Matsuda's first grade dry crop land might be considered by the land classification committee to be equal in quality to Ginoza village's second class land. While there might be only six classifications for any one village, when all these are combined, there may be ten grades for the township. This is shown by the table of correspondences for Matsuda and neighboring villages in Ginoza-son, as of November 1951.

In this illustration, Matsuda's first class rice land is considered second grade on a township wide basis; its sixth grade dry crop land is grade nine, and its first and second class houses are by comparison, grades three and four in the whole township.

311 623 632 With minor variations, the procedures in classifying land are the same in both townships. Each village makes the classification of its own land. This is done by five villagers, chosen by the people for their knowledge and integrity. In Gushichan township, village experts are designated to serve on the township committee.[8] Seven men from the villages are joined by the mayor (sonchō), the vice-mayor (joyaku), the trade and industry section head, the agricultural section head of the township office, a total of eleven men, who then determine the township classifications. These committees make inspections of doubtful cases, often after working hours. The field trips usually end [574] up with a sake party.

In Ginoza-son essentially the same procedures are followed. Each village sends representatives, the number being determined by the area of the village. In late 1951, this village-wide committee had 24 members with the township mayor as chairman. Each village prepares its own land classification map. The local classifications, later combined to make a township-wide classification, have the advantage of limiting the range of grades in a small area and of comparing parcels close together.

Occasionally the grade of a plot is changed to correct an error or to make it consistent with an improvement. A new road may make a plot of land more accessible and thus change its grade.

311 651 433 556 In all the villages studied, land classification was important for the same reasons: for tax purposes, for estimating future production, and for the individual farmer, a means of demonstrating tangible wealth.

8 One representative each is chosen from the villages of Gushichan, Aragusuku, Koshihara, and Nakaza villages, one from Oton and Hanashiro combined, one from Asato and Yoza combined, and one from Minatogawa-ikku and Minatogawa-niku combined.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Introduction

The basic occupation of the Okinawans has been and continues to be agriculture. The agricultural, not the fishing, wood gathering, or stonecutting community is typical. Fishing, stonecutting and forestry have been the occupations of certain villages or areas, or of certain groups within a village. This and the following chapter describe these ways of living. 463

Agricultural practices gathered from Hanashiro, Nagamo (to some extent), and Matsuda will be presented in this chapter. Hinatogawa has been omitted because it is primarily a fishing and stonecutting community, and there is nothing distinctive or unusual in its agriculture. This presentation avoids the repetitive description of similar activities that would follow from a discussion of each village separately. Significant differences, where they appear, will be mentioned, and in this manner, I hope, the identities of the individual villages will not be lost, despite the topical arrangement. 128

Okinawan agriculture is basically the story of four crops: rice, sweet potatoes, the soy bean, and sugar cane. Rice is a minor crop. Not all farmers grow it, and rice consumption rests both on homegrown products and imports. Individual farmers occasionally grow both to sell and for home use. Today it is less of a luxury than it was before the war because of the imports and the home grown crop. In Okinawa two crops a year are possible. 241 267 433 [439]

The sweet potato is the main crop. Cultivation continues throughout the year. Potatoes often are dug on a day to day basis as required for human or animal consumption. At any one time, the patches of sweet potatoes owned by a farmer may represent all stages of growth from a fresh transplanted field to a patch ready for digging. The sweet potato is the cheapest all purpose food, both for human and animal consumption. Okinawans tire of it because poverty enforces such frequent consumption. Since the war, the increased availability of rice for home use, and the opportunities of purchasing rice have relieved this complete dependence on the sweet potato. Among some families, though these are still few, the sweet potato has become the food of animals, with only select ones used at the table. But for the great majority the sweet potato still is the basic article of diet. It is cheap and easy to cultivate either by men or women. Little can be realized from its sale.

Soy beans are grown for home consumption. Making bean curd in the home is universal. Brown sugar is produced as a cash crop. Some is used in the home as a confection both for adults and children. [432] [263]

434 necessities of life. Fishermen are more accustomed to dealing in 511 currency transactions and these are more frequent and freer than in 184 the farming village. [437]

The economic history of the average Okinawan agricultural village from the late 19th century when Japanese control became firm 433 to the present is largely an account of the fluctuations in rice, sweet potato and sugar cane production. This history is difficult to reconstruct on a local level because of the destruction of records and inexact memories. The point is nevertheless worth making, if only to stress again that these villages are not isolated rural economies. The general experience seems to have been that [439] crop acreages have contracted and expanded in response to local needs and to the demands of trade with Japan.

In the Hanashiro area, to use one example, there is a current 433 interest in rice production because of its high value, and sugar cane 435 seems to be displacing some sweet potato acreage. Sugar, even though coarse and unrefined, has a market in Japan strong enough to warrant production for the cash income at the expense of the cheap and plentiful sweet potato.

One of the most significant facts of economic life in these 423 villages has been the maintenance of individual farms and crop variety. 311 Plantation monoculture, subject to international price fluctuations and often conducive to local impoverishment, has not developed.

Private ownership in land, the inheritance of land within the 423 family system, individual farms, tiny as they are, have undoubtedly 428 been a stabilising influence on these village economies.

512 513 is more likely that the majority of adults have to be satisfied with six and a half hours.

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Chapter 3

Basic Economy

INTRODUCTION

241 433 Taira depends on its fields and forests for a living. Rice and the sweet potato are the principle staple crops; wheat, beans, and vegetables are additional subsistence crops. Firewood and building materials, sugar, pineapple, and silk are main sources of cash. Tea is raised for home consumption.

311 [243] [244] Since the few rivers around Taira are short and the valleys narrow, the area available for wet rice cultivation is limited. Farm land for sweet potatoes is also not too abundant in this mountainous region and is located either on the gently sloped hills or on a few plateaus between valleys. Here and there it rises on skillfully terraced steps along the steep sides of mountains.

311 423 241 [433] [511] [433] The size of land holdings and the quality of soil partly determine whether a family is able to grow additional cash crops or merely subsist. The average holding for each family is about 5 acres of rice land and 6 acres of other farming land. Yet it is important to note that the range and quality of this land vary widely. Some families own only 1½ acres of rice land and an acre of other farm land, while others own as much as 14 acres of rice land and 12 acres of other farm land; good rice paddies produce three times the quantity of poor ones and are wet enough to allow for two crops per year. Of the 141 families questioned, only 15 grew enough rice to be self-sufficient; 123 had to buy extra rice, and only two families raised a surplus for sale. All families grew enough vegetables for home use, and only 18 bought sweet potatoes. Sixty families grew a surplus of vegetables and 16 a surplus of sweet potatoes.

But actually no family is entirely self-sufficient, for each needs to purchase foodstuff as well as ready-made clothes, manufactured mostly in Japan, more substantial building materials, such as better grades of wood, tiles, and cement, tobacco, alcoholic beverages, sweets, toilet articles, some medical supplies, and other luxuries. Farmers buy their tools; students their books and writing materials. Finally, cash is needed to pay taxes. 433 438

In addition to the utilization of sugar, pineapple, firewood, and building materials for cash, Tairans also raise pigs for sale to slaughter houses, and some families derive an income from raising silkworms and producing tea. Fishermen sell fish inside and outside the village, and a small group of people are salaried workers or have an income from specialized services. [231]

Village leaders fear dependence on rapidly dwindling forest resources, still the main source of ready cash. They realize that the present modest living conditions of all families could be much improved if Tairans concentrated on increasing the cultivation of subsistence crops and farmed more intensively to raise cash crops. Most people lack this insight, however, and live on a day-to-day basis without much thought of the future. This is an island-wide problem which has the attention of central government agencies, and a great deal of educational propaganda comes to the village through government channels. 433 241 [313] [185] [654]

AGRICULTURE

The productivity of the land varies not only with its quality but also with the industriousness of the owners. Farmers who show foresight, those who seem to be under less pressure for immediate cash, take off more time from forest work to cultivate fields during planting season. The village headman and council members remind everybody during village meetings and informal discussions that work in the fields should not be neglected. With the approval of the whole community, the first and 15th of each lunar month have been set aside for farming. On these two days it is forbidden to go to the forests to cut wood. Such agreements are usually observed (as a rule), and they help to achieve their purpose but are not completely effective. 241 185 [433] [623] [313]

Rice is planted and harvested twice a year. The first rice is prepared in January when seeds are put into special beds where they are left to grow into young shoots until March. Until about 30 years ago it was said that all people seeded rice on the same day while prayers were 243 [782] [793]

S:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

storing and are kept under the house or on a special shelf on the rafters. 244

Onions, giant radishes, beans, and cabbages are also raised on farm lands. Night soil is rarely used for such vegetables nowadays but is still used on potatoes. Several of these vegetables as well as others are raised by women in small "home-garden" plots. 251 514 462

The hardest working period during the year is in July and August. Within a few weeks after the rice harvest, the soil must be made ready for the second rice crop or the soil must be prepared for dry paddy potatoes. This is also the time for planting the chief sugar crop. All this takes place during the hottest time of the year, when efficiency is greatly reduced by heat and humidity. 244 243 249

Sugar harvest and processing fall in the period between January and March. One field after another is harvested by the owners after arrangements have been made for a date when the cane can be processed. Such arrangements are made with the director of the Taira cooperative, who supervises operations of the sugar mill which is owned by the cooperative. The whole family helps on the day of processing. Women carry bundles of branches and light firewood to heat the kettles. The operation requires the help of someone to feed cane into the small, diesel engine driven press, some to carry the pulp away, and others to watch the kettles in which extracted juice is boiled down to molasses. Finally, a few persons stir the brown residue in wide, open pots until it becomes stalted. Then it is put into tubs that hold about 132 pounds. 249 474 402

The agricultural market for cash crops was totally disrupted at the end of World War II. There was no immediate outlet for sugar products; crops had been destroyed or neglected, and the sugar mill was demolished in the fighting. But by this time most people were too satisfied with the great returns from forest work to invest much time and energy in a crop which takes a year and a half to show any material results. Nevertheless, sugar was the first crop to find a market again. 433 249

Pineapple, introduced recently in Taira, has a promising future. Tea is still grown in small quantities, but few families grow more than they need for their own use, although it is a good potential cash crop for this area. 245

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

Raising pigs is an important source of cash income for all households in the village. Even the poorest families own at least one, but few families have more than two; in the central village the average is about 1.2 per household. Pigs are given special care and attention. 231 434

Since

621 several finance groups are formed simultaneously in the village, and
452 an individual may belong to more than one, this system can create
474 more problems for the community than it helps to redress. Village leaders therefore think that the cooperative could take over the loan functions at low interest rates more effectively.

433 Concern about improving village economy is genuine and foremost.
621 Since the whole island has common economic problems, many sug-
[654] gestions for developing sound village economy originate from the central government. There are many associations and movements which all aim at the same result. Their number is staggering and bewildering to the outsider. In Taira, concern for improvement of conditions is a program of the Women's Association and the Home Improvement Group, associations who try to introduce such changes as better stoves, making of bean paste by villagers, and saving during feasts. There is also an Agricultural Promotion Association which is concerned with improvement of agricultural practices, promotion of cash crops, and reduction of forest work. All these organizations, along with the co-
[474] operative and the village government, work together. An individual may be a member of several. Persons with enough knowledge and experience to assume responsible positions are limited in number, and the same persons appear as leaders in various groups. This puts a heavy burden on them, since few days pass during which their attendance after work is not required at one meeting or another.

Taira assumed a leading position in the township in improving agricultural and general economy, especially by promoting sugar development, pineapple growing, and tea raising in recent years. Mean-
154 while, low income and general poverty are a constant concern to every-
571 body but do not seem to result in constant anxiety. Security, as will be pointed out in other contexts, is provided by being a member of the kinship group and, in the wider sense, of the village as a whole. This helps to share burdens and thus reduce their weight.

Population Density The pattern revealed in a map of population density---Map 4---is approximately the same as that for percentage of arable land. It is somewhat complicated, however, by the urbanization that is going on in Nakagami. A more detailed discussion of the population movements responsible for this situation will be found in a later section of this report. 161

Farming Almost all of Okinawa's rural people farm, and many are engaged part time in home industries which utilize local products. Particularly noteworthy are the vegetable-producing areas. Kitanakagusuku and Ginowan 'sons' are centers of vegetable production for the American military forces.[1] The inland 'son' of Haebaru grows 53% of the gunto's tōgwā, a wax melon that is a favorite Okinawan food. 433 241 [262]

One of the most remarkable agricultural areas, Tomigusuku, lies south of the Naha-Mawashi-Orcku urban complex. It grows many kinds of vegetables for the cities, and ranks high in other production. Tomigusuku stands first in the gunto in acreage of green beans, muskmelons, bananas and eggplant. Almost one-fifth of the latter comes from here. It ranks second in tomatoes, and ties with Yonagusuku for second place in weight of mat reeds produced. Miwa, in the far south, leads the gunto in soybean acreage, while Nishihara occupies a similar position in acreage planted to pumpkins.

The most remarkable 'son' in northern Okinawa is Nakijin on the north shore of Motobu peninsula. It leads in gunto acreage of sweet potatoes, leaf tobacco (75.2%), and cucumbers. In animals it leads in numbers of pigs and ducks. It also produces 76% of the banana cloth, or 'bashōfu', of the gunto. This 'son' is mainland Okinawa's chief wheat producer. [231] [235]

The small Okinawan acreage of Irish potatoes is found in Ōgimi-son to the northeast. Yabu is noted for its pickled giant radishes, or 'takuan'. The offshore islands lead in certain special crops. Minami Daitō leads in sugar cane, wheat and barley. Ie Shima seconds in barley, and Izena seconds in wheat. Ie Shima is far ahead in acreage of Irish beans, or 'azuki', accounting for 41% of the gunto's planted acreage of this crop. Though Ie Shima ranks only 15th in soybean acreage, it produces almost a fifth (18.4%) of the gunto's 'miso', in which soybeans are used as a base. 'Miso' making is one of the main home industries on the island. Ie Shima, Kamimotobu and Nakijin retain some of the old 'awa' (German millet) complex, between them accounting for over a third (34.3%) of the acreage of that crop in Okinawa gunto. Kamimotobu is mainland Okinawa's leader in acreage planted to ordinary millet ('kibi'; Panicum miliceum). [252]

Nakagami has little of agricultural distinction. Yomitan leads the mainland in acres of barley and number of rabbits. Gushikawa is second rank in sweet potato acreage, but produces about two-fifths (39.4%) of the gunto's sweet potato starch. It leads in numbers of goats, and is second though not outstanding in numbers of bullocks. [231]

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[1] Most of this and following paragraphs derive from Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku and Okinawa guntō no tembō. Some is based on personal observation and interviewing. [127]

313 Home Industries and Famous Products The forested northern mountains give rise
314 to small scale lumbering, charcoal making,
• 433 and firewood gathering. Kunigami-son and Kushi-son emphasize the gathering of
bamboo and firewood. On the other hand the making of charcoal is more import-
[369] ant in Nago, Haneji, and Ōgimi. The urbanization of the south combined with
[491] the postwar extension of roads into formerly inaccessible parts of the north
have accelerated exploitation of the northern forest resource. Particularly
heavy is the demand for long roof poles, or kichigwā, after every major typhoon.
[237] Kunigami-son and Higashi supply the bulk of these. Where wood is plentiful
behind a coastal road, one often finds lime kilns, which process the coral of
the reefs.

258 The sea is also a major source of material for home industries. Sea
433 salt is made at Yagaji, Urasoe and Oroku on the west coast, at Henza and Awase
[237] on the east. Kunigami-son prides itself upon its production of seaweed. But-
tons from seashells are made in Mawashi. Fish cakes ('kamaboko') are made in
quantity in Itoman and Naha, with lesser amounts being produced in Ishikawa and
Nago. Dried bonito ('katsuoboshi') is a specialty of Tonaki isle to the west.
Motobu-chō holds second place, followed by the western isles of Tokashiki and
505 Zamami. For over a hundred years the small cargo sailboats ('Yambaru-sen')
178 of the east coast have carried forest products from the north. The extension
of roads into the northern forests has greatly reduced the amount now carried
by sea.

433 Horse breeding is a specialty in Nakazato (the eastern half of Kume-
[232] shima), which has 22% of the gunto's production of horses. However, the pro-
[232] duction of horse and cattle hides is concentrated in the urban areas, which
account for 84% of the hides produced. Nakazato is also famous for production
[231] of silk cocoons, being responsible for about two-fifths (38.7%) of the gunto's
total. The leading mainland producer is Motobu-chō, with 9%.

Although Okinawa is not self-sufficient in tea, the three areas of
[245] Gushikawa, Ishikawa and Kunigami produce over half of the local tea. In Oku
[474] village of Kunigami, the tea factory is a cooperative venture. Gushikawa
[274] and Chatan pride themselves upon possessing 'sake' and 'awamori' distilleries.
[286] Mawashi is the center of production of farm tools, and accounts for some
weaving of banana cloth. Weaving of mats from the "seven isles reed"
('shichitō-i') is a local specialty of Kanegusuku.

Travertine quarries are found in Motobu-chō and Katsuren. A sandy
[314] limestone is quarried at Minatogawa in Gushichan.

CHAPTER III: AGRICULTURAL HISTORY, LAND USE AND DIET

F. R. Pitts

121 178 The concept of the unchanging Orient certainly fails to appear true in the case of Okinawa, when the past is examined closely. Indeed, it seems hard to find an area where so much change has been accomplished so fast. The following is designed to show some major aspects of that change, particularly insofar as the farmer is concerned.

1. Agricultural History

175 241 198 The Early Days As early as the 1730's when the great Okinawan statesman, Saion, urged the growing of the sago palm 'sotetsu', farmers were already used to orders and suggestions from the gentry as to modification of their traditional ways. But it was not until the growth of population and the money economy that changes were to be brought about, not so much by orders from above, but chiefly by the workings of economic forces.

175 177 433 249 The ultimately most effective agent of change had been the introduction of the sugar cane plant in 1623 and its concomitant technique of sugar manufacture.[1] It was not until a decade after the Japanese took over the islands, however, that sugar production began to increase, and not until after the Russo-Japanese war that sugar really became an important crop in the economy. By 1939 the production of sugar amounted to more than a million tons, and production exceeded consumption by ninefold.[2] By the end of the 1951-1952 winter pressing season, production had declined to 256,000 tons.[3]

175 62 About the time of Commodore Perry's visit the population of Okinawa had begun to grow, and new areas were settled by both commoners and the gentry. Nanahan dates its existence from this period. Of the first three families to settle here, one came from Shuri gentry, and two others were commoners from the main settlement of Tomoyose. Of the seven settlements of the village of Yamada, three were settled by commoners and one by the gentry. All had come from the urban areas of the south in the latter part of the last century. [829] In Okinawa everyone seems to be aware of his place in history, and in the older settlements one often hears the remark, "...they are newcomers; they have been here for only two hundred years."

175 241 178 433 [177] In general the agricultural history of Okinawa falls into three periods. The first saw a self-sufficient economy, in which banana cloth was made in the village. The chief crops were millet, arrowroot, and sweet potatoes. With the introduction of a money economy, and its further intensification under the Japanese, sugar gradually turned from its previous use as a home confection to a full money crop. Rice acreage fell as more sugar was planted, and sweet potatoes found a greater place in the diet. The old crops of millet, cassava, and arrowroot were all but abandoned in Shimajiri, and became less important in the north. The third period is essentially the postwar and still continuing one, in which the growing of vegetables for the

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1 Navy Handbook, p. 240.

2 CAARI, p. 156.

3 Summation of U. S. Army Military Government Activities in the Ryukyu Islands, July-November 1946, p. 25.

military competes with sugar as a primary cash crop, and cane fields are being converted back to rice paddies as fast as the farmer's resources permit. A more detailed discussion of the crop changes in the last two or three decades follows. 175 241 178 433

Chronology of Change in Crops The major changes in crops revolve chiefly around the replacement of rice as a cash crop by sugar cane, and the later reversal of this situation. About fifty years ago, rice was the chief cash crop. It was rarely consumed in the home, but was sold in order to meet the monetary expenses of taxes, and to buy occasionally the new commodities that were beginning to appear in the markets. Then, not long after the Russo-Japanese war had ended, the price of black sugar jumped almost overnight from ¥8.50 to ¥64 for a 150-'kin' barrel. Everyone wanted to get a share of this boom in sugar, and most began to convert paddy land into 'hatake' for the growing of cane. They were stuck with the 'hatake' when the price fell after two months. The Japanese subsidized sugar later, however, and most of the land that had been converted remained sugar land. [654]

When the people began returning to their farms more than a year after the end of World War II hostilities, there was little market for sugar. The subsidy had gone with defeat, and providentially the sugar lands were available for the growing of more sweet potatoes. American canned food and sweet potatoes were the main items of diet until about 1949. Gradually farmers began to convert 'hatake' to paddy fields, and to grow rice again---this time less for sale than for home consumption. [262] [177]

The old "bearded rice" varieties (fijimē and mēdakōja) of the nineteenth century were replaced gradually by the shorter-statured but higher-yielding 'hōraimai'. The bearded rice, planted only once a year, had a yield of about one-third the present variety, and had only five or six stalks per plant. The twice a year modern variety yields more and has on the average fourteen to fifteen stalks per plant. As a result of the adoption of the two-crop variety, at least one traditional ceremony was abandoned. This was the tentui, in which the whole village participated before simultaneously planting their seedbeds. Before the war, two-thirds of Okinawa's rice requirements were imported.[1] Indicative of the postwar change to rice are the figures for area of paddy-fields in Kochinda-son; the 114,142 'tsubo' of paddy in February of 1948 had increased to 306,220 'tsubo' by September of 1952. Field investigation proved that conversion to paddy has proceeded at least as fast since 1952 as it did prior to that date. 175 241 433 242 178

Before the First World War almost everyone in Nanahan raised forty to fifty 'tsubo' of millet. It was boiled with glutinous rice to make millet rice-cakes, or 'awamochi'. None is raised now. The same is true of cotton. "It grew only a foot high, but its fiber was very strong and would last a lifetime." Some other crops lasted into the post-war period. Until about 1950 textile bananas and yams were raised in Nanahan, but they both proved to be too weak in typhoons, and their cultivation was abandoned. 178 175 241 [252]

[1] Summation....July-November 1946, p. 25.

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175 Many root plants such as the giant radish and carrots used to flower
244 out, and the root would be so stringy that it could not be eaten. About nine
years before the war the Japanese brought in many new and better varieties.
[177] Nanahan has more vegetables now than the rest of Tomoyose, people say, "...be-
cause our houses are scattered and we can get to the vegetable plots easily;
[231] they in Tomoyose can't, and therefore pay less attention to vegetables." Of
the seven wards of Tomoyose, only Nanahan has an agreement not to keep chickens
so that their vegetables will be protected. Before the war the Irish leek and
swiss chard were the only abundant vegetables; others were to be had in only
small quantities. The "pine mushroom", or 'metsudake', was gathered "when we
used to have pines in the neighborhood." Farmers complain that they can grow
less green peas now, because of the great increase in number of rats due to
loss of the cat population during the invasion.

Okinawa has always been self-sufficient in sweet potatoes except in occasional time of famine. Even then, dried products of the sweet potato are often used. Many varieties are grown the year around, but in Nanahan only five main varieties were mentioned. Okinawa #100 gives the biggest harvest and in fairly fixed amounts regardless of weather. There were many of White #100 before the war, but few now. It was delicious, but the harvest gradually declined from its former high yield. Just after the war there were many of the tumaikurū variety, but recently few have been planted. The yield had been high, but gradually the seed became bad; it was described as the "most delicious of all sweet potatoes." Yaeyamaakagu was mentioned as a variety still grown in small amounts. The variety which brings the highest market price is Kiirumugwā. This "delicious" potato yields only half that of the average, and hence its price is double.

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175 Perhaps the best way to view the prewar-postwar change in agriculture
241 is to look at the amounts grown by a typical Nanahan farmer. Table I below
433 presents this information.

Table I

Crop	Tsubo Prewar	Tsubo Postwar	Comments
Sugar cane			Postwar home use amounts to 14-15 'kin' (19-20 lb.) annually. Sells about 100 'kin' (132 lb.). Prewar, sold 1400-1500 'kin' yearly.
(summer planting)	500	350	
(spring planting)	300	150	
Sweet potatoes	700	500	Three harvests per year. Not sold much; make starch only if harvest is plentiful.
Soybeans	300	200	Generally sold about 1/3 of each prewar crop, but only when money was needed at home.
Broad beans	150	70	Prewar variety was a small plant, the postwar one very large.

Table I, Cont'd.

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Crop	Tsubo Prewar	Tsubo Postwar	Comments	
Green peas	80	--	None now due to rats.	
Giant radish	50	50	Sell half; use the rest in soups.	
Burdock root	--	50	Sell 90%; use only at home for feasts.	
Carrots	1	5	Sell half the crop.	
Dryland taro	--	20		
Irish potatoes	--	50	Winter crop; seed from Hokkaido.	
Cucumbers	1-2	50	Prewar, all used at home. Now sell 90% at about ¥10 per 'kin'.	
Chives	1	1	Always use in soup. Raise for home use only.	
Wax melon	50	50	Sold half in Itoman prewar; now sell same amount in Naha.	
Pumpkins	1	1	Entirely for home use then and now.	
Kidney beans	100	100	Then and now entirely for home use, in 'gohan' and 'miso'.	
Cabbage	--	60	Sell 90% at ¥2-7 per 'kin'.	
Eggplant	--	4-5 stalks	For occasional home use.	
Green onion	--	10	Entirely for home use, in soups, etc.	
Chinese cabbage	--	20	Sell over two-thirds.	
Bitter melon	--	5	Mainly for home use.	
Mustard cabbage	--	3	Sell half. Pickle temporarily with salt for home use.	[251]
Swiss chard	5	50	Pigs eat the old and large leaves; people the young and tender small ones.	[251]
Garlic	--	3	It is pickled, and is entirely for home use.	[251]
Shallot	--	2	Entirely for home use.	
Red peppers	--	1-2 stalks	Used with soybean curd, or when one has a stomach ache.	[757]

241 311 312 Yields Per Acre Because Okinawa is a sub-tropical country, crops can be grown the year around. Hence the low productivity of a land subject to natural disaster such as drought and typhoons is somewhat compensated for. In the limestone areas of Shimajiri ground water is scarce except after [131] fairly heavy rains. Nanahan has nine small ponds, or kumui, where people wash clothes and sweet potatoes and in which grows the water convolvulus, or unchēbā. Farmers say that if a drought lasts three months, crops do not yield [132] at all. All remember the great drought of 1895 (Meiji 28-nen) when no rain fell for seven or eight months. Even wells dug in river bottoms dried up. The 23 households of Nanahan at present have eight small wells and one large community well which was dug in 1948. Little ditches on the hillsides lead rainwater to the rice paddies, and are fixed so that the water can be directed into wells. If a paddy field is near the farmer's house, a drainage ditch is dug to it for the disposal of used household water which is considered to contribute to a field's fertility. Tables VII and VIII show the yield of crops in Okinawan and American terms.

241 433

Table VII

Crop	Yield per tan[1]	Bushels per acre[2]
Summer rice	1.10 koku	41.1 bushels brown rice
Winter rice	1.16 koku	43.3 bushels brown rice
Upland rice	.72 koku	26.9 bushels brown rice
Common barley	.51 koku	10.4 bushels
Wheat	.59 koku	12.1 bushels
Naked barley	.52 koku	10.6 bushels
Millet	.38 koku	7.85 bushels
Common European millet	.40 koku	8.17 bushels
Soybeans	.70 koku	14.3 bushels
Green peas	.55 koku	11.3 bushels
Broad beans	.71 koku	14.6 bushels
Kidney beans	.71 koku	14.6 bushels
Peanuts	.83 koku	17.2 bushels

Table VIII

Crop	Yield per tan	Tons per acre
Sweet potatoes	1,762 kin	47.6
Irish potatoes	2,176	58.8
Cabbage	3,540	96.1
Other leafy vegetables	1,669	45.1
Giant radish	2,677	72.2
Carrots	2,439	65.85
Pumpkins	2,090	56.5

1 Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku, Vol. 3, No. 3, p. 1, 1953 (data for Okinawa Guntō).

2 Converted according to standard indices, as given in SCAP, Natural Resources Section, Report No. 143, Tokyo, 1951.

Table VIII, cont'd.

Crop	Yield per tan	Tons per acre
Cucumbers	1,570	42.4
Wax Melon	1,859	50.2
Tomatoes	2,789	75.5
Watermelons	1,557	42.0
'I' rush ('Bingo-i')	1,411	38.1
'I' sedge ('Shichitō-i')	1,715	46.3
Tea	197	5.32
Mandarin orange ('mikan')	1,183	31.95
Edible banana	1,629	44.0
Green manure crops	2,994	87.5
Sugar cane (cane weight)[1]	9,000	243.0

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Use of Grass, Trees and Brush Southern Okinawa looks barren to the American observer---few trees break the skyline and great fields of long grass cover the hillsides. The comment heard most often is, "Why don't the Okinawans plow up the grass and plant crops, instead of letting all that land go to waste?" The only proper and truthful answer to this query, of course, is that the grass is utilized to the full and that none "goes to waste". 311 311 824

The "ubiquitous miscanthus" referred to by Glacken actually comprises many grasses, chief among which are 'susuku', 'kaya', and one known by the Okinawan name nājichū. 'Susuki' is used mainly for the making of brooms, which occurs in December after the flowering of this grass has turned the countryside from deep green to a cloudy whiteness. 'Kaya' is used mainly for the thatching of roofs, but is also fed to livestock. Among other plants of the wild land, or 'genya', are the 'mogusa' or fūchibā, used for moxibustion and as a vegetable in soups; the hirahāgusa, used to cure leech bites; and the warabinuffūnii, or edible bracken fern. [137]

The Japanese butter-bur is found in the 'genya', and is utilized as a tobacco substitute in hard times, and occasionally as food. The flowering ginger, or sannin, furnishes leaves for wrapping rice cakes, and fiber for the tying of bundles of sugar cane. The leaf of the inedible potato or m-bashi (Japanese, 'kuwazu-imo') was used by very poor people before the war as a wrapper for 'miso' paste, which they peddled throughout the countryside. The plant is still used to stop the bleeding of wounds. The lantana---known in Hawaii as "haole-koa"---furnished poles for house roofs, leaves for fodder, and beans for tea during famines. Numerous other grasses and herbs are used by the older generation for medicinal purposes, as can be seen by perusal of Tawada's excellent book, Okinawa Yakuyō Shokubutsu Yakkō, 2nd edition, Naha, 1951. [276]

Almost all trees, which in Shimajiri means essentially those surrounding the houses, are used in some way above and beyond their major function as windbreaks in time of typhoons. The leaves of the yūna tree are a native

[1] This information is from the Kochinda-son Office.

2. Rural Industries

178 438 543 Generally speaking, it can be said that much less effort is put forth in the countryside now toward home industries than was the case before the war. In Nanahan making of products at home has declined to the point where rather than being made for sale, they are made only for exhibit at the fair given annually at the local primary school. Even here considerable urging is required by the village officials, and entries are forthcoming only by an appeal to pride in one's village's standing at the fair.

249 257 Sugar Presses and Mills Okinawa has two modern western-style sugar refineries, one at Haebaru and one on the isle of Minami Daitō. At the other end of the scale there are the some-400 horse-drawn rotary mills. Between these there are perhaps a dozen or less mills which utilize gasoline-powered motors and are geared to operate on a much larger scale than the rotary presses.

471 257 461 In rebuilding the big mill at Tomoyose which had been destroyed in the war, each family that owned stock in the mill contributed the labor of one person per day of building. On a typical day they started work at eight, had a fifteen-minute "break" at ten, and returned home for lunch for an hour at noon. After an afternoon "break", the work continued until six. Breaks and resumption of work were announced by pounding on an empty oxygen cylinder of large dimensions. The only break I observed lasted for 24 minutes. Tea was served to everyone, and the men sat around discussing how they would be able to pay for the building---which was made of sandy limestone from Minatogawa---and 471 257 where they would borrow money. The sugar produced was to be sold to the Agricultural Federation in Naha, as is the sugar produced at the smaller mills. However, the sugar was to be sold in 50 kin (66 pound) bags rather than in 100 kin barrels. The potential annual output was estimated at 15,000 bags, or [433] approximately one-half the Tomoyose village production.

256 Kanegusuku Rice Mill There is one small rice mill in Kanegusuku. All the villagers who have rice land---or about 70% of the families---utilize this mill for polishing. No one in the village uses the [439] old-fashioned hand mill. The owner of the rice mill says that most of the villagers cannot afford to pay cash for having their rice polished. Consequently he takes as multure about two-thirds of one 'gō' from each 'shō' of rice. This amounts to approximately six percent of their rice. The villagers evidently trust him completely, for no one was seen standing around watching while their rice was being polished.

The owner says that his machines are old and break down frequently. Three machines are required for the whole process. This is not a full-time job except during the harvesting periods. The young man who is owner regularly works on his family's lands. All operation and maintenance are done by him; he does not hire a helper even in the busiest times.

286 433 [178] Mat-Making in Kanegusuku The three-cornered sedge ('sankaku-i') is a reed grown in a wet field like rice, and is the basis of 'tatami omote' and 'goza' manufacture, the chief home industry of Kanegusuku. Production of the reed in Kanegusuku today is about one-tenth the pre-

war level. This is due to several factors. The local prices for reed products are said to be too low, and access to Japanese markets is difficult today due to the separation of Okinawa and Japan. Since the war local food shortages and changed tastes and diet have influenced change to greater rice production. Many houses in Kanegusuku lost their mat-weaving looms during the war, depriving them of this means of support. In addition, there is some feeling that it is too time-consuming and the young girls do not like it. 286 433 178

One tsubo produces about two bundles of reed, which is worth about ¥10 a bundle when dried. Usually the reed is not sold, but is made by the producer's family into mats. Two bundles of reeds make one 'goza' mat, which sells for ¥65-100 in Naha. One person can make about two of these mats in one day. However, in almost all families this is part-time work, the woman of the house weaving in her spare time. One family in the village fortunate enough to own two looms employs two village girls full time as long as a supply of reeds is available. 286 433 [435] [464]

The covering for the 'tatami' mat is called 'tatami omote'. An individual can make about six of these per day. They are faster-made than 'goza' because the ends do not have to be tied off and bordered. These sell for about ¥45 in Naha, which place people prefer to Itoman as a market for their reed products. However, rice straw to be used in the base of 'tatami' is sold in Itoman because the cost of transporting the bulky straw to Naha would be prohibitive---it is sold for only ¥1 or ¥2 per bundle. The Agricultural Cooperative is trying to arrange for the sale of 'tatami omote' in Kagoshima where ¥85 per mat can be obtained. The first such postwar collection and sale was made early in 1954. 286 433 435

<u>Prewar Home Industry in Yamada</u> Before the war people in Yamada made much of their own clothing, and were self-sufficient in most of the tools they used. Most of the clothing was made by the women of the village themselves. Most women wove, and many wove constantly when not in the fields. Many had their own looms, but those who did not borrowed looms from their neighbors. 294 [286]

The usual summer garment was a kimono of banana-fiber cloth and the usual winter garment one of cotton. The former was made wholly at home, from the tree to the finished garment. For the cotton kimono the threads were purchased, usually at Kadena, already dyed, and the cloth woven at home. [291]

Several families had silkworms. They got the eggs from Japan and fed the worms on mulberry leaves they grew in their yards. These women spun and wove at home but they sometimes had professional dyers at Kadena or Naha dye the threads for them. Silk garments, like store-bought garments, were only for grand occasions. 231 283 292

Before the war some Yamada women made "panama" hats in their homes as piecework for a hat company. The company furnished the materials and bought the finished product. This was one of the few sources of cash available outside the sugar crop. Baskets, carrying bags, and raincapes made of 294 [434]

175 family, but in actual practice the family often received a far lower percent-
423 age, since with a fixed tax there was no possibility of compensating for crop
651 failure, decline in productivity, and population growth. Tax payments were made in grain though cloth was also accepted. In addition to the inflexibility of the tax system there was a lack of uniformity in tax levies; certain areas such as Kunigami and the outer islands bore an unequal tax load, and farmers in all areas paid a proportionately higher tax than the officials and upper classes. These inequalities inherent in the system plus
[433] the periodic redistribution of plots served to curb any interest which the farmer might have had in improving his holdings; consequently, productivity was said to be very low.

423
178 Vestiges of this system may still be found in some of the peripheral areas of Okinawa. The village of Oku in northern Kunigami-son still has communal ownership of its forest lands, and on Kudaka Shima off Chinen Peninsula a villager must turn his land over to the community when he goes to live elsewhere.

2. Okinawa-ken (1879-1945). Japanese Administration and the Termination of the Land Allotment System

175 Following the annexation of Okinawa, the new government embarked on
648 a program designed to integrate Okinawa (and the southern Ryukyus) into the
177 national state. The task facing the early administrators was a difficult one, for in addition to differences in language and culture Okinawa was poor in natural resources and possessed an antiquated administrative system. It was soon realized that modernization could not be accomplished overnight; therefore the Japanese allowed virtually all of the old customs to be retained during the first twenty years of their administration, and efforts were directed toward educating a sufficient number of Okinawans to assist
[565] them in carrying out the program. Though the old class system was abolished, members of the former classes continued to subsist on pensions now paid by the new government, and in the rural areas life continued much as before except that the mura replaced the majiri as the land-holding and disbursing
175 unit. By 1899 the government was prepared to introduce more radical changes,
648 and in March of that year Law 59 relating to land adjustment was promulgated.
177 Its objectives were to confirm private ownership and to determine land
423 values for tax purposes. The importance which the administration attached to this measure was clearly stated by Narahara Shigeru, superintendent of the Land Adjustment Board, "Now, the only way to reform the administration is to destroy old customs, but its accomplishment must be commenced with the reform of the system of land taxation, the very foundation of the old customs."[1] Following a mapping survey which began in 1899, officials went into the villages to explain the purposes of the law and to settle conflicting claims. Private ownership was generally confirmed in favor of the cultivator. By 1903 the land reform was carried through to a successful completion.

Private ownership of land was accompanied by the introduction of Japanese laws of property and inheritance; their combined effect was to alter substantially the prevailing social organization and economic balance of the rural community. Land formerly held by the family under the communal

[1] Summary of the Land Adjustment in the Okinawa Prefecture, 1904, p. ii.

[Kanegusuku]

621 The group most dissatisfied with its lot today are the repatriates
423 from the former Japanese possessions. A few of these families were able upon
727 return to take up the lands left by relatives killed in the war or were given land by prosperous relatives, and four repatriate families are virtually landless. All of them, regardless of the size of their present holdings, chafe at their circumstances. One repatriate told the author that he had farmed nearly twenty-five acres in a single plot of sugar on Saipan and that he could never be satisfied with Kanegusuku after this. He is hoping that he will eventually be permitted to return to Saipan.

Before the war that segment of the village which possessed the least amount of land consisted almost exclusively of younger sons who had established branch families. Today this group has been augmented by repatriates from the former Japanese possessions and by emigrants from other Okinawan communities.

621 Farm Laborers During the course of the author's stay in Kanegusuku
241 there was only one full-time farm laborer in the village. This man came from
[463] one of the southern islands in the Ryukyus and was employed for less than a month. After his discharge, the former employer remarked that no outsider has enough interest in the lands of another family to make his employment worthwhile. Transplanting and harvesting rice place the heaviest labor de-
[357] mands upon the family; at these times virtually every member of the family
[476] works in the fields; even the grade-school children are given minor tasks, and the family labor force is supplemented by close relatives or neighbors in a reciprocal labor exchange.

829 Attitudes toward the Land One does not hear or see evidence of
554 any great love or attachment for the soil on the part of the Okinawan farmer.
463 In fact, quite the contrary seems true. Most regard their occupation as a
241 lowly one and feel that they are farmers because they know no other occupation. Land is of value because it provides a livelihood, nothing more, though some exception might be made for house land. Nearly all of the younger generation reflect the thinking of their fathers, and they are eager to get a good education (the diligence of even the average Okinawan student would strike the American teacher as amazing), secure a job in the town or city, and leave the drudgery of the farm village forever. Most
[433] farms are so small that they provide no more than mere subsistence for their cultivators; consequently, the young men see no sense in attending agricultural school when they will have little more than an acre to work. One young man from a fairly prosperous family in the village recently secured a job as a stevedore in Naha, and both he and his wife expressed their pleasure over what they regard as a definite improvement in their status. Though they have not sold the land which they own, they hope that it will never be necessary to return and farm it.

To a large extent this attitude toward the land and farming as an
[178] occupation is directly related to the economic and cultural changes taking place on Okinawa today; the city is an exciting place to live in and employment there is economically more advantageous than farming. Nevertheless, this seems in part the product of the old land system and the low, serf-like status accorded farmers under it. Some of the earlier visitors and officials

[Kitazato]

621 for the lands which they rent, since they have no cash; and they feel that
427 the amount of rent in product from their low yield soils is too great to justify the expenditure of labor. Several other villages in the area lost land to the airfield, so that there is very little land available for rental today. The land which they have rented is of a poor quality, and, consequently, yields are very low. A few fortunate ones have had relatives in neighboring villages who have supplied them with land at a low rental; several who have brothers in neighboring villages have been given free use of some lands. These, however, constitute a small portion of the total village.

628 Neighboring villagers who were interviewed expressed their sympathy for Kitazato's loss of its livelihood. They state that relations between them are good.

621 Morale The villagers are in a low state of morale, and they fre-
829 quently express the opinion that their situation is hopeless. The young people see no future in remaining in the village and are anxious to leave as soon as they are able. Older adults cannot conceive of leaving the village; yet, they are depressed by their circumstances. A number of the middle-aged men remarked that it was too late for them to learn another occupation even if they could get away. The older people particularly mourn the loss of their village: "Our village was beautiful, and we loved it," and "Our land is hopeless now; we cry in our minds just to look at it." All age groups were heard to express statements such as, "Each year things are worse," and "We are slowly starving to death." One informant told the author that he believed someone had been stealing potatoes from his field.

The head of the local agricultural office believes that the village should be brought together again as a single community on the site of the old village near the airfield and that they should be given permission to farm the unused land contiguous to the field. In this way, he feels, they might be able to pull themselves together and start rebuilding anew. He is worried that the people will become so demoralized by their present state as to become slothful, and he is of the opinion that the people cannot continue much longer in their present state.

Outlook for the Future The people of Kitazato are uneasy and pessimistic about their future, and the local 'son' officials, political and agricultural, feel that the villagers cannot long continue in their
621 state of poverty and borderline starvation. It seems to the author that the future holds but three possibilities for them---continued endurance of their present situation, emigration, or an increase in the rent paid for the use of their land.

Without an improvement in their present circumstances, ultimate starvation would seem the only possibility; the figures on land holdings
[433] alone will validate that, for ten acres will not provide subsistence for over four hundred no matter how intensive the agricultural techniques. There does not appear sufficient land available for rental with which they might supplement their meager holdings. Many villagers are too poor to cut loose from the wretched plots they farm; it takes cash to move and set up

The mental isolation of the farm village gradually decreased under a national system of education, but the process did not end with schooling. Upon graduating, the youth, male and female, were enrolled in a national young people's association. Later the young men were drafted for service in the national army, and following discharge the veteran was enlisted in a local reserve association which met frequently for military and social purposes. When a man married, established a separate house, and began farming, membership in the farmer's association was automatically conferred. His wife upon marriage transferred from the young women's association to the women's association. There were, in fact, a variety of national organizations covering the various phases and roles of the individual's life; membership was never a matter of choice, but a thing automatically conferred. A stress on patriotism was a strong concomitant in all of these. Membership gave to the individual a sense of participating in a national society extending far beyond the limits of his small village. 177 619 575 [702]

It should be stressed that most Okinawans regard the Japanese as providers of modern, enlightened government. The Japanese administration abolished the old class divisions and freed the peasant from his serf-like status. Taxes on arable land were substantially reduced, and the villager for the first time was given some voice in government above the village level. Modern law courts were introduced and justice was administered impartially, not on a class basis as was formerly done. 177 829 [565] [671]

Inadvertently, perhaps, official Japanese policy did much to destroy the self-sufficiency of the farm village. Prior to the land reform, sugar production did not exceed local needs, but government encouragement and subsidy so increased production that by the time of World War II it exceeded consumption by 900%. This resulted in a food shortage which necessitated heavy importations of basic cereals to compensate. 177 621 433

Japanese manufactured goods also contributed to the decline in self-sufficiency. Factory-made cloth gradually displaced home-woven fabrics, and accordingly cotton and fiber banana were no longer raised. The tools, utensils, and machines of the factory slowly replaced the simpler devices used in the village. 177 439 433 [248]

Abolition of the system of communal land tenure contributed to a weakening of the family and particularly of the large extended kin group. The introduction of private property and Japanese laws of inheritance served to create a landless element which often emigrated from Okinawa in search of land or jobs elsewhere. Where formerly the kin group had clustered in certain localities, they now became dispersed over great areas, making continued interaction difficult and often impossible. 177 602 423 [167]

Sixty-six years of Japanese rule resulted in a fairly successful amalgamation of Okinawa into the Japanese state; though the Okinawan language and culture were not destroyed, they were severely altered. 177

Impact of World War II and the American Occupation The war destroyed virtually all of rural and urban Okinawa, and resulted in the death of twenty percent of the population. 727

Statistics show (see chapter on Agricultural History) that since the termination of the communal land holding system in 1903, there has been a steady decrease in the amount of land cultivated on Okinawa. That this has continued unabated at the same time that the population has rapidly increased seems a paradox. Most certainly improvements in crop yields through research development have not been sufficient to offset this. Nor has the tax burden been excessive or crushing; in fact, quite the contrary is true since the Japanese substantially reduced land taxes when they abolished the communal system. What is more, the shortage of food has for many years necessitated importation of a considerable portion of the food consumed, and in view of the limited job opportunities in pre-war Okinawa, it seems unlikely that this means of livelihood would be overlooked. It would seem that the major reasons for this decline are cultural and historical. 178 241 [311]

It will be recalled that the farmer in the Okinawan kingdom lived in a state of serfdom; class differences were in effect those of caste. When freed from the restrictions by the Japanese, many were likely eager to depart from the farm village. The status of the farmer traditionally has been quite low on Okinawa. People dislike farming, and those who do farm state quite frankly that they are farmers only because they know nothing else, being poorly educated or possessed of little ability. No young men were heard to express a desire to become farmers, and no father wishes this occupation for his son. Pitts and the author noted in studying the household registries for their respective villages that not infrequently the first son has left the farm to seek employment elsewhere, quite contrary to usual Japanese practice. Farming is not a goal for the Okinawan youth today, and at the University of the Ryukyus the quotas for admission to agricultural studies were barely filled in 1954 whereas some of the other departments had three and four times as many applicants as openings. Centuries of a communal land ownership system left the farmer with no feeling of attachment toward his soil such as exists among the Chinese peasantry. Land was frequently reapportioned, and no plots were retained long enough by a given cultivator to give him a feeling of proprietorship. It is said that few ever tried to improve their holdings, as they felt these would soon be allotted to another. 178 241 554 [566]

The nature of taxation under the communal land system together with slowly rising population also made necessary a greater exploitation of land resources than is necessary today. The old tax rate was fixed and was set at a ratio of 40%. If the government had set 100 koku per year as the expected yield for a given village, then the government demanded 40 koku from that village each year. This may perhaps have been satisfactory to the villagers at the time of assessment, but as the population slowly rose there were more mouths to feed out of the villagers' 60 koku portion, and there was no respite from the tax demands in time of crop failure. Consequently, there was increasing pressure to bring more and more land under cultivation; undoubtedly, inferior, low-yield, idle soils were made into farm land. After the peasant was freed from this system and the trend toward sugar production began, foods were imported from outside, and the slow contraction of arable land figures began. 178 241 661 311

The average Japanese farm of 2 1/2 acres and the average Chinese farm of over 4 acres contrast strongly with the Okinawan average (and most are 241 433

241 average, since the range is narrow) of approximately one acre.[1] Even by the
433 most skillful and intensive gardening methods there are limits to what can be extracted from the best of soils. One might say that the average Okinawan
241 farmer is engaged in sub-subsistence farming. With the traditionally low
554 status accorded a farmer and the minute size of his holdings it is hardly any wonder that the Okinawan does not like farming and is eager to accept whatever is available elsewhere.

178 Land loss to military installations has accelerated a process which
241 has been operative for fifty years. In this case, however, the effect has
311 been concentrated in certain areas and not distributed over the island at
727 large; consequently, there has been considerable hardship in these localities. But the main point of bitterness where it has been so engendered is over the loss of livelihood rather than over the loss of the land per se. The point, they feel, is that not only have they lost their lands but that they also are not receiving adequate compensation for this loss. It would not be an exaggeration to state that most perhaps would prefer to be landlords, under reasonable terms, to the military than farm the land if it were available again.

178 Okinawan food production has passed through three phases in the last
433 fifty to sixty years. During the first phase prior to the land reform of 1899-1903 there was a self-sufficiency of food in the rural areas. After the reform, the Japanese subsidized sugar and did much to encourage its production, which rose to a point 900% above local consumption. This led to a sharp decline in acreage planted in other foods, particularly grains---rice, wheat, millet. Since 1943 there has been a shift toward increasing food production[2], and sugar has dropped to about one-tenth its prewar level. In some villages such as Kanegusuku where mat weaving was formerly of considerable importance the irrigated fields formerly planted in sedge have been replanted with rice. Despite the increasing emphasis on food production it is unlikely that the village will ever return to self-sufficiency, for in recent years new tastes have altered the diet and created a dependence on foods not produced within the village.

178 <u>Settlement Patterns</u> The reconstruction of villages after the war
361 often did not follow the prewar pattern. Suttles states that prewar Yamada was a scattered settlement made up of several small hamlets, whereas the new postwar settlement is a nucleated one. The new site is at an important crossroads, while the heart of the old village is virtually empty. North of Yamada on the highway to Nago one can see where the new road has departed from the old one; in several cases the villagers have moved closer to the new road despite the fact that it was much dustier there.

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1 Cressey, George B., <u>Asia's Lands and Peoples</u>, New York, 1944, p. 84, p. 191.

2 Several informants stated that the word went out to the farmers in that year to concentrate all efforts on food production. Undoubtedly this was linked to the turn of events in the war for the Japanese.

Elongated roadside settlements seem to be an increasing phenomena of 178
post-war Okinawa. In central Okinawa (Nakagami) this is particularly appar- 361
ent in the areas of military camps, where the commercial value of being on
the road is fully exploited. Numerous car-washing establishments, repair [443]
shops, laundries, souvenir shops, etc., line the roadsides in these settle-
ments. With current expansion and improvement of the highway system there
seems increasing likelihood that more settlements of this type will develop.

Houses and Buildings Architectural styles and the materials of con- 178
struction appear to have changed but slightly as a result of the war. There 342
are now thousands of small temporary huts made of scrap materials which will
suffice until the individual family can afford a more permanent structure.
When new houses are built, the styles are closely similar to those of the pre-
war period. The major change in the style of country houses appears to have
occurred during the Japanese period of administration, for early travelers
and investigators report that the typical farmer's dwelling consisted of woven
bamboo walls, thatch roof, and dirt floor. These are but rarely found today, [171]
and where they do occur, there is always a raised floor as in the case of the
Japanese home. In certain areas, such as Kitazato for example, there has been
a reversion to this house of woven bamboo and thatch due to poverty, a lack
of wood, and the readily available bamboo. The prewar house of wooden walls
and frame with a tile roof still remains the most common house type and that
which is most frequently built.

The use of concrete blocks in building is attributed to American in- [177]
fluence; however, their usage to date has been limited mostly to non-residen-
tial buildings. Roofing of corrugated iron is sometimes used, but it is
regarded as a temporary device.

Interiors have changed but little; rooms are usually relatively bare 177
of furnishings. Frequently the walls are covered with pictures taken from 178
Japanese and American magazines. 353

The enclosed yard surrounding the Okinawan house often contains con- 177
siderable evidence of the war. Oil drums have been put to use as rain barrels 351
and privies; American helmets are frequently found serving as pails or buckets;
old shell cases are used for support and occasionally, if a sufficient number
are available, for decorative fencing; sections of portable landing-strips
serve as sidewalks; and on one occasion a Japanese machine-gun was observe
in use as a clothes pole.

Crafts There has been a marked decline in Okinawan handicrafts and 177
a greater reliance placed on factory-made products. The manufacture of cloth, 178
baskets, rope, hats, pottery, raincapes, mats, sandals, etc. has dropped mar- 433
kedly in comparison to the prewar era; yet, it is acknowledged that the war
only served to accelerate the decline. Several factors are involved in this 28
process. In many cases the Japanese factory products are cheaper and better
than the local article. The cultural domination of Japan also created an [329]
attitude that things Ryukyuan were inferior to things Japanese; hence,
Japanese products and styles assumed an ascendancy over those of Ryukyuan
origin. Lastly, the war destroyed many of the places of manufacture and the [727]
machinery employed, and replacement has never been made.

178 In Kanegusuku, for example, mat weaving is still of some importance
as a home industry. Where formerly nearly all of the houses were engaged in
286 production of mats,
433 today less than half are so engaged, and the acreage planted in sedge is but ten percent of the prewar level. The war caused the loss of many machines; increasing emphasis on food production has brought a conversion of sedge fields into paddies; access to the better markets in Japan is now more difficult than before the war; it is felt to be too time-consuming and the young women today do not like this work.

Formerly there were a number of men in Kanegusuku who were able to construct the looms used in mat weaving. Today, however, no one constructs his own looms; instead, they are purchased from a manufacturer in Itoman.
[463] This particular example is symptomatic of the general decline of do-it-yourself and the increasing reliance placed on specialists.

178 There are some encouraging signs of revival or new life in the manufacture of Okinawan art objects. Okinawan lacquer ware, which is acknow-
[322] ledged by some to be the world's finest, is being sold in large quantity to members of the occupation. The owner of a large pottery works in Naha told
[323] the author that pottery from tombs is being collected to serve as models in restoring an older style and superior type of pottery. An Okinawan textile
[286] technique known as biingata (Okinawan; in Japanese, 'Benigata') was virtually lost during the war, but this art is still being carried on by one Shuri family, and recent publicity and aroused interest seems likely to insure survival.

178 Power and Machinery Agricultural machinery has come into use quite
407 recently on Okinawa. Pitts states that the labor-saving rice thresher first came into widespread use in the thirties. Older methods of flailing or rubbing the rice over a mat, canvas, or stone surface were also observed as being in common use. In numerous instances it was brought out that wartime losses had necessitated a return to an earlier and cruder means of threshing.

The old-fashioned, hand-operated rice polisher has gone out of use in Kanegusuku, and all rice is now polished in the village rice mill which operates on a gasoline engine.

In many communities the gasoline-operated sugar mill has replaced the
[257] horse-powered mill. More important, however, is the fact that the small community mill remains popular, and the farmer is resistant toward using the large sugar factories (see chapter on Rural Economy).

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377 Electricity, common only to the towns and cities before the war, is
now found in many villages, and those who are without it are looking forward
[378] to its installation. The kerosene lamps now in use in most rural homes cast a dim light and constitute a serious fire hazard in homes of thatch and wood.

178 The bulldozer has come into use as a means of opening new land and
constructing rice fields. Farmers in Kanegusuku and Nanahan made use of this
406 method during the period of the authors' study of these two villages. Formerly this sort of work required the labor of a number of men over a considerable

This island has long faced a serious problem of over-population and food shortage; it is not self-supporting in foodstuffs and mainly derives its livelihood from fishing, shipping and ferrying. It has long had a symbiotic relationship with the neighboring island of Takabanare, supplying fish and shipping-ferrying service in return for food, but this has not been rewarding enough in recent years to offset its rapid population increase. A general postwar decline in coastal shipping largely due to the marked improvement of land transportation in highways and vehicles has sharply reduced the number of jobs in this enterprise, and the return of the repatriates has only added to the number seeking jobs. Military employment, however, has filled this gap and staved off mass unemployment. 621 464 505 433 [438]

At the present time nearly one quarter of the village labor force is engaged in military employment. Nearly all of the repatriates and a large number of old residents have entered military employ. Some of these have established temporary residence on the mainland nearer the military installations. A large number, however, commute by ferry boat and bus each day to their place of employment, and at low tide it is possible to walk the mile across the tidal flats to the mainland. 621 464 [484]

There has long been a tradition for the men of Henza to be away from the village much of time, engaged in activities on the sea. Thus, those who are away much of the time in military employment are merely following a long-established pattern. Unlike the absent workers of Kanegusuku, these people are not considered to be cut off from village affairs. All farming activities, much of the family's economic affairs, and some of the functions of government are carried on by women, contrary to usual Okinawan practice. [562]

The villagers regard military employment as a blessing and feel that it has contributed significantly to maintaining village prosperity. Aside from military employment they have little contact with Americans, although a few boat-owners have rented their crafts to American fishing parties. The villagers and their officials recall with considerable fondness their military government officer in the early days of the occupation. To date Henza relations with Americans have been not only good but also profitable; in short, American stock is high on this island. [829] 621 197 829

<u>Summary</u> On Henza and to a far smaller degree in Kanegusuku military employment has largely drawn off the surplus and largely landless population that formerly would have emigrated to other parts of the overseas Japanese empire. In Jagaru and Tobaru military employment has replaced farming as the chief occupation of the villagers. The contribution of military employment to the economy of Kanegusuku is negligible, although it should be noted that the number so engaged increased during the period of the author's study. In Jagaru, Tobaru, and Henza military employment is of vital importance to the village economy, and any sharp decrease will have severe repercussions. 464

<u>Okinawan Attitudes Toward Those Engaged in Military Employment</u> Okinawans make a sharp distinction in their attitudes toward men employed in military jobs and their attitudes toward women similarly employed. There seems to be no stigma of any sort attached to the male who has a job working for the Americans; in fact, 464 562 829

RECOMMENDATIONS

000 Recommendations on policy can only be made in relation to objectives and therefore we must state first our assumptions about the aims of United States policy on Okinawa. We assume that the aims of United States policy on Okinawa are primarily to promote a stable economy and a friendly attitude among the nearly 500,000 Okinawans toward the United States. Both a stable economy and a friendly population are essential to the defense of the island as a military base. We further assume that essential to both economic stability and friendly attitude are the attainment of higher standards of health and education and greater social and political freedom than existed prior to 1945. And finally we assume that the United States has no intention of retaining the Ryukyus permanently (Secretary of State Dulles has stated that Japan has "residual sovereignty" over the Ryukyu Islands) and that the military forces will be withdrawn and the islands reverted to Japan when the international crisis ends.

With these assumptions then we make the recommendations that follow. Of these recommendations, two deserve special mention here; they are 1) the immediate payment of an adequate rental for lands used by U. S. forces, and 2) the granting of funds to raise the salaries of school teachers. The land question and the status of teachers are the two most serious problems that can be lessened by immediate action, or at least this was the situation as we saw it a year ago. These and other recommendations we give below topically rather than in order of importance.

● 433 927 Economy The economy of Okinawa, not especially healthy before the war, suffered greatly because of the war both through the widespread destruction of the battle and through the sudden increase in population brought by the repatriation of thousands of persons from other parts of the former Japanese empire. The task of reconstruction has been enormous and we are well aware that, considering conditions in 1945 (which two of us observed then at 000 first hand), the present situation is not at all bad. We recommend the following:

1) That the land question be settled immediately. The land question was undoubtedly the most urgent problem that we saw during the course of our research. The study of the village of Kitazato demonstrated that poverty, to the point of malnutrition and possible infanticide, together with considerable anti-American feeling has been caused by the confiscation of land without adequate compensation. We recommend that land be rented, not purchased, and that the amount paid in rent be at least equal to current market value, and that it be paid promptly. It is further recommended that payment for categories of land listed in the land records as "genya" and "sanrin" be according to the size of plot instead of the current practice of a flat rate per plot regardless of size.

2) That consideration be given to the possibility of opening to farming hitherto untilled areas in Northern Okinawa in addition to those areas

Rotation #2, Matsuda

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First year, ninth month: Autumn planting of sugar cane
Second year, twelfth month: Harvest of sugar cane. Followed by: Soy bean, sweet potato, or vegetables.

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Land is seldom allowed to lie fallow intentionally for any length of time. At any one time of the year, a farmer may have idle land for which there may be a variety of reasons. He may have other tasks and be unable to cultivate all his land, or have no need of doing so, or some of his land may be so poor that he will not cultivate it unless necessary. Much depends on the individual farmer and his holdings. The village records indicate that in Hanashiro 97.2% of the rice and 83.1% of the dry crop land is under cultivation. From the preceding discussion of land classification, it is clear that many parcels are of marginal quality, and these areas may be left uncultivated, at least part of the year. During the post-war period there has been some informal lending of land, free of rent, to friends and neighbors, if the farmer is not using it himself. [426]

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[231]
[227]
[482]
[415]
[493]

Manual labor with hand tools is the dominant method of cultivation. Domestic animals are not uncommon, but their use in farming is minor. The war increased the dependence on manual labor through the loss of domestic animals. Only cattle are now used in rice cultivation for plowing and harrowing and this is infrequent. The man or woman and the hoe are far more common. Crops are carried from the fields by human labor. The basket or the straw container, or the tied rice sheaves on either end of a pole over the shoulder, and not horse carts, push carts, or wheel barrows are the main means of transport from field to courtyard. The barefooted farmer, with his hoe and a pole or a basket does the greatest part of the work. The common tools of agriculture are hand tools and adapted to the intensive cultivation which so often has more properly been called the work of a gardener rather than that of a farmer.

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[434]

The basic all purpose tool is the solid bladed hoe. The hoe, since deep cuts are possible with its heavy blade, takes the place of the plow. The hoe also replaces the spade, and even the rake, for it can be used to break up and smooth the soil. A poorer farmer may lack many of the tools in the following list, but he will have two or three of the solid bladed hoes.

The accompanying illustration shows the most common agricultural tools:

1. The hera, a spatula or trowel, used for transplanting tops of the sweet potato. Its wooden hand grip curves toward the end of the tool. The hera is also used as a scraper to remove brown sugar from the sides of the cooking pans during the sugar making season.

2. The kama, a small sickle. Next to the hoe, it is the most

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

common and indispensable tool. It has many uses, including cutting rice stalks at harvest, brush, and sweet potato tops. 412

3. A small sharp pointed hoe, with a short handle, used in sweet potato planting.

4. A two pronged hoe, the futamata, used mostly with sweet potatoes. The two pronged hoe is used in softer soils. It is much more common in Matsuda than in the southern villages.

5. The three pronged hoe, the mutsumata, also used in sweet potato cultivation and in digging. These prongs, with skilful use, do not cut the potato. It is also much more common in Matsuda than in Hanashiro or Nagamo.

6. The common all purpose hoe (kuwa). It has a thick, solid, wide blade. The handle (about 3 1/2 feet long) is stout. The hoe is much sturdier than the ordinary American garden hoe.

7. Another hoe, longer and with a sharper angle between the handle and the blade. It has a variety of uses.

8. A long handled hoe with a heart shaped blade. It is used for making furrows.

9. An ordinary rake.

10. A cultivator and weeding tool for rice paddies. (The pole in back near the handle of the pitchfork is a prop to hold the tool upright for the picture). Only the more prosperous farmers possess this tool. Rice weeding is done almost entirely by hand. [434]

11. An ordinary pitchfork.

12. The plow (suki) 407

13. The harrow (maguwa), and

14. The waku, a hexagonal wooden frame used in laying out a rice field for transplanting. The last three tools or devices, which are not shown in the picture, will be described under rice cultivation. 413

3

The Annual Work Cycle

The following charts show the annual work cycle by lunar month of two farmers, one in Hanashiro, one in Matsuda. The Western calendar equivalents for 1951-52 are shown below the lunar month. Because the lunar year is shorter, there is a gap, as the period actually covered is from February 6, 1951 to January 26, 1952. These materials are based on observation and conversation with the farmers concerned. 221 241 [805] [114]

Domestic Animals

231 [727] The effects of the war are still to be seen in the scarcity of domestic animals (kachiku). The domestic animal population is increasing. Horses were far more numerous before the war. The same is true of cattle and oxen which, however, are more numerous than horses. All are used as draft animals, with the greatest frequency in Hanashiro. Cattle and oxen are used for plowing and harrowing in the rice fields; horses for pulling carts and wagons. Horse meat is not eaten. All larger animals are tethered or in stalls. They are not allowed to graze or to roam freely around the villages or on the hillsides. Since each bit of land is owned, grazing would deprive someone of needed grasses, either the young shoots or the matured fibres. Chickens are generally kept in coops. Ducks have a little more freedom.

[492] [267] 235

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DOMESTIC ANIMALS

Animal	Hanashiro	Nagamo	Minatogawa	Matsuda
Cattle and Oxen	40	5	0	1 (80)
Horses	2	1	0	20 (90)
Pigs	125	100	150	315
Goats	50	50	40	321
Chickens	a/	30	a/	706
Ducks	0	50	a/	10
Rabbits	0	0	0	6

Source: Village clerks of each village and township records. Figures are approximate as of January 1952. Pre-war estimates where known are shown in parentheses. Villages try to keep an accurate and up to date animal census. a/ Not available, village has some

231 In all the villages studied, pig raising is the most important secondary occupation of the individual farmer or fisherman. Pig raising is old in the culture. According to Chamberlain (1895), under the old kingdom every household by law had to raise goats and pigs. Pigs were fed in part on human excrement. This practice in my observation has now been abandoned.

[434] Pigs are raised for sale. They are the most significant single source of cash for the farm family and they supplement the fisherman's cash income.

231
cash income. Pigs are seldom eaten by the family that raises them. [262]
On New Year's, a family will slaughter a pig or three or four families [527]
might co-operate in sharing one. Pork may also be served at O-Bon
and at Jūgoya, the autumn equinoctial holiday season.

A family often gets its start in pig raising by obtaining a loan [426]
from a mutual loan group. (These groups will be discussed later). A
young pig may cost about Y2000. Male pigs intended for market [435]
(nikubuta in Japanese, shishiwa in Okinawan) are castrated two months
after birth. Keeping breeding pigs (tanebuta) is a special business. [232]
Men engaged in this business bring the boar to the pig raiser's home.
Each village has such a businessman or at least has convenient access
to one in a neighboring village. The fee usually charged is Y200. If
the first attempt at breeding is unsuccessful, a second opportunity is
given free. On the third try, the dealer claims his fee again. In
Matsuda, there is a belief among the old that as the tide is coming in,
if a sow is in heat, the male will be able to perform, but that in the
ebb tide he cannot.

Great care is taken in housing pigs adequately, if the family is 231
able to do so. The pig sties made of stone or coral may be better 343
than the houses of their owners. This is by no means so shortsighted
or ridiculous as it might seem. Pigs are the means, one of the very
few means, by which an agricultural family may acquire substantial [434]
sums of cash. To protect this living bank account, considerable sums
are invested in fine stone, or cement floors and an adequate roof.
The pen must be strong to withstand typhoons. With a good pig pen,
a sow, and a good litter, a family can look forward to improving its [511]
financial condition and its own housing. There is great variety in the
quality of pig pens. The pen may be in combination with the outside
toilet, but with the two places completely separate; it may be part of
a larger shed which also houses the goats, the cattle, or the horse. If a
family can afford it, the pig is housed in a stone pen with stone floors,
or with other sturdy materials.

The day to day care of pigs is mostly the work of women. While 231
the husband is at work in the fields, the wife, as an incidental part 824
of her duties, goes to the nearest plot to cut sweet potato tops, or
mashes sweet potatoes in the stone mortar in the compound, often with [462]
her infant child on her back. There are three favorite varieties of
food for pigs: (1) the leaves of the sweet potato plant not suitable for
human consumption or not needed for transplanting, (2) the potato itself.
The poorer grades of potato are put in a stone mortar and are smashed
with a long pole, or pestle. (3) A cloudy liquid consisting of the
sweet potato, waste bean curd (tōfu no kasshu) and water. This is always
given warm. The pig may also get poor rice, or rice spoiled for human
consumption by submersion as a result of a typhoon, or miscellaneous
left overs from the table.

There are no ceremonies in any of the villages associated with 231
slaughtering the pig. Villagers seldom kill their own except on

226 461 month. The decline in opportunity is due, not to the weather, but to the scarcity of fish, which are said to move from these coastal waters during the winter season.

226 221 The fishermen follow the lunar calendar. The type of fish caught is determined by the season. There is some specialization based on age and experience. Only the skilled and relatively young can successfully make a living diving for the lobster and disengaging him from the rocks below. The most intense activity is during the summer months, and the [434] cash earnings of the fishermen are greatest at this time.

226 821 Fishermen pay attention to the weather and to the moon. Part of their weather knowledge comes from traditional lore, part from observation, part from the modern storm warning systems. Fishermen do not go out if there are storm clouds overhead, especially if they are moving fast. The worst sign is an increase in the height of the waves, even if the weather is good. The phases of the moon are also considered. The half moon is the best, the quarter moon is good, but neither a full moon nor a moonless night is considered favorable. The exception is fishing for white cuttle fish, caught on winter moonlit nights. At present, official storm warning signals are universally observed. The red flag flying from a pole on the main street near the breakwater is enough to keep every fisherman at home. This faith in meteorology has not always existed. Even in recent years, fishermen have disregarded the warnings because of disbelief, or ignored them when storms did not appear following a previous warning.

226 Fishing in the Hinatogawa area is coastal (if we include distances up to twelve miles out) and is on a small scale. Much of the gear is improvised by the fishermen themselves. The methods are simple and effective, and the boats are small. This is not one of the most important fishing areas in Ryukyuan waters.[1]

226 868 Men become fishermen by imitating their skilled elders. Knowledge of the fish and of the waters is imparted by word of mouth. The old men are the sources of the detailed knowledge of the currents and of the main fishing grounds, and this knowledge, held in the memory, is also [813] transmitted orally. There are no maps or charts. Usually it takes a beginner about two years to become acquainted with the fishing areas, and about three years to have a working knowledge of the currents.

1 For a general discussion, see Aquatic resources of the Ryukyu Area. (U.S. Dept. of the Interior. Fish and Wildlife Service. Fishing Leaflet 333), Washington, 1949. This work has an interesting collection of maps and drawings of various types of nets. It is not concerned with particular areas in Okinawa, nor with customs connected with fishing.

226 136 (9) The lobster, (ebi in Japanese, ibi in Okinawan). Catching the lobster is the work of young men, usually up to 24 years of age. A man over 35 may be too old for the hard work involved. Occasionally in summer older men engage in part time lobster catching. The fisherman secures a flashlight, covered with sheet rubber, around his left wrist with a strong rubber band. The rubber casing for the flashlight [227] is often an old bicycle inner tube. The light can be turned on or off without removing the tubing. In his right hand, the diver holds a hook (ebikake in Japanese, ibikakiya in Okinawan) over 25 inches long, which he uses to dislodge the lobsters from the rocks below. Often fishermen remain in the water for three hours, the period depending on the season, the potential catch, and on how cold the fisherman becomes. The diver wears only a pair of shorts. The lobster is a year round catch, though there are few in winter. The full moon is considered bad for lobster fishing. It is not known exactly how lobster were caught in the days before flashlights. Some old men said that nets were used.

[432] [434] On a good day, one small boat with three or four men, can catch 150 pounds of lobster. It is not eaten frequently by the villagers, but sold to the large fishing co-operative association (Suisankumiairengokai). The hard and disagreeable work makes the lobster expensive. [435] At present the local market is sensitive to the tastes of the Americans in Okinawa. Weekly estimates of probable demand are furnished by the [434] central office of the association to the local head of the fisherman's association, who in turn informs the fishermen. The lobster is considered a delicacy and is eaten only when there is a large catch and [262] the demand is low.

(10) The seabream (taisakana in Japanese, akamasu in Okinawan). The seabream is caught with a home made device shaped like a Y with [227] a top bar: Ȳ. The base of the Y has a loop for the hook and line. These wire devices are known as yamaguchi in Okinawan though the younger fishermen call it the sarukan. The fish are caught by a series of these wire devices strung along a line with a sinker at the end. The success of the catch can be judged by lifting the line. An ordinary catch will bring fish on 3 out of the 5 hooks.

These are the main fish caught in this area. There are small catches of the bonito (katsuo), the dolphin or porpoise (iruka), and the shrimp (zakoebi), and a small octopus (tako). But these are rather infrequent. There are hundreds of other fish caught, especially of different smaller sardines (awaishi).

227 The wire devices used for catching the seabream can be used in varying sizes to catch many different types of fish. Some, such as the ones described, are used for the bonito, and very small ones are employed in catching sardines.

434 593 The money earned by women in the marketing of the fish, after deduction of travel expenses, becomes part of the family funds. Women in the fishing village have custody of the family money, due to frequent and prolonged absence of their husbands. This is an unusual practice, for in the agricultural and stonecutting areas of the village the husband handles the money, with the exception of a few yen which the wife may have at home to meet incidental expenses. The custody of the money (much made over by some observers) has no special cultural significance in my observation. It is merely a convenience, based on custom and occupation. Most earnings of husband and wife are in a common fund, though older children may handle their own money.

6

Other Activities Associated with Fishing

251 [439] There is some local drying of fish for home use and export. Of the common fish, the most frequently dried are the mackerel, the swordfish, and the shark. Shark fins are dried for export to Japan; before the war, they were also sent to China. The small amounts dried in local villages are accumulated in places like Naha for shipment. Drying processes are of the simplest. The fish may be laid out on a piece of canvas on the ground in front of the house, an operation which creates a stench and an overwhelming concentration of the blow fly population. Racks may be improvised. Their ends, made of odd pieces of wood, support thin bamboo poles laid parallel, on which the fish are put to dry. Sometimes fish are hung on a line. If the weather is good, they dry in two or three weeks, but rain quickly produces spoilage if the fish are not taken in immediately. The mackerel when dried may be heated up by placing a piece over the open fire, then rolled between the palms to see if it has been heated enough, torn into shreds, and put on a plate. Occasionally a poor family of non-fishing people, or a widow, purchases whole fish or backs or fins to dry for home use or resale.

278 825 Certain fish are valued as medicines. Their scarcity in agricultural villages prevents any but the most casual use. In Minatogawa, the commonest fish used as medicines are the lobster, the white cuttle fish, and the carp (koi), though the latter fish is rare here.

[252] 757 The whole lobster is put into boiling water. After a few minutes, this broth, which is the medicine, is drained off, and the lobster is cracked open and heated, this time for preparation as a food. The broth, which is regarded as very disagreeable, is taken for a variety of ailments. Its commonest use is as a laxative, although it is also taken for swellings, boils, or gatherings of any kind (haremono), for pains in the small of the back and the loin, or for a cold. The lobster broth is regarded as a very effective medicine. A white cuttlefish soup is put to similar use. The carp is boiled in water and the broth is drunk for fevers. The carp may also be grown in village ponds.

In Hanashiro, the fish were raised for sale by the young men's association. The supply of fish is too uncertain and too seasonal for these remedies to be an effective part of the traditional medicine. Like the native plants, and many of the traditional medical practices, they are yielding to the drugs which can be found in the small village shops: stomach and headache powders, eye lotions, aspirin, and other pharmaceuticals and patent medicines.

The economic and occupational organization of village fishing is very informal. Partnerships are made on a basis of friendship and continue so until one party, for any reason, decides to leave. There are about 40 of these partnerships among the 120 odd adult fishermen.[2] The fishermen of the village also have a fisherman's association (suisankumiai) similar in function to the agricultural associations which the Japanese instituted throughout the empire. This association has a head (suisankumiaichō). Like so many official and administrative jobs in a village, these offices are thrust upon the man. He seldom seeks them. In the larger places where there is more remuneration, the man might seek the job. The head of the association is chosen by the fishermen of the village. He receives Y10 a month for each fisherman he represents. This is a supplementary job, as he could not exist on this sum. Lack of cash prevents any ambitious services to the membership. The association buys and sells gas and oil, nets, lines, hooks, and other necessary items which have been imported either from the United States or from Japan. Occasionally, the association has sufficient funds for small temporary loans for purchasing imported gear, loans from Y100 to Y 500 for a period of a week or two. The main function of the association is the exchange of information between the local head and representatives from the larger association in Naha. This becomes a study of the daily market demands, the information provided is a guide to fishermen in meeting the demand. This is all very informal. The head of the association circulates among the fishermen, giving them tips on what to expect and how prices are going.

7

The Rough Language of Minatogawa

The Minatogawans have one characteristic which is not shared by their agricultural neighbors of Nagano, nor indeed by any of the agricultural villages. This is their rough (arai) language, so described by Minatogawans with a certain amount of pride. This language, if used in the other village, would be considered insulting. It is notable for the freedom with which nicknames, some funny, some disparaging, some pointed at infirmities, are used.

2 The word used here is kumiai but actually these partnerships do not have the organized co-operative character that this word usually implies when used in an economic sense.

249 forced a return to crushing the cane by the use of rollers driven by a horse at the end of a sweep. Before the war, Matsuda had sugar mills driven by machinery. Mills may either be village 423 owned, as in Hanashiro, or owned by small co-operatives, like that [427] in Matsuda whose members rent it to others when not using it themselves.

443 Village stores generally occupy the front part of a family's living quarters. They are operated mainly by women. A woman past [467] middle age sitting on the floor of her shop, talking with visitors or reading the paper, is a familiar sight in an Okinawan village. A village may have several tiny stores. They do not compete with one another in the commercial sense of the word. Prices are the same. Their inventories are the standard ones. The chief differences are in size and variety. Some sell the strong alcoholic [373] drink (awamori) called sake in Okinawa.

Each storekeeper has a clientele of friends and relatives, but one is not under social obligation to repeatedly trade at the same place. Relatives sometimes own adjoining shops. In Japan, it is said that once a person starts trading at a shop he continues [171] to do so. To switch would deprive the shopkeeper of business that could be counted on, and imply dissatisfaction with the service rendered. The first purchase creates mutual obligations between the storekeeper and his customer which are not broken casually.[1] This is not the case with these village stores. One patronizes the shop that is convenient, that is open when one wants to buy, that has the desired article. There is an informal atmosphere and lack [434] of bustle in these tiny shops because so many are operated for supplementary income by wives or female relatives of the breadwinner. A wife may sit in her shop, as I have often seen her in Minatogawa, [404] taking care of her baby, sewing on her treadle sewing machine, and interrupting her work when necessary for a customer. The cash involved is small, often only a few yen, and money is carefully accounted for. These shops satisfy a surprising amount of the village demand for food, food supplements, notions, clothing, and household goods. Larger, more expensive, or more specialized items such as books, suits, furniture are in the towns like Itoman or Naha in the south, or Nago and Ishikawa in the north.

An inventory of one of these village stores indicates the types of articles in frequent and constant demand. In one typical store in Minatogawa the following purchases could be made:

Foods

[262] Starch
[271] Condensed milk for children

1 I was told this by Japanese and by Nisei who were in Japan during the occupation. I do not know how widespread or how characteristic this practice is of all retail trade there.

villages have the simple interest type, with or without the bidding feature. The order of borrowing may be determined by discussion, and, if more than one person wishes a loan at the same time, lots are drawn. 404 426 184

In the interest (rishi) type, a man borrows, for example, Y2000 with ten men contributing Y200 each and repays Y2200 in ten monthly installments. (Here the interest is Y10 per month for each Y100 advanced). If a borrower cannot meet a payment, the members make up the deficit which then becomes an additional obligation on the part of the borrower. 404 426

Mutual loan groups were found in Matsuda and Hanashiro, though they are not so strong as in Hinatogawa. The amounts involved are less, reflecting the poorer cash standing of the farmer. Guarantors (hōshōnin) are not required since the members know one another well. Loans are generally made for the construction or repair of houses, pens, sheds, or stalls, for hiring a pig breeder, to buy a domestic animal, or to tide one over a crop failure. A group may be organized for the specific purpose of enabling each member, during the life of the loan group, to purchase a small pig.

Women may have their own groups. In Hanashiro the only group known to me was composed of women. Again, assume twenty members who advance Y100 each, a total of Y2000 initially, and who have agreed upon an interest rate of Y10 per month on each Y100 borrowed. The life of the group is twenty months. The progress of the loans and monthly repayments is shown in the following table. It illustrates the continuous turning in of principal and interest payments to furnish capital for new loans. The multiplications in parentheses show the number of members times the amount involved per member in each transaction. In Hanashiro, there are three of these women's groups. This is said to be a decline from the pre-war number. [562]

In Matsuda these groups are not important in financing the farmer. It is estimated that there are five groups, with 15-20 members each, operating in Matsuda. Bidding may be dispensed with, the interest is divided among the borrowers and not turned back for further loans, and the sequence of borrowers is determined either by discussion or by lot. These were Y500 groups, higher monthly advances than in Hanashiro, but the principle is the same.

The limited use of these mutual loan groups in the agricultural villages may be temporary, and may not be typical of all Okinawa. According to residents of Hanashiro and Matsuda, they were not widely used before the war. They have now further declined in importance except in Hinatogawa. It is rather difficult to account for this, considering the need for money and the reluctance of villagers to go to banks and institutions for loans. The fear of red tape and entertainment costs is the chief deterrent to institutional borrowing. Perhaps the failure is merely indicative of insufficient money to lend, and inability to repay what is borrowed. Farmers have little money to advance, little surplus to repay loans from others. [934] [953]

436 no native money and used the Japanese cash, and that the Japanese
175 did not permit a native coinage.[2]

436 Up to the war, only bills of low denominations circulated in the villages. In Minatogawa, an old lady, now about 73, said that before the war she had never seen a Y100 note, which at that time was worth slightly over US$25. But since the 19th century, new conditions have pried the farmer loose from barter and self-sufficiency. 434 There is little to warrant a belief that rural villages are self-sufficient. The most elementary obligations, such as sending one's 511 children to school, require cash. An average rural family of five may require from Y40-60,000 a year.

Cash outlays include: (1) Entertainment, including the purchase [574] of sake. Entertainment is an integral part of the culture and cannot be dismissed as a luxury. (2) Clothing. (3) Fertilizer. (4) Tobacco. [388] (5) Soap. No soap is made in the home. American soap flakes are highly prized, but generally are not purchased because of the cost. (6) Hair cutting. (7) Food and food supplements, such as noodles [262] and vermicelli types of paste, cooking oils, salt, soy sauce, meat, fish, seaweed (kombu), rice, if not grown and purchases from the import store. (8) Fuel, charcoal, charcoal sticks. (9) Transportation for business or pleasure. (10) Newspapers. Many subscriptions are can- [204] celled when the price goes up. (11) Tools and tool repairs, but maintenance is small after the original investment. (12) School books and [872] contributions to schools for purchasing special items. (13) Medicines and mid-wives' fees. (14) Occasional purchases of lumber, stone, or [651] tile. (15) Taxes.

434 In the farming areas, sugar and pigs are the only significant sources of cash income. Sweet potatoes, rice, eggs, and soy beans may be sold, but the amounts are either too small or the selling price too low to provide substantial amounts of cash. Occasionally younger sons may have jobs which bring in money, and a farmer or his sons may have a horse cart for hire.

In Minatogawa, cash outlays, in addition to the items already mentioned, are required for nets, gasoline, and oil. Cash comes from sales of fish, pigs, and stone. The lack of rice, an insufficient [511] sweet potato crop for year round needs, imports of firewood from the north and the occasional need to purchase grasses for thatch make this community more dependent on cash than the agricultural community.

The economic problem of the fisherman is also different from that of the farmer. Both the farmer and the fisherman must pay cash for medicines, fertilizer, alcoholic drinks, clothing, various special but traditional articles of the diet, taxes, tools, and supplies. The farmer, however, can produce much of his food. He can exist on sweet potatoes, bean curd, and bean paste soup, and if need be may spend little money on food. The fisherman cannot exist on fish alone. Fishermen without fields must depend on cash earnings to buy the

2 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, Vol. I, 160, 220-21. Chamberlain, The Luchu islands and their inhabitants, Geo. Journal 5 (1895), 313.

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[437]

necessities of life. Fishermen are more accustomed to dealing in currency transactions and these are more frequent and freer than in the farming village.

The economic history of the average Okinawan agricultural village from the late 19th century when Japanese control became firm to the present is largely an account of the fluctuations in rice, sweet potato and sugar cane production. This history is difficult to reconstruct on a local level because of the destruction of records and inexact memories. The point is nevertheless worth making, if only to stress again that these villages are not isolated rural economies. The general experience seems to have been that crop acreages have contracted and expanded in response to local needs and to the demands of trade with Japan.

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[439]

In the Hanashiro area, to use one example, there is a current interest in rice production because of its high value, and sugar cane seems to be displacing some sweet potato acreage. Sugar, even though coarse and unrefined, has a market in Japan strong enough to warrant production for the cash income at the expense of the cheap and plentiful sweet potato.

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One of the most significant facts of economic life in these villages has been the maintenance of individual farms and crop variety. Plantation monoculture, subject to international price fluctuations and often conducive to local impoverishment, has not developed.

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Private ownership in land, the inheritance of land within the family system, individual farms, tiny as they are, have undoubtedly been a stabilising influence on these village economies.

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2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

storing and are kept under the house or on a special shelf on the rafters. 244

Onions, giant radishes, beans, and cabbages are also raised on farm lands. Night soil is rarely used for such vegetables nowadays but is still used on potatoes. Several of these vegetables as well as others are raised by women in small "home-garden" plots. [251] [514] [462]

The hardest working period during the year is in July and August. Within a few weeks after the rice harvest, the soil must be made ready for the second rice crop or the soil must be prepared for dry paddy potatoes. This is also the time for planting the chief sugar crop. All this takes place during the hottest time of the year, when efficiency is greatly reduced by heat and humidity. 244 243 [249]

Sugar harvest and processing fall in the period between January and March. One field after another is harvested by the owners after arrangements have been made for a date when the cane can be processed. Such arrangements are made with the director of the Taira cooperative, who supervises operations of the sugar mill which is owned by the cooperative. The whole family helps on the day of processing. Women carry bundles of branches and light firewood to heat the kettles. The operation requires the help of someone to feed cane into the small, diesel engine driven press, some to carry the pulp away, and others to watch the kettles in which extracted juice is boiled down to molasses. Finally, a few persons stir the brown residue in wide, open pots until it becomes stalted. Then it is put into tubs that hold about 132 pounds. 249 [474] [402]

The agricultural market for cash crops was totally disrupted at the end of World War II. There was no immediate outlet for sugar products; crops had been destroyed or neglected, and the sugar mill was demolished in the fighting. But by this time most people were too satisfied with the great returns from forest work to invest much time and energy in a crop which takes a year and a half to show any material results. Nevertheless, sugar was the first crop to find a market again. 433 249

Pineapple, introduced recently in Taira, has a promising future. Tea is still grown in small quantities, but few families grow more than they need for their own use, although it is a good potential cash crop for this area. 245

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

Raising pigs is an important source of cash income for all households in the village. Even the poorest families own at least one, but few families have more than two; in the central village the average is about 1.2 per household. Pigs are given special care and attention. 231 [434]

231 Before a piglet is bought, its feeding habits are carefully observed by
[417] the buyer to determine future growing potential. It is then kept in a sty: pigsties are either in the yard near the house or in a cluster of stables on the north edge of the town. Twice a day women cook the food in large kettles and ladle the liquid food into a trough. Nowadays
[262] pork is rarely consumed in the village except for special holidays, when several families may slaughter pigs and sell part of the meat to every-
[438] body through the local store or preserve some of it by salting. Most
[251] farmers, however, wait for the meat buyer from the southern part of
[442] the island from whom they receive a good financial return.

Goats are raised for home consumption. They are never left to graze
[417] but are quartered in a goat pen near the pigsty and fed on grass cut from uncultivated land. Seven families in the central village have
[492] horses. Their main use is to carry firewood from the mountains. The small breed looks like a cross between a horse and pony and seems especially adapted to climb the steep trails. They are also used for plowing and for pulling two-wheeled carts. The owner of a horse
[434] may more than double his income from forest work. Horses are fre-
[427] quently rented out for half the day's income from wood carried by them.

Silkworm raising, an important source of income in Taira before the war, is only now being resumed by some Tairan families. The
[474] larvae are supplied through island-wide silkworm raising associations, which repurchase the cocoons after they are spun. To raise silkworms, a substantial house is needed so that rats cannot enter and eat the worms. The temporary postwar structures with holes and cracks in the walls and roof are inadequate. Only a few recently built houses can be used. One family keeps growing worms on shelves in the front room.
[137] Most of the mulberry trees were lost during and after the war. Plans have been made to plant new trees. Young girls feed the mulberry
[462] leaves to the gluttonous worms who require constant attention. When the worms are ready to create their cocoons, they are taken off their diet, and the cocoons are cleaned and sorted out. Silkworms can be raised four times a year if there is an adequate supply of mulberry leaves. Their sale brings a good income, which can become a substitute
[434] for cash earned in forest work.

FISHING

226 Fishing is a much less important source of livelihood than one would
[554] expect in a coastal village and is a low-prestige occupation. Only two

CHAPTER IV: RURAL ECONOMY

F. R. Pitts

1. Agricultural Buying, Selling and Labor

436 177 With the introduction of money economy in a more intensive form at the time of the Japanese assumption of control in Okinawa, the farmer gave up many of his oldtime practices and began to adopt through necessity more modern forms of exchange. Because his life remained essentially rural, these newer forms revolved mainly around goods and services connected with farming. Information used in the following discussion is based on notes taken in Nanahan, unless otherwise specified.

● 434 438 Sale of Farm Products and Livestock Before the war the main cash crop was sugar cane, and the sale of black sugar provided almost the entire money income of a rural household. However, if additional money was needed in emergencies, enough dried soybeans were sold to alleviate the deficit. In the coastal areas of Kanegusku, Tomigusuku and Yonagusuku the sale of reed products supplemented the income derived from sugar.

Because of the decreased acreage of rice after about 1910, rice was not a major money crop. However, the postwar decrease in sugar cane acreage coupled with a rise in acreage planted to rice and vegetables have made both the latter more available as income-producers for the farmer. Farmers with a moderate amount of rice generally sell about half, but use the money thus obtained to buy cheaper but "less delicious" imported rice if they run short---and can afford rice.

In the autumn, women from villages near Naha go out into the countryside buying vegetables and taking them by bus or three-wheeled jitney to the urban market, or to establishments that buy them for resale to military de-
[435] pendents at approved stores. Cabbage, for instance, in late November brings a premium price of ¥8 per 'kin' (1.32 pounds), but a month later the price declines to about ¥4-5 per 'kin'. One woman will carry away about 30 kin at a time.

Poor people and widows often sell cane to the local motor-powered mill, and obtain a little more money by helping to process it. Those who are fortunate enough to afford to do the pressing and processing at a horsedrawn
[435] sweep sell directly to the Agricultural Federation, or Noren, in Naha. For a one-hundred kin barrel they received in 1954 initially ¥1,100 a barrel. Later on, depending upon the grade of the black sugar delivered, they were to re-
[435] ceive more. The scale of grade-prices in 1954, as given by one farmer, was: first grade---¥1,530; second grade---¥1,430; and third grade---¥1,330. Before the war each barrel contained 120 kin, but the postwar barrels are smaller and correspondingly more easy to handle. The black sugar of Okinawa sells at a
[439] premium in Japan to candy manufacturers, who prefer it to white sugar. This accounts in part for the reluctance on the part of some farmers to sell to the modern sugar mill in Haebaru-son, which chiefly makes white granulated sugar.

war level. This is due to several factors. The local prices for reed products are said to be too low, and access to Japanese markets is difficult today due to the separation of Okinawa and Japan. Since the war local food shortages and changed tastes and diet have influenced change to greater rice production. Many houses in Kanegusuku lost their mat-weaving looms during the war, depriving them of this means of support. In addition, there is some feeling that it is too time-consuming and the young girls do not like it. 286 433 178

One tsubo produces about two bundles of reed, which is worth about ¥10 a bundle when dried. Usually the reed is not sold, but is made by the producer's family into mats. Two bundles of reeds make one 'goza' mat, which sells for ¥65-100 in Naha. One person can make about two of these mats in one day. However, in almost all families this is part-time work, the woman of the house weaving in her spare time. One family in the village fortunate enough to own two looms employs two village girls full time as long as a supply of reeds is available. 286 433 [435] [464]

The covering for the 'tatami' mat is called 'tatami omote'. An individual can make about six of these per day. They are faster-made than 'goza' because the ends do not have to be tied off and bordered. These sell for about ¥45 in Naha, which place people prefer to Itoman as a market for their reed products. However, rice straw to be used in the base of 'tatami' is sold in Itoman because the cost of transporting the bulky straw to Naha would be prohibitive---it is sold for only ¥1 or ¥2 per bundle. The Agricultural Cooperative is trying to arrange for the sale of 'tatami omote' in Kagoshima where ¥85 per mat can be obtained. The first such postwar collection and sale was made early in 1954. 286 433 435

<u>Prewar Home Industry in Yamada</u> Before the war people in Yamada made much of their own clothing, and were self-sufficient in most of the tools they used. Most of the clothing was made by the women of the village themselves. Most women wove, and many wove constantly when not in the fields. Many had their own looms, but those who did not borrowed looms from their neighbors. 294 [286]

The usual summer garment was a kimono of banana-fiber cloth and the usual winter garment one of cotton. The former was made wholly at home, from the tree to the finished garment. For the cotton kimono the threads were purchased, usually at Kadena, already dyed, and the cloth woven at home. [291]

Several families had silkworms. They got the eggs from Japan and fed the worms on mulberry leaves they grew in their yards. These women spun and wove at home but they sometimes had professional dyers at Kadena or Naha dye the threads for them. Silk garments, like store-bought garments, were only for grand occasions. 231 283 292

Before the war some Yamada women made "panama" hats in their homes as piecework for a hat company. The company furnished the materials and bought the finished product. This was one of the few sources of cash available outside the sugar crop. Baskets, carrying bags, and raincapes made of 294 [434]

4. A Comparison of Land Tenure in Two Rural Villages: Kanegusuku and Kitazato

621 Kanegusuku The village of Kanegusuku is located in the southwestern cor-
[34] ner of Kanegusuku on approximately three miles due south of Naha on the west coast, and it is immediately north of the town of Itoman. As is typical of the old Okinawan villages it is situated on high ground with all of its houses facing in a southerly direction. Aside from a detached cluster of eleven houses, the village houses are close together in
[121] a contiguous settlement. The village was selected for study because of its infrequent contact with Americans, relative lack of war damage, and a reputed antiquity and conservatism. As of December, 1953, the population was 507 persons forming 108 families occupying 103 houses. The present population is said to be about the same as before the war despite a 20% loss of life during the battle; this loss has been made up by repatriates from overseas and immigrants from other areas of Okinawa. The repatriates and some of the immigrants either had formerly resided in the village or regarded it as their ancestral home. There are nine families who were native to some other part of Okinawa before the war and have no previous connections with the village. The majority of the families have been in this village for
[592] many generations. There are approximately five persons in each household, which usually consists of a nuclear family, husband and wife and their children; but the composition of a number of households has been changed due to wartime losses.

Socially the village is segmented into eight lineages which con-
[613] stitute 92% of the total population; the remaining 8% is made up of unrelated families new to the village since the end of the war. One lineage includes nearly 61% of the village in its membership. Each of these lineages
[582] is related to lineages in other villages. Approximately 66% of the village marriages have been within the village, and nearly 50% of the marriages have been between persons of the same kin group. Thus, the composition of the village is fairly homogeneous, and both the community and the kin groups are strong cohesive units.

621 Occupation 98 of the 103 houses are engaged full time in farming;
463 the household heads of the five remaining houses are employed outside the village in non-agricultural pursuits although all participate in some part-
241 time farming. In addition to these five there were approximately fifteen young men, not household heads, who also worked outside. Most of these commuted daily to the greater Naha area where they were engaged in military employment or construction work. For the majority of villagers farming was the sole occupation.

621 Arable Land Over 66% of the total area of this village is under
311 cultivation, and about 38% of the cultivated land is in irrigated fields. The chief sources of income derive from rice and mats made from a sedge
[434] which is grown in an irrigated field. In terms of the average amount of arable land per household Kanegusuku is somewhat better off than the average
[136] for Okinawa: 1514.2 'tsubo' for Kanegusuku as compared with 1037.6 'tsubo' for Okinawa.

[Kitazato]

175 621 727 It is said that the division of the village cut across family lines and that the motivating factor in a household's choice of one site over another was the location of their remaining landholdings on the periphery of the village. Another factor was the presence of relatives in neighboring villages from whom they might secure land for rental. Thus, Kijikina is largely made up of households which have their lands on that side of the field or have relatives in neighboring Furushima; the Hama people mostly own the land at the north side of the field.

175 621 The Pre-war Village Prior to the war the village was, according to 'son' officials, a very prosperous community and a great economic asset to the 'son'. It possessed nearly 173 acres in arable land, most of which [249] was flat or gently rolling. The soil was well suited to sugar cane which [434] was the chief source of income for the village; cattle-raising for export [235] to Japan provided an additional source of income. [434]

Unlike Kanegusuku the lineages were said to be rather weak in Kitazato; there were a number of different kin groups, and no one of these was [361] dominant. The houses of the village were not tightly nucleated like those of the typical Okinawan village but were scattered about in a loose grouping in the midst of the best agricultural land.

621 311 727 Land Loss At the present time (May, 1954) approximately 39% of the total land area of this village is in airfield, and an additional 34% of the total area has been ruined by activities related to its construction (sand dumped onto fields, top soil removed, erosion, etc.). There remains but 27% of the total land area for the use of the villagers, and of this only a small percentage is in arable land, since most of the good, flat farmland was lost to the airfield. The total amount of arable land remaining is [134] 11,895 'tsubo' (less than ten acres), and this averages out to about 148 'tsubo' or 0.12 acres per household, with approximately five persons in each house. The average amounts of arable land per household in Kanegusuku, Okinawa, and Kitazato compare as follows:

Kanegusuku	---	1514.2 'tsubo'
Okinawa	---	1037.2 'tsubo' (per farm household)
Kitazato	---	148.7 'tsubo'

Land loss to the airfield affected every family in the village; some families lost all of their lands, a very few managed to retain most, but the majority of villagers (70%) lost nearly all of their holdings. For example, the mayor of the village held 2470 'tsubo' before the war and now has 570 'tsubo' left; yet, he is considered one of the more fortunate. To compensate for their losses they now farm some land which was previously left idle: "We would not have farmed such land before the war as we are farming today." Some have rented lands from neighboring villages, and a few have been given land by relatives in these villages.

621 829 727 Land Payment The people of Kitazato strongly feel that they are not being paid adequate remuneration in terms of current rental values for their land. They are well aware of the fact that the same U. S. military

000 custom in the country. Hair styles vary according to age, sex, and status.
302 All boys up to junior high school age usually have shaved heads. During the high school and junior high school years they allow the hair to grow and become quite long. This style is retained until middle age, though often it is somewhat shorter than during the school years. Old and middle-aged men generally wear their hair closely cropped. Young girls through the junior high school age wear their hair in a short bobbed style with bangs, typical of the Japanese school girl. In high school and thereafter the young woman allows her hair to grow a little longer; the bangs grow out and the permanent wave is frequently adopted. After marriage and in middle age a woman is most likely to wear her hair drawn back and tied in a bun. Older women retain the old Okinawan styles, and a few use the long hairpin as mentioned above.

[178] Prewar movies and pictures of Okinawa indicate most men were bearded, but today all are clean-shaven except for a few very old men.

178 <u>Diet</u> With few exceptions most Okinawans state that they are eating
262 better foods and a greater variety of these than before the war. This is attributed to several factors. Sweet potatoes and vegetables formed the bulk of the prewar diet, and there was little money available for food purchases. More land is devoted to food production today than in the prewar period when sugar was the chief crop. There were food shortages throughout the Japanese Empire beginning with the Chinese war in 1937; these shortages gradually in-
[179] creased and became severe. After the war most Okinawans lived on American canned foods for several years; canned foods were served in the civilian internment camps and later formed the bulk of the food ration. A number of
[454] people asserted that this experience created a taste for other foods. Lastly the farm people have more money to spend today.

177 Stores in the towns and cities contain a wide variety of canned
262 American and European foods, not to mention an even greater supply of canned Japanese foods. The important factor is that none of the American or European canned goods were available before the war. Even in the village stores American flour, Coca Cola and other carbonated and non-carbonated beverages, condensed milk, candy, gum, and cigarettes can be obtained today. American foods are said to be far superior to Japanese and Okinawan foods, but most are too expensive for the average family. American tea bags, which often contain an Indian tea far inferior to the Japanese teas, are considered the height of elegance. However, many of the adopted foods are used in a manner considerably different from customary American usage. Pitts was served french-fried whale intestines dipped in peanut butter, and mayonnaise was observed in use as
[272] cooking fat. It is widely believed that some of the American soft drinks contain real fruit juices and are excellent for the health. The author was informed that people sometimes take these when they do not feel too well.

178 For the majority of villagers Japanese and Okinawan foods still con-
262 stitute the bulk of the diet, although they say that they now enjoy a greater variety of these. Rice is more commonly eaten than before, but there is a greater reliance on prepared foods of the sort which cannot be made in the village or which they are no longer inclined to prepare themselves. Canned mackerel (selling for about 17 cents per can) is now a staple item in many

Education The Japanese established the first schools in the rural areas some time before World War I. Great emphasis was placed on making Japanese speakers and nationals out of Okinawans. Today most of the population is bilingual; those who speak only a dialect of the Ryukyuan language are persons over sixty and pre-school children. Most Okinawans have come to regard themselves as Japanese. 871 177 [191] [829]

A major change in the postwar educational system has been the addition of three years to the period of compulsory schooling, making a total of nine years. Since the schools continue to provide a Japanese education, the effect will be to increase the Japanization of Okinawa, raise literacy, and ultimately make all speakers bilingual. As a student is usually excused from all work by the family, this measure has served to withhold a large number of teenagers from the labor market.

In the rural areas the author heard frequent praise for the extension of the schooling period and the new school construction program initiated by the military government. Most rural peoples stated that educational opportunities were poor for them in the prewar period; high school education was said to be particularly difficult for a village child to achieve. Now they feel that they are realizing equality with the urban areas. The urbanite is more likely to suggest that the quality of education has deteriorated in the postwar period. Both rural and urban people were agreed that one decided improvement has been that students no longer fight among themselves. Before and during the war all students were organized into small groups based on area of residence; each group was headed by a student leader who shepherded his charges to and from school in semi-military formation. Rivalry between these organized groups frequently led to gang fighting so severe that the intervention of teachers or police was often necessary to restore order. 871 369 178 877 178

Rural people regard education as providing one of the best opportunities for improving one's status; consequently, the improvement of educational opportunities will have far-reaching effects on social mobility. Those who acquire a high school or university education rarely remain in the village, and the few who do remain adopt an occupation other than farming. 871 554

Economy Money was virtually non-existent in the old Okinawan village; barter was the chief means of exchange. Taxes under the communal land holding system were paid in grain and cloth. The land reforms initiated by the Japanese brought the introduction of tax payments in cash. Increasing emphasis on sugar production due to governmental encouragement and subsidy did much to destroy the self-sufficiency of the village and brought dependence on a cash crop. The period of Japanese administration was marked by a gradual adoption of a money economy in the rural areas. 437 436 178 177

Okinawans state that there is a far greater amount of money in the village today than in the prewar period. Some assert that due to governmental price controls they were never able to realize a fair return for their products (chiefly sugar) in the prewar era, but the great increase in money in recent years seems largely attributable to factors relating to the military occupation. Today over twenty-five percent of the total labor force is employed by the military and in subsidiary occupations such as construction; this steep rise in 434 * 178 [435] [464]

0434 salaried employees has greatly increased the amount of money in circulation.
178 The large expenditures made by members of the military forces have also con-
464 tributed significantly. The farmer, in turn, has been able to realize a larger return for his products than was formerly possible, and in many farm villages a sizable number of individuals are engaged in military employment.

Farmers are spending more than ever before; self-sufficiency has further declined in that many articles formerly made at home are now purchased.
[54] The standard of living, especially diet, is said to have improved considerably.
[54] Formerly all income and resources were controlled by the household head for the entire family; today individual purses are said to be increasingly common.

621 Community Organization and Social Structure The solidarity and
178 integration of the village was severely diminished by the war and its aftermath. The prewar village was quite homogeneous; most of its families had resided there for many generations, village marriage practices tended to be endogamous, and nearly all were engaged in farming as their major occupation. Today in most villages there are a number of families new to the village since the war, and there are an increasing number of individuals who are employed outside the village in non-agricultural pursuits. Both groups tend to play a lesser role in community affairs than the old residents who continue to farm.

476 There has been a considerable decline in reciprocal labor exchanges.
178 The man who is daily employed outside the village is automatically prevented from participating in such ventures. The widow who heads a household without any adult male members is often unable to participate or must limit her participation since a day's work by a man must be matched by two by a woman. Likewise the man who hires a bulldozer to clear some land or build a rice field instead of engaging his relatives and neighbors in a cooperative exchange is also contributing to the decline of the practice.

369 Formerly those who left the village usually emigrated to other parts
178 of the Japanese Empire, but today they usually obtain employment in the cities
621 or military camps. Consequently, they continue to exert some influence in their place of origin, since interaction is more likely.

621 In a community like Kitazato which has suffered poverty, hunger, land
178 loss, and exodus of members to other communities, there seems to be a reintensification of community spirit stressing cooperation and unity. This is in marked contrast to Kanegusuku and elsewhere, suggesting that when a major value---communal unity---is directly threatened, there is a reaction and reintensification of this value. Elsewhere where the process of change has been more subtle, no reaction has occurred.

565 Okinawan class divisions were officially abolished early in the period
177 of Japanese administration; yet they continued to be of some importance with regard to status and marriage for some time. Today people say that they are no longer of any importance except to a few of the very old. Distinctions on
[55] the basis of wealth were largely erased by the war. It is frequently said, "After the war everyone was equal."

621 464 Only five of these are household heads entitled to vote in village elections or assume village office, but because their jobs keep them out of the community much of the time, they are not given village offices. There is some feeling on the part of the villagers that they are out of touch with the affairs of a farming village; consequently, their influence in the village thus far has not been too great.

621 727 464 Jagaru and Tobaru The villages of Jagaru and Tobaru in Chatan-son offer a marked contrast to Kanegusuku in terms of the importance of military employment to the community. These two contiguous communities are hemmed in on all sides by military installations. They constitute little more than housing areas within a township that has lost, according to its officials, approximately 91% of its land to military installations.

[541] [178] Formerly nearly all of the families were engaged in farming as a full-time occupation; today less than one-sixth are farming and not all of these are able to depend on it for their sole support. Military employment has replaced farming as the chief occupation of these villages. In October of 1953 there were 2,352 persons out of a total population of 10,411 who were employed in military jobs. In addition there were a number of business establishments which were dependent on the trade of military personnel.

621 464 The welfare of Jagaru and Tobaru is wholly dependent on military employment. In the fall of 1953 there were rumors of an anticipated cut of 10% in the over-all Okinawan labor force employed by the military. This would [434] have made over two hundred individuals and their families without any source of income or means of livelihood. The people were much upset by this prospect as every family had at least one member employed in military jobs and were wholly or in part dependent on their income.

In contrast to Kanegusuku those who were engaged in military employment in these villages played an active role in community affairs. A great many of them are household heads, and they are not regarded as being out of touch with village affairs since the chief occupation of the villagers is military employment. While the Kanegusuku people regard securing a military job as good fortune, the people here regard it as a necessity. According to township officials most of this year's graduating class will look for jobs in the nearby installations.

621 464 829

The villagers are bitter because they feel that the military has not paid them adequate rentals for the use of their land. There is also some resentment over the conduct of troops in those communities during their off-duty hours. In short, though the villages are completely dependent on the military for their livelihood, they are bitter and resentful in their attitude toward it. The possibility of job losses seems likely to heighten this feeling.

621 727 464 Henza Shima The island of Henza off the east central coast of Okinawa differs from the above communities in that a large segment of its population is engaged in military employment and yet the village itself is far removed from any military installation. This village suffered but slight damage and no loss of life during the war. After the war over four hundred repatriates returned to the village, bringing its population up to approximately 4,900.

It
186 is also important to keep in mind that the relationship is always one of
829 American employer to Okinawan employee; consequently, the American is most
177 often the initiator of action.

464 Conclusion In a number of Okinawan communities military employment has drawn
434 off the surplus population which formerly had emigrated. In not a few communities it has become the mainstay of the economy.

464 Most Okinawans regard military employment as economically advantageous.
829 There is no stigma attached to men who are so employed, but considerable
554 stigma is attached to women who take this employment, particularly the maids.

177 The American installations are dependent to no small degree upon their
648 Okinawan employees, and in turn many Okinawan individuals and communities are
464 wholly dependent upon the military for their livelihood. Their relationship is a symbiotic one which can best be enhanced by mutual understanding; yet the social distance between the Okinawan and American is so great as to make interaction on a basis of equality rare. Because of their different cultural backgrounds and their job situations, both remain ignorant of the other's motives and values, and mutual understanding is difficult if not impossible. Common
[171] denominators in both cultures might be sought as a means of bridging this gap, as, for example, their common love of sports.

3. Japan, America, and Okinawa

W. P. Suttles

829 Japan in Retrospect Okinawan attitudes toward Japan are decidedly ambivalent. Factors that have entered into the formation of these attitudes are as follows:

175 1) Historic Relations On the negative side are the historic separa-
648 tion and former independence of Okinawa. This separate status is still re-
829 membered by old people, some of whom speak of wars between Okinawa and "Yamatu" (Yamato, that is, Japan). Several illiterate old people seemed to make no distinction between the conquest and oppression of Okinawa by the feudal state of Satsuma and the later annexation by the national government, and thus seemed to be blaming Japan as a whole for wrongs done by Satsuma.

171 On the positive side there is the indisputable remote common origin
174 and basic similarity of the Japanese and the Okinawans. Racially, linguis-
177 tically, and culturally the Okinawans are closely related to the Japanese.
829 They may be said to be merely a kind of Japanese. It is highly probable that the majority of the ancestors of the Okinawans came from the north, from Japan, in the not too remote past. Their isolation made it possible for them to be politically independent and their political independence made it possible for them to escape the levelling influence of Japanese national governments, particularly that of the Tokugawa Shogunate, and for them to have closer contact with China. This accounts for their having a number of elements of Chinese culture that are not found in Japan, but it does not make them a kind of Chinese.

593 in a military installation which keeps them away from their homes, they
remain there, helping in the fields, or go out on the fishing boats, as
[582] the case may be. If a son other than the first remains in the family
after the age of marriage, it is generally for some physical or mental
disability. Under the normal operation of the family system, there is
591 no time in a person's life in which he is not part of some family unit
and living in the same house with his parents, an elder brother, or
with a wife and his children, or with his grandchildren.

727 The war enforced many exceptions to this normal life cycle, as the
593 discussion of the previous table brought out: conscription and military
service, deaths in battle or as a consequence of the campaign, widow-
hood and the orphaning of children. In the villages studied, the post-
war situation was not disrupting family life further by the movement of
younger unattached men to Naha or the larger towns, or by their separatio
from daily life while doing work for military camps. At least it was not
sufficiently frequent to result in a deterioration of normal family life.
591 In these villages branch families were established for the most part
in the village of the parent family. There are two reasons for this:
first, the desire to remain near the parents and siblings, and second,
[423] that the property which the father, or elder brother, has at his disposal
is normally real property and land holdings in the village. Cash, which
[435] agricultural or fishing family might have at its disposal, would usually
be insufficient at present prices for a second or succeeding son to be
given money to purchase land and a house site elsewhere. Occasionally a
[425] father sells land in the village to provide his son with money to purchas
a house site and fields elsewhere, but this is not usual.

The mechanics of establishing a branch household may be illustrated from practices observed in each of the villages, though the procedure is essentially the same.

Hanashiro is a settlement in the center of a cultivated area of dry
[361] field farming and rice paddies. The cultivated area begins on the outer
rim of the village. The father, or the elder brother, gives a field
(hatake in Japanese) to the son, or younger brother, if it is suitable
for a house site. If the land owned is too far away--there are no
[425] isolated homesteads--an effort is made to exchange with a neighbor, frie
or relative, the far off property for a parcel closer in. If this is
not possible, the remote piece is sold and the proceeds used to purchas
a suitable plot in the residential area. If the family is too poor to
[426] give money or land, an attempt may be made to borrow the money for pur-
chase. If none of these arrangements is possible, the son may simply
start out on his own, or less commonly, may live with his wife in the
home of his parents, or delay his marriage. But it is uncommon for a
second or succeeding son and his wife and children to live in the house
of the parents or of the elder brother.

311 In this way, the residential area gradually replaces the cultivated
591 areas which surround it. One consequence of the establishment of branch
families in agricultural villages is that it gradually decreases the

Goldschmidt then remarks that the peasant in the last years of his possession thought only of the parcel to come in the next allotment and did nothing for his land, and that in consequence its productivity fell. There was private ownership at that time only of newly reclaimed land or land filled in along the seashore, and this land went to the person who had done the work. The Japanese, when they abolished the system, divided land among families by number of members and since this time large holdings have not been created. Goldschmidt adds that "the land still suffers now from the consequences of this old system."[4] 175 423

To discover precisely the nature of the influences of the old system cannot be done with accuracy because of the destruction of local records, the vagueness of recollection among the old and of the inability to reconstruct old boundaries. What follows therefore is partly speculative, but nevertheless useful in suggesting the reasons for the present shapes and areas of individual land parcels. One of the striking aspects of the land maps of these areas is the odd and irregular shapes of land holdings. This is not true of all Okinawa. In some areas, plots on the hillsides are symmetrical, often rectangular or square. In the areas studied, there are plots of this sort, but also many that have very irregular shapes. 174 423 423

It is possible that after the abolition of the old system, some areas in the island were resurveyed, while others were not. Such surveys could have approximated the old areas but created a more regular rectangular pattern. In Hanashiro resurveying apparently was not done. The historical reasons for the present boundaries are not known because of decades of cultivation and because the land has not always been used for the same purposes. One of the large rice growing areas in Hanashiro is a recent development. The changes from paddy to dry crop land, or the reverse, seem to have followed the fluctuations in sugar and rice prices. It was quite probable that formerly the land was less level, that it was more heavily forested, and that odd shapes were due to the cultivated areas winding around large outcrops, patches of stony land, clumps of trees, uncultivated slopes which have now been reclaimed, leveled and cultivated. 174 423 311 [435]

Conditions like this are a commonplace in Okinawa today. Some of these boundaries also may be following the lines of old streams. Rivers, or more properly creeks, are not numerous in Okinawa and their presence is often hidden: a stream rising in a nearby mountain and ultimately going to the sea eight or ten miles away may be lost in a wide paddy area and trickle off again in its stream bed after several hundred feet of dispersion in the paddies. The boundaries may also 174 423 [133]

4 Goldschmidt, Richard. Neu-Japan. Berlin, 1927, 131. (My translation). The same criticism appears of the system in the middle east. See footnote 2 above.

243 by plowing.

There is water on the land when it is dug and harrowed, but it is not flooded. Not all rice land is harrowed. If it is not harrowed, the same result is accomplished by further hoeing. The harrow (maguwa in Japanese, maga in Okinawan) is partly a home made tool and looks like a large clumsily constructed rake. Essentially it is a piece of timber with a row of strong spikes. This timber ordinarily is made of pine, but other woods may be used. Twelve nails, spaced at about two inch intervals, are driven into the board. These nails or spikes, about 8 sun (almost 10 inches long), square at the head, and with a sharp point, are made by a blacksmith for about Yen 20 each. The harrow is drawn by cattle; two shafts, with a yoke over the animal's head complete the simple implement. The plow is used in the preparation of the field, but far more commonly, the work is done with a hoe.

[407] [414] [326] [23] [435]

In the fall and winter planting of rice, the seedlings remain in the seed bed for about 40 days. In the summer, the period is only 20 days and may be less. The winter shoots are from 7-8 inches long, the summer shoots from 4-7 inches. The length is important, for if the seedlings are too long, losses in transplanting will, according to Hanashiro farmers, increase to almost half. In rare instances, due to adverse conditions, seedlings in the seed bed reach 15-20 inches in length. The losses here are said to be considerable in transplanting.

[462] The hoeing or the plowing and harrowing of a field is almost exclusively done by men. It is tiring, uncomfortable, and heavy work. It is much more common to see women hoeing the dry crop land. But transplanting is done by men, women, and the older children. A handful of seedlings in the bed is pulled out and bound with straw, grass, or a rush. There is a knack in pulling these out. They must be jerked quickly, but dexterously to avoid root damage. The bundle is tossed either into a central place or into the paddy field to be planted, if it is adjoining. In the latter case, the bunches are tossed to various parts of the paddy.

243 804 The seedlings are generally set out in rows. For this purpose, a string with small markers like buttons (shirushi) is used. These are 7 sun (about 8.4 inches) apart. Both the rows and the hills are 7 sun apart. Differences between rows and hills may vary considerably. In these localities, the distances were generally the same. The string is stretched from one end of the row to the other. Each seedling is planted at the interval indicated by the marker on the string. This method of planting is not universal. When there is little time, the seedlings might be scatter planted.

243 804 413 Another method of obtaining the checker-board pattern is by means of a home made hexagonal frame, the waku (literally, a reel or a frame). Each of the six sides is divided into nine squares, 7 sun on the side. The overall length is over six feet. The frame is set along the outside border, or at any desired starting point. When in place, the

231

cash income. Pigs are seldom eaten by the family that raises them. On New Year's, a family will slaughter a pig or three or four families might co-operate in sharing one. Pork may also be served at O-Bon and at Jūgoya, the autumn equinoctial holiday season. [262] [527]

A family often gets its start in pig raising by obtaining a loan from a mutual loan group. (These groups will be discussed later). A young pig may cost about Y2000. Male pigs intended for market (nikubuta in Japanese, shishiwa in Okinawan) are castrated two months after birth. Keeping breeding pigs (tanebuta) is a special business. Men engaged in this business bring the boar to the pig raiser's home. Each village has such a businessman or at least has convenient access to one in a neighboring village. The fee usually charged is Y200. If the first attempt at breeding is unsuccessful, a second opportunity is given free. On the third try, the dealer claims his fee again. In Matsuda, there is a belief among the old that as the tide is coming in, if a sow is in heat, the male will be able to perform, but that in the ebb tide he cannot. [426] [435] [232]

Great care is taken in housing pigs adequately, if the family is able to do so. The pig sties made of stone or coral may be better than the houses of their owners. This is by no means so shortsighted or ridiculous as it might seem. Pigs are the means, one of the very few means, by which an agricultural family may acquire substantial sums of cash. To protect this living bank account, considerable sums are invested in fine stone, or cement floors and an adequate roof. The pen must be strong to withstand typhoons. With a good pig pen, a sow, and a good litter, a family can look forward to improving its financial condition and its own housing. There is great variety in the quality of pig pens. The pen may be in combination with the outside toilet, but with the two places completely separate; it may be part of a larger shed which also houses the goats, the cattle, or the horse. If a family can afford it, the pig is housed in a stone pen with stone floors, or with other sturdy materials. 231 343 [434] [511]

The day to day care of pigs is mostly the work of women. While the husband is at work in the fields, the wife, as an incidental part of her duties, goes to the nearest plot to cut sweet potato tops, or mashes sweet potatoes in the stone mortar in the compound, often with her infant child on her back. There are three favorite varieties of food for pigs: (1) the leaves of the sweet potato plant not suitable for human consumption or not needed for transplanting, (2) the potato itself. The poorer grades of potato are put in a stone mortar and are smashed with a long pole, or pestle. (3) A cloudy liquid consisting of the sweet potato, waste bean curd (tōfu no kasshu) and water. This is always given warm. The pig may also get poor rice, or rice spoiled for human consumption by submersion as a result of a typhoon, or miscellaneous left overs from the table. 231 824 [462]

There are no ceremonies in any of the villages associated with slaughtering the pig. Villagers seldom kill their own except on 231

231 special holiday occasions. Pig killing or the killing of any animals
[825] is distasteful. The pig generally is driven out of the pen to a
[943] waiting truck or horse cart and hauled squealing off to market.

232 Considerable interest is being shown (early 1952) in the scientific
[177] breeding of pigs from stock imported from the United States. Chester White is a well known word among the farmers of Matsuda. In this area, regional meetings of pig breeders and raisers from the northern part of Okinawa and the Motobu peninsula are held to discuss the care, breeding, and marketing of pigs. These farmers have come a long way from the earlier days, even 25 years ago, when the toilet and the pig pen were the same. A farmer going from one of his fields to another often stops home to look at the pigs and perhaps to discuss his problems with
[474] a friend. In Matsuda, a pig growers' association has now been started.

231 Domestic animals, especially the pig, can be expected to increase and to reach at least their pre-war level, if the villages studied are typical. This development will be all to the good. The pig consumes food not fit or not used for human consumption. It does not compete with humans for food. It is unlikely that land now devoted to the production of human food would be diverted to animal food. In my observation, there is not a strong competition between animals and man for the products of the land. Domestic animals really round out the agriculture and consume food that otherwise would not be used.

[311] The lack of grazing land, except on the hill sides and summits, means that domestic animals must be fed with food grown and prepared and fed to them by the farmer. Grazing also would be out of the question since the land on the hills is privately owned and split up in small parcels. The young plants are valued too highly to permit indiscriminate grazing.

[435] Goats are cheaply raised. The only expense is the labor of getting leaves, grass, and tender shoots from the family's genya land on the hills. In the market, goat is the cheapest of all meats.
[262] There are also sharp differences in taste among villagers for goat's meat. The milk is not used as a food. Goats are tied up or kept in stalls for their entire life. They are never allowed to roam through the village or to graze on the hill sides. They are not given water and depend entirely on the water in the grasses and shoots which they are fed.

Horses, cattle, and oxen are fed grasses, mashed sweet potatoes, and waste bean curd. Though occasionally used in rice fields, the
[492] chief use of horses is in drayage. In Matsuda, the horse and the two wheeled cart make frequent trips to the mountains to transport the longpoles, firewood, and charcoal.

235 Chickens are fed anything that might be on hand. Often they are given the chaff from the rice or the rice that is blown off in
[262] winnowing. Occasionally chickens are eaten, but they are kept primarily

226 most important.

226 136 [227] (1) The sword or spearfish (kajiki in Japanese, akitaro in Okinawan). This fish (some specimens reach 450 pounds) is caught from May through September. Fishermen go about 12 miles out for the catch. A wire leader 15 feet long with a hook is attached to a 1400 foot braided cord line about 3/16 of an inch in diameter. The line is gradually played out after the initial 700 feet are lowered. Swordfish fishing is done in the daytime. The fish is said to be scarce at night. The hook is about 2 1/2 inches long. 262 [435] [432] The swordfish is considered the most delicious of fish. It is expensive, selling from Y50 to Y100 per kin (slightly over 1.3 pounds) depending on season and supply; consequently, fishermen sell rather than eat it, except in times of oversupply. Large fish are usually cut up before being sent to market; the small ones are sent whole. The swordfish is ordinarily eaten fresh. The favorite method of preparation is to fry it after dipping a slice in a batter of flour, [252] dried milk and water. Occasionally it is eaten raw as sashimi. Dried swordfish is considered a delicacy. Unlike the shark, the fins (hane) are not dried.

226 136 [221] (2) The tunny (subinouo in Japanese, subi in Okinawan). This fish is caught between April and November. Here there are two ways of catching the fish, depending on the type of boat. If the large boat, the hatsudoki, is used a long line with as many as 200 hooks set 75 feet apart is used. At intervals of every three hooks, there are buoys with flags (hata). These flags, alternately white and red, are about the size of a large handkerchief. In another arrangement, the buoys may also alternate with the flags. The same line and wire leader used for the swordfish are employed with tunny catching, but the hook is smaller. When submerged the hooks are at various depths, their paths describing semi-circles from buoy to buoy. Lines may be pulled in from one to four times a day, depending on the biting. The bobbing of the buoys and the flags indicates the biting and the probable catch. A fishing party remains out for three days, leaving at five in the evening, returning about ten in the evening of the second day.

The small boats use two lines, the longer going down from the center of the boat, the shorter near one end. The method of catching the tunny is the same as that for the swordfish. In night fishing, the line might be lowered fifty feet, gradually playing out ten feet at a time. Tunny fishing is mostly a night catch. The line during night operations may be let out 700 feet, and, in the day 350 feet.

(3) The shark (fuka in Japanese). This fish is caught in the same way as the tunny. Fishing takes place both during the day and night. On the small boats, the line and its 15 foot leader with one hook, is about 840 feet long, and the entire length is let out.

(4) The mackerel (hishisaba). The main season for catching the mackerel is from March through May. These fish, usually weighing about 30 pounds, are caught by divers who seek the fish out while it is sleeping under stones. A strong line is tied around the tail and the fish is pulled up on board. There it is killed with a short

226
136

(9) The lobster, (ebi in Japanese, ibi in Okinawan). Catching the lobster is the work of young men, usually up to 24 years of age. A man over 35 may be too old for the hard work involved. Occasionally in summer older men engage in part time lobster catching. The fisherman secures a flashlight, covered with sheet rubber, around his left wrist with a strong rubber band. The rubber casing for the flashlight [227] is often an old bicycle inner tube. The light can be turned on or off without removing the tubing. In his right hand, the diver holds a hook (ebikake in Japanese, ibikakiya in Okinawan) over 25 inches long, which he uses to dislodge the lobsters from the rocks below. Often fishermen remain in the water for three hours, the period depending on the season, the potential catch, and on how cold the fisherman becomes. The diver wears only a pair of shorts. The lobster is a year round catch, though there are few in winter. The full moon is considered bad for lobster fishing. It is not known exactly how lobster were caught in the days before flashlights. Some old men said that nets were used.

[432] On a good day, one small boat with three or four men, can catch [434] 150 pounds of lobster. It is not eaten frequently by the villagers, but sold to the large fishing co-operative association (Suisankumiai-rengokai). The hard and disagreeable work makes the lobster expensive. [435] At present the local market is sensitive to the tastes of the Americans in Okinawa. Weekly estimates of probable demand are furnished by the [434] central office of the association to the local head of the fisherman's association, who in turn informs the fishermen. The lobster is considered a delicacy and is eaten only when there is a large catch and [262] the demand is low.

(10) The seabream (taisakana in Japanese, akamasu in Okinawan). The seabream is caught with a home made device shaped like a Y with [227] a top bar: Ȳ. The base of the Y has a loop for the hook and line. These wire devices are known as yamaguchi in Okinawan though the younger fishermen call it the sarukan. The fish are caught by a series of these wire devices strung along a line with a sinker at the end. The success of the catch can be judged by lifting the line. An ordinary catch will bring fish on 3 out of the 5 hooks.

These are the main fish caught in this area. There are small catches of the bonito (katsuo), the dolphin or porpoise (iruka), and the shrimp (zakoebi), and a small octopus (tako). But these are rather infrequent. There are hundreds of other fish caught, especially of different smaller sardines (awaishi).

227 The wire devices used for catching the seabream can be used in varying sizes to catch many different types of fish. Some, such as the ones described, are used for the bonito, and very small ones are employed in catching sardines.

226 496 The boat, as in the previous example, is considered a person. The cook is usually a boy about 16 or 17 years old. If we further assume a catch valued at Y10,000, with a deduction of Y1000 for gas and oil, there is a remainder of Y9,000 to be divided. The boat's share, A, is 30%, or Y2700, with Y6300 for further distribution. The following formula is then applied to this remainder:

Captain	1.5 shares
Engineer	1.5 shares
Fishermen	7.0 shares, one for each of 7 men
Cook	0.7 shares
	10.7

The value of each share is Y588.78 (Y6300 divided by 10.7). If the amounts are rounded off, the final distribution is:

Captain	Y883	(1.5 x 588.78)
Engineer	883	(1.5 x 588.78)
Fishermen	4121	(1 x 588.78 x 7)
Cook	412	(0.7 x 588.78)
	Y6300	

The distribution takes place at the conclusion of a voyage. Obligations (giri) between the owner and the others, on these larger boats, are also based on custom. If a crew member is injured on a voyage and prevented from going on the next one, he receives a share for the voyage he was on, and some money, depending on the catch but not a full share, during convalescence. If a fisherman is ill and has been injured outside of his work, he does not receive this consideration.

5

Sale and Distribution of Fish

443 962 635 The sale and the distribution of fish is the work of women. Men occasionally do this, but their function is to catch the fish, maintain the boats and gear, and make the lures. The bulk of the fish is sold at Naha because the highest prices generally are paid there. This makes it difficult for adjacent villages to obtain fish, even in season. When the fish is especially plentiful and low in price at Naha, the women go to the agricultural villages of the interior. Fish are carried in baskets. The pre-war custom of carrying the fish basket on the head and walking from village to village, or to the railroad station at Kochinda, thence by rail to Naha, has given way to truck, bus, or the three wheeled cycle. Often in the evening, these cycles, which can seat six comfortably, are filled with eight or ten laughing and voluble women, and their fish, the vehicle chugging slowly and painfully up and then coasting down the grades.

000 One can infrequently observe women walking from Minatogawa to

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

512 821 A fishing village has a different kind of regularity than an agricultural village. Activities in both are determined by the weather. During a heavy rain, everyone is in his house. But the farmer, even with a dark angry sky, can work up to the storm, and often continues working in a mild rain. The fishing village is guided both by bad and anticipated bad weather. On a fine fishing day, the village seems deserted with the men gone, and the women in the homes. But several days of rain or unfavorable weather keep the men home, and the village is alive with other activities, such as repairing nets, boats, and houses. Much of the fisherman's work at sea is at night, either in the actual fishing or in going and coming. For this reason, there is considerable daytime sleeping among them. [513] On off days, the young fishermen loll around, often finding it difficult to pass the time away.

9

Conclusion

226 184 Fishing has become the occupation of a few places, such as Itoman town, some villages on the Motobu peninsular, and Minatogawa. Ryukyuans have achieved considerable fame for their skill in fishing in waters other than their own, such as their drive-in net fishing in the East Indies and around Singapore.[3] Possibly it is the fewness of good ports, the necessity of adapting requirements to varying local geographical conditions, such as the coral reefs, or the long period of emigration that have prevented the large scale development of fishing on this island and insured the dominance of an agricultural life.

262 It is also a striking fact that, on this small island where no village is far from the sea, fish is an uncommon article of the diet. The explanation is simple. It is a problem of distribution in which two considerations are involved: the higher prices obtainable in Naha, [435] [251] and the difficulties of preserving fish while distributing them through the rural villages. More often than not, the fish in a farmer's diet [439] is the dried sardine or a canned fish from Japan, not the local catch.

Part 2

The Quarries of Minatogawa-Nagamo

1

Introduction

324 Minatogawa is famous throughout Okinawa for its stone. Stone from the village and its environs may be seen in many towns and villages [458] of the island. Before the war, there was a flourishing boat trade in wood and stone between Minatogawa and the northern region. The fine

3 For a recent statement, see Aquatic resources of the Ryukyu area, as cited, 7-9.

sandstone one sees in the new buildings of Naha often is from the quarries of this area. Stone quarries are scattered in various parts of Okinawa, but the Minatogawa stone is considered the best. 324 [316]

Sandstone quarrying started, according to older settlers, about sixty years ago. Cutting began on the coast, gradually working up slope over rolling stony land. It is an interesting example of the transformation of a landscape by man. Now with the old methods still in use, the cutting has extended beyond the village. Stonecutting operations in the main are in the steep bluffs around both villages, although there are numerous cuttings in the newer settlements of Minatogawa and along the seashore. Frequently the cut stone blocks lie near the temporary Minatogawa tombs which dot the rocky coast. By the simplest methods, large quantities of stone have been and continue to be removed. All work is done by hand; machinery was installed by the Americans after the war, but it is out of working order and stands idle. 316 [133] [764]

Before the war, stonecutting in this vicinity was a more thriving industry than now. Quarries are also found in neighboring Tamagusuku township and there is a distributing outlet in Morikawa, the village across the river. Before the war from 300-500 men are said to have engaged in stonecutting. Now there are about 120 in both villages. Many of these stone workers had come from other parts of Okinawa and the Ryukyus: men from the offshore islands, Ie-shima, the Kerama chain, and Iheya, and on the south east, from Kudaka, Tsuken, and Hoanza islands. Most of those settlers from the offshore islands have left. A few, born on Ie-shima, or from the northern district still remain. [464]

Since the war coastwise shipping of lumber and firewood from the north and stone from the south had declined sharply. Trucks have largely displaced the boats. Transport costs are high and the stone is in demand in closer markets. 505 494

2

Acquiring and Working the Land

Customary practices govern the quarrying of stone. These eliminate the need for written agreements. Interested persons know the properties and the possibilities of each site. These customary practices are concerned with the acquisition, the working and the restoration of land. Techniques for working the stone have remained nearly the same for at least sixty years. 316

The stonecutter purchases rights to the stone, not the land itself. When the stone has been extracted, the land is returned to its owner. This is unimproved land, but after the stone has been quarried, a house may be built on the site. When a stonecutter (sekko) wishes to acquire a certain holding, he calls on the owner of the land. Following oral negotiations, the price is agreed upon. A good price 316 425 [435]

316 (1951-52) is from Y300-400 per tsubo (about four square yards), much
425 higher than ordinary agricultural land. The price varies with supposed
435 quality. The good judgment of the purchaser is necessary for success. He must estimate the quantity of stone, its depth, whether there may be cracks, fissures, or black streaks below, and the effect of underground water as he cuts down deeper. In a year, a good stonecutter can remove stone from about four tsubo of land. If he has extra capital, he may hire help.

316 The types of employment found are either the single operator or the
472 small operator who has one or more employees. The industry is not notable for large capital outlays, or many employees of a single operator. A simple partnership is common. There may be some division of labor, with the owner of the rights doing all the cutting, while a friend or relative who does this as a secondary occupation assists in the removal of the stone and in loading it on a horse cart. The operator who has a piece of land too large to work by himself may hire someone. The employee (yatoi in Japanese, ninpu in Okinawan) is paid according to skill: Y100
[965] a day for a beginning 17 or 18 year old boy, Y150 to the experienced, and Y200 to the worker who can do all phases of the work quickly and skillfully.

Much depends on the nature of the stone being worked. This varies
[804] by locality and with moisture content. It will require 8 hours for a man to cut a six shaku (about six feet) length of hard rock 1 shaku
[461] 2 sun (14.4 inches) deep, but he may be able to make three cuttings of moist or wet rock in the same period. Working time naturally varies with the strength and skill of the cutter. For this reason, piece
[965] work payment is common. The employee, however, may work unused portions of the holdings, receiving two-thirds of the value of the stone cut.

3

Tools and Types of Stone Cut

413 Six tools are used in cutting and extracting the sandstone: (1) the hichi (Okinawan). This tool, about six feet long, resembles a crow bar, but has a sharp chisel edge for cutting the stone. (2) A sharp hand axe (ono in Japanese, yuki in Okinawan) for chipping and finishing, (3) the ishiyuki, a smaller axe, used like the yuki, for chipping and finishing but principally in shaping pyramidal stones (kenchi). The tool is also used to knock off the rough edges of the stone, where it has been split, an operation often performed by old men. (4) The kusukacha (Okinawan). This reminds one of a small light golf iron. It has a handle four or five feet long with a metal strip attached at an angle to one end. It is used to rake off chippings and dust that accumulate in the groove while the cut is being made with the long chisel. (5) Wedges (iya in Okinawan), and (6) sledge hammers are used to split off the stone after the cut has been made.

316 Methods of working with these tools are very simple. The surface dirt is cleared away until the stone to be cut is visible and clean.

324 The truck or horsecart of the buyer comes to the stonecutting area,
432 the blocks are loaded and taken away. Prior to sale, for convenience,
stone may be taken from the cutting area. It is loaded on horse carts,
[494] the men carrying the heavy blocks by means of ropes looped around the
ends of the stone and over poles which in turn rest on the shoulders.
[483] A six foot length (1 ken linear measure), one foot wide and about ten
[804] inches thick sells for ¥140 (1951-52).
[435]

Foot injuries are the chief hazards of this occupation. The toes may be accidentally cut by the long chisel, and there is danger
316 of bruising or crushing by accidentally dropping the block, or by
rolling when it is being dislodged. Very hard and calloused hands are
[164] the mark of the stonecutter; his hands are especially conspicuous for
the hard, raised areas on the palm around the base of the fingers, the
[142] result of the constant lifting and pounding of the long chisel. There is also danger to the eyes in flying chips but few use glasses or goggles.

Like some phases of fishing, this work is for the young and the
[561] physically mature men. After the middle forties or early fifties, a man no longer does the heavy work and confines himself to lighter chores. The very old and the retired may chip and finish the foundation and the pyramidal stones.

472 If a cutter is unable to extract all the stone in a plot whose stone he has bought, there are also customary solutions. When the father dies, his son continues the workings and returns the field to the owner. If a stone worker moves to another village when only half the work has been done, he arranges for a friend, relative, or neighbor to take over the remaining part.

4

Restoring the Land

185 Formerly excavations (which might be 10 or 15 feet deep and the
311 size of a large room) were refilled by the buyer of the stone rights.
Rocks, pebbles, and miscellaneous trash were used as fill, but following the war there has been a heavy demand for rock and stone for road
[499] construction. As a consequence, many excavations are now only partly refilled. After refilling, houses are built on the sites of formerly excavated land. Here and there one can see sweet potatoes or vegetables growing on land which formerly was covered with stone. The original state of the land, its appearance after excavation and its restoration may be seen in Figure 2. Evidences of this reclamation may be seen throughout the stoneworking area.

324 Minatogawa, because it lacks vegetation for protective and decorative purposes, is a good example of the use and adaptation of stone to local needs. There are still stone fences, waist or shoulder height, and many small stone boundary lines, a foot or two and of uneven height. Coral stones, weathered by the sea, honeycombed and pocked, are seen everywhere.

necessities of life. Fishermen are more accustomed to dealing in currency transactions and these are more frequent and freer than in the farming village. 434 511 184 [437]

The economic history of the average Okinawan agricultural village from the late 19th century when Japanese control became firm to the present is largely an account of the fluctuations in rice, sweet potato and sugar cane production. This history is difficult to reconstruct on a local level because of the destruction of records and inexact memories. The point is nevertheless worth making, if only to stress again that these villages are not isolated rural economies. The general experience seems to have been that crop acreages have contracted and expanded in response to local needs and to the demands of trade with Japan. 433 [439]

In the Hanashiro area, to use one example, there is a current interest in rice production because of its high value, and sugar cane seems to be displacing some sweet potato acreage. Sugar, even though coarse and unrefined, has a market in Japan strong enough to warrant production for the cash income at the expense of the cheap and plentiful sweet potato. 433 435

One of the most significant facts of economic life in these villages has been the maintenance of individual farms and crop variety. Plantation monoculture, subject to international price fluctuations and often conducive to local impoverishment, has not developed. 423 311

Private ownership in land, the inheritance of land within the family system, individual farms, tiny as they are, have undoubtedly been a stabilising influence on these village economies. 423 428

585 the day of the wedding ceremony, preparations are made at the
184 bride's home. Food is served for relatives and friends, and the party then proceeds to the groom's home for the ceremony.

[431] Gifts from the groom's family depend upon economic circumstances, but usually range from Y50 to Y100 up to Y1000. In Hanashiro, something, no matter how small, is always given by the groom's family to the bride's family. Since the war, gifts of chests of drawers and blankets are less common because of high prices.

On the third day, in this Hanashiro custom, the bride and the groom with relatives and friends visit the bride's parents during the day. On the same evening, the visit is returned by the bride's family.

585 There is a general agreement in all the villages that as a con-
178 sequence of the war, the preliminaries to marriage, the ceremony, the gifts, and the events following the ceremony have become simpler.
727 Part of this is due to the high cost of food and entertainment. In the competition with other ceremonies and celebrations, the tendency
435 has been, in the interest of economy, to simplify the old customs, or when this is not possible, to combine celebrations coming close together in the year. One frequently hears the word keizai (economy) used in this connection.

3

Contemporary Attitudes Toward Marriage

58 Marriage customs today are different from those of even 20 years
178 ago. From information collected from the villages, the chief changes in marriage customs have been: (1) the preliminaries and the ceremony have been simplified, (2) marriage takes place at a much older age, (3) marriages between individuals of different villages are more common, (4) there is a shorter engagement period and its significance has declined, (5) the custom in which the bride temporarily returns to her home has disappeared or become rare, (6) the go-between, formerly a respected elder negotiating a marriage, is now a friend, generally the same age as the principals, offering help and advice, and (7) the arranged marriage has given way to freer choice in marriage in which the parents' consent has become largely a formality.

581 Judging by the statements of residents of all villages, many of
582 whom were married under the old arrangement, there is almost universal approval of free choice in marriage. Divorces were said to have been
[586] common under the old system, mainly because of the wife's barrenness or unattractiveness. The chances that the marriage will be a happy one are
[562] thought to be greater under the new. Among women, it harmonizes with ideas of equality which they have heard of or read about in Japanese
[177] magazines since the occupation.

shopping trip to a larger town. In the very common evening visiting among men, women participate very little. 562

There has been some improvement in the social position of women since the war. In Hanashiro, for example, before the war, the husband, children, and grandparents ate in the second or third room, while the wife and sometimes the eldest daughter ate in the kitchen. (The Okinawan kitchen, though part of the house, differs from the other rooms in that it has direct access to the outside, is generally on a level with the ground, and has a dirt, cement, or stone floor). The wife in preparing the meal can go back and forth readily and need not take off her clogs or wash her feet if she goes barefoot when she goes up into the rooms. Her meal is a slight interlude between duties. 562 264 [342]

In most homes now, the women eat with the family in the main house. Some old women still spend most of their time in the kitchen watching the fire and eating their meals there. One of the reasons given for the change in attitude toward women is that many of the repatriated Okinawans brought newer ideas with them and did not practice segregation at meal times. [178]

Another important fact about social life is the drinking of the men and the abstinence of the women.[3] Young men usually begin drinking sake around the age of marriage. It is exceptional for a young man in his teens or early twenties to drink. But once this dividing line is passed, it is the exceptional man who does not drink. In each village one finds a few lifelong teetotalers. Drinking is always done in company, as the climax of a task completed, because of some happy turn of events, or because there is a party or celebration. As a general rule, the village men do not drink every day, but only when a suitable occasion arises. While there is drunkenness, I did not observe the solitary, prolonged drinking commonly associated with alcoholism in western societies. Prolonged drinking at night has the expected effects the next day, but there is very little remorse, unless a man has done something of which he is subsequently ashamed. Men who have drunk too much the night before do not hesitate to lie in bed 273 [562] [133]

[Text continues top of p. 295 -- analyst]

3 In Okinawa, the commonest and cheapest alcoholic drink is sake. This is not the same as Japanese sake, the light rice wine, slightly resembling sauterne, that is usually served warm or hot. Okinawan sake is awamori, a much stronger drink of distilled rice spirits, a variety of the Japanese shochu. The alcoholic content of awamori ranges from about 25% to 30%. It is a raw liquor with an unpleasant taste. It is not the favorite, but it is the cheapest drink. Awamori is made from rice in small distilleries throughout Okinawa, bottled in large jugs and distributed to village shops. Most shops carry it. Sometimes there are special sake shops. Awamori or sake is sold for about Y14 per go (.318 pint). The normal intake for an evening is considered to be 2 go. Most men are fairly inebriated after drinking this much. The American army canteen, when available, is the favorite sake container. Japanese and American beer and Japanese sake are liked, but too expensive. 274 435 804

358 children, whether in primary, junior, or senior high school, clean up the grounds and do repair and upkeep work. Young teachers, many [875] of whom are single, supervise the work, and often stay during the evening hours to plan the day's work or to study. Male teachers are night watchmen at the school, sleeping there in rotation.

346 The main problems of education are (1) adequate school buildings. Their condition reflects the haphazard tragedies of war. Schools vary in quality from place to place. The high school at Ginoza and the elementary school at Matsuda, for example, are excellent buildings; in other places, such as Gushichan village, the classroom buildings are little more than shanties with thatched roofs, and a siding of boards, [358] corrugated iron, or other materials at hand. At typhoon times, some of these are flattened, and it is normal to see school children helping [727] to clear the grounds and putting on new thatch. It is my impression generally that conditions are worse in southern Okinawa than in the northern area where war destruction was much less. The Civil Administration is well aware of these problems and the school construction program is, to all appearances, progressing. (2) Much the same situation and for the same reasons, exists with regard to school equipment. Rickety [352] chairs, old benches, bad blackboards contrast with the equipment of the new schools or of the old which escaped destruction.

875 (3) The post-war period has made a difference in the status of the school teacher (sensei). The destruction and disruption of the war, scarcity, high prices and low salaries have made his position in most [727] cases a precarious one. Before the war, the school teacher had prestige and money. Only the prestige remains. One high school principal estimated that the post-war prices have increased 100 times, the teachers' [465] salaries about fifty times. Immediately before the war, the starting salary of a beginning teacher was Y45 a month. (The value of the pre-[435] war Japanese yen was about US $0.27). A school principal received Y100 a month. Now the beginning salary for school teachers is about Y2200 and for principals Y5000. (The present value of the Okinawan yen is officially pegged at 120 to the dollar). Increases averaging about 30% went into effect in October 1951.

The school teacher has little or no money for clothing; his dress is the same nondescript combination of old civilian and army clothing that one sees on everyone else. This situation, serious in any country, is particularly so in a culture that has always regarded the teacher with such honor. The teaching profession is the source of many careers [555] in public office. Even in casual observation, one frequently finds that mayors, vice-mayors, former members of the Japanese civil service, started life as teachers.

The Okinawan teacher works hard and enthusiastically, but new attitudes are appearing which must be recognized. There is a desire to leave the profession, particularly noticeable in the male teachers under 30. Economic difficulties are reflected in frustration and discouragement. Okinawan school teachers, if the ones I knew are representative, have enthusiasm for ideas of democracy and freedom and for reforms that have

Land Ownership and Rental Although Nanahan has only twenty-three houses, the land register lists thirty-five land owners. Two of these are persons who are tenants and who own only the houselots where they live. In addition, three other families live in Nanahan, owning neither houselot nor land, but renting both from the owner. Five families have moved to urban areas, but have kept the land, and have rented it out, chiefly to the settlers in the community. Of the five, one had never owned a houselot. Two sold their houselots and one rented his house out. The remaining one rented his houselot, which was later converted by the tenant into a dry field. 423 427

There is almost no one in Nanahan who is neither a renter nor a rentee. Ten of the registered land owners are minors, most of whom have inherited land from their fathers who were killed in the invasion. Two are sons of the leading landowner, who has apparently registered part of his land in his sons' names to avoid heavy taxes.

The annual rent for grassland in Nanahan is ¥0.30, or thirty 'sen', per 'tsubo'. In the one 'genya' sale for which information was available, a doctor living in Kochinda village sold a Nanahan man 1,000 'tsubo' for a total of ¥3,000. Dry land, or 'hatake', rents for ¥2 per 'tsubo', although better and more fertile land may command a higher rental. Riceland is not rented out for money, but for a portion of the crop. Under the most usual arrangement the renter keeps three-fifths of the crop and delivers to the owner the remaining two-fifths. The renter must furnish all the manure, fertilizer, and labor. The Nanahan land register records nine plots as having been sold since 1947. 423 427 435

The Nanahan farmers say that the best thing the military ever did was to order in 1947 the making of a land survey and the drawing of land ownership maps. They said it is very effective in protecting boundaries and preventing quarrels. 423

3. Diet

Although daily Okinawan cuisine is in general very similar to that of Japan, some difference is seen in the dependence on the sweet potato, and the use of pork. Feast foods have more local flavor and are considerably different from those of Japan. The frequent typhoons occasionally cause temporary famine, and it is during the famines that Okinawan food and food substitutes differ most from Japanese standards. Finally, one major point of difference is in the use of sugar in the household; three centuries of experience with the crop has given rise to many traits and patterns centered around the use of sugar in the home. These four categories are discussed in this section on diet. 262 171 [263]

Ordinary Food The typical Okinawan breakfast is generally boiled sweet potatoes ('imo'), 'miso' (soybean paste) soup and vegetables. The noon meal is boiled sweet potatoes, noodles, and vegetables. The evening meal consists usually of boiled rice, 'miso' soup and vegetables. The most frequently consumed vegetables are mustard cabbage, Chinese cabbage, green onions, wax melon, giant radish, chopped dried radish, carrots and cabbage. Other foods added as occasional variety are wheat fluff, seaweed, soybean curd, and canned fish. 262

CHAPTER IV: RURAL ECONOMY

F. R. Pitts

1. Agricultural Buying, Selling and Labor

436
177 With the introduction of money economy in a more intensive form at the time of the Japanese assumption of control in Okinawa, the farmer gave up many of his oldtime practices and began to adopt through necessity more modern forms of exchange. Because his life remained essentially rural, these newer forms revolved mainly around goods and services connected with farming. Information used in the following discussion is based on notes taken in Nanahan, unless otherwise specified.

434 Sale of Farm Products and Livestock Before the war the main cash crop was
438 sugar cane, and the sale of black sugar provided almost the entire money income of a rural household. However, if additional money was needed in emergencies, enough dried soybeans were sold to alleviate the deficit. In the coastal areas of Kanegusku, Tomigusuku and Yonagusuku the sale of reed products supplemented the income derived from sugar.

Because of the decreased acreage of rice after about 1910, rice was not a major money crop. However, the postwar decrease in sugar cane acreage coupled with a rise in acreage planted to rice and vegetables have made both the latter more available as income-producers for the farmer. Farmers with a moderate amount of rice generally sell about half, but use the money thus obtained to buy cheaper but "less delicious" imported rice if they run short---and can afford rice.

In the autumn, women from villages near Naha go out into the countryside buying vegetables and taking them by bus or three-wheeled jitney to the urben market, or to establishments that buy them for resale to military dependents at approved stores. Cabbage, for instance, in late November brings
[439] a premium price of ¥8 per 'kin' (1.32 pounds), but a month later the price declines to about ¥4-5 per 'kin'. One woman will carry away about 30 kin at a time.

Poor people and widows often sell cane to the local motor-powered mill, and obtain a little more money by helping to process it. Those who are fortunate enough to afford to do the pressing and processing at a horsedrawn sweep sell directly to the Agricultural Federation, or Noren, in Naha. For a
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[439] premium in Japan to candy manufacturers, who prefer it to white sugar. This accounts in part for the reluctence on the part of some farmers to sell to the modern sugar mill in Haebaru-son, which chiefly makes white granulated sugar.

Although animals are generally bought for prices that the community considers as relatively fixed (see below), meat animals sell for a certain rate per unit weight that varies with the market. Old cows and bullocks are generally sold for meat at the rate of ¥60 per kin. Boars, if fat, are sold for ¥42 per kin. Male goats bring ¥20 per kin for eating purposes, and chickens bring about ¥200 per kin. Females of any animals are very seldom sold unless old and almost dying, or unless the farmer finds himself in dire monetary emergency. Nanahan, which has the greatest vegetable acreage in Tomoyose village, has a 'han'-wide agreement not to raise chickens, due to their possible destruction of young plants. 435

Buying of Livestock and Daily Necessities The war depleted most of the livestock of Okinawa, and recovery has been slow. Okinawan farmers frequently expressed their gratitude to the American religious organizations which sent goats to them to help in reconstruction. 727 231 [177]

The reversion of Amami indirectly helped to increase the livestock on Okinawa. A Nanahan farmer described the situation in late November of 1953: 439 231

> Horses, cows, goats and pigs, together with household furniture come into Tomari port from Amami every day. The Amamians want to get as much Okinawan yen as possible, because it will convert to Japanese yen at three to one, and they think they will be ahead. The accelerated cattle movement started right after reversion intentions were announced. We are very glad to be able to buy the animals, but important people on Amami are afraid that this movement will deplete the island of animals, especially stud horses and bulls, goats and pigs for breeding.

Nanahan farmers have relatively fixed ideas on the prices of livestock. For middle grade, or average, stock the following prices are quoted: horses, ¥13,000; cows, ¥25,000; heifers, ¥10-11,000; calves ¥9-10,000; boars, ¥2,500; sows, ¥2,700; and all goats, ¥300-400. 435

Before the war there were many people traveling through the countryside selling 'miso' paste and bean curd. Every other day such peddlers would visit even the most isolated settlements. Better roads and increased communications by bus and jitney have oriented purchase of staples urbanward. The only peddlers who now come through Nanahan are basket peddlers. Two small stores in the main settlement provide 'sake', noodles, matches and other small-cost items that are not worth a trip to town. 438 178 443

Sale of Services Farm labor is drawn from the southern islands and from poorer families who are just getting a start in the community. In Nanahan there was only one full-time farm laborer, who was paid ¥2,000 a month, in addition to room and board. He had left Miyako when eighteen, two years before, because of a famine that was being caused by a sweet-potato virus. His employer was a man who managed a good deal of land---indeed the land that belonged to himself and two minor relatives---and sorely needed the extra labor. Another landowner was converting dry land to paddy, and after 464 [465]

464 the bulldozer had done the basic shaping of the field, a new member of the
[465] 'han' was hired to finish the pounding of the paddy walls. He was paid ¥900 for six days' work, and was required to provide his own lunch. His employer had spent the first year after the war in Hokkaido, working for no money but receiving one 'shō' (3.18 pints) of rice a day. Later he rented a horse and cart from its owner at ¥60 a day and pocketed anything above that amount that he earned. During planting and harvest season he worked in the rice fields.

445 Horses are rented out by their owners to other people, but when a cow
426 is rented the owner's services are always included. No farmer trusts anyone
• 435 else with his cow. A man-and-cow hire out for ¥250-300 a day, depending on
379 the distance they must travel. A horse is most often rented to pull the sweep
299 of a rotary sugar-press, and is paid according to the amount of juice of black sugar produced. Various prices are quoted. ¥100 is paid for each 'chō' (100 kin, or 132 pounds) of black sugar produced. One farmer charges for the use of his horse a flat rate of ¥1 for each gallon of juice squeezed. Another charges ¥60 for 50 gallons of juice if the renter lives in Nanahan or close by, and ¥70 if he lives farther away. Horses were scarce the first year after the war, and fifteen men together pulled the sweeps of the rotary presses.

464 <u>Buying of Labor and Services</u> Many times farmers have need of a great amount
575 of labor in a short period of time. Then they are most likely to call upon the services of the young people's group, the 'seinendan'. One Nanahan farmer in 1952 had this group make a paddy field for him from a dry field. In 1953 another farmer had the group make a 300 'tsubo' dry field for him out of 'arechi', or war-destroyed land. The 'seinendan' also hires its members out to work for people who need help in the busy season. The following daily wage rates were quotes: women and new
[465] members, ¥40; men of 18 and 19 years, ¥50; and men of 20 years and above, ¥60.

445 Abolition of the stringent Japanese regulations compelling farmers
[64] to raise sugar has resulted in the reconversion of many sugar fields to rice paddies. At first this was done exclusively by hand labor, but now bull-
[433] dozers are more in favor. One farmer had 420 'tsubo' of dry land converted into paddy at a total cost for bulldozer leveling of ¥6,300. The rate for machine and operator was ¥600 an hour. The farmer owns 450 tsubo more of paddy, which provides rice for one meal a day. With this newly-converted
[262] field he plans to have his family eat rice twice daily. Labor charges for finishing the new paddy will run about ¥4,000, according to estimate.

One of his relatives is a repatriate from the hemp-growing colony at Davao, in the Philippines. This man bought land from a villager who was dissatisfied with country life, and hired a bulldozer to convert it to paddy.
[435] For conversion of 816 tsubo he paid bulldozer charges of ¥12,000 and ¥8,000 additional for labor. He had bought the dry land ('hatake') originally for ¥65 per tsubo.

About the only other service regularly engaged is the hulling and polishing of rice. Nanahan people take their threshed rice to a neighboring village where there is a 'seimaisho' (rice-cleaning mill), and pay only cash for the service. They return home with the polished rice and the bran, or

war level. This is due to several factors. The local prices for reed products are said to be too low, and access to Japanese markets is difficult today due to the separation of Okinawa and Japan. Since the war local food shortages and changed tastes and diet have influenced change to greater rice production. Many houses in Kanegusuku lost their mat-weaving looms during the war, depriving them of this means of support. In addition, there is some feeling that it is too time-consuming and the young girls do not like it. 286 433 178

One tsubo produces about two bundles of reed, which is worth about ¥10 a bundle when dried. Usually the reed is not sold, but is made by the producer's family into mats. Two bundles of reeds make one 'goza' mat, which sells for ¥65-100 in Naha. One person can make about two of these mats in one day. However, in almost all families this is part-time work, the woman of the house weaving in her spare time. One family in the village fortunate enough to own two looms employs two village girls full time as long as a supply of reeds is available. 286 433 [435] [464]

The covering for the 'tatami' mat is called 'tatami omote'. An individual can make about six of these per day. They are faster-made than 'goza' because the ends do not have to be tied off and bordered. These sell for about ¥45 in Naha, which place people prefer to Itoman as a market for their reed products. However, rice straw to be used in the base of 'tatami' is sold in Itoman because the cost of transporting the bulky straw to Naha would be prohibitive---it is sold for only ¥1 or ¥2 per bundle. The Agricultural Cooperative is trying to arrange for the sale of 'tatami omote' in Kagoshima where ¥85 per mat can be obtained. The first such postwar collection and sale was made early in 1954. 286 433 435

<u>Prewar Home Industry in Yamada</u> Before the war people in Yamada made much of their own clothing, and were self-sufficient in most of the tools they used. Most of the clothing was made by the women of the village themselves. Most women wove, and many wove constantly when not in the fields. Many had their own looms, but those who did not borrowed looms from their neighbors. 294 [286]

The usual summer garment was a kimono of banana-fiber cloth and the usual winter garment one of cotton. The former was made wholly at home, from the tree to the finished garment. For the cotton kimono the threads were purchased, usually at Kadena, already dyed, and the cloth woven at home. [291]

Several families had silkworms. They got the eggs from Japan and fed the worms on mulberry leaves they grew in their yards. These women spun and wove at home but they sometimes had professional dyers at Kadena or Naha dye the threads for them. Silk garments, like store-bought garments, were only for grand occasions. 231 283 292

Before the war some Yamada women made "panama" hats in their homes as piecework for a hat company. The company furnished the materials and bought the finished product. This was one of the few sources of cash available outside the sugar crop. Baskets, carrying bags, and raincapes made of 294 [434]

Education The Japanese established the first schools in the rural areas some time before World War I. Great emphasis was placed on making Japanese speakers and nationals out of Okinawans. Today most of the population is bilingual; those who speak only a dialect of the Ryukyuan language are persons over sixty and pre-school children. Most Okinawans have come to regard themselves as Japanese. 871 177 [191] [829]

A major change in the postwar educational system has been the addition of three years to the period of compulsory schooling, making a total of nine years. Since the schools continue to provide a Japanese education, the effect will be to increase the Japanization of Okinawa, raise literacy, and ultimately make all speakers bilingual. As a student is usually excused from all work by the family, this measure has served to withhold a large number of teenagers from the labor market.

In the rural areas the author heard frequent praise for the extension of the schooling period and the new school construction program initiated by the military government. Most rural peoples stated that educational opportunities were poor for them in the prewar period; high school education was said to be particularly difficult for a village child to achieve. Now they feel that they are realizing equality with the urban areas. The urbanite is more likely to suggest that the quality of education has deteriorated in the postwar period. Both rural and urban people were agreed that one decided improvement has been that students no longer fight among themselves. Before and during the war all students were organized into small groups based on area of residence; each group was headed by a student leader who shepherded his charges to and from school in semi-military formation. Rivalry between these organized groups frequently led to gang fighting so severe that the intervention of teachers or police was often necessary to restore order. 871 369 178 877 178

Rural people regard education as providing one of the best opportunities for improving one's status; consequently, the improvement of educational opportunities will have far-reaching effects on social mobility. Those who acquire a high school or university education rarely remain in the village, and the few who do remain adopt an occupation other than farming. 871 554

Economy Money was virtually non-existent in the old Okinawan village; barter was the chief means of exchange. Taxes under the communal land holding system were paid in grain and cloth. The land reforms initiated by the Japanese brought the introduction of tax payments in cash. Increasing emphasis on sugar production due to governmental encouragement and subsidy did much to destroy the self-sufficiency of the village and brought dependence on a cash crop. The period of Japanese administration was marked by a gradual adoption of a money economy in the rural areas. 437 436 178 177

Okinawans state that there is a far greater amount of money in the village today than in the prewar period. Some assert that due to governmental price controls they were never able to realize a fair return for their products (chiefly sugar) in the prewar era, but the great increase in money in recent years seems largely attributable to factors relating to the military occupation. Today over twenty-five percent of the total labor force is employed by the military and in subsidiary occupations such as construction; this steep rise in 434 178 [435] [364]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

and improvement of rural life, have continued to function. The most important of these are the agricultural associations (nogyōkumiai). In Okinawa, they are organized on a township level. The agricultural association is usually near the township office. It is both a buying and a selling concern. It buys and sells agricultural tools and simple farm machinery. The association may also buy and introduce into the agricultural village new techniques, tools, insect and pest control preparations, and other supplies imported from America or Japan. Buying and distribution for sale are at present more active functions than making loans. In any one year, a borrower may obtain a ¥200 loan, but the chief difficulty (Dec. 1951) is that the association has little money. In Gushichan village, the association buys and re-sells firewood, imported from the northern mountain region.

The fishermen's association in Minatogawa has already been described. It may buy and distribute fishing gear, gas and oil, and other marine necessities.

Within the village itself, there are co-operative groups. The sugar mill co-operative of Hanashiro is typical. This has about 125 members, both men and women, and includes most of the families of the village. Each member pays to the association a fee for the use of the mill including the machinery and the cooking vessels. Of the fee, 60% goes to care and maintenance, 10% to the head of the co-operative who handles the administrative details, while 30% is held in reserve and redistributed as a rebate to members after the end of the season, if there is a surplus. The sugar is individually produced and sold. The village co-operative is concerned only with the care and maintenance of the mill and its facilities.

In Matsuda a pig raiser's co-operative (yōtonkumiai) has been started. The main emphasis is on breeding rather than on marketing. The group, which has about 61 members, is a result of the intense interest which has followed the introduction of American breeds. The head of this group is chosen by the membership. The organization is interested in the diffusion of information on the care and breeding of pigs and its membership participates in regional meetings of pig raisers.

4

The Cash Economy of Rural Villages

The use of money in Okinawa seems to be recent. Hall and M'Leod in 1816 wrote that they observed no money, and that the Okinawans did not know its uses. Commodore Perry, who had a crisp reaction both to the Okinawans and to Hall's descriptions of them, said they knew "the value of gold and silver very well, and they traffic for the Chinese 'cash', of which from twelve to fourteen hundred are equivalent to the Spanish dollar." Chamberlain (1895) said that the Okinawans had

436 175 no native money and used the Japanese cash, and that the Japanese did not permit a native coinage.[2]

436 Up to the war, only bills of low denominations circulated in the villages. In Minatogawa, an old lady, now about 73, said that before the war she had never seen a Y100 note, which at that time was worth slightly over US$25. But since the 19th century, new conditions have pried the farmer loose from barter and self-sufficiency. There is little to warrant a belief that rural villages are self-sufficient. The most elementary obligations, such as sending one's children to school, require cash. An average rural family of five may require from Y40-60,000 a year. 434 511

Cash outlays include: (1) Entertainment, including the purchase of sake. Entertainment is an integral part of the culture and cannot be dismissed as a luxury. (2) Clothing. (3) Fertilizer. (4) Tobacco. (5) Soap. No soap is made in the home. American soap flakes are highly prized, but generally are not purchased because of the cost. (6) Hair cutting. (7) Food and food supplements, such as noodles and vermicelli types of paste, cooking oils, salt, soy sauce, meat, fish, seaweed (kombu), rice, if not grown and purchases from the import store. (8) Fuel, charcoal, charcoal sticks. (9) Transportation for business or pleasure. (10) Newspapers. Many subscriptions are cancelled when the price goes up. (11) Tools and tool repairs, but maintenance is small after the original investment. (12) School books and contributions to schools for purchasing special items. (13) Medicines and mid-wives' fees. (14) Occasional purchases of lumber, stone, or tile. (15) Taxes. [574] [388] [262] [204] [872] [651]

In the farming areas, sugar and pigs are the only significant sources of cash income. Sweet potatoes, rice, eggs, and soy beans may be sold, but the amounts are either too small or the selling price too low to provide substantial amounts of cash. Occasionally younger sons may have jobs which bring in money, and a farmer or his sons may have a horse cart for hire. 434

In Minatogawa, cash outlays, in addition to the items already mentioned, are required for nets, gasoline, and oil. Cash comes from sales of fish, pigs, and stone. The lack of rice, an insufficient sweet potato crop for year round needs, imports of firewood from the north and the occasional need to purchase grasses for thatch make this community more dependent on cash than the agricultural community. [5]

The economic problem of the fisherman is also different from that of the farmer. Both the farmer and the fisherman must pay cash for medicines, fertilizer, alcoholic drinks, clothing, various special but traditional articles of the diet, taxes, tools, and supplies. The farmer, however, can produce much of his food. He can exist on sweet potatoes, bean curd, and bean paste soup, and if need be may spend little money on food. The fisherman cannot exist on fish alone. Fisherman without fields must depend on cash earnings to buy the

2 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, Vol. I, 160, 220-21. Chamberlain, The Luchu islands and their inhabitants, Geo. journal 5 (1895), 313.

313 which they use interchangeably. After sufficient trees have been cut and
[412] cleared of branches, a large bundle of firewood is carried to the village. Most forest workers make four or five trips a day into the hills—two or three during the hot summer season. As the afternoon ends, they sit down along the road in the village or nearby to prepare firewood
474 bundles. Pieces of wood are inserted through a bamboo loop of stand-
313 ard size, prescribed by the cooperative store, until a tight, uniform bundle is obtained. The last piece has to be driven into the bundle by force. All over the village one can hear the knocking of wood pieces
[592] which marks the end of a forest worker's daily labor. Each household works independently and sells firewood to the cooperative. A store
[436] clerk travels around the village in late afternoon, checks all bundles, and issues credit slips to each household; these can be changed into money at the store. The following morning the truck, owned by the
[438] cooperative, carries the firewood to Naha or Itoman where it is sold to a dealer who redistributes it to individual consumers or public bathhouses. The northern part of the island has always supplied firewood to the population of southern Okinawa to be used for kitchen hearths
[354] and bath stoves. In recent years kerosene kitchen stoves have become so popular that the depletion of wood resources tends to coincide with decreasing demand.

TRADES AND PROFESSIONS

463 Other ways of making a living exist. A few artisans in Taira derive part of their income from wage labor. A number of Taira men earn their living by carpentering, although they do most of their work in the south. They return occasionally when their services are needed for local house building. When working on local construction, they are
[465] paid in money, free lodging, and meals. There are also a few part-time resident carpenters who, whenever they are not employed in house building or repairs, spend their time farming and cutting wood. New
[342] buildings are usually put up between the beginning of the second rice crop and the New Year.

463 Several persons are salaried township or village officials. They are paid monthly and work a 44-hour week, not counting many extra meet-
466 ings and duties connected with their work. All office workers however
[647] have fields, either their own or those of their parents, where they spend Sundays helping in agricultural pursuits. During rice planting season, they are given special time off to attend to their fields.

Also among the salaried workers are store employees, a full-time

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Alcoholic Beverages

443 Japanese and American canned beer
[273] Japanese type sake (a light rice wine resembling sauterne)
Okinawan sake (awamori)

Miscellaneous

Charcoal sticks
[276] Brass and nickel plated Japanese pipes
Small dishes
[415] Sake bottles
Oil burners to keep mosquitos away
[416] Flashlights, bulbs, and batteries
Matches
Japanese and American tobaccos
Fishing lamps and the ika lamp (fishing villages only)

[437] Transactions are usually on a cash basis, although some customers pay at the end of the week. In one such store, the gross sales averaged ¥600 a day with a net profit of about 10%. (The yen is pegged at 120 to the US dollar). During the day and the early evening, the village [366] stores are meeting places, especially if, like Hinatogawa, several together make up a small business center.

443 Supplies are delivered to village stores by truck or sometimes by bus. Often the owner goes to the larger towns to buy. Young boys are
444 an important cog in the distribution system. They deliver candies, cookies, and other small articles which are carried in five gallon lard [850] tins on racks over the rear mudguard of their bicycles. They ride up to the store, count out their candies or cookies, receive payment, and cycle on to the next store over a route which includes several villages. These boys work out of larger towns like Itoman and Nago. Baking goods, [262] bread (pan) really a sweet dough with a jelly-like filling, cookies and candies are distributed in this manner. Sometimes housewives make cookies and cakes to sell to village stores.

443 There is not much house to house selling or soliciting. Occasionally women come to the villages with a selection of ready made clothing or cloth. In Hinatogawa, an itinerant drug vendor periodically goes through the village ringing his bell, selling various Japanese patent medicines mainly for colds, headaches, constipation, and stomach aches.

444 Import stores (hyakujō), also operated privately, are a different
262 kind of enterprise than the village shop. They have been set up under the American occupation. Larger wholesalers supply the village re-
511 tailers. These stores deal in a restricted number of commodities, such as rice, flour, soy bean sauce, wheat, and cooking oils. Sales are made to villagers on a rationing system based on the number in the family, its age distribution, pregnancy, and whether the head is engaged in heavy [442] work. The intent of the import stores is to make food available, at reasonable cost, to those who cannot grow their own, or whose own produce

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[437]

necessities of life. Fishermen are more accustomed to dealing in currency transactions and these are more frequent and freer than in the farming village.

The economic history of the average Okinawan agricultural village from the late 19th century when Japanese control became firm to the present is largely an account of the fluctuations in rice, sweet potato and sugar cane production. This history is difficult to reconstruct on a local level because of the destruction of records and inexact memories. The point is nevertheless worth making, if only to stress again that these villages are not isolated rural economies. The general experience seems to have been that crop acreages have contracted and expanded in response to local needs and to the demands of trade with Japan.

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[439]

In the Hanashiro area, to use one example, there is a current interest in rice production because of its high value, and sugar cane seems to be displacing some sweet potato acreage. Sugar, even though coarse and unrefined, has a market in Japan strong enough to warrant production for the cash income at the expense of the cheap and plentiful sweet potato.

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One of the most significant facts of economic life in these villages has been the maintenance of individual farms and crop variety. Plantation monoculture, subject to international price fluctuations and often conducive to local impoverishment, has not developed.

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Private ownership in land, the inheritance of land within the family system, individual farms, tiny as they are, have undoubtedly been a stabilising influence on these village economies.

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'nuka'. The latter is fed to pigs, cows, and chickens. The rice polisher keeps the hulls (numigara), but the farmers have free access to the hull pile should they want to use it for stuffing pillows. People in Kanegusuku do not usually pay in cash, but allow the miller to keep about six percent of the polished rice as multure. 445 [437]

Exchange of Services In order to lessen the amount of money used in transactions, rural folk resort to exchange of labor as much as possible. However, the exchange is based upon fairly rigorous ideas of reciprocity, and a person who has been helped is expected fully to return the favor. A Nanahan man built a house with a tin roof---the only one in the village---with the aid of his wife's brother, who was a carpenter. In return he spent a greater number of days aiding his brother-in-law in construction of a new house---paying back more days because of his comparative lack of skill. People envy the carpenter, who did not finish high school, but attended a four-month carpentry school instead. "He now makes more than a high-school graduate, and has four apprentices working for him." 476 [457] [463]

Okinawan youths very early learn the patterns expected in cooperative labor. The custom of iimari is one of teen-aged boys' going around in a group to work the fields of the father of one of the boys, and moving on in turn to the fields of the other fathers. [893]

Some loosening of patterns of use of horse-drawn sugar mills was recorded. For instance, during the prewar period the dominant family in Nanahan had monopolized one particularly well-located press and boiling shed. Now they share its use with all the families living in the valley where the dominant family's 'honke' is located. [178] [249]

In Yamada mutual assistance through exchange of labor is called yiisē. For example, a farmer who wants to transplant rice gets help from among his relatives. One person comes from each family that can spare one, with the assurance that it will receive one person in return. If the labor cannot be returned for transplanting, the people owing a day may fill in with work on a dry field or aid in building a new house, and so forth. Thatching a roof with kaya grass is also yiisē, but it partakes somewhat of the nature of a 'moai', or mutual loan group. People from the whole village may come for this. They bring bundles of grass---one, two or three---and the amount is written down so that the same amount may be returned when that person's turn comes. The similarity to 'moai' may be only in the fact that there is a written record. [452]

The probationary adoption of a 'yōshi' may be considered a form of exchange of services. A man without an heir may take into his house a nephew, say the third son of his brother, with the intention of adopting him should the boy be serious and hard-working. If the boy should not prove amenable to the arrangement---one boy said, "I stayed with my uncle two years, but left because I wanted to get an education"---his labor is considered to have paid for the expense of keeping him. [597]

2. Rural Industries

178 Generally speaking, it can be said that much less effort is put forth
439 in the countryside now toward home industries than was the case before the
543 war. In Nanahan making of products at home has declined to the point where rather than being made for sale, they are made only for exhibit at the fair given annually at the local primary school. Even here considerable urging is required by the village officials, and entries are forthcoming only by an appeal to pride in one's village's standing at the fair.

249 Sugar Presses and Mills Okinawa has two modern western-style sugar refin-
257 eries, one at Haebaru and one on the isle of Minami Daitō. At the other end of the scale there are the some-400 horse-drawn rotary mills. Between these there are perhaps a dozen or less mills which utilize gasoline-powered motors and are geared to operate on a much larger scale than the rotary presses.

471 In rebuilding the big mill at Tomoyose which had been destroyed in the
257 war, each family that owned stock in the mill contributed the labor of one per-
461 son per day of building. On a typical day they started work at eight, had a fifteen-minute "break" at ten, and returned home for lunch for an hour at noon. After an afternoon "break", the work continued until six. Breaks and resumption of work were announced by pounding on an empty oxygen cylinder of large dimensions. The only break I observed lasted for 24 minutes. Tea was served to everyone, and the men sat around discussing how they would be able to pay for the building---which was made of sandy limestone from Minatogawa---and
471 where they would borrow money. The sugar produced was to be sold to the Ag-
257 ricultural Federation in Naha, as is the sugar produced at the smaller mills. However, the sugar was to be sold in 50 kin (66 pound) bags rather than in
[433] 100 kin barrels. The potential annual output was estimated at 15,000 bags, or approximately one-half the Tomoyose village production.

256 Kanegusuku Rice Mill There is one small rice mill in Kanegusuku. All the villagers who have rice land---or about 70% of the families---utilize this mill for polishing. No one in the village uses the
[439] old-fashioned hand mill. The owner of the rice mill says that most of the villagers cannot afford to pay cash for having their rice polished. Consequently he takes as multure about two-thirds of one 'gō' from each 'shō' of rice. This amounts to approximately six percent of their rice. The villagers evidently trust him completely, for no one was seen standing around watching while their rice was being polished.

The owner says that his machines are old and break down frequently. Three machines are required for the whole process. This is not a full-time job except during the harvesting periods. The young man who is owner regularly works on his family's lands. All operation and maintenance are done by him; he does not hire a helper even in the busiest times.

286 Mat-Making in Kanegusuku The three-cornered sedge ('sankaku-i') is a reed
433 grown in a wet field like rice, and is the basis of 'tatami omote' and 'goza' manufacture, the chief home industry of Kanegu-
[178] suku. Production of the reed in Kanegusuku today is about one-tenth the pre-

period of time. This was usually accomplished by reciprocal labor exchange or by hiring the local youth organization to do the job. 178 406

In sum, the rural people are making eager use of labor-saving machines when they are available. The limiting factors have been shortage caused by the war, poverty, small fields, and heavily fragmented holdings. The use of machines has contributed to a decline of reciprocal labor exchanges and has necessitated the payment of cash for the services of the specialist or machine owner. 178 40 [476] [437]

Dress A most notable feature of the postwar period has been the wholesale adoption of Western styles of dress and the great reliance placed on Japanese and American cloth and clothing. Nearly all males now dress in Western styles of dress. Very infrequently an old man will be observed in a kimono, but most males regard it as ill suited for work and modern life. Sometimes a man will wear a kimono when lounging at home, especially late in the evening after supper and bath. It is not at all unusual in the cities and towns to see a man walking toward the public bath carrying his kimono; on return he is dressed in the kimono and carries his soiled work clothing which is of Western style. Even for weddings the Western suit is used as frequently as the kimono for the groom's attire. 177 291

Young women and school girls wear Western dress exclusively. The kimono still remains the traditional mode of dress for the bride, and at New Year's time young women and girls may wear kimono. Middle-aged women use the kimono and Western-style dresses about equally. The older women dress exclusively in the kimono. The style of the kimono for the older and middle-aged woman is usually Okinawan, not Japanese. Among the young women and girls who use the kimono only as a party costume the Japanese style is followed, never the Okinawan. [292]

Native-style rain and sun hats of palm leaf and wheat straw are still widely used in the rural areas; nothing of Western or Japanese manufacture has been able to match these for light weight and effectiveness. 178 292

A major influence on Okinawan styles of dress has been the clothing of the US military forces. This has been obtained through clothes rations, surpluses, and petty black market operations. US Army fatigues, chino pants and shirts, wool pants, field jackets, fatigue caps and ponchos, are very popular particularly in the rural areas, so much so that the bulk of rural Okinawa is dressed in colors of olive drab, suntan, or field green. All attest to the durability of American cloth. A number of Okinawans asserted that used American clothing was better than new Japanese. A number of small merchants capitalizing on this belief have begun importing used American clothing, which comes in one-hundred pound bales; according to all accounts this has been well received. 291 177 [439]

Okinawans use very little in the way of personal ornamentation. The large old-fashioned hairpin, formerly worn by both sexes, is used today by only a few old women. Tattooed hands, once common to all Okinawan women, are seen today only on women over sixty. The purely ornamental insertion of gold teeth is also said to be declining; among the young educated (high school) people of the cities there is said to be some reaction against this use of gold teeth, but personal observation indicates continued popularity of the custom in the country. 301 178 [304]

Education The Japanese established the first schools in the rural areas some time before World War I. Great emphasis was placed on making Japanese speakers and nationals out of Okinawans. Today most of the population is bilingual; those who speak only a dialect of the Ryukyuan language are persons over sixty and pre-school children. Most Okinawans have come to regard themselves as Japanese. 871 177 [191] [829]

A major change in the postwar educational system has been the addition of three years to the period of compulsory schooling, making a total of nine years. Since the schools continue to provide a Japanese education, the effect will be to increase the Japanization of Okinawa, raise literacy, and ultimately make all speakers bilingual. As a student is usually excused from all work by the family, this measure has served to withhold a large number of teenagers from the labor market.

In the rural areas the author heard frequent praise for the extension of the schooling period and the new school construction program initiated by the military government. Most rural peoples stated that educational opportunities were poor for them in the prewar period; high school education was said to be particularly difficult for a village child to achieve. Now they feel that they are realizing equality with the urban areas. The urbanite is more likely to suggest that the quality of education has deteriorated in the postwar period. Both rural and urban people were agreed that one decided improvement has been that students no longer fight among themselves. Before and during the war all students were organized into small groups based on area of residence; each group was headed by a student leader who shepherded his charges to and from school in semi-military formation. Rivalry between these organized groups frequently led to gang fighting so severe that the intervention of teachers or police was often necessary to restore order. 871 369 178 877 178

Rural people regard education as providing one of the best opportunities for improving one's status; consequently, the improvement of educational opportunities will have far-reaching effects on social mobility. Those who acquire a high school or university education rarely remain in the village, and the few who do remain adopt an occupation other than farming. 871 554

Economy Money was virtually non-existent in the old Okinawan village; barter was the chief means of exchange. Taxes under the communal land holding system were paid in grain and cloth. The land reforms initiated by the Japanese brought the introduction of tax payments in cash. Increasing emphasis on sugar production due to governmental encouragement and subsidy did much to destroy the self-sufficiency of the village and brought dependence on a cash crop. The period of Japanese administration was marked by a gradual adoption of a money economy in the rural areas. 437• 436 178 177

Okinawans state that there is a far greater amount of money in the village today than in the prewar period. Some assert that due to governmental price controls they were never able to realize a fair return for their products (chiefly sugar) in the prewar era, but the great increase in money in recent years seems largely attributable to factors relating to the military occupation. Today over twenty-five percent of the total labor force is employed by the military and in subsidiary occupations such as construction; this steep rise in 434 178 [435] [64]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

175 167 Another departure from the past was that Okinawans, soon after the turn of the century, were provided with opportunities for emigration. The history of Okinawan emigration is not well known. But in the twentieth century, the people of Okinawa changed from an almost complete ignorance of the outside world to one of the most widely travelled and informed peoples of the Orient. Okinawan settlements in the twentieth century were scattered in many parts of the world, such as Peru, Argentina, Brazil, Hawaii, and the Japanese mandates of the Pacific, Singapore, Japan, Manchuria, and Korea. The cessation of this historic emigration is an event pregnant with meaning for the future. The population and its natural increase now must subsist on the island.

175 487 [438] [461] Late nineteenth and twentieth century improvements in roads and communication, modest as they were by American standards, broke down some of the isolation of the three districts of Okinawa. The forests and the lack of roads to the north had always discouraged contact. Much of the trade in firewood between the north and the south, even up to the recent war, was done by ship. Elsewhere there were only paths and in the north, not even these. In 1895 Chamberlain wrote of the sparsely inhabited northern (Kunigami) forest area whose inhabitants were "despised for their poverty and rough speech by the natives of the central and southern provinces." Later on he remarked about the "groans of Japanese officials when obliged to go their country rounds," and, that, in the north it was necessary for them to carry a tent.[28]

175 170 242 As the main island in the newly created province (ken) of Japan, Okinawa benefitted from the scientific approach to agronomy pursued enthusiastically by the Japanese, in contrast with the Chinese and the Koreans before their annexation. Concentration on the development of suitable varieties of rice, the study of sugar cane, plant disease and agricultural techniques represented a body of knowledge that could be applied with local adaptations to all parts of the empire.

175 178 565 [511] Direct Japanese annexation meant also the disappearance of the top heavy native nobility or gentry (shizoku) to be displaced by the Japanese elite, although membership in the Okinawan nobility continued to be recorded in the family registers up to the recent war. The displacement of the old higher social classes resulted in a certain levelling of all the people, a levelling which continued up to the war, and was accentuated in an economic way by the widespread impoverishment of rich and poor alike in the campaign for Okinawa.

7

Okinawa in World War II

175 648 The terra incognita described by Bayard Taylor in 1853 became the

28 Chamberlain, as cited, 294, 459

133 Hanashiro and Oushichan villages to a broad semi-circular valley, the
361 Oushichan plain, with a gentle gradient sloping to the sea. Shortly before the coast is reached there is a sharper drop, and it is in this depression along the shore and the coastal strip that the fishing village lies.

134 The Okinawan clay loams and the Chinen stony clays are also the
133 predominating soils of the area. There are about 85 acres of the gently sloping clay loams, 155 acres of the gently sloping Chinen stony clays. While moderately fertile and well drained, these soils are also shallow and stony, with obvious defects for the pursuit of agriculture. There are 10 acres of deep, fertile poorly drained, slightly acid alluvial soils. These occur along the river and its estuary and in a small former river mouth to the south. There are about six acres in rough stony land.

731 The village has very little storm protection. There are no shelter
133 belts around it, nor are there many trees within. It is open to storms
417 and typhoons, and the water, lashed by the sea, is sufficient to break and scatter the large stones of the seawall. At present, inside the village there is none of the privacy typical of the agricultural villages and their compounds. There are few trees, shrubs, or fences. In the
361 older part of the village, the houses are closely set together. Fishing
351 nets hang on the lines of the yard. In season, the yard is covered with
229 drying fish, fish fins, and fish backs. The yards and the shore are dotted with men cleaning or repairing their boats.

362 The lack of natural beauty of the place is accentuated by the poor-
517 ness of the houses and the other buildings. Its atmosphere is unmistakably
484 different. The village is more commercial and more lively than the quiet and concealed agricultural village. Life is not so much of a routine, for much depends on the weather and the sea. The village has people who have travelled widely. Some of its fishermen have been in the waters of Java, of the South Seas, of the Andaman Islands, the Philippines, and Indo-China.

● 438 The village's main commercial contacts are with the remaining agricultural villages of the township from which it must obtain much of
[311] its food, for the area is not suited to agriculture, nor is much land available. For wider contacts, there are Itoman about 4 1/2 miles, and Naha about 8 1/2 miles away. Buses go through the village twice a day.
494 The three wheeled cycles are irregular but come and go more often. Fish
368 is sold at Naha. The theatre for the travelling troupe of actors from Naha and for movies is in Horikawa across the river. Many visits are
574 also made to Itoman to see relatives and friends.

The war was even more catastrophic for Minatogawa than for Hanashiro.
727 Before the war, Minatogawa was a thriving, prosperous and well built up small town. About 70% of its buildings had a tile roof and 30% had
[361] thatch roofs. There were about 30 stores, sake shops and drinking places, including a geisha house, along the road, serving the fishermen and the stonecutters. Of the 430 buildings in the area, only three were left

512 A fishing village has a different kind of regularity than an
821 agricultural village. Activities in both are determined by the weather. During a heavy rain, everyone is in his house. But the farmer, even with a dark angry sky, can work up to the storm, and often continues working in a mild rain. The fishing village is guided both by bad and anticipated bad weather. On a fine fishing day, the village seems deserted with the men gone, and the women in the homes. But several days of rain or unfavorable weather keep the men home, and the village is alive with other activities, such as repairing nets, boats, and houses. Much of the fisherman's work at sea is at night, either in the actual fishing or in going and coming.
[513] For this reason, there is considerable daytime sleeping among them. On off days, the young fishermen loll around, often finding it difficult to pass the time away.

9

Conclusion

226 Fishing has become the occupation of a few places, such as
184 Itoman town, some villages on the Motobu peninsular, and Hinatogawa. Ryukyuans have achieved considerable fame for their skill in fishing in waters other than their own, such as their drive-in net fishing in the East Indies and around Singapore.[3] Possibly it is the fewness of good ports, the necessity of adapting requirements to varying local geographical conditions, such as the coral reefs, or the long period of emigration that have prevented the large scale development of fishing on this island and insured the dominance of an agricultural life.

262 It is also a striking fact that, on this small island where no village is far from the sea, fish is an uncommon article of the diet. The explanation is simple. It is a problem of distribution in which
[435] two considerations are involved: the higher prices obtainable in Naha,
[251] and the difficulties of preserving fish while distributing them through
[439] the rural villages. More often than not, the fish in a farmer's diet is the dried sardine or a canned fish from Japan, not the local catch.

Part 2

The Quarries of Hinatogawa-Nagamo

1

Introduction

324 Hinatogawa is famous throughout Okinawa for its stone. Stone from the village and its environs may be seen in many towns and villages
[438] of the island. Before the war, there was a flourishing boat trade in wood and stone between Hinatogawa and the northern region. The fine

3 For a recent statement, see Aquatic resources of the Ryukyu area, as cited, 7-9.

Home Industries, Arts, and Crafts

438 Home industries, arts, and crafts are not a conspicuous part of the life of the villages studied. Even before the war, home crafts, training in dancing, singing, landscape gardening were not cultivated to any degree.

252 Certain foods, like bean curd and bean paste, are made in the home. There is a standard method of preparing bean curd. The soy beans are soaked until soft and then mashed in a hand operated stone mill or quern. This mill has two round stones. The top stone, turned by hand, rests on the stationary bottom stone. The crushed beans, thinned by frequent dashes of water, ooze out of the space between the two stones. This liquid is collected and strained through a cloth drawn over the top of a frame box. The residue in the cloth is saved for pig food. The liquid is boiled. After it curdles, it is strained. The curds remain in the cloth, the liquid [231] is also used for the pigs. The curds, of the consistency of a soft cottage cheese, are wrapped in a cloth and put in the frame box. A tight fitting lid is put on the box and pressed down hard to expel the rest of the liquid. After the curd has been thoroughly pressed, the frame box is turned upside down, the curd taken out, and the cloth wrapper removed. The smooth mold can now be sliced. It is a common sight to see women operating these mills in the villages before a family celebration or a public holiday. Bean curd, fried, boiled in a soup, or in a mixture with vegetables, or as an ingredient [574] of sukiyaki is always served at a party.

251 Bean paste (miso), an even more important food, is also made in the home. Most families serve bean paste soup (misoshiru) every meal every day. It has four basic ingredients: soy beans, rice 252 (or barley), salt, and water. Recipes differ considerably among [264] families. In one recipe, 8 sho of rice are boiled, after which it is spread out on a large flat basket to drain, and then placed on a mat and allowed to ferment for about one week. An equal amount of soy beans, crushed in a stone mortar, is mixed with the rice. Salt (about 7 go, one go being 1/10 of a sho) is added and the mixture is boiled.[8] The salt retards fermentation and is a preservative. If obtainable, an American hand food grinder is preferred to the mortar and pestle. The mixture is put in a large jar (tsubo) which is placed in the kitchen or in a storeroom and allowed to stand at least a year, sometimes for three. With age, the paste becomes sweater and is considered to be better. A woman may make three large jars of bean paste 3 times a year, the frequency depending on the size of the jars. Some are 5 1/2 feet high. Occasionally the cycad is an ingredient of miso. Every house has a supply of bean paste. When ready for use, it is very soluble in water.

[804] 8 A koku equals 10 to equals 100 sho equals 1000 go, 47.96 US gallons liquid, 5.12 US dry bushels.

Few articles for wear or general household use are made in the home. In Hanashiro and Hatsuda, different kinds of ropes are made from the palm or from rice straw. The fibre of the palm is pulled apart and carded with the hands. Lengths of the fibre are twisted by rolling between the palms of the hand. These ropes are very strong, but the palm fibre is now scarce. 283

Weaker articles made of rice straw are far more common. The chief ones are ropes (waratsuna), mats (mushiro), a rope mesh (Ōda in Okinawan) carried on the ends of poles, twine, and swings (buranko) for children. Braided rice twine is used to tie the dwarf bamboo down to the roof before putting on the tile on top. In Hinatogawa, very few articles of home manufacture are made. Some mats, a very few slippers, and fishing lures are the chief articles. 824 438

The people of Hatsuda have better plant fibres and more mat making is found here. Two families specialize in making mats, one using a foot operated loom from Japan, the other a very simple hand loom. Mats are made from two plants which are indigenous: the i rush and the pandanus. Two kinds are used, a three corned (sankaku) and the round (maru), the latter considered superior. In Hatsuda, there are four types of mats distinguished by the materials employed: (1) the pandanus mat, (2) the pandanus as the warp, the i rush as the weft, (3) cotton string as the warp, the i as the weft, and (4) an all i rush mat. The best quality is the all rush mat. It is a strong, closely woven and attractive mat. Weaving is done by men in their spare time, or as a full time occupation by those physically unable to do hard work. Occasionally women weave, but it is uncommon. The market is mainly local. 285 [462]

In the simple upright hand loom, the warp beam is attached to the top board of the loom. The warp is stretched taut and fastened to the bottom board of the loom (corresponding with the cloth beam). The cotton strings, which make up the warp, are alternately set forward and backward, and when the weft is pushed in it goes over one string and under another to make the weave. The weft once in place is pushed down to the bottom by a movable board, with holes which guide it up and down the warp, to make the weave. In lieu of a shuttle, the rush strips used as a weft are guided through the cotton strings of the warp with a piece of bamboo about 4 feet long notched in the end like a bottle cap opener. One end of the rush is put in the notch and the stick is pushed alternately through the threads of the warp. The ends of the weft are tied to the warp to make a fringe and secure the mat against ripping. The rush is wet with a brush before using. It takes about 12 hours to make a 3 x 6 feet mat on this type of loom. 285 286

Men in Hatsuda also make rough baskets, mainly for carrying vegetables and the stationary barriers (hingun), made of the dwarf bamboo. These are woven diagonally when the plant is green and moist. 285

In the villages there is little effort to beautify the courtyard, train trees, or to cultivate shrubs and flowers. Now and then one sees a flower bed in the compound or the remains of a rock garden with shrubs and a small pond. But there is little to suggest the Japanese skill in these matters. 351

512 care of an older sibling or the kindergarten teacher, therefore has a
461 chance to see the mother. Men and women who have gone to the
[855] mountains return with their first load of wood around 10 o'clock. The
[962] mother will return again around noon and prepare the midday meal: noodle soup, fried cabbage with dried shrimps, perhaps rice, and always sweet potatoes. After lunch there is a short rest period. During the hot summer months this rest extends to an hour or more, and on the hottest days people lie in their houses sleeping during the noon hours. Midday is also a time for social interaction. There is some visit-
[574] ing back and forth. Old people always seek each other's company, and younger ones back from the fields or forest may join them for a while.

512 Toward evening blue smoke indicates again that food is being pre-
[231] pared. Pigs are fed by the women in late afternoon. Then women,
512 young girls, or boys fill water buckets and carry them home. After 5
515 there is a heavy run on the tank or faucets, and this is often the time when families start preparing a bath. It takes until dark to warm up an oil drum filled with water and heated underneath by scraps of wood and twigs. People take their bath after dark. Since the bath house was destroyed during the war, ablutions take place outside near the tank under a faucet or in an old oil drum in one's backyard.

512 Young men who return from the mountains wash their horses in the
[231] sea. The women who sell fish call on each house at this hour to peddle
[238] their wares. The village store, which has only seen a few customers in the morning and during noon, now has its busiest hour. Mothers send their children to buy noodles, kerosene, rice, or seaweed or else they come themselves, a baby on their back or the toddlers following them.

[889] This is also the hour when the young men and women gather to do joint work in the fields of their association or to play volleyball on the playground. Meanwhile, all forest workers have returned and busily cut the last pieces of firewood, bundling them before the store clerk comes along to buy the load. Some adults sit near the playground and watch the children.

512 Work goes on until dark. Only then do families gather for the eve-
264 ning meal. During the summer this may be as late as 8 o'clock. For many families this is the only time during the day when everybody gathers in the family circle. At this time family affairs may be discussed and plans made for the next day's work or other pending matters.

512 The evening meal consists of rice, a bean paste or noodle soup, and
262 some fish. Meat is served occasionally if a goat is killed or on holidays
264 when someone has slaughtered a pig. Most families cannot afford to buy more than small portions of meat, which are fried or made into

But actually no family is entirely self-sufficient, for each needs to purchase foodstuff as well as ready-made clothes, manufactured mostly in Japan, more substantial building materials, such as better grades of wood, tiles, and cement, tobacco, alcoholic beverages, sweets, toilet articles, some medical supplies, and other luxuries. Farmers buy their tools; students their books and writing materials. Finally, cash is needed to pay taxes. 433 438

In addition to the utilization of sugar, pineapple, firewood, and building materials for cash, Tairans also raise pigs for sale to slaughter houses, and some families derive an income from raising silkworms and producing tea. Fishermen sell fish inside and outside the village, and a small group of people are salaried workers or have an income from specialized services. [231]

Village leaders fear dependence on rapidly dwindling forest resources, still the main source of ready cash. They realize that the present modest living conditions of all families could be much improved if Tairans concentrated on increasing the cultivation of subsistence crops and farmed more intensively to raise cash crops. Most people lack this insight, however, and live on a day-to-day basis without much thought of the future. This is an island-wide problem which has the attention of central government agencies, and a great deal of educational propaganda comes to the village through government channels. 433 241 [313] [185] [654]

AGRICULTURE

The productivity of the land varies not only with its quality but also with the industriousness of the owners. Farmers who show foresight, those who seem to be under less pressure for immediate cash, take off more time from forest work to cultivate fields during planting season. The village headman and council members remind everybody during village meetings and informal discussions that work in the fields should not be neglected. With the approval of the whole community, the first and 15th of each lunar month have been set aside for farming. On these two days it is forbidden to go to the forests to cut wood. Such agreements are usually observed (as a rule), and they help to achieve their purpose but are not completely effective. 241 185 [433] [623] [313]

Rice is planted and harvested twice a year. The first rice is prepared in January when seeds are put into special beds where they are left to grow into young shoots until March. Until about 30 years ago it was said that all people seeded rice on the same day while prayers were 243 [782] [793]

231 Before a piglet is bought, its feeding habits are carefully observed by the buyer to determine future growing potential. It is then kept in a [417] sty: pigsties are either in the yard near the house or in a cluster of stables on the north edge of the town. Twice a day women cook the food in large kettles and ladle the liquid food into a trough. Nowadays [262] pork is rarely consumed in the village except for special holidays, when several families may slaughter pigs and sell part of the meat to every- [438] body through the local store or preserve some of it by salting. Most [251] farmers, however, wait for the meat buyer from the southern part of [442] the island from whom they receive a good financial return.

Goats are raised for home consumption. They are never left to graze [417] but are quartered in a goat pen near the pigsty and fed on grass cut from uncultivated land. Seven families in the central village have [492] horses. Their main use is to carry firewood from the mountains. The small breed looks like a cross between a horse and pony and seems especially adapted to climb the steep trails. They are also used for plowing and for pulling two-wheeled carts. The owner of a horse [434] may more than double his income from forest work. Horses are fre- [427] quently rented out for half the day's income from wood carried by them.

Silkworm raising, an important source of income in Taira before the war, is only now being resumed by some Tairan families. The [474] larvae are supplied through island-wide silkworm raising associations, which repurchase the cocoons after they are spun. To raise silkworms, a substantial house is needed so that rats cannot enter and eat the worms. The temporary postwar structures with holes and cracks in the walls and roof are inadequate. Only a few recently built houses can be used. One family keeps growing worms on shelves in the front room. [137] Most of the mulberry trees were lost during and after the war. Plans have been made to plant new trees. Young girls feed the mulberry [462] leaves to the gluttonous worms who require constant attention. When the worms are ready to create their cocoons, they are taken off their diet, and the cocoons are cleaned and sorted out. Silkworms can be raised four times a year if there is an adequate supply of mulberry leaves. Their sale brings a good income, which can become a substitute [434] for cash earned in forest work.

FISHING

226 Fishing is a much less important source of livelihood than one would [554] expect in a coastal village and is a low-prestige occupation. Only two

of the permanent Tairan families fish; the majority of the fishermen are migrants from the surrounding islands who come for a season, leaving their families behind. A few families have moved in permanently. The fishermen supply Taira, but most of the catch is peddled in the Nago market by the fishermen's wives. Some of the more enterprising and mercantile-minded women in the village buy up fish and peddle it for a profit.

Two or three times a year, during February or March, large fishing boats from Henza Island land in Taira with whale meat. All the able women look forward to making extra cash at this time, for whale meat is considered a delicacy in homes where meat is rare. Blubber is eaten and used as frying fat. The distribution of whale meat is arranged by one village woman whose fishermen relatives from Henza supply it in response to her request. She acts as agent, distributing the meat to the women on consignment.

LUMBERING

The main source of immediate cash for most families is firewood. Forest land in the mountains is owned by the township and the village, except for some woods near the fields, which are personal property. The township permits the village to exploit a certain region surrounding the community in return for payment of a forest tax. This tax is levied on firewood bundles or on lumber sold by villagers. Everyone in the village is free to cut wood in the designated area in any amount he desires. This, however, does not imply that unlimited cutting is possible, for resources have been utilized so heavily that most forests near the village are almost cleaned out, and it has become increasingly difficult to find wood. Reforestation has only recently been introduced on a serious scale. Often villagers are found trespassing on land owned by the central Ryukyan government in order to cut from the less depleted forests there. Government officials are sympathetic to the villagers' plight, and they tend to dispose of such transgressions with a stern warning.

Men and women, and during vactions, some children over 12 years, go to the forest. Most people prefer to walk and work in small groups. To reach a place high up in the hills, they may have to hike almost a mile from the center of Taira. The steep, narrow paths made by woodcutters traverse the mountains. Following the approach trails during the day, one can hear voices and the sawing of wood from many directions. All lumber people carry a short handsaw and a heavy bush knife

313 which they use interchangeably. After sufficient trees have been cut and
[412] cleared of branches, a large bundle of firewood is carried to the village. Most forest workers make four or five trips a day into the hills—two or three during the hot summer season. As the afternoon ends, they sit down along the road in the village or nearby to prepare firewood
474 bundles. Pieces of wood are inserted through a bamboo loop of stand-
313 ard size, prescribed by the cooperative store, until a tight, uniform bundle is obtained. The last piece has to be driven into the bundle by force. All over the village one can hear the knocking of wood pieces
[592] which marks the end of a forest worker's daily labor. Each household works independently and sells firewood to the cooperative. A store
[436] clerk travels around the village in late afternoon, checks all bundles, and issues credit slips to each household; these can be changed into money at the store. The following morning the truck, owned by the
[438] cooperative, carries the firewood to Naha or Itoman where it is sold to a dealer who redistributes it to individual consumers or public bathhouses. The northern part of the island has always supplied firewood to the population of southern Okinawa to be used for kitchen hearths
[354] and bath stoves. In recent years kerosene kitchen stoves have become so popular that the depletion of wood resources tends to coincide with decreasing demand.

TRADES AND PROFESSIONS

463 Other ways of making a living exist. A few artisans in Taira derive part of their income from wage labor. A number of Taira men earn their living by carpentering, although they do most of their work in the south. They return occasionally when their services are needed for local house building. When working on local construction, they are
[465] paid in money, free lodging, and meals. There are also a few part-time resident carpenters who, whenever they are not employed in house building or repairs, spend their time farming and cutting wood. New
[342] buildings are usually put up between the beginning of the second rice crop and the New Year.

463 Several persons are salaried township or village officials. They are
466 paid monthly and work a 44-hour week, not counting many extra meetings and duties connected with their work. All office workers however
[647] have fields, either their own or those of their parents, where they spend Sundays helping in agricultural pursuits. During rice planting season, they are given special time off to attend to their fields.

Also among the salaried workers are store employees, a full-time

CHAPTER IV: RURAL ECONOMY

F. R. Pitts

1. Agricultural Buying, Selling and Labor

436 177 With the introduction of money economy in a more intensive form at the time of the Japanese assumption of control in Okinawa, the farmer gave up many of his oldtime practices and began to adopt through necessity more modern forms of exchange. Because his life remained essentially rural, these newer forms revolved mainly around goods and services connected with farming. Information used in the following discussion is based on notes taken in Nanahan, unless otherwise specified.

434 438 Sale of Farm Products and Livestock Before the war the main cash crop was sugar cane, and the sale of black sugar provided almost the entire money income of a rural household. However, if additional money was needed in emergencies, enough dried soybeans were sold to alleviate the deficit. In the coastal areas of Kanegusku, Tomigusuku and Yonagusuku the sale of reed products supplemented the income derived from sugar.

Because of the decreased acreage of rice after about 1910, rice was not a major money crop. However, the postwar decrease in sugar cane acreage coupled with a rise in acreage planted to rice and vegetables have made both the latter more available as income-producers for the farmer. Farmers with a moderate amount of rice generally sell about half, but use the money thus obtained to buy cheaper but "less delicious" imported rice if they run short---and can afford rice.

In the autumn, women from villages near Naha go out into the countryside buying vegetables and taking them by bus or three-wheeled jitney to the urban market, or to establishments that buy them for resale to military dependents at approved stores. Cabbage, for instance, in late November brings [433] a premium price of ¥8 per 'kin' (1.32 pounds), but a month later the price declines to about ¥4-5 per 'kin'. One woman will carry away about 30 kin at a time.

Poor people and widows often sell cane to the local motor-powered mill, and obtain a little more money by helping to process it. Those who are fortunate enough to afford to do the pressing and processing at a horsedrawn sweep sell directly to the Agricultural Federation, or Noren, in Naha. For a [433] one-hundred kin barrel they received in 1954 initially ¥1,100 a barrel. Later on, depending upon the grade of the black sugar delivered, they were to re- [435] ceive more. The scale of grade-prices in 1954, as given by one farmer, was: first grade---¥1,530; second grade---¥1,430; and third grade---¥1,330. Before the war each barrel contained 120 kin, but the postwar barrels are smaller and correspondingly more easy to handle. The black sugar of Okinawa sells at a [439] premium in Japan to candy manufacturers, who prefer it to white sugar. This accounts in part for the reluctence on the part of some farmers to sell to the modern sugar mill in Haebaru-son, which chiefly makes white granulated sugar.

Although animals are generally bought for prices that the community considers as relatively fixed (see below), meat animals sell for a certain rate per unit weight that varies with the market. Old cows and bullocks are generally sold for meat at the rate of ¥60 per kin. Boars, if fat, are sold for ¥42 per kin. Male goats bring ¥20 per kin for eating purposes, and chickens bring about ¥200 per kin. Females of any animals are very seldom sold unless old and almost dying, or unless the farmer finds himself in dire monetary emergency. Nanahan, which has the greatest vegetable acreage in Tomoyose village, has a 'han'-wide agreement not to raise chickens, due to their possible destruction of young plants. 435

Buying of Livestock and Daily Necessities The war depleted most of the livestock of Okinawa, and recovery has been slow. Okinawan farmers frequently expressed their gratitude to the American religious organizations which sent goats to them to help in reconstruction. 727 231 [177]

The reversion of Amami indirectly helped to increase the livestock on Okinawa. A Nanahan farmer described the situation in late November of 1953: 439 231

> Horses, cows, goats and pigs, together with household furniture come into Tomari port from Amami every day. The Amamians want to get as much Okinawan yen as possible, because it will convert to Japanese yen at three to one, and they think they will be ahead. The accelerated cattle movement started right after reversion intentions were announced. We are very glad to be able to buy the animals, but important people on Amami are afraid that this movement will deplete the island of animals, especially stud horses and bulls, goats and pigs for breeding.

Nanahan farmers have relatively fixed ideas on the prices of livestock. For middle grade, or average, stock the following prices are quoted: horses, ¥13,000; cows, ¥25,000; heifers, ¥10-11,000; calves ¥9-10,000; boars, ¥2,500; sows, ¥2,700; and all goats, ¥300-400. 435

Before the war there were many people traveling through the countryside selling 'miso' paste and bean curd. Every other day such peddlers would visit even the most isolated settlements. Better roads and increased communications by bus and jitney have oriented purchase of staples urbanward. The only peddlers who now come through Nanahan are basket peddlers. Two small stores in the main settlement provide 'sake', noodles, matches and other small-cost items that are not worth a trip to town. 438 178 443

Sale of Services Farm labor is drawn from the southern islands and from poorer families who are just getting a start in the community. In Nanahan there was only one full-time farm laborer, who was paid ¥2,000 a month, in addition to room and board. He had left Miyako when eighteen, two years before, because of a famine that was being caused by a sweet-potato virus. His employer was a man who managed a good deal of land---indeed the land that belonged to himself and two minor relatives---and sorely needed the extra labor. Another landowner was converting dry land to paddy, and after 464 [465]

2. Rural Industries

178 Generally speaking, it can be said that much less effort is put forth
• 438 in the countryside now toward home industries than was the case before the
543 war. In Nanahan making of products at home has declined to the point where rather than being made for sale, they are made only for exhibit at the fair given annually at the local primary school. Even here considerable urging is required by the village officials, and entries are forthcoming only by an appeal to pride in one's village's standing at the fair.

249 Sugar Presses and Mills Okinawa has two modern western-style sugar refin-
257 eries, one at Haebaru and one on the isle of Minami Daitō. At the other end of the scale there are the some-400 horse-drawn rotary mills. Between these there are perhaps a dozen or less mills which utilize gasoline-powered motors and are geared to operate on a much larger scale than the rotary presses.

471 In rebuilding the big mill at Tomoyose which had been destroyed in the
257 war, each family that owned stock in the mill contributed the labor of one per-
461 son per day of building. On a typical day they started work at eight, had a fifteen-minute "break" at ten, and returned home for lunch for an hour at noon. After an afternoon "break", the work continued until six. Breaks and resumption of work were announced by pounding on an empty oxygen cylinder of large dimensions. The only break I observed lasted for 24 minutes. Tea was served to everyone, and the men sat around discussing how they would be able to pay for the building---which was made of sandy limestone from Minatogawa---and
471 where they would borrow money. The sugar produced was to be sold to the Ag-
257 ricultural Federation in Naha, as is the sugar produced at the smaller mills. However, the sugar was to be sold in 50 kin (66 pound) bags rather than in
[433] 100 kin barrels. The potential annual output was estimated at 15,000 bags, or approximately one-half the Tomoyose village production.

256 Kanegusuku Rice Mill There is one small rice mill in Kanegusuku. All the villagers who have rice land---or about 70% of the families---utilize this mill for polishing. No one in the village uses the
[439] old-fashioned hand mill. The owner of the rice mill says that most of the villagers cannot afford to pay cash for having their rice polished. Consequently he takes as multure about two-thirds of one 'gō' from each 'shō' of rice. This amounts to approximately six percent of their rice. The villagers evidently trust him completely, for no one was seen standing around watching while their rice was being polished.

The owner says that his machines are old and break down frequently. Three machines are required for the whole process. This is not a full-time job except during the harvesting periods. The young man who is owner regularly works on his family's lands. All operation and maintenance are done by him; he does not hire a helper even in the busiest times.

286 Mat-Making in Kanegusuku The three-cornered sedge ('sankaku-i') is a reed
433 grown in a wet field like rice, and is the basis of 'tatami omote' and 'goza' manufacture, the chief home industry of Kanegu-
[178] suku. Production of the reed in Kanegusuku today is about one-tenth the pre-

This island has long faced a serious problem of over-population and food shortage; it is not self-supporting in foodstuffs and mainly derives its livelihood from fishing, shipping and ferrying. It has long had a symbiotic relationship with the neighboring island of Takabanare, supplying fish and shipping-ferrying service in return for food, but this has not been rewarding enough in recent years to offset its rapid population increase. A general postwar decline in coastal shipping largely due to the marked improvement of land transportation in highways and vehicles has sharply reduced the number of jobs in this enterprise, and the return of the repatriates has only added to the number seeking jobs. Military employment, however, has filled this gap and staved off mass unemployment. 621 464 505 433 [438]

At the present time nearly one quarter of the village labor force is engaged in military employment. Nearly all of the repatriates and a large number of old residents have entered military employ. Some of these have established temporary residence on the mainland nearer the military installations. A large number, however, commute by ferry boat and bus each day to their place of employment, and at low tide it is possible to walk the mile across the tidal flats to the mainland. 621 464 [484]

There has long been a tradition for the men of Henza to be away from the village much of time, engaged in activities on the sea. Thus, those who are away much of the time in military employment are merely following a long-established pattern. Unlike the absent workers of Kanegusuku, these people are not considered to be cut off from village affairs. All farming activities, much of the family's economic affairs, and some of the functions of government are carried on by women, contrary to usual Okinawan practice. [562]

The villagers regard military employment as a blessing and feel that it has contributed significantly to maintaining village prosperity. Aside from military employment they have little contact with Americans, although a few boat-owners have rented their crafts to American fishing parties. The villagers and their officials recall with considerable fondness their military government officer in the early days of the occupation. To date Henza relations with Americans have been not only good but also profitable; in short, American stock is high on this island. [829] 621 177 829

<u>Summary</u> On Henza and to a far smaller degree in Kanegusuku military employment has largely drawn off the surplus and largely landless population that formerly would have emigrated to other parts of the overseas Japanese empire. In Jagaru and Tobaru military employment has replaced farming as the chief occupation of the villagers. The contribution of military employment to the economy of Kanegusuku is negligible, although it should be noted that the number so engaged increased during the period of the author's study. In Jagaru, Tobaru, and Henza military employment is of vital importance to the village economy, and any sharp decrease will have severe repercussions. 464

<u>Okinawan Attitudes Toward Those Engaged in Military Employment</u> Okinawans make a sharp distinction in their attitudes toward men employed in military jobs and their attitudes toward women similarly employed. There seems to be no stigma of any sort attached to the male who has a job working for the Americans; in fact, 464 562 829

contact with Okinawa may have taken place in 743 A.D., but this may have been confined to the island of Kume, west of Naha, and not involved Okinawa itself.[6] 175 177 648

The modern Japanese contact with Okinawa which brought about the fall of the Tenson dynasty is associated with the arrival at Unten of Tametomo in the latter part of the twelfth century. Some have regarded this as historical, others as perhaps legendary.

Unten, on the Motobu peninsula, is one of the important places in the historical geography of Okinawa island. This is the Port Melville of the Western explorers, Hall and Perry, both of whom charted the bay and its harbor.

Tametomo, of the Minemoto clan, exiled after the final defeat of the Minemoto by the Taira clan in Japan, ultimately reached Unten and there married the daughter of one of the regional nobles, and after a period of civil war, the Tenson dynasty collapsed. In 1187 A. D., the son of Minemoto Tametomo by his Okinawan wife became King Shunten. Shunten, the first of three "Japanese kings," was followed by his son Shunna Junki (1238-1248), and his grandson Gihon (1249-1260). In 1260, the legitimate dynasty was restored under king Eiso.[7]

After his succession, Eiso toured the islands and is credited with setting regular boundaries to rice-fields. "It has been said that this greatly attracted the people so that they started to look after farming." Graves, according to a manuscript history, were first built in the island, at Urasoye, and the Buddhist temple, Gokurakuji was constructed with an officiating priest named Jenkan in charge of the temple.[8] [764] [346]

The Japanese syllabary may have been introduced at this time. Buddhism apparently did not take hold. Chinese attacks on the islands in connection with the Mongol wars and the attempted invasion of Japan seem to have left no mark on the island. [218] [779]

The year 1372 is the beginning of the period of relationships with the Chinese, in this case, the Ming dynasty. This is contemporary with the growth of a vast trade network involving Korea, Japan, China, the Ryukyus, and Southeast Asia. It is not clear whether the trade voyages under King Satsudo (reigned 1350-1399) to South China, Malaya, and the Philippines were instrumental in stimulating the Ming dynasty to engage in the Pacific trade, or whether the forced alliance of the Ryukyus with the Chinese 175 648 439

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP of P. 30--Analyst]

6 CA Handbook, as cited, 41, and Chamberlain, as cited, 306.

7 Chamberlain, as cited, 308

8 Manuscript history in Leavenworth, The Loochoo islands, 80. On the Japanese syllabary, see Chamberlain, as cited, 308.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

175 648 439 empire provided the incentive. The central district of Okinawa became an entrepot in the triangular China-Ryukyuan-Japan trade. In the beginning the cultural interchange was a consequence of sending Chinese ambassadors to assist in the investiture of Ryukyuan kings and the travels of Ryukyuan emissaries to Peking. Naha in Okinawa and Foochow in Fukien were ports of entry and exit for the travellers.

The Ryukyuan emissaries left Naha for Foochow on the Min river in Fukien and then began the trip north to Peking. Ryukyuans brought copper, tin, and sulphur and received brocades and silk in return. The Ryukyuan as well as ambassadors from Korea, Annam, Burma participated in this official reception at Peking.[9]

The first contact with Chinese learning has been dated at 1392, when the son of the king and the son of his master of camp were allowed to attend the Imperial College. The usual route from Naha to Foochow became a cultural corridor joining China and Okinawa. This contact with Chinese learning and writing lasted until the Japanese annexation in 1879. Hall in 1816 and Perry's staff in 1853 mentioned the devotion among the higher [565] classes to Chinese learning, and though this no doubt was confined to those residing in Naha and Shuri, it was this Chinese educated class that ruled the island. With this learning too, there came the ideals of the [641] Confucian state and its five relationships, parent-child, husband-wife, [593] friend-friend, younger brother-elder brother, and subject-sovereign, which were reflected so forcefully in the family system and in the state as well. This coloring of the whole government, composed of men with Confucian ideals gradually changed, says Spencer, following Iha, "the whole mental outlook of the male population, at least around Shuri. This would, per- [562] haps, not extend inland, and was not given to the women." In the countryside the influence of women, through the noro system, was still strong. This Confucian ideal of the state, as Spencer and Iha have suggested, [009] probably had a great deal to do with the dis-establishment of the noro system as a state religion in the seventeenth century.[10]

In the reign of Sho Shin (1477-1526), there were further foreign contacts and domestic consolidations. Buddhism was encouraged and in [009] fact reintroduced, this time from Korea. The Okinawans requested from their Korean "suzerain" the sutras, the Buddhist canon, and religious objects in 1462, 1479, and 1483.[11] Chinese artifacts, books, and other articles were imported, and palaces on the Chinese model were constructed at Shuri. Chinese customs, dress by rank order, and the Confucian ideal of the state became part of the culture of Naha and Shuri, probably less so in the other parts of Okinawa.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON TOP OF P. 31 -- Analyst]

9 Binkenstein, Okinawa-Studien. Monumenta Nipponica 3 (1940), 201-02. Binkenstein, Zur Frage der Ryūkyū Gesandtschaften. Monumenta Nipponica 4 (1941), 264-67. For the route to Peking, see p. 266.

10 Spencer, as cited, 108-09. Quotation is on p. 108.

11 Haguenauer, Relations du royaume des Ryūkyū avec les pays des mers du sud et la Corée. Bulletin de la maison franco-Japonaise. Série française. T 3, No. 1-2. Comptes rendues, 114.

These foreign introductions were accompanied with the reinforcement of a native institution: the elevation of the female priesthood to what amounted to a state religion. This institutionalizing of a native religion did not mean the exclusion of foreign religions or foreign ideas. The king used the noro system to bind his realm together: at the same time, he reintroduced Buddhism, himself becoming an adherent. The priestess of the Sho household, that is the royal house, was removed "to a place without the palace, but near the main gateway" of the palace at Shuri, signifying the closeness of the chief priestess to the royal house, the extension of the system to all the islands, and the centralization, both of religious and political life. Political institutions, borrowed from China and in a Confucian mold, with the dominance of the male in the family and in the government, now existed side by side with the hierarchy of priestesses whose power rested not only on royal patronage but on an economic security whose basis was ownership in land. With the passage of time, it was the order of priestesses that gave way to the male dominated Confucian ideal. This Confucian idea of the state, a combination of the individual morality of Confucius with the ideas of statecraft of the legists developed in the Han dynasty, retained its hold until the Japanese did away with the monarchy.[12]

175 178 793 779 640 [177] [562]

The new government with its capital at Shuri, a port at Naha, a royal granary at Kung, and the town of Tomari, was rigidly departmentalized along Chinese lines.[13]

175 177 640

The Ryukyuan kingdom, from the middle of the fourteenth to the second half of the sixteenth century was part of a great trade network. This included the Great Loochoo, Korea, Japan, China, Siam, and with the port of Malacca as the center of the trade.[14] The normal route was from Naha along the coast of Fukien province, stopping at Foochow, up from the mouth of the Min River, along the coast of the Campa (modern Indo-China), thence to Malacca. From here, it was possible to trade with the islands of the Sunda (Java) seas, Siam, and with the province of Pataai on the east coast of the Malay peninsula, south of the isthmus of Kra. From Naha, the products of Japan, Korea, and Central China were brought to Malacca; from Malacca, essences, various woods, pepper, sugar, ivory, and articles of Portugese and Arab manufacture were brought north. The various traders brought back to the Great Loochoo Chinese money, Ming porcelains, and silks of south China. There were Korean, Chinese, and Japanese colonies

175 439

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12 Spencer, as cited, 103. On the role of the legists in political Confucianism in China, see Fitzgerald, China: a cultural history, 103-04,156.

13. For interesting details, see CA Handbook Ryukyu (Loochoo) Islands, 103.

14 The age of Naha, I believe, is unknown. Under King Satsudo in the late fourteenth century, and in the period of trade of which we are speaking, Naha had a sudden expansion. There were three channels into the harbor, the northern "Yamatoguchi," used by the Japanese, a center one, "Karefuneguchi" (literally Chinese ship terminus (mouth)), and a "Miyakoguchi", the south channel which was used by the ships engaged in trade with the Sakishima group. Simon, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, 36.

175 439 at Naha, and junks from the south seas touched at that port. Loochoeans in this manner became known to the Portugese.[15]

175 648 Political relationships with countries other than China had accompanied this trade. Following the establishment of relations with China in 1372, there were contacts with Korea in 1389 when the woods from the southeastern trade, paper, and other articles originating in Indo-China and the East Indies were presented by King Satsudo of the Ryukyus to the Korean court. These relations with Korea were renewed in 1392 under the new Yi dynasty. The usual route north was from Naha to Hakata in Kyūshū to the Korean port of Pusan on the southeast coast, thence overland to the capital city of Seoul. Relationships between the two peoples finally broke off in 1500, although Koreans actually were settled in Okinawa and some were evacuated in 1574.

This was therefore a period of considerable cultural contact with China, Japan, Korea, and with the countries of Southeast Asia, and indirectly with the arts and manufacture of the Mahomedan world and of the Portugese in the crossroads port of Malacca.

175 648 439 This lively and important trade was brought to an end through three situations: the existence of Japanese pirates, necessitating, at a period toward the close of the era, hiring Japanese Buddhist priests as ambassadors and cargo protectors, (2) the appearance of the Portugese in the East China Sea, and around 1542 at Tanegashima, one of the northern islands of the Ryukyus southeast of Kyūshū, and (3) the maritime expansion of Japan in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the coup de grace to the Ryukyuan trade.

175 177 369 It is likely that many of these outside contacts, even up to the end of the nineteenth century, really affected Naha and Shuri, and that the rural areas were essentially unchanged. This would mean that the two cities had a culture revealing a strong Chinese influence, but also of Japan and perhaps indirectly of other nations, while the rural areas languished in the older elements of the folk culture, such as the priesthood dominated by women. Other facts which will be brought out in the chapters to which they belong tend to substantiate this interpretation that we cannot speak simply of a homogeneous Okinawan culture.

175 648 [439] The conquest of the islands by the Japanese in 1609 was a consequence of the growing trade that had developed with Japan, first with the Shogunate, later, more specifically, with the Satsuma clan. Ultimately the Satsuma clan succeeded in displacing the Shogunate in the Loochoo trade and with the conquest of 1609 the kingdom came under Satsuma influence,

[TEXT Continues TOP of P. 33--Analyst]

15 On this trade, which is much too complex to treat in a short summary, see Haguenauer, as cited, 4-16. Much new material appeared in two articles by R. Binkenstein, Zur Frage der Ryūkyū Gesandtschaften, Monumenta Nipponica, 4(1941), 256-69, and Die Ryūkyū-Expedition unter Shimazu Iehisa, ibid, 622-28.

592 magazines and pasted on the wall, and here he entertains visitors who
342 come for conversation or study.

3

Types of Houses

342 In all the villages studied, the houses may be divided into three general categories: (1) the Japanese style house with the thatch or tile roof, (2) the smaller stone house with the Japanese type floor plan, and (3) various shacks resembling in some details the simple structure of the old Okinawan rural house.

[313] The sturdy Japanese type house is made of excellent hardwoods im-
[439] ported from Japan or brought from the forests of northern Okinawa. This house was often constructed without nails. It was put together
[335] by mortise and tenon joints, and also with a piece of wood, square on the edge and about three inches long which functions like a dowel. This is known as a kusabi. In modern houses, both of the simple and more complex types, nails are more commonly used.

[355] The eaves of this house are supported by strong poles, unfinished, usually from the Japanese redwood (sugi in Japanese, Cryptomeria
[411] japonica, D. Don) or the ihumaki (Podocarpus macrophyllus D. Don). The poles are placed on flat triangular stones for foundation support. The houses have plank floors. Both the tile and the thatch roof types (to be
[352] described later) have the same floor plan with the size of the rooms determined by the number of mats (tatami in Japanese) desired.

The half tile, half thatch roof is not uncommon, an indication either of a roof partially destroyed by the war which has been repaired by thatch, or athatched roof gradually being replaced by tile. This is a slow process, as tile is costly. Basically, all of these houses have the same general plan, except for differences in roof materials.

[355] The older Japanese type houses with a tile roof and the never ones being built on that model are provided with a drain pipe for rain water catchment. This pipe, running along the length and the width of the
[415] roof channels the water into a large tank on the ground, reducing the labor involved in carrying water from village ponds or central springs.
[312] Many of these rain water catchments disappeared when the old houses were destroyed in the war. Drain pipes cannot be attached to the thatch. In general, rain water is not now a plentiful source of supply in the villages, though buckets and tubs are frequently put out during a heavy downpour, and this water is used for drinking and cooking until it begins to spoil. It may supplement the water carried from a central village faucet, the well, or a pond.

The construction of the Japanese type house is complex. Basically, the design of the house is derived from the arrangement of three rooms,

(13) As the top is reached, another operation is necessary to cap the peak of the roof. The two layers of grass require, when they meet, something to cap over them. This is done by laying down over the peak a rectangular frame of poles to form the base for the cap. The grass is then heaped up on this bed. It is held down by long rods of dwarf bamboo or miscanthus, forming a rough arch and running lengthwise. These rods with the grass underneath are sewn on to the ridge pole and the surrounding network of poles underneath with heavy twine or rope. Often also sharp sticks are placed cross ways. These are known as kansashi and derive their name from the pin used by Japanese women to fasten up their hair when they wear the traditional headdress. These sticks in fact perform this function; perhaps even better, they can be compared to the long hat pin. A thatched roof so constructed will last a long time, often 5 or 10 years, though it may be changed more often if damaged. Very often if the house has a thatch roof and the sides are made of a weak material, the house, including the roof is bound around with a heavy thick wire, cable or rope to protect it from typhoons. (Fig. 9 for a sketch of the roof). 342 335

The interior of the simple house which we have been describing is finished off in a simple manner with flooring and siding, also of cheap quality.

It may be added, parenthetically, that there are two different methods of laying the tile roof. In the hipped type, the tile slants from the roof to the eaves. The variant is the hipped type with a small gable. Occasionally, on the tile roof, an ornamental lion shaped terra cotta figure is placed for decorative purposes. 342 [532]

Tile is set over a foundation of long rods of small bamboo, dwarf bamboo or mature large size miscanthus. Rice straw is used to tie these rods together and to the frame. Mud, usually found in the yard and often containing considerable clay, is placed over this rod base and the tile is set so that the crests of the two pieces of tile which meet on the bottom are cupped by a tile on top. (Fig. 10).

5

Tools

Carpenters' tools are Japanese imports, although local blacksmiths make tools based on the Japanese design or repair them. The common tools are: 413 [439] [326]

(1) The plane (kanna in Japanese). The plane iron is set in a rectangular block of wood. In working wood, the plane is drawn toward the operator.

(2) A smaller plane

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

Introduction

The basic occupation of the Okinawans has been and continues to be agriculture. The agricultural, not the fishing, wood gathering, or stonecutting community is typical. Fishing, stonecutting and forestry have been the occupations of certain villages or areas, or of certain groups within a village. This and the following chapter describe these ways of living. 463

Agricultural practices gathered from Hanashiro, Nagamo (to some extent), and Matsuda will be presented in this chapter. Hinatogawa has been omitted because it is primarily a fishing and stonecutting community, and there is nothing distinctive or unusual in its agriculture. This presentation avoids the repetitive description of similar activities that would follow from a discussion of each village separately. Significant differences, where they appear, will be mentioned, and in this manner, I hope, the identities of the individual villages will not be lost, despite the topical arrangement. 128

Okinawan agriculture is basically the story of four crops: rice, sweet potatoes, the soy bean, and sugar cane. Rice is a minor crop. Not all farmers grow it, and rice consumption rests both on homegrown products and imports. Individual farmers occasionally grow both to sell and for home use. Today it is less of a luxury than it was before the war because of the imports and the home grown crop. In Okinawa two crops a year are possible. 241 262 433 [439]

The sweet potato is the main crop. Cultivation continues throughout the year. Potatoes often are dug on a day to day basis as required for human or animal consumption. At any one time, the patches of sweet potatoes owned by a farmer may represent all stages of growth from a fresh transplanted field to a patch ready for digging. The sweet potato is the cheapest all purpose food, both for human and animal consumption. Okinawans tire of it because poverty enforces such frequent consumption. Since the war, the increased availability of rice for home use, and the opportunities of purchasing rice have relieved this complete dependence on the sweet potato. Among some families, though these are still few, the sweet potato has become the food of animals, with only select ones used at the table. But for the great majority the sweet potato still is the basic article of diet. It is cheap and easy to cultivate either by men or women. Little can be realized from its sale.

Soy beans are grown for home consumption. Making bean curd in the home is universal. Brown sugar is produced as a cash crop. Some is used in the home as a confection both for adults and children. [432] [263]

In addition to these varieties, cultivated locally, imported rice is distributed through the import stores. These rices generally are from Egypt, Siam, and Burma. They are not well liked and are considered to be tough (katai). Whether this is because the variety itself is disliked or because the imports were of a poor quality is hard to say, but Egyptian, Siamese, and Burmese rice are unfavorably compared with Japanese, Formosan, or the locally grown products. Okinawans are very sensitive to the types of rice. There is no such thing as "rice." Long habituation and fondness for special kinds have induced tastes and preferences which each villager is quick to express. 439 262 [443]

In Hanashiro, the main type of rice planted is also the Taichu 65, a variety which originated in Formosa, and is generally preferred. The red variety, mochigome, does not do well here, according to local farmers, and just a little is grown. Mochigome (literally, rice-cake rice) is used in making the doughy and gummy rice cakes. 243 262

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The Sweet Potato

The cultivation of the sweet potato (satsuma imo) is a much simpler undertaking than rice culture. Fields are prepared by hand hoeing. The plow and the harrow are not used. In sweet potato cultivation, seed potatoes are first planted in a small plot. This furnishes slips or transplants for other fields. Slips are multiplied by using the tops of one field to plant another. Propagation thus is by clones, and this vegetatively reproduced plant is the mainstay of the diet. 244 [262]

The potato seed bed, well hoed and fertilized, is generally planted in the spring. The tops to be used as slips (kazura) are cut off and planted in rows. Practice has brought deftness in this transplanting. A small amount of soil is lifted up by the spatula, (hera), and held so that an opening rather than a hole appears. The slip is shoved into the aperture and quickly pressed down by the left heel, as the farmer moves to the next planting.[5] Few tools are used in the cultivation of the sweet potato. Only the hoe and the spatula are really needed. Occasionally one finds a special hoe with a sharp angle between the blade and handle or a heart shaped hoe with a long handle. In the Hanashiro and Nagamo areas, the solid bladed hoe is the commonest tool. Two and three pronged hoes are less often used because of the hardness of the soil. [412]

The cultivation of the sweet potato, as we have said, is a year round operation, though planting may slacken off during the winter months. [221]

5 Methods of cultivation have changed little in the past 100 years. The same operation is described in Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 31-32. [114]

of the rest of the syrup. With the stirring finished, the sugar for contemplated home use is spread out in pans to harden. That intended for export is put in specially prepared boxes, furnished by Naha export firms, stencilled and ready for shipment. 249 [439] [415]

In Matsuda, the harvesting of the cane is the same as in Hanashiro. But the old Okinawan and Japanese method of crushing the cane is still used because the destroyed machinery has not been replaced. The cane is crushed outside. Three large steel rollers are placed side by side in a frame, with gear teeth on the top meshing. A sweep about 30 feet long is attached to the center wheel.[6] A horse draws the sweep, revolving the wheels. The cane is fed into the left roller, caught as it comes out, and then fed back into the right roller. The juice is caught below. The residue (kibikasu) is left outside to dry to be used later for firewood. The juices which have been caught are taken in a low lying building with a tile roof, put in a large round pot (marunabe) or a rectangular pan (kikunabe). An open fire place is used for boiling the juice; the fire place is sunk in the ground and lined with stone, with a small opening at the bottom for putting in firewood. This mill is privately owned, the property of an association (kumiai) of about twenty men who rent it out for individual processing. As in Hanashiro, sugar is the production of the individual small farmer from its first planting until its sale for export or for home use. [427] [423] [427]

7

Other Crops

The most important of the other crops commonly grown in the villages remain to be considered. 241

(1) Soy beans (daisu in Japanese, Glycine max Merrill). In all the villages, soy beans were planted once a year, sowing in the first or second month, and harvesting in the fifth month. The field is prepared by making furrows and putting a mixture of chopped up green grasses and some animal manure, or a commercial fertilizer, in the hole in which the seed is planted. The farmer then waits for rain. After rain, he plants the seeds about three feet apart in rows from one shaku five sun (about 18 inches) for very good land to one shaku one sun (about 13 inches) for usual land. The plant is harvested with the small sickle. The beans are threshed by a flail (gurumanbo in Okinawan). The residues are used either for fertilizer or fuel.

6 This device is also relatively unchanged since Perry's time. The only difference is in the wheels which were formerly of wood, geared together by mortise and tenon joints. Stone crushers were also used formerly. In Hanashiro, I saw one of these stone rollers lying in the yard of a villager. For sugar making operations in the 1850's, see Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 20, 30.

434 593 earned by women in the marketing of the fish, after The money deduction of travel expenses, becomes part of the family funds. Women in the fishing village have custody of the family money, due to frequent and prolonged absence of their husbands. This is an unusual practice, for in the agricultural and stonecutting areas of the village the husband handles the money, with the exception of a few yen which the wife may have at home to meet incidental expenses. The custody of the money (much made over by some observers) has no special cultural significance in my observation. It is merely a convenience, based on custom and occupation. Most earnings of husband and wife are in a common fund, though older children may handle their own money.

6

Other Activities Associated with Fishing

251 [439] There is some local drying of fish for home use and export. Of the common fish, the most frequently dried are the mackerel, the swordfish, and the shark. Shark fins are dried for export to Japan; before the war, they were also sent to China. The small amounts dried in local villages are accumulated in places like Naha for shipment. Drying processes are of the simplest. The fish may be laid out on a piece of canvas on the ground in front of the house, an operation which creates a stench and an overwhelming concentration of the blow fly population. Racks may be improvised. Their ends, made of odd pieces of wood, support thin bamboo poles laid parallel, on which the fish are put to dry. Sometimes fish are hung on a line. If the weather is good, they dry in two or three weeks, but rain quickly produces spoilage if the fish are not taken in immediately. The mackerel when dried may be heated up by placing a piece over the open fire, then rolled between the palms to see if it has been heated enough, torn into shreds, and put on a plate. Occasionally a poor family of non-fishing people, or a widow, purchases whole fish or backs or fins to dry for home use or resale.

278 825 Certain fish are valued as medicines. Their scarcity in agricultural villages prevents any but the most casual use. In Minatogawa, the commonest fish used as medicines are the lobster, the white cuttle fish, and the carp (koi), though the latter fish is rare here.

[252] 757 The whole lobster is put into boiling water. After a few minutes, this broth, which is the medicine, is drained off, and the lobster is cracked open and heated, this time for preparation as a food. The broth, which is regarded as very disagreeable, is taken for a variety of ailments. Its commonest use is as a laxative, although it is also taken for swellings, boils, or gatherings of any kind (haremono), for pains in the small of the back and the loin, or for a cold. The lobster broth is regarded as a very effective medicine. A white cuttlefish soup is put to similar use. The carp is boiled in water and the broth is drunk for fevers. The carp may also be grown in village ponds.

In Hanashiro, the fish were raised for sale by the young men's association. The supply of fish is too uncertain and too seasonal for these remedies to be an effective part of the traditional medicine. Like the native plants, and many of the traditional medical practices, they are yielding to the drugs which can be found in the small village shops: stomach and headache powders, eye lotions, aspirin, and other pharmaceuticals and patent medicines.

The economic and occupational organization of village fishing is very informal. Partnerships are made on a basis of friendship and continue so until one party, for any reason, decides to leave. There are about 40 of these partnerships among the 120 odd adult fishermen.[2] The fishermen of the village also have a fisherman's association (suisankumiai) similar in function to the agricultural associations which the Japanese instituted throughout the empire. This association has a head (suisankumiaichō). Like so many official and administrative jobs in a village, these offices are thrust upon the man. He seldom seeks them. In the larger places where there is more remuneration, the man might seek the job. The head of the association is chosen by the fishermen of the village. He receives Y10 a month for each fisherman he represents. This is a supplementary job, as he could not exist on this sum. Lack of cash prevents any ambitious services to the membership. The association buys and sells gas and oil, nets, lines, hooks, and other necessary items which have been imported either from the United States or from Japan. Occasionally, the association has sufficient funds for small temporary loans for purchasing imported gear, loans from Y100 to Y 500 for a period of a week or two. The main function of the association is the exchange of information between the local head and representatives from the larger association in Naha. This becomes a study of the daily market demands; the information provided is a guide to fishermen in meeting the demand. This is all very informal. The head of the association circulates among the fishermen, giving them tips on what to expect and how prices are going.

7

The Rough Language of Minatogawa

The Minatogawans have one characteristic which is not shared by their agricultural neighbors of Nagano, nor indeed by any of the agricultural villages. This is their rough (arai) language, so described by Minatogawans with a certain amount of pride. This language, if used in the other village, would be considered insulting. It is notable for the freedom with which nicknames, some funny, some disparaging, some pointed at infirmities, are used.

2 The word used here is kumiai but actually these partnerships do not have the organized co-operative character that this word usually implies when used in an economic sense.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

512 A fishing village has a different kind of regularity than an
821 agricultural village. Activities in both are determined by the weather. During a heavy rain, everyone is in his house. But the farmer, even with a dark angry sky, can work up to the storm, and often continues working in a mild rain. The fishing village is guided both by bad and anticipated bad weather. On a fine fishing day, the village seems deserted with the men gone, and the women in the homes. But several days of rain or unfavorable weather keep the men home, and the village is alive with other activities, such as repairing nets, boats, and houses. Much of the fisherman's work at sea is at night, either in the actual fishing or in going and coming.
[513] For this reason, there is considerable daytime sleeping among them. On off days, the young fishermen loll around, often finding it difficult to pass the time away.

9

Conclusion

226 Fishing has become the occupation of a few places, such as
184 Itoman town, some villages on the Motobu peninsular, and Minatogawa. Ryukyuans have achieved considerable fame for their skill in fishing in waters other than their own, such as their drive-in net fishing in the East Indies and around Singapore.[3] Possibly it is the fewness of good ports, the necessity of adapting requirements to varying local geographical conditions, such as the coral reefs, or the long period of emigration that have prevented the large scale development of fishing on this island and insured the dominance of an agricultural life.

262 It is also a striking fact that, on this small island where no village is far from the sea, fish is an uncommon article of the diet. The explanation is simple. It is a problem of distribution in which
[435] two considerations are involved: the higher prices obtainable in Naha,
[251] and the difficulties of preserving fish while distributing them through
[439] the rural villages. More often than not, the fish in a farmer's diet is the dried sardine or a canned fish from Japan, not the local catch.

Part 2

The Quarries of Minatogawa-Nagamo

1

Introduction

324 Minatogawa is famous throughout Okinawa for its stone. Stone from the village and its environs may be seen in many towns and villages
[458] of the island. Before the war, there was a flourishing boat trade in wood and stone between Minatogawa and the northern region. The fine

3 For a recent statement, see Aquatic resources of the Ryukyu area, as cited, 7-9.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

and improvement of rural life, have continued to function. The most important of these are the agricultural associations (nogyōkumiai). In Okinawa, they are organized on a township level. The agricultural association is usually near the township office. It is both a buying and a selling concern. It buys and sells agricultural tools and simple farm machinery. The association may also buy and introduce into the agricultural village new techniques, tools, insect and pest control preparations, and other supplies imported from America or Japan. Buying and distribution for sale are at present more active functions than making loans. In any one year, a borrower may obtain a ¥200 loan, but the chief difficulty (Dec. 1951) is that the association has little money. In Gushichan village, the association buys and resells firewood, imported from the northern mountain region.

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The fishermen's association in Minatogawa has already been described. It may buy and distribute fishing gear, gas and oil, and other marine necessities.

Within the village itself, there are co-operative groups. The sugar mill co-operative of Hanashiro is typical. This has about 125 members, both men and women, and includes most of the families of the village. Each member pays to the association a fee for the use of the mill including the machinery and the cooking vessels. Of the fee, 60% goes to care and maintenance, 10% to the head of the co-operative who handles the administrative details, while 30% is held in reserve and redistributed as a rebate to members after the end of the season, if there is a surplus. The sugar is individually produced and sold. The village co-operative is concerned only with the care and maintenance of the mill and its facilities.

In Matsuda a pig raiser's co-operative (yōtonkumiai) has been started. The main emphasis is on breeding rather than on marketing. The group, which has about 61 members, is a result of the intense interest which has followed the introduction of American breeds. The head of this group is chosen by the membership. The organization is interested in the diffusion of information on the care and breeding of pigs and its membership participates in regional meetings of pig raisers.

4

The Cash Economy of Rural Villages

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The use of money in Okinawa seems to be recent. Hall and M'Leod in 1816 wrote that they observed no money, and that the Okinawans did not know its uses. Commodore Perry, who had a crisp reaction both to the Okinawans and to Hall's descriptions of them, said they knew "the value of gold and silver very well, and they traffic for the Chinese 'cash', of which from twelve to fourteen hundred are equivalent to the Spanish dollar." Chamberlain (1895) said that the Okinawans had

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necessities of life. Fishermen are more accustomed to dealing in currency transactions and these are more frequent and freer than in the farming village.

The economic history of the average Okinawan agricultural village from the late 19th century when Japanese control became firm to the present is largely an account of the fluctuations in rice, sweet potato and sugar cane production. This history is difficult to reconstruct on a local level because of the destruction of records and inexact memories. The point is nevertheless worth making, if only to stress again that these villages are not isolated rural economies. The general experience seems to have been that crop acreages have contracted and expanded in response to local needs and to the demands of trade with Japan.

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In the Hanashiro area, to use one example, there is a current interest in rice production because of its high value, and sugar cane seems to be displacing some sweet potato acreage. Sugar, even though coarse and unrefined, has a market in Japan strong enough to warrant production for the cash income at the expense of the cheap and plentiful sweet potato.

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One of the most significant facts of economic life in these villages has been the maintenance of individual farms and crop variety. Plantation monoculture, subject to international price fluctuations and often conducive to local impoverishment, has not developed.

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Private ownership in land, the inheritance of land within the family system, individual farms, tiny as they are, have undoubtedly been a stabilizing influence on these village economies.

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000 vegetables in season.

262 On special occasions, cookies, cakes, and more fresh fish and meat are served. In Okinawa any food out of the ordinary is called a feast or a treat (gochiso). Fresh fish, fish cakes, beef, pork make up a feast, for these are seldom served in the routine meal. Fish, pork, and beef are universally liked, but fish is hard to get, beef is expensive, and pork is a source of cash income. Many families eat pork only at New Year.

By almost any standard, including their own, the daily Okinawan diet is monotonous and unappetizing. Nevertheless the present diet is an improvement over the pre-war one. Most villagers said that before the war, the diet consisted of the sweet potato and bean paste soup. Bean paste soup usually has a few shreds of meat or fish in it. In times of scarcity, or if the family is very poor, only the paste is used, and when this is dissolved in hot water, it makes a kind of clear bouillon which is jokingly referred to as "mirror soup" (kagami miso) because one can see his face in it. In Okinawan, it is also called "nothing in it soup" (nnshiru). Since the war, the rice imports from Java, Siam, Egypt, and other foods sold through [839] import stores have provided more variety.

Goats are a cheap source of meat, but many do not like goat's 272 meat. The milk is not used for human consumption.

Tea is served at all hours. Many Okinawans, however, have acquired a taste for coffee. Tea is steeped in a large pot and [915] placed on a tray with the cups. Once made, tea stays in the pot until it is drunk. Frequently it is lukewarm or cold. Callers are [574] served tea and small chunks of brown sugar, picked up with chopsticks. Sugar is never used to sweeten tea. There is considerable eating [269] between meals, especially if visitors drop in. Women prepare a bowl of noodles, of cooked vegetables, fry an egg, or slice up some bean [262] curd. Villagers eat enormous quantities of food.

574 The people are very hospitable, but hospitality does not take the form of inviting friends to dinner except on special occasions, like a birthday celebration or a wedding. One family does not entertain another at dinner, but an individual member of a family who has worked at a friend's house may stay for an evening meal. Or a child may eat with the family of his playmates. Entertaining does [562] not include a man and his wife. The wife normally stays at home.[1]

1 In Hinatogawa, I was told that the beginning of the preparation of the meal was a sign for the visitor to return home. This was not due to the broad hint of the host but to the reserve (enryo) of the visitor. "Hun ni wariu" (Okinawan) "to be pressed by food" is said by those returning home at these times. One goes home at meal times.

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Before the war Okinawa imported half its soybean requirements. By early 1951 the prewar acreage had been cut by half.[1] This resulted in the necessity to import soy sauce tax-free from Japan, which brought an ineffective protest from the Legislature early in 1954. 'Miso' paste, which is made of soybeans when they are available, is now made also of corn, broad beans, kidney beans, and various other legumes.

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As early as 1946 the occupation forces reported:

> Rapid restoration of Okinawa's prewar agriculture is hampered chiefly by an arable land shortage induced by military requirements in the southern half of the island, where roughly 30,000 acres are devoted to military use. War damage and migration from combat and, later, base development areas seriously disrupted agrarian economy and early planning was delayed pending disposition of farm tracts affected by military expansion.[2]

That loss of both upland dry fields and paddy land was affected is shown by the following:[3] (figures are in 1,000's of acres)

Table II

Type of Land	1940 Acreage	1950 Acreage	% of 1940
Cultivated land	103.8	67.2	65%
Paddy land	11.5	9.6	83%
Upland fields	92.3	57.6	62%

Even more significant is a comparison of the 1940-1950 figures with those for 1904, which show the situation which existed before any Japanese military installations were built.

Table III[4]

Year	Acres Paddy Land	Acres Dry Fields	Total Arable Acres
1904	15,779.1	93,952.6	109,731.7
1940	11,527.25	82,273.86	93,801.11
1950	9,559.56	57,610.16	67,169.72

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1 Ryukyu Islands Economic Statistics Bulletin, no. 10, January-March, 1951.

2 Summation...op. cit., p. 26.

3 Ryukyu...., p. 13.

4 The 1904 data are from Summary of the Land Adjustment in Okinawa Prefecture, Tokyo, 1904. The 1940 and 1950 figures are from the reverse side of the large map, Okinawa shotō shōzu.

CHAPTER IV: RURAL ECONOMY

F. R. Pitts

1. Agricultural Buying, Selling and Labor

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177 With the introduction of money economy in a more intensive form at the time of the Japanese assumption of control in Okinawa, the farmer gave up many of his oldtime practices and began to adopt through necessity more modern forms of exchange. Because his life remained essentially rural, these newer forms revolved mainly around goods and services connected with farming. Information used in the following discussion is based on notes taken in Nanahan, unless otherwise specified.

434 Sale of Farm Products and Livestock Before the war the main cash crop was sugar cane, and the sale of black sugar
438 provided almost the entire money income of a rural household. However, if additional money was needed in emergencies, enough dried soybeans were sold to alleviate the deficit. In the coastal areas of Kanegusku, Tomigusuku and Yonagusuku the sale of reed products supplemented the income derived from sugar.

Because of the decreased acreage of rice after about 1910, rice was not a major money crop. However, the postwar decrease in sugar cane acreage coupled with a rise in acreage planted to rice and vegetables have made both the latter more available as income-producers for the farmer. Farmers with a moderate amount of rice generally sell about half, but use the money thus obtained to buy cheaper but "less delicious" imported rice if they run short---and can afford rice.

In the autumn, women from villages near Naha go out into the countryside buying vegetables and taking them by bus or three-wheeled jitney to the urban market, or to establishments that buy them for resale to military dependents at approved stores. Cabbage, for instance, in late November brings
[435] a premium price of ¥8 per 'kin' (1.32 pounds), but a month later the price declines to about ¥4-5 per 'kin'. One woman will carry away about 30 kin at a time.

Poor people and widows often sell cane to the local motor-powered mill, and obtain a little more money by helping to process it. Those who are fortunate enough to afford to do the pressing and processing at a horsedrawn sweep sell directly to the Agricultural Federation, or Noren, in Naha. For a
[435] one-hundred kin barrel they received in 1954 initially ¥1,100 a barrel. Later on, depending upon the grade of the black sugar delivered, they were to re-
[435] ceive more. The scale of grade-prices in 1954, as given by one farmer, was: first grade---¥1,530; second grade---¥1,430; and third grade---¥1,330. Before the war each barrel contained 120 kin, but the postwar barrels are smaller and correspondingly more easy to handle. The black sugar of Okinawa sells at a
[439] premium in Japan to candy manufacturers, who prefer it to white sugar. This accounts in part for the reluctance on the part of some farmers to sell to the modern sugar mill in Haebaru-son, which chiefly makes white granulated sugar.

Although animals are generally bought for prices that the community considers as relatively fixed (see below), meat animals sell for a certain rate per unit weight that varies with the market. Old cows and bullocks are generally sold for meat at the rate of ¥60 per kin. Boars, if fat, are sold for ¥42 per kin. Male goats bring ¥20 per kin for eating purposes, and chickens bring about ¥200 per kin. Females of any animals are very seldom sold unless old and almost dying, or unless the farmer finds himself in dire monetary emergency. Nanahan, which has the greatest vegetable acreage in Tomoyose village, has a 'han'-wide agreement not to raise chickens, due to their possible destruction of young plants. 435

Buying of Livestock and Daily Necessities The war depleted most of the livestock of Okinawa, and recovery has been slow. Okinawan farmers frequently expressed their gratitude to the American religious organizations which sent goats to them to help in reconstruction. 727 231 [177]

The reversion of Amami indirectly helped to increase the livestock on Okinawa. A Nanahan farmer described the situation in late November of 1953: 439 231

> Horses, cows, goats and pigs, together with household furniture come into Tomari port from Amami every day. The Amamians want to get as much Okinawan yen as possible, because it will convert to Japanese yen at three to one, and they think they will be ahead. The accelerated cattle movement started right after reversion intentions were announced. We are very glad to be able to buy the animals, but important people on Amami are afraid that this movement will deplete the island of animals, especially stud horses and bulls, goats and pigs for breeding.

Nanahan farmers have relatively fixed ideas on the prices of livestock. For middle grade, or average, stock the following prices are quoted: horses, ¥13,000; cows, ¥25,000; heifers, ¥10-11,000; calves ¥9-10,000; boars, ¥2,500; sows, ¥2,700; and all goats, ¥300-400. 435

Before the war there were many people traveling through the countryside selling 'miso' paste and bean curd. Every other day such peddlers would visit even the most isolated settlements. Better roads and increased communications by bus and jitney have oriented purchase of staples urbanward. The only peddlers who now come through Nanahan are basket peddlers. Two small stores in the main settlement provide 'sake', noodles, matches and other small-cost items that are not worth a trip to town. 438 178 443

Sale of Services Farm labor is drawn from the southern islands and from poorer families who are just getting a start in the community. In Nanahan there was only one full-time farm laborer, who was paid ¥2,000 a month, in addition to room and board. He had left Miyako when eighteen, two years before, because of a famine that was being caused by a sweet-potato virus. His employer was a man who managed a good deal of land---indeed the land that belonged to himself and two minor relatives---and sorely needed the extra labor. Another landowner was converting dry land to paddy, and after 464 [465]

[Kitazato]

175 621 727 It is said that the division of the village cut across family lines and that the motivating factor in a household's choice of one site over another was the location of their remaining landholdings on the periphery of the village. Another factor was the presence of relatives in neighboring villages from whom they might secure land for rental. Thus, Kijikina is largely made up of households which have their lands on that side of the field or have relatives in neighboring Furushima; the Hama people mostly own the land at the north side of the field.

175 621 The Pre-war Village Prior to the war the village was, according to 'son' officials, a very prosperous community and a great economic asset to the 'son'. It possessed nearly 173 acres in arable land, most of which was flat or gently rolling. The soil was well suited to sugar cane which was the chief source of income for the village; cattle-raising for export to Japan provided an additional source of income.

[249] [434] [238] [439]

Unlike Kanegusuku the lineages were said to be rather weak in Kitazato; there were a number of different kin groups, and no one of these was dominant. The houses of the village were not tightly nucleated like those of the typical Okinawan village but were scattered about in a loose grouping in the midst of the best agricultural land.

[36]

621 311 727 Land Loss At the present time (May, 1954) approximately 39% of the total land area of this village is in airfield, and an additional 34% of the total area has been ruined by activities related to its construction (sand dumped onto fields, top soil removed, erosion, etc.). There remains but 27% of the total land area for the use of the villagers, and of this only a small percentage is in arable land, since most of the good, flat farmland was lost to the airfield. The total amount of arable land remaining is 11,895 'tsubo' (less than ten acres), and this averages out to about 148 'tsubo' or 0.12 acres per household, with approximately five persons in each house. The average amounts of arable land per household in Kanegusuku, Okinawa, and Kitazato compare as follows:

[134]

Kanegusuku	---	1514.2 'tsubo'
Okinawa	---	1037.2 'tsubo' (per farm household)
Kitazato	---	148.7 'tsubo'

Land loss to the airfield affected every family in the village; some families lost all of their lands, a very few managed to retain most, but the majority of villagers (70%) lost nearly all of their holdings. For example, the mayor of the village held 2470 'tsubo' before the war and now has 570 'tsubo' left; yet, he is considered one of the more fortunate. To compensate for their losses they now farm some land which was previously left idle: "We would not have farmed such land before the war as we are farming today." Some have rented lands from neighboring villages, and a few have been given land by relatives in these villages.

621 829 727 Land Payment The people of Kitazato strongly feel that they are not being paid adequate remuneration in terms of current rental values for their land. They are well aware of the fact that the same U. S. military

The mental
isolation of the farm village gradually decreased under a national system of 177
education, but the process did not end with schooling. Upon graduating, the 619
youth, male and female, were enrolled in a national young people's association. 575
Later the young men were drafted for service in the national army, and following discharge the veteran was enlisted in a local reserve association which [702]
met frequently for military and social purposes. When a man married, established a separate house, and began farming, membership in the farmer's association was automatically conferred. His wife upon marriage transferred from the young women's association to the women's association. There were, in fact, a variety of national organizations covering the various phases and roles of the individual's life; membership was never a matter of choice, but a thing automatically conferred. A stress on patriotism was a strong concomitant in all of these. Membership gave to the individual a sense of participating in a national society extending far beyond the limits of his small village.

It should be stressed that most Okinawans regard the Japanese as pro- 177
viders of modern, enlightened government. The Japanese administration abol- 829
ished the old class divisions and freed the peasant from his serf-like status. [565]
Taxes on arable land were substantially reduced, and the villager for the first time was given some voice in government above the village level. Modern [671]
law courts were introduced and justice was administered impartially, not on a class basis as was formerly done.

Inadvertently, perhaps, official Japanese policy did much to destroy 177
the self-sufficiency of the farm village. Prior to the land reform, sugar 621
production did not exceed local needs, but government encouragement and sub- 433
sidy so increased production that by the time of World War II it exceeded consumption by 900%. This resulted in a food shortage which necessitated heavy importations of basic cereals to compensate.

Japanese manufactured goods also contributed to the decline in self- 177
sufficiency. Factory-made cloth gradually displaced home-woven fabrics, and 439
accordingly cotton and fiber banana were no longer raised. The tools, uten- 433
sils, and machines of the factory slowly replaced the simpler devices used [248]
in the village.

Abolition of the system of communal land tenure contributed to a weak- 177
ening of the family and particularly of the large extended kin group. The 602
introduction of private property and Japanese laws of inheritance served to 423
create a landless element which often emigrated from Okinawa in search of land [147]
or jobs elsewhere. Where formerly the kin group had clustered in certain localities, they now became dispersed over great areas, making continued interaction difficult and often impossible.

Sixty-six years of Japanese rule resulted in a fairly successful amal- 177
gamation of Okinawa into the Japanese state; though the Okinawan language and culture were not destroyed, they were severely altered.

Impact of World War II and the American Occupation The war destroyed vir- 727
tually all of rural and urban Okinawa, and resulted in the death of twenty percent of the population.

period of time. This was usually accomplished by reciprocal labor exchange or by hiring the local youth organization to do the job. 178 406

In sum, the rural people are making eager use of labor-saving machines when they are available. The limiting factors have been shortage caused by the war, poverty, small fields, and heavily fragmented holdings. The use of machines has contributed to a decline of reciprocal labor exchanges and has necessitated the payment of cash for the services of the specialist or machine owner. 178 40 [476] [437]

Dress A most notable feature of the postwar period has been the wholesale adoption of Western styles of dress and the great reliance placed on Japanese and American cloth and clothing. Nearly all males now dress in Western styles of dress. Very infrequently an old man will be observed in a kimono, but most males regard it as ill suited for work and modern life. Sometimes a man will wear a kimono when lounging at home, especially late in the evening after supper and bath. It is not at all unusual in the cities and towns to see a man walking toward the public bath carrying his kimono; on return he is dressed in the kimono and carries his soiled work clothing which is of Western style. Even for weddings the Western suit is used as frequently as the kimono for the groom's attire. 177 291

Young women and school girls wear Western dress exclusively. The kimono still remains the traditional mode of dress for the bride, and at New Year's time young women and girls may wear kimono. Middle-aged women use the kimono and Western-style dresses about equally. The older women dress exclusively in the kimono. The style of the kimono for the older and middle-aged woman is usually Okinawan, not Japanese. Among the young women and girls who use the kimono only as a party costume the Japanese style is followed, never the Okinawan. [292]

Native-style rain and sun hats of palm leaf and wheat straw are still widely used in the rural areas; nothing of Western or Japanese manufacture has been able to match these for light weight and effectiveness. 178 292

A major influence on Okinawan styles of dress has been the clothing of the US military forces. This has been obtained through clothes rations, surpluses, and petty black market operations. US Army fatigues, chino pants and shirts, wool pants, field jackets, fatigue caps and ponchos, are very popular particularly in the rural areas, so much so that the bulk of rural Okinawa is dressed in colors of olive drab, suntan, or field green. All attest to the durability of American cloth. A number of Okinawans asserted that used American clothing was better than new Japanese. A number of small merchants capitalizing on this belief have begun importing used American clothing, which comes in one-hundred pound bales; according to all accounts this has been well received. 291 177 [439]

Okinawans use very little in the way of personal ornamentation. The large old-fashioned hairpin, formerly worn by both sexes, is used today by only a few old women. Tattooed hands, once common to all Okinawan women, are seen today only on women over sixty. The purely ornamental insertion of gold teeth is also said to be declining; among the young educated (high school) people of the cities there is said to be some reaction against this use of gold teeth, but personal observation indicates continued popularity of the custom in the country. 301 178 [304]

Alcoholic Beverages

443 Japanese and American canned beer
Japanese type sake (a light rice wine resembling sauterne)
[273] Okinawan sake (awamori)

Miscellaneous

Charcoal sticks
[276] Brass and nickel plated Japanese pipes
Small dishes
[415] Sake bottles
Oil burners to keep mosquitos away
[416] Flashlights, bulbs, and batteries
Matches
Japanese and American tobaccos
Fishing lamps and the ika lamp (fishing villages only)

[437] Transactions are usually on a cash basis, although some customers pay at the end of the week. In one such store, the gross sales averaged ¥600 a day with a net profit of about 10%. (The yen is pegged at 120 to the US dollar). During the day and the early evening, the village stores are meeting places, especially if, like Hinatogawa, several to-
[366] gether make up a small business center.

443 Supplies are delivered to village stores by truck or sometimes by bus. Often the owner goes to the larger towns to buy. Young boys are
444 an important cog in the distribution system. They deliver candies, cookies, and other small articles which are carried in five gallon lard
[850] tins on racks over the rear mudguard of their bicycles. They ride up to the store, count out their candies or cookies, receive payment, and cycle on to the next store over a route which includes several villages. These boys work out of larger towns like Itoman and Nago. Baking goods,
[262] bread (pan) really a sweet dough with a jelly-like filling, cookies and candies are distributed in this manner. Sometimes housewives make cookies and cakes to sell to village stores.

443 There is not much house to house selling or soliciting. Occasionally women come to the villages with a selection of ready made clothing or cloth. In Hinatogawa, an itinerant drug vendor periodically goes through the village ringing his bell, selling various Japanese patent medicines mainly for colds, headaches, constipation, and stomach aches.

444 Import stores (hykujo), also operated privately, are a different kind of enterprise than the village shop. They have been set up under
262 the American occupation. Larger wholesalers supply the village re-
511 tailers. These stores deal in a restricted number of commodities, such as rice, flour, soy bean sauce, wheat, and cooking oils. Sales are made to villagers on a rationing system based on the number in the family, its age distribution, pregnancy, and whether the head is engaged in heavy
[442] work. The intent of the import stores is to make food available, at reasonable cost, to those who cannot grow their own, or whose own produce

231 Before a piglet is bought, its feeding habits are carefully observed by the buyer to determine future growing potential. It is then kept in a [417] sty: pigsties are either in the yard near the house or in a cluster of stables on the north edge of the town. Twice a day women cook the food in large kettles and ladle the liquid food into a trough. Nowadays [262] pork is rarely consumed in the village except for special holidays, when several families may slaughter pigs and sell part of the meat to every- [438] body through the local store or preserve some of it by salting. Most [251] farmers, however, wait for the meat buyer from the southern part of [442] the island from whom they receive a good financial return.

Goats are raised for home consumption. They are never left to graze [417] but are quartered in a goat pen near the pigsty and fed on grass cut from uncultivated land. Seven families in the central village have [492] horses. Their main use is to carry firewood from the mountains. The small breed looks like a cross between a horse and pony and seems especially adapted to climb the steep trails. They are also used for plowing and for pulling two-wheeled carts. The owner of a horse [434] may more than double his income from forest work. Horses are fre- [427] quently rented out for half the day's income from wood carried by them.

Silkworm raising, an important source of income in Taira before the war, is only now being resumed by some Tairan families. The [474] larvae are supplied through island-wide silkworm raising associations, which repurchase the cocoons after they are spun. To raise silkworms, a substantial house is needed so that rats cannot enter and eat the worms. The temporary postwar structures with holes and cracks in the walls and roof are inadequate. Only a few recently built houses can be used. One family keeps growing worms on shelves in the front room. [137] Most of the mulberry trees were lost during and after the war. Plans have been made to plant new trees. Young girls feed the mulberry [462] leaves to the gluttonous worms who require constant attention. When the worms are ready to create their cocoons, they are taken off their diet, and the cocoons are cleaned and sorted out. Silkworms can be raised four times a year if there is an adequate supply of mulberry leaves. Their sale brings a good income, which can become a substitute [434] for cash earned in forest work.

FISHING

226 Fishing is a much less important source of livelihood than one would [554] expect in a coastal village and is a low-prestige occupation. Only two

361 175 Perry's men, the aspect of these villages was one of rare and romantic beauty.[3]

2

Hanashiro

361 103 [491] Hanashiro is a small village of the cluster type in Gushichan township (Gushichan-son) in the southeastern part of Okinawa.[4] It is on the present Highway 64 which begins on the Chinen peninsula, travels southwesterly, following the coast at a distance to Mabuni in the southeast, then crossing the island to Nagushiku town, a village south of Itoman.

361 241 443 256 162 The village and its surroundings are small in area, the actual town site including various village owned properties, taking up slightly over 22 acres. This is an agricultural village, with the exception of minor activities such as storekeeping and rice milling. As of December 31, 1951, it had a population of 589 (269 male, 320 female), living together in 120 households, an average of 4.9 persons per household.

361 [103] [491] 175 349 631 The village is believed to have been founded about 400 years ago. By Okinawan standards this is not very old. It is off the main historical road which ran from Naha to Shuri to Kochinda, Gushichan, Minatogawa, through Tamagusuku township to the Chinen peninsula, probably the road travelled by Okinawan kings up to the latter part of the seventeenth century when they prayed at the altars on Kudaka Island.[5] There were in this area a series of castles on the tops of hills commanding the road and its approaches, the castles, the rough determinants of various regions formerly under a regional mobility. To the west there was Kochinda castle, Tamagusuku on the east, Gushichan castle near Hanashiro, where a surviving stone fence can still be seen, and the castle site of Itokazu. There is reason for believing, as we mentioned in Chapter 1, that this is in the general area of oldest settlement in the island.

[Text continues on P. 49 --analyst]

3 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, Vol. I, 163, 164, 179-80, and an illustration of a "cung-qua" on p. 180. On the older village with granaries and storehouses, see Green's remarks in Hawks, Perry's expedition, as cited, Vol. II, 34, 36, and illustration in Vol. I, 178.

[103] [192] 4 The village is also known as Hanagusuku: the meaning is the same, as shiro is the Japanese, gusuku the Okinawan word for castle. Many Okinawan place names have the suffix, —gusuku.

5 Spencer, The Noro, or priestesses of Loo Choo, as cited, 107.

In addition to these varieties, cultivated locally, imported rice is distributed through the import stores. These rices generally are from Egypt, Siam, and Burma. They are not well liked and are considered to be tough (katai). Whether this is because the variety itself is disliked or because the imports were of a poor quality is hard to say, but Egyptian, Siamese, and Burmese rice are unfavorably compared with Japanese, Formosan, or the locally grown products. Okinawans are very sensitive to the types of rice. There is no such thing as "rice." Long habituation and fondness for special kinds have induced tastes and preferences which each villager is quick to express. 439 262 [493]

In Hanashiro, the main type of rice planted is also the Taichu 65, a variety which originated in Formosa, and is generally preferred. The red variety, mochigome, does not do well here, according to local farmers, and just a little is grown. Mochigome (literally, rice-cake rice) is used in making the doughy and gummy rice cakes. 293 262

5

The Sweet Potato

The cultivation of the sweet potato (satsuma imo) is a much simpler undertaking than rice culture. Fields are prepared by hand hoeing. The plow and the harrow are not used. In sweet potato cultivation, seed potatoes are first planted in a small plot. This furnishes slips or transplants for other fields. Slips are multiplied by using the tops of one field to plant another. Propagation thus is by clones, and this vegetatively reproduced plant is the mainstay of the diet. 244 [262]

The potato seed bed, well hoed and fertilized, is generally planted in the spring. The tops to be used as slips (kazura) are cut off and planted in rows. Practice has brought deftness in this transplanting. A small amount of soil is lifted up by the spatula, (hera), and held so that an opening rather than a hole appears. The slip is shoved into the aperture and quickly pressed down by the left heel, as the farmer moves to the next planting.[5] Few tools are used in the cultivation of the sweet potato. Only the hoe and the spatula are really needed. Occasionally one finds a special hoe with a sharp angle between the blade and handle or a heart shaped hoe with a long handle. In the Hanashiro and Nagamo areas, the solid bladed hoe is the commonest tool. Two and three pronged hoes are less often used because of the hardness of the soil. [412]

The cultivation of the sweet potato, as we have said, is a year round operation, though planting may slacken off during the winter months. [221]

5 Methods of cultivation have changed little in the past 100 years. The same operation is described in Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 31-32. [114]

231 special holiday occasions. Pig killing or the killing of any animals
[825] is distasteful. The pig generally is driven out of the pen to a
[943] waiting truck or horse cart and hauled squealing off to market.

232 Considerable interest is being shown (early 1952) in the scientific
[197] breeding of pigs from stock imported from the United States. Chester White is a well known word among the farmers of Matsuda. In this area, regional meetings of pig breeders and raisers from the northern part of Okinawa and the Motobu peninsula are held to discuss the care, breeding, and marketing of pigs. These farmers have come a long way from the earlier days, even 25 years ago, when the toilet and the pig pen were the same. A farmer going from one of his fields to another often stops home to look at the pigs and perhaps to discuss his problems with
[474] a friend. In Matsuda, a pig growers' association has now been started.

231 Domestic animals, especially the pig, can be expected to increase and to reach at least their pre-war level, if the villages studied are typical. This development will be all to the good. The pig consumes food not fit or not used for human consumption. It does not compete with humans for food. It is unlikely that land now devoted to the production of human food would be diverted to animal food. In my observation, there is not a strong competition between animals and man for the products of the land. Domestic animals really round out the agriculture and consume food that otherwise would not be used.

[311] The lack of grazing land, except on the hill sides and summits, means that domestic animals must be fed with food grown and prepared and fed to them by the farmer. Grazing also would be out of the question since the land on the hills is privately owned and split up in small parcels. The young plants are valued too highly to permit indiscriminate grazing.

[435] Goats are cheaply raised. The only expense is the labor of getting leaves, grass, and tender shoots from the family's genya land on the hills. In the market, goat is the cheapest of all meats.
[262] There are also sharp differences in taste among villagers for goat's meat. The milk is not used as a food. Goats are tied up or kept in stalls for their entire life. They are never allowed to roam through the village or to graze on the hill sides. They are not given water and depend entirely on the water in the grasses and shoots which they are fed.

Horses, cattle, and oxen are fed grasses, mashed sweet potatoes, and waste bean curd. Though occasionally used in rice fields, the
[492] chief use of horses is in drayage. In Matsuda, the horse and the two wheeled cart make frequent trips to the mountains to transport the longpoles, firewood, and charcoal.

235 Chickens are fed anything that might be on hand. Often they are given the chaff from the rice or the rice that is blown off in
[262] winnowing. Occasionally chickens are eaten, but they are kept primarily

226 476 The boat, as in the previous example, is considered a person. The cook is usually a boy about 16 or 17 years old. If we further assume a catch valued at Y10,000, with a deduction of Y1000 for gas and oil, there is a remainder of Y9,000 to be divided. The boat's share, A, is 30%, or Y2700, with Y6300 for further distribution. The following formula is then applied to this remainder:

Captain	1.5	shares
Engineer	1.5	shares
Fishermen	7.0	shares, one for each of 7 men
Cook	0.7	shares
	10.7	

The value of each share is Y588.78 (Y6300 divided by 10.7). If the amounts are rounded off, the final distribution is:

Captain	Y883	(1.5 x 588.78)
Engineer	883	(1.5 x 588.78)
Fishermen	4121	(1 x 588.78 x 7)
Cook	412	(0.7 x 588.78)
	Y6300	

The distribution takes place at the conclusion of a voyage. Obligations (giri) between the owner and the others, on these larger boats, are also based on custom. If a crew member is injured on a voyage and prevented from going on the next one, he receives a share for the voyage he was on, and some money, depending on the catch but not a full share, during convalescence. If a fisherman is ill and has been injured outside of his work, he does not receive this consideration.

5

Sale and Distribution of Fish

● 443 962 935 The sale and the distribution of fish is the work of women. Men occasionally do this, but their function is to catch the fish, maintain the boats and gear, and make the lures. The bulk of the fish is sold at Naha because the highest prices generally are paid there. This makes it difficult for adjacent villages to obtain fish, even in season. When the fish is especially plentiful and low in price at Naha, the women go to the agricultural villages of the interior. Fish are carried in baskets. The pre-war custom of carrying the fish basket on the head and walking from village to village, or to the railroad station at Kochinda, thence by rail to Naha, has given way to truck, bus, or the three wheeled cycle. Often in the evening, these cycles, which can seat six comfortably, are filled with eight or ten laughing and voluble women, and their fish, the vehicle chugging slowly and painfully up and then coasting down the grades.

000 One can infrequently observe women walking from Hinatogawa to

One can infrequently observe women walking from Minatogawa to nearby villages to sell their fish. Women and young girls also sell fish locally, standing somewhere off the main street with their hand scale (hakkari) and a basket or bucket of fish. Housewives come up, price the individual fish, often weighing it for themselves on the hand scale. 443 804

Like the Chinese scale, this is simply a round piece of wood on one end of which there is a weight. The fulcrum is a string, held in the hand, which holds the scale. The item to be weighed is put in a basket and placed on the other end. The weight is ascertained by moving the counter-weight till both sides are in balance. Markings along the piece of wood show the exact amount. Every village shop has one of these scales.

There is very little haggling over prices, although the housewife is choosy and will inquire the cost of different individual fish before deciding which one, if any, to buy. 443

Usually the night's catch is marketed the following morning. Women, by custom, receive a fee for selling fish. A woman who takes her husband's and his partner's fish to market (the catch being insufficient for both wives to participate) is paid her fee by weight. 443 465 [804]

25 kin (about 33 pounds) sold at Y30 per kin	Y1500
Woman's share, at Y5 per kin	- 150
Remainder	Y1350
Each Partner's Share	675

The Y5 per kin is a selling commission. If more than one woman goes, the fee is split between them. Women pay all expenses and their bus fare from the commission. Occasionally wives alternate in taking the catch to market.

When the woman of a fishing family takes fish to market, she is doing more than performing an errand. Her skill in bargaining and general knowledge of prices, of the catch and the demand for various kinds of fish determine whether she gets a good or only a fair price. Generally, mature women sell the fish. Younger women, in the late teens and early twenties, often accompany the older women as helpers and gradually are initiated into the tricks of the trade. Young women, not being skillful, are more likely to accept the first offer, or to sell below the highest price obtainable. One source of family quarreling (fufukonka) is the anger of a husband when his wife has sold at a lower price than his neighbor's wife. Women who have children leave them with a relative, or an older daughter. When the wife of the family is unable to sell the fish because her children are too young, the chore is taken over by a woman relative. In Minatogawa, this substitute work also is often done by widows who, in addition, might sell fish caught by male relatives. 443 562 [578] [855] [589]

The money earned by women in the marketing of the fish, after 000

In Hanashiro, the fish were raised for sale by the young men's association. The supply of fish is too uncertain and too seasonal for these remedies to be an effective part of the traditional medicine. Like the native plants, and many of the traditional medical practices, they are yielding to the drugs which can be found in the small village shops: stomach and headache powders, eye lotions, aspirin, and other pharmaceuticals and patent medicines.

The economic and occupational organization of village fishing is very informal. Partnerships are made on a basis of friendship and continue so until one party, for any reason, decides to leave. There are about 40 of these partnerships among the 120 odd adult fishermen.[2] The fishermen of the village also have a fisherman's association (suisankumiai) similar in function to the agricultural associations which the Japanese instituted throughout the empire. This association has a head (suisankumiaichō). Like so many official and administrative jobs in a village, these offices are thrust upon the man. He seldom seeks them. In the larger places where there is more remuneration, the man might seek the job. The head of the association is chosen by the fishermen of the village. He receives Y10 a month for each fisherman he represents. This is a supplementary job, as he could not exist on this sum. Lack of cash prevents any ambitious services to the membership. The association buys and sells gas and oil, nets, lines, hooks, and other necessary items which have been imported either from the United States or from Japan. Occasionally, the association has sufficient funds for small temporary loans for purchasing imported gear, loans from Y100 to Y 500 for a period of a week or two. The main function of the association is the exchange of information between the local head and representatives from the larger association in Naha. This becomes a study of the daily market demands; the information provided is a guide to fishermen in meeting the demand. This is all very informal. The head of the association circulates among the fishermen, giving them tips on what to expect and how prices are going.

7

The Rough Language of Hinatogawa

The Hinatogawans have one characteristic which is not shared by their agricultural neighbors of Nagano, nor indeed by any of the agricultural villages. This is their rough (arai) language, so described by Hinatogawans with a certain amount of pride. This language, if used in the other village, would be considered insulting. It is notable for the freedom with which nicknames, some funny, some disparaging, some pointed at infirmities, are used.

2 The word used here is kumiai but actually these partnerships do not have the organized co-operative character that this word usually implies when used in an economic sense.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

Village Shops and Businesses

Village stores, small in number and modest in size, furnish their own people many essential services, but the offerings differ from place to place in number and kind, so that there are always commercial contacts of a sort with nearby villages or towns. This is brought out in the accompanying table of business and personal service establishments in each of the villages.

Village Shops, Businesses, Personal Service Enterprises

Type	Number of Enterprises in:			
	Hanashiro	Hinatogawa	Nagamo	Matsuda
Rice Mills	1	a/	a/	1
Sugar Mills	1		1	3
Small Retail Shops	3	5	3	5
Power Plant		1	b/	1
Import Store	c/	1	b/	1
Saw Mill				1
Blacksmith	d/	d/	1	
Retail Butcher Shop		1		
Motion Picture Theatre	e/	e/	e/	f/
Public Bath House	h/	2	h/	2
Village Inn		1		g/
Eating Places		1		
Barbershop	g/	e/	a/	1

a No need for rice mills, no rice grown
b Served by Hinatogawa
c In nearby Asato
d Nagamo serves these and other villages in the township
e In Horikawa, opposite Hinatogawa
f Served by Ginoza village
g Served by Gushichan village

Rice mills (seimaisho) are recent in rural Okinawa. The mill in Hanashiro was installed in 1940. It serves nearby villages. The mill in Matsuda, also a recent introduction, is more modern. In each case, the mill has two machines of Japanese manufacture, one for hulling, the other for polishing.

Sugar mills (seitojo) vary in quality in the communities. Hanashiro has a machine for crushing cane. In Matsuda, war destruction

249 forced a return to crushing the cane by the use of rollers driven by a horse at the end of a sweep. Before the war, Matsuda had sugar mills driven by machinery. Mills may either be village 423 owned, as in Hanashiro, or owned by small co-operatives, like that [427] in Matsuda whose members rent it to others when not using it themselves.

443 Village stores generally occupy the front part of a family's living quarters. They are operated mainly by women. A woman past [462] middle age sitting on the floor of her shop, talking with visitors or reading the paper, is a familiar sight in an Okinawan village. A village may have several tiny stores. They do not compete with one another in the commercial sense of the word. Prices are the same. Their inventories are the standard ones. The chief dif- [273] ferences are in size and variety. Some sell the strong alcoholic drink (awamori) called sake in Okinawa.

Each storekeeper has a clientele of friends and relatives, but one is not under social obligation to repeatedly trade at the same place. Relatives sometimes own adjoining shops. In Japan, [171] it is said that once a person starts trading at a shop he continues to do so. To switch would deprive the shopkeeper of business that could be counted on, and imply dissatisfaction with the service rendered. The first purchase creates mutual obligations between the storekeeper and his customer which are not broken casually.[1] This is not the case with these village stores. One patronizes the shop that is convenient, that is open when one wants to buy, that has the desired article. There is an informal atmosphere and lack [434] of bustle in these tiny shops because so many are operated for supplementary income by wives or female relatives of the breadwinner. A wife may sit in her shop, as I have often seen her in Minatogawa, [404] taking care of her baby, sewing on her treadle sewing machine, and interrupting her work when necessary for a customer. The cash involved is small, often only a few yen, and money is carefully accounted for. These shops satisfy a surprising amount of the village demand for food, food supplements, notions, clothing, and household goods. Larger, more expensive, or more specialized items such as books, suits, furniture are in the towns like Itoman or Naha in the south, or Nago and Ishikawa in the north.

An inventory of one of these village stores indicates the types of articles in frequent and constant demand. In one typical store in Minatogawa the following purchases could be made:

Foods

[262] Starch
[272] Condensed milk for children

1 I was told this by Japanese and by Nisei who were in Japan during the occupation. I do not know how widespread or how characteristic this practice is of all retail trade there.

Japanese canned fish: mackerel, bonito, clams, whale meat hash 443
Noodles, buckwheat spaghetti and macaroni type pastes 262
Cookies, stored in glass jars, and sold singly
Sweet rolls (manju) from a town bakery, and sweetened bread (pan) 212
Tea
Aji no moto
White sugar
Soy bean oil

Soft Drinks and Candy

443

Bottled lemon and orange ades [212]
Cocoa Cola
Gum
Various candies sold by the piece, also stored in glass jars on the counter.

Notions

Needles and thread
Buttons of various sizes
Trimmings and ribbons [412]
Braids for making and trimming kimonos
hair pins, and combs

Clothing

Clogs (geta)
Undershirts [291]
Fibre sandals

Toilet Articles

Perfumes and toilet waters
Shampoos, liquid and powdered. [302]
Pomades and brilliantines
Toothbrushes [515]
Soaps
Toilet paper

Stationery

School tablets and notebooks [212]
Pencils
Comic books (in Japanese)

Medicines

Aspirin
Stomach powders [218]
Eye lotions

Alcoholic Beverages

443 Japanese and American canned beer
[273] Japanese type sake (a light rice wine resembling sauterne)
Okinawan sake (awamori)

Miscellaneous

Charcoal sticks
[276] Brass and nickel plated Japanese pipes
Small dishes
[415] Sake bottles
Oil burners to keep mosquitos away
[416] Flashlights, bulbs, and batteries
Matches
Japanese and American tobaccos
Fishing lamps and the ika lamp (fishing villages only)

[435] Transactions are usually on a cash basis, although some customers pay at the end of the week. In one such store, the gross sales averaged ¥600 a day with a net profit of about 10%. (The yen is pegged at 120 to the US dollar). During the day and the early evening, the village
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442 There is not much house to house selling or soliciting. Occasionally women come to the villages with a selection of ready made clothing or cloth. In Hinatogawa, an itinerant drug vendor periodically goes through the village ringing his bell, selling various Japanese patent medicines mainly for colds, headaches, constipation, and stomach aches.

Import stores (hykujō), also operated privately, are a different kind of enterprise than the village shop. They have been set up under the American occupation. Larger wholesalers supply the village retailers. These stores deal in a restricted number of commodities, such as rice, flour, soy bean sauce, wheat, and cooking oils. Sales are made to villagers on a rationing system based on the number in the family, its age distribution, pregnancy, and whether the head is engaged in heavy work. The intent of the import stores is to make food available, at reasonable cost, to those who cannot grow their own, or whose own produce

CLOTHING

Today the clothing of Taira people is predominantly Western. Until World War II some fine silk materials for dress were woven in the village, but work clothes were bought in the stores in Nago and Naha. Men and women wear simple, drab, patched, or torn clothes which are laundered frequently. Almost everybody still has a few pieces of U.S. Army fatigues which were handed out immediately after World War II; some have Japanese uniforms. 291 [177] [296]

Women wear cotton skirts and blouses, men cotton trousers, rolled up to the knees for work in the fields, and shirts. During the cold months old jackets are added. Men almost always wrap towels around their heads to hold back their long hair or, as they say, to absorb perspiration. Women also cover their heads with towels during work. Most men and women wear some underclothes; both wear pants, and most women wear slips.

Young girls are more fastidious about their daily dress than older women and all men. An adolescent girl is always well covered, unlike an older married woman who may leave her blouse open to give the baby easy access to the breast. During the heat of the summer, when men take off their shirts, old women follow their example. Most married women just work in their slip and skirt during the hottest part of the summer.

On special holidays or for trips to the city, people have better clothes. Many of these are bought by both men and women from the itinerant, secondhand clothes peddler who visits Taira several times a year before the major holidays. Some old women and a few old men still wear the dark, silk kimonos of prewar days for dress, but usually women wear one-piece dresses or two-piece suits with blouses and men Western suits with white shirts and sometimes ties. Not everybody has shoes to go with special outfits. Wooden clogs are worn by both men and women, even with Western clothes, more commonly than sneakers and shoes. 292 443

Although a Western-style hairdo as pictured in magazines or seen on American women in the central part of Okinawa serves as a model to the younger Taira women, few can afford to have their hair done in the city. Sometimes a teacher or the wife of an official returns from a trip to town with a permanent wave. Most older women wear their long hair tied in a bun at the back of the head. Younger girls who have finished school wear their hair short and straight. The priestess' daughter cuts hair in a barber chair outside her house. Men go to her 302 [177] [305]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

of the permanent Tairan families fish; the majority of the fishermen are migrants from the surrounding islands who come for a season, leaving their families behind. A few families have moved in permanently. The fishermen supply Taira, but most of the catch is peddled in the Nago market by the fishermen's wives. Some of the more enterprising and mercantile-minded women in the village buy up fish and peddle it for a profit.

Only two 226 [166] [438] [443]

Two or three times a year, during February or March, large fishing boats from Henza Island land in Taira with whale meat. All the able women look forward to making extra cash at this time, for whale meat is considered a delicacy in homes where meat is rare. Blubber is eaten and used as frying fat. The distribution of whale meat is arranged by one village woman whose fishermen relatives from Henza supply it in response to her request. She acts as agent, distributing the meat to the women on consignment.

226 443 [262]

LUMBERING

The main source of immediate cash for most families is firewood. Forest land in the mountains is owned by the township and the village, except for some woods near the fields, which are personal property. The township permits the village to exploit a certain region surrounding the community in return for payment of a forest tax. This tax is levied on firewood bundles or on lumber sold by villagers. Everyone in the village is free to cut wood in the designated area in any amount he desires. This, however, does not imply that unlimited cutting is possible, for resources have been utilized so heavily that most forests near the village are almost cleaned out, and it has become increasingly difficult to find wood. Reforestation has only recently been introduced on a serious scale. Often villagers are found trespassing on land owned by the central Ryukyan government in order to cut from the less depleted forests there. Government officials are sympathetic to the villagers' plight, and they tend to dispose of such transgressions with a stern warning.

313 [423] [651] [185] [423] [685]

Men and women, and during vactions, some children over 12 years, go to the forest. Most people prefer to walk and work in small groups. To reach a place high up in the hills, they may have to hike almost a mile from the center of Taira. The steep, narrow paths made by woodcutters traverse the mountains. Following the approach trails during the day, one can hear voices and the sawing of wood from many directions. All lumber people carry a short handsaw and a heavy bush knife

[957] [487] [412]

Although animals are generally bought for prices that the community 435
considers as relatively fixed (see below), meat animals sell for a certain rate per unit weight that varies with the market. Old cows and bullocks are generally sold for meat at the rate of ¥60 per kin. Boars, if fat, are sold for ¥42 per kin. Male goats bring ¥20 per kin for eating purposes, and chickens bring about ¥200 per kin. Females of any animals are very seldom sold unless old and almost dying, or unless the farmer finds himself in dire monetary emergency. Nanahan, which has the greatest vegetable acreage in Tomoyose village, has a 'han'-wide agreement not to raise chickens, due to their possible destruction of young plants.

Buying of Livestock and Daily Necessities The war depleted most of the live- 727
stock of Okinawa, and recovery has 231
been slow. Okinawan farmers frequently expressed their gratitude to the Amer- [177]
ican religious organizations which sent goats to them to help in reconstruction.

The reversion of Amami indirectly helped to increase the livestock on 439
Okinawa. A Nanahan farmer described the situation in late November of 1953: 231

> Horses, cows, goats and pigs, together with household furniture come into Tomari port from Amami every day. The Amamians want to get as much Okinawan yen as possible, because it will convert to Japanese yen at three to one, and they think they will be ahead. The accelerated cattle movement started right after reversion intentions were announced. We are very glad to be able to buy the animals, but important people on Amami are afraid that this movement will deplete the island of animals, especially stud horses and bulls, goats and pigs for breeding.

Nanahan farmers have relatively fixed ideas on the prices of livestock. 435
For middle grade, or average, stock the following prices are quoted: horses, ¥13,000; cows, ¥25,000; heifers, ¥10-11,000; calves ¥9-10,000; boars, ¥2,500; sows, ¥2,700; and all goats, ¥300-400.

Before the war there were many people traveling through the country- 438
side selling 'miso' paste and bean curd. Every other day such peddlers would 178
visit even the most isolated settlements. Better roads and increased communi- 443
cations by bus and jitney have oriented purchase of staples urbanward. The only peddlers who now come through Nanahan are basket peddlers. Two small stores in the main settlement provide 'sake', noodles, matches and other small-cost items that are not worth a trip to town.

Sale of Services Farm labor is drawn from the southern islands and from 464
poorer families who are just getting a start in the community. In Nanahan there was only one full-time farm laborer, who was paid [465]
¥2,000 a month, in addition to room and board. He had left Miyako when eighteen, two years before, because of a famine that was being caused by a sweet-potato virus. His employer was a man who managed a good deal of land---indeed the land that belonged to himself and two minor relatives---and sorely needed the extra labor. Another landowner was converting dry land to paddy, and after

178
Military installations have attracted people from all areas, and at 177
the present time over twenty-five percent of the total labor force is employed 727
by the military or in subsidiary occupations. Some of these people are drawn [464]
from the landless element which formerly would have emigrated. In other areas
land has been left idle by those who have sought salaried jobs in preference [311]
to farming. In places, extensive military land use has greatly increased
land pressure. The circulation of money has been accelerated, and new pat- [491]
terns of living have evolved. Many miles of all-weather roads have been constructed and the island transportation system has improved to a point where villagers have a mobility undreamed of in the prewar era.

The major forces for change have been technological and economic. 177
Where changes have occurred in the social system, they have come about largely 178
as a result of these factors. Man has always tended to accept new things faster than new ideas, but in final analysis these will alter ideas too. It has been said that the streetcar and trains have contributed more to the breakdown of the idea of caste in India than any other single factor; so too on Okinawa, the changes effected by a new technology, greater circulation of money, and improved mobility operate to alter the fabric of life. Most rural 177
Okinawans would be decidedly opposed to any overt action designed toward 369
weakening the unity of their village; yet, when they put aside farming to 621
commute daily to a city job, avail themselves of the newspapers, movies, and 178
radio programs emanating from the city, and no longer participate in labor exchanges and other cooperative ventures, it is to precisely this end that they are contributing.

It is the opinion of the author that the major forces for change in 177
contemporary Okinawa were already operative before the war. The real impact 178
of the American occupation has been a rapid acceleration of the forces of change which have been slowly building up since the beginning of the century.

<u>Aspects of Change in Rural Okinawa: Transportation</u> One of the most im- 178
pressive changes in 491
post-war Okinawa with far-reaching cultural implications has been the improved transportation system which has made possible a greater mobility. A network of modern highways now girdle the land where formerly narrow dirt roads and paths had sufficed. To one who had last seen the island in 1945 the contrast in 1954 was most remarkable.

The increase in motor vehicles has been more than ten-fold over the 178
prewar period. Most villages now have easy access to bus lines which connect [494]
to virtually all points of the island. Where formerly villagers but rarely
went to town, they now make such trips frequently. It is not uncommon in the [484]
Shimajiri and Nakagami areas of the island for an individual to commute each day from his village to his place of employment in a military camp, town, or city.

The improvement in transportation has enabled the farmers to bring 178
products to the best markets. Formerly most Kanegusuku products were sold 443.
in nearby Itoman, but today with the advent of rapid bus service to Naha many items are taken there for sale.

Elongated roadside settlements seem to be an increasing phenomena of post-war Okinawa. In central Okinawa (Nakagami) this is particularly apparent in the areas of military camps, where the commercial value of being on the road is fully exploited. Numerous car-washing establishments, repair shops, laundries, souvenir shops, etc., line the roadsides in these settlements. With current expansion and improvement of the highway system there seems increasing likelihood that more settlements of this type will develop. 178 361 [443]

Houses and Buildings Architectural styles and the materials of construction appear to have changed but slightly as a result of the war. There are now thousands of small temporary huts made of scrap materials which will suffice until the individual family can afford a more permanent structure. When new houses are built, the styles are closely similar to those of the prewar period. The major change in the style of country houses appears to have occurred during the Japanese period of administration, for early travelers and investigators report that the typical farmer's dwelling consisted of woven bamboo walls, thatch roof, and dirt floor. These are but rarely found today, and where they do occur, there is always a raised floor as in the case of the Japanese home. In certain areas, such as Kitazato for example, there has been a reversion to this house of woven bamboo and thatch due to poverty, a lack of wood, and the readily available bamboo. The prewar house of wooden walls and frame with a tile roof still remains the most common house type and that which is most frequently built. 178 342 [171]

The use of concrete blocks in building is attributed to American influence; however, their usage to date has been limited mostly to non-residential buildings. Roofing of corrugated iron is sometimes used, but it is regarded as a temporary device. [177]

Interiors have changed but little; rooms are usually relatively bare of furnishings. Frequently the walls are covered with pictures taken from Japanese and American magazines. 177 178 353

The enclosed yard surrounding the Okinawan house often contains considerable evidence of the war. Oil drums have been put to use as rain barrels and privies; American helmets are frequently found serving as pails or buckets; old shell cases are used for support and occasionally, if a sufficient number are available, for decorative fencing; sections of portable landing-strips serve as sidewalks; and on one occasion a Japanese machine-gun was observed in use as a clothes pole. 177 351

Crafts There has been a marked decline in Okinawan handicrafts and a greater reliance placed on factory-made products. The manufacture of cloth, baskets, rope, hats, pottery, raincapes, mats, sandals, etc. has dropped markedly in comparison to the prewar era; yet, it is acknowledged that the war only served to accelerate the decline. Several factors are involved in this process. In many cases the Japanese factory products are cheaper and better than the local article. The cultural domination of Japan also created an attitude that things Ryukyuan were inferior to things Japanese; hence, Japanese products and styles assumed an ascendancy over those of Ryukyuan origin. Lastly, the war destroyed many of the places of manufacture and the machinery employed, and replacement has never been made. 177 178 433 28 [329] [727]

Alcoholic Beverages

443 Japanese and American canned beer
[213] Japanese type sake (a light rice wine resembling sauterne)
Okinawan sake (awamori)

Miscellaneous

Charcoal sticks
[276] Brass and nickel plated Japanese pipes
Small dishes
[415] Sake bottles
Oil burners to keep mosquitos away
[416] Flashlights, bulbs, and batteries
Matches
Japanese and American tobaccos
Fishing lamps and the ika lamp (fishing villages only)

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needs supplementation. Hence, a farmer cannot buy so much as a fisherman. A rice farmer, if he is eligible at all, cannot purchase so much as a sweet potato grower. These stores fill a genuine need. They have alleviated hardship and done much to improve the monotonous pre-war diet. In the villages, they are a concrete reminder of direct American contact. There is not a store in every village, but each village has ready access to one. 444 262 511

The rural blacksmith takes care of the needs of farmers and stonecutters. One such shop in Nagano serves many villages in the Gushichan area. The forge is of simple construction. The air is blown by a sort of box bellows. The operator sits down, as if he were in a row boat, and by pushing and pulling the handle (which has a T-end grip like a hand pump) moves the piston horizontally back and forth. The blacksmith repairs agricultural and stonecutting tools and makes new tools, chiefly hoes and spikes for the harrow. 326 413

There are no good inns, restaurants or tea houses in the villages. In Hinatogawa a Japanese inn of rude construction and comfort caters to parties for the entertainment of visitors who have business with local people. 265

Getting a haircut or a bath may involve going to another village. Like the stores, barbershops are little social centers, especially during bad weather when villagers are not working and take the opportunity to have their hair cut. 305

2

Mutual Loan Groups

In China and Japan, mutual loan groups have had a long history. In essence, they are groups associated for the purpose of borrowing and lending money, the capital being derived from contributions of the membership. There is an element of chance when members bid against one another or draw lots for a loan.[2] 474 426 [171]

Each member of a loan group advances an agreed upon share. The total amount is then available as a lump sum to one of them as a borrower. The borrower repays principal and interest in monthly installments. The remaining members advance the same amount each on the following month to another borrower. In this way, there is a continuous cycle of lending

2 They are known variously as mo-ai (Japanese), mu-e (Okinawan) tanomoshi and yūrei (Japanese). Groups organized on a monthly basis are tsukikiyurei or tsukimoai (Japanese), and on an annual basis as nimu-e (Okinawan), nirumo-ai (Japanese). At present there are no annual groups because of uncertainties regarding the future value of money. Now loans are normally for a 10-12 month period.

[Yamada]

its area at night (an informant hastened to add that these were not Yamada women). The unit and the village cooperated in repairing roads, the unit supplying equipment and the village labor. The unit also lent equipment for levelling the school grounds and for the 'undōkai' (sports event) lent the school a public address system. At Christmas of 1952 and again in 1953 the unit gave a Christmas party for the school children. The first year only 40 went but the second year nearly 200 went and all received presents. Two that were shown me later were a plastic car and a plastic fire truck; one was marked 65 cents. They were displayed with obvious pride. The school children in turn had sent a bundle of art work to the unit for the Perry Festival. 621 177 727

According to the villagers, late in 1953 the CO of the unit was transferred and the unit was placed under the command of the CO of another unit some miles away. This, they said, had meant the end of the monthly meetings and a decline in the good relations that had existed. The villagers' worries may have been without foundation. The last Christmas party was given after the alleged shift in command. However, some changes were occurring; for example, prostitution had reentered the village.

Informal Relations In addition to the help given to the school by the unit, certain individuals from the unit had also contributed something to it. One man is said to have taught English classes twice a week for about six months. Many of the men of the unit habitually come to the school grounds to play ball. Several are said to come two and three times a week, others come less frequently. Negro soldiers as well as whites come. They play baseball and volleyball with the men teachers and have also taught them basketball.

A few of the villagers have gained financially from the presence of the unit. In Ajimaa where the school is located there are four shops and at Kuraha there is one shop and another establishment that was formerly a cafe. The Ajimaa shops probably rarely sell anything to the soldiers, but the Kuraha shop has several steady customers for "Okinawa Gin", a rather strong variety of 'awamori'. The cafe formerly sold drinks to a regular clientele from the unit, but recently the owner invested in a taxi, has not made as much on it as he had expected and so has not had the capital for stock. There is also a laundry in Kuraha operated by a couple from Amami which does washing for men in the unit. 621 177 727 444 [273]

Several men in the unit are renting houses for their "honeys". (The term "honey" is widely used by both Americans and Okinawans for an American's Okinawan mistress.) At the time I worked in Yamada there were five "honeys", all in Kuraha, three renting one house and two another. All five were from outside the village; one was from Amami, a relative of the laundry people. According to one informant, the relationships between the soldiers and these women had been established at Senaha, Yomitan-son, a small cafe and brothel area to which some of the men of the unit go; after establishing the relationships there the men had brought the women to this village next to their unit. It was my impression that there was not much contact between these outsiders and the villagers. 621 177 727 836

However, there are several Yamada women who have been the mistresses of American soldiers in the past and there are several half-white children in 621 144 563

464 the bulldozer had done the basic shaping of the field, a new member of the
[463] 'han' was hired to finish the pounding of the paddy walls. He was paid ¥900 for six days' work, and was required to provide his own lunch. His employer had spent the first year after the war in Hokkaido, working for no money but receiving one 'shō' (3.18 pints) of rice a day. Later he rented a horse and cart from its owner at ¥60 a day and pocketed anything above that amount that he earned. During planting and harvest season he worked in the rice fields.

Horses are rented out by their owners to other people, but when a cow
• 445 is rented the owner's services are always included. No farmer trusts anyone
426 else with his cow. A man-and-cow hire out for ¥250-300 a day, depending on
435 the distance they must travel. A horse is most often rented to pull the sweep
379 of a rotary sugar-press, and is paid according to the amount of juice of black
249 sugar produced. Various prices are quoted. ¥100 is paid for each 'chō' (100 kin, or 132 pounds) of black sugar produced. One farmer charges for the use of his horse a flat rate of ¥1 for each gallon of juice squeezed. Another charges ¥60 for 50 gallons of juice if the renter lives in Nanahan or close by, and ¥70 if he lives farther away. Horses were scarce the first year after the war, and fifteen men together pulled the sweeps of the rotary presses.

464 <u>Buying of Labor and Services</u> Many times farmers have need of a great amount
575 of labor in a short period of time. Then they are most likely to call upon the services of the young people's group, the 'seinendan'. One Nanahan farmer in 1952 had this group make a paddy field for him from a dry field. In 1953 another farmer had the group make a 300 'tsubo' dry field for him out of 'arechi', or war-destroyed land. The 'seinendan' also hires its members out to work for people who need help in the busy season. The following daily wage rates were quotes: women and new
[465] members, ¥40; men of 18 and 19 years, ¥50; and men of 20 years and above, ¥60.

Abolition of the stringent Japanese regulations compelling farmers
445 to raise sugar has resulted in the reconversion of many sugar fields to rice
[648] paddies. At first this was done exclusively by hand labor, but now bull-
[433] dozers are more in favor. One farmer had 420 'tsubo' of dry land converted into paddy at a total cost for bulldozer leveling of ¥6,300. The rate for machine and operator was ¥600 an hour. The farmer owns 450 tsubo more of
[262] paddy, which provides rice for one meal a day. With this newly-converted field he plans to have his family eat rice twice daily. Labor charges for finishing the new paddy will run about ¥4,000, according to estimate.

One of his relatives is a repatriate from the hemp-growing colony at Davao, in the Philippines. This man bought land from a villager who was dissatisfied with country life, and hired a bulldozer to convert it to paddy.
[435] For conversion of 816 tsubo he paid bulldozer charges of ¥12,000 and ¥8,000 additional for labor. He had bought the dry land ('hatake') originally for ¥65 per tsubo.

About the only other service regularly engaged is the hulling and polishing of rice. Nanahan people take their threshed rice to a neighboring village where there is a 'seimaisho' (rice-cleaning mill), and pay only cash for the service. They return home with the polished rice and the bran, or

'nuka'. The latter is fed to pigs, cows, and chickens. The rice polisher keeps the hulls (mumigara), but the farmers have free access to the hull pile should they want to use it for stuffing pillows. People in Kanegusuku do not usually pay in cash, but allow the miller to keep about six percent of the polished rice as multure. 445 [437]

Exchange of Services In order to lessen the amount of money used in transactions, rural folk resort to exchange of labor as much as possible. However, the exchange is based upon fairly rigorous ideas of reciprocity, and a person who has been helped is expected fully to return the favor. A Nanahan man built a house with a tin roof---the only one in the village---with the aid of his wife's brother, who was a carpenter. In return he spent a greater number of days aiding his brother-in-law in construction of a new house---paying back more days because of his comparative lack of skill. People envy the carpenter, who did not finish high school, but attended a four-month carpentry school instead. "He now makes more than a high-school graduate, and has four apprentices working for him." 476 [437] [463]

Okinawan youths very early learn the patterns expected in cooperative labor. The custom of iimarū is one of teen-aged boys' going around in a group to work the fields of the father of one of the boys, and moving on in turn to the fields of the other fathers. [383]

Some loosening of patterns of use of horse-drawn sugar mills was recorded. For instance, during the prewar period the dominant family in Nanahan had monopolized one particularly well-located press and boiling shed. Now they share its use with all the families living in the valley where the dominant family's 'honke' is located. [178] [249]

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[For information on mutual loan associations or mutual finance groups see pp. 244-249.]

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621 several finance groups are formed simultaneously in the village, and
452 an individual may belong to more than one, this system can create
474 more problems for the community than it helps to redress. Village leaders therefore think that the cooperative could take over the loan functions at low interest rates more effectively.

433 Concern about improving village economy is genuine and foremost.
621 Since the whole island has common economic problems, many sug-
[654] gestions for developing sound village economy originate from the central government. There are many associations and movements which all aim at the same result. Their number is staggering and bewildering to the outsider. In Taira, concern for improvement of conditions is a program of the Women's Association and the Home Improvement Group, associations who try to introduce such changes as better stoves, making of bean paste by villagers, and saving during feasts. There is also an Agricultural Promotion Association which is concerned with improvement of agricultural practices, promotion of cash crops, and reduction of forest work. All these organizations, along with the co-
[474] operative and the village government, work together. An individual may be a member of several. Persons with enough knowledge and experience to assume responsible positions are limited in number, and the same persons appear as leaders in various groups. This puts a heavy burden on them, since few days pass during which their attendance after work is not required at one meeting or another.

Taira assumed a leading position in the township in improving agricultural and general economy, especially by promoting sugar development, pineapple growing, and tea raising in recent years. Mean-
154 while, low income and general poverty are a constant concern to every-
571 body but do not seem to result in constant anxiety. Security, as will be pointed out in other contexts, is provided by being a member of the kinship group and, in the wider sense, of the village as a whole. This helps to share burdens and thus reduce their weight.

'nuka'. The latter is fed to pigs, cows, and chickens. The rice polisher keeps the hulls (mumigara), but the farmers have free access to the hull pile should they want to use it for stuffing pillows. People in Kanegusuku do not usually pay in cash, but allow the miller to keep about six percent of the polished rice as multure. 445 [437]

Exchange of Services In order to lessen the amount of money used in transactions, rural folk resort to exchange of labor as much as possible. However, the exchange is based upon fairly rigorous ideas of reciprocity, and a person who has been helped is expected fully to return the favor. A Nanahan man built a house with a tin roof---the only one in the village---with the aid of his wife's brother, who was a carpenter. In return he spent a greater number of days aiding his brother-in-law in construction of a new house---paying back more days because of his comparative lack of skill. People envy the carpenter, who did not finish high school, but attended a four-month carpentry school instead. "He now makes more than a high-school graduate, and has four apprentices working for him." 476 [457] [463]

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4. In case the tuinushi leaves the community, the guarantors have to pay for him. In addition, one of the three guarantors must pay all even if the other two are too poor to contribute their third of the amount.

5. If a person from another 'han' wishes to become a member when a new 'moai' group is formed, he must have a personal guarantor from Nanahan.

6. The person who receives the money (ukuimē) must pay ¥300 out of what he gets. ¥100 is to be contributed to the estimated expense fund or gumuchi, and ¥200 is for sake. The ukuimē must contribute one 'shō' of sake and other edibles for the meeting.[1]

7. When bids are submitted and no name is written on the bid, it is void. The exception: if no name is written, and only one person wants the money, he may get it by identifying the nameless bid as his own.

A man might bid ¥18,500 and win the 'moai'. This is ¥1,000 less than the amount that he will receive when the group next meets. However, he must pay in ¥1,000 at the meeting following the one at which he receives the actual cash. The ¥17,500 is then divided up among the remaining 23 share-holders, or kakimē. This would theoretically be about ¥761. However, the membership likes to deal in round numbers, and everyone is charged ¥765. The excess of ¥95 is added to the gumuchi, which the tuinushi keeps in trust for the next meeting. When it happens that the round number falls short of the required amount, it is made up from the gumuchi.

There are not actually 24 persons involved in the Nanahan 'moai'. Established farmers may own one and a half or two shares, while women and young men may want to own only a half share. On occasion, two persons may make a joint bid, and each must repay ¥1,000 at the next meeting after they receive the cash. A person may receive the pot once during the 'moai' cycle. A person who takes the pot early in the cycle often is too poor to put in his share in later drawings. He then asks one or two close friends, who are called kunū (Japanese, 'hōsōnin'), to put in the money for him. In the Nanahan 'moai' helpers are limited to two persons, although in 'moai' where the capital is greater, the helpers may increase.

The capital of a 'moai' and its period of existence depend upon the number of people and their resources. Frequently the men will have a 'moai' with shares of ¥1,000 and the housewives will have a hearth loan group, or kamadō muyē, with shares of ¥100-200. Sesoko island has such a housewives' loan group. Tenniya village on the northeast coast boasts of two 'moai'; one has 23 members with shares at ¥200 each, while the other has 40 members with shares of ¥500 each. Two groups in Toguchi have ten and eleven merchant members, with shares of ¥5,000 per member in each group. Although 'moai' with a capital of over ¥30,000 are said to be illegal, stories were frequently heard of 'moai' in the Tsuboya section of Naha in which the shares run as high as ¥50,000 each.

[1] The 'sake' of course is bought by the ukuimē out of the ¥200 he has contributed. Last month's successful bidder (tuinushi) does not actually receive the money until this month's meeting, at which time he gives the party for the group and is called ukuimē.

Loans Almost no rural person deals as an individual with a bank for small amounts, as he is embarrassed to deal with strangers and has a tradition of distrust of city people in general. The small 'moai' is the mark of a rather stable agricultural community. Between the 'moai' and the city bank operates the individual loan shark, catering to people who need money desperately---either because of ill health or family troubles---or because with a little capital the borrower hopes to "make a killing" in some enterprise. These needy people are quite willing to contract to repay at the exorbitant interest rate of ten per cent per month. As might be expected, many persons default on repayment of these loans, to the intense and very vocal indignation of the lender. 452

Almost every 'son' has a credit cooperative, or 'Shin'yō Kyōdo Kamiai'. These are operated by the 'son' office, and when the money involved filters down to individuals the amount concerned is much less than one can obtain through a 'moai'. Amounts available for loan generally range from ¥10,000 to ¥15,000 for each village. Then the amount is divided according to the number of households in the 'han', or ward, of the village. Bigger 'han' can borrow about ¥3,000 while smaller ones may borrow ¥2,000. The money is borrowed by the 'han' and then sub-borrowed by individuals or by groups of two or three men. A person may but seldom does borrow directly from the 'son' office as an individual. However, repayment is always made on an individual basis, rather than through the 'han' and village. The village headman, or 'kucho', is the person responsible ('sekinin-sha') for the operation of the fund in his bailiwick. [632]

One Nanahan man has moved temporarily to Itoman. He obtained a GARIOA-subsidized bank loan for ¥360,000 ($3,000) to buy a truck. His success in finding customers in the Naha port area assures that the loan will not be defaulted. 453

'Son' Relief At the end of 1952 there were 335 persons, representing 114 households, who were receiving relief from the 'son' office. Details are presented below: 746 [632]

Class of Aid	From Prewar		Due to War		Postwar		Total	
	Houses	Persons	Houses	Persons	Houses	Persons	Houses	Persons
Orphans	--	--	8	15	--	--	8	15
Aged persons	23	28	14	29	4	5	41	62
Widows	--	--	15	76	12	60	27	136
Sick persons	3	10	5	12	7	26	15	48
Disabled	8	13	3	7	1	5	12	25
Other	1	4	4	18	6	27	11	49
TOTAL	35	55	49	157	30	123	114	335

To obtain relief, old people must fulfill the usual requirements of living alone, being propertyless, ill, and without familial support. In the

villages have the simple interest type, with or without the bidding feature. The order of borrowing may be determined by discussion, and, ~~if more~~ than one person wishes a loan at the same time, lots are drawn. 474 426 184

In the interest (rishi) type, a man borrows, for example, Y2000 with ten men contributing Y200 each and repays Y2200 in ten monthly installments. (Here the interest is Y10 per month for each Y100 advanced). If a borrower cannot meet a payment, the members make up the deficit which then becomes an additional obligation on the part of the borrower. 474 426

Mutual loan groups were found in Matsuda and Hanashiro, though they are not so strong as in Hinatogawa. The amounts involved are less, reflecting the poorer cash standing of the farmer. Guarantors (hōshōnin) are not required since the members know one another well. Loans are generally made for the construction or repair of houses, pens, sheds, or stalls, for hiring a pig breeder, to buy a domestic animal, or to tide one over a crop failure. A group may be organised for the specific purpose of enabling each member, during the life of the loan group, to purchase a small pig.

Women may have their own groups. In Hanashiro the only group known to me was composed of women. Again, assume twenty members who advance Y100 each, a total of Y2000 initially, and who have agreed upon an interest rate of Y10 per month on each Y100 borrowed. The life of the group is twenty months. The progress of the loans and monthly repayments is shown in the following table. It illustrates the continuous turning in of principal and interest payments to furnish capital for new loans. The multiplications in parentheses show the number of members times the amount involved per member in each transaction. In Hanashiro, there are three of these women's groups. This is said to be a decline from the pre-war number. [562]

In Matsuda these groups are not important in financing the farmer. It is estimated that there are five groups, with 15-20 members each, operating in Matsuda. Bidding may be dispensed with, the interest is divided among the borrowers and not turned back for further loans, and the sequence of borrowers is determined either by discussion or by lot. These were Y500 groups, higher monthly advances than in Hanashiro, but the principle is the same.

The limited use of these mutual loan groups in the agricultural villages may be temporary, and may not be typical of all Okinawa. According to residents of Hanashiro and Matsuda, they were not widely used before the war. They have now further declined in importance except in Hinatogawa. It is rather difficult to account for this, considering the need for money and the reluctance of villagers to go to banks and institutions for loans. The fear of red tape and entertainment costs is the chief deterrent to institutional borrowing. Perhaps the failure is merely indicative of insufficient money to lend, and inability to repay what is borrowed. Farmers have little money to advance, little surplus to repay loans from others. [934] [953]

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stoppage of emigration, and public health measures. While the following statistics are worthless from a demographic point of view, they may nevertheless indicate the village trends. 161

Matsuda Village, 1951 163 165

	Births	Deaths
Total	46	11
Male	26	5
Female	20	6

In Gushichan township, where individual village totals were not available, the statistics show a similar trend:

Gushichan Township, 1951

	Births	Deaths
Total	263	52
Male	140	26
Female	123	26

3

What Happened with Repatriation

In the peace time emigration before the war, the intention to return was almost universal. Typically a first son, as the future responsible person for his parents, emigrated as a young man, before marriage, with the intention of accumulating savings and supporting his parents during his absence, later returning to marry if he had not acquired a wife abroad. People in the villages now say that the desire to return has declined sharply with the economic hardships and the threat of renewed warfare, and that Okinawans in foreign countries will probably remain there for the rest of their lives. Okinawans living abroad, according to family registers in the villages, are now mostly in Peru, Brazil, Argentina, and Hawaii. 167 [593] [454] [584]

The effects of repatriation on the township level can be seen from the following statistics for Gushichan township. Comparable statistics were not available in Ginoza-son. 161 728

Pre-war population, 1940	6445
Deaths resulting from the war	1700
Repatriates	1030
Population, December 31, 1951	6267

Despite the fact that deaths resulting from the war must have been between 20% and 25% of the total population of the township, repatriates [727]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

and look after the sick. Even if they are too old for any work, like two oldsters over 80 years, they can still hold the youngest grandchild. Two exceptional old men, brothers of almost the same age, pass their time by making rope bags and mats from the fiber of the fan palm. Both are active as financial experts, investing money here and there and lending it for high interests in various shrewd transactions. 887 462 [955] [285] [454]

INFORMAL AND FORMAL COOPERATION

Cooperation plays a prominent part in Taira economy. Assistance is always given for major tasks, such as preparing grass land for farm use or house building, or for work which must be done quickly, such as transplanting rice or harvesting and milling sugar. In fact, since wet rice cultivation depends on assistance in any culture that works its paddies by hand, it is noteworthy that the term *iimarū*, used in Taira for labor exchange in planting and harvesting, is also extended to other mutual assistance. The term, literally translated, means "gathering by rotation." A family who plans a project that needs the help of others makes an informal arrangement with relatives or neighbors to help for one or more days. This is simply done by notifying individuals that such help is needed. No one, unless he has urgent reasons, would refuse to comply with a call for assistance. If it is a small task, a few close relatives are asked. In most larger undertakings, it is the neighborhood group that lends a hand. These mutual-assistance groups usually form within the central village and within each of the geographical clusters of the outlying village, although close relatives from other parts of the community may be called. However, the most recent arrivals in Taira, all present members of one family line who have the same surname, act jointly in reclamation of neglected fields to strengthen their economic position. 476 241 [621]

Return services are expected, but nobody would admit that there is any thought of equal compensation and would not even joke about the matter. There is a strong feeling that calculated thinking is unseemly not only among relatives but also among unrelated neighbors. One man, when asked what would happen if a person refused to comply to a request for help, answered, "There is no such dirty person, and if there were one, he would be an outcast." During the rice planting season, persons helping in another's fields will shortly be helped themselves. In housebuilding, a long time may pass until those who aided will need aid in return. 476 241 577

Except for people over 56, pregnant women, and mothers of chil- 653 464

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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Historical Notes on Housing

In all villages, much time is spent, in addition to agricultural or fishing tasks, in housebuilding, either for one's self or for friends and neighbors. Housebuilding is the most time consuming of a man's tasks after his primary occupation. Repairs to or reconstruction of the poorer houses are continuous. The man with a good house and a tile roof has little to worry about. But he will often be found helping someone less fortunate. 342 461 [476]

The traditional houses of Naha and Shuri showed both Chinese and Japanese influences. The traditional house and compound of the rural village has been compared with the ancient Japanese house, and it bears some similarities with houses found among the Ainu. 342 171

It would seem from the observations and researches of earlier students that the house was always built above the ground without excavation, and sometimes on stilts. The supporting posts making up the rectangular house were either placed in holes or on stones on the ground. The supporting posts, the ridge poles, the cross beams were branches or trunks of trees trimmed and cut for length. Roofs of thatch had the apex of the roof covered by a saddle or arch shaped thatch made, like the rest of the roof, of grass. Smoke escaped either through an aperture in the ceiling or through a window, as it still does in many of the poorer houses. The houses were filled with smoke. The oldest rural houses apparently had only a dirt floor with scattered mats, though some had a raised floor. 175 342 [352]

The food storage sheds or small granaries were raised on stilts. Engravings of these have appeared both in Perry's writings and in Bayard Taylor's works. There is some question whether this granary (now disappeared) was indigenous or a borrowing. The purpose of the raised granary was probably to protect against dampness and to prevent infestation by rats and vermin. These granaries were open sided with no boarded up walls, and, in Okinawa, were circular.[1] 175 343

Animal pens or stalls were not attached to the house, but were always separate. In the courtyard, earthen rain water vessels were inbedded half way into the ground to catch the rain water. There were stalls for goats and pig pens, and the pig pens were used also as a toilet. This is no longer practiced to my knowledge, although the outhouse with its holes in the ground is found under the same roof as the pig pen. The entrance to the courtyard was oppositie the front of the house. The protective stationary gate, the hinpun (in Okinawan), made of reeds or stones, stood at the entrance inside the court, as it does now, to shield the people of [417] [415] [364] 417

1 For drawings of the granaries, see Satow, E. M. Notes on Loochoo. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 1 (1882), 1-8. The drawings follow the text. See also Simon, Beitrage zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, as cited, 75-85.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

HANASHIRO	MATSUDA
TENTH MONTH (Oct 30-Nov 28)	
221 241 Possible beginning of second rice harvest, though this is early. Planting rice in seed bed. Sow sweet potato slips.	Sow peas (endō-mame) and beans. Plant sweet potato slips if rain. Sow giant radish (daikon), tomatoes, barley. Weeding of radishes, and vegetables planted previous month until the 25th. Rice cutting begins.
ELEVENTH MONTH (Nov 29-Dec 27)	
Continuation of the rice harvest. Threshing and milling. Planting of sugar cane, slantwise. Sow cabbage seed. Rice seed planting begins, or continues if begun in the 10th month.	Rice cutting and harvest. Threshing and milling. Rice fields dug up. Preparation of new fields.
TWELFTH MONTH (Dec 28-Jan 26)	
Sugar making. Sow Irish potatoes (bareisho) but in small quantities	Continue digging up rice fields. Rice sown in seed beds after seed testing. Sugar making may begin.

YEAR ROUND ACTIVITIES

Sweet Potato Planting, Transplanting and Harvesting continues throughout the year, depending on time and distribution of rainfall.

4

Rice Cultivation

243 Growing rice is a most exacting task. The period from the time the seed bed is prepared until the final milling is one of tedious work and continuous apprehension. The reaction of Okinawan farmers to rice cultivation perhaps was best summed up by a Matsuda farmer who said, "Everyone dislikes the work, but rice is delicious."

[461] [262]

Assuming that the field is already in existence, the cultivation of rice may be divided into the following stages: (1) preparation and laying out of the seed bed, (2) selection of the seed, (3) transplanting

Part 1

Minatogawa, the Fishing Community

1

Introduction

Fishing families are a closely knit group. They are usually interrelated. For the most part, the main houses of their extended families are in the fishing town of Itoman. Fathers, sons, wives, daughters, grandparents participate in some phase of fishing activity. 226 [596] 607

In an agricultural community, the first son remains in the home working the fields of his father. In fishing, through long custom, there is an avoidance of teamwork among close relatives. Members of the immediate family will not go out on the same fishing boat. A father will not take his son, an elder brother will not take a younger. Partners and working teams on boats are more distant relatives or friends. If a father and a son are on the same boat and it is lost, the present and the succeeding head both perish. To this incontrovertible possibility, there has been added the belief that if two persons of the same immediate family go to sea together on the same boat, there will be a disaster. And actual and near disasters are frequent enough to make both points of view understandable. The sons of fishermen, who are learning the ways of the fish and of the sea, go on the boats of others. Many younger fishermen regard the belief that it is inviting disaster to have two members of the same immediate family together on the same boat as a superstition (meishin), but to my knowledge, no fisherman ignores the custom. 226 593 [183]

In Minatogawa, about one half of the fishermen have fields of their own, usually small and poor. Perhaps twenty men in the village may be classed as half farmers and half fishermen, but even in these cases it is the wives and the children who have the continuing responsibility for the fields. 226 241 [423]

Neither is it rare for a fisherman to be a stonecutter. Perhaps another twenty men are engaged in the summer in fishing, and in stonecutting in the winter, or on unfavorable fishing days. The three main occupations of the village, including Nagamo, are thus found in varying combinations. Fishing is the most exacting and offers few opportunities for amateurs. Stonecutting requires strength and endurance. For those who have land, agriculture offers possibilities of growing one's own food and of avoiding cash outlays. 226 324 463

In an average summer month, there may be about 20 good fishing days. But because of unusual or unexpected rains or typhoons opportunities may be fewer. In 1951, there were only about ten working days in each of the summer months. In winter fishing days average about a week in a 226 96 [132]

226 month. The decline in opportunity is due, not to the weather, but to
461 the scarcity of fish, which are said to move from these coastal waters during the winter season.

226 The fishermen follow the lunar calendar. The type of fish caught
221 is determined by the season. There is some specialization based on age and experience. Only the skilled and relatively young can successfully make a living diving for the lobster and disengaging him from the rocks
[434] below. The most intense activity is during the summer months, and the cash earnings of the fishermen are greatest at this time.

226 Fishermen pay attention to the weather and to the moon. Part of
821 their weather knowledge comes from traditional lore, part from observation, part from the modern storm warning systems. Fishermen do not go out if there are storm clouds overhead, especially if they are moving fast. The worst sign is an increase in the height of the waves, even if the weather is good. The phases of the moon are also considered. The half moon is the best, the quarter moon is good, but neither a full moon nor a moonless night is considered favorable. The exception is fishing for white cuttle fish, caught on winter moonlit nights. At present, official storm warning signals are universally observed. The red flag flying from a pole on the main street near the breakwater is enough to keep every fisherman at home. This faith in meteorology has not always existed. Even in recent years, fishermen have disregarded the warnings because of disbelief, or ignored them when storms did not appear following a previous warning.

226 Fishing in the Hinatogawa area is coastal (if we include distances up to twelve miles out) and is on a small scale. Much of the gear is improvised by the fishermen themselves. The methods are simple and effective, and the boats are small. This is not one of the most important fishing areas in Ryukyuan waters.[1]

226 Men become fishermen by imitating their skilled elders. Knowledge
868 of the fish and of the waters is imparted by word of mouth. The old men are the sources of the detailed knowledge of the currents and of the main fishing grounds, and this knowledge, held in the memory, is also
[813] transmitted orally. There are no maps or charts. Usually it takes a beginner about two years to become acquainted with the fishing areas, and about three years to have a working knowledge of the currents.

1 For a general discussion, see Aquatic resources of the Ryukyu Area. (U.S. Dept. of the Interior. Fish and Wildlife Service. Fishing Leaflet 333), Washington, 1949. This work has an interesting collection of maps and drawings of various types of nets. It is not concerned with particular areas in Okinawa, nor with customs connected with fishing.

8

Daily Life of the Fishing Village

Fishing families may have informal gatherings toward the end of the day. On a late summer afternoon, the family may sit in the open doorway of the house, for hedges, fences, the barriers, and trees are rare. The wife may be nursing her naked child. Her husband, a fisherman, has changed into his indigo blue and white striped kimono, a tall, broad, deeply tanned man. Next to him sits his mother, over 70 years old, her hands tattooed, as are those of all the old women. She is wearing a kimono of the same color, but of a dot pattern. They sit on unrolled mats. On the veranda, three or four men, unwashed and still in their work clothes, discuss the events of the day. A lacquer tray with tea cups is on the floor near them and the tea (as it so often is) may be cold. There is brown sugar to eat along with the tea. The grandmother may be economically smoking a half or a third of a cigarette in the typical Japanese pipe. As it grows later, the wife gets up, pours some water in the stone mortar, and smashes the sweet potatoes with the long wooden pole. The men continue talking for a while, then take their leave. The wife, her work at the mortar finished, goes into the dirt kitchen to start the evening meal.

The wife of the fisherman has worries that do not bother the farmer's wife. There is always the danger that her husband, or son, will not return, a real possibility, of which the frequency of widowhood in Minatogawa is proof. Every season, there is at least one instance of a fisherman who has either been lost, or whose delay in returning has provoked intense worry. If crews are still out when an unexpected storm arises, there is considerable tension in the village. Since the war, rescues at sea are more likely than before. The village headman quickly reports overdue boats. The American forces have created much good will in seeking fishermen lost at sea.

Women, on the other hand, have opportunities for leisure when the catch is light, or weather is unfavorable. At these times, they can busy themselves with other tasks, in the field, gathering stones, getting miscanthus, but they do not have the unremitting activity of the woman in the agricultural village. There is more visiting during the day than one observes in an agricultural village.

The fisherman, with or without land, tries to keep pigs and perhaps a few goats. In Minatogawa, the pens are often made of sandstone quarried here. Not only the floors and the sides, but the stalls are made of this material. One reason for this is the openness of the village and the danger that pigs will be killed in a storm. A typhoon may carry away the house, its owners having gone to the stronger house of a friend or relative, but pigs are an investment and an asset to be guarded.

316 (1951-52) is from Y300-400 per tsubo (about four square yards), much
425 higher than ordinary agricultural land. The price varies with supposed
435 quality. The good judgment of the purchaser is necessary for success. He must estimate the quantity of stone, its depth, whether there may be cracks, fissures, or black streaks below, and the effect of underground water as he cuts down deeper. In a year, a good stonecutter can remove stone from about four tsubo of land. If he has extra capital, he may hire help.

316 The types of employment found are either the single operator or the
472 small operator who has one or more employees. The industry is not notable for large capital outlays, or many employees of a single operator. A simple partnership is common. There may be some division of labor, with the owner of the rights doing all the cutting, while a friend or relative who does this as a secondary occupation assists in the removal of the stone and in loading it on a horse cart. The operator who has a piece of land too large to work by himself may hire someone. The employee (yatoi in Japanese, ninpu in Okinawan) is paid according to skill: Y100 a day for a beginning 17 or 18 year old boy, Y150 to the experienced, [965] and Y200 to the worker who can do all phases of the work quickly and skillfully.

Much depends on the nature of the stone being worked. This varies by locality and with moisture content. It will require 8 hours for [804] a man to cut a six shaku (about six feet) length of hard rock 1 shaku 2 sun (14.4 inches) deep, but he may be able to make three cuttings of [961] moist or wet rock in the same period. Working time naturally varies with the strength and skill of the cutter. For this reason, piece work payment is common. The employee, however, may work unused portions [965] of the holdings, receiving two-thirds of the value of the stone cut.

3

Tools and Types of Stone Cut

413 Six tools are used in cutting and extracting the sandstone: (1) the hichi (Okinawan). This tool, about six feet long, resembles a crow bar, but has a sharp chisel edge for cutting the stone. (2) A sharp hand axe (ono in Japanese, yuki in Okinawan) for chipping and finishing, (3) the ishiyuki, a smaller axe, used like the yuki, for chipping and finishing but principally in shaping pyramidal stones (kenchi). The tool is also used to knock off the rough edges of the stone, where it has been split, an operation often performed by old men. (4) The kusukacha (Okinawan). This reminds one of a small light golf iron. It has a handle four or five feet long with a metal strip attached at an angle to one end. It is used to rake off chippings and dust that accumulate in the groove while the cut is being made with the long chisel. (5) Wedges (iya in Okinawan), and (6) sledge hammers are used to split off the stone after the cut has been made.

316 Methods of working with these tools are very simple. The surface dirt is cleared away until the stone to be cut is visible and clean.

565 553 A common device among noble families was to vary the second character of the Chinese compound which made up the given name. This custom still remains, but has no significance beyond individual family pride. The following case illustrates this naming device:

Relation to Present Head of House	Given Name
Grandfather	Chohyo
Father	Chokan
Present Head	Choyo
First Son	Choko
Second Son	Choshin
Third Son	Chokeii
Fourth Son	Chosei

554 Before the war, the village hierarchy consisted of the headman and retired elders and officials, the school principal and teachers if resident there, the well-to-do farmer, followed by the ordinary farmers or fishermen.[3] These distinctions are now blurred and have been affected by other changes. The school principal and the school teacher retain their prestige, but they have lost their relatively high economic status. Their clothing and the appearance of their homes are indistinguishable from those of a farmer. The ordinary farmer who works his field during the day and whose wife raises the pigs is in a better economic position. The same applies to village and township officials. Many distinctions based on wealth have disappeared because of the destruction and general [556] impoverishment of the war. Neither are distinctions possible in dress, for everyone wears makeshift clothing. Post-war circumstances have put the old at a disadvantage in dealing with new situations. Present day village life is fluid. The war and its aftermath have blurred many of the former distinctions based on age, occupation, or wealth.

621 208 Village leadership is based on individual qualities, but is limited by group opinion which all individuals respect. Decisions of any character, personal, familial, or political, emerge from consultation and discussion. One constantly hears the word sōdan, meaning a discussion or a consultation, with reference to decision making.

555 212 What types of individuals assume leadership in village affairs? First, leadership comes from a group that is literate. This limits the people available for responsible positions. Occupations such as the

3 According to old residents in Matsuda, there were in their youth, classes whose occupation made them inferior. Examples were bell ringers [461] ringers at funerals and pig killers. Pig killing is still considered [565] a low occupation, but this has no relevance to village life, for no [963] commercial slaughtering is done in the villages. In the villages, there is no suggestion of the existence of groups looked down upon because of their occupation, with the possible exception of a collector of night soil—and this occupation is infrequent.

132 however, shows much less variation. From the low 50's in early winter it rises to the low 80's in midsummer. The relative humidities, having daily means of 70% in January and February and 82% in July and August, may often reach an uncomfortable 96% preceding or following one of the many rain squalls in the hot season.

From January through March, winds blowing from the northwest to north carry cold, damp air from the Asian continent across the East China Sea. Although many houses in Taira are somewhat protected by bushes separating them from the open valley behind, nevertheless, house doors are often kept shut during this coldest part of the year.

March and April offer a pleasant, balanced climate. Winds are east to southeast, rainfall is low, and temperatures reach the high 60's. The rainy season begins in late May and lasts until late June. During these [964] four weeks it sometimes rains steadily for one or two days, and adults are forced to give up working.

Children take shelter during the worst downpours, but they reappear outside even before the rains are over to play in puddles or little streams running down the streets. During this time floods and landslides occur.

Midsummer is often so hot and humid that villagers frequently comment on their discomfort. This is one of the busiest agricultural sea- [961] sons, but exhaustion causes many people to take naps during noon [513] hours. Work efficiency decreases, and fewer daily trips are made to the mountains. Children also stay at home in the afternoon. It is believed that the heat causes severe headaches. The hot season gradually gives way to a few weeks in late October, November, and early December which correspond in climate to an early fall in northeastern United States.

132 Typhoons are known to have hit Okinawa at almost any time of 131 the year. The most dangerous season for these violent storms, however, with wind velocities of over 50 miles per hour, is from late June [206] until October. An extensive warning system exists, and Taira, though remote and without radio, is notified immediately by telephone of storm warnings, sometimes days in advance. Taira people hardly need such warnings. They can sense the oncoming storm and often predict one correctly before the official forecasts confirm that a storm is approaching the island. Since 1955 was one of the rare years in which no major storm hit the island, no firsthand description can be given. The damage is always considerable, not only to crops and trees but also to houses and other property.

an empty oxygen bottle with a wooden mallet to mark the time. The noon bell tells people in the fields and mountains that it is time for the midday meal and helps those who have a clock to compare the time. The evening bell indicates that it is time to end the day. Schoolchildren do not need a clock, since they get up early in the morning and go to school soon after, knowing that they are probably early. For most adults, daylight and sun position are enough to tell the approximate hour of the day. Some take arrival and departure of the bus, four times a day, as a point of orientation. 805 512 [464]

Old women are the first to rise in the morning. Long before dawn during the winter, or with the first light of the summer day, they get up and start a fire to boil sweet potatoes and heat the soybean soup. Blue smoke rising through the thatched roof into the early morning sky indicates that life in the village has begun. Children soon awake. The door is pushed open and a sleepy child appears to urinate off the edge of the house. Men are the last to rise. Considering the effect of the sake which they may have consumed on the preceding evening, it is remarkable that they are able to wake up so soon. By 6:30 the sleepiest person has risen. 512 [887] [252] [514]

The addition of outer clothes to the underclothing in which most people sleep is simple. Cold water splashed over the face and a quick turn at the toothbrush is all the toilet needed to begin a new day. [513] [515]

The task of folding comforters and taking down the mosquito net falls to one of the older children or to the mother. Older children and young girls help to carry water from the tank, the first task that has to be done after getting up. After breakfast, women feed the pigs. By about 7 o'clock everybody is ready for work. On a good day people leave for the mountains or start toward their fields—schoolchildren are on their way, too. [857] [462]

By 8 o'clock, except during very poor weather, the village is left to the old people and young children. Little boys and girls hang around, waiting for kindergarten to start at 9 o'clock. Play begins for them after they leave the house in the morning and does not end until evening. [855] [872]

For men and women, the routine of work in fields and forests is prescribed by seasonal activities which demand their special attention, but there are daily chores, such as digging potatoes, picking vegetables, and collecting feed for the animals and firewood for cooking. Only a few men who go to the mountains, taking their midday meal along, are away all day. The rest come and go during the day from the rice paddies, potato fields, or forests, so that there is repeated contact between children and their parents. A young child, even if left in the 512 461 [855]

512 care of an older sibling or the kindergarten teacher, therefore has a
461 chance to see the mother. Men and women who have gone to the
[855] mountains return with their first load of wood around 10 o'clock. The
[962] mother will return again around noon and prepare the midday meal: noodle soup, fried cabbage with dried shrimps, perhaps rice, and always sweet potatoes. After lunch there is a short rest period. During the hot summer months this rest extends to an hour or more, and on the hottest days people lie in their houses sleeping during the noon hours. Midday is also a time for social interaction. There is some visit-
[504] ing back and forth. Old people always seek each other's company, and younger ones back from the fields or forest may join them for a while.

512 Toward evening blue smoke indicates again that food is being pre-
[231] pared. Pigs are fed by the women in late afternoon. Then women, young girls, or boys fill water buckets and carry them home. After 5
512 there is a heavy run on the tank or faucets, and this is often the time
515 when families start preparing a bath. It takes until dark to warm up an oil drum filled with water and heated underneath by scraps of wood and twigs. People take their bath after dark. Since the bath house was destroyed during the war, ablutions take place outside near the tank under a faucet or in an old oil drum in one's backyard.

512 Young men who return from the mountains wash their horses in the
[231] sea. The women who sell fish call on each house at this hour to peddle
[938] their wares. The village store, which has only seen a few customers in the morning and during noon, now has its busiest hour. Mothers send their children to buy noodles, kerosene, rice, or seaweed or else they come themselves, a baby on their back or the toddlers following them.

[889] This is also the hour when the young men and women gather to do joint work in the fields of their association or to play volleyball on the playground. Meanwhile, all forest workers have returned and busily cut the last pieces of firewood, bundling them before the store clerk comes along to buy the load. Some adults sit near the playground and watch the children.

512 Work goes on until dark. Only then do families gather for the eve-
264 ning meal. During the summer this may be as late as 8 o'clock. For many families this is the only time during the day when everybody gathers in the family circle. At this time family affairs may be discussed and plans made for the next day's work or other pending matters.

512 The evening meal consists of rice, a bean paste or noodle soup, and
262 some fish. Meat is served occasionally if a goat is killed or on holidays
264 when someone has slaughtered a pig. Most families cannot afford to buy more than small portions of meat, which are fried or made into

842 of the economic hardship incurred as a result of large families. A few
[843] of the more outspoken mothers complain bitterly against the old people who expect them to continue bearing children until three male
[593] heirs are born. Men desire male heirs, and one son is not enough: the favored number is three. Informal interviews reveal that in spite of the cultural preference for sons, mothers welcome daughters, who grow up to be useful helpers. Even if women protest when they feel tired of bearing children, they submit to their husband's demands. Since Japa-
551 nese given names are used today, the practice of naming a girl Sueko
553 (end child), to indicate that one considers her to be the last, is often
842 resorted to. If this proves insufficient and another follows, she might
[177] be called Tomeko (stop child). In one family the wife gave her baby girl the name Sueko to indicate that she did not desire any more children. Her husband, however, disagreed, for he wanted another son, and registered the child without his wife's knowledge under another name.

842 Although the older generation, which has supported large families, looks on birth control measures with distaste, the young mothers cir-
744 culate information published in Japanese magazines and by the Okinawan public health department on this matter, and a few families actually use contraceptives. However, in general, public health nurses
847 have found it extremely difficult to discuss matters like birth control, abortion, and infanticide with villagers. "We suspect that these measures are practiced everywhere. Of course, with the system of registration and public health nursing, infanticide is hardly possible; however . . . we could not say. . . ." * It is interesting to note that in
[732] Taira there are mental defectives but no physical defectives. Abortion is legal with a doctor's consent, but informants claimed it was not
[848] practiced. There are illegitimate children born in the village.

842 "The seeds, they must match. If they do not match, then it cannot be," explain the villagers. They continue, "It is like planting a field, however; if the soil is hostile to growth, nothing can happen." Thus the villagers express their theories of conception.

843 Cessation of menstrual periods signals the start of pregnancy, and the sudden craving for a particular kind of food forces the woman to acknowledge the fact. Informal interviewing and casual observation
• [461] reveal that morning sickness is not usual. Women rarely miss a working day in the fields and mountains even in the early stages of preg-
[522] nancy. One male who failed to appear for work with the rest of the male population of the village was the butt of many a joke. "How now, you are taking over the task of your wife?" teased the men and women.

[164] Malfunction of the kidneys is not uncommon among pregnant

* Personal communication from public health nurses.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

women in Taira. Three young mothers, who continued to work despite the discomfort and pain of swollen extremities, consulted with the doctor in the nearby town, and a fourth described this condition, which had prohibited her from any but the most simple and undemanding work. The old people look upon unusual pregnancies in askance. "Work, good, hard physical labor is what we did and we never had any difficulties. Young people pamper themselves." 843 164 [461]

Special foods and advice are proffered the expectant mother for the benefit of the baby. "Eat this so that you will have lots of milk for the baby. Remember that spicy things are bad for the baby. Do you recall the one who was born with a great patch of hair on its arms? Its mother was frightened by a great big cat while she was carrying that child," comment villagers to the mother. Some husbands indulge their wives' cravings for special delicacies like expensive imported fruits. 843 [262]

To keep the baby in position, a sash is wound several times about the pregnant woman's abdomen by a midwife or some old woman. [292]

In the "old days" it was not unusual for a woman to return from the mountains or fields carrying her newborn. Grandmothers recall with relish the days when "Women paid little heed to their condition, did hard work, and had their babies without a whimper." "The women today pamper themselves," snap the wizened grandmothers watching an expectant mother resting between trips to the mountains. 844 843

As the day of parturition approaches, the expectant mother schedules her work to remain as close to the house as possible. When labor starts, she retires to the back room of the house, which is situated next to the kitchen. The medical practitioner, or in his absence a midwife,* is called to assist in the delivery. The husband's mother, if she lives in the house, or other older related women attend. A man may be present during his wife's first delivery but at subsequent births will wait with some of the women in the front room. In the old days a woman was supported by her husband or someone else in a half-sitting position. Nowadays, however, women give birth lying down. Only rarely does a woman in labor cry out in pain. Soft crying is permissible, but any loud demonstration would elicit contemptuous comments from the older women. "If you had worked hard, the baby would not be so big, then labor would not be difficult," is an often heard retort. 844 [759] [152]

Informal interviewing revealed that birth takes place in a large number of cases during late evening or early morning hours. Usually children of the house sleep on undisturbed. Should they awake, they are kept out of the delivery room, although the youngest may be allowed to enter to visit with his mother shortly after delivery. [858] [593]

The newborn is bathed in tepid water then bundled in blankets,

* At present there is no midwife in Taira.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

There is no specific or preferred posture for nursing. While the mothers are in confinement for the brief period following delivery, they often lie next to the baby and feed him. Sitting while nursing is the most common posture, but mothers frequently nurse while standing or squatting. The baby is held loosely and the mother is relaxed. If others are about, she will carry on a lively conversation and occasionally pat the baby gently on or around the region of the buttocks. When alone, she holds the baby with one arm, talks softly, smiles, and with her other hand tugs gently at the baby's limbs. Each feeding is leisurely; the breast is never withdrawn from the infant's mouth. More often than not he suckles his fill and falls asleep. 853

It is as natural to suckle one's infant at a village meeting as it is to do so in the privacy of one's home. A common sight is that of a mother sitting and listening intently to speeches while cradling her suckling infant loosely in her arms. On buses, in market places, or at large public intervillage gatherings, one is sure to encounter such a scene. [291]

The breast is used to soothe a baby when he is ill, irritable, or in distress from pain. This was quite evident when all the babies in the village were being given a series of innoculations for diphtheria and typhoid. As the injections were given in one large open room, the cries of the infant being innoculated prompted others to cry. Invariably the mother offered the breast to the baby. 853 854 751

After the birth of a child, the mother sits at home during a short rest period, watching happily as neighbors, friends, and relatives continually drop in to admire the newborn. Sipping tea, the visitors offer bits of advice, exchange the latest gossip, ask to hold the infant, and take their leave with the standard phrase: "Take care of yourself." It is a pleasant interlude, but as the family resources begin to dwindle, there is a slight but perceptible change in the attitude of the mother toward her newborn. The constant stream of visitors, for whom tea and some small tidbits must be offered, and her nonparticipation in the regular economic activities prove to be a drain on the family budget, in spite of the fact that the mother and her husband have worked with extra diligence in the months prior to parturition. The mother begins to talk about the approaching feast day and the need to get new clothing for the older children. She asks anxiously about the condition of the firewood market and starts to plan her inevitable resumption of work in the mountains and fields. In spite of her feelings of protectiveness and pity for the young baby, she begins, bit by bit, to reinstate her normal routine. Although she continues to cuddle, kiss, and affectionately nurse the infant, she thinks of the good weather and of how she might have been able to make one more trip to the mountains 846 574 846 461 [843] [594]

before noon but for the fact that she had to return to attend to the infant.

If a grandmother is available, the mother straps the 3-to-4 months old baby onto the grandmother's back in the morning and goes off to the mountains with her husband to haul firewood or to the fields to cultivate sweet potatoes. For the first six months she returns to the house frequently during the day to nurse the infant. It is likely that while the infant demands feeding at short intervals, a mother will work in or around the village. At one of the locations for firewood bundling she can make the bamboo rings, fit the cut wood into them, and stack the bundles.

Throughout the morning hours grandmother, with the infant on her back, wanders about the village. Occasionally she offers her dry breast to the bawling infant who cannot seem to wait until its mother returns from the fields or mountains. If the mother is nearby, she hurries so that the infant does not cry for long. When the hour for lunch approaches, the grandmother hurries home to begin preparations for the noonday meal. As she walks, the infant's head bobs up and down, forward and back precariously, but it continues to sleep undisturbed.

After lunch has been eaten and the infant nursed, the adults in the household sip their tea and rest for an hour or so. Within that hour the mother may play with the infant or nap with it nestled in her arms. Rousing themselves from the noon nap, the adults return to the mountains and fields. The infant is again strapped to the grandmother's back, but this time as she slowly wends her way to the main thoroughfare, she calls out to someone in a house which boasts one of the few clocks in the village. "Hey, what is the time there?" The answer will quicken her pace, for it is near the time for an older sibling to return from school. As she reaches the main street, she joins other grandmothers as well as mothers who are anxiously scanning the direction from which the schoolchildren return. Each admires the infants on the other's back and exchanges timely topics of the day, but as the minutes pass and no children appear, they begin to grumble about the "irresponsible siblings who *must* be playing on their way home." At last the older child returns, and the grandmother hurries home with her charges, promptly transfering the infant onto the back of the older sibling. The old woman rushes to get her hoe and basket, mumbling to herself about the quantity of potatoes she should harvest for the next day's use.

An older child who ignores the crying of his infant charge will be criticized severely by his peers. If the mother happens to be in the

2. Rural Industries

178 Generally speaking, it can be said that much less effort is put forth
438 in the countryside now toward home industries than was the case before the
543 war. In Nanahan making of products at home has declined to the point where rather than being made for sale, they are made only for exhibit at the fair given annually at the local primary school. Even here considerable urging is required by the village officials, and entries are forthcoming only by an appeal to pride in one's village's standing at the fair.

249 Sugar Presses and Mills Okinawa has two modern western-style sugar refin-
257 eries, one at Haebaru and one on the isle of Minami Daitō. At the other end of the scale there are the some-400 horse-drawn rotary mills. Between these there are perhaps a dozen or less mills which utilize gasoline-powered motors and are geared to operate on a much larger scale than the rotary presses.

471 In rebuilding the big mill at Tomoyose which had been destroyed in the
257 war, each family that owned stock in the mill contributed the labor of one per-
461 son per day of building. On a typical day they started work at eight, had a fifteen-minute "break" at ten, and returned home for lunch for an hour at noon. After an afternoon "break", the work continued until six. Breaks and resumption of work were announced by pounding on an empty oxygen cylinder of large dimensions. The only break I observed lasted for 24 minutes. Tea was served to everyone, and the men sat around discussing how they would be able to pay for the building---which was made of sandy limestone from Minatogawa---and
471 where they would borrow money. The sugar produced was to be sold to the Ag-
257 ricultural Federation in Naha, as is the sugar produced at the smaller mills. However, the sugar was to be sold in 50 kin (66 pound) bags rather than in
[433] 100 kin barrels. The potential annual output was estimated at 15,000 bags, or approximately one-half the Tomoyose village production.

256 Kanegusuku Rice Mill There is one small rice mill in Kanegusuku. All the villagers who have rice land---or about 70% of the families---utilize this mill for polishing. No one in the village uses the
[439] old-fashioned hand mill. The owner of the rice mill says that most of the villagers cannot afford to pay cash for having their rice polished. Consequently he takes as multure about two-thirds of one 'gō' from each 'shō' of rice. This amounts to approximately six percent of their rice. The villagers evidently trust him completely, for no one was seen standing around watching while their rice was being polished.

The owner says that his machines are old and break down frequently. Three machines are required for the whole process. This is not a full-time job except during the harvesting periods. The young man who is owner regularly works on his family's lands. All operation and maintenance are done by him; he does not hire a helper even in the busiest times.

286 Mat-Making in Kanegusuku The three-cornered sedge ('sankaku-i') is a reed
433 grown in a wet field like rice, and is the basis of 'tatami omote' and 'goza' manufacture, the chief home industry of Kanegu-
[178] suku. Production of the reed in Kanegusuku today is about one-tenth the pre-

361 The village is a group of houses, each with its own compound, and
351 these give it an inclosed look. There are few if any gardens or vegetable patches either in the compounds or within the village settlement.

363 The lanes resemble quiet winding country roads. The rock fences, or the lines of trees or shrubbery often conceal the houses. There is an appearance of loneliness in these lanes and roads, except at busy times of the day when the children return from school. The lack of commercial [482] activity, except for the women carrying rice on their heads to the mill [462] and for the small village stores, contributes to this impression of quiet, which one would expect from the routine of agriculture. At night, when [354] the doors are drawn, and when the flickering and smoky oil lamps are lit, the loneliness and quiet of the village is even more pronounced. The [493] lanes and the roads are deserted, save for an occasional passing truck, [192] bicycle, or three wheeled cycle, and in one of the favorite words of all Okinawans, the place is sabishii.[6]

Since there is little activity in the village other than farming,
366 neighboring villages and distant towns supply the additional needs. At
368 nearby Gushichan village, there are the primary and junior high schools, the post office, the township and agricultural association offices, a barbershop, and some small stores. At Minatogawa, about one and one half miles away, there is a public bath, and across the river from this village, in Horikawa, an occasional play from the Okinawan stage, or a movie. Buses run through the village twice a day and one can make connections to Naha or Itoman, the two most likely places for buying [494] or selling. Or one can take the three wheeled cycles which pass through more frequently.

[227] Physically, the village was much affected by the war. On June 11,
362 1945, the front line ran through the cultivated area between Hanashiro and Gushichan villages. Hill 95, the scene of fierce fighting was in the vicinity of Hanashiro.[7] One can still see an occasional tank track, abandoned helmets and scattered fragments of war materials in the fields. The village was affected by the war in ways which are now observable indirectly in the makeshift houses, improvised shacks, the roofs of half [355] tile and half thatch, the odd additions to the older buildings partly destroyed, and the lack of drain pipes and water catchment tanks. Houses, which to superficial appearance, have existed for generations, have been rebuilt since the war with grass substituting for the tile roofs. [311] War operations over the cultivated areas also resulted in some loss of land. A long mound in the rice areas, with paths along its ridge, was formerly a road built by the Americans in the final drive toward Mabuni. Almost all the houses in the village were destroyed.

6 This Japanese word suggests both loneliness and melancholy.

7 Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 437 (illustration), 434-42 on the struggle for Hill 95.

342 (9) While the stones are being set and the uprights are being
[462] put on them, the women of the house and their female friends and
[476] relatives have brought in miscanthus grass and have begun making
[824] sheaves, tying each sheaf with a piece of grass. This goes on while the rafter poles are being nailed down. It is over this that the thatch is placed. The grass may be green or dry. In December it is in blossom, and when it is used, it gives the roof a snowy, fluffy appearance.

342 (10) A series of short rods of dwarf bamboo or dried miscanthus
335 stalks is then prepared to fit over the checkerboard made by the intersecting poles of the roof. The ends of these, which are about 7 feet long and 1/2 inch in diameter, are inserted into the braid of two lengths of rope about 5 feet long. These rods are placed at about 3 inch intervals. These frames are laid end down slope. They
[284] are lashed to the poles and to other bracing material beneath. All
[462] this is the work of men. While some of them are on the roof, others have begun nailing the siding. (See Fig. 6 for a sketch of the frames).

This is a very cheap lumber about 6 feet x 1 inch x 3/8 inch. The sides are boarded up like shingles except that the boards have uniform thickness. Each board overlaps the next lower one by 1/2 inch, a space of about 3 inches is left from the top of the upright poles to which the siding is nailed. The siding is sufficiently thin so that one side need not be thicker than the other.

(11) The triangular odd corners formed by the cross beams, the rafters and the center post are filled by fitted pieces instead of the rows of parallel rods used for the larger and more regular areas.

342 (12) The roof is now ready for sewing the thatch on. First,
284 the women throw several sheaves of miscanthus on the roof. They are tossed by hand or pitched by a rude pitchfork made by lashing a short branch to a long pole to form a Y. This is the kishi. (Fig. 7).
[413] One workman goes inside the dwelling. He has a pole about 6 feet long (hari, the Japanese word for needle) pointed at the end with a hole near the point. (Fig. 8). Starting from the eaves and working up, the man on the roof unties the sheaves and spreads a layer of grass along the length of the roof. This layer is held in place by a horizontal pole placed over it. The man inside has threaded the needle with stout twine; he pushes the long needle with the twine up through the network of the roof. This is taken by the workman on the roof who feeds the needle with its twine back again. This sewing continues until the three layers, the checkerboard, the parallel rods which have been lashed to it, and the grass with the poles to hold it down have been finally sewed together. As each strip is completed the workmen move up the slope a little. The grass is about 3 1/2 feet long and about one foot is allowed loose on the end to overlap the layer below. That portion of the grass which is not free is tied and sewed very securely. There is much tugging, pulling, and grunting to make the knot as tight as possible.

000 (13) As the top is reached, another operation is necessary to cap

311 Slow conversion of land to arable fields is constantly going on in situations in which the amount of labor involved is not even considered. One such activity in the Hinatogawa area is typical. [134] Originally the field could not be worked because of the large quantities of smaller boulders, stones, and pebbles, all small enough to be carried off, too numerous to encourage hopes for quick transformation. With difficulty this land is worked with the short [412] handled broad bladed hoe. The hoes with two or three prongs are used for softer soils. This hard hoeing is often done by women. [462] The surface stones are thrown aside into little piles along the road. [491] These can now be sold for use in road construction. The vegetation on the surface is also turned under. Later in the year, after the rain has gone into the loosened soil, it is hoed again, and this time it is possible to go in deeper. Weeds, rice straw, unused miscanthus, straw from the pig or goat pen may be added, and this is allowed to rot in the soil. Then the field is hoed again, and the deeper rocks and stones, and those left behind before, are unturned and the process is repeated. In the end, and this period may vary from one to several years depending on the quantity of stones, the farmer has a plot of [134] land, of a rich chocolate brown color, of fair texture and fertility, suitable for growing sweet potatoes.

133 311 In Matsuda, there is a slightly different situation. The topography here has a different character than that of the south. Hills, caves, sinks, and slopes are everywhere, and as a consequence, cultivation is more scattered. In the southern villages, land use follows a more recognizable pattern. The low flat areas are used for rice, the higher parts of the flat land and the slopes and the rolling upland for dry crop land, while the highest parts on the hill or mountain summits are in grasses, shrubs, and scattered scrub trees. In Matsuda, these are all mixed up. Rice may be growing in a genya area. In another part of the village, sweet potatoes may, in a similar situation, be the rule. This crazy-quilt pattern of rice, genya and dry crop land, all adjoining, stimulates the gradual conversion of genya to arable land. When rice is made out of the genya land the converted plot is known in Okinawan as gata. It is a laborious process of clearing, removing stones, hoeing, cutting perpendicular sides, making a hard surface to contain the water for the rice that will be grown. In some sections of Matsuda, the very small valleys have been converted to S-shaped rice plots.

311 134 Casual observers often see unused land and conclude that large amounts can be reclaimed. They do not see the stones, or the hard-rock which may be an inch or two below the surface. They would do well to look at village maps to see how these lands are regarded by the villagers who have tilled them. Probably more efficient conversion and reclamation could be carried on with machinery and with the generous use of fertilizers.

311 185 In the desire for more land, it should not be overlooked that the great conservation value of genya land and the poorer upland

243 by plowing.

There is water on the land when it is dug and harrowed, but it is not flooded. Not all rice land is harrowed. If it is not harrowed, the same result is accomplished by further hoeing. The harrow (maguwa in Japanese, maga in Okinawan) is partly a home made tool and looks like a large clumsily constructed rake. Essentially it is a piece of timber with a row of strong spikes. This timber ordinarily is made of pine, but other woods may be used. Twelve nails, spaced at about two inch intervals, are driven into the board. These nails or spikes, about 8 sun (almost 10 inches long), square at the head, and with a sharp point, are made by a blacksmith for about Yen 20 each. The harrow is drawn by cattle; two shafts, with a yoke over the animal's head complete the simple implement. The plow is used in the preparation of the field, but far more commonly, the work is done with a hoe.

[407] [414] [326] [231] [435]

In the fall and winter planting of rice, the seedlings remain in the seed bed for about 40 days. In the summer, the period is only 20 days and may be less. The winter shoots are from 7-8 inches long, the summer shoots from 4-7 inches. The length is important, for if the seedlings are too long, losses in transplanting will, according to Hanashiro farmers, increase to almost half. In rare instances, due to adverse conditions, seedlings in the seed bed reach 15-20 inches in length. The losses here are said to be considerable in transplanting.

[462] The hoeing or the plowing and harrowing of a field is almost exclusively done by men. It is tiring, uncomfortable, and heavy work. It is much more common to see women hoeing the dry crop land. But transplanting is done by men, women, and the older children. A handful of seedlings in the bed is pulled out and bound with straw, grass, or a rush. There is a knack in pulling these out. They must be jerked quickly, but dexterously to avoid root damage. The bundle is tossed either into a central place or into the paddy field to be planted, if it is adjoining. In the latter case, the bunches are tossed to various parts of the paddy.

243 804 The seedlings are generally set out in rows. For this purpose, a string with small markers like buttons (shirushi) is used. These are 7 sun (about 8.4 inches) apart. Both the rows and the hills are 7 sun apart. Differences between rows and hills may vary considerably. In these localities, the distances were generally the same. The string is stretched from one end of the row to the other. Each seedling is planted at the interval indicated by the marker on the string. This method of planting is not universal. When there is little time, the seedlings might be scatter planted.

243 804 413 Another method of obtaining the checker-board pattern is by means of a home made hexagonal frame, the waku (literally, a reel or a frame). Each of the six sides is divided into nine squares, 7 sun on the side. The overall length is over six feet. The frame is set along the outside border, or at any desired starting point. When in place, the

bottom will imprint nine squares on the wet soil, and as it is turned another nine will be imprinted so that when continued the field is laid out in tiny squares. Three or four seedlings are planted on the corners of the square made by the waku. 243 804 413

Men operate the frame. As they turn it, making the square pattern on the damp soil, women follow behind with the seedlings. The frame has been in use in Matsuda for about fifteen years. An Okinawan agricultural school student is said to have invented it. It was not used in the southern villages studied, an interesting sidelight on the slowness of innovation even on a small island like Okinawa, for many farmers in the south expressed surprise at its use and had not heard of it. The device is helpful to those with large plots. In Matsuda, there are not many of these frames, but borrowing is frequent. [462] [176] [184] [426]

In contrast with recent introductions, such as the universal treadle thresher, the frame seems to be confined to one geographic area. The reason for this may be that the use of the thresher was actively encouraged by the Japanese as a successful time and labor saving device, while the frame was not similarly publicized. 243 804 [407]

Another method, a more traditional one, is to use a piece of wood the same length as the waku with seven little knobs and the two ends to give the nine spaces. This is the jiyogi. A piece of string stretched from one end of the field to the other is used to get a straight line along a row. When the planting has taken place along one row, the jiyogi is used to measure off one space between rows, the guide line is moved over and the operation repeated. This achieves the same purpose as the frame or the string with the markers. Men are more likely to handle these operations, the women following along with the transplanting. But the division of labor is by no means hard and fast. [462]

Care of rice until its maturity. Rice set out in squares is easier to cultivate, weed, and harvest. During its growth, it will be necessary occasionally to loosen the soil or to break up clods which escaped the initial working. There may be some temporary drainage of water off the fields at these times. 243

Weeding rice is usually done by hand, though once in a while a farmer has a hand cultivator. Weeding the rice field is an unrelenting job which is done about once a week. More attention is given to this task when the plants are younger. Weeding is worked in with other daily chores, and all members of the family may participate.

The rice is now allowed to grow with the hope that strong winds or a typhoon will not blow over the slender shoots or submerge them. If the rice is submerged when the shoots are still fairly young, they will gradually right themselves. Farmers say that attempting to upright the plants by hand will not work. The quality of rice once submerged is poor and sometimes half the rice in the plot is lost. If the submersion occurs when the plants are near maturity and the stalks are 20 or 25

243 inches high, the bottom of the paddy becomes a tangled mass. Farmers walk disconsolately away from a field like this, often without even attempting to harvest the crop. The seeds once soaked will produce inferior rice. In this case, the farmer may turn the whole crop under or salvage some for pig food. The growing of rice is one long gamble with the wind and with typhoons, and there is seldom a year in which some rice is not destroyed.

[221] The harvest. The cutting of rice at harvest time, July and November in the western calendar, is done in a uniform manner. (Harvest times may vary somewhat from place to place). A bunch of the long stalks is grasped in one hand and cut off with the small sickle. A stubble of a few inches is left in the field. The sheaves are tied up with a piece of rice straw and thrown in piles. The commonest and [482] most convenient way of carrying the sheaves from the field is to tie several together. A large bundle of these is carried on either end of a pole which rests on the shoulder. The ends of the pole are cut like tenons and stuck in the bundles below the binding. The rice is carried to the courtyard to be threshed. If necessary, it will be allowed to dry for a few days.

243 407 Threshing, hulling, and milling. Rice is threshed either in the courtyard of the home or in a flat place near the house. During rice harvest, the threshing machines can be heard all over the village, the noise suggesting the sounds of cars on a railroad track, heard from a distance. The device now universally used for threshing rice is the dakkoki.

This has a foot treadle, similar to an old fashioned sewing machine. Working the treadle up and down causes a drum, set at about waist length, to revolve. This drum has a series of wires set in rows and bent over, appearing like large staples. These staples are parallel with the line of rotation of the drum.

A conveniently handled bunch of stalks (wara) is held on the revolving drum, the rice seeds touch the staples, which knock the kernels off. They drop to the floor of the device. Often the top has a canvas cover to catch the flying rice kernels and the machines is set in the middle of a large piece of canvas so that the grain can easily be recovered. Both men and women do this work, although women seem to do [462] more of it. They are free to work while at home, alternating the task with other chores. They keep up with the man and the elder children who are carrying the rice bundles in from the fields. After threshing, rice straw is thrown aside. It has many subsequent uses.

[177] The dakkoki, an introduction from Japan, is new in Okinawa. In Hanashiro it has been used scarcely 15 years. Prior to this, more primitive methods were used which can still be observed in Matsuda today. These old methods are no longer important, but they are of interest because they were used, instead of the treadle thresher, up to pre-war times.

256 until the desired white shade was obtained. After the milling, the rice is quite warm, and both the chaff and the rice have an odor similar to brewer's yeast.

[462] Women carry the rice to the mill. It is heaped up in baskets set
[482] on their heads. Rice straw or a braid of rice stalks is placed over the small towel which rests directly on the head. On this the woman
[415] sets the basket with its rice. When the milling is over, the women pick up a handful, blow off the chaff, inspect the rice for wholeness and whiteness, and then put it in a large gunny sack. The chaff is placed in a smaller one. Hulls, occasionally taken, are usually left
[824] at the mill to accumulate in a pile outside the mill and there, at frequent intervals, are burned. Sometimes the hulls or the ashes are taken for fertilizer.

Bringing rice for milling is a social occasion for the women.
[521] They often have a child on their back. While waiting for their rice to be hulled and milled, they exchange greetings and news with their neighbors or with women from adjoining villages.

As a result of the war, quality of machinery for rice milling
[727] differs with villages. Most now have access to a mill. The machinery at Matsuda, being more efficient than the older machines at Hanashiro is able to polish the rice satisfactorily after going through the mill three times. These mills are very busy during the harvest seasons.

252 There are also survivals of older methods of hulling and polishing rice. These are no longer used, though many of the old have not lost
[912] their skill. Before machine polishing was introduced, the hulls were removed by pounding the rice in a mortar, usually with a long bamboo pole narrowed in the center for a grip. After the hulls were removed, the rice was put through a quern, or a mill known as a shiriushi. This has two working parts: a base about a foot in diameter and perhaps a foot in height. It looks like a smoothed off log. In the center, there is a wooden pin, perhaps 1 1/2 feet long. Over this part, which looks like an upright piece of a log with a rolling pin stuck in its center, the upper part, made of wood and of the same diameter is fitted. A bar across the inside of the top of the upper part has a hole for the pin. On the outside, wooden plugs provide places for attaching ropes.
[962] These are pulled back and forth by women sitting opposite one another. The rice is poured in at the top, the quern is moved first clock- and then counterclockwise, the rice coming out in the rough crevice where the two pieces join. The rice is put through the quern as many times as is necessary to effect the polishing. In some querns, the inside of the upper part is grooved to quicken the polishing.

In polishing rice in this way, the mill is placed on a mat and the rice is gathered up periodically and put in baskets. It is then winnowed by tossing in a flat basket. Many of the farmers in the villages still have a shiriushi in their sheds, but it is seldom used.

Rice may also be polished by the use of rude wooden mallets. These have a handle about 3 feet long and a head about 1 1/2 feet long. Rice is placed in a mortar with straw on top. It is pounded, often by two or three women swinging alternately. After the hulls are removed, the rice is winnowed, and put back in the mortar until a rough polish is secured. 252 [412]

Uses of rice. Every part of the rice plant has a use. The stubble, left in the ground, becomes a part of next season's fertilizer. The chaff and waste dust (nuka) is saved for pigs, cows, and other domestic animals. The hulls often are used for fertilizer, before or after burning. Rice straw has a variety of uses. The most frequent and important of these is for making rope. 824

After threshing, the straw is dried two or three days. Three or four stalks of about the same length are taken and rolled between the palms. The lower palm, usually the left, is open and up. The right palm rolls the straw into a twist. As the rope grows, new stalks are inserted one at a time, and, when needed, a new length of straw is added. This is not a strong rope, but it has a variety of uses, such as tying down the grass thatch to the roof poles, children's swings, and clothes lines. Mats and pads shaped like a life saver and used to set the sugar pots on after the sugar has been boiled, are made out of rice straw. Another use is in the making of the Ōda (Okinawan). This is a mesh about one foot wide and two feet long. There are loops on each corner. The end of a pole may be inserted in these loops when gathered together. The pole is carried over the shoulder, and sweet potatoes, straw, or other articles may be easily transported. Simple brooms without a handle, little more than a bunch of straw tied together in three places are also made of rice straw. Twisting and braiding rice straw is likely to be rainy day work. These articles are most often made twice in the year, corresponding with the harvests. [283] [285] [482] [412]

At typhoon times, if rice is not completely destroyed, the damaged rice may be used for pig food. The preparation of this rice is women's work. The rice is put in a mortar and pounded with a mallet in the manner already described, although a single operator usually does the work. [731] [231] [462]

Types and preferences. As a general rule, the selection of varieties of rice for planting depends on taste, the nature of the soils, and individual judgment of the expected yield of each type. In Matsuda, it is estimated that about one half of the rice is the Formosan variety, Taichu 65 (Taichu rokujugo), in Okinawa known as horai. Another variety, Kunigami #1 (Kunigami ichigo) represents about one-fourth of the crop. Mochigome (akaho) takes up about another one-fourth. This glutinous rice has a brown reddish rust colored kernel and is used for rice cakes. A fourth variety, horai-mochimai, is also well liked. No black rice is grown here. 243 [262]

1:Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

244 [132] months. The amount of sweet potatoes grown is not closely related to the season. It depends much more on rainfall.

[031] [131] The effects of typhoons on the plants are most noticeable after transplanting. Salt water spray shrivels the transplants up and they die without developing. These conditions are more noticeable near the seashore in areas like Nagamo that lack trees and tidewater shelters.

824 Like rice, all of the sweet potato plant is used. Plant residues are turned under to fertilize the soil. This turning under of the vines or their use in composts is a doubtful blessing if the plants are diseased. The good potatoes are reserved for human consumption. The poor or the diseased ones are mashed up in a stone mortar with a [231] long pole, used like a pestle, for pig and goat food. Besides using the tops as slips, women constantly cut them off for fresh greens for the pigs. The sweet potato is the basic food because it is cheap, [262] can be grown the year round in lowlands and uplands, and can be cultivated by all members of the family. As pig food, it is a means of inexpensively raising animals which later have cash value. The [962] feeding and care of pigs is usually one of the incidental chores of women.

244 184 The varieties most commonly found in these Okinawan villages are the Okinawan #100 (Okinawan no hyakugo) and varieties known locally as the bentō, a small round tuber, and the bokuto. The two chief differences between the northern and southern villages in cultivating the sweet potato are (1) the two and three pronged hoes are much more in evidence in the north. With practice, they can be used advantageously in quickly weeding a plot while not cutting the potato itself. (2) Matsuda appears to be less dependent on the [262] sweet potato as a human food. The farmer here has more rice for him- [231] self and a greater proportion of his sweet potato crop goes for animal food.

6

The Planting of Sugar Cane and Sugar Making

249 Sugar cane (kibi) is grown on dry crop land, its rows often alternating on the same plot with the sweet potato. Cane may be started with cuttings, or it may be a second growth (ratoon) from the stubs of the old plant after it has been cut down for crushing. Cuttings may be purchased or selected plants from another planting are used. The slips are cut to leave three buds. These cuttings may be planted in three ways: (1) all horizontally, (2) horizontally with the cutting which comes from the topmost part of the stalk planted slantwise, or (3) all cuttings may be planted slanting.

The soil must be thoroughly worked with the ever present hoe. Plowing and harrowing are rarely done. The earth must be thoroughly fertilized. In addition, small amounts of compost may be placed under the cutting, and less often liquid night soil might be used.

824 Soy beans have three main uses: soy sauce which is seldom made
[262] in the home, bean curd (tōfu) and miso, a bean paste, both always
[432] home made. For this reason, soy beans are grown mostly for home use,
with the surplus sold. In Hanashiro, where the surpluses are greater,
[462] the beans may be sold in Naha, Shuri, or Itoman. Women do the selling,
taking the beans to market on the buses, trucks, or three wheeled
[494] vehicles.

(2) Other types of beans such as the red dwarf bean (asuki)
241 (Phaseolus angularis Wight), the kidney bean (ingen in Japanese,
262 Phaseolus vulgaris L), the broad or horse bean (soramame in Japanese,
Vician fabia L), and peas (endō in Japanese, Pisum sativum L) are
grown for home use, usually in parcels which are closest to the house.

(3) The giant radish, (daikon in Japanese, Raphanus sativus L)
[263] is, after the soy bean, the most important of the minor crops grown
for home use. This is the vegetable most favored either as a condiment,
[252] or as a side dish. It is eaten sliced raw, pickled, or fried in
strips in soy sauce. When eaten boiled, its flavor resembles that of
a turnip.

(5) The pumpkin (Cucurbita pepo L) called nanka or kabocha,
the latter name being derived from the word Cambodia from which the
pumpkin was introduced into Japan. They are harvested in summer, and
one crop a year, generally for home use, is grown. If the flesh
[231] becomes too ripe and turns reddish and sweet, it is not relished and
the pumpkin is fed to the pigs.

(6) The cucumber (kiuri in Japanese, Cucumus sativus L) is a
very minor crop. In none of the villages were they generally grown,
and then only for home use.

(7) The hechima or tōgwa in Japanese, subui in Okinawan.[7] This
is very large and cylindrical. In exceptional specimens, its outward
appearance is indistinguishable from the water melon. Its flesh is
[184] white. In the two southern villages, the tōgwa is grown very sparingly.
In Katsuda and the surrounding villages, it is more common. Here it is
used to fill in during times of food shortage. Some specimens I have
[221] seen weighed over 100 pounds. It is planted after lunar New Years,
harvested in the 6th or 7th lunar month, a period reaching from about
January to May. From April to July, when other vegetables are scarce,
[252] it is often used as a substitute. The flesh when boiled is rather
tasteless; it is commonly boiled and served with chunks of meat. The
tōgwa, in the northern villages, is often stored in dark cool places
[251] away from the sunlight, often under the house. If not cut open, the
melon can be saved for a year.

7 I am not certain whether this is Luffa cylindrica Roem, Luffa petola, Ser, the Luffa sponge, rag gourd, etc., whose pulp disappears when ripe to be replaced by a web of fibres.

231
cash income. Pigs are seldom eaten by the family that raises them. [262]
On New Year's, a family will slaughter a pig or three or four families [527]
might co-operate in sharing one. Pork may also be served at O-Bon
and at Jūgoya, the autumn equinoctial holiday season.

A family often gets its start in pig raising by obtaining a loan [426]
from a mutual loan group. (These groups will be discussed later). A
young pig may cost about Y2000. Male pigs intended for market [435]
(nikubuta in Japanese, shishiwa in Okinawan) are castrated two months
after birth. Keeping breeding pigs (tanebuta) is a special business. [232]
Men engaged in this business bring the boar to the pig raiser's home.
Each village has such a businessman or at least has convenient access
to one in a neighboring village. The fee usually charged is Y200. If
the first attempt at breeding is unsuccessful, a second opportunity is
given free. On the third try, the dealer claims his fee again. In
Matsuda, there is a belief among the old that as the tide is coming in,
if a sow is in heat, the male will be able to perform, but that in the
ebb tide he cannot.

Great care is taken in housing pigs adequately, if the family is 231
able to do so. The pig sties made of stone or coral may be better 343
than the houses of their owners. This is by no means so shortsighted
or ridiculous as it might seem. Pigs are the means, one of the very
few means, by which an agricultural family may acquire substantial [434]
sums of cash. To protect this living bank account, considerable sums
are invested in fine stone, or cement floors and an adequate roof.
The pen must be strong to withstand typhoons. With a good pig pen,
a sow, and a good litter, a family can look forward to improving its [511]
financial condition and its own housing. There is great variety in the
quality of pig pens. The pen may be in combination with the outside
toilet, but with the two places completely separate; it may be part of
a larger shed which also houses the goats, the cattle, or the horse. If a
family can afford it, the pig is housed in a stone pen with stone floors,
or with other sturdy materials.

The day to day care of pigs is mostly the work of women. While 231
the husband is at work in the fields, the wife, as an incidental part 824
of her duties, goes to the nearest plot to cut sweet potato tops, or
mashes sweet potatoes in the stone mortar in the compound, often with [462]
her infant child on her back. There are three favorite varieties of
food for pigs: (1) the leaves of the sweet potato plant not suitable for
human consumption or not needed for transplanting, (2) the potato itself.
The poorer grades of potato are put in a stone mortar and are smashed
with a long pole, or pestle. (3) A cloudy liquid consisting of the
sweet potato, waste bean curd (tōfu no kasshu) and water. This is always
given warm. The pig may also get poor rice, or rice spoiled for human
consumption by submersion as a result of a typhoon, or miscellaneous
left overs from the table.

There are no ceremonies in any of the villages associated with 231
slaughtering the pig. Villagers seldom kill their own except on

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The boat, as in the previous example, is considered a person. The cook is usually a boy about 16 or 17 years old. If we further assume a catch valued at Y10,000, with a deduction of Y1000 for gas and oil, there is a remainder of Y9,000 to be divided. The boat's share, A, is 30%, or Y2700, with Y6300 for further distribution. The following formula is then applied to this remainder:

Captain	1.5 shares
Engineer	1.5 shares
Fishermen	7.0 shares, one for each of 7 men
Cook	0.7 shares
	10.7

The value of each share is Y588.78 (Y6300 divided by 10.7). If the amounts are rounded off, the final distribution is:

Captain	Y883	(1.5 x 588.78)
Engineer	883	(1.5 x 588.78)
Fishermen	4121	(1 x 588.78 x 7)
Cook	412	(0.7 x 588.78)
	Y6300	

The distribution takes place at the conclusion of a voyage. Obligations (giri) between the owner and the others, on these larger boats, are also based on custom. If a crew member is injured on a voyage and prevented from going on the next one, he receives a share for the voyage he was on, and some money, depending on the catch but not a full share, during convalescence. If a fisherman is ill and has been injured outside of his work, he does not receive this consideration.

5

Sale and Distribution of Fish

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The sale and the distribution of fish is the work of women. Men occasionally do this, but their function is to catch the fish, maintain the boats and gear, and make the lures. The bulk of the fish is sold at Naha because the highest prices generally are paid there. This makes it difficult for adjacent villages to obtain fish, even in season. When the fish is especially plentiful and low in price at Naha, the women go to the agricultural villages of the interior. Fish are carried in baskets. The pre-war custom of carrying the fish basket on the head and walking from village to village, or to the railroad station at Kochinda, thence by rail to Naha, has given way to truck, bus, or the three wheeled cycle. Often in the evening, these cycles, which can seat six comfortably, are filled with eight or ten laughing and voluble women, and their fish, the vehicle chugging slowly and painfully up and then coasting down the grades.

One can infrequently observe women walking from Hinatogawa to

60% of the proceeds. The trees thus sold are all cut down. After clearcutting, the area is left to natural reseeding. About twenty years hence, the clearing will again be sufficiently forested to permit repetition of the same procedure. This follows an established Japanese pre-war practice. This was known as the five year period share (gonenkanbun). The forest is divided into subdivisions, each 110 chō in area. (A chō is 2.45 acres). These 110 chō plots are in turn subdivided into five parcels of twenty-two chō each. Each year one of these five subdivisions may be cleared. 313 [804]

Throughout the forest, divided up into these plots, there may be a five year cycle of cutting, but not all the plots are available every year. If this were so, the forest could be cut over in five years. The system is planned so that there will always be parcels being cleared, those in various stages of regrowth, and mature stands. During and after the war, this practice broke down in favor of uncontrolled cutting.

If a family has little cash, a villager may pay his taxes in part by cutting wood. The village office pays Y4 for a bundle of firewood (late 1951), Y2 going to the villager as a cash payment, and Y2 being applied to his taxes for the year. [651]

The farmer makes frequent excursions to the mountains to obtain firewood or poles to make improvements in the compound, such as repairing a tool or food shed. Men do this work, especially when the distances are far, but the participation of women is by no means exceptional. Along the roads of northern Okinawa, one can frequently see old women walking down from the mountains carrying bundles of firewood on heavy poles. Much of the wood is hand carried from the mountains; if the farmer has a horse and cart or a truck, the wood is carried to a convenient road for loading and transport. [462] [482] [887] [494]

Charcoal is manufactured in the forest area. In Okinawa charcoal has many uses, mainly for heating and cooking, and for charcoal sticks (senko). Lumps of charcoal are placed in braziers and the sticks are used as touchwood in place of matches and in ceremonial and religious observances. Charcoal containers (tangu) are often constructed on the spot. These are round or box-shaped and made out of the dwarf bamboo. 314 [372] [796] [915]

Charcoal kilns are privately owned. They are of the simplest sort. The kiln may be covered with a rude housing, built up by poles and a thatch roof. A mound of large boulders and dirt is built with an opening on the dirt floor running the length of the firing area. Poles which have been stripped and cut in various lengths, from five to nine feet, are shoved in the opening and moved forward as they burn. The smoke comes out the back.

Forest maintenance and improvement is, in part, a result of community endeavor. With some exceptions, each person in the village from 16 to 60 participates one day a year in forest improvement (sōrin).[8] The participants are boys past school age, unmarried girls, and all men up to the age of 60. These people work without personal remunera- 313 496

[8] The usual meaning of sōrin is afforestation or reforestation. In Matsuda it is used in the sense of care and improvement of the forest.

249 forced a return to crushing the cane by the use of rollers driven by a horse at the end of a sweep. Before the war, Matsuda had sugar mills driven by machinery. Mills may either be village
423 owned, as in Hanashiro, or owned by small co-operatives, like that
[427] in Matsuda whose members rent it to others when not using it themselves.

443 Village stores generally occupy the front part of a family's living quarters. They are operated mainly by women. A woman past
[407] middle age sitting on the floor of her shop, talking with visitors or reading the paper, is a familiar sight in an Okinawan village. A village may have several tiny stores. They do not compete with one another in the commercial sense of the word. Prices are the same. Their inventories are the standard ones. The chief dif-
[373] ferences are in size and variety. Some sell the strong alcoholic drink (awamori) called sake in Okinawa.

Each storekeeper has a clientele of friends and relatives, but one is not under social obligation to repeatedly trade at the same place. Relatives sometimes own adjoining shops. In Japan,
[171] it is said that once a person starts trading at a shop he continues to do so. To switch would deprive the shopkeeper of business that could be counted on, and imply dissatisfaction with the service rendered. The first purchase creates mutual obligations between the storekeeper and his customer which are not broken casually.[1] This is not the case with these village stores. One patronizes the shop that is convenient, that is open when one wants to buy, that has the desired article. There is an informal atmosphere and lack
[434] of bustle in these tiny shops because so many are operated for supplementary income by wives or female relatives of the breadwinner. A wife may sit in her shop, as I have often seen her in Minatogawa,
[404] taking care of her baby, sewing on her treadle sewing machine, and interrupting her work when necessary for a customer. The cash involved is small, often only a few yen, and money is carefully accounted for. These shops satisfy a surprising amount of the village demand for food, food supplements, notions, clothing, and household goods. Larger, more expensive, or more specialized items such as books, suits, furniture are in the towns like Itoman or Naha in the south, or Nago and Ishikawa in the north.

An inventory of one of these village stores indicates the types of articles in frequent and constant demand. In one typical store in Minatogawa the following purchases could be made:

Foods

[262] Starch
[271] Condensed milk for children

1 I was told this by Japanese and by Nisei who were in Japan during the occupation. I do not know how widespread or how characteristic this practice is of all retail trade there.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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The custom of a whole family sleeping together was common, if not universal, before the war. It is the mother or the grandmother, rather than the father or a male relative, whose company is sought after. This does not imply strained relationships with the father. Fathers are not stern. They often take care of infant children, or hold them while the mother tends to household tasks.[13]

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In western industrialized nations, we are so accustomed to the division of labor between the father and the mother, in which the father's work is away from home and the mother takes care of the home and has continuous daily contact with the children, that we might overlook the fact that similar conditions exist in less complex cultures as well. In these rural villages, the father is absent a great deal of the time. He may be in and out of the house several times during the day, he may eat his noon meal at home, or he may stay home several hours at a time doing chores in the courtyard. But the greater part of his time is spent away from home, in the paddy field, the sweet potato patch, at the quarry, or at sea, as the case may be. The father frequently is absent in the evenings, for he has the evening social life. Except for infrequent bus trips to shop in a larger town, a mother's absences from the home are of very short duration. The Okinawan wife and mother is almost always at home, or in a nearby field where here children can find her. A child's chief attachments seem to be to the mother. Though this is an impression, there seems also to be a long period of dependence on the parent. This does not mean dependence for food and shelter, for young men and women soon acquire skills which make them self-reliant. It is a more subtle dependence, but the post-war period may be changing this to some extent because of newer opportunities for leadership among the young.[14]

5

The School Child

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The child enters primary school when he is around 6 years old. His teacher, more likely than not, will be a young man. The child now begins learning the required basic knowledge: the use of the brush or the pen in writing the Chinese character, elementary arithmetic,

13 In Hatsuda, in a conversation with six boys ranging in age from 13-15, one of them asked if boys their age in America had separate rooms for sleeping. When told that they did, if this were possible, their response was unfavorable. They said they would be too far away from their mother. All of them wanted to sleep in the same room with their mother.

14 A 70 year old retired school teacher in one village complained that Okinawan children and young people have no independence and are not always relying on their parents for decisions. Age had not brought Confucian orthodoxy to this old man. He could not be accused of blindly insisting on filial obedience.

During the primary and junior high school years, no exacting demands are made at home. Young girls after school strap the baby on their back and go out to play, or they may fetch water from the well, pond, or faucet, carrying it home in buckets hanging from a pole resting on their shoulders, or they may help in preparing the evening meal. Younger boys, 12 and over, help with feeding the pigs or run errands, but they have more leisure than the girls. There is night study at home, including practice on the abacus and reading to which the parents listen, correcting the errors. Formal education, for a large majority, ends with the completion of junior high school. 857 883 [482] [871]

As children grow older, they continue in off hours to help around the home, help which follows the lines of the male and female division of labor of adulthood. This is not a strict division, as there are many areas in which both sexes do common chores. In the agricultural villages, girls continue to help around the home, carry water, and hoe in the sweet potato patches. In the fishing village, they also carry water, help with the laundry, and start helping the older women in selling and distributing fish. The boys work more in the paddies. In the fishing village, they may make trips to the sea, but as a rule, this does not begin until later. [962]

For those who go to senior high school, there is a noticeable change from the earlier school experience. They enter at about 14 or 15 and remain in high school 3 years. It is a period of growing maturity, and the older they get the shyer they seem to become. Girl's hair is allowed to grow longer, perhaps to neck or shoulder length, less often in long braids, and the bangs remain. A big change takes place in the hair styles of the boys. The close clipped haircut is abandoned and the hair is allowed to grow long. Often it is not cut at all on the top, so that in two or three years, it has acquired considerable length. 873 856 302

The child who leaves school at the end of primary or junior high school is more quickly absorbed in the daily work life and traditional occupations of the family. The senior high school student has teaching, clerking, translating, or other white collar work in mind. The boy who leaves school earlier might drive a truck or a horse cart, or adopt the occupation of his father. This is likely to be a time killing period for those young men who live in the fishing village or whose families lack land. 463

6

Early Adulthood and the Engagement

In early adulthood and before marriage, a son of the house might be given a separate room or a small outlying shed which he fixes up for himself. The young girls, more and more, assume full time duties in the home, relieving the mother. Often the mother and her young daughter work together in the fields. These mature young girls also may take over the care of younger children. Young men from 17 on are 885 868

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

The Division of Labor

In all the villages there is a division of labor between the sexes. There are, however, wide areas in which men and women do the same work. In Hatsuda and Hanashiro, the usual tasks of the women were the care of the children, maintaining the house and its surroundings, excluding heavy work or repairs, laundering, making foods like bean curd and bean paste, taking rice to the mill, hoeing sweet potatoes and gathering tops for the pigs. 462

Men, in the main, plant and transplant rice, hoe, plow, and harrow the rice field, cut the rice, make house and compound repairs, and help others in housebuilding. Men carry the main burden of agriculture, though women frequently give a great deal of help. In Hatsuda, men get firewood from the mountains. Wood and other fuel from nearby spots are gathered by women. Both men and women may take care of pigs, or operate the rice treadle thresher. Daily feeding of the pigs and the smashing of sweet potatoes in a stone mortar with a long wooden pestle is usually the work of women.

The small shops are generally operated by women. Men who do so are likely to be in poor health or disabled for heavy work. Weaving grasses and rushes for rugs or baskets is done by men. If the former has a surplus, the wife generally sells it. The produce for sale is carried in baskets on the head. (Head carrying is more common in the southern villages than in Hatsuda). [482]

This division of labor between the sexes becomes indistinct among the old. Old men and women, if able, work at some task until they die. In the south, they may often be seen gathering grass on the mountain sides. The very old do many of the tasks of their prime, but they neither work so long or so hard. This is especially true in agriculture. 887

In the fishing village, a division of labor also takes place. The men are responsible for catching fish and for maintaining the boats and the gear, the women for the sale and distribution of the fish. The old fisherman contents himself with repairs and general maintenance; the old stonecutter does the chipping and the bevelling. 462

Grandmothers assume the care and supervision of older children, while the mother is preoccupied with the baby. The old women may also do cooking, house cleaning, laundering and feed the pigs. Care of pigs is often an incidental chore in a woman's daily routine. [887]

Few articles for wear or general household use are made in the 283
home. In Hanashiro and Hatsuda, different kinds of ropes are made from the palm or from rice straw. The fibre of the palm is pulled apart and carded with the hands. Lengths of the fibre are twisted by rolling between the palms of the hand. These ropes are very strong, but the palm fibre is now scarce.

Weaker articles made of rice straw are far more common. The chief 824
ones are ropes (waratsuna), mats (mushiro), a rope mesh (ōda in Okinawan) carried on the ends of poles, twine, and swings (buranko) for children. Braided rice twine is used to tie the dwarf bamboo down to the roof before putting on the tile on top. In Hinatogawa, very few articles of home 438
manufacture are made. Some mats, a very few slippers, and fishing lures are the chief articles.

The people of Hatsuda have better plant fibres and more mat making 285
is found here. Two families specialize in making mats, one using a foot operated loom from Japan, the other a very simple hand loom. Mats are made from two plants which are indigenous: the i rush and the pandanus. Two kinds are used, a three corned (sankaku) and the round (maru), the latter considered superior. In Hatsuda, there are four types of mats distinguished by the materials employed: (1) the pandanus mat, (2) the pandanus as the warp, the i rush as the weft, (3) cotton string as the warp, the i as the weft, and (4) an all i rush mat. The best quality is the all rush mat. It is a strong, closely woven and attractive mat. Weaving is done by men in their spare time, or as a full time occupation [462] ●
by those physically unable to do hard work. Occasionally women weave, but it is uncommon. The market is mainly local.

In the simple upright hand loom, the warp beam is attached to the 285
top board of the loom. The warp is stretched taut and fastened to the 286
bottom board of the loom (corresponding with the cloth beam). The cotton strings, which make up the warp, are alternately set forward and backward, and when the weft is pushed in it goes over one string and under another to make the weave. The weft once in place is pushed down to the bottom by a movable board, with holes which guide it up and down the warp, to make the weave. In lieu of a shuttle, the rush strips used as a weft are guided through the cotton strings of the warp with a piece of bamboo about 4 feet long notched in the end like a bottle cap opener. One end of the rush is put in the notch and the stick is pushed alternately through the threads of the warp. The ends of the weft are tied to the warp to make a fringe and secure the mat against ripping. The rush is wet with a brush before using. It takes about 12 hours to make a 3 x 6 feet mat on this type of loom.

Men in Hatsuda also make rough baskets, mainly for carrying vegetables 285
and the stationary barriers (hinpun), made of the dwarf bamboo. These are woven diagonally when the plant is green and moist.

In the villages there is little effort to beautify the courtyard, 351
train trees, or to cultivate shrubs and flowers. Now and then one sees a flower bed in the compound or the remains of a rock garden with shrubs and a small pond. But there is little to suggest the Japanese skill in these matters.

000 construction materials, and to maintenance.

In an earlier chapter, a villager's remark was quoted to the effect
614 that Hinatogawa was a branch family of Itoman. This is well illustrated
in the burial customs of this village. Both children and adults are
766 placed in a simple, temporary tomb, usually along the coast near the stonecutting area. Later the tomb is opened, the bones washed, and sent to Itoman. The transfer of the remains from the temporary tombs of the village to the extended family tomb in Itoman may be done at a time when it is necessary to open the Itoman tomb because of the death of a member of the extended family there. There is no second funeral. The cleaned bones are put in a box. There are short prayers before the opened Itoman tomb, the bones placed inside, and the box discarded.

764 In the adjoining village of Nagamo, burial customs are similar to
602 those of Hanashiro. Nagamo has three different kinds of tombs: (1) large gable and turtleback extended family types, (2) a similar large tomb for a single family, and (3) small tombs for individual families.

The tombs of Matsuda also are mainly of the extended family type. There are examples here of the turtleback, the gable, and the new small tomb. They are scattered throughout the village area, sometimes on the summit of a hill whose slopes are given over to terraced rice fields or dry cropping. Not all families own tombs; for reasons of economy, the small tomb for individual burial is becoming more frequent.

765 In all the villages, after the coffin is put inside the tomb, it is left there for about three years. The tomb is reopened, the bones are removed from the coffin, washed, and put back in the tomb, tasks done by
● [462] female relatives of the deceased, usually women over 40 years old. This three year period is not a set one. If a later death occurs in the
[178] family, the coffin may be opened at that time. An old custom of placing the bones in an urn after they are taken from the coffin has been
[114] abandoned. Basil Hall has some interesting comments on these old Okinawan urns.

3

Observances in Memory of the Dead

765 Observances in memory of the dead are held in all villages on the
769 1st, 7th, 14th, 21st, 28th, 35th, 42nd, and 49th day after death, and on the 1st, 3rd, 7th, 13th, 25th, and 33rd anniversary of death.

The simple observances and prayers at the tomb on the day following
765 burial have already been mentioned. At the home, temporary memorial tablets made of white paper (shiroihai) are prepared to be replaced later with permanent red memorial tablets on the Buddhist god shelf. Both at home and at the tomb only relatives or close friends participate in the prayers and food offerings.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

an empty oxygen bottle with a wooden mallet to mark the time. The noon bell tells people in the fields and mountains that it is time for the midday meal and helps those who have a clock to compare the time. The evening bell indicates that it is time to end the day. Schoolchildren do not need a clock, since they get up early in the morning and go to school soon after, knowing that they are probably early. For most adults, daylight and sun position are enough to tell the approximate hour of the day. Some take arrival and departure of the bus, four times a day, as a point of orientation.

Old women are the first to rise in the morning. Long before dawn during the winter, or with the first light of the summer day, they get up and start a fire to boil sweet potatoes and heat the soybean soup. Blue smoke rising through the thatched roof into the early morning sky indicates that life in the village has begun. Children soon awake. The door is pushed open and a sleepy child appears to urinate off the edge of the house. Men are the last to rise. Considering the effect of the sake which they may have consumed on the preceding evening, it is remarkable that they are able to wake up so soon. By 6:30 the sleepiest person has risen.

The addition of outer clothes to the underclothing in which most people sleep is simple. Cold water splashed over the face and a quick turn at the toothbrush is all the toilet needed to begin a new day.

The task of folding comforters and taking down the mosquito net falls to one of the older children or to the mother. Older children and young girls help to carry water from the tank, the first task that has to be done after getting up. After breakfast, women feed the pigs. By about 7 o'clock everybody is ready for work. On a good day people leave for the mountains or start toward their fields—schoolchildren are on their way, too.

By 8 o'clock, except during very poor weather, the village is left to the old people and young children. Little boys and girls hang around, waiting for kindergarten to start at 9 o'clock. Play begins for them after they leave the house in the morning and does not end until evening.

For men and women, the routine of work in fields and forests is prescribed by seasonal activities which demand their special attention, but there are daily chores, such as digging potatoes, picking vegetables, and collecting feed for the animals and firewood for cooking. Only a few men who go to the mountains, taking their midday meal along, are away all day. The rest come and go during the day from the rice paddies, potato fields, or forests, so that there is repeated contact between children and their parents. A young child, even if left in the

storing and are kept under the house or on a special shelf on the rafters. 244

Onions, giant radishes, beans, and cabbages are also raised on farm lands. Night soil is rarely used for such vegetables nowadays but is still used on potatoes. Several of these vegetables as well as others are raised by women in small "home-garden" plots. 251 514 462

The hardest working period during the year is in July and August. Within a few weeks after the rice harvest, the soil must be made ready for the second rice crop or the soil must be prepared for dry paddy potatoes. This is also the time for planting the chief sugar crop. All this takes place during the hottest time of the year, when efficiency is greatly reduced by heat and humidity. 244 243 249

Sugar harvest and processing fall in the period between January and March. One field after another is harvested by the owners after arrangements have been made for a date when the cane can be processed. Such arrangements are made with the director of the Taira cooperative, who supervises operations of the sugar mill which is owned by the cooperative. The whole family helps on the day of processing. Women carry bundles of branches and light firewood to heat the kettles. The operation requires the help of someone to feed cane into the small, diesel engine driven press, some to carry the pulp away, and others to watch the kettles in which extracted juice is boiled down to molasses. Finally, a few persons stir the brown residue in wide, open pots until it becomes stalted. Then it is put into tubs that hold about 132 pounds. 249 474 402

The agricultural market for cash crops was totally disrupted at the end of World War II. There was no immediate outlet for sugar products; crops had been destroyed or neglected, and the sugar mill was demolished in the fighting. But by this time most people were too satisfied with the great returns from forest work to invest much time and energy in a crop which takes a year and a half to show any material results. Nevertheless, sugar was the first crop to find a market again. 433 249

Pineapple, introduced recently in Taira, has a promising future. Tea is still grown in small quantities, but few families grow more than they need for their own use, although it is a good potential cash crop for this area. 245

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

Raising pigs is an important source of cash income for all households in the village. Even the poorest families own at least one, but few families have more than two; in the central village the average is about 1.2 per household. Pigs are given special care and attention. 231 434

231 Before a piglet is bought, its feeding habits are carefully observed by
[417] the buyer to determine future growing potential. It is then kept in a sty: pigsties are either in the yard near the house or in a cluster of stables on the north edge of the town. Twice a day women cook the food in large kettles and ladle the liquid food into a trough. Nowadays
[262] pork is rarely consumed in the village except for special holidays, when several families may slaughter pigs and sell part of the meat to every-
[438] body through the local store or preserve some of it by salting. Most
[251] farmers, however, wait for the meat buyer from the southern part of
[442] the island from whom they receive a good financial return.

Goats are raised for home consumption. They are never left to graze
[417] but are quartered in a goat pen near the pigsty and fed on grass cut from uncultivated land. Seven families in the central village have
[492] horses. Their main use is to carry firewood from the mountains. The small breed looks like a cross between a horse and pony and seems especially adapted to climb the steep trails. They are also used for plowing and for pulling two-wheeled carts. The owner of a horse
[434] may more than double his income from forest work. Horses are fre-
[427] quently rented out for half the day's income from wood carried by them.

Silkworm raising, an important source of income in Taira before the war, is only now being resumed by some Tairan families. The
[474] larvae are supplied through island-wide silkworm raising associations, which repurchase the cocoons after they are spun. To raise silkworms, a substantial house is needed so that rats cannot enter and eat the worms. The temporary postwar structures with holes and cracks in the walls and roof are inadequate. Only a few recently built houses can be used. One family keeps growing worms on shelves in the front room.
[137] Most of the mulberry trees were lost during and after the war. Plans have been made to plant new trees. Young girls feed the mulberry
[462] leaves to the gluttonous worms who require constant attention. When the worms are ready to create their cocoons, they are taken off their diet, and the cocoons are cleaned and sorted out. Silkworms can be raised four times a year if there is an adequate supply of mulberry leaves. Their sale brings a good income, which can become a substitute
[434] for cash earned in forest work.

FISHING

226 Fishing is a much less important source of livelihood than one would
[554] expect in a coastal village and is a low-prestige occupation. Only two

director with assistants and clerks. The clerks are always young people just out of school who receive nominal wages in return for a seven-day work week. The township office employs as janitor a girl who keeps the office in order, serves tea at any time during the day, washes dishes, and helps to cook meals for entertaining. Her family owns one of the largest houses in the central village and more land than most others. No social stigma is attached to her job; in fact, most Taira girls would consider it a privilege to exchange their mountain work for her kind of employment even though they would earn no more. Another girl, employed by the local "doctor" as nurse and maid, lives with the family, eats with them, and sleeps with their children. Only one farmer employs a hired hand, a man from another township.

Among others living on a salary is the postmaster. His father held the same office, and his son is now trained to succeed him as the third in line. The rice miller, a man from outside the village and married to a Taira woman, and the "doctor" also depend for most of their incomes on specialized services. The latter owns his dispensary and small hospital. He receives some financial support from the township government. His services to people are compensated for either in cash or kind. Patients who are unable to pay at once will bring rice to his house after the harvest. These remunerations, pig raising, and other side activities make him, along with the rice miller and the postmaster, the wealthiest person in Taira. Local male school teachers also own fields, to which they give time in the afternoons and Sundays to help their wives.

The priestess and her assistants, although they are religious specialists, are not paid in money for their services. They participate in daily work like the rest of the village. Only when performing services outside the community is the priestess paid a small fee. Within the village she receives the food and sake which are offered in the ceremony, whether she is called by a family or prays at the village shrine on a general holiday.

DIVISION OF LABOR BY SEX AND AGE

Men and women are equal partners in everyday economic activities, both in agricultural and forest work. Only a few occupations are clearly differentiated by sex: fishing, the handling of horses, and the carrying of night soil are done exclusively by males; housework and the care and feeding of pigs predominantly by women. Some agricultural work is considered too heavy for women, for example, the turning of the

462 heavy sods in the rice paddy; nevertheless, women and younger girls
[241] often do this work along with the men and boys if time runs short. There are some women who prepare their farm land without the help of their husbands.

[313] In mountain work, women produce almost as much as men except that they do not handle the large logs. Even pregnant women make
[843] three or four daily mountain trips, sometimes up until the day of childbirth. Only the mode of carrying wood, like any load, differs for
[482] the sexes: a man uses a carrying stick supported on his shoulder, with two bundles attached to each end; a woman carries bundles on her back, tied and held in place by a tump line tied over her forehead. Women can carry loads of 100 to 120 pounds in this manner.

[312] Men seldom carry water from the tank or faucet to the house; this is considered women's work, although younger boys are expected to
241 help at times. Work in the potato fields is mainly women's respon-
462 sibility. Their hands are also preferred in rice transplanting, where dexterity is needed in pulling out the tender shoots from the seed bed and replanting them in straight rows at measured intervals. Occasionally a young man helps, and boys sometimes try to work along with their sisters when they learn transplanting. Both men and women sow
462 the seed beds. In special activities, such as house building, a more dis-
[342] tinct division of labor can be observed. In any building activity, men do the structural work and women carry materials and cook for the
[653] men. The same division of labor is found on community projects, road building, fencing against wild pigs, or repairing the water pipes. In general, however, no special comment is made if either a man or woman performs work usually done by the opposite sex.

887 Men and women work in the fields and forests from ages 15 to 60.
462 When they approach 60, men like to "retire." If possible, they turn over their responsibilities as household heads to their eldest sons. From
[464] then on, they tend to stay home more and more. They can still help with less demanding work, making bamboo rings for firewood bundles, sawing wood, or doing odd jobs around the house. Approaching old age, most men become economically useless and in other ways contribute little to society. For old women, quite the contrary is true. Even grandmothers who are well over 60 seem strong and active. Most of
[241] them go to the fields to plant or harvest potatoes or other vegetables. One woman, well into her sixties and bent over from arthritis, took long walks to distant potato fields, with a heavy load of slips or potatoes in a basket on her back, a hoe on top of it, supporting herself on a
[855] stick. Other grandmothers look after the youngest children, thus freeing the mother for work. Old women also cook, help bundle firewood,

and look after the sick. Even if they are too old for any work, like two oldsters over 80 years, they can still hold the youngest grandchild. Two exceptional old men, brothers of almost the same age, pass their time by making rope bags and mats from the fiber of the fan palm. Both are active as financial experts, investing money here and there and lending it for high interests in various shrewd transactions. 887 462 855 285 454

INFORMAL AND FORMAL COOPERATION

Cooperation plays a prominent part in Taira economy. Assistance is always given for major tasks, such as preparing grass land for farm use or house building, or for work which must be done quickly, such as transplanting rice or harvesting and milling sugar. In fact, since wet rice cultivation depends on assistance in any culture that works its paddies by hand, it is noteworthy that the term *iimarû*, used in Taira for labor exchange in planting and harvesting, is also extended to other mutual assistance. The term, literally translated, means "gathering by rotation." A family who plans a project that needs the help of others makes an informal arrangement with relatives or neighbors to help for one or more days. This is simply done by notifying individuals that such help is needed. No one, unless he has urgent reasons, would refuse to comply with a call for assistance. If it is a small task, a few close relatives are asked. In most larger undertakings, it is the neighborhood group that lends a hand. These mutual-assistance groups usually form within the central village and within each of the geographical clusters of the outlying village, although close relatives from other parts of the community may be called. However, the most recent arrivals in Taira, all present members of one family line who have the same surname, act jointly in reclamation of neglected fields to strengthen their economic position. 476 241 621

Return services are expected, but nobody would admit that there is any thought of equal compensation and would not even joke about the matter. There is a strong feeling that calculated thinking is unseemly not only among relatives but also among unrelated neighbors. One man, when asked what would happen if a person refused to comply to a request for help, answered, "There is no such dirty person, and if there were one, he would be an outcast." During the rice planting season, persons helping in another's fields will shortly be helped themselves. In housebuilding, a long time may pass until those who aided will need aid in return. 476 241 577

Except for people over 56, pregnant women, and mothers of chil- 653 464

782 in her house until a male can assume the responsibility for them. The
562 propitiation of the natural deities is lead by the village priestess—and
[769] she is assisted by a group of women.

Taira women are essential to the financial well-being of the family.
562 Their role in both agriculture and lumbering is equal to that of the
●462 men. Since there are few kinds of work which women cannot do and
592 do not engage in, a widow or single woman, although handicapped, can
[589] support herself and her family. Several women, whose husbands died during World War II or who have been divorced, support themselves and their children. One Taira woman supported her four children while her husband left for Japan to help a sick brother. She worked the household fields and sold fish. Her husband, who was expected to return after three weeks, remained away for six months. Once or twice he wrote his family to ask for money; his wife and sister obliged. Even old women remain active members of the family. They contribute to the household economy by working in the potato fields, cutting firewood, and doing other useful work around the house.

Such economic independence gives women a place in the family
593 which cannot easily be challenged by a male who theoretically can
562 claim preferential treatment. Perhaps a man is more dependent on his
[462] wife than she is on him. Men never cook. They expect the womenfolk to look after house affairs. A wife, although she does not usually own the land on which she works, has the same rights as her husband to the village forest lands. There she cuts firewood like the men, cooperating with the husband in preparing it for sale. Most of all, pig raising is her concern, and this gives her an important hold on the purse strings.

There is no uniform rule as to who keeps the money in the family. In some households the husband takes care of all financial matters and hands over small sums of money to the wife for daily use. In these
[156] families it is either found that the wife does not contribute heavily to subsistence or that she is from another village and is somewhat intimidated by her husband and unable to find security in having relatives close by. Such women are meek or at least restrained and solicitous of their husbands.

There are numerous cases, however, in which women handle all money affairs. In one such home the husband is a township official. His wife, although from a distant village, is a forceful character and follows economic pursuits independent of her husband. He is glad to let his wife handle finances, although he retains ultimate control over them. The more common situation, however, is almost equal responsibility in economic matters between the sexes. Where this is the case,

844 kimonos, and diapers. He is placed under the blanket next to the
[853] mother and given a gauze nipple dipped in tea and sugar to suck, which is often his only food for as long as two days if lactation is slow. Meanwhile the afterbirth is wrapped in straw and left under the floorboards in the kitchen to await the outgoing tide.

846 Tea is now served in the front room, and the birth is discussed by
593 the women who assisted. On one such occasion, the father and grandmother showed a little boy whose sister had just been born a great deal of affection. The father held the boy in his lap, and both adults told him that he was now a big brother.

844 At the first hour of the outgoing tide, old women—the grandmother
851 of the baby, relatives, and neighbors—wrap the afterbirth in rice straw
156 and bury it in a specified place outdoors behind the hearth. The purpose of the ceremony is to ensure that the child will be happy and sociable. To the accompaniment of laughing, loud clanging of pots and covers, and calling to each other, the women circle the house. When the burial is completed, they chant loudly, "May this baby al-
[152] ways laugh and be pleasant." A stone is then placed over the burial mound so that the infant will not be frightened in his sleep, an emotion which is inferred from the jerking of a young infant while asleep.

852 Until about 10 years ago a ceremony was performed by descendants
565 of noble families from Shuri over the newborn to ensure success in his
462 future role. For boys, a winnowing basket was propped up against a hoe on which a clump of soil and grass rested. While the father's mother
[178] held the child in one arm, she shot an arrow with a bow into the basket. This act was to make certain that the child would become a good hunter (provider) as well as a successful farmer. The grass on the hoe
[286] symbolized strength. A girl, on the other hand, received a miniature loom constructed especially for such occasions, which was to assure her success as a weaver of cloth. A spool of banana fiber was presented along with the loom.

852 There is a story that long, long ago an infant was born on the beach.
565 Immediately after he was born, as he still lay on the sand, a crab
538 crawled over his chest. This infant grew up to be a strong, famous man. Shuri descendants still have a custom of grandmothers holding a newborn boy in their laps and releasing a small crab, which scurries over the infant's chest. These practices, however, are absent in central Taira now and are rarely found in the outlying settlements of predominantly Shuri descendants.

846 Formerly mother and child were confined to the darkened delivery
178 room next to the kitchen and at the rear of the house for seven days, while an open fire was kept blazing in the brazier near the mother.

855 ends swinging in the air, and dropping the huge knife in a careless
857 fashion on the floor near her. Suddenly there was the sound of a crying
[285] baby and her eldest girl appeared with the 8-month-old on her back. Unstrapping the baby, the girl plopped her onto her mother's lap. Instinctively the mother pushed the basket, bamboo slats, and knife away as she unbuttoned her blouse to nurse the baby. When the baby had had its fill, the mother called to the little caretaker to come and carry her. The older child called out that she was going to get a drink of water and disappeared around the house. She entered through the back and called to the baby to come. The baby crawled over but was attracted on the way by the big knife. Instantly the mother snatched it away, and the baby started to move toward the sharp pieces of bamboo. In desperation the mother picked up the baby and called crossly to the girl to come immediately. The older child obeyed, and the baby was strapped onto her back. "Now go and play somewhere," instructed the annoyed mother.

855 Another instance of similar nature took place in the frontyard of a
863 place which that day was the scene of "house playing." A grandmother watching the activity decided to let the year-old baby on her back down to join in the play. "Eh, go and play with your older sisters," she smiled and said to the child as she put her gently down on the ground. The child started to crawl over to the group but stopped and sat very quietly staring ahead for a minute. The grandmother, who had disappeared into the house, reappeared. "A-yah!" she exclaimed as she looked down to see the baby scratching the damp earth about her. The baby had urinated and was puddling about so that in that brief instant she had thoroughly soiled herself as well as her clothing. Grumbling and scolding, "Dirty, dirty!" she picked up and carried at arm's length the baby, who was smiling and gurgling. The old woman cleaned the baby at the water barrel and, dressing her in clean clothes, promptly put her on her back again.

855 The only children who were allowed to crawl about were the sons
184 of two fishermen. Fishermen's wives, compared to the farmer-woods-
462 men's wives, have a great deal more leisure time. They buy their potatoes and rice with money from the sale of fish. The men send their catch to the market via the bus, so their wives, except when they accompany a catch to the city, have only to care for the house and a pig and are free to watch their children as they crawl about.

854 In summary, the infancy period is characterized by consistent nur-
155 turance. Mothers, grandmothers, and child baby-tenders are helpful and demonstrative in their affection. That they value such behavior is further evidenced by their conscious teaching of young children to

In the houses of first sons there are family altars upon which memorial tablets of family ancestors are placed. Children from these homes are told that their deceased grandfathers are now divine beings and are watching them. In one such family a 4-year-old boy was told by his mother that, since he was naughty, the divine ancestor would punish him. She pointed to the picture of his deceased grandfather and the memorial tablets on the altar. The little boy looked up to the shelf and then to his mother. "That's only a memorial tablet," he said sneeringly. 861 778 769

Not many children are as skeptical as this 4-year-old. A hunchbacked storyteller sometimes comes to Taira. This man is a preacher for a Japanese sect which combines Japanese nationalistic teachings and concepts of proper conduct and healthful living with a belief in a supreme being. He appeals to children and reinforces the belief in the sanctioning power of God. Occasionally a Christian missionary visits the village, and the children look forward to his bible readings, which also reinforce the belief. In addition, the children of the two Christian families help to caution others, warning of divine omnipresence and knowledge. 861 776 177

Shaming and ridicule as techniques of socialization are used to a fair extent. An older child's shortcomings may frequently be compared with a younger's achievements. However, some form of verbal lashing is usually accompanied by direct physical punishment, whether it be merely a slap on the buttocks, a crack on the head, or a whipping. 861

Several mothers summed up their flexibility in handling their children by saying, "I have so many children and it seems that each one is different in some way. For some children one thing works and for others you have to think of other ways. You cannot scold this one because she is so sensitive. The boy you cannot scold because he would get so angry he would not be able to understand the wrong he did."

Nevertheless, it is important to point out that mothers in Taira, for the most part, do not spend as much time with their children as do their counterparts in a more wealthy village. Their work day is long and strenuous. They return home exhausted and impatient. During the long rainy spells, when work in the fields and mountains is impossible, mothers have to stay home more often than usual. At such times they manifest an irritability with respect to the numerous demands children make upon them that can be attributed partly to the fact that their long absence from home during a normal work day makes them forget children's cravings for attention; the loss of income during bad weather just increases their impatience. 861 462 [184] [152]

no longer one of the "senseless" by praise for responsible behavior. 866
After a relatively brief period of fairly consistent verbal reward, however, parents assume the attitude that chores are not voluntary but compulsory, and they begin to pay more attention to omissions—reminding, threatening, and checking up on the children. Although punishment is rather inconsistent, a child of 9 or 10 finds his chances of escape very slim if he fails to be responsible. But if he carries out some task spontaneously, he may find himself amply rewarded. Children generally seem to react more responsibly to school duties than home duties. This may be because teachers utilize peer group [861] control to elicit responsible behavior by rewarding and punishing in the presence of the whole class.

Girls assume caretaking of younger siblings earlier and more seriously than boys. A 6-year-old girl may be entrusted with a younger 857 sibling during a whole afternoon. A boy, looking after a younger 866 child, is more likely to abandon or neglect his charge than a girl. 855 In families where there are several children of caretaking age, each is assigned a specific share of time. Inevitably the girls find themselves with the greater or entire portion of this duty, for the boys either simply refuse or evade assuming their share. This shirking of duty is partly supported by the mother, who, by her failure to enforce assignments, displays passive acceptance or approval of the boys' actions. A girl, however, invites censure not only from her mother but also from other girls for similar actions.

The most important factor in differential treatment of boys and 857 girls is a cultural one. Most of the tasks or chores assigned to both 858 are, on the adult level, performed by women. Cutting and gathering 462 grass for horses and goats is men's work, but mopping floors, tidying and sweeping yards, fetching water, cleaning lamps, caring for chickens and pigs, and looking after children are all tasks that are "women's work" in Taira village. It is therefore evident that girls derive some intrinsic reward from them, whereas they may be intrinsically punishing for boys.

The difference in parental expectation with regard to children's 857 increasing responsibility with age is reflected in these selected answers 866 from interviews with mothers to the question: "What chores do you expect your child to do?" The mother of a 5-year-old boy said: "His work is to play down at the beach. But his older brother (11 years) is such a big help. . . . If I am busy, I may ask him to feed the pig, watch H. (baby sister) or clean the house, fetch water or wood, and Y. will do it without saying anything." The mother of another 11-year-old boy put it this way: "His job is to see to it that the chickens are

[Kanegusuku]

time of the author's stay in the village there was no individual or family which could be classified as rentier. 427

Changes Effected by the War War-caused changes in the distribution of land holdings among the various households were considerable. Many of the land-rich houses, if such a term may be used where the "richest" has but eleven acres, are such today because of the war, and conversely some houses have become impoverished or had their resources severely strained because of it. Unlike many other communities Kanegusuku was fortunate in that only about 4% of its total land area was permanently ruined as a result of the war. Some land was lost to a road, but most of the loss was due to a small military camp (about company size) now converted into a tuberculosis sanatorium. Since land holdings are usually fragmented and scattered, no one family lost all its land, though one family lost nearly one-half and several approximately one quarter. The loss to the sanatorium is not compensated for by jobs for Kanegusuku people since no villager is employed there. This is explained by the fact that the director is from Itoman; so "naturally" he could not be expected to hire Kanegusuku people. 621 423 177 727 [186]

The composition of the household has changed in many homes since the war as a result of the large number of deaths. Today a number of households consist of the usual nuclear family of husband, wife, and their offspring plus a related "broken" family such as widowed sister and her children or widower brother and his children or parent and unmarried siblings. In most cases the holdings of both families are pooled and the household functions as a single economic unit, though separate purses are sometimes maintained. There are several old people who live alone in their houses, but they are usually watched over by near relatives. 621 592 177 727

The richest landowner (eleven acres) in the village today was a second son in very moderate circumstances before the war. As a second son he was given by his parents to childless relatives for adoption. During the war his adoptive parents died, leaving him their entire estate. The war also caused the death of his real father and elder brother, leaving him the sole heir to their property. He has since married a woman who as the surviving member of her family is heiress to its property. Consequently, this house now holds the land of three families. The villagers are somewhat envious, but they say that misfortunte may result since this house now must make the ritual observances to the ancestors of three families, which is felt to be too great a task for anyone, and inadequate attention may lead to calamity. 621 586 727 [769]

The women who were widowed by the war and who have chosen to maintain separate households have had in most cases a difficult time of it, and particularly those widows without grown sons have been hard pressed. Farming an irrigated field is said to be impossible for a woman alone; therefore, most of them have had to rent out their rice lands, thereby losing much of its return. It is also very difficult for a house which contains only women to participate in reciprocal labor exchanges, since two days of labor by a woman are equated to one day of labor by a man. 621 589 727 [462] [427] [476]

2. Military Employment

W. P. Lebra

464 An important factor in contemporary Okinawan life is the large number of people engaged in military employment or in subsidiary occupations. Over [177] twenty-five percent of the total Okinawan labor force is so employed, and their day-to-day contact with Americans has far-reaching implications for Okinawan-American relations. It is also a factor of prime importance to the Okinawan economy.

In studying and visiting a number of Okinawan communities the authors noted a considerable variation in the importance of military employment to the community, the role of those so employed in village life, and the attitude of the villagers toward these people.

621 727 Kanegusuku The farming village of Kanegusuku was less affected than most communities by the war and subsequent occupation, little land was ruined, no military installations are in the area, and the majority of villagers are attempting to carry on as before the war.

621 464 Out of a total population of 507 persons, constituting 103 houses, there are but twenty men employed outside the village. Of these twenty men, seven are directly engaged in military employment and eight more are employed by civilian construction companies engaged in military construction. These individuals commute from the village each day to the greater Naha area. In most cases these men come from houses which have insufficient land for mere subsistence, or they are younger sons who are without land and/or who have not married and set up households of their own. Several are newcomers to the village since the war.

621 464 166 In the past a few who have secured jobs in military establishments or in subsidiary employment have left the village and established temporary residence in the city or near the camp. One of the motivating factors for making the move is a monthly saving of ¥600 ($5.00) in bus fares, but certainly another and perhaps stronger motivation has been the desire to escape the dreary life of the farm village. These people say that they do not wish to return to the village; yet, they have retained their land as an insurance 621 464 829 against job loss. Most do not seem to regard military employment as a permanent career. They hope to save enough money to establish a small business or at the last resort to return to the village and buy more land.

Villagers regard those who have been able to secure military employment as rather fortunate individuals. In most families the additional income [511] is most welcome as it provides a standard of living considerably above subsistence farming. In the case of those families where the husband or house- [462] hold head is employed outside the village the wife usually farms the family vegetable plots.

621 464 In most cases those who are engaged in military employment, or in any employment outside the village, do not play an active role in village affairs.

Since the war, the old narrow one lane roads have been broadened, permitting heavier auto traffic. Land ownership has been undisturbed, for it is not in an area in which the military has required land. Since the war, the villagers have tried to return to their former way of life, but this has been done with poorer houses and fewer possessions. 363 403 511

3

Minatogawa

Minatogawa, the second village studied, formerly was a shoe string type of settlement. Houses, shops, drinking places were along the seawall road. This pattern is now altered as a result of the war. Scattered areas have been relocated and houses built on lands formerly used for sweet potatoes. It is now an indeterminate type of village, retaining some indications of its old settlement pattern along the main road, with additions of clusters of houses in the newly settled areas. 361 [275] [311] [244]

Like Hanashiro, this village is in Gushichan township, and located on Highway 64. It is directly on the main historical road, previously mentioned, which led from Naha to the Chinen peninsula. The road, along which its houses are built, parallels for a distance the estuary of the small Minatogawa river. This narrow estuary, called Usaregawa, which connects the river mouth with the Pacific Ocean, and the small river itself (Yuhigawa) is a boundary between Gushichan and Tamagusuku townships. On either side there are steep cliffs, the sites of the best known stone quarries of Okinawa. 361 133 [491] [316]

The settlement and the adjoining lands have an area of about 256 acres. It is a mixed economy village with three distinct occupational groups: fishermen, stonecutters, and farmers. There is a second village whose borders blend with those of Minatogawa. These two villages are now known officially as Minatogawa-ikku and Minatogawa-niku. The two terms can be awkwardly translated as Minatogawa first ward, and Minatogawa second ward. But popularly they retain their older names: Minatogawa for the fishing village, and Nagamo for the agricultural second ward. These two separate but adjoining villages were until 1925 a single village. 621 463

The division was the result of distinct differences in outlook and occupation between the two sections. Minatogawa is a fishing village and has strong ties with Itoman, a town on the East China Sea shore about 4 1/2 miles away. Nagamo is an agricultural community originally settled from Naha and Shuri. Stone-cutting operations spread over both areas. While the fishing village of Minatogawa was given the emphasis in this study, it will be necessary occasionally to include Nagamo in the discussion.[8] [226] [241] [324] [128]

8 The writer did not realize until he lived here that two villages were involved, thinking that the two wards referred to a single administrative unit. By this time the work on Hanashiro had been well started, and time did not permit the intensive study of Nagamo. 114

standing. At one time, the Hinatogawa beaches were seriously considered for the initial landings in Okinawa, and later as a possible second landing. After the campaign for the south had begun, Hinatogawa became a forward loading point.[10] The present village has been completely rebuilt, and the newer buildings, with few exceptions, are frail and undistinguished. The war shows its effects, too, on the southern part of the village where there is a barren acreage, formerly the site of an army camp, its top soil so shallow that the bulldozers in levelling it soon reached the rock beneath.

Nearby Nagamo is a village of a different type. It is divided into two distinct quarters, also a result of the war. The old part formerly was to the north in the main stonecutting area, but following the destruction, a new settlement was started in the farm land a few hundred yards south. Cultivation is marginal on the shallow soil of the sloping valley before it descends into the flat coastal area in which the fishing village is located.

Hinatogawa, which means River Port, is a distinctive village reminiscent of the famous fishing town of Itoman, though without its size, beauty, or color.

4

Matsuda

Matsuda is a here-and-there type of village. The village area including the community owned forest is over a square mile. The countryside is dotted with several small sub-settlements. Within each sub-settlement, the houses also are scattered about and separated from one another by large trees, thick growths of shrubbery, grasses, stone fences, and cultivated fields.

The village is located in Ginoza township (Ginoza-son) on the northeast side of the island. This township is in the northern district (Kunigami, or Yambaru). The village is on Highway 13, which winds along the northeast coast through Ishikawa, Kin, Kanna, and Ginoza villages.

Though near the sea, a typical site of a northern Okinawan village, it is a settlement engaged in agriculture and forestry. Its name suggests its nature. Matsuda is a compound of the characters for pine tree, matsu, and rice field, ta, da. Though there is some fishing in the sub-settlements along the Pacific shore, it is casual and a part time occupation for farmers on the coast. The families exclusively

[Text continues TOP of P. 55--Analyst]

10 The statistics on village destruction are taken from accounts of the villagers. They are estimates. For operations in this area, see Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 68, 74, 426-27, 436, 439.

326 463 engaged in fishing are permanent or transient families originally from Itoman, a place name which comes up whenever fishing is mentioned anywhere in Okinawa. Agriculture and the care and utilization of the community forest make up the significant economic activities of the village.

162 Matsuda had a population of 1370 individuals (604 male, 766 female) as of November 30, 1951. There were, at this time, 243 households, an average of 5.6 persons per household. The village is said by local residents and antiquarians to be about 600 years old. If the age is correct, it must be one of the older settlements in northern Okinawa. Before the war, this village was known as Kochiya.

173 Matsuda also has its lore regarding shipwrecks and foreigners. There are old men who believe Perry's party came to the village and that they left carvings on the top of a picturesque rock in the Burushii district along the coast, a not unbelievable story since the explorers certainly were not far from here.

Near the seashore, but in a very remote area, there is a natural bridge, concealed by large trees. Roots of the banyan grow through the thirty or forty foot drop from the top of the bridge until they find root in the soil below. On a ledge under this bridge, there are two old and open boxes which were used to collect the skulls and bones of unknown persons. Locally it is believed that they are the remains of shipwrecked sailors, possibly Hollanders. There are still 25 or 30 skulls there, and many of the bones are scattered on the ground. The place is seldom visited.

361 133 The village rests on low rolling hills. The combination of the hills, the depressions, the caves and the sinks give the topography an uneven almost rugged character. There are few flat places and these are seldom wide. They are the narrow meadows or valleys between the hills. The hilly nature of the surroundings determines to a large extent the manner of cultivation, and historically probably has had much to do with the shapes of the individual parcels themselves. One does not see in this area the plains or small valleys with rice cultivation that is observed in Haneji township near Nago or around the island of Ū in Tamagusuku township, or even in the Hanashiro area of Gushichan township. In these communities, the normal pattern of cultivation is that the rice is on the lowlands, with the slopes and upland areas devoted to sugar cane, the sweet potato, or other crops, or left to native grasses. Here in the hundreds of small hills, all of these may be observed in close proximity, hard work and minute tillage comprising with the topography.

361 311 The village is subdivided into several distinct areas: (1) the main part of the village where most of the houses, the village office, the small stores, the rice mill, the sawmill, the power plant, and the barbershop are located, (2) a reclaimed area known locally as the kaikon, newly settled and with a different type of land use due to the poorness of the land and to the fact that it is a deforested area, (3) a district near the sea coast and along the sea with scattered settlements, isolated houses, and some cultivation, and (4) the forest lands, which in the

Co-operation often takes the form of a division of labor. In building an elaborate permanent house with cement foundations, siding, plank flooring and a tile roof, greater skills than the handyman techniques of a smaller house are required. In the building of a house, men with special skills, such as a carpenter, a cement mixer, a stonecutter, or a mason participate; others bring lumber and wood from the mountains, as in Matsuda, or lay the grass on the tile roof. In some cases, all the labor may be donated; in others, the carpenter, the cement mixer, the stonecutter may be hired, with helper's work done by volunteers. In simpler construction, the carpentry may be done by anyone who has this secondary skill but is primarily a farmer or a fisherman. People who have those skills are said to have half and half occupations (hannohangyō in Japanese).

7

Housebuilding Ceremonies

In building, a distinction is made between a temporary and a permanent house. A temporary house may be built following a typhoon or a fire, or it may be constructed for a poor man and in fact be a permanent house for the family, the good house to come being more an aspiration than an early reality. The marks of a permanent house are construction with beams, instead of poles, good siding, a good roof, now mostly of tile, a design based on mat size, and a cemented kitchen. Housebuilding ceremonies and celebrations apply only to the permanent house.

Ceremonies or observances during stages in the building of a house differ from place to place and among people in the same village. In Matsuda before the house is started, the owner, his friends, and neighbors gather and offer a prayer that the house be a good and a happy one. Before construction, and once each year following completion, rice cakes (mochi in Japanese) and sake are placed in each of the four corners of the house site. Three rice cakes are put on the smallest of three saucers which fit into one another. Two of these saucer sets with the rice cakes, together with a sake bottle and a small cup are placed on a tray. The east, north, west, and south corners are visited in that order. Sake is poured from the flask to a small cup. There is a short prayer. A piece of white paper, attached to a stick of dwarf bamboo (Yanbaru take) about one foot long is burned. The sake is poured over the embers. The top rice cake is placed on the corner; the other two remain on the small plate. Prayers are offered for protection against the deadly snake (habu). The rice cake is then picked up. On the next corner, the ceremony is repeated.

When the ridge pole is put up, the carpenter prays that there will be no injuries. Observances at the raising of the roof (muneage in Okinawan) seem to be universal in the villages. Three parcels, one of salt, one of bean paste, and one of charcoal are wrapped in a leaf--any will do--and these are tied with a string and suspended from the inner side of the crossbeam or from the ridge pole. There are no prayers at This Time.

62 villages studied, these frequencies of families with the same surname
614 are very high. The seat of these extended families of the Hinatogawa fishermen is in almost every instance the town of Itoman. The tombs
[764] of Hinatogawa are entirely different from those of the neighboring agricultural communities. They are small and temporary tombs for keeping remains that will later be removed to the large, often dramatically situated extended family tombs of Itoman. One resident of Hinatogawa aptly described his village as a "bunke (branch family) of Itoman."

463 This is an unusual situation and can not be fully explained except
62 by a study of Itoman and the smaller fishing villages scattered throughout Okinawa Island. One explanation might be that historically Okinawans
614 have been farmers, and that, while they are excellent fishermen, they have not as a people participated in large numbers in fishing, leaving this activity to definite groups, such as the people of Itoman town. The passing down of occupations of the father to the son, the infrequency of change in occupation, especially from agriculture to fishing, the establishment of daughter villages, such as Hinatogawa, might account for the fact that fishing is the occupation of a compact group of families who have intermarried and continued in their traditional occupations. Even in Matsuda, to the north, the temporary colonies of fishermen are either Itoman people or are their descendants. (There are of course a few local farmers who do some fishing). The close ties between Hinatogawa and its parent town of Itoman illustrate the persistence of occupational and social relationships over a period of two and a half centuries.

614 Certain exceptions to the usual practice in Hinatogawa accentuate the closeness of extended family relationships between Itoman and Hinatogawa. As an illustration, we may take the case of three related families in Hinatogawa who are not fishermen. The head of one family is a retired farmer, his son is a school teacher, and a third is a distant relative who is a stone cutter. These people, formerly members or descendants of members of the nobility, came from Shuri. The main house of their extended family is in Shuri. This contemporary extended family now has so many members that the places for reunions and meetings have been increased, since the site of the main house in Shuri, founded by the original ancestor, can no longer accommodate all the members. The places of worship are divided
[778] into the main place, (umuta in Okinawan) and intermediate places (nakamutu in Okinawan). Some of these secondary places of worship are in nearby Naha. The number of these cases is small compared with the closely knit ties of the fishermen's families with Itoman town.

In Matsuda, the extended family operates as it does in Hanashiro, the former town, there is an illustration of another point regarding the extended family system: the identity of a family name with a village name. Historically, the family took the name of the place; the place did not receive the name of the family. Though the situation is not clear, it
[565] would seem that when the king made grants of land to nobles that they adopted the name given by the king to the place, while commoners did not receive surnames, but were known by their household rank order — to be explained in Section 8. The village of Matsuda, for example, is the same

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1

Introduction

The basic occupation of the Okinawans has been and continues to be agriculture. The agricultural, not the fishing, wood gathering, or stonecutting community is typical. Fishing, stonecutting and forestry have been the occupations of certain villages or areas, or of certain groups within a village. This and the following chapter describe these ways of living. 463

Agricultural practices gathered from Hanashiro, Nagamo (to some extent), and Matsuda will be presented in this chapter. Hinatogawa has been omitted because it is primarily a fishing and stonecutting community, and there is nothing distinctive or unusual in its agriculture. This presentation avoids the repetitive description of similar activities that would follow from a discussion of each village separately. Significant differences, where they appear, will be mentioned, and in this manner, I hope, the identities of the individual villages will not be lost, despite the topical arrangement. 128

Okinawan agriculture is basically the story of four crops: rice, sweet potatoes, the soy bean, and sugar cane. Rice is a minor crop. Not all farmers grow it, and rice consumption rests both on homegrown products and imports. Individual farmers occasionally grow both to sell and for home use. Today it is less of a luxury than it was before the war because of the imports and the home grown crop. In Okinawa two crops a year are possible. 241 262 433 [439]

The sweet potato is the main crop. Cultivation continues throughout the year. Potatoes often are dug on a day to day basis as required for human or animal consumption. At any one time, the patches of sweet potatoes owned by a farmer may represent all stages of growth from a fresh transplanted field to a patch ready for digging. The sweet potato is the cheapest all purpose food, both for human and animal consumption. Okinawans tire of it because poverty enforces such frequent consumption. Since the war, the increased availability of rice for home use, and the opportunities of purchasing rice have relieved this complete dependence on the sweet potato. Among some families, though these are still few, the sweet potato has become the food of animals, with only select ones used at the table. But for the great majority the sweet potato still is the basic article of diet. It is cheap and easy to cultivate either by men or women. Little can be realized from its sale.

Soy beans are grown for home consumption. Making bean curd in the home is universal. Brown sugar is produced as a cash crop. Some is used in the home as a confection both for adults and children. [432] [263]

24 occasionally, but by no means universally used. This failure to use
514 night soil may vary from locality to locality, and from farmer to farmer. In my opinion, it has not the importance it has in China and Japan. Neither is night soil used as a food for pigs, though this seems to have been the case in some parts of Okinawa as late as
231 the 1920's.[2] But feeding human faeces to pigs was not observed in
514 any village.

24 Normally in certain parts of Matsuda, night soil is used, though
514 infrequently, in places near the house. It is not carried far. Applications are made to cultivated land and land not presently in use. In the Nagamo area, it is occasionally used on sweet potatoes and sugar cane. Night soil, gathered from the outside toilets, is
[247] allowed to dry out before being applied to fields. It is often placed around ornamental plants. The fresh liquid form, carried on
[482] the shoulder in two buckets on either end of a long pole, may be applied directly to the fields, ladling out a little of the liquid around
[463] each plant. The professional collector of night soil is uncommon in the areas visited. Only one instance was found. Two brothers, who hired themselves out, cleaned the toilets for Yen 130 per day, plus meals. They spread the night soil on the owner's fields. These two brothers served the Gushichan area.

In Hanashiro, night soil is used occasionally, and then, it was said, only by the old. Its main use was on sugar cane. As a general rule, in all the villages, night soil is most frequently used around plants already growing and around each plant individually, rather than mixing it with the soil when the field is being prepared. Its use on rice fields was not observed.

The sparing use of night soil is indicated also by the infrequency with which one meets its characteristic odor in the countryside. An observation of a traveller, almost 100 years ago, lends some
[114] credence to the thought that night soil has not been extensively used in Okinawa. "How night-soil is disposed of is not known; certainly it does not obtrude itself on the senses, as it does in China, nor is it
[117] applied in the same way."[3] In Hanashiro, the decline in use since the war was ascribed to American influences: the dangers to health, and the increased availability of artificial fertilizers.

241 (5) Commercial fertilizers. These are now substantial proportions of the expenditures of an Okinawan farmer. These fertilizers generally are broadcast over the rice and dry crop lands. The writers of a

2 Richard Goldschmidt, Neu-Japan, as cited, 135.

3 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, II, 35. The author was Dr. Green.

824 The most common of the Hanashiro trees are (1) the banyan or gajimaru, or yōzu. This tree is a common sight with its long roots growing around and through the stone fences. The tree with [731] its roots bracing the stone fences is excellent typhoon protection for the village. (2) The usuku (Japanese scientific name, the akou) resembles the gajimaru in appearance and serves the same purpose. The fukugi (Darcinia spicata Hook) and an occasional cycad are common windbreaks. These trees are almost invariably in combina- [417] tion with stone fences, made of blocks, or with fences made of loose stones which have settled and been bound together by small plant roots. Village typhoon protection is a simple but effective combination of stone, shrubs, and trees. There is also an occasional kuroki (kurchi in Okinawan), from whose trunk the samisen, the stringed [534] musical instrument, is made, and the palm (shuro).

There are wild plants in each of the areas but their importance has also declined. Among these is the pandanus (the adan, Japanese scientific name, the takonoki). This plant was plentiful before the war, but is now scarce except in the mountain area. It can occasionally be seen in genya land or in small clumps on an outcrop. The blades of the pandanus are long and hard, with a row of spines down both sides of the blade. It has had several uses. Formerly it was the common material for making slippers (zori), hats, cigarette cases, and hand- [463] bags. These home industries have all but disappeared, but old people [887] occasionally do a little. In preparing the pandanus blades for use, the thorns are removed and several strips are made. These are then boiled, dried, and smoothed out. Then they are woven into the desired pattern. A first class pandanus blade is about 5 feet long. In the [782] celebration of O-Bon, the fruit of the pandanus may be offered as food to the ancestors.

Another plant occasionally used is the getto, known also in Okinawa as sannin or muchigasa. Its chief use is in the festival of the 8th day of the 12th lunar month. At this time, rice cakes (mochi) are wrapped up in its long and wide and flexible fibres. These wrappings, often made by children, are hung from the ceiling or from the wall. The stem of this plant was much used in the past for rope.

824 The nigana (njana in Okinawan, Ixeris dentata Nakai) is still
262 used in this area as a food and medicine. It has an exceedingly bitter
757 root, about 1/8 of an inch in diameter in a mature plant. The root is put in hot water, and the liquid drunk as a stomach medicine. The leaves, not so bitter as the root, have a sour, slightly bitter taste. They are often served with the white cuttlefish (shiroi-ikka).

The ōbako (known in Okinawan as the hirawakusa or hirawagusa, Plantago Asiatica L, "Japanese ribwort") is used as a medicine and as a food. When vegetables are scarce, it is eaten as a green. As a medicine, the leaf is heated over a fire and the hot leaf is then pressed over a swelling.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

for eggs, which are reserved more for sale than as a food, though this varies with the well-being of the family. 235 262

10

Conclusion

182

The agricultural village, with its sweet potatoes, rice, soybeans and cane, its domestic animals, and its dependence on wild grasses illustrates the complex relationships between man and the land, bound together by the family system. The pattern of land ownership, a product of past land tenure, and inheritance, has been created by the family system. The land everywhere bears these traces of the work of man. Not even the barren mountain tops are exempt from his activities, for these supply the fresh grasses for his animals, grass for his roofs and for fertilizer, odd brush for his fires, stones for his fences and boundary ridges. The scarcity of land, the ownership of small scattered plots have induced a local care, through traditional conservation practices and fertilization and crop rotation to maintain a continued economic base for the future of the main and the branch families.

Within the family system, there is a tendency toward the persistence of the same occupation from generation to generation. [463] Agriculture has the widest range of possibilities. The extremely old and the extremely young can engage in it. There is a place for the 80 year old grandmother cutting sweet potato tops, and for the nine year old boy to help in weeding the rice paddy. [887] [857] Agriculture demands no retirement from work as long as one has physical strength. Agriculture may readily become a secondary occupation. A stonecutter or a fisherman can tend his land in leisure hours or in off season. The reverse is not nearly so common. Only with difficulty can the farmer acquire the skills and tolerances demanded of a fisherman. It is an occupation known to all, for by maturity a storehouse of information has already been filled, almost unconsciously, by watching and doing.

Part 1

Minatogawa, the Fishing Community

1

Introduction

Fishing families are a closely knit group. They are usually interrelated. For the most part, the main houses of their extended families are in the fishing town of Itoman. Fathers, sons, wives, daughters, grandparents participate in some phase of fishing activity. 226 [596] 607

In an agricultural community, the first son remains in the home working the fields of his father. In fishing, through long custom, there is an avoidance of teamwork among close relatives. Members of the immediate family will not go out on the same fishing boat. A father will not take his son, an elder brother will not take a younger. Partners and working teams on boats are more distant relatives or friends. If a father and a son are on the same boat and it is lost, the present and the succeeding head both perish. To this incontrovertible possibility, there has been added the belief that if two persons of the same immediate family go to sea together on the same boat, there will be a disaster. And actual and near disasters are frequent enough to make both points of view understandable. The sons of fishermen, who are learning the ways of the fish and of the sea, go on the boats of others. Many younger fishermen regard the belief that it is inviting disaster to have two members of the same immediate family together on the same boat as a superstition (meishin), but to my knowledge, no fisherman ignores the custom. 226 593 [183]

In Minatogawa, about one half of the fishermen have fields of their own, usually small and poor. Perhaps twenty men in the village may be classed as half farmers and half fishermen, but even in these cases it is the wives and the children who have the continuing responsibility for the fields. 226 241 [423]

Neither is it rare for a fisherman to be a stonecutter. Perhaps another twenty men are engaged in the summer in fishing, and in stonecutting in the winter, or on unfavorable fishing days. The three main occupations of the village, including Nagamo, are thus found in varying combinations. Fishing is the most exacting and offers few opportunities for amateurs. Stonecutting requires strength and endurance. For those who have land, agriculture offers possibilities of growing one's own food and of avoiding cash outlays. 226 324 463

In an average summer month, there may be about 20 good fishing days. But because of unusual or unexpected rains or typhoons opportunities may be fewer. In 1951, there were only about ten working days in each of the summer months. In winter fishing days average about a week in a 226 461 [132]

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During the primary and junior high school years, no exacting demands are made at home. Young girls after school strap the baby on their back and go out to play, or they may fetch water from the well, pond, or faucet, carrying it home in buckets hanging from a pole resting on their shoulders, or they may help in preparing the evening meal. Younger boys, 12 and over, help with feeding the pigs or run errands, but they have more leisure than the girls. There is night study at home, including practice on the abacus and reading to which the parents listen, correcting the errors. Formal education, for a large majority, ends with the completion of junior high school. 857 883 [482] [871]

As children grow older, they continue in off hours to help around the home, help which follows the lines of the male and female division of labor of adulthood. This is not a strict division, as there are many areas in which both sexes do common chores. In the agricultural villages, girls continue to help around the home, carry water, and hoe in the sweet potato patches. In the fishing village, they also carry water, help with the laundry, and start helping the older women in selling and distributing fish. The boys work more in the paddies. In the fishing village, they may make trips to the sea, but as a rule, this does not begin until later. [462]

For those who go to senior high school, there is a noticeable change from the earlier school experience. They enter at about 14 or 15 and remain in high school 3 years. It is a period of growing maturity, and the older they get the shyer they seem to become. Girl's hair is allowed to grow longer, perhaps to neck or shoulder length, less often in long braids, and the bangs remain. A big change takes place in the hair styles of the boys. The close clipped haircut is abandoned and the hair is allowed to grow long. Often it is not cut at all on the top, so that in two or three years, it has acquired considerable length. 873 856 302

The child who leaves school at the end of primary or junior high school is more quickly absorbed in the daily work life and traditional occupations of the family. The senior high school student has teaching, clerking, translating, or other white collar work in mind. The boy who leaves school earlier might drive a truck or a horse cart, or adopt the occupation of his father. This is likely to be a time killing period for those young men who live in the fishing village or whose families lack land. 463

6

Early Adulthood and the Engagement

In early adulthood and before marriage, a son of the house might be given a separate room or a small outlying shed which he fixes up for himself. The young girls, more and more, assume full time duties in the home, relieving the mother. Often the mother and her young daughter work together in the fields. These mature young girls also may take over the care of younger children. Young men from 17 on are 885 868

621 individuals give one day each year to forest maintenance and planting.
476 Twice during the year one day is given to cleaning up and repairing village roads and paths, to improve village cleanliness, and to reduce the danger from snakes. These clean-up activities, which take place in March, April and November, include cutting the grass and weeds along the roadside, cleaning off accumulated debris, and filling in ruts, holes, and rough spots.

621 The closest approach to village-wide co-operation in private
476 undertakings is in housebuilding. Regardless of the financial standing of the owner, whenever a new house is being built, there are volunteer
342 helpers from the whole village. This is the only area in which this co-operation exists. It does not occur in agriculture or at harvest times. Each day a different crew helps, but this assistance does not
[463] apply to the more specialized tasks. The skilled work on the larger new houses requires carpenters, masons, and tile setters. There is no rigid system of reciprocity nor does a villager keep a record of the days he has worked for the others and the days due him. Many who help already have substantial houses themselves and have no need of reciprocal aid. Following a custom in all the villages, when the
[594] building is finished, the owner gives a housewarming party, with plenty of sake and food. Both hired and volunteer workers are invited.

476 If we may judge by these villages, the Okinawan is individualistic in his approach to his work. Aside from the work on the roads and in the forests, help in emergencies, and the special case of housebuilding, the circle of mutual help is confined within the family or close associates. In no case, did the co-operation of a whole or a substantial part of the village extend to agriculture.

This preceding discussion does not exhaust the field of cooperative endeavor. The co-operative associations and mutual loan groups have already been discussed. Community organizations and neighborhood associations will be considered in Section 5. But these are either more restricted in membership or have a more planned organizational character.

571 In closing this discussion, a further point should be made to avoid misunderstanding. The farmer, fisherman, or stonecutter, the worker in the forest approaches his task as an individual. But group consultation and the sharing of responsibility in other activities is a positive characteristic of the culture. The principle of prior discussion, arriving at a decision acceptable to the group, is a conspicuous part of family life and is implicit in the family system. The same attitude appears in group and community organizations, and in the conduct, as we shall see, of village government.

4

Village Leadership

565
[727] The recent war brought about a levelling in village life. Before

565 553 A common device among noble families was to vary the second character of the Chinese compound which made up the given name. This custom still remains, but has no significance beyond individual family pride. The following case illustrates this naming device:

Relation to Present Head of House	Given Name
Grandfather	Chohyo
Father	Chokan
Present Head	Choyo
First Son	Choko
Second Son	Choshin
Third Son	Chokeii
Fourth Son	Chosei

554 Before the war, the village hierarchy consisted of the headman and retired elders and officials, the school principal and teachers if resident there, the well-to-do farmer, followed by the ordinary farmers or fishermen.[3] These distinctions are now blurred and have been affected by other changes. The school principal and the school teacher retain their prestige, but they have lost their relatively high economic status. Their clothing and the appearance of their homes are indistinguishable from those of a farmer. The ordinary farmer who works his field during the day and whose wife raises the pigs is in a better economic position. The same applies to village and township officials. Many distinctions based on wealth have disappeared because of the destruction and general [556] impoverishment of the war. Neither are distinctions possible in dress, for everyone wears makeshift clothing. Post-war circumstances have put the old at a disadvantage in dealing with new situations. Present day village life is fluid. The war and its aftermath have blurred many of the former distinctions based on age, occupation, or wealth.

621 208 Village leadership is based on individual qualities, but is limited by group opinion which all individuals respect. Decisions of any character, personal, familial, or political, emerge from consultation and discussion. One constantly hears the word sōdan, meaning a discussion or a consultation, with reference to decision making.

555 212 What types of individuals assume leadership in village affairs? First, leadership comes from a group that is literate. This limits the people available for responsible positions. Occupations such as the

3 According to old residents in Matsuda, there were in their youth, classes whose occupation made them inferior. Examples were bell ringers [461] ringers at funerals and pig killers. Pig killing is still considered [565] a low occupation, but this has no relevance to village life, for no [963] commercial slaughtering is done in the villages. In the villages, there is no suggestion of the existence of groups looked down upon because of their occupation, with the possible exception of a collector of night soil—and this occupation is infrequent.

313 which they use interchangeably. After sufficient trees have been cut and
[412] cleared of branches, a large bundle of firewood is carried to the village. Most forest workers make four or five trips a day into the hills—two or three during the hot summer season. As the afternoon ends, they sit down along the road in the village or nearby to prepare firewood
474 bundles. Pieces of wood are inserted through a bamboo loop of stand-
313 ard size, prescribed by the cooperative store, until a tight, uniform bundle is obtained. The last piece has to be driven into the bundle by force. All over the village one can hear the knocking of wood pieces
[592] which marks the end of a forest worker's daily labor. Each household works independently and sells firewood to the cooperative. A store
[436] clerk travels around the village in late afternoon, checks all bundles, and issues credit slips to each household; these can be changed into money at the store. The following morning the truck, owned by the
[438] cooperative, carries the firewood to Naha or Itoman where it is sold to a dealer who redistributes it to individual consumers or public bathhouses. The northern part of the island has always supplied firewood to the population of southern Okinawa to be used for kitchen hearths
[354] and bath stoves. In recent years kerosene kitchen stoves have become so popular that the depletion of wood resources tends to coincide with decreasing demand.

TRADES AND PROFESSIONS

● 463 Other ways of making a living exist. A few artisans in Taira derive part of their income from wage labor. A number of Taira men earn their living by carpentering, although they do most of their work in the south. They return occasionally when their services are needed for local house building. When working on local construction, they are
[465] paid in money, free lodging, and meals. There are also a few part-time resident carpenters who, whenever they are not employed in house building or repairs, spend their time farming and cutting wood. New
[342] buildings are usually put up between the beginning of the second rice crop and the New Year.

463 Several persons are salaried township or village officials. They are paid monthly and work a 44-hour week, not counting many extra meet-
466 ings and duties connected with their work. All office workers however
[647] have fields, either their own or those of their parents, where they spend Sundays helping in agricultural pursuits. During rice planting season, they are given special time off to attend to their fields.

Also among the salaried workers are store employees, a full-time

director with assistants and clerks. The clerks are always young people just out of school who receive nominal wages in return for a seven-day work week. The township office employs as janitor a girl who keeps the office in order, serves tea at any time during the day, washes dishes, and helps to cook meals for entertaining. Her family owns one of the largest houses in the central village and more land than most others. No social stigma is attached to her job; in fact, most Taira girls would consider it a privilege to exchange their mountain work for her kind of employment even though they would earn no more. Another girl, employed by the local "doctor" as nurse and maid, lives with the family, eats with them, and sleeps with their children. Only one farmer employs a hired hand, a man from another township.

Among others living on a salary is the postmaster. His father held the same office, and his son is now trained to succeed him as the third in line. The rice miller, a man from outside the village and married to a Taira woman, and the "doctor" also depend for most of their incomes on specialized services. The latter owns his dispensary and small hospital. He receives some financial support from the township government. His services to people are compensated for either in cash or kind. Patients who are unable to pay at once will bring rice to his house after the harvest. These remunerations, pig raising, and other side activities make him, along with the rice miller and the postmaster, the wealthiest person in Taira. Local male school teachers also own fields, to which they give time in the afternoons and Sundays to help their wives.

The priestess and her assistants, although they are religious specialists, are not paid in money for their services. They participate in daily work like the rest of the village. Only when performing services outside the community is the priestess paid a small fee. Within the village she receives the food and sake which are offered in the ceremony, whether she is called by a family or prays at the village shrine on a general holiday.

DIVISION OF LABOR BY SEX AND AGE

Men and women are equal partners in everyday economic activities, both in agricultural and forest work. Only a few occupations are clearly differentiated by sex: fishing, the handling of horses, and the carrying of night soil are done exclusively by males; housework and the care and feeding of pigs predominantly by women. Some agricultural work is considered too heavy for women, for example, the turning of the

'nuka'. The latter is fed to pigs, cows, and chickens. The rice polisher keeps the hulls (mumigara), but the farmers have free access to the hull pile should they want to use it for stuffing pillows. People in Kanegusuku do not usually pay in cash, but allow the miller to keep about six percent of the polished rice as multure. 445 [437]

Exchange of Services In order to lessen the amount of money used in transactions, rural folk resort to exchange of labor as much as possible. However, the exchange is based upon fairly rigorous ideas of reciprocity, and a person who has been helped is expected fully to return the favor. A Nanahan man built a house with a tin roof---the only one in the village---with the aid of his wife's brother, who was a carpenter. In return he spent a greater number of days aiding his brother-in-law in construction of a new house---paying back more days because of his comparative lack of skill. People envy the carpenter, who did not finish high school, but attended a four-month carpentry school instead. "He now makes more than a high-school graduate, and has four apprentices working for him." 476 [437] [463]

Okinawan youths very early learn the patterns expected in cooperative labor. The custom of iimarū is one of teen-aged boys' going around in a group to work the fields of the father of one of the boys, and moving on in turn to the fields of the other fathers. [393]

Some loosening of patterns of use of horse-drawn sugar mills was recorded. For instance, during the prewar period the dominant family in Nanahan had monopolized one particularly well-located press and boiling shed. Now they share its use with all the families living in the valley where the dominant family's 'honke' is located. [178] [249]

In Yamada mutual assistance through exchange of labor is called yiisē. For example, a farmer who wants to transplant rice gets help from among his relatives. One person comes from each family that can spare one, with the assurance that it will receive one person in return. If the labor cannot be returned for transplanting, the people owing a day may fill in with work on a dry field or aid in building a new house, and so forth. Thatching a roof with kaya grass is also yiisē, but it partakes somewhat of the nature of a 'moai', or mutual loan group. People from the whole village may come for this. They bring bundles of grass---one, two or three---and the amount is written down so that the same amount may be returned when that person's turn comes. The similarity to 'moai' may be only in the fact that there is a written record. [452]

The probationary adoption of a 'yōshi' may be considered a form of exchange of services. A man without an heir may take into his house a nephew, say the third son of his brother, with the intention of adopting him should the boy be serious and hard-working. If the boy should not prove amenable to the arrangement---one boy said, "I stayed with my uncle two years, but left because I wanted to get an education"---his labor is considered to have paid for the expense of keeping him. [597]

4. A Comparison of Land Tenure in Two Rural Villages: Kanegusuku and Kitazato

621 Kanegusuku The village of Kanegusuku is located in the southwestern cor-
[34] ner of Kanegusuku-son approximately three miles due south of Naha on the west coast, and it is immediately north of the town of Itoman. As is typical of the old Okinawan villages it is situated on high ground with all of its houses facing in a southerly direction. Aside from a detached cluster of eleven houses, the village houses are close together in
[121] a contiguous settlement. The village was selected for study because of its infrequent contact with Americans, relative lack of war damage, and a reputed antiquity and conservatism. As of December, 1953, the population was 507 persons forming 108 families occupying 103 houses. The present population is said to be about the same as before the war despite a 20% loss of life during the battle; this loss has been made up by repatriates from overseas and immigrants from other areas of Okinawa. The repatriates and some of the immigrants either had formerly resided in the village or regarded it as their ancestral home. There are nine families who were native to some other part of Okinawa before the war and have no previous connections with the village. The majority of the families have been in this village for
[592] many generations. There are approximately five persons in each household, which usually consists of a nuclear family, husband and wife and their children; but the composition of a number of households has been changed due to wartime losses.

Socially the village is segmented into eight lineages which con-
[613] stitute 92% of the total population; the remaining 8% is made up of unrelated families new to the village since the end of the war. One lineage includes nearly 61% of the village in its membership. Each of these lineages
[582] is related to lineages in other villages. Approximately 66% of the village marriages have been within the village, and nearly 50% of the marriages have been between persons of the same kin group. Thus, the composition of the village is fairly homogeneous, and both the community and the kin groups are strong cohesive units.

621 Occupation 98 of the 103 houses are engaged full time in farming;
463 the household heads of the five remaining houses are employed outside the village in non-agricultural pursuits although all participate in some part-
241 time farming. In addition to these five there were approximately fifteen young men, not household heads, who also worked outside. Most of these commuted daily to the greater Naha area where they were engaged in military employment or construction work. For the majority of villagers farming was the sole occupation.

621 Arable Land Over 66% of the total area of this village is under
311 cultivation, and about 38% of the cultivated land is in irrigated fields.
[434] The chief sources of income derive from rice and mats made from a sedge which is grown in an irrigated field. In terms of the average amount of
[136] arable land per household Kanegusuku is somewhat better off than the average for Okinawa: 1514.2 'tsubo' for Kanegusuku as compared with 1037.6 'tsubo' for Okinawa.

[Kanegusuku]

621 The group most dissatisfied with its lot today are the repatriates
423 from the former Japanese possessions. A few of these families were able upon
727 return to take up the lands left by relatives killed in the war or were given land by prosperous relatives, and four repatriate families are virtually landless. All of them, regardless of the size of their present holdings, chafe at their circumstances. One repatriate told the author that he had farmed nearly twenty-five acres in a single plot of sugar on Saipan and that he could never be satisfied with Kanegusuku after this. He is hoping that he will eventually be permitted to return to Saipan.

Before the war that segment of the village which possessed the least amount of land consisted almost exclusively of younger sons who had established branch families. Today this group has been augmented by repatriates from the former Japanese possessions and by emigrants from other Okinawan communities.

621 Farm Laborers During the course of the author's stay in Kanegusuku
241 there was only one full-time farm laborer in the village. This man came from
[463] one of the southern islands in the Ryukyus and was employed for less than a month. After his discharge, the former employer remarked that no outsider has enough interest in the lands of another family to make his employment worthwhile. Transplanting and harvesting rice place the heaviest labor de-
[857] mands upon the family; at these times virtually every member of the family
[476] works in the fields; even the grade-school children are given minor tasks, and the family labor force is supplemented by close relatives or neighbors in a reciprocal labor exchange.

829 Attitudes toward the Land One does not hear or see evidence of
554 any great love or attachment for the soil on the part of the Okinawan farmer.
463 In fact, quite the contrary seems true. Most regard their occupation as a
241 lowly one and feel that they are farmers because they know no other occupation. Land is of value because it provides a livelihood, nothing more, though some exception might be made for house land. Nearly all of the younger generation reflect the thinking of their fathers, and they are eager to get a good education (the diligence of even the average Okinawan student would strike the American teacher as amazing), secure a job in the town or city, and leave the drudgery of the farm village forever. Most
[433] farms are so small that they provide no more than mere subsistence for their cultivators; consequently, the young men see no sense in attending agricultural school when they will have little more than an acre to work. One young man from a fairly prosperous family in the village recently secured a job as a stevedore in Naha, and both he and his wife expressed their pleasure over what they regard as a definite improvement in their status. Though they have not sold the land which they own, they hope that it will never be necessary to return and farm it.

To a large extent this attitude toward the land and farming as an
[178] occupation is directly related to the economic and cultural changes taking place on Okinawa today; the city is an exciting place to live in and employment there is economically more advantageous than farming. Nevertheless, this seems in part the product of the old land system and the low, serf-like status accorded farmers under it. Some of the earlier visitors and officials

[Kanegusuku]
[Kitazato]

on Okinawa observed that the farmer took little interest in the care of land which he did not regard as his own. The author was particularly impressed by the contrast between Japan and Okinawa in regard to the care of land, for the meticulous care which the Japanese farmer lavishes on his land seems absent by contrast among the Okinawan farmers. 241 829 554 463 [171]

Kitazato The farm village of Kitazato in Kami Motobu-son presents a marked contrast to Kanegusuku in that it has suffered the loss of a major part of its area to a military installation. In studying the village of Kitazato the village of Kanegusuku was used as a base line for comparisons. To supplement his own observations the author has drawn heavily on actual statements by Kitazato people; in this way he hopes to present as accurately as possible the actual state of the village compared to villages elsewhere on Okinawa, and the villagers' own conceptualization of their circumstances. 621 [727] 121 621 [124]

Kitazato is not an old village, having been founded but seven generations ago by the younger sons of gentry families from the Naha-Shuri area. It was politically independent of the neighboring villages during the time of the old kingdom, but after the annexation it was administered in part by the villages of Gushiken and Jahana. In 1936 or 1937 it was established as an independent village, taking its present name. 175 621

Following their release from civilian internment camps the villagers returned to the site of their old homes shortly before New Year's of 1946. They found virtually their entire village land area converted into an airfield and accompanying military installations. According to their account there was considerable misunderstanding between them and the military as to where they might live, and they feel that they were subject to contradictory and inconsistent orders. Several moves were made which disrupted their plans to settle, and one villager stated, "I grew tired of rebuilding my house." In 1948 they were finally ordered to remove themselves from the military area, and they took up residence in their present location. It is claimed that there was insufficient land in the area to resettle the entire village on a single site; so, the village divided into three sections. Thirty houses were located on the beach between the villages of Gushiken and Shinzato, and this segment was given the name Hama. The remainder of the houses settled in the nearby hills from one to two miles away. Thirty-nine houses settled in the hills between the villages of Furushima and Jahana, taking the name Kijikina. Ten houses located themselves in the hills just north of Kijikina in a settlement which they called Anahana. These latter two, however, function as a single settlement for administrative purposes. These 80 houses making up the scattered village of Kitazato have a total population of 414. Despite their physical separation these segments have striven with considerable difficulty to maintain their political and social unity; one mayor and council serves them, and people are constantly visiting from one area to another. Today most of their land is gone, and they are too far removed from any city, town, or military installation (the airfield is abandoned) for employment. Extreme poverty and bitterness are one's first impressions of the village. 175 621 727 [964] [735]

178 In Kanegusuku, for example, mat weaving is still of some importance
286 as a home industry. Where formerly nearly all of the houses were engaged in
433 production of mats, today less than half are so engaged, and the acreage planted in sedge is but ten percent of the prewar level. The war caused the loss of many machines; increasing emphasis on food production has brought a conversion of sedge fields into paddies; access to the better markets in Japan is now more difficult than before the war; it is felt to be too time-consuming and the young women today do not like this work.

Formerly there were a number of men in Kanegusuku who were able to construct the looms used in mat weaving. Today, however, no one constructs his own looms; instead, they are purchased from a manufacturer in Itoman.
[463] This particular example is symptomatic of the general decline of do-it-yourself and the increasing reliance placed on specialists.

178 There are some encouraging signs of revival or new life in the manufacture of Okinawan art objects. Okinawan lacquer ware, which is acknow-
[322] ledged by some to be the world's finest, is being sold in large quantity to members of the occupation. The owner of a large pottery works in Naha told
[323] the author that pottery from tombs is being collected to serve as models in restoring an older style and superior type of pottery. An Okinawan textile
[286] technique known as biingata (Okinawan; in Japanese, 'Benigata') was virtually lost during the war, but this art is still being carried on by one Shuri family, and recent publicity and aroused interest seems likely to insure survival.

178 Power and Machinery Agricultural machinery has come into use quite
407 recently on Okinawa. Pitts states that the labor-saving rice thresher first came into widespread use in the thirties. Older methods of flailing or rubbing the rice over a mat, canvas, or stone surface were also observed as being in common use. In numerous instances it was brought out that wartime losses had necessitated a return to an earlier and cruder means of threshing.

The old-fashioned, hand-operated rice polisher has gone out of use in Kanegusuku, and all rice is now polished in the village rice mill which operates on a gasoline engine.

In many communities the gasoline-operated sugar mill has replaced the
[257] horse-powered mill. More important, however, is the fact that the small community mill remains popular, and the farmer is resistant toward using the large sugar factories (see chapter on Rural Economy).

178
377 Electricity, common only to the towns and cities before the war, is now found in many villages, and those who are without it are looking forward
[373] to its installation. The kerosene lamps now in use in most rural homes cast a dim light and constitute a serious fire hazard in homes of thatch and wood.

178 The bulldozer has come into use as a means of opening new land and
406 constructing rice fields. Farmers in Kanegusuku and Nanahan made use of this method during the period of the authors' study of these two villages. Formerly this sort of work required the labor of a number of men over a considerable

fads of Western inspiration. Vaccination, the calendar, European dress for officials, photography, edicts against long hair belong to the late 1870's. Chamberlain has spoken of the years 1885-87 as the "years of the great foreign fever."[24] Japan was the medium through which Western ideas were brought to bear on the old Okinawan culture. This new intrusion, indirectly set off both by the Perry expedition and the determination of the Japanese to change their own country, was modern Japan, compounded of traditional and Western ideas. When we speak of the "Japanization" of the islands, we must remember that some of this is also Westernization.

Foremost among these changes was the introduction of the new Japanese education. Education came to the rural areas and provided the basis, as in Japan, for mass literacy. This was not an easy task. Nor was it accomplished at once. Chamberlain in 1895 tells of the signs at the entrance to each village, giving the population, the number of children of school age and the number of children actually attending school, a "device not used in Japan itself, but resorted to here with the object of shaming parents into sending their children to school. To get the girls sent there has been found very difficult--the Further Isles almost impossible." The extent of this change can be appreciated by Chamberlain's further remark that few outside of Naha understood Japanese, and that the language was taught the first year so that it could be used later in instruction in other subjects.[25] Before World War II, as now, Japanese was spoken and understood by all, except the very old, the Japanese language existing side by side with Okinawan which remained the language of children, intimates, and of the village. The adoption of Japanese dress, the cutting of the hair, the learning of the Japanese language were the avenues to official employment.

Another great change was the abolition of the old system of land tenure, something we shall dwell upon at length later. By a series of laws over the period 1899-1903, the old system of village communal ownership with a periodic distribution of the rice lands and the dry crop land was abolished and private ownership and inheritance of land were instituted. The abolition of the old land allotment system must have changed the aspect of the villages, for village-owned granaries, were part of the central area of a village.[26] This change in land tenure, as Spencer has suggested, contributed to the further economic decline of the native religion of the noro priestesses whose lands, still retained, were now subject to different laws of inheritance.[27]

[TEXT Continues on Top of P. 40 — Analyst]

24 Basil Hall Chamberlain. Things Japanese, 238. See his comments on "fashionable crazes," 155-57.

25 The Luchu islands and their inhabitants, as cited, 457-58. Chamberlain adds, page 457, an interesting table showing school attendance by district which indicated that eligibles going to school were in a distinct minority.

26 Hawks, Perry's Expedition to Japan, as cited, I, 314; II, 34.

27 The Noro, or priestesses of Loo-choo, as cited, 109. This is an interesting example of the relation of an old religion to economic changes brought about by a revolution in land tenure induced from above.

Co-operation often takes the form of a division of labor. In building an elaborate permanent house with cement foundations, siding, plank flooring and a tile roof, greater skills than the handyman techniques of a smaller house are required. In the building of a house, men with special skills, such as a carpenter, a cement mixer, a stonecutter, or a mason participate; others bring lumber and wood from the mountains, as in Matsuda, or lay the grass on the tile roof. In some cases, all the labor may be donated; in others, the carpenter, the cement mixer, the stonecutter may be hired, with helper's work done by volunteers. In simpler construction, the carpentry may be done by anyone who has this secondary skill but is primarily a farmer or a fisherman. People who have those skills are said to have half and half occupations (hannohangyō in Japanese).

7

Housebuilding Ceremonies

In building, a distinction is made between a temporary and a permanent house. A temporary house may be built following a typhoon or a fire, or it may be constructed for a poor man and in fact be a permanent house for the family, the good house to come being more an aspiration than an early reality. The marks of a permanent house are construction with beams, instead of poles, good siding, a good roof, now mostly of tile, a design based on mat size, and a cemented kitchen. Housebuilding ceremonies and celebrations apply only to the permanent house.

Ceremonies or observances during stages in the building of a house differ from place to place and among people in the same village. In Matsuda before the house is started, the owner, his friends, and neighbors gather and offer a prayer that the house be a good and a happy one. Before construction, and once each year following completion, rice cakes (mochi in Japanese) and sake are placed in each of the four corners of the house site. Three rice cakes are put on the smallest of three saucers which fit into one another. Two of these saucer sets with the rice cakes, together with a sake bottle and a small cup are placed on a tray. The east, north, west, and south corners are visited in that order. Sake is poured from the flask to a small cup. There is a short prayer. A piece of white paper, attached to a stick of dwarf bamboo (Yambaru take) about one foot long is burned. The sake is poured over the embers. The top rice cake is placed on the corner; the other two remain on the small plate. Prayers are offered for protection against the deadly snake (habu). The rice cake is then picked up. On the next corner, the ceremony is repeated.

When the ridge pole is put up, the carpenter prays that there will be no injuries. Observances at the raising of the roof (muneage in Okinawan) seem to be universal in the villages. Three parcels, one of salt, one of bean paste, and one of charcoal are wrapped in a leaf--any will do--and these are tied with a string and suspended from the inner side of the crossbeam or from the ridge pole. There are no prayers at This Time.

593 tered in the villages--a first son may be passed over in favor of a
596 second son because of mental disability, gross incompetence, or excessive drinking, or the father, by selling his land to his other sons may in effect disinherit his first son. These actions involve
[428] the courts and it is rare for villagers to engage in litigation. In
[691] practice, the first son almost invariably succeeds. On His marriage, the first son and his wife live in the home of his parents. There are some exceptions to this. Since the war, some first sons in agri-
[464] cultural communities have found opportunities in business in Naha, in larger towns like Itoman or Nago, in military government or in Okinawan government positions. In this case, the first son does not live with his parents, but he continues with this new work in the strange town, the
[591] parents on their retirement, or as they become more helpless, joining the son. But in cases where the first son continues in the occupation of his father, this is the usual and expected practice. Only long standing incompatability between father and son prevents such an arrangement.

593 One point regarding the future of the family system that may assume
464 importance in Okinawa is that the responsibilities of the first son increase with any decline in opportunities for succeeding sons. The
166 traditional outlet for sons other than the first in Oriental countries has been migration to the cities, to lands of new settlement, or emigra-
167 tion to foreign countries. In Okinawa, emigration to various parts of the world, the South Seas, Hawaii, Peru, Brazil has been the most important of these outlets. Its history cannot be understood without appreciating this fact. Both first and succeeding sons have emigrated. With the virtual stoppage of emigration, the only solution for second and succeeding sons would seem to lie in opportunities coming from military installations, government work, industrial and urban development, in addition to the present opportunities in agriculture. If with a growing population, the family system begins to break apart, it will probably be first noticed in the inability of the first sons to bear increased responsibilities.

593 For this reason, it is interesting to record some observed atti-
596 tudes of first and other sons in the villages studied. These attitudes are personal ones. No inter-village comparisons can be made. The first is one of pride in being a first son and in assuming the headship of the house but dislike of the responsibility of providing for siblings, especially when the estate is not large. Dislike of the responsibilities of being the first son was most observable in Hinatogawa. Here the lack of land, succession merely to a house site, a boat or fishing gear, but with the same responsibility for care for younger brothers and sisters, parents and grandparents' put the clearest burden on the first son. The financial burden of paying for anniversary celebrations on the death of a relative is especially onerous. There is only minor help from younger brothers. This fact is not resented as a lack of generosity of the younger brothers who by now would have branch houses of their own; it is part of the family system. Younger brothers might contribute, as one first son jokingly said, fifty yen to a celebration that cost two thousand.

sandstone one sees in the new buildings of Naha often is from the quarries of this area. Stone quarries are scattered in various parts of Okinawa, but the Minatogawa stone is considered the best. 324 [316]

Sandstone quarrying started, according to older settlers, about sixty years ago. Cutting began on the coast, gradually working up slope over rolling stony land. It is an interesting example of the transformation of a landscape by man. Now with the old methods still in use, the cutting has extended beyond the village. Stonecutting operations in the main are in the steep bluffs around both villages, although there are numerous cuttings in the newer settlements of Minatogawa and along the seashore. Frequently the cut stone blocks lie near the temporary Minatogawa tombs which dot the rocky coast. By the simplest methods, large quantities of stone have been and continue to be removed. All work is done by hand; machinery was installed by the Americans after the war, but it is out of working order and stands idle. 316 [133] [764]

Before the war, stonecutting in this vicinity was a more thriving industry than now. Quarries are also found in neighboring Tamagusuku township and there is a distributing outlet in Horikawa, the village across the river. Before the war from 300-500 men are said to have engaged in stonecutting. Now there are about 120 in both villages. Many of these stone workers had come from other parts of Okinawa and the Ryukyus: men from the offshore islands, Ie-shima, the Kerama chain, and Iheya, and on the south east, from Kudaka, Tsuken, and Heanza islands. Most of those settlers from the offshore islands have left. A few, born on Ie-shima, or from the northern district still remain. [464]

Since the war coastwise shipping of lumber and firewood from the north and stone from the south had declined sharply. Trucks have largely displaced the boats. Transport costs are high and the stone is in demand in closer markets. 505 494

2

Acquiring and Working the Land

Customary practices govern the quarrying of stone. These eliminate the need for written agreements. Interested persons know the properties and the possibilities of each site. These customary practices are concerned with the acquisition, the working and the restoration of land. Techniques for working the stone have remained nearly the same for at least sixty years. 316

The stonecutter purchases rights to the stone, not the land itself. When the stone has been extracted, the land is returned to its owner. This is unimproved land, but after the stone has been quarried, a house may be built on the site. When a stonecutter (sekko) wishes to acquire a certain holding, he calls on the owner of the land. Following oral negotiations, the price is agreed upon. A good price 316 425 [435]

885 well accustomed to the routine of the occupation they will follow.
888 The young fisherman has gone to sea for his beginning lessons. The young farmer knows most of the skills of planting and cultivating. The young stone worker, requiring little training to begin, is already at work.

885 Young men maintain close relationships with their families prior
593 to marriage. In the villages studied, there is little movement to the larger towns. Since the war young men or women have found employ-
A64 ment, at various times, in government and military government offices as account clerks, maids, translators, clerks at post exchanges, officer's clubs, restaurants, bars, and the like. But there were few instances in these villages.

A young man does not leave the village ordinarily, nor does he rent separate living quarters. These continuing family ties up to marriage may account for the boyishness and lack of maturity noticeable in so many young men in the age group from 17 to 25. The young school teacher, the truck driver, fisherman, or farmer may turn over part of his earnings to the parents. In rural Okinawa, residence in the home and attachment to the family last well into the years of younger maturity. This does not mean that there are no personal dissatisfactions with their situation.

834 There are few outward signs of personal attraction among young men and women during the teens and the years before marriage. In public, boys and young men of the same age group usually are seen together. This is true of the girls. Clandestine meetings among young men and young women take place. A mutual attraction is often communicated by a young go-between trusted by both. This secrecy does not come about from a desire to conceal the attraction, but because both parties are shy (hasukashii). This public reticence, so old in
[178] Oriental cultures, is gradually breaking down. It is a convention, based on public repression of one's feelings. This does not mean that people dislike personal and physical contact and lack demonstrativeness.
[150] Okinawans are emotional and demonstrative, and do not avoid physical contact, as anyone who has seen them at their parties has discovered.[16]

But young men and young women may meet quite openly. A young man in his early twenties may visit a girl's house, stay all day with her and her parents, and part of the time be alone with her. The young,

16 It is too early to tell the effect of ideas of sex equality on rural Okinawan society. That the supposed high position of the American woman has made an impression on many rural Okinawan women there can be no doubt. The influence of young American soldiers and sailors, their catering and thoughtfulness toward Okinawan girls to whom they
[170] are deeply attracted has spread beyond the range of those with the immediate experience. The soldiers are responsible for the adoption
[834] of the word, "honey." Okinawan boys use it in the same sense as Americans: as any very attractive girl, or as a girl deeply loved personally.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

home country. Nevertheless, many aspects of Okinawan life still suggest an earlier phase in which independent developments gave the islands their own particular culture.

The Okinawan people, approximately 655,000 as counted in 1954, live in an area of about 454 square miles. Their major economic activities have traditionally been agriculture and fishing. In 1945 a long, peaceful existence was brought to an abrupt end during the final battles of World War II in the Pacific. As a result of world conditions Okinawans have been placed under American administration for an indefinite period of time. Today large numbers of men—and some women—find employment as unskilled and semiskilled laborers with the American forces. Gradual training for highly skilled jobs widens these opportunities for employment. Indirectly Okinawan life is influenced by Americans through stimulation of trade, building, and improved health conditions. Land requirements of the American forces in some areas also have influenced the settlement pattern. While these changes have affected the entire island to some degree, the greatest changes are noticeable in the central part around Naha where American administrative and military personnel are located. The village of Taira in the northern province of Kunigami, where the present study was located, had been subject to relatively few of these postwar changes in 1954. Isolated since earliest times because of mountainous terrain, this part of the island participates, as it probably always did, marginally in cultural influences which affect the center of the island. A great deal of cultural stability has therefore been preserved until the present day.

Nevertheless, it is useful to remember that the population of northern Okinawa is linked with the rest of the island by an efficient communications system. Roads connect almost all settlements in the north with the central island, and a bus transportation system extends its service into the remote areas. But long before all villages were connected by road with the center of Okinawa, people of Kunigami province traveled by foot over the many trails which traverse the mountains, and, since the turn of the century, many have left their home villages. Some went to Japan as laborers; others settled in the Japanese-controlled Islands of the Pacific, and some families joined the numerous Okinawan settlements in South American countries.

LANGUAGE

Taira people are bilingual. Okinawan, which linguists consider a separate language, has many regional dialects, some of which are not

132 however, shows much less variation. From the low 50's in early winter it rises to the low 80's in midsummer. The relative humidities, having daily means of 70% in January and February and 82% in July and August, may often reach an uncomfortable 96% preceding or following one of the many rain squalls in the hot season.

From January through March, winds blowing from the northwest to north carry cold, damp air from the Asian continent across the East China Sea. Although many houses in Taira are somewhat protected by bushes separating them from the open valley behind, nevertheless, house doors are often kept shut during this coldest part of the year.

March and April offer a pleasant, balanced climate. Winds are east to southeast, rainfall is low, and temperatures reach the high 60's. The rainy season begins in late May and lasts until late June. During these [964] four weeks it sometimes rains steadily for one or two days, and adults are forced to give up working.

Children take shelter during the worst downpours, but they reappear outside even before the rains are over to play in puddles or little streams running down the streets. During this time floods and landslides occur.

Midsummer is often so hot and humid that villagers frequently comment on their discomfort. This is one of the busiest agricultural seasons, but exhaustion causes many people to take naps during noon [961] [513] hours. Work efficiency decreases, and fewer daily trips are made to the mountains. Children also stay at home in the afternoon. It is believed that the heat causes severe headaches. The hot season gradually gives way to a few weeks in late October, November, and early December which correspond in climate to an early fall in northeastern United States.

132 Typhoons are known to have hit Okinawa at almost any time of 731 the year. The most dangerous season for these violent storms, however, with wind velocities of over 50 miles per hour, is from late June [206] until October. An extensive warning system exists, and Taira, though remote and without radio, is notified immediately by telephone of storm warnings, sometimes days in advance. Taira people hardly need such warnings. They can sense the oncoming storm and often predict one correctly before the official forecasts confirm that a storm is approaching the island. Since 1955 was one of the rare years in which no major storm hit the island, no firsthand description can be given. The damage is always considerable, not only to crops and trees but also to houses and other property.

462 heavy sods in the rice paddy; nevertheless, women and younger girls
[241] often do this work along with the men and boys if time runs short. There are some women who prepare their farm land without the help of their husbands.

[313] In mountain work, women produce almost as much as men except that they do not handle the large logs. Even pregnant women make
[843] three or four daily mountain trips, sometimes up until the day of childbirth. Only the mode of carrying wood, like any load, differs for
[482] the sexes: a man uses a carrying stick supported on his shoulder, with two bundles attached to each end; a woman carries bundles on her back, tied and held in place by a tump line tied over her forehead. Women can carry loads of 100 to 120 pounds in this manner.

[312] Men seldom carry water from the tank or faucet to the house; this is considered women's work, although younger boys are expected to
241 help at times. Work in the potato fields is mainly women's respon-
462 sibility. Their hands are also preferred in rice transplanting, where dexterity is needed in pulling out the tender shoots from the seed bed and replanting them in straight rows at measured intervals. Occasionally a young man helps, and boys sometimes try to work along with their sisters when they learn transplanting. Both men and women sow
462 the seed beds. In special activities, such as house building, a more dis-
[342] tinct division of labor can be observed. In any building activity, men do the structural work and women carry materials and cook for the
[653] men. The same division of labor is found on community projects, road building, fencing against wild pigs, or repairing the water pipes. In general, however, no special comment is made if either a man or woman performs work usually done by the opposite sex.

887 Men and women work in the fields and forests from ages 15 to 60.
462 When they approach 60, men like to "retire." If possible, they turn over their responsibilities as household heads to their eldest sons. From
● [464] then on, they tend to stay home more and more. They can still help with less demanding work, making bamboo rings for firewood bundles, sawing wood, or doing odd jobs around the house. Approaching old age, most men become economically useless and in other ways contribute little to society. For old women, quite the contrary is true. Even grandmothers who are well over 60 seem strong and active. Most of
[241] them go to the fields to plant or harvest potatoes or other vegetables. One woman, well into her sixties and bent over from arthritis, took long walks to distant potato fields, with a heavy load of slips or potatoes in a basket on her back, a hoe on top of it, supporting herself on a
[155] stick. Other grandmothers look after the youngest children, thus freeing the mother for work. Old women also cook, help bundle firewood,

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

and look after the sick. Even if they are too old for any work, like two oldsters over 80 years, they can still hold the youngest grandchild. Two exceptional old men, brothers of almost the same age, pass their time by making rope bags and mats from the fiber of the fan palm. Both are active as financial experts, investing money here and there and lending it for high interests in various shrewd transactions. 887 462 [855] [285] [454]

INFORMAL AND FORMAL COOPERATION

Cooperation plays a prominent part in Taira economy. Assistance is always given for major tasks, such as preparing grass land for farm use or house building, or for work which must be done quickly, such as transplanting rice or harvesting and milling sugar. In fact, since wet rice cultivation depends on assistance in any culture that works its paddies by hand, it is noteworthy that the term *iimarū*, used in Taira for labor exchange in planting and harvesting, is also extended to other mutual assistance. The term, literally translated, means "gathering by rotation." A family who plans a project that needs the help of others makes an informal arrangement with relatives or neighbors to help for one or more days. This is simply done by notifying individuals that such help is needed. No one, unless he has urgent reasons, would refuse to comply with a call for assistance. If it is a small task, a few close relatives are asked. In most larger undertakings, it is the neighborhood group that lends a hand. These mutual-assistance groups usually form within the central village and within each of the geographical clusters of the outlying village, although close relatives from other parts of the community may be called. However, the most recent arrivals in Taira, all present members of one family line who have the same surname, act jointly in reclamation of neglected fields to strengthen their economic position. 476 241 [621]

Return services are expected, but nobody would admit that there is any thought of equal compensation and would not even joke about the matter. There is a strong feeling that calculated thinking is unseemly not only among relatives but also among unrelated neighbors. One man, when asked what would happen if a person refused to comply to a request for help, answered, "There is no such dirty person, and if there were one, he would be an outcast." During the rice planting season, persons helping in another's fields will shortly be helped themselves. In housebuilding, a long time may pass until those who aided will need aid in return. 476 241 577

Except for people over 56, pregnant women, and mothers of chil- 653 464

653 dren under 3 years, every adult past school age, male or female, is required to work on community projects if called by the village head. [464] Officials may pay the village for exemption from this duty. There are two kinds of community corvées, those in which every adult and qualified member of a household has to participate, and those in which only one household representative is required to attend. As many as 12 days a year may be spent by each villager on road construction, clearing of village land, improvement of village-owned tea fields, or in similar projects. In some cases, where the central government has granted support, this work may be compensated by a small payment. More often, however, it is a free contribution to the village effort.

474 The strength of deeply rooted cooperative behavior seems to have been an essential factor in introducing formal cooperatives successfully in this area. The northern village of Oku is credited with being the first community in Kunigami province to organize a cooperative store in 1906. Initiative for this organization was provided through the Japanese administration. Taira was the first village in present-day Higashi township to establish a cooperative. In 1918 the village was poverty stricken, and village leaders, the president of the Young People's Association, one of the teachers, and others, made a study of the Oku organization. They then convinced the Taira headman of the great possibilities. Over the years the Taira cooperative supported by the majority of Tairan households, through buying of mountain products, marketing, running the store, and sugar production, tried to improve the village economy. One immediate result was that the indebtedness to money lenders from outside the village, especially to the owners of sailing junks which transported mountain products south, could be avoided. Up until the war the cooperative flourished and improved economy.

The end of the war found the village cooperative totally defunct, and it took several years to restore the organization. At present it owns the store, the sugar mill, and the truck. It also controls the use of the [245] village-owned tea fields in which everybody has the right to grow at least one row of tea bushes.

474 Shares in the cooperative are held by households, and almost every-
621 one in Taira is a member. The two directors and several officers are elected by shareholders. Actually the directorship does not change often, and the most influential leaders usually hold the office. They may initiate measures which will aid the village economy, but they have no absolute power: a check and balance system protects the people. As one person put it, "It is always necessary to have a few persons outside the business so that they can check what is going on. If people of the

Although animals are generally bought for prices that the community considers as relatively fixed (see below), meat animals sell for a certain rate per unit weight that varies with the market. Old cows and bullocks are generally sold for meat at the rate of ¥60 per kin. Boars, if fat, are sold for ¥42 per kin. Male goats bring ¥20 per kin for eating purposes, and chickens bring about ¥200 per kin. Females of any animals are very seldom sold unless old and almost dying, or unless the farmer finds himself in dire monetary emergency. Nanahan, which has the greatest vegetable acreage in Tomoyose village, has a 'han'-wide agreement not to raise chickens, due to their possible destruction of young plants. 435

Buying of Livestock and Daily Necessities The war depleted most of the livestock of Okinawa, and recovery has been slow. Okinawan farmers frequently expressed their gratitude to the American religious organizations which sent goats to them to help in reconstruction. 727 231 [177]

The reversion of Amami indirectly helped to increase the livestock on Okinawa. A Nanahan farmer described the situation in late November of 1953: 439 231

> Horses, cows, goats and pigs, together with household furniture come into Tomari port from Amami every day. The Amamians want to get as much Okinawan yen as possible, because it will convert to Japanese yen at three to one, and they think they will be ahead. The accelerated cattle movement started right after reversion intentions were announced. We are very glad to be able to buy the animals, but important people on Amami are afraid that this movement will deplete the island of animals, especially stud horses and bulls, goats and pigs for breeding.

Nanahan farmers have relatively fixed ideas on the prices of livestock. For middle grade, or average, stock the following prices are quoted: horses, ¥13,000; cows, ¥25,000; heifers, ¥10-11,000; calves ¥9-10,000; boars, ¥2,500; sows, ¥2,700; and all goats, ¥300-400. 435

Before the war there were many people traveling through the countryside selling 'miso' paste and bean curd. Every other day such peddlers would visit even the most isolated settlements. Better roads and increased communications by bus and jitney have oriented purchase of staples urbanward. The only peddlers who now come through Nanahan are basket peddlers. Two small stores in the main settlement provide 'sake', noodles, matches and other small-cost items that are not worth a trip to town. 438 178 443

Sale of Services Farm labor is drawn from the southern islands and from poorer families who are just getting a start in the community. In Nanahan there was only one full-time farm laborer, who was paid ¥2,000 a month, in addition to room and board. He had left Miyako when eighteen, two years before, because of a famine that was being caused by a sweet-potato virus. His employer was a man who managed a good deal of land---indeed the land that belonged to himself and two minor relatives---and sorely needed the extra labor. Another landowner was converting dry land to paddy, and after 464 [465]

the bulldozer had done the basic shaping of the field, a new member of the 'han' was hired to finish the pounding of the paddy walls. He was paid ¥900 for six days' work, and was required to provide his own lunch. His employer had spent the first year after the war in Hokkaido, working for no money but receiving one 'shō' (3.18 pints) of rice a day. Later he rented a horse and cart from its owner at ¥60 a day and pocketed anything above that amount that he earned. During planting and harvest season he worked in the rice fields.

Horses are rented out by their owners to other people, but when a cow is rented the owner's services are always included. No farmer trusts anyone else with his cow. A man-and-cow hire out for ¥250-300 a day, depending on the distance they must travel. A horse is most often rented to pull the sweep of a rotary sugar-press, and is paid according to the amount of juice of black sugar produced. Various prices are quoted. ¥100 is paid for each 'chō' (100 kin, or 132 pounds) of black sugar produced. One farmer charges for the use of his horse a flat rate of ¥1 for each gallon of juice squeezed. Another charges ¥60 for 50 gallons of juice if the renter lives in Nanahan or close by, and ¥70 if he lives farther away. Horses were scarce the first year after the war, and fifteen men together pulled the sweeps of the rotary presses.

<u>Buying of Labor and Services</u> Many times farmers have need of a great amount of labor in a short period of time. Then they are most likely to call upon the services of the young people's group, the 'seinendan'. One Nanahan farmer in 1952 had this group make a paddy field for him from a dry field. In 1953 another farmer had the group make a 300 'tsubo' dry field for him out of 'arechi', or war-destroyed land. The 'seinendan' also hires its members out to work for people who need help in the busy season. The following daily wage rates were quotes: women and new members, ¥40; men of 18 and 19 years, ¥50; and men of 20 years and above, ¥60.

Abolition of the stringent Japanese regulations compelling farmers to raise sugar has resulted in the reconversion of many sugar fields to rice paddies. At first this was done exclusively by hand labor, but now bulldozers are more in favor. One farmer had 420 'tsubo' of dry land converted into paddy at a total cost for bulldozer leveling of ¥6,300. The rate for machine and operator was ¥600 an hour. The farmer owns 450 tsubo more of paddy, which provides rice for one meal a day. With this newly-converted field he plans to have his family eat rice twice daily. Labor charges for finishing the new paddy will run about ¥4,000, according to estimate.

One of his relatives is a repatriate from the hemp-growing colony at Davao, in the Philippines. This man bought land from a villager who was dissatisfied with country life, and hired a bulldozer to convert it to paddy. For conversion of 816 tsubo he paid bulldozer charges of ¥12,000 and ¥8,000 additional for labor. He had bought the dry land ('hatake') originally for ¥65 per tsubo.

About the only other service regularly engaged is the hulling and polishing of rice. Nanahan people take their threshed rice to a neighboring village where there is a 'seimaisho' (rice-cleaning mill), and pay only cash for the service. They return home with the polished rice and the bran, or

war level. This is due to several factors. The local prices for reed products are said to be too low, and access to Japanese markets is difficult today due to the separation of Okinawa and Japan. Since the war local food shortages and changed tastes and diet have influenced change to greater rice production. Many houses in Kanegusuku lost their mat-weaving looms during the war, depriving them of this means of support. In addition, there is some feeling that it is too time-consuming and the young girls do not like it. 286 433 178

One tsubo produces about two bundles of reed, which is worth about ¥10 a bundle when dried. Usually the reed is not sold, but is made by the producer's family into mats. Two bundles of reeds make one 'goza' mat, which sells for ¥65-100 in Naha. One person can make about two of these mats in one day. However, in almost all families this is part-time work, the woman of the house weaving in her spare time. One family in the village fortunate enough to own two looms employs two village girls full time as long as a supply of reeds is available. 286 433 [435] [464]

The covering for the 'tatami' mat is called 'tatami omote'. An individual can make about six of these per day. They are faster-made than 'goza' because the ends do not have to be tied off and bordered. These sell for about ¥45 in Naha, which place people prefer to Itoman as a market for their reed products. However, rice straw to be used in the base of 'tatami' is sold in Itoman because the cost of transporting the bulky straw to Naha would be prohibitive---it is sold for only ¥1 or ¥2 per bundle. The Agricultural Cooperative is trying to arrange for the sale of 'tatami omote' in Kagoshima where ¥85 per mat can be obtained. The first such postwar collection and sale was made early in 1954. 286 433 435

<u>Prewar Home Industry in Yamada</u> Before the war people in Yamada made much of their own clothing, and were self-sufficient in most of the tools they used. Most of the clothing was made by the women of the village themselves. Most women wove, and many wove constantly when not in the fields. Many had their own looms, but those who did not borrowed looms from their neighbors. 294 [286]

The usual summer garment was a kimono of banana-fiber cloth and the usual winter garment one of cotton. The former was made wholly at home, from the tree to the finished garment. For the cotton kimono the threads were purchased, usually at Kadena, already dyed, and the cloth woven at home. [291]

Several families had silkworms. They got the eggs from Japan and fed the worms on mulberry leaves they grew in their yards. These women spun and wove at home but they sometimes had professional dyers at Kadena or Naha dye the threads for them. Silk garments, like store-bought garments, were only for grand occasions. 231 283 292

Before the war some Yamada women made "panama" hats in their homes as piecework for a hat company. The company furnished the materials and bought the finished product. This was one of the few sources of cash available outside the sugar crop. Baskets, carrying bags, and raincapes made of 294 [434]

[Kanegusuku]
[Kitazato]

on Okinawa observed that the farmer took little interest in the care of land which he did not regard as his own. The author was particularly impressed by the contrast between Japan and Okinawa in regard to the care of land, for the meticulous care which the Japanese farmer lavishes on his land seems absent by contrast among the Okinawan farmers. 241 829 554 463 [171]

Kitazato The farm village of Kitazato in Kami Motobu-son presents a marked contrast to Kanegusuku in that it has suffered the loss of a major part of its area to a military installation. In studying the village of Kitazato the village of Kanegusuku was used as a base line for comparisons. To supplement his own observations the author has drawn heavily on actual statements by Kitazato people; in this way he hopes to present as accurately as possible the actual state of the village compared to villages elsewhere on Okinawa, and the villagers' own conceptualization of their circumstances. 621 [727] 121 621 [124]

Kitazato is not an old village, having been founded but seven generations ago by the younger sons of gentry families from the Naha-Shuri area. It was politically independent of the neighboring villages during the time of the old kingdom, but after the annexation it was administered in part by the villages of Gushiken and Jahana. In 1936 or 1937 it was established as an independent village, taking its present name. 175 621

Following their release from civilian internment camps the villagers returned to the site of their old homes shortly before New Year's of 1946. They found virtually their entire village land area converted into an airfield and accompanying military installations. According to their account there was considerable misunderstanding between them and the military as to where they might live, and they feel that they were subject to contradictory and inconsistent orders. Several moves were made which disrupted their plans to settle, and one villager stated, "I grew tired of rebuilding my house." In 1948 they were finally ordered to remove themselves from the military area, and they took up residence in their present location. It is claimed that there was insufficient land in the area to resettle the entire village on a single site; so, the village divided into three sections. Thirty houses were located on the beach between the villages of Gushiken and Shinzato, and this segment was given the name Hama. The remainder of the houses settled in the nearby hills from one to two miles away. Thirty-nine houses settled in the hills between the villages of Furushima and Jahana, taking the name Kijikina. Ten houses located themselves in the hills just north of Kijikina in a settlement which they called Anahana. These latter two, however, function as a single settlement for administrative purposes. These 80 houses making up the scattered village of Kitazato have a total population of 414. Despite their physical separation these segments have striven with considerable difficulty to maintain their political and social unity; one mayor and council serves them, and people are constantly visiting from one area to another. Today most of their land is gone, and they are too far removed from any city, town, or military installation (the airfield is abandoned) for employment. Extreme poverty and bitterness are one's first impressions of the village. 175 621 727 [464] [735]

178
Military installations have attracted people from all areas, and at 177
the present time over twenty-five percent of the total labor force is employed 727
by the military or in subsidiary occupations. Some of these people are drawn [464]
from the landless element which formerly would have emigrated. In other areas
land has been left idle by those who have sought salaried jobs in preference
to farming. In places, extensive military land use has greatly increased [311]
land pressure. The circulation of money has been accelerated, and new pat- [49]
terns of living have evolved. Many miles of all-weather roads have been constructed and the island transportation system has improved to a point where villagers have a mobility undreamed of in the prewar era.

The major forces for change have been technological and economic. 177
Where changes have occurred in the social system, they have come about largely 178
as a result of these factors. Man has always tended to accept new things faster than new ideas, but in final analysis these will alter ideas too. It has been said that the streetcar and trains have contributed more to the breakdown of the idea of caste in India than any other single factor; so too on Okinawa, the changes effected by a new technology, greater circulation of money, and improved mobility operate to alter the fabric of life. Most rural 177
Okinawans would be decidedly opposed to any overt action designed toward 369
weakening the unity of their village; yet, when they put aside farming to 62
commute daily to a city job, avail themselves of the newspapers, movies, and 178
radio programs emanating from the city, and no longer participate in labor exchanges and other cooperative ventures, it is to precisely this end that they are contributing.

It is the opinion of the author that the major forces for change in 177
contemporary Okinawa were already operative before the war. The real impact 178
of the American occupation has been a rapid acceleration of the forces of change which have been slowly building up since the beginning of the century.

<u>Aspects of Change in Rural Okinawa: Transportation</u> One of the most im- 178
pressive changes in 491
post-war Okinawa with far-reaching cultural implications has been the improved transportation system which has made possible a greater mobility. A network of modern highways now girdle the land where formerly narrow dirt roads and paths had sufficed. To one who had last seen the island in 1945 the contrast in 1954 was most remarkable.

The increase in motor vehicles has been more than ten-fold over the 178
prewar period. Most villages now have easy access to bus lines which connect [494]
to virtually all points of the island. Where formerly villagers but rarely [484]
went to town, they now make such trips frequently. It is not uncommon in the Shimajiri and Nakagami areas of the island for an individual to commute each day from his village to his place of employment in a military camp, town, or city.

The improvement in transportation has enabled the farmers to bring 178
products to the best markets. Formerly most Kanegusuku products were sold 443
in nearby Itoman, but today with the advent of rapid bus service to Naha many items are taken there for sale.

Education The Japanese established the first schools in the rural areas some time before World War I. Great emphasis was placed on making Japanese speakers and nationals out of Okinawans. Today most of the population is bilingual; those who speak only a dialect of the Ryukyuan language are persons over sixty and pre-school children. Most Okinawans have come to regard themselves as Japanese. 871 177 [191] [829]

A major change in the postwar educational system has been the addition of three years to the period of compulsory schooling, making a total of nine years. Since the schools continue to provide a Japanese education, the effect will be to increase the Japanization of Okinawa, raise literacy, and ultimately make all speakers bilingual. As a student is usually excused from all work by the family, this measure has served to withhold a large number of teenagers from the labor market.

In the rural areas the author heard frequent praise for the extension of the schooling period and the new school construction program initiated by the military government. Most rural peoples stated that educational opportunities were poor for them in the prewar period; high school education was said to be particularly difficult for a village child to achieve. Now they feel that they are realizing equality with the urban areas. The urbanite is more likely to suggest that the quality of education has deteriorated in the postwar period. Both rural and urban people were agreed that one decided improvement has been that students no longer fight among themselves. Before and during the war all students were organized into small groups based on area of residence; each group was headed by a student leader who shepherded his charges to and from school in semi-military formation. Rivalry between these organized groups frequently led to gang fighting so severe that the intervention of teachers or police was often necessary to restore order. 871 369 178 877 178

Rural people regard education as providing one of the best opportunities for improving one's status; consequently, the improvement of educational opportunities will have far-reaching effects on social mobility. Those who acquire a high school or university education rarely remain in the village, and the few who do remain adopt an occupation other than farming. 871 554

Economy Money was virtually non-existent in the old Okinawan village; barter was the chief means of exchange. Taxes under the communal land holding system were paid in grain and cloth. The land reforms initiated by the Japanese brought the introduction of tax payments in cash. Increasing emphasis on sugar production due to governmental encouragement and subsidy did much to destroy the self-sufficiency of the village and brought dependence on a cash crop. The period of Japanese administration was marked by a gradual adoption of a money economy in the rural areas. 437 436 178 177

Okinawans state that there is a far greater amount of money in the village today than in the prewar period. Some assert that due to governmental price controls they were never able to realize a fair return for their products (chiefly sugar) in the prewar era, but the great increase in money in recent years seems largely attributable to factors relating to the military occupation. Today over twenty-five percent of the total labor force is employed by the military and in subsidiary occupations such as construction; this steep rise in 434 178 [435] [64]

434 salaried employees has greatly increased the amount of money in circulation.
178 The large expenditures made by members of the military forces have also con-
●464 tributed significantly. The farmer, in turn, has been able to realize a larger return for his products than was formerly possible, and in many farm villages a sizable number of individuals are engaged in military employment..

Farmers are spending more than ever before; self-sufficiency has further declined in that many articles formerly made at home are now purchased.
[511] The standard of living, especially diet, is said to have improved considerably.
[592] Formerly all income and resources were controlled by the household head for the entire family; today individual purses are said to be increasingly common.

621 Community Organization and Social Structure The solidarity and
178 integration of the village was severely diminished by the war and its aftermath. The prewar village was quite homogeneous; most of its families had resided there for many generations, village marriage practices tended to be endogamous, and nearly all were engaged in farming as their major occupation. Today in most villages there are a number of families new to the village since the war, and there are an increasing number of individuals who are employed outside the village in non-agricultural pursuits. Both groups tend to play a lesser role in community affairs than the old residents who continue to farm.

476 There has been a considerable decline in reciprocal labor exchanges.
178 The man who is daily employed outside the village is automatically prevented from participating in such ventures. The widow who heads a household without any adult male members is often unable to participate or must limit her participation since a day's work by a man must be matched by two by a woman. Likewise the man who hires a bulldozer to clear some land or build a rice field instead of engaging his relatives and neighbors in a cooperative exchange is also contributing to the decline of the practice.

369 Formerly those who left the village usually emigrated to other parts
178 of the Japanese Empire, but today they usually obtain employment in the cities
621 or military camps. Consequently, they continue to exert some influence in their place of origin, since interaction is more likely.

621 In a community like Kitazato which has suffered poverty, hunger, land
178 loss, and exodus of members to other communities, there seems to be a reintensification of community spirit stressing cooperation and unity. This is in marked contrast to Kanegusuku and elsewhere, suggesting that when a major value---communal unity---is directly threatened, there is a reaction and reintensification of this value. Elsewhere where the process of change has been more subtle, no reaction has occurred.

565 Okinawan class divisions were officially abolished early in the period
177 of Japanese administration; yet they continued to be of some importance with regard to status and marriage for some time. Today people say that they are no longer of any importance except to a few of the very old. Distinctions on
[559] the basis of wealth were largely erased by the war. It is frequently said, "After the war everyone was equal."

2. Military Employment

W. P. Lebra

464 An important factor in contemporary Okinawan life is the large number of people engaged in military employment or in subsidiary occupations. Over [177] twenty-five percent of the total Okinawan labor force is so employed, and their day-to-day contact with Americans has far-reaching implications for Okinawan-American relations. It is also a factor of prime importance to the Okinawan economy.

In studying and visiting a number of Okinawan communities the authors noted a considerable variation in the importance of military employment to the community, the role of those so employed in village life, and the attitude of the villagers toward these people.

621 727 Kanegusuku The farming village of Kanegusuku was less affected than most communities by the war and subsequent occupation, little land was ruined, no military installations are in the area, and the majority of villagers are attempting to carry on as before the war.

621 464 Out of a total population of 507 persons, constituting 103 houses, there are but twenty men employed outside the village. Of these twenty men, seven are directly engaged in military employment and eight more are employed by civilian construction companies engaged in military construction. These individuals commute from the village each day to the greater Naha area. In most cases these men come from houses which have insufficient land for mere subsistence, or they are younger sons who are without land and/or who have not married and set up households of their own. Several are newcomers to the village since the war.

621 464 166 In the past a few who have secured jobs in military establishments or in subsidiary employment have left the village and established temporary residences in the city or near the camp. One of the motivating factors for making the move is a monthly saving of ¥600 ($5.00) in bus fares, but certainly another and perhaps stronger motivation has been the desire to escape the dreary life of the farm village. These people say that they do not wish to return to the village; yet, they have retained their land as an insurance against job loss. Most do not seem to regard military employment as a permanent career. They hope to save enough money to establish a small business or at the last resort to return to the village and buy more land.

621 464 829

Villagers regard those who have been able to secure military employment as rather fortunate individuals. In most families the additional income is most welcome as it provides a standard of living considerably above subsistence farming. In the case of those families where the husband or household head is employed outside the village the wife usually farms the family vegetable plots.

[511] [462]

621 464 In most cases those who are engaged in military employment, or in any employment outside the village, do not play an active role in village affairs.

621 464 Only five of these are household heads entitled to vote in village elections or assume village office, but because their jobs keep them out of the community much of the time, they are not given village offices. There is some feeling on the part of the villagers that they are out of touch with the affairs of a farming village; consequently, their influence in the village thus far has not been too great.

621 727 464 Jagaru and Tobaru The villages of Jagaru and Tobaru in Chatan-son offer a marked contrast to Kanegusuku in terms of the importance of military employment to the community. These two contiguous communities are hemmed in on all sides by military installations. They constitute little more than housing areas within a township that has lost, according to its officials, approximately 91% of its land to military installations.

[24] [178] Formerly nearly all of the families were engaged in farming as a full-time occupation; today less than one-sixth are farming and not all of these are able to depend on it for their sole support. Military employment has replaced farming as the chief occupation of these villages. In October of 1953 there were 2,352 persons out of a total population of 10,411 who were employed in military jobs. In addition there were a number of business establishments which were dependent on the trade of military personnel.

621 464 [434] The welfare of Jagaru and Tobaru is wholly dependent on military employment. In the fall of 1953 there were rumors of an anticipated cut of 10% in the over-all Okinawan labor force employed by the military. This would have made over two hundred individuals and their families without any source of income or means of livelihood. The people were much upset by this prospect as every family had at least one member employed in military jobs and were wholly or in part dependent on their income.

In contrast to Kanegusuku those who were engaged in military employment in these villages played an active role in community affairs. A great many of them are household heads, and they are not regarded as being out of touch with village affairs since the chief occupation of the villagers is military employment. While the Kanegusuku people regard securing a military job as good fortune, the people here regard it as a necessity. According to township officials most of this year's graduating class will look for jobs in the nearby installations.

621 464 829

The villagers are bitter because they feel that the military has not paid them adequate rentals for the use of their land. There is also some resentment over the conduct of troops in those communities during their off-duty hours. In short, though the villages are completely dependent on the military for their livelihood, they are bitter and resentful in their attitude toward it. The possibility of job losses seems likely to heighten this feeling.

621 727 464 Henza Shima The island of Henza off the east central coast of Okinawa differs from the above communities in that a large segment of its population is engaged in military employment and yet the village itself is far removed from any military installation. This village suffered but slight damage and no loss of life during the war. After the war over four hundred repatriates returned to the village, bringing its population up to approximately 4,900.

This island has long faced a serious problem of over-population and food shortage; it is not self-supporting in foodstuffs and mainly derives its livelihood from fishing, shipping and ferrying. It has long had a symbiotic relationship with the neighboring island of Takabanare, supplying fish and shipping-ferrying service in return for food, but this has not been rewarding enough in recent years to offset its rapid population increase. A general postwar decline in coastal shipping largely due to the marked improvement of land transportation in highways and vehicles has sharply reduced the number of jobs in this enterprise, and the return of the repatriates has only added to the number seeking jobs. Military employment, however, has filled this gap and staved off mass unemployment. 621 464 505 433 [438]

At the present time nearly one quarter of the village labor force is engaged in military employment. Nearly all of the repatriates and a large number of old residents have entered military employ. Some of these have established temporary residence on the mainland nearer the military installations. A large number, however, commute by ferry boat and bus each day to their place of employment, and at low tide it is possible to walk the mile across the tidal flats to the mainland. 621 464 [484]

There has long been a tradition for the men of Henza to be away from the village much of time, engaged in activities on the sea. Thus, those who are away much of the time in military employment are merely following a long-established pattern. Unlike the absent workers of Kanegusuku, these people are not considered to be cut off from village affairs. All farming activities, much of the family's economic affairs, and some of the functions of government are carried on by women, contrary to usual Okinawan practice. [562]

The villagers regard military employment as a blessing and feel that it has contributed significantly to maintaining village prosperity. Aside from military employment they have little contact with Americans, although a few boat-owners have rented their crafts to American fishing parties. The villagers and their officials recall with considerable fondness their military government officer in the early days of the occupation. To date Henza relations with Americans have been not only good but also profitable; in short, American stock is high on this island. [829] 621 177 829

<u>Summary</u> On Henza and to a far smaller degree in Kanegusuku military employment has largely drawn off the surplus and largely landless population that formerly would have emigrated to other parts of the overseas Japanese empire. In Jagaru and Tobaru military employment has replaced farming as the chief occupation of the villagers. The contribution of military employment to the economy of Kanegusuku is negligible, although it should be noted that the number so engaged increased during the period of the author's study. In Jagaru, Tobaru, and Henza military employment is of vital importance to the village economy, and any sharp decrease will have severe repercussions. 464

<u>Okinawan Attitudes Toward Those Engaged in Military Employment</u> Okinawans make a sharp distinction in their attitudes toward men employed in military jobs and their attitudes toward women similarly employed. There seems to be no stigma of any sort attached to the male who has a job working for the Americans; in fact, 464 562 829

464 usually people tend to regard these persons as fortunate. During the entire
562 course of the author's stay on Okinawa he heard no sharp criticism of men who
829 were in military employment, yet many statements were heard about women who were so employed. This dichotomy seems to stem from the widely held belief that the American employers have sexual access to these women, particularly
[831] the maids. Okinawan culture affords its males a high degree of sexual freedom, but not its females.

464 It is said that the women who are employed by the military are cate-
554 gorized into several grades; the highest status is accorded to the office workers and PX clerks. These are followed by the kitchen and table maids, after which comes the maids who are employed in the dependent housing units; lastly there are the barracks maids, including those of the bachelor officers' and civilians' quarters. It is also claimed that these women can be distinguished on the basis of their dress. Supposedly the office workers and
[291] PX girls dress in the fashion of Japanese business women, whereas the housing
[107] and barracks maids dress in American styles which are considered loud and flashy.

464 It is claimed that many young men will not marry women who have been
554 maids in military installations. One young man asserted that these women were
582 no better than the "honeys" (a term used by Okinawans and GI's to designate the soldier's mistress).

464 The low status and pay (¥1200-1800, or $10-15 per month) for maids is
466 offset to a large extent by the gifts, food, and in many cases board which they receive from their employers. Despite the stigma there is no shortage
[465] of applicants for these jobs. Another factor is the free bathing privileges which ordinarily accompany these jobs. Very few Okinawan homes have a bath,
[515] and public baths cost the equivalent of ten cents in American money, a sizeable outlay for the Okinawan purse.

464 Most of the discrimination is directly attributable to the sexual
554 jealousy of the Okinawan male toward the women who work and often live in
829 close daily contact with Americans. There also seems to be some discrimination against any women in the category of maid, whether employed by American or Okinawan; in the past these were often indentured servants who had been sold by their parents into this low status.

186 <u>Okinawan Attitudes toward Their American Employers</u> It was the author's im-
829 pression that even those who had worked in close daily contact with Americans for a considerable period of time shared much the same stereotypes of the American as those held by the general public. It must be remembered that the points of emphasis in any stereotype are often those traits which seem obvious because they are so unfamiliar and hence not understood by the person of a different culture. Secondly, in every stereotype there is undoubtedly some considerable measure of truth; the important factor is the base of reference. Both Americans and Okinawans judge one another on the basis of different values and cultural backgrounds.

It
186 is also important to keep in mind that the relationship is always one of
829 American employer to Okinawan employee; consequently, the American is most
177 often the initiator of action.

• 464 Conclusion In a number of Okinawan communities military employment has drawn
434 off the surplus population which formerly had emigrated. In not a few communities it has become the mainstay of the economy.

464 Most Okinawans regard military employment as economically advantageous.
829 There is no stigma attached to men who are so employed, but considerable
554 stigma is attached to women who take this employment, particularly the maids.

177 The American installations are dependent to no small degree upon their
648 Okinawan employees, and in turn many Okinawan individuals and communities are
464 wholly dependent upon the military for their livelihood. Their relationship is a symbiotic one which can best be enhanced by mutual understanding; yet the social distance between the Okinawan and American is so great as to make interaction on a basis of equality rare. Because of their different cultural backgrounds and their job situations, both remain ignorant of the other's motives and values, and mutual understanding is difficult if not impossible. Common
[171] denominators in both cultures might be sought as a means of bridging this gap, as, for example, their common love of sports.

3. Japan, America, and Okinawa

W. P. Suttles

829 Japan in Retrospect Okinawan attitudes toward Japan are decidedly ambivalent. Factors that have entered into the formation of these attitudes are as follows:

175 1) Historic Relations On the negative side are the historic separa-
648 tion and former independence of Okinawa. This separate status is still re-
829 membered by old people, some of whom speak of wars between Okinawa and "Yamatu" (Yamato, that is, Japan). Several illiterate old people seemed to make no distinction between the conquest and oppression of Okinawa by the feudal state of Satsuma and the later annexation by the national government, and thus seemed to be blaming Japan as a whole for wrongs done by Satsuma.

171 On the positive side there is the indisputable remote common origin
174 and basic similarity of the Japanese and the Okinawans. Racially, linguis-
177 tically, and culturally the Okinawans are closely related to the Japanese.
829 They may be said to be merely a kind of Japanese. It is highly probable that the majority of the ancestors of the Okinawans came from the north, from Japan, in the not too remote past. Their isolation made it possible for them to be politically independent and their political independence made it possible for them to escape the levelling influence of Japanese national governments, particularly that of the Tokugawa Shogunate, and for them to have closer contact with China. This accounts for their having a number of elements of Chinese culture that are not found in Japan, but it does not make them a kind of Chinese.

2) Japanese Political Administration On the negative side is the domination, during the period of Japanese administration, of Okinawan public life by men from Japan. But on the other hand Okinawa became another perfecture and not a colony, and there were possibly not many more men in Okinawa from Japan's urban centers than in other remote and poor perfectures. As Japanese subjects in a Japanese prefecture, Okinawans could rise in the Japanese system and indeed a few did. The position of Okinawa was quite different from that of Korea. 648 829

Insofar as the Japanese policy of assimilation was successful, the fact that most of the important posts in the prefectural government were occupied by men from Tokyo could be ignored. If the Okinawans identified themselves as Japanese the difference would be less important. (The degree of Japanese domination and the harshness of the regime, moreover, seem to have become exaggerated in the minds of many of the Americans on Okinawa at present; some of the USCAR personnel with whom we talked appeared to be unaware of the fact that Okinawa had the same legal status as other parts of Japan.)

3) Japanese Assimilation Policy The policy of the Japanese government and particularly that of the Ministry of Education was undoubtedly one of cultural imperialism. The aim was to produce a uniform people. A strong attempt was made to eradicate the native language and many native customs that did not agree with Japanese ideals, the periodic redivision of land ('jiwari seido') and the use of the pigpen as a toilet, to name two. School teachers labelled the Okinawan language a "dialect" of Japanese, thus giving it inferior status, and labelled many Okinawan beliefs "superstitions". The army also undoubtedly attempted to replace Okinawan with Japanese ideals in many young men. These attempts may have produced hostility in some Okinawans, but it is our impression that the more usual result was to produce merely a feeling of inferiority. Okinawan speech and culture went down in value and Japanese speech and culture went up. Younger Okinawans who could not speak good Japanese felt inferior, but within the Japanese hierarchy. Moreover, in recent years Okinawan speech and customs have been given new prestige as museum pieces by the fact that outstanding Japanese scholars have devoted some attention to them. 648 177 829 152

4) Treatment of Okinawans in Japan Undoubtedly Okinawans who went to Japan in the twenties and thirties to look for employment were disiscriminated against by Japanese employers. A great number of Okinawans went to Osaka to work in the textile mills. Accounts of informants reveal that the mill foremen stereotyped Okinawans as lazy and unreliable and did not hesitate to say so. (In view of the conditions of labor, Americans in the same position might well have earned the same stereotype.) Some mills did not hire Okinawans if they could avoid it. 167 464 177

In rural Japan people were in utter ignorance of Okinawa. Students who were evacuated in 1944 to Kyushu discovered this. One young man told how the peasants in Miyazaki-ken thought that Okinawans were South Sea Islanders and expected them to come wearing clothes made of the leaves of trees and expected to have to teach them how to cook rice. 000

One can infrequently observe women walking from Minatogawa to nearby villages to sell their fish. Women and young girls also sell fish locally, standing somewhere off the main street with their hand scale (hakkari) and a basket or bucket of fish. Housewives come up, price the individual fish, often weighing it for themselves on the hand scale. 443 804

Like the Chinese scale, this is simply a round piece of wood on one end of which there is a weight. The fulcrum is a string, held in the hand, which holds the scale. The item to be weighed is put in a basket and placed on the other end. The weight is ascertained by moving the counter-weight till both sides are in balance. Markings along the piece of wood show the exact amount. Every village shop has one of these scales.

There is very little haggling over prices, although the housewife is choosy and will inquire the cost of different individual fish before deciding which one, if any, to buy. 443

Usually the night's catch is marketed the following morning. Women, by custom, receive a fee for selling fish. A woman who takes her husband's and his partner's fish to market (the catch being insufficient for both wives to participate) is paid her fee by weight. 443 465 [804]

25 kin (about 33 pounds) sold at Y30 per kin	Y1500
Woman's share, at Y5 per kin	- 150
Remainder	Y1350
Each Partner's Share	675

The Y5 per kin is a selling commission. If more than one woman goes, the fee is split between them. Women pay all expenses and their bus fare from the commission. Occasionally wives alternate in taking the catch to market.

When the woman of a fishing family takes fish to market, she is doing more than performing an errand. Her skill in bargaining and general knowledge of prices, of the catch and the demand for various kinds of fish determine whether she gets a good or only a fair price. Generally, mature women sell the fish. Younger women, in the late teens and early twenties, often accompany the older women as helpers and gradually are initiated into the tricks of the trade. Young women, not being skillful, are more likely to accept the first offer, or to sell below the highest price obtainable. One source of family quarreling (fufukonka) is the anger of a husband when his wife has sold at a lower price than his neighbor's wife. Women who have children leave them with a relative, or an older daughter. When the wife of the family is unable to sell the fish because her children are too young, the chore is taken over by a woman relative. In Minatogawa, this substitute work also is often done by widows who, in addition, might sell fish caught by male relatives. 443 562 [578] [855] [589]

The money earned by women in the marketing of the fish, after 000

In Hanashiro, the fish were raised for sale by the young men's association. The supply of fish is too uncertain and too seasonal for these remedies to be an effective part of the traditional medicine. Like the native plants, and many of the traditional medical practices, they are yielding to the drugs which can be found in the small village shops: stomach and headache powders, eye lotions, aspirin, and other pharmaceuticals and patent medicines.

The economic and occupational organization of village fishing is very informal. Partnerships are made on a basis of friendship and continue so until one party, for any reason, decides to leave. There are about 40 of these partnerships among the 120 odd adult fishermen.[2] The fishermen of the village also have a fisherman's association (suisankumiai) similar in function to the agricultural associations which the Japanese instituted throughout the empire. This association has a head (suisankumiaichō). Like so many official and administrative jobs in a village, these offices are thrust upon the man. He seldom seeks them. In the larger places where there is more remuneration, the man might seek the job. The head of the association is chosen by the fishermen of the village. He receives Y10 a month for each fisherman he represents. This is a supplementary job, as he could not exist on this sum. Lack of cash prevents any ambitious services to the membership. The association buys and sells gas and oil, nets, lines, hooks, and other necessary items which have been imported either from the United States or from Japan. Occasionally, the association has sufficient funds for small temporary loans for purchasing imported gear, loans from Y100 to Y 500 for a period of a week or two. The main function of the association is the exchange of information between the local head and representatives from the larger association in Naha. This becomes a study of the daily market demands; the information provided is a guide to fishermen in meeting the demand. This is all very informal. The head of the association circulates among the fishermen, giving them tips on what to expect and how prices are going.

7

The Rough Language of Hinatogawa

The Hinatogawans have one characteristic which is not shared by their agricultural neighbors of Nagano, nor indeed by any of the agricultural villages. This is their rough (arai) language, so described by Hinatogawans with a certain amount of pride. This language, if used in the other village, would be considered insulting. It is notable for the freedom with which nicknames, some funny, some disparaging, some pointed at infirmities, are used.

2 The word used here is kumiai but actually these partnerships do not have the organized co-operative character that this word usually implies when used in an economic sense.

316 (1951-52) is from Y300-400 per tsubo (about four square yards), much
425 higher than ordinary agricultural land. The price varies with supposed
435 quality. The good judgment of the purchaser is necessary for success. He must estimate the quantity of stone, its depth, whether there may be cracks, fissures, or black streaks below, and the effect of underground water as he cuts down deeper. In a year, a good stonecutter can remove stone from about four tsubo of land. If he has extra capital, he may hire help.

316 The types of employment found are either the single operator or the
472 small operator who has one or more employees. The industry is not notable for large capital outlays, or many employees of a single operator. A simple partnership is common. There may be some division of labor, with the owner of the rights doing all the cutting, while a friend or relative who does this as a secondary occupation assists in the removal of the stone and in loading it on a horse cart. The operator who has a piece of land too large to work by himself may hire someone. The employee (yatoi in Japanese, ninpu in Okinawan) is paid according to skill: Y100 a day for a beginning 17 or 18 year old boy, Y150 to the experienced, [465] and Y200 to the worker who can do all phases of the work quickly and skillfully.

Much depends on the nature of the stone being worked. This varies
[804] by locality and with moisture content. It will require 8 hours for a man to cut a six shaku (about six feet) length of hard rock 1 shaku
[461] 2 sun (14.4 inches) deep, but he may be able to make three cuttings of moist or wet rock in the same period. Working time naturally varies with the strength and skill of the cutter. For this reason, piece
[465] work payment is common. The employee, however, may work unused portions of the holdings, receiving two-thirds of the value of the stone cut.

3

Tools and Types of Stone Cut

413 Six tools are used in cutting and extracting the sandstone: (1) the hichi (Okinawan). This tool, about six feet long, resembles a crow bar, but has a sharp chisel edge for cutting the stone. (2) A sharp hand axe (ono in Japanese, yuki in Okinawan) for chipping and finishing, (3) the ishiyuki, a smaller axe, used like the yuki, for chipping and finishing but principally in shaping pyramidal stones (kenchi). The tool is also used to knock off the rough edges of the stone, where it has been split, an operation often performed by old men. (4) The kusukacha (Okinawan). This reminds one of a small light golf iron. It has a handle four or five feet long with a metal strip attached at an angle to one end. It is used to rake off chippings and dust that accumulate in the groove while the cut is being made with the long chisel. (5) Wedges (iya in Okinawan), and (6) sledge hammers are used to split off the stone after the cut has been made.

316 Methods of working with these tools are very simple. The surface dirt is cleared away until the stone to be cut is visible and clean.

313 tion, but the village receives payment, through the township,
476 from the central government for this labor. In November 1951,
the rate was Y80 per day for each male, and Y50 for each female.
[465] Married women do not participate, except to take the place of a
husband who cannot attend. This community project is a continuation
of pre-war custom. On the day set aside for this work, the partici-
pants are taken part way by truck or bus. A half hour walk over the
paths, often leading through dense thickets, brings them to the site
selected. Everyone brings his own lunch, perhaps in a little metal
box, or merely wrapped in banana leaves. Around noon, the girls take
their buckets, go down hill to the stream, and carry up the water for
the tea. Weeds and grasses, especially miscanthus and the dwarf
bamboo are cleared out from the predominating shii and pine. A shii
is known here as the shiigi or shiija. When work begins the area is
almost an impenetrable thicket. The grasses and the thick dwarf
bamboo have grown up in dense stands among the trees. Only these
grasses are cut. Trees are not touched, except for the very young
ones in overcrowded spots, or the malformed and dying trees. With
the brush and grasses cut, the stand of trees is still dense.

When the undergrowth has been cut down, one can walk through
the area. The cuttings, as well as the litter on the forest floor,
are not removed. This wise practice keeps the soils at least at
their normal productivity. In this area, the relatively low density
[311] of population, the scattering of settlement, the large areas of
forest compared with the cultivated areas have not brought about con-
ditions requiring the removal of forest litter for fertilizing fields
and for fuel, a practice which creates acute problems in Japan.[9]

The work is supervised by a forestry official living in the
[637] village but an employee of the township. His supervision is nominal,
as everyone knows what is to be done and how to do it. Like all
officials of a village, he is a friend, neighbor, or relative of
those who participate. He checks off the names of those who have
reported. On returning from the forest at five in the afternoon,
most of the villagers bring back some wood, perhaps a long pole, a
bunch of dwarf bamboo, or miscanthus to make an outdoor broom.
They are lighthearted as they return single file along the winding
paths back to the village.

Pine cones are gathered for their seeds by the co-operative
effort of the villagers. The cones are soaked in water so the seeds
can be removed more easily. The village office takes the seeds,
[C55] gives them to the township office which sells them to the central
government for planting purposes. Once a year, the village receives
10% of the amount of seeds it collected for its own planting purposes.

9 A report on Japanese natural resources, as cited, 358.

843 pregnancy are also said to be rare, although miscarriages in later pregnancy up to two or three months before the birth are more numerous because of the continuing heavy work of the mother in the fields. The mother in the agricultural village normally works up to the time for
849 the birth. She eats her normal diet. After birth, the child is placed on a large comforter (futon) beside the mother.

The midwife, after delivery, goes once a day for a week to the mother's home. Her fee is not decided upon before hand, but according
[846] to custom, averages Y350 for a normal and Y500 for a difficult birth,
[965] a low fee probably enforced by the poverty and lack of cash of farm families. (In Naha corresponding fees are said to be Y1-2000).

There is no uniform way of feeding the child after birth. In
853 most cases the child is not breast fed until after the third day due to the fact that mothers have little milk at this time. The first, second, and the third days it is fed warm water with small amounts of white sugar, but this is by no means universal. Some mothers have said that they give the child the breast 4 or 5 hours after birth. In any case, the child very quickly becomes accustomed to feeding at the breast, and this continues for an indeterminate period, depending on the mother and the child. It may be for two years, or until the next
[862] child comes. In all communities studied, other arrangements are made in the unlikely event that the mother does not have milk of her own. The child may be given evaporated cow's milk or friends or relatives nurse the child. In Minatogawa, if a woman has special duties or takes a trip out of town and cannot take her child with her, she can pay to have it nursed.

843 One belief regarding pregnancy still exists among the old in the Ginoza area. If a new house is being built during the pregnancy of the woman of the house, the cap of the roof is not put on until after the birth has taken place.

2

Birth Customs and Convalescence

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844
23
[184] In Minatogawa, and to a much lesser extent in Hanashiro, birth customs are related to certain beliefs about the pig pen. These were not known in Hatsuda. In the two southern villages they have virtually disappeared, except among the old. According to a Hanashiro farmer's wife, the child on the day of its birth is washed, dressed in new
[189] clothes, and carried to the pig pen, which is supposed to frighten away evil spirits (bakemono). [See footnote 1, bottom of p. 257--analyst]

vary according to the problems and conditions in a village. The first meeting of the year is usually held around Jan. 2, when there is a party. The young men, even those of 17 drink sake at this time. Young women, who do not drink, contribute gifts of candy and soft drinks. 575

In Hanashiro, the young men cultivate a field of their own and sell the produce. They maintain a carp pond. (Before the war, there were two such ponds). They also work out for wages. Every morning rotating groups work for two hours either in the association's field or for wages. This is done before the daily work. Their earnings of Y8 an hour, low by Okinawan standards, are accumulated for special projects, such as the annual athletic meet. Occasionally they help with road maintenance, though this is a job for all the people of the village. The carp in the pond are sold to the villagers, normally in July, for medicinal purposes. [465] [825] [298]

In Minatogawa, the young men's and the young women's association are combined. The head is a young man, the second in charge a young woman. They help in times of emergency and with repairing of typhoon damage. Since there are no fields or carp ponds, they are not so active as the young men of the agricultural villages. Sometimes they do night guard duty around the village, though this practice now has fallen into disuse.

In Matsuda, the association performs tasks similar to those in Hanashiro. Rotating groups, arising at 4 in the morning, do two or three hours work before starting their own. Absentees are fined Y20 and tardy members Y5. The young men grow sugar cane on land loaned free of charge by farmers. The purpose of the project is to increase sugar cane production by providing transplants. The Matsuda group also works in the forests, for which they receive Y100 per day per person. With the permission of the village headman, they get firewood from the forests, sell it to provide funds for their projects. They stand by during typhoons. But they also have discontinued the custom of providing a 3 or 4 member patrol to walk around the village in the early morning hours. Since thievery is uncommon, the patrolling is no longer required. When the village gong sounds a fire alarm, all the young men assemble. At the harvest festivals, such as the autumnal equinoctial holiday, the young men may present a play, do Okinawan dances, and supply the motive power for the village lion. [249]

The leader (danchō) of a young man's association usually is from the older age group. Meetings are held twice a month, normally on the 1st and 15th. The annual parties are either at the beginning or the end of the year. In all the villages, the young men's associations have a leading part in the annual athletic meetings. Most of their accumulated funds are expended at this time. They not only participate, but do much of the preparatory work in co-operation with the school teachers.

One result of membership in the young men's associations is that the age range (an 8 year span) of one's acquaintance is broadened.

Their acts are enforced in each of the villages by the headman. 632

The village headman (kuchō) is an intermediary between the people and the township government. He listens to complaints from his people, carries them to the township government for a hearing, and has supervision over official community projects and activities. The headman, like the mayor, is a busy, hardworking man. His pay, insufficient to live on, is midway between a salary and an honorarium. The headman of Hanashiro, for example, received Y720 per month, Hinatogawa Y950, and Hatsuda Y2000 a month.[5] The headman usually has a paid clerk (shoki) who works full time and may receive more pay than the headman. The clerk compiles reports of the village population, assists the headman at meetings, and is a general administrative assistant. 622 622 [465] [624]

The village headman is elected for a period of one year. There is no campaigning. The election generally is preceded by discussions among the heads of households, village elders, the young men's association and the women's association. These discussions reveal the candidates who are able to do the work and have the leisure and the money to undertake the responsibility. [666]

A village headman usually leads a harried life. Most of them regard their term as a duty to be discharged rather than a beginning of a career in office holding. A former village headman of Hanashiro said that, in addition to the formal meetings he attended at the township office, he had to visit the village office at least 15 times a month on some village problem, such as taxes, health and sanitation, or individual complaints. The village headman of Hinatogawa had a constant succession of problems: reports on overdue fishermen, getting water pipe lines from the mountains to the water tank repaired, taking charge of typhoon damage repair, and trying to have small improvements made in the village. The headman is caught between the township officials who need tax money and the villagers who complain that they have so little money with which to pay them. In Hatsuda, there was the same multiplication of problems involving taxes, need for extra school supplies or repairs, and road maintenance. [651]

Village headmen belong to no special age group. In one township, they ranged in age from 30 to 52. Age is not a decisive factor in their selection, but reputation, literacy, and friendliness are. Though there is a change in administration each year, the incumbent headman stays on one month after the close of his term until the new one has become accustomed to his duties. In some villages, the clerk is elected at the same time as the village headman. [624]

The village headman does not have, nor does he desire, complete responsibility for administering the village. Two groups are available for advice. The headman will not make decisions on important non-routine matters without consulting them. The first of these, the village council 623

5 For comparative purposes, the minimum wage for young Okinawan girls employed as maids for US personnel was about Y100 ($9.17) per month. [465]

358 children, whether in primary, junior, or senior high school, clean up the grounds and do repair and upkeep work. Young teachers, many [875] of whom are single, supervise the work, and often stay during the evening hours to plan the day's work or to study. Male teachers are night watchmen at the school, sleeping there in rotation.

346 The main problems of education are (1) adequate school buildings. Their condition reflects the haphazard tragedies of war. Schools vary in quality from place to place. The high school at Ginoza and the elementary school at Matsuda, for example, are excellent buildings; in other places, such as Gushichan village, the classroom buildings are little more than shanties with thatched roofs, and a siding of boards, [358] corrugated iron, or other materials at hand. At typhoon times, some of these are flattened, and it is normal to see school children helping to clear the grounds and putting on new thatch. It is my impression [727] generally that conditions are worse in southern Okinawa than in the northern area where war destruction was much less. The Civil Administration is well aware of these problems and the school construction program is, to all appearances, progressing. (2) Much the same situation and for the same reasons, exists with regard to school equipment. Rickety [352] chairs, old benches, bad blackboards contrast with the equipment of the new schools or of the old which escaped destruction.

875 (3) The post-war period has made a difference in the status of the school teacher (sensei). The destruction and disruption of the war, scarcity, high prices and low salaries have made his position in most [727] cases a precarious one. Before the war, the school teacher had prestige and money. Only the prestige remains. One high school principal estimated that the post-war prices have increased 100 times, the teachers' [465] salaries about fifty times. Immediately before the war, the starting salary of a beginning teacher was Y45 a month. (The value of the pre- [435] war Japanese yen was about US $0.27). A school principal received Y100 a month. Now the beginning salary for school teachers is about Y2200 and for principals Y5000. (The present value of the Okinawan yen is officially pegged at 120 to the dollar). Increases averaging about 30% went into effect in October 1951.

The school teacher has little or no money for clothing; his dress is the same nondescript combination of old civilian and army clothing that one sees on everyone else. This situation, serious in any country, is particularly so in a culture that has always regarded the teacher with such honor. The teaching profession is the source of many careers [555] in public office. Even in casual observation, one frequently finds that mayors, vice-mayors, former members of the Japanese civil service, started life as teachers.

The Okinawan teacher works hard and enthusiastically, but new attitudes are appearing which must be recognized. There is a desire to leave the profession, particularly noticeable in the male teachers under 30. Economic difficulties are reflected in frustration and discouragement. Okinawan school teachers, if the ones I knew are representative, have enthusiasm for ideas of democracy and freedom and for reforms that have

313 which they use interchangeably. After sufficient trees have been cut and
[412] cleared of branches, a large bundle of firewood is carried to the village. Most forest workers make four or five trips a day into the hills—two or three during the hot summer season. As the afternoon ends, they sit down along the road in the village or nearby to prepare firewood
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[592] which marks the end of a forest worker's daily labor. Each household works independently and sells firewood to the cooperative. A store
[436] clerk travels around the village in late afternoon, checks all bundles, and issues credit slips to each household; these can be changed into money at the store. The following morning the truck, owned by the
[438] cooperative, carries the firewood to Naha or Itoman where it is sold to a dealer who redistributes it to individual consumers or public bathhouses. The northern part of the island has always supplied firewood to the population of southern Okinawa to be used for kitchen hearths
[354] and bath stoves. In recent years kerosene kitchen stoves have become so popular that the depletion of wood resources tends to coincide with decreasing demand.

TRADES AND PROFESSIONS

463 Other ways of making a living exist. A few artisans in Taira derive part of their income from wage labor. A number of Taira men earn their living by carpentering, although they do most of their work in the south. They return occasionally when their services are needed for
[465] local house building. When working on local construction, they are paid in money, free lodging, and meals. There are also a few part-time resident carpenters who, whenever they are not employed in house building or repairs, spend their time farming and cutting wood. New
[342] buildings are usually put up between the beginning of the second rice crop and the New Year.

463 Several persons are salaried township or village officials. They are paid monthly and work a 44-hour week, not counting many extra meet-
466 ings and duties connected with their work. All office workers however
[647] have fields, either their own or those of their parents, where they spend Sundays helping in agricultural pursuits. During rice planting season, they are given special time off to attend to their fields.

Also among the salaried workers are store employees, a full-time

director with assistants and clerks. The clerks are always young people 463
just out of school who receive nominal wages in return for a seven-day 466
work week. The township office employs as janitor a girl who keeps
the office in order, serves tea at any time during the day, washes dishes, [647]
and helps to cook meals for entertaining. Her family owns one of the largest houses in the central village and more land than most others. No social stigma is attached to her job; in fact, most Taira girls would consider it a privilege to exchange their mountain work for her kind of employment even though they would earn no more. Another girl, employed by the local "doctor" as nurse and maid, lives with the family, eats with them, and sleeps with their children. Only one farmer employs a hired hand, a man from another township.

Among others living on a salary is the postmaster. His father held 463
the same office, and his son is now trained to succeed him as the third [205]
in line. The rice miller, a man from outside the village and married to
a Taira woman, and the "doctor" also depend for most of their in- [759]
comes on specialized services. The latter owns his dispensary and small [657]
hospital. He receives some financial support from the township government. His services to people are compensated for either in cash or [465]
kind. Patients who are unable to pay at once will bring rice to his
house after the harvest. These remunerations, pig raising, and other [556]
side activities make him, along with the rice miller and the postmaster, the wealthiest person in Taira. Local male school teachers also own [875]
fields, to which they give time in the afternoons and Sundays to help their wives.

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cialists, are not paid in money for their services. They participate in 793
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outside the community is the priestess paid a small fee. Within the 465
village she receives the food and sake which are offered in the cere- [782]
mony, whether she is called by a family or prays at the village shrine on a general holiday.

DIVISION OF LABOR BY SEX AND AGE

Men and women are equal partners in everyday economic activities, 462
both in agricultural and forest work. Only a few occupations are clearly differentiated by sex: fishing, the handling of horses, and the carrying of night soil are done exclusively by males; housework and the care and feeding of pigs predominantly by women. Some agricultural work [241]
is considered too heavy for women, for example, the turning of the

Although animals are generally bought for prices that the community considers as relatively fixed (see below), meat animals sell for a certain rate per unit weight that varies with the market. Old cows and bullocks are generally sold for meat at the rate of ¥60 per kin. Boars, if fat, are sold for ¥42 per kin. Male goats bring ¥20 per kin for eating purposes, and chickens bring about ¥200 per kin. Females of any animals are very seldom sold unless old and almost dying, or unless the farmer finds himself in dire monetary emergency. Nanahan, which has the greatest vegetable acreage in Tomoyose village, has a 'han'-wide agreement not to raise chickens, due to their possible destruction of young plants. 435

Buying of Livestock and Daily Necessities The war depleted most of the livestock of Okinawa, and recovery has been slow. Okinawan farmers frequently expressed their gratitude to the American religious organizations which sent goats to them to help in reconstruction. 727 231 [177]

The reversion of Amami indirectly helped to increase the livestock on Okinawa. A Nanahan farmer described the situation in late November of 1953: 439 231

> Horses, cows, goats and pigs, together with household furniture come into Tomari port from Amami every day. The Amamians want to get as much Okinawan yen as possible, because it will convert to Japanese yen at three to one, and they think they will be ahead. The accelerated cattle movement started right after reversion intentions were announced. We are very glad to be able to buy the animals, but important people on Amami are afraid that this movement will deplete the island of animals, especially stud horses and bulls, goats and pigs for breeding.

Nanahan farmers have relatively fixed ideas on the prices of livestock. For middle grade, or average, stock the following prices are quoted: horses, ¥13,000; cows, ¥25,000; heifers, ¥10-11,000; calves ¥9-10,000; boars, ¥2,500; sows, ¥2,700; and all goats, ¥300-400. 435

Before the war there were many people traveling through the countryside selling 'miso' paste and bean curd. Every other day such peddlers would visit even the most isolated settlements. Better roads and increased communications by bus and jitney have oriented purchase of staples urbanward. The only peddlers who now come through Nanahan are basket peddlers. Two small stores in the main settlement provide 'sake', noodles, matches and other small-cost items that are not worth a trip to town. 438 178 443

Sale of Services Farm labor is drawn from the southern islands and from poorer families who are just getting a start in the community. In Nanahan there was only one full-time farm laborer, who was paid ¥2,000 a month, in addition to room and board. He had left Miyako when eighteen, two years before, because of a famine that was being caused by a sweet-potato virus. His employer was a man who managed a good deal of land---indeed the land that belonged to himself and two minor relatives---and sorely needed the extra labor. Another landowner was converting dry land to paddy, and after 464 [465]

the bulldozer had done the basic shaping of the field, a new member of the 'han' was hired to finish the pounding of the paddy walls. He was paid ¥900 for six days' work, and was required to provide his own lunch. His employer had spent the first year after the war in Hokkaido, working for no money but receiving one 'shō' (3.18 pints) of rice a day. Later he rented a horse and cart from its owner at ¥60 a day and pocketed anything above that amount that he earned. During planting and harvest season he worked in the rice fields.

Horses are rented out by their owners to other people, but when a cow is rented the owner's services are always included. No farmer trusts anyone else with his cow. A man-and-cow hire out for ¥250-300 a day, depending on the distance they must travel. A horse is most often rented to pull the sweep of a rotary sugar-press, and is paid according to the amount of juice of black sugar produced. Various prices are quoted. ¥100 is paid for each 'chō' (100 kin, or 132 pounds) of black sugar produced. One farmer charges for the use of his horse a flat rate of ¥1 for each gallon of juice squeezed. Another charges ¥60 for 50 gallons of juice if the renter lives in Nanahan or close by, and ¥70 if he lives farther away. Horses were scarce the first year after the war, and fifteen men together pulled the sweeps of the rotary presses.

Buying of Labor and Services Many times farmers have need of a great amount of labor in a short period of time. Then they are most likely to call upon the services of the young people's group, the 'seinendan'. One Nanahan farmer in 1952 had this group make a paddy field for him from a dry field. In 1953 another farmer had the group make a 300 'tsubo' dry field for him out of 'arechi', or war-destroyed land. The 'seinendan' also hires its members out to work for people who need help in the busy season. The following daily wage rates were quotes: women and new members, ¥40; men of 18 and 19 years, ¥50; and men of 20 years and above, ¥60.

Abolition of the stringent Japanese regulations compelling farmers to raise sugar has resulted in the reconversion of many sugar fields to rice paddies. At first this was done exclusively by hand labor, but now bulldozers are more in favor. One farmer had 420 'tsubo' of dry land converted into paddy at a total cost for bulldozer leveling of ¥6,300. The rate for machine and operator was ¥600 an hour. The farmer owns 450 tsubo more of paddy, which provides rice for one meal a day. With this newly-converted field he plans to have his family eat rice twice daily. Labor charges for finishing the new paddy will run about ¥4,000, according to estimate.

One of his relatives is a repatriate from the hemp-growing colony at Davao, in the Philippines. This man bought land from a villager who was dissatisfied with country life, and hired a bulldozer to convert it to paddy. For conversion of 816 tsubo he paid bulldozer charges of ¥12,000 and ¥8,000 additional for labor. He had bought the dry land ('hatake') originally for ¥65 per tsubo.

About the only other service regularly engaged is the hulling and polishing of rice. Nanahan people take their threshed rice to a neighboring village where there is a 'seimaisho' (rice-cleaning mill), and pay only cash for the service. They return home with the polished rice and the bran, or

632

15th - Industrial Inspection of Southern Okinawa.
16th - Sunday.
17th - Extermination of all noxious insects.
18th - 'Kuchōkai'. Meeting of all village mayors at 2 p.m.
19th -
20th - Inspection of fields.
Study for preparation of new 'koseki' at Shuri City Office, 10 p.m.
Meeting of chiefs of all Public Welfare Departments at Okinawa Kaikan, Naha.
21st - Training class for office workers of municipalities. The following must attend: Assistant Mayor, Chief of General Affairs Department, Treasurer, Chief Accountant, and Election Secretary.
Meeting of chiefs of all Public Welfare Departments, Naha.
22nd - Meeting of chiefs of all Public Welfare Departments, Naha.
23rd - Sunday. Farewell and welcome party for new and old mayors of the municipalities at Restaurant Hanasaki, Naha, 6 p.m.
24th - Dispensary. Shots for children.
25th - 'Kuchōkai'. Meeting of all village mayors at 2 p.m.
26th -
27th -
28th -
29th -
30th - Sunday
31st -

622 Village ('ku') Government Political Organization A 'kuchō' (mayor of 'ku') presides over the administration of the village and functions as an intermediary between the villagers and the township office. In the latter capacity he carries the problems, questions, and complaints of the people to the township office ('senyakuba'); he also brings to the village directives and projects requested by that office and supervises their execution. In Kanegusuku-ku a 'kuchō' is elected for a term of one year and is not eligible for reelection; in order to be eligible for the office he must be over 27 years of age and a household head. He re- [465] ceives a monthly salary of ¥1100 ($9.17) which is paid by the township, not the village. The office exacts heavy demands on the individual's time; consequently the position is accepted with a sense of responsibility or obligation, as a duty to be performed, rather than for any prestige or other benefits which m might accrue. A 'kuchō' must make frequent trips to the township office, at least several a week; in addition three times each month he attends meetings of all the village mayors in his township. Emergencies in the village always demand his time. For example, when a death occurred in the village, he walked to the township office and notified the officials there, next notified the 'son' policeman, and then he walked to another village to secure a funeral palanquin; lastly he returned to his village and participated in the funeral ceremonies. His home is usually open at all times to villagers who seek information or wish to discuss a problem. Often he is asked to attend to a minor matter at the township office in their behalf; frequently these are matters of a sort which might as easily be handled by the individual concerned.

One of his major responsibilities to the township office is tax collection within the village; yet, his actual powers are slight, as nearly all of his official acts are first sanctioned by the villagers or the township office. It seemed to the author that the chief role of the 'kuchō' was as an intermediary between the people and the township office or as an agent for the latter, rather than as an administrator. It would seem that the payment of his salary by the township instead of by the village is symbolic of his actual role. 622 [651] [632]

Assisting the 'kuchō' are several officers the first of which is the assistant mayor ('fuku-kuchō') who is elected at the same time as the mayor and serves for one year. He is paid ¥480 ($4.00) per month, and like the mayor he must be over 27 and a household head. In the absence of the mayor he functions in his place, and on all other occasions he assists him in his work. A village clerk ('shōki') is also elected at the same time as the 'kuchō', and serves for a term of one year; he is paid a salary of ¥700 ($5.83) each month. The main qualifications for this position are that one have a fair amount of education and a good mastery of characters for writing. The job holds little appeal since it demands much of the individual's time and affords little in the way of prestige or pay. In Kanegusuku-ku in December of 1953 three elections were held in an effort to fill this position before someone finally and quite reluctantly accepted it. 624 [465] [465]

An advisory body of four councillors ('hyōgiin') assists the mayor in his administration; they represent each of the four neighborhoods or districts of the village. They are elected at the same time as the mayor, serve for one year, and receive a salary of ¥20 (17¢) per meeting. According to the villagers this body has replaced the earlier yuushi which was an unelected advisory council made up of former village officials, the village equivalent of elder statesmen. The 'kuchō' never undertakes an independent course of action; he first consults the 'hyōgiin' and obtains their approval and suggestions before initiating action. 623 [465]

Each village of Kanegusuku-son elects two men to represent it in the township ('son') assembly ('sonkai'); they are elected for a term of four years. Older, mature men who have held several official positions are always selected. They also play a part in village administration and are considered village officials. At all meetings they sit with the officials, and their opinion is much valued. 624 632

All matters of real importance are submitted to the household heads who form the real body politic within the village. The electorate for the village consists exclusively of household heads; to vote in a village election one must be a household head or one appointed by him to vote in his place, but in township and national elections universal suffrage obtains. At one village election which the author witnessed in December of 1953 balloting began as soon as the meeting was called to order without any preliminary speeches or nominations. It was later stated that the election and likely candidates had been informally discussed among the village leaders and household heads so that there was no need for preliminaries. The same situation seemed to prevail when meetings were held to discuss matters of general concern; the apparent unanimity of opinion and agreement indicated that informal concordance had been reached well in advance of formal discussion and decision. 621 592 666

(their 'tane-hon', "seed books"), and who seemed to have little contact with others of their own interests. (I must hasten to add that there are also genuine local historians and folklorists who are critical, open to new ideas, and in contact with reputable men in their field; but these are clearly in the minority.) In the city the pseudo-scholar may be a man teaching a subject that he is totally incompetent to teach or he may be one of the numerous diviners and medical practitioners described in Chapter IX. Some of the diviners (sanjinsoo), however, could be better described as genuinely serious scholars working in a pseudo-science. 554

2. The Role of the Teacher

Despite the great importance attached to the family in East Asian societies and which the Japanese government has always professed to attach to it, the Japanese education system of pre-war times actually took more authority away from the family than does the American system. Incidents related by informants indicate that both before the war and since a teacher may reprimand a student for breaking school regulations outside of school hours and even in the student's own home. The police also may report the misdeeds of a student to the student's teacher rather than to his parents.[1] Partly this authority must have come from the teacher's position in a nationalized system of education and his role as the local spokesman for Japanese nationalism. And on Okinawa teachers had the additional task of creating good Japanese out of little Okinawans. This meant teaching the Japanese language as well as the Japanese ideology.[2] 871 177 875

Since the war the status of the teacher has deteriorated. Partly this may be due to the fact that he is no longer the local representative of a powerful government, and partly it may be due to poor morale resulting from the tragedy of war, but it is also undoubtedly due to a lower economic status. Teachers were formerly relatively well-paid. In 1954 Okinawan teachers were receiving a basic average salary of ¥3400 per month, principals, ¥6110. A police chief, by contrast, receives ¥6470. An elementary teacher, who must have 12 years of schooling and six months of professional training, at present receives 75% of the salary of a policeman on the beat, who must have 9 years of schooling and three months of training; in the prewar period the teacher received 155% of the salary of the policeman. 875 178 554 875 465 178 625 554

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1 See also "Police" in Chapter VI.

2 That in this effort they were not always successful is revealed by a few anecdotes: Someone is said to have encouraged a child to interrupt his teacher's lecture on the virtues of the semidivine monarch with the question, "Does the Emperor produce night soil?" Students are said to have referred to him secretly as 'Ten-chan', "Empy-Boy", rather than 'Tennō Heika', "His Imperial Majesty the Emperor". And the very old and the very young are said to have parodied 'Amaterasu Ōmikami', the name of the Sun Goddess, with "Aman-tarashi kuman-tarashi 'waa nu kami", "dropping it there, dropping it here, the pig god."

464 usually people tend to regard these persons as fortunate. During the entire
562 course of the author's stay on Okinawa he heard no sharp criticism of men who
829 were in military employment, yet many statements were heard about women who were so employed. This dichotomy seems to stem from the widely held belief that the American employers have sexual access to these women, particularly
[831] the maids. Okinawan culture affords its males a high degree of sexual freedom, but not its females.

464 It is said that the women who are employed by the military are cate-
554 gorized into several grades; the highest status is accorded to the office workers and PX clerks. These are followed by the kitchen and table maids, after which comes the maids who are employed in the dependent housing units; lastly there are the barracks maids, including those of the bachelor officers' and civilians' quarters. It is also claimed that these women can be distinguished on the basis of their dress. Supposedly the office workers and
[291] PX girls dress in the fashion of Japanese business women, whereas the housing
[117] and barracks maids dress in American styles which are considered loud and flashy.

464 It is claimed that many young men will not marry women who have been
554 maids in military installations. One young man asserted that these women were
582 no better than the "honeys" (a term used by Okinawans and GI's to designate the soldier's mistress).

464 The low status and pay (¥1200-1800, or $10-15 per month) for maids is
466 offset to a large extent by the gifts, food, and in many cases board which they receive from their employers. Despite the stigma there is no shortage
• [465] of applicants for these jobs. Another factor is the free bathing privileges which ordinarily accompany these jobs. Very few Okinawan homes have a bath,
[515] and public baths cost the equivalent of ten cents in American money, a sizeable outlay for the Okinawan purse.

464 Most of the discrimination is directly attributable to the sexual
554 jealousy of the Okinawan male toward the women who work and often live in close daily contact with Americans. There also seems to be some discrimina-
829 tion against any women in the category of maid, whether employed by American or Okinawan; in the past these were often indentured servants who had been sold by their parents into this low status.

186 <u>Okinawan Attitudes toward Their American Employers</u> It was the author's im-
829 pression that even those who had worked in close daily contact with Americans for a considerable period of time shared much the same stereotypes of the American as those held by the general public. It must be remembered that the points of emphasis in any stereotype are often those traits which seem obvious because they are so unfamiliar and hence not understood by the person of a different culture. Secondly, in every stereotype there is undoubtedly some considerable measure of truth; the important factor is the base of reference. Both Americans and Okinawans judge one another on the basis of different values and cultural backgrounds.

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861 forced when his mother does search for him and takes him home. Furthermore, she serves him the dinner which he was to have been deprived of as punishment. This theme apprears not only in reality [125] but also in the children's projections in the verbal TAT's.

There are, however, threats of withdrawal of love by the mother which evoke great fear of actual loss of love among children. These fears are based on the fact that, in contrast with the foregoing examples, no happy ending can be expected from this threatened punishment. The child is no longer confident that his mother's feelings will soften in the long run when she says to a disobedient son: "We will sell you to the Itoman fisherman." The boy has undoubtedly heard stories of little boys being sold to southern Okinawan fishermen. Such words make him quake with fear, and he promises to obey. Girls, on the other hand, are told they will be "changed for money" and made to live a life of virtual slavery in the house of strangers. These threats [466] have a realistic basis; children know that until recent times boys were [548] sold to fishermen and that girls paid off their parents' debts by working in a house of prostitution or for a farmer who accepted the extra hand instead of money for his debt. At least two persons still live in the village who had such experiences when they were young. One woman can testify to the mistreatment which she received from her masters during indentured labor, and such stories of many cases which are widely known are passed on to children.

At present a new twist has been added to the old theme. Mothers [648] silence a crying child with, "If you don't stop crying, we will give you to the Negroes." Now and then a grandmother will point to a jeep full of soldiers passing by and warn, "Eh! Come home now or we give you to the Americans." The response is usually immediate. The frightened child runs home, clutching onto his grandmother's kimono while the old woman cackles with amusement.

Some mothers threaten their children with running away themselves and leaving them with their fathers. This technique proves just as effective as the former, for a child's concept of support or love with respect to his father is never clearly defined.

One mother, after a particularly exasperating day, thought she would make good her threat to run away from the house. She packed some clothes in a bundle and started off in the direction of the main road. Quickly ducking around houses, she ended up a couple of houses away from her own and sat sipping tea with her neighbor in the back room. Meanwhile, the child, who had been hiding from her mother all day to avoid chores, discovered that her mother was missing. She started to search the village and was told by cooperating adults that

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[831] the maids. Okinawan culture affords its males a high degree of sexual freedom, but not its females.

464 It is said that the women who are employed by the military are cate-
554 gorized into several grades; the highest status is accorded to the office workers and PX clerks. These are followed by the kitchen and table maids, after which comes the maids who are employed in the dependent housing units; lastly there are the barracks maids, including those of the bachelor officers' and civilians' quarters. It is also claimed that these women can be distinguished on the basis of their dress. Supposedly the office workers and
[291] PX girls dress in the fashion of Japanese business women, whereas the housing
[107] and barracks maids dress in American styles which are considered loud and flashy.

464 It is claimed that many young men will not marry women who have been
554 maids in military installations. One young man asserted that these women were
582 no better than the "honeys" (a term used by Okinawans and GI's to designate the soldier's mistress).

464 The low status and pay (¥1200-1800, or $10-15 per month) for maids is
• 466 offset to a large extent by the gifts, food, and in many cases board which they receive from their employers. Despite the stigma there is no shortage
[465] of applicants for these jobs. Another factor is the free bathing privileges which ordinarily accompany these jobs. Very few Okinawan homes have a bath,
[515] and public baths cost the equivalent of ten cents in American money, a sizeable outlay for the Okinawan purse.

464 Most of the discrimination is directly attributable to the sexual
554 jealousy of the Okinawan male toward the women who work and often live in
829 close daily contact with Americans. There also seems to be some discrimination against any women in the category of maid, whether employed by American or Okinawan; in the past these were often indentured servants who had been sold by their parents into this low status.

186 <u>Okinawan Attitudes toward Their American Employers</u> It was the author's im-
829 pression that even those who had worked in close daily contact with Americans for a considerable period of time shared much the same stereotypes of the American as those held by the general public. It must be remembered that the points of emphasis in any stereotype are often those traits which seem obvious because they are so unfamiliar and hence not understood by the person of a different culture. Secondly, in every stereotype there is undoubtedly some considerable measure of truth; the important factor is the base of reference. Both Americans and Okinawans judge one another on the basis of different values and cultural backgrounds.

2. Rural Industries

178 438 543 Generally speaking, it can be said that much less effort is put forth in the countryside now toward home industries than was the case before the war. In Nanahan making of products at home has declined to the point where rather than being made for sale, they are made only for exhibit at the fair given annually at the local primary school. Even here considerable urging is required by the village officials, and entries are forthcoming only by an appeal to pride in one's village's standing at the fair.

249 257 Sugar Presses and Mills Okinawa has two modern western-style sugar refineries, one at Haebaru and one on the isle of Minami Daitō. At the other end of the scale there are the some-400 horse-drawn rotary mills. Between these there are perhaps a dozen or less mills which utilize gasoline-powered motors and are geared to operate on a much larger scale than the rotary presses.

• 471 257 461 In rebuilding the big mill at Tomoyose which had been destroyed in the war, each family that owned stock in the mill contributed the labor of one person per day of building. On a typical day they started work at eight, had a fifteen-minute "break" at ten, and returned home for lunch for an hour at noon. After an afternoon "break", the work continued until six. Breaks and resumption of work were announced by pounding on an empty oxygen cylinder of large dimensions. The only break I observed lasted for 24 minutes. Tea was served to everyone, and the men sat around discussing how they would be able to pay for the building---which was made of sandy limestone from Minatogawa---and 471 257 where they would borrow money. The sugar produced was to be sold to the Agricultural Federation in Naha, as is the sugar produced at the smaller mills. However, the sugar was to be sold in 50 kin (66 pound) bags rather than in [433] 100 kin barrels. The potential annual output was estimated at 15,000 bags, or approximately one-half the Tomoyose village production.

256 Kanegusuku Rice Mill There is one small rice mill in Kanegusuku. All the villagers who have rice land---or about 70% of the families---utilize this mill for polishing. No one in the village uses the [437] old-fashioned hand mill. The owner of the rice mill says that most of the villagers cannot afford to pay cash for having their rice polished. Consequently he takes as multure about two-thirds of one 'gō' from each 'shō' of rice. This amounts to approximately six percent of their rice. The villagers evidently trust him completely, for no one was seen standing around watching while their rice was being polished.

The owner says that his machines are old and break down frequently. Three machines are required for the whole process. This is not a full-time job except during the harvesting periods. The young man who is owner regularly works on his family's lands. All operation and maintenance are done by him; he does not hire a helper even in the busiest times.

286 433 [178] Mat-Making in Kanegusuku The three-cornered sedge ('sankaku-i') is a reed grown in a wet field like rice, and is the basis of 'tatami omote' and 'goza' manufacture, the chief home industry of Kanegusuku. Production of the reed in Kanegusuku today is about one-tenth the pre-

allotment system was now entered in the newly-created land registries as the 175
property of the household head. In the past inheritance of the position of 648
household head by the first son had been largely a matter of status succes- 177
sion involving leadership of the family and certain ceremonial obligations. 423
Property succession had not been an important factor, for the private 177
property of the family had usually amounted to no more than the family 423
house and lot. Under the old land allotment system there was always land 428
available for younger sons who set up independent houses, but under Japanese 592
law the bulk of the family property was inherited by the first son. What had
been the function of the community in the past now became the responsibility
of the family, and since family holdings were usually small, the younger sons
were often landless. Informants stated that a father will usually do every-
thing possible to provide his younger sons with land, but he cannot do this
if it means jeopardizing the resources of the house. Continuation of the
family line for the purpose of continuity in worshipping the ancestors is
the chief responsibility incumbent on the household head, and in the rural
areas the land provides the major support for the house. With the rise in [166]
population there developed an increasing trend for younger sons to emigrate
from the rural areas in search of land or jobs elsewhere. The end result [602]
was a considerable weakening of family and especially kin group ties and a [621]
rapid decline in the communal character of the rural villages.

Though the creation of private property made possible the sale, pur- 175
chase, and rental of land, landlordism never gained a foothold on Okinawa. 423
Undoubtedly this is primarily due to the recency of private property and the 427
lack of time for large accumulations of land to be made. It is also in part
due to a lack of capital in the rural areas; most capital on Okinawa after [471]
the annexation and before World War II was confined to the hands of Japanese
businessmen and members of the former upper classes who seemed disinclined to
invest in land. Likewise the official Japanese attitude toward Okinawa was [648]
to regard it as a rather backward part of Japan not to be exploited as a
colonial dependency as in the case of Formosa and Korea. Glacken has sug- [171]
gested that the heavy fragmentation of the typical Okinawan farm would be an
obstacle to its sale; yet, the Chinese farmland is also highly fragmented
and landlordism has been common there for centuries.[1]

After the abolition of the communal allotment system taxes were ex- 175
tended to cover all categories of land whereas previously they had been ap- 423
plied only to arable land; however, government income from land taxes sharply 651
declined, as the moderate levies of the Japanese administration were con-
siderably below those of the Okinawan monarchy. Despite this reduction in [311]
tax load there has been a steady decline in the amount of land cultivated
since the termination of the old land system; this is clearly shown in Tables
III and IV in Chapter III, Agricultural History, Land Use and Diet.

3. World War II and the American Occupation

175
During World War II Okinawa became the scene of one of the most vio- 727
lent battles of modern times. The entire island was turned into a combat

[1] Glacken, 1951, p. 160.

Moxa (mogusa in Japanese, fuchiba in Okinawan) in the traditional Chinese and Japanese pharmacopoeia, had considerable former importance. In powdered form, it is placed on a swelling or painful part, which is cauterized by burning the moxa with a charcoal stick or a hot piece of metal. Moxa can be bought, packed and prepared in Japan, at most Okinawan village stores. But wild moxa is not used for this purpose. Formerly a brew was made of the wild plant and drunk for bringing down a fever. It is still used with the yagi, another plant, as a broth. Now aspirin, also obtainable at village shops is commonly taken for these ills. 824 757

These plants are now nearly forgotten. In Hanashiro only the nigana and mogusa were remembered. In Minatogawa, the situation was the same. In Nagamo, a few slippers from the pandanus are still made. The virtual disappearance of home industries based on the pandanus is the result of a diminished supply and in part to loss of skills and failure of a younger generation to acquire them either because of the attraction of more exciting occupations or to lack of interest. This is not meant as a generalization. Home industries based on the use of uncultivated plants, has not vanished from all parts of Okinawa. Activity changes from locality to locality, even when these are close together. Slipper production from the pandanus has practically disappeared in Minatogawa, but across the river in the village of Horikawa they are still made. 824 178 184 [472]

Plant	Hanashiro	Minatogawa-Nagamo	Hatsuda
Pandanus (adan)	Scarce, not used	Some slippers made	Not used
Nigana	Root boiled and used as a medicine		Broth for stomach and headaches.
Ubako	Not used	For swellings; hot leaf used as a poultice.	Not used [757]
Moxa (mogusa)	Used as in Minatogawa	Wild plant boiled, brew used for bringing down fever. Powdered form purchased.	Used in combination with another plant, the yagi, resulting broth used for general complaints. [757]

316 (1951-52) is from Y300-400 per tsubo (about four square yards), much
425 higher than ordinary agricultural land. The price varies with supposed
435 quality. The good judgment of the purchaser is necessary for success. He must estimate the quantity of stone, its depth, whether there may be cracks, fissures, or black streaks below, and the effect of underground water as he cuts down deeper. In a year, a good stonecutter can remove stone from about four tsubo of land. If he has extra capital, he may hire help.

316 The types of employment found are either the single operator or the
472 small operator who has one or more employees. The industry is not notable for large capital outlays, or many employees of a single operator. A simple partnership is common. There may be some division of labor, with the owner of the rights doing all the cutting, while a friend or relative who does this as a secondary occupation assists in the removal of the stone and in loading it on a horse cart. The operator who has a piece of land too large to work by himself may hire someone. The employee (yatoi in Japanese, ninpu in Okinawan) is paid according to skill: Y100
[965] a day for a beginning 17 or 18 year old boy, Y150 to the experienced, and Y200 to the worker who can do all phases of the work quickly and skillfully.

Much depends on the nature of the stone being worked. This varies
[804] by locality and with moisture content. It will require 8 hours for a man to cut a six shaku (about six feet) length of hard rock 1 shaku
[961] 2 sun (14.4 inches) deep, but he may be able to make three cuttings of moist or wet rock in the same period. Working time naturally varies with the strength and skill of the cutter. For this reason, piece
[965] work payment is common. The employee, however, may work unused portions of the holdings, receiving two-thirds of the value of the stone cut.

3

Tools and Types of Stone Cut

413 Six tools are used in cutting and extracting the sandstone: (1) the hichi (Okinawan). This tool, about six feet long, resembles a crow bar, but has a sharp chisel edge for cutting the stone. (2) A sharp hand axe (ono in Japanese, yūki in Okinawan) for chipping and finishing, (3) the ishiyūki, a smaller axe, used like the yūki, for chipping and finishing but principally in shaping pyramidal stones (kenchi). The tool is also used to knock off the rough edges of the stone, where it has been split, an operation often performed by old men. (4) The kusukacha (Okinawan). This reminds one of a small light golf iron. It has a handle four or five feet long with a metal strip attached at an angle to one end. It is used to rake off chippings and dust that accumulate in the groove while the cut is being made with the long chisel. (5) Wedges (iya in Okinawan), and (6) sledge hammers are used to split off the stone after the cut has been made.

316 Methods of working with these tools are very simple. The surface dirt is cleared away until the stone to be cut is visible and clean.

324 The truck or horsecart of the buyer comes to the stonecutting area,
432 the blocks are loaded and taken away. Prior to sale, for convenience,
[494] stone may be taken from the cutting area. It is loaded on horse carts,
[483] the men carrying the heavy blocks by means of ropes looped around the
[804] ends of the stone and over poles which in turn rest on the shoulders.
[435] A six foot length (1 ken linear measure), one foot wide and about ten inches thick sells for ¥140 (1951-52).

Foot injuries are the chief hazards of this occupation. The toes may be accidentally cut by the long chisel, and there is danger
316 of bruising or crushing by accidentally dropping the block, or by rolling when it is being dislodged. Very hard and calloused hands are
[164] the mark of the stonecutter; his hands are especially conspicuous for the hard, raised areas on the palm around the base of the fingers, the
[142] result of the constant lifting and pounding of the long chisel. There is also danger to the eyes in flying chips but few use glasses or goggles.

Like some phases of fishing, this work is for the young and the
[561] physically mature men. After the middle forties or early fifties, a man no longer does the heavy work and confines himself to lighter chores. The very old and the retired may chip and finish the foundation and the pyramidal stones.

● 472 If a cutter is unable to extract all the stone in a plot whose stone he has bought, there are also customary solutions. When the father dies, his son continues the workings and returns the field to the owner. If a stone worker moves to another village when only half the work has been done, he arranges for a friend, relative, or neighbor to take over the remaining part.

4

Restoring the Land

185 Formerly excavations (which might be 10 or 15 feet deep and the
311 size of a large room) were refilled by the buyer of the stone rights. Rocks, pebbles, and miscellaneous trash were used as fill, but following the war there has been a heavy demand for rock and stone for road
[499] construction. As a consequence, many excavations are now only partly refilled. After refilling, houses are built on the sites of formerly excavated land. Here and there one can see sweet potatoes or vegetables growing on land which formerly was covered with stone. The original state of the land, its appearance after excavation and its restoration may be seen in Figure 2. Evidences of this reclamation may be seen throughout the stoneworking area.

324 Minatogawa, because it lacks vegetation for protective and decorative purposes, is a good example of the use and adaptation of stone to local needs. There are still stone fences, waist or shoulder height, and many small stone boundary lines, a foot or two and of uneven height. Coral stones, weathered by the sea, honeycombed and pocked, are seen everywhere.

299 [374] is owned and operated as a co-operative enterprise of the village. The mill This is the only co-operative phase of sugar growing and processing; all other operations, such as planting, harvesting, the actual making and marketing of the brown sugar are done by individual growers. In Hanashiro, the steps in sugar manufacture are (1) the crushing of the cane, (2) the boiling of the juice, (3) the handling, cooling, and packing of the brown sugar.

The cane is crushed by running it through a roller driven by a gas engine. Before the war, there were two of these rollers. The juice is channelled along small concrete conduits at the base of the roller to a cement hole in the floor. This hole is about two feet in diameter and one foot deep. From this storage hole, it is ladled into the pots for boiling. In pre-war days, the machinery was better, and instead of the small concrete hole, large vats were used. The place where the sugar is boiled adjoins the room in which the crushing is done. The dirt floor of this room has two levels: one on which the pots are placed, and under which there is a trench open at the lower level for the fuel. A man standing on the lower level, in back of the building, shovels or pitches fuel into the trench. Formerly coal [372] was used for this purpose; now plant residues and miscanthus are used. Grass is fed into the fire with a pointer on a long stick. Above this trench large pans about 4 feet in diameter are set in holes.

Pan 4 Pan 3 Pan 2 Pan 1

Trench Fire

The cane juice is first strained through a cloth or wire mesh to remove large pieces of stalk and leaves. Once in the pan, a little lime (sekkai) is added to bring out the impurities. The juice is brought to a boil and the mixture skimmed. The scum (gomi) is ladled off and put in a piece of fine cloth. This is tied up and allowed to drip in the pot and then added to the other syrup. The juice is boiled for about 2 1/2 hours. It is frequently stirred with a pan attached to a long sugar pole (satonibu). The syrup is tested by allowing drops to fall from a bamboo stick to see if it has been boiled down enough.

When the boiling is completed, the syrup is ladled out into a deep round pan, about 3 feet in diameter. It is placed on a grass mat whose center piece, made of rice straw, resembles a life saver. The bottom of the pan fits into the hole. This mat with the pot is dragged outside the building into the open.

The sugar is now vigorously stirred with long poles. The hardening syrup on the sides of the pan is scraped with the hera, the same tool used in the transplanting of the sweet potato tops. The mixture is stirred about 15 minutes with frequent testing. The harder layer is scraped off the sides, being mixed with the more liquid syrup in the bottom of the pan. These hardened scrapings speed up the hardening

231 special holiday occasions. Pig killing or the killing of any animals
[825] is distasteful. The pig generally is driven out of the pen to a
[443] waiting truck or horse cart and hauled squealing off to market.

232 Considerable interest is being shown (early 1952) in the scientific
[177] breeding of pigs from stock imported from the United States. Chester White is a well known word among the farmers of Matsuda. In this area, regional meetings of pig breeders and raisers from the northern part of Okinawa and the Motobu peninsula are held to discuss the care, breeding, and marketing of pigs. These farmers have come a long way from the earlier days, even 25 years ago, when the toilet and the pig pen were the same. A farmer going from one of his fields to another often stops home to look at the pigs and perhaps to discuss his problems with
[474] a friend. In Matsuda, a pig growers' association has now been started.

231 Domestic animals, especially the pig, can be expected to increase and to reach at least their pre-war level, if the villages studied are typical. This development will be all to the good. The pig consumes food not fit or not used for human consumption. It does not compete with humans for food. It is unlikely that land now devoted to the production of human food would be diverted to animal food. In my observation, there is not a strong competition between animals and man for the products of the land. Domestic animals really round out the agriculture and consume food that otherwise would not be used.

[311] The lack of grazing land, except on the hill sides and summits, means that domestic animals must be fed with food grown and prepared and fed to them by the farmer. Grazing also would be out of the question since the land on the hills is privately owned and split up in small parcels. The young plants are valued too highly to permit indiscriminate grazing.

[435] Goats are cheaply raised. The only expense is the labor of getting leaves, grass, and tender shoots from the family's genya land on the hills. In the market, goat is the cheapest of all meats.
[262] There are also sharp differences in taste among villagers for goat's meat. The milk is not used as a food. Goats are tied up or kept in stalls for their entire life. They are never allowed to roam through the village or to graze on the hill sides. They are not given water and depend entirely on the water in the grasses and shoots which they are fed.

Horses, cattle, and oxen are fed grasses, mashed sweet potatoes, and waste bean curd. Though occasionally used in rice fields, the
[492] chief use of horses is in drayage. In Matsuda, the horse and the two wheeled cart make frequent trips to the mountains to transport the longpoles, firewood, and charcoal.

235 Chickens are fed anything that might be on hand. Often they are given the chaff from the rice or the rice that is blown off in
[262] winnowing. Occasionally chickens are eaten, but they are kept primarily

226
136

(9) The lobster, (ebi in Japanese, ibi in Okinawan). Catching the lobster is the work of young men, usually up to 24 years of age. A man over 35 may be too old for the hard work involved. Occasionally in summer older men engage in part time lobster catching. The fisherman secures a flashlight, covered with sheet rubber, around his left wrist with a strong rubber band. The rubber casing for the flashlight [227] is often an old bicycle inner tube. The light can be turned on or off without removing the tubing. In his right hand, the diver holds a hook (ebikake in Japanese, ibikakiya in Okinawan) over 25 inches long, which he uses to dislodge the lobsters from the rocks below. Often fishermen remain in the water for three hours, the period depending on the season, the potential catch, and on how cold the fisherman becomes. The diver wears only a pair of shorts. The lobster is a year round catch, though there are few in winter. The full moon is considered bad for lobster fishing. It is not known exactly how lobster were caught in the days before flashlights. Some old men said that nets were used.

[432] On a good day, one small boat with three or four men, can catch [474] 150 pounds of lobster. It is not eaten frequently by the villagers, but sold to the large fishing co-operative association (Suisankumiairengokai). The hard and disagreeable work makes the lobster expensive. [435] At present the local market is sensitive to the tastes of the Americans in Okinawa. Weekly estimates of probable demand are furnished by the [434] central office of the association to the local head of the fisherman's association, who in turn informs the fishermen. The lobster is considered a delicacy and is eaten only when there is a large catch and [262] the demand is low.

(10) The seabream (taisakana in Japanese, akamasu in Okinawan). The seabream is caught with a home made device shaped like a Y with [227] a top bar: Ȳ. The base of the Y has a loop for the hook and line. These wire devices are known as yamaguchi in Okinawan though the younger fishermen call it the sarukan. The fish are caught by a series of these wire devices strung along a line with a sinker at the end. The success of the catch can be judged by lifting the line. An ordinary catch will bring fish on 3 out of the 5 hooks.

These are the main fish caught in this area. There are small catches of the bonito (katsuo), the dolphin or porpoise (iruka), and the shrimp (zakoebi), and a small octopus (tako). But these are rather infrequent. There are hundreds of other fish caught, especially of different smaller sardines (awaishi).

227 The wire devices used for catching the seabream can be used in varying sizes to catch many different types of fish. Some, such as the ones described, are used for the bonito, and very small ones are employed in catching sardines.

In Hanashiro, the fish were raised for sale by the young men's association. The supply of fish is too uncertain and too seasonal for these remedies to be an effective part of the traditional medicine. Like the native plants, and many of the traditional medical practices, they are yielding to the drugs which can be found in the small village shops: stomach and headache powders, eye lotions, aspirin, and other pharmaceuticals and patent medicines.

The economic and occupational organisation of village fishing is very informal. Partnerships are made on a basis of friendship and continue so until one party, for any reason, decides to leave. There are about 40 of these partnerships among the 120 odd adult fishermen.[2] The fishermen of the village also have a fisherman's association (suisankumiai) similar in function to the agricultural associations which the Japanese instituted throughout the empire. This association has a head (suisankumiaichō). Like so many official and administrative jobs in a village, these offices are thrust upon the man. He seldom seeks them. In the larger places where there is more remuneration, the man might seek the job. The head of the association is chosen by the fishermen of the village. He receives Y10 a month for each fisherman he represents. This is a supplementary job, as he could not exist on this sum. Lack of cash prevents any ambitious services to the membership. The association buys and sells gas and oil, nets, lines, hooks, and other necessary items which have been imported either from the United States or from Japan. Occasionally, the association has sufficient funds for small temporary loans for purchasing imported gear, loans from Y100 to Y 500 for a period of a week or two. The main function of the association is the exchange of information between the local head and representatives from the larger association in Naha. This becomes a study of the daily market demands; the information provided is a guide to fishermen in meeting the demand. This is all very informal. The head of the association circulates among the fishermen, giving them tips on what to expect and how prices are going.

7

The Rough Language of Minatogawa

The Minatogawans have one characteristic which is not shared by their agricultural neighbors of Nagano, nor indeed by any of the agricultural villages. This is their rough (arai) language, so described by Minatogawans with a certain amount of pride. This language, if used in the other village, would be considered insulting. It is notable for the freedom with which nicknames, some funny, some disparaging, some pointed at infirmities, are used.

2 The word used here is kumiai but actually these partnerships do not have the organized co-operative character that this word usually implies when used in an economic sense.

needs supplementation. Hence, a farmer cannot buy so much as a fisherman. A rice farmer, if he is eligible at all, cannot purchase so much as a sweet potato grower. These stores fill a genuine need. They have alleviated hardship and done much to improve the monotonous pre-war diet. In the villages, they are a concrete reminder of direct American contact. There is not a store in every village, but each village has ready access to one. 444 262 511

The rural blacksmith takes care of the needs of farmers and stonecutters. One such shop in Nagamo serves many villages in the Gushichan area. The forge is of simple construction. The air is blown by a sort of box bellows. The operator sits down, as if he were in a row boat, and by pushing and pulling the handle (which has a T-end grip like a hand pump) moves the piston horizontally back and forth. The blacksmith repairs agricultural and stonecutting tools and makes new tools, chiefly hoes and spikes for the harrow. 326 413

There are no good inns, restaurants or tea houses in the villages. In Hinatogawa a Japanese inn of rude construction and comfort caters to parties for the entertainment of visitors who have business with local people. 265

Getting a haircut or a bath may involve going to another village. Like the stores, barbershops are little social centers, especially during bad weather when villagers are not working and take the opportunity to have their hair cut. 305

2

Mutual Loan Groups

In China and Japan, mutual loan groups have had a long history. In essence, they are groups associated for the purpose of borrowing and lending money, the capital being derived from contributions of the membership. There is an element of chance when members bid against one another or draw lots for a loan.[2] 474 426 [171]

Each member of a loan group advances an agreed upon share. The total amount is then available as a lump sum to one of them as a borrower. The borrower repays principal and interest in monthly installments. The remaining members advance the same amount each on the following month to another borrower. In this way, there is a continuous cycle of lending

[2] They are known variously as mo-ai (Japanese), mu-e (Okinawan) tanomoshi and yurei (Japanese). Groups organized on a monthly basis are tsukikiyurei or tsukimoai (Japanese), and on an annual basis as nimu-e (Okinawan), ninmo-ai (Japanese). At present there are no annual groups because of uncertainties regarding the future value of money. Now loans are normally for a 10-12 month period.

474 426 and repayment of principal and interest. Members are involved in these transactions out of different motives. The organizer is usually the one most interested in borrowing money. Other participants may wish to earn interest on spare cash. They are the bankers of the group. Between the person who needs immediate cash and the bankers are those who would like to borrow money during the life of the group but are indifferent as to the precise time, hoping to bid and obtain a loan at a favorable rate to buy a pig or to repair a house.

The most complex of these loan groups were found in Minatogawa. A group may have any number of members; usually there are from 10 to 15, but there may be only five to nine. Each group has a set of regulations (no-ai no kisoku). In Minatogawa money is borrowed for house or boat building, for buying pigs, or for other business purposes.

The first meeting begins with a party given by the persons most [574] interested in starting the group. On the following months, more modest parties given at the homes of other members are in conjunction with the bidding and distribution of the money. The entertainments [262] of the first and last meetings include pork or goat meat, bean curd, tea, and sake. At the first meeting the organizer is the host. Rules are established as to whether the indebtedness shall be put into writing and as to guarantors. (Before the war, occasionally a borrower ran off to Japan or to one of the other islands and was never heard of again). Now a guarantor is required, but this is a formality. The [476] system really rests on mutual trust and on the co-operation of friends [577] and relatives of known honesty. One person may belong to several groups. Multiple membership is naturally confined to those with plenty of ready cash who have no immediate use for it. A group whose membership is poor will subscribe from Y100 to Y300 a month, a moderately well-to-do one from Y2000-3000. There are now about 30 in Minatogawa. Members usually are present or former residents of the village. Men and women participate. These gatherings combine business with a friendly social atmosphere so typical of Okinawan business transactions and official contacts. The mats of the room are arranged to form an [353] empty square in the center of the room, and this square becomes a combination counting board and refreshment table.

In one type, the loan is awarded after secret bidding (usually by writing on a piece of paper), the award going to the lowest bidder, for he is offering the highest discount. For example, Y20,000 are available for a loan to be repaid in ten installments of Y2100 each (Y2000 principal and Y100 interest). If a member wants the money badly enough, he may bid Y17,500, accepting that amount and paying back on the basis of Y20,000 plus interest. He thus would get the award over a man who bid at a discount of Y2000 or Y18,000.

In one form of the discount type, the organizer automatically gets the first loan. He does not bid and does not lose by discounting. He has started the group for this purpose. On the second and succeeding months, the bidding is secret and competitive. Assuming ten members pooling Y2000 each the first month, in the second nine members advance

Y2000 each to make Y18,000 available. If the lowest bid is Y1800 per share, the borrower accepts a discount (waribiki) of Y200 for each Y2000 advanced and will repay Y2100 a month, which includes Y100 interest (rishi) 474 426

Amount of the loan	Y18,000 (2000 x 9)
Less Discount	- 1,800 (200 x 9)
Actual Amount Received	Y16,200
Interest paid	900 (100 x 9)
Actual Cost of the Loan	Y2700 (Y1800 plus Y900)

The proceeds from the discount may be distributed as a dividend to those who furnished the money, or it may be held in the group for additional loans.

The essentials are summarized in the accompanying tables. There are 11 members, A through K. The first month, A, the initiator, gets Y20,000, and by the end of the period (the beginning of the 11th month) has repaid Y21,000 in ten monthly installments of Y2100 each. In the seventh month G is the borrower. He bid Y1880 for Y2000 loan from each of the remaining members and received Y7520 (Y1880 x 4) and repays Y8400 (Y2100 x 4). In this example, K is the man with the money. He has advanced Y18,385, the sum of column K, and has received principal, interest, and discount payments of Y21000 (total of line 11, A through J), making Y2615 for himself).

This type of mutual loan group was found only in Minatogawa. There is a three time rule for the initiator (hakkinin) of the group. He is expected, after the life of the first one, to start two more, whose membership may or may not be the same. It is considered unlucky for him to fail to do this. He will suffer misfortune, such as illness, poverty, or death. Whether these eventualities are feared is hard to say, but the three time rule is always observed. The initiator also is responsible for calling on guarantors to pay amounts in default. [184] [177]

Since these groups are composed of individuals who trust one another, there is flexibility in handling the funds. Generally one meeting a month is held. But there may be 15 in a year. If extra money is picked up in the summer months, two meetings might be held in July, August, and September. Certain fictions are recognized. If A needs more than Y20,000, he may, when it is D's turn, and with his consent, act as if he were D, and get an additional loan in place of D. These maneuverings depend on consultation and discussion within the group. Very short term loans are seldom made. But the same object can be achieved by splitting a loan with the actual borrower, the silent borrower assuming the interest and repayments for his portion of the total.

The discount type is more adapted to a cash economy in which fishermen or business men have available money, and borrowers are willing to pay substantial amounts for immediate loans. The agricultural [184]

[Text continues Top of P. 248 -- analyst]

Minatogawa Loan Groups--Loans and Repayments

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Period	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
1st Month	*	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000	2000
2nd	2100	*	1800	1800	1800	1800	1800	1800	1800	1800	1800
3rd	2100	2100	*	1825	1825	1825	1825	1825	1825	1825	1825
4th	2100	2100	2100	*	1850	1850	1850	1850	1850	1850	1850
5th	2100	2100	2100	2100	*	1770	1770	1770	1770	1770	1770
6th	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	*	1840	1840	1840	1840	1840
7th	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	*	1880	1880	1880	1880
8th	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	*	1810	1810	1810
9th	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	*	1910	1910
10th	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	*	1700
11th	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	2100	---
Amount of Loan	20000	18000	16000	14000	12000	10000	8000	6000	4000	2000	0000
Loan less Discount	20000*	16200	14600	12950	10620	9200	7520	5430	3820	1700	0000
Amount Paid Back	21000	18900	16800	14700	12600	10500	8400	6300	4200	2100	0000

The Asterisk represents the borrower.
Amounts to the right of the asterisk represent loans to him.
Amounts below the asterisk represent his repayments
Amounts above the asterisk show his loans to others.

a The examples are the assumed highest bids. A received the loan without discount.

Monthly Balances and Final Settlement
(Based on Previous Table)

	Amount Returned	Amount Paid Out
1st Month		20,000
2nd	2,100	16,200
3rd	4,200	14,600
4th	6,300	12,950
5th	8,400	10,620
6th	10,500	9,200
7th	12,600	7,520
8th	14,700	5,430
9th	16,800	3,820
10th	18,900	1,700
11th	21,000	
Total	115,500	102,040
Difference (Value of Interest and Discounts)		Y 13,460

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

villages have the simple interest type, with or without the bidding feature. The order of borrowing may be determined by discussion, and, if more than one person wishes a loan at the same time, lots are drawn. 474 426 184

In the interest (rishi) type, a man borrows, for example, Y2000 with ten men contributing Y200 each and repays Y2200 in ten monthly instalments. (Here the interest is Y10 per month for each Y100 advanced). If a borrower cannot meet a payment, the members make up the deficit which then becomes an additional obligation on the part of the borrower. 474 426

Mutual loan groups were found in Matsuda and Hanashiro, though they are not so strong as in Hinatogawa. The amounts involved are less, reflecting the poorer cash standing of the farmer. Guarantors (hōshōnin) are not required since the members know one another well. Loans are generally made for the construction or repair of houses, pens, sheds, or stalls, for hiring a pig breeder, to buy a domestic animal, or to tide one over a crop failure. A group may be organized for the specific purpose of enabling each member, during the life of the loan group, to purchase a small pig.

Women may have their own groups. In Hanashiro the only group known to me was composed of women. Again, assume twenty members who advance Y100 each, a total of Y2000 initially, and who have agreed upon an interest rate of Y10 per month on each Y100 borrowed. The life of the group is twenty months. The progress of the loans and monthly repayments is shown in the following table. It illustrates the continuous turning in of principal and interest payments to furnish capital for new loans. The multiplications in parentheses show the number of members times the amount involved per member in each transaction. In Hanashiro, there are three of these women's groups. This is said to be a decline from the pre-war number. [562]

In Matsuda these groups are not important in financing the farmer. It is estimated that there are five groups, with 15-20 members each, operating in Matsuda. Bidding may be dispensed with, the interest is divided among the borrowers and not turned back for further loans, and the sequence of borrowers is determined either by discussion or by lot. These were Y500 groups, higher monthly advances than in Hanashiro, but the principle is the same.

The limited use of these mutual loan groups in the agricultural villages may be temporary, and may not be typical of all Okinawa. According to residents of Hanashiro and Matsuda, they were not widely used before the war. They have now further declined in importance except in Hinatogawa. It is rather difficult to account for this, considering the need for money and the reluctance of villagers to go to banks and institutions for loans. The fear of red tape and entertainment costs is the chief deterrent to institutional borrowing. Perhaps the failure is merely indicative of insufficient money to lend, and inability to repay what is borrowed. Farmers have little money to advance, little surplus to repay loans from others. [934] [953]

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Hanashiro
Women's Mutual Loan Group
The Cycle of Loans and Repayments

Borrower of the:	Advances Made by Members	Repayments Made by Borrower-Members	Amount Available For Lending Each Month
1st Month	Y2000 (100 x 20)		Y 2000
2nd	1900 (100 x 19)	Y110 (110 x 1)	2010
3rd	1800 (100 x 18)	220 (110 x 2)	2020
4th	1700 (100 x 17)	330 (110 x 3)	2030
5th	1600 (100 x 16)	440 (110 x 4)	2040
6th	1500 (100 x 15)	550 (110 x 5)	2050
7th	1400 (100 x 14)	660 (110 x 6)	2060
8th	1300 (100 x 13)	770 (110 x 7)	2070
9th	1200 (100 x 12)	880 (110 x 8)	2080
10th	1100 (100 x 11)	990 (110 x 9)	2090
11th	1000 (100 x 10)	1100 (110 x 10)	2100
12th	900 (100 x 9)	1210 (110 x 11)	2110
13th	800 (100 x 8)	1320 (110 x 12)	2120
14th	700 (100 x 7)	1430 (110 x 13)	2130
15th	600 (100 x 6)	1540 (110 x 14)	2140
16th	500 (100 x 5)	1650 (110 x 15)	2150
17th	400 (100 x 4)	1760 (110 x 16)	2160
18th	300 (100 x 3)	1870 (110 x 17)	2170
19th	200 (100 x 2)	1980 (110 x 18)	2180
20th		2090 (110 x 19)	End of Period

The twentieth member, the banker gets Y2090 from the other members, which, when added to the Y100 plus Y10 interest which he would have paid had he borrowed the money, equals Y2200.

[655]
[177]

The availability of government loans for homes, part of the American program for the rehabilitation of the Ryukyus may point the way to an acceptable type of financing in which resistance to institutional borrowing is lowered. The mutual loan groups and bank and government loans, however, operate in different spheres. The sums involved in the small loan groups are too modest for a major undertaking, but they are substantial enough to help with minor, yet otherwise difficult, purchases or improvements.

3

Associations

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Associations and co-operative groups of farmers, fishermen, and animal breeders, part of the Japanese program for the organization

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

and improvement of rural life, have continued to function. The most important of these are the agricultural associations (nogyōkumiai). In Okinawa, they are organized on a township level. The agricultural association is usually near the township office. It is both a buying and a selling concern. It buys and sells agricultural tools and simple farm machinery. The association may also buy and introduce into the agricultural village new techniques, tools, insect and pest control preparations, and other supplies imported from America or Japan. Buying and distribution for sale are at present more active functions than making loans. In any one year, a borrower may obtain a ¥200 loan, but the chief difficulty (Dec. 1951) is that the association has little money. In Oushichan village, the association buys and resells firewood, imported from the northern mountain region.

The fishermen's association in Minatogawa has already been described. It may buy and distribute fishing gear, gas and oil, and other marine necessities.

Within the village itself, there are co-operative groups. The sugar mill co-operative of Hanashiro is typical. This has about 125 members, both men and women, and includes most of the families of the village. Each member pays to the association a fee for the use of the mill including the machinery and the cooking vessels. Of the fee, 60% goes to care and maintenance, 10% to the head of the co-operative who handles the administrative details, while 30% is held in reserve and redistributed as a rebate to members after the end of the season, if there is a surplus. The sugar is individually produced and sold. The village co-operative is concerned only with the care and maintenance of the mill and its facilities.

In Matsuda a pig raiser's co-operative (yōtonkumiai) has been started. The main emphasis is on breeding rather than on marketing. The group, which has about 61 members, is a result of the intense interest which has followed the introduction of American breeds. The head of this group is chosen by the membership. The organization is interested in the diffusion of information on the care and breeding of pigs and its membership participates in regional meetings of pig raisers.

4

The Cash Economy of Rural Villages

The use of money in Okinawa seems to be recent. Hall and M'Leod in 1816 wrote that they observed no money, and that the Okinawans did not know its uses. Commodore Perry, who had a crisp reaction both to the Okinawans and to Hall's descriptions of them, said they knew "the value of gold and silver very well, and they traffic for the Chinese 'cash', of which from twelve to fourteen hundred are equivalent to the Spanish dollar." Chamberlain (1895) said that the Okinawans had

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

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storing and are kept under the house or on a special shelf on the rafters.
Onions, giant radishes, beans, and cabbages are also raised on farm [251]
lands. Night soil is rarely used for such vegetables nowadays but is still [514]
used on potatoes. Several of these vegetables as well as others are raised [462]
by women in small "home-garden" plots.

The hardest working period during the year is in July and August. 244
Within a few weeks after the rice harvest, the soil must be made ready 243
for the second rice crop or the soil must be prepared for dry paddy
potatoes. This is also the time for planting the chief sugar crop. All [249]
this takes place during the hottest time of the year, when efficiency is
greatly reduced by heat and humidity.

Sugar harvest and processing fall in the period between January and 249
March. One field after another is harvested by the owners after arrangements have been made for a date when the cane can be processed.
Such arrangements are made with the director of the Taira cooperative, [474]
who supervises operations of the sugar mill which is owned by the co-
operative. The whole family helps on the day of processing. Women
carry bundles of branches and light firewood to heat the kettles. The [402]
operation requires the help of someone to feed cane into the small,
diesel engine driven press, some to carry the pulp away, and others
to watch the kettles in which extracted juice is boiled down to molasses. Finally, a few persons stir the brown residue in wide, open pots
until it becomes stalted. Then it is put into tubs that hold about 132
pounds.

The agricultural market for cash crops was totally disrupted at the 433
end of World War II. There was no immediate outlet for sugar prod- 249
ucts; crops had been destroyed or neglected, and the sugar mill was
demolished in the fighting. But by this time most people were too
satisfied with the great returns from forest work to invest much time
and energy in a crop which takes a year and a half to show any material results. Nevertheless, sugar was the first crop to find a market again.

Pineapple, introduced recently in Taira, has a promising future. 245
Tea is still grown in small quantities, but few families grow more than
they need for their own use, although it is a good potential cash crop
for this area.

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

Raising pigs is an important source of cash income for all house- 231
holds in the village. Even the poorest families own at least one, but
few families have more than two; in the central village the average is [434]
about 1.2 per household. Pigs are given special care and attention.

231 Before a piglet is bought, its feeding habits are carefully observed by the buyer to determine future growing potential. It is then kept in a [417] sty: pigsties are either in the yard near the house or in a cluster of stables on the north edge of the town. Twice a day women cook the food in large kettles and ladle the liquid food into a trough. Nowadays [262] pork is rarely consumed in the village except for special holidays, when several families may slaughter pigs and sell part of the meat to every- [438] body through the local store or preserve some of it by salting. Most [251] farmers, however, wait for the meat buyer from the southern part of [442] the island from whom they receive a good financial return.

Goats are raised for home consumption. They are never left to graze [417] but are quartered in a goat pen near the pigsty and fed on grass cut from uncultivated land. Seven families in the central village have [492] horses. Their main use is to carry firewood from the mountains. The small breed looks like a cross between a horse and pony and seems especially adapted to climb the steep trails. They are also used for plowing and for pulling two-wheeled carts. The owner of a horse [434] may more than double his income from forest work. Horses are fre- [427] quently rented out for half the day's income from wood carried by them.

Silkworm raising, an important source of income in Taira before the war, is only now being resumed by some Tairan families. The [474] larvae are supplied through island-wide silkworm raising associations, which repurchase the cocoons after they are spun. To raise silkworms, a substantial house is needed so that rats cannot enter and eat the worms. The temporary postwar structures with holes and cracks in the walls and roof are inadequate. Only a few recently built houses can be used. One family keeps growing worms on shelves in the front room. [137] Most of the mulberry trees were lost during and after the war. Plans have been made to plant new trees. Young girls feed the mulberry [462] leaves to the gluttonous worms who require constant attention. When the worms are ready to create their cocoons, they are taken off their diet, and the cocoons are cleaned and sorted out. Silkworms can be raised four times a year if there is an adequate supply of mulberry leaves. Their sale brings a good income, which can become a substitute [434] for cash earned in forest work.

FISHING

226 Fishing is a much less important source of livelihood than one would [554] expect in a coastal village and is a low-prestige occupation. Only two

313 which they use interchangeably. After sufficient trees have been cut and
[412] cleared of branches, a large bundle of firewood is carried to the village. Most forest workers make four or five trips a day into the hills—two or three during the hot summer season. As the afternoon ends, they sit down along the road in the village or nearby to prepare firewood
• 474 bundles. Pieces of wood are inserted through a bamboo loop of stand-
313 ard size, prescribed by the cooperative store, until a tight, uniform bundle is obtained. The last piece has to be driven into the bundle by force. All over the village one can hear the knocking of wood pieces
[592] which marks the end of a forest worker's daily labor. Each household works independently and sells firewood to the cooperative. A store
[436] clerk travels around the village in late afternoon, checks all bundles, and issues credit slips to each household; these can be changed into money at the store. The following morning the truck, owned by the
[438] cooperative, carries the firewood to Naha or Itoman where it is sold to a dealer who redistributes it to individual consumers or public bathhouses. The northern part of the island has always supplied firewood to the population of southern Okinawa to be used for kitchen hearths
[354] and bath stoves. In recent years kerosene kitchen stoves have become so popular that the depletion of wood resources tends to coincide with decreasing demand.

TRADES AND PROFESSIONS

463 Other ways of making a living exist. A few artisans in Taira derive part of their income from wage labor. A number of Taira men earn their living by carpentering, although they do most of their work in the south. They return occasionally when their services are needed for
[465] local house building. When working on local construction, they are paid in money, free lodging, and meals. There are also a few part-time resident carpenters who, whenever they are not employed in house building or repairs, spend their time farming and cutting wood. New
[342] buildings are usually put up between the beginning of the second rice crop and the New Year.

463 Several persons are salaried township or village officials. They are paid monthly and work a 44-hour week, not counting many extra meet-
466 ings and duties connected with their work. All office workers however
[647] have fields, either their own or those of their parents, where they spend Sundays helping in agricultural pursuits. During rice planting season, they are given special time off to attend to their fields.

Also among the salaried workers are store employees, a full-time

653 dren under 3 years, every adult past school age, male or female, is re-
[464] quired to work on community projects if called by the village head. Officials may pay the village for exemption from this duty. There are two kinds of community corvées, those in which every adult and qualified member of a household has to participate, and those in which only one household representative is required to attend. As many as 12 days a year may be spent by each villager on road construction, clearing of village land, improvement of village-owned tea fields, or in similar projects. In some cases, where the central government has granted support, this work may be compensated by a small payment. More often, however, it is a free contribution to the village effort.

474 The strength of deeply rooted cooperative behavior seems to have been an essential factor in introducing formal cooperatives successfully in this area. The northern village of Oku is credited with being the first community in Kunigami province to organize a cooperative store in 1906. Initiative for this organization was provided through the Japanese administration. Taira was the first village in present-day Higashi township to establish a cooperative. In 1918 the village was poverty stricken, and village leaders, the president of the Young People's Association, one of the teachers, and others, made a study of the Oku organization. They then convinced the Taira headman of the great possibilities. Over the years the Taira cooperative supported by the majority of Tairan households, through buying of mountain products, marketing, running the store, and sugar production, tried to improve the village economy. One immediate result was that the indebtedness to money lenders from outside the village, especially to the owners of sailing junks which transported mountain products south, could be avoided. Up until the war the cooperative flourished and improved economy.

The end of the war found the village cooperative totally defunct, and it took several years to restore the organization. At present it owns the store, the sugar mill, and the truck. It also controls the use of the
[245] village-owned tea fields in which everybody has the right to grow at least one row of tea bushes.

474 Shares in the cooperative are held by households, and almost every-
621 one in Taira is a member. The two directors and several officers are elected by shareholders. Actually the directorship does not change often, and the most influential leaders usually hold the office. They may initiate measures which will aid the village economy, but they have no absolute power: a check and balance system protects the people. As one person put it, "It is always necessary to have a few persons outside the business so that they can check what is going on. If people of the

highest status are all engaged in it, there is no one who can check it and nobody who would dare to." The accounts are checked and audited, and reports are made to the members. 474 621

It is characteristic of the cooperative that it works closely with the political organization of the community and that it is an integral part of the village. In certain ways it has taken over some financial functions of the village, supplying it with funds which would otherwise have to be raised through village taxes.

The cooperative buys all firewood that has been produced by the households at a uniform price, thus giving families a great deal more security than they had in days when selling was done on a competitive basis. Since the firewood market fluctuates, the cooperative often takes a loss which would be hard for individuals to bear alone.

The truck which takes the forest products to the city returns with goods for the store. All shareholders' purchases are recorded. Dividends are issued once a year. They are actually small. Part of the profits are used to finance new shares for each household. Every shareholder now owns an equal number of shares. A limited saving system has also been resumed by the postwar cooperative. The small amounts which have accumulated (few families are able to lay aside money for long periods of time) are withdrawn around New Year or on other occasions when special purchases are made. 474 [454]

Although the cooperative would like to finance individual projects, such as building, buying livestock, and agricultural expansion, sufficient funds are not available. Mutual finance groups are formed to extend this type of credit. A person who needs money to finance a project asks others in the village to form a partnership in which everybody who agrees to participate pays the same amount monthly, on a prearranged date, into the common fund. A different person takes a loan each month. It usually goes to the lowest bidder, except that the first loan is given to the person who asked to form the group. The difference between the bid and the actual amount collected is paid out as interest. Each person has a guarantor who is made responsible in case the actual participant is unable to make his monthly payment toward the fund.

Mutual finance groups are formed between any persons, based on their willingness to participate at a certain time, either because they themselves need a loan or, as happens in a few cases, because they hope to make some money from the interest. The obligation to pay is taken very seriously, although it can create tremendous hardships on individuals who have to make quick temporary arrangements to borrow money elsewhere in order to meet their monthly payments. Since 621 452

Since

621 several finance groups are formed simultaneously in the village, and
452 an individual may belong to more than one, this system can create
more problems for the community than it helps to redress. Village
●474 leaders therefore think that the cooperative could take over the loan functions at low interest rates more effectively.

433 Concern about improving village economy is genuine and foremost.
621 Since the whole island has common economic problems, many sug-
gestions for developing sound village economy originate from the cen-
[654] tral government. There are many associations and movements which all aim at the same result. Their number is staggering and bewildering to the outsider. In Taira, concern for improvement of conditions is a program of the Women's Association and the Home Improvement Group, associations who try to introduce such changes as better stoves, making of bean paste by villagers, and saving during feasts. There is also an Agricultural Promotion Association which is concerned with improvement of agricultural practices, promotion of cash crops, and
[474] reduction of forest work. All these organizations, along with the co-operative and the village government, work together. An individual may be a member of several. Persons with enough knowledge and experience to assume responsible positions are limited in number, and the same persons appear as leaders in various groups. This puts a heavy burden on them, since few days pass during which their attendance after work is not required at one meeting or another.

Taira assumed a leading position in the township in improving agricultural and general economy, especially by promoting sugar development, pineapple growing, and tea raising in recent years. Mean-
154 while, low income and general poverty are a constant concern to every-
571 body but do not seem to result in constant anxiety. Security, as will be pointed out in other contexts, is provided by being a member of the kinship group and, in the wider sense, of the village as a whole. This helps to share burdens and thus reduce their weight.

Chapter 4

Property

Rice paddies, farm land and some grass land, trees on private land, a house site and house, as well as livestock and tools, are owned by the heads of households. Land is registered in the household head's name, and he has sole right to dispose of it. Ordinarily younger sons have no right to their father's property, but a man may will property to them. If there is no will, however, everything reverts to the eldest son. Despite this, several families of younger sons were found to have land holdings equal to those of eldest sons. 423 [428]

A widow with young sons may hold land in trust for her sons or, if there are no male heirs, may inherit the land outright. Divorcees and spinsters may also acquire land by purchase, and there are several women in Taira who are household heads and owners of real estate. [589] [428] [592]

Because of the war and a general shift in population, much land and many house sites have changed owners, and former wealthy families are no longer the largest landowners. When they returned, several families with small prewar land holdings were able to raise the necessary cash to buy land. [556]

There is little sentimental attachment to a particular plot of land, and households have never been associated with particular plots. Rather, land is considered a necessary commodity, and thus it frequently changes hands. This sentiment may derive from the communal land-holding system with its periodic redistribution of plots to individuals, which was found throughout Okinawa until abolished under Japanese administration at the turn of the century. 423 592 [177]

Forest land from which villagers derive an income is owned by the village. Being a member of the community confers the right to use village forests, subject to regulations made by the village. Of particular interest is the village-owned tea field, which the village cooperative controls. The field has been subdivided, and each household in the 423 621 474

423 community is entitled to the use of one of the equal-sized lots. A small
[621] yearly payment is made to the cooperative, which passes these proceeds
[474] on to the village to pay salaries for officials and other expenses.

[427] Tenancy was never a problem in the Taira area. Under the old system everyone was entitled to land. The final distribution in the change to individual ownership gave everyone sufficient land. Although many new landowners sold and mortgaged their property in other parts of Okinawa, one source states that "in the villages of Kawata, Taira and Miyagushiku . . . none of 348 families was found landless . . ." (Tamura 1927:292 translation). Today several families hold mortgages
[426] on their land, usually for loans to put up new buildings or some other capital investment. Nevertheless, a shortage of rice paddies is obvious, since a part of the land around Taira is owned by people from the neighboring village, and an extension of paddy land in this mountainous district would be feasible only with the aid of irrigation projects.

427 The renting of property from persons who have moved to the city is not uncommon and is a means of bolstering one's own rice or farm land. People who move out of the community, either temporarily or for longer periods, may rent their land or let relatives and even nonrelatives use it. In most cases no compensation is paid for the use of farm land, although in rare cases where the owner continues to live in the village, some agreement is made to share the harvested crop. Rice paddies, however, are rented for half the crop. The owner returns from the city during harvesting time to help in cutting and threshing the rice. If unable to return, he may hire a person to help or to make adjustments in the division of the yield. Taira people do not rent their paddies or farm lands for money. An exception may be made in the case of outside fishermen who move into the village and who may rent a small area of land from a villager. In a few cases land has been left in the care of a family member by a relative who went overseas. One of the most substantial farmers in Taira holds several such properties, part of which he owns and part of which he holds in custodianship for a relative overseas. In such a case he is entitled to exploit the land without any compensation for the departed family member.

[423] Almost all local families own their houses and house lots. The
[122] thought of renting a room or house for money is somewhat foreign to the village, and in the case of the authors, "rent" for two rooms, as originally suggested by the owner of the house, was nominal. Fishermen, however, have to rent a room or a whole house. Their rent is an informal arrangement of payment in kind, fish, or other sea products.
[875] In addition, bachelor teachers from outside the community who re-

quire room and board are sometimes put up without compensation, and they agree, perhaps, to give some help with studies of the landlord's children. Only the village "doctor" takes transient guests, mostly visiting officials from the city, who pay for lodgings. 427 [875] [485]

Although the household head is a legal owner of the family property, there is a feeling that it belongs to the family and everyone in the household identifies himself with his land and house. This is expressed in the language. A person who is asked, "Whose rice paddy is this?" would answer that it is the household's or "ours." 423 592

In addition to the communal land holdings and the property of the cooperative described earlier, the following items are shared. The government supplies a breeding boar to each village; it is then left in the care of one farmer. This animal is available to pig owners for studding on request, and a small charge is made for the upkeep of the boar. A few tools are jointly owned by several households. Threshing machines were bought jointly after the war by two or more families to defray the high cost of such equipment. These families could be neighbors or relatives. Today many are complaining that joint ownership works hardships during the busy harvest season when there is heavy demand for the machines. As a result, everybody wishes to own his own machine as soon as he can afford to. For tea harvesting, special clippers are owned by the village cooperative and loaned to people as they need them. Since tea harvesting, though seasonal, is not done by all families during the same day, sharing of these tools presents no difficulties. 422 [231] [654] [476] [474]

Property of others is very much respected. Stealing among villagers is almost unheard of, except for some pilfering of green vegetables and fruits by children. Only one case was reported during the field-work period—a person tried to take some goods without payment from the community store. When a village meeting was called, and it was announced that the person's identity was known to the store manager, the merchandise was later replaced. Willful damage to fields is similarly strictly forbidden. No child would really think of doing such damage. But there are no formal rules about trespassing. Movement across other people's property is completely free and unchallenged. 421 685 [627] [867]

Both adult men and women also belong to mutual assistance groups, mutual loan associations, and to the work groups described in Chapter 3. All individuals between 16 and 57 are expected to cooperate in community work projects. All households are members of the village cooperative. Since most villagers look to the cooperative for help in improving their economic conditions, this draws them together in a familial way. 571 [653] [474]

It will be noted that age and marital status are prerequisites for membership in most of these associations and that only one is exclusively for women and one exclusively for men. 575

Taira culture is essentially egalitarian. Personal status is not ascribed by membership in social classes or achieved by the accumulation of wealth. Furthermore, although power and respect are the attributes of certain village offices, such as headman and school teacher, these only give rank *ex officio*. An ex-headman has no higher status than one who has never held such an office. 554

There are factors, however, which do differentiate Tairans as to personal status. Men have somewhat more power and command more respect than women; adults must be addressed respectfully by children; older siblings have more authority and privileges than younger; and in recent years the educated are somewhat more respected and are more likely to be chosen to hold office than those with the minimum required amount of schooling. And since education often leads to better jobs, greater wealth is sometimes associated with status, though not a necessary prerequisite. [562]

The status of women in Okinawa, although, ideally, inferior to that of men, is in reality relatively high. Many cultural forms are based on the principal of male superiority, which Japanese values tend to reinforce, but there are numerous indications in daily life that women command a comparatively high degree of respect and power. It is difficult to assess to what degree status differences have been influenced by contact with Japanese; the importance of women in religious affairs suggest their higher status prior to the introduction of the Japanese school system in Taira. 554 562 177

As will be discussed in the chapter on religion, although the veneration of one's father's ancestors is the core of one part of Okinawan religion, the ceremonies are run by the women. The oldest male of each main house and the household head in each household are nominally responsible for keeping the tablets of the ancestors on his house shrine, but the actual upkeep of this ancestral shelf and the bimonthly offerings are performed by the women. If no direct male descendant is available to keep the ancestral tablets, a widowed woman retains them 769 782 562

313 Home Industries and Famous Products The forested northern mountains give rise to small scale lumbering, charcoal making,
314 and firewood gathering. Kunigami-son and Kushi-son emphasize the gathering of
433 bamboo and firewood. On the other hand the making of charcoal is more import-
[369] ant in Nago, Haneji, and Ōgimi. The urbanization of the south combined with
[491] the postwar extension of roads into formerly inaccessible parts of the north have accelerated exploitation of the northern forest resource. Particularly heavy is the demand for long roof poles, or kichigwā, after every major typhoon.
[237] Kunigami-son and Higashi supply the bulk of these. Where wood is plentiful behind a coastal road, one often finds lime kilns, which process the coral of the reefs.

258 The sea is also a major source of material for home industries. Sea
433 salt is made at Yagaji, Urasoe and Oroku on the west coast, at Henza and Awase
[237] on the east. Kunigami-son prides itself upon its production of seaweed. Buttons from seashells are made in Mawashi. Fish cakes ('kamaboko') are made in quantity in Itoman and Naha, with lesser amounts being produced in Ishikawa and Nago. Dried bonito ('katsuoboshi') is a specialty of Tonaki isle to the west. Motobu-chō holds second place, followed by the western isles of Tokashiki and
505 Zamami. For over a hundred years the small cargo sailboats ('Yambaru-sen')
178 of the east coast have carried forest products from the north. The extension of roads into the northern forests has greatly reduced the amount now carried by sea.

433 Horse breeding is a specialty in Nakazato (the eastern half of Kume-
[232] shima), which has 22% of the gunto's production of horses. However, the pro-
[285] duction of horse and cattle hides is concentrated in the urban areas, which
[231] account for 84% of the hides produced. Nakazato is also famous for production of silk cocoons, being responsible for about two-fifths (38.7%) of the gunto's total. The leading mainland producer is Motobu-chō, with 9%.

Although Okinawa is not self-sufficient in tea, the three areas of
[245] Gushikawa, Ishikawa and Kunigami produce over half of the local tea. In Oku
[47] village of Kunigami, the tea factory is a cooperative venture. Gushikawa
[377] and Chatan pride themselves upon possessing 'sake' and 'awamori' distilleries.
[286] Mawashi is the center of production of farm tools, and accounts for some weaving of banana cloth. Weaving of mats from the "seven isles reed" ('shichitō-i') is a local specialty of Kanegusuku.

[314] Travertine quarries are found in Motobu-chō and Katsuren. A sandy limestone is quarried at Minatogawa in Gushichan.

1

Historical Notes on Housing

In all villages, much time is spent, in addition to agricultural or fishing tasks, in housebuilding, either for one's self or for friends and neighbors. Housebuilding is the most time consuming of a man's tasks after his primary occupation. Repairs to or reconstruction of the poorer houses are continuous. The man with a good house and a tile roof has little to worry about. But he will often be found helping someone less fortunate. 342 461 [476]

The traditional houses of Naha and Shuri showed both Chinese and Japanese influences. The traditional house and compound of the rural village has been compared with the ancient Japanese house, and it bears some similarities with houses found among the Ainu. 342 171

It would seem from the observations and researches of earlier students that the house was always built above the ground without excavation, and sometimes on stilts. The supporting posts making up the rectangular house were either placed in holes or on stones on the ground. The supporting posts, the ridge poles, the cross beams were branches or trunks of trees trimmed and cut for length. Roofs of thatch had the apex of the roof covered by a saddle or arch shaped thatch made, like the rest of the roof, of grass. Smoke escaped either through an aperture in the ceiling or through a window, as it still does in many of the poorer houses. The houses were filled with smoke. The oldest rural houses apparently had only a dirt floor with scattered mats, though some had a raised floor. 175 342 [352]

The food storage sheds or small granaries were raised on stilts. Engravings of these have appeared both in Perry's writings and in Bayard Taylor's works. There is some question whether this granary (now disappeared) was indigenous or a borrowing. The purpose of the raised granary was probably to protect against dampness and to prevent infestation by rats and vermin. These granaries were open sided with no boarded up walls, and, in Okinawa, were circular.[1] 175 343

Animal pens or stalls were not attached to the house, but were always separate. In the courtyard, earthen rain water vessels were inbedded half way into the ground to catch the rain water. There were stalls for goats and pig pens, and the pig pens were used also as a toilet. This is no longer practiced to my knowledge, although the outhouse with its holes in the ground is found under the same roof as the pig pen. The entrance to the courtyard was oppositie the front of the house. The protective stationary gate, the hinpun (in Okinawan), made of reeds or stones, stood at the entrance inside the court, as it does now, to shield the people of [417] [415] [364] 417

1 For drawings of the granaries, see Satow, E. M. Notes on Loochoo. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 1 (1882), 1-8. The drawings follow the text. See also Simon, Beitrage zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, as cited, 75-85.

342 (9) While the stones are being set and the uprights are being
[462] put on them, the women of the house and their female friends and
[476] relatives have brought in miscanthus grass and have begun making
[824] sheaves, tying each sheaf with a piece of grass. This goes on while the rafter poles are being nailed down. It is over this that the thatch is placed. The grass may be green or dry. In December it is in blossom, and when it is used, it gives the roof a snowy, fluffy appearance.

342 (10) A series of short rods of dwarf bamboo or dried miscanthus
335 stalks is then prepared to fit over the checkerboard made by the interacting poles of the roof. The ends of these, which are about 7 feet long and 1/2 inch in diameter, are inserted into the braid of two lengths of rope about 5 feet long. These rods are placed at about 3 inch intervals. These frames are laid end down slope. They
[284] are lashed to the poles and to other bracing material beneath. All
[462] this is the work of men. While some of them are on the roof, others have begun nailing the siding. (See Fig. 6 for a sketch of the frames).

This is a very cheap lumber about 6 feet x 1 inch x 3/8 inch. The sides are boarded up like shingles except that the boards have uniform thickness. Each board overlaps the next lower one by 1/2 inch, a space of about 3 inches is left from the top of the upright poles to which the siding is nailed. The siding is sufficiently thin so that one side need not be thicker than the other.

(11) The triangular odd corners formed by the cross beams, the rafters and the center post are filled by fitted pieces instead of the rows of parallel rods used for the larger and more regular areas.

342 (12) The roof is now ready for sewing the thatch on. First,
284 the women throw several sheaves of miscanthus on the roof. They are tossed by hand or pitched by a rude pitchfork made by lashing a short branch to a long pole to form a Y. This is the kishi. (Fig. 7).
[413] One workman goes inside the dwelling. He has a pole about 6 feet long (a hari, the Japanese word for needle) pointed at the end with a hole near the point. (Fig. 8). Starting from the eaves and working up, the man on the roof unties the sheaves and spreads a layer of grass along the length of the roof. This layer is held in place by a horizontal pole placed over it. The man inside has threaded the needle with stout twine; he pushes the long needle with the twine up through the network of the roof. This is taken by the workman on the roof who feeds the needle with its twine back again. This sewing continues until the three layers, the checkerboard, the parallel rods which have been lashed to it, and the grass with the poles to hold it down have been finally sewed together. As each strip is completed the workmen move up the slope a little. The grass is about 3 1/2 feet long and about one foot is allowed loose on the end to overlap the layer below. That portion of the grass which is not free is tied and sewed very securely. There is much tugging, pulling, and grunting to make the knot as tight as possible.

000 (13) As the top is reached, another operation is necessary to cap

413

(3) Chisels (nomi in Japanese) of various sizes.

(4) The hand saw (nokogiri in Japanese). There are two kinds: a single edge for cross cut, or a double edge, the second for rippling. The saw has a short blade and a long handle.

(5) A kind of hatchet (te-ono in Japanese).

(6) A rabbet plane (motoichi)

(7) The square (kanejaku)

(8) A gimlet, the large hand operated boring tool with a T shaped handle (Ōkii ana in Japanese, bōtō in Okinawan).

(9) The common brace and bit.

(10) The hammer, both claw and ball pein.

(11) The sumi tsubo (in Japanese). This is a reel with a string. As the string is drawn out from the reel, it passes through an India ink paste which is in a shallow flat dish situated at the point where the string comes out. The inked string is made taut along the line to be cut, snapped sharply, resulting in a black line along the desired cutting edge.

(12) The sumisashi (in Japanese), a short stick, dipped in ink, which is used for drawing a cutting line by hand usually with a square or rule to join longer lines made by the inked string.

(13) A plane for use on curved surfaces (the maruka in Japanese.)

(14) A sandshaker. When mortar is needed, an improvised sandshaker may be constructed. Long poles are set up wigwam fashion. One end of a wire is fastened to the apex of the poles, the other to the end of a wire net. The other end of the wire net is held in the hands. Sand is put on the mesh, and the device is then shaken so that the fine sand goes through. Long poles such as those used for the sandshaker or in building construction are called maruta (in Japanese). [417]

6

Co-operation in Housebuilding

342 476

In Okinawa, co-operation among villagers in larger tasks is not conspicuous.[6] Housebuilding is an exception. Depending on the size, any number of people in a village may participate in building a house. If the house is small, only friends or immediate relatives are likely to assist. But if it is a large house, friends or neighbors may work one or two days, and relatives three or four days.

6 The nature of village co-operation will be discussed in Chap. 18

349 Co-operation often takes the form of a division of labor. In
426 building an elaborate permanent house with cement foundations, siding,
472 plank flooring and a tile roof, greater skills than the handyman
techniques of a smaller house are required. In the building of a house,
men with special skills, such as a carpenter, a cement mixer, a stone-
cutter, or a mason participate; others bring lumber and wood from the
mountains, as in Matsuda, or lay the grass on the tile roof. In some
[364] cases, all the labor may be donated; in others, the carpenter, the cement
mixer, the stonecutter may be hired, with helper's work done by volun-
teers. In simpler construction, the carpentry may be done by anyone
who has this secondary skill but is primarily a farmer or a fisherman.
People who have those skills are said to have half and half occupa-
tions (hannohangyō in Japanese).

7

Housebuilding Ceremonies

349 In building, a distinction is made between a temporary and a permanent
house. A temporary house may be built following a typhoon or a fire,
or it may be constructed for a poor man and in fact be a permanent house
for the family, the good house to come being more an aspiration than an
early reality. The marks of a permanent house are construction with
beams, instead of poles, good siding, a good roof, now mostly of tile,
a design based on mat size, and a cemented kitchen. Housebuilding cere-
ies and celebrations apply only to the permanent house.

[84] Ceremonies or observances during stages in the building of a house
differ from place to place and among people in the same village. In
349 Matsuda before the house is started, the owner, his friends, and
782 neighbors gather and offer a prayer that the house be a good and a happy
one. Before construction, and once each year following completion, rice
cakes (mochi in Japanese) and sake are placed in each of the four corners
[262] of the house site. Three rice cakes are put on the smallest of three
[203] saucers which fit into one another. Two of these saucer sets with the
rice cakes, together with a sake bottle and a small cup are placed on
[415] a tray. The east, north, west, and south corners are visited in that
order. Sake is poured from the flask to a small cup. There is a short
prayer. A piece of white paper, attached to a stick of dwarf bamboo
(Yanbaru take) about one foot long is burned. The sake is poured over
the embers. The top rice cake is placed on the corner; the other two
[825] remain on the small plate. Prayers are offered for protection against
the deadly snake (habu). The rice cake is then picked up. On the next
corner, the ceremony is repeated.

When the ridge pole is put up, the carpenter prays that there will
be no injuries. Observances at the raising of the roof (muneage in
[183] Okinawan) seem to be universal in the villages. Three parcels, one of
salt, one of bean paste, and one of charcoal are wrapped in a leaf--any
[262] will do--and these are tied with a string and suspended from the inner
side of the crossbeam or from the ridge pole. There are no prayers at
This Time.

3

Division of the Catch

226

The division of the catch and the division of labor between the sexes in catching and distributing the fish are based on custom. In the memory of old grandmothers in the village, these customs today are substantially the same as they were in their childhood. The innovations since that time have been technical improvements such as flashlights for underwater diving, motors instead of sails or oars, boat building out of planks using modern hand tools rather than carving out logs, and manufactured fish hooks and gear. [178] [227] [50]

The mechanics of dividing the catch depend on whether the boat is a small or a large one. In Minatogawa, all the boats except one are small so that the division is simple. With the larger boats, the custom is more involved, as more factors have to be considered. 226 476

In the case of the small boats, let us assume that there are two fishermen, the owner and a friend or relative. The value of the catch is Y3500 with Y100 expenses for gas and oil. The net value is thus Y3400. This is divided three ways. The boat gets one share, and each of the fishermen gets a share. In this illustration, the boat owner gets two-thirds of the proceeds, one share as the owner of the boat, one share as a participating fisherman.

These partnerships are very fluid. No agreements are made in writing. Neither are there oral agreements to fish together for any definite period. The partnerships continue as long as the fishermen are compatible and form and dissolve without ceremony or formality. But a practical question does arise in the event of the illness of one of the fishermen.

In this case, a substitute is found for the duration of the regular fisherman's incapacity. This is informal and may be another friend or relative free to help out. The substitute gets the full share of the regular fisherman. In these partnerships, the owner of the boat pays for all repairs that cost money. The other gives his labor for repair and maintenance, such as oiling with shark oil, putting plugs in the holes or in weak spots, or assisting in carrying the boat to a safe place during typhoons.

The division of the catch in larger boats is also best explained by an example. Let us assume an eleven man crew with the corresponding shares:

A The Boat's Share
B The Captain
C The Engineer
D-J Fishermen
K The Cook

226 476 The boat, as in the previous example, is considered a person. The cook is usually a boy about 16 or 17 years old. If we further assume a catch valued at Y10,000, with a deduction of Y1000 for gas and oil, there is a remainder of Y9,000 to be divided. The boat's share, A, is 30%, or Y2700, with Y6300 for further distribution. The following formula is then applied to this remainder:

Captain	1.5 shares
Engineer	1.5 shares
Fishermen	7.0 shares, one for each of 7 men
Cook	0.7 shares
	10.7

The value of each share is Y588.78 (Y6300 divided by 10.7). If the amounts are rounded off, the final distribution is:

Captain	Y883	(1.5 x 588.78)
Engineer	883	(1.5 x 588.78)
Fishermen	4121	(1 x 588.78 x 7)
Cook	412	(0.7 x 588.78)
	Y6300	

The distribution takes place at the conclusion of a voyage. Obligations (giri) between the owner and the others, on these larger boats, are also based on custom. If a crew member is injured on a voyage and prevented from going on the next one, he receives a share for the voyage he was on, and some money, depending on the catch but not a full share, during convalescence. If a fisherman is ill and has been injured outside of his work, he does not receive this consideration.

5

Sale and Distribution of Fish

443 [962] [935] The sale and the distribution of fish is the work of women. Men occasionally do this, but their function is to catch the fish, maintain the boats and gear, and make the lures. The bulk of the fish is sold at Naha because the highest prices generally are paid there. This makes it difficult for adjacent villages to obtain fish, even in season. When the fish is especially plentiful and low in price at Naha, the women go to the agricultural villages of the interior. Fish are carried in baskets. The pre-war custom of carrying the fish basket on the head and walking from village to village, or to the railroad station at Kochinda, thence by rail to Naha, has given way to truck, bus, or the three wheeled cycle. Often in the evening, these cycles, which can seat six comfortably, are filled with eight or ten laughing and voluble women, and their fish, the vehicle chugging slowly and painfully up and then coasting down the grades. [815] [482] [999]

000 One can infrequently observe women walking from Minatogawa to

In Hanashiro, the fish were raised for sale by the young men's association. The supply of fish is too uncertain and too seasonal for these remedies to be an effective part of the traditional medicine. Like the native plants, and many of the traditional medical practices, they are yielding to the drugs which can be found in the small village shops: stomach and headache powders, eye lotions, aspirin, and other pharmaceuticals and patent medicines.

The economic and occupational organisation of village fishing is very informal. Partnerships are made on a basis of friendship and continue so until one party, for any reason, decides to leave. There are about 40 of these partnerships among the 120 odd adult fishermen.[2] The fishermen of the village also have a fisherman's association (suisankumiai) similar in function to the agricultural associations which the Japanese instituted throughout the empire. This association has a head (suisankumiaichō). Like so many official and administrative jobs in a village, these offices are thrust upon the man. He seldom seeks them. In the larger places where there is more remuneration, the man might seek the job. The head of the association is chosen by the fishermen of the village. He receives Y10 a month for each fisherman he represents. This is a supplementary job, as he could not exist on this sum. Lack of cash prevents any ambitious services to the membership. The association buys and sells gas and oil, nets, lines, hooks, and other necessary items which have been imported either from the United States or from Japan. Occasionally, the association has sufficient funds for small temporary loans for purchasing imported gear, loans from Y100 to Y 500 for a period of a week or two. The main function of the association is the exchange of information between the local head and representatives from the larger association in Naha. This becomes a study of the daily market demands; the information provided is a guide to fishermen in meeting the demand. This is all very informal. The head of the association circulates among the fishermen, giving them tips on what to expect and how prices are going.

7

The Rough Language of Minatogawa

The Minatogawans have one characteristic which is not shared by their agricultural neighbors of Nagano, nor indeed by any of the agricultural villages. This is their rough (arai) language, so described by Minatogawans with a certain amount of pride. This language, if used in the other village, would be considered insulting. It is notable for the freedom with which nicknames, some funny, some disparaging, some pointed at infirmities, are used.

2 The word used here is kumiai but actually these partnerships do not have the organized co-operative character that this word usually implies when used in an economic sense.

40% of the proceeds. The trees thus sold are all cut down. After clearcutting, the area is left to natural reseeding. About twenty years hence, the clearing will again be sufficiently forested to permit repetition of the same procedure. This follows an established Japanese pre-war practice. This was known as the five year period share (gonenkanbun). The forest is divided into subdivisions, each 110 chō in area. (A chō is 2.45 acres). These 110 chō plots are in turn subdivided into five parcels of twenty-two chō each. Each year one of these five subdivisions may be cleared. 313 [804]

Throughout the forest, divided up into these plots, there may be a five year cycle of cutting, but not all the plots are available every year. If this were so, the forest could be cut over in five years. The system is planned so that there will always be parcels being cleared, those in various stages of regrowth, and mature stands. During and after the war, this practice broke down in favor of uncontrolled cutting.

If a family has little cash, a villager may pay his taxes in part by cutting wood. The village office pays Y4 for a bundle of firewood (late 1951), Y2 going to the villager as a cash payment, and Y2 being applied to his taxes for the year. [651]

The farmer makes frequent excursions to the mountains to obtain firewood or poles to make improvements in the compound, such as repairing a tool or food shed. Men do this work, especially when the distances are far, but the participation of women is by no means exceptional. Along the roads of northern Okinawa, one can frequently see old women walking down from the mountains carrying bundles of firewood on heavy poles. Much of the wood is hand carried from the mountains; if the farmer has a horse and cart or a truck, the wood is carried to a convenient road for loading and transport. [462] [482] [887] [494]

Charcoal is manufactured in the forest area. In Okinawa charcoal has many uses, mainly for heating and cooking, and for charcoal sticks (senko). Lumps of charcoal are placed in braziers and the sticks are used as touchwood in place of matches and in ceremonial and religious observances. Charcoal containers (tangu) are often constructed on the spot. These are round or box-shaped and made out of the dwarf bamboo. 314 [372] [796] [415]

Charcoal kilns are privately owned. They are of the simplest sort. The kiln may be covered with a rude housing, built up by poles and a thatch roof. A mound of large boulders and dirt is built with an opening on the dirt floor running the length of the firing area. Poles which have been stripped and cut in various lengths, from five to nine feet, are shoved in the opening and moved forward as they burn. The smoke comes out the back.

Forest maintenance and improvement is, in part, a result of community endeavor. With some exceptions, each person in the village from 16 to 60 participates one day a year in forest improvement (sōrin).[8] The participants are boys past school age, unmarried girls, and all men up to the age of 60. These people work without personal remunera- 313 [476]

[8] The usual meaning of sōrin is afforestation or reforestation. In Matsuda it is used in the sense of care and improvement of the forest.

313 tion, but the village receives payment, through the township,
476 from the central government for this labor. In November 1951,
[465] the rate was Y80 per day for each male, and Y50 for each female. Married women do not participate, except to take the place of a husband who cannot attend. This community project is a continuation of pre-war custom. On the day set aside for this work, the participants are taken part way by truck or bus. A half hour walk over the paths, often leading through dense thickets, brings them to the site selected. Everyone brings his own lunch, perhaps in a little metal box, or merely wrapped in banana leaves. Around noon, the girls take their buckets, go down hill to the stream, and carry up the water for the tea. Weeds and grasses, especially miscanthus and the dwarf bamboo are cleared out from the predominating shii and pine. A shii is known here as the shiigi or shiija. When work begins the area is almost an impenetrable thicket. The grasses and the thick dwarf bamboo have grown up in dense stands among the trees. Only these grasses are cut. Trees are not touched, except for the very young ones in overcrowded spots, or the malformed and dying trees. With the brush and grasses cut, the stand of trees is still dense.

When the undergrowth has been cut down, one can walk through the area. The cuttings, as well as the litter on the forest floor, are not removed. This wise practice keeps the soils at least at their normal productivity. In this area, the relatively low density of population, the scattering of settlement, the large areas of
[311] forest compared with the cultivated areas have not brought about conditions requiring the removal of forest litter for fertilizing fields and for fuel, a practice which creates acute problems in Japan.[9]

The work is supervised by a forestry official living in the
[637] village but an employee of the township. His supervision is nominal, as everyone knows what is to be done and how to do it. Like all officials of a village, he is a friend, neighbor, or relative of those who participate. He checks off the names of those who have reported. On returning from the forest at five in the afternoon, most of the villagers bring back some wood, perhaps a long pole, a bunch of dwarf bamboo, or miscanthus to make an outdoor broom. They are lighthearted as they return single file along the winding paths back to the village.

Pine cones are gathered for their seeds by the co-operative effort of the villagers. The cones are soaked in water so the seeds can be removed more easily. The village office takes the seeds,
[655] gives them to the township office which sells them to the central government for planting purposes. Once a year, the village receives 10% of the amount of seeds it collected for its own planting purposes.

9 A report on Japanese natural resources, as cited, 358.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Every three years, the villagers thin out the dwarf bamboo and other grasses in the pine stands along the coast. Late in December or in early January, there is a community planting of pine seeds. 313 476

The tools used in forest work are: the hand sickle (kama), a bill or hook knife, the tool so familiar in agriculture; an ordinary long knife resembling a butcher knife or a machete (here called a yamakatana, or "mountain knife"), and a hooked knife on the end of a long handle (sōringama). 412

Forest care goes well back into Okinawan history and antedates more recent Japanese methods. This care probably was an obligation in the old system of land tenure under which villagers had access to forest lands with the corresponding obligation to replant. 313

4

An Example of Reclamation

There are cut-over tracts in Matsuda village. The Japanese government, according to local residents, tried to convert these cleared areas into agricultural land. This land reclamation (kaitaku) began about 1935. The land was cleared of its remaining trees and shrubs mainly by firing. (Fire has been used in Okinawa, possibly from early times, in the clearing of land. In 1947 the use of fire in clearing and the hazards in creating forest fires were pointed out by observers who blamed carelessness in firing as the cause of the forest fires in the dry season).[10] Firing was easier and some nutrients from the ash were available to the poor soils. 185 311 [372]

In Matsuda, the cleared land was hoed and the rocks were removed. It had to be hoed deeply to make cultivation possible. The land was enriched with composts containing horse, pig, and goat manures. The original plan was to promote a more extensive type of agriculture on the reclaimed land because it was poorly adapted to the cultivating methods on the better and more accessible soils. A here-and-there (yadori type) settlement was planned. The houses were to be scattered on hillsides, or in the valleys, to provide sufficient land, admittedly poor, for the settlers to cultivate. The size of the contemplated holdings precluded hand labor of the intensity characteristic of the usual agriculture. The use of draft animals, plows, and harrows was part of the plan. [291] [361] [241]

The war and the disappearance of so many of the draft animals prevented its realization. Before the war, it was intended that each family should have a 3000 tsubo tract (2.45 acres). Today the residents on these lands cultivate only about 1000 tsubo, about the limit of manual cultivation considering the soils and the stone that remains. As a consequence, parts of the area are returning to weeds, grasses, and shrubs.

10 Okinawa forests, as cited, 7.

474 426 and repayment of principal and interest. Members are involved in these transactions out of different motives. The organizer is usually the one most interested in borrowing money. Other participants may wish to earn interest on spare cash. They are the bankers of the group. Between the person who needs immediate cash and the bankers are those who would like to borrow money during the life of the group but are indifferent as to the precise time, hoping to bid and obtain a loan at a favorable rate to buy a pig or to repair a house.

The most complex of these loan groups were found in Minatogawa. A group may have any number of members; usually there are from 10 to 15, but there may be only five to nine. Each group has a set of regulations (no-ai no kisoku). In Minatogawa money is borrowed for house or boat building, for buying pigs, or for other business purposes.

The first meeting begins with a party given by the persons most [574] interested in starting the group. On the following months, more modest parties given at the homes of other members are in conjunction with the bidding and distribution of the money. The entertainments of the first and last meetings include pork or goat meat, bean curd, [262] tea, and sake. At the first meeting the organizer is the host. Rules are established as to whether the indebtedness shall be put into writing and as to guarantors. (Before the war, occasionally a borrower ran off to Japan or to one of the other islands and was never heard of again). Now a guarantor is required, but this is a formality. The [476] system really rests on mutual trust and on the co-operation of friends [577] and relatives of known honesty. One person may belong to several groups. Multiple membership is naturally confined to those with plenty of ready cash who have no immediate use for it. A group whose membership is poor will subscribe from Y100 to Y300 a month, a moderately well-to-do one from Y2000-3000. There are now about 30 in Minatogawa. Members usually are present or former residents of the village. Men and women participate. These gatherings combine business with a friendly social atmosphere so typical of Okinawan business transactions and official contacts. The mats of the room are arranged to form an [353] empty square in the center of the room, and this square becomes a combination counting board and refreshment table.

In one type, the loan is awarded after secret bidding (usually by writing on a piece of paper), the award going to the lowest bidder, for he is offering the highest discount. For example, Y20,000 are available for a loan to be repaid in ten installments of Y2100 each (Y2000 principal and Y100 interest). If a member wants the money badly enough, he may bid Y17,500, accepting that amount and paying back on the basis of Y20,000 plus interest. He thus would get the award over a man who bid at a discount of Y2000 or Y18,000.

In one form of the discount type, the organizer automatically gets the first loan. He does not bid and does not lose by discounting. He has started the group for this purpose. On the second and succeeding months, the bidding is secret and competitive. Assuming ten members pooling Y2000 each the first month, in the second nine members advance

3

Daily Work Habits

512 The people of a village are continually busy. Their daily work habits depend on the season and the type of work. The work day of the fisherman is the least predictable because his activities are more sensitive to the present and anticipated weather. Most farmers continue working in their fields in a slight rain, but activity ceases with heavy rains. While the farmer works steadily and hard, there is a certain elasticity in his schedule. He does not go to the fields every morning at exactly the same time. Neither does he feel compelled to put in a full day's work every day; he is guided more by the tasks to be done. Work is interrupted by an occasional smoke or conversation with friends or neighbors passing by. There is a routine in daily life, but it is not strictly adhered to. Meal times vary from day to day sometimes by an hour. Time may be taken out from the fields to gather firewood, make bean curd, to dry out bean pods, or to fix up one's house. Three or four days in a row may be devoted to helping with another's house. The sun is the guide to time. Most houses have clocks but few are running and they are not well regulated. Perhaps the chief distinction between agriculture and fishing work is that in the former, the tasks of all blend together.

[264] [476] [805]

A farmer's work day in summer begins about 8 or 9 in the morning and ends almost the same time in the evening. Full advantage is taken of the daylight hours. In summer, the evening meal is not eaten until 9 and often later. By the time the meal is finished and the table cleared, it is ten. After short visits within the family, or with neighbors, the farmer retires about 11. In the winter, the routine is the same, but the day's work stops earlier, and the evening meal is at about 6 P.M. The fishermen do not have this unbroken routine. There is often night work and the day may be used for sleeping. Intense activity is followed by periods of greater or less leisure.

4

Clothing

175 292 565 [286] 291 [537] 000

The history of costume in Okinawa is full of interest, but it is too broad a subject to deal with here. In the old Okinawan kingdom, clothing and its color, hair pins, caps, and other articles of men's wear were used to designate rank. The clothing of the commoners had much less variety. Until quite recently, banana fibre was used in farmers' clothing. A dyed indigo kimono, stripes for men and dots for women, is still worn.

Present day clothing is of a non-descript character. The war

484 studied remarked on the discomfort of the rustic north. Many
[829] people in Matsuda thought the people of the northern district more honest than those of the south. This attitude is partly due to knowledge of crime in Naha. Direct or personal knowledge of other islands of the Ryukyus is exceptional. Few people know more than travelers' tales about Yaeyama, Miyako, or Amami.

562 Men are better informed about current events than the women.
Women do not participate so much in social life, nor do they read
521 so much. Conversations at small gatherings are often on a very serious level. A local antiquarian telling of vanished customs and conditions has a very attentive audience. So has a returned traveler
814 from Japan. These people have a sense of history, curiosity, and respect for knowledge and education.

3

Village Co-operation

621 One of the most important things to learn about a culture is
476 the nature of its co-operative endeavor. It is useful knowledge in understanding the transition zone between individual and family living and participation in community activities. In these communities, co-operation involves considering the relation of families resident in the village to one another, to their community organizations, and to local government. These relations are stronger than the tie of an individual to an extended family. The nature and the limitations of co-operation can best be described by pointing to examples from each of the villages.

In Hanashiro, mutual help is mainly found, as one might expect, among close and distant relatives of the same family of families related by marriage, who are living in the village. There are extended family ties, which may involve several villages, but this does not
[C19] mean that tasks are done co-operatively within the extended family. It is uncommon to go to another village to help a relative with his harvest or his housebuilding--and the distance would increase the unlikelihood. Immediate ties to friends, relatives, and neighbors are stronger than those to the more distant members of the extended family.

Within the village, organized co-operation is not conspicuous. Help is given in the form of labor not in money. There is no accounting on a reciprocity basis. At any harvest time--the rice harvest is usually the most urgent--a relative, neighbor or friend may help one day and receive the same aid on the following day. The whole village does not turn out to help each farmer in turn until the crops are in. This work is done by individuals or by very small groups. Since the nature and the amount of help is known and acknowledged, no bookkeeping
[342] is needed or desired. The closest approach to villagewide help to an individual family occurs in housebuilding. All residents of the

village volunteer to help if they have the time; each day a group of 5 or more appear, to be replaced the following day by another group until the house is finished. This type of help is more characteristic of the construction or repair of a simple house with a thatched roof than it is with a more expensive and elaborate house which requires specialists. 621 496 342

No days are specifically set aside for community projects, but these are done through co-operative effort. The amount of time given depends on needs as they arise. The care and maintenance of roads and lanes are the most frequent projects. If a road or lane is needed, the village headman and the council discuss the matter, consult the villagers, and the task is then undertaken. Road and lane maintenance includes cutting weeds and clearing away brush to cut down the danger from snakes. These procedures apply also to the construction and care of community owned buildings, such as the village office and the sugar mill. Hanashiro is small enough so that elaborate plans are not required and the desired ends can be accomplished by casual forms of mutual help. 621 496 [491]

The problems of Hinatogawa are different, but the type of co-operation is essentially the same. Because of its situation, typhoon damage is often severe. Cleaning up and repairing after a typhoon is a co-operative enterprise, since there is so much damage to community property such as roads and breakwaters. In the typhoon "Ruth" in 1951, the wind driven waves lashed the breakwater with such violence that the stones were dislodged and scattered over the main road. Repairing typhoon damage is partly a community, partly a family affair. Many of the frailer houses are blown down and must be reconstructed from their foundations. Help in beaching and lashing down boats in anticipation of a typhoon is given by relatives and friends. Road maintenance and construction, village building, the laying of stones around a community water tank or faucet are tasks accomplished by community effort. House-building is done mostly through the co-operation of friends and relatives. There may be visits to Itoman to help members of the extended family there. The ties with Itoman are close. [731] [614]

Matsuda is a larger village whose scattered settlements and community forests have resulted in a more planned community co-operation than exists in the southern villages. Three general forms can be distinguished: (1) officially supervised co-operative work on the roads and in the forests in which every male over school age and the unmarried girls are expected to work a stated number of days in a year. Records are kept of this work. One might regard this as obligatory, but it is more correct to say that it is a universally acknowledged duty requiring no enforcement procedure. (2) Voluntary co-operation in the building of a house, and (3) less formal and more casual help, among relatives and friends in a wide variety of daily tasks, including harvesting, carrying wood, threshing rice, and the like.

In the officially supervised co-operative work, the participating

621 individuals give one day each year to forest maintenance and planting.
476 Twice during the year one day is given to cleaning up and repairing village roads and paths, to improve village cleanliness, and to reduce the danger from snakes. These clean-up activities, which take place in March, April and November, include cutting the grass and weeds along the roadside, cleaning off accumulated debris, and filling in ruts, holes, and rough spots.

621 The closest approach to village-wide co-operation in private
476 undertakings is in housebuilding. Regardless of the financial standing of the owner, whenever a new house is being built, there are volunteer
342 helpers from the whole village. This is the only area in which this co-operation exists. It does not occur in agriculture or at harvest times. Each day a different crew helps, but this assistance does not
[463] apply to the more specialized tasks. The skilled work on the larger new houses requires carpenters, masons, and tile setters. There is no rigid system of reciprocity nor does a villager keep a record of the days he has worked for the others and the days due him. Many who help already have substantial houses themselves and have no need of reciprocal aid. Following a custom in all the villages, when the
[574] building is finished, the owner gives a housewarming party, with plenty of sake and food. Both hired and volunteer workers are invited.

476 If we may judge by these villages, the Okinawan is individualistic in his approach to his work. Aside from the work on the roads and in the forests, help in emergencies, and the special case of housebuilding, the circle of mutual help is confined within the family or close associates. In no case, did the co-operation of a whole or a substantial part of the village extend to agriculture."

This preceding discussion does not exhaust the field of cooperative endeavor. The co-operative associations and mutual loan groups have already been discussed. Community organizations and neighborhood associations will be considered in Section 5. But these are either more restricted in membership or have a more planned organizational character.

571 In closing this discussion, a further point should be made to avoid misunderstanding. The farmer, fisherman, or stonecutter, the worker in the forest approaches his task as an individual. But group consultation and the sharing of responsibility in other activities is a positive characteristic of the culture. The principle of prior discussion, arriving at a decision acceptable to the group, is a conspicuous part of family life and is implicit in the family system. The same attitude appears in group and community organizations, and in the conduct, as we shall see, of village government.

4

Village Leadership

565
[727] The recent war brought about a levelling in village life. Before

243 offered at the village shrine by the priestess. Today key agricultural
[782] events are still marked by small ceremonies in which the priestess be-
[793] seeches or thanks the gods, but the actual day for planting is determined by weather and the condition of seed.

When the rice is transplanted in March, the whole family spends long hours in the paddy. Then the paddies swarm with people; some prepare the soil by spreading fertilizer, others stand in the ooze to set the seedlings. Transplanting is done by mutual assistance groups, which
● [476] will be discussed later in this chapter. They guarantee everyone a sufficient number of helping hands during the painstaking, rapid work, which has to be finished within a limited time. In a few days the whole paddy area suddenly turns from brown into the tender green of the young shoots. Once planted, intermittent weeding is all the care that is needed.

[261] In July the rice turns brown and is ready for harvest. This is an event of joy for the whole village, for young rice is most delicious and
[857] loved by everyone. By then vacations have started, so that schoolchildren can help to cut rice and carry bundles to the spot where it is threshed in treadle-type machines, located either near the field or behind one's house. As soon as the rice is threshed, the grain is carried to a place in the village where the wind blows freely. There a woman holds a flat winnowing basket filled with grain at an angle to let the
[782] breeze separate the chaff from the grain. The first rice is cut by men
[264] and offered at the family shrine before the whole family eats a specially
[251] prepared gruel. Rice is usually stored in one or two oil drums in the kitchen-side corner of the front room. Better houses have a metal-lined
[256] storeroom. Once a week a supply is taken to the miller to be hulled and polished.

Those whose fields are sufficiently wet plant a second crop, and the cycle is repeated once more in midsummer, with the second harvest falling in late December.

244 Sweet potatoes can be planted throughout the greater part of the year if the soil is not too dry. They take from five to seven months to
[262] grow to full size. Although less popular than rice, no part of the plant
[231] is wasted. The large tubers are consumed, the small ones are usually fed to the pigs; the young leaves are used as vegetables, the older ones cooked into pig food. Slips are cut and used for planting a new crop.

The preferred variety of potato (*tadushi imu*) is grown in the dry paddies during the second rice season. To plant this potato, the soil must be piled up to form a long, narrow, flat-topped mound. One of the hardest jobs for farmers, this is done by men in the humid heat of a midsummer day. Women set the slips after the earth has been moved.
[251] These potatoes are the only variety which are thought to improve with

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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and look after the sick. Even if they are too old for any work, like two oldsters over 80 years, they can still hold the youngest grandchild. Two exceptional old men, brothers of almost the same age, pass their time by making rope bags and mats from the fiber of the fan palm. Both are active as financial experts, investing money here and there and lending it for high interests in various shrewd transactions. 887 462 [855] [285] [454]

INFORMAL AND FORMAL COOPERATION

Cooperation plays a prominent part in Taira economy. Assistance is always given for major tasks, such as preparing grass land for farm use or house building, or for work which must be done quickly, such as transplanting rice or harvesting and milling sugar. In fact, since wet rice cultivation depends on assistance in any culture that works its paddies by hand, it is noteworthy that the term *iimarū*, used in Taira for labor exchange in planting and harvesting, is also extended to other mutual assistance. The term, literally translated, means "gathering by rotation." A family who plans a project that needs the help of others makes an informal arrangement with relatives or neighbors to help for one or more days. This is simply done by notifying individuals that such help is needed. No one, unless he has urgent reasons, would refuse to comply with a call for assistance. If it is a small task, a few close relatives are asked. In most larger undertakings, it is the neighborhood group that lends a hand. These mutual-assistance groups usually form within the central village and within each of the geographical clusters of the outlying village, although close relatives from other parts of the community may be called. However, the most recent arrivals in Taira, all present members of one family line who have the same surname, act jointly in reclamation of neglected fields to strengthen their economic position. 476 241 [621]

Return services are expected, but nobody would admit that there is any thought of equal compensation and would not even joke about the matter. There is a strong feeling that calculated thinking is unseemly not only among relatives but also among unrelated neighbors. One man, when asked what would happen if a person refused to comply to a request for help, answered, "There is no such dirty person, and if there were one, he would be an outcast." During the rice planting season, persons helping in another's fields will shortly be helped themselves. In housebuilding, a long time may pass until those who aided will need aid in return. 476 241 577

Except for people over 56, pregnant women, and mothers of chil- 653 464

quire room and board are sometimes put up without compensation, and they agree, perhaps, to give some help with studies of the landlord's children. Only the village "doctor" takes transient guests, mostly visiting officials from the city, who pay for lodgings. 427 [875] [485]

Although the household head is a legal owner of the family property, there is a feeling that it belongs to the family and everyone in the household identifies himself with his land and house. This is expressed in the language. A person who is asked, "Whose rice paddy is this?" would answer that it is the household's or "ours." 423 592

In addition to the communal land holdings and the property of the cooperative described earlier, the following items are shared. The government supplies a breeding boar to each village; it is then left in the care of one farmer. This animal is available to pig owners for studding on request, and a small charge is made for the upkeep of the boar. A few tools are jointly owned by several households. Threshing machines were bought jointly after the war by two or more families to defray the high cost of such equipment. These families could be neighbors or relatives. Today many are complaining that joint ownership works hardships during the busy harvest season when there is heavy demand for the machines. As a result, everybody wishes to own his own machine as soon as he can afford to. For tea harvesting, special clippers are owned by the village cooperative and loaned to people as they need them. Since tea harvesting, though seasonal, is not done by all families during the same day, sharing of these tools presents no difficulties. 422 [231] [654] [476] [474]

Property of others is very much respected. Stealing among villagers is almost unheard of, except for some pilfering of green vegetables and fruits by children. Only one case was reported during the field-work period—a person tried to take some goods without payment from the community store. When a village meeting was called, and it was announced that the person's identity was known to the store manager, the merchandise was later replaced. Willful damage to fields is similarly strictly forbidden. No child would really think of doing such damage. But there are no formal rules about trespassing. Movement across other people's property is completely free and unchallenged. 421 685 [627] [867]

626 diate relatives but also toward members of the entire community, and
156 even certain strangers, appears in many contexts. Any villager feels
[479] a sense of obligation to participate in mutual assistance, and someone who fails to live up to this obligation is severely criticized. A person who commits a crime is said to have no feeling of obligation, and it seems clear that the infrequency of transgression, either the violation of mutual help codes or more serious infractions, is held in check by fear of censure.

626 The Japanese moral code, which stresses obligations and feelings of
577 indebtedness and gratitude toward those from whom favors have been
867 received, is obviously related to such social control forces or is in fact
[177] identical with them. Japanese ethical training was part of school training before World War II, and it is still deeply valued and followed.
[571] That any close-knit community tends to foster such forces of control is common knowledge. Yet the positive attitude toward obligations and their elaboration in interpersonal relationships is noteworthy and characterizes an important aspect of Taira life. It is learned early, as we found out when one mother said about her 4-year-old daughter: "She understands the idea (of obligations and indebtedness), although she does not know the concepts." When the family receives a gift, the little girl asks, "Shall we take some fish (a counter present) to them?" In spite of the positive value mentioned, there seem to be few compulsions connected with obligations. Actions appear spontaneous rather than forced. Of course, these obligations are of importance in determining contributions of individual households at weddings, funerals, and other occasions where interpersonal ties are cemented.

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Chapter 6

Social Organization

571 In every society an individual belongs to a number of groups, overlapping in membership and differentiated by function. A resident of Taira is no exception. Some groups are open, that is to say, new mem-

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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the decades, as the branches grow into unilineal descent lines of their own, new "main" houses are formed. 613

Originally descriptive names were given to each household. These names indicated a "stem" family or one of its branches. The "Big East House," a reference to the lineage as well as to the homestead itself, probably split into several branches. These, the homes of younger sons, were known as "Little East House," or by a further derivative, "Behind Little East House." Sometimes the rank order of a younger son was used to name his house, such as "Second East House." This house order system is no longer in existence in Taira, but a few of the names are still in use to indicate houses, and individuals are frequently referred to as "the person of such and such a house," for instance, "the grandmother of the East House." *

Although every individual is aware of his membership in a "main house," these descent groups have little importance except in religious life and death ceremonies. Members of the same "main house" revere common male ancestors and share in the upkeep of a common tomb in which their remains are placed at death. Funerals and the veneration of deceased members of the "main house" bring the kin group together several times a year. Women, although entombed with their husbands, visit the "main house" of their father to pray before his ancestors' tablets and make offerings. If they were born in Taira, they may first take offerings of rice and sake to the shrine of their husband's paternal ancestors; then later in the day they prepare for a ceremony in their own "main house." 613 769

The descent group also functions in other religious contexts. The oldest woman of the main house acts as priestess for the lineage, and she or another older female may visit the sick and assist their relatives with prayers and practical help. Descent group affiliation does not affect such daily concerns as lending help to others in economic tasks, though some of the descendants of early Taira settlers seem to feel more obligation in this respect than members of the more recently arrived lineages. Lineage affiliation does not determine the choice of a marriage partner. However, although members of the same "main house" or lineage may marry each other provided they are not first cousins, such unions are rare. Marriage with maternal first cousins is also forbidden. 613 [794] [476] [582]

An individual also holds membership in other kin groups which have only a loose structure and few functions. These are the relatives 602 [476]

* Individual surnames among commoners are of recent date, introduced after the Japanese assumed administrative control and required their adoption to establish a population registry. Family names had been in use among the Shuri gentry. 551 177 217

602 on one's mother's side and, after marriage, the wife's family. In seek-
476 ing mutual assistance for rice planting, house building and other undertakings, such relatives may be approached. In other words, kin, neighbors, and members of the same geographical section of the village participate almost equally in mutual assistance groups. Maternal relatives join in family celebrations and in the discussion of family matters. Since many decisions are made jointly with the help of relatives, there are frequent occasions for the kindred to gather in the evening at one house or another.

561 Each Okinawan also belongs to an age group. As will be described in the section on socialization, beginning at kindergarten an Okinawan becomes associated with a group of boys and girls who will remain his
575 companions through school. As a member of junior high school he
653 will join the formal Student's Association, which is responsible for certain community projects. High school students and all unmarried young adults belong to the Young People's Association, which is both a social group and a cooperative work group.

575 After marriage there are several associations which one may join.
185 Adult married women who are under 57 belong to the Women's Asso-
[562] ciation, which is affiliated with an island organization dedicated to "modernizing" women's lives. The organization is lead by a few women who are in contact with the district and island organization. They attempt at semisocial gatherings to introduce changes aimed at easing
[262] the burdens of daily life and the pressure of poverty. For example, they are trying to influence the women to return to making their own bean paste rather than spending precious cash. The leaders show the women how to make bean paste and encourage them to set aside one work-free day a month to catch up with neglected housework. Many of the efforts of the organization, however, are not too successful. Most women go back to their homes and find that the accustomed ways are easier to follow. One has learned to live with economic pressures and tradition and established custom is a strong force. So the few forward-looking women have a difficult task in rallying others.

Both adult married males and females may also join an organization similar in objective—the Home Improvement group. Although the men who are village leaders belong to this association, the majority of the members are the same women who are leaders in the Women's Association.

575 Before World War II there was an association of older men.* Al-
887 though this group seldom, if ever, meets, it still sends a representative
623 to the village council and to a few village functions.

* Apparently of relatively recent origin.

'nuka'. The latter is fed to pigs, cows, and chickens. The rice polisher keeps the hulls (mumigara), but the farmers have free access to the hull pile should they want to use it for stuffing pillows. People in Kanegusuku do not usually pay in cash, but allow the miller to keep about six percent of the polished rice as multure. 445 [437]

Exchange of Services In order to lessen the amount of money used in transactions, rural folk resort to exchange of labor as much as possible. However, the exchange is based upon fairly rigorous ideas of reciprocity, and a person who has been helped is expected fully to return the favor. A Nanahan man built a house with a tin roof---the only one in the village---with the aid of his wife's brother, who was a carpenter. In return he spent a greater number of days aiding his brother-in-law in construction of a new house---paying back more days because of his comparative lack of skill. People envy the carpenter, who did not finish high school, but attended a four-month carpentry school instead. "He now makes more than a high-school graduate, and has four apprentices working for him." 476 [457] [463]

Okinawan youths very early learn the patterns expected in cooperative labor. The custom of iimarū is one of teen-aged boys' going around in a group to work the fields of the father of one of the boys, and moving on in turn to the fields of the other fathers. [383]

Some loosening of patterns of use of horse-drawn sugar mills was recorded. For instance, during the prewar period the dominant family in Nanahan had monopolized one particularly well-located press and boiling shed. Now they share its use with all the families living in the valley where the dominant family's 'honke' is located. [178] [249]

In Yamada mutual assistance through exchange of labor is called yiisē. For example, a farmer who wants to transplant rice gets help from among his relatives. One person comes from each family that can spare one, with the assurance that it will receive one person in return. If the labor cannot be returned for transplanting, the people owing a day may fill in with work on a dry field or aid in building a new house, and so forth. Thatching a roof with kaya grass is also yiisē, but it partakes somewhat of the nature of a 'moai', or mutual loan group. People from the whole village may come for this. They bring bundles of grass---one, two or three---and the amount is written down so that the same amount may be returned when that person's turn comes. The similarity to 'moai' may be only in the fact that there is a written record. [452]

The probationary adoption of a 'yōshi' may be considered a form of exchange of services. A man without an heir may take into his house a nephew, say the third son of his brother, with the intention of adopting him should the boy be serious and hard-working. If the boy should not prove amenable to the arrangement---one boy said, "I stayed with my uncle two years, but left because I wanted to get an education"---his labor is considered to have paid for the expense of keeping him. [597]

613 southern part of the island. There the term for the local unit, a relatively small lineage with not very strong ties to the larger unit, is chuchooree (literally, "one brotherhood', to translate literally into Japanese, hito-
613 kyōdai). The larger unit of the commoners is called the ichimung ("one gate"),
614 which is equivalent to the munchu of the south. Some of the gentry families refer to the subdivision of the uji having the same surname as their ichimung. Thus a family may belong to a local chuchooree, to an ichimung containing other families elsewhere of the same surname, and to a still larger uji containing ichimung of other surnames.

614 Functions The functions of the common descent group seem to be almost
769 entirely ritual. Just as the members of a family are responsible for helping the head of the family in making the proper offerings before the tablets and the tomb of its immediate ancestors, so the larger unit has such a responsibility toward the remote ancestors. In the family the eldest son bears the greatest responsibility, so in the common descent group the head of the main house bears the greatest responsibility. But the benefits resulting from proper worship and the misfortunes resulting from negligence may extend even to the youngest branch house, and thus all are interested in maintaining the worship.

614 Representatives of the common descent group worship before the ances-
796 tral tablets at the main house on occasions called u-machii (J. 'o-matsuri'),
769 usually the 15th days of the 2nd, 5th and 6th lunar months and during the New Year's season. They worship at the tomb at the shiimii (J. 'seimei') season in April. For this purpose periodic meetings may be held and dues levied for
[788] the expense of the offerings. Many groups send members on pilgrimages every seventh year (shichinin-maari) to pray at remote shrines; many in the south go to Nakijin in the north for this. There may also be special expenditures such as for the repair of a tomb, the building of a new tomb, or even the repair of the main house if its owner has become impoverished.

614 A few common descent groups are said to have a little property from which the income is used for the expense of the worship, but probably none has enough to be of any other value. The common descent group probably has
[476] no economic functions. In a rural community its members may tend to cooperate a little more in farm work; I observed this to be the case in some instances in Yamada, but informants say that kinship is no more important than closeness of residence and that neighbors ought to cooperate.

614 Nevertheless the common descent group occasionally seems to have
666 political functions. In a recent election in southern Okinawa, munchu membership became a factor. A cartoon that appeared in the Okinawa Times of 8 March 1954 shows opposing candidates carrying banners announcing their munchu. In the village of Komesu, south of Itoman, supporters of candidates appealed to members of their candidates' munchu to support their own regardless of political party.

613 The unity of the kin group may appear in time of crisis. In the vil-
722 lage of Yamada, during the battle in 1945, many of the villagers hid out in improved natural caves. According to one informant's account, at first there was some moving around but ultimately people of the same chuchooree clung together. In one instance bad feeling arose between two groups over the sharing of a cave.

[Kanegusuku]

time of the author's stay in the village there was no individual or family which could be classified as rentier. 427

Changes Effected by the War War-caused changes in the distribution of land holdings among the various households were considerable. Many of the land-rich houses, if such a term may be used where the "richest" has but eleven acres, are such today because of the war, and conversely some houses have become impoverished or had their resources severely strained because of it. Unlike many other communities Kanegusuku was fortunate in that only about 4% of its total land area was permanently ruined as a result of the war. Some land was lost to a road, but most of the loss was due to a small military camp (about company size) now converted into a tuberculosis sanatorium. Since land holdings are usually fragmented and scattered, no one family lost all its land, though one family lost nearly one-half and several approximately one quarter. The loss to the sanatorium is not compensated for by jobs for Kanegusuku people since no villager is employed there. This is explained by the fact that the director is from Itoman; so "naturally" he could not be expected to hire Kanegusuku people. 621 423 177 727 [186]

The composition of the household has changed in many homes since the war as a result of the large number of deaths. Today a number of households consist of the usual nuclear family of husband, wife, and their offspring plus a related "broken" family such as widowed sister and her children or widower brother and his children or parent and unmarried siblings. In most cases the holdings of both families are pooled and the household functions as a single economic unit, though separate purses are sometimes maintained. There are several old people who live alone in their houses, but they are usually watched over by near relatives. 621 592 177 727

The richest landowner (eleven acres) in the village today was a second son in very moderate circumstances before the war. As a second son he was given by his parents to childless relatives for adoption. During the war his adoptive parents died, leaving him their entire estate. The war also caused the death of his real father and elder brother, leaving him the sole heir to their property. He has since married a woman who as the surviving member of her family is heiress to its property. Consequently, this house now holds the land of three families. The villagers are somewhat envious, but they say that misfortunte may result since this house now must make the ritual observances to the ancestors of three families, which is felt to be too great a task for anyone, and inadequate attention may lead to calamity. 621 556 727 [769]

The women who were widowed by the war and who have chosen to maintain separate households have had in most cases a difficult time of it, and particularly those widows without grown sons have been hard pressed. Farming an irrigated field is said to be impossible for a woman alone; therefore, most of them have had to rent out their rice lands, thereby losing much of its return. It is also very difficult for a house which contains only women to participate in reciprocal labor exchanges, since two days of labor by a woman are equated to one day of labor by a man. 621 589 727 [462] [427] [476]

[Kanegusuku]

621 The group most dissatisfied with its lot today are the repatriates
423 from the former Japanese possessions. A few of these families were able upon
727 return to take up the lands left by relatives killed in the war or were given land by prosperous relatives, and four repatriate families are virtually landless. All of them, regardless of the size of their present holdings, chafe at their circumstances. One repatriate told the author that he had farmed nearly twenty-five acres in a single plot of sugar on Saipan and that he could never be satisfied with Kanegusuku after this. He is hoping that he will eventually be permitted to return to Saipan.

Before the war that segment of the village which possessed the least amount of land consisted almost exclusively of younger sons who had established branch families. Today this group has been augmented by repatriates from the former Japanese possessions and by emigrants from other Okinawan communities.

621 Farm Laborers During the course of the author's stay in Kanegusuku
241 there was only one full-time farm laborer in the village. This man came from one of the southern islands in the Ryukyus and was employed for less than a
[463] month. After his discharge, the former employer remarked that no outsider has enough interest in the lands of another family to make his employment worthwhile. Transplanting and harvesting rice place the heaviest labor de-
[857] mands upon the family; at these times virtually every member of the family
[476] works in the fields; even the grade-school children are given minor tasks, and the family labor force is supplemented by close relatives or neighbors in a reciprocal labor exchange.

829 Attitudes toward the Land One does not hear or see evidence of
554 any great love or attachment for the soil on the part of the Okinawan farmer.
463 In fact, quite the contrary seems true. Most regard their occupation as a lowly one and feel that they are farmers because they know no other occupa-
241 tion. Land is of value because it provides a livelihood, nothing more, though some exception might be made for house land. Nearly all of the younger generation reflect the thinking of their fathers, and they are eager to get a good education (the diligence of even the average Okinawan student would strike the American teacher as amazing), secure a job in the town or city, and leave the drudgery of the farm village forever. Most
[433] farms are so small that they provide no more than mere subsistence for their cultivators; consequently, the young men see no sense in attending agricultural school when they will have little more than an acre to work. One young man from a fairly prosperous family in the village recently secured a job as a stevedore in Naha, and both he and his wife expressed their pleasure over what they regard as a definite improvement in their status. Though they have not sold the land which they own, they hope that it will never be necessary to return and farm it.

To a large extent this attitude toward the land and farming as an
[178] occupation is directly related to the economic and cultural changes taking place on Okinawa today; the city is an exciting place to live in and employment there is economically more advantageous than farming. Nevertheless, this seems in part the product of the old land system and the low, serf-like status accorded farmers under it. Some of the earlier visitors and officials

period of time. This was usually accomplished by reciprocal labor exchange 178
or by hiring the local youth organization to do the job. 406

In sum, the rural people are making eager use of labor-saving machines 178
when they are available. The limiting factors have been shortage caused by 40
the war, poverty, small fields, and heavily fragmented holdings. The use of
machines has contributed to a decline of reciprocal labor exchanges and has [476]
necessitated the payment of cash for the services of the specialist or machine [437]
owner.

Dress A most notable feature of the postwar period has been the 177
wholesale adoption of Western styles of dress and the great reliance placed 291
on Japanese and American cloth and clothing. Nearly all males now dress in Western styles of dress. Very infrequently an old man will be observed in a kimono, but most males regard it as ill suited for work and modern life. Sometimes a man will wear a kimono when lounging at home, especially late in the evening after supper and bath. It is not at all unusual in the cities and towns to see a man walking toward the public bath carrying his kimono; on return he is dressed in the kimono and carries his soiled work clothing which is of Western style. Even for weddings the Western suit is used as frequently as the kimono for the groom's attire.

Young women and school girls wear Western dress exclusively. The [292]
kimono still remains the traditional mode of dress for the bride, and at New Year's time young women and girls may wear kimono. Middle-aged women use the kimono and Western-style dresses about equally. The older women dress exclusively in the kimono. The style of the kimono for the older and middle-aged woman is usually Okinawan, not Japanese. Among the young women and girls who use the kimono only as a party costume the Japanese style is followed, never the Okinawan.

Native-style rain and sun hats of palm leaf and wheat straw are still 178
widely used in the rural areas; nothing of Western or Japanese manufacture 292
has been able to match these for light weight and effectiveness.

A major influence on Okinawan styles of dress has been the clothing 291
of the US military forces. This has been obtained through clothes rations, 177
surpluses, and petty black market operations. US Army fatigues, chino pants and shirts, wool pants, field jackets, fatigue caps and ponchos, are very popular particularly in the rural areas, so much so that the bulk of rural Okinawa is dressed in colors of olive drab, suntan, or field green. All attest to the durability of American cloth. A number of Okinawans asserted that used American clothing was better than new Japanese. A number of small [439]
merchants capitalizing on this belief have begun importing used American clothing, which comes in one-hundred pound bales; according to all accounts this has been well received.

Okinawans use very little in the way of personal ornamentation. The 301
large old-fashioned hairpin, formerly worn by both sexes, is used today by 178
only a few old women. Tattooed hands, once common to all Okinawan women, are [304]
seen today only on women over sixty. The purely ornamental insertion of gold teeth is also said to be declining; among the young educated (high school) people of the cities there is said to be some reaction against this use of gold teeth, but personal observation indicates continued popularity of the custom in the country.

434 salaried employees has greatly increased the amount of money in circulation.
178 The large expenditures made by members of the military forces have also con-
464 tributed significantly. The farmer, in turn, has been able to realize a larger return for his products than was formerly possible, and in many farm villages a sizable number of individuals are engaged in military employment..

Farmers are spending more than ever before; self-sufficiency has further declined in that many articles formerly made at home are now purchased.
[511] The standard of living, especially diet, is said to have improved considerably.
[592] Formerly all income and resources were controlled by the household head for the entire family; today individual purses are said to be increasingly common.

621 <u>Community Organization and Social Structure</u> The solidarity and
178 integration of the village was severely diminished by the war and its aftermath. The prewar village was quite homogeneous; most of its families had resided there for many generations, village marriage practices tended to be endogamous, and nearly all were engaged in farming as their major occupation. Today in most villages there are a number of families new to the village since the war, and there are an increasing number of individuals who are employed outside the village in non-agricultural pursuits. Both groups tend to play a lesser role in community affairs than the old residents who continue to farm.

• 476 There has been a considerable decline in reciprocal labor exchanges.
178 The man who is daily employed outside the village is automatically prevented from participating in such ventures. The widow who heads a household without any adult male members is often unable to participate or must limit her participation since a day's work by a man must be matched by two by a woman. Likewise the man who hires a bulldozer to clear some land or build a rice field instead of engaging his relatives and neighbors in a cooperative exchange is also contributing to the decline of the practice.

369 Formerly those who left the village usually emigrated to other parts
178 of the Japanese Empire, but today they usually obtain employment in the cities
621 or military camps. Consequently, they continue to exert some influence in their place of origin, since interaction is more likely.

621 In a community like Kitazato which has suffered poverty, hunger, land
178 loss, and exodus of members to other communities, there seems to be a reintensification of community spirit stressing cooperation and unity. This is in marked contrast to Kanegusuku and elsewhere, suggesting that when a major value---communal unity---is directly threatened, there is a reaction and reintensification of this value. Elsewhere where the process of change has been more subtle, no reaction has occurred.

565 Okinawan class divisions were officially abolished early in the period
177 of Japanese administration; yet they continued to be of some importance with regard to status and marriage for some time. Today people say that they are no longer of any importance except to a few of the very old. Distinctions on
[559] the basis of wealth were largely erased by the war. It is frequently said, "After the war everyone was equal."

361 The village is a group of houses, each with its own compound, and
351 these give it an inclosed look. There are few if any gardens or vegetable patches either in the compounds or within the village settlement.

363 The lanes resemble quiet winding country roads. The rock fences, or the lines of trees or shrubbery often conceal the houses. There is an appearance of loneliness in these lanes and roads, except at busy times of the day when the children return from school. The lack of commercial
[482] activity, except for the women carrying rice on their heads to the mill
462 and for the small village stores, contributes to this impression of quiet,
[354] which one would expect from the routine of agriculture. At night, when the doors are drawn, and when the flickering and smoky oil lamps are lit, the loneliness and quiet of the village is even more pronounced. The
[493] lanes and the roads are deserted, save for an occasional passing truck,
[192] bicycle, or three wheeled cycle, and in one of the favorite words of all Okinawans, the place is sabishii.[6]

Since there is little activity in the village other than farming,
366 neighboring villages and distant towns supply the additional needs. At
368 nearby Gushichan village, there are the primary and junior high schools, the post office, the township and agricultural association offices, a barbershop, and some small stores. At Minatogawa, about one and one half miles away, there is a public bath, and across the river from this village, in Horikawa, an occasional play from the Okinawan stage, or a movie. Buses run through the village twice a day and one can make connections to Naha or Itoman, the two most likely places for buying
[494] or selling. Or one can take the three wheeled cycles which pass through more frequently.

927 Physically, the village was much affected by the war. On June 11,
362 1945, the front line ran through the cultivated area between Hanashiro and Gushichan villages. Hill 95, the scene of fierce fighting was in the vicinity of Hanashiro.[7] One can still see an occasional tank track, abandoned helmets and scattered fragments of war materials in the fields. The village was affected by the war in ways which are now observable indirectly in the makeshift houses, improvised shacks, the roofs of half
[355] tile and half thatch, the odd additions to the older buildings partly destroyed, and the lack of drain pipes and water catchment tanks. Houses, which to superficial appearance, have existed for generations, have been rebuilt since the war with grass substituting for the tile roofs.
[311] War operations over the cultivated areas also resulted in some loss of land. A long mound in the rice areas, with paths along its ridge, was formerly a road built by the Americans in the final drive toward Mabuni. Almost all the houses in the village were destroyed.

6 This Japanese word suggests both loneliness and melancholy.

7 Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 437 (illustration), 434-42 on the struggle for Hill 95.

241 occasionally, but by no means universally used. This failure to use
514 night soil may vary from locality to locality, and from farmer to farmer. In my opinion, it has not the importance it has in China and Japan. Neither is night soil used as a food for pigs, though
231 this seems to have been the case in some parts of Okinawa as late as
514 the 1920's.[2] But feeding human faeces to pigs was not observed in any village.

241 Normally in certain parts of Matsuda, night soil is used, though
514 infrequently, in places near the house. It is not carried far. Applications are made to cultivated land and land not presently in use. In the Nagamo area, it is occasionally used on sweet potatoes and sugar cane. Night soil, gathered from the outside toilets, is
[247] allowed to dry out before being applied to fields. It is often
[182] placed around ornamental plants. The fresh liquid form, carried on the shoulder in two buckets on either end of a long pole, may be applied directly to the fields, ladling out a little of the liquid around
[463] each plant. The professional collector of night soil is uncommon in the areas visited. Only one instance was found. Two brothers, who hired themselves out, cleaned the toilets for Yen 130 per day, plus meals. They spread the night soil on the owner's fields. These two brothers served the Gushichan area.

In Hanashiro, night soil is used occasionally, and then, it was said, only by the old. Its main use was on sugar cane. As a general rule, in all the villages, night soil is most frequently used around plants already growing and around each plant individually, rather than mixing it with the soil when the field is being prepared. Its use on rice fields was not observed.

The sparing use of night soil is indicated also by the infrequency with which one meets its characteristic odor in the countryside. An observation of a traveller, almost 100 years ago, lends some credence to the thought that night soil has not been extensively used
[114] in Okinawa. "How night-soil is disposed of is not known; certainly it does not obtrude itself on the senses, as it does in China, nor is it applied in the same way."[3] In Hanashiro, the decline in use since the
[177] war was ascribed to American influences: the dangers to health, and the increased availability of artificial fertilizers.

241 (5) Commercial fertilizers. These are now substantial proportions of the expenditures of an Okinawan farmer. These fertilizers generally are broadcast over the rice and dry crop lands. The writers of a

2 Richard Goldschmidt, Neu-Japan, as cited, 135.

3 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, II, 35. The author was Dr. Green.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Rotation #2, Matsuka

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221

First year, ninth month: Autumn planting of sugar cane
Second year, twelfth month: Harvest of sugar cane. Followed by: Soy bean, sweet potato, or vegetables.

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423

Land is seldom allowed to lie fallow intentionally for any length of time. At any one time of the year, a farmer may have idle land for which there may be a variety of reasons. He may have other tasks and be unable to cultivate all his land, or have no need of doing so, or some of his land may be so poor that he will not cultivate it unless necessary. Much depends on the individual farmer and his holdings. The village records indicate that in Hanashiro 97.2% of the rice and 83.1% of the dry crop land is under cultivation. From the preceding discussion of land classification, it is clear that many parcels are of marginal quality, and these areas may be left uncultivated, at least part of the year. During the post-war period there has been some informal lending of land, free of rent, to friends and neighbors, if the farmer is not using it himself.
[426]

241
[231]
[227]

Manual labor with hand tools is the dominant method of cultivation. Domestic animals are not uncommon, but their use in farming is minor. The war increased the dependence on manual labor through the loss of domestic animals. Only cattle are now used in rice cultivation for plowing and harrowing and this is infrequent. The man or woman and the hoe are far more common. Crops are carried from the fields by human labor. The basket or the straw container, or the tied rice sheaves on either end of a pole over the shoulder, and not horse carts, push carts, or wheel barrows are the main means of transport from field to courtyard. The barefooted farmer, with his hoe and a pole or a basket does the greatest part of the work. The common tools of agriculture are hand tools and adapted to the intensive cultivation which so often has more properly been called the work of a gardener rather than that of a farmer.
[482]
[415]
[493]

412

The basic all purpose tool is the solid bladed hoe. The hoe, since deep cuts are possible with its heavy blade, takes the place of the plow. The hoe also replaces the spade, and even the rake, for it can be used to break up and smooth the soil. A poorer farmer may lack many of the tools in the following list, but he will have two or three of the solid bladed hoes.
[434]

The accompanying illustration shows the most common agricultural tools:

1. The hera, a spatula or trowel, used for transplanting tops of the sweet potato. Its wooden hand grip curves toward the end of the tool. The hera is also used as a scraper to remove brown sugar from the sides of the cooking pans during the sugar making season.

2. The kama, a small sickle. Next to the hoe, it is the most

243 inches high, the bottom of the paddy becomes a tangled mass. Farmers walk disconsolately away from a field like this, often without even attempting to harvest the crop. The seeds once soaked will produce inferior rice. In this case, the farmer may turn the whole crop under or salvage some for pig food. The growing of rice is one long gamble with the wind and with typhoons, and there is seldom a year in which some rice is not destroyed.

[221] The harvest. The cutting of rice at harvest time, July and November in the western calendar, is done in a uniform manner. (Harvest times may vary somewhat from place to place). A bunch of the long stalks is grasped in one hand and cut off with the small sickle. A stubble of a few inches is left in the field. The sheaves are tied up with a piece of rice straw and thrown in piles. The commonest and [482] most convenient way of carrying the sheaves from the field is to tie several together. A large bundle of these is carried on either end of a pole which rests on the shoulder. The ends of the pole are cut like tenons and stuck in the bundles below the binding. The rice is carried to the courtyard to be threshed. If necessary, it will be allowed to dry for a few days.

243 407 Threshing, hulling, and milling. Rice is threshed either in the courtyard of the home or in a flat place near the house. During rice harvest, the threshing machines can be heard all over the village, the noise suggesting the sounds of cars on a railroad track, heard from a distance. The device now universally used for threshing rice is the dakkoki.

This has a foot treadle, similar to an old fashioned sewing machine. Working the treadle up and down causes a drum, set at about waist length, to revolve. This drum has a series of wires set in rows and bent over, appearing like large staples. These staples are parallel with the line of rotation of the drum.

A conveniently handled bunch of stalks (wara) is held on the revolving drum, the rice seeds touch the staples, which knock the kernels off. They drop to the floor of the device. Often the top has a canvas cover to catch the flying rice kernels and the machines is set in the middle of a large piece of canvas so that the grain can easily be recovered. Both men and women do this work, although women seem to do [462] more of it. They are free to work while at home, alternating the task with other chores. They keep up with the man and the elder children who are carrying the rice bundles in from the fields. After threshing, rice straw is thrown aside. It has many subsequent uses.

[177] The dakkoki, an introduction from Japan, is new in Okinawa. In Hanashiro it has been used scarcely 15 years. Prior to this, more primitive methods were used which can still be observed in Matsuda today. These old methods are no longer important, but they are of interest because they were used, instead of the treadle thresher, up to pre-war times.

256 until the desired white shade was obtained. After the milling, the rice is quite warm, and both the chaff and the rice have an odor similar to brewer's yeast.

[462] Women carry the rice to the mill. It is heaped up in baskets set
[482] on their heads. Rice straw or a braid of rice stalks is placed over
the small towel which rests directly on the head. On this the woman
[415] sets the basket with its rice. When the milling is over, the women
pick up a handful, blow off the chaff, inspect the rice for wholeness
and whiteness, and then put it in a large gunny sack. The chaff is
placed in a smaller one. Hulls, occasionally taken, are usually left
at the mill to accumulate in a pile outside the mill and there, at
[824] frequent intervals, are burned. Sometimes the hulls or the ashes are
taken for fertilizer.

Bringing rice for milling is a social occasion for the women.
[521] They often have a child on their back. While waiting for their rice to
be hulled and milled, they exchange greetings and news with their
neighbors or with women from adjoining villages.

As a result of the war, quality of machinery for rice milling
[727] differs with villages. Most now have access to a mill. The machinery
at Matsuda, being more efficient than the older machines at Hanashiro
is able to polish the rice satisfactorily after going through the mill
three times. These mills are very busy during the harvest seasons.

252 There are also survivals of older methods of hulling and polishing
rice. These are no longer used, though many of the old have not lost
their skill. Before machine polishing was introduced, the hulls were
[412] removed by pounding the rice in a mortar, usually with a long bamboo
pole narrowed in the center for a grip. After the hulls were removed,
the rice was put through a quern, or a mill known as a shiriushi. This
has two working parts: a base about a foot in diameter and perhaps a
foot in height. It looks like a smoothed off log. In the center,
there is a wooden pin, perhaps 1 1/2 feet long. Over this part, which
looks like an upright piece of a log with a rolling pin stuck in its
center, the upper part, made of wood and of the same diameter is fitted.
A bar across the inside of the top of the upper part has a hole for the
pin. On the outside, wooden plugs provide places for attaching ropes.
[462] These are pulled back and forth by women sitting opposite one another.
The rice is poured in at the top, the quern is moved first clock- and
then counterclockwise, the rice coming out in the rough crevice where
the two pieces join. The rice is put through the quern as many times
as is necessary to effect the polishing. In some querns, the inside of
the upper part is grooved to quicken the polishing.

In polishing rice in this way, the mill is placed on a mat and the
rice is gathered up periodically and put in baskets. It is then
winnowed by tossing in a flat basket. Many of the farmers in the villages
still have a shiriushi in their sheds, but it is seldom used.

Rice may also be polished by the use of rude wooden mallets. 252
These have a handle about 3 feet long and a head about 1 1/2 feet [412]
long. Rice is placed in a mortar with straw on top. It is pounded, often by two or three women swinging alternately. After the hulls are removed, the rice is winnowed, and put back in the mortar until a rough polish is secured.

824

Uses of rice. Every part of the rice plant has a use. The stubble, left in the ground, becomes a part of next season's fertilizer. The chaff and waste dust (nuka) is saved for pigs, cows, and other domestic animals. The hulls often are used for fertilizer, before or after burning. Rice straw has a variety of uses. The most frequent and important of these is for making rope.

After threshing, the straw is dried two or three days. Three or four stalks of about the same length are taken and rolled between the palms. The lower palm, usually the left, is open and up. The [283] right palm rolls the straw into a twist. As the rope grows, new stalks are inserted one at a time, and, when needed, a new length of straw is added. This is not a strong rope, but it has a variety of uses, such as tying down the grass thatch to the roof poles, children's swings, and clothes lines. Mats and pads shaped like a [285] life saver and used to set the sugar pots on after the sugar has been boiled, are made out of rice straw. Another use is in the making of the Ōda (Okinawan). This is a mesh about one foot wide and two feet long. There are loops on each corner. The end of a pole may be in- [482] ● serted in these loops when gathered together. The pole is carried over the shoulder, and sweet potatoes, straw, or other articles may be easily transported. Simple brooms without a handle, little more than [412] a bunch of straw tied together in three places are also made of rice straw. Twisting and braiding rice straw is likely to be rainy day work. These articles are most often made twice in the year, corresponding with the harvests.

At typhoon times, if rice is not completely destroyed, the [731] damaged rice may be used for pig food. The preparation of this rice [231] is women's work. The rice is put in a mortar and pounded with a [462] mallet in the manner already described, although a single operator usually does the work.

Types and preferences. As a general rule, the selection of 243
varieties of rice for planting depends on taste, the nature of the soils, and individual judgment of the expected yield of each type. In Matsuda, it is estimated that about one half of the rice is the Formosan variety, Taichu 65 (Taichu rokujugo), in Okinawa known as horai. Another variety, Kunigami 31 (Kunigami ichigo) represents about one-fourth of the crop. Mochigome (akaho) takes up about another one- [262] fourth. This glutinous rice has a brown reddish rust colored kernel and is used for rice cakes. A fourth variety, horai-mochimai, is also well liked. No black rice is grown here.

In Matsuda, the stalk is cut up with a large knife. In Nagano and Hanashiro, the oshikiriba (literally, push-cut-machine) is common. This is a device with a fixed blade, curving upward, on a stand. The cane is laid on the top of the blade. The handle is pressed down, forcing the cane stalk through the stationary blade. The use of this device is not universal. In the north, the hand cutting machine was a casualty of the war. 249 184

It is worth a slight digression here to add that, in considering various techniques as evidences of a departure from or adherence to traditional methods, the effects of the recent war must constantly be borne in mind. Sugar making is a good example. Primitive methods of making it today are a return, out of economic necessity, to earlier ways because of lack of capital to replace the former machinery. In Matsuda, the continued use of the horse drawn crushing rollers is not an expression of conservatism but of improvisation and return, in lieu of anything better, to old methods previously in use. Such devices as the oshikiriba are not good examples of this because it is not a decisively superior tool. A skilled farmer can cut the cane very efficiently with his knife. 178 727 249

Cane cuttings are made when the plant is about six months old and before it is mature. When year old plants are used for cuttings, only the top, or the youngest part is taken. The slip used may have two or three joints or buds. The length of the cutting apparently is determined by the number of joints. In Matsuda, slant planting seems to be favored because the plant is said to receive more water and to be able to withstand typhoons better. Flat planting is faster than slope planting. From one stalk usually five or six transplants are made. 249

There are two plantings of sugar cane, the spring (haru-ue) and the fall (akiue). Cane planted in the spring planting, from January to March, is harvested in April of the following year. In the fall planting from July to September, the cane is harvested a year from the following December. The cane of the fall planting is harvested but the stumps are allowed to sprout and grow again. Following this harvest, the whole plant is torn out and the field is replanted with slips. Though the ratoon crop could be continued longer, the general practice is to tear up the plants after the second growth. 249 221

The slips are about 8 sun (9.6 inches) long. In Hanashiro, they are generally planted flat with the exception of the slip nearest the top of the cane stalk, which is planted at about a 45° angle, the theory being that this part of the stalk has less vitality than the others. These slips are planted about 6-8 inches apart, 8-12 inches deep in rows about 4 feet apart. 249

In Hanashiro, at harvest time, the sugar cane is carried on the shoulder or by horsecart and stacked in piles outside the sugar mill. Though an effort is made to crush it immediately, cuttings may remain overnight or be stacked for a day or two outside the mill. The mill [482] [493]

226 476 The boat, as in the previous example, is considered a person. The cook is usually a boy about 16 or 17 years old. If we further assume a catch valued at Y10,000, with a deduction of Y1000 for gas and oil, there is a remainder of Y9,000 to be divided. The boat's share, A, is 30%, or Y2700, with Y6300 for further distribution. The following formula is then applied to this remainder:

Captain	1.5 shares
Engineer	1.5 shares
Fishermen	7.0 shares, one for each of 7 men
Cook	0.7 shares
	10.7

The value of each share is Y588.78 (Y6300 divided by 10.7). If the amounts are rounded off, the final distribution is:

Captain	Y883	(1.5 x 588.78)
Engineer	883	(1.5 x 588.78)
Fishermen	4121	(1 x 588.78 x 7)
Cook	412	(0.7 x 588.78)
	Y6300	

The distribution takes place at the conclusion of a voyage. Obligations (giri) between the owner and the others, on these larger boats, are also based on custom. If a crew member is injured on a voyage and prevented from going on the next one, he receives a share for the voyage he was on, and some money, depending on the catch but not a full share, during convalescence. If a fisherman is ill and has been injured outside of his work, he does not receive this consideration.

5

Sale and Distribution of Fish

443 [962] [435] The sale and the distribution of fish is the work of women. Men occasionally do this, but their function is to catch the fish, maintain the boats and gear, and make the lures. The bulk of the fish is sold at Naha because the highest prices generally are paid there. This makes it difficult for adjacent villages to obtain fish, even in season. When the fish is especially plentiful and low in price at Naha, the women go to the agricultural villages of the interior. Fish are carried in baskets. The pre-war custom of carrying the fish basket on the head and walking from village to village, or to the railroad station at Kochinda, thence by rail to Naha, has given way to truck, bus, or the three wheeled cycle. Often in the evening, these cycles, which can seat six comfortably, are filled with eight or ten laughing and voluble women, and their fish, the vehicle chugging slowly and painfully up and then coasting down the grades. [415] [482] [994]

000 One can infrequently observe women walking from Hinatogawa to

40% of the proceeds. The trees thus sold are all cut down. After clearcutting, the area is left to natural reseeding. About twenty years hence, the clearing will again be sufficiently forested to permit repetition of the same procedure. This follows an established Japanese pre-war practice. This was known as the five year period share (gonenkanbun). The forest is divided into subdivisions, each 110 chō in area. (A chō is 2.45 acres). These 110 chō plots are in turn subdivided into five parcels of twenty-two chō each. Each year one of these five subdivisions may be cleared. 313 [804]

Throughout the forest, divided up into these plots, there may be a five year cycle of cutting, but not all the plots are available every year. If this were so, the forest could be cut over in five years. The system is planned so that there will always be parcels being cleared, those in various stages of regrowth, and mature stands. During and after the war, this practice broke down in favor of uncontrolled cutting.

If a family has little cash, a villager may pay his taxes in part by cutting wood. The village office pays Y4 for a bundle of firewood (late 1951), Y2 going to the villager as a cash payment, and Y2 being applied to his taxes for the year. [651]

The farmer makes frequent excursions to the mountains to obtain firewood or poles to make improvements in the compound, such as repairing a tool or food shed. Men do this work, especially when the distances are far, but the participation of women is by no means exceptional. Along the roads of northern Okinawa, one can frequently see old women walking down from the mountains carrying bundles of firewood on heavy poles. Much of the wood is hand carried from the mountains; if the farmer has a horse and cart or a truck, the wood is carried to a convenient road for loading and transport. [462] [482] [887] [494]

Charcoal is manufactured in the forest area. In Okinawa charcoal has many uses, mainly for heating and cooking, and for charcoal sticks (senko). Lumps of charcoal are placed in braziers and the sticks are used as touchwood in place of matches and in ceremonial and religious observances. Charcoal containers (tangu) are often constructed on the spot. These are round or box-shaped and made out of the dwarf bamboo. 314 [372] [796] [415]

Charcoal kilns are privately owned. They are of the simplest sort. The kiln may be covered with a rude housing, built up by poles and a thatch roof. A mound of large boulders and dirt is built with an opening on the dirt floor running the length of the firing area. Poles which have been stripped and cut in various lengths, from five to nine feet, are shoved in the opening and moved forward as they burn. The smoke comes out the back.

Forest maintenance and improvement is, in part, a result of community endeavor. With some exceptions, each person in the village from 16 to 60 participates one day a year in forest improvement (sōrin).[8] The participants are boys past school age, unmarried girls, and all men up to the age of 60. These people work without personal remunera- 313 496

[8] The usual meaning of sōrin is afforestation or reforestation. In Matsuda it is used in the sense of care and improvement of the forest.

854 wherever the mother goes. The age at which this begins varies, some saying 20 days, others two months. But on the average, it probably is about one month.

[171] This custom, known as ombu in Japanese, is identical with the practice in rural Japan. The child is strapped on by crossing the sash in front of the mother, crisscrossing it above the baby's [482] buttocks, and then bringing the binding around the mother's waist where the sash is securely tied in front. In the summer, the child may only wear a diaper-like garment. The child is carried on the back until he begins to walk. But there is often a long transition period, and the child is carried at times long after he has learned to walk, perhaps until he is 3 years of age. I have seen boys of 4 still being carried on the mother's back.

At one time or another, the infant is carried by every member of the family physically able to do so, the child accommodating itself effortlessly to the activities of his elder. Its longest continual contact is with the mother. A mother does most of her chores with the child on her back. The child is with her when she is scrubbing the plank floors on her knees, carrying in firewood, building a fire, cooking, when she is turning the quern to make bean curd, shopping, or doing the laundry. If occasion requires, she unstraps the child, changes the diaper-like cloth, for diapers are unusual, and allows it to sleep a while on the thick comforter.

When school is out, the mother may get a rest. The baby is [857] taken over by the eldest girl. In communities where there are many girls, few young boys are seen carrying their young brothers or sisters, although carrying by boys is very common in the absence of elder sisters. Sometimes older children begin so young that they look small under the load of a fat or plump baby. In the fishing village, a father might walk around in the evening either with the child strapped on his back, or if the child is big enough, he puts his arms around the father's neck and his legs around the father's waist. Occasionally in the agricultural villages, a father carries a small child around in his work basket. The basket is tied to the end of a pole which rests on the shoulder. Children enjoy this.

Children who carry the babies around do not allow this to interfere with their activities. They play games, such as tag, hide and [859] seek, and a kind of hop scotch. They walk surefootedly along the sharp, and often dangerous, coral rocks of the seashore, along narrow hill or mountain paths, wherever inclination leads them.

The ability of the infant child to sleep under these circumstances is remarkable. Once the child is strapped on the back, he is given little further attention. He seldom cries unless in discomfort. Most often he goes to sleep. His head in sleep frequently falls at right angles with the shoulders, and he sleeps like this while his mother

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

During the primary and junior high school years, no exacting demands are made at home. Young girls after school strap the baby on their back and go out to play, or they may fetch water from the well, pond, or faucet, carrying it home in buckets hanging from a pole resting on their shoulders, or they may help in preparing the evening meal. Younger boys, 12 and over, help with feeding the pigs or run errands, but they have more leisure than the girls. There is night study at home, including practice on the abacus and reading to which the parents listen, correcting the errors. Formal education, for a large majority, ends with the completion of junior high school. 857 883 [482] [871]

As children grow older, they continue in off hours to help around the home, help which follows the lines of the male and female division of labor of adulthood. This is not a strict division, as there are many areas in which both sexes do common chores. In the agricultural villages, girls continue to help around the home, carry water, and hoe in the sweet potato patches. In the fishing village, they also carry water, help with the laundry, and start helping the older women in selling and distributing fish. The boys work more in the paddies. In the fishing village, they may make trips to the sea, but as a rule, this does not begin until later. [962]

For those who go to senior high school, there is a noticeable change from the earlier school experience. They enter at about 14 or 15 and remain in high school 3 years. It is a period of growing maturity, and the older they get the shyer they seem to become. Girl's hair is allowed to grow longer, perhaps to neck or shoulder length, less often in long braids, and the bangs remain. A big change takes place in the hair styles of the boys. The close clipped haircut is abandoned and the hair is allowed to grow long. Often it is not cut at all on the top, so that in two or three years, it has acquired considerable length. 873 856 302

The child who leaves school at the end of primary or junior high school is more quickly absorbed in the daily work life and traditional occupations of the family. The senior high school student has teaching, clerking, translating, or other white collar work in mind. The boy who leaves school earlier might drive a truck or a horse cart, or adopt the occupation of his father. This is likely to be a time killing period for those young men who live in the fishing village or whose families lack land. 463

6

Early Adulthood and the Engagement

In early adulthood and before marriage, a son of the house might be given a separate room or a small outlying shed which he fixes up for himself. The young girls, more and more, assume full time duties in the home, relieving the mother. Often the mother and her young daughter work together in the fields. These mature young girls also may take over the care of younger children. Young men from 17 on are 885 868

1:Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

The Division of Labor

In all the villages there is a division of labor between the sexes. There are, however, wide areas in which men and women do the same work. In Matsuda and Hanashiro, the usual tasks of the women were the care of the children, maintaining the house and its surroundings, excluding heavy work or repairs, laundering, making foods like bean curd and bean paste, taking rice to the mill, hoeing sweet potatoes and gathering tops for the pigs. 462

Men, in the main, plant and transplant rice, hoe, plow, and harrow the rice field, cut the rice, make house and compound repairs, and help others in housebuilding. Men carry the main burden of agriculture, though women frequently give a great deal of help. In Matsuda, men get firewood from the mountains. Wood and other fuel from nearby spots are gathered by women. Both men and women may take care of pigs, or operate the rice treadle thresher. Daily feeding of the pigs and the smashing of sweet potatoes in a stone mortar with a long wooden pestle is usually the work of women.

The small shops are generally operated by women. Men who do so are likely to be in poor health or disabled for heavy work. Weaving grasses and rushes for rugs or baskets is done by men. If the former has a surplus, the wife generally sells it. The produce for sale is carried in baskets on the head. (Head carrying is more common in the southern villages than in Matsuda). [482]

This division of labor between the sexes becomes indistinct among the old. Old men and women, if able, work at some task until they die. In the south, they may often be seen gathering grass on the mountain sides. The very old do many of the tasks of their prime, but they neither work so long or so hard. This is especially true in agriculture. 887

In the fishing village, a division of labor also takes place. The men are responsible for catching fish and for maintaining the boats and the gear, the women for the sale and distribution of the fish. The old fisherman contents himself with repairs and general maintenance; the old stonecutter does the chipping and the bevelling. 462

Grandmothers assume the care and supervision of older children, while the mother is preoccupied with the baby. The old women may also do cooking, house cleaning, laundering and feed the pigs. Care of pigs is often an incidental chore in a woman's daily routine. [887]

312 water is diverted from a stream a mile
365 above the village and piped into the upper and lower tanks where
[482] people fill their buckets which they carry home on a shoulder yoke.
[859] Both tanks always attract children. Before faucets were installed, the two spigots on each tank were closed with a wooden stopper which the children often pulled to get a drink or water to play in. An open lot surrounding the upper water tank is another popular play area.

361 On the eastern side of the village below the main road lies a flat sandy plain, separating the actual beach from the houses above. Children are frequently found playing there or walking along the beach to the mouth of the Noro Mata and Fukuji rivers, which reach the sea
[764] about 400 yards away. To the west of the central village lie the tombs
[211] and the monument for the war dead of the village.

487 Many hills around the village drop off vertically toward the south;
[133] these drops are partly effects of the geological conditions, such as karst depressions, partly caused by erosion of drainage during the heavy rains. Narrow paths, leading up the steep claylike hillsides, are slippery
[491] and very treacherous during rains. On the way to school in Kawata, the neighboring village, children have to pass a section of the road where river and rains have washed away the bank so badly that a misstep on the edge of the road could lead to a fall of more than 50 feet.

312 The little river which runs through parts of the valley behind Taira
[857] is another gathering place of children. A path alongside it leads into
[487] the hills and mountain forest lands. Seven minutes walking along this path takes one to Umugui, a natural swimming hole which also serves as one of the favorite laundry places. During the summer the river offers several other popular swimming spots downstream from Umugui.
[296] There is also a little concrete bridge in the rice fields beyond the houses, where adults and children go to wash laundry and sometimes pots and pans. Yamagawa well is a water hole, lined with concrete, near the northwestern part of Taira. Before water faucets were installed, girls frequently went there to wash their hair and do laundry.

859 Children go to the fields to look for flowers and berries or, in the
[484] case of older boys, to cut grass for animals. Distances covered by any child depend, of course, on the age. Younger siblings under 5 accompany the older ones to places beyond the area, but no expeditions extend to areas that are not also regularly traversed by adults in the course of their daily duties. Perhaps because of the multiple rivers and water sources, the beach offers less enticement than one might expect. On some days a group may decide to play on the beach, but since sand is also available throughout the village, everybody will soon shift back to some other area inland.

137 Tropical plants, bushes, and trees grow at sea level. At higher ele-

462 heavy sods in the rice paddy; nevertheless, women and younger girls
[241] often do this work along with the men and boys if time runs short. There are some women who prepare their farm land without the help of their husbands.

[313] In mountain work, women produce almost as much as men except that they do not handle the large logs. Even pregnant women make
[843] three or four daily mountain trips, sometimes up until the day of childbirth. Only the mode of carrying wood, like any load, differs for
[482] the sexes: a man uses a carrying stick supported on his shoulder, with two bundles attached to each end; a woman carries bundles on her back, tied and held in place by a tump line tied over her forehead. Women can carry loads of 100 to 120 pounds in this manner.

[312] Men seldom carry water from the tank or faucet to the house; this is considered women's work, although younger boys are expected to
241 help at times. Work in the potato fields is mainly women's respon-
462 sibility. Their hands are also preferred in rice transplanting, where dexterity is needed in pulling out the tender shoots from the seed bed and replanting them in straight rows at measured intervals. Occasionally a young man helps, and boys sometimes try to work along with their sisters when they learn transplanting. Both men and women sow the seed beds. In special activities, such as house building, a more dis-
462 tinct division of labor can be observed. In any building activity, men
[342] do the structural work and women carry materials and cook for the
[653] men. The same division of labor is found on community projects, road building, fencing against wild pigs, or repairing the water pipes. In general, however, no special comment is made if either a man or woman performs work usually done by the opposite sex.

887 Men and women work in the fields and forests from ages 15 to 60.
462 When they approach 60, men like to "retire." If possible, they turn over their responsibilities as household heads to their eldest sons. From
[464] then on, they tend to stay home more and more. They can still help with less demanding work, making bamboo rings for firewood bundles, sawing wood, or doing odd jobs around the house. Approaching old age, most men become economically useless and in other ways contribute little to society. For old women, quite the contrary is true. Even grandmothers who are well over 60 seem strong and active. Most of
[241] them go to the fields to plant or harvest potatoes or other vegetables. One woman, well into her sixties and bent over from arthritis, took long walks to distant potato fields, with a heavy load of slips or potatoes in a basket on her back, a hoe on top of it, supporting herself on a
[855] stick. Other grandmothers look after the youngest children, thus freeing the mother for work. Old women also cook, help bundle firewood,

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

312
854
296
415

Women washing at water tank.

Women transplanting rice.

243
291

Women transplanting.

Carrying wood.

[482]

[p 456-B]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

857
226
854
291

Children catching small fish.

Girls washing their laundry.

857
291
302

[296]
[415]
←

[482]
→
[312]

Carrying water while their mother is recovering from giving birth.

[243]
→

Boy harvesting.

[p. 456-C]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

854
482
302
←

857
→

Young girl carrying baby sister.

Boys wrestling.

857
291
526
←

Playing house.

Mother about to nurse her daughter says, "Now say please."

853
302
291
→

[p 456-D]

324 The truck or horsecart of the buyer comes to the stonecutting area,
432 the blocks are loaded and taken away. Prior to sale, for convenience,
[494] stone may be taken from the cutting area. It is loaded on horse carts,
[483] the men carrying the heavy blocks by means of ropes looped around the
[804] ends of the stone and over poles which in turn rest on the shoulders.
[435] A six foot length (1 ken linear measure), one foot wide and about ten inches thick sells for ¥140 (1951-52).

Foot injuries are the chief hazards of this occupation. The toes may be accidentally cut by the long chisel, and there is danger
316 of bruising or crushing by accidentally dropping the block, or by rolling when it is being dislodged. Very hard and calloused hands are
[164] the mark of the stonecutter; his hands are especially conspicuous for the hard, raised areas on the palm around the base of the fingers, the
[142] result of the constant lifting and pounding of the long chisel. There is also danger to the eyes in flying chips but few use glasses or goggles.

Like some phases of fishing, this work is for the young and the
[561] physically mature men. After the middle forties or early fifties, a man no longer does the heavy work and confines himself to lighter chores. The very old and the retired may chip and finish the foundation and the pyramidal stones.

472 If a cutter is unable to extract all the stone in a plot whose stone he has bought, there are also customary solutions. When the father dies, his son continues the workings and returns the field to the owner. If a stone worker moves to another village when only half the work has been done, he arranges for a friend, relative, or neighbor to take over the remaining part.

4

Restoring the Land

185 Formerly excavations (which might be 10 or 15 feet deep and the
311 size of a large room) were refilled by the buyer of the stone rights. Rocks, pebbles, and miscellaneous trash were used as fill, but following the war there has been a heavy demand for rock and stone for road
[499] construction. As a consequence, many excavations are now only partly refilled. After refilling, houses are built on the sites of formerly excavated land. Here and there one can see sweet potatoes or vegetables growing on land which formerly was covered with stone. The original state of the land, its appearance after excavation and its restoration may be seen in Figure 2. Evidences of this reclamation may be seen throughout the stoneworking area.

324 Minatogawa, because it lacks vegetation for protective and decorative purposes, is a good example of the use and adaptation of stone to local needs. There are still stone fences, waist or shoulder height, and many small stone boundary lines, a foot or two and of uneven height. Coral stones, weathered by the sea, honeycombed and pocked, are seen everywhere.

in which villages have been moved and land preempted for military purposes. The devastation of the war, the mixing of the people, their dispersion as refugees throughout the island prepared the way for greater uniformity. Since the war's end, increased mobility, ease of transportation, the widening of the roads have done much to further obliterate sectional differences in this small island, scarcely sixty miles long. 175 184 648 [227] [484]

During historical times, and probably during times now lost to an undocumented past, this island, far from being isolated, has been influenced strongly by other cultures. From the examples which have been given, one can at least gain an intimation of the stability and change that have characterized its experience, and some insight, no matter how slight, into the historical depth of a culture with which the Americans, in one form or another, and for some time to come, will be associated. 177 178

133 Hanashiro and Oushichan villages to a broad semi-circular valley, the
361 Oushichan plain, with a gentle gradient sloping to the sea. Shortly before the coast is reached there is a sharper drop, and it is in this depression along the shore and the coastal strip that the fishing village lies.

134 The Okinawan clay loams and the Chinen stony clays are also the
133 predominating soils of the area. There are about 85 acres of the gently sloping clay loams, 155 acres of the gently sloping Chinen stony clays. While moderately fertile and well drained, these soils are also shallow and stony, with obvious defects for the pursuit of agriculture. There are 10 acres of deep, fertile poorly drained, slightly acid alluvial soils. These occur along the river and its estuary and in a small former river mouth to the south. There are about six acres in rough stony land.

731 The village has very little storm protection. There are no shelter
133 belts around it, nor are there many trees within. It is open to storms
417 and typhoons, and the water, lashed by the sea, is sufficient to break and scatter the large stones of the seawall. At present, inside the village there is none of the privacy typical of the agricultural villages
361 and their compounds. There are few trees, shrubs, or fences. In the
351 older part of the village, the houses are closely set together. Fishing
227 nets hang on the lines of the yard. In season, the yard is covered with drying fish, fish fins, and fish backs. The yards and the shore are dotted with men cleaning or repairing their boats.

362 The lack of natural beauty of the place is accentuated by the poor-
517 ness of the houses and the other buildings. Its atmosphere is unmistakably
484 different. The village is more commercial and more lively than the quiet and concealed agricultural village. Life is not so much of a routine, for much depends on the weather and the sea. The village has people who have travelled widely. Some of its fishermen have been in the waters of Java, of the South Seas, of the Andaman Islands, the Philippines, and Indo-China.

438 The village's main commercial contacts are with the remaining agricultural villages of the township from which it must obtain much of
[311] its food, for the area is not suited to agriculture, nor is much land available. For wider contacts, there are Itoman about 4 1/2 miles, and Naha about 8 1/2 miles away. Buses go through the village twice a day.
494 The three wheeled cycles are irregular but come and go more often. Fish
368 is sold at Naha. The theatre for the travelling troupe of actors from Naha and for movies is in Horikawa across the river. Many visits are
574 also made to Itoman to see relatives and friends.

The war was even more catastrophic for Minatogawa than for Hanashiro.
727 Before the war, Minatogawa was a thriving, prosperous and well built up small town. About 70% of its buildings had a tile roof and 30% had
[361] thatch roofs. There were about 30 stores, sake shops and drinking places, including a geisha house, along the road, serving the fishermen and the stonecutters. Of the 430 buildings in the area, only three were left

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

2

Obtaining News of a Larger World

While it is an error to think of villages as isolated social and economic units, it would be a mistake also to fail to mention the existing obstacles to communication and the dissemination of news. 203

There are virtually no radio sets in any of these villages, except in the schools and sometimes in a village office. Home radio sets invariably need repairs. In Hanashiro, which has no electricity, there were 3 radios, two of which did not work. There were 4 in Hinatogawa, with one at least not working, and six in Matsuda, three of which were in the primary school, one in the village office. In these villages there is electricity from about 6:30 to 10:30 in the winter and from 7 to 11 PM in the summer. The radio is not an important direct medium for obtaining news. If they can, villagers tune in Japanese stations for news, music, and entertainment. There is a need for simple and cheap means of reaching rural areas by radio. 207

Newspapers are more important media. But in late 1951 and early 1952, there were 5 newspaper subscribers in Hanashiro, one going to the village office where it could be read by all, 14 in Hinatogawa, and about 20 in Matsuda, reduced from a previous 40 by an increase in the subscription rate. The barbershop in Matsuda had a newspaper. Schools and the township and village offices subscribe. It is difficult to estimate actual circulation. My own observation is that newspaper reading under these conditions is casual and intermittent, that newspapers are read consistently only by the village officials, school teachers, and the regular subscribers. News from Naha, the other Ryukyu islands, and from international sources is disseminated largely by word of mouth. Local readers make their reading a subject of conversation. There is no lack of interest in broader questions and in international events. The negotiations leading up to the Japanese peace treaty were followed with great interest by many villagers in Matsuda. 204 [203]

Japanese magazines, particularly movie magazines, are popular despite their high cost. They are widely read not only by the young, but by older men and women, including school teachers.

Telephones are not a part of home life. There were two privately installed field telephones in Hinatogawa, but no private telephones in the other villages. The village office, the post office are equipped with phones. 206

The possibilities of obtaining more direct knowledge of other parts of Okinawa island have increased since the war. One can travel by public transportation from the southern part of the island to the extreme north in a reasonable time and not too uncomfortably. Provincial attitudes still remain. Persons in the southern villages 484 [494]

484 studied remarked on the discomfort of the rustic north. Many
[829] people in Matsuda thought the people of the northern district more honest than those of the south. This attitude is partly due to knowledge of crime in Naha. Direct or personal knowledge of other islands of the Ryukyus is exceptional. Few people know more than travelers' tales about Yaeyama, Miyako, or Amami.

562 Men are better informed about current events than the women.
Women do not participate so much in social life, nor do they read
521 so much. Conversations at small gatherings are often on a very serious level. A local antiquarian telling of vanished customs and conditions has a very attentive audience. So has a returned traveler
814 from Japan. These people have a sense of history, curiosity, and respect for knowledge and education.

3

Village Co-operation

621 One of the most important things to learn about a culture is
476 the nature of its co-operative endeavor. It is useful knowledge in understanding the transition zone between individual and family living and participation in community activities. In these communities, co-operation involves considering the relation of families resident in the village to one another, to their community organizations, and to local government. These relations are stronger than the tie of an individual to an extended family. The nature and the limitations of co-operation can best be described by pointing to examples from each of the villages.

In Hanashiro, mutual help is mainly found, as one might expect, among close and distant relatives of the same family of families related by marriage, who are living in the village. There are extended family ties, which may involve several villages, but this does not
[C19] mean that tasks are done co-operatively within the extended family. It is uncommon to go to another village to help a relative with his harvest or his housebuilding--and the distance would increase the unlikelihood. Immediate ties to friends, relatives, and neighbors are stronger than those to the more distant members of the extended family.

Within the village, organized co-operation is not conspicuous. Help is given in the form of labor not in money. There is no accounting on a reciprocity basis. At any harvest time--the rice harvest is usually the most urgent--a relative, neighbor or friend may help one day and receive the same aid on the following day. The whole village does not turn out to help each farmer in turn until the crops are in. This work is done by individuals or by very small groups. Since the nature and the amount of help is known and acknowledged, no bookkeeping is needed or desired. The closest approach to villagewide help to
[342] an individual family occurs in housebuilding. All residents of the

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

conduct of a local business of any size, employment in official and 555
semi-official organizations, and teaching require facility in reading 212
and writing Japanese, that is, the use of the Chinese character and
the two Japanese syllabaries, katakana and hiragana. It is true
that under the Japanese and the present system of education, everyone [872]
learns the characters. But after school is left behind, there must
be continued practice in reading and writing, or one's fund of
knowledge gradually disappears and he remembers only a few of the
simpler or more common characters. For responsible leadership, this
school vocabulary must at least be maintained. A village headman
today must hold his own in reading and writing. Reports have to be [622]
made to the township office. The frequent conferences and meetings
require note taking. Storm warnings may be received, correspondence
and simple record keeping are continual tasks. In one village, the
criticism made of the headman was that his knowledge of characters
was too elementary.

If a person has leisure, this makes him available for positions of 556
leadership. A poor farmer could not ordinarily accept the position 622
of village headman except at a great sacrifice. Public duties, even
in a small village like Hanashiro, require that a headman be on call
most of the time for meetings, or to hear personal problems and com-
plaints of the villagers. It is significant that the former village
headman of Hanashiro and the current headman of Matsuda both are
operators of rice mills and do not have the exacting dawn to dusk
duties of a farmer. In Hanashiro and Nagamo, the present headmen
are operating farmers who are able to combine their private and public
duties, but both places are small. The headman of Minatogawa, a
fisherman, has had to forego many fishing trips because his duties
kept him in the village.

Leadership is also assumed by those who have had foreign experience, 554
either in the Japanese administrative hierarchy abroad or simply through 484
foreign residence. These people generally have a broader point of view
and know more.

The last factor is age. It is often thought that village life in 554
Oriental countries under the family system is dominated by the older 561
and respected males. It is true that the opinion of retired elders is
sought for and respected, but not merely because of age. In addition,
there may be a life of successful farming, teaching, office holding,
possibly a combination of these, behind them. Leadership comes from
young men too, usually the result of experience in the young men's
association. Energetic leadership, often accompanied by organizational
ability, is noticeable in the age group from about 24 to 27. Women
have fewer opportunities but can show their abilities in their work in [562]
the Women's Association.

Village leadership rests both on the respected elders and the 554
promising young men, on those who have kept and increased their skill
in language, who have occupations that relieve them from the unremitting

727 In the post-war period also roads have increased, and they
178 have been widened. More vehicles are on the roads. One can travel
184 through the villages of Okinawa over widened roads which before the
[491] war probably differed little from those described by Captain Hall
[484] in 1816 and by his grandson Basil Hall Chamberlain in 1895. This extension of the highway system has increased the mobility of Okinawans. Perhaps ultimately the cultural differences among villages will give way to wider uniformity induced by these innovations.

119 There is something enthralling in reading the chapters on "Lew Chew"
178 in Francis Hawks' Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan, which he compiled from the notes and journals of Commodore Perry, and the pages of Bayard Taylor's work, along with Okinawa, The Last Battle, which the Historical Division of the Department of the Army published in 1948. These give some measure of the change that has been brought about not only in the Great Loo Choo but in the world.

121 It has been my purpose here to tell part of the remaining, the contemporary story of the people whose islands early ethnologists were so fond of referring to as an anthropological museum.

The End

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

home country. Nevertheless, many aspects of Okinawan life still suggest an earlier phase in which independent developments gave the islands their own particular culture. 105 175 177 648

The Okinawan people, approximately 655,000 as counted in 1954, live in an area of about 454 square miles. Their major economic activities have traditionally been agriculture and fishing. In 1945 a long, peaceful existence was brought to an abrupt end during the final battles of World War II in the Pacific. As a result of world conditions Okinawans have been placed under American administration for an indefinite period of time. Today large numbers of men—and some women—find employment as unskilled and semiskilled laborers with the American forces. Gradual training for highly skilled jobs widens these opportunities for employment. Indirectly Okinawan life is influenced by Americans through stimulation of trade, building, and improved health conditions. Land requirements of the American forces in some areas also have influenced the settlement pattern. While these changes have affected the entire island to some degree, the greatest changes are noticeable in the central part around Naha where American administrative and military personnel are located. The village of Taira in the northern province of Kunigami, where the present study was located, had been subject to relatively few of these postwar changes in 1954. Isolated since earliest times because of mountainous terrain, this part of the island participates, as it probably always did, marginally in cultural influences which affect the center of the island. A great deal of cultural stability has therefore been preserved until the present day.

105 177 648 105 177 648 [61] [131] [464] [101] [184]

Nevertheless, it is useful to remember that the population of northern Okinawa is linked with the rest of the island by an efficient communications system. Roads connect almost all settlements in the north with the central island, and a bus transportation system extends its service into the remote areas. But long before all villages were connected by road with the center of Okinawa, people of Kunigami province traveled by foot over the many trails which traverse the mountains, and, since the turn of the century, many have left their home villages. Some went to Japan as laborers; others settled in the Japanese-controlled Islands of the Pacific, and some families joined the numerous Okinawan settlements in South American countries.

105 491 [494] [484] [487] [167]

LANGUAGE

Taira people are bilingual. Okinawan, which linguists consider a separate language, has many regional dialects, some of which are not

197 191

312 Water is diverted from a stream a mile
365 above the village and piped into the upper and lower tanks where
[482] people fill their buckets which they carry home on a shoulder yoke.
[857] Both tanks always attract children. Before faucets were installed, the two spigots on each tank were closed with a wooden stopper which the children often pulled to get a drink or water to play in. An open lot surrounding the upper water tank is another popular play area.

361 On the eastern side of the village below the main road lies a flat sandy plain, separating the actual beach from the houses above. Children are frequently found playing there or walking along the beach to the mouth of the Noro Mata and Fukuji rivers, which reach the sea
[764] about 400 yards away. To the west of the central village lie the tombs
[211] and the monument for the war dead of the village.

487 Many hills around the village drop off vertically toward the south;
[133] these drops are partly effects of the geological conditions, such as karst depressions, partly caused by erosion of drainage during the heavy rains. Narrow paths, leading up the steep claylike hillsides, are slippery
[491] and very treacherous during rains. On the way to school in Kawata, the neighboring village, children have to pass a section of the road where river and rains have washed away the bank so badly that a misstep on the edge of the road could lead to a fall of more than 50 feet.

312 The little river which runs through parts of the valley behind Taira
[857] is another gathering place of children. A path alongside it leads into
[487] the hills and mountain forest lands. Seven minutes walking along this path takes one to Umugui, a natural swimming hole which also serves as one of the favorite laundry places. During the summer the river offers several other popular swimming spots downstream from Umugui.
[296] There is also a little concrete bridge in the rice fields beyond the houses, where adults and children go to wash laundry and sometimes pots and pans. Yamagawa well is a water hole, lined with concrete, near the northwestern part of Taira. Before water faucets were installed, girls frequently went there to wash their hair and do laundry.

857 Children go to the fields to look for flowers and berries or, in the case of older boys, to cut grass for animals. Distances covered by any
[484] child depend, of course, on the age. Younger siblings under 5 accompany the older ones to places beyond the area, but no expeditions extend to areas that are not also regularly traversed by adults in the course of their daily duties. Perhaps because of the multiple rivers and water sources, the beach offers less enticement than one might expect. On some days a group may decide to play on the beach, but since sand is also available throughout the village, everybody will soon shift back to some other area inland.

137 Tropical plants, bushes, and trees grow at sea level. At higher ele-

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

vations one finds temperate zone forests. Typical for the area are numerous grasses growing along the mountainside and on top of hills. Among them, the most permanent in appearance and use are miscanthus grass and a dwarf bamboo. Panadanns bushes line the beaches and areas close to them. Pine trees are common. Fukugi trees grow in the village but also in the hinterland. Here and there cycad palms lend the scenery a special tropical touch. Wild flowers grow almost all year. 137

The heavy underbrush is the habitat of several species of poisonous snakes for which the Ryukyu Islands are notorious. The most common, the *habu*, a pit viper, feeds on rats and other small animals and often enters the actual village area. Since rats outnumber humans in Okinawa by an approximate ratio of three to one, these snakes find ample food. Their search sometimes takes them into the rafters of thatch-roofed houses. This danger is present from March until October. People are bitten if they happen to step on the hidden reptiles or sometimes while they sleep. Children are taught by their elders to be careful, and during our study no children were bitten. 136 [164]

Insects are another source of irritation. Mosquitoes attack quite viciously during the summer; fleas, which live in the sand and in straw or reed mats, inflict bites at any time but are seldom carried in clothes. Flies do not seem to annoy the villagers although they are thick wherever food is left in the open and near the pig pens and outhouses.

The number of motor vehicles passing through Taira is small. A few heavy lumber trucks and an occasional U.S. Army vehicle drive through the main street. Four buses daily, two in the morning and two in the afternoon, connect Taira with other villages in Higashi township and the rest of the island. Because traffic is sparse, and it is difficult to catch a ride, persons intending to leave the community in the middle of the day often take the 50-minute walk to the other side of the island where buses pass every 30 minutes on the coastal highway. Villages frequently take trips to the nearby provincial market town of Nago or even to Naha, the capitol. 489 493 494 [484]

THE CLIMATE

In spite of Okinawa's subtropical geographic position, it has distinct seasonal differences demanding appropriate adjustments in living routine and clothing. Temperatures in the Taira region may reach a minimum of 38 degrees in January and February and a maximum of 96 degrees in July or August. The average daily mean temperature, 132

178
Military installations have attracted people from all areas, and at 177
the present time over twenty-five percent of the total labor force is employed 727
by the military or in subsidiary occupations. Some of these people are drawn [464]
from the landless element which formerly would have emigrated. In other areas
land has been left idle by those who have sought salaried jobs in preference [311]
to farming. In places, extensive military land use has greatly increased
land pressure. The circulation of money has been accelerated, and new pat- [491]
terns of living have evolved. Many miles of all-weather roads have been constructed and the island transportation system has improved to a point where villagers have a mobility undreamed of in the prewar era.

The major forces for change have been technological and economic. 177
Where changes have occurred in the social system, they have come about largely 178
as a result of these factors. Man has always tended to accept new things faster than new ideas, but in final analysis these will alter ideas too. It has been said that the streetcar and trains have contributed more to the breakdown of the idea of caste in India than any other single factor; so too on Okinawa, the changes effected by a new technology, greater circulation of money, and improved mobility operate to alter the fabric of life. Most rural 177
Okinawans would be decidedly opposed to any overt action designed toward 369
weakening the unity of their village; yet, when they put aside farming to 62
commute daily to a city job, avail themselves of the newspapers, movies, and 178
radio programs emanating from the city, and no longer participate in labor exchanges and other cooperative ventures, it is to precisely this end that they are contributing.

It is the opinion of the author that the major forces for change in 177
contemporary Okinawa were already operative before the war. The real impact 178
of the American occupation has been a rapid acceleration of the forces of change which have been slowly building up since the beginning of the century.

<u>Aspects of Change in Rural Okinawa: Transportation</u> One of the most im- 178
pressive changes in 491
post-war Okinawa with far-reaching cultural implications has been the improved transportation system which has made possible a greater mobility. A network of modern highways now girdle the land where formerly narrow dirt roads and paths had sufficed. To one who had last seen the island in 1945 the contrast in 1954 was most remarkable.

The increase in motor vehicles has been more than ten-fold over the 178
prewar period. Most villages now have easy access to bus lines which connect [494]
to virtually all points of the island. Where formerly villagers but rarely
went to town, they now make such trips frequently. It is not uncommon in the [484]
Shimajiri and Nakagami areas of the island for an individual to commute each day from his village to his place of employment in a military camp, town, or city.

The improvement in transportation has enabled the farmers to bring 178
products to the best markets. Formerly most Kanegusuku products were sold 443
in nearby Itoman, but today with the advent of rapid bus service to Naha many items are taken there for sale.

[Yamada]

621 361 178 177 One reason for this greater concentration may have been the greater need for cooperation during the period of rebuilding; another may have been the greater dependence since the war on the outside and the resulting greater dependence on the new highways and busses; but a third reason for the present concentration seems to have been a feeling of uneasiness in the presence of American units. There are still units on three sides of Yamada, two in the hills behind and one towards the sea between the settlement and the next village of Maeda. A Tarigaa woman gave the presence of American soldiers in the hills as a definite reason for not returning to her isolated home. A part of the rebuilt Ajimaa extended for a time in the direction of the nearest unit but in the last two or three years these houses have one by one been removed toward the center of the settlement.

621 178 The present aza is divided into five 'han', which are said also to function as chinju. However, the division seems to have been made along 'koaza' boundaries and this has resulted in a very uneven distribution of households per 'han'. Since the settlement pattern is still changing it seems likely that units of a more equal size will develop.

621 178 484 The orientation of Yamada, as well as its settlement pattern, has changed. Before the war contacts were nearly all to the north and south along the west shore of the island; people went south to Kadena on their rare shopping trips. Now, good highways and an excellent bus system not only run north and south but also link the west shore with the east shore via Nakadomari and Ishikawa. Since the war and the internment of many of the Yamada people at Ishikawa, going to town had meant going to Ishikawa, and people who once went twice a year to Kadena may now go to Ishikawa twice a week. People still go south to Kadena, but now more often as employees of the Americans commuting to work.

621 177 927 [648] Formal Relations At the time that the Yamada people returned to their village in 1946 they received material aid from the American Military Government, with which to rebuild. For a time after, they continued to receive a food ration ('haikyū') that was distributed from the 'haikyūjo', which later became the cooperative store. However, for several years now they seem to have had very little direct contact with the Military Government or its successor USCAR. On the other hand they have had considerable contact, both formal and informal, with the 'butai', the "unit", that is stationed just a few hundred yards from the settlement of Kuraha. This relationship was evidently in a process of change while I worked in Yamada early in 1954.

All of the villagers with whom I discussed the matter seemed agreed that for a period in the recent past the relationship had been very good. During the previous year the CO of the unit had held monthly meetings with the 'kuchō' of Yamada and three neighboring villages and with the teachers of the Yamada school, which serves all four villages. The purpose of these meetings was said to be the discussion of mutual problems, and in this they had a fair degree of success. For example the local people asked the unit to decrease the speed of trucks coming through the village, and this was done. The unit in turn asked the villagers to try to stop women from sneaking into

This island has long faced a serious problem of over-population and food shortage; it is not self-supporting in foodstuffs and mainly derives its livelihood from fishing, shipping and ferrying. It has long had a symbiotic relationship with the neighboring island of Takabanare, supplying fish and shipping-ferrying service in return for food, but this has not been rewarding enough in recent years to offset its rapid population increase. A general postwar decline in coastal shipping largely due to the marked improvement of land transportation in highways and vehicles has sharply reduced the number of jobs in this enterprise, and the return of the repatriates has only added to the number seeking jobs. Military employment, however, has filled this gap and staved off mass unemployment. 621 464 505 433 [438]

At the present time nearly one quarter of the village labor force is engaged in military employment. Nearly all of the repatriates and a large number of old residents have entered military employ. Some of these have established temporary residence on the mainland nearer the military installations. A large number, however, commute by ferry boat and bus each day to their place of employment, and at low tide it is possible to walk the mile across the tidal flats to the mainland. 621 464 [484]

There has long been a tradition for the men of Henza to be away from the village much of time, engaged in activities on the sea. Thus, those who are away much of the time in military employment are merely following a long-established pattern. Unlike the absent workers of Kanegusuku, these people are not considered to be cut off from village affairs. All farming activities, much of the family's economic affairs, and some of the functions of government are carried on by women, contrary to usual Okinawan practice. [562]

The villagers regard military employment as a blessing and feel that it has contributed significantly to maintaining village prosperity. Aside from military employment they have little contact with Americans, although a few boat-owners have rented their crafts to American fishing parties. The villagers and their officials recall with considerable fondness their military government officer in the early days of the occupation. To date Henza relations with Americans have been not only good but also profitable; in short, American stock is high on this island. [829] 621 177 829

<u>Summary</u> On Henza and to a far smaller degree in Kanegusuku military employment has largely drawn off the surplus and largely landless population that formerly would have emigrated to other parts of the overseas Japanese empire. In Jagaru and Tobaru military employment has replaced farming as the chief occupation of the villagers. The contribution of military employment to the economy of Kanegusuku is negligible, although it should be noted that the number so engaged increased during the period of the author's study. In Jagaru, Tobaru, and Henza military employment is of vital importance to the village economy, and any sharp decrease will have severe repercussions. 464

<u>Okinawan Attitudes Toward Those Engaged in Military Employment</u> Okinawans make a sharp distinction in their attitudes toward men employed in military jobs and their attitudes toward women similarly employed. There seems to be no stigma of any sort attached to the male who has a job working for the Americans; in fact, 464 562 829

1

Introduction

In contemporary Okinawa, there are four distinct types of village settlement. The first and the most common is the village cluster. Houses are grouped in a central area, usually along or on both sides of a road, surrounded by farm lands and rice fields. The second, the shoe-string type, is less common. Here houses are lined along either side of a main street. The third is a here-and-there type of settlement. This has been called a yadori (Japanese) or yadui (Okinawan) village, translated as plantation, but this is too exalted a word.[1] These villages may have sub-settlements. Houses are scattered among intervening plots of cultivated land. In the fourth category are the modern improvisations: land formerly in forest, grass or shrub which has been reclaimed and used for houses and nearby cultivation, or former agricultural land now taken up for house sites, a result of increased population or of war time destruction of other parts of a village. 361 [311]

The basic type of Okinawan village is the cluster, a village small in area whose houses, close together, and on irregular winding lanes, are separated from one another by stone or rock walls, or by boundaries of trees or shrubs. The front part of the house compound usually is cut off from the road by a stone fence, running part way across, with the opening to the road obstructed by a stationary barrier, sometimes of stones, often of woven grasses. [351] [363]

In the village of a bygone age, there were large open spaces like a common on the outskirts "often appearing as glades in the forest." In this area, rice was laid out to dry, horse racing and other sports took place, the village council met, goods were bartered, justice administered, and festivals celebrated.[2] When approached from a distance, the older villages seemed literally buried in foliage. In the last century the larger villages still had rest huts (cung-qua) for travellers, usually government officials to use from one overnight stop to another. The older village also had a series of small buildings on stilts three to six feet long. These were granaries and food storehouses. Some houses were also on stilts. Older accounts have stressed the concealment of the Okinawan village, its houses separated from one another, its lanes lined or embowered with bamboo, with banana trees, or with arbors. To 361 175 [526] [35] [485] [343] [342]

[TEXT Continues TOP of P. 48--Analyst]

1 Higa, Shunchō. Structure of the Ryukyuan rural community. The Japanese journal of ethnology, 15 (1950), 63-66. In Japanese with English summary, 151.

2 The Luchu islands and their inhabitants, as cited, 457. See also Basil Hall, Account of a voyage of discovery to the west coast of Corea and the Great Loo-Choo island, 123, 124.

423
311

Matsuda
Land Classification

Type of Land	Area in Tsubo	Approx. Acreage Equiv.
Rice (ta)	82,151	67.9
Dry crop land (hatake)	188,305	155.6
House sites (yashiki)	17,056	14.1
Village Owned forest (sanrin)	1,259,104	1040.6
Wild land (genya) a/	376,660	311.3
Village Owned shelter belts, groves	33,654	27.8
Religious sites (haisho)	2,883	2.4
Public building sites	81	b/
Miscellaneous	3,183	2.6
Total	1,963,077	1622.3

a/ Includes village and privately owned, but almost all is privately owned.

b/ Less than 0.1 acre

Source: Ginoza-son township office, Ginoza village, Okinawan Island. Dec. 1951.

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311

The coniferous forest (shinyōjurin) is along the shore, reaching inland short distances in those areas not given over to cultivation. Pine stands are valuable for typhoon protection. Inland, about half a mile to a mile from shore, the coniferous stands give way to a dense mixed forest of deciduous trees and shrubs. The predominant species in this broadleaved forest (katsuyōjurin) is a live oak, the shii. Ordinarily the shii grows to be quite large, but here in the dense stands its growth is stunted. While not impenetrable, it is difficult to go through these stands once one is off the foot path. Along these paths, there are huts where one may drop in for rest or shelter, charcoal kilns, stacked firewood (maki), and piles of long poles which have been cut and stripped to be carried down the mountain paths to the road for loading in trucks. [485]

The woodlands of this area may be classified, according to use, into two categories: (1) stands, groves, or clumps of trees which provide typhoon and windbreak protection (hoanrin). Shore shelter belts or groves are known as bōchōrin, those inland or on mountain tops as bōfurin. (2) The forests, maintained and used as a resource, for such materials as firewood, lumber, and charcoal.

In Matsuda, trees are used both for protection of houses in the

quire room and board are sometimes put up without compensation, 427
and they agree, perhaps, to give some help with studies of the land- [875
lord's children. Only the village "doctor" takes transient guests, mostly 485]
visiting officials from the city, who pay for lodgings.

Although the household head is a legal owner of the family property, 423
there is a feeling that it belongs to the family and everyone in the 592
household identifies himself with his land and house. This is expressed in the language. A person who is asked, "Whose rice paddy is this?" would answer that it is the household's or "ours."

In addition to the communal land holdings and the property of the 422
cooperative described earlier, the following items are shared. The [231
government supplies a breeding boar to each village; it is then left in 654]
the care of one farmer. This animal is available to pig owners for studding on request, and a small charge is made for the upkeep of the boar. A few tools are jointly owned by several households. Threshing [476]
machines were bought jointly after the war by two or more families to defray the high cost of such equipment. These families could be neighbors or relatives. Today many are complaining that joint ownership works hardships during the busy harvest season when there is heavy demand for the machines. As a result, everybody wishes to own his own machine as soon as he can afford to. For tea harvesting, special clippers [474]
are owned by the village cooperative and loaned to people as they need them. Since tea harvesting, though seasonal, is not done by all families during the same day, sharing of these tools presents no difficulties.

Property of others is very much respected. Stealing among villagers is 421
almost unheard of, except for some pilfering of green vegetables and 685
fruits by children. Only one case was reported during the field-work [627]
period—a person tried to take some goods without payment from the community store. When a village meeting was called, and it was announced that the person's identity was known to the store manager, the merchandise was later replaced. Willful damage to fields is similarly [867]
strictly forbidden. No child would really think of doing such damage. But there are no formal rules about trespassing. Movement across other people's property is completely free and unchallenged.

872 ment. But how should a Taira child grasp, for instance, the meaning
876 of a large hotel in the city, where travelers can stop, engage one or several rooms, have meals served either individually in the room or
[485] at the restaurant? The little Taira guesthouse, run by the doctor and to all extent and purposes a private home, is hardly an adequate model.

876 Learning by doing is, on the whole, an innovation in the school
872 program. To find out what fifth- and sixth-grade students might have learned in the home by actually doing things, the school circulated
857 a questionnaire which covered such items as: "Have you ever tried to make a simple telescope? Did you ever watch a plant grow from the time of seeding and make a scientific description of its progress? Did you ever build a small toolshed or other small structure by yourself? Did you ever make regular observations of weather phenomena and keep a record?" From our previous description of typical activities of Taira children, it is not surprising to learn that very few of these or similar experiences appeared on the answers in the affirmative.

876 At school, participation and learning by doing are found at least
868 in a few instances. The basic skills of cleaning rooms by using rag and mop, as well as maintaining school grounds by cutting grass with
[358] a sickle and weeding with a hoe, may not have high educational value, but they carry over to the home and village situation. In the upper grades, students begin to do some gardening at school. Later
[241] in junior high school they work in their own small garden plots on the school grounds and in school rice paddies under teachers' supervision. Unlike the home situation, where learning also takes place by observation and doing, the teacher lays a foundation for solid knowledge by instruction and demonstration of proper techniques and by criticism of errors. The large number of students who work under guidance of a single teacher limits the practical value of such learning situations. It is evident, however, that there is an important qualitative difference between learning in the home situation and at school. Where the child does a chore in the village without trying to meet standards set by parents, the school child finds that the teacher scrutinizes his work carefully, judges, compares, picks and chooses the best performers from the poorer ones, and imposes standards for all to meet or excel. If a standard is set at all in the village, adults tend to either overlook it or simply fail to enforce it.

chain, Ie, Iheya, and Kudaka islands. The main island is about sixty miles long, its length running generally northeast to southwest. It has an irregular coast line, peninsulas which jut out into the sea, and two isthmuses, one near present Camp Kue, the other farther north at Ishikawa. The width of the island varies from two to eighteen miles. 133 131

Okinawa may be divided into three geographical regions, which also roughly correspond to the ancient division of the island into a northern district (Kunigami or Yambaru), a central district (Nakagami), and a southern district (Shimajiri). [631]

The northern district takes up about two-thirds of the area of the island. It begins at the northern isthmus which runs from Ishikawa town on the Pacific side to Nakadomari on the East China Sea side. South of this line, the island runs more or less in a north-south direction; north of the line, the island is situated in a pronounced northeast-southwest direction. Certain features distinguish this northern area from the two southern parts of Okinawa. A mountain ridge, almost entirely forested, runs down the center. Drainage from the short streams which rise in the mountains is down the east and west slopes. Villages and towns are on or near the coastal flatlands or on the coastal rolling hills. There are few settlements in the interior of the northern part of the island. 131 631 133 [137] [361]

The central region of the island extends south from the Ishikawa-Nakadomari isthmus to the Naha-Yonabaru line. A corridor beginning on the eastern side at Yonabaru on Buckner Bay (formerly Nakagusuku-wan) connects with a long valley beginning around Naha. This provides a natural route cutting across the southern part of the island. The central region is the area of oldest settlement. It and the region to the south were the areas of the most intensive warfare during the campaign for Okinawa. The central region has a patternless physiography. Low rolling eroded hills, stony hills with sharp relief, dissected uplands and escarpments alternate with small alluvial valleys and flatlands. On these and on the lower slopes of the less stony hills cultivation takes place. Limestone sinks and caverns are commonplace. The most rugged terrain in this area is the region around Shuri and its northern approaches, the scene of the most prolonged fighting of the war in Okinawa. Unlike the north, settlements are scattered throughout the countryside, usually on the low lands at the base of hills, along the coasts, or in narrow winding valleys with low passes leading from one to the other. [487] [361]

The third region of the island extends from the Naha-Yonabaru line to the southern tip of the island. It is like the central part in the haphazard distribution of its land forms but somewhat flatter. Part of it is a limestone plain. The highest elevations are around the hills and mountains along Buckner Bay, with its narrow flat coastal strips, and along the southern portion of the Chinen peninsula, which also has flat beaches and beach ridges. It is an area of small plains, long, narrow but steep limestone mountains, and of rolling hills, escarpments which often abruptly end on the water's edge. In the area of one of these escarpments, Yaeju Dake, the final battle scenes of the war took place. The settlement

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

175 167 Another departure from the past was that Okinawans, soon after the turn of the century, were provided with opportunities for emigration. The history of Okinawan emigration is not well known. But in the twentieth century, the people of Okinawa changed from an almost complete ignorance of the outside world to one of the most widely travelled and informed peoples of the Orient. Okinawan settlements in the twentieth century were scattered in many parts of the world, such as Peru, Argentina, Brazil, Hawaii, and the Japanese mandates of the Pacific, Singapore, Japan, Manchuria, and Korea. The cessation of this historic emigration is an event pregnant with meaning for the future. The population and its natural increase now must subsist on the island.

175 487 438 [61] Late nineteenth and twentieth century improvements in roads and communication, modest as they were by American standards, broke down some of the isolation of the three districts of Okinawa. The forests and the lack of roads to the north had always discouraged contact. Much of the trade in firewood between the north and the south, even up to the recent war, was done by ship. Elsewhere there were only paths and in the north, not even these. In 1895 Chamberlain wrote of the sparsely inhabited northern (Kunigami) forest area whose inhabitants were "despised for their poverty and rough speech by the natives of the central and southern provinces." Later on he remarked about the "groans of Japanese officials when obliged to go their country rounds," and, that, in the north it was necessary for them to carry a tent.[28]

175 191 290 As the main island in the newly created province (ken) of Japan, Okinawa benefitted from the scientific approach to agronomy pursued enthusiastically by the Japanese, in contrast with the Chinese and the Koreans before their annexation. Concentration on the development of suitable varieties of rice, the study of sugar cane, plant disease and agricultural techniques represented a body of knowledge that could be applied with local adaptations to all parts of the empire.

175 178 565 [511] Direct Japanese annexation meant also the disappearance of the top heavy native nobility or gentry (shizoku) to be displaced by the Japanese elite, although membership in the Okinawan nobility continued to be recorded in the family registers up to the recent war. The displacement of the old higher social classes resulted in a certain levelling of all the people, a levelling which continued up to the war, and was accentuated in an economic way by the widespread impoverishment of rich and poor alike in the campaign for Okinawa.

7

Okinawa in World War II

175 648 The terra incognita described by Bayard Taylor in 1853 became the

28 Chamberlain, as cited, 294, 459

The village is one of a series of settlements in a long narrow valley, on a limestone plain, bordered on the east by a steep ridge, up to 300 feet in elevation and running in a northwest and southeast direction, which divides the valley from the sea. On these cliff like formations, large outcrops are covered with shrubs and miscanthus grass. Lanes and roads lead from the valley floor to the summits of these hills, where villagers collect their firewood and grass for roof thatch. On the rocky, steep slopes of this seaward ridge, above the line of cultivation, is the tomb area. Precipitous and stony hills prevent cultivation, but occasionally a sharp tongue of land reaches far up the slope, its end protected from the rains and wash by a short stone fence. 361 133 [137] [491] [824] [764] [417]

Between Gushichan and Hanashiro village, there is a bridge over a small stream, its upstream course obscured by its dispersion in the rice fields. The dirt road, gradually ascending, cuts through the main rice growing area of the village, on a gentle slope, reflected in the bench cultivation of the rice fields. Here and there are large rocks and stony outcrops, with an occasional scrub pine, cycad, or a covering of miscanthus. Cultivation goes around these large stones. 491 133 [243] [137]

The road, about one-fourth of a mile from the bridge, soon leads into what looks like, from a distance, a densely wooded area. This is the settlement. 361

With the exception of the rough stony land of the limestone mountains and steep slopes, the soils of the area are the Okinawa clay loams and the Chinen stony clays lying on the limestone plains. The farm and village area takes up approximately 427 acres, of which 257 are in gently sloping Okinawa clay loams, a deep, well drained, neutral to slightly acid and very fertile soil. Another five acres is of the same type but these are in slopes, of a gradient ranging from 8-15%. There are 80 acres in gently sloping Shuri clays, shallow, moderately fertile, an olive colored, crumbly, calcareous clay; another 35 acres in the Awase clays, deep fertile, crumbly, calcareous clay of olive-gray color, and 14 acres of rough stony land. 134 133 311

The hillsides and the summits are free of densely growing trees and shrubs, and the lowlands are given over to cultivation. There are no groves of trees to protect the crops from typhoons. The trees and the protection they give are confined to the village. This is typical of many villages of southern Okinawa, where the hills and mountains have few trees, and dense growths are associated with habitation. 311

Inside the village, winding lanes branch off the main dirt road. The older houses are on the north side of the road. On the opposite side, the houses, newer or rebuilt since the war, adjoin the cultivated area. In the older section, the dense shrubbery, the tree lined lanes, broken occasionally by stone fences, wind through the village with footpaths branching off, sometimes past an open field, a reminder of a failure to rebuild after the war. On the northern outskirts is the village office, its gong in the yard, the open field, a playground for the children. 361 363 [417] [487] [367]

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One feature typical of these villages is the boundary path (sakai), sometimes only a foot wide. The path is a boundary and a means of access. Roads and lanes are in the main areas of the village. They do not checkerboard a whole area. Too much land would be sacrificed. The farmer leaves his home, walks along the road or lane, and then takes a winding boundary path to his own field. In the aggregate, considerable land is taken up by boundary paths. Often the sides of the plot along the path are cut perpendicularly to take as full advantage of the soil as possible. There is little slope from the path to the field, and the paths of the rice paddy often look like miniature levees.

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In his Narrative of a Voyage of the Ship Morison, which appeared in The Chinese Repository for 1838, S. Wells Williams wrote concerning Okinawa: "Indeed the Lilliputian minuteness with which the country is subdivided is singular." The tables and the land use maps which follow document this observation. The tables, which show the number of plots and their average size, for each village, were computed from land registers in the two township offices. The three main classifications, rice, dry crop, and wild land, have been selected. To appreciate the size of these plots, one should bear in mind that a 40' x 80' lot has over 88 tsubo and that an acre contains about 1210 tsubo.

[217]

The maps represent a tiny portion of those cadastral maps collected from the township offices and of which tracings were made. They also illustrate the complete and painstaking subdivision of a village area and the general uses to which each parcel is put.

Rice Land (Ta)

a. Hanashiro

Grade	No. of Plots	Average Area in Tsubo
Total	201	140.4
1	59	52.9
2	36	160.8
3	44	182.6
4	58	179.8
5	4	212.5

b. Matsuda

Total	560	137.2
1	30	60.5
2	76	140.0
3	178	132.1
4	175	154.9
5	101	136.3

In the areas studied, no serious sheet erosion was observed

No doubt this may be a problem in parts of Okinawa, but it is doubtful that this menace will threaten the habitability of the island. Occasionally one can see a freshly hoed field on a slope that is losing its soil during a downpour. But the fact that the hills and mountains are covered with vegetation, are not too steep, and that grasses and shrubs are cut off allowing the stubble with the roots to remain in the soil effectively binds the soil of the hills and at the same time prevents flash floods. With the exception of stony soils, the land of the areas studied had a plant cover. This statement is not inconsistent with the previous remarks regarding deforestation, as the disappearance of the pine, the cycad, and the pandanus has been offset by the spread of kaya (miscanthus) grass. Boundary paths also keep the soil in place. They often roughly follow the slope and are sufficiently crooked and winding and of sufficient depth to prevent washing away of large quantities of soil. While there is no complex irrigation system in these areas, the small ditches which carry the water down the slope are winding and covered on their borders by weeds. Occasionally one can see a farmer shovelling up the soil accumulated in a natural catchment in a bend of one of these ditches and restoring the lost soil to his land.

134 133 137 185 [487] [312]

In all areas, equally simple devices to protect the soil could be observed. Roadside borders of stone, like the stone of a rock garden, often line the fields adjoining main roads. (One could write a long essay on stones and the part they play in the culture of the people). These stones come from the fields. If fields do not have stone borders, weeds are left to grow. They are cropped, but the roots are left in the soil. In Hanashiro, stone fences on slopes and contour breaks are a common sight. Sometimes these have the appearance of blunt wedges, the end of the wedge going up the ravine. These stones have been painstakingly gathered from nearby areas.

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Terracing is practiced in a crude form in these areas. It really is step or bench cultivation, the plots being above one another in step like order. The function of terracing is, in the case of the dry crop land, to bring more land under cultivation, protecting it from washing away; in the case of the rice fields, it supplies flat land for cultivation at different levels. In the areas studied, terracing did not go all the way up the mountain side, although this practice can be observed in parts of Okinawa.

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Very frequently the ledges of the terraces are covered with a border of weeds or cropped grass which prevent soil runoff down the hill. In the Matsuda area, rice is grown up a narrow mountain valley, or ravine, with trees and shrubbery on the hillsides growing to the very edge of the cultivated plots. In rice terracing, the boundary paths often divide one step from another with openings in the ditches to allow the passage of water to the level below.

home country. Nevertheless, many aspects of Okinawan life still suggest an earlier phase in which independent developments gave the islands their own particular culture. 105 175 177 648

The Okinawan people, approximately 655,000 as counted in 1954, live in an area of about 454 square miles. Their major economic activities have traditionally been agriculture and fishing. In 1945 a long, peaceful existence was brought to an abrupt end during the final battles of World War II in the Pacific. As a result of world conditions Okinawans have been placed under American administration for an indefinite period of time. Today large numbers of men—and some women—find employment as unskilled and semiskilled laborers with the American forces. Gradual training for highly skilled jobs widens these opportunities for employment. Indirectly Okinawan life is influenced by Americans through stimulation of trade, building, and improved health conditions. Land requirements of the American forces in some areas also have influenced the settlement pattern. While these changes have affected the entire island to some degree, the greatest changes are noticeable in the central part around Naha where American administrative and military personnel are located. The village of Taira in the northern province of Kunigami, where the present study was located, had been subject to relatively few of these postwar changes in 1954. Isolated since earliest times because of mountainous terrain, this part of the island participates, as it probably always did, marginally in cultural influences which affect the center of the island. A great deal of cultural stability has therefore been preserved until the present day.

105 648 105 177 648 [161] [131] [464] [101] [184]

Nevertheless, it is useful to remember that the population of northern Okinawa is linked with the rest of the island by an efficient communications system. Roads connect almost all settlements in the north with the central island, and a bus transportation system extends its service into the remote areas. But long before all villages were connected by road with the center of Okinawa, people of Kunigami province traveled by foot over the many trails which traverse the mountains, and, since the turn of the century, many have left their home villages. Some went to Japan as laborers; others settled in the Japanese-controlled Islands of the Pacific, and some families joined the numerous Okinawan settlements in South American countries.

105 491 [494] [484] [487] [167]

LANGUAGE

Taira people are bilingual. Okinawan, which linguists consider a separate language, has many regional dialects, some of which are not

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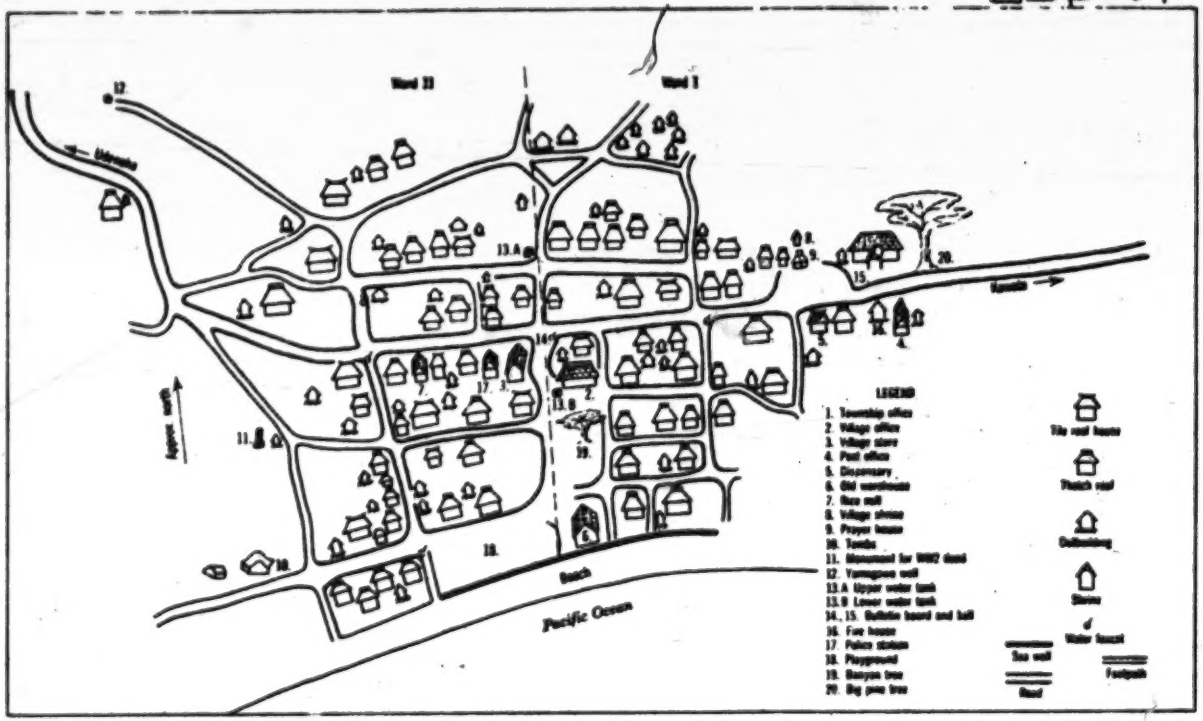

Map 2. Taira, central community.

312 Water is diverted from a stream a mile
365 above the village and piped into the upper and lower tanks where
[482] people fill their buckets which they carry home on a shoulder yoke.
[857] Both tanks always attract children. Before faucets were installed, the two spigots on each tank were closed with a wooden stopper which the children often pulled to get a drink or water to play in. An open lot surrounding the upper water tank is another popular play area.

361 On the eastern side of the village below the main road lies a flat sandy plain, separating the actual beach from the houses above. Children are frequently found playing there or walking along the beach to the mouth of the Noro Mata and Fukuji rivers, which reach the sea
[764] about 400 yards away. To the west of the central village lie the tombs
[211] and the monument for the war dead of the village.

487 Many hills around the village drop off vertically toward the south;
[133] these drops are partly effects of the geological conditions, such as karst depressions, partly caused by erosion of drainage during the heavy rains. Narrow paths, leading up the steep claylike hillsides, are slippery
[491] and very treacherous during rains. On the way to school in Kawata, the neighboring village, children have to pass a section of the road where river and rains have washed away the bank so badly that a misstep on the edge of the road could lead to a fall of more than 50 feet.

312 The little river which runs through parts of the valley behind Taira
[857] is another gathering place of children. A path alongside it leads into
[487] the hills and mountain forest lands. Seven minutes walking along this path takes one to Umugui, a natural swimming hole which also serves as one of the favorite laundry places. During the summer the river offers several other popular swimming spots downstream from Umugui.
[296] There is also a little concrete bridge in the rice fields beyond the houses, where adults and children go to wash laundry and sometimes pots and pans. Yamagawa well is a water hole, lined with concrete, near the northwestern part of Taira. Before water faucets were installed, girls frequently went there to wash their hair and do laundry.

857 Children go to the fields to look for flowers and berries or, in the
[484] case of older boys, to cut grass for animals. Distances covered by any child depend, of course, on the age. Younger siblings under 5 accompany the older ones to places beyond the area, but no expeditions extend to areas that are not also regularly traversed by adults in the course of their daily duties. Perhaps because of the multiple rivers and water sources, the beach offers less enticement than one might expect. On some days a group may decide to play on the beach, but since sand is also available throughout the village, everybody will soon shift back to some other area inland.

137 Tropical plants, bushes, and trees grow at sea level. At higher ele-

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

of the permanent Tairan families fish; the majority of the fishermen are migrants from the surrounding islands who come for a season, leaving their families behind. A few families have moved in permanently. The fishermen supply Taira, but most of the catch is peddled in the Nago market by the fishermen's wives. Some of the more enterprising and mercantile-minded women in the village buy up fish and peddle it for a profit.

Two or three times a year, during February or March, large fishing boats from Henza Island land in Taira with whale meat. All the able women look forward to making extra cash at this time, for whale meat is considered a delicacy in homes where meat is rare. Blubber is eaten and used as frying fat. The distribution of whale meat is arranged by one village woman whose fishermen relatives from Henza supply it in response to her request. She acts as agent, distributing the meat to the women on consignment.

LUMBERING

The main source of immediate cash for most families is firewood. Forest land in the mountains is owned by the township and the village, except for some woods near the fields, which are personal property. The township permits the village to exploit a certain region surrounding the community in return for payment of a forest tax. This tax is levied on firewood bundles or on lumber sold by villagers. Everyone in the village is free to cut wood in the designated area in any amount he desires. This, however, does not imply that unlimited cutting is possible, for resources have been utilized so heavily that most forests near the village are almost cleaned out, and it has become increasingly difficult to find wood. Reforestation has only recently been introduced on a serious scale. Often villagers are found trespassing on land owned by the central Ryukyan government in order to cut from the less depleted forests there. Government officials are sympathetic to the villagers' plight, and they tend to dispose of such transgressions with a stern warning.

Men and women, and during vactions, some children over 12 years, go to the forest. Most people prefer to walk and work in small groups. To reach a place high up in the hills, they may have to hike almost a mile from the center of Taira. The steep, narrow paths made by woodcutters traverse the mountains. Following the approach trails during the day, one can hear voices and the sawing of wood from many directions. All lumber people carry a short handsaw and a heavy bush knife

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

vations one finds temperate zone forests. Typical for the area are numerous grasses growing along the mountainside and on top of hills. Among them, the most permanent in appearance and use are miscanthus grass and a dwarf bamboo. Panadanns bushes line the beaches and areas close to them. Pine trees are common. Fukugi trees grow in the village but also in the hinterland. Here and there cycad palms lend the scenery a special tropical touch. Wild flowers grow almost all year. 137

The heavy underbrush is the habitat of several species of poisonous snakes for which the Ryukyu Islands are notorious. The most common, the *habu*, a pit viper, feeds on rats and other small animals and often enters the actual village area. Since rats outnumber humans in Okinawa by an approximate ratio of three to one, these snakes find ample food. Their search sometimes takes them into the rafters of thatch-roofed houses. This danger is present from March until October. People are bitten if they happen to step on the hidden reptiles or sometimes while they sleep. Children are taught by their elders to be careful, and during our study no children were bitten. 136 [164]

Insects are another source of irritation. Mosquitoes attack quite viciously during the summer; fleas, which live in the sand and in straw or reed mats, inflict bites at any time but are seldom carried in clothes. Flies do not seem to annoy the villagers although they are thick wherever food is left in the open and near the pig pens and outhouses.

The number of motor vehicles passing through Taira is small. A few heavy lumber trucks and an occasional U.S. Army vehicle drive through the main street. Four buses daily, two in the morning and two in the afternoon, connect Taira with other villages in Higashi township and the rest of the island. Because traffic is sparse, and it is difficult to catch a ride, persons intending to leave the community in the middle of the day often take the 50-minute walk to the other side of the island where buses pass every 30 minutes on the coastal highway. Villages frequently take trips to the nearby provincial market town of Nago or even to Naha, the capitol. 489 493 494 [489]

THE CLIMATE

In spite of Okinawa's subtropical geographic position, it has distinct seasonal differences demanding appropriate adjustments in living routine and clothing. Temperatures in the Taira region may reach a minimum of 38 degrees in January and February and a maximum of 96 degrees in July or August. The average daily mean temperature, 132

361 175 Perry's men, the aspect of these villages was one of rare and romantic beauty.[3]

2

Hanashiro

361 103 [491] Hanashiro is a small village of the cluster type in Gushichan township (Gushichan-son) in the southeastern part of Okinawa.[4] It is on the present Highway 64 which begins on the Chinen peninsula, travels southwesterly, following the coast at a distance to Mabuni in the southeast, then crossing the island to Nagushiku town, a village south of Itoman.

361 241 443 256 162 The village and its surroundings are small in area, the actual town site including various village owned properties, taking up slightly over 22 acres. This is an agricultural village, with the exception of minor activities such as storekeeping and rice milling. As of December 31, 1951, it had a population of 589 (269 male, 320 female), living together in 120 households, an average of 4.9 persons per household.

361 [103] [491] 175 349 631 The village is believed to have been founded about 400 years ago. By Okinawan standards this is not very old. It is off the main historical road which ran from Naha to Shuri to Kochinda, Gushichan, Minatogawa, through Tamagusuku township to the Chinen peninsula, probably the road travelled by Okinawan kings up to the latter part of the seventeenth century when they prayed at the altars on Kudaka Island.[5] There were in this area a series of castles on the tops of hills commanding the road and its approaches, the castles, the rough determinants of various regions formerly under a regional nobility. To the west there was Kochinda castle, Tamagusuku on the east, Gushichan castle near Hanashiro, where a surviving stone fence can still be seen, and the castle site of Itokazu. There is reason for believing, as we mentioned in Chapter 1, that this is in the general area of oldest settlement in the island.

[Text continues on P. 49 --analyst]

3 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, Vol. I, 163, 164, 179-80, and an illustration of a "cung-qua" on p. 180. On the older village with granaries and storehouses, see Green's remarks in Hawks, Perry's expedition, as cited, Vol. II, 34, 36, and illustration in Vol. I, 178.

[103] [192] 4 The village is also known as Hanagusuku: the meaning is the same, as shiro is the Japanese, gusuku the Okinawan word for castle. Many Okinawan place names have the suffix, —gusuku.

5 Spencer, The Noro, or priestesses of Loo Choo, as cited, 107.

The village is one of a series of settlements in a long narrow valley, on a limestone plain, bordered on the east by a steep ridge, up to 300 feet in elevation and running in a northwest and southeast direction, which divides the valley from the sea. On these cliff like formations, large outcrops are covered with shrubs and miscanthus grass. Lanes and roads lead from the valley floor to the summits of these hills, where villagers collect their firewood and grass for roof thatch. On the rocky, steep slopes of this seaward ridge, above the line of cultivation, is the tomb area. Precipitous and stony hills prevent cultivation, but occasionally a sharp tongue of land reaches far up the slope, its end protected from the rains and wash by a short stone fence. 361 133 [137] [491] [824] [964] [417]

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Since the war, the old narrow one lane roads have been broadened, permitting heavier auto traffic. Land ownership has been undisturbed, for it is not in an area in which the military has required land. Since the war, the villagers have tried to return to their former way of life, but this has been done with poorer houses and fewer possessions. 363 403 511

3

Minatogawa

Minatogawa, the second village studied, formerly was a shoe string type of settlement. Houses, shops, drinking places were along the seawall road. This pattern is now altered as a result of the war. Scattered areas have been relocated and houses built on lands formerly used for sweet potatoes. It is now an indeterminate type of village, retaining some indications of its old settlement pattern along the main road, with additions of clusters of houses in the newly settled areas. 361 [275] [311] [244]

Like Hanashiro, this village is in Gushichan township, and located on Highway 64. It is directly on the main historical road, previously mentioned, which led from Naha to the Chinen peninsula. The road, along which its houses are built, parallels for a distance the estuary of the small Minatogawa river. This narrow estuary, called Usaregawa, which connects the river mouth with the Pacific Ocean, and the small river itself (Yuhigawa) is a boundary between Gushichan and Tamagusuku townships. On either side there are steep cliffs, the sites of the best known stone quarries of Okinawa. 361 133 [491] [316]

The settlement and the adjoining lands have an area of about 256 acres. It is a mixed economy village with three distinct occupational groups: fishermen, stonecutters, and farmers. There is a second village whose borders blend with those of Minatogawa. These two villages are now known officially as Minatogawa-ikku and Minatogawa-niku. The two terms can be awkwardly translated as Minatogawa first ward, and Minatogawa second ward. But popularly they retain their older names: Minatogawa for the fishing village, and Nagamo for the agricultural second ward. These two separate but adjoining villages were until 1925 a single village. 621 463

The division was the result of distinct differences in outlook and occupation between the two sections. Minatogawa is a fishing village and has strong ties with Itoman, a town on the East China Sea shore about 4 1/2 miles away. Nagamo is an agricultural community originally settled from Naha and Shuri. Stone-cutting operations spread over both areas. While the fishing village of Minatogawa was given the emphasis in this study, it will be necessary occasionally to include Nagamo in the discussion.[8] [226] [241] [324] [128]

8 The writer did not realize until he lived here that two villages were involved, thinking that the two wards referred to a single administrative unit. By this time the work on Hanashiro had been well started, and time did not permit the intensive study of Nagamo. 114

standing. At one time, the Hinatogawa beaches were seriously considered for the initial landings in Okinawa, and later as a possible second landing. After the campaign for the south had begun, Hinatogawa became a forward loading point.[10] The present village has been completely rebuilt, and the newer buildings, with few exceptions, are frail and undistinguished. The war shows its effects, too, on the southern part of the village where there is a barren acreage, formerly the site of an army camp, its top soil so shallow that the bulldozers in levelling it soon reached the rock beneath.

Nearby Nagamo is a village of a different type. It is divided into two distinct quarters, also a result of the war. The old part formerly was to the north in the main stonecutting area, but following the destruction, a new settlement was started in the farm land a few hundred yards south. Cultivation is marginal on the shallow soil of the sloping valley before it descends into the flat coastal area in which the fishing village is located.

Hinatogawa, which means River Port, is a distinctive village reminiscent of the famous fishing town of Itoman, though without its size, beauty, or color.

4

Matsuda

Matsuda is a here-and-there type of village. The village area including the community owned forest is over a square mile. The countryside is dotted with several small sub-settlements. Within each sub-settlement, the houses also are scattered about and separated from one another by large trees, thick growths of shrubbery, grasses, stone fences, and cultivated fields.

The village is located in Ginoza township (Ginoza-son) on the northeast side of the island. This township is in the northern district (Kunigami, or Yambaru). The village is on Highway 13, which winds along the northeast coast through Ishikawa, Kin, Kanna, and Ginoza villages.

Though near the sea, a typical site of a northern Okinawan village, it is a settlement engaged in agriculture and forestry. Its name suggests its nature. Matsuda is a compound of the characters for pine tree, matsu, and rice field, ta, da. Though there is some fishing in the sub-settlements along the Pacific shore, it is casual and a part time occupation for farmers on the coast. The families exclusively

[Text Continues TOP of P. 55--Analyst]

10 The statistics on village destruction are taken from accounts of the villagers. They are estimates. For operations in this area, see Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 68, 74, 426-27, 436, 439.

traditional attitudes that the north was a culturally rude and physically inhospitable place. The highway which now goes through the center of the main part of the village is a good, hard surfaced, dirt road, widened since the war. A lively traffic of trucks and buses and the three wheels cycles contrasts with the narrow pre-war roads, traces and abandoned sections of which can still be seen. The frequent buses supply transportation to the larger cities and towns of the island: to Nago across the island and slightly to the north, to Ishikawa on the south, and to distant Naha, about 31 miles away.

Matsuda, unlike the southern villages, was not destroyed by the war. There were some air raids, some bombing out of the houses, but nothing like the destruction in the main areas of conflict. Early in the Okinawa campaign, the north was cut off and isolated and the struggle for the island took place in central and southern Okinawa. As a consequence, many of the old houses, sturdily built with tile roofs, have been preserved. Numerous refugees from the south gathered in this area during and after the campaign. In nearby Ginoza (Jinuza) village, slightly over a mile to the southwest, also on Highway 13, the Americans operated a hospital for Okinawan refugees. It is still in use. This relative lack of war destruction in the northern villages has, to a degree, reversed the roles of the north and the south. The opening up of the north, its prosperity, the survival of many of its old homes, give the impression of comfort and well being conspicuously lacking in most of the makeshift villages of the south.

The descriptions of these three villages perhaps make clear the diversity that can be expected among Okinawan settlements. Hanashiro, the small village cluster, with adjoining rice fields on the valley floor, its other crops on the terraced slopes, is the most typical. Minatogawa, the fishing village in an impoverished countryside of stony or shallow soil, is dependent on the seas and its catch for its livelihood and the wherewithal to buy the foods which cannot be grown in sufficient abundance. Matsuda, a collection of small settlements, scattered here and there from the coast inland, with its large preserve of community forest, is an example of agriculture in a forest setting, and of the use of the forest in daily living. This by no means exhausts the diversity. The village of Oku to the north, with its tea, its rice, its fences for wild boar protection, its cycads planted on the hillsides to prevent erosion, is still another example. But our task here is not to catalogue all diversity, but to indicate that it exists and to a much greater degree than would appear to superficial observation.

311 Slow conversion of land to arable fields is constantly going on in situations in which the amount of labor involved is not even considered. One such activity in the Hinatogawa area is typical. [134] Originally the field could not be worked because of the large quantities of smaller boulders, stones, and pebbles, all small enough to be carried off, too numerous to encourage hopes for quick transformation. [412] With difficulty this land is worked with the short handled broad bladed hoe. The hoes with two or three prongs are used for softer soils. [462] This hard hoeing is often done by women. The surface stones are thrown aside into little piles along the road. [491] These can now be sold for use in road construction. The vegetation on the surface is also turned under. Later in the year, after the rain has gone into the loosened soil, it is hoed again, and this time it is possible to go in deeper. Weeds, rice straw, unused miscanthus, straw from the pig or goat pen may be added, and this is allowed to rot in the soil. Then the field is hoed again, and the deeper rocks and stones, and those left behind before, are unturned and the process is repeated. In the end, and this period may vary from one to several years depending on the quantity of stones, the farmer has a plot of [134] land, of a rich chocolate brown color, of fair texture and fertility, suitable for growing sweet potatoes.

133 311 In Matsuda, there is a slightly different situation. The topography here has a different character than that of the south. Hills, caves, sinks, and slopes are everywhere, and as a consequence, cultivation is more scattered. In the southern villages, land use follows a more recognizable pattern. The low flat areas are used for rice, the higher parts of the flat land and the slopes and the rolling upland for dry crop land, while the highest parts on the hill or mountain summits are in grasses, shrubs, and scattered scrub trees. In Matsuda, these are all mixed up. Rice may be growing in a genya area. In another part of the village, sweet potatoes may, in a similar situation, be the rule. This crazy-quilt pattern of rice, genya and dry crop land, all adjoining, stimulates the gradual conversion of genya to arable land. When rice is made out of the genya land the converted plot is known in Okinawan as gata. It is a laborious process of clearing, removing stones, hoeing, cutting perpendicular sides, making a hard surface to contain the water for the rice that will be grown. In some sections of Matsuda, the very small valleys have been converted to S-shaped rice plots.

311 134 Casual observers often see unused land and conclude that large amounts can be reclaimed. They do not see the stones, or the hard-rock which may be an inch or two below the surface. They would do well to look at village maps to see how these lands are regarded by the villagers who have tilled them. Probably more efficient conversion and reclamation could be carried on with machinery and with the generous use of fertilizers.

311 185 In the desire for more land, it should not be overlooked that the great conservation value of genya land and the poorer upland

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

village volunteer to help if they have the time; each day a group of 5 or more appear, to be replaced the following day by another group until the house is finished. This type of help is more characteristic of the construction or repair of a simple house with a thatched roof than it is with a more expensive and elaborate house which requires specialists. 621 476 342

No days are specifically set aside for community projects, but these are done through co-operative effort. The amount of time given depends on needs as they arise. The care and maintenance of roads and lanes are the most frequent projects. If a road or lane is needed, the village headman and the council discuss the matter, consult the villagers, and the task is then undertaken. Road and lane maintenance includes cutting weeds and clearing away brush to cut down the danger from snakes. These procedures apply also to the construction and care of community owned buildings, such as the village office and the sugar mill. Hanashiro is small enough so that elaborate plans are not required and the desired ends can be accomplished by casual forms of mutual help. 621 476 [191]

The problems of Minatogawa are different, but the type of co-operation is essentially the same. Because of its situation, typhoon damage is often severe. Cleaning up and repairing after a typhoon is a co-operative enterprise, since there is so much damage to community property such as roads and breakwaters. In the typhoon "Ruth" in 1951, the wind driven waves lashed the breakwater with such violence that the stones were dislodged and scattered over the main road. Repairing typhoon damage is partly a community, partly a family affair. Many of the frailer houses are blown down and must be reconstructed from their foundations. Help in beaching and lashing down boats in anticipation of a typhoon is given by relatives and friends. Road maintenance and construction, village building, the laying of stones around a community water tank or faucet are tasks accomplished by community effort. House-building is done mostly through the co-operation of friends and relatives. There may be visits to Itoman to help members of the extended family there. The ties with Itoman are close. [131] [69]

Matsuda is a larger village whose scattered settlements and community forests have resulted in a more planned community co-operation than exists in the southern villages. Three general forms can be distinguished: (1) officially supervised co-operative work on the roads and in the forests in which every male over school age and the unmarried girls are expected to work a stated number of days in a year. Records are kept of this work. One might regard this as obligatory, but it is more correct to say that it is a universally acknowledged duty requiring no enforcement procedure. (2) Voluntary co-operation in the building of a house, and (3) less formal and more casual help, among relatives and friends in a wide variety of daily tasks, including harvesting, carrying wood, threshing rice, and the like.

In the officially supervised co-operative work, the participating

727 In the post-war period also roads have increased, and they
178 have been widened. More vehicles are on the roads. One can travel
184 through the villages of Okinawa over widened roads which before the
[491] war probably differed little from those described by Captain Hall
[484] in 1816 and by his grandson Basil Hall Chamberlain in 1895. This extension of the highway system has increased the mobility of Okinawans. Perhaps ultimately the cultural differences among villages will give way to wider uniformity induced by these innovations.

There is something enthralling in reading the chapters on "Lew Chew"
119 in Francis Hawks' Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to
178 the China Seas and Japan, which he compiled from the notes and journals of Commodore Perry, and the pages of Bayard Taylor's work, along with Okinawa, The Last Battle, which the Historical Division of the Department of the Army published in 1948. These give some measure of the change that has been brought about not only in the Great Loo Choo but in the world.

121 It has been my purpose here to tell part of the remaining, the contemporary story of the people whose islands early ethnologists were so fond of referring to as an anthropological museum.

The End

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

home country. Nevertheless, many aspects of Okinawan life still suggest an earlier phase in which independent developments gave the islands their own particular culture.

The Okinawan people, approximately 655,000 as counted in 1954, live in an area of about 454 square miles. Their major economic activities have traditionally been agriculture and fishing. In 1945 a long, peaceful existence was brought to an abrupt end during the final battles of World War II in the Pacific. As a result of world conditions Okinawans have been placed under American administration for an indefinite period of time. Today large numbers of men—and some women—find employment as unskilled and semiskilled laborers with the American forces. Gradual training for highly skilled jobs widens these opportunities for employment. Indirectly Okinawan life is influenced by Americans through stimulation of trade, building, and improved health conditions. Land requirements of the American forces in some areas also have influenced the settlement pattern. While these changes have affected the entire island to some degree, the greatest changes are noticeable in the central part around Naha where American administrative and military personnel are located. The village of Taira in the northern province of Kunigami, where the present study was located, had been subject to relatively few of these postwar changes in 1954. Isolated since earliest times because of mountainous terrain, this part of the island participates, as it probably always did, marginally in cultural influences which affect the center of the island. A great deal of cultural stability has therefore been preserved until the present day.

Nevertheless, it is useful to remember that the population of northern Okinawa is linked with the rest of the island by an efficient communications system. Roads connect almost all settlements in the north with the central island, and a bus transportation system extends its service into the remote areas. But long before all villages were connected by road with the center of Okinawa, people of Kunigami province traveled by foot over the many trails which traverse the mountains, and, since the turn of the century, many have left their home villages. Some went to Japan as laborers; others settled in the Japanese-controlled Islands of the Pacific, and some families joined the numerous Okinawan settlements in South American countries.

LANGUAGE

Taira people are bilingual. Okinawan, which linguists consider a separate language, has many regional dialects, some of which are not

173 the two main "houses," or family lines in Taira, and for several cen-
621 turies Taira must have been a small, closely knit community of in-
terrelated people.

Between 1875 and 1895, when the court life at the old capitol of

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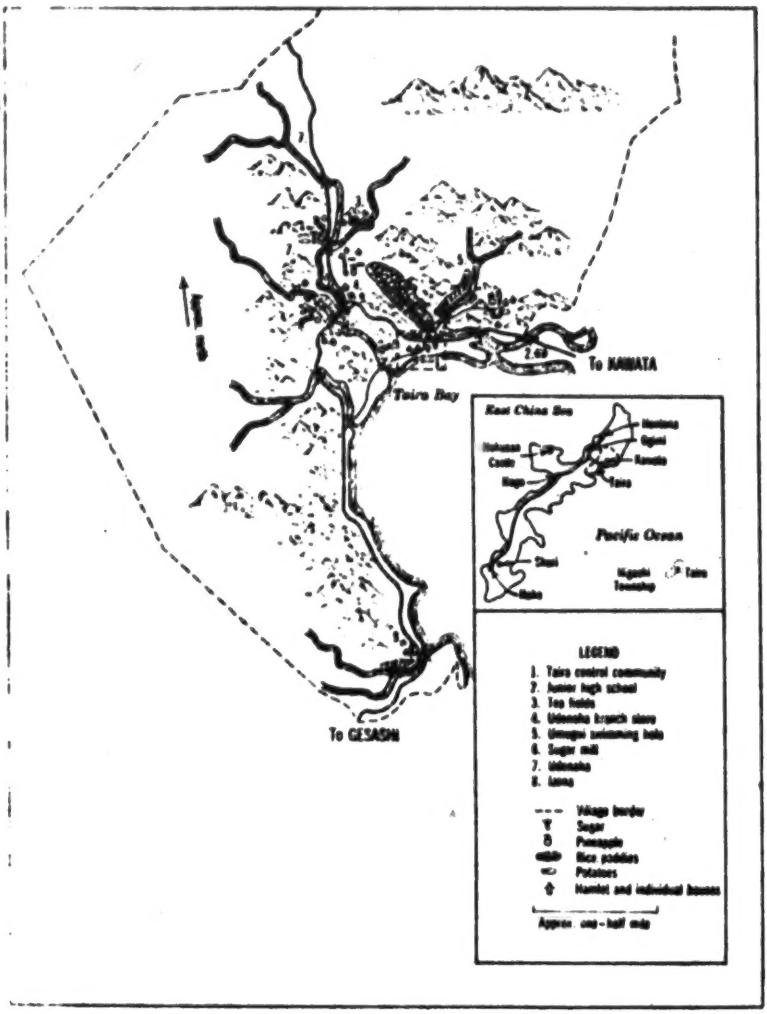

Map 1. Taira village (Higashi Township).

Between 1875 and 1895, when the court life at the old capitol of Shuri was broken up under Japanese influence, many families of noble origin moved into the country to become farmers, and the village grew in size. These people settled mainly outside the central village in areas where land was available. One family moved into Taira proper, forming the third "main house." Although it still maintains feeble ceremonial connections with Shuri, it gave up its noble title shortly after coming north and moved its ancestral tomb to the community. The noble families who settled in the valleys and hills preserved their distinctive traditions until the end of World War II. Their noble descent was noted in the population register, and intermarriage with commoners was discouraged. 621 173 565 166 [177] 621 173

Except for these Shuri migrants, few outsiders seem to have settled in Taira prior to World War II. The residents on the southern part of the island, especially the residents of Naha and Shuri, consider northerners rustics. Although this part of the island was often used as a hiding place by political and criminal refugees from the south, who are said to have founded nearby villages, none of them made their home in Taira. [186] [687] [166]

The original settlers of Taira were reluctant to accept later arrivals in their midst. Because of the fear of spirits, foreign to the village, they prohibited the burial of the newcomer's dead near the tombs shared by the members of the "main houses." To this day the funeral urns of a family who came to Taira about 60 years ago and later intermarried with settled villages are kept in a cave, away from all other tombs. [176] [164]

Higashi township was established in 1922. The area had previously belonged to Kushi township to the south, but the great distances between villages and the mountainous character of the country made efficient administration very difficult. Furthermore, some Higashi inhabitants felt that because of temperamental differences and divergent interests they should separate from the southern township. Since 1922 contacts have been predominantly with Ogimi township to the northwest and the town of Nago, 16 miles away. Once the road connecting the two coastlines was completed in 1936, Taira's isolation decreased considerably, and it became the administrative seat of Higashi township in 1946. 632 173 621 [628] [491]

Taira also became the home of the high priestess. In the period prior to direct Japanese administration, her office was under the jurisdiction of the Shuri court (Lebra, 1958), and her predecessors must have been appointed by the Okinawan kings. Taira may have been chosen as the seat of the high priestess in lieu of Kawata because Kawata lacks the good rice land which traditionally went to the high priestess by royal decree. Some of this rice land is still in the hands of the living priestess. 173 173 621

The community is dispersed. In the outlying parts, as far as 2 miles from the center (see map 1), the houses are scattered between the paddies or farm lands in sections which form subvillages or wards. As mentioned above, settlers from the south took up residence in these areas. Recently families from the main village have also moved to the more remote parts of the community, such as Udenaha, because they can reach their fields more conveniently. Although the name Taira refers to the political unit of main village and outlying parts, including Udenaha and Izena, most references in this study pertain only to the central community. Its 60 households, with about 330 individuals, form the primary social unit from which the sample of 24 children was chosen.

Central Taira nestles along the inner shore of Taira Bay, which opens into the Pacific Ocean. At this point the median range mountains recede from the coastline. Behind the village, rice paddies spread in a crazed pattern at the bottom and on the terraced sides of several valleys which are separated from each other by sparsely wooded hills. Here and there the red earth of an eroded section shows like a scab through the green slopes.

In traveling by road from the south, most people choose the highway along the East China Sea coast, which is connected with the road which crosses the island. Higashi township is entered through a low saddle in the mountains which separate the two coastlines. To the right and left begins Taira's forest. Central Taira is reached through a winding lane bordered by pine trees. To the left the view opens into one of the neatly cultivated rice fields, backed by the hills on whose flat tops and terraced sides village people cultivate their farm lands.

The central village itself lies on a sand bluff, separating the valley from the ocean, so that there is a slight drop toward both sides (see map 2). The main road runs the length of the village. Except for the thoroughfare, which is dirt and gravel, the side roads are not surfaced, and after heavy rains puddles form and remain for more than a day, to the delight of children who play in them.

When Taira was destroyed during World War II, along with its houses went much of the foliage which once served as a windbreak. A few fukugi trees * line the main street, and hibiscus hedges here and there hide some of the houses from a first inspection. There are bushes around the edges of the village.

The war-time destruction is hardly apparent on a first walk through the village. Along the main street, lined by houses, one finds the rice mill, a substantial new building of concrete and wood, the police sta-

* A small- to medium-sized evergreen tree with a narrow, upright, very dark green crown of leaves.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 377]

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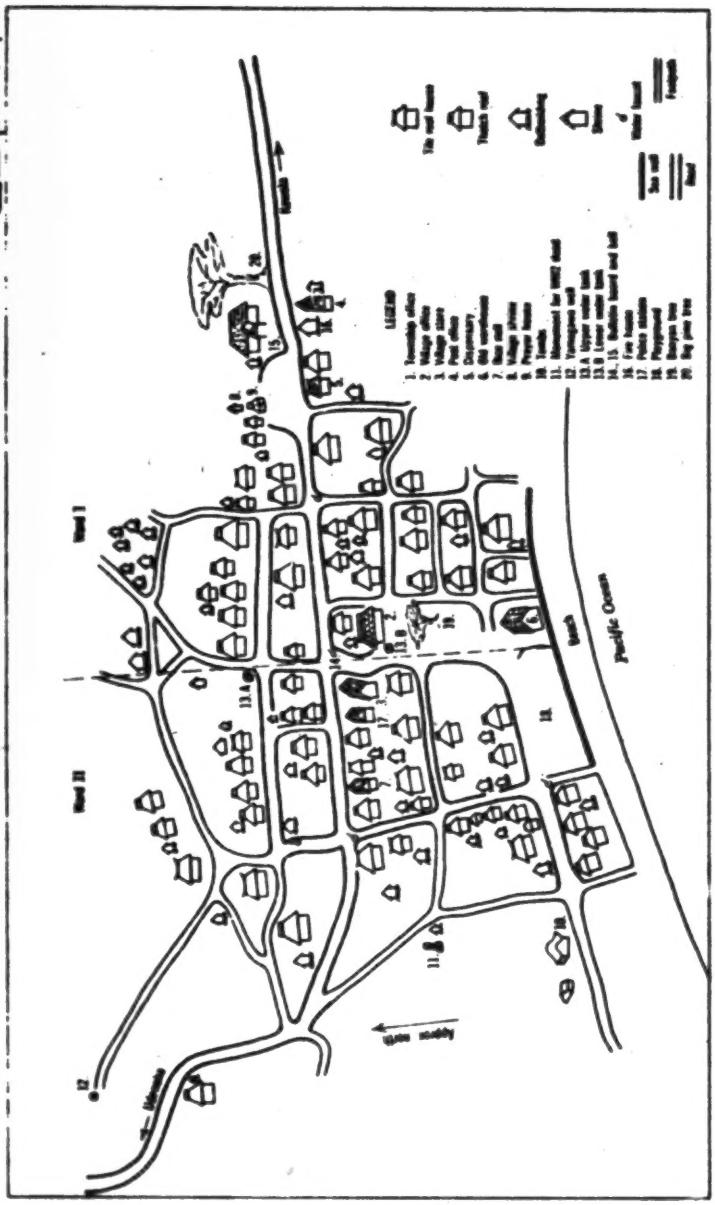

Map 2. Taira, central community.

312 Water is diverted from a stream a mile
365 above the village and piped into the upper and lower tanks where
[482] people fill their buckets which they carry home on a shoulder yoke.
[857] Both tanks always attract children. Before faucets were installed, the two spigots on each tank were closed with a wooden stopper which the children often pulled to get a drink or water to play in. An open lot surrounding the upper water tank is another popular play area.

361 On the eastern side of the village below the main road lies a flat sandy plain, separating the actual beach from the houses above. Children are frequently found playing there or walking along the beach to the mouth of the Noro Mata and Fukuji rivers, which reach the sea
[764] about 400 yards away. To the west of the central village lie the tombs
[211] and the monument for the war dead of the village.

487 Many hills around the village drop off vertically toward the south;
[133] these drops are partly effects of the geological conditions, such as karst depressions, partly caused by erosion of drainage during the heavy rains. Narrow paths, leading up the steep claylike hillsides, are slippery
[491] and very treacherous during rains. On the way to school in Kawata, the neighboring village, children have to pass a section of the road where river and rains have washed away the bank so badly that a misstep on the edge of the road could lead to a fall of more than 50 feet.

312 The little river which runs through parts of the valley behind Taira
[857] is another gathering place of children. A path alongside it leads into
[487] the hills and mountain forest lands. Seven minutes walking along this path takes one to Umugui, a natural swimming hole which also serves as one of the favorite laundry places. During the summer the river offers several other popular swimming spots downstream from Umugui.
[296] There is also a little concrete bridge in the rice fields beyond the houses, where adults and children go to wash laundry and sometimes pots and pans. Yamagawa well is a water hole, lined with concrete, near the northwestern part of Taira. Before water faucets were installed, girls frequently went there to wash their hair and do laundry.

857 Children go to the fields to look for flowers and berries or, in the
[484] case of older boys, to cut grass for animals. Distances covered by any child depend, of course, on the age. Younger siblings under 5 accompany the older ones to places beyond the area, but no expeditions extend to areas that are not also regularly traversed by adults in the course of their daily duties. Perhaps because of the multiple rivers and water sources, the beach offers less enticement than one might expect. On some days a group may decide to play on the beach, but since sand is also available throughout the village, everybody will soon shift back to some other area inland.

137 Tropical plants, bushes, and trees grow at sea level. At higher ele-

313 Home Industries and Famous Products The forested northern mountains give rise to small scale lumbering, charcoal making,
314 and firewood gathering. Kunigami-son and Kushi-son emphasize the gathering of
433 bamboo and firewood. On the other hand the making of charcoal is more import-
[369] ant in Nago, Haneji, and Ōgimi. The urbanization of the south combined with
[391] the postwar extension of roads into formerly inaccessible parts of the north have accelerated exploitation of the northern forest resource. Particularly heavy is the demand for long roof poles, or kichigwā, after every major typhoon.
[237] Kunigami-son and Higashi supply the bulk of these. Where wood is plentiful behind a coastal road, one often finds lime kilns, which process the coral of the reefs.

258 The sea is also a major source of material for home industries. Sea
433 salt is made at Yagaji, Urasoe and Oroku on the west coast, at Henza and Awase
[237] on the east. Kunigami-son prides itself upon its production of seaweed. Buttons from seashells are made in Mawashi. Fish cakes ('kamaboko') are made in quantity in Itoman and Naha, with lesser amounts being produced in Ishikawa and Nago. Dried bonito ('katsuoboshi') is a specialty of Tonaki isle to the west. Motobu-chō holds second place, followed by the western isles of Tokashiki and
505 Zamami. For over a hundred years the small cargo sailboats ('Yambaru-sen')
178 of the east coast have carried forest products from the north. The extension of roads into the northern forests has greatly reduced the amount now carried by sea.

433 Horse breeding is a specialty in Nakazato (the eastern half of Kume-
[232] shima), which has 22% of the gunto's production of horses. However, the pro-
[232] duction of horse and cattle hides is concentrated in the urban areas, which
[231] account for 84% of the hides produced. Nakazato is also famous for production of silk cocoons, being responsible for about two-fifths (38.7%) of the gunto's total. The leading mainland producer is Motobu-chō, with 9%.

Although Okinawa is not self-sufficient in tea, the three areas of
[245] Gushikawa, Ishikawa and Kunigami produce over half of the local tea. In Oku
[474] village of Kunigami, the tea factory is a cooperative venture. Gushikawa
[274] and Chatan pride themselves upon possessing 'sake' and 'awamori' distilleries.
[286] Mawashi is the center of production of farm tools, and accounts for some weaving of banana cloth. Weaving of mats from the "seven isles reed" ('shichitō-i') is a local specialty of Kanegusuku.

[314] Travertine quarries are found in Motobu-chō and Katsuren. A sandy limestone is quarried at Minatogawa in Gushichan.

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Military installations have attracted people from all areas, and at 177
the present time over twenty-five percent of the total labor force is employed 727
by the military or in subsidiary occupations. Some of these people are drawn [464]
from the landless element which formerly would have emigrated. In other areas
land has been left idle by those who have sought salaried jobs in preference [311]
to farming. In places, extensive military land use has greatly increased
land pressure. The circulation of money has been accelerated, and new pat- [491]
terns of living have evolved. Many miles of all-weather roads have been constructed and the island transportation system has improved to a point where villagers have a mobility undreamed of in the prewar era.

The major forces for change have been technological and economic. 177
Where changes have occurred in the social system, they have come about largely 178
as a result of these factors. Man has always tended to accept new things faster than new ideas, but in final analysis these will alter ideas too. It has been said that the streetcar and trains have contributed more to the breakdown of the idea of caste in India than any other single factor; so too on Okinawa, the changes effected by a new technology, greater circulation of money, and improved mobility operate to alter the fabric of life. Most rural 177
Okinawans would be decidedly opposed to any overt action designed toward 369
weakening the unity of their village; yet, when they put aside farming to 621
commute daily to a city job, avail themselves of the newspapers, movies, and 178
radio programs emanating from the city, and no longer participate in labor exchanges and other cooperative ventures, it is to precisely this end that they are contributing.

It is the opinion of the author that the major forces for change in 177
contemporary Okinawa were already operative before the war. The real impact 178
of the American occupation has been a rapid acceleration of the forces of change which have been slowly building up since the beginning of the century.

<u>Aspects of Change in Rural Okinawa: Transportation</u> One of the most im- 178
pressive changes in 491
post-war Okinawa with far-reaching cultural implications has been the improved transportation system which has made possible a greater mobility. A network of modern highways now girdle the land where formerly narrow dirt roads and paths had sufficed. To one who had last seen the island in 1945 the contrast in 1954 was most remarkable.

The increase in motor vehicles has been more than ten-fold over the 178
prewar period. Most villages now have easy access to bus lines which connect [494]
to virtually all points of the island. Where formerly villagers but rarely
went to town, they now make such trips frequently. It is not uncommon in the [484]
Shimajiri and Nakagami areas of the island for an individual to commute each day from his village to his place of employment in a military camp, town, or city.

The improvement in transportation has enabled the farmers to bring 178
products to the best markets. Formerly most Kanegusuku products were sold 443
in nearby Itoman, but today with the advent of rapid bus service to Naha many items are taken there for sale.

9

Domestic Animals

231 [727] The effects of the war are still to be seen in the scarcity of domestic animals (kachiku). The domestic animal population is increasing. Horses were far more numerous before the war. The same is true of cattle and oxen which, however, are more numerous than horses. All are used as draft animals, with the greatest frequency in Hanashiro. Cattle and oxen are used for plowing and harrowing in the rice fields; horses for pulling carts and wagons. Horse meat is [492] [267] not eaten. All larger animals are tethered or in stalls. They are not allowed to graze or to roam freely around the villages or on the hillsides. Since each bit of land is owned, grazing would deprive someone of needed grasses, either the young shoots or the matured 235 fibres. Chickens are generally kept in coops. Ducks have a little more freedom.

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DOMESTIC ANIMALS

Animal	Hanashiro	Nagamo	Minatogawa	Matsuda
Cattle and Oxen	40	5	0	1 (80)
Horses	2	1	0	20 (90)
Pigs	125	100	150	315
Goats	50	50	40	321
Chickens	a/	30	a/	706
Ducks	0	50	a/	10
Rabbits	0	0	0	6

Source: Village clerks of each village and township records. Figures are approximate as of January 1952. Pre-war estimates where known are shown in parentheses. Villages try to keep an accurate and up to date animal census. a/ Not available, village has some

231 In all the villages studied, pig raising is the most important secondary occupation of the individual farmer or fisherman. Pig raising is old in the culture. According to Chamberlain (1895), under the old kingdom every household by law had to raise goats and pigs. Pigs were fed in part on human excrement. This practice in my observation has now been abandoned.

[434] Pigs are raised for sale. They are the most significant single source of cash for the farm family and they supplement the fisherman's cash income.

231 special holiday occasions. Pig killing or the killing of any animals
[825] is distasteful. The pig generally is driven out of the pen to a
[943] waiting truck or horse cart and hauled squealing off to market.

232 Considerable interest is being shown (early 1952) in the scientific
[197] breeding of pigs from stock imported from the United States. Chester White is a well known word among the farmers of Matsuda. In this area, regional meetings of pig breeders and raisers from the northern part of Okinawa and the Motobu peninsula are held to discuss the care, breeding, and marketing of pigs. These farmers have come a long way from the earlier days, even 25 years ago, when the toilet and the pig pen were the same. A farmer going from one of his fields to another often stops home to look at the pigs and perhaps to discuss his problems with
[474] a friend. In Matsuda, a pig growers' association has now been started.

231 Domestic animals, especially the pig, can be expected to increase and to reach at least their pre-war level, if the villages studied are typical. This development will be all to the good. The pig consumes food not fit or not used for human consumption. It does not compete with humans for food. It is unlikely that land now devoted to the production of human food would be diverted to animal food. In my observation, there is not a strong competition between animals and man for the products of the land. Domestic animals really round out the agriculture and consume food that otherwise would not be used.

[311] The lack of grazing land, except on the hill sides and summits, means that domestic animals must be fed with food grown and prepared and fed to them by the farmer. Grazing also would be out of the question since the land on the hills is privately owned and split up in small parcels. The young plants are valued too highly to permit indiscriminate grazing.

[435] Goats are cheaply raised. The only expense is the labor of getting leaves, grass, and tender shoots from the family's genya land on the hills. In the market, goat is the cheapest of all meats.
[262] There are also sharp differences in taste among villagers for goat's meat. The milk is not used as a food. Goats are tied up or kept in stalls for their entire life. They are never allowed to roam through the village or to graze on the hill sides. They are not given water and depend entirely on the water in the grasses and shoots which they are fed.

Horses, cattle, and oxen are fed grasses, mashed sweet potatoes, and waste bean curd. Though occasionally used in rice fields, the
[492] chief use of horses is in drayage. In Matsuda, the horse and the two wheeled cart make frequent trips to the mountains to transport the longpoles, firewood, and charcoal.

235 Chickens are fed anything that might be on hand. Often they are given the chaff from the rice or the rice that is blown off in
[262] winnowing. Occasionally chickens are eaten, but they are kept primarily

231 Before a piglet is bought, its feeding habits are carefully observed by the buyer to determine future growing potential. It is then kept in a sty; pigsties are either in the yard near the house or in a cluster of stables on the north edge of the town. Twice a day women cook the food in large kettles and ladle the liquid food into a trough. Nowadays pork is rarely consumed in the village except for special holidays, when several families may slaughter pigs and sell part of the meat to everybody through the local store or preserve some of it by salting. Most farmers, however, wait for the meat buyer from the southern part of the island from whom they receive a good financial return.

[417] [262] [438] [251] [442]

Goats are raised for home consumption. They are never left to graze but are quartered in a goat pen near the pigsty and fed on grass cut from uncultivated land. Seven families in the central village have horses. Their main use is to carry firewood from the mountains. The small breed looks like a cross between a horse and pony and seems especially adapted to climb the steep trails. They are also used for plowing and for pulling two-wheeled carts. The owner of a horse may more than double his income from forest work. Horses are frequently rented out for half the day's income from wood carried by them.

[417] [492] [434] [427]

Silkworm raising, an important source of income in Taira before the war, is only now being resumed by some Tairan families. The larvae are supplied through island-wide silkworm raising associations, which repurchase the cocoons after they are spun. To raise silkworms, a substantial house is needed so that rats cannot enter and eat the worms. The temporary postwar structures with holes and cracks in the walls and roof are inadequate. Only a few recently built houses can be used. One family keeps growing worms on shelves in the front room. Most of the mulberry trees were lost during and after the war. Plans have been made to plant new trees. Young girls feed the mulberry leaves to the gluttonous worms who require constant attention. When the worms are ready to create their cocoons, they are taken off their diet, and the cocoons are cleaned and sorted out. Silkworms can be raised four times a year if there is an adequate supply of mulberry leaves. Their sale brings a good income, which can become a substitute for cash earned in forest work.

[474] [137] [462] [434]

FISHING

226 Fishing is a much less important source of livelihood than one would expect in a coastal village and is a low-prestige occupation. Only two

[554]

361 The village is a group of houses, each with its own compound, and
351 these give it an inclosed look. There are few if any gardens or vegetabl
patches either in the compounds or within the village settlement.

363 The lanes resemble quiet winding country roads. The rock fences,
or the lines of trees or shrubbery often conceal the houses. There is an
appearance of loneliness in these lanes and roads, except at busy times
of the day when the children return from school. The lack of commercial
[485] activity, except for the women carrying rice on their heads to the mill
[462] and for the small village stores, contributes to this impression of quiet,
which one would expect from the routine of agriculture. At night, when
[354] the doors are drawn, and when the flickering and smoky oil lamps are lit,
the loneliness and quiet of the village is even more pronounced. The
[493] lanes and the roads are deserted, save for an occasional passing truck,
bicycle, or three wheeled cycle, and in one of the favorite words of all
[192] Okinawans, the place is sabishii.[6]

Since there is little activity in the village other than farming,
366 neighboring villages and distant towns supply the additional needs. At
368 nearby Gushichan village, there are the primary and junior high schools,
the post office, the township and agricultural association offices, a
barbershop, and some small stores. At Minatogawa, about one and one
half miles away, there is a public bath, and across the river from this
village, in Horikawa, an occasional play from the Okinawan stage, or
a movie. Buses run through the village twice a day and one can make
connections to Naha or Itoman, the two most likely places for buying
[494] or selling. Or one can take the three wheeled cycles which pass through
more frequently.

227 Physically, the village was much affected by the war. On June 11,
362 1945, the front line ran through the cultivated area between Hanashiro
and Gushichan villages. Hill 95, the scene of fierce fighting was in
the vicinity of Hanashiro.[7] One can still see an occasional tank track,
abandoned helmets and scattered fragments of war materials in the fields.
The village was affected by the war in ways which are now observable
indirectly in the makeshift houses, improvised shacks, the roofs of half
[355] tile and half thatch, the odd additions to the older buildings partly
destroyed, and the lack of drain pipes and water catchment tanks. Houses,
which to superficial appearance, have existed for generations, have
been rebuilt since the war with grass substituting for the tile roofs.
[311] War operations over the cultivated areas also resulted in some loss of
land. A long mound in the rice areas, with paths along its ridge, was
formerly a road built by the Americans in the final drive toward Mabuni.
Almost all the houses in the village were destroyed.

6 This Japanese word suggests both loneliness and melancholy.

7 Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 437 (illustration), 434-42 on the struggle for Hill 95.

Rotation #2, Matsuis

242
221

First year, ninth month: Autumn planting of sugar cane
Second year, twelfth month: Harvest of sugar cane. Followed by: Soy bean, sweet potato, or vegetables.

311
423

Land is seldom allowed to lie fallow intentionally for any length of time. At any one time of the year, a farmer may have idle land for which there may be a variety of reasons. He may have other tasks and be unable to cultivate all his land, or have no need of doing so, or some of his land may be so poor that he will not cultivate it unless necessary. Much depends on the individual farmer and his holdings. The village records indicate that in Hanashiro 97.2% of the rice and 83.1% of the dry crop land is under cultivation. From the preceding discussion of land classification, it is clear that many parcels are of marginal quality, and these areas may be left uncultivated, at least part of the year. During the post-war [426] period there has been some informal lending of land, free of rent, to friends and neighbors, if the farmer is not using it himself.

241
[231]
[227]

Manual labor with hand tools is the dominant method of cultivation. Domestic animals are not uncommon, but their use in farming is minor. The war increased the dependence on manual labor through the loss of domestic animals. Only cattle are now used in rice cultivation for plowing and harrowing and this is infrequent. The man or woman and the hoe are far more common. Crops are carried from the [482] fields by human labor. The basket or the straw container, or the tied rice sheaves on either end of a pole over the shoulder, and not [415] horse carts, push carts, or wheel barrows are the main means of transport from field to courtyard. The barefooted farmer, with his [493] hoe and a pole or a basket does the greatest part of the work. The common tools of agriculture are hand tools and adapted to the intensive cultivation which so often has more properly been called the work of a gardener rather than that of a farmer.

412

The basic all purpose tool is the solid bladed hoe. The hoe, since deep cuts are possible with its heavy blade, takes the place of the plow. The hoe also replaces the spade, and even the rake, for it can be used to break up and smooth the soil. A poorer farmer may lack [434] many of the tools in the following list, but he will have two or three of the solid bladed hoes.

The accompanying illustration shows the most common agricultural tools:

1. The hera, a spatula or trowel, used for transplanting tops of the sweet potato. Its wooden hand grip curves toward the end of the tool. The hera is also used as a scraper to remove brown sugar from the sides of the cooking pans during the sugar making season.

2. The kama, a small sickle. Next to the hoe, it is the most

In Matsuda, the stalk is cut up with a large knife. In Nagamo and Hanashiro, the oshikiriba (literally, push-cut-machine) is common. This is a device with a fixed blade, curving upward, on a stand. The cane is laid on the top of the blade. The handle is pressed down, forcing the cane stalk through the stationary blade. The use of this device is not universal. In the north, the hand cutting machine was a casualty of the war. 249 184

It is worth a slight digression here to add that, in considering various techniques as evidences of a departure from or adherence to traditional methods, the effects of the recent war must constantly be borne in mind. Sugar making is a good example. Primitive methods of making it today are a return, out of economic necessity, to earlier ways because of lack of capital to replace the former machinery. In Matsuda, the continued use of the horse drawn crushing rollers is not an expression of conservatism but of improvisation and return, in lieu of anything better, to old methods previously in use. Such devices as the oshikiriba are not good examples of this because it is not a decisively superior tool. A skilled farmer can cut the cane very efficiently with his knife. 178 227 249

Cane cuttings are made when the plant is about six months old and before it is mature. When year old plants are used for cuttings, only the top, or the youngest part is taken. The slip used may have two or three joints or buds. The length of the cutting apparently is determined by the number of joints. In Matsuda, slant planting seems to be favored because the plant is said to receive more water and to be able to withstand typhoons better. Flat planting is faster than slope planting. From one stalk usually five or six transplants are made. 249

There are two plantings of sugar cane, the spring (haru-ue) and the fall (akiue). Cane planted in the spring planting, from January to March, is harvested in April of the following year. In the fall planting from July to September, the cane is harvested a year from the following December. The cane of the fall planting is harvested but the stumps are allowed to sprout and grow again. Following this harvest, the whole plant is torn out and the field is replanted with slips. Though the ratoon crop could be continued longer, the general practice is to tear up the plants after the second growth. 249 221

The slips are about 8 sun (9.6 inches) long. In Hanashiro, they are generally planted flat with the exception of the slip nearest the top of the cane stalk, which is planted at about a 45° angle, the theory being that this part of the stalk has less vitality than the others. These slips are planted about 6-8 inches apart, 8-12 inches deep in rows about 4 feet apart. 249

In Hanashiro, at harvest time, the sugar cane is carried on the shoulder or by horsecart and stacked in piles outside the sugar mill. Though an effort is made to crush it immediately, cuttings may remain overnight or be stacked for a day or two outside the mill. The mill [482] [493]

585 During his speech, the guest remained in the most polite kneeling
576 position, resting his weight on the heels with the toes pointed downward toward the floor. His head was bowed during the talk. The father and the groom acknowledged the compliments by nodding their heads and then made their responses.

When these preliminaries were almost over, an uproar followed the announcement that the bride was arriving. The lights of a vehicle could be seen from a distance. It turned out to be a truck. In former days, the bride came in greater style: she either walked preceded by young boys bearing lanterns or rode in a palanquin (kago),
[493] or in a specially decorated horse cart.

All Okinawan brides, from the time they enter the house of the groom until they leave shortly after the completion of the ceremony, have an expression of indescribable gloom. The bride's face is set. Her eyes are downcast. She takes no notice of the guests, and responds silently to the acts which convention demands. She never smiles. This is a very serious occasion and any show of lightheartedness is considered in poor taste. The groom is not so wooden as he awaits his bride and goes through the ceremony.

585 The bride is dressed in a Japanese costume. She has a wig, usually
[292] rented for the occasion, the traditional Japanese headdress with masses
[177] of stiff lacquered hair. It is heavy and bulky and the need of keeping it on straight may account for some of the bride's immobility. She also has a bright colored Japanese style kimono with sash (obi) which may be her own, her mother's, or grandmother's. The bride's face is
[302] heavily powdered with white powder and this makes her face look like a mask. Her lips, reddened slightly, accentuate the unnatural whiteness of the face. The groom is simply dressed in a black silk kimono.

The ceremony of san-san-kudo (literally, 3, 3, 9 times) conducted by the go-between then began. It is so called because both of the principals drink 3 times from each of three different cups which are made in progressively smaller sizes so that they fit into one another. There are variations, both in the way in which the 9 sips are taken and in the cups used. Since the war, the special sets of three cups have disappeared from many homes, and three small sake cups may be used. In this ceremony, the go-between served the first cup to the groom who took 3 sips, the go-between then refilled for the bride who took 3 sips. The other two cups were presented to each principal in the same way. This ceremony was very short, lasting only as long as it takes to sip the drinks in the proper order. When the marriage ceremony (kekkonshiki) was over, the bride and the groom arose and went to the front part of the room to be presented to the guests.

585 The bride retained her sad immobility. This is all the more
576 remarkable to see when one knows the bride in daily life, vivacious and jolly and anything but impassive. The groom allowed himself a little more naturalness. The go-between spoke to the guests briefly about the couple. He told where the bride and groom were born, the

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

vations one finds temperate zone forests. Typical for the area are numerous grasses growing along the mountainside and on top of hills. Among them, the most permanent in appearance and use are miscanthus grass and a dwarf bamboo. Panadanns bushes line the beaches and areas close to them. Pine trees are common. Fukugi trees grow in the village but also in the hinterland. Here and there cycad palms lend the scenery a special tropical touch. Wild flowers grow almost all year. 137

The heavy underbrush is the habitat of several species of poisonous snakes for which the Ryukyu Islands are notorious. The most common, the *habu*, a pit viper, feeds on rats and other small animals and often enters the actual village area. Since rats outnumber humans in Okinawa by an approximate ratio of three to one, these snakes find ample food. Their search sometimes takes them into the rafters of thatch-roofed houses. This danger is present from March until October. People are bitten if they happen to step on the hidden reptiles or sometimes while they sleep. Children are taught by their elders to be careful, and during our study no children were bitten. 136 [164]

Insects are another source of irritation. Mosquitoes attack quite viciously during the summer; fleas, which live in the sand and in straw or reed mats, inflict bites at any time but are seldom carried in clothes. Flies do not seem to annoy the villagers although they are thick wherever food is left in the open and near the pig pens and outhouses.

The number of motor vehicles passing through Taira is small. A few heavy lumber trucks and an occasional U.S. Army vehicle drive through the main street. Four buses daily, two in the morning and two in the afternoon, connect Taira with other villages in Higashi township and the rest of the island. Because traffic is sparse, and it is difficult to catch a ride, persons intending to leave the community in the middle of the day often take the 50-minute walk to the other side of the island where buses pass every 30 minutes on the coastal highway. Villages frequently take trips to the nearby provincial market town of Nago or even to Naha, the capitol. 489 493 494 [484]

THE CLIMATE

In spite of Okinawa's subtropical geographic position, it has distinct seasonal differences demanding appropriate adjustments in living routine and clothing. Temperatures in the Taira region may reach a minimum of 38 degrees in January and February and a maximum of 96 degrees in July or August. The average daily mean temperature, 132

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351 these give it an inclosed look. There are few if any gardens or vegetable patches either in the compounds or within the village settlement.

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368 nearby Gushichan village, there are the primary and junior high schools, the post office, the township and agricultural association offices, a barbershop, and some small stores. At Minatogawa, about one and one half miles away, there is a public bath, and across the river from this village, in Horikawa, an occasional play from the Okinawan stage, or a movie. Buses run through the village twice a day and one can make connections to Naha or Itoman, the two most likely places for buying
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362 1945, the front line ran through the cultivated area between Hanashiro and Gushichan villages. Hill 95, the scene of fierce fighting was in the vicinity of Hanashiro.[7] One can still see an occasional tank track, abandoned helmets and scattered fragments of war materials in the fields. The village was affected by the war in ways which are now observable indirectly in the makeshift houses, improvised shacks, the roofs of half
[355] tile and half thatch, the odd additions to the older buildings partly destroyed, and the lack of drain pipes and water catchment tanks. Houses, which to superficial appearance, have existed for generations, have been rebuilt since the war with grass substituting for the tile roofs.
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7 Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 437 (illustration), 434-42 on the struggle for Hill 95.

133 Hanashiro and Oushichan villages to a broad semi-circular valley, the
361 Oushichan plain, with a gentle gradient sloping to the sea. Shortly before the coast is reached there is a sharper drop, and it is in this depression along the shore and the coastal strip that the fishing village lies.

134 The Okinawan clay loams and the Chinen stony clays are also the
133 predominating soils of the area. There are about 85 acres of the gently sloping clay loams, 155 acres of the gently sloping Chinen stony clays. While moderately fertile and well drained, these soils are also shallow and stony, with obvious defects for the pursuit of agriculture. There are 10 acres of deep, fertile poorly drained, slightly acid alluvial soils. These occur along the river and its estuary and in a small former river mouth to the south. There are about six acres in rough stony land.

731 The village has very little storm protection. There are no shelter
133 belts around it, nor are there many trees within. It is open to storms
417 and typhoons, and the water, lashed by the sea, is sufficient to break and scatter the large stones of the seawall. At present, inside the village there is none of the privacy typical of the agricultural villages
361 and their compounds. There are few trees, shrubs, or fences. In the
351 older part of the village, the houses are closely set together. Fishing
227 nets hang on the lines of the yard. In season, the yard is covered with drying fish, fish fins, and fish backs. The yards and the shore are dotted with men cleaning or repairing their boats.

362 The lack of natural beauty of the place is accentuated by the poor-
517 ness of the houses and the other buildings. Its atmosphere is unmistakably
484 different. The village is more commercial and more lively than the quiet and concealed agricultural village. Life is not so much of a routine, for much depends on the weather and the sea. The village has people who have travelled widely. Some of its fishermen have been in the waters of Java, of the South Seas, of the Andaman Islands, the Philippines, and Indo-China.

438 The village's main commercial contacts are with the remaining
[311] agricultural villages of the township from which it must obtain much of its food, for the area is not suited to agriculture, nor is much land available. For wider contacts, there are Itoman about 4 1/2 miles, and Naha about 8 1/2 miles away. Buses go through the village twice a day.
499 The three wheeled cycles are irregular but come and go more often. Fish
368 is sold at Naha. The theatre for the travelling troupe of actors from Naha and for movies is in Horikawa across the river. Many visits are
574 also made to Itoman to see relatives and friends.

The war was even more catastrophic for Minatogawa than for Hanashiro.
727 Before the war, Minatogawa was a thriving, prosperous and well built up small town. About 70% of its buildings had a tile roof and 30% had
[361] thatch roofs. There were about 30 stores, sake shops and drinking places, including a geisha house, along the road, serving the fishermen and the stonecutters. Of the 430 buildings in the area, only three were left

361 traditional attitudes that the north was a culturally rude and physically
311 inhospitable place. The highway which now goes through the center of the main part of the village is a good, hard surfaced, dirt road, widened
[491] since the war. A lively traffic of trucks and buses and the three wheel cycles contrasts with the narrow pre-war roads, traces and abandoned
[494] sections of which can still be seen. The frequent buses supply transportation to the larger cities and towns of the island: to Nago across the island and slightly to the north, to Ishikawa on the south, and to distant Naha, about 31 miles away.

927 Matsuda, unlike the southern villages, was not destroyed by the war. There were some air raids, some bombing out of the houses, but nothing like the destruction in the main areas of conflict. Early in the Okinawan campaign, the north was cut off and isolated and the struggle for the
[362] island took place in central and southern Okinawa. As a consequence,
[342] many of the old houses, sturdily built with tile roofs, have been preserved.
[166] Numerous refugees from the south gathered in this area during and after the campaign. In nearby Ginoza (Jinuza) village, slightly over a mile to the southwest, also on Highway 13, the Americans operated a hospital
[493] for Okinawan refugees. It is still in use. This relative lack of war destruction in the northern villages has, to a degree, reversed the roles
184 of the north and the south. The opening up of the north, its prosperity, the survival of many of its old homes, give the impression of comfort and well being conspicuously lacking in most of the makeshift villages of the south.

The descriptions of these three villages perhaps make clear the diversity that can be expected among Okinawan settlements. Hanashiro, the small village cluster, with adjoining rice fields on the valley floor, its other crops on the terraced slopes, is the most typical. Minatogawa, the fishing village in an impoverished countryside of stony or shallow soil, is dependent on the seas and its catch for its livelihood and the wherewithal to buy the foods which cannot be grown in sufficient abundance. Matsuda, a collection of small settlements, scattered here and there from the coast inland, with its large preserve of community forest, is an example of agriculture in a forest setting, and of the use of the forest in daily living. This by no means exhausts the diversity. The village of
[136] Oku to the north, with its tea, its rice, its fences for wild boar pro-
[242] tection, its cycads planted on the hillsides to prevent erosion, is still another example. But our task here is not to catalogue all diversity, but to indicate that it exists and to a much greater degree than would appear to superficial observation.

824 Soy beans have three main uses: soy sauce which is seldom made
[262] in the home, bean curd (tōfu) and miso, a bean paste, both always
[432] home made. For this reason, soy beans are grown mostly for home use,
[462] with the surplus sold. In Hanashiro, where the surpluses are greater,
[494] the beans may be sold in Naha, Shuri, or Itoman. Women do the selling, taking the beans to market on the buses, trucks, or three wheeled vehicles.

(2) Other types of beans such as the red dwarf bean (asuki)
241 (Phaseolus angularis Wight), the kidney bean (ingen in Japanese,
262 Phaseolus vulgaris L), the broad or horse bean (soramame in Japanese, Vician fabia L), and peas (endō in Japanese, Pisum sativum L) are grown for home use, usually in parcels which are closest to the house.

(3) The giant radish, (daikon in Japanese, Raphanus sativus L)
[263] is, after the soy bean, the most important of the minor crops grown for home use. This is the vegetable most favored either as a condiment,
[252] or as a side dish. It is eaten sliced raw, pickled, or fried in strips in soy sauce. When eaten boiled, its flavor resembles that of a turnip.

(5) The pumpkin (Cucurbita pepo L) called nanka or kabocha, the latter name being derived from the word Cambodia from which the pumpkin was introduced into Japan. They are harvested in summer, and one crop a year, generally for home use, is grown. If the flesh
[231] becomes too ripe and turns reddish and sweet, it is not relished and the pumpkin is fed to the pigs.

(6) The cucumber (kiuri in Japanese, Cucumus sativus L) is a very minor crop. In none of the villages were they generally grown, and then only for home use.

(7) The hechima or tōgwa in Japanese, subui in Okinawan.[7] This is very large and cylindrical. In exceptional specimens, its outward appearance is indistinguishable from the water melon. Its flesh is
[184] white. In the two southern villages, the tōgwa is grown very sparingly. In Katsuda and the surrounding villages, it is more common. Here it is used to fill in during times of food shortage. Some specimens I have
[221] seen weighed over 100 pounds. It is planted after lunar New Years, harvested in the 6th or 7th lunar month, a period reaching from about January to May. From April to July, when other vegetables are scarce,
[252] it is often used as a substitute. The flesh when boiled is rather tasteless; it is commonly boiled and served with chunks of meat. The tōgwa, in the northern villages, is often stored in dark cool places
[251] away from the sunlight, often under the house. If not cut open, the melon can be saved for a year.

7 I am not certain whether this is Luffa cylindrica Roem, Luffa petola, Ser, the Luffa sponge, rag gourd, etc., whose pulp disappears when ripe to be replaced by a web of fibres.

226 476 The boat, as in the previous example, is considered a person. The cook is usually a boy about 16 or 17 years old. If we further assume a catch valued at Y10,000, with a deduction of Y1000 for gas and oil, there is a remainder of Y9,000 to be divided. The boat's share, A, is 30%, or Y2700, with Y6300 for further distribution. The following formula is then applied to this remainder:

Captain	1.5 shares
Engineer	1.5 shares
Fishermen	7.0 shares, one for each of 7 men
Cook	0.7 shares
	10.7

The value of each share is Y588.78 (Y6300 divided by 10.7). If the amounts are rounded off, the final distribution is:

Captain	Y883	(1.5 x 588.78)
Engineer	883	(1.5 x 588.78)
Fishermen	4121	(1 x 588.78 x 7)
Cook	412	(0.7 x 588.78)
	Y6300	

The distribution takes place at the conclusion of a voyage. Obligations (giri) between the owner and the others, on these larger boats, are also based on custom. If a crew member is injured on a voyage and prevented from going on the next one, he receives a share for the voyage he was on, and some money, depending on the catch but not a full share, during convalescence. If a fisherman is ill and has been injured outside of his work, he does not receive this consideration.

5

Sale and Distribution of Fish

443 [962] [435] The sale and the distribution of fish is the work of women. Men occasionally do this, but their function is to catch the fish, maintain the boats and gear, and make the lures. The bulk of the fish is sold at Naha because the highest prices generally are paid there. This makes it difficult for adjacent villages to obtain fish, even in season. When the fish is especially plentiful and low in price at Naha, the women go to the agricultural villages of the interior. Fish are carried in baskets. The pre-war custom of carrying the fish [415] basket on the head and walking from village to village, or to the rail- [482] road station at Kochinda, thence by rail to Naha, has given way to truck, bus, or the three wheeled cycle. Often in the evening, these [494] cycles, which can seat six comfortably, are filled with eight or ten laughing and voluble women, and their fish, the vehicle chugging slowly and painfully up and then coasting down the grades.

000 One can infrequently observe women walking from Hinatogawa to

sandstone one sees in the new buildings of Naha often is from the quarries of this area. Stone quarries are scattered in various parts of Okinawa, but the Minatogawa stone is considered the best. 324 [316]

Sandstone quarrying started, according to older settlers, about sixty years ago. Cutting began on the coast, gradually working up slope over rolling stony land. It is an interesting example of the transformation of a landscape by man. Now with the old methods still in use, the cutting has extended beyond the village. Stonecutting operations in the main are in the steep bluffs around both villages, although there are numerous cuttings in the newer settlements of Minatogawa and along the seashore. Frequently the cut stone blocks lie near the temporary Minatogawa tombs which dot the rocky coast. By the simplest methods, large quantities of stone have been and continue to be removed. All work is done by hand; machinery was installed by the Americans after the war, but it is out of working order and stands idle. 316 [133] [764]

Before the war, stonecutting in this vicinity was a more thriving industry than now. Quarries are also found in neighboring Tamagusuku township and there is a distributing outlet in Morikawa, the village across the river. Before the war from 300-500 men are said to have engaged in stonecutting. Now there are about 120 in both villages. Many of these stone workers had come from other parts of Okinawa and the Ryukyus: men from the offshore islands, Ie-shima, the Kerama chain, and Iheya, and on the south east, from Kudaka, Tsuken, and Hoanza islands. Most of these settlers from the offshore islands have left. A few, born on Ie-shima, or from the northern district still remain. [464]

Since the war coastwise shipping of lumber and firewood from the north and stone from the south had declined sharply. Trucks have largely displaced the boats. Transport costs are high and the stone is in demand in closer markets. 505 494

2

Acquiring and Working the Land

Customary practices govern the quarrying of stone. These eliminate the need for written agreements. Interested persons know the properties and the possibilities of each site. These customary practices are concerned with the acquisition, the working and the restoration of land. Techniques for working the stone have remained nearly the same for at least sixty years. 316

The stonecutter purchases rights to the stone, not the land itself. When the stone has been extracted, the land is returned to its owner. This is unimproved land, but after the stone has been quarried, a house may be built on the site. When a stonecutter (sekko) wishes to acquire a certain holding, he calls on the owner of the land. Following oral negotiations, the price is agreed upon. A good price 316 425 [435]

324 The truck or horsecart of the buyer comes to the stonecutting area,
432 the blocks are loaded and taken away. Prior to sale, for convenience,
stone may be taken from the cutting area. It is loaded on horse carts,
[494] the men carrying the heavy blocks by means of ropes looped around the
[483] ends of the stone and over poles which in turn rest on the shoulders.
[804] A six foot length (1 ken linear measure), one foot wide and about ten
[435] inches thick sells for Y140 (1951-52).

Foot injuries are the chief hazards of this occupation. The toes may be accidentally cut by the long chisel, and there is danger
316 of bruising or crushing by accidentally dropping the block, or by rolling when it is being dislodged. Very hard and calloused hands are
[164] the mark of the stonecutter; his hands are especially conspicuous for the hard, raised areas on the palm around the base of the fingers, the
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40% of the proceeds. The trees thus sold are all cut down. After clearcutting, the area is left to natural reseeding. About twenty years hence, the clearing will again be sufficiently forested to permit repetition of the same procedure. This follows an established Japanese pre-war practice. This was known as the five year period share (gonenkanbun). The forest is divided into subdivisions, each 110 chō in area. (A chō is 2.45 acres). These 110 chō plots are in turn subdivided into five parcels of twenty-two chō each. Each year one of these five subdivisions may be cleared. 313 [804]

Throughout the forest, divided up into these plots, there may be a five year cycle of cutting, but not all the plots are available every year. If this were so, the forest could be cut over in five years. The system is planned so that there will always be parcels being cleared, those in various stages of regrowth, and mature stands. During and after the war, this practice broke down in favor of uncontrolled cutting.

If a family has little cash, a villager may pay his taxes in part by cutting wood. The village office pays Y4 for a bundle of firewood (late 1951), Y2 going to the villager as a cash payment, and Y2 being applied to his taxes for the year. [651]

The farmer makes frequent excursions to the mountains to obtain firewood or poles to make improvements in the compound, such as repairing a tool or food shed. Men do this work, especially when the distances are far, but the participation of women is by no means exceptional. Along the roads of northern Okinawa, one can frequently see old women walking down from the mountains carrying bundles of firewood on heavy poles. Much of the wood is hand carried from the mountains; if the farmer has a horse and cart or a truck, the wood is carried to a convenient road for loading and transport. [462] [482] [887] [494]

Charcoal is manufactured in the forest area. In Okinawa charcoal has many uses, mainly for heating and cooking, and for charcoal sticks (senko). Lumps of charcoal are placed in braziers and the sticks are used as touchwood in place of matches and in ceremonial and religious observances. Charcoal containers (tangu) are often constructed on the spot. These are round or box-shaped and made out of the dwarf bamboo. 314 [372] [796] [415]

Charcoal kilns are privately owned. They are of the simplest sort. The kiln may be covered with a rude housing, built up by poles and a thatch roof. A mound of large boulders and dirt is built with an opening on the dirt floor running the length of the firing area. Poles which have been stripped and cut in various lengths, from five to nine feet, are shoved in the opening and moved forward as they burn. The smoke comes out the back.

Forest maintenance and improvement is, in part, a result of community endeavor. With some exceptions, each person in the village from 16 to 60 participates one day a year in forest improvement (sōrin).[8] The participants are boys past school age, unmarried girls, and all men up to the age of 60. These people work without personal remunera- 313 476

8 The usual meaning of sōrin is afforestation or reforestation. In Matsuda it is used in the sense of care and improvement of the forest.

Alcoholic Beverages

443 Japanese and American canned beer
[273] Japanese type sake (a light rice wine resembling sauterne)
Okinawan sake (awamori)

Miscellaneous

Charcoal sticks
[276] Brass and nickel plated Japanese pipes
Small dishes
[415] Sake bottles
Oil burners to keep mosquitos away
[416] Flashlights, bulbs, and batteries
Matches
Japanese and American tobaccos
Fishing lamps and the ika lamp (fishing villages only)

[437] Transactions are usually on a cash basis, although some customers pay at the end of the week. In one such store, the gross sales averaged ¥600 a day with a net profit of about 10%. (The yen is pegged at 120 to the US dollar). During the day and the early evening, the village
[366] stores are meeting places, especially if, like Hinatogawa, several together make up a small business center.

443 Supplies are delivered to village stores by truck or sometimes by bus. Often the owner goes to the larger towns to buy. Young boys are
444 an important cog in the distribution system. They deliver candies, cookies, and other small articles which are carried in five gallon lard
[857] tins on racks over the rear mudguard of their bicycles. They ride up to the store, count out their candies or cookies, receive payment, and cycle on to the next store over a route which includes several villages. These boys work out of larger towns like Itoman and Nago. Baking goods,
[262] bread (pan) really a sweet dough with a jelly-like filling, cookies and candies are distributed in this manner. Sometimes housewives make cookies and cakes to sell to village stores.

443 There is not much house to house selling or soliciting. Occasionally women come to the villages with a selection of ready made clothing or cloth. In Hinatogawa, an itinerant drug vendor periodically goes through the village ringing his bell, selling various Japanese patent medicines mainly for colds, headaches, constipation, and stomach aches.

444 Import stores (hyakujo), also operated privately, are a different
262 kind of enterprise than the village shop. They have been set up under the American occupation. Larger wholesalers supply the village re-
511 tailers. These stores deal in a restricted number of commodities, such as rice, flour, soy bean sauce, wheat, and cooking oils. Sales are made to villagers on a rationing system based on the number in the family, its age distribution, pregnancy, and whether the head is engaged in heavy
[942] work. The intent of the import stores is to make food available, at reasonable cost, to those who cannot grow their own, or whose own produce

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Obtaining News of a Larger World

While it is an error to think of villages as isolated social and economic units, it would be a mistake also to fail to mention the existing obstacles to communication and the dissemination of news. 203

There are virtually no radio sets in any of these villages, except in the schools and sometimes in a village office. Home radio sets invariably need repairs. In Hanashiro, which has no electricity, there were 3 radios, two of which did not work. There were 4 in Hinatogawa, with one at least not working, and six in Matsuda, three of which were in the primary school, one in the village office. In these villages there is electricity from about 6:30 to 10:30 in the winter and from 7 to 11 PM in the summer. The radio is not an important direct medium for obtaining news. If they can, villagers tune in Japanese stations for news, music, and entertainment. There is a need for simple and cheap means of reaching rural areas by radio. 207

Newspapers are more important media. But in late 1951 and early 1952, there were 5 newspaper subscribers in Hanashiro, one going to the village office where it could be read by all, 14 in Hinatogawa, and about 20 in Matsuda, reduced from a previous 40 by an increase in the subscription rate. The barbershop in Matsuda had a newspaper. Schools and the township and village offices subscribe. It is difficult to estimate actual circulation. My own observation is that newspaper reading under these conditions is casual and intermittent, that newspapers are read consistently only by the village officials, school teachers, and the regular subscribers. News from Naha, the other Ryukyu islands, and from international sources is disseminated largely by word of mouth. Local readers make their reading a subject of conversation. There is no lack of interest in broader questions and in international events. The negotiations leading up to the Japanese peace treaty were followed with great interest by many villagers in Matsuda. 204 [203]

Japanese magazines, particularly movie magazines, are popular despite their high cost. They are widely read not only by the young, but by older men and women, including school teachers.

Telephones are not a part of home life. There were two privately installed field telephones in Hinatogawa, but no private telephones in the other villages. The village office, the post office are equipped with phones. 206

The possibilities of obtaining more direct knowledge of other parts of Okinawa island have increased since the war. One can travel by public transportation from the southern part of the island to the extreme north in a reasonable time and not too uncomfortably. Provincial attitudes still remain. Persons in the southern villages 484 [494]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

home country. Nevertheless, many aspects of Okinawan life still suggest an earlier phase in which independent developments gave the islands their own particular culture. 105 175 177 648

The Okinawan people, approximately 655,000 as counted in 1954, live in an area of about 454 square miles. Their major economic activities have traditionally been agriculture and fishing. In 1945 a long, peaceful existence was brought to an abrupt end during the final battles of World War II in the Pacific. As a result of world conditions Okinawans have been placed under American administration for an indefinite period of time. Today large numbers of men—and some women—find employment as unskilled and semiskilled laborers with the American forces. Gradual training for highly skilled jobs widens these opportunities for employment. Indirectly Okinawan life is influenced by Americans through stimulation of trade, building, and improved health conditions. Land requirements of the American forces in some areas also have influenced the settlement pattern. While these changes have affected the entire island to some degree, the greatest changes are noticeable in the central part around Naha where American administrative and military personnel are located. The village of Taira in the northern province of Kunigami, where the present study was located, had been subject to relatively few of these postwar changes in 1954. Isolated since earliest times because of mountainous terrain, this part of the island participates, as it probably always did, marginally in cultural influences which affect the center of the island. A great deal of cultural stability has therefore been preserved until the present day. 105 177 648 [61] [31] [464] [101] [184]

Nevertheless, it is useful to remember that the population of northern Okinawa is linked with the rest of the island by an efficient communications system. Roads connect almost all settlements in the north with the central island, and a bus transportation system extends its service into the remote areas. But long before all villages were connected by road with the center of Okinawa, people of Kunigami province traveled by foot over the many trails which traverse the mountains, and, since the turn of the century, many have left their home villages. Some went to Japan as laborers; others settled in the Japanese-controlled Islands of the Pacific, and some families joined the numerous Okinawan settlements in South American countries. 105 491 [494] [484] [487] [167]

LANGUAGE

Taira people are bilingual. Okinawan, which linguists consider a separate language, has many regional dialects, some of which are not 197 191

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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vations one finds temperate zone forests. Typical for the area are numerous grasses growing along the mountainside and on top of hills. Among them, the most permanent in appearance and use are miscanthus grass and a dwarf bamboo. Panadanns bushes line the beaches and areas close to them. Pine trees are common. Fukugi trees grow in the village but also in the hinterland. Here and there cycad palms lend the scenery a special tropical touch. Wild flowers grow almost all year. 137

The heavy underbrush is the habitat of several species of poisonous snakes for which the Ryukyu Islands are notorious. The most common, the *habu*, a pit viper, feeds on rats and other small animals and often enters the actual village area. Since rats outnumber humans in Okinawa by an approximate ratio of three to one, these snakes find ample food. Their search sometimes takes them into the rafters of thatch-roofed houses. This danger is present from March until October. People are bitten if they happen to step on the hidden reptiles or sometimes while they sleep. Children are taught by their elders to be careful, and during our study no children were bitten. 136 [164]

Insects are another source of irritation. Mosquitoes attack quite viciously during the summer; fleas, which live in the sand and in straw or reed mats, inflict bites at any time but are seldom carried in clothes. Flies do not seem to annoy the villagers although they are thick wherever food is left in the open and near the pig pens and outhouses.

The number of motor vehicles passing through Taira is small. A few heavy lumber trucks and an occasional U.S. Army vehicle drive through the main street. Four buses daily, two in the morning and two in the afternoon, connect Taira with other villages in Higashi township and the rest of the island. Because traffic is sparse, and it is difficult to catch a ride, persons intending to leave the community in the middle of the day often take the 50-minute walk to the other side of the island where buses pass every 30 minutes on the coastal highway. Villages frequently take trips to the nearby provincial market town of Nago or even to Naha, the capitol. 489 493 494 [484]

THE CLIMATE

In spite of Okinawa's subtropical geographic position, it has distinct seasonal differences demanding appropriate adjustments in living routine and clothing. Temperatures in the Taira region may reach a minimum of 38 degrees in January and February and a maximum of 96 degrees in July or August. The average daily mean temperature, 132

178
Military installations have attracted people from all areas, and at 177
the present time over twenty-five percent of the total labor force is employed 727
by the military or in subsidiary occupations. Some of these people are drawn [464]
from the landless element which formerly would have emigrated. In other areas
land has been left idle by those who have sought salaried jobs in preference [311]
to farming. In places, extensive military land use has greatly increased
land pressure. The circulation of money has been accelerated, and new pat- [491]
terns of living have evolved. Many miles of all-weather roads have been constructed and the island transportation system has improved to a point where villagers have a mobility undreamed of in the prewar era.

The major forces for change have been technological and economic. 177
Where changes have occurred in the social system, they have come about largely 178
as a result of these factors. Man has always tended to accept new things faster than new ideas, but in final analysis these will alter ideas too. It has been said that the streetcar and trains have contributed more to the breakdown of the idea of caste in India than any other single factor; so too on Okinawa, the changes effected by a new technology, greater circulation of money, and improved mobility operate to alter the fabric of life. Most rural 177
Okinawans would be decidedly opposed to any overt action designed toward 369
weakening the unity of their village; yet, when they put aside farming to 62
commute daily to a city job, avail themselves of the newspapers, movies, and 178
radio programs emanating from the city, and no longer participate in labor exchanges and other cooperative ventures, it is to precisely this end that they are contributing.

It is the opinion of the author that the major forces for change in 177
contemporary Okinawa were already operative before the war. The real impact 178
of the American occupation has been a rapid acceleration of the forces of change which have been slowly building up since the beginning of the century.

<u>Aspects of Change in Rural Okinawa: Transportation</u> One of the most im- 178
pressive changes in 491
post-war Okinawa with far-reaching cultural implications has been the improved transportation system which has made possible a greater mobility. A network of modern highways now girdle the land where formerly narrow dirt roads and paths had sufficed. To one who had last seen the island in 1945 the contrast in 1954 was most remarkable.

The increase in motor vehicles has been more than ten-fold over the 178
prewar period. Most villages now have easy access to bus lines which connect [494]
to virtually all points of the island. Where formerly villagers but rarely
went to town, they now make such trips frequently. It is not uncommon in the [484]
Shimajiri and Nakagami areas of the island for an individual to commute each day from his village to his place of employment in a military camp, town, or city.

The improvement in transportation has enabled the farmers to bring 178
products to the best markets. Formerly most Kanegusuku products were sold 443
in nearby Itoman, but today with the advent of rapid bus service to Naha many items are taken there for sale.

324 The truck or horsecart of the buyer comes to the stonecutting area,
432 the blocks are loaded and taken away. Prior to sale, for convenience,
stone may be taken from the cutting area. It is loaded on horse carts,
[994] the men carrying the heavy blocks by means of ropes looped around the
[983] ends of the stone and over poles which in turn rest on the shoulders.
A six foot length (1 ken linear measure), one foot wide and about ten
[804] inches thick sells for ¥140 (1951-52).
[435]

Foot injuries are the chief hazards of this occupation. The toes may be accidentally cut by the long chisel, and there is danger
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The time at which a young man becomes a full fledged fisherman depends on his own ability and progress. Age is not a criterion of skill after a young man has had experience. Perhaps when he is 24, a young man can handle every phase of the work, including catching the swordfish. It is common for a young and an old man to work together, the one as master, the other as novice. There is no stated apprenticeship period. In bad weather, or in rough seas, only the unusually apt young fisherman is allowed to bring in a large fish by himself because of the danger of capsizing. 226 868

2

Types of Boats

All boats are now motor driven. There are 42 in the village, 41 of which are small skiffs. Three types of boats are distinguished: (1) the hatsudōki. This is little more than a good sized motorboat with a cabin. It carries about 8 men. There is one in the village. The small scale individualized character of fishing here is indicated by the smallness of the remaining craft. (2) the kuribune (literally, "hollowed out boat," from the verb kuru, to carve or to hollow out). Properly speaking, it is a boat carved out of a log, usually of the Japanese redwood (sugi) imported from Japan, but the term is extended to mean any small boat. This type has largely disappeared, and only one remains in the village. The hollowed out boat seems, in this area at least, to have become a lost art. It has been displaced by (3) the hagibune (jointed, pieced together boat). This is also made from the Japanese redwood and is constructed, often by the fishermen themselves, out of planks about 2 1/2 inches thick. There were 40 of these hagibune in January 1952. The number is never constant due to new building, losses at sea, or on shore from typhoon destruction. 501

These small boats do not require much maintenance. At typhoon times, they are lifted from the shore up over the breakwater and lashed down on the side of the road. This may not avoid destruction. If the breaking waves are high and strong, they crush the breakwater, hurling its stones against the boats. Every two months, the boats are thoroughly treated by rubbing with shark oil. Cracks and small holes are repaired with small wooden plugs, called fundu in Okinawan. These are shaped like a stylized butterfly. They are inserted in the bottom of the sides of the boats across the running planks, that is, against the grain. 504 [731] 501 322

3

Common Fish and How They Are Caught

In this area, many different kinds of fish are caught, but the following discussion is limited to the most plentiful and economically 226

3

Division of the Catch

The division of the catch and the division of labor between the sexes in catching and distributing the fish are based on custom. In the memory of old grandmothers in the village, these customs today are substantially the same as they were in their childhood. The innovations since that time have been technical improvements such as flashlights for underwater diving, motors instead of sails or oars, boat building out of planks using modern hand tools rather than carving out logs, and manufactured fish hooks and gear. 226 [178] [227] [50]

The mechanics of dividing the catch depend on whether the boat is a small or a large one. In Hinatogawa, all the boats except one are small so that the division is simple. With the larger boats, the custom is more involved, as more factors have to be considered. 226 476

In the case of the small boats, let us assume that there are two fishermen, the owner and a friend or relative. The value of the catch is Y3500 with Y100 expenses for gas and oil. The net value is thus Y3400. This is divided three ways. The boat gets one share, and each of the fishermen gets a share. In this illustration, the boat owner gets two-thirds of the proceeds, one share as the owner of the boat, one share as a participating fisherman.

These partnerships are very fluid. No agreements are made in writing. Neither are there oral agreements to fish together for any definite period. The partnerships continue as long as the fishermen are compatible and form and dissolve without ceremony or formality. But a practical question does arise in the event of the illness of one of the fishermen.

In this case, a substitute is found for the duration of the regular fisherman's incapacity. This is informal and may be another friend or relative free to help out. The substitute gets the full share of the regular fisherman. In these partnerships, the owner of the boat pays for all repairs that cost money. The other gives his labor for repair and maintenance, such as oiling with shark oil, putting plugs in the holes or in weak spots, or assisting in carrying the boat to a safe place during typhoons.

The division of the catch in larger boats is also best explained by an example. Let us assume an eleven man crew with the corresponding shares:

A The Boat's Share
B The Captain
C The Engineer
D-J Fishermen
K The Cook

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sandstone one sees in the new buildings of Naha often is from the quarries of this area. Stone quarries are scattered in various parts of Okinawa, but the Minatogawa stone is considered the best. 324 [316]

Sandstone quarrying started, according to older settlers, about sixty years ago. Cutting began on the coast, gradually working up slope over rolling stony land. It is an interesting example of the transformation of a landscape by man. Now with the old methods still in use, the cutting has extended beyond the village. Stonecutting operations in the main are in the steep bluffs around both villages, although there are numerous cuttings in the newer settlements of Minatogawa and along the seashore. Frequently the cut stone blocks lie near the temporary Minatogawa tombs which dot the rocky coast. By the simplest methods, large quantities of stone have been and continue to be removed. All work is done by hand; machinery was installed by the Americans after the war, but it is out of working order and stands idle. 316 [133] [764]

Before the war, stonecutting in this vicinity was a more thriving industry than now. Quarries are also found in neighboring Tamagusuku township and there is a distributing outlet in Horikawa, the village across the river. Before the war from 300-500 men are said to have engaged in stonecutting. Now there are about 120 in both villages. Many of these stone workers had come from other parts of Okinawa and the Ryukyus: men from the offshore islands, Ie-shima, the Kerama chain, and Iheya, and on the south east, from Kudaka, Tsuken, and Heanza islands. Most of these settlers from the offshore islands have left. A few, born on Ie-shima, or from the northern district still remain. [464]

Since the war coastwise shipping of lumber and firewood from the north and stone from the south had declined sharply. Trucks have largely displaced the boats. Transport costs are high and the stone is in demand in closer markets. 505 494

2

Acquiring and Working the Land

Customary practices govern the quarrying of stone. These eliminate the need for written agreements. Interested persons know the properties and the possibilities of each site. These customary practices are concerned with the acquisition, the working and the restoration of land. Techniques for working the stone have remained nearly the same for at least sixty years. 316

The stonecutter purchases rights to the stone, not the land itself. When the stone has been extracted, the land is returned to its owner. This is unimproved land, but after the stone has been quarried, a house may be built on the site. When a stonecutter (sekko) wishes to acquire a certain holding, he calls on the owner of the land. Following oral negotiations, the price is agreed upon. A good price 316 425 [435]

313 Home Industries and Famous Products The forested northern mountains give rise to small scale lumbering, charcoal making,
314 and firewood gathering. Kunigami-son and Kushi-son emphasize the gathering of
433 bamboo and firewood. On the other hand the making of charcoal is more import-
[369] ant in Nago, Haneji, and Ōgimi. The urbanization of the south combined with
[391] the postwar extension of roads into formerly inaccessible parts of the north have accelerated exploitation of the northern forest resource. Particularly heavy is the demand for long roof poles, or kichigwā, after every major typhoon.
[237] Kunigami-son and Higashi supply the bulk of these. Where wood is plentiful behind a coastal road, one often finds lime kilns, which process the coral of the reefs.

258 The sea is also a major source of material for home industries. Sea
433 salt is made at Yagaji, Urasoe and Oroku on the west coast, at Henza and Awase
[237] on the east. Kunigami-son prides itself upon its production of seaweed. Buttons from seashells are made in Mawashi. Fish cakes ('kamaboko') are made in quantity in Itoman and Naha, with lesser amounts being produced in Ishikawa and Nago. Dried bonito ('katsuoboshi') is a specialty of Tonaki isle to the west. Motobu-chō holds second place, followed by the western isles of Tokashiki and
505 Zamami. For over a hundred years the small cargo sailboats ('Yambaru-sen')
178 of the east coast have carried forest products from the north. The extension of roads into the northern forests has greatly reduced the amount now carried by sea.

433 Horse breeding is a specialty in Nakazato (the eastern half of Kume-
[232] shima), which has 22% of the gunto's production of horses. However, the pro-
[232] duction of horse and cattle hides is concentrated in the urban areas, which account for 84% of the hides produced. Nakazato is also famous for production
[231] of silk cocoons, being responsible for about two-fifths (38.7%) of the gunto's total. The leading mainland producer is Motobu-chō, with 9%.

Although Okinawa is not self-sufficient in tea, the three areas of
[245] Gushikawa, Ishikawa and Kunigami produce over half of the local tea. In Oku
[474] village of Kunigami, the tea factory is a cooperative venture. Gushikawa
[374] and Chatan pride themselves upon possessing 'sake' and 'awamori' distilleries.
[286] Mawashi is the center of production of farm tools, and accounts for some weaving of banana cloth. Weaving of mats from the "seven isles reed" ('shichitō-i') is a local specialty of Kanegusuku.

[314] Travertine quarries are found in Motobu-chō and Katsuren. A sandy limestone is quarried at Minatogawa in Gushichan.

This island has long faced a serious problem of over-population and food shortage; it is not self-supporting in foodstuffs and mainly derives its livelihood from fishing, shipping and ferrying. It has long had a symbiotic relationship with the neighboring island of Takabanare, supplying fish and shipping-ferrying service in return for food, but this has not been rewarding enough in recent years to offset its rapid population increase. A general postwar decline in coastal shipping largely due to the marked improvement of land transportation in highways and vehicles has sharply reduced the number of jobs in this enterprise, and the return of the repatriates has only added to the number seeking jobs. Military employment, however, has filled this gap and staved off mass unemployment. 621 464 505 433 [438]

At the present time nearly one quarter of the village labor force is engaged in military employment. Nearly all of the repatriates and a large number of old residents have entered military employ. Some of these have established temporary residence on the mainland nearer the military installations. A large number, however, commute by ferry boat and bus each day to their place of employment, and at low tide it is possible to walk the mile across the tidal flats to the mainland. 621 464 [484]

There has long been a tradition for the men of Henza to be away from the village much of time, engaged in activities on the sea. Thus, those who are away much of the time in military employment are merely following a long-established pattern. Unlike the absent workers of Kanegusuku, these people are not considered to be cut off from village affairs. All farming activities, much of the family's economic affairs, and some of the functions of government are carried on by women, contrary to usual Okinawan practice. [562]

The villagers regard military employment as a blessing and feel that it has contributed significantly to maintaining village prosperity. Aside from military employment they have little contact with Americans, although a few boat-owners have rented their crafts to American fishing parties. The villagers and their officials recall with considerable fondness their military government officer in the early days of the occupation. To date Henza relations with Americans have been not only good but also profitable; in short, American stock is high on this island. [829] 621 197 829

<u>Summary</u> On Henza and to a far smaller degree in Kanegusuku military employment has largely drawn off the surplus and largely landless population that formerly would have emigrated to other parts of the overseas Japanese empire. In Jagaru and Tobaru military employment has replaced farming as the chief occupation of the villagers. The contribution of military employment to the economy of Kanegusuku is negligible, although it should be noted that the number so engaged increased during the period of the author's study. In Jagaru, Tobaru, and Henza military employment is of vital importance to the village economy, and any sharp decrease will have severe repercussions. 464

<u>Okinawan Attitudes Toward Those Engaged in Military Employment</u> Okinawans make a sharp distinction in their attitudes toward men employed in military jobs and their attitudes toward women similarly employed. There seems to be no stigma of any sort attached to the male who has a job working for the Americans; in fact, 464 562 829

Approximate area in square miles	454	161 133 311
Population density per square mile	1139	
Assumed area in cultivation in square miles a/	134.4	
Population density per square mile of arable land	3851	

a/ See discussion above. The 134.4 square miles is an approximation derived by adding the areas in wet rice, dry land crops, and 18,200 acres which includes land in cultivation, in town sites, military installations, and in idle land, a total of 86,335. An arbitrary approximation of 80,000 acres (134.4 sq. miles) was then taken, very probably too high a figure. Nuttonson, op. cit., p. 12, gives the cultivated area as less than one-fourth of the total area, or 67,200 acres. One of course must distinguish between cultivated land and land that can be cultivated, but 80,000 acres still seems a reasonable approximation.

If we look at the geography of Okinawa from the point of view of the total physical environment and not merely from the point of view of the amount of arable land available to support the people, we are forced to the conclusion that as a result of long settlement, a growing population and the destruction of the war, combined with periodic and inevitable property and crop damage from typhoons, that the environment is not suited for the comfort and well-being of large numbers of people. Intense fertilization will keep the good soils growing crops. Increase of trade and some industrialization may help as long as they do not lead to destructive exploitation of the forests, and some small help may come from the reclamation of unused or cut over land. 178 311 511

5

Conclusion

Almost one hundred years ago, one of the observers on Commodore Perry's expedition wrote, 114 174

> "That the island has been peopled for many ages, is evidenced by the graded roads and deep cuts, the structure and manifest age of the bridges, the antiquity of the villages, the great amount of stone-work in the towns and in the fortresses--some old and dilapidated, some modern and in repair; but, above all, by the incalculable amount of labor done in grading the land for culture. That which is now so perfect, could only have been made so by degrees, like structures reared by the ant or bee."[8]

8 Hawks, Perry's Expedition, as cited, II, 36.

175 167 Another departure from the past was that Okinawans, soon after the turn of the century, were provided with opportunities for emigration. The history of Okinawan emigration is not well known. But in the twentieth century, the people of Okinawa changed from an almost complete ignorance of the outside world to one of the most widely travelled and informed peoples of the Orient. Okinawan settlements in the twentieth century were scattered in many parts of the world, such as Peru, Argentina, Brazil, Hawaii, and the Japanese mandates of the Pacific, Singapore, Japan, Manchuria, and Korea. The cessation of this historic emigration is an event pregnant with meaning for the future. The population and its natural increase now must subsist on the island.

175 480 [238] [161] Late nineteenth and twentieth century improvements in roads and communication, modest as they were by American standards, broke down some of the isolation of the three districts of Okinawa. The forests and the lack of roads to the north had always discouraged contact. Much of the trade in firewood between the north and the south, even up to the recent war, was done by ship. Elsewhere there were only paths and in the north, not even these. In 1895 Chamberlain wrote of the sparsely inhabited northern (Kunigami) forest area whose inhabitants were "despised for their poverty and rough speech by the natives of the central and southern provinces." Later on he remarked about the "groans of Japanese officials when obliged to go their country rounds," and, that, in the north it was necessary for them to carry a tent.[28]

175 177 242 As the main island in the newly created province (ken) of Japan, Okinawa benefitted from the scientific approach to agronomy pursued enthusiastically by the Japanese, in contrast with the Chinese and the Koreans before their annexation. Concentration on the development of suitable varieties of rice, the study of sugar cane, plant disease and agricultural techniques represented a body of knowledge that could be applied with local adaptations to all parts of the empire.

175 178 565 [511] Direct Japanese annexation meant also the disappearance of the top heavy native nobility or gentry (shisoku) to be displaced by the Japanese elite, although membership in the Okinawan nobility continued to be recorded in the family registers up to the recent war. The displacement of the old higher social classes resulted in a certain levelling of all the people, a levelling which continued up to the war, and was accentuated in an economic way by the widespread impoverishment of rich and poor alike in the campaign for Okinawa.

7

Okinawa in World War II

175 648 The terra incognita described by Bayard Taylor in 1853 became the

28 Chamberlain, as cited, 294, 459

Since the war, the old narrow one lane roads have been broadened, permitting heavier auto traffic. Land ownership has been undisturbed, for it is not in an area in which the military has required land. Since the war, the villagers have tried to return to their former way of life, but this has been done with poorer houses and fewer possessions. 363 403 511

3

Minatogawa

Minatogawa, the second village studied, formerly was a shoe string type of settlement. Houses, shops, drinking places were along the seawall road. This pattern is now altered as a result of the war. Scattered areas have been relocated and houses built on lands formerly used for sweet potatoes. It is now an indeterminate type of village, retaining some indications of its old settlement pattern along the main road, with additions of clusters of houses in the newly settled areas. 361 [275] [311] [244]

Like Hanashiro, this village is in Gushichan township, and located on Highway 64. It is directly on the main historical road, previously mentioned, which led from Naha to the Chinen peninsula. The road, along which its houses are built, parallels for a distance the estuary of the small Minatogawa river. This narrow estuary, called Usaregawa, which connects the river mouth with the Pacific Ocean, and the small river itself (Yuhigawa) is a boundary between Gushichan and Tamagusuku townships. On either side there are steep cliffs, the sites of the best known stone quarries of Okinawa. 361 133 [491] [316]

The settlement and the adjoining lands have an area of about 256 acres. It is a mixed economy village with three distinct occupational groups: fishermen, stonecutters, and farmers. There is a second village whose borders blend with those of Minatogawa. These two villages are now known officially as Minatogawa-ikku and Minatogawa-niku. The two terms can be awkwardly translated as Minatogawa first ward, and Minatogawa second ward. But popularly they retain their older names: Minatogawa for the fishing village, and Nagamo for the agricultural second ward. These two separate but adjoining villages were until 1925 a single village. 621 463

The division was the result of distinct differences in outlook and occupation between the two sections. Minatogawa is a fishing village and has strong ties with Itoman, a town on the East China Sea shore about 4 1/2 miles away. Nagamo is an agricultural community originally settled from Naha and Shuri. Stone-cutting operations spread over both areas. While the fishing village of Minatogawa was given the emphasis in this study, it will be necessary occasionally to include Nagamo in the discussion.[8] [226] [241] [324] [128]

8 The writer did not realize until he lived here that two villages were involved, thinking that the two wards referred to a single administrative unit. By this time the work on Hanashiro had been well started, and time did not permit the intensive study of Nagamo. 114

The strong ties of the family system are probably the fundamental reasons for this lack of strangeness. One is a member of the family, even if in another part of the island or of the world. This sense of belonging, to be emphasised later, is not only an emotional feeling but is a basic fact of social organization. Relationships, regardless of their geographic spread, are a binding force. It is true that these become weaker with the remoter relationships of the extended family, but they are still strong enough to blunt the edge of individual frictions that might otherwise be expected. 571 [602] [156] [578]

There was a niche into which a returning person might fit, whether he was a parent, a first son, an elder brother, an uncle or niece of the head of the household. The repatriates who had been long absent were, in turn, able to make an adjustment to conditions in the island of their birth because they had continued the same social system in their foreign residence. They now had to function in a more restricted and less well endowed natural environment. Dissatisfactions took the form, as they still do, of longing for better economic opportunity which they hope will be realized through further opportunities for emigration. They make comparisons, unfavorable to Okinawa, regarding the ease of making a living in other countries. Repatriates from Japan, who have returned to Okinawan rural life, miss the cities and the more exciting life of that country. Among those who have travelled, there is also a more noticeable discontent and dissatisfaction with the loneliness of rural life. The word sabishii is often on their lips. [554] [178] [511] [156]

The ideas of the repatriated Okinawans, furthermore, are not a new phenomenon in contemporary village life. They did not bring back points of view unknown before. In the past these had been communicated by letters and rare visits to the homeland. The reports of the repatriates were richer, more detailed, and more concrete, but not completely different. They have--and this is probably one of their chief influences on post-war village life--stimulated the strong desire of the villagers to emigrate. Life is hard on the island, and their accounts of greater return for the same expenditure of work have quickened hopes of future emigration. These hopes are confined to the New World, Japan, and the Pacific islands. There is no enthusiasm for migration to other islands in the Ryukyu chain. [185] [167]

4

Attitudes Toward Birth Control

There is little in the religious belief or in the cultural tradition that would induce, in large segments of the population, a strong antipathy to birth control on religious grounds, but these beliefs and traditions are not favorable to it either. Respect for ancestors and the need for the continuance of the family system are the most important of these. It is the duty of each generation to provide this continuity between the past and the future. The links in this chain are male children. Once this 842 [602] [611]

combined with the destructiveness of typhoons, make for an unproductive life in terms of rewards for work done. To these, there is now being added a fourth realisation, that there are too many people in Okinawa. Greater mobility has increased this awareness.[8] 134 [031] [511] [161]

8 These remarks, too, are based on impressions. Neither would I claim that they represent a majority opinion. Polls with samples competently chosen could only determine these attitudes. But complaints about the poorness of the land are proverbial among Okinawans. So are the discouragements coming from the typhoons. 114 208

One of these, the shimba (nnihija in Okinawan) is essentially a concave forked piece of metal set on a frame, which in turn rests on four props set up in sawbuck fashion. The rice sheaves are drawn through the teeth, causing the kernels to drop below. The sawbuck may be any desired height. Usually the top of the fork is waist level. The only significance of the shimba today is that it provides diversion and occupation for the old women, many of whom are too weak or too unsteady to operate the treadle thresher. The same is true of an even simpler device for threshing. Two short pieces of bamboo, or any piece of round wood, a little longer and with a slightly greater diameter than a pair of chopsticks, are loosely tied together on one end with straw or a strong blade of grass. The tied ends of the two sticks are held in the right hand, leaving the free ends to strip off the rice kernels from the straw. This labor is done by very old women. Age is no deterrent to work as long as people are able to get around. But, as in the south, the treadle thresher is universally used. This device was widely distributed by the Japanese agricultural specialists of the government throughout the empire in the years immediately before the war. In Matsuda, it is also thought to be about 15 years since its introduction.

243 407 [887] [177]

As in Japan, from which the terms were borrowed, rice in various stages of cultivation and processing is known by different names. Rice in the hull is momei; unpolished rice is genmai, and polished rice is hakumai. Rice stalks are known as wara.

824 192

Hulling and polishing rice by machinery are also new in Okinawan villages. In Hanashiro, those machines driven by an open belt are about ten years old. A hand mill, the shiriushi, to be described shortly, was in general use for polishing rice up to 1940.

256

At present everyone, no matter how poor, pays for hulling and polishing of his rice. The mill owner in Hanashiro estimated that the machinery processed in ten minutes the amount of rice that formerly took a day to hull and polish by hand. Poor families do not try to effect savings by hand work. They pay the fee, sell the polished rice, and eat sweet potatoes.

[511] [262]

Unpolished rice is disliked and is never eaten. It is described as hard and bitter in taste. The machinery in a rice mill varies from place to place in quality and modernity. The mill (seimaisho) has two machines: a hulling machine (momitsuriki) and a polishing machine (seimaiki). One simple type of a hulling machine is an endless chain type of mechanism. The rice is put in little buckets on the chain which carry it to rubber layers. As the rice is forced through the layers, the hulls are cracked and pinched off, and are then blown out on a pile in back. After being hulled, the rice goes through the shaft of the milling machine. The shaft housing is grooved. As the shaft revolves, it polishes the rice which is going through it. The shaft also gets heated, and this makes the polishing easier. In the older machine in Hanashiro, the rice was put through the shaft ten times

231
cash income. Pigs are seldom eaten by the family that raises them. [262]
On New Year's, a family will slaughter a pig or three or four families [527]
might co-operate in sharing one. Pork may also be served at O-Bon
and at Jūgoya, the autumn equinoctial holiday season.

A family often gets its start in pig raising by obtaining a loan [426]
from a mutual loan group. (These groups will be discussed later). A
young pig may cost about Y2000. Male pigs intended for market [435]
(nikubuta in Japanese, shishiwa in Okinawan) are castrated two months
after birth. Keeping breeding pigs (tanebuta) is a special business. [232]
Men engaged in this business bring the boar to the pig raiser's home.
Each village has such a businessman or at least has convenient access
to one in a neighboring village. The fee usually charged is Y200. If
the first attempt at breeding is unsuccessful, a second opportunity is
given free. On the third try, the dealer claims his fee again. In
Matsuda, there is a belief among the old that as the tide is coming in,
if a sow is in heat, the male will be able to perform, but that in the
ebb tide he cannot.

Great care is taken in housing pigs adequately, if the family is 231
able to do so. The pig sties made of stone or coral may be better 343
than the houses of their owners. This is by no means so shortsighted
or ridiculous as it might seem. Pigs are the means, one of the very [434]
few means, by which an agricultural family may acquire substantial
sums of cash. To protect this living bank account, considerable sums
are invested in fine stone, or cement floors and an adequate roof.
The pen must be strong to withstand typhoons. With a good pig pen, [511]
a sow, and a good litter, a family can look forward to improving its
financial condition and its own housing. There is great variety in the
quality of pig pens. The pen may be in combination with the outside
toilet, but with the two places completely separate; it may be part of
a larger shed which also houses the goats, the cattle, or the horse. If a
family can afford it, the pig is housed in a stone pen with stone floors,
or with other sturdy materials.

The day to day care of pigs is mostly the work of women. While 231
the husband is at work in the fields, the wife, as an incidental part 824
of her duties, goes to the nearest plot to cut sweet potato tops, or
mashes sweet potatoes in the stone mortar in the compound, often with [462]
her infant child on her back. There are three favorite varieties of
food for pigs: (1) the leaves of the sweet potato plant not suitable for
human consumption or not needed for transplanting, (2) the potato itself.
The poorer grades of potato are put in a stone mortar and are smashed
with a long pole, or pestle. (3) A cloudy liquid consisting of the
sweet potato, waste bean curd (tōfu no kasshu) and water. This is always
given warm. The pig may also get poor rice, or rice spoiled for human
consumption by submersion as a result of a typhoon, or miscellaneous
left overs from the table.

There are no ceremonies in any of the villages associated with 231
slaughtering the pig. Villagers seldom kill their own except on

Alcoholic Beverages

443 Japanese and American canned beer
[273] Japanese type sake (a light rice wine resembling sauterne)
Okinawan sake (awamori)

Miscellaneous

Charcoal sticks
[276] Brass and nickel plated Japanese pipes
Small dishes
[415] Sake bottles
Oil burners to keep mosquitos away
[416] Flashlights, bulbs, and batteries
Matches
Japanese and American tobaccos
Fishing lamps and the ika lamp (fishing villages only)

[437] Transactions are usually on a cash basis, although some customers pay at the end of the week. In one such store, the gross sales averaged Y600 a day with a net profit of about 10%. (The yen is pegged at 120 to the US dollar). During the day and the early evening, the village [366] stores are meeting places, especially if, like Hinatogawa, several together make up a small business center.

443 Supplies are delivered to village stores by truck or sometimes by bus. Often the owner goes to the larger towns to buy. Young boys are 444 an important cog in the distribution system. They deliver candies, cookies, and other small articles which are carried in five gallon lard [857] tins on racks over the rear mudguard of their bicycles. They ride up to the store, count out their candies or cookies, receive payment, and cycle on to the next store over a route which includes several villages. These boys work out of larger towns like Itoman and Nago. Baking goods, [262] bread (pan) really a sweet dough with a jelly-like filling, cookies and candies are distributed in this manner. Sometimes housewives make cookies and cakes to sell to village stores.

443 There is not much house to house selling or soliciting. Occasionally women come to the villages with a selection of ready made clothing or cloth. In Hinatogawa, an itinerant drug vendor periodically goes through the village ringing his bell, selling various Japanese patent medicines mainly for colds, headaches, constipation, and stomach aches.

444 Import stores (hyakuji), also operated privately, are a different 262 kind of enterprise than the village shop. They have been set up under the American occupation. Larger wholesalers supply the village re- 511 tailers. These stores deal in a restricted number of commodities, such as rice, flour, soy bean sauce, wheat, and cooking oils. Sales are made to villagers on a rationing system based on the number in the family, its [442] age distribution, pregnancy, and whether the head is engaged in heavy work. The intent of the import stores is to make food available, at reasonable cost, to those who cannot grow their own, or whose own produce

needs supplementation. Hence, a farmer cannot buy so much as a fisherman. A rice farmer, if he is eligible at all, cannot purchase so much as a sweet potato grower. These stores fill a genuine need. They have alleviated hardship and done much to improve the monotonous pre-war diet. In the villages, they are a concrete reminder of direct American contact. There is not a store in every village, but each village has ready access to one. 444 262 511

The rural blacksmith takes care of the needs of farmers and stonecutters. One such shop in Nagamo serves many villages in the Gushichan area. The forge is of simple construction. The air is blown by a sort of box bellows. The operator sits down, as if he were in a row boat, and by pushing and pulling the handle (which has a T-end grip like a hand pump) moves the piston horizontally back and forth. The blacksmith repairs agricultural and stonecutting tools and makes new tools, chiefly hoes and spikes for the harrow. 326 413

There are no good inns, restaurants or tea houses in the villages. In Hinatogawa a Japanese inn of rude construction and comfort caters to parties for the entertainment of visitors who have business with local people. 265

Getting a haircut or a bath may involve going to another village. Like the stores, barbershops are little social centers, especially during bad weather when villagers are not working and take the opportunity to have their hair cut. 305

2

Mutual Loan Groups

In China and Japan, mutual loan groups have had a long history. In essence, they are groups associated for the purpose of borrowing and lending money, the capital being derived from contributions of the membership. There is an element of chance when members bid against one another or draw lots for a loan.[2] 474 426 [171]

Each member of a loan group advances an agreed upon share. The total amount is then available as a lump sum to one of them as a borrower. The borrower repays principal and interest in monthly installments. The remaining members advance the same amount each on the following month to another borrower. In this way, there is a continuous cycle of lending

2 They are known variously as mo-ai (Japanese), mu-e (Okinawan) tanomoshi and yuirei (Japanese). Groups organized on a monthly basis are tsukikiyurei or tsukimoai (Japanese), and on an annual basis as nimu-e (Okinawan), ninmo-ai (Japanese). At present there are no annual groups because of uncertainties regarding the future value of money. Now loans are normally for a 10-12 month period.

436 175 no native money and used the Japanese cash, and that the Japanese did not permit a native coinage.[2]

436 Up to the war, only bills of low denominations circulated in the villages. In Minatogawa, an old lady, now about 73, said that before the war she had never seen a Y100 note, which at that time was worth slightly over US$25. But since the 19th century, new conditions have pried the farmer loose from barter and self-sufficiency. 434 511 There is little to warrant a belief that rural villages are self-sufficient. The most elementary obligations, such as sending one's children to school, require cash. An average rural family of five may require from Y40-60,000 a year.

[574] Cash outlays include: (1) Entertainment, including the purchase of sake. Entertainment is an integral part of the culture and cannot be dismissed as a luxury. (2) Clothing. (3) Fertilizer. (4) Tobacco. [388] (5) Soap. No soap is made in the home. American soap flakes are highly prized, but generally are not purchased because of the cost. (6) Hair cutting. (7) Food and food supplements, such as noodles [262] and vermicelli types of paste, cooking oils, salt, soy sauce, meat, fish, seaweed (kombu), rice, if not grown and purchases from the import store. (8) Fuel, charcoal, charcoal sticks. (9) Transportation for business or pleasure. (10) Newspapers. Many subscriptions are can- [204] celled when the price goes up. (11) Tools and tool repairs, but maintenance is small after the original investment. (12) School books and [872] contributions to schools for purchasing special items. (13) Medicines and mid-wives' fees. (14) Occasional purchases of lumber, stone, or [651] tile. (15) Taxes.

434 In the farming areas, sugar and pigs are the only significant sources of cash income. Sweet potatoes, rice, eggs, and soy beans may be sold, but the amounts are either too small or the selling price too low to provide substantial amounts of cash. Occasionally younger sons may have jobs which bring in money, and a farmer or his sons may have a horse cart for hire.

In Minatogawa, cash outlays, in addition to the items already mentioned, are required for nets, gasoline, and oil. Cash comes from sales of fish, pigs, and stone. The lack of rice, an insufficient [511] sweet potato crop for year round needs, imports of firewood from the north and the occasional need to purchase grasses for thatch make this community more dependent on cash than the agricultural community.

The economic problem of the fisherman is also different from that of the farmer. Both the farmer and the fisherman must pay cash for medicines, fertilizer, alcoholic drinks, clothing, various special but traditional articles of the diet, taxes, tools, and supplies. The farmer, however, can produce much of his food. He can exist on sweet potatoes, bean curd, and bean paste soup, and if need be may spend little money on food. The fisherman cannot exist on fish alone. Fisherman without fields must depend on cash earnings to buy the

2 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, Vol. I, 160, 220-21. Chamberlain, The Luchu islands and their inhabitants, Geo. journal 5 (1895), 313.

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[437]

necessities of life. Fishermen are more accustomed to dealing in currency transactions and these are more frequent and freer than in the farming village.

The economic history of the average Okinawan agricultural village from the late 19th century when Japanese control became firm to the present is largely an account of the fluctuations in rice, sweet potato and sugar cane production. This history is difficult to reconstruct on a local level because of the destruction of records and inexact memories. The point is nevertheless worth making, if only to stress again that these villages are not isolated rural economies. The general experience seems to have been that crop acreages have contracted and expanded in response to local needs and to the demands of trade with Japan.

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[439]

In the Hanashiro area, to use one example, there is a current interest in rice production because of its high value, and sugar cane seems to be displacing some sweet potato acreage. Sugar, even though coarse and unrefined, has a market in Japan strong enough to warrant production for the cash income at the expense of the cheap and plentiful sweet potato.

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One of the most significant facts of economic life in these villages has been the maintenance of individual farms and crop variety. Plantation monoculture, subject to international price fluctuations and often conducive to local impoverishment, has not developed.

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Private ownership in land, the inheritance of land within the family system, individual farms, tiny as they are, have undoubtedly been a stabilizing influence on these village economies.

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1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

The Daily Diet

There is little variation in the basic diet in any of the villages. Among individual families, the chief difference is in the proportion of sweet potatoes to rice; this depends on economic status and the possession of rice fields, the poorer the family, the greater the reliance on the sweet potato. Except for seasonal foods, the diet is uniform throughout the year. Neither is there much variation in the three meals. The basic foods are: 262 [511]

For breakfast: A soup made out of hot water and bean paste, perhaps with bits of fish or meat added, sweet potatoes, and tea. 262 264 272

For lunch: Rice or sweet potatoes, raw, boiled or fried vegetables, and tea.

For dinner: Bean paste soup, rice if possible, or sweet potatoes, bean curd, and tea.

The foods which supplement these basic items are: (1) Fresh fish in season, uncommon for the reasons given in Chapter X. Imported dried sardines and canned fish from Japan are more common in agricultural villages than fresh fish. Even in Hinatogawa, fresh fish is scarce when the catch is light. In summer, the fish is too valuable to eat and only unsold fish is eaten. (2) In Matsuda village, rice and pork are more frequently eaten than in the two southern villages. Rice and pork consumption is indicative of a higher standard of living. Many families have rice twice a day. Beef may be boiled, and with vegetables added, made into a soup. In the winter, the Japanese dish sukiyaki may be eaten, but the meat in this dish is often meagre. 262 [184] [511] [252]

There are many occasional foods or side dishes of which the following are the most common: (1) bean curd (tōfu). This is made at home by women. (2) Taro (sato imo) boiled and eaten as a side dish. (3) A sweet or unsweetened fritter (tenpura). Japanese tenpura usually is shrimp or other fish fried in batter. Okinawan tenpura may or may not have a filling. Frequently the filling is a paste of brown sugar, or a slice of sweet potato. At celebrations, they may have a meat or a fish filler. (4) The rice cake (mochi) made of glutinous rice (mochigome). (5) Buckwheat paste (soba), and (6) noodles (sōmen). These are fairly cheap and are always purchased. (7) Bread (pan). This is a slightly sweetened large bun, normally with a little jam or jelly filler. The bun is baked in the large towns and distributed generally by boys on bicycles to the village stores. (8) Boiled or pickled radishes, boiled pumpkin cut in small squares and served with a piece of fish or meat. (9) Onion tops and spinach boiled with a seasoning of fish, chicken, or beef. (10) Various vegetables in season. 262 252

593 The husband or father is not a tyrant. Nevertheless the wife is unlikely to challenge her husband directly on any important matter. If she is scolded, she may continue with her work in silence, ignoring her husband.

562 177 Women who have lived abroad in places like Hawaii or who have experienced the metropolitan life of Japanese cities are more likely to be dissatisfied. Occasionally one meets a woman who thinks this is a man's world (otoko no tenka) and that women should have more privileges than they now have. This attitude has been sharpened through American influences, directly by contact with American soldiers and civilians, indirectly by discussions which appear in Japanese periodicals of the life of American women. How widely this attitude exists is difficult to say, though I believe that at present (January 1952) it is not a strong force among women in the villages.

562 Though her place is at home, the woman is by no means removed from the wider aspects of village life. She may take an active part in the Women's Association. She may handle the family money or part of it. She may operate a little store to supplement her husband's income from the fields, or if she is a widow, to provide for her own support. She may participate in mutual loan groups. And she may be the head of a household.

8

Public Health

The people of the villages are conscious of health and sanitation, an awareness gained under the Japanese. This awareness and desire for cleanliness and sanitation meet major obstacles in the lack of running water, the distance to public baths, the expense and trouble (or both) of heating quantities of water, the cost of soap, the poorness of the outdoor toilets especially in the devastated areas.

515 511 751

An analysis of village health problems requires the specialized knowledge of the physician or doctor of public health. The observations of a layman however may have some interest.

511 364 751 The general sanitary conditions are not good. The weak spots are (1) Poor outdoor toilets and their haphazard location with relation to wells. (2) The dirty and smoky Okinawan kitchen. Many have dirt floors and little effort is made to keep them clean. The situation is better with the stone floor or cemented kitchen. Women complain about smoke smarting and injuring their eyes. All of the rooms of an Okinawan house, especially in winter, are likely to be very smoky around meal times. (3) Food preparation and dishwashing are often done in dirty surroundings. Foods are fried or boiled, and this is all to the good. In making tea, the water is seldom boiled; more often it is only brought to a boil or allowed to get hot.

Okinawans

164 blame tooth decay on the brown sugar. It may be diet or water.
[753] Use of tooth brushes varies considerably with individuals and
[515] families.

The standard of cleanliness in Okinawan homes is not high,
515 but this cannot be ascribed to indifference. One should constantly
511 bear in mind that it is easy to keep clean with plenty of soap, showers, hot running water, washing machines, and flush toilets.

9

Native Medicine

278 The native medicine has already been referred to in the discussion of fish and wild plants used as medicines. Their use has declined with growing reliance on manufactured drugs and pharmaceuticals.

757 The golden needle (kinbari) is still used by rural doctors (yabu)
[759] in the treatment of inflamations of the joints and rheumatism. There was one such doctor in Minatogawa, but ordinarily he is called only when real medical attention is not available.

The needle is scarcely thicker than a horse hair. It is encased
[913] in a shaft about 2 3/8 inches long. The grip or base of the needle is 3/4 of an inch long and the needle itself 1 7/8 inches. The needle is tapped and gradually worked into the affected part, and a length from 3/4 to one inch is broken off and allowed to remain in the body and circulate to effect its curative powers.

Blood letting is still practiced, often by the individual himself. Thin cuts are made with a razor, generally on the forehead above the eyebrows and slanting toward the bridge of the nose. This is done to relieve headaches and general pains and may be resorted to after aspirin has failed to relieve a headache. On a close look, one can often observe the slight, thin, long scars, which look like tiny wrinkles, resulting from these slashes. During the operation, a sake cup is held up to the place being cut. The cup may even have a little sake in it. When done by a native doctor, the blood may be sucked through a small tube and allowed to drip into a sake cup.

Cauterization using moguza (moxa) also is still common. One can frequently see scar tissue, the results of burning moguza on the flesh, usually in the area around the wrist. Moguza is applied with glowing charcoal sticks, burning thread, or tobacco. It is used for no specific complaint, but as a counter-irritant cureall for a wide variety of ailments.

Acupuncture apparently is little used now. Formerly an area was pricked with a needle, or a series of needles brought to a point, and
[386] an indigo dye applied. One can observe these round spots, circles of dots, occasionally on the shoulders and the backs of older people. These should not be confused with tattooing.

769 finished the restless children already had become noisy. The ceremony
793 completed, the priest exchanged a few courtesies, explained the sig-
788 nificance of the chant to the father, received a gratuity and left shortly after. The women and the children soon retired, and the men were served saka, but the party was more subdued than the usual social affair.

769 These ceremonies in memory of the dead are the responsibility of
• 511 the head of the house. These, and not the family tombs, are the real financial burdens. Since the war, village and township governments, and community organizations have tried to persuade the people to spend less on these and to spread what good food they have more evenly throughout the year.

829 They have tried to standardize gifts at marriage, on birthdays,
511 and at deaths, and to cut down the cost of food by simplifying the banquets. In this they have been at least partly successful because everyone recognizes the difficulties. Villagers do not like to spend all their resources on celebrations, and yet, there is an obligation which cannot be avoided. Two sensible adjustments have been made. Economies have been effected in the food served, and, whenever possible, celebrations or holidays that come close together are combined. The 7 year memorial service, described above, was combined by the family with the festival of the autumnal equinox (higan).

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

the war, the upper stratum of society consisted of Japanese plus a few highly placed Okinawans. With the departure of the Japanese, there was no well developed class structure among the Okinawans to succeed to the Japanese hierarchy. Today in these villages, there are inequalities in economic well-being, and certain individuals or groups have greater prestige than others. But these, I am convinced, are not to be traced to a class structure. Any division of the village into upper, middle, and lower classes would be artificial and would put a strain on the facts. Differences, where they appear, are the result of individual qualities, such as age, the possession of land or money, or personal character. 565 [563] [511] [554] [554]

In the old Loochooan kingdom, there was a rigid class stratification based on the Chinese model. The Japanese abolished the Loochoo nobility after the islands became a province, but, according to Furness (1899), "the people still cling to the old custom."[1] Despite the abolition of the nobility, distinctions between noble and commoner were made up to the recent war. In the family registers, descendants of the Loochooan nobility (shizoku) were so designated. But all villagers agreed that these distinctions had no meaning or value, either for preferment in the Japanese service, or for one's social standing among his countrymen. For all practical purposes, everyone was a commoner. Since the war, the fact that one is a descendant of the Okinawan nobility is, if possible, even more inconsequential. No notation is made in the family register. Most men over 35 can tell instantly whether a given surname is of noble or common origin. 175 565 183 565

The number of these descendants of nobles must be very great. Chamberlain in 1895 reproduced a table, which he said he had every reason to believe was accurate, showing an absurdly high proportion of nobles to commoners. These statistics were from the census of 1891 and for the entire Ryukyus:[2] 565 162

	Household Heads	Families
Princes	2	35
Nobility and Gentry	22,567	95,082
Common People	57,981	235,213
Total	80,550	330,330

1 Life in the Luchu islands, as cited, 7. For rank distinctions based on caps, stockings, sashes, and hair pins, see Simon, as cited, 155, 156-59. Hawk's Perry's expedition, as cited, Vol. I, 224, Vol. II, 48. Basil Hall also gives rank orders in an appendix. Perry considered government by this nobility very oppressive. The CA Handbook Ryukyu (Loochoo) Islands gives the historical background of the class structure and its manifestations in government.

2 In the article cited from the Geo. jour. 5 (1895), 298.

512 513 is more likely that the majority of adults have to be satisfied with six and a half hours.

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Chapter 3

Basic Economy

INTRODUCTION

241 433 Taira depends on its fields and forests for a living. Rice and the sweet potato are the principle staple crops; wheat, beans, and vegetables are additional subsistence crops. Firewood and building materials, sugar, pineapple, and silk are main sources of cash. Tea is raised for home consumption.

311 [343] [344] Since the few rivers around Taira are short and the valleys narrow, the area available for wet rice cultivation is limited. Farm land for sweet potatoes is also not too abundant in this mountainous region and is located either on the gently sloped hills or on a few plateaus between valleys. Here and there it rises on skillfully terraced steps along the steep sides of mountains.

311 423 241 The size of land holdings and the quality of soil partly determine whether a family is able to grow additional cash crops or merely subsist. The average holding for each family is about 5 acres of rice land and 6 acres of other farming land. Yet it is important to note that the range and quality of this land vary widely. Some families own only 1½ acres of rice land and an acre of other farm land, while others own as much as 14 acres of rice land and 12 acres of other farm land; good rice paddies produce three times the quantity of poor ones and are wet enough to allow for two crops per year. Of the 141 families questioned, only 15 grew enough rice to be self-sufficient; 123 had to buy extra rice; and only two families raised a surplus for sale. All families grew enough vegetables for home use, and only 18 bought sweet potatoes. Sixty families grew a surplus of vegetables and 16 a surplus of sweet potatoes.

[433] [511] [433]

3: Pitts et al.

AC7 Okinawa AC7

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514

[For information on health and sanitation, see also Category 751.]

[Kitazato]

is paying adequate rentals for lands used in Japan, and it is their contention that Okinawa is being discriminated against because she is weak. Because of this some wish that Japan were back in control, believing that their interests would be better served. One hears no comments on the presence of Americans in the islands or on the legality of building bases there, for they concede that the outcome of the war granted that; yet, they are bitter about the loss of their livelihood and what they feel to be neglect on the part of the military government. Long accustomed to a paternalistic government which directed many aspects of their lives, they are now at a loss to understand this seeming indifference to their present circumstances. They are completely unmoved by argument, which might seem logical to an American, that Congress has not appropriated sufficient funds, for they do not distinguish between the various divisions of American government---it is all American to them. They point to the high standard of living enjoyed by the American personnel and their families stationed on the island and make the inference that there seems to be no lack of funds for their needs. 621 829 727

The villagers say that they have received three payments from military government through May, 1954. The first of these paid for the cost of removing and rebuilding their homes. This amounted to a flat payment of ¥6000 ($50) per house, which they say was inadequate. The first of the land payments was made in June of 1953; the villagers assert that they were paid at pre-war rates, and one person who owned 5480 'tsubo' described the payment as a "laugh". The second payment for the use of their lands was made in May, 1954, while the author was studying the village. This time the payments were said to be substantially higher especially in certain categories; yet, they contend that payments are still far below current rentals. In this payment, ¥5.40 per 'tsubo' per year was paid for grade one house lots, but in Kijikina the owner of one house claimed that he paid ¥24 per 'tsubo' per year for rental on his house lot. Grade one dry fields were paid for by the military government at a rate of ¥3 per 'tsubo' per year; the farmers say that they can get about ¥60 per 'tsubo' in annual yield if this land is planted in beans or potatoes, and local rentals on this same type of land are about ¥15. They are angry at receiving but ¥3 for their land and having to pay ¥15 to rent equivalent land. They are also dissatisfied with the manner of payment for grass land and tomb land which are paid for by the plot regardless of size; thus, they say that the person who has two small plots of 10 'tsubo' each receives twice as much as the man who owns a single, larger 100 'tsubo' plot.

Effect of the Land Loss on the Village: Physical Appearance On first entering any one of the three segments of Kitazato one is struck almost immediately by a level of poverty considerably below that of other Okinawan villages. This is particularly true of Hama, whose houses are jammed tightly together on a treeless beach. Most of the houses consist of a single room which serves as living and sleeping quarters; a small lean-to kitchen is attached on the side. The floor space of the houses was considerably smaller than those of Kanegusuku. Several brackish wells supply the community with water. The Anahana and Kijikina settlements in the hills have a more attractive appearance due to a large number of young pine trees and a small stream in the area, giving a park-like atmosphere; however, 621 735 511 [342] [312] [342]

511 [Kitazato]
621 the houses are the same small, poorly-built structures of thatch and scrap
735 lumber that are found on the beach. By way of contrast, the house which
[342] the author rented in Kanegusuku was the poorest and shabbiest in that vil-
[184] lage; yet, the same house in Kitazato would easily have been the best.
Shabby appearances are not limited to houses, for the people too are more poorly dressed than elsewhere on Okinawa.

621 Food Nearly everywhere on Okinawa the authors heard that the peo-
511 ple are eating better today than before the war; such is not the case for
262 Kitazato, and the villagers are most emphatic about this. Potatoes, beans, and other vegetable products form the mainstay of their diet; often times, they say, potatoes are dug up before they are fully mature, so great is the pressure for food. It is the opinion of the local agricultural office that the people are slowly starving to death, and the villagers state that they are always hungry. The local storekeepers say that the people do not have enough money to buy canned foods to supplement their diet. Though Hama is
[226] virtually on the water the villagers do no fishing since the occupation is regarded as a foreign one; however, some shell fish are collected by the women.

621 Exodus of Youth One of the marked features of the village is the
511 general absence of young men and women in the fifteen to twenty-five age
166 group, for as soon as the student completes junior high school, he or she heads for the city seeking employment. A number of the families in the village are said to subsist mainly on the money which their children send back. According to the mayor 61 families have left the village since the end of the war; he feels that if they had not left, things would be much worse. Most of those who left were families containing grown children who could work; the parents in some cases were reluctant to leave, but their children were anxious to leave. A slight decline in military employment in early 1954 resulted in several of these families' returning to the village, and the mayor was apprehensive lest more return.

621 One characteristic of the population of this village which struck
847 the author was the disproportionate number of females to males in the age group under five years. In this group there were 64 males and 33 females, whereas the groups above were more nearly proportionate. Female infanticide has been a common occurrence during times of famine or under conditions of extreme poverty in Japan and China, and the authors heard several stories giving some evidence of it on Okinawa. No factual evidence of any sort was gathered by the author in Kitazato to corroborate this interpretation of the statistics; however, the fact that the permanent resettlement of the village in its present locations took place approximately six years ago in 1948 may lend some credence to this interpretation.

621 Attitude toward Americans The villagers' initial reaction to the
829 presence of the author in the village was one of fear and veiled hostility. Gradually this was overcome, and good rapport was established. During one
[123] of his last visits to the community the author was told, "The first day you were in the village everyone wondered if the military were going to make us move again. No one slept that night." At the same time the villagers are

Moreover, during the last days of the battle and for a period of nearly a year afterwards the Yamada people, like most other villagers in the vicinity, lived a concentration-camp sort of existence in the very crowded and unsanitary city of Ishikawa. Then when they returned to their village they had to rebuild their houses from materials given by the Americans and from salvage. This experience undoubtedly had a bad effect on morale and perhaps also on standards of cleanliness. Yet Yamada appears to be a cleaner village than many seen in Southern Okinawa. This may be because of its less dense concentration of houses and its fairly good water system. 178 751 727

Economic factors can be summed up in the single word "poverty". The most modern knowledge and the best intentions are not sufficient if one has to carry water from a distance, has no money for soap, and has little strength left after the daily grind of making a living. 751 511

3. The Supernatural and Disease

The Okinawans, like all peoples, have a large body of traditional knowledge about the ills of the body and what to do about them. As among many peoples with little contact with Western science, a great many illnesses are attributed to causes that we would call supernatural. Thus before one can understand the Okinawan view of diseases one must understand some of the Okinawan concepts of the supernatural. 753

Concepts of the Supernatural The living human being, according to Okinawan belief, contains two entities, the mabui (or mabuyaa, possibly related to Japanese 'mamori', "guardian") and the shii (pos. ident. with Japanese 'sei', "essence"). These correspond to the Western concept "soul". According to some informants the two are the same, but then further conversation reveals a difference in usage that must reflect a difference in concept. It appears that the mabui is a discrete entity capable of being dislodged from the body without death resulting immediately. The shii on the other hand appears to have more the nature of a force that can be augmented or diminished. 774 778 [771]

What happens after a person dies is not altogether clear (see also Chapter V). According to some he becomes a "Buddha" (Japanese 'hotoke'), according to others he becomes a "god" (Japanese 'kami-sama') and ascends to Heaven. This happens if all goes well, if the person dies in a normal manner and has left no important task undone, and if his family makes the proper offerings. However, if such is not the case, he may become a ghost and haunt this world. Several terms are used for dead persons in this latter form---yanamung ("bad thing"), yanakaji ("bad wind"), majimung (?), shininchu ("dead person"), shinigami ("dead god"), shinimabui ("dead mabui"). The last term, shinimabui, contrasts with ichimabui,("live mabui"), used for the displaced mabui of a living person. All of these terms seem to mean the same thing, the dead who are not cared for and who are therefore a potential danger. 775

The dead who are cared for are said to ascend to Heaven (in Japanese, 'Ten ni agaru'), but they may also be present in the tomb and at

434 salaried employees has greatly increased the amount of money in circulation.
178 The large expenditures made by members of the military forces have also con-
464 tributed significantly. The farmer, in turn, has been able to realize a larger return for his products than was formerly possible, and in many farm villages a sizable number of individuals are engaged in military employment..

Farmers are spending more than ever before; self-sufficiency has further declined in that many articles formerly made at home are now purchased.
[511] The standard of living, especially diet, is said to have improved considerably.
[592] Formerly all income and resources were controlled by the household head for the entire family; today individual purses are said to be increasingly common.

621 Community Organization and Social Structure The solidarity and
178 integration of the village was severely diminished by the war and its aftermath. The prewar village was quite homogeneous; most of its families had resided there for many generations, village marriage practices tended to be endogamous, and nearly all were engaged in farming as their major occupation. Today in most villages there are a number of families new to the village since the war, and there are an increasing number of individuals who are employed outside the village in non-agricultural pursuits. Both groups tend to play a lesser role in community affairs than the old residents who continue to farm.

476 There has been a considerable decline in reciprocal labor exchanges.
178 The man who is daily employed outside the village is automatically prevented from participating in such ventures. The widow who heads a household without any adult male members is often unable to participate or must limit her participation since a day's work by a man must be matched by two by a woman. Likewise the man who hires a bulldozer to clear some land or build a rice field instead of engaging his relatives and neighbors in a cooperative exchange is also contributing to the decline of the practice.

369 Formerly those who left the village usually emigrated to other parts
178 of the Japanese Empire, but today they usually obtain employment in the cities
621 or military camps. Consequently, they continue to exert some influence in their place of origin, since interaction is more likely.

621 In a community like Kitazato which has suffered poverty, hunger, land
178 loss, and exodus of members to other communities, there seems to be a reintensification of community spirit stressing cooperation and unity. This is in marked contrast to Kanegusuku and elsewhere, suggesting that when a major value---communal unity---is directly threatened, there is a reaction and reintensification of this value. Elsewhere where the process of change has been more subtle, no reaction has occurred.

565 Okinawan class divisions were officially abolished early in the period
177 of Japanese administration; yet they continued to be of some importance with regard to status and marriage for some time. Today people say that they are no longer of any importance except to a few of the very old. Distinctions on
[559] the basis of wealth were largely erased by the war. It is frequently said, "After the war everyone was equal."

2. Military Employment

W. P. Lebra

464 An important factor in contemporary Okinawan life is the large number of people engaged in military employment or in subsidiary occupations. Over [177] twenty-five percent of the total Okinawan labor force is so employed, and their day-to-day contact with Americans has far-reaching implications for Okinawan-American relations. It is also a factor of prime importance to the Okinawan economy.

In studying and visiting a number of Okinawan communities the authors noted a considerable variation in the importance of military employment to the community, the role of those so employed in village life, and the attitude of the villagers toward these people.

621 227 Kanegusuku The farming village of Kanegusuku was less affected than most communities by the war and subsequent occupation, little land was ruined, no military installations are in the area, and the majority of villagers are attempting to carry on as before the war.

621 464 Out of a total population of 507 persons, constituting 103 houses, there are but twenty men employed outside the village. Of these twenty men, seven are directly engaged in military employment and eight more are employed by civilian construction companies engaged in military construction. These individuals commute from the village each day to the greater Naha area. In most cases these men come from houses which have insufficient land for mere subsistence, or they are younger sons who are without land and/or who have not married and set up households of their own. Several are newcomers to the village since the war.

621 464 166 In the past a few who have secured jobs in military establishments or in subsidiary employment have left the village and established temporary residence in the city or near the camp. One of the motivating factors for making the move is a monthly saving of ¥600 ($5.00) in bus fares, but certainly another and perhaps stronger motivation has been the desire to escape the dreary life of the farm village. These people say that they do not wish to return to the village; yet, they have retained their land as an insurance 621 464 829 against job loss. Most do not seem to regard military employment as a permanent career. They hope to save enough money to establish a small business or at the last resort to return to the village and buy more land.

Villagers regard those who have been able to secure military employment as rather fortunate individuals. In most families the additional income [511] is most welcome as it provides a standard of living considerably above subsistence farming. In the case of those families where the husband or house- [462] hold head is employed outside the village the wife usually farms the family vegetable plots.

621 464 In most cases those who are engaged in military employment, or in any employment outside the village, do not play an active role in village affairs.

133 Hanashiro and Oushichan villages to a broad semi-circular valley, the
361 Oushichan plain, with a gentle gradient sloping to the sea. Shortly before the coast is reached there is a sharper drop, and it is in this depression along the shore and the coastal strip that the fishing village lies.

134 The Okinawan clay loams and the Chinen stony clays are also the
133 predominating soils of the area. There are about 85 acres of the gently sloping clay loams, 155 acres of the gently sloping Chinen stony clays. While moderately fertile and well drained, these soils are also shallow and stony, with obvious defects for the pursuit of agriculture. There are 10 acres of deep, fertile poorly drained, slightly acid alluvial soils. These occur along the river and its estuary and in a small former river mouth to the south. There are about six acres in rough stony land.

731 The village has very little storm protection. There are no shelter
133 belts around it, nor are there many trees within. It is open to storms
417 and typhoons, and the water, lashed by the sea, is sufficient to break and scatter the large stones of the seawall. At present, inside the village there is none of the privacy typical of the agricultural villages and their compounds. There are few trees, shrubs, or fences. In the
361 older part of the village, the houses are closely set together. Fishing
351 nets hang on the lines of the yard. In season, the yard is covered with
227 drying fish, fish fins, and fish backs. The yards and the shore are dotted with men cleaning or repairing their boats.

362 The lack of natural beauty of the place is accentuated by the poor-
517 ness of the houses and the other buildings. Its atmosphere is unmistakably
484 different. The village is more commercial and more lively than the quiet and concealed agricultural village. Life is not so much of a routine, for much depends on the weather and the sea. The village has people who have travelled widely. Some of its fishermen have been in the waters of Java, of the South Seas, of the Andaman Islands, the Philippines, and Indo-China.

438 The village's main commercial contacts are with the remaining agricultural villages of the township from which it must obtain much of
[311] its food, for the area is not suited to agriculture, nor is much land available. For wider contacts, there are Itoman about 4 1/2 miles, and Naha about 8 1/2 miles away. Buses go through the village twice a day.
494 The three wheeled cycles are irregular but come and go more often. Fish
368 is sold at Naha. The theatre for the travelling troupe of actors from Naha and for movies is in Horikawa across the river. Many visits are
574 also made to Itoman to see relatives and friends.

The war was even more catastrophic for Minatogawa than for Hanashiro.
727 Before the war, Minatogawa was a thriving, prosperous and well built up small town. About 70% of its buildings had a tile roof and 30% had
[361] thatch roofs. There were about 30 stores, sake shops and drinking places, including a geisha house, along the road, serving the fishermen and the stonecutters. Of the 430 buildings in the area, only three were left

8

Daily Life of the Fishing Village

512

Fishing families may have informal gatherings toward the end of the day. On a late summer afternoon, the family may sit in the open doorway of the house, for hedges, fences, the barriers, and trees are rare. The wife may be nursing her naked child. Her husband, a fisherman, has changed into his indigo blue and white striped kimono, a tall, broad, deeply tanned man. Next to him sits his mother, over 70 years old, her hands tattooed, as are those of all the old women. She is wearing a kimono of the same color, but of a dot pattern. They sit on unrolled mats. On the veranda, three or four men, unwashed and still in their work clothes, discuss the events of the day. A lacquer tray with tea cups is on the floor near them and the tea (as it so often is) may be cold. There is brown sugar to eat along with the tea. The grandmother may be economically smoking a half or a third of a cigarette in the typical Japanese pipe. As it grows later, the wife gets up, pours some water in the stone mortar, and smashes the sweet potatoes with the long wooden pole. The men continue talking for a while, then take their leave. The wife, her work at the mortar finished, goes into the dirt kitchen to start the evening meal.

[351] [853] [291] [304] [285] [415] [263] [206] [252]

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The wife of the fisherman has worries that do not bother the farmer's wife. There is always the danger that her husband, or son, will not return, a real possibility, of which the frequency of widowhood in Minatogawa is proof. Every season, there is at least one instance of a fisherman who has either been lost, or whose delay in returning has provoked intense worry. If crews are still out when an unexpected storm arises, there is considerable tension in the village. Since the war, rescues at sea are more likely than before. The village headman quickly reports overdue boats. The American forces have created much good will in seeking fishermen lost at sea.

[165] [648]

562

Women, on the other hand, have opportunities for leisure when the catch is light, or weather is unfavorable. At these times, they can busy themselves with other tasks, in the field, gathering stones, getting miscanthus, but they do not have the unremitting activity of the woman in the agricultural village. There is more visiting during the day than one observes in an agricultural village.

[961] [517]

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The fisherman, with or without land, tries to keep pigs and perhaps a few goats. In Minatogawa, the pens are often made of sandstone quarried here. Not only the floors and the sides, but the stalls are made of this material. One reason for this is the openness of the village and the danger that pigs will be killed in a storm. A typhoon may carry away the house, its owners having gone to the stronger house of a friend or relative, but pigs are an investment and an asset to be guarded.

[343]

512 821 A fishing village has a different kind of regularity than an agricultural village. Activities in both are determined by the weather. During a heavy rain, everyone is in his house. But the farmer, even with a dark angry sky, can work up to the storm, and often continues working in a mild rain. The fishing village is guided both by bad and anticipated bad weather. On a fine fishing day, the village seems deserted with the men gone, and the women in the homes. But several days of rain or unfavorable weather keep the men home, and the village is alive with other activities, such as repairing nets, boats, and houses. Much of the fisherman's work at sea is at night, either in the actual fishing or in going and coming. For this reason, there is considerable daytime sleeping among them. [513] On off days, the young fishermen loll around, often finding it difficult to pass the time away.

9

Conclusion

226 184 Fishing has become the occupation of a few places, such as Itoman town, some villages on the Motobu peninsular, and Minatogawa. Ryukyuans have achieved considerable fame for their skill in fishing in waters other than their own, such as their drive-in net fishing in the East Indies and around Singapore.[3] Possibly it is the fewness of good ports, the necessity of adapting requirements to varying local geographical conditions, such as the coral reefs, or the long period of emigration that have prevented the large scale development of fishing on this island and insured the dominance of an agricultural life.

262 It is also a striking fact that, on this small island where no village is far from the sea, fish is an uncommon article of the diet. The explanation is simple. It is a problem of distribution in which [435] two considerations are involved: the higher prices obtainable in Naha, [251] and the difficulties of preserving fish while distributing them through [439] the rural villages. More often than not, the fish in a farmer's diet is the dried sardine or a canned fish from Japan, not the local catch.

Part 2

The Quarries of Minatogawa-Nagamo

1

Introduction

324 Minatogawa is famous throughout Okinawa for its stone. Stone from the village and its environs may be seen in many towns and villages [458] of the island. Before the war, there was a flourishing boat trade in wood and stone between Minatogawa and the northern region. The fine

3 For a recent statement, see Aquatic resources of the Ryukyu area, as cited, 7-9.

3

Daily Work Habits

512 The people of a village are continually busy. Their daily work habits depend on the season and the type of work. The work day of the fisherman is the least predictable because his activities are more sensitive to the present and anticipated weather. Most farmers continue working in their fields in a slight rain, but activity ceases with heavy rains. While the farmer works steadily and hard, there is a certain elasticity in his schedule. He does not go to the fields every morning at exactly the same time. Neither does he feel compelled to put in a full day's work every day; he is guided more by the tasks to be done. Work is interrupted by an occasional smoke or conversation with friends or neighbors passing by. There is a routine in daily life, but it is not strictly adhered to. Meal times vary from day to day sometimes by an hour. Time may be taken out from the fields to gather firewood, make bean curd, to dry out bean pods, or to fix up one's house. Three or four days in a row may be devoted to helping with another's house. The sun is the guide to time. Most houses have clocks but few are running and they are not well regulated. Perhaps the chief distinction between agriculture and fishing work is that in the former, the tasks of all blend together.

[269] [476] [805]

A farmer's work day in summer begins about 8 or 9 in the morning and ends almost the same time in the evening. Full advantage is taken of the daylight hours. In summer, the evening meal is not eaten until 9 and often later. By the time the meal is finished and the table cleared, it is ten. After short visits within the family, or with neighbors, the farmer retires about 11. In the winter, the routine is the same, but the day's work stops earlier, and the evening meal is at about 6 P.M. The fishermen do not have this unbroken routine. There is often night work and the day may be used for sleeping. Intense activity is followed by periods of greater or less leisure.

4

Clothing

175 292 565 [286] 291 [537] 000

The history of costume in Okinawa is full of interest, but it is too broad a subject to deal with here. In the old Okinawan kingdom, clothing and its color, hair pins, caps, and other articles of men's wear were used to designate rank. The clothing of the commoners had much less variety. Until quite recently, banana fibre was used in farmers' clothing. A dyed indigo kimono, stripes for men and dots for women, is still worn.

Present day clothing is of a non-descript character. The war

415 not use household equipment in their games. Instead they find broken 857 dishes, old cans, and other discarded items in the trash heap. Children do

354 The kitchen has no equipment other than the open fireplace with [716] three hearth stones and a shelf above it on which a salt column, sym- [654] bolizing kitchen deities, is kept. During the last few years, the Ryukyan government Home Extension Service has been trying to introduce brick stoves into farmhouses. Several families now have this kind of stove although it is expensive to build.

356 As far as can be superficially discerned, the home is kept clean. A visitor usually finds the floor of the house free of dirt. Footgear is taken off before entering, and children are reminded to wash their bare feet before going into the house. Less care is given to the area around the kitchen.

312 Outside the kitchen stand one or two jars to store water. A dipper is 415 kept nearby, and children playing in the vicinity or adults often walk to one of these jars for water, which they drink out of a dipper. There may also be an array of pots, pans, crates, baskets, and other equipment piled up around the kitchen. Knives and hatchets are openly left around among the equipment behind the kitchen.

351 The courtyard is an important place for domestic activities. Here women and girls wash dishes, mix pig food in large kettles, make bean paste in a hand stone grinder, and prepare grain for storage. There are [53] vegetable patches in one corner of the yard, chicken coops, pigsties, [514] goat pens, and an outhouse in another. Most garbage is fed to the pigs; [364] the rest is thrown over the sea wall to roll down onto the beach.

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Chapter 2

Daily Routine

805 There are few clocks in central Taira. Except for the township office, 512 post office, and village store, only two or three families own a timepiece. Twice a day, at noon and 10 o'clock in the evening, a clerk strikes

an empty oxygen bottle with a wooden mallet to mark the time. The noon bell tells people in the fields and mountains that it is time for the midday meal and helps those who have a clock to compare the time. The evening bell indicates that it is time to end the day. Schoolchildren do not need a clock, since they get up early in the morning and go to school soon after, knowing that they are probably early. For most adults, daylight and sun position are enough to tell the approximate hour of the day. Some take arrival and departure of the bus, four times a day, as a point of orientation. 805 512 [864]

Old women are the first to rise in the morning. Long before dawn during the winter, or with the first light of the summer day, they get up and start a fire to boil sweet potatoes and heat the soybean soup. Blue smoke rising through the thatched roof into the early morning sky indicates that life in the village has begun. Children soon awake. The door is pushed open and a sleepy child appears to urinate off the edge of the house. Men are the last to rise. Considering the effect of the sake which they may have consumed on the preceding evening, it is remarkable that they are able to wake up so soon. By 6:30 the sleepiest person has risen. 512 [887] [252] [514]

The addition of outer clothes to the underclothing in which most people sleep is simple. Cold water splashed over the face and a quick turn at the toothbrush is all the toilet needed to begin a new day. [513] [515]

The task of folding comforters and taking down the mosquito net falls to one of the older children or to the mother. Older children and young girls help to carry water from the tank, the first task that has to be done after getting up. After breakfast, women feed the pigs. By about 7 o'clock everybody is ready for work. On a good day people leave for the mountains or start toward their fields—schoolchildren are on their way, too. [857] [462]

By 8 o'clock, except during very poor weather, the village is left to the old people and young children. Little boys and girls hang around, waiting for kindergarten to start at 9 o'clock. Play begins for them after they leave the house in the morning and does not end until evening. [855] [872]

For men and women, the routine of work in fields and forests is prescribed by seasonal activities which demand their special attention, but there are daily chores, such as digging potatoes, picking vegetables, and collecting feed for the animals and firewood for cooking. Only a few men who go to the mountains, taking their midday meal along, are away all day. The rest come and go during the day from the rice paddies, potato fields, or forests, so that there is repeated contact between children and their parents. A young child, even if left in the 512 461 [855]

512 461 care of an older sibling or the kindergarten teacher, therefore has a chance to see the mother. Men and women who have gone to the [855] mountains return with their first load of wood around 10 o'clock. The mother will return again around noon and prepare the midday meal: [962] noodle soup, fried cabbage with dried shrimps, perhaps rice, and always sweet potatoes. After lunch there is a short rest period. During the hot summer months this rest extends to an hour or more, and on the hottest days people lie in their houses sleeping during the noon hours. Midday is also a time for social interaction. There is some visit- [504] ing back and forth. Old people always seek each other's company, and younger ones back from the fields or forest may join them for a while.

512 [231] Toward evening blue smoke indicates again that food is being prepared. Pigs are fed by the women in late afternoon. Then women, young girls, or boys fill water buckets and carry them home. After 5 512 515 there is a heavy run on the tank or faucets, and this is often the time when families start preparing a bath. It takes until dark to warm up an oil drum filled with water and heated underneath by scraps of wood and twigs. People take their bath after dark. Since the bath house was destroyed during the war, ablutions take place outside near the tank under a faucet or in an old oil drum in one's backyard.

512 [231] Young men who return from the mountains wash their horses in the sea. The women who sell fish call on each house at this hour to peddle [438] their wares. The village store, which has only seen a few customers in the morning and during noon, now has its busiest hour. Mothers send their children to buy noodles, kerosene, rice, or seaweed or else they come themselves, a baby on their back or the toddlers following them.

[889] This is also the hour when the young men and women gather to do joint work in the fields of their association or to play volleyball on the playground. Meanwhile, all forest workers have returned and busily cut the last pieces of firewood, bundling them before the store clerk comes along to buy the load. Some adults sit near the playground and watch the children.

512 264 Work goes on until dark. Only then do families gather for the evening meal. During the summer this may be as late as 8 o'clock. For many families this is the only time during the day when everybody gathers in the family circle. At this time family affairs may be discussed and plans made for the next day's work or other pending matters.

512 262 264 The evening meal consists of rice, a bean paste or noodle soup, and some fish. Meat is served occasionally if a goat is killed or on holidays when someone has slaughtered a pig. Most families cannot afford to buy more than small portions of meat, which are fried or made into

soup. Nothing is wasted and leftovers are kept for the next meal. The majority of people are fast eaters, and chopsticks move from bowl to mouth quickly and deftly. Some families eat silently, others enjoy talking during the meal. 512 262 769 [521]

Before and after full moon, people like to go out after supper and gather in small groups by the store to talk and smoke or to visit each other. Less running back and forth is observed during dark nights. There is also a seasonal variation in that respect. On cold winter nights, or when it rains, doors are closed early, and visitors slip into the house by the side kitchen door. On warm nights all houses are open, and one can see people sitting in their living room by the light of a kerosene lamp; passers-by just call over and then go in for a chat. Guests are served tea, bits of brown sugar, and other sweets. Men get together at this time and start talking over a cup of sake. A relative or neighbor, bottle in hand, walks in and joins the party. Here and there somebody pulls a samisen out of the corner and starts singing. 512 374 [521] [262]

Evenings are also the time for village meetings, finance group meetings, family gatherings, and other formal get-togethers. Several times during the week a light shines from the village office or the store office, where some of the village leaders meet to discuss community affairs. In the winter, household-head meetings or other general meetings are called for 8 o'clock; in the summer they do not start until 9 o'clock. In the absence of clocks, few meetings ever start on time. 512 623

The young men and women have their get-togethers at the clubhouse in Udenaha. Both sexes attend, sometimes for lectures by a village official on village affairs, sometimes for lessons in bookkeeping and the use of the abacus in business, for which one village leader dedicates his time, or for other educational purposes. Once a week they have a social evening with discussion and sometimes folk dances. On nights when no meetings are scheduled, young men gather at someone's house to smoke, drink, or sing together. If enough sake is available, parties can become noisy. Occasionally a fight or quarrel starts later in the evening after everybody has drunk steadily. Such interruptions on quiet evenings are rare and seldom occur more than once or twice a month. Loud singing at midnight or later, a group of gay men knocking on somebody's door, these are the only disturbances an early sleeper may experience if a party is held somewhere. 512 883 571 [544] [578]

By 11 o'clock mosquito nets are hung in the rooms and comforters spread on the floor. Except in the house where men gather to drink, quiet descends over the village around that time. Individuals, however, may be seen until long after midnight. Taira goes to sleep late, and although people claim that everyone gets eight hours of sleep, it 512 513

512 513 is more likely that the majority of adults have to be satisfied with six and a half hours.

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Chapter 3

Basic Economy

INTRODUCTION

241 433 Taira depends on its fields and forests for a living. Rice and the sweet potato are the principle staple crops; wheat, beans, and vegetables are additional subsistence crops. Firewood and building materials, sugar, pineapple, and silk are main sources of cash. Tea is raised for home consumption.

311 [443] [444] Since the few rivers around Taira are short and the valleys narrow, the area available for wet rice cultivation is limited. Farm land for sweet potatoes is also not too abundant in this mountainous region and is located either on the gently sloped hills or on a few plateaus between valleys. Here and there it rises on skillfully terraced steps along the steep sides of mountains.

311 423 241 The size of land holdings and the quality of soil partly determine whether a family is able to grow additional cash crops or merely subsist. The average holding for each family is about 5 acres of rice land and 6 acres of other farming land. Yet it is important to note that the [433] range and quality of this land vary widely. Some families own only 1½ acres of rice land and an acre of other farm land, while others own as much as 14 acres of rice land and 12 acres of other farm land; good rice paddies produce three times the quantity of poor ones and are wet enough to allow for two crops per year. Of the 141 families questioned, [511] only 15 grew enough rice to be self-sufficient; 123 had to buy extra [433] rice, and only two families raised a surplus for sale. All families grew enough vegetables for home use, and only 18 bought sweet potatoes. Sixty families grew a surplus of vegetables and 16 a surplus of sweet potatoes.

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as usual. It was an affair organized by the women leaders, which, though 562
a little slow in starting, turned into a gay carousing for the older 575
women, who were less inhibited than the younger ones and needed [888]
little encouragement to drink and dance.

The daily life of a woman is more monotonous than her husband's 562
and she has less leisure and recreation. After a day of hard work, men 512
sit down alone or in groups to spend the evening in relaxation with a [273]
bottle of sake. After a short time they show signs of pleasant intoxication and all burdens of life seem to disappear. Such recourse to carefree diversion is generally denied women. Instead, they are loaded down with household chores and care of infants and guests after a day of work in fields and forests. They spend their little free time exchanging news with other women or talking with other family members or visitors who assemble around the charcoal fire in the back room during [273]
winter evenings. Only women of advanced age feel free to join the men [888]
in drinking at home.

Men have greater sexual freedom. They are at liberty to have affairs 562
with other women outside the village and on trips to the city may 837
visit tea houses and afterwards enjoy the favors of a prostitute if their pocket books allow.

Status differences based on age are reflected in the social structure 561
and clearly denoted in the kinship terms. There is a special term of 554
reference and address for "first son" and "first daughter" and for 593
"older brother" and "older sister." As mentioned, ideally the oldest son assumes responsibility for the household, for his parents, and for the ancestral tablets. Even if he leaves his parental home temporarily or permanently for the city, where economic prospects are better, he remains the nominal household head and sends money back to his family. Theoretically the oldest male may retain authority until death, 887
although in practice most men retire from this position at the age of 561
61. Their retirement is made official by an entry in the population 554
registry. They continue to live with their oldest son and act as advisors [596]
and critics. A man's loss of authority with age occurs around his late fifties and early sixties and is evidenced not only by his retirement but also by his loss of the right to vote in village meetings. Veneration for age itself therefore, does not exist. Actual behavior toward the grand- [576]
parental generation, all the members of which are addressed as "grandmother" or "grandfather" regardless of actual kinship, is warm, mildly playful, and indulgent. Disrespect, however, is absent.

It is characteristic of the relationship between children and grand- 603
mothers that in addressing nonrelated old women, the suffix *-san*, 601
which denotes respect, is most often dropped for the "grandmother"

846 461 before noon but for the fact that she had to return to attend to the infant.

854 853 594 [887] If a grandmother is available, the mother straps the 3-to-4 months old baby onto the grandmother's back in the morning and goes off to the mountains with her husband to haul firewood or to the fields to cultivate sweet potatoes. For the first six months she returns to the house frequently during the day to nurse the infant. It is likely that while the infant demands feeding at short intervals, a mother will work in or around the village. At one of the locations for firewood bundling she can make the bamboo rings, fit the cut wood into them, and stack the bundles.

512 854 [853] [887] Throughout the morning hours grandmother, with the infant on her back, wanders about the village. Occasionally she offers her dry breast to the bawling infant who cannot seem to wait until its mother returns from the fields or mountains. If the mother is nearby, she hurries so that the infant does not cry for long. When the hour for lunch approaches, the grandmother hurries home to begin preparations for the noonday meal. As she walks, the infant's head bobs up and down, forward and back precariously, but it continues to sleep undisturbed.

[264] After lunch has been eaten and the infant nursed, the adults in the household sip their tea and rest for an hour or so. Within that hour the mother may play with the infant or nap with it nestled in her arms. Rousing themselves from the noon nap, the adults return to the mountains and fields. The infant is again strapped to the grandmother's back, but this time as she slowly wends her way to the main thoroughfare, she calls out to someone in a house which boasts one of the few clocks in the village. "Hey, what is the time there?" The answer will quicken her pace, for it is near the time for an older sibling to return from school. As she reaches the main street, she joins other grandmothers as well as mothers who are anxiously scanning the direction from which the schoolchildren return. Each admires the infants on the other's back and exchanges timely topics of the day, but as the minutes pass and no children appear, they begin to grumble about the "irresponsible siblings who *must* be playing on their way home." At last the older child returns, and the grandmother hurries home with her charges, promptly transfering the infant onto the back of the older sibling. The old woman rushes to get her hoe and basket, mumbling to herself about the quantity of potatoes she should harvest for the next day's use.

512 854 887 857

854 857 594 An older child who ignores the crying of his infant charge will be criticized severely by his peers. If the mother happens to be in the

858 doing. He is made to feel and understand that all the things he did as
866 a kindergarten child are reprehensible. His long walks to and from
872 school give him a sense of independence in spite of the fact that classmates and siblings accompany him. The adulation of kindergarteners, who hang on to everything he reports about his new experience, creates in him a sense of superiority which he never fails to emphasize. "You don't know how to write your name . . . see, this is how you write . . ." he fairly sneers at the wondering, admiring 3- to 5-year-olds and scratches the syllabary in the sand with his fingers.

MORNING ROUTINE

●512 The first grader rises early the morning of his first day of school,
872 rushes out to the pot of water standing in the yard just outside the
857 kitchen door, splashes the cold water over his face, brushes his teeth, and re-enters the house. He shivers a bit in the cold, damp morning air
[291] as he struggles to wiggle out of the clothing he wore the day before and into an outfit specially designated for school. He remembers that he has a new pair of canvas shoes and runs out to wash his feet. Clothed and shod he peers into the darkness of the house, waiting impatiently for signs of stirring. From around the corner of the house his grandmother mutters as she goes about her task of starting the fire under the soup pot.

While his mother and grandmother prepare breakfast, he sits looking through his new books; a reader, penmanship notebook, an art book, a music book, and a nature science book. His father is the last to rise, and as he goes stumbling out to wash, his mother calls for someone to amuse the baby who has meanwhile awakened. His older siblings, who are still preparing themselves for school, feign surprise as the new first grader moves to the baby. "Yah! Look, the first grader is all ready!" they laugh.

As the morning meal of rice and soup is hurriedly eaten, the adults instruct the first grader not to disgrace himself and to listen to the teacher. Already the cries of other first graders are urging him to be off to school. The older siblings leisurely gather books and lunches together, but the first grader runs out to join his classmates. All question each other excitedly for "forgotten things." Their mothers stand admiringly, but a few are disgruntled. "It is still too early to start. You are not to be in school until a half hour before the beginning bell," they warn. A sympathetic old woman volunteers, "Go, it is a long way and you will take longer to walk," she advises as the little group starts

off. One or two anxious mothers accompany the group "to see that they will be all right on their first day of school." 512 872

Walking down the road to school, the child smiles proudly as adults comment, "Hah! See how he struts, that big first grader!" He moves to the side of the road as a big lumber truck comes rumbling along and remembers the warnings about the steep bank near the river. The older schoolchildren, walking more leisurely, lag behind and keep a close watch on their younger schoolmates. 857

SCHOOL ROUTINE

When they reach the schoolyard, the older children run to their rooms to drop their books so that they can play unencumbered, but the first graders cling to their books and lunches. Gathering into little groups according to their villages, they inspect each other at a discreet distance. As the elementary school is situated in the neighboring village of Kawata, which is visited frequently by Taira villagers, the children exchange notes on the extent of their acquaintance with this bigger, older place. 872

At last the bell is sounded by one of the teachers. Immediately there is a cry to gather. Each class forms two lines in front of their respective teachers. There is bedlam in the first-grade lines as the only boy from one village is directed into the boy's line and separated from the three girls with whom he had walked to school. The principal calls out impatiently for all to straighten the lines. He calls out signals, "Extend arms forward, palms down, fingers barely touching shoulders ahead." Teachers survey the lines and call out to those who mar them. Arms are dropped. Girls are instructed to stand with their arms to their sides and boys with their hands folded behind them, their feet slightly separated. [516]

From his perch on a 3-foot-high concrete block, the principal calls out the signals again, and the whole procedure of lining up is repeated; this time, however, he holds them at attention in a formal position. In crisp tones he calls out, "Pupils, good morning!" Instantly the children respond, "Teacher, good morning," bowing gravely. There is some confusion in the first-grade lines, but the teachers quickly attend to it. [516]

Standing once more in a relaxed position, the students listen thoughtfully to the principal's message. He welcomes the first graders and commends them for their orderliness but warns them to behave like first graders and not kindergarteners. There is an amused ripple [876]

857 by bystanders. Hurrying home, they put their books away carefully,
[291] change their clothing to that designated for play. The girls, eager to assume their new status and the responsibilities that go with it, hurriedly sweep and mop the floors of the house. The boys, who are less interested, rush out to play. Those with younger siblings are promptly
857 entrusted with caretaking duties, and mothers and grandmothers go
512 off to the fields.

At 8 o'clock each evening, even before the village bell is sounded for schoolchildren to start studying, the first graders are on their way home from their after-supper play time. On a quiet, still night their voices are loud and clear and their recitations spirited in comparison with those of the older children.

OBEDIENCE TRAINING

861 Not only in school is new behavior expected of the first grader. He
865 must now be more obedient toward his elders. Adults, however, differentiate between commands for the performance of tasks and rules of safety. The standard, or more specifically the ideal, would be to command unquestioned obedience in both cases. The practice falls far from this mark, for adults lack persistence and consistency in the
[855] treatment of task performance. Obedience to rules of safety, however, is enforced with greater consistency.

There is, of course, the disposition of the adult at the time when obedience is expected, which the child learns to discriminate very early. Children are more apt to obey their elders when the latter are tired and irritable after a hard day's work than when they are relaxed. It was interesting to observe children teasing parents and escaping obedience when the adults were relatively relaxed. "Bring me those things there," a parent would command a child. The child would laughingly shout "No," and run away without punishment. For this disobedient act a child would be spanked if the parent were tired and harassed. "If you do not listen well to adults, you will grow up to be a good for nothing, a criminal," warns a mother. But adults in their inconsistent handling fail to impress on children the virtue of obedience.

861 It is interesting that, in their relationship with adults other than
their parents, children are often more obedient. People of special
865 status and authority enjoy greater obedience from children. Teachers
554 and village officials usually find their orders fulfilled. Shortly after the new water faucets were installed throughout the village, children be-

855 as the child began to fuss or show signs of fatigue. The kindergarten
593 child often directs his succorant appeals to his father, particularly in a nuclear family, but the father in turn directs the child to his
861 mother. Should there be any discrepancy in thought as to the way a child should be handled in specific problematic situations, the mother will defer out of custom to the father. Such cases, however, are rare, for men, in informal interviews, generally felt that "women knew better" where children's affairs were concerned. Only one out
[124] of 24 fathers believed that he should "train and discipline" the male child and his wife should confine herself to the female children.

The school age child seems to have more fear of his father. "If father is at home," reports one mother, "the children returning from school go about quietly putting their books away, clean the yard, study, then take the younger siblings out with them to play." She added, "If father is not at home, they drop their books on the porch and run out to play, leaving the house and yard in a mess and me with the babies!"

593 It should be noted that fathers spend less time at home than any other member of the household. Men who work in the mountains
● 512 go out after the morning meal and often do not return until dark. A man returning at noon seldom sees the children, who are out playing or at school. Since there are no weekly rest days, children see their fathers mainly in the evening after dark or on holidays. But even then fathers spend their time visiting around or entertaining neighbors and relatives in their own homes. Contact with father is, there-
593 fore, only sporadic and is not affected by a special desire on the part
855 of fathers to spend time with children. It should be noted, however, that the mere presence of the father in the house has an effect on the child's behavior.

Next to mother and grandmother, older children in the household are very important child-rearing agents. These are mostly the older siblings, but occasionally a young unmarried aunt or uncle who lives with the family looks after a child. Children between the ages
[857] of 5 and 12 take care of younger children; adolescent siblings or aunts do so to a much lesser extent. The obvious reason for this is that in the distribution of duties in the home, the care of a younger child falls to those who are not otherwise burdened with such responsibilities as exacting studies during junior high school or economic activities in fields and mountains, which begin after graduation from school. While adults, except for the old folks, are in fields and mountains, a young child spends much of his time on the back of the older kindergarten or school age sibling or as a toddler in tow of an older one.

857 help the people. Then I can buy food with the money I earn and
866 save some for a new house." Other boys, too, revealed a combination of achievement-oriented and nurturant needs and over-all qualities of responsibilities which characterize leading adults in the community. But there are also dependence needs in boys, such as expressed by
[124] this 10-year-old, "I would like to be the youngest baby . . . because everyone loves that one" (in response to the question "If you could be anybody in the family, would you like to be a father, mother, or a baby?") But the answer of a 7-year-old boy: "I want to become father, then I can raise potatoes, rice, and other things" is more typical of the Taira boys in this age group than the previous one.

Girls were quite explicit in their nurturance motivation, but they, too, used answers to reveal other desires. "I'd like to be mother so that I can cook and go to the mountains" (6 years); "I'd like to be 14, then I can fetch water and go on real errands and get money," and by the same girl (7 years), "I would like to be like K. (a girl of about 20 years) because she is an employee of the *yakuba*" (the servant and general helper at the township office). Several girls wanted to be the age of their older sisters, because, as one (6 years) said, "She buys things for me and she can buy all kinds of things for me." A real strong dependence need and a reflection of economic privations in her family, one of the poorest in Taira, was revealed by a 6-year-old girl: "I would like to become someone else's big sister . . . like the Kawata (village) rice miller's . . . because then I can eat a lot of rice," followed by, "I'd like to be Y. (baby sister) because she is small . . . because she is not even in kindergarten and father and mother will take me around with them."

Taira female adults' roles are apparently well recognized and correctly interpreted by these girls, and identifications are appropriate. Only one girl referred to a professional career, open to women, but her answer reveals very practical reasons for achievement striving: "I'd like to be a teacher, then I can do well in studies and do all kinds of studying . . . can earn money. With that money I can buy clothes and hats. And when anyone speaks *hōgen* (dialect), I can hit them with a stick and give them all failing grades. . . . Then I'll feel good!"

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512 **SCHOOL ROUTINE**

The school, like the parents, expects more of the 8- to 12-year-olds.
[858] The session is longer, lasting until 4:00 in the afternoon and reducing

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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the time for play, tasks, and homework. A child now spends eight hours in the school setting. Children are more matter of fact about school. They are slower to start in the morning, often playing a quick game before leaving the village. 872 857 512

The school schedule is more routine but still flexible. Some of the students do homework and prepare for classes while others play until the morning school assembly. From their arrival at school until they leave in the afternoon, children are under moderate supervision but by no means subject to severe discipline from teachers. The atmosphere at school is friendly, almost intimate at times. There is nothing to frighten children, and none shows signs of unhappiness or anxiety as a result of being away from home and in another village. Most of the boys behave with little restraint, while girls are much quieter and more responsive to occasional reprimands from teachers seeking order. The classroom atmosphere remains informal through all grades. Children call out answers spontaneously or make loud comments. Some move freely in the room during lessons or leave for the toilet. 872 876 [858]

The informality in the classroom is also illustrated by the occasional presence of a teacher's young child, who is taken along by his parent if no one else can take care of him at home. Off and on, a student's younger sibling also sneaks in and sits quietly through a lesson. Physical privations are not considered conducive to learning. A child who was not able to sleep adequately during the previous night will not be disturbed if he falls asleep in the middle of a lesson. If on a hot, sultry summer day children are sluggish and fail to respond, teachers ease up on their demands accordingly. [875] [857]

The classroom situation may best be described by an excerpt from field notes, taken in the fifth grade.

The male teacher is going through some new expressions from their reading material with the class. Children have their notebooks open and, as the teacher explains, take notes. Boys interrupt by shouting something, a suggestion, an answer, a question. The teacher hardly disciplines at all. He does not object to interruptions. K. (10-year-old boy), who apparently tries to show off as observers enter, shouts as "crowded streetcars" are discussed by teacher, "What would happen if somebody beats you in a streetcar?" Teacher seems to disregard this question. A little later K. interrupts two more times. Boys and girls sit apart; about one third of the students are girls. The girls hardly speak up during the session. In discussing the word "insensitive" one boy shouts as example, "I am insensitve to teacher's scolding." This is accepted as an example. There are three boys who have taken their shirts off on this warm morning. Two put them on as observers enter. After a while the teacher says, "Let's close this now." Somebody shouts, "Arithmetic," and the teacher concurs. He then gives addition problems by rapidly calling for sum-

857 fun of it, but few signs of involvement with attaining outstanding per-
526 formance. Losers are not teased or ridiculed, although a good per-
[157] former is occassionally given an encouraging remark by others who practice.

Group games are usually played after the schoolchildren have returned to the village. One of the popular games is a version of prisoner's base similar to that played in the United States. This game is played with much yelling, laughing, and noisy challenging. Equally popular is a version of "kick the can." This game is exciting and fast moving. It is a game which can lead to arguments, since one must trust the honesty of the person who is "it" and claims to have seen another player. Brief arguments arise and are quickly settled. Part of the fun seems to be teasing and challenging the tagger.

535 These are games that children may play on any day in the year.
857 During holidays they are sometimes asked to entertain adults with
[527] dances. Little girls learn the traditional Okinawan dances from kinder-
[871] garten days on, either by watching or by coaching of an older person, a friend, one's older sister, or mother. Neither kindergarten nor school programs include the teaching of such rich Okinawan heritage as classical dances. Boys do not begin to imitate the burlesque dances of their male elders until adolescence. But they are sometimes invited, together with girls, to present group dances or little plays for the adults. Adults seem to enjoy most the performances of Okinawan dances by little girls who may have learned the rhythm and movements but not the restraint of serious adult presentations. They are delighted if a 6-year-old, dressed in bright-colored costume, innocently wiggles her hips in a rather suggestive way.

857 Children who perform for adults show no stage fright. At school,
[156] where little sketches are presented on the stage, there is a complete ease in improvising. Nobody is embarrassed if he forgets a line, a song, or a cue, and the recitation contests which we have already mentioned are carried out with much zest.

[512] Schoolchildren are supposed to remain at home after 8 o'clock in the evening to do their studies. This rule is encouraged by the school but rarely enforced by parents. Many children, boys and girls, appear outside after dark, and on moonlight nights they often resume their playing. Off and on, a couple of elementary schoolboys are attracted to the store where the village truck arrives with goods from the city after nightfall. There they stand in the dim yellow light of the kerosene lamp, watching, helping, or just listening to some of the men who
[515] come to have their sake bottles filled. If a bath has been prepared for
[512] their families, their turn will come sometime after the older males in

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

the household have had theirs. By 10 o'clock children have finally disappeared from the street and paths.

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had complained to the police about this but the police had said that this was a mental disorder and therefore not their affair. The disregard shown the young boys in this case accords with Okinawan attitudes toward children discussed elsewhere; they are not developed enough, perhaps, to be corruptible. Another example is that of a male employee of a 'ryōtei' in another city who is in the habit of putting on a woman's kimono and wig and singing in a falsetto voice for the amusement of male guests. He is not known to "take guests" but is very effeminate in his ordinary manner. School girls are said to form strong attachments to one another, but there is no indication of the persistence of such relationships. 838 [858]

The terms for the sex organs, tani, "penis", and hoo, "vulva", are used rather freely by older persons, but children are expected to use them only for serious purposes. It is said that if children used the terms repeatedly in joking they might be scolded for "dirty talk". An old woman once told me, in the presence of several younger women and a twelve-year-old girl, an amusing story about an old woman who always sat with her kimono pulled up and was therefore called "Hoo-Hai Ayaa", "Mother Vulva-Visible". Everyone laughed but the girl, who looked rather embarrassed. After the battle in 1945 when American food was issued in quantities, Okinawans became familiar with wiener sausages, which they still remember with relish as tani-gwaa, "little penises". As in Japanese, the word for sexual relations is formed by adding the verb "to do" to the word for vulva. This term would not be used before children or in polite conversation. 834 864

2. Sanitation

An American, watching the habits of daily living of an Okinawan family, may find his first impression to be one of shock. In the morning the sliding doors that kept out any fresh air all night are pushed open and the children, dressed in the underclothes they have slept in, walk sleepily to the step and urinate off it. Father steps down and walks a few feet around the side of the house and does the same. Grandmother is already in the kitchen preparing breakfast and smoke soon fills the upper air in the main part of the house, looking for a way out in the absence of a chimney. Father goes to the well with a small towel around his neck, throws cold water over his face, and washes it with a little soap. He then brushes his teeth long and hard and puts the family toothbrush back on the hook for Mother to use later. Mother takes down the great mosquito net the family has slept under, folds up the quilts, and brings out breakfast---tea, a thin soup, and sweet potatoes. Soon tea grounds and potato peels come flying out onto the ground in rapid succession. A chicken walks in from a neighbor's yard, pecks diffidently at a potato peel, and walks on, leaving a token of gratitude behind. The sun begins to warm the air and the flies to swarm around the toilet behind the house, into the kitchen, across the remains of the family's meal in the main rooms, and around the scraps in front. Father goes to work and the older children go to school. Mother washes the dishes at the well, in cold water without soap, and leaves them to dry in the sun. Flies light on them. 751 512 [514] [515] [264] [351] [264]

The visitor looks into the toilet. It is an oil drum with a platform over it and a wood and canvas shelter over that. The cover is off. 751 514 343

These rooms, opening on the front of the house along the corridor, do not run the full length of the house. A fourth, a back room, running across the back part may open on to the kitchen. Sometimes this room is only roughly finished and used for storage or sleeping purposes or both. A grandmother often takes the grandchildren (other than the infant) to bed with her in this room. 342 [353] [513]

The kitchen is set off from the rest of the house by being on a lower level, perhaps one step. The kitchen usually has a hard dirt floor. Occasionally it is cemented. Sometimes it has a chimney, sometimes a hole in the side of the wall, which the curious smoke rejects in favor of a leisurely diffusion throughout the other rooms of the house. The kitchen is not part of the house in the sense that the other rooms are. The shoes are not removed when entering it. The kitchen opens out on to a stone or dirt path. Women frequently still eat in the kitchen because of its convenience and the need of going in and out to get water, or to wash vegetables, or to get food from the shed during the preparation of a meal. [576] [264]

The stove is basically an open hearth with a hole at the top for the cooking pan. There is also a hole directly below this into which the fuel can be placed. More elaborate stoves may have three tiers: one for the cooking, one for putting the fuel in, the lower for the ashes. The most simple, in the very poorest houses, are little more than a circular group of stones laid on the ground built up so that a pan can be placed on top. The most elaborate, made of stone, might run across the width of the kitchen and have several openings. Fuel, such as odd branches, sticks of firewood brought from the northern (Kunigami) region, crushed and dried sugar cane, or miscanthus grass of varying length is put part way into the fire and pushed further in as the ends are burned off. 354 [372]

The all stone house is smaller than the wooden house. It invariably has a tile roof, for those able to afford the stone can also buy the tile. The stone blocks used in house construction are usually about nine feet by one foot on the edge.[6] The stones used as posts are buried two feet in the ground leaving seven feet for the upright. These blocks, called ishibashida when used for house construction, have the same width and breadth; they can be cut to any desired length to even off the sides. The stones are layed like bricks with mortar to form the walls of the house. The all stone house is not common, and is usually seen in the south, where the stone is quarried, in Minatogawa, and in adjacent villages. These houses are more modern, and often bathing facilities are built in. The stone house has the advantage of being cool in summer, warm in winter. 342 [333] [184] [515]

Finally, there are the simple structures, resembling shacks or shanties more than houses. These are, as one would expect, more frequent in the areas of the war's operations. There are three main varieties, though the combinations are numerous: (1) the all grass house, now uncommon. The sides of this wattled house are usually of [362]

6 Actually they are 9 x 1 x 1 shaku. A shaku is 0.994 feet.

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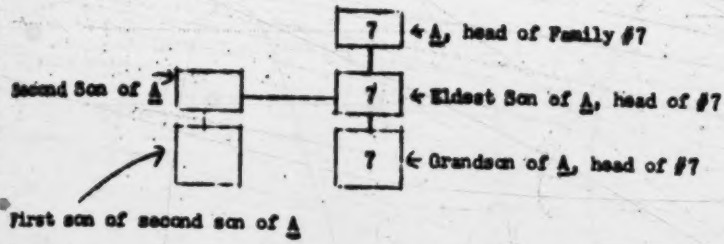

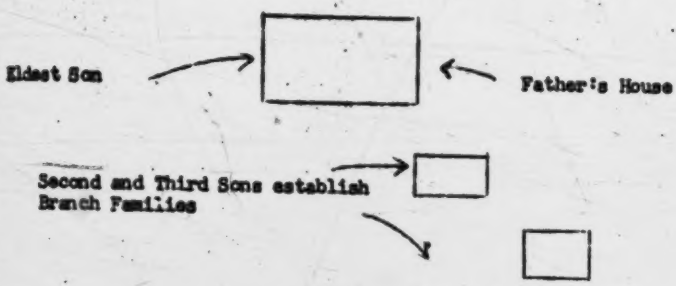

Daughters marry and go to Husband's Father's House or to Branch Families established by their husbands. [591]

The family system, through the succession of the first son to his father's house, prevents the extinction of the main family line, and at the same time creates branch families with close ties with the parent family. [611]

Lacking a son, adoption (to be discussed below) is available to provide against extinction of any family, but in Okinawan villages it has seldom been necessary to use it. [597]

The emphasis in the family system is on providing for the eldest son who succeeds to the father's estate. The sons other than the first must be prepared to accept little or nothing, in the case of the very poor, when they marry and separate themselves from the parental house. [428]

In these Okinawan villages, the second and succeeding sons (or younger brothers if the head of the house is the eldest brother) remain in the family until marriage, usually around 25. They do not live in separate houses, but may have separate rooms, or a small shack in the compound for sleeping purposes. Unless they live in another town or work 593 [582] [513]

512 A fishing village has a different kind of regularity than an
821 agricultural village. Activities in both are determined by the weather. During a heavy rain, everyone is in his house. But the farmer, even with a dark angry sky, can work up to the storm, and often continues working in a mild rain. The fishing village is guided both by bad and anticipated bad weather. On a fine fishing day, the village seems deserted with the men gone, and the women in the homes. But several days of rain or unfavorable weather keep the men home, and the village is alive with other activities, such as repairing nets, boats, and houses. Much of the fisherman's work at sea is at night, either in the actual fishing or in going and coming.
[513] For this reason, there is considerable daytime sleeping among them. On off days, the young fishermen loll around, often finding it difficult to pass the time away.

9

Conclusion

226 Fishing has become the occupation of a few places, such as
184 Itoman town, some villages on the Motobu peninsular, and Minatogawa. Ryukyuans have achieved considerable fame for their skill in fishing in waters other than their own, such as their drive-in net fishing in the East Indies and around Singapore.[3] Possibly it is the fewness of good ports, the necessity of adapting requirements to varying local geographical conditions, such as the coral reefs, or the long period of emigration that have prevented the large scale development of fishing on this island and insured the dominance of an agricultural life.

262 It is also a striking fact that, on this small island where no village is far from the sea, fish is an uncommon article of the diet. The explanation is simple. It is a problem of distribution in which
[435] two considerations are involved: the higher prices obtainable in Naha,
[251] and the difficulties of preserving fish while distributing them through
[439] the rural villages. More often than not, the fish in a farmer's diet is the dried sardine or a canned fish from Japan, not the local catch.

Part 2

The Quarries of Minatogawa-Nagamo

1

Introduction

324 Minatogawa is famous throughout Okinawa for its stone. Stone from the village and its environs may be seen in many towns and villages
[458] of the island. Before the war, there was a flourishing boat trade in wood and stone between Minatogawa and the northern region. The fine

3 For a recent statement, see Aquatic resources of the Ryukyu area, as cited, 7-9.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

is bending and stooping, or while his older brother or sister is running or jumping. The ease with which adults sleep is equally remarkable. On buses in Okinawa, I have seen men and women with their heads against window sashes, while the bus bounces over the rough roads. Sharp cracks on the head are unavoidable, and to one unaccustomed to it, would be very painful. But people sleep like this, with their heads knocking against the hard surface of the bus, for miles.

This carrying of the child continues regardless of season. In the winter, coats are put over or around the child's body. One of the obvious and most important facts about Okinawan child rearing is this custom of carrying the child on the back. But it is difficult to say precisely what this importance is. Certainly in this way the child has continuous contact from earliest infancy with the life around him. He is not accustomed to being alone, except for an occasional hour during the day when he may sleep on a blanket. At night he sleeps with his mother. A child does not have to be introduced to the world. He is not shielded in a crib. From early infancy he has seen and been almost every place in the village and learns to know many whom he will know throughout life.

This "public" and community life from earliest infancy is one of the outstanding features of Okinawan culture, a characteristic which it shares with-and which is derived from-Japan. One of the surprises is that despite these contacts with all phases of village experience, the child, as it grows older, becomes quite shy. This is true of boys and girls, and continues in my observation from the age of puberty up to marriage. No person who has had any contact with Okinawans fails to notice this shyness. The Okinawans use the Japanese word hazukashii to describe it, and, in this connection, the meaning is something between a feeling of shyness, self-consciousness, and shame. The shyness often does not disappear until marriage or even until the birth of the first child, when father and mother take their place as mature and responsible adults.

Two recent observers who analysed the reactions of Okinawans under the stress of war have thought that early and continuous breast feeding is largely responsible for giving the child, from earliest infancy, a sense of security. While this theses was advanced out of intimate experience (mostly in the wartime hospital at Ginoza village), it must, in my opinion, be qualified considerably.[8] The period during which the child is breast fed is but one period in the formative years of childhood. Besides breast feeding is no monopoly of the Okinawans. Neither is carrying on the back confined to them. The period immediately after the child is taken off the back and begins to walk is a difficult one for most children. This

8 See Moloney, James C. Psychiatric observations in Okinawa Shima. The psychology of the Okinawan. Psychiatry 8 (1945), 391-99. Moloney, James C. and Biddle, Charles R. A psychiatric hospital in military government, ibid, 400-01.

190 pronunciation. The people in Matsuda could distinguish and identify villagers from other places, even though the villages were close to one another.[12] Okinawan is the language of social and everyday life. In Matsuda, it seemed to be supplanted by Japanese more than in the other two villages. Japanese is used in official contacts and in dealing with foreigners. Pre-school children know very little Japanese. Their parents do not teach them the language, and they grow up speaking the village dialect. The only exception is that parents teach the child a few Japanese words of greeting, formalities, and expressions of thanks.

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524 Children lack the toys and playthings they had prior to the war. At present they are a miscellaneous collection of rocks, pieces of wood, tin cans, twigs, branches, and anything which circumstance or childish improvisation can provide. In play, there is a great deal of running and catching, hide and seek, and games like hop scotch. [526] After beginning school, play has a more formal character, with dances, games, and organized athletics.

857 Sleeping habits, especially those of children, are in part the result of circumstance, in part of custom, and it is difficult to separate the two. Children, often up to the age of 14 or 15, sleep with an older member of the family. In one Hanashiro family, the last born sleeps with the mother and the father until the next child comes. The older children sleep in another room with the grandmother or grandfather. If there are no elder relatives, the whole family may sleep together. This practice frequently is forced by economy and necessity. The war destroyed homes and the rebuilt ones are small. Blankets are expensive. In the better homes before the war, if there were plenty of blankets, rooms, and mosquito nets, children 8 years and over had their own sleeping rooms, or at least their own heavy blanket or cot. The farmer or fisherman does not use a bed or a cot. Now and then they are used by younger adults with a taste for western beds. But even before the war, 15 and 16 year olds often slept with parents or grandparents.

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Children from different houses also sleep together after they have begun school. Children come to a house to play, and, when bed time comes, they go to sleep in the house of their playmates. These sleeping groups are common when classmates meet during the evening for study. The village is so small that there is no alarm at a child's absence. An old grandmother living by herself may have many children sleeping with her overnight, sprawled out in various positions on a comforter, protected by the very large mosquito net (kaya) so universal in Okinawa.

12 No attempt was made to study language, linguistics, or dialectical differences. To be profitable, these subjects must be studied by technically trained linguists.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

The custom of a whole family sleeping together was common, if not universal, before the war. It is the mother or the grandmother, rather than the father or a male relative, whose company is sought after. This does not imply strained relationships with the father. Fathers are not stern. They often take care of infant children, or hold them while the mother tends to household tasks.[13]

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In western industrialized nations, we are so accustomed to the division of labor between the father and the mother, in which the father's work is away from home and the mother takes care of the home and has continuous daily contact with the children, that we might overlook the fact that similar conditions exist in less complex cultures as well. In these rural villages, the father is absent a great deal of the time. He may be in and out of the house several times during the day, he may eat his noon meal at home, or he may stay home several hours at a time doing chores in the courtyard. But the greater part of his time is spent away from home, in the paddy field, the sweet potato patch, at the quarry, or at sea, as the case may be. The father frequently is absent in the evenings, for he has the evening social life. Except for infrequent bus trips to shop in a larger town, a mother's absences from the home are of very short duration. The Okinawan wife and mother is almost always at home, or in a nearby field where here children can find her. A child's chief attachments seem to be to the mother. Though this is an impression, there seems also to be a long period of dependence on the parent. This does not mean dependence for food and shelter, for young men and women soon acquire skills which make them self-reliant. It is a more subtle dependence, but the post-war period may be changing this to some extent because of newer opportunities for leadership among the young.[14]

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The School Child

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The child enters primary school when he is around 6 years old. His teacher, more likely than not, will be a young man. The child now begins learning the required basic knowledge: the use of the brush or the pen in writing the Chinese character, elementary arithmetic,

13 In Matsuda, in a conversation with six boys ranging in age from 13-15, one of them asked if boys their age in America had separate rooms for sleeping. When told that they did, if this were possible, their response was unfavorable. They said they would be too far away from their mother. All of them wanted to sleep in the same room with their mother.

14 A 70 year old retired school teacher in one village complained that Okinawan children and young people have no independence and are not always relying on their parents for decisions. Age had not brought Confucian orthodoxy to this old man. He could not be accused of blindly insisting on filial obedience.

132 however, shows much less variation. From the low 50's in early winter it rises to the low 80's in midsummer. The relative humidities, having daily means of 70% in January and February and 82% in July and August, may often reach an uncomfortable 96% preceding or following one of the many rain squalls in the hot season.

From January through March, winds blowing from the northwest to north carry cold, damp air from the Asian continent across the East China Sea. Although many houses in Taira are somewhat protected by bushes separating them from the open valley behind, nevertheless, house doors are often kept shut during this coldest part of the year.

March and April offer a pleasant, balanced climate. Winds are east to southeast, rainfall is low, and temperatures reach the high 60's. The rainy season begins in late May and lasts until late June. During these [964] four weeks it sometimes rains steadily for one or two days, and adults are forced to give up working.

Children take shelter during the worst downpours, but they reappear outside even before the rains are over to play in puddles or little streams running down the streets. During this time floods and landslides occur.

Midsummer is often so hot and humid that villagers frequently comment on their discomfort. This is one of the busiest agricultural sea- [961] sons, but exhaustion causes many people to take naps during noon [513] hours. Work efficiency decreases, and fewer daily trips are made to the mountains. Children also stay at home in the afternoon. It is believed that the heat causes severe headaches. The hot season gradually gives way to a few weeks in late October, November, and early December which correspond in climate to an early fall in northeastern United States.

132 Typhoons are known to have hit Okinawa at almost any time of 731 the year. The most dangerous season for these violent storms, however, with wind velocities of over 50 miles per hour, is from late June [206] until October. An extensive warning system exists, and Taira, though remote and without radio, is notified immediately by telephone of storm warnings, sometimes days in advance. Taira people hardly need such warnings. They can sense the oncoming storm and often predict one correctly before the official forecasts confirm that a storm is approaching the island. Since 1955 was one of the rare years in which no major storm hit the island, no firsthand description can be given. The damage is always considerable, not only to crops and trees but also to houses and other property.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

There are no uniform sleeping arrangements. The larger the family, the more corners of the front rooms and rear room are occupied. Since the number of comforters is limited in most families, two or three members of the family share one. Father and mother do not always sleep together, and, even if they do, an infant may sleep between them. When there are several children, another child may sleep next to the father, so that in one row there may be mother, a baby, father, and an older child. One or two children usually sleep with the grandmother in another corner. In several families an older sister may sleep with younger brothers; in others, two elder brothers, or an older sister and an older brother, may sleep next to each other. Children do not usually sleep at other people's houses, but when they reach junior high school age, a girl may stay with a girl friend or a group of boys may sleep together at one house. 513

A simple desk and chair are kept in each house where children go to school. These are put in one corner of the front room, except in large houses with a third room in front, which is reserved for schoolchildren of the house, who also sleep there. Around the study corner, books are kept on a crate or shelf. Only the biggest houses have a niche in their "first" room. Paintings and scrolls, used to decorate alcoves before the war, have been lost, and few people have acquired replacements. Many families decorate rooms by pasting pictures from magazines and newspapers on the walls. Some have reproductions of the Japanese Crown Prince Akihito, others scenic pictures from Japan. 352 353

Only a few recent buildings have inner sliding doors with paper screens. The paper is often left off during the hot season and put on before New Year. If children or cats are around, the splendor does not last long, and even an adult's hand frequently punctures the screen in trying to open the door. Holes are left unrepaired for the remainder of the year. 342 356

The eating corner between kitchen and rear room is the place where most families gather in the evening, especially during the winter. An informal caller may join them there. If it is cold, a brazier is put in the center, filled with pieces of charcoal on top of old ashes to provide heat for those sitting around it. These braziers vary in type: the poorest families use the bottom of an oil drum filled with ashes; others use pottery jars or small wooden boxes lined with metal. 342 264 354

Crockery used in most houses is of a simple type. If breakage occurs, as it often does, a cup or bowl can be replaced for a few yen at the grocery store. Well-to-do families may have an extra set of teacups, which are used for guests. Several families also own lacquer ware, but it is not in daily use. Like cups and bowls, chopsticks are simple and inexpensive. They last a long time and are seldom lost. Children do 415 [412]

an empty oxygen bottle with a wooden mallet to mark the time. The noon bell tells people in the fields and mountains that it is time for the midday meal and helps those who have a clock to compare the time. The evening bell indicates that it is time to end the day. Schoolchildren do not need a clock, since they get up early in the morning and go to school soon after, knowing that they are probably early. For most adults, daylight and sun position are enough to tell the approximate hour of the day. Some take arrival and departure of the bus, four times a day, as a point of orientation. 805 512 [964]

Old women are the first to rise in the morning. Long before dawn during the winter, or with the first light of the summer day, they get up and start a fire to boil sweet potatoes and heat the soybean soup. Blue smoke rising through the thatched roof into the early morning sky indicates that life in the village has begun. Children soon awake. The door is pushed open and a sleepy child appears to urinate off the edge of the house. Men are the last to rise. Considering the effect of the sake which they may have consumed on the preceding evening, it is remarkable that they are able to wake up so soon. By 6:30 the sleepiest person has risen. 512 [887] [252] [514]

The addition of outer clothes to the underclothing in which most people sleep is simple. Cold water splashed over the face and a quick turn at the toothbrush is all the toilet needed to begin a new day. [513] [515]

The task of folding comforters and taking down the mosquito net falls to one of the older children or to the mother. Older children and young girls help to carry water from the tank, the first task that has to be done after getting up. After breakfast, women feed the pigs. By about 7 o'clock everybody is ready for work. On a good day people leave for the mountains or start toward their fields—schoolchildren are on their way, too. [857] [462]

By 8 o'clock, except during very poor weather, the village is left to the old people and young children. Little boys and girls hang around, waiting for kindergarten to start at 9 o'clock. Play begins for them after they leave the house in the morning and does not end until evening. [855] [872]

For men and women, the routine of work in fields and forests is prescribed by seasonal activities which demand their special attention, but there are daily chores, such as digging potatoes, picking vegetables, and collecting feed for the animals and firewood for cooking. Only a few men who go to the mountains, taking their midday meal along, are away all day. The rest come and go during the day from the rice paddies, potato fields, or forests, so that there is repeated contact between children and their parents. A young child, even if left in the 512 461 [855]

soup. Nothing is wasted and leftovers are kept for the next meal. The 512
majority of people are fast eaters, and chopsticks move from bowl to 262
mouth quickly and deftly. Some families eat silently, others enjoy talk- 264
ing during the meal. [521]

Before and after full moon, people like to go out after supper and 512
gather in small groups by the store to talk and smoke or to visit each 574
other. Less running back and forth is observed during dark nights. [521]
There is also a seasonal variation in that respect. On cold winter nights, or when it rains, doors are closed early, and visitors slip into the house by the side kitchen door. On warm nights all houses are open, and one can see people sitting in their living room by the light of a kerosene lamp; passers-by just call over and then go in for a chat. Guests are [262]
served tea, bits of brown sugar, and other sweets. Men get together at this time and start talking over a cup of sake. A relative or neighbor, bottle in hand, walks in and joins the party. Here and there somebody pulls a samisen out of the corner and starts singing.

Evenings are also the time for village meetings, finance group meet- 512
ings, family gatherings, and other formal get-togethers. Several times 623
during the week a light shines from the village office or the store office, where some of the village leaders meet to discuss community affairs. In the winter, household-head meetings or other general meetings are called for 8 o'clock; in the summer they do not start until 9 o'clock. In the absence of clocks, few meetings ever start on time.

The young men and women have their get-togethers at the club- 512
house in Udenaha. Both sexes attend, sometimes for lectures by a vil- 883
lage official on village affairs, sometimes for lessons in bookkeeping 571
and the use of the abacus in business, for which one village leader [544]
dedicates his time, or for other educational purposes. Once a week they have a social evening with discussion and sometimes folk dances. On nights when no meetings are scheduled, young men gather at someone's house to smoke, drink, or sing together. If enough sake is available, parties can become noisy. Occasionally a fight or quarrel starts [578]
later in the evening after everybody has drunk steadily. Such interruptions on quiet evenings are rare and seldom occur more than once or twice a month. Loud singing at midnight or later, a group of gay men knocking on somebody's door, these are the only disturbances an early sleeper may experience if a party is held somewhere.

By 11 o'clock mosquito nets are hung in the rooms and comforters 512
spread on the floor. Except in the house where men gather to drink, 513
quiet descends over the village around that time. Individuals, however, may be seen until long after midnight. Taira goes to sleep late, and although people claim that everyone gets eight hours of sleep, it

512 513 is more likely that the majority of adults have to be satisfied with six and a half hours.

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Chapter 3

Basic Economy

INTRODUCTION

241 433 Taira depends on its fields and forests for a living. Rice and the sweet potato are the principle staple crops; wheat, beans, and vegetables are additional subsistence crops. Firewood and building materials, sugar, pineapple, and silk are main sources of cash. Tea is raised for home consumption.

311 [243] [244] Since the few rivers around Taira are short and the valleys narrow, the area available for wet rice cultivation is limited. Farm land for sweet potatoes is also not too abundant in this mountainous region and is located either on the gently sloped hills or on a few plateaus between valleys. Here and there it rises on skillfully terraced steps along the steep sides of mountains.

311 423 241 [433] The size of land holdings and the quality of soil partly determine whether a family is able to grow additional cash crops or merely subsist. The average holding for each family is about 5 acres of rice land and 6 acres of other farming land. Yet it is important to note that the range and quality of this land vary widely. Some families own only 1½ acres of rice land and an acre of other farm land, while others own as much as 14 acres of rice land and 12 acres of other farm land; good rice paddies produce three times the quantity of poor ones and are wet enough to allow for two crops per year. Of the 141 families questioned, [511] only 15 grew enough rice to be self-sufficient; 123 had to buy extra [433] rice, and only two families raised a surplus for sale. All families grew enough vegetables for home use, and only 18 bought sweet potatoes. Sixty families grew a surplus of vegetables and 16 a surplus of sweet potatoes.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

cash income, earned by several adult members in joint work, or equal 585
to about one half of a teacher's monthly salary. The girl brings a dowry [583]
consisting of furniture, household utensils, and other things, so, as one
person said, the groom is repaid in one form or another. In former [582]
times the men had to pay a fine to the parents of the bride if she married out of the village (Suttles, personal communication; Tamura, 1927 translation:44).

Even under present conditions the wedding ceremony is colorful
compared to most other private ceremonies. All guests attend in their [292]
best clothes and the bride wears a special kimono and a special wig
hair dress. She is seated next to the groom, who wears Western-style
clothes instead of the traditional silk kimono. The whole ceremony
is presided over by the go-betweens. While preliminaries take place,
the bride sits almost motionless. Her face expresses what Glacken
describes as "undescribable gloom" (1955:218). This continues even
through the climax of the event, the ceremonial exchange of wine
which symbolizes the union of the participants. During this part of the
ceremony the guests, who have been enjoying food and sake and talking amicably, give this moment a solemn meaning by their silence. [537]
Speeches by the go-between and other notables follow. The virtue of
the bride and her family and of the groom are told and acknowledged
by a thank-you address by the groom. Parents of the couple sit close
to them but have no other function than to accept congratulations.
The bride then goes around introducing herself to the guests.

Children are not present at this event. They line up outside the [852]
house and peek through openings to see the bride and watch the
guests, who start dances as soon as good food and wine take effect.
After the formal part of the wedding, the feast ends like any such
event in the village—with great gaiety. The bride acts as hostess; she
changes from her kimono and heavy hair dress into more suitable
clothes and sees that the guests are well taken care of. The length of
this feast depends, of course, on how much food and drink the family is
able to provide. Finally, when all guests have left, the bride and groom
retire to the bedroom which has been reserved for them, sometimes [352]
furnished with one or two pieces, a chest of drawers or a Western-style
closet supplied by the bride's family. The bride also provides the [513]
comforter for the marriage bed. Friends of the groom may play a prank
and replace the normal-sized comforter with a small one, "so that the
marriage is consumated quicker," as they say.

Sexual relations between husband and wife are not discussed in 833
public except in jocular references. In spite of the intimacy of house- 831
hold members in the confinement of a small house, one attempts to

862 into their term, but one mother reported that she nursed her first son until the day before the second was born. Curiously, the determination [853] with which mothers wean contrasts sharply with their very indulgent [861] nurturant handling of the young child, who now encounters a period of withdrawal.

There is a month-long period of what seems, to the observer, indecision and vacillation on the part of the mother. The child is refused the breast, but, if he persists and becomes vociferous in his protests, the mother nurses him. She and others present, however, are no longer solicitous and protective. Derisive comments are directed against him, and, finally, at the end of the month drastic steps are taken. When mothers stated in their interviews that it took four or five days to wean, it usually meant after the final drastic measures were taken.

[513] The child who has slept beside his mother from birth is simply put to sleep with an aunt, grandmother, grandfather, father, or older sibling. In some instances an overnight trip to the city proves extremely convenient for the mother, who leaves the child behind instead of taking him with her as usual. If merely denying the breast does not work, big patches of black paper used for toothaches, backaches, and bruises are pasted on the chest, and the baby is told that the mother is suffering from pain there. "The black paper frightens them and we pretend to wince with pain if the child tries to nurse," report mothers. The black paper proves to be very effective. When this device is not used, another similarly drastic in nature is resorted to. Red pepper or bitter medicine is rubbed into the breast so that the child attempting to suckle is promptly punished with a very unpleasant burning sensation. Frequently a combination of these techniques is applied to wean what a mother terms a very difficult child.

[861] Shaming is a technique that is directed not only to the child but also to the mother. "Ah, shame! Hide the breast," says the mother to the child, or, "Hide, hide, drinking mother's milk!" says she, pulling one end of her blouse flap over the suckling child's head.

On one occasion an old man approached a mother who was nursing her 1-year-old. Immediately the mother pushed the child's head down to acknowledge the elder's presence. The old man, on the other hand, pulled the breast, taking the nipple from the child's mouth. "A big baby! You should not be drinking your mother's milk!" he scolded in a growling voice. As the little girl started to scream and cry, he laughed and, squeezing the breast, squirted milk into her face. The mother laughed with him, then mocked an attack on the old man to pacify the crying child.

Another technique which uses threat to the mother was applied very

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

brother or big sister" take effect, he is the most miserable creature alive in the village. 866 862

Weaning from the back often occurs at the same time as weaning from the breast; if not it occurs within six months. While this study was being done, eight children between 18 months and 2 years were weaned from the back as well as from the breast. Temper tantrums in which the child would sit down and scream his head off, hurl dirt and stones at his mother, older siblings, or adults who stopped to have a kind word with him or to ridicule him, and incessant whining were symptomatic of the repercussions of abrupt withdrawal. Sulkiness, stubbornness, and tyrannical behavior, however, are short lived. The child finds that although this kind of behavior brought immediate and rewarding responses in the past, he now faces further withdrawal or punishment as a result. The mother impatiently screams back at him to stop crying, and siblings simply leave him behind to keep up with his own pace or drag him along forcibly and uncomfortably, with threats of punishment if he refuses to cooperate. As if to heap more abuse on deprivation, he finds the newly arrived baby the center of the household and taking his place at his mother's breast. He is encouraged and discouraged by turns. "You are an older brother or an older sister. You do not drink your mother's milk now. And see how big you are and such a good child," now encourage visitors. "Come here, hurry!" scream older siblings or mother when he fails to keep in step with them on walks. For about three months the child's bleary eyes, tear-streaked face, and woebegone expression are unquestionable evidences of the most unhappy interval of his childhood.

In an attempt to continue "ruling" the family, he goes into frequent rages. He demands anything and everything in sight, concentrating on the breast and on being carried. Desperately he screams and cries. Finally he sits on the ground and refuses to move. If his caretaker does not pick him up at that point, he will simply lie prone and cry hysterically. Usually adults scream back at him and start walking away, whereupon the child quickly picks himself off the ground and runs after the retreating caretaker. In this way the child's control is broken. Furthermore, he is ridiculed, shamed and scolded for his "babyish" behavior. Only the grandmother, with whom he sleeps at night, responds to his dominating behavior. During the day, he whines, wheedles, and makes numerous demands on her. [513]

Obviously family structure determines in part the severity of the deprivation. The child who lives in a household with a grandmother and perhaps older siblings will have someone to indulge him. The 866 887 603

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

wiggles her hips and otherwise makes movements that are not permitted in the classical Okinawan dance. 868 535

Kindergarten children are usually asleep by 8:30 in the winter and 9:00 in the summer. They sleep an average 8 hours. Ten o'clock is considered to be proper bedtime for all people. The village bell is rung to remind everyone that the day has ended. The entire family sleeps on the mattresses spread on the floor with wooden pillows. In winter the heavy quilts are taken down. Children vary in their bedtime. Those who feel tired fall asleep soon after the evening meal. Often the grandparents lie down with the small children. If children accompany parents on a visit, they lie down in their father's or mother's lap, or on the floor to sleep. Since not all adults go to sleep at 10:00, older children may stay up longer, particularly during moonlight nights. Few children take naps except during the summer, when the heat makes everyone drowsy and slows down work during midday. Once in a while a young child goes home to lie down for a nap. 857 513

The kindergarten child's day has been an active and carefree one. He is seldom alone. "Do not play alone, go and play with others. If you play alone, people might think that others dislike you," instruct parents in Taira. Anyone passing a child playing alone would remark, "How lonely he seems." Furthermore, mothers worry about a child being alone "because he is more apt to do naughty things or get into dangerous play." 857 155 156

A 4- or 5-year-old may sometimes find himself being a caretaker, but generally he is not considered very reliable, and being a "senseless" individual, he is not held responsible by the village for anything that might happen to his charges. It is the mother who is held culpable and is censured in this case. 857 855 861

One mother was severely criticized by her neighbors when she punished her 4-year-old boy for abandoning his 2-year-old sibling. The children had been sent out to play. When the older boy came home for supper, he faced an angry mother who berated him for thinking only of his own pleasure and leaving his little brother on the main road and to the dangers of passing trucks. She spanked the boy, tied his hands and legs briefly, and left the crying child behind when she went to the village store with his younger sibling.

In another case, a grandmother grumbled about the "laxity" and irresponsibility of the mother. A 5-year-old was carrying her month-old sibling who was sleeping on the back in a twisted position due to loose strappings. "Come here! Your mother, where is she . . . how could she leave this child with you! Almost falling . . . ," the old woman mumbled as she unstrapped the peacefully sleeping baby and 857 854

possibly have lowered standards of sanitation. Morale may also be a factor; 863
in the instance just mentioned the morale of the grandmother was undoubtedly 178
better than that of her daughter and daughter-in-law whom she criticized.

A very small baby may be carried in the arms, but usually it is car- 854
ried on the back. The mother places it with its belly to her back, its legs spread apart, and its head about at a level with the top of her shoulder. She secures it there with a long sash that runs once under its bottom, makes an X across her chest, passes around its shoulders, and ties in front. A baby is carried most frequently by its mother, but may also be carried a good deal by others, of either sex and any age, grandparents and older siblings being most frequent. The baby may look over the shoulder of its carrier or it may simply sleep, often with its head back and rolling. If it is fretful its carrier may lean forward a bit and jog it to sleep. Larger children may be carried without the sash, by just letting them hang on. Babies are carried about while all sorts of tasks are being performed.

Mothers often carry their babies into the fields when they go out to work, but when they are working in the house they may put their babies to sleep on the floor of the house. If a baby is put to sleep on the floor it is made to sleep on its back. Often the hard floor, which may or may not be covered with a thin mat, will cause the back of the baby's head to become flattened, or if the baby constantly turns its head to one side, the head may become assymetrical, but later fills out to assume its normal shape. Some mothers use a small mosquito net on a frame to protect the sleeping baby from insects, but frequently it is uncovered and flies may alight on it. A few mothers use a hammock-like device called 'burank', as a cradle; these are said to be becoming more popular. At night children, especially smaller children, sleep with their parents on quilts on the floor, under the one large net. [513]

Children are expected to learn to walk at about 12 to 14 months. 856
Early walking is a sign of good health so that if a child is late to walk, 866
the parents may worry about it. As Glacken points out, there is an important change in the life of the child at this time. Instead of being carried everywhere on his mother's or older sibling's back, the child is now put down and expected to toddle along behind his mother, who is not always sympathetic when he fails to keep up. This change may be a greater trauma to the child than weaning or toilet-training.[1]

Children are said to begin talking at about a year and a half. The 856
first words are usually, nowadays, 'o-kaa', o-tō', 'o-baa', the Japanese equivalents of "daddy', "mommy", and "grandma". Parents do not worry if a child is a little late in talking.

<u>Childhood: Adult Attitudes</u> Okinawans recognize clearly that children are 858
not capable of participating in most adult activities and indeed appear to regard it as undesirable that they do so. Okinawan attitude contrasts sharply with the "modern" American one that takes [171]

[1] Glacken, 1953, p. 264.

called saki in Okinawan, 'awamori' in Japanese. This drink is sold in several 273
grades and so is Japanese 'sake', but most farmers seem to prefer a rawer,
stronger grade of 'awamori'.[1] In most homes 'awamori' is soon offered male
guests if they call in the evening, sometimes in the afternoon as well. For [574]
festive occasions it is absolutely necessary. Many older men also drink it [562]
a bit every evening in small groups or even alone. Older women may drink a
little, younger women, unless of the professional class, rarely.

When men drink together they invariably exchange drinks as a gesture of friendship. Generally the friendliness increases with each gesture, stimulating further gestures. Drunkenness is frequent. Different types of behavior among drunks are recognized and labelled appropriately. The 'uma-zake' ("horse-drunk") prances around; the 'buta-zake' ("pig drunk") sleeps; the 'ushi-zake' ("ox drunk") acts belligerent; the 'naki-zake' ("cry drunk") weeps. (These are Japanese terms, incidentally; I did not get native equivalents but assume they exist). But Okinawans who get drunk are mainly just plain friendly drunks; the belligerent drunk is very rare. Burd's description of Miyakoan drunken behavior---the sentimentality and endless expression of gratitude for friendship---would apply equally to the behavior of drunk Okinawans. And as Burd suggests, the reason may lie in the formality and etiquette that governs the relations of the sober; getting drunk is a means of relaxing the usual barriers.[2] The remarkable tolerance Okinawans show to drunks may arise from sympathy in the face of a common need. Drinking is often accompanied by singing and dancing. Men dance individually. Men who behave on most occasions with reserve and formality, may, after drinking a bit, dance with a grace and reckless ease that must be seen to be believed.

Okinawans do not drink water as frequently as Americans and even 271
with the more frequent tea and bottled drinks their total fluid consumption 272
would appear to be considerably less.

Rest and Sleep Chairs and beds are not usually found in Okinawan homes. 352
Mats serve the function of both. On formal occasions 516
Okinawans kneel. This they may do at the beginning of a formal gathering, but soon they are told to be at ease, which means sitting cross-legged for the men and with the feet to one side for the women. When relaxing at home they may put their feet out in front of them.

Okinawans sleep on the floor, usually on a quilt ('futon') on the 513
mat and with another put on over them. Often the whole family will sleep between two large quilts and under one large mosquito net suspended from the ceiling. To Americans unused to the floor it seems unbearably hard and the quilt above oppressive; it seems as though the Okinawans want too little below the body and too much above. From infancy on they sleep stretched out supine with a pillow under the head or neck. The pillow may be of cloth stuffed with husks or merely a block of wood.

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1 This observation is supported by the statement of a distiller interviewed by Lebra.

2 Burd 1952, p. 82.

•513 Ventilation at night may be poor; the sliding doors are usually tightly shut and locked. In larger towns and cities this practice may be explained as due to the prevalence of thieves, but in the country there must be another reason; it is probably the fear of yanakaji or of the kiji-
[775] munaa. The first, yanakaji, literally "bad winds", are ghosts, who may
[776] cause illness. The kijimunaa is a sea-being or tree-being who causes a frightening but harmless sensation of smothering and weight on the chest. These creatures may enter through open doors or windows. According to one informant their entry might be prevented by setting up a butcher knife in the opening but I have not seen it done. (It could only be done for a window; in a door it would be dangerous to the human occupants.)

In spite of their sleeping with relatively little change in position while in bed, Okinawans seem to be able to fall asleep in a variety of positions and circumstances, in busses and on trucks, in the midst of family activities, with noise and bright lights apparently presenting no obstacles. This ability may be the result of the early experience of sleeping under all sorts of conditions while being carried on the mother's back. There are two restrictions to sleeping. All avoid sleeping with the head oriented west, because that is the way a corpse is oriented. The other is that girls and women must avoid sleeping with the legs separated. Lebra observed one grandmother give her little granddaughter a hard pinch on the thigh for this.

Okinawans recognize that sleep is essential to maintaining the body. After a restless night one may say that he "had insufficient sleep".
[171] It has been asserted that the Japanese regard sleep as a luxury rather than as a necessity. This cannot be said of the Okinawans.

515 171 Cleanliness In care of the body, the Okinawans are among the cleanlier of the world's peoples. They bathe frequently, keep their nails
[302] clean by constant trimming, their teeth clean by prolonged morning brushing, and their hair neatly cut or dressed. But they are not as cleanly as the Japanese or at least as the urban Japanese. One reason why they bathe less frequently is that baths are simply less available. Many villages are without public baths. Most farmers must either pour cold water over themselves at their wells or a little hot water warmed in the kitchen. In villages
[834] where there are few wells the water must be carried. Another factor may be modesty; nudity is not taken for granted as in Japan, so that one does not strip nude at the well in the daytime. A third factor may be the lack
[703] of such highly-developed concepts of ceremonial purity and pollution as exist in Japan. There are no tabus on the activities of menstruating women on Okinawa as there are in Japan, for example.

291 834 Nudity Pre-school children often play nude. Mothers sometimes appear to be displaying little boys nude to demonstrate their masculinity. Photographs of naked baby boys are popular. Boys may continue to swim nude until eight or so, but girls begin to put on some garment for swimming
[853] sooner. Women nurse in public and sometimes work at home with the breasts
[514] uncovered. Adults of both sexes may urinate in public, but in such a way that the body may not be seen. Adults do not appear publicly or privately
[515] before one another nude. Public bath houses have separate sections for men

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Not all of the upland or slope cultivation is done by terracing, as we have seen. Crops other than rice are often grown on hillsides, or up slopes, less often following the contour of the land. The precautions here are also suited to the cultivation: weeds or grasses grow along boundary lines or divide off sharp drops, or small stone fences may be used.

In Nagamo, where there is no rice grown, there is little water from these sources. It comes from rainfall and amounts of sugar cane and sweet potato that are grown depend on its quantity and regularity. Water regardless of crop is a constant problem. [312]

In Okinawan agriculture, constant fertilization is necessary. There are too many people to leave land fallow in ordinary times. Each plot must be used if the farmer has the time and energy to do so. Since the island is in a humid subtropical climate, the organic materials in the soil (humus) are quickly oxidized. Porous soils encourage the leaching of minerals from the top soil, especially with torrential rains. The fewness of domestic animals increases the dependence on plant residues and artificial fertilizers. One of the commonest complaints of the Okinawan farmer, in addition to the poorness of his soil and crop damage from typhoons, is that it must be unceasingly fertilized. It is a treadmill. He must walk fast to stay in the same place. [134] [231]

There is very little difference in the use of fertilizers in the communities studied. Fertilizers most frequently used are:

(1) Composts. A typical mixture (though there are many combinations) may be composed of dried miscanthus, or any kind of grass, ashes and cinders, perhaps some pieces of charcoal, and goat droppings. This is left a month outside in a pile and put on the fields and hoed under.

(2) Plant residues. These are put on the soil, both of paddy and dry crop land, and hoed under. Plants are the greatest single source of fertilizer. The cut over rice plant is turned under in the paddy field. Tops of the sweet potato, if not used as slips or for food for animals, miscanthus grass, and burned rice hulls are other sources of fertilizer. [824]

(3) Animal manures mixed usually with pen grass. Animal fertilizers are not abundant, an indirect effect of the war which greatly reduced the number of horses, cattle, pigs, goats, and the smaller domestic animals. When available, goat, pig, or horse manures are used. Pig or goat pen grass is gathered up and spread on the fields. Pig manure is the best source of animal fertilizer, for pigs are the most numerous of the larger domestic animals. [727] [237] [231]

(4) Night soil. The use of night soil, called jinpun in Okinawan, has declined from pre-war times. It is often said that it is not used at all. But this statement must be qualified. It is [514]

241 occasionally, but by no means universally used. This failure to use
514 night soil may vary from locality to locality, and from farmer to farmer. In my opinion, it has not the importance it has in China and Japan. Neither is night soil used as a food for pigs, though
231 this seems to have been the case in some parts of Okinawa as late as
514 the 1920's.[2] But feeding human faeces to pigs was not observed in any village.

241 Normally in certain parts of Matsuda, night soil is used, though
514 infrequently, in places near the house. It is not carried far. Applications are made to cultivated land and land not presently in use. In the Nagamo area, it is occasionally used on sweet potatoes and sugar cane. Night soil, gathered from the outside toilets, is
[247] allowed to dry out before being applied to fields. It is often placed around ornamental plants. The fresh liquid form, carried on
[482] the shoulder in two buckets on either end of a long pole, may be applied directly to the fields, ladling out a little of the liquid around
[463] each plant. The professional collector of night soil is uncommon in the areas visited. Only one instance was found. Two brothers, who hired themselves out, cleaned the toilets for Yen 130 per day, plus meals. They spread the night soil on the owner's fields. These two brothers served the Gushichan area.

In Hanashiro, night soil is used occasionally, and then, it was said, only by the old. Its main use was on sugar cane. As a general rule, in all the villages, night soil is most frequently used around plants already growing and around each plant individually, rather than mixing it with the soil when the field is being prepared. Its use on rice fields was not observed.

The sparing use of night soil is indicated also by the infrequency with which one meets its characteristic odor in the countryside. An observation of a traveller, almost 100 years ago, lends some credence to the thought that night soil has not been extensively used
[114] in Okinawa. "How-night-soil is disposed of is not known; certainly it does not obtrude itself on the senses, as it does in China, nor is it
[117] applied in the same way."[3] In Hanashiro, the decline in use since the war was ascribed to American influences: the dangers to health, and the increased availability of artificial fertilizers.

241 (5) Commercial fertilizers. These are now substantial proportions of the expenditures of an Okinawan farmer. These fertilizers generally are broadcast over the rice and dry crop lands. The writers of a

2 Richard Goldschmidt, Neu-Japan, as cited, 135.

3 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, II, 35. The author was Dr. Green.

789 rope was hung across the entrance of the family compound two times
824 a year, on the 9th day of the 8th month, and on the 8th day of the 12th month. Along the rope, there were knotted blades of grass, also the san plant. The purpose is to frighten away evil spirits and evil doers. One peculiarity of this twisted rice rope is that
283 it is made in a different manner from the ordinary rope. The usual rope is a twist made by rolling the fibre between the palms to the right or away from the body. In this special rope, the roll is reversed and is to the left or toward the body. It is difficult for a person already skilled in the regular method. This villager told of going to two noro
[193] priestesses in the village of Yabu who specialized in teaching this method of making ropes. The husband and the wife received instruction, paying about Y40 for it because the wife believed in the efficacy of the practice. Each year at the proper times, the husband now makes the special rope himself.

787 Some fortune telling practices shade into religious beliefs,
791 just as religious customs have also included soothsaying and divination. The noros and the Buddhist priests formerly practiced some fortune
184 telling. There were no fortune tellers in any of the villages studied, but villagers occasionally consult them. Here, too, the patronage comes largely from the old and from the women. Younger people, if they know about them, regard these practices as superstitions unworthy of belief. The word meishin (superstition) is frequently heard among the young in describing customs and beliefs of the old. The sign of the fortune
791 teller (sanjinsō) is the Chinese character for three written three
[212] times. These characters are said to signify the three states of existence, pre-natal, the present, and the afterlife, on all of which the fortune teller is well versed. Those in Hanashiro and Minatogawa who wish to consult a fortune teller go to Itoman; those in Hatsuda go to Nago. The cost is usually from Y40-50 a visit. Typical reasons for a consultation with a fortune teller are: (1) to find out if an ill person will become well, (2) among the fishermen, to find out if the fishermen will return when an unexpected storm has arisen, (3) to discover if a present unhappiness has been caused by the evil deed of an ancestor and if this can be corrected, and (4) to find out the lucky days for such undertakings as marriages, building a house, or beginning new phases of construction.

782 Old women may utter a prayer on seeing a child fall, fearing that
774 the child's spirit might escape because of surprise or fright. (This was observed in Minatogawa).

778 In Hatsuda, there were shelves for burning charcoal sticks in some of the numerous caves in the area. The nature of the worship could not be ascertained, but they may be offerings to deities of the cave.

5|4 Worship and prayers in the toilet seem to have completely dis-
776 appeared. There were no personified toilet gods. The toilet apparently
782 was the place in which thanks were given that a place for excrement had been provided. In all the villages, it was said to be an old belief
778 which has now died out. There was no shelf or special place of worship in the Toilet.

415 not use household equipment in their games. Instead they find broken Children do
857 dishes, old cans, and other discarded items in the trash heap.

354 The kitchen has no equipment other than the open fireplace with
[716] three hearth stones and a shelf above it on which a salt column, sym-
[654] bolizing kitchen deities, is kept. During the last few years, the Ryukyan government Home Extension Service has been trying to introduce brick stoves into farmhouses. Several families now have this kind of stove although it is expensive to build.

356 As far as can be superficially discerned, the home is kept clean. A visitor usually finds the floor of the house free of dirt. Footgear is taken off before entering, and children are reminded to wash their bare feet before going into the house. Less care is given to the area around the kitchen.

312 Outside the kitchen stand one or two jars to store water. A dipper is
415 kept nearby, and children playing in the vicinity or adults often walk to one of these jars for water, which they drink out of a dipper. There may also be an array of pots, pans, crates, baskets, and other equipment piled up around the kitchen. Knives and hatchets are openly left around among the equipment behind the kitchen.

351 The courtyard is an important place for domestic activities. Here women and girls wash dishes, mix pig food in large kettles, make bean paste in a hand stone grinder, and prepare grain for storage. There are
[34] vegetable patches in one corner of the yard, chicken coops, pigsties,
[514] goat pens, and an outhouse in another. Most garbage is fed to the pigs;
[364] the rest is thrown over the sea wall to roll down onto the beach.

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Chapter 2

Daily Routine

805 There are few clocks in central Taira. Except for the township office,
512 post office, and village store, only two or three families own a timepiece. Twice a day, at noon and 10 o'clock in the evening, a clerk strikes

an empty oxygen bottle with a wooden mallet to mark the time. The noon bell tells people in the fields and mountains that it is time for the midday meal and helps those who have a clock to compare the time. The evening bell indicates that it is time to end the day. Schoolchildren do not need a clock, since they get up early in the morning and go to school soon after, knowing that they are probably early. For most adults, daylight and sun position are enough to tell the approximate hour of the day. Some take arrival and departure of the bus, four times a day, as a point of orientation. 805 512 [964]

Old women are the first to rise in the morning. Long before dawn during the winter, or with the first light of the summer day, they get up and start a fire to boil sweet potatoes and heat the soybean soup. Blue smoke rising through the thatched roof into the early morning sky indicates that life in the village has begun. Children soon awake. The door is pushed open and a sleepy child appears to urinate off the edge of the house. Men are the last to rise. Considering the effect of the sake which they may have consumed on the preceding evening, it is remarkable that they are able to wake up so soon. By 6:30 the sleepiest person has risen. 512 [887] [252] [514]

The addition of outer clothes to the underclothing in which most people sleep is simple. Cold water splashed over the face and a quick turn at the toothbrush is all the toilet needed to begin a new day. [513] [515]

The task of folding comforters and taking down the mosquito net falls to one of the older children or to the mother. Older children and young girls help to carry water from the tank, the first task that has to be done after getting up. After breakfast, women feed the pigs. By about 7 o'clock everybody is ready for work. On a good day people leave for the mountains or start toward their fields—schoolchildren are on their way, too. [857] [462]

By 8 o'clock, except during very poor weather, the village is left to the old people and young children. Little boys and girls hang around, waiting for kindergarten to start at 9 o'clock. Play begins for them after they leave the house in the morning and does not end until evening. [855] [872]

For men and women, the routine of work in fields and forests is prescribed by seasonal activities which demand their special attention, but there are daily chores, such as digging potatoes, picking vegetables, and collecting feed for the animals and firewood for cooking. Only a few men who go to the mountains, taking their midday meal along, are away all day. The rest come and go during the day from the rice paddies, potato fields, or forests, so that there is repeated contact between children and their parents. A young child, even if left in the 512 461 [855]

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storing and are kept under the house or on a special shelf on the rafters. 244 [251]

Onions, giant radishes, beans, and cabbages are also raised on farm lands. Night soil is rarely used for such vegetables nowadays but is still used on potatoes. Several of these vegetables as well as others are raised by women in small "home-garden" plots. [514] [462]

The hardest working period during the year is in July and August. Within a few weeks after the rice harvest, the soil must be made ready for the second rice crop or the soil must be prepared for dry paddy potatoes. This is also the time for planting the chief sugar crop. All this takes place during the hottest time of the year, when efficiency is greatly reduced by heat and humidity. 244 243 [249]

Sugar harvest and processing fall in the period between January and March. One field after another is harvested by the owners after arrangements have been made for a date when the cane can be processed. Such arrangements are made with the director of the Taira cooperative, who supervises operations of the sugar mill which is owned by the cooperative. The whole family helps on the day of processing. Women carry bundles of branches and light firewood to heat the kettles. The operation requires the help of someone to feed cane into the small, diesel engine driven press, some to carry the pulp away, and others to watch the kettles in which extracted juice is boiled down to molasses. Finally, a few persons stir the brown residue in wide, open pots until it becomes stalted. Then it is put into tubs that hold about 132 pounds. 249 [474] [402]

The agricultural market for cash crops was totally disrupted at the end of World War II. There was no immediate outlet for sugar products; crops had been destroyed or neglected, and the sugar mill was demolished in the fighting. But by this time most people were too satisfied with the great returns from forest work to invest much time and energy in a crop which takes a year and a half to show any material results. Nevertheless, sugar was the first crop to find a market again. 433 249

Pineapple, introduced recently in Taira, has a promising future. Tea is still grown in small quantities, but few families grow more than they need for their own use, although it is a good potential cash crop for this area. 245

ANIMAL HUSBANDRY

Raising pigs is an important source of cash income for all households in the village. Even the poorest families own at least one, but few families have more than two; in the central village the average is about 1.2 per household. Pigs are given special care and attention. 231 [434]

871 call that in their quest for education, adolescents and even adults at-
177 tended the elementary grades. The introduction of a formal school system in the village marked the beginning of changes in the culture; the Japanese language was introduced, and teachers transmitted Japanese culture as part of the curriculum (Kerr, 1958). It is found today
[191] that people too old to have attended school—which in the early years was not compulsory—are the only ones who do not speak Japanese and who are illiterate. Their number is small, probably less than 5%
872 of Taira's population.

346 The school was moved about 40 years ago to nearby Kawata village,
[871] where a substantial schoolhouse was built. Today the elementary school is located there, about a one-mile walk from central Taira, but 3 miles from the outlying subvillage of Izena. The junior high school lies halfway between Taira and Kawata. During the war all school buildings were destroyed, but two new permanent structures for the elementary school were finished in 1954; one of these is a wooden building with a tile roof, the other an all-concrete, flat-roof structure of simple, modern design. Four classrooms and a teacher's room are located in these buildings. The remaining temporary, thatched-roof huts with three more classrooms will disappear as soon as the school rebuilding program is completed.

Built against a hill, the school has spacious grounds in front for sports and play. Classrooms for 30 to 35 students are fairly adequate in size and, in the new buildings, are well lighted by glass windows on sunny days but dark when skies are overcast because of the overhanging roof, which protects the hallway outside the classrooms from frequent showers, and the lack of artificial lighting. A building immediately be-
[514] hind the classrooms houses latrines, separated for boys and girls, although both pass through the same passageway where boys use the urinals. Equipment is extremely poor and a great problem for principal and teachers. Simple, rickety desks and chairs of unfinished wood are bought or made by parents for their children. They are standard in design but differ in height according to the size of the child. Many first graders' furniture is made with future growth in mind, while some older students have outgrown their desks and chairs. An older sibling may pass on his table to a younger one if it is still serviceable after several years of nonchalant treatment.

876 Teaching aids are few. A small organ is available for music lessons
[533] and is carried by several boys on the shoulders to the classroom where it is needed. Sometimes a teacher accompanies a singing class on a mouth organ. Visual aid material, maps, pictures, and charts are displayed in school rooms along with students' physical measurement tables and

855 swaddling and diapers. Almost immediately after he has passed his first
863 birthday, she will stop diapering him and substitute a short shirt or a dress during the summer and kimonos during the cold weather. This is the period which proves most trying to the young caretaker. Unless the baby is filthy and evokes much comment from others, however, they ignore the condition. The following examples illustrate common occurrences during this period:

H. (an 8-year-old girl) carrying her baby sister on the back is playing on the beach. She straightens up suddenly with a wry expression on her face. "She urinated, wet," she exclaims, standing up and spreading her dress at the back which is completely soaked. The baby is bare-bottomed and crowing happily at the older children playing around her. The older sister waves her dress briefly in the wind, then squats to continue her play. When asked if she was not going home to change, she exclaims that she would dry soon enough, and, as for the baby, she was dry. The day is warm and windy and the dress dries off rapidly.

K. (a 7-year-old girl), baby sister on her back, is squatting with other girls, drawing in the sand. As they draw figures in the sand, the baby breaks wind and defecates. It is a rather noisy operation, and the other girls watch fascinated and somewhat amused while K. keeps on sitting unconcerned. (The baby's bottom is bare so that the feces drops on the sand.) One of the girls laughs and comments on the feces dropping. K. says, "I will let my mother clean the ground." The other children walk away, spitting,* showing some disgust. All through this K. squats calmly, letting the baby eliminate undisturbed. She tells the baby "Finish defecating quickly," but she is not impatient, rather absent-minded.

863 Probably the earliest cleanliness training is the gentle withdrawal of unclean objects from the child, with statements of "Dirty, dirty." As he begins to respond to facial expression, the mother will show her disgust, shake her head and say, "Dirty!"

864 Infants may be patted or manipulated around the genital area by
854 an adult. Old women like to tweak a little boy's penis and jokingly say, "What is that, what is that?" Female infants are quickly covered with exaggerated expressions of shame whenever they are exposed for diaper changes. Petting of genitals by an adult is used mostly to soothe the child. It would be severely rebuked, however, if attempted by a child caretaker.

852 When the child is a year old, a simple ceremony is held. After a short birthday prayer, the child is offered a tray with food, an abacus counter, pencil, book, and money. The audience waits expectantly to see what the infant will choose. The pencil portends a writer, the money a

[514] * Expectoration at the sight of unpleasant things, such as dead animals or a pile of feces, is common among children and adults. Children pass a pile of dirt, spit at it, and cover it with dirt by a careless kick before continuing on.

857 cuddled it in her arms. The 5-year-old in this case was disappointed
854 at being relieved of his charge, but no doubt would have been happy to be absolved of any blame in the event that the baby had fallen and hurt itself.

857 Most 4- and 5-year-olds, therefore, find their nurturant efforts frus-
866 trated, for they are considered too young to carry their younger siblings. They are told that their necks will hurt, they are not strong enough,
[593] and that they will be dwarfs if they started to carry such a heavy bur-
[155] den from such an early age. A sturdy 5-year-old, nevertheless, finds that if he is persistent enough, his mother will allow him to carry his infant sibling for short periods of time with close supervision. It is on these short jaunts that the child basks in the shower of praise and is richly rewarded for his nurturant behavior. Several mothers reported how their 4- and 5-year-olds take pride periodically in mopping up floors, setting tables, and clearing up after a meal. "They don't really do these chores, they help at it, but we let them do it because they like to. And if they don't feel like doing it, we don't say anything," report these mothers.

857 Frequently kindergarten children accompany their mothers to the
241 potato fields in the afternoons. There they play in and around the plants or "help" their mothers. One 4-year-old girl pointed out with
866 pride that she goes with her mother to their fields to "clean dirt off the potatoes" which her mother has dug before placing them in the basket. Boys of 3 and 5 were observed "assisting" by following adults' instructions to drop the seed potato into the hole at planting time. Generally adults dislike taking children to distant fields, for they beg to be carried near the half-way point. Occasionally a young child who has been on such a trip is toted back in the grandmother's empty carrying basket or in one of the suspended shoulder-yoke baskets of his grandfather.

863 During the kindergarten period, constant pressure is put on the child to learn sphincter control. The child goes pantless until he at-
● 514 tains this goal, which is usually achieved by the age of 4. There is little formal bowel training. Children simply crouch and defecate. Grandmothers or mothers clean up the feces as soon as they see them. Younger children eliminate all over the village, but by 3 they usually restrict themselves to their own yards. When there are grandmothers
[887] in the family, bowel training seems to be taken over by them. Not infrequently the old woman can be seen standing over a child in the yard or cleaning up both the child and the yard. She is generally the one who gently coaxes the child to use the outhouse when he is old enough and physically able to straddle the opening over the pit. The

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practice of allowing the child to eliminate wherever he chooses is necessitated by the structure of the outhouse, a concrete tank covered with a slotted wooden board or loose planks. 863 [514]

Girls may go pantless until they are completely toilet trained but must wear dresses. Since clothing distinguishes those who have been toilet trained, girls proudly compare bright printed panties while boys sport nondescript short pants. Untrained boys wear short shirts or cotton kimonos in summer or flannel ones in the winter. [291]

Accidental wetting of pants and bedwetting do not present much of a problem to parents. Children, however, appear to be embarrassed in such situations. Mothers claim they do not scold or shame the children. It seems to be more of a threat to the child, who realizes his newly gained status and recognizes the accident as infantile behavior. A few children, ranging from 4 to 11, suffer from enuresis. An 11-year-old, according to the mother, wakes himself and rinses out his wet clothing without waking anyone else. She felt that he was suffering enough and so refrained from saying anything about it.

As seen in the description of the kindergarten session, constant pressure is placed on the child to keep himself clean. A mother seeing a dirty child will laughingly tell him to go sleep with the rats. There is a nasal affliction which is common among children up until the age of 8. Whereas the mother or grandmother tends the infant, sucking the mucus out of his nose, they do not aid the weaned child. During the preschool years, the child, with a well-practiced movement of the arm, smears the discharge over half his face, onto his kimono or shirt sleeves, or wipes it impatiently with his grimy hands. The resulting appearance prompts others to tease, "Dirty faced cat," or to question sneeringly, "Did the rat walk over your face?" It seems, however, that boys are less interested in cleanliness and tolerate dirty and unkemptness for a longer period of time than girls. By the time they are 5 years old, girls are conscious of their appearance, but this may be because they frequently accompany older girls to the wells and rivers when laundering is being done. As it was the usual procedure to end the task with washing heads and delousing, the girls were less soiled than the boys at this age. Five- and 6-year-old girls are praised for going to the well or river to wash their own clothing and heads if they go with older children. If they go alone, they are severely scolded and punished. When the faucets were installed in the village, 4-year-old girls assiduously tended to their grooming, spurred on by the praise and admiration of adults. Girls may be punished, on the other hand, for using too much soap or washing too often. One mother complained that her 8-year-old girl used to be such a stickler for cleanliness and

863 515 [854] [296]

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[For information on health and sanitation, see also Category 751.]

The leaves of the yūna tree are a native
311 substitute for toilet paper, and are still used in some villages, though people
824 deny that the practice continues. When pressed they may intimate that so-and-
[514] so, "the poor family over the hill", retains the practice. Banyan trees fur-
[178] nish leaves for green manure, as do many other varieties. Before the war many
people grew kuroki for eventual use in the making of samisens. The top of the
[534] tree was cut when young so that it would become stubby and thick. The neigh-
boring village of Tsukazan boasts of a samisen-maker whose fame has taken him to Naha. The 'kusunoki' tree is considered to be the best tree to plant near the home, for it discourages termites.

241 Fertilizers Okinawan farmers in most areas utilize the traditional night soil and green manures, as well as the modern synthetic fertilizers.
[514] Almost every house has two toilets. The one not in use is utilized as a
[237] night-soil decay pit. Pig manure is mixed with the human excreta, water added, and the whole let set for about a fortnight before use on the fields. Use of animal manure in the paddies was abandoned with the introduction of the new variety of rice. Animal manure produced good heads on the old variety but makes heavy stalks only on the new.

241 Green manure is extensively used as a plant nutrient in the paddy
824 fields. Indeed, some paddies in winter are devoted to the raising of green manure, which is plowed under before spring planting. Outer leaves of cabbage are fed to goats to become manure for the dry fields, or the leaves are trampled into the mud of the paddy to decay. Thistles, 'kuwazu-imo' leaves, and tree leaves of the yūna and banyan are only a few of the many types of green manure. Compost, or 'taihi', is made for the dry fields and some paddies by mixing animal manure with 'genya' grasses, rice straw, and other plant remains. Before the war, compost was not used for vegetables, because it would cause a shortage in the amount available for the cane fields. Nowadays compost is more available, and many vegetables assume huge proportions. One Nanahan farmer produced a wax melon weighting 97 'kin', or 128 pounds.

241 Commercial fertilizers available to the farmers include ammonium sulphate ('ryusan ammoniya', 'ryūan'), synthesized fertilizer ('kasei hiryo'), ammonium nitrate ('ryusan kari'), nitrogen-lime ('sekkai chisso'), urea ('nyōso'), potassium chloride ('enkakari'), and superphosphate of lime ('Karinsan sekkai'). Ammonium sulphate is preferred for sugar cane. During the last four or five years the Agricultural Federation ('Nōren') in Naha has enforced a tie-in sale so that when a farmer buys two sacks of ammonium sulphate, he must also buy one sack of superphosphate of lime. Farmers in Tomoyose quite often dispose of the latter by dumping it beside the road, as they believe that it is not good for the soil found on their farms. One enterprising Nanahan farmer, who for several years was a member of the Kochinda-son agricultural committee, enquires about the cast-off fertilizer, and when he finds it he uses it to good effect. When he was interviewed concerning this, he expressed anger at what he considered the backwardness of his neighbors.

Okinawans were first introduced to chemical fertilizer in the mid-
[177] twenties, when a black fertilizer appeared. This was later replaced by the various white products, which since some time before the war have been supplemented by soybean waste when available.

The yard in which the Okinawan home stands is also rather uniform in 351
its appearance. It is usually surrounded by a stone wall or a thick hedge for protection against winds. Inside the gate is a himpung, a short wall that prevents one from looking straight through the gate into the house. The space between the himpung and the house is hard earth; this is where mats are spread for drying grain and where many other household tasks are performed. This yard space may be lined on one or both sides with outbuildings for the [343]
storage of tools and crops and for housing livestock---two or three goats, [231]
and here and there an ox or a horse. Behind the house is a pigsty. There may also be a chicken-coop, but chickens often run loose. There are usually a few trees in the yard, often a clump of bananas. Behind the house is also [514]
the toilet; formerly it was combined with the pigsty, but now it is usually an oil-drum. In many villages every house has its own well, but even where [312]
wells are fewer there is almost sure to be a cistern beside the house to catch rain-water. The house and yard will be discussed again later in relation to sanitation and health (see Chapter IX).[1] 128

The social unit that occupies such a house and yard is the family. 592
The structure of the family is also dealt with in detail by Pitts in Chapter VII. Let it suffice to say here that ideally the first son stays with his [591]
parents after his marriage while younger sons establish separate households. Thus the family consists of a couple and their unmarried children or a couple with a married first son, his wife and children, and his unmarried brothers and sisters. The deaths of one or more members may reduce the family without breaking it up. Two married couples, parents and grandparents of the youngest generation, is the usual maximum. If two married sons live under the same roof it is usually regarded as a temporary expedient. Thus while the total number of persons in the household may be as many as a dozen, the average number is a little less than five.

The family, that is, the members of the household, is an economic unit, a social unit, and a ceremonial unit. As an economic unit the members of a household work together, producing for and consuming from a common stock. They cooperate with other households on the basis of common interest as neighbors. They form a social unit within the "han", the "ku", and the "son", they are [666]
registered as a unit in the "koseki", and may have only one vote---cast by the head of the house---in local elections. As a ceremonial unit they form part of a numbered and graded system based on common descent.

The Structure of Kinship Relations In traditional Okinawan society, as in 593
other societies of East Asia, the fundamental unit is the family and the basic axis within the family is a vertical 602
one running through the male line, the father-oldest son axis.[2] The basic values that support this structure are unity and continuity. Individuals are of varying importance to the family depending on their closeness to the father-first son axis; females are less important than males; younger sons

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1 For a more detailed account of the house and yard see Glacken, 1953, Chapter 5.

2 I have borrowed this concept from Francis L. K. Hsu, to whose writings I am indebted.

847 783 Finally one of her brothers told them the reason. When she had been a young woman her husband had been awa, for a long period during which she had had relations with other men and had had a baby by one of them. To avoid the disgrace and the anger of her husband, the woman's mother had buried the child alive in the back yard. The story was known to other older members of the family because some time later the bones had been discovered. When the story was told to the children, they told their dying mother that she could now go peacefully. She died soon after. All agreed that if a tablet had been made for the dead infant and incense had been burned, even in secret, the mother would not have suffered when she died. Infanticide thus may be punished by the supernatural, but then the punishment may also be avoided by the proper offerings.

847 Lebra reports that birth statistics from the village of Kitazato suggest that female infanticide has been practiced there recently. Statistics from other communities studied do not give the same skewed sex ration.

853 854 Infant Care Okinawan mothers nurse their babies for a year to a year and a half, though some are said to continue even until the child is three. They keep no schedules but give their babies the breast whenever they seem to want it. They deliberately offer a fretful baby the breast not only to appease its hunger but also to comfort it and it is not unusual to see a grandmother offer her dry breast to a child as a pacifier. I once commented to two Okinawan women that a certain American doctor has argued that Okinawans are happier than Americans because they are breast-fed as infants rather than bottle-fed; the women answered immediately, "But it's not the milk; it's the love ('aijō')."

853 Infants receive no food other than milk for the first nine months. Then they are given a little gruel made by skimming off the top of a mixture of cooked rice and water. This is not given earlier because it is believed that milk and rice do not mix well in the infant's stomach. After the child's first birthday it is given most adult food, unless it is especially weak. Most children will not eat everything, however, but, it is said, will prefer sweet foods and avoid highly seasoned foods. Mothers do not prechew food for small children as a rule but may do so in some cases, to take the bones out of fish, for example.

863 [SN] Toilet training is neither early nor strict. Adults as a rule defecate only in the toilet but are likely to urinate almost anywhere. They do not expect small children to be very careful. A baby wears a diaper until it is a year or a year and a half; then it may wear only a dress or shirt with no pants. At first the mother holds it over the toilet or merely off the edge of the house. In time it is expected to go to the toilet itself to defecate. Children are said to go by themselves when they are three. I have seen children of four still defecating beside the house, too busy playing to go to the toilet. They were scolded for it but received no more severe punishment. [178] This was in the city, however, and I was told that while their mothers did not object much to this behavior, their grandmother objected more strongly and scolded their mothers for permitting it. The change in type of toilet may

513 Ventilation at night may be poor; the sliding doors are usually tightly shut and locked. In larger towns and cities this practice may be explained as due to the prevalence of thieves, but in the country there must be another reason; it is probably the fear of yanakaji or of the kiji-
[775] munaa. The first, yanakaji, literally "bad winds", are ghosts, who may
[776] cause illness. The kijimunaa is a sea-being or tree-being who causes a frightening but harmless sensation of smothering and weight on the chest. These creatures may enter through open doors or windows. According to one informant their entry might be prevented by setting up a butcher knife in the opening but I have not seen it done. (It could only be done for a window; in a door it would be dangerous to the human occupants.)

In spite of their sleeping with relatively little change in position while in bed, Okinawans seem to be able to fall asleep in a variety of positions and circumstances, in busses and on trucks, in the midst of family activities, with noise and bright lights apparently presenting no obstacles. This ability may be the result of the early experience of sleeping under all sorts of conditions while being carried on the mother's back. There are two restrictions to sleeping. All avoid sleeping with the head oriented west, because that is the way a corpse is oriented. The other is that girls and women must avoid sleeping with the legs separated. Lebra observed one grandmother give her little granddaughter a hard pinch on the thigh for this.

Okinawans recognize that sleep is essential to maintaining the body. After a restless night one may say that he "had insufficient sleep".
[171] It has been asserted that the Japanese regard sleep as a luxury rather than as a necessity. This cannot be said of the Okinawans.

515 Cleanliness In care of the body, the Okinawans are among the cleanlier of
171 the world's peoples. They bathe frequently, keep their nails
[302] clean by constant trimming, their teeth clean by prolonged morning brushing, and their hair neatly cut or dressed. But they are not as cleanly as the Japanese or at least as the urban Japanese. One reason why they bathe less frequently is that baths are simply less available. Many villages are without public baths. Most farmers must either pour cold water over themselves at their wells or a little hot water warmed in the kitchen. In villages
[834] where there are few wells the water must be carried. Another factor may be modesty; nudity is not taken for granted as in Japan, so that one does not strip nude at the well in the daytime. A third factor may be the lack
[703] of such highly-developed concepts of ceremonial purity and pollution as exist in Japan. There are no tabus on the activities of menstruating women on Okinawa as there are in Japan, for example.

291 Nudity Pre-school children often play nude. Mothers sometimes appear to
834 be displaying little boys nude to demonstrate their masculinity. Photographs of naked baby boys are popular. Boys may continue to swim nude until eight or so, but girls begin to put on some garment for swimming
[153] sooner. Women nurse in public and sometimes work at home with the breasts
[514] uncovered. Adults of both sexes may urinate in public, but in such a way that the body may not be seen. Adults do not appear publicly or privately
[515] before one another nude. Public bath houses have separate sections for men

and women. Two informants who had lived in Japan denied having ever heard of 291
public baths with mixed bathing. Okinawans have occasionally been shocked by 834
seeing Americans nude. Okinawans feel that not only should the lower part of [515]
the torso be covered for the sake of modesty but the upper part also should be covered, if one is out of doors, for reasons of health; the sun's rays are harmful if too strong. Modesty may even reach proportions uncommon in the [826]
West; one young man told Lebra that he does not enjoy going swimming because he believes he is too hairy. The same young man told how he and other boys, when in high school, used to peep through a crack in the bathhouse wall in order to see the women bathing on the other side, until they were chased away by the proprietor. This hardly suggests the casual attitude toward nudity reported for the Japanese.

Body Ornamentation The Okinawans seem never to have practiced any sort of 178
body mutilation---such as the Chinese foot-binding. 304
However, women were tattooed on the wrists and backs of the hands until early in this century. Most women over 50 have tattooed hands. There are several stories told that purport to explain the origin of the practice---that it was to prevent Okinawan women from being kidnapped, for example---but these stories are of doubtful value. The designs have names but evidently no meaning; one old woman said that they varied with the tattoo artist, who put on whatever he wanted. Tattooing was done before puberty and marriage. It may have originally been part of a puberty rite.

Many people of both sexes between the ages of 20 and 40 have elab- 301
orate gold and silver work on their teeth. In many cases the work does not consist of fillings or bridges but of thin caps put over sound teeth for purely ornamental reasons. These can be removed without harming the teeth. People are said to be having this sort of work done today, but in time the [177]
value Americans and present-day Japanese put on "natural-looking" teeth may win out over the urge to ornament the mouth. Of course there is also a great deal genuine dental work done because of tooth decay.

At present American values and modern Japanese values in feminine 177
beauty are being spread by the beauty parlor. For several years the perma- 832
nent wave has been popular though perhaps not well suited to Mongoloid hair. [305]
And recently a number of young women are said to have added padded brassieres [302]
to their equipment. [241]

Elimination Urination and defecation are regarded differently. Urination 514
in public is permissible for males, if they turn away. I have seen a dignified old gentleman talking over his shoulder to a young woman while he urinated into the ditch. Women may also urinate in public, though they do so less frequently. Defecation in public is not usual; even children [863]
are scolded for it though they may occasionally do it. Feces ought to go [241]
in the proper place; one reason for using the toilet may be that the "night-soil" is used as fertilizer.

The Okinawan term kusu is used rather more freely than its Japanese 192
cognate, though the uses are parallel. Alone it means "feces", human or animal. It is the usual word for animal manure. In compounds it may mean

had complained to the police about this but the police had said that this 838
was a mental disorder and therefore not their affair. The disregard shown
the young boys in this case accords with Okinawan attitudes toward children [858]
discussed elsewhere; they are not developed enough, perhaps, to be corrupt-
ible. Another example is that of a male employee of a 'ryōtei' in another
city who is in the habit of putting on a woman's kimono and wig and singing
in a falsetto voice for the amusement of male guests. He is not known to
"take guests" but is very effeminate in his ordinary manner. School girls
are said to form strong attachments to one another, but there is no in-
dication of the persistence of such relationships.

The terms for the sex organs, tani, "penis", and hoo, "vulva", are 834
used rather freely by older persons, but children are expected to use them 864
only for serious purposes. It is said that if children used the terms re-
peatedly in joking they might be scolded for "dirty talk". An old woman
once told me, in the presence of several younger women and a twelve-year-
old girl, an amusing story about an old woman who always sat with her kimono
pulled up and was therefore called "Hoo-Hai Ayaa", "Mother Vulva-Visible".
Everyone laughed but the girl, who looked rather embarrassed. After the
battle in 1945 when American food was issued in quantities, Okinawans be-
came familiar with wiener sausages, which they still remember with relish
as tani-gwaa, "little penises". As in Japanese, the word for sexual re-
lations is formed by adding the verb "to do" to the word for vulva. This
term would not be used before children or in polite conversation.

2. Sanitation

An American, watching the habits of daily living of an Okinawan 731
family, may find his first impression to be one of shock. In the morning 512
the sliding doors that kept out any fresh air all night are pushed open and [514]
the children, dressed in the underclothes they have slept in, walk sleepily
to the step and urinate off it. Father steps down and walks a few feet
around the side of the house and does the same. Grandmother is already in
the kitchen preparing breakfast and smoke soon fills the upper air in the
main part of the house, looking for a way out in the absence of a chimney.
Father goes to the well with a small towel around his neck, throws cold [515]
water over his face, and washes it with a little soap. He then brushes his
teeth long and hard and puts the family toothbrush back on the hook for
Mother to use later. Mother takes down the great mosquito net the family [264]
has slept under, folds up the quilts, and brings out breakfast---tea, a
thin soup, and sweet potatoes. Soon tea grounds and potato peels come fly- [351]
ing out onto the ground in rapid succession. A chicken walks in from a
neighbor's yard, pecks diffidently at a potato peel, and walks on, leaving
a token of gratitude behind. The sun begins to warm the air and the flies
to swarm around the toilet behind the house, into the kitchen, across the
remains of the family's meal in the main rooms, and around the scraps in
front. Father goes to work and the older children go to school. Mother [264]
washes the dishes at the well, in cold water without soap, and leaves them
to dry in the sun. Flies light on them.

751
The visitor looks into the toilet. It is an oil drum with a plat- 514
form over it and a wood and canvas shelter over that. The cover is off. 343

751
●514 The drum is nearly full and its surface is in constant motion, a seething
343 mass of maggots. One of those men with the carts that cause you to cross
[364] to the other side of the road will come in a few days to dump it, he hopes.
574 He crosses the yard and is invited into the house. He takes off his shoes
751 and steps up onto the floor. It is surprisingly clean, he finds. A mat is
[356] spread and he sits cross-legged upon it. Tea is offered and he accepts, thinking that it must have been made from boiled water. He learns later that he was wrong. He is given a fan and perceives that its function is keeping the flies away as much as it is creating a breeze. In a spirit of friendly cooperation he and Grandfather take turns shooing the flies off the broken chunks of black sugar that have been placed before them. A larger blue-bottle fly enters and someone makes a special effort to chase
[825] it out. Should the visitor be so crude and impolite as to mention flies and in connection with the toilet, it will be pointed out that only the blue-bottle flies are hatched from the maggots in the toilet. The smaller black house-flies simply produce more flies and hence are harmless.

[264] Bananas are served and the peels follow those of the potatoes out onto the ground. Smaller children run in and out. One child comes in with
[515] its nose running. After a time Mother pulls up its shirt tail and wipes the mucus off the upper lip. The child has not been well; Mother or Grandmother
[757] may take it to the yabuu, who will burn moxa on its skin at the proper places. A neighbor's child walks by; its face and nearly hairless head are
[753] a mass of scabs and its eyes are almost shut by pus. Someone laughingly explains that this is what happens when you don't cut a baby's buttocks properly with a razor to draw out the bad blood.

The visitor is urged to take more tea and sugar. He is complimented on his interest in Okinawa and is asked innumerable questions about America. The family is eager for knowledge and for further contact. As he rises to leave, he is urged to return. He puts on his shoes, finding one slightly
[753] damp from the poor aim of the youngest child. He is cautioned to wear his hat and knows by now the unspoken fear---encephalitis---caused by too much exposure to the sun. He notices that around the well where Mother has been
[296] doing laundry a great pool of water is gradually sinking into the sand. As he picks his way across the yard he wonders if the family would not be better off living in a houseboat, preferably in a fast-moving stream.

751 Such are some of the features of Okinawan life. Yet it would be a mistake to assume that there are no standards of sanitation. There are; they
356 are simply narrower than those of most Americans. Many Okinawans do throw
751 garbage out their front doors as indicated above, but it is also true that the floor of the house is usually cleaner than many American floors. It has to be clean; people sit on it and sleep on it. People take off their shoes before stepping up onto it or if they have been to the fields barefooted
751 they may wash their feet before stepping up onto it. But the area of cleanliness ends with the step. Beyond the step is a different sort of territory.
[351] Yet even in the yard there is a limit to the amount of trash that may be al-
[514] lowed to accumulate before it is swept away. The practice of urinating in the yard is distasteful to the American observer, but there is perhaps less basis for objection to it as a health hazard. Urine is relatively harmless. Feces, however, go into the toilet. If an untrained child defecates in the yard usually someone cleans up the spot.

These rooms, opening on the front of the house along the corridor, do not run the full length of the house. A fourth, a back room, running across the back part may open on to the kitchen. Sometimes this room is only roughly finished and used for storage or sleeping purposes or both. A grandmother often takes the grandchildren (other than the infant) to bed with her in this room. 342 [353] [513]

The kitchen is set off from the rest of the house by being on a lower level, perhaps one step. The kitchen usually has a hard dirt floor. Occasionally it is cemented. Sometimes it has a chimney, sometimes a hole in the side of the wall, which the curious smoke rejects in favor of a leisurely diffusion throughout the other rooms of the house. The kitchen is not part of the house in the sense that the other rooms are. The shoes are not removed when entering it. The kitchen opens out on to a stone or dirt path. Women frequently still eat in the kitchen because of its convenience and the need of going in and out to get water, or to wash vegetables, or to get food from the shed during the preparation of a meal. [576] [264]

The stove is basically an open hearth with a hole at the top for the cooking pan. There is also a hole directly below this into which the fuel can be placed. More elaborate stoves may have three tiers: one for the cooking, one for putting the fuel in, the lower for the ashes. The most simple, in the very poorest houses, are little more than a circular group of stones laid on the ground built up so that a pan can be placed on top. The most elaborate, made of stone, might run across the width of the kitchen and have several openings. Fuel, such as odd branches, sticks of firewood brought from the northern (Kunigami) region, crushed and dried sugar cane, or miscanthus grass of varying length is put part way into the fire and pushed further in as the ends are burned off. 354 [372]

The all stone house is smaller than the wooden house. It invariably has a tile roof, for those able to afford the stone can also buy the tile. The stone blocks used in house construction are usually about nine feet by one foot on the edge.[6] The stones used as posts are buried two feet in the ground leaving seven feet for the upright. These blocks, called ishibashida when used for house construction, have the same width and breadth; they can be cut to any desired length to even off the sides. The stones are layed like bricks with mortar to form the walls of the house. The all stone house is not common, and is usually seen in the south, where the stone is quarried, in Minatogawa, and in adjacent villages. These houses are more modern, and often bathing facilities are built in. The stone house has the advantage of being cool in summer, warm in winter. 342 [333] [184] [515]

Finally, there are the simple structures, resembling shacks or shanties more than houses. These are, as one would expect, more frequent in the areas of the war's operations. There are three main varieties, though the combinations are numerous: (1) the all grass house, now uncommon. The sides of this wattled house are usually of [362]

6 Actually they are 9 x 1 x 1 shaku. A shaku is 0.994 feet.

Japanese canned fish: mackerel, bonito, clams, whale meat hash 443
Noodles, buckwheat spaghetti and macaroni type pastes 262
Cookies, stored in glass jars, and sold singly
Sweet rolls (manju) from a town bakery, and sweetened bread (pan) 212
Tea
Aji no moto
White sugar
Soy bean oil

Soft Drinks and Candy

443

Bottled lemon and orange ades [212]
Cocoa Cola
Gum
Various candies sold by the piece, also stored in glass jars on the counter.

Notions

Needles and thread
Buttons of various sizes
Trimmings and ribbons [412]
Braids for making and trimming kimonos
hair pins, and combs

Clothing

Clogs (geta)
Undershirts [291]
Fibre sandals

Toilet Articles

Perfumes and toilet waters
Shampoos, liquid and powdered. [302]
Pomades and brilliantines
Toothbrushes [515]
Soaps
Toilet paper

Stationery

School tablets and notebooks
Pencils [212]
Comic books (in Japanese)

Medicines

Aspirin
Stomach powders [218]
Eye lotions

Present day clothing is of a non-descript character. The war destroyed old stocks and villagers have been unable to buy much new clothing. Many farmers and fishermen have one western style suit, shirt, necktie, and a pair of shoes, but these are worn only on rare occasions, such as having one's picture taken. Most of the women still have a Japanese style kimono in storage. An article of army clothing, mostly American but occasionally Japanese, often is the basic garment whether it be a pair of trousers, a shirt, or a field jacket. Older women still wear a cheap cotton kimono usually indigo blue with white dots. 291 727 [292] [177]

In work anything at hand is worn. Fishermen, farmers, workers in the forest generally go barefoot the year round. Girls and young married women are increasingly wearing cheap and attractive house dresses which they prefer to the inconvenient kimono. Children's clothing shows similar improvisation in the use of what is available. 291

In leisure hours, clogs (geta) are often worn by men, women, and children, particularly in the evenings as a protection against snakes. Some men wear shoes consistently, but they are most commonly worn by officials, school teachers, or men in business.

There is no standard headdress. Hats are few. A few cone shaped hats are worn in the rice fields. These are made from straw or rush. An ordinary cotton cap with a visor is common. Men and women frequently wrap a cloth, usually a piece of towelling, around the head. A towel hanging from the back pocket of the trousers of a young man is part of his summer equipment.

5

Laundering and Bathing

Laundering is done by women. There are no set customs about doing it. Neither is it a community affair. In Hanashiro those who have wells do their laundry in their own compound. Those without wells either do it at a neighbor's well (without charge), or at one of the community ponds designated for this purpose. In Matsuda, the small stream, a pond, or wells are also used. 296 [312]

Clothes are rubbed, washed, and rinsed by hand. The custom practiced in Matsuda up to 20 years ago of beating clothes against stones has disappeared. If laundering is done in a spring or small stream in the summer, it is common to take a bath after the washing is done. In Itinatogawa, the women collect around an open faucet, or the public water tank. These are in continuous use for laundry, hair washing, and washing vegetables.

The passion for bathing, conspicuous among the fastidious Japanese, is less in evidence in these villages. But it is also difficult to bathe. Villagers must content themselves with washing with a cloth, like a sponge bath. In Hanashiro villagers may go to 515

515 the Japanese style public bath at Minatogawa. There are separate rooms for men and women. The body is soaped; then the soap is washed off. One gets into the hot watertub to soak. In this arrangement, all the advantages lie with the first comers. In the winter, the Minatogawans use their public bath houses. But in the summer, they soap themselves thoroughly and rinse off under a public faucet, keeping on a pair of shorts or a light skirt, depending on sex. In Matsuda, an outside tub is frequently used. This is bullet shaped, about three feet in diameter and about the same depth. Generally it has a rudely constructed roof. The bath water, not so hot as the Japanese like it, is only moderately warm.

In family tub bathing, there is an order in which the bath
[516] is taken. Guests are first, followed by the head of the house, then by other males in order such as first, second, or third sons, and finally the women of the house, starting with the eldest. Many people in Matsuda go, usually about once a week, to the neighboring village of Ginoza for their bath.

6

Hair Styles

302 In the days of the old kingdom, men and boys wore the hair long. A patch on the crown was shaved, and the long glossy hair was gathered on all sides and made into a tight knot and pinned
[175] with two hair pins. Satow mentions that between the ages of 16 and 19 the ceremony of gembutsu took place. The central part of the head was shaven, and the long hair was then put up. According to this author, the custom dated back two centuries.[2] Various oils were used on the long hair to keep it in place. This hair dress for men and boys was described by Basil Hall in 1816; Commodore Perry's staff made similar observations, and the reports of Furness (1896) and Simon (1910) indicated that there had been no changes in the style.

The cutting of men's hair is said to have begun about 40 years ago. While some thought the Japanese forced this, it seems to have been done voluntarily. A high school principal, now in his late forties, told me of his childhood remembrance of crying at seeing his young father willingly shearing off his own long and luxuriant hair.

[177] The clipped (marugari) head for young boys is a Japanese introduction. It was required for health reasons by the Japanese school teachers. The clipped cut, for young boys, has persisted, and it is

2 Satow, E. M. Notes on Loochoo. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 1 (1882), 1-8.

593 The husband or father is not a tyrant. Nevertheless the wife is unlikely to challenge her husband directly on any important matter. If she is scolded, she may continue with her work in silence, ignoring her husband.

562 177 Women who have lived abroad in places like Hawaii or who have experienced the metropolitan life of Japanese cities are more likely to be dissatisfied. Occasionally one meets a woman who thinks this is a man's world (otoko no tenka) and that women should have more privileges than they now have. This attitude has been sharpened through American influences, directly by contact with American soldiers and civilians, indirectly by discussions which appear in Japanese periodicals of the life of American women. How widely this attitude exists is difficult to say, though I believe that at present (January 1952) it is not a strong force among women in the villages.

562 Though her place is at home, the woman is by no means removed from the wider aspects of village life. She may take an active part in the Women's Association. She may handle the family money or part of it. She may operate a little store to supplement her husband's income from the fields, or if she is a widow, to provide for her own support. She may participate in mutual loan groups. And she may be the head of a household.

8

Public Health

515 511 751 The people of the villages are conscious of health and sanitation, an awareness gained under the Japanese. This awareness and desire for cleanliness and sanitation meet major obstacles in the lack of running water, the distance to public baths, the expense and trouble (or both) of heating quantities of water, the cost of soap, the poorness of the outdoor toilets especially in the devastated areas.

An analysis of village health problems requires the specialized knowledge of the physician or doctor of public health. The observations of a layman however may have some interest.

511 [364] The general sanitary conditions are not good. The weak spots are (1) Poor outdoor toilets and their haphazard location with relation to wells. (2) The dirty and smoky Okinawan kitchen. Many have dirt floors and little effort is made to keep them clean. The situation is better with the stone floor or cemented kitchen. Women complain about smoke smarting and injuring their eyes. All of the rooms of an Okinawan house, especially in winter, are likely to be very smoky around meal times. (3) Food preparation and dishwashing are often done in dirty surroundings. Foods are fried or boiled, and this is all to the good. In making tea, the water is seldom boiled; more often it is only brought to a boil or allowed to get hot.

Okinawans

164 blame tooth decay on the brown sugar. It may be diet or water.
[753] Use of tooth brushes varies considerably with individuals and
[515] families.

515 The standard of cleanliness in Okinawan homes is not high,
but this cannot be ascribed to indifference. One should constantly
511 bear in mind that it is easy to keep clean with plenty of soap,
showers, hot running water, washing machines, and flush toilets.

9

Native Medicine

278 The native medicine has already been referred to in the discussion of fish and wild plants used as medicines. Their use has declined with growing reliance on manufactured drugs and pharmaceuticals.

757 The golden needle (kinbari) is still used by rural doctors (yabu)
[759] in the treatment of inflamations of the joints and rheumatism. There was one such doctor in Minatogawa, but ordinarily he is called only when real medical attention is not available.

The needle is scarcely thicker than a horse hair. It is encased
[913] in a shaft about 2 3/8 inches long. The grip or base of the needle is 3/4 of an inch long and the needle itself 1 7/8 inches. The needle is tapped and gradually worked into the affected part, and a length from 3/4 to one inch is broken off and allowed to remain in the body and circulate to effect its curative powers.

Blood letting is still practiced, often by the individual himself. Thin cuts are made with a razor, generally on the forehead above the eyebrows and slanting toward the bridge of the nose. This is done to relieve headaches and general pains and may be resorted to after aspirin has failed to relieve a headache. On a close look, one can often observe the slight, thin, long scars, which look like tiny wrinkles, resulting from these slashes. During the operation, a sake cup is held up to the place being cut. The cup may even have a little sake in it. When done by a native doctor, the blood may be sucked through a small tube and allowed to drip into a sake cup.

Cauterization using mogusa (moxa) also is still common. One can frequently see scar tissue, the results of burning mogusa on the flesh, usually in the area around the wrist. Mogusa is applied with glowing charcoal sticks, burning thread, or tobacco. It is used for no specific complaint, but as a counter-irritant cureall for a wide variety of ailments.

Acupuncture apparently is little used now. Formerly an area was pricked with a needle, or a series of needles brought to a point, and
[386] an indigo dye applied. One can observe these round spots, circles of dots, occasionally on the shoulders and the backs of older people. These should not be confused with tattooing.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

an empty oxygen bottle with a wooden mallet to mark the time. The noon bell tells people in the fields and mountains that it is time for the midday meal and helps those who have a clock to compare the time. The evening bell indicates that it is time to end the day. Schoolchildren do not need a clock, since they get up early in the morning and go to school soon after, knowing that they are probably early. For most adults, daylight and sun position are enough to tell the approximate hour of the day. Some take arrival and departure of the bus, four times a day, as a point of orientation. 805 512 [864]

Old women are the first to rise in the morning. Long before dawn during the winter, or with the first light of the summer day, they get up and start a fire to boil sweet potatoes and heat the soybean soup. Blue smoke rising through the thatched roof into the early morning sky indicates that life in the village has begun. Children soon awake. The door is pushed open and a sleepy child appears to urinate off the edge of the house. Men are the last to rise. Considering the effect of the sake which they may have consumed on the preceding evening, it is remarkable that they are able to wake up so soon. By 6:30 the sleepiest person has risen. 512 [887] [252] [514]

The addition of outer clothes to the underclothing in which most people sleep is simple. Cold water splashed over the face and a quick turn at the toothbrush is all the toilet needed to begin a new day. [513] [515]

The task of folding comforters and taking down the mosquito net falls to one of the older children or to the mother. Older children and young girls help to carry water from the tank, the first task that has to be done after getting up. After breakfast, women feed the pigs. By about 7 o'clock everybody is ready for work. On a good day people leave for the mountains or start toward their fields—schoolchildren are on their way, too. [857] [462]

By 8 o'clock, except during very poor weather, the village is left to the old people and young children. Little boys and girls hang around, waiting for kindergarten to start at 9 o'clock. Play begins for them after they leave the house in the morning and does not end until evening. [855] [872]

For men and women, the routine of work in fields and forests is prescribed by seasonal activities which demand their special attention, but there are daily chores, such as digging potatoes, picking vegetables, and collecting feed for the animals and firewood for cooking. Only a few men who go to the mountains, taking their midday meal along, are away all day. The rest come and go during the day from the rice paddies, potato fields, or forests, so that there is repeated contact between children and their parents. A young child, even if left in the 512 461 [855]

512 care of an older sibling or the kindergarten teacher, therefore has a
461 chance to see the mother. Men and women who have gone to the
[855] mountains return with their first load of wood around 10 o'clock. The
mother will return again around noon and prepare the midday meal:
[262] noodle soup, fried cabbage with dried shrimps, perhaps rice, and always sweet potatoes. After lunch there is a short rest period. During the hot summer months this rest extends to an hour or more, and on the hottest days people lie in their houses sleeping during the noon hours. Midday is also a time for social interaction. There is some visit-
[574] ing back and forth. Old people always seek each other's company, and younger ones back from the fields or forest may join them for a while.

512 Toward evening blue smoke indicates again that food is being pre-
[231] pared. Pigs are fed by the women in late afternoon. Then women, young girls, or boys fill water buckets and carry them home. After 5
512 there is a heavy run on the tank or faucets, and this is often the time
515 when families start preparing a bath. It takes until dark to warm up an oil drum filled with water and heated underneath by scraps of wood and twigs. People take their bath after dark. Since the bath house was destroyed during the war, ablutions take place outside near the tank under a faucet or in an old oil drum in one's backyard.

512 Young men who return from the mountains wash their horses in the
[231] sea. The women who sell fish call on each house at this hour to peddle
[238] their wares. The village store, which has only seen a few customers in the morning and during noon, now has its busiest hour. Mothers send their children to buy noodles, kerosene, rice, or seaweed or else they come themselves, a baby on their back or the toddlers following them.

[889] This is also the hour when the young men and women gather to do joint work in the fields of their association or to play volleyball on the playground. Meanwhile, all forest workers have returned and busily cut the last pieces of firewood, bundling them before the store clerk comes along to buy the load. Some adults sit near the playground and watch the children.

512 Work goes on until dark. Only then do families gather for the eve-
264 ning meal. During the summer this may be as late as 8 o'clock. For many families this is the only time during the day when everybody gathers in the family circle. At this time family affairs may be discussed and plans made for the next day's work or other pending matters.

512 The evening meal consists of rice, a bean paste or noodle soup, and
262 some fish. Meat is served occasionally if a goat is killed or on holidays
264 when someone has slaughtered a pig. Most families cannot afford to buy more than small portions of meat, which are fried or made into

872 express one's creativeness except in perfecting and improvising song-
876 dance performances. Lacking paper and crayons or paint, children crouch to the ground with the teacher to trace "pictures" in the sandy ground with their fingers or small sticks. The beach provides a rich playground on days when the teacher suffers laryngitis as a result of a cold and is unable to lead songs and direct the play verbally. Collecting shells, learning their names, examining washed up bits of seaweed and fish, exploring exposed stretches of rivers at low tide are real lessons in nature for the kindergarten child as he discovers these things himself and experiments without the direction of formal lessons. If he desires more information about things, he is free to ask the teacher; if he does not, no pressure is put on him to learn and know.

872 The kindergarten phase is a happy one for the child. Under the
857 direction of the teacher, who may be the mother or sister of one of his
[875] peers, he passes the two hours, from 9:30 to 11:30, of the morning, then goes on to play in and around the village for the rest of the day. He runs home only when he is hungry or when it is mealtime. And he hurries back to rejoin his peers for free play for the rest of the day.

857 Adults put little restriction on children's movement. They are free
[576] to occupy any part of the home and run around at will. Before enter-
[515] ing the house, everyone takes off his shoes; a rag lies on the ground to
[291] wipe dirty feet. Few children spend any length of time indoors, however, during daylight hours. If weather forces them to stay inside, they are found either in one of the front rooms or in the cooking area to the back.

855 Despite the occasional motor vehicle traffic through the village,
867 adults show little concern, for the kindergarten child has been well exposed to rules of safety in this respect. At the sound of warning horns, children run to the side of the main road and into the yards. The few brazen little boys who dare to chase vehicles and attempt to hang on to the rear bumper are severely reprimanded by those nearby.

A 4-year-old boy who had run out of the way of a lumbering truck stood watching as it rounded the curve and entered the village. Adults waiting for the vehicle to pass chatted idly and scanned the passengers to see if there were any familiar faces. Suddenly the 4-year-old leaned forward and threw a small branch he had in his hand under the tires of the passing truck. At once the driver, passengers, and by-standers screamed, "Fool one!" The passengers waved a warning finger at him, and he was berated by the village adults standing with him. "That was a dangerous thing to do. If you do that another time, you will be taken to the police station!" they threatened. The boy looked down at the ground and nodded to acknowledge his wrongdoing.

practice of allowing the child to eliminate wherever he chooses is 863
necessitated by the structure of the outhouse, a concrete tank covered [514]
with a slotted wooden board or loose planks.

Girls may go pantless until they are completely toilet trained but [291]
must wear dresses. Since clothing distinguishes those who have been toilet trained, girls proudly compare bright printed panties while boys sport nondescript short pants. Untrained boys wear short shirts or cotton kimonos in summer or flannel ones in the winter.

Accidental wetting of pants and bedwetting do not present much of a problem to parents. Children, however, appear to be embarrassed in such situations. Mothers claim they do not scold or shame the children. It seems to be more of a threat to the child, who realizes his newly gained status and recognizes the accident as infantile behavior. A few children, ranging from 4 to 11, suffer from enuresis. An 11-year-old, according to the mother, wakes himself and rinses out his wet clothing without waking anyone else. She felt that he was suffering enough and so refrained from saying anything about it.

As seen in the description of the kindergarten session, constant pressure is placed on the child to keep himself clean. A mother seeing a 863
dirty child will laughingly tell him to go sleep with the rats. There 515
is a nasal affliction which is common among children up until the age of 8. Whereas the mother or grandmother tends the infant, sucking [854]
the mucus out of his nose, they do not aid the weaned child. During the preschool years, the child, with a well-practiced movement of the arm, smears the discharge over half his face, onto his kimono or shirt sleeves, or wipes it impatiently with his grimy hands. The resulting appearance prompts others to tease, "Dirty faced cat," or to question sneeringly, "Did the rat walk over your face?" It seems, however, that boys are less interested in cleanliness and tolerate dirty and unkemptness for a longer period of time than girls. By the time they are 3 years
old, girls are conscious of their appearance, but this may be because [296]
they frequently accompany older girls to the wells and rivers when laundering is being done. As it was the usual procedure to end the task with washing heads and delousing, the girls were less soiled than the boys at this age. Five- and 6-year-old girls are praised for going to the well or river to wash their own clothing and heads if they go with older children. If they go alone, they are severely scolded and punished. When the faucets were installed in the village, 4-year-old girls assiduously tended to their grooming, spurred on by the praise and admiration of adults. Girls may be punished, on the other hand, for using too much soap or washing too often. One mother complained that her 8-year-old girl used to be such a stickler for cleanliness and

863 good grooming but was at present always a mess. One of us was pres-
515 ent at the home one day when a group of younger girls came by to call the 8-year-old to accompany them to the river to wash their heads. The girl dashed around the house and yard searching for a nonexistent bar of soap and finally was crossly told by her mother that there was none and that she really did not need washing. Nevertheless, the girl gathered some hibiscus leaves, which she tore and mashed to extract a slimy, soapylike substance, and left with the other girls to wash her hair. Regular bathing between the age of 1 and 5 is sporadic. During
[857] the summer it is more frequent, for the older children take their younger siblings to the rivers for bathing and swimming.

At irregular intervals during the winter young children are bathed behind the house, near the kitchen doorway, by their mothers or older sisters. A little hot water added to the cold eases their discomfort. During the holiday season mothers and older girls were observed dragging and carrying screaming 2- to 4-year-olds to the bath.

864 As children get older, exposure of genitals is much less serious in the case of a boy than in the case of a girl. Little girls are told to sit like their mothers with their legs together and are never permitted to expose their genitals. This is true even for those young girls who are still without pants. Occasionally boys tease a little girl by shouting, "Your vagina is showing." Sexual manipulation between children, either homosexually or heterosexually, was never observed. The following observation illustrates the response of an older sibling to her 4-year-old sister, who attempts to imitate a urinating boy.

> A group of girls were playing with a ball and K. (4-year-old boy) came along. The girls objected to his presence and began to chase him away. K. then reached in his fly and brought out his penis. He began to urinate, pointing his penis up at the girls. The girls screamed and scattered to get out of reach of the urine. K. chased them briefly, urinating all the while, then stopped to finish. Just as he finished, M. (4-year-old girl), lifting the front of her dress, started to urinate in a standing position. Halfway done, she started to squat, but before she started to squat, her sister saw what was happening and yelled out in an angry voice, "M!" . . . then she went over to give the little girl a slap on the head.

Exhibitionism between boys occurs, and a urinating demonstration among boys with an erection is occasionally seen. Such behavior is not condoned by adults. Girls, however, almost always urinate alone at a short distance from the group. Children are shamed if one refers to their genitals as they approach school age. The separation between boys and girls, which increases with greater age, also discourages mutual play or sex experimentation.

855 There are few other demands made of the kindergarten child. He
861

857 fun of it, but few signs of involvement with attaining outstanding per-
526 formance. Losers are not teased or ridiculed, although a good per-
[157] former is occassionally given an encouraging remark by others who practice.

Group games are usually played after the schoolchildren have returned to the village. One of the popular games is a version of prisoner's base similar to that played in the United States. This game is played with much yelling, laughing, and noisy challenging. Equally popular is a version of "kick the can." This game is exciting and fast moving. It is a game which can lead to arguments, since one must trust the honesty of the person who is "it" and claims to have seen another player. Brief arguments arise and are quickly settled. Part of the fun seems to be teasing and challenging the tagger.

535 These are games that children may play on any day in the year.
857 During holidays they are sometimes asked to entertain adults with
[527] dances. Little girls learn the traditional Okinawan dances from kinder-
[871] garten days on, either by watching or by coaching of an older person, a friend, one's older sister, or mother. Neither kindergarten nor school programs include the teaching of such rich Okinawan heritage as classical dances. Boys do not begin to imitate the burlesque dances of their male elders until adolescence. But they are sometimes invited, together with girls, to present group dances or little plays for the adults. Adults seem to enjoy most the performances of Okinawan dances by little girls who may have learned the rhythm and movements but not the restraint of serious adult presentations. They are delighted if a 6-year-old, dressed in bright-colored costume, innocently wiggles her hips in a rather suggestive way.

857 Children who perform for adults show no stage fright. At school,
[156] where little sketches are presented on the stage, there is a complete ease in improvising. Nobody is embarrassed if he forgets a line, a song, or a cue, and the recitation contests which we have already mentioned are carried out with much zest.

[512] Schoolchildren are supposed to remain at home after 8 o'clock in the evening to do their studies. This rule is encouraged by the school but rarely enforced by parents. Many children, boys and girls, appear outside after dark, and on moonlight nights they often resume their playing. Off and on, a couple of elementary schoolboys are attracted to the store where the village truck arrives with goods from the city after nightfall. There they stand in the dim yellow light of the kerosene lamp, watching, helping, or just listening to some of the men who
[515] come to have their sake bottles filled. If a bath has been prepared for
[512] their families, their turn will come sometime after the older males in

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

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the household have had theirs. By 10 o'clock children have finally disappeared from the street and paths.

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113

513 Ventilation at night may be poor; the sliding doors are usually tightly shut and locked. In larger towns and cities this practice may be explained as due to the prevalence of thieves, but in the country there must be another reason; it is probably the fear of yanakaji or of the kiji-
[775] munaa. The first, yanakaji, literally "bad winds", are ghosts, who may
[776] cause illness. The kijimunaa is a sea-being or tree-being who causes a frightening but harmless sensation of smothering and weight on the chest. These creatures may enter through open doors or windows. According to one informant their entry might be prevented by setting up a butcher knife in the opening but I have not seen it done. (It could only be done for a window; in a door it would be dangerous to the human occupants.)

In spite of their sleeping with relatively little change in position while in bed, Okinawans seem to be able to fall asleep in a variety of positions and circumstances, in busses and on trucks, in the midst of family activities, with noise and bright lights apparently presenting no obstacles. This ability may be the result of the early experience of sleeping under all sorts of conditions while being carried on the mother's back. There are two restrictions to sleeping. All avoid sleeping with the head oriented west, because that is the way a corpse is oriented. The other is that girls and women must avoid sleeping with the legs separated. Lebra observed one grandmother give her little granddaughter a hard pinch on the thigh for this.

Okinawans recognize that sleep is essential to maintaining the body. After a restless night one may say that he "had insufficient sleep".
[171] It has been asserted that the Japanese regard sleep as a luxury rather than as a necessity. This cannot be said of the Okinawans.

•515 171 Cleanliness In care of the body, the Okinawans are among the cleanlier of the world's peoples. They bathe frequently, keep their nails
[302] clean by constant trimming, their teeth clean by prolonged morning brushing, and their hair neatly cut or dressed. But they are not as cleanly as the Japanese or at least as the urban Japanese. One reason why they bathe less frequently is that baths are simply less available. Many villages are without public baths. Most farmers must either pour cold water over themselves at their wells or a little hot water warmed in the kitchen. In villages
[834] where there are few wells the water must be carried. Another factor may be modesty; nudity is not taken for granted as in Japan, so that one does not strip nude at the well in the daytime. A third factor may be the lack
[703] of such highly-developed concepts of ceremonial purity and pollution as exist in Japan. There are no tabus on the activities of menstruating women on Okinawa as there are in Japan, for example.

291 834 Nudity Pre-school children often play nude. Mothers sometimes appear to be displaying little boys nude to demonstrate their masculinity. Photographs of naked baby boys are popular. Boys may continue to swim nude until eight or so, but girls begin to put on some garment for swimming
[853] sooner. Women nurse in public and sometimes work at home with the breasts
[514] uncovered. Adults of both sexes may urinate in public, but in such a way that the body may not be seen. Adults do not appear publicly or privately
[515] before one another nude. Public bath houses have separate sections for men

and women. Two informants who had lived in Japan denied having ever heard of 291
public baths with mixed bathing. Okinawans have occasionally been shocked by 834
seeing Americans nude. Okinawans feel that not only should the lower part of [515]
the torso be covered for the sake of modesty but the upper part also should be covered, if one is out of doors, for reasons of health; the sun's rays are harmful if too strong. Modesty may even reach proportions uncommon in the [826]
West; one young man told Lebra that he does not enjoy going swimming because he believes he is too hairy. The same young man told how he and other boys, when in high school, used to peep through a crack in the bathhouse wall in order to see the women bathing on the other side, until they were chased away by the proprietor. This hardly suggests the casual attitude toward nudity reported for the Japanese.

Body Ornamentation The Okinawans seem never to have practiced any sort of 178
body mutilation---such as the Chinese foot-binding. 304
However, women were tattooed on the wrists and backs of the hands until early in this century. Most women over 50 have tattooed hands. There are several stories told that purport to explain the origin of the practice---that it was to prevent Okinawan women from being kidnapped, for example---but these stories are of doubtful value. The designs have names but evidently no meaning; one old woman said that they varied with the tattoo artist, who put on whatever he wanted. Tattooing was done before puberty and marriage. It may have originally been part of a puberty rite.

Many people of both sexes between the ages of 20 and 40 have elab- 301
orate gold and silver work on their teeth. In many cases the work does not consist of fillings or bridges but of thin caps put over sound teeth for purely ornamental reasons. These can be removed without harming the teeth. People are said to be having this sort of work done today, but in time the [177]
value Americans and present-day Japanese put on "natural-looking" teeth may win out over the urge to ornament the mouth. Of course there is also a great deal genuine dental work done because of tooth decay.

At present American values and modern Japanese values in feminine 177
beauty are being spread by the beauty parlor. For several years the perma- 832
nent wave has been popular though perhaps not well suited to Mongoloid hair. [305]
And recently a number of young women are said to have added padded brassieres [302]
to their equipment. [241]

Elimination Urination and defecation are regarded differently. Urination 514
in public is permissible for males, if they turn away. I have seen a dignified old gentleman talking over his shoulder to a young woman while he urinated into the ditch. Women may also urinate in public, though they do so less frequently. Defecation in public is not usual; even children [863]
are scolded for it though they may occasionally do it. Feces ought to go [241]
in the proper place; one reason for using the toilet may be that the "night-soil" is used as fertilizer.

The Okinawan term kusu is used rather more freely than its Japanese 192
cognate, though the uses are parallel. Alone it means "feces", human or animal. It is the usual word for animal manure. In compounds it may mean

had complained to the police about this but the police had said that this 838
was a mental disorder and therefore not their affair. The disregard shown
the young boys in this case accords with Okinawan attitudes toward children [858]
discussed elsewhere; they are not developed enough, perhaps, to be corrupt-
ible. Another example is that of a male employee of a 'ryōtei' in another
city who is in the habit of putting on a woman's kimono and wig and singing
in a falsetto voice for the amusement of male guests. He is not known to
"take guests" but is very effeminate in his ordinary manner. School girls
are said to form strong attachments to one another, but there is no in-
dication of the persistence of such relationships.

The terms for the sex organs, tani, "penis", and hoo, "vulva", are 834
used rather freely by older persons, but children are expected to use them 864
only for serious purposes. It is said that if children used the terms re-
peatedly in joking they might be scolded for "dirty talk". An old woman
once told me, in the presence of several younger women and a twelve-year-
old girl, an amusing story about an old woman who always sat with her kimono
pulled up and was therefore called "Hoo-Hai Ayaa", "Mother Vulva-Visible".
Everyone laughed but the girl, who looked rather embarrassed. After the
battle in 1945 when American food was issued in quantities, Okinawans be-
came familiar with wiener sausages, which they still remember with relish
as tani-gwaa, "little penises". As in Japanese, the word for sexual re-
lations is formed by adding the verb "to do" to the word for vulva. This
term would not be used before children or in polite conversation.

2. Sanitation

751
An American, watching the habits of daily living of an Okinawan 512
family, may find his first impression to be one of shock. In the morning
the sliding doors that kept out any fresh air all night are pushed open and [514]
the children, dressed in the underclothes they have slept in, walk sleepily
to the step and urinate off it. Father steps down and walks a few feet
around the side of the house and does the same. Grandmother is already in
the kitchen preparing breakfast and smoke soon fills the upper air in the
main part of the house, looking for a way out in the absence of a chimney.
Father goes to the well with a small towel around his neck, throws cold [515]
water over his face, and washes it with a little soap. He then brushes his
teeth long and hard and puts the family toothbrush back on the hook for
Mother to use later. Mother takes down the great mosquito net the family [264]
has slept under, folds up the quilts, and brings out breakfast---tea, a
thin soup, and sweet potatoes. Soon tea grounds and potato peels come fly- [351]
ing out onto the ground in rapid succession. A chicken walks in from a
neighbor's yard, pecks diffidently at a potato peel, and walks on, leaving
a token of gratitude behind. The sun begins to warm the air and the flies
to swarm around the toilet behind the house, into the kitchen, across the
remains of the family's meal in the main rooms, and around the scraps in
front. Father goes to work and the older children go to school. Mother [264]
washes the dishes at the well, in cold water without soap, and leaves them
to dry in the sun. Flies light on them.

751
The visitor looks into the toilet. It is an oil drum with a plat- 514
form over it and a wood and canvas shelter over that. The cover is off. 343

751
514 The drum is nearly full and its surface is in constant motion, a seething
343 mass of maggots. One of those men with the carts that cause you to cross
[364] to the other side of the road will come in a few days to dump it, he hopes.
574 He crosses the yard and is invited into the house. He takes off his shoes
751 and steps up onto the floor. It is surprisingly clean, he finds. A mat is
[356] spread and he sits cross-legged upon it. Tea is offered and he accepts, thinking that it must have been made from boiled water. He learns later that he was wrong. He is given a fan and perceives that its function is keeping the flies away as much as it is creating a breeze. In a spirit of friendly cooperation he and Grandfather take turns shooing the flies off the broken chunks of black sugar that have been placed before them. A larger blue-bottle fly enters and someone makes a special effort to chase
[325] it out. Should the visitor be so crude and impolite as to mention flies and in connection with the toilet, it will be pointed out that only the blue-bottle flies are hatched from the maggots in the toilet. The smaller black house-flies simply produce more flies and hence are harmless.

[264] Bananas are served and the peels follow those of the potatoes out onto the ground. Smaller children run in and out. One child comes in with
[315] its nose running. After a time Mother pulls up its shirt tail and wipes the mucus off the upper lip. The child has not been well; Mother or Grandmother
[757] may take it to the yabuu, who will burn moxa on its skin at the proper
[753] places. A neighbor's child walks by; its face and nearly hairless head are a mass of scabs and its eyes are almost shut by pus. Someone laughingly explains that this is what happens when you don't cut a baby's buttocks properly with a razor to draw out the bad blood.

The visitor is urged to take more tea and sugar. He is complimented on his interest in Okinawa and is asked innumerable questions about America. The family is eager for knowledge and for further contact. As he rises to leave, he is urged to return. He puts on his shoes, finding one slightly
[753] damp from the poor aim of the youngest child. He is cautioned to wear his hat and knows by now the unspoken fear---encephalitis---caused by too much
[296] exposure to the sun. He notices that around the well where Mother has been doing laundry a great pool of water is gradually sinking into the sand. As he picks his way across the yard he wonders if the family would not be better off living in a houseboat, preferably in a fast-moving stream.

751 Such are some of the features of Okinawan life. Yet it would be a mistake to assume that there are no standards of sanitation. There are; they
356 are simply narrower than those of most Americans. Many Okinawans do throw
751 garbage out their front doors as indicated above, but it is also true that the floor of the house is usually cleaner than many American floors. It has to be clean; people sit on it and sleep on it. People take off their shoes before stepping up onto it or if they have been to the fields barefooted
751 they may wash their feet before stepping up onto it. But the area of clean-
[351] liness ends with the step. Beyond the step is a different sort of territory. Yet even in the yard there is a limit to the amount of trash that may be al-
[514] lowed to accumulate before it is swept away. The practice of urinating in the yard is distasteful to the American observer, but there is perhaps less basis for objection to it as a health hazard. Urine is relatively harmless. Feces, however, go into the toilet. If an untrained child defecates in the yard usually someone cleans up the spot.

52 The general characteristics of the changed entertainment patterns
178 have been a greater reliance on entertainment provided by sources outside
621 the village---the school, radio, movies---and a sharp decline in celebrations and festivals of the sort which emphasized village participation and unity.

757 Health and Medicine Changes in medical practice well illustrate the
753 principle that material things find more ready acceptance than ideas in the
177 diffusion of culture; in short, Okinawans have been willing to adopt modern medicine when available, but not modern medical principles. Pills, shots, surgery, dentistry, penicillin, and DDT have found acceptance, while modern scientific concepts of disease, health, and sanitation seem to have made relatively little headway. The germ theory, for example, has barely penetrated.

753 However, on talking to people of different ages one becomes aware
751 that many changes in standards of sanitation and ideas about health and dis-
177 ease actually have taken place in the last fifty years. For example, evidence of the practice of tattooing various parts of the body as a cure for certain ills is rarely seen on persons under seventy. Similarly, though many of the younger generation may appear abysmally ignorant of modern knowledge of disease, they are always less ignorant and better informed than the preceding generation. Considerable progress toward better sanitation was made under the
[364] Japanese. Formerly the Okinawan privy was built atop the pigpen, and the pig
[331] subsisted in part on human feces. Stern measures were required to force the abandonment of this practice. The Japanese also introduced monthly sanitation inspections; inoculations for babies and school children were made compulsory.
[515] Through the influence of the schools the toothbrush (usually one) became a
[582] part of every home. The Japanese also sent notable scholars into the countryside to lecture the people on the dangers of in-breeding practices, particularly kin-group endogamy.

757 Penicillin, which was introduced by the Americans, has become a pop-
177 ular treatment, achieving equality with moxacautery and cutting to let blood. It can be obtained easily at any drug shop, and every doctor, midwife, herbalist, and practitioner of any sort is prepared to administer shots. Reliance excessive even by American standards is placed on this drug. There seems, in fact, to be a fondness for shots which does not end with penicillin; hormone shots and various other injections are widely advertised. It is the opinion of the author that any type of modern medicine which cuts, punctures, or otherwise disfigures the skin will find ready acceptance; this, it is felt, is merely an extension of the tradition of acupuncture, moxacautery, tattooing, and cutting. Bettelheim states that in the 1850's the Okinawans made inquiries as to how inoculations for smallpox might be obtained.[1]

759 There is some indication that the yabu, a practitioner whose chief
178 stocks-in-trade are herbs and moxacautery, is slowly disappearing; in several communities the author was told that since the old yabu died there had been no replacement.

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[1] Bettelheim, B. J., Loochoo Mission, London, n.d., pp. 34-36.

464 usually people tend to regard these persons as fortunate. During the entire
562 course of the author's stay on Okinawa he heard no sharp criticism of men who
829 were in military employment, yet many statements were heard about women who were so employed. This dichotomy seems to stem from the widely held belief that the American employers have sexual access to these women, particularly
[831] the maids. Okinawan culture affords its males a high degree of sexual freedom, but not its females.

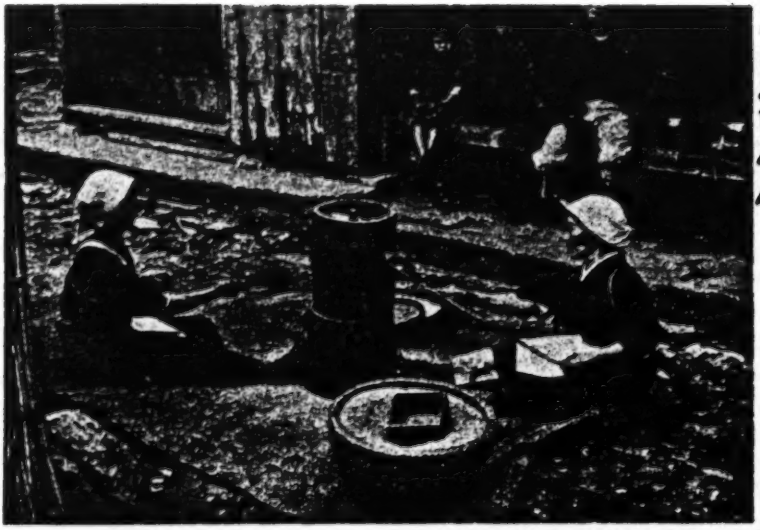
464 It is said that the women who are employed by the military are cate-
554 gorized into several grades; the highest status is accorded to the office workers and PX clerks. These are followed by the kitchen and table maids, after which comes the maids who are employed in the dependent housing units; lastly there are the barracks maids, including those of the bachelor officers' and civilians' quarters. It is also claimed that these women can be distinguished on the basis of their dress. Supposedly the office workers and
[291] PX girls dress in the fashion of Japanese business women, whereas the housing
[177] and barracks maids dress in American styles which are considered loud and flashy.

464 It is claimed that many young men will not marry women who have been
554 maids in military installations. One young man asserted that these women were
582 no better than the "honeys" (a term used by Okinawans and GI's to designate the soldier's mistress).

464 The low status and pay (¥1200-1800, or $10-15 per month) for maids is
466 offset to a large extent by the gifts, food, and in many cases board which they receive from their employers. Despite the stigma there is no shortage
[465] of applicants for these jobs. Another factor is the free bathing privileges which ordinarily accompany these jobs. Very few Okinawan homes have a bath,
[515] and public baths cost the equivalent of ten cents in American money, a sizeable outlay for the Okinawan purse.

464 Most of the discrimination is directly attributable to the sexual
554 jealousy of the Okinawan male toward the women who work and often live in
829 close daily contact with Americans. There also seems to be some discrimination against any women in the category of maid, whether employed by American or Okinawan; in the past these were often indentured servants who had been sold by their parents into this low status.

186 <u>Okinawan Attitudes toward Their American Employers</u> It was the author's im-
829 pression that even those who had worked in close daily contact with Americans for a considerable period of time shared much the same stereotypes of the American as those held by the general public. It must be remembered that the points of emphasis in any stereotype are often those traits which seem obvious because they are so unfamiliar and hence not understood by the person of a different culture. Secondly, in every stereotype there is undoubtedly some considerable measure of truth; the important factor is the base of reference. Both Americans and Okinawans judge one another on the basis of different values and cultural backgrounds.



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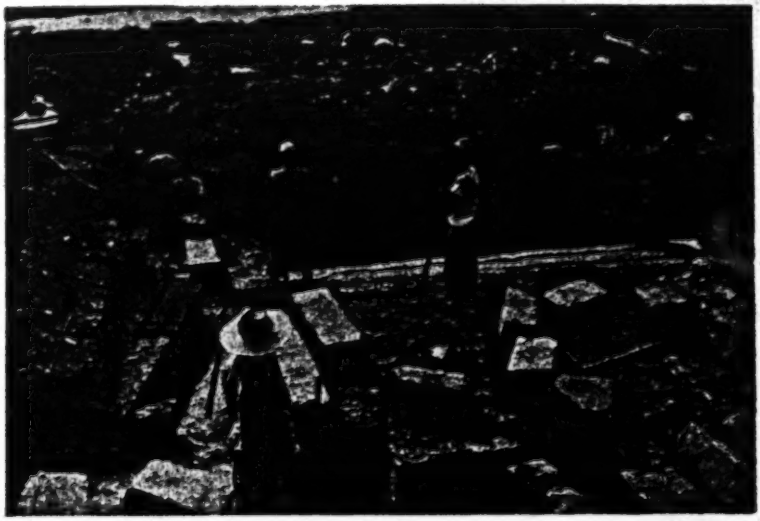
Matsuda. Polishing rice with a hand mill. This is a posed picture, but rice was polished this way up to shortly before the war. The grass mat prevents wastage. On the left is some Yambaru bamboo. The women are barefooted. The towel-like headdress is not uncommon.

[P. 185(A)]



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Stonecutting in Minatogawa along the seashore. The long slabs are for building construction. The top left is the estuary of the river leading out to the open sea. The stance of the man in the left center of the picture is usual in cutting the stone. Note the long crow bar type tool for making the cut. The men are barefooted. Most stonecutters are quite young. There is no uniformity in headgear. The stone in the background is dark and streaked and will not be used.

342 floor, resting his feet outside on the ground. An overhanging roof protects him from the rain. Larger houses have an entrance hall and a porch running along the front. Since these porches also have sliding-door panels, few people bother to use the entrance except on formal visits.

The simple structures have a framework which is basically the same [335] as that of the more complex ones. Neither is constructed with nails but held together by mortise and tenon joints. Thick layers of thatch or a tile roof give adequate protection from rains. Thatch roofs need re- [356] placement every few years, but they keep the house cooler than the more permanent, more expensive clay or cement tile roofs. House walls are made of very thin, cheap wood which weathers fast and cracks, allowing winds to enter freely. Only the new houses have solid double walls. The floor in the simple buildings consists of planks which in many houses are not nailed down; during the winter months the cold penetrates through the wide slots between the boards. Better houses have ceilings and doors to separate the "first" and "second" room in the front of the house, as well as solid floors.

Smoke from the open fireplace in the kitchen rises into the roof and seeps through the thatch. Poor eyesight, common among children, is [151] believed by the villagers to result from smoke-filled houses and poor lighting. In the evening, dim light is provided by one or two kerosene lamps.

342 The ancestral shrine, a built-in shelf for the ancestral tablets, has 353 its place in the "second" room. This shrine is only found in the homes 769 of oldest sons. It is not treated with special reverence. Photographs of the deceased as well as of living relatives are kept there as well as personal belongings—a letter, money, a bottle of sake, or gifts. During [822] religious holidays of ancestral worship, red hibiscus flowers, the color for the dead, are placed on the shelf. Since the shelf is high from the floor, small children cannot get at it.

352 The only furniture in all houses is a low table on which food and [516] drinks are served. Everybody sits on the floor, legs crossed and feet tucked under their thighs in the case of men or put behind to one side in the case of women. Very few houses in Taira have the thick, padded straw mats found in the homes of more well-to-do people in Okinawa. But every family has several thin mats of woven reed standing in one corner of the room; these are spread out for guests to sit on or for a member of the household who lies down during the day. Storage 353 shelves are used in simple houses, but in the better houses mattresses, comforters, and hard pillows are kept in a built-in closet space during [356] the day. On sunny days women air the bedding by spreading it over walls, fences, or in the grass.

527 —held at the old warehouse, the village office, or, during warm days,
574 outside—but also introduces all family or small group events. This is the time when guests arrive, polite greetings are exchanged with everyone in the order of his relative status, and a seat is found in accordance with it. Everyone sits quietly and politely, men with legs
[576] crossed tightly in front, women resting their buttocks between their heels. The conversation is somewhat stilted and reluctant. Meanwhile the hostess and her female helpers set cups before each guest, and they, or the male host himself, may pour tea.

537 Village celebrations of an official nature, such as "Mother's Day"
527 (see Chapter 6) or the reception of the newly elected mayor, or New
574 Year, are times for oratory of a sober nature. The village dignitaries and honored visitors, frequently seated at tables overlooking the community on the floor, each give a speech consisting of lengthy inventories of events and accomplishments. Sometimes food and drink are not served until the last one has spoken, but more often the situation is mellowed by the simultaneous serving of food and drink, which add to the inspiration of the speaker and the enthusiasm of his listeners.

527 Special dishes are associated with different holidays, and food, when
574 served, begins to dispel some of the formality. Even if there are no speeches, it gives everybody something to do and talk about, and as we
262 shall see shortly, more effective stimulants follow soon. The ice is broken. The food set before guests may be red-colored rice, which is served at joyful events such as New Year, or white rice, which is prepared when the dead are commemorated. For agricultural holidays the special food is made from the harvested crop, rice or potatoes. A feast plate may also include some pork, cooked in soya sauce, or presented in a mixed dish of vegetables; sometimes, it may be deep fat fried dumplings, either plain or with brown sugar stirred into the batter, or red and white fish cakes, or even several of these together. Less expensive foods, such as noodles and fried fish, are also served during feasts. Tairans have a sweet tooth and eat with relish the pound cakes and cookies which accompany or follow a meal. There is a sufficient quantity of food for the many guests, and whatever they cannot consume during the party, they may wrap up in a newspaper and take home.

527 Once food is set before the guests, the emptied tea cups are refilled,
574 but this time with sake. This helps immediately to loosen the formal atmosphere which still prevails, at least after one or two cups have been
273 emptied. Before this happens there may be, especially during weddings, family affairs, or the Mayor's reception, a polite exchange of cups between two men, who fill each other's and present it with a little ap-

off. One or two anxious mothers accompany the group "to see that they will be all right on their first day of school." 512

Walking down the road to school, the child smiles proudly as adults comment, "Hah! See how he struts, that big first grader!" He moves to the side of the road as a big lumber truck comes rumbling along and remembers the warnings about the steep bank near the river. The older schoolchildren, walking more leisurely, lag behind and keep a close watch on their younger schoolmates. 872 857

SCHOOL ROUTINE

When they reach the schoolyard, the older children run to their rooms to drop their books so that they can play unencumbered, but the first graders cling to their books and lunches. Gathering into little groups according to their villages, they inspect each other at a discreet distance. As the elementary school is situated in the neighboring village of Kawata, which is visited frequently by Taira villagers, the children exchange notes on the extent of their acquaintance with this bigger, older place. 872

At last the bell is sounded by one of the teachers. Immediately there is a cry to gather. Each class forms two lines in front of their respective teachers. There is bedlam in the first-grade lines as the only boy from one village is directed into the boy's line and separated from the three girls with whom he had walked to school. The principal calls out impatiently for all to straighten the lines. He calls out signals, "Extend arms forward, palms down, fingers barely touching shoulders ahead." Teachers survey the lines and call out to those who mar them. Arms are dropped. Girls are instructed to stand with their arms to their sides and boys with their hands folded behind them, their feet slightly separated. [516]

From his perch on a 3-foot-high concrete block, the principal calls out the signals again, and the whole procedure of lining up is repeated; this time, however, he holds them at attention in a formal position. In crisp tones he calls out, "Pupils, good morning!" Instantly the children respond, "Teacher, good morning," bowing gravely. There is some confusion in the first-grade lines, but the teachers quickly attend to it. [516]

Standing once more in a relaxed position, the students listen thoughtfully to the principal's message. He welcomes the first graders and commends them for their orderliness but warns them to behave like first graders and not kindergarteners. There is an amused ripple [876]

called saki in Okinawan, 'awamori' in Japanese. This drink is sold in several 273
grades and so is Japanese 'sake', but most farmers seem to prefer a raver,
stronger grade of 'awamori'.[1] In most homes 'awamori' is soon offered male [574]
guests if they call in the evening, sometimes in the afternoon as well. For [562]
festive occasions it is absolutely necessary. Many older men also drink it
a bit every evening in small groups or even alone. Older women may drink a
little, younger women, unless of the professional class, rarely.

When men drink together they invariably exchange drinks as a gesture of friendship. Generally the friendliness increases with each gesture, stimulating further gestures. Drunkenness is frequent. Different types of behavior among drunks are recognized and labelled appropriately. The 'uma-zake' ("horse-drunk") prances around; the 'buta-zake' ("pig drunk") sleeps; the 'ushi-zake' ("ox drunk") acts belligerent; the 'naki-zake' ("cry drunk") weeps. (These are Japanese terms, incidentally; I did not get native equivalents but assume they exist). But Okinawans who get drunk are mainly just plain friendly drunks; the belligerent drunk is very rare. Burd's description of Miyakoan drunken behavior---the sentimentality and endless expression of gratitude for friendship---would apply equally to the behavior of drunk Okinawans. And as Burd suggests, the reason may lie in the formality and etiquette that governs the relations of the sober; getting drunk is a means of relaxing the usual barriers.[2] The remarkable tolerance Okinawans show to drunks may arise from sympathy in the face of a common need. Drinking is often accompanied by singing and dancing. Men dance individually. Men who behave on most occasions with reserve and formality, may, after drinking a bit, dance with a grace and reckless ease that must be seen to be believed.

Okinawans do not drink water as frequently as Americans and even 271
with the more frequent tea and bottled drinks their total fluid consumption 272
would appear to be considerably less.

Rest and Sleep Chairs and beds are not usually found in Okinawan homes. 352
Mats serve the function of both. On formal occasions 516
Okinawans kneel. This they may do at the beginning of a formal gathering, but soon they are told to be at ease, which means sitting cross-legged for the men and with the feet to one side for the women. When relaxing at home they may put their feet out in front of them.

Okinawans sleep on the floor, usually on a quilt ('futon') on the 513
mat and with another put on over them. Often the whole family will sleep between two large quilts and under one large mosquito net suspended from the ceiling. To Americans unused to the floor it seems unbearably hard and the quilt above oppressive; it seems as though the Okinawans want too little below the body and too much above. From infancy on they sleep stretched out supine with a pillow under the head or neck. The pillow may be of cloth stuffed with husks or merely a block of wood.

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1 This observation is supported by the statement of a distiller interviewed by Lebra.

2 Burd 1952, p. 82.

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Daily Life of the Fishing Village

Fishing families may have informal gatherings toward the end 512
of the day. On a late summer afternoon, the family may sit in the
open doorway of the house, for hedges, fences, the barriers, and [351]
trees are rare. The wife may be nursing her naked child. Her [853]
husband, a fisherman, has changed into his indigo blue and white
striped kimono, a tall, broad, deeply tanned man. Next to him sits [291]
his mother, over 70 years old, her hands tattooed, as are those of [304]
all the old women. She is wearing a kimono of the same color, but
of a dot pattern. They sit on unrolled mats. On the veranda, [285]
three or four men, unwashed and still in their work clothes, discuss [415]
the events of the day. A lacquer tray with tea cups is on the floor
near them and the tea (as it so often is) may be cold. There is [263]
brown sugar to eat along with the tea. The grandmother may be
economically smoking a half or a third of a cigarette in the typical [276]
Japanese pipe. As it grows later, the wife gets up, pours some water
in the stone mortar, and smashes the sweet potatoes with the long [252]
wooden pole. The men continue talking for a while, then take their
leave. The wife, her work at the mortar finished, goes into the dirt
kitchen to start the evening meal.

The wife of the fisherman has worries that do not bother the 152
farmer's wife. There is always the danger that her husband, or son,
will not return, a real possibility, of which the frequency of widow- [165]
hood in Minatogawa is proof. Every season, there is at least one
instance of a fisherman who has either been lost, or whose delay in
returning has provoked intense worry. If crews are still out when an
unexpected storm arises, there is considerable tension in the village.
Since the war, rescues at sea are more likely than before. The village [648]
headman quickly reports overdue boats. The American forces have created
much good will in seeking fishermen lost at sea.

Women, on the other hand, have opportunities for leisure when the 562
catch is light, or weather is unfavorable. At these times, they can
busy themselves with other tasks, in the field, gathering stones, [461]
getting miscanthus, but they do not have the unremitting activity of [517]
the woman in the agricultural village. There is more visiting during
the day than one observes in an agricultural village.

The fisherman, with or without land, tries to keep pigs and 231
perhaps a few goats. In Minatogawa, the pens are often made of
sandstone quarried here. Not only the floors and the sides, but the [343]
stalls are made of this material. One reason for this is the openness
of the village and the danger that pigs will be killed in a storm. A
typhoon may carry away the house, its owners having gone to the stronger
house of a friend or relative, but pigs are an investment and an asset
to be guarded.

871 ($30,970) for the four schools in the township. The largest expenses
658 are salaries, construction, and maintenance. Money is also provided for
[651] conferences, supplies, and other items on the school budget. The PTA budget serves to supplement the regular school appropriations, which are always insufficient to cover all expenses.

The concern with educational matters is carried into the community in another way. Taira has established a so-called scholarship incentive fund for which money is contributed by the village store and some prominent Taira businessmen from the city, such as the former mayor. This fund is used to give awards, usually notebooks or pencils, to all students, double amounts to those with outstanding attendance records. Honor students are not singled out. The largest part of the fund is used as financial help to families with one or more high school students and to widows with schoolchildren who have no other breadwinner in their family. This is another example of direct support of education by the community.

871 As with all matters concerning village life, participation of parents in school affairs and an interest in the school's goals and problems depend greatly on the educational and economic background of individual families. For this reason, scholastic standing of children is frequently a reflection of the interest and encouragement they receive at home. Incentive is therefore to some extent passed on from successful parents to their children, and if one can speak of a succession in leadership, it is partly determined by this instruction.

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Chapter 11

Recreation

●517 No one can remain in the village of Taira for long without recognizing that its people have a happy faculty for enjoying themselves during those periods which they can spare from their work. The daily routine is broken by a good number of rests and holidays, and the full and unburdened indulgence in social activities at such times, without any ap-

parent aftereffects of remorse or physical incapacitation, is a characteristic of this village. Excessive or orgiastic feasting which might interfere with work duties of the following day or days is absent. Leisure events spent in groups are joyful and desirable to all, untinged by hidden motives of social compulsion or conformity, which marks so many recreational activities in a culture like ours. 517

The village calendar does not include a weekly rest day, although government offices are closed on Sunday. Rest and holidays for the majority of villagers are regulated by religious and agricultural events which, in former times, were observed at least once during each lunar month. Although some of these have been simplified or given up in recent times by people whose participation in the old religion has diminished or by those who seek a sounder economy by urging greater production of crops and accumulation of savings, when it comes to observing and enjoying holidays, even the most rational village leader forgets his concern for the time being. The elaborateness of celebrations may be less today, as a result of economic pressure, than in former times—the spirit hardly could be. To know and appreciate the sense of humor and the wit of the people, one has only to attend their parties. During other times these qualities are less expressed—though they are never completely absent. If the naive comment that Okinawans are "childlike"—an observation which Westerners in describing them have permitted themselves—can be taken to have any foundation in fact, it could only be that like many children they are capable of complete absorption and indulgence in fun when the occasion is proper. For the Taira person such indulgence cannot be achieved without food, drink, music, and dance. These are the main components of entertainment which help to elicit gaiety and good humor, whether during holidays observed by families in individual homes, or those of the descent group main houses, or in village-wide celebrations, which are extremely common. These ingredients also appear during more informal hours of relaxation, each day after work, when there are small gatherings here and there, though on a more modest scale. 527 796 157 527 574 [522]

Since calendrical holidays, whether of a family nature or community-wide, have many aspects in common, we may mention some of these in general. Most gatherings begin in the late afternoon and last until late at night although never until daybreak. These are the rare times when people can dress in their best clothes and by doing so shed, perhaps, symbolically all associations with everyday routine. 527 574

The sequence of events at any kind of celebration is somewhat like a veil dance during which one layer of formality after another disappears. A formal period precedes not only all village-wide celebrations

Others include levies upon
651 organizations and families to support the athletic meets, or 'undōkwai',
[326] which are such a popular part of life in Okinawa.

575 Before the war the women's group ('fujinkai') and the young people's
178 group ('seinendan') levied a certain amount of soybeans against each member,
and when they were delivered the sale brought in money to finance their ac-
[524] tivities. These organizations also made up special meals for local athletic
526 favorites while they were in training, and provided a feast for them at the
651 end of the contests. Today the 'undōkwai' is on more of a monetary basis,
632 and there is a levy called the 'undōkwai no keihi'. In October of 1953, the
cost of the grand athletic meeting held in Naha was divided among the 'son'
according to the number of champions sent to the contest. Kochinda-son was
top grade in Shimajiri, and Tomoyose was a middle-grade village within
Kochinda-son. This grade was judged by the amount of arable land, its yield,
and the population. Within the village, households in turn are assessed by
three grades, according to their income tax records. These three grades
were "minimum," under ¥20; "middle", ¥20-50; and "maximum", ¥50-54.

62 Local Philanthropy From time to time the leading household heads are called
741 upon to donate money for improvement of village facili-
ties. Names of contributors and amounts given are written upon a wooden
plaque and hung in the village meeting house. The building of this meeting
house itself involved the gathering of such a fund, to which Nanahan people
gave a total of ¥1,450. Later a request for funds to buy a funeral stretcher
brought ¥350 from the household heads, and a road repair campaign netted
¥1,550 from Nanahan.

Somewhat the reverse of the above occurred after the Russo-Japanese
war when a particularly handsome soldier from the neighboring village came
back from the front. All the leading 'geisha' in Naha had long had the habit
of asking him to come to their establishments without charge. His return
brought such joy to their hearts that they got together a sum of money and
bought him a large plot of land near Nanahan.

• 52 Prizes at Contests From the time a youngster enters school and participates
in his first contest to the time when he shows an animal
at his last village or 'son' festival before retiring, all winners look for-
ward to some sort of prize to mark the occasion. In school the prizes are
generally beautifully handwritten scrolls, but as one gets older the prizes
assume the form of wooden trays and articles of practical use in the home.

858 Sale of Children When the SIRI team first arrived on Okinawa and mentioned
432 that we were interested in finding if the Okinawans still
[183] practiced the sale of children, sophisticated respondents feigned indignation.
Later on, as we were able to gain rapport in the countryside, a number of such
instances were forthcoming.

In Tomoyose a man got into debt over an effort to make a fortune in
sugar along about 1910. He was so heavily in debt to village people that he
was socially unable to live in the community, and moved to Itoman. There he
sold his son to a fisherman. The son is now a grown man with an Okinawan wife
and a mistress from Amami. His business is still fishing, although he also
owns a truck.

•52 178 621 The general characteristics of the changed entertainment patterns have been a greater reliance on entertainment provided by sources outside the village---the school, radio, movies---and a sharp decline in celebrations and festivals of the sort which emphasized village participation and unity.

757 753 177 Health and Medicine Changes in medical practice well illustrate the principle that material things find more ready acceptance than ideas in the diffusion of culture; in short, Okinawans have been willing to adopt modern medicine when available, but not modern medical principles. Pills, shots, surgery, dentistry, penicillin, and DDT have found acceptance, while modern scientific concepts of disease, health, and sanitation seem to have made relatively little headway. The germ theory, for example, has barely penetrated.

753 751 177 However, on talking to people of different ages one becomes aware that many changes in standards of sanitation and ideas about health and disease actually have taken place in the last fifty years. For example, evidence of the practice of tattooing various parts of the body as a cure for certain ills is rarely seen on persons under seventy. Similarly, though many of the younger generation may appear abysmally ignorant of modern knowledge of disease, they are always less ignorant and better informed than the preceding generation. Considerable progress toward better sanitation was made under the [364] Japanese. Formerly the Okinawan privy was built atop the pigpen, and the pig [231] subsisted in part on human feces. Stern measures were required to force the abandonment of this practice. The Japanese also introduced monthly sanitation inspections; inoculations for babies and school children were made compulsory. [515] Through the influence of the schools the toothbrush (usually one) became a part of every home. The Japanese also sent notable scholars into the country- [582] side to lecture the people on the dangers of in-breeding practices, particularly kin-group endogamy.

757 177 Penicillin, which was introduced by the Americans, has become a popular treatment, achieving equality with moxacautery and cutting to let blood. It can be obtained easily at any drug shop, and every doctor, midwife, herbalist, and practitioner of any sort is prepared to administer shots. Reliance excessive even by American standards is placed on this drug. There seems, in fact, to be a fondness for shots which does not end with penicillin; hormone shots and various other injections are widely advertised. It is the opinion of the author that any type of modern medicine which cuts, punctures, or otherwise disfigures the skin will find ready acceptance; this, it is felt, is merely an extension of the tradition of acupuncture, moxacautery, tattooing, and cutting. Bettelheim states that in the 1850's the Okinawans made inquiries as to how inoculations for smallpox might be obtained.[1]

759 178 There is some indication that the yabu, a practitioner whose chief stocks-in-trade are herbs and moxacautery, is slowly disappearing; in several communities the author was told that since the old yabu died there had been no replacement.

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[1] Bettelheim, B. J., Loochoo Mission, London, n.d., pp. 34-36.

256 until the desired white shade was obtained. After the milling, the rice is quite warm, and both the chaff and the rice have an odor similar to brewer's yeast.

[462] Women carry the rice to the mill. It is heaped up in baskets set
[482] on their heads. Rice straw or a braid of rice stalks is placed over the small towel which rests directly on the head. On this the woman
[415] sets the basket with its rice. When the milling is over, the women pick up a handful, blow off the chaff, inspect the rice for wholeness and whiteness, and then put it in a large gunny sack. The chaff is placed in a smaller one. Hulls, occasionally taken, are usually left
[824] at the mill to accumulate in a pile outside the mill and there, at frequent intervals, are burned. Sometimes the hulls or the ashes are taken for fertilizer.

[521] Bringing rice for milling is a social occasion for the women. They often have a child on their back. While waiting for their rice to be hulled and milled, they exchange greetings and news with their neighbors or with women from adjoining villages.

[727] As a result of the war, quality of machinery for rice milling differs with villages. Most now have access to a mill. The machinery at Matsuda, being more efficient than the older machines at Hanashiro is able to polish the rice satisfactorily after going through the mill three times. These mills are very busy during the harvest seasons.

252 There are also survivals of older methods of hulling and polishing rice. These are no longer used, though many of the old have not lost
[912] their skill. Before machine polishing was introduced, the hulls were removed by pounding the rice in a mortar, usually with a long bamboo pole narrowed in the center for a grip. After the hulls were removed, the rice was put through a quern, or a mill known as a shiriushi. This has two working parts: a base about a foot in diameter and perhaps a foot in height. It looks like a smoothed off log. In the center, there is a wooden pin, perhaps 1 1/2 feet long. Over this part, which looks like an upright piece of a log with a rolling pin stuck in its center, the upper part, made of wood and of the same diameter is fitted. A bar across the inside of the top of the upper part has a hole for the pin. On the outside, wooden plugs provide places for attaching ropes.
[962] These are pulled back and forth by women sitting opposite one another. The rice is poured in at the top, the quern is moved first clock- and then counterclockwise, the rice coming out in the rough crevice where the two pieces join. The rice is put through the quern as many times as is necessary to effect the polishing. In some querns, the inside of the upper part is grooved to quicken the polishing.

In polishing rice in this way, the mill is placed on a mat and the rice is gathered up periodically and put in baskets. It is then winnowed by tossing in a flat basket. Many of the farmers in the villages still have a shiriushi in their sheds, but it is seldom used.

484 studied remarked on the discomfort of the rustic north. Many
[829] people in Matsuda thought the people of the northern district more honest than those of the south. This attitude is partly due to knowledge of crime in Naha. Direct or personal knowledge of other islands of the Ryukyus is exceptional. Few people know more than travelers' tales about Yaeyama, Miyako, or Amami.

562 Men are better informed about current events than the women.
Women do not participate so much in social life, nor do they read
● 521 so much. Conversations at small gatherings are often on a very serious level. A local antiquarian telling of vanished customs and conditions has a very attentive audience. So has a returned traveler
814 from Japan. These people have a sense of history, curiosity, and respect for knowledge and education.

3

Village Co-operation

621 One of the most important things to learn about a culture is
476 the nature of its co-operative endeavor. It is useful knowledge in understanding the transition zone between individual and family living and participation in community activities. In these communities, co-operation involves considering the relation of families resident in the village to one another, to their community organizations, and to local government. These relations are stronger than the tie of an individual to an extended family. The nature and the limitations of co-operation can best be described by pointing to examples from each of the villages.

In Hanashiro, mutual help is mainly found, as one might expect, among close and distant relatives of the same family of families related by marriage, who are living in the village. There are extended
[C19] family ties, which may involve several villages, but this does not mean that tasks are done co-operatively within the extended family. It is uncommon to go to another village to help a relative with his harvest or his housebuilding--and the distance would increase the unlikelihood. Immediate ties to friends, relatives, and neighbors are stronger than those to the more distant members of the extended family.

Within the village, organized co-operation is not conspicuous. Help is given in the form of labor not in money. There is no accounting on a reciprocity basis. At any harvest time--the rice harvest is usually the most urgent--a relative, neighbor or friend may help one day and receive the same aid on the following day. The whole village does not turn out to help each farmer in turn until the crops are in. This work is done by individuals or by very small groups. Since the nature and the amount of help is known and acknowledged, no bookkeeping
[342] is needed or desired. The closest approach to villagewide help to an individual family occurs in housebuilding. All residents of the

tion, a frame wood building, and the main store. On the eastern end of the village the road opens into a little square in front of the simple, open prayer house with a small concrete shrine in back, housing three sacred stones. Beyond these is the township office crowned by a mighty pine tree of tremendous and symmetric proportions, acclaimed by Taira people to be the oldest existing pine in Okinawa. Across from the office are the post office and the dispensary. 36

Closer inspection of the village shows former house sites which were not rebuilt. Some still have empty concrete shells or single concrete walls and abandoned pigsties or storage sheds. Some of the vacant lots are used as potato fields, others as play areas, the favorite being a large house lot surrounded by a concrete wall, near the main store. 361 727 [311]

Houses are set back a short distance from the roads and paths, and most face south. In spite of the hedges and trees, the house is easily accessible from the street—its orientation is therefore toward the community as a whole and, as will be seen later, open to visitors who can enter freely without going through winding garden paths and knocking on doors or entering through long corridors and passages. Each house lot is small, ranging from 1300 to 6050 square feet. Houses are set so close to each other that neighborly conversations from one to the other can be conducted without leaving one's premises. Although some privacy is attained by the hibiscus hedges and fences, few secrets can be kept from neighbors. 361 351 [521]

There are several focal areas where people frequently meet and interact. The main store is a geographical center. Its two bulletin boards make it a natural congregating point. The banyan tree, overshadowing the village office and the lower water tank, is another such place, and on any day of the year scores of children can be found on or under it. In prewar times it was flanked by important structures, but now the empty lots, which are adjacent, form a green which is used on good days for village meetings. 361 [203] [139]

South of this green, and close to the water, stands the old warehouse, a concrete structure with tile roof which once served as a storage center for agricultural products shipped south by boat; now it serves as a village meeting playground, especially on rainy days. The open space around it, bordering on the sea wall, is also used as a play area and as a gathering place for young adults. Here people prepare firewood for sale and stack it to be picked up by the village truck. Houses once stood near the 10-foot sea wall but were not rebuilt after the war. [251] [344]

To the north of the store lies the upper water tank. Until several standing faucets were installed in 1955, this used to be another place where people met frequently. Water is diverted from a stream a mile 312 365

soup. Nothing is wasted and leftovers are kept for the next meal. The majority of people are fast eaters, and chopsticks move from bowl to mouth quickly and deftly. Some families eat silently, others enjoy talking during the meal. 512 262 269 [521]

Before and after full moon, people like to go out after supper and gather in small groups by the store to talk and smoke or to visit each other. Less running back and forth is observed during dark nights. There is also a seasonal variation in that respect. On cold winter nights, or when it rains, doors are closed early, and visitors slip into the house by the side kitchen door. On warm nights all houses are open, and one can see people sitting in their living room by the light of a kerosene lamp; passers-by just call over and then go in for a chat. Guests are served tea, bits of brown sugar, and other sweets. Men get together at this time and start talking over a cup of sake. A relative or neighbor, bottle in hand, walks in and joins the party. Here and there somebody pulls a samisen out of the corner and starts singing. 512 579 [521] [262]

Evenings are also the time for village meetings, finance group meetings, family gatherings, and other formal get-togethers. Several times during the week a light shines from the village office or the store office, where some of the village leaders meet to discuss community affairs. In the winter, household-head meetings or other general meetings are called for 8 o'clock; in the summer they do not start until 9 o'clock. In the absence of clocks, few meetings ever start on time. 512 623

The young men and women have their get-togethers at the clubhouse in Udenaha. Both sexes attend, sometimes for lectures by a village official on village affairs, sometimes for lessons in bookkeeping and the use of the abacus in business, for which one village leader dedicates his time, or for other educational purposes. Once a week they have a social evening with discussion and sometimes folk dances. On nights when no meetings are scheduled, young men gather at someone's house to smoke, drink, or sing together. If enough sake is available, parties can become noisy. Occasionally a fight or quarrel starts later in the evening after everybody has drunk steadily. Such interruptions on quiet evenings are rare and seldom occur more than once or twice a month. Loud singing at midnight or later, a group of gay men knocking on somebody's door, these are the only disturbances an early sleeper may experience if a party is held somewhere. 512 883 571 [544] [578]

By 11 o'clock mosquito nets are hung in the rooms and comforters spread on the floor. Except in the house where men gather to drink, quiet descends over the village around that time. Individuals, however, may be seen until long after midnight. Taira goes to sleep late, and although people claim that everyone gets eight hours of sleep, it 512 513

CHAPTER IX: HEALTH

W. P. Suttles

121 This chapter will begin with a section on the human body---attitudes
128 toward and practices concerned with its care and its functions. This will be followed by a section on sanitation---attitudes and practices. A third section will deal with concepts of the supernatural and their relationship to illness. A fourth will describe the various types of "medical" practitioners found in Okinawan society, and Okinawan attitudes toward modern medicine. It will be seen that this chapter contains much that is often described under the heading "Religion" or even "Values" and contains little on the actual state of health and incidence of disease among the Okinawans. But we believe that this is as it should be in a report on Okinawan culture. That sanitation is poor and disease is prevalent is no doubt all too apparent to the medical observer. A detailed study of the diseases themselves must be made by research workers competent in that field. A study of native culture, however, reveals some of the underlying causes of poor sanitation and poor health. We feel therefore that this is a valid unit and properly put under the title "Health".

1. The Human Body: Practices and Attitudes

261 Eating and Drinking. Okinawans enjoy food and drink and make numerous events the occasion for their enjoyment. Questions about holidays frequently soon elicit long descriptions of the types of dishes appropriate to each. To a Westerner the variety may not seem great, but to the Okinawans a slight difference in the consistency of a soup may call for a
262 differentiating term. The variety of foods is probably as great as it can be within the limits of Okinawan resources. Foods are valued differently.
[171] Rice ranks high, sweet potatoes low. Pork is esteemed, as in China but not in Japan.

264 Three meals a day is usual. Rice, soup, and boiled foods are served in bowls, fried foods in flat dishes. These are eaten with chopsticks. The bowl may be held in the hand near the mouth; soup may be drunk directly from it. Some foods, such as noodles, are habitually sucked up with considerable noise. This noise is neither made purposely nor is it avoided; it just does not matter. Children may bolt their food without being scolded for it, but adults seem to have no compulsion to eat fast, as the Japanese are said to
[574] have. On festive occasions men are served in the first room, women in the second. On these occasions a portion may be served already in a box so that it may be taken home. On ordinary occasions the family may eat together,
[321] though women often eat in the kitchen by the oven. Conversation of both
[574] light and serious matter may accompany eating. Serving food is essential to the entertainment of guests and to the payment of social debts.

273 Drink is also essential to entertainment. Tea is drunk first thing
[272] in the morning and at any time of the day or evening. But for men something stronger is also desirable. Usually it is the clear, strong, distilled drink

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

parent aftereffects of remorse or physical incapacitation, is a characteristic of this village. Excessive or orgiastic feasting which might interfere with work duties of the following day or days is absent. Leisure events spent in groups are joyful and desirable to all, untinged by hidden motives of social compulsion or conformity, which marks so many recreational activities in a culture like ours. 517

The village calendar does not include a weekly rest day, although government offices are closed on Sunday. Rest and holidays for the majority of villagers are regulated by religious and agricultural events which, in former times, were observed at least once during each lunar month. Although some of these have been simplified or given up in recent times by people whose participation in the old religion has diminished or by those who seek a sounder economy by urging greater production of crops and accumulation of savings, when it comes to observing and enjoying holidays, even the most rational village leader forgets his concern for the time being. The elaborateness of celebrations may be less today, as a result of economic pressure, than in former times—the spirit hardly could be. To know and appreciate the sense of humor and the wit of the people, one has only to attend their parties. During other times these qualities are less expressed—though they are never completely absent. If the naive comment that Okinawans are "childlike"—an observation which Westerners in describing them have permitted themselves—can be taken to have any foundation in fact, it could only be that like many children they are capable of complete absorption and indulgence in fun when the occasion is proper. For the Taira person such indulgence cannot be achieved without food, drink, music, and dance. These are the main components of entertainment which help to elicit gaiety and good humor, whether during holidays observed by families in individual homes, or those of the descent group main houses, or in village-wide celebrations, which are extremely common. These ingredients also appear during more informal hours of relaxation, each day after work, when there are small gatherings here and there, though on a more modest scale. 527 796 157 527 574 [522]

Since calendrical holidays, whether of a family nature or community-wide, have many aspects in common, we may mention some of these in general. Most gatherings begin in the late afternoon and last until late at night although never until daybreak. These are the rare times when people can dress in their best clothes and by doing so shed, perhaps, symbolically all associations with everyday routine. 527 574

The sequence of events at any kind of celebration is somewhat like a veil dance during which one layer of formality after another disappears. A formal period precedes not only all village-wide celebrations

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preciative statement or an introduction. It is polite to make the rounds in this fashion, to sit before another guest, fill his cup and utter some polite phrases, then wait for a return compliment. 527 574

By the time men—and a little later women—have been served food and drink in some quantity, there is no more stiffness in the room, for with every cup of sake animation and voice volume increase. Speeches that have not yet come to a conclusion show definite signs of inspiration; each speaker who sits down is trumped in eloquence by his successor. Long after serious oratory has been dispensed with, a happy celebrant may get up and sonorously hold forth. During fieldwork the authors were frequently the aim of such addresses. In one of them a farmer, quiet and serious during everyday routine but known for his merriment and wit when in his cups, held forth on a future visit to Taira by these Americans. "There will be skyscrapers," he said in a booming voice, "subways, wide lanes and bright lights," and on he went to the delight of everybody. 273 [537] [123]

On such occasions Tairans display their skill in playing with words and their ability to act and mimic. The assistant to the headman, similarly quiet on ordinary days, several months after our arrival came into a room where the authors were present during one of the many post-New Year celebrations. At an advanced stage of merriment himself, he turned to his host and by way of introduction said that he had just come from Hong Kong. "Oh, from Hong Kong," the host said, "that is why you cough so, kong, kong, kong," adding that he himself came from New York (pronounced in Japanese similar to *nyûyoku*, meaning "a bath"), whereupon the arriving guest went into the motions of someone taking a bath, saying "ah from *nyûyoku*," and so the fun went on, mostly as a take-off on the American guests who were present. This reminded the clerk of another story at the expense of the authors, which he told with gusto. "That first day he came to Taira, Maretzki came up to me when I was carrying pebbles from the beach and asked if he could help since he was going to haul pebbles too. Then he started to introduce himself, and I only understood 'Umaretsuki' (similar to Japanese for 'temperament') . . . I waited and waited for a story, but nothing followed. I did not know what to say." He had never repeated this story during many sober encounters. 527 574 522 123

At another event, when several teachers were present, one of the men, after much gaiety, turned to a female teacher whose husband had left for the city to find a job and called over: "Hey, your mosquito netting must be wide now, huh?" The woman blushed, covered her mouth with a handkerchief and laughed. 522

The evening is never old before one man, or several who are known 574 533 534

842 of the economic hardship incurred as a result of large families. A few
[843] of the more outspoken mothers complain bitterly against the old people who expect them to continue bearing children until three male
[593] heirs are born. Men desire male heirs, and one son is not enough: the favored number is three. Informal interviews reveal that in spite of the cultural preference for sons, mothers welcome daughters, who grow up to be useful helpers. Even if women protest when they feel tired of bearing children, they submit to their husband's demands. Since Japa-
551 nese given names are used today, the practice of naming a girl Sueko
553 (end child), to indicate that one considers her to be the last, is often
842 resorted to. If this proves insufficient and another follows, she might
[177] be called Tomeko (stop child). In one family the wife gave her baby girl the name Sueko to indicate that she did not desire any more children. Her husband, however, disagreed, for he wanted another son, and registered the child without his wife's knowledge under another name.

842 Although the older generation, which has supported large families,
744 looks on birth control measures with distaste, the young mothers circulate information published in Japanese magazines and by the Okinawan public health department on this matter, and a few families actually use contraceptives. However, in general, public health nurses
847 have found it extremely difficult to discuss matters like birth control, abortion, and infanticide with villagers. "We suspect that these measures are practiced everywhere. Of course, with the system of registration and public health nursing, infanticide is hardly possible; how-
[732] ever . . . we could not say. . . ." * It is interesting to note that in Taira there are mental defectives but no physical defectives. Abortion
[848] is legal with a doctor's consent, but informants claimed it was not practiced. There are illegitimate children born in the village.

842 "The seeds, they must match. If they do not match, then it cannot be," explain the villagers. They continue, "It is like planting a field, however; if the soil is hostile to growth, nothing can happen." Thus the villagers express their theories of conception.

843 Cessation of menstrual periods signals the start of pregnancy, and the sudden craving for a particular kind of food forces the woman to acknowledge the fact. Informal interviewing and casual observation reveal that morning sickness is not usual. Women rarely miss a work-
[461] ing day in the fields and mountains even in the early stages of preg-
[522] nancy. One male who failed to appear for work with the rest of the male population of the village was the butt of many a joke. "How now, you are taking over the task of your wife?" teased the men and women.

[164] Malfunction of the kidneys is not uncommon among pregnant

* Personal communication from public health nurses.

846 can take on a second wife. The woman who is delivered of her third
842 son is the envy of others who have none or only one son to their credit, for she has achieved what is considered to be the ideal in a wife. Thus the first mother with four daughters was treated with outright disgust and contempt by her husband, whereas in the second instance the mother was receiving the normal treatment of disinterest with minor solicitation.

593 The constant stream of visitors during the first month gives the other children in the household a sense of importance. Whenever an
857 older child has a chance, he stresses the fact that there is a newborn
854 in the house and reports the identity of the latest visitor to scores of admiring peers. He is the envy of the lot when at last he is allowed to carry the infant and play. But the envy is short lived, and the older sibling's pride withers rapidly when he finds that this is just another baby to be carried and cared for constantly. As the baby gains weight and no longer sleeps quietly for extended periods of time on the back, the older sibling begins to run and hide when he sees his mother approaching with the baby.

593 A few days after the birth of an infant, the fieldworker visited a household and found the older siblings all crowded in the back room
● 522 with the mother and child. One of the girls, a 5-year-old who was
857 unusually sturdy and large in build, was teased by her mother. "Hey
854 Hanako, let's give the teacher this baby, all right?" said the mother, winking on the side to the fieldworker. The little girl looked anxiously at the fieldworker and slowly edged over protectively toward the infant. She shook her head slowly and deliberately for some minutes, indicating that she would not assent to giving her baby sister away. At this point the grandmother entered the teasing and told the little girl that the baby would only prove to be a burden when she had to carry her later on, but she continued to shake her head. As the mother handed the baby over to the fieldworker, the girl burst into tears and cried out "No! No!" All laughed and assured her that the baby would remain in the household.

593 Several weeks later, Hanako proudly paraded her newest baby sister for all her playmates to see. Many begged to carry the infant "for just a
857 little while" to no avail. When her older sister returned from school,
854 she reluctantly gave up her charge in deference to age and experience. This went on for about two months until one day the fieldworker came on the mother calling frantically around the village for Hanako and the older girl. The older girl successfully evaded her mother, but Hanako was discovered and the baby was strapped to her back. Hanako

832 Sexual Relations and Prostitution A married couple engage in sexual relations only when they are sure that they will be neither observed nor heard. If they have children they can have relations only after the children have fallen asleep and can be safely pushed to one side. The children are told nothing of the nature of sex and it is assumed that they are unaware of their [839] parents' relations. A married woman is expected to have relations with her husband only and at his pleasure. There are evidently no tabued positions or times, except for the period of menstruation. Relations may continue through [837] pregnancy and be resumed shortly after childbirth. The husband, however, may have relations with other women.

831 In spite of the secrecy regarding sex and the restrictions imposed upon women, at least women with husbands, there is no feeling of guilt connected with sex as is often the case in American society. Sex is regarded as a natural function. The feeling is probably more that it should be restricted for the good of society. Children should not know about it because, being foolish, they might try to imitate their elders; this seems to be a real fear. A man ought not to tolerate his wife's having relations with another. But he is free to enjoy the pleasures of sex as his means allows. If he can afford it he may go to the jurinuyaa or keep a mistress. His wife may become jealous, but she would be ashamed to become angry or scold him solely because of jealousy. The only valid argument that a wife may use against her husband's having relations with other women is that it costs money.

834 In public there is no demonstration of affection between husband and wife or between lovers. Behavior in public suggestive of sexual relations, such as kissing or embracing, is appropriate only at a brothel. I have seen very young couples walking hand in hand, but this is said to be a very recent development.

831 522 But there is considerable talk about sex, particularly joking, sometimes using metaphors, and sometimes in plainer language. This joking takes place most frequently at parties, but they may be in the home and in the presence of children, who are not expected to understand. These jokes do not involve married women. The relationships implied by the joking are between men and juri. An instance occurred at a gathering that consisted of relatives and one or two friends of the second son. After an hour or so of drinking the second son seized the 'shamisen' and sang a bit and then shouted, "I am --- Second Son. I am the best shamisen player. I am the best singer. I am the one who goes to the jurinuyaa the most." Everyone laughed, including the man's wife, who sat opposite with their children. Later I asked a member of the family if this boast had not made the wife feel uncomfortable. I was told that it probably did not, since there was no basis to the claim (though it turned out later that Second Son had been carrying on a secret affair with a married woman). But the informant admitted that a joke about the wife's having extramarital relations would not be funny, because it would be unlikely; the humor must lie in the possibility that the joke is the truth.

Another example occurred at the home of an older man whom my assistant and I tried to interview one evening. We were the only guests, but he

called for 'awamori'. After a few drinks he asked in a fairly serious manner, 831
"Have you bought a woman yet during your stay? You really ought to try an 522
Okinawan woman before you go." His daughter-in-law and two half-grown sons looked on in amusement. The question is not uncommon; on another occasion it was, "Have you tasted Okinawan women?"

In common talk, and perhaps in feeling, sex seems to be identified al- 548
most wholly with prostitution and the sex act with the hiring of a juri. The 831
sight of a seed boar being led across a field evoked the comment, "That pig's a man; he's on his way to buy a woman." Perhaps the above statement should be narrowed down to something like: the pleasurable aspects of sex are identified with prostitution. And sexual pleasure, like the pleasures of eating and drinking, singing and dancing, is something that guests may be treated to. (Hence the concern that the visitor sample all the pleasures that Okinawa offers and a pride in those for which it is famous.) In view of the fact that children grow up hearing about juri and jurimuyaa and associating them with other pleasures before they have any notion of their sexual functions, it is not surprising that when they become adults they display attitudes that are different from those found among Americans.

Before the war in the Tsuji district of Naha there were about three thousand juri.[1] The district was the center of the social life of the men [565]
of the upper classes. Business men, government officials, and teachers were entertained there. No doubt all did not "buy" juri, but sex was one of the principal commodities dispensed there. Also it is unlikely that the average farmer ever went there, but the indications are that he would have if he could have. A man is expected to want these things if he can afford them. The [184]
values of the farmer are not likely to be very different from those of the better-off city man. The jurimuyaa has played an important role in Okinawa society in the past and is not likely to disappear very soon.

Maturity and Old Age: Associations Men may continue to belong to the 575
'Seinenkai' until thirty; women drop 562
out at marriage. The reason that men stay longer may be to give greater continuity to the organization and to provide older members as leaders, but in view of the recreational activities of the organization it seems as likely that the rule is merely a part of the general tendency to give more freedom to men and more responsibility to women.

Adult Associations ('Seijinkai') are said to exist in some villages 575
but are not of any great importance. Associations formed by persons of the same age ('dōnenkai') also exist. In Japan such organizations are often com- [171]
posed of persons who were in the same class in school[2]; on Okinawa the number of older persons who attended school probably does not permit the formation of very large associations. The tendency among younger persons is not very noticeabe. Younger men may organize 'shōbōkai', volunteer fire brigades; such [368]
an organization patrolled the streets of Ishikawa nightly. We did not see any evidence of the persistence of any organizations based on former military [177]
service; the Japanese Army Reservists' Association may never have been very active on Okinawa.

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1 Yanagida, 1951, p. 309.

2 Embree, 1939, p. 163ff.

197 pronunciation. The people in Matsuda could distinguish and identify villagers from other places, even though the villages were close to one another.[12] Okinawan is the language of social and everyday life. In Matsuda, it seemed to be supplanted by Japanese more than in the other two villages. Japanese is used in official contacts and in dealing with foreigners. Pre-school children know very little Japanese. Their parents do not teach them the language, and they grow up speaking the village dialect. The only exception is that parents teach the child a few Japanese words of greeting, formalities, and expressions of thanks.

191

524 Children lack the toys and playthings they had prior to the war. At present they are a miscellaneous collection of rocks, pieces of wood, tin cans, twigs, branches, and anything which circumstance or childish improvisation can provide. In play, there is a great deal of running and catching, hide and seek, and games like hop scotch. After beginning school, play has a more formal character, with dances, games, and organized athletics.

[526]

857 Sleeping habits, especially those of children, are in part the result of circumstance, in part of custom, and it is difficult to separate the two. Children, often up to the age of 14 or 15, sleep with an older member of the family. In one Hanashiro family, the last born sleeps with the mother and the father until the next child comes. The older children sleep in another room with the grandmother or grandfather. If there are no elder relatives, the whole family may sleep together. This practice frequently is forced by economy and necessity. The war destroyed homes and the rebuilt ones are small. Blankets are expensive. In the better homes before the war, if there were plenty of blankets, rooms, and mosquito nets, children 8 years and over had their own sleeping rooms, or at least their own heavy blanket or cot. The farmer or fisherman does not use a bed or a cot. Now and then they are used by younger adults with a taste for western beds. But even before the war, 15 and 16 year olds often slept with parents or grandparents.

513

Children from different houses also sleep together after they have begun school. Children come to a house to play, and, when bed time comes, they go to sleep in the house of their playmates. These sleeping groups are common when classmates meet during the evening for study. The village is so small that there is no alarm at a child's absence. An old grandmother living by herself may have many children sleeping with her overnight, sprawled out in various positions on a comforter, protected by the very large mosquito net (kaya) so universal in Okinawa.

12 No attempt was made to study language, linguistics, or dialectical differences. To be profitable, these subjects must be studied by technically trained linguists.

3

Celebrations Through the Festival of the Fifth Month

796 The 15th day of the second lunar month (March 22, 1951) is the Buddhist holiday, higan, celebrating the spring equinox. Here it is a home festival of thanksgiving. Barley (ōmugi) or barley cakes [262] with brown sugar are offered with prayers for continued good fortune. Other grains, such as rice, millet (awa) may be offered, though the cakes (mugimochi) are of barley. In Matsuda, this is not a home ceremony. An offering of white rice cakes is made by the village [993] head man, with the assistance of lower orders of the former priestess system, at the site of the village patron deity.

527 The third day of the third month is the festival of the dolls, (hinamatsuri). It is not important in Okinawa and is spottily ob- [524] served. In Minatogawa, it is a woman's holiday. Women and children [562] make dolls. Gifts of dainties and candies in red lacquer boxes are prepared. People from nearby villages come to Minatogawa, bring their lunches, and gather shells and catch fish.

The fifth day of the fifth month is Boy's Day. This Japanese holiday is not significant in the villages. There may be banners with a picture of a carp (koi no bori) displayed, visits to the place of the patron deity, some visiting and sanisen playing, and perhaps a play.

527 The 14th day of the 5th month (June 18, 1951) is the festival 526 of the Gods of the Sea and is observed only in Minatogawa. It is this village's greatest celebration. The boat race, held on this day, attracts many from the interior villages. In Hanashiro, most activity ceases while everyone goes to the boat races. Before the [778] races, the villagers go to the religious sites to make small offerings [782] and to pray. The races are held in the estuary of the river. In their excitement, children with infants on their back often wade out in the water to cheer their favorite boat.

796 The Festival of the Fifth Month (Gogatsumatsuri) is held on the 15th day of the 5th lunar month (June 19, 1951). Like the festival of the [993] spring equinox, it is a day of thanksgiving. Thanks are given for rice instead of for barley. In Matsuda, the ceremony is conducted by the village head man and former members of the priestess system.[2]

2 According to a Matsuda informant, women should not sew on this [714] day. It is a rest day. If work is done, including gathering [805] plants for fertilizer, the dreaded poisonous snake, the habu, will come. These customs were not encountered in the other villages.

went home and hysterically reported the incident to her family. The mother, meanwhile, laughed and told her boy, "Just like your grandmother, can't stand to hear you cry even when you are not hurt!" She then went on to say that both she and her husband ignore the boy's crying in situations where he could help himself, but the boy's grandmother immediately runs to soothe and aid him. Generally it may be said that in extended households, grandmothers tend to prolong the dependence period and discourage independence and responsibility. 866 603 855 [596]

The relationship between grandfather and grandchild is more restrained. Although grandfathers may be seen carrying children or doing things for them, there is always a discreet distance between them, the result of early training in respect and deference to male elders. Children do not tease their grandfathers as they do their grandmothers. Older boys, in their late teens, may carry on a superficial joking relationship with their grandfathers, but they must be careful not to show disrespect. The male elders in turn show greater affection for the male child than for the female. When both grandparents are living in the house, the child, whether male or female, is more likely to direct his succorant appeals to grandmother rather than grandfather.* 603 858 866

Mothers, themselves, are often not too consistent in their training for independence. They will feel sorry for the child when he is first weaned and allow him to stay close to them until the birth of the next sibling. On the other hand, they will encourage the little 2-year-olds to imitate older girls and boys, particularly in their baby-tending role. A mother will strap a "doll" on her daughter or son's back. The "dolls" are usually rolled blankets or jackets, for real dolls are expensive and rarely bought in the village. Older children and adults do not fail to comment to a child carrying such a burden. They praise him for being such a good caretaker; they pretend to see the "baby" sleeping and report this to him. If the strapping becomes loose, they call to him and reassemble the "baby" and the pinning. The doll is never played with or manipulated. Thus the 2-year-old gets praised for emulation of the responsible and nurturant behavior expected of older siblings. 866 857 [862] [524] [155]

Perhaps it is this role training that explains in part the absence of aggression toward the newborn sibling, which might well be expected with such a short interval between weaning from the breast and back and the birth of the next child. The fieldworker did not observe one instance of such hostility. If there is any hostility expressed, it is against the mother in outbursts of temper and against those who ridicule or try to comfort the displaced child. The grandmother's aggressive actions against the mother may encourage the child in this behavior 867 593

* Only 4 out of 24 sample children lived in the same house with a grandfather.

872 attempts to hold his hand over hers and he continues to beat out the
526 rhythm of the songs. While finishing the last song, she traces lines for the snail game on the sandy ground. A 5-year-old girl, singing the final words of the song, impatiently tugs at her hand. Taking the stick from her hand, the girl erases the teacher's lines and painstakingly tries to make a perfectly round spiral. She stands back to look at the finished "snail," hands the stick back to the teacher, and returns to her place.

The snail game involves teams of two groups of children. One member of a group takes his position in the inner end of the spiral, while the other stands at the outer end. At a signal from the teacher, both run toward each other as fast as possible to cover as much of the
[524] length of the line as possible. When they meet, they play a game similar to the American "rock, paper, and scissors." The loser gives up his turn to another member of his group who has to start at the beginning of the opposite end while the winner runs from the point at which the "toss" took place. At the point of meeting, another toss takes place, and the first contestant to reach the opposite end of the spiral wins a point for his team.

Another favorite game of the kindergarten children is "choosing sides." Two mixed groups stand opposite each other and at the signal one group, hand in hand, moves forward, gaily kicking their feet toward the other members of their group. "We will take, Yoshiko," they sing as they swoop in a semicircle to encircle the chosen one, who attempts to run away while her group tries to run interference. Then the next group has a turn. There is no real "winning" in this game, but the children enjoy the united chasing and united defense.

872 After playing organized games from about 9:30 until 11:15, the
262 children are temporarily disbanded while the teacher goes to prepare the powdered milk, which the children look forward to eagerly. Often the promise of milk serves as a powerful incentive to attend kindergarten for even the most incorrigible renegade. The children all scatter to run home for their small tea cups in which the coveted drink is served. As the teacher approaches the banyan tree from her home, bucket of milk and dipper in hand, she smiles to see the two lines
872 already formed. "Today, we will serve the girls first because the boys
876 were first yesterday," she announces, and immediately there is a shout of disapproval from the boys and a few menacing scowls and upraised
858 arms with clenched fists directed toward the girls. The little girls smile smugly back at the boys, and a few return the hostile threats. The most aggressive boys and girls soon become involved in a tussle, and the teacher serves notice that milk will be withdrawn for the day if order is not restored. The observer feels that in her reprimand to the

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attention as the teacher raps loudly at it with her pointer. She taps at the first figure and reproduces it on the black board, verbalizing it at the same time. She asks the children to imitate her, using their index fingers to follow the order of strokes. With their arms raised, the children reproduce the figure in the air. Five figures of the syllabary are reproduced in this way, and after reading it off several times, time is called. Just before the children are excused, they are told to learn the five figures. This is their first homework assignment. 872 876

It is 10:35, and from the direction of the principal's office, the recess bell can be heard. The teacher explains that after 20 minutes of play, the class will again convene for 1 hour and 20 minutes. The boys are allowed outdoors first and the girls follow. There is a flurry of excitement as older siblings appear to question the first graders on the activities of the morning. The children are reminded that this is also the time to go to the toilets. 872 [863]

The older boys and girls are already organized, and games of sham battle, volley ball, hopscotch, and marbles are in progress. The first graders wander in and out of other classrooms, then around the playground, where the various games are being played, until the bell signals them to return to their rooms. They return with a newly gained sense of confidence. The boys, who had been surreptitiously turning their heels in the well-worn marble holes on the dirt floor all morning, move the last row of desks and chairs just a few inches to clear the field for the game. The last few returning girls are given a rude shove to hurry along to their seats, for the boys are eager to start the game. With a great deal of shouting, magnified from the first-grade class next door, the boys begin their game of marbles. [526] [524]

While the teacher checks her records and consults numerous slips of paper on her table, the girls call to each other to check on books, contents of their lunch boxes, and plans for the afternoon. Finally the teacher raps for attention. The boys continue their game of marbles unconcernedly, and the girls scurry back to their seats. There is a wave of giggles as the raps reflect exasperation. "Where are the boys?" questions the annoyed teacher. There is no answer, but the few remaining boys and girls who have heeded their parents' and older siblings' advice to behave all turn their heads toward the back of the room. The teacher carefully picks her way through the closely lined and crowded room. The marble players are so engrossed in their games that they do not see her until she taps one head, then two, saying, "I have called you. Don't you know that recess is over?" Sheepishly a few walk off to their seats. A few smile broadly and run off to evade the pointers. Suddenly a high voice calls out, "The principal! The principal!" [876]

868 crouch with their mothers, who are busy with the laundry. It is not
296 long before they pick up a small article of clothing and start soaping, rubbing, and rinsing just as their mothers do.

IMITATIVE PLAY

857 What children observe in adult life is frequently acted out in play
524 situations. Before a girl is old enough to do all the household work alone, she can always find satisfaction for her desire to learn an adult role by imitating it in play. Playing "house" is an activity which all girls from the age of 4 to 9 or 10 indulge in constantly at all times of the year. The beach, yard, empty lots of uninhabited houses serve as locales for this play. Girls "act out" the role of the mother in the household in crude but painstakingly constructed "houses." Boys rarely join in this kind of play, which is not surprising, since males have very little to do with the day-to-day happenings in the house. Invariably there is a play store at which all the "mothers" converge to buy their daily supply of bean paste, noodles, or dried seaweed, but the most concentrated locale of activity is in the "kitchen of the houses." Here elaborate meals are prepared with sand for rice, grass roots for noodles, chopped up pandanus leaves for greens, and hibiscus for red coloring. Frequently during the vegatable season discarded carrots, cabbage, and turnips are used in make-believe dishes. Shells of all kinds serve as plates and bowls and sticks, into which cockle shells are wedged, as spoons. Bamboo pieces serve as chopsticks. An 8-year-old may spirit the real kitchen knife to chop up the "vegetables" if the house-playing takes place near the home. Deftly she slices the carrots and turnips and mixes them into water. If she is fortunate, she and her playmates can use a temporarily uninhabited house in which the hearth stones and wire hung pot still remain, in which case she need not construct one out of small rocks. As she orders her "children" to go to the store for rice or salt, she jogs up and down to quiet the infant that fusses on her back. Finally the meal is ready to serve. The "family" without "father" all sit in the kitchen on their knees as she busily serves the various concoctions. There is a disturbance "outside," and she turns to look as one of her children shouts. "Oh, look what the boys have done!" "Fools! Go away!" she shouts as she runs after the laughing boys who have taken a few of the bamboo sticks that delineate the house walls. "We are robbers, robbers come to rob you!" shout the boys as they run away. After the "meal" is finished and while she is washing dishes, she hears someone

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Taira

calling, "Good day." She hurries forward and finds a 5-year-old boy standing at her door. "Want anything today?" asks the boy, unloading a bunch of grass. The "mother" smiles, amused, then she sorts through the grass and hands over some "money" and thanks the "peddler" as he goes on his way to the next house. The peddler turns out to be the same boy who was the robber. When his peddling bores him, he returns to robbing and finally leaves the scene entirely. As the "mother" returns to her kitchen to work toward her next meal, one of the "children" returns "home" with a bunch of flowers. As it is the fifteenth day of the lunar calendar, she hurries to put them into a small empty bottle. She places the flowers on the family shrine shelf along with "incense sticks." This done, she goes out to the "store." 857 524

After "marketing," preparations for the next meal begin; but as she works intently, there is a call. "Good day, excuse me . . ." calls a voice in high-pitched tones which are the essence of politeness and femininity. As visitor greets hostess, the etiquette of adult life is enacted with much finesse. "Tea" is brought in by an "older daughter," and polite talk is exchanged over it. Sitting quite properly on her knees, the hostess "bows her guest" out of the house as she has seen her own mother do countless times. And so it goes, day after day, little girls who never seem to tire of imitating their mothers until they approach the age of 10, when unmistakable signs of self-consciousness affect their behavior.

In other respects, too, the play situation is often turned into a valuable learning experience. These are play activities which are in reality beginnings of assuming responsibility toward economic contributions for the home. A kindergarten child follows his older sibling or mother down to the beach. The trip is made to collect seaweed for the pigs, but the young child just goes along for recreation. The young child, unable to discriminate between the different kinds of seaweed, drops into the basket whatever she picks up. She "plays at collecting seaweed." The older sibling silently picks out the undesirable variety and discards it. Many times the portion the younger child has collected is rejected, but before long, through observation and imitation, he learns to pick the particular kind of seaweed which is desired. The older sibling in many cases does not attempt to instruct by saying, "Pick the green, smooth kind that grows thick on the rocks." Instead, he may just nod or shake his head if the younger brings forward some for approval or disapproval. 857 868

On one gathering trip in the fields, a 10-year-old boy devised a game which actually was instructive in nature. He was accompanied by his two male cousins, 3 and 4 years old. They were hunting for

857 of them disapprove of dominance in their children: "It would be terri-
866 ble if my child would tell this child and that child to do one thing or another and they would get into trouble." The fear expressed here, and in similar statements, is obviously that leadership entails responsibility in case anything goes wrong, and parents do not like to be put in a position where they or their children could be blamed.

865 The Western observer, perhaps, is most impressed with the ability of children to manage their own affairs. Fights occur, and disagree-
857 ments crop up frequently, but almost without exception these matters
156 are settled within the group and without dramatic scenes in which adults become involved. There are no violent fights or quarrels which break up groups and cause prolonged hostile feelings among children. Least of all did we find bullying and harassing of younger children by the older ones, although younger ones are often assigned inferior roles in play by the older children.

ACTIVITIES AND GAMES

857 In part, at least, the tone among these play groups is set by the sur-
● 524 prising variety of activities that children engage in during the year, innumerable games which come and go in cycles, but which have a village-wide appeal while they last. All of them are played with a minimum of equipment and a maximum of inventiveness and enthusiasm. There are few toys which parents can buy their children, and fewer still which they make for them. This situation is met with great ingenuity. Children use any objects available to them—discarded household equipment, empty cans, boxes, or whatever they pick and gather from trees, bushes, and the ground. Round stones, peas, and seeds serve as marbles; an empty carton becomes a truck or boat. Wooden sticks, bamboo, an old bicycle wheel without a tire find some use. Suddenly one day children run about with helmets made of cabbage leaves, swinging little pistols made of a piece of bamboo, or a stick as a dagger. Girls gather shells and gravel on the beach and carry pieces in their dress pockets. In the absence of dolls, girls have a younger sibling to act the part of "child" in realistic play. Babies, however, are never used in such games.

Boys and girls like to play games of skill. Girls often pull out five stones from their pockets and play a kind of jacks. There are also many versions of ball games in which one girl performs several stunts with a ball while she sings a song. If she makes a mistake, another one

 857

gets a turn. Teams of two girls at a time play hopscotch, which they 524
call "parent and child game."

An old Okinawan game of skill on which early Western visitors have 857
frequently commented is still a favorite of Taira boys, 5 years and 526
older. This is a kind of stick-ball game. A wedge-shaped piece of wood 157
3 to 4 inches long and pointed at both ends and a striking club are used. Children whittle both with a knife. This game is played by two or more players, and the purpose of the game is to get the wedge into a hole. The game requires a series of skillful manipulations of the wedge with the club. It is an exciting and competitive game. Each player is awarded a number of points for certain accomplished acts. Although boys are quite absorbed in this play, there are rarely any arguments and the winner hardly ever shows any pride. Winners seldom boast after a game, and the observers felt that the satisfaction is really gained from the performance, not from having outdone others. Girls sometimes join the boys in this game.

Boys and girls, separately or together, play other games of skill, such 857
as marbles. A challenge by another starts a game, sometimes of two, 524
sometimes of four or six players. There is usually a kibitzer around who becomes involved. Two games in the same play area are not uncommon while spectators wait for their turns later.

Equally common, but frowned on by the school because of its gambling character, is a rubber band game. The store uses rubber bands to tie packages. Children carry a number on their arms. Each player chips in a number of bands, two or more, depending on agreement. The person who starts the game is decided on by tossing. The rubber bands are put on a cement or wooden surface, a step or block with a ledge from which the rubber can drop down. They are placed at some distance from the ledge. Then they are moved toward it, either by hitting the ground with the palm of the hand, slightly cupped so that air escapes, or by blowing. The rubber bands drop over the ledge, and the person whose rubber band first overlaps with another wins the stake. This game continues until one player has won all the rubber bands. Parents object to the game only if the children buy rubber bands instead of collecting them.

Boys like to practice skill in sports. Wrestling, a national sport in 857
Japan and the Ryukyus during spring and early summer, is taken up 526
by boys who copy young men and older students, and for several weeks wrestling matches get spontaneously under way. Prior to the annual island-wide athletic meets in September, boys practice high jump, broad jump, and relay running. There is much practice for the mere [157]

855 861 Two facts that have been introduced into this discussion should be restated and made more explicit. The first is that Okinawan child-training methods include the use of both verbal appeals and physical punishment. As a result of observations made during and shortly after the battle in 1945, Dr. J. C. Maloney reported[1] that Okinawans were very permissive with their children and did not use corporal punishment. It will be seen from the data just presented that while Okinawans are more permissive in many situations than Americans would be, they do in fact use severe physical punishment on occasion.

152 181 171 861 The second fact has to do with the contrast of "shame" versus "guilt" that has been presented by several writers on the character of the Japanese. Both Gorer and Benedict have asserted that the Japanese conform because they fear the ridicule of others whereas Westerners conform because they fear their own consciences; Japanese culture is a "shame culture" while ours is a "guilt culture".[2] Okinawan culture also seems to be primarily a shame culture. Okinawans clearly fear ridicule greatly, and this fear seems traceable to their early training. But there are also elements in Okinawan child training that would tend to produce something of the Western sort of fear that one may suffer for his wrong-doing regardless of whether he is found out or not. These are to be seen in the phrases "retribution will strike" (Okinawan bachi nu ataaing, Japanese 'bachi ga ataru') and "the gods saw you". Shame and guilt are doubtless not mutually exclusive. Both sanctions exist in Okinawan culture, shame being much the stronger.

857 524 [207] [177] Play Boys play with kites and tops. Girls play hop-scotch. Both, if they can afford it, get one or more of the numerous Japanese children's magazines that are filled with stories, comics, and a variety of make-it-yourself paper toys.

857 Boys catch insects and birds and fasten strings to them in order to jerk them back as they try to fly away, or in order simply to drag them around. They do so quite unconscious of any cruelty in the act. Adults appear to regard living things as proper playthings.

[569] There may be less age-grading among smaller children than among older people or among children in present-day American society. Several boys of different ages were observed playing together on many occasions, mainly, it seemed, because they were related and lived in adjacent houses. The girls who occasionally joined them were also of the same group of related families.

832 178 Youth Traditionally, entering one's thirteenth year, for a girl, and fifteenth, for a boy, marks a change in status from that of child to that of youth (niisee, in J. 'seinen', literally "green years"). There was [881] also a later ceremony at which the young man's hair was done in a knot; and the tattooing undergone by a young woman may have been part of a puberty rite. [877] But at present, finishing one's schooling marks the greatest change in the life of a young person. At this time the treatment he receives and the be- 877 882 havior expected of him change markedly. As long as he is in school he is

1 Maloney, 1945, p. 394.

2 Gorer, 1943; Benedict, 1946, p. 223.

1

Introduction

In contemporary Okinawa, there are four distinct types of village settlement. The first and the most common is the village cluster. Houses are grouped in a central area, usually along or on both sides of a road, surrounded by farm lands and rice fields. The second, the shoe-string type, is less common. Here houses are lined along either side of a main street. The third is a here-and-there type of settlement. This has been called a yadori (Japanese) or yadui (Okinawan) village; translated as plantation, but this is too exalted a word.[1] These villages may have sub-settlements. Houses are scattered among intervening plots of cultivated land. In the fourth category are the modern improvisations: land formerly in forest, grass or shrub which has been reclaimed and used for houses and nearby cultivation, or former agricultural land now taken up for house sites, a result of increased population or of war time destruction of other parts of a village. 361 [311]

The basic type of Okinawan village is the cluster, a village small in area whose houses, close together, and on irregular winding lanes, are separated from one another by stone or rock walls, or by boundaries of trees or shrubs. The front part of the house compound usually is cut off from the road by a stone fence, running part way across, with the opening to the road obstructed by a stationary barrier, sometimes of stones, often of woven grasses. [351] [363]

In the village of a bygone age, there were large open spaces like a common on the outskirts "often appearing as glades in the forest." In this area, rice was laid out to dry, horse racing and other sports took place, the village council met, goods were bartered, justice administered, and festivals celebrated.[2] When approached from a distance, the older villages seemed literally buried in foliage. In the last century the larger villages still had rest huts (cung-qua) for travellers, usually government officials to use from one overnight stop to another. The older village also had a series of small buildings on stilts three to six feet long. These were granaries and food storehouses. Some houses were also on stilts. Older accounts have stressed the concealment of the Okinawan village, its houses separated from one another, its lanes lined or embowered with bamboo, with banana trees, or with arbors. To 361 175 [526] [35] [48] [343] [342]

[TEXT Continues TOP of P. 48--Analyst]

1 Higa, Shunchō. Structure of the Ryukyuan rural community. The Japanese journal of ethnology, 15 (1950), 63-66. In Japanese with English summary, 151.

2 The Luchu islands and their inhabitants, as cited, 457. See also Basil Hall, Account of a voyage of discovery to the west coast of Corea and the Great Loo-Choo island, 123, 124.

197 pronunciation. The people in Matsuda could distinguish and identify villagers from other places, even though the villages were close to one another.[12] Okinawan is the language of social and everyday life. In Matsuda, it seemed to be supplanted by Japanese more than in the other two villages. Japanese is used in official contacts and in 191 dealing with foreigners. Pre-school children know very little Japanese. Their parents do not teach them the language, and they grow up speaking the village dialect. The only exception is that parents teach the child a few Japanese words of greeting, formalities, and expressions of thanks.

524 Children lack the toys and playthings they had prior to the war. At present they are a miscellaneous collection of rocks, pieces of wood, tin cans, twigs, branches, and anything which circumstance or childish improvisation can provide. In play, there is a great deal of running and catching, hide and seek, and games like hop scotch. [526] After beginning school, play has a more formal character, with dances, games, and organized athletics.

857 Sleeping habits, especially those of children, are in part the result of circumstance, in part of custom, and it is difficult to separate the two. Children, often up to the age of 14 or 15, sleep 513 with an older member of the family. In one Hanashiro family, the last born sleeps with the mother and the father until the next child comes. The older children sleep in another room with the grandmother or grandfather. If there are no elder relatives, the whole family may sleep together. This practice frequently is forced by economy and necessity. The war destroyed homes and the rebuilt ones are small. Blankets are expensive. In the better homes before the war, if there were plenty of blankets, rooms, and mosquito nets, children 8 years and over had their own sleeping rooms, or at least their own heavy blanket or cot. The farmer or fisherman does not use a bed or a cot. Now and then they are used by younger adults with a taste for western beds. But even before the war, 15 and 16 year olds often slept with parents or grandparents.

Children from different houses also sleep together after they have begun school. Children come to a house to play, and, when bed time comes, they go to sleep in the house of their playmates. These sleeping groups are common when classmates meet during the evening for study. The village is so small that there is no alarm at a child's absence. An old grandmother living by herself may have many children sleeping with her overnight, sprawled out in various positions on a comforter, protected by the very large mosquito net (kaya) so universal in Okinawa.

12 No attempt was made to study language, linguistics, or dialectical differences. To be profitable, these subjects must be studied by technically trained linguists.

872 calculating on the abacus, and a variety of other subjects. (These topics will be discussed in the chapter on education.

292 The pre-war school childrens' uniform is no longer obligatory.
291 Children wear what they have and what their parents can afford. The
302 girl frequently wears the familiar blue serge smock but more often her clothing is varied. Her hair has bangs in front and is cut straight, about on the level with the ear lobe. Neither do the boys wear prescribed clothing. With them too, it is a matter of what they have. A boy's hair is closely clipped to his head and will remain cut this way until he leaves junior high school, although this style also is no longer compulsory. He may have a school boy's cap, but this is not officially designated. It may be tan, white, blue, or olive drab, resembling either a military or a baseball type cap. Above the brim there is a metal tag with an abbreviation of the school name written in a Chinese character.

857 Three important new experiences come to him as a result of his
883 school life. The first of these is participation in school maintenance and upkeep. One of the commonest sights in any Okinawan primary, junior high, or high school is to see children working around the buildings and grounds under the supervision of their teachers. After typhoons, which destroy many of the rude, temporary, and rebuilt buildings, they 15 straighten out the debris, and help in putting on a new thatched roof. The tasks done by school children and their teachers are those customarily performed by janitors and custodians in our school system. In junior or senior high school, if the child lives far away from the school, he may board there as well.

526 His second experience is with organized athletics. Much of this
[177] instruction is pointed to the annual athletic meets (undōkai) which have a remarkable hold in Okinawa on students, teachers, parents, and the rest of the villagers alike. This organized athletic training is a Japanese introduction, but earlier accounts of a period when Japanese cultural influence was more nominal point to a love of games, races, and ball among the people.

572 The third of these new experiences is the formation of attachments with children in his own class. These friendships exist throughout life. The words, dōnen or dōsei, meaning the same year or the same age, are used by mature men and women to describe these early friendships. Close friendships almost invariably have had their origins in early close association in the same grade at school.

15 As is true of school boys the world over, truancy is not unheard of. Every once in a while, especially in junior high school, three or four boys report to the principal or his assistant because of absence from this work--but not from classes.

Celebrations Through the Festival of the Fifth Month

796 The 15th day of the second lunar month (March 22, 1951) is the Buddhist holiday, higan, celebrating the spring equinox. Here it is a home festival of thanksgiving. Barley (ōmugi) or barley cakes [262] with brown sugar are offered with prayers for continued good fortune. Other grains, such as rice, millet (awa) may be offered, though the cakes (mugimochi) are of barley. In Hatsuda, this is not a home ceremony. An offering of white rice cakes is made by the village [193] head man, with the assistance of lower orders of the former priestess system, at the site of the village patron deity.

527 The third day of the third month is the festival of the dolls, (hinamatsuri). It is not important in Okinawa and is spottily ob- [524] served. In Hinatogawa, it is a woman's holiday. Women and children [562] make dolls. Gifts of dainties and candies in red lacquer boxes are prepared. People from nearby villages come to Hinatogawa, bring their lunches, and gather shells and catch fish.

The fifth day of the fifth month is Boy's Day. This Japanese holiday is not significant in the villages. There may be banners with a picture of a carp (koi no bori) displayed, visits to the place of the patron deity, some visiting and sanisen playing, and perhaps a play.

527 The 14th day of the 5th month (June 18, 1951) is the festival 526 of the Gods of the Sea and is observed only in Hinatogawa. It is this village's greatest celebration. The boat race, held on this day, attracts many from the interior villages. In Hanashiro, most activity ceases while everyone goes to the boat races. Before the [178] races, the villagers go to the religious sites to make small offerings [182] and to pray. The races are held in the estuary of the river. In their excitement, children with infants on their back often wade out in the water to cheer their favorite boat.

796 The Festival of the Fifth Month (Gogatsumatsuri) is held on the 15th day of the 5th lunar month (June 19, 1951). Like the festival of the spring equinox, it is a day of thanksgiving. Thanks are given for rice [193] instead of for barley. In Hatsuda, the ceremony is conducted by the village head man and former members of the priestess system.[2]

2 According to a Hatsuda informant, women should not sew on this [114] day. It is a rest day. If work is done, including gathering [825] plants for fertilizer, the dreaded poisonous snake, the habu, will come. These customs were not encountered in the other villages.

who upset the tea cups and the sake flasks. 000

A public parade and celebration was held in Itoman in 1951, and a short digression to describe it may be worth while. The main attraction was a parade, which halted frequently so that participating groups could perform dances, acts, or skits. In these there were several themes: (1) dances by female groups of all ages from beginning school girls to old women in their seventies. Many women wore artificial turtles on their hats, the younger children having paper outlines of turtles. The young girls were led by an older man who kept time either by playing the samisen or by clapping his hands. The very young girls beat small tin cans with sticks. The dances of the older girls and women were of two kinds: one symbolized the crane and the turtle (tsurukame). The turtle is a symbol of longevity. The second is the pine-bamboo-plum tree triad (shochikubai) symbolizing long life and beauty. (2) Female impersonators imitated both the traditional Japanese woman with her costume and hair arrangement, and the modern woman with a chignon wearing a bright kimono, sun glasses, and smoking a cigarette. Their antics depended for their humor on the gracelessness of the men: they included mock flirtations and rejections, kicking of the heels, slapping with a fan, and other clowning. (3) Various balancing acts with long poles done by boys and young men. (4) Skits of individuals dressed as savages from the south seas. (5) Humorous acts showing the people of the northern district who were portrayed as jolly country bumpkins. Their caps, with tassels, looked like a cocoanut shell. The long false hair and beards were made of palm fibre. They carried ludicrous looking saws and axes while dragging a log. 527 541 [535] [533] [825] [824] [536]

One feature of the Itoman celebration was the well-known rope pulling contest (tsunahiki). The giant rope, made of rice straw, is at least 100 yards long, and about two feet in diameter. Each end has a loop. These loops, joined by a heavy piece of wood, are above the center line. The men of the town divide into two groups. The tug of war began about 5 in the afternoon and was soon over, but one has been known to last until one or two o'clock in the morning. It is found in all villages, but there is no set date for it. The tug of war is an old diversion in Okinawa.[5] 527 526

In former years, Minatogawa people participated in the Itoman festival. In 1951, they held their own evening celebration. This is a time of great beauty, with the light of the full moon illuminating the Pacific, the coral coast, and the mountains. The evening entertainment consists of some acts, similar to vaudeville, and a longer play. Crowds came from the surrounding villages, bringing their own mats and their own sake. Most of the officials of the township attended. 527 [628]

5 Goldschmidt, Neu-Japan, has reproduced an interesting painting showing a tug of war in Naha around the end of the 18th century. It shows an audience of court officials, the Chinese ambassador, as well as the various participants. Facing p. 179. [114]

536 reminds his mother that he is a school teacher, that if he does not permit his father to enter the house, he can no longer teach school. The mother yields; the son and his wife bring their child to the new found grandfather, and the play closes with the overjoyed grandfather fondling and holding the child in his arms.

In the play, the conflict is resolved by a balancing of obligation with pride. A real father would have been so ashamed that he would [829] never have returned, but then there would have been no play. Only a poor, lonely shameless and crafty fellow would have come back. But once he was back, the son had no alternative but to accept and honor him. The woman's power in the house and her devotion to her son are demonstrated, but she too must yield to the obligation of her son's filial piety, though she does this only after a determined and dignified resistance.

545 Plays on the rural circuit start about 9 and end about 11 in the evening. The entertainment generally consists of an opening traditional dance by a woman, followed by a comedy skit, and a longer play, such as the one just described. Comedy skits usually depend on clumsiness or 536 obtuseness as the sources of their humor. One skit, for example, involved a thief entering a house at night. Clumsy and unsure of his way, he stumbled over everything, made loud noises, and was constantly in fright to see if some fresh stumble had awakened the house. Finally he manages to hide under a table, near which the members of the family are seated discussing a problem. His discovery, due to further awkward motions and noises, the chase, and his final apprehension close the skit.

545 Rural audiences are critical. Some actors cause laughter because their Okinawan pronunciation is considered poor, and the laughter often carries over to the serious parts. Delays between the acts are met with impatience, and there is some prompting from the audience. The admission is Y20 for adults and Y10 for children. The audience sits on the ground. These plays do not attract a large crowd unless the offering is a well liked play.

● 526 Sports and athletic meets are favorite recreations both for participants and observers. The sports mentioned by travellers 50 or 60 years ago, such as horse racing, boat racing, tugs of war, archery, and boxing have given way to a more organized athletic activity, inspired by the Japanese example. Only the boat racing and the rope tug of war have survived in these villages. Hinatogawa's boat race each year attracts villagers from miles around. All villages, at various times of the year, have a rope tug of war. The annual athletic meets, which will be discussed under education, were introduced into Okinawa about 50 or 60 years ago.

871 and the more advanced the school, the truer this is. Friendships are made early with children of nearby villages. Marriage may be
572 the result of early school acquaintance, encouraged by the acceptance of free choice in marriage. A young adult has a scattering of friendships in the villages of his township. These class friendships are strong in school, in the teens, and early twenties. By the late twenties, the circle of friendships has broadened.

182 One of the most significant links between the family, village,
526 and school is the annual athletic meet (undōkai). It is held in the fall. Preparations for this event are long and involve almost everybody.[5]

526 About a month before it is held, the meet is the topic of innumerable conversations. School children practice singing and
[875] athletic dancing drills at home. School teachers, who do most of the organizational work, practice with painful cacophony on their trumpets and
[534] clarinets. On the streets and lanes of Hinatogawa, young men from 17 to 23 practice broad jumping late into the night. Shortly before the meet, all normal school activities stop. The teachers paint signs, mimeograph programs, and plan the order of the various events. The school officials have interminable committee meetings.

There is much bustle, laundering, hair washing, and cooking in a village the day before the meet. Special lunches including rice dyed
[262] red, bean curd, slices of fish paste, beef or pork are prepared. This field day is the closest approach to a picnic the Okinawans experience.

In good weather, the meet has a large attendance. A reserved area, with school desks and chairs is set aside for special guests. A person entering the reserved section to take his seat bows to the mayor and the
[576] group, steps forward a few paces, bows again, and takes his seat.

The mayor of the township presides over the meeting relieved by the vice-mayor or other school or village or township officials. On one day of the autumn meet, the mayor remained seated throughout the morning and afternoon in a drizzling rain. It was his duty, assisted by the principal and the teachers of the school, to give out the prizes.

Relay races, girls' dances, races and dashes for various age groups are endless. At present, the meeting is not confined to school children, but the younger men and women are included as well. The Young Men's Association is very active. Special events are included. In the Women's Association event, there was a mother and child race. In one case, a mother who entered the race with a child on her back and her young son as

[119] 5 These remarks are based on observations in Hinatogawa, Oushichan, and Hanashiro villages, and on attendance at the Oushichan meet in November 1951. From discussions, I am certain they are very similar in Hitoyada, in fact all over the island.

a running mate was vigorously applauded. The infant on her back was sleeping! 526

Four teams, the village officials, the teachers, high school students, and members of the Young Men's Association competed in a relay race. Later the teachers, and the mayor, participated in a rope and loop race. A rope about 20 feet long was tied to a stake driven in the ground. On the other end of the rope was a large loop. The trick is to run from a starting point, put the loop over the head, let it drop down and then step out. In the meantime, the opposing team has been trying to prevent the player from getting the loop by jerking the rope away, or throwing it at a distance. Other comedy events based on groping blindfolded to selected goals or objects were part of the program.

The races produce the greatest excitement, especially in the inter-village competition. A team from each village competes in a relay and runners representing their village participate in various dashes. In these competitive events, the old women become very excited. [628]

On this occasion the township gives a present to all people present who are 70 years old or over. The gift is now a plain towel; formerly the towel was embroidered with characters expressing wishes for a long life, but this practice has been abandoned for reasons of economy. [431]

The prizes, presented by the mayor to the contestants, are modest and generously given. The young men get four cigarettes, the women a paper of tooth powder, and the children, small school notebooks. The prize winners line up; each one steps up, makes a bow, receives his prize, lifts it up slightly, a typical Okinawan gesture of thanks noted by Basil Hall in 1816, bows again and retires. [576]

Though it centers around the school, the athletic meet is one of the strong forces bringing both families and village communities together. It would be hard to exaggerate the interest in the meet or the work that goes into its preparation. The fact that the mayor of the township, his staff, the village headmen, the principals of high schools, every parent and all the children who could possibly come, were present is enough to show its importance and vitality. 526 182

would be nothing more uproarious than a group of singing celebrants seeking further entertainment from house to house. The occasional quarrels after drinking, which are mentioned elsewhere, seemed much more frequent where only a small group of men indulged after work, especially younger ones. No major holidays ended in dissonance. 527 273 574 578

The main events for family celebrations are lunar New Year, *seimei*, a period in spring during which descent group ancestors are revered and *Bon*, a commemoration of the dead in the fall. At these times families are reunited with relatives from other villages or the city. These events are observed in the home or in front of the ancestral tombs. During *Bon* young men and women go from house to house, performing traditional dances for this holiday in front of the assembled families. 527 796 769

Celebration of special birthday cycles and agricultural events, such as the day when ditches in the paddies were cleaned in former times, are observed by villagers as a group. An important religious event for the community is Boat Race Day in lunar June. On lunar August 15, the celebration of the full August moon, some villagers present stage performances and dances at a public celebration. 527

In general, it may be said that families gather as a unit on those days on which ancestors and deceased family members are commemorated. The village jointly celebrates events which are either based on local religion or on agricultural events. The only national holiday which is now in existence was established by the post-war Ryukyuan government. It is observed by school and government offices but not by the people. [769] [621]

Sport events form another category of holidays. The most important one falls in October when both in Japan and all over the Ryukyus athletes compete against each other. Athletic meets take place for several weeks; for the village the biggest event is the competition of all athletes in the township on *undokai* day. Everyone leaves work and takes picnic food to the track at the junior high school where each village competes against the others. This lasts all day. 526 628

Wrestling matches are part of entertainment during outdoor celebrations in the early summer. They are mainly an affair for young men. Occasionally an older man who feels strong enough challenges a younger one. The villagers sit around a large circle near the beach, watching the fights while they eat holiday food and drink sake. On Boat Race Day Taira and the neighboring village of Kawata race fishing canoes against each other. Spectators at this event are enthusiastic supporters of their favorites. After the races this holiday ends like any other, in celebrations with dance and drinking. [262] [574]

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Young girl carrying baby sister.

Boys wrestling.

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Playing house.

Mother about to nurse her daughter says, "Now say please."

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[p 456-D]

nails. One or two girls stand fearfully, almost in tears, while others subject themselves to inspection with aplomb. The boys by now are mocking the teacher by inspecting each other and commenting on the failure to meet the test. A few little girls disgustedly say, "These boys, wish we did not have to have them!" 863 872 876

After a brief lecture on cleanliness and orderliness, the teacher asks all to count the number of children present. Immediately there is bedlam as all start to count aloud. She quickly takes a count herself and waits for the first child to answer. As she listens to the shouts, she points out the child who has the right answer and says, "That is right, now let us count together. You, Sachiko, at the head of the line, one, next, Nariko, two. . . ."

Following this counting, the teacher may present a simple lesson in manners. She tells each child down the line to answer with a crisp "hai," then to state his name in full. The oldest girls respond obediently and help their 3- and 4-year-old siblings. As she approaches the line of boys, she frowns and nods. Each boy shouts his answer and name in spite of her protests to the effect that she is not hard of hearing. From somewhere near the end of the line comes a loud voice, "Hai, Taira, Saburo-san!" She quickly moves over to the possessor of the voice and taps the boy on his cleanly shaven head. The noise of the tap is sharp and clear. It induces a hearty round of laughs from all the children. The censured boy stands rubbing his head and smiling at the teacher as she tells him that he knows well one does not use the honorific suffix with one's own name. 872 867 876

The teacher does not attempt to present further lessons. Instead, she asks what kind of games the children would like to play. Shouts of "Race, race!" drown out her instruction to organize into teams. From the back of one 6-year-old girl she unstraps a screaming infant. With one arm cradling the infant, she drums to spur on the runners. From the direction of the village store, a grandmother comes slowly shuffling to join the group. She points out the 2-year-old on the back of his 5-year-old sibling who is starting off on his share of the run. The mother of the screaming infant comes running down the path to relieve the teacher of her burden. She sits nearby on a fence stone to nurse the baby and spur the runners on. Other adult passersby stop briefly to watch the runners, encourage them with shouts to run a little faster, clap their hands to congratulate a winner, and console a loser with advice to try harder the next time. 872 526

After the races the children sit and sing songs with the teacher. In their sitting positions they "act out" the songs with motions of their arms. The teacher releases her hold on the drumsticks as a 4-year-old

872 attempts to hold his hand over hers and he continues to beat out the
526 rhythm of the songs. While finishing the last song, she traces lines for the snail game on the sandy ground. A 5-year-old girl, singing the final words of the song, impatiently tugs at her hand. Taking the stick from her hand, the girl erases the teacher's lines and painstakingly tries to make a perfectly round spiral. She stands back to look at the finished "snail," hands the stick back to the teacher, and returns to her place.

The snail game involves teams of two groups of children. One member of a group takes his position in the inner end of the spiral, while the other stands at the outer end. At a signal from the teacher, both run toward each other as fast as possible to cover as much of the length of the line as possible. When they meet, they play a game
[524] similar to the American "rock, paper, and scissors." The loser gives up his turn to another member of his group who has to start at the beginning of the opposite end while the winner runs from the point at which the "toss" took place. At the point of meeting, another toss takes place, and the first contestant to reach the opposite end of the spiral wins a point for his team.

Another favorite game of the kindergarten children is "choosing sides." Two mixed groups stand opposite each other and at the signal one group, hand in hand, moves forward, gaily kicking their feet toward the other members of their group. "We will take, Yoshiko," they sing as they swoop in a semicircle to encircle the chosen one, who attempts to run away while her group tries to run interference. Then the next group has a turn. There is no real "winning" in this game, but the children enjoy the united chasing and united defense.

872 After playing organized games from about 9:30 until 11:15, the
262 children are temporarily disbanded while the teacher goes to prepare the powdered milk, which the children look forward to eagerly. Often the promise of milk serves as a powerful incentive to attend kindergarten for even the most incorrigible renegade. The children all scatter to run home for their small tea cups in which the coveted drink is served. As the teacher approaches the banyan tree from her home, bucket of milk and dipper in hand, she smiles to see the two lines already formed. "Today, we will serve the girls first because the boys
872 were first yesterday," she announces, and immediately there is a shout
876 of disapproval from the boys and a few menacing scowls and upraised
858 arms with clenched fists directed toward the girls. The little girls smile smugly back at the boys, and a few return the hostile threats. The most aggressive boys and girls soon become involved in a tussle, and the teacher serves notice that milk will be withdrawn for the day if order is not restored. The observer feels that in her reprimand to the

attention as the teacher raps loudly at it with her pointer. She taps at the first figure and reproduces it on the black board, verbalizing it at the same time. She asks the children to imitate her, using their index fingers to follow the order of strokes. With their arms raised, the children reproduce the figure in the air. Five figures of the syllabary are reproduced in this way, and after reading it off several times, time is called. Just before the children are excused, they are told to learn the five figures. This is their first homework assignment. 872 876

It is 10:35, and from the direction of the principal's office, the recess bell can be heard. The teacher explains that after 20 minutes of play, the class will again convene for 1 hour and 20 minutes. The boys are allowed outdoors first and the girls follow. There is a flurry of excitement as older siblings appear to question the first graders on the activities of the morning. The children are reminded that this is also the time to go to the toilets. 872 [863]

The older boys and girls are already organized, and games of sham battle, volley ball, hopscotch, and marbles are in progress. The first graders wander in and out of other classrooms, then around the playground, where the various games are being played, until the bell signals them to return to their rooms. They return with a newly gained sense of confidence. The boys, who had been surreptitiously turning their heels in the well-worn marble holes on the dirt floor all morning, move the last row of desks and chairs just a few inches to clear the field for the game. The last few returning girls are given a rude shove to hurry along to their seats, for the boys are eager to start the game. With a great deal of shouting, magnified from the first-grade class next door, the boys begin their game of marbles. [526] [524]

While the teacher checks her records and consults numerous slips of paper on her table, the girls call to each other to check on books, contents of their lunch boxes, and plans for the afternoon. Finally the teacher raps for attention. The boys continue their game of marbles unconcernedly, and the girls scurry back to their seats. There is a wave of giggles as the raps reflect exasperation. "Where are the boys?" questions the annoyed teacher. There is no answer, but the few remaining boys and girls who have heeded their parents' and older siblings' advice to behave all turn their heads toward the back of the room. The teacher carefully picks her way through the closely lined and crowded room. The marble players are so engrossed in their games that they do not see her until she taps one head, then two, saying, "I have called you. Don't you know that recess is over?" Sheepishly a few walk off to their seats. A few smile broadly and run off to evade the pointers. Suddenly a high voice calls out, "The principal! The principal!" [876]

TRAINING IN SKILLS

868 There are no complex systems of training in skills. Adults rely heavily on observation and imitation on the part of children; they seldom "teach" them to do things systematically. Parents were surprised and amused when questions such as "How do you teach children to transplant rice, harvest rice, or otherwise help in the fields?" were put to them. "We don't teach them; why they just learn by themselves," was the usual answer.

Children learn by observing and experimenting. Whatever adults are doing, children are present to watch their activities and overhear their conversations. Although parents do not seem to make any special [852] efforts to have a child attend a function so that he might learn adult ways, they take their children to the fields, parties, public meetings, and rituals long before they consider them ready to absorb any learning.

868 In the fields, children play among rows of vegetables. When a parent, grandparent, or older sibling stops for a rest to have a cup of tea, 857 the little ones pick up a hoe and attempt to imitate their elders. While 243 rice is being transplanted, throngs of children sit on the dikes in the [264] paddies, dangling their legs in the mud. They intently watch adults transplanting and weeding the paddies. Gradually they edge down into the mud to stamp with their bare feet in the ooze as they have seen adults do, until a warning shout arrests their educational water play. During the harvest season, groups of children carry mats out to the paddies and watch infants who need to be near their mothers for their feedings. While the infants sleep, the older children walk along the dikes, watching the work that is going on and clamoring to be of some help. Even a little child of kindergarten age stands by gloomily until an adult laughingly hands him a small bundle of rice sheaves to carry over to the threshing machine. By the time the child is 8, he has learned enough by watching to attempt cutting and tying small bundles of rice sheaves.

868 After the harvest, rice straw can be found in great quantities around the village. Some of the best straw is preserved to be made into rope. 283 If there are rainy days, men will sit and twist the rice straw into rope, [526] while 8- and 9-year-olds sit and watch. In a few days rope games and swings are in evidence everywhere. Little 4- and 5-year-olds stand by watching the older children, and soon they pick up stray bits of straw and twist them to no avail. A younger sibling whines as her move-

have little time and patience to concern themselves seriously with 866
their children's schoolwork; and since their daily work is hardly an 876
inspiration to the child to improve his scholastic activities, there is
some question in how much parental influence is relevant here.
Moreover, mothers are always under pressure from the teachers to [124
urge their children to work hard and would respond to such an
obviously weighted question in this fashion to a person to whom they
accorded the same polite title in address, which they use toward
their children's teacher, *sensei* (i.e., the interviewer). It is also a fact
that teachers have had difficulty getting parents to cooperate in
training their children to establish regular home-study habits. Fathers,
on the whole, seem even less consistent than mothers in supervising
schoolwork. The fact that most boys would like to be first but make
concentrated efforts to improve their work only if they perform
poorly suggests that parental discipline usually does not function
effectively until the child has become severely delinquent in his
studies.

If the desire to cheat in school is a measure of competitive pressures, it is interesting to note that there are few such attempts made during the examinations which are held several times a year. Nothing is done to separate the students whose tables are close together. Although the teacher remains in the classroom, he hardly proctors. However, the teacher commented that if a student is suspected of unfair practices, others will report his activities to the teacher.

An impetus for the development of competitive spirit has been [177
the introduction by the Japanese of athletic sports into the schools. [526
The communities participate annually in athletic competitions spon- [527
sored by the schools and other agencies outside the community. One
is impressed, however, that these events have taken on the Okinawan
pattern of a pleasant gathering where the older people can enjoy
being sociable while the young men and women engage in various
sports.

A few students have regularly assigned tasks and offices. Each class 866
selects a monitor. The method of selection varies, depending on the 872
teacher. In one class, candidates were taken at large, and the student 876
who received the largest number of votes took the office. The monitor
is responsible for the class during the morning assembly and during
athletics. He sees to it that students line up and remain orderly. In
the classroom he has the same responsibility, but we observed nobody
discharging his duties in an authoritarian way, although some older
boys liked to show their strength in a playful manner of bullying.

the teasing good humoredly, as seen in the incident of a 10-year-old girl, S., who is teased by a 7-year-old boy, A., described in the following protocol. 865 857 858

S. is guarding the can in a can-kicking game. A. (who has been playing a rubber band game with another boy nearby) looks up, smiles, goes running over to the can and kicks it with his foot, yelling, "Safe!" S., whose back is turned to him, jumps, turns around and sees him. "You're not playing this game," she laughs and A. laughs and goes back to his own game. [526]

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SIBLINGS

As mentioned above, the caretaking responsibility and the tendency of younger siblings who are beyond the carrying stage to follow an older brother or sister keep siblings together a great deal during play. When an older brother has to mind a younger sister, he is usually not overly protective. He seldom defends his sister from teasing and sometimes is more aggressive to her than he would be to others if she interferes with his activities. There is, of course, a great deal of variation due to personality. A 5-year-old boy (one of the teasers described above) sometimes pushes his younger sister, and she runs home crying. An 11-year-old boy, on the other hand, when he takes care of his four younger sisters, or some of them, is usually quite protective and nurturant. 593 857 [865]

A record of the behavior of T. (7 years), his younger sister H. (4 years), and other boys illustrates a brother-sister interaction. T. and other boys have made a swing and T. is sitting on it while A. (5-year-old boy) and H. try to get turns:

A. tries to get him off the swing. H., who expected that her turn would come next, whines "nisan (older brother)" and while A. tries to get T. off, she keeps on whining, "This should be enough." T. replies, "This is A.'s turn"; while A. is trying to get on the swing, H. starts crying and goes into the house. Apparently an adult is in the house. T. follows, voices are heard, but not understood. T. returns after a moment and helps F. (another boy) push A. on the swing. H. seems to have stopped crying. We heard no adult scolding T. or talking to H. H. returns, no longer crying. She stands behind T. whose body swings back and forth while pushing A. H. pushes T.'s swinging body to help him. A., F., and H. sing in rhythm, "one, two, three," etc. After song is finished, H. says, "Brother, it is my turn next." T. ignores her, but A. gets off the swing and H. sits on it. H. swings by herself. T. orders A. to help him push the door next to the swing open. A. complies. T.'s mother passes, does not say anything. After the door has been opened (and more room gained), T. and A. push H.

 857

gets a turn. Teams of two girls at a time play hopscotch, which they call "parent and child game." 524

An old Okinawan game of skill on which early Western visitors have frequently commented is still a favorite of Taira boys, 5 years and older. This is a kind of stick-ball game. A wedge-shaped piece of wood 3 to 4 inches long and pointed at both ends and a striking club are used. Children whittle both with a knife. This game is played by two or more players, and the purpose of the game is to get the wedge into a hole. The game requires a series of skillful manipulations of the wedge with the club. It is an exciting and competitive game. Each player is awarded a number of points for certain accomplished acts. Although boys are quite absorbed in this play, there are rarely any arguments and the winner hardly ever shows any pride. Winners seldom boast after a game, and the observers felt that the satisfaction is really gained from the performance, not from having outdone others. Girls sometimes join the boys in this game. 857 526 157

Boys and girls, separately or together, play other games of skill, such as marbles. A challenge by another starts a game, sometimes of two, sometimes of four or six players. There is usually a kibitzer around who becomes involved. Two games in the same play area are not uncommon while spectators wait for their turns later. 857 524

Equally common, but frowned on by the school because of its gambling character, is a rubber band game. The store uses rubber bands to tie packages. Children carry a number on their arms. Each player chips in a number of bands, two or more, depending on agreement. The person who starts the game is decided on by tossing. The rubber bands are put on a cement or wooden surface, a step or block with a ledge from which the rubber can drop down. They are placed at some distance from the ledge. Then they are moved toward it, either by hitting the ground with the palm of the hand, slightly cupped so that air escapes, or by blowing. The rubber bands drop over the ledge, and the person whose rubber band first overlaps with another wins the stake. This game continues until one player has won all the rubber bands. Parents object to the game only if the children buy rubber bands instead of collecting them.

Boys like to practice skill in sports. Wrestling, a national sport in Japan and the Ryukyus during spring and early summer, is taken up by boys who copy young men and older students, and for several weeks wrestling matches get spontaneously under way. Prior to the annual island-wide athletic meets in September, boys practice high jump, broad jump, and relay running. There is much practice for the mere 857 526 [157]

857 fun of it, but few signs of involvement with attaining outstanding per-
526 formance. Losers are not teased or ridiculed, although a good per-
[157] former is occasionally given an encouraging remark by others who practice.

Group games are usually played after the schoolchildren have returned to the village. One of the popular games is a version of prisoner's base similar to that played in the United States. This game is played with much yelling, laughing, and noisy challenging. Equally popular is a version of "kick the can." This game is exciting and fast moving. It is a game which can lead to arguments, since one must trust the honesty of the person who is "it" and claims to have seen another player. Brief arguments arise and are quickly settled. Part of the fun seems to be teasing and challenging the tagger.

535 These are games that children may play on any day in the year.
857 During holidays they are sometimes asked to entertain adults with
[527] dances. Little girls learn the traditional Okinawan dances from kinder-
[871] garten days on, either by watching or by coaching of an older person, a friend, one's older sister, or mother. Neither kindergarten nor school programs include the teaching of such rich Okinawan heritage as classical dances. Boys do not begin to imitate the burlesque dances of their male elders until adolescence. But they are sometimes invited, together with girls, to present group dances or little plays for the adults. Adults seem to enjoy most the performances of Okinawan dances by little girls who may have learned the rhythm and movements but not the restraint of serious adult presentations. They are delighted if a 6-year-old, dressed in bright-colored costume, innocently wiggles her hips in a rather suggestive way.

857 Children who perform for adults show no stage fright. At school,
[156] where little sketches are presented on the stage, there is a complete ease in improvising. Nobody is embarrassed if he forgets a line, a song, or a cue, and the recitation contests which we have already mentioned are carried out with much zest.

[512] Schoolchildren are supposed to remain at home after 8 o'clock in the evening to do their studies. This rule is encouraged by the school but rarely enforced by parents. Many children, boys and girls, appear outside after dark, and on moonlight nights they often resume their playing. Off and on, a couple of elementary schoolboys are attracted to the store where the village truck arrives with goods from the city after nightfall. There they stand in the dim yellow light of the kerosene lamp, watching, helping, or just listening to some of the men who
[515] come to have their sake bottles filled. If a bath has been prepared for
[512] their families, their turn will come sometime after the older males in

Others include levies upon
651 organizations and families to support the athletic meets, or 'undōkwai',
[526] which are such a popular part of life in Okinawa.

575 Before the war the women's group ('fujinkai') and the young people's
178 group ('seinendan') levied a certain amount of soybeans against each member, and when they were delivered the sale brought in money to finance their activities. These organizations also made up special meals for local athletic
[526] favorites while they were in training, and provided a feast for them at the
526 end of the contests. Today the 'undōkwai' is on more of a monetary basis,
651 and there is a levy called the 'undōkwai no keihi'. In October of 1953, the
632 cost of the grand athletic meeting held in Naha was divided among the 'son' according to the number of champions sent to the contest. Kochinda-son was top grade in Shimajiri, and Tomoyose was a middle-grade village within Kochinda-son. This grade was judged by the amount of arable land, its yield, and the population. Within the village, households in turn are assessed by three grades, according to their income tax records. These three grades were "minimum," under ¥20; "middle", ¥20-50; and "maximum", ¥50-54.

621 <u>Local Philanthropy</u> From time to time the leading household heads are called
741 upon to donate money for improvement of village facilities. Names of contributors and amounts given are written upon a wooden plaque and hung in the village meeting house. The building of this meeting house itself involved the gathering of such a fund, to which Nanahan people gave a total of ¥1,450. Later a request for funds to buy a funeral stretcher brought ¥350 from the household heads, and a road repair campaign netted ¥1,550 from Nanahan.

Somewhat the reverse of the above occurred after the Russo-Japanese war when a particularly handsome soldier from the neighboring village came back from the front. All the leading 'geisha' in Naha had long had the habit of asking him to come to their establishments without charge. His return brought such joy to their hearts that they got together a sum of money and bought him a large plot of land near Nanahan.

52 <u>Prizes at Contests</u> From the time a youngster enters school and participates in his first contest to the time when he shows an animal at his last village or 'son' festival before retiring, all winners look forward to some sort of prize to mark the occasion. In school the prizes are generally beautifully handwritten scrolls, but as one gets older the prizes assume the form of wooden trays and articles of practical use in the home.

858 <u>Sale of Children</u> When the SIRI team first arrived on Okinawa and mentioned
432 that we were interested in finding if the Okinawans still
[183] practiced the sale of children, sophisticated respondents feigned indignation. Later on, as we were able to gain rapport in the countryside, a number of such instances were forthcoming.

In Tomoyose a man got into debt over an effort to make a fortune in sugar along about 1910. He was so heavily in debt to village people that he was socially unable to live in the community, and moved to Itoman. There he sold his son to a fisherman. The son is now a grown man with an Okinawan wife and a mistress from Amami. His business is still fishing, although he also owns a truck.

households. Noodles are another item of regular purchase. Starch and bean paste are typical items which formerly were always made in the home but now may be purchased instead. 178 262

In sum Okinawan diet has improved in quantity and variety. Food tastes are more catholic today; certain foreign foods are greatly appreciated. There is a greater reliance on manufactured and processed foods, and greater cash expenditures are made for food.

Entertainment and leisure There has been a marked decline in village celebrations and festivals in which all residents participate. Formerly O Bon, New Year's, and harvesting time were occasions for village-wide celebrations; today these are gone from most communities; celebrations are restricted to the family and friends. Most of the village celebrations were basically religious in nature and with the decline of the old religion these celebrations have been dropped. 527 796 178 621

Parties to mark an individual's change of status were formerly held on the 13th, 25th, 37th, 48th, 61st, 73rd, 85th, 88th and 97th birthdays, but today only those for the old people are observed. Frequently a party is held to mark an individual's success in the competitive examination to enter high school, but aside from that, rites of passage for the young and middle-aged are no longer observed. 527 178

The Japanese introduced one form of entertainment which has achieved immense popularity; this is a sporting event sponsored by the school. These are usually held on Sunday during the fall of the year, and usually the whole school participates. There is intra-school competition and later inter-school; intense interest is generated and often this becomes an important topic for conversation among the young men. 526 177

Local units of the national organizations such as the youths' association and the women's association frequently hold parties for their members. In fact these organizations are mainly of a social nature. 575

As noted above, prior to the war there were five motion picture theaters on Okinawa; today there are fifty-seven. American and European films constitute from one quarter to one third of the total shown. Though most of these theaters are located in the cities and towns, the young people of the nearby farming villages make frequent use of them. The popularity of the American "Western" among the young people has caused some to attribute juvenile delinquency to this, although the relatively more bloody Japanese sword-fighting pictures ('chambara') are considered harmless. 546 177

The popularity of Okinawan dancing and music seems undiminished. Radio broadcasts of Okinawan music are much enjoyed; and virtually every party provides the opportunity for music and dancing in which most of the guests participate. A few of the better-educated young people profess an appreciation of Western classical music and jazz, but most of ~~them prefer~~ Japanese and American love ballads though they still remain very fond of the Okinawan music. 533 535 177

this time. Upon completing the house, the owner gives a party for those who helped him. During the last day of work, with the party scheduled for the evening, the workmen strive feverishly to complete the house on time. This is a party to celebrate a task completed. Sake flows freely. Occasionally on the last day, a man walks around the house talking to himself and throws salt toward the inside of the house. His words are not formalized and not known to the bearers. After finishing throwing the salt, he bangs the back of the house three times with a stick. This custom is said to be gradually disappearing, and is only occasionally practiced in Matsuda.[9]

In Hanashiro, there is a similar custom that differs in details. On the date the house is started, there is a small ceremony. A plate containing boiled rice, bean curd, a kind of fritter (tenpura in Japanese) and meat, together with a flask of sake are placed in the center of the site on which the house is to be built. Prayers are offered that the house be a good one. The ceremony of raising the roof is identical with that previously described in Matsuda. This applies only to the raising of the ridge pole, no ceremonies taking place with the erecting of the side poles. The center board, near to or nailed to the ridge pole, and from which the articles wrapped in a leaf or in sea weed are suspended, is inscribed with the word, shibiranka. Its meaning is unknown to me. One villager said it was the name of a legendary Chinese protector of houses.

In one instance from Minatogawa, instead of the salt, charcoal, and bean paste, only a bit of charcoal (tsumi in Japanese) was suspended and wrapped in seaweed (kombu in Japanese).

About 20 years ago in Hanashiro, the celebration on the day of completion was much more elaborate than now. A pig was killed, fish purchased, and a large feast was prepared to which the whole village was invited. The celebration now is confined to relatives, friends, and helpers, including the carpenter, whether hired or a volunteer.

In Minatogawa, when a good house is being built, there is the custom of going to a fortune teller (sanjinsō in Japanese) to discover the lucky day for commencing construction. This may be repeated to find the lucky day for putting up the poles and supports or putting on the roof. Here also a son about to establish a branch household and to build his own house takes a food offering to his father's house, places it on the Buddhist god shelf, gives thanks, and prays for good fortune before construction starts. When the house has been completed, similar offerings are made, either before the god shelf of the new house, if it has been installed, or again at the father's house. In this village, the usual observances are confined to the raising of the roof and to the celebration following completion of the home.

One last custom observed in all the villages is that one does not move into a new house unless the tide is coming in. Other occasions in which the tide is taken into consideration will be discussed later. The idea here seems to be that one moves at times of growing fullness and increase not at times of ebb and withdrawal.

9 I was unable to secure any explanation of the reason for this and the other practices beyond the familiar statement that "it is a custom." (shukan)

[609] of contemporary relationships. The family system does not mean only family life, or a set of obligations, or a family. It is all of these, and, in addition, a historical continuity. It is an institution in which the past is constantly intruding on the present and in which the present is a combination of acts to secure one's own livelihood and well-being as well as to perpetuate the family in the future. A simple [769] illustration will make this clear. One of the obligations of living members of a family is to observe the death anniversaries of close relatives. The last, the most important, and the most sumptuous of these observances occurs on the 33d year after the death of the relative who is mourned. Thus a grandson, most likely the first son of a first son, may end this period of memorial observances for a grandfather whom he may never have seen. There is a constant intrusion of obligations coming from the past. These, often onerous and expensive, are honored in a positive manner.

In the present, conscious plans are made for the continuance of the family. These are achieved through three closely inter-related devices: [591] the succession of the first son to his father's house and, on his marriage, taking up residence at the father's home, the system of inheritance which [428] favors the first son, and the establishment of branch households for other sons, awarding them, if the family's wealth permits, a house site and field for cultivation.

In this way, the continuance of the main line and collateral branches of the family is provided for. If we pursue the illustration of inheritance a little further, we can think of the division of the land as an [428] expression of the family system applied to the use and to the sharing of the available natural resources. The system of agriculture, the scat- [311] tered ownership of small holdings, the attempts at land conservation and reclamation are best understood as reflections of duties and obligations to the present and future generations in the family system. If they are not seen in this way, they may appear to be isolated practices best discussed as techniques or as aspects of law and custom.

Not only in family observances but in public holidays as well, the [527] subtle influences of the family system can be observed. Public holidays and festivals are centered on two main themes, sometimes both together: [569] thanksgiving for good crops and reverence for those who have passed away. The holiday of O-Bon in the seventh lunar month, in which the departed dead are invited to return for a visit to the homes of their living descendants and the celebrations at lunar New Year are good examples of this.

[582] In village life, the family system is strengthened by the high incidence of intermarriage among local kinship groups. A general lack 621 of mobility in the villages studied has also led to the increase of immediate relatives living in the same village. This lends to community, and even to local government some of the characteristics of a wider family life. The establishment of branch families in the village of their parents

to the extended family, even if in some cases relationships are very distant. This point may be illustrated by discussing the relationships among six families named Shiroma in Hanashiro. The first family is the contemporary representative of the main family line. It is a main family. Its present head is an adopted child, but that does not change the situation. The second family head is a descendant of the younger brother of the grandfather of the head of the family; he is the grandson of the main head's great uncle, and therefore a second cousin of the head of the main family. The third and fourth families are branch families established by his father's younger brothers and are his first cousins. The fifth family is a very old branch family, going farther back than the grandfather. The sixth, in turn, is a branch family of the fifth. The present head of the main family does not know the relationship of the present heads of these two households to himself. 614

The fact that there are 16 main families with their 75 branches in the village of Hanashiro does not mean that there are not other branches of these main families. There are more than 75 families in the extended family. These are merely the branches of these 16 main families which reside in the village.

The head of a main house has responsibilities which are not shared by the heads of the branch families. He is the custodian of the tomb of the extended family. The head house is the meeting place of the extended family reunions. These normally take place on the 15th day of the 7th lunar month, the festival of O-Bon, and on lunar New Year. The extended families, or representatives that may reside in a village which is also the seat of the extended family decide questions of concern to the extended family as a whole. Such a question might be the case of a widow with minor children. For economic reasons, she seeks to sell her property. Since the disposal of property in land is intimately connected with the present and future fortunes of a family, the members of the extended family, especially if many reside in the same place, discuss this matter and give advice which the young widow in practice follows. [764] [527] [769]

Hanashiro is a good example of an old agricultural community in which descendant families have tended to remain in the same place as the original founder of the family. Those collateral families with main houses elsewhere are, in the main, from adjacent or nearby areas. 614

When this situation is compared with Minatogawa, certain differences are at once apparent. The fishermen of present day Minatogawa are descendants of settlers originally from the large fishing town of Itoman. Many of these fishing families are related by blood and intermarriage. Not only this, but there is a web of interrelationship which includes Itoman and its daughter village of Minatogawa. Of the 213 households in Minatogawa, 53 had the surname of Tamaki (or Tamashiro), 47 of Uehara, 21 of Oshiro, and 20 of Kanashiro, the four surnames accounting for 141 of the total households. People with the same surname who live in the same village are almost invariably related.[4] Compared with other [628] [551]

4 In sample checks made personally this turned out to be true, but the relationship was often so distant as to be unknown. All informants stated that people living in the same village who had the same surname were relatives.

cash income. Pigs are seldom eaten by the family that raises them. On New Year's, a family will slaughter a pig or three or four families 231 [262] [527] might co-operate in sharing one. Pork may also be served at O-Bon and at Jūgoya, the autumn equinoctial holiday season.

A family often gets its start in pig raising by obtaining a loan from a mutual loan group. (These groups will be discussed later). A young pig may cost about Y2000. Male pigs intended for market (nikubuta in Japanese, shishiwa in Okinawan) are castrated two months after birth. Keeping breeding pigs (tanebuta) is a special business. Men engaged in this business bring the boar to the pig raiser's home. Each village has such a businessman or at least has convenient access to one in a neighboring village. The fee usually charged is Y200. If the first attempt at breeding is unsuccessful, a second opportunity is given free. On the third try, the dealer claims his fee again. In Matsuda, there is a belief among the old that as the tide is coming in, if a sow is in heat, the male will be able to perform, but that in the ebb tide he cannot. [426] [435] [232]

Great care is taken in housing pigs adequately, if the family is able to do so. The pig sties made of stone or coral may be better than the houses of their owners. This is by no means so shortsighted or ridiculous as it might seem. Pigs are the means, one of the very few means, by which an agricultural family may acquire substantial sums of cash. To protect this living bank account, considerable sums are invested in fine stone, or cement floors and an adequate roof. The pen must be strong to withstand typhoons. With a good pig pen, a sow, and a good litter, a family can look forward to improving its financial condition and its own housing. There is great variety in the quality of pig pens. The pen may be in combination with the outside toilet, but with the two places completely separate; it may be part of a larger shed which also houses the goats, the cattle, or the horse. If a family can afford it, the pig is housed in a stone pen with stone floors, or with other sturdy materials. 231 343 [434] [511]

The day to day care of pigs is mostly the work of women. While the husband is at work in the fields, the wife, as an incidental part of her duties, goes to the nearest plot to cut sweet potato tops, or mashes sweet potatoes in the stone mortar in the compound, often with her infant child on her back. There are three favorite varieties of food for pigs: (1) the leaves of the sweet potato plant not suitable for human consumption or not needed for transplanting, (2) the potato itself. The poorer grades of potato are put in a stone mortar and are smashed with a long pole, or pestle. (3) A cloudy liquid consisting of the sweet potato, waste bean curd (tōfu no kasshu) and water. This is always given warm. The pig may also get poor rice, or rice spoiled for human consumption by submersion as a result of a typhoon, or miscellaneous left overs from the table. 231 824 [462]

There are no ceremonies in any of the villages associated with slaughtering the pig. Villagers seldom kill their own except on 231

mother, for example, fed her child rice gruel (okayū) at eight months and at the age of one year the child began eating sweet potatoes. By the time the child is ready to walk and play, he often carries with him a piece of sweet potato, and, in season, a piece of sugar cane. 853 262

A party is held on the first birthday anniversary of the child. This is more elaborate than the one which honored his birth. Birthdays are not celebrated each year. After the first anniversary, the next are on the 13th, 25th, 37th, 49th, and 61st birthdays, that is, at twelve year intervals. 852 527

The party for the first birthday of a child is particularly tender and affectionate. At one year, he can walk or stumble, and answer or smile to the calls of his parents and grandparents. He can pick up things, throw them, and make his presence felt. The exhibition of these skills becomes part of the celebration. It is customary to invite both relatives and friends, who bring a small money present, from ¥20 which is usual to ¥100 which is uncommon. [856]

During the party, the child is given several symbolic gifts. These are placed on a low table in the middle of the room which the child can easily walk to and reach. Usually the gifts are a book, a fountain pen (or a writing brush, fude), an abacus (soroban), and a stack of paper money. These symbolize the wish that the child will become proficient in learning, writing, counting and mathematics, and will become rich. The child is eagerly watched as he unsteadily toddles to the table to see which article he picks up first. While the act is not taken seriously, the article which the child picks up first is supposed to indicate the field of endeavor in which he will be most fortunate. 527 852 431 [212] [802] [554]

These parties, small or large, include men, women, and children, but the majority of the guests usually are men. After the child has gone to bed, the party continues. In more formal and larger parties, the guests first come up to the father, go on their knees, bow, and make a short speech of congratulation. Sometimes these speeches sound as if they are prepared beforehand, other times as if they are spoken spontaneously. There is an exchange of sake between the father and his guest, both sipping from the same cup, the usual custom. The mother and the female relatives during this time are in the kitchen preparing the food. 852 527 [576] [537]

Women sit by themselves. This is true of all celebrations when the sexes are together. Women do not drink. (In a similar party near Matsuda, the old women--usually over 60--drank a little). The jolly old women also love to dance solos in the traditional style. They dance with grace and vigor. The evening progresses without any planned entertainment. There is talking and drinking, singing, and samisen playing. Men, with a repertoire of Okinawan songs, sing in [562] [535] [382] [533]

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[533]
[562]
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a harsh, often rasping voice. Only men play the Okinawan samisen, a stringed instrument slightly different from its Japanese counterpart. Men also join in the dancing.

In a village parties on the fifth or sixth day after the birth of a child and on his first birthday happen frequently. They are an important part of social life. A relative or a friend is always celebrating one or the other occasion, either in the village or in a neighboring one. These celebrations increase, especially for the men, the number of social occasions and recreational opportunities during the year in a culture where holidays and rest days are comparatively few. (There are no weekly rest days or week ends).

After the first birthday, little attention is paid to the succeeding ones until the thirteenth. The child's experience from the
861 time he begins to walk until he reaches school comes from family life and neighborhood play. In my observation, there is no rigid, customary way of bringing up the child. It is toilet trained around one year of age. This does not seem to be forced. Training comes
863 through imitation. Parents do not punish the child for indiscretions, though they are quick to lift him off the mat if he begins wetting. With young boys, the father may make a hissing sound while the child's penis is out. One has the impression that it is a gradual transition, mostly effected by imitation or gentle suasion.

304 Male children are not circumcised. Circumcision is known only to those who have learned of it through books, foreign residence, or from others who have this information.[9]

867 In early training, boys are not taught that they are superior to girls. But when she reaches school age, the girl is likely to be kept
562 busier around the house. Before the war, there may have been a greater subordination of girls to boys. But any conscious training of girls to subordinate themselves to boys is unnecessary. The child grows up in a culture in which the father is waited on, the sons favored in inheritance, and in which the men have a richer social life.

855 Parents are kind to their children. They seldom spank a child,
593 though an exasperated parent may give the child a sharp slap. There is little nagging or shouting at children in anger. In my opinion,

9 Two young men, school teachers about 23 years old, expressed great astonishment when asked about circumcision. They did not know it existed.

1

The New Year

Two basic themes are expressed in public celebrations and holidays. 527
The first of these is remembrance and respect for the dead. The holidays are in part public observances of basic obligations under the family system. In the second place, holidays are occasions of thanksgiving. In a year there are not many official holidays or rest days. The work year is not interrupted, as is our custom, with week ends which may provide from one to two days of leisure. Sunday is not a day of rest. Officials and school teachers do not work at their official duties on the week ends.

The traditional public holidays are based on the lunar calendar. [805]
In the discussion which follows, some holidays have been included, even though they involve only some of the people.

The western New Year is observed perfunctorily. It is observed [177]
only by present and former officials and honored elders of a township. The custom, about 40 years old in Gushichan-son, is known as New Year Banquet Party (Shinnenenkai). Headmen from each of the villages, members [554]
and former members of the village councils, and respected elders, the mayor and his subordinate officials and members of the township assembly are the chief participants. It is a social event, held in a public building or at a school, a "meeting for conversation" (hanashiai) at which food and sake are served. The event begins early in the afternoon and is generally over by early evening.

Lunar New Year (shōgatsu), the first day of the first lunar month and O-Bon in the seventh lunar month, are the two most important holidays. Lunar New Year falls in late January or early February. (In 1951 it was on February 6; in 1952, on January 27). This is a time of new beginnings, of thanksgiving, family reunions, and observances in honor of the dead. It is a three day holiday, with much prior preparation, and on the third day, there is either a symbolic or a partial return to work.

The new year is preceded by a series of activities on the last day of the 12th month (Ōmisoka). Before the war, these preparations were more elaborate than they are now. In Hinatogawa, bamboo and pine poles with [789]
a rice straw rope (shimenawa) hanging across the top were placed at the compound entrance. The purpose was to scare off evil spirits and devils. A piece of charcoal wrapped in sea weed and an orange hung from the rice rope. This custom now is also rare in Hatsuda. Only one rice straw rope used for this purpose was observed, and this had been put up some time before the new year.

Other customs of preparing for the new beginning are still observed in all the villages: the house is cleaned; a bath is taken; old debts are paid; the New Year pig is slaughtered, or in the interests of economy three or four families may share a pig. The day before the New [577]
Year is the occasion for recalling one's bad deeds and of resolving on

527 577 better behavior. In one instance from Matsuda, the members of the family talk over their good and bad acts and resolve henceforth to do good.

527 [823] In all the villages, the custom of new or young water (wakamizu) has survived. In Hinatogawa, at 5 or 6 o'clock in the morning of the New Year, young children take fresh water in a tea pot to the homes of relatives. The new water is poured into a cup, placed on the Buddhist god shelf, or on the shelf of the fire god in the kitchen. The children are given Y5 or Y10 by the relatives, who are then supposed to stay young themselves. In Matsuda, new water is taken from a well early in the morning, and some is put on the god shelf. The first tea of the New Year is made with "young water".

A parent may also give a piece of pork with salt on it to his child announcing that he is now one year older. This custom is still observed, even though ages officially are now reckoned in the western manner.

In all the villages, the morning observances are family affairs; the public nature of the holiday is evident later. Tea and sake are [769] placed in front of the ancestral tablets on the god shelf. A fresh kimono is put on and the offering is made before breakfast. Then the [782] father takes the sake from the god shelf, offering sips first to his wife and then to the children.

[778] Later there are visits to the place of the patron deity or first ancestor of the village (ujigami). In Hanashiro, all of the people make this visit. In Hinatogawa, it is also a village affair, but is more involved because there are more places to go: a local religious site of unknown origin, the palace of the gods of the sea (ryūgū), the supposed place of the mountain god, the three wells with their god places, and finally to the places of the two patron deities. In Matsuda, the village head man, accompanied by surviving minor [793] priestesses (formerly in the noro order) make visits to the place of the patron deity. But whether all the villagers or only their representatives take part, the visits have the same meaning: to offer thanks to the founders of the village.

The New Year is a time for extended family reunions. If the home site of the extended family is not in the village, the family or a representative may go to the reunion in another village, if it is not too far away. Only members of the extended family attend these celebrations.

With early morning observances in the home, the public ceremonies, and the extended family reunions over, the gay, informal and public [594] part of the holiday begins. Hospitality is offered on all sides, and there is much drinking among the men. The celebration continues for the rest of the first day and through the second. The third day is a transitional day whose theme is the need of returning to work. This is hachibaru (to begin farming). The day is given over to more feasting and drinking and to some actual or token work.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

By the 7th day, the reminders of New Year have been cleared away. The old offerings are taken from the god shelf and replaced by new food. The rice straw rope, if any, has been removed. 527

Of all the holidays New Year is the most eagerly anticipated and the most varied in its activities. It combines ideas of renewal and new beginnings with worship of the dead and of the founders of the village, as well as being a means of making closer ties with more distant relatives of the extended family. It is a time of work and some pleasure for the women, a time of relaxation and drinking for the men.

2

Jūrokunichi

The second public holiday, Jūrokunichi (literally 16th day) is on the 16th day of the 1st lunar month (February 21, 1951). This is a holiday of devotion and prayer at the family tomb. Worshippers go singly or in a group. The tomb is cleaned and food is left for the dead. 769 [196]

In Hanashiro, food is taken in two lacquer boxes (jūbako) the first of which contains rice cakes, the second, frittors, meat, bean curd, and other food depending on the resources of the family. For the first observance after death, two boxes are taken on this holiday. On succeeding anniversaries only the box containing the fritters, meat, bean curd and other foods is taken.[1] The purpose of this offering is to comfort the dead. The food, usually with tea and sake, is left before the tomb for about two hours and taken home, where it is eaten. (Offerings at tombs or at home are only temporary; later they are removed and eaten as ordinary food). The lacquer boxes may also be taken on New Year, at the spring equinox, and at O-Bon. [262] [415]

In Minatogawa, descendants of the former nobility or gentry (shisoku) take four boxes, two of rice cakes, two of the miscellaneous foods, while descendants of commoners take two boxes, one of the rice cakes, and one of the assortment. Every year the same offering is made. It is not reduced to one box after the first. In Matsuda, any kind of a flower is placed by the tomb. A lacquer box with food is prepared for all who died during the preceding year, but it remains on the god shelf in the house and is not taken to the tomb. The contents of the two boxes are as previously described. On succeeding anniversaries after the first, plates instead of lacquer boxes are used. [565] [262]

1 The idea behind this is not clear. Possibly in the first year the dead person requires more food and comfort than in succeeding ones. As they do with so many other practices, most Okinawans explain it by saying that it is shūkan (the custom).

Celebrations Through the Festival of the Fifth Month

796 The 15th day of the second lunar month (March 22, 1951) is the Buddhist holiday, higan, celebrating the spring equinox. Here it is a home festival of thanksgiving. Barley (ōmugi) or barley cakes [262] with brown sugar are offered with prayers for continued good fortune. Other grains, such as rice, millet (awa) may be offered, though the cakes (mugimochi) are of barley. In Hatsuda, this is not a home ceremony. An offering of white rice cakes is made by the village [193] head man, with the assistance of lower orders of the former priestess system, at the site of the village patron deity.

● 527 The third day of the third month is the festival of the dolls, (hinamatsuri). It is not important in Okinawa and is spottily ob- [524] served. In Hinatogawa, it is a woman's holiday. Women and children make dolls. Gifts of dainties and candies in red lacquer boxes are [562] prepared. People from nearby villages come to Hinatogawa, bring their lunches, and gather shells and catch fish.

The fifth day of the fifth month is Boy's Day. This Japanese holiday is not significant in the villages. There may be banners with a picture of a carp (koi no bori) displayed, visits to the place of the patron deity, some visiting and sanisen playing, and perhaps a play.

527 The 14th day of the 5th month (June 18, 1951) is the festival of the Gods of the Sea and is observed only in Hinatogawa. It is 526 this village's greatest celebration. The boat race, held on this day, attracts many from the interior villages. In Hanashiro, most activity ceases while everyone goes to the boat races. Before the [178] races, the villagers go to the religious sites to make small offerings and to pray. The races are held in the estuary of the river. In [182] their excitement, children with infants on their back often wade out in the water to cheer their favorite boat.

796 The Festival of the Fifth Month (Gogatsumatsuri) is held on the 15th day of the 5th lunar month (June 19, 1951). Like the festival of the spring equinox, it is a day of thanksgiving. Thanks are given for rice [193] instead of for barley. In Hatsuda, the ceremony is conducted by the village head man and former members of the priestess system.[2]

[114] 2 According to a Hatsuda informant, women should not sew on this day. It is a rest day. If work is done, including gathering [825] plants for fertiliser, the dreaded poisonous snake, the habu, will come. These customs were not encountered in the other villages.

5

Festival of the Full Moon

527 The autumnal equinox, called, like the spring festival, higan, is the last big celebration of the lunar year. It is held during the full moon around the 15th day of the 8th lunar month (September 15, in 1951). It is called jugova. The date varies each year, and the actual time for the festival is decided upon by each village. The climax of the festival is the night of the full moon. This, a Buddhist festival, is a time for respect to the dead and of thanksgiving. It is not celebrated in all villages of Okinawa. If it has been a good year, the inducements for local celebrations are greater. The ceremonies are similar to those of the spring equinox on the 15th day of the second month, when thanks are given for barley, and to the 14th day of the 5th month, a day of thanksgiving for rice. The differences seem to be that the festival of the second month is primarily thanksgiving for barley, that of the fifth for rice, and that of the autumnal equinox for all crops. Ceremonies occur within the homes, but public celebrations may not be held in all the villages.

527 788 In one private observance, an old woman placed two bowls of rice, dyed pink (someiko) on the alcove of the first room. After placing the rice on the alcove, she went to the Buddhist god shelf in the second room where she lit charcoal sticks. Then, sitting before the god shelf, she ignited three strips of paper with a charcoal stick. These provide pocket money for the dead. The paper had previously been prepared by placing an aluminum Japanese 10 sen coin (minted before the war) on the paper and tapping the coin sharply with a hammer to make the impression on the paper. The embers were quenched with a little sake. A wash basin with two strips of wood laid diagonally across its top was used for the burning to eliminate the danger of fire. The old lady's granddaughter held the paper on the wood strips with a pair of chopsticks. The old lady then offered three prayers in a scarcely audible voice, the first two with bowed head, the last with her face to the god shelf. Then she served a meal of rice, dyed pink, fish fritters, and sake, though she did not partake of the drink.

[769] Providing pocket money for the dead by tapping an impression of a coin on a strip of paper is now practiced only by the very old. In Hanashiro and Hatsuda, this custom is rarely observed. Formerly in Hanashiro, everyone offered pocket money on New Year, O-Bon, and the equinoctial festivals.

In observances which include a party, the ceremonies are likely to be simpler. In one such ceremony observed in Hinatogawa, white rice cakes and an assortment of miscellaneous foods, tea, sake, and charcoal sticks were placed on the god shelf. The charcoal sticks were lighted. The rest of the evening was like a normal party, with its segregation of the sexes, noisy conversation, and the running children who upset the tea cups and the sake flasks.

who upset the tea cups and the sake flasks. 000

A public parade and celebration was held in Itoman in 1951, and a short digression to describe it may be worth while. The main attraction was a parade, which halted frequently so that participating groups could perform dances, acts, or skits. In these there were several themes: (1) dances by female groups of all ages from beginning school girls to old women in their seventies. Many women wore artificial turtles on their hats, the younger children having paper outlines of turtles. The young girls were led by an older man who kept time either by playing the samisen or by clapping his hands. The very young girls beat small tin cans with sticks. The dances of the older girls and women were of two kinds: one symbolised the crane and the turtle (tsurukame). The turtle is a symbol of longevity. The second is the pine-bamboo-plum tree triad (shochikubai) symbolising long life and beauty. (2) Female impersonators imitated both the traditional Japanese woman with her costume and hair arrangement, and the modern woman with a chignon wearing a bright kimono, sun glasses, and smoking a cigarette. Their antics depended for their humor on the gracelessness of the men: they included mock flirtations and rejections, kicking of the heels, slapping with a fan, and other clowning. (3) Various balancing acts with long poles done by boys and young men. (4) Skits of individuals dressed as savages from the south seas. (5) Humorous acts showing the people of the northern district who were portrayed as jolly country bumpkins. Their caps, with tassels, looked like a cocoanut shell. The long false hair and beards were made of palm fibre. They carried ludicrous looking saws and axes while dragging a log. 527 541 [535] [533] [825] [824] [536]

One feature of the Itoman celebration was the well-known rope pulling contest (tsunahiki). The giant rope, made of rice straw, is at least 100 yards long, and about two feet in diameter. Each end has a loop. These loops, joined by a heavy piece of wood, are above the center line. The men of the town divide into two groups. The tug of war began about 5 in the afternoon and was soon over, but one has been known to last until one or two o'clock in the morning. It is found in all villages, but there is no set date for it. The tug of war is an old diversion in Okinawa.[5] 527 526

In former years, Minatogawa people participated in the Itoman festival. In 1951, they held their own evening celebration. This is a time of great beauty, with the light of the full moon illuminating the Pacific, the coral coast, and the mountains. The evening entertainment consists of some acts, similar to vaudeville, and a longer play. Crowds came from the surrounding villages, bringing their own mats and their own sake. Most of the officials of the township attended. 527 [628]

5 Goldschmidt, Neu-Japan, has reproduced an interesting painting showing a tug of war in Naha around the end of the 18th century. It shows an audience of court officials, the Chinese ambassador, as well as the various participants. Facing p. 179. [114]

[527] Young girls with pots of hot tea circulated in the audience. The
[272] stage performance was a combination of local amateur talent and
[535] professionals from Naha. Normally the entertainment begins with
a traditional Okinawan dance by a professional woman dancer, followed
by a short skit. Conversations in Okinawan between an educated man
[536] and a stupid rustic are favorite subjects. Acts of this type are
greatly enjoyed and cause laughter, mainly I was told because the
jokes had sexual overtones. The shorter acts are followed by a play.
(The theme of this play will be discussed in the following chapter).

6

Other Holidays of the Year

Chrysanthemum day, the ninth day of the ninth month (October 9,
[824] 1951), is a very minor holiday. A chrysanthemum is put in sake, and
the flask is placed on the god shelf. A leaf of the plant is put in the
sake when it is drunk. People at this time wish one another good
health. The festival is only spottily observed.

There is a minor public holiday, the rice cake festival (mochi no
matsuri), said to be native to Okinawa, on the 8th day of the 12th
lunar month (January 4, 1952). On the day before, women prepare red
[262] and white cylindrical rice cakes, about 4 inches long and one inch in
diameter. These are wrapped in the leaf of the sannin plant or in the
[252] leaves of sugar cane. The glutinous rice cake is made by first soaking
rice in water and then mashing it in a hand mill. The rice is put in
a cloth bag to allow excess water to drip out. The following morning
the rice is boiled and shaped and wrapped in the leaves. The cake is
doughy and insipid to taste. On the morning of the 8th, the cakes
are placed on the god shelf and after prayers the cakes are removed.
They are served during the day to guests. Sometimes children attach
strings to these cakes and hang them about the room. The holiday is
not observed by every family in the village, but it was recognized
in all the villages studied.

The festival of the winter solstice, the longest night of the
year (tōji) is known, but Hinatogawa was the only place in which its
observance was noted. It is a home festival with prayers and the
[769] familiar offering of assorted foods to the ancestors.

Western Christmas is not observed in any of the villages. It
would not be surprising if it should become a holiday, with gift
[177] giving, feasting, and drinking, but without the religious connotations.
Since the occupation, Okinawans have become conscious of Christmas.[6]

[790] 6 I was told that in certain villages of the northern district, such as
Kushi and Higashi near Ogimi that there is a Christmas festival, with-
out the gift exchange, a survival of earlier missionary teaching. Time
did not permit me to verify this, but there seems little doubt that a
Christmas festival does exist in some Okinawan villages, judging by
the frequency with which I heard of it in Matsuda and Ginoza villages.

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Near the end of the lunar year, Matsuda gives a party (keirokei) for all persons over 70 years of age. In 1951, the party began in the middle afternoon and ended at dusk. In the early or speech making phase, the mayor, introduced by the village headman, congratulated the old people on attaining their age. The headman, bowing low before the elders, then thanked the mayor. The primary school principal told them how American old people were able to drive automobiles, basing his remarks on a Japanese magazine article, and needlessly told his elders how to live a long life. His audience was much amused at the talents of the American old people. The men and women sat separately. A few children accompanied the old ladies. This is also an occasion for giving children born during the year a little money. After the speeches, both the old men and women drank sake in liberal quantities. The dances of the old were done with grace and agility. This custom is followed in the Gushichan area and may be widespread in Okinawa, though the dates for the occasions may vary.

562 his high score. Under American influence, universal suffrage and
666 equal representation have been introduced and formally adopted in some village affairs, although the household head vote—traditionally mostly male—is still maintained in many cases.

562 The Women's Association is the main force behind the attempts to
575 give women greater equality. The spokesmen for this group do not proclaim equality for women as such as the important goal but express hopes that women's life can be made easier by reducing their work load and providing more conveniences for them, such as better stoves. Attempts are made to give a woman more time to spend at home instead of in forests or fields and to reduce the expenses involved in preparing for holidays and special celebrations. The opinions of the Women's Association carry weight in village affairs. This, as one old woman pointed out, is a considerable change from earlier times. There had been a Women's Association before the war, but
[623] women were still barred from participation in village meetings at that time, and the only place where they could make themselves heard in village matters was at the meeting of the individuals required to do periodic labor for the village.

562 The situation at the time of fieldwork with regard to the attempts
527 of women to gain more recognition and the role which men play in
575 this respect is illustrated by a celebration of Mother's Day—an event
[177] which came to Taira quite recently from the outside. The women decided to observe it by taking off from their daily duties during the afternoon. The Women's Association made all arrangements, so that it was not a day dedicated by children or adult men to the mothers, but a day that the mothers celebrated themselves. Nevertheless, for the meeting at the old warehouse, where mats had been spread and food prepared, there were also tables arranged for the male village officials, such as the headman, village council members, and the policeman. They started the affair by treating the women to a few speeches in which the importance of motherhood was eulogized by such observations as: "A man can be great only if he has a mother who is making him great," and (from the policeman): "Mothers are an important factor in preventing juvenile delinquency." After this initial hour-long introduction, the leader of the Women's Association declared that festivities could now begin and that she "did not care how much sake the women drank as long as they were happy on this day." The children, who had been told by their teachers to help their mothers on this day by cleaning house and freeing them from some of their chores, gathered near the building, received some feast food and played as usual, and men—with the exception of the invited officials—worked

 527

as usual. It was an affair organized by the women leaders, which, though 562
a little slow in starting, turned into a gay carousing for the older 575
women, who were less inhibited than the younger ones and needed [888]
little encouragement to drink and dance.

The daily life of a woman is more monotonous than her husband's 562
and she has less leisure and recreation. After a day of hard work, men 512
sit down alone or in groups to spend the evening in relaxation with a [273]
bottle of sake. After a short time they show signs of pleasant intoxication and all burdens of life seem to disappear. Such recourse to carefree diversion is generally denied women. Instead, they are loaded down with household chores and care of infants and guests after a day of work in fields and forests. They spend their little free time exchanging news with other women or talking with other family members or visitors who assemble around the charcoal fire in the back room during [273]
winter evenings. Only women of advanced age feel free to join the men [888]
in drinking at home.

Men have greater sexual freedom. They are at liberty to have affairs 562
with other women outside the village and on trips to the city may 837
visit tea houses and afterwards enjoy the favors of a prostitute if their pocket books allow.

Status differences based on age are reflected in the social structure 561
and clearly denoted in the kinship terms. There is a special term of 554
reference and address for "first son" and "first daughter" and for 593
"older brother" and "older sister." As mentioned, ideally the oldest son assumes responsibility for the household, for his parents, and for the ancestral tablets. Even if he leaves his parental home temporarily or permanently for the city, where economic prospects are better, he remains the nominal household head and sends money back to his family. Theoretically the oldest male may retain authority until death, 887
although in practice most men retire from this position at the age of 561
61. Their retirement is made official by an entry in the population 554
registry. They continue to live with their oldest son and act as advisors and critics. A man's loss of authority with age occurs around his late [596]
fifties and early sixties and is evidenced not only by his retirement but also by his loss of the right to vote in village meetings. Veneration for age itself therefore, does not exist. Actual behavior toward the grand- [576]
parental generation, all the members of which are addressed as "grandmother" or "grandfather" regardless of actual kinship, is warm, mildly playful, and indulgent. Disrespect, however, is absent.

It is characteristic of the relationship between children and grand- 603
mothers that in addressing nonrelated old women, the suffix *-san*, 601
which denotes respect, is most often dropped for the "grandmother"

parent aftereffects of remorse or physical incapacitation, is a characteristic of this village. Excessive or orgiastic feasting which might interfere with work duties of the following day or days is absent. Leisure events spent in groups are joyful and desirable to all, untinged by hidden motives of social compulsion or conformity, which marks so many recreational activities in a culture like ours. 517

The village calendar does not include a weekly rest day, although government offices are closed on Sunday. Rest and holidays for the majority of villagers are regulated by religious and agricultural events which, in former times, were observed at least once during each lunar month. Although some of these have been simplified or given up in recent times by people whose participation in the old religion has diminished or by those who seek a sounder economy by urging greater production of crops and accumulation of savings, when it comes to observing and enjoying holidays, even the most rational village leader forgets his concern for the time being. The elaborateness of celebrations may be less today, as a result of economic pressure, than in former times—the spirit hardly could be. To know and appreciate the sense of humor and the wit of the people, one has only to attend their parties. During other times these qualities are less expressed—though they are never completely absent. If the naive comment that Okinawans are "childlike"—an observation which Westerners in describing them have permitted themselves—can be taken to have any foundation in fact, it could only be that like many children they are capable of complete absorption and indulgence in fun when the occasion is proper. For the Taira person such indulgence cannot be achieved without food, drink, music, and dance. These are the main components of entertainment which help to elicit gaiety and good humor, whether during holidays observed by families in individual homes, or those of the descent group main houses, or in village-wide celebrations, which are extremely common. These ingredients also appear during more informal hours of relaxation, each day after work, when there are small gatherings here and there, though on a more modest scale. 527 796 157 527 574 [522]

Since calendrical holidays, whether of a family nature or community-wide, have many aspects in common, we may mention some of these in general. Most gatherings begin in the late afternoon and last until late at night although never until daybreak. These are the rare times when people can dress in their best clothes and by doing so shed, perhaps, symbolically all associations with everyday routine. 527 574

The sequence of events at any kind of celebration is somewhat like a veil dance during which one layer of formality after another disappears. A formal period precedes not only all village-wide celebrations

527 574 —held at the old warehouse, the village office, or, during warm days, outside—but also introduces all family or small group events. This is the time when guests arrive, polite greetings are exchanged with everyone in the order of his relative status, and a seat is found in accordance with it. Everyone sits quietly and politely, men with legs [516] crossed tightly in front, women resting their buttocks between their heels. The conversation is somewhat stilted and reluctant. Meanwhile the hostess and her female helpers set cups before each guest, and they, or the male host himself, may pour tea.

537 527 574 Village celebrations of an official nature, such as "Mother's Day" (see Chapter 6) or the reception of the newly elected mayor, or New Year, are times for oratory of a sober nature. The village dignitaries and honored visitors, frequently seated at tables overlooking the community on the floor, each give a speech consisting of lengthy inventories of events and accomplishments. Sometimes food and drink are not served until the last one has spoken, but more often the situation is mellowed by the simultaneous serving of food and drink, which add to the inspiration of the speaker and the enthusiasm of his listeners.

527 574 262 Special dishes are associated with different holidays, and food, when served, begins to dispel some of the formality. Even if there are no speeches, it gives everybody something to do and talk about, and as we shall see shortly, more effective stimulants follow soon. The ice is broken. The food set before guests may be red-colored rice, which is served at joyful events such as New Year, or white rice, which is prepared when the dead are commemorated. For agricultural holidays the special food is made from the harvested crop, rice or potatoes. A feast plate may also include some pork, cooked in soya sauce, or presented in a mixed dish of vegetables; sometimes, it may be deep fat fried dumplings, either plain or with brown sugar stirred into the batter, or red and white fish cakes, or even several of these together. Less expensive foods, such as noodles and fried fish, are also served during feasts. Tairans have a sweet tooth and eat with relish the pound cakes and cookies which accompany or follow a meal. There is a sufficient quantity of food for the many guests, and whatever they cannot consume during the party, they may wrap up in a newspaper and take home.

527 574 273 Once food is set before the guests, the emptied tea cups are refilled, but this time with sake. This helps immediately to loosen the formal atmosphere which still prevails, at least after one or two cups have been emptied. Before this happens there may be, especially during weddings, family affairs, or the Mayor's reception, a polite exchange of cups between two men, who fill each other's and present it with a little ap-

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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preciative statement or an introduction. It is polite to make the rounds in this fashion, to sit before another guest, fill his cup and utter some polite phrases, then wait for a return compliment. 527 574

By the time men—and a little later women—have been served food and drink in some quantity, there is no more stiffness in the room, for with every cup of sake animation and voice volume increase. Speeches that have not yet come to a conclusion show definite signs of inspiration; each speaker who sits down is trumped in eloquence by his successor. Long after serious oratory has been dispensed with, a happy celebrant may get up and sonorously hold forth. During fieldwork the authors were frequently the aim of such addresses. In one of them a farmer, quiet and serious during everyday routine but known for his merriment and wit when in his cups, held forth on a future visit to Taira by these Americans. "There will be skyscrapers," he said in a booming voice, "subways, wide lanes and bright lights," and on he went to the delight of everybody. 273 [537] [123]

On such occasions Tairans display their skill in playing with words and their ability to act and mimic. The assistant to the headman, similarly quiet on ordinary days, several months after our arrival came into a room where the authors were present during one of the many post-New Year celebrations. At an advanced stage of merriment himself, he turned to his host and by way of introduction said that he had just come from Hong Kong. "Oh, from Hong Kong," the host said, "that is why you cough so, kong, kong, kong," adding that he himself came from New York (pronounced in Japanese similar to *nyūyoku*, meaning "a bath"), whereupon the arriving guest went into the motions of someone taking a bath, saying "ah from *nyūyoku*," and so the fun went on, mostly as a take-off on the American guests who were present. This reminded the clerk of another story at the expense of the authors, which he told with gusto. "That first day he came to Taira, Maretzki came up to me when I was carrying pebbles from the beach and asked if he could help since he was going to haul pebbles too. Then he started to introduce himself, and I only understood 'Umaretsuki' (similar to Japanese for 'temperament') . . . I waited and waited for a story, but nothing followed. I did not know what to say." He had never repeated this story during many sober encounters. 527 574 522 123

At another event, when several teachers were present, one of the men, after much gaiety, turned to a female teacher whose husband had left for the city to find a job and called over: "Hey, your mosquito netting must be wide now, huh?" The woman blushed, covered her mouth with a handkerchief and laughed. 522

The evening is never old before one man, or several who are known 574 533 534

574 for their special skills on the samisen (a three-stringed banjolike in-
533 strument covered with snake hide), open the singing and dancing with
the first, traditional song, *Kagiyadefu*, a solemn and slow piece which
[534] is rendered in the forced, nasal voice peculiar to Okinawan song. Im-
574 mediately after this, the tempo changes, the music takes a fast, stirring
beat, and the first dancer, a man, gets up. Dances at social events can
535 be performed by a single man or a woman, or by several dancers of
either sex, but traditional group dances are done by women only. Taira people like to dance some of the many Okinawan dances in which a story, sung by the vocalists, is acted out. For example, a popular dance deals with a fisherman and his catch. A hat, hastily put on, and a basket under the arm suggest the role of the dancer, his body and hand movements the actions. No one is much concerned with accurate or highly artistic rendition of these familiar dances; many performances become simply improvisations in which one male dancer is joined by other men or women who, dancing freely, add their own versions to established movements. There is much applause and laughter from the audience around the dance floor, which sings and animatedly claps hands in rhythm to the music. As all, men and older women, imbibe more sake, they become gayer, and more talents are unleashed. Amusing presenta-
[831] tions of a husband and wife, in which sometimes aggression and sexual interaction are acted out playfully, are received with great hilarity by the audience. If such a suggestive performance is given by an old woman and a young man, it seems to appear even funnier. As they get tired, dancers leave the floor, making room for others.

[562] Not everybody participates with equal lack of restraint. Younger
[273] women do not drink sake and show much more inhibition; they dance established versions of Okinawan dances in group performances if called on, usually before the merrymakers take over. Often a mother, young child in arm, cannot resist. Passing the infant to a relative or a girl sitting nearby, she joins other dancers and becomes carried away by the spirit of the event. On one occasion a young woman, seeing her aged mother display her talents on the dance floor in comical movements to the delight of everybody, angrily demanded that she come home right away, only to be rejoined with a taunting remark by the old lady, who defiantly swallowed some more sake and continued her entertainment.

527 Not a single event that we attended was marred by any serious un-
273 pleasantness. No guest was ever seen to become sick, although some
578 men drank themselves into a stupor. Here and there a paper screen may
be broken as a result of a tumbling body, or a hard bang against a
574 thin panel may set the house shaking. But the end of such a feast

would be nothing more uproarious than a group of singing celebrants seeking further entertainment from house to house. The occasional quarrels after drinking, which are mentioned elsewhere, seemed much more frequent where only a small group of men indulged after work, especially younger ones. No major holidays ended in dissonance. 527 273 574 578

The main events for family celebrations are lunar New Year, *seimei*, a period in spring during which descent group ancestors are revered and *Bon*, a commemoration of the dead in the fall. At these times families are reunited with relatives from other villages or the city. These events are observed in the home or in front of the ancestral tombs. During *Bon* young men and women go from house to house, performing traditional dances for this holiday in front of the assembled families. 527 796 769

Celebration of special birthday cycles and agricultural events, such as the day when ditches in the paddies were cleaned in former times, are observed by villagers as a group. An important religious event for the community is Boat Race Day in lunar June. On lunar August 15, the celebration of the full August moon, some villagers present stage performances and dances at a public celebration. 527

In general, it may be said that families gather as a unit on those days on which ancestors and deceased family members are commemorated. The village jointly celebrates events which are either based on local religion or on agricultural events. The only national holiday which is now in existence was established by the post-war Ryukyuan government. It is observed by school and government offices but not by the people. [769] [621]

Sport events form another category of holidays. The most important one falls in October when both in Japan and all over the Ryukyus athletes compete against each other. Athletic meets take place for several weeks; for the village the biggest event is the competition of all athletes in the township on *undokai* day. Everyone leaves work and takes picnic food to the track at the junior high school where each village competes against the others. This lasts all day. 526 628

Wrestling matches are part of entertainment during outdoor celebrations in the early summer. They are mainly an affair for young men. Occasionally an older man who feels strong enough challenges a younger one. The villagers sit around a large circle near the beach, watching the fights while they eat holiday food and drink sake. On Boat Race Day Taira and the neighboring village of Kawata race fishing canoes against each other. Spectators at this event are enthusiastic supporters of their favorites. After the races this holiday ends like any other, in celebrations with dance and drinking. [262] [574]

857 the infant still at the breast who is taken on shopping trips to Nago, the nearest town, or to neighboring townships to visit maternal relatives. When whale meat was marketed from the village on weekends, a school age child was taken along to carry the infant because the mother was burdened with her basket of meat, but this was infrequent. Few children have explored their township beyond Miyagi, a village 5 miles to the east of Taira or Gesashi, 4 miles to the southwest.

[364] Children also rummage through the garbage heaps, where they find useful things like tin cans, bottles, and discarded bits of vegetable with which to play house or store.

857 241 During the harvest and planting seasons, children accompany adults to the rice paddies and potato fields near the village. Mats are spread out on the dikes and kindergarten children gaily dangle their feet in the oozy mud while "keeping watch over the sleeping infants." Those who whimper to help are given small sheaves of rice to carry to their fathers and older brothers, who thresh them in the dry fields or on the flat grounds bordering the paddies.

855 [412] Many 4-year-olds are adept at handling knives. As implements like knives, hatchets, pronged hoes, sickles, rakes, and saws were often left within reach of children, it was not unusual for them to use them. Although many cut themselves, adults do not seem to take special care to put them out of reach. Children of kindergarten age are frequently scolded for playing with sharp instruments, but with persistent crying or begging they usually gain reluctant consent.

852 855 527 During all holiday events, children participate without much control from adults. Young children are carried by their mothers as they make the visiting rounds or sit on the floor in the building where the whole village congregates. Toddlers explore the surroundings and, finding themselves in the middle of the dance floor, are gently pushed aside and handed back to their mother. Older children hang around while food is served; then they disappear to play games of their own. During sport events, track meets, wrestling, and at dance performances, children are as interested spectators as their parents. Nobody would think of leaving a child at home on a holiday, and nobody would demand that the child sit quietly through lengthy speeches or ceremonies.

868 535 [872] Children learn dances from kindergarten days on, either by watching or by coaching from an older person, a friend, one's older sister, or mother. Sometimes they are called on to perform for adults, or a special children's performance is given under the direction of the kindergarten teacher. Adults enjoy these dances as much as if they were done by grownups. They are amused and delighted if a little girl

have little time and patience to concern themselves seriously with 866
their children's schoolwork; and since their daily work is hardly an 876
inspiration to the child to improve his scholastic activities, there is
some question in how much parental influence is relevant here.
Moreover, mothers are always under pressure from the teachers to [124
urge their children to work hard and would respond to such an
obviously weighted question in this fashion to a person to whom they
accorded the same polite title in address, which they use toward
their children's teacher, *sensei* (i.e., the interviewer). It is also a fact
that teachers have had difficulty getting parents to cooperate in
training their children to establish regular home-study habits. Fathers,
on the whole, seem even less consistent than mothers in supervising
schoolwork. The fact that most boys would like to be first but make
concentrated efforts to improve their work only if they perform
poorly suggests that parental discipline usually does not function
effectively until the child has become severely delinquent in his
studies.

If the desire to cheat in school is a measure of competitive pressures, it is interesting to note that there are few such attempts made during the examinations which are held several times a year. Nothing is done to separate the students whose tables are close together. Although the teacher remains in the classroom, he hardly proctors. However, the teacher commented that if a student is suspected of unfair practices, others will report his activities to the teacher.

An impetus for the development of competitive spirit has been [177
the introduction by the Japanese of athletic sports into the schools. [526
The communities participate annually in athletic competitions spon- [527
sored by the schools and other agencies outside the community. One
is impressed, however, that these events have taken on the Okinawan
pattern of a pleasant gathering where the older people can enjoy
being sociable while the young men and women engage in various
sports.

A few students have regularly assigned tasks and offices. Each class 866
selects a monitor. The method of selection varies, depending on the 872
teacher. In one class, candidates were taken at large, and the student 876
who received the largest number of votes took the office. The monitor
is responsible for the class during the morning assembly and during
athletics. He sees to it that students line up and remain orderly. In
the classroom he has the same responsibility, but we observed nobody
discharging his duties in an authoritarian way, although some older
boys liked to show their strength in a playful manner of bullying.

857 fun of it, but few signs of involvement with attaining outstanding per-
526 formance. Losers are not teased or ridiculed, although a good per-
[157] former is occasionally given an encouraging remark by others who practice.

Group games are usually played after the schoolchildren have returned to the village. One of the popular games is a version of prisoner's base similar to that played in the United States. This game is played with much yelling, laughing, and noisy challenging. Equally popular is a version of "kick the can." This game is exciting and fast moving. It is a game which can lead to arguments, since one must trust the honesty of the person who is "it" and claims to have seen another player. Brief arguments arise and are quickly settled. Part of the fun seems to be teasing and challenging the tagger.

535 These are games that children may play on any day in the year.
857 During holidays they are sometimes asked to entertain adults with
[527] dances. Little girls learn the traditional Okinawan dances from kinder-
[871] garten days on, either by watching or by coaching of an older person, a friend, one's older sister, or mother. Neither kindergarten nor school programs include the teaching of such rich Okinawan heritage as classical dances. Boys do not begin to imitate the burlesque dances of their male elders until adolescence. But they are sometimes invited, together with girls, to present group dances or little plays for the adults. Adults seem to enjoy most the performances of Okinawan dances by little girls who may have learned the rhythm and movements but not the restraint of serious adult presentations. They are delighted if a 6-year-old, dressed in bright-colored costume, innocently wiggles her hips in a rather suggestive way.

857 Children who perform for adults show no stage fright. At school,
[156] where little sketches are presented on the stage, there is a complete ease in improvising. Nobody is embarrassed if he forgets a line, a song, or a cue, and the recitation contests which we have already mentioned are carried out with much zest.

[512] Schoolchildren are supposed to remain at home after 8 o'clock in the evening to do their studies. This rule is encouraged by the school but rarely enforced by parents. Many children, boys and girls, appear outside after dark, and on moonlight nights they often resume their playing. Off and on, a couple of elementary schoolboys are attracted to the store where the village truck arrives with goods from the city after nightfall. There they stand in the dim yellow light of the kerosene lamp, watching, helping, or just listening to some of the men who
[515] come to have their sake bottles filled. If a bath has been prepared for
[512] their families, their turn will come sometime after the older males in

It will be seen that for males membership in the common descent group is reckoned strictly patrilineally and this membership is permanent. The status of women is less clear. A woman before marriage worships at the ancestral tablets and tomb of her father's family and lineage. If she dies she is buried in his tomb. After her marriage a woman worships at her husband's tomb, where she will be buried, and if he is an eldest son she knows she will ultimately have the responsibility of preparing the offerings put before his family's tablets; but at the same time she continues to worship at the u-machii before the tablets at the main house of her father's group. She may be called upon to contribute to the fund raised by her father's group for ceremonial expenses. And she may even function as a kaminchu for it. A woman's own tablet, when she dies, will be placed with that of her husband. If a woman is widowed or divorced and marries again, she will very likely be buried in the tomb of the family of her first son, regardless of which husband was his father, and her tablet will be put in his house. A woman without sons may feel uncertain of her future. 614 562

It must also be made explicit that the Okinawan common descent group, unlike most unilateral descent groups, is not exogamous. Even cousins related through the male line may marry and it is said that in some communities they do so frequently. I found one cousin marriage within the kin group in Yamada koseki; Lebra found several marriages within the munchu at Kanegusuku. Informants said it was common in some communities. 614 582

2. The Life Cycle

The Calendar Before a description of the life cycle of the individual can be given, a word must be said about the systems the Okinawans use for reckoning time. Two systems are in use, the "old calendar" (in Japanese 'kyūreki') and the "new calendar" ('shinreki'). The first is the same ancient Chinese calendar that is used throughout East Asia; the second is the Western calendar. 805 199

The "old calendar" is essentially a lunar calendar but combined with the twelve lunar months is a system of twenty-four solar periods and a system of naming days and years by the "Ten Stems and Twelve Branches".[1] The lunar year consists of twelve lunar months, designated as "first month", "second month" and so on, of twenty-nine or thirty days, with the fifteenth or sixteenth of each month falling on the night of the full moon. Since the lunar year is about eleven days shorter than the solar year, an inter-calary month must be inserted every three years to hold the year in place, so that Lunar New Year's usually comes some time in February of the Western Calendar. The principal traditional holidays of the year, except for three, are figured in the lunar calendar. Of particular importance are New Year's (the first day of the first month) and U-bung or Shichigwachi (from the 13th to the 15th of the 7th month; the Japanese 'Bon'). [527]

[1] For tables, etc., see Papinot, 1910, Appendix XII.

805 The Chinese solar year is divided into twenty-four periods of about
177 fifteen days each. All of them bear two-character names, "Spring Begins", "Rain Water", "Excited Insects", etc. This division of the year is based on solar phenomena, so that it remains relatively stable. A solar period therefore does not begin on the same lunar date every year. The three holidays
[529] mentioned above that are calculated by the solar calendar rather than by the lunar are the spring and autumn equinoxes (Fiigang, in Japanese 'Higan') and Shiimii (in Japanese, 'Seimei'; the Chinese Ch'ing Ming, "Clear and Bright"; the period from April 5 to 20). Most farmers, however, do not seem to know even the names of the whole sequence of twenty-four; they merely look at their calendars to see when the important dates fall, much as we look to see when Easter will fall in any given year.

805 The Ten Stems and Twelve Branches (in Japanese 'Jikkan Jūnishi') make up a system of designating both days and years. The ten stems are ten characters named in pairs after the five elements---wood, fire, earth, metal, and water---each occurring twice, once in a senior aspect and once in a junior aspect (or in Chinese "Yang" and "Yin" aspects). The twelve branches are twelve characters named after twelve animals---rat, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, snake, horse, sheep, monkey, cock, dog, boar. The two series run simultaneously, beginning "senior-wood rat", "junior-wood ox", and so on, so that after sixty days, or years, have elapsed, the cycle is complete and it is again "senior-
[787] wood rat". On Okinawa the system is used by diviners (sanjinsoo, in J. 'ekisha') in drawing up horoscopes, but is probably not followed in its entirety by the layman. The twelve branches, however, are of interest to everyone. For many ritual purposes the individual is identified by the year of his birth within this cycle of twelve. A person praying may identify himself as a "rat man" or an "ox woman". The yuta, who are otherwise not concerned with calendrical lore, make it a point to ask the birth year of anyone about whom information is desired. An older person when asked his age may give it not in years but as "Year of the Horse," or the like, explaining which cycle only if questioned further. The term for the cycle is saa, so that a person may explain that he is chu-saa, "one cycle", above or below someone of the same
[7X6] birth year. The twelve animals were even deified; there were twelve images of them scattered through four temples in Shuri. After the new year representatives of Shuri families made offerings before those corresponding to the birth years of all the members of their families.

Age, when it is reckoned in years, is traditionally reckoned not in full years since birth, as in the West, but in total number of years during which one has lived. Thus a child's years are one at birth, two after the following New Year's, three the next New Year's and so on. To know a person's age according to the Western system of reckoning one has to ask "how many full
805 years are you?" Thus what correspond to birthdays in the West are celebrated
527 on New Year's, when everyone simultaneously becomes a year older. The important ones are on the recurrence of the birth year, when one is thirteen, twenty-five, thirty-seven, and so forth, by year-count. These occasions are celebrated on the first occurrence of the corresponding day after the new year. Thus 1954 was the Year of the Horse and so people born during a Year of the Horse celebrated on the first Day of the Horse after New Year's. People are

warned to be careful on days corresponding to their birth-years. A man who was 805
a "bird person" could not go to participate in a bone-washing because it was 527
held on a Day of the Bird. During the recurrence of one's birth-year, he must be cautious during the whole period.

The Western calendar was introduced into Okinawa after the Japanese an- 805
nexation, but it is still referred to as the "new calendar". It is the calen- 177
dar of the schools and government and of business, but not of the farmer. In the city the more important celebration of New Year's is held on the "new" New Year's; in the country it is on "old" New Year's a month later.

Before the Japanese annexation years were named in an absolute sequence (that is, besides being named by position in the cycles of twelve and of sixty) by the reigns of Chinese emperors. After the annexation the reigns of Japanese emperors were used. At the present time the Western chronology ('seireki') is official, but some still speak of the year 1954 as "Shōwa 29", the 29th year of the reign of the present emperor.

Birth and Infancy: Notions about Conception Okinawans recognize that sexual 842
relations are necessary for but do not always result in conception. Younger people have heard of the struggle of the sperm to reach the egg, but their notions may be rather foggy. For example, a woman in her middle thirties, discussing the responsibilities of parents, argued in the following manner: a woman cannot conceive without having an orgasm; she cannot have an orgasm without feeling love ('aijō'); hence conception is the result of love, hence she should willingly take responsibility for her child. The ethical principle involved in this argument may not be typical, but the lack of precise information of physiology probably is. And it suggests two things: first, that women may inhibit their emotions as a contraceptive measure, and second, they may be willing to take chances in having sex relations thinking that they can inhibit conception. But it is worth noting here that young women do not discuss these matters very freely and hence generalizations may be very unsafe.

Condoms are sold in the cities but probably not in the country. A former country woman living in the city believed that country people would use them if they knew of them, but that they do not know. She regarded four children as enough. However, a young unmarried man from the city said that one would use a condom only when visiting a prostitute; it would be insulting to use one with your sweetheart. Some of this attitude may carry over after marriage.

Pregnancy If a woman believes that she may be pregnant she goes to 843
a midwife for a diagnosis. This is usually about three [759]
months after her last menstrual period. The fee is usually ¥50. If she is in fact pregnant she continues to consult the midwife and the midwife attends her at the birth of the child. The total fee is about ¥1,000.

For the good of her unborn child a pregnant woman is urged to be happy [674]
and to avoid situations potentially harmful to it; for example if she were to go to a funeral or a bone-washing the shii, a sort of soul, of the baby might be drawn into the tomb.

brazier in the city. She was kept warm continuously, even in hot weather, so 178 that, it is said, women often broke out in skin eruptions from the heat. At 846 present younger women are not following this practice and many regard it as a foolish custom. The absence of jiiru in post-war houses may be a factor in [354] the decline of the custom.

Post-natal Observances During the first year of life the child is 852 the center of several ceremonies. They are in brief:

1) Mbagii sumji, "Red rice ceremony". Held on the day of birth. Relatives, friends, and neighbors come. Rice dyed red and a soup of taro stems (a symbol of many children) are offered to the ancestral tablets and served to the guests. The afterbirth is buried behind the house while the [844] children are made to laugh so that the baby will have a good disposition.

2) Naajiki, "Naming". Held during the first week. Practices vary. [553] In one variety the baby's grandmother releases a crab and a grasshopper and [787] shoots an arrow at a winnowing tray; in another she divines with rice grains to see if the name she has selected is proper. This rite was formerly held to give the baby its native Okinawan name.

3) Mansang, "Full birth". Held on the 7th or 30th day after the birth to celebrate the full term. A feast is served to relative, friends, and neighbors.

4) Naa'njii, "First going out". Held for a boy on the first day of the ten-day cycle, designated as kanii, on the second kanii day for a girl. The baby's grandmother makes it pray to the ancestral tablets and to the oven [769] god, then marks its forehead with soot and takes it out, formerly to pray to [782] the god of the pigsty-privy.

5) Hachi-atchii, "First walking". Held whenever the mother is first able to go to visit her parents and siblings. She takes gifts of food to them and in return they give money to the baby.

6) Tanka, "Birthday". Held on the first anniversary of the birth. [527] A feast is prepared and many relatives and friends come bringing gifts of money. The child's future career is divined by placing a number of objects [787] in front of it---money, a book, an abacus, food, etc. If the child chooses the money he will be rich; if the book, a scholar; if the food, a glutton; and so forth. The odds are usually weighted in favor of a desirable future.

There seems to be some variation in all of these practices. Several [178] may be obsolescent because some of the elements entering into them are no longer in use, the pigsty-privy and the native names, for example.

Infanticide New-born babies may be done away with if they are not 847 wanted, but this is probably not at all common under ordinary circumstances. 783 One example was recorded: An old woman who died recently lay for about a week on her death bed unable to talk. Her children gathered about her, wondering if some sin ('tsumi') were not in need of atonement ('tsugunai').

885
562 Adult Responsibility For women responsibilities come early. Mothers
[857] give their daughters tasks while their sons play. At marriage a woman enters her husband's household and immediately assumes adult burdens that she may not put down until old age. As a grandmother she may still care for grand-
[887] children while her husband has left most of his responsibilities to his sons. She may acquire ritual responsibilities toward her husband's family which can only increase with time.

For a man responsibilities come gradually. Childhood is a time for
[857] play---except for the future scholar, or in cases of extreme poverty. Youth is a time when responsibilities may be postponed---except where an oldest son has been orphaned. Even after marriage a young man, though he may have to work hard, is not expected to remain sober and stay home nights. The peak of a man's responsibility comes with full maturity, when he has sons himself and when his father is beginning to age. This peak may rise to greater heights than that of his wife and his labor may be harder and make greater demands on
[887] his strength and health. But again in old age he may put his burden down and he is expected to seek those pleasures that he can still enjoy.

562 Women's lives may be duller but they are generally longer. And in old
888 age a woman has the compensation of greater freedom than she has ever had before. Old women often speak with a frankness that is embarrassing to young people of either sex. Old women are also the repositories of knowledge of the ancestors and of the supernatural and thus become greatly respected and
[74] influential. Both the religious functionaries (kaminchu) of the kinship group
[156] and the seeresses or mediums (yuta) consulted on numerous occasions are usually women. An old man, unless he is a scholar or a diviner (sanjinsoo) has less chance of attaining fame.

But old men, as well as old women, may become tyrants. One Yamada family consisted of an old couple and their three grandchildren, the oldest a boy of twenty. This boy was registered as the head of the family, while the old man, according to the register, had retired; but when the boy had the opportunity to make a little money, which he needed for clothes, the old man took it for tobacco. On the other hand he permitted the youths of the neighborhood to hold parties in his house---hoping, one suspects, to help consume the refreshments---something a middle-aged parent might not have tolerated.

898 Formal Recognition of Old Age A man may officially retire , that is,
he may transfer house headship in the register to a son or grandson, but as I have just indicated this may not prevent him from actually holding the family
888 purse strings. For the community formal recognition of old age comes with the
527 celebration of "year days" (tushibii). These are held on the anniversaries of the "birth year" of an old person. A person's birth year is the year, in the cycle of twelve, in which he was born. Since the reckoning of age is a matter of counting the years during which one has lived, the year of birth counts as one and so when the cycle of twelve has passed once and the year is again the birth year, a person's years are thirteen. Each time a person's birth year recurs it marks a significant point in his life. These recurrences are celebrated not on the anniversary of the day of birth but on the first day of the cycle that corresponds to the year, after Lunar New Year's. Thus 1954 was

the Year of the Horse, and so all persons born during any year of the Horse--- 888
1942, 1930, etc.---celebrated their "year day" on the first Day of the Horse 527
of the new year. Although theoretically all year days are important, in practice only those of old age are given much attention. These are the celebrations of the 61st, 73rd, 85th, and 97th years. The 88th and 90th may also be celebrated. The celebration of the year day of an old person is a matter of pride for the whole family; formal invitations are sent, and the guests are served food and drink requiring considerable expense on the part of the family.

Death After his death a person does not cease to be of any importance to 769
the family. On the contrary he takes on a new importance as a focal point for ceremonies and perhaps for feelings of anxiety.

Death is attributed to both natural and supernatural causes[1] with 761
natural causes probably barely in the majority. But there is also the vague notion that one's life span is predetermined.

Almost immediately after the death of a person, members of his family 756
usually consult a yuta to learn if there was any last request or information 763
that the deceased had wished to impart to his family. This might consist of an explanation of his death, a confession of some early misdeed, or last instructions to his heirs. While I was working at Yamada an informant, an energetic, thoroughly likeable old lady, died suddenly. I learned later that her family immediately went to Yakena, some twelve miles away, a place famous for its many yuta. There they consulted a yuta and asked if there had been any message the old woman wanted to communicate. They were told that the old woman had been destined to die a year before but because she was such a good woman she had lived an extra year, during which she had accomplished everything she had intended to do---there was nothing to reveal. The family was relieved and comforted.

The Funeral Women may cry out immediately upon learning that a mem- 764
ber of the family has died. The body is laid in the second room of the house and flexed so that it may be more easily put into the coffin. If the death occurs in the morning the funeral may be held the afternoon of that day; if later in the day, the next afternoon. Offerings are placed before the body and when the funeral is not until the next day, relatives keep a wake over it.

The funeral itself consists of a ceremony at the home of the deceased, a procession to the tomb, and the placing of the coffin in the tomb. These steps may be more or less elaborate depending upon the means of the family. However, the local unit, the 'han' or the chinju, takes responsibility for some activities, making for uniformity. Member of the 'han' or chinju make two paper tablets with the name of the deceased written on them and make a large square wooden box for a coffin. On the afternoon of the funeral, the body is put into the coffin and a tray containing one of the paper tablets, offerings of fruit, and an incense burner is placed before it. If the de- [793]
ceased has requested it, a Buddhist priest may be called from one of the larger towns, but many country people do not call a priest, and indeed may never

[1] See Chapter IX.

Two members of the SIRI team both saw bone-washings, and were both impressed 765
by this display. The ceremony I saw consisted not only of the washing of one set of bones but the transfer of another skeleton from another tomb. While the tomb was being prepared the daughter of the man whose bones were being transferred was made to hold the skull. The sight of the teen-age girl holding her father's skull before her, hardly able to move, her lips and eyes shut tight, tears streaming down her face, is one not easily forgotten.

The Okinawans are curious about the funeral customs of others, sensi- 764
tive about their own, and possibly dissatisfied with them. Their sensitivity 765
is shown by the fact that after I had observed the bone-washing just men- 123
tioned, someone circulated a rumor, untrue, that I had photographed the cere- 829
mony in order to show Americans what went on. This rumor might have seriously damaged my rapport with this family and with others in the community if I had not been defended by the person who had supervised the bone-washing, the old lady mentioned at the beginning of this section. All three SIRI team members were questioned about American practices and heard statements to the effect that perhaps cremation should be adopted. Cremation does, of course, do away with the necessity for both the bone-washings and the large tombs. A crematorium is operating in Naha, but it is doubtful if the practice will spread very rapidly in the country. New tombs, bigger and better than ever, are still being built, old ones are being repaired, and the familiar method of burial and reburial goes on. The prestige attached to the larger and impres- [554]
sive tomb is undoubtedly a factor in the survival of the system. But there may also be psychic needs as yet unexplored that the system and in particular the emotional orgy of the bone-washing satisfies.

Offerings to the Dead After the funeral the family of the deceased 765
makes offerings both before the tomb and before the temporary paper tablet in 769
the home. During the first seven weeks after a death this tablet is kept on a low table with incense burning before it; relatives and neighbors make formal visits in order to burn incense, pray, and leave gifts of money. On every seventh day till the forty-ninth the family makes extra offerings, burns uchikabi (imitation paper money said to be used for paying taxes in the next world), and makes offerings before the tomb. Then the name is written on the permanent tablet. Thereafter, the family makes offerings at the tomb and at the tablets and burns uchikabi on the first, second, seventh, thirteenth, twenty-fifth, and thirty-third anniversaries of the death. At the end of this time the deceased is believed to require no more individual consideration---if all the offerings up to that time have been properly made.

However, throughout each year on a number of occasions offerings are 769
made for all the dead members of the family. These occasions are the major 527
holidays, nearly all of which are primarily directed toward the worship of the dead. The principal of these are: 1) Lunar New Year's; 2) Shiimii, in the spring, an occasion for visiting both the tomb of the immediate family and tombs of more remote ancestors; 3) the U-machii, the 15th days of the 5th and 6th lunar months, occasions when representatives of the larger kin groups worship before the ancestral tablets at the main house; 4) U-bung, during the 7th lunar month, when all the dead are believed to return to the house. Beside these there are a number of minor holidays on which offerings are made.

769 On the spring and autumn equinoxes imitation money is burned, on other occa-
527 sions special food is offered, and so forth.

775 In spite of the great concern that Okinawans appear to take for the
969 welfare of the dead, they can tell one surprisingly little about what happens to them. According to one account, the dead person crosses seven bridges on his way to the other world; if he has led a wicked life he may have difficulty crossing them. In the next world he needs food and drink and money to pay taxes. Eventually, unless something holds him to this world, he becomes a "Buddha" (J. 'hotoke') or a "god" (J. 'kami-sama')---the terms seem synonymous---and ascends to Heaven. The most clearly defined and frequently heard notion seems to be simply that there is a vast and awful chasm between "this world" and "that world" and that a person who has once crossed the chasm ought to stay on the other side. A dead person may return, however, and appear to the living as a ghost if something disturbs him---a wrong unrighted, for example. Ghosts may attack former enemies or even harm anyone who happens to be around. But also a deceased person may cause disease or other misfortune to come to his own living relatives and descendants if he has not had sufficient help from them through their offerings. Thus many Okinawans, particularly the older people, are greatly concerned about the possibility of an ugwam-busuku, an "insufficiency (fusuku) of worship (ugwang)." They explain sickness, accidents, and lack of success in undertakings as the result of some ugwam-busuku. And so they consult with yuta and other dealers in the supernatural to determine where the insufficiency lies.

They also interpret success or good fortune, especially that which helps the family or larger kin group, as due to the help of the deceased ancestors. A woman gave the following incident as an example. During the bombing that preceded the landing in 1945 she had left the cave where her family was hiding to go to a neighbor's cave just when a great-uncle appeared there looking for a midwife to deliver a daughter's baby. The two related families had not known of each others' whereabouts and the informant's family was overjoyed to be able to move to the better cave of the great-uncle. This, the informant said, was not the result of the protection of the gods but of the ancestors.

The concern of the Okinawans for the dead is great, but it is hard to avoid the conclusion that it is motivated primarily by concern for the living.

3. Prospect of Change

152 Family life provides the individual with the security that he desires
593 but at the same time it gives him a basis for feelings of anxiety. The feelings of security he derives from the love he receives as a child, the honor he receives as a parent, and the knowledge that he will not be neglected in the next world. The solidarity of the family and the continuity of the family are essential to this security and so they are constantly stressed. But he also derives feelings of anxiety from family life. As a child he is carried around in an intimate fashion and then put down and made to run to keep

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651

kōgyō-zei	Industry Tax.
gyūbasha-zei	Horsecart or Oxcart Tax.
jidōsha-zei	Automotive Vehicle Tax (all types).
rajio-zei	Radio Tax.
denchū-zei	Electric Pole Tax.
tochiku-zei	Slaughter Tax.
chikken-zei	Dog Tax.
senpaku-zei	Boat Tax.
jitensha-zei	Bicycle Tax.
denwa-zei	Telephone Tax.
jigyō-zei	Business Tax
kenkyu-hi	Study Fee. This is assessed on the basis of land holding, and it is used to provide a yearly bonus, 50% of one month's salary, to all the school teachers of Kanegusuku-son. The 'son' feels that the salaries paid by the central government are too low and uses this tax as a means of supplementing them. [871]

The following work schedule was copied from the blackboard in the township offices of Kanegusuku-son in May, 1954. All of the listed activities are those which must be handled in addition to the regular work load. Virtually all of the scheduled meetings required the presence of the mayor (sonchō); a number of these were held outside of his district (son). At the present time American work schedules are followed. Saturday afternoon and Sunday are regarded as holidays for the office staff, though oftentimes the mayor and department heads may work on those days if there is pressing business. 632 [527]

Schedule of Activities for Kanegusuku-son Office
for May 1954

May
1st -
2nd - Sunday
3rd - Industrial Conference at Ryukyu-American Cultural Center, Naha.
4th - Welfare Week, May 4th through 10th.
5th - 'Kochōkai'. Meeting of all village mayors at 2 p.m.
6th -
7th -
8th -
9th - Sunday
10th - Meeting of all mayors of municipalities at Okinawa Kaikan, Naha, 10 a.m. Proclamation of law for welfare of children at Sekai Theater, Naha, 2 p.m.
11th -
12th - Injections for pigs for prevention of infectious diseases.
13th - Meeting of Assembly Chairmen's Association of Southern Okinawa at Agricultural Cooperative Club.
Injections for pigs.
14th - Industrial inspection of Southern Okinawa.
Injections for pigs.

[Kochinda-son]

Table XXV, cont'd.

848 163

Birth Month	'53	'52	'51	'50	'49	'48	'47	'46	'45	Pre-'45	Month of Conception	Total Births
Sept.	1		4	1						1	December	7
Oct.		1	1		2					1	January	5
Nov.	1	2	4	1	1		1	1		5	February	16
Dec.	1		1			1	1		1	1	March	6
Total:	11	11	20	10	11	7	7	5	2	25		109[1]

The number of illegitimate children born in the year and a half following the outbreak of the Korean War doubled. The demoralization and uncertainty which accompanied the withdrawal of United Nations forces may be reflected in the rise in illegitimacy. Similarly it is seen that the rate returned to its postwar normal course with the advance of the fighting to positions nearer the Thirty-eighth Parallel.

848 163 527

Interesting also is the "season of conception" pattern that is suggested by the above chart. The greatest number of mothers were impregnated in February, which in most years contains the Lunar New Year's season. It is the occasion for much visiting around and many parties. The month containing the next highest number of impregnations is August. This is the month of the O-bon season, when community contests are held, and 'awamori' flows even more freely than usual. October and November---seasons of cooperative rice harvest---and April, the month of lunar sangwachi sannichi (Third Month, Third Day---Women's Festival), are the months of the third most frequent impregnations, or conceptions.

163

To some extent this approximates the season of birth-pattern for Okinawa Gunto in 1951 and 1952:

Table XXVI

Month of Birth	Births 1951[2]	Births 1952[2]	Total Births 1951-1952	Month of Conception
January	2,347	2,056	4,403	April
February	1,876	2,108	3,984	May
March	2,108	1,837	3,945	June
April	1,713	1,713	3,426	July
May	1,711	1,563	3,274	August
June	1,575	1,396	2,971	September
July	1,602	1,366	2,968	October
August	1,851	1,449	3,300	November
September	1,792	1,868	3,660	December
October	2,326	2,245	4,571	January
November	2,414	2,106	4,520	February
December	1,753	2,268	4,021	March

1 This excludes two whose birthdate data were not complete, and one born in 1954.

2 Civil Affairs Activities in the Ryukyu Islands, Vol. 1, no. 2, p. 77.

households. Noodles are another item of regular purchase. Starch and bean paste are typical items which formerly were always made in the home but now may be purchased instead. 178 262

In sum Okinawan diet has improved in quantity and variety. Food tastes are more catholic today; certain foreign foods are greatly appreciated. There is a greater reliance on manufactured and processed foods, and greater cash expenditures are made for food.

Entertainment and Leisure There has been a marked decline in village celebrations and festivals in which all residents participate. Formerly O Bon, New Year's, and harvesting time were occasions for village-wide celebrations; today these are gone from most communities; celebrations are restricted to the family and friends. Most of the village celebrations were basically religious in nature and with the decline of the old religion these celebrations have been dropped. 527 796 178 621

Parties to mark an individual's change of status were formerly held on the 13th, 25th, 37th, 48th, 61st, 73rd, 85th, 88th and 97th birthdays, but today only those for the old people are observed. Frequently a party is held to mark an individual's success in the competitive examination to enter high school, but aside from that, rites of passage for the young and middle-aged are no longer observed. 527 178

The Japanese introduced one form of entertainment which has achieved immense popularity; this is a sporting event sponsored by the school. These are usually held on Sunday during the fall of the year, and usually the whole school participates. There is intra-school competition and later inter-school; intense interest is generated and often this becomes an important topic for conversation among the young men. 526 177

Local units of the national organizations such as the youths' association and the women's association frequently hold parties for their members. In fact these organizations are mainly of a social nature. 575

As noted above, prior to the war there were five motion picture theaters on Okinawa; today there are fifty-seven. American and European films constitute from one quarter to one third of the total shown. Though most of these theaters are located in the cities and towns, the young people of the nearby farming villages make frequent use of them. The popularity of the American "Western" among the young people has caused some to attribute juvenile delinquency to this, although the relatively more bloody Japanese sword-fighting pictures ('chambara') are considered harmless. 546 177

The popularity of Okinawan dancing and music seems undiminished. Radio broadcasts of Okinawan music are much enjoyed; and virtually every party provides the opportunity for music and dancing in which most of the guests participate. A few of the better-educated young people profess an appreciation of Western classical music and jazz, but most of them prefer Japanese and American love ballads though they still remain very fond of the Okinawan music. 533 535 177

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

Community Recreation

Were it not for the public holidays and festivals, the family 529
celebrations and informal social gatherings, opportunities for
recreation would be very limited. Seeing a Japanese motion picture
usually involves going to another village. Young people, especially [368]
those studying English, go to American movies in Naha when they can [177]
afford it. Many went to see Hamlet when it played there.

A Naha troupe presents plays in the rural villages. These ap- 545
pearances are advertised by a sound truck travelling throughout the
countryside. Plays are of two main types: the historical drama and 536
those of domestic life and manners. The historical plays are usually
based on the heroic age in Okinawa, and are so filled with episodes
and sword play that it is difficult, even for an Okinawan, to follow
the plot. All plays are given in Okinawan.

The plot of a play of manners is of more interest, since it is
concerned with the conflicts of obligations, duties, and personal
desires. One such play, The Chaste Woman and the Dutiful Son, con-
cerns a married couple who have one son. The husband drank too much and
went with another woman. The wife objected, the husband tells her he no
longer wants her and desires a divorce. The divorce attained, he takes
the other woman as a second wife and moves with her to Nago, where he
lives. Twenty years after, the second wife becomes ill, and dies, and
the husband finds it increasingly difficult to earn a livelihood. The
first wife, in the meantime, anxious to bring up her child well, has
sent him to school. At the age of 20 he has become a school teacher. [875]
The successful young man--becoming a teacher is a great success--marries.
The young couple have a child and everyone is happy.

The father in Nago earns a precarious living selling firewood. One
day he reads of the success of his son in a newspaper. (This provides
the actor with an opportunity for exaggerated astonishment and much
staggering around). More soberly, the father decides to visit the
first wife and their son. Lack of pride and poverty permits him to
do this.

The first wife gives him an angry reception. When he has forced
his way into the house, there is a loud quarrel. The successful young
school teacher returns home, sees the quarrel, and asks his mother the
identity of the man. The mother replies that she does not know him.
The son inquires the reason for such a violent quarrel between his mother
and a stranger. The mother had previously told her son his father had
died. She now says she lied, and in the ensuing revelations, the son
weeps a little. The father implores his son to intervene in obtaining
the forgiveness of his former wife. But she will not forgive--neither
will she forget--and does not want the old man around at all. The son

3

Daily Work Habits

512 The people of a village are continually busy. Their daily work habits depend on the season and the type of work. The work day of the fisherman is the least predictable because his activities are more sensitive to the present and anticipated weather. Most farmers continue working in their fields in a slight rain, but activity ceases with heavy rains. While the farmer works steadily and hard, there is a certain elasticity in his schedule. He does not go to the fields every morning at exactly the same time. Neither does he feel compelled to put in a full day's work every day; he is guided more by the tasks to be done. Work is interrupted by an occasional smoke or conversation with friends or neighbors passing by. There is a routine in daily life, but it is not strictly adhered [264] to. Meal times vary from day to day sometimes by an hour. Time may be taken out from the fields to gather firewood, make bean curd, to dry out bean pods, or to fix up one's house. Three or four days in a row may be devoted to helping with another's house. The sun is [476] the guide to time. Most houses have clocks but few are running and they are not well regulated. Perhaps the chief distinction between [805] agriculture and fishing work is that in the former, the tasks of all blend together.

A farmer's work day in summer begins about 8 or 9 in the morning and ends almost the same time in the evening. Full advantage is taken of the daylight hours. In summer, the evening meal is not eaten until 9 and often later. By the time the meal is finished and the table cleared, it is ten. After short visits within the family, or with neighbors, the farmer retires about 11. In the winter, the routine is the same, but the day's work stops earlier, and the evening meal is at about 6 P.M. The fishermen do not have this unbroken routine. There is often night work and the day may be used for sleeping. Intense activity is followed by periods of greater or less leisure.

4

Clothing

175 The history of costume in Okinawa is full of interest, but it is
292 too broad a subject to deal with here. In the old Okinawan kingdom,
565 clothing and its color, hair pins, caps, and other articles of men's
[286] wear were used to designate rank. The clothing of the commoners had much less variety. Until quite recently, banana fibre was used in farmers' clothing. A dyed indigo kimono, stripes for men and dots
291 for women, is still worn.
[531]
000 Present day clothing is of a non-descript character. The war

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

The native medicine, including the use of plants and fish as medicines, the native doctor, the use of cauterization, the golden needle, slashing, and acupuncture, seem to be disappearing in favor of modern patent medicines and drugs, and scientific medicine, nursing, and midwifery. Of all the traditional practices (ultimately derived from China), slashing and burning with moguse seem to have the greatest vitality. 75 178 [177]

10

Tattooing

Tattooing (ireizumi) in Japanese, dake in Okinawan) is a subject of great historical interest in the Ryukyu chain. In Okinawa, it exists now only among elderly women (in the late sixties and seventies), as it was forbidden by law when the Japanese annexed the islands. Tattooing usually was done on the back of the hands, including the fingers, parts of the wrist, and the knuckles. The design was put on by spreading India ink (often with sake or awamori added) on the surface, pricking out the design and wiping off the surplus, repeating the operation for the lighter parts. To my knowledge, there was no facial tattooing. 304 [636] [386]

Until quite recently tattooing was practiced on men as well. Basil Hall in 1816 wrote of a landing in the south of Okinawa island. "Most of these people had fish spears tatooed on their arms in the form of a trident, with rude barbs." On the right arm it was called (in Hall's transcription) "oodeemaw," and on the left, "tooga." Apparently this was confined to fishermen. Furness in his account of the Luchus (1899) observed such markings among young and mature men in Itoman. The explanation given him was that they were a protection against evil spirits. Furness also discussed the theory that tattooing was historically connected with weaving. Simon, in an interesting speculative discussion, based on the designs of cloth in Miyako and their correspondence with house or family markings thought that the tattooing was a means of identifying women's membership in a family.7 304 114 [531] [789] [602]

This interesting idea unfortunately did not occur to me while in the villages, but the notion that tattooing may have been related 114 304 602

7 Hall's Voyage, as cited, Vocabulary (no pagination). Hall includes sketches of the marks. Furness, Life in the Luchu islands, as cited, 9. See also Simon's extremely interesting discussion, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, as cited, 134-150. Furness and Simon are especially valuable because they personally observed instances of tattooing at a time when it was much more commonly seen. Both authors reproduce patterns which show differences among the islands and among individuals.

(13) As the top is reached, another operation is necessary to cap the peak of the roof. The two layers of grass require, when they meet, something to cap over them. This is done by laying down over the peak a rectangular frame of poles to form the base for the cap. The grass is then heaped up on this bed. It is held down by long rods of dwarf bamboo or miscanthus, forming a rough arch and running lengthwise. These rods with the grass underneath are sewn on to the ridge pole and the surrounding network of poles underneath with heavy twine or rope. Often also sharp sticks are placed cross ways. These are known as kansashi and derive their name from the pin used by Japanese women to fasten up their hair when they wear the traditional headdress. These sticks in fact perform this function; perhaps even better, they can be compared to the long hat pin. A thatched roof so constructed will last a long time, often 5 or 10 years, though it may be changed more often if damaged. Very often if the house has a thatch roof and the sides are made of a weak material, the house, including the roof is bound around with a heavy thick wire, cable or rope to protect it from typhoons. (Fig. 9 for a sketch of the roof). 342 335

The interior of the simple house which we have been describing is finished off in a simple manner with flooring and siding, also of cheap quality.

It may be added, parenthetically, that there are two different methods of laying the tile roof. In the hipped type, the tile slants from the roof to the eaves. The variant is the hipped type with a small gable. Occasionally, on the tile roof, an ornamental lion shaped terra cotta figure is placed for decorative purposes. 342 [532]

Tile is set over a foundation of long rods of small bamboo, dwarf bamboo or mature large size miscanthus. Rice straw is used to tie these rods together and to the frame. Mud, usually found in the yard and often containing considerable clay, is placed over this rod base and the tile is set so that the crests of the two pieces of tile which meet on the bottom are cupped by a tile on top. (Fig. 10).

5

Tools

Carpenters' tools are Japanese imports, although local blacksmiths make tools based on the Japanese design or repair them. The common tools are: 413 [439] [326]

(1) The plane (kanna in Japanese). The plane iron is set in a rectangular block of wood. In working wood, the plane is drawn toward the operator.

(2) A smaller plane

543 these matters. In township exhibits of arts and crafts, there are evidences of these skills, such as the training of a chrysanthemum, a favorite choice, but these are not part of daily life.

532 Yet there is evidence of artistic talent and interest which teachers and parents encourage in the young. Okinawan children draw [353] and copy well. It is not unusual to see an otherwise bare room of a poor farmer's home decorated with the paintings or drawings of a son or daughter. While clearly the work of novices, they often show feeling for line and color. School buildings, houses, and landscapes are the favorite subjects. Drawing skills come as no surprise because of the close relationship, in countries using the Chinese character, 815 of calligraphy and art. Teachers of drawing and art in the schools 212 are skillful in rapid sketching, and part of this skill must be the result of early training in the sequence of strokes and in writing the Chinese character with confidence and boldness.

535 Dancing and samisen playing are learned by imitation and self-533 instruction. Music is learned by ear, the dancing by observing the old and skilled. Parents do not instruct their children in these arts; 868 they pick up the skill themselves. There are no village teachers nor do the schools teach native dances, songs, or samisen playing. (In [562] recent years instruction books have been furnished when a samisen is purchased). Samisen playing is a monopoly of the men, many of whom also have a repertoire of traditional dances. These performers are always in demand on social occasions. Both old and young men dance, but only the old women feel free to do so. Seeing a seventy or eighty year old grandmother dancing at a party is commonplace, but I have never seen a young girl or a young woman in her thirties doing this. (Young girls and young women may participate in formal dances in processions and on holidays). Among the younger people, there is considerable interest, but little facility in American dancing.

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181 One has the impression of latent talent in music, dancing, and drawing but that the cultural conditions have not been favorable to [533] their development. Social events and parties are unthinkable without [535] singing, dancing, and samisen playing. Good drawing and calligraphy [532] are admired. But none of these seem to be highly developed folk arts. [868] Possibly one reason is that the transmission of the skills has been purely imitative, and that a body of knowledge has not accumulated in books, organised teaching, or through apprenticeship and hereditary occupations by which ideas can be improved upon by wider dissemination. [369] The cultural isolation of rural villages may have prevented the building up of a tradition in art and handicraft. Naha and Shuri, the historical cultural centers, have produced the fine examples of lacquer ware, [636] ceramics, and paintings. Possibly also Japanese repression of the native culture has been the main reason. Whatever they are, the lack of advance-

The people of Nagamo are farmers. The seat of their extended families is in Naha and Shuri, and they have their own local deity places (ujigami in Japanese). The people of Minatogawa are fishermen, their extended family seats are in Itoman. They too have their local deities and many of their religious ceremonies are centered around the gods of the sea and the dragon of the sea god's palace. 596 776 778

The population of Minatogawa, as of December 31, 1951, was 1108 (515 males, 593 females) in 213 households, an average of 5.2 persons per household, and of adjoining Nagamo, 564 persons (262 males, 302 females) with 113 households, an average of 5.0 persons per household. 162

The fishing village of Minatogawa is believed to be about 250 years old. It was founded, according to local residents, by the fishermen of Itoman who were accustomed to fish off shore near the islands around the southeastern and southwestern parts of Okinawa. The place was first established as a temporary location for the fishing boats and later permanent settlement took place. The tombs of Itoman are still the ultimate burying ground for large numbers of the Minatogawa fishermen. After 250 years the ties with the parent town are still strong. 361 173 [764]

The village has two traditions involving contacts with other peoples. The first is concerned with the Chinese. One is a spot on the shore where some Chinese are said to have landed over 200 years ago. Many fishermen pray to it on certain occasions of the year. Little is known of what happened to the Chinese, but supposedly they were buried high up the side of a steep mountain nearby, inside a cave with stalactites. Bones said to be of these Chinese may still be seen there. The cave is difficult of access. 173 177 [778]

There is also the tradition of London sailors said to have been shipwrecked at the port of Kiyan on the southwest tip of Okinawa. A child was born of the union of one of these sailors with an Okinawan woman and the sailor later returned to England. The tomb of the woman and the child is revered as a religious site. It is now a small shrine on the outskirts of Itoman called Rondongawa, Rondon for London.[9] Old women of Minatogawa sing a song of this old love called Michinakankai. The theme of the song is the unashamed love of the woman for her departed London lover, an Okinawan anticipation of Madame Butterfly. [778] [533]

In this area the low, bare hills form in a haphazard way a series of valleys, some long and narrow, others like an amphitheatre with an open face to the sea. Low passes connect the valleys. One such pass, about 150 feet high, now on Highway 64, leads from the valley of 133 361

[Text Continues on Top of P. 53--Analyst]

9 The writer visited both the cave and the site near Itoman town in August 1951. The shrine is now situated on a small hill on the outskirts of Itoman. The bones were moved here during the war from Haizato village to escape Japanese bombing. A large cave nearby, associated with the mother and the child, is overgrown and very dangerous to enter because of the danger of snakes.

mother, for example, fed her child rice gruel (okayu) at eight months and at the age of one year the child began eating sweet potatoes. By the time the child is ready to walk and play, he often carries with him a piece of sweet potato, and, in season, a piece of sugar cane. 853 262

A party is held on the first birthday anniversary of the child. This is more elaborate than the one which honored his birth. Birthdays are not celebrated each year. After the first anniversary, the next are on the 13th, 25th, 37th, 49th, and 61st birthdays, that is, at twelve year intervals. 852 527

The party for the first birthday of a child is particularly tender and affectionate. At one year, he can walk or stumble, and answer or smile to the calls of his parents and grandparents. He can pick up things, throw them, and make his presence felt. The exhibition of these skills becomes part of the celebration. It is customary to invite both relatives and friends, who bring a small money present, from Y20 which is usual to Y100 which is uncommon. [856]

During the party, the child is given several symbolic gifts. These are placed on a low table in the middle of the room which the child can easily walk to and reach. Usually the gifts are a book, a fountain pen (or a writing brush, fude), an abacus (soroban), and a stack of paper money. These symbolize the wish that the child will become proficient in learning, writing, counting and mathematics, and will become rich. The child is eagerly watched as he unsteadily toddles to the table to see which article he picks up first. While the act is not taken seriously, the article which the child picks up first is supposed to indicate the field of endeavor in which he will be most fortunate. 527 852 431 [212] [802] [554]

These parties, small or large, include men, women, and children, but the majority of the guests usually are men. After the child has gone to bed, the party continues. In more formal and larger parties, the guests first come up to the father, go on their knees, bow, and make a short speech of congratulation. Sometimes these speeches sound as if they are prepared beforehand, other times as if they are spoken spontaneously. There is an exchange of sake between the father and his guest, both sipping from the same cup, the usual custom. The mother and the female relatives during this time are in the kitchen preparing the food. 852 527 [576] [537]

Women sit by themselves. This is true of all celebrations when the sexes are together. Women do not drink. (In a similar party near Matsuda, the old women--usually over 60--drank a little). The jolly old women also love to dance solos in the traditional style. They dance with grace and vigor. The evening progresses without any planned entertainment. There is talking and drinking, singing, and samisen playing. Men, with a repertoire of Okinawan songs, sing in [562] [535] [887] [533]

852
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[533]
[562]
[534]

a harsh, often rasping voice. Only men play the Okinawan samisen, a stringed instrument slightly different from its Japanese counterpart. Men also join in the dancing.

In a village parties on the fifth or sixth day after the birth of a child and on his first birthday happen frequently. They are an important part of social life. A relative or a friend is always celebrating one or the other occasion, either in the village or in a neighboring one. These celebrations increase, especially for the men, the number of social occasions and recreational opportunities during the year in a culture where holidays and rest days are comparatively few. (There are no weekly rest days or week ends).

After the first birthday, little attention is paid to the succeeding ones until the thirteenth. The child's experience from the
861 time he begins to walk until he reaches school comes from family life and neighborhood play. In my observation, there is no rigid, customary way of bringing up the child. It is toilet trained around
863 one year of age. This does not seem to be forced. Training comes through imitation. Parents do not punish the child for indiscretions, though they are quick to lift him off the mat if he begins wetting. With young boys, the father may make a hissing sound while the child's penis is out. One has the impression that it is a gradual transition, mostly effected by imitation or gentle suasion.

304 Male children are not circumcised. Circumcision is known only to those who have learned of it through books, foreign residence, or from others who have this information.[9]

867 In early training, boys are not taught that they are superior to girls. But when she reaches school age, the girl is likely to be kept
562 busier around the house. Before the war, there may have been a greater subordination of girls to boys. But any conscious training of girls to subordinate themselves to boys is unnecessary. The child grows up in a culture in which the father is waited on, the sons favored in inheritance, and in which the men have a richer social life.

855 Parents are kind to their children. They seldom spank a child,
593 though an exasperated parent may give the child a sharp slap. There is little nagging or shouting at children in anger. In my opinion,

9 Two young men, school teachers about 23 years old, expressed great astonishment when asked about circumcision. They did not know it existed.

date of their birth (using the Japanese reign date), where they had gone to school and their present occupations. This was done separately for each. After this was over, the bride and groom stood silently and politely, but without outward expression, while three guests in turn, previously chosen, made speeches, offering their congratulations and best wishes. On this particular occasion, the principal of the school at which the bride was teaching, the principal of the school at which the groom was a teacher, and a mutual friend of the couple spoke. 585 576 [537]

These proceedings do not receive the undivided attention of the guests who have been drinking sake for some time. On the tops of the tables, dancing in the traditional Okinawan manner and the accompanying singing have begun. The dances and songs, usually performed by men in their forties and fifties, were done with grace. These are part of all social gatherings of any consequence. 585 [273] 535 533 [562]

The sober attitudes of the work day are cast aside. The best clothes have been put on. There is a great contrast between the barefooted partially clothed farmer or fisherman of the daytime and his appearance at social occasions. These events are conducted with dignity and poise, at least until the sake consumption has risen to a high point. The party then becomes a noisy melee of dancing, singing, and talking, but without quarrelling or fighting. There is little self-consciousness in entertaining others. Talented guests do not have to be cajoled into performing. Dancing, singing, and samisen playing continue spontaneously, with another performer beginning after one has finished. The wedding party lasts from about 5 to 8, but many of the guests stay much later until the sake is gone. [292] [534]

Following the san-san-kudo, another but more private ceremony took place while the guests were entertaining themselves. In the wedding room, colored cakes and tea were placed on a small table. The female relatives of the bride and groom, mothers and sisters mostly, sat opposite one another and ate cakes and drank the tea together. This ceremony indicated the willingness of the bride's family to give up the daughter, and of the groom's family to receive her. After this ceremony, the bride's gifts from her parents were carried in. These vary with the family's wealth. In this case, they were a chest of drawers, a mirror, a heavy comforter, pillows, and a mosquito net. Before the war, gifts were more lavish than now. The usual presents now are a large chest of drawers (tansu), two heavy quilts or comforters (futon), a mirror (kagami), two Japanese type pillows (makura), and a large mosquito net (kaya). A poor family would be most likely to omit the chest of drawers. A new kimono and money may be included. [262] 583

A Y20 note is the usual gift of an ordinary guest at a wedding. Closer friends will give about Y100. There is no uniform practice about gifts from the groom's to the bride's family. About Y1000 may be presented prior to marriage. The bride's family uses the money to purchase the wedding gifts. 431

The day following the marriage, there is another ceremony, this 000

543 these matters. In township exhibits of arts and crafts, there are evidences of these skills, such as the training of a chrysanthemum, a favorite choice, but these are not part of daily life.

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1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

who upset the tea cups and the sake flasks. 000

A public parade and celebration was held in Itoman in 1951, and a short digression to describe it may be worth while. The main attraction was a parade, which halted frequently so that participating groups could perform dances, acts, or skits. In these there were several themes: (1) dances by female groups of all ages from beginning school girls to old women in their seventies. Many women wore artificial turtles on their hats, the younger children having paper outlines of turtles. The young girls were led by an older man who kept time either by playing the samisen or by clapping his hands. The very young girls beat small tin cans with sticks. The dances of the older girls and women were of two kinds: one symbolized the crane and the turtle (tsurukame). The turtle is a symbol of longevity. The second is the pine-bamboo-plum tree triad (shochikubai) symbolizing long life and beauty. (2) Female impersonators imitated both the traditional Japanese woman with her costume and hair arrangement, and the modern woman with a chignon wearing a bright kimono, sun glasses, and smoking a cigarette. Their antics depended for their humor on the gracelessness of the men: they included mock flirtations and rejections, kicking of the heels, slapping with a fan, and other clowning. (3) Various balancing acts with long poles done by boys and young men. (4) Skits of individuals dressed as savages from the south seas. (5) Humorous acts showing the people of the northern district who were portrayed as jolly country bumpkins. Their caps, with tassels, looked like a cocoanut shell. The long false hair and beards were made of palm fibre. They carried ludicrous looking saws and axes while dragging a log. 527 541 [535] [533] [825] [824] [536]

One feature of the Itoman celebration was the well-known rope pulling contest (tsunahiki). The giant rope, made of rice straw, is at least 100 yards long, and about two feet in diameter. Each end has a loop. These loops, joined by a heavy piece of wood, are above the center line. The men of the town divide into two groups. The tug of war began about 5 in the afternoon and was soon over, but one has been known to last until one or two o'clock in the morning. It is found in all villages, but there is no set date for it. The tug of war is an old diversion in Okinawa.[5] 527 526

In former years, Minatogawa people participated in the Itoman festival. In 1951, they held their own evening celebration. This is a time of great beauty, with the light of the full moon illuminating the Pacific, the coral coast, and the mountains. The evening entertainment consists of some acts, similar to vaudeville, and a longer play. Crowds came from the surrounding villages, bringing their own mats and their own sake. Most of the officials of the township attended. 527 [628]

5 Goldschmidt, Neu-Japan, has reproduced an interesting painting showing a tug of war in Naha around the end of the 18th century. It shows an audience of court officials, the Chinese ambassador, as well as the various participants. Facing p. 179. [114]

793 lives like other villagers, spending most of her time in the fields and around her home. She has children and grandchildren, but the father of her children no longer lives in Taira. She regards the continuation of the old ceremonies as her holy duty even though she has to do without most of the accustomed material support from the village and [358] in spite of disbelief and lack of participation. She has sought in vain [346] to have the village make necessary repairs on the simple village shrine near the township office and on the little hut where the ancestral tablets of her predecessors are kept.

793 While many of the former ceremonies have been discontinued, the 782 priestess is still called on to officiate at house-building ceremonies, to [342] purify the lot, to offer prayers when the beams are raised, and to con- [776] duct the dedication when the house is finished. If the owner is mov- [778] ing out of an old house, the priestess notifies the fire deity so that he will follow to the new abode. On other occasions the priestess conducts prayers at the village shrine or at one of the other sacred places near the village. Many of the prayers are succorant—requesting the aid and blessing of the gods in accomplishing a certain goal. In general, as Lebra has pointed out (1958), ceremonies of asking for help are more numerous and elaborate than thanksgiving ones.

[312] On New Year's morning the priestess prays at the water well. Since [178] so many ceremonies have been abbreviated and are no longer carried out in traditional detail, the priestess apologizes for short cuts in her prayers. If she fails to offer prayers in all prescribed spots, she pacifies [794] the deities by facing in the direction of the sacred place where the [787] ceremony should have been conducted. Although the priestess is clearly best qualified to enter into communication with the deities, many older women seem to possess such power also, and if the priestess' assistants are not present, another older woman can function as her helper.

782 For these ceremonies food for offerings is contributed by the village. 788 The priestess, in a white gown, kneels, flanked by her assistants, also in white, in front of a tray of sake, rice, or other food for the deities. [262] Charcoal incense sticks are burned while brief prayers asking the deities for a successful crop, thanking them for a harvest, or whatever [533] is appropriate to the occasion are mumbled. On certain occasions the women sing chants. After these ceremonies, the priestess, her assistants and the few others present, usually old women, share the food offerings.

796 One of the most dramatic ceremonies is held on Boat Race Day in 793 lunar June. Priestesses from several villages gather near Taira. During the ceremony the Taira priestess stands in the middle of a circle formed by the other priestesses and helpers, beating a drum as the

871 call that in their quest for education, adolescents and even adults at-
177 tended the elementary grades. The introduction of a formal school system in the village marked the beginning of changes in the culture; the Japanese language was introduced, and teachers transmitted Japanese culture as part of the curriculum (Kerr, 1958). It is found today
[191] that people too old to have attended school—which in the early years was not compulsory—are the only ones who do not speak Japanese and who are illiterate. Their number is small, probably less than 3%
872 of Taira's population.

346 The school was moved about 40 years ago to nearby Kawata village,
[871] where a substantial schoolhouse was built. Today the elementary school is located there, about a one-mile walk from central Taira, but 3 miles from the outlying subvillage of Izena. The junior high school lies halfway between Taira and Kawata. During the war all school buildings were destroyed, but two new permanent structures for the elementary school were finished in 1954; one of these is a wooden building with a tile roof, the other an all-concrete, flat-roof structure of simple, modern design. Four classrooms and a teacher's room are located in these buildings. The remaining temporary, thatched-roof huts with three more classrooms will disappear as soon as the school rebuilding program is completed.

Built against a hill, the school has spacious grounds in front for sports and play. Classrooms for 30 to 35 students are fairly adequate in size and, in the new buildings, are well lighted by glass windows on sunny days but dark when skies are overcast because of the overhanging roof, which protects the hallway outside the classrooms from frequent showers, and the lack of artificial lighting. A building immediately be-
[514] hind the classrooms houses latrines, separated for boys and girls, although both pass through the same passageway where boys use the urinals. Equipment is extremely poor and a great problem for principal and teachers. Simple, rickety desks and chairs of unfinished wood are bought or made by parents for their children. They are standard in design but differ in height according to the size of the child. Many first graders' furniture is made with future growth in mind, while some older students have outgrown their desks and chairs. An older sibling may pass on his table to a younger one if it is still serviceable after several years of nonchalant treatment.

876 Teaching aids are few. A small organ is available for music lessons
[533] and is carried by several boys on the shoulders to the classroom where it is needed. Sometimes a teacher accompanies a singing class on a mouth organ. Visual aid material, maps, pictures, and charts are displayed in school rooms along with students' physical measurement tables and

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

preciative statement or an introduction. It is polite to make the rounds in this fashion, to sit before another guest, fill his cup and utter some polite phrases, then wait for a return compliment. 527 574

By the time men—and a little later women—have been served food and drink in some quantity, there is no more stiffness in the room, for with every cup of sake animation and voice volume increase. Speeches that have not yet come to a conclusion show definite signs of inspiration; each speaker who sits down is trumped in eloquence by his successor. Long after serious oratory has been dispensed with, a happy celebrant may get up and sonorously hold forth. During fieldwork the authors were frequently the aim of such addresses. In one of them a farmer, quiet and serious during everyday routine but known for his merriment and wit when in his cups, held forth on a future visit to Taira by these Americans. "There will be skyscrapers," he said in a booming voice, "subways, wide lanes and bright lights," and on he went to the delight of everybody. 273 [537] [123]

On such occasions Tairans display their skill in playing with words and their ability to act and mimic. The assistant to the headman, similarly quiet on ordinary days, several months after our arrival came into a room where the authors were present during one of the many post-New Year celebrations. At an advanced stage of merriment himself, he turned to his host and by way of introduction said that he had just come from Hong Kong. "Oh, from Hong Kong," the host said, "that is why you cough so, kong, kong, kong," adding that he himself came from New York (pronounced in Japanese similar to *nyūyoku*, meaning "a bath"), whereupon the arriving guest went into the motions of someone taking a bath, saying "ah from *nyūyoku*," and so the fun went on, mostly as a take-off on the American guests who were present. This reminded the clerk of another story at the expense of the authors, which he told with gusto. "That first day he came to Taira, Maretzki came up to me when I was carrying pebbles from the beach and asked if he could help since he was going to haul pebbles too. Then he started to introduce himself, and I only understood 'Umaretsuki' (similar to Japanese for 'temperament') . . . I waited and waited for a story, but nothing followed. I did not know what to say." He had never repeated this story during many sober encounters. 527 574 522 123

At another event, when several teachers were present, one of the men, after much gaiety, turned to a female teacher whose husband had left for the city to find a job and called over: "Hey, your mosquito netting must be wide now, huh?" The woman blushed, covered her mouth with a handkerchief and laughed. 522

The evening is never old before one man, or several who are known 574 533 534

574 for their special skills on the samisen (a three-stringed banjolike in-
533 strument covered with snake hide), open the singing and dancing with
[534] the first, traditional song, *Kagiyadefu*, a solemn and slow piece which
574 is rendered in the forced, nasal voice peculiar to Okinawan song. Im-
535 mediately after this, the tempo changes, the music takes a fast, stirring beat, and the first dancer, a man, gets up. Dances at social events can be performed by a single man or a woman, or by several dancers of either sex, but traditional group dances are done by women only. Taira people like to dance some of the many Okinawan dances in which a story, sung by the vocalists, is acted out. For example, a popular dance deals with a fisherman and his catch. A hat, hastily put on, and a basket under the arm suggest the role of the dancer, his body and hand movements the actions. No one is much concerned with accurate or highly artistic rendition of these familiar dances; many performances become simply improvisations in which one male dancer is joined by other men or women who, dancing freely, add their own versions to established movements. There is much applause and laughter from the audience around the dance floor, which sings and animatedly claps hands in rhythm to the music. As all, men and older women, imbibe more sake, they become gayer, and more talents are unleashed. Amusing presenta-
[831] tions of a husband and wife, in which sometimes aggression and sexual interaction are acted out playfully, are received with great hilarity by the audience. If such a suggestive performance is given by an old woman and a young man, it seems to appear even funnier. As they get tired, dancers leave the floor, making room for others.

[562] Not everybody participates with equal lack of restraint. Younger
[273] women do not drink sake and show much more inhibition; they dance established versions of Okinawan dances in group performances if called on, usually before the merrymakers take over. Often a mother, young child in arm, cannot resist. Passing the infant to a relative or a girl sitting nearby, she joins other dancers and becomes carried away by the spirit of the event. On one occasion a young woman, seeing her aged mother display her talents on the dance floor in comical movements to the delight of everybody, angrily demanded that she come home right away, only to be rejoined with a taunting remark by the old lady, who defiantly swallowed some more sake and continued her entertainment.

527 Not a single event that we attended was marred by any serious un-
273 pleasantness. No guest was ever seen to become sick, although some
578 men drank themselves into a stupor. Here and there a paper screen may
574 be broken as a result of a tumbling body, or a hard bang against a thin panel may set the house shaking. But the end of such a feast

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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Today the *yukajiru* ceremony held on the fourth day ends the seclusion. 846
A group of close relatives gather to ask for the good health of the 769
child and to make food offerings to the ancestors.

On the fourth or fifth day a name is selected for the newborn. In 852
the old days rice oracles presided over by an old woman were con- 553
sulted to ensure that the name consist of the proper combination of 787
Japanese writing characters, an essential for the well-being of the child's 156
personality. Today family elders and the local teacher are consulted.
In the pre-Japanese periods, temporary names were used until a per- [875]
-manent name was given. This practice was intended to fool the spirits [784]
during the early years when the child was thought to be particularly
susceptible to spirits.*

On the sixth day after birth the mother is allowed to take her first 846
postdelivery bath; the room which she has occupied with her baby is 852
cleaned and aired, and preparations begin for the *mansang* celebra-
tions. For this event the mother's parents try to be present, especially [613]
if it is a first child. Friends and relatives in the village attend. A [782]
female elder of the patrilineal kin group or the priestess prays behind [769]
a tray of rice, rice wine, and incense so that the child will sleep peace-
fully and not cry at night. Thanksgiving prayers are offered to the
ancestors and the nature deities for the health of both mother and
child.

When the prayers are completed, a man sings the *mansang* song to 852
the accompaniment of a samisen. The father of the baby then rises to
dance briefly, sits down, and writes with brush and ink on a white 533
sheet of paper the name and birth date of his child. The paper is then 574
hung on the wall near the alcove. Meanwhile the special song is being
concluded:

> Coming from the darkness to light,
> This baby was received as a treasure
> And the mother is being celebrated.

Food is then served, and the guests discuss the name and admire the
newborn. Like all parties, the celebration ends with song, dance, and
wine drinking.

The *mansang* celebrations mark the end of the most critical period 852
for the infant. From now on he may be taken outdoors. At the month's 846
end, his parents may take him to see his maternal grandparents in their
village, to offer food at the ancestral shrine of the mother. This is [769]
called the first walk. Sons who have left the paternal village for the [782]
city return with their infant to observe this day.

* Hanging an irregularly left-woven rope in the delivery room to keep out evil spirits which might harm the newborn, is no longer done in Taira.

guilty parties there is slightly more emphasis in the censure of the female child, whether she is really more responsible for the disturbance or not. There is a tone in her voice which implies that "females do not fight; boys, well, boys can't be helped." The children are quick to sense this, particularly the guilty boys, who strut about brashly when the teacher turns her back to start serving the milk. 872 876 858

When all the milk has been served and drunk, the teacher starts the farewell song for the day. Again the song is fairly shouted out, but for a brief moment serenity reigns when the teacher bows her head slightly to say, "Students, good-bye, until tomorrow," to which the students respond, "Teacher, good-bye until tomorrow." 872 533

In spite of the competitive content of the games and lessons which the teacher presents to the kindergarten, the observer finds few expressions of achievement motivation and competitive spirit. There is little to indicate that children at this age are interested in winning or excelling. Perhaps the remarks of a 4-year-old boy who reported to his mother on the activities of kindergarten are adequate to summarize the attitude of most kindergarten children. "Mother," he said, "Saburo is first in the races, Tetsuo is second and I am third, always third." To which the mother replied, "If you would try a little harder tomorrow, you may be first." The child looked at the mother questioningly, and the next day he reported that while he thought he tried harder he was again third. The mother again encouraged him, but with a broad smile the child said, "But mother (and the mother explains the expression on the child's face as one of 'You don't understand') I am third! Saburo is first, Tetsuo is second . . . and I am third!" The mother went on to explain to the fieldworker that the whole idea was hilariously funny to the child and the fact that the mother would take the subject so seriously was even funnier. 866 872 876

Furthermore, once the winners are determined, the game is concluded *in toto* as far as the teacher and the children are concerned. There are no congratulatory remarks beyond the clapping of the appreciative audience. No references are made to yesterday's winners or today's possible winners. During performances the teacher may encourage a child here with a positive comment, censure an unruly child there with the stick, but the whole atmosphere of child-teacher interactions is affectionate, indulgent, and relaxed. When a child is being reprimanded, the teacher takes no great pains to conceal her appreciation of the humor involved in the situation, and her affection for the "senselessness" of children at this age is expressed while she is making a token effort. [201] [858]

There are no toys to play with in kindergarten, no way in which to 872
[i.e. the Kindergarten teacher - ANALYST] 876

191 (mentioned previously), song, and the indigenous religion. Okinawan song and
178 music undoubtedly exceed both Japanese and Western in popularity; in fact, no
191 other facet of Okinawan culture has so successfully withstood the changes of
178 the past seventy-five years. Songs such as the Kagiyadefu (which some Okina-
533 wans liken to a national anthem), Nubui Kuduchi, Hamachidori, Tanchame are known and loved by all. Some of the phonograph record stores in Naha carry as many as several hundred different recordings of Okinawan songs, and vir-
191 tually all of these are recorded in Okinawan. All priestesses of the indigen-
178 ous religion interviewed by the author stated that Okinawan was the language
796 of prayer and ceremony; to some this was a burden, as in the case of one priestess who had spent most of her life in Japan. A few admitted that the language of the ceremonies and particularly that of the old songs or umui (somestime rendered omoro) was rather obscure and not fully understood; these are transmitted orally from the older priestess to her successor and undoubtedly
191 contain many archaic words. Outside the formal religious structure yet inex-
178 tricably linked to it are shamans (yuta) and fortune tellers ('ekisha'). The
756 former, most often a woman, uses Okinawan almost exclusively in rites concerned
791 with divining, exorcism, and curing. The latter, nearly always a male, is usually a fairly well-educated person, as the profession is based on interpretations of certain books used in conjunction with the ancient Chinese Book of Changes (I Ching), and either Japanese or Okinawan, depending on the customer, may be used in giving the reading. Both practitioners are extremely popular, but the fortune teller is usually found in the cities and towns whereas the shaman may be found in Naha or the smallest hamlet.

175 Japanese With the abdication of Shō Tai in 1879 the Japanese government ini-
191 tiated a program designed for integrating Okinawa into the national
177 state as rapidly as possible. An effort was made to stamp out all vestiges of
[648] Okinawan culture, utilizing techniques ranging from education and indoctrination to repressive laws and police measures. Greatest emphasis was given to making Japanese speakers out of Okinawans. Leavenworth quotes Governor Narahara as stating that the creation of Japanese speakers was of more value than
175 all the repressive laws prohibiting certain customs.[1] At the start the Japanese
191 were hindered by a lack of schools and teachers, and so the program moved ahead
177 slowly. An effective national school system covering the rural areas where the
871 bulk of the population was located and taking in both sexes was not fully operative until about the time of World War I. The failure of Japanese to displace Okinawan can be attributed largely to a lack of time and a lack of facilities for education beyond the elementary level. By the time of World War II but two generations were schooled in Japanese, and the majority of these had received no more than six years of education.

191 Though Japanese failed to displace Okinawan, it did succeed in becom-
177 ing a necessity in the lives of most people and in establishing itself as the
554 prestige language. With the government, press, schools, cinema, radio, and high-level commerce utilizing Japanese exclusively, participation in modern life without a knowledge of Japanese became impossible. The incentives towards competence in Japanese were many, whereas there appeared to be little gained

[1] Leavenworth, 1905, p. 37.

households. Noodles are another item of regular purchase. Starch and bean 178
paste are typical items which formerly were always made in the home but now 262
may be purchased instead.

In sum Okinawan diet has improved in quantity and variety. Food tastes are more catholic today; certain foreign foods are greatly appreciated. There is a greater reliance on manufactured and processed foods, and greater cash expenditures are made for food.

Entertainment and Leisure There has been a marked decline in village 527
celebrations and festivals in which all residents participate. Formerly 786
O Bon, New Year's, and harvesting time were occasions for village-wide cele- 178
brations; today these are gone from most communities; celebrations are res- 621
tricted to the family and friends. Most of the village celebrations were basically religious in nature and with the decline of the old religion these celebrations have been dropped.

Parties to mark an individual's change of status were formerly held 527
on the 13th, 25th, 37th, 48th, 61st, 73rd, 85th, 88th and 97th birthdays, but 178
today only those for the old people are observed. Frequently a party is held to mark an individual's success in the competitive examination to enter high school, but aside from that, rites of passage for the young and middle-aged are no longer observed.

The Japanese introduced one form of entertainment which has achieved 526
immense popularity; this is a sporting event sponsored by the school. These 177
are usually held on Sunday during the fall of the year, and usually the whole school participates. There is intra-school competition and later inter-school; intense interest is generated and often this becomes an important topic for conversation among the young men.

Local units of the national organizations such as the youths' associa- 575
tion and the women's association frequently hold parties for their members. In fact these organizations are mainly of a social nature.

As noted above, prior to the war there were five motion picture 546
theaters on Okinawa; today there are fifty-seven. American and European films 177
constitute from one quarter to one third of the total shown. Though most of these theaters are located in the cities and towns, the young people of the nearby farming villages make frequent use of them. The popularity of the American "Western" among the young people has caused some to attribute juvenile delinquency to this, although the relatively more bloody Japanese sword-fighting pictures ('chambara') are considered harmless.

The popularity of Okinawan dancing and music seems undiminished. 533
Radio broadcasts of Okinawan music are much enjoyed; and virtually every party 535
provides the opportunity for music and dancing in which most of the guests 177
participate. A few of the better-educated young people profess an appreciation of Western classical music and jazz, but most of them prefer Japanese and American love ballads though they still remain very fond of the Okinawan music.

824 The most common of the Hanashiro trees are (1) the banyan or gajimaru, or yōsu. This tree is a common sight with its long roots growing around and through the stone fences. The tree with [731] its roots bracing the stone fences is excellent typhoon protection for the village. (2) The usuku (Japanese scientific name, the akou) resembles the gajimaru in appearance and serves the same purpose. The fukugi (Darcinia spicata Hook) and an occasional cycad are common windbreaks. These trees are almost invariably in combina- [417] tion with stone fences, made of blocks, or with fences made of loose stones which have settled and been bound together by small plant roots. Village typhoon protection is a simple but effective combination of stone, shrubs, and trees. There is also an occasional kuroki [534] (kurchi in Okinawan), from whose trunk the samisen, the stringed musical instrument, is made, and the palm (shuro).

There are wild plants in each of the areas but their importance has also declined. Among these is the pandanus (the adan, Japanese scientific name, the takonoki). This plant was plentiful before the war, but is now scarce except in the mountain area. It can occasionally be seen in genya land or in small clumps on an outcrop. The blades of the pandanus are long and hard, with a row of spines down both sides of the blade. It has had several uses. Formerly it was the common material for making slippers (zori), hats, cigarette cases, and hand- [463] bags. These home industries have all but disappeared, but old people [887] occasionally do a little. In preparing the pandanus blades for use, the thorns are removed and several strips are made. These are then boiled, dried, and smoothed out. Then they are woven into the desired pattern. A first class pandanus blade is about 5 feet long. In the [782] celebration of O-Bon, the fruit of the pandanus may be offered as food to the ancestors.

Another plant occasionally used is the getto, known also in Okinawa as sannin or muchigasa. Its chief use is in the festival of the 8th day of the 12th lunar month. At this time, rice cakes (mochi) are wrapped up in its long and wide and flexible fibres. These wrappings, often made by children, are hung from the ceiling or from the wall. The stem of this plant was much used in the past for rope.

824 The nigana (njana in Okinawan, Ixeris dentata Nakai) is still 262 used in this area as a food and medicine. It has an exceedingly bitter 957 root, about 1/8 of an inch in diameter in a mature plant. The root is put in hot water, and the liquid drunk as a stomach medicine. The leaves, not so bitter as the root, have a sour, slightly bitter taste. They are often served with the white cuttlefish (shiroi-ikka).

The ōbako (known in Okinawan as the hirawakusa or hirawagusa, Plantago Asiatica L, "Japanese ribwort") is used as a medicine and as a food. When vegetables are scarce, it is eaten as a green. As a medicine, the leaf is heated over a fire and the hot leaf is then pressed over a swelling.

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a harsh, often rasping voice. Only men play the Okinawan samisen, a stringed instrument slightly different from its Japanese counterpart. Men also join in the dancing.

In a village parties on the fifth or sixth day after the birth of a child and on his first birthday happen frequently. They are an important part of social life. A relative or a friend is always celebrating one or the other occasion, either in the village or in a neighboring one. These celebrations increase, especially for the men, the number of social occasions and recreational opportunities during the year in a culture where holidays and rest days are comparatively few. (There are no weekly rest days or week ends).

After the first birthday, little attention is paid to the succeeding ones until the thirteenth. The child's experience from the
861 time he begins to walk until he reaches school comes from family life and neighborhood play. In my observation, there is no rigid, customary way of bringing up the child. It is toilet trained around one year of age. This does not seem to be forced. Training comes
863 through imitation. Parents do not punish the child for indiscretions, though they are quick to lift him off the mat if he begins wetting. With young boys, the father may make a hissing sound while the child's penis is out. One has the impression that it is a gradual transition, mostly effected by imitation or gentle suasion.

304 Male children are not circumcised. Circumcision is known only to those who have learned of it through books, foreign residence, or from others who have this information.[9]

867 In early training, boys are not taught that they are superior to girls. But when she reaches school age, the girl is likely to be kept
562 busier around the house. Before the war, there may have been a greater subordination of girls to boys. But any conscious training of girls to subordinate themselves to boys is unnecessary. The child grows up in a culture in which the father is waited on, the sons favored in inheritance, and in which the men have a richer social life.

855 Parents are kind to their children. They seldom spank a child,
593 though an exasperated parent may give the child a sharp slap. There is little nagging or shouting at children in anger. In my opinion,

9 Two young men, school teachers about 23 years old, expressed great astonishment when asked about circumcision. They did not know it existed.

date of their birth (using the Japanese reign date), where they had gone to school and their present occupations. This was done separately for each. After this was over, the bride and groom stood silently and politely, but without outward expression, while three guests in turn, previously chosen, made speeches, offering their congratulations and best wishes. On this particular occasion, the principal of the school at which the bride was teaching, the principal of the school at which the groom was a teacher, and a mutual friend of the couple spoke. 585 576 [537]

These proceedings do not receive the undivided attention of the guests who have been drinking sake for some time. On the tops of the tables, dancing in the traditional Okinawan manner and the accompanying singing have begun. The dances and songs, usually performed by men in their forties and fifties, were done with grace. These are part of all social gatherings of any consequence. 585 [273] [535] [533] [562]

The sober attitudes of the work day are cast aside. The best clothes have been put on. There is a great contrast between the barefooted partially clothed farmer or fisherman of the daytime and his appearance at social occasions. These events are conducted with dignity and poise, at least until the sake consumption has risen to a high point. The party then becomes a noisy melee of dancing, singing, and talking, but without quarrelling or fighting. There is little self-consciousness in entertaining others. Talented guests do not have to be cajoled into performing. Dancing, singing, and samisen playing continue spontaneously, with another performer beginning after one has finished. The wedding party lasts from about 5 to 8, but many of the guests stay much later until the sake is gone. [297] [534]

Following the san-san-kudo, another but more private ceremony took place while the guests were entertaining themselves. In the wedding room, colored cakes and tea were placed on a small table. The female relatives of the bride and groom, mothers and sisters mostly, sat opposite one another and ate cakes and drank the tea together. This ceremony indicated the willingness of the bride's family to give up the daughter, and of the groom's family to receive her. After this ceremony, the bride's gifts from her parents were carried in. These vary with the family's wealth. In this case, they were a chest of drawers, a mirror, a heavy comforter, pillows, and a mosquito net. Before the war, gifts were more lavish than now. The usual presents now are a large chest of drawers (tansu), two heavy quilts or comforters (futon), a mirror (kagami), two Japanese type pillows (makura), and a large mosquito net (kaya). A poor family would be most likely to omit the chest of drawers. A new kimono and money may be included. [262] 583

A Y20 note is the usual gift of an ordinary guest at a wedding. Closer friends will give about Y100. There is no uniform practice about gifts from the groom's to the bride's family. About Y1000 may be presented prior to marriage. The bride's family uses the money to purchase the wedding gifts. 431

The day following the marriage, there is another ceremony, this 000

871 and the more advanced the school, the truer this is. Friendships are made early with children of nearby villages. Marriage may be
512 the result of early school acquaintance, encouraged by the acceptance of free choice in marriage. A young adult has a scattering of friendships in the villages of his township. These class friendships are strong in school, in the teens, and early twenties. By the late twenties, the circle of friendships has broadened.

182 One of the most significant links between the family, village,
526 and school is the annual athletic meet (undōkai). It is held in the fall. Preparations for this event are long and involve almost everybody.5

526 About a month before it is held, the meet is the topic of innumerable conversations. School children practice singing and
[875] athletic dancing drills at home. School teachers, who do most of the organizational work, practice with painful cacophony on their trumpets and
[534] clarinets. On the streets and lanes of Minatogawa, young men from 17 to 23 practice broad jumping late into the night. Shortly before the meet, all normal school activities stop. The teachers paint signs, mimeograph programs, and plan the order of the various events. The school officials have interminable committee meetings.

There is much bustle, laundering, hair washing, and cooking in a village the day before the meet. Special lunches including rice dyed
[262] red, bean curd, slices of fish paste, beef or pork are prepared. This field day is the closest approach to a picnic the Okinawans experience.

In good weather, the meet has a large attendance. A reserved area, with school desks and chairs is set aside for special guests. A person entering the reserved section to take his seat bows to the mayor and the
[576] group, steps forward a few paces, bows again, and takes his seat.

The mayor of the township presides over the meeting relieved by the vice-mayor or other school or village or township officials. On one day of the autumn meet, the mayor remained seated throughout the morning and afternoon in a drizzling rain. It was his duty, assisted by the principal and the teachers of the school, to give out the prizes.

Relay races, girls' dances, races and dashes for various age groups are endless. At present, the meeting is not confined to school children, but the younger men and women are included as well. The Young Men's Association is very active. Special events are included. In the Women's Association event, there was a mother and child race. In one case, a mother who entered the race with a child on her back and her young son as

[119] 5 These remarks are based on observations in Minatogawa, Oushichan, and Hanashiro villages, and on attendance at the Oushichan meet in November 1951. From discussions, I am certain they are very similar in Matsuda, in fact all over the island.

preciative statement or an introduction. It is polite to make the rounds in this fashion, to sit before another guest, fill his cup and utter some polite phrases, then wait for a return compliment. 527 574

By the time men—and a little later women—have been served food and drink in some quantity, there is no more stiffness in the room, for with every cup of sake animation and voice volume increase. Speeches that have not yet come to a conclusion show definite signs of inspiration; each speaker who sits down is trumped in eloquence by his successor. Long after serious oratory has been dispensed with, a happy celebrant may get up and sonorously hold forth. During fieldwork the authors were frequently the aim of such addresses. In one of them a farmer, quiet and serious during everyday routine but known for his merriment and wit when in his cups, held forth on a future visit to Taira by these Americans. "There will be skyscrapers," he said in a booming voice, "subways, wide lanes and bright lights," and on he went to the delight of everybody. 273 [537] [123]

On such occasions Tairans display their skill in playing with words and their ability to act and mimic. The assistant to the headman, similarly quiet on ordinary days, several months after our arrival came into a room where the authors were present during one of the many post-New Year celebrations. At an advanced stage of merriment himself, he turned to his host and by way of introduction said that he had just come from Hong Kong. "Oh, from Hong Kong," the host said, "that is why you cough so, kong, kong, kong," adding that he himself came from New York (pronounced in Japanese similar to *nyūyoku*, meaning "a bath"), whereupon the arriving guest went into the motions of someone taking a bath, saying "ah from *nyūyoku*," and so the fun went on, mostly as a take-off on the American guests who were present. This reminded the clerk of another story at the expense of the authors, which he told with gusto. "That first day he came to Taira, Maretzki came up to me when I was carrying pebbles from the beach and asked if he could help since he was going to haul pebbles too. Then he started to introduce himself, and I only understood 'Umaretsuki' (similar to Japanese for 'temperament') . . . I waited and waited for a story, but nothing followed. I did not know what to say." He had never repeated this story during many sober encounters. 527 574 522 123

At another event, when several teachers were present, one of the men, after much gaiety, turned to a female teacher whose husband had left for the city to find a job and called over: "Hey, your mosquito netting must be wide now, huh?" The woman blushed, covered her mouth with a handkerchief and laughed. 522

The evening is never old before one man, or several who are known 574 533 534

574 for their special skills on the samisen (a three-stringed banjolike in-
533 strument covered with snake hide), open the singing and dancing with
the first, traditional song, *Kagiyadefu*, a solemn and slow piece which
[534] is rendered in the forced, nasal voice peculiar to Okinawan song. Im-
574 mediately after this, the tempo changes, the music takes a fast, stirring
535 beat, and the first dancer, a man, gets up. Dances at social events can
be performed by a single man or a woman, or by several dancers of
either sex, but traditional group dances are done by women only. Taira
people like to dance some of the many Okinawan dances in which a
story, sung by the vocalists, is acted out. For example, a popular dance
deals with a fisherman and his catch. A hat, hastily put on, and a basket
under the arm suggest the role of the dancer, his body and hand move-
ments the actions. No one is much concerned with accurate or highly
artistic rendition of these familiar dances; many performances become
simply improvisations in which one male dancer is joined by other men
or women who, dancing freely, add their own versions to established
movements. There is much applause and laughter from the audience
around the dance floor, which sings and animatedly claps hands in
rhythm to the music. As all, men and older women, imbibe more sake,
they become gayer, and more talents are unleashed. Amusing presenta-
[831] tions of a husband and wife, in which sometimes aggression and sexual
interaction are acted out playfully, are received with great hilarity by
the audience. If such a suggestive performance is given by an old
woman and a young man, it seems to appear even funnier. As they get
tired, dancers leave the floor, making room for others.

[562] Not everybody participates with equal lack of restraint. Younger
[273] women do not drink sake and show much more inhibition; they dance
established versions of Okinawan dances in group performances if
called on, usually before the merrymakers take over. Often a mother,
young child in arm, cannot resist. Passing the infant to a relative or a
girl sitting nearby, she joins other dancers and becomes carried away
by the spirit of the event. On one occasion a young woman, seeing her
aged mother display her talents on the dance floor in comical move-
ments to the delight of everybody, angrily demanded that she come
home right away, only to be rejoined with a taunting remark by the
old lady, who defiantly swallowed some more sake and continued her
entertainment.

527 Not a single event that we attended was marred by any serious un-
273 pleasantness. No guest was ever seen to become sick, although some
578 men drank themselves into a stupor. Here and there a paper screen may
574 be broken as a result of a tumbling body, or a hard bang against a
thin panel may set the house shaking. But the end of such a feast

The leaves of the yūna tree are a native
311 substitute for toilet paper, and are still used in some villages, though people
824 deny that the practice continues. When pressed they may intimate that so-and-
[514] so, "the poor family over the hill", retains the practice. Banyan trees fur-
[178] nish leaves for green manure, as do many other varieties. Before the war many
people grew kuroki for eventual use in the making of samisens. The top of the
[534] tree was cut when young so that it would become stubby and thick. The neigh-
boring village of Tsukazan boasts of a samisen-maker whose fame has taken him
to Naha. The 'kusunoki' tree is considered to be the best tree to plant near
the house, for it discourages termites.

241 Fertilizers Okinawan farmers in most areas utilize the traditional night soil and green manures, as well as the modern synthetic fertilizers.
[514] Almost every house has two toilets. The one not in use is utilized as a
[237] night-soil decay pit. Pig manure is mixed with the human excreta, water added, and the whole let set for about a fortnight before use on the fields. Use of animal manure in the paddies was abandoned with the introduction of the new variety of rice. Animal manure produced good heads on the old variety but makes heavy stalks only on the new.

241 Green manure is extensively used as a plant nutrient in the paddy
824 fields. Indeed, some paddies in winter are devoted to the raising of green manure, which is plowed under before spring planting. Outer leaves of cabbage are fed to goats to become manure for the dry fields, or the leaves are trampled into the mud of the paddy to decay. Thistles, 'kuwazu-imo' leaves, and tree leaves of the yūna and banyan are only a few of the many types of green manure. Compost, or 'taihi', is made for the dry fields and some paddies by mixing animal manure with 'genya' grasses, rice straw, and other plant remains. Before the war, compost was not used for vegetables, because it would cause a shortage in the amount available for the cane fields. Nowadays compost is more available, and many vegetables assume huge proportions. One Nanahan farmer produced a wax melon weighting 97 'kin', or 128 pounds.

241 Commercial fertilizers available to the farmers include ammonium sulphate ('ryusan ammoniya', 'ryūan'), synthesized fertilizer ('kasei hiryo'), ammonium nitrate ('ryusan kari'), nitrogen-lime ('sekkai chisso'), urea ('nyōso'), potassium chloride ('enkakari'), and superphosphate of lime ('Karinsan sekkai'). Ammonium sulphate is preferred for sugar cane. During the last four or five years the Agricultural Federation ('Nōren') in Naha has enforced a tie-in sale so that when a farmer buys two sacks of ammonium sulphate, he must also buy one sack of superphosphate of lime. Farmers in Tomoyose quite often dispose of the latter by dumping it beside the road, as they believe that it is not good for the soil found on their farms. One enterprising Nanahan farmer, who for several years was a member of the Kochinda-son agricultural committee, enquires about the cast-off fertilizer, and when he finds it he uses it to good effect. When he was interviewed concerning this, he expressed anger at what he considered the backwardness of his neighbors.

Okinawans were first introduced to chemical fertilizer in the mid-
[177] twenties, when a black fertilizer appeared. This was later replaced by the various white products, which since some time before the war have been supplemented by soybean waste when available.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

mother, for example, fed her child rice gruel (okayū) at eight months and at the age of one year the child began eating sweet potatoes. By the time the child is ready to walk and play, he often carries with him a piece of sweet potato, and, in season, a piece of sugar cane. 853 262

A party is held on the first birthday anniversary of the child. This is more elaborate than the one which honored his birth. Birthdays are not celebrated each year. After the first anniversary, the next are on the 13th, 25th, 37th, 49th, and 61st birthdays, that is, at twelve year intervals. 852 527

The party for the first birthday of a child is particularly tender and affectionate. At one year, he can walk or stumble, and answer or smile to the calls of his parents and grandparents. He can pick up things, throw them, and make his presence felt. The exhibition of these skills becomes part of the celebration. It is customary to invite both relatives and friends, who bring a small money present, from Y20 which is usual to Y100 which is uncommon. [856]

During the party, the child is given several symbolic gifts. These are placed on a low table in the middle of the room which the child can easily walk to and reach. Usually the gifts are a book, a fountain pen (or a writing brush, fude), an abacus (soroban), and a stack of paper money. These symbolize the wish that the child will become proficient in learning, writing, counting and mathematics, and will become rich. The child is eagerly watched as he unsteadily toddles to the table to see which article he picks up first. While the act is not taken seriously, the article which the child picks up first is supposed to indicate the field of endeavor in which he will be most fortunate. 527 852 431 [212] [802] [554]

These parties, small or large, include men, women, and children, but the majority of the guests usually are men. After the child has gone to bed, the party continues. In more formal and larger parties, the guests first come up to the father, go on their knees, bow, and make a short speech of congratulation. Sometimes these speeches sound as if they are prepared beforehand, other times as if they are spoken spontaneously. There is an exchange of sake between the father and his guest, both sipping from the same cup, the usual custom. The mother and the female relatives during this time are in the kitchen preparing the food. 852 527 [576] [537]

Women sit by themselves. This is true of all celebrations when the sexes are together. Women do not drink. (In a similar party near Hatsuda, the old women--usually over 60--drank a little). The jolly old women also love to dance solos in the traditional style. They dance with grace and vigor. The evening progresses without any planned entertainment. There is talking and drinking, singing, and samisen playing. Men, with a repertoire of Okinawan songs, sing in [562] [535] [887] [533]

date of their birth (using the Japanese reign date), where they had gone to school and their present occupations. This was done separately for each. After this was over, the bride and groom stood silently and politely, but without outward expression, while three guests in turn, previously chosen, made speeches, offering their congratulations and best wishes. On this particular occasion, the principal of the school at which the bride was teaching, the principal of the school at which the groom was a teacher, and a mutual friend of the couple spoke. 585 576 [537]

These proceedings do not receive the undivided attention of the guests who have been drinking sake for some time. On the tops of the tables, dancing in the traditional Okinawan manner and the accompanying singing have begun. The dances and songs, usually performed by men in their forties and fifties, were done with grace. These are part of all social gatherings of any consequence. 585 [273] [535] [533] [562]

The sober attitudes of the work day are cast aside. The best clothes have been put on. There is a great contrast between the barefooted partially clothed farmer or fisherman of the daytime and his appearance at social occasions. These events are conducted with dignity and poise, at least until the sake consumption has risen to a high point. The party then becomes a noisy melee of dancing, singing, and talking, but without quarrelling or fighting. There is little self-consciousness in entertaining others. Talented guests do not have to be cajoled into performing. Dancing, singing, and samisen playing continue spontaneously, with another performer beginning after one has finished. The wedding party lasts from about 5 to 8, but many of the guests stay much later until the sake is gone. [297] [534]

Following the san-san-kudo, another but more private ceremony took place while the guests were entertaining themselves. In the wedding room, colored cakes and tea were placed on a small table. The female relatives of the bride and groom, mothers and sisters mostly, sat opposite one another and ate cakes and drank the tea together. This ceremony indicated the willingness of the bride's family to give up the daughter, and of the groom's family to receive her. After this ceremony, the bride's gifts from her parents were carried in. These vary with the family's wealth. In this case, they were a chest of drawers, a mirror, a heavy comforter, pillows, and a mosquito net. Before the war, gifts were more lavish than now. The usual presents now are a large chest of drawers (tansu), two heavy quilts or comforters (futon), a mirror (kagami), two Japanese type pillows (makura), and a large mosquito net (kaya). A poor family would be most likely to omit the chest of drawers. A new kimono and money may be included. [262] 583

A Y20 note is the usual gift of an ordinary guest at a wedding. Closer friends will give about Y100. There is no uniform practice about gifts from the groom's to the bride's family. About Y1000 may be presented prior to marriage. The bride's family uses the money to purchase the wedding gifts. 431

The day following the marriage, there is another ceremony, this 000

543 these matters. In township exhibits of arts and crafts, there are evidences of these skills, such as the training of a chrysanthemum, a favorite choice, but these are not part of daily life.

532 Yet there is evidence of artistic talent and interest which teachers and parents encourage in the young. Okinawan children draw and copy well. It is not unusual to see an otherwise bare room of a [353] poor farmer's home decorated with the paintings or drawings of a son or daughter. While clearly the work of novices, they often show feeling for line and color. School buildings, houses, and landscapes are the favorite subjects. Drawing skills come as no surprise because of the close relationship, in countries using the Chinese character, 815 of calligraphy and art. Teachers of drawing and art in the schools are skillful in rapid sketching, and part of this skill must be the re- 212 sult of early training in the sequence of strokes and in writing the Chinese character with confidence and boldness.

535 Dancing and samisen playing are learned by imitation and self- 533 instruction. Music is learned by ear, the dancing by observing the old and skilled. Parents do not instruct their children in these arts; 868 they pick up the skill themselves. There are no village teachers nor do the schools teach native dances, songs, or samisen playing. (In recent years instruction books have been furnished when a samisen is [562] purchased). Samisen playing is a monopoly of the men, many of whom also have a repertoire of traditional dances. These performers are always in demand on social occasions. Both old and young men dance, but only the old women feel free to do so. Seeing a seventy or eighty year old grandmother dancing at a party is commonplace, but I have never seen a young girl or a young woman in her thirties doing this. (Young girls and young women may participate in formal dances in processions and on holidays). Among the younger people, there is considerable interest, but little facility in American dancing.

532 Hanging scrolls (kakemono) are often purchased by the villagers. But these are dashed off affairs, following Japanese art conventions, such as the jolly Japanese patron saint, tigers, the bamboo-plum blossom-cherry triad, and the turtle and the cormorant, etc.

181 One has the impression of latent talent in music, dancing, and drawing but that the cultural conditions have not been favorable to their development. Social events and parties are unthinkable without [533] singing, dancing, and samisen playing. Good drawing and calligraphy [535] are admired. But none of these seem to be highly developed folk arts. Possibly one reason is that the transmission of the skills has been [532] purely imitative, and that a body of knowledge has not accumulated in [868] books, organised teaching, or through apprenticeship and hereditary occupations by which ideas can be improved upon by wider dissemination. The cultural isolation of rural villages may have prevented the building [369] up of a tradition in art and handicraft. Naha and Shuri, the historical cultural centers, have produced the fine examples of lacquer ware, ceramics, and paintings. Possibly also Japanese repression of the native [636] culture has been the main reason. Whatever they are, the lack of advance-

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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One feature of the Itoman celebration was the well-known rope pulling contest (tsunahiki). The giant rope, made of rice straw, is at least 100 yards long, and about two feet in diameter. Each end has a loop. These loops, joined by a heavy piece of wood, are above the center line. The men of the town divide into two groups. The tug of war began about 5 in the afternoon and was soon over, but one has been known to last until one or two o'clock in the morning. It is found in all villages, but there is no set date for it. The tug of war is an old diversion in Okinawa.[5] 527 526

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There is a minor public holiday, the rice cake festival (mochi no matsuri), said to be native to Okinawa, on the 8th day of the 12th lunar month (January 4, 1952). On the day before, women prepare red
[262] and white cylindrical rice cakes, about 4 inches long and one inch in
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Western Christmas is not observed in any of the villages. It
[177] would not be surprising if it should become a holiday, with gift giving, feasting, and drinking, but without the religious connotations. Since the occupation, Okinawans have become conscious of Christmas.[6]

[797] 6 I was told that in certain villages of the northern district, such as Kushi and Higashi near Ogimi that there is a Christmas festival, without the gift exchange, a survival of earlier missionary teaching. Time did not permit me to verify this, but there seems little doubt that a Christmas festival does exist in some Okinawan villages, judging by the frequency with which I heard of it in Matsuda and Ginoza villages.

574 for their special skills on the samisen (a three-stringed banjolike in-
533 strument covered with snake hide), open the singing and dancing with
the first, traditional song, *Kagiyadefu*, a solemn and slow piece which
[534] is rendered in the forced, nasal voice peculiar to Okinawan song. Im-
574 mediately after this, the tempo changes, the music takes a fast, stirring
535 beat, and the first dancer, a man, gets up. Dances at social events can
be performed by a single man or a woman, or by several dancers of
either sex, but traditional group dances are done by women only. Taira
people like to dance some of the many Okinawan dances in which a
story, sung by the vocalists, is acted out. For example, a popular dance
deals with a fisherman and his catch. A hat, hastily put on, and a basket
under the arm suggest the role of the dancer, his body and hand move-
ments the actions. No one is much concerned with accurate or highly
artistic rendition of these familiar dances; many performances become
simply improvisations in which one male dancer is joined by other men
or women who, dancing freely, add their own versions to established
movements. There is much applause and laughter from the audience
around the dance floor, which sings and animatedly claps hands in
rhythm to the music. As all, men and older women, imbibe more sake,
they become gayer, and more talents are unleashed. Amusing presenta-
[831] tions of a husband and wife, in which sometimes aggression and sexual
interaction are acted out playfully, are received with great hilarity by
the audience. If such a suggestive performance is given by an old
woman and a young man, it seems to appear even funnier. As they get
tired, dancers leave the floor, making room for others.

[562] Not everybody participates with equal lack of restraint. Younger
[273] women do not drink sake and show much more inhibition; they dance
established versions of Okinawan dances in group performances if
called on, usually before the merrymakers take over. Often a mother,
young child in arm, cannot resist. Passing the infant to a relative or a
girl sitting nearby, she joins other dancers and becomes carried away
by the spirit of the event. On one occasion a young woman, seeing her
aged mother display her talents on the dance floor in comical move-
ments to the delight of everybody, angrily demanded that she come
home right away, only to be rejoined with a taunting remark by the
old lady, who defiantly swallowed some more sake and continued her
entertainment.

527 Not a single event that we attended was marred by any serious un-
273 pleasantness. No guest was ever seen to become sick, although some
578 men drank themselves into a stupor. Here and there a paper screen may
574 be broken as a result of a tumbling body, or a hard bang against a
thin panel may set the house shaking. But the end of such a feast

857 the infant still at the breast who is taken on shopping trips to Nago, the nearest town, or to neighboring townships to visit maternal relatives. When whale meat was marketed from the village on weekends, a school age child was taken along to carry the infant because the mother was burdened with her basket of meat, but this was infrequent. Few children have explored their township beyond Miyagi, a village 5 miles to the east of Taira or Gesashi, 4 miles to the southwest.

[364] Children also rummage through the garbage heaps, where they find useful things like tin cans, bottles, and discarded bits of vegetable with which to play house or store.

857 241 During the harvest and planting seasons, children accompany adults to the rice paddies and potato fields near the village. Mats are spread out on the dikes and kindergarten children gaily dangle their feet in the oozy mud while "keeping watch over the sleeping infants." Those who whimper to help are given small sheaves of rice to carry to their fathers and older brothers, who thresh them in the dry fields or on the flat grounds bordering the paddies.

855 [412] Many 4-year-olds are adept at handling knives. As implements like knives, hatchets, pronged hoes, sickles, rakes, and saws were often left within reach of children, it was not unusual for them to use them. Although many cut themselves, adults do not seem to take special care to put them out of reach. Children of kindergarten age are frequently scolded for playing with sharp instruments, but with persistent crying or begging they usually gain reluctant consent.

852 855 527 During all holiday events, children participate without much control from adults. Young children are carried by their mothers as they make the visiting rounds or sit on the floor in the building where the whole village congregates. Toddlers explore the surroundings and, finding themselves in the middle of the dance floor, are gently pushed aside and handed back to their mother. Older children hang around while food is served; then they disappear to play games of their own. During sport events, track meets, wrestling, and at dance performances, children are as interested spectators as their parents. Nobody would think of leaving a child at home on a holiday, and nobody would demand that the child sit quietly through lengthy speeches or ceremonies.

868 ●535 [872] Children learn dances from kindergarten days on, either by watching or by coaching from an older person, a friend, one's older sister, or mother. Sometimes they are called on to perform for adults, or a special children's performance is given under the direction of the kindergarten teacher. Adults enjoy these dances as much as if they were done by grownups. They are amused and delighted if a little girl

 868

wiggles her hips and otherwise makes movements that are not permitted in the classical Okinawan dance. 535

Kindergarten children are usually asleep by 8:30 in the winter and 9:00 in the summer. They sleep an average 8 hours. Ten o'clock is considered to be proper bedtime for all people. The village bell is rung to remind everyone that the day has ended. The entire family sleeps on the mattresses spread on the floor with wooden pillows. In winter the heavy quilts are taken down. Children vary in their bedtime. Those who feel tired fall asleep soon after the evening meal. Often the grandparents lie down with the small children. If children accompany parents on a visit, they lie down in their father's or mother's lap, or on the floor to sleep. Since not all adults go to sleep at 10:00, older children may stay up longer, particularly during moonlight nights. Few children take naps except during the summer, when the heat makes everyone drowsy and slows down work during midday. Once in a while a young child goes home to lie down for a nap. 857 513

The kindergarten child's day has been an active and carefree one. He is seldom alone. "Do not play alone, go and play with others. If you play alone, people might think that others dislike you," instruct parents in Taira. Anyone passing a child playing alone would remark, "How lonely he seems." Furthermore, mothers worry about a child being alone "because he is more apt to do naughty things or get into dangerous play." 857 155 156

A 4- or 5-year-old may sometimes find himself being a caretaker, but generally he is not considered very reliable, and being a "senseless" individual, he is not held responsible by the village for anything that might happen to his charges. It is the mother who is held culpable and is censured in this case. 857 855 861

One mother was severely criticized by her neighbors when she punished her 4-year-old boy for abandoning his 2-year-old sibling. The children had been sent out to play. When the older boy came home for supper, he faced an angry mother who berated him for thinking only of his own pleasure and leaving his little brother on the main road and to the dangers of passing trucks. She spanked the boy, tied his hands and legs briefly, and left the crying child behind when she went to the village store with his younger sibling.

In another case, a grandmother grumbled about the "laxity" and irresponsibility of the mother. A 5-year-old was carrying her month-old sibling who was sleeping on the back in a twisted position due to loose strappings. "Come here! Your mother, where is she . . . how could she leave this child with you! Almost falling . . . ," the old woman mumbled as she unstrapped the peacefully sleeping baby and 857 854

857 fun of it, but few signs of involvement with attaining outstanding per-
526 formance. Losers are not teased or ridiculed, although a good per-
[157] former is occassionally given an encouraging remark by others who practice.

Group games are usually played after the schoolchildren have returned to the village. One of the popular games is a version of prisoner's base similar to that played in the United States. This game is played with much yelling, laughing, and noisy challenging. Equally popular is a version of "kick the can." This game is exciting and fast moving. It is a game which can lead to arguments, since one must trust the honesty of the person who is "it" and claims to have seen another player. Brief arguments arise and are quickly settled. Part of the fun seems to be teasing and challenging the tagger.

● 535 These are games that children may play on any day in the year.
857 During holidays they are sometimes asked to entertain adults with
[527] dances. Little girls learn the traditional Okinawan dances from kinder-
[871] garten days on, either by watching or by coaching of an older person, a friend, one's older sister, or mother. Neither kindergarten nor school programs include the teaching of such rich Okinawan heritage as classical dances. Boys do not begin to imitate the burlesque dances of their male elders until adolescence. But they are sometimes invited, together with girls, to present group dances or little plays for the adults. Adults seem to enjoy most the performances of Okinawan dances by little girls who may have learned the rhythm and movements but not the restraint of serious adult presentations. They are delighted if a 6-year-old, dressed in bright-colored costume, innocently wiggles her hips in a rather suggestive way.

857 Children who perform for adults show no stage fright. At school,
[156] where little sketches are presented on the stage, there is a complete ease in improvising. Nobody is embarrassed if he forgets a line, a song, or a cue, and the recitation contests which we have already mentioned are carried out with much zest.

[512] Schoolchildren are supposed to remain at home after 8 o'clock in the evening to do their studies. This rule is encouraged by the school but rarely enforced by parents. Many children, boys and girls, appear outside after dark, and on moonlight nights they often resume their playing. Off and on, a couple of elementary schoolboys are attracted to the store where the village truck arrives with goods from the city after nightfall. There they stand in the dim yellow light of the kerosene lamp, watching, helping, or just listening to some of the men who
[515] come to have their sake bottles filled. If a bath has been prepared for
[512] their families, their turn will come sometime after the older males in

households. Noodles are another item of regular purchase. Starch and bean paste are typical items which formerly were always made in the home but now may be purchased instead. 178 262

In sum Okinawan diet has improved in quantity and variety. Food tastes are more catholic today; certain foreign foods are greatly appreciated. There is a greater reliance on manufactured and processed foods, and greater cash expenditures are made for food.

Entertainment and Leisure There has been a marked decline in village celebrations and festivals in which all residents participate. Formerly O Bon, New Year's, and harvesting time were occasions for village-wide celebrations; today these are gone from most communities; celebrations are restricted to the family and friends. Most of the village celebrations were basically religious in nature and with the decline of the old religion these celebrations have been dropped. 527 796 178 621

Parties to mark an individual's change of status were formerly held on the 13th, 25th, 37th, 48th, 61st, 73rd, 85th, 88th and 97th birthdays, but today only those for the old people are observed. Frequently a party is held to mark an individual's success in the competitive examination to enter high school, but aside from that, rites of passage for the young and middle-aged are no longer observed. 527 178

The Japanese introduced one form of entertainment which has achieved immense popularity; this is a sporting event sponsored by the school. These are usually held on Sunday during the fall of the year, and usually the whole school participates. There is intra-school competition and later inter-school; intense interest is generated and often this becomes an important topic for conversation among the young men. 526 177

Local units of the national organizations such as the youths' association and the women's association frequently hold parties for their members. In fact these organizations are mainly of a social nature. 575

As noted above, prior to the war there were five motion picture theaters on Okinawa; today there are fifty-seven. American and European films constitute from one quarter to one third of the total shown. Though most of these theaters are located in the cities and towns, the young people of the nearby farming villages make frequent use of them. The popularity of the American "Western" among the young people has caused some to attribute juvenile delinquency to this, although the relatively more bloody Japanese sword-fighting pictures ('chambara') are considered harmless. 546 177

The popularity of Okinawan dancing and music seems undiminished. Radio broadcasts of Okinawan music are much enjoyed; and virtually every party provides the opportunity for music and dancing in which most of the guests participate. A few of the better-educated young people profess an appreciation of Western classical music and jazz, but most of them prefer Japanese and American love ballads though they still remain very fond of the Okinawan music. 533 535 177

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Community Recreation

Were it not for the public holidays and festivals, the family celebrations and informal social gatherings, opportunities for recreation would be very limited. Seeing a Japanese motion picture usually involves going to another village. Young people, especially those studying English, go to American movies in Naha when they can afford it. Many went to see Hamlet when it played there. 529 [368] [177]

A Naha troupe presents plays in the rural villages. These appearances are advertised by a sound truck travelling throughout the countryside. Plays are of two main types: the historical drama and those of domestic life and manners. The historical plays are usually based on the heroic age in Okinawa, and are so filled with episodes and sword play that it is difficult, even for an Okinawan, to follow the plot. All plays are given in Okinawan. 595 536

The plot of a play of manners is of more interest, since it is concerned with the conflicts of obligations, duties, and personal desires. One such play, The Chaste Woman and the Dutiful Son, concerns a married couple who have one son. The husband drank too much and went with another woman. The wife objected, the husband tells her he no longer wants her and desires a divorce. The divorce attained, he takes the other woman as a second wife and moves with her to Nago, where he lives. Twenty years after, the second wife becomes ill, and dies, and the husband finds it increasingly difficult to earn a livelihood. The first wife, in the meantime, anxious to bring up her child well, has sent him to school. At the age of 20 he has become a school teacher. The successful young man--becoming a teacher is a great success--marries. The young couple have a child and everyone is happy. [875]

The father in Nago earns a precarious living selling firewood. One day he reads of the success of his son in a newspaper. (This provides the actor with an opportunity for exaggerated astonishment and much staggering around). More soberly, the father decides to visit the first wife and their son. Lack of pride and poverty permits him to do this.

The first wife gives him an angry reception. When he has forced his way into the house, there is a loud quarrel. The successful young school teacher returns home, sees the quarrel, and asks his mother the identity of the man. The mother replies that she does not know him. The son inquires the reason for such a violent quarrel between his mother and a stranger. The mother had previously told her son his father had died. She now says she lied, and in the ensuing revelations, the son weeps a little. The father implores his son to intervene in obtaining the forgiveness of his former wife. But she will not forgive--neither will she forget--and does not want the old man around at all. The son

536 reminds his mother that he is a school teacher, that if he does not permit his father to enter the house, he can no longer teach school. The mother yields; the son and his wife bring their child to the new found grandfather, and the play closes with the overjoyed grandfather fondling and holding the child in his arms.

In the play, the conflict is resolved by a balancing of obligation with pride. A real father would have been so ashamed that he would [829] never have returned, but then there would have been no play. Only a poor, lonely shameless and crafty fellow would have come back. But once he was back, the son had no alternative but to accept and honor him. The woman's power in the house and her devotion to her son are demonstrated, but she too must yield to the obligation of her son's filial piety, though she does this only after a determined and dignified resistance.

545 Plays on the rural circuit start about 9 and end about 11 in the evening. The entertainment generally consists of an opening traditional dance by a woman, followed by a comedy skit, and a longer play, such as the one just described. Comedy skits usually depend on clumsiness or 536 obtuseness as the sources of their humor. One skit, for example, involved a thief entering a house at night. Clumsy and unsure of his way, he stumbled over everything, made loud noises, and was constantly in fright to see if some fresh stumble had awakened the house. Finally he manages to hide under a table, near which the members of the family are seated discussing a problem. His discovery, due to further awkward motions and noises, the chase, and his final apprehension close the skit.

545 Rural audiences are critical. Some actors cause laughter because their Okinawan pronunciation is considered poor, and the laughter often carries over to the serious parts. Delays between the acts are met with impatience, and there is some prompting from the audience. The admission is Y20 for adults and Y10 for children. The audience sits on the ground. These plays do not attract a large crowd unless the offering is a well liked play.

526 Sports and athletic meets are favorite recreations both for participants and observers. The sports mentioned by travellers 50 or 60 years ago, such as horse racing, boat racing, tugs of war, archery, and boxing have given way to a more organized athletic activity, inspired by the Japanese example. Only the boat racing and the rope tug of war have survived in these villages. Hinatogawa's boat race each year attracts villagers from miles around. All villages, at various times of the year, have a rope tug of war. The annual athletic meets, which will be discussed under education, were introduced into Okinawa about 50 or 60 years ago.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

4

Ancestor Worship

"Ancestor worship" has been used to describe the devotion to the spirit of the dead and the long continued remembrance of them by the living. While it is too deeply intrenched to be changed, the term is not satisfactory. It is really the worship of those who precede one in death, and these may be ascendants or descendants. The term, "ancestor worship," also conceals the fact that there is a partnership of the living and the dead, which, continued by the living generation in the production of children, will carry over in the future, so that family continuity from the remote past to the remote future is never broken. It is, in the phrase of John Hubbard, "a chain of worship,"[2] not merely the worship of the past and of the dead. But whether in the popular mind these two conceptions, worship of the dead and the family as a continuity, are closely and consciously related is impossible for me to say. The two ideas exist side by side on the level of feeling: to respect one's ancestors and to have children. 769 602

Another form of ancestor worship occurs in observances honoring the first ancestor or the founder of the village. Each village has a place of the guardian god (ujigami), located on the supposed site where the founder of the village first settled, which perpetuates the memory of the founder, who may, in some cases, also be the first ancestor of a family living in the village. (It has been suggested that the ujigami also might be related historically to the fire deity). Ceremonies at the place of the village guardian god have a public character and were often conducted by the priestesses. 776 778 [793]

Hanashiro. The place of the guardian god, a small building, is located on a plot of village owned land, off the main road at the edge of the settlement where the cultivated land begins. It is not well kept up. There is no attendant or caretaker. When necessary, it is reconstructed by volunteer village effort. Broken stone stairs lead up to the small tile roofed building. Inside, there are 5 stones, about 10 inches on the side and 4 inches thick. Some have thought these also represent the primitive hearth stones associated with worship of the fire god. One villager described it as a woman's deity place. Before the war, emigrants to the South Seas, South America, Manchuria, or Japan and their relatives prayed here for the good health and early return of those departing. [346] [358] [167]

Now there is public worship at the place on several occasions during the year. On the 3rd day of the 3rd month, a woman's holiday, women and children go to the seashore around Minatogawa, and, on returning, pray at the place of the guardian god. On O-Bon, the village lion appears in front of this site. There is samisen playing and the whole village offers a prayer. (Not all villages have the lion costume. 778 796 [536] [825]

2 Quoted in L. Cranmer-Byng, The vision of Asia, New York, 1933, 42.

778 One person in front fills in the head and forelegs, another in back
796 provides the rear and hindlegs. The lion, with its human mechanism,
is a common sight at festivals and parades. It is a symbol of health
536 and strength worthy of imitation). In the Festival of the Full Moon,
825 during the autumnal equinox, the lion appears again and the whole village participates in prayers before the festivities begin.

778 On the 1st and 15th of each lunar month, the headman goes to the
796 place of the guardian god and makes an offering of tea, burns a charcoal
stick, and says a prayer. On the 9th day of the 9th lunar month, the
[764] village council and the elders assemble before the village burial
[825] palanquin (gan), offer prayer at the founder's site and then before the village office where the lion is standing.

Minatogawa. This village has three deity places and various explanations are given for this. Some believe that two of them represent
778 sites of co-founders, a first son, and his younger brother, the second
776 son. The third site is vaguely known as a village god place. It is a small outdoor place of worship on the main village road, with a step and a shelf for charcoal sticks. The founders' sites are located in the center of the settled area, but on different sides of the road. In the site of the second son, there are three stones, shaped like life savers but with a bottom for placing the charcoal sticks, three glasses for tea, and three bottles. The site of the supposed first son, less well kept, has a small altar, four stones, tea cups, and cans for the burning of incense.

778 On New Year and at O-Bon, the whole, or substantial portions, of
796 the village pray first at the supposed first son's site, then at the
second son's. Prayers are offered also at the roadside deity place.
[782] Some of the younger villagers hope that as the older residents die off,
[358] the expenses of providing offerings and upkeep for all three can be eliminated and that simpler observances can take place at the roadside shrine. The situation now is complicated by the fact that many people regard themselves as descendants of one or the other co-founder.

778 Matsuda. In this village, the founder's site is reached by stairs
leading up a hillside. It is in the settled area near a dense growth
189 of trees and shrubs. Close by there is a shed in which the lion skin
is kept. In this village the founder's site seemed less important than
[093] another religious place, on the main road, in which women of lesser rank in the former priestess system participate in ceremonies. In this village there seems to be less participation by all the people of the village at the place of the guardian or founder deity, and, instead, representatives, like the headman, elders, and the former priestesses
[096] conduct the ceremonies at New Year, O-Bon, and at the equinoctial holidays.

mother, for example, fed her child rice gruel (okayu) at eight months and at the age of one year the child began eating sweet potatoes. By the time the child is ready to walk and play, he often carries with him a piece of sweet potato, and, in season, a piece of sugar cane. 853 262

A party is held on the first birthday anniversary of the child. This is more elaborate than the one which honored his birth. Birthdays are not celebrated each year. After the first anniversary, the next are on the 13th, 25th, 37th, 49th, and 61st birthdays, that is, at twelve year intervals. 852 527

The party for the first birthday of a child is particularly tender and affectionate. At one year, he can walk or stumble, and answer or smile to the calls of his parents and grandparents. He can pick up things, throw them, and make his presence felt. The exhibition of these skills becomes part of the celebration. It is customary to invite both relatives and friends, who bring a small money present, from Y20 which is usual to Y100 which is uncommon. [856]

During the party, the child is given several symbolic gifts. These are placed on a low table in the middle of the room which the child can easily walk to and reach. Usually the gifts are a book, a fountain pen (or a writing brush, fude), an abacus (soroban), and a stack of paper money. These symbolize the wish that the child will become proficient in learning, writing, counting and mathematics, and will become rich. The child is eagerly watched as he unsteadily toddles to the table to see which article he picks up first. While the act is not taken seriously, the article which the child picks up first is supposed to indicate the field of endeavor in which he will be most fortunate. 527 852 431 [212] [802] [554]

These parties, small or large, include men, women, and children, but the majority of the guests usually are men. After the child has gone to bed, the party continues. In more formal and larger parties, the guests first come up to the father, go on their knees, bow, and make a short speech of congratulation. Sometimes these speeches sound as if they are prepared beforehand, other times as if they are spoken spontaneously. There is an exchange of sake between the father and his guest, both sipping from the same cup, the usual custom. The mother and the female relatives during this time are in the kitchen preparing the food. 852 527 [576] [537]

Women sit by themselves. This is true of all celebrations when the sexes are together. Women do not drink. (In a similar party near Matsuda, the old women--usually over 60--drank a little). The jolly old women also love to dance solos in the traditional style. They dance with grace and vigor. The evening progresses without any planned entertainment. There is talking and drinking, singing, and samisen playing. Men, with a repertoire of Okinawan songs, sing in [562] [535] [887] [533]

Husband and wife usually are from the same village, but there are many exceptions. Marriages of persons from different villages have increased in the past decade. This probably should be ascribed to the greater mobility of the people and to the acceptance of free choice in marriage. It is common, for example, for a Hatsuda boy to marry a Ginoza village girl. It is also common for a boy in Hinatogawa to marry a girl from the nearby agricultural villages of Hanashire, Asato, or Oushichan. This apparently is a distinct change from earlier practices. 582 621

If the family registers are accurate, the great majority of the men living in a village were born there; it is the wives who are more likely to be the newcomers. In the social structure of village life, it is the men who provide the continuity; the women are more likely to be strangers. The husband may point to his father and grandfather who live or have lived in the village; fewer wives can do the same. 591

2

The Marriage Ceremony

In my experience, no two marriage ceremonies in Okinawa are alike. Marriages take place at any time of the year, but in all three villages, they were more commonly held in the late fall or in winter. The reasons given are that the heavy clothing and elaborate headdress of the bride are not suited to the hot and humid summer and that these can be more comfortably worn in the cool winter months. The marriage feast with its fish cakes, meats, vegetables, and a variety of other perishable foods can be more easily prepared and kept in winter. In the agricultural villages, the ceremony usually takes place after the day's work; in the winter the reception may start by 5 and the main ceremonies are over by 8 in the evening. 585 [262]

Description of a ceremony at Hatsuda. The party began about 5 in the afternoon. Because of the large number of guests, the primary school was used for the ceremony. At the head of the first room, the grandfather and grandmother of the groom, the groom, his father, and the go-between were seated. Other relatives of the groom found places around the sides. Later the father of the bride, who arrived shortly before his daughter, joined this group. The go-between, a young man of 24, was a friend of the couple, and his wife was a member of the groom's family. 585 576

In the other rooms, opening into one another, about 300 guests, mostly men, were assembled. During the reception and before the beginning of the ceremony, guests representing their families entered the first room to congratulate the father, the groom, and the grandparents. In this period of congratulation involving the father, the groom, and the guest, there was an exchange of sips of sake from a common cup. As in other instances of congratulation, some speeches were long, some short, some well prepared, others extemporaneous. [537]

date of their birth (using the Japanese reign date), where they had gone to school and their present occupations. This was done separately for each. After this was over, the bride and groom stood silently and politely, but without outward expression, while three guests in turn, previously chosen, made speeches, offering their congratulations and best wishes. On this particular occasion, the principal of the school at which the bride was teaching, the principal of the school at which the groom was a teacher, and a mutual friend of the couple spoke. 585 576 [537]

These proceedings do not receive the undivided attention of the guests who have been drinking sake for some time. On the tops of the tables, dancing in the traditional Okinawan manner and the accompanying singing have begun. The dances and songs, usually performed by men in their forties and fifties, were done with grace. These are part of all social gatherings of any consequence. 585 [273] [535] [533] [562]

The sober attitudes of the work day are cast aside. The best clothes have been put on. There is a great contrast between the barefooted partially clothed farmer or fisherman of the daytime and his appearance at social occasions. These events are conducted with dignity and poise, at least until the sake consumption has risen to a high point. The party then becomes a noisy melee of dancing, singing, and talking, but without quarrelling or fighting. There is little self-consciousness in entertaining others. Talented guests do not have to be cajoled into performing. Dancing, singing, and samisen playing continue spontaneously, with another performer beginning after one has finished. The wedding party lasts from about 5 to 8, but many of the guests stay much later until the sake is gone. [297] [534]

Following the san-san-kudo, another but more private ceremony took place while the guests were entertaining themselves. In the wedding room, colored cakes and tea were placed on a small table. The female relatives of the bride and groom, mothers and sisters mostly, sat opposite one another and ate cakes and drank the tea together. This ceremony indicated the willingness of the bride's family to give up the daughter, and of the groom's family to receive her. After this ceremony, the bride's gifts from her parents were carried in. These vary with the family's wealth. In this case, they were a chest of drawers, a mirror, a heavy comforter, pillows, and a mosquito net. Before the war, gifts were more lavish than now. The usual presents now are a large chest of drawers (tansu), two heavy quilts or comforters (futon), a mirror (kagami), two Japanese type pillows (makura), and a large mosquito net (kayn). A poor family would be most likely to omit the chest of drawers. A new kimono and money may be included. [262] 583

A Y20 note is the usual gift of an ordinary guest at a wedding. Closer friends will give about Y100. There is no uniform practice about gifts from the groom's to the bride's family. About Y1000 may be presented prior to marriage. The bride's family uses the money to purchase the wedding gifts. 431

The day following the marriage, there is another ceremony, this 000

ceremony the set of three cups (sakazuki) was used. The go-between, a man and a close friend of the groom, poured sake into the top cup. The groom drank; the go-between then refilled the cup, giving it to the bride. The same procedure was repeated with the remaining two cups. 585 184

In this ceremony, after the san-san-kudo, the go-between dipped a pair of chopsticks into salt, putting a bit on the open palm of the bride who then put the salt in her mouth. This was repeated for the groom. The go-between then dipped his finger into a cup of water, touching first the forehead of the bride, then that of the groom.

The presentation of the newly married couple to the guests was also done in a different way. Because of his close friendship with the groom's father, the mayor of the township introduced the bridal pair to the guests. This was a tender and affectionate speech in which the mayor told of the birthplaces of the young man and his bride. He asked the guests, as friends and relatives of the new couple, to teach them how to live well together, how to make a living, and ended by asking everyone present to have a good time. The celebration, the sake drinking, the dancing following the ceremony were essentially the same as in Matsuda. A ring was not used in either ceremony. When used, it is ordinarily given to the bride, not placed on her finger as part of the ceremony. [576] [537] [301]

A custom followed in Minatogawa illustrates a variation in the preliminaries before the marriage ceremony. The groom (hanamuko) and the go-between or a friend go to the bride's home. They are given refreshments. The groom acknowledges his bride. He returns to his home to await her coming. This may take some time if the tide is not right. Before the war children from 7 to 10 years of age carried long lanterns (chōchin) with candles to light the way for the bride, as she walked to the groom's house. Each child carried two lanterns, which they held very tightly, as it was considered bad luck for them to change from one hand to the other. The lanterns have now been abandoned (when the ceremony is performed) in favor of flashlights, in another triumph of the Industrial Revolution. But the children enjoyed participating because they were given small amounts of money and food. [857] [416] [177]

In the Minatogawa custom, everyone stepped over the threshhold. Even now, if houses do not have one, a long step is made from the outer stone or ground into the room. Among the guests, there is usually a jokester who humorously announces in a loud voice the arrival of the bride.

In Minatogawa, the groom's family presents a gift of about Y5-6000 to the bride's family. (This family would have to be in moderate circumstances to do this). Gifts from the guests are from Y20-40. The groom's friends may give money to the groom's parents to defray the heavy expenses of the banquet, and the girl's friends give money to her, presumably for the purchase of wedding articles. [431]

There is one further variation in a custom from Hanashiro. On

584 she objects violently, the matter may be dropped. If the go-betweens
[851] succeed in making arrangements, they become the special friends and patrons of the young couple, officiating at the marriage ceremony and attending the rituals during the first week after the birth of all the couple's children.

The first engagement event is a small family affair at the bride's house, attended by a few close relatives of the couple, who ceremonially eat rice from the same bowl. The food is contributed by the groom's family. From this time on the groom may spend evenings and nights at
[836] the bride's house, where he is permitted to have sexual intercourse
[583] with the girl. For a man whose girl lives in the same village, the day is now divided between work for his own household and helping the girl's family in the field. The groom receives supper from the girl's family, who encourage him to stay for the night. The couple is never seen together in public, although the girl also helps occasionally at her groom's house.

The second engagement party is held some later time, also at the girl's house. All the relatives of the bride whom she wishes to introduce to the groom and his family are invited. The groom also invites his relatives and friends. Food and drink are supplied by the groom. Since this may be quite a burden, the bride urges him not to hurry in planning for this party. At this engagement ceremony, relatives and friends congratulate the male members of the bride's family and some of the close female relatives, the mother and sometimes an aunt, or the grand-
[537] mother. Short speeches are exchanged. The girl's father, in response to well-wishing, may point out that the girl is inexperienced and that she needs guidance and education from the groom's family. The groom also toasts his father-in-law, tells him that he will do his best, and thanks him and his wife for their permission to marry.

585 The actual marriage ceremony may be postponed until much later.
[584] One reason for the long engagement period is to see whether the girl becomes pregnant, or as one person said, "To see if the seeds match."
[842] There are also economic considerations. The ceremony takes place at the groom's house. The go-between, his wife, and a few friends go to the bride's home to accompany her and her relatives and friends to the
[178] groom's house. The elaborateness of the celebration depends on the wealth of the groom's family, but since the war, all families have economized in this as well as in other ceremonies. The cost of the wedding is carried by the groom, but it is to some extent offset by small money gifts which guests contribute. The groom gives the bride's family a certain amount of money—in one case about 2000 yen (approximately $17.00) or two thirds of a well-to-do Taira family's monthly

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

cash income, earned by several adult members in joint work, or equal 585
to about one half of a teacher's monthly salary. The girl brings a dowry [583]
consisting of furniture, household utensils, and other things, so, as one
person said, the groom is repaid in one form or another. In former [582]
times the men had to pay a fine to the parents of the bride if she married out of the village (Suttles, personal communication; Tamura, 1927 translation:44).

Even under present conditions the wedding ceremony is colorful
compared to most other private ceremonies. All guests attend in their [292]
best clothes and the bride wears a special kimono and a special wig
hair dress. She is seated next to the groom, who wears Western-style
clothes instead of the traditional silk kimono. The whole ceremony
is presided over by the go-betweens. While preliminaries take place,
the bride sits almost motionless. Her face expresses what Glacken
describes as "undescribable gloom" (1955:218). This continues even
through the climax of the event, the ceremonial exchange of wine
which symbolizes the union of the participants. During this part of the
ceremony the guests, who have been enjoying food and sake and talking amicably, give this moment a solemn meaning by their silence. [537]
Speeches by the go-between and other notables follow. The virtue of
the bride and her family and of the groom are told and acknowledged
by a thank-you address by the groom. Parents of the couple sit close
to them but have no other function than to accept congratulations.
The bride then goes around introducing herself to the guests.

Children are not present at this event. They line up outside the [852]
house and peek through openings to see the bride and watch the
guests, who start dances as soon as good food and wine take effect.
After the formal part of the wedding, the feast ends like any such
event in the village—with great gaiety. The bride acts as hostess; she
changes from her kimono and heavy hair dress into more suitable
clothes and sees that the guests are well taken care of. The length of
this feast depends, of course, on how much food and drink the family is
able to provide. Finally, when all guests have left, the bride and groom
retire to the bedroom which has been reserved for them, sometimes [352]
furnished with one or two pieces, a chest of drawers or a Western-style
closet supplied by the bride's family. The bride also provides the [513]
comforter for the marriage bed. Friends of the groom may play a prank
and replace the normal-sized comforter with a small one, "so that the
marriage is consumated quicker," as they say.

Sexual relations between husband and wife are not discussed in 833
public except in jocular references. In spite of the intimacy of house- 831
hold members in the confinement of a small house, one attempts to

527 574 —held at the old warehouse, the village office, or, during warm days, outside—but also introduces all family or small group events. This is the time when guests arrive, polite greetings are exchanged with everyone in the order of his relative status, and a seat is found in accordance with it. Everyone sits quietly and politely, men with legs [576] crossed tightly in front, women resting their buttocks between their heels. The conversation is somewhat stilted and reluctant. Meanwhile the hostess and her female helpers set cups before each guest, and they, or the male host himself, may pour tea.

● 537 527 574 Village celebrations of an official nature, such as "Mother's Day" (see Chapter 6) or the reception of the newly elected mayor, or New Year, are times for oratory of a sober nature. The village dignitaries and honored visitors, frequently seated at tables overlooking the community on the floor, each give a speech consisting of lengthy inventories of events and accomplishments. Sometimes food and drink are not served until the last one has spoken, but more often the situation is mellowed by the simultaneous serving of food and drink, which add to the inspiration of the speaker and the enthusiasm of his listeners.

527 574 262 Special dishes are associated with different holidays, and food, when served, begins to dispel some of the formality. Even if there are no speeches, it gives everybody something to do and talk about, and as we shall see shortly, more effective stimulants follow soon. The ice is broken. The food set before guests may be red-colored rice, which is served at joyful events such as New Year, or white rice, which is prepared when the dead are commemorated. For agricultural holidays the special food is made from the harvested crop, rice or potatoes. A feast plate may also include some pork, cooked in soya sauce, or presented in a mixed dish of vegetables; sometimes, it may be deep fat fried dumplings, either plain or with brown sugar stirred into the batter, or red and white fish cakes, or even several of these together. Less expensive foods, such as noodles and fried fish, are also served during feasts. Tairans have a sweet tooth and eat with relish the pound cakes and cookies which accompany or follow a meal. There is a sufficient quantity of food for the many guests, and whatever they cannot consume during the party, they may wrap up in a newspaper and take home.

527 574 273 Once food is set before the guests, the emptied tea cups are refilled, but this time with sake. This helps immediately to loosen the formal atmosphere which still prevails, at least after one or two cups have been emptied. Before this happens there may be, especially during weddings, family affairs, or the Mayor's reception, a polite exchange of cups between two men, who fill each other's and present it with a little ap-

preciative statement or an introduction. It is polite to make the rounds in this fashion, to sit before another guest, fill his cup and utter some polite phrases, then wait for a return compliment. 527 574

By the time men—and a little later women—have been served food and drink in some quantity, there is no more stiffness in the room, for with every cup of sake animation and voice volume increase. Speeches that have not yet come to a conclusion show definite signs of inspiration; each speaker who sits down is trumped in eloquence by his successor. Long after serious oratory has been dispensed with, a happy celebrant may get up and sonorously hold forth. During fieldwork the authors were frequently the aim of such addresses. In one of them a farmer, quiet and serious during everyday routine but known for his merriment and wit when in his cups, held forth on a future visit to Taira by these Americans. "There will be skyscrapers," he said in a booming voice, "subways, wide lanes and bright lights," and on he went to the delight of everybody. 273 [537] [123]

On such occasions Tairans display their skill in playing with words and their ability to act and mimic. The assistant to the headman, similarly quiet on ordinary days, several months after our arrival came into a room where the authors were present during one of the many post-New Year celebrations. At an advanced stage of merriment himself, he turned to his host and by way of introduction said that he had just come from Hong Kong. "Oh, from Hong Kong," the host said, "that is why you cough so, kong, kong, kong," adding that he himself came from New York (pronounced in Japanese similar to *nyūyoku*, meaning "a bath"), whereupon the arriving guest went into the motions of someone taking a bath, saying "ah from *nyūyoku*," and so the fun went on, mostly as a take-off on the American guests who were present. This reminded the clerk of another story at the expense of the authors, which he told with gusto. "That first day he came to Taira, Maretzki came up to me when I was carrying pebbles from the beach and asked if he could help since he was going to haul pebbles too. Then he started to introduce himself, and I only understood 'Umaretsuki' (similar to Japanese for 'temperament') . . . I waited and waited for a story, but nothing followed. I did not know what to say." He had never repeated this story during many sober encounters. 527 574 522 123

At another event, when several teachers were present, one of the men, after much gaiety, turned to a female teacher whose husband had left for the city to find a job and called over: "Hey, your mosquito netting must be wide now, huh?" The woman blushed, covered her mouth with a handkerchief and laughed. 522

The evening is never old before one man, or several who are known 574 533 534

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

left for later practice. When all the new words are presented in this fashion, the teacher takes the textbook and reads the passage once more to the class. This is a signal for all to pay close attention to their books. After this, everyone reads to himself. For about five minutes bedlam reigns as discordant voices fill the room. Then a child is called by the teacher to read aloud to the class. The teacher may call on several other students before instructing all to read to themselves once more, for the last time. Should a child make a mistake in reading, the teacher rereads the passage. The lesson is concluded with instructions to study it that night. In the evening, back in the village, one is apt to hear loud, sing-song recitations of the lesson being read and reread. Elementary school students delight in verbal presentations of whole lessons on the spur of the moment during playtime. Talent programs are popular among 8-year-old girls, and at village or school celebrations in which students participate it would be unusual not to have at least two readings offered. The school also promotes oratorical contests in which long, memorized stories are recited. Rote memory, discussion with association of facts, familiar with the unfamiliar, and imitation, therefore, are utilized in these learning situations. 872 876 [537]

Although reading allows for a certain amount of creativity in timing and flexibility of inflection patterns, penmanship is a rigidly controlled practice. As the teacher writes the character on the board, strictest attention is required. There is precise order in the sequence of strokes, as well as unquestionable direction as to how to form them. The teacher counts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, while writing the strokes on the board. All children have to raise their right hand and with the index finger write the character in the air, following the teacher's example. The character is written in this fashion four or five times before the whole class is sent to the blackboard in small groups to demonstrate that they have understood the principles of writing the character. This process uses imitation, repetition, and memorization in learning. 872 876 212

In the area of physical science and social studies, teachers are working toward practical applications of concepts which were presented in the lessons. Resources are very limited and so is the potential of actual experiences which a northern Okinawan village child is likely to have during childhood. Applying concepts mostly remains in the realm of discussion in class and not as much has been done to widen the circle as educators wish. Excursions to the beach and mountains help somewhat to integrate and bring into association those facts, mentioned in textbooks, which have reference to the local environ- 872 876

844 kimonos, and diapers. He is placed under the blanket next to the
[853] mother and given a gauze nipple dipped in tea and sugar to suck, which is often his only food for as long as two days if lactation is slow. Meanwhile the afterbirth is wrapped in straw and left under the floorboards in the kitchen to await the outgoing tide.

846 Tea is now served in the front room, and the birth is discussed by
593 the women who assisted. On one such occasion, the father and grandmother showed a little boy whose sister had just been born a great deal of affection. The father held the boy in his lap, and both adults told him that he was now a big brother.

844 At the first hour of the outgoing tide, old women—the grandmother
851 of the baby, relatives, and neighbors—wrap the afterbirth in rice straw
156 and bury it in a specified place outdoors behind the hearth. The purpose of the ceremony is to ensure that the child will be happy and sociable. To the accompaniment of laughing, loud clanging of pots and covers, and calling to each other, the women circle the house. When the burial is completed, they chant loudly, "May this baby al-
[152] ways laugh and be pleasant." A stone is then placed over the burial mound so that the infant will not be frightened in his sleep, an emotion which is inferred from the jerking of a young infant while asleep.

852 Until about 10 years ago a ceremony was performed by descendants
565 of noble families from Shuri over the newborn to ensure success in his
462 future role. For boys, a winnowing basket was propped up against a hoe on which a clump of soil and grass rested. While the father's mother
[178] held the child in one arm, she shot an arrow with a bow into the basket. This act was to make certain that the child would become a good hunter (provider) as well as a successful farmer. The grass on the hoe
[286] symbolized strength. A girl, on the other hand, received a miniature loom constructed especially for such occasions, which was to assure her success as a weaver of cloth. A spool of banana fiber was presented along with the loom.

852 There is a story that long, long ago an infant was born on the beach.
565 Immediately after he was born, as he still lay on the sand, a crab
538 crawled over his chest. This infant grew up to be a strong, famous man. Shuri descendants still have a custom of grandmothers holding a newborn boy in their laps and releasing a small crab, which scurries over the infant's chest. These practices, however, are absent in central Taira now and are rarely found in the outlying settlements of predominantly Shuri descendants.

846 Formerly mother and child were confined to the darkened delivery
178 room next to the kitchen and at the rear of the house for seven days, while an open fire was kept blazing in the brazier near the mother.

212 177 829 [570] Writing Okinawa never developed an independent system of writing; in the old kingdom both Japanese and Chinese were used. Literacy was largely confined to the upper classes, and it is said that students were sent to both countries for study. Apparently the literati held the Chinese language and culture in high regard while disdaining that of the Japanese; yet, Bettelheim noted in 1851 that Japanese books were very popular in spite of this contempt of the literati.[1] He also stated that the Okinawans always preferred biblical texts written in Japanese to those in Chinese. In view of the political paramouncy of Japan from 1609 and the close linguistic and cultural ties between the two peoples this popularity of Japanese is not surprising. It also should be noted that although the literati are reported as preferring Chinese to Japanese, the major literary achievements of Okinawa were written in Japanese. Thus, for example, the Omorosōshi, sixteenth century collection of songs which the late Dr. Ifa has called the Ryukyuan scriptures, was recorded in a Japanese style of writing; the same is true for the annals of the old kingdom and for the first dictionary of the Okinawan language.

[538]

212 177 With the advent of a Japanese administration and educational system, the study of Chinese ceased, and today Japanese is used exclusively. Most Okinawan place names and family names as they are written in Japanese can be given two interpretations, the Japanese and the Okinawan; in a majority of cases the Japanese is given preference. Occasionally when Okinawan speech is transcribed as in the case of lyrics accompanying phonograph records, the Japanese syllabary is used. This is not a suitable devise for transcribing Okinawan speech, which contains many sounds unfamiliar to Japanese. Unfortunately much of the early linguistic research conducted in this area was rendered virtually worthless by the employment of this syllabary. In recent years scholars like Miyanagn and Kinjo have recorded Ryukyuan using the International Phonetic Alphabet.

[404]

197 191 177 178 Conclusion At the present time Okinawan speech enjoys widespread use throughout the whole of the island. It is still the language of the home, and as such it is a more common medium of expression than the official language, Japanese. The latter, backed by the government, schools, and all the forces of modern life, is gradually supplanting Okinawan, but it would be an over-statement to say that the language is dying out. It may be expected that the majority of Okinawans will remain bilingual as they are today until such time when a whole adult generation will speak only Japanese and transmit only Japanese to its offspring.

[1] Bettelheim, n.d., p. 31.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

who upset the tea cups and the sake flasks. 000

A public parade and celebration was held in Itoman in 1951, and a short digression to describe it may be worth while. The main attraction was a parade, which halted frequently so that participating groups could perform dances, acts, or skits. In these there were several themes: (1) dances by female groups of all ages from beginning school girls to old women in their seventies. Many women wore artificial turtles on their hats, the younger children having paper outlines of turtles. The young girls were led by an older man who kept time either by playing the samisen or by clapping his hands. The very young girls beat small tin cans with sticks. The dances of the older girls and women were of two kinds: one symbolized the crane and the turtle (tsurukame). The turtle is a symbol of longevity. The second is the pine-bamboo-plum tree triad (shochikubai) symbolizing long life and beauty. (2) Female impersonators imitated both the traditional Japanese woman with her costume and hair arrangement, and the modern woman with a chignon wearing a bright kimono, sun glasses, and smoking a cigarette. Their antics depended for their humor on the gracelessness of the men: they included mock flirtations and rejections, kicking of the heels, slapping with a fan, and other clowning. (3) Various balancing acts with long poles done by boys and young men. (4) Skits of individuals dressed as savages from the south seas. (5) Humorous acts showing the people of the northern district who were portrayed as jolly country bumpkins. Their caps, with tassels, looked like a cocoanut shell. The long false hair and beards were made of palm fibre. They carried ludicrous looking saws and axes while dragging a log. 527 541 [535] [533] [825] [824] [536]

One feature of the Itoman celebration was the well-known rope pulling contest (tsunahiki). The giant rope, made of rice straw, is at least 100 yards long, and about two feet in diameter. Each end has a loop. These loops, joined by a heavy piece of wood, are above the center line. The men of the town divide into two groups. The tug of war began about 5 in the afternoon and was soon over, but one has been known to last until one or two o'clock in the morning. It is found in all villages, but there is no set date for it. The tug of war is an old diversion in Okinawa.[5] 527 526

In former years, Minatogawa people participated in the Itoman festival. In 1951, they held their own evening celebration. This is a time of great beauty, with the light of the full moon illuminating the Pacific, the coral coast, and the mountains. The evening entertainment consists of some acts, similar to vaudeville, and a longer play. Crowds came from the surrounding villages, bringing their own mats and their own sake. Most of the officials of the township attended. 527 [628]

5 Goldschmidt, Neu-Japan, has reproduced an interesting painting showing a tug of war in Naha around the end of the 18th century. It shows an audience of court officials, the Chinese ambassador, as well as the various participants. Facing p. 179. [114]

543 these matters. In township exhibits of arts and crafts, there are evidences of these skills, such as the training of a chrysanthemum, a favorite choice, but these are not part of daily life.

532 Yet there is evidence of artistic talent and interest which teachers and parents encourage in the young. Okinawan children draw and copy well. It is not unusual to see an otherwise bare room of a [353] poor farmer's home decorated with the paintings or drawings of a son or daughter. While clearly the work of novices, they often show feeling for line and color. School buildings, houses, and landscapes are the favorite subjects. Drawing skills come as no surprise because of the close relationship, in countries using the Chinese character, 815 of calligraphy and art. Teachers of drawing and art in the schools are skillful in rapid sketching, and part of this skill must be the re- 212 sult of early training in the sequence of strokes and in writing the Chinese character with confidence and boldness.

535 Dancing and samisen playing are learned by imitation and self- 533 instruction. Music is learned by ear, the dancing by observing the old 868 and skilled. Parents do not instruct their children in these arts; they pick up the skill themselves. There are no village teachers nor do the schools teach native dances, songs, or samisen playing. (In recent years instruction books have been furnished when a samisen is [562] purchased). Samisen playing is a monopoly of the men, many of whom also have a repertoire of traditional dances. These performers are always in demand on social occasions. Both old and young men dance, but only the old women feel free to do so. Seeing a seventy or eighty year old grandmother dancing at a party is commonplace, but I have never seen a young girl or a young woman in her thirties doing this. (Young girls and young women may participate in formal dances in processions and on holidays). Among the younger people, there is considerable interest, but little facility in American dancing.

532 Hanging scrolls (kakemono) are often purchased by the villagers. But these are dashed off affairs, following Japanese art conventions, such as the jolly Japanese patron saint, tigers, the bamboo-plum blossom-cherry triad, and the turtle and the cormorant, etc.

181 One has the impression of latent talent in music, dancing, and drawing but that the cultural conditions have not been favorable to [533] their development. Social events and parties are unthinkable without [535] singing, dancing, and samisen playing. Good drawing and calligraphy [532] are admired. But none of these seem to be highly developed folk arts. [868] Possibly one reason is that the transmission of the skills has been purely imitative, and that a body of knowledge has not accumulated in books, organised teaching, or through apprenticeship and hereditary occupations by which ideas can be improved upon by wider dissemination. [369] The cultural isolation of rural villages may have prevented the building up of a tradition in art and handicraft. Naha and Shuri, the historical cultural centers, have produced the fine examples of lacquer ware, ceramics, and paintings. [636] Possibly also Japanese repression of the native culture has been the main reason. Whatever they are, the lack of advance-

2. Rural Industries

178 Generally speaking, it can be said that much less effort is put forth
433 in the countryside now toward home industries than was the case before the
• 543 war. In Nanahan making of products at home has declined to the point where rather than being made for sale, they are made only for exhibit at the fair given annually at the local primary school. Even here considerable urging is required by the village officials, and entries are forthcoming only by an appeal to pride in one's village's standing at the fair.

249 Sugar Presses and Mills Okinawa has two modern western-style sugar refin-
257 eries, one at Haebaru and one on the isle of Minami Daitō. At the other end of the scale there are the some-400 horse-drawn rotary mills. Between these there are perhaps a dozen or less mills which utilize gasoline-powered motors and are geared to operate on a much larger scale than the rotary presses.

471 In rebuilding the big mill at Tomoyose which had been destroyed in the
257 war, each family that owned stock in the mill contributed the labor of one per-
461 son per day of building. On a typical day they started work at eight, had a fifteen-minute "break" at ten, and returned home for lunch for an hour at noon. After an afternoon "break", the work continued until six. Breaks and resumption of work were announced by pounding on an empty oxygen cylinder of large dimensions. The only break I observed lasted for 24 minutes. Tea was served to everyone, and the men sat around discussing how they would be able to pay for the building---which was made of sandy limestone from Minatogawa---and
471 where they would borrow money. The sugar produced was to be sold to the Ag-
257 ricultural Federation in Naha, as is the sugar produced at the smaller mills. However, the sugar was to be sold in 50 kin (66 pound) bags rather than in
[433] 100 kin barrels. The potential annual output was estimated at 15,000 bags, or approximately one-half the Tomoyose village production.

256 Kanegusuku Rice Mill There is one small rice mill in Kanegusuku. All the villagers who have rice land---or about 70% of the families---utilize this mill for polishing. No one in the village uses the
[439] old-fashioned hand mill. The owner of the rice mill says that most of the villagers cannot afford to pay cash for having their rice polished. Consequently he takes as multure about two-thirds of one 'gō' from each 'shō' of rice. This amounts to approximately six percent of their rice. The villagers evidently trust him completely, for no one was seen standing around watching while their rice was being polished.

The owner says that his machines are old and break down frequently. Three machines are required for the whole process. This is not a full-time job except during the harvesting periods. The young man who is owner regularly works on his family's lands. All operation and maintenance are done by him; he does not hire a helper even in the busiest times.

286 Mat-Making in Kanegusuku The three-cornered sedge ('sankaku-i') is a reed
433 grown in a wet field like rice, and is the basis of 'tatami omote' and 'goza' manufacture, the chief home industry of Kanegu-
[178] suku. Production of the reed in Kanegusuku today is about one-tenth the pre-

soup. Nothing is wasted and leftovers are kept for the next meal. The 512
majority of people are fast eaters, and chopsticks move from bowl to 262
mouth quickly and deftly. Some families eat silently, others enjoy talk- 269
ing during the meal. [521]

Before and after full moon, people like to go out after supper and 512
gather in small groups by the store to talk and smoke or to visit each 574
other. Less running back and forth is observed during dark nights. [521]
There is also a seasonal variation in that respect. On cold winter nights, or when it rains, doors are closed early, and visitors slip into the house by the side kitchen door. On warm nights all houses are open, and one can see people sitting in their living room by the light of a kerosene lamp; passers-by just call over and then go in for a chat. Guests are served tea, bits of brown sugar, and other sweets. Men get together at [262]
this time and start talking over a cup of sake. A relative or neighbor, bottle in hand, walks in and joins the party. Here and there somebody pulls a samisen out of the corner and starts singing.

Evenings are also the time for village meetings, finance group meet- 512
ings, family gatherings, and other formal get-togethers. Several times 623
during the week a light shines from the village office or the store office, where some of the village leaders meet to discuss community affairs. In the winter, household-head meetings or other general meetings are called for 8 o'clock; in the summer they do not start until 9 o'clock. In the absence of clocks, few meetings ever start on time.

The young men and women have their get-togethers at the club- 512
house in Udenaha. Both sexes attend, sometimes for lectures by a vil- 883
lage official on village affairs, sometimes for lessons in bookkeeping 571
and the use of the abacus in business, for which one village leader [544]
dedicates his time, or for other educational purposes. Once a week they have a social evening with discussion and sometimes folk dances. On nights when no meetings are scheduled, young men gather at someone's house to smoke, drink, or sing together. If enough sake is available, parties can become noisy. Occasionally a fight or quarrel starts [578]
later in the evening after everybody has drunk steadily. Such interruptions on quiet evenings are rare and seldom occur more than once or twice a month. Loud singing at midnight or later, a group of gay men knocking on somebody's door, these are the only disturbances an early sleeper may experience if a party is held somewhere.

By 11 o'clock mosquito nets are hung in the rooms and comforters 512
spread on the floor. Except in the house where men gather to drink, 513
quiet descends over the village around that time. Individuals, however, may be seen until long after midnight. Taira goes to sleep late, and although people claim that everyone gets eight hours of sleep, it

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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Community Recreation

Were it not for the public holidays and festivals, the family 529
celebrations and informal social gatherings, opportunities for
recreation would be very limited. Seeing a Japanese motion picture
usually involves going to another village. Young people, especially [368]
those studying English, go to American movies in Naha when they can [177]
afford it. Many went to see Hamlet when it played there.

A Naha troupe presents plays in the rural villages. These ap- 545
pearances are advertised by a sound truck travelling throughout the
countryside. Plays are of two main types: the historical drama and 536
those of domestic life and manners. The historical plays are usually
based on the heroic age in Okinawa, and are so filled with episodes
and sword play that it is difficult, even for an Okinawan, to follow
the plot. All plays are given in Okinawan.

The plot of a play of manners is of more interest, since it is concerned with the conflicts of obligations, duties, and personal desires. One such play, The Chaste Woman and the Dutiful Son, concerns a married couple who have one son. The husband drank too much and went with another woman. The wife objected, the husband tells her he no longer wants her and desires a divorce. The divorce attained, he takes the other woman as a second wife and moves with her to Nago, where he lives. Twenty years after, the second wife becomes ill, and dies, and the husband finds it increasingly difficult to earn a livelihood. The first wife, in the meantime, anxious to bring up her child well, has sent him to school. At the age of 20 he has become a school teacher. [875]
The successful young man--becoming a teacher is a great success--marries. The young couple have a child and everyone is happy.

The father in Nago earns a precarious living selling firewood. One day he reads of the success of his son in a newspaper. (This provides the actor with an opportunity for exaggerated astonishment and much staggering around). More soberly, the father decides to visit the first wife and their son. Lack of pride and poverty permits him to do this.

The first wife gives him an angry reception. When he has forced his way into the house, there is a loud quarrel. The successful young school teacher returns home, sees the quarrel, and asks his mother the identity of the man. The mother replies that she does not know him. The son inquires the reason for such a violent quarrel between his mother and a stranger. The mother had previously told her son his father had died. She now says she lied, and in the ensuing revelations, the son weeps a little. The father implores his son to intervene in obtaining the forgiveness of his former wife. But she will not forgive--neither will she forget--and does not want the old man around at all. The son

536 reminds his mother that he is a school teacher, that if he does not permit his father to enter the house, he can no longer teach school. The mother yields; the son and his wife bring their child to the new found grandfather, and the play closes with the overjoyed grandfather fondling and holding the child in his arms.

In the play, the conflict is resolved by a balancing of obligation with pride. A real father would have been so ashamed that he would [829] never have returned, but then there would have been no play. Only a poor, lonely shameless and crafty fellow would have come back. But once he was back, the son had no alternative but to accept and honor him. The woman's power in the house and her devotion to her son are demonstrated, but she too must yield to the obligation of her son's filial piety, though she does this only after a determined and dignified resistance.

●545 Plays on the rural circuit start about 9 and end about 11 in the evening. The entertainment generally consists of an opening traditional dance by a woman, followed by a comedy skit, and a longer play, such as the one just described. Comedy skits usually depend on clumsiness or 536 obtuseness as the sources of their humor. One skit, for example, involved a thief entering a house at night. Clumsy and unsure of his way, he stumbled over everything, made loud noises, and was constantly in fright to see if some fresh stumble had awakened the house. Finally he manages to hide under a table, near which the members of the family are seated discussing a problem. His discovery, due to further awkward motions and noises, the chase, and his final apprehension close the skit.

545 Rural audiences are critical. Some actors cause laughter because their Okinawan pronunciation is considered poor, and the laughter often carries over to the serious parts. Delays between the acts are met with impatience, and there is some prompting from the audience. The admission is Y20 for adults and Y10 for children. The audience sits on the ground. These plays do not attract a large crowd unless the offering is a well liked play.

526 Sports and athletic meets are favorite recreations both for participants and observers. The sports mentioned by travellers 50 or 60 years ago, such as horse racing, boat racing, tugs of war, archery, and boxing have given way to a more organized athletic activity, inspired by the Japanese example. Only the boat racing and the rope tug of war have survived in these villages. Hinatogawa's boat race each year attracts villagers from miles around. All villages, at various times of the year, have a rope tug of war. The annual athletic meets, which will be discussed under education, were introduced into Okinawa about 50 or 60 years ago.

Amami Oshima, Okinawa, Miyako, and Yaeyama.[1] Although they appear to differ widely, mutual intelligibility prevails, and informants from other islands assured me that they had managed to understand Okinawan in a short time though most preferred to use Japanese rather than attempt the new dialect. 197

Okinawan Dialects The Okinawan dialect area, Okinawa and its offshore islands, contains many sub-dialects or local speech groups, all of which are easily mutually intelligible. It would be an exaggeration to state that there is a distinctive dialect for each community; yet the variety and diversity of local speech forms constantly impresses one. Nakasone has distinguished five dialects in the Kunigami area alone, and this does not include nearly a dozen and a half distinctive speech islands within the same area.[2] These local speech peculiarities are often pointed out with considerable pride and seem much prized as symbolic of a community's identity. [621]

The dialects of Naha, Shuri, and certain of the larger towns such as Itoman and Yonabaru, are quite distinctive and easily recognized by the Okinawans. Naha dialect is most widely spoken and easily understood throughout the island, and because of its association with the capital carries the greatest prestige among Okinawan speakers. Old residents of Naha complain that their dialect has deteriorated and become coarsened since the war due to the heavy influx from other areas of people who speak the dialect imperfectly. By this they refer to the loss of certain polite forms and the inundations of Japanese. Some Shuri people will contend that the "best" Okinawan is spoken in their city. In the past this was undoubtedly a widely accepted point of view, but with the advent of Japanese administration---exile of the king, removal of the capital to Naha, abolition of the upper classes---Shuri's prestige as a cultural center rapidly declined. A number of informants, rural and urban, felt that the "purest" Okinawan was heard in the Naha theaters, particularly at the Naha Gekijō, where daily performances of modern and historical dramas are presented. Itoman dialect is considered to be very coarse and rough by the people of other communities, and hence is accorded a low prestige. This is in part due to certain prosodic features of the dialect which render it unlike other Okinawan dialects, but more likely it is due to the fact that this town largely derives its livelihood from fishing, an occupation regarded with opprobrium by farmers and urbanites alike. The neighboring farm village of Kanegusuku, though less than a quarter of a mile away and long associated with Itoman, preserves a dialect distinct from it. [554] [177] [648] [177] [545] [554] [226]

This dialectic diversity on Okinawa reflects to a certain extent the physical isolation of the typical village, a tightly-nucleated cluster of dwellings surrounded by fields. It is also a product of the social structure in the Okinawan kingdom. Prior to annexation by Japan (1879), farmers were little more than serfs bound to the soil and forbidden to leave their native village, while the gentry and nobility were for the most part concentrated in the urban Naha-Shuri district. Rural villages tended to be isolated, self-sustaining units; most were composed of a dominant kin group (munchu) and several smaller and possibly remotely related kin groups, or of several unrelated kin groups more nearly equal in size. A munchu was made up of a number [361] 197 105 [566] [565] [621]

[1] Miyanaga /Miyara/, 1950, p. 39.

[2] Nakasone, 1937, pp. 242-258.

178 369 The new roads and buses have done much to break down the isolation of the village; the physical barriers separating village from town have greatly diminished. This has enabled the rural dweller to enter the labor markets of the urban areas and to expand greatly the markets for his products.

178 20 Communications Equally as impressive as the changes in transportation have been those in communications. Today newspapers, radios, telephones, and movies are making their influence felt in the country. Prior 178 to the war there were five motion-picture theaters on Okinawa; today there 546 are fifty-seven, and approximately one-third of the films shown are of [177] Western origin. Though the theaters are concentrated in the towns and cities, the young people of neighboring farm villages often make regular use of them. Some of the young people in Kanegusuku go to the theaters in Itoman several times a week.

178 204 Everyone asserts that newspapers are becoming more common in the rural areas. In the isolated village of Oku at the northern end of Okinawa the mayor informed us that nearly 90% of the houses subscribe regularly to a newspaper.

178 207 203 In Kanegusuku seventy of its 103 houses obtained radios this year under the group listening system. A number of those who were unable to secure radios (due to a lack of equipment) are hoping to do so in the near future. In some villages the group listening system has been utilized as a public address system for official announcements. This has greatly simplified the problem of conveying information or orders to the villagers. Pitts made use of this system on Henza Shima to explain his purpose in studying there. In this same village the regular Shuri broadcasts are sometimes replaced with Okinawan music played on a phonograph owned by the village. On Izena Shima the system is used to announce the arrivals and departures of the two ferryboats which serve the island.

The radio has been eagerly received in all communities which the author visited and has been instrumental in bringing the villagers into contact with the outside world.

177 178 241 Agriculture and the Rural Economy Major changes in Okinawan agriculture have been slight. Improvements have been made in yields as the result of scientific research conducted by the Japanese, a few new minor crops have been introduced, modern fertilizers have been made available, and the system of land tenure was radically altered by the Japanese; but the basic agricultural methods have remained the same. The major crops have not changed though their ratios have fluctuated, and most importantly, farm holdings remain as scattered and heavily fragmented as ever. There is at present no trend or even a suggestion of a trend toward consolidation of holdings nor is there any indication of a lessening of land pressure. So long as the farms remain small, fragmented, and widely scattered, there will be no possibility of using machinery or scientific methods. The present system of intensive gardening does produce a high yield per acre, but it also demands a large labor supply.

households. Noodles are another item of regular purchase. Starch and bean paste are typical items which formerly were always made in the home but now may be purchased instead. 178 262

In sum Okinawan diet has improved in quantity and variety. Food tastes are more catholic today; certain foreign foods are greatly appreciated. There is a greater reliance on manufactured and processed foods, and greater cash expenditures are made for food.

Entertainment and Leisure There has been a marked decline in village celebrations and festivals in which all residents participate. Formerly O Bon, New Year's, and harvesting time were occasions for village-wide celebrations; today these are gone from most communities; celebrations are restricted to the family and friends. Most of the village celebrations were basically religious in nature and with the decline of the old religion these celebrations have been dropped. 527 796 178 621

Parties to mark an individual's change of status were formerly held on the 13th, 25th, 37th, 48th, 61st, 73rd, 85th, 88th and 97th birthdays, but today only those for the old people are observed. Frequently a party is held to mark an individual's success in the competitive examination to enter high school, but aside from that, rites of passage for the young and middle-aged are no longer observed. 527 178

The Japanese introduced one form of entertainment which has achieved immense popularity; this is a sporting event sponsored by the school. These are usually held on Sunday during the fall of the year, and usually the whole school participates. There is intra-school competition and later inter-school; intense interest is generated and often this becomes an important topic for conversation among the young men. 526 177

Local units of the national organizations such as the youths' association and the women's association frequently hold parties for their members. In fact these organizations are mainly of a social nature. 575

As noted above, prior to the war there were five motion picture theaters on Okinawa; today there are fifty-seven. American and European films constitute from one quarter to one third of the total shown. Though most of these theaters are located in the cities and towns, the young people of the nearby farming villages make frequent use of them. The popularity of the American "Western" among the young people has caused some to attribute juvenile delinquency to this, although the relatively more bloody Japanese sword-fighting pictures ('chambara') are considered harmless. 546 177

The popularity of Okinawan dancing and music seems undiminished. Radio broadcasts of Okinawan music are much enjoyed; and virtually every party provides the opportunity for music and dancing in which most of the guests participate. A few of the better-educated young people profess an appreciation of Western classical music and jazz, but most of them prefer Japanese and American love ballads though they still remain very fond of the Okinawan music. 533 535 177

585 following the marriage, there is another ceremony, the day this time for relatives and perhaps a few close friends. The couple go to the bride's house where there is food and sake. This means the husband has really and finally accepted the daughter of the house and is thanking her parents for her.

But these events also are not observed uniformly. On the second day, there may be a gathering of friends and relatives, to be followed on the next day by visits of the bride, groom, and the groom's friends and relatives to the bride's home to give thanks for receiving the girl in marriage.

585 The food served at weddings depends on the economic circumstances
26 of the family. But at today's prices food which would be considered acceptable costs at least Y100 per person including sake. This feast had many extras and consisted of a buckwheat (soba) noodle soup, slices of beef and pork, eggs, tenpura, a fritter without a fish or meat filling, sweet potatoes, a vegetable salad of raw radish, green onion and sea weed shoots, bean curd, a boiled fish paste, rice cakes, and a sweet round fritter (sato tenpura) very much resembling the doughnut in taste, various cakes, and a sponge cake (kasutera).

585 The marriage ceremony is performed only when the tide is coming in,
[823] for the same reasons that were noted with the birthday celebration of the child. Marriage is a time of bounty and fulfillment, not of diminution and withdrawal.

585 There was a "very ancient" Okinawan custom, cited by Spencer on
114 the authority of Shimabuku Genkichi, the student of Okinawan history, of the bride remaining in the home of her parents even after marriage, and the husband coming to her home to spend the nights with her. This Spencer ascribed to the high economic value of the woman and the custom at the time of Spencer's writing (1931) was still said to exist in parts of the northern district (Kunigami) of Okinawa.[3] The temporary return of the wife to her home after her marriage, while the husband
● [548] went to a public brothel was also an old custom.[4]

585 The preceding description of a wedding ceremony in Hatsuda may be
184 compared with one seen in Oushichan village close to Hanashiro. (Rural weddings are not so easy to see as one might think. There may be only one or two in a year in a village; when the parties are from different villages, the number in any one village is also reduced). In this

3 Spencer, as cited, 96. In my studies at Hatsuda (which is in the Kunigami district) and in visits to Oku on the extreme northern part of the island, I did not encounter any indication of the survival of this custom. But unfortunately I was unaware of their previous existence and there may well be survivals in some of the villages.

4 Simon, Beitrage zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, 97.

861 forced when his mother does search for him and takes him home. Furthermore, she serves him the dinner which he was to have been deprived of as punishment. This theme apprears not only in reality [125] but also in the children's projections in the verbal TAT's.

There are, however, threats of withdrawal of love by the mother which evoke great fear of actual loss of love among children. These fears are based on the fact that, in contrast with the foregoing examples, no happy ending can be expected from this threatened punishment. The child is no longer confident that his mother's feelings will soften in the long run when she says to a disobedient son: "We will sell you to the Itoman fisherman." The boy has undoubtedly heard stories of little boys being sold to southern Okinawan fishermen. Such words make him quake with fear, and he promises to obey. Girls, on the other hand, are told they will be "changed for money" and made to live a life of virtual slavery in the house of strangers. These threats [466] have a realistic basis; children know that until recent times boys were [548] sold to fishermen and that girls paid off their parents' debts by working in a house of prostitution or for a farmer who accepted the extra hand instead of money for his debt. At least two persons still live in the village who had such experiences when they were young. One woman can testify to the mistreatment which she received from her masters during indentured labor, and such stories of many cases which are widely known are passed on to children.

At present a new twist has been added to the old theme. Mothers [648] silence a crying child with, "If you don't stop crying, we will give you to the Negroes." Now and then a grandmother will point to a jeep full of soldiers passing by and warn, "Eh! Come home now or we give you to the Americans." The response is usually immediate. The frightened child runs home, clutching onto his grandmother's kimono while the old woman cackles with amusement.

Some mothers threaten their children with running away themselves and leaving them with their fathers. This technique proves just as effective as the former, for a child's concept of support or love with respect to his father is never clearly defined.

One mother, after a particularly exasperating day, thought she would make good her threat to run away from the house. She packed some clothes in a bundle and started off in the direction of the main road. Quickly ducking around houses, she ended up a couple of houses away from her own and sat sipping tea with her neighbor in the back room. Meanwhile, the child, who had been hiding from her mother all day to avoid chores, discovered that her mother was missing. She started to search the village and was told by cooperating adults that

One of the most respected household heads in Nanahan was sold when a boy. His poor Shuri parents sold him to rich Nanahan relatives, even though he was a first son. His relative, a woman who still lives there, had him work her fields for his support. However, she allowed him to work off-season as a day laborer, and he was permitted to keep his earned money. People commented: "He was and still is honest." 858 432

One of the consistent themes of Okinawan literature is the sale of children to Itoman. The practice continues today, perhaps in less intensive form. A grown man who now lives in Yamada was sold from Yamada to Itoman people when he was a boy. He returned to Yamada when the village was resettled after the war, considering that his time was up. He is one of the men who fish part-time, having learned something of fishing from the Itoman people.

Three boys at least were being held during our stay by an Itoman man. He and the boys move about quite a bit, but he has his home in Itoman. The boys, at least one of whom is from Ie Shima, call him "uncle". The boys are about junior high school age but are not in school. When a woman who knew about the situation was asked why this was not reported to the police, she expressed surprise at the idea. She did not know if the practice were illegal or not, and more or less defended the man---a relative by marriage---by saying that Itoman people had always done this. She added that the man treated the boys well, though she knows the stories about how badly the Itoman people treated the boys they bought in the past. One has run away several times but he always comes back.

One respondent, whose knowledge and intelligence command respect, says that both boys and girls are still being bought regularly from the off-shore islands. The boys are sold to fishermen, and the girls to brothel-keepers. He believes the treatment of the boys may be no better than it ever was but commented that at least they are learning a trade that they can follow when they are freed; the girls are more to be pitied. [548]

It is evident that the child of a very poor family cannot yet regard the traditional disciplinary threat---"If you don't be good, I'll sell you to Itoman"---as an idle one.

The activities at the moo-ashibii and the yagamayaa undoubtedly led 893
in many cases to secret sexual relations. Probably most young men in the 836
country first experienced sex as a result of intrigues developing through these activities. Young women differed more in their experience. Daughters of the gentry may have had little or none. Some girls who did go to the moo-ashibii, it is said, went merely to hear the singing. Those who behaved promiscuously were talked about and the reputation they gained lasted. Yet it seems unlikely that chastity was valued very highly or that virginity was expected at marriage. One young woman had heard in Japan how husbands sometimes divorced their wives upon finding after marriage that they were not [171] virgins. She had never heard of this having been done on Okinawa and neither she nor her mother could even give an Okinawan equivalent of the Japanese word 'shojo', "virgin".

Formerly among the gentry class in Naha and Shuri it was customary 833
for a father to take his son, or have a relative or friend take him, to a 565
jurimuyaa to let him have his first sexual experience. According to Yanagida, 178
until the last decades of the last century this was part of a young man's 548
coming-of-age celebration held at the beginning of his 13th (15th?) year; the juri who functioned in this capacity were called niisee-chuurasaa, "those who make youths into men".[1]

At the present time the rural moo-ashibii and yagamayaa are probably 178
less important institutions than they formerly were, but they undoubtedly do 833
still exist. At present there are more occasions when young people of the opposite sex can meet and feel that it is proper to do so. In the pre-war counterparts of the Youth Organization and in the schools the sexes were separate. Now they mingle more freely. The need to meet in groups in a half-clandestine manner is not so great. Now as before real intrigues are con- [584] ducted in secret, but something approaching an open courtship is now possible.

Marriage: Preliminaries Until recently marriages were nearly always ar- 584
ranged by the family for the good of the family. 178
The object in arranging a match was to acquire a daughter-in-law to produce [581] heirs for and to keep house for the son. The couple themselves were consulted and one of them could refuse the match if it were really disagreeable, but more often they agreed to it. At present young people often choose for themselves, but even so they may abandon a desired marriage if it is strongly opposed by one or more of the parents.

In the past moo-ashibii may have led to marriage in some cases but more often it did not, even when liaisons resulted in children. At present young unmarried men and women associate more freely in public, and mutual attraction may lead to a relationship more like the Western courtship leading to marriage. This had been especially true since the war.

Formal Ceremonies As in many societies there are more formal and 584
less formal ways of marrying. The preliminaries to the older family-arranged marriage usually begin with a proposal by the young man's family. If the

[1] Yanagida, 1951, p. 309.

If the
584 girl's family is favorably disposed, one or both parties visit a diviner
791 (sanjinsoo, Japanese 'ekisha') to determine the compatibility of the couple (eesoo shirabi). The diviner ostensibly does this by casting horoscopes and drawing lots, but it is likely that he also gives weight to factors known to him or revealed by the persons requesting advice so that if one of the participants has strong objections to the marriage he may find reasons why it should not be. This interpretation is merely an hypothesis, but it seems probably that the decision of the diviner may thus be a useful face-saving device. Possibly for this reason the go-between seems to be of secondary importance.

After the decision has been made to unite the two families in marriage there may be a formal betrothal ceremony (ubukui). For this the prospective
[593] groom's family sends certain gifts including a sum of money to the bride's home. This money, called injoojing, corresponds to the "bride price" of some societies. Its payment is probably the most essential element in the whole procedure, since a small sum is still paid even when other formalities are dispensed with. This payment seals the agreement.

585 The wedding ceremony (niibichi, "drawing the roots") takes place at the groom's house in the evening of a day determined by the diviner. First a party goes from the groom's house to the bride's house with gifts. This party then carries the bride to the groom's house, where they are met by a
[177] welcoming party. In recent times the ceremony at the groom's house has been the Japanese 'sansankudo', exchange of drinks; the original Okinawan ceremony was somewhat different. When this has been completed the bride and groom celebrate separately each with friends and relatives of the same sex. On the following day, or whenever the celebration is over, the couple pays a formal visit to the bride's parents.

[184] This elaborate procedure is not usual at the present time among country
[583] people. In fact, the ceremony may not occur at all; the woman may merely come to live with the man with little or no formal recognition of the change in status beyond perhaps the payment of a small bride price. The marriage has a legal existence when it is recorded in the 'koseki'. It may not be recorded immediately; often it is recorded only a little before or together with the recording of the birth of the first child. This practice obviates changing the record if the marriage is not successful.

585 But formerly among the gentry of Naha and Shuri the wedding was even
178 more elaborate than the procedure just described. Moreover, after the cere-
565 mony the groom, instead of entertaining his male relatives and friends at home, took them to a jurinuyaa where for three days and nights they were en-
• [548] tertained by the juri with food, drink, music, and sex. I am acquainted with three interpretations explaining why the groom spends his wedding night with a prostitute. The first, that given by an American missionary[1] explains the practice as symbolizing the freedom of the male and demonstrating to the bride that her husband was free to find sexual gratification elsewhere. The second interpretation was one given to me by a man in his thirties, a descendant of the Shuri gentry, and a man with rather "modern" ideas. He said that

[1] The missionary Schwarz, whose work is not presently available to me.

called for 'awamori'. After a few drinks he asked in a fairly serious manner, 831
"Have you bought a woman yet during your stay? You really ought to try an 522
Okinawan woman before you go." His daughter-in-law and two half-grown sons looked on in amusement. The question is not uncommon; on another occasion it was, "Have you tasted Okinawan women?"

In common talk, and perhaps in feeling, sex seems to be identified al- 541
most wholly with prostitution and the sex act with the hiring of a juri. The 831
sight of a seed boar being led across a field evoked the comment, "That pig's a man; he's on his way to buy a woman." Perhaps the above statement should be narrowed down to something like: the pleasurable aspects of sex are identified with prostitution. And sexual pleasure, like the pleasures of eating and drinking, singing and dancing, is something that guests may be treated to. (Hence the concern that the visitor sample all the pleasures that Okinawa offers and a pride in those for which it is famous.) In view of the fact that children grow up hearing about juri and jurinuyaa and associating them with other pleasures before they have any notion of their sexual functions, it is not surprising that when they become adults they display attitudes that are different from those found among Americans.

Before the war in the Tsuji district of Naha there were about three thousand juri.[1] The district was the center of the social life of the men [565]
of the upper classes. Business men, government officials, and teachers were entertained there. No doubt all did not "buy" juri, but sex was one of the principal commodities dispensed there. Also it is unlikely that the average farmer ever went there, but the indications are that he would have if he could have. A man is expected to want these things if he can afford them. The [184]
values of the farmer are not likely to be very different from those of the better-off city man. The jurinuyaa has played an important role in Okinawa society in the past and is not likely to disappear very soon.

Maturity and Old Age: Associations Men may continue to belong to the 575
'Seinenkai' until thirty; women drop 562
out at marriage. The reason that men stay longer may be to give greater continuity to the organization and to provide older members as leaders, but in view of the recreational activities of the organization it seems as likely that the rule is merely a part of the general tendency to give more freedom to men and more responsibility to women.

Adult Associations ('Seijinkai') are said to exist in some villages 575
but are not of any great importance. Associations formed by persons of the same age ('dōnenkai') also exist. In Japan such organizations are often com- [171]
posed of persons who were in the same class in school[2]; on Okinawa the number of older persons who attended school probably does not permit the formation of very large associations. The tendency among younger persons is not very noticeabe. Younger men may organize 'shōbōkai', volunteer fire brigades; such [368]
an organization patrolled the streets of Ishikawa nightly. We did not see any evidence of the persistence of any organizations based on former military [179]
service; the Japanese Army Reservists' Association may never have been very active on Okinawa.

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1 Yanagida, 1951, p. 309.

2 Embree, 1939, p. 163ff.

161 The percentage growth categories used on Map 6 are as follows:

Negative Growth
Less than Okinawa Average of 22% Growth
23-39% Growth
40-100% Growth
Over 100% Growth

Population Increase During 1951 and 1952 The accelerated military construction program has been quite important in drawing people to the main island of Okinawa. This is shown by [167] the fact that in the years 1951 and 1952 it gained over 47,000 inhabitants. More than 11,000 of these were contractors and construction workers from Japan. About 2,300 more such workers arrived from Japan in the first seven months of 1953.[1]

161 During this two year period, Okinawa's population increased by 5.55%.
166 On Map 7 all areas with an increase of less than that amount are considered as areas of emigration. Those areas where the increase was more than 5.55% are shown as areas of immigration.

All urban areas except Ishikawa continued to grow. Goeku and Kadena, which had in the previous decade grown amazingly fast, continued to be among the fastest-growing 'son' on the island. On the other hand, Kunigami-son and the entire east coast north of Ishikawa City reversed the trend of growth noted on Map 6, and became areas of excessive migration. In part this was due to the improvement of roads along the east coast, thus making the urban trek easier. But it owed just as much to the demand for skilled carpenters, who were abundant along the east coast.

If data were available at the 'aza', or village area level, the urban trend could be localized with greater accuracy. Military government personnel concerned with problems on the island relative to urbanization and its pace are advised to work with population data on the village ('aza' or 'ku') level if greater accuracy is desired. This information is rarely if ever presented in that detailed form to agencies of the Government of the Ryukyu Islands, and local inquiry must be made.

162 The Sex Ratio Okinawa shares with most of the Orient a great density of population per arable acre of land. Aside from this, the out- [161] standing fact about the population of Okinawa is the great preponderance of women over men. There are about 90 men for every 100 women in this area.[2] [548] This excess of women is reflected in such sociological phenomena as prosti- [549] tution, illegitimate and common law children, women functioning as heads of [550] households, and a high fertility ratio. The reasons for the excess are some- [551] what complex, but the most important factor is the recent war, in which many [162]

1 CAARI, p. 78.

2 The standard demographic definition of sex ratio is "the number of men for each 100 women."

192 any kind of body dirt or excretion, as mii-kusu, "sleep" in the eyes, haa-
[578] kusu, "stains on the teeth". As in Japanese it is used also in cursing; in
anger an Okinawan may say, "I'll make you eat feces." A similar phrase,
[777] kusu takkwee, "eat feces", is often spoken after someone, especially a baby,
[775] sneezes. It is explained that the custom arose when a person once overheard
two ghosts plotting to steal a baby's soul (mabui), which may be easily de-
tached by a sneeze; one of the ghosts revealed that if a living person spoke
the phrase it would be sufficient to drive him away. The fact that the
phrase is used in anger suggests that it is an undesirable one; that it is
used in the case of sneezing probably demonstrates the greater fear of ghosts.

831 Sex Practices and attitudes related to marriage have been discussed under
that heading in Chapter V. The sex drive seems to be regarded as
864 natural and not sinful. Adults playfully tweak the penises of little boys
and may put little children of both sexes to sleep by prolonged patting of
the buttocks. They do not tell their children about the nature of sex and
expect them not to know, yet the children hear much thinly-disguised dis-
cussion of sexual relationships and, sleeping with their parents as they do,
may be vaguely aware of their parents' relations. Parents expect their
children to learn of sex "naturally" as they grow older. As Maloney reports[1],
[839] there is little masturbation among small children, but two of Pitts' inform-
ants reported that adolescent boys sometimes hold masturbation contests to
see who can ejaculate the fastest. This practice is said to stop with the
beginning of heterosexual activity.

836 Formerly adolescents, except for girls of the gentry class, seem
883 to have had some sexual freedom. The practice of meeting in the fields at
178 night for parties, moo-ashibii, often led to sexual relations. According to
informants in one community syphilis was brought in late in the last century
through moo-ashibii with the youths of a neighboring village. Pre-marital
sexual relations are probably frequent today, though the conditions under
which young people meet are changing.

837 Married women are expected to have relations with only their hus-
548 bands, but married men are, in theory, limited only by their finances.
There exists in the larger towns a relatively large class of women called
juri, who function as both entertainers and prostitutes. (There is no dis-
tinction, like the Japanese distinction between 'geisha' and 'jorō'.) The
[178] jurimuyaa, "juri houses", were formerly centers of social life for the men
of the city. The present 'ryōtei' have much the same function. A group of
men may spend an evening there eating and drinking and being entertained by
dancing and singing. If one chooses to remain and "buy a woman" his wife's
only objection to it can be that it costs more money.

838 Homosexuality is evidently rare, but not unknown. A Naha woman
reported that a Japanese who lived in a room next to hers was in the habit
of luring young boys into his room with good food and then seducing them,
sometimes to their physical discomfort. She said that some of the neighbors

[1] Maloney, 1945, p. 392.

[Yamada]

621 the village. The oldest of the children is in school; she is the product of
144 a brief affair during the early days of the occupation. While some informants
563 showed some reluctance to discuss the half-white children, by forgetting that they existed until reminded of them, I saw no evidence that the children suffered any discrimination. There are also several Yamada women living outside Yamada, particularly in Ishikawa, with Americans and Filipinos; several of
621 these have mixed-blood children. Some of the Yamada women who are "married"
582 to Americans have attempted to maintain their relationship with their own
177 families and establish some kind of relationship between their families and their "husbands". On New Ye r's, when family calls are in order, two sisters who were both living with Americans at another village brought their "husbands" to pay their respects to their grandfather. I was in the old man's house when one of the girls appeared with her American. The American behaved quite properly, taking off his shoes and sitting cross-legged on the mat opposite the grandfather. The grandfather greeted him with dignity and reserve. The girl, who had acquired a fair command of English, translated a few sentences and looked very pleased with herself. Drinks were exchanged and the visit was over. Further contact was hardly possible, but this sort of gesture was probably sufficient to demonstrate to the family and to others that the relationship was a serious one. Most relationships are less serious.

621 The former cafe in Kuraha was said to have had women available for
727 prostitution several years ago, but the CO of the local unit who held the
177 meetings with the villagers is said to have disapproved of prostitution in the village and therefore the women left. In the spring of 1954, however,
548 another prostitute was at the cafe, even though it was not operating as such, and a new brothel was established at Ajimaa. There a 'Mama-san' ("madame" in GI Japanese) rented a house for herself and her three girls. The house is one of the newer tile-roofed buildings; it is just below the school grounds and across the highway; it is the property of the brother-in-law of one of the school teachers. Since the shortest way to the place from the unit is directly across the school ground, this was the route taken one afternoon by the three gaudily painted girls as they led a soldier home. I did not have much opportunity to discuss the matter with many people but got the following reaction from one informant: "On the one hand the brothel is good because people are making money; on the other hand it is bad because it makes a bad environment. If anyone complained about it, probably the owners of the house would say that the person complaining is just envious because of the money they are making in rent. Probably even the school teachers could not complain. One cannot interfere with a person's way of making money. The only way it could be stopped would be for the whole village to stop it." This was a clear
[181] expression of two of the basic themes of Okinawan culture, themes that have been mentioned before in connection with other problems; first, one must not interfere in another's livelihood, and second, one must not stand alone; action must be group action. This informant was not overly concerned about the possible bad effects of the presence of the brothel below the school on the school children. Some of the school teachers may have been, yet they too were probably as unwilling to take action individually.

621 While some Yamada people have profited by the presence of the unit,
727 others have suffered some loss. Considerable land is still not available to its owners and while they have received rental from it the amount is not

to the extended family, even if in some cases relationships are very distant. This point may be illustrated by discussing the relationships among six families named Shirome in Hanashiro. The first family is the contemporary representative of the main family line. It is a main family. Its present head is an adopted child, but that does not change the situation. The second family head is a descendant of the younger brother of the grandfather of the head of the family; he is the grandson of the main head's great uncle, and therefore a second cousin of the head of the main family. The third and fourth families are branch families established by his father's younger brothers and are his first cousins. The fifth family is a very old branch family, going farther back than the grandfather. The sixth, in turn, is a branch family of the fifth. The present head of the main family does not know the relationship of the present heads of these two households to himself. 614

The fact that there are 16 main families with their 75 branches in the village of Hanashiro does not mean that there are not other branches of those main families. There are more than 75 families in the extended family. These are merely the branches of these 16 main families which reside in the village.

The head of a main house has responsibilities which are not shared by the heads of the branch families. He is the custodian of the tomb of the extended family. The head house is the meeting place of the extended family reunions. These normally take place on the 15th day of the 7th lunar month, the festival of O-Bon, and on lunar New Year. The extended families, or representatives that may reside in a village which is also the seat of the extended family decide questions of concern to the extended family as a whole. Such a question might be the case of a widow with minor children. For economic reasons, she seeks to sell her property. Since the disposal of property in land is intimately connected with the present and future fortunes of a family, the members of the extended family, especially if many reside in the same place, discuss this matter and give advice which the young widow in practice follows. [064] [527] [069]

Hanashiro is a good example of an old agricultural community in which descendant families have tended to remain in the same place as the original founder of the family. Those collateral families with main houses elsewhere are, in the main, from adjacent or nearby areas. 874

When this situation is compared with Minatogawa, certain differences are at once apparent. The fishermen of present day Minatogawa are descendants of settlers originally from the large fishing town of Itoman. Many of these fishing families are related by blood and intermarriage. Not only this, but there is a web of interrelationship which includes Itoman and its daughter village of Minatogawa. Of the 213 households in Minatogawa, 53 had the surname of Tamaki (or Tamashiro), 47 of Uehara, 21 of Oshiro, and 20 of Kanashiro, the four surnames accounting for 141 of the total households. People with the same surname who live in the same village are almost invariably related.[4] Compared with other [628] [551]

4 In sample checks made personally this turned out to be true, but the relationship was often so distant as to be unknown. All informants stated that people living in the same village who had the same surname were relatives.

fortune teller. The purpose of this visit is to discover who would be a good adopting parent. The fortune teller advises the parents to select a person born under the same year sign as the child. These year signs roughly correspond to the signs of the zodiac. The twelve signs with their Japanese equivalents are: rat (ne), ox (ushi), tiger (tora), hare or rabbit (u), dragon (tatsu), snake (mi), horse (uma), sheep hitsuji), monkey (saru), bird (tori), dog (inu), and hog or boar (i). The year 1951 was the year of the hare; 1952 is the year of the dragon (tatsudoki). 597 608 855 734 787 [805]

The adopting or "growing up" parent is older, in multiples of 12, than the child. After consulting almanacs and other materials, the fortune teller advises the parents to find a person in the village born under the same year sign as the child. Prospective adopting parents are then sought out and the matter is discussed with them. Both parents may do this, but most often the discussions are carried on by the mother. When the selection is made, the child is "given" to the adopting parent, and there are prayers before the Buddhist god shelf in the home of the adopting parent. [782] [778]

Actually the child continues to live with its own parents, but makes frequent visits to the home of the adopting parent. There are no stated intervals at which these visits are made, except for New Years and O-Bon. The adopting parent may on these visits give food and presents to the child. [574]

The arrangement thus seems to be a form of sponsorship and guardianship without special responsibilities on the part of the adopting parent, to bring good health and long life to the child. It has only slight resemblances to the godfather and godmother in Christian countries who sponsor a child at his baptism and theoretically at least undertake to be responsible for his Christian training. But the sponsorship and guardianship features are somewhat similar.

Adoption of this type may be done in Okinawa by either sex. Generally old women are the favorites and they may have many such adopted children. But old or older men may also assume this obligation. This form of "growing up" adoption existed in all the villages studied in substantially the same form. [887] [184]

8

The Household Order Naming System

Families in a village have, in addition to their own surnames, secondary names by which individual families are known. This secondary naming system is a device to distinguish related families with the same surname from one another. 614 551 592 613

The secondary naming system is known as "the household order," or yagō in Japanese. To introduce this discussion, it might be well to 000

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[193]

The founder's first son remains in the main house. But his other sons and their sons take up positions to the north, south, east, or west; subsequent descendants might take up other positions. It is possible to relate any family in this manner to the head family. The prefixes (and one suffix) used in making the various designations are:

Japanese	Okinawan	English
mae-	me-	before, front
ushiro-	kushi-	after, behind
ue-	ui-	top
shita-	shicha-	bottom
higashi-	agari-	east
minami-	fe-	south
nishi-	iri-	west
kita-	nishi-	north
atarashii	mi- miya-	new
naka		center
	ufa-	big, great
	-gwa	diminutive, opposite of ufa, and a suffix.

Let us assume, to use an actual illustration from Hanashiro, that the household order name of a main house is Ganiku. This word has no known meaning; it may be a place name or some local landmark near the site of the original house established perhaps centuries ago. Other families in Hanashiro which are branch families of this main extended family would have the word Ganiku in their house order name with the addition of prefixes and suffixes to show that it was a branch family. There are 14 families in which the word Ganiku appears in the household order name. These are (in Okinawan):

1	Ganiku	The Main House
2	Nakaganiku	Center-
3	Kushiganiku	Behind-
4	Ganikugwa	Little Ganiku
5	Iriganiku	West-
6	Miganiku	New-
7	Miyameganiku	New front-
8	Nishiganiku	North-
9	Nishiganikugwa	Little north-
10	Iriganikugwa	Little west-
11	Meganikugwa	Little front-
12	Meiriganikugwa	Little front west-
13	Mimeganikugwa	Little new front-
14	Meganiku	Front-

592
55
614
613

In this Hanashiro example, a man's real name might be Shoichi Shiroma, but he is known also as Iriganikugwa, the Little Western Ganiku family. All of his children, while in his family, have the same secondary name.

551 They are referred to as the son or daughter of the Little Western
590 Ganiku house. When the sons grow up, the first son retains the same
614 house order name, as he is perpetuating the house of his father. When
613 his younger brothers establish a branch household, they may add another prefix and become known, for example, as the New Little Western Ganiku family.

The manner in which the household order names may be applied to
592 successive generations is illustrated in the diagram which follows on the
614 next page. Three things should be pointed out about this diagram:
613

(1) There is no established order in the choice of branch family designations. In column five, for example, the prefix iri for west was chosen. Any other direction could have been selected if it were not already taken. Subsequent directions or space relations taken might be east, west, south, front, behind, etc. In this illustration, the order of relationship to the main family is (a) Little Fukuji, column 2, and New Little Fukuji to show the branch family of a branch family. Succeeding branches are then indicated by repeating the previous pre-
[193] fixes and adding one more. Fukuji plus gwa (little), plus mi (new), plus agari (east), then substituting iri (west), to be alternated with other directional terms such as fe (south) for iri in column 6.

(2) Some branch families are of great antiquity, such as the Fukujigwa.

[602] (3) All these people are related but it is difficult to determine the precise relationship. It is easy to see that without an exhaustive and well kept up genealogy, even in this simplified diagram, the relationship of the last individual in the first column to his contemporary, the last individual in column 6 would be difficult to trace. This is one reason that, in all the communities, people know they are relatives but do not know the precise relationship.

On the other hand, the household order system, much more than given and surnames, is a very easy device for keeping general family relationships in mind, especially when these spread over several villages. At least the Okinawans find it so. A person with the house order name of Miagarifukujigwa would know the general relationship in the extended family of his line to the main and other branch houses, whether these were located in his own or in another village.

There are additional refinements of the household order naming system. Other prefixes denoting the rank order of sons may be added, as indeed they must if the family is old and has many generations. The
[193] root word in the household order name may occasionally be identical with the surname. Some household order names may also depart from this pattern and be descriptive of previous occupations in the family history. These points are illustrated from the household order names of some

[TEXT Continues TOP of P 120--analyst]

seem to be either supplementary names or household order names held during one's lifetime only, but in some instances became hereditary. Household order names taken from places seem to have become hereditary, if present lists of these names are fair indications. Even today if an American should settle in a village in Okinawa, he would probably be given a household order name and be known by this name outside the circle of friends and acquaintances who knew his surname. Such a house name would be something like Amerikaya, House of America. Ya means house or abode. The American's presence would be well known; his name, too difficult to pronounce and to remember, would be forgotten even if ever learned, and he would be the house of the man from America.

614 613 592 [609]

Each family in a village has this secondary name whether it is in the main or a branch family line. In Hinatogawa, some exceptions were found to this, but it is not quite clear what interpretation to put upon them. In this village there were many individuals--mostly single persons living by themselves--who did not have a household order name. Of the 213 households, 20 either did not have such a secondary name, or it was not known to them nor to the residents of Hinatogawa. Of these at least 8 were females.

Household order names do not appear in the official family registers (koseki) maintained in the village office (yakuba). Historically, the household order name apparently preceded the giving of first and surnames. In villages the mass of people were not known by their full names. They were designated in the fashion already described. Even up to the beginning of the war, often only important and conspicuous people, such as officials and school teachers, were known by their given and surnames (seimei); the rest were known by their household order name.

[219] 551 592 184 614 613

Of all the villages studied, the household order name seemed to be of greatest living importance in Hanashiro. This naming system is used only in contacts within the village. In contacts with the outside, in schools, and in official dealings, a person's full name is used. Young children, from about ten on, know families by their household order name, and one can inquire for a family by asking either for the surname or the household order name. There were instances in all villages, confined however to the old, of people knowing individuals only by their household order name. According to informants here, a person's household order name is still better known than the given and the surname. Residents are often called for village, community, and official duties by their secondary family names. Here the double naming system, one for contacts within the village, the other for the outside is still strong.

A similar situation existed in Hinatogawa. The household order system here might be expected to persist longer, at least for use within the village because of the high frequency of a few surnames. The same ability of young children to know household order names of

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

551 their own and of other families was also noticeable.[6] Often the two
592 were used interchangeably. From an individual point of view, and this
184 is true of all the villages, the household order name is still impor-
614 tant because it is an indication of relationships to dead relatives
613 whose names are on the family tablets, and to relationships, at least in general, to other families of the same main family in the village or in other villages and towns.

[178] In Hatsuda, the household order naming system seems to be dying out more rapidly than in the other communities. Children here did not know the secondary names so well, and some young people did not know their own. As in Hanashiro, up to the beginning of the war, families were called together for village duties by their household order name, but this practice has been abandoned since the war. Given and surname are now used. The household order name is still occasionally used on letters to indicate the exact person desired, another indication of the distinctions needed in the confusion of identical surnames.

[178] It is probable that the household order naming system will decline in importance because the growth and universality of education and the constant need for using given and surnames have weakened the hold of the old. As the present old people die off, many of whom know the household order name only, every segment of the population will be accustomed to the use of given and surnames.

9

Conclusion

602 The family system binds one generation to another, and, even more, gives unity to the past, present, and future of the family. It involves a well defined system of rights and obligations. It is a conservative institution in which the rights of individuals are subordinated to the welfare of the group.

602 171 The conservative nature of the family system in other Oriental cultures, especially when combined, as in old China with a Confucian ethic and ancestor worship, has often been emphasized. But Confucianism, ancestor worship, and the family system are three different things.

6 I tested this in all communities by asking for directions to family houses using the family's yagō. Its present vitality is shown by the fact that in Hanashiro a native of the village and a member of the township council was able to list all the 121 yagō's without hesitation. The clerk of Hinatogawa village did the same. There was not an opportunity of getting the detailed lists of the Hatsuda household order names, but samplings were made.

In Hanashiro, the fish were raised for sale by the young men's association. The supply of fish is too uncertain and too seasonal for these remedies to be an effective part of the traditional medicine. Like the native plants, and many of the traditional medical practices, they are yielding to the drugs which can be found in the small village shops: stomach and headache powders, eye lotions, aspirin, and other pharmaceuticals and patent medicines.

The economic and occupational organization of village fishing is very informal. Partnerships are made on a basis of friendship and continue so until one party, for any reason, decides to leave. There are about 40 of these partnerships among the 120 odd adult fishermen.[2] The fishermen of the village also have a fisherman's association (suisankumiai) similar in function to the agricultural associations which the Japanese instituted throughout the empire. This association has a head (suisankumiaichō). Like so many official and administrative jobs in a village, these offices are thrust upon the man. He seldom seeks them. In the larger places where there is more remuneration, the man might seek the job. The head of the association is chosen by the fishermen of the village. He receives Y10 a month for each fisherman he represents. This is a supplementary job, as he could not exist on this sum. Lack of cash prevents any ambitious services to the membership. The association buys and sells gas and oil, nets, lines, hooks, and other necessary items which have been imported either from the United States or from Japan. Occasionally, the association has sufficient funds for small temporary loans for purchasing imported gear, loans from Y100 to Y 500 for a period of a week or two. The main function of the association is the exchange of information between the local head and representatives from the larger association in Naha. This becomes a study of the daily market demands; the information provided is a guide to fishermen in meeting the demand. This is all very informal. The head of the association circulates among the fishermen, giving them tips on what to expect and how prices are going.

7

The Rough Language of Hinatogawa

The Hinatogawans have one characteristic which is not shared by their agricultural neighbors of Nagano, nor indeed by any of the agricultural villages. This is their rough (arai) language, so described by Hinatogawans with a certain amount of pride. This language, if used in the other village, would be considered insulting. It is notable for the freedom with which nicknames, some funny, some disparaging, some pointed at infirmities, are used.

2 The word used here is kumiai but actually these partnerships do not have the organized co-operative character that this word usually implies when used in an economic sense.

551 Sometimes they are nicknames like "Fat" or "Slim," or those used ironically like "Curly" for a bald headed man. No offense is taken by the fishing people at these nicknames, though they would be used by people in other villages only to very close friends, if at all. The commonest of these Okinawan nicknames are:

(1) Migwa. This is applied to persons who are squint-eyed or to those whose eyes have the appearance of being only partially open. Persons with this formation of the eyelid are not uncommon, and after one is alerted to the word, he can appreciate the frequency with which it is used. It applies to old and young alike.

(2) Another very common name is gappai. Sometimes this seems to mean a person with a pronounced dolicocephalic head, or one with a high bump in the back of the head, or a person with a high forehead and long head, rounding off high in back. In any event, one can soon recognize the distinctive features of the gappai when he sees a person who has that nickname. Migwa and gappai may supplant the person's own name. One 15 year old boy was universally known as gappai, even by old grandmothers who would use the nickname in much the same way we would say "Sonny."

Less common are (3) akabe or akaba, referring to children with many boils and swellings. Names given in childhood often stay with a person through adulthood after the cause for which the names were bestowed has disappeared. (4) Naga, for tall and slender, corresponding to "Slim." (5) Kuru (from kurol, black). This refers to children born a little darker than most. It does not mean people deeply tanned, almost blackened by the sun, as many local fishermen are. (6) Hinga, meaning dirty and used of people who do not wash themselves. It is applied to old women, such as hingabachii, a dirty old woman. (7) Sakikwa, a drunkard, one who consumes too much sake. (8) Butenden, big belly, corresponding to "Fat" or "Fatty." (9) Hikku, a one-eyed man. It is also applied to a person one of whose eyes droops. (10) Tigwa, no hands, (11) hanahaga, bump on the nose, including a wart or a growth, (12) shippiru, "Shorty," (13) mintama, large open, presumably popping eyes, and (14) maguru. This applies to extremely curly hair, like peppercorn hair. This is unusual among Okinawans, but one occasionally sees it, thick and abundant, with coarse, dry, and very tight curls.

[184] These terms were known and recognized in the other villages studied, but they were not freely used. There seems to be a genuine distinction here in the behavior of the fishing people and the more restrained agricultural villagers. One Hinatogawan explained the rough language as a carry over from the language of the sea, but he emphasized that the nicknames would give no offense in Hinatogawa, while they would be insulting to the neighboring people of Nagamo.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Naming the Child

On the day of his birth, the child is given a name, but this is not the one it carries throughout life. The latter name, sometimes called the school name, may be given 5 days after birth, counting the date of the birth. This custom of double naming is still used in Hanashiro and Hinatogawa, though, according to local residents, it disappeared from Matsuda ten years ago. It is hard to discover the reasons for this double naming. Perhaps the first name is a temporary one to be used for the first crucial days of the child's life. If he survives, he receives his permanent one. This name, while known to the child, is not ordinarily retained when he gets his second name. Among the very old, however, some of these first names have been retained through life.[4] In Hanashiro, young and old alike may be known by both names, but the younger are apt to use the full given name. Adults and the old are known by both names.

553 [164]

The names given on the birth day are often the occasion of laughter, as some have the same pronunciation as common names of household utensils, agricultural tools, or domestic animals. The following list was obtained in Hanashiro but the same names were equally familiar in the other villages. (1) Ushi, given to males and females. Ushi is also the word for cattle. (2) Kame, also the word for a turtle or a tortoise. (3) Tsuru, also a stork or crane. (4) Nta, given to both sexes, the Okinawan word for pig. (5) Handu, also a water barrel. (6) Kama, also a sickle. (7) Nabi, a pot.[5]

551 ●

These are homonyms. The name is written in hiragana or katakana (the Japanese syllabaries), not with the Chinese character of its homonym. Hence it would be incorrect to say that the child is named "Cow," "Pig," "Pot," etc.

[212]

In Matsuda, up to about 30 years ago, according to one informant, if a wife gave birth to a child in the husband's absence, the eldest relative present gave the child a name of the sex opposite its own, apparently to avoid bad luck by resort to contrariety. When mothers gave birth to a child in the toilet, it was named nta or nte, apparently referring to the identity of the toilet and the pig pen.

844 553 [nn]

4 This is apparent in analyzing the family registers (koseki)

5 Other names are Tamachi (female); Unato (female in Hanashiro); Makatu (f); Chiru (f); Taru (male and female); Jiru (m); Senru (m and f but scarce); Niyo (m); Utu (f); Kanashi (f), and Kana (m and f).

the decades, as the branches grow into unilineal descent lines of their own, new "main" houses are formed. 613

Originally descriptive names were given to each household. These names indicated a "stem" family or one of its branches. The "Big East House," a reference to the lineage as well as to the homestead itself, probably split into several branches. These, the homes of younger sons, were known as "Little East House," or by a further derivative, "Behind Little East House." Sometimes the rank order of a younger son was used to name his house, such as "Second East House." This house order system is no longer in existence in Taira, but a few of the names are still in use to indicate houses, and individuals are frequently referred to as "the person of such and such a house," for instance, "the grandmother of the East House." *

Although every individual is aware of his membership in a "main house," these descent groups have little importance except in religious life and death ceremonies. Members of the same "main house" revere common male ancestors and share in the upkeep of a common tomb in which their remains are placed at death. Funerals and the veneration of deceased members of the "main house" bring the kin group together several times a year. Women, although entombed with their husbands, visit the "main house" of their father to pray before his ancestors' tablets and make offerings. If they were born in Taira, they may first take offerings of rice and sake to the shrine of their husband's paternal ancestors; then later in the day they prepare for a ceremony in their own "main house." 613 769

The descent group also functions in other religious contexts. The oldest woman of the main house acts as priestess for the lineage, and she or another older female may visit the sick and assist their relatives with prayers and practical help. Descent group affiliation does not affect such daily concerns as lending help to others in economic tasks, though some of the descendants of early Taira settlers seem to feel more obligation in this respect than members of the more recently arrived lineages. Lineage affiliation does not determine the choice of a marriage partner. However, although members of the same "main house" or lineage may marry each other provided they are not first cousins, such unions are rare. Marriage with maternal first cousins is also forbidden. 613 [794] [476] [582]

An individual also holds membership in other kin groups which have only a loose structure and few functions. These are the relatives 602 [476]

* Individual surnames among commoners are of recent date, introduced after the Japanese assumed administrative control and required their adoption to establish a population registry. Family names had been in use among the Shuri gentry. 551 177 217

842 of the economic hardship incurred as a result of large families. A few
[843] of the more outspoken mothers complain bitterly against the old people who expect them to continue bearing children until three male
[593] heirs are born. Men desire male heirs, and one son is not enough: the favored number is three. Informal interviews reveal that in spite of the cultural preference for sons, mothers welcome daughters, who grow up to be useful helpers. Even if women protest when they feel tired of bearing children, they submit to their husband's demands. Since Japa-
●551 nese given names are used today, the practice of naming a girl Sueko
553 (end child), to indicate that one considers her to be the last, is often
842 resorted to. If this proves insufficient and another follows, she might
[177] be called Tomeko (stop child). In one family the wife gave her baby girl the name Sueko to indicate that she did not desire any more children. Her husband, however, disagreed, for he wanted another son, and registered the child without his wife's knowledge under another name.

842 Although the older generation, which has supported large families,
744 looks on birth control measures with distaste, the young mothers circulate information published in Japanese magazines and by the Okinawan public health department on this matter, and a few families actually use contraceptives. However, in general, public health nurses
847 have found it extremely difficult to discuss matters like birth control, abortion, and infanticide with villagers. "We suspect that these measures are practiced everywhere. Of course, with the system of registration and public health nursing, infanticide is hardly possible; however . . . we could not say. . . ." * It is interesting to note that in
[732] Taira there are mental defectives but no physical defectives. Abortion is legal with a doctor's consent, but informants claimed it was not
[848] practiced. There are illegitimate children born in the village.

842 "The seeds, they must match. If they do not match, then it cannot be," explain the villagers. They continue, "It is like planting a field, however; if the soil is hostile to growth, nothing can happen." Thus the villagers express their theories of conception.

843 Cessation of menstrual periods signals the start of pregnancy, and the sudden craving for a particular kind of food forces the woman to acknowledge the fact. Informal interviewing and casual observation reveal that morning sickness is not usual. Women rarely miss a work-
[461] ing day in the fields and mountains even in the early stages of preg-
[522] nancy. One male who failed to appear for work with the rest of the male population of the village was the butt of many a joke. "How now, you are taking over the task of your wife?" teased the men and women.

[164] Malfunction of the kidneys is not uncommon among pregnant

* Personal communication from public health nurses.

At the same time, each person, both men and women, bore a given name 551
that was purely Okinawan. These names are called warabinaa, "child names". They are few in number. Several of them---perhaps all of them---are meaningful, such as Kamii, "turtle", Ushi, "ox". Several of them were given both to males and to females. They were transmitted according to rules that seem now to be not too well understood. According to one old woman, a man should give his name to his sons' first sons and his wife hers to the sons' first daughters. Subsequent grandchildren should receive the names of the grandparents' siblings or other relatives. A younger woman said that a first son got his father's father's name and a woman her mother's mother's. But unfortunately not enough information was obtained to support the last assertion or to reveal any further pattern. (This is a subject that would be well worth further [174]
study; the possibility that the naming system is a reflection of a former system of double descent should not be overlooked.)

Among the commoners (hyakusoo, cognate of Japanese 'hyakushō', peasants"), surnames were perhaps not universally taken until after the Japanese [565] [177]
annexation. Nor did they have Chinese-style given names. Their common descent [614]
groups, usually called munchu, seem to bear names that are place names. They did have house names (yaamuyaa, J. 'yagō'), and Okinawan-style given names. Probably a commoner was known only by these two. Even today among the older Okinawans a man is more likely to be known as Taasachi-gwaa nu Sanree, "Sanree ("Third"?) of the house Taasachi-gwaa ("Little End-of-the-Rice-Field")", than by the name found in the 'koseki'.

Today everyone is registered by and officially known by a surname and 551
given name. The surnames are mainly taken from Okinawan place names but the 177
readings assigned the characters are frequently Japanized. Thus Ufu-gusuku, "great-castle' becomes 'Ōshiro' and Nakandakari becomes 'Nakamura'. Many of the given names for males are of two characters read in the Sino-Japanese manner, like the given names formerly used only by the gentry, but many also are purely Japanese---Masaru, Takeo, Toshiyasu---the last possibly being the Japanese reading of a name that once might have been given its "Chinese" reading. Girls are given such Japanese names as 'Yoshiko' and 'Masako'. And the youngest child recorded in the 'koseki' for Yamada, the first to bear the name, was an infant girl named 'Chiemi', obviously after a currently popular Japanese "starlet".

The Ancestral Tablets In every main house there is a shelf or if 769
possible a cabinet (tootoomee, J. 'butsudan') for the ancestral tablets (ifee, 353
J. 'ihai'). If it is a cabinet it contains three shelves; on the top shelf 592
stand the tablets flanked by a pair of vases, on the second shelf a pair of tea-cups and a wine cup, and on the third an incense burner (u-kooru). The paraphernalia vary somewhat with the means of the family. The tablets are 769
red lacquered slips of wood held in two rows in a black frame. On the upper 592
row are written the names of deceased male members of the family, on the lower row names of deceased females. The ancestral tablets together with the house name form an inseparable unit. The main house of the Taba lineage is the [613]
main house and has the house name "great Taba" because it is the location of the ancestral tablet of the founder of the lineage. The tablets at "new little Taba" contain the tablet for the founder of that house. The tablets are

as the case may be. The munchu has a common tomb or several common tombs, a 614
circuit of ugwanju (sacred spots for worship, connected in tradition to the founder of the munchu), and several kaminchu (religious functionaries of a semi-hereditary status). Well-established branch munchu may have their own tombs, circuits of ugwanju, and kaminchu. If this is the case the main house of the branch is called the naka-muutu, "middle root", and the main house of the larger unit the ufu-muutu, "great root". In the absence of written records the exact relationship of the different branches of one of the larger units may occasionally be reinterpreted by the kaminchu and by yuta (seeresses).

The members of a munchu need not, and often do not, have the same sur- 614
name. The usual explanation given for this is that a new surname has entered 55
the munchu through a member's having been adopted as a son-in-law. According
to Japanese law a man who married the daughter of a family with no male heirs [171]
became an adopted son-in-law and his children bore his wife's surname. But according to Okinawan custom the ancestral tablets of the woman's parents can go only to a male relative in the male line. The "adopted son-in-law" cannot inherit the tablets; they will go later to a brother's son or grandson. And the children of the "adopted son-in-law" belong to their paternal grandfather's munchu, even though by law they had to take their maternal grandfather's surname. This practice goes back only to the end of the last century. Before the Japanese annexation it is not likely that many peasants had sur- [177]
names; those they later took were probably taken from house names. An informant in Chinen-Son, however, gave another explanation why some of the members of his munchu had different surnames. He said that under the old government some had been given surnames for having served as petty officials at the office of the local governor. He named three surnames locally used that were given to officials of the three lowest ranks.

Among the descendants of the former gentry class the largest kinship
unit is the uji. This term is identical with one of the older Japanese terms [192]
translated as "clan". The uji have names that are single Chinese characters, [177]
some of them identical with Chinese surnames. The members of an uji may bear different surnames of the native sort; the explanation for this is that under the former monarchy, when a member of the gentry was appointed to the office of governor of a majiri (the present "Son") or appointed official of a village, he was able to take the name of that majiri or village as his surname. Thus the members of an uji may be divided into several lines, each claiming descent from some illustrious official. These divisions may also be named chakushi-firugi, "first-son-lineage", jinan-firugi, "second-son-lineage", and so forth, according to seniority. Despite their different surnames, however, the male members of an uji usually have given names written with two characters read in the Chinese manner (that is, the Okinawan version of the 'on-yomi' of Japanese), the first of the two characters being the same. To give an example, the Hyō uji consists of three lineages with the surnames Moromizato, Itosu, and Higa, all the males of which have given names beginning with the character An.

In the village of Yamada in Onna-Son, many of the kin units of both 613
the commoners and the gentry who settled there late in the last century are small local divisions of larger units the main houses of which are in the

601 the native terms for "father" and "mother" to uncles and aunts is going out
177 of use. Thus in structure as well as in the terms themselves the Okinawan
192 system is moving in the direction of the Japanese.

• 552 Maintaining Continuity: House Names Every house has a name (yaamunaa, Japanese 'yagō').
613 This name, in the case of the older houses, may be descriptive of its location or may be taken from the place of origin of the founder. Insofar as possible a man's first son should succeed him as head of his house. If a man's first son rebuilds the house or even moves it, its name usually remains the same. When younger sons establish their own houses the house of the first son is called the "main house" (muutuyaa, J. 'honke') and the younger sons' houses "branch houses" (tatchiyaa, J. 'bunke'). The branch houses take their house names from the house name of the main house. Thus if the main house is called Taba, a branch house may be called Taba-gwaa, "little Taba". If there are several Taba-gwaa, they may be distinguished by directions such as agari, "east", iri, "west", or by the birth order of their founders, as jinan Taba-gwaa, "second-son little Taba", and so forth. If a family line has been in a village for several generations there may be branch houses of branch houses. In such a case the earlier branch house is a main house to its branch houses while still in the status of branch house to the house of the founder of the line. In such cases new elements may be introduced into the naming system; a branch of a Taba-gwaa might be mii-Taba-gwaa, "new little Taba". If there are several branches and branches of branches the original main house (in Japanese, the 'sōhonke') may come to be called ufu-Taba, "great Taba". Thus the relationship of a number of houses in a village may be shown by the names used for them. The house names of a village are surprisingly well-known by the members of a village, even by the children, better known than either the surnames or given names of the inhabitants.[1]

53 Personal Names Before the Japanese annexation the two main social
177 classes on Okinawa differed in the sorts of names they bore. Members of the
[546] gentry (yukatchu, "superior people", or samuree, cognate of the Japanese 'sa-
[614] murai') belonged to patrilineal common descent groups called uji. These uji each had a name consisting of a single Chinese character, often a Chinese surname. Also, different lineages within each uji each bore surnames that were mainly Okinawan place names; these were taken from the names of villages and larger administrative units where the founders of the lineages served as officials. And in addition, each male member of the gentry class had a given name consisting of two characters read in the Chinese manner (that is, the Okinawan version of the Japanese 'on-yomi'). These were called toonaa, "Chinese names". In each uji the first of the two characters in all names was the same. Thus, to give an example, in the Hyō uji there are three lineages bearing the surnames Moromizato, Itosu, and Higa, but all males in the uji regardless of surname bear given names that begin with the character An. Thus Moromizato Ansei and Itosu Angō are seen to be kinsmen despite the difference in surname. These are the names of two men living today. Had they lived before the annexation they might also have designated themselves for official purposes by what look like proper Chinese names, Hyō Ansei and Hyō Angō.

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1 For a more detailed account of the house-naming system see Glacken, 1953, pp. 115-122.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Naming the Child

On the day of his birth, the child is given a name, but this is not the one it carries throughout life. The latter name, sometimes called the school name, may be given 5 days after birth, counting the date of the birth. This custom of double naming is still used in Hanashiro and Hinatogawa, though, according to local residents, it disappeared from Matsuda ten years ago. It is hard to discover the reasons for this double naming. Perhaps the first name is a temporary one to be used for the first crucial days of the child's life. If he survives, he receives his permanent one. This name, while known to the child, is not ordinarily retained when he gets his second name. Among the very old, however, some of these first names have been retained through life.[4] In Hanashiro, young and old alike may be known by both names, but the younger are apt to use the full given name. Adults and the old are known by both names. 553 [164]

The names given on the birth day are often the occasion of laughter, as some have the same pronunciation as common names of household utensils, agricultural tools, or domestic animals. The following list was obtained in Hanashiro but the same names were equally familiar in the other villages. (1) Ushi, given to males and females. Ushi is also the word for cattle. (2) Kame, also the word for a turtle or a tortoise. (3) Tsuru, also a stork or crane. (4) Nta, given to both sexes, the Okinawan word for pig. (5) Handu, also a water barrel. (6) Kama, also a sickle. (7) Nabi, a pot.[5] 551

These are homonyms. The name is written in hiragana or katakana (the Japanese syllabaries), not with the Chinese character of its homonym. Hence it would be incorrect to say that the child is named "Cow," "Pig," "Pot," etc. [212]

In Matsuda, up to about 30 years ago, according to one informant, if a wife gave birth to a child in the husband's absence, the eldest relative present gave the child a name of the sex opposite its own, apparently to avoid bad luck by resort to contrariety. When mothers gave birth to a child in the toilet, it was named nta or nte, apparently referring to the identity of the toilet and the pig pen. 844 553 [nn]

4 This is apparent in analyzing the family registers (koseki)

5 Other names are Tamachi (female); Umeto (female in Hanashiro); Makatu (f); Chiru (f); Taru (male and female); Jiro (m); Sanru (m and f but scarce); Miyo (m); Utu (f); Kanashi (f), and Kana (m and f).

553 The first naming of children is done at a ceremony on the day of birth, or on the following day, if the birth took place at night. It is known as umbagi. There is a small gathering of [262] relatives. Soup, rice, and a little sake may be served. Ordinary rice or rice cakes (mochigome) may be prepared and put on the [78A] Buddhist god shelf. If a boy, the relatives and parents pray for his strength, if a girl for her good health. Umbagi, an Okinawan word, is also known as sūchūsan no iwai (Japanese). The ceremony precedes the burying of the afterbirth.

553 One important element in the naming of a child on its day of 823 birth is the state of the tide. The child is named only if the tide is coming in. It is not necessary that the tide be high. Perhaps midpoint is the best, though high tide is considered good. Practically everyone can calculate the time when the tide is coming in or out; since they all know the lunar calendar with a cycle completed in 15 days, it is a simple calculation.[6] The explanation always given for calculating the tide on this and other occasions is that when the tide is coming in, fortune and happiness will enter in the new life or the new situation. When the tide is ebbing, everything goes out and away.

852 The real celebration of the birth of a child occurs several days after birth. It usually occurs on the 5th or 6th day counting the birth day. This is known as mansan (Okinawan) and is in honor of the good health of the mother and the child. In Japanese, it is also called muikajari.[7] In all communities studied, the week long all night celebration has disappeared, though the celebration of mansan might last well into the night.

One celebration, observed in Hinatogawa, is probably typical of the thousands that take place every year in rural Okinawa. The guests came early in the evening to the parents' home, or, as in this case, to the home of the child's grandfather, since the father, a first son, lived in his parents' home. The men sat in the first room (ichibanza), [562] the women in the second (nibanza), following custom in parties in which both sexes are present. The head of the house, the grandfather, sat in front of the alcove (tokonoma) of the first room. The child's father [576] sat next to him. Each guest went on his knees, bowed, congratulated the father and presented him with a small money gift. The usual gift [931] is about Y20. This was accepted by the father, who then responded with a short speech. Sometimes these are formal and stiff, sometimes like a simple conversation. The guests also congratulated the

6 The method of computing times of high and low tide will be given later. The tide is important in the marriage ceremony, when moving into a new house, or when moving, in the case of a second or succeeding son, from a main house to establish a branch family, and at a child's party on the first anniversary of its birth.

7 The day was variously given me as 4-5th, 6th, and 7th day after birth. Muika in muikajari means 6th day.

565 A common device among noble families was to vary the second
553 character of the Chinese compound which made up the given name. This custom still remains, but has no significance beyond individual family pride. The following case illustrates this naming device:

Relation to Present Head of House	Given Name
Grandfather	Chohyo
Father	Chokan
Present Head	Choyo
First Son	Choko
Second Son	Choshin
Third Son	Chokeii
Fourth Son	Chosei

554 Before the war, the village hierarchy consisted of the headman and retired elders and officials, the school principal and teachers if resident there, the well-to-do farmer, followed by the ordinary farmers or fishermen.[3] These distinctions are now blurred and have been affected by other changes. The school principal and the school teacher retain their prestige, but they have lost their relatively high economic status. Their clothing and the appearance of their homes are indistinguishable from those of a farmer. The ordinary farmer who works his field during the day and whose wife raises the pigs is in a better economic position. The same applies to village and township officials. Many distinctions based on wealth have disappeared because of the destruction and general
[556] impoverishment of the war. Neither are distinctions possible in dress, for everyone wears makeshift clothing. Post-war circumstances have put the old at a disadvantage in dealing with new situations. Present day village life is fluid. The war and its aftermath have blurred many of the former distinctions based on age, occupation, or wealth.

621 Village leadership is based on individual qualities, but is limited
208 by group opinion which all individuals respect. Decisions of any character, personal, familial, or political, emerge from consultation and discussion. One constantly hears the word sōdan, meaning a discussion or a consultation, with reference to decision making.

555 What types of individuals assume leadership in village affairs?
212 First, leadership comes from a group that is literate. This limits the people available for responsible positions. Occupations such as the

3 According to old residents in Matsuda, there were in their youth, classes whose occupation made them inferior. Examples were bell ringers
[461] ringers at funerals and pig killers. Pig killing is still considered
[565] a low occupation, but this has no relevance to village life, for no commercial slaughtering is done in the villages. In the villages,
[963] there is no suggestion of the existence of groups looked down upon because of their occupation, with the possible exception of a collector of night soil—and this occupation is infrequent.

842 of the economic hardship incurred as a result of large families. A few
[843] of the more outspoken mothers complain bitterly against the old people who expect them to continue bearing children until three male
[593] heirs are born. Men desire male heirs, and one son is not enough: the favored number is three. Informal interviews reveal that in spite of the cultural preference for sons, mothers welcome daughters, who grow up to be useful helpers. Even if women protest when they feel tired of bearing children, they submit to their husband's demands. Since Japa-
551 nese given names are used today, the practice of naming a girl Sueko
● 553 (end child), to indicate that one considers her to be the last, is often
842 resorted to. If this proves insufficient and another follows, she might
[177] be called Tomeko (stop child). In one family the wife gave her baby girl the name Sueko to indicate that she did not desire any more children. Her husband, however, disagreed, for he wanted another son, and registered the child without his wife's knowledge under another name.

842 Although the older generation, which has supported large families,
744 looks on birth control measures with distaste, the young mothers circulate information published in Japanese magazines and by the Okinawan public health department on this matter, and a few families actually use contraceptives. However, in general, public health nurses
847 have found it extremely difficult to discuss matters like birth control, abortion, and infanticide with villagers. "We suspect that these measures are practiced everywhere. Of course, with the system of registration and public health nursing, infanticide is hardly possible; however . . . we could not say. . . ." * It is interesting to note that in
[732] Taira there are mental defectives but no physical defectives. Abortion is legal with a doctor's consent, but informants claimed it was not
[848] practiced. There are illegitimate children born in the village.

842 "The seeds, they must match. If they do not match, then it cannot be," explain the villagers. They continue, "It is like planting a field, however; if the soil is hostile to growth, nothing can happen." Thus the villagers express their theories of conception.

843 Cessation of menstrual periods signals the start of pregnancy, and the sudden craving for a particular kind of food forces the woman to acknowledge the fact. Informal interviewing and casual observation reveal that morning sickness is not usual. Women rarely miss a work-
[461] ing day in the fields and mountains even in the early stages of preg-
[522] nancy. One male who failed to appear for work with the rest of the male population of the village was the butt of many a joke. "How now, you are taking over the task of your wife?" teased the men and women.

[164] Malfunction of the kidneys is not uncommon among pregnant

* Personal communication from public health nurses.

 178

Today the *yukajiru* ceremony held on the fourth day ends the seclusion. 846
A group of close relatives gather to ask for the good health of the 769
child and to make food offerings to the ancestors.

On the fourth or fifth day a name is selected for the newborn. In 852
the old days rice oracles presided over by an old woman were con- 553
sulted to ensure that the name consist of the proper combination of 787
Japanese writing characters, an essential for the well-being of the child's 156
personality. Today family elders and the local teacher are consulted.
In the pre-Japanese periods, temporary names were used until a per- [875]
manent name was given. This practice was intended to fool the spirits
during the early years when the child was thought to be particularly [784]
susceptible to spirits.*

On the sixth day after birth the mother is allowed to take her first 846
postdelivery bath; the room which she has occupied with her baby is 852
cleaned and aired, and preparations begin for the *mansang* celebra-
tions. For this event the mother's parents try to be present, especially [613]
if it is a first child. Friends and relatives in the village attend. A
female elder of the patrilineal kin group or the priestess prays behind [782]
a tray of rice, rice wine, and incense so that the child will sleep peace- [769]
fully and not cry at night. Thanksgiving prayers are offered to the
ancestors and the nature deities for the health of both mother and
child.

When the prayers are completed, a man sings the *mansang* song to 852
the accompaniment of a samisen. The father of the baby then rises to
dance briefly, sits down, and writes with brush and ink on a white 533
sheet of paper the name and birth date of his child. The paper is then 574
hung on the wall near the alcove. Meanwhile the special song is being
concluded:

> Coming from the darkness to light,
> This baby was received as a treasure
> And the mother is being celebrated.

Food is then served, and the guests discuss the name and admire the newborn. Like all parties, the celebration ends with song, dance, and wine drinking.

The *mansang* celebrations mark the end of the most critical period 852
for the infant. From now on he may be taken outdoors. At the month's
end, his parents may take him to see his maternal grandparents in their 846
village, to offer food at the ancestral shrine of the mother. This is [769]
called the first walk. Sons who have left the paternal village for the [782]
city return with their infant to observe this day.

* Hanging an irregularly left-woven rope in the delivery room to keep out evil spirits which might harm the newborn, is no longer done in Taira.

brazier in the city. She was kept warm continuously, even in hot weather, so that, it is said, women often broke out in skin eruptions from the heat. At present younger women are not following this practice and many regard it as a foolish custom. The absence of jiiru in post-war houses may be a factor in the decline of the custom. 178 846 [354]

Post-natal Observances During the first year of life the child is the center of several ceremonies. They are in brief: 852

1) Mbagii suuji, "Red rice ceremony". Held on the day of birth. Relatives, friends, and neighbors come. Rice dyed red and a soup of taro stems (a symbol of many children) are offered to the ancestral tablets and served to the guests. The afterbirth is buried behind the house while the children are made to laugh so that the baby will have a good disposition. [844]

2) Naajiki, "Naming". Held during the first week. Practices vary. In one variety the baby's grandmother releases a crab and a grasshopper and shoots an arrow at a winnowing tray; in another she divines with rice grains to see if the name she has selected is proper. This rite was formerly held to give the baby its native Okinawan name. [553] [787]

3) Mansang, "Full birth". Held on the 7th or 30th day after the birth to celebrate the full term. A feast is served to relative, friends, and neighbors.

4) Naa'njii, "First going out". Held for a boy on the first day of the ten-day cycle, designated as kanii, on the second kanii day for a girl. The baby's grandmother makes it pray to the ancestral tablets and to the oven god, then marks its forehead with soot and takes it out, formerly to pray to the god of the pigsty-privy. [769] [782]

5) Hachi-atchii, "First walking". Held whenever the mother is first able to go to visit her parents and siblings. She takes gifts of food to them and in return they give money to the baby.

6) Tanta, "Birthday". Held on the first anniversary of the birth. A feast is prepared and many relatives and friends come bringing gifts of money. The child's future career is divined by placing a number of objects in front of it---money, a book, an abacus, food, etc. If the child chooses the money he will be rich; if the book, a scholar; if the food, a glutton; and so forth. The odds are usually weighted in favor of a desirable future. [527] [787]

There seems to be some variation in all of these practices. Several may be obsolescent because some of the elements entering into them are no longer in use, the pigsty-privy and the native names, for example. [178]

Infanticide New-born babies may be done away with if they are not wanted, but this is probably not at all common under ordinary circumstances. One example was recorded: An old woman who died recently lay for about a week on her death bed unable to talk. Her children gathered about her, wondering if some sin ('tsumi') were not in need of atonement ('tsugunai'). 847 783

The strong ties of the family system are probably the fundamental reasons for this lack of strangeness. One is a member of the family, even if in another part of the island or of the world. This sense of belonging, to be emphasised later, is not only an emotional feeling but is a basic fact of social organization. Relationships, regardless of their geographic spread, are a binding force. It is true that these become weaker with the remoter relationships of the extended family, but they are still strong enough to blunt the edge of individual frictions that might otherwise be expected. 571 [602] [156] [578]

There was a niche into which a returning person might fit, whether he was a parent, a first son, an elder brother, an uncle or niece of the head of the household. The repatriates who had been long absent were, in turn, able to make an adjustment to conditions in the island of their birth because they had continued the same social system in their foreign residence. They now had to function in a more restricted and less well endowed natural environment. Dissatisfactions took the form, as they still do, of longing for better economic opportunity which they hope will be realised through further opportunities for emigration. They make comparisons, unfavorable to Okinawa, regarding the ease of making a living in other countries. Repatriates from Japan, who have returned to Okinawan rural life, miss the cities and the more exciting life of that country. Among those who have travelled, there is also a more noticeable discontent and dissatisfaction with the loneliness of rural life. The word sabishii is often on their lips. [554] [178] [511] [156]

The ideas of the repatriated Okinawans, furthermore, are not a new phenomenon in contemporary village life. They did not bring back points of view unknown before. In the past these had been communicated by letters and rare visits to the homeland. The reports of the repatriates were richer, more detailed, and more concrete, but not completely different. They have--and this is probably one of their chief influences on post-war village life--stimulated the strong desire of the villagers to emigrate. Life is hard on the island, and their accounts of greater return for the same expenditure of work have quickened hopes of future emigration. These hopes are confined to the New World, Japan, and the Pacific islands. There is no enthusiasm for migration to other islands in the Ryukyu chain. [185] [167]

4

Attitudes Toward Birth Control

There is little in the religious belief or in the cultural tradition that would induce, in large segments of the population, a strong antipathy to birth control on religious grounds, but these beliefs and traditions are not favorable to it either. Respect for ancestors and the need for the continuance of the family system are the most important of these. It is the duty of each generation to provide this continuity between the past and the future. The links in this chain are male children. Once this 842 [602] [611]

In Hanashiro, the fish were raised for sale by the young men's association. The supply of fish is too uncertain and too seasonal for these remedies to be an effective part of the traditional medicine. Like the native plants, and many of the traditional medical practices, they are yielding to the drugs which can be found in the small village shops: stomach and headache powders, eye lotions, aspirin, and other pharmaceuticals and patent medicines.

The economic and occupational organization of village fishing is very informal. Partnerships are made on a basis of friendship and continue so until one party, for any reason, decides to leave. There are about 40 of these partnerships among the 120 odd adult fishermen.[2] The fishermen of the village also have a fisherman's association (suisankumiai) similar in function to the agricultural associations which the Japanese instituted throughout the empire. This association has a head (suisankumiaichō). Like so many official and administrative jobs in a village, these offices are thrust upon the man. He seldom seeks them. In the larger places where there is more remuneration, the man might seek the job. The head of the association is chosen by the fishermen of the village. He receives Y10 a month for each fisherman he represents. This is a supplementary job, as he could not exist on this sum. Lack of cash prevents any ambitious services to the membership. The association buys and sells gas and oil, nets, lines, hooks, and other necessary items which have been imported either from the United States or from Japan. Occasionally, the association has sufficient funds for small temporary loans for purchasing imported gear, loans from Y100 to Y 500 for a period of a week or two. The main function of the association is the exchange of information between the local head and representatives from the larger association in Naha. This becomes a study of the daily market demands; the information provided is a guide to fishermen in meeting the demand. This is all very informal. The head of the association circulates among the fishermen, giving them tips on what to expect and how prices are going.

7

The Rough Language of Hinatogawa

The Hinatogawans have one characteristic which is not shared by their agricultural neighbors of Nagano, nor indeed by any of the agricultural villages. This is their rough (arai) language, so described by Hinatogawans with a certain amount of pride. This language, if used in the other village, would be considered insulting. It is notable for the freedom with which nicknames, some funny, some disparaging, some pointed at infirmities, are used.

2 The word used here is kumiai but actually these partnerships do not have the organized co-operative character that this word usually implies when used in an economic sense.

1

The Okinawan Midwife

Children are born under the care of a midwife (sanba). Physicians do not attend at birth, but they may be called later if complications develop. Native doctors (yabu), who have now largely disappeared, are not consulted. One midwife may serve several villages. She is engaged some months before the expected birth. Midwives are highly respected. The older ones have added to their initial training a wealth of knowledge based on experience. A midwife in Ginosa village takes care of the expectant mothers of Hatsuda and one in Gushichan village serves those of Hanashiro and Hinatogawa. Midwives long resident in an area are beloved by the children they have delivered. The children when adult visit her, or she is invited to the homes of those at whose birth she has assisted. 844 [159] [55] [574]

Prenatal examinations are made by the midwife in the 3rd, 5th, 7th, and 9th month of pregnancy, the most thorough of those being the last three. The mother goes to the midwife for the examinations, but the birth takes place in the home. A birth other than in one's home is considered bad luck. [843] [777]

Starting with the 5th month, the belly is wrapped around with a flannel sash (a haraobi). On the 5th month, it may be 7 shaku (about 7 feet) long and about 8 inches wide; by the ninth month, a 9 shaku length is used. The sash is not needed, in one midwife's opinion, during the last month of pregnancy, but it may be left on. While the sash is worn, it is taken off three times a month for laundering. The purpose of the binding is to keep the child in its natural position and to prevent it from turning and causing an abnormal delivery. 843 292

After birth, the child may be slapped on the backside if the mother has been in labor 17 hours or more. According to one midwife, the usual labor for a first child is about 17 hours, and 7 for the second. The midwife cuts the umbilical cord and may, but not always, dispose of the afterbirth (taiban, iya in Japanese). 844

In the villages, this may be disposed of by women relatives or by the father. It is buried, following an old custom, behind the house in a place where it does not rain. In Hatsuda, women relatives wrap the placenta in a cloth and bury it, while friends, relatives, and children gather around and laugh. There are variants of this custom. In Hinatogawa, the afterbirth is wrapped in a cloth and buried back of the house by the father. Neighboring children gather and laugh while this is going on. The reason for the laughing is that the new born child may always smile and be gay. In another variant, the father alone does the laughing. In all villages studied, this custom in its variants still has vitality. [184]

According to a Ginosa midwife, maternal death in child birth is unusual. Hanashiro women said the same. Miscarriages in early 165 843

mother, for example, fed her child rice gruel (Okayū) at eight months and at the age of one year the child began eating sweet potatoes. By the time the child is ready to walk and play, he often carries with him a piece of sweet potato, and, in season, a piece of sugar cane. 853 262

A party is held on the first birthday anniversary of the child. This is more elaborate than the one which honored his birth. Birthdays are not celebrated each year. After the first anniversary, the next are on the 13th, 25th, 37th, 49th, and 61st birthdays, that is, at twelve year intervals. 852 527

The party for the first birthday of a child is particularly tender and affectionate. At one year, he can walk or stumble, and answer or smile to the calls of his parents and grandparents. He can pick up things, throw them, and make his presence felt. The exhibition of these skills becomes part of the celebration. It is customary to invite both relatives and friends, who bring a small money present, from ¥20 which is usual to ¥100 which is uncommon. [856]

During the party, the child is given several symbolic gifts. These are placed on a low table in the middle of the room which the child can easily walk to and reach. Usually the gifts are a book, a fountain pen (or a writing brush, fude), an abacus (soroban), and a stack of paper money. These symbolize the wish that the child will become proficient in learning, writing, counting and mathematics, and will become rich. The child is eagerly watched as he unsteadily toddles to the table to see which article he picks up first. While the act is not taken seriously, the article which the child picks up first is supposed to indicate the field of endeavor in which he will be most fortunate. 527 852 431 [212] [802] [554]

These parties, small or large, include men, women, and children, but the majority of the guests usually are men. After the child has gone to bed, the party continues. In more formal and larger parties, the guests first come up to the father, go on their knees, bow, and make a short speech of congratulation. Sometimes these speeches sound as if they are prepared beforehand, other times as if they are spoken spontaneously. There is an exchange of sake between the father and his guest, both sipping from the same cup, the usual custom. The mother and the female relatives during this time are in the kitchen preparing the food. 852 527 [576] [537]

Women sit by themselves. This is true of all celebrations when the sexes are together. Women do not drink. (In a similar party near Hatsuda, the old women--usually over 60--drank a little). The jolly old women also love to dance solos in the traditional style. They dance with grace and vigor. The evening progresses without any planned entertainment. There is talking and drinking, singing, and samisen playing. Men, with a repertoire of Okinawan songs, sing in [562] [535] [887] [533]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

The New Year

Two basic themes are expressed in public celebrations and holidays. The first of these is remembrance and respect for the dead. The holidays are in part public observances of basic obligations under the family system. In the second place, holidays are occasions of thanksgiving. In a year there are not many official holidays or rest days. The work year is not interrupted, as is our custom, with week ends which may provide from one to two days of leisure. Sunday is not a day of rest. Officials and school teachers do not work at their official duties on the week ends. 527

The traditional public holidays are based on the lunar calendar. In the discussion which follows, some holidays have been included, even though they involve only some of the people. [805]

The western New Year is observed perfunctorily. It is observed only by present and former officials and honored elders of a township. The custom, about 40 years old in Gushichan-son, is known as New Year Banquet Party (Shinnenenkai). Headmen from each of the villages, members and former members of the village councils, and respected elders, the mayor and his subordinate officials and members of the township assembly are the chief participants. It is a social event, held in a public building or at a school, a "meeting for conversation" (hanashiai) at which food and sake are served. The event begins early in the afternoon and is generally over by early evening. [177] [554]

Lunar New Year (shōgatsu), the first day of the first lunar month and O-Bon in the seventh lunar month, are the two most important holidays. Lunar New Year falls in late January or early February. (In 1951 it was on February 6; in 1952, on January 27). This is a time of new beginnings, of thanksgiving, family reunions, and observances in honor of the dead. It is a three day holiday, with much prior preparation, and on the third day, there is either a symbolic or a partial return to work.

The new year is preceded by a series of activities on the last day of the 12th month (Ōmisoka). Before the war, these preparations were more elaborate than they are now. In Hinatogawa, bamboo and pine poles with a rice straw rope (shimenawa) hanging across the top were placed at the compound entrance. The purpose was to scare off evil spirits and devils. A piece of charcoal wrapped in sea weed and an orange hung from the rice rope. This custom now is also rare in Hatsuda. Only one rice straw rope used for this purpose was observed, and this had been put up some time before the new year. [789]

Other customs of preparing for the new beginning are still observed in all the villages: the house is cleaned; a bath is taken; old debts are paid; the New Year pig is slaughtered, or in the interests of economy three or four families may share a pig. The day before the New Year is the occasion for recalling one's bad deeds and of resolving on [577]

the war, the upper stratum of society consisted of Japanese plus a few highly placed Okinawans. With the departure of the Japanese, there was no well developed class structure among the Okinawans to succeed to the Japanese hierarchy. Today in these villages, there are inequalities in economic well-being, and certain individuals or groups have greater prestige than others. But these, I am convinced, are not to be traced to a class structure. Any division of the village into upper, middle, and lower classes would be artificial and would put a strain on the facts. Differences, where they appear, are the result of individual qualities, such as age, the possession of land or money, or personal character. 565 [563] [511] [554] [554]

In the old Loochooan kingdom, there was a rigid class stratification based on the Chinese model. The Japanese abolished the Loochoo nobility after the islands became a province, but, according to Furness (1899), "the people still cling to the old custom."[1] Despite the abolition of the nobility, distinctions between noble and commoner were made up to the recent war. In the family registers, descendants of the Loochooan nobility (shizoku) were so designated. But all villagers agreed that these distinctions had no meaning or value, either for preferment in the Japanese service, or for one's social standing among his countrymen. For all practical purposes, everyone was a commoner. Since the war, the fact that one is a descendant of the Okinawan nobility is, if possible, even more inconsequential. No notation is made in the family register. Most men over 35 can tell instantly whether a given surname is of noble or common origin. 175 565 183 565

The number of these descendants of nobles must be very great. Chamberlain in 1895 reproduced a table, which he said he had every reason to believe was accurate, showing an absurdly high proportion of nobles to commoners. These statistics were from the census of 1891 and for the entire Ryukyus:[2] 565 162

	Household Heads	Families
Princes	2	35
Nobility and Gentry	22,567	95,082
Common People	57,981	235,213
Total	80,550	330,330

1 Life in the Luchu islands, as cited, 7. For rank distinctions based on caps, stockings, sashes, and hair pins, see Simon, as cited, 155, 156-59. Hawk's Perry's expedition, as cited, Vol. I, 224, Vol. II, 48. Basil Hall also gives rank orders in an appendix. Perry considered government by this nobility very oppressive. The CA Handbook Ryukyu (Loochoo) Islands gives the historical background of the class structure and its manifestations in government.

2 In the article cited from the Geo. jour. 5 (1895), 298.

565 553 A common device among noble families was to vary the second character of the Chinese compound which made up the given name. This custom still remains, but has no significance beyond individual family pride. The following case illustrates this naming device:

Relation to Present Head of House	Given Name
Grandfather	Chohyo
Father	Chokan
Present Head	Choyo
First Son	Choko
Second Son	Choshin
Third Son	Choksii
Fourth Son	Chosei

554 Before the war, the village hierarchy consisted of the headman and retired elders and officials, the school principal and teachers if resident there, the well-to-do farmer, followed by the ordinary farmers or fishermen.[3] These distinctions are now blurred and have been affected by other changes. The school principal and the school teacher retain their prestige, but they have lost their relatively high economic status. Their clothing and the appearance of their homes are indistinguishable from those of a farmer. The ordinary farmer who works his field during the day and whose wife raises the pigs is in a better economic position. The same applies to village and township officials. Many distinctions based on wealth have disappeared because of the destruction and general [556] impoverishment of the war. Neither are distinctions possible in dress, for everyone wears makeshift clothing. Post-war circumstances have put the old at a disadvantage in dealing with new situations. Present day village life is fluid. The war and its aftermath have blurred many of the former distinctions based on age, occupation, or wealth.

621 208 Village leadership is based on individual qualities, but is limited by group opinion which all individuals respect. Decisions of any character, personal, familial, or political, emerge from consultation and discussion. One constantly hears the word sōdan, meaning a discussion or a consultation, with reference to decision making.

555 212 What types of individuals assume leadership in village affairs? First, leadership comes from a group that is literate. This limits the people available for responsible positions. Occupations such as the

3 According to old residents in Matsuda, there were in their youth, classes whose occupation made them inferior. Examples were bell ringers [461] ringers at funerals and pig killers. Pig killing is still considered [565] a low occupation, but this has no relevance to village life, for no [963] commercial slaughtering is done in the villages. In the villages, there is no suggestion of the existence of groups looked down upon because of their occupation, with the possible exception of a collector of night soil—and this occupation is infrequent.

conduct of a local business of any size, employment in official and 555
semi-official organizations, and teaching require facility in reading 212
and writing Japanese, that is, the use of the Chinese character and
the two Japanese syllabaries, katakana and hiragana. It is true
that under the Japanese and the present system of education, everyone [872]
learns the characters. But after school is left behind, there must
be continued practice in reading and writing, or one's fund of
knowledge gradually disappears and he remembers only a few of the
simpler or more common characters. For responsible leadership, this
school vocabulary must at least be maintained. A village headman
today must hold his own in reading and writing. Reports have to be [622]
made to the township office. The frequent conferences and meetings
require note taking. Storm warnings may be received, correspondence
and simple record keeping are continual tasks. In one village, the
criticism made of the headman was that his knowledge of characters
was too elementary.

If a person has leisure, this makes him available for positions of 556
leadership. A poor farmer could not ordinarily accept the position 622
of village headman except at a great sacrifice. Public duties, even
in a small village like Hanashiro, require that a headman be on call
most of the time for meetings, or to hear personal problems and com-
plaints of the villagers. It is significant that the former village
headman of Hanashiro and the current headman of Hatsuda both are
operators of rice mills and do not have the exacting dawn to dusk
duties of a farmer. In Hanashiro and Nagamo, the present headmen
are operating farmers who are able to combine their private and public
duties, but both places are small. The headman of Hinatogawa, a
fisherman, has had to forego many fishing trips because his duties
kept him in the village.

Leadership is also assumed by those who have had foreign experience, 559
either in the Japanese administrative hierarchy abroad or simply through 484
foreign residence. These people generally have a broader point of view
and know more.

The last factor is age. It is often thought that village life in 554
Oriental countries under the family system is dominated by the older 561
and respected males. It is true that the opinion of retired elders is
sought for and respected, but not merely because of age. In addition,
there may be a life of successful farming, teaching, office holding,
possibly a combination of these, behind them. Leadership comes from
young men too, usually the result of experience in the young men's
association. Energetic leadership, often accompanied by organisational
ability, is noticeable in the age group from about 24 to 27. Women
have fewer opportunities but can show their abilities in their work in [562]
the Women's Association.

Village leadership rests both on the respected elders and the 554
promising young men, on those who have kept and increased their skill
in language, who have occupations that relieve them from the unremitting

554 labor of agriculture or fishing, or those, finally, whose life includes travel and foreign residence. Some of these are old, some new. The ideas coming from the repatriates are new. The influence of the young men is also to some extent a response to new conditions and to new ways of looking at things, which they, more adaptable than their elders, are in a better position to understand.

5

Community Organizations

575 [197] [571] Community organizations fill in the gaps between family life and the formal mechanics of village government. Though Japanese imports, they also fit in the culture, which, like Japan, is accustomed to doing things in groups. The most important of these organizations are the Women's Association, Young Men's Association, Young Women's Association, volunteer fire brigades, and the neighborhood associations.

The Women's Association (Fujinkai). The Women's Association, an island wide organization with subordinate township and village branches, is primarily an organization of married women, but unmarried young women, too old for the youth organizations, and widows may belong. The village head of the association is elected, generally for one year, by the membership.

The interests and activities of the membership are an indication of the problems of village life as seen by the women. There may be, as in Hanashiro, house to house inspections with advice on how to improve sanitary conditions, making clothes, or teaching better ways to cook food, improving the dirty and smoky Okinawan kitchen to eliminate eye irritations (a common complaint), attempts to induce people to spend less money on holidays and to spread their luxury and meat buying throughout the year. They might discuss the custom of squatting on the floor and its possible effects on bodily health and stature, or the desirability of replacing the heavy blankets on the floor with western style beds, or individual family problems, such as the family with all daughters, or girls without husbands. The trouble is that the conditions which the women as members of an organization are trying to improve are the very ones which, as wives, they are unable to correct. As a consequence, many of the plans do not go beyond the discussion stage, not because the women lack the will, but because the cumulative problems are overpowering. These groups however have positive accomplishments. They are influential in maintaining existing standards. They are trying with some success to eradicate the scabby sores that cover the faces, hands, and arms of infants and young children.

The Young Men's Associations (seinendan) fill in the gap between school and marriage when the adult male really takes his place in the village community. They are a training ground for working with others and for demonstrating leadership. Like the Japanese originals, the organization is for young men between 17 and 25. Their specific activities

623 (hyōgiin) is an elected body, while the other, composed of village elders and public spirited men (yūshi) is a more honorary group. Sometimes the council is composed of one man from each neighborhood association. The elders are an unofficial body which because of its prestige is consulted when the headman and the council have an emergency problem and wish to get the advice of the respected men of the village. [554] This group is composed of former village headmen, former members of the village council, and well-known residents, such as retired school teachers or farmers.

The village council, composed of about 10 men, is elected from the male heads of a household. Before the war, members were elder men, but they now include young men as well. The council advises the headman on matters for which he is reluctant to assume full responsibility. If the decision is important enough, the village assembly, composed of all the heads of families over 18 years of age, is consulted. A headman may use the village council to help in defending himself against unpopular decisions. The village headman and the council generally make the final decision on village matters, but any decision involving the expenditure of money is referred to the assembly of household heads.

621 623 622 Village government is democratic. The people know their elected leaders personally. The problems with which the people and their officials are concerned are concrete, and seldom matters of abstract principle. They usually are concerned with local improvements, taxation, and schooling. The people participate in local government through the village assembly, at which they elect the headman and the council members. They can criticize and question decisions and approve proposals for spending money.

A headman can conceal neither his strong points nor his faults. Village government utilizes the principle of group responsibility without sacrificing the principle of individual leadership and a strong respected headman can do much to prevent the formation of cliques within a village. This does not mean that individual antagonisms and differences of opinion do not exist, but they seem to be resolved before they reach the stage of organized opposition.

Village government is not an extension of the family system. The village headman is not the head of one large family. But there is individual leadership, consultation and discussion, and mutual agreement both in the family system and in village government. Family experience has both a private and a public character. The public influences of family life takes the form of tempering the formality and mechanics of government.

621 591 A village is composed of single families. Many have intermarried. All of these families have a certain relationship to one another. They may be friends; they may live in the same neighborhood. Their children are known to one another as classmates, later as members of youth organizations. The families may have other associations, based on a common economic interest in agriculture, fishing, or pig raising. They

231 Before a piglet is bought, its feeding habits are carefully observed by the buyer to determine future growing potential. It is then kept in a [417] sty: pigsties are either in the yard near the house or in a cluster of stables on the north edge of the town. Twice a day women cook the food in large kettles and ladle the liquid food into a trough. Nowadays [262] pork is rarely consumed in the village except for special holidays, when several families may slaughter pigs and sell part of the meat to every- [438] body through the local store or preserve some of it by salting. Most [251] farmers, however, wait for the meat buyer from the southern part of [442] the island from whom they receive a good financial return.

Goats are raised for home consumption. They are never left to graze [417] but are quartered in a goat pen near the pigsty and fed on grass cut from uncultivated land. Seven families in the central village have [492] horses. Their main use is to carry firewood from the mountains. The small breed looks like a cross between a horse and pony and seems especially adapted to climb the steep trails. They are also used for plowing and for pulling two-wheeled carts. The owner of a horse [434] may more than double his income from forest work. Horses are fre- [427] quently rented out for half the day's income from wood carried by them.

Silkworm raising, an important source of income in Taira before the war, is only now being resumed by some Tairan families. The [474] larvae are supplied through island-wide silkworm raising associations, which repurchase the cocoons after they are spun. To raise silkworms, a substantial house is needed so that rats cannot enter and eat the worms. The temporary postwar structures with holes and cracks in the walls and roof are inadequate. Only a few recently built houses can be used. One family keeps growing worms on shelves in the front room. [137] Most of the mulberry trees were lost during and after the war. Plans have been made to plant new trees. Young girls feed the mulberry [462] leaves to the gluttonous worms who require constant attention. When the worms are ready to create their cocoons, they are taken off their diet, and the cocoons are cleaned and sorted out. Silkworms can be raised four times a year if there is an adequate supply of mulberry leaves. Their sale brings a good income, which can become a substitute [434] for cash earned in forest work.

FISHING

226 Fishing is a much less important source of livelihood than one would [554] expect in a coastal village and is a low-prestige occupation. Only two

623 attend." As on all occasions women usually sit together on one side or in the rear. Few of them participate during discussions. The most active spokesmen for the women are the head of the Women's Association and one or two of her close assistants. If a discussion concerns such matters as liquor and food for celebrating certain holidays, a woman may speak [854] up. Mothers bring their infants along[1] and hold them in their arms or nurse them when they get restless. Sometimes a child feels uncomfortable and starts crying, and the mother is forced to leave the room.

554 In general, Taira people do not enjoy being leaders or playing a 157 dominating role. There are no bosses who attempt to force issues or 621 dictate policies. Even people who have definite ideas on how to effect changes would not attempt to assume full responsibility by disregarding the advice of others. "Power" is not associated with responsible positions and village leadership. The headman and clerk perform a duty, often loathed by them and never too highly rewarded by others. A man commands respect for his education, age, sound advice, and exemplary behavior, not for the office he holds. Moreover, all villagers are friendly neighbors, and the man who is presently headman still [632] remains a relative or neighbor to everybody. There is more prestige associated with township offices. The mayor, who holds the highest position, is a man of age and experience; he commands a great deal of respect and has been elected to that office because of the high esteem in which he is held. Occasionally one hears of power hungry persons who are unscrupulous and authoritarian, but they are rare.

FORMAL CONTROL

625 Formal control of law and order is in the hands of the police. A detachment of the Hentona district police is located in the village, and one policeman is constantly stationed there. He lives with his family in [206] a building which also has a small office. Recently a telephone with direct connections to Hentona was installed. The policeman and his wife are from another township.

[166] The policeman's main duty, according to villagers, is to protect them from the occasional outside burglars or from fugitives from the south who come north to hide in the woods. The announcement that such a person is on the loose creates much excitement and anxiety. A second important duty is the control of the shore line. Smugglers and [167] illegal entrants from the Japanese island of Yoron, just to the north of Okinawa, land along the coast. Although one man with only a bicycle can hardly control effectively several miles of coastline, since the only road to the outer world leads through Taira, the policeman

1 [i.e. - to the household head meeting - ANALYST]

can at least check all transients. Another important duty is to prevent the use of explosives by fishermen, a difficult if not impossible assignment, for he must catch the fisherman *flagrante delicto* when he lands with fish killed in this way. There is no indication that villagers assist the policeman in detecting offenders. 625 [226]

Policing the village itself is not a difficult job. The absence of crime and the low incidence of quarrels, disputes, and brawls would seem to make policing unnecessary. Nevertheless, the policeman interferes at times in disputes. He considers it his duty when actual blows are exchanged and somebody is hurt. In such a case he "investigates," takes notes, and makes a report to the police department. During the entire field work, reportable incidents occurred at about the rate of one a month; in the two or three cases where violence occurred, the matter was settled peacefully later, although the policeman kept a record of it. The rare quarrels which do occur are usually the result of drinking or domestic disagreements, generated by financial problems. 625 578 [674] [273]

The policeman plays the role of judge and jury. In one case a young man hit a woman and was temporarily detained by the policeman until he made apologies to the victim. In disputes over business transactions, the policeman often arbitrates. In a dispute in which a Taira woman was accused of cheating a trader from another village, the policeman heard the case and ordered the Taira woman to make refunds over a period of time. The villagers seem to accept such arbitration. Serious disagreements seem to be unthinkable, and everyone fears public censure and ostracism. Court action is extremely rare and is referred to the provincial courts in the town of Nago. 625 627 [692]

The policeman is given high status by the villagers and commands respect. He remains, probably by his own choice, a neutral person in village affairs. He attends village functions, where he is given a place among village leaders. Being friendly with many families, he visits and is visited by other men. It was noted that fishermen sometimes send a special catch to the policeman. But since this is a courtesy which is also common among farmers with regard to nonfarming people, such as teachers, one should not think of such actions as bribery. Mothers use the policeman as a threat in disciplining children. "If you do such a bad thing again, I'll take you to the police station." This, however, does not seem to instill any fear of his person, but rather a respect towards the general area in which the policeman lives. Village children play freely with the policeman's children, but his courtyard is entered less frequently by children than that of other villagers. 625 [554] [662] [861]

The head of the General Affairs Department at the township office is charged with supervision of public order. It is not clear how much this is a self-assigned task. During several occasions, when an alarm 632 647 625

592 [727] Table 1 shows the composition of 60 households in central Taira. It is probable that the effects of war dislocation have increased the number of nuclear households and account for at least one of the matrilocal extended households. Some of the fragmentary households, classed as nuclear, consist of just a widow or widower and an unmarried son or daughter.

Table 1 Household Composition in Central Taira

Total population	328
Number of households	60
Nuclear households	36
Patrilineal extended households * (3 generations)	18
Matrilocal extended households	4
Not classified	2

* In households classified as extended, grandparents of the youngest generation present are distributed as follows: grandmothers 14, grandfathers 4, both grandparents 4.

593 554 [562] Relationships and status within the household are ordered according to generation, age, and sex. As will be discussed later, the status of women in general is high. High status of males, especially the first-born male in the family, must be considered as representing an ideal which is not reflected too distinctly in day-by-day interpersonal relationships, although birth order and sex are significant in ancestor worship and in representation of households. Ideally the younger generation members defer to the older people. Normal behavior, however, more frequently reflects a warm, personal relationship that, although not devoid of respect, tends to minimize differences and stress familiarity rather than distance.

613 Besides his membership in a household, the individual is part of a larger descent group, a "main house" in which all the members are related through the male line. Most of the "main houses" in the village trace descent to the founder of Taira. They represent three old lineages. The remaining belong to two more recent and unrelated lineages.

The houses of older and younger sons are distinguished, the term "stem" referring to the house of the founder and the descending line of his oldest sons and the term "branch" to those of younger sons who have set up separate households in the village or elsewhere. Through

Both adult men and women also belong to mutual assistance groups, mutual loan associations, and to the work groups described in Chapter 3. All individuals between 16 and 57 are expected to cooperate in community work projects. All households are members of the village cooperative. Since most villagers look to the cooperative for help in improving their economic conditions, this draws them together in a familial way. 571 [653] [474]

It will be noted that age and marital status are prerequisites for membership in most of these associations and that only one is exclusively for women and one exclusively for men. 575

Taira culture is essentially egalitarian. Personal status is not ascribed by membership in social classes or achieved by the accumulation of wealth. Furthermore, although power and respect are the attributes of certain village offices, such as headman and school teacher, these only give rank *ex officio*. An ex-headman has no higher status than one who has never held such an office. 554

There are factors, however, which do differentiate Tairans as to personal status. Men have somewhat more power and command more respect than women; adults must be addressed respectfully by children; older siblings have more authority and privileges than younger; and in recent years the educated are somewhat more respected and are more likely to be chosen to hold office than those with the minimum required amount of schooling. And since education often leads to better jobs, greater wealth is sometimes associated with status, though not a necessary prerequisite. [562]

The status of women in Okinawa, although, ideally, inferior to that of men, is in reality relatively high. Many cultural forms are based on the principal of male superiority, which Japanese values tend to reinforce, but there are numerous indications in daily life that women command a comparatively high degree of respect and power. It is difficult to assess to what degree status differences have been influenced by contact with Japanese; the importance of women in religious affairs suggest their higher status prior to the introduction of the Japanese school system in Taira. 554 562 177

As will be discussed in the chapter on religion, although the veneration of one's father's ancestors is the core of one part of Okinawan religion, the ceremonies are run by the women. The oldest male of each main house and the household head in each household are nominally responsible for keeping the tablets of the ancestors on his house shrine, but the actual upkeep of this ancestral shelf and the bimonthly offerings are performed by the women. If no direct male descendant is available to keep the ancestral tablets, a widowed woman retains them 769 782 562

as usual. It was an affair organized by the women leaders, which, though a little slow in starting, turned into a gay carousing for the older women, who were less inhibited than the younger ones and needed little encouragement to drink and dance.

The daily life of a woman is more monotonous than her husband's and she has less leisure and recreation. After a day of hard work, men sit down alone or in groups to spend the evening in relaxation with a bottle of sake. After a short time they show signs of pleasant intoxication and all burdens of life seem to disappear. Such recourse to carefree diversion is generally denied women. Instead, they are loaded down with household chores and care of infants and guests after a day of work in fields and forests. They spend their little free time exchanging news with other women or talking with other family members or visitors who assemble around the charcoal fire in the back room during winter evenings. Only women of advanced age feel free to join the men in drinking at home.

Men have greater sexual freedom. They are at liberty to have affairs with other women outside the village and on trips to the city may visit tea houses and afterwards enjoy the favors of a prostitute if their pocket books allow.

Status differences based on age are reflected in the social structure and clearly denoted in the kinship terms. There is a special term of reference and address for "first son" and "first daughter" and for "older brother" and "older sister." As mentioned, ideally the oldest son assumes responsibility for the household, for his parents, and for the ancestral tablets. Even if he leaves his parental home temporarily or permanently for the city, where economic prospects are better, he remains the nominal household head and sends money back to his family. Theoretically the oldest male may retain authority until death, although in practice most men retire from this position at the age of 61. Their retirement is made official by an entry in the population registry. They continue to live with their oldest son and act as advisors and critics. A man's loss of authority with age occurs around his late fifties and early sixties and is evidenced not only by his retirement but also by his loss of the right to vote in village meetings. Veneration for age itself therefore, does not exist. Actual behavior toward the grandparental generation, all the members of which are addressed as "grandmother" or "grandfather" regardless of actual kinship, is warm, mildly playful, and indulgent. Disrespect, however, is absent.

It is characteristic of the relationship between children and grandmothers that in addressing nonrelated old women, the suffix *-san*, which denotes respect, is most often dropped for the "grandmother"

603 601 term. As the child gets older, the familiar suffixless form of address is used less and less frequently, though girls seem to retain it longer than boys.

601 156 576 The strength of one's ties to the community as a whole regardless of actual kinship is seen not only in the use of the term "grandmother" and "grandfather" in addressing all members of this generation but also in the similar use of the terms "uncle" and "aunt" for all members of the parental generation. Those who are not known well or who have high status are addressed by the appropriate kinship term with the suffix -san added.*

554 576 Achieved status is recognized by special terms of address. The teacher, school principal, the doctor, the village headman or mayor are addressed by their titles. Taira people combine familiarity with formality by calling a young teacher from the same or neighboring community by the first name, then adding the title "teacher." †

621 156 571 In summary, although affiliation with a patrilineal descent group and kinship ties with kindred influence certain aspects of life, over and above these ties is the identification with the community, which is drawn together by bonds of economic and social interdependence. Individual leaders serve their term of responsibility and then return to [157] the egalitarian community life, which is comparatively free of competitive strife.

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Chapter 7

Courtship, Marriage, and Sex

582 Most marriages in Taira take place when both men and women are in their early or middle twenties (see Table 2). It is perhaps most note-

* This refers to the use of Japanese kinship terms which are prevalent in Taira—see Chapter 1, p. 370.

† The use of first names may also help to identify individuals since many persons have the same surname—this explanation, however, is not in contradiction with the statement concerning familiarity.

were justified. Both children were slightly retarded, and people believed that this fact added even more proof. 848

An illegitimate child is loved by everybody and treated like any legitimate child. The bastard's name is listed in the registry under his mother's and his illegitimacy noted. Since World War II the distinguishing red ink mark is no longer used in recording these children. Unless the mother marries the child's real father, the offspring has no legal rights of inheritance. If she marries another man, the child may receive affectionate treatment from the stepfather, but he remains legally her son. Socially such a child does not suffer any form of ostracism, but adults make references to his status within his earshot. One such girl proudly said that people had told her that she was half-Japanese. [837] [732] [217] [428] [554]

Legally a man cannot have more than one wife, but there are cases of multiple marriage even in Taira. It takes a substantial income for such an arrangement, since a second wife is given a separate place to live. A younger "wife" is usually taken if there is no male heir born by the legal wife or if the marriage remains childless altogether. A man, formerly a resident of the village, took a young concubine late in life after his sons were killed during the war. She bore him a son, apparently with the consent of the first wife, since there was amicable interaction between the two although they lived separately. The husband registers such children as his legal offspring. 595 842

Two modes of divorce are possible. A couple may agree to separate and call a family council of parents and relatives on both sides. The township office is then notified and separation acknowledged. Once children have been born, such divorces are not too frequent, at least there were few cases of divorced women with children in Taira. A husband may initiate a divorce by telling his wife of his desire to separate. Extra-marital relationships of the wife would be sufficient cause, as would be sterility, which is interpreted as her fault. In Taira a settlement within the family is the more frequent mode of divorce although relatively rare. One official estimated that the rate of divorce for the whole township is two per year. Among the 59 marriages we found listings for five subsequent divorces. During fieldwork, many debates about modernizing divorce laws were held among members of the Women's Association, which advocated the abolition of the unilateral emphasis that gave husbands all the rights and wives almost none. Only a crime committed by a man would be sufficient cause under existing law to permit the wife to initiate a divorce. 586 [837] [842] [671] [575]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

like "owners" of the concrete objects which they inhabit. These objects can be made subservient to human needs if care is taken not to offend the deities. As long as proper ritual observances are performed, humans need not fear their hostility. They are addressed in prayers and chants, and people make offerings to them at several ceremonies during the year. No one in Taira, including the priestess, has any exact knowledge about their characteristics, and there is no theological dogma, but people know that when building a house, for example, one must announce his intention to the deities and pacify these spirits who have been carried with the lumber from the mountains or with gravel from the beach and the sea. They must be thanked for letting the builder use such materials and sent back to their natural abode. Before the house is finished, the surrounding plot of land must be cleared of all evil spirits. Neglect of such ceremonies can turn supernatural beings into adversaries. One family who neglected proper rituals on their house lot when they built their home tried to appease angry deities by holding a ceremony a year after the house was finished because bad luck had befallen members of the household. Although most supernatural beings can be pacified by proper observance of rituals, there are some who are inherently malevolent. These ogres may be seen in the form of fire balls or in some other shape or physical appearance.

The worship of these nature deities and the observance of ceremonies in their behalf are in the hands of the high priestess and her female assistants. In former times each main house, later each village, had its own priestess. The present high priestess in Taira derives her office from a much later institution, a nation-wide hierarchy of religious officials established by the Okinawan king in an effort to combine religion with political influence and supervision in the villages. Today the high priestess has no association with the central government; the Japanese abolished the system. The hierarchy of female religious officials (see Lebra: 1958), those representing main houses, and the chief village priestess is no longer clearly delineated in Taira, since representatives of several offices have left the island or died, and the vacancies have not been filled. The high priestess has taken over most of the religious functions. Her chief assistants are older women from the two main houses. While these three women officiate, several other women are in attendance as helpers. In spite of the diminishing role of animistic religion in the daily life of younger people, the high priestess still enjoys prestige in the community. She is exempted from communal labor in recognition of her status.

The present high priestess is a woman in her fifties who works and

871 Nevertheless, the school remains, in the eyes of the villagers, as a rally-
177 ing point for ties with Japan.

No attempts have been made until the present to introduce Okinawan culture other than by a few occasional references to Okinawan history or folklore. Teachers, during discussion of reading material, refer to home life, farm work and mountain work to illustrate points made in the books.* School is the first opportunity for Taira children to become acquainted with the world outside their own village and to relate their own experiences to the rest of the island, Japan, and other parts of the world. Since Japan is the dominant subject of reading [186] material, however, it is clear that no awareness of being "Okinawan" is developed.

875 Teachers, many of whom are young, are devoted to their work and to the children, even though their pay is hardly commensurate with their [554] high status in the community and does not represent adequate compensation for the long hours of teaching and administrative work that demand most of their time. In addition, the community in which the teacher lives makes demands on him as one of the educated, able leaders. Both men and women teach. Some of the younger ones who follow the urgent call for teaching positions do not have much training beyond a high school diploma. During the summer, special teacher [874] training courses are now conducted by university professors from Japan and the University of the Ryukyus. Graduates from the University of the Ryukyus Education Department are still too few in number to reach a remote country school, such as the one in Kawata. Most teachers come from one of the surrounding communities; others, mostly bachelors, are from other parts of the island. Children are therefore well acquainted with many of the school teachers, some of whom are neighbors, relatives, or friends of the family.

[554] The extremely modest appearance of teachers does not detract from their status and authority. The relationship between students and teachers is a mixture of respect, as dictated by custom, and intimacy, as a result of mutual affection. A conscientious teacher comes to know his students well during the school year and takes an active interest in them. Children can tell if a teacher is enthusiastic about his work and often establish a warm relationship with him. During our stay, the 872 first two grades were divided into two sections, taught by women, while male teachers taught the upper four grades.

The school day starts at 8:30 with a study period before the formal meeting of the teacher and students on the open grounds in front of

* Some practical work in gardening begins in the upper elementary school classes. Only Junior High School students work in the fields as part of their curriculum.

857 by bystanders. Hurrying home, they put their books away carefully,
[291] change their clothing to that designated for play. The girls, eager to assume their new status and the responsibilities that go with it, hurriedly sweep and mop the floors of the house. The boys, who are less
857 interested, rush out to play. Those with younger siblings are promptly
512 entrusted with caretaking duties, and mothers and grandmothers go off to the fields.

At 8 o'clock each evening, even before the village bell is sounded for schoolchildren to start studying, the first graders are on their way home from their after-supper play time. On a quiet, still night their voices are loud and clear and their recitations spirited in comparison with those of the older children.

OBEDIENCE TRAINING

861 Not only in school is new behavior expected of the first grader. He
865 must now be more obedient toward his elders. Adults, however, differentiate between commands for the performance of tasks and rules of safety. The standard, or more specifically the ideal, would be to command unquestioned obedience in both cases. The practice falls far from this mark, for adults lack persistence and consistency in the
[855] treatment of task performance. Obedience to rules of safety, however, is enforced with greater consistency.

There is, of course, the disposition of the adult at the time when obedience is expected, which the child learns to discriminate very early. Children are more apt to obey their elders when the latter are tired and irritable after a hard day's work than when they are relaxed. It was interesting to observe children teasing parents and escaping obedience when the adults were relatively relaxed. "Bring me those things there," a parent would command a child. The child would laughingly shout "No," and run away without punishment. For this disobedient act a child would be spanked if the parent were tired and harassed. "If you do not listen well to adults, you will grow up to be a good for nothing, a criminal," warns a mother. But adults in their inconsistent handling fail to impress on children the virtue of obedience.

861 It is interesting that, in their relationship with adults other than
865 their parents, children are often more obedient. People of special status and authority enjoy greater obedience from children. Teachers
554 and village officials usually find their orders fulfilled. Shortly after the new water faucets were installed throughout the village, children be-

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

gan playing with them excessively. Parents scolded, shooed, and threatened the children to no avail. Finally the village headman took steps to enforce the rule forbidding children to play with the faucets. Passing a faucet one day, he came upon a 9-year-old turning the water on and off. "You come to the office later. You know you are not supposed to play there," he said sternly to the boy. Later the boy reported to the office. The clerk, in the absence of the headman, instructed the boy to bring 10 yen and his father to the office. The boy ran home and returned to the office with 10 yen and told the headman, who had returned meanwhile, that his father was not back from the fields, so he was unable to accompany him. The headman's wife, in relating the story to the fieldworker, described how surprised and amused her husband was to find the boy so obedient. Because he had just assumed office a week earlier, he had not expected compliance with his orders.

An obedient child is rewarded with verbal praise and admiration by adults. He is told that he is a good child and that he has "a good head." If he is capable of anticipating commands and quick to comply with hints, parents of other children urge their children to play with him.

TECHNIQUES OF SOCIALIZATION

Although the child has learned many types of preferred behavior by the time he is 6 and has been rewarded and punished for many acts, his entry into first grade is a time of increased discipline and a suitable time to discuss the techniques used by Tairans in socializing their children.

Examination of the different techniques reveals that the most important and reliable of these is the denial or withdrawal of love. There is a good share of physical punishment, threatened food deprivation, and shaming. Praise and rewards are inconsistent and haphazard. Reference to a "God" is common, but there exists no complex system of instructive myths, stories, or prayers. Training in skills is highly informal.

The technique of withdrawal of love or support is a curious double-edged one. If we take the position of the child, we would conclude that he shows a deep sense of confidence in the bond between himself and his mother when he "runs away from the house" after a severe scolding or spanking. He runs away in the belief that he will arouse the anxiety of his mother and recover a love or support, which he has temporarily lost as a result of some transgression. This belief is rein-

Amami Oshima, Okinawa, Miyako, and Yaeyama.[1] Although they appear to differ widely, mutual intelligibility prevails, and informants from other islands assured me that they had managed to understand Okinawan in a short time though most preferred to use Japanese rather than attempt the new dialect. 197

Okinawan Dialects The Okinawan dialect area, Okinawa and its offshore islands, contains many sub-dialects or local speech groups, all of which are easily mutually intelligible. It would be an exaggeration to state that there is a distinctive dialect for each community; yet the variety and diversity of local speech forms constantly impresses one. Nakasone has distinguished five dialects in the Kunigami area alone, and this does not include nearly a dozen and a half distinctive speech islands within the same area.[2] These local speech peculiarities are often pointed out with considerable pride and seem much prized as symbolic of a community's identity. [621]

The dialects of Naha, Shuri, and certain of the larger towns such as Itoman and Yonabaru, are quite distinctive and easily recognized by the Okinawans. Naha dialect is most widely spoken and easily understood throughout the island, and because of its association with the capital carries the greatest prestige among Okinawan speakers. Old residents of Naha complain that their dialect has deteriorated and become coarsened since the war due to the heavy influx from other areas of people who speak the dialect imperfectly. By this they refer to the loss of certain polite forms and the inundations of Japanese. Some Shuri people will contend that the "best" Okinawan is spoken in their city. In the past this was undoubtedly a widely accepted point of view, but with the advent of Japanese administration---exile of the king, removal of the capital to Naha, abolition of the upper classes---Shuri's prestige as a cultural center rapidly declined. A number of informants, rural and urban, felt that the "purest" Okinawan was heard in the Naha theaters, particularly at the Naha Gekijō, where daily performances of modern and historical dramas are presented. Itoman dialect is considered to be very coarse and rough by the people of other communities, and hence is accorded a low prestige. This is in part due to certain prosodic features of the dialect which render it unlike other Okinawan dialects, but more likely it is due to the fact that this town largely derives its livelihood from fishing, an occupation regarded with opprobrium by farmers and urbanites alike. The neighboring farm village of Kanegusuku, though less than a quarter of a mile away and long associated with Itoman, preserves a dialect distinct from it. [554] [177] [648] [177] [545] [554] [226]

This dialectic diversity on Okinawa reflects to a certain extent the physical isolation of the typical village, a tightly-nucleated cluster of dwellings surrounded by fields. It is also a product of the social structure in the Okinawan kingdom. Prior to annexation by Japan (1879), farmers were little more than serfs bound to the soil and forbidden to leave their native village, while the gentry and nobility were for the most part concentrated in the urban Naha-Shuri district. Rural villages tended to be isolated, self-sustaining units; most were composed of a dominant kin group (munchu) and several smaller and possibly remotely related kin groups, or of several unrelated kin groups more nearly equal in size. A munchu was made up of a number [361] 197 105 [566] [565] [621]

[1] Miyanaga /Miyara/, 1950, p. 39.

[2] Nakasone, 1937, pp. 242-258.

191 (mentioned previously), song, and the indigenous religion. Okinawan song and
178 music undoubtedly exceed both Japanese and Western in popularity; in fact, no
191 other facet of Okinawan culture has so successfully withstood the changes of
178 the past seventy-five years. Songs such as the Kagiyadefu (which some Okina-
533 wans liken to a national anthem), Nubui Kuduchi, Hamachidori, Tanchame are known and loved by all. Some of the phonograph record stores in Naha carry as many as several hundred different recordings of Okinawan songs, and vir-
191 tually all of these are recorded in Okinawan. All priestesses of the indigen-
178 ous religion interviewed by the author stated that Okinawan was the language
794 of prayer and ceremony; to some this was a burden, as in the case of one priestess who had spent most of her life in Japan. A few admitted that the language of the ceremonies and particularly that of the old songs or umui (somestime rendered omoro) was rather obscure and not fully understood; these are transmitted orally from the older priestess to her successor and undoubtedly
191 contain many archaic words. Outside the formal religious structure yet inex-
178 tricably linked to it are shamans (yuta) and fortune tellers ('ekisha'). The
756 former, most often a woman, uses Okinawan almost exclusively in rites concerned
791 with divining, exorcism, and curing. The latter, nearly always a male, is usually a fairly well-educated person, as the profession is based on interpretations of certain books used in conjunction with the ancient Chinese Book of Changes (I Ching), and either Japanese or Okinawan, depending on the customer, may be used in giving the reading. Both practitioners are extremely popular, but the fortune teller is usually found in the cities and towns whereas the shaman may be found in Naha or the smallest hamlet.

195 Japanese With the abdication of Shō Tai in 1879 the Japanese government ini-
191 tiated a program designed for integrating Okinawa into the national
177 state as rapidly as possible. An effort was made to stamp out all vestiges of
[648] Okinawan culture, utilizing techniques ranging from education and indoctrination to repressive laws and police measures. Greatest emphasis was given to making Japanese speakers out of Okinawans. Leavenworth quotes Governor Narahara as stating that the creation of Japanese speakers was of more value than
715 all the repressive laws prohibiting certain customs.[1] At the start the Japanese
191 were hindered by a lack of schools and teachers, and so the program moved ahead
177 slowly. An effective national school system covering the rural areas where the
871 bulk of the population was located and taking in both sexes was not fully operative until about the time of World War I. The failure of Japanese to displace Okinawan can be attributed largely to a lack of time and a lack of facilities for education beyond the elementary level. By the time of World War II but two generations were schooled in Japanese, and the majority of these had received no more than six years of education.

191 Though Japanese failed to displace Okinawan, it did succeed in becom-
177 ing a necessity in the lives of most people and in establishing itself as the
554 prestige language. With the government, press, schools, cinema, radio, and high-level commerce utilizing Japanese exclusively, participation in modern life without a knowledge of Japanese became impossible. The incentives towards competence in Japanese were many, whereas there appeared to be little gained

[1] Leavenworth, 1905, p. 37.

by clinging to the native speech. Naturally it became impossible for a student 191
to obtain a higher education or for any Okinawan to secure a government position 177
without an adequate mastery of Japanese. A good knowledge of Japanese became 554
the first prerequisite for those who wished to improve their status.

Nearly all children in the rural areas and perhaps a majority of those 191
in the urban areas first learn to speak Japanese when they enter school. It 177
would seem that the main task of the elementary schools is to provide the stu- 871
dents with an adequate knowledge of Japanese. On Okinawa as in all schools throughout the areas occupied by the Japanese, a standard language is taught; for the Okinawan child this means learning a new language, while for the child in Japan it means learning at the most a new dialect. Obviously a sixth-grade child on Okinawa will not have a proficiency in Japanese comparable to a sixth-grader in Japan. A recent testing of Naha and Tokyo school children indicated that the Okinawan children were far behind in nearly every subject. One informant, an urbanite who had lived for a time in Japan and rather prided himself on his Japanese, remarked that this clearly indicated the deterioration of the schools in the post-war period. When it was pointed out that this more likely reflected a lower educational attainment due to a language handicap, he readily agreed, and subsequent discussion revealed that a "mixture" of Japanese and Okinawan was spoken in his home. In this case the siblings, who had received high-school educations, used Japanese to one another but spoke only Okinawan to their mother, and the child of the house heard mostly Okinawan from her elders! A Ryukyuan scholar now holding a position in a large Japanese university informed the author that most high-school students are very hesitant about their Japanese and fear making a mistake. When this person first came to Japan after winning a scholarship to a higher school, he was startled by the fluency of the Japanese children! It should be noted that the post-war addition of English to the elementary school curriculum (from the 4th year on) serves only to impose another linguistic burden on the Okinawan child. Grade-school children who had studied English were completely unable to understand the simplest printed phrases; mastery was usually limited to counting from one to ten and reciting the alphabet as far as H without error, though the children can hardly be blamed, considering the texts and teaching level. The chief drawback to the texts is the transcription of English sounds in the Japanese syllabary; thus, a child is taught to pronounce ball as "booru", Smith as "sumisu", here as "hiya", etc. A friend who sat in on a class in English related that had he not been forearmed with a copy of the text and the knowledge that the class was studying English he would never have recognized the subject matter.

In the greater Naha area, which serves as the cultural as well as the 191
administrative and commercial center of the island, the use of Japanese is far 177
more common than elsewhere. Prior to the war there was a sizeable Japanese community here, and from Naha things Japanese have diffused into the countryside. However, the Naha informant's home where a "mixture" of Japanese and Okinawan was spoken was not an atypical one, and this can readily be attested to by visiting the playground of any elementary school in Naha and listening to the speech of children. It may be expected that the post-war addition of [871] three years of junior high school to the compulsory education period will do much to further the advance of Japanese.

In all cases, Kunigami seems to have held up the best, and Nakagami has fared the worst. Again this reflects the military interest of both the Japanese and the Americans. The comparison of 1904 acreage with that of 1950 in each of the three areas is shown below: 178 175 241 727 311

Table IV

Area	1904 Acreage		1950 Acreage		% Decrease	
	Paddy	Dry	Paddy	Dry	Paddy	Dry
Kunigami	6,530.5	28,398.5	5,463.0	20,773.8	16%	27%
Nakagami	3,861.2	34,176.1	1,675.1	14,932.0	57%	56%
Shimajiri	5,370.3	30,978.7	2,443.9	21,904.4	55%	29%
Okinawa Island[1]	15,719.1	93,952.6	9,589.0	57,610.2	39%	39%

Chronology of Changes in Farming Technique It is impossible to give for the whole of Okinawa a schedule showing just when each technical innovation was introduced. Some parts of Shimajiri and Nakagami were in advance of the rest of the island; conversely, one finds on the outer islands practices still carried on that the more progressive areas abandoned more than two decades ago. 178 241

In Yamada the transplanting of rice was originally done by scattering (bara'ii) of the shoots. Shortly before 1930 this method was replaced by planting in rows, with a string to mark the distance. The spaces were filled in by planting while walking backwards. About 1950 people started transplanting while moving forward. This has been replaced in part---at least in areas where the mud is firm and clayey---by the planting frame, the 'waku'. 178 243

Farmers kept the harvested rice in conical stacks (majin) several feet high. The bundles (tabai) had the heads facing inward to prevent attack by rats. The number of these stacks was indicative of the farmer's prestige in the community. The sheaves were removed from the bottom layer always, and only when rice was needed for food. [554]

Removal of the grain from the stalk was accomplished by the kūrashijii. This was a pair of bamboo tongs held in the right hand, while the sheaf was drawn through the tongs with the left hand. When the new variety of rice was introduced, use of the kanabā became common. This iron-comb-like device, through which the sheaves were drawn one at a time, can still be found in use on the isle of Sesoko, off the Motobu peninsula. It apparently did not find 178 243 412

[1] The discrepancy in the 1904 totals for Okinawa Island and grand totals for the three division of the island is accounted for by 17.1 acres of paddy land and 256.7 acres of dry fields in Naha, and 142.6 acres of dry fields in Shuri.

Two members of the SIRI team both saw bone-washings, and were both impressed 765
by this display. The ceremony I saw consisted not only of the washing of one set of bones but the transfer of another skeleton from another tomb. While the tomb was being prepared the daughter of the man whose bones were being transferred was made to hold the skull. The sight of the teen-age girl holding her father's skull before her, hardly able to move, her lips and eyes shut tight, tears streaming down her face, is one not easily forgotten.

The Okinawans are curious about the funeral customs of others, sensi- 764
tive about their own, and possibly dissatisfied with them. Their sensitivity 765
is shown by the fact that after I had observed the bone-washing just men- 123
tioned, someone circulated a rumor, untrue, that I had photographed the cere- 829
mony in order to show Americans what went on. This rumor might have seriously damaged my rapport with this family and with others in the community if I had not been defended by the person who had supervised the bone-washing, the old lady mentioned at the beginning of this section. All three SIRI team members were questioned about American practices and heard statements to the effect that perhaps cremation should be adopted. Cremation does, of course, do away with the necessity for both the bone-washings and the large tombs. A crematorium is operating in Naha, but it is doubtful if the practice will spread very rapidly in the country. New tombs, bigger and better than ever, are still being built, old ones are being repaired, and the familiar method of burial and reburial goes on. The prestige attached to the larger and impres- [554] ●
sive tomb is undoubtedly a factor in the survival of the system. But there may also be psychic needs as yet unexplored that the system and in particular the emotional orgy of the bone-washing satisfies.

Offerings to the Dead After the funeral the family of the deceased 765
makes offerings both before the tomb and before the temporary paper tablet in 769
the home. During the first seven weeks after a death this tablet is kept on a low table with incense burning before it; relatives and neighbors make formal visits in order to burn incense, pray, and leave gifts of money. On every seventh day till the forty-ninth the family makes extra offerings, burns uchikabi (imitation paper money said to be used for paying taxes in the next world), and makes offerings before the tomb. Then the name is written on the permanent tablet. Thereafter, the family makes offerings at the tomb and at the tablets and burns uchikabi on the first, second, seventh, thirteenth, twenty-fifth, and thirty-third anniversaries of the death. At the end of this time the deceased is believed to require no more individual consideration---if all the offerings up to that time have been properly made.

However, throughout each year on a number of occasions offerings are 769
made for all the dead members of the family. These occasions are the major 527
holidays, nearly all of which are primarily directed toward the worship of the dead. The principal of these are: 1) Lunar New Year's; 2) Shiimii, in the spring, an occasion for visiting both the tomb of the immediate family and tombs of more remote ancestors; 3) the U-machii, the 15th days of the 5th and 6th lunar months, occasions when representatives of the larger kin groups worship before the ancestral tablets at the main house; 4) U-bung, during the 7th lunar month, when all the dead are believed to return to the house. Beside these there are a number of minor holidays on which offerings are made.

642 highly structured system; the overall impression is of rule by bureaucracy. Most importantly the average individual accepts all of this as in the natural ordering of things. The best possible relationship of the state to the people is thought to be a paternalistic one, like father to children. Such an attitude is wholly in keeping with a culture which has traditionally stressed family and community over individual, and obligations over rights.
[181]

632 'Son' Government The administrative center of every 'son' is the township office ('sonyakuba') which serves as the connecting link between the people of its villages and the central government in Naha. The main functions of this office are to transmit and implement the directives and laws of the central government to the people, to collect taxes, and to keep records---the most important of these being the household registry ('koseki') and land records ('tochi daichō'). The size of the office staff is largely determined by the township size; in the larger townships there are many departments and employees, but in a small 'son' several departments may be grouped under a single head.

632 The building housing this office is usually a single-storied structure
344 located in the largest village of the township; a post office, school, agri-
[368] cultural office, and store are often nearby. The interior of the office building is one large room sometimes sub-divided into smaller offices by the use of screens; one end of the room is set aside for meetings. On the exterior of the building along one side the names of the various departments are above the windows. When a villager calls at the office on business, he ordinarily does not enter the building but stands outside the window appropriate to his business until a clerk or official of that department opens it and speaks to him.

632 At the head of the township government is the 'sonchō' ('son' mayor),
554 who in addition to directing its affairs functions as the liaison between the 'son' and the central government. It was the author's impression after spending considerable time in one 'son' office and visiting several others that the 'sonchō' is usually a very busy man and that he is more often away from his office than in it. In addition to directing the activities of his office, he makes numerous inspections within the township, attends meetings and conferences in other parts of the island, and once a month participates in a council of all the mayors of the municipalities, which is held in Naha. The latter enables the mayors of the municipalities to discuss common problems and to come in contact with the officials of the central government. Three times each month he meets with the mayors ('kuchō') of the villages within his township for a discussion of local problems. It is said that the office can be a stepping stone for the politically ambitious since his activities bring a wide range of contacts; this cannot be said for any other office in the 'son' or 'ku'. During the course of his research on Okinawa the author met the mayors of five or six municipalities, and in all cases he was impressed by the intelligence and ability of these men. A mayor is elected for a term of four years and is eligible for reelection.

632 The chief lieutenants of the 'sonchō' are the assistant mayor ('joyaku') and the revenue officer or treasurer ('shūnyūyaku'); the latter usually directs all financial matters, and his major function is tax collection and

625 high esprit. A policeman's salary is high when compared to that of other government workers and the general public; in addition the job has other advantages such as a uniform and free transportation on public conveyances.

621 625 In rural areas there seems to be some resentment over what is considered to be high pay and special privileges for policemen; this was particularly true where the local policeman was not a native son. In one of the more isolated villages of northern Okinawa, a community which is noted for and prides itself on its strong community spirit, there was some irritation with what they felt to be an unnecessary presence of a policeman (not native to the village) in their midst. The village 'kuchō' and several villagers assured the author that the village was a most peaceful one, everyone cooperated well together, and there was never any stealing or violence. They were also resentful of the fact that the village supplied the policeman with free food and charcoal and that his pay, nevertheless, was about equal to that of their highly respected school principal.

875 625 554 It should be noted that whenever the low pay of teachers was mentioned the correspondingly high pay of the police was cited. The teacher traditionally has been venerated in this culture, and it is held that the teacher is a better-educated person and should, therefore, receive a higher salary, as was the case before the war. In the past the higher positions in the bureaucracy were accorded or ideally should be accorded those with better educations, and since both the policeman and the teacher are civil government employees, the present situation with regard to their respective salaries seems unjust.

625 829 Most people express the belief that the police are honest and conscientious though their high pay may be resented. A number of people observed that the police are much better under the American military administration than they were under the Japanese government before the war, in that they are more polite and less officious today. Under present laws the powers of the police have been clearly defined to insure that they will not violate the rights of individuals as was frequently done in the past. Not a few Okinawans will contend that this curbing of police power while probably democratic has encouraged an increase in crime in recent years. The traditional attitude toward the policeman seems to be a mixture of fear and respect, and mothers frequently use the threat to call a policeman as a means of disciplining a child who misbehaves.

4. Political Participation by Women

562 [666] Since the end of the war universal suffrage has been introduced into Okinawan political life. The enfranchisement of women has not brought with it a surge of political activity on their part. It is now theoretically possible for a woman to hold public office, but in actuality none to date has been elected to a national or municipal office. One woman declared herself a candidate for the Ryukyuan legislature in 1954 but later withdrew from the campaign shortly before election time. In the rural areas political participation by women is even more limited. The men in the village of Kanegusuku laugh when the subject of women in politics is mentioned; they say

621 among its membership, and all relationships are highly structured. Though
592 age-grades tend to structure the membership of the community, this is not
[561] too important, as the basic unit within the village is the family, not the individual. The community is regarded as an association of families
[565] bound together in a relationship of equality. Such differences as exist
[178] in wealth and land holdings are not so great as to constitute class differentiation; likewise the old Okinawan class structure is no longer of any real significance, and in most rural communities the bulk of the families were and still are of commoner descent.

621 The concept of political participation by households is basic to
829 the thinking of the villagers. Universal suffrage applies only to munic-
592 ipal and national elections; within the village active political partici-
666 pation is restricted to household heads functioning in the capacity of representatives for their respective families. When the mayor of one village was asked why all adults were not allowed to vote in village elections, his quick reply was, "Is it democracy to give some families more votes merely because they have more members?"

6. Political Leadership and Authority

621 There are nine important political offices within the village of Kanegusuku (population 507)---mayor, assistant mayor, clerk, 4 councillors,
[592] and 2 'son' assemblymen. Eighteen of the 108 village families are headed by women, and since only male household heads are elected to positions of political leadership, there remain 90 men eligible for these offices. A number of the young household heads also must be excluded from this group since a man must be over twenty-seven to be eligible, and there are others who are too old or infirm. This leaves 72 men eligible for office on the basis of the formal requirements.

621 Actually the villagers apply several other qualifications which one
554 must possess in order to be eligible for office. In practice the repatriates and the other newcomers to the village since the end of the war are not elected. Those who are poor (less than enough land for mere subsistence) cannot afford to accept an office, since the pay is low and the demands on one's time are too great. The men who have non-agricultural jobs which take them outside the village each day also do not have the time to devote, and the villagers tend to feel that these men are out of touch with the problems of a farming village. Lastly there are several men who otherwise meet all qualifications for village office save for what the villagers vaguely describe as "good character"; the most frequently cited example for this group is a man who dislikes farming and spends much of his time drinking or visiting the 'pachinko' parlor in a nearby town. Thus, the total number qualified for political office on the basis of all criteria which are applied is limited to approximately 47 individuals; this group, which constitutes about 9% of the total population, supplies the village leadership and forms the core of the body politic.

All village officials (excluding 'kumichō') held more land than the average, but the size of their holdings was not so great as to indicate that this was a very significant factor. It was stated that a leader must have sufficient experience and education to enable him to handle the necessary records and to make a good appearance at the village office. Most frequently, however, "good character" was cited as a most necessary prerequisite for an official; this was usually equated with "honest person" and "hard worker". Though the villagers stated that the age range of officials might lie between 28 and 55, the present village leaders are men in their forties. The man considered by a number of villagers to be their most able and influential political leader is forty-seven years old. In contrast the four 'kumichō' are young men ranging in age from 18 to 23, and only one of these is a household head. 621 554

Above the village level in the 'son' (township) government one encounters the professional administrator or bureaucrat----mayor, assistant, treasurer, and department heads. These men, in sharp contrast to the village officials, have an educational background including at least high school and more usually some college, normal school, or other type of advanced training. One gets the impression that they are strongly aware of their personal superiority; their attitude toward the governed is somewhat condescending and at best rather paternalistic. It is doubtful that they regard themselves as public servants although those whom the author encountered appeared to be conscientiously dedicated to their jobs. Of these officials only the mayor is elected; the others are appointed by him with the approval of the township assembly. 632 554

Most people are respectful toward their village officials, recognizing them to be among the ablest men in the community, but they most certainly are not in awe of them. Except for the two representatives to the 'son' assembly, new officials are elected every year, and it is very rare for a man to hold the same office for two consecutive years. No one person remains in a given office long enough to become identified with it or to achieve a special status. 621 554

The officials of the township office are usually professional government workers who have held their positions for a number of years. The villagers look up to them as administrators and superior persons; the mere fact that one has an official position confers a superior status. Some people expressed the belief that officials are good since only persons of education and good character could possibly attain such positions, and nearly all are of the opinion that officials enjoy an easy life and high pay. 632 554

Most rural villagers seem pessimistic about their relationship to the government; they are not mistrustful but rather they expect little. They strongly feel that the government is something from afar and wholly out of touch with their problems. This attitude may carry over from the old kingdom when an urban upper class administered a rural peasantry; the subsequent Japanese administration during its early years consisted of little more than the replacement of one ruling class with another. Nonetheless the government is looked to for aid and direction since it is 829

[Kanegusuku]

621 The group most dissatisfied with its lot today are the repatriates
423 from the former Japanese possessions. A few of these families were able upon
727 return to take up the lands left by relatives killed in the war or were given land by prosperous relatives, and four repatriate families are virtually landless. All of them, regardless of the size of their present holdings, chafe at their circumstances. One repatriate told the author that he had farmed nearly twenty-five acres in a single plot of sugar on Saipan and that he could never be satisfied with Kanegusuku after this. He is hoping that he will eventually be permitted to return to Saipan.

Before the war that segment of the village which possessed the least amount of land consisted almost exclusively of younger sons who had established branch families. Today this group has been augmented by repatriates from the former Japanese possessions and by emigrants from other Okinawan communities.

621 Farm Laborers During the course of the author's stay in Kanegusuku
241 there was only one full-time farm laborer in the village. This man came from
[463] one of the southern islands in the Ryukyus and was employed for less than a month. After his discharge, the former employer remarked that no outsider has enough interest in the lands of another family to make his employment worthwhile. Transplanting and harvesting rice place the heaviest labor de-
[857] mands upon the family; at these times virtually every member of the family
[476] works in the fields; even the grade-school children are given minor tasks, and the family labor force is supplemented by close relatives or neighbors in a reciprocal labor exchange.

829 Attitudes toward the Land One does not hear or see evidence of
554 any great love or attachment for the soil on the part of the Okinawan farmer.
463 In fact, quite the contrary seems true. Most regard their occupation as a
241 lowly one and feel that they are farmers because they know no other occupation. Land is of value because it provides a livelihood, nothing more, though some exception might be made for house land. Nearly all of the younger generation reflect the thinking of their fathers, and they are eager to get a good education (the diligence of even the average Okinawan student would strike the American teacher as amazing), secure a job in the town or city, and leave the drudgery of the farm village forever. Most
[433] farms are so small that they provide no more than mere subsistence for their cultivators; consequently, the young men see no sense in attending agricultural school when they will have little more than an acre to work. One young man from a fairly prosperous family in the village recently secured a job as a stevedore in Naha, and both he and his wife expressed their pleasure over what they regard as a definite improvement in their status. Though they have not sold the land which they own, they hope that it will never be necessary to return and farm it.

To a large extent this attitude toward the land and farming as an
[178] occupation is directly related to the economic and cultural changes taking place on Okinawa today; the city is an exciting place to live in and employment there is economically more advantageous than farming. Nevertheless, this seems in part the product of the old land system and the low, serf-like status accorded farmers under it. Some of the earlier visitors and officials

[Kanegusuku]
[Kitazato]

on Okinawa observed that the farmer took little interest in the care of land which he did not regard as his own. The author was particularly impressed by the contrast between Japan and Okinawa in regard to the care of land, for the meticulous care which the Japanese farmer lavishes on his land seems absent by contrast among the Okinawan farmers. 241 829 554 463 [171]

Kitazato The farm village of Kitazato in Kami Motobu-son presents a marked contrast to Kanegusuku in that it has suffered the loss of a major part of its area to a military installation. In studying the village of Kitazato the village of Kanegusuku was used as a base line for comparisons. To supplement his own observations the author has drawn heavily on actual statements by Kitazato people; in this way he hopes to present as accurately as possible the actual state of the village compared to villages elsewhere on Okinawa, and the villagers' own conceptualization of their circumstances. 621 [727] 121 621 [124]

Kitazato is not an old village, having been founded but seven generations ago by the younger sons of gentry families from the Naha-Shuri area. It was politically independent of the neighboring villages during the time of the old kingdom, but after the annexation it was administered in part by the villages of Gushiken and Jahana. In 1936 or 1937 it was established as an independent village, taking its present name. 175 621

Following their release from civilian internment camps the villagers returned to the site of their old homes shortly before New Year's of 1946. They found virtually their entire village land area converted into an airfield and accompanying military installations. According to their account there was considerable misunderstanding between them and the military as to where they might live, and they feel that they were subject to contradictory and inconsistent orders. Several moves were made which disrupted their plans to settle, and one villager stated, "I grew tired of rebuilding my house." In 1948 they were finally ordered to remove themselves from the military area, and they took up residence in their present location. It is claimed that there was insufficient land in the area to resettle the entire village on a single site; so, the village divided into three sections. Thirty houses were located on the beach between the villages of Gushiken and Shinzato, and this segment was given the name Hama. The remainder of the houses settled in the nearby hills from one to two miles away. Thirty-nine houses settled in the hills between the villages of Furushima and Jahana, taking the name Kijikina. Ten houses located themselves in the hills just north of Kijikina in a settlement which they called Anahana. These latter two, however, function as a single settlement for administrative purposes. These 80 houses making up the scattered village of Kitazato have a total population of 414. Despite their physical separation these segments have striven with considerable difficulty to maintain their political and social unity; one mayor and council serves them, and people are constantly visiting from one area to another. Today most of their land is gone, and they are too far removed from any city, town, or military installation (the airfield is abandoned) for employment. Extreme poverty and bitterness are one's first impressions of the village. 175 621 727 [964] [735]

759 757 [278] The yabuu also prescribe herbal remedies. They do not, however, prepare their medicines, but rather instruct the patient how to gather and prepare the plants for use. The act of preparing one's own medicine may thus have a magical value. Yabuu also prescribe the eating of certain parts of certain animals for their good influence on the corresponding parts of the human body. Dogs and cats are among the animals so used. (This practice may be the source of the belief widespread among Americans on Okinawa that the Okinawans eat dogs; they do, on rare occasions, but not as food, merely as medicine.)

759 Short-cut Systems Standing somewhere between the yabuu and the modern doctor are several types of practitioners who give treatments with heat, light, steam, etc. as all-purpose cures. One man was observed to use a tube in which he burned a substance, probably moxa, while he moved it over the patient's body. His system seemed to be the moxibustion of the yabuu dressed up with "scientific" gadgets. He was described by a friend as "half-doctor half-yabuu", a description that was meant to elicit a favorable response since it implies that he possesses the efficacy of both.

759 278 [164] In addition to these full-time professionals on the fringes of medicine, there are also a number of part-time penicillin-shooters, who are particularly active in areas frequented by American personnel, where they are in demand for the treatment of venereal disease. Penicillin is sold freely and in quantity, perhaps because of the prevalence of venereal disease, and has become a very popular treatment even for very minor infections. Hormone shots also seem to be widely used by untrained persons.

759 [177] Modern Medicine There are of course modern Japanese-trained doctors on Okinawa. But they are relatively few in number, about one for every 3,900 persons.[1] Trained nurses and medical facilities are also too few and too little. But even if there were more doctors and more facilities, it is doubtful that the ordinary Okinawan would make more use of them.

759 753 829 [554] Medical doctors have a high status in Okinawan society. They are admired and respected. Parents frequently express the wish that a son might grow up to become a doctor. But the advice of the doctor is not always heeded. The respect may be more for his education and the social position it gives him than for his professional opinion. In the matter of illness the advice that the ordinary Okinawan respects is more likely to be that of the older members of his own family and of the familiar yuta, sanjinsoo, and yabuu, for this advice is given in terms of insufficiency of worship, soul-loss, and the influence of the twelve-year-cycle. These are concepts that are familiar to him and have an integration with other beliefs, which the concepts dealt with by the doctor do not have. The doctor's very disregard of the supernatural runs counter to the feelings of the

[1] CAARI, Vol. 1, no. 2, p. 52 gives 126 practicing physicians for Okinawa plus 50 working for GRI. Japan has about one for every 1300 persons; Japan Statistical Yearbook, 1950, gives 63,273 (p. 432) and the total population as 80,216,896 (p. 12).

CHAPTER X: EDUCATION

W. P. Suttles

121 871 None of the SIRI team worked on education as such. We have no basis for a discussion of the physical condition of the schools, number of teachers per pupil, texts, etc., other than the data readily available in USCAR publications. However, it may be useful to include in this report a brief chapter on attitudes toward education, the role of the teacher, and evidence of the results of education, as we have seen them in the course of our research. As I shall try to point out, there are indications that education on Okinawa may not be doing all that it professes to do. Yet it is a remarkable and praiseworthy fact that education has progressed as well as it has, considering the truly terrible destruction of the war and the long and trying process of rebuilding the material facilities and the morale of teachers and students.

1. Respect for Education

871 554 505 [647] Respect for education and the educated is deeply rooted in Okinawan culture. For several centuries administrative posts in the Ryukyuan kingdom were filled by officials drawn from the gentry class and appointed, it is said, on the basis of an examination. The gentry class held a virtual monopoly of education, which was thus one of the bases of their superior status. It is not surprising that the gentry class of the past is identified with learning. An illiterate old man of gentry descent once explained to me that the gentry were originally teachers appointed to various villages, thus misinterpreting the former bureaucracy as a school system.

871 554 791 Another profession open to the educated man in the past, and in the present, is that of the diviner. One of the native terms for this person is suumuchi, the "person with books", his books being the ones with which he reads a person's fate. This is a profession that commands respect. It is quite likely that at one time the diviner was the only person who possessed books with whom the ordinary peasant ever had contact. Books were thus associated with status and with nearly supernatural power.

554 871 Education is still regarded as a means of rising in status. As indicated in Chapter V, the potential scholar is given special treatment by his family because all may participate in the rise in status that his education may bring. But times have changed. In the days of the Ryukyuan kingdom the rewards for education may have come automatically, but under the Japanese administration this was less true, and perhaps least of all today. Education is indeed still valued for its own sake, but it is expected to bring material rewards; if it does not, its authenticity may be questioned.

554 Still, the prestige of learning probably accounts for a type of pseudo-scholar who may be found both in the rural and in the urban scene. In several villages we encountered such individuals, elderly men who were regarded as local sages, who discoursed learnedly and uncritically on local traditions, who revealed information derived from one or two carefully guarded books

(their 'tane-hon', "seed books"), and who seemed to have little contact with others of their own interests. (I must hasten to add that there are also genuine local historians and folklorists who are critical, open to new ideas, and in contact with reputable men in their field; but these are clearly in the minority.) In the city the pseudo-scholar may be a man teaching a subject that he is totally incompetent to teach or he may be one of the numerous diviners and medical practitioners described in Chapter IX. Some of the diviners (sanjinsoo), however, could be better described as genuinely serious scholars working in a pseudo-science. 554

2. The Role of the Teacher

Despite the great importance attached to the family in East Asian societies and which the Japanese government has always professed to attach to it, the Japanese education system of pre-war times actually took more authority away from the family than does the American system. Incidents related by informants indicate that both before the war and since a teacher may reprimand a student for breaking school regulations outside of school hours and even in the student's own home. The police also may report the misdeeds of a student to the student's teacher rather than to his parents.[1] Partly this authority must have come from the teacher's position in a nationalized system of education and his role as the local spokesman for Japanese nationalism. And on Okinawa teachers had the additional task of creating good Japanese out of little Okinawans. This meant teaching the Japanese language as well as the Japanese ideology.[2] 871 177 875

Since the war the status of the teacher has deteriorated. Partly this may be due to the fact that he is no longer the local representative of a powerful government, and partly it may be due to poor morale resulting from the tragedy of war, but it is also undoubtedly due to a lower economic status. Teachers were formerly relatively well-paid. In 1954 Okinawan teachers were receiving a basic average salary of ¥3400 per month, principals, ¥6110. A police chief, by contrast, receives ¥6470. An elementary teacher, who must have 12 years of schooling and six months of professional training, at present receives 75% of the salary of a policeman on the beat, who must have 9 years of schooling and three months of training; in the prewar period the teacher received 155% of the salary of the policeman. 875 554 875 465 178 625 554

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1 See also "Police" in Chapter VI.

2 That in this effort they were not always successful is revealed by a few anecdotes: Someone is said to have encouraged a child to interrupt his teacher's lecture on the virtues of the semidivine monarch with the question, "Does the Emperor produce night soil?" Students are said to have referred to him secretly as 'Ten-chan', "Empy-Boy", rather than 'Tennō Heika', "His Imperial Majesty the Emperor". And the very old and the very young are said to have parodied 'Amaterasu Ōmikami', the name of the Sun Goddess, with "Aman-tarashi kuman-tarashi 'waa nu kami", "dropping it there, dropping it here, the pig god."

875 As indicated above, education is highly regarded as a key to success,
•554 but it still must produce financial rewards. Education earns for one the
178 esteem of his fellows, but not as much as does money. This decline in status seems to have produced considerable dissatisfaction among teachers. This is probably true at all levels. The best-known Okinawan scholars, for example, have mainly chosen to remain in Japan.

3. Classroom Atmosphere

876 Informants gave the impression that the pre-war classroom atmosphere
[871] was decidedly more authoritarian than at present. Most of what was taught was rather rigidly prescribed by the Ministry of Education and questions were not encouraged. Students rarely spoke up, partly because of the attitudes of the teachers and partly at embarrassment at having to speak in Japanese. Free discussion was probably less common even than in Japan.

In their attempt to make their students learn Japanese some schools adopted the tag system that has been mentioned elsewhere in connection with the prevention of the misuse or theft of crops. In the Yamada school before the war there was for each class a 'hōgen fuda', "dialect tag", which was hung around the neck of the first child heard speaking "the dialect", that is, the Okinawan language. This child wore the tag in disgrace until he heard another child slip into Okinawan, whereupon he hung the tag around that child's neck. And so it went from child to child. The difference between such a system of control and those regarded as appropriate by modern Western educators can hardly be exaggerated. It is true that the tag does resemble the old dunce cap, known to us from cartoons of the last century, in that it uses ridicule as the form of punishment. But in other respects it is different. First, it means that one child is singled out to function as an unwilling policeman, his functioning as policeman being part of his disgrace; that is, as long as he is in disgrace with the tag he is forced to watch for another culprit. Second, the system does not provide equal punishment for the same crime; one child may wear the tag a day while another wears it a week or more, both for the same offense. And third, the theory behind the system does not assume that the offense can be eliminated altogether; on the contrary there must always be some child to make the mistake of speaking Okinawan for the system to work.

[685] As used in the village as a whole the tag system sometimes worked considerable hardship. A person who received the tag for cutting someone else's crop or his own cane out of season had to pay two sen a day to the village. It is said that there is an old woman in Naha who was sold when a girl into prostitution by her father because he could not get rid of the tag and could no longer make the payments. Here is a concept of justice that is indeed remote from ours.

876 No doubt the tag system is no longer in use anywhere on Okinawa.
178 Students say that the schools are less authoritarian and that there is con-
875 siderably more freedom of discussion. Yet many of the teachers are the same persons who imposed such controls as the tag system a few years ago. Some
[179] may have opposed the former rigidity and some may have changed their views since, but it would be surprising indeed if all have taken over American ideas.

4. Present Problems

871 If one asks the question, "Is the present education system giving Okinawa what it needs?", even a casual glance suggests a negative answer. It should be obvious from some of the material of this report that the ordinary Okinawan is disastrously ignorant of many things that concern him---in economics, politics, and particularly in matters of health and sanitation. Yet this ignorance does not seem to be confined to the less educated. It was a college student who gave some of the folk beliefs about disease. Another young man indicated that the schools themselves by attempted rationalization may be perpetuating an uncritical attitude; his high school teacher had explained that crows do not really know when someone is going to die because they possess supernatural power; they know it because they can smell death.

The difficulty lies partly in the unwillingness of most Okinawans, one might say most human beings, to re-examine cherished beliefs. Ignorance of the true nature of disease, as discussed in Chapter IX, is not merely due to the absence of knowledge, but rather to the presence of a set of traditional beliefs that form a body of "knowledge", incorrect though it may be, that provides the individual with the explanations he needs. In order to teach modern scientific explanations, educators must determine what the body of folk belief consists of, re-evaluate it, and devise methods whereby its falsity can be demonstrated. Doing this would not be easy; it would be doubly hard because of the greater importance given to the opinions of older people in Okinawan society.

871 554 Ignorance may also be due to lack of interest. Education is a source of prestige to the educated individual. But education as defined by Okinawan culture perhaps does not include such subjects as botany and entomology. At any rate certain fields of study, English literature for example, seem to have enormous attraction, while others, applied sciences such as agriculture, have little. Moreover, other observers have reported that among those Okinawans who are engaged in work in applied sciences there seems to be a distaste for field work and a preference for office work. This too may reflect a higher value placed on sedentary "paper work" and a lower one on work with the hands.

876 177 As Lebra has pointed out in Chapter II, most Okinawans suffer from a linguistic handicap. Most children learn Okinawan in the home and then have to learn a second language, Japanese, in the school. This immediately gives them less time for learning other things. But their troubles do not end with the acquisition of a speaking knowledge of Japanese. This is not so very difficult since the two languages are closely related. But the Japanese system [212] of writing, with its two native syllabaries plus the Chinese characters, is incredibly complicated and requires an enormous expenditure of time and effort. A student learning the geography of Okinawa, for example, must spend a great part of his time learning the characters for Okinawan place names and thus, as in one instance observed, he may not get around to learning where all of them are.

The opinion of a former teacher is worth noting. When I worked with him in 1945 he told me that he and other teachers who privately believed that

the representation of the sounds of any other language. Its open syllables 876
and lack of distinction between "l" and "r", "si" and "shi", etc., result in 177
such horrors as "ri-to-ru" for "little" and "shi-ku-su" for "six". And these are the pronunciations learned by the unsuspecting children, pronunciations that are unintelligible to a native speaker of English and which must be later unlearned if the student is to acquire a usable knowledge of English.

But even though the teaching of English in this manner is pretty clearly a waste of time, there is great resistance to abandoning it. A USCAR official who has visited many schools told us that he had frequently had the painful experience of having to meet the English teacher. This usually meant pretending to communicate in order to save the face of the man and the school. Yet even school officials who realize how poor the instruction is are are unwilling to discontinue it. The prestige of English is too great and too many persons are depending upon it. Perhaps again we have the Okinawan theme--- One must not interfere with the livelihood of another.

No doubt there is a need for instruction in English to students on the high school and college level, but like any language English can be taught most effectively and with the least waste of effort by persons who have had the linguistic training. Americans who have had no special training in this field are also likely to be less effective teachers.

It has been suggested several times that the Okinawan language, or one 212
of the several varieties of it, might be reduced to an alphabetical system of 177
writing and that this might make possible the development of an Okinawan literature. The suggestion has evidently not met with much enthusiasm. Two obstacles stand in the way of such an endeavor. First, the creation of a good phonemic transcription for Okinawan would require considerable work by a trained linguist. Second, to produce a literature requires incentive in persons of talent. At the present time the high prestige of Japanese and English [554]
and the low value placed on Okinawan provide little basis for such incentive. If such an endeavor were successful, however, it could well provide Okinawa 000
with a greater cultural self-sufficiency than it has known for several generations. But the question might also be asked, is the creation of greater linguistic fragmentation and of national feelings in small groups desirable in a world that is growing smaller by the day?

I have discussed linguistic factors in education in some detail not only because they present problems in themselves but also because they illustrate the operation of a factor that may create even greater problems, the factor of values existing among educators and those receiving education alike. The high value placed on literary Japanese and now on English are merely two elements of a value system that often is not in accord with the urgent needs of Okinawan society. Of more immediate concern to education, of course, are the continuation of the program of rebuilding Okinawa's schools and the provision of more incentive for persons to enter and stay in the teaching profession. But ultimately the problem of values is likely to become a crucial one, if Okinawa is to have a healthier and more democratic society. The task facing the educators of Okinawa's youth and the educators of the educators is a difficult one: it requires a fine balance between authority and freedom.

Statistics show (see chapter on Agricultural History) that since the termination of the communal land holding system in 1903, there has been a steady decrease in the amount of land cultivated on Okinawa. That this has continued unabated at the same time that the population has rapidly increased seems a paradox. Most certainly improvements in crop yields through research development have not been sufficient to offset this. Nor has the tax burden been excessive or crushing; in fact, quite the contrary is true since the Japanese substantially reduced land taxes when they abolished the communal system. What is more, the shortage of food has for many years necessitated importation of a considerable portion of the food consumed, and in view of the limited job opportunities in pre-war Okinawa, it seems unlikely that this means of livelihood would be overlooked. It would seem that the major reasons for this decline are cultural and historical. 178 241 [311]

It will be recalled that the farmer in the Okinawan kingdom lived in a state of serfdom; class differences were in effect those of caste. When freed from the restrictions by the Japanese, many were likely eager to depart from the farm village. The status of the farmer traditionally has been quite low on Okinawa. People dislike farming, and those who do farm state quite frankly that they are farmers only because they know nothing else, being poorly educated or possessed of little ability. No young men were heard to express a desire to become farmers, and no father wishes this occupation for his son. Pitts and the author noted in studying the household registries for their respective villages that not infrequently the first son has left the farm to seek employment elsewhere, quite contrary to usual Japanese practice. Farming is not a goal for the Okinawan youth today, and at the University of the Ryukyus the quotas for admission to agricultural studies were barely filled in 1954 whereas some of the other departments had three and four times as many applicants as openings. Centuries of a communal land ownership system left the farmer with no feeling of attachment toward his soil such as exists among the Chinese peasantry. Land was frequently reapportioned, and no plots were retained long enough by a given cultivator to give him a feeling of proprietorship. It is said that few ever tried to improve their holdings, as they felt these would soon be allotted to another. 178 241 554 [566]

The nature of taxation under the communal land system together with slowly rising population also made necessary a greater exploitation of land resources than is necessary today. The old tax rate was fixed and was set at a ratio of 40%. If the government had set 100 koku per year as the expected yield for a given village, then the government demanded 40 koku from that village each year. This may perhaps have been satisfactory to the villagers at the time of assessment, but as the population slowly rose there were more mouths to feed out of the villagers' 60 koku portion, and there was no respite from the tax demands in time of crop failure. Consequently, there was increasing pressure to bring more and more land under cultivation; undoubtedly, inferior, low-yield, idle soils were made into farm land. After the peasant was freed from this system and the trend toward sugar production began, foods were imported from outside, and the slow contraction of arable land figures began. 178 241 651 311

The average Japanese farm of 2 1/2 acres and the average Chinese farm of over 4 acres contrast strongly with the Okinawan average (and most are 241 433

241 average, since the range is narrow) of approximately one acre.[1] Even by the
433 most skillful and intensive gardening methods there are limits to what can be extracted from the best of soils. One might say that the average Okinawan farmer is engaged in sub-subsistence farming. With the traditionally low
241 status accorded a farmer and the minute size of his holdings it is hardly any
554 wonder that the Okinawan does not like farming and is eager to accept whatever is available elsewhere.

178 Land loss to military installations has accelerated a process which has been operative for fifty years. In this case, however, the effect has
241 been concentrated in certain areas and not distributed over the island at
311 large; consequently, there has been considerable hardship in these localities.
727 But the main point of bitterness where it has been so engendered is over the loss of livelihood rather than over the loss of the land per se. The point, they feel, is that not only have they lost their lands but that they also are not receiving adequate compensation for this loss. It would not be an exaggeration to state that most perhaps would prefer to be landlords, under reasonable terms, to the military than farm the land if it were available again.

178 Okinawan food production has passed through three phases in the last fifty to sixty years. During the first phase prior to the land reform of
433 1899-1903 there was a self-sufficiency of food in the rural areas. After the reform, the Japanese subsidized sugar and did much to encourage its production, which rose to a point 900% above local consumption. This led to a sharp decline in acreage planted in other foods, particularly grains---rice, wheat, millet. Since 1943 there has been a shift toward increasing food production[2], and sugar has dropped to about one-tenth its prewar level. In some villages such as Kanegusuku where mat weaving was formerly of considerable importance the irrigated fields formerly planted in sedge have been replanted with rice. Despite the increasing emphasis on food production it is unlikely that the village will ever return to self-sufficiency, for in recent years new tastes have altered the diet and created a dependence on foods not produced within the village.

<u>Settlement Patterns</u> The reconstruction of villages after the war
178 often did not follow the prewar pattern. Suttles states that prewar Yamada
361 was a scattered settlement made up of several small hamlets, whereas the new postwar settlement is a nucleated one. The new site is at an important crossroads, while the heart of the old village is virtually empty. North of Yamada on the highway to Nago one can see where the new road has departed from the old one: in several cases the villagers have moved closer to the new road despite the fact that it was much dustier there.

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1 Cressey, George B., <u>Asia's Lands and Peoples</u>, New York, 1944, p. 84, p. 191.

2 Several informants stated that the word went out to the farmers in that year to concentrate all efforts on food production. Undoubtedly this was linked to the turn of events in the war for the Japanese.

Education The Japanese established the first schools in the rural areas some time before World War I. Great emphasis was placed on making Japanese speakers and nationals out of Okinawans. Today most of the population is bilingual; those who speak only a dialect of the Ryukyuan language are persons over sixty and pre-school children. Most Okinawans have come to regard themselves as Japanese. 871 177 [191] [829]

A major change in the postwar educational system has been the addition of three years to the period of compulsory schooling, making a total of nine years. Since the schools continue to provide a Japanese education, the effect will be to increase the Japanization of Okinawa, raise literacy, and ultimately make all speakers bilingual. As a student is usually excused from all work by the family, this measure has served to withhold a large number of teenagers from the labor market.

In the rural areas the author heard frequent praise for the extension of the schooling period and the new school construction program initiated by the military government. Most rural peoples stated that educational opportunities were poor for them in the prewar period; high school education was said to be particularly difficult for a village child to achieve. Now they feel that they are realizing equality with the urban areas. The urbanite is more likely to suggest that the quality of education has deteriorated in the postwar period. Both rural and urban people were agreed that one decided improvement has been that students no longer fight among themselves. Before and during the war all students were organized into small groups based on area of residence; each group was headed by a student leader who shepherded his charges to and from school in semi-military formation. Rivalry between these organized groups frequently led to gang fighting so severe that the intervention of teachers or police was often necessary to restore order. 871 369 178 877 178

Rural people regard education as providing one of the best opportunities for improving one's status; consequently, the improvement of educational opportunities will have far-reaching effects on social mobility. Those who acquire a high school or university education rarely remain in the village, and the few who do remain adopt an occupation other than farming. 871 554

Economy Money was virtually non-existent in the old Okinawan village; barter was the chief means of exchange. Taxes under the communal land holding system were paid in grain and cloth. The land reforms initiated by the Japanese brought the introduction of tax payments in cash. Increasing emphasis on sugar production due to governmental encouragement and subsidy did much to destroy the self-sufficiency of the village and brought dependence on a cash crop. The period of Japanese administration was marked by a gradual adoption of a money economy in the rural areas. 437 436 178 177

Okinawans state that there is a far greater amount of money in the village today than in the prewar period. Some assert that due to governmental price controls they were never able to realize a fair return for their products (chiefly sugar) in the prewar era, but the great increase in money in recent years seems largely attributable to factors relating to the military occupation. Today over twenty-five percent of the total labor force is employed by the military and in subsidiary occupations such as construction; this steep rise in 434 178 [435] [964]

Within the village there are no class differences. Considerable prestige continues to be accorded certain occupations---teacher, doctor, government official. Land ownership does not appear to be an important status factor, and there is no landlord class. 621 554

Family The Okinawan family system has been in a process of change for over fifty years. Abolition of the system of communal land tenure and the introduction of private property and Japanese laws of inheritance provided the first shock. The bulk of the estate was hereafter conferred upon the first son while younger sons were frequently landless; consequently, many left the village in search of livelihood elsewhere. Where formerly the kin group was concentrated in a given locality, now its members are often scattered about, making interaction infrequent. A gradual decline in the practice of kin group endogamy also has contributed to weakening the solidarity of the kin group. There seems to be an increasing trend for large kin groups to fragment into smaller segments. According to young people who were consulted on the subject, their generation has little interest in kin group affairs; this may be misleading, as it is chiefly a matter which occupies the attention of older people. Perhaps one young man stated the situation accurately when he said, "I have no interest in such matters now, but I suppose I will when I am past forty." 593 178 [423] [428] 61 178

Many families were shattered by the war, and in the postwar period there has been a weakening of the family due to a variety of factors which might best be described as growing individualism. One factor, noted previously, was an increasing tendency for members of the household to maintain separate purses where formerly all earnings were turned over to the head of the house. There is some sentiment among the more educated for changing existing inheritance laws in favor of equal shares for all heirs regardless of sex or birth order. The author also heard complaints that young people often run off to seek lucrative jobs elsewhere unmindful of their family obligations. 593 178

Marriage In contrast to the prewar period when most marriages were arranged, the young people today claim that they will marry someone of their own choice. This seems to be generally true, but often the parents will go through the process of arranging after the young people have decided. Young people also will vehemently deny that they will make use of a fortune teller to determine the most propitious day, but their mothers most likely will do this and then will exert their influence for the proper day. In all likelihood the young people will accept in order not to displease the parents. 584 178 [585]

If a person, particularly a young woman, delays too long in becoming married, the family will arrange a match. In one such case known to the author a well-educated woman of twenty-five who had financial independence as a school teacher was urged into a match much against her own feelings. She explained her compliance as obligation to her family for having provided her with an excellent education.

Pitts' population studies indicate that the average age of marriage has dropped slightly in the postwar period due to the fact that Okinawan men are no longer delayed by military service. Despite this slight drop in the 582 178

464 usually people tend to regard these persons as fortunate. During the entire
562 course of the author's stay on Okinawa he heard no sharp criticism of men who
829 were in military employment, yet many statements were heard about women who were so employed. This dichotomy seems to stem from the widely held belief that the American employers have sexual access to these women, particularly
[831] the maids. Okinawan culture affords its males a high degree of sexual freedom, but not its females.

464 It is said that the women who are employed by the military are cate-
554 gorized into several grades; the highest status is accorded to the office workers and PX clerks. These are followed by the kitchen and table maids, after which comes the maids who are employed in the dependent housing units; lastly there are the barracks maids, including those of the bachelor officers' and civilians' quarters. It is also claimed that these women can be distinguished on the basis of their dress. Supposedly the office workers and
[291] PX girls dress in the fashion of Japanese business women, whereas the housing
[107] and barracks maids dress in American styles which are considered loud and flashy.

464 It is claimed that many young men will not marry women who have been
594 maids in military installations. One young man asserted that these women were
582 no better than the "honeys" (a term used by Okinawans and GI's to designate the soldier's mistress).

464 The low status and pay (¥1200-1800, or $10-15 per month) for maids is
466 offset to a large extent by the gifts, food, and in many cases board which they receive from their employers. Despite the stigma there is no shortage
[465] of applicants for these jobs. Another factor is the free bathing privileges which ordinarily accompany these jobs. Very few Okinawan homes have a bath,
[515] and public baths cost the equivalent of ten cents in American money, a sizeable outlay for the Okinawan purse.

464 Most of the discrimination is directly attributable to the sexual
554 jealousy of the Okinawan male toward the women who work and often live in
829 close daily contact with Americans. There also seems to be some discrimination against any women in the category of maid, whether employed by American or Okinawan; in the past these were often indentured servants who had been sold by their parents into this low status.

186 <u>Okinawan Attitudes toward Their American Employers</u> It was the author's im-
829 pression that even those who had worked in close daily contact with Americans for a considerable period of time shared much the same stereotypes of the American as those held by the general public. It must be remembered that the points of emphasis in any stereotype are often those traits which seem obvious because they are so unfamiliar and hence not understood by the person of a different culture. Secondly, in every stereotype there is undoubtedly some considerable measure of truth; the important factor is the base of reference. Both Americans and Okinawans judge one another on the basis of different values and cultural backgrounds.

It
186 is also important to keep in mind that the relationship is always one of
829 American employer to Okinawan employee; consequently, the American is most
177 often the initiator of action.

464 Conclusion In a number of Okinawan communities military employment has drawn
434 off the surplus population which formerly had emigrated. In not a few communities it has become the mainstay of the economy.

464 Most Okinawans regard military employment as economically advantageous.
829 There is no stigma attached to men who are so employed, but considerable
554 stigma is attached to women who take this employment, particularly the maids.

177 The American installations are dependent to no small degree upon their
648 Okinawan employees, and in turn many Okinawan individuals and communities are
464 wholly dependent upon the military for their livelihood. Their relationship is a symbiotic one which can best be enhanced by mutual understanding; yet the social distance between the Okinawan and American is so great as to make interaction on a basis of equality rare. Because of their different cultural backgrounds and their job situations, both remain ignorant of the other's motives and values, and mutual understanding is difficult if not impossible. Common
[171] denominators in both cultures might be sought as a means of bridging this gap, as, for example, their common love of sports.

3. Japan, America, and Okinawa

W. P. Suttles

829 Japan in Retrospect Okinawan attitudes toward Japan are decidedly ambivalent. Factors that have entered into the formation of these attitudes are as follows:

175 1) Historic Relations On the negative side are the historic separa-
648 tion and former independence of Okinawa. This separate status is still re-
829 membered by old people, some of whom speak of wars between Okinawa and "Yamatu" (Yamato, that is, Japan). Several illiterate old people seemed to make no distinction between the conquest and oppression of Okinawa by the feudal state of Satsuma and the later annexation by the national government, and thus seemed to be blaming Japan as a whole for wrongs done by Satsuma.

171 On the positive side there is the indisputable remote common origin
174 and basic similarity of the Japanese and the Okinawans. Racially, linguis-
177 tically, and culturally the Okinawans are closely related to the Japanese.
829 They may be said to be merely a kind of Japanese. It is highly probable that the majority of the ancestors of the Okinawans came from the north, from Japan, in the not too remote past. Their isolation made it possible for them to be politically independent and their political independence made it possible for them to escape the levelling influence of Japanese national governments, particularly that of the Tokugawa Shogunate, and for them to have closer contact with China. This accounts for their having a number of elements of Chinese culture that are not found in Japan, but it does not make them a kind of Chinese.

565 553 A common device among noble families was to vary the second character of the Chinese compound which made up the given name. This custom still remains, but has no significance beyond individual family pride. The following case illustrates this naming device:

Relation to Present Head of House	Given Name
Grandfather	Chohyo
Father	Chokan
Present Head	Choyo
First Son	Choko
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554 Before the war, the village hierarchy consisted of the headman and retired elders and officials, the school principal and teachers if resident there, the well-to-do farmer, followed by the ordinary farmers or fishermen.[3] These distinctions are now blurred and have been affected by other changes. The school principal and the school teacher retain their prestige, but they have lost their relatively high economic status. Their clothing and the appearance of their homes are indistinguishable from those of a farmer. The ordinary farmer who works his field during the day and whose wife raises the pigs is in a better economic position. The same applies to village and township officials. Many distinctions based on wealth have disappeared because of the destruction and general [556] impoverishment of the war. Neither are distinctions possible in dress, for everyone wears makeshift clothing. Post-war circumstances have put the old at a disadvantage in dealing with new situations. Present day village life is fluid. The war and its aftermath have blurred many of the former distinctions based on age, occupation, or wealth.

621 208 Village leadership is based on individual qualities, but is limited by group opinion which all individuals respect. Decisions of any character, personal, familial, or political, emerge from consultation and discussion. One constantly hears the word sōdan, meaning a discussion or a consultation, with reference to decision making.

555 212 What types of individuals assume leadership in village affairs? First, leadership comes from a group that is literate. This limits the people available for responsible positions. Occupations such as the

3 According to old residents in Matsuda, there were in their youth, classes whose occupation made them inferior. Examples were bell ringers [461] ringers at funerals and pig killers. Pig killing is still considered [565] a low occupation, but this has no relevance to village life, for no [963] commercial slaughtering is done in the villages. In the villages, there is no suggestion of the existence of groups looked down upon because of their occupation, with the possible exception of a collector of night soil—and this occupation is infrequent.

conduct of a local business of any size, employment in official and 555
semi-official organizations, and teaching require facility in reading 212
and writing Japanese, that is, the use of the Chinese character and
the two Japanese syllabaries, katakana and hiragana. It is true
that under the Japanese and the present system of education, everyone [872]
learns the characters. But after school is left behind, there must
be continued practice in reading and writing, or one's fund of
knowledge gradually disappears and he remembers only a few of the
simpler or more common characters. For responsible leadership, this
school vocabulary must at least be maintained. A village headman
today must hold his own in reading and writing. Reports have to be [622]
made to the township office. The frequent conferences and meetings
require note taking. Storm warnings may be received, correspondence
and simple record keeping are continual tasks. In one village, the
criticism made of the headman was that his knowledge of characters
was too elementary.

If a person has leisure, this makes him available for positions of 556
leadership. A poor farmer could not ordinarily accept the position 622
of village headman except at a great sacrifice. Public duties, even
in a small village like Hanashiro, require that a headman be on call
most of the time for meetings, or to hear personal problems and com-
plaints of the villagers. It is significant that the former village
headman of Hanashiro and the current headman of Hatsuda both are
operators of rice mills and do not have the exacting dawn to dusk
duties of a farmer. In Hanashiro and Nagamo, the present headmen
are operating farmers who are able to combine their private and public
duties, but both places are small. The headman of Hinatogawa, a
fisherman, has had to forego many fishing trips because his duties
kept him in the village.

Leadership is also assumed by those who have had foreign experience, 554
either in the Japanese administrative hierarchy abroad or simply through 484
foreign residence. These people generally have a broader point of view
and know more.

The last factor is age. It is often thought that village life in 554
Oriental countries under the family system is dominated by the older 561
and respected males. It is true that the opinion of retired elders is
sought for and respected, but not merely because of age. In addition,
there may be a life of successful farming, teaching, office holding,
possibly a combination of these, behind them. Leadership comes from
young men too, usually the result of experience in the young men's
association. Energetic leadership, often accompanied by organisational
ability, is noticeable in the age group from about 24 to 27. Women [562]
have fewer opportunities but can show their abilities in their work in
the Women's Association.

Village leadership rests both on the respected elders and the 554
promising young men, on those who have kept and increased their skill
in language, who have occupations that relieve them from the unremitting

358 children, whether in primary, junior, or senior high school, clean up the grounds and do repair and upkeep work. Young teachers, many
[875] of whom are single, supervise the work, and often stay during the evening hours to plan the day's work or to study. Male teachers are night watchmen at the school, sleeping there in rotation.

346 The main problems of education are (1) adequate school buildings. Their condition reflects the haphazard tragedies of war. Schools vary in quality from place to place. The high school at Ginoza and the elementary school at Matsuda, for example, are excellent buildings; in other places, such as Gushichan village, the classroom buildings are little more than shanties with thatched roofs, and a siding of boards,
[358] corrugated iron, or other materials at hand. At typhoon times, some of these are flattened, and it is normal to see school children helping
[727] to clear the grounds and putting on new thatch. It is my impression generally that conditions are worse in southern Okinawa than in the northern area where war destruction was much less. The Civil Administration is well aware of these problems and the school construction program is, to all appearances, progressing. (2) Much the same situation
[352] and for the same reasons, exists with regard to school equipment. Rickety chairs, old benches, bad blackboards contrast with the equipment of the new schools or of the old which escaped destruction.

875 (3) The post-war period has made a difference in the status of the school teacher (sensei). The destruction and disruption of the war, scarcity, high prices and low salaries have made his position in most
[727] cases a precarious one. Before the war, the school teacher had prestige and money. Only the prestige remains. One high school principal estimated that the post-war prices have increased 100 times, the teachers'
[465] salaries about fifty times. Immediately before the war, the starting salary of a beginning teacher was Y45 a month. (The value of the pre-
[435] war Japanese yen was about US $0.27). A school principal received Y100 a month. Now the beginning salary for school teachers is about Y2200 and for principals Y5000. (The present value of the Okinawan yen is officially pegged at 120 to the dollar). Increases averaging about 30% went into effect in October 1951.

The school teacher has little or no money for clothing; his dress is the same nondescript combination of old civilian and army clothing that one sees on everyone else. This situation, serious in any country, is particularly so in a culture that has always regarded the teacher with such honor. The teaching profession is the source of many careers
[555] in public office. Even in casual observation, one frequently finds that mayors, vice-mayors, former members of the Japanese civil service, started life as teachers.

The Okinawan teacher works hard and enthusiastically, but new attitudes are appearing which must be recognized. There is a desire to leave the profession, particularly noticeable in the male teachers under 30. Economic difficulties are reflected in frustration and discouragement. Okinawan school teachers, if the ones I knew are representative, have enthusiasm for ideas of democracy and freedom and for reforms that have

been made in their school system, but this enthusiasm would be more permanent if it were based on a solid foundation of economic well-being. 875

Though this may not be representative, teachers in these townships were in two main age groups: those under thirty, and those forty and over. There are few in the 30-40 age group. In one school, 6 teachers were under 30, one a woman was 35, and the principal was over 40. In a group of 15 teachers in the Oushichan school, 7 were 25 or under, one 32, 3 from 32-40, and 5 in the 40 and over group.

The dependence of the Okinawan school teacher on Japanese culture is still strong, and understandably so, since he must rely on Japanese books and magazines for intellectual stimulation and knowledge. Japanese continues to be taught, as indeed it must, if the culture is to function. Those who have studied English do not know it well enough to comprehend discussions involving ideas of any sophistication or complexity. [177]

In these schools, the majority of teachers were young men. Teaching in the primary school is a combination of class and individual recitation. Children are not pressed and are corrected gently, treatment, I was told, which was also true of the pre-war primary school instruction. The improved status of women teachers may attract more to the profession, but now masculine influence is dominant in the schools observed. [876]

It is my impression that Okinawa is in a transition period with regard to the technical qualifications of its teachers and to the improvement of teaching methods. The younger teachers are high school graduates, some with further teacher training. The older ones, who served under the Japanese, seem to have considerable flexibility and to have adapted themselves to the new conditions. There is a fine relationship among teachers and students, with none of the barking, authoritarian approach. Teachers, who in the emergency are working in a grade for which they are not certified, seem anxious to get the proper certificate. Because of the low salaries, the possibilities of turnover among the younger teachers who might take other opportunities should be watched. [876]

From personal experience in attending classes, I would say that teachers are generally competent; they certainly have native intelligence and interest in their work. Teaching methods are conventional, but there is a lot of informal instruction connected with the many outside tasks around a school, performed by teachers and students alike. (One however should not be blind to the disadvantages of teachers and pupils participating in so much outdoor maintenance work). 876

4

Learning English

The desire to study and to learn English is practically universal. This respect for knowledge frequently is not matched by a realisation 191 555

191 555 of the difficulties involved. Ambition is directed toward practical ends, such as a business or government clerkship or becoming a teacher.

876 194 It is probably too early to judge the effects of post-war instruction in English. The question is whether students will acquire working knowledge beyond the stage of conventional expressions and simple constructions. Pronouncing English is difficult for Okinawans, partly because the Oriental tradition in education has been so largely visual rather than oral, partly because students, consciously or unconsciously, convert English sounds into their rough Japanese equivalents, and proceed from there.

875 In the primary and high schools, English, with few exceptions, is taught by teachers who themselves have learned English from Japanese teachers. They have added to this knowledge, by private study, often [214] far into the night, of the dreadful English-Japanese phrase books, grammars, and other compendia which the Japanese love to publish. English still reaches the student through this Japanese sieve. So many teachers have learned English this way that the ordinary English of a native speaker baffles them, and they are easily thrown off by "intonation." Correction of this will have to be very gradual. The best teacher of English I saw was a young man who had been taught by an older Okinawan teacher who had in turn been taught by an Englishman. These teachers are devoted to their subject. But it is distressing to see them at study: trying to learn the language by mastering the uses of "nothing but," or "in order to," or "so that," or poring over those phrase books with their headings, "At the postoffice," "At the purser's office on the boat," etc., etc. Much of this is due to the fact that until recent times they have had little or no contact with native [177] English speakers. In the rural areas this contact is still rare. A young man in one of the villages, an addict of the phrase books, 876 one afternoon was studying hard to master the courtesies of a newly appointed ambassador calling on the Japanese foreign minister in his garden! He had been studying English for years, and finally one day got a job as a clerk in a military installation. But he was not a clerk; as he told it, he was a clarku. It is undeniable that these students learn an English that can be understood. Many of them would be able to use the language, and improve rapidly, if chosen as exchange students or national leaders. But the misdirected effort and the wasted eyesight are pitiful.

In the primary schools, English is taught in a conventional way. The teacher reads a sentence or a passage. The class reads after him, and the individual pupils recite. Much the same procedure is followed in the high schools, but there is more conversation. This system turns out many who know some English, but are very hesitant about using it, and a few who have some real understanding. The failures should not be emphasized too much; the point is that as soon as possible English should be taught by teachers who have learned the language from native speakers.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

This desire to learn English is more than a wish to communicate with Americans. Opportunities are open for those who know English, and people of all ages realize that theoretical and applied science and improved techniques come from the West, and that English is a means of understanding and applying this knowledge. Channelling this desire, through competent instruction in the schools, which will result in efficient self-guidance afterwards, is one of the significant problems of Okinawan education. But the techniques to be used on a permanent basis should be left to the professional linguist.

Should for example the methods of Basic English be adopted as a matter of policy and be encouraged in private study? Or should language study be based on the principles set forth by the rapidly advancing field of linguistics? Or should we accept the guidance of doctors of education who are specialists in curriculum construction and language training? My own bias is toward the manuals developed by the linguists, such as Spoken Japanese (EI 561-62). This approach, with its pattern sentences, is based on an analysis of the structure of the language itself. Basic English poses the problem whether the English taught is really basic. In my opinion, the crux of the matter is to study the presuppositions underlying these approaches and not the subject matter they produce. American learned societies, with the co-operation of the Army and the Navy, and the subsequent university programs in language study, have made great strides in these fields, both theoretical and applied. They represent the most advanced thinking in the world on these subjects, and the body of knowledge which they have should be most useful.[4]

5

Home, School, and Village

There are strong bonds between the home, the village, and the school. Parents help their children with their elementary readers. There is homework and classmates may stay at one another's houses overnight. Parents are interested in children's school problems, but they do not visit the schools often, except at times arranged by the officials. PTA's have been organized, but it is still too early to tell how successful they will be. Since the PTA, like the Women's Association and the Young Men's Association, fits in the culture, it probably will thrive.

On entering school, the child is introduced to a new language which he has not spoken to any extent in childhood. Okinawan is the language of the pre-school child. Beginning school, therefore, is a bigger break than it is with most cultures.

The schools usually draw on several villages for their student body

4 It is only fair to say that my own bias in favor of the approach developed by the technical linguists grows out of instruction I received in Japanese in the Army's Civil Affairs Training School Program in 1943-44.

666 tion itself is arranged and supervised by an *ad hoc* committee. In 1955 written ballots were cast and counted immediately so that the result was known within a few minutes after the last ballot was in.

622 In contrast to a position in the township administration, which carries high status, equivalent to that of a teacher, the village headman's job is considered a community service and carries little prestige. This does not mean that the headman should not be an individual of high qualities. He must be at least 25 years old; he has to have sufficient education, especially knowledge of Japanese writing characters, to read government documents and to do the required clerical work; he has to be a good accountant and must be proficient in working with the abacus, since all tax collections are supervised by him; he must be community minded and able to enforce regulations in a friendly but efficient way. The rewards are small, the salary less than that of most township officials. The office is held most frequently by young men who have not been out of high school too long. Most recent headmen are between 25 and 30 years of age. Serving in this office may mark the beginning of an administrative career, either in the township office, in the village store, or in business outside Taira. The clerk, appointed
624 by the headmen to assist in village administration, is also a young man. He too is likely to be headed toward an administrative career.

621 Each village is subdivided into wards, set up originally by Japanese administration to effect greater control over families through the
624 warden. He is a subagent of the headman, and at present he functions
[203] mainly as a channel for communications, a useful function in a village like Taira, which covers a large geographical area. Regulations, village meetings, and special events are announced through the warden, and he is often called on to collect delinquent taxes. However, he has little authority and functions more as a neighbor who takes care of necessary contacts between residents and the village administration. Ward members elect him to his honorary office for a one-year term.

623 Village affairs are discussed and legislative action concerning the village initiated by the village council. This group is now partly elected, partly composed of holders of essential offices, such as heads of associations, members of the township assembly, and township officials who live in Taira. The 26 members of the Council are responsible for measures affecting the community, and the headman relies heavily on their advice. Most councilmen are middle aged; few are over 50 years
[575] old. Since the head of the Women's Association and the nurse are members, there are at least two female representatives. The youngest councilman is usually the head of the Young People's Association.

623 It is apparent that leadership in the community is always exercised
555

by a limited group. The council represents almost all potential leaders. 623
Education and experience in the outside world are the most important 555
qualifications. This is a change from the old days when wealth was also an important factor. An example of a member of township assembly and village council is the man who lived for many years in Brazil (see Chapter 1, p. 374). His leadership is widely recognized and partly due to his successful use of modern farming techniques. Another village leader is a graduate of an agricultural high school, a man of superior intelligence and qualifications who ranked high in an island-wide civil service examination. Another former headman, and now a council member, was born and raised in Japan of Okinawan parents. Although unfamiliar with local dialect and practices, he is well versed in things Japanese and is a financial expert.

The full village council seldom meets. Instead, local matters are 623
discussed among a core of its most active leaders. Noncouncil members, such as the postmaster, policeman, or teachers, may be invited to some meetings. A discussion may start because several villagers want to set aside a special day during which nobody is permitted to go to the mountains to cut firewood, so that more work can be done in the fields. Such a proposal, if approved by the committee of council members, need not be brought before the entire council. Since no formal vote is taken by the council as a rule, friendly discussions decide the issue. Such a decision is then taken directly to a meeting of registered [592]
household heads which is held monthly or whenever there are a number of matters to be discussed and voted on. They are presented point by point, first by the headman, next by one or more council members; then discussion is opened to the whole meeting and eventually a vote is taken. This is done in a very relaxed manner and without actually counting the votes, since discussions have continued until there is a general consensus in the group.

Minor matters of immediate importance, such as tax collections, 622
plans for celebrating a holiday, or maintenance work on roads and 624
ditches in parts of the village, are taken up between the headman and wardens in weekly meetings.

The household head meeting is attended by many women who are 623
either registered household heads or have been sent by their husbands [592]
or fathers as representatives. Some men may actually be unable to [681]
attend; others are disinterested. Failure to send any family representative over 18 years old to a village meeting results in a fine of 20 yen. At one meeting when it seemed as if more women than men were present, the headman joked, "Let's call it a Women's Association Meeting." The women answered, "We are just nice to our husbands, so we

311 Land appraisal made by people with long experience with the
[242] capabilities of their soils under traditional methods of farming, fertilization, and land reclamation is very old in the culture. This in itself is a very significant fact about the culture aside from the obvious technical utility of a land classification system.
[556] Land classification is important as a tangible indication of wealth
[651] as appraised by representatives of the village. This classification is the basis of taxation of land. A grade two rice paddy pays a lower tax than a grade one. The system of land classification also
[433] provides a basis for estimating probable yields.

Township officials are responsible for land classification on
[632] a township basis, but each village does its own. In Gushichan township (Hanashiro and Hinatogawa) the elected mayor and his appointed subordinates and local farmers who know the land well have set up the system based on classes and grades of land. In Ginoza-son, the mayor performs a similar function. Since each village has its land classification, a table of correspondences makes possible the comparison of equivalent grades. A composite system for the township can then be made. Grade three rice land in Matsuda, for example, may be equivalent to grade two rice land in Ginoza village. By listing all these together, a village wide classification is made.

The main classifications (tōkyū) of land found in all communities are: (1) Rice lands, (ta, tambo), (2) dry crop land (hatake). It is very difficult to translate the word hatake. So far the expression dry crop land has been used. This land may be contrasted with the wet rice fields; it is dry farming land, usually on rolling slopes or upland. It is land used for cultivation of domestic plants except rice and one or two other minor crops. Rice and dry crop land are the two main classes. (3) Genya land. This word is also difficult to translate. It is variously rendered as wild or waste land, but it is neither wild nor wasteland in an economic sense. It is best described negatively as land not suited for cultivation. Despite its low value, it is important land for its production of grass, reeds, firewood and plant shoots for domestic animals. It is vital in land
[185] conservation. The genya land, sometimes on steep or gentle mountain slopes, sometimes cropping out in the midst of cultivated fields or rice paddies, with its dense growth of grass, its occasional pine tree or cycad effectively binds the soil and prevents disastrous run off and flash floods. Around the village of Hanashiro, genya land is rocky and most of its vegetation consists of grass with some shrubs. Before the war, this genya land had more pine and cycads than at present, and the disappearance of the cycad and pine furnished greater opportunity for the omnipresent miscanthus, though there are occasional regrowths of the pine. In Matsuda, the genya land often is indistinguishable from the forest. But the trees are less dense and the privately owned genya is interspersed with the small cultivated paddies and fields. (4) House sites (yashiki, takuchi). There are usually two classes: the first class site is convenient and on a main road or lane; the second class is inconvenient, a rear house, or one

311 Land classification in Okinawa proceeds from the village to the township and then to the whole island. Each class of land in a village has its own grade. By combining these grades a township classification is made. This is done first by village committees determining the grades for each of their classes of land, and then by setting up a table of equivalences after discussion by the committee representing the whole township. Matsuda's first grade dry crop land might be considered by the land classification committee to be equal in quality to Ginoza village's second class land. While there might be only six classifications for any one village, when all these are combined, there may be ten grades for the township. This is shown by the table of correspondences for Matsuda and neighboring villages in Ginoza-son, as of November 1951.

In this illustration, Matsuda's first class rice land is considered second grade on a township wide basis; its sixth grade dry crop land is grade nine, and its first and second class houses are by comparison, grades three and four in the whole township.

311 623 632 With minor variations, the procedures in classifying land are the same in both townships. Each village makes the classification of its own land. This is done by five villagers, chosen by the people for their knowledge and integrity. In Gushichan township, village experts are designated to serve on the township committee.[8] Seven men from the villages are joined by the mayor (sonchō), the vice-mayor (joyaku), the trade and industry section head, the agricultural section head of the township office, a total of eleven men, who then determine the township classifications. These committees make inspections of doubtful cases, often after working hours. The field trips usually end up with a sake party. [574]

In Ginoza-son essentially the same procedures are followed. Each village sends representatives, the number being determined by the area of the village. In late 1951, this village-wide committee had 24 members with the township mayor as chairman. Each village prepares its own land classification map. The local classifications, later combined to make a township-wide classification, have the advantage of limiting the range of grades in a small area and of comparing parcels close together.

Occasionally the grade of a plot is changed to correct an error or to make it consistent with an improvement. A new road may make a plot of land more accessible and thus change its grade.

311 651 433 556 In all the villages studied, land classification was important for the same reasons: for tax purposes, for estimating future production, and for the individual farmer, a means of demonstrating tangible wealth.

8 One representative each is chosen from the villages of Gushichan, Aragusuku, Koshihara, and Nakaza villages, one from Oton and Hanashiro combined, one from Asato and Yoza combined, and one from Hinatogawa-ikku and Hinatogawa-niku combined.

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3 According to old residents in Matsuda, there were in their youth, classes whose occupation made them inferior. Examples were bell ringers [461] ringers at funerals and pig killers. Pig killing is still considered [565] a low occupation, but this has no relevance to village life, for no [963] commercial slaughtering is done in the villages. In the villages, there is no suggestion of the existence of groups looked down upon because of their occupation, with the possible exception of a collector of night soil—and this occupation is infrequent.

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semi-official organizations, and teaching require facility in reading 212
and writing Japanese, that is, the use of the Chinese character and
the two Japanese syllabaries, katakana and hiragana. It is true
that under the Japanese and the present system of education, everyone [872]
learns the characters. But after school is left behind, there must
be continued practice in reading and writing, or one's fund of
knowledge gradually disappears and he remembers only a few of the
simpler or more common characters. For responsible leadership, this
school vocabulary must at least be maintained. A village headman
today must hold his own in reading and writing. Reports have to be [622]
made to the township office. The frequent conferences and meetings
require note taking. Storm warnings may be received, correspondence
and simple record keeping are continual tasks. In one village, the
criticism made of the headman was that his knowledge of characters
was too elementary.

If a person has leisure, this makes him available for positions of 556
leadership. A poor farmer could not ordinarily accept the position 622
of village headman except at a great sacrifice. Public duties, even
in a small village like Hanashiro, require that a headman be on call
most of the time for meetings, or to hear personal problems and com-
plaints of the villagers. It is significant that the former village
headman of Hanashiro and the current headman of Hatsuda both are
operators of rice mills and do not have the exacting dawn to dusk
duties of a farmer. In Hanashiro and Nagamo, the present headmen
are operating farmers who are able to combine their private and public
duties, but both places are small. The headman of Hinatogawa, a
fisherman, has had to forego many fishing trips because his duties
kept him in the village.

Leadership is also assumed by those who have had foreign experience, 554
either in the Japanese administrative hierarchy abroad or simply through 484
foreign residence. These people generally have a broader point of view
and know more.

The last factor is age. It is often thought that village life in 554
Oriental countries under the family system is dominated by the older 561
and respected males. It is true that the opinion of retired elders is
sought for and respected, but not merely because of age. In addition,
there may be a life of successful farming, teaching, office holding,
possibly a combination of these, behind them. Leadership comes from
young men too, usually the result of experience in the young men's
association. Energetic leadership, often accompanied by organisational
ability, is noticeable in the age group from about 24 to 27. Women
have fewer opportunities but can show their abilities in their work in [562]
the Women's Association.

Village leadership rests both on the respected elders and the 554
promising young men, on those who have kept and increased their skill
in language, who have occupations that relieve them from the unremitting

director with assistants and clerks. The clerks are always young people 463
just out of school who receive nominal wages in return for a seven-day 466
work week. The township office employs as janitor a girl who keeps
the office in order, serves tea at any time during the day, washes dishes, [647]
and helps to cook meals for entertaining. Her family owns one of the largest houses in the central village and more land than most others. No social stigma is attached to her job; in fact, most Taira girls would consider it a privilege to exchange their mountain work for her kind of employment even though they would earn no more. Another girl, employed by the local "doctor" as nurse and maid, lives with the family, eats with them, and sleeps with their children. Only one farmer employs a hired hand, a man from another township.

Among others living on a salary is the postmaster. His father held 463
the same office, and his son is now trained to succeed him as the third [205]
in line. The rice miller, a man from outside the village and married to
a Taira woman, and the "doctor" also depend for most of their in- [759]
comes on specialized services. The latter owns his dispensary and small [657]
hospital. He receives some financial support from the township gov-
ernment. His services to people are compensated for either in cash or [465]
kind. Patients who are unable to pay at once will bring rice to his
house after the harvest. These remunerations, pig raising, and other [556]
side activities make him, along with the rice miller and the postmaster,
the wealthiest person in Taira. Local male school teachers also own [875]
fields, to which they give time in the afternoons and Sundays to help
their wives.

The priestess and her assistants, although they are religious spe- 463
cialists, are not paid in money for their services. They participate in 793
daily work like the rest of the village. Only when performing services 465
outside the community is the priestess paid a small fee. Within the
village she receives the food and sake which are offered in the cere- [782]
mony, whether she is called by a family or prays at the village shrine on a general holiday.

DIVISION OF LABOR BY SEX AND AGE

Men and women are equal partners in everyday economic activities, 462
both in agricultural and forest work. Only a few occupations are clearly differentiated by sex: fishing, the handling of horses, and the carrying of night soil are done exclusively by males; housework and the care and feeding of pigs predominantly by women. Some agricultural work [241]
is considered too heavy for women, for example, the turning of the

Chapter 4

Property

Rice paddies, farm land and some grass land, trees on private land, a house site and house, as well as livestock and tools, are owned by the heads of households. Land is registered in the household head's name, and he has sole right to dispose of it. Ordinarily younger sons have no right to their father's property, but a man may will property to them. If there is no will, however, everything reverts to the eldest son. Despite this, several families of younger sons were found to have land holdings equal to those of eldest sons. 423 428

A widow with young sons may hold land in trust for her sons or, if there are no male heirs, may inherit the land outright. Divorcees and spinsters may also acquire land by purchase, and there are several women in Taira who are household heads and owners of real estate. 589 428 592

Because of the war and a general shift in population, much land and many house sites have changed owners, and former wealthy families are no longer the largest landowners. When they returned, several families with small prewar land holdings were able to raise the necessary cash to buy land. 556

There is little sentimental attachment to a particular plot of land, and households have never been associated with particular plots. Rather, land is considered a necessary commodity, and thus it frequently changes hands. This sentiment may derive from the communal land-holding system with its periodic redistribution of plots to individuals, which was found throughout Okinawa until abolished under Japanese administration at the turn of the century. 423 592 177

Forest land from which villagers derive an income is owned by the village. Being a member of the community confers the right to use village forests, subject to regulations made by the village. Of particular interest is the village-owned tea field, which the village cooperative controls. The field has been subdivided, and each household in the 423 621 474

a young man would have had no previous sexual experience and that it was felt 585
that it was necessary for him to be instructed by an experienced woman before 178
he had relations with his bride. The third explanation was given by a country 565
woman in her fifties, of gentry descent. She told how her husband had gone to the wedding of a city relative and had been taken afterwards to the juri-nuyaa. She did not know if her husband had been treated to a juri or not but was sure that the groom must have had one. Her explanation of the practice was that it was mainly a display of the position of the family and its ability to provide entertainment. Probably there is a bit of truth in all three explanations. The practice does undoubtedly reenforce the male's right to sexual freedom. The second explanation seems a little weak, especially in view of the reported former practice of the city gentry of combining a sexual initiation with the boy's coming-of-age ceremony, but the explanation may be that given for the earlier trip to the brothel and it may also be the "explanation" of the practice conventionally given, conventional explanations not necessarily revealing real motives. The last explanation, that the practice is mainly a display, probably strikes at the most important motive, the use of entertainment to demonstrate status.

Secondary Marriage Formerly wealthier men sometimes took juri as 837
mistresses. In the village of Yamada before the war, the richest man, or 556
perhaps the only man designated as "rich man" had his own juri. She was a kooi-juri, a "bought juri", that is, he had bought her from the house she had been indentured to. She stayed in Naha, but occasionally came to Yamada. The informant who told of this, a woman in her thirties, expressed the opinion that any man who became rich would naturally soon want his own juri.

At the present time it seems to be a fairly widespread practice for a 595
man who has enough means to have a second wife (yuubee, in Japanese 'nigō', "number two"). Sometimes this is done openly, sometimes secretly. It may be a more common practice today than formerly because of the present skewed sex ratio. Some information was obtained about two such men, one a fisherman and the other a doctor, so-called.

The fisherman was an Itoman man; his first wife had no children so he took as a second wife a woman whose family lived in a town to the north. The second wife has borne three children. The "main wife" (in Japanese 'honsai') stays at Itoman in the house of the man's father, and there she is raising the husband's first son, the child of the second wife. But most of the time the husband is at one of the northern villages with his second wife, her other children, and two boys of junior high school age whom he bought on one of the outer islands to help him in his fishing. Unfortunately I did not learn how the family was registered in the 'koseki'.

The "doctor" was a man from a village south of Naha, who had an office
at his home and also a practice in Naha. His methods consisted of heat treat- [757]
ments and steam baths. He spent about half the time with his "number two", whom he had set up in a room in Naha. His first wife was presumably unaware of the existence of the second wife, even though he once took the second wife to his home along with a patient, ostensibly as a friend of the patient.

[Kanegusuku]

time of the author's stay in the village there was no individual or family which could be classified as rentier. 427

Changes Effected by the War War-caused changes in the distribution of land holdings among the various households were considerable. Many of the land-rich houses, if such a term may be used where the "richest" has but eleven acres, are such today because of the war, and conversely some houses have become impoverished or had their resources severely strained because of it. Unlike many other communities Kanegusuku was fortunate in that only about 4% of its total land area was permanently ruined as a result of the war. Some land was lost to a road, but most of the loss was due to a small military camp (about company size) now converted into a tuberculosis sanatorium. Since land holdings are usually fragmented and scattered, no one family lost all its land, though one family lost nearly one-half and several approximately one quarter. The loss to the sanatorium is not compensated for by jobs for Kanegusuku people since no villager is employed there. This is explained by the fact that the director is from Itoman; so "naturally" he could not be expected to hire Kanegusuku people. 621 423 177 727 [186]

The composition of the household has changed in many homes since the war as a result of the large number of deaths. Today a number of households consist of the usual nuclear family of husband, wife, and their offspring plus a related "broken" family such as widowed sister and her children or widower brother and his children or parent and unmarried siblings. In most cases the holdings of both families are pooled and the household functions as a single economic unit, though separate purses are sometimes maintained. There are several old people who live alone in their houses, but they are usually watched over by near relatives. 621 592 177 727

The richest landowner (eleven acres) in the village today was a second son in very moderate circumstances before the war. As a second son he was given by his parents to childless relatives for adoption. During the war his adoptive parents died, leaving him their entire estate. The war also caused the death of his real father and elder brother, leaving him the sole heir to their property. He has since married a woman who as the surviving member of her family is heiress to its property. Consequently, this house now holds the land of three families. The villagers are somewhat envious, but they say that misfortunte may result since this house now must make the ritual observances to the ancestors of three families, which is felt to be too great a task for anyone, and inadequate attention may lead to calamity. 621 556 727 [769]

The women who were widowed by the war and who have chosen to maintain separate households have had in most cases a difficult time of it, and particularly those widows without grown sons have been hard pressed. Farming an irrigated field is said to be impossible for a woman alone; therefore, most of them have had to rent out their rice lands, thereby losing much of its return. It is also very difficult for a house which contains only women to participate in reciprocal labor exchanges, since two days of labor by a woman are equated to one day of labor by a man. 621 589 727 [462] [427] [476]

434 salaried employees has greatly increased the amount of money in circulation.
178 The large expenditures made by members of the military forces have also con-
464 tributed significantly. The farmer, in turn, has been able to realize a larger return for his products than was formerly possible, and in many farm villages a sizable number of individuals are engaged in military employment..

Farmers are spending more than ever before; self-sufficiency has further declined in that many articles formerly made at home are now purchased.
[511] The standard of living, especially diet, is said to have improved considerably.
[592] Formerly all income and resources were controlled by the household head for the entire family; today individual purses are said to be increasingly common.

621 Community Organization and Social Structure The solidarity and
178 integration of the village was severely diminished by the war and its aftermath. The prewar village was quite homogeneous; most of its families had resided there for many generations, village marriage practices tended to be endogamous, and nearly all were engaged in farming as their major occupation. Today in most villages there are a number of families new to the village since the war, and there are an increasing number of individuals who are employed outside the village in non-agricultural pursuits. Both groups tend to play a lesser role in community affairs than the old residents who continue to farm.

476 There has been a considerable decline in reciprocal labor exchanges.
178 The man who is daily employed outside the village is automatically prevented from participating in such ventures. The widow who heads a household without any adult male members is often unable to participate or must limit her participation since a day's work by a man must be matched by two by a woman. Likewise the man who hires a bulldozer to clear some land or build a rice field instead of engaging his relatives and neighbors in a cooperative exchange is also contributing to the decline of the practice.

369 Formerly those who left the village usually emigrated to other parts
178 of the Japanese Empire, but today they usually obtain employment in the cities
621 or military camps. Consequently, they continue to exert some influence in their place of origin, since interaction is more likely.

621 In a community like Kitazato which has suffered poverty, hunger, land
178 loss, and exodus of members to other communities, there seems to be a re-intensification of community spirit stressing cooperation and unity. This is in marked contrast to Kanegusuku and elsewhere, suggesting that when a major value---communal unity---is directly threatened, there is a reaction and re-intensification of this value. Elsewhere where the process of change has been more subtle, no reaction has occurred.

565 Okinawan class divisions were officially abolished early in the period
177 of Japanese administration; yet they continued to be of some importance with regard to status and marriage for some time. Today people say that they are no longer of any importance except to a few of the very old. Distinctions on
• [559] the basis of wealth were largely erased by the war. It is frequently said, "After the war everyone was equal."

altered that environment to its own uses. I hope that this will result in a broader and a deeper understanding of the manner in which an old culture, subject to frequent changes, with a long history of settlement, has, through its social organization, used and is using its chief resources, the cultivated land, the fish in the seas, the deep stones imbedded in its earth, its forests, and its waters. 121 311

There were certain obstacles in carrying out this plan. As everyone knows who has attempted such tasks, after the first few days the apparent simplicities of village life vanish before one's eyes, and he is left with a mass of observations whose ramifications lead in every direction. There is simply no limit to the courses of inquiry which these "simple" villages open up. 121

There was the problem of distinguishing between what was customary and carried on for this reason and what was of basic living importance in the culture. This difficulty disappears for those who believe that every trait has some significance if it has survived, but this neglects the point that many beliefs and customs belong to segments of a population. To one group what may be done as a matter of form may be of close personal importance to another. Both points are significant, for to do what one is expected to do, even if a pure form, is in itself a fact of importance. This applies especially to religious observances and anniversaries in honor of the dead. In some cases, they seemed perfunctorily performed, particularly among the young and the better educated. The survival of certain beliefs is due to their preservation by segments of the population, and women seem to be the chief carriers of the devotional and religious tradition. Real differences, too, seem to lie in age groups, with the dividing line at about fifty-five to sixty years. Many under this age have little understanding of the history or traditional culture. The old, and particularly the old women, have carried on. 121 183 184 [56a] [56b]

Observation in itself is deceptive. Even the grasses, shrubs, and pine trees on the hillsides seem to be a more or less permanent part of the natural environment. Yet these were greatly changed during the war and in local areas grasses have succeeded to places formerly occupied by the pines. 121

The information was obtained in the following manner. (1) Personal conversations in the Japanese language with residents of the villages. Much of the information was secured by accompanying people to their work, attending their parties, visiting shops, rice and sugar mills, and asking questions about the things seen. (2) Direct personal observation, supplemented by conversations to check the accuracy and the significance of these observations. (3) Information gathered from village land records, statistics, land maps, and family registers. Later there was considerable difficulty in securing comparability in the statistics. For this reason the attempt to present quantitative data was in some cases abandoned in favor of a general qualitative description. (4) General discussions with the personnel of the Civil Affairs Administration and with Okinawans. (5) Personal impressions, but these have been included only when they are based on repeated observation. (6) In the historical and general 12 127

324 The truck or horsecart of the buyer comes to the stonecutting area,
432 the blocks are loaded and taken away. Prior to sale, for convenience,
[494] stone may be taken from the cutting area. It is loaded on horse carts,
[483] the men carrying the heavy blocks by means of ropes looped around the
[804] ends of the stone and over poles which in turn rest on the shoulders.
[435] A six foot length (1 ken linear measure), one foot wide and about ten inches thick sells for ¥140 (1951-52).

Foot injuries are the chief hazards of this occupation. The toes may be accidentally cut by the long chisel, and there is danger
316 of bruising or crushing by accidentally dropping the block, or by
[164] rolling when it is being dislodged. Very hard and calloused hands are the mark of the stonecutter; his hands are especially conspicuous for the hard, raised areas on the pals around the base of the fingers, the
[142] result of the constant lifting and pounding of the long chisel. There is also danger to the eyes in flying chips but few use glasses or goggles.

Like some phases of fishing, this work is for the young and the
● [561] physically mature men. After the middle forties or early fifties, a man no longer does the heavy work and confines himself to lighter chores. The very old and the retired may chip and finish the foundation and the pyramidal stones.

492 If a cutter is unable to extract all the stone in a plot whose stone he has bought, there are also customary solutions. When the father dies, his son continues the workings and returns the field to the owner. If a stone worker moves to another village when only half the work has been done, he arranges for a friend, relative, or neighbor to take over the remaining part.

4

Restoring the Land

185 Formerly excavations (which might be 10 or 15 feet deep and the
311 size of a large room) were refilled by the buyer of the stone rights. Rocks, pebbles, and miscellaneous trash were used as fill, but following the war there has been a heavy demand for rock and stone for road
[499] construction. As a consequence, many excavations are now only partly refilled. After refilling, houses are built on the sites of formerly excavated land. Here and there one can see sweet potatoes or vegetables growing on land which formerly was covered with stone. The original state of the land, its appearance after excavation and its restoration may be seen in Figure 2. Evidences of this reclamation may be seen throughout the stoneworking area.

324 Minatogawa, because it lacks vegetation for protective and decorative purposes, is a good example of the use and adaptation of stone to local needs. There are still stone fences, waist or shoulder height, and many small stone boundary lines, a foot or two and of uneven height. Coral stones, weathered by the sea, honeycombed and pocked, are seen everywhere.

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602 on one's mother's side and, after marriage, the wife's family. In seek-
476 ing mutual assistance for rice planting, house building and other undertakings, such relatives may be approached. In other words, kin, neighbors, and members of the same geographical section of the village participate almost equally in mutual assistance groups. Maternal relatives join in family celebrations and in the discussion of family matters. Since many decisions are made jointly with the help of relatives, there are frequent occasions for the kindred to gather in the evening at one house or another.

●561 Each Okinawan also belongs to an age group. As will be described in the section on socialization, beginning at kindergarten an Okinawan becomes associated with a group of boys and girls who will remain his
575 companions through school. As a member of junior high school he
653 will join the formal Student's Association, which is responsible for certain community projects. High school students and all unmarried young adults belong to the Young People's Association, which is both a social group and a cooperative work group.

575 After marriage there are several associations which one may join.
185 Adult married women who are under 57 belong to the Women's Asso-
[562] ciation, which is affiliated with an island organization dedicated to "modernizing" women's lives. The organization is lead by a few women who are in contact with the district and island organization. They attempt at semisocial gatherings to introduce changes aimed at easing
[262] the burdens of daily life and the pressure of poverty. For example, they are trying to influence the women to return to making their own bean paste rather than spending precious cash. The leaders show the women how to make bean paste and encourage them to set aside one work-free day a month to catch up with neglected housework. Many of the efforts of the organization, however, are not too successful. Most women go back to their homes and find that the accustomed ways are easier to follow. One has learned to live with economic pressures and tradition and established custom is a strong force. So the few forward-looking women have a difficult task in rallying others.

Both adult married males and females may also join an organization similar in objective—the Home Improvement group. Although the men who are village leaders belong to this association, the majority of the members are the same women who are leaders in the Women's Association.

575 Before World War II there was an association of older men.* Al-
887 though this group seldom, if ever, meets, it still sends a representative
623 to the village council and to a few village functions.

* Apparently of relatively recent origin.

as usual. It was an affair organized by the women leaders, which, though a little slow in starting, turned into a gay carousing for the older women, who were less inhibited than the younger ones and needed little encouragement to drink and dance. 527 562 575 [888]

The daily life of a woman is more monotonous than her husband's and she has less leisure and recreation. After a day of hard work, men sit down alone or in groups to spend the evening in relaxation with a bottle of sake. After a short time they show signs of pleasant intoxication and all burdens of life seem to disappear. Such recourse to carefree diversion is generally denied women. Instead, they are loaded down with household chores and care of infants and guests after a day of work in fields and forests. They spend their little free time exchanging news with other women or talking with other family members or visitors who assemble around the charcoal fire in the back room during winter evenings. Only women of advanced age feel free to join the men in drinking at home. 562 512 [273] [273] [888]

Men have greater sexual freedom. They are at liberty to have affairs with other women outside the village and on trips to the city may visit tea houses and afterwards enjoy the favors of a prostitute if their pocket books allow. 562 837

Status differences based on age are reflected in the social structure and clearly denoted in the kinship terms. There is a special term of reference and address for "first son" and "first daughter" and for "older brother" and "older sister." As mentioned, ideally the oldest son assumes responsibility for the household, for his parents, and for the ancestral tablets. Even if he leaves his parental home temporarily or permanently for the city, where economic prospects are better, he remains the nominal household head and sends money back to his family. Theoretically the oldest male may retain authority until death, although in practice most men retire from this position at the age of 61. Their retirement is made official by an entry in the population registry. They continue to live with their oldest son and act as advisors and critics. A man's loss of authority with age occurs around his late fifties and early sixties and is evidenced not only by his retirement but also by his loss of the right to vote in village meetings. Veneration for age itself therefore, does not exist. Actual behavior toward the grandparental generation, all the members of which are addressed as "grandmother" or "grandfather" regardless of actual kinship, is warm, mildly playful, and indulgent. Disrespect, however, is absent. 561 554 593 887 561 554 [596] [576]

It is characteristic of the relationship between children and grandmothers that in addressing nonrelated old women, the suffix *-san*, which denotes respect, is most often dropped for the "grandmother" 603 601

Both boys and girls are charged with taking care of a younger child, but when possible, boys try to escape this duty by "making a deal" with their sisters. Girls are therefore more frequently seen caring for younger siblings, but when there are no older girls in the family, a boy must assume this responsibility. Often the novelty of having a tiny infant in the home, for instance, the first girl among several boys, causes older boys to volunteer carrying the infant. On the whole, boys are as reliable caretakers as girls. 855 857

The child on the back finds his child caretaker far less sympathetic and indulgent than mother and grandmother and more literal in applying rules of behavior. Young caretakers, under threat of severe punishment, tend to enforce stringently the rules of safety and permit a much narrower latitude with respect to obedience. Boys are inclined to give expression to their impatience with a younger one more easily than girls; nevertheless, a child taking care of a younger one knows that nurturant behavior toward his charge is a virtue, and failure to show indulgence and sympathy toward the little one is subject to severe reprimands by adults. Although a small child may be left with an older sibling for several hours, the older one knows where to find his mother or grandmother in case of a crisis. When the child on the back cannot be put to sleep by the rocking of his carrier, and indicates persistent discomfort by continued crying, the child caretaker knows that the limits of his competence have been reached.

There is some evidence that the young child-rearing agent follows the example of adults in deferring and giving preferential treatment to males. A young caretaker often seems to show more tolerance toward a little boy charge than toward a girl. [858] [562]

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Chapter 17

Latency

By the time a child finishes first grade, he has achieved full membership in the elementary schoolchildren group (age 8 to 12). His associations with kindergarten children are no longer as prevailing or 857 561

857 intimate as they used to be. He has little in common with them, but
561 since he still takes care of a younger sibling or plays games to which younger children are attracted, there remain frequent contacts between the age groups. The transition between first grade and second grade is in no way as pronounced as the drastic status change from
[866] kindergarten to first grade. Children feel it mostly as a gradually increasing pressure toward assuming more responsibility. The transition which takes place at a ritual level * during the early latency period, however, is not reflected in their daily life.

CHORES AND RESPONSIBILITY TRAINING

857 Although adults say that the elementary school student is still very
868 much of a child who only toward the latter part of this stage can seriously be expected to contribute much to the tasks and duties in home and village; the children, in fact, do some work daily. Already in first grade, responsibility is approached with seriousness, girls exceeding boys in this respect. Children beg tasks, and obeying the school's directive to "help one's parents" seems to become the prime objective of first graders who have just proudly attained their new
857 status. They plead to accompany their older siblings who, with much
868 less zeal than the younger ones, gather giant African snails after a heavy rainfall, hunt frogs, dragon flies, and grasshoppers, or wash
231 potatoes for the pigs. Adults consider some of these chores play.
[866] Although frogs and grasshoppers are fed to the chickens, and minnows and seaweed are added to the pig swill, nevertheless, adults would not seriously label expeditions to collect these responsible. On the other hand, if there is no available feed, as occasionally happens, the child will be scolded and berated for "thinking only of play and not of the hungry chickens." Four- to 6-year-olds are discouraged from these foraging trips, for the danger of snake bites and accidents in the paddies and on the beach is very real. Accompanied by older siblings, however, they, too, may participate.

Some tasks, such as fetching water and feeding the pigs, cutting grass for the horse and goats, washing down the horse, and gathering faggots for the hearth, are still too difficult for the first grade child. But some of them are attempted, at least by assisting older children.
866 Once the child starts off to school, he is made aware that he is

[764] * In case of death, the child who has reached the age of 8 must be given a full
[775] fledged burial since in afterlife he becomes a buddha from now on. We had no indication that children were aware of this.

'Miso' is used not only in soups, but as a flavoring for other dishes. 262 -
Jūshiimē is rice fried in oil and 'miso', with green onions added. Tōfu- 252
champuru is made by putting shredded bonito and hot lard in a pan, adding a little 'miso' and some soysauce, and one-inch cubes of bean curd, or 'tōfu'. 'Tōfu' was eaten about every three days in Nanahan before the war, and every day about twenty peddlers from Tsukazan went through the countryside selling it. It is eaten not oftener than once a month now.

A strong rice drink, 'awamori', is in evidence at all parties. It is 273
sometimes diluted with orange soda, but more often it is served full-strength flavored with either garlic or red peppers. Before the war the refuse from [231]
making 'awamori', called kashijii, was very cheap---about two gallons could be had for fifteen sen---and was generally fed to pigs. However, it also fur- [157]
nished the base for kachijē-ēi, made by pouring hot water on half-boiled spinach or swiss chard, and adding the liquid from the refuse. It was said to have been very good for the stomach.

Feast Foods When a person reaches the age of 61, 73, or 85, a celebration 262
known as tushibii is held. This is the occasion for a feast of 574
whatever proportions the extended family's budget can afford. In the spring [561]
of 1954 a Nanahan lady who was a member of the dominant family reached seventy-three. The following was served at the feast:

--Paddy taro boiled in sugar syrup
--Soup containing 'konnyaku', pork, tripe, goat meat and ginger
--Giant radish and carrots, shredded in vinegar
--Several slices of fried bean curd
--Fish cake
--Deep-fried sugar batter
--A dish of 'konnyaku', 'daikon', pork and shredded radish
--Deep-fried whale tripe in peanut butter sauce
--Red rice; noodle soup
--Fried bean curd and pork, with seaweed

In addition, guests were given two boxes to take home, which contained the following:

--Two pieces of pork
--1 piece fried bean curd
--Two pieces of fish, deep-fried in batter
--1 piece of pork heart
--Two pieces of fish cake
--A red-dyed hard-boiled egg
--Two pieces of burdock root, deep-fried in batter
--Two pieces of sweet pound cake
--Two pieces of kujimuchi (a rice cake)
--Two large pieces of deep fried sugar batter
--One deep-fried flour dumpling
--Five cakes of baked rice flour, in shapes of the pine, bamboo, plum, crane and tortoise---symbols of longevity.

855 Two facts that have been introduced into this discussion should be re-
861 stated and made more explicit. The first is that Okinawan child-training methods include the use of both verbal appeals and physical punishment. As a result of observations made during and shortly after the battle in 1945, Dr. J. C. Maloney reported[1] that Okinawans were very permissive with their children and did not use corporal punishment. It will be seen from the data just presented that while Okinawans are more permissive in many situations than Americans would be, they do in fact use severe physical punishment on occasion.

152 The second fact has to do with the contrast of "shame" versus "guilt"
181 that has been presented by several writers on the character of the Japanese. Both Gorer and Benedict have asserted that the Japanese conform because they
171 fear the ridicule of others whereas Westerners conform because they fear their
861 own consciences; Japanese culture is a "shame culture" while ours is a "guilt culture".[2] Okinawan culture also seems to be primarily a shame culture. Okinawans clearly fear ridicule greatly, and this fear seems traceable to their early training. But there are also elements in Okinawan child training that would tend to produce something of the Western sort of fear that one may suffer for his wrong-doing regardless of whether he is found out or not. These are to be seen in the phrases "retribution will strike" (Okinawan bachi nu ateaing, Japanese 'bachi ga ataru') and "the gods saw you". Shame and guilt are doubtless not mutually exclusive. Both sanctions exist in Okinawan culture, shame being much the stronger.

857
524 Play Boys play with kites and tops. Girls play hop-scotch. Both,
[204] if they can afford it, get one or more of the numerous Japanese children's
[179] magazines that are filled with stories, comics, and a variety of make-it-yourself paper toys.

857 Boys catch insects and birds and fasten strings to them in order to jerk them back as they try to fly away, or in order simply to drag them around. They do so quite unconscious of any cruelty in the act. Adults appear to regard living things as proper playthings.

[561] There may be less age-grading among smaller children than among older people or among children in present-day American society. Several boys of different ages were observed playing together on many occasions, mainly, it seemed, because they were related and lived in adjacent houses. The girls who occasionally joined them were also of the same group of related families.

882 Youth Traditionally, entering one's thirteenth year, for a girl, and fif-
178 teenth, for a boy, marks a change in status from that of child to that of youth (niisee, in J. 'seinen', literally "green years"). There was
[881] also a later ceremony at which the young man's hair was done in a knot; and the tattooing undergone by a young woman may have been part of a puberty rite.
[877] But at present, finishing one's schooling marks the greatest change in the
877 life of a young person. At this time the treatment he receives and the be-
882 havior expected of him change markedly. As long as he is in school he is

1 Maloney, 1945, p. 394.

2 Gorer, 1943; Benedict, 1946, p. 223.

621 among its membership, and all relationships are highly structured. Though
592 age-grades tend to structure the membership of the community, this is not
[341] too important, as the basic unit within the village is the family, not the individual. The community is regarded as an association of families
[565] bound together in a relationship of equality. Such differences as exist
[178] in wealth and land holdings are not so great as to constitute class differentiation; likewise the old Okinawan class structure is no longer of any real significance, and in most rural communities the bulk of the families were and still are of commoner descent.

621 The concept of political participation by households is basic to
829 the thinking of the villagers. Universal suffrage applies only to munic-
592 ipal and national elections; within the village active political partici-
666 pation is restricted to household heads functioning in the capacity of representatives for their respective families. When the mayor of one village was asked why all adults were not allowed to vote in village elections, his quick reply was, "Is it democracy to give some families more votes merely because they have more members?"

6. Political Leadership and Authority

621 There are nine important political offices within the village of Kanegusuku (population 507)---mayor, assistant mayor, clerk, 4 councillors,
[592] and 2 'son' assemblymen. Eighteen of the 108 village families are headed by women, and since only male household heads are elected to positions of political leadership, there remain 90 men eligible for these offices. A number of the young household heads also must be excluded from this group since a man must be over twenty-seven to be eligible, and there are others who are too old or infirm. This leaves 72 men eligible for office on the basis of the formal requirements.

621 Actually the villagers apply several other qualifications which one
554 must possess in order to be eligible for office. In practice the repatriates and the other newcomers to the village since the end of the war are not elected. Those who are poor (less than enough land for mere subsistence) cannot afford to accept an office, since the pay is low and the demands on one's time are too great. The men who have non-agricultural jobs which take them outside the village each day also do not have the time to devote, and the villagers tend to feel that these men are out of touch with the problems of a farming village. Lastly there are several men who otherwise meet all qualifications for village office save for what the villagers vaguely describe as "good character"; the most frequently cited example for this group is a man who dislikes farming and spends much of his time drinking or visiting the 'pachinko' parlor in a nearby town. Thus, the total number qualified for political office on the basis of all criteria which are applied is limited to approximately 47 individuals; this group, which constitutes about 9% of the total population, supplies the village leadership and forms the core of the body politic.

altered that environment to its own uses. I hope that this will result in a broader and a deeper understanding of the manner in which an old culture, subject to frequent changes, with a long history of settlement, has, through its social organization, used and is using its chief resources, the cultivated land, the fish in the seas, the deep stones imbedded in its earth, its forests, and its waters. 121 311

There were certain obstacles in carrying out this plan. As everyone knows who has attempted such tasks, after the first few days the apparent simplicities of village life vanish before one's eyes, and he is left with a mass of observations whose ramifications lead in every direction. There is simply no limit to the courses of inquiry which these "simple" villages open up. 121

There was the problem of distinguishing between what was customary and carried on for this reason and what was of basic living importance in the culture. This difficulty disappears for those who believe that every trait has some significance if it has survived, but this neglects the point that many beliefs and customs belong to segments of a population. To one group what may be done as a matter of form may be of close personal importance to another. Both points are significant, for to do what one is expected to do, even if a pure form, is in itself a fact of importance. This applies especially to religious observances and anniversaries in honor of the dead. In some cases, they seemed perfunctorily performed, particularly among the young and the better educated. The survival of certain beliefs is due to their preservation by segments of the population, and women seem to be the chief carriers of the devotional and religious tradition. Real differences, too, seem to lie in age groups, with the dividing line at about fifty-five to sixty years. Many under this age have little understanding of the history or traditional culture. The old, and particularly the old women, have carried on. 121 183 184 [562] [561]

Observation in itself is deceptive. Even the grasses, shrubs, and pine trees on the hillsides seem to be a more or less permanent part of the natural environment. Yet these were greatly changed during the war and in local areas grasses have succeeded to places formerly occupied by the pines. 121

The information was obtained in the following manner. (1) Personal conversations in the Japanese language with residents of the villages. Much of the information was secured by accompanying people to their work, attending their parties, visiting shops, rice and sugar mills, and asking questions about the things seen. (2) Direct personal observation, supplemented by conversations to check the accuracy and the significance of these observations. (3) Information gathered from village land records, statistics, land maps, and family registers. Later there was considerable difficulty in securing comparability in the statistics. For this reason the attempt to present quantitative data was in some cases abandoned in favor of a general qualitative description. (4) General discussions with the personnel of the Civil Affairs Administration and with Okinawans. (5) Personal impressions, but these have been included only when they are based on repeated observation. (6) In the historical and general 12 127

175 648 439 empire provided the incentive. The central district of Okinawa became an entrepot in the triangular China-Ryukyuan-Japan trade. In the beginning the cultural interchange was a consequence of sending Chinese ambassadors to assist in the investiture of Ryukyuan kings and the travels of Ryukyuan emissaries to Peking. Naha in Okinawa and Foochow in Fukien were ports of entry and exit for the travellers.

The Ryukyuan emissaries left Naha for Foochow on the Min river in Fukien and then began the trip north to Peking. Ryukyuans brought copper, tin, and sulphur and received brocades and silk in return. The Ryukyuan as well as ambassadors from Korea, Annam, Burma participated in this official reception at Peking.[9]

175 179 The first contact with Chinese learning has been dated at 1392, when the son of the king and the son of his master of camp were allowed to attend the Imperial College. The usual route from Naha to Foochow became a cultural corridor joining China and Okinawa. This contact with Chinese learning and writing lasted until the Japanese annexation in 1879. Hall in 1816 and Perry's staff in 1853 mentioned the devotion among the higher [565] classes to Chinese learning, and though this no doubt was confined to those residing in Naha and Shuri, it was this Chinese educated class that ruled the island. With this learning too, there came the ideals of the [641] Confucian state and its five relationships, parent-child, husband-wife, [593] friend-friend, younger brother-elder brother, and subject-sovereign, which were reflected so forcefully in the family system and in the state as well. This coloring of the whole government, composed of men with Confucian ideals gradually changed, says Spencer, following Iha, "the whole mental outlook of the male population, at least around Shuri. This would, per- [562] haps, not extend inland, and was not given to the women." In the countryside the influence of women, through the noro system, was still strong. This Confucian ideal of the state, as Spencer and Iha have suggested, [099] probably had a great deal to do with the dis-establishment of the noro system as a state religion in the seventeenth century.[10]

In the reign of Sho Shin (1477-1526), there were further foreign contacts and domestic consolidations. Buddhism was encouraged and in [099] fact reintroduced, this time from Korea. The Okinawans requested from their Korean "suzerain" the sutras, the Buddhist canon, and religious objects in 1462, 1479, and 1483.[11] Chinese artifacts, books, and other articles were imported, and palaces on the Chinese model were constructed at Shuri. Chinese customs, dress by rank order, and the Confucian ideal of the state became part of the culture of Naha and Shuri, probably less so in the other parts of Okinawa.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON TOP OF P. 31 -- Analyst]

9 Binkenstein, Okinawa-Studien. Monumenta Nipponica 3 (1940), 201-02. Binkenstein, Zur Frage der Ryūkyū Gesandtschaften. Monumenta Nipponica 4 (1941), 264-67. For the route to Peking, see p. 266.

10 Spencer, as cited, 108-09. Quotation is on p. 108.

11 Haguenauer, Relations du royaume des Ryūkyū avec les pays des mers du sud et la Corée. Bulletin de la maison franco-Japonaise. Série française. T 3, No. 1-2. Comptes rendues, 114.

These foreign introductions were accompanied with the reinforcement of a native institution: the elevation of the female priesthood to what amounted to a state religion. This institutionalizing of a native religion did not mean the exclusion of foreign religions or foreign ideas. The king used the noro system to bind his realm together; at the same time, he reintroduced Buddhism, himself becoming an adherent. The priestess of the Sho household, that is the royal house, was removed "to a place without the palace, but near the main gateway" of the palace at Shuri, signifying the closeness of the chief priestess to the royal house, the extension of the system to all the islands, and the centralization, both of religious and political life. Political institutions, borrowed from China and in a Confucian mold, with the dominance of the male in the family and in the government, now existed side by side with the hierarchy of priestesses whose power rested not only on royal patronage but on an economic security whose basis was ownership in land. With the passage of time, it was the order of priestesses that gave way to the male dominated Confucian ideal. This Confucian idea of the state, a combination of the individual morality of Confucius with the ideas of statecraft of the legists developed in the Han dynasty, retained its hold until the Japanese did away with the monarchy.[12]

175 178 793 779 692 177 562

The new government with its capital at Shuri, a port at Naha, a royal granary at Kune, and the town of Tomari, was rigidly departmentalized along Chinese lines.[13]

175 177 692

The Ryukyuan kingdom, from the middle of the fourteenth to the second half of the sixteenth century was part of a great trade network. This included the Great Loochoo, Korea, Japan, China, Siam, and with the port of Malacca as the center of the trade. The normal route was from Naha[14] along the coast of Fukien province, stopping at Foochow, up from the mouth of the Min River, along the coast of the Campa (modern Indo-China), thence to Malacca. From here, it was possible to trade with the islands of the Sunda (Java) seas, Siam, and with the province of Pataai on the east coast of the Malay peninsula, south of the isthmus of Kra. From Naha, the products of Japan, Korea, and Central China were brought to Malacca; from Malacca, essences, various woods, pepper, sugar, ivory, and articles of Portugese and Arab manufacture were brought north. The various traders brought back to the Great Loochoo Chinese money, Ming porcelains, and silks of south China. There were Korean, Chinese, and Japanese colonies

175 439

[Text Continues TOP of P. 32--Analyst]

12 Spencer, as cited, 103. On the role of the legists in political Confucianism in China, see Fitzgerald, China: a cultural history, 103-04,156.

13. For interesting details, see CA Handbook Ryukyu (Loochoo) Islands, 103.

14 The age of Naha, I believe, is unknown. Under King Satsudo in the late fourteenth century, and in the period of trade of which we are speaking, Naha had a sudden expansion. There were three channels into the harbor, the northern "Yamatoguchi," used by the Japanese, a center one, "Karefuneguchi" (literally Chinese ship terminus (mouth)), and a "Miyakoguchi", the south channel which was used by the ships engaged in trade with the Sakishima group. Simon, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, 36.

842 need of succession is met, birth control measures might be accepted. There is, it is true, a widespread feeling that many children are a happiness which artificial control should not destroy. But this feeling, especially true with women, is often lost after the fourth or fifth child when mothers may dread further child bearing.[7]

In the villages studied, there is an awareness of birth control. [197] This awareness comes from conversation and reading, the primary sources being Japanese magazines and newspapers. I did not meet anyone who admitted practicing birth control or who desired to do so. According to the informants, it is not practiced at all. There may be some instances.

But birth control methods are not widely understood, and even if they were, it is doubtful that people would use them on their own initiative. The present apathy toward birth control methods may be due to the fact [167] that only recently has the question been of any significance. In the past economic difficulties within a family were relieved by emigration. There was thus little need to think of a limited family. On the contrary, there was pride in a family that might spread over continents.

[183] Historically, the whole emphasis in the family system has been on a large or a medium sized, not a limited, family, and this, even today, is tied in with family pride coming from having children and grandchildren. [562] If families have girls to begin with, the feeling is all the stronger. Though unusual, it is not unheard of to have a family of girls, and even if there are sons, there should be enough of them to take care of the hazards of death.

5

Conclusion

185 Among some villagers--and this seems to be independent of the degree of education--there are now more realistic appraisals of what the soil and the land can make available to a growing population and to their own children. Emigration for the time being is not possible. And, even if it were on a broad scale, it would not only have to skim off the present excess population, but take continuing care of future natural increases as well.

134 There were in all the villages several considerations that have influenced these appraisals. Land is insufficient, even in quantity, though in local areas such as Matsuda, it might suffice for local demands. The arable land is also poor. The poor and insufficient land,

[TEXT Continues TOP of P. 69--Analyst]

[114] [208] 7 This dread of continual child bearing is discussed as an attitude, not as a general truth. The statement is based on conversations with men and women in each of the villages. Many women in Okinawa would not agree with this, but the attitude, I am convinced, if not a prevailing one, is at least frequent enough to be worth recording as something more than individual distaste.

601

Step-mother	keibo
Step-father	keifu
Adopted son	yōshi
Adopted daughter	yōjo
Illegitimate child	shiseiji
Person living with a family but not a relative	dōkyonin

Descent is reckoned through the male line. Normally the first son succeeds to the headship of the house, and this is actually true in the great majority of cases, although the failure of the first or later sons to survive to maturity, or the death of sons in the war, have resulted in many household headships being held by sons other than the first, or by daughters. This is brought out in the following table which shows the relationship of the present head of the household to the preceding head. 611 592

592

Relationships may be obscured to simple observation because the head of the household (koshu) may reside in a foreign country. This was a common occurrence before the war during the widespread Okinawan emigration, but repatriation since the war has reduced the number of heads of households who live in foreign countries. At present most absentee heads live in Peru, Brasil, or in Argentina. In the absence or disability of the first son, the second and succeeding sons assume his place, not legally, but in practice, and should the elder son return, his younger brother would relinquish the headship and establish a branch family. The family register, however, is not changed to show the temporary head. But his absence may be indicated by a notation. [167]

592 562

A woman, either a wife or a daughter, is not considered in the succession if there are eligible male heirs, but in their absence, she may succeed to a house. The war produced many instances of this. A mother with minor children is the head of the house and has disposition of the family property, but custom and usage circumscribe her freedom of action. In custom, a mother with minor children, especially if one of them is a boy, is regarded as the trustee and caretaker of a house and its fields during the minority of her children, the eldest of whom, if he is a son, will become head when he reaches maturity. In practice, widows with minor sons do not sell or dispose of their property except under strong economic compulsions, and then only after discussion with representatives of the extended family.

592

The real place of the woman in the family system is to become part of the family of her husband. If she marries a first son, she enters the home of her husband's parents. If she marries a second or a third son, she is part of a branch family established by her husband. There is general agreement among Okinawans with whom I consulted that the residence of a young wife with the husband's family does not result in the prolonged quarreling and bickering which have made the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law relationship so legendary a topic in Chinese and Japanese society. Disagreements exist, but according to residents in [591] [606]

[Text continues top of p. 95--analysr]

Some villagers also pointed to the reluctance of young women to marry first sons. There were two reasons for this: the financial responsibilities of the first son, and the joint living with his parents. These young women had the attitude that the second or the third son enjoyed greater freedom. The position of the first son is more secure in an agricultural community, especially if the father has some means. The reluctance of some young women to marry first sons may be offset by marrying into a well established family and by the prestige that comes with such a marriage. One also encounters an attitude of indifference regarding one's position in the family hierarchy: no pride in being the first son and no feeling of resentment at being a second or succeeding one. 593 581

Among parents and grandparents, there is strong pride in a son. The birth of a son in early marriage and his survival simplifies the life of every individual in the family. It points to the desired succession, to care in old age and a normal family experience within the framework of the family system. 562

6

Adoption

As in other Oriental countries, the emphasis placed on the first son, or one standing in his place, reflects the concern of the family for its continued existence. Extinction (dansetsu in Japanese) of the family must be avoided. Adoption is the traditional method of preventing extinction. While there are instances of adoption in all villages, it is not common, nor does it have the importance which is attached to it in Japan. 597

The need for adoption arises when a family does not have a male child to succeed to the father's house. Two types of adoption are recognized: the adoption of a male child or the adoption of the prospective husband of a daughter. No instance of the latter form was encountered in any of the villages. Unlike Japan, where an adopted child might be unrelated to the family, Okinawans, when they resort to adoption, always choose a relative in the male line, perhaps a nephew or a distant relative of the male head. The preferred alternatives are two: a first or second son of the brother of the head of the adopting house is taken, or a second son may be adopted by his uncle and will succeed to the main family line on the death of his uncle.

Daughters are not considered in inheritance matters if there are male heirs. A daughter's share of family possessions normally comes to her as a marriage present: a kimono, a chest, a mirror, a pillow, and a quilt-like blanket (futon), and other personal articles, or money, depending on the economic abilities of the father. In the absence of male heirs, women (either as wives or daughters) can and do inherit the house and property. In a family without sons, the head has several alternatives: he may allow the daughter to inherit, or adopt a bridegroom for his own house, the first distasteful to the father because there is no one to continue the family line, the second distasteful to the groom who must desert his own family. A third alternative is to adopt a young male child of a relative. 428 [562] [583] [597]

The passing down of property in these villages is governed in large part also by custom and the individual desire of the parents. In the villages, there were no instances of which I knew in which disputes over inheritance and the disposition of property had been carried to court for settlement. Quarrels among a father and his sons or the first sons and his younger brothers are said to be rather common. Much depends on the temperament and the generosity of the first son who controls the property on the death or retirement of his father. The problem was often put in this way: the first son must look after his younger brothers and give them land, but he must also keep his eye on the estate he will be able to pass down to his own children. [692] [578]

2

Essentials of the Inheritance System.

The essentials of the inheritance system, as it was found to be working in these villages, were substantially the same. (1) In the division of property on the death or retirement of the father (or the head of the house), the house site itself is never divided. The family residence, the buildings in the compound remain intact. The house is a symbol of a family's existence and its future. If it is also the main house of the extended family, it is the site of the original founder and is even more inviolate.

An interesting question arises when the first sons are male twins. An old practice, now abandoned, was that the second of the twins inherited as the first son. This was based on a belief that the last child out of the womb was the first one in, and therefore the older. In the villages, one still hears this explanation from older people, but now the universal practice is for the first born to become the first son.

(2) The rest of the property is divided, in varying proportions, among the remaining sons. The first son gets the money, but he is expected to share this. He normally gets at least half the property, the remaining half being divided up among the other sons, either in the

One can infrequently observe women walking from Minatogawa to nearby villages to sell their fish. Women and young girls also sell fish locally, standing somewhere off the main street with their hand scale (hakkari) and a basket or bucket of fish. Housewives come up, price the individual fish, often weighing it for themselves on the hand scale. 443 809

Like the Chinese scale, this is simply a round piece of wood on one end of which there is a weight. The fulcrum is a string, held in the hand, which holds the scale. The item to be weighed is put in a basket and placed on the other end. The weight is ascertained by moving the counter-weight till both sides are in balance. Markings along the piece of wood show the exact amount. Every village shop has one of these scales.

There is very little haggling over prices, although the housewife is choosy and will inquire the cost of different individual fish before deciding which one, if any, to buy. 443

Usually the night's catch is marketed the following morning. Women, by custom, receive a fee for selling fish. A woman who takes her husband's and his partner's fish to market (the catch being insufficient for both wives to participate) is paid her fee by weight. 443 465

[804]

25 kin (about 33 pounds) sold at Y30 per kin	Y1500
Woman's share, at Y5 per kin	- 150
Remainder	Y1350
Each Partner's Share	675

The Y5 per kin is a selling commission. If more than one woman goes, the fee is split between them. Women pay all expenses and their bus fare from the commission. Occasionally wives alternate in taking the catch to market.

When the woman of a fishing family takes fish to market, she is doing more than performing an errand. Her skill in bargaining and general knowledge of prices, of the catch and the demand for various kinds of fish determine whether she gets a good or only a fair price. Generally, mature women sell the fish. Younger women, in the late teens and early twenties, often accompany the older women as helpers and gradually are initiated into the tricks of the trade. Young women, not being skillful, are more likely to accept the first offer, or to sell below the highest price obtainable. One source of family quarreling (fufukonka) is the anger of a husband when his wife has sold at a lower price than his neighbor's wife. Women who have children leave them with a relative, or an older daughter. When the wife of the family is unable to sell the fish because her children are too young, the chore is taken over by a woman relative. In Minatogawa, this substitute work also is often done by widows who, in addition, might sell fish caught by male relatives. 443 562 [578] [855] [589]

The money earned by women in the marketing of the fish, after 000

8

Daily Life of the Fishing Village

Fishing families may have informal gatherings toward the end of the day. On a late summer afternoon, the family may sit in the open doorway of the house, for hedges, fences, the barriers, and trees are rare. The wife may be nursing her naked child. Her husband, a fisherman, has changed into his indigo blue and white striped kimono, a tall, broad, deeply tanned man. Next to him sits his mother, over 70 years old, her hands tattooed, as are those of all the old women. She is wearing a kimono of the same color, but of a dot pattern. They sit on unrolled mats. On the veranda, three or four men, unwashed and still in their work clothes, discuss the events of the day. A lacquer tray with tea cups is on the floor near them and the tea (as it so often is) may be cold. There is brown sugar to eat along with the tea. The grandmother may be economically smoking a half or a third of a cigarette in the typical Japanese pipe. As it grows later, the wife gets up, pours some water in the stone mortar, and smashes the sweet potatoes with the long wooden pole. The men continue talking for a while, then take their leave. The wife, her work at the mortar finished, goes into the dirt kitchen to start the evening meal.

The wife of the fisherman has worries that do not bother the farmer's wife. There is always the danger that her husband, or son, will not return, a real possibility, of which the frequency of widowhood in Minatogawa is proof. Every season, there is at least one instance of a fisherman who has either been lost, or whose delay in returning has provoked intense worry. If crews are still out when an unexpected storm arises, there is considerable tension in the village. Since the war, rescues at sea are more likely than before. The village headman quickly reports overdue boats. The American forces have created much good will in seeking fishermen lost at sea.

Women, on the other hand, have opportunities for leisure when the catch is light, or weather is unfavorable. At these times, they can busy themselves with other tasks, in the field, gathering stones, getting miscanthus, but they do not have the unremitting activity of the woman in the agricultural village. There is more visiting during the day than one observes in an agricultural village.

The fisherman, with or without land, tries to keep pigs and perhaps a few goats. In Minatogawa, the pens are often made of sandstone quarried here. Not only the floors and the sides, but the stalls are made of this material. One reason for this is the openness of the village and the danger that pigs will be killed in a storm. A typhoon may carry away the house, its owners having gone to the stronger house of a friend or relative, but pigs are an investment and an asset to be guarded.

villages have the simple interest type, with or without the bidding feature. The order of borrowing may be determined by discussion, and, if more than one person wishes a loan at the same time, lots are drawn. 404 426 184

In the interest (rishi) type, a man borrows, for example, Y2000 with ten men contributing Y200 each and repays Y2200 in ten monthly installments. (Here the interest is Y10 per month for each Y100 advanced). If a borrower cannot meet a payment, the members make up the deficit which then becomes an additional obligation on the part of the borrower. 404 426

Mutual loan groups were found in Matsuda and Hanashiro, though they are not so strong as in Hinatogawa. The amounts involved are less, reflecting the poorer cash standing of the farmer. Guarantors (hōshōnin) are not required since the members know one another well. Loans are generally made for the construction or repair of houses, pens, sheds, or stalls, for hiring a pig breeder, to buy a domestic animal, or to tide one over a crop failure. A group may be organised for the specific purpose of enabling each member, during the life of the loan group, to purchase a small pig.

Women may have their own groups. In Hanashiro the only group known to me was composed of women. Again, assume twenty members who advance Y100 each, a total of Y2000 initially, and who have agreed upon an interest rate of Y10 per month on each Y100 borrowed. The life of the group is twenty months. The progress of the loans and monthly repayments is shown in the following table. It illustrates the continuous turning in of principal and interest payments to furnish capital for new loans. The multiplications in parentheses show the number of members times the amount involved per member in each transaction. In Hanashiro, there are three of these women's groups. This is said to be a decline from the pre-war number. [562]

In Matsuda these groups are not important in financing the farmer. It is estimated that there are five groups, with 15-20 members each, operating in Matsuda. Bidding may be dispensed with, the interest is divided among the borrowers and not turned back for further loans, and the sequence of borrowers is determined either by discussion or by lot. These were Y500 groups, higher monthly advances than in Hanashiro, but the principle is the same.

The limited use of these mutual loan groups in the agricultural villages may be temporary, and may not be typical of all Okinawa. According to residents of Hanashiro and Matsuda, they were not widely used before the war. They have now further declined in importance except in Hinatogawa. It is rather difficult to account for this, considering the need for money and the reluctance of villagers to go to banks and institutions for loans. The fear of red tape and entertainment costs is the chief deterrent to institutional borrowing. Perhaps the failure is merely indicative of insufficient money to lend, and inability to repay what is borrowed. Farmers have little money to advance, little surplus to repay loans from others. [434] [453]

553 The first naming of children is done at a ceremony on the day of birth, or on the following day, if the birth took place at night. It is known as umbagi. There is a small gathering of [262] relatives. Soup, rice, and a little sake may be served. Ordinary rice or rice cakes (mochigome) may be prepared and put on the [787] Buddhist god shelf. If a boy, the relatives and parents pray for his strength, if a girl for her good health. Umbagi, an Okinawan word, is also known as gūchūsan no iwai (Japanese). The ceremony precedes the burying of the afterbirth.

553 One important element in the naming of a child on its day of 823 birth is the state of the tide. The child is named only if the tide is coming in. It is not necessary that the tide be high. Perhaps midpoint is the best, though high tide is considered good. Practically everyone can calculate the time when the tide is coming in or out; since they all know the lunar calendar with a cycle completed in 15 days, it is a simple calculation.[6] The explanation always given for calculating the tide on this and other occasions is that when the tide is coming in, fortune and happiness will enter in the new life or the new situation. When the tide is ebbing, everything goes out and away.

852 The real celebration of the birth of a child occurs several days after birth. It usually occurs on the 5th or 6th day counting the birth day. This is known as mansan (Okinawan) and is in honor of the good health of the mother and the child. In Japanese, it is also called muikajari.[7] In all communities studied, the week long all night celebration has disappeared, though the celebration of mansan might last well into the night.

One celebration, observed in Hinatogawa, is probably typical of the thousands that take place every year in rural Okinawa. The guests came early in the evening to the parents' home, or, as in this case, to the home of the child's grandfather, since the father, a first son, lived in his parents' home. The men sat in the first room (ichibansa), [562] the women in the second (nibansa), following custom in parties in which both sexes are present. The head of the house, the grandfather, sat in front of the alcove (tokonoma) of the first room. The child's father [576] sat next to him. Each guest went on his knees, bowed, congratulated the father and presented him with a small money gift. The usual gift [931] is about ¥20. This was accepted by the father, who then responded with a short speech. Sometimes these are formal and stiff, sometimes like a simple conversation. The guests also congratulated the

6 The method of computing times of high and low tide will be given later. The tide is important in the marriage ceremony, when moving into a new house, or when moving, in the case of a second or succeeding son, from a main house to establish a branch family, and at a child's party on the first anniversary of its birth.

7 The day was variously given me as 4-5th, 6th, and 7th day after birth. Muika in muikajari means 6th day.

mother, for example, fed her child rice gruel (okayu) at eight months and at the age of one year the child began eating sweet potatoes. By the time the child is ready to walk and play, he often carries with him a piece of sweet potato, and, in season, a piece of sugar cane. 853 262

A party is held on the first birthday anniversary of the child. This is more elaborate than the one which honored his birth. Birthdays are not celebrated each year. After the first anniversary, the next are on the 13th, 25th, 37th, 49th, and 61st birthdays, that is, at twelve year intervals. 852 527

The party for the first birthday of a child is particularly tender and affectionate. At one year, he can walk or stumble, and answer or smile to the calls of his parents and grandparents. He can pick up things, throw them, and make his presence felt. The exhibition of these skills becomes part of the celebration. It is customary to invite both relatives and friends, who bring a small money present, from Y20 which is usual to Y100 which is uncommon. [856]

During the party, the child is given several symbolic gifts. These are placed on a low table in the middle of the room which the child can easily walk to and reach. Usually the gifts are a book, a fountain pen (or a writing brush, fude), an abacus (soroban), and a stack of paper money. These symbolize the wish that the child will become proficient in learning, writing, counting and mathematics, and will become rich. The child is eagerly watched as he unsteadily toddles to the table to see which article he picks up first. While the act is not taken seriously, the article which the child picks up first is supposed to indicate the field of endeavor in which he will be most fortunate. 527 852 431 [212] [802] [554]

These parties, small or large, include men, women, and children, but the majority of the guests usually are men. After the child has gone to bed, the party continues. In more formal and larger parties, the guests first come up to the father, go on their knees, bow, and make a short speech of congratulation. Sometimes these speeches sound as if they are prepared beforehand, other times as if they are spoken spontaneously. There is an exchange of sake between the father and his guest, both sipping from the same cup, the usual custom. The mother and the female relatives during this time are in the kitchen preparing the food. 852 527 [576] [537]

Women sit by themselves. This is true of all celebrations when the sexes are together. Women do not drink. (In a similar party near Matsuda, the old women--usually over 60--drank a little). The jolly old women also love to dance solos in the traditional style. They dance with grace and vigor. The evening progresses without any planned entertainment. There is talking and drinking, singing, and samisen playing. Men, with a repertoire of Okinawan songs, sing in [562] [535] [887] [533]

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a harsh, often rasping voice. Only men play the Okinawan samisen, a stringed instrument slightly different from its Japanese counterpart. Men also join in the dancing.

In a village parties on the fifth or sixth day after the birth of a child and on his first birthday happen frequently. They are an important part of social life. A relative or a friend is always celebrating one or the other occasion, either in the village or in a neighboring one. These celebrations increase, especially for the men, the number of social occasions and recreational opportunities during the year in a culture where holidays and rest days are comparatively few. (There are no weekly rest days or week ends).

After the first birthday, little attention is paid to the succeeding ones until the thirteenth. The child's experience from the time he begins to walk until he reaches school comes from family
861 life and neighborhood play. In my observation, there is no rigid, customary way of bringing up the child. It is toilet trained around one year of age. This does not seem to be forced. Training comes
863 through imitation. Parents do not punish the child for indiscretions, though they are quick to lift him off the mat if he begins wetting. With young boys, the father may make a hissing sound while the child's penis is out. One has the impression that it is a gradual transition, mostly effected by imitation or gentle suasion.

304 Male children are not circumcised. Circumcision is known only to those who have learned of it through books, foreign residence, or from others who have this information.[9]

867 In early training, boys are not taught that they are superior to girls. But when she reaches school age, the girl is likely to be kept
562 busier around the house. Before the war, there may have been a greater subordination of girls to boys. But any conscious training of girls to subordinate themselves to boys is unnecessary. The child grows up in a culture in which the father is waited on, the sons favored in inheritance, and in which the men have a richer social life.

855 Parents are kind to their children. They seldom spank a child,
593 though an exasperated parent may give the child a sharp slap. There is little nagging or shouting at children in anger. In my opinion,

9 Two young men, school teachers about 23 years old, expressed great astonishment when asked about circumcision. They did not know it existed.

date of their birth (using the Japanese reign date), where they had gone to school and their present occupations. This was done separately for each. After this was over, the bride and groom stood silently and politely, but without outward expression, while three guests in turn, previously chosen, made speeches, offering their congratulations and best wishes. On this particular occasion, the principal of the school at which the bride was teaching, the principal of the school at which the groom was a teacher, and a mutual friend of the couple spoke. 585 576 [537]

These proceedings do not receive the undivided attention of the guests who have been drinking sake for some time. On the tops of the tables, dancing in the traditional Okinawan manner and the accompanying singing have begun. The dances and songs, usually performed by men in their forties and fifties, were done with grace. These are part of all social gatherings of any consequence. 585 [273] 535 533 [562]

The sober attitudes of the work day are cast aside. The best clothes have been put on. There is a great contrast between the barefooted partially clothed farmer or fisherman of the daytime and his appearance at social occasions. These events are conducted with dignity and poise, at least until the sake consumption has risen to a high point. The party then becomes a noisy melee of dancing, singing, and talking, but without quarrelling or fighting. There is little self-consciousness in entertaining others. Talented guests do not have to be cajoled into performing. Dancing, singing, and samisen playing continue spontaneously, with another performer beginning after one has finished. The wedding party lasts from about 5 to 8, but many of the guests stay much later until the sake is gone. [292] [534]

Following the san-san-kudo, another but more private ceremony took place while the guests were entertaining themselves. In the wedding room, colored cakes and tea were placed on a small table. The female relatives of the bride and groom, mothers and sisters mostly, sat opposite one another and ate cakes and drank the tea together. This ceremony indicated the willingness of the bride's family to give up the daughter, and of the groom's family to receive her. After this ceremony, the bride's gifts from her parents were carried in. These vary with the family's wealth. In this case, they were a chest of drawers, a mirror, a heavy comforter, pillows, and a mosquito net. Before the war, gifts were more lavish than now. The usual presents now are a large chest of drawers (tansu), two heavy quilts or comforters (futon), a mirror (kagami), two Japanese type pillows (makura), and a large mosquito net (kaya). A poor family would be most likely to omit the chest of drawers. A new kimono and money may be included. [262] 583

A Y20 note is the usual gift of an ordinary guest at a wedding. Closer friends will give about Y100. There is no uniform practice about gifts from the groom's to the bride's family. About Y1000 may be presented prior to marriage. The bride's family uses the money to purchase the wedding gifts. 431

The day following the marriage, there is another ceremony, this 000

585 the day of the wedding ceremony, preparations are made at the
184 bride's home. Food is served for relatives and friends, and the party then proceeds to the groom's home for the ceremony.

Gifts from the groom's family depend upon economic circumstances,
[431] but usually range from Y50 to Y100 up to Y1000. In Hanashiro, something, no matter how small, is always given by the groom's family to the bride's family. Since the war, gifts of chests of drawers and blankets are less common because of high prices.

On the third day, in this Hanashiro custom, the bride and the groom with relatives and friends visit the bride's parents during the day. On the same evening, the visit is returned by the bride's family.

585 There is a general agreement in all the villages that as a con-
178 sequence of the war, the preliminaries to marriage, the ceremony, the gifts, and the events following the ceremony have become simpler.
727 Part of this is due to the high cost of food and entertainment. In the competition with other ceremonies and celebrations, the tendency
435 has been, in the interest of economy, to simplify the old customs, or when this is not possible, to combine celebrations coming close together in the year. One frequently hears the word keisai (economy) used in this connection.

3

Contemporary Attitudes Toward Marriage

58 Marriage customs today are different from those of even 20 years
178 ago. From information collected from the villages, the chief changes in marriage customs have been: (1) the preliminaries and the ceremony have been simplified, (2) marriage takes place at a much older age, (3) marriages between individuals of different villages are more common, (4) there is a shorter engagement period and its significance has declined, (5) the custom in which the bride temporarily returns to her home has disappeared or become rare, (6) the go-between, formerly a respected elder negotiating a marriage, is now a friend, generally the same age as the principals, offering help and advice, and (7) the arranged marriage has given way to freer choice in marriage in which the parents' consent has become largely a formality.

581 Judging by the statements of residents of all villages, many of
582 whom were married under the old arrangement, there is almost universal approval of free choice in marriage. Divorces were said to have been
[586] common under the old system, mainly because of the wife's barrenness or unattractiveness. The chances that the marriage will be a happy one are
[562] thought to be greater under the new. Among women, it harmonizes with
[177] ideas of equality which they have heard of or read about in Japanese magazines since the occupation.

000 vegetables in season.

262 On special occasions, cookies, cakes, and more fresh fish and meat are served. In Okinawa any food out of the ordinary is called a feast or a treat (gochisō). Fresh fish, fish cakes, beef, pork make up a feast, for these are seldom served in the routine meal. Fish, pork, and beef are universally liked, but fish is hard to get, beef is expensive, and pork is a source of cash income. Many families eat pork only at New Year.

By almost any standard, including their own, the daily Okinawan diet is monotonous and unappetizing. Nevertheless the present diet is an improvement over the pre-war one. Most villagers said that before the war, the diet consisted of the sweet potato and bean paste soup. Bean paste soup usually has a few shreds of meat or fish in it. In times of scarcity, or if the family is very poor, only the paste is used, and when this is dissolved in hot water, it makes a kind of clear bouillon which is jokingly referred to as "mirror soup" (kagami miso) because one can see his face in it. In Okinawan, it is also called "nothing in it soup" (nnshiru). Since the war, the rice imports from Java, Siam, Egypt, and other foods sold through [839] import stores have provided more variety.

Goats are a cheap source of meat, but many do not like goat's 272 meat. The milk is not used for human consumption.

Tea is served at all hours. Many Okinawans, however, have acquired a taste for coffee. Tea is steeped in a large pot and [415] placed on a tray with the cups. Once made, tea stays in the pot until it is drunk. Frequently it is lukewarm or cold. Callers are [574] served tea and small chunks of brown sugar, picked up with chopsticks. Sugar is never used to sweeten tea. There is considerable eating [364] between meals, especially if visitors drop in. Women prepare a bowl of noodles, of cooked vegetables, fry an egg, or slice up some bean [262] curd. Villagers eat enormous quantities of food.

The people are very hospitable, but hospitality does not take 574 the form of inviting friends to dinner except on special occasions, like a birthday celebration or a wedding. One family does not entertain another at dinner, but an individual member of a family who has worked at a friend's house may stay for an evening meal. Or a child may eat with the family of his playmates. Entertaining does [562] not include a man and his wife. The wife normally stays at home.[1]

1 In Hinitogawa, I was told that the beginning of the preparation of the meal was a sign for the visitor to return home. This was not due to the broad hint of the host but to the reserve (enryo) of the visitor. "Hnun ni wariu" (Okinawan) "to be pressed by food" is said by those returning home at these times. One goes home at meal times.

305 Persons of both sexes and of all ages, including infants,
302 visit the barbershop. With boys and men, the price includes a haircut and a shave. The upper edge of the eyebrows is always shaved to make a straight line. The eye lids are also invariably shaved. The shaving of the eyebrows and eye lids of infants is commonplace. When women go to the shop to have the neck hair trimmed, the face, the eyebrows and the eye lids may also be shaved.

7

The Nature of Social Life

562 The social life of the women is severely restricted by convention. This restriction is closely tied up with the obligations of the family system and does not imply a conscious and selfish attempt by the men to keep their women at home and distanced from society. These restrictions are the result of custom in which the women acquiesce. The few discontented exceptions are women who
[177] read Japanese magazines and learn of American ideas about the position of the women. But in general women accept their status. The men have a social life quite unconscious of any obligations of this sort to the women. The point was well brought out when I asked two Okinawan teachers why it was that women had so little social life and seldom went out with their husbands. They said the subject had never occurred to them.

The center of a woman's working and social life is her home. The range of a man's activities is the village and may extend to neighboring settlements. A large part of a woman's recreation is with other women. A man's social life is spent mostly with men.

[574] A woman's opportunity to spend a social evening with men comes when her husband brings guests to their home. Here she participates in the conversation, though she usually retires earlier. With older couples, the wife is most likely to greet her guests, serve them with tea, later perhaps with sake, and then unobtrusively retire.

[593] In my observation, there is a friendly relationship between husband and wife in the home. Younger wives participate frequently in conversation. Part of a woman's social life is centered around daytime activities, like taking care of the children, running an errand, carrying rice to the mill, chores which she does in the company of other women with like duties. Her working and social life blend together more than the man's. Among the very old women, day time visiting and strolling throughout the village are very common.

A husband and a wife are not often seen together in public, except on some special occasion, such as a child's birthday party, a school athletic meeting which the whole family attends, or a

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

shopping trip to a larger town. In the very common evening visiting among men, women participate very little. 562

There has been some improvement in the social position of women since the war. In Hanashiro, for example, before the war, the husband, children, and grandparents ate in the second or third room, while the wife and sometimes the eldest daughter ate in the kitchen. (The Okinawan kitchen, though part of the house, differs from the other rooms in that it has direct access to the outside, is generally on a level with the ground, and has a dirt, cement, or stone floor). The wife in preparing the meal can go back and forth readily and need not take off her clogs or wash her feet if she goes barefoot when she goes up into the rooms. Her meal is a slight interlude between duties. 562 264 [342]

In most homes now, the women eat with the family in the main house. Some old women still spend most of their time in the kitchen watching the fire and eating their meals there. One of the reasons given for the change in attitude toward women is that many of the repatriated Okinawans brought newer ideas with them and did not practice segregation at meal times. [178]

Another important fact about social life is the drinking of the men and the abstinence of the women.[3] Young men usually begin drinking sake around the age of marriage. It is exceptional for a young man in his teens or early twenties to drink. But once this dividing line is passed, it is the exceptional man who does not drink. In each village one finds a few lifelong teetotalers. Drinking is always done in company, as the climax of a task completed, because of some happy turn of events, or because there is a party or celebration. As a general rule, the village men do not drink every day, but only when a suitable occasion arises. While there is drunkenness, I did not observe the solitary, prolonged drinking commonly associated with alcoholism in western societies. Prolonged drinking at night has the expected effects the next day, but there is very little remorse, unless a man has done something of which he is subsequently ashamed. Men who have drunk too much the night before do not hesitate to lie in bed 273 [562] [133]

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 295--ANALYST]

3 In Okinawa, the commonest and cheapest alcoholic drink is sake. This is not the same as Japanese sake, the light rice wine, slightly resembling sauterne, that is usually served warm or hot. Okinawan sake is awamori, a much stronger drink of distilled rice spirits, a variety of the Japanese shochu. The alcoholic content of awamori ranges from about 25% to 30%. It is a raw liquor with an unpleasant taste. It is not the favorite, but it is the cheapest drink. Awamori is made from rice in small distilleries throughout Okinawa, bottled in large jugs and distributed to village shops. Most shops carry it. Sometimes there are special sake shops. Awamori or sake is sold for about Y14 per go (.318 pint). The normal intake for an evening is considered to be 2 go. Most men are fairly inebriated after drinking this much. The American army canteen, when available, is the favorite sake container. Japanese and American beer and Japanese sake are liked, but too expensive. 279 435 804

273 the greater part of the following day until the effects are worn off.[4]

There is tolerance of drinking and of behavior while under the influence of alcohol—with the exceptions to be discussed below. This nonchalance extends to children and young people. When an elder and highly respected friend or neighbor, perhaps their own grandfather, is drunk, they laugh indulgently at him, passing off his behavior as foolish because he is drunk.

[576] The custom of drink exchange (kempai) certainly does not keep drinking to a minimum. Drink exchange is perpetual at parties. A small cup of sake is offered to a friend. He drinks, gives the cup back to his friend who holds it while the other refills the cup. The exchange goes on again. Often three or four men are involved in this reciprocity.

Drinking, like an aperitif or cocktail before a meal, is not common. Sake may be drunk with or after the meal. Often it is served along with tea. Throughout the evening the two may be drunk [277] alternatively. In this case, the tea is served first. Unless there are special occasions, there is very little day time drinking.

273 In this drinking, the Okinawan woman has no part. There are a few minor exceptions. But in all the villages these exceptions 562 were older or very elderly women. The young wife or girl in rural Okinawan villages simply does not drink. Furthermore, she seems to have no desire to. Occasionally a woman in her late forties or early fifties takes a few sips. In the southern villages, an old woman may drink a small amount with a little added sugar at a celebration. In Matsuda, shortly before New Years it is customary to give a party at village expense to all people in the village over 70 years of age. On this occasion, both the old men and old women are liberally [888] supplied with and liberally drink the sake.

These distinctions in drinking between the sexes, in my opinion, are closely tied in with the responsibilities of men and women, as they have grown up historically under the family system. The distinctions certainly cannot be explained in terms of contemporary attitudes. If [154] drinking is an outlet for the tensions of the man, a way of relieving the boredom and monotony of every day life, how can one explain the

4 There is little real violence or fighting, but there may be noisy quarrels and some shoving about. Some mild men become very quarrel- [578] some. The only instance of violence I observed was the case of a young man about 25 who drank quite a lot, became angry with some girls in the Young Women's Association for not doing chores he thought they were responsible for. He slapped one severely. The following day he was very remorseful. His mother went to the girl's house and personally apologized for the boy's behavior.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

absence of need of a similar release from the boring and monotonous life of the women. Yet I noticed little in the behavior of village women to indicate they were overwhelmed by monotony or bored with life, though perhaps longer residence in the villages would have proved this observation false. Might one say that the culture does not fulfill its promise to the men, even though they are favored and catered to and that the drinking is the result of this disappointment? This neglects the fact that drinking is old in the culture and is almost always done in the company of others. If personal frustration and disappointment were the cause, one might expect more compulsive and solitary drinking and more alcoholism. 273 562 154

The sources of this distinction between the drinking men and the abstemious women, I think, lie in the values held by the culture. In the first place, sake drinking is age old in Japan, and probably in Okinawa as well. Drinking sake is associated with ceremonies, such as marriage, with religious observances, with social and public life. The public life of an official, a shopkeeper or business man, a farmer, a fisherman is not divorced from entertainment. Men have an outside life. In their dealings with other men, they are accustomed to drinking. Women do not have this outside life. They have inside duties of which the care of the children and of the house are the most important. Historically, the source of the abstemiousness of the women may be the obligations of being a mother, to be ready at all times to care and provide for or nurse her children, obligations considered incompatible with drinking. Women are expected to be polite, refined, and quiet. These ideals may be difficult to maintain in drinking. 273 562 181 [577]

At times a husband and wife may participate in social gatherings as a couple. These gatherings may either be (1) an informal, often casual, event when guests drop in and spend part of the evening, and (2) the formal affairs, such as a marriage, a birthday celebration, a holiday, an extended family reunion, or the observance of a death anniversary. On these occasions, the men occupy the first room, the women the second. The entertainment and conversations of the evening are for the most part governed by this segregation. 562 574

Though women are tolerant of drinking, domestic difficulties are often caused by the drinking of the men. Frequent drinking with its noise and late hours may result in family quarrels (fufukanka). Quarrels involving the wife and the husband's female relatives, especially the mother, are said to be uncommon. In the southern villages, the war did away with one cause of family quarrels. Men no longer go to the geisha quarter. There are naturally tensions coming out of individual antagonisms and dissatisfactions: the husband's mother who ignores her grandchild because she dislikes her daughter-in-law, pressure on a woman to produce children to satisfy the pride of the husband and of the grandparents, and failure to bear children, which usually leads to divorce initiated by the husband. Divorces, in these rural villages, were found to be uncommon.[5] 593 273 578 [586]

5 No reliable statistics could be found. These remarks and those in the next paragraph are based on personal observation, impressions and conversations.

593 The husband or father is not a tyrant. Nevertheless the wife is unlikely to challenge her husband directly on any important matter. If she is scolded, she may continue with her work in silence, ignoring her husband.

562 177 Women who have lived abroad in places like Hawaii or who have experienced the metropolitan life of Japanese cities are more likely to be dissatisfied. Occasionally one meets a woman who thinks this is a man's world (otoko no tenka) and that women should have more privileges than they now have. This attitude has been sharpened through American influences, directly by contact with American soldiers and civilians, indirectly by discussions which appear in Japanese periodicals of the life of American women. How widely this attitude exists is difficult to say, though I believe that at present (January 1952) it is not a strong force among women in the villages.

562 Though her place is at home, the woman is by no means removed from the wider aspects of village life. She may take an active part in the Women's Association. She may handle the family money or part of it. She may operate a little store to supplement her husband's income from the fields, or if she is a widow, to provide for her own support. She may participate in mutual loan groups. And she may be the head of a household.

8

Public Health

515 511 751 The people of the villages are conscious of health and sanitation, an awareness gained under the Japanese. This awareness and desire for cleanliness and sanitation meet major obstacles in the lack of running water, the distance to public baths, the expense and trouble (or both) of heating quantities of water, the cost of soap, the poorness of the outdoor toilets especially in the devastated areas.

An analysis of village health problems requires the specialized knowledge of the physician or doctor of public health. The observations of a layman however may have some interest.

511 364 The general sanitary conditions are not good. The weak spots are (1) Poor outdoor toilets and their haphazard location with relation to wells. (2) The dirty and smoky Okinawan kitchen. Many have dirt floors and little effort is made to keep them clean. The situation is better with the stone floor or cemented kitchen. Women complain about smoke smarting and injuring their eyes. All of the rooms of an Okinawan house, especially in winter, are likely to be very smoky around meal times. (3) Food preparation and dishwashing are often done in dirty surroundings. Foods are fried or boiled, and this is all to the good. In making tea, the water is seldom boiled; more often it is only brought to a boil or allowed to get hot.

543 these matters. In township exhibits of arts and crafts, there are evidences of these skills, such as the training of a chrysanthemum, a favorite choice, but these are not part of daily life.

532 Yet there is evidence of artistic talent and interest which teachers and parents encourage in the young. Okinawan children draw and copy well. It is not unusual to see an otherwise bare room of a [353] poor farmer's home decorated with the paintings or drawings of a son or daughter. While clearly the work of novices, they often show feeling for line and color. School buildings, houses, and landscapes are the favorite subjects. Drawing skills come as no surprise because of the close relationship, in countries using the Chinese character, 875 of calligraphy and art. Teachers of drawing and art in the schools 212 are skillful in rapid sketching, and part of this skill must be the result of early training in the sequence of strokes and in writing the Chinese character with confidence and boldness.

535 Dancing and samisen playing are learned by imitation and self-533 instruction. Music is learned by ear, the dancing by observing the old and skilled. Parents do not instruct their children in these arts; 868 they pick up the skill themselves. There are no village teachers nor do the schools teach native dances, songs, or samisen playing. (In recent years instruction books have been furnished when a samisen is [562] purchased). Samisen playing is a monopoly of the men, many of whom also have a repertoire of traditional dances. These performers are always in demand on social occasions. Both old and young men dance, but only the old women feel free to do so. Seeing a seventy or eighty year old grandmother dancing at a party is commonplace, but I have never seen a young girl or a young woman in her thirties doing this. (Young girls and young women may participate in formal dances in processions and on holidays). Among the younger people, there is considerable interest, but little facility in American dancing.

532 Hanging scrolls (kakemono) are often purchased by the villagers. But these are dashed off affairs, following Japanese art conventions, such as the jolly Japanese patron saint, tigers, the bamboo-plum blossom-cherry triad, and the turtle and the cormorant, etc.

181 One has the impression of latent talent in music, dancing, and drawing but that the cultural conditions have not been favorable to their development. Social events and parties are unthinkable without [533] singing, dancing, and samisen playing. Good drawing and calligraphy [535] are admired. But none of these seem to be highly developed folk arts. Possibly one reason is that the transmission of the skills has been [532] purely imitative, and that a body of knowledge has not accumulated in [868] books, organized teaching, or through apprenticeship and hereditary occupations by which ideas can be improved upon by wider dissemination. [369] The cultural isolation of rural villages may have prevented the building up of a tradition in art and handicraft. Naha and Shuri, the historical cultural centers, have produced the fine examples of lacquer ware, ceramics, and paintings. Possibly also Japanese repression of the native [636] culture has been the main reason. Whatever they are, the lack of advance-

3

Celebrations Through the Festival of the Fifth Month

796 The 15th day of the second lunar month (March 22, 1951) is the Buddhist holiday, higan, celebrating the spring equinox. Here it is a home festival of thanksgiving. Barley (ōmugi) or barley cakes
[262] with brown sugar are offered with prayers for continued good fortune. Other grains, such as rice, millet (awa) may be offered, though the cakes (muginochi) are of barley. In Matsuda, this is not a home ceremony. An offering of white rice cakes is made by the village
[193] head man, with the assistance of lower orders of the former priestess system, at the site of the village patron deity.

527 The third day of the third month is the festival of the dolls, (hinamatsuri). It is not important in Okinawa and is spottily ob-
[524] served. In Hinatogawa, it is a woman's holiday. Women and children
[562] make dolls. Gifts of dainties and candies in red lacquer boxes are prepared. People from nearby villages come to Hinatogawa, bring their lunches, and gather shells and catch fish.

The fifth day of the fifth month is Boy's Day. This Japanese holiday is not significant in the villages. There may be banners with a picture of a carp (koi no bori) displayed, visits to the place of the patron deity, some visiting and samisen playing, and perhaps a play.

527 The 14th day of the 5th month (June 18, 1951) is the festival of the Gods of the Sea and is observed only in Hinatogawa. It is
526 this village's greatest celebration. The boat race, held on this day, attracts many from the interior villages. In Hanashiro, most activity ceases while everyone goes to the boat races. Before the
[178] races, the villagers go to the religious sites to make small offerings
[182] and to pray. The races are held in the estuary of the river. In their excitement, children with infants on their back often wade out in the water to cheer their favorite boat.

796 The Festival of the Fifth Month (Gogatsumatsuri) is held on the 15th day of the 5th lunar month (June 19, 1951). Like the festival of the spring equinox, it is a day of thanksgiving. Thanks are given for rice
[193] instead of for barley. In Matsuda, the ceremony is conducted by the village head man and former members of the priestess system.[2]

[114] 2 According to a Matsuda informant, women should not sew on this day. It is a rest day. If work is done, including gathering
[825] plants for fertiliser, the dreaded poisonous snake, the habu, will come. These customs were not encountered in the other villages.

484 studied remarked on the discomfort of the rustic north. Many
[829] people in Matsuda thought the people of the northern district more honest than those of the south. This attitude is partly due to knowledge of crime in Naha. Direct or personal knowledge of other islands of the Ryukyus is exceptional. Few people know more than travelers' tales about Yaeyama, Miyako, or Amami.

● 562 Men are better informed about current events than the women.
Women do not participate so much in social life, nor do they read
521 so much. Conversations at small gatherings are often on a very serious level. A local antiquarian telling of vanished customs and conditions has a very attentive audience. So has a returned traveler
814 from Japan. These people have a sense of history, curiosity, and respect for knowledge and education.

3

Village Co-operation

621 One of the most important things to learn about a culture is
476 the nature of its co-operative endeavor. It is useful knowledge in understanding the transition zone between individual and family living and participation in community activities. In these communities, co-operation involves considering the relation of families resident in the village to one another, to their community organizations, and to local government. These relations are stronger than the tie of an individual to an extended family. The nature and the limitations of co-operation can best be described by pointing to examples from each of the villages.

In Hanashiro, mutual help is mainly found, as one might expect, among close and distant relatives of the same family of families related by marriage, who are living in the village. There are extended family ties, which may involve several villages, but this does not
[C19] mean that tasks are done co-operatively within the extended family. It is uncommon to go to another village to help a relative with his harvest or his housebuilding--and the distance would increase the unlikelihood. Immediate ties to friends, relatives, and neighbors are stronger than those to the more distant members of the extended family.

Within the village, organized co-operation is not conspicuous. Help is given in the form of labor not in money. There is no accounting on a reciprocity basis. At any harvest time--the rice harvest is usually the most urgent--a relative, neighbor or friend may help one day and receive the same aid on the following day. The whole village does not turn out to help each farmer in turn until the crops are in. This work is done by individuals or by very small groups. Since the nature and the amount of help is known and acknowledged, no bookkeeping is needed or desired. The closest approach to villagewide help to
[342] an individual family occurs in housebuilding. All residents of the

conduct of a local business of any size, employment in official and 555
semi-official organizations, and teaching require facility in reading 212
and writing Japanese, that is, the use of the Chinese character and
the two Japanese syllabaries, katakana and hiragana. It is true
that under the Japanese and the present system of education, everyone [872]
learns the characters. But after school is left behind, there must
be continued practice in reading and writing, or one's fund of
knowledge gradually disappears and he remembers only a few of the
simpler or more common characters. For responsible leadership, this
school vocabulary must at least be maintained. A village headman
today must hold his own in reading and writing. Reports have to be [622]
made to the township office. The frequent conferences and meetings
require note taking. Storm warnings may be received, correspondence
and simple record keeping are continual tasks. In one village, the
criticism made of the headman was that his knowledge of characters
was too elementary.

If a person has leisure, this makes him available for positions of 556
leadership. A poor farmer could not ordinarily accept the position 622
of village headman except at a great sacrifice. Public duties, even
in a small village like Hanashiro, require that a headman be on call
most of the time for meetings, or to hear personal problems and com-
plaints of the villagers. It is significant that the former village
headman of Hanashiro and the current headman of Hatsuda both are
operators of rice mills and do not have the exacting dawn to dusk
duties of a farmer. In Hanashiro and Nagamo, the present headmen
are operating farmers who are able to combine their private and public
duties, but both places are small. The headman of Hinatogawa, a
fisherman, has had to forego many fishing trips because his duties
kept him in the village.

Leadership is also assumed by those who have had foreign experience, 559
either in the Japanese administrative hierarchy abroad or simply through 484
foreign residence. These people generally have a broader point of view
and know more.

The last factor is age. It is often thought that village life in 554
Oriental countries under the family system is dominated by the older 561
and respected males. It is true that the opinion of retired elders is
sought for and respected, but not merely because of age. In addition,
there may be a life of successful farming, teaching, office holding,
possibly a combination of these, behind them. Leadership comes from
young men too, usually the result of experience in the young men's
association. Energetic leadership, often accompanied by organizational
ability, is noticeable in the age group from about 24 to 27. Women [562] ●
have fewer opportunities but can show their abilities in their work in
the Women's Association.

Village leadership rests both on the respected elders and the 554
promising young men, on those who have kept and increased their skill
in language, who have occupations that relieve them from the unremitting

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

873 [368]

Hanashiro the children take the short walk to primary and junior high school at Oushichan village; for senior high school they go to Chinen, 5 or 6 miles away. Most of them walk. Matsuda has an elementary school with the junior and senior high schools at Ginoza village, about 1 1/2 miles away. In senior high school, there is more specialization. The general science course is divided into physics (butsuri), chemistry (kagaku), and biology (seibutsu). Mathematics is split up into geometry (kika) and algebra (daitsu). There is further instruction in agriculture for the boys, some for the girls. The girls continue with domestic science, including sewing.

In the secondary schools, vocational education is well represented in the curriculum. The courses are planned as a preparation for the type of work students will do as adults in a village. The instructors seem competent although the subject matter does not include modern advances. There should not, in my opinion, be a further growth in vocational at the expense of general education, except after careful study of long term requirements. The great masses of people will continue to depend on agriculture, forestry, and to some extent on fishing for their existence, and vocational education should be built around a recognition of these facts. It should concentrate on supplying new knowledge related to these main fields. [875] 114

New technical skills that we desire to develop should be governed by these considerations: (1) the improvement of agriculture, forestry, and fishing. (2) The long range plans of the military and civil administration and the skills they will require. (3) New skills that will be needed with any development of foreign trade or of local industrialization.

Vocational education also should be developed along lines consistent with the type of professional training we are prepared to encourage. If biologists, botanists, agriculturalists, soil scientists, foresters, statisticians, social scientists are being trained, vocational and technical education should also follow along these general lines to create a source both of initial interest and of possible technicians to assist the professional workers. This would also apply to the public health fields, such as nurses' aides, midwives, laboratory technicians.

The distinguishing feature of the new education (shinkyoiku) is the introduction of democratic ideas (minshushugi). The status of girl students and of women teachers has also changed. Before the war, the children were taught in the same room, but the boys and girls were separated. Now there is no segregation. Women teachers' salaries, formerly about 20% less than the mens', are now the same. 871 [562] [875]

3

Schools and the Teacher

358

There is much more to a school day than actual instruction. The

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

Introduction

The study of religious ideas in Okinawa quickly involves one in a quagmire of beliefs, formal observances, and conventions, of various origins, often grafted on one another, so that it is almost impossible to disentangle them. There is a vagueness among the people, a lack of distinctions among various types of belief, and this makes the analysis even more uncertain and subject to error. When after death, for example, does the deceased become a god (hotoke-sama) in the Buddhist pantheon? At the end of the 49th day when the temporary white tablets are burned and replaced by the permanent red ones? Or at the end of the 33rd year when the dead person is no longer mourned, and the anniversary of his death no longer observed? And is he regarded as a god in the Buddhist pantheon or simply as a god? I was unable to find satisfactory answers to these questions. 771 128

Religious beliefs, such as ancestor worship, are closely related to the underlying ideas of the family system. Praying to the ancestors at the god shelf ties Buddhism in with the family system, but worship at the Buddhist alter and the god shelf would, if accepted at its face value, give an erroneous idea of the vitality of Buddhism and the degree to which it has become a religion of the people.

The student of these matters must also make certain that this vagueness and mixing of religious belief is an actuality and does not arise out of faulty comprehension. I became convinced, however, that the vagueness, the compounding of beliefs from different sources, the uncertainty are realities, and this point of view was later reinforced in reading the works of students of an earlier age.

There is a noticeably sharp cleavage in belief between the old and the young, with the dividing line around the age of 55. Furthermore, among the old, it is the women who believe and worship. The old men are much less serious, and, except for the few antiquarians, are much more poorly informed. 771 184

2

Contemporary Religious Beliefs

The religious tradition of Okinawa is a feminine one. Women appear in the creation myth as the practitioners of religion. The priestess (noro) system became an institutionalized religion in the early 16th century. From that time until the very recent past, the priestesses have been strong and influential because, for one thing, they had property and the economic power that accompanied its possession. These priestesses have now largely disappeared. But women remain the chief repositories of religious knowledge and belief. 771 773 793 [562]

The group sat in a circle. The priestess occupied the highest spot, her female assistants somewhat lower places, and the men, for once, in the lowest position. The priestess, her women and the male entourage held public worship on the 15th day of the 5th, the 15th and 16th day of the 6th, and the 10th day of the 8th lunar months. On these days there were prayers for good crops, for freedom from disasters and typhoon damage. On the 10th day of the 8th month, there were special prayers that neither diseases nor epidemics enter Hatsuda. These three periods may be rest days on which the villagers may assemble at the place where the prayers are being offered. Because there is no priestess, these ceremonies are now conducted by former assistants. The meetings are attended by fewer and fewer people and the ceremonies may disappear altogether. 793 796 [782]

6

Gods of the Fire, Wells, and Sacred Groves

There are also other forms of worship which still survive. These are (1) the god of fire (hi no kami), (2) spirits of the sea, of wells, springs, and groves, and (3) types of fortune telling which blend into religious belief. 776 [787]

Gods of the Fire. In every Okinawan kitchen, there is a place above the stove or hearth dedicated to the kitchen or the fire god. There is no image or personification of the god. Usually the place is a very small shelf on which charcoal sticks are burned for the god of the hearth. This is done by women exclusively. The women may light the sticks daily, but it is more usual for the housewife to perform the observance on the 1st and 15th of the lunar month. This was true of all the villages, and I have never seen a kitchen which lacked a place for the fire god.[7] 776 778 372 782 [562]

Gods of the Well (ido no kami). In Hanashiro, prayers are offered in front of the two public wells on lunar New Year. The whole village does not participate. Two or three older men from each extended family perform the rite. The gods of the well are told that the villagers need water; they are thanked for what they have had, and asked to continue to furnish a plentiful supply. 776 778 796

7 The Shinto god shelf (kamidana) is extremely rare. In my observation, it was present only in the homes of Okinawans who had lived in Japan. One in Hatsuda, located in the first room, had two shelves, on both of which a small urn for burning incense sticks was placed between two flower vases. The place on the left represents the founder, the one on the right, his immediate descendant. The family prays to the Shinto god on the 1st and 15th of the lunar month. The husband and wife pray first, followed by the children. A rice offering is placed on the shelf. On it there was a small figurine of the fox god (inari-san) and a mirror, both Shinto symbols. 177 189

592 Table 1 shows the composition of 60 households in central Taira. It
[727] is probable that the effects of war dislocation have increased the number of nuclear households and account for at least one of the matrilocal extended households. Some of the fragmentary households, classed as nuclear, consist of just a widow or widower and an unmarried son or daughter.

Table 1 Household Composition in Central Taira

Total population	328
Number of households	60
Nuclear households	36
Patrilineal extended households * (3 generations)	18
Matrilocal extended households	4
Not classified	2

* In households classified as extended, grandparents of the youngest generation present are distributed as follows: grandmothers 14, grandfathers 4, both grandparents 4.

593 Relationships and status within the household are ordered accord-
554 ing to generation, age, and sex. As will be discussed later, the status of
[562] women in general is high. High status of males, especially the first-born male in the family, must be considered as representing an ideal which is not reflected too distinctly in day-by-day interpersonal relationships, although birth order and sex are significant in ancestor worship and in representation of households. Ideally the younger generation members defer to the older people. Normal behavior, however, more frequently reflects a warm, personal relationship that, although not devoid of respect, tends to minimize differences and stress familiarity rather than distance.

613 Besides his membership in a household, the individual is part of a larger descent group, a "main house" in which all the members are related through the male line. Most of the "main houses" in the village trace descent to the founder of Taira. They represent three old lineages. The remaining belong to two more recent and unrelated lineages.

The houses of older and younger sons are distinguished, the term "stem" referring to the house of the founder and the descending line of his oldest sons and the term "branch" to those of younger sons who have set up separate households in the village or elsewhere. Through

602 on one's mother's side and, after marriage, the wife's family. In seek-
476 ing mutual assistance for rice planting, house building and other undertakings, such relatives may be approached. In other words, kin, neighbors, and members of the same geographical section of the village participate almost equally in mutual assistance groups. Maternal relatives join in family celebrations and in the discussion of family matters. Since many decisions are made jointly with the help of relatives, there are frequent occasions for the kindred to gather in the evening at one house or another.

561 Each Okinawan also belongs to an age group. As will be described in the section on socialization, beginning at kindergarten an Okinawan becomes associated with a group of boys and girls who will remain his
575 companions through school. As a member of junior high school he
653 will join the formal Student's Association, which is responsible for certain community projects. High school students and all unmarried young adults belong to the Young People's Association, which is both a social group and a cooperative work group.

575 After marriage there are several associations which one may join.
185 Adult married women who are under 57 belong to the Women's Asso-
[562] ciation, which is affiliated with an island organization dedicated to "modernizing" women's lives. The organization is lead by a few women who are in contact with the district and island organization. They attempt at semisocial gatherings to introduce changes aimed at easing
[262] the burdens of daily life and the pressure of poverty. For example, they are trying to influence the women to return to making their own bean paste rather than spending precious cash. The leaders show the women how to make bean paste and encourage them to set aside one work-free day a month to catch up with neglected housework. Many of the efforts of the organization, however, are not too successful. Most women go back to their homes and find that the accustomed ways are easier to follow. One has learned to live with economic pressures and tradition and established custom is a strong force. So the few forward-looking women have a difficult task in rallying others.

Both adult married males and females may also join an organization similar in objective—the Home Improvement group. Although the men who are village leaders belong to this association, the majority of the members are the same women who are leaders in the Women's Association.

575 Before World War II there was an association of older men.* Al-
887 though this group seldom, if ever, meets, it still sends a representative
623 to the village council and to a few village functions.

* Apparently of relatively recent origin.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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Both adult men and women also belong to mutual assistance groups, mutual loan associations, and to the work groups described in Chapter 3. All individuals between 16 and 57 are expected to cooperate in community work projects. All households are members of the village cooperative. Since most villagers look to the cooperative for help in improving their economic conditions, this draws them together in a familial way. 571 [653] [474]

It will be noted that age and marital status are prerequisites for membership in most of these associations and that only one is exclusively for women and one exclusively for men. 575

Taira culture is essentially egalitarian. Personal status is not ascribed by membership in social classes or achieved by the accumulation of wealth. Furthermore, although power and respect are the attributes of certain village offices, such as headman and school teacher, these only give rank *ex officio*. An ex-headman has no higher status than one who has never held such an office. 554

There are factors, however, which do differentiate Tairans as to personal status. Men have somewhat more power and command more respect than women; adults must be addressed respectfully by children; older siblings have more authority and privileges than younger; and in recent years the educated are somewhat more respected and are more likely to be chosen to hold office than those with the minimum required amount of schooling. And since education often leads to better jobs, greater wealth is sometimes associated with status, though not a necessary prerequisite. [562]

The status of women in Okinawa, although, ideally, inferior to that of men, is in reality relatively high. Many cultural forms are based on the principal of male superiority, which Japanese values tend to reinforce, but there are numerous indications in daily life that women command a comparatively high degree of respect and power. It is difficult to assess to what degree status differences have been influenced by contact with Japanese; the importance of women in religious affairs suggest their higher status prior to the introduction of the Japanese school system in Taira. 554 562 177

As will be discussed in the chapter on religion, although the veneration of one's father's ancestors is the core of one part of Okinawan religion, the ceremonies are run by the women. The oldest male of each main house and the household head in each household are nominally responsible for keeping the tablets of the ancestors on his house shrine, but the actual upkeep of this ancestral shelf and the bimonthly offerings are performed by the women. If no direct male descendant is available to keep the ancestral tablets, a widowed woman retains them 769 782 562

782 in her house until a male can assume the responsibility for them. The
562 propitiation of the natural deities is lead by the village priestess—and
[769] she is assisted by a group of women.

Taira women are essential to the financial well-being of the family.
562 Their role in both agriculture and lumbering is equal to that of the
462 men. Since there are few kinds of work which women cannot do and
592 do not engage in, a widow or single woman, although handicapped, can
[589] support herself and her family. Several women, whose husbands died during World War II or who have been divorced, support themselves and their children. One Taira woman supported her four children while her husband left for Japan to help a sick brother. She worked the household fields and sold fish. Her husband, who was expected to return after three weeks, remained away for six months. Once or twice he wrote his family to ask for money; his wife and sister obliged. Even old women remain active members of the family. They contribute to the household economy by working in the potato fields, cutting firewood, and doing other useful work around the house.

593 Such economic independence gives women a place in the family
562 which cannot easily be challenged by a male who theoretically can
[462] claim preferential treatment. Perhaps a man is more dependent on his wife than she is on him. Men never cook. They expect the womenfolk to look after house affairs. A wife, although she does not usually own the land on which she works, has the same rights as her husband to the village forest lands. There she cuts firewood like the men, cooperating with the husband in preparing it for sale. Most of all, pig raising is her concern, and this gives her an important hold on the purse strings.

There is no uniform rule as to who keeps the money in the family. In some households the husband takes care of all financial matters and hands over small sums of money to the wife for daily use. In these
[156] families it is either found that the wife does not contribute heavily to subsistence or that she is from another village and is somewhat intimidated by her husband and unable to find security in having relatives close by. Such women are meek or at least restrained and solicitous of their husbands.

There are numerous cases, however, in which women handle all money affairs. In one such home the husband is a township official. His wife, although from a distant village, is a forceful character and follows economic pursuits independent of her husband. He is glad to let his wife handle finances, although he retains ultimate control over them. The more common situation, however, is almost equal responsibility in economic matters between the sexes. Where this is the case,

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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the wife takes charge of household funds while her husband controls larger spendings. 593 562

Many quarrels between couples originate from financial matters. Disagreements happen frequently when a husband returns home intoxicated late at night. His wife may blame him for using money which she has put aside for a special purchase; from this incident the argument turns to family finances in general. As words become more heated, the woman holds her own, telling her husband in no uncertain terms that he is a squanderer. Some husbands settle such an argument by hitting their wives. [273] [578]

Decisions are seldom made by one person in the family. The more important the issue involved, the more people within the family are consulted. A husband and wife may discuss whether to buy or sell a pig and make a joint decision. They also decide mutually on the buying of seed rice and other agricultural matters. Men concern themselves with the building of new structures or the addition to old ones. On the other hand, women make decisions affecting the daily life of children. They determine if a child needs new clothes, if he should be taken to the doctor, or accompany the mother on a shopping trip to the city. Some fathers take an interest in their children's study habits and accomplishments at school, but few are consistent in supervising their children in this respect. Here, too, mothers seem to have a much greater influence. Girls are likely to receive even less attention from their fathers than boys. In cases of decisions that can vitally affect the future of the whole household, members of the husband's and wife's family, if they live in the village, gather to discuss plans. 593 [602]

Although women are less active politically than men, they participate in village meetings as representatives for their families. With the exception of the Women's Association leaders, their participation is more passive than that of the men. But although they seldom speak in public and sit together at the back of the meeting, women nevertheless exert a great deal of influence on community affairs. Their influence is felt even more in meetings of mutual finance associations. 575 562 623

It is unlikely at this point that a woman in the village would run for political office. Several recent developments, however, indicate a steady increase in their political participation. The headman who was elected to office in 1955 is responsible for an innovation which reflects this trend. He selected his clerk by means of a competitive examination which was open to both young men and young women. Two girls who had graduated from high school were among the candidates. They were defeated by a young man to whom the job was given because of 562 666

562 666 his high score. Under American influence, universal suffrage and equal representation have been introduced and formally adopted in some village affairs, although the household head vote—traditionally mostly male—is still maintained in many cases.

562 575 The Women's Association is the main force behind the attempts to give women greater equality. The spokesmen for this group do not proclaim equality for women as such as the important goal but express hopes that women's life can be made easier by reducing their work load and providing more conveniences for them, such as better stoves. Attempts are made to give a woman more time to spend at home instead of in forests or fields and to reduce the expenses involved in preparing for holidays and special celebrations. The opinions of the Women's Association carry weight in village affairs. This, as one old woman pointed out, is a considerable change from earlier times. There had been a Women's Association before the war, but [623] women were still barred from participation in village meetings at that time, and the only place where they could make themselves heard in village matters was at the meeting of the individuals required to do periodic labor for the village.

562 527 575 [177] The situation at the time of fieldwork with regard to the attempts of women to gain more recognition and the role which men play in this respect is illustrated by a celebration of Mother's Day—an event which came to Taira quite recently from the outside. The women decided to observe it by taking off from their daily duties during the afternoon. The Women's Association made all arrangements, so that it was not a day dedicated by children or adult men to the mothers, but a day that the mothers celebrated themselves. Nevertheless, for the meeting at the old warehouse, where mats had been spread and food prepared, there were also tables arranged for the male village officials, such as the headman, village council members, and the policeman. They started the affair by treating the women to a few speeches in which the importance of motherhood was eulogized by such observations as: "A man can be great only if he has a mother who is making him great," and (from the policeman): "Mothers are an important factor in preventing juvenile delinquency." After this initial hour-long introduction, the leader of the Women's Association declared that festivities could now begin and that she "did not care how much sake the women drank as long as they were happy on this day." The children, who had been told by their teachers to help their mothers on this day by cleaning house and freeing them from some of their chores, gathered near the building, received some feast food and played as usual, and men—with the exception of the invited officials—worked

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as usual. It was an affair organized by the women leaders, which, though 562
a little slow in starting, turned into a gay carousing for the older 575
women, who were less inhibited than the younger ones and needed [888]
little encouragement to drink and dance.

The daily life of a woman is more monotonous than her husband's 562
and she has less leisure and recreation. After a day of hard work, men 512
sit down alone or in groups to spend the evening in relaxation with a [273]
bottle of sake. After a short time they show signs of pleasant intoxication and all burdens of life seem to disappear. Such recourse to carefree diversion is generally denied women. Instead, they are loaded down with household chores and care of infants and guests after a day of work in fields and forests. They spend their little free time exchanging news with other women or talking with other family members or visitors who assemble around the charcoal fire in the back room during [273]
winter evenings. Only women of advanced age feel free to join the men [888]
in drinking at home.

Men have greater sexual freedom. They are at liberty to have affairs 562
with other women outside the village and on trips to the city may 837
visit tea houses and afterwards enjoy the favors of a prostitute if their pocket books allow.

Status differences based on age are reflected in the social structure 561
and clearly denoted in the kinship terms. There is a special term of 554
reference and address for "first son" and "first daughter" and for 593
"older brother" and "older sister." As mentioned, ideally the oldest son assumes responsibility for the household, for his parents, and for the ancestral tablets. Even if he leaves his parental home temporarily or permanently for the city, where economic prospects are better, he remains the nominal household head and sends money back to his family. Theoretically the oldest male may retain authority until death, 887
although in practice most men retire from this position at the age of 561
61. Their retirement is made official by an entry in the population 554
registry. They continue to live with their oldest son and act as advisors [596]
and critics. A man's loss of authority with age occurs around his late fifties and early sixties and is evidenced not only by his retirement but also by his loss of the right to vote in village meetings. Veneration for age itself therefore, does not exist. Actual behavior toward the grand- [576]
parental generation, all the members of which are addressed as "grandmother" or "grandfather" regardless of actual kinship, is warm, mildly playful, and indulgent. Disrespect, however, is absent.

It is characteristic of the relationship between children and grand- 603
mothers that in addressing nonrelated old women, the suffix *-san*, 601
which denotes respect, is most often dropped for the "grandmother"

582 than one would expect, and we may conclude that the oldest son ex-
[593] planation does not hold for Taira.*

Table 2 Marriage Statistics for Central Taira

1. Age of men and women at first marriage
Total cases: 59
For the period: 1904–1953

AGE OF MARRIAGE	MEN	WOMEN
16	—	2
17	—	2
18	2	4
19	4	4
20	5	11
21	4	3
22	10	5
23	3	8
24	7	3
25	2	4
26	2	1
27	3	2
28	4	2
29	1	3
30	2	—
31	1	—
32	—	—
33	—	1
34	—	1
35	1	—
36	—	—
37	1	—
38	1	—
39	—	—
40	1	—
Not listed	5	3

584 In the old days, apparently, there were many gay and unrestrained
178 courtships of men and women on the beach after dark. During our fieldwork we did not observe open courtship. The expression of affec-

* Unfortunately, we did not recognize the large number of these cases while in the field; hence we failed to ask informants for their explanations and rationalizations. The age reversal[1] tends to underscore the relatively high status of women vis-a-vis men and may be instrumental in perpetuating it.
[562]

1 [i.e. where wives are older than their husbands - ANALYST]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

tion between couples is not seen in public. Men and women are teased by the community if they are seen standing and talking together. One or several boys teasing a girl would be the boldest advance seen in public. Although, even at night, we never observed couples pairing off in or near the village, we were told that a boy and a girl would arrange private meetings. It is our impression that there is more self-consciousness about love-making than there used to be. 584 178

Although there is little occasion for intimacy between a couple during times when other villagers are around, young men and women associate frequently in larger groups during the week in community-wide activities of the Young People's Association. During the many hours which are spent in club meetings, work projects, and other social activities, there is a comraderie between young men and women which effectively neutralizes the formal social distance that is maintained in the traditionally separate seating arrangements. There is, nevertheless, a certain embarrassment and almost clumsy behavior of young men toward the better poised and adroit girls, at least in the presence of strangers like ourselves. 584 575

Young men may seek intimacies with girls of other villages, but in doing so they risk the ire of the young men there. It is also possible that a Taira girl agrees to an intimate relationship with someone in another village where she may feel safer from detection. Young men are more likely to seek a girl with whom an arrangement for a meeting away from her home can be made. The girl, of course, suffers public disapproval if the couple is detected, while a man is not subject to the same criticism. In contrast to girls, men have many more opportunities for sexual relationships without public censure. 584 836 562

Sexual attraction does not seem decisive in selecting a mate for marriage, although beauty is appreciated in a woman with long, black hair, a dark arched eyebrow, fair skin, a prominent nose, small mouth, and large eyes. Younger people are beginning to adopt some of the American standards of beauty, which are introduced through movies and magazines via Japan. Although the concept of romantic love is gaining in popularity, arranged marriages still outnumber love marriages in Taira. Even if a young man and woman reach an agreement about marriage, there follows a formal arrangement by their parents with the help of go-betweens, a trusted neighbor or a friendly couple, or a person who commands status and respect. If a man or his family are interested in arranging a marriage with a girl, the go-between notifies her family. Eventually word will reach the girl. If the suitor has not previously indicated his interest to the girl, she may voice her feelings and wishes to her mother, father, or to some other relative. If 581 584 826 177 831 584

like "owners" of the concrete objects which they inhabit. These objects can be made subservient to human needs if care is taken not to offend the deities. As long as proper ritual observances are performed, humans need not fear their hostility. They are addressed in prayers and chants, and people make offerings to them at several ceremonies during the year. No one in Taira, including the priestess, has any exact knowledge about their characteristics, and there is no theological dogma, but people know that when building a house, for example, one must announce his intention to the deities and pacify these spirits who have been carried with the lumber from the mountains or with gravel from the beach and the sea. They must be thanked for letting the builder use such materials and sent back to their natural abode. Before the house is finished, the surrounding plot of land must be cleared of all evil spirits. Neglect of such ceremonies can turn supernatural beings into adversaries. One family who neglected proper rituals on their house lot when they built their home tried to appease angry deities by holding a ceremony a year after the house was finished because bad luck had befallen members of the household. Although most supernatural beings can be pacified by proper observance of rituals, there are some who are inherently malevolent. These ogres may be seen in the form of fire balls or in some other shape or physical appearance.

The worship of these nature deities and the observance of ceremonies in their behalf are in the hands of the high priestess and her female assistants. In former times each main house, later each village, had its own priestess. The present high priestess in Taira derives her office from a much later institution, a nation-wide hierarchy of religious officials established by the Okinawan king in an effort to combine religion with political influence and supervision in the villages. Today the high priestess has no association with the central government; the Japanese abolished the system. The hierarchy of female religious officials (see Lebra: 1958), those representing main houses, and the chief village priestess is no longer clearly delineated in Taira, since representatives of several offices have left the island or died, and the vacancies have not been filled. The high priestess has taken over most of the religious functions. Her chief assistants are older women from the two main houses. While these three women officiate, several other women are in attendance as helpers. In spite of the diminishing role of animistic religion in the daily life of younger people, the high priestess still enjoys prestige in the community. She is exempted from communal labor in recognition of her status.

The present high priestess is a woman in her fifties who works and

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

 775

ple did not carry it through the streets but along the shore to a spot 784
nearby where the car could pull up.

Communication with ancestral or family spirits lies in the hands of [766]
individual households or the larger kin group. In general, as with the 782
nature deities, women maintain the relationship. The oldest woman 794
in the house prays and makes offerings in front of the divine shelf or by 769
the tombs. Sometimes the high priestess, whose only regular role in the [562]
cult of ancestors centers around the mythical founder of the village
to whom vague references are made, is asked to conduct a special [793]
prayer for a family at its ancestral shrine. Such invitations are usually
the result of consultation with another religious practitioner to whom [756]
one turns in case of misfortune.*

Those who are considering a special undertaking, such as building a 791
new house or moving to another one, or transporting ancestral tablets
from one home shrine to another, seek the advice of a diviner, the [342]
sanjinsō or *yekisha*. This expert, always a man, consults books on the
workings of the universe, special astrological calendars from which he
can predict events by using a horoscope calculated on the birth date of
the person seeking advice.

Although it would seem from the attendance at ceremonies that 771
older people, mostly women, are the supporters of religion, even the 182
most modern of the Tairans seem to share beliefs in the power of the
supernatural forces and are loath to make an open break with traditions. One may verbalize that the old religion is just "superstition," but when it comes to dealing with adverse events, when somebody suggests that perhaps the *yuta* should be consulted, or a special offering is in order, or when the old special wine of the gods is prepared from rice for Boat Race Day, then many of the apparent apostates cooperate. To some extent this is done to appease the older people, but fear of neglecting duties, especially toward ancestors, is probably much stronger in general than people's behavior would suggest. Religious in- [621]
fluence, then, which controlled so many facets of village life in former days, still acts as a strong force in uniting the members of families and descent groups as well as in binding together the community as a unit separate from other communities.

* See Chapter 9 for description of the *yuta* or shaman.

574 for their special skills on the samisen (a three-stringed banjolike in-
533 strument covered with snake hide), open the singing and dancing with
the first, traditional song, *Kagiyadefu*, a solemn and slow piece which
[534] is rendered in the forced, nasal voice peculiar to Okinawan song. Im-
574 mediately after this, the tempo changes, the music takes a fast, stirring
beat, and the first dancer, a man, gets up. Dances at social events can
535 be performed by a single man or a woman, or by several dancers of
either sex, but traditional group dances are done by women only. Taira
people like to dance some of the many Okinawan dances in which a
story, sung by the vocalists, is acted out. For example, a popular dance
deals with a fisherman and his catch. A hat, hastily put on, and a basket
under the arm suggest the role of the dancer, his body and hand move-
ments the actions. No one is much concerned with accurate or highly
artistic rendition of these familiar dances; many performances become
simply improvisations in which one male dancer is joined by other men
or women who, dancing freely, add their own versions to established
movements. There is much applause and laughter from the audience
around the dance floor, which sings and animatedly claps hands in
rhythm to the music. As all, men and older women, imbibe more sake,
they become gayer, and more talents are unleashed. Amusing presenta-
[831] tions of a husband and wife, in which sometimes aggression and sexual
interaction are acted out playfully, are received with great hilarity by
the audience. If such a suggestive performance is given by an old
woman and a young man, it seems to appear even funnier. As they get
tired, dancers leave the floor, making room for others.

● [562] Not everybody participates with equal lack of restraint. Younger
[273] women do not drink sake and show much more inhibition; they dance
established versions of Okinawan dances in group performances if
called on, usually before the merrymakers take over. Often a mother,
young child in arm, cannot resist. Passing the infant to a relative or a
girl sitting nearby, she joins other dancers and becomes carried away
by the spirit of the event. On one occasion a young woman, seeing her
aged mother display her talents on the dance floor in comical move-
ments to the delight of everybody, angrily demanded that she come
home right away, only to be rejoined with a taunting remark by the
old lady, who defiantly swallowed some more sake and continued her
entertainment.

527 Not a single event that we attended was marred by any serious un-
273 pleasantness. No guest was ever seen to become sick, although some
578 men drank themselves into a stupor. Here and there a paper screen may
be broken as a result of a tumbling body, or a hard bang against a
574 thin panel may set the house shaking. But the end of such a feast

Both boys and girls are charged with taking care of a younger child, but when possible, boys try to escape this duty by "making a deal" with their sisters. Girls are therefore more frequently seen caring for younger siblings, but when there are no older girls in the family, a boy must assume this responsibility. Often the novelty of having a tiny infant in the home, for instance, the first girl among several boys, causes older boys to volunteer carrying the infant. On the whole, boys are as reliable caretakers as girls. 855 857

The child on the back finds his child caretaker far less sympathetic and indulgent than mother and grandmother and more literal in applying rules of behavior. Young caretakers, under threat of severe punishment, tend to enforce stringently the rules of safety and permit a much narrower latitude with respect to obedience. Boys are inclined to give expression to their impatience with a younger one more easily than girls; nevertheless, a child taking care of a younger one knows that nurturant behavior toward his charge is a virtue, and failure to show indulgence and sympathy toward the little one is subject to severe reprimands by adults. Although a small child may be left with an older sibling for several hours, the older one knows where to find his mother or grandmother in case of a crisis. When the child on the back cannot be put to sleep by the rocking of his carrier, and indicates persistent discomfort by continued crying, the child caretaker knows that the limits of his competence have been reached.

There is some evidence that the young child-rearing agent follows the example of adults in deferring and giving preferential treatment to males A young caretaker often seems to show more tolerance toward a little boy charge than toward a girl. [858] [562]

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♣
♣

Chapter 17

Latency

By the time a child finishes first grade, he has achieved full membership in the elementary schoolchildren group (age 8 to 12). His associations with kindergarten children are no longer as prevailing or 857 561

CHAPTER V: FAMILY LIFE

W. P. Suttles

1. Kinship Organization

342 The Household and the Family Okinawan homes, both in the country and in the towns, show a surprising uniformity in struc-
[183] ture, in floor plan, and even in orientation. This uniformity reflects the stability of society and at the same time reenforces it. The home of the
[361] Okinawan farmer usually faces south; indeed the older villages as a whole were established on southward-facing slopes.

The house consists of two main rooms separated by sliding doors, a long and narrow back room behind the two front rooms, and a kitchen to one side, usually the west. The measurements are usually in multiples of three feet (the Japanese foot being almost identical with the English foot); the two main rooms are usually the same size, 9 by 9 or 12 by 12 feet, and the others are somewhat smaller. The roofs of most houses are thatched with "kaya", but people who can afford it have wholly or partly tiled roofs. The roof of the kitchen may have a separate peak and ridgepole from that of the main part of the house. Usually the roof of the main part of the house extends beyond the front rooms so that there is a narrow veranda across the front and halfway around the side opposite the kitchen. The house usually has no windows. The kitchen has an outside door and the front rooms have sliding doors all the way around under the veranda; these are usually open except at night or during bad weather.

The main part of the house has a floor of boards but the kitchen often has only an earth floor or else consists of two sections, one floored and one not. The kitchen is thus usually lower than the main part of the house and is referred to as "below" while the main part is "above", but this also implies a difference in status. The room farthest from the kitchen is called the "first room" and the middle room is the "second room". The back room may be
353 a single long room or may be divided into two. At the back of the kitchen is
[354] the oven, usually made of earth or bricks with two or three holes for pots and pans to fit into. At the back of the second room, if the house is a "main house"---that of an eldest son, is the tootoomee (J. 'butsudan'), a cabinet for the ancestral tablets. At the back of the first room there is often an alcove containing a scroll and perhaps a family treasure; this is the u-tuku (J. 'tokonoma').

In the homes of more prosperous families the floors of the front rooms are permanently covered with "tatami", the thick mats used by the Japanese, but in most homes the only mats are the thinner mushiru, which are spread out
352 only when needed. Furniture is simple; the mushiru are the equivalent of chairs
[354] and beds; a low table may be brought out to put food upon at meal-time and a pot of burning charcoal may be brought out in cold weather for a little heat. Usually one sees only a basket of teacups and a tobacco-box. On formal ocas-
592 sions the men sit in the first room and the women in the second, but usually
562 the partition is removed and the family simply lives in the whole space.

789 transmitted with the headship of the house. The head of the house, or his
592 wife or mother, has the responsibility of making offerings to them on the proper occasions. On certain occasions representatives of the houses that have branched from a main house come to worship before the tablets in it.

[171] Inheritance and Adoption Inheritance has two aspects, legal and customary. According to Japanese law the headship of a house should pass from a man to his first son or if the first is dead to his second or subsequent son, or in the event that there are no sons or that they are minors, it may pass to his wife. The headship is registered in the koseki. According to Japanese law if a man has no son but a daughter, he may adopt a son-in-law who then becomes his heir and succeeds him to the headship of the house.

In Okinawan custom headship of the house means responsibility for the tablet of the last head and the other tablets that go with it. A woman can [562] do no more than care for the tablets until another male succeeds the last. Moreover, an adopted son-in-law cannot care permanently for the tablets of a man to whom he is not related. Ultimately for every man who lacks a son a male must be found who is a blood relative in the male line. Only such a person can succeed him, that is, care for his tablets after his death and beget descendants who can rightfully care for his tablets. Therefore the man with-
[597] out sons tries to adopt as his heir the second or later son of one of his brothers or of a cousin related through males. If a man dies without an heir one may be adopted posthumously for him. The tablet of a boy who has died unmarried may be kept for a whole generation in a brother's house, until one of the brother's sons or grandsons can become the "adopted son" of the deceased. He then establishes a branch house, which takes the house name the deceased would have had, and becomes custodian of the tablet.

614 The Larger Kin Group: Structure and Variation Every Okinawan family belongs to larger kinship group and often these larger units belong to still larger units. Such a unit consists of a group of families the male heads of which are or believe themselves to be related in the male line. The size and composition of these groups and the terms used for them vary somewhat.[1]

In Shimajiri among the descendants of the peasant class the larger kin group is called the munchu (in Japanese 'munchū', "within the gate"). It may consist of dozens or even hundreds of families living in several villages and with a total membership of several thousands. The munchu usually takes its name from the house-name of the main house. If it has spread to several villages its members in any one village may be referred to as the so-and-so munchu of that village. Or, as often is the case, the members of a certain munchu in one village may be all branch houses of one main house of that munchu for the village and this house will have been founded according to tradition by the second son or the third son of the founder of the main house of the larger unit, which is elsewhere; in this case the local branch will be called the jinan-bara, "second-son belly", or sannan-bara, "third-son belly",

[1] The statements made in this section are based on information obtained from informants. However, I have also consulted Watanabe, 1947.

It will be seen that for males membership in the common descent group is reckoned strictly patrilineally and this membership is permanent. The status of women is less clear. A woman before marriage worships at the ancestral tablets and tomb of her father's family and lineage. If she dies she is buried in his tomb. After her marriage a woman worships at her husband's tomb, where she will be buried, and if he is an eldest son she knows she will ultimately have the responsibility of preparing the offerings put before his family's tablets; but at the same time she continues to worship at the u-machii before the tablets at the main house of her father's group. She may be called upon to contribute to the fund raised by her father's group for ceremonial expenses. And she may even function as a kaminchu for it. A woman's own tablet, when she dies, will be placed with that of her husband. If a woman is widowed or divorced and marries again, she will very likely be buried in the tomb of the family of her first son, regardless of which husband was his father, and her tablet will be put in his house. A woman without sons may feel uncertain of her future. 614 562

It must also be made explicit that the Okinawan common descent group, unlike most unilateral descent groups, is not exogamous. Even cousins related through the male line may marry and it is said that in some communities they do so frequently. I found one cousin marriage within the kin group in Yamada koseki; Lebra found several marriages within the munchu at Kanegusuku. Informants said it was common in some communities. 614 582

2. The Life Cycle

The Calendar Before a description of the life cycle of the individual can be given, a word must be said about the systems the Okinawans use for reckoning time. Two systems are in use, the "old calendar" (in Japanese 'kyūreki') and the "new calendar" ('shinreki'). The first is the same ancient Chinese calendar that is used throughout East Asia; the second is the Western calendar. 805 177

The "old calendar" is essentially a lunar calendar but combined with the twelve lunar months is a system of twenty-four solar periods and a system of naming days and years by the "Ten Stems and Twelve Branches".[1] The lunar year consists of twelve lunar months, designated as "first month", "second month" and so on, of twenty-nine or thirty days, with the fifteenth or sixteenth of each month falling on the night of the full moon. Since the lunar year is about eleven days shorter than the solar year, an inter-calary month must be inserted every three years to hold the year in place, so that Lunar New Year's usually comes some time in February of the Western Calendar. The principal traditional holidays of the year, except for three, are figured in the lunar calendar. Of particular importance are New Year's (the first day of the first month) and U-bung or Shichigwachi (from the 13th to the 15th of the 7th month; the Japanese 'Bon'). [527]

[1] For tables, etc., see Papinot, 1910, Appendix XII.

expected to keep to his studies and not merely to avoid the distractions of 877
adult pleasures but actually not to be interested in them. He is given spe- 882
cial considerations as a student, a place to study, quiet, and freedom from
irksome tasks. This consideration probably varies with the position of the
student in the family and with his success as a student. Boys undoubtedly [562]
get more consideration than girls, older sons than younger sons---though if
an older son has been unable to go on to school and is helping a younger
brother go on, the younger brother may get greater consideration and feel
greater responsibility. This special treatment lasts as long as the young
person is in school or as long as the family can afford not to rely on him
for economic assistance. But even the young man in university who is working
part time to keep himself in school is expected not to be interested in the
sorts of pleasures sought by younger boys who stopped their schooling much
earlier.

Today junior high school is compulsory, but the majority of students 871
go no farther. The high schools strictly limit the number of students that
they can enroll, so that many junior high graduates who would like to go on
to high school are unable to. But whether a youth stops his schooling at 884
junior high school, high school, or later, the change in treatment and atti-
tudes is the same. He "enters society". He is now expected to do an adult's
work and contribute to the family's support. At the same time he is expected
to spend his evenings with the other young men, drinking, teasing the girls,
and staying out half the night---behavior a student would have no interest
in, at least in theory.

While a youth is in school he belongs to a students' organization 877
('gakuseikai'). After he leaves school he is expected to join the youth or- 575
ganization ('Seinenkai'). The present Youth Organization is the successor 883
of the pre-war, Japan-wide organization, less the militarism and jingoism. [178]
It is organized on a Ryukyu-wide basis, but local chapters make their own
constitutions, statements of aims, and so forth---probably with no great var-
iation. The aims expressed in the constitutions seen could mainly be put
under the headings intellectual and moral self-improvement and community up-
lift. Meetings are held perhaps twice a month, one being for business and
serious discussion, the other for purely social purposes. The social meet-
ings feature music played on the 'shamisen', dancing, and 'awamori'. Among
other serious business, in some communities the Youth Organization engages
in clean-up or repair projects and hires itself out for farm labor. Where
it receives pay, the funds probably generally go toward the expense of the
social meetings.

The Youth Organization takes young people of both sexes, but there
are usually more men, since women drop out at marriage while men may remain
in after marriage if they choose to, until 30, according to one rule. In
the country, membership after finishing school is represented as compulsory. [174]
In the city, however, the compulsion is lacking and many who are not inter-
ested in joining manage to stay out. But in the country few would suggest
that anyone had the right not to join. When I asked a past president of the
organization in Yamada if everyone joined, he replied to the effect, "Oh yes,
all must join, we have a rule." And he proceeded to point out the regulation

575 in the constitution that said so. That the rules of an organization should
883 be binding on non-members as well as members evidently seemed perfectly logical to him. The aims expressed in this constitution included the fostering of morality, the industrial spirit, health, sanitation, and the use of English, supporting religion and discarding superstition. As an example of "superstition", the past president gave the belief that rats will inevitably destroy the rice plants in a field in the village unless offerings are made there. But though this man is a school teacher I doubt if he would have labelled as "superstition" any of the beliefs that actually stand in the way of some of the other aims of the organization.

Besides the Youth Organization there are other smaller local groups organized primarily for intellectual purposes, study clubs, etc., among both students and young people out of school. Then there are also informal groups, gangs of a sort, among students as well as non-students. A young man told Lebra of the activities of a gang that he had been the ringleader of while in high school in a large town. The gang consisted of four to ten boys the same age who studied together and travelled around together. They occasionally went out into the country to talk to village girls, to be chased out by the country boys. They played jokes on other young people and even on their teachers. But the young man looks back with pride on the fact that they helped reform a fellow student who drank and gambled but has now become sober and industrious.

883 In the country the pleasure-seeking activities of the young people were formerly institutionalized in a practice known as moo-ashibii ("playing in the fields"). On pleasant evenings young unmarried men and women would semi-surreptitiously leave their parents' homes with food and drink and a 'shamisen' or two for music, and meet at some spot outside the village where they ate and drank, sang and danced. Although there was an element of secrecy to the practice, some parents evidently encouraged the young people to
[562] go and enjoy themselves. Probably young men were given more encouragement
[563] than young women. There were class differences, too; gentry families in the village of Yamada took pains to keep their daughters home, probably mainly to prevent them from forming alliances with young men. The objections that some parents had were perhaps more to the young people's appropriating food and drink for the purpose than to anything else. Young men sometimes continued to go to the moo-ashibii after marriage.

A similar institution was the yagamayaa ("rowdy house", cognate with Japanese 'yakamashii', "noisy"). It is possible that in some communities yagamayaa were once built solely for that purpose. But in two communities where information was obtained on the practice, Yamada and Henza, a yagamayaa was simply a house where the young people were able to take over a room or two for their pleasure. In Yamada it was said to be usually a house with no adult males at home; the house of a woman whose husband was working overseas functioned as a yagamayaa for a time. The young people may simply force their way in, but in this case the woman welcomed the food they brought and shared with her, so she simply moved with her children into the back room and turned the front rooms over to them. On Henza several houses where girls occupy rooms of their own are yagamayaa.

called for 'awamori'. After a few drinks he asked in a fairly serious manner, "Have you bought a woman yet during your stay? You really ought to try an Okinawan woman before you go." His daughter-in-law and two half-grown sons looked on in amusement. The question is not uncommon; on another occasion it was, "Have you tasted Okinawan women?" 831 522

In common talk, and perhaps in feeling, sex seems to be identified almost wholly with prostitution and the sex act with the hiring of a juri. The sight of a seed boar being led across a field evoked the comment, "That pig's a man; he's on his way to buy a woman." Perhaps the above statement should be narrowed down to something like: the pleasurable aspects of sex are identified with prostitution. And sexual pleasure, like the pleasures of eating and drinking, singing and dancing, is something that guests may be treated to. (Hence the concern that the visitor sample all the pleasures that Okinawa offers and a pride in those for which it is famous.) In view of the fact that children grow up hearing about juri and jurinuyaa and associating them with other pleasures before they have any notion of their sexual functions, it is not surprising that when they become adults they display attitudes that are different from those found among Americans. 548 831

Before the war in the Tsuji district of Naha there were about three thousand juri.[1] The district was the center of the social life of the men of the upper classes. Business men, government officials, and teachers were entertained there. No doubt all did not "buy" juri, but sex was one of the principal commodities dispensed there. Also it is unlikely that the average farmer ever went there, but the indications are that he would have if he could have. A man is expected to want these things if he can afford them. The values of the farmer are not likely to be very different from those of the better-off city man. The jurinuyaa has played an important role in Okinawa society in the past and is not likely to disappear very soon. [565] [184]

Maturity and Old Age: Associations Men may continue to belong to the 'Seinenkai' until thirty; women drop out at marriage. The reason that men stay longer may be to give greater continuity to the organization and to provide older members as leaders, but in view of the recreational activities of the organization it seems as likely that the rule is merely a part of the general tendency to give more freedom to men and more responsibility to women. 575 562

Adult Associations ('Seijinkai') are said to exist in some villages but are not of any great importance. Associations formed by persons of the same age ('dōnenkai') also exist. In Japan such organizations are often composed of persons who were in the same class in school[2]; on Okinawa the number of older persons who attended school probably does not permit the formation of very large associations. The tendency among younger persons is not very noticeabe. Younger men may organize 'shōbōkai', volunteer fire brigades; such an organization patrolled the streets of Ishikawa nightly. We did not see any evidence of the persistence of any organizations based on former military service; the Japanese Army Reservists' Association may never have been very active on Okinawa. 575 [171] [368] [179]

1 Yanagida, 1951, p. 309.

2 Embree, 1939, p. 163ff.

885
562 Adult Responsibility For women responsibilities come early. Mothers
[857] give their daughters tasks while their sons play. At marriage a woman enters her husband's household and immediately assumes adult burdens that she may
[887] not put down until old age. As a grandmother she may still care for grandchildren while her husband has left most of his responsibilities to his sons. She may acquire ritual responsibilities toward her husband's family which can only increase with time.

For a man responsibilities come gradually. Childhood is a time for
[857] play---except for the future scholar, or in cases of extreme poverty. Youth is a time when responsibilities may be postponed---except where an oldest son has been orphaned. Even after marriage a young man, though he may have to work hard, is not expected to remain sober and stay home nights. The peak of a man's responsibility comes with full maturity, when he has sons himself and when his father is beginning to age. This peak may rise to greater heights than that of his wife and his labor may be harder and make greater demands on
[887] his strength and health. But again in old age he may put his burden down and he is expected to seek those pleasures that he can still enjoy.

562 Women's lives may be duller but they are generally longer. And in old
888 age a woman has the compensation of greater freedom than she has ever had before. Old women often speak with a frankness that is embarrassing to young people of either sex. Old women are also the repositories of knowledge of the ancestors and of the supernatural and thus become greatly respected and
[744] influential. Both the religious functionaries (kaminchu) of the kinship group
[756] and the seeresses or mediums (yuta) consulted on numerous occasions are usually women. An old man, unless he is a scholar or a diviner (sanjinsoo) has less chance of attaining fame.

But old men, as well as old women, may become tyrants. One Yamada family consisted of an old couple and their three grandchildren, the oldest a boy of twenty. This boy was registered as the head of the family, while the old man, according to the register, had retired; but when the boy had the opportunity to make a little money, which he needed for clothes, the old man took it for tobacco. On the other hand he permitted the youths of the neighborhood to hold parties in his house---hoping, one suspects, to help consume the refreshments---something a middle-aged parent might not have tolerated.

888 Formal Recognition of Old Age A man may officially retire , that is,
he may transfer house headship in the register to a son or grandson, but as I have just indicated this may not prevent him from actually holding the family
888 purse strings. For the community formal recognition of old age comes with the
527 celebration of "year days" (tushibii). These are held on the anniversaries of the "birth year" of an old person. A person's birth year is the year, in the cycle of twelve, in which he was born. Since the reckoning of age is a matter of counting the years during which one has lived, the year of birth counts as one and so when the cycle of twelve has passed once and the year is again the birth year, a person's years are thirteen. Each time a person's birth year recurs it marks a significant point in his life. These recurrences are celebrated not on the anniversary of the day of birth but on the first day of the cycle that corresponds to the year, after Lunar New Year's. Thus 1954 was

625 high esprit. A policeman's salary is high when compared to that of other government workers and the general public; in addition the job has other advantages such as a uniform and free transportation on public conveyances.

621 625 In rural areas there seems to be some resentment over what is considered to be high pay and special privileges for policemen; this was particularly true where the local policeman was not a native son. In one of the more isolated villages of northern Okinawa, a community which is noted for and prides itself on its strong community spirit, there was some irritation with what they felt to be an unnecessary presence of a policeman (not native to the village) in their midst. The village 'kuchō' and several villagers assured the author that the village was a most peaceful one, everyone cooperated well together, and there was never any stealing or violence. They were also resentful of the fact that the village supplied the policeman with free food and charcoal and that his pay, nevertheless, was about equal to that of their highly respected school principal.

875 625 554 It should be noted that whenever the low pay of teachers was mentioned the correspondingly high pay of the police was cited. The teacher traditionally has been venerated in this culture, and it is held that the teacher is a better-educated person and should, therefore, receive a higher salary, as was the case before the war. In the past the higher positions in the bureaucracy were accorded or ideally should be accorded those with better educations, and since both the policeman and the teacher are civil government employees, the present situation with regard to their respective salaries seems unjust.

625 829 Most people express the belief that the police are honest and conscientious though their high pay may be resented. A number of people observed that the police are much better under the American military administration than they were under the Japanese government before the war, in that they are more polite and less officious today. Under present laws the powers of the police have been clearly defined to insure that they will not violate the rights of individuals as was frequently done in the past. Not a few Okinawans will contend that this curbing of police power while probably democratic has encouraged an increase in crime in recent years. The traditional attitude toward the policeman seems to be a mixture of fear and respect, and mothers frequently use the threat to call a policeman as a means of disciplining a child who misbehaves.

4. Political Participation by Women

562 [666] Since the end of the war universal suffrage has been introduced into Okinawan political life. The enfranchisement of women has not brought with it a surge of political activity on their part. It is now theoretically possible for a woman to hold public office, but in actuality none to date has been elected to a national or municipal office. One woman declared herself a candidate for the Ryukyuan legislature in 1954 but later withdrew from the campaign shortly before election time. In the rural areas political participation by women is even more limited. The men in the village of Kanegusuku laugh when the subject of women in politics is mentioned; they say

that a woman can hold office today since the government has made this law, but that they would never permit this to happen. In village elections only household heads are permitted to vote, and in practice only they are eligible for the village offices. If a woman is a household head (and there are eighteen in this category in Kanegusuku) she is allowed to vote, but she would never be considered for any village office. Most women would not want the job if it were available to them, for this is considered a part of the affairs of men and inconsistent with the traditional concept of woman's role of wife and mother. Women are vaguely aware that their legal and political status has altered under the American military administration, and nearly all have heard stories about America where women are said to be very influential, but they are not so sure that what is good for Americans will necessarily work for them. 562 [77] [829]

An exception to the generally inactive role of women in political affairs is found in Okinawan fishing communities. In Itoman and Henza, which derive their living from fishing, shipping, and ferrying, the men are away much of the time, and the women exercise considerably more control over family and financial matters than elsewhere on Okinawa. Itoman women are noted throughout the island for their independence and shrewdness in financial matters, and there is a common saying that an Itoman woman doesn't need a man if she has a house. On Henza Island the lower echelons of the village political hierarchy are completely dominated by women. The five 'hanchō' are women, each heading a political unit of about eight hundred persons, and the forty-one 'kumichō' are also women. Despite this one gets the impression that women are participating in Henza political life in the absence of the men just as they have a larger role in the management of family affairs than the women of farming villages because the absence of their men has made this a practical necessity. To date no woman has been elected to the position of 'kuchō' nor does it seem likely that one will be in the near future. Perhaps this also serves to define more clearly the real nature of the 'hanchō' and 'kumichō' as messengers for the 'kuchō' instead of as administrators, and that positions of real power are still retained by men. 562 184 621

5. The Political Community

The rural village constitutes a political, territorial, and social unit; its membership is bound together by a common cultural heredity and shares a common experience. All the villagers have attended the same schools, cooperated in village projects, participated in community ceremonies and celebrations, and joined the same organizations. The prevailing marriage practice still tends toward endogamy, and in many places they speak a dialect with features distinct from that of their neighbors. National organizations serve to unite the youth, women, and farmers into their respective local groups for common action and benefit. Further integration is assured by practices of reciprocal labor exchange among the households. 621 [582] [197]

The major social institutions of rural Okinawa are the family-kin group and the community. Within the former there exists a strict hierarchy 621 592 [181]

called saki in Okinawan, 'awamori' in Japanese. This drink is sold in several 273
grades and so is Japanese 'sake', but most farmers seem to prefer a rawer,
stronger grade of 'awamori'.[1] In most homes 'awamori' is soon offered male [574]
guests if they call in the evening, sometimes in the afternoon as well. For
festive occasions it is absolutely necessary. Many older men also drink it [562]
a bit every evening in small groups or even alone. Older women may drink a
little, younger women, unless of the professional class, rarely.

When men drink together they invariably exchange drinks as a gesture of friendship. Generally the friendliness increases with each gesture, stimulating further gestures. Drunkenness is frequent. Different types of behavior among drunks are recognized and labelled appropriately. The 'uma-zake' ("horse-drunk") prances around; the 'buta-zake' ("pig drunk") sleeps; the 'ushi-zake' ("ox drunk") acts belligerent; the 'naki-zake' ("cry drunk") weeps. (These are Japanese terms, incidentally; I did not get native equivalents but assume they exist). But Okinawans who get drunk are mainly just plain friendly drunks; the belligerent drunk is very rare. Burd's description of Miyakoan drunken behavior---the sentimentality and endless expression of gratitude for friendship---would apply equally to the behavior of drunk Okinawans. And as Burd suggests, the reason may lie in the formality and etiquette that governs the relations of the sober; getting drunk is a means of relaxing the usual barriers.[2] The remarkable tolerance Okinawans show to drunks may arise from sympathy in the face of a common need. Drinking is often accompanied by singing and dancing. Men dance individually. Men who behave on most occasions with reserve and formality, may, after drinking a bit, dance with a grace and reckless ease that must be seen to be believed.

Okinawans do not drink water as frequently as Americans and even 271
with the more frequent tea and bottled drinks their total fluid consumption 272
would appear to be considerably less.

Rest and Sleep Chairs and beds are not usually found in Okinawan homes. 352
Mats serve the function of both. On formal occasions 516
Okinawans kneel. This they may do at the beginning of a formal gathering, but soon they are told to be at ease, which means sitting cross-legged for the men and with the feet to one side for the women. When relaxing at home they may put their feet out in front of them.

Okinawans sleep on the floor, usually on a quilt ('futon') on the 513
mat and with another put on over them. Often the whole family will sleep between two large quilts and under one large mosquito net suspended from the ceiling. To Americans unused to the floor it seems unbearably hard and the quilt above oppressive; it seems as though the Okinawans want too little below the body and too much above. From infancy on they sleep stretched out supine with a pillow under the head or neck. The pillow may be of cloth stuffed with husks or merely a block of wood.

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1 This observation is supported by the statement of a distiller interviewed by Lebra.

2 Burd 1952, p. 82.

753 that I found the greatest resistance to any suggestion that American methods
177 might have equal or greater validity. American material culture the Okina-
wans are delighted to accept, and they are eager for more. American social
[542] relationships they look somewhat askance at but they are willing to experi-
ment, in a small way, with equal rights for women. But the suggestion that medically they don't know what ails them is harder to take. They are willing to accept modern medical explanations of disease as a partial explanation, perhaps as the occasional means by which the ultimate causes affect disease. The ultimate causes are supernatural.

753 To challenge the concept ugwambusuku, the insufficiency of worship
177 that causes illness, is to challenge the present structure of religion, and
769 at a point where it is most closely bound to social organization. Anxiety
182 over insufficiency of worship and its possible consequences is probably the strongest force motivating the whole range of activities connected with death, burial, and the worship of ancestors. It is not too far-fetched to suggest that it is also a reason for respecting one's elders during their lifetime. It is no wonder that Okinawans show a strong resistance to any challenge to these beliefs, even though they may not be conscious of all the implications of the challenge.

753 To challenge the whole structure of belief would probably be wholly
177 unsuccessful. Or if somehow the Okinawans could be persuaded to abandon
757 these beliefs at once, the result would probably be either chaos or the uncritical acceptance of another set of beliefs that might soon prove to be just as far out of line with medical science as the present. Probably the surest way to introduce modern medical concepts is by gradually whittling down the native concepts beginning with the more peripheral ones. This is not as hopeless as it might seem, for some changes have already taken place.
[846] Until recently women after childbirth were baked for about a week over a fire in the jiiru, a hearth in the back room of the house, even in hot weather. It is said that it was a very uncomfortable experience and that in warm weather it often resulted in rashes and boils, yet it was practiced because it was thought to be necessary for the health of the woman. In the last few years this practice has been abandoned. One woman informant was positive that the hideous skin condition called heegasa or "scruff" could be prevented by drawing out the "bad blood", but she was equally positive that the former practice of baking a new mother was useless if not harmful. Some day she may become convinced that cutting an infant's buttocks with a razor is useless if not harmful. She will be convinced when someone has demonstrated to her that heegasa can be prevented by another means and that because the blood circulates it is no more "bad" at one place than another. The concept "bad blood" is a peripheral one, with no close relationship to religion or social organization.

Other peripheral beliefs are those associated with the yabuu, the efficacy of moxa and the golden needle of acupuncture. In demonstrating the superiority of modern medicine over these techniques one may not always count on the cooperation of educated Okinawans. In opposing the practice of
[181] the yabuu and other practitioners one runs counter to one of the strongest themes of Okinawan culture---one must not interfere with another's livelihood.

727 Much of the civilian population was herded into internment camps early in the campaign, and many remained there for over a year. The people were so scattered about the land that today nearly every village has a number of families new since the war. The effects of the destruction, loss of life, and displacement were far-reaching---families were shattered, whole villages were moved, fields were ruined, countless homes and buildings were demolished, and the records of government were lost or destroyed. In short, the land was laid waste and its people impoverished.

The effect on the people is best summarized by two frequently-heard statements: "After the war we were left with only the will to live, nothing more," and, "After the war everyone was equal."

177 727 Okinawa's small area, large population, and the sizable number of Americans proportionate to that population put the two peoples in close proximity to one another. Certainly the mere presence of foreign troops and their military administration has far-reaching implications in terms of culture change. This close proximity, however, might be easily exaggerated in so far as actual interaction is concerned. The social and cultural barriers separating American and Okinawan have been so great as to preclude large scale interactions, and, consequently, actual change which might result from this interaction has not been as great as might be expected.

177 829 In contrast to the Japanese administration the American military government has not been culturally repressive with regard to Okinawans. Quite likely the Okinawan does not feel as embarrassed or defensive about his culture before an American as he did before a Japanese. The important factor, however, is that the Japanese held out cultural assimilation and equality in their own culture as an alternative to the Okinawan. As the differences were not too great, the Okinawan came to think of himself as Japanese. On the other hand, the difference between the American and Okinawan is so great as to make assimilation most difficult, even if both parties desired it, which they do not. Consequently, though Japanese political control is no longer exercised, Japanese culture is admired as much as ever. The close cultural and racial ties between the two peoples and the continuance of what is essentially a Japanese education in the schools have done much to perpetuate this.

Okinawans greatly admire the wealth and technology of the Americans, but American social, political, and ethical-religious beliefs and practices, which are not so easily observed, have not made any real impression. Precisely because American wealth and technology are so superior to their own, they conceive of Americans as a people addicted to material things. They are not at all convinced that American social institutions are superior to theirs.

177 727 178 Despite undoubted good intentions, the legislation and proclamations enacted by the military government have had but slight effect on the social system. It is one thing to liberalize laws on police powers, suffrage, and human rights, and quite another to have them carried out in the spirit that was intended. The men of the farm village acknowledge that women may hold [56] public office according to the law but say that they (the men) will never permit this to happen. In most cases a potentiality for change has been noted rather than an actual change; it remains to be seen whether acceptance will ultimately occur.

This island has long faced a serious problem of over-population and food shortage; it is not self-supporting in foodstuffs and mainly derives its livelihood from fishing, shipping and ferrying. It has long had a symbiotic relationship with the neighboring island of Takabanare, supplying fish and shipping-ferrying service in return for food, but this has not been rewarding enough in recent years to offset its rapid population increase. A general postwar decline in coastal shipping largely due to the marked improvement of land transportation in highways and vehicles has sharply reduced the number of jobs in this enterprise, and the return of the repatriates has only added to the number seeking jobs. Military employment, however, has filled this gap and staved off mass unemployment. 621 464 505 433 [438]

At the present time nearly one quarter of the village labor force is engaged in military employment. Nearly all of the repatriates and a large number of old residents have entered military employ. Some of these have established temporary residence on the mainland nearer the military installations. A large number, however, commute by ferry boat and bus each day to their place of employment, and at low tide it is possible to walk the mile across the tidal flats to the mainland. 621 464 [484]

There has long been a tradition for the men of Hensa to be away from the village much of time, engaged in activities on the sea. Thus, those who are away much of the time in military employment are merely following a long-established pattern. Unlike the absent workers of Kanegusuku, these people are not considered to be cut off from village affairs. All farming activities, much of the family's economic affairs, and some of the functions of government are carried on by women, contrary to usual Okinawan practice. [562]

The villagers regard military employment as a blessing and feel that it has contributed significantly to maintaining village prosperity. Aside from military employment they have little contact with Americans, although a few boat-owners have rented their crafts to American fishing parties. The villagers and their officials recall with considerable fondness their military government officer in the early days of the occupation. To date Hensa relations with Americans have been not only good but also profitable; in short, American stock is high on this island. [829] 621 197 829

<u>Summary</u> On Hensa and to a far smaller degree in Kanegusuku military employment has largely drawn off the surplus and largely landless population that formerly would have emigrated to other parts of the overseas Japanese empire. In Jagaru and Tobaru military employment has replaced farming as the chief occupation of the villagers. The contribution of military employment to the economy of Kanegusuku is negligible, although it should be noted that the number so engaged increased during the period of the author's study. In Jagaru, Tobaru, and Hensa military employment is of vital importance to the village economy, and any sharp decrease will have severe repercussions. 464

<u>Okinawan Attitudes Toward Those Engaged in Military Employment</u> Okinawans make a sharp distinction in their attitudes toward men employed in military jobs and their attitudes toward women similarly employed. There seems to be no stigma of any sort attached to the male who has a job working for the Americans; in fact, 464 562 829

464 usually people tend to regard these persons as fortunate. During the entire
• 562 course of the author's stay on Okinawa he heard no sharp criticism of men who
829 were in military employment, yet many statements were heard about women who were so employed. This dichotomy seems to stem from the widely held belief that the American employers have sexual access to these women, particularly
[831] the maids. Okinawan culture affords its males a high degree of sexual freedom, but not its females.

464 It is said that the women who are employed by the military are cate-
554 gorized into several grades; the highest status is accorded to the office workers and PX clerks. These are followed by the kitchen and table maids, after which comes the maids who are employed in the dependent housing units; lastly there are the barracks maids, including those of the bachelor officers' and civilians' quarters. It is also claimed that these women can be distinguished on the basis of their dress. Supposedly the office workers and
[291] PX girls dress in the fashion of Japanese business women, whereas the housing
[117] and barracks maids dress in American styles which are considered loud and flashy.

464 It is claimed that many young men will not marry women who have been
554 maids in military installations. One young man asserted that these women were
582 no better than the "honeys" (a term used by Okinawans and GI's to designate the soldier's mistress).

464 The low status and pay (¥1200-1800, or $10-15 per month) for maids is
466 offset to a large extent by the gifts, food, and in many cases board which they receive from their employers. Despite the stigma there is no shortage
[465] of applicants for these jobs. Another factor is the free bathing privileges which ordinarily accompany these jobs. Very few Okinawan homes have a bath,
[515] and public baths cost the equivalent of ten cents in American money, a sizeable outlay for the Okinawan purse.

464 Most of the discrimination is directly attributable to the sexual
554 jealousy of the Okinawan male toward the women who work and often live in close daily contact with Americans. There also seems to be some discrimina-
829 tion against any women in the category of maid, whether employed by American or Okinawan; in the past these were often indentured servants who had been sold by their parents into this low status.

186 <u>Okinawan Attitudes toward Their American Employers</u> It was the author's im-
829 pression that even those who had worked in close daily contact with Americans for a considerable period of time shared much the same stereotypes of the American as those held by the general public. It must be remembered that the points of emphasis in any stereotype are often those traits which seem obvious because they are so unfamiliar and hence not understood by the person of a different culture. Secondly, in every stereotype there is undoubtedly some considerable measure of truth; the important factor is the base of reference. Both Americans and Okinawans judge one another on the basis of different values and cultural backgrounds.

1

Generalities on the Population History of Okinawa Island

Virtually nothing is known, to my knowledge, of the growth of population in Okinawa in historic times. Early travellers made some estimates, but they gave no basis for them. In a previous chapter, it was mentioned that the introduction of the sweet potato in the early 17th century must have allowed a greater population on the island than had hitherto been the case. No doubt also malaria and other diseases kept the population down, at least until the latter part of the 19th century.[1] This ignorance of population growth extends down to recent history.

There seems to have been very little immigration to the Ryukyus and the population has probably been homogeneous for long periods of time. There were many Japanese in Okinawa, but these were largely in the towns and main cities. Most of them left after the war.[2] This meant that the population of Okinawa continued to be made up of preponderantly the native born, though in recent years there has been some immigration of Amamians.

Emigration during the 20th century has been the outstanding fact in the population history of the island. Little is known of the nature of this emigration, but it is believed to have started in the early years of the twentieth century. Until World War II, emigration was the answer to the problem of a population that was growing beyond the ability of the island's resources to support it. It has been estimated that the emigration from Okinawa prefecture in the period 1920-1940 was over 193,400 persons. This represented a loss of 98% of the estimated natural increase for the 1920-1940 period. It was 34% of the prefecture's total 1920 population.[3]

The Okinawan campaign, also, was accompanied by large scale displacements of people who remained on the island. It was estimated that in a pre-invasion shifting of the population, over 3/4 of the people

[Text continues on top of p. 60--analyst]

1 Dr. Green in 1853 estimated the population of Okinawa at 150,000 or possibly 200,000. But this was only a crude guess. Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 36. For population estimates prior to World War II, see CA Handbook, as cited, 45-51.

2 As of Nov. 30, 1946, 57,345 Japanese, 1,755 Koreans, and 21 Formosans had been repatriated from the Ryukyus, with 3,706 Japanese remaining to be repatriated. See note 3 following.

3 Newman, Marshall T. and Eng, Roman, L. The Ryukyu people, a biological appraisal. Amer. Journ. of physical anthropology, n.s., 5 (1947), 113-57. Reference on pp. 135-36. This estimate was made by subtracting the estimated natural increase from the total increase, 1920-40, making allowances for the under registration of births. On post-war population history immediately following the war, see pp. 135-46 of this article.

the war, the upper stratum of society consisted of Japanese plus a few highly placed Okinawans. With the departure of the Japanese, there was no well developed class structure among the Okinawans to succeed to the Japanese hierarchy. Today in these villages, there are inequalities in economic well-being, and certain individuals or groups have greater prestige than others. But these, I am convinced, are not to be traced to a class structure. Any division of the village into upper, middle, and lower classes would be artificial and would put a strain on the facts. Differences, where they appear, are the result of individual qualities, such as age, the possession of land or money, or personal character. 565 [563] [511] [554] [554]

In the old Loochooan kingdom, there was a rigid class stratification based on the Chinese model. The Japanese abolished the Loochoo nobility after the islands became a province, but, according to Furness (1899), "the people still cling to the old custom."[1] Despite the abolition of the nobility, distinctions between noble and commoner were made up to the recent war. In the family registers, descendants of the Loochooan nobility (shizoku) were so designated. But all villagers agreed that these distinctions had no meaning or value, either for preferment in the Japanese service, or for one's social standing among his countrymen. For all practical purposes, everyone was a commoner. Since the war, the fact that one is a descendant of the Okinawan nobility is, if possible, even more inconsequential. No notation is made in the family register. Most men over 35 can tell instantly whether a given surname is of noble or common origin. 175 565 183 565

The number of these descendants of nobles must be very great. Chamberlain in 1895 reproduced a table, which he said he had every reason to believe was accurate, showing an absurdly high proportion of nobles to commoners. These statistics were from the census of 1891 and for the entire Ryukyus:[2] 565 162

	Household Heads	Families
Princes	2	35
Nobility and Gentry	22,567	95,082
Common People	57,981	235,213
Total	80,550	330,330

1 Life in the Luchu islands, as cited, 7. For rank distinctions based on caps, stockings, sashes, and hair pins, see Simon, as cited, 155, 156-59. Hawk's Perry's expedition, as cited, Vol. I, 224, Vol. II, 48. Basil Hall also gives rank orders in an appendix. Perry considered government by this nobility very oppressive. The CA Handbook Ryukyu (Loochoo) Islands gives the historical background of the class structure and its manifestations in government.

2 In the article cited from the Geo. jour. 5 (1895), 298.

[Yamada]

its area at night (an informant hastened to add that these were not Yamada women). The unit and the village cooperated in repairing roads, the unit supplying equipment and the village labor. The unit also lent equipment for levelling the school grounds and for the 'undōkai' (sports event) lent the school a public address system. At Christmas of 1952 and again in 1953 the unit gave a Christmas party for the school children. The first year only 40 went but the second year nearly 200 went and all received presents. Two that were shown me later were a plastic car and a plastic fire truck; one was marked 65 cents. They were displayed with obvious pride. The school children in turn had sent a bundle of art work to the unit for the Perry Festival. 621 177 727

According to the villagers, late in 1953 the CO of the unit was transferred and the unit was placed under the command of the CO of another unit some miles away. This, they said, had meant the end of the monthly meetings and a decline in the good relations that had existed. The villagers' worries may have been without foundation. The last Christmas party was given after the alleged shift in command. However, some changes were occurring; for example, prostitution had reentered the village.

Informal Relations In addition to the help given to the school by the unit, certain individuals from the unit had also contributed something to it. One man is said to have taught English classes twice a week for about six months. Many of the men of the unit habitually come to the school grounds to play ball. Several are said to come two and three times a week, others come less frequently. Negro soldiers as well as whites come. They play baseball and volleyball with the men teachers and have also taught them basketball.

A few of the villagers have gained financially from the presence of the unit. In Ajimaa where the school is located there are four shops and at Kuraha there is one shop and another establishment that was formerly a cafe. The Ajimaa shops probably rarely sell anything to the soldiers, but the Kuraha shop has several steady customers for "Okinawa Gin", a rather strong variety of 'awamori'. The cafe formerly sold drinks to a regular clientele from the unit, but recently the owner invested in a taxi, has not made as much on it as he had expected and so has not had the capital for stock. There is also a laundry in Kuraha operated by a couple from Amami which does washing for men in the unit. 621 177 727 444 [273]

Several men in the unit are renting houses for their "honeys". (The term "honey" is widely used by both Americans and Okinawans for an American's Okinawan mistress.) At the time I worked in Yamada there were five "honeys", all in Kuraha, three renting one house and two another. All five were from outside the village; one was from Amami, a relative of the laundry people. According to one informant, the relationships between the soldiers and these women had been established at Senaha, Yomitan-son, a small cafe and brothel area to which some of the men of the unit go; after establishing the relationships there the men had brought the women to this village next to their unit. It was my impression that there was not much contact between these outsiders and the villagers. 621 177 727 836

However, there are several Yamada women who have been the mistresses of American soldiers in the past and there are several half-white children in 621 144 563

[Yamada]

621 the village. The oldest of the children is in school; she is the product of
144 a brief affair during the early days of the occupation. While some informants
563 showed some reluctance to discuss the half-white children, by forgetting that they existed until reminded of them, I saw no evidence that the children suffered any discrimination. There are also several Yamada women living outside Yamada, particularly in Ishikawa, with Americans and Filipinos; several of
621 these have mixed-blood children. Some of the Yamada women who are "married"
582 to Americans have attempted to maintain their relationship with their own
177 families and establish some kind of relationship between their families and their "husbands". On New Year's, when family calls are in order, two sisters who were both living with Americans at another village brought their "husbands" to pay their respects to their grandfather. I was in the old man's house when one of the girls apreared with her American. The American behaved quite properly, taking off his shoes and sitting cross-legged on the mat opposite the grandfather. The grandfather greeted him with dignity and reserve. The girl, who had acquired a fair command of English, translated a few sentences and looked very pleased with herself. Drinks were exchanged and the visit was over. Further contact was hardly possible, but this sort of gesture was probably sufficient to demonstrate to the family and to others that the relationship was a serious one. Most relationships are less serious.

621 The former cafe in Kuraha was said to have had women available for
727 prostitution several years ago, but the CO of the local unit who held the
177 meetings with the villagers is said to have disapproved of prostitution in the village and therefore the women left. In the spring of 1954, however,
548 another prostitute was at the cafe, even though it was not operating as such, and a new brothel was established at Ajimaa. There a 'Mama-san' ("madame" in GI Japanese) rented a house for herself and her three girls. The house is one of the newer tile-roofed buildings; it is just below the school grounds and across the highway; it is the property of the brother-in-law of one of the school teachers. Since the shortest way to the place from the unit is directly across the school ground, this was the route taken one afternoon by the three gaudily painted girls as they led a soldier home. I did not have much opportunity to discuss the matter with many people but got the following reaction from one informant: "On the one hand the brothel is good because people are making money; on the other hand it is bad because it makes a bad environment. If anyone complained about it, probably the owners of the house would say that the person complaining is just envious because of the money they are making in rent. Probably even the school teachers could not complain. One cannot interfere with a person's way of making money. The only way it could be stopped would be for the whole village to stop it." This was a clear
[181] expression of two of the basic themes of Okinawan culture, themes that have been mentioned before in connection with other problems; first, one must not interfere in another's livelihood, and second, one must not stand alone; action must be group action. This informant was not overly concerned about the possible bad effects of the presence of the brothel below the school on the school children. Some of the school teachers may have been, yet they too were probably as unwilling to take action individually.

621 While some Yamada people have profited by the presence of the unit,
727 others have suffered some loss. Considerable land is still not available to its owners and while they have received rental from it the amount is not

175 empire provided the incentive. The central district of Okinawa became an
648 entrepot in the triangular China-Ryukyuan-Japan trade. In the beginning
439 the cultural interchange was a consequence of sending Chinese ambassadors to assist in the investiture of Ryukyuan kings and the travels of Ryukyuan emissaries to Peking. Naha in Okinawa and Foochow in Fukien were ports of entry and exit for the travellers.

The Ryukyuan emissaries left Naha for Foochow on the Min river in Fukien and then began the trip north to Peking. Ryukyuans brought copper, tin, and sulphur and received brocades and silk in return. The Ryukyuan as well as ambassadors from Korea, Annam, Burma participated in this official reception at Peking.[9]

175 The first contact with Chinese learning has been dated at 1392, when
177 the son of the king and the son of his master of camp were allowed to attend the Imperial College. The usual route from Naha to Foochow became a cultural corridor joining China and Okinawa. This contact with Chinese learning and writing lasted until the Japanese annexation in 1879. Hall
[565] in 1816 and Perry's staff in 1853 mentioned the devotion among the higher classes to Chinese learning, and though this no doubt was confined to those residing in Naha and Shuri, it was this Chinese educated class that ruled the island. With this learning too, there came the ideals of the
641 Confucian state and its five relationships, parent-child, husband-wife,
593 friend-friend, younger brother-elder brother, and subject-sovereign, which were reflected so forcefully in the family system and in the state as well. This coloring of the whole government, composed of men with Confucian ideals gradually changed, says Spencer, following Iha, "the whole mental outlook of the male population, at least around Shuri. This would, per-
[562] haps, not extend inland, and was not given to the women." In the countryside the influence of women, through the noro system, was still strong.
[999] This Confucian ideal of the state, as Spencer and Iha have suggested, probably had a great deal to do with the dis-establishment of the noro system as a state religion in the seventeenth century.[10]

In the reign of Sho Shin (1477-1526), there were further foreign contacts and domestic consolidations. Buddhism was encouraged and in
[999] fact reintroduced, this time from Korea. The Okinawans requested from their Korean "suzerain" the sutras, the Buddhist canon, and religious objects in 1462, 1479, and 1483.[11] Chinese artifacts, books, and other articles were imported, and palaces on the Chinese model were constructed at Shuri. Chinese customs, dress by rank order, and the Confucian ideal of the state became part of the culture of Naha and Shuri, probably less so in the other parts of Okinawa.

[Text continues on top of p. 31 -- Analyst]

9 Binkenstein, Okinawa-Studien. Monumenta Nipponica 3 (1940), 201-02. Binkenstein, Zur Frage der Ryūkyū Gesandtschaften. Monumenta Nipponica 4 (1941), 264-67. For the route to Peking, see p. 266.

10 Spencer, as cited, 108-09. Quotation is on p. 108.

11 Haguenauer, Relations du royaume des Ryūkyū avec les pays des mers du sud et la Córee. Bulletin de la maison franco-Japonaise. Série française. T 3, No. 1-2. Comptes rendues, 114.

175 167 Another departure from the past was that Okinawans, soon after the turn of the century, were provided with opportunities for emigration. The history of Okinawan emigration is not well known. But in the twentieth century, the people of Okinawa changed from an almost complete ignorance of the outside world to one of the most widely travelled and informed peoples of the Orient. Okinawan settlements in the twentieth century were scattered in many parts of the world, such as Peru, Argentina, Brazil, Hawaii, and the Japanese mandates of the Pacific, Singapore, Japan, Manchuria, and Korea. The cessation of this historic emigration is an event pregnant with meaning for the future. The population and its natural increase now must subsist on the island.

175 480 [61] Late nineteenth and twentieth century improvements in roads and communication, modest as they were by American standards, broke down some of the isolation of the three districts of Okinawa. The forests and the lack of roads to the north had always discouraged contact. Much of the trade in firewood between the north and the south, even up to the recent war, was done by ship. Elsewhere there were only paths and in the north, not even these. In 1895 Chamberlain wrote of the sparsely inhabited northern (Kunigami) forest area whose inhabitants were "despised for their poverty and rough speech by the natives of the central and southern provinces." Later on he remarked about the "groans of Japanese officials when obliged to go their country rounds," and, that, in the north it was necessary for them to carry a tent.[28]

175 100 240 As the main island in the newly created province (ken) of Japan, Okinawa benefitted from the scientific approach to agronomy pursued enthusiastically by the Japanese, in contrast with the Chinese and the Koreans before their annexation. Concentration on the development of suitable varieties of rice, the study of sugar cane, plant disease and agricultural techniques represented a body of knowledge that could be applied with local adaptations to all parts of the empire.

175 178 565 [511] Direct Japanese annexation meant also the disappearance of the top heavy native nobility or gentry (shizoku) to be displaced by the Japanese elite, although membership in the Okinawan nobility continued to be recorded in the family registers up to the recent war. The displacement of the old higher social classes resulted in a certain levelling of all the people, a levelling which continued up to the war, and was accentuated in an economic way by the widespread impoverishment of rich and poor alike in the campaign for Okinawa.

7

Okinawa in World War II

175 648 The terra incognita described by Bayard Taylor in 1853 became the

28 Chamberlain, as cited, 294, 459

each of the villages, they seldom reach real intensity or a point where the husband sends his wife back to her parents and obtains a divorce. 592 606

A special problem, ordinarily calling for adoption as the solution, is the situation in a family with no sons. During the child bearing ages a family tries very hard to get a son. The man with a family of daughters will resort to adoption of a male child of a relative, if at the end of a child bearing period, no sons have been born to him. But adoption, while available as a device for insuring the continuity of the family, is uncommon and does not have the importance historically attached to it in Japan. Adoption is discussed in more detail in Section 6. 597 [842]

3

The Extended Family and its Branches

The extended family (ichimon in Japanese, munchu in Okinawan) consists of all families in the main and collateral line of descent from the common ancestor.[2] This ancestor, who founded the house, is an historical, or at least a supposed historical person. The descendants of the founder of the family, themselves united in a family group, are thus related to one another, though the older the family, the more remote these relationships become. Many villagers recognize that they are related to one another, but the relationships are seldom clearly defined beyond the second cousin. After this people become relatives, (shinseki or shinrui in Japanese). These words, used synonymously in Okinawa, indicate an awareness of a relationship without knowing offhand its exact nature. This problem is solved in part, as will appear later on, in Section 8, by knowing the household order name of each family, but even here individual relationships are difficult to trace. 614 596 602

Contemporary lack of precise knowledge of family genealogies is due in large part to the destruction of many family records during the war. The keeping of genealogies was common, especially among the families who belonged to the old Okinawan nobility. The genealogies lost in the war are irreplaceable. The same is true of the official family registers which were also destroyed. They were replaced with ones prepared by officials personally interviewing the families involved. While this procedure succeeded in recording contemporary data with a fair degree of accuracy, it could not duplicate the minute details, going back for generations, which were recorded in the old registers. 601 217 [565]

2 Dictionaries usually define ichimon as clan, but I have avoided using this term because of ambiguities in usuage. In American practice, clan has been applied to groups in which descent is reckoned through the mother. See R. H. Lowie, Primitive society, New York, 1920, 111-12. Father-sibs (Lowie's term) or family groups could be used, but the latter term suggests more a collection of families than a large unified family with many sub-families.

62 villages studied, these frequencies of families with the same surname
614 are very high. The seat of these extended families of the Minatogawa fishermen is in almost every instance the town of Itoman. The tombs
[964] of Minatogawa are entirely different from those of the neighboring agricultural communities. They are small and temporary tombs for keeping remains that will later be removed to the large, often dramatically situated extended family tombs of Itoman. One resident of Minatogawa aptly described his village as a "bunke (branch family) of Itoman."

463 This is an unusual situation and can not be fully explained except
62 by a study of Itoman and the smaller fishing villages scattered throughout Okinawa Island. One explanation might be that historically Okinawans
614 have been farmers, and that, while they are excellent fishermen, they have not as a people participated in large numbers in fishing, leaving this activity to definite groups, such as the people of Itoman town. The passing down of occupations of the father to the son, the infrequency of change in occupation, especially from agriculture to fishing, the establishment of daughter villages, such as Minatogawa, might account for the fact that fishing is the occupation of a compact group of families who have intermarried and continued in their traditional occupations. Even in Matsuda, to the north, the temporary colonies of fishermen are either Itoman people or are their descendants. (There are of course a few local farmers who do some fishing). The close ties between Minatogawa and its parent town of Itoman illustrate the persistence of occupational and social relationships over a period of two and a half centuries.

614 Certain exceptions to the usual practice in Minatogawa accentuate the closeness of extended family relationships between Itoman and Minatogawa. As an illustration, we may take the case of three related families in Minatogawa who are not fishermen. The head of one family is a retired farmer, his son is a school teacher, and a third is a distant relative is a stone cutter. These people, formerly members or descendants of members of the nobility, came from Shuri. The main house of their extended family is in Shuri. This contemporary extended family now has so many members that the places for reunions and meetings have been increased, since the site of the main house in Shuri, founded by the original ancestor, can no longer accommodate all the members. The places of worship are divided into the main place, (umuta in Okinawan) and intermediate places
[978] (nakamutu in Okinawan). Some of these secondary places of worship are in nearby Maha. The number of these cases is small compared with the closely knit ties of the fishermen's families with Itoman town.

In Matsuda, the extended family operates as it does in Hanashiro. In the former town, there is an illustration of another point regarding the extended family system: the identity of a family name with a village name. Historically, the family took the name of the place; the place did not receive the name of the family. Though the situation is not clear, it would seem that when the king made grants of land to nobles that they
[565] adopted the name given by the king to the place, while commoners did not receive surnames, but were known by their household rank order — to be explained in Section 8. The village of Matsuda, for example, is the same

(8) Inheritance practices tend toward a slow but continuous fragmentation of land due to the need of establishing branch households. This tendency toward fragmentation is seldom overcome by reversing the process in favor of some form of land consolidation. The major obstacles to consolidation will be dealt with in the next chapter. Fragmentation is more likely to occur in the holdings of the more well-to-do who have property to divide. Among the very poor, whose holdings are small and scattered, there is an enforced primogeniture. It is not possible to divide land indefinitely. The smaller a piece of land, the more likely it will be surrounded by land owned by others, and these isolated islands are difficult either to sell or trade. 428 423 [565]

(9) Among the fishermen of Hinatogawa, practices applied to real, personal, and movable property, are similar to those of the agricultural villages (nōson). Here the influence of the family system is more on the disposition of personal than of real property, but the effects, if not the rewards, are similar. If a fisherman has dry crop fields--there is no rice land--the elder son receives all, or most of the land. All informants stressed the weight of the individual desire of the father, whose division of property is influenced by the spirit, sobriety, and dependability of his sons. Here there is also the same social disapproval of selling inherited land. The fishermen attempt to supply second sons with small boats, nets, hooks, and other gear, just as the farmer attempts to give land, domestic animals, and agricultural tools. With the very poor, second and third sons may have to be content with nothing or with a few articles of clothing. Among those fishermen who have land, the principle is established that the first son gets the greater part, if not all, of the real property. 428 423 422 [425]

3

Mechanics of Land Division

Ownership is scattered; individuals own different types of land in varying proportions and in varying grades within types. Plots of land are small in area. Rice plots are normally the smallest, followed in general in ascending order by dry crop fields, and the wild land (genya). It is from such conditions as these that the difficulties in fairness of division arise. 423 311

The following illustrations show the manner in which division is usually carried out. Let us for simplicity first assume four parcels of land:

#1, a house site
#2, a parcel of 700 tsubo third grade dry crop land (hatake)
#3, 500 tsubo of grade one dry crop land, inconvenient and far away from the home, and
#4, 1000 tsubo of grade two hatake.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

3

Daily Work Habits

512 The people of a village are continually busy. Their daily work habits depend on the season and the type of work. The work day of the fisherman is the least predictable because his activities are more sensitive to the present and anticipated weather. Most farmers continue working in their fields in a slight rain, but activity ceases with heavy rains. While the farmer works steadily and hard, there is a certain elasticity in his schedule. He does not go to the fields every morning at exactly the same time. Neither does he feel compelled to put in a full day's work every day; he is guided more by the tasks to be done. Work is interrupted by an occasional smoke or conversation with friends or neighbors passing by. There is a routine in daily life, but it is not strictly adhered [269] to. Meal times vary from day to day sometimes by an hour. Time may be taken out from the fields to gather firewood, make bean curd, to dry out bean pods, or to fix up one's house. Three or four days in [476] a row may be devoted to helping with another's house. The sun is [805] the guide to time. Most houses have clocks but few are running and they are not well regulated. Perhaps the chief distinction between agriculture and fishing work is that in the former, the tasks of all blend together.

A farmer's work day in summer begins about 8 or 9 in the morning and ends almost the same time in the evening. Full advantage is taken of the daylight hours. In summer, the evening meal is not eaten until 9 and often later. By the time the meal is finished and the table cleared, it is ten. After short visits within the family, or with neighbors, the farmer retires about 11. In the winter, the routine is the same, but the day's work stops earlier, and the evening meal is at about 6 P.M. The fishermen do not have this unbroken routine. There is often night work and the day may be used for sleeping. Intense activity is followed by periods of greater or less leisure.

4

Clothing

175 The history of costume in Okinawa is full of interest, but it is 292 too broad a subject to deal with here. In the old Okinawan kingdom, 565 clothing and its color, hair pins, caps, and other articles of men's [286] wear were used to designate rank. The clothing of the commoners had much less variety. Until quite recently, banana fibre was used in 291 farmers' clothing. A dyed indigo kimono, stripes for men and dots [537] for women, is still worn.

000 Present day clothing is of a non-descript character. The war

764 The beginning of a funeral procession is announced by a gong in the yard of a village office. The head man and other leaders and elders of the village attend the funeral. The mayor of the township or his representative joins in the procession.

[793] A Buddhist priest (bōsu-san) did not officiate at this funeral. Priests are scarce in rural Okinawa. Most of them were Japanese who returned to Japan after the war. Families can also save by dispensing with the Buddhist service. The participation of Buddhist priests, already nominal before the war, has now in the villages studied, virtually disappeared.

764 431 It is customary at a death to give a ten or twenty yen offering to the family. The money is put in a small envelop with an expression of sympathy written on it. (In Okinawa money is the usual gift at marriage, birthday celebrations, and at death. The gift may be put in a small envelop but it is common also to give a loose bill).

765 [782] [761] Early on the morning following the funeral, the tomb is visited by members of the family. Food offerings of rice, tea, sake, and a flower may be placed in front of the tomb. A charcoal stick is burned. These visits with the offerings and prayers on the following morning are associated with a belief, still held by the old, that the dead person might still be alive and that the pounding of an adult on the wall or the crying of a child might be heard so that the living could be rescued from the tomb. The belief that the person might still be alive and possibly could be heard seems to persist in Hanashiro and Hinatogawa. It was not encountered in Matsuda, although it might well exist.

2

Burial Places and the Family System

764 [311] [565] Okinawan tombs have excited the interest of foreigners from the earliest days of European contact. There are no cemeteries in the usual sense of the word, but areas scattered throughout the countryside, usually on the tops of hills, or on the stony sides of mountains, are given over to burial grounds. Tombs are not located on land suitable for agriculture. It has been said that the Japanese forbad using agricultural land for tombs, but the practice in Okinawa seems to antedate these Japanese interferences in the culture of the rural areas. In the interior, the tombs are always on wild (penya) land. But one can also see tombs along the seashore and on offshore rocks. The outstanding exceptions to this are the royal tomb area in Shuri, now largely destroyed, and the large and dramatically placed tombs in the center of Itoman town. In the case of Itoman, it is quite probable that the growing town has surrounded the areas taken as tomb sites.

Of the several types of tombs, the turtleback (kamekokata) is the most famous. It has been variously described by European travellers as

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

the tomb shaped like a horseshoe or the Greek letter, omega. A great deal of popular lore has accumulated around this type of tomb. Okinawans believe that the shape of the tomb symbolizes the position of a woman giving birth to a child. This is related to another idea, "returning to the source" (moto ni kaeru in Japanese). 764 [811]

Four different but related meanings seem to be involved in the idea of "returning to the source": (1) that life here is but a momentary experience. One's real and permanent life is in the afterworld. At death one returns to his permanent home. (2) After death a person becomes a god (hotoke-san) in the Buddhist sense. He reaches this state 49 days after death, according to some explanations, though there is much confusion on this point. This godhood is a "return to the source." (3) At death one returns to a state of peace, and (4) one returns to a former state or to a former place. It is with this last meaning that the turtleback tomb is associated in popular lore with "returning to the source." 761 775

On death one returns to the womb of nature from which he came. (Similar lore has collected around the Buddhist coffin in which the corpse is put in a position like that of a child in the womb). Whether the popular explanation is the true one is very hard to say. It certainly should not be accepted without critically evaluating the questions which such an explanation raises. Early European and American observers were quick to point out the similarities between those tombs and those of China, though the fact that they were introduced from China does not rule out the symbolic meaning they might have. Many Okinawans regard these tombs as indigenous. But the Okinawan antiquarians, who so love to find symbols in everything, would be loathe to surrender this lore. It is generally agreed that the tombs were introduced from Fukien province in China. Captain Basil Hall was the first western traveller, I think, to notice the similarity between Okinawan and Fukien tombs. M'Leod also mentioned it. 775 764 811 [114] [171] [077]

The gable (hafu) type of tomb is very common. There are also small temporary tombs of masonry, more often built of rocks. The tombs of Hinatogawa are of this type. There are also very old tombs, hollowed out of the rock of a hillside. These were rare in the villages. Only one was seen in the dense vegetation and undergrowth at the bottom of a deep ravine in the center of Hatsuda. Large tombs hollowed out of hillsides are a commonplace, but the small ones apparently were the tombs of the very poor. Recently a new small tomb is being built by families unwilling to undergo the expense of the larger tombs. Tombs, though appearing to be haphazardly placed on mountains or on rocky hillsides, are on privately owned land. 764 [565]

The tombs may also be classified as to use, that is, whether they are intended for a single or the extended family. In Hanashiro, tombs are of the extended family type, located on land owned by the main family. They are the responsibility of the head of the main family. Branch families may contribute to the purchase price of the land, construction materials, and to maintenance. 764 602

By the 7th day, the reminders of New Year have been cleared away. The old offerings are taken from the god shelf and replaced by new food. The rice straw rope, if any, has been removed. 527

Of all the holidays New Year is the most eagerly anticipated and the most varied in its activities. It combines ideas of renewal and new beginnings with worship of the dead and of the founders of the village, as well as being a means of making closer ties with more distant relatives of the extended family. It is a time of work and some pleasure for the women, a time of relaxation and drinking for the men.

2

Jūrokunichi

The second public holiday, Jūrokunichi (literally 16th day) is on the 16th day of the 1st lunar month (February 21, 1951). This is a holiday of devotion and prayer at the family tomb. Worshippers go singly or in a group. The tomb is cleaned and food is left for the dead. 769 [796]

In Hanashiro, food is taken in two lacquer boxes (Jūbako) the first of which contains rice cakes, the second, fritters, meat, bean curd, and other food depending on the resources of the family. For the first observance after death, two boxes are taken on this holiday. On succeeding anniversaries only the box containing the fritters, meat, bean curd and other foods is taken.[1] The purpose of this offering is to comfort the dead. The food, usually with tea and sake, is left before the tomb for about two hours and taken home, where it is eaten. (Offerings at tombs or at home are only temporary; later they are removed and eaten as ordinary food). The lacquer boxes may also be taken on New Year, at the spring equinox, and at O-Bon. [262] [415]

In Minatogawa, descendants of the former nobility or gentry (shisoku) take four boxes, two of rice cakes, two of the miscellaneous foods, while descendants of commoners take two boxes, one of the rice cakes, and one of the assortment. Every year the same offering is made. It is not reduced to one box after the first. In Matsuda, any kind of a flower is placed by the tomb. A lacquer box with food is prepared for all who died during the preceding year, but it remains on the god shelf in the house and is not taken to the tomb. The contents of the two boxes are as previously described. On succeeding anniversaries after the first, plates instead of lacquer boxes are used. [565] [262]

1 The idea behind this is not clear. Possibly in the first year the dead person requires more food and comfort than in succeeding ones. As they do with so many other practices, most Okinawans explain it by saying that it is sifūkan (the custom).

621 individuals give one day each year to forest maintenance and planting.
476 Twice during the year one day is given to cleaning up and repairing village roads and paths, to improve village cleanliness, and to reduce the danger from snakes. These clean-up activities, which take place in March, April and November, include cutting the grass and weeds along the roadside, cleaning off accumulated debris, and filling in ruts, holes, and rough spots.

621 The closest approach to village-wide co-operation in private
476 undertakings is in housebuilding. Regardless of the financial standing
342 of the owner, whenever a new house is being built, there are volunteer helpers from the whole village. This is the only area in which this co-operation exists. It does not occur in agriculture or at harvest times. Each day a different crew helps, but this assistance does not
[463] apply to the more specialized tasks. The skilled work on the larger new houses requires carpenters, masons, and tile setters. There is no rigid system of reciprocity nor does a villager keep a record of the days he has worked for the others and the days due him. Many who help already have substantial houses themselves and have no need of reciprocal aid. Following a custom in all the villages, when the
[594] building is finished, the owner gives a housewarming party, with plenty of sake and food. Both hired and volunteer workers are invited.

476 If we may judge by these villages, the Okinawan is individualistic in his approach to his work. Aside from the work on the roads and in the forests, help in emergencies, and the special case of housebuilding, the circle of mutual help is confined within the family or close associates. In no case, did the co-operation of a whole or a substantial part of the village extend to agriculture.

This preceding discussion does not exhaust the field of cooperative endeavor. The co-operative associations and mutual loan groups have already been discussed. Community organizations and neighborhood associations will be considered in Section 5. But these are either more restricted in membership or have a more planned organisational character.

571 In closing this discussion, a further point should be made to avoid misunderstanding. The farmer, fisherman, or stonecutter, the worker in the forest approaches his task as an individual. But group consultation and the sharing of responsibility in other activities is a positive characteristic of the culture. The principle of prior discussion, arriving at a decision acceptable to the group, is a conspicuous part of family life and is implicit in the family system. The same attitude appears in group and community organizations, and in the conduct, as we shall see, of village government.

h

Village Leadership

565
[727] The recent war brought about a levelling in village life. Before

the war, the upper stratum of society consisted of Japanese plus a few highly placed Okinawans. With the departure of the Japanese, there was no well developed class structure among the Okinawans to succeed to the Japanese hierarchy. Today in these villages, there are inequalities in economic well-being, and certain individuals or groups have greater prestige than others. But these, I am convinced, are not to be traced to a class structure. Any division of the village into upper, middle, and lower classes would be artificial and would put a strain on the facts. Differences, where they appear, are the result of individual qualities, such as age, the possession of land or money, or personal character. 565 [563] [511] [554] [554]

In the old Loochooan kingdom, there was a rigid class stratification based on the Chinese model. The Japanese abolished the Loochoo nobility after the islands became a province, but, according to Furness (1899), "the people still cling to the old custom."[1] Despite the abolition of the nobility, distinctions between noble and commoner were made up to the recent war. In the family registers, descendants of the Loochooan nobility (shizoku) were so designated. But all villagers agreed that these distinctions had no meaning or value, either for preferment in the Japanese service, or for one's social standing among his countrymen. For all practical purposes, everyone was a commoner. Since the war, the fact that one is a descendant of the Okinawan nobility is, if possible, even more inconsequential. No notation is made in the family register. Most men over 35 can tell instantly whether a given surname is of noble or common origin. 175 565 183 565

The number of these descendants of nobles must be very great. Chamberlain in 1895 reproduced a table, which he said he had every reason to believe was accurate, showing an absurdly high proportion of nobles to commoners. These statistics were from the census of 1891 and for the entire Ryukyus:[2] 565 162

	Household Heads	Families
Princes	2	35
Nobility and Gentry	22,567	95,082
Common People	57,981	235,213
Total	80,550	330,330

1 Life in the Luchu islands, as cited, 7. For rank distinctions based on caps, stockings, sashes, and hair pins, see Simon, as cited, 155, 156-59. Hawk's Perry's expedition, as cited, Vol. I, 224, Vol. II, 48. Basil Hall also gives rank orders in an appendix. Perry considered government by this nobility very oppressive. The CA Handbook Ryukyu (Loochoo) Islands gives the historical background of the class structure and its manifestations in government.

2 In the article cited from the Geo. jour. 5 (1895), 298.

565 553 A common device among noble families was to vary the second character of the Chinese compound which made up the given name. This custom still remains, but has no significance beyond individual family pride. The following case illustrates this naming device:

Relation to Present Head of House	Given Name
Grandfather	Chohyo
Father	Chokan
Present Head	Choyo
First Son	Choko
Second Son	Choshin
Third Son	Chokeii
Fourth Son	Chosei

554 Before the war, the village hierarchy consisted of the headman and retired elders and officials, the school principal and teachers if resident there, the well-to-do farmer, followed by the ordinary farmers or fishermen.[3] These distinctions are now blurred and have been affected by other changes. The school principal and the school teacher retain their prestige, but they have lost their relatively high economic status. Their clothing and the appearance of their homes are indistinguishable from those of a farmer. The ordinary farmer who works his field during the day and whose wife raises the pigs is in a better economic position. The same applies to village and township officials. Many distinctions based on wealth have disappeared because of the destruction and general [556] impoverishment of the war. Neither are distinctions possible in dress, for everyone wears makeshift clothing. Post-war circumstances have put the old at a disadvantage in dealing with new situations. Present day village life is fluid. The war and its aftermath have blurred many of the former distinctions based on age, occupation, or wealth.

621 208 Village leadership is based on individual qualities, but is limited by group opinion which all individuals respect. Decisions of any character, personal, familial, or political, emerge from consultation and discussion. One constantly hears the word sōdan, meaning a discussion or a consultation, with reference to decision making.

555 212 What types of individuals assume leadership in village affairs? First, leadership comes from a group that is literate. This limits the people available for responsible positions. Occupations such as the

3 According to old residents in Matsuda, there were in their youth, classes whose occupation made them inferior. Examples were bell ringers [461] ringers at funerals and pig killers. Pig killing is still considered [565] a low occupation, but this has no relevance to village life, for no [963] commercial slaughtering is done in the villages. In the villages, there is no suggestion of the existence of groups looked down upon because of their occupation, with the possible exception of a collector of night soil—and this occupation is infrequent.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

Introduction

The modern history of Okinawan education falls into three periods, which correspond with the cultural influences of three different nations: (1) the traditional education borrowed from China, (2) the Japanese system of education, and (3) the introduction of American concepts of education following the war.[1] 871 177

The Chinese influences ended in the latter part of the 19th century. Education was confined to the upper classes. "Aping China in everything, Lew Chew has also its three yearly examinations, which, for the time being, make quite a stir in the learned world, but hold out no prospect for high station, as in China. At most, the fortunate candidate gets, beside a good fill of honor, a rice pension or a schoolmastership."[2] [565]

The new Japanese education also introduced western ideas into Okinawa through a Japanese sieve. The Meiji Rescript on Education (1890) codified the principles of this new pedagogy. It was a method of inducing conformity to the ideals of the new Japan. The most important point was that education became a mass program.[3] This new education, according to Chamberlain (1895), took hold gradually.

Before the war there were two policies in public education. Up to 1940, primary school (shōgakko) was an eight year course. In addition to the usual studies, the curriculum from grades one through six emphasised duties and obligations (gimu) to one's parents, relatives, friends, and to the emperor. The national school (kokumingakko) system, which lasted until the end of the war, replaced the old primary school. Instruction in duties and obligations extended over eight years with intensified emphasis on nationalism and emperor worship.

1 Education is a large, complex, and technical subject. Time did not permit spending a large amount of time in classrooms. My purpose here is to show how education is related to village and family life and to explain the general nature of the problems as I observed them. [121]

2 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, I, 223-24. The words are those of Dr. Bettelheim.

3 The modern school system in Japan dates from 1872. Many of the Okinawan schools seem to have been started in the eighties and nineties. The first school in Okinawa is said to have been started in Shuri in 1798.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

Between 1875 and 1895, when the court life at the old capitol of Shuri was broken up under Japanese influence, many families of noble origin moved into the country to become farmers, and the village grew in size. These people settled mainly outside the central village in areas where land was available. One family moved into Taira proper, forming the third "main house." Although it still maintains feeble ceremonial connections with Shuri, it gave up its noble title shortly after coming north and moved its ancestral tomb to the community. The noble families who settled in the valleys and hills preserved their distinctive traditions until the end of World War II. Their noble descent was noted in the population register, and intermarriage with commoners was discouraged.

Except for these Shuri migrants, few outsiders seem to have settled in Taira prior to World War II. The residents on the southern part of the island, especially the residents of Naha and Shuri, consider northerners rustics. Although this part of the island was often used as a hiding place by political and criminal refugees from the south, who are said to have founded nearby villages, none of them made their home in Taira.

The original settlers of Taira were reluctant to accept later arrivals in their midst. Because of the fear of spirits, foreign to the village, they prohibited the burial of the newcomer's dead near the tombs shared by the members of the "main houses." To this day the funeral urns of a family who came to Taira about 60 years ago and later intermarried with settled villages are kept in a cave, away from all other tombs.

Higashi township was established in 1922. The area had previously belonged to Kushi township to the south, but the great distances between villages and the mountainous character of the country made efficient administration very difficult. Furthermore, some Higashi inhabitants felt that because of temperamental differences and divergent interests they should separate from the southern township. Since 1922 contacts have been predominantly with Ogimi township to the northwest and the town of Nago, 16 miles away. Once the road connecting the two coastlines was completed in 1936, Taira's isolation decreased considerably, and it became the administrative seat of Higashi township in 1946.

Taira also became the home of the high priestess. In the period prior to direct Japanese administration, her office was under the jurisdiction of the Shuri court (Lebra, 1958), and her predecessors must have been appointed by the Okinawan kings. Taira may have been chosen as the seat of the high priestess in lieu of Kawata because Kawata lacks the good rice land which traditionally went to the high priestess by royal decree. Some of this rice land is still in the hands of the living priestess.

844 [853] kimonos, and diapers. He is placed under the blanket next to the mother and given a gauze nipple dipped in tea and sugar to suck, which is often his only food for as long as two days if lactation is slow. Meanwhile the afterbirth is wrapped in straw and left under the floorboards in the kitchen to await the outgoing tide.

846 593 Tea is now served in the front room, and the birth is discussed by the women who assisted. On one such occasion, the father and grandmother showed a little boy whose sister had just been born a great deal of affection. The father held the boy in his lap, and both adults told him that he was now a big brother.

844 851 156 At the first hour of the outgoing tide, old women—the grandmother of the baby, relatives, and neighbors—wrap the afterbirth in rice straw and bury it in a specified place outdoors behind the hearth. The purpose of the ceremony is to ensure that the child will be happy and sociable. To the accompaniment of laughing, loud clanging of pots and covers, and calling to each other, the women circle the house. When the burial is completed, they chant loudly, "May this baby al- [152] ways laugh and be pleasant." A stone is then placed over the burial mound so that the infant will not be frightened in his sleep, an emotion which is inferred from the jerking of a young infant while asleep.

852 565 462 Until about 10 years ago a ceremony was performed by descendants of noble families from Shuri over the newborn to ensure success in his future role. For boys, a winnowing basket was propped up against a hoe on which a clump of soil and grass rested. While the father's mother [178] held the child in one arm, she shot an arrow with a bow into the basket. This act was to make certain that the child would become a good hunter (provider) as well as a successful farmer. The grass on the hoe [286] symbolized strength. A girl, on the other hand, received a miniature loom constructed especially for such occasions, which was to assure her success as a weaver of cloth. A spool of banana fiber was presented along with the loom.

852 565 538 There is a story that long, long ago an infant was born on the beach. Immediately after he was born, as he still lay on the sand, a crab crawled over his chest. This infant grew up to be a strong, famous man. Shuri descendants still have a custom of grandmothers holding a newborn boy in their laps and releasing a small crab, which scurries over the infant's chest. These practices, however, are absent in central Taira now and are rarely found in the outlying settlements of predominantly Shuri descendants.

846 178 Formerly mother and child were confined to the darkened delivery room next to the kitchen and at the rear of the house for seven days, while an open fire was kept blazing in the brazier near the mother.

Amami Oshima, Okinawa, Miyako, and Yaeyama.[1] Although they appear to differ 197
widely, mutual intelligibility prevails, and informants from other islands assured me that they had managed to understand Okinawan in a short time though most preferred to use Japanese rather than attempt the new dialect.

Okinawan Dialects The Okinawan dialect area, Okinawa and its offshore islands, contains many sub-dialects or local speech groups, all of which are easily mutually intelligible. It would be an exaggeration to state that there is a distinctive dialect for each community; yet the variety and diversity of local speech forms constantly impresses one. Nakasone has distinguished five dialects in the Kunigami area alone, and this does not include nearly a dozen and a half distinctive speech islands within the same area.[2] These local speech peculiarities are often pointed out with considerable pride [621] and seem much prized as symbolic of a community's identity.

The dialects of Naha, Shuri, and certain of the larger towns such as Itoman and Yonabaru, are quite distinctive and easily recognized by the Okinawans. Naha dialect is most widely spoken and easily understood throughout the [554] island, and because of its association with the capital carries the greatest prestige among Okinawan speakers. Old residents of Naha complain that their [177] dialect has deteriorated and become coarsened since the war due to the heavy influx from other areas of people who speak the dialect imperfectly. By this they refer to the loss of certain polite forms and the inundations of Japanese. Some Shuri people will contend that the "best" Okinawan is spoken in their city. In the past this was undoubtedly a widely accepted point of view, but [648] with the advent of Japanese administration---exile of the king, removal of the [177] capital to Naha, abolition of the upper classes---Shuri's prestige as a cultural center rapidly declined. A number of informants, rural and urban, felt [545] that the "purest" Okinawan was heard in the Naha theaters, particularly at the Naha Gekijō, where daily performances of modern and historical dramas are presented. Itoman dialect is considered to be very coarse and rough by the people [554] of other communities, and hence is accorded a low prestige. This is in part [326] due to certain prosodic features of the dialect which render it unlike other Okinawan dialects, but more likely it is due to the fact that this town largely derives its livelihood from fishing, an occupation regarded with opprobrium by farmers and urbanites alike. The neighboring farm village of Kanegusuku, though less than a quarter of a mile away and long associated with Itoman, preserves a dialect distinct from it.

This dialectic diversity on Okinawa reflects to a certain extent the [361] physical isolation of the typical village, a tightly-nucleated cluster of dwellings surrounded by fields. It is also a product of the social structure 197 in the Okinawan kingdom. Prior to annexation by Japan (1879), farmers were 105 little more than serfs bound to the soil and forbidden to leave their native [546] village, while the gentry and nobility were for the most part concentrated in [565] the urban Naha-Shuri district. Rural villages tended to be isolated, self- [621] sustaining units; most were composed of a dominant kin group (munchu) and several smaller and possibly remotely related kin groups, or of several unrelated kin groups more nearly equal in size. A munchu was made up of a number

[1] Miyanaga /Miyara/, 1950, p. 39.

[2] Nakasone, 1937, pp. 242-258.

601 the native terms for "father" and "mother" to uncles and aunts is going out
177 of use. Thus in structure as well as in the terms themselves the Okinawan
192 system is moving in the direction of the Japanese.

552 Maintaining Continuity: House Names Every house has a name (yaanunaa,
613 Japanese 'yagō'). This name, in the case of the older houses, may be descriptive of its location or may be taken from the place of origin of the founder. Insofar as possible a man's first son should succeed him as head of his house. If a man's first son rebuilds the house or even moves it, its name usually remains the same. When younger sons establish their own houses the house of the first son is called the "main house" (muutuyaa, J. 'honke') and the younger sons' houses "branch houses" (tatchiyaa, J. 'bunke'). The branch houses take their house names from the house name of the main house. Thus if the main house is called Taba, a branch house may be called Taba-gwaa, "little Taba". If there are several Taba-gwaa, they may be distinguished by directions such as agari, "east", iri, "west", or by the birth order of their founders, as jinan Taba-gwaa, "second-son little Taba", and so forth. If a family line has been in a village for several generations there may be branch houses of branch houses. In such a case the earlier branch house is a main house to its branch houses while still in the status of branch house to the house of the founder of the line. In such cases new elements may be introduced into the naming system; a branch of a Taba-gwaa might be mii-Taba-gwaa, "new little Taba". If there are several branches and branches of branches the original main house (in Japanese, the 'sōhonke') may come to be called ufu-Taba, "great Taba". Thus the relationship of a number of houses in a village may be shown by the names used for them. The house names of a village are surprisingly well-known by the members of a village, even by the children, better known than either the surnames or given names of the inhabitants.[1]

55 Personal Names Before the Japanese annexation the two main social
177 classes on Okinawa differed in the sorts of names they bore. Members of the
• [54] gentry (yukatchu, "superior people", or samuree, cognate of the Japanese 'sa-
[614] murai') belonged to patrilineal common descent groups called uji. These uji each had a name consisting of a single Chinese character, often a Chinese surname. Also, different lineages within each uji each bore surnames that were mainly Okinawan place names; these were taken from the names of villages and larger administrative units where the founders of the lineages served as officials. And in addition, each male member of the gentry class had a given name consisting of two characters read in the Chinese manner (that is, the Okinawan version of the Japanese 'on-yomi'). These were called toonaa, "Chinese names". In each uji the first of the two characters in all names was the same. Thus, to give an example, in the Hyō uji there are three lineages bearing the surnames Moromizato, Itosu, and Higa, but all males in the uji regardless of surname bear given names that begin with the character An. Thus Moromizato Ansei and Itosu Angō are seen to be kinsmen despite the difference in surname. These are the names of two men living today. Had they lived before the annexation they might also have designated themselves for official purposes by what look like proper Chinese names, Hyō Ansei and Hyō Angō.

[1] For a more detailed account of the house-naming system see Glacken, 1953, pp. 115-122.

At the same time, each person, both men and women, bore a given name 551
that was purely Okinawan. These names are called warabinaa, "child names". They are few in number. Several of them---perhaps all of them---are meaningful, such as Kamii, "turtle", Ushi, "ox". Several of them were given both to males and to females. They were transmitted according to rules that seem now to be not too well understood. According to one old woman, a man should give his name to his sons' first sons and his wife hers to the sons' first daughters. Subsequent grandchildren should receive the names of the grandparents' siblings or other relatives. A younger woman said that a first son got his father's father's name and a woman her mother's mother's. But unfortunately not enough information was obtained to support the last assertion or to re- [174]
veal any further pattern. (This is a subject that would be well worth further study; the possibility that the naming system is a reflection of a former system of double descent should not be overlooked.)

Among the commoners (hyakusoo, cognate of Japanese 'hyakushō', pea- [565] ●
sants"), surnames were perhaps not universally taken until after the Japanese [177]
annexation. Nor did they have Chinese-style given names. Their common descent [614]
groups, usually called munchu, seem to bear names that are place names. They did have house names (yaanuyaa, J. 'yagō'), and Okinawan-style given names. Probably a commoner was known only by these two. Even today among the older Okinawans a man is more likely to be known as Taasachi-gwaa nu Sanree, "Sanree ("Third"?) of the house Taasachi-gwaa ("Little End-of-the-Rice-Field")", than by the name found in the 'koseki'.

Today everyone is registered by and officially known by a surname and 551
given name. The surnames are mainly taken from Okinawan place names but the 177
readings assigned the characters are frequently Japanized. Thus Ufu-gusuku, "great-castle' becomes 'Ōshiro' and Nakandakari becomes 'Nakamura'. Many of the given names for males are of two characters read in the Sino-Japanese manner, like the given names formerly used only by the gentry, but many also are purely Japanese---Masaru, Takeo, Toshiyasu---the last possibly being the Japanese reading of a name that once might have been given its "Chinese" reading. Girls are given such Japanese names as 'Yoshiko' and 'Masako'. And the youngest child recorded in the 'koseki' for Yamada, the first to bear the name, was an infant girl named 'Chiemi', obviously after a currently popular Japanese "starlet".

The Ancestral Tablets In every main house there is a shelf or if 769
possible a cabinet (tootoomee, J. 'butsudan') for the ancestral tablets (ifee, 353
J. 'ihai'). If it is a cabinet it contains three shelves; on the top shelf 592
stand the tablets flanked by a pair of vases, on the second shelf a pair of tea-cups and a wine cup, and on the third an incense burner (u-kooru). The paraphernalia vary somewhat with the means of the family. The tablets are 769
red lacquered slips of wood held in two rows in a black frame. On the upper 592
row are written the names of deceased male members of the family, on the lower row names of deceased females. The ancestral tablets together with the house name form an inseparable unit. The main house of the Taba lineage is the [613]
main house and has the house name "great Taba" because it is the location of the ancestral tablet of the founder of the lineage. The tablets at "new little Taba" contain the tablet for the founder of that house. The tablets are

575 in the constitution that said so. That the rules of an organization should
883 be binding on non-members as well as members evidently seemed perfectly logical to him. The aims expressed in this constitution included the fostering of morality, the industrial spirit, health, sanitation, and the use of English, supporting religion and discarding superstition. As an example of "superstition", the past president gave the belief that rats will inevitably destroy the rice plants in a field in the village unless offerings are made there. But though this man is a school teacher I doubt if he would have labelled as "superstition" any of the beliefs that actually stand in the way of some of the other aims of the organization.

Besides the Youth Organization there are other smaller local groups organized primarily for intellectual purposes, study clubs, etc., among both students and young people out of school. Then there are also informal groups, gangs of a sort, among students as well as non-students. A young man told Lebra of the activities of a gang that he had been the ringleader of while in high school in a large town. The gang consisted of four to ten boys the same age who studied together and travelled around together. They occasionally went out into the country to talk to village girls, to be chased out by the country boys. They played jokes on other young people and even on their teachers. But the young man looks back with pride on the fact that they helped reform a fellow student who drank and gambled but has now become sober and industrious.

883 In the country the pleasure-seeking activities of the young people were formerly institutionalized in a practice known as moo-ashibii ("playing in the fields"). On pleasant evenings young unmarried men and women would semi-surreptitiously leave their parents' homes with food and drink and a 'shamisen' or two for music, and meet at some spot outside the village where they ate and drank, sang and danced. Although there was an element of secrecy to the practice, some parents evidently encouraged the young people to
[362] go and enjoy themselves. Probably young men were given more encouragement
[365] than young women. There were class differences, too; gentry families in the village of Yamada took pains to keep their daughters home, probably mainly to prevent them from forming alliances with young men. The objections that some parents had were perhaps more to the young people's appropriating food and drink for the purpose than to anything else. Young men sometimes continued to go to the moo-ashibii after marriage.

A similar institution was the yagamayaa ("rowdy house", cognate with Japanese 'yakamashii', "noisy"). It is possible that in some communities yagamayaa were once built solely for that purpose. But in two communities where information was obtained on the practice, Yamada and Henza, a yagamayaa was simply a house where the young people were able to take over a room or two for their pleasure. In Yamada it was said to be usually a house with no adult males at home; the house of a woman whose husband was working overseas functioned as a yagamayaa for a time. The young people may simply force their way in, but in this case the woman welcomed the food they brought and shared with her, so she simply moved with her children into the back room and turned the front rooms over to them. On Henza several houses where girls occupy rooms of their own are yagamayaa.

The activities at the moo-ashibii and the yagamayaa undoubtedly led 883
in many cases to secret sexual relations. Probably most young men in the 836
country first experienced sex as a result of intrigues developing through these activities. Young women differed more in their experience. Daughters of the gentry may have had little or none. Some girls who did go to the moo-ashibii, it is said, went merely to hear the singing. Those who behaved promiscuously were talked about and the reputation they gained lasted. Yet it seems unlikely that chastity was valued very highly or that virginity was expected at marriage. One young woman had heard in Japan how husbands sometimes divorced their wives upon finding after marriage that they were not virgins. She had never heard of this having been done on Okinawa and neither she nor her mother could even give an Okinawan equivalent of the Japanese word 'shojo', "virgin". [171]

Formerly among the gentry class in Naha and Shuri it was customary 833
for a father to take his son, or have a relative or friend take him, to a 565
jurimuyaa to let him have his first sexual experience. According to Yanagida, 178
until the last decades of the last century this was part of a young man's 548
coming-of-age celebration held at the beginning of his 13th (15th?) year; the juri who functioned in this capacity were called niisee-chuurasaa, "those who make youths into men".[1]

At the present time the rural moo-ashibii and yagamayaa are probably 178
less important institutions than they formerly were, but they undoubtedly do 883
still exist. At present there are more occasions when young people of the opposite sex can meet and feel that it is proper to do so. In the pre-war counterparts of the Youth Organization and in the schools the sexes were separate. Now they mingle more freely. The need to meet in groups in a half-clandestine manner is not so great. Now as before real intrigues are conducted in secret, but something approaching an open courtship is now possible. [584]

Marriage: Preliminaries Until recently marriages were nearly always ar- 584
ranged by the family for the good of the family. 178
The object in arranging a match was to acquire a daughter-in-law to produce [881]
heirs for and to keep house for the son. The couple themselves were consulted and one of them could refuse the match if it were really disagreeable, but more often they agreed to it. At present young people often choose for themselves, but even so they may abandon a desired marriage if it is strongly opposed by one or more of the parents.

In the past moo-ashibii may have led to marriage in some cases but more often it did not, even when liaisons resulted in children. At present young unmarried men and women associate more freely in public, and mutual attraction may lead to a relationship more like the Western courtship leading to marriage. This had been especially true since the war.

Formal Ceremonies As in many societies there are more formal and 584
less formal ways of marrying. The preliminaries to the older family-arranged marriage usually begin with a proposal by the young man's family. If the

[1] Yanagida, 1951, p. 309.

If the
584 girl's family is favorably disposed, one or both parties visit a diviner
791 (sanjinsoo, Japanese 'ekisha') to determine the compatibility of the couple (eesoo shirabi). The diviner ostensibly does this by casting horoscopes and drawing lots, but it is likely that he also gives weight to factors known to him or revealed by the persons requesting advice so that if one of the participants has strong objections to the marriage he may find reasons why it should not be. This interpretation is merely an hypothesis, but it seems probably that the decision of the diviner may thus be a useful face-saving device. Possibly for this reason the go-between seems to be of secondary importance.

After the decision has been made to unite the two families in marriage there may be a formal betrothal ceremony (ubukui). For this the prospective
[583] groom's family sends certain gifts including a sum of money to the bride's home. This money, called injoojing, corresponds to the "bride price" of some societies. Its payment is probably the most essential element in the whole procedure, since a small sum is still paid even when other formalities are dispensed with. This payment seals the agreement.

585 The wedding ceremony (niibichi, "drawing the roots") takes place at the groom's house in the evening of a day determined by the diviner. First a party goes from the groom's house to the bride's house with gifts. This party then carries the bride to the groom's house, where they are met by a
[17] welcoming party. In recent times the ceremony at the groom's house has been the Japanese 'sansankudo', exchange of drinks; the original Okinawan ceremony was somewhat different. When this has been completed the bride and groom celebrate separately each with friends and relatives of the same sex. On the following day, or whenever the celebration is over, the couple pays a formal visit to the bride's parents.

[184] This elaborate procedure is not usual at the present time among country
[583] people. In fact, the ceremony may not occur at all; the woman may merely come to live with the man with little or no formal recognition of the change in status beyond perhaps the payment of a small bride price. The marriage has a legal existence when it is recorded in the 'koseki'. It may not be recorded immediately; often it is recorded only a little before or together with the recording of the birth of the first child. This practice obviates changing the record if the marriage is not successful.

585 But formerly among the gentry of Naha and Shuri the wedding was even
178 more elaborate than the procedure just described. Moreover, after the cere-
• 585 mony the groom, instead of entertaining his male relatives and friends at home, took them to a jurinuyaa where for three days and nights they were en-
[548] tertained by the juri with food, drink, music, and sex. I am acquainted with three interpretations explaining why the groom spends his wedding night with a prostitute. The first, that given by an American missionary[1] explains the practice as symbolizing the freedom of the male and demonstrating to the bride that her husband was free to find sexual gratification elsewhere. The second interpretation was one given to me by a man in his thirties, a descendant of the Shuri gentry, and a man with rather "modern" ideas. He said that

[1] The missionary Schwarz, whose work is not presently available to me.

a young man would have had no previous sexual experience and that it was felt 585
that it was necessary for him to be instructed by an experienced woman before 178
he had relations with his bride. The third explanation was given by a country 565
woman in her fifties, of gentry descent. She told how her husband had gone to the wedding of a city relative and had been taken afterwards to the juri-muyaa. She did not know if her husband had been treated to a juri or not but was sure that the groom must have had one. Her explanation of the practice was that it was mainly a display of the position of the family and its ability to provide entertainment. Probably there is a bit of truth in all three explanations. The practice does undoubtedly reenforce the male's right to sexual freedom. The second explanation seems a little weak, especially in view of the reported former practice of the city gentry of combining a sexual initiation with the boy's coming-of-age ceremony, but the explanation may be that given for the earlier trip to the brothel and it may also be the "explanation" of the practice conventionally given, conventional explanations not necessarily revealing real motives. The last explanation, that the practice is mainly a display, probably strikes at the most important motive, the use of entertainment to demonstrate status.

Secondary Marriage Formerly wealthier men sometimes took juri as 837
mistresses. In the village of Yamada before the war, the richest man, or 556
perhaps the only man designated as "rich man" had his own juri. She was a kooi-juri, a "bought juri", that is, he had bought her from the house she had been indentured to. She stayed in Naha, but occasionally came to Yamada. The informant who told of this, a woman in her thirties, expressed the opinion that any man who became rich would naturally soon want his own juri.

At the present time it seems to be a fairly widespread practice for a 595
man who has enough means to have a second wife (yuubee, in Japanese 'nigō', "number two"). Sometimes this is done openly, sometimes secretly. It may be a more common practice today than formerly because of the present skewed sex ratio. Some information was obtained about two such men, one a fisherman and the other a doctor, so-called.

The fisherman was an Itoman man; his first wife had no children so he took as a second wife a woman whose family lived in a town to the north. The second wife has borne three children. The "main wife" (in Japanese 'honsai') stays at Itoman in the house of the man's father, and there she is raising the husband's first son, the child of the second wife. But most of the time the husband is at one of the northern villages with his second wife, her other children, and two boys of junior high school age whom he bought on one of the outer islands to help him in his fishing. Unfortunately I did not learn how the family was registered in the 'koseki'.

The "doctor" was a man from a village south of Naha, who had an office
at his home and also a practice in Naha. His methods consisted of heat treat- [757]
ments and steam baths. He spent about half the time with his "number two", whom he had set up in a room in Naha. His first wife was presumably unaware of the existence of the second wife, even though he once took the second wife to his home along with a patient, ostensibly as a friend of the patient.

called for 'awamori'. After a few drinks he asked in a fairly serious manner, 831
"Have you bought a woman yet during your stay? You really ought to try an 522
Okinawan woman before you go." His daughter-in-law and two half-grown sons looked on in amusement. The question is not uncommon; on another occasion it was, "Have you tasted Okinawan women?"

In common talk, and perhaps in feeling, sex seems to be identified al- 548
most wholly with prostitution and the sex act with the hiring of a juri. The 831
sight of a seed boar being led across a field evoked the comment, "That pig's a man; he's on his way to buy a woman." Perhaps the above statement should be narrowed down to something like: the pleasurable aspects of sex are identified with prostitution. And sexual pleasure, like the pleasures of eating and drinking, singing and dancing, is something that guests may be treated to. (Hence the concern that the visitor sample all the pleasures that Okinawa offers and a pride in those for which it is famous.) In view of the fact that children grow up hearing about juri and jurinuyaa and associating them with other pleasures before they have any notion of their sexual functions, it is not surprising that when they become adults they display attitudes that are different from those found among Americans.

Before the war in the Tsuji district of Naha there were about three thousand juri.[1] The district was the center of the social life of the men [565] ●
of the upper classes. Business men, government officials, and teachers were entertained there. No doubt all did not "buy" juri, but sex was one of the principal commodities dispensed there. Also it is unlikely that the average farmer ever went there, but the indications are that he would have if he could have. A man is expected to want these things if he can afford them. The [184]
values of the farmer are not likely to be very different from those of the better-off city man. The jurinuyaa has played an important role in Okinawa society in the past and is not likely to disappear very soon.

Maturity and Old Age: Associations Men may continue to belong to the 575
'Seinenkai' until thirty; women drop 562
out at marriage. The reason that men stay longer may be to give greater continuity to the organization and to provide older members as leaders, but in view of the recreational activities of the organization it seems as likely that the rule is merely a part of the general tendency to give more freedom to men and more responsibility to women.

Adult Associations ('Seijinkai') are said to exist in some villages 575
but are not of any great importance. Associations formed by persons of the same age ('dōnenkai') also exist. In Japan such organizations are often com- [171]
posed of persons who were in the same class in school[2]; on Okinawa the number of older persons who attended school probably does not permit the formation of very large associations. The tendency among younger persons is not very noticeabe. Younger men may organize 'shōbōkai', volunteer fire brigades; such [368]
an organization patrolled the streets of Ishikawa nightly. We did not see any evidence of the persistence of any organizations based on former military [177]
service; the Japanese Army Reservists' Association may never have been very active on Okinawa.

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1 Yanagida, 1951, p. 309.

2 Embree, 1939, p. 163ff.

764 have the occasion to talk with one. If a priest is called, he kneels before
793 the coffin, rings a bell, and recites from the sutras. His recitation is in
[77] a Japanized Sanskrit, which is probably wholly incomprehensible to all. After the recitation he burns incense before the coffin and the assembled relatives and friends do likewise. The coffin is then carried out of the house and put into the gang, a red palanquin that is village property in many villages. At this point all present pray. The procession to the tomb now begins. It is led by the bearer of a flag announcing the death, followed by the priest (if there is one), then the paper tablet carried by the heir of the deceased, who holds an umbrella over it. Then the family comes, then male relatives and neighbors, and then the gang containing the coffin, borne by four neighbors of the deceased. And finally come the female relatives and neighbors of the deceased. When the procession arrives at the enclosure before the tomb, the neighbors who have been bearing the gang set it down and relatives take the coffin out and carry it in before the tomb. Only relatives and the priest enter. While the women again weep aloud the coffin is put into the tomb and offerings are left before it. In returning, the women take a different route.

767 Formerly funeral processions were led by member of a special profes-
• 565 sion called nimbuchaa (from nimbuchi, J. 'nembutsu', a kind of Buddhist
[71] prayer for the dead). These persons formed a separate social class looked down upon by others, and lived in a few separate villages, rather like the Eta of Japanese society.

765 Bone-Washing and the Tomb After the body has been in the coffin a suitable length of time, usually about two years, the coffin is removed from the tomb, the body is removed from the coffin, which is destroyed, the remaining decayed flesh is then washed from the bones, and they are returned to the tomb.

764 In Northern Okinawa the tombs are relatively small and are usually the property of smaller kinship units, but in Southern Okinawa the tombs are larger and are usually the property of the larger kin groups, the munchu. In some instances several munchu share the same tomb. Even the smaller tombs are built with considerable expense; the larger ones cost the equivalent of several hundred dollars. Both the larger and the smaller tombs contain a floor at ground level upon which a coffin may be set and behind this a shelf or
[563] shelves upon which washed bones are placed. Families descended from the former gentry class place the washed bones into large urns. Commoners simply place the bones on the shelf and when the shelf is filled, push the older bones into a pit behind the shelf. If one death follows another so closely that there is a coffin with unwashed bones still in the tomb, the family, rather than reopen the tomb too soon, may choose to make a temporary tomb by walling a natural opening in the rocks. Or, as may happen in the case of the tombs belonging to the larger kin groups, if there is a body in the tomb with flesh sufficiently decayed for bone-washing, the family who suffered that loss may wash the bones at the same time that the family who has suffered the second loss is holding its funeral.

765 The bone-washing is an emotionally charged performance. Women usually wash the bones and do so with a great and apparently genuine display of grief.

621 among its membership, and all relationships are highly structured. Though
592 age-grades tend to structure the membership of the community, this is not
[361] too important, as the basic unit within the village is the family, not the individual. The community is regarded as an association of families
[565] bound together in a relationship of equality. Such differences as exist
[178] in wealth and land holdings are not so great as to constitute class differentiation; likewise the old Okinawan class structure is no longer of any real significance, and in most rural communities the bulk of the families were and still are of commoner descent.

621 The concept of political participation by households is basic to
829 the thinking of the villagers. Universal suffrage applies only to munic-
592 ipal and national elections; within the village active political partici-
666 pation is restricted to household heads functioning in the capacity of representatives for their respective families. When the mayor of one village was asked why all adults were not allowed to vote in village elections, his quick reply was, "Is it democracy to give some families more votes merely because they have more members?"

6. Political Leadership and Authority

621 There are nine important political offices within the village of Kanegusuku (population 507)---mayor, assistant mayor, clerk, 4 councillors,
[592] and 2 'son' assemblymen. Eighteen of the 108 village families are headed by women, and since only male household heads are elected to positions of political leadership, there remain 90 men eligible for these offices. A number of the young household heads also must be excluded from this group since a man must be over twenty-seven to be eligible, and there are others who are too old or infirm. This leaves 72 men eligible for office on the basis of the formal requirements.

621 Actually the villagers apply several other qualifications which one
554 must possess in order to be eligible for office. In practice the repatriates and the other newcomers to the village since the end of the war are not elected. Those who are poor (less than enough land for mere subsistence) cannot afford to accept an office, since the pay is low and the demands on one's time are too great. The men who have non-agricultural jobs which take them outside the village each day also do not have the time to devote, and the villagers tend to feel that these men are out of touch with the problems of a farming village. Lastly there are several men who otherwise meet all qualifications for village office save for what the villagers vaguely describe as "good character"; the most frequently cited example for this group is a man who dislikes farming and spends much of his time drinking or visiting the 'pachinko' parlor in a nearby town. Thus, the total number qualified for political office on the basis of all criteria which are applied is limited to approximately 47 individuals; this group, which constitutes about 9% of the total population, supplies the village leadership and forms the core of the body politic.

CHAPTER VIII LAND TENURE

W. P. Lebra

423 During the lifetime of the oldest living generation of Okinawans
178 there have been operative two radically differing systems of land tenure---at first a system of communal land ownership and later a system of private ownership of land by families. At the present time a third system may be said to be emerging---private ownership by individuals. Changes in the systems of land tenure have been accompanied by significant changes in the family, economy, and community. During the wartime and post-war periods extensive land losses to military installations have severely disrupted the livelihood of a number of communities, thus furthering the process of change.

175 1. The Okinawan Kingdom and the Land Allotment System ('jiwari seido')

Prior to 1879 when Japan formally annexed the Ryukyus, Okinawa was
[692] a small semi-independent kingdom (it was a tribute-paying dependency of the daimiate of Satsuma in Japan) controlling the southern Ryukyus. The
175 urban Naha-Shuri area served as the administrative and commercial center
• 565 for the kingdom, and nearly all of the upper classes, gentry and nobility, were concentrated there. They formed a ruling class similar to that of
[423] China, functioning as a literati and administrative bureaucracy. Feudalism had been abolished in the fifteenth century, and aside from a small percentage of the nobility who were allowed to retain their hereditary fiefs, the bulk of the upper classes subsisted on pensions granted by the ruler. This group was very large and constituted approximately one-third of the total population.

175 The farming population lived in a state of serfdom, being forbidden
[566] even to move from their native village or to change their hereditary occu-
[364] pation. Farm villages were self-sustaining and physically isolated entities consisting of tightly-nucleated clusters of dwellings surrounded by fields.
[621] Each village was segmented into several lineages whose houses were generally
[613] clustered together; these kin groups were related through the male line and shared a common ancestor, ritual observances, and often a local tomb for
[614] temporary burial. Each lineage was usually related to certain lineages of other villages, thus forming a larger relationship or patri-sib which shared a remote common ancestor, ritual observances, and a common tomb for permanent burial. Usually the membership of this larger kinship group was con-
[582] centrated in the villages of a given district or area. Village endogamy was an obligatory marriage practice, and kin group endogamy was a preferred though not an obligatory practice.

178 Private ownership of land on Okinawa is a recent phenomenon, as
423 recent, in fact, as the beginning of the twentieth century. Under the old
175 kingdom communal ownership of the land obtained for all except a small seg-
423 ment of the upper classes. In theory all land was the property of the ruler,
[632] but in practice the district, or majiri (political unit roughly equivalent

175 family, but in actual practice the family often received a far lower percent-
423 age, since with a fixed tax there was no possibility of compensating for crop
651 failure, decline in productivity, and population growth. Tax payments were made in grain though cloth was also accepted. In addition to the inflexibility of the tax system there was a lack of uniformity in tax levies; certain areas such as Kunigami and the outer islands bore an unequal tax load, and farmers in all areas paid a proportionately higher tax than the officials and upper classes. These inequalities inherent in the system plus
[433] the periodic redistribution of plots served to curb any interest which the farmer might have had in improving his holdings; consequently, productivity was said to be very low.

423
176 Vestiges of this system may still be found in some of the peripheral areas of Okinawa. The village of Oku in northern Kunigami-son still has communal ownership of its forest lands, and on Kudaka Shima off Chinen Peninsula a villager must turn his land over to the community when he goes to live elsewhere.

2. Okinawa-ken (1879-1945). Japanese Administration and the Termination of the Land Allotment System

175 Following the annexation of Okinawa, the new government embarked on
648 a program designed to integrate Okinawa (and the southern Ryukyus) into the
177 national state. The task facing the early administrators was a difficult one, for in addition to differences in language and culture Okinawa was poor in natural resources and possessed an antiquated administrative system. It was soon realized that modernization could not be accomplished overnight; therefore the Japanese allowed virtually all of the old customs to be retained during the first twenty years of their administration, and efforts were directed toward educating a sufficient number of Okinawans to assist
[565] them in carrying out the program. Though the old class system was abolished, members of the former classes continued to subsist on pensions now paid by the new government, and in the rural areas life continued much as before except that the mura replaced the majiri as the land-holding and disbursing
175 unit. By 1899 the government was prepared to introduce more radical changes,
648 and in March of that year Law 59 relating to land adjustment was promulgated.
177 Its objectives were to confirm private ownership and to determine land
423 values for tax purposes. The importance which the administration attached to this measure was clearly stated by Narahara Shigeru, superintendent of the Land Adjustment Board, "Now, the only way to reform the administration is to destroy old customs, but its accomplishment must be commenced with the reform of the system of land taxation, the very foundation of the old customs."[1] Following a mapping survey which began in 1899, officials went into the villages to explain the purposes of the law and to settle conflicting claims. Private ownership was generally confirmed in favor of the cultivator. By 1903 the land reform was carried through to a successful completion.

Private ownership of land was accompanied by the introduction of Japanese laws of property and inheritance; their combined effect was to alter substantially the prevailing social organization and economic balance of the rural community. Land formerly held by the family under the communal

[1] Summary of the Land Adjustment in the Okinawa Prefecture, 1904, p. 11.

CHAPTER X: EDUCATION

W. P. Suttles

121 871 None of the SIRI team worked on education as such. We have no basis for a discussion of the physical condition of the schools, number of teachers per pupil, texts, etc., other than the data readily available in USCAR publications. However, it may be useful to include in this report a brief chapter on attitudes toward education, the role of the teacher, and evidence of the results of education, as we have seen them in the course of our research. As I shall try to point out, there are indications that education on Okinawa may not be doing all that it professes to do. Yet it is a remarkable and praiseworthy fact that education has progressed as well as it has, considering the truly terrible destruction of the war and the long and trying process of rebuilding the material facilities and the morale of teachers and students.

1. Respect for Education

871 554 565 [647] Respect for education and the educated is deeply rooted in Okinawan culture. For several centuries administrative posts in the Ryukyuan kingdom were filled by officials drawn from the gentry class and appointed, it is said, on the basis of an examination. The gentry class held a virtual monopoly of education, which was thus one of the bases of their superior status. It is not surprising that the gentry class of the past is identified with learning. An illiterate old man of gentry descent once explained to me that the gentry were originally teachers appointed to various villages, thus misinterpreting the former bureaucracy as a school system.

871 554 791 Another profession open to the educated man in the past, and in the present, is that of the diviner. One of the native terms for this person is suumuchi, the "person with books", his books being the ones with which he reads a person's fate. This is a profession that commands respect. It is quite likely that at one time the diviner was the only person who possessed books with whom the ordinary peasant ever had contact. Books were thus associated with status and with nearly supernatural power.

554 871 Education is still regarded as a means of rising in status. As indicated in Chapter V, the potential scholar is given special treatment by his family because all may participate in the rise in status that his education may bring. But times have changed. In the days of the Ryukyuan kingdom the rewards for education may have come automatically, but under the Japanese administration this was less true, and perhaps least of all today. Education is indeed still valued for its own sake, but it is expected to bring material rewards; if it does not, its authenticity may be questioned.

554 Still, the prestige of learning probably accounts for a type of pseudo-scholar who may be found both in the rural and in the urban scene. In several villages we encountered such individuals, elderly men who were regarded as local sages, who discoursed learnedly and uncritically on local traditions, who revealed information derived from one or two carefully guarded books

The mental
isolation of the farm village gradually decreased under a national system of 177
education, but the process did not end with schooling. Upon graduating, the 619
youth, male and female, were enrolled in a national young people's association. 575
Later the young men were drafted for service in the national army, and follow-
ing discharge the veteran was enlisted in a local reserve association which [702]
met frequently for military and social purposes. When a man married, estab-
lished a separate house, and began farming, membership in the farmer's associa-
tion was automatically conferred. His wife upon marriage transferred from the
young women's association to the women's association. There were, in fact, a
variety of national organizations covering the various phases and roles of
the individual's life; membership was never a matter of choice, but a thing
automatically conferred. A stress on patriotism was a strong concomitant in
all of these. Membership gave to the individual a sense of participating in
a national society extending far beyond the limits of his small village.

It should be stressed that most Okinawans regard the Japanese as pro- 177
viders of modern, enlightened government. The Japanese administration abol- 829
ished the old class divisions and freed the peasant from his serf-like status. [565]
Taxes on arable land were substantially reduced, and the villager for the
first time was given some voice in government above the village level. Modern [671]
law courts were introduced and justice was administered impartially, not on a
class basis as was formerly done.

Inadvertently, perhaps, official Japanese policy did much to destroy 177
the self-sufficiency of the farm village. Prior to the land reform, sugar 621
production did not exceed local needs, but government encouragement and sub- 433
sidy so increased production that by the time of World War II it exceeded con-
sumption by 900%. This resulted in a food shortage which necessitated heavy
importations of basic cereals to compensate.

Japanese manufactured goods also contributed to the decline in self- 177
sufficiency. Factory-made cloth gradually displaced home-woven fabrics, and 439
accordingly cotton and fiber banana were no longer raised. The tools, uten- 433
sils, and machines of the factory slowly replaced the simpler devices used [248]
in the village.

Abolition of the system of communal land tenure contributed to a weak- 177
ening of the family and particularly of the large extended kin group. The 602
introduction of private property and Japanese laws of inheritance served to 423
create a landless element which often emigrated from Okinawa in search of land [167]
or jobs elsewhere. Where formerly the kin group had clustered in certain
localities, they now became dispersed over great areas, making continued inter-
action difficult and often impossible.

Sixty-six years of Japanese rule resulted in a fairly successful amal- 177
gamation of Okinawa into the Japanese state; though the Okinawan language and
culture were not destroyed, they were severely altered.

Impact of World War II and the American Occupation The war destroyed vir- 727
tually all of rural and
urban Okinawa, and resulted in the death of twenty percent of the population.

434 salaried employees has greatly increased the amount of money in circulation.
178 The large expenditures made by members of the military forces have also con-
464 tributed significantly. The farmer, in turn, has been able to realize a larger return for his products than was formerly possible, and in many farm villages a sizable number of individuals are engaged in military employment..

Farmers are spending more than ever before; self-sufficiency has further declined in that many articles formerly made at home are now purchased.
[511] The standard of living, especially diet, is said to have improved considerably.
[592] Formerly all income and resources were controlled by the household head for the entire family; today individual purses are said to be increasingly common.

621 <u>Community Organization and Social Structure</u> The solidarity and
178 integration of the village was severely diminished by the war and its aftermath. The prewar village was quite homogeneous; most of its families had resided there for many generations, village marriage practices tended to be endogamous, and nearly all were engaged in farming as their major occupation. Today in most villages there are a number of families new to the village since the war, and there are an increasing number of individuals who are employed outside the village in non-agricultural pursuits. Both groups tend to play a lesser role in community affairs than the old residents who continue to farm.

476 There has been a considerable decline in reciprocal labor exchanges.
178 The man who is daily employed outside the village is automatically prevented from participating in such ventures. The widow who heads a household without any adult male members is often unable to participate or must limit her participation since a day's work by a man must be matched by two by a woman. Likewise the man who hires a bulldozer to clear some land or build a rice field instead of engaging his relatives and neighbors in a cooperative exchange is also contributing to the decline of the practice.

369 Formerly those who left the village usually emigrated to other parts
178 of the Japanese Empire, but today they usually obtain employment in the cities
621 or military camps. Consequently, they continue to exert some influence in their place of origin, since interaction is more likely.

621 In a community like Kitazato which has suffered poverty, hunger, land
178 loss, and exodus of members to other communities, there seems to be a reintensification of community spirit stressing cooperation and unity. This is in marked contrast to Kanegusuku and elsewhere, suggesting that when a major value---communal unity---is directly threatened, there is a reaction and reintensification of this value. Elsewhere where the process of change has been more subtle, no reaction has occurred.

• 565 Okinawan class divisions were officially abolished early in the period
177 of Japanese administration; yet they continued to be of some importance with regard to status and marriage for some time. Today people say that they are no longer of any importance except to a few of the very old. Distinctions on
[559] the basis of wealth were largely erased by the war. It is frequently said, "After the war everyone was equal."

where they are observed there are generally few participants. Also many ceremonies have lost all meaning save that of custom, which is considered sufficient reason for their observance. 796 178

The authors heard dissatisfaction expressed with regard to current funeral practices. At one bone-washing ceremony witnessed by the author, several of the men stated that the practice was pointless and should therefore cease. Statements favorable to the Japanese practice of cremation were frequently heard. 764 765 829

Urbanization Prior to Japanese annexation there existed a sharp urban-rural dichotomy in Okinawan culture. This might best be characterized as a rural peasantry and an urban gentry-nobility. The latter group was in contact with Japan and China and was literate, while the former was divided into many small, isolated villages, lived in a state of serfdom, and was largely uneducated. The urban culture was strongly influenced by its foreign contacts, but in the rural areas an indigenous culture was preserved virtually untouched by outside influences. 369 177 [565]

The Japanese impact was first felt in the urban areas, and the city of Naha gradually assumed the characteristics of a Japanese city. It became the center for the diffusion of things Japanese into the countryside. Despite a number of important changes---abolition of communal land tenure, introduction of private property, gradual penetration of a money economy, introduction of schools and national organizations---rural-urban differences remained strong. The character of the village tended to remain homogeneous and conservative, and contacts with the city were infrequent. When one emigrated from the village, the move usually was to a point outside the country rather than to another part of the island.

World War II shattered the isolation and homogeneity of the village. The American occupation coupled with the cumulative effect of the change initiated by the Japanese has served to bring the village into a closer relationship with the urban areas. The result has been the urbanization of the rural areas. By means of newspapers, motion pictures, and radio the villager has come to share the cultural life of the city. Rural-urban differences in diet, dress, education, entertainment, mobility, and values are tending to disappear. Marked improvements in transportation have given the villager a new mobility, enabling him to participate in the labor market of the city and giving new outlets for his products. The nature of the village is increasingly more heterogeneous due to the presence of newcomers, increased occupational specialization, and greater interaction with the outside world. There is a greater reliance on goods produced by industrial society, and a number of villagers commute daily to a place of employment in the city or in nearby military installations. The trend is toward an ultimate disappearance of rural-urban differences; the process is one that is well advanced in the United States, but in Okinawa it is in an early stage. 369 177 178 621

Conclusion Okinawa has been in a process of change for over fifty years. World War II and the American military occupation have served to accelerate greatly the forces for change. Despite this, Okinawan culture has not been overwhelmed and has managed to preserve its identity. A number of 177 178

Amami Oshima, Okinawa, Miyako, and Yaeyama.[1] Although they appear to differ 197
widely, mutual intelligibility prevails, and informants from other islands assured me that they had managed to understand Okinawan in a short time though most preferred to use Japanese rather than attempt the new dialect.

Okinawan Dialects The Okinawan dialect area, Okinawa and its offshore islands, contains many sub-dialects or local speech groups, all of which are easily mutually intelligible. It would be an exaggeration to state that there is a distinctive dialect for each community; yet the variety and diversity of local speech forms constantly impresses one. Nakasone has distinguished five dialects in the Kunigami area alone, and this does not include nearly a dozen and a half distinctive speech islands within the same area.[2] These local speech peculiarities are often pointed out with considerable pride [621]
and seem much prized as symbolic of a community's identity.

The dialects of Naha, Shuri, and certain of the larger towns such as Itoman and Yonabaru, are quite distinctive and easily recognized by the Okinawans. Naha dialect is most widely spoken and easily understood throughout the [554]
island, and because of its association with the capital carries the greatest prestige among Okinawan speakers. Old residents of Naha complain that their [177]
dialect has deteriorated and become coarsened since the war due to the heavy influx from other areas of people who speak the dialect imperfectly. By this they refer to the loss of certain polite forms and the inundations of Japanese. Some Shuri people will contend that the "best" Okinawan is spoken in their city. In the past this was undoubtedly a widely accepted point of view, but [648]
with the advent of Japanese administration---exile of the king, removal of the [177]
capital to Naha, abolition of the upper classes---Shuri's prestige as a cultural center rapidly declined. A number of informants, rural and urban, felt [545]
that the "purest" Okinawan was heard in the Naha theaters, particularly at the Naha Gekijō, where daily performances of modern and historical dramas are presented. Itoman dialect is considered to be very coarse and rough by the people [554]
of other communities, and hence is accorded a low prestige. This is in part [226]
due to certain prosodic features of the dialect which render it unlike other Okinawan dialects, but more likely it is due to the fact that this town largely derives its livelihood from fishing, an occupation regarded with opprobrium by farmers and urbanites alike. The neighboring farm village of Kanegusuku, though less than a quarter of a mile away and long associated with Itoman, preserves a dialect distinct from it.

This dialectic diversity on Okinawa reflects to a certain extent the [361]
physical isolation of the typical village, a tightly-nucleated cluster of dwellings surrounded by fields. It is also a product of the social structure 197
in the Okinawan kingdom. Prior to annexation by Japan (1879), farmers were 105
little more than serfs bound to the soil and forbidden to leave their native [566]
village, while the gentry and nobility were for the most part concentrated in [565]
the urban Naha-Shuri district. Rural villages tended to be isolated, self- [621]
sustaining units; most were composed of a dominant kin group (munchu) and several smaller and possibly remotely related kin groups, or of several unrelated kin groups more nearly equal in size. A munchu was made up of a number

[1] Miyanaga /Miyara/, 1950, p. 39.

[2] Nakasone, 1937, pp. 242-258.

CHAPTER VIII LAND TENURE

W. P. Lebra

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[621] clustered together; these kin groups were related through the male line and
[613] shared a common ancestor, ritual observances, and often a local tomb for
[614] temporary burial. Each lineage was usually related to certain lineages of other villages, thus forming a larger relationship or patri-sib which shared a remote common ancestor, ritual observances, and a common tomb for permanent burial. Usually the membership of this larger kinship group was con-
[582] centrated in the villages of a given district or area. Village endogamy was an obligatory marriage practice, and kin group endogamy was a preferred though not an obligatory practice.

178 Private ownership of land on Okinawa is a recent phenomenon, as
423 recent, in fact, as the beginning of the twentieth century. Under the old
175 kingdom communal ownership of the land obtained for all except a small seg-
423 ment of the upper classes. In theory all land was the property of the ruler,
[632] but in practice the district, or majiri (political unit roughly equivalent

Statistics show (see chapter on Agricultural History) that since the termination of the communal land holding system in 1903, there has been a steady decrease in the amount of land cultivated on Okinawa. That this has continued unabated at the same time that the population has rapidly increased seems a paradox. Most certainly improvements in crop yields through research development have not been sufficient to offset this. Nor has the tax burden been excessive or crushing; in fact, quite the contrary is true since the Japanese substantially reduced land taxes when they abolished the communal system. What is more, the shortage of food has for many years necessitated importation of a considerable portion of the food consumed, and in view of the limited job opportunities in pre-war Okinawa, it seems unlikely that this means of livelihood would be overlooked. It would seem that the major reasons for this decline are cultural and historical. 178 241 [311]

It will be recalled that the farmer in the Okinawan kingdom lived in a state of serfdom; class differences were in effect those of caste. When freed from the restrictions by the Japanese, many were likely eager to depart from the farm village. The status of the farmer traditionally has been quite low on Okinawa. People dislike farming, and those who do farm state quite frankly that they are farmers only because they know nothing else, being poorly educated or possessed of little ability. No young men were heard to express a desire to become farmers, and no father wishes this occupation for his son. Pitts and the author noted in studying the household registries for their respective villages that not infrequently the first son has left the farm to seek employment elsewhere, quite contrary to usual Japanese practice. Farming is not a goal for the Okinawan youth today, and at the University of the Ryukyus the quotas for admission to agricultural studies were barely filled in 1954 whereas some of the other departments had three and four times as many applicants as openings. Centuries of a communal land ownership system left the farmer with no feeling of attachment toward his soil such as exists among the Chinese peasantry. Land was frequently reapportioned, and no plots were retained long enough by a given cultivator to give him a feeling of proprietorship. It is said that few ever tried to improve their holdings, as they felt these would soon be allotted to another. 178 241 554 [566]

The nature of taxation under the communal land system together with slowly rising population also made necessary a greater exploitation of land resources than is necessary today. The old tax rate was fixed and was set at a ratio of 40%. If the government had set 100 koku per year as the expected yield for a given village, then the government demanded 40 koku from that village each year. This may perhaps have been satisfactory to the villagers at the time of assessment, but as the population slowly rose there were more mouths to feed out of the villagers' 60 koku portion, and there was no respite from the tax demands in time of crop failure. Consequently, there was increasing pressure to bring more and more land under cultivation; undoubtedly, inferior, low-yield, idle soils were made into farm land. After the peasant was freed from this system and the trend toward sugar production began, foods were imported from outside, and the slow contraction of arable land figures began. 178 241 651 311

The average Japanese farm of 2 1/2 acres and the average Chinese farm of over 4 acres contrast strongly with the Okinawan average (and most are 241 433

161 plus the excess of births over deaths were sufficient six years after
728 the conclusion of the war to bring the post-war population of the village within 200 of the pre-war level.

167 Okinawans returning to Hanashiro came largely from Japan, the Philippines, Manchuria, Formosa, the South Seas and a few from Hawaii. From Hinatogawa, the areas of former settlement were broader, probably reflecting a wider activity of the fishermen. They came from Java, Palau, Singapore, the Philippine Islands, and Taraua. Some had previously returned voluntarily from Hawaii and Peru before the war. The largest segments came from the Philippines and Taraua, the smaller groups from Hawaii and Peru. The repatriates to Matsuda also came from Japan, the Philippines, Hawaii, and the South Seas.

● 571 One consequence of the pre-war emigration and of the repatriation
[162] that followed was that each village after the war had a group of people who had been in foreign countries or had relatives still residing in foreign areas.

578 In the villages studied, according to the residents living there now, repatriation was not accompanied by the tensions and the ill feeling that was so conspicuous in post-war Europe, especially Germany.
573 There were no cliques between those who had stayed during the war and those who returned to live beside them.

423 The reasons for this are probably these: many of the repatriates even though absent a long time owned land in a village. This was true of Hanashiro and Matsuda, the agricultural villages, and to a lesser extent of Hinatogawa. Some adjustments were necessary. The land owned by these people had not been idle during their absence. If a first son
592 returned, in most cases his younger brother was cultivating the fields and occupying the family house. He, in the absence of his eldest brother,
593 acted as head of the house. When the first son returned, he received the possessions and assumed the responsibilities of the head of the house, and in turn gave his younger brother land to establish a branch household. When the returned member of the family was a second son, the adjustment was easier. The first son, if possible, gave his younger brother a house site and fields to cultivate.[6]

Other relatives, parents, younger or older sisters, nephews, or nieces were absorbed within the family, the parents or grandparents
[602] resuming a retirement which they would have had in any case, while the younger relatives became working and contributing members to the family. They did not come back to an altogether strange place. They or their parents had been born there, and their names had remained in the village family register.

6 The reasons for these acts will be made clear in Chapter 6 on the family system.

The strong ties of the family system are probably the fundamental reasons for this lack of strangeness. One is a member of the family, even if in another part of the island or of the world. This sense of belonging, to be emphasised later, is not only an emotional feeling but is a basic fact of social organisation. Relationships, regardless of their geographic spread, are a binding force. It is true that these become weaker with the remoter relationships of the extended family, but they are still strong enough to blunt the edge of individual frictions that might otherwise be expected. 571 [602] [156] [578]

There was a niche into which a returning person might fit, whether he was a parent, a first son, an elder brother, an uncle or niece of the head of the household. The repatriates who had been long absent were, in turn, able to make an adjustment to conditions in the island of their birth because they had continued the same social system in their foreign residence. They now had to function in a more restricted and less well endowed natural environment. Dissatisfactions took the form, as they still do, of longing for better economic opportunity which they hope will be realised through further opportunities for emigration. They make comparisons, unfavorable to Okinawa, regarding the ease of making a living in other countries. Repatriates from Japan, who have returned to Okinawan rural life, miss the cities and the more exciting life of that country. Among those who have travelled, there is also a more noticeable discontent and dissatisfaction with the loneliness of rural life. The word sabishii is often on their lips. [554] [178] [511] [156]

The ideas of the repatriated Okinawans, furthermore, are not a new phenomenon in contemporary village life. They did not bring back points of view unknown before. In the past these had been communicated by letters and rare visits to the homeland. The reports of the repatriates were richer, more detailed, and more concrete, but not completely different. They have--and this is probably one of their chief influences on post-war village life--stimulated the strong desire of the villagers to emigrate. Life is hard on the island, and their accounts of greater return for the same expenditure of work have quickened hopes of future emigration. These hopes are confined to the New World, Japan, and the Pacific islands. There is no enthusiasm for migration to other islands in the Ryukyu chain. [185] [167]

4

Attitudes Toward Birth Control

There is little in the religious belief or in the cultural tradition that would induce, in large segments of the population, a strong antipathy to birth control on religious grounds, but these beliefs and traditions are not favorable to it either. Respect for ancestors and the need for the continuance of the family system are the most important of these. It is the duty of each generation to provide this continuity between the past and the future. The links in this chain are male children. Once this 842 [602] [611]

175 423 592 Under this old system, when a branch family was established upon the marriage of a son other than the first, his share was made available to him, although it is not clear whether he received this as a legal right, or whether, at each redistribution the father received the branch family share, later passing it on for the use of the son. In any case, provision under the old system was made for branch families in the redistribution just as in contemporary Okinawa this land is supplied, when possible, out of the private holdings of the father. The old and the new illustrate the operation of the family system under two types of land tenure.

175 423 311 Both in the Gushichan area and in Matsuda, there was agreement that the system applied only to rice lands and to dry crop land. House sites were not included in the biennial, quadrennial, or decennial redistribution. Neither were the parcels of genya land which were reserved for tomb areas (bochi, or haka). The forest lands (sanrin) or the genya lands were also communally owned. The reclamation or much of genya land in Okinawa for agricultural uses seems to be a late development, probably a direct consequence of the increase of the island's population. Fifty years ago the island of Okinawa was more heavily forested than it is now. This applies even to the south, if the statements of old people resident in the area can be accepted. Both in the northern and southern communities, pine stands in the forest and in the genya land were publicly owned, and there was a system of tree allotment. Trees, in the publicly owned areas, could be cut according to the number of [313] shares of land one had. Then in September and October of each year, each family replanted a number of trees equivalent to the number it had taken.

In these redistributions, apparently the land was not allotted to individual families directly, but first allotted to family groups (kumi) and then in turn to the individual families. There were special [571] allotment groups (jiwari-gumi). It is not clear whether this initial distribution to groups and then to individual families was universal in Okinawa, as this information comes only from Gushichan township.

This system of community ownership, with periodic allotment of rice and dry crop land, naturally called for a system of land classification. Excellent land was rare; good land was not plentiful, poor land was most abundant. The topography was rough and all good land was not in the same

1 (continued from previous page) intervals, the amount in proportion to the number of family members and their work and tax-paying capacities. It was called ji-wari (land-division). Peasants had no right to possess land, but only the right to cultivate, and taxes were imposed upon a village as a whole, not upon individuals." Higa, Shuncho. Structure of the Ryukyuan rural community. The Japanese journal of ethnology, 15 (1950), No. 2, 63-66. English summary (from which this is taken), p. 151.

is bending and stooping, or while his older brother or sister is running or jumping. The ease with which adults sleep is equally remarkable. On buses in Okinawa, I have seen men and women with their heads against window sashes, while the bus bounces over the rough roads. Sharp cracks on the head are unavoidable, and to one unaccustomed to it, would be very painful. But people sleep like this, with their heads knocking against the hard surface of the bus, for miles. 854 513

This carrying of the child continues regardless of season. In the winter, coats are put over or around the child's body. One of the obvious and most important facts about Okinawan child rearing is this custom of carrying the child on the back. But it is difficult to say precisely what this importance is. Certainly in this way the child has continuous contact from earliest infancy with the life around him. He is not accustomed to being alone, except for an occasional hour during the day when he may sleep on a blanket. At night he sleeps with his mother. A child does not have to be introduced to the world. He is not shielded in a crib. From early infancy he has seen and been almost every place in the village and learns to know many whom he will know throughout life. 854

This "public" and community life from earliest infancy is one of the outstanding features of Okinawan culture, a characteristic which it shares with-and which is derived from-Japan. One of the surprises is that despite these contacts with all phases of village experience, the child, as it grows older, becomes quite shy. This is true of boys and girls, and continues in my observation from the age of puberty up to marriage. No person who has had any contact with Okinawans fails to notice this shyness. The Okinawans use the Japanese word hasukashii to describe it, and, in this connection, the meaning is something between a feeling of shyness, self-consciousness, and shame. The shyness often does not disappear until marriage or even until the birth of the first child, when father and mother take their place as mature and responsible adults. 571 177 157

Two recent observers who analysed the reactions of Okinawans under the stress of war have thought that early and continuous breast feeding is largely responsible for giving the child, from earliest infancy, a sense of security. While this thesis was advanced out of intimate experience (mostly in the wartime hospital at Ginosa village), it must, in my opinion, be qualified considerably.[8] The period during which the child is breast fed is but one period in the formative years of childhood. Besides breast feeding is no monopoly of the Okinawans. Neither is carrying on the back confined to them. The period immediately after the child is taken off the back and begins to walk is a difficult one for most children. This 155 114

8 See Moloney, James C. Psychiatric observations in Okinawa Shima. The psychology of the Okinawan. Psychiatry 8 (1945), 391-99. Moloney, James C. and Biddle, Charles R. A psychiatric hospital in military government, ibid, 400-01.

621 individuals give one day each year to forest maintenance and planting.
476 Twice during the year one day is given to cleaning up and repairing village roads and paths, to improve village cleanliness, and to reduce the danger from snakes. These clean-up activities, which take place in March, April and November, include cutting the grass and weeds along the roadside, cleaning off accumulated debris, and filling in ruts, holes, and rough spots.

621 The closest approach to village-wide co-operation in private
476 undertakings is in housebuilding. Regardless of the financial standing of the owner, whenever a new house is being built, there are volunteer
342 helpers from the whole village. This is the only area in which this co-operation exists. It does not occur in agriculture or at harvest times. Each day a different crew helps, but this assistance does not
[463] apply to the more specialized tasks. The skilled work on the larger new houses requires carpenters, masons, and tile setters. There is no rigid system of reciprocity nor does a villager keep a record of the days he has worked for the others and the days due him. Many who help already have substantial houses themselves and have no need of reciprocal aid. Following a custom in all the villages, when the
[519] building is finished, the owner gives a housewarming party, with plenty of sake and food. Both hired and volunteer workers are invited.

476 If we may judge by these villages, the Okinawan is individualistic in his approach to his work. Aside from the work on the roads and in the forests, help in emergencies, and the special case of housebuilding, the circle of mutual help is confined within the family or close associates. In no case, did the co-operation of a whole or a substantial part of the village extend to agriculture.

This preceding discussion does not exhaust the field of cooperative endeavor. The co-operative associations and mutual loan groups have already been discussed. Community organizations and neighborhood associations will be considered in Section 5. But these are either more restricted in membership or have a more planned organizational character.

● 571 In closing this discussion, a further point should be made to avoid misunderstanding. The farmer, fisherman, or stonecutter, the worker in the forest approaches his task as an individual. But group consultation and the sharing of responsibility in other activities is a positive characteristic of the culture. The principle of prior discussion, arriving at a decision acceptable to the group, is a conspicuous part of family life and is implicit in the family system. The same attitude appears in group and community organizations, and in the conduct, as we shall see, of village government.

4

Village Leadership

565
[727] The recent war brought about a levelling in village life. Before

554 labor of agriculture or fishing, or those, finally, whose life includes travel and foreign residence. Some of these are old, some new. The ideas coming from the repatriates are new. The influence of the young men is also to some extent a response to new conditions and to new ways of looking at things, which they, more adaptable than their elders, are in a better position to understand.

5

Community Organizations

575 [177] [571] Community organizations fill in the gaps between family life and the formal mechanics of village government. Though Japanese imports, they also fit in the culture, which, like Japan, is accustomed to doing things in groups. The most important of these organizations are the Women's Association, Young Men's Association, Young Women's Association, volunteer fire brigades, and the neighborhood associations.

The Women's Association (Fujinkai). The Women's Association, an island wide organization with subordinate township and village branches, is primarily an organization of married women, but unmarried young women, too old for the youth organizations, and widows may belong. The village head of the association is elected, generally for one year, by the membership.

The interests and activities of the membership are an indication of the problems of village life as seen by the women. There may be, as in Hanashiro, house to house inspections with advice on how to improve sanitary conditions, making clothes, or teaching better ways to cook food, improving the dirty and smoky Okinawan kitchen to eliminate eye irritations (a common complaint), attempts to induce people to spend less money on holidays and to spread their luxury and meat buying throughout the year. They might discuss the custom of squatting on the floor and its possible effects on bodily health and stature, or the desirability of replacing the heavy blankets on the floor with western style beds, or individual family problems, such as the family with all daughters, or girls without husbands. The trouble is that the conditions which the women as members of an organization are trying to improve are the very ones which, as wives, they are unable to correct. As a consequence, many of the plans do not go beyond the discussion stage, not because the women lack the will, but because the cumulative problems are overpowering. These groups however have positive accomplishments. They are influential in maintaining existing standards. They are trying with some success to eradicate the scabby sores that cover the faces, hands, and arms of infants and young children.

The Young Men's Associations (seinendan) fill in the gap between school and marriage when the adult male really takes his place in the village community. They are a training ground for working with others and for demonstrating leadership. Like the Japanese originals, the organization is for young men between 17 and 25. Their specific activities

623 (hyōgiin) is an elected body, while the other, composed of village elders and public spirited men (yūshi) is a more honorary group. Sometimes the council is composed of one man from each neighborhood association. The elders are an unofficial body which because of its prestige is consulted when the headman and the council have an emergency problem and wish to get the advice of the respected men of the village. [554] This group is composed of former village headmen, former members of the village council, and well-known residents, such as retired school teachers or farmers.

The village council, composed of about 10 men, is elected from the male heads of a household. Before the war, members were elder men, but they now include young men as well. The council advises the headman on matters for which he is reluctant to assume full responsibility. If the decision is important enough, the village assembly, composed of all the heads of families over 18 years of age, is consulted. A headman may use the village council to help in defending himself against unpopular decisions. The village headman and the council generally make the final decision on village matters, but any decision involving the expenditure of money is referred to the assembly of household heads.

621 623 622 Village government is democratic. The people know their elected leaders personally. The problems with which the people and their officials are concerned are concrete, and seldom matters of abstract principle. They usually are concerned with local improvements, taxation, and schooling. The people participate in local government through the village assembly, at which they elect the headman and the council members. They can criticize and question decisions and approve proposals for spending money.

A headman can conceal neither his strong points nor his faults. Village government utilizes the principle of group responsibility without sacrificing the principle of individual leadership and a strong respected headman can do much to prevent the formation of cliques within a village. This does not mean that individual antagonisms and differences of opinion do not exist, but they seem to be resolved before they reach the stage of organized opposition.

Village government is not an extension of the family system. The village headman is not the head of one large family. But there is individual leadership, consultation and discussion, and mutual agreement both in the family system and in village government. Family experience has both a private and a public character. The public influences of family life takes the form of tempering the formality and mechanics of government.

621 591 A village is composed of single families. Many have intermarried. All of these families have a certain relationship to one another. They may be friends; they may live in the same neighborhood. Their children are known to one another as classmates, later as members of youth organizations. The families may have other associations, based on a common economic interest in agriculture, fishing, or pig raising. They

have traditional, though restricted, forms of village co-operation. This meshing in of activities, either among families or groups, when combined with individual leadership brings about a situation in the village which is comparable with the experiences in the family system. 621 571

These individual and family relationships which are the real content of village administration are also felt, though in a diluted form, in the township government. The influence of inter-village marriage, of the school whose pupils come from several villages, and of the annual athletic meets make for informality and elastic government. Township officials generally are drawn from each of the villages which make up a township. These elements provide both in village and township life a feeling of participation and a sense of belonging, already so strongly developed within the family system. 632 628 571

soup. Nothing is wasted and leftovers are kept for the next meal. The majority of people are fast eaters, and chopsticks move from bowl to mouth quickly and deftly. Some families eat silently, others enjoy talking during the meal. 512 [262] [269] [521]

Before and after full moon, people like to go out after supper and gather in small groups by the store to talk and smoke or to visit each other. Less running back and forth is observed during dark nights. There is also a seasonal variation in that respect. On cold winter nights, or when it rains, doors are closed early, and visitors slip into the house by the side kitchen door. On warm nights all houses are open, and one can see people sitting in their living room by the light of a kerosene lamp; passers-by just call over and then go in for a chat. Guests are served tea, bits of brown sugar, and other sweets. Men get together at this time and start talking over a cup of sake. A relative or neighbor, bottle in hand, walks in and joins the party. Here and there somebody pulls a samisen out of the corner and starts singing. 512 [269] [521] [262]

Evenings are also the time for village meetings, finance group meetings, family gatherings, and other formal get-togethers. Several times during the week a light shines from the village office or the store office, where some of the village leaders meet to discuss community affairs. In the winter, household-head meetings or other general meetings are called for 8 o'clock; in the summer they do not start until 9 o'clock. In the absence of clocks, few meetings ever start on time. 512 623

The young men and women have their get-togethers at the clubhouse in Udenaha. Both sexes attend, sometimes for lectures by a village official on village affairs, sometimes for lessons in bookkeeping and the use of the abacus in business, for which one village leader dedicates his time, or for other educational purposes. Once a week they have a social evening with discussion and sometimes folk dances. On nights when no meetings are scheduled, young men gather at someone's house to smoke, drink, or sing together. If enough sake is available, parties can become noisy. Occasionally a fight or quarrel starts later in the evening after everybody has drunk steadily. Such interruptions on quiet evenings are rare and seldom occur more than once or twice a month. Loud singing at midnight or later, a group of gay men knocking on somebody's door, these are the only disturbances an early sleeper may experience if a party is held somewhere. 512 883 571 [544] [578]

By 11 o'clock mosquito nets are hung in the rooms and comforters spread on the floor. Except in the house where men gather to drink, quiet descends over the village around that time. Individuals, however, may be seen until long after midnight. Taira goes to sleep late, and although people claim that everyone gets eight hours of sleep, it 512 513

Since

621 several finance groups are formed simultaneously in the village, and
452 an individual may belong to more than one, this system can create
474 more problems for the community than it helps to redress. Village leaders therefore think that the cooperative could take over the loan functions at low interest rates more effectively.

433 Concern about improving village economy is genuine and foremost.
621 Since the whole island has common economic problems, many sug-
[654] gestions for developing sound village economy originate from the central government. There are many associations and movements which all aim at the same result. Their number is staggering and bewildering to the outsider. In Taira, concern for improvement of conditions is a program of the Women's Association and the Home Improvement Group, associations who try to introduce such changes as better stoves, making of bean paste by villagers, and saving during feasts. There is also an Agricultural Promotion Association which is concerned with improvement of agricultural practices, promotion of cash crops, and
[474] reduction of forest work. All these organizations, along with the co-operative and the village government, work together. An individual may be a member of several. Persons with enough knowledge and experience to assume responsible positions are limited in number, and the same persons appear as leaders in various groups. This puts a heavy burden on them, since few days pass during which their attendance after work is not required at one meeting or another.

Taira assumed a leading position in the township in improving agricultural and general economy, especially by promoting sugar development, pineapple growing, and tea raising in recent years. Mean-
154 while, low income and general poverty are a constant concern to every-
571 body but do not seem to result in constant anxiety. Security, as will be pointed out in other contexts, is provided by being a member of the kinship group and, in the wider sense, of the village as a whole. This helps to share burdens and thus reduce their weight.

626 diate relatives but also toward members of the entire community, and
156 even certain strangers, appears in many contexts. Any villager feels
[479] a sense of obligation to participate in mutual assistance, and someone who fails to live up to this obligation is severely criticized. A person who commits a crime is said to have no feeling of obligation, and it seems clear that the infrequency of transgression, either the violation of mutual help codes or more serious infractions, is held in check by fear of censure.

626 The Japanese moral code, which stresses obligations and feelings of
577 indebtedness and gratitude toward those from whom favors have been
867 received, is obviously related to such social control forces or is in fact
[177] identical with them. Japanese ethical training was part of school training before World War II, and it is still deeply valued and followed. That any close-knit community tends to foster such forces of control is
[571] common knowledge. Yet the positive attitude toward obligations and their elaboration in interpersonal relationships is noteworthy and characterizes an important aspect of Taira life. It is learned early, as we found out when one mother said about her 4-year-old daughter: "She understands the idea (of obligations and indebtedness), although she does not know the concepts." When the family receives a gift, the little girl asks, "Shall we take some fish (a counter present) to them?" In spite of the positive value mentioned, there seem to be few compulsions connected with obligations. Actions appear spontaneous rather than forced. Of course, these obligations are of importance in determining contributions of individual households at weddings, funerals, and other occasions where interpersonal ties are cemented.

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Chapter 6

Social Organization

571 In every society an individual belongs to a number of groups, overlapping in membership and differentiated by function. A resident of Taira is no exception. Some groups are open, that is to say, new mem-

bers may be recruited and present members expelled. In others, which are closed, membership is automatic and inevitable, depending in no way on the behavior of the individuals involved. We are here concerned with these latter groups whose membership is determined by sex, age, kinship, and rules of residence. Whether an American male lives in Connecticut or California, in the city or the suburbs, is to a large degree a matter of his personal preference. This is not the case for everybody in Taira, although there are people who at any time may leave the village to seek their fortune. 571

There are two types of households in Taira: those of oldest sons, who live in the house of their parents, and those of younger sons, who establish a nuclear household of their own, which may be near the house of their father. Many young sons, however, leave the central village and settle in its outlying districts or move to the southern part of the island. Whereas formerly many younger sons moved to Japan or to one of its prewar South Pacific mandates, or to Hawaii and South America, since the end of World War II employment opportunities around U.S. Army installations absorb many such migrants. The oldest son is required to live in his parents' house and eventually take over the duties of a household head. Unmarried younger sons remain in the household until they marry or leave the parental home for work elsewhere. 596 594 [166] [167]

For a woman it is customary to move to her husband's home if he is an older son or into a house in his village if he is a younger son. In the old days this usually involved simply a move in the village, since the preference was to marry a woman from the same community. Nowadays there is no clear-cut preference; a woman from central Taira may become the bride of a man from that part of the village, from one of the outlying parts of Taira, or from another village, usually to the north. Of a sample of 55 marriages, 26 of the wives were from Taira, 29 from other villages, five of which were immediately adjacent. 591 582

The composition of the household, therefore, changes for the individual during his lifetime, and it is not the same for all persons in the village. Several children not only have their parents and at least one paternal grandparent but also paternal aunts or uncles who live under the same roof. If the father is a younger son, only one's parents and siblings are household members. Since houses are small and space is very limited, all these members of the household live in close face-to-face relationship. Women tend to outlive men, so that there are many more old women living with their married sons than old men. This is why children have a grandmother more often in the home than a grandfather (see Table 1). 592 593 [165]

Both adult men and women also belong to mutual assistance groups, 571
mutual loan associations, and to the work groups described in Chapter
3. All individuals between 16 and 57 are expected to cooperate in com- [653]
munity work projects. All households are members of the village [474]
cooperative. Since most villagers look to the cooperative for help in
improving their economic conditions, this draws them together in a
familial way.

It will be noted that age and marital status are prerequisites for 575
membership in most of these associations and that only one is ex-
clusively for women and one exclusively for men.

Taira culture is essentially egalitarian. Personal status is not ascribed 554
by membership in social classes or achieved by the accumulation of
wealth. Furthermore, although power and respect are the attributes of
certain village offices, such as headman and school teacher, these only
give rank *ex officio*. An ex-headman has no higher status than one who
has never held such an office.

There are factors, however, which do differentiate Tairans as to
personal status. Men have somewhat more power and command more [562]
respect than women; adults must be addressed respectfully by children;
older siblings have more authority and privileges than younger; and in
recent years the educated are somewhat more respected and are more
likely to be chosen to hold office than those with the minimum re-
quired amount of schooling. And since education often leads to better
jobs, greater wealth is sometimes associated with status, though not a
necessary prerequisite.

The status of women in Okinawa, although, ideally, inferior to that 554
of men, is in reality relatively high. Many cultural forms are based on 562
the principal of male superiority, which Japanese values tend to rein- 177
force, but there are numerous indications in daily life that women com-
mand a comparatively high degree of respect and power. It is difficult
to assess to what degree status differences have been influenced by
contact with Japanese; the importance of women in religious affairs
suggest their higher status prior to the introduction of the Japanese
school system in Taira.

As will be discussed in the chapter on religion, although the venera- 769
tion of one's father's ancestors is the core of one part of Okinawan 782
religion, the ceremonies are run by the women. The oldest male of 562
each main house and the household head in each household are nomi-
nally responsible for keeping the tablets of the ancestors on his house
shrine, but the actual upkeep of this ancestral shelf and the bimonthly
offerings are performed by the women. If no direct male descendant is
available to keep the ancestral tablets, a widowed woman retains them

603 601 term. As the child gets older, the familiar suffixless form of address is used less and less frequently, though girls seem to retain it longer than boys.

601 156 576 The strength of one's ties to the community as a whole regardless of actual kinship is seen not only in the use of the term "grandmother" and "grandfather" in addressing all members of this generation but also in the similar use of the terms "uncle" and "aunt" for all members of the parental generation. Those who are not known well or who have high status are addressed by the appropriate kinship term with the suffix -san added.*

554 576 Achieved status is recognized by special terms of address. The teacher, school principal, the doctor, the village headman or mayor are addressed by their titles. Taira people combine familiarity with formality by calling a young teacher from the same or neighboring community by the first name, then adding the title "teacher." †

621 156 571 [157] In summary, although affiliation with a patrilineal descent group and kinship ties with kindred influence certain aspects of life, over and above these ties is the identification with the community, which is drawn together by bonds of economic and social interdependence. Individual leaders serve their term of responsibility and then return to the egalitarian community life, which is comparatively free of competitive strife.

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Chapter 7

Courtship, Marriage, and Sex

582 Most marriages in Taira take place when both men and women are in their early or middle twenties (see Table 2). It is perhaps most note-

* This refers to the use of Japanese kinship terms which are prevalent in Taira—see Chapter 1, p. 370.

† The use of first names may also help to identify individuals since many persons have the same surname—this explanation, however, is not in contradiction with the statement concerning familiarity.

212 177 829 [571] Writing Okinawa never developed an independent system of writing; in the old kingdom both Japanese and Chinese were used. Literacy was largely confined to the upper classes, and it is said that students were sent to both countries for study. Apparently the literati held the Chinese language and culture in high regard while disdaining that of the Japanese; yet, Bettelheim noted in 1851 that Japanese books were very popular in spite of this contempt of the literati.[1] He also stated that the Okinawans always preferred biblical texts written in Japanese to those in Chinese. In view of the political paramouncy of Japan from 1609 and the close linguistic and cultural ties between the two peoples this popularity of Japanese is not surprising. It also should [538] be noted that although the literati are reported as preferring Chinese to Japanese, the major literary achievements of Okinawa were written in Japanese. Thus, for example, the Omorosōshi, sixteenth century collection of songs which the late Dr. Ifa has called the Ryukyuan scriptures, was recorded in a Japanese style of writing; the same is true of the annals of the old kingdom and for the first dictionary of the Okinawan language.

212 177 With the advent of a Japanese administration and educational system, the study of Chinese ceased, and today Japanese is used exclusively. Most Okinawan place names and family names as they are written in Japanese can be given two interpretations, the Japanese and the Okinawan; in a majority of cases the Japanese is given preference. Occasionally when Okinawan speech is transcribed as in the case of lyrics accompanying phonograph records, the Japanese syllabary is used. This is not a suitable devise for transcribing Okinawan speech, which contains many sounds unfamiliar to Japanese. Unfortunately much of the early [114] linguistic research conducted in this area was rendered virtually worthless by the employment of this syllabary. In recent years scholars like Miyanaga and Kinjo have recorded Ryukyuan using the International Phonetic Alphabet.

197 191 177 178 Conclusion At the present time Okinawan speech enjoys widespread use throughout the whole of the island. It is still the language of the home, and as such it is a more common medium of expression than the official language, Japanese. The latter, backed by the government, schools, and all the forces of modern life, is gradually supplanting Okinawan, but it would be an over-statement to say that the language is dying out. It may be expected that the majority of Okinawans will remain bilingual as they are today until such time when a whole adult generation will speak only Japanese and transmit only Japanese to its offspring.

[1] Bettelheim, n.d., p. 31.

872 calculating on the abacus, and a variety of other subjects. (These topics will be discussed in the chapter on education.

292 The pre-war school childrens' uniform is no longer obligatory.
291 Children wear what they have and what their parents can afford. The girl frequently wears the familiar blue serge smock but more often
302 her clothing is varied. Her hair has bangs in front and is cut straight, about on the level with the ear lobe. Neither do the boys wear prescribed clothing. With them too, it is a matter of what they have. A boy's hair is closely clipped to his head and will remain cut this way until he leaves junior high school, although this style also is no longer compulsory. He may have a school boy's cap, but this is not officially designated. It may be tan, white, blue, or olive drab, resembling either a military or a baseball type cap. Above the brim there is a metal tag with an abbreviation of the school name written in a Chinese character.

857 Three important new experiences come to him as a result of his
883 school life. The first of these is participation in school maintenance and upkeep. One of the commonest sights in any Okinawan primary, junior high, or high school is to see children working around the buildings and grounds under the supervision of their teachers. After typhoons, which destroy many of the rude, temporary, and rebuilt buildings, they 15 straighten out the debris, and help in putting on a new thatched roof. The tasks done by school children and their teachers are those customarily performed by janitors and custodians in our school system. In junior or senior high school, if the child lives far away from the school, he may board there as well.

526 His second experience is with organized athletics. Much of this instruction is pointed to the annual athletic meets (undōkai) which have a remarkable hold in Okinawa on students, teachers, parents, and the rest of the villagers alike. This organized athletic training is a
[177] Japanese introduction, but earlier accounts of a period when Japanese cultural influence was more nominal point to a love of games, races, and ball among the people.

572 The third of these new experiences is the formation of attachments with children in his own class. These friendships exist throughout life. The words, dōnen or dōsei, meaning the same year or the same age, are used by mature men and women to describe these early friendships. Close friendships almost invariably have had their origins in early close association in the same grade at school.

15 As is true of school boys the world over, truancy is not unheard of. Every once in a while, especially in junior high school, three or four boys report to the principal or his assistant because of absence from this work--but not from classes.

575 512 Friendships formed here and in school are the basis of later lifelong associations.

Young Women's Associations (joshiseinen) are not so well developed. Hanashiro has none. In Minatogawa the young men's and the young women's groups are combined. Matsuda has a separate organization of girls from 17 to 23. The latter age is considered the probable date of marriage, when the young woman will enter the Women's Association. Their duties parallel those of the young men: village maintenance, selling firewood, planting sugar cane, taking part in harvest ceremonies and participating with the young men in the New Year's party.

In the villages, a volunteer organization is responsible for fire fighting. The fire brigades (sobodan) usually are under the direction of the young men's association. The village gong is sounded, the volunteers assemble, and the fire is put out by using a bucket brigade. [368]

Parent Teacher Associations, after the American model, have been formed in the rural area, but it is too early to form a judgment of their effectiveness. [177]

575 621 There are also the neighborhood associations. A village is divided into areas or zones (han), each with its own head (hanchō). Neighborhood groups had existed before the introduction of the Japanese neighborhood association (tonari gumi) in about 1935 or 1936. These older groups (kumi) had from 30 to 70 families, each with a head (kumichō). These groups often assisted in a family crisis, with housebuilding, or furnished pallbearers for a funeral.

Before and during the war, the Japanese used the neighborhood associations in their rationing, food distribution, civil defense, and other programs.

The neighborhood associations remained after the war, but they are now known as hans. The leader of each neighborhood group is a link in the chain of communication from the township office to the individual villager. The township mayor transmits a new regulation or a directive from a higher governmental authority to each village headman who informs the heads of each of the neighborhood groups, who can then tell the people living in his area. The people within a neighborhood group may also co-operate with one another in housebuilding. The young men may be pallbearers for a deceased resident of the neighborhood. The group head also informs the people of village meetings (jōkai). These heads may be elected, but usually they serve by rotation (kotai), with a change every three months. In Matsuda, the group head is selected for one year and household heads service under him for one month in rotation to perform stand-by (tōban suru, to be on duty) duties and help the neighborhood head in his work. [632]

871 and the more advanced the school, the truer this is. Friendships
are made early with children of nearby villages. Marriage may be
512 the result of early school acquaintance, encouraged by the acceptance
of free choice in marriage. A young adult has a scattering of friend-
ships in the villages of his township. These class friendships are
strong in school, in the teens, and early twenties. By the late
twenties, the circle of friendships has broadened.

182 One of the most significant links between the family, village,
and school is the annual athletic meet (undōkai). It is held in the
526 fall. Preparations for this event are long and involve almost every-
body.5

526 About a month before it is held, the meet is the topic of
innumerable conversations. School children practice singing and
athletic dancing drills at home. School teachers, who do most of the
[875] organizational work, practice with painful cacophony on their trumpets and
clarinets. On the streets and lanes of Minatogawa, young men from 17
[534] to 23 practice broad jumping late into the night. Shortly before the meet,
all normal school activities stop. The teachers paint signs, mimeograph
programs, and plan the order of the various events. The school officials
have interminable committee meetings.

There is much bustle, laundering, hair washing, and cooking in a
village the day before the meet. Special lunches including rice dyed
[262] red, bean curd, slices of fish paste, beef or pork are prepared. This
field day is the closest approach to a picnic the Okinawans experience.

In good weather, the meet has a large attendance. A reserved area,
with school desks and chairs is set aside for special guests. A person
entering the reserved section to take his seat bows to the mayor and the
[576] group, steps forward a few paces, bows again, and takes his seat.

The mayor of the township presides over the meeting relieved by the
vice-mayor or other school or village or township officials. On one day
of the autumn meet, the mayor remained seated throughout the morning
and afternoon in a drizzling rain. It was his duty, assisted by the
principal and the teachers of the school, to give out the prizes.

Relay races, girls' dances, races and dashes for various age groups
are endless. At present, the meeting is not confined to school children,
but the younger men and women are included as well. The Young Men's
Association is very active. Special events are included. In the Women's
Association event, there was a mother and child race. In one case, a
mother who entered the race with a child on her back and her young son as

[119] 5 These remarks are based on observations in Minatogawa, Gushichan, and
Hanashiro villages, and on attendance at the Gushichan meet in Novem-
ber 1951. From discussions, I am certain they are very similar in
Matsuda, in fact all over the island.

plus the excess of births over deaths were sufficient six years after the conclusion of the war to bring the post-war population of the village within 200 of the pre-war level.

Okinawans returning to Hanashiro came largely from Japan, the Philippines, Manchuria, Formosa, the South Seas and a few from Hawaii. From Hinatogawa, the areas of former settlement were broader, probably reflecting a wider activity of the fishermen. They came from Java, Palau, Singapore, the Philippine Islands, and Taraua. Some had previously returned voluntarily from Hawaii and Peru before the war. The largest segments came from the Philippines and Taraua, the smaller groups from Hawaii and Peru. The repatriates to Matsuda also came from Japan, the Philippines, Hawaii, and the South Seas.

One consequence of the pre-war emigration and of the repatriation that followed was that each village after the war had a group of people who had been in foreign countries or had relatives still residing in foreign areas.

In the villages studied, according to the residents living there now, repatriation was not accompanied by the tensions and the ill feeling that was so conspicuous in post-war Europe, especially Germany. There were no cliques between those who had stayed during the war and those who returned to live beside them.

The reasons for this are probably these: many of the repatriates even though absent a long time owned land in a village. This was true of Hanashiro and Matsuda, the agricultural villages, and to a lesser extent of Hinatogawa. Some adjustments were necessary. The land owned by these people had not been idle during their absence. If a first son returned, in most cases his younger brother was cultivating the fields and occupying the family house. He, in the absence of his eldest brother, acted as head of the house. When the first son returned, he received the possessions and assumed the responsibilities of the head of the house, and in turn gave his younger brother land to establish a branch household. When the returned member of the family was a second son, the adjustment was easier. The first son, if possible, gave his younger brother a house site and fields to cultivate.[6]

Other relatives, parents, younger or older sisters, nephews, or nieces were absorbed within the family, the parents or grandparents resuming a retirement which they would have had in any case, while the younger relatives became working and contributing members to the family. They did not come back to an altogether strange place. They or their parents had been born there, and their names had remained in the village family register.

6 The reasons for these acts will be made clear in Chapter 6 on the family system.

133 Hanashiro and Oushichan villages to a broad semi-circular valley, the
361 Oushichan plain, with a gentle gradient sloping to the sea. Shortly before the coast is reached there is a sharper drop, and it is in this depression along the shore and the coastal strip that the fishing village lies.

134 The Okinawan clay loams and the Chinen stony clays are also the
133 predominating soils of the area. There are about 85 acres of the gently sloping clay loams, 155 acres of the gently sloping Chinen stony clays. While moderately fertile and well drained, these soils are also shallow and stony, with obvious defects for the pursuit of agriculture. There are 10 acres of deep, fertile poorly drained, slightly acid alluvial soils. These occur along the river and its estuary and in a small former river mouth to the south. There are about six acres in rough stony land.

731 The village has very little storm protection. There are no shelter
133 belts around it, nor are there many trees within. It is open to storms
417 and typhoons, and the water, lashed by the sea, is sufficient to break and scatter the large stones of the seawall. At present, inside the village there is none of the privacy typical of the agricultural villages and their compounds. There are few trees, shrubs, or fences. In the
361 older part of the village, the houses are closely set together. Fishing
351 nets hang on the lines of the yard. In season, the yard is covered with
227 drying fish, fish fins, and fish backs. The yards and the shore are dotted with men cleaning or repairing their boats.

362 The lack of natural beauty of the place is accentuated by the poor-
517 ness of the houses and the other buildings. Its atmosphere is unmistakably different. The village is more commercial and more lively than the quiet
484 and concealed agricultural village. Life is not so much of a routine, for much depends on the weather and the sea. The village has people who have travelled widely. Some of its fishermen have been in the waters of Java, of the South Seas, of the Andaman Islands, the Philippines, and Indo-China.

438 The village's main commercial contacts are with the remaining agricultural villages of the township from which it must obtain much of
[311] its food, for the area is not suited to agriculture, nor is much land available. For wider contacts, there are Itoman about 4 1/2 miles, and Naha about 8 1/2 miles away. Buses go through the village twice a day.
494 The three wheeled cycles are irregular but come and go more often. Fish
368 is sold at Naha. The theatre for the travelling troupe of actors from Naha and for movies is in Horikawa across the river. Many visits are
574 also made to Itoman to see relatives and friends.

The war was even more catastrophic for Hinatogawa than for Hanashiro.
727 Before the war, Hinatogawa was a thriving, prosperous and well built up small town. About 70% of its buildings had a tile roof and 30% had
[36] thatch roofs. There were about 30 stores, sake shops and drinking places, including a geisha house, along the road, serving the fishermen and the stonecutters. Of the 430 buildings in the area, only three were left

of the head of the extended Matsuda family. In the extended family reunions at this home, which is on the presumed original site of the first house, on New Years and on O-Bon, there are member families not only from Matsuda itself, but from villages in the Motobu peninsula, Nakagusuku, and the Nakijin areas. There are about 180 persons in the present extended family group of the Matsuda family, of whom about 80 attend the reunions. In these extended family reunions, the heads of the branch families who reside in other villages may send money--about 10Y--for charcoal sticks (senko in Japanese) and sake to be used in the observances. These meetings occur at New Years, on the birth of a child, at the celebration on the naming of a child, for the worship at the family tomb in the third month of the lunar year, and on O-Bon in the seventh month. Another practice in this family illustrates a variant in extended family customs. In the Matsuda family, the members of the main family, every seventh year, hold worship at the homes of branch families at Nakagusuku and Nakijin during the festival of the fifth lunar month. 614

The importance of the extended family, it would seem, varies somewhat with the families comprising the larger kinship group. While in the extended family, the ties are not so close as those of the immediate family, and even of friends and neighbors, these ties though sometimes tenuous are really a geographical network of relationships that provide the basis in fact for belonging and for being part of a wider community.

The force of this fact should not be underestimated. It is part of the personal security and of being a link in the chain that is so integral a characteristic of the family system. It is not unusual for a person to go to another village or to the larger towns and to have his relatives in the extended family receive him and take care of him for long or short periods. The head of the extended family and his custodianship of the family tomb, and his leadership in the reunions further cement these wider relationships. With some, it is true, extended family observances are perfunctory. A school teacher, for example, said that when his beliefs in religion and in the worship of ancestors were stronger, he visited the site of the main house quite often; now his visits were perhaps once or twice a year, and these were done as a matter of form. But still they were done, and the indirect effect, if not to deepen religious conviction, was to maintain personal ties with the wider kinship group. There is little doubt that the extended family reinforces and solidifies the family groups, especially when several branch families are located in the village of the seat of the main family, or with those, like the fishing community of Minatogawa, whose family seat is in a common parent town. There does not seem, however, to be that strong sense of extended family loyalty that has been remarked upon so often in the traditional Chinese family system, especially among the gentry class. [574] [183]

fortune teller. The purpose of this visit is to discover who would be a good adopting parent. The fortune teller advises the parents to select a person born under the same year sign as the child. These year signs roughly correspond to the signs of the zodiac. The twelve signs with their Japanese equivalents are: rat (ne), ox (ushi), tiger (tora), hare or rabbit (u), dragon (tatsu), snake (mi), horse (uma), sheep hitsuji), monkey (saru), bird (tori), dog (inu), and hog or boar (i). The year 1951 was the year of the hare; 1952 is the year of the dragon (tatsudoki). 597 608 855 734 787 [805]

The adopting or "growing up" parent is older, in multiples of 12, than the child. After consulting almanacs and other materials, the fortune teller advises the parents to find a person in the village born under the same year sign as the child. Prospective adopting parents are then sought out and the matter is discussed with them. Both parents may do this, but most often the discussions are carried on by the mother. When the selection is made, the child is "given" to the adopting parent, and there are prayers before the Buddhist god shelf in the home of the adopting parent. [782] [778]

Actually the child continues to live with its own parents, but makes frequent visits to the home of the adopting parent. There are no stated intervals at which these visits are made, except for New Years and O-Bon. The adopting parent may on these visits give food and presents to the child. [574]

The arrangement thus seems to be a form of sponsorship and guardianship without special responsibilities on the part of the adopting parent, to bring good health and long life to the child. It has only slight resemblances to the godfather and godmother in Christian countries who sponsor a child at his baptism and theoretically at least undertake to be responsible for his Christian training. But the sponsorship and guardianship features are somewhat similar.

Adoption of this type may be done in Okinawa by either sex. Generally old women are the favorites and they may have many such adopted children. But old or older men may also assume this obligation. This form of "growing up" adoption existed in all the villages studied in substantially the same form. [887] [184]

8

The Household Order Naming System

614 551 592 613

Families in a village have, in addition to their own surnames, secondary names by which individual families are known. This secondary naming system is a device to distinguish related families with the same surname from one another.

The secondary naming system is known as "the household order," or yagō in Japanese. To introduce this discussion, it might be well to 000

311 Land classification in Okinawa proceeds from the village to the township and then to the whole island. Each class of land in a village has its own grade. By combining these grades a township classification is made. This is done first by village committees determining the grades for each of their classes of land, and then by setting up a table of equivalences after discussion by the committee representing the whole township. Matsuda's first grade dry crop land might be considered by the land classification committee to be equal in quality to Ginoza village's second class land. While there might be only six classifications for any one village, when all these are combined, there may be ten grades for the township. This is shown by the table of correspondences for Matsuda and neighboring villages in Ginoza-son, as of November 1951.

In this illustration, Matsuda's first class rice land is considered second grade on a township wide basis; its sixth grade dry crop land is grade nine, and its first and second class houses are by comparison, grades three and four in the whole township.

311 623 632 With minor variations, the procedures in classifying land are the same in both townships. Each village makes the classification of its own land. This is done by five villagers, chosen by the people for their knowledge and integrity. In Gushichan township, village experts are designated to serve on the township committee.[8] Seven men from the villages are joined by the mayor (sonchō), the vice-mayor (joyaku), the trade and industry section head, the agricultural section head of the township office, a total of eleven men, who then determine the township classifications. These committees make inspections of doubtful cases, often after working hours. The field trips usually end up with a sake party. [574]

In Ginoza-son essentially the same procedures are followed. Each village sends representatives, the number being determined by the area of the village. In late 1951, this village-wide committee had 24 members with the township mayor as chairman. Each village prepares its own land classification map. The local classifications, later combined to make a township-wide classification, have the advantage of limiting the range of grades in a small area and of comparing parcels close together.

Occasionally the grade of a plot is changed to correct an error or to make it consistent with an improvement. A new road may make a plot of land more accessible and thus change its grade.

311 651 433 556 In all the villages studied, land classification was important for the same reasons: for tax purposes, for estimating future production, and for the individual farmer, a means of demonstrating tangible wealth.

8 One representative each is chosen from the villages of Gushichan, Aragusuku, Koshihara, and Nakaza villages, one from Oton and Hanashiro combined, one from Asato and Yoza combined, and one from Hinatogawa-ikku and Hinatogawa-niku combined.

474 426 and repayment of principal and interest. Members are involved in these transactions out of different motives. The organizer is usually the one most interested in borrowing money. Other participants may wish to earn interest on spare cash. They are the bankers of the group. Between the person who needs immediate cash and the bankers are those who would like to borrow money during the life of the group but are indifferent as to the precise time, hoping to bid and obtain a loan at a favorable rate to buy a pig or to repair a house.

The most complex of these loan groups were found in Minatogawa. A group may have any number of members; usually there are from 10 to 15, but there may be only five to nine. Each group has a set of regulations (no-ai no kisoku). In Minatogawa money is borrowed for house or boat building, for buying pigs, or for other business purposes.

The first meeting begins with a party given by the persons most [574] interested in starting the group. On the following months, more modest parties given at the homes of other members are in conjunction with the bidding and distribution of the money. The entertainments [262] of the first and last meetings include pork or goat meat, bean curd, tea, and sake. At the first meeting the organizer is the host. Rules are established as to whether the indebtedness shall be put into writing and as to guarantors. (Before the war, occasionally a borrower ran off to Japan or to one of the other islands and was never heard of again). Now a guarantor is required, but this is a formality. The [476] system really rests on mutual trust and on the co-operation of friends [577] and relatives of known honesty. One person may belong to several groups. Multiple membership is naturally confined to those with plenty of ready cash who have no immediate use for it. A group whose membership is poor will subscribe from Y100 to Y300 a month, a moderately well-to-do one from Y2000-3000. There are now about 30 in Minatogawa. Members usually are present or former residents of the village. Men and women participate. These gatherings combine business with a friendly social atmosphere so typical of Okinawan business transactions and official contacts. The mats of the room are arranged to form an empty square in the center of the room, and this square becomes a [353] combination counting board and refreshment table.

In one type, the loan is awarded after secret bidding (usually by writing on a piece of paper), the award going to the lowest bidder, for he is offering the highest discount. For example, Y20,000 are available for a loan to be repaid in ten installments of Y2100 each (Y2000 principal and Y100 interest). If a member wants the money badly enough, he may bid Y17,500, accepting that amount and paying back on the basis of Y20,000 plus interest. He thus would get the award over a man who bid at a discount of Y2000 or Y18,000.

In one form of the discount type, the organizer automatically gets the first loan. He does not bid and does not lose by discounting. He has started the group for this purpose. On the second and succeeding months, the bidding is secret and competitive. Assuming ten members pooling Y2000 each the first month, in the second nine members advance

436 175 no native money and used the Japanese cash, and that the Japanese did not permit a native coinage.[2]

436 Up to the war, only bills of low denominations circulated in the villages. In Hinatogawa, an old lady, now about 73, said that before the war she had never seen a Y100 note, which at that time was worth slightly over US$25. But since the 19th century, new conditions have pried the farmer loose from barter and self-sufficiency. 434 511 There is little to warrant a belief that rural villages are self-sufficient. The most elementary obligations, such as sending one's children to school, require cash. An average rural family of five may require from Y40-60,000 a year.

[574] Cash outlays include: (1) Entertainment, including the purchase of sake. Entertainment is an integral part of the culture and cannot be dismissed as a luxury. (2) Clothing. (3) Fertilizer. (4) Tobacco. [388] (5) Soap. No soap is made in the home. American soap flakes are highly prized, but generally are not purchased because of the cost. (6) Hair cutting. (7) Food and food supplements, such as noodles [262] and vermicelli types of paste, cooking oils, salt, soy sauce, meat, fish, seaweed (kombu), rice, if not grown and purchases from the import store. (8) Fuel, charcoal, charcoal sticks. (9) Transportation for business or pleasure. (10) Newspapers. Many subscriptions are can- [204] celled when the price goes up. (11) Tools and tool repairs, but maintenance is small after the original investment. (12) School books and [872] contributions to schools for purchasing special items. (13) Medicines and mid-wives' fees. (14) Occasional purchases of lumber, stone, or [651] tile. (15) Taxes.

434 In the farming areas, sugar and pigs are the only significant sources of cash income. Sweet potatoes, rice, eggs, and soy beans may be sold, but the amounts are either too small or the selling price too low to provide substantial amounts of cash. Occasionally younger sons may have jobs which bring in money, and a farmer or his sons may have a horse cart for hire.

In Hinatogawa, cash outlays, in addition to the items already mentioned, are required for nets, gasoline, and oil. Cash comes from sales of fish, pigs, and stone. The lack of rice, an insufficient [511] sweet potato crop for year round needs, imports of firewood from the north and the occasional need to purchase grasses for thatch make this community more dependent on cash than the agricultural community.

42- 8- The economic problem of the fisherman is also different from that of the farmer. Both the farmer and the fisherman must pay cash for medicines, fertilizer, alcoholic drinks, clothing, various special but traditional articles of the diet, taxes, tools, and supplies. The farmer, however, can produce much of his food. He can exist on sweet potatoes, bean curd, and bean paste soup, and if need be may spend little money on food. The fisherman cannot exist on fish alone. Fishermen without fields must depend on cash earnings to buy the

2 Hawks, Perry's expediti , to Japan, Vol. I, 160, 220-21. Chamberlain, The Luchu islands and their inhabitants, Geo. Journal 5 (1895), 313.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1993 AC7 Okinawa AC7

The Okinawan Midwife

Children are born under the care of a midwife (sanba). Physicians do not attend at birth, but they may be called later if complications develop. Native doctors (yabu), who have now largely disappeared, are not consulted. One midwife may serve several villages. She is engaged some months before the expected birth. Midwives are highly respected. The older ones have added to their initial training a wealth of knowledge based on experience. A midwife in Ginosa village takes care of the expectant mothers of Matsuda and one in Gushichan village serves those of Hanashiro and Minatogawa. Midwives long resident in an area are beloved by the children they have delivered. The children when adult visit her, or she is invited to the homes of those at whose birth she has assisted.

Prenatal examinations are made by the midwife in the 3rd, 5th, 7th, and 9th month of pregnancy, the most thorough of those being the last three. The mother goes to the midwife for the examinations, but the birth takes place in the home. A birth other than in one's home is considered bad luck.

Starting with the 5th month, the belly is wrapped around with a flannel sash (a haraobi). On the 5th month, it may be 7 shaku (about 7 feet) long and about 8 inches wide; by the ninth month, a 9 shaku length is used. The sash is not needed, in one midwife's opinion, during the last month of pregnancy, but it may be left on. While the sash is worn, it is taken off three times a month for laundering. The purpose of the binding is to keep the child in its natural position and to prevent it from turning and causing an abnormal delivery.

After birth, the child may be slapped on the backside if the mother has been in labor 17 hours or more. According to one midwife, the usual labor for a first child is about 17 hours, and 7 for the second. The midwife cuts the umbilical cord and may, but not always, dispose of the afterbirth (taiban, iya in Japanese).

In the villages, this may be disposed of by women relatives or by the father. It is buried, following an old custom, behind the house in a place where it does not rain. In Matsuda, women relatives wrap the placenta in a cloth and bury it, while friends, relatives, and children gather around and laugh. There are variants of this custom. In Minatogawa, the afterbirth is wrapped in a cloth and buried back of the house by the father. Neighboring children gather and laugh while this is going on. The reason for the laughing is that the new born child may always smile and be gay. In another variant, the father alone does the laughing. In all villages studied, this custom in its variants still has vitality.

According to a Ginosa midwife, maternal death in child birth is unusual. Hanashiro women said the same. Miscarriages in early

away evil spirits (bakemono).[1] From the pig sty the child is then taken to the kitchen, where a pot of rice has been cooking. Soot from the outside of the pot is taken up with the middle finger of the right hand and a round black spot pressed on the forehead above the bridge of the nose between the eyebrows. The reason for this could not be ascertained. 844 852

Beliefs in the power of a pig sty to ward off evil spirits are still held in Minatogawa and the customs were generally practiced up to the beginning of the war. But these beliefs were related more to celebrations following the birth of the child than to the birth itself. The elements of these beliefs seemed to be that the after-world was close to this world. If a child were not protected, the spirits of the afterworld would steal the child and take him back. The party celebrating the birth lasted a whole week, usually starting each evening about 8 and ending at 8 the following morning. Guests stayed up all night to prevent the child from being stolen, for if anyone went to sleep, the spirit would enter. Spirits followed behind the guest and were especially dangerous after 10 at night. The spirits however were frightened by the pigs; guests arriving during the danger hours went to the pig pen first to scare off the spirit following them, before entering the house. There was no evidence, in the parties I attended, of any present observance of this custom by young parents. The week of all night parties is no longer held. 854 776 231 [002] [574] [183]

These beliefs were found in Minatogawa. Hanashiro informants had heard of such customs, but were vague about them. While their seeming absence in Hatsuda may be due to incomplete data, there may be another explanation. These beliefs may have been picked up by fishing people from other sources. [184]

One other birth custom known as jiru belongs to the recent history of the island. Jiru, as explained in Chapter V, is a fire place sunk in the floor of an Okinawan house, often in the corner of the dining room which adjoins a hall or a sleeping room, and near the kitchen. Convalescence was called jiru because mother and child warmed themselves by the device. Today convalescence may be called jiru, though it has nothing to do with the old custom, which in the literature has been referred to as "roasting." 846 [354]

1 When I discussed this and the following beliefs relating to pigs with people in Hatsuda, they ridiculed them and said there was no truth in it, implying that people in the south did not know what they were talking about. Subsequent rechecking convinced me that this was not so and that the beliefs in Minatogawa represent differences in the rural culture. 184

000 vegetables in season.

262 On special occasions, cookies, cakes, and more fresh fish and meat are served. In Okinawa any food out of the ordinary is called a feast or a treat (gochisu). Fresh fish, fish cakes, beef, pork make up a feast, for these are seldom served in the routine meal. Fish, pork, and beef are universally liked, but fish is hard to get, beef is expensive, and pork is a source of cash income. Many families eat pork only at New Year.

By almost any standard, including their own, the daily Okinawan diet is monotonous and unappetizing. Nevertheless the present diet is an improvement over the pre-war one. Most villagers said that before the war, the diet consisted of the sweet potato and bean paste soup. Bean paste soup usually has a few shreds of meat or fish in it. In times of scarcity, or if the family is very poor, only the paste is used, and when this is dissolved in hot water, it makes a kind of clear bouillon which is jokingly referred to as "mirror soup" (kagami miso) because one can see his face in it. In Okinawa, it is also called "nothing in it soup" (nashiru). Since the war, the rice imports from Java, Siam, Egypt, and other foods sold through [839] import stores have provided more variety.

Goats are a cheap source of meat, but many do not like goat's 272 meat. The milk is not used for human consumption.

Tea is served at all hours. Many Okinawans, however, have acquired a taste for coffee. Tea is steeped in a large pot and [415] placed on a tray with the cups. Once made, tea stays in the pot until it is drunk. Frequently it is lukewarm or cold. Callers are [574] served tea and small chunks of brown sugar, picked up with chopsticks. Sugar is never used to sweeten tea. There is considerable eating [264] between meals, especially if visitors drop in. Women prepare a bowl of noodles, of cooked vegetables, fry an egg, or slice up some bean [262] curd. Villagers eat enormous quantities of food.

574 The people are very hospitable, but hospitality does not take the form of inviting friends to dinner except on special occasions, like a birthday celebration or a wedding. One family does not entertain another at dinner, but an individual member of a family who has worked at a friend's house may stay for an evening meal. Or a child may eat with the family of his playmates. Entertaining does [562] not include a man and his wife. The wife normally stays at home.[1]

1 In Hinatogawa, I was told that the beginning of the preparation of the meal was a sign for the visitor to return home. This was not due to the broad hint of the host but to the reserve (enryo) of the visitor. "Mmn ni wariu" (Okinawan) "to be pressed by food" is said by those returning home at these times. One goes home at meal times.

305 302 Persons of both sexes and of all ages, including infants, visit the barbershop. With boys and men, the price includes a haircut and a shave. The upper edge of the eyebrows is always shaved to make a straight line. The eye lids are also invariably shaved. The shaving of the eyebrows and eye lids of infants is commonplace. When women go to the shop to have the neck hair trimmed, the face, the eyebrows and the eye lids may also be shaved.

7

The Nature of Social Life

562 The social life of the women is severely restricted by convention. This restriction is closely tied up with the obligations of the family system and does not imply a conscious and selfish attempt by the men to keep their women at home and distanced from society. These restrictions are the result of custom in which the women acquiesce. The few discontented exceptions are women who [177] read Japanese magazines and learn of American ideas about the position of the women. But in general women accept their status. The men have a social life quite unconscious of any obligations of this sort to the women. The point was well brought out when I asked two Okinawan teachers why it was that women had so little social life and seldom went out with their husbands. They said the subject had never occurred to them.

The center of a woman's working and social life is her home. The range of a man's activities is the village and may extend to neighboring settlements. A large part of a woman's recreation is with other women. A man's social life is spent mostly with men.

[574] A woman's opportunity to spend a social evening with men comes when her husband brings guests to their home. Here she participates in the conversation, though she usually retires earlier. With older couples, the wife is most likely to greet her guests, serve them with tea, later perhaps with sake, and then unobtrusively retire.

[593] In my observation, there is a friendly relationship between husband and wife in the home. Younger wives participate frequently in conversation. Part of a woman's social life is centered around daytime activities, like taking care of the children, running an errand, carrying rice to the mill, chores which she does in the company of other women with like duties. Her working and social life blend together more than the man's. Among the very old women, day time visiting and strolling throughout the village are very common.

A husband and a wife are not often seen together in public, except on some special occasion, such as a child's birthday party, a school athletic meeting which the whole family attends, or a

absence of need of a similar release from the boring and monotonous life of the women. Yet I noticed little in the behavior of village women to indicate they were overwhelmed by monotony or bored with life, though perhaps longer residence in the villages would have proved this observation false. Might one say that the culture does not fulfill its promise to the men, even though they are favored and catered to and that the drinking is the result of this disappointment? This neglects the fact that drinking is old in the culture and is almost always done in the company of others. If personal frustration and disappointment were the cause, one might expect more compulsive and solitary drinking and more alcoholism. 273 562 154

The sources of this distinction between the drinking men and the abstemious women, I think, lie in the values held by the culture. In the first place, sake drinking is age old in Japan, and probably in Okinawa as well. Drinking sake is associated with ceremonies, such as marriage, with religious observances, with social and public life. The public life of an official, a shopkeeper or business man, a farmer, a fisherman is not divorced from entertainment. Men have an outside life. In their dealings with other men, they are accustomed to drinking. Women do not have this outside life. They have inside duties of which the care of the children and of the house are the most important. Historically, the source of the abstemiousness of the women may be the obligations of being a mother, to be ready at all times to care and provide for or nurse her children, obligations considered incompatible with drinking. Women are expected to be polite, refined, and quiet. These ideals may be difficult to maintain in drinking. 273 562 181 [577]

At times a husband and wife may participate in social gatherings as a couple. These gatherings may either be (1) an informal, often casual, event when guests drop in and spend part of the evening, and (2) the formal affairs, such as a marriage, a birthday celebration, a holiday, an extended family reunion, or the observance of a death anniversary. On these occasions, the men occupy the first room, the women the second. The entertainment and conversations of the evening are for the most part governed by this segregation. 562 574

Though women are tolerant of drinking, domestic difficulties are often caused by the drinking of the man. Frequent drinking with its noise and late hours may result in family quarrels (fufukanka). Quarrels involving the wife and the husband's female relatives, especially the mother, are said to be uncommon. In the southern villages, the war did away with one cause of family quarrels. Men no longer go to the geisha quarter. There are naturally tensions coming out of individual antagonisms and dissatisfactions: the husband's mother who ignores her grandchild because she dislikes her daughter-in-law, pressure on a woman to produce children to satisfy the pride of the husband and of the grandparents, and failure to bear children, which usually leads to divorce initiated by the husband. Divorces, in these rural villages, were found to be uncommon.[5] 593 273 578 [586]

5 No reliable statistics could be found. These remarks and those in the next paragraph are based on personal observation, impressions and conversations.

Home Industries, Arts, and Crafts

438 Home industries, arts, and crafts are not a conspicuous part of the life of the villages studied. Even before the war, home crafts, training in dancing, singing, landscape gardening were not cultivated to any degree.

252 Certain foods, like bean curd and bean paste, are made in the home. There is a standard method of preparing bean curd. The soy beans are soaked until soft and then mashed in a hand operated stone mill or quern. This mill has two round stones. The top stone, turned by hand, rests on the stationary bottom stone. The crushed beans, thinned by frequent dashes of water, ooze out of the space between the two stones. This liquid is collected and strained through a cloth drawn over the top of a frame box. The residue in the cloth is saved for pig food. The liquid is boiled. After it curdles, it is strained. The curds remain in the cloth, the liquid is also used for the pigs. The curds, of the consistency of a soft cottage cheese, are wrapped in a cloth and put in the frame box. A tight fitting lid is put on the box and pressed down hard to expel the rest of the liquid. After the curd has been thoroughly pressed, the frame box is turned upside down, the curd taken out, and the cloth wrapper removed. The smooth mold can now be sliced. It is a common sight to see women operating these mills in the villages before a family celebration or a public holiday. Bean curd, fried, boiled in a soup, or in a mixture with vegetables, or as an ingredient of sukiyaki is always served at a party.

[231] [519]

25 252 [264] Bean paste (miso), an even more important food, is also made in the home. Most families serve bean paste soup (misoshiru) every meal every day. It has four basic ingredients: soy beans, rice (or barley), salt, and water. Recipes differ considerably among families. In one recipe, 8 sho of rice are boiled, after which it is spread out on a large flat basket to drain, and then placed on a mat and allowed to ferment for about one week. An equal amount of soy beans, crushed in a stone mortar, is mixed with the rice. Salt (about 7 go, one go being 1/10 of a sho) is added and the mixture is boiled.[8] The salt retards fermentation and is a preservative. If obtainable, an American hand food grinder is preferred to the mortar and pestle. The mixture is put in a large jar (tsubo) which is placed in the kitchen or in a storeroom and allowed to stand at least a year, sometimes for three. With age, the paste becomes sweeter and is considered to be better. A woman may make three large jars of bean paste 3 times a year, the frequency depending on the size of the jars. Some are 5 1/2 feet high. Occasionally the cycad is an ingredient of miso. Every house has a supply of bean paste. When ready for use, it is very soluble in water.

[804] 8 A koku equals 10 to equals 100 sho equals 1000 go, 47.96 US gallons liquid, 5.12 US dry bushels.

527 577 better behavior. In one instance from Matsuda, the members of the family talk over their good and bad acts and resolve henceforth to do good.

527 [823] In all the villages, the custom of new or young water (wakamizu) has survived. In Hinatogawa, at 5 or 6 o'clock in the morning of the New Year, young children take fresh water in a tea pot to the homes of relatives. The new water is poured into a cup, placed on the Buddhist god shelf, or on the shelf of the fire god in the kitchen. The children are given Y5 or Y10 by the relatives, who are then supposed to stay young themselves. In Matsuda, new water is taken from a well early in the morning, and some is put on the god shelf. The first tea of the New Year is made with "young water".

A parent may also give a piece of pork with salt on it to his child announcing that he is now one year older. This custom is still observed, even though ages officially are now reckoned in the western manner.

In all the villages, the morning observances are family affairs; the public nature of the holiday is evident later. Tea and sake are [769] placed in front of the ancestral tablets on the god shelf. A fresh kimono is put on and the offering is made before breakfast. Then the [782] father takes the sake from the god shelf, offering sips first to his wife and then to the children.

[778] Later there are visits to the place of the patron deity or first ancestor of the village (ujigami). In Hanashiro, all of the people make this visit. In Hinatogawa, it is also a village affair, but is more involved because there are more places to go: a local religious site of unknown origin, the palace of the gods of the sea (ryūgū), the supposed place of the mountain god, the three wells with their god places, and finally to the places of the two patron deities. In Matsuda, the village head man, accompanied by surviving minor [793] priestesses (formerly in the noro order) make visits to the place of the patron deity. But whether all the villagers or only their representatives take part, the visits have the same meaning: to offer thanks to the founders of the village.

The New Year is a time for extended family reunions. If the home site of the extended family is not in the village, the family or a representative may go to the reunion in another village, if it is not too far away. Only members of the extended family attend these celebrations.

With early morning observances in the home, the public ceremonies, and the extended family reunions over, the gay, informal and public [574] part of the holiday begins. Hospitality is offered on all sides, and there is much drinking among the men. The celebration continues for the rest of the first day and through the second. The third day is a transitional day whose theme is the need of returning to work. This is hachibaru (to begin farming). The day is given over to more feasting and drinking and to some actual or token work.

621 individuals give one day each year to forest maintenance and planting.
476 Twice during the year one day is given to cleaning up and repairing village roads and paths, to improve village cleanliness, and to reduce the danger from snakes. These clean-up activities, which take place in March, April and November, include cutting the grass and weeds along the roadside, cleaning off accumulated debris, and filling in ruts, holes, and rough spots.

621 The closest approach to village-wide co-operation in private
476 undertakings is in housebuilding. Regardless of the financial standing of the owner, whenever a new house is being built, there are volunteer
342 helpers from the whole village. This is the only area in which this co-operation exists. It does not occur in agriculture or at harvest times. Each day a different crew helps, but this assistance does not
[463] apply to the more specialized tasks. The skilled work on the larger new houses requires carpenters, masons, and tile setters. There is no rigid system of reciprocity nor does a villager keep a record of the days he has worked for the others and the days due him. Many who help already have substantial houses themselves and have no need of reciprocal aid. Following a custom in all the villages, when the
[594] building is finished, the owner gives a housewarming party, with plenty of sake and food. Both hired and volunteer workers are invited.

476 If we may judge by these villages, the Okinawan is individualistic in his approach to his work. Aside from the work on the roads and in the forests, help in emergencies, and the special case of housebuilding, the circle of mutual help is confined within the family or close associates. In no case, did the co-operation of a whole or a substantial part of the village extend to agriculture.

This preceding discussion does not exhaust the field of cooperative endeavor. The co-operative associations and mutual loan groups have already been discussed. Community organizations and neighborhood associations will be considered in Section 5. But these are either more restricted in membership or have a more planned organisational character.

571 In closing this discussion, a further point should be made to avoid misunderstanding. The farmer, fisherman, or stonecutter, the worker in the forest approaches his task as an individual. But group consultation and the sharing of responsibility in other activities is a positive characteristic of the culture. The principle of prior discussion, arriving at a decision acceptable to the group, is a conspicuous part of family life and is implicit in the family system. The same attitude appears in group and community organizations, and in the conduct, as we shall see, of village government.

4

Village Leadership

565
[727] The recent war brought about a levelling in village life. Before

512 care of an older sibling or the kindergarten teacher, therefore has a
461 chance to see the mother. Men and women who have gone to the
[855] mountains return with their first load of wood around 10 o'clock. The
[262] mother will return again around noon and prepare the midday meal:
noodle soup, fried cabbage with dried shrimps, perhaps rice, and always sweet potatoes. After lunch there is a short rest period. During the hot summer months this rest extends to an hour or more, and on the hottest days people lie in their houses sleeping during the noon hours. Midday is also a time for social interaction. There is some visit-
[574] ing back and forth. Old people always seek each other's company, and younger ones back from the fields or forest may join them for a while.

512 Toward evening blue smoke indicates again that food is being pre-
[231] pared. Pigs are fed by the women in late afternoon. Then women,
512 young girls, or boys fill water buckets and carry them home. After 5
515 there is a heavy run on the tank or faucets, and this is often the time when families start preparing a bath. It takes until dark to warm up an oil drum filled with water and heated underneath by scraps of wood and twigs. People take their bath after dark. Since the bath house was destroyed during the war, ablutions take place outside near the tank under a faucet or in an old oil drum in one's backyard.

512 Young men who return from the mountains wash their horses in the
[231] sea. The women who sell fish call on each house at this hour to peddle
[438] their wares. The village store, which has only seen a few customers in the morning and during noon, now has its busiest hour. Mothers send their children to buy noodles, kerosene, rice, or seaweed or else they come themselves, a baby on their back or the toddlers following them.

[889] This is also the hour when the young men and women gather to do joint work in the fields of their association or to play volleyball on the playground. Meanwhile, all forest workers have returned and busily cut the last pieces of firewood, bundling them before the store clerk comes along to buy the load. Some adults sit near the playground and watch the children.

512 Work goes on until dark. Only then do families gather for the eve-
264 ning meal. During the summer this may be as late as 8 o'clock. For many families this is the only time during the day when everybody gathers in the family circle. At this time family affairs may be discussed and plans made for the next day's work or other pending matters.

512 The evening meal consists of rice, a bean paste or noodle soup, and
262 some fish. Meat is served occasionally if a goat is killed or on holidays
264 when someone has slaughtered a pig. Most families cannot afford to buy more than small portions of meat, which are fried or made into

soup. Nothing is wasted and leftovers are kept for the next meal. The majority of people are fast eaters, and chopsticks move from bowl to mouth quickly and deftly. Some families eat silently, others enjoy talking during the meal. 512 262 269 [521]

Before and after full moon, people like to go out after supper and gather in small groups by the store to talk and smoke or to visit each other. Less running back and forth is observed during dark nights. There is also a seasonal variation in that respect. On cold winter nights, or when it rains, doors are closed early, and visitors slip into the house by the side kitchen door. On warm nights all houses are open, and one can see people sitting in their living room by the light of a kerosene lamp; passers-by just call over and then go in for a chat. Guests are served tea, bits of brown sugar, and other sweets. Men get together at this time and start talking over a cup of sake. A relative or neighbor, bottle in hand, walks in and joins the party. Here and there somebody pulls a samisen out of the corner and starts singing. 512 574 [521] [262]

Evenings are also the time for village meetings, finance group meetings, family gatherings, and other formal get-togethers. Several times during the week a light shines from the village office or the store office, where some of the village leaders meet to discuss community affairs. In the winter, household-head meetings or other general meetings are called for 8 o'clock; in the summer they do not start until 9 o'clock. In the absence of clocks, few meetings ever start on time. 512 623

The young men and women have their get-togethers at the clubhouse in Udenaha. Both sexes attend, sometimes for lectures by a village official on village affairs, sometimes for lessons in bookkeeping and the use of the abacus in business, for which one village leader dedicates his time, or for other educational purposes. Once a week they have a social evening with discussion and sometimes folk dances. On nights when no meetings are scheduled, young men gather at someone's house to smoke, drink, or sing together. If enough sake is available, parties can become noisy. Occasionally a fight or quarrel starts later in the evening after everybody has drunk steadily. Such interruptions on quiet evenings are rare and seldom occur more than once or twice a month. Loud singing at midnight or later, a group of gay men knocking on somebody's door, these are the only disturbances an early sleeper may experience if a party is held somewhere. 512 883 571 [544] [578]

By 11 o'clock mosquito nets are hung in the rooms and comforters spread on the floor. Except in the house where men gather to drink, quiet descends over the village around that time. Individuals, however, may be seen until long after midnight. Taira goes to sleep late, and although people claim that everyone gets eight hours of sleep, it 512 513

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

parent aftereffects of remorse or physical incapacitation, is a characteristic of this village. Excessive or orgiastic feasting which might interfere with work duties of the following day or days is absent. Leisure events spent in groups are joyful and desirable to all, untinged by hidden motives of social compulsion or conformity, which marks so many recreational activities in a culture like ours. 517

The village calendar does not include a weekly rest day, although government offices are closed on Sunday. Rest and holidays for the majority of villagers are regulated by religious and agricultural events which, in former times, were observed at least once during each lunar month. Although some of these have been simplified or given up in recent times by people whose participation in the old religion has diminished or by those who seek a sounder economy by urging greater production of crops and accumulation of savings, when it comes to observing and enjoying holidays, even the most rational village leader forgets his concern for the time being. The elaborateness of celebrations may be less today, as a result of economic pressure, than in former times—the spirit hardly could be. To know and appreciate the sense of humor and the wit of the people, one has only to attend their parties. During other times these qualities are less expressed—though they are never completely absent. If the naive comment that Okinawans are "childlike"—an observation which Westerners in describing them have permitted themselves—can be taken to have any foundation in fact, it could only be that like many children they are capable of complete absorption and indulgence in fun when the occasion is proper. For the Taira person such indulgence cannot be achieved without food, drink, music, and dance. These are the main components of entertainment which help to elicit gaiety and good humor, whether during holidays observed by families in individual homes, or those of the descent group main houses, or in village-wide celebrations, which are extremely common. These ingredients also appear during more informal hours of relaxation, each day after work, when there are small gatherings here and there, though on a more modest scale. 527 796 157 527 574 [522]

Since calendrical holidays, whether of a family nature or community-wide, have many aspects in common, we may mention some of these in general. Most gatherings begin in the late afternoon and last until late at night although never until daybreak. These are the rare times when people can dress in their best clothes and by doing so shed, perhaps, symbolically all associations with everyday routine. 527 574

The sequence of events at any kind of celebration is somewhat like a veil dance during which one layer of formality after another disappears. A formal period precedes not only all village-wide celebrations

527 —held at the old warehouse, the village office, or, during warm days,
574 outside—but also introduces all family or small group events. This is the time when guests arrive, polite greetings are exchanged with everyone in the order of his relative status, and a seat is found in accordance with it. Everyone sits quietly and politely, men with legs
[576] crossed tightly in front, women resting their buttocks between their heels. The conversation is somewhat stilted and reluctant. Meanwhile the hostess and her female helpers set cups before each guest, and they, or the male host himself, may pour tea.

537 Village celebrations of an official nature, such as "Mother's Day"
527 (see Chapter 6) or the reception of the newly elected mayor, or New Year, are times for oratory of a sober nature. The village dignitaries
574 and honored visitors, frequently seated at tables overlooking the community on the floor, each give a speech consisting of lengthy inventories of events and accomplishments. Sometimes food and drink are not served until the last one has spoken, but more often the situation is mellowed by the simultaneous serving of food and drink, which add to the inspiration of the speaker and the enthusiasm of his listeners.

527 Special dishes are associated with different holidays, and food, when
574 served, begins to dispel some of the formality. Even if there are no speeches, it gives everybody something to do and talk about, and as we
262 shall see shortly, more effective stimulants follow soon. The ice is broken. The food set before guests may be red-colored rice, which is served at joyful events such as New Year, or white rice, which is prepared when the dead are commemorated. For agricultural holidays the special food is made from the harvested crop, rice or potatoes. A feast plate may also include some pork, cooked in soya sauce, or presented in a mixed dish of vegetables; sometimes, it may be deep fat fried dumplings, either plain or with brown sugar stirred into the batter, or red and white fish cakes, or even several of these together. Less expensive foods, such as noodles and fried fish, are also served during feasts. Tairans have a sweet tooth and eat with relish the pound cakes and cookies which accompany or follow a meal. There is a sufficient quantity of food for the many guests, and whatever they cannot consume during the party, they may wrap up in a newspaper and take home.

527 Once food is set before the guests, the emptied tea cups are refilled,
574 but this time with sake. This helps immediately to loosen the formal atmosphere which still prevails, at least after one or two cups have been
273 emptied. Before this happens there may be, especially during weddings, family affairs, or the Mayor's reception, a polite exchange of cups between two men, who fill each other's and present it with a little ap-

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

preciative statement or an introduction. It is polite to make the rounds in this fashion, to sit before another guest, fill his cup and utter some polite phrases, then wait for a return compliment. 527 574

By the time men—and a little later women—have been served food and drink in some quantity, there is no more stiffness in the room, for with every cup of sake animation and voice volume increase. Speeches that have not yet come to a conclusion show definite signs of inspiration; each speaker who sits down is trumped in eloquence by his successor. Long after serious oratory has been dispensed with, a happy celebrant may get up and sonorously hold forth. During fieldwork the authors were frequently the aim of such addresses. In one of them a farmer, quiet and serious during everyday routine but known for his merriment and wit when in his cups, held forth on a future visit to Taira by these Americans. "There will be skyscrapers," he said in a booming voice, "subways, wide lanes and bright lights," and on he went to the delight of everybody. 273 [537] [123]

On such occasions Tairans display their skill in playing with words and their ability to act and mimic. The assistant to the headman, similarly quiet on ordinary days, several months after our arrival came into a room where the authors were present during one of the many post-New Year celebrations. At an advanced stage of merriment himself, he turned to his host and by way of introduction said that he had just come from Hong Kong. "Oh, from Hong Kong," the host said, "that is why you cough so, kong, kong, kong," adding that he himself came from New York (pronounced in Japanese similar to *nyūyoku*, meaning "a bath"), whereupon the arriving guest went into the motions of someone taking a bath, saying "ah from *nyūyoku*," and so the fun went on, mostly as a take-off on the American guests who were present. This reminded the clerk of another story at the expense of the authors, which he told with gusto. "That first day he came to Taira, Maretzki came up to me when I was carrying pebbles from the beach and asked if he could help since he was going to haul pebbles too. Then he started to introduce himself, and I only understood 'Umaretsuki' (similar to Japanese for 'temperament') . . . I waited and waited for a story, but nothing followed. I did not know what to say." He had never repeated this story during many sober encounters. 527 574 522 123

At another event, when several teachers were present, one of the men, after much gaiety, turned to a female teacher whose husband had left for the city to find a job and called over: "Hey, your mosquito netting must be wide now, huh?" The woman blushed, covered her mouth with a handkerchief and laughed. 522

The evening is never old before one man, or several who are known 574 533 534

574 for their special skills on the samisen (a three-stringed banjolike in-
533 strument covered with snake hide), open the singing and dancing with
the first, traditional song, *Kagiyadefu*, a solemn and slow piece which
[534] is rendered in the forced, nasal voice peculiar to Okinawan song. Im-
574 mediately after this, the tempo changes, the music takes a fast, stirring
535 beat, and the first dancer, a man, gets up. Dances at social events can
be performed by a single man or a woman, or by several dancers of
either sex, but traditional group dances are done by women only. Taira
people like to dance some of the many Okinawan dances in which a
story, sung by the vocalists, is acted out. For example, a popular dance
deals with a fisherman and his catch. A hat, hastily put on, and a basket
under the arm suggest the role of the dancer, his body and hand move-
ments the actions. No one is much concerned with accurate or highly
artistic rendition of these familiar dances; many performances become
simply improvisations in which one male dancer is joined by other men
or women who, dancing freely, add their own versions to established
movements. There is much applause and laughter from the audience
around the dance floor, which sings and animatedly claps hands in
rhythm to the music. As all, men and older women, imbibe more sake,
they become gayer, and more talents are unleashed. Amusing presenta-
[831] tions of a husband and wife, in which sometimes aggression and sexual
interaction are acted out playfully, are received with great hilarity by
the audience. If such a suggestive performance is given by an old
woman and a young man, it seems to appear even funnier. As they get
tired, dancers leave the floor, making room for others.

[562] Not everybody participates with equal lack of restraint. Younger
[273] women do not drink sake and show much more inhibition; they dance
established versions of Okinawan dances in group performances if
called on, usually before the merrymakers take over. Often a mother,
young child in arm, cannot resist. Passing the infant to a relative or a
girl sitting nearby, she joins other dancers and becomes carried away
by the spirit of the event. On one occasion a young woman, seeing her
aged mother display her talents on the dance floor in comical move-
ments to the delight of everybody, angrily demanded that she come
home right away, only to be rejoined with a taunting remark by the
old lady, who defiantly swallowed some more sake and continued her
entertainment.

527 Not a single event that we attended was marred by any serious un-
273 pleasantness. No guest was ever seen to become sick, although some
578 men drank themselves into a stupor. Here and there a paper screen may
574 be broken as a result of a tumbling body, or a hard bang against a
thin panel may set the house shaking. But the end of such a feast

would be nothing more uproarious than a group of singing celebrants seeking further entertainment from house to house. The occasional quarrels after drinking, which are mentioned elsewhere, seemed much more frequent where only a small group of men indulged after work, especially younger ones. No major holidays ended in dissonance. 527 273 574 578

The main events for family celebrations are lunar New Year, *seimei*, a period in spring during which descent group ancestors are revered and *Bon*, a commemoration of the dead in the fall. At these times families are reunited with relatives from other villages or the city. These events are observed in the home or in front of the ancestral tombs. During *Bon* young men and women go from house to house, performing traditional dances for this holiday in front of the assembled families. 527 796 769

Celebration of special birthday cycles and agricultural events, such as the day when ditches in the paddies were cleaned in former times, are observed by villagers as a group. An important religious event for the community is Boat Race Day in lunar June. On lunar August 15, the celebration of the full August moon, some villagers present stage performances and dances at a public celebration. 527

In general, it may be said that families gather as a unit on those days on which ancestors and deceased family members are commemorated. The village jointly celebrates events which are either based on local religion or on agricultural events. The only national holiday which is now in existence was established by the post-war Ryukyuan government. It is observed by school and government offices but not by the people. [769] [621]

Sport events form another category of holidays. The most important one falls in October when both in Japan and all over the Ryukyus athletes compete against each other. Athletic meets take place for several weeks; for the village the biggest event is the competition of all athletes in the township on *undokai* day. Everyone leaves work and takes picnic food to the track at the junior high school where each village competes against the others. This lasts all day. 526 628

Wrestling matches are part of entertainment during outdoor celebrations in the early summer. They are mainly an affair for young men. Occasionally an older man who feels strong enough challenges a younger one. The villagers sit around a large circle near the beach, watching the fights while they eat holiday food and drink sake. On Boat Race Day Taira and the neighboring village of Kawata race fishing canoes against each other. Spectators at this event are enthusiastic supporters of their favorites. After the races this holiday ends like any other, in celebrations with dance and drinking. [262] [574]

Today the *yukajiru* ceremony held on the fourth day ends the seclusion. A group of close relatives gather to ask for the good health of the child and to make food offerings to the ancestors.

On the fourth or fifth day a name is selected for the newborn. In the old days rice oracles presided over by an old woman were consulted to ensure that the name consist of the proper combination of Japanese writing characters, an essential for the well-being of the child's personality. Today family elders and the local teacher are consulted. In the pre-Japanese periods, temporary names were used until a permanent name was given. This practice was intended to fool the spirits during the early years when the child was thought to be particularly susceptible to spirits.*

On the sixth day after birth the mother is allowed to take her first postdelivery bath; the room which she has occupied with her baby is cleaned and aired, and preparations begin for the *mansang* celebrations. For this event the mother's parents try to be present, especially if it is a first child. Friends and relatives in the village attend. A female elder of the patrilineal kin group or the priestess prays behind a tray of rice, rice wine, and incense so that the child will sleep peacefully and not cry at night. Thanksgiving prayers are offered to the ancestors and the nature deities for the health of both mother and child.

When the prayers are completed, a man sings the *mansang* song to the accompaniment of a samisen. The father of the baby then rises to dance briefly, sits down, and writes with brush and ink on a white sheet of paper the name and birth date of his child. The paper is then hung on the wall near the alcove. Meanwhile the special song is being concluded:

> Coming from the darkness to light,
> This baby was received as a treasure
> And the mother is being celebrated.

Food is then served, and the guests discuss the name and admire the newborn. Like all parties, the celebration ends with song, dance, and wine drinking.

The *mansang* celebrations mark the end of the most critical period for the infant. From now on he may be taken outdoors. At the month's end, his parents may take him to see his maternal grandparents in their village, to offer food at the ancestral shrine of the mother. This is called the first walk. Sons who have left the paternal village for the city return with their infant to observe this day.

* Hanging an irregularly left-woven rope in the delivery room to keep out evil spirits which might harm the newborn, is no longer done in Taira.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

There is no specific or preferred posture for nursing. While the 853
mothers are in confinement for the brief period following delivery, they often lie next to the baby and feed him. Sitting while nursing is the most common posture, but mothers frequently nurse while standing or squatting. The baby is held loosely and the mother is relaxed. If others are about, she will carry on a lively conversation and occasionally pat the baby gently on or around the region of the buttocks. When alone, she holds the baby with one arm, talks softly, smiles, and with her other hand tugs gently at the baby's limbs. Each feeding is leisurely; the breast is never withdrawn from the infant's mouth. More often than not he suckles his fill and falls asleep.

It is as natural to suckle one's infant at a village meeting as it is to [291]
do so in the privacy of one's home. A common sight is that of a mother sitting and listening intently to speeches while cradling her suckling infant loosely in her arms. On buses, in market places, or at large public intervillage gatherings, one is sure to encounter such a scene.

The breast is used to soothe a baby when he is ill, irritable, or in 853
distress from pain. This was quite evident when all the babies in the 854
village were being given a series of innoculations for diphtheria and 751
typhoid. As the injections were given in one large open room, the cries of the infant being innoculated prompted others to cry. Invariably the mother offered the breast to the baby.

After the birth of a child, the mother sits at home during a short rest 846
period, watching happily as neighbors, friends, and relatives con- 574
tinually drop in to admire the newborn. Sipping tea, the visitors offer bits of advice, exchange the latest gossip, ask to hold the infant, and take their leave with the standard phrase: "Take care of yourself." It is a pleasant interlude, but as the family resources begin to dwindle, there is a slight but perceptible change in the attitude of the mother toward her newborn. The constant stream of visitors, for whom tea and some small tidbits must be offered, and her nonparticipation in 846
the regular economic activities prove to be a drain on the family bud- 461
get, in spite of the fact that the mother and her husband have worked with extra diligence in the months prior to parturition. The mother [843]
begins to talk about the approaching feast day and the need to get new clothing for the older children. She asks anxiously about the condition [594]
of the firewood market and starts to plan her inevitable resumption of work in the mountains and fields. In spite of her feelings of protectiveness and pity for the young baby, she begins, bit by bit, to reinstate her normal routine. Although she continues to cuddle, kiss, and affectionately nurse the infant, she thinks of the good weather and of how she might have been able to make one more trip to the mountains

'Miso' is used not only in soups, but as a flavoring for other dishes. 262
Jūshiimē is rice fried in oil and 'miso', with green onions added. Tōfu- 252
champuru is made by putting shredded bonito and hot lard in a pan, adding a little 'miso' and some soysauce, and one-inch cubes of bean curd, or 'tōfu'. 'Tōfu' was eaten about every three days in Nanahan before the war, and every day about twenty peddlers from Tsukazan went through the countryside selling it. It is eaten not oftener than once a month now.

A strong rice drink, 'awamori', is in evidence at all parties. It is 273
sometimes diluted with orange soda, but more often it is served full-strength flavored with either garlic or red peppers. Before the war the refuse from [231]
making 'awamori', called kashijii, was very cheap---about two gallons could be had for fifteen sen---and was generally fed to pigs. However, it also fur- [157]
nished the base for kashijē-ēi, made by pouring hot water on half-boiled spinach or swiss chard, and adding the liquid from the refuse. It was said to have been very good for the stomach.

Feast Foods When a person reaches the age of 61, 73, or 85, a celebration 262
known as tushibii is held. This is the occasion for a feast of 574
whatever proportions the extended family's budget can afford. In the spring [561]
of 1954 a Nanahan lady who was a member of the dominant family reached seventy-three. The following was served at the feast:

--Paddy taro boiled in sugar syrup
--Soup containing 'konnyaku', pork, tripe, goat meat and ginger
--Giant radish and carrots, shredded in vinegar
--Several slices of fried bean curd
--Fish cake
--Deep-fried sugar batter
--A dish of 'konnyaku', 'daikon', pork and shredded radish
--Deep-fried whale tripe in peanut butter sauce
--Red rice; noodle soup
--Fried bean curd and pork, with seaweed

In addition, guests were given two boxes to take home, which contained the following:

--Two pieces of pork
--1 piece fried bean curd
--Two pieces of fish, deep-fried in batter
--1 piece of pork heart
--Two pieces of fish cake
--A red-dyed hard-boiled egg
--Two pieces of burdock root, deep-fried in batter
--Two pieces of sweet pound cake
--Two pieces of kujimuchi (a rice cake)
--Two large pieces of deep fried sugar batter
--One deep-fried flour dumpling
--Five cakes of baked rice flour, in shapes of the pine, bamboo, plum, crane and tortoise---symbols of longevity.

261 262 Famine Food and Wartime Substitutes The standard famine foods on Okinawa have always been dried sweet potato chips or refuse from the making of starch, sago palm nuts and the pulp of the same palm. The latter two are eaten with restraint, as they contain small [252] amounts of an alkaloid poison. The sweet potato materials are made into soups, and the sago palm provides a type of flour for deep frying, or 'tempura'.

During the last war, soups were also made from the stem of the plant [137] Ligularia Kaempferia, known as 'tsuwabuki' in Japanese, and chiipappā in Okinawan. One Nanahan farmer related, "The chiipappā which I ate in Kin-son during the war was delicious, and one felt better after eating it. When I came back here, I tried our local variety, but it is bitter and inedible." The giant African snail was used to alleviate famine just before the invasion. It [252] was boiled in its shell, then de-shelled and the "snail juice" washed out with a bitter orange called shiisā. The meat was then fried with vegetables and the white part of a leek.

273 Japanese soldiers during the war taught the Okinawans how to make a 177 strong liquor from sugar cane, as no real 'sake' or 'awamori' was then avail- 276 able. Tobacco was also scarce, and pine tree bark was substituted. Some people preferred to smoke the leaves of the 'mogusa' plant, which is also used for cautery. One very poor family in Nanahan still retains the practice. Tea 272 could not be bought in the late pre-invasion period, and the beans of the lantana bush furnished a palatable substitute.

263 Uses of Sugar in the Home When a guest calls at an Okinawan farmer's home, he is served tea, black sugar chunks, and quite • [574] often 'awamori'. Many other uses were related. It is used in batter for deep [757] frying; for cure of headache, sickness, and fainting spells; for a hangover; and when food is not delicious.

CHAPTER IX: HEALTH

W. P. Suttles

121 This chapter will begin with a section on the human body---attitudes
128 toward and practices concerned with its care and its functions. This will be followed by a section on sanitation---attitudes and practices. A third section will deal with concepts of the supernatural and their relationship to illness. A fourth will describe the various types of "medical" practitioners found in Okinawan society, and Okinawan attitudes toward modern medicine. It will be seen that this chapter contains much that is often described under the heading "Religion" or even "Values" and contains little on the actual state of health and incidence of disease among the Okinawans. But we believe that this is as it should be in a report on Okinawan culture. That sanitation is poor and disease is prevalent is no doubt all too apparent to the medical observer. A detailed study of the diseases themselves must be made by research workers competent in that field. A study of native culture, however, reveals some of the underlying causes of poor sanitation and poor health. We feel therefore that this is a valid unit and properly put under the title "Health".

1. The Human Body: Practices and Attitudes

261 Eating and Drinking Okinawans enjoy food and drink and make numerous events the occasion for their enjoyment. Questions about holidays frequently soon elicit long descriptions of the types of dishes appropriate to each. To a Westerner the variety may not seem great, but to the Okinawans a slight difference in the consistency of a soup may call for a
262 differentiating term. The variety of foods is probably as great as it can be within the limits of Okinawan resources. Foods are valued differently.
[171] Rice ranks high, sweet potatoes low. Pork is esteemed, as in China but not in Japan.

264 Three meals a day is usual. Rice, soup, and boiled foods are served in bowls, fried foods in flat dishes. These are eaten with chopsticks. The bowl may be held in the hand near the mouth; soup may be drunk directly from it. Some foods, such as noodles, are habitually sucked up with considerable noise. This noise is neither made purposely nor is it avoided; it just does not matter. Children may bolt their food without being scolded for it, but adults seem to have no compulsion to eat fast, as the Japanese are said to
[574] have. On festive occasions men are served in the first room, women in the second. On these occasions a portion may be served already in a box so that it may be taken home. On ordinary occasions the family may eat together,
[321] though women often eat in the kitchen by the oven. Conversation of both
[574] light and serious matter may accompany eating. Serving food is essential to the entertainment of guests and to the payment of social debts.

273 Drink is also essential to entertainment. Tea is drunk first thing in the morning and at any time of the day or evening. But for men something
[272] stronger is also desirable. Usually it is the clear, strong, distilled drink

called saki in Okinawan, 'awamori' in Japanese. This drink is sold in several 273
grades and so is Japanese 'sake', but most farmers seem to prefer a rawer, stronger grade of 'awamori'.[1] In most homes 'awamori' is soon offered male guests if they call in the evening, sometimes in the afternoon as well. For festive occasions it is absolutely necessary. Many older men also drink it a bit every evening in small groups or even alone. Older women may drink a little, younger women, unless of the professional class, rarely. [574] [562]

When men drink together they invariably exchange drinks as a gesture of friendship. Generally the friendliness increases with each gesture, stimulating further gestures. Drunkenness is frequent. Different types of behavior among drunks are recognized and labelled appropriately. The 'uma-zake' ("horse-drunk") prances around; the 'buta-zake' ("pig drunk") sleeps; the 'ushi-zake' ("ox drunk") acts belligerent; the 'naki-zake' ("cry drunk") weeps. (These are Japanese terms, incidentally; I did not get native equivalents but assume they exist). But Okinawans who get drunk are mainly just plain friendly drunks; the belligerent drunk is very rare. Burd's description of Miyakoan drunken behavior---the sentimentality and endless expression of gratitude for friendship---would apply equally to the behavior of drunk Okinawans. And as Burd suggests, the reason may lie in the formality and etiquette that governs the relations of the sober; getting drunk is a means of relaxing the usual barriers.[2] The remarkable tolerance Okinawans show to drunks may arise from sympathy in the face of a common need. Drinking is often accompanied by singing and dancing. Men dance individually. Men who behave on most occasions with reserve and formality, may, after drinking a bit, dance with a grace and reckless ease that must be seen to be believed.

Okinawans do not drink water as frequently as Americans and even 271
with the more frequent tea and bottled drinks their total fluid consumption 272
would appear to be considerably less.

Rest and Sleep Chairs and beds are not usually found in Okinawan homes. 352
Mats serve the function of both. On formal occasions 516
Okinawans kneel. This they may do at the beginning of a formal gathering, but soon they are told to be at ease, which means sitting cross-legged for the men and with the feet to one side for the women. When relaxing at home they may put their feet out in front of them.

Okinawans sleep on the floor, usually on a quilt ('futon') on the 513
mat and with another put on over them. Often the whole family will sleep between two large quilts and under one large mosquito net suspended from the ceiling. To Americans unused to the floor it seems unbearably hard and the quilt above oppressive; it seems as though the Okinawans want too little below the body and too much above. From infancy on they sleep stretched out supine with a pillow under the head or neck. The pillow may be of cloth stuffed with husks or merely a block of wood.

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1 This observation is supported by the statement of a distiller interviewed by Lebra.

2 Burd 1952, p. 82.

751
514 The drum is nearly full and its surface is in constant motion, a seething
343 mass of maggots. One of those men with the carts that cause you to cross
[364] to the other side of the road will come in a few days to dump it, he hopes.
• 574 He crosses the yard and is invited into the house. He takes off his shoes
751 and steps up onto the floor. It is surprisingly clean, he finds. A mat is
[356] spread and he sits cross-legged upon it. Tea is offered and he accepts, thinking that it must have been made from boiled water. He learns later that he was wrong. He is given a fan and perceives that its function is keeping the flies away as much as it is creating a breeze. In a spirit of friendly cooperation he and Grandfather take turns shooing the flies off the broken chunks of black sugar that have been placed before them. A larger blue-bottle fly enters and someone makes a special effort to chase
[825] it out. Should the visitor be so crude and impolite as to mention flies and in connection with the toilet, it will be pointed out that only the blue-bottle flies are hatched from the maggots in the toilet. The smaller black house-flies simply produce more flies and hence are harmless.

[264] Bananas are served and the peels follow those of the potatoes out onto the ground. Smaller children run in and out. One child comes in with
[515] its nose running. After a time Mother pulls up its shirt tail and wipes the mucus off the upper lip. The child has not been well; Mother or Grandmother
[757] may take it to the yabuu, who will burn moxa on its skin at the proper places. A neighbor's child walks by; its face and nearly hairless head are
[753] a mass of scabs and its eyes are almost shut by pus. Someone laughingly explains that this is what happens when you don't cut a baby's buttocks properly with a razor to draw out the bad blood.

The visitor is urged to take more tea and sugar. He is complimented on his interest in Okinawa and is asked innumerable questions about America. The family is eager for knowledge and for further contact. As he rises to leave, he is urged to return. He puts on his shoes, finding one slightly
[753] damp from the poor aim of the youngest child. He is cautioned to wear his hat and knows by now the unspoken fear---encephalitis---caused by too much exposure to the sun. He notices that around the well where Mother has been
[296] doing laundry a great pool of water is gradually sinking into the sand. As he picks his way across the yard he wonders if the family would not be better off living in a houseboat, preferably in a fast-moving stream.

751 Such are some of the features of Okinawan life. Yet it would be a mistake to assume that there are no standards of sanitation. There are; they
356 are simply narrower than those of most Americans. Many Okinawans do throw
751 garbage out their front doors as indicated above, but it is also true that the floor of the house is usually cleaner than many American floors. It has to be clean; people sit on it and sleep on it. People take off their shoes before stepping up onto it or if they have been to the fields barefooted
751 they may wash their feet before stepping up onto it. But the area of clean-
[351] liness ends with the step. Beyond the step is a different sort of territory. Yet even in the yard there is a limit to the amount of trash that may be al-
[514] lowed to accumulate before it is swept away. The practice of urinating in the yard is distasteful to the American observer, but there is perhaps less basis for objection to it as a health hazard. Urine is relatively harmless. Feces, however, go into the toilet. If an untrained child defecates in the yard usually someone cleans up the spot.

by sons other than the first reinforces this, although there are examples of branch families being established in villages away from the parental home. This intermarriage among kinship groups and the settlement of first sons and other children in the same village brings about a situation in which blood relatives or relatives by marriage are exceedingly numerous. It gives to village life cohesion and solidarity. This was very noticeable in the villages studied. Specific illustrations later will show the influences of these situations on many phases of village life. 621

It is no wonder then that the family system has a strong influence on community organization and on formal government. The semi-official organizations such as the neighborhood groups (han in Japanese), the young men's association (seinendan in Japanese), and the women's association (fujinkai in Japanese) are made up of blocs of relatives, friends, and neighbors. These circumstances blur the distinctions between the private and the public life of the family. The same is true of village government and probably accounts in large measure for democratic village government. At a wedding, at a funeral, at a birthday celebration for a child, the head of the village (kuchō in Japanese), and often the mayor of the township (sonchō in Japanese) will be present, not for political or vote catching reasons, but because he is a relative, by blood or marriage, or a personal friend of his hosts. This theme will be developed later, but it should be pointed out here that the family system, in its contemporary operations, is not only the mould for shaping the outlines of obligations and responsibilities for individuals, but that it is an important guiding principle in the conduct of community life and of formal government. 602 621 [595] [622]

2

Kinship Terminology and the Kinship System

We can now explore in more detail the mechanisms by which the family system operates. To do this, it will be well first to list the common kinship and related terms. These are the terms most often met with in conversation and which appear in the family registers (kosoki in Japanese). Kinship terminology follows the Japanese practice. Like Western usage, many terms such as grandfather, grandmother, uncle, aunt, nephew or niece refer to relatives both on the paternal and the maternal side. The chief differences lie in the rank order in which sons or daughters of a family are designated. A child ordinarily is not referred to as a son or as a daughter but as a first or second son, or a third daughter, or whatever the case may be. The most common terms, with their Japanese equivalents are listed below. The first word is the honorific term and the word in parentheses is the equivalent but less polite form. In general, the honorific is used in speaking of another's relatives, or in speaking to one older than oneself. The less polite term refers to one's own family or is used in speaking to persons younger than one's self. 601 [217]

554 labor of agriculture or fishing, or those, finally, whose life includes travel and foreign residence. Some of these are old, some new. The ideas coming from the repatriates are new. The influence of the young men is also to some extent a response to new conditions and to new ways of looking at things, which they, more adaptable than their elders, are in a better position to understand.

5

Community Organizations

575 [170] [571] Community organizations fill in the gaps between family life and the formal mechanics of village government. Though Japanese imports, they also fit in the culture, which, like Japan, is accustomed to doing things in groups. The most important of these organizations are the Women's Association, Young Men's Association, Young Women's Association, volunteer fire brigades, and the neighborhood associations.

The Women's Association (Fujinkai). The Women's Association, an island wide organization with subordinate township and village branches, is primarily an organization of married women, but unmarried young women, too old for the youth organizations, and widows may belong. The village head of the association is elected, generally for one year, by the membership.

The interests and activities of the membership are an indication of the problems of village life as seen by the women. There may be, as in Hanashiro, house to house inspections with advice on how to improve sanitary conditions, making clothes, or teaching better ways to cook food, improving the dirty and smoky Okinawan kitchen to eliminate eye irritations (a common complaint), attempts to induce people to spend less money on holidays and to spread their luxury and meat buying throughout the year. They might discuss the custom of squatting on the floor and its possible effects on bodily health and stature, or the desirability of replacing the heavy blankets on the floor with western style beds, or individual family problems, such as the family with all daughters, or girls without husbands. The trouble is that the conditions which the women as members of an organization are trying to improve are the very ones which, as wives, they are unable to correct. As a consequence, many of the plans do not go beyond the discussion stage, not because the women lack the will, but because the cumulative problems are overpowering. These groups however have positive accomplishments. They are influential in maintaining existing standards. They are trying with some success to eradicate the scabby sores that cover the faces, hands, and arms of infants and young children.

The Young Men's Associations (seinendan) fill in the gap between school and marriage when the adult male really takes his place in the village community. They are a training ground for working with others and for demonstrating leadership. Like the Japanese originals, the organization is for young men between 17 and 25. Their specific activities

vary according to the problems and conditions in a village. The first meeting of the year is usually held around Jan. 2, when there is a party. The young men, even those of 17 drink sake at this time. Young women, who do not drink, contribute gifts of candy and soft drinks. 575

In Hanashiro, the young men cultivate a field of their own and sell the produce. They maintain a carp pond. (Before the war, there were two such ponds). They also work out for wages. Every morning rotating groups work for two hours either in the association's field or for wages. This is done before the daily work. Their earnings of Y8 an hour, low by Okinawan standards, are accumulated for special projects, such as the annual athletic meet. Occasionally they help with road maintenance, though this is a job for all the people of the village. The carp in the pond are sold to the villagers, normally in July, for medicinal purposes. [465] [825] [278]

In Minatogawa, the young men's and the young women's association are combined. The head is a young man, the second in charge a young woman. They help in times of emergency and with repairing of typhoon damage. Since there are no fields or carp ponds, they are not so active as the young men of the agricultural villages. Sometimes they do night guard duty around the village, though this practice now has fallen into disuse.

In Matsuda, the association performs tasks similar to those in Hanashiro. Rotating groups, arising at 4 in the morning, do two or three hours work before starting their own. Absentees are fined Y20 and tardy members Y5. The young men grow sugar cane on land loaned free of charge by farmers. The purpose of the project is to increase sugar cane production by providing transplants. The Matsuda group also works in the forests, for which they receive Y100 per day per person. With the permission of the village headman, they get firewood from the forests, sell it to provide funds for their projects. They stand by during typhoons. But they also have discontinued the custom of providing a 3 or 4 member patrol to walk around the village in the early morning hours. Since thievery is uncommon, the patrolling is no longer required. When the village gong sounds a fire alarm, all the young men assemble. At the harvest festivals, such as the autumnal equinoctial holiday, the young men may present a play, do Okinawan dances, and supply the motive power for the village lion. [249]

The leader (danchō) of a young man's association usually is from the older age group. Meetings are held twice a month, normally on the 1st and 15th. The annual parties are either at the beginning or the end of the year. In all the villages, the young men's associations have a leading part in the annual athletic meetings. Most of their accumulated funds are expended at this time. They not only participate, but do much of the preparatory work in co-operation with the school teachers.

One result of membership in the young men's associations is that the age range (an 8 year span) of one's acquaintance is broadened.

575 Friendships formed here and in school are the basis of later lifelong
572 associations.

Young Women's Associations (joshiseinen) are not so well developed. Hanashiro has none. In Minatogawa the young men's and the young women's groups are combined. Matsuda has a separate organization of girls from 17 to 23. The latter age is considered the probable date of marriage, when the young woman will enter the Women's Association. Their duties parallel those of the young men: village maintenance, selling firewood, planting sugar cane, taking part in harvest ceremonies and participating with the young men in the New Year's party.

In the villages, a volunteer organization is responsible for fire
[368] fighting. The fire brigades (sobodan) usually are under the direction of the young men's association. The village gong is sounded, the volunteers assemble, and the fire is put out by using a bucket brigade.

[177] Parent Teacher Associations, after the American model, have been formed in the rural area, but it is too early to form a judgment of their effectiveness.

575 There are also the neighborhood associations. A village is divided
621 into areas or zones (han), each with its own head (hanchō). Neighborhood groups had existed before the introduction of the Japanese neighborhood association (tonari gumi) in about 1935 or 1936. These older groups (kumi) had from 30 to 70 families, each with a head (kumichō). These groups often assisted in a family crisis, with housebuilding, or furnished pallbearers for a funeral.

Before and during the war, the Japanese used the neighborhood associations in their rationing, food distribution, civil defense, and other programs.

The neighborhood associations remained after the war, but they are now known as hans. The leader of each neighborhood group is a link in the chain of communication from the township office to the individual
[632] villager. The township mayor transmits a new regulation or a directive from a higher governmental authority to each village headman who informs the heads of each of the neighborhood groups, who can then tell the people living in his area. The people within a neighborhood group may also co-operate with one another in housebuilding. The young men may be pallbearers for a deceased resident of the neighborhood. The group head also informs the people of village meetings (jōkai). These heads may be elected, but usually they serve by rotation (kotai), with a change every three months. In Matsuda, the group head is selected for one year and household heads service under him for one month in rotation to perform stand-by (tōban suru, to be on duty) duties and help the neighborhood head in his work.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

HANS

Hanashiro	5
Hinatogawa	9
Hatsuda	16

575
621

6

The Democratic Government of the Township and Village

The description of local government has intentionally been delayed to this point because its operation and functions can be seen to greater advantage after an acquaintance with family life and the various forms of group activity. We can see it, not so much a formal structure to be described in legalistic terms, but as an expression of many of the characteristics of the culture we have already found in the family system, group activity, and individual leadership. 128

Okinawa and the various smaller islands of the Central Ryukyus (Okinawa-gunto) is one of the four main political subdivisions of the chain. The gunto is divided into townships, and within each township, there are several settlements (buraku, ku, aza) which we have consistently called villages. Township government is the channel for the enforcement of laws and regulations from higher governmental agencies and the source of local measures which govern the several villages of the township. 631

The seat of the township government is one of the villages of the township.[4] In Gushichan township, the village office (yakuba) is at Gushichan village, while in Ginoza township, the office is in Ginoza village. 632

At the head of this government is a mayor (sonchō) elected for a four year term. There is no strenuous campaigning for the office. Friends may induce a well known man to run, then visit the villages, and ask the people to vote for him. A reputation for being kind, fair, and refined (otonashii) goes far in electing a man. Once in office he is extremely busy, and like the village headman, usually looks forward to the end of his term rather than to re-election. A new mayor appoints his own or reappoints the old staff. He chooses a vice-mayor (joyaku) with the approval of the village assembly (gikai). 632 622 [666] [577]

A township office generally has the following administrative sections: (1) a treasury and disbursing office (shūnyūyaku), (2) a general affairs (shomu) sections. The head of this section is in charge of the family registers (koseki) and of the registry of seals. These two important functions require a little elaboration. 632

4 The government actually described here is that of Gushichan township. It did not seem worthwhile to repeat essentially the same information for Ginoza and then to make minute comparisons and contrasts between them.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

This desire to learn English is more than a wish to communicate with Americans. Opportunities are open for those who know English, and people of all ages realize that theoretical and applied science and improved techniques come from the West, and that English is a means of understanding and applying this knowledge. Channelling this desire, through competent instruction in the schools, which will result in efficient self-guidance afterwards, is one of the significant problems of Okinawan education. But the techniques to be used on a permanent basis should be left to the professional linguist.

Should for example the methods of Basic English be adopted as a matter of policy and be encouraged in private study? Or should language study be based on the principles set forth by the rapidly advancing field of linguistics? Or should we accept the guidance of doctors of education who are specialists in curriculum construction and language training? My own bias is toward the manuals developed by the linguists, such as Spoken Japanese (EH 561-62). This approach, with its pattern sentences, is based on an analysis of the structure of the language itself. Basic English poses the problem whether the English taught is really basic. In my opinion, the crux of the matter is to study the presuppositions underlying these approaches and not the subject matter they produce. American learned societies, with the co-operation of the Army and the Navy, and the subsequent university programs in language study, have made great strides in these fields, both theoretical and applied. They represent the most advanced thinking in the world on these subjects, and the body of knowledge which they have should be most useful.[4]

5

Home, School, and Village

There are strong bonds between the home, the village, and the school. Parents help their children with their elementary readers. There is homework and classmates may stay at one another's houses over night. Parents are interested in children's school problems, but they do not visit the schools often, except at times arranged by the officials. PTA's have been organized, but it is still too early to tell how successful they will be. Since the PTA, like the Women's Association and the Young Men's Association, fits in the culture, it probably will thrive.

On entering school, the child is introduced to a new language which he has not spoken to any extent in childhood. Okinawan is the language of the pre-school child. Beginning school, therefore, is a bigger break than it is with most cultures.

The schools usually draw on several villages for their student body

4 It is only fair to say that my own bias in favor of the approach developed by the technical linguists grows out of instruction I received in Japanese in the Army's Civil Affairs Training School Program in 1943-44.

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for keeping the population registry, with vital statistics and relevant 632
information on all township residents.* The Welfare Department in-
vestigates relief cases and receives applications for support from the [217]
poorest families. The Health and Sanitation Administration is primarily concerned with preventive work. Representatives from these five departments are supposed to visit all the villages in the township frequently to inspect and to discuss regulations. The officials and personnel of the five departments are drawn equally from all the villages and commute daily by foot, bicycle, or bus.

The township administration links the central government and in- 631
dividual villages. Numerous requests for central government aid, originating in each community, are sent through the township office. The government in turn deals with each community through the township administration. Contact between township and the villages is maintained by weekly meetings of all village headmen with the mayor and his staff. The village headman is responsible for carrying out township and central government ordinances.

THE VILLAGE

The village headman is elected once a year, in June, from a slate 622
agreed on beforehand during informal discussions by villagers. There 666
is no campaigning; in fact, the elections are treated more as a necessity
than a politically important event, and neither before nor after do they
incite much public discussion. This democratic process of elections is [177]
of post-World War II date. Before the war, the council of village leaders accepted a new headman only if the choice pleased them, so that the headman at that time was virtually appointed. Villagers remarked that "listening to public opinion is a recent change."

The village is still experimenting with the mechanics of a free 666
election. Votes are still restricted to household heads, but the Taira
Women's Association and Young People's Association tried to change [592]
this in 1955. Although they did not succeed, a concession was made by [575]
permitting "representatives" to vote for their household in the absence of a household head, provided the voter was 20 years of age. The elec-

* The old registry was totally destroyed during the war. A new one is being prepared with the help of the people. It no longer differentiates between persons of noble and common descent. Information on crimes committed by people, sentences passed by courts, and other information, such as diseases in the family, like mental illness, is also omitted now.

666 tion itself is arranged and supervised by an *ad hoc* committee. In 1955 written ballots were cast and counted immediately so that the result was known within a few minutes after the last ballot was in.

622 In contrast to a position in the township administration, which carries high status, equivalent to that of a teacher, the village headman's job is considered a community service and carries little prestige. This does not mean that the headman should not be an individual of high qualities. He must be at least 25 years old; he has to have sufficient education, especially knowledge of Japanese writing characters, to read government documents and to do the required clerical work; he has to be a good accountant and must be proficient in working with the abacus, since all tax collections are supervised by him; he must be community minded and able to enforce regulations in a friendly but efficient way. The rewards are small, the salary less than that of most township officials. The office is held most frequently by young men who have not been out of high school too long. Most recent headmen are between 25 and 30 years of age. Serving in this office may mark the beginning of an administrative career, either in the township office, in the village store, or in business outside Taira. The clerk, appointed
624 by the headmen to assist in village administration, is also a young man. He too is likely to be headed toward an administrative career.

621 Each village is subdivided into wards, set up originally by Japanese
624 administration to effect greater control over families through the warden. He is a subagent of the headman, and at present he functions
[203] mainly as a channel for communications, a useful function in a village like Taira, which covers a large geographical area. Regulations, village meetings, and special events are announced through the warden, and he is often called on to collect delinquent taxes. However, he has little authority and functions more as a neighbor who takes care of necessary contacts between residents and the village administration. Ward members elect him to his honorary office for a one-year term.

623 Village affairs are discussed and legislative action concerning the village initiated by the village council. This group is now partly elected, partly composed of holders of essential offices, such as heads of associations, members of the township assembly, and township officials who live in Taira. The 26 members of the Council are responsible for measures affecting the community, and the headman relies heavily on their advice. Most councilmen are middle aged; few are over 50 years
[575] old. Since the head of the Women's Association and the nurse are members, there are at least two female representatives. The youngest councilman is usually the head of the Young People's Association.

623 It is apparent that leadership in the community is always exercised
555

625 went out for fugitives from the south, he would accompany the police-
[632] man or investigate himself. In cases of death, both he and the police-
[647] man have to make a report.

The Young People's Association may serve as a vigilante in emer-
[575] gencies such as fires, floods, tornadoes, and other disasters. When a
[731] military jeep was reported to have been stolen near Naha and driven on the dead-end road running north, the young people in all villages on the way erected road blocks and were ready to help catch the thief. The group would act together in a similar fashion at any threat from outsiders.

622 The headman can only enforce local ordinances insofar as he is
681 able to persuade people to comply. He is not concerned directly with crime or disturbance of the peace. Exceptions are such matters as steal-
[625] ing sugar cane or letting chickens run loose so that they enter every yard. For such acts, money fines can be imposed. One warden still has a tag which used to be given to the man whose chickens ran around freely. The offender had to pay the fine and keep the tag until he detected someone else's chicken running loose. Then he could pass the tag on to that person. Such measures are no longer used. But the un-
[626] derlying principle of public censure and fear of ridicule continues to operate in village social control.

623 Public censure is used along with fines to ensure attendance at vil-
626 lage meetings. Roll call is taken before each meeting so that the ab-
[681] sence of individuals is made known to the whole group. Similarly, when tax collections became more and more delinquent, it was decided to have ward meetings in which everybody would be reminded in public to pay his share. Those who were unable to do so would have to state their reasons. As soon as this new plan was announced, several people got up during the meeting to pay outstanding amounts to the head-
872 man. The school uses similar devices to achieve better attendance and scholarship. During home visit week, about once a year, a meeting is held for all parents and the statistics for attendance for each village are read as well as scholastic performances for each community.

INFORMAL CONTROL

156
626 What other people might think is uppermost on everybody's mind.
[867] Children are reminded by their mothers not to play alone lest people would think they are unpopular. They are told not to fight lest others think badly of them or make them responsible for the consequences. Censure by gossip is common, but criticism is seldom made directly to a person's face, and the target of extensive gossip is often unaware of it.

602 on one's mother's side and, after marriage, the wife's family. In seek-
476 ing mutual assistance for rice planting, house building and other undertakings, such relatives may be approached. In other words, kin, neighbors, and members of the same geographical section of the village participate almost equally in mutual assistance groups. Maternal relatives join in family celebrations and in the discussion of family matters. Since many decisions are made jointly with the help of relatives, there are frequent occasions for the kindred to gather in the evening at one house or another.

561 Each Okinawan also belongs to an age group. As will be described in the section on socialization, beginning at kindergarten an Okinawan becomes associated with a group of boys and girls who will remain his
575 companions through school. As a member of junior high school he
653 will join the formal Student's Association, which is responsible for certain community projects. High school students and all unmarried young adults belong to the Young People's Association, which is both a social group and a cooperative work group.

575 After marriage there are several associations which one may join.
185 Adult married women who are under 57 belong to the Women's Asso-
[562] ciation, which is affiliated with an island organization dedicated to "modernizing" women's lives. The organization is lead by a few women who are in contact with the district and island organization. They attempt at semisocial gatherings to introduce changes aimed at easing
[262] the burdens of daily life and the pressure of poverty. For example, they are trying to influence the women to return to making their own bean paste rather than spending precious cash. The leaders show the women how to make bean paste and encourage them to set aside one work-free day a month to catch up with neglected housework. Many of the efforts of the organization, however, are not too successful. Most women go back to their homes and find that the accustomed ways are easier to follow. One has learned to live with economic pressures and tradition and established custom is a strong force. So the few forward-looking women have a difficult task in rallying others.

Both adult married males and females may also join an organization similar in objective—the Home Improvement group. Although the men who are village leaders belong to this association, the majority of the members are the same women who are leaders in the Women's Association.

575 Before World War II there was an association of older men.* Al-
887 though this group seldom, if ever, meets, it still sends a representative
623 to the village council and to a few village functions.

* Apparently of relatively recent origin.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1983 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

Both adult men and women also belong to mutual assistance groups, mutual loan associations, and to the work groups described in Chapter 3. All individuals between 16 and 57 are expected to cooperate in community work projects. All households are members of the village cooperative. Since most villagers look to the cooperative for help in improving their economic conditions, this draws them together in a familial way. 571 [653] [474]

It will be noted that age and marital status are prerequisites for membership in most of these associations and that only one is exclusively for women and one exclusively for men. 575

Taira culture is essentially egalitarian. Personal status is not ascribed by membership in social classes or achieved by the accumulation of wealth. Furthermore, although power and respect are the attributes of certain village offices, such as headman and school teacher, these only give rank *ex officio*. An ex-headman has no higher status than one who has never held such an office. 554

There are factors, however, which do differentiate Tairans as to personal status. Men have somewhat more power and command more respect than women; adults must be addressed respectfully by children; older siblings have more authority and privileges than younger; and in recent years the educated are somewhat more respected and are more likely to be chosen to hold office than those with the minimum required amount of schooling. And since education often leads to better jobs, greater wealth is sometimes associated with status, though not a necessary prerequisite. [562]

The status of women in Okinawa, although, ideally, inferior to that of men, is in reality relatively high. Many cultural forms are based on the principal of male superiority, which Japanese values tend to reinforce, but there are numerous indications in daily life that women command a comparatively high degree of respect and power. It is difficult to assess to what degree status differences have been influenced by contact with Japanese; the importance of women in religious affairs suggest their higher status prior to the introduction of the Japanese school system in Taira. 554 562 177

As will be discussed in the chapter on religion, although the veneration of one's father's ancestors is the core of one part of Okinawan religion, the ceremonies are run by the women. The oldest male of each main house and the household head in each household are nominally responsible for keeping the tablets of the ancestors on his house shrine, but the actual upkeep of this ancestral shelf and the bimonthly offerings are performed by the women. If no direct male descendant is available to keep the ancestral tablets, a widowed woman retains them 769 782 562

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

the wife takes charge of household funds while her husband controls larger spendings. 593 562

Many quarrels between couples originate from financial matters. Disagreements happen frequently when a husband returns home intoxicated late at night. His wife may blame him for using money which she has put aside for a special purchase; from this incident the argument turns to family finances in general. As words become more heated, the woman holds her own, telling her husband in no uncertain terms that he is a squanderer. Some husbands settle such an argument by hitting their wives. [273] [578]

Decisions are seldom made by one person in the family. The more important the issue involved, the more people within the family are consulted. A husband and wife may discuss whether to buy or sell a pig and make a joint decision. They also decide mutually on the buying of seed rice and other agricultural matters. Men concern themselves with the building of new structures or the addition to old ones. On the other hand, women make decisions affecting the daily life of children. They determine if a child needs new clothes, if he should be taken to the doctor, or accompany the mother on a shopping trip to the city. Some fathers take an interest in their children's study habits and accomplishments at school, but few are consistent in supervising their children in this respect. Here, too, mothers seem to have a much greater influence. Girls are likely to receive even less attention from their fathers than boys. In cases of decisions that can vitally affect the future of the whole household, members of the husband's and wife's family, if they live in the village, gather to discuss plans. 593 [602]

Although women are less active politically than men, they participate in village meetings as representatives for their families. With the exception of the Women's Association leaders, their participation is more passive than that of the men. But although they seldom speak in public and sit together at the back of the meeting, women nevertheless exert a great deal of influence on community affairs. Their influence is felt even more in meetings of mutual finance associations. 575 562 623

It is unlikely at this point that a woman in the village would run for political office. Several recent developments, however, indicate a steady increase in their political participation. The headman who was elected to office in 1955 is responsible for an innovation which reflects this trend. He selected his clerk by means of a competitive examination which was open to both young men and young women. Two girls who had graduated from high school were among the candidates. They were defeated by a young man to whom the job was given because of 562 666

562 his high score. Under American influence, universal suffrage and
666 equal representation have been introduced and formally adopted in some village affairs, although the household head vote—traditionally mostly male—is still maintained in many cases.

562 The Women's Association is the main force behind the attempts to
575 give women greater equality. The spokesmen for this group do not proclaim equality for women as such as the important goal but express hopes that women's life can be made easier by reducing their work load and providing more conveniences for them, such as better stoves. Attempts are made to give a woman more time to spend at home instead of in forests or fields and to reduce the expenses involved in preparing for holidays and special celebrations. The opinions of the Women's Association carry weight in village affairs. This, as one old woman pointed out, is a considerable change from earlier times. There had been a Women's Association before the war, but
[623] women were still barred from participation in village meetings at that time, and the only place where they could make themselves heard in village matters was at the meeting of the individuals required to do periodic labor for the village.

562 The situation at the time of fieldwork with regard to the attempts
527 of women to gain more recognition and the role which men play in
575 this respect is illustrated by a celebration of Mother's Day—an event
[177] which came to Taira quite recently from the outside. The women decided to observe it by taking off from their daily duties during the afternoon. The Women's Association made all arrangements, so that it was not a day dedicated by children or adult men to the mothers, but a day that the mothers celebrated themselves. Nevertheless, for the meeting at the old warehouse, where mats had been spread and food prepared, there were also tables arranged for the male village officials, such as the headman, village council members, and the policeman. They started the affair by treating the women to a few speeches in which the importance of motherhood was eulogized by such observations as: "A man can be great only if he has a mother who is making him great," and (from the policeman): "Mothers are an important factor in preventing juvenile delinquency." After this initial hour-long introduction, the leader of the Women's Association declared that festivities could now begin and that she "did not care how much sake the women drank as long as they were happy on this day." The children, who had been told by their teachers to help their mothers on this day by cleaning house and freeing them from some of their chores, gathered near the building, received some feast food and played as usual, and men—with the exception of the invited officials—worked

as usual. It was an affair organized by the women leaders, which, though a little slow in starting, turned into a gay carousing for the older women, who were less inhibited than the younger ones and needed little encouragement to drink and dance.

The daily life of a woman is more monotonous than her husband's and she has less leisure and recreation. After a day of hard work, men sit down alone or in groups to spend the evening in relaxation with a bottle of sake. After a short time they show signs of pleasant intoxication and all burdens of life seem to disappear. Such recourse to carefree diversion is generally denied women. Instead, they are loaded down with household chores and care of infants and guests after a day of work in fields and forests. They spend their little free time exchanging news with other women or talking with other family members or visitors who assemble around the charcoal fire in the back room during winter evenings. Only women of advanced age feel free to join the men in drinking at home.

Men have greater sexual freedom. They are at liberty to have affairs with other women outside the village and on trips to the city may visit tea houses and afterwards enjoy the favors of a prostitute if their pocket books allow.

Status differences based on age are reflected in the social structure and clearly denoted in the kinship terms. There is a special term of reference and address for "first son" and "first daughter" and for "older brother" and "older sister." As mentioned, ideally the oldest son assumes responsibility for the household, for his parents, and for the ancestral tablets. Even if he leaves his parental home temporarily or permanently for the city, where economic prospects are better, he remains the nominal household head and sends money back to his family. Theoretically the oldest male may retain authority until death, although in practice most men retire from this position at the age of 61. Their retirement is made official by an entry in the population registry. They continue to live with their oldest son and act as advisors and critics. A man's loss of authority with age occurs around his late fifties and early sixties and is evidenced not only by his retirement but also by his loss of the right to vote in village meetings. Veneration for age itself therefore, does not exist. Actual behavior toward the grandparental generation, all the members of which are addressed as "grandmother" or "grandfather" regardless of actual kinship, is warm, mildly playful, and indulgent. Disrespect, however, is absent.

It is characteristic of the relationship between children and grandmothers that in addressing nonrelated old women, the suffix *-san*, which denotes respect, is most often dropped for the "grandmother"

tion between couples is not seen in public. Men and women are teased 584
by the community if they are seen standing and talking together. One 178
or several boys teasing a girl would be the boldest advance seen in public. Although, even at night, we never observed couples pairing off in or near the village, we were told that a boy and a girl would arrange private meetings. It is our impression that there is more self-consciousness about love-making than there used to be.

Although there is little occasion for intimacy between a couple dur- 584
ing times when other villagers are around, young men and women asso- 575
ciate frequently in larger groups during the week in community-wide activities of the Young People's Association. During the many hours which are spent in club meetings, work projects, and other social activities, there is a comraderie between young men and women which effectively neutralizes the formal social distance that is maintained in the traditionally separate seating arrangements. There is, nevertheless, a certain embarrassment and almost clumsy behavior of young men toward the better poised and adroit girls, at least in the presence of strangers like ourselves.

Young men may seek intimacies with girls of other villages, but in 584
doing so they risk the ire of the young men there. It is also possible 836
that a Taira girl agrees to an intimate relationship with someone in 562
another village where she may feel safer from detection. Young men are more likely to seek a girl with whom an arrangement for a meeting away from her home can be made. The girl, of course, suffers public disapproval if the couple is detected, while a man is not subject to the same criticism. In contrast to girls, men have many more opportunities for sexual relationships without public censure.

Sexual attraction does not seem decisive in selecting a mate for mar- 581
riage, although beauty is appreciated in a woman with long, black 584
hair, a dark arched eyebrow, fair skin, a prominent nose, small mouth, [826]
and large eyes. Younger people are beginning to adopt some of the [177]
American standards of beauty, which are introduced through movies [831]
and magazines via Japan. Although the concept of romantic love is gaining in popularity, arranged marriages still outnumber love mar- 584
riages in Taira. Even if a young man and woman reach an agreement about marriage, there follows a formal arrangement by their parents with the help of go-betweens, a trusted neighbor or a friendly couple, or a person who commands status and respect. If a man or his family are interested in arranging a marriage with a girl, the go-between notifies her family. Eventually word will reach the girl. If the suitor has not previously indicated his interest to the girl, she may voice her feelings and wishes to her mother, father, or to some other relative. If

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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were justified. Both children were slightly retarded, and people believed that this fact added even more proof. 848

An illegitimate child is loved by everybody and treated like any legitimate child. The bastard's name is listed in the registry under his mother's and his illegitimacy noted. Since World War II the distinguishing red ink mark is no longer used in recording these children. Unless the mother marries the child's real father, the offspring has no legal rights of inheritance. If she marries another man, the child may receive affectionate treatment from the stepfather, but he remains legally her son. Socially such a child does not suffer any form of ostracism, but adults make references to his status within his earshot. One such girl proudly said that people had told her that she was half-Japanese. 837 732 217 428 554

Legally a man cannot have more than one wife, but there are cases of multiple marriage even in Taira. It takes a substantial income for such an arrangement, since a second wife is given a separate place to live. A younger "wife" is usually taken if there is no male heir born by the legal wife or if the marriage remains childless altogether. A man, formerly a resident of the village, took a young concubine late in life after his sons were killed during the war. She bore him a son, apparently with the consent of the first wife, since there was amicable interaction between the two although they lived separately. The husband registers such children as his legal offspring. 595 842

Two modes of divorce are possible. A couple may agree to separate and call a family council of parents and relatives on both sides. The township office is then notified and separation acknowledged. Once children have been born, such divorces are not too frequent, at least there were few cases of divorced women with children in Taira. A husband may initiate a divorce by telling his wife of his desire to separate. Extra-marital relationships of the wife would be sufficient cause, as would be sterility, which is interpreted as her fault. In Taira a settlement within the family is the more frequent mode of divorce although relatively rare. One official estimated that the rate of divorce for the whole township is two per year. Among the 59 marriages we found listings for five subsequent divorces. During fieldwork, many debates about modernizing divorce laws were held among members of the Women's Association, which advocated the abolition of the unilateral emphasis that gave husbands all the rights and wives almost none. Only a crime committed by a man would be sufficient cause under existing law to permit the wife to initiate a divorce. 586 837 842 671 575

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

who have accepted them cannot afford to buy the recommended drugs. 758
Furthermore, the choice between the bush doctor and the trained medical men in town is sometimes determined by lack of money to pay for the more expensive services.

Cleanliness of the village and general sanitation are theoretically 744
under township control. Except for superficial biannual inspections, 575
nothing much is done about them. Perhaps the Women's Association, once they carry out plans to take over this function, will be more effective.

There are several cases of physically deformed, mentally deficient, 158
and mentally ill persons. A young man of about 20 years, born as an 734
idiot or imbecile, lives in the back of his parents' house, protected from 757
the gaze of outsiders. His family provides well for him, and when no stranger is around to embarrass the family, the grandfather may take him out to attend a village event. Another young man, who was normal, one day began to frighten his family and eventually the whole village by outbursts of violence. He attacked other persons and property. Nobody really knew how to cope with the situation, since the single mental hospital in Okinawa could not keep him longer than six months, and everybody realized that he was sick, not evil minded, when he broke bottles and other glassware in the village store. The [755]
family tried religious treatment and locked the man up but never for long, for he had intermittent periods of calm and seemingly rational behavior. Another man, during a busy day, complained of sudden headaches. Soon afterward he became severely depressed and attempted [762]
to commit suicide, quite an infrequent phenomenon in the Okinawan village.

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Chapter 10

Formal Education

The Japanese school system, which was introduced to Okinawa in the 871
1880's, reached Taira by 1891. At that time a small school was estab-
lished in the village. Some of its early graduates are still alive and re- 177

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

the school. Classes are held from 9 o'clock until noon with one recess. After an hour for lunch, lessons resume for all grades above first. Classes, sports, and cleanup end between 2 and 3:30 in the afternoon, the highest grades staying the longest. 872

All grades receive instruction in Japanese writing and reading, arithmetic, science, music, and drawing. Social science is introduced in the second grade. Since each class has one teacher for all subjects, shifts from one to the next subject may come in the middle of an hour. The greatest amount of time is spent in teaching Japanese reading and writing. At first grade level the simplified syllabary is taught, followed in the second grade by another syllabary and the first Chinese characters. [871 177 191]

Parents maintain contact with the school through a Parent-Teachers Association, called by the American abbreviation, PTA. Every household is a member. Those with children of school age are regular members who pay 15 yen (12 cents) a month; others are supposed to pay 5 yen but have become so delinquent that their fees have been dropped. The actual PTA work is done by a committee from each village, including the headman and the heads of the Women's and Young People's Associations. The main purpose of the PTA is to support the school in some of its maintenance problems. Attendance of all parents at a general meeting occurs only once a year when elections of officers take place and the PTA budget is discussed and approved. 875 575

The principals of both schools are represented in township affairs and in the associations of their own community. Contact between village leaders and school representatives is therefore frequent. Since education taxes are the single largest tax item which villagers pay (80% of the total tax), this representation of the principals is a necessary but burdensome duty for them. 875 621 [651]

Township education taxes are supplemented by government subsidies. School taxes are paid by all households according to their income and average about 515 yen ($4.30) yearly. Since 1952, government orders require education taxes to be levied separately from other taxes so that people are aware of the amount destined for education; tax collection is one of the main problems in village administration, and school principals are sometimes called on to explain the need for such taxation and the obligations of individuals to carry their share of the burden. 871 658 651

The administration of funds and general school matters are the responsibility of an official in the township finance department. During 1954–1955, 310,344 yen ($2586) were collected by the township in education taxes. The government subsidy amounted to 3,716,397 yen [632]

464 the bulldozer had done the basic shaping of the field, a new member of the
[465] 'han' was hired to finish the pounding of the paddy walls. He was paid ¥900 for six days' work, and was required to provide his own lunch. His employer had spent the first year after the war in Hokkaido, working for no money but receiving one 'shō' (3.18 pints) of rice a day. Later he rented a horse and cart from its owner at ¥60 a day and pocketed anything above that amount that he earned. During planting and harvest season he worked in the rice fields.

445 Horses are rented out by their owners to other people, but when a cow
426 is rented the owner's services are always included. No farmer trusts anyone
435 else with his cow. A man-and-cow hire out for ¥250-300 a day, depending on
379 the distance they must travel. A horse is most often rented to pull the sweep
299 of a rotary sugar-press, and is paid according to the amount of juice of black sugar produced. Various prices are quoted. ¥100 is paid for each 'chō' (100 kin, or 132 pounds) of black sugar produced. One farmer charges for the use of his horse a flat rate of ¥1 for each gallon of juice squeezed. Another charges ¥60 for 50 gallons of juice if the renter lives in Nanahan or close by, and ¥70 if he lives farther away. Horses were scarce the first year after the war, and fifteen men together pulled the sweeps of the rotary presses.

464 <u>Buying of Labor and Services</u> Many times farmers have need of a great amount
575 of labor in a short period of time. Then they are most likely to call upon the services of the young people's group, the 'seinendan'. One Nanahan farmer in 1952 had this group make a paddy field for him from a dry field. In 1953 another farmer had the group make a 300 'tsubo' dry field for him out of 'arechi', or war-destroyed land. The 'seinendan' also hires its members out to work for people who need help in the busy season. The following daily wage rates were quotes: women and new
[465] members, ¥40; men of 18 and 19 years, ¥50; and men of 20 years and above, ¥60.

445 Abolition of the stringent Japanese regulations compelling farmers
[649] to raise sugar has resulted in the reconversion of many sugar fields to rice paddies. At first this was done exclusively by hand labor, but now bull-
[433] dozers are more in favor. One farmer had 420 'tsubo' of dry land converted into paddy at a total cost for bulldozer leveling of ¥6,300. The rate for machine and operator was ¥600 an hour. The farmer owns 450 tsubo more of paddy, which provides rice for one meal a day. With this newly-converted
[262] field he plans to have his family eat rice twice daily. Labor charges for finishing the new paddy will run about ¥4,000, according to estimate.

One of his relatives is a repatriate from the hemp-growing colony at Davao, in the Philippines. This man bought land from a villager who was dissatisfied with country life, and hired a bulldozer to convert it to paddy.
[435] For conversion of 816 tsubo he paid bulldozer charges of ¥12,000 and ¥8,000 additional for labor. He had bought the dry land ('hatake') originally for ¥65 per tsubo.

About the only other service regularly engaged is the hulling and polishing of rice. Nanahan people take their threshed rice to a neighboring village where there is a 'seimaisho' (rice-cleaning mill), and pay only cash for the service. They return home with the polished rice and the bran, or

Others include levies upon
651 organizations and families to support the athletic meets, or 'undōkwai',
[526] which are such a popular part of life in Okinawa.

575 Before the war the women's group ('fujinkai') and the young people's
178 group ('seinendan') levied a certain amount of soybeans against each member,
and when they were delivered the sale brought in money to finance their ac-
[526] tivities. These organizations also made up special meals for local athletic
526 favorites while they were in training, and provided a feast for them at the
651 end of the contests. Today the 'undōkwai' is on more of a monetary basis,
632 and there is a levy called the 'undōkwai no keihi'. In October of 1953, the
cost of the grand athletic meeting held in Naha was divided among the 'son'
according to the number of champions sent to the contest. Kochinda-son was
top grade in Shimajiri, and Tomoyose was a middle-grade village within
Kochinda-son. This grade was judged by the amount of arable land, its yield,
and the population. Within the village, households in turn are assessed by
three grades, according to their income tax records. These three grades
were "minimum," under ¥20; "middle", ¥20-50; and "maximum", ¥50-54.

621 Local Philanthropy From time to time the leading household heads are called
741 upon to donate money for improvement of village facili-
ties. Names of contributors and amounts given are written upon a wooden
plaque and hung in the village meeting house. The building of this meeting
house itself involved the gathering of such a fund, to which Nanahan people
gave a total of ¥1,450. Later a request for funds to buy a funeral stretcher
brought ¥350 from the household heads, and a road repair campaign netted
¥1,550 from Nanahan.

Somewhat the reverse of the above occurred after the Russo-Japanese
war when a particularly handsome soldier from the neighboring village came
back from the front. All the leading 'geisha' in Naha had long had the habit
of asking him to come to their establishments without charge. His return
brought such joy to their hearts that they got together a sum of money and
bought him a large plot of land near Nanahan.

52 Prizes at Contests From the time a youngster enters school and participates
in his first contest to the time when he shows an animal
at his last village or 'son' festival before retiring, all winners look for-
ward to some sort of prize to mark the occasion. In school the prizes are
generally beautifully handwritten scrolls, but as one gets older the prizes
assume the form of wooden trays and articles of practical use in the home.

858 Sale of Children When the SIRI team first arrived on Okinawa and mentioned
432 that we were interested in finding if the Okinawans still
[183] practiced the sale of children, sophisticated respondents feigned indignation.
Later on, as we were able to gain rapport in the countryside, a number of such
instances were forthcoming.

In Tomoyose a man got into debt over an effort to make a fortune in
sugar along about 1910. He was so heavily in debt to village people that he
was socially unable to live in the community, and moved to Itoman. There he
sold his son to a fisherman. The son is now a grown man with an Okinawan wife
and a mistress from Amami. His business is still fishing, although he also
owns a truck.

expected to keep to his studies and not merely to avoid the distractions of 877
adult pleasures but actually not to be interested in them. He is given spe- 882
cial considerations as a student, a place to study, quiet, and freedom from
irksome tasks. This consideration probably varies with the position of the
student in the family and with his success as a student. Boys undoubtedly [562]
get more consideration than girls, older sons than younger sons---though if
an older son has been unable to go on to school and is helping a younger
brother go on, the younger brother may get greater consideration and feel
greater responsibility. This special treatment lasts as long as the young
person is in school or as long as the family can afford not to rely on him
for economic assistance. But even the young man in university who is working
part time to keep himself in school is expected not to be interested in the
sorts of pleasures sought by younger boys who stopped their schooling much
earlier.

Today junior high school is compulsory, but the majority of students 871
go no farther. The high schools strictly limit the number of students that
they can enroll, so that many junior high graduates who would like to go on
to high school are unable to. But whether a youth stops his schooling at 884
junior high school, high school, or later, the change in treatment and atti-
tudes is the same. He "enters society". He is now expected to do an adult's
work and contribute to the family's support. At the same time he is expected
to spend his evenings with the other young men, drinking, teasing the girls,
and staying out half the night---behavior a student would have no interest
in, at least in theory.

While a youth is in school he belongs to a students' organization 877
('gakuseikai'). After he leaves school he is expected to join the youth or- 575
ganization ('Seinenkai'). The present Youth Organization is the successor 883
of the pre-war, Japan-wide organization, less the militarism and jingoism. [178]
It is organized on a Ryukyu-wide basis, but local chapters make their own
constitutions, statements of aims, and so forth---probably with no great var-
iation. The aims expressed in the constitutions seen could mainly be put
under the headings intellectual and moral self-improvement and community up-
lift. Meetings are held perhaps twice a month, one being for business and
serious discussion, the other for purely social purposes. The social meet-
ings feature music played on the 'shamisen', dancing, and 'awamori'. Among
other serious business, in some communities the Youth Organization engages
in clean-up or repair projects and hires itself out for farm labor. Where
it receives pay, the funds probably generally go toward the expense of the
social meetings.

The Youth Organization takes young people of both sexes, but there
are usually more men, since women drop out at marriage while men may remain
in after marriage if they choose to, until 30, according to one rule. In
the country, membership after finishing school is represented as compulsory. [184]
In the city, however, the compulsion is lacking and many who are not inter-
ested in joining manage to stay out. But in the country few would suggest
that anyone had the right not to join. When I asked a past president of the
organization in Yamada if everyone joined, he replied to the effect, "Oh yes,
all must join, we have a rule." And he proceeded to point out the regulation

575 in the constitution that said so. That the rules of an organization should
883 be binding on non-members as well as members evidently seemed perfectly logical to him. The aims expressed in this constitution included the fostering of morality, the industrial spirit, health, sanitation, and the use of English, supporting religion and discarding superstition. As an example of "superstition", the past president gave the belief that rats will inevitably destroy the rice plants in a field in the village unless offerings are made there. But though this man is a school teacher I doubt if he would have labelled as "superstition" any of the beliefs that actually stand in the way of some of the other aims of the organization.

Besides the Youth Organization there are other smaller local groups organized primarily for intellectual pruposes, study clubs, etc., among both students and young people out of school. Then there are also informal groups, gangs of a sort, among students as well as non-students. A young man told Lebra of the activities of a gang that he had been the ringleader of while in high school in a large town. The gang consisted of four to ten boys the same age who studied together and travelled around together. They occasionally went out into the country to talk to village girls, to be chased out by the country boys. They played jokes on other young people and even on their teachers. But the young man looks back with pride on the fact that they helped reform a fellow student who drank and gambled but has now become sober and industrious.

883 In the country the pleasure-seeking activities of the young people were formerly institutionalized in a practice known as moo-ashibii ("playing in the fields"). On pleasant evenings young unmarried men and women would semi-surreptitiously leave their parents' homes with food and drink and a 'shamisen' or two for music, and meet at some spot outside the village where they ate and drank, sang and danced. Although there was an element of secrecy to the practice, some parents evidently encouraged the young people to
[362] go and enjoy themselves. Probably young men were given more encouragement
[365] than young women. There were class differences, too; gentry families in the village of Yamada took pains to keep their daughters home, probably mainly to prevent them from forming alliances with young men. The objections that some parents had were perhaps more to the young people's appropriating food and drink for the purpose than to anything else. Young men sometimes continued to go to the moo-ashibii after marriage.

A similar institution was the yagamayaa ("rowdy house", cognate with Japanese 'yakamashii', "noisy"). It is possible that in some communities yagamayaa were once built solely for that purpose. But in two communities where information was obtained on the practice, Yamada and Henza, a yagamayaa was simply a house where the young people were able to take over a room or two for their pleasure. In Yamada it was said to be usually a house with no adult males at home; the house of a woman whose husband was working overseas functioned as a yagamayaa for a time. The young people may simply force their way in, but in this case the woman welcomed the food they brought and shared with her, so she simply moved with her children into the back room and turned the front rooms over to them. On Henza several houses where girls occupy rooms of their own are yagamayaa.

called for 'awamori'. After a few drinks he asked in a fairly serious manner, 831
"Have you bought a woman yet during your stay? You really ought to try an 522
Okinawan woman before you go." His daughter-in-law and two half-grown sons looked on in amusement. The question is not uncommon; on another occasion it was, "Have you tasted Okinawan women?"

In common talk, and perhaps in feeling, sex seems to be identified al- 548
most wholly with prostitution and the sex act with the hiring of a juri. The 831
sight of a seed boar being led across a field evoked the comment, "That pig's a man; he's on his way to buy a woman." Perhaps the above statement should be narrowed down to something like: the pleasurable aspects of sex are identified with prostitution. And sexual pleasure, like the pleasures of eating and drinking, singing and dancing, is something that guests may be treated to. (Hence the concern that the visitor sample all the pleasures that Okinawa offers and a pride in those for which it is famous.) In view of the fact that children grow up hearing about juri and jurinuyaa and associating them with other pleasures before they have any notion of their sexual functions, it is not surprising that when they become adults they display attitudes that are different from those found among Americans.

Before the war in the Tsuji district of Naha there were about three thousand juri.[1] The district was the center of the social life of the men [565]
of the upper classes. Business men, government officials, and teachers were entertained there. No doubt all did not "buy" juri, but sex was one of the principal commodities dispensed there. Also it is unlikely that the average farmer ever went there, but the indications are that he would have if he could have. A man is expected to want these things if he can afford them. The [184]
values of the farmer are not likely to be very different from those of the better-off city man. The jurinuyaa has played an important role in Okinawa society in the past and is not likely to disappear very soon.

Maturity and Old Age: Associations Men may continue to belong to the 575
'Seinenkai' until thirty; women drop 562
out at marriage. The reason that men stay longer may be to give greater continuity to the organization and to provide older members as leaders, but in view of the recreational activities of the organization it seems as likely that the rule is merely a part of the general tendency to give more freedom to men and more responsibility to women.

Adult Associations ('Seijinkai') are said to exist in some villages 575
but are not of any great importance. Associations formed by persons of the same age ('dōnenkai') also exist. In Japan such organizations are often com- [171]
posed of persons who were in the same class in school[2]; on Okinawa the number of older persons who attended school probably does not permit the formation of very large associations. The tendency among younger persons is not very noticeabe. Younger men may organize 'shōbōkai', volunteer fire brigades; such [368]
an organization patrolled the streets of Ishikawa nightly. We did not see any evidence of the persistence of any organizations based on former military [179]
service; the Japanese Army Reservists' Association may never have been very active on Okinawa.

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1 Yanagida, 1951, p. 309.

2 Embree, 1939, p. 163ff.

[Kitazato]

somewhat appalled by what they regard as a lack of concern on the part of Americans for their plight. As they have been long accustomed to a paternalistic government, this seems to be a deliberately negligent attitude, and they express this feeling not infrequently. The following statements were heard by the author, "We never see any Americans who come to inspect or look at things" and "No Americans ever come to see how we are." 621 829

National Organizations National organizations such as the youth association and the women's association are rather weak in Kitazato when compared with Kanegusuku. They say that they have little spare time for such organizations, which is undoubtedly true, and the scattered nature of the village makes meeting a chore for some in the outlying sections. The ranks of the youth association are thinned by the loss of members who have sought employment in the city or military camps. Even the agricultural association is not as active as elsewhere, since the farmers feel that little can be done to improve their situation. The farmers and the head of the 'son' agricultural office were disgusted by the stupidity of a plan tendered by the central agricultural office to relieve the distress of Kitazato and other dispossessed farmers in Kami Motobu-son. This plan called for the planting of sugar cane as a cash crop and the use of the proceeds to buy food. It failed to take into consideration that sugar takes a long time to mature and that the people would have nothing to eat in the interim, and even if they were to plant their entire holdings in sugar, it would not bring enough cash to feed them. 621 575 621 829 242 241

Village Solidarity Village solidarity seems very high in Kitazato, much higher than in Kanegusuku. Undoubtedly this is largely due to the common problem which faces them all; nevertheless several other factors appear to be involved. The gentry origin of Kitazato kept it aloof from its immediate neighbors for many years, and apparently no real contacts were established in neighboring villages until after the annexation. Even today the people of this village speak a dialect markedly distinct from that of their nearest neighbors; thus, the upper-class origin and the physical and linguistic isolation of the village has perhaps contributed much to its integration and solidarity. The relative weakness of kin groupings seems to be another factor. In Kanegusuku one gets the impression that the strength of the lineages mitigates against informal village-wide cooperation and only through formal organizations such as the youth association is any real village-wide cooperation realized. In Kitazato the weak kin groupings seem no obstacle to this. 621 186 [197]

It seemed to the author that the people of Kitazato never tired of reiterating how well they cooperated together and how much they enjoyed working together as a village. "We want to stay together as a village, as we cooperate so well together." This is typical of the statements which were made. Many say that they would not object to emigration provided they might emigrate as a village.

Land Rentals Two serious problems face the people of Kitazato in regard to renting the land of neighboring villages. They are unable to pay 621 427

The mental
isolation of the farm village gradually decreased under a national system of 177
education, but the process did not end with schooling. Upon graduating, the 619
youth, male and female, were enrolled in a national young people's association. 575
Later the young men were drafted for service in the national army, and following discharge the veteran was enlisted in a local reserve association which [702]
met frequently for military and social purposes. When a man married, established a separate house, and began farming, membership in the farmer's association was automatically conferred. His wife upon marriage transferred from the young women's association to the women's association. There were, in fact, a variety of national organizations covering the various phases and roles of the individual's life; membership was never a matter of choice, but a thing automatically conferred. A stress on patriotism was a strong concomitant in all of these. Membership gave to the individual a sense of participating in a national society extending far beyond the limits of his small village.

It should be stressed that most Okinawans regard the Japanese as pro- 177
viders of modern, enlightened government. The Japanese administration abol- 829
ished the old class divisions and freed the peasant from his serf-like status. [565]
Taxes on arable land were substantially reduced, and the villager for the first time was given some voice in government above the village level. Modern [671]
law courts were introduced and justice was administered impartially, not on a class basis as was formerly done.

Inadvertently, perhaps, official Japanese policy did much to destroy 177
the self-sufficiency of the farm village. Prior to the land reform, sugar 621
production did not exceed local needs, but government encouragement and sub- 433
sidy so increased production that by the time of World War II it exceeded consumption by 900%. This resulted in a food shortage which necessitated heavy importations of basic cereals to compensate.

Japanese manufactured goods also contributed to the decline in self- 177
sufficiency. Factory-made cloth gradually displaced home-woven fabrics, and 439
accordingly cotton and fiber banana were no longer raised. The tools, uten- 433
sils, and machines of the factory slowly replaced the simpler devices used [248]
in the village.

Abolition of the system of communal land tenure contributed to a weak- 177
ening of the family and particularly of the large extended kin group. The 602
introduction of private property and Japanese laws of inheritance served to 423
create a landless element which often emigrated from Okinawa in search of land [167]
or jobs elsewhere. Where formerly the kin group had clustered in certain localities, they now became dispersed over great areas, making continued interaction difficult and often impossible.

Sixty-six years of Japanese rule resulted in a fairly successful amal- 177
gamation of Okinawa into the Japanese state; though the Okinawan language and culture were not destroyed, they were severely altered.

Impact of World War II and the American Occupation The war destroyed vir- 727
tually all of rural and urban Okinawa, and resulted in the death of twenty percent of the population.

households. Noodles are another item of regular purchase. Starch and bean paste are typical items which formerly were always made in the home but now may be purchased instead. 178 262

In sum Okinawan diet has improved in quantity and variety. Food tastes are more catholic today; certain foreign foods are greatly appreciated. There is a greater reliance on manufactured and processed foods, and greater cash expenditures are made for food.

Entertainment and leisure There has been a marked decline in village celebrations and festivals in which all residents participate. Formerly O Bon, New Year's, and harvesting time were occasions for village-wide celebrations; today these are gone from most communities; celebrations are restricted to the family and friends. Most of the village celebrations were basically religious in nature and with the decline of the old religion these celebrations have been dropped. 527 196 178 621

Parties to mark an individual's change of status were formerly held on the 13th, 25th, 37th, 48th, 61st, 73rd, 85th, 88th and 97th birthdays, but today only those for the old people are observed. Frequently a party is held to mark an individual's success in the competitive examination to enter high school, but aside from that, rites of passage for the young and middle-aged are no longer observed. 527 178

The Japanese introduced one form of entertainment which has achieved immense popularity; this is a sporting event sponsored by the school. These are usually held on Sunday during the fall of the year, and usually the whole school participates. There is intra-school competition and later inter-school; intense interest is generated and often this becomes an important topic for conversation among the young men. 526 177

Local units of the national organizations such as the youths' association and the women's association frequently hold parties for their members. In fact these organizations are mainly of a social nature. 575

As noted above, prior to the war there were five motion picture theaters on Okinawa; today there are fifty-seven. American and European films constitute from one quarter to one third of the total shown. Though most of these theaters are located in the cities and towns, the young people of the nearby farming villages make frequent use of them. The popularity of the American "Western" among the young people has caused some to attribute juvenile delinquency to this, although the relatively more bloody Japanese sword-fighting pictures ('chambara') are considered harmless. 546 177

The popularity of Okinawan dancing and music seems undiminished. Radio broadcasts of Okinawan music are much enjoyed; and virtually every party provides the opportunity for music and dancing in which most of the guests participate. A few of the better-educated young people profess an appreciation of Western classical music and jazz, but most of them prefer Japanese and American love ballads though they still remain very fond of the Okinawan music. 533 535 177

These rooms, opening on the front of the house along the corridor, do not run the full length of the house. A fourth, a back room, running across the back part may open on to the kitchen. Sometimes this room is only roughly finished and used for storage or sleeping purposes or both. A grandmother often takes the grandchildren (other than the infant) to bed with her in this room. 342 [353] [513]

The kitchen is set off from the rest of the house by being on a lower level, perhaps one step. The kitchen usually has a hard dirt floor. Occasionally it is cemented. Sometimes it has a chimney, sometimes a hole in the side of the wall, which the curious smoke rejects in favor of a leisurely diffusion throughout the other rooms of the house. The kitchen is not part of the house in the sense that the other rooms are. The shoes are not removed when entering it. The kitchen opens out on to a stone or dirt path. Women frequently still eat in the kitchen because of its convenience and the need of going in and out to get water, or to wash vegetables, or to get food from the shed during the preparation of a meal. [576] [264]

The stove is basically an open hearth with a hole at the top for the cooking pan. There is also a hole directly below this into which the fuel can be placed. More elaborate stoves may have three tiers: one for the cooking, one for putting the fuel in, the lower for the ashes. The most simple, in the very poorest houses, are little more than a circular group of stones laid on the ground built up so that a pan can be placed on top. The most elaborate, made of stone, might run across the width of the kitchen and have several openings. Fuel, such as odd branches, sticks of firewood brought from the northern (Kunigami) region, crushed and dried sugar cane, or miscanthus grass of varying length is put part way into the fire and pushed further in as the ends are burned off. 354 [372]

The all stone house is smaller than the wooden house. It invariably has a tile roof, for those able to afford the stone can also buy the tile. The stone blocks used in house construction are usually about nine feet by one foot on the edge.[6] The stones used as posts are buried two feet in the ground leaving seven feet for the upright. These blocks, called ishibashida when used for house construction, have the same width and breadth; they can be cut to any desired length to even off the sides. The stones are layed like bricks with mortar to form the walls of the house. The all stone house is not common, and is usually seen in the south, where the stone is quarried, in Minatogawa, and in adjacent villages. These houses are more modern, and often bathing facilities are built in. The stone house has the advantage of being cool in summer, warm in winter. 342 [333] [184] [515]

Finally, there are the simple structures, resembling shacks or shanties more than houses. These are, as one would expect, more frequent in the areas of the war's operations. There are three main varieties, though the combinations are numerous: (1) the all grass house, now uncommon. The sides of this wattled house are usually of [362]

6 Actually they are 9 x 1 x 1 shaku. A shaku is 0.994 feet.

553 The first naming of children is done at a ceremony on the day of birth, or on the following day, if the birth took place at night. It is known as umbagi. There is a small gathering of [262] relatives. Soup, rice, and a little sake may be served. Ordinary rice or rice cakes (mochigome) may be prepared and put on the [787] Buddhist god shelf. If a boy, the relatives and parents pray for his strength, if a girl for her good health. Umbagi, an Okinawan word, is also known as suchūsan no iwai (Japanese). The ceremony precedes the burying of the afterbirth.

553 One important element in the naming of a child on its day of birth is the state of the tide. The child is named only if the tide 823 is coming in. It is not necessary that the tide be high. Perhaps midpoint is the best, though high tide is considered good. Practically everyone can calculate the time when the tide is coming in or out; since they all know the lunar calendar with a cycle completed in 15 days, it is a simple calculation.[6] The explanation always given for calculating the tide on this and other occasions is that when the tide is coming in, fortune and happiness will enter in the new life or the new situation. When the tide is ebbing, everything goes out and away.

852 The real celebration of the birth of a child occurs several days after birth. It usually occurs on the 5th or 6th day counting the birth day. This is known as mansan (Okinawan) and is in honor of the good health of the mother and the child. In Japanese, it is also called muikajari.[7] In all communities studied, the week long all night celebration has disappeared, though the celebration of mansan might last well into the night.

One celebration, observed in Hinatogawa, is probably typical of the thousands that take place every year in rural Okinawa. The guests came early in the evening to the parents' home, or, as in this case, to the home of the child's grandfather, since the father, a first son, lived in his parents' home. The men sat in the first room (ichibansa), [562] the women in the second (nibansa), following custom in parties in which both sexes are present. The head of the house, the grandfather, sat in front of the alcove (tokonoma) of the first room. The child's father [576] sat next to him. Each guest went on his knees, bowed, congratulated the father and presented him with a small money gift. The usual gift [931] is about Y20. This was accepted by the father, who then responded with a short speech. Sometimes these are formal and stiff, sometimes like a simple conversation. The guests also congratulated the

6 The method of computing times of high and low tide will be given later. The tide is important in the marriage ceremony, when moving into a new house, or when moving, in the case of a second or succeeding son, from a main house to establish a branch family, and at a child's party on the first anniversary of its birth.

7 The day was variously given me as 4-5th, 6th, and 7th day after birth. Muika in muikajari means 6th day.

mother, for example, fed her child rice gruel (okayū) at eight months and at the age of one year the child began eating sweet potatoes. By the time the child is ready to walk and play, he often carries with him a piece of sweet potato, and, in season, a piece of sugar cane. 853 262

A party is held on the first birthday anniversary of the child. This is more elaborate than the one which honored his birth. Birthdays are not celebrated each year. After the first anniversary, the next are on the 13th, 25th, 37th, 49th, and 61st birthdays, that is, at twelve year intervals. 852 527

The party for the first birthday of a child is particularly tender and affectionate. At one year, he can walk or stumble, and answer or smile to the calls of his parents and grandparents. He can pick up things, throw them, and make his presence felt. The exhibition of these skills becomes part of the celebration. It is customary to invite both relatives and friends, who bring a small money present, from ¥20 which is usual to ¥100 which is uncommon. [856]

During the party, the child is given several symbolic gifts. These are placed on a low table in the middle of the room which the child can easily walk to and reach. Usually the gifts are a book, a fountain pen (or a writing brush, fude), an abacus (soroban), and a stack of paper money. These symbolize the wish that the child will become proficient in learning, writing, counting and mathematics, and will become rich. The child is eagerly watched as he unsteadily toddles to the table to see which article he picks up first. While the act is not taken seriously, the article which the child picks up first is supposed to indicate the field of endeavor in which he will be most fortunate. 527 852 431 [212] [802] [554]

These parties, small or large, include men, women, and children, but the majority of the guests usually are men. After the child has gone to bed, the party continues. In more formal and larger parties, the guests first come up to the father, go on their knees, bow, and make a short speech of congratulation. Sometimes these speeches sound as if they are prepared beforehand, other times as if they are spoken spontaneously. There is an exchange of sake between the father and his guest, both sipping from the same cup, the usual custom. The mother and the female relatives during this time are in the kitchen preparing the food. 852 527 [576] [537]

Women sit by themselves. This is true of all celebrations when the sexes are together. Women do not drink. (In a similar party near Matsuda, the old women--usually over 60--drank a little). The jolly old women also love to dance solos in the traditional style. They dance with grace and vigor. The evening progresses without any planned entertainment. There is talking and drinking, singing, and samisen playing. Men, with a repertoire of Okinawan songs, sing in [562] [535] [882] [533]

Husband and wife usually are from the same village, but there are many exceptions. Marriages of persons from different villages have increased in the past decade. This probably should be ascribed to the greater mobility of the people and to the acceptance of free choice in marriage. It is common, for example, for a Hatsuda boy to marry a Ginoza village girl. It is also common for a boy in Minatogawa to marry a girl from the nearby agricultural villages of Hanashiro, Asato, or Gushichan. This apparently is a distinct change from earlier practices. 582 621

If the family registers are accurate, the great majority of the men living in a village were born there; it is the wives who are more likely to be the newcomers. In the social structure of village life, it is the men who provide the continuity; the women are more likely to be strangers. The husband may point to his father and grandfather who live or have lived in the village; fewer wives can do the same. 591

2

The Marriage Ceremony

In my experience, no two marriage ceremonies in Okinawa are alike. Marriages take place at any time of the year, but in all three villages, they were more commonly held in the late fall or in winter. The reasons given are that the heavy clothing and elaborate headdress of the bride are not suited to the hot and humid summer and that these can be more comfortably worn in the cool winter months. The marriage feast with its fish cakes, meats, vegetables, and a variety of other perishable foods can be more easily prepared and kept in winter. In the agricultural villages, the ceremony usually takes place after the day's work; in the winter the reception may start by 5 and the main ceremonies are over by 8 in the evening. 585 [262]

Description of a ceremony at Hatsuda. The party began about 5 in the afternoon. Because of the large number of guests, the primary school was used for the ceremony. At the head of the first room, the grandfather and grandmother of the groom, the groom, his father, and the go-between were seated. Other relatives of the groom found places around the sides. Later the father of the bride, who arrived shortly before his daughter, joined this group. The go-between, a young man of 24, was a friend of the couple, and his wife was a member of the groom's family. 585 576

In the other rooms, opening into one another, about 300 guests, mostly men, were assembled. During the reception and before the beginning of the ceremony, guests representing their families entered the first room to congratulate the father, the groom, and the grandparents. In this period of congratulation involving the father, the groom, and the guest, there was an exchange of sips of sake from a common cup. As in other instances of congratulation, some speeches were long, some short, some well prepared, others extemporaneous. [532]

585 During his speech, the guest remained in the most polite kneeling
576 position, resting his weight on the heels with the toes pointed downward toward the floor. His head was bowed during the talk. The father and the groom acknowledged the compliments by nodding their heads and then made their responses.

When these preliminaries were almost over, an uproar followed the announcement that the bride was arriving. The lights of a vehicle could be seen from a distance. It turned out to be a truck. In former days, the bride came in greater style: she either walked preceded by young boys bearing lanterns or rode in a palanquin (kago),
[493] or in a specially decorated horse cart.

All Okinawan brides, from the time they enter the house of the groom until they leave shortly after the completion of the ceremony, have an expression of indescribable gloom. The bride's face is set. Her eyes are downcast. She takes no notice of the guests, and responds silently to the acts which convention demands. She never smiles. This is a very serious occasion and any show of lightheartedness is considered in poor taste. The groom is not so wooden as he awaits his bride and goes through the ceremony.

585 The bride is dressed in a Japanese costume. She has a wig, usually
[292] rented for the occasion, the traditional Japanese headdress with masses of stiff lacquered hair. It is heavy and bulky and the need of keeping
[177] it on straight may account for some of the bride's immobility. She also has a bright colored Japanese style kimono with sash (obi) which may be her own, her mother's, or grandmother's. The bride's face is heavily powdered with white powder and this makes her face look like
[302] a mask. Her lips, reddened slightly, accentuate the unnatural whiteness of the face. The groom is simply dressed in a black silk kimono.

The ceremony of san-san-kudo (literally, 3, 3, 9 times) conducted by the go-between then began. It is so called because both of the principals drink 3 times from each of three different cups which are made in progressively smaller sizes so that they fit into one another. There are variations, both in the way in which the 9 sips are taken and in the cups used. Since the war, the special sets of three cups have disappeared from many homes, and three small sake cups may be used. In this ceremony, the go-between served the first cup to the groom who took 3 sips, the go-between then refilled for the bride who took 3 sips. The other two cups were presented to each principal in the same way. This ceremony was very short, lasting only as long as it takes to sip the drinks in the proper order. When the marriage ceremony (kekkonshiki) was over, the bride and the groom arose and went to the front part of the room to be presented to the guests.

585 The bride retained her sad immobility. This is all the more
576 remarkable to see when one knows the bride in daily life, vivacious and jolly and anything but impassive. The groom allowed himself a little more naturalness. The go-between spoke to the guests briefly about the couple. He told where the bride and groom were born, the

date of their birth (using the Japanese reign date), where they had gone to school and their present occupations. This was done separately for each. After this was over, the bride and groom stood silently and politely, but without outward expression, while three guests in turn, previously chosen, made speeches, offering their congratulations and best wishes. On this particular occasion, the principal of the school at which the bride was teaching, the principal of the school at which the groom was a teacher, and a mutual friend of the couple spoke. 585 576 [537]

These proceedings do not receive the undivided attention of the guests who have been drinking sake for some time. On the tops of the tables, dancing in the traditional Okinawan manner and the accompanying singing have begun. The dances and songs, usually performed by men in their forties and fifties, were done with grace. These are part of all social gatherings of any consequence. 585 [273] 535 533 562

The sober attitudes of the work day are cast aside. The best clothes have been put on. There is a great contrast between the barefooted partially clothed farmer or fisherman of the daytime and his appearance at social occasions. These events are conducted with dignity and poise, at least until the sake consumption has risen to a high point. The party then becomes a noisy melee of dancing, singing, and talking, but without quarrelling or fighting. There is little self-consciousness in entertaining others. Talented guests do not have to be cajoled into performing. Dancing, singing, and samisen playing continue spontaneously, with another performer beginning after one has finished. The wedding party lasts from about 5 to 8, but many of the guests stay much later until the sake is gone. [292] [534]

Following the san-san-kudo, another but more private ceremony took place while the guests were entertaining themselves. In the wedding room, colored cakes and tea were placed on a small table. The female relatives of the bride and groom, mothers and sisters mostly, sat opposite one another and ate cakes and drank the tea together. This ceremony indicated the willingness of the bride's family to give up the daughter, and of the groom's family to receive her. After this ceremony, the bride's gifts from her parents were carried in. These vary with the family's wealth. In this case, they were a chest of drawers, a mirror, a heavy comforter, pillows, and a mosquito net. Before the war, gifts were more lavish than now. The usual presents now are a large chest of drawers (tansu), two heavy quilts or comforters (futon), a mirror (kagami), two Japanese type pillows (makura), and a large mosquito net (kaya). A poor family would be most likely to omit the chest of drawers. A new kimono and money may be included. [262] 583

A Y20 note is the usual gift of an ordinary guest at a wedding. Closer friends will give about Y100. There is no uniform practice about gifts from the groom's to the bride's family. About Y1000 may be presented prior to marriage. The bride's family uses the money to purchase the wedding gifts. 431

The day following the marriage, there is another ceremony, this 000

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

ceremony the set of three cups (sakazuki) was used. The go-between, a man and a close friend of the groom, poured sake into the top cup. The groom drank; the go-between then refilled the cup, giving it to the bride. The same procedure was repeated with the remaining two cups. 585 184

In this ceremony, after the san-san-kudo, the go-between dipped a pair of chopsticks into salt, putting a bit on the open palm of the bride who then put the salt in her mouth. This was repeated for the groom. The go-between then dipped his finger into a cup of water, touching first the forehead of the bride, then that of the groom.

The presentation of the newly married couple to the guests was also done in a different way. Because of his close friendship with the groom's father, the mayor of the township introduced the bridal pair to the guests. This was a tender and affectionate speech in which the mayor told of the birthplaces of the young man and his bride. He asked the guests, as friends and relatives of the new couple, to teach them how to live well together, how to make a living, and ended by asking everyone present to have a good time. The celebration, the sake drinking, the dancing following the ceremony were essentially the same as in Matsuda. A ring was not used in either ceremony. When used, it is ordinarily given to the bride, not placed on her finger as part of the ceremony. [576] [537] [301]

A custom followed in Hinatogawa illustrates a variation in the preliminaries before the marriage ceremony. The groom (hanamuko) and the go-between or a friend go to the bride's home. They are given refreshments. The groom acknowledges his bride. He returns to his home to await her coming. This may take some time if the tide is not right. Before the war children from 7 to 10 years of age carried long lanterns (chōchin) with candles to light the way for the bride, as she walked to the groom's house. Each child carried two lanterns, which they held very tightly, as it was considered bad luck for them to change from one hand to the other. The lanterns have now been abandoned (when the ceremony is performed) in favor of flashlights, in another triumph of the Industrial Revolution. But the children enjoyed participating because they were given small amounts of money and food. [857] [416] [177]

In the Hinatogawa custom, everyone stepped over the threshhold. Even now, if houses do not have one, a long step is made from the outer stone or ground into the room. Among the guests, there is usually a jokester who humorously announces in a loud voice the arrival of the bride.

In Hinatogawa, the groom's family presents a gift of about Y5-6000 to the bride's family. (This family would have to be in moderate circumstances to do this). Gifts from the guests are from Y20-40. The groom's friends may give money to the groom's parents to defray the heavy expenses of the banquet, and the girl's friends give money to her, presumably for the purchase of wedding articles. [431]

There is one further variation in a custom from Hanashiro. On

515 the Japanese style public bath at Minatogawa. There are separate rooms for men and women. The body is soaped; then the soap is washed off. One gets into the hot water tub to soak. In this arrangement, all the advantages lie with the first comers. In the winter, the Minatogawans use their public bath houses. But in the summer, they soap themselves thoroughly and rinse off under a public faucet, keeping on a pair of shorts or a light skirt, depending on sex. In Matsuda, an outside tub is frequently used. This is bullet shaped, about three feet in diameter and about the same depth. Generally it has a rudely constructed roof. The bath water, not so hot as the Japanese like it, is only moderately warm.

In family tub bathing, there is an order in which the bath is taken. Guests are first, followed by the head of the house, [516] then by other males in order such as first, second, or third sons, and finally the women of the house, starting with the eldest. Many people in Matsuda go, usually about once a week, to the neighboring village of Ginoza for their bath.

6

Hair Styles

302 In the days of the old kingdom, men and boys wore the hair long. A patch on the crown was shaved, and the long glossy hair was gathered on all sides and made into a tight knot and pinned with two hair pins. Satow mentions that between the ages of 16 [175] and 19 the ceremony of genbutsu took place. The central part of the head was shaven, and the long hair was then put up. According to this author, the custom dated back two centuries.[2] Various oils were used on the long hair to keep it in place. This hair dress for men and boys was described by Basil Hall in 1816; Commodore Perry's staff made similar observations, and the reports of Furness (1896) and Simon (1910) indicated that there had been no changes in the style.

The cutting of men's hair is said to have begun about 40 years ago. While some thought the Japanese forced this, it seems to have been done voluntarily. A high school principal, now in his late forties, told me of his childhood remembrance of crying at seeing his young father willingly shearing off his own long and luxuriant hair.

[177] The clipped (marugari) head for young boys is a Japanese introduction. It was required for health reasons by the Japanese school teachers. The clipped cut, for young boys, has persisted, and it is

2 Satow, E. M. Notes on Loochoo. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 1 (1882), 1-8.

273 the greater part of the following day until the effects are worn off.[4]

There is tolerance of drinking and of behavior while under the influence of alcohol—with the exceptions to be discussed below. This nonchalance extends to children and young people. When an elder and highly respected friend or neighbor, perhaps their own grandfather, is drunk, they laugh indulgently at him, passing off his behavior as foolish because he is drunk.

[576] The custom of drink exchange (kampai) certainly does not keep drinking to a minimum. Drink exchange is perpetual at parties. A small cup of sake is offered to a friend. He drinks, gives the cup back to his friend who holds it while the other refills the cup. The exchange goes on again. Often three or four men are involved in this reciprocity.

Drinking, like an aperitif or cocktail before a meal, is not common. Sake may be drunk with or after the meal. Often it is served along with tea. Throughout the evening the two may be drunk [272] alternatively. In this case, the tea is served first. Unless there are special occasions, there is very little day time drinking.

273 In this drinking, the Okinawan woman has no part. There are 562 a few minor exceptions. But in all the villages these exceptions were older or very elderly women. The young wife or girl in rural Okinawan villages simply does not drink. Furthermore, she seems to have no desire to. Occasionally a woman in her late forties or early fifties takes a few sips. In the southern villages, an old woman may drink a small amount with a little added sugar at a celebration. In Hatsuda, shortly before New Years it is customary to give a party at village expense to all people in the village over 70 years of age. On this occasion, both the old men and old women are liberally [888] supplied with and liberally drink the sake.

These distinctions in drinking between the sexes, in my opinion, are closely tied in with the responsibilities of men and women, as they have grown up historically under the family system. The distinctions certainly cannot be explained in terms of contemporary attitudes. If [154] drinking is an outlet for the tensions of the man, a way of relieving the boredom and monotony of every day life, how can one explain the

4 There is little real violence or fighting, but there may be noisy quarrels and some shoving about. Some mild men become very quarrel- [578] some. The only instance of violence I observed was the case of a young man about 25 who drank quite a lot, became angry with some girls in the Young Women's Association for not doing chores he thought they were responsible for. He slapped one severely. The following day he was very remorseful. His mother went to the girl's house and personally apologised for the boy's behavior.

871 and the more advanced the school, the truer this is. Friendships
are made early with children of nearby villages. Marriage may be
572 the result of early school acquaintance, encouraged by the acceptance
of free choice in marriage. A young adult has a scattering of friend-
ships in the villages of his township. These class friendships are
strong in school, in the teens, and early twenties. By the late
twenties, the circle of friendships has broadened.

182 One of the most significant links between the family, village,
and school is the annual athletic meet (undōkai). It is held in the
526 fall. Preparations for this event are long and involve almost every-
body.5

About a month before it is held, the meet is the topic of
526 innumerable conversations. School children practice singing and
athletic dancing drills at home. School teachers, who do most of the
[875] organizational work, practice with painful cacophony on their trumpets and
[534] clarinets. On the streets and lanes of Minatogawa, young men from 17
to 23 practice broad jumping late into the night. Shortly before the meet,
all normal school activities stop. The teachers paint signs, mimeograph
programs, and plan the order of the various events. The school officials
have interminable committee meetings.

There is much bustle, laundering, hair washing, and cooking in a
village the day before the meet. Special lunches including rice dyed
[262] red, bean curd, slices of fish paste, beef or pork are prepared. This
field day is the closest approach to a picnic the Okinawans experience.

In good weather, the meet has a large attendance. A reserved area,
with school desks and chairs is set aside for special guests. A person
entering the reserved section to take his seat bows to the mayor and the
[576] group, steps forward a few paces, bows again, and takes his seat.

The mayor of the township presides over the meeting relieved by the
vice-mayor or other school or village or township officials. On one day
of the autumn meet, the mayor remained seated throughout the morning
and afternoon in a drizzling rain. It was his duty, assisted by the
principal and the teachers of the school, to give out the prizes.

Relay races, girls' dances, races and dashes for various age groups
are endless. At present, the meeting is not confined to school children,
but the younger men and women are included as well. The Young Men's
Association is very active. Special events are included. In the Women's
Association event, there was a mother and child race. In one case, a
mother who entered the race with a child on her back and her young son as

[119] 5 These remarks are based on observations in Minatogawa, Oushichan, and
Hanashiro villages, and on attendance at the Oushichan meet in Novem-
ber 1951. From discussions, I am certain they are very similar in
Matsuda, in fact all over the island.

a running mate was vigorously applauded. The infant on her back was sleeping! 526

Four teams, the village officials, the teachers, high school students, and members of the Young Men's Association competed in a relay race. Later the teachers, and the mayor, participated in a rope and loop race. A rope about 20 feet long was tied to a stake driven in the ground. On the other end of the rope was a large loop. The trick is to run from a starting point, put the loop over the head, let it drop down and then step out. In the meantime, the opposing team has been trying to prevent the player from getting the loop by jerking the rope away, or throwing it at a distance. Other comedy events based on groping blindfolded to selected goals or objects were part of the program.

The races produce the greatest excitement, especially in the inter-village competition. A team from each village competes in a relay and runners representing their village participate in various dashes. In these competitive events, the old women become very excited. [628]

On this occasion the township gives a present to all people present who are 70 years old or over. The gift is now a plain towel; formerly the towel was embroidered with characters expressing wishes for a long life, but this practice has been abandoned for reasons of economy. [431]

The prizes, presented by the mayor to the contestants, are modest and generously given. The young men get four cigarettes, the women a paper of tooth powder, and the children, small school notebooks. The prize winners line up; each one steps up, makes a bow, receives his prize, lifts it up slightly, a typical Okinawan gesture of thanks noted by Basil Hall in 1816, bows again and retires. [576]

Though it centers around the school, the athletic meet is one of the strong forces bringing both families and village communities together. It would be hard to exaggerate the interest in the meet or the work that goes into its preparation. The fact that the mayor of the township, his staff, the village headmen, the principals of high schools, every parent and all the children who could possibly come, were present is enough to show its importance and vitality. 526 182

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

as usual. It was an affair organized by the women leaders, which, though a little slow in starting, turned into a gay carousing for the older women, who were less inhibited than the younger ones and needed little encouragement to drink and dance.

The daily life of a woman is more monotonous than her husband's and she has less leisure and recreation. After a day of hard work, men sit down alone or in groups to spend the evening in relaxation with a bottle of sake. After a short time they show signs of pleasant intoxication and all burdens of life seem to disappear. Such recourse to carefree diversion is generally denied women. Instead, they are loaded down with household chores and care of infants and guests after a day of work in fields and forests. They spend their little free time exchanging news with other women or talking with other family members or visitors who assemble around the charcoal fire in the back room during winter evenings. Only women of advanced age feel free to join the men in drinking at home.

Men have greater sexual freedom. They are at liberty to have affairs with other women outside the village and on trips to the city may visit tea houses and afterwards enjoy the favors of a prostitute if their pocket books allow.

Status differences based on age are reflected in the social structure and clearly denoted in the kinship terms. There is a special term of reference and address for "first son" and "first daughter" and for "older brother" and "older sister." As mentioned, ideally the oldest son assumes responsibility for the household, for his parents, and for the ancestral tablets. Even if he leaves his parental home temporarily or permanently for the city, where economic prospects are better, he remains the nominal household head and sends money back to his family. Theoretically the oldest male may retain authority until death, although in practice most men retire from this position at the age of 61. Their retirement is made official by an entry in the population registry. They continue to live with their oldest son and act as advisors and critics. A man's loss of authority with age occurs around his late fifties and early sixties and is evidenced not only by his retirement but also by his loss of the right to vote in village meetings. Veneration for age itself therefore, does not exist. Actual behavior toward the grandparental generation, all the members of which are addressed as "grandmother" or "grandfather" regardless of actual kinship, is warm, mildly playful, and indulgent. Disrespect, however, is absent.

It is characteristic of the relationship between children and grandmothers that in addressing nonrelated old women, the suffix *-san*, which denotes respect, is most often dropped for the "grandmother"

603 601 term. As the child gets older, the familiar suffixless form of address is used less and less frequently, though girls seem to retain it longer than boys.

601 156 576 The strength of one's ties to the community as a whole regardless of actual kinship is seen not only in the use of the term "grandmother" and "grandfather" in addressing all members of this generation but also in the similar use of the terms "uncle" and "aunt" for all members of the parental generation. Those who are not known well or who have high status are addressed by the appropriate kinship term with the suffix -san added.*

554 576 Achieved status is recognized by special terms of address. The teacher, school principal, the doctor, the village headman or mayor are addressed by their titles. Taira people combine familiarity with formality by calling a young teacher from the same or neighboring community by the first name, then adding the title "teacher." †

621 156 571 In summary, although affiliation with a patrilineal descent group and kinship ties with kindred influence certain aspects of life, over and above these ties is the identification with the community, which is drawn together by bonds of economic and social interdependence. Individual leaders serve their term of responsibility and then return to [157] the egalitarian community life, which is comparatively free of competitive strife.

Chapter 7

Courtship, Marriage, and Sex

582 Most marriages in Taira take place when both men and women are in their early or middle twenties (see Table 2). It is perhaps most note-

* This refers to the use of Japanese kinship terms which are prevalent in Taira—see Chapter 1 p. 370.

† The use of first names may also help to identify individuals since many persons have the same surname—this explanation, however, is not in contradiction with the statement concerning familiarity.

872 express one's creativeness except in perfecting and improvising song-
876 dance performances. Lacking paper and crayons or paint, children crouch to the ground with the teacher to trace "pictures" in the sandy ground with their fingers or small sticks. The beach provides a rich playground on days when the teacher suffers laryngitis as a result of a cold and is unable to lead songs and direct the play verbally. Collecting shells, learning their names, examining washed up bits of seaweed and fish, exploring exposed stretches of rivers at low tide are real lessons in nature for the kindergarten child as he discovers these things himself and experiments without the direction of formal lessons. If he desires more information about things, he is free to ask the teacher; if he does not, no pressure is put on him to learn and know.

872 The kindergarten phase is a happy one for the child. Under the
857 direction of the teacher, who may be the mother or sister of one of his
[875] peers, he passes the two hours, from 9:30 to 11:30, of the morning, then goes on to play in and around the village for the rest of the day. He runs home only when he is hungry or when it is mealtime. And he hurries back to rejoin his peers for free play for the rest of the day.

857 Adults put little restriction on children's movement. They are free
[576] to occupy any part of the home and run around at will. Before enter-
[515] ing the house, everyone takes off his shoes; a rag lies on the ground to
[291] wipe dirty feet. Few children spend any length of time indoors, however, during daylight hours. If weather forces them to stay inside, they are found either in one of the front rooms or in the cooking area to the back.

855 Despite the occasional motor vehicle traffic through the village,
867 adults show little concern, for the kindergarten child has been well exposed to rules of safety in this respect. At the sound of warning horns, children run to the side of the main road and into the yards. The few brazen little boys who dare to chase vehicles and attempt to hang on to the rear bumper are severely reprimanded by those nearby.

A 4-year-old boy who had run out of the way of a lumbering truck stood watching as it rounded the curve and entered the village. Adults waiting for the vehicle to pass chatted idly and scanned the passengers to see if there were any familiar faces. Suddenly the 4-year-old leaned forward and threw a small branch he had in his hand under the tires of the passing truck. At once the driver, passengers, and by-standers screamed, "Fool one!" The passengers waved a warning finger at him, and he was berated by the village adults standing with him. "That was a dangerous thing to do. If you do that another time, you will be taken to the police station!" they threatened. The boy looked down at the ground and nodded to acknowledge his wrongdoing.

601 But it is significant that
[184] the several lists collected are identical in structure, that is, they all
[177] classify relatives in the same way. Also, everywhere some Japanese terms
[182] are replacing some Okinawan terms. I shall describe the Okinawan system unchanged first and then indicate what the recent changes have been.

As in many kinship systems there is a distinction between terms used primarily in referring to relatives and terms used primarily in addressing them. And as in many societies terms of address are used for all persons older than the speaker, for unrelated persons as well as for relatives. The terms that are used in reference only, never or seldom as terms of address, are terms corresponding to each of the following: parent, child, grandparent, grandchild, uncle, aunt, sibling's child (that is, meaning both "nephew" and niece"), brother, sister, cousin. In addition there are two terms meaning "older" and "younger" and a series of terms meaning "first son", "second son", "third son", etc., which combined with the word for "woman" gives a series meaning "first daughter", "second daughter", etc. Another group of terms is used both in address and in reference, but is probably primarily terms of address; these are in address extended to non-kin, but in their basic meaning they correspond to each of the following: grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, uncle, aunt (these last two are different from those given above), older brother, older sister. To see how these terms are used let us look at each generation in turn.

The terms "grandfather" and "grandmother" are used in addressing one's parents' parents and also in addressing their brothers and sisters, that is, one's great uncles and great aunts and also non-relatives of the same generation as one's grandparents or older. (The term given above as "grandparent" is restricted to actual relatives; its basic meaning is said to be "parent's parent" but in common usage it is extended to mean ancestors above the grandparents' generation as well.) Within the brothers and sisters of one's grandparents the members of each family are further distinguished by relative age. The oldest of several brothers is "big grandfather" and the youngest "little grandfather". Women classified as "grandmothers" are similarly distinguished. These distinguishing terms may also be used in reference. Non-relatives may also be referred to by such terms as "the grandfather of such-and-such a house", using the "yagō" (house name).

The terms for relatives in the parents' generation are likewise extended. Although there are both terms of reference for uncle and aunt and terms of address, the terms "father" and "mother" are (or were) frequently used when addressing the brothers and sisters of both parents and their spouses. And as with the grandparent terms, one's father's oldest brother and mother's oldest brother are both called "big father" and their oldest sisters "big mother". The wife of a "big father" is also a "big mother" and so forth. On the other hand, a parent's youngest brother and youngest sister are called "little uncle" and "little aunt", rather than "little father" or
[57] "little mother". The terms "uncle" and "aunt" are also extended to non-kin, as polite titles of address.

[171] By combining the terms "older" and "younger" with "brother" and "sister", one can express the equivalent of the four Japanese sibling terms,

"older brother", "younger brother", "older sister", and"younger sister". But 601
these terms are never used in address. Two unrelated terms for "older brother" [171]
and "older sister" are used in addressing older siblings and older cousins,
while younger siblings and younger cousins are addressed by name. These two [576]
terms may also be politely extended to non-relatives. One's children, nephews,
nieces, grandchildren, and other younger relatives are also addressed by
name rather than by kinship terms. However, a younger person who is a strang- [576]
er may be addressed as "older brother" or "older sister" out of courtesy.

For in-laws, there are terms of reference: husband, wife, son-in-law, daughter-in-law, and one including spouse's parents and siblings, which can be combined with other words for more specific reference. But none of these terms is used in address. Instead one uses the terms of address proper for one's spouse; the father-in-law is called "father", and so forth, at least until one has children. There is one exception; there is a separate term of address for an older brother's wife. A wife addresses her husband by the polite pronoun "you" and he addresses her by the familiar one.

All that has just been said about terms used in addressing relatives must be qualified by the statement that it is true only until one has children of his own. After the birth of the first child, or perhaps after it begins to understand speech, one begins to call his wife "mother", his father "grandfather", and so forth. He may do this in the child's absence as well. As one informant put it, the whole system shifts to make the child its center.

It will be seen that the Okinawan kinship system is bilateral, that is, 601
it treats the father's relatives and the mother's relatives in the same way; 171
a father's brother and a mother's brother are both "uncles". In this respect it is like the Japanese system and like our own, and unlike the Chinese system, which distinguished father's brothers and mother's brothers by separate terms. It will also be seen that like our own system the generations are clearly distinguished (in some systems relatives of different generations are lumped into the same category), but unlike our system the Okinawan system distinguishes seniors and juniors within a generation. The Japanese system distinguishes older and younger siblings of the speaker but not older and younger siblings of the speaker's parents. The Chinese system also distinguishes older and younger siblings in the speaker's generation and further distinguishes father's older and younger brothers, but lumps mother's older and younger brothers into a single separate category. What the Okinawan system does, and what makes it different from both the Japanese and the Chinese systems, is to single out the oldest in each generation while at the same time, by extending even the terms "father" and "mother" bilaterally, it suggests a unity of all those within the same generation. This accords in a general way, I believe, with the deference [182]
to seniors that is characteristic of all social relationships, with the importance of senior lines in the larger kinship groups, and with the essential unity of the local group despite its division into kin groups.

In the last generation certain changes have occurred in the use of kin- 601
ship terms widely, perhaps everywhere, on Okinawa. The Japanese terms of 177
address, especially those for "father", "mother", "uncle", and "aunt", have 192
begun to replace the native terms. At the same time the practice of extending

474 426 and repayment of principal and interest. Members are involved in these transactions out of different motives. The organizer is usually the one most interested in borrowing money. Other participants may wish to earn interest on spare cash. They are the bankers of the group. Between the person who needs immediate cash and the bankers are those who would like to borrow money during the life of the group but are indifferent as to the precise time, hoping to bid and obtain a loan at a favorable rate to buy a pig or to repair a house.

The most complex of these loan groups were found in Minatogawa. A group may have any number of members; usually there are from 10 to 15, but there may be only five to nine. Each group has a set of regulations (no-ai no kisoku). In Minatogawa money is borrowed for house or boat building, for buying pigs, or for other business purposes.

The first meeting begins with a party given by the persons most [574] interested in starting the group. On the following months, more modest parties given at the homes of other members are in conjunction with the bidding and distribution of the money. The entertainments of the first and last meetings include pork or goat meat, bean curd, [262] tea, and sake. At the first meeting the organizer is the host. Rules are established as to whether the indebtedness shall be put into writing and as to guarantors. (Before the war, occasionally a borrower ran off to Japan or to one of the other islands and was never heard of again). Now a guarantor is required, but this is a formality. The [476] system really rests on mutual trust and on the co-operation of friends [577] and relatives of known honesty. One person may belong to several groups. Multiple membership is naturally confined to those with plenty of ready cash who have no immediate use for it. A group whose membership is poor will subscribe from Y100 to Y300 a month, a moderately well-to-do one from Y2000-3000. There are now about 30 in Minatogawa. Members usually are present or former residents of the village. Men and women participate. These gatherings combine business with a friendly social atmosphere so typical of Okinawan business transactions and official contacts. The mats of the room are arranged to form an [353] empty square in the center of the room, and this square becomes a combination counting board and refreshment table.

In one type, the loan is awarded after secret bidding (usually by writing on a piece of paper), the award going to the lowest bidder, for he is offering the highest discount. For example, Y20,000 are available for a loan to be repaid in ten installments of Y2100 each (Y2000 principal and Y100 interest). If a member wants the money badly enough, he may bid Y17,500, accepting that amount and paying back on the basis of Y20,000 plus interest. He thus would get the award over a man who bid at a discount of Y2000 or Y18,000.

In one form of the discount type, the organizer automatically gets the first loan. He does not bid and does not lose by discounting. He has started the group for this purpose. On the second and succeeding months, the bidding is secret and competitive. Assuming ten members pooling Y2000 each the first month, in the second nine members advance

absence of need of a similar release from the boring and monotonous life of the women. Yet I noticed little in the behavior of village women to indicate they were overwhelmed by monotony or bored with life, though perhaps longer residence in the villages would have proved this observation false. Might one say that the culture does not fulfill its promise to the men, even though they are favored and catered to and that the drinking is the result of this disappointment? This neglects the fact that drinking is old in the culture and is almost always done in the company of others. If personal frustration and disappointment were the cause, one might expect more compulsive and solitary drinking and more alcoholism. 273 562 154

The sources of this distinction between the drinking men and the abstemious women, I think, lie in the values held by the culture. In the first place, sake drinking is age old in Japan, and probably in Okinawa as well. Drinking sake is associated with ceremonies, such as marriage, with religious observances, with social and public life. The public life of an official, a shopkeeper or business man, a farmer, a fisherman is not divorced from entertainment. Men have an outside life. In their dealings with other men, they are accustomed to drinking. Women do not have this outside life. They have inside duties of which the care of the children and of the house are the most important. Historically, the source of the abstemiousness of the women may be the obligations of being a mother, to be ready at all times to care and provide for or nurse her children, obligations considered incompatible with drinking. Women are expected to be polite, refined, and quiet. These ideals may be difficult to maintain in drinking. 273 562 181 [577]

At times a husband and wife may participate in social gatherings as a couple. These gatherings may either be (1) an informal, often casual, event when guests drop in and spend part of the evening, and (2) the formal affairs, such as a marriage, a birthday celebration, a holiday, an extended family reunion, or the observance of a death anniversary. On these occasions, the men occupy the first room, the women the second. The entertainment and conversations of the evening are for the most part governed by this segregation. 562 574

Though women are tolerant of drinking, domestic difficulties are often caused by the drinking of the men. Frequent drinking with its noise and late hours may result in family quarrels (fufukanka). Quarrels involving the wife and the husband's female relatives, especially the mother, are said to be uncommon. In the southern villages, the war did away with one cause of family quarrels. Men no longer go to the geisha quarter. There are naturally tensions coming out of individual antagonisms and dissatisfactions: the husband's mother who ignores her grandchild because she dislikes her daughter-in-law, pressure on a woman to produce children to satisfy the pride of the husband and of the grandparents, and failure to bear children, which usually leads to divorce initiated by the husband. Divorces, in these rural villages, were found to be uncommon.[5] 593 273 578 [586]

5 No reliable statistics could be found. These remarks and those in the next paragraph are based on personal observation, impressions and conversations.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

The New Year

Two basic themes are expressed in public celebrations and holidays. [527]
The first of these is remembrance and respect for the dead. The holidays are in part public observances of basic obligations under the family system. In the second place, holidays are occasions of thanksgiving. In a year there are not many official holidays or rest days. The work year is not interrupted, as is our custom, with week ends which may provide from one to two days of leisure. Sunday is not a day of rest. Officials and school teachers do not work at their official duties on the week ends.

The traditional public holidays are based on the lunar calendar. [805]
In the discussion which follows, some holidays have been included, even though they involve only some of the people.

The western New Year is observed perfunctorily. It is observed [177]
only by present and former officials and honored elders of a township. The custom, about 40 years old in Gushichan-son, is known as New Year Banquet Party (Shinnenenkai). Headmen from each of the villages, members [554]
and former members of the village councils, and respected elders, the mayor and his subordinate officials and members of the township assembly are the chief participants. It is a social event, held in a public building or at a school, a "meeting for conversation" (hanashiai) at which food and sake are served. The event begins early in the afternoon and is generally over by early evening.

Lunar New Year (shōgatsu), the first day of the first lunar month and O-Bon in the seventh lunar month, are the two most important holidays. Lunar New Year falls in late January or early February. (In 1951 it was on February 6; in 1952, on January 27). This is a time of new beginnings, of thanksgiving, family reunions, and observances in honor of the dead. It is a three day holiday, with much prior preparation, and on the third day, there is either a symbolic or a partial return to work.

The new year is preceded by a series of activities on the last day of the 12th month (ōmisoka). Before the war, these preparations were more elaborate than they are now. In Hinatogawa, bamboo and pine poles with [789]
a rice straw rope (shimenawa) hanging across the top were placed at the compound entrance. The purpose was to scare off evil spirits and devils. A piece of charcoal wrapped in sea weed and an orange hung from the rice rope. This custom now is also rare in Hatsuda. Only one rice straw rope used for this purpose was observed, and this had been put up some time before the new year.

Other customs of preparing for the new beginning are still observed in all the villages: the house is cleaned; a bath is taken; old debts are paid; the New Year pig is slaughtered, or in the interests of economy three or four families may share a pig. The day before the New Year is the occasion for recalling one's bad deeds and of receiving an [577]

527 better behavior. In one instance from Matsuda, the members of the
577 family talk over their good and bad acts and resolve henceforth to do good.

527 In all the villages, the custom of new or young water (wakamizu)
[823] has survived. In Hinatogawa, at 5 or 6 o'clock in the morning of the New Year, young children take fresh water in a tea pot to the homes of relatives. The new water is poured into a cup, placed on the Buddhist god shelf, or on the shelf of the fire god in the kitchen. The children are given Y5 or Y10 by the relatives, who are then supposed to stay young themselves. In Matsuda, new water is taken from a well early in the morning, and some is put on the god shelf. The first tea of the New Year is made with "young water".

A parent may also give a piece of pork with salt on it to his child announcing that he is now one year older. This custom is still observed, even though ages officially are now reckoned in the western manner.

In all the villages, the morning observances are family affairs; the public nature of the holiday is evident later. Tea and sake are
[769] placed in front of the ancestral tablets on the god shelf. A fresh kimono is put on and the offering is made before breakfast. Then the
[782] father takes the sake from the god shelf, offering sips first to his wife and then to the children.

[778] Later there are visits to the place of the patron deity or first ancestor of the village (ujigami). In Hanashiro, all of the people make this visit. In Hinatogawa, it is also a village affair, but is more involved because there are more places to go: a local religious site of unknown origin, the palace of the gods of the sea (ryūgū), the supposed place of the mountain god, the three wells with their god places, and finally to the places of the two patron deities. In Matsuda, the village head man, accompanied by surviving minor
[793] priestesses (formerly in the noro order) make visits to the place of the patron deity. But whether all the villagers or only their representatives take part, the visits have the same meaning: to offer thanks to the founders of the village.

The New Year is a time for extended family reunions. If the home site of the extended family is not in the village, the family or a representative may go to the reunion in another village, if it is not too far away. Only members of the extended family attend these celebrations.

With early morning observances in the home, the public ceremonies, and the extended family reunions over, the gay, informal and public
[504] part of the holiday begins. Hospitality is offered on all sides, and there is much drinking among the men. The celebration continues for the rest of the first day and through the second. The third day is a transitional day whose theme is the need of returning to work. This is hachibaru (to begin farming). The day is given over to more feasting and drinking and to some actual or token work.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

HANS

575
621

Hanashiro	5
Hinatogawa	9
Hatsuda	16

6

The Democratic Government of the Township and Village

The description of local government has intentionally been delayed to this point because its operation and functions can be seen to greater advantage after an acquaintance with family life and the various forms of group activity. We can see it, not so much a formal structure to be described in legalistic terms, but as an expression of many of the characteristics of the culture we have already found in the family system, group activity, and individual leadership. 128

Okinawa and the various smaller islands of the Central Ryukyus (Okinawa-gunto) is one of the four main political subdivisions of the chain. The gunto is divided into townships, and within each township, there are several settlements (buraku, ku, aza) which we have consistently called villages. Township government is the channel for the enforcement of laws and regulations from higher governmental agencies and the source of local measures which govern the several villages of the township. 631

The seat of the township government is one of the villages of the township.[4] In Gushichan township, the village office (yakuba) is at Gushichan village, while in Ginoza township, the office is in Ginoza village. 632

At the head of this government is a mayor (sonchō) elected for a four year term. There is no strenuous campaigning for the office. Friends may induce a well known man to run, then visit the villages, and ask the people to vote for him. A reputation for being kind, fair, and refined (otonashii) goes far in electing a man. Once in office he is extremely busy, and like the village headman, usually looks forward to the end of his term rather than to re-election. A new mayor appoints his own or reappoints the old staff. He chooses a vice-mayor (joyaku) with the approval of the village assembly (gikai). 632 622 [666] [577]

A township office generally has the following administrative sections: (1) a treasury and disbursing office (shūnyūyaku), (2) a general affairs (shomu) sections. The head of this section is in charge of the family registers (koseki) and of the registry of seals. These two important functions require a little elaboration. 632

4 The government actually described here is that of Gushichan township. It did not seem worthwhile to repeat essentially the same information for Ginoza and then to make minute comparisons and contrasts between them.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

and look after the sick. Even if they are too old for any work, like two oldsters over 80 years, they can still hold the youngest grandchild. Two exceptional old men, brothers of almost the same age, pass their time by making rope bags and mats from the fiber of the fan palm. Both are active as financial experts, investing money here and there and lending it for high interests in various shrewd transactions. 887 462 [855] [285] [454]

INFORMAL AND FORMAL COOPERATION

Cooperation plays a prominent part in Taira economy. Assistance is always given for major tasks, such as preparing grass land for farm use or house building, or for work which must be done quickly, such as transplanting rice or harvesting and milling sugar. In fact, since wet rice cultivation depends on assistance in any culture that works its paddies by hand, it is noteworthy that the term *iimarû*, used in Taira for labor exchange in planting and harvesting, is also extended to other mutual assistance. The term, literally translated, means "gathering by rotation." A family who plans a project that needs the help of others makes an informal arrangement with relatives or neighbors to help for one or more days. This is simply done by notifying individuals that such help is needed. No one, unless he has urgent reasons, would refuse to comply with a call for assistance. If it is a small task, a few close relatives are asked. In most larger undertakings, it is the neighborhood group that lends a hand. These mutual-assistance groups usually form within the central village and within each of the geographical clusters of the outlying village, although close relatives from other parts of the community may be called. However, the most recent arrivals in Taira, all present members of one family line who have the same surname, act jointly in reclamation of neglected fields to strengthen their economic position. 476 241 [621]

Return services are expected, but nobody would admit that there is any thought of equal compensation and would not even joke about the matter. There is a strong feeling that calculated thinking is unseemly not only among relatives but also among unrelated neighbors. One man, when asked what would happen if a person refused to comply to a request for help, answered, "There is no such dirty person, and if there were one, he would be an outcast." During the rice planting season, persons helping in another's fields will shortly be helped themselves. In housebuilding, a long time may pass until those who aided will need aid in return. 476 241 577

Except for people over 56, pregnant women, and mothers of chil- 653 464

626 diate relatives but also toward members of the entire community, and
156 even certain strangers, appears in many contexts. Any villager feels
[479] a sense of obligation to participate in mutual assistance, and someone who fails to live up to this obligation is severely criticized. A person who commits a crime is said to have no feeling of obligation, and it seems clear that the infrequency of transgression, either the violation of mutual help codes or more serious infractions, is held in check by fear of censure.

626 The Japanese moral code, which stresses obligations and feelings of
● 577 indebtedness and gratitude toward those from whom favors have been
867 received, is obviously related to such social control forces or is in fact
[177] identical with them. Japanese ethical training was part of school training before World War II, and it is still deeply valued and followed.
[571] That any close-knit community tends to foster such forces of control is common knowledge. Yet the positive attitude toward obligations and their elaboration in interpersonal relationships is noteworthy and characterizes an important aspect of Taira life. It is learned early, as we found out when one mother said about her 4-year-old daughter: "She understands the idea (of obligations and indebtedness), although she does not know the concepts." When the family receives a gift, the little girl asks, "Shall we take some fish (a counter present) to them?" In spite of the positive value mentioned, there seem to be few compulsions connected with obligations. Actions appear spontaneous rather than forced. Of course, these obligations are of importance in determining contributions of individual households at weddings, funerals, and other occasions where interpersonal ties are cemented.

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Chapter 6

Social Organization

571 In every society an individual belongs to a number of groups, overlapping in membership and differentiated by function. A resident of Taira is no exception. Some groups are open, that is to say, new mem-

plus the excess of births over deaths were sufficient six years after the conclusion of the war to bring the post-war population of the village within 200 of the pre-war level.

Okinawans returning to Hanashiro came largely from Japan, the Philippines, Manchuria, Formosa, the South Seas and a few from Hawaii. From Hinatogawa, the areas of former settlement were broader, probably reflecting a wider activity of the fishermen. They came from Java, Palau, Singapore, the Philippine Islands, and Tarawa. Some had previously returned voluntarily from Hawaii and Peru before the war. The largest segments came from the Philippines and Tarawa, the smaller groups from Hawaii and Peru. The repatriates to Matsuda also came from Japan, the Philippines, Hawaii, and the South Seas.

One consequence of the pre-war emigration and of the repatriation that followed was that each village after the war had a group of people who had been in foreign countries or had relatives still residing in foreign areas.

In the villages studied, according to the residents living there now, repatriation was not accompanied by the tensions and the ill feeling that was so conspicuous in post-war Europe, especially Germany. There were no cliques between those who had stayed during the war and those who returned to live beside them.

The reasons for this are probably these: many of the repatriates even though absent a long time owned land in a village. This was true of Hanashiro and Matsuda, the agricultural villages, and to a lesser extent of Hinatogawa. Some adjustments were necessary. The land owned by these people had not been idle during their absence. If a first son returned, in most cases his younger brother was cultivating the fields and occupying the family house. He, in the absence of his eldest brother, acted as head of the house. When the first son returned, he received the possessions and assumed the responsibilities of the head of the house, and in turn gave his younger brother land to establish a branch household. When the returned member of the family was a second son, the adjustment was easier. The first son, if possible, gave his younger brother a house site and fields to cultivate.[6]

Other relatives, parents, younger or older sisters, nephews, or nieces were absorbed within the family, the parents or grandparents resuming a retirement which they would have had in any case, while the younger relatives became working and contributing members to the family. They did not come back to an altogether strange place. They or their parents had been born there, and their names had remained in the village family register.

6 The reasons for these acts will be made clear in Chapter 6 on the family system.

The strong ties of the family system are probably the fundamental reasons for this lack of strangeness. One is a member of the family, even if in another part of the island or of the world. This sense of belonging, to be emphasized later, is not only an emotional feeling but is a basic fact of social organization. Relationships, regardless of their geographic spread, are a binding force. It is true that these become weaker with the remoter relationships of the extended family, but they are still strong enough to blunt the edge of individual frictions that might otherwise be expected. 571 [602] [156] [578]

There was a niche into which a returning person might fit, whether he was a parent, a first son, an elder brother, an uncle or niece of the head of the household. The repatriates who had been long absent were, in turn, able to make an adjustment to conditions in the island of their birth because they had continued the same social system in their foreign residence. They now had to function in a more restricted and less well endowed natural environment. Dissatisfactions took the form, as they still do, of longing for better economic opportunity which they hope will be realized through further opportunities for emigration. They make comparisons, unfavorable to Okinawa, regarding the ease of making a living in other countries. Repatriates from Japan, who have returned to Okinawan rural life, miss the cities and the more exciting life of that country. Among those who have travelled, there is also a more noticeable discontent and dissatisfaction with the loneliness of rural life. The word sabishii is often on their lips. [554] [178] [511] [156]

The ideas of the repatriated Okinawans, furthermore, are not a new phenomenon in contemporary village life. They did not bring back points of view unknown before. In the past these had been communicated by letters and rare visits to the homeland. The reports of the repatriates were richer, more detailed, and more concrete, but not completely different. They have--and this is probably one of their chief influences on post-war village life--stimulated the strong desire of the villagers to emigrate. Life is hard on the island, and their accounts of greater return for the same expenditure of work have quickened hopes of future emigration. These hopes are confined to the New World, Japan, and the Pacific islands. There is no enthusiasm for migration to other islands in the Ryukyu chain. [185] [167]

4

Attitudes Toward Birth Control

There is little in the religious belief or in the cultural tradition that would induce, in large segments of the population, a strong antipathy to birth control on religious grounds, but these beliefs and traditions are not favorable to it either. Respect for ancestors and the need for the continuance of the family system are the most important of these. It is the duty of each generation to provide this continuity between the past and the future. The links in this chain are male children. Once this 842 [602] [611]

Daughters are not considered in inheritance matters if there are male heirs. A daughter's share of family possessions normally comes to her as a marriage present: a kimono, a chest, a mirror, a pillow, and a quilt-like blanket (futon), and other personal articles, or money, depending on the economic abilities of the father. In the absence of male heirs, women (either as wives or daughters) can and do inherit the house and property. In a family without sons, the head has several alternatives: he may allow the daughter to inherit, or adopt a bridegroom for his own house, the first distasteful to the father because there is no one to continue the family line, the second distasteful to the groom who must desert his own family. A third alternative is to adopt a young male child of a relative. 428 [562] [583] [597]

The passing down of property in these villages is governed in large part also by custom and the individual desire of the parents. In the villages, there were no instances of which I knew in which disputes over inheritance and the disposition of property had been carried to court for settlement. Quarrels among a father and his sons or the first sons and his younger brothers are said to be rather common. Much depends on the temperament and the generosity of the first son who controls the property on the death or retirement of his father. The problem was often put in this way: the first son must look after his younger brothers and give them land, but he must also keep his eye on the estate he will be able to pass down to his own children. [692] [578]

2

Essentials of the Inheritance System.

The essentials of the inheritance system, as it was found to be working in these villages, were substantially the same. (1) In the division of property on the death or retirement of the father (or the head of the house), the house site itself is never divided. The family residence, the buildings in the compound remain intact. The house is a symbol of a family's existence and its future. If it is also the main house of the extended family, it is the site of the original founder and is even more inviolate.

An interesting question arises when the first sons are male twins. An old practice, now abandoned, was that the second of the twins inherited as the first son. This was based on a belief that the last child out of the womb was the first one in, and therefore the older. In the villages, one still hears this explanation from older people, but now the universal practice is for the first born to become the first son.

(2) The rest of the property is divided, in varying proportions, among the remaining sons. The first son gets the money, but he is expected to share this. He normally gets at least half the property, the remaining half being divided up among the other sons, either in the

One can infrequently observe women walking from Minatogawa to nearby villages to sell their fish. Women and young girls also sell fish locally, standing somewhere off the main street with their hand scale (hakkari) and a basket or bucket of fish. Housewives come up, price the individual fish, often weighing it for themselves on the hand scale. 443 804

Like the Chinese scale, this is simply a round piece of wood on one end of which there is a weight. The fulcrum is a string, held in the hand, which holds the scale. The item to be weighed is put in a basket and placed on the other end. The weight is ascertained by moving the counter-weight till both sides are in balance. Markings along the piece of wood show the exact amount. Every village shop has one of these scales.

There is very little haggling over prices, although the housewife is choosy and will inquire the cost of different individual fish before deciding which one, if any, to buy. 443

Usually the night's catch is marketed the following morning. Women, by custom, receive a fee for selling fish. A woman who takes her husband's and his partner's fish to market (the catch being insufficient for both wives to participate) is paid her fee by weight. 443 465

25 kin (about 33 pounds) sold at Y30 per kin	Y1500
Woman's share, at Y5 per kin	-150
Remainder	Y1350
Each Partner's Share	675

[804]

The Y5 per kin is a selling commission. If more than one woman goes, the fee is split between them. Women pay all expenses and their bus fare from the commission. Occasionally wives alternate in taking the catch to market.

When the woman of a fishing family takes fish to market, she is doing more than performing an errand. Her skill in bargaining and general knowledge of prices, of the catch and the demand for various kinds of fish determine whether she gets a good or only a fair price. Generally, mature women sell the fish. Younger women, in the late teens and early twenties, often accompany the older women as helpers and gradually are initiated into the tricks of the trade. Young women, not being skillful, are more likely to accept the first offer, or to sell below the highest price obtainable. One source of family quarreling (fufukonka) is the anger of a husband when his wife has sold at a lower price than his neighbor's wife. Women who have children leave them with a relative, or an older daughter. When the wife of the family is unable to sell the fish because her children are too young, the chore is taken over by a woman relative. In Minatogawa, this substitute work also is often done by widows who, in addition, might sell fish caught by male relatives. 443 562 [578] [855] [589]

The money earned by women in the marketing of the fish, after 000

273 the greater part of the following day until the effects are worn off.[4]

There is tolerance of drinking and of behavior while under the influence of alcohol—with the exceptions to be discussed below. This nonchalance extends to children and young people. When an elder and highly respected friend or neighbor, perhaps their own grandfather, is drunk, they laugh indulgently at him, passing off his behavior as foolish because he is drunk.

[576] The custom of drink exchange (kempai) certainly does not keep drinking to a minimum. Drink exchange is perpetual at parties. A small cup of sake is offered to a friend. He drinks, gives the cup back to his friend who holds it while the other refills the cup. The exchange goes on again. Often three or four men are involved in this reciprocity.

[277] Drinking, like an aperitif or cocktail before a meal, is not common. Sake may be drunk with or after the meal. Often it is served along with tea. Throughout the evening the two may be drunk alternatively. In this case, the tea is served first. Unless there are special occasions, there is very little day time drinking.

273 562 In this drinking, the Okinawan woman has no part. There are a few minor exceptions. But in all the villages these exceptions were older or very elderly women. The young wife or girl in rural Okinawan villages simply does not drink. Furthermore, she seems to have no desire to. Occasionally a woman in her late forties or early fifties takes a few sips. In the southern villages, an old woman may drink a small amount with a little added sugar at a celebration. In Hatsuda, shortly before New Years it is customary to give a party at village expense to all people in the village over 70 years of age. On this occasion, both the old men and old women are liberally [888] supplied with and liberally drink the sake.

These distinctions in drinking between the sexes, in my opinion, are closely tied in with the responsibilities of men and women, as they have grown up historically under the family system. The distinctions certainly cannot be explained in terms of contemporary attitudes. If [154] drinking is an outlet for the tensions of the man, a way of relieving the boredom and monotony of every day life, how can one explain the

4 There is little real violence or fighting, but there may be noisy quarrels and some shoving about. Some mild men become very quarrelsome. [578] The only instance of violence I observed was the case of a young man about 25 who drank quite a lot, became angry with some girls in the Young Women's Association for not doing chores he thought they were responsible for. He slapped one severely. The following day he was very remorseful. His mother went to the girl's house and personally apologized for the boy's behavior.

absence of need of a similar release from the boring and monotonous life of the women. Yet I noticed little in the behavior of village women to indicate they were overwhelmed by monotony or bored with life, though perhaps longer residence in the villages would have proved this observation false. Might one say that the culture does not fulfill its promise to the men, even though they are favored and catered to and that the drinking is the result of this disappointment? This neglects the fact that drinking is old in the culture and is almost always done in the company of others. If personal frustration and disappointment were the cause, one might expect more compulsive and solitary drinking and more alcoholism. 273 562 154

The sources of this distinction between the drinking men and the abstemious women, I think, lie in the values held by the culture. In the first place, sake drinking is age old in Japan, and probably in Okinawa as well. Drinking sake is associated with ceremonies, such as marriage, with religious observances, with social and public life. The public life of an official, a shopkeeper or business man, a farmer, a fisherman is not divorced from entertainment. Men have an outside life. In their dealings with other men, they are accustomed to drinking. Women do not have this outside life. They have inside duties of which the care of the children and of the house are the most important. Historically, the source of the abstemiousness of the women may be the obligations of being a mother, to be ready at all times to care and provide for or nurse her children, obligations considered incompatible with drinking. Women are expected to be polite, refined, and quiet. These ideals may be difficult to maintain in drinking. 273 562 181 [577]

At times a husband and wife may participate in social gatherings as a couple. These gatherings may either be (1) an informal, often casual, event when guests drop in and spend part of the evening, and (2) the formal affairs, such as a marriage, a birthday celebration, a holiday, an extended family reunion, or the observance of a death anniversary. On these occasions, the men occupy the first room, the women the second. The entertainment and conversations of the evening are for the most part governed by this segregation. 562 574

Though women are tolerant of drinking, domestic difficulties are often caused by the drinking of the man. Frequent drinking with its noise and late hours may result in family quarrels (fufukanka). Quarrels involving the wife and the husband's female relatives, especially the mother, are said to be uncommon. In the southern villages, the war did away with one cause of family quarrels. Men no longer go to the geisha quarter. There are naturally tensions coming out of individual antagonisms and dissatisfactions: the husband's mother who ignores her grandchild because she dislikes her daughter-in-law, pressure on a woman to produce children to satisfy the pride of the husband and of the grandparents, and failure to bear children, which usually leads to divorce initiated by the husband. Divorces, in these rural villages, were found to be uncommon.[5] 593 273 578 [586]

5 No reliable statistics could be found. These remarks and those in the next paragraph are based on personal observation, impressions and conversations.

soup. Nothing is wasted and leftovers are kept for the next meal. The majority of people are fast eaters, and chopsticks move from bowl to mouth quickly and deftly. Some families eat silently, others enjoy talking during the meal. 512 [262] [269] [521]

Before and after full moon, people like to go out after supper and gather in small groups by the store to talk and smoke or to visit each other. Less running back and forth is observed during dark nights. There is also a seasonal variation in that respect. On cold winter nights, or when it rains, doors are closed early, and visitors slip into the house by the side kitchen door. On warm nights all houses are open, and one can see people sitting in their living room by the light of a kerosene lamp; passers-by just call over and then go in for a chat. Guests are served tea, bits of brown sugar, and other sweets. Men get together at this time and start talking over a cup of sake. A relative or neighbor, bottle in hand, walks in and joins the party. Here and there somebody pulls a samisen out of the corner and starts singing. 512 [269] [521] [262]

Evenings are also the time for village meetings, finance group meetings, family gatherings, and other formal get-togethers. Several times during the week a light shines from the village office or the store office, where some of the village leaders meet to discuss community affairs. In the winter, household-head meetings or other general meetings are called for 8 o'clock; in the summer they do not start until 9 o'clock. In the absence of clocks, few meetings ever start on time. 512 623

The young men and women have their get-togethers at the clubhouse in Udenaha. Both sexes attend, sometimes for lectures by a village official on village affairs, sometimes for lessons in bookkeeping and the use of the abacus in business, for which one village leader dedicates his time, or for other educational purposes. Once a week they have a social evening with discussion and sometimes folk dances. On nights when no meetings are scheduled, young men gather at someone's house to smoke, drink, or sing together. If enough sake is available, parties can become noisy. Occasionally a fight or quarrel starts later in the evening after everybody has drunk steadily. Such interruptions on quiet evenings are rare and seldom occur more than once or twice a month. Loud singing at midnight or later, a group of gay men knocking on somebody's door, these are the only disturbances an early sleeper may experience if a party is held somewhere. 512 883 571 [544] [578]

By 11 o'clock mosquito nets are hung in the rooms and comforters spread on the floor. Except in the house where men gather to drink, quiet descends over the village around that time. Individuals, however, may be seen until long after midnight. Taira goes to sleep late, and although people claim that everyone gets eight hours of sleep, it 512 513

can at least check all transients. Another important duty is to prevent the use of explosives by fishermen, a difficult if not impossible assignment, for he must catch the fisherman *flagrante delicto* when he lands with fish killed in this way. There is no indication that villagers assist the policeman in detecting offenders. 625 [226]

Policing the village itself is not a difficult job. The absence of crime and the low incidence of quarrels, disputes, and brawls would seem to make policing unnecessary. Nevertheless, the policeman interferes at times in disputes. He considers it his duty when actual blows are exchanged and somebody is hurt. In such a case he "investigates," takes notes, and makes a report to the police department. During the entire field work, reportable incidents occurred at about the rate of one a month; in the two or three cases where violence occurred, the matter was settled peacefully later, although the policeman kept a record of it. The rare quarrels which do occur are usually the result of drinking or domestic disagreements, generated by financial problems. 625 578 [674] [273]

The policeman plays the role of judge and jury. In one case a young man hit a woman and was temporarily detained by the policeman until he made apologies to the victim. In disputes over business transactions, the policeman often arbitrates. In a dispute in which a Taira woman was accused of cheating a trader from another village, the policeman heard the case and ordered the Taira woman to make refunds over a period of time. The villagers seem to accept such arbitration. Serious disagreements seem to be unthinkable, and everyone fears public censure and ostracism. Court action is extremely rare and is referred to the provincial courts in the town of Nago. 625 627 [692]

The policeman is given high status by the villagers and commands respect. He remains, probably by his own choice, a neutral person in village affairs. He attends village functions, where he is given a place among village leaders. Being friendly with many families, he visits and is visited by other men. It was noted that fishermen sometimes send a special catch to the policeman. But since this is a courtesy which is also common among farmers with regard to nonfarming people, such as teachers, one should not think of such actions as bribery. Mothers use the policeman as a threat in disciplining children. "If you do such a bad thing again, I'll take you to the police station." This, however, does not seem to instill any fear of his person, but rather a respect towards the general area in which the policeman lives. Village children play freely with the policeman's children, but his courtyard is entered less frequently by children than that of other villagers. 625 [554] [662] [861]

The head of the General Affairs Department at the township office is charged with supervision of public order. It is not clear how much this is a self-assigned task. During several occasions, when an alarm 632 647 625

the wife takes charge of household funds while her husband controls larger spendings. 593 562

Many quarrels between couples originate from financial matters. Disagreements happen frequently when a husband returns home intoxicated late at night. His wife may blame him for using money which she has put aside for a special purchase; from this incident the argument turns to family finances in general. As words become more heated, the woman holds her own, telling her husband in no uncertain terms that he is a squanderer. Some husbands settle such an argument by hitting their wives. [273] [578]

Decisions are seldom made by one person in the family. The more important the issue involved, the more people within the family are consulted. A husband and wife may discuss whether to buy or sell a pig and make a joint decision. They also decide mutually on the buying of seed rice and other agricultural matters. Men concern themselves with the building of new structures or the addition to old ones. On the other hand, women make decisions affecting the daily life of children. They determine if a child needs new clothes, if he should be taken to the doctor, or accompany the mother on a shopping trip to the city. Some fathers take an interest in their children's study habits and accomplishments at school, but few are consistent in supervising their children in this respect. Here, too, mothers seem to have a much greater influence. Girls are likely to receive even less attention from their fathers than boys. In cases of decisions that can vitally affect the future of the whole household, members of the husband's and wife's family, if they live in the village, gather to discuss plans. 593 [602]

Although women are less active politically than men, they participate in village meetings as representatives for their families. With the exception of the Women's Association leaders, their participation is more passive than that of the men. But although they seldom speak in public and sit together at the back of the meeting, women nevertheless exert a great deal of influence on community affairs. Their influence is felt even more in meetings of mutual finance associations. 575 562 623

It is unlikely at this point that a woman in the village would run for political office. Several recent developments, however, indicate a steady increase in their political participation. The headman who was elected to office in 1955 is responsible for an innovation which reflects this trend. He selected his clerk by means of a competitive examination which was open to both young men and young women. Two girls who had graduated from high school were among the candidates. They were defeated by a young man to whom the job was given because of 562 666

757 frequently and may be repeated as many as four times during the
[854] first year of a child's life. An older child occasionally undergoes this
[164] treatment for a case of violent impetigo. Even a horse may be bled in
[232] this way for loss of appetite or other symptoms of disease.

A woman whose face had been struck in an unusual display of temper
[578] underwent a blood letting soon after a swelling appeared. Her neighbor from across the street, a farmer like everyone else, sterilized her cheek with iodine and then cut it with a razor until the blood flowed freely. After a night's rest, the woman appeared outside her house without any signs of swelling and seemingly recovered.

753 As was pointed out previously, many diseases are believed to be
776 caused by supernatural forces: the ancestor spirits, spirits of those who
769 have just died, and natural deities and evil spirits who wander around
775 at night. The ancestors expect proper respect and attention and in gen-
[764] eral are benevolent unless neglected. Spirits of those who have recently died are most dangerous if the deceased is from another village. For deceased villagers one is careful to purify oneself after the funeral. The doors of each house are shut at night to protect against the evil spirits of the night air. Disease is less frequently caused by natural deities who have been neglected or mistreated.

755 In case of sickness or other unfortunate events in the family, some-
756 body may go to consult the *yuta,* a shaman who communicates with
[787] the supernatural. She discovers the cause of misfortune with the help of rice oracles and through powers of divination received through visions and hallucinations. There is no *yuta* living in Taira now, so that people have to travel to the other side of the island, an hour or more on foot, if they want to learn about the source of some evil. Taira
[769] people make many such trips to consult this shamanistic specialist. The most common cause of misfortune discovered by the *yuta* is neglect of ceremonies to the ancestral gods or, less frequently, the neglect of cere-
[793] monies to the natural deities. Although the *yuta* stands in no direct connection with the high priestess, she may suggest that her client ask the priestess for special prayers to rectify the negligence. In such cases, then, the competence of individuals in the family may not be adequate to deal with the ancestral world, and the priestess enters into family religion.

597 Some Taira parents still find an adoptive parent for a sickly child in
755 the belief that his own ancestors have caused bad health, and that this
769 can only be remedied by making a formal arrangement which transfers
[796] ancestral responsibility for the child to another family. The child remains with his own parents and only visits his foster parents during the New Year and the midsummer Buddhist *Bon* Festival, which honors ancestors, and perhaps at one or two other occasions during the year.

574 for their special skills on the samisen (a three-stringed banjolike in-
533 strument covered with snake hide), open the singing and dancing with
the first, traditional song, *Kagiyadefu*, a solemn and slow piece which
[534] is rendered in the forced, nasal voice peculiar to Okinawan song. Im-
574 mediately after this, the tempo changes, the music takes a fast, stirring
beat, and the first dancer, a man, gets up. Dances at social events can
535 be performed by a single man or a woman, or by several dancers of
either sex, but traditional group dances are done by women only. Taira people like to dance some of the many Okinawan dances in which a story, sung by the vocalists, is acted out. For example, a popular dance deals with a fisherman and his catch. A hat, hastily put on, and a basket under the arm suggest the role of the dancer, his body and hand movements the actions. No one is much concerned with accurate or highly artistic rendition of these familiar dances; many performances become simply improvisations in which one male dancer is joined by other men or women who, dancing freely, add their own versions to established movements. There is much applause and laughter from the audience around the dance floor, which sings and animatedly claps hands in rhythm to the music. As all, men and older women, imbibe more sake, they become gayer, and more talents are unleashed. Amusing presenta-
[831] tions of a husband and wife, in which sometimes aggression and sexual interaction are acted out playfully, are received with great hilarity by the audience. If such a suggestive performance is given by an old woman and a young man, it seems to appear even funnier. As they get tired, dancers leave the floor, making room for others.

[562] Not everybody participates with equal lack of restraint. Younger
[273] women do not drink sake and show much more inhibition; they dance established versions of Okinawan dances in group performances if called on, usually before the merrymakers take over. Often a mother, young child in arm, cannot resist. Passing the infant to a relative or a girl sitting nearby, she joins other dancers and becomes carried away by the spirit of the event. On one occasion a young woman, seeing her aged mother display her talents on the dance floor in comical movements to the delight of everybody, angrily demanded that she come home right away, only to be rejoined with a taunting remark by the old lady, who defiantly swallowed some more sake and continued her entertainment.

527 Not a single event that we attended was marred by any serious un-
273 pleasantness. No guest was ever seen to become sick, although some
men drank themselves into a stupor. Here and there a paper screen may
●578 be broken as a result of a tumbling body, or a hard bang against a
574 thin panel may set the house shaking. But the end of such a feast

would be nothing more uproarious than a group of singing celebrants seeking further entertainment from house to house. The occasional quarrels after drinking, which are mentioned elsewhere, seemed much more frequent where only a small group of men indulged after work, especially younger ones. No major holidays ended in dissonance. 527 273 574 578

The main events for family celebrations are lunar New Year, *seimei*, a period in spring during which descent group ancestors are revered and *Bon*, a commemoration of the dead in the fall. At these times families are reunited with relatives from other villages or the city. These events are observed in the home or in front of the ancestral tombs. During *Bon* young men and women go from house to house, performing traditional dances for this holiday in front of the assembled families. 527 796 769

Celebration of special birthday cycles and agricultural events, such as the day when ditches in the paddies were cleaned in former times, are observed by villagers as a group. An important religious event for the community is Boat Race Day in lunar June. On lunar August 15, the celebration of the full August moon, some villagers present stage performances and dances at a public celebration. 527

In general, it may be said that families gather as a unit on those days on which ancestors and deceased family members are commemorated. The village jointly celebrates events which are either based on local religion or on agricultural events. The only national holiday which is now in existence was established by the post-war Ryukyuan government. It is observed by school and government offices but not by the people. [769] [621]

Sport events form another category of holidays. The most important one falls in October when both in Japan and all over the Ryukyus athletes compete against each other. Athletic meets take place for several weeks; for the village the biggest event is the competition of all athletes in the township on *undokai* day. Everyone leaves work and takes picnic food to the track at the junior high school where each village competes against the others. This lasts all day. 526 628

Wrestling matches are part of entertainment during outdoor celebrations in the early summer. They are mainly an affair for young men. Occasionally an older man who feels strong enough challenges a younger one. The villagers sit around a large circle near the beach, watching the fights while they eat holiday food and drink sake. On Boat Race Day Taira and the neighboring village of Kawata race fishing canoes against each other. Spectators at this event are enthusiastic supporters of their favorites. After the races this holiday ends like any other, in celebrations with dance and drinking. [262] [574]

192 any kind of body dirt or excretion, as mii-kusu, "sleep" in the eyes, haa-
[578] kusu, "stains on the teeth". As in Japanese it is used also in cursing; in
[772] anger an Okinawan may say, "I'll make you eat feces." A similar phrase,
[773] kusu takkwee, "eat feces", is often spoken after someone, especially a baby, sneezes. It is explained that the custom arose when a person once overheard two ghosts plotting to steal a baby's soul (mabui), which may be easily detached by a sneeze; one of the ghosts revealed that if a living person spoke the phrase it would be sufficient to drive him away. The fact that the phrase is used in anger suggests that it is an undesirable one; that it is used in the case of sneezing probably demonstrates the greater fear of ghosts.

831 Sex Practices and attitudes related to marriage have been discussed under that heading in Chapter V. The sex drive seems to be regarded as
864 natural and not sinful. Adults playfully tweak the penises of little boys and may put little children of both sexes to sleep by prolonged patting of the buttocks. They do not tell their children about the nature of sex and expect them not to know, yet the children hear much thinly-disguised discussion of sexual relationships and, sleeping with their parents as they do, may be vaguely aware of their parents' relations. Parents expect their children to learn of sex "naturally" as they grow older. As Maloney reports[1],
[839] there is little masturbation among small children, but two of Pitts' informants reported that adolescent boys sometimes hold masturbation contests to see who can ejaculate the fastest. This practice is said to stop with the beginning of heterosexual activity.

836 Formerly adolescents, except for girls of the gentry class, seem
883 to have had some sexual freedom. The practice of meeting in the fields at
178 night for parties, moo-ashibii, often led to sexual relations. According to informants in one community syphilis was brought in late in the last century through moo-ashibii with the youths of a neighboring village. Pre-marital sexual relations are probably frequent today, though the conditions under which young people meet are changing.

837 Married women are expected to have relations with only their hus-
548 bands, but married men are, in theory, limited only by their finances. There exists in the larger towns a relatively large class of women called juri, who function as both entertainers and prostitutes. (There is no distinction, like the Japanese distinction between 'geisha' and 'jorō'.) The
[179] jurinuyaa, "juri houses", were formerly centers of social life for the men of the city. The present 'ryōtei' have much the same function. A group of men may spend an evening there eating and drinking and being entertained by dancing and singing. If one chooses to remain and "buy a woman" his wife's only objection to it can be that it costs more money.

838 Homosexuality is evidently rare, but not unknown. A Naha woman reported that a Japanese who lived in a room next to hers was in the habit of luring young boys into his room with good food and then seducing them, sometimes to their physical discomfort. She said that some of the neighbors

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1 Maloney, 1945, p. 392.

585 the day of the wedding ceremony, preparations are made at the
184 bride's home. Food is served for relatives and friends, and the party then proceeds to the groom's home for the ceremony.

[431] Gifts from the groom's family depend upon economic circumstances, but usually range from Y50 to Y100 up to Y1000. In Hanashiro, something, no matter how small, is always given by the groom's family to the bride's family. Since the war, gifts of chests of drawers and blankets are less common because of high prices.

On the third day, in this Hanashiro custom, the bride and the groom with relatives and friends visit the bride's parents during the day. On the same evening, the visit is returned by the bride's family.

585 There is a general agreement in all the villages that as a con-
178 sequence of the war, the preliminaries to marriage, the ceremony, the gifts, and the events following the ceremony have become simpler.
727 Part of this is due to the high cost of food and entertainment. In the competition with other ceremonies and celebrations, the tendency
435 has been, in the interest of economy, to simplify the old customs, or when this is not possible, to combine celebrations coming close together in the year. One frequently hears the word keisai (economy) used in this connection.

3

Contemporary Attitudes Toward Marriage

58 Marriage customs today are different from those of even 20 years
178 ago. From information collected from the villages, the chief changes in marriage customs have been: (1) the preliminaries and the ceremony have been simplified, (2) marriage takes place at a much older age, (3) marriages between individuals of different villages are more common, (4) there is a shorter engagement period and its significance has declined, (5) the custom in which the bride temporarily returns to her home has disappeared or become rare, (6) the go-between, formerly a respected elder negotiating a marriage, is now a friend, generally the same age as the principals, offering help and advice, and (7) the arranged marriage has given way to freer choice in marriage in which the parents' consent has become largely a formality.

581 Judging by the statements of residents of all villages, many of
582 whom were married under the old arrangement, there is almost universal approval of free choice in marriage. Divorces were said to have been
[586] common under the old system, mainly because of the wife's barrenness or unattractiveness. The chances that the marriage will be a happy one are
[562] thought to be greater under the new. Among women, it harmonizes with
[177] ideas of equality which they have heard of or read about in Japanese magazines since the occupation.

Some villagers also pointed to the reluctance of young women to marry first sons. There were two reasons for this: the financial responsibilities of the first son, and the joint living with his parents. These young women had the attitude that the second or the third son enjoyed greater freedom. The position of the first son is more secure in an agricultural community, especially if the father has some means. The reluctance of some young women to marry first sons may be offset by marrying into a well established family and by the prestige that comes with such a marriage. One also encounters an attitude of indifference regarding one's position in the family hierarchy: no pride in being the first son and no feeling of resentment at being a second or succeeding one. 593 581

Among parents and grandparents, there is strong pride in a son. The birth of a son in early marriage and his survival simplifies the life of every individual in the family. It points to the desired succession, to care in old age and a normal family experience within the framework of the family system. 562

6

Adoption

As in other Oriental countries, the emphasis placed on the first son, or one standing in his place, reflects the concern of the family for its continued existence. Extinction (danzetsu in Japanese) of the family must be avoided. Adoption is the traditional method of preventing extinction. While there are instances of adoption in all villages, it is not common, nor does it have the importance which is attached to it in Japan. 597

The need for adoption arises when a family does not have a male child to succeed to the father's house. Two types of adoption are recognized: the adoption of a male child or the adoption of the prospective husband of a daughter. No instance of the latter form was encountered in any of the villages. Unlike Japan, where an adopted child might be unrelated to the family, Okinawans, when they resort to adoption, always choose a relative in the male line, perhaps a nephew or a distant relative of the male head. The preferred alternatives are two: a first or second son of the brother of the head of the adopting house is taken, or a second son may be adopted by his uncle and will succeed to the main family line on the death of his uncle.

1

Marriage Customs

There are two ways of entering into marriage. One of these, the traditional form, found in China, Korea, and Japan, is the arranged marriage (mi-ai in Japanese). The selection of the partner, the betrothal, and the marriage are conducted by the families as principals, although the young people may be consulted. The second is free choice in marriage (ren-ai), in which young people decide for themselves. Ren-ai is often translated as "romantic love," but a more accurate, if more sedate meaning is free, but not unrestricted, choice in marriage. 581 [171]

The arranged marriage and the use of a go-between in the negotiations exist in the villages studied. But the arranged marriage began to decline before the war, more rapidly since its end. A go-between (nakōdo), either a man or a woman, or sometimes both, act as intermediaries in negotiations between families until a mutually satisfactory decision is reached, or, lacking this, until negotiations can be broken off without embarrassment to either side. 581 584 [178]

The arranged marriage still prevails in families where parental authority is strong and the obedience of the children is demanded and received. Personal observation and the statements both of the young and old leave little doubt, however, that free choice in marriage is now the accepted custom. A go-between is often used in courtship and is still an honored participant in the wedding ceremony. Latterly, the go-between is less a matchmaker, more a repository of confidences for mutual exchange. The present status of the go-between can be summarized in these illustrations from Hanashiro: (1) if the couple live in the same village, a go-between is not used, but one is sought out if the young man wishes to court a girl in another village. (2) The go-between is not used at all. (3) The go-between may be a relative or a friend of either party used to sound out another's feelings. In Hinatogawa, it is said that the go-between acts for a bashful suitor, but that the couple make their own marriage arrangements. In Matsuda, he is occasionally used in courtship, but his function is mostly the formal one of officiating at the marriage ceremony. With the acceptance of free choice in marriage, the go-between as an adult, skilled, respected, and understanding negotiator has been replaced by an individual with more nominal responsibilities, who may be a mutual friend, probably a contemporary of the young people whose marriage he is encouraging. 581 [593] 584

The arranged and free choice marriages are not at opposite extremes. Free choice does not mean there has been a rebellion against parental authority. Parents' consent to a marriage is still sought for, even though the betrothal is decided upon by the young principals. If the parents do not consent, the alternative is elopement. If the parents withhold consent, the traditional wedding ceremony cannot take

585 184 the day of the wedding ceremony, preparations are made at the bride's home. Food is served for relatives and friends, and the party then proceeds to the groom's home for the ceremony.

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585 178 727 435 There is a general agreement in all the villages that as a consequence of the war, the preliminaries to marriage, the ceremony, the gifts, and the events following the ceremony have become simpler. Part of this is due to the high cost of food and entertainment. In the competition with other ceremonies and celebrations, the tendency has been, in the interest of economy, to simplify the old customs, or when this is not possible, to combine celebrations coming close together in the year. One frequently hears the word keisai (economy) used in this connection.

3

Contemporary Attitudes Toward Marriage

58 178 Marriage customs today are different from those of even 20 years ago. From information collected from the villages, the chief changes in marriage customs have been: (1) the preliminaries and the ceremony have been simplified, (2) marriage takes place at a much older age, (3) marriages between individuals of different villages are more common, (4) there is a shorter engagement period and its significance has declined, (5) the custom in which the bride temporarily returns to her home has disappeared or become rare, (6) the go-between, formerly a respected elder negotiating a marriage, is now a friend, generally the same age as the principals, offering help and advice, and (7) the arranged marriage has given way to freer choice in marriage in which the parents' consent has become largely a formality.

581 582 [586] [562] [177] Judging by the statements of residents of all villages, many of whom were married under the old arrangement, there is almost universal approval of free choice in marriage. Divorces were said to have been common under the old system, mainly because of the wife's barrenness or unattractiveness. The chances that the marriage will be a happy one are thought to be greater under the new. Among women, it harmonises with ideas of equality which they have heard of or read about in Japanese magazines since the occupation.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

tion between couples is not seen in public. Men and women are teased by the community if they are seen standing and talking together. One or several boys teasing a girl would be the boldest advance seen in public. Although, even at night, we never observed couples pairing off in or near the village, we were told that a boy and a girl would arrange private meetings. It is our impression that there is more self-consciousness about love-making than there used to be. 584 178

Although there is little occasion for intimacy between a couple during times when other villagers are around, young men and women associate frequently in larger groups during the week in community-wide activities of the Young People's Association. During the many hours which are spent in club meetings, work projects, and other social activities, there is a comraderie between young men and women which effectively neutralizes the formal social distance that is maintained in the traditionally separate seating arrangements. There is, nevertheless, a certain embarrassment and almost clumsy behavior of young men toward the better poised and adroit girls, at least in the presence of strangers like ourselves. 584 575

Young men may seek intimacies with girls of other villages, but in doing so they risk the ire of the young men there. It is also possible that a Taira girl agrees to an intimate relationship with someone in another village where she may feel safer from detection. Young men are more likely to seek a girl with whom an arrangement for a meeting away from her home can be made. The girl, of course, suffers public disapproval if the couple is detected, while a man is not subject to the same criticism. In contrast to girls, men have many more opportunities for sexual relationships without public censure. 584 836 562

Sexual attraction does not seem decisive in selecting a mate for marriage, although beauty is appreciated in a woman with long, black hair, a dark arched eyebrow, fair skin, a prominent nose, small mouth, and large eyes. Younger people are beginning to adopt some of the American standards of beauty, which are introduced through movies and magazines via Japan. Although the concept of romantic love is gaining in popularity, arranged marriages still outnumber love marriages in Taira. Even if a young man and woman reach an agreement about marriage, there follows a formal arrangement by their parents with the help of go-betweens, a trusted neighbor or a friendly couple, or a person who commands status and respect. If a man or his family are interested in arranging a marriage with a girl, the go-between notifies her family. Eventually word will reach the girl. If the suitor has not previously indicated his interest to the girl, she may voice her feelings and wishes to her mother, father, or to some other relative. If 581 584 826 177 831 584

831 keep others from noticing sex activities. Keeping sex a private matter
833 does not mean that there is a feeling of shame or guilt. It is considered a natural function, and although they do not discuss marital relations, men feel free to mention sex and its pleasurable aspects. Such conversations seem to cause some embarrassment among the younger women but are thought entertaining by older ones.

To men, sex, like food and drink, is to be enjoyed and indulged in. Women, too, enjoy sex but are more reticent and give much less overt expression to their desires. There are stories about women who are sexually aggressive, but they are either characters in the folklore or women of a neighboring village who are said to be this way "because they don't work hard enough." Men enjoy sex activity until an advanced age. One man over 60 whose wife had long been dead twice took a young woman as second wife; in both cases the women left him after a short period, but dissatisfaction with his sexual capacity was supposedly not the cause. Several children in Taira were fathered by
[278] men who had passed their sixtieth birthday. People believe that potency depends on physical well-being and age, but that it can be
[262] produced by a special drink consisting of sake in which a poisonous
[273] snake, the *habu*, is steeped. As soon as one finishes drinking this brew, its effects should be felt. Sake, meat, and eggs are also thought to increase potency.

833 Women's breasts are considered sexually stimulating. Men like to caress the breasts and the skin in general. Kissing occurs during foreplay only among some younger couples; older people do not care for it. In a room or house, shared with others, few couples undress fully for intercourse. Moving the baby to one side of the mat or mattress, a husband joins his wife.

834 There are no pre- or postparturition taboos; relations continue
[843] throughout pregnancy and are resumed about a week after childbirth,
[846] when the wife has taken her first bath. Men tend to disregard the public health nurse's urging that women be given a little longer rest.

837 That extra marital affairs do occur is evidenced by the presence of
848 illegitimate children. But the mothers are likely to be widows or girls
732 who for one reason or another did not get married at the usual age. Deformity may be a reason for not finding a husband. Two children
[835] in Taira were claimed to be the issue of an incestuous relationship
[581] between a man and his widowed daughter. Although the children were conceived and born outside the village, people became suspicious after the family returned to Taira. Because the putative father failed to deny paternity strongly, villagers felt certain that their suspicions

In addition to meeting with physical and emotional needs, the child must be protected from the nurtured by the numerous supernatural forces in the form of malevolent and benevolent spirits which operate to influence the course of an individual's life. There are lucky and unlucky days, years, and tides, which are believed to determine the fate of a person. Females born in the year of the monkey are considered unlucky, for they are thought to outlive their male contemporaries. Men dislike marrying them. Supplications are made and precautionary measures taken by adults to secure the newborn's life, happiness, and health. 776 777 854 [581]

Ancestral spirits influence the development and fate of the child. Occasionally a child who is the victim of ill health during his early years is adopted by a couple whose ancestral spirits are thought to be more favorable than his own on the dictate of the fortune teller. By mysterious calculations involving birth dates of the principals, the fortune teller uncovers some incompatibility and advises adoption. The child remains with his parents but worships the ancestral spirits of his adoptive parents. In this way parents seek to ensure the well-being of the child. 597 769 755

Mother interview data indicate the awareness of Taira people of the variations in personality among children of one family. Adults do in a large measure adapt their actions in accord with these differences. They recognize hereditary influences, but although a mother may comment on the similarity of temperament with regard to her child and other members in the family or kin group, there are no ideas or beliefs that the souls of deceased are inherited. Usually the mother, in describing the characteristics of the child, rarely goes beyond likenesses which can be attributed to herself or her husband. She is at a loss to explain the "very different child." "My eldest son has my nasty temper whereas my second daughter is not like either of us, very strange. All the others have a little of myself and my husband in them. We often wonder how it is that she is so unlike either of us." 155 828 858 [124]

A child born with two cowlicks predicates a "problem" to his parents. Parents often explain, "Oh, this child is very naughty, for as you can see, he has two cowlicks." Children often search each other's heads, and on discovering two instead of the single whorl, they shout in glee, "Naughty, naughty." One 4-year-old cuddled and hugged his newborn sister after searching her head. "You have two cowlicks just like me! You and I are 'naughty,'" he whispered to her. Turning to the adults in the room, he snapped his small bright eyes and grinned impishly as he reported his discovery joyfully. [826]

Twin births are disliked only because they place a burden on the 845

593 are less important than older sons. The security of the individual depends
602 upon his closeness to this axis. Yet most can attain security. Younger sons grow up to establish families of their own. Daughters grow up to marry and become the means whereby other men establish families. If a man has no son he readily adopts one from among his brothers' or cousins' sons and so the continuity is maintained.

593 This structure is in sharp contrast to that of present-day American
171 society. In American society the individual, not the family, is felt to be the basic unit. The basic axis is horizontal, the husband-wife axis. The values are on affection between the married couple, responsibility toward minor children, and impartiality toward them. The responsibility of parents ends when the children grow up. There is little continuity. The individual can expect equal treatment but cannot expect lasting security within the family. He finds his family ties cut once when he grows up, once again when his children grow up. The only permanent tie is with husband or wife and hence the only permanent security within the family is through marital bond. Hence in American society there is an increasing emphasis on romantic love and an increasing tendency to look for security through it.

The relationship of husband and wife in Okinawan society is quite different from that in American society with its comradeship and equality. In
593 Okinawan society the traditional marriage is arranged by the family. Its pri-
• 581 mary function is to provide for the continuity of the family units and if pos-
[584] sible to produce more units like it. The satisfaction of individual needs is only a secondary function. At marriage a woman enters the family of her husband, where she hopes to produce an heir for him and more besides. Her position is subordinate; she must be submissive to him and to his parents. She expects to work hard. Her husband also expects to work hard, for he is obligated to provide his descendants and his ancestors with their needs, but if he also has the means to seek pleasure outside the home he is not only free to do so, but is expected to do so.

593 As one might expect, the relationship between parents and children is
855 very close. Okinawan parents live more intimately with their children than do American parents; they carry them around, sleep with them, and fondle them
[171] a great deal. And from the American point of view they spoil them. At the same time they seem to regard children as not quite human, and treat them at times with what to an American seems like heartless cruelty. Also they differentiate clearly on the basis of future importance to the family and the maintenance of its continuity; the first son, who will inherit his father's status, is given more consideration than younger sons; daughters, who will eventually leave the family entirely, are given less consideration---and more chores, to prepare them for future status as daughters-in-law---than are sons. Children are expected to respect their parents and to care for them when they are old. Parents are expected to love their children and care for them when
[171] they are young. The responsibility of a parent toward a minor child is not as great as in the United States; for example, in an emergency a parent may sell a child (this may be in conflict with the present law but it is not in
593 conflict with the mores of impoverished Okinawan farmers). Buth this responsibility does not end with the child's attaining majority. In the case

The activities at the moo-ashibii and the yagamayaa undoubtedly led 893
in many cases to secret sexual relations. Probably most young men in the 836
country first experienced sex as a result of intrigues developing through these activities. Young women differed more in their experience. Daughters of the gentry may have had little or none. Some girls who did go to the moo-ashibii, it is said, went merely to hear the singing. Those who behaved promiscuously were talked about and the reputation they gained lasted. Yet it seems unlikely that chastity was valued very highly or that virginity was expected at marriage. One young woman had heard in Japan how husbands sometimes divorced their wives upon finding after marriage that they were not virgins. She had never heard of this having been done on Okinawa and neither she nor her mother could even give an Okinawan equivalent of the Japanese word 'shojo', "virgin". [171]

Formerly among the gentry class in Naha and Shuri it was customary 833
for a father to take his son, or have a relative or friend take him, to a 565
jurimuyaa to let him have his first sexual experience. According to Yanagida, 178
until the last decades of the last century this was part of a young man's 548
coming-of-age celebration held at the beginning of his 13th (15th?) year; the juri who functioned in this capacity were called niisee-chuurasaa, "those who make youths into men".[1]

At the present time the rural moo-ashibii and yagamayaa are probably 178
less important institutions than they formerly were, but they undoubtedly do 833
still exist. At present there are more occasions when young people of the opposite sex can meet and feel that it is proper to do so. In the pre-war counterparts of the Youth Organization and in the schools the sexes were separate. Now they mingle more freely. The need to meet in groups in a half-clandestine manner is not so great. Now as before real intrigues are conducted in secret, but something approaching an open courtship is now possible. [584]

Marriage: Preliminaries Until recently marriages were nearly always ar- 584
ranged by the family for the good of the family. 178
The object in arranging a match was to acquire a daughter-in-law to produce [581]
heirs for and to keep house for the son. The couple themselves were consulted and one of them could refuse the match if it were really disagreeable, but more often they agreed to it. At present young people often choose for themselves, but even so they may abandon a desired marriage if it is strongly opposed by one or more of the parents.

In the past moo-ashibii may have led to marriage in some cases but more often it did not, even when liaisons resulted in children. At present young unmarried men and women associate more freely in public, and mutual attraction may lead to a relationship more like the Western courtship leading to marriage. This had been especially true since the war.

Formal Ceremonies As in many societies there are more formal and 584
less formal ways of marrying. The preliminaries to the older family-arranged marriage usually begin with a proposal by the young man's family. If the

[1] Yanagida, 1951, p. 309.

[Koohinda-son]

Table IX, cont'd.

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	Prewar	Postwar
Average Time in Months Between First and Second Births	38.8	27.5
Average Time in Months Between Second and Third Births	35.7	27.7
Total Average Months Between All Births	35.7	27.6

It is seen that the postwar Okinawan mother apparently has her first child more than half a year earlier than did the prewar mother. Furthermore, the average spacing between births appears to be about eight to eleven months less in the postwar period. Explanations for this apparent difference---which might prove to be less if a larger sample were available---include delays caused by prewar military service, and the possibility that stillbirths were more frequent and infant mortality higher in the prewar period.

The invasion and the subsequent period of internment and resettlement caused a temporary lengthening in the spacing of births. Data for the 98 households in the same villages used above, wherein were found complete prewar-postwar continuous birth records, indicated an average of 55 months between the birth of the last baby before the invasion, and the first one born thereafter. In addition, it should be noted that the average age of postwar fathers at first birth above is 27.1 years, but the average age of fathers whose date of postwar marriage is recorded at first birth below is 25.0 years. This situation means only that in many cases the mothers of postwar families were second wives. In most of these instances the first wife had died during the war.

Postwar Marriage: Attitudes Dr. John F. Embree, in his monumental work Suye Mura, thus describes the rural Japanese attitude toward marriage: "The birth of a child is a much more certain sign of a permanent marriage than is a wedding ceremony. Indeed, a marriage is often not put in the village office records until after a child is on its way."[1] The Okinawan attitude is much the same. 581 171

In analyzing the 177 postwar recorded marriages that resulted in children, 29 marriages, or only 16% of the total, were found to have been recorded in the 'koseki' more than nine months before the birth of the first child. Marriages were recorded after the birth of the first child in 71 cases, representing 40% of the total. 582

Marriages Recorded Before Conception In the first category, the husband was younger in six of the 29 cases. In no case had the husband had

[1] John F. Embree, Suye Mura: A Japanese Village, U. of Chicago Press, 1939, p. 182.

stoppage of emigration, and public health measures. While the following statistics are worthless from a demographic point of view, they may nevertheless indicate the village trends. 161

Matsuda Village, 1951 163 165

	Births	Deaths
Total	46	11
Male	26	5
Female	20	6

In Oushichan township, where individual village totals were not available, the statistics show a similar trend:

Oushichan Township, 1951

	Births	Deaths
Total	263	52
Male	140	26
Female	123	26

3

What Happened with Repatriation

In the peace time emigration before the war, the intention to return was almost universal. Typically a first son, as the future responsible person for his parents, emigrated as a young man, before marriage, with the intention of accumulating savings and supporting his parents during his absence, later returning to marry if he had not acquired a wife abroad. People in the villages now say that the desire to return has declined sharply with the economic hardships and the threat of renewed warfare, and that Okinawans in foreign countries will probably remain there for the rest of their lives. Okinawans living abroad, according to family registers in the villages, are now mostly in Peru, Brazil, Argentina, and Hawaii. 167 [593] [454] [582]

The effects of repatriation on the township level can be seen from the following statistics for Oushichan township. Comparable statistics were not available in Ginoza-son. 161 728

Pre-war population, 1940	6445
Deaths resulting from the war	1700
Repatriates	1030
Population, December 31, 1951	6267

Despite the fact that deaths resulting from the war must have been between 20% and 25% of the total population of the township, repatriates [727]

602 of contemporary relationships. The family system does not mean only family life, or a set of obligations, or a family. It is all of these, and, in addition, a historical continuity. It is an institution in which the past is constantly intruding on the present and in which the present is a combination of acts to secure one's own livelihood and well-being as well as to perpetuate the family in the future. A simple illustration will make this clear. One of the obligations of living [769] members of a family is to observe the death anniversaries of close relatives. The last, the most important, and the most sumptuous of these observances occurs on the 33d year after the death of the relative who is mourned. Thus a grandson, most likely the first son of a first son, may end this period of memorial observances for a grandfather whom he may never have seen. There is a constant intrusion of obligations coming from the past. These, often onerous and expensive, are honored in a positive manner.

In the present, conscious plans are made for the continuance of the family. These are achieved through three closely inter-related devices: [591] the succession of the first son to his father's house and, on his marriage, taking up residence at the father's home, the system of inheritance which [428] favors the first son, and the establishment of branch households for other sons, awarding them, if the family's wealth permits, a house site and field for cultivation.

In this way, the continuance of the main line and collateral branches of the family is provided for. If we pursue the illustration of inheritance a little further, we can think of the division of the land as an [428] expression of the family system applied to the use and to the sharing of the available natural resources. The system of agriculture, the scat- [311] tered ownership of small holdings, the attempts at land conservation and reclamation are best understood as reflections of duties and obligations to the present and future generations in the family system. If they are not seen in this way, they may appear to be isolated practices best discussed as techniques or as aspects of law and custom.

Not only in family observances but in public holidays as well, the [527] subtle influences of the family system can be observed. Public holidays and festivals are centered on two main themes, sometimes both together: [569] thanksgiving for good crops and reverence for those who have passed away. The holiday of O-Bon in the seventh lunar month, in which the departed dead are invited to return for a visit to the homes of their living descendants and the celebrations at lunar New Year are good examples of this.

[582] In village life, the family system is strengthened by the high incidence of intermarriage among local kinship groups. A general lack 621 of mobility in the villages studied has also led to the increase of immediate relatives living in the same village. This leads to community, and even to local government some of the characteristics of a wider family life. The establishment of branch families in the village of their parent

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Mother of head, age 48
Grandfather of head, age 65
Younger brother, age 25
Younger brother, age 16
Younger sister, age 9
Younger sister, age 11
Younger brother's wife, age 25
Two nieces, ages 4 and 2, daughters of the eldest younger brother and his wife.

These examples, of which many more could be given, illustrate several points regarding the family system. It is not uncommon to have as many as four generations in a family unit, the present head, his parent, the children, and the grandchildren of the head. There are four generations in illustration #3. The combination of a first son and his wife, with his parents, his younger brothers and sisters, and the head's own children, a common composition, illustrates the responsibilities of the first son both to his parents and to his siblings. Responsibility for illegitimate children is with the family of the girl. Occasionally a husband will accept an illegitimate child born to his wife either before or during the marriage, but it is more usual for the illegitimate child to be reared in the household from which the mother came. In the second illustration, one illegitimate daughter lives with her grandparents and the mother is not in the household. The third illustration shows an unusual situation in which the young head and his wife have their children, his mother, his grandfather, minor younger sisters and brothers, and, in addition, a married younger brother and his wife and their two children. Ordinarily these would have established a branch family and not have been part of the older brother's household. [848]

At present, the commonest family compositions are (1) the biological family, (2) the family with a young eldest son as the head with the widowed mother and other minor brothers and sisters, a type of composition which has increased as a result of the war, (3) uncles, aunts, cousins, and occasionally unrelated persons may live in the house, (4) often grandparents are found with their grandchildren, (5) widows with minor children are also common, an incidence increased by war.

The percentage of widows in Minatogawa, in addition to the casualties of war, is due to the loss of fishermen at sea, a not uncommon tragedy as the typhoon season coincides with the best fishing seasons. Since widows with children seldom remarry, the family composition remains the same until the first son assumes the leadership of the family and the mother resides with him. [162] [165] [581]

Each of the families making up the extended family is either a main or a branch family. This arrangement is repeated in the individual families as well. If we take as an example a family with both parents, a first son, a second son, and a first daughter, we may expect as a normal development that the eldest son will marry between 24 and 27 and live with his wife at the home of his parents, that the father will 596 [582] [591]

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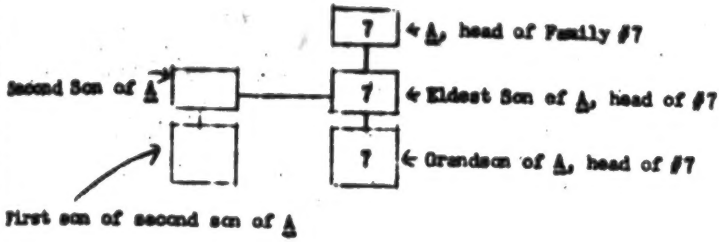
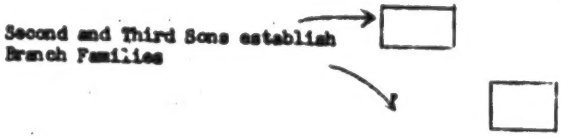
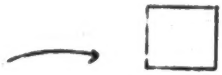




Daughters marry and go to Husband's Father's House or to Branch Families established by their husbands.  [591]

The family system, through the succession of the first son to his father's house, prevents the extinction of the main family line, and at the same time creates branch families with close ties with the parent family. [611]

Lacking a son, adoption (to be discussed below) is available to provide against extinction of any family, but in Okinawan villages it has seldom been necessary to use it. [597]

The emphasis in the family system is on providing for the eldest son who succeeds to the father's estate. The sons other than the first must be prepared to accept little or nothing, in the case of the very poor, when they marry and separate themselves from the parental house. [428]

In these Okinawan villages, the second and succeeding sons (or younger brothers if the head of the house is the eldest brother) remain in the family until marriage, usually around 25. They do not live in separate houses, but may have separate rooms, or a small shack in the compound for sleeping purposes. Unless they live in another town or work 593 [582] [513]

593 in a military installation which keeps them away from their homes, they remain there, helping in the fields, or go out on the fishing boats, as
[582] the case may be. If a son other than the first remains in the family after the age of marriage, it is generally for some physical or mental disability. Under the normal operation of the family system, there is
591 no time in a person's life in which he is not part of some family unit and living in the same house with his parents, an elder brother, or with a wife and his children, or with his grandchildren.

727 The war enforced many exceptions to this normal life cycle, as the
593 discussion of the previous table brought out: conscription and military service, deaths in battle or as a consequence of the campaign, widowhood and the orphaning of children. In the villages studied, the post-war situation was not disrupting family life further by the movement of younger unattached men to Naha or the larger towns, or by their separation from daily life while doing work for military camps. At least it was not sufficiently frequent to result in a deterioration of normal family life.
591 In these villages branch families were established for the most part in the village of the parent family. There are two reasons for this: first, the desire to remain near the parents and siblings, and second,
[423] that the property which the father, or elder brother, has at his disposal is normally real property and land holdings in the village. Cash, which an
[435] agricultural or fishing family might have at its disposal, would usually be insufficient at present prices for a second or succeeding son to be given money to purchase land and a house site elsewhere. Occasionally a
[425] father sells land in the village to provide his son with money to purchase a house site and fields elsewhere, but this is not usual.

The mechanics of establishing a branch household may be illustrated from practices observed in each of the villages, though the procedure is essentially the same.

Hanashiro is a settlement in the center of a cultivated area of dry
[361] field farming and rice paddies. The cultivated area begins on the outer rim of the village. The father, or the elder brother, gives a field (hatake in Japanese) to the son, or younger brother, if it is suitable for a house site. If the land owned is too far away--there are no
[425] isolated homesteads--an effort is made to exchange with a neighbor, friend or relative, the far off property for a parcel closer in. If this is not possible, the remote piece is sold and the proceeds used to purchase a suitable plot in the residential area. If the family is too poor to
[426] give money or land, an attempt may be made to borrow the money for purchase. If none of these arrangements is possible, the son may simply start out on his own, or less commonly, may live with his wife in the home of his parents, or delay his marriage. But it is uncommon for a second or succeeding son and his wife and children to live in the house of the parents or of the elder brother.

311 In this way, the residential area gradually replaces the cultivated
591 areas which surround it. One consequence of the establishment of branch families in agricultural villages is that it gradually decreases the

In Japan, as well as in Okinawa, the system has been maintained without the ultra-conservative duties and regulations and the severe subordination of women associated with Confucianism in its political and social aspects. This is true at least for late nineteenth and-twentieth century Okinawa, though some Confucian survivals no doubt persist. 602 171

But the family system is also an admirably flexible institution. It need not depend for its survival on a Confucian ethic, the subordination of women, or on the arranged marriage. It does require a continuing reverence for the dead and care to insure the existence of generations to come. There is room for free choice in marriage within the general framework of the family system. There is in the family system a sense of belonging from early infancy to death, a sense of identity with the past as well as sharing in the future, an emotional security, free participation of the old in village life, mutual reinforcements coming from the performances of these obligations. These are striking characteristics of Okinawan village life. It is true that the family system in Japan has been unable to avoid many deep lying insecurities and conflicts. But in Japan there have been in recent times strong competitive situations along with the harnessing of the nation's energies to war. In Okinawa, these conditions have been lacking, at least in an intense form, until the Okinawans were in the midst of the fierce fighting of the war. The sense of security and of belonging is unmistakable in the great majority of villagers, and while this does not mean there is no dissension or that everything is serene, it does mean that the system as it has developed here has permitted a certain personal flexibility and freedom within the system. The culture also has not encouraged strong individual competition. [769] [582] [156]

The family system, with its obligations and duties, both in the individual and the extended families, is the key to an understanding, not only of the non-material, but much of the material culture as well. The social organization as it has developed within the family system has strong influences through inheritance on land tenure and land use, and on agriculture and other occupations, in addition to its influences on daily family living, religious observances, public recreation and holidays. These will be explored in the chapters to come. 602 182

584 place, as it requires the participation of the principals and their families. Young country people are likely to hesitate before going against their parents' wishes, dispensing with a ceremony and the celebration which follows, and eloping to Naha or to some larger town.

In practice, events seldom reach this stage of differences in opinion. Some one will give way. An actual happening illustrates this point. A young man, a third son, about 20 years old, fell in love with a girl, aged 23, a bus driver's assistant. The boy wished to marry her, even though by present day standards he was young for marriage.[1] His parents objected to the match, not because of antipathy to the girl whom they liked, but because she was three years older than the boy. This is an interesting objection because formerly many wives were older than their husbands, [582] although too great an age differential was considered a trifle ludicrous. Apparently in the older arranged marriage, parents intentionally selected a bride older than the husband. In the family registers, among the very old, the wife is often older than the husband. At present the girl is either younger or about the same age.

The boy acceded to his parents' wishes and did not marry the girl but kept on seeing her. Later the girl became pregnant. His [848] parents discussed the matter among members of the extended family resident in the village, and, in much distress, consented to the marriage. Once the marriage was decided upon, there was no objection to the two living together.

836 Some premarital living together is found in Okinawa. The boy works on his own parents' fields and helps the girl's parents. The [583] girl reciprocates by helping at the boy's parents' home. During this time, the boy lives at home but spends the night with the girl at her home.

582 Young men normally do not get married until their 24th or 25th year, though there are cases of earlier marriages. Girls are in their early twenties. Earlier marriages may be an indication that a child is on the way. This relatively late age for marriage is not old in the culture. In older times, young people were married in their 13th [117] and 14th year. This practice gradually changed under Japanese rule.[2]

1 The Japanese word for love is ai-suru, but new one frequently hears the Japanese word rabu borrowed from the English love.

2 Writing in 1910 from personal observation, Simon said that with the "Japanisation" of the islands and the increased difficulty and expense in making a living, the time for marriage was postponed and that a marriage at 15 years was now an exception. Beitrage zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, 88 and 90. Schwartz, In Togo's country, 1908, writing of conditions around the turn of the century, says that marriages are contracted between the 14th and 17th year, p. 150.

Husband and wife usually are from the same village, but there are many exceptions. Marriages of persons from different villages have increased in the past decade. This probably should be ascribed to the greater mobility of the people and to the acceptance of free choice in marriage. It is common, for example, for a Hatsuda boy to marry a Ginoza village girl. It is also common for a boy in Minatogawa to marry a girl from the nearby agricultural villages of Hanashiro, Asato, or Gushichan. This apparently is a distinct change from earlier practices. 582 621

If the family registers are accurate, the great majority of the men living in a village were born there; it is the wives who are more likely to be the newcomers. In the social structure of village life, it is the men who provide the continuity; the women are more likely to be strangers. The husband may point to his father and grandfather who live or have lived in the village; fewer wives can do the same. 591

2

The Marriage Ceremony

In my experience, no two marriage ceremonies in Okinawa are alike. Marriages take place at any time of the year, but in all three villages, they were more commonly held in the late fall or in winter. The reasons given are that the heavy clothing and elaborate headdress of the bride are not suited to the hot and humid summer and that these can be more comfortably worn in the cool winter months. The marriage feast with its fish cakes, meats, vegetables, and a variety of other perishable foods can be more easily prepared and kept in winter. In the agricultural villages, the ceremony usually takes place after the day's work; in the winter the reception may start by 5 and the main ceremonies are over by 8 in the evening. 585 [262]

Description of a ceremony at Hatsuda. The party began about 5 in the afternoon. Because of the large number of guests, the primary school was used for the ceremony. At the head of the first room, the grandfather and grandmother of the groom, the groom, his father, and the go-between were seated. Other relatives of the groom found places around the sides. Later the father of the bride, who arrived shortly before his daughter, joined this group. The go-between, a young man of 24, was a friend of the couple, and his wife was a member of the groom's family. 585 576

In the other rooms, opening into one another, about 300 guests, mostly men, were assembled. During the reception and before the beginning of the ceremony, guests representing their families entered the first room to congratulate the father, the groom, and the grandparents. In this period of congratulation involving the father, the groom, and the guest, there was an exchange of sips of sake from a common cup. As in other instances of congratulation, some speeches were long, some short, some well prepared, others extemporaneous. [530]

585 the day of the wedding ceremony, preparations are made at the
184 bride's home. Food is served for relatives and friends, and the party then proceeds to the groom's home for the ceremony.

[431] Gifts from the groom's family depend upon economic circumstances, but usually range from Y50 to Y100 up to Y1000. In Hanashiro, something, no matter how small, is always given by the groom's family to the bride's family. Since the war, gifts of chests of drawers and blankets are less common because of high prices.

On the third day, in this Hanashiro custom, the bride and the groom with relatives and friends visit the bride's parents during the day. On the same evening, the visit is returned by the bride's family.

585 There is a general agreement in all the villages that as a con-
178 sequence of the war, the preliminaries to marriage, the ceremony, the gifts, and the events following the ceremony have become simpler.
727 Part of this is due to the high cost of food and entertainment. In the competition with other ceremonies and celebrations, the tendency
435 has been, in the interest of economy, to simplify the old customs, or when this is not possible, to combine celebrations coming close together in the year. One frequently hears the word keisai (economy) used in this connection.

3

Contemporary Attitudes Toward Marriage

58 Marriage customs today are different from those of even 20 years
178 ago. From information collected from the villages, the chief changes in marriage customs have been: (1) the preliminaries and the ceremony have been simplified, (2) marriage takes place at a much older age, (3) marriages between individuals of different villages are more common, (4) there is a shorter engagement period and its significance has declined, (5) the custom in which the bride temporarily returns to her home has disappeared or become rare, (6) the go-between, formerly a respected elder negotiating a marriage, is now a friend, generally the same age as the principals, offering help and advice, and (7) the arranged marriage has given way to freer choice in marriage in which the parents' consent has become largely a formality.

581 Judging by the statements of residents of all villages, many of
582 whom were married under the old arrangement, there is almost universal approval of free choice in marriage. Divorces were said to have been
[586] common under the old system, mainly because of the wife's barrenness or unattractiveness. The chances that the marriage will be a happy one are
[562] thought to be greater under the new. Among women, it harmonizes with
[177] ideas of equality which they have heard of or read about in Japanese magazines since the occupation.

Free choice in marriage does not mean that the family system will disintegrate because parents have lost control in selecting mates for their children. The family system is much more likely to break down if the head of a house must assume greater responsibility for the support of relatives, or if the young leave their homes and are scattered in the towns. 582 602

Trial marriage is said to be uncommon in Okinawa, but there does not seem to be any disapproval when it appears. Perhaps trial marriage is an inappropriate word, and living together prior to an intended marriage is a better term. In one case, a young man lived with his intended wife; sometimes he brought her to his parents' home. As his duties required some travelling, the girl often went with him. In Hanashiro, this custom is not practiced. When young people live together before marriage, with the parents' consent, they help one another's families with the daily chores. 583

Some married men have relations with other women, usually widows or unmarried girls, and have children by them. This is not rare, but it is by no means considered correct behavior. In one village, the first son with his wife and children live, as is customary, with his parents, but he continues to have relations with two unmarried women by whom he has had children. All three women live in the same village, know the situation, and manage to avoid one another fairly well. Naturally the wife is much disturbed by the arrangement. The man, now about 33, has 11 children by the three women. The children of the second and third women are classified in the family registers in the mother's family as illegitimate (shiseiji). This is an extreme case. 837 [848]

In another community, there was an instance of the effects of war and repatriation on a marriage. Before the war this man and his wife had emigrated to Saipan. She was afraid of the bombing and decided to return to her parents' home in rural Japan, to which her husband consented. He remained in Saipan and later lived with and married the girl who was his personal servant. They returned to Okinawa; he had a child by her and is now living with her. The new family register, made up after the war, does not show the old marriage. His first wife, whom he still admires, has written him, but he has not replied. While he expressed no regrets about the loss of the first wife, he talked about the second as if she were still a servant.

In the villages, the cases of a married man living with another woman, without any formal estrangement from the real wife, are in my opinion not uncommon--with the exception of Hanashiro. As one lives in a village and gradually hears confidences, departures from strict fidelity seem more frequent than appear on the surface. There is general agreement too that illegitimacy has increased since the 848

bers may be recruited and present members expelled. In others, which are closed, membership is automatic and inevitable, depending in no way on the behavior of the individuals involved. We are here concerned with these latter groups whose membership is determined by sex, age, kinship, and rules of residence. Whether an American male lives in Connecticut or California, in the city or the suburbs, is to a large degree a matter of his personal preference. This is not the case for everybody in Taira, although there are people who at any time may leave the village to seek their fortune. 571

There are two types of households in Taira: those of oldest sons, who live in the house of their parents, and those of younger sons, who establish a nuclear household of their own, which may be near the house of their father. Many young sons, however, leave the central village and settle in its outlying districts or move to the southern part of the island. Whereas formerly many younger sons moved to Japan or to one of its prewar South Pacific mandates, or to Hawaii and South America, since the end of World War II employment opportunities around U.S. Army installations absorb many such migrants. The oldest son is required to live in his parents' house and eventually take over the duties of a household head. Unmarried younger sons remain in the household until they marry or leave the parental home for work elsewhere. 596 594 [166] [167]

For a woman it is customary to move to her husband's home if he is an older son or into a house in his village if he is a younger son. In the old days this usually involved simply a move in the village, since the preference was to marry a woman from the same community. Nowadays there is no clear-cut preference; a woman from central Taira may become the bride of a man from that part of the village, from one of the outlying parts of Taira, or from another village, usually to the north. Of a sample of 55 marriages, 26 of the wives were from Taira, 29 from other villages, five of which were immediately adjacent. 591 582

The composition of the household, therefore, changes for the individual during his lifetime, and it is not the same for all persons in the village. Several children not only have their parents and at least one paternal grandparent but also paternal aunts or uncles who live under the same roof. If the father is a younger son, only one's parents and siblings are household members. Since houses are small and space is very limited, all these members of the household live in close face-to-face relationship. Women tend to outlive men, so that there are many more old women living with their married sons than old men. This is why children have a grandmother more often in the home than a grandfather (see Table 1). 592 593 [165]

the decades, as the branches grow into unilineal descent lines of their own, new "main" houses are formed. 613

Originally descriptive names were given to each household. These names indicated a "stem" family or one of its branches. The "Big East House," a reference to the lineage as well as to the homestead itself, probably split into several branches. These, the homes of younger sons, were known as "Little East House," or by a further derivative, "Behind Little East House." Sometimes the rank order of a younger son was used to name his house, such as "Second East House." This house order system is no longer in existence in Taira, but a few of the names are still in use to indicate houses, and individuals are frequently referred to as "the person of such and such a house," for instance, "the grandmother of the East House." *

Although every individual is aware of his membership in a "main house," these descent groups have little importance except in religious life and death ceremonies. Members of the same "main house" revere common male ancestors and share in the upkeep of a common tomb in which their remains are placed at death. Funerals and the veneration of deceased members of the "main house" bring the kin group together several times a year. Women, although entombed with their husbands, visit the "main house" of their father to pray before his ancestors' tablets and make offerings. If they were born in Taira, they may first take offerings of rice and sake to the shrine of their husband's paternal ancestors; then later in the day they prepare for a ceremony in their own "main house." 613 769

The descent group also functions in other religious contexts. The oldest woman of the main house acts as priestess for the lineage, and she or another older female may visit the sick and assist their relatives with prayers and practical help. Descent group affiliation does not affect such daily concerns as lending help to others in economic tasks, though some of the descendants of early Taira settlers seem to feel more obligation in this respect than members of the more recently arrived lineages. Lineage affiliation does not determine the choice of a marriage partner. However, although members of the same "main house" or lineage may marry each other provided they are not first cousins, such unions are rare. Marriage with maternal first cousins is also forbidden. 613 [794] [476] [582]

An individual also holds membership in other kin groups which have only a loose structure and few functions. These are the relatives 602 [476]

* Individual surnames among commoners are of recent date, introduced after the Japanese assumed administrative control and required their adoption to establish a population registry. Family names had been in use among the Shuri gentry. 551 177 217

603 601 term. As the child gets older, the familiar suffixless form of address is used less and less frequently, though girls seem to retain it longer than boys.

601 156 576 The strength of one's ties to the community as a whole regardless of actual kinship is seen not only in the use of the term "grandmother" and "grandfather" in addressing all members of this generation but also in the similar use of the terms "uncle" and "aunt" for all members of the parental generation. Those who are not known well or who have high status are addressed by the appropriate kinship term with the suffix -san added.*

554 576 Achieved status is recognized by special terms of address. The teacher, school principal, the doctor, the village headman or mayor are addressed by their titles. Taira people combine familiarity with formality by calling a young teacher from the same or neighboring community by the first name, then adding the title "teacher." †

621 156 571 In summary, although affiliation with a patrilineal descent group and kinship ties with kindred influence certain aspects of life, over and above these ties is the identification with the community, which is drawn together by bonds of economic and social interdependence. Individual leaders serve their term of responsibility and then return to [157] the egalitarian community life, which is comparatively free of competitive strife.

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Chapter 7

Courtship, Marriage, and Sex

● 582 Most marriages in Taira take place when both men and women are in their early or middle twenties (see Table 2). It is perhaps most note-

* This refers to the use of Japanese kinship terms which are prevalent in Taira—see Chapter 1, p. 370.

† The use of first names may also help to identify individuals since many persons have the same surname—this explanation, however, is not in contradiction with the statement concerning familiarity.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1983 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

worthy that so few women marry before they are twenty and that many marry in their middle and later twenties. For those whose formal education ends at the age of 15 there may, therefore, be an interval of five to ten years until matrimony.* 582

One might ask whether sibling position affects marriage age, either because first-born must marry first or because of the inheritance pattern, young sons seldom inheriting either a house or land. The record of 59 marriages in central Taira shows no clear pattern in this respect; oldest sons and daughters do not seem to marry earlier more frequently than those in lower ordinal positions. A more plausible explanation for late marriage is that young men tend to spend some time after school outside the community and, prior to the war, even outside the country. The rationale for a period abroad is in part economic, but "wanderlust" or curiosity undoubtedly contribute. Furthermore, there is no doubt that the period between the end of school and marriage is an extremely enjoyable one, for now work and duties are mixed with comradeship and amusements in contrast to the new duties and responsibilities one assumes with marriage and children. This is especially true for women. [428] 582 885

The most striking fact concerning Taira marriages is that among the total of 59 unions, 18 wives were older than their husbands. Marriage records from the other parts of Taira reveal the same age discrepancy. In comparison with Western countries, and what we know of most other societies, this discrepancy is unusual. Similar findings were suggested from studies in Japan. Here, however, the explanation seems to be that such marriages tend to occur between a first son and a woman who is older than he because a mature woman is desired to take over responsibilities as an oldest son's wife. In Taira only nine (one half) of the age reversals involve marriages of oldest sons. Since there are 29 first-born males included in the sample of 59, the proportion of age reversal marriages of oldest sons is no greater 582 593

* There were no dependable data to indicate whether the present trend toward a relatively late marriage represents a change from a previous pattern. Informants' statements suggest that marriages took place at an earlier age in past times, perhaps prior to the turn of the century. Other references to marriage in Okinawa would support this information. The *Civil Affairs Handbook, Ryukyu Islands*, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, 1944, states that: "The usual age of marriage as reported in 1925 was 18 or 19 for men, 17 or 18 for women. An analysis of the marriage statistics for 1934, however, indicates that the average age at marriage was about four years older. In 1937, the average was reported as 27 years for men and 24 for women" (page 64). The rapid increase in age between 1925 and 1937 suggested by this source can only be accepted with reservations. 582 178 [113]

582 [593] than one would expect, and we may conclude that the oldest son explanation does not hold for Taira.*

Table 2 Marriage Statistics for Central Taira

1. Age of men and women at first marriage
Total cases: 59
For the period: 1904–1953

AGE OF MARRIAGE	MEN	WOMEN
16	—	2
17	—	2
18	2	4
19	4	4
20	5	11
21	4	3
22	10	5
23	3	8
24	7	3
25	2	4
26	2	1
27	3	2
28	4	2
29	1	3
30	2	—
31	1	—
32	—	—
33	—	1
34	—	1
35	1	—
36	—	—
37	1	—
38	1	—
39	—	—
40	1	—
Not listed	5	3

584 178 In the old days, apparently, there were many gay and unrestrained courtships of men and women on the beach after dark. During our fieldwork we did not observe open courtship. The expression of affec-

* Unfortunately, we did not recognize the large number of these cases while in the field; hence we failed to ask informants for their explanations and rationalizations. The age reversal[1] tends to underscore the relatively high status of women vis-a-vis men and may be instrumental in perpetuating it. [562]

1 [i.e. where wives are older than their husbands – ANALYST]

cash income, earned by several adult members in joint work, or equal 585
to about one half of a teacher's monthly salary. The girl brings a dowry [583]
consisting of furniture, household utensils, and other things, so, as one
person said, the groom is repaid in one form or another. In former [582]
times the men had to pay a fine to the parents of the bride if she married out of the village (Suttles, personal communication; Tamura, 1927 translation:44).

Even under present conditions the wedding ceremony is colorful compared to most other private ceremonies. All guests attend in their [292]
best clothes and the bride wears a special kimono and a special wig hair dress. She is seated next to the groom, who wears Western-style clothes instead of the traditional silk kimono. The whole ceremony is presided over by the go-betweens. While preliminaries take place, the bride sits almost motionless. Her face expresses what Glacken describes as "undescribable gloom" (1955:218). This continues even through the climax of the event, the ceremonial exchange of wine which symbolizes the union of the participants. During this part of the ceremony the guests, who have been enjoying food and sake and talking amicably, give this moment a solemn meaning by their silence. [537]
Speeches by the go-between and other notables follow. The virtue of the bride and her family and of the groom are told and acknowledged by a thank-you address by the groom. Parents of the couple sit close to them but have no other function than to accept congratulations. The bride then goes around introducing herself to the guests.

Children are not present at this event. They line up outside the [852]
house and peek through openings to see the bride and watch the guests, who start dances as soon as good food and wine take effect. After the formal part of the wedding, the feast ends like any such event in the village—with great gaiety. The bride acts as hostess; she changes from her kimono and heavy hair dress into more suitable clothes and sees that the guests are well taken care of. The length of this feast depends, of course, on how much food and drink the family is able to provide. Finally, when all guests have left, the bride and groom
retire to the bedroom which has been reserved for them, sometimes [352]
furnished with one or two pieces, a chest of drawers or a Western-style closet supplied by the bride's family. The bride also provides the [513]
comforter for the marriage bed. Friends of the groom may play a prank and replace the normal-sized comforter with a small one, "so that the marriage is consumated quicker," as they say.

Sexual relations between husband and wife are not discussed in 833
public except in jocular references. In spite of the intimacy of house- 831
hold members in the confinement of a small house, one attempts to

105 A munchu was made up of a number
197 of households or families united through the male line, descended from a common
[619] ancestor, and sharing a common tomb. Village endogamy was an obligatory mar-
[582] riage practice and violations did not pass unpunished; in addition kin group
endogamy was a preferred practice, though not necessarily an obligatory one.
[628] Intervillage contacts and ties, consequently, were held to a minimum. These cus-
[178] toms were followed by the majority of the oldest generation now living, and
even today such practices tend to persist in rural areas. A survey in Kanegu-
[582] suku revealed that fifty percent of the marriages were between members of the
same kin group and sixty-six percent of the marriages were between residents of
[178] the same village. Such practices, to be sure, are breaking down, and this be-
comes evident when the above data are analyzed on an age basis, but in view of
the fact that these customs still prevail, though to a more limited extent than
formerly, it is not surprising that so considerable a diversity of dialects
should also be preserved.

197 Another facet of Okinawan dialect geography is the occurrence of small
621 speech-islands exhibiting dialects distinct from those of the surrounding areas.
184 These are the so called yaadui settlements founded during the 18th and 19th cen-
turies by migrants from the Naha-Shuri area; the newcomers were usually the
younger sons of gentry families seeking their livelihood in the country. Such
settlements not only enjoyed a political independence from the larger surround-
ing communities but also were never incorporated into the formal religious
system centering on the nuru priestess and unifying the rural areas. These
factors together with previously-mentioned marriage practices enabled such set-
tlements to preserve their identity. Kitazato in Kami Motobu-son serves as a
good example of this type of village, having been settled seven generations
ago by the younger sons of gentry families residing in Naha and Shuri. The
larger neighboring villages never absorbed Kitazato, and to this day it pre-
[194] serves a dialect quite distinct from theirs. The most notable contrast be-
tween them centers on the p and h sounds in the two dialects, for all p sounds
of nearby Gushiken are rendered h in Kitazato; thus, the word for "fire" is pi
in the dialect of the former and hi in the latter's.

197 Unacoubtedly this dialectic diversity is decreasing as the old customs
178 die out and the isolation of the village disappears. The war uprooted many
communities and scattered their inhabitants about the island, and nearly all
villages now have a number of families new to the village since the war. New
communities like the entertainment center of Koza have no characteristic dia-
lect of their own, containing as they do a heterogeneous population recruited
from all parts of the Ryukyus. The vast improvements in roads and transporta-
tion services since the end of the war have given the people a mobility un-
dreamed of in the prewar period and have done much to destroy the isolation of
the rural areas.

192 "Uchinaaguchi" Okinawans call their dialect uchinaaguchi and themselves
[101] uchinaanchu. The terms 'Okinawago', Japanese for Okinawan
language, and 'hōgen', Japanese for dialect, are also in common usage though
the latter term is resented by some who feel that it carries the connotation
"rustic". Today all Okinawan speech contains many loan words from Japanese;
this obtains for those who know no Japanese as well as for those who are bi-
lingual. Intimate contact with Japanese coupled with this word borrowing has

It will be seen that for males membership in the common descent group is reckoned strictly patrilineally and this membership is permanent. The status of women is less clear. A woman before marriage worships at the ancestral tablets and tomb of her father's family and lineage. If she dies she is buried in his tomb. After her marriage a woman worships at her husband's tomb, where she will be buried, and if he is an eldest son she knows she will ultimately have the responsibility of preparing the offerings put before his family's tablets; but at the same time she continues to worship at the u-machii before the tablets at the main house of her father's group. She may be called upon to contribute to the fund raised by her father's group for ceremonial expenses. And she may even function as a kaminchu for it. A woman's own tablet, when she dies, will be placed with that of her husband. If a woman is widowed or divorced and marries again, she will very likely be buried in the tomb of the family of her first son, regardless of which husband was his father, and her tablet will be put in his house. A woman without sons may feel uncertain of her future. 614 562

It must also be made explicit that the Okinawan common descent group, unlike most unilateral descent groups, is not exogamous. Even cousins related through the male line may marry and it is said that in some communities they do so frequently. I found one cousin marriage within the kin group in Yamada koseki; Lebra found several marriages within the munchu at Kanegusuku. Informants said it was common in some communities. 614 582

2. The Life Cycle

The Calendar Before a description of the life cycle of the individual can be given, a word must be said about the systems the Okinawans use for reckoning time. Two systems are in use, the "old calendar" (in Japanese 'kyūreki') and the "new calendar" ('shinreki'). The first is the same ancient Chinese calendar that is used throughout East Asia; the second is the Western calendar. 805 197

The "old calendar" is essentially a lunar calendar but combined with the twelve lunar months is a system of twenty-four solar periods and a system of naming days and years by the "Ten Stems and Twelve Branches".[1] The lunar year consists of twelve lunar months, designated as "first month", "second month" and so on, of twenty-nine or thirty days, with the fifteenth or sixteenth of each month falling on the night of the full moon. Since the lunar year is about eleven days shorter than the solar year, an inter-calary month must be inserted every three years to hold the year in place, so that Lunar New Year's usually comes some time in February of the Western Calendar. The principal traditional holidays of the year, except for three, are figured in the lunar calendar. Of particular importance are New Year's (the first day of the first month) and U-bung or Shichigwachi (from the 13th to the 15th of the 7th month; the Japanese 'Bon'). [527]

[1] For tables, etc., see Papinot, 1910, Appendix XII.

that a woman can hold office today since the government has made this law, 562
but that they would never permit this to happen. In village elections only household heads are permitted to vote, and in practice only they are eligible for the village offices. If a woman is a household head (and there are eighteen in this category in Kanegusuku) she is allowed to vote, but she would never be considered for any village office. Most women would not want the job if it were available to them, for this is considered a part of the affairs of men and inconsistent with the traditional concept of woman's role of wife and mother. Women are vaguely aware that their legal and political status has altered under the American military administration, and nearly all have heard stories about America where women are said to be very influential, but they are not so sure that what is good for Americans will necessarily work for them. [177] [829]

An exception to the generally inactive role of women in political 562
affairs is found in Okinawan fishing communities. In Itoman and Henza, 184
which derive their living from fishing, shipping, and ferrying, the men 621
are away much of the time, and the women exercise considerably more control over family and financial matters than elsewhere on Okinawa. Itoman women are noted throughout the island for their independence and shrewdness in financial matters, and there is a common saying that an Itoman woman doesn't need a man if she has a house. On Henza Island the lower echelons of the village political hierarchy are completely dominated by women. The five 'hanchō' are women, each heading a political unit of about eight hundred persons, and the forty-one 'kumichō' are also women. Despite this one gets the impression that women are participating in Henza political life in the absence of the men just as they have a larger role in the management of family affairs than the women of farming villages because the absence of their men has made this a practical necessity. To date no woman has been elected to the position of 'kuchō' nor does it seem likely that one will be in the near future. Perhaps this also serves to define more clearly the real nature of the 'hanchō' and 'kumichō' as messengers for the 'kuchō' instead of as administrators, and that positions of real power are still retained by men.

5. The Political Community

The rural village constitutes a political, territorial, and social 621
unit; its membership is bound together by a common cultural heredity and shares a common experience. All the villagers have attended the same schools, cooperated in village projects, participated in community ceremonies and celebrations, and joined the same organizations. The prevailing [582] ●
marriage practice still tends toward endogamy, and in many places they [192]
speak a dialect with features distinct from that of their neighbors. National organizations serve to unite the youth, women, and farmers into their respective local groups for common action and benefit. Further integration is assured by practices of reciprocal labor exchange among the households.

The major social institutions of rural Okinawa are the family-kin 621
group and the community. Within the former there exists a strict hierarchy 592
[181]

[Koohinda-son]

first son" is graphically depicted by the third column in Table III. If the 6.5% of the households that contain no women are eliminated, the "average females per household" index rises to 3.25 in this category.

Second Sons There are two possible reasons for the high sex ratio in households headed by second sons. The sons of second sons may tend to marry later than do sons of first sons, because the land they may inherit is generally smaller in area, and they want time to hunt work in the cities. The daughters of second sons marry earlier for the reason that their fathers have less land to contribute to their support past adolescence.

The high sex ratio is still rather hard to understand, however. If we eliminate the twelve cases where the male household head is the only person in that household, the sex ratio becomes 109.0. If we eliminate all households without women, the sex ratio drops to 107.0. This means that there are considerable households where two or more males constitute the only inhabitants. This was true in eleven cases. Even more frequent are the cases where two males and one female constitute the household.

If the same operation, elimination of all-male households, is carried out on the data for households headed by first sons, the sex ratio drops to 93.0. Hence we see that however the figures are interpreted, first sons do have a greater burden and more women to care for.

Grandsons Grandsons of former household heads were household heads in 37 cases. In four of these cases the grandfather was still living but considered himself too old (68, 71, 76, and 89 years) to manage the family's affairs. In sixteen cases the mother of the household head was living. In one case both mother and grandmother were living, and in another both paternal grandparents were living. In only one case was the father of a household head living---and he was adopted husband, or 'yōshi', in another household. In all cases the inheritance has passed directly from the grandfather to grandson.

Other Sons Sons of fourth order and above, adopted sons ('yōshi'), and those whose birth order was not recorded, constitute the heads of 154 households. Fourteen of these are 'yōshi', whose birth orders in their family of orientation were:

First Sons	2
Second Sons	8
Third Sons	2
Fourth Sons	1
Unrecorded	1
Total 'yōshi'	14

[Koohinda-son]

Table IX, cont'd.

163
178

	Prewar	Postwar
Average Time in Months Between First and Second Births	38.8	27.5
Average Time in Months Between Second and Third Births	35.7	27.7
Total Average Months Between All Births	35.7	27.6

It is seen that the postwar Okinawan mother apparently has her first child more than half a year earlier than did the prewar mother. Furthermore, the average spacing between births appears to be about eight to eleven months less in the postwar period. Explanations for this apparent difference---which might prove to be less if a larger sample were available---include delays caused by prewar military service, and the possibility that stillbirths were more frequent and infant mortality higher in the prewar period.

The invasion and the subsequent period of internment and resettlement caused a temporary lengthening in the spacing of births. Data for the 98 households in the same villages used above, wherein were found complete prewar-postwar continuous birth records, indicated an average of 55 months between the birth of the last baby before the invasion, and the first one born thereafter. In addition, it should be noted that the average age of postwar fathers at first birth above is 27.1 years, but the average age of fathers whose date of postwar marriage is recorded at first birth below is 25.0 years. This situation means only that in many cases the mothers of postwar families were second wives. In most of these instances the first wife had died during the war.

Postwar Marriage: Attitudes Dr. John F. Embree, in his monumental work Suye Mura, thus describes the rural Japanese attitude toward marriage: "The birth of a child is a much more certain sign of a permanent marriage than is a wedding ceremony. Indeed, a marriage is often not put in the village office records until after a child is on its way."[1] The Okinawan attitude is much the same. 581 171

In analyzing the 177 postwar recorded marriages that resulted in children, 29 marriages, or only 16% of the total, were found to have been recorded in the 'koseki' more than nine months before the birth of the first child. Marriages were recorded after the birth of the first child in 71 cases, representing 40% of the total. 582

Marriages Recorded Before Conception In the first category, the husband was younger in six of the 29 cases. In no case had the husband had

[1] John F. Embree, Suye Mura: A Japanese Village, U. of Chicago Press, 1939, p. 182.

[Koohinda-son]

582 a divorce previously. In two cases the first wife had died, and the husband remarried. In twenty instances the first birth was a boy, and in nine cases a girl. The period between the marraige recording and the first birth ranged from a mere 282 days to four years seven months.

Marriages to girls within the village accounted for 17, or 59%, of the cases reported. Marriages to girls coming from outside the village accounted for 12 cases, or 51% of those reported. The composition[1] of the families in which the marriages occurred is shown below:

Table X

Type Family	Number of Marriages	Percentage
Lineal	16	55
Lateral	2	7
Mixed	5	17
Nuclear	6	21
Total	29	100

Marriages Recorded After Conception In this category, younger husbands numbered 14, while older husbands number 63. In three cases the husband had had a divorce and his remarriage was the one recorded. In another case the first wife had died and the man remarried. The first birth was a boy in 31 cases, and a girl in 46 cases. Marriages to girls from the same village constituted 46, or 60%, of the cases. Wives who came from other villages numbered 31, or 40% of the cases.

[128] [1] The type families are based with modifications upon the definitions in George P. Murdock, Social Structure: "the nuclear family consists typically of a married man and woman with their offspring...the type of family recognized to the exclusion of all others by our own society." (p. 1.) "An extended family consists of two or more nuclear families affiliated through an extension of the parent-child relationship rather than of the husband-wife relationship, i.e., by joining the nuclear family of a married adult to that of his parents. The patrilocal extended family, often called the patriarchal family, furnishes an excellent example. It embraces, typically, an older man, his wife or wives, his unmarried children, his married sons, and the wives and children of the latter. Three generations, including the nuclear families of father and sons, live under a single roof or in a cluster of adjacent dwellings." This is the type of family here called the mixed family; the terminology was retained even in event of the war death of either parent in the older generation. The term lineal as used here means a lineally extended family consisting of one or both grandparents, a married son and daughter-in-law (or daughter and 'yōshi') with the latter's offspring. The term lateral as used in this report refers to a laterally extended family composed of two brothers and their respective wives, and the offspring of at least one of the couples.

[Kochinda-son]

The days between report of the marriage and the first birth ranged from one day prior to 275 days prior. The range is tabulated below: 582

Table XI

Days Prior	Cases
1- 7	8
8- 20	9
21- 30	8
31- 60	13
61- 90	8
91-120	8
121-150	10
151-180	3
181-210	4
211-240	3
241-275	3
Total	77

The composition of the families in which the marriages occurred is shown in Table XII:

Table XII

Type Family	Number of Marraiges	Percentage
Lineal	32	42
Lateral	6	8
Mixed	18	23
Nuclear	21	27
Total	77	100

Marriages Reported after First Birth Marriages reported on or after the birth of the first baby saw a greater proportion of younger husbands. Fifteen of the 71 were younger than their wives. In four cases the husband had had a divorce and remarried. In another case the first wife had died, and the husband remarried. The first birth was a boy in 45 cases, and a girl in 24 of the remaining 26 cases. In two instances the information as to sex of the child was faulty. This imbalance leads one to believe that in many cases when a girl child is born, the father refuses to acknowledge paternity by registering the marriage. The child must then be registered as an illegitimate or common law child. [851]

Marriages to girls within the village accounted for 28, or 40%, of the cases; while marriages to women who came from outside the village accounted for 43, or 60%, of the cases. This shift in relative percentages from the second category to the third suggests that marriages to women within one's own village have a slight tendency to be reported earlier, or before the first baby is born. On the other hand, unions with girls from outside one's own village tend to be reported later, or after the first baby arrives.

[Koohinda-son]

582 When the three categories are broken down by birth order of the father, interesting patterns become apparent. For those who report marriage before conception, there is a decline in the percentage reporting as the birth order of the father becomes greater. This seems to be related to the amount of family land held, and therefore is a concomitant of status in the community. That half of the fathers who are second sons report marriage after conception but before birth is connected with the tendency to report the setting up of a separate household, or 'bunke', to the village office the same day the marriage is reported. Table XIII treats with the percentages concerned.

Table XIII

Birth Order of Husband	Marriages Recorded Before Conception		Marriages Recorded After Conception		Marriages Recorded After Birth	
First Son	14	17%	33	40%	36	43%
Second Son	6	13%	23	50%	17	37%
Third Son	2	8%	10	42%	12	50%
Fourth Son	4		5		2	
Fifth Son	1		2		2	
Sixth Son	1		2		-	
Birth Order Unknown	1		2		2	
	29		77		71	

The birth order of the husband seems to have very little effect upon the aforementioned tendency to report out-village marriages after the first baby arrives. The following table gives the numbers concerned according to birth order of the husband:

Table XIV

	Birth Order of Husband	Out-Village Marriages	In-Village Marriages
Marriages Recorded After Birth	First Son	21	15
	Second Son	10	7
	Third Son	7	5
Marriages Recorded After Conception	First Son	17	16
	Second Son	6	17
	Third Son	3	7

In this category the delay in reporting the marriage after the birth of the first child ranged from one day to 672 days. One marraige was reported on the date of the first child's birth. The first two months after birth saw 68 of the marriages reported. The details of the range are shown in Table XV.

[Kochinda-son]

Table XV

582

Days of Delay in Reporting	Cases
0	1
1- 7	8
8- 14	12
15- 30	17
31- 60	11
61- 90	7
91-120	2
121-150	5
151-180	
181-210	2
211-240	
241-270	1
271-300	
301-365	1
365-372	4
Total	71

The composition of the families in which the marriages occurred is shown below:

Table XVI

Type Family	Number of Marriages	Percentage
Lineal	27	38
Lateral	9	13
Mixed	21	29
Nuclear	14	20
Total	71	100

In-Village and Out-Village Marriage Except in the case of the marriage of an adopted husband, or 'yōshi', to a girl who has no brothers, the bride always goes to her husband's house to live. Getting a wife from outside one's own village is somewhat more popular than marrying a girl one has known for many years. In tabulating the total recorded postwar marriages,[1] which numbered 264, it was found that 114 (43%) were in-village unions, while 150 (57%) were out-village unions. [59]

It is interesting that where the ages of both marriage partners were known, husbands were older than their wives in 80% of the cases, and younger in 20%. This was true for both in-village marriage and out-village marriage, though it runs contrary to respondents' statements that men who married out of their own villages tended to get wives older than themselves.

[1] The data are somewhat different from the above because all postwar marriages were tabulated, regardless of whether they had yet resulted in offspring.

[Kochinda-son]

• 582 For the 114 in-village marriages the average age of the wife at date marriage was recorded was 21.2 years. For the husbands in this category the average was 23.5 years. Both these averages are consistently lower than the averages for out-village marriages---it apparently takes longer to search farther afield. In addition, one often hears the country belief that the more education a man has, the farther away he goes for a wife.

The 150 out-village marriages recorded include 117 women living in Kochinda-son, and 33 women who have married to men outside the 'son'. Of these 33 women, those who married men from relatively far away numbered nineteen, and those who married men living in villages relatively close to their parents' village were fourteen in number. One of the first group married an American serviceman from Kansas. One of the outside-the-'son'-marriages involved a woman fifty years of age who was marrying for the second time. For the remaining 32 marriages---all of which were first marriages---the average age of the woman involved was 22.5 years.

Of the 117 out-village women who married within Kochinda-son, twenty-seven came from rather far away, forty from non-contiguous 'aza' relatively close, and fifty from neighboring, or areally contiguous, 'aza'. The average age of the 117 husbands was 25.0 years. This figure is reduced to 24.9 years if the men over 40 are eliminated. The average age of the wives[1] was 22.1 years, an average reduceable to 21.9 years if women over forty are eliminated.

587 Second Marriages In the normal course of events a certain number of people will marry for the second time. The Navy Civil Affairs Handbook indicates that "...about twice as many men as women remarry after being widowed or legally separated." A considerable number of the postwar marriages analyzed under the spacing of births category above were second marriages. It is of course not possible to ascertain the percentage of these, inasmuch as they are not listed as such in the temporary 'koseki'.

[614] Lebra was told that in a first marriage men tended to wed women from within the munchu (extended patrilineage) rather than from outside the munchu, and that in a second marriage they tended to marry outside the munchu.

588 831 848 "Common Law Children": Definitions In addition to legally recorded marriages, there are those unions producing children who have no legal claim as heirs to their fathers' property. If the father recognizes the child as his own, it is given his family name, and entered into the 'koseki' as a 'shoshidan', if a boy, and a 'shoshijo', if a girl. In this report these will be called "common law children", though the reader must realize that 'shoshi' is not the exact equivalent of the phrase "common law" as it is used in the United States.

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1 Only the ages of 116 wives could enter this calculation; no birthdate was available for one wife, though the other data for the marriage were complete.

CHAPTER VIII LAND TENURE

W. P. Lebra

423 During the lifetime of the oldest living generation of Okinawans
178 there have been operative two radically differing systems of land tenure---at first a system of communal land ownership and later a system of private ownership of land by families. At the present time a third system may be said to be emerging---private ownership by individuals. Changes in the systems of land tenure have been accompanied by significant changes in the family, economy, and community. During the wartime and post-war periods extensive land losses to military installations have severely disrupted the livelihood of a number of communities, thus furthering the process of change.

175 ## 1. The Okinawan Kingdom and the Land Allotment System ('jiwari seido')

[642] Prior to 1879 when Japan formally annexed the Ryukyus, Okinawa was a small semi-independent kingdom (it was a tribute-paying dependency of the daimiate of Satsuma in Japan) controlling the southern Ryukyus. The
175 urban Naha-Shuri area served as the administrative and commercial center
565 for the kingdom, and nearly all of the upper classes, gentry and nobility, were concentrated there. They formed a ruling class similar to that of
[423] China, functioning as a literati and administrative bureaucracy. Feudalism had been abolished in the fifteenth century, and aside from a small percentage of the nobility who were allowed to retain their hereditary fiefs, the bulk of the upper classes subsisted on pensions granted by the ruler. This group was very large and constituted approximately one-third of the total population.

175 The farming population lived in a state of serfdom, being forbidden
[566] even to move from their native village or to change their hereditary occu-
[361] pation. Farm villages were self-sustaining and physically isolated entities consisting of tightly-nucleated clusters of dwellings surrounded by fields.
[621] Each village was segmented into several lineages whose houses were generally clustered together; these kin groups were related through the male line and
[613] shared a common ancestor, ritual observances, and often a local tomb for
[614] temporary burial. Each lineage was usually related to certain lineages of other villages, thus forming a larger relationship or patri-sib which shared a remote common ancestor, ritual observances, and a common tomb for permanent burial. Usually the membership of this larger kinship group was con-
[582] centrated in the villages of a given district or area. Village endogamy was an obligatory marriage practice, and kin group endogamy was a preferred though not an obligatory practice.

178 Private ownership of land on Okinawa is a recent phenomenon, as
423 recent, in fact, as the beginning of the twentieth century. Under the old
175 kingdom communal ownership of the land obtained for all except a small seg-
423 ment of the upper classes. In theory all land was the property of the ruler,
[632] but in practice the district, or majiri (political unit roughly equivalent

4. A Comparison of Land Tenure in Two Rural Villages: Kanegusuku and Kitazato

621 Kanegusuku The village of Kanegusuku is located in the southwestern cor-
[34] ner of Kanegusuku-son approximately three miles due south of Naha on the west coast, and it is immediately north of the town of Itoman. As is typical of the old Okinawan villages it is situated on high ground with all of its houses facing in a southerly direction. Aside from a detached cluster of eleven houses, the village houses are close together in
[72] a contiguous settlement. The village was selected for study because of its infrequent contact with Americans, relative lack of war damage, and a reputed antiquity and conservatism. As of December, 1953, the population was 507 persons forming 108 families occupying 103 houses. The present population is said to be about the same as before the war despite a 20% loss of life during the battle; this loss has been made up by repatriates from overseas and immigrants from other areas of Okinawa. The repatriates and some of the immigrants either had formerly resided in the village or regarded it as their ancestral home. There are nine families who were native to some other part of Okinawa before the war and have no previous connections with the village. The majority of the families have been in this village for
[592] many generations. There are approximately five persons in each household, which usually consists of a nuclear family, husband and wife and their children; but the composition of a number of households has been changed due to wartime losses.

Socially the village is segmented into eight lineages which con-
[613] stitute 92% of the total population; the remaining 8% is made up of unrelated families new to the village since the end of the war. One lineage includes nearly 61% of the village in its membership. Each of these lineages is related to lineages in other villages. Approximately 66% of the village
[582] marriages have been within the village, and nearly 50% of the marriages have been between persons of the same kin group. Thus, the composition of the village is fairly homogeneous, and both the community and the kin groups are strong cohesive units.

621 Occupation 98 of the 103 houses are engaged full time in farming;
463 the household heads of the five remaining houses are employed outside the
241 village in non-agricultural pursuits although all participate in some part-time farming. In addition to these five there were approximately fifteen young men, not household heads, who also worked outside. Most of these commuted daily to the greater Naha area where they were engaged in military employment or construction work. For the majority of villagers farming was the sole occupation.

621 Arable Land Over 66% of the total area of this village is under
311 cultivation, and about 38% of the cultivated land is in irrigated fields.
[434] The chief sources of income derive from rice and mats made from a sedge which is grown in an irrigated field. In terms of the average amount of arable land per household Kanegusuku is somewhat better off than the average
[136] for Okinawa: 1514.2 'tsubo' for Kanegusuku as compared with 1037.6 'tsubo' for Okinawa.

52 The general characteristics of the changed entertainment patterns
178 have been a greater reliance on entertainment provided by sources outside
621 the village---the school, radio, movies---and a sharp decline in celebrations and festivals of the sort which emphasized village participation and unity.

757 Health and Medicine Changes in medical practice well illustrate the
753 principle that material things find more ready acceptance than ideas in the
177 diffusion of culture; in short, Okinawans have been willing to adopt modern medicine when available, but not modern medical principles. Pills, shots, surgery, dentistry, penicillin, and DDT have found acceptance, while modern scientific concepts of disease, health, and sanitation seem to have made relatively little headway. The germ theory, for example, has barely penetrated.

753 However, on talking to people of different ages one becomes aware
751 that many changes in standards of sanitation and ideas about health and dis-
177 ease actually have taken place in the last fifty years. For example, evidence of the practice of tattooing various parts of the body as a cure for certain ills is rarely seen on persons under seventy. Similarly, though many of the younger generation may appear abysmally ignorant of modern knowledge of disease, they are always less ignorant and better informed than the preceding generation. Considerable progress toward better sanitation was made under the
[364] Japanese. Formerly the Okinawan privy was built atop the pigpen, and the pig
[331] subsisted in part on human feces. Stern measures were required to force the abandonment of this practice. The Japanese also introduced monthly sanitation inspections; inoculations for babies and school children were made compulsory.
[515] Through the influence of the schools the toothbrush (usually one) became a
[582] part of every home. The Japanese also sent notable scholars into the countryside to lecture the people on the dangers of in-breeding practices, particularly kin-group endogamy.

757 Penicillin, which was introduced by the Americans, has become a pop-
177 ular treatment, achieving equality with moxacautery and cutting to let blood. It can be obtained easily at any drug shop, and every doctor, midwife, herbalist, and practitioner of any sort is prepared to administer shots. Reliance excessive even by American standards is placed on this drug. There seems, in fact, to be a fondness for shots which does not end with penicillin; hormone shots and various other injections are widely advertised. It is the opinion of the author that any type of modern medicine which cuts, punctures, or otherwise disfigures the skin will find ready acceptance; this, it is felt, is merely an extension of the tradition of acupuncture, moxacautery, tattooing, and cutting. Bettelheim states that in the 1850's the Okinawans made inquiries as to how inoculations for smallpox might be obtained.[1]

759 There is some indication that the yabu, a practitioner whose chief
178 stocks-in-trade are herbs and moxacautery, is slowly disappearing; in several communities the author was told that since the old yabu died there had been no replacement.

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[1] Bettelheim, B. J., Loochoo Mission, London, n.d., pp. 34-36.

Within the village there are no class differences. Considerable prestige continues to be accorded certain occupations---teacher, doctor, government official. Land ownership does not appear to be an important status factor, and there is no landlord class. 621 554

Family The Okinawan family system has been in a process of change for over fifty years. Abolition of the system of communal land tenure and the introduction of private property and Japanese laws of inheritance provided the first shock. The bulk of the estate was hereafter conferred upon the first son while younger sons were frequently landless; consequently, many left the village in search of livelihood elsewhere. Where formerly the kin group was concentrated in a given locality, now its members are often scattered about, making interaction infrequent. A gradual decline in the practice of kin group endogamy also has contributed to weakening the solidarity of the kin group. There seems to be an increasing trend for large kin groups to fragment into smaller segments. According to young people who were consulted on the subject, their generation has little interest in kin group affairs; this may be misleading, as it is chiefly a matter which occupies the attention of older people. Perhaps one young man stated the situation accurately when he said, "I have no interest in such matters now, but I suppose I will when I am past forty." 593 178 [423] [428] 61 178

Many families were shattered by the war, and in the postwar period there has been a weakening of the family due to a variety of factors which might best be described as growing individualism. One factor, noted previously, was an increasing tendency for members of the household to maintain separate purses where formerly all earnings were turned over to the head of the house. There is some sentiment among the more educated for changing existing inheritance laws in favor of equal shares for all heirs regardless of sex or birth order. The author also heard complaints that young people often run off to seek lucrative jobs elsewhere unmindful of their family obligations. 593 178

Marriage In contrast to the prewar period when most marriages were arranged, the young people today claim that they will marry someone of their own choice. This seems to be generally true, but often the parents will go through the process of arranging after the young people have decided. Young people also will vehemently deny that they will make use of a fortune teller to determine the most propitious day, but their mothers most likely will do this and then will exert their influence for the proper day. In all likelihood the young people will accept in order not to displease the parents. 584 178 [585]

If a person, particularly a young woman, delays too long in becoming married, the family will arrange a match. In one such case known to the author a well-educated woman of twenty-five who had financial independence as a school teacher was urged into a match much against her own feelings. She explained her compliance as obligation to her family for having provided her with an excellent education.

Pitts' population studies indicate that the average age of marriage has dropped slightly in the postwar period due to the fact that Okinawan men are no longer delayed by military service. Despite this slight drop in the 582 178

582 178 average age at the time of marriage, investigation into the registries reveals that the range has narrowed somewhat. Formerly some girls married at thirteen and fourteen; today this would be considered rather unusual.

[177] The Japanese administration attempted to discourage endogamous marriage practices, particularly kin-group endogamy. All agreed that the practice has declined; yet in Kanegusuku nearly 50% of all marriages were within the kin group and 66% of all marriages were within the village. An analysis of these figures on an age basis indicates the practice is declining there.

833 178 833 Sex It is said that sexual standards have changed in that there is less sexual license among the young people and that they tend to have their first relations at a later age than formerly. This is attributed in part to the moral training of the schools. Another factor seems to be the general decline of several informal village institutions which permitted young people considerable sexual freedom. One informant stated that those who continue on to high school and university generally have their first experience at a later age than those who attend only junior high school.

642 177 641 Government The Japanese introduced a modern system of government, abolished the Okinawan aristocracy, and granted suffrage to all males of twenty-five or more years. The American Civil Administration has attempted to liberalize laws and to make possible a greater degree of self-government. [625] [666] Police powers have been limited, universal suffrage has been introduced, and the number of elected officials has been increased.

621 178 To date there has been little change within the village, where suffrage and office-holding remain limited to household heads. Villagers acknowledge that there is greater freedom for action at the local level today; yet they are not desirous of obtaining greater self-government. They feel that it would require too much of their time and that there is too little money available to finance its operation. Village leadership is virtually unchanged. Change where it has occurred has been initiated at a higher level.

632 178 At the township level the electorate has been broadened to include all persons, male and female, over twenty years of age. The mayor who was formerly appointed is now elected to office.

771 177 178 793 Religion There has been a general decline in the indigenous Okinawan religion, effected by Japanese policy, wartime attrition, and the spread of education. Formerly a hierarchy of priestesses extended from the kin group through the community and region to the person of the king's sister, the chief priestess. The Japanese removed the top echelons of this hierarchy, but the kin group and community priestesses continued to function. World War II resulted in the death of many religious functionaries, and as the office is usually hereditary within a specific family and often limited to a particular member of that family, there has often been no replacement for the office. Lastly there is an increasing tendency among the young people, due to the influence of the school, to regard religion as superstition.

796 178 Many villages, especially those without religious functionaries, have discontinued all village ceremonies, and in those few remarkable exceptions

[Yamada]

621 the village. The oldest of the children is in school; she is the product of
144 a brief affair during the early days of the occupation. While some informants
563 showed some reluctance to discuss the half-white children, by forgetting that they existed until reminded of them, I saw no evidence that the children suffered any discrimination. There are also several Yamada women living outside Yamada, particularly in Ishikawa, with Americans and Filipinos; several of
621 these have mixed-blood children. Some of the Yamada women who are "married"
• 582 to Americans have attempted to maintain their relationship with their own
177 families and establish some kind of relationship between their families and their "husbands". On New Year's, when family calls are in order, two sisters who were both living with Americans at another village brought their "husbands" to pay their respects to their grandfather. I was in the old man's house when one of the girls appeared with her American. The American behaved quite properly, taking off his shoes and sitting cross-legged on the mat opposite the grandfather. The grandfather greeted him with dignity and reserve. The girl, who had acquired a fair command of English, translated a few sentences and looked very pleased with herself. Drinks were exchanged and the visit was over. Further contact was hardly possible, but this sort of gesture was probably sufficient to demonstrate to the family and to others that the relationship was a serious one. Most relationships are less serious.

621 The former cafe in Kuraha was said to have had women available for
727 prostitution several years ago, but the CO of the local unit who held the
177 meetings with the villagers is said to have disapproved of prostitution in the village and therefore the women left. In the spring of 1954, however,
548 another prostitute was at the cafe, even though it was not operating as such, and a new brothel was established at Ajimaa. There a 'Mama-san' ("madame" in GI Japanese) rented a house for herself and her three girls. The house is one of the newer tile-roofed buildings; it is just below the school grounds and across the highway; it is the property of the brother-in-law of one of the school teachers. Since the shortest way to the place from the unit is directly across the school ground, this was the route taken one afternoon by the three gaudily painted girls as they led a soldier home. I did not have much opportunity to discuss the matter with many people but got the following reaction from one informant: "On the one hand the brothel is good because people are making money; on the other hand it is bad because it makes a bad environment. If anyone complained about it, probably the owners of the house would say that the person complaining is just envious because of the money they are making in rent. Probably even the school teachers could not complain. One cannot interfere with a person's way of making money. The only way it could be stopped would be for the whole village to stop it." This was a clear
[181] expression of two of the basic themes of Okinawan culture, themes that have been mentioned before in connection with other problems; first, one must not interfere in another's livelihood, and second, one must not stand alone; action must be group action. This informant was not overly concerned about the possible bad effects of the presence of the brothel below the school on the school children. Some of the school teachers may have been, yet they too were probably as unwilling to take action individually.

621 While some Yamada people have profited by the presence of the unit,
727 others have suffered some loss. Considerable land is still not available to its owners and while they have received rental from it the amount is not

464 usually people tend to regard these persons as fortunate. During the entire
562 course of the author's stay on Okinawa he heard no sharp criticism of men who
829 were in military employment, yet many statements were heard about women who were so employed. This dichotomy seems to stem from the widely held belief that the American employers have sexual access to these women, particularly
[831] the maids. Okinawan culture affords its males a high degree of sexual freedom, but not its females.

464 It is said that the women who are employed by the military are cate-
554 gorized into several grades; the highest status is accorded to the office workers and PX clerks. These are followed by the kitchen and table maids, after which comes the maids who are employed in the dependent housing units; lastly there are the barracks maids, including those of the bachelor officers' and civilians' quarters. It is also claimed that these women can be distinguished on the basis of their dress. Supposedly the office workers and
[291] PX girls dress in the fashion of Japanese business women, whereas the housing
[117] and barracks maids dress in American styles which are considered loud and flashy.

464 It is claimed that many young men will not marry women who have been
554 maids in military installations. One young man asserted that these women were
582 no better than the "honeys" (a term used by Okinawans and GI's to designate the soldier's mistress).

464 The low status and pay (¥1200-1800, or $10-15 per month) for maids is
466 offset to a large extent by the gifts, food, and in many cases board which they receive from their employers. Despite the stigma there is no shortage
[465] of applicants for these jobs. Another factor is the free bathing privileges which ordinarily accompany these jobs. Very few Okinawan homes have a bath,
[515] and public baths cost the equivalent of ten cents in American money, a sizeable outlay for the Okinawan purse.

464 Most of the discrimination is directly attributable to the sexual
554 jealousy of the Okinawan male toward the women who work and often live in
829 close daily contact with Americans. There also seems to be some discrimination against any women in the category of maid, whether employed by American or Okinawan; in the past these were often indentured servants who had been sold by their parents into this low status.

186 <u>Okinawan Attitudes toward Their American Employers</u> It was the author's im-
829 pression that even those who had worked in close daily contact with Americans for a considerable period of time shared much the same stereotypes of the American as those held by the general public. It must be remembered that the points of emphasis in any stereotype are often those traits which seem obvious because they are so unfamiliar and hence not understood by the person of a different culture. Secondly, in every stereotype there is undoubtedly some considerable measure of truth; the important factor is the base of reference. Both Americans and Okinawans judge one another on the basis of different values and cultural backgrounds.

428 [562] [583]

Daughters are not considered in inheritance matters if there are male heirs. A daughter's share of family possessions normally comes to her as a marriage present: a kimono, a chest, a mirror, a pillow, and a quilt-like blanket (futon), and other personal articles, or money, depending on the economic abilities of the father. In the absence of male heirs, women (either as wives or daughters) can and do inherit the house and property. In a family without sons, the head has several alternatives: he may allow the daughter to inherit, or adopt a bridegroom for his own house, the first distasteful to the father because there is no one to continue the family line, the second distasteful to the groom who must desert his own family. A third alternative is to adopt a young male child of a relative. [597]

The passing down of property in these villages is governed in large part also by custom and the individual desire of the parents. In the villages, there were no instances of which I knew in which disputes over inheritance and the disposition of property had been carried to court for settlement. Quarrels among a father and his sons or the first sons and his younger brothers are said to be rather common. Much depends on the temperament and the generosity of the first son who controls the property on the death or retirement of his father. The problem was often put in this way: the first son must look after his younger brothers and give them land, but he must also keep his eye on the estate he will be able to pass down to his own children. [692] [578]

2

Essentials of the Inheritance System.

The essentials of the inheritance system, as it was found to be working in these villages, were substantially the same. (1) In the division of property on the death or retirement of the father (or the head of the house), the house site itself is never divided. The family residence, the buildings in the compound remain intact. The house is a symbol of a family's existence and its future. If it is also the main house of the extended family, it is the site of the original founder and is even more inviolate.

An interesting question arises when the first sons are male twins. An old practice, now abandoned, was that the second of the twins inherited as the first son. This was based on a belief that the last child out of the womb was the first one in, and therefore the older. In the villages, one still hears this explanation from older people, but now the universal practice is for the first born to become the first son.

(2) The rest of the property is divided, in varying proportions, among the remaining sons. The first son gets the money, but he is expected to share this. He normally gets at least half the property, the remaining half being divided up among the other sons, either in the

584 place, as it requires the participation of the principals and their families. Young country people are likely to hesitate before going against their parents' wishes, dispensing with a ceremony and the celebration which follows, and eloping to Naha or to some larger town.

In practice, events seldom reach this stage of differences in opinion. Some one will give way. An actual happening illustrates this point. A young man, a third son, about 20 years old, fell in love with a girl, aged 23, a bus driver's assistant. The boy wished to marry her, even though by present day standards he was young for marriage.[1] His parents objected to the match, not because of antipathy to the girl whom they liked, but because she was three years older than the boy. This is an interesting objec-
[582] tion because formerly many wives were older than their husbands, although too great an age differential was considered a trifle ludicrous. Apparently in the older arranged marriage, parents intentionally selected a bride older than the husband. In the family registers, among the very old, the wife is often older than the husband. At present the girl is either younger or about the same age.

The boy acceded to his parents' wishes and did not marry the
[848] girl but kept on seeing her. Later the girl became pregnant. His parents discussed the matter among members of the extended family resident in the village, and, in much distress, consented to the marriage. Once the marriage was decided upon, there was no objection to the two living together.

836 Some premarital living together is found in Okinawa. The boy works on his own parents' fields and helps the girl's parents. The
[583] girl reciprocates by helping at the boy's parents' home. During this time, the boy lives at home but spends the night with the girl at her home.

582 Young men normally do not get married until their 24th or 25th year, though there are cases of earlier marriages. Girls are in their early twenties. Earlier marriages may be an indication that a child is on the way. This relatively late age for marriage is not old in the culture. In older times, young people were married in their 13th
[117] and 14th year. This practice gradually changed under Japanese rule.[2]

1 The Japanese word for love is ai-suru, but now one frequently hears the Japanese word rabu borrowed from the English love.

2 Writing in 1910 from personal observation, Simon said that with the "Japanization" of the islands and the increased difficulty and expense in making a living, the time for marriage was postponed and that a marriage at 15 years was now an exception. Beitrage zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, 88 and 90. Schwartz, In Togo's country, 1908, writing of conditions around the turn of the century, says that marriages are contracted between the 14th and 17th year, p. 150.

date of their birth (using the Japanese reign date), where they had gone to school and their present occupations. This was done separately for each. After this was over, the bride and groom stood silently and politely, but without outward expression, while three guests in turn, previously chosen, made speeches, offering their congratulations and best wishes. On this particular occasion, the principal of the school at which the bride was teaching, the principal of the school at which the groom was a teacher, and a mutual friend of the couple spoke. 585 576 [537]

These proceedings do not receive the undivided attention of the guests who have been drinking sake for some time. On the tops of the tables, dancing in the traditional Okinawan manner and the accompanying singing have begun. The dances and songs, usually performed by men in their forties and fifties, were done with grace. These are part of all social gatherings of any consequence. 585 [273] 535 533 [562]

The sober attitudes of the work day are cast aside. The best clothes have been put on. There is a great contrast between the barefooted partially clothed farmer or fisherman of the daytime and his appearance at social occasions. These events are conducted with dignity and poise, at least until the sake consumption has risen to a high point. The party then becomes a noisy melee of dancing, singing, and talking, but without quarrelling or fighting. There is little self-consciousness in entertaining others. Talented guests do not have to be cajoled into performing. Dancing, singing, and samisen playing continue spontaneously, with another performer beginning after one has finished. The wedding party lasts from about 5 to 8, but many of the guests stay much later until the sake is gone. [292] [534]

Following the san-san-kudo, another but more private ceremony took place while the guests were entertaining themselves. In the wedding room, colored cakes and tea were placed on a small table. The female relatives of the bride and groom, mothers and sisters mostly, sat opposite one another and ate cakes and drank the tea together. This ceremony indicated the willingness of the bride's family to give up the daughter, and of the groom's family to receive her. After this ceremony, the bride's gifts from her parents were carried in. These vary with the family's wealth. In this case, they were a chest of drawers, a mirror, a heavy comforter, pillows, and a mosquito net. Before the war, gifts were more lavish than now. The usual presents now are a large chest of drawers (tansu), two heavy quilts or comforters (futon), a mirror (kagami), two Japanese type pillows (makura), and a large mosquito net (kaya). A poor family would be most likely to omit the chest of drawers. A new kimono and money may be included. [262] 583

A Y20 note is the usual gift of an ordinary guest at a wedding. Closer friends will give about Y100. There is no uniform practice about gifts from the groom's to the bride's family. About Y1000 may be presented prior to marriage. The bride's family uses the money to purchase the wedding gifts. 431

The day following the marriage, there is another ceremony, this 000

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Free choice in marriage does not mean that the family system will disintegrate because parents have lost control in selecting mates for their children. The family system is much more likely to break down if the head of a house must assume greater responsibility for the support of relatives, or if the young leave their homes and are scattered in the towns. 582 602

Trial marriage is said to be uncommon in Okinawa, but there does not seem to be any disapproval when it appears. Perhaps trial marriage is an inappropriate word, and living together prior to an intended marriage is a better term. In one case, a young man lived with his intended wife; sometimes he brought her to his parents' home. As his duties required some travelling, the girl often went with him. In Hanashiro, this custom is not practiced. When young people live together before marriage, with the parents' consent, they help one another's families with the daily chores. 583

Some married men have relations with other women, usually widows or unmarried girls, and have children by them. This is not rare, but it is by no means considered correct behavior. In one village, the first son with his wife and children live, as is customary, with his parents, but he continues to have relations with two unmarried women by whom he has had children. All three women live in the same village, know the situation, and manage to avoid one another fairly well. Naturally the wife is much disturbed by the arrangement. The man, now about 33, has 11 children by the three women. The children of the second and third women are classified in the family registers in the mother's family as illegitimate (shiseiji). This is an extreme case. 837 [848]

In another community, there was an instance of the effects of war and repatriation on a marriage. Before the war this man and his wife had emigrated to Saipan. She was afraid of the bombing and decided to return to her parents' home in rural Japan, to which her husband consented. He remained in Saipan and later lived with and married the girl who was his personal servant. They returned to Okinawa; he had a child by her and is now living with her. The new family register, made up after the war, does not show the old marriage. His first wife, whom he still admires, has written him, but he has not replied. While he expressed no regrets about the loss of the first wife, he talked about the second as if she were still a servant.

In the villages, the cases of a married man living with another woman, without any formal estrangement from the real wife, are in my opinion not uncommon--with the exception of Hanashiro. As one lives in a village and gradually hears confidences, departures from strict fidelity seem more frequent than appear on the surface. There is general agreement too that illegitimacy has increased since the 848

584 she objects violently, the matter may be dropped. If the go-betweens
[851] succeed in making arrangements, they become the special friends and patrons of the young couple, officiating at the marriage ceremony and attending the rituals during the first week after the birth of all the couple's children.

The first engagement event is a small family affair at the bride's house, attended by a few close relatives of the couple, who ceremonially eat rice from the same bowl. The food is contributed by the groom's
[836] family. From this time on the groom may spend evenings and nights at the bride's house, where he is permitted to have sexual intercourse
[583] with the girl. For a man whose girl lives in the same village, the day is now divided between work for his own household and helping the girl's family in the field. The groom receives supper from the girl's family, who encourage him to stay for the night. The couple is never seen together in public, although the girl also helps occasionally at her groom's house.

The second engagement party is held some later time, also at the girl's house. All the relatives of the bride whom she wishes to introduce to the groom and his family are invited. The groom also invites his relatives and friends. Food and drink are supplied by the groom. Since this may be quite a burden, the bride urges him not to hurry in planning for this party. At this engagement ceremony, relatives and friends congratulate the male members of the bride's family and some of the close female relatives, the mother and sometimes an aunt, or the grand-
[537] mother. Short speeches are exchanged. The girl's father, in response to well-wishing, may point out that the girl is inexperienced and that she needs guidance and education from the groom's family. The groom also toasts his father-in-law, tells him that he will do his best, and thanks him and his wife for their permission to marry.

585 The actual marriage ceremony may be postponed until much later.
[584] One reason for the long engagement period is to see whether the girl becomes pregnant, or as one person said, "To see if the seeds match."
[842] There are also economic considerations. The ceremony takes place at the groom's house. The go-between, his wife, and a few friends go to the bride's home to accompany her and her relatives and friends to the
[178] groom's house. The elaborateness of the celebration depends on the wealth of the groom's family, but since the war, all families have economized in this as well as in other ceremonies. The cost of the wedding is carried by the groom, but it is to some extent offset by small money gifts which guests contribute. The groom gives the bride's family a certain amount of money—in one case about 2000 yen (approximately $17.00) or two thirds of a well-to-do Taira family's monthly

cash income, earned by several adult members in joint work, or equal 585
to about one half of a teacher's monthly salary. The girl brings a dowry [583]
consisting of furniture, household utensils, and other things, so, as one
person said, the groom is repaid in one form or another. In former [582]
times the men had to pay a fine to the parents of the bride if she married out of the village (Suttles, personal communication; Tamura, 1927 translation:44).

Even under present conditions the wedding ceremony is colorful
compared to most other private ceremonies. All guests attend in their [292]
best clothes and the bride wears a special kimono and a special wig
hair dress. She is seated next to the groom, who wears Western-style clothes instead of the traditional silk kimono. The whole ceremony is presided over by the go-betweens. While preliminaries take place, the bride sits almost motionless. Her face expresses what Glacken describes as "undescribable gloom" (1955:218). This continues even through the climax of the event, the ceremonial exchange of wine which symbolizes the union of the participants. During this part of the ceremony the guests, who have been enjoying food and sake and talking amicably, give this moment a solemn meaning by their silence.
Speeches by the go-between and other notables follow. The virtue of [537]
the bride and her family and of the groom are told and acknowledged by a thank-you address by the groom. Parents of the couple sit close to them but have no other function than to accept congratulations. The bride then goes around introducing herself to the guests.

Children are not present at this event. They line up outside the [852]
house and peek through openings to see the bride and watch the
guests, who start dances as soon as good food and wine take effect. After the formal part of the wedding, the feast ends like any such event in the village—with great gaiety. The bride acts as hostess; she changes from her kimono and heavy hair dress into more suitable clothes and sees that the guests are well taken care of. The length of this feast depends, of course, on how much food and drink the family is able to provide. Finally, when all guests have left, the bride and groom
retire to the bedroom which has been reserved for them, sometimes [352]
furnished with one or two pieces, a chest of drawers or a Western-style
closet supplied by the bride's family. The bride also provides the [513]
comforter for the marriage bed. Friends of the groom may play a prank and replace the normal-sized comforter with a small one, "so that the marriage is consumated quicker," as they say.

Sexual relations between husband and wife are not discussed in 833
public except in jocular references. In spite of the intimacy of house- 831
hold members in the confinement of a small house, one attempts to

[p. 454 is blank]

Part II

Child Training

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Chapter 12

Pregnancy and Childbirth

The custom of "trial marriage" stresses the importance Taira villagers 842
put on a woman's ability to bear children, for it is imperative that
there be heirs to carry on the family line. The first child is usually born [583]
within one or two years after marriage. Taira people would be extremely surprised if a child is not born soon, for children, especially male offspring, are desired. A barren wife faces the possibility of annul- [586]
ment of her marriage by her husband or even her husband's parents.
Should this action be disagreeable to her husband, she may still be [595]
forced to take the lesser role of co-wife. A fertile woman who fails to bear a male child may suffer a situation not unlike that of a barren woman. Pregnancies, however, arouse a great amount of ambivalence 843
in attitude.

Most women welcome pregnancy happily, knowing that they are 842
fulfilling their role as a woman. Nevertheless, some women complain

If the
584 girl's family is favorably disposed, one or both parties visit a diviner
791 (sanjinsoo, Japanese 'ekisha') to determine the compatibility of the couple (eesoo shirabi). The diviner ostensibly does this by casting horoscopes and drawing lots, but it is likely that he also gives weight to factors known to him or revealed by the persons requesting advice so that if one of the participants has strong objections to the marriage he may find reasons why it should not be. This interpretation is merely an hypothesis, but it seems probably that the decision of the diviner may thus be a useful face-saving device. Possibly for this reason the go-between seems to be of secondary importance.

After the decision has been made to unite the two families in marriage there may be a formal betrothal ceremony (ubukui). For this the prospective
[583] groom's family sends certain gifts including a sum of money to the bride's home. This money, called injoojing, corresponds to the "bride price" of some societies. Its payment is probably the most essential element in the whole procedure, since a small sum is still paid even when other formalities are dispensed with. This payment seals the agreement.

585 The wedding ceremony (niibichi, "drawing the roots") takes place at the groom's house in the evening of a day determined by the diviner. First a party goes from the groom's house to the bride's house with gifts. This party then carries the bride to the groom's house, where they are met by a
[17] welcoming party. In recent times the ceremony at the groom's house has been the Japanese 'sansankudo', exchange of drinks; the original Okinawan ceremony was somewhat different. When this has been completed the bride and groom celebrate separately each with friends and relatives of the same sex. On the following day, or whenever the celebration is over, the couple pays a formal visit to the bride's parents.

[184] This elaborate procedure is not usual at the present time among country
[583] people. In fact, the ceremony may not occur at all; the woman may merely come to live with the man with little or no formal recognition of the change in status beyond perhaps the payment of a small bride price. The marriage has a legal existence when it is recorded in the 'koseki'. It may not be recorded immediately; often it is recorded only a little before or together with the recording of the birth of the first child. This practice obviates changing the record if the marriage is not successful.

585 But formerly among the gentry of Naha and Shuri the wedding was even
178 more elaborate than the procedure just described. Moreover, after the cere-
585 mony the groom, instead of entertaining his male relatives and friends at home, took them to a jurinuyaa where for three days and nights they were en-
[548] tertained by the juri with food, drink, music, and sex. I am acquainted with three interpretations explaining why the groom spends his wedding night with a prostitute. The first, that given by an American missionary[1] explains the practice as symbolizing the freedom of the male and demonstrating to the bride that her husband was free to find sexual gratification elsewhere. The second interpretation was one given to me by a man in his thirties, a descendant of the Shuri gentry, and a man with rather "modern" ideas. He said that

[1] The missionary Schwarz, whose work is not presently available to me.

who are less shy, can meet and enjoy one another's company under socially approved conditions. 834

The engagement (uino in Japanese, sakimui in Okinawan) varies with individuals and villages. In this respect it is like the marriage ceremony. A one year engagement period is considered long. In one instance of a formal engagement taken from Hanashiro, the young man goes to the girl's house, taking a small amount of sake with him. The parents of both principals are present. The group makes a short prayer, before the Buddhist god shelf, that the two will be a happy couple. The sake is placed on the god shelf. In Hinatogawa, the prospective groom's parents prepare a small feast, and they and the boy go to the bride's house. The food offering is put on the god shelf. The two young people promise to marry. In another variant, from Hatsuda, the boy takes a food offering and sake to the girl's house. The two eat together and promise to marry at a drink exchange (kampai) in which they alternately sip, as is the custom in Okinawa, out of the same cup. From Hatsuda there was still another variant in which the boy was not involved. His mother met the girl's mother and her female relatives in the girl's house. Sake was given to the relatives of the girl. The girl's mother agreed to give her daughter up, the boy's mother agreed that the prospective daughter-in-law would be received in his family. 584 184 [178] [184]

All these variants have this in common, that the engagement symbolizes an act that is more than the decision of two young people. It involves the families as well.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Marriage Customs

There are two ways of entering into marriage. One of these, the traditional form, found in China, Korea, and Japan, is the arranged marriage (mi-ai in Japanese). The selection of the partner, the betrothal, and the marriage are conducted by the families as principals, although the young people may be consulted. The second is free choice in marriage (ren-ai), in which young people decide for themselves. Ren-ai is often translated as "romantic love," but a more accurate, if more sedate meaning is free, but not unrestricted, choice in marriage. 581 [171]

The arranged marriage and the use of a go-between in the negotiations exist in the villages studied. But the arranged marriage began to decline before the war, more rapidly since its end. A go-between (nakōdo), either a man or a woman, or sometimes both, act as intermediaries in negotiations between families until a mutually satisfactory decision is reached, or, lacking this, until negotiations can be broken off without embarrassment to either side. 581 584 [178]

The arranged marriage still prevails in families where parental authority is strong and the obedience of the children is demanded and received. Personal observation and the statements both of the young and old leave little doubt, however, that free choice in marriage is now the accepted custom. A go-between is often used in courtship and is still an honored participant in the wedding ceremony. Latterly, the go-between is less a matchmaker, more a repository of confidences for mutual exchange. The present status of the go-between can be summarized in these illustrations from Hanashiro: (1) if the couple live in the same village, a go-between is not used, but one is sought out if the young man wishes to court a girl in another village. (2) The go-between is not used at all. (3) The go-between may be a relative or a friend of either party used to sound out another's feelings. In Hinatogawa, it is said that the go-between acts for a bashful suitor, but that the couple make their own marriage arrangements. In Hatsuda, he is occasionally used in courtship, but his function is mostly the formal one of officiating at the marriage ceremony. With the acceptance of free choice in marriage, the go-between as an adult, skilled, respected, and understanding negotiator has been replaced by an individual with more nominal responsibilities, who may be a mutual friend, probably a contemporary of the young people whose marriage he is encouraging. 581 [593] 584

The arranged and free choice marriages are not at opposite extremes. Free choice does not mean there has been a rebellion against parental authority. Parents' consent to a marriage is still sought for, even though the betrothal is decided upon by the young principals. If the parents do not consent, the alternative is elopement. If the parents withhold consent, the traditional wedding ceremony cannot take

584 place, as it requires the participation of the principals and their families. Young country people are likely to hesitate before going against their parents' wishes, dispensing with a ceremony and the celebration which follows, and eloping to Naha or to some larger town.

In practice, events seldom reach this stage of differences in opinion. Some one will give way. An actual happening illustrates this point. A young man, a third son, about 20 years old, fell in love with a girl, aged 23, a bus driver's assistant. The boy wished to marry her, even though by present day standards he was young for marriage.[1] His parents objected to the match, not because of antipathy to the girl whom they liked, but because she was three years older than the boy. This is an interesting objec-
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582 than one would expect, and we may conclude that the oldest son ex-
[593] planation does not hold for Taira.*

Table 2 Marriage Statistics for Central Taira

1. Age of men and women at first marriage
Total cases: 59
For the period: 1904–1953

AGE OF MARRIAGE	MEN	WOMEN
16	—	2
17	—	2
18	2	4
19	4	4
20	5	11
21	4	3
22	10	5
23	3	8
24	7	3
25	2	4
26	2	1
27	3	2
28	4	2
29	1	3
30	2	—
31	1	—
32	—	—
33	—	1
34	—	1
35	1	—
36	—	—
37	1	—
38	1	—
39	—	—
40	1	—
Not listed	5	3

●584 In the old days, apparently, there were many gay and unrestrained
178 courtships of men and women on the beach after dark. During our fieldwork we did not observe open courtship. The expression of affec-

* Unfortunately, we did not recognize the large number of these cases while in the field; hence we failed to ask informants for their explanations and rationalizations. The age reversal[1] tends to underscore the relatively high status of women
[562] vis-a-vis men and may be instrumental in perpetuating it.

1 [i.e. where wives are older than their husbands - ANALYST]

tion between couples is not seen in public. Men and women are teased by the community if they are seen standing and talking together. One or several boys teasing a girl would be the boldest advance seen in public. Although, even at night, we never observed couples pairing off in or near the village, we were told that a boy and a girl would arrange private meetings. It is our impression that there is more self-consciousness about love-making than there used to be. 584 178

Although there is little occasion for intimacy between a couple during times when other villagers are around, young men and women associate frequently in larger groups during the week in community-wide activities of the Young People's Association. During the many hours which are spent in club meetings, work projects, and other social activities, there is a comraderie between young men and women which effectively neutralizes the formal social distance that is maintained in the traditionally separate seating arrangements. There is, nevertheless, a certain embarrassment and almost clumsy behavior of young men toward the better poised and adroit girls, at least in the presence of strangers like ourselves. 584 575

Young men may seek intimacies with girls of other villages, but in doing so they risk the ire of the young men there. It is also possible that a Taira girl agrees to an intimate relationship with someone in another village where she may feel safer from detection. Young men are more likely to seek a girl with whom an arrangement for a meeting away from her home can be made. The girl, of course, suffers public disapproval if the couple is detected, while a man is not subject to the same criticism. In contrast to girls, men have many more opportunities for sexual relationships without public censure. 584 836 562

Sexual attraction does not seem decisive in selecting a mate for marriage, although beauty is appreciated in a woman with long, black hair, a dark arched eyebrow, fair skin, a prominent nose, small mouth, and large eyes. Younger people are beginning to adopt some of the American standards of beauty, which are introduced through movies and magazines via Japan. Although the concept of romantic love is gaining in popularity, arranged marriages still outnumber love marriages in Taira. Even if a young man and woman reach an agreement about marriage, there follows a formal arrangement by their parents with the help of go-betweens, a trusted neighbor or a friendly couple, or a person who commands status and respect. If a man or his family are interested in arranging a marriage with a girl, the go-between notifies her family. Eventually word will reach the girl. If the suitor has not previously indicated his interest to the girl, she may voice her feelings and wishes to her mother, father, or to some other relative. If 581 584 826 177 831 584

●584 she objects violently, the matter may be dropped. If the go-betweens
[851] succeed in making arrangements, they become the special friends and patrons of the young couple, officiating at the marriage ceremony and attending the rituals during the first week after the birth of all the couple's children.

The first engagement event is a small family affair at the bride's house, attended by a few close relatives of the couple, who ceremonially eat rice from the same bowl. The food is contributed by the groom's family. From this time on the groom may spend evenings and nights at
[836] the bride's house, where he is permitted to have sexual intercourse
[583] with the girl. For a man whose girl lives in the same village, the day is now divided between work for his own household and helping the girl's family in the field. The groom receives supper from the girl's family, who encourage him to stay for the night. The couple is never seen together in public, although the girl also helps occasionally at her groom's house.

The second engagement party is held some later time, also at the girl's house. All the relatives of the bride whom she wishes to introduce to the groom and his family are invited. The groom also invites his relatives and friends. Food and drink are supplied by the groom. Since this may be quite a burden, the bride urges him not to hurry in planning for this party. At this engagement ceremony, relatives and friends congratulate the male members of the bride's family and some of the close female relatives, the mother and sometimes an aunt, or the grand-
[537] mother. Short speeches are exchanged. The girl's father, in response to well-wishing, may point out that the girl is inexperienced and that she needs guidance and education from the groom's family. The groom also toasts his father-in-law, tells him that he will do his best, and thanks him and his wife for their permission to marry.

585 The actual marriage ceremony may be postponed until much later.
[584] One reason for the long engagement period is to see whether the girl becomes pregnant, or as one person said, "To see if the seeds match."
[842] There are also economic considerations. The ceremony takes place at the groom's house. The go-between, his wife, and a few friends go to the bride's home to accompany her and her relatives and friends to the
[178] groom's house. The elaborateness of the celebration depends on the wealth of the groom's family, but since the war, all families have economized in this as well as in other ceremonies. The cost of the wedding is carried by the groom, but it is to some extent offset by small money gifts which guests contribute. The groom gives the bride's family a certain amount of money—in one case about 2000 yen (approximately $17.00) or two thirds of a well-to-do Taira family's monthly

593 are less important than older sons. The security of the individual depends
602 upon his closeness to this axis. Yet most can attain security. Younger sons grow up to establish families of their own. Daughters grow up to marry and become the means whereby other men establish families. If a man has no son he readily adopts one from among his brothers' or cousins' sons and so the continuity is maintained.

593 This structure is in sharp contrast to that of present-day American
171 society. In American society the individual, not the family, is felt to be the basic unit. The basic axis is horizontal, the husband-wife axis. The values are on affection between the married couple, responsibility toward minor children, and impartiality toward them. The responsibility of parents ends when the children grow up. There is little continuity. The individual can expect equal treatment but cannot expect lasting security within the family. He finds his family ties cut once when he grows up, once again when his children grow up. The only permanent tie is with husband or wife and hence the only permanent security within the family is through marital bond. Hence in American society there is an increasing emphasis on romantic love and an increasing tendency to look for security through it.

The relationship of husband and wife in Okinawan society is quite dif-
593 ferent from that in American society with its comradeship and equality. In
581 Okinawan society the traditional marriage is arranged by the family. Its pri-
[584] mary function is to provide for the continuity of the family units and if possible to produce more units like it. The satisfaction of individual needs is only a secondary function. At marriage a woman enters the family of her husband, where she hopes to produce an heir for him and more besides. Her position is subordinate; she must be submissive to him and to his parents. She expects to work hard. Her husband also expects to work hard, for he is obligated to provide his descendants and his ancestors with their needs, but if he also has the means to seek pleasure outside the home he is not only free to do so, but is expected to do so.

593 As one might expect, the relationship between parents and children is
855 very close. Okinawan parents live more intimately with their children than
[171] do American parents; they carry them around, sleep with them, and fondle them a great deal. And from the American point of view they spoil them. At the same time they seem to regard children as not quite human, and treat them at times with what to an American seems like heartless cruelty. Also they differentiate clearly on the basis of future importance to the family and the maintenance of its continuity; the first son, who will inherit his father's status, is given more consideration than younger sons; daughters, who will eventually leave the family entirely, are given less consideration---and more chores, to prepare them for future status as daughters-in-law---than are sons. Children are expected to respect their parents and to care for them when they are old. Parents are expected to love their children and care for them when they are young. The responsibility of a parent toward a minor child is not
[171] as great as in the United States; for example, in an emergency a parent may sell a child (this may be in conflict with the present law but it is not in
593 conflict with the mores of impoverished Okinawan farmers). Buth this responsibility does not end with the child's attaining majority. In the case

The activities at the moo-ashibii and the yagamayaa undoubtedly led 883
in many cases to secret sexual relations. Probably most young men in the 836
country first experienced sex as a result of intrigues developing through these activities. Young women differed more in their experience. Daughters of the gentry may have had little or none. Some girls who did go to the moo-ashibii, it is said, went merely to hear the singing. Those who behaved promiscuously were talked about and the reputation they gained lasted. Yet it seems unlikely that chastity was valued very highly or that virginity was expected at marriage. One young woman had heard in Japan how husbands sometimes divorced their wives upon finding after marriage that they were not virgins. She had never heard of this having been done on Okinawa and neither she nor her mother could even give an Okinawan equivalent of the Japanese word 'shojo', "virgin". [171]

Formerly among the gentry class in Naha and Shuri it was customary 833
for a father to take his son, or have a relative or friend take him, to a 565
jurimuyaa to let him have his first sexual experience. According to Yanagida,[1] 178
until the last decades of the last century this was part of a young man's 548
coming-of-age celebration held at the beginning of his 13th (15th?) year; the juri who functioned in this capacity were called niisee-chuurasaa, "those who make youths into men".

At the present time the rural moo-ashibii and yagamayaa are probably 178
less important institutions than they formerly were, but they undoubtedly do 883
still exist. At present there are more occasions when young people of the opposite sex can meet and feel that it is proper to do so. In the pre-war counterparts of the Youth Organization and in the schools the sexes were separate. Now they mingle more freely. The need to meet in groups in a half-clandestine manner is not so great. Now as before real intrigues are conducted in secret, but something approaching an open courtship is now possible. [584]

Marriage: Preliminaries Until recently marriages were nearly always ar- 584
ranged by the family for the good of the family. 178
The object in arranging a match was to acquire a daughter-in-law to produce [581]
heirs for and to keep house for the son. The couple themselves were consulted and one of them could refuse the match if it were really disagreeable, but more often they agreed to it. At present young people often choose for themselves, but even so they may abandon a desired marriage if it is strongly opposed by one or more of the parents.

In the past moo-ashibii may have led to marriage in some cases but more often it did not, even when liaisons resulted in children. At present young unmarried men and women associate more freely in public, and mutual attraction may lead to a relationship more like the Western courtship leading to marriage. This had been especially true since the war.

Formal Ceremonies As in many societies there are more formal and 584
less formal ways of marrying. The preliminaries to the older family-arranged marriage usually begin with a proposal by the young man's family. If the

[1] Yanagida, 1951, p. 309.

If the
584 girl's family is favorably disposed, one or both parties visit a diviner
741 (sanjinsoo, Japanese 'ekisha') to determine the compatibility of the couple (eesoo shirabi). The diviner ostensibly does this by casting horoscopes and drawing lots, but it is likely that he also gives weight to factors known to him or revealed by the persons requesting advice so that if one of the participants has strong objections to the marriage he may find reasons why it should not be. This interpretation is merely an hypothesis, but it seems probably that the decision of the diviner may thus be a useful face-saving device. Possibly for this reason the go-between seems to be of secondary importance.

After the decision has been made to unite the two families in marriage there may be a formal betrothal ceremony (ubukui). For this the prospective
[593] groom's family sends certain gifts including a sum of money to the bride's home. This money, called injoojing, corresponds to the "bride price" of some societies. Its payment is probably the most essential element in the whole procedure, since a small sum is still paid even when other formalities are dispensed with. This payment seals the agreement.

585 The wedding ceremony (niibichi, "drawing the roots") takes place at the groom's house in the evening of a day determined by the diviner. First a party goes from the groom's house to the bride's house with gifts. This party then carries the bride to the groom's house, where they are met by a
[117] welcoming party. In recent times the ceremony at the groom's house has been the Japanese 'sansankudo', exchange of drinks; the original Okinawan ceremony was somewhat different. When this has been completed the bride and groom celebrate separately each with friends and relatives of the same sex. On the following day, or whenever the celebration is over, the couple pays a formal visit to the bride's parents.

[184] This elaborate procedure is not usual at the present time among country
[593] people. In fact, the ceremony may not occur at all; the woman may merely come to live with the man with little or no formal recognition of the change in status beyond perhaps the payment of a small bride price. The marriage has a legal existence when it is recorded in the 'koseki'. It may not be recorded immediately; often it is recorded only a little before or together with the recording of the birth of the first child. This practice obviates changing the record if the marriage is not successful.

585 But formerly among the gentry of Naha and Shuri the wedding was even
178 more elaborate than the procedure just described. Moreover, after the cere-
565 mony the groom, instead of entertaining his male relatives and friends at
[548] home, took them to a jurinuyaa where for three days and nights they were entertained by the juri with food, drink, music, and sex. I am acquainted with three interpretations explaining why the groom spends his wedding night with a prostitute. The first, that given by an American missionary[1] explains the practice as symbolizing the freedom of the male and demonstrating to the bride that her husband was free to find sexual gratification elsewhere. The second interpretation was one given to me by a man in his thirties, a descendant of the Shuri gentry, and a man with rather "modern" ideas. He said that

[1] The missionary Schwarz, whose work is not presently available to me.

Within the village there are no class differences. Considerable prestige continues to be accorded certain occupations---teacher, doctor, government official. Land ownership does not appear to be an important status factor, and there is no landlord class. 621 554

Family The Okinawan family system has been in a process of change for over fifty years. Abolition of the system of communal land tenure and the introduction of private property and Japanese laws of inheritance provided the first shock. The bulk of the estate was hereafter conferred upon the first son while younger sons were frequently landless; consequently, many left the village in search of livelihood elsewhere. Where formerly the kin group was concentrated in a given locality, now its members are often scattered about, making interaction infrequent. A gradual decline in the practice of kin group endogamy also has contributed to weakening the solidarity of the kin group. There seems to be an increasing trend for large kin groups to fragment into smaller segments. According to young people who were consulted on the subject, their generation has little interest in kin group affairs; this may be misleading, as it is chiefly a matter which occupies the attention of older people. Perhaps one young man stated the situation accurately when he said, "I have no interest in such matters now, but I suppose I will when I am past forty." 593 178 [423] [428] 61 178

Many families were shattered by the war, and in the postwar period there has been a weakening of the family due to a variety of factors which might best be described as growing individualism. One factor, noted previously, was an increasing tendency for members of the household to maintain separate purses where formerly all earnings were turned over to the head of the house. There is some sentiment among the more educated for changing existing inheritance laws in favor of equal shares for all heirs regardless of sex or birth order. The author also heard complaints that young people often run off to seek lucrative jobs elsewhere unmindful of their family obligations. 593 178

Marriage In contrast to the prewar period when most marriages were arranged, the young people today claim that they will marry someone of their own choice. This seems to be generally true, but often the parents will go through the process of arranging after the young people have decided. Young people also will vehemently deny that they will make use of a fortune teller to determine the most propitious day, but their mothers most likely will do this and then will exert their influence for the proper day. In all likelihood the young people will accept in order not to displease the parents. 584 178 [585]

If a person, particularly a young woman, delays too long in becoming married, the family will arrange a match. In one such case known to the author a well-educated woman of twenty-five who had financial independence as a school teacher was urged into a match much against her own feelings. She explained her compliance as obligation to her family for having provided her with an excellent education.

Pitts' population studies indicate that the average age of marriage has dropped slightly in the postwar period due to the fact that Okinawan men are no longer delayed by military service. Despite this slight drop in the 582 178

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Husband and wife usually are from the same village, but there are many exceptions. Marriages of persons from different villages have increased in the past decade. This probably should be ascribed to the greater mobility of the people and to the acceptance of free choice in marriage. It is common, for example, for a Hatsuda boy to marry a Ginoza village girl. It is also common for a boy in Minatogawa to marry a girl from the nearby agricultural villages of Hanashire, Asato, or Gushichan. This apparently is a distinct change from earlier practices. 582 621

If the family registers are accurate, the great majority of the men living in a village were born there; it is the wives who are more likely to be the newcomers. In the social structure of village life, it is the men who provide the continuity; the women are more likely to be strangers. The husband may point to his father and grandfather who live or have lived in the village; fewer wives can do the same. 591

2

The Marriage Ceremony

In my experience, no two marriage ceremonies in Okinawa are alike. Marriages take place at any time of the year, but in all three villages, they were more commonly held in the late fall or in winter. The reasons given are that the heavy clothing and elaborate headdress of the bride are not suited to the hot and humid summer and that these can be more comfortably worn in the cool winter months. The marriage feast with its fish cakes, meats, vegetables, and a variety of other perishable foods can be more easily prepared and kept in winter. In the agricultural villages, the ceremony usually takes place after the day's work; in the winter the reception may start by 5 and the main ceremonies are over by 8 in the evening. 585 [262]

Description of a ceremony at Hatsuda. The party began about 5 in the afternoon. Because of the large number of guests, the primary school was used for the ceremony. At the head of the first room, the grandfather and grandmother of the groom, the groom, his father, and the go-between were seated. Other relatives of the groom found places around the sides. Later the father of the bride, who arrived shortly before his daughter, joined this group. The go-between, a young man of 24, was a friend of the couple, and his wife was a member of the groom's family. 585 576

In the other rooms, opening into one another, about 300 guests, mostly men, were assembled. During the reception and before the beginning of the ceremony, guests representing their families entered the first room to congratulate the father, the groom, and the grandparents. In this period of congratulation involving the father, the groom, and the guest, there was an exchange of sips of sake from a common cup. As in other instances of congratulation, some speeches were long, some short, some well prepared, others extemporaneous. [530]

585 576 During his speech, the guest remained in the most polite kneeling position, resting his weight on the heels with the toes pointed downward toward the floor. His head was bowed during the talk. The father and the groom acknowledged the compliments by nodding their heads and then made their responses.

When these preliminaries were almost over, an uproar followed the announcement that the bride was arriving. The lights of a vehicle could be seen from a distance. It turned out to be a truck. In former days, the bride came in greater style: she either walked preceded by young boys bearing lanterns or rode in a palanquin (kago), [493] or in a specially decorated horse cart.

All Okinawan brides, from the time they enter the house of the groom until they leave shortly after the completion of the ceremony, have an expression of indescribable gloom. The bride's face is set. Her eyes are downcast. She takes no notice of the guests, and responds silently to the acts which convention demands. She never smiles. This is a very serious occasion and any show of lightheartedness is considered in poor taste. The groom is not so wooden as he awaits his bride and goes through the ceremony.

585 [292] [177] The bride is dressed in a Japanese costume. She has a wig, usually rented for the occasion, the traditional Japanese headdress with masses of stiff lacquered hair. It is heavy and bulky and the need of keeping it on straight may account for some of the bride's immobility. She also has a bright colored Japanese style kimono with sash (obi) which may be her own, her mother's, or grandmother's. The bride's face is heavily powdered with white powder and this makes her face look like [302] a mask. Her lips, reddened slightly, accentuate the unnatural whiteness of the face. The groom is simply dressed in a black silk kimono.

The ceremony of san-san-kudo (literally, 3, 3, 9 times) conducted by the go-between then began. It is so called because both of the principals drink 3 times from each of three different cups which are made in progressively smaller sizes so that they fit into one another. There are variations, both in the way in which the 9 sips are taken and in the cups used. Since the war, the special sets of three cups have disappeared from many homes, and three small sake cups may be used. In this ceremony, the go-between served the first cup to the groom who took 3 sips, the go-between then refilled for the bride who took 3 sips. The other two cups were presented to each principal in the same way. This ceremony was very short, lasting only as long as it takes to sip the drinks in the proper order. When the marriage ceremony (kekkonshiki) was over, the bride and the groom arose and went to the front part of the room to be presented to the guests.

585 576 The bride retained her sad immobility. This is all the more remarkable to see when one knows the bride in daily life, vivacious and jolly and anything but impassive. The groom allowed himself a little more naturalness. The go-between spoke to the guests briefly about the couple. He told where the bride and groom were born, the

date of their birth (using the Japanese reign date), where they had gone to school and their present occupations. This was done separately for each. After this was over, the bride and groom stood silently and politely, but without outward expression, while three guests in turn, previously chosen, made speeches, offering their congratulations and best wishes. On this particular occasion, the principal of the school at which the bride was teaching, the principal of the school at which the groom was a teacher, and a mutual friend of the couple spoke. 585 576 [537]

These proceedings do not receive the undivided attention of the guests who have been drinking sake for some time. On the tops of the tables, dancing in the traditional Okinawan manner and the accompanying singing have begun. The dances and songs, usually performed by men in their forties and fifties, were done with grace. These are part of all social gatherings of any consequence. 585 [273] [535] [533] [562]

The sober attitudes of the work day are cast aside. The best clothes have been put on. There is a great contrast between the barefooted partially clothed farmer or fisherman of the daytime and his appearance at social occasions. These events are conducted with dignity and poise, at least until the sake consumption has risen to a high point. The party then becomes a noisy melee of dancing, singing, and talking, but without quarrelling or fighting. There is little self-consciousness in entertaining others. Talented guests do not have to be cajoled into performing. Dancing, singing, and samisen playing continue spontaneously, with another performer beginning after one has finished. The wedding party lasts from about 5 to 8, but many of the guests stay much later until the sake is gone. [292] [534]

Following the san-san-kudo, another but more private ceremony took place while the guests were entertaining themselves. In the wedding room, colored cakes and tea were placed on a small table. The female relatives of the bride and groom, mothers and sisters mostly, sat opposite one another and ate cakes and drank the tea together. This ceremony indicated the willingness of the bride's family to give up the daughter, and of the groom's family to receive her. After this ceremony, the bride's gifts from her parents were carried in. These vary with the family's wealth. In this case, they were a chest of drawers, a mirror, a heavy comforter, pillows, and a mosquito net. Before the war, gifts were more lavish than now. The usual presents now are a large chest of drawers (tansu), two heavy quilts or comforters (futon), a mirror (kagami), two Japanese type pillows (makura), and a large mosquito net (kaya). A poor family would be most likely to omit the chest of drawers. A new kimono and money may be included. [262] 583

A Y20 note is the usual gift of an ordinary guest at a wedding. Closer friends will give about Y100. There is no uniform practice about gifts from the groom's to the bride's family. About Y1000 may be presented prior to marriage. The bride's family uses the money to purchase the wedding gifts. 431

The day following the marriage, there is another ceremony, this 000

585 following the marriage, there is another ceremony, the day time for relatives and perhaps a few close friends. The couple go to the bride's house where there is food and sake. This means the husband has really and finally accepted the daughter of the house and is thanking her parents for her.

But these events also are not observed uniformly. On the second day, there may be a gathering of friends and relatives, to be followed on the next day by visits of the bride, groom, and the groom's friends and relatives to the bride's home to give thanks for receiving the girl in marriage.

585 260 The food served at weddings depends on the economic circumstances of the family. But at today's prices food which would be considered acceptable costs at least Y100 per person including sake. This feast had many extras and consisted of a buckwheat (soba) noodle soup, slices of beef and pork, eggs, tenpura, a fritter without a fish or meat filling, sweet potatoes, a vegetable salad of raw radish, green onion and sea weed shoots, bean curd, a boiled fish paste, rice cakes, and a sweet round fritter (sato tenpura) very much resembling the doughnut in taste, various cakes, and a sponge cake (kasutera).

585 [823] The marriage ceremony is performed only when the tide is coming in, for the same reasons that were noted with the birthday celebration of the child. Marriage is a time of bounty and fulfillment, not of diminution and withdrawal.

585 114 There was a "very ancient" Okinawan custom, cited by Spencer on the authority of Shimabuku Genkichi, the student of Okinawan history, of the bride remaining in the home of her parents even after marriage, and the husband coming to her home to spend the nights with her. This Spencer ascribed to the high economic value of the woman and the custom at the time of Spencer's writing (1931) was still said to exist in parts of the northern district (Kunigami) of Okinawa.[3] The temporary return of the wife to her home after her marriage, while the husband went to a public brothel was also an old custom.[4] [548]

585 184 The preceding description of a wedding ceremony in Hatsuda may be compared with one seen in Oushichan village close to Hanashiro. (Rural weddings are not so easy to see as one might think. There may be only one or two in a year in a village; when the parties are from different villages, the number in any one village is also reduced). In this

3 Spencer, as cited, 96. In my studies at Hatsuda (which is in the Kunigami district) and in visits to Oku on the extreme northern part of the island, I did not encounter any indication of the survival of this custom. But unfortunately I was unaware of their previous existence and there may well be survivals in some of the villages.

4 Simon, Beitrage zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, 97.

ceremony the set of three cups (sakasuki) was used. The go-between, a man and a close friend of the groom, poured sake into the top cup. The groom drank; the go-between then refilled the cup, giving it to the bride. The same procedure was repeated with the remaining two cups. 585 184

In this ceremony, after the san-san-kudo, the go-between dipped a pair of chopsticks into salt, putting a bit on the open palm of the bride who then put the salt in her mouth. This was repeated for the groom. The go-between then dipped his finger into a cup of water, touching first the forehead of the bride, then that of the groom.

The presentation of the newly married couple to the guests was also done in a different way. Because of his close friendship with the groom's father, the mayor of the township introduced the bridal pair to the guests. This was a tender and affectionate speech in which the mayor told of the birthplaces of the young man and his bride. He asked the guests, as friends and relatives of the new couple, to teach them how to live well together, how to make a living, and ended by asking everyone present to have a good time. The celebration, the sake drinking, the dancing following the ceremony were essentially the same as in Matsuda. A ring was not used in either ceremony. When used, it is ordinarily given to the bride, not placed on her finger as part of the ceremony. [576] [537] [301]

A custom followed in Hinatogawa illustrates a variation in the preliminaries before the marriage ceremony. The groom (hanamuko) and the go-between or a friend go to the bride's home. They are given refreshments. The groom acknowledges his bride. He returns to his home to await her coming. This may take some time if the tide is not right. Before the war children from 7 to 10 years of age carried long lanterns (chōchin) with candles to light the way for the bride, as she walked to the groom's house. Each child carried two lanterns, which they held very tightly, as it was considered bad luck for them to change from one hand to the other. The lanterns have now been abandoned (when the ceremony is performed) in favor of flashlights, in another triumph of the Industrial Revolution. But the children enjoyed participating because they were given small amounts of money and food. [857] [416] [177]

In the Hinatogawa custom, everyone stepped over the threshhold. Even now, if houses do not have one, a long step is made from the outer stone or ground into the room. Among the guests, there is usually a jokester who humorously announces in a loud voice the arrival of the bride.

In Hinatogawa, the groom's family presents a gift of about Y5-6000 to the bride's family. (This family would have to be in moderate circumstances to do this). Gifts from the guests are from Y20-40. The groom's friends may give money to the groom's parents to defray the heavy expenses of the banquet, and the girl's friends give money to her, presumably for the purchase of wedding articles. [431]

There is one further variation in a custom from Hanashiro. On

585 184 the day of the wedding ceremony, preparations are made at the bride's home. Food is served for relatives and friends, and the party then proceeds to the groom's home for the ceremony.

[431] Gifts from the groom's family depend upon economic circumstances, but usually range from Y50 to Y100 up to Y1000. In Hanashiro, something, no matter how small, is always given by the groom's family to the bride's family. Since the war, gifts of chests of drawers and blankets are less common because of high prices.

On the third day, in this Hanashiro custom, the bride and the groom with relatives and friends visit the bride's parents during the day. On the same evening, the visit is returned by the bride's family.

585 178 727 435 There is a general agreement in all the villages that as a consequence of the war, the preliminaries to marriage, the ceremony, the gifts, and the events following the ceremony have become simpler. Part of this is due to the high cost of food and entertainment. In the competition with other ceremonies and celebrations, the tendency has been, in the interest of economy, to simplify the old customs, or when this is not possible, to combine celebrations coming close together in the year. One frequently hears the word keisai (economy) used in this connection.

3

Contemporary Attitudes Toward Marriage

58 178 Marriage customs today are different from those of even 20 years ago. From information collected from the villages, the chief changes in marriage customs have been: (1) the preliminaries and the ceremony have been simplified, (2) marriage takes place at a much older age, (3) marriages between individuals of different villages are more common, (4) there is a shorter engagement period and its significance has declined, (5) the custom in which the bride temporarily returns to her home has disappeared or become rare, (6) the go-between, formerly a respected elder negotiating a marriage, is now a friend, generally the same age as the principals, offering help and advice, and (7) the arranged marriage has given way to freer choice in marriage in which the parents' consent has become largely a formality.

581 582 [586] [562] [177] Judging by the statements of residents of all villages, many of whom were married under the old arrangement, there is almost universal approval of free choice in marriage. Divorces were said to have been common under the old system, mainly because of the wife's barrenness or unattractiveness. The chances that the marriage will be a happy one are thought to be greater under the new. Among women, it harmonizes with ideas of equality which they have heard of or read about in Japanese magazines since the occupation.

584 she objects violently, the matter may be dropped. If the go-betweens
[851] succeed in making arrangements, they become the special friends and patrons of the young couple, officiating at the marriage ceremony and attending the rituals during the first week after the birth of all the couple's children.

The first engagement event is a small family affair at the bride's house, attended by a few close relatives of the couple, who ceremonially eat rice from the same bowl. The food is contributed by the groom's family. From this time on the groom may spend evenings and nights at
[836] the bride's house, where he is permitted to have sexual intercourse
[583] with the girl. For a man whose girl lives in the same village, the day is now divided between work for his own household and helping the girl's family in the field. The groom receives supper from the girl's family, who encourage him to stay for the night. The couple is never seen together in public, although the girl also helps occasionally at her groom's house.

The second engagement party is held some later time, also at the girl's house. All the relatives of the bride whom she wishes to introduce to the groom and his family are invited. The groom also invites his relatives and friends. Food and drink are supplied by the groom. Since this may be quite a burden, the bride urges him not to hurry in planning for this party. At this engagement ceremony, relatives and friends congratulate the male members of the bride's family and some of the close female relatives, the mother and sometimes an aunt, or the grand-
[537] mother. Short speeches are exchanged. The girl's father, in response to well-wishing, may point out that the girl is inexperienced and that she needs guidance and education from the groom's family. The groom also toasts his father-in-law, tells him that he will do his best, and thanks him and his wife for their permission to marry.

● 585 The actual marriage ceremony may be postponed until much later.
[584] One reason for the long engagement period is to see whether the girl becomes pregnant, or as one person said, "To see if the seeds match."
[842] There are also economic considerations. The ceremony takes place at the groom's house. The go-between, his wife, and a few friends go to the bride's home to accompany her and her relatives and friends to the
[178] groom's house. The elaborateness of the celebration depends on the wealth of the groom's family, but since the war, all families have economized in this as well as in other ceremonies. The cost of the wedding is carried by the groom, but it is to some extent offset by small money gifts which guests contribute. The groom gives the bride's family a certain amount of money—in one case about 2000 yen (approximately $17.00) or two thirds of a well-to-do Taira family's monthly

cash income, earned by several adult members in joint work, or equal 585
to about one half of a teacher's monthly salary. The girl brings a dowry [583]
consisting of furniture, household utensils, and other things, so, as one
person said, the groom is repaid in one form or another. In former [582]
times the men had to pay a fine to the parents of the bride if she married out of the village (Suttles, personal communication; Tamura, 1927 translation:44).

Even under present conditions the wedding ceremony is colorful compared to most other private ceremonies. All guests attend in their [292]
best clothes and the bride wears a special kimono and a special wig hair dress. She is seated next to the groom, who wears Western-style clothes instead of the traditional silk kimono. The whole ceremony is presided over by the go-betweens. While preliminaries take place, the bride sits almost motionless. Her face expresses what Glacken describes as "undescribable gloom" (1955:218). This continues even through the climax of the event, the ceremonial exchange of wine which symbolizes the union of the participants. During this part of the ceremony the guests, who have been enjoying food and sake and talking amicably, give this moment a solemn meaning by their silence. [537]
Speeches by the go-between and other notables follow. The virtue of the bride and her family and of the groom are told and acknowledged by a thank-you address by the groom. Parents of the couple sit close to them but have no other function than to accept congratulations. The bride then goes around introducing herself to the guests.

Children are not present at this event. They line up outside the [852]
house and peek through openings to see the bride and watch the guests, who start dances as soon as good food and wine take effect. After the formal part of the wedding, the feast ends like any such event in the village—with great gaiety. The bride acts as hostess; she changes from her kimono and heavy hair dress into more suitable clothes and sees that the guests are well taken care of. The length of this feast depends, of course, on how much food and drink the family is able to provide. Finally, when all guests have left, the bride and groom
retire to the bedroom which has been reserved for them, sometimes [352]
furnished with one or two pieces, a chest of drawers or a Western-style
closet supplied by the bride's family. The bride also provides the [513]
comforter for the marriage bed. Friends of the groom may play a prank and replace the normal-sized comforter with a small one, "so that the marriage is consumated quicker," as they say.

Sexual relations between husband and wife are not discussed in 833
public except in jocular references. In spite of the intimacy of house- 831
hold members in the confinement of a small house, one attempts to

If the
584 girl's family is favorably disposed, one or both parties visit a diviner
791 (sanjinsoo, Japanese 'ekisha') to determine the compatibility of the couple (eesoo shirabi). The diviner ostensibly does this by casting horoscopes and drawing lots, but it is likely that he also gives weight to factors known to him or revealed by the persons requesting advice so that if one of the participants has strong objections to the marriage he may find reasons why it should not be. This interpretation is merely an hypothesis, but it seems probably that the decision of the diviner may thus be a useful face-saving device. Possibly for this reason the go-between seems to be of secondary importance.

After the decision has been made to unite the two families in marriage there may be a formal betrothal ceremony (ubukui). For this the prospective
[583] groom's family sends certain gifts including a sum of money to the bride's home. This money, called injoojing, corresponds to the "bride price" of some societies. Its payment is probably the most essential element in the whole procedure, since a small sum is still paid even when other formalities are dispensed with. This payment seals the agreement.

585 The wedding ceremony (niibichi, "drawing the roots") takes place at the groom's house in the evening of a day determined by the diviner. First a party goes from the groom's house to the bride's house with gifts. This party then carries the bride to the groom's house, where they are met by a
[177] welcoming party. In recent times the ceremony at the groom's house has been the Japanese 'sansankudo', exchange of drinks; the original Okinawan ceremony was somewhat different. When this has been completed the bride and groom celebrate separately each with friends and relatives of the same sex. On the following day, or whenever the celebration is over, the couple pays a formal visit to the bride's parents.

[184] This elaborate procedure is not usual at the present time among country people. In fact, the ceremony may not occur at all; the woman may merely come
[583] to live with the man with little or no formal recognition of the change in status beyond perhaps the payment of a small bride price. The marriage has a legal existence when it is recorded in the 'koseki'. It may not be recorded immediately; often it is recorded only a little before or together with the recording of the birth of the first child. This practice obviates changing the record if the marriage is not successful.

585 But formerly among the gentry of Naha and Shuri the wedding was even
178 more elaborate than the procedure just described. Moreover, after the cere-
565 mony the groom, instead of entertaining his male relatives and friends at home, took them to a jurinuyaa where for three days and nights they were en-
[548] tertained by the juri with food, drink, music, and sex. I am acquainted with three interpretations explaining why the groom spends his wedding night with a prostitute. The first, that given by an American missionary[1] explains the practice as symbolizing the freedom of the male and demonstrating to the bride that her husband was free to find sexual gratification elsewhere. The second interpretation was one given to me by a man in his thirties, a descendant of the Shuri gentry, and a man with rather "modern" ideas. He said that

[1] The missionary Schwarz, whose work is not presently available to me.

a young man would have had no previous sexual experience and that it was felt 585
that it was necessary for him to be instructed by an experienced woman before 178
he had relations with his bride. The third explanation was given by a country 565
woman in her fifties, of gentry descent. She told how her husband had gone to the wedding of a city relative and had been taken afterwards to the juri-nuyaa. She did not know if her husband had been treated to a juri or not but was sure that the groom must have had one. Her explanation of the practice was that it was mainly a display of the position of the family and its ability to provide entertainment. Probably there is a bit of truth in all three explanations. The practice does undoubtedly reenforce the male's right to sexual freedom. The second explanation seems a little weak, especially in view of the reported former practice of the city gentry of combining a sexual initiation with the boy's coming-of-age ceremony, but the explanation may be that given for the earlier trip to the brothel and it may also be the "explanation" of the practice conventionally given, conventional explanations not necessarily revealing real motives. The last explanation, that the practice is mainly a display, probably strikes at the most important motive, the use of entertainment to demonstrate status.

Secondary Marriage Formerly wealthier men sometimes took juri as 837
mistresses. In the village of Yamada before the war, the richest man, or 556
perhaps the only man designated as "rich man" had his own juri. She was a kooi-juri, a "bought juri", that is, he had bought her from the house she had been indentured to. She stayed in Naha, but occasionally came to Yamada. The informant who told of this, a woman in her thirties, expressed the opinion that any man who became rich would naturally soon want his own juri.

At the present time it seems to be a fairly widespread practice for a 595
man who has enough means to have a second wife (yuubee, in Japanese 'higō', "number two"). Sometimes this is done openly, sometimes secretly. It may be a more common practice today than formerly because of the present skewed sex ratio. Some information was obtained about two such men, one a fisherman and the other a doctor, so-called.

The fisherman was an Itoman man; his first wife had no children so he took as a second wife a woman whose family lived in a town to the north. The second wife has borne three children. The "main wife" (in Japanese 'honsai') stays at Itoman in the house of the man's father, and there she is raising the husband's first son, the child of the second wife. But most of the time the husband is at one of the northern villages with his second wife, her other children, and two boys of junior high school age whom he bought on one of the outer islands to help him in his fishing. Unfortunately I did not learn how the family was registered in the 'koseki'.

The "doctor" was a man from a village south of Naha, who had an office
at his home and also a practice in Naha. His methods consisted of heat treat- [757]
ments and steam baths. He spent about half the time with his "number two", whom he had set up in a room in Naha. His first wife was presumably unaware of the existence of the second wife, even though he once took the second wife to his home along with a patient, ostensibly as a friend of the patient.

Within the village there are no class differences. Considerable prestige continues to be accorded certain occupations---teacher, doctor, government official. Land ownership does not appear to be an important status factor, and there is no landlord class. 621 554

Family The Okinawan family system has been in a process of change for over fifty years. Abolition of the system of communal land tenure and the introduction of private property and Japanese laws of inheritance provided the first shock. The bulk of the estate was hereafter conferred upon the first son while younger sons were frequently landless; consequently, many left the village in search of livelihood elsewhere. Where formerly the kin group was concentrated in a given locality, now its members are often scattered about, making interaction infrequent. A gradual decline in the practice of kin group endogamy also has contributed to weakening the solidarity of the kin group. There seems to be an increasing trend for large kin groups to fragment into smaller segments. According to young people who were consulted on the subject, their generation has little interest in kin group affairs; this may be misleading, as it is chiefly a matter which occupies the attention of older people. Perhaps one young man stated the situation accurately when he said, "I have no interest in such matters now, but I suppose I will when I am past forty." 593 178 [423] [428] 61 178

Many families were shattered by the war, and in the postwar period there has been a weakening of the family due to a variety of factors which might best be described as growing individualism. One factor, noted previously, was an increasing tendency for members of the household to maintain separate purses where formerly all earnings were turned over to the head of the house. There is some sentiment among the more educated for changing existing inheritance laws in favor of equal shares for all heirs regardless of sex or birth order. The author also heard complaints that young people often run off to seek lucrative jobs elsewhere unmindful of their family obligations. 593 178

Marriage In contrast to the prewar period when most marriages were arranged, the young people today claim that they will marry someone of their own choice. This seems to be generally true, but often the parents will go through the process of arranging after the young people have decided. Young people also will vehemently deny that they will make use of a fortune teller to determine the most propitious day, but their mothers most likely will do this and then will exert their influence for the proper day. In all likelihood the young people will accept in order not to displease the parents. 584 178 [585]

If a person, particularly a young woman, delays too long in becoming married, the family will arrange a match. In one such case known to the author a well-educated woman of twenty-five who had financial independence as a school teacher was urged into a match much against her own feelings. She explained her compliance as obligation to her family for having provided her with an excellent education.

Pitts' population studies indicate that the average age of marriage has dropped slightly in the postwar period due to the fact that Okinawan men are no longer delayed by military service. Despite this slight drop in the 582 178

585 the day of the wedding ceremony, preparations are made at the
184 bride's home. Food is served for relatives and friends, and the party then proceeds to the groom's home for the ceremony.

[431] Gifts from the groom's family depend upon economic circumstances, but usually range from Y50 to Y100 up to Y1000. In Hanashiro, something, no matter how small, is always given by the groom's family to the bride's family. Since the war, gifts of chests of drawers and blankets are less common because of high prices.

On the third day, in this Hanashiro custom, the bride and the groom with relatives and friends visit the bride's parents during the day. On the same evening, the visit is returned by the bride's family.

585 There is a general agreement in all the villages that as a con-
178 sequence of the war, the preliminaries to marriage, the ceremony, the gifts, and the events following the ceremony have become simpler.
727 Part of this is due to the high cost of food and entertainment. In the competition with other ceremonies and celebrations, the tendency
435 has been, in the interest of economy, to simplify the old customs, or when this is not possible, to combine celebrations coming close together in the year. One frequently hears the word keisai (economy) used in this connection.

3

Contemporary Attitudes Toward Marriage

58 Marriage customs today are different from those of even 20 years
178 ago. From information collected from the villages, the chief changes in marriage customs have been: (1) the preliminaries and the ceremony have been simplified, (2) marriage takes place at a much older age, (3) marriages between individuals of different villages are more common, (4) there is a shorter engagement period and its significance has declined, (5) the custom in which the bride temporarily returns to her home has disappeared or become rare, (6) the go-between, formerly a respected elder negotiating a marriage, is now a friend, generally the same age as the principals, offering help and advice, and (7) the arranged marriage has given way to freer choice in marriage in which the parents' consent has become largely a formality.

581 Judging by the statements of residents of all villages, many of
582 whom were married under the old arrangement, there is almost universal approval of free choice in marriage. Divorces were said to have been
[586] common under the old system, mainly because of the wife's barrenness or unattractiveness. The chances that the marriage will be a happy one are
[562] thought to be greater under the new. Among women, it harmonizes with
[177] ideas of equality which they have heard of or read about in Japanese magazines since the occupation.

absence of need of a similar release from the boring and monotonous life of the women. Yet I noticed little in the behavior of village women to indicate they were overwhelmed by monotony or bored with life, though perhaps longer residence in the villages would have proved this observation false. Might one say that the culture does not fulfill its promise to the men, even though they are favored and catered to and that the drinking is the result of this disappointment? This neglects the fact that drinking is old in the culture and is almost always done in the company of others. If personal frustration and disappointment were the cause, one might expect more compulsive and solitary drinking and more alcoholism. 273 562 154

The sources of this distinction between the drinking men and the abstemious women, I think, lie in the values held by the culture. In the first place, sake drinking is age old in Japan, and probably in Okinawa as well. Drinking sake is associated with ceremonies, such as marriage, with religious observances, with social and public life. The public life of an official, a shopkeeper or business man, a farmer, a fisherman is not divorced from entertainment. Men have an outside life. In their dealings with other men, they are accustomed to drinking. Women do not have this outside life. They have inside duties of which the care of the children and of the house are the most important. Historically, the source of the abstemiousness of the women may be the obligations of being a mother, to be ready at all times to care and provide for or nurse her children, obligations considered incompatible with drinking. Women are expected to be polite, refined, and quiet. These ideals may be difficult to maintain in drinking. 273 562 181 [577]

At times a husband and wife may participate in social gatherings as a couple. These gatherings may either be (1) an informal, often casual, event when guests drop in and spend part of the evening, and (2) the formal affairs, such as a marriage, a birthday celebration, a holiday, an extended family reunion, or the observance of a death anniversary. On these occasions, the men occupy the first room, the women the second. The entertainment and conversations of the evening are for the most part governed by this segregation. 562 574

Though women are tolerant of drinking, domestic difficulties are often caused by the drinking of the man. Frequent drinking with its noise and late hours may result in family quarrels (fufukanka). Quarrels involving the wife and the husband's female relatives, especially the mother, are said to be uncommon. In the southern villages, the war did away with one cause of family quarrels. Men no longer go to the geisha quarter. There are naturally tensions coming out of individual antagonisms and dissatisfactions: the husband's mother who ignores her grandchild because she dislikes her daughter-in-law, pressure on a woman to produce children to satisfy the pride of the husband and of the grandparents, and failure to bear children, which usually leads to divorce initiated by the husband. Divorces, in these rural villages, were found to be uncommon.[5] 593 273 578 [586]

5 No reliable statistics could be found. These remarks and those in the next paragraph are based on personal observation, impressions and conversations.

were justified. Both children were slightly retarded, and people believed that this fact added even more proof. 848

An illegitimate child is loved by everybody and treated like any legitimate child. The bastard's name is listed in the registry under his mother's and his illegitimacy noted. Since World War II the distinguishing red ink mark is no longer used in recording these children. Unless the mother marries the child's real father, the offspring has no legal rights of inheritance. If she marries another man, the child may receive affectionate treatment from the stepfather, but he remains legally her son. Socially such a child does not suffer any form of ostracism, but adults make references to his status within his earshot. One such girl proudly said that people had told her that she was half-Japanese. [837] [732] [217] [428] [554]

Legally a man cannot have more than one wife, but there are cases of multiple marriage even in Taira. It takes a substantial income for such an arrangement, since a second wife is given a separate place to live. A younger "wife" is usually taken if there is no male heir born by the legal wife or if the marriage remains childless altogether. A man, formerly a resident of the village, took a young concubine late in life after his sons were killed during the war. She bore him a son, apparently with the consent of the first wife, since there was amicable interaction between the two although they lived separately. The husband registers such children as his legal offspring. 595 842

Two modes of divorce are possible. A couple may agree to separate and call a family council of parents and relatives on both sides. The township office is then notified and separation acknowledged. Once children have been born, such divorces are not too frequent, at least there were few cases of divorced women with children in Taira. A husband may initiate a divorce by telling his wife of his desire to separate. Extra-marital relationships of the wife would be sufficient cause, as would be sterility, which is interpreted as her fault. In Taira a settlement within the family is the more frequent mode of divorce although relatively rare. One official estimated that the rate of divorce for the whole township is two per year. Among the 59 marriages we found listings for five subsequent divorces. During fieldwork, many debates about modernizing divorce laws were held among members of the Women's Association, which advocated the abolition of the unilateral emphasis that gave husbands all the rights and wives almost none. Only a crime committed by a man would be sufficient cause under existing law to permit the wife to initiate a divorce. 586 [837] [842] [671] [575]

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Part II

Child Training

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Chapter 12

Pregnancy and Childbirth

The custom of "trial marriage" stresses the importance Taira villagers 842
put on a woman's ability to bear children, for it is imperative that
there be heirs to carry on the family line. The first child is usually born [583]
within one or two years after marriage. Taira people would be extremely surprised if a child is not born soon, for children, especially
male offspring, are desired. A barren wife faces the possibility of annul- [586]
ment of her marriage by her husband or even her husband's parents.
Should this action be disagreeable to her husband, she may still be [595]
forced to take the lesser role of co-wife. A fertile woman who fails to
bear a male child may suffer a situation not unlike that of a barren
woman. Pregnancies, however, arouse a great amount of ambivalence 843
in attitude.

Most women welcome pregnancy happily, knowing that they are 842
fulfilling their role as a woman. Nevertheless, some women complain

[Kochinda-son]

January, February and April lead in total numbers of births. However, August is the lower fourth in number of conceptions. The possible relationship suggested above awaits validating or disproving when more 'son' can be studied in order to obtain a larger sample. The subject is here mentioned in order to provide researchers with a new path of inquiry. 163

Widows as Mothers of Illegitimates Twenty-nine widows are mothers of 35 illegitimate children. One had twins, and five other widows had illegitimate children in tandem. In the months of February, August, April, October and November, 19 widows conceived illegitimate children, while in the remaining seven months only 15 illegitimates were conceived. The sample involved here is too small to do more than suggest a possible correlation of date of conception and festivals. The possibility should be kept in mind, however, by anyone who does further research on Okinawan population. 848 163

Mixed Blood Illegitimates There are only two registered illegitimates in Kochinda-son who have non-Okinawan fathers. Both are from one village, and neither are included in the above analysis. The 'son' office personnel said that they have heard of about seven or eight more, but that they are not registered as such in the 'koseki'. According to them, the children of mixed blood are probably not registered at all, and will not be until they become of school age. 848 [44]

Connections with Divorce Three illegitimate children were the cause of divorces. One husband divorced his wife upon the birth of her illegitimate child, and sent her and the child back to her parents' home. Another husband recorded the divorce of his wife and the adoption by him of her illegitimate daughter the same day. In the third instance, the widow of a man killed in the war bore an illegitimate girl child. The widow's parents-in-law forced her to return to her family and to record in the 'koseki' a divorce from her deceased husband. 848 586

Accuracy of Figures There are more illegitimates in the 'son' than are registered in the 'koseki' as such. Quite often in the prewar period---and possibly even now---the husband's child by another woman was recorded as the son or daughter of his legal wife. In one case the 'koseki' record showed one woman as bearing two children seven months apart. Investigation showed that the above method of recording had been used. The same method of concealment is often used when a man's unmarried daughter bears a child. 848

Postwar Divorces While there were 264 postwar marriages recorded in the 'koseki' of Kochinda-son, 54 postwar divorces were entered into the record for the same period. This would indicate a rough divorce rate of 20.4 in Kochinda. Since in America one in four marriages ends in divorce[1], and in Japan the rate (as of 1949) is 9.7, it is clear that the Okinawan divorce rate much more closely resembles the American. This Okinawan rate is confirmed by the 1952 statistics, which showed a rate of 20.3 (3,220 marriages and 653 divorces)[2] for Okinawa Guntō. 586 [171]

1 George C. Homans, The Human Group, p. 276.
2 Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku, p. 1.

[Kochinda-son]

586 Childless Couples Divorces of couples who had no children accounted for 18 cases, or one-third of the total. That there were seven instances of remarriage of the husband after the divorce leads one to the conclusion that the divorce in many cases was caused by the failure of the wife to bear a child. Of the 18 divorced wives, three had been married to men outside Kochinda-son, and three more returned to parents outside Kochinda-son.

The average age of the wife at date of divorce was 24.0 years, and the average was 25.9 years for the 15 men for whom there was complete data. There was no way to estimate the average length of the marriage, since most of them had taken place before the temporary 'koseki' was started in 1948, and the dates of marriage were therefore not recorded.

Couples with Children Divorces of couples who had had children numbered thirty-six, or two-thirds of the total postwar divorces. In three cases the husband remarried, and in two cases the wife found another husband.

The average length of marriage, based upon the elapsed time between date of first conception and divorce record date, was 5.9 years. Five women were divorced from men living outside the 'son' and four men divorced women who returned to parental homes outside the 'son'. The average age of the husband at divorce, based on thirty cases, was 33.3 years. The average age of the divorced wives was 30.8 years.

Reasons It was not possible in each case to assess the reason for the divorce, though some causes more or less suggest themselves by close analysis of the family record of all concerned. Supplemented by information from 'son' office personnel, causes are seen to include the failure to bear children, quarreling of the wife with her husband's mother and grown but unmarried sisters, the bearing of an illegitimate by the wife, the fathering of an illegitimate by the husband, the birth of several daughters but no male heir, and a bride's not being considered a good farmer.

Some of the postwar divorces grew out of social conditions consequent upon the end of the war. An Okinawan soldier demobilized in Japan would occasionally believe the rumor that all Okinawans had died in the war. He would bring back a new wife, only to arrive and find his first wife living. Sometimes he would divorce the first wife, but more often would abandon the new wife for the prewar spouse.

586 159 Divorce Histories A study of individual cases serves to illustrate how in many instances divorce may be the result of failure of one partner to live up to the norms of the society.

Case 1

Wife Haru[1], aged 21, became jealous of her husband's attention to other women. Though she had a baby daughter four months old, she divorced her husband. Seven months later she left the baby with her mother-in-law.

1 In all cases presented here personal names have been changed.

[Koohinda-son]

The husband sought military employment after the divorce. Haru has now also gone to the city to find military employment because her younger brother, who is household head, became angry and said, "...even the animals know enough to suckle their young." An observer commented, "Haru is mentally deficient, so that is why she was jealous." 586 159

Case 2

Kanā at the age of 32 was Chūsei's third wife, and he was her fourth husband. His seventy-year-old mother, Ushii, had become blind as a result of the war. Kanā insulted her mother-in-law somehow. In turn Ushii insulted Kanā by saying she couldn't work very hard. Chūsei divorced Kanā for the quarrel, and she moved to an offshore island. More recently she remarried to a man two villages away, and they have two children. Her new husband fishes during the summer and works for a big sugar mill during the winter.

Case 3

The husband, Jirō, was a second son of 23 years, who had become an adopted husband, or 'yōshi'. His wife Yae, who was a common law child, bore him a son. Because he violently disliked farming he sold the land he inherited and bought a mat-making shop in Naha. His real father, killed in the war, had operated such a business. Jirō also took up a concubine in Naha.

Though she had borne Jirō a son, Yae divorced him because she didn't like the idea of a concubine, and preferred farming to life in Naha. Later Jirō sold the houselot in the village, took the house apart and reassembled it in Naha. The mat shop failed after one year. He now plans to make his living by doing nothing but renting out rooms. He married his concubine eighteen months later, after she bore him a son. Yae married a few days after the divorce, to a man from a neighboring village. She now has two sons.

Diagnosis In the first case cited above, we can see several factors that help us to understand Okinawan society. Attitudes expressed include: [593]

a) A wife should not be jealous of her husband's attention to other women;
b) A brother need not support his sister if she refuses to care for her own child; and
c) A mother's first duty is to care for her own child.

Both divorced persons eventually sought military employment. So we see that urbanization is not alone a matter of pull from the city, but contains in addition an element of being "pushed from the village". [369]

The Chūsei-Kanā divorce was brought on by an insult to the husband's mother. In Okinawa as in Japan the mother-in-law wields a good deal of authority. [606] [171]

In the third case cited, it was found that Jirō had a very bad reputation in the village because he was a 'yōshi' who sold his inherited [829]

[Kochinda-son]

586 159 829 property. After that action he was called by the villagers "white ant", or "termite". From the beginning, community feeling was behind Yae and opposed to him. Circumstances of her birth carried little stigma, but his actions outraged everyone. People thought it quite natural that she should live with another man and bear his child before Jirō formally recorded the divorce in the 'koseki'. As far as the villagers were concerned, the divorce had become effective when Jirō sold his inheritance.

161 3. A Note on the Accuracy of Population Statistics in Okinawa

Much conflicting population data were encountered by the SIRI team. Hence this note is included as being of possible value to military government and to other social scientists who may work in Okinawa at a later date.

Census Figures Year-end census figures, which are based upon de facto count rather than de jure count are the most accurate, since they include all persons actually resident in the village at the time, as well as 'museki', or persons without an official local 'koseki' record.

Many times these census figures are supplemented by figures reporting both the above and all persons visiting in the village or town at the date of census. These "visitors" may include students, peddlers, guests at inns, persons in institutions, and persons visiting friends or relatives. A few examples from the 1953 statistics report of GRI are given below:

Table XXVII

Political Unit	Koseki Population	Resident Population	De Facto Population
Okinawa Guntō	649,997	627,556	637,215
Shuri-shi	22,372	21,921	23,015
Nago-chō	17,067	16,955	17,255
Goeku-son	21,065	20,931	20,749
Kochinda-son	8,738	8,504	-not given-

161 641 The Museki People 'Museki' is a term applied to single individuals or families who are not registered in the political unit where they are living. They may maintain with varying degrees of attention and accuracy a 'koseki' elsewhere. Some simply may have no registration in a 'koseki' anywhere due to a semi-wandering life or a criminal bent. These latter are said to have no legal rights. "How can anyone have rights unless he has a 'koseki'?"

161 621 Ad Hoc Counts Persons who wish an accurate count of the people in any village are advised to consult directly with the village headman, or 'kuchō', rather than with the 'son' office. He is in constant daily touch with village affairs, and is the most knowledgeable man to contact about village matters. Figures given by a 'kuchō', usually are the most accurate for total number of people in the village at any given time. 'Museki' persons are included, but those who are legally residents of the village and living elsewhere are not included.

592

Mother of head, age 48
Grandfather of head, age 65
Younger brother, age 25
Younger brother, age 16
Younger sister, age 9
Younger sister, age 11
Younger brother's wife, age 25
Two nieces, ages 4 and 2, daughters of the eldest younger brother and his wife.

These examples, of which many more could be given, illustrate several points regarding the family system. It is not uncommon to have as many as four generations in a family unit, the present head, his parent, the children, and the grandchildren of the head. There are four generations in illustration #3. The combination of a first son and his wife, with his parents, his younger brothers and sisters, and the head's own children, a common composition, illustrates the responsibilities of the first son both to his parents and to his siblings. Responsibility for illegitimate children is with the family of the girl. Occasionally [348] a husband will accept an illegitimate child born to his wife either before or during the marriage, but it is more usual for the illegitimate child to be reared in the household from which the mother came. In the second illustration, one illegitimate daughter lives with her grandparents and the mother is not in the household. The third illustration shows an unusual situation in which the young head and his wife have their children, his mother, his grandfather, minor younger sisters and brothers, and, in addition, a married younger brother and his wife and their two children. Ordinarily these would have established a branch family and not have been part of the older brother's household.

At present, the commonest family compositions are (1) the biological family, (2) the family with a young eldest son as the head with the widowed mother and other minor brothers and sisters, a type of composition which has increased as a result of the war, (3) uncles, aunts, cousins, and occasionally unrelated persons may live in the house, (4) often grandparents are found with their grandchildren, (5) widows with minor children are also common, an incidence increased by war.

The percentage of widows in Hinatogawa, in addition to the casualties [162] of war, is due to the loss of fishermen at sea, a not uncommon tragedy [165] as the typhoon season coincides with the best fishing seasons. Since [581] widows with children seldom remarry, the family composition remains the same until the first son assumes the leadership of the family and the mother resides with him.

Each of the families making up the extended family is either a main or a branch family. This arrangement is repeated in the individual 596 families as well. If we take as an example a family with both parents, [582] a first son, a second son, and a first daughter, we may expect as a normal development that the eldest son will marry between 24 and 27 and [591] live with his wife at the home of his parents, that the father will

[Kochinda-son]

582 For the 114 in-village marriages the average age of the wife at date marriage was recorded was 21.2 years. For the husbands in this category the average was 23.5 years. Both these averages are consistently lower than the averages for out-village marriages---it apparently takes longer to search farther afield. In addition, one often hears the country belief that the more education a man has, the farther away he goes for a wife.

The 150 out-village marriages recorded include 117 women living in Kochinda-son, and 33 women who have married to men outside the 'son'. Of these 33 women, those who married men from relatively far away numbered nineteen, and those who married men living in villages relatively close to their parents' village were fourteen in number. One of the first group married an American serviceman from Kansas. One of the outside-the-'son'-marriages involved a woman fifty years of age who was marrying for the second time. For the remaining 32 marriages---all of which were first marriages---the average age of the woman involved was 22.5 years.

Of the 117 out-village women who married within Kochinda-son, twenty-seven came from rather far away, forty from non-contiguous 'aza' relatively close, and fifty from neighboring, or areally contiguous, 'aza'. The average age of the 117 husbands was 25.0 years. This figure is reduced to 24.9 years if the men over 40 are eliminated. The average age of the wives[1] was 22.1 years, an average reduceable to 21.9 years if women over forty are eliminated.

587 Second Marriages In the normal course of events a certain number of people will marry for the second time. The Navy Civil Affairs Handbook indicates that "...about twice as many men as women remarry after being widowed or legally separated." A considerable number of the postwar marriages analyzed under the spacing of births category above were second marriages. It is of course not possible to ascertain the percentage of these, inasmuch as they are not listed as such in the temporary 'koseki'.

[614] Lebra was told that in a first marriage men tended to wed women from within the munchu (extended patrilineage) rather than from outside the munchu, and that in a second marriage they tended to marry outside the munchu.

588 "Common Law Children": Definitions In addition to legally recorded marriages, there are those unions producing children who have no legal claim as heirs to their fathers' property. If the father recognizes the child as his own, it is given his family name, and entered into the 'koseki' as a 'shoshidan', if a boy, and a 'shoshijo', if a girl. In this report these will be called "common law children", though the reader must realize that 'shoshi' is not the exact equivalent of the phrase "common law" as it is used in the United States.

831
848

[1] Only the ages of 116 wives could enter this calculation; no birthdate was available for one wife, though the other data for the marriage were complete.

[Kochinda-son]

If the child's father refused to admit paternity or is unknown, the child is registered as a 'shiseiji', or "privately born child", in the 'koseki' of the mother. In this report 'shiseiji' will be referred to as "illegitimates". There are rare cases where a young man may claim the illegitimate child, but will not permit its mother's name to be registered. 588 848 851

Numbers In Kochinda-son there were registered in the 'koseki' 57 common law children. Of these, 26 were born prior to 1 January 1946; that is, 46% of the total were conceived prior to the invasion of 1 April 1945. It is more likely than not that many prewar cases of illegitimacy were not registered in the temporary postwar 'koseki' from which this information was taken. The remaining 31, comprising 54% of the total, were born after 1 January 1946.

The 57 were divided by sex as follows: female---31, male--22, not accurately recorded--4. Even if the indeterminate ones are all male, it means that there is a preponderance of females. This low sex ratio may help to balance the extremely high sex ratio noted above for first birth children of parents who reported the marriage after the birth of their first child. For comparative purposes, the data are repeated below:

Table XVII

	First Born Child a Boy	First Born Child a Girl
Marriages Recorded Before First Birth	51	55
Marriages Recorded After First Birth	45	24
Total	96	79

Birth Years One prewar common law child does not have a birthdate recorded, although internal evidence in the 'koseki' indicates that he was born sometime in the period between 1939 and 1941 inclusive. The years of birth of the remaining 56 common law children, of all ages, is shown below: 848 851

Table XVIII

Year Born	Number of Children
1954[1]	3
1953	4
1952	4
1951	4
1950	6
1949	3
1948	3

[1] This is for the first three months of 1954 only.

One can infrequently observe women walking from Minatogawa to nearby villages to sell their fish. Women and young girls also sell fish locally, standing somewhere off the main street with their hand scale (hakkari) and a basket or bucket of fish. Housewives come up, price the individual fish, often weighing it for themselves on the hand scale. 443 804

Like the Chinese scale, this is simply a round piece of wood on one end of which there is a weight. The fulcrum is a string, held in the hand, which holds the scale. The item to be weighed is put in a basket and placed on the other end. The weight is ascertained by moving the counter-weight till both sides are in balance. Markings along the piece of wood show the exact amount. Every village shop has one of these scales.

There is very little haggling over prices, although the housewife is choosy and will inquire the cost of different individual fish before deciding which one, if any, to buy. 443

Usually the night's catch is marketed the following morning. Women, by custom, receive a fee for selling fish. A woman who takes her husband's and his partner's fish to market (the catch being insufficient for both wives to participate) is paid her fee by weight. 443 465

25 kin (about 33 pounds) sold at Y30 per kin	Y1500
Woman's share, at Y5 per kin	- 150
Remainder	Y1350
Each Partner's Share	675

[804]

The Y5 per kin is a selling commission. If more than one woman goes, the fee is split between them. Women pay all expenses and their bus fare from the commission. Occasionally wives alternate in taking the catch to market.

When the woman of a fishing family takes fish to market, she is doing more than performing an errand. Her skill in bargaining and general knowledge of prices, of the catch and the demand for various kinds of fish determine whether she gets a good or only a fair price. Generally, mature women sell the fish. Younger women, in the late teens and early twenties, often accompany the older women as helpers and gradually are initiated into the tricks of the trade. Young women, not being skillful, are more likely to accept the first offer, or to sell below the highest price obtainable. One source of family quarreling (fufukonka) is the anger of a husband when his wife has sold at a lower price than his neighbor's wife. Women who have children leave them with a relative, or an older daughter. When the wife of the family is unable to sell the fish because her children are too young, the chore is taken over by a woman relative. In Minatogawa, this substitute work also is often done by widows who, in addition, might sell fish caught by male relatives. 443 562 [578] [855] [589]

The money earned by women in the marketing of the fish, after 000

Chapter 4

Property

Rice paddies, farm land and some grass land, trees on private land, a house site and house, as well as livestock and tools, are owned by the heads of households. Land is registered in the household head's name, and he has sole right to dispose of it. Ordinarily younger sons have no right to their father's property, but a man may will property to them. If there is no will, however, everything reverts to the eldest son. Despite this, several families of younger sons were found to have land holdings equal to those of eldest sons. 423 [428]

A widow with young sons may hold land in trust for her sons or, if there are no male heirs, may inherit the land outright. Divorcees and spinsters may also acquire land by purchase, and there are several women in Taira who are household heads and owners of real estate. [589] [428] [592]

Because of the war and a general shift in population, much land and many house sites have changed owners, and former wealthy families are no longer the largest landowners. When they returned, several families with small prewar land holdings were able to raise the necessary cash to buy land. [556]

There is little sentimental attachment to a particular plot of land, and households have never been associated with particular plots. Rather, land is considered a necessary commodity, and thus it frequently changes hands. This sentiment may derive from the communal land-holding system with its periodic redistribution of plots to individuals, which was found throughout Okinawa until abolished under Japanese administration at the turn of the century. 423 592 [177]

Forest land from which villagers derive an income is owned by the village. Being a member of the community confers the right to use village forests, subject to regulations made by the village. Of particular interest is the village-owned tea field, which the village cooperative controls. The field has been subdivided, and each household in the 423 621 474

782 in her house until a male can assume the responsibility for them. The
562 propitiation of the natural deities is lead by the village priestess—and
[769] she is assisted by a group of women.

Taira women are essential to the financial well-being of the family.
562 Their role in both agriculture and lumbering is equal to that of the
462 men. Since there are few kinds of work which women cannot do and
592 do not engage in, a widow or single woman, although handicapped, can
[589] support herself and her family. Several women, whose husbands died during World War II or who have been divorced, support themselves and their children. One Taira woman supported her four children while her husband left for Japan to help a sick brother. She worked the household fields and sold fish. Her husband, who was expected to return after three weeks, remained away for six months. Once or twice he wrote his family to ask for money; his wife and sister obliged. Even old women remain active members of the family. They contribute to the household economy by working in the potato fields, cutting firewood, and doing other useful work around the house.

Such economic independence gives women a place in the family
593 which cannot easily be challenged by a male who theoretically can
562 claim preferential treatment. Perhaps a man is more dependent on his
[462] wife than she is on him. Men never cook. They expect the womenfolk to look after house affairs. A wife, although she does not usually own the land on which she works, has the same rights as her husband to the village forest lands. There she cuts firewood like the men, cooperating with the husband in preparing it for sale. Most of all, pig raising is her concern, and this gives her an important hold on the purse strings.

There is no uniform rule as to who keeps the money in the family. In some households the husband takes care of all financial matters and hands over small sums of money to the wife for daily use. In these
[156] families it is either found that the wife does not contribute heavily to subsistence or that she is from another village and is somewhat intimidated by her husband and unable to find security in having relatives close by. Such women are meek or at least restrained and solicitous of their husbands.

There are numerous cases, however, in which women handle all money affairs. In one such home the husband is a township official. His wife, although from a distant village, is a forceful character and follows economic pursuits independent of her husband. He is glad to let his wife handle finances, although he retains ultimate control over them. The more common situation, however, is almost equal responsibility in economic matters between the sexes. Where this is the case,

[Kanegusuku]

time of the author's stay in the village there was no individual or family which could be classified as rentier. 427

Changes Effected by the War War-caused changes in the distribution of land holdings among the various households were considerable. Many of the land-rich houses, if such a term may be used where the "richest" has but eleven acres, are such today because of the war, and conversely some houses have become impoverished or had their resources severely strained because of it. Unlike many other communities Kanegusuku was fortunate in that only about 4% of its total land area was permanently ruined as a result of the war. Some land was lost to a road, but most of the loss was due to a small military camp (about company size) now converted into a tuberculosis sanatorium. Since land holdings are usually fragmented and scattered, no one family lost all its land, though one family lost nearly one-half and several approximately one quarter. The loss to the sanatorium is not compensated for by jobs for Kanegusuku people since no villager is employed there. This is explained by the fact that the director is from Itoman; so "naturally" he could not be expected to hire Kanegusuku people. 621 423 177 727 [186]

The composition of the household has changed in many homes since the war as a result of the large number of deaths. Today a number of households consist of the usual nuclear family of husband, wife, and their offspring plus a related "broken" family such as widowed sister and her children or widower brother and his children or parent and unmarried siblings. In most cases the holdings of both families are pooled and the household functions as a single economic unit, though separate purses are sometimes maintained. There are several old people who live alone in their houses, but they are usually watched over by near relatives. 621 592 177 727

The richest landowner (eleven acres) in the village today was a second son in very moderate circumstances before the war. As a second son he was given by his parents to childless relatives for adoption. During the war his adoptive parents died, leaving him their entire estate. The war also caused the death of his real father and elder brother, leaving him the sole heir to their property. He has since married a woman who as the surviving member of her family is heiress to its property. Consequently, this house now holds the land of three families. The villagers are somewhat envious, but they say that misfortune may result since this house now must make the ritual observances to the ancestors of three families, which is felt to be too great a task for anyone, and inadequate attention may lead to calamity. 621 586 727 [769]

The women who were widowed by the war and who have chosen to maintain separate households have had in most cases a difficult time of it, and particularly those widows without grown sons have been hard pressed. Farming an irrigated field is said to be impossible for a woman alone; therefore, most of them have had to rent out their rice lands, thereby losing much of its return. It is also very difficult for a house which contains only women to participate in reciprocal labor exchanges, since two days of labor by a woman are equated to one day of labor by a man. 621 589 727 [462] [427] [476]

[602] of contemporary relationships. The family system does not mean only family life, or a set of obligations, or a family. It is all of these, and, in addition, a historical continuity. It is an institution in which the past is constantly intruding on the present and in which the present is a combination of acts to secure one's own livelihood and well-being as well as to perpetuate the family in the future. A simple illustration will make this clear. One of the obligations of living [569] members of a family is to observe the death anniversaries of close relatives. The last, the most important, and the most sumptuous of these observances occurs on the 33d year after the death of the relative who is mourned. Thus a grandson, most likely the first son of a first son, may end this period of memorial observances for a grandfather whom he may never have seen. There is a constant intrusion of obligations coming from the past. These, often onerous and expensive, are honored in a positive manner.

In the present, conscious plans are made for the continuance of the family. These are achieved through three closely inter-related devices: [591] the succession of the first son to his father's house and, on his marriage, taking up residence at the father's home, the system of inheritance which [428] favors the first son, and the establishment of branch households for other sons, awarding them, if the family's wealth permits, a house site and field for cultivation.

In this way, the continuance of the main line and collateral branches of the family is provided for. If we pursue the illustration of inheritance a little further, we can think of the division of the land as an [428] expression of the family system applied to the use and to the sharing of [311] the available natural resources. The system of agriculture, the scattered ownership of small holdings, the attempts at land conservation and reclamation are best understood as reflections of duties and obligations to the present and future generations in the family system. If they are not seen in this way, they may appear to be isolated practices best discussed as techniques or as aspects of law and custom.

Not only in family observances but in public holidays as well, the [537] subtle influences of the family system can be observed. Public holidays [569] and festivals are centered on two main themes, sometimes both together: thanksgiving for good crops and reverence for those who have passed away. The holiday of O-Bon in the seventh lunar month, in which the departed dead are invited to return for a visit to the homes of their living descendants and the celebrations at lunar New Year are good examples of this.

[582] In village life, the family system is strengthened by the high incidence of intermarriage among local kinship groups. A general lack [621] of mobility in the villages studied has also led to the increase of immediate relatives living in the same village. This lends to community, and even to local government some of the characteristics of a wider family life. The establishment of branch families in the village of their parents

601

Step-mother	keibo
Step-father	keifu
Adopted son	yōshi
Adopted daughter	yōjo
Illegitimate child	shiseiji
Person living with a family but not a relative	dōkyonin

Descent is reckoned through the male line. Normally the first son succeeds to the headship of the house, and this is actually true in the great majority of cases, although the failure of the first or later sons to survive to maturity, or the death of sons in the war, have resulted in many household headships being held by sons other than the first, or by daughters. This is brought out in the following table which shows the relationship of the present head of the household to the preceding head. 611 592

592

Relationships may be obscured to simple observation because the head of the household (koshu) may reside in a foreign country. This was a common occurrence before the war during the widespread Okinawan emigration, but repatriation since the war has reduced the number of heads of households who live in foreign countries. At present most absentee heads live in Peru, Brasil, or in Argentina. In the absence or disability of the first son, the second and succeeding sons assume his place, not legally, but in practice, and should the elder son return, his younger brother would relinquish the headship and establish a branch family. The family register, however, is not changed to show the temporary head. But his absence may be indicated by a notation. [167]

592 562

A woman, either a wife or a daughter, is not considered in the succession if there are eligible male heirs, but in their absence, she may succeed to a house. The war produced many instances of this. A mother with minor children is the head of the house and has disposition of the family property, but custom and usage circumscribe her freedom of action. In custom, a mother with minor children, especially if one of them is a boy, is regarded as the trustee and caretaker of a house and its fields during the minority of her children, the eldest of whom, if he is a son, will become head when he reaches maturity. In practice, widows with minor sons do not sell or dispose of their property except under strong economic compulsions, and then only after discussion with representatives of the extended family.

592

The real place of the woman in the family system is to become part of the family of her husband. If she marries a first son, she enters the home of her husband's parents. If she marries a second or a third son, she is part of a branch family established by her husband. There is general agreement among Okinawans with whom I consulted that the residence of a young wife with the husband's family does not result in the prolonged quarreling and bickering which have made the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law relationship so legendary a topic in Chinese and Japanese society. Disagreements exist, but according to residents in [591] [606]

[Text continues top of p. 95--analyst]

592

Mother of head, age 48
Grandfather of head, age 65
Younger brother, age 25
Younger brother, age 16
Younger sister, age 9
Younger sister, age 11
Younger brother's wife, age 25
Two nieces, ages 4 and 2, daughters of the eldest younger brother and his wife.

These examples, of which many more could be given, illustrate several points regarding the family system. It is not uncommon to have as many as four generations in a family unit, the present head, his parent, the children, and the grandchildren of the head. There are four generations in illustration #3. The combination of a first son and his wife, with his parents, his younger brothers and sisters, and the head's own children, a common composition, illustrates the responsibilities of the first son both to his parents and to his siblings. Responsibility for illegitimate children is with the family of the girl. Occasionally [848] a husband will accept an illegitimate child born to his wife either before or during the marriage, but it is more usual for the illegitimate child to be reared in the household from which the mother came. In the second illustration, one illegitimate daughter lives with her grandparents and the mother is not in the household. The third illustration shows an unusual situation in which the young head and his wife have their children, his mother, his grandfather, minor younger sisters and brothers, and, in addition, a married younger brother and his wife and their two children. Ordinarily these would have established a branch family and not have been part of the older brother's household.

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596 live with his wife at the home of his parents, that the father will
[887] formally retire from active management of his property--but not from physical labor--at the age of 60, that both parents will continue living with their eldest son, the daughter-in-law, and the grandchildren, and that the second and any succeeding sons, when they reach marriageable age, will marry, and at this time--if it has not been done before--the father or the eldest son will provide a house site and some land, permitting the establishment of a branch family. The
[591] first and succeeding daughters will marry first or other sons of other families, leave their parents' home and accept a position in the main or in a branch family of the husband's house.

613 The parallelism in structure between the extended family and its
596 member families and the individual family with its branch families established by sons other than the first can be seen in the following diagram:

All of the families, except those designated with the numeral 1, are branch families of the extended family. Family #7, is a branch family of a branch family. Family #5 (itself a branch) is the main family of Family #7 as far as the immediate descendants in Family #7 are concerned.

In the following illustration, the second son has established a branch family of Family #7, while the head's own son will inherit the main house, leaving his second son to establish a branch. Family #7 is a branch of a branch, but with relation to succeeding houses in the direct line, it is a main family.

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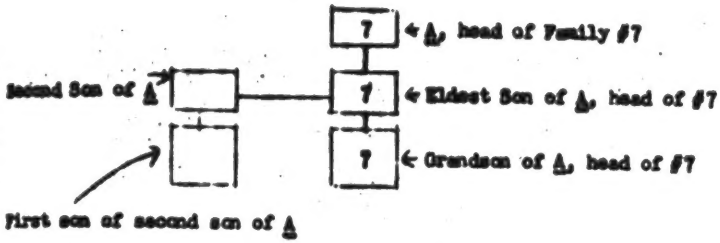
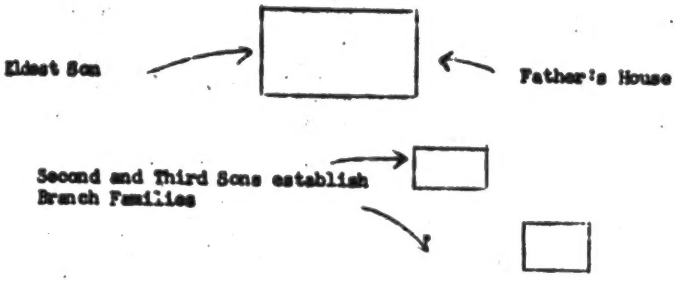
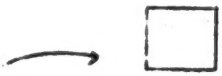




Daughters marry and go to Husband's Father's House or to Branch Families established by their husbands. [591]



The family system, through the succession of the first son to his father's house, prevents the extinction of the main family line, and at the same time creates branch families with close ties with the parent family. [611]

Lacking a son, adoption (to be discussed below) is available to provide against extinction of any family, but in Okinawan villages it has seldom been necessary to use it. [597]

The emphasis in the family system is on providing for the eldest son who succeeds to the father's estate. The sons other than the first must be prepared to accept little or nothing, in the case of the very poor, when they marry and separate themselves from the parental house. [428]

In these Okinawan villages, the second and succeeding sons (or younger brothers if the head of the house is the eldest brother) remain in the family until marriage, usually around 25. They do not live in separate houses, but may have separate rooms, or a small shack in the compound for sleeping purposes. Unless they live in another town or work 593 [582] [513]

593 in a military installation which keeps them away from their homes, they
remain there, helping in the fields, or go out on the fishing boats, as
[582] the case may be. If a son other than the first remains in the family
after the age of marriage, it is generally for some physical or mental
disability. Under the normal operation of the family system, there is
● 591 no time in a person's life in which he is not part of some family unit
and living in the same house with his parents, an elder brother, or
with a wife and his children, or with his grandchildren.

727 The war enforced many exceptions to this normal life cycle, as the
593 discussion of the previous table brought out: conscription and military
service, deaths in battle or as a consequence of the campaign, widow-
hood and the orphaning of children. In the villages studied, the post-
war situation was not disrupting family life further by the movement of
younger unattached men to Naha or the larger towns, or by their separatio
from daily life while doing work for military camps. At least it was not
sufficiently frequent to result in a deterioration of normal family life.
591 In these villages branch families were established for the most part
in the village of the parent family. There are two reasons for this:
first, the desire to remain near the parents and siblings, and second,
[423] that the property which the father, or elder brother, has at his disposal
is normally real property and land holdings in the village. Cash, which
[435] agricultural or fishing family might have at its disposal, would usually
be insufficient at present prices for a second or succeeding son to be
given money to purchase land and a house site elsewhere. Occasionally a
[425] father sells land in the village to provide his son with money to purchas
a house site and fields elsewhere, but this is not usual.

The mechanics of establishing a branch household may be illustrated from practices observed in each of the villages, though the procedure is essentially the same.

Hanashiro is a settlement in the center of a cultivated area of dry
[361] field farming and rice paddies. The cultivated area begins on the outer
rim of the village. The father, or the elder brother, gives a field
(hatake in Japanese) to the son, or younger brother, if it is suitable
for a house site. If the land owned is too far away--there are no
[425] isolated homesteads--an effort is made to exchange with a neighbor, frien
or relative, the far off property for a parcel closer in. If this is
not possible, the remote piece is sold and the proceeds used to purchase
a suitable plot in the residential area. If the family is too poor to
[426] give money or land, an attempt may be made to borrow the money for pur-
chase. If none of these arrangements is possible, the son may simply
start out on his own, or less commonly, may live with his wife in the
home of his parents, or delay his marriage. But it is uncommon for a
second or succeeding son and his wife and children to live in the house
of the parents or of the elder brother.

311 In this way, the residential area gradually replaces the cultivated
591 areas which surround it. One consequence of the establishment of branch
families in agricultural villages is that it gradually decreases the

arable land available for cultivation. House sites cannot be set up on rocky or mountain land away from the village. Whether on the island as a whole the increase in population, the repatriation and the stoppage of large scale emigration will in the future seriously diminish the amount of land available for agricultural uses is an interesting question, but there certainly is a direct relationship between population growth and land taken up with house sites.[5] Not only will a growing population enforce greater demands on the land, but it will inevitably cut down on the amount. 311 591 [161]

Among the fishermen of Minatogawa, there is a little more fluidity in the establishment of branch families. There are seldom enough lands to subdivide, and only about 50% of the fishermen own land in addition to their house site. The branch household is established according to the son's taste, and the father may give money if he can afford it so the son can set himself up in Itoman, Naha, or elsewhere. The usual procedure here is to give land in a former agricultural area of the village, land which was developed in the southern part of the village as a result of the destruction of the war in other parts. Here formerly arable land was taken over directly for residential use. 591 423 [311]

In Matsuda, it is possible to use newly developed areas. This community, unlike the other two, is a series of sub-settlements. In two of these, branch families have settled, one near the seashore, and the other on reclaimed forest land. In both of these areas, the pattern of settlement is different; the clusters of houses give way to the scattered houses, some standing out alone on the top of a knoll or hill, some near the forested slopes of the hillside. In these areas, there is an atmosphere of pioneer settlement. As in Hanashiro, the buying of near land and the selling of far off land and exchange of land are practiced. Since the reclaimed area is considered to be less productive and less desirable, the poorer families are able to purchase land here for their second sons. 591 361 [425]

5

The Pivotal Importance of the First Son

The key person in the family system is the first son. He normally succeeds to the house at the death or retirement of his father. The father may not legally retire before 60. In rare cases--none were encoun- 593 596

5 In general, house and village sites are on arable land, but the quality of this land naturally varies from place to place. See any of the 11 sheets of the Okinawan Soils Map and the discussion in the Remarks column of the legend with reference to the types of soils on which village sites are found.

593 tered in the villages--a first son may be passed over in favor of a
596 second son because of mental disability, gross incompetence, or excessive drinking, or the father, by selling his land to his other sons may in effect disinherit his first son. These actions involve
[428] the courts and it is rare for villagers to engage in litigation. In
[691] practice, the first son almost invariably succeeds. On his marriage, the first son and his wife live in the home of his parents. There are some exceptions to this. Since the war, some first sons in agri-
[464] cultural communities have found opportunities in business in Naha, in larger towns like Itoman or Nago, in military government or in Okinawa government positions. In this case, the first son does not live with his parents, but he continues with this new work in the strange town, the
[591] parents on their retirement, or as they become more helpless, joining the son. But in cases where the first son continues in the occupation of his father, this is the usual and expected practice. Only long standing incompatability between father and son prevents such an arrangement.

593 One point regarding the future of the family system that may assume
464 importance in Okinawa is that the responsibilities of the first son increase with any decline in opportunities for succeeding sons. The
166 traditional outlet for sons other than the first in Oriental countries has been migration to the cities, to lands of new settlement, or emigra-
167 tion to foreign countries. In Okinawa, emigration to various parts of the world, the South Seas, Hawaii, Peru, Brazil has been the most important of these outlets. Its history cannot be understood without appreciating this fact. Both first and succeeding sons have emigrated. With the virtual stoppage of emigration, the only solution for second and succeeding sons would seem to lie in opportunities coming from military installations, government work, industrial and urban development, in addition to the present opportunities in agriculture. If with a growing population, the family system begins to break apart, it will probably be first noticed in the inability of the first sons to bear increased responsibilities.

593 For this reason, it is interesting to record some observed atti-
596 tudes of first and other sons in the villages studied. These attitudes are personal ones. No inter-village comparisons can be made. The first is one of pride in being a first son and in assuming the headship of the house but dislike of the responsibility of providing for siblings, especially when the estate is not large. Dislike of the responsibilities of being the first son was most observable in Minatogawa. Here the lack of land, succession merely to a house site, a boat or fishing gear, but with the same responsibility for care for younger brothers and sisters, parents and grandparents put the clearest burden on the first son. The financial burden of paying for anniversary celebrations on the death of a relative is especially onerous. There is only minor help from younger brothers. This fact is not resented as a lack of generosity of the younger brothers who by now would have branch houses of their own; it is part of the family system. Younger brothers might contribute, as one first son jokingly said, fifty yen to a celebration that cost two thousand.

Husband and wife usually are from the same village, but there are many exceptions. Marriages of persons from different villages have increased in the past decade. This probably should be ascribed to the greater mobility of the people and to the acceptance of free choice in marriage. It is common, for example, for a Hatsuda boy to marry a Ginosa village girl. It is also common for a boy in Minatogawa to marry a girl from the nearby agricultural villages of Hanashiro, Asato, or Gushichan. This apparently is a distinct change from earlier practices. 582 621

If the family registers are accurate, the great majority of the men living in a village were born there; it is the wives who are more likely to be the newcomers. In the social structure of village life, it is the men who provide the continuity; the women are more likely to be strangers. The husband may point to his father and grandfather who live or have lived in the village; fewer wives can do the same. 591

2

The Marriage Ceremony

In my experience, no two marriage ceremonies in Okinawa are alike. Marriages take place at any time of the year, but in all three villages, they were more commonly held in the late fall or in winter. The reasons given are that the heavy clothing and elaborate headdress of the bride are not suited to the hot and humid summer and that these can be more comfortably worn in the cool winter months. The marriage feast with its fish cakes, meats, vegetables, and a variety of other perishable foods can be more easily prepared and kept in winter. In the agricultural villages, the ceremony usually takes place after the day's work; in the winter the reception may start by 5 and the main ceremonies are over by 8 in the evening. 585 [262]

Description of a ceremony at Hatsuda. The party began about 5 in the afternoon. Because of the large number of guests, the primary school was used for the ceremony. At the head of the first room, the grandfather and grandmother of the groom, the groom, his father, and the go-between were seated. Other relatives of the groom found places around the sides. Later the father of the bride, who arrived shortly before his daughter, joined this group. The go-between, a young man of 24, was a friend of the couple, and his wife was a member of the groom's family. 585 576

In the other rooms, opening into one another, about 300 guests, mostly men, were assembled. During the reception and before the beginning of the ceremony, guests representing their families entered the first room to congratulate the father, the groom, and the grandparents. In this period of congratulation involving the father, the groom, and the guest, there was an exchange of sips of sake from a common cup. As in other instances of congratulation, some speeches were long, some short, some well prepared, others extemporaneous. [537]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

bers may be recruited and present members expelled. In others, which are closed, membership is automatic and inevitable, depending in no way on the behavior of the individuals involved. We are here concerned with these latter groups whose membership is determined by sex, age, kinship, and rules of residence. Whether an American male lives in Connecticut or California, in the city or the suburbs, is to a large degree a matter of his personal preference. This is not the case for everybody in Taira, although there are people who at any time may leave the village to seek their fortune. 571

There are two types of households in Taira: those of oldest sons, who live in the house of their parents, and those of younger sons, who establish a nuclear household of their own, which may be near the house of their father. Many young sons, however, leave the central village and settle in its outlying districts or move to the southern part of the island. Whereas formerly many younger sons moved to Japan or to one of its prewar South Pacific mandates, or to Hawaii and South America, since the end of World War II employment opportunities around U.S. Army installations absorb many such migrants. The oldest son is required to live in his parents' house and eventually take over the duties of a household head. Unmarried younger sons remain in the household until they marry or leave the parental home for work elsewhere. 596 594 [166] [167]

For a woman it is customary to move to her husband's home if he is an older son or into a house in his village if he is a younger son. In the old days this usually involved simply a move in the village, since the preference was to marry a woman from the same community. Nowadays there is no clear-cut preference; a woman from central Taira may become the bride of a man from that part of the village, from one of the outlying parts of Taira, or from another village, usually to the north. Of a sample of 55 marriages, 26 of the wives were from Taira, 29 from other villages, five of which were immediately adjacent. 591 582

The composition of the household, therefore, changes for the individual during his lifetime, and it is not the same for all persons in the village. Several children not only have their parents and at least one paternal grandparent but also paternal aunts or uncles who live under the same roof. If the father is a younger son, only one's parents and siblings are household members. Since houses are small and space is very limited, all these members of the household live in close face-to-face relationship. Women tend to outlive men, so that there are many more old women living with their married sons than old men. This is why children have a grandmother more often in the home than a grandfather (see Table 1). 592 593 [165]

The yard in which the Okinawan home stands is also rather uniform in its appearance. It is usually surrounded by a stone wall or a thick hedge for protection against winds. Inside the gate is a himpung, a short wall that prevents one from looking straight through the gate into the house. The space between the himpung and the house is hard earth; this is where mats are spread for drying grain and where many other household tasks are performed. This yard space may be lined on one or both sides with outbuildings for the storage of tools and crops and for housing livestock---two or three goats, and here and there an ox or a horse. Behind the house is a pigsty. There may also be a chicken-coop, but chickens often run loose. There are usually a few trees in the yard, often a clump of bananas. Behind the house is also the toilet; formerly it was combined with the pigsty, but now it is usually an oil-drum. In many villages every house has its own well, but even where wells are fewer there is almost sure to be a cistern beside the house to catch rain-water. The house and yard will be discussed again later in relation to sanitation and health (see Chapter IX).[1] 351 [343] [231] [514] [312] 128

The social unit that occupies such a house and yard is the family. The structure of the family is also dealt with in detail by Pitts in Chapter VII. Let it suffice to say here that ideally the first son stays with his parents after his marriage while younger sons establish separate households. Thus the family consists of a couple and their unmarried children or a couple with a married first son, his wife and children, and his unmarried brothers and sisters. The deaths of one or more members may reduce the family without breaking it up. Two married couples, parents and grandparents of the youngest generation, is the usual maximum. If two married sons live under the same roof it is usually regarded as a temporary expedient. Thus while the total number of persons in the household may be as many as a dozen, the average number is a little less than five. 592 [591]

The family, that is, the members of the household, is an economic unit, a social unit, and a ceremonial unit. As an economic unit the members of a household work together, producing for and consuming from a common stock. They cooperate with other households on the basis of common interest as neighbors. They form a social unit within the "han", the "ku", and the "son", they are registered as a unit in the "koseki", and may have only one vote---cast by the head of the house---in local elections. As a ceremonial unit they form part of a numbered and graded system based on common descent. [666]

The Structure of Kinship Relations In traditional Okinawan society, as in other societies of East Asia, the fundamental unit is the family and the basic axis within the family is a vertical one running through the male line, the father-oldest son axis.[2] The basic values that support this structure are unity and continuity. Individuals are of varying importance to the family depending on their closeness to the father-first son axis; females are less important than males; younger sons 593 602

[1] For a more detailed account of the house and yard see Glacken, 1953, Chapter 5.

[2] I have borrowed this concept from Francis L. K. Hsu, to whose writings I am indebted.

[Koohinda-son]

Table XV

582

Days of Delay in Reporting	Cases
0	1
1- 7	8
8- 14	12
15- 30	17
31- 60	11
61- 90	7
91-120	2
121-150	5
151-180	
181-210	2
211-240	
241-270	1
271-300	
301-365	1
365-372	4
Total	71

The composition of the families in which the marriages occurred is shown below:

Table XVI

Type Family	Number of Marriages	Percentage
Lineal	27	38
Lateral	9	13
Mixed	21	29
Nuclear	14	20
Total	71	100

In-Village and Out-Village Marriage Except in the case of the marriage of an adopted husband, or 'yoshi', to a girl who has no brothers, the bride always goes to her husband's house to live. Getting a wife from outside one's own village is somewhat more popular than marrying a girl one has known for many years. In tabulating the total recorded postwar marriages,[1] which numbered 264, it was found that 114 (43%) were in-village unions, while 150 (57%) were out-village unions. [59]

It is interesting that where the ages of both marriage partners were known, husbands were older than their wives in 80% of the cases, and younger in 20%. This was true for both in-village marriage and out-village marriage, though it runs contrary to respondents' statements that men who married out of their own villages tended to get wives older than themselves.

1 The data are somewhat different from the above because all postwar marriages were tabulated, regardless of whether they had yet resulted in offspring.

161 plus the excess of births over deaths were sufficient six years after
728 the conclusion of the war to bring the post-war population of the village within 200 of the pre-war level.

167 Okinawans returning to Hanashiro came largely from Japan, the Philippines, Manchuria, Formosa, the South Seas and a few from Hawaii. From Hinatogawa, the areas of former settlement were broader, probably reflecting a wider activity of the fishermen. They came from Java, Palau, Singapore, the Philippine Islands, and Tarama. Some had previously returned voluntarily from Hawaii and Peru before the war. The largest segments came from the Philippines and Tarama, the smaller groups from Hawaii and Peru. The repatriates to Matsuda also came from Japan, the Philippines, Hawaii, and the South Seas.

571 One consequence of the pre-war emigration and of the repatriation
[168] that followed was that each village after the war had a group of people who had been in foreign countries or had relatives still residing in foreign areas.

[578] In the villages studied, according to the residents living there now, repatriation was not accompanied by the tensions and the ill feeling that was so conspicuous in post-war Europe, especially Germany.
[573] There were no cliques between those who had stayed during the war and those who returned to live beside them.

[423] The reasons for this are probably these: many of the repatriates even though absent a long time owned land in a village. This was true of Hanashiro and Matsuda, the agricultural villages, and to a lesser extent of Hinatogawa. Some adjustments were necessary. The land owned by these people had not been idle during their absence. If a first son
[592] returned, in most cases his younger brother was cultivating the fields and occupying the family house. He, in the absence of his eldest brother,
[593] acted as head of the house. When the first son returned, he received the possessions and assumed the responsibilities of the head of the house, and in turn gave his younger brother land to establish a branch household. When the returned member of the family was a second son, the adjustment was easier. The first son, if possible, gave his younger brother a house site and fields to cultivate.[6]

Other relatives, parents, younger or older sisters, nephews, or nieces were absorbed within the family, the parents or grandparents
[602] resuming a retirement which they would have had in any case, while the younger relatives became working and contributing members to the family. They did not come back to an altogether strange place. They or their parents had been born there, and their names had remained in the village family register.

6 The reasons for these acts will be made clear in Chapter 6 on the family system.

2

The Courtyard or Compound

The usual present day Okinawan dwelling is in an inclosed courtyard or compound. This varies in size. The average size of these house sites (yashiki in Japanese) is shown in the following table: 351

	Area in Tsubo a/	Approximate Equivalent in Acres
Hanashiro	184.3	0.15
Minatogawa	70.7	0.06
Matsuda	116.4	0.10

a/ Computed from lists of village house sites in the land registers of each township. The conversion figure of 1210 tsubo (about four square yards) to the acre has been used.

The traditional house site has definite characteristics, obscured in present day Okinawa because of the war destruction. In the rebuilding, much of the housing and the outlying sheds were of poor quality. They are difficult to classify, except in a general category such as shacks or shanties. [362]

The house site, surrounded by its shrubs, trees, or stone fence and with the hinpun at the entrance, or the open side, forms a private courtyard with the buildings arranged around the three sides. There are a large number of possible combinations. A compound in which the house is located across the back part of the site, its front facing the hinpun and the road or lane is typical. On either side, there might be a combined outside toilet and pig or goat pen, or separate buildings for the toilet and the pigs or goats, a food storehouse, and a tool shed. The auxiliary buildings are small, and more correctly should be described as sheds. The outside toilet, with a dirt, stone block, or cement floor, is usually small with one or two holes in the floor. It is used in a squatting position. [343]

All kinds of variations from this description can be observed at will. In the fishing village of Minatogawa, the compound is open. Little hedges a foot or so high or small rock borders take the place of the dense shrubs and trees of another site. Lines are stretched out in the yard. Nets are hanging, and fish are drying on the mats in the courtyard. Sometimes, more out of convention than practical utility, there is a hinpun in front of a house that has no other construction to seal it off from view. And these hinpun might even be made of stray boards or of corrugated iron.

It is not unusual in a compound, in cases in which the house is small, for a young man of the house to have a small separate building. Here he has his blankets, personal articles, pictures clipped from 592 342

592 342 magazines and pasted on the wall, and here he entertains visitors who come for conversation or study.

3

Types of Houses

342 In all the villages studied, the houses may be divided into three general categories: (1) the Japanese style house with the thatch or tile roof, (2) the smaller stone house with the Japanese type floor plan, and (3) various shacks resembling in some details the simple structure of the old Okinawan rural house.

[313] [439] [335] The sturdy Japanese type house is made of excellent hardwoods imported from Japan or brought from the forests of northern Okinawa. This house was often constructed without nails. It was put together by mortise and tenon joints, and also with a piece of wood, square on the edge and about three inches long which functions like a dowel. This is known as a kusabi. In modern houses, both of the simple and more complex types, nails are more commonly used.

[355] [911] [352] The eaves of this house are supported by strong poles, unfinished, usually from the Japanese redwood (sugi in Japanese, Cryptomeria japonica, D. Don) or the inumaki (Podocarpus macrophyllus D. Don). The poles are placed on flat triangular stones for foundation support. The houses have plank floors. Both the tile and the thatch roof types (to be described later) have the same floor plan with the size of the rooms determined by the number of mats (tatami in Japanese) desired.

The half tile, half thatch roof is not uncommon, an indication either of a roof partially destroyed by the war which has been repaired by thatch, or athatched roof gradually being replaced by tile. This is a slow process, as tile is costly. Basically, all of these houses have the same general plan, except for differences in roof materials.

[355] [415] [312] The older Japanese type houses with a tile roof and the newer ones being built on that model are provided with a drain pipe for rain water catchment. This pipe, running along the length and the width of the roof channels the water into a large tank on the ground, reducing the labor involved in carrying water from village ponds or central springs. Many of these rain water catchments disappeared when the old houses were destroyed in the war. Drain pipes cannot be attached to the thatch. In general, rain water is not now a plentiful source of supply in the villages, though buckets and tube are frequently put out during a heavy downpour, and this water is used for drinking and cooking until it begins to spoil. It may supplement the water carried from a central village faucet, the well, or a pond.

The construction of the Japanese type house is complex. Basically, the design of the house is derived from the arrangement of three rooms,

601

Step-mother	keibo
Step-father	keifu
Adopted son	yōshi
Adopted daughter	yōjo
Illegitimate child	shiseiji
Person living with a family but not a relative	dōkyonin

Descent is reckoned through the male line. Normally the first son succeeds to the headship of the house, and this is actually true in the great majority of cases, although the failure of the first or later sons to survive to maturity, or the death of sons in the war, have resulted in many household headships being held by sons other than the first, or by daughters. This is brought out in the following table which shows the relationship of the present head of the household to the preceding head. 611 592

592

Relationships may be obscured to simple observation because the head of the household (koshu) may reside in a foreign country. This was a common occurrence before the war during the widespread Okinawan emigration, but repatriation since the war has reduced the number of heads of households who live in foreign countries. At present most absentee heads live in Peru, Brasil, or in Argentina. In the absence or disability of the first son, the second and succeeding sons assume his place, not legally, but in practice, and should the elder son return, his younger brother would relinquish the headship and establish a branch family. The family register, however, is not changed to show the temporary head. But his absence may be indicated by a notation. [167]

592 562

A woman, either a wife or a daughter, is not considered in the succession if there are eligible male heirs, but in their absence, she may succeed to a house. The war produced many instances of this. A mother with minor children is the head of the house and has disposition of the family property, but custom and usage circumscribe her freedom of action. In custom, a mother with minor children, especially if one of them is a boy, is regarded as the trustee and caretaker of a house and its fields during the minority of her children, the eldest of whom, if he is a son, will become head when he reaches maturity. In practice, widows with minor sons do not sell or dispose of their property except under strong economic compulsions, and then only after discussion with representatives of the extended family.

592

The real place of the woman in the family system is to become part of the family of her husband. If she marries a first son, she enters the home of her husband's parents. If she marries a second or a third son, she is part of a branch family established by her husband. There is general agreement among Okinawans with whom I consulted that the residence of a young wife with the husband's family does not result in the prolonged quarreling and bickering which have made the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law relationship so legendary a topic in Chinese and Japanese society. Disagreements exist, but according to residents in [591] [606]

[Text continues top of p. 95--analyst]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

592
162

HEADS OF HOUSEHOLDS NOW RESIDING IN HANASHIRO AND MATSUDA
(Classified according to their relationship to the previous head)

Relationship	Hanashiro	Matsuda
First Son	81	61
Second Son	16	41
Third Son	6	16
Fourth Son	2	11
Fifth Son	0	6
Sixth Son	1	1
Seventh Son	0	1
First Daughter	11	29
Second Daughter	1	8
Third Daughter	0	7
Fourth Daughter	0	5
Fifth Daughter	0	0
Sixth Daughter	0	2
Illegitimate Son	0	1
No Data	3	18
Totals:		
Male	121	207
Female	106	138
No Data	12	51
	3	18

Source: Analysis of village family registers (koseki in Japanese) as of August 1951 for Hanashiro, December 1951 for Matsuda. The figures for Matsuda are incomplete and represent 207 of the 243 households in the village. One volume of the Matsuda family register was lost or not available at this time. Minatogawa data are not available from the new register compiled following the destruction of the old one in the war.

each of the villages, they seldom reach real intensity or a point where the husband sends his wife back to her parents and obtains a divorce. 592 606

A special problem, ordinarily calling for adoption as the solution, is the situation in a family with no sons. During the child bearing ages a family tries very hard to get a son. The man with a family of daughters will resort to adoption of a male child of a relative, if at the end of a child bearing period, no sons have been born to him. But adoption, while available as a device for insuring the continuity of the family, is uncommon and does not have the importance historically attached to it in Japan. Adoption is discussed in more detail in Section 6. 597 [842]

3

The Extended Family and its Branches

The extended family (ichimon in Japanese, munchu in Okinawan) consists of all families in the main and collateral line of descent from the common ancestor.[2] This ancestor, who founded the house, is an historical, or at least a supposed historical person. The descendants of the founder of the family, themselves united in a family group, are thus related to one another, though the older the family, the more remote these relationships become. Many villagers recognize that they are related to one another, but the relationships are seldom clearly defined beyond the second cousin. After this people become relatives, (shinseki or shinrui in Japanese). These words, used synonymously in Okinawa, indicate an awareness of a relationship without knowing offhand its exact nature. This problem is solved in part, as will appear later on, in Section 8, by knowing the household order name of each family, but even here individual relationships are difficult to trace. 614 596 607

Contemporary lack of precise knowledge of family genealogies is due in large part to the destruction of many family records during the war. The keeping of genealogies was common, especially among the families who belonged to the old Okinawan nobility. The genealogies lost in the war are irreplaceable. The same is true of the official family registers which were also destroyed. They were replaced with ones prepared by officials personally interviewing the families involved. While this procedure succeeded in recording contemporary data with a fair degree of accuracy, it could not duplicate the minute details, going back for generations, which were recorded in the old registers. 601 217 [565]

2 Dictionaries usually define ichimon as clan, but I have avoided using this term because of ambiguities in usuage. In American practice, clan has been applied to groups in which descent is reckoned through the mother. See R. H. Lowie, Primitive society, New York, 1920, 111-12. Father-sibs (Lowie's term) or family groups could be used, but the latter term suggests more a collection of families than a large unified family with many sub-families.

614 Each contemporary extended family has two main divisions: the main family (honke in Japanese) represented by the families in the direct line of descent, and the branch families (bunke in Japanese) which represent families not in the direct line. The terms, main family and branch family, are also used in a narrower sense to distinguish, within an individual family, between the family of the first 592 son who will succeed to his father's house, and other sons who will establish branch houses.

The extended family has a main house whose head is the living representative in direct succession of the original founder. The seat of each extended family is a definite site in a village or town. The degree of scattering of the collateral families is dependent on the mobility of people throughout time and the manner in which the original villages were settled. Hanashiro, for example, is considered to be about 400 years old. Sixteen of the main houses are in the village. In Minatogawa, founded as a secondary port for the fishermen of Itoman town, perhaps 250 years ago, the main houses are predominantly in Itoman. In the neighboring village of Nagamo (Minatogawa-niku), an area of recent settlement, the main house of the village families is generally in Naha or in Shuri. Matsuda in the north has family seats not only in the village but some of its collateral families are from adjoining areas, the Motobu peninsula, and also from the south. The location of the main family seats of any village is an indication of the areas from which the place was originally peopled. Considering the smallness of the island and the even more restricted inhabited areas--settlement in the northern two-thirds of the island is along the coastal rim which borders the forest--and the general lack of mobility until recent times, it is apparent that each village is composed in varying proportions of kinship groups whose original ancestral house is either in that village or from other villages or towns, most likely from adjoining areas, or from such larger centers of dispersion as Naha, Shuri, Nago, or Itoman.

It is difficult to say how important the extended family is in the culture. It may be spread over many villages in the island. Distance and lack of contact does not create the strong ties that exist within the village among relatives, friends, and neighbors. The following illustrations, drawn from each village, may however furnish some clues regarding the nature and importance of the extended family.

614 In Hanashiro, there are sixteen head houses. These with their collateral branches total 75 families; in other words, of the 121 families in the village, the head house of 75 is located in the village itself. The head houses of the remaining 46 are in other villages or towns.[3] This situation makes for closer ties of the individual families

3 Parallel information was not available for the other two villages; it was apparent through discussion that the same situation existed, although the proportion of main and branch families might be different.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

4

Individual Families and Their Branches

614 Up to this point, we have been describing the extended families which are composed of the main and the branch families which have descended from a common ancestor. The discussion may now be carried one step further to describe the individual family and its branches.

592 [594] The individual family is the basic unit of village life. Normally this individual family is the biological family, composed of the parents and the children. But it is surprising how often family units or households are made up of relatives other than the biological family to create many varieties in family composition. The numerous deaths, as a result of the war, have added to this variety.

An attempt has been made in the following table to hint at the variation of family composition in the villages and to show this in further detail according to the number of individuals in a family. This table is a compromise, for with so many combinations, it cannot show the full detail without reproducing the composition of each family in each village.

In this analysis, family units have been broken down into three main groups: (1) those with single heads, usually but not always representing older people, (2) those with male heads, and (3) those with female heads.

The grouping of male heads has been further broken down into seven sub-groups: (1) the husband and wife, (2) the husband, wife, and child or children, (3) families with a husband, wife, children, plus other relatives, (4) families with a husband and wife, no children, but with other relatives, (5) the male head with children only, (6) the male head with children and other relatives, and (7) the male head with other relatives only.

Those family units having female heads were subdivided into three groups (1) the mother with a child or children, (2) the mother with child or children, plus other relatives, and (3) the female head with other relatives.

The general category of other relatives was necessary in order to present the materials in compact form. Other relatives most commonly are younger brothers and sisters, parents, grandparents, uncles, aunts, nephews, or nieces.

The table shows how widely the families vary from the normal biological family. In Hanashiro, only two of the ten units with two in the family are composed of a husband and a wife. Four have female heads with other relatives, meaning generally that women are taking care of

a younger brother or sister, a parent, grandparent, or another relative. 592
In Minatogawa, 13 of the 41 units with three in the family are widows with children only or widows with a child and another relative. Women are frequently heads of families and this incidence ranges from two to nine in the family. This is striking in Minatogawa, where twelve of the 38 units having four members of the household are composed of women and children, or of women and children and other relatives.

The table is not able to show the composition of large families except in general terms. This can be indicated in a different way by two or three actual illustrations of the family composition of larger units. These examples also indirectly illustrate the force of the family system in the care of close and more distant relatives.

(1) A Family of Twelve, Matsuda Village.

The head, a first son, born in Matsuda, 1914
His wife, also born in Matsuda, 1916
Father of the head, born 1894
Mother of the head, born 1892
Younger sister, 6th daughter, born 1934
Younger sister, 7th daughter, born 1937
First son of the head, born 1937
First daughter of the head, born 1939
Second daughter of the head, born 1943
Second son of the head, born 1945
Third son of the head, born 1945
Third daughter of the head, born 1949

(2) A Family of Eleven, Hanashiro Village.

The head, a second son, born in 1895
His wife, born in 1894
Second daughter of the head, born 1923
First son of the head, born 1927
First son's wife, born 1924
Third daughter of the head, born 1933
Grandchildren (children of the first son and his wife):
First son, born 1945
Second son, born 1948
Illegitimate first daughter of the first daughter, the latter not in the household.
Illegitimate second daughter of the second daughter.
First son of the second son, the latter not in the household.

(3) A Family of Fourteen, Minatogawa Village.

The head, age 27
His wife, age 25
First son, age 7
First daughter, age 4
Second son, age 2

[Text Continues on P. 105 -- Analyst]

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FAMILY COMPOSITION OF THE VILLAGES

FAMILY HEAD	NUMBER IN THE FAMILY 1			2			3		
	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu
Single Heads:									
Male	4	10	11						
Female	4	12	12						
Male Heads with:									
Wife only				2	23	19			
Wife and Children Only							8	19	20
Wife, Childr, Other Rels									
Wife and Other Rels								3	1
Child or Children Only				1	1	2			1
Children and Other Rels						2		3	
Other Relatives Only				2	2		9	3	
Female Heads with:									
Child or Children Only				1	8	8		9	13
Children and Other Rels					1	1	2	4	
Other Relatives Only				4	1	1	1		1

	4			5			6		
	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu
Male Heads with:									
Wife only									
Wife and Children only	13	20	10	7	13	16	3	10	11
Wife, Childr, Other Rels		1	4	2	8	6	1	9	4
Wife and Other Rels	1	1		1			1		1
Child or Children Only	1			1					
Children and Other Rels	1	1		1	2				
Other Relatives Only	6	3	2	6			1	2	1
Female Heads with:									
Child or Children Only		9	5		7	8		2	1
Children and Other Rels		3	2		4	1	1	5	
Other Relatives Only	1		1						

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FAMILY COMPOSITION OF THE VILLAGES, con'td.

FAMILY HEAD	NUMBER IN THE FAMILY 7			8			9		
	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu
Male Heads with:									
Wife only									
Wife and Children only	3	7	8	4	3	4	1	1	2
Wife, Childr, Other Rels	5	7	4	1	5	3	4	3	6
Wife and Other Rels									
Child or Children Only	1								
Children and Other Rels	2	1		2		1			
Other Relatives Only	1				1				
Female Heads with:									
Child or Children only		1	4		1			2	
Children and Other Rels									
Other Relatives only					1				

	10			11			12		
	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu
Male Heads with:									
Wife Only									
Wife and Children only	1								
Wife, Childr, Other Rels	3	1	2	3	3	3	1		3
Wife and other Rels									
Other Relatives Only									
Female Heads with:									
Child or Children only									
Children and Other Rels						1			
Other Relatives only									

	13			14		
	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu
Male Heads with:						
Wife only						
Wife and Children only						
Wife, Childr, Other Rels	1	1			1	
Wife and other Rels	1					
Other Relatives only						
Children and Other Rels	1					

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SUMMARY

	Total	Single Heads	Male Family Heads	Female Family Heads
Hanashiro	120	8	102	10
Hinatogawa	238	22	158	58
Matsuda	207	23	137	47

Note: This and the preceding tables represent: (a) 120 of the 120 households of Hanashiro as of December 31, 1951, (b) 207 of the 243 households of Matsuda, since one volume of the register was not available, and (c) 238 listings from Hinatogawa, while there are only 213 households. As far as could be determined, there are 238 heads of a family (koshu) who are living in 213 households (kosu). There is thus some doubling up, probably among the female heads who are living in the houses of relatives. A house or a residence in the physical sense may thus have one or more heads of houses or families, just as two families might live in the same house anywhere. No attempt therefore has been made to reconcile the differences.

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Mother of head, age 48
Grandfather of head, age 65
Younger brother, age 25
Younger brother, age 16
Younger sister, age 9
Younger sister, age 11
Younger brother's wife, age 25
Two nieces, ages 4 and 2, daughters of the eldest younger brother and his wife.

These examples, of which many more could be given, illustrate several points regarding the family system. It is not uncommon to have as many as four generations in a family unit, the present head, his parent, the children, and the grandchildren of the head. There are four generations in illustration #3. The combination of a first son and his wife, with his parents, his younger brothers and sisters, and the head's own children, a common composition, illustrates the responsibilities of the first son both to his parents and to his siblings. Responsibility for illegitimate children is with the family of the girl. Occasionally a husband will accept an illegitimate child born to his wife either before or during the marriage, but it is more usual for the illegitimate child to be reared in the household from which the mother came. In the second illustration, one illegitimate daughter lives with her grandparents and the mother is not in the household. The third illustration shows an unusual situation in which the young head and his wife have their children, his mother, his grandfather, minor younger sisters and brothers, and, in addition, a married younger brother and his wife and their two children. Ordinarily these would have established a branch family and not have been part of the older brother's household. [348]

At present, the commonest family compositions are (1) the biological family, (2) the family with a young eldest son as the head with the widowed mother and other minor brothers and sisters, a type of composition which has increased as a result of the war, (3) uncles, aunts, cousins, and occasionally unrelated persons may live in the house, (4) often grandparents are found with their grandchildren, (5) widows with minor children are also common, an incidence increased by war.

The percentage of widows in Minatogawa, in addition to the casualties of war, is due to the loss of fishermen at sea, a not uncommon tragedy as the typhoon season coincides with the best fishing seasons. Since widows with children seldom remarry, the family composition remains the same until the first son assumes the leadership of the family and the mother resides with him. [62] [65] [58]

Each of the families making up the extended family is either a main or a branch family. This arrangement is repeated in the individual families as well. If we take as an example a family with both parents, a first son, a second son, and a first daughter, we may expect as a normal development that the eldest son will marry between 24 and 27 and live with his wife at the home of his parents, that the father will 596 [582] [591]

fortune teller. The purpose of this visit is to discover who would be a good adopting parent. The fortune teller advises the parents to select a person born under the same year sign as the child. These year signs roughly correspond to the signs of the sodiac. The twelve signs with their Japanese equivalents are: rat (ne), ox (ushi), tiger (tora), hare or rabbit (u), dragon (tatsu), snake (mi), horse (uma), sheep hitsuji), monkey (saru), bird (tori), dog (inu), and hog or boar (i). The year 1951 was the year of the hare; 1952 is the year of the dragon (tatsudoki).

The adopting or "growing up" parent is older, in multiples of 12, than the child. After consulting almanacs and other materials, the fortune teller advises the parents to find a person in the village born under the same year sign as the child. Prospective adopting parents are then sought out and the matter is discussed with them. Both parents may do this, but most often the discussions are carried on by the mother. When the selection is made, the child is "given" to the adopting parent, and there are prayers before the Buddhist god shelf in the home of the adopting parent.

Actually the child continues to live with its own parents, but makes frequent visits to the home of the adopting parent. There are no stated intervals at which these visits are made, except for New Years and O-Bon. The adopting parent may on these visits give food and presents to the child.

The arrangement thus seems to be a form of sponsorship and guardianship without special responsibilities on the part of the adopting parent, to bring good health and long life to the child. It has only slight resemblances to the godfather and godmother in Christian countries who sponsor a child at his baptism and theoretically at least undertake to be responsible for his Christian training. But the sponsorship and guardianship features are somewhat similar.

Adoption of this type may be done in Okinawa by either sex. Generally old women are the favorites and they may have many such adopted children. But old or older men may also assume this obligation. This form of "growing up" adoption existed in all the villages studied in substantially the same form.

8

The Household Order Naming System

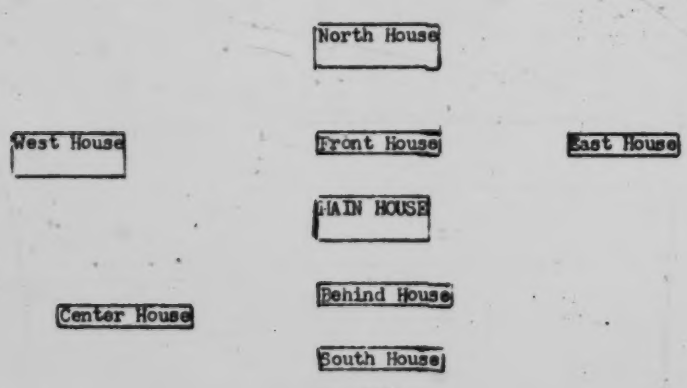
Families in a village have, in addition to their own surnames, secondary names by which individual families are known. This secondary naming system is a device to distinguish related families with the same surname from one another.

The secondary naming system is known as "the household order," or Yagō in Japanese. To introduce this discussion, it might be well to

000 state the idea in rough outline first so that it can be grasped immediately. Let us suppose that in an American small town of about 1000 people, there are 200 families, 75 of which are named Smith; another 75, Jones; 25, Brown; and 25 of assorted surnames of less frequency. These people are neighbors; they are an agricultural people; they have not had much education. It is difficult to remember everyone's surname and distinguish, when talking to others, one family from the other. So the 75 Smith families are given various designations, such as "the Milwaukee Smiths," "Smith, the barber," "the second son of the Milwaukee Smiths. The same is done with the Jones, the Browns, and the other families. These families then become known by their secondary names rather than by their Christian and surnames. A child, instead of being known as Bobbie Smith, would be the child of the Milwaukee Smiths. The parallel between this situation and the household order naming system is inexact, but the example conveys the general idea.

592 The household order name given to any single family shows the
619 place of this particular family in the hierarchy of the extended family.
613 Families belonging to the same extended family have the same surname. But each has a different household order name to distinguish one from the other. In Minatogawa, for example, there are 53 families named Tamaki but each of these families has a distinct household order name. These names are built up in an agglutinative fashion by using a root
[193] word and then by adding prefixes and occasionally a suffix to show distinctions among families.

619 Historically, the household order system seems to have grown up
613 as a result of the building of houses for branch families around or near the house of the original ancestor. In the following illustration,
592 the house of the original founder of the family is shown in the middle. Perhaps his eldest younger brother, when he established a branch house,
621 built his home in front of his brother's home and another younger brother built his home in back of the founder's house. These two houses would then become the "front" and the "behind" houses.



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The founder's first son remains in the main house. But his other sons and their sons take up positions to the north, south, east, or west: subsequent descendants might take up other positions. It is possible to relate any family in this manner to the head family. The prefixes (and one suffix) used in making the various designations are:

Japanese	Okinawan	English
mae-	me-	before, front
ushiro-	kushi-	after, behind
ue-	ui-	top
shita-	shicha-	bottom
higashi-	agari-	east
minami-	fe-	south
nishi-	iri-	west
kita-	nishi-	north
atarashii	mi- miya-	new
naka		center
	ufa-	big, great
	-gwa	diminutive, opposite of ufa, and a suffix.

Let us assume, to use an actual illustration from Hanashiro, that the household order name of a main house is Ganiku. This word has no known meaning; it may be a place name or some local landmark near the site of the original house established perhaps centuries ago. Other families in Hanashiro which are branch families of this main extended family would have the word Ganiku in their house order name with the addition of prefixes and suffixes to show that it was a branch family. There are 14 families in which the word Ganiku appears in the household order name. These are (in Okinawan):

1	Ganiku	The Main House
2	Nakaganiku	Center-
3	Kushiganiku	Behind-
4	Ganikugwa	Little Ganiku
5	Iriganiku	West-
6	Miganiku	New-
7	Miyameganiku	New front-
8	Nishiganiku	North-
9	Nishiganikugwa	Little north-
10	Iriganikugwa	Little west-
11	Meganikugwa	Little front-
12	Meiriganikugwa	Little front west-
13	Mimeganikugwa	Little new front-
14	Meganiku	Front-

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In this Hanashiro example, a man's real name might be Shoichi Shiroma, but he is known also as Iriganikugwa, the Little Western Ganiku family. All of his children, while in his family, have the same secondary name.

551 They are referred to as the son or daughter of the Little Western
590 Ganiku house. When the sons grow up, the first son retains the same
614 house order name, as he is perpetuating the house of his father. When
613 his younger brothers establish a branch household, they may add another prefix and become known, for example, as the New Little Western Ganiku family.

The manner in which the household order names may be applied to
592 successive generations is illustrated in the diagram which follows on the
614 next page. Three things should be pointed out about this diagram:

613 (1) There is no established order in the choice of branch family designations. In column five, for example, the prefix iri for west was chosen. Any other direction could have been selected if it were not already taken. Subsequent directions or space relations taken might be east, west, south, front, behind, etc. In this illustration, the order of relationship to the main family is (a) Little Fukuji, column 2, and New Little Fukuji to show the branch family of a branch family. Succeeding branches are then indicated by repeating the previous pre-
[193] fixes and adding one more. Fukuji plus gwa (little), plus mi (new), plus agari (east), then substituting iri (west), to be alternated with other directional terms such as fe (south) for iri in column 6.

(2) Some branch families are of great antiquity, such as the Fukujigwa.

[602] (3) All these people are related but it is difficult to determine the precise relationship. It is easy to see that without an exhaustive and well kept up genealogy, even in this simplified diagram, the relationship of the last individual in the first column to his contemporary, the last individual in column 6 would be difficult to trace. This is one reason that, in all the communities, people know they are relatives but do not know the precise relationship.

On the other hand, the household order system, much more than given and surnames, is a very easy device for keeping general family relationships in mind, especially when these spread over several villages. At least the Okinawans find it so. A person with the house order name of Miagarifukujigwa would know the general relationship in the extended family of his line to the main and other branch houses, whether these were located in his own or in another village.

There are additional refinements of the household order naming system. Other prefixes denoting the rank order of sons may be added,
[193] as indeed they must if the family is old and has many generations. The root word in the household order name may occasionally be identical with the surname. Some household order names may also depart from this pattern and be descriptive of previous occupations in the family history. These points are illustrated from the household order names of some

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 120 -- ANALYST]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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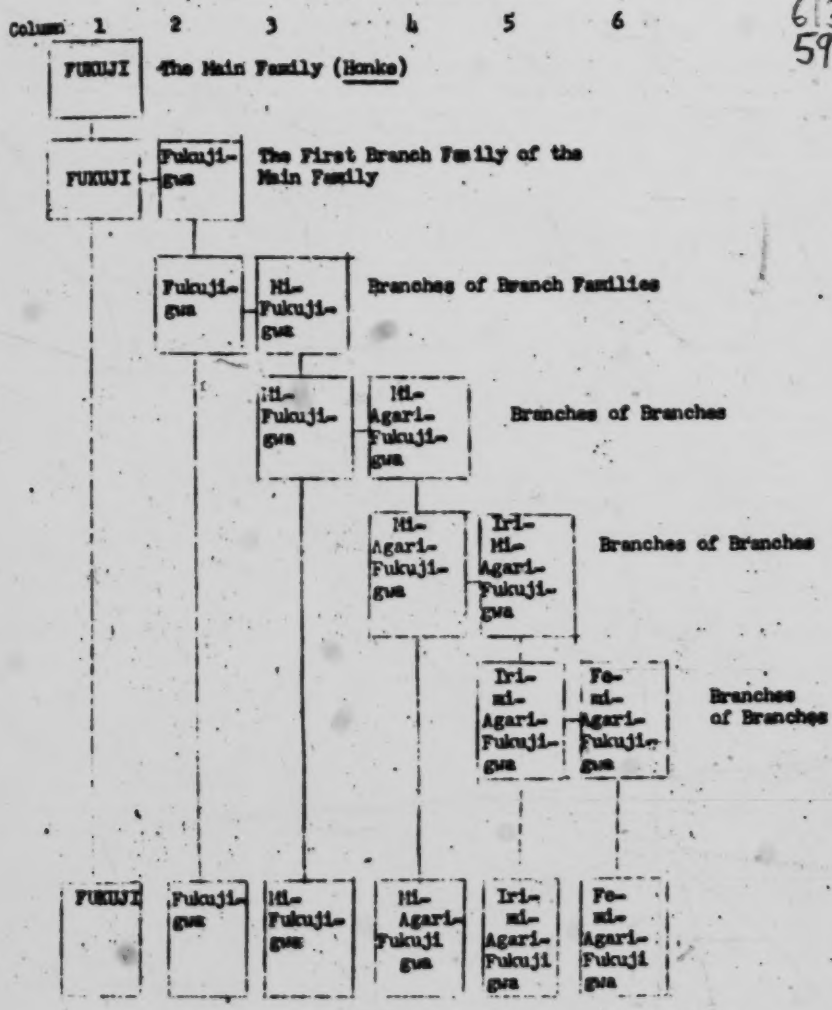
FOUNDING DATE SOMETIME IN THE PAST



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Minatogawa families:

1 Jinanirituzugusuku. Second Son Western Tamagusuku, for the name Tamashiro Bunkichi. Here the surname and the root word in the household order name are the same because Tamagusuku is the Okinawan equivalent of Tamashiro, gusuku being the Okinawan and shiro the Japanese reading of castle.

2 Gonanfugoshi. Fifth Son, Fugoshi. Actual surname is Uehara.

3 Yonanagariakaigwa. Fourth Son Little Eastern Akai, actual surname, Kamashiro.

4 Ufuyagwa. This illustrates the use of the prefix ufu (ufa) meaning great or big, to show the main house and the suffix, gwa, meaning little, indicating it is a branch family. The actual surname is Tamashiro.

[193]

5 Jinanufuguchigwa. Second Son of Little Great Guchi, actual surname, Tamashiro.

6 Inamineguwa, Little Inamine. Actual surname, Inamine.

7 Sannantarunagamineguwa. Third Son of Little Taru Nagamine. Actual full name, Nagamine Tarō, the Japanese equivalent of Nagamine, Taru.

8 Danpachiya. The House of the Barber. Actual surname is Oshiro. The Okinawan word for barber is danpachi.

9 Asato. A household order name based on a place name. Asato is a village in this township. Meaning is The House of Asato, actual name, Asato Shinkichi.

Some of the household order names are occupational in character, such as the barber in the above list. According to Minatogawa informants, there was also a navel household order name. Navel is hesso in Japanese, tembusu in Okinawan. If a person had a conspicuously large navel, the house was named after him and became Tembuya, House of the Navel, although it is not clear whether this was a hereditary household order name or merely a temporary one, more resembling an individual nickname. The occupational household order names apparently were both temporary and hereditary. For example, the household order name, Nakama, a surname, might have the prefix kajira (Japanese) or kanja (Okinawan) meaning blacksmith, for one son, and Danpachiya Nakama, Barber Nakama, to distinguish by occupation one son from another.

There are instances, but not in the villages studied, of household order names following the name of the official position of an ancestor. Descendants, for example, of the first head man (kuchō in Japanese) of a village might, if their surname were Moromizato, add the word kuchō making Kuchōmoromizato, Family of the Head Man Moromizato. These however

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

seem to be either supplementary names or household order names held during one's lifetime only, but in some instances became hereditary. Household order names taken from places seem to have become hereditary, if present lists of these names are fair indications. Even today if an American should settle in a village in Okinawa, he would probably be given a household order name and be known by this name outside the circle of friends and acquaintances who knew his surname. Such a house name would be something like Amerikaya, House of America. Ya means house or abode. The American's presence would be well known; his name, too difficult to pronounce and to remember, would be forgotten even if ever learned, and he would be the house of the man from America.

Each family in a village has this secondary name whether it is in the main or a branch family line. In Minatogawa, some exceptions were found to this, but it is not quite clear what interpretation to put upon them. In this village there were many individuals--mostly single persons living by themselves--who did not have a household order name. Of the 213 households, 20 either did not have such a secondary name, or it was not known to them nor to the residents of Minatogawa. Of these at least 8 were females.

Household order names do not appear in the official family registers (koseki) maintained in the village office (yakuba). Historically, the household order name apparently preceded the giving of first and surnames. In villages the mass of people were not known by their full names. They were designated in the fashion already described. Even up to the beginning of the war, often only important and conspicuous people, such as officials and school teachers, were known by their given and surnames (seimei); the rest were known by their household order name.

Of all the villages studied, the household order name seemed to be of greatest living importance in Hanashiro. This naming system is used only in contacts within the village. In contacts with the outside, in schools, and in official dealings, a person's full name is used. Young children, from about ten on, know families by their household order name, and one can inquire for a family by asking either for the surname or the household order name. There were instances in all villages, confined however to the old, of people knowing individuals only by their household order name. According to informants here, a person's household order name is still better known than the given and the surname. Residents are often called for village, community, and official duties by their secondary family names. Here the double naming system, one for contacts within the village, the other for the outside is still strong.

A similar situation existed in Minatogawa. The household order system here might be expected to persist longer, at least for use within the village because of the high frequency of a few surnames. The same ability of young children to know household order names of

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

551 592 184 619 613 their own and of other families was also noticeable.[6] Often the two were used interchangeably. From an individual point of view, and this is true of all the villages, the household order name is still important because it is an indication of relationships to dead relatives whose names are on the family tablets, and to relationships, at least in general, to other families of the same main family in the village or in other villages and towns.

[178] In Hatsuda, the household order naming system seems to be dying out more rapidly than in the other communities. Children here did not know the secondary names so well, and some young people did not know their own. As in Hanashiro, up to the beginning of the war, families were called together for village duties by their household order name, but this practice has been abandoned since the war. Given and surnames are now used. The household order name is still occasionally used on letters to indicate the exact person desired, another indication of the distinctions needed in the confusion of identical surnames.

[178] It is probable that the household order naming system will decline in importance because the growth and universality of education and the constant need for using given and surnames have weakened the hold of the old. As the present old people die off, many of whom know the household order name only, every segment of the population will be accustomed to the use of given and surnames.

9

Conclusion

602 The family system binds one generation to another, and, even more, gives unity to the past, present, and future of the family. It involves a well defined system of rights and obligations. It is a conservative institution in which the rights of individuals are subordinated to the welfare of the group.

602 171 The conservative nature of the family system in other Oriental cultures, especially when combined, as in old China with a Confucian ethic and ancestor worship, has often been emphasized. But Confucianism, ancestor worship, and the family system are three different things.

6 I tested this in all communities by asking for directions to family houses using the family's yagō. Its present vitality is shown by the fact that in Hanashiro a native of the village and a member of the township council was able to list all the 121 yagō's without hesitation. The clerk of Hinatogawa village did the same. There was not an opportunity of getting the detailed lists of the Hatsuda household order names, but samplings were made.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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There is a distinction between succeeding to the headship of a house and inheriting property which the head of a house may possess. In the first case, the first son assumes the direction of the family; in the second, he receives property which will enable him to do this. This old distinction is still maintained.

[171]

One of the striking differences between post-war Japan and its former province in the Ryukyus is that in the latter inheritance and succession were left untouched, while in Japan a thorough going revision of traditional laws and customs completely altered the system of inheritance and, in effect, abolished the operation of the family system in matters of land tenure and inheritance.[2]

428

In present day Okinawa, property, real or personal, may be passed from father to sons, or daughters, in the absence of sons, in two ways: by personal disposition of the property on his retirement, or by division of the property on the father's death. In either case, the function of inheritance in the culture is to insure, by a system of preferential inheritance in favor of the first son, or his successor, the maintenance of the family house on its site, of the family estate in land, and at the same time, to provide either during the father's lifetime or after his death, sufficient property given before or at marriage, to enable younger sons to establish branch houses. This property given to sons other than the first, includes a house site (yashiki, takuchi) arable dry land (hatake) and the non-arable but highly useful genya land. These dispositions parallel the distinctions between a main family (honke) and its branch family (bunke).

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Parallels Between the Family System and Inheritance of Land

Family System	Inheritance
First son becomes head of the house on death or retirement of the father.	First son inherits the family house site and has preferential status in obtaining other parcels of land.
Second and other sons establish branch households on marriage.	Second and other sons receive from the father, or elder brother, a house site, a paddy field, dry crop land, or genya land, if available

The first son by remaining in the home of his parents keeps at least part of the family estate (zaisan) within the main family, with the hope that sufficient lands will be left over to insure the well-being of the branch families that spring from it.

2 For some Japanese reactions to the new system, see The Japanese village in transition, as cited, 211-12.

428 form of fields or of house sites so they may establish branch families.

(3) The inheritance and the division of land cannot be considered abstractly. It is in this area that custom and individual desire have the greatest play. A village farmer does not simply have land. Normally he has a series of scattered land holdings, varying in area, type, and productivity. A farmer does not have a compact area of rice or sweet potato land which can be easily subdivided, but a few small rice plots, [311] of varying grade, some fields for growing sugar cane, sweet potatoes, or vegetables--also of varying grades--and parcels of genya land from which he gets firewood, grass for his thatched roof, or feed for his animals. When speaking of inheritance and division of land, one should think in concrete terms of the various types and grades of land subject to disposition. Under these circumstances, it is meaningless to say that an Okinawan farmer has an average of so many acres of land unless we are prepared also to add its category of productivity or use. The mechanics of land division are therefore directly related to land use and to the fragmentation of land.

(4) There is a tendency to give the second and other sons the scattered holdings and to subdivide these parcels if they are large enough, preserving the land closer to the house site or parcels that adjoin one another for the head of the house.

(5) Generally speaking, the first son does not subdivide a specific parcel of land with his brothers. He will take a whole piece as his own, leaving other parcels to be subdivided among his brothers.

425 (6) Inherited land can be sold, but the customarily approved reasons for doing so are few. This applies with special force to the holdings of the first son. Property can be disposed of without the sale being considered dishonorable when it is associated with a change of occupation involving moving to another place, or with acute economic distress. A man who decides to give up farming and to move his family to the city may sell his land; a man who is physically unable to work his land and has no children of sufficient age to help him may sell his land and set up a village store; a widow with minor children, already in debt, may sell her property. Sellers consult with the members of the extended family who live in the same or in nearby villages and only sell with the consent and advice of these relatives. This is conspicuously true of widows.

597 (7) If the first son dies without issue, he is replaced by the second son who becomes head of a house. If the first son is in a foreign country, the second son at home lives in the house, but this does not endanger the succession rights of the first son abroad. If the first son returns, he succeeds to his house, and the second or other sons living in the house will be obliged to set up a branch family. Occasionally, a second son remains in the main family, even though he cannot succeed to the house; this is during the minority of a deceased older brother's first son who will take over the house when he is of age.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

175 423 592 Under this old system, when a branch family was established upon the marriage of a son other than the first, his share was made available to him, although it is not clear whether he received this as a legal right, or whether, at each redistribution the father received the branch family share, later passing it on for the use of the son. In any case, provision under the old system was made for branch families in the redistribution just as in contemporary Okinawa this land is supplied, when possible, out of the private holdings of the father. The old and the new illustrate the operation of the family system under two types of land tenure.

175 423 311 Both in the Gushichan area and in Matsuda, there was agreement that the system applied only to rice lands and to dry crop land. House sites were not included in the biennial, quadrennial, or decennial redistribution. Neither were the parcels of genya land which were reserved for tomb areas (bochi, or haka). The forest lands (sanrin) or the genya lands were also communally owned. The reclamation or much of genya land in Okinawa for agricultural uses seems to be a late development, probably a direct consequence of the increase of the island's population. Fifty years ago the island of Okinawa was more heavily forested than it is now. This applies even to the south, if the statements of old people resident in the area can be accepted. Both in the northern and southern communities, pine stands in the forest and in the genya land were publicly owned, and there was a system of tree allotment. Trees, in the publicly owned areas, could be cut according to the number of [313] shares of land one had. Then in September and October of each year, each family replanted a number of trees equivalent to the number it had taken.

In these redistributions, apparently the land was not allotted to individual families directly, but first allotted to family groups (kumi) and then in turn to the individual families. There were special [571] allotment groups (jiwari-gumi). It is not clear whether this initial distribution to groups and then to individual families was universal in Okinawa, as this information comes only from Gushichan township.

This system of community ownership, with periodic allotment of rice and dry crop land, naturally called for a system of land classification. Excellent land was rare; good land was not plentiful, poor land was most abundant. The topography was rough and all good land was not in the same

1 (continued from previous page) intervals, the amount in proportion to the number of family members and their work and tax-paying capacities. It was called ji-wari (land-division). Peasants had no right to possess land, but only the right to cultivate, and taxes were imposed upon a village as a whole, not upon individuals." Higa, Shuncho. Structure of the Ryukyuan rural community. The Japanese journal of ethnology, 15 (1950), No. 2, 63-66. English summary (from which this is taken), p. 151.

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The family register is a basic official document recording officially all the family data for each household. These have been compiled since the war. The old registers which gave the family history in great and accurate detail were destroyed as a consequence of the war or intentionally by the Japanese. The standard form for the register contains (1) the place of permanent domicile of the family head (honseki), (2) the place of present residence (genjūshō), (3) the name of the previous head of the family (senkonushi), (4) the head of the family (koshu), his birthdate, and his relationship to the preceding head, (5) the name of the father and mother of the present head, (6) the name of the wife, her birthdate, whether she is a first or succeeding daughter, the names of her parents, (7) the date of the marriage, (8) names of each family member with birthdate and relationship to the head. All matters pertaining to the family are recorded in one place. The register contains information about births, deaths, marriages, and additions, deletions, or notations as to foreign residence. If a second son establishes a branch family, a line is drawn through his name on the register and a notation refers to a new sheet set up for his family. Deaths are shown by drawing a red line through the name.

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The registry of seals (inkanbō) is a list of the seals of everyone in the township. The individual stamps his seal in the registry himself. The registry shows the date on which the seal is registered, the present address, permanent address, and the name and birthdate of its owner. Seals (han) are used whenever a signature would be required here. When used they are pressed into an India ink paste and stamped on the document requiring the seal.

632

Following general affairs, there is (3) the tax collection (zaisei) (4) school affairs (kōmu), (5) a section devoted to agriculture, industry, fishing, or other important occupations in the township (sangyō), (6) health and sanitation (eisei) concerned with community sanitation, health and vital statistics, and (7) a relief and welfare section (shakaijigyō) which administers relief to the indigent.

[423]

The village office also issues to each landowner a certificate of ownership (shoyūkenshōmeisho) with the seal of the mayor for each parcel a villager owns. These sheets, a separate one for each parcel, are bound up in a small book.

[622]

The mayor and his staff hear complaints from individual taxpayers regarding assessments, the amount of the tax, or the classification of land. The atmosphere of a township office is friendly and informal. Callers bow on entering. The mayor is readily accessible. (In my experience, mayors and headmen are very high types of individuals). Most members of the staff bring their own lunches. Each office has a young girl or boy to serve tea and to watch the fire.

The legislative functions of township government are performed by an assembly (gikai), whose members, elected at large, enact ordinances and approve the mayor's appointment of a vice mayor. The mayor, his administrative staff, and the township assembly administer the township.

313 which they use interchangeably. After sufficient trees have been cut and
[412] cleared of branches, a large bundle of firewood is carried to the village. Most forest workers make four or five trips a day into the hills—two or three during the hot summer season. As the afternoon ends, they sit down along the road in the village or nearby to prepare firewood
474 bundles. Pieces of wood are inserted through a bamboo loop of stand-
313 ard size, prescribed by the cooperative store, until a tight, uniform bundle is obtained. The last piece has to be driven into the bundle by force. All over the village one can hear the knocking of wood pieces
[592] which marks the end of a forest worker's daily labor. Each household works independently and sells firewood to the cooperative. A store
[436] clerk travels around the village in late afternoon, checks all bundles, and issues credit slips to each household; these can be changed into money at the store. The following morning the truck, owned by the
[438] cooperative, carries the firewood to Naha or Itoman where it is sold to a dealer who redistributes it to individual consumers or public bathhouses. The northern part of the island has always supplied firewood to the population of southern Okinawa to be used for kitchen hearths
[354] and bath stoves. In recent years kerosene kitchen stoves have become so popular that the depletion of wood resources tends to coincide with decreasing demand.

TRADES AND PROFESSIONS

463 Other ways of making a living exist. A few artisans in Taira derive part of their income from wage labor. A number of Taira men earn their living by carpentering, although they do most of their work in the south. They return occasionally when their services are needed for local house building. When working on local construction, they are
[465] paid in money, free lodging, and meals. There are also a few part-time resident carpenters who, whenever they are not employed in house building or repairs, spend their time farming and cutting wood. New
[342] buildings are usually put up between the beginning of the second rice crop and the New Year.

463 Several persons are salaried township or village officials. They are paid monthly and work a 44-hour week, not counting many extra meet-
466 ings and duties connected with their work. All office workers however
[647] have fields, either their own or those of their parents, where they spend Sundays helping in agricultural pursuits. During rice planting season, they are given special time off to attend to their fields.

Also among the salaried workers are store employees, a full-time

Chapter 4

Property

Rice paddies, farm land and some grass land, trees on private land, a house site and house, as well as livestock and tools, are owned by the heads of households. Land is registered in the household head's name, and he has sole right to dispose of it. Ordinarily younger sons have no right to their father's property, but a man may will property to them. If there is no will, however, everything reverts to the eldest son. Despite this, several families of younger sons were found to have land holdings equal to those of eldest sons. 423 [428]

A widow with young sons may hold land in trust for her sons or, if there are no male heirs, may inherit the land outright. Divorcees and spinsters may also acquire land by purchase, and there are several women in Taira who are household heads and owners of real estate. [589] [428] [592]

Because of the war and a general shift in population, much land and many house sites have changed owners, and former wealthy families are no longer the largest landowners. When they returned, several families with small prewar land holdings were able to raise the necessary cash to buy land. [556]

There is little sentimental attachment to a particular plot of land, and households have never been associated with particular plots. Rather, land is considered a necessary commodity, and thus it frequently changes hands. This sentiment may derive from the communal land-holding system with its periodic redistribution of plots to individuals, which was found throughout Okinawa until abolished under Japanese administration at the turn of the century. 423 592 [177]

Forest land from which villagers derive an income is owned by the village. Being a member of the community confers the right to use village forests, subject to regulations made by the village. Of particular interest is the village-owned tea field, which the village cooperative controls. The field has been subdivided, and each household in the 423 621 474

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

quire room and board are sometimes put up without compensation, and they agree, perhaps, to give some help with studies of the landlord's children. Only the village "doctor" takes transient guests, mostly visiting officials from the city, who pay for lodgings. 427 875 485

Although the household head is a legal owner of the family property, there is a feeling that it belongs to the family and everyone in the household identifies himself with his land and house. This is expressed in the language. A person who is asked, "Whose rice paddy is this?" would answer that it is the household's or "ours." 423 592

In addition to the communal land holdings and the property of the cooperative described earlier, the following items are shared. The government supplies a breeding boar to each village; it is then left in the care of one farmer. This animal is available to pig owners for studding on request, and a small charge is made for the upkeep of the boar. A few tools are jointly owned by several households. Threshing machines were bought jointly after the war by two or more families to defray the high cost of such equipment. These families could be neighbors or relatives. Today many are complaining that joint ownership works hardships during the busy harvest season when there is heavy demand for the machines. As a result, everybody wishes to own his own machine as soon as he can afford to. For tea harvesting, special clippers are owned by the village cooperative and loaned to people as they need them. Since tea harvesting, though seasonal, is not done by all families during the same day, sharing of these tools presents no difficulties. 422 231 654 476 474

Property of others is very much respected. Stealing among villagers is almost unheard of, except for some pilfering of green vegetables and fruits by children. Only one case was reported during the field-work period—a person tried to take some goods without payment from the community store. When a village meeting was called, and it was announced that the person's identity was known to the store manager, the merchandise was later replaced. Willful damage to fields is similarly strictly forbidden. No child would really think of doing such damage. But there are no formal rules about trespassing. Movement across other people's property is completely free and unchallenged. 421 685 627 867

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for keeping the population registry, with vital statistics and relevant 632
information on all township residents.* The Welfare Department in-
vestigates relief cases and receives applications for support from the [217]
poorest families. The Health and Sanitation Administration is primarily concerned with preventive work. Representatives from these five departments are supposed to visit all the villages in the township frequently to inspect and to discuss regulations. The officials and personnel of the five departments are drawn equally from all the villages and commute daily by foot, bicycle, or bus.

The township administration links the central government and in- 631
dividual villages. Numerous requests for central government aid, originating in each community, are sent through the township office. The government in turn deals with each community through the township administration. Contact between township and the villages is maintained by weekly meetings of all village headmen with the mayor and his staff. The village headman is responsible for carrying out township and central government ordinances.

THE VILLAGE

The village headman is elected once a year, in June, from a slate 622
agreed on beforehand during informal discussions by villagers. There 666
is no campaigning; in fact, the elections are treated more as a necessity than a politically important event, and neither before nor after do they incite much public discussion. This democratic process of elections is [177]
of post-World War II date. Before the war, the council of village leaders accepted a new headman only if the choice pleased them, so that the headman at that time was virtually appointed. Villagers remarked that "listening to public opinion is a recent change."

The village is still experimenting with the mechanics of a free 666
election. Votes are still restricted to household heads, but the Taira
Women's Association and Young People's Association tried to change [592]
this in 1955. Although they did not succeed, a concession was made by
permitting "representatives" to vote for their household in the absence [575]
of a household head, provided the voter was 20 years of age. The elec-

* The old registry was totally destroyed during the war. A new one is being prepared with the help of the people. It no longer differentiates between persons of noble and common descent. Information on crimes committed by people, sentences passed by courts, and other information, such as diseases in the family, like mental illness, is also omitted now.

by a limited group. The council represents almost all potential leaders. 623
Education and experience in the outside world are the most important 555
qualifications. This is a change from the old days when wealth was also an important factor. An example of a member of township assembly and village council is the man who lived for many years in Brazil (see Chapter 1, p. 374). His leadership is widely recognized and partly due to his successful use of modern farming techniques. Another village leader is a graduate of an agricultural high school, a man of superior intelligence and qualifications who ranked high in an island-wide civil service examination. Another former headman, and now a council member, was born and raised in Japan of Okinawan parents. Although unfamiliar with local dialect and practices, he is well versed in things Japanese and is a financial expert.

The full village council seldom meets. Instead, local matters are 623
discussed among a core of its most active leaders. Noncouncil members, such as the postmaster, policeman, or teachers, may be invited to some meetings. A discussion may start because several villagers want to set aside a special day during which nobody is permitted to go to the mountains to cut firewood, so that more work can be done in the fields. Such a proposal, if approved by the committee of council members, need not be brought before the entire council. Since no formal vote is taken by the council as a rule, friendly discussions decide the issue. Such a decision is then taken directly to a meeting of registered [592]
household heads which is held monthly or whenever there are a number of matters to be discussed and voted on. They are presented point by point, first by the headman, next by one or more council members; then discussion is opened to the whole meeting and eventually a vote is taken. This is done in a very relaxed manner and without actually counting the votes, since discussions have continued until there is a general consensus in the group.

Minor matters of immediate importance, such as tax collections, 622
plans for celebrating a holiday, or maintenance work on roads and 624
ditches in parts of the village, are taken up between the headman and wardens in weekly meetings.

The household head meeting is attended by many women who are 623
either registered household heads or have been sent by their husbands [592]
or fathers as representatives. Some men may actually be unable to [681]
attend; others are disinterested. Failure to send any family representative over 18 years old to a village meeting results in a fine of 20 yen. At one meeting when it seemed as if more women than men were present, the headman joked, "Let's call it a Women's Association Meeting." The women answered, "We are just nice to our husbands, so we

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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bers may be recruited and present members expelled. In others, which are closed, membership is automatic and inevitable, depending in no way on the behavior of the individuals involved. We are here concerned with these latter groups whose membership is determined by sex, age, kinship, and rules of residence. Whether an American male lives in Connecticut or California, in the city or the suburbs, is to a large degree a matter of his personal preference. This is not the case for everybody in Taira, although there are people who at any time may leave the village to seek their fortune. 571

There are two types of households in Taira: those of oldest sons, who live in the house of their parents, and those of younger sons, who establish a nuclear household of their own, which may be near the house of their father. Many young sons, however, leave the central village and settle in its outlying districts or move to the southern part of the island. Whereas formerly many younger sons moved to Japan or to one of its prewar South Pacific mandates, or to Hawaii and South America, since the end of World War II employment opportunities around U.S. Army installations absorb many such migrants. The oldest son is required to live in his parents' house and eventually take over the duties of a household head. Unmarried younger sons remain in the household until they marry or leave the parental home for work elsewhere. 596 594 [166] [167]

For a woman it is customary to move to her husband's home if he is an older son or into a house in his village if he is a younger son. In the old days this usually involved simply a move in the village, since the preference was to marry a woman from the same community. Nowadays there is no clear-cut preference; a woman from central Taira may become the bride of a man from that part of the village, from one of the outlying parts of Taira, or from another village, usually to the north. Of a sample of 55 marriages, 26 of the wives were from Taira, 29 from other villages, five of which were immediately adjacent. 591 582

The composition of the household, therefore, changes for the individual during his lifetime, and it is not the same for all persons in the village. Several children not only have their parents and at least one paternal grandparent but also paternal aunts or uncles who live under the same roof. If the father is a younger son, only one's parents and siblings are household members. Since houses are small and space is very limited, all these members of the household live in close face-to-face relationship. Women tend to outlive men, so that there are many more old women living with their married sons than old men. This is why children have a grandmother more often in the home than a grandfather (see Table 1). 592 593 [165]

592 [727] Table 1 shows the composition of 60 households in central Taira. It is probable that the effects of war dislocation have increased the number of nuclear households and account for at least one of the matrilocal extended households. Some of the fragmentary households, classed as nuclear, consist of just a widow or widower and an unmarried son or daughter.

Table 1 Household Composition in Central Taira

Total population	328
Number of households	60
Nuclear households	36
Patrilineal extended households * (3 generations)	18
Matrilocal extended households	4
Not classified	2

* In households classified as extended, grandparents of the youngest generation present are distributed as follows: grandmothers 14, grandfathers 4, both grandparents 4.

593 554 [562] Relationships and status within the household are ordered according to generation, age, and sex. As will be discussed later, the status of women in general is high. High status of males, especially the first-born male in the family, must be considered as representing an ideal which is not reflected too distinctly in day-by-day interpersonal relationships, although birth order and sex are significant in ancestor worship and in representation of households. Ideally the younger generation members defer to the older people. Normal behavior, however, more frequently reflects a warm, personal relationship that, although not devoid of respect, tends to minimize differences and stress familiarity rather than distance.

613 Besides his membership in a household, the individual is part of a larger descent group, a "main house" in which all the members are related through the male line. Most of the "main houses" in the village trace descent to the founder of Taira. They represent three old lineages. The remaining belong to two more recent and unrelated lineages.

The houses of older and younger sons are distinguished, the term "stem" referring to the house of the founder and the descending line of his oldest sons and the term "branch" to those of younger sons who have set up separate households in the village or elsewhere. Through

782 in her house until a male can assume the responsibility for them. The
562 propitiation of the natural deities is lead by the village priestess—and
[769] she is assisted by a group of women.

Taira women are essential to the financial well-being of the family.
562 Their role in both agriculture and lumbering is equal to that of the
462 men. Since there are few kinds of work which women cannot do and
● 592 do not engage in, a widow or single woman, although handicapped, can
[589] support herself and her family. Several women, whose husbands died during World War II or who have been divorced, support themselves and their children. One Taira woman supported her four children while her husband left for Japan to help a sick brother. She worked the household fields and sold fish. Her husband, who was expected to return after three weeks, remained away for six months. Once or twice he wrote his family to ask for money; his wife and sister obliged. Even old women remain active members of the family. They contribute to the household economy by working in the potato fields, cutting firewood, and doing other useful work around the house.

Such economic independence gives women a place in the family
593 which cannot easily be challenged by a male who theoretically can
562 claim preferential treatment. Perhaps a man is more dependent on his
[462] wife than she is on him. Men never cook. They expect the womenfolk to look after house affairs. A wife, although she does not usually own the land on which she works, has the same rights as her husband to the village forest lands. There she cuts firewood like the men, cooperating with the husband in preparing it for sale. Most of all, pig raising is her concern, and this gives her an important hold on the purse strings.

There is no uniform rule as to who keeps the money in the family. In some households the husband takes care of all financial matters and hands over small sums of money to the wife for daily use. In these
[156] families it is either found that the wife does not contribute heavily to subsistence or that she is from another village and is somewhat intimidated by her husband and unable to find security in having relatives close by. Such women are meek or at least restrained and solicitous of their husbands.

There are numerous cases, however, in which women handle all money affairs. In one such home the husband is a township official. His wife, although from a distant village, is a forceful character and follows economic pursuits independent of her husband. He is glad to let his wife handle finances, although he retains ultimate control over them. The more common situation, however, is almost equal responsibility in economic matters between the sexes. Where this is the case,

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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women chant. The tempo becomes more and more frenzied, and at a certain moment a bell rings. Nobody knows who rings it, and no amount of questioning elicited any information other than that this was done by divine action. 796 793

Ancestral worship is equally important in the life of Taira people. Each house of an oldest son has a shelf with a shrine in the main living room. On this shelf the family keeps the ancestral tablets, each representing a deceased ancestor of a recent period. The tablets for whole family lines are kept on the shelves of the main houses. Through this system a family maintains continuity between the living and the dead. Although a deceased person is believed to become a buddha or a god who ascends to heaven, his presence is still felt by the living relatives. If they fail to make the required offerings on the first and fifteenth day of each lunar month, or otherwise neglect religious duties toward the ancestor, misfortune may come to the family. At the same time, the worship of common ancestors holds branches of the larger kin groups together. 769 592 [778] [775] [782] [613]

No village adult died during our stay, but the funeral practices for adults described by Glacken (1955) and Pitts et al. (1955) for other villages in Okinawa are similar. Seven years is the age limit for a child burial, which is simple and does not require attendance of people other than immediate relatives and perhaps one or two neighbors.* During the study an 8-year-old boy died from an illness and was given a full funeral, which is similar to that of adults. 764 766

The funeral must take place at the first outgoing tide after the body has been prepared and dressed. Accompanied by family, residents of the ward, and mourners from other parts of the village whose number depends on the prominence of the dead, the body is carried on a simple, open litter to the tomb area just west of the central village (see map 2). Women feel free to show their emotions, while men remain outwardly calm. Until decomposition takes place, the body remains in a tomb used by the whole village for temporary entombment. Like other village ceremonies, funerals are less elaborate now than they once were, perhaps to the relief of all concerned, since death is highly anxiety provoking, and nobody feels comfortable during the prayers and the ritual farewell to the corpse at the tomb. The participants receive a cup of sake before leaving the tomb area to cleanse them of the pollution of death. Some people still prefer to return to the village by a different route so that the spirit of the dead person will be fooled and unable to follow. 764 [152] [154] [783] [784]

* The reason for this is possibly that the younger child has not yet fulfilled his filial obligations.

CHAPTER V: FAMILY LIFE

W. P. Suttles

1. Kinship Organization

342 The Household and the Family [183] Okinawan homes, both in the country and in the towns, show a surprising uniformity in structure, in floor plan, and even in orientation. This uniformity reflects the stability of society and at the same time reenforces it. The home of the [361] Okinawan farmer usually faces south; indeed the older villages as a whole were established on southward-facing slopes.

The house consists of two main rooms separated by sliding doors, a long and narrow back room behind the two front rooms, and a kitchen to one side, usually the west. The measurements are usually in multiples of three feet (the Japanese foot being almost identical with the English foot); the two main rooms are usually the same size, 9 by 9 or 12 by 12 feet, and the others are somewhat smaller. The roofs of most houses are thatched with "kaya", but people who can afford it have wholly or partly tiled roofs. The roof of the kitchen may have a separate peak and ridgepole from that of the main part of the house. Usually the roof of the main part of the house extends beyond the front rooms so that there is a narrow veranda across the front and halfway around the side opposite the kitchen. The house usually has no windows. The kitchen has an outside door and the front rooms have sliding doors all the way around under the veranda; these are usually open except at night or during bad weather.

The main part of the house has a floor of boards but the kitchen often has only an earth floor or else consists of two sections, one floored and one not. The kitchen is thus usually lower than the main part of the house and is referred to as "below" while the main part is "above", but this also implies a difference in status. The room farthest from the kitchen is called the "first room" and the middle room is the "second room". The back room may be 353 a single long room or may be divided into two. At the back of the kitchen is [354] the oven, usually made of earth or bricks with two or three holes for pots and pans to fit into. At the back of the second room, if the house is a "main house"---that of an eldest son, is the tootoomee (J. 'butsudan'), a cabinet for the ancestral tablets. At the back of the first room there is often an alcove containing a scroll and perhaps a family treasure; this is the u-tuku (J. 'tokonoma').

In the homes of more prosperous families the floors of the front rooms are permanently covered with "tatami", the thick mats used by the Japanese, but in most homes the only mats are the thinner mushiru, which are spread out 352 only when needed. Furniture is simple; the mushiru are the equivalent of chairs [354] and beds; a low table may be brought out to put food upon at meal-time and a pot of burning charcoal may be brought out in cold weather for a little heat. Usually one sees only a basket of teacups and a tobacco-box. On formal ocas- 592 sions the men sit in the first room and the women in the second, but usually 562 the partition is removed and the family simply lives in the whole space.

The yard in which the Okinawan home stands is also rather uniform in 351
its appearance. It is usually surrounded by a stone wall or a thick hedge for protection against winds. Inside the gate is a himpung, a short wall that prevents one from looking straight through the gate into the house. The space between the himpung and the house is hard earth; this is where mats are spread for drying grain and where many other household tasks are performed. This yard space may be lined on one or both sides with outbuildings for the [343] storage of tools and crops and for housing livestock---two or three goats, [231] and here and there an ox or a horse. Behind the house is a pigsty. There may also be a chicken-coop, but chickens often run loose. There are usually a few trees in the yard, often a clump of bananas. Behind the house is also [514] the toilet; formerly it was combined with the pigsty, but now it is usually an oil-drum. In many villages every house has its own well, but even where [312] wells are fewer there is almost sure to be a cistern beside the house to catch rain-water. The house and yard will be discussed again later in rela- 128 tion to sanitation and health (see Chapter IX).[1]

The social unit that occupies such a house and yard is the family. 592
The structure of the family is also dealt with in detail by Pitts in Chapter VII. Let it suffice to say here that ideally the first son stays with his [591] parents after his marriage while younger sons establish separate households. Thus the family consists of a couple and their unmarried children or a couple with a married first son, his wife and children, and his unmarried brothers and sisters. The deaths of one or more members may reduce the family without breaking it up. Two married couples, parents and grandparents of the youngest generation, is the usual maximum. If two married sons live under the same roof it is usually regarded as a temporary expedient. Thus while the total number of persons in the household may be as many as a dozen, the average number is a little less than five.

The family, that is, the members of the household, is an economic unit, a social unit, and a ceremonial unit. As an economic unit the members of a household work together, producing for and consuming from a common stock. They cooperate with other households on the basis of common interest as neighbors. They form a social unit within the "han", the "ku", and the "son", they are [666] registered as a unit in the "koseki", and may have only one vote---cast by the head of the house---in local elections. As a ceremonial unit they form part of a numbered and graded system based on common descent.

The Structure of Kinship Relations In traditional Okinawan society, as in 593 other societies of East Asia, the fundamental unit is the family and the basic axis within the family is a vertical 602 one running through the male line, the father-oldest son axis.[2] The basic values that support this structure are unity and continuity. Individuals are of varying importance to the family depending on their closeness to the father-first son axis; females are less important than males; younger sons

[1] For a more detailed account of the house and yard see Glacken, 1953, Chapter 5.

[2] I have borrowed this concept from Francis L. K. Hsu, to whose writings I am indebted.

At the same time, each person, both men and women, bore a given name 551
that was purely Okinawan. These names are called warabinaa, "child names". They are few in number. Several of them---perhaps all of them---are meaningful, such as Kamii, "turtle", Ushi, "ox". Several of them were given both to males and to females. They were transmitted according to rules that seem now to be not too well understood. According to one old woman, a man should give his name to his sons' first sons and his wife hers to the sons' first daughters. Subsequent grandchildren should receive the names of the grandparents' siblings or other relatives. A younger woman said that a first son got his father's father's name and a woman her mother's mother's. But unfortunately not enough information was obtained to support the last assertion or to reveal any further pattern. (This is a subject that would be well worth further [174]
study; the possibility that the naming system is a reflection of a former system of double descent should not be overlooked.)

Among the commoners (hyakusoo, cognate of Japanese 'hyakushō', pea- [565]
santa"), surnames were perhaps not universally taken until after the Japanese 177
annexation. Nor did they have Chinese-style given names. Their common descent [614]
groups, usually called munchu, seem to bear names that are place names. They did have house names (yaanuyaa, J. 'yagō'), and Okinawan-style given names. Probably a commoner was known only by these two. Even today among the older Okinawans a man is more likely to be known as Taasachi-gwaa nu Sanree, "Sanree ("Third"?) of the house Taasachi-gwaa ("Little End-of-the-Rice-Field")", than by the name found in the 'koseki'.

Today everyone is registered by and officially known by a surname and 551
given name. The surnames are mainly taken from Okinawan place names but the 177
readings assigned the characters are frequently Japanized. Thus Ufu-gusuku, "great-castle' becomes 'Ōshiro' and Nakandakari becomes 'Nakamura'. Many of the given names for males are of two characters read in the Sino-Japanese manner, like the given names formerly used only by the gentry, but many also are purely Japanese---Masaru, Takeo, Toshiyasu---the last possibly being the Japanese reading of a name that once might have been given its "Chinese" reading. Girls are given such Japanese names as 'Yoshiko' and 'Masako'. And the youngest child recorded in the 'koseki' for Yamada, the first to bear the name, was an infant girl named 'Chiemi', obviously after a currently popular Japanese "starlet".

The Ancestral Tablets In every main house there is a shelf or, if 769
possible a cabinet (tootoomee, J. 'butsudan') for the ancestral tablets (ifee, 353
J. 'ihai'). If it is a cabinet it contains three shelves; on the top shelf 592
stand the tablets flanked by a pair of vases, on the second shelf a pair of tea-cups and a wine cup, and on the third an incense burner (u-kooru). The paraphernalia vary somewhat with the means of the family. The tablets are 769
red lacquered slips of wood held in two rows in a black frame. On the upper 592
row are written the names of deceased male members of the family, on the lower row names of deceased females. The ancestral tablets together with the house name form an inseparable unit. The main house of the Taba lineage is the [613]
main house and has the house name "great Taba" because it is the location of the ancestral tablet of the founder of the lineage. The tablets at "new little Taba" contain the tablet for the founder of that house. The tablets are

769 transmitted with the headship of the house. The head of the house, or his
• 592 wife or mother, has the responsibility of making offerings to them on the proper occasions. On certain occasions representatives of the houses that have branched from a main house come to worship before the tablets in it.

[171] Inheritance and Adoption Inheritance has two aspects, legal and customary. According to Japanese law the headship of a house should pass from a man to his first son or if the first is dead to his second or subsequent son, or in the event that there are no sons or that they are minors, it may pass to his wife. The headship is registered in the koseki. According to Japanese law if a man has no son but a daughter, he may adopt a son-in-law who then becomes his heir and succeeds him to the headship of the house.

In Okinawan custom headship of the house means responsibility for the tablet of the last head and the other tablets that go with it. A woman can [562] do no more than care for the tablets until another male succeeds the last. Moreover, an adopted son-in-law cannot care permanently for the tablets of a man to whom he is not related. Ultimately for every man who lacks a son a male must be found who is a blood relative in the male line. Only such a person can succeed him, that is, care for his tablets after his death and beget [597] descendants who can rightfully care for his tablets. Therefore the man without sons tries to adopt as his heir the second or later son of one of his brothers or of a cousin related through males. If a man dies without an heir one may be adopted posthumously for him. The tablet of a boy who has died unmarried may be kept for a whole generation in a brother's house, until one of the brother's sons or grandsons can become the "adopted son" of the deceased. He then establishes a branch house, which takes the house name the deceased would have had, and becomes custodian of the tablet.

619 The Larger Kin Group: Structure and Variation. Every Okinawan family belongs to larger kinship group and often these larger units belong to still larger units. Such a unit consists of a group of families the male heads of which are or believe themselves to be related in the male line. The size and composition of these groups and the terms used for them vary somewhat.[1]

In Shimajiri among the descendants of the peasant class the larger kin group is called the munchu (in Japanese 'monchū', "within the gate"). It may consist of dozens or even hundreds of families living in several villages and with a total membership of several thousands. The munchu usually takes its name from the house-name of the main house. If it has spread to several villages its members in any one village may be referred to as the so-and-so munchu of that village. Or, as often is the case, the members of a certain munchu in one village may be all branch houses of one main house of that munchu for the village and this house will have been founded according to tradition by the second son or the third son of the founder of the main house of the larger unit, which is elsewhere; in this case the local branch will be called the jinan-bara, "second-son belly", or sannan-bara, "third-son belly",

[1] The statements made in this section are based on information obtained from informants. However, I have also consulted Watanabe, 1947.

One of his major responsibilities to the township office is tax collection within the village; yet, his actual powers are slight, as nearly all of his official acts are first sanctioned by the villagers or the township office. It seemed to the author that the chief role of the 'kuchō' was as an intermediary between the people and the township office or as an agent for the latter, rather than as an administrator. It would seem that the payment of his salary by the township instead of by the village is symbolic of his actual role. 622 [651] [632]

Assisting the 'kuchō' are several officers the first of which is the assistant mayor ('fuku-kuchō') who is elected at the same time as the mayor and serves for one year. He is paid ¥480 ($4.00) per month, and like the mayor he must be over 27 and a household head. In the absence of the mayor he functions in his place, and on all other occasions he assists him in his work. A village clerk ('shōki') is also elected at the same time as the 'kuchō', and serves for a term of one year; he is paid a salary of ¥700 ($5.83) each month. The main qualifications for this position are that one have a fair amount of education and a good mastery of characters for writing. The job holds little appeal since it demands much of the individual's time and affords little in the way of prestige or pay. In Kanegusuku-ku in December of 1953 three elections were held in an effort to fill this position before someone finally and quite reluctantly accepted it. 624 [465] [465]

An advisory body of four councillors ('hyōgiin') assists the mayor in his administration; they represent each of the four neighborhoods or districts of the village. They are elected at the same time as the mayor, serve for one year, and receive a salary of ¥20 (17¢) per meeting. According to the villagers this body has replaced the earlier yuushi which was an unelected advisory council made up of former village officials, the village equivalent of elder statesmen. The 'kuchō' never undertakes an independent course of action; he first consults the 'hyōgiin' and obtains their approval and suggestions before initiating action. 623 [465]

Each village of Kanegusuku-son elects two men to represent it in the township ('son') assembly ('sonkai'); they are elected for a term of four years. Older, mature men who have held several official positions are always selected. They also play a part in village administration and are considered village officials. At all meetings they sit with the officials, and their opinion is much valued. 624 632

All matters of real importance are submitted to the household heads who form the real body politic within the village. The electorate for the village consists exclusively of household heads; to vote in a village election one must be a household head or one appointed by him to vote in his place, but in township and national elections universal suffrage obtains. At one village election which the author witnessed in December of 1953 balloting began as soon as the meeting was called to order without any preliminary speeches or nominations. It was later stated that the election and likely candidates had been informally discussed among the village leaders and household heads so that there was no need for preliminaries. The same situation seemed to prevail when meetings were held to discuss matters of general concern; the apparent unanimity of opinion and agreement indicated that informal concordance had been reached well in advance of formal discussion and decision. 621 592 666

that a woman can hold office today since the government has made this law, but that they would never permit this to happen. In village elections only household heads are permitted to vote, and in practice only they are eligible for the village offices. If a woman is a household head (and there are eighteen in this category in Kanegusuku) she is allowed to vote, but she would never be considered for any village office. Most women would not want the job if it were available to them, for this is considered a part of the affairs of men and inconsistent with the traditional concept of woman's role of wife and mother. Women are vaguely aware that their legal and political status has altered under the American military administration, and nearly all have heard stories about America where women are said to be very influential, but they are not so sure that what is good for Americans will necessarily work for them. 562 [117] [829]

An exception to the generally inactive role of women in political affairs is found in Okinawan fishing communities. In Itoman and Henza, which derive their living from fishing, shipping, and ferrying, the men are away much of the time, and the women exercise considerably more control over family and financial matters than elsewhere on Okinawa. Itoman women are noted throughout the island for their independence and shrewdness in financial matters, and there is a common saying that an Itoman woman doesn't need a man if she has a house. On Henza Island the lower echelons of the village political hierarchy are completely dominated by women. The five 'hanchō' are women, each heading a political unit of about eight hundred persons, and the forty-one 'kumichō' are also women. Despite this one gets the impression that women are participating in Henza political life in the absence of the men just as they have a larger role in the management of family affairs than the women of farming villages because the absence of their men has made this a practical necessity. To date no woman has been elected to the position of 'kuchō' nor does it seem likely that one will be in the near future. Perhaps this also serves to define more clearly the real nature of the 'hanchō' and 'kumichō' as messengers for the 'kuchō' instead of as administrators, and that positions of real power are still retained by men. 562 184 621

5. The Political Community

The rural village constitutes a political, territorial, and social unit; its membership is bound together by a common cultural heredity and shares a common experience. All the villagers have attended the same schools, cooperated in village projects, participated in community ceremonies and celebrations, and joined the same organizations. The prevailing marriage practice still tends toward endogamy, and in many places they speak a dialect with features distinct from that of their neighbors. National organizations serve to unite the youth, women, and farmers into their respective local groups for common action and benefit. Further integration is assured by practices of reciprocal labor exchange among the households. 621 [582] [197]

The major social institutions of rural Okinawa are the family-kin group and the community. Within the former there exists a strict hierarchy 621 [92] [181]

621 among its membership, and all relationships are highly structured. Though
592 age-grades tend to structure the membership of the community, this is not
[561] too important, as the basic unit within the village is the family, not the individual. The community is regarded as an association of families
[565] bound together in a relationship of equality. Such differences as exist
[178] in wealth and land holdings are not so great as to constitute class differentiation; likewise the old Okinawan class structure is no longer of any real significance, and in most rural communities the bulk of the families were and still are of commoner descent.

621 The concept of political participation by households is basic to
829 the thinking of the villagers. Universal suffrage applies only to munic-
592 ipal and national elections; within the village active political partici-
666 pation is restricted to household heads functioning in the capacity of representatives for their respective families. When the mayor of one village was asked why all adults were not allowed to vote in village elections, his quick reply was, "Is it democracy to give some families more votes merely because they have more members?"

6. Political Leadership and Authority

621 There are nine important political offices within the village of Kanegusuku (population 507)---mayor, assistant mayor, clerk, 4 councillors,
[592] and 2 'son' assemblymen. Eighteen of the 108 village families are headed by women, and since only male household heads are elected to positions of political leadership, there remain 90 men eligible for these offices. A number of the young household heads also must be excluded from this group since a man must be over twenty-seven to be eligible, and there are others who are too old or infirm. This leaves 72 men eligible for office on the basis of the formal requirements.

621 Actually the villagers apply several other qualifications which one
554 must possess in order to be eligible for office. In practice the repatriates and the other newcomers to the village since the end of the war are not elected. Those who are poor (less than enough land for mere subsistence) cannot afford to accept an office, since the pay is low and the demands on one's time are too great. The men who have non-agricultural jobs which take them outside the village each day also do not have the time to devote, and the villagers tend to feel that these men are out of touch with the problems of a farming village. Lastly there are several men who otherwise meet all qualifications for village office save for what the villagers vaguely describe as "good character"; the most frequently cited example for this group is a man who dislikes farming and spends much of his time drinking or visiting the 'pachinko' parlor in a nearby town. Thus, the total number qualified for political office on the basis of all criteria which are applied is limited to approximately 47 individuals; this group, which constitutes about 9% of the total population, supplies the village leadership and forms the core of the body politic.

161 The percentage growth categories used on Map 6 are as follows:

Negative Growth
Less than Okinawa Average of 22% Growth
23-39% Growth
40-100% Growth
Over 100% Growth

Population Increase During 1951 and 1952 The accelerated military construction program has been quite important in drawing people to the main island of Okinawa. This is shown by the fact that in the years 1951 and 1952 it gained over 47,000 inhabitants. More than 11,000 of these were contractors and construction workers from Japan. About 2,300 more such workers arrived from Japan in the first seven months of 1953.[1]

161 166 During this two year period, Okinawa's population increased by 5.55%. On Map 7 all areas with an increase of less than that amount are considered as areas of emigration. Those areas where the increase was more than 5.55% are shown as areas of immigration.

All urban areas except Ishikawa continued to grow. Goeku and Kadena, which had in the previous decade grown amazingly fast, continued to be among the fastest-growing 'son' on the island. On the other hand, Kunigami-son and the entire east coast north of Ishikawa City reversed the trend of growth noted on Map 6, and became areas of excessive migration. In part this was due to the improvement of roads along the east coast, thus making the urban trek easier. But it owed just as much to the demand for skilled carpenters, who were abundant along the east coast.

If data were available at the 'aza', or village area level, the urban trend could be localized with greater accuracy. Military government personnel concerned with problems on the island relative to urbanization and its pace are advised to work with population data on the village ('aza' or 'ku') level if greater accuracy is desired. This information is rarely if ever presented in that detailed form to agencies of the Government of the Ryukyu Islands, and local inquiry must be made.

162 The Sex Ratio Okinawa shares with most of the Orient a great density of population per arable acre of land. Aside from this, the outstanding fact about the population of Okinawa is the great preponderance of women over men. There are about 90 men for every 100 women in this area.[2] This excess of women is reflected in such sociological phenomena as prostitution, illegitimate and common law children, women functioning as heads of households, and a high fertility ratio. The reasons for the excess are somewhat complex, but the most important factor is the recent war, in which many

[1] CAARI, p. 78.

[2] The standard demographic definition of sex ratio is "the number of men for each 100 women."

[Kochinda-son]

something as to the attitudes toward marriage, the family, and sexual mores of the inhabitants. Study of divorce also helps to illuminate the dynamics of a population. All of these categories are discussed below. 121 16

Types of Household Heads All the households in Kochinda-son were classified into seven categories. Where possible this was done on the basis of the relationship of the present household head to the former household head. Table II shows the percentage of households in each category. 162 592

Table II

Category	Percentage of Households
First Sons	41.7
Second Sons	17.8
Third Sons	9.3
Other Sons (Sons of Fourth Order and above, and adopted sons, or 'yōshi')	7.4
Other Types (Younger Brother, etc.)	2.1
Grandsons	1.8
Women	19.9
All Types	100.00

The really surprising fact shown above is the number of women household heads, almost one in five. The percentage of households headed by first, second and third sons is probably not far from the prewar norm. However, within the families of each class of household head, conditions vary widely. Table III brings out the disparities of membership in families headed by the various types of household heads.

Table III

Type of Household Head	Average Males per Household	Average Females per Household	Average Persons per HH	Sex Ratio
First Sons	2.93	3.04	5.97	96.5
Second Sons	2.91	2.63	5.54	110.9
Third Sons	2.76	2.73	5.49	103.3
Other Sons	2.46	2.67	5.13	92.3
Other Types	2.16	2.09	4.25	103.1
Grandsons	2.49	2.51	5.00	98.9
Women	1.14	2.20	3.34	52.1

First Sons Frequent reference is made in Okinawa to the "heavy burden of being a first son." The large number of women per household in that category of household head bears out this assertion. If a first son assumes the duties as traditional head of the family, his mother and grandmother most likely will live with him after their spouses are dead. He must also assume responsibility for all unmarried younger sisters, as well as take care of any older sisters who become divorced. The "heavy role of

[Koohinda-son]

first son" is graphically depicted by the third column in Table III. If the 6.5% of the households that contain no women are eliminated, the "average females per household" index rises to 3.25 in this category.

Second Sons There are two possible reasons for the high sex ratio in households headed by second sons. The sons of second sons may tend to marry later than do sons of first sons, because the land they may inherit is generally smaller in area, and they want time to hunt work in the cities. The daughters of second sons marry earlier for the reason that their fathers have less land to contribute to their support past adolescence.

The high sex ratio is still rather hard to understand, however. If we eliminate the twelve cases where the male household head is the only person in that household, the sex ratio becomes 109.0. If we eliminate all households without women, the sex ratio drops to 107.0. This means that there are considerable households where two or more males constitute the only inhabitants. This was true in eleven cases. Even more frequent are the cases where two males and one female constitute the household.

If the same operation, elimination of all-male households, is carried out on the data for households headed by first sons, the sex ratio drops to 93.0. Hence we see that however the figures are interpreted, first sons do have a greater burden and more women to care for.

Grandsons Grandsons of former household heads were household heads in 37 cases. In four of these cases the grandfather was still living but considered himself too old (68, 71, 76, and 89 years) to manage the family's affairs. In sixteen cases the mother of the household head was living. In one case both mother and grandmother were living, and in another both paternal grandparents were living. In only one case was the father of a household head living---and he was adopted husband, or 'yōshi', in another household. In all cases the inheritance has passed directly from the grandfather to grandson.

Other Sons Sons of fourth order and above, adopted sons ('yōshi'), and those whose birth order was not recorded, constitute the heads of 154 households. Fourteen of these are 'yōshi', whose birth orders in their family of orientation were:

First Sons	2
Second Sons	8
Third Sons	2
Fourth Sons	1
Unrecorded	1
Total 'yōshi'	14

[Kochinda-son]

The birth orders of the remaining 140 household heads were: 162 592

Fourth Sons	89
Fifth Sons	28
Sixth Sons	8
Seventh Sons	1
Unrecorded	14
Total non-'yōshi'	140

Here can be seen the expectable tendency to put one's second son up for adoption, rather than a first son. Usually a relative, a person at least in the same munchu, will adopt. [597]

Other Types In the 43 cases comprising the category of other types of household head, such as younger brother, and miscellaneous, there were 18 cases of "no relationship stated." There were 16 cases of younger brother, four cases of nephew, three illegitimate sons and two common law sons.[1]

Women A study of the women household heads category is most rewarding. No doubt most of the cases are the result of the war. However, a small percentage of widows and girl orphans would normally comprise this category. Not surprisingly, the sex ratio of 52.1 is the lowest of any category. There were 84 cases of women living alone. In seven of these cases the persons were under 21 years of age as of December 31, 1953.[2] If the 84 cases are eliminated and the data recomputed, the results are as follows:

Table IV

Average Number of Persons per Household	3.93
Average Number of Males per Household	1.43
Average Number of Females per Household	2.50
Sex Ratio	57.3

If the data are recomputed by eliminating the women household heads themselves, the results are as follows:

Table V

Average Number of Persons per Household	2.34
Average Number of Males per Household	1.43
Average Number of Females per Household	2.50
Sex Ratio	95.3

Both Table IV and Table V show a preponderance of women. One explanation is that a widow and her deceased husband's mother often live together.

1 See definitions of "illegitimate" and "common law" on pp. 111-112.

2 Unless otherwise stated, the datum point in this report for all population categories in Kochinda-son is December 31, 1953.

[Koohinda-son]

162 This is true in 32 cases, or 9.54% of the households in this category con-
592 taining more than one person. Another reason is that of the illegitimate
children born to women household heads, more boy babies are registered as
[841] legal children by their fathers than is the case with girl babies. Of the
illegitimates living in households headed by women, 19 were female, 11 were
male, and an additional seven were in the class "sex unrecorded". If the
same proportion are girls as is true of "common law children", this would
indicate a surplus of illegitimate females.[1]

Additional Three other categories relating to household head status were analyzed. The data were cross-filed from the above categories. There were sixty-seven cases of father or grandfather not functioning as household head, but living. Or in other words, retirement of males. Persons under twenty-one years of age functioning as household heads were counted, as were household heads living alone.

162 1. Retirement: In the category of retired fathers or grandfathers,
592 we find that in 59 of the 67 cases retirement was in favor of a first son.
In seven cases retirement was in favor of a grandchild first son, and in
886 one instance in favor of a son's wife. The ages of the retired oldsters
ran from 51 to 87, with 33 of the 67 instances being between the ages of
60 to 70 inclusive. The median age was 65, and the average age was roughly
66.5.

162 2. Living Alone: In the second additional category, household heads
living alone, we find 166 cases. Thirty of these cases, or 16%, were orphans
592 under twenty-one years of age. Twenty-two of these were male and eight fe-
597 male, thus showing a greater tendency for female orphans to be adopted.
Male orphans are not often adopted, because relatives want them to grow up
to be the heads of their deceased fathers' households.

162 With regard to division by sex, 89 were males. Of these, 21, or
592 20%, were born before 1900. Of the 77 females, 39 (51%) were born before
1900, thus giving another instance of the longevity of women.

3. Minors: In the third supplementary category of minor household heads, the mother was living in 79 instances and deceased in 69 instances. One father and four grandfathers were still living, but retired. In all these five cases the mother was also still living. There was an overwhelming tendency for the first son to be household head, followed by second sons and first daughters equally. The full range is shown below:

Table VI

First Sons	110	Fifth Sons	1
Second Sons	11	Second Daughters	1
First Daughters	11	Common Law (boy)	1
Third Sons	5	Illegitimate (girl)	1
Fourth Sons	[illegible]	Adopted Son[2]	1
Sons, Unknown Birth Order	2		
Total			148

1 Refer to "Common Law Children---Numbers", p. 112.

2 This boy's birth order was second son in his family of orientation.

[Kochinda-son]

The distribution by ages, which ranged from four to twenty, is shown below: 162 592

Table VII

Age	Persons	Age	Persons	Age	Persons
4	3	9	8	15	15
5	4	10	9	16	9
6	-	11	3	17	13
7	2	12	5	18	16
8	2	13	9	19	13
		14	15	20	22

Thirty-two orphans were household heads and legally living alone, although in actuality most of them probably resided in houses of relatives. Five more were orphans, although in each case another person of the same sex lived with them.

Even though only thirteen, or 8.8%, of the 148 minor household heads were female, there was a large excess of women in these households. This is accounted for mainly by the aforementioned 79 households, 53.5% of the total, where the mother of the legal but minor household head is still living. For the category as a whole there is an average of about three persons per household:

Table VIII

Average Persons per household	2.98
Average Men per Household	1.34
Average Women per Household	1.64
Sex Ratio	81.5

In the thirteen households that were headed by minor females, twelve consisted only of women. The other household consisted of a fifteen-year-old girl and her two younger brothers of ten and twelve years of age.

Fertility, the Birth Rate, and Birth Control The most widely known but least accurate measure of fertility is the crude birth rate, defined as the number of births per year for each thousand persons in the total population. The crude birth rate for Okinawa Guntō in 1952 was 34.2---less than the rate in the United States in 1890---while the rate for Kochinda-son was 38.1 in the same year. Japan's crude birth rate in 1938 was 27.0, and had increased to 32.8 by 1949. This differential is not surprising in view of the somewhat greater urbanization and consequent slightly lesser frequency of births in the main islands. The prefecture which most closely resembles Okinawa---Kagoshima---is less urbanized and had the higher-than-Okinawa rate of 35.4 in 1949. As of 30 June 1953 the birth rate was 32.2 for the Ryukyus, including the Amami group, and was 34.9 for Okinawa Guntō.[1] 163 171

[1] Pacific Stars and Stripes, 8 Feb 1954. Figures were released on numbers of births and deaths, and total population, by the Public Health Dept. of USCAR.

'Koseki' Changes The present 'koseki'---those used when this SIRI team visited Okinawa---are temporary ones set up about 1948. In some very few areas 'koseki' remain from before the war. Registration in the 'koseki' is not automatic when an individual or family moves into a community. Hence there may even be persons who have bought houselots in a village, rented land there and raised crops---without ever having contacted the 'son' office for change of 'koseki'. Three such instances were observed in Nanahan. Areas such as Goeku-son and the Naha-Mawashi area, which contain many "floaters", may actually have a much larger population than is reported in the census figures. 161 217

'Koseki' Inaccuracies The present 'koseki' not only does not contain information on 'museki' persons, but it is often very far behind---sometimes as much as two years---in recording the movement of persons and families out of the villages and into urban centers.

Because old 'koseki' were for the most part destroyed, information on birthdates is very often inaccurate. The Kochinda 'koseki', for example, is full of requests for changes in birthdates, changes ostensibly sought on the basis of more accurate family records recently discovered or assembled. However, some changes may conceivably be sought in order deliberately to misrepresent one's age to a Company or to the military. Also, the possibility should not be ruled out that some persons change their recorded birthdate in order to bring about a change in their luck. [777]

Accuracy of Kochinda-son Data The statistics on household heads presented above represents the total number of people registered in the Kochinda 'koseki'. It does not take into consideration those persons and families who are recorded as having temporarily moved elsewhere. 217 162 592

Many people in Kochinda who have moved to the city have failed to record that fact in the 'koseki'. Many times this is attributable to apathy and poverty, but may often involve the matter of pride in having one's record in the same 'koseki' as one's close relatives. There is an additional factor at work: most Okinawans realize that the present urban trend brought about by the presence of the military is a temporary phenomenon, and they fully expect to return to the village in event of a lessening of urban opportunities. Thus Okinawa follows the Japanese pattern---by tightening their belts and working a little harder, the farmers can always make their plots feed an additional mouth until some adjustment can be made. [369] [829]

Hence the Kochinda statistics as presented above represent some 2,000 household heads and some 10,000 persons, rather than the census count of some 8,500 persons and 1,970 household heads.

The New 'Koseki' Early in 1954 the Government of the Ryukyu Islands ordered a new 'koseki' to be compiled. It will no doubt be more complete in most respects than is the temporary 'koseki'. The demand for a new 'koseki' came about chiefly because Japanese governmental pension agencies 217 [648]

allotment system was now entered in the newly-created land registries as the 175
property of the household head. In the past inheritance of the position of 648
household head by the first son had been largely a matter of status succes- 177
sion involving leadership of the family and certain ceremonial obligations.
Property succession had not been an important factor, for the private 423
property of the family had usually amounted to no more than the family
house and lot. Under the old land allotment system there was always land 177
available for younger sons who set up independent houses, but under Japanese 423
law the bulk of the family property was inherited by the first son. What had 428
been the function of the community in the past now became the responsibility 592
of the family, and since family holdings were usually small, the younger sons were often landless. Informants stated that a father will usually do everything possible to provide his younger sons with land, but he cannot do this if it means jeopardizing the resources of the house. Continuation of the family line for the purpose of continuity in worshipping the ancestors is the chief responsibility incumbent on the household head, and in the rural areas the land provides the major support for the house. With the rise in [166]
population there developed an increasing trend for younger sons to emigrate from the rural areas in search of land or jobs elsewhere. The end result [602]
was a considerable weakening of family and especially kin group ties and a [621]
rapid decline in the communal character of the rural villages.

Though the creation of private property made possible the sale, pur- 175
chase, and rental of land, landlordism never gained a foothold on Okinawa. 423
Undoubtedly this is primarily due to the recency of private property and the 427
lack of time for large accumulations of land to be made. It is also in part [471]
due to a lack of capital in the rural areas; most capital on Okinawa after the annexation and before World War II was confined to the hands of Japanese businessmen and members of the former upper classes who seemed disinclined to invest in land. Likewise the official Japanese attitude toward Okinawa was [648]
to regard it as a rather backward part of Japan not to be exploited as a colonial dependency as in the case of Formosa and Korea. Glacken has sug- [171]
gested that the heavy fragmentation of the typical Okinawan farm would be an obstacle to its sale; yet, the Chinese farmland is also highly fragmented and landlordism has been common there for centuries.[1]

After the abolition of the communal allotment system taxes were ex- 175
tended to cover all categories of land whereas previously they had been ap- 423
plied only to arable land; however, government income from land taxes sharply 651
declined, as the moderate levies of the Japanese administration were considerably below those of the Okinawan monarchy. Despite this reduction in [311]
tax load there has been a steady decline in the amount of land cultivated since the termination of the old land system; this is clearly shown in Tables III and IV in Chapter III, Agricultural History, Land Use and Diet.

3. World War II and the American Occupation

175
During World War II Okinawa became the scene of one of the most vio- 727
lent battles of modern times. The entire island was turned into a combat

[1] Glacken, 1951, p. 160.

4. A Comparison of Land Tenure in Two Rural Villages: Kanegusuku and Kitazato

621 Kanegusuku The village of Kanegusuku is located in the southwestern cor-
[34] ner of Kanegusuku-son approximately three miles due south of Naha on the west coast, and it is immediately north of the town of Itoman. As is typical of the old Okinawan villages it is situated on high ground with all of its houses facing in a southerly direction. Aside from a detached cluster of eleven houses, the village houses are close together in
[121] a contiguous settlement. The village was selected for study because of its infrequent contact with Americans, relative lack of war damage, and a reputed antiquity and conservatism. As of December, 1953, the population was 507 persons forming 108 families occupying 103 houses. The present population is said to be about the same as before the war despite a 20% loss of life during the battle; this loss has been made up by repatriates from overseas and immigrants from other areas of Okinawa. The repatriates and some of the immigrants either had formerly resided in the village or regarded it as their ancestral home. There are nine families who were native to some other part of Okinawa before the war and have no previous connections with the village. The majority of the families have been in this village for
[592] many generations. There are approximately five persons in each household, which usually consists of a nuclear family, husband and wife and their children; but the composition of a number of households has been changed due to wartime losses.

Socially the village is segmented into eight lineages which con-
[613] stitute 92% of the total population; the remaining 8% is made up of unrelated families new to the village since the end of the war. One lineage includes nearly 61% of the village in its membership. Each of these lineages is related to lineages in other villages. Approximately 66% of the village
[582] marriages have been within the village, and nearly 50% of the marriages have been between persons of the same kin group. Thus, the composition of the village is fairly homogeneous, and both the community and the kin groups are strong cohesive units.

621 Occupation 98 of the 103 houses are engaged full time in farming;
443 the household heads of the five remaining houses are employed outside the village in non-agricultural pursuits although all participate in some part-
241 time farming. In addition to these five there were approximately fifteen young men, not household heads, who also worked outside. Most of these commuted daily to the greater Naha area where they were engaged in military employment or construction work. For the majority of villagers farming was the sole occupation.

621 Arable Land Over 66% of the total area of this village is under
311 cultivation, and about 38% of the cultivated land is in irrigated fields.
[434] The chief sources of income derive from rice and mats made from a sedge which is grown in an irrigated field. In terms of the average amount of arable land per household Kanegusuku is somewhat better off than the average
[136] for Okinawa: 1514.2 'tsubo' for Kanegusuku as compared with 1037.6 'tsubo' for Okinawa.

[Kanegusuku]

time of the author's stay in the village there was no individual or family which could be classified as rentier. 427

Changes Effected by the War War-caused changes in the distribution of land holdings among the various households were considerable. Many of the land-rich houses, if such a term may be used where the "richest" has but eleven acres, are such today because of the war, and conversely some houses have become impoverished or had their resources severely strained because of it. Unlike many other communities Kanegusuku was fortunate in that only about 4% of its total land area was permanently ruined as a result of the war. Some land was lost to a road, but most of the loss was due to a small military camp (about company size) now converted into a tuberculosis sanatorium. Since land holdings are usually fragmented and scattered, no one family lost all its land, though one family lost nearly one-half and several approximately one quarter. The loss to the sanatorium is not compensated for by jobs for Kanegusuku people since no villager is employed there. This is explained by the fact that the director is from Itoman; so "naturally" he could not be expected to hire Kanegusuku people. 621 423 177 727 [186]

The composition of the household has changed in many homes since the war as a result of the large number of deaths. Today a number of households consist of the usual nuclear family of husband, wife, and their offspring plus a related "broken" family such as widowed sister and her children or widower brother and his children or parent and unmarried siblings. In most cases the holdings of both families are pooled and the household functions as a single economic unit, though separate purses are sometimes maintained. There are several old people who live alone in their houses, but they are usually watched over by near relatives. 621 592 177 727

The richest landowner (eleven acres) in the village today was a second son in very moderate circumstances before the war. As a second son he was given by his parents to childless relatives for adoption. During the war his adoptive parents died, leaving him their entire estate. The war also caused the death of his real father and elder brother, leaving him the sole heir to their property. He has since married a woman who as the surviving member of her family is heiress to its property. Consequently, this house now holds the land of three families. The villagers are somewhat envious, but they say that misfortunte may result since this house now must make the ritual observances to the ancestors of three families, which is felt to be too great a task for anyone, and inadequate attention may lead to calamity. 621 556 727 [769]

The women who were widowed by the war and who have chosen to maintain separate households have had in most cases a difficult time of it, and particularly those widows without grown sons have been hard pressed. Farming an irrigated field is said to be impossible for a woman alone; therefore, most of them have had to rent out their rice lands, thereby losing much of its return. It is also very difficult for a house which contains only women to participate in reciprocal labor exchanges, since two days of labor by a woman are equated to one day of labor by a man. 621 589 727 [462] [427] [476]

434 salaried employees has greatly increased the amount of money in circulation.
178 The large expenditures made by members of the military forces have also con-
464 tributed significantly. The farmer, in turn, has been able to realize a larger return for his products than was formerly possible, and in many farm villages a sizable number of individuals are engaged in military employment..

Farmers are spending more than ever before; self-sufficiency has further declined in that many articles formerly made at home are now purchased.
[511] The standard of living, especially diet, is said to have improved considerably.
[592] Formerly all income and resources were controlled by the household head for the entire family; today individual purses are said to be increasingly common.

621 Community Organization and Social Structure The solidarity and
178 integration of the village was severely diminished by the war and its aftermath. The prewar village was quite homogeneous; most of its families had resided there for many generations, village marriage practices tended to be endogamous, and nearly all were engaged in farming as their major occupation. Today in most villages there are a number of families new to the village since the war, and there are an increasing number of individuals who are employed outside the village in non-agricultural pursuits. Both groups tend to play a lesser role in community affairs than the old residents who continue to farm.

476 There has been a considerable decline in reciprocal labor exchanges.
178 The man who is daily employed outside the village is automatically prevented from participating in such ventures. The widow who heads a household without any adult male members is often unable to participate or must limit her participation since a day's work by a man must be matched by two by a woman. Likewise the man who hires a bulldozer to clear some land or build a rice field instead of engaging his relatives and neighbors in a cooperative exchange is also contributing to the decline of the practice.

369 Formerly those who left the village usually emigrated to other parts
178 of the Japanese Empire, but today they usually obtain employment in the cities
621 or military camps. Consequently, they continue to exert some influence in their place of origin, since interaction is more likely.

621 In a community like Kitazato which has suffered poverty, hunger, land
178 loss, and exodus of members to other communities, there seems to be a reintensification of community spirit stressing cooperation and unity. This is in marked contrast to Kanegusuku and elsewhere, suggesting that when a major value---communal unity---is directly threatened, there is a reaction and reintensification of this value. Elsewhere where the process of change has been more subtle, no reaction has occurred.

565 Okinawan class divisions were officially abolished early in the period
177 of Japanese administration; yet they continued to be of some importance with regard to status and marriage for some time. Today people say that they are no longer of any importance except to a few of the very old. Distinctions on
[559] the basis of wealth were largely erased by the war. It is frequently said, "After the war everyone was equal."

175 648 439 empire provided the incentive. The central district of Okinawa became an entrepot in the triangular China-Ryukyuan-Japan trade. In the beginning the cultural interchange was a consequence of sending Chinese ambassadors to assist in the investiture of Ryukyuan kings and the travels of Ryukyuan emissaries to Peking. Naha in Okinawa and Foochow in Fukien were ports of entry and exit for the travellers.

The Ryukyuan emissaries left Naha for Foochow on the Min river in Fukien and then began the trip north to Peking. Ryukyuans brought copper, tin, and sulphur and received brocades and silk in return. The Ryukyuan as well as ambassadors from Korea, Annam, Burma participated in this official reception at Peking.[9]

175 177 The first contact with Chinese learning has been dated at 1392, when the son of the king and the son of his master of camp were allowed to attend the Imperial College. The usual route from Naha to Foochow became a cultural corridor joining China and Okinawa. This contact with Chinese learning and writing lasted until the Japanese annexation in 1879. Hall in 1816 and Perry's staff in 1853 mentioned the devotion among the higher [565] classes to Chinese learning, and though this no doubt was confined to those residing in Naha and Shuri, it was this Chinese educated class that ruled the island. With this learning too, there came the ideals of the [641] Confucian state and its five relationships, parent-child, husband-wife, [593] friend-friend, younger brother-elder brother, and subject-sovereign, which were reflected so forcefully in the family system and in the state as well. This coloring of the whole government, composed of men with Confucian ideals gradually changed, says Spencer, following Iha, "the whole mental outlook of the male population, at least around Shuri. This would, per- [562] haps, not extend inland, and was not given to the women." In the country-side the influence of women, through the noro system, was still strong. This Confucian ideal of the state, as Spencer and Iha have suggested, [479] probably had a great deal to do with the dis-establishment of the noro system as a state religion in the seventeenth century.[10]

In the reign of Sho Shin (1477-1526), there were further foreign contacts and domestic consolidations. Buddhism was encouraged and in [479] fact reintroduced, this time from Korea. The Okinawans requested from their Korean "suzerain" the sutras, the Buddhist canon, and religious objects in 1462, 1479, and 1483.[11] Chinese artifacts, books, and other articles were imported, and palaces on the Chinese model were constructed at Shuri. Chinese customs, dress by rank order, and the Confucian ideal of the state became part of the culture of Naha and Shuri, probably less so in the other parts of Okinawa.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON TOP of P. 31 - Gnalyst]

9 Binkenstein, Okinawa-Studien. Monumenta Nipponica 3 (1940), 201-02. Binkenstein, Zur Frage der Ryūkyū Gesandtschaften. Monumenta Nipponica 4 (1941), 264-67. For the route to Peking, see p. 266.

10 Spencer, as cited, 108-09. Quotation is on p. 108.

11 Haguenauer, Relations du royaume des Ryūkyū avec les pays des mers du sud et la Corée. Bulletin de la maison franco-Japonaise. Série française. T 3, No. 1-2. Comptes rendues, 114.

stoppage of emigration, and public health measures. While the following statistics are worthless from a demographic point of view, they may nevertheless indicate the village trends. 161

Matsuda Village, 1951 163 165

	Births	Deaths
Total	46	11
Male	26	5
Female	20	6

In Gushichan township, where individual village totals were not available, the statistics show a similar trend:

Gushichan Township, 1951

	Births	Deaths
Total	263	52
Male	140	26
Female	123	26

3

What Happened with Repatriation

In the peace time emigration before the war, the intention to return was almost universal. Typically a first son, as the future responsible person for his parents, emigrated as a young man, before marriage, with the intention of accumulating savings and supporting his parents during his absence, later returning to marry if he had not acquired a wife abroad. People in the villages now say that the desire to return has declined sharply with the economic hardships and the threat of renewed warfare, and that Okinawans in foreign countries will probably remain there for the rest of their lives. Okinawans living abroad, according to family registers in the villages, are now mostly in Peru, Brazil, Argentina, and Hawaii. 167 [593] [454] [587]

The effects of repatriation on the township level can be seen from the following statistics for Gushichan township. Comparable statistics were not available in Ginoza-son. 161 728

Pre-war population, 1940	6445
Deaths resulting from the war	1700
Repatriates	1030
Population, December 31, 1951	6267

Despite the fact that deaths resulting from the war must have been between 20% and 25% of the total population of the township, repatriates [727]

161 plus the excess of births over deaths were sufficient six years after
728 the conclusion of the war to bring the post-war population of the village within 200 of the pre-war level.

167 Okinawans returning to Hanashiro came largely from Japan, the Philippines, Manchuria, Formosa, the South Seas and a few from Hawaii. From Hinatogawa, the areas of former settlement were broader, probably reflecting a wider activity of the fishermen. They came from Java, Palau, Singapore, the Philippine Islands, and Tarawa. Some had previously returned voluntarily from Hawaii and Peru before the war. The largest segments came from the Philippines and Tarawa, the smaller groups from Hawaii and Peru. The repatriates to Matsuda also came from Japan, the Philippines, Hawaii, and the South Seas.

571 One consequence of the pre-war emigration and of the repatriation
[162] that followed was that each village after the war had a group of people who had been in foreign countries or had relatives still residing in foreign areas.

[578] In the villages studied, according to the residents living there now, repatriation was not accompanied by the tensions and the ill feeling that was so conspicuous in post-war Europe, especially Germany.
[573] There were no cliques between those who had stayed during the war and those who returned to live beside them.

[423] The reasons for this are probably these: many of the repatriates even though absent a long time owned land in a village. This was true of Hanashiro and Matsuda, the agricultural villages, and to a lesser extent of Hinatogawa. Some adjustments were necessary. The land owned by these people had not been idle during their absence. If a first son
[592] returned, in most cases his younger brother was cultivating the fields and occupying the family house. He, in the absence of his eldest brother,
[593] acted as head of the house. When the first son returned, he received the possessions and assumed the responsibilities of the head of the house, and in turn gave his younger brother land to establish a branch household. When the returned member of the family was a second son, the adjustment was easier. The first son, if possible, gave his younger brother a house site and fields to cultivate.[6]

Other relatives, parents, younger or older sisters, nephews, or nieces were absorbed within the family, the parents or grandparents
[602] resuming a retirement which they would have had in any case, while the younger relatives became working and contributing members to the family. They did not come back to an altogether strange place. They or their parents had been born there, and their names had remained in the village family register.

6 The reasons for these acts will be made clear in Chapter 6 on the family system.

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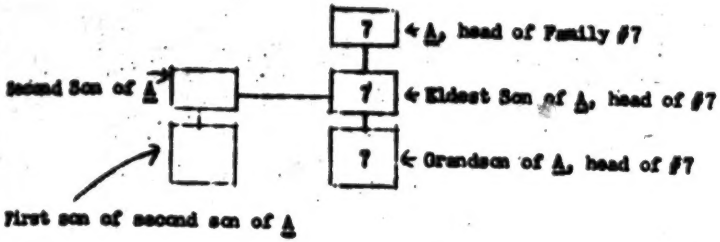
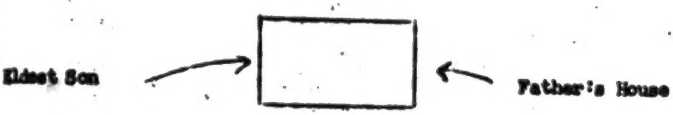
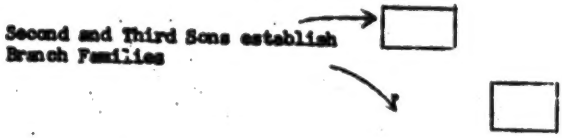
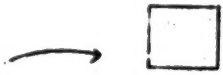






Daughters marry and go to Husband's Father's House or to Branch Families established by their husbands. [591]



The family system, through the succession of the first son to his father's house, prevents the extinction of the main family line, and at the same time creates branch families with close ties with the parent family. [611]

Lacking a son, adoption (to be discussed below) is available to provide against extinction of any family, but in Okinawan villages it has seldom been necessary to use it. [597]

The emphasis in the family system is on providing for the eldest son who succeeds to the father's estate. The sons other than the first must be prepared to accept little or nothing, in the case of the very poor, when they marry and separate themselves from the parental house. [428]

In these Okinawan villages, the second and succeeding sons (or younger brothers if the head of the house is the eldest brother) remain in the family until marriage, usually around 25. They do not live in separate houses, but may have separate rooms, or a small shack in the compound for sleeping purposes. Unless they live in another town or work 593 [582] [513]

593 in a military installation which keeps them away from their homes, they
remain there, helping in the fields, or go out on the fishing boats, as
[582] the case may be. If a son other than the first remains in the family
after the age of marriage, it is generally for some physical or mental
disability. Under the normal operation of the family system, there is
591 no time in a person's life in which he is not part of some family unit
and living in the same house with his parents, an elder brother, or
with a wife and his children, or with his grandchildren.

727 The war enforced many exceptions to this normal life cycle, as the
593 discussion of the previous table brought out: conscription and military
service, deaths in battle or as a consequence of the campaign, widow-
hood and the orphaning of children. In the villages studied, the post-
war situation was not disrupting family life further by the movement of
younger unattached men to Naha or the larger towns, or by their separatio
from daily life while doing work for military camps. At least it was not
sufficiently frequent to result in a deterioration of normal family life.
591 In these villages branch families were established for the most part
in the village of the parent family. There are two reasons for this:
first, the desire to remain near the parents and siblings, and second,
[423] that the property which the father, or elder brother, has at his disposal
is normally real property and land holdings in the village. Cash, which
[435] agricultural or fishing family might have at its disposal, would usually
be insufficient at present prices for a second or succeeding son to be
given money to purchase land and a house site elsewhere. Occasionally a
[425] father sells land in the village to provide his son with money to purchas
a house site and fields elsewhere, but this is not usual.

The mechanics of establishing a branch household may be illustrated
from practices observed in each of the villages, though the procedure is
essentially the same.

Hanashiro is a settlement in the center of a cultivated area of dry
[361] field farming and rice paddies. The cultivated area begins on the outer
rim of the village. The father, or the elder brother, gives a field
(hatake in Japanese) to the son, or younger brother, if it is suitable
for a house site. If the land owned is too far away--there are no
[425] isolated homesteads--an effort is made to exchange with a neighbor, frien
or relative, the far off property for a parcel closer in. If this is
not possible, the remote piece is sold and the proceeds used to purchase
a suitable plot in the residential area. If the family is too poor to
give money or land, an attempt may be made to borrow the money for pur-
[426] chase. If none of these arrangements is possible, the son may simply
start out on his own, or less commonly, may live with his wife in the
home of his parents, or delay his marriage. But it is uncommon for a
second or succeeding son and his wife and children to live in the house
of the parents or of the elder brother.

311 In this way, the residential area gradually replaces the cultivated
591 areas which surround it. One consequence of the establishment of branch
families in agricultural villages is that it gradually decreases the

arable land available for cultivation. House sites cannot be set up on rocky or mountain land away from the village. Whether on the island as a whole the increase in population, the repatriation and the stoppage of large scale emigration will in the future seriously diminish the amount of land available for agricultural uses is an interesting question, but there certainly is a direct relationship between population growth and land taken up with house sites.[5] Not only will a growing population enforce greater demands on the land, but it will inevitably cut down on the amount.

Among the fishermen of Minatogawa, there is a little more fluidity in the establishment of branch families. There are seldom enough lands to subdivide, and only about 50% of the fishermen own land in addition to their house site. The branch household is established according to the son's taste, and the father may give money if he can afford it so the son can set himself up in Itoman, Naha, or elsewhere. The usual procedure here is to give land in a former agricultural area of the village, land which was developed in the southern part of the village as a result of the destruction of the war in other parts. Here formerly arable land was taken over directly for residential use.

In Matsuda, it is possible to use newly developed areas. This community, unlike the other two, is a series of sub-settlements. In two of these, branch families have settled, one near the seashore, and the other on reclaimed forest land. In both of these areas, the pattern of settlement is different; the clusters of houses give way to the scattered houses, some standing out alone on the top of a knoll or hill, some near the forested slopes of the hillside. In these areas, there is an atmosphere of pioneer settlement. As in Hanashiro, the buying of near land and the selling of far off land and exchange of land are practiced. Since the reclaimed area is considered to be less productive and less desirable, the poorer families are able to purchase land here for their second sons.

5

The Pivotal Importance of the First Son

The key person in the family system is the first son. He normally succeeds to the house at the death or retirement of his father. The father may not legally retire before 60. In rare cases--none were encoun-

5 In general, house and village sites are on arable land, but the quality of this land naturally varies from place to place. See any of the 11 sheets of the Okinawan Soils Map and the discussion in the Remarks column of the legend with reference to the types of soils on which village sites are found.

593 tered in the villages--a first son may be passed over in favor of a
596 second son because of mental disability, gross incompetence, or excessive drinking, or the father, by selling his land to his other sons may in effect disinherit his first son. These actions involve
[428] the courts and it is rare for villagers to engage in litigation. In
[691] practice, the first son almost invariably succeeds. On his marriage, the first son and his wife live in the home of his parents. There are some exceptions to this. Since the war, some first sons in agri-
[464] cultural communities have found opportunities in business in Naha, in larger towns like Itoman or Nago, in military government or in Okinawan government positions. In this case, the first son does not live with his parents, but he continues with this new work in the strange town, the
[591] parents on their retirement, or as they become more helpless, joining the son. But in cases where the first son continues in the occupation of his father, this is the usual and expected practice. Only long standing incompatability between father and son prevents such an arrangement.

593 One point regarding the future of the family system that may assume
464 importance in Okinawa is that the responsibilities of the first son increase with any decline in opportunities for succeeding sons. The
166 traditional outlet for sons other than the first in Oriental countries
167 has been migration to the cities, to lands of new settlement, or emigration to foreign countries. In Okinawa, emigration to various parts of the world, the South Seas, Hawaii, Peru, Brazil has been the most important of these outlets. Its history cannot be understood without appreciating this fact. Both first and succeeding sons have emigrated. With the virtual stoppage of emigration, the only solution for second and succeeding sons would seem to lie in opportunities coming from military installations, government work, industrial and urban development, in addition to the present opportunities in agriculture. If with a growing population, the family system begins to break apart, it will probably be first noticed in the inability of the first sons to bear increased responsibilities.

593 For this reason, it is interesting to record some observed atti-
596 tudes of first and other sons in the villages studied. These attitudes are personal ones. No inter-village comparisons can be made. The first is one of pride in being a first son and in assuming the headship of the house but dislike of the responsibility of providing for siblings, especially when the estate is not large. Dislike of the responsibilities of being the first son was most observable in Minatogawa. Here the lack of land, succession merely to a house site, a boat or fishing gear, but with the same responsibility for care for younger brothers and sisters, parents and grandparents put the clearest burden on the first son. The financial burden of paying for anniversary celebrations on the death of a relative is especially onerous. There is only minor help from younger brothers. This fact is not resented as a lack of generosity of the younger brothers who by now would have branch houses of their own; it is part of the family system. Younger brothers might contribute, as one first son jokingly said, fifty yen to a celebration that cost two thousand.

Some villagers also pointed to the reluctance of young women to marry first sons. There were two reasons for this: the financial responsibilities of the first son, and the joint living with his parents. These young women had the attitude that the second or the third son enjoyed greater freedom. The position of the first son is more secure in an agricultural community, especially if the father has some means. The reluctance of some young women to marry first sons may be offset by marrying into a well established family and by the prestige that comes with such a marriage. One also encounters an attitude of indifference regarding one's position in the family hierarchy: no pride in being the first son and no feeling of resentment at being a second or succeeding one. 593 581

Among parents and grandparents, there is strong pride in a son. The birth of a son in early marriage and his survival simplifies the life of every individual in the family. It points to the desired succession, to care in old age and a normal family experience within the framework of the family system. 562

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Adoption

As in other Oriental countries, the emphasis placed on the first son, or one standing in his place, reflects the concern of the family for its continued existence. Extinction (danzetsu in Japanese) of the family must be avoided. Adoption is the traditional method of preventing extinction. While there are instances of adoption in all villages, it is not common, nor does it have the importance which is attached to it in Japan. 597

The need for adoption arises when a family does not have a male child to succeed to the father's house. Two types of adoption are recognized: the adoption of a male child or the adoption of the prospective husband of a daughter. No instance of the latter form was encountered in any of the villages. Unlike Japan, where an adopted child might be unrelated to the family, Okinawans, when they resort to adoption, always choose a relative in the male line, perhaps a nephew or a distant relative of the male head. The preferred alternatives are two: a first or second son of the brother of the head of the adopting house is taken, or a second son may be adopted by his uncle and will succeed to the main family line on the death of his uncle.

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In this illustration, the first son receives slightly over 60% of the land, ignoring type and grade within type. There was general agreement in all villages that the grade of land within each classification (grades 1 to 4 in dry crop land, for example) had little significance in inheritance matters. The grade is more important for tax purposes. [242] [651]

The example also illustrates two other principles: the natural desire to keep contiguous or close in land within the main family, using inconvenient or far off land where possible for house sites for branch families, or for arable land for second and other sons. In this illustration, the shares of the second and of the third sons could be equalized by subdividing plot #6, although its small area would not make it worth while, as 75 tsubo is a very low average size for dry crop land. [241]

Another practice, noted in Hanashiro and in Matsuda, is that the first son receives everything on the retirement of the father. This may be contrasted with a situation in which the father divides the property before younger sons marry and establish branch families. In such cases, the father might take the income from part of the property. But the more general practice is for the father to give all to the first son. Fathers may also make a will. When the first son receives all, it is the custom for him to hold property which the younger sons will need in establishing their branch families. It is in cases where the first son is given full disposition of the property that quarrels are most likely to occur, for much depends on the generosity and sense of fairness of the elder brother.[3] [593]

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In Hanashiro and Minatogawa, it is important that younger brothers receive genya land. Genya is often translated as wild land. In Japan the term is usually used to describe treeless, waste, hilly, rocky, or rolling land unsuitable for cultivation. In Okinawa, the genya land may be in the center of a rice field; it may be a rocky mound with cultivation around it. It may be land in the mountains. It is almost invariably in grass (miscanthus) with an occasional cycad or scrub pine. [137] It is not owned in large tracts. In Hanashiro, the largest single parcel [423] is 4564 tsubo (3.77 acres), in Minatogawa 1333 (tsubo) (1.9 acres), and in Matsuda 6398 tsubo (5.28 acres), but these are far above the average. In Hanashiro it is important because grass is constantly needed for thatched roofs and other uses. The importance of genya and its grass [824] was well illustrated in Minatogawa after the typhoon, Ruth, of October 13-14, 1951. These villagers own little land and many have no genya. [731] They were obliged to buy the grass to replace the roofs of many of the [432] frailer houses which had been partially or completely destroyed by the typhoon. Genya is also used for family tombs. In Hanashiro, the genya [764]

[Text continues top of P. 133--Analyst]

3 The problem can be appreciated by analyzing the acreage areas of each classification of land and the grades within it, bearing in mind that the average farmer has hatake, genya, and often rice paddies. These statistics will be given in the following chapter.

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In Hanashiro, the genya

grass and shrub are essential as a substitute for firewood. In Matsuda with large areas of community owned forest, this genya is not so important to the individual family.

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In considering the inheritance of land, it is essential to understand that a family needs different types of land. Not everyone has rice paddies, but parcels of dry crop land and genya in the south are necessary to existence.

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If the practices of these three villages are indicative of the division of family holdings in general, the first son obtains between 50% and 60% of the land in addition to the house site. The remainder is divided, often equally, among the other sons. In the poorer families, if the sons are widely spaced, there may be enough left over for the second son, but when the third son reaches marriageable age, there may be nothing for him. Instances of this type were observed in the villages. One young farmer of Hinatogawa, a third son, said he received nothing, and set out by himself, first through wages, and then through small purchases to acquire his present modest land holdings.

This discussion may suggest a greater rigidity in the system of inheritance than is actually the case. It may give the impression of a series of families headed by the first son with most of the property and with younger sons and their branch families struggling along on what land can be spared for them. There has been, for historical reasons, more fluidity than this. The large number of heads of families who themselves are not first sons indicates that many second to fifth sons as well as daughters ultimately come into control of a family estate.

There have been four main reasons for this. (1) Emigration of first sons before they became of age. They left to earn a living in foreign countries to support their parents in the villages, became established and postponed to an indefinite future their return to Okinawa. Since the end of the war, according to relatives who are living in the village, many of these have no intention of ever returning except to visit. (2) Deaths of first sons without issue, and the succession of other sons or daughters. (3) Heavy war losses, especially of males. Some of these naturally were first sons, opening the way for the succession of young widows or second sons in the case of the unmarried first sons. (4) Deaths from catastrophes like typhoons, and in the case of Hinatogawa, the losses of fishermen at sea.

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Inheritance practices with private ownership of land follow logically from the family system. They are a means of providing the economic base by saving the estate for future generations, at the same time providing where possible for sons not in the direct line of succession. Inheritance is a connecting link between the family system and land use and land tenure. Present land use and land tenure are an interesting example of the modifications that a system of social organization, the family system, has made on the natural environment.

Part 1

Minatogawa, the Fishing Community

1

Introduction

Fishing families are a closely knit group. They are usually interrelated. For the most part, the main houses of their extended families are in the fishing town of Itoman. Fathers, sons, wives, daughters, grandparents participate in some phase of fishing activity. 226 [596] 607

In an agricultural community, the first son remains in the home working the fields of his father. In fishing, through long custom, there is an avoidance of teamwork among close relatives. Members of the immediate family will not go out on the same fishing boat. A father will not take his son, an elder brother will not take a younger. Partners and working teams on boats are more distant relatives or friends. If a father and a son are on the same boat and it is lost, the present and the succeeding head both perish. To this incontrovertible possibility, there has been added the belief that if two persons of the same immediate family go to sea together on the same boat, there will be a disaster. And actual and near disasters are frequent enough to make both points of view understandable. The sons of fishermen, who are learning the ways of the fish and of the sea, go on the boats of others. Many younger fishermen regard the belief that it is inviting disaster to have two members of the same immediate family together on the same boat as a superstition (meishin), but to my knowledge, no fisherman ignores the custom. 226 593 [183]

In Minatogawa, about one half of the fishermen have fields of their own, usually small and poor. Perhaps twenty men in the village may be classed as half farmers and half fishermen, but even in these cases it is the wives and the children who have the continuing responsibility for the fields. 226 241 [923]

Neither is it rare for a fisherman to be a stonecutter. Perhaps another twenty men are engaged in the summer in fishing, and in stonecutting in the winter, or on unfavorable fishing days. The three main occupations of the village, including Nagamo, are thus found in varying combinations. Fishing is the most exacting and offers few opportunities for amateurs. Stonecutting requires strength and endurance. For those who have land, agriculture offers possibilities of growing one's own food and of avoiding cash outlays. 226 324 463

In an average summer month, there may be about 20 good fishing days. But because of unusual or unexpected rains or typhoons opportunities may be fewer. In 1951, there were only about ten working days in each of the summer months. In winter fishing days average about a week in a 226 46 [132]

434 The money earned by women in the marketing of the fish, after
593 deduction of travel expenses, becomes part of the family funds. Women in the fishing village have custody of the family money, due to frequent and prolonged absence of their husbands. This is an unusual practice, for in the agricultural and stonecutting areas of the village the husband handles the money, with the exception of a few yen which the wife may have at home to meet incidental expenses. The custody of the money (much made over by some observers) has no special cultural significance in my observation. It is merely a convenience, based on custom and occupation. Most earnings of husband and wife are in a common fund, though older children may handle their own money.

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Other Activities Associated with Fishing

251 There is some local drying of fish for home use and export. Of the common fish, the most frequently dried are the mackerel, the
[439] swordfish, and the shark. Shark fins are dried for export to Japan; before the war, they were also sent to China. The small amounts dried in local villages are accumulated in places like Naha for shipment. Drying processes are of the simplest. The fish may be laid out on a piece of canvas on the ground in front of the house, an operation which creates a stench and an overwhelming concentration of the blow fly population. Racks may be improvised. Their ends, made of odd pieces of wood, support thin bamboo poles laid parallel, on which the fish are put to dry. Sometimes fish are hung on a line. If the weather is good, they dry in two or three weeks, but rain quickly produces spoilage if the fish are not taken in immediately. The mackerel when dried may be heated up by placing a piece over the open fire, then rolled between the palms to see if it has been heated enough, torn into shreds, and put on a plate. Occasionally a poor family of non-fishing people, or a widow, purchases whole fish or backs or fins to dry for home use or resale.

278 Certain fish are valued as medicines. Their scarcity in agri-
825 cultural villages prevents any but the most casual use. In Minatogawa, the commonest fish used as medicines are the lobster, the white cuttle fish, and the carp (koi), though the latter fish is rare here.

[252] The whole lobster is put into boiling water. After a few minutes, this broth, which is the medicine, is drained off, and the lobster is cracked open and heated, this time for preparation as a food. The
757 broth, which is regarded as very disagreeable, is taken for a variety of ailments. Its commonest use is as a laxative, although it is also taken for swellings, boils, or gatherings of any kind (haremono), for pains in the small of the back and the loin, or for a cold. The lobster broth is regarded as a very effective medicine. A white cuttlefish soup is put to similar use. The carp is boiled in water and the broth is drunk for fevers. The carp may also be grown in village ponds.

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a harsh, often rasping voice. Only men play the Okinawan samisen, a stringed instrument slightly different from its Japanese counterpart. Men also join in the dancing.

In a village parties on the fifth or sixth day after the birth of a child and on his first birthday happen frequently. They are an important part of social life. A relative or a friend is always celebrating one or the other occasion, either in the village or in a neighboring one. These celebrations increase, especially for the men, the number of social occasions and recreational opportunities during the year in a culture where holidays and rest days are comparatively few. (There are no weekly rest days or week ends).

After the first birthday, little attention is paid to the succeeding ones until the thirteenth. The child's experience from the
861 time he begins to walk until he reaches school comes from family life and neighborhood play. In my observation, there is no rigid, customary way of bringing up the child. It is toilet trained around
863 one year of age. This does not seem to be forced. Training comes through imitation. Parents do not punish the child for indiscretions, though they are quick to lift him off the mat if he begins wetting. With young boys, the father may make a hissing sound while the child's penis is out. One has the impression that it is a gradual transition, mostly effected by imitation or gentle suasion.

304 Male children are not circumcised. Circumcision is known only to those who have learned of it through books, foreign residence, or from others who have this information.[9]

867 In early training, boys are not taught that they are superior to girls. But when she reaches school age, the girl is likely to be kept
562 busier around the house. Before the war, there may have been a greater subordination of girls to boys. But any conscious training of girls to subordinate themselves to boys is unnecessary. The child grows up in a culture in which the father is waited on, the sons favored in inheritance, and in which the men have a richer social life.

855 Parents are kind to their children. They seldom spank a child, though an exasperated parent may give the child a sharp slap. There
593 is little nagging or shouting at children in anger. In my opinion,

9 Two young men, school teachers about 23 years old, expressed great astonishment when asked about circumcision. They did not know it existed.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

The custom of a whole family sleeping together was common, if not universal, before the war. It is the mother or the grandmother, rather than the father or a male relative, whose company is sought after. This does not imply strained relationships with the father. Fathers are not stern. They often take care of infant children, or hold them while the mother tends to household tasks.[13]

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In western industrialized nations, we are so accustomed to the division of labor between the father and the mother, in which the father's work is away from home and the mother takes care of the home and has continuous daily contact with the children, that we might overlook the fact that similar conditions exist in less complex cultures as well. In these rural villages, the father is absent a great deal of the time. He may be in and out of the house several times during the day, he may eat his noon meal at home, or he may stay home several hours at a time doing chores in the courtyard. But the greater part of his time is spent away from home, in the paddy field, the sweet potato patch, at the quarry, or at sea, as the case may be. The father frequently is absent in the evenings, for he has the evening social life. Except for infrequent bus trips to shop in a larger town, a mother's absences from the home are of very short duration. The Okinawan wife and mother is almost always at home, or in a nearby field where here children can find her. A child's chief attachments seem to be to the mother. Though this is an impression, there seems also to be a long period of dependence on the parent. This does not mean dependence for food and shelter, for young men and women soon acquire skills which make them self-reliant. It is a more subtle dependence, but the post-war period may be changing this to some extent because of newer opportunities for leadership among the young.[14]

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The School Child

The child enters primary school when he is around 6 years old. His teacher, more likely than not, will be a young man. The child now begins learning the required basic knowledge: the use of the brush or the pen in writing the Chinese character, elementary arithmetic,

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13 In Matsuda, in a conversation with six boys ranging in age from 13-15, one of them asked if boys their age in America had separate rooms for sleeping. When told that they did, if this were possible, their response was unfavorable. They said they would be too far away from their mother. All of them wanted to sleep in the same room with their mother.

14 A 70 year old retired school teacher in one village complained that Okinawan children and young people have no independence and are not always relying on their parents for decisions. Age had not brought Confucian orthodoxy to this old man. He could not be accused of blindly insisting on filial obedience.

885 well accustomed to the routine of the occupation they will follow.
888 The young fisherman has gone to sea for his beginning lessons. The young farmer knows most of the skills of planting and cultivating. The young stone worker, requiring little training to begin, is already at work.

885 Young men maintain close relationships with their families prior
593 to marriage. In the villages studied, there is little movement to the larger towns. Since the war young men or women have found employ-
A64 ment, at various times, in government and military government offices as account clerks, maids, translators, clerks at post exchanges, officer's clubs, restaurants, bars, and the like. But there were few instances in these villages.

A young man does not leave the village ordinarily, nor does he rent separate living quarters. These continuing family ties up to marriage may account for the boyishness and lack of maturity noticeable in so many young men in the age group from 17 to 25. The young school teacher, the truck driver, fisherman, or farmer may turn over part of his earnings to the parents. In rural Okinawa, residence in the home and attachment to the family last well into the years of younger maturity. This does not mean that there are no personal dissatisfactions with their situation.

834 There are few outward signs of personal attraction among young men and women during the teens and the years before marriage. In public, boys and young men of the same age group usually are seen together. This is true of the girls. Clandestine meetings among young men and young women take place. A mutual attraction is often communicated by a young go-between trusted by both. This secrecy does not come about from a desire to conceal the attraction, but because both parties are shy (hazukashii). This public reticence, so old in
[178] Oriental cultures, is gradually breaking down. It is a convention, based on public repression of one's feelings. This does not mean that people dislike personal and physical contact and lack demonstrativeness.
[159] Okinawans are emotional and demonstrative, and do not avoid physical contact, as anyone who has seen them at their parties has discovered.[16]

But young men and young women may meet quite openly. A young man in his early twenties may visit a girl's house, stay all day with her and her parents, and part of the time be alone with her. The young,

16 It is too early to tell the effect of ideas of sex equality on rural Okinawan society. That the supposed high position of the American woman has made an impression on many rural Okinawan women there can be no doubt. The influence of young American soldiers and sailors, their catering and thoughtfulness toward Okinawan girls to whom they
[100] are deeply attracted has spread beyond the range of those with the immediate experience. The soldiers are responsible for the adoption
[834] of the word, "honey." Okinawan boys use it in the same sense as Americans: as any very attractive girl, or as a girl deeply loved personally.

1

Marriage Customs

There are two ways of entering into marriage. One of these, the traditional form, found in China, Korea, and Japan, is the arranged marriage (mi-ai in Japanese). The selection of the partner, the betrothal, and the marriage are conducted by the families as principals, although the young people may be consulted. The second is free choice in marriage (ren-ai), in which young people decide for themselves. Ren-ai is often translated as "romantic love," but a more accurate, if more sedate meaning is free, but not unrestricted, choice in marriage. 581 [171]

The arranged marriage and the use of a go-between in the negotiations exist in the villages studied. But the arranged marriage began to decline before the war, more rapidly since its end. A go-between (nakōdo), either a man or a woman, or sometimes both, act as intermediaries in negotiations between families until a mutually satisfactory decision is reached, or, lacking this, until negotiations can be broken off without embarrassment to either side. 581 584 [178]

The arranged marriage still prevails in families where parental authority is strong and the obedience of the children is demanded and received. Personal observation and the statements both of the young and old leave little doubt, however, that free choice in marriage is now the accepted custom. A go-between is often used in courtship and is still an honored participant in the wedding ceremony. Latterly, the go-between is less a matchmaker, more a repository of confidences for mutual exchange. The present status of the go-between can be summarized in these illustrations from Hanashiro: (1) if the couple live in the same village, a go-between is not used, but one is sought out if the young man wishes to court a girl in another village. (2) The go-between is not used at all. (3) The go-between may be a relative or a friend of either party used to sound out another's feelings. In Hinatogawa, it is said that the go-between acts for a bashful suitor, but that the couple make their own marriage arrangements. In Matsuda, he is occasionally used in courtship, but his function is mostly the formal one of officiating at the marriage ceremony. With the acceptance of free choice in marriage, the go-between as an adult, skilled, respected, and understanding negotiator has been replaced by an individual with more nominal responsibilities, who may be a mutual friend, probably a contemporary of the young people whose marriage he is encouraging. 581 [593] 584

The arranged and free choice marriages are not at opposite extremes. Free choice does not mean there has been a rebellion against parental authority. Parents' consent to a marriage is still sought for, even though the betrothal is decided upon by the young principals. If the parents do not consent, the alternative is elopement. If the parents withhold consent, the traditional wedding ceremony cannot take

305 302 Persons of both sexes and of all ages, including infants, visit the barbershop. With boys and men, the price includes a haircut and a shave. The upper edge of the eyebrows is always shaved to make a straight line. The eye lids are also invariably shaved. The shaving of the eyebrows and eye lids of infants is commonplace. When women go to the shop to have the neck hair trimmed, the face, the eyebrows and the eye lids may also be shaved.

7

The Nature of Social Life

562 The social life of the women is severely restricted by convention. This restriction is closely tied up with the obligations of the family system and does not imply a conscious and selfish attempt by the men to keep their women at home and distanced from society. These restrictions are the result of custom in which the women acquiesce. The few discontented exceptions are women who [177] read Japanese magazines and learn of American ideas about the position of the women. But in general women accept their status. The men have a social life quite unconscious of any obligations of this sort to the women. The point was well brought out when I asked two Okinawan teachers why it was that women had so little social life and seldom went out with their husbands. They said the subject had never occurred to them.

The center of a woman's working and social life is her home. The range of a man's activities is the village and may extend to neighboring settlements. A large part of a woman's recreation is with other women. A man's social life is spent mostly with men.

[574] A woman's opportunity to spend a social evening with men comes when her husband brings guests to their home. Here she participates in the conversation, though she usually retires earlier. With older couples, the wife is most likely to greet her guests, serve them with tea, later perhaps with sake, and then unobtrusively retire.

[593] In my observation, there is a friendly relationship between husband and wife in the home. Younger wives participate frequently in conversation. Part of a woman's social life is centered around daytime activities, like taking care of the children, running an errand, carrying rice to the mill, chores which she does in the company of other women with like duties. Her working and social life blend together more than the man's. Among the very old women, day time visiting and strolling throughout the village are very common.

A husband and a wife are not often seen together in public, except on some special occasion, such as a child's birthday party, a school athletic meeting which the whole family attends, or a

absence of need of a similar release from the boring and monotonous life of the women. Yet I noticed little in the behavior of village women to indicate they were overwhelmed by monotony or bored with life, though perhaps longer residence in the villages would have proved this observation false. Might one say that the culture does not fulfill its promise to the men, even though they are favored and catered to and that the drinking is the result of this disappointment? This neglects the fact that drinking is old in the culture and is almost always done in the company of others. If personal frustration and disappointment were the cause, one might expect more compulsive and solitary drinking and more alcoholism. 273 562 154

The sources of this distinction between the drinking men and the abstemious women, I think, lie in the values held by the culture. In the first place, sake drinking is age old in Japan, and probably in Okinawa as well. Drinking sake is associated with ceremonies, such as marriage, with religious observances, with social and public life. The public life of an official, a shopkeeper or business man, a farmer, a fisherman is not divorced from entertainment. Men have an outside life. In their dealings with other men, they are accustomed to drinking. Women do not have this outside life. They have inside duties of which the care of the children and of the house are the most important. Historically, the source of the abstemiousness of the women may be the obligations of being a mother, to be ready at all times to care and provide for or nurse her children, obligations considered incompatible with drinking. Women are expected to be polite, refined, and quiet. These ideals may be difficult to maintain in drinking. 273 562 181 [577]

At times a husband and wife may participate in social gatherings as a couple. These gatherings may either be (1) an informal, often casual, event when guests drop in and spend part of the evening, and (2) the formal affairs, such as a marriage, a birthday celebration, a holiday, an extended family reunion, or the observance of a death anniversary. On these occasions, the men occupy the first room, the women the second. The entertainment and conversations of the evening are for the most part governed by this segregation. 562 574

Though women are tolerant of drinking, domestic difficulties are often caused by the drinking of the man. Frequent drinking with its noise and late hours may result in family quarrels (fufukanka). Quarrels involving the wife and the husband's female relatives, especially the mother, are said to be uncommon. In the southern villages, the war did away with one cause of family quarrels. Men no longer go to the geisha quarter. There are naturally tensions coming out of individual antagonisms and dissatisfactions: the husband's mother who ignores her grandchild because she dislikes her daughter-in-law, pressure on a woman to produce children to satisfy the pride of the husband and of the grandparents, and failure to bear children, which usually leads to divorce initiated by the husband. Divorces, in these rural villages, were found to be uncommon.[5] 593 273 578 [586]

5 No reliable statistics could be found. These remarks and those in the next paragraph are based on personal observation, impressions and conversations.

593 The husband or father is not a tyrant. Nevertheless the wife is unlikely to challenge her husband directly on any important matter. If she is scolded, she may continue with her work in silence, ignoring her husband.

562 177 Women who have lived abroad in places like Hawaii or who have experienced the metropolitan life of Japanese cities are more likely to be dissatisfied. Occasionally one meets a woman who thinks this is a man's world (otoko no tenka) and that women should have more privileges than they now have. This attitude has been sharpened through American influences, directly by contact with American soldiers and civilians, indirectly by discussions which appear in Japanese periodicals of the life of American women. How widely this attitude exists is difficult to say, though I believe that at present (January 1952) it is not a strong force among women in the villages.

562 Though her place is at home, the woman is by no means removed from the wider aspects of village life. She may take an active part in the Women's Association. She may handle the family money or part of it. She may operate a little store to supplement her husband's income from the fields, or if she is a widow, to provide for her own support. She may participate in mutual loan groups. And she may be the head of a household.

8

Public Health

515 511 751 The people of the villages are conscious of health and sanitation, an awareness gained under the Japanese. This awareness and desire for cleanliness and sanitation meet major obstacles in the lack of running water, the distance to public baths, the expense and trouble (or both) of heating quantities of water, the cost of soap, the poorness of the outdoor toilets especially in the devastated areas.

An analysis of village health problems requires the specialized knowledge of the physician or doctor of public health. The observations of a layman however may have some interest.

511 [364] 751 The general sanitary conditions are not good. The weak spots are (1) Poor outdoor toilets and their haphazard location with relation to wells. (2) The dirty and smoky Okinawan kitchen. Many have dirt floors and little effort is made to keep them clean. The situation is better with the stone floor or cemented kitchen. Women complain about smoke smarting and injuring their eyes. All of the rooms of an Okinawan house, especially in winter, are likely to be very smoky around meal times. (3) Food preparation and dishwashing are often done in dirty surroundings. Foods are fried or boiled, and this is all to the good. In making tea, the water is seldom boiled; more often it is only brought to a boil or allowed to get hot.

system and by the public life which they lead. There is a blending and shading of the private life of the home with the public life of the lanes, the shops, and the homes of others. The process is so subtle that one can live among them and be unaware of it. But children do more than grow up. They grow and reach maturity impressed with their duties and obligations. It is this cultural environment, rather than single element explanations such as breast feeding, which in my opinion accounts for the politeness, the essential gentleness, and the sense of security of the people. These characteristics can best be understood by knowing history, by knowing how people live within a family, how families live together, what these groups of families do to their arable land, their plants, their stones, their trees, and their forested and wild land, and how the private life of an individual or a family blends in with the wider public experience of the community.

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The recent war has been a powerful agent of cultural change in Okinawa. The destruction of the south, the comparative well-being of the north have equalized the roles of the two great divisions of the island, and the north is no longer a rustic hinterland. The years of military service in the Japanese army interfered with the transmission of the traditional culture from the old to the young. One of the striking aspects is the differences in types of information possessed by the old and the young. Men fifty years or over speak of things of which younger men and women have never heard. What is part of one man's culture is foreign to the other.

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Before the war success in transmitting the traditional culture to the young depended to a great extent on the hierarchy of the family system and its scale of values. Women were subordinated to men and the younger deferred to the elder. Obedience of children and acknowledgment of parental leadership were said to characterize the pre-war society. In many ways, all these things still do. But there are indications of a growing dependence of the older on the advice and knowledge of the young.

[867]
[593]

The war and its aftermath produced conditions favorable to the leadership of younger people, especially younger men. It was easy for them to drive trucks. It was no chore to become acquainted with Americans and adapt themselves to their ways. They could learn, and comprehend more easily, some of the Western concepts implicit in governmental change. A twenty year old is not impressed with skill at typing. A sixty year old person looks upon this skill with a certain wonder.

[177]

The destruction of pre-war housing and its replacement by inferior makeshift housing have had an unsettling effect on village life. Sleeping habits and living arrangements were disrupted. The destruction even affected the use of rainwater coming from the drains on the tile roofs. It converted villages with their houses and an occasional garden into a camp-like atmosphere.

[362]

The post-war repatriation often brought to villagers a more personal awareness of the outside world. Those who returned, especially from the non-Oriental countries, created an atmosphere congenial to change.

[167]
[177]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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bers may be recruited and present members expelled. In others, which are closed, membership is automatic and inevitable, depending in no way on the behavior of the individuals involved. We are here concerned with these latter groups whose membership is determined by sex, age, kinship, and rules of residence. Whether an American male lives in Connecticut or California, in the city or the suburbs, is to a large degree a matter of his personal preference. This is not the case for everybody in Taira, although there are people who at any time may leave the village to seek their fortune. 571

There are two types of households in Taira: those of oldest sons, who live in the house of their parents, and those of younger sons, who establish a nuclear household of their own, which may be near the house of their father. Many young sons, however, leave the central village and settle in its outlying districts or move to the southern part of the island. Whereas formerly many younger sons moved to Japan or to one of its prewar South Pacific mandates, or to Hawaii and South America, since the end of World War II employment opportunities around U.S. Army installations absorb many such migrants. The oldest son is required to live in his parents' house and eventually take over the duties of a household head. Unmarried younger sons remain in the household until they marry or leave the parental home for work elsewhere. 596 594 [166] [167]

For a woman it is customary to move to her husband's home if he is an older son or into a house in his village if he is a younger son. In the old days this usually involved simply a move in the village, since the preference was to marry a woman from the same community. Nowadays there is no clear-cut preference; a woman from central Taira may become the bride of a man from that part of the village, from one of the outlying parts of Taira, or from another village, usually to the north. Of a sample of 55 marriages, 26 of the wives were from Taira, 29 from other villages, five of which were immediately adjacent. 591 582

The composition of the household, therefore, changes for the individual during his lifetime, and it is not the same for all persons in the village. Several children not only have their parents and at least one paternal grandparent but also paternal aunts or uncles who live under the same roof. If the father is a younger son, only one's parents and siblings are household members. Since houses are small and space is very limited, all these members of the household live in close face-to-face relationship. Women tend to outlive men, so that there are many more old women living with their married sons than old men. This is why children have a grandmother more often in the home than a grandfather (see Table I). 592 593 [165]

592 Table 1 shows the composition of 60 households in central Taira. It [727] is probable that the effects of war dislocation have increased the number of nuclear households and account for at least one of the matrilocal extended households. Some of the fragmentary households, classed as nuclear, consist of just a widow or widower and an unmarried son or daughter.

Table 1 Household Composition in Central Taira

Total population	328
Number of households	60
Nuclear households	36
Patrilineal extended households * (3 generations)	18
Matrilocal extended households	4
Not classified	2

* In households classified as extended, grandparents of the youngest generation present are distributed as follows: grandmothers 14, grandfathers 4, both grandparents 4.

593 Relationships and status within the household are ordered accord- 554 ing to generation, age, and sex. As will be discussed later, the status of [562] women in general is high. High status of males, especially the first-born male in the family, must be considered as representing an ideal which is not reflected too distinctly in day-by-day interpersonal relationships, although birth order and sex are significant in ancestor worship and in representation of households. Ideally the younger generation members defer to the older people. Normal behavior, however, more frequently reflects a warm, personal relationship that, although not devoid of respect, tends to minimize differences and stress familiarity rather than distance.

613 Besides his membership in a household, the individual is part of a larger descent group, a "main house" in which all the members are related through the male line. Most of the "main houses" in the village trace descent to the founder of Taira. They represent three old lineages. The remaining belong to two more recent and unrelated lineages.

The houses of older and younger sons are distinguished, the term "stem" referring to the house of the founder and the descending line of his oldest sons and the term "branch" to those of younger sons who have set up separate households in the village or elsewhere. Through

782 in her house until a male can assume the responsibility for them. The
562 propitiation of the natural deities is lead by the village priestess—and
[769] she is assisted by a group of women.

Taira women are essential to the financial well-being of the family.
562 Their role in both agriculture and lumbering is equal to that of the
462 men. Since there are few kinds of work which women cannot do and
592 do not engage in, a widow or single woman, although handicapped, can
[589] support herself and her family. Several women, whose husbands died during World War II or who have been divorced, support themselves and their children. One Taira woman supported her four children while her husband left for Japan to help a sick brother. She worked the household fields and sold fish. Her husband, who was expected to return after three weeks, remained away for six months. Once or twice he wrote his family to ask for money; his wife and sister obliged. Even old women remain active members of the family. They contribute to the household economy by working in the potato fields, cutting firewood, and doing other useful work around the house.

● 593 Such economic independence gives women a place in the family
562 which cannot easily be challenged by a male who theoretically can
[462] claim preferential treatment. Perhaps a man is more dependent on his wife than she is on him. Men never cook. They expect the womenfolk to look after house affairs. A wife, although she does not usually own the land on which she works, has the same rights as her husband to the village forest lands. There she cuts firewood like the men, cooperating with the husband in preparing it for sale. Most of all, pig raising is her concern, and this gives her an important hold on the purse strings.

There is no uniform rule as to who keeps the money in the family. In some households the husband takes care of all financial matters and hands over small sums of money to the wife for daily use. In these
[156] families it is either found that the wife does not contribute heavily to subsistence or that she is from another village and is somewhat intimidated by her husband and unable to find security in having relatives close by. Such women are meek or at least restrained and solicitous of their husbands.

There are numerous cases, however, in which women handle all money affairs. In one such home the husband is a township official. His wife, although from a distant village, is a forceful character and follows economic pursuits independent of her husband. He is glad to let his wife handle finances, although he retains ultimate control over them. The more common situation, however, is almost equal responsibility in economic matters between the sexes. Where this is the case,

the wife takes charge of household funds while her husband controls larger spendings. 593 562

Many quarrels between couples originate from financial matters. Disagreements happen frequently when a husband returns home intoxicated late at night. His wife may blame him for using money which she has put aside for a special purchase; from this incident the argument turns to family finances in general. As words become more heated, the woman holds her own, telling her husband in no uncertain terms that he is a squanderer. Some husbands settle such an argument by hitting their wives. [273] [578]

Decisions are seldom made by one person in the family. The more important the issue involved, the more people within the family are consulted. A husband and wife may discuss whether to buy or sell a pig and make a joint decision. They also decide mutually on the buying of seed rice and other agricultural matters. Men concern themselves with the building of new structures or the addition to old ones. On the other hand, women make decisions affecting the daily life of children. They determine if a child needs new clothes, if he should be taken to the doctor, or accompany the mother on a shopping trip to the city. Some fathers take an interest in their children's study habits and accomplishments at school, but few are consistent in supervising their children in this respect. Here, too, mothers seem to have a much greater influence. Girls are likely to receive even less attention from their fathers than boys. In cases of decisions that can vitally affect the future of the whole household, members of the husband's and wife's family, if they live in the village, gather to discuss plans. 593 [602]

Although women are less active politically than men, they participate in village meetings as representatives for their families. With the exception of the Women's Association leaders, their participation is more passive than that of the men. But although they seldom speak in public and sit together at the back of the meeting, women nevertheless exert a great deal of influence on community affairs. Their influence is felt even more in meetings of mutual finance associations. 575 562 623

It is unlikely at this point that a woman in the village would run for political office. Several recent developments, however, indicate a steady increase in their political participation. The headman who was elected to office in 1955 is responsible for an innovation which reflects this trend. He selected his clerk by means of a competitive examination which was open to both young men and young women. Two girls who had graduated from high school were among the candidates. They were defeated by a young man to whom the job was given because of 562 666

527 as usual. It was an affair organized by the women leaders, which, though 562 a little slow in starting, turned into a gay carousing for the older 575 women, who were less inhibited than the younger ones and needed [888] little encouragement to drink and dance.

The daily life of a woman is more monotonous than her husband's 562 and she has less leisure and recreation. After a day of hard work, men 512 sit down alone or in groups to spend the evening in relaxation with a [273] bottle of sake. After a short time they show signs of pleasant intoxication and all burdens of life seem to disappear. Such recourse to carefree diversion is generally denied women. Instead, they are loaded down with household chores and care of infants and guests after a day of work in fields and forests. They spend their little free time exchanging news with other women or talking with other family members or visitors who assemble around the charcoal fire in the back room during [273] winter evenings. Only women of advanced age feel free to join the men [888] in drinking at home.

Men have greater sexual freedom. They are at liberty to have affairs 562 with other women outside the village and on trips to the city may 837 visit tea houses and afterwards enjoy the favors of a prostitute if their pocket books allow.

Status differences based on age are reflected in the social structure 561 and clearly denoted in the kinship terms. There is a special term of 554 reference and address for "first son" and "first daughter" and for 593 "older brother" and "older sister." As mentioned, ideally the oldest son assumes responsibility for the household, for his parents, and for the ancestral tablets. Even if he leaves his parental home temporarily or permanently for the city, where economic prospects are better, he remains the nominal household head and sends money back to his family. Theoretically the oldest male may retain authority until death, 887 although in practice most men retire from this position at the age of 561 61. Their retirement is made official by an entry in the population 554 registry. They continue to live with their oldest son and act as advisors [596] and critics. A man's loss of authority with age occurs around his late fifties and early sixties and is evidenced not only by his retirement but also by his loss of the right to vote in village meetings. Veneration for age itself therefore, does not exist. Actual behavior toward the grand- [576] parental generation, all the members of which are addressed as "grandmother" or "grandfather" regardless of actual kinship, is warm, mildly playful, and indulgent. Disrespect, however, is absent.

It is characteristic of the relationship between children and grand- 603 mothers that in addressing nonrelated old women, the suffix *-san*, 601 which denotes respect, is most often dropped for the "grandmother"

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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worthy that so few women marry before they are twenty and that many 582
marry in their middle and later twenties. For those whose formal education ends at the age of 15 there may, therefore, be an interval of five to ten years until matrimony.*

One might ask whether sibling position affects marriage age, either [428]
because first-born must marry first or because of the inheritance pattern, young sons seldom inheriting either a house or land. The record of 59 marriages in central Taira shows no clear pattern in this respect; oldest sons and daughters do not seem to marry earlier more frequently than those in lower ordinal positions. A more plausible ex- 582
planation for late marriage is that young men tend to spend some time 885
after school outside the community and, prior to the war, even outside the country. The rationale for a period abroad is in part economic, but "wanderlust" or curiosity undoubtedly contribute. Furthermore, there is no doubt that the period between the end of school and marriage is an extremely enjoyable one, for now work and duties are mixed with comradeship and amusements in contrast to the new duties and responsibilities one assumes with marriage and children. This is especially true for women.

The most striking fact concerning Taira marriages is that among the 582
total of 59 unions, 18 wives were older than their husbands. Marriage 593
records from the other parts of Taira reveal the same age discrepancy. In comparison with Western countries, and what we know of most other societies, this discrepancy is unusual. Similar findings were suggested from studies in Japan. Here, however, the explanation seems to be that such marriages tend to occur between a first son and a woman who is older than he because a mature woman is desired to take over responsibilities as an oldest son's wife. In Taira only nine (one half) of the age reversals involve marriages of oldest sons. Since there are 29 first-born males included in the sample of 59, the proportion of age reversal marriages of oldest sons is no greater

* There were no dependable data to indicate whether the present trend toward a 582
relatively late marriage represents a change from a previous pattern. Informants' 178
statements suggest that marriages took place at an earlier age in past times, perhaps prior to the turn of the century. Other references to marriage in Okinawa would support this information. The *Civil Affairs Handbook, Ryukyu Islands,* Office of [113]
the Chief of Naval Operations, 1944, states that: "The usual age of marriage as reported in 1925 was 18 or 19 for men, 17 or 18 for women. An analysis of the marriage statistics for 1934, however, indicates that the average age at marriage was about four years older. In 1937, the average was reported as 27 years for men and 24 for women" (page 64). The rapid increase in age between 1925 and 1937 suggested by this source can only be accepted with reservations.

582 than one would expect, and we may conclude that the oldest son ex-
[593] planation does not hold for Taira.*

Table 2 Marriage Statistics for Central Taira

1. Age of men and women at first marriage
Total cases: 59
For the period: 1904–1953

AGE OF MARRIAGE	MEN	WOMEN
16	—	2
17	—	2
18	2	4
19	4	4
20	5	11
21	4	3
22	10	5
23	3	6
24	7	3
25	2	4
26	2	1
27	3	2
28	4	2
29	1	3
30	2	—
31	1	—
32	—	—
33	—	1
34	—	1
35	1	—
36	—	—
37	1	—
38	1	—
39	—	—
40	1	—
Not listed	5	3

584 In the old days, apparently, there were many gay and unrestrained
178 courtships of men and women on the beach after dark. During our fieldwork we did not observe open courtship. The expression of affec-

* Unfortunately, we did not recognize the large number of these cases while in the field; hence we failed to ask informants for their explanations and rationalizations. The age reversal[1] tends to underscore the relatively high status of women
[562] vis-a-vis men and may be instrumental in perpetuating it.

1 [i.e. where wives are older than their husbands - ANALYST]

842 of the economic hardship incurred as a result of large families. A few
[843] of the more outspoken mothers complain bitterly against the old people who expect them to continue bearing children until three male
● [593] heirs are born. Men desire male heirs, and one son is not enough: the favored number is three. Informal interviews reveal that in spite of the cultural preference for sons, mothers welcome daughters, who grow up to be useful helpers. Even if women protest when they feel tired of bearing children, they submit to their husband's demands. Since Japa-
551 nese given names are used today, the practice of naming a girl Sueko
553 (end child), to indicate that one considers her to be the last, is often
842 resorted to. If this proves insufficient and another follows, she might
[177] be called Tomeko (stop child). In one family the wife gave her baby girl the name Sueko to indicate that she did not desire any more children. Her husband, however, disagreed, for he wanted another son, and registered the child without his wife's knowledge under another name.

842 Although the older generation, which has supported large families,
744 looks on birth control measures with distaste, the young mothers circulate information published in Japanese magazines and by the Okinawan public health department on this matter, and a few families actually use contraceptives. However, in general, public health nurses
847 have found it extremely difficult to discuss matters like birth control, abortion, and infanticide with villagers. "We suspect that these measures are practiced everywhere. Of course, with the system of registration and public health nursing, infanticide is hardly possible; however . . . we could not say. . . ." * It is interesting to note that in
[732] Taira there are mental defectives but no physical defectives. Abortion is legal with a doctor's consent, but informants claimed it was not
[848] practiced. There are illegitimate children born in the village.

842 "The seeds, they must match. If they do not match, then it cannot be," explain the villagers. They continue, "It is like planting a field, however, if the soil is hostile to growth, nothing can happen." Thus the villagers express their theories of conception.

843 Cessation of menstrual periods signals the start of pregnancy, and the sudden craving for a particular kind of food forces the woman to acknowledge the fact. Informal interviewing and casual observation reveal that morning sickness is not usual. Women rarely miss a work-
[461] ing day in the fields and mountains even in the early stages of preg-
[522] nancy. One male who failed to appear for work with the rest of the male population of the village was the butt of many a joke. "How now, you are taking over the task of your wife?" teased the men and women.

[164] Malfunction of the kidneys is not uncommon among pregnant

* Personal communication from public health nurses.

women in Taira. Three young mothers, who continued to work despite the discomfort and pain of swollen extremities, consulted with the doctor in the nearby town, and a fourth described this condition, which had prohibited her from any but the most simple and undemanding work. The old people look upon unusual pregnancies in askance. "Work, good, hard physical labor is what we did and we never had any difficulties. Young people pamper themselves." 843 164 [461]

Special foods and advice are proffered the expectant mother for the benefit of the baby. "Eat this so that you will have lots of milk for the baby. Remember that spicy things are bad for the baby. Do you recall the one who was born with a great patch of hair on its arms? Its mother was frightened by a great big cat while she was carrying that child," comment villagers to the mother. Some husbands indulge their wives' cravings for special delicacies like expensive imported fruits. 843 [262]

To keep the baby in position, a sash is wound several times about the pregnant woman's abdomen by a midwife or some old woman. [292]

In the "old days" it was not unusual for a woman to return from the mountains or fields carrying her newborn. Grandmothers recall with relish the days when "Women paid little heed to their condition, did hard work, and had their babies without a whimper." "The women today pamper themselves," snap the wizened grandmothers watching an expectant mother resting between trips to the mountains. 844 843

As the day of parturition approaches, the expectant mother schedules her work to remain as close to the house as possible. When labor starts, she retires to the back room of the house, which is situated next to the kitchen. The medical practitioner, or in his absence a midwife,* is called to assist in the delivery. The husband's mother, if she lives in the house, or other older related women attend. A man may be present during his wife's first delivery but at subsequent births will wait with some of the women in the front room. In the old days a woman was supported by her husband or someone else in a half-sitting position. Nowadays, however, women give birth lying down. Only rarely does a woman in labor cry out in pain. Soft crying is permissible, but any loud demonstration would elicit contemptuous comments from the older women. "If you had worked hard, the baby would not be so big, then labor would not be difficult," is an often heard retort. 844 [759] [152]

Informal interviewing revealed that birth takes place in a large number of cases during late evening or early morning hours. Usually children of the house sleep on undisturbed. Should they awake, they are kept out of the delivery room, although the youngest may be allowed to enter to visit with his mother shortly after delivery. [858] [593]

The newborn is bathed in tepid water then bundled in blankets,

* At present there is no midwife in Taira.

844 kimonos, and diapers. He is placed under the blanket next to the
[853] mother and given a gauze nipple dipped in tea and sugar to suck, which is often his only food for as long as two days if lactation is slow. Meanwhile the afterbirth is wrapped in straw and left under the floorboards in the kitchen to await the outgoing tide.

846 Tea is now served in the front room, and the birth is discussed by
593 the women who assisted. On one such occasion, the father and grandmother showed a little boy whose sister had just been born a great deal of affection. The father held the boy in his lap, and both adults told him that he was now a big brother.

844 At the first hour of the outgoing tide, old women—the grandmother
851 of the baby, relatives, and neighbors—wrap the afterbirth in rice straw
156 and bury it in a specified place outdoors behind the hearth. The purpose of the ceremony is to ensure that the child will be happy and sociable. To the accompaniment of laughing, loud clanging of pots and covers, and calling to each other, the women circle the house. When the burial is completed, they chant loudly, "May this baby al-
[152] ways laugh and be pleasant." A stone is then placed over the burial mound so that the infant will not be frightened in his sleep, an emotion which is inferred from the jerking of a young infant while asleep.

852 Until about 10 years ago a ceremony was performed by descendants
565 of noble families from Shuri over the newborn to ensure success in his
462 future role. For boys, a winnowing basket was propped up against a hoe on which a clump of soil and grass rested. While the father's mother
[178] held the child in one arm, she shot an arrow with a bow into the basket. This act was to make certain that the child would become a good hunter (provider) as well as a successful farmer. The grass on the hoe
[286] symbolized strength. A girl, on the other hand, received a miniature loom constructed especially for such occasions, which was to assure her success as a weaver of cloth. A spool of banana fiber was presented along with the loom.

852 There is a story that long, long ago an infant was born on the beach.
565 Immediately after he was born, as he still lay on the sand, a crab
538 crawled over his chest. This infant grew up to be a strong, famous man. Shuri descendants still have a custom of grandmothers holding a newborn boy in their laps and releasing a small crab, which scurries over the infant's chest. These practices, however, are absent in central Taira now and are rarely found in the outlying settlements of predominantly Shuri descendants.

846 Formerly mother and child were confined to the darkened delivery
178 room next to the kitchen and at the rear of the house for seven days, while an open fire was kept blazing in the brazier near the mother.

846 can take on a second wife. The woman who is delivered of her third
842 son is the envy of others who have none or only one son to their credit, for she has achieved what is considered to be the ideal in a wife. Thus the first mother with four daughters was treated with outright disgust and contempt by her husband, whereas in the second instance the mother was receiving the normal treatment of disinterest with minor solicitation.

593 The constant stream of visitors during the first month gives the
857 other children in the household a sense of importance. Whenever an
854 older child has a chance, he stresses the fact that there is a newborn in the house and reports the identity of the latest visitor to scores of admiring peers. He is the envy of the lot when at last he is allowed to carry the infant and play. But the envy is short lived, and the older sibling's pride withers rapidly when he finds that this is just another baby to be carried and cared for constantly. As the baby gains weight and no longer sleeps quietly for extended periods of time on the back, the older sibling begins to run and hide when he sees his mother approaching with the baby.

593 A few days after the birth of an infant, the fieldworker visited a
522 household and found the older siblings all crowded in the back room
857 with the mother and child. One of the girls, a 5-year-old who was
854 unusually sturdy and large in build, was teased by her mother. "Hey Hanako, let's give the teacher this baby, all right?" said the mother, winking on the side to the fieldworker. The little girl looked anxiously at the fieldworker and slowly edged over protectively toward the infant. She shook her head slowly and deliberately for some minutes, indicating that she would not assent to giving her baby sister away. At this point the grandmother entered the teasing and told the little girl that the baby would only prove to be a burden when she had to carry her later on, but she continued to shake her head. As the mother handed the baby over to the fieldworker, the girl burst into tears and cried out "No! No!" All laughed and assured her that the baby would remain in the household.

593 Several weeks later, Hanako proudly paraded her newest baby sister
857 for all her playmates to see. Many begged to carry the infant "for just a
854 little while" to no avail. When her older sister returned from school, she reluctantly gave up her charge in deference to age and experience. This went on for about two months until one day the fieldworker came on the mother calling frantically around the village for Hanako and the older girl. The older girl successfully evaded her mother, but Hanako was discovered and the baby was strapped to her back. Hanako

frowned and tugged at the straps that were straining at her neck muscles. 593

At a still later date, Hanako, with her baby sister strapped to her back, played on the beach. At one point, when all the children were scattered over the beach and no one else was nearby, Hanako edged up to the fieldworker and asked, "Would you like this baby, teacher? Here, take her," she said wearily. Asked why she had changed her mind, the little girl smiled shyly, squirmed uncomfortably for a moment, then whispered, "She's too heavy." Her 3-year-old sister, off in the distance at that point, began to scream and cry at being left so far behind. Hanako turned to look back once, then walked on as the 3-year-old squatted on the sand and screamed to be carried. At that moment her mother appeared to nurse the infant, and Hanako ran to her. She bounded swiftly away to the 3-year-old as the mother started to nurse the baby. Returning a few minutes later with the 3-year-old on her back, Hanako deposited her disgustedly, panting heavily from the weight. "Shall we give baby to teacher, Hanako?" asked the mother, and without any hesitation Hanako this time nodded "Yes." The mother laughed and said, "Hah, she has had enough of her already. When the baby was tiny and cute, she was so eager to carry her and wouldn't give her to you, but they all get tired of babies in time." And with that the mother began to rock the baby back and forth in her arms. Smiling affectionately, she kissed and hugged the cooing infant and murmured, "Nobody wants you, eh?" Because she was an unusually outspoken mother she confided, "I think I have had enough too, here, I give her to you!" She laughed as she continued, "How can I make money, feed and clothe the children when I have to rush back from the mountains to nurse this baby." 857 854 [594]

When the child is about 6 months old, he is subjected to a painful operation which prepares him for the introduction to solid foods. The area around the navel is moxa-cauterized. Nine little brown dots in three rows of three attest to the practice of burning a special kind of grass on the skin in this area to protect the infant from various digestive complications. The child thus treated, the mother will begin to supplement breast feedings with rice water, milky white in appearance, that is spooned out of the boiling pot of rice. Sometime later, before the child is about one, bits of sweet potato and special kinds of fish mashed between the fingers are thrust into the mouth of the infant as he sits on his mother's lap at mealtime. Gradually he is given more and more solid foods until, finally, at the age of 2 he is eating rice, unmashed fish, potatoes and vegetables, but nursing is continued until 853 [751] [262] 862 855 262

went home and hysterically reported the incident to her family. The mother, meanwhile, laughed and told her boy, "Just like your grandmother, can't stand to hear you cry even when you are not hurt!" She then went on to say that both she and her husband ignore the boy's crying in situations where he could help himself, but the boy's grandmother immediately runs to soothe and aid him. Generally it may be said that in extended households, grandmothers tend to prolong the dependence period and discourage independence and responsibility. 866 603 855 [596]

The relationship between grandfather and grandchild is more restrained. Although grandfathers may be seen carrying children or doing things for them, there is always a discreet distance between them, the result of early training in respect and deference to male elders. Children do not tease their grandfathers as they do their grandmothers. Older boys, in their late teens, may carry on a superficial joking relationship with their grandfathers, but they must be careful not to show disrespect. The male elders in turn show greater affection for the male child than for the female. When both grandparents are living in the house, the child, whether male or female, is more likely to direct his succorant appeals to grandmother rather than grandfather.* 603 858 866

Mothers, themselves, are often not too consistent in their training for independence. They will feel sorry for the child when he is first weaned and allow him to stay close to them until the birth of the next sibling. On the other hand, they will encourage the little 2-year-olds to imitate older girls and boys, particularly in their baby-tending role. A mother will strap a "doll" on her daughter or son's back. The "dolls" are usually rolled blankets or jackets, for real dolls are expensive and rarely bought in the village. Older children and adults do not fail to comment to a child carrying such a burden. They praise him for being such a good caretaker; they pretend to see the "baby" sleeping and report this to him. If the strapping becomes loose, they call to him and reassemble the "baby" and the pinning. The doll is never played with or manipulated. Thus the 2-year-old gets praised for emulation of the responsible and nurturant behavior expected of older siblings. 866 857 [862] [524] [155]

Perhaps it is this role training that explains in part the absence of aggression toward the newborn sibling, which might well be expected with such a short interval between weaning from the breast and back and the birth of the next child. The fieldworker did not observe one instance of such hostility. If there is any hostility expressed, it is against the mother in outbursts of temper and against those who ridicule or try to comfort the displaced child. The grandmother's aggressive actions against the mother may encourage the child in this behavior 867 593

* Only 4 out of 24 sample children lived in the same house with a grandfather.

867 as well as comfort him. The support and the nurturance of his older brothers and sisters help in softening the blow and may also function
593 as role model behavior. Even children who had shortly been weaned were observed responding very nurturantly and affectionately toward their newborn siblings. It is difficult to rely wholely on the premise that the greater emphasis placed on the child by his grandmother and the constant attention paid to his status as an older sibling would nullify any aggressive intents. The wistful statement made by a 10-year-old in the form of a wish to be his baby sister because she is loved and indulged by everyone certainly indicates envy as well as the child's clear view of the protection and nurturance given to young infants.

866 In summary, this period is an unhappy interlude for the Taira child. He is forced to give up the indulgencies of infancy. He is punished for demanding behavior and must now confine dominating behavior to his grandmother. He must shift his dependence from his mother to his grandparents and siblings and finally to his peers. He does this only after a period of stormy protests.

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Chapter 15

Kindergarten

872 It is necessary to define the term "kindergarten child" as it is used in
858 Taira. The group includes all children from weaning until the age of 6. The younger ones are carried to the morning sessions, whereas the older ones go on their own. Kindergarten may thus be likened to a mass baby-sitting session. An adult, scolding an 8-year-old who smears mud all over concrete walls, by calling him a kindergarten child is belittling his intellectual maturity. Finding a newly planted field trampled, an adult will quickly volunteer: "Oh, it must have been the kindergarten children; they don't know any better."

[861] Taira adults feel that children under 6 years "do not have sense." Because of this belief, they are considered uneducable. Serious training and instruction pertinent to the standards and values of Taira society

857 cuddled it in her arms. The 5-year-old in this case was disappointed
854 at being relieved of his charge, but no doubt would have been happy to be absolved of any blame in the event that the baby had fallen and hurt itself.

857 Most 4- and 5-year-olds, therefore, find their nurturant efforts frus-
866 trated, for they are considered too young to carry their younger siblings. They are told that their necks will hurt, they are not strong enough,
[593] and that they will be dwarfs if they started to carry such a heavy bur-
[155] den from such an early age. A sturdy 5-year-old, nevertheless, finds that if he is persistent enough, his mother will allow him to carry his infant sibling for short periods of time with close supervision. It is on these short jaunts that the child basks in the shower of praise and is richly rewarded for his nurturant behavior. Several mothers reported how their 4- and 5-year-olds take pride periodically in mopping up floors, setting tables, and clearing up after a meal. "They don't really do these chores, they help at it, but we let them do it because they like to. And if they don't feel like doing it, we don't say anything," report these mothers.

857 Frequently kindergarten children accompany their mothers to the
241 potato fields in the afternoons. There they play in and around the plants or "help" their mothers. One 4-year-old girl pointed out with
866 pride that she goes with her mother to their fields to "clean dirt off the potatoes" which her mother has dug before placing them in the basket. Boys of 3 and 5 were observed "assisting" by following adults' instructions to drop the seed potato into the hole at planting time. Generally adults dislike taking children to distant fields, for they beg to be carried near the half-way point. Occasionally a young child who has been on such a trip is toted back in the grandmother's empty carrying basket or in one of the suspended shoulder-yoke baskets of his grandfather.

863 During the kindergarten period, constant pressure is put on the child to learn sphincter control. The child goes pantless until he at-
514 tains this goal, which is usually achieved by the age of 4. There is little formal bowel training. Children simply crouch and defecate. Grandmothers or mothers clean up the feces as soon as they see them. Younger children eliminate all over the village, but by 3 they usually restrict themselves to their own yards. When there are grandmothers
[887] in the family, bowel training seems to be taken over by them. Not infrequently the old woman can be seen standing over a child in the yard or cleaning up both the child and the yard. She is generally the one who gently coaxes the child to use the outhouse when he is old enough and physically able to straddle the opening over the pit. The

861 Physical punishment is much more frequent than the mothers' interview answers would lead one to believe. In parent-child or sibling interactions observed by us, the scolding or talking was usually simultaneous with a sharp crack on the head with the knuckles or a slap on the buttocks. It is true that a great deal of leeway is generally given the child, but mothers home from a strenuous day in the fields are more apt to scream and spank at the same time.

[124] [593]

Tying of hands or feet for several minutes, or as much as an hour, is considered appropriate punishment for those who trespass into forbidden areas or play with taboo things like matches. Sometimes the child's wrists are tied with a piece of rice-straw rope to the front house posts. One 1-year-old boy wandered down to the beach to play with his 3-year-old cousin despite repeated warnings from his mother to the effect that this area was dangerous. Because he disobeyed this rule, he was tied hand and foot. In addition, he was spanked because at the same time he had abandoned his younger brother in the village to go to the beach with his cousin.

861 857 Another type of physical punishment, which is often threatened but rarely used, is cauterizing a piece of skin on the neck, back, or hands with moxa. Children in play situations frequently act out giving moxa to a naughty child with a lot of teasing and mock anger. "Come here, you naughty one, we will give you moxa," they scream to each other. A 1-year old girl was cauterized by her father when she threw her chopsticks on the floor in a fit of anger. Because he believed that food was not only the product of hard labor but also a sort of blessing from the gods, he felt that this very painful enforcement was just.

[261]

861 867 Grandmothers, in particular, use pinching to enforce some rules of etiquette. If a child forgets and extends his foot toward another person, she will take the flesh of the leg between her thumb and index finger, lift it and with a quick twist administer a punishment which is very painful. After the initial experience, all she has to do is to put her hand in position for pinching to her lips and breathe out audibly as if to say, "I'm warming up!" and the child will correct himself.

861 593 [857] Older brothers and sisters are apt to be "quicker with the hand," according to mothers. Generally they agreed that this may be the reason for their effectiveness in handling their younger charges. Frequently all an older sibling needs to do is to raise a warning hand, look disapprovingly, or call with a stern voice when his charge is about to misbehave.

Although mothers do most of the spanking, scolding, and talking, children fear their fathers a great deal more than they do their mothers. Mothers claim that this is true in most cases and offer an ex-

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

planation: "Maybe this is because the children know well our strength. They don't know their father's strength but believe somehow that it could be much more painful." One could, of course, relate this to the cultural concept of maleness as opposed to femaleness as discussed previously. 861 593

Praising and rewarding are techniques that are administered in a very haphazard fashion in Taira. While the child is still very young, up until he is about 2, praise and rewards are lavished on him for almost anything. If he responds to his mother's entreaties to hand over a stick with which he might hurt himself or to bow when meeting someone, he is hugged, kissed, and told over and over, "Good child, good child." 861 [867]

As the child grows older, these extravagant displays of praise and reward lessen. Instead the child may receive promises of something good to eat or a coveted article of clothing in return for some good deed or commendable behavior. Generally the child has to remind his mother many times before he is actually rewarded. By the time the child is of school age he takes these promises with a grain of salt and usually forgets them himself. Only when the children were questioned by us on rewards did it become obvious that parents promised a great deal more than they could ever hope to produce. For, from the plain view of economics, no family could purchase all the goodies pledged for good behavior. Nevertheless, for younger children these promises mean something, and they always look forward to the day when their mothers will color their evening rice red or make them some fried dumplings. Rewarding a child with food proves to be as effective a technique of socialization as threatening to deprive him of food. [124] [261]

Occasionally, in a rare burst of enthusiasm, parents may reward a child to make up for all the empty promises. During one of the rice harvests, a 10-year-old boy worked alongside his parents with as much concentrated effort as any adult. All day he stayed in the fields without running away to join his playmates, as some other boys his age did. At the end of the day his mother prepared some festive food. She colored the rice, and the dinner was a merry one. The man from next door who had helped out that day sat drinking sake with the boy's father. "Here, why don't you have some sake, you did as much work as any of us," offered the father. Neighbor and mother urged the boy on and laughed merrily as the boy sipped a bit of the sake. 857 861

Even before he is able to understand the significance of the words, a child in Taira is praised and censured with "good child," and "naughty child." Especially during infancy, mothers will tease babies by gently slapping them and saying over and over with mock anger, 861

857 a type of milkweed which was to be fed to the chickens. The older boy
868 would walk on a way, carefully searching the ground, stop when he spotted some milkweed, and call to the younger ones, "There are some near the spot on which I am standing!" The two little boys would rush over and start examining the area carefully. With a shout one of them would drop to the ground, uproot the plant, and bear it triumphantly to his older cousin. Then the game would continue with the older boy saying, "Good child."

861 The relatively few restrictions placed on the young child are an important basis for learning. By being able to participate freely, children learn what is going on in their village from day to day. Since adults feel that children do not really understand what they are talking about, conversations are free and not couched in mysterious terms. The 10-year-old who is fully aware of the subject under discussion may giggle uncontrollably, but none of the adults pays attention to this. An adult giving a blow-by-blow description of the latest quarrel may even turn to a 10- or 12-year-old child for aid when he forgets a detail.

SOCIALIZING AGENTS

855 In general mothers continue to be the chief socializers, with the
593 grandmother and older siblings second in importance. From the child's point of view, the mother retains the closest bond with him
861 throughout childhood, regardless of the grandmother's prominent role in his early life, and even though, in terms of time which the child spends with others, the mother gradually assumes less importance. It is to the mother that children turn for ultimate support, and to her is delegated the responsibility of child rearing in Taira. Although much of the responsibility for caring for children is given to siblings, the villagers hold the mother alone culpable, should a child deviate in his behavior.

855 The mother's ultimate responsibility for the child is not reduced
857 by the fact that she may spend a great part of the day away from her offspring. Mothers frequently ask other children for the whereabouts
593 of a son or a daughter. Just as the fieldworkers soon learned in what places they would be most likely to find a particular child, so mothers on the whole are aware of their children's favorite play areas. A
[152] mother occasionally inquires about her children's whereabouts without showing anxiety. The fieldworkers were once asked by a mother if they knew where her daughter, who carried an infant sister, was

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playing. They had not come home for the noon meal, which was 855
unusual. The mother, however, did not search extensively, for the [857]
fieldworkers, a little later, noticed the two girls peacefully playing "house" in someone's backyard. They stayed for a good part of the afternoon, and the mother probably continued her usual activities.

The relationship between child and mother remains warm and intimate throughout childhood. A mother may be scolding, impatient, angry, or punishing, but to the child she is the center of the family.

In households lucky enough to have a grandmother, she becomes 603
recognized as the person who is at home if something is wanted or 855
if help and comfort are needed. It is interesting to note, however, that the relationship between children and their grandmothers changes decidedly as the child starts off to school. As if to assert his independence, the 6-year-old begins teasing his grandmother unmercifully. In response to her suggestions, the child laughingly refuses and pretends to run away or often pretends not to hear her. As she screams all kinds of invectives at the child, he giggles hilariously while running ahead. But he does not run as fast as he could. He allows grandmother to catch him, and there is much laughter from both of them. Actually the child rarely fails to comply with her wishes. Two girls, aged 8 and 10, and a young female adult aged 23 often saved a part of their share of goodies, given them by the fieldworker, for their grandmothers. The 10-year-old lavished further indulgence by taking her grandmother's clothing along with her own to launder on washdays.

Boys seem to differ somewhat in this respect. Although there is a very affectionate bond between them and their grandmothers, there is less of this kind of indulgent pattern. They will, however, at the time they start off to school, meet with the old women's demands to run errands, carry tools, and share with her the care of their younger siblings.

Because the society feels that child rearing is "women's work," 855
males have little or nothing to do with the handling of children 593
until the time when decisions as to their future have to be made. 861
There need be only one qualification made with reference to the above statement and it is that fathers may serve as "last resort" disciplinary figures in the case of male children. For many mothers the most effective threat is to "report to father."

The father is not so forbidding a figure for the child of preschool age. Many observations show that fathers tolerate the kindergarten child who begs to be taken to parties or on laps while visiting with neighbors; however, an older sibling or mother was called as soon

855 as the child began to fuss or show signs of fatigue. The kindergarten
593 child often directs his succorant appeals to his father, particularly in a nuclear family, but the father in turn directs the child to his
861 mother. Should there be any discrepancy in thought as to the way a child should be handled in specific problematic situations, the mother will defer out of custom to the father. Such cases, however, are rare, for men, in informal interviews, generally felt that "women knew better" where children's affairs were concerned. Only one out
[124] of 24 fathers believed that he should "train and discipline" the male child and his wife should confine herself to the female children.

The school age child seems to have more fear of his father. "If father is at home," reports one mother, "the children returning from school go about quietly putting their books away, clean the yard, study, then take the younger siblings out with them to play." She added, "If father is not at home, they drop their books on the porch and run out to play, leaving the house and yard in a mess and me with the babies!"

593 It should be noted that fathers spend less time at home than any other member of the household. Men who work in the mountains
512 go out after the morning meal and often do not return until dark. A man returning at noon seldom sees the children, who are out playing or at school. Since there are no weekly rest days, children see their fathers mainly in the evening after dark or on holidays. But even then fathers spend their time visiting around or entertaining neighbors and relatives in their own homes. Contact with father is, there-
593 fore, only sporadic and is not affected by a special desire on the part
855 of fathers to spend time with children. It should be noted, however, that the mere presence of the father in the house has an effect on the child's behavior.

Next to mother and grandmother, older children in the household are very important child-rearing agents. These are mostly the older siblings, but occasionally a young unmarried aunt or uncle who lives with the family looks after a child. Children between the ages
[857] of 5 and 12 take care of younger children; adolescent siblings or aunts do so to a much lesser extent. The obvious reason for this is that in the distribution of duties in the home, the care of a younger child falls to those who are not otherwise burdened with such responsibilities as exacting studies during junior high school or economic activities in fields and mountains, which begin after graduation from school. While adults, except for the old folks, are in fields and mountains, a young child spends much of his time on the back of the older kindergarten or school age sibling or as a toddler in tow of an older one.

the teasing good humoredly, as seen in the incident of a 10-year-old girl, S., who is teased by a 7-year-old boy, A., described in the following protocol. 865 857 858

S. is guarding the can in a can-kicking game. A. (who has been playing a rubber band game with another boy nearby) looks up, smiles, goes running over to the can and kicks it with his foot, yelling, "Safe!" S., whose back is turned to him, jumps, turns around and sees him. "You're not playing this game," she laughs and A. laughs and goes back to his own game. [526]

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SIBLINGS

As mentioned above, the caretaking responsibility and the tendency of younger siblings who are beyond the carrying stage to follow an older brother or sister keep siblings together a great deal during play. When an older brother has to mind a younger sister, he is usually not overly protective. He seldom defends his sister from teasing and sometimes is more aggressive to her than he would be to others if she interferes with his activities. There is, of course, a great deal of variation due to personality. A 5-year-old boy (one of the teasers described above) sometimes pushes his younger sister, and she runs home crying. An 11-year-old boy, on the other hand, when he takes care of his four younger sisters, or some of them, is usually quite protective and nurturant. 593 857 [865]

A record of the behavior of T. (7 years), his younger sister H. (4 years), and other boys illustrates a brother-sister interaction. T. and other boys have made a swing and T. is sitting on it while A. (5-year-old boy) and H. try to get turns:

A. tries to get him off the swing. H., who expected that her turn would come next, whines "nisan (older brother)" and while A. tries to get T. off, she keeps on whining, "This should be enough." T. replies, "This is A.'s turn"; while A. is trying to get on the swing, H. starts crying and goes into the house. Apparently an adult is in the house. T. follows, voices are heard, but not understood. T. returns after a moment and helps F. (another boy) push A. on the swing. H. seems to have stopped crying. We heard no adult scolding T. or talking to H. H. returns, no longer crying. She stands behind T. whose body swings back and forth while pushing A. H. pushes T.'s swinging body to help him. A., F., and H. sing in rhythm, "one, two, three," etc. After song is finished, H. says, "Brother, it is my turn next." T. ignores her, but A. gets off the swing and H. sits on it. H. swings by herself. T. orders A. to help him push the door next to the swing open. A. complies. T.'s mother passes, does not say anything. After the door has been opened (and more room gained), T. and A. push H.

593 The presence in the background of T.'s mother may have something to do with his change in behavior toward H., or it may be that he wants her to wait her turn and do it his way. T. is very much in control of this situation, even among the boys. The swing is constructed on the edge of his parents' house. But T., on another occasion, when his aunt asked him to wash her daughter's (T.'s 4-year-old cousin) feet after she had waded in the muddy paddies, complied agreeably and was quite nurturant and indulgent with the younger girl. With [865] H., too, he is more cordial at other times. Perhaps what bothers him, and other boys of his age, is the interference of younger sisters with boys' play.

857 To sum up, between boys and girls of school age there is not a very close relationship, each sex being quite strongly oriented toward mem-
593 bers of its own group. Brothers and sisters, on the whole, fall into this
858 pattern, except that the succorance-nurturance relationship between younger and older continues, though moderately. Although separation of sexes is found in the kindergarten pattern, it is more pronounced in latency, since the activities of peers are more and more differentiated by sex.

RELATIONSHIP TO PEERS

857 We asked the children a question in an attempt to measure how they would resolve the conflict between having to do a chore and the
866 call of friends to join in play. All boys (in the group of six) agreed
156 that they would do their work first, four mentioning fear of being scolded. One boy worried about what his friends might think if he does not join them soon: "Will they not think badly of me?" adding, "Sometimes I have gone out without finishing my work and then I would worry about getting scolded. It's 'bad,' but if my friend persists, I would go and join him without doing my work." And another admitted, "If mother and father are not at home, I would go and play without finishing my work, but then I would worry about getting scolded."

Strangely enough, five of the girls answered that they would do their work first, but if their father and mother are not home, they would go out and play; at least four say so, while the fifth boldly says, "If friends come and call me when I am doing my chores, I will go and play without finishing," but this girl, coming from a poor family, is less secure than others and more anxious to be a part of the group. Several girls mentioned the fear of being scolded. Only one, the sixth, replied,

The yard in which the Okinawan home stands is also rather uniform in 351
its appearance. It is usually surrounded by a stone wall or a thick hedge for protection against winds. Inside the gate is a himpung, a short wall that prevents one from looking straight through the gate into the house. The space between the himpung and the house is hard earth; this is where mats are spread for drying grain and where many other household tasks are performed. This yard space may be lined on one or both sides with outbuildings for the [343]
storage of tools and crops and for housing livestock---two or three goats, [231]
and here and there an ox or a horse. Behind the house is a pigsty. There may also be a chicken-coop, but chickens often run loose. There are usually a few trees in the yard, often a clump of bananas. Behind the house is also [514]
the toilet; formerly it was combined with the pigsty, but now it is usually an oil-drum. In many villages every house has its own well, but even where [312]
wells are fewer there is almost sure to be a cistern beside the house to catch rain-water. The house and yard will be discussed again later in rela- 128
tion to sanitation and health (see Chapter IX).[1]

The social unit that occupies such a house and yard is the family. 592
The structure of the family is also dealt with in detail by Pitts in Chapter VII. Let it suffice to say here that ideally the first son stays with his [591]
parents after his marriage while younger sons establish separate households. Thus the family consists of a couple and their unmarried children or a couple with a married first son, his wife and children, and his unmarried brothers and sisters. The deaths of one or more members may reduce the family without breaking it up. Two married couples, parents and grandparents of the youngest generation, is the usual maximum. If two married sons live under the same roof it is usually regarded as a temporary expedient. Thus while the total number of persons in the household may be as many as a dozen, the average number is a little less than five.

The family, that is, the members of the household, is an economic unit, a social unit, and a ceremonial unit. As an economic unit the members of a household work together, producing for and consuming from a common stock. They cooperate with other households on the basis of common interest as neighbors. They form a social unit within the "han", the "ku", and the "son", they are [666]
registered as a unit in the "koseki", and may have only one vote---cast by the head of the house---in local elections. As a ceremonial unit they form part of a numbered and graded system based on common descent.

The Structure of Kinship Relations In traditional Okinawan society, as in 593 602
other societies of East Asia, the fundamental unit is the family and the basic axis within the family is a vertical one running through the male line, the father-oldest son axis.[2] The basic values that support this structure are unity and continuity. Individuals are of varying importance to the family depending on their closeness to the father-first son axis; females are less important than males; younger sons

[1] For a more detailed account of the house and yard see Glacken, 1953, Chapter 5.

[2] I have borrowed this concept from Francis L. K. Hsu, to whose writings I am indebted.

593 602 are less important than older sons. The security of the individual depends upon his closeness to this axis. Yet most can attain security. Younger sons grow up to establish families of their own. Daughters grow up to marry and become the means whereby other men establish families. If a man has no son he readily adopts one from among his brothers' or cousins' sons and so the continuity is maintained.

593 171 This structure is in sharp contrast to that of present-day American society. In American society the individual, not the family, is felt to be the basic unit. The basic axis is horizontal, the husband-wife axis. The values are on affection between the married couple, responsibility toward minor children, and impartiality toward them. The responsibility of parents ends when the children grow up. There is little continuity. The individual can expect equal treatment but cannot expect lasting security within the family. He finds his family ties cut once when he grows up, once again when his children grow up. The only permanent tie is with husband or wife and hence the only permanent security within the family is through marital bond. Hence in American society there is an increasing emphasis on romantic love and an increasing tendency to look for security through it.

The relationship of husband and wife in Okinawan society is quite different from that in American society with its comradeship and equality. In 593 581 Okinawan society the traditional marriage is arranged by the family. Its primary function is to provide for the continuity of the family units and if [594] sible to produce more units like it. The satisfaction of individual needs is only a secondary function. At marriage a woman enters the family of her husband, where she hopes to produce an heir for him and more besides. Her position is subordinate; she must be submissive to him and to his parents. She expects to work hard. Her husband also expects to work hard, for he is obligated to provide his descendants and his ancestors with their needs, but if he also has the means to seek pleasure outside the home he is not only free to do so, but is expected to do so.

593 855 As one might expect, the relationship between parents and children is very close. Okinawan parents live more intimately with their children than do American parents; they carry them around, sleep with them, and fondle them [171] a great deal. And from the American point of view they spoil them. At the same time they seem to regard children as not quite human, and treat them at times with what to an American seems like heartless cruelty. Also they differentiate clearly on the basis of future importance to the family and the maintenance of its continuity; the first son, who will inherit his father's status, is given more consideration than younger sons; daughters, who will eventually leave the family entirely, are given less consideration---and more chores, to prepare them for future status as daughters-in-law---then are sons. Children are expected to respect their parents and to care for them when they are old. Parents are expected to love their children and care for them when they are young. The responsibility of a parent toward a minor child is not [171] as great as in the United States; for example, in an emergency a parent may sell a child (this may be in conflict with the present law but it is not in 593 conflict with the mores of impoverished Okinawan farmers). Buth this responsibility does not end with the child's attaining majority. In the case

of a first son the parents' responsibility toward him may even increase as he 593
grows older, since the continuity of the family depends upon him. Also the child's duty to obey his parents does not end with his majority, and this duty also may be stronger for a first son. All this is in sharp contrast [171]
with the situation in American society, where the responsibility of the parent to the child is greatest when the child is small and gradually recedes as the child grows older, where the parents' responsibilities toward minor children are identical regardless of the sex or age of the child relative to others, and where the duty of the child to obey its parents clearly ends when it reaches majority.

The relationship between grandparents and grandchildren is also closer 603
than is commonly the case in the United States. There is greater physical 171
intimacy, there are greater mutual obligations, and there is therefore a greater feeling of security derived from the relationship.

The relationship of siblings too is different from that in the United 593
States. There is no equality among Okinawan brothers; each has his own status, the first son having the most responsibility and the most privileges. 171
Sisters are inferior to their brothers, but are more nearly equal to each other. But the brothers constitute a single unit even though they are unequal, the very numbering of them, first son, second son, and so forth, sets them apart as a unit separate from other units composed of numbered sons. As adults they are expected to cooperate, and usually do. It seems likely that the American passion for equality, with its resulting arguments among children as to who got the larger piece of pie, may result in greater conflict among siblings than exists in Okinawan society.

I have attempted to indicate briefly some of the main features of the 121
Okinawan family, how it differs from the American family, and how it provides 593
a greater sense of security for the individual. This security, it should be 152
emphasized, is at the expense of freedom and equality. Later, in discussing the life of the individual, I shall examine some of these features more closely. Moreover, I shall also try to show that family life not only provides the individual with a feeling of security, but also provides him with the pattern of relationships that he extends to the rest of the world and is the source of some of his basic anxieties.

<u>Classification of Kin</u> It has long been recognized that the categories of 121
language are likely to be the categories of thought, 601
and that if we are to understand how the members of another society see some aspect of reality---color, plant life, the passage of time, we can well begin by learning how they classify their perception---by studying their color terms, botanical taxonomy, terms for the seasons and other divisions of time. In the study of social organization this method is even more useful because the reality as well as the conception is man-made. Thus the categories into which the members of a society group their kinfolk have proved to be important clues to the organization of that society. I shall therefore describe briefly the kinship terms used by the Okinawans.

The terms themselves do not matter for this purpose. They vary from 601
place to place and from social class to class. But it is significant that

769 On the spring and autumn equinoxes imitation money is burned, on other occa-
527 sions special food is offered, and so forth.

775 In spite of the great concern that Okinawans appear to take for the
969 welfare of the dead, they can tell one surprisingly little about what happens to them. According to one account, the dead person crosses seven bridges on his way to the other world; if he has led a wicked life he may have difficulty crossing them. In the next world he needs food and drink and money to pay taxes. Eventually, unless something holds him to this world, he becomes a "Buddha" (J. 'hotoke') or a "god" (J. 'kami-sama')---the terms seem synonymous---and ascends to Heaven. The most clearly defined and frequently heard notion seems to be simply that there is a vast and awful chasm between "this world" and "that world" and that a person who has once crossed the chasm ought to stay on the other side. A dead person may return, however, and appear to the living as a ghost if something disturbs him---a wrong unrighted, for example. Ghosts may attack former enemies or even harm anyone who happens to be around. But also a deceased person may cause disease or other misfortune to come to his own living relatives and descendants if he has not had sufficient help from them through their offerings. Thus many Okinawans, particularly the older people, are greatly concerned about the possibility of an ugwan-busuku, an "insufficiency (fusuku) of worship (ugwang)." They explain sickness, accidents, and lack of success in undertakings as the result of some ugwan-busuku. And so they consult with yuta and other dealers in the supernatural to determine where the insufficiency lies.

They also interpret success or good fortune, especially that which helps the family or larger kin group, as due to the help of the deceased ancestors. A woman gave the following incident as an example. During the bombing that preceded the landing in 1945 she had left the cave where her family was hiding to go to a neighbor's cave just when a great-uncle appeared there looking for a midwife to deliver a daughter's baby. The two related families had not known of each others' whereabouts and the informant's family was overjoyed to be able to move to the better cave of the great-uncle. This, the informant said, was not the result of the protection of the gods but of the ancestors.

The concern of the Okinawans for the dead is great, but it is hard to avoid the conclusion that it is motivated primarily by concern for the living.

3. Prospect of Change

152 Family life provides the individual with the security that he desires
593 but at the same time it gives him a basis for feelings of anxiety. The feelings of security he derives from the love he receives as a child, the honor he receives as a parent, and the knowledge that he will not be neglected in the next world. The solidarity of the family and the continuity of the family are essential to this security and so they are constantly stressed. But he also derives feelings of anxiety from family life. As a child he is carried around in an intimate fashion and then put down and made to run to keep

up; he is made to find most of his needs satisfied by his mother and then he is told that he may be given away if he is not obedient; later he is made to believe that the spirits of his ancestors are protecting him, but when he becomes ill he is told that it is because he has not given them enough offerings. The threat in each of these instances is abandonment, being cut off from his family, because of insufficiency---disobedience or unfiliality. The fear that this threat creates does much to maintain the family system. It probably also accounts for the fear Okinawans seem to have of being alone, and their frequent use, remarked upon by several observers, of the word 'sabishii', "lonely". It may also account for their frequently expressed view of Okinawa itself as a lonely, remote, and neglected island. 152 593 [829]

Family life also provides the individual with a pattern for human relationships. In the family he learns what behavior is appropriate to the status of older sibling and younger sibling, parent and child, male and female; he learns about authority, responsibility, and mutual obligation. This pattern of relationships learned in the family he reads into the larger society, and, entering the larger society he assumes the roles learned in the family. He defers to seniors; he expects juniors and females to defer to him. If he is a farmer he may expect instruction and support from the government, as a child expects it from his parents. If he is an official or a teacher he may at times deliberately speak down to the less educated and at other times deliberately speak over their heads, as a parent does with his children. 593 867

It seems that several phenomena of recent years should have weakened the old family system. The war destroyed much of the physical reminders of the past and nearly every family lost one or more of its members. The subsequent shift in population further uprooted many. The repatriation brought back people who had long been away, and with them, new ideas. The American occupation has given rural Okinawans a mobility they could not have imagined before. It has provided jobs for many of the younger people, which could mean a degree of economic independence that they could never have had otherwise. The schools have given young people of the opposite sexes more opportunity to meet on a respectable basis than they had ever had before. Yet we find families carrying on in spite of the shift in residence and the loss of important members, repatriates being reintegrated into the larger kin groups, and young people who might be independent turning their earnings over to their elders and asking their elders' permission to marry. Obviously family ties are still strong. 593 178 177

But the structure of the family may still be changing. The relationship between the behavior of individuals in the family and in the larger society is a reciprocal one. It is quite likely that the individual takes the roles that he has learned as a child in the family and plays them as an adult in the larger society, as he interprets its structure. But it is also likely that if the larger society is in a process of change, the individual may reinterpret his roles or even learn new ones to conform to the new structure. He may then go back to his family as a parent and reinterpret its structure on the basis of what he has learned. His behavior as a parent then becomes different from his father's before him. One of the professed aims of the Civil Administration on Okinawa is the democratization of Okinawan society. [185]

•593 If democratization means the development of political and social equality and
178 of individualism, and if the program is successful, then there will undoubted-
177 ly be changes in Okinawan family life. Other factors will also be operating.
The acceptance of modern medicine will lessen the importance of offerings to
the ancestors and perhaps weaken the feeling that suffering may result from
insufficient filial piety.

[Koohinda-son]

The husband sought military employment after the divorce. Haru has now also gone to the city to find military employment because her younger brother, who is household head, became angry and said, "...even the animals know enough to suckle their young." An observer commented, "Haru is mentally deficient, so that is why she was jealous." 586 159

Case 2

Kanā at the age of 32 was Chūsei's third wife, and he was her fourth husband. His seventy-year-old mother, Ushii, had become blind as a result of the war. Kanā insulted her mother-in-law somehow. In turn Ushii insulted Kanā by saying she couldn't work very hard. Chūsei divorced Kanā for the quarrel, and she moved to an offshore island. More recently she remarried to a man two villages away, and they have two children. Her new husband fishes during the summer and works for a big sugar mill during the winter.

Case 3

The husband, Jirō, was a second son of 23 years, who had become an adopted husband, or 'yōshi'. His wife Yae, who was a common law child, bore him a son. Because he violently disliked farming he sold the land he inherited and bought a mat-making shop in Naha. His real father, killed in the war, had operated such a business. Jirō also took up a concubine in Naha.

Though she had borne Jirō a son, Yae divorced him because she didn't like the idea of a concubine, and preferred farming to life in Naha. Later Jirō sold the houselot in the village, took the house apart and reassembled it in Naha. The mat shop failed after one year. He now plans to make his living by doing nothing but renting out rooms. He married his concubine eighteen months later, after she bore him a son. Yae married a few days after the divorce, to a man from a neighboring village. She now has two sons.

Diagnosis In the first case cited above, we can see several factors that help us to understand Okinawan society. Attitudes expressed include: [593]

a) A wife should not be jealous of her husband's attention to other women;
b) A brother need not support his sister if she refuses to care for her own child; and
c) A mother's first duty is to care for her own child.

Both divorced persons eventually sought military employment. So we see that urbanization is not alone a matter of pull from the city, but contains in addition an element of being "pushed from the village". [369]

The Chūsei-Kanā divorce was brought on by an insult to the husband's mother. In Okinawa as in Japan the mother-in-law wields a good deal of authority. [606] [171]

In the third case cited, it was found that Jirō had a very bad reputation in the village because he was a 'yōshi' who sold his inherited [829]

Within the village there are no class differences. Considerable prestige continues to be accorded certain occupations---teacher, doctor, government official. Land ownership does not appear to be an important status factor, and there is no landlord class. 621 554

Family The Okinawan family system has been in a process of change for over fifty years. Abolition of the system of communal land tenure and the introduction of private property and Japanese laws of inheritance provided the first shock. The bulk of the estate was hereafter conferred upon the first son while younger sons were frequently landless; consequently, many left the village in search of livelihood elsewhere. Where formerly the kin group was concentrated in a given locality, now its members are often scattered about, making interaction infrequent. A gradual decline in the practice of kin group endogamy also has contributed to weakening the solidarity of the kin group. There seems to be an increasing trend for large kin groups to fragment into smaller segments. According to young people who were consulted on the subject, their generation has little interest in kin group affairs; this may be misleading, as it is chiefly a matter which occupies the attention of older people. Perhaps one young man stated the situation accurately when he said, "I have no interest in such matters now, but I suppose I will when I am past forty." 593 178 [423] [428] 61 178

Many families were shattered by the war, and in the postwar period there has been a weakening of the family due to a variety of factors which might best be described as growing individualism. One factor, noted previously, was an increasing tendency for members of the household to maintain separate purses where formerly all earnings were turned over to the head of the house. There is some sentiment among the more educated for changing existing inheritance laws in favor of equal shares for all heirs regardless of sex or birth order. The author also heard complaints that young people often run off to seek lucrative jobs elsewhere unmindful of their family obligations. 593 178

Marriage In contrast to the prewar period when most marriages were arranged, the young people today claim that they will marry someone of their own choice. This seems to be generally true, but often the parents will go through the process of arranging after the young people have decided. Young people also will vehemently deny that they will make use of a fortune teller to determine the most propitious day, but their mothers most likely will do this and then will exert their influence for the proper day. In all likelihood the young people will accept in order not to displease the parents. 584 178 [585]

If a person, particularly a young woman, delays too long in becoming married, the family will arrange a match. In one such case known to the author a well-educated woman of twenty-five who had financial independence as a school teacher was urged into a match much against her own feelings. She explained her compliance as obligation to her family for having provided her with an excellent education.

Pitts' population studies indicate that the average age of marriage has dropped slightly in the postwar period due to the fact that Okinawan men are no longer delayed by military service. Despite this slight drop in the 582 178

1

Introduction

Everyone knows that the family is a most important social institution in Asiatic countries such as China, Korea, and Japan. What is not so well, nor so widely understood, is that the idea of the family is deeply involved not only with obligations and duties within a family, but also with such matters as ancestor worship, inheritance and succession, land tenure, public and private holidays, and in certain phases of community organization and of government. It is better therefore to abandon the expression family and substitute for it a term which at the outset suggests the implications and ramifications of the idea of the family. This term is the family system (kazoku seido in Japanese). The Ryukyu Islands have felt the influence of China, Korea, and Japan in many different ways and at different times. Perhaps the most important of these borrowings, ultimately from China, is the family system.

The family system is a series of mutual obligations and duties which members of a living generation of a family owe to one another, to those who have lived before them and who have been responsible directly or indirectly for their present condition and status, and owe also to those who will come after them to perform for their time the tasks now imposed on the contemporary generation.

The family system embraces the same family relationships found in countries of the west. Here as in the west, the biological family, composed of the husband, the wife, and the children, is the fundamental unit of social organization. In American society, family ties beyond the immediate biological family tend to become more fragile, and indeed often become so within the biological family itself--due in part at least to a strong tradition of individualism and greater mobility.

In Okinawa, the biological family is but a segment of a wider system of family relationships. These spread out not only into the contemporary extended families but find expression also in reverence for those who have lived in the past and in a feeling of responsibility for the continuation of the family into the future by assuming one's duty to prevent extinction of the family line. In the so-called ancestor worship, there is this expression of the extension of the family system throughout time. Ancestor worship, the conventional term, is not quite correct, but it conveys the general meaning desired. Actually it is not only the ancestors but all deceased relatives, including child descendants, whose memory is revered.

The family system is a great chain of responsibilities and obligations which extends from the remote past to the remote future and of which the living generation is the responsible contemporary representative. It is this aspect of the family system that makes it more a philosophical, ethical, or social concept than merely the descriptive term for a system

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

4

Individual Families and Their Branches

614 Up to this point, we have been describing the extended families which are composed of the main and the branch families which have descended from a common ancestor. The discussion may now be carried one step further to describe the individual family and its branches.

592 [594] The individual family is the basic unit of village life. Normally this individual family is the biological family, composed of the parents and the children. But it is surprising how often family units or households are made up of relatives other than the biological family to create many varieties in family composition. The numerous deaths, as a result of the war, have added to this variety.

An attempt has been made in the following table to hint at the variation of family composition in the villages and to show this in further detail according to the number of individuals in a family. This table is a compromise, for with so many combinations, it cannot show the full detail without reproducing the composition of each family in each village.

In this analysis, family units have been broken down into three main groups: (1) those with single heads, usually but not always representing older people, (2) those with male heads, and (3) those with female heads.

The grouping of male heads has been further broken down into seven sub-groups: (1) the husband and wife, (2) the husband, wife, and child or children, (3) families with a husband, wife, children, plus other relatives, (4) families with a husband and wife, no children, but with other relatives, (5) the male head with children only, (6) the male head with children and other relatives, and (7) the male head with other relatives only.

Those family units having female heads were subdivided into three groups (1) the mother with a child or children, (2) the mother with child or children, plus other relatives, and (3) the female head with other relatives.

The general category of other relatives was necessary in order to present the materials in compact form. Other relatives most commonly are younger brothers and sisters, parents, grandparents, uncles, aunts, nephews, or nieces.

The table shows how widely the families vary from the normal biological family. In Hanashiro, only two of the ten units with two in the family are composed of a husband and a wife. Four have female heads with other relatives, meaning generally that women are taking care of

Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

bers may be recruited and present members expelled. In others, which are closed, membership is automatic and inevitable, depending in no way on the behavior of the individuals involved. We are here concerned with these latter groups whose membership is determined by sex, age, kinship, and rules of residence. Whether an American male lives in Connecticut or California, in the city or the suburbs, is to a large degree a matter of his personal preference. This is not the case for everybody in Taira, although there are people who at any time may leave the village to seek their fortune. 571

There are two types of households in Taira: those of oldest sons, who live in the house of their parents, and those of younger sons, who establish a nuclear household of their own, which may be near the house of their father. Many young sons, however, leave the central village and settle in its outlying districts or move to the southern part of the island. Whereas formerly many younger sons moved to Japan or to one of its prewar South Pacific mandates, or to Hawaii and South America, since the end of World War II employment opportunities around U.S. Army installations absorb many such migrants. The oldest son is required to live in his parents' house and eventually take over the duties of a household head. Unmarried younger sons remain in the household until they marry or leave the parental home for work elsewhere. 596 594 [166] [167]

For a woman it is customary to move to her husband's home if he is an older son or into a house in his village if he is a younger son. In the old days this usually involved simply a move in the village, since the preference was to marry a woman from the same community. Nowadays there is no clear-cut preference; a woman from central Taira may become the bride of a man from that part of the village, from one of the outlying parts of Taira, or from another village, usually to the north. Of a sample of 55 marriages, 26 of the wives were from Taira, 29 from other villages, five of which were immediately adjacent. 591 582

The composition of the household, therefore, changes for the individual during his lifetime, and it is not the same for all persons in the village. Several children not only have their parents and at least one paternal grandparent but also paternal aunts or uncles who live under the same roof. If the father is a younger son, only one's parents and siblings are household members. Since houses are small and space is very limited, all these members of the household live in close face-to-face relationship. Women tend to outlive men, so that there are many more old women living with their married sons than old men. This is why children have a grandmother more often in the home than a grandfather (see Table 1). 592 593 [165]

There is no specific or preferred posture for nursing. While the mothers are in confinement for the brief period following delivery, they often lie next to the baby and feed him. Sitting while nursing is the most common posture, but mothers frequently nurse while standing or squatting. The baby is held loosely and the mother is relaxed. If others are about, she will carry on a lively conversation and occasionally pat the baby gently on or around the region of the buttocks. When alone, she holds the baby with one arm, talks softly, smiles, and with her other hand tugs gently at the baby's limbs. Each feeding is leisurely; the breast is never withdrawn from the infant's mouth. More often than not he suckles his fill and falls asleep. 853

It is as natural to suckle one's infant at a village meeting as it is to do so in the privacy of one's home. A common sight is that of a mother sitting and listening intently to speeches while cradling her suckling infant loosely in her arms. On buses, in market places, or at large public intervillage gatherings, one is sure to encounter such a scene. [291]

The breast is used to soothe a baby when he is ill, irritable, or in distress from pain. This was quite evident when all the babies in the village were being given a series of innoculations for diphtheria and typhoid. As the injections were given in one large open room, the cries of the infant being innoculated prompted others to cry. Invariably the mother offered the breast to the baby. 853 854 751

After the birth of a child, the mother sits at home during a short rest period, watching happily as neighbors, friends, and relatives continually drop in to admire the newborn. Sipping tea, the visitors offer bits of advice, exchange the latest gossip, ask to hold the infant, and take their leave with the standard phrase: "Take care of yourself." It is a pleasant interlude, but as the family resources begin to dwindle, there is a slight but perceptible change in the attitude of the mother toward her newborn. The constant stream of visitors, for whom tea and some small tidbits must be offered, and her nonparticipation in the regular economic activities prove to be a drain on the family budget, in spite of the fact that the mother and her husband have worked with extra diligence in the months prior to parturition. The mother begins to talk about the approaching feast day and the need to get new clothing for the older children. She asks anxiously about the condition of the firewood market and starts to plan her inevitable resumption of work in the mountains and fields. In spite of her feelings of protectiveness and pity for the young baby, she begins, bit by bit, to reinstate her normal routine. Although she continues to cuddle, kiss, and affectionately nurse the infant, she thinks of the good weather and of how she might have been able to make one more trip to the mountains 846 574 846 461 [843] [594]

846 461 before noon but for the fact that she had to return to attend to the infant.

854 853 594 [887] If a grandmother is available, the mother straps the 3-to-4 months old baby onto the grandmother's back in the morning and goes off to the mountains with her husband to haul firewood or to the fields to cultivate sweet potatoes. For the first six months she returns to the house frequently during the day to nurse the infant. It is likely that while the infant demands feeding at short intervals, a mother will work in or around the village. At one of the locations for firewood bundling she can make the bamboo rings, fit the cut wood into them, and stack the bundles.

512 854 [853] [887] Throughout the morning hours grandmother, with the infant on her back, wanders about the village. Occasionally she offers her dry breast to the bawling infant who cannot seem to wait until its mother returns from the fields or mountains. If the mother is nearby, she hurries so that the infant does not cry for long. When the hour for lunch approaches, the grandmother hurries home to begin preparations for the noonday meal. As she walks, the infant's head bobs up and down, forward and back precariously, but it continues to sleep undisturbed.

[264] After lunch has been eaten and the infant nursed, the adults in the household sip their tea and rest for an hour or so. Within that hour the mother may play with the infant or nap with it nestled in her arms. Rousing themselves from the noon nap, the adults return to the mountains and fields. The infant is again strapped to the grandmother's back, but this time as she slowly wends her way to the main thoroughfare, she calls out to someone in a house which boasts one of the few clocks in the village. "Hey, what is the time there?" The answer will quicken her pace, for it is near the time for an older sibling to return from school. As she reaches the main street, she joins other grandmothers as well as mothers who are anxiously scanning the direction from which the schoolchildren return. Each admires the infants on the other's back and exchanges timely topics of the day, but as the minutes pass and no children appear, they begin to grumble about the "irresponsible siblings who *must* be playing on their way home." At last the older child returns, and the grandmother hurries home with her charges, promptly transfering the infant onto the back of the older sibling. The old woman rushes to get her hoe and basket, mumbling to herself about the quantity of potatoes she should harvest for the next day's use.

512 854 887 857

854 857 594 An older child who ignores the crying of his infant charge will be criticized severely by his peers. If the mother happens to be in the

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

fields and away from the village, the young caretaker jiggles up and down to soothe the baby on his back. As his cries become frantic, the caretaker's peers will pat him on his buttocks and try to placate him by guiding his fingers to his mouth. 854 857 594

For the nuclear family with no other caretaker except the mother, the newborn proves to be a problem. One such mother complained that she could not do anything efficiently with a baby on her back. She was able to go to the fields to harvest potatoes but had to leave the laden basket until the afternoon to carry it home, for at that time the neighbor's child returned from school to look after the baby. In payment for baby-sitting services she had planned on buying the neighbor's child a dress for the next New Year.

In the nuclear family with school age children, the mother works around the house and in the nearby fields in the morning and rushes off to the mountains when her relief returns in the middle of the afternoon. Thus the infant which brought so much joy to the family and gave its mother respite from the rigorous routine for a short time becomes somewhat of a burden to all. Nevertheless, the baby continues to be indulged, pitied for his helplessness, and the object of affection.

It is important to note, briefly, the father's attitude and behavior during this initial period. Although only females were born during this study, interviews suggest that a male birth elicits a somewhat more solicitous behavior on the part of the father toward both mother and infant than a female one. The father will discourage the mother's early resumption of work and may even feel encouraged to carry the male infant despite the fact that children are deemed "women's work." Ostensibly, however, he seems embarrassed and disinterested in the whole matter be it a male or female. Congratulating visitors find that after a few polite exchanges the father will retire to a corner in the house as attention focuses on mother and child. After sitting out what seems a proper length of time, he will mumble some excuse or other and leave the house to do some chore. The observer visiting the household on the occasion of the birth of a fourth daughter found gloom and disgust in the father's expression. A male visitor who sat trying to convince the father that daughters are quite useful, too, received only contemptuous stares. His wife sat dejectedly holding the infant loosely in her arms. In contrast, a visit of the same purpose to another household on the birth of a fourth daughter revealed similar but notably less intense reactions on the part of the father. Perhaps because of the existence of one male heir he felt less threatened. 846 842

There is a tenacious belief in Taira that the female determines the sex of the child. If the woman fails to produce a male heir, the man

frowned and tugged at the straps that were straining at her neck muscles. 593

At a still later date, Hanako, with her baby sister strapped to her back, played on the beach. At one point, when all the children were scattered over the beach and no one else was nearby, Hanako edged up to the fieldworker and asked, "Would you like this baby, teacher? Here, take her," she said wearily. Asked why she had changed her mind, the little girl smiled shyly, squirmed uncomfortably for a moment, then whispered, "She's too heavy." Her 3-year-old sister, off in the distance at that point, began to scream and cry at being left so far behind. Hanako turned to look back once, then walked on as the 3-year-old squatted on the sand and screamed to be carried. At that moment her mother appeared to nurse the infant, and Hanako ran to her. She bounded swiftly away to the 3-year-old as the mother started to nurse the baby. Returning a few minutes later with the 3-year-old on her back, Hanako deposited her disgustedly, panting heavily from the weight. "Shall we give baby to teacher, Hanako?" asked the mother, and without any hesitation Hanako this time nodded "Yes." The mother laughed and said, "Hah, she has had enough of her already. When the baby was tiny and cute, she was so eager to carry her and wouldn't give her to you, but they all get tired of babies in time." And with that the mother began to rock the baby back and forth in her arms. Smiling affectionately, she kissed and hugged the cooing infant and murmured, "Nobody wants you, eh?" Because she was an unusually outspoken mother she confided, "I think I have had enough too, here, I give her to you!" She laughed as she continued, "How can I make money, feed and clothe the children when I have to rush back from the mountains to nurse this baby." 857 854 [594]

When the child is about 6 months old, he is subjected to a painful operation which prepares him for the introduction to solid foods. The area around the navel is moxa-cauterized. Nine little brown dots in three rows of three attest to the practice of burning a special kind of grass on the skin in this area to protect the infant from various digestive complications. The child thus treated, the mother will begin to supplement breast feedings with rice water, milky white in appearance, that is spooned out of the boiling pot of rice. Sometime later, before the child is about one, bits of sweet potato and special kinds of fish mashed between the fingers are thrust into the mouth of the infant as he sits on his mother's lap at mealtime. Gradually he is given more and more solid foods until, finally, at the age of 2 he is eating rice, unmashed fish, potatoes and vegetables, but nursing is continued until 853 [751] [262] 862 855 262

862 855 the mother becomes pregnant. Usually, however, weaning is not [262] started in earnest until the mother is three months pregnant.

If the infant has a fever or "bad color," he may be subjected to an- 854 other painful experience, blood letting. Incisions are made on those 757 parts of the body which are thought to be affected, and blood is drawn and caught in a cup. The area is washed with sake. The mother often suckles the baby and holds him while the grandmother or some other older person performs the operation.

854 Babies are diapered and swaddled until they are about a year old. For the first two months their wet and soiled diapers are changed frequently; however, as time goes on, less attention is paid to wet diapers, although those soiled from excreta are promptly changed. Infants are checked often during the raw winter days, but because they are bundled so heavily, there is hardly any danger of their contracting colds as their mothers fear. Severe urine burns and annoying diaper rash are more [164] common than colds among young babies.

[855] Although care is taken to keep the infant as clean as possible during the first year of his life, this attitude changes as the child grows older. This is in large part due to the mother's inability to devote much time [594] to her offspring once she has resumed full participation in economics. activities. Depending on the season of the year, babies are bathed from every third or fourth day to once a week. They are bathed almost daily [744] during the first two months of their lives as a result of the insistence of the village nurse. Water is heated on the kitchen hearth and poured into a small washpan. Mothers test the warmth of the water by immersing their arms up to the elbows and adding cold or hot water as they see fit. Soap is gently applied either with a soft washcloth or with the hands and rinsed off by splashing. On chilly winter days the bath takes place indoors, but on the hot sunny days it takes place right outside the kitchen door. In drying the baby, the mother places him in a large towel and pats the dampness from his body. She is careful to dry the skin at the joints where rash is likely to erupt. Except for the very poor, all families keep a bottle of talcum powder, which is applied right after the bath. Throughout the bath, the mother talks softly to the baby, smiling and tickling him. The atmosphere of the bath at this [855] time contrasts sharply with that of a later time when the child is 2 and 3 years old.

863 Although there is hardly any possibility that the infant at this time would be able to smear himself with excreta, the opportunity for doing so is present later when he no longer wears diapers but is still untrained. It rarely happens, as the child is almost constantly watched by a caretaker. One mother reported disgustedly that her infant smeared

were justified. Both children were slightly retarded, and people believed that this fact added even more proof. 848

An illegitimate child is loved by everybody and treated like any legitimate child. The bastard's name is listed in the registry under his mother's and his illegitimacy noted. Since World War II the distinguishing red ink mark is no longer used in recording these children. Unless the mother marries the child's real father, the offspring has no legal rights of inheritance. If she marries another man, the child may receive affectionate treatment from the stepfather, but he remains legally her son. Socially such a child does not suffer any form of ostracism, but adults make references to his status within his earshot. One such girl proudly said that people had told her that she was half-Japanese. [837] [732] [217] [428] [554]

Legally a man cannot have more than one wife, but there are cases of multiple marriage even in Taira. It takes a substantial income for such an arrangement, since a second wife is given a separate place to live. A younger "wife" is usually taken if there is no male heir born by the legal wife or if the marriage remains childless altogether. A man, formerly a resident of the village, took a young concubine late in life after his sons were killed during the war. She bore him a son, apparently with the consent of the first wife, since there was amicable interaction between the two although they lived separately. The husband registers such children as his legal offspring. 595 842

Two modes of divorce are possible. A couple may agree to separate and call a family council of parents and relatives on both sides. The township office is then notified and separation acknowledged. Once children have been born, such divorces are not too frequent, at least there were few cases of divorced women with children in Taira. A husband may initiate a divorce by telling his wife of his desire to separate. Extra-marital relationships of the wife would be sufficient cause, as would be sterility, which is interpreted as her fault. In Taira a settlement within the family is the more frequent mode of divorce although relatively rare. One official estimated that the rate of divorce for the whole township is two per year. Among the 59 marriages we found listings for five subsequent divorces. During fieldwork, many debates about modernizing divorce laws were held among members of the Women's Association, which advocated the abolition of the unilateral emphasis that gave husbands all the rights and wives almost none. Only a crime committed by a man would be sufficient cause under existing law to permit the wife to initiate a divorce. 586 [837] [842] [671] [575]

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Part II

Child Training

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Chapter 12

Pregnancy and Childbirth

The custom of "trial marriage" stresses the importance Taira villagers 842
put on a woman's ability to bear children, for it is imperative that
there be heirs to carry on the family line. The first child is usually born [583]
within one or two years after marriage. Taira people would be extremely surprised if a child is not born soon, for children, especially
male offspring, are desired. A barren wife faces the possibility of annul- [586]
ment of her marriage by her husband or even her husband's parents.
Should this action be disagreeable to her husband, she may still be [595]
forced to take the lesser role of co-wife. A fertile woman who fails to
bear a male child may suffer a situation not unlike that of a barren
woman. Pregnancies, however, arouse a great amount of ambivalence 843
in attitude.

Most women welcome pregnancy happily, knowing that they are 842
fulfilling their role as a woman. Nevertheless, some women complain

a young man would have had no previous sexual experience and that it was felt 585
that it was necessary for him to be instructed by an experienced woman before 178
he had relations with his bride. The third explanation was given by a country 565
woman in her fifties, of gentry descent. She told how her husband had gone to the wedding of a city relative and had been taken afterwards to the juri-muyaa. She did not know if her husband had been treated to a juri or not but was sure that the groom must have had one. Her explanation of the practice was that it was mainly a display of the position of the family and its ability to provide entertainment. Probably there is a bit of truth in all three explanations. The practice does undoubtedly reenforce the male's right to sexual freedom. The second explanation seems a little weak, especially in view of the reported former practice of the city gentry of combining a sexual initiation with the boy's coming-of-age ceremony, but the explanation may be that given for the earlier trip to the brothel and it may also be the "explanation" of the practice conventionally given, conventional explanations not necessarily revealing real motives. The last explanation, that the practice is mainly a display, probably strikes at the most important motive, the use of entertainment to demonstrate status.

Secondary Marriage Formerly wealthier men sometimes took juri as 837
mistresses. In the village of Yamada before the war, the richest man, or 556
perhaps the only man designated as "rich man" had his own juri. She was a kooi-juri, a "bought juri", that is, he had bought her from the house she had been indentured to. She stayed in Naha, but occasionally came to Yamada. The informant who told of this, a woman in her thirties, expressed the opinion that any man who became rich would naturally soon want his own juri.

At the present time it seems to be a fairly widespread practice for a 575
man who has enough means to have a second wife (yuubee, in Japanese 'nigō', "number two"). Sometimes this is done openly, sometimes secretly. It may be a more common practice today than formerly because of the present skewed sex ratio. Some information was obtained about two such men, one a fisherman and the other a doctor, so-called.

The fisherman was an Itoman man; his first wife had no children so he took as a second wife a woman whose family lived in a town to the north. The second wife has borne three children. The "main wife" (in Japanese 'honsai') stays at Itoman in the house of the man's father, and there she is raising the husband's first son, the child of the second wife. But most of the time the husband is at one of the northern villages with his second wife, her other children, and two boys of junior high school age whom he bought on one of the outer islands to help him in his fishing. Unfortunately I did not learn how the family was registered in the 'koseki'.

The "doctor" was a man from a village south of Naha, who had an office
at his home and also a practice in Naha. His methods consisted of heat treat- [757]
ments and steam baths. He spent about half the time with his "number two", whom he had set up in a room in Naha. His first wife was presumably unaware of the existence of the second wife, even though he once took the second wife to his home along with a patient, ostensibly as a friend of the patient.

The people of Nagamo are farmers. The seat of their extended families is in Naha and Shuri, and they have their own local deity places (ujigami in Japanese). The people of Minatogawa are fishermen, their extended family seats are in Itoman. They too have their local deities and many of their religious ceremonies are centered around the gods of the sea and the dragon of the sea god's palace. 596 776 778

The population of Minatogawa, as of December 31, 1951, was 1108 (515 males, 593 females) in 213 households, an average of 5.2 persons per household, and of adjoining Nagamo, 564 persons (262 males, 302 females) with 113 households, an average of 5.0 persons per household. 162.

The fishing village of Minatogawa is believed to be about 250 years old. It was founded, according to local residents, by the fishermen of Itoman who were accustomed to fish off shore near the islands around the southeastern and southwestern parts of Okinawa. The place was first established as a temporary location for the fishing boats and later permanent settlement took place. The tombs of Itoman are still the ultimate burying ground for large numbers of the Minatogawa fishermen. After 250 years the ties with the parent town are still strong. 361 173 [764]

The village has two traditions involving contacts with other peoples. The first is concerned with the Chinese. One is a spot on the shore where some Chinese are said to have landed over 200 years ago. Many fishermen pray to it on certain occasions of the year. Little is known of what happened to the Chinese, but supposedly they were buried high up the side of a steep mountain nearby, inside a cave with stalactites. Bones said to be of these Chinese may still be seen there. The cave is difficult of access. 173 170 [778]

There is also the tradition of London sailors said to have been shipwrecked at the port of Kiyan on the southwest tip of Okinawa. A child was born of the union of one of these sailors with an Okinawan woman and the sailor later returned to England. The tomb of the woman and the child is revered as a religious site. It is now a small shrine on the outskirts of Itoman called Rondongama, Rondon for London.[9] Old women of Minatogawa sing a song of this old love called Michinakankai. The theme of the song is the unashamed love of the woman for her departed London lover, an Okinawan anticipation of Madame Butterfly. [778] [533]

In this area the low, bare hills form in a haphazard way a series of valleys, some long and narrow, others like an amphitheatre with an open face to the sea. Low passes connect the valleys. One such pass, about 150 feet high, now on Highway 64, leads from the valley of 133 361

[Text Continues on Top of P. 53--Analyst]

9 The writer visited both the cave and the site near Itoman town in August 1951. The shrine is now situated on a small hill on the outskirts of Itoman. The bones were moved here during the war from Maisato village to escape Japanese bombing. A large cave nearby, associated with the mother and the child, is overgrown and very dangerous to enter because of the danger of snakes.

each of the villages, they seldom reach real intensity or a point where the husband sends his wife back to her parents and obtains a divorce. 592 606

A special problem, ordinarily calling for adoption as the solution, is the situation in a family with no sons. During the child bearing ages a family tries very hard to get a son. The man with a family of daughters will resort to adoption of a male child of a relative, if at the end of a child bearing period, no sons have been born to him. But adoption, while available as a device for insuring the continuity of the family, is uncommon and does not have the importance historically attached to it in Japan. Adoption is discussed in more detail in Section 6. 597 [842]

3

The Extended Family and its Branches

The extended family (ichimon in Japanese, munchu in Okinawan) consists of all families in the main and collateral line of descent from the common ancestor.[2] This ancestor, who founded the house, is an historical, or at least a supposed historical person. The descendants of the founder of the family, themselves united in a family group, are thus related to one another, though the older the family, the more remote these relationships become. Many villagers recognize that they are related to one another, but the relationships are seldom clearly defined beyond the second cousin. After this people become relatives, (shinseki or shinrui in Japanese). These words, used synonymously in Okinawa, indicate an awareness of a relationship without knowing offhand its exact nature. This problem is solved in part, as will appear later on, in Section 8, by knowing the household order name of each family, but even here individual relationships are difficult to trace. 614 596 602

Contemporary lack of precise knowledge of family genealogies is due in large part to the destruction of many family records during the war. The keeping of genealogies was common, especially among the families who belonged to the old Okinawan nobility. The genealogies lost in the war are irreplaceable. The same is true of the official family registers which were also destroyed. They were replaced with ones prepared by officials personally interviewing the families involved. While this procedure succeeded in recording contemporary data with a fair degree of accuracy, it could not duplicate the minute details, going back for generations, which were recorded in the old registers. 601 217 [565]

2 Dictionaries usually define ichimon as clan, but I have avoided using this term because of ambiguities in usuage. In American practice, clan has been applied to groups in which descent is reckoned through the mother. See R. H. Lowie, Primitive society, New York, 1920, 111-12. Father-sibs (Lowie's term) or family groups could be used, but the latter term suggests more a collection of families than a large unified family with many sub-families.

592

Mother of head, age 48
Grandfather of head, age 65
Younger brother, age 25
Younger brother, age 16
Younger sister, age 9
Younger sister, age 11
Younger brother's wife, age 25
Two nieces, ages 4 and 2, daughters of the eldest younger brother and his wife.

These examples, of which many more could be given, illustrate several points regarding the family system. It is not uncommon to have as many as four generations in a family unit, the present head, his parent, the children, and the grandchildren of the head. There are four generations in illustration #3. The combination of a first son and his wife, with his parents, his younger brothers and sisters, and the head's own children, a common composition, illustrates the responsibilities of the first son both to his parents and to his siblings. Responsibility for illegitimate children is with the family of the girl. Occasionally [348] a husband will accept an illegitimate child born to his wife either before or during the marriage, but it is more usual for the illegitimate child to be reared in the household from which the mother came. In the second illustration, one illegitimate daughter lives with her grandparents and the mother is not in the household. The third illustration shows an unusual situation in which the young head and his wife have their children, his mother, his grandfather, minor younger sisters and brothers, and, in addition, a married younger brother and his wife and their two children. Ordinarily these would have established a branch family and not have been part of the older brother's household.

At present, the commonest family compositions are (1) the biological family, (2) the family with a young eldest son as the head with the widowed mother and other minor brothers and sisters, a type of composition which has increased as a result of the war, (3) uncles, aunts, cousins, and occasionally unrelated persons may live in the house, (4) often grandparents are found with their grandchildren, (5) widows with minor children are also common, an incidence increased by war.

The percentage of widows in Hinatogawa, in addition to the casualties [162] of war, is due to the loss of fishermen at sea, a not uncommon tragedy [165] as the typhoon season coincides with the best fishing seasons. Since [158] widows with children seldom remarry, the family composition remains the same until the first son assumes the leadership of the family and the mother resides with him.

Each of the families making up the extended family is either a 596 main or a branch family. This arrangement is repeated in the individual families as well. If we take as an example a family with both parents, [582] a first son, a second son, and a first daughter, we may expect as a normal development that the eldest son will marry between 24 and 27 and [591] live with his wife at the home of his parents, that the father will

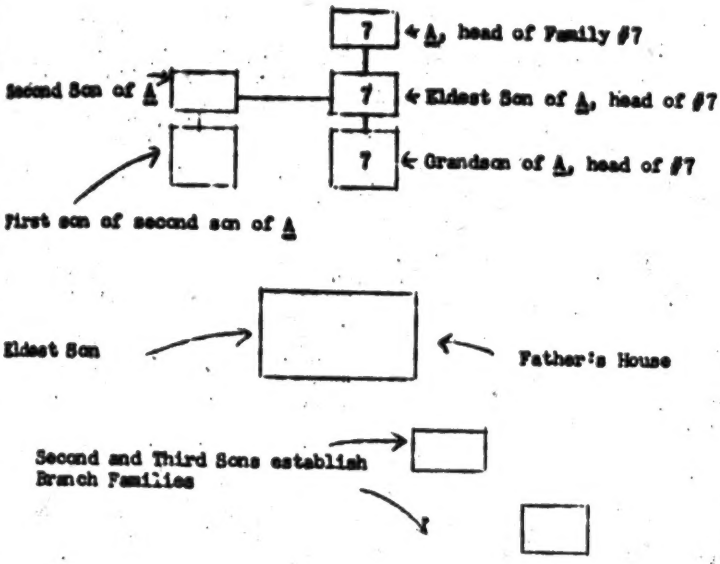
596 live with his wife at the home of his parents, that the father will
[887] formally retire from active management of his property--but not from physical labor--at the age of 60, that both parents will continue living with their eldest son, the daughter-in-law, and the grandchildren, and that the second and any succeeding sons, when they reach marriageable age, will marry, and at this time--if it has not been done before--the father or the eldest son will provide a house site and some land, permitting the establishment of a branch family. The
[591] first and succeeding daughters will marry first or other sons of other families, leave their parents' home and accept a position in the main or in a branch family of the husband's house.

613 The parallelism in structure between the extended family and its
596 member families and the individual family with its branch families established by sons other than the first can be seen in the following diagram:

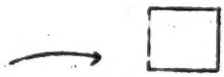
All of the families, except those designated with the numeral 1, are branch families of the extended family. Family #7, is a branch family of a branch family. Family #5 (itself a branch) is the main family of Family #7 as far as the immediate descendants in Family #7 are concerned.

In the following illustration, the second son has established a branch family of Family #7, while the head's own son will inherit the main house, leaving his second son to establish a branch. Family #7 is a branch of a branch, but with relation to succeeding houses in the direct line, it is a main family.

613
596



Daughters marry and go to Husband's Father's House or to Branch Families established by their husbands. [591]



The family system, through the succession of the first son to his father's house, prevents the extinction of the main family line, and at the same time creates branch families with close ties with the parent family. [611]

Lacking a son, adoption (to be discussed below) is available to provide against extinction of any family, but in Okinawan villages it has seldom been necessary to use it. [597]

The emphasis in the family system is on providing for the eldest son who succeeds to the father's estate. The sons other than the first must be prepared to accept little or nothing, in the case of the very poor, when they marry and separate themselves from the parental house. [428]

In these Okinawan villages, the second and succeeding sons (or younger brothers if the head of the house is the eldest brother) remain in the family until marriage, usually around 25. They do not live in separate houses, but may have separate rooms, or a small shack in the compound for sleeping purposes. Unless they live in another town or work 593 [582] [513]

arable land available for cultivation. House sites cannot be set up on rocky or mountain land away from the village. Whether on the island as a whole the increase in population, the repatriation and the stoppage of large scale emigration will in the future seriously diminish the amount of land available for agricultural uses is an interesting question, but there certainly is a direct relationship between population growth and land taken up with house sites.[5] Not only will a growing population enforce greater demands on the land, but it will inevitably cut down on the amount. 311 591 [161]

Among the fishermen of Minatogawa, there is a little more fluidity in the establishment of branch families. There are seldom enough lands to subdivide, and only about 50% of the fishermen own land in addition to their house site. The branch household is established according to the son's taste, and the father may give money if he can afford it so the son can set himself up in Itoman, Naha, or elsewhere. The usual procedure here is to give land in a former agricultural area of the village, land which was developed in the southern part of the village as a result of the destruction of the war in other parts. Here formerly arable land was taken over directly for residential use. 591 423 [311]

In Matsuda, it is possible to use newly developed areas. This community, unlike the other two, is a series of sub-settlements. In two of these, branch families have settled, one near the seashore, and the other on reclaimed forest land. In both of these areas, the pattern of settlement is different; the clusters of houses give way to the scattered houses, some standing out alone on the top of a knoll or hill, some near the forested slopes of the hillside. In these areas, there is an atmosphere of pioneer settlement. As in Hanashiro, the buying of near land and the selling of far off land and exchange of land are practiced. Since the reclaimed area is considered to be less productive and less desirable, the poorer families are able to purchase land here for their second sons. 591 361 [425]

5

The Pivotal Importance of the First Son

The key person in the family system is the first son. He normally succeeds to the house at the death or retirement of his father. The father may not legally retire before 60. In rare cases--none were encoun- 593 596

5 In general, house and village sites are on arable land, but the quality of this land naturally varies from place to place. See any of the 11 sheets of the Okinawan Soils Map and the discussion in the Remarks column of the legend with reference to the types of soils on which village sites are found.

593 tered in the villages--a first son may be passed over in favor of a
596 second son because of mental disability, gross incompetence, or excessive drinking, or the father, by selling his land to his other sons may in effect disinherit his first son. These actions involve
[428] the courts and it is rare for villagers to engage in litigation. In
[691] practice, the first son almost invariably succeeds. On his marriage, the first son and his wife live in the home of his parents. There are some exceptions to this. Since the war, some first sons in agri-
[464] cultural communities have found opportunities in business in Naha, in larger towns like Itoman or Nago, in military government or in Okinawan government positions. In this case, the first son does not live with his
[591] parents, but he continues with this new work in the strange town, the son. But in cases where the first son continues in the occupation of his father, this is the usual and expected practice. Only long standing incompatability between father and son prevents such an arrangement.

593 One point regarding the future of the family system that may assume
464 importance in Okinawa is that the responsibilities of the first son increase with any decline in opportunities for succeeding sons. The
166 traditional outlet for sons other than the first in Oriental countries has been migration to the cities, to lands of new settlement, or emigra-
167 tion to foreign countries. In Okinawa, emigration to various parts of the world, the South Seas, Hawaii, Peru, Brazil has been the most important of these outlets. Its history cannot be understood without appreciating this fact. Both first and succeeding sons have emigrated. With the virtual stoppage of emigration, the only solution for second and succeeding sons would seem to lie in opportunities coming from military installations, government work, industrial and urban development, in addition to the present opportunities in agriculture. If with a growing population, the family system begins to break apart, it will probably be first noticed in the inability of the first sons to bear increased responsibilities.

593 For this reason, it is interesting to record some observed atti-
596 tudes of first and other sons in the villages studied. These attitudes are personal ones. No inter-village comparisons can be made. The first is one of pride in being a first son and in assuming the headship of the house but dislike of the responsibility of providing for siblings, especially when the estate is not large. Dislike of the responsibilities of being the first son was most observable in Minatogawa. Here the lack of land, succession merely to a house site, a boat or fishing gear, but with the same responsibility for care for younger brothers and sisters, parents and grandparents put the clearest burden on the first son. The financial burden of paying for anniversary celebrations on the death of a relative is especially onerous. There is only minor help from younger brothers. This fact is not resented as a lack of generosity of the younger brothers who by now would have branch houses of their own; it is part of the family system. Younger brothers might contribute, as one first son jokingly said, fifty yen to a celebration that cost two thousand.

Part 1

Minatogawa, the Fishing Community

1

Introduction

Fishing families are a closely knit group. They are usually interrelated. For the most part, the main houses of their extended families are in the fishing town of Itoman. Fathers, sons, wives, daughters, grandparents participate in some phase of fishing activity. 226 [596] 607

In an agricultural community, the first son remains in the home working the fields of his father. In fishing, through long custom, there is an avoidance of teamwork among close relatives. Members of the immediate family will not go out on the same fishing boat. A father will not take his son, an elder brother will not take a younger. Partners and working teams on boats are more distant relatives or friends. If a father and a son are on the same boat and it is lost, the present and the succeeding head both perish. To this incontrovertible possibility, there has been added the belief that if two persons of the same immediate family go to sea together on the same boat, there will be a disaster. And actual and near disasters are frequent enough to make both points of view understandable. The sons of fishermen, who are learning the ways of the fish and of the sea, go on the boats of others. Many younger fishermen regard the belief that it is inviting disaster to have two members of the same immediate family together on the same boat as a superstition (meishin), but to my knowledge, no fisherman ignores the custom. 226 593 [183]

In Minatogawa, about one half of the fishermen have fields of their own, usually small and poor. Perhaps twenty men in the village may be classed as half farmers and half fishermen, but even in these cases it is the wives and the children who have the continuing responsibility for the fields. 226 241 [423]

Neither is it rare for a fisherman to be a stonecutter. Perhaps another twenty men are engaged in the summer in fishing, and in stonecutting in the winter, or on unfavorable fishing days. The three main occupations of the village, including Nagamo, are thus found in varying combinations. Fishing is the most exacting and offers few opportunities for amateurs. Stonecutting requires strength and endurance. For those who have land, agriculture offers possibilities of growing one's own food and of avoiding cash outlays. 226 324 463

In an average summer month, there may be about 20 good fishing days. But because of unusual or unexpected rains or typhoons opportunities may be fewer. In 1951, there were only about ten working days in each of the summer months. In winter fishing days average about a week in a 226 46 [132]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

bers may be recruited and present members expelled. In others, which are closed, membership is automatic and inevitable, depending in no way on the behavior of the individuals involved. We are here concerned with these latter groups whose membership is determined by sex, age, kinship, and rules of residence. Whether an American male lives in Connecticut or California, in the city or the suburbs, is to a large degree a matter of his personal preference. This is not the case for everybody in Taira, although there are people who at any time may leave the village to seek their fortune. 571

There are two types of households in Taira: those of oldest sons, who live in the house of their parents, and those of younger sons, who establish a nuclear household of their own, which may be near the house of their father. Many young sons, however, leave the central village and settle in its outlying districts or move to the southern part of the island. Whereas formerly many younger sons moved to Japan or to one of its prewar South Pacific mandates, or to Hawaii and South America, since the end of World War II employment opportunities around U.S. Army installations absorb many such migrants. The oldest son is required to live in his parents' house and eventually take over the duties of a household head. Unmarried younger sons remain in the household until they marry or leave the parental home for work elsewhere. 596 594 [166] [167]

For a woman it is customary to move to her husband's home if he is an older son or into a house in his village if he is a younger son. In the old days this usually involved simply a move in the village, since the preference was to marry a woman from the same community. Nowadays there is no clear-cut preference; a woman from central Taira may become the bride of a man from that part of the village, from one of the outlying parts of Taira, or from another village, usually to the north. Of a sample of 55 marriages, 26 of the wives were from Taira, 29 from other villages, five of which were immediately adjacent. 591 582

The composition of the household, therefore, changes for the individual during his lifetime, and it is not the same for all persons in the village. Several children not only have their parents and at least one paternal grandparent but also paternal aunts or uncles who live under the same roof. If the father is a younger son, only one's parents and siblings are household members. Since houses are small and space is very limited, all these members of the household live in close face-to-face relationship. Women tend to outlive men, so that there are many more old women living with their married sons than old men. This is why children have a grandmother more often in the home than a grandfather (see Table 1). 592 593 [165]

as usual. It was an affair organized by the women leaders, which, though a little slow in starting, turned into a gay carousing for the older women, who were less inhibited than the younger ones and needed little encouragement to drink and dance. 527 562 575 [888]

The daily life of a woman is more monotonous than her husband's and she has less leisure and recreation. After a day of hard work, men sit down alone or in groups to spend the evening in relaxation with a bottle of sake. After a short time they show signs of pleasant intoxication and all burdens of life seem to disappear. Such recourse to carefree diversion is generally denied women. Instead, they are loaded down with household chores and care of infants and guests after a day of work in fields and forests. They spend their little free time exchanging news with other women or talking with other family members or visitors who assemble around the charcoal fire in the back room during winter evenings. Only women of advanced age feel free to join the men in drinking at home. 562 512 [273] [273] [888]

Men have greater sexual freedom. They are at liberty to have affairs with other women outside the village and on trips to the city may visit tea houses and afterwards enjoy the favors of a prostitute if their pocket books allow. 562 837

Status differences based on age are reflected in the social structure and clearly denoted in the kinship terms. There is a special term of reference and address for "first son" and "first daughter" and for "older brother" and "older sister." As mentioned, ideally the oldest son assumes responsibility for the household, for his parents, and for the ancestral tablets. Even if he leaves his parental home temporarily or permanently for the city, where economic prospects are better, he remains the nominal household head and sends money back to his family. Theoretically the oldest male may retain authority until death, although in practice most men retire from this position at the age of 61. Their retirement is made official by an entry in the population registry. They continue to live with their oldest son and act as advisors and critics. A man's loss of authority with age occurs around his late fifties and early sixties and is evidenced not only by his retirement but also by his loss of the right to vote in village meetings. Veneration for age itself therefore, does not exist. Actual behavior toward the grandparental generation, all the members of which are addressed as "grandmother" or "grandfather" regardless of actual kinship, is warm, mildly playful, and indulgent. Disrespect, however, is absent. 561 554 593 887 561 554 [596] [576]

It is characteristic of the relationship between children and grandmothers that in addressing nonrelated old women, the suffix *-san*, which denotes respect, is most often dropped for the "grandmother" 603 601

866 first child of a nuclear family, on the other hand, will not have these
887 supports and thus finds this time severely depriving. The child in a
603 nuclear family with a number of older siblings to support and meet his dependency needs will find the transition difficult but will suffer less deprivation. If there is a grandmother or older siblings in the house, he can still claim some infantile support until he is about 4 or 5 years old. They continue to comfort him when he cries, help him in dressing, bathing, and eating. "Go ask your grandmother or older sibling," instructs the mother when the child requests aid. Or, if she happens not to be busy, she will help him herself.

[596] Mothers in extended households complained that grandparents often intervened on behalf of the child and made disciplining very difficult. The kindergarten teacher remarked on the differences between children who have grandparents and those who do not. "Those who do not have grandparents are much easier to handle, they don't cry so easily and do many things for themselves. My child always runs to grandfather whenever I scold her (there is no grandmother in the house) . . . and we mothers end up by being scolded by the old folks," she remarked.

It is not an uncommon sight to see a child crying and running to his grandmother on being reprimanded by his mother. With carrying, hugging, and venting anger against the mother, the old woman comforts the child. Children soon learn that if no one else complies with their demands, grandmother or grandfather will grant them satisfaction.

866 Grandmothers often will protect and indulge children of the vil-
603 lage other than their own grandchildren. One day as the fieldworker
855 sat talking with two mothers and watching their children play, the question of Okinawans' dislike of children's crying, and of overindulgence of grandmothers arose. The year and a half old boy of one of the women at that instant got one foot over the lower rail of a fence. As the child watched others climbing the fence, he tried to lift the other foot. He howled as he discovered the feat too difficult. The mother made no move to go to the boy's aid but instead sat laughing at the "foolish predicament he got himself into." Suddenly from the house across the way rushed a grandmother. She picked the screaming boy up and examined him for bruises. When she spotted the mother sitting within eye and earshot, she rushed over with the boy and started to scold her. "What are you doing sitting there! Just looking at your crying child! Why didn't you go over and help him . . . see what the matter was anyway?" And with this she put the child in the mother's lap and gave her a slap on the back. The old woman then

went home and hysterically reported the incident to her family. The mother, meanwhile, laughed and told her boy, "Just like your grandmother, can't stand to hear you cry even when you are not hurt!" She then went on to say that both she and her husband ignore the boy's crying in situations where he could help himself, but the boy's grandmother immediately runs to soothe and aid him. Generally it may be said that in extended households, grandmothers tend to prolong the dependence period and discourage independence and responsibility. 866 603 855 [596]

The relationship between grandfather and grandchild is more restrained. Although grandfathers may be seen carrying children or doing things for them, there is always a discreet distance between them, the result of early training in respect and deference to male elders. Children do not tease their grandfathers as they do their grandmothers. Older boys, in their late teens, may carry on a superficial joking relationship with their grandfathers, but they must be careful not to show disrespect. The male elders in turn show greater affection for the male child than for the female. When both grandparents are living in the house, the child, whether male or female, is more likely to direct his succorant appeals to grandmother rather than grandfather.* 603 858 866

Mothers, themselves, are often not too consistent in their training for independence. They will feel sorry for the child when he is first weaned and allow him to stay close to them until the birth of the next sibling. On the other hand, they will encourage the little 2-year-olds to imitate older girls and boys, particularly in their baby-tending role. A mother will strap a "doll" on her daughter or son's back. The "dolls" are usually rolled blankets or jackets, for real dolls are expensive and rarely bought in the village. Older children and adults do not fail to comment to a child carrying such a burden. They praise him for being such a good caretaker; they pretend to see the "baby" sleeping and report this to him. If the strapping becomes loose, they call to him and reassemble the "baby" and the pinning. The doll is never played with or manipulated. Thus the 2-year-old gets praised for emulation of the responsible and nurturant behavior expected of older siblings. 866 857 [862] [524] [155]

Perhaps it is this role training that explains in part the absence of aggression toward the newborn sibling, which might well be expected with such a short interval between weaning from the breast and back and the birth of the next child. The fieldworker did not observe one instance of such hostility. If there is any hostility expressed, it is against the mother in outbursts of temper and against those who ridicule or try to comfort the displaced child. The grandmother's aggressive actions against the mother may encourage the child in this behavior 867 593

* Only 4 out of 24 sample children lived in the same house with a grandfather.

each of the villages, they seldom reach real intensity or a point where the husband sends his wife back to her parents and obtains a divorce. 592 606

A special problem, ordinarily calling for adoption as the solution, is the situation in a family with no sons. During the child bearing ages a family tries very hard to get a son. The man with a family of daughters will resort to adoption of a male child of a relative, if at the end of a child bearing period, no sons have been born to him. But adoption, while available as a device for insuring the continuity of the family, is uncommon and does not have the importance historically attached to it in Japan. Adoption is discussed in more detail in Section 6. 597 [842]

3

The Extended Family and its Branches

The extended family (ichimon in Japanese, munchu in Okinawan) consists of all families in the main and collateral line of descent from the common ancestor.[2] This ancestor, who founded the house, is an historical, or at least a supposed historical person. The descendants of the founder of the family, themselves united in a family group, are thus related to one another, though the older the family, the more remote these relationships become. Many villagers recognize that they are related to one another, but the relationships are seldom clearly defined beyond the second cousin. After this people become relatives, (shinseki or shinrui in Japanese). These words, used synonymously in Okinawa, indicate an awareness of a relationship without knowing offhand its exact nature. This problem is solved in part, as will appear later on, in Section 8, by knowing the household order name of each family, but even here individual relationships are difficult to trace. 614 596 602

Contemporary lack of precise knowledge of family genealogies is due in large part to the destruction of many family records during the war. The keeping of genealogies was common, especially among the families who belonged to the old Okinawan nobility. The genealogies lost in the war are irreplaceable. The same is true of the official family registers which were also destroyed. They were replaced with ones prepared by officials personally interviewing the families involved. While this procedure succeeded in recording contemporary data with a fair degree of accuracy, it could not duplicate the minute details, going back for generations, which were recorded in the old registers. 601 217 [565]

2 Dictionaries usually define ichimon as clan, but I have avoided using this term because of ambiguities in usuage. In American practice, clan has been applied to groups in which descent is reckoned through the mother. See R. H. Lowie, Primitive society, New York, 1920, 111-12. Father-sibs (Lowie's term) or family groups could be used, but the latter term suggests more a collection of families than a large unified family with many sub-families.

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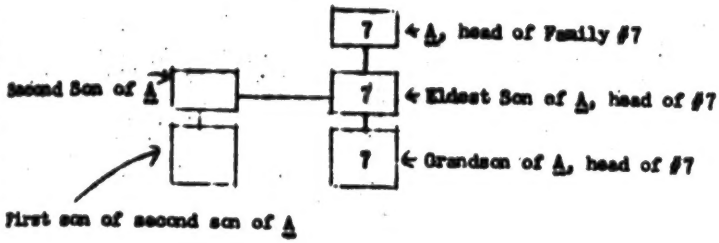
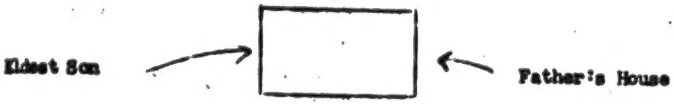
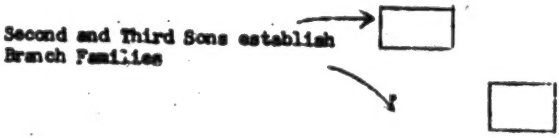
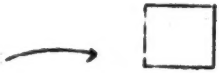






Daughters marry and go to Husband's Father's House or to Branch Families established by their husbands.



[591]

The family system, through the succession of the first son to his father's house, prevents the extinction of the main family line, and at the same time creates branch families with close ties with the parent family. [611]

Lacking a son, adoption (to be discussed below) is available to provide against extinct[illegible] of any family, but in Okinawan villages it has seldom been necessary to use it. [597]

The emphasis in the family system is on providing for the eldest son who succeeds to the father's estate. The sons other than the first must be prepared to accept little or nothing, in the case of the very poor, when they marry and separate themselves from the parental house. [428]

In these Okinawan villages, the second and succeeding sons (or younger brothers if the head of the house is the eldest brother) remain in the family until marriage, usually around 25. They do not live in separate houses, but may have separate rooms, or a small shack in the compound for sleeping purposes. Unless they live in another town or work 593 [582] [513]

Some villagers also pointed to the reluctance of young women to marry first sons. There were two reasons for this: the financial responsibilities of the first son, and the joint living with his parents. These young women had the attitude that the second or the third son enjoyed greater freedom. The position of the first son is more secure in an agricultural community, especially if the father has some means. The reluctance of some young women to marry first sons may be offset by marrying into a well established family and by the prestige that comes with such a marriage. One also encounters an attitude of indifference regarding one's position in the family hierarchy: no pride in being the first son and no feeling of resentment at being a second or succeeding one. 593 581

Among parents and grandparents, there is strong pride in a son. The birth of a son in early marriage and his survival simplifies the life of every individual in the family. It points to the desired succession, to care in old age and a normal family experience within the framework of the family system. 562

6

Adoption

As in other Oriental countries, the emphasis placed on the first son, or one standing in his place, reflects the concern of the family for its continued existence. Extinction (danzetsu in Japanese) of the family must be avoided. Adoption is the traditional method of preventing extinction. While there are instances of adoption in all villages, it is not common, nor does it have the importance which is attached to it in Japan. 597

The need for adoption arises when a family does not have a male child to succeed to the father's house. Two types of adoption are recognized: the adoption of a male child or the adoption of the prospective husband of a daughter. No instance of the latter form was encountered in any of the villages. Unlike Japan, where an adopted child might be unrelated to the family, Okinawans, when they resort to adoption, always choose a relative in the male line, perhaps a nephew or a distant relative of the male head. The preferred alternatives are two: a first or second son of the brother of the head of the adopting house is taken, or a second son may be adopted by his uncle and will succeed to the main family line on the death of his uncle.

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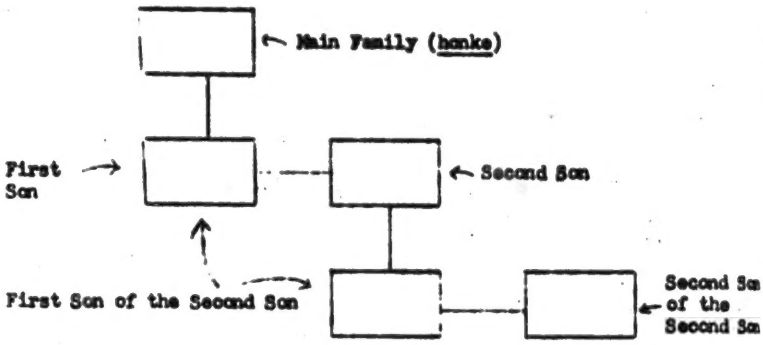
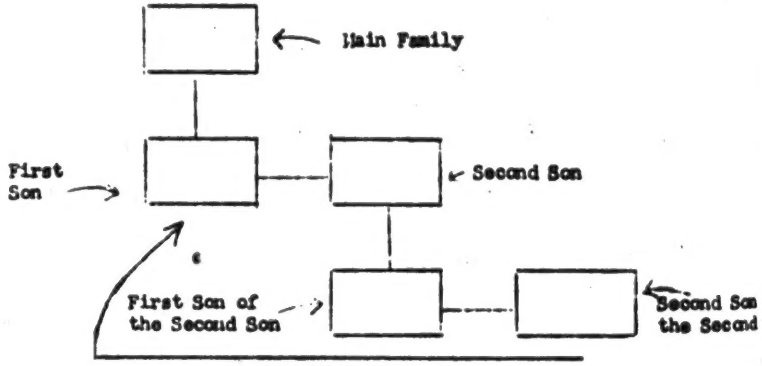


First Alternative

The first son of the second son is adopted by his uncle, the first son of the original head.



Second Alternative

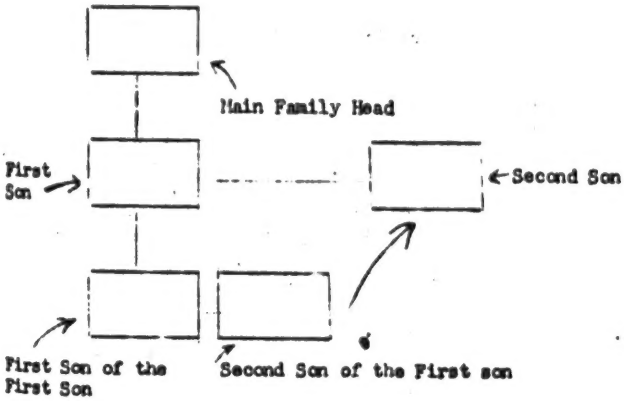
The second son is adopted by his uncle and succeeds to the main family line.

In view of the importance of the first son to the immediate family, it might appear contradictory that a first son would be adopted out. The answer is, I think, that it is more important to secure succession to the main family than it is to the branch family. 597

Since adoptions are so few, it is not possible to say which of these two mechanisms is most frequently used or to make distinctions among villages. Hanashiro informants said that the commonest practice is to adopt the second son of a brother. In Minatogawa, the same situation held, with the added statement that if the brother had only one son, that son would not be adopted by the uncle.

In Matsuda, informants mentioned most frequently the first method, that is the adoption of the first son of the second son to succeed to the family line. In either case, the continuity of both the main and the branch families is provided for.

Adoption may also work in the reverse situation, that is when there is no male heir to the branch family. This would be solved by adopting the second, but never the first son of the brother in direct line of succession:



The adoptions of which we have been speaking are of minor children and independent of marriage arrangements for the daughters of the family. It is possible to adopt a daughter's prospective husband and thus to provide both an heir to the house and a husband for the daughter.

This awkward device is out of keeping with the family system. It places a man in the position of a woman and violates the basic assumption that sons carry on the family of the father. This type of adoption is [183]

597 known as groom-adoption (mukoyoshi in Japanese). No instances of this form of adoption were found in the villages. The husband-to-be is adopted into his wife's family and, at the same time, becomes successor to his wife's father's estate. The adopted man is placed in a similar position to a daughter to be married: he forsakes his own family, his name is taken off the family register of his father, and he becomes, like the bride in a normal situation, a member of his wife's family.

597 183 [171] Common in Japan, this device is considered a humiliating position, both in Japan and in Okinawa,* for the bridegroom, since he puts himself in an unfavorable position regarding the women of the adopting family and leaves his own. Even though unused, reactions to this form of adoption are unreservedly negative in the villages. "It is very distasteful," said one man. "The boy deserts his own home and enters his wife's home." Occasionally however it probably will be used. There are a few families with five or six daughters and no sons. In one instance, a family with six daughters, the eldest of marriageable age, the parents were considering groom adoption.

597 171 In Okinawa unlike Japan, the maintenance of the family system is not contingent upon an elaborate and widely used system of adoption. This is one of the important distinctions to be made between Okinawan and Japanese culture, for in Japan adoption has been used by the royal family, in business and professional circles, as well as among the ordinary classes of people.

7

The "Growing Up" Parent

597 608 855 134 There is also a special form of adoption in Okinawa. It is debatable whether it is directly concerned with the maintenance of the family system, or is a more general aspect of the culture and part of the care and rearing of children. This is known as yashineuya (in Okinawan), yashinaoya or morawako (in Japanese). It is not adoption, but an arrangement that is considered helpful for the survival of sickly children who, the parents feel, might not live to maturity. The verb, yashinsu in Japanese means to rear, adopt, or support. It is also used in referring to raising animals.

[791] [787] The first step is to consult a fortune teller (sanjinsō in Japanese). Hanashiro people can go to nearby Gushichan; Minatogawans to Itoman or Naha, and the parents of Matsuda to Ginoza or to Nago to consult the

* This situation has changed since the war. See The Japanese village in transition, as cited, 213.

fortune teller. The purpose of this visit is to discover who would be a good adopting parent. The fortune teller advises the parents to select a person born under the same year sign as the child. These year signs roughly correspond to the signs of the zodiac. The twelve signs with their Japanese equivalents are: rat (ne), ox (ushi), tiger (tora), hare or rabbit (u), dragon (tatsu), snake (mi), horse (uma), sheep hitsuji), monkey (saru), bird (tori), dog (inu), and hog or boar (i). The year 1951 was the year of the hare; 1952 is the year of the dragon (tatsudoki).

The adopting or "growing up" parent is older, in multiples of 12, than the child. After consulting almanacs and other materials, the fortune teller advises the parents to find a person in the village born under the same year sign as the child. Prospective adopting parents are then sought out and the matter is discussed with them. Both parents may do this, but most often the discussions are carried on by the mother. When the selection is made, the child is "given" to the adopting parent, and there are prayers before the Buddhist god shelf in the home of the adopting parent.

Actually the child continues to live with its own parents, but makes frequent visits to the home of the adopting parent. There are no stated intervals at which these visits are made, except for New Years and O-Bon. The adopting parent may on these visits give food and presents to the child.

The arrangement thus seems to be a form of sponsorship and guardianship without special responsibilities on the part of the adopting parent, to bring good health and long life to the child. It has only slight resemblances to the godfather and godmother in Christian countries who sponsor a child at his baptism and theoretically at least undertake to be responsible for his Christian training. But the sponsorship and guardianship features are somewhat similar.

Adoption of this type may be done in Okinawa by either sex. Generally old women are the favorites and they may have many such adopted children. But old or older men may also assume this obligation. This form of "growing up" adoption existed in all the villages studied in substantially the same form.

8

The Household Order Naming System

Families in a village have, in addition to their own surnames, secondary names by which individual families are known. This secondary naming system is a device to distinguish related families with the same surname from one another.

The secondary naming system is known as "the household order," or yagō in Japanese. To introduce this discussion, it might be well to

Daughters are not considered in inheritance matters if there are male heirs. A daughter's share of family possessions normally comes to her as a marriage present: a kimono, a chest, a mirror, a pillow, and a quilt-like blanket (futon), and other personal articles, or money, depending on the economic abilities of the father. In the absence of male heirs, women (either as wives or daughters) can and do inherit the house and property. In a family without sons, the head has several alternatives: he may allow the daughter to inherit, or adopt a bridegroom for his own house, the first distasteful to the father because there is no one to continue the family line, the second distasteful to the groom who must desert his own family. A third alternative is to adopt a young male child of a relative. 428 [562] [583] [597]

The passing down of property in these villages is governed in large part also by custom and the individual desire of the parents. In the villages, there were no instances of which I knew in which disputes over inheritance and the disposition of property had been carried to court for settlement. Quarrels among a father and his sons or the first sons and his younger brothers are said to be rather common. Much depends on the temperament and the generosity of the first son who controls the property on the death or retirement of his father. The problem was often put in this way: the first son must look after his younger brothers and give them land, but he must also keep his eye on the estate he will be able to pass down to his own children. [692] [578]

2

Essentials of the Inheritance System.

The essentials of the inheritance system, as it was found to be working in these villages, were substantially the same. (1) In the division of property on the death or retirement of the father (or the head of the house), the house site itself is never divided. The family residence, the buildings in the compound remain intact. The house is a symbol of a family's existence and its future. If it is also the main house of the extended family, it is the site of the original founder and is even more inviolate.

An interesting question arises when the first sons are male twins. An old practice, now abandoned, was that the second of the twins inherited as the first son. This was based on a belief that the last child out of the womb was the first one in, and therefore the older. In the villages, one still hears this explanation from older people, but now the universal practice is for the first born to become the first son.

(2) The rest of the property is divided, in varying proportions, among the remaining sons. The first son gets the money, but he is expected to share this. He normally gets at least half the property, the remaining half being divided up among the other sons, either in the

757 frequently and may be repeated as many as four times during the
[854] first year of a child's life. An older child occasionally undergoes this
[164] treatment for a case of violent impetigo. Even a horse may be bled in
this way for loss of appetite or other symptoms of disease.
[232] A woman whose face had been struck in an unusual display of temper
[578] underwent a blood letting soon after a swelling appeared. Her neighbor from across the street, a farmer like everyone else, sterilized her cheek with iodine and then cut it with a razor until the blood flowed freely. After a night's rest, the woman appeared outside her house without any signs of swelling and seemingly recovered.

753 As was pointed out previously, many diseases are believed to be
776 caused by supernatural forces: the ancestor spirits, spirits of those who
769 have just died, and natural deities and evil spirits who wander around
775 at night. The ancestors expect proper respect and attention and in gen-
[764] eral are benevolent unless neglected. Spirits of those who have recently died are most dangerous if the deceased is from another village. For deceased villagers one is careful to purify oneself after the funeral. The doors of each house are shut at night to protect against the evil spirits of the night air. Disease is less frequently caused by natural deities who have been neglected or mistreated.

755 In case of sickness or other unfortunate events in the family, some-
756 body may go to consult the *yuta,* a shaman who communicates with
[787] the supernatural. She discovers the cause of misfortune with the help of rice oracles and through powers of divination received through visions and hallucinations. There is no *yuta* living in Taira now, so that people have to travel to the other side of the island, an hour or more on foot, if they want to learn about the source of some evil. Taira
[769] people make many such trips to consult this shamanistic specialist. The most common cause of misfortune discovered by the *yuta* is neglect of ceremonies to the ancestral gods or, less frequently, the neglect of cere-
[793] monies to the natural deities. Although the *yuta* stands in no direct connection with the high priestess, she may suggest that her client ask the priestess for special prayers to rectify the negligence. In such cases, then, the competence of individuals in the family may not be adequate to deal with the ancestral world, and the priestess enters into family religion.

597 Some Taira parents still find an adoptive parent for a sickly child in
755 the belief that his own ancestors have caused bad health, and that this
769 can only be remedied by making a formal arrangement which transfers
[796] ancestral responsibility for the child to another family. The child remains with his own parents and only visits his foster parents during the New Year and the midsummer Buddhist *Bon* Festival, which honors ancestors, and perhaps at one or two other occasions during the year.

year. On these occasions his parents take gifts of tea, noodles, and whatever else they can spare to the foster parents. During their visit the foster parents present the gift as an offering on the ancestral shrine and pray to their own ancestors, the guardians of the foster child. It is believed that this may help to offset the adverse effects of the child's own ancestors. 597 755 769

In spite of some treatments, such as blood letting and moxa cautery, which seem harsh to the unaccustomed observer, Taira people are extremely concerned about their sick. Illness, and most of all the need to remove the patient to the local dispensary or to a hospital in town, involves the whole family. No one likes to leave a sick person alone. His family and friends attend to him in such numbers that the small rooms are never large enough to hold all. The security given in everyday life by the presence of relatives and neighbors in the village continues during the critical period of illness. In the case of a fisherman from the south who was washed ashore in his boat after a storm, township officials kept the man continuous company in his dispensary room even though he was close to death. Female relatives cook meals and look after the comfort of a hospitalized person. This means that a young girl or an older woman will leave her usual work for days or weeks to attend the patient. 758 [156]

Because of intimacy in the home and visits to the sick, children are quite familiar with illness. A mother who has to go to the hospital takes her youngest child with her. After burning moxa weeds on her skin for two weeks had failed to cure a nephritic condition, one woman went to the hospital in town, taking her 8-months-old daughter although she did not have enough milk to nurse. The infant had to be given bottled milk prepared from cans. Meanwhile the older children remained under the care of their father. [757]

There is, however, little concern with children who have minor ailments. A school child may be excused from attending classes. In one case a boy stayed home from school with stomach pains. He was happily playing with younger children in the street. One of the adult villagers walked past, stopped after seeing him, and inquired: "Why aren't you in school today?" When told by the boy that he had an upset stomach, the man ordered him to go home right away and stay inside or go to school. The boy's mother, although aware of her son's discomfort, did not pay any special attention to it. 757 855 872

Preventive medicine is officially the responsibility of the public health nurse. She advises people on proper preventive care, inocculates children against whooping cough, diphtheria, and other diseases. She also acts as an advisor to mothers on child care and occasionally helps with a birth if the doctor is unavailable. If a case is diagnosed as 744 [751] [759] [844]

In addition to meeting with physical and emotional needs, the child must be protected from the nurtured by the numerous supernatural forces in the form of malevolent and benevolent spirits which operate to influence the course of an individual's life. There are lucky and unlucky days, years, and tides, which are believed to determine the fate of a person. Females born in the year of the monkey are considered unlucky, for they are thought to outlive their male contemporaries. Men dislike marrying them. Supplications are made and precautionary measures taken by adults to secure the newborn's life, happiness, and health. 776 777 854 [581]

Ancestral spirits influence the development and fate of the child. Occasionally a child who is the victim of ill health during his early years is adopted by a couple whose ancestral spirits are thought to be more favorable than his own on the dictate of the fortune teller. By mysterious calculations involving birth dates of the principals, the fortune teller uncovers some incompatibility and advises adoption. The child remains with his parents but worships the ancestral spirits of his adoptive parents. In this way parents seek to ensure the well-being of the child. 597● 769 755

Mother interview data indicate the awareness of Taira people of the variations in personality among children of one family. Adults do in a large measure adapt their actions in accord with these differences. They recognize hereditary influences, but although a mother may comment on the similarity of temperament with regard to her child and other members in the family or kin group, there are no ideas or beliefs that the souls of deceased are inherited. Usually the mother, in describing the characteristics of the child, rarely goes beyond likenesses which can be attributed to herself or her husband. She is at a loss to explain the "very different child." "My eldest son has my nasty temper whereas my second daughter is not like either of us, very strange. All the others have a little of myself and my husband in them. We often wonder how it is that she is so unlike either of us." 155 828 858 [124]

A child born with two cowlicks predicates a "problem" to his parents. Parents often explain, "Oh, this child is very naughty, for as you can see, he has two cowlicks." Children often search each other's heads, and on discovering two instead of the single whorl, they shout in glee, "Naughty, naughty." One 4-year-old cuddled and hugged his newborn sister after searching her head. "You have two cowlicks just like me! You and I are 'naughty,'" he whispered to her. Turning to the adults in the room, he snapped his small bright eyes and grinned impishly as he reported his discovery joyfully. [826]

Twin births are disliked only because they place a burden on the 845

'nuka'. The latter is fed to pigs, cows, and chickens. The rice polisher keeps 445
the hulls (mumigara), but the farmers have free access to the hull pile should they want to use it for stuffing pillows. People in Kanegusuku do not usually [437]
pay in cash, but allow the miller to keep about six percent of the polished rice as multure.

Exchange of Services In order to lessen the amount of money used in trans- 476
actions, rural folk resort to exchange of labor as [437]
much as possible. However, the exchange is based upon fairly rigorous ideas of reciprocity, and a person who has been helped is expected fully to return the favor. A Nanahan man built a house with a tin roof---the only one in the village---with the aid of his wife's brother, who was a carpenter. In return he spent a greater number of days aiding his brother-in-law in construction of a new house---paying back more days because of his comparative lack of skill. People envy the carpenter, who did not finish high school, but at- [463]
tended a four-month carpentry school instead. "He now makes more than a high-school graduate, and has four apprentices working for him."

Okinawan youths very early learn the patterns expected in cooperative [383]
labor. The custom of iimarū is one of teen-aged boys' going around in a group to work the fields of the father of one of the boys, and moving on in turn to the fields of the other fathers.

Some loosening of patterns of use of horse-drawn sugar mills was re- [178]
corded. For instance, during the prewar period the dominant family in Nanahan [249]
had monopolized one particularly well-located press and boiling shed. Now they share its use with all the families living in the valley where the dominant family's 'honke' is located.

In Yamada mutual assistance through exchange of labor is called yiisē. For example, a farmer who wants to transplant rice gets help from among his relatives. One person comes from each family that can spare one, with the assurance that it will receive one person in return. If the labor cannot be returned for transplanting, the people owing a day may fill in with work on a dry field or aid in building a new house, and so forth. Thatching a roof with [452]
kaya grass is also yiisē, but it partakes somewhat of the nature of a 'moai', or mutual loan group. People from the whole village may come for this. They bring bundles of grass---one, two or three---and the amount is written down so that the same amount may be returned when that person's turn comes. The similarity to 'moai' may be only in the fact that there is a written record.

The probationary adoption of a 'yōshi' may be considered a form of [597]
exchange of services. A man without an heir may take into his house a nephew, say the third son of his brother, with the intention of adopting him should the boy be serious and hard-working. If the boy should not prove amenable to the arrangement---one boy said, "I stayed with my uncle two years, but left because I wanted to get an education"---his labor is considered to have paid for the expense of keeping him.

769 transmitted with the headship of the house. The head of the house, or his
592 wife or mother, has the responsibility of making offerings to them on the proper occasions. On certain occasions representatives of the houses that have branched from a main house come to worship before the tablets in it.

[171] Inheritance and Adoption Inheritance has two aspects, legal and customary. According to Japanese law the headship of a house should pass from a man to his first son or if the first is dead to his second or subsequent son, or in the event that there are no sons or that they are minors, it may pass to his wife. The headship is registered in the koseki. According to Japanese law if a man has no son but a daughter, he may adopt a son-in-law who then becomes his heir and succeeds him to the headship of the house.

In Okinawan custom headship of the house means responsibility for the [562] tablet of the last head and the other tablets that go with it. A woman can do no more than care for the tablets until another male succeeds the last. Moreover, an adopted son-in-law cannot care permanently for the tablets of a man to whom he is not related. Ultimately for every man who lacks a son a male must be found who is a blood relative in the male line. Only such a person can succeed him, that is, care for his tablets after his death and beget [597] descendants who can rightfully care for his tablets. Therefore the man without sons tries to adopt as his heir the second or later son of one of his brothers or of a cousin related through males. If a man dies without an heir one may be adopted posthumously for him. The tablet of a boy who has died unmarried may be kept for a whole generation in a brother's house, until one of the brother's sons or grandsons can become the "adopted son" of the deceased. He then establishes a branch house, which takes the house name the deceased would have had, and becomes custodian of the tablet.

614 The Larger Kin Group: Structure and Variation Every Okinawan family belongs to larger kinship group and often these larger units belong to still larger units. Such a unit consists of a group of families the male heads of which are or believe themselves to be related in the male line. The size and composition of these groups and the terms used for them vary somewhat.[1]

In Shimajiri among the descendants of the peasant class the larger kin group is called the munchu (in Japanese 'monchū', "within the gate"). It may consist of dozens or even hundreds of families living in several villages and with a total membership of several thousands. The munchu usually takes its name from the house-name of the main house. If it has spread to several villages its members in any one village may be referred to as the so-and-so munchu of that village. Or, as often is the case, the members of a certain munchu in one village may be all branch houses of one main house of that munchu for the village and this house will have been founded according to tradition by the second son or the third son of the founder of the main house of the larger unit, which is elsewhere; in this case the local branch will be called the jinan-bara, "second-son belly", or sannan-bara, "third-son belly",

[1] The statements made in this section are based on information obtained from informants. However, I have also consulted Watanabe, 1947.

[Kochinda-son]

The birth orders of the remaining 140 household heads were: 162 592

Fourth Sons	89
Fifth Sons	28
Sixth Sons	8
Seventh Sons	1
Unrecorded	14
Total non-'yōshi'	140

Here can be seen the expectable tendency to put one's second son up for adoption, rather than a first son. Usually a relative, a person at least in the same munchu, will adopt. [597]

Other Types In the 43 cases comprising the category of other types of household head, such as younger brother, and miscellaneous, there were 18 cases of "no relationship stated." There were 16 cases of younger brother, four cases of nephew, three illegitimate sons and two common law sons.[1]

Women A study of the women household heads category is most rewarding. No doubt most of the cases are the result of the war. However, a small percentage of widows and girl orphans would normally comprise this category. Not surprisingly, the sex ratio of 52.1 is the lowest of any category. There were 84 cases of women living alone. In seven of these cases the persons were under 21 years of age as of December 31, 1953.[2] If the 84 cases are eliminated and the data recomputed, the results are as follows:

Table IV

Average Number of Persons per Household	3.93
Average Number of Males per Household	1.43
Average Number of Females per Household	2.50
Sex Ratio	57.3

If the data are recomputed by eliminating the women household heads themselves, the results are as follows:

Table V

Average Number of Persons per Household	2.34
Average Number of Males per Household	1.43
Average Number of Females per Household	2.50
Sex Ratio	95.3

Both Table IV and Table V show a preponderance of women. One explanation is that a widow and her deceased husband's mother often live together.

1 See definitions of "illegitimate" and "common law" on pp. 111-112.

2 Unless otherwise stated, the datum point in this report for all population categories in Kochinda-son is December 31, 1953.

[Kochinda-son]

162 This is true in 32 cases, or 9.54% of the households in this category con-
592 taining more than one person. Another reason is that of the illegitimate
children born to women household heads, more boy babies are registered as
[848] legal children by their fathers than is the case with girl babies. Of the
illegitimates living in households headed by women, 19 were female, 11 were
male, and an additional seven were in the class "sex unrecorded". If the
same proportion are girls as is true of "common law children", this would
indicate a surplus of illegitimate females.[1]

Additional Three other categories relating to household head status were analyzed. The data were cross-filed from the above categories. There were sixty-seven cases of father or grandfather not functioning as household head, but living. Or in other words, retirement of males. Persons under twenty-one years of age functioning as household heads were counted, as were household heads living alone.

162 1. Retirement: In the category of retired fathers or grandfathers,
592 we find that in 59 of the 67 cases retirement was in favor of a first son.
In seven cases retirement was in favor of a grandchild first son, and in
886 one instance in favor of a son's wife. The ages of the retired oldsters
ran from 51 to 87, with 33 of the 67 instances being between the ages of
60 to 70 inclusive. The median age was 65, and the average age was roughly
66.5.

162 2. Living Alone: In the second additional category, household heads
592 living alone, we find 166 cases. Thirty of these cases, or 16%, were orphans
under twenty-one years of age. Twenty-two of these were male and eight fe-
597 male, thus showing a greater tendency for female orphans to be adopted.
Male orphans are not often adopted, because relatives want them to grow up
to be the heads of their deceased fathers' households.

162 With regard to division by sex, 89 were males. Of these, 21, or
592 20%, were born before 1900. Of the 77 females, 39 (51%) were born before
1900, thus giving another instance of the longevity of women.

3. Minors: In the third supplementary category of minor household heads, the mother was living in 79 instances and deceased in 69 instances. One father and four grandfathers were still living, but retired. In all these five cases the mother was also still living. There was an overwhelming tendency for the first son to be household head, followed by second sons and first daughters equally. The full range is shown below:

Table VI

First Sons	110	Fifth Sons	1
Second Sons	11	Second Daughters	1
First Daughters	11	Common Law (boy)	1
Third Sons	5	Illegitimate (girl)	1
Fourth Sons	4	Adopted Son[2]	1
Sons, Unknown Birth Order	2		
Total			148

1 Refer to "Common Law Children---Numbers", p. 112.

2 This boy's birth order was second son in his family of orientation.

by sons other than the first reinforces this, although there are examples of branch families being established in villages away from the parental home. This intermarriage among kinship groups and the settlement of first sons and other children in the same village brings about a situation in which blood relatives or relatives by marriage are exceedingly numerous. It gives to village life cohesion and solidarity. This was very noticeable in the villages studied. Specific illustrations later will show the influences of these situations on many phases of village life. 621

It is no wonder then that the family system has a strong influence on community organization and on formal government. The semi-official organizations such as the neighborhood groups (han in Japanese), the young men's association (seinendan in Japanese), and the women's association (fujinkai in Japanese) are made up of blocs of relatives, friends, and neighbors. These circumstances blur the distinctions between the private and the public life of the family. The same is true of village government and probably accounts in large measure for democratic village government. At a wedding, at a funeral, at a birthday celebration for a child, the head of the village (kuchō in Japanese), and often the mayor of the township (sonchō in Japanese) will be present, not for political or vote catching reasons, but because he is a relative, by blood or marriage, or a personal friend of his hosts. This theme will be developed later, but it should be pointed out here that the family system, in its contemporary operations, is not only the mould for shaping the outlines of obligations and responsibilities for individuals, but that it is an important guiding principle in the conduct of community life and of formal government. 602 621 [595] [622]

2

Kinship Terminology and the Kinship System

We can now explore in more detail the mechanisms by which the family system operates. To do this, it will be well first to list the common kinship and related terms. These are the terms most often met with in conversation and which appear in the family registers (kosoki in Japanese). Kinship terminology follows the Japanese practice. Like Western usage, many terms such as grandfather, grandmother, uncle, aunt, nephew or niece refer to relatives both on the paternal and the maternal side. The chief differences lie in the rank order in which sons or daughters of a family are designated. A child ordinarily is not referred to as a son or as a daughter but as a first or second son, or a third daughter, or whatever the case may be. The most common terms, with their Japanese equivalents are listed below. The first word is the honorific term and the word in parentheses is the equivalent but less polite form. In general, the honorific is used in speaking of another's relatives, or in speaking to one older than oneself. The less polite term refers to one's own family or is used in speaking to persons younger than one's self. 601 [217]

601

Parent	go-ryōshin (ryōshin)
Father	otōsan (chichi)
Mother	okāsan (haha). Young children often address their mother as okā.
Boy, and general term for son	musuko-san (musuko)
Girl, and general term for daughter	musume-san (musume). This word is often used in the same sense of "miss".
First son	chōnan
Second son	jinan
Third son	sanan
Fourth son	yonan
Fifth son	gonan
First daughter	chōjo
Second daughter	nijo
Third daughter	sanjo
Fourth daughter	yonjo
Fifth daughter [1]	gojo
Elder brother	niisan (ani)
Younger brother	ototo-san (ototo)
Elder sister	nēsan (ane)
Younger sister	imoto-san (imoto)
Brothers and sisters	kyōdai
Twins (general term)	futago
Grandfather	ojii-san
Grandmother	obaa-san
Grandchild	mago
Uncle	oji-san (oji)
Aunt	oba-san (oba)
Nephew	oi
Niece	mei
Cousin (usually, first cousin but used loosely also for the second cousin)	itoko
Husband	go-shujin (shujin)
Wife	oku-san (tsuma)
Father-in-law	yoji
Mother-in-law	yobo
Son-in-law, bridegroom	muko
Daughter-in-law, bride, or young wife	yome-san (yome)

1 Subsequent ones are formed by adding the number prefix to the bound form nan or jo. The cho in chōnan and chōjo does not mean first, but head or chief.

601

Step-mother	keibo
Step-father	keifu
Adopted son	yōshi
Adopted daughter	yōjo
Illegitimate child	shiseiji
Person living with a family but not a relative	dōkyonin

Descent is reckoned through the male line. Normally the first son succeeds to the headship of the house, and this is actually true in the great majority of cases, although the failure of the first or later sons to survive to maturity, or the death of sons in the war, have resulted in many household headships being held by sons other than the first, or by daughters. This is brought out in the following table which shows the relationship of the present head of the household to the preceding head. 611 592

592

Relationships may be obscured to simple observation because the head of the household (koshu) may reside in a foreign country. This was a common occurrence before the war during the widespread Okinawan emigration, but repatriation since the war has reduced the number of heads of households who live in foreign countries. At present most absentee heads live in Peru, Brazil, or in Argentina. In the absence or disability of the first son, the second and succeeding sons assume his place, not legally, but in practice, and should the elder son return, his younger brother would relinquish the headship and establish a branch family. The family register, however, is not changed to show the temporary head. But his absence may be indicated by a notation. [167]

592 562

A woman, either a wife or a daughter, is not considered in the succession if there are eligible male heirs, but in their absence, she may succeed to a house. The war produced many instances of this. A mother with minor children is the head of the house and has disposition of the family property, but custom and usage circumscribe her freedom of action. In custom, a mother with minor children, especially if one of them is a boy, is regarded as the trustee and caretaker of a house and its fields during the minority of her children, the eldest of whom, if he is a son, will become head when he reaches maturity. In practice, widows with minor sons do not sell or dispose of their property except under strong economic compulsions, and then only after discussion with representatives of the extended family.

592

The real place of the woman in the family system is to become part of the family of her husband. If she marries a first son, she enters the home of her husband's parents. If she marries a second or a third son, she is part of a branch family established by her husband. There is general agreement among Okinawans with whom I consulted that the residence of a young wife with the husband's family does not result in the prolonged quarreling and bickering which have made the mother-in-law and daughter-in-law relationship so legendary a topic in Chinese and Japanese society. Disagreements exist, but according to residents in [591] [606]

[Text continues top of p. 95--analyst]

each of the villages, they seldom reach real intensity or a point where the husband sends his wife back to her parents and obtains a divorce. 592 606

A special problem, ordinarily calling for adoption as the solution, is the situation in a family with no sons. During the child bearing ages a family tries very hard to get a son. The man with a family of daughters will resort to adoption of a male child of a relative, if at the end of a child bearing period, no sons have been born to him. But adoption, while available as a device for insuring the continuity of the family, is uncommon and does not have the importance historically attached to it in Japan. Adoption is discussed in more detail in Section 6. 597 [842]

3

The Extended Family and its Branches

The extended family (ichimon in Japanese, munchu in Okinawan) consists of all families in the main and collateral line of descent from the common ancestor.[2] This ancestor, who founded the house, is an historical, or at least a supposed historical person. The descendants of the founder of the family, themselves united in a family group, are thus related to one another, though the older the family, the more remote these relationships become. Many villagers recognize that they are related to one another, but the relationships are seldom clearly defined beyond the second cousin. After this people become relatives, (shinseki or shinrui in Japanese). These words, used synonymously in Okinawa, indicate an awareness of a relationship without knowing offhand its exact nature. This problem is solved in part, as will appear later on, in Section 8, by knowing the household order name of each family, but even here individual relationships are difficult to trace. 614 596 602

Contemporary lack of precise knowledge of family genealogies is due in large part to the destruction of many family records during the war. The keeping of genealogies was common, especially among the families who belonged to the old Okinawan nobility. The genealogies lost in the war are irreplaceable. The same is true of the official family registers which were also destroyed. They were replaced with ones prepared by officials personally interviewing the families involved. While this procedure succeeded in recording contemporary data with a fair degree of accuracy, it could not duplicate the minute details, going back for generations, which were recorded in the old registers. 601 217 [565]

2 Dictionaries usually define ichimon as clan, but I have avoided using this term because of ambiguities in usuage. In American practice, clan has been applied to groups in which descent is reckoned through the mother. See R. H. Lowie, Primitive society, New York, 1920, 111-12. Father-sibs (Lowie's term) or family groups could be used, but the latter term suggests more a collection of families than a large unified family with many sub-families.

197 mutually intelligible. The speech differences are so great that even
191 two neighboring villages have noticeable dialectical variations. Japanese is the second language.

Okinawan is spoken in almost all households. The first words learned by the child from his mother or others around him are Okinawan. The child is praised or scolded in Okinawan; he learns Okinawan terms for numbers, names for plants, tools, and other implements used around the house. A curious exception in this pattern is the use of
[601] kinship terms. Taira children start using Japanese kinship terms in
[177] infancy with one exception—in some families the grandmother is addressed by the Okinawan term.

[648] Knowledge of the Okinawan language is said to have been helpful to Americans during the war in distinguishing the local people from Japanese. Japanese has been the official language in Okinawa for over 60 years. It is taught and used in schools exclusively until the upper grades, when foreign languages are introduced. Everybody who has gone to school learns Japanese, and only the oldest persons in Taira speak Okinawan exclusively.

197 Young children, even though they learn to speak Okinawan first,
802 soon pick up Japanese words and phrases. While their Okinawan
191 vocabulary is limited to everyday experiences, the child's horizon is widened gradually by the use of Japanese terms. First formal efforts to teach Japanese are made in kindergarten, and teachers quickly succeed in eliminating the use of Okinawan in class. Even in play groups of
[626] school-age children, Japanese is usual. Children frequently censure each other for occasional slips or shifts to Okinawan.

191 Taira adults vary in the use of language. Simple, routine matters in
197 daily living are mostly discussed in Okinawan. This language is also predominant in small, informal social gatherings and in emotionally tense situations, such as domestic quarrels. Furthermore, the priestess and her assistants conduct all religious ceremonies in Okinawan. People resorted to Okinawan in our presence when they did not want to be understood. On the other hand, village meetings and gatherings of village leaders or visits of teachers and other officials are conducted in Japanese.

THE PEOPLE

142 The majority of the Taira people are of short, stocky build, with heavy bones. Their hair growth is strong, their skin dark. A light skin

 527

as usual. It was an affair organized by the women leaders, which, though 562
a little slow in starting, turned into a gay carousing for the older 575
women, who were less inhibited than the younger ones and needed [888]
little encouragement to drink and dance.

The daily life of a woman is more monotonous than her husband's 562
and she has less leisure and recreation. After a day of hard work, men 512
sit down alone or in groups to spend the evening in relaxation with a [273]
bottle of sake. After a short time they show signs of pleasant intoxication and all burdens of life seem to disappear. Such recourse to carefree diversion is generally denied women. Instead, they are loaded down with household chores and care of infants and guests after a day of work in fields and forests. They spend their little free time exchanging news with other women or talking with other family members or visitors who assemble around the charcoal fire in the back room during [273]
winter evenings. Only women of advanced age feel free to join the men [888]
in drinking at home.

Men have greater sexual freedom. They are at liberty to have affairs 562
with other women outside the village and on trips to the city may 837
visit tea houses and afterwards enjoy the favors of a prostitute if their pocket books allow.

Status differences based on age are reflected in the social structure 561
and clearly denoted in the kinship terms. There is a special term of 554
reference and address for "first son" and "first daughter" and for 593
"older brother" and "older sister." As mentioned, ideally the oldest son assumes responsibility for the household, for his parents, and for the ancestral tablets. Even if he leaves his parental home temporarily or permanently for the city, where economic prospects are better, he remains the nominal household head and sends money back to his family. Theoretically the oldest male may retain authority until death, 887
although in practice most men retire from this position at the age of 561
61. Their retirement is made official by an entry in the population 554
registry. They continue to live with their oldest son and act as advisors [596]
and critics. A man's loss of authority with age occurs around his late fifties and early sixties and is evidenced not only by his retirement but also by his loss of the right to vote in village meetings. Veneration for age itself therefore, does not exist. Actual behavior toward the grand- [576]
parental generation, all the members of which are addressed as "grandmother" or "grandfather" regardless of actual kinship, is warm, mildly playful, and indulgent. Disrespect, however, is absent.

It is characteristic of the relationship between children and grand- 603
mothers that in addressing nonrelated old women, the suffix *-san*, 601
which denotes respect, is most often dropped for the "grandmother"

603 term. As the child gets older, the familiar suffixless form of address is
601 used less and less frequently, though girls seem to retain it longer than boys.

601 The strength of one's ties to the community as a whole regardless of
156 actual kinship is seen not only in the use of the term "grandmother"
576 and "grandfather" in addressing all members of this generation but also in the similar use of the terms "uncle" and "aunt" for all members of the parental generation. Those who are not known well or who have high status are addressed by the appropriate kinship term with the suffix -san added.*

554 Achieved status is recognized by special terms of address. The teacher,
576 school principal, the doctor, the village headman or mayor are addressed by their titles. Taira people combine familiarity with formality by calling a young teacher from the same or neighboring community by the first name, then adding the title "teacher." †

621 In summary, although affiliation with a patrilineal descent group
156 and kinship ties with kindred influence certain aspects of life, over and
571 above these ties is the identification with the community, which is drawn together by bonds of economic and social interdependence. Individual leaders serve their term of responsibility and then return to
[157] the egalitarian community life, which is comparatively free of competitive strife.

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Chapter 7

Courtship, Marriage, and Sex

582 Most marriages in Taira take place when both men and women are in their early or middle twenties (see Table 2). It is perhaps most note-

* This refers to the use of Japanese kinship terms which are prevalent in Taira—see Chapter 1 p. 370.

† The use of first names may also help to identify individuals since many persons have the same surname—this explanation, however, is not in contradiction with the statement concerning familiarity.

of a first son the parents' responsibility toward him may even increase as he 593
grows older, since the continuity of the family depends upon him. Also the
child's duty to obey his parents does not end with his majority, and this
duty also may be stronger for a first son. All this is in sharp contrast [171]
with the situation in American society, where the responsibility of the parent to the child is greatest when the child is small and gradually recedes as the child grows older, where the parents' responsibilities toward minor children are identical regardless of the sex or age of the child relative to others, and where the duty of the child to obey its parents clearly ends when it reaches majority.

The relationship between grandparents and grandchildren is also closer 603
than is commonly the case in the United States. There is greater physical 174
intimacy, there are greater mutual obligations, and there is therefore a greater feeling of security derived from the relationship.

The relationship of siblings too is different from that in the United 593
States. There is no equality among Okinawan brothers; each has his own sta- 171
tus, the first son having the most responsibility and the most privileges. Sisters are inferior to their brothers, but are more nearly equal to each other. But the brothers constitute a single unit even though they are unequal, the very numbering of them, first son, second son, and so forth, sets them apart as a unit separate from other units composed of numbered sons. As adults they are expected to cooperate, and usually do. It seems likely that the American passion for equality, with its resulting arguments among children as to who got the larger piece of pie, may result in greater conflict among siblings than exists in Okinawan society.

I have attempted to indicate briefly some of the main features of the 121
Okinawan family, how it differs from the American family, and how it provides 593
a greater sense of security for the individual. This security, it should be 152
emphasized, is at the expense of freedom and equality. Later, in discussing the life of the individual, I shall examine some of these features more closely. Moreover, I shall also try to show that family life not only provides the individual with a feeling of security, but also provides him with the pattern of relationships that he extends to the rest of the world and is the source of some of his basic anxieties.

<u>Classification of Kin</u> It has long been recognized that the categories of 121
language are likely to be the categories of thought, 601
and that if we are to understand how the members of another society see some aspect of reality---color, plant life, the passage of time, we can well begin by learning how they classify their perception---by studying their color terms, botanical taxonomy, terms for the seasons and other divisions of time. In the study of social organization this method is even more useful because the reality as well as the conception is man-made. Thus the categories into which the members of a society group their kinfolk have proved to be important clues to the organization of that society. I shall therefore describe briefly the kinship terms used by the Okinawans.

The terms themselves do not matter for this purpose. They vary from 601
place to place and from social class to class. But it is significant that

• 601 But it is significant that
[184] the several lists collected are identical in structure, that is, they all
[171] classify relatives in the same way. Also, everywhere some Japanese terms
[172] are replacing some Okinawan terms. I shall describe the Okinawan system unchanged first and then indicate what the recent changes have been.

As in many kinship systems there is a distinction between terms used primarily in referring to relatives and terms used primarily in addressing them. And as in many societies terms of address are used for all persons older than the speaker, for unrelated persons as well as for relatives. The terms that are used in reference only, never or seldom as terms of address, are terms corresponding to each of the following: parent, child, grandparent, grandchild, uncle, aunt, sibling's child (that is, meaning both "nephew" and niece"), brother, sister, cousin. In addition there are two terms meaning "older" and "younger" and a series of terms meaning "first son", "second son", "third son", etc., which combined with the word for "woman" gives a series meaning "first daughter", "second daughter", etc. Another group of terms is used both in address and in reference, but is probably primarily terms of address; these are in address extended to non-kin, but in their basic meaning they correspond to each of the following: grandfather, grandmother, father, mother, uncle, aunt (these last two are different from those given above), older brother, older sister. To see how these terms are used let us look at each generation in turn.

The terms "grandfather" and "grandmother" are used in addressing one's parents' parents and also in addressing their brothers and sisters, that is, one's great uncles and great aunts and also non-relatives of the same generation as one's grandparents or older. (The term given above as "grandparent" is restricted to actual relatives; its basic meaning is said to be "parent's parent" but in common usage it is extended to mean ancestors above the grandparents' generation as well.) Within the brothers and sisters of one's grandparents the members of each family are further distinguished by relative age. The oldest of several brothers is "big grandfather" and the youngest "little grandfather". Women classified as "grandmothers" are similarly distinguished. These distinguishing terms may also be used in reference. Non-relatives may also be referred to by such terms as "the grandfather of such-and-such a house", using the "yagō" (house name).

The terms for relatives in the parents' generation are likewise extended. Although there are both terms of reference for uncle and aunt and terms of address, the terms "father" and "mother" are (or were) frequently used when addressing the brothers and sisters of both parents and their spouses. And as with the grandparent terms, one's father's oldest brother and mother's oldest brother are both called "big father" and their oldest sisters "big mother". The wife of a "big father" is also a "big mother" and so forth. On the other hand, a parent's youngest brother and youngest sister are called "little uncle" and "little aunt", rather than "little father" or
[576] "little mother". The terms "uncle" and "aunt" are also extended to non-kin, as polite titles of address.

[171] By combining the terms "older" and "younger" with "brother" and "sister", one can express the equivalent of the four Japanese sibling terms,

"older brother", "younger brother", "older sister", and"younger sister". But 601
these terms are never used in address. Two unrelated terms for "older brother" [171]
and "older sister" are used in addressing older siblings and older cousins,
while younger siblings and younger cousins are addressed by name. These two [576]
terms may also be politely extended to non-relatives. One's children, nephews,
nieces, grandchildren, and other younger relatives are also addressed by
name rather than by kinship terms. However, a younger person who is a strang- [576]
er may be addressed as "older brother" or "older sister" out of courtesy.

For in-laws, there are terms of reference: husband, wife, son-in-law, daughter-in-law, and one including spouse's parents and siblings, which can be combined with other words for more specific reference. But none of these terms is used in address. Instead one uses the terms of address proper for one's spouse; the father-in-law is called "father", and so forth, at least until one has children. There is one exception; there is a separate term of address for an older brother's wife. A wife addresses her husband by the polite pronoun "you" and he addresses her by the familiar one.

All that has just been said about terms used in addressing relatives must be qualified by the statement that it is true only until one has children of his own. After the birth of the first child, or perhaps after it begins to understand speech, one begins to call his wife "mother", his father "grandfather", and so forth. He may do this in the child's absence as well. As one informant put it, the whole system shifts to make the child its center.

It will be seen that the Okinawan kinship system is bilateral, that is, 601
it treats the father's relatives and the mother's relatives in the same way; 171
a father's brother and a mother's brother are both "uncles". In this respect it is like the Japanese system and like our own, and unlike the Chinese system, which distinguished father's brothers and mother's brothers by separate terms. It will also be seen that like our own system the generations are clearly distinguished (in some systems relatives of different generations are lumped into the same category), but unlike our system the Okinawan system distinguishes seniors and juniors within a generation. The Japanese system distinguishes older and younger siblings of the speaker but not older and younger siblings of the speaker's parents. The Chinese system also distinguishes older and younger siblings in the speaker's generation and further distinguishes father's older and younger brothers, but lumps mother's older and younger brothers into a single separate category. What the Okinawan system does, and what makes it different from both the Japanese and the Chinese systems, is to single out the oldest in each generation while at the same time, by extending even the terms "father" and "mother" bilaterally, it suggests a unity of all those within the same generation. This accords in a general way, I believe, with the deference [182]
to seniors that is characteristic of all social relationships, with the importance of senior lines in the larger kinship groups, and with the essential unity of the local group despite its division into kin groups.

In the last generation certain changes have occurred in the use of kin- 601
ship terms widely, perhaps everywhere, on Okinawa. The Japanese terms of 177
address, especially those for "father", "mother", "uncle", and "aunt", have 192
begun to replace the native terms. At the same time the practice of extending

601 177 192 the native terms for "father" and "mother" to uncles and aunts is going out of use. Thus in structure as well as in the terms themselves the Okinawan system is moving in the direction of the Japanese.

552 613 Maintaining Continuity: House Names Every house has a name (yaanunaa, Japanese 'yagō'). This name, in the case of the older houses, may be descriptive of its location or may be taken from the place of origin of the founder. Insofar as possible a man's first son should succeed him as head of his house. If a man's first son rebuilds the house or even moves it, its name usually remains the same. When younger sons establish their own houses the house of the first son is called the "main house" (muutuyaa, J. 'honke') and the younger sons' houses "branch houses" (tatchiyaa, J. 'bunke'). The branch houses take their house names from the house name of the main house. Thus if the main house is called Taba, a branch house may be called Taba-gwaa, "little Taba". If there are several Taba-gwaa, they may be distinguished by directions such as agari, "east", iri, "west", or by the birth order of their founders, as jinan Taba-gwaa, "second-son little Taba", and so forth. If a family line has been in a village for several generations there may be branch houses of branch houses. In such a case the earlier branch house is a main house to its branch houses while still in the status of branch house to the house of the founder of the line. In such cases new elements may be introduced into the naming system; a branch of a Taba-gwaa might be mii-Taba-gwaa, "new little Taba". If there are several branches and branches of branches the original main house (in Japanese, the 'sōhonke') may come to be called ufu-Taba, "great Taba". Thus the relationship of a number of houses in a village may be shown by the names used for them. The house names of a village are surprisingly well-known by the members of a village, even by the children, better known than either the surnames ~~or~~ given names of the inhabitants.[1]

55 177 [565] [614] Personal Names Before the Japanese annexation the two main social classes on Okinawa differed in the sorts of names they bore. Members of the gentry (yukatchu, "superior people", or samuree, cognate of the Japanese 'samurai') belonged to patrilineal common descent groups called uji. These uji each had a name consisting of a single Chinese character, often a Chinese surname. Also, different lineages within each uji each bore surnames that were mainly Okinawan place names; these were taken from the names of villages and larger administrative units where the founders of the lineages served as officials. And in addition, each male member of the gentry class had a given name consisting of two characters read in the Chinese manner (that is, the Okinawan version of the Japanese 'on-yomi'). These were called toonaa, "Chinese names". In each uji the first of the two characters in all names was the same. Thus, to give an example, in the Hyō uji there are three lineages bearing the surnames Moromizato, Itosu, and Higa, but all males in the uji regardless of surname bear given names that begin with the character An. Thus Moromizato Ansei and Itosu Angō are seen to be kinsmen despite the difference in surname. These are the names of two men living today. Had they lived before the annexation they might also have designated themselves for official purposes by what look like proper Chinese names, Hyō Ansei and Hyō Angō.

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[1] For a more detailed account of the house-naming system see Glacken, 1953, pp. 115-122.

161 plus the excess of births over deaths were sufficient six years after
728 the conclusion of the war to bring the post-war population of the village within 200 of the pre-war level.

167 Okinawans returning to Hanashiro came largely from Japan, the Philippines, Manchuria, Formosa, the South Seas and a few from Hawaii. From Hinatogawa, the areas of former settlement were broader, probably reflecting a wider activity of the fishermen. They came from Java, Palau, Singapore, the Philippine Islands, and Taraua. Some had previously returned voluntarily from Hawaii and Peru before the war. The largest segments came from the Philippines and Taraua, the smaller groups from Hawaii and Peru. The repatriates to Matsuda also came from Japan, the Philippines, Hawaii, and the South Seas.

571 One consequence of the pre-war emigration and of the repatriation
[162] that followed was that each village after the war had a group of people who had been in foreign countries or had relatives still residing in foreign areas.

[578] In the villages studied, according to the residents living there now, repatriation was not accompanied by the tensions and the ill feeling that was so conspicuous in post-war Europe, especially Germany.
[573] There were no cliques between those who had stayed during the war and those who returned to live beside them.

[423] The reasons for this are probably these: many of the repatriates even though absent a long time owned land in a village. This was true of Hanashiro and Matsuda, the agricultural villages, and to a lesser extent of Hinatogawa. Some adjustments were necessary. The land owned by these people had not been idle during their absence. If a first son
[592] returned, in most cases his younger brother was cultivating the fields
[593] and occupying the family house. He, in the absence of his eldest brother, acted as head of the house. When the first son returned, he received the possessions and assumed the responsibilities of the head of the house, and in turn gave his younger brother land to establish a branch household. When the returned member of the family was a second son, the adjustment was easier. The first son, if possible, gave his younger brother a house site and fields to cultivate.[6]

Other relatives, parents, younger or older sisters, nephews, or nieces were absorbed within the family, the parents or grandparents
[602] resuming a retirement which they would have had in any case, while the younger relatives became working and contributing members to the family. They did not come back to an altogether strange place. They or their parents had been born there, and their names had remained in the village family register.

6 The reasons for these acts will be made clear in Chapter 6 on the family system.

The strong ties of the family system are probably the fundamental reasons for this lack of strangeness. One is a member of the family, even if in another part of the island or of the world. This sense of belonging, to be emphasized later, is not only an emotional feeling but is a basic fact of social organization. Relationships, regardless of their geographic spread, are a binding force. It is true that these become weaker with the remoter relationships of the extended family, but they are still strong enough to blunt the edge of individual frictions that might otherwise be expected. 571 [602] [156] [578]

There was a niche into which a returning person might fit, whether he was a parent, a first son, an elder brother, an uncle or niece of the head of the household. The repatriates who had been long absent were, in turn, able to make an adjustment to conditions in the island of their birth because they had continued the same social system in their foreign residence. They now had to function in a more restricted and less well endowed natural environment. Dissatisfactions took the form, as they still do, of longing for better economic opportunity which they hope will be realized through further opportunities for emigration. They make comparisons, unfavorable to Okinawa, regarding the ease of making a living in other countries. Repatriates from Japan, who have returned to Okinawan rural life, miss the cities and the more exciting life of that country. Among those who have travelled, there is also a more noticeable discontent and dissatisfaction with the loneliness of rural life. The word sabishii is often on their lips. [554] [178] [511] [156]

The ideas of the repatriated Okinawans, furthermore, are not a new phenomenon in contemporary village life. They did not bring back points of view unknown before. In the past these had been communicated by letters and rare visits to the homeland. The reports of the repatriates were richer, more detailed, and more concrete, but not completely different. They have--and this is probably one of their chief influences on post-war village life--stimulated the strong desire of the villagers to emigrate. Life is hard on the island, and their accounts of greater return for the same expenditure of work have quickened hopes of future emigration. These hopes are confined to the New World, Japan, and the Pacific islands. There is no enthusiasm for migration to other islands in the Ryukyu chain. [185] [167]

4

Attitudes Toward Birth Control

There is little in the religious belief or in the cultural tradition that would induce, in large segments of the population, a strong antipathy to birth control on religious grounds, but these beliefs and traditions are not favorable to it either. Respect for ancestors and the need for the continuance of the family system are the most important of these. It is the duty of each generation to provide this continuity between the past and the future. The links in this chain are male children. Once this 842 [602] [611]

1

Introduction

Everyone knows that the family is a most important social institution in Asiatic countries such as China, Korea, and Japan. What is not so well, nor so widely understood, is that the idea of the family is deeply involved not only with obligations and duties within a family, but also with such matters as ancestor worship, inheritance and succession, land tenure, public and private holidays, and in certain phases of community organization and of government. It is better therefore to abandon the expression family and substitute for it a term which at the outset suggests the implications and ramifications of the idea of the family. This term is the family system (kazoku seido in Japanese). The Ryukyu Islands have felt the influence of China, Korea, and Japan in many different ways and at different times. Perhaps the most important of these borrowings, ultimately from China, is the family system.

The family system is a series of mutual obligations and duties which members of a living generation of a family owe to one another, to those who have lived before them and who have been responsible directly or indirectly for their present condition and status, and owe also to those who will come after them to perform for their time the tasks now imposed on the contemporary generation.

The family system embraces the same family relationships found in countries of the west. Here as in the west, the biological family, composed of the husband, the wife, and the children, is the fundamental unit of social organization. In American society, family ties beyond the immediate biological family tend to become more fragile, and indeed often become so within the biological family itself--due in part at least to a strong tradition of individualism and greater mobility.

In Okinawa, the biological family is but a segment of a wider system of family relationships. These spread out not only into the contemporary extended families but find expression also in reverence for those who have lived in the past and in a feeling of responsibility for the continuation of the family into the future by assuming one's duty to prevent extinction of the family line. In the so-called ancestor worship, there is this expression of the extension of the family system throughout time. Ancestor worship, the conventional term, is not quite correct, but it conveys the general meaning desired. Actually it is not only the ancestors but all deceased relatives, including child descendants, whose memory is revered.

The family system is a great chain of responsibilities and obligations which extends from the remote past to the remote future and of which the living generation is the responsible contemporary representative. It is this aspect of the family system that makes it more a philosophical, ethical, or social concept than merely the descriptive term for a system

[602] of contemporary relationships. The family system does not mean only family life, or a set of obligations, or a family. It is all of these, and, in addition, a historical continuity. It is an institution in which the past is constantly intruding on the present and in which the present is a combination of acts to secure one's own livelihood and well-being as well as to perpetuate the family in the future. A simple illustration will make this clear. One of the obligations of living [569] members of a family is to observe the death anniversaries of close relatives. The last, the most important, and the most sumptuous of these observances occurs on the 33d year after the death of the relative who is mourned. Thus a grandson, most likely the first son of a first son, may end this period of memorial observances for a grandfather whom he may never have seen. There is a constant intrusion of obligations coming from the past. These, often onerous and expensive, are honored in a positive manner.

In the present, conscious plans are made for the continuance of the family. These are achieved through three closely inter-related devices: the succession of the first son to his father's house and, on his marriage, [591] taking up residence at the father's home, the system of inheritance which [428] favors the first son, and the establishment of branch households for other sons, awarding them, if the family's wealth permits, a house site and fields for cultivation.

In this way, the continuance of the main line and collateral branches of the family is provided for. If we pursue the illustration of inheritance a little further, we can think of the division of the land as an [428] expression of the family system applied to the use and to the sharing of the available natural resources. The system of agriculture, the scat- [311] tered ownership of small holdings, the attempts at land conservation and reclamation are best understood as reflections of duties and obligations to the present and future generations in the family system. If they are not seen in this way, they may appear to be isolated practices best discussed as techniques or as aspects of law and custom.

Not only in family observances but in public holidays as well, the subtle influences of the family system can be observed. Public holidays [527] and festivals are centered on two main themes, sometimes both together: [569] thanksgiving for good crops and reverence for those who have passed away. The holiday of O-Bon in the seventh lunar month, in which the departed dead are invited to return for a visit to the homes of their living descendants and the celebrations at lunar New Year are good examples of this.

[582] In village life, the family system is strengthened by the high incidence of intermarriage among local kinship groups. A general lack 624 of mobility in the villages studied has also led to the increase of immediate relatives living in the same village. This lends to community, and even to local government some of the characteristics of a wider family life. The establishment of branch families in the village of their parent

by sons other than the first reinforces this, although there are examples of branch families being established in villages away from the parental home. This intermarriage among kinship groups and the settlement of first sons and other children in the same village brings about a situation in which blood relatives or relatives by marriage are exceedingly numerous. It gives to village life cohesion and solidarity. This was very noticeable in the villages studied. Specific illustrations later will show the influences of these situations on many phases of village life. 621

It is no wonder then that the family system has a strong influence on community organization and on formal government. The semi-official organizations such as the neighborhood groups (han in Japanese), the young men's association (seinendan in Japanese), and the women's association (fujinkai in Japanese) are made up of blocs of relatives, friends, and neighbors. These circumstances blur the distinctions between the private and the public life of the family. The same is true of village government and probably accounts in large measure for democratic village government. At a wedding, at a funeral, at a birthday celebration for a child, the head of the village (kuchō in Japanese), and often the mayor of the township (sonchō in Japanese) will be present, not for political or vote catching reasons, but because he is a relative, by blood or marriage, or a personal friend of his hosts. This theme will be developed later, but it should be pointed out here that the family system, in its contemporary operations, is not only the mould for shaping the outlines of obligations and responsibilities for individuals, but that it is an important guiding principle in the conduct of community life and of formal government. 602 621 [595] [622]

2

Kinship Terminology and the Kinship System

We can now explore in more detail the mechanisms by which the family system operates. To do this, it will be well first to list the common kinship and related terms. These are the terms most often met with in conversation and which appear in the family registers (kosoki in Japanese). Kinship terminology follows the Japanese practice. Like Western usage, many terms such as grandfather, grandmother, uncle, aunt, nephew or niece refer to relatives both on the paternal and the maternal side. The chief differences lie in the rank order in which sons or daughters of a family are designated. A child ordinarily is not referred to as a son or as a daughter but as a first or second son, or a third daughter, or whatever the case may be. The most common terms, with their Japanese equivalents are listed below. The first word is the honorific term and the word in parentheses is the equivalent but less polite form. In general, the honorific is used in speaking of another's relatives, or in speaking to one older than oneself. The less polite term refers to one's own family or is used in speaking to persons younger than one's self. 601 [217]

each of the villages, they seldom reach real intensity or a point where the husband sends his wife back to her parents and obtains a divorce. 592 606

A special problem, ordinarily calling for adoption as the solution, is the situation in a family with no sons. During the child bearing ages a family tries very hard to get a son. The man with a family of daughters will resort to adoption of a male child of a relative, if at the end of a child bearing period, no sons have been born to him. But adoption, while available as a device for insuring the continuity of the family, is uncommon and does not have the importance historically attached to it in Japan. Adoption is discussed in more detail in Section 6. 597 [842]

3

The Extended Family and its Branches

The extended family (ichimon in Japanese, munchu in Okinawan) consists of all families in the main and collateral line of descent from the common ancestor.[2] This ancestor, who founded the house, is an historical, or at least a supposed historical person. The descendants of the founder of the family, themselves united in a family group, are thus related to one another, though the older the family, the more remote these relationships become. Many villagers recognize that they are related to one another, but the relationships are seldom clearly defined beyond the second cousin. After this people become relatives, (shinseki or shinrui in Japanese). These words, used synonymously in Okinawa, indicate an awareness of a relationship without knowing offhand its exact nature. This problem is solved in part, as will appear later on, in Section 8, by knowing the household order name of each family, but even here individual relationships are difficult to trace. 614 596 602

Contemporary lack of precise knowledge of family genealogies is due in large part to the destruction of many family records during the war. The keeping of genealogies was common, especially among the families who belonged to the old Okinawan nobility. The genealogies lost in the war are irreplaceable. The same is true of the official family registers which were also destroyed. They were replaced with ones prepared by officials personally interviewing the families involved. While this procedure succeeded in recording contemporary data with a fair degree of accuracy, it could not duplicate the minute details, going back for generations, which were recorded in the old registers. 601 217 [565]

2 Dictionaries usually define ichimon as clan, but I have avoided using this term because of ambiguities in usuage. In American practice, clan has been applied to groups in which descent is reckoned through the mother. See R. H. Lowie, Primitive society, New York, 1920, 111-12. Father-sibs (Lowie's term) or family groups could be used, but the latter term suggests more a collection of families than a large unified family with many sub-families.

551 They are referred to as the son or daughter of the Little Western
590 Ganiku house. When the sons grow up, the first son retains the same
614 house order name, as he is perpetuating the house of his father. When
613 his younger brothers establish a branch household, they may add another prefix and become known, for example, as the New Little Western Ganiku family.

The manner in which the household order names may be applied to
592 successive generations is illustrated in the diagram which follows on the
614 next page. Three things should be pointed out about this diagram:

613 (1) There is no established order in the choice of branch family designations. In column five, for example, the prefix iri for west was chosen. Any other direction could have been selected if it were not already taken. Subsequent directions or space relations taken might be east, west, south, front, behind, etc. In this illustration, the order of relationship to the main family is (a) Little Fukuji, column 2, and New Little Fukuji to show the branch family of a branch family. Succeeding branches are then indicated by repeating the previous pre-
[193] fixes and adding one more. Fukuji plus gwa (little), plus mi (new), plus agari (east), then substituting iri (west), to be alternated with other directional terms such as fe (south) for iri in column 6.

(2) Some branch families are of great antiquity, such as the Fukujigwa.

[602] (3) All these people are related but it is difficult to determine the precise relationship. It is easy to see that without an exhaustive and well kept up genealogy, even in this simplified diagram, the relationship of the last individual in the first column to his contemporary, the last individual in column 6 would be difficult to trace. This is one reason that, in all the communities, people know they are relatives but do not know the precise relationship.

On the other hand, the household order system, much more than given and surnames, is a very easy device for keeping general family relationships in mind, especially when these spread over several villages. At least the Okinawans find it so. A person with the house order name of Miagarifukujigwa would know the general relationship in the extended family of his line to the main and other branch houses, whether these were located in his own or in another village.

There are additional refinements of the household order naming system. Other prefixes denoting the rank order of sons may be added, as indeed they must if the family is old and has many generations. The
[193] root word in the household order name may occasionally be identical with the surname. Some household order names may also depart from this pattern and be descriptive of previous occupations in the family history. These points are illustrated from the household order names of some

[TEXT Continues TOP of P. 120--analyst]

551 their own and of other families was also noticeable.[6] Often the two
592 were used interchangeably. From an individual point of view, and this
184 is true of all the villages, the household order name is still impor-
619 tant because it is an indication of relationships to dead relatives
613 whose names are on the family tablets, and to relationships, at least in general, to other families of the same main family in the village or in other villages and towns.

In Matsuda, the household order naming system seems to be dying
[178] out more rapidly than in the other communities. Children here did not know the secondary names so well, and some young people did not know their own. As in Hanashiro, up to the beginning of the war, families were called together for village duties by their household order name, but this practice has been abandoned since the war. Given and surnames are now used. The household order name is still occasionally used on letters to indicate the exact person desired, another indication of the distinctions needed in the confusion of identical surnames.

It is probable that the household order naming system will de-
[178] cline in importance because the growth and universality of education and the constant need for using given and surnames have weakened the hold of the old. As the present old people die off, many of whom know the household order name only, every segment of the population will be accustomed to the use of given and surnames.

9

Conclusion

● 602 The family system binds one generation to another, and, even more, gives unity to the past, present, and future of the family. It involves a well defined system of rights and obligations. It is a conservative institution in which the rights of individuals are subordinated to the welfare of the group.

602 The conservative nature of the family system in other Oriental
171 cultures, especially when combined, as in old China with a Confucian ethic and ancestor worship, has often been emphasized. But Confucianism, ancestor worship, and the family system are three different things.

6 I tested this in all communities by asking for directions to family houses using the family's yagō. Its present vitality is shown by the fact that in Hanashiro a native of the village and a member of the township council was able to list all the 121 yagō's without hesitation. The clerk of Hinatogawa village did the same. There was not an opportunity of getting the detailed lists of the Matsuda household order names, but samplings were made.

In Japan, as well as in Okinawa, the system has been maintained without the ultra-conservative duties and regulations and the severe subordination of women associated with Confucianism in its political and social aspects. This is true at least for late nineteenth and twentieth century Okinawa, though some Confucian survivals no doubt persist. 602 171

But the family system is also an admirably flexible institution. It need not depend for its survival on a Confucian ethic, the subordination of women, or on the arranged marriage. It does require a continuing reverence for the dead and care to insure the existence of generations to come. There is room for free choice in marriage within the general framework of the family system. There is in the family system a sense of belonging from early infancy to death, a sense of identity with the past as well as sharing in the future, an emotional security, free participation of the old in village life, mutual reinforcements coming from the performances of these obligations. These are striking characteristics of Okinawan village life. It is true that the family system in Japan has been unable to avoid many deep lying insecurities and conflicts. But in Japan there have been in recent times strong competitive situations along with the harnessing of the nation's energies to war. In Okinawa, these conditions have been lacking, at least in an intense form, until the Okinawans were in the midst of the fierce fighting of the war. The sense of security and of belonging is unmistakable in the great majority of villagers, and while this does not mean there is no dissension or that everything is serene, it does mean that the system as it has developed here has permitted a certain personal flexibility and freedom within the system. The culture also has not encouraged strong individual competition. [769] [587] [156]

The family system, with its obligations and duties, both in the individual and the extended families, is the key to an understanding, not only of the non-material, but much of the material culture as well. The social organization as it has developed within the family system has strong influences through inheritance on land tenure and land use, and on agriculture and other occupations, in addition to its influences on daily family living, religious observances, public recreation and holidays. These will be explored in the chapters to come. 602 182

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

The Family System, Inheritance, and Succession

The family system is distinct from the inheritance of property. But in the succession of the first son to the house and in the establishment of branch families, the operation of the family system shows its effects on the practices involved in the inheritance of land and other property. 602 428 [182]

The family system can, and actually has operated in Okinawa independently of a system of private ownership in land, and, at present its obligations are as strong on a landless villager as on one who has many fields or other property. Succession in the family system is succession to a series of rights and duties and responsibilities, much watered down, it is true, from what they once were. These rights and duties may involve the disposition of rice fields, a house site, or personal and movable property, such as the majority of Hinatogawa fishermen possess in a boat, nets, hooks, and other fishing equipment. [423]

Since agriculture and the employment of land are fundamental to the life and economy of Okinawan villages, practices involving the inheritance of land should receive the greatest emphasis. In this chapter, land is considered in a general way, reserving for the following chapter a detailed analysis of types and grades of land based on the Okinawan township system of land classification. 428

Since the first son and his succession to the house are so important to the continuity of the family, one might expect outright primogeniture in inheritance of real property. Such is not the case. The present system of inheritance of property was defined in Japanese law which provided for inheritance by sons other than the first and by daughters as well. This is based on Japanese law as it stood prior to the passage and promulgation of the Japanese land reform law of October 1946 and prior to the post-war revisions of the Japanese Civil Code.[1] [421] [177]

1 In this and in the following chapters, words in parentheses are, unless otherwise designated, Japanese equivalents of English terms. For an interesting historical discussion of the concepts of katoku-sōzoku (succession to house headship) and isan sōzoku (succession to property), see Hozumi, Nobushige, Ancestor worship and Japanese law. Third and revised edition, Tokyo, Osaka, and Kyoto, 1913, 170-87, esp. 181-82. Hozumi notes that in old Chinese history, katoku (house authority) was used as a synonym for eldest son, 172-73. On the Japanese reforms following the war, see Arthur F. Raper et al., The Japanese village in transition, (GHQ, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers, Natural Resources Section Report No. 136), Tokyo, 1950, 161-70, 258-61, and Laurence I. Hewes Jr., Japanese Land Reform Program (GHQ, Supreme Commander for the Allied Powers. Natural Resources Section Report No. 127), Tokyo, 1950, 9-36. [113]

423
134 In Hanashiro, The genya
[824] grass and shrub are essential as a substitute for firewood. In Matsuda with large areas of community owned forest, this genya is not so important to the individual family.

428
311 In considering the inheritance of land, it is essential to understand that a family needs different types of land. Not everyone has rice paddies, but parcels of dry crop land and genya in the south are necessary to existence.

428
593 If the practices of these three villages are indicative of the division of family holdings in general, the first son obtains between 50% and 60% of the land in addition to the house site. The remainder is divided, often equally, among the other sons. In the poorer families, if the sons are widely spaced, there may be enough left over for the second son, but when the third son reaches marriageable age, there may be nothing for him. Instances of this type were observed in the village. One young farmer of Minatogawa, a third son, said he received nothing, and set out by himself, first through wages, and then through small purchases to acquire his present modest land holdings.

This discussion may suggest a greater rigidity in the system of inheritance than is actually the case. It may give the impression of a series of families headed by the first son with most of the property and with younger sons and their branch families struggling along on what land can be spared for them. There has been, for historical reasons, more fluidity than this. The large number of heads of families who themselves are not first sons indicates that many second to fifth sons as well as daughters ultimately come into control of a family estate.

There have been four main reasons for this. (1) Emigration of first sons before they became of age. They left to earn a living in foreign countries to support their parents in the villages, became established and postponed to an indefinite future their return to Okinawa. Since the end of the war, according to relatives who are living in the village, many of these have no intention of ever returning except to visit. (2) Deaths of first sons without issue, and the succession of other sons or daughters. (3) Heavy war losses, especially of males. Some of these naturally were first sons, opening the way for the succession of young widows or second sons in the case of the unmarried first sons. (4) Deaths from catastrophes like typhoons, and in the case of Minatogawa, the losses of fishermen at sea.

428
602 Inheritance practices with private ownership of land follow logically
182 from the family system. They are a means of providing the economic base by saving the estate for future generations, at the same time providing where possible for sons not in the direct line of succession. Inheritance is a connecting link between the family system and land use and land tenure. Present land use and land tenure are an interesting example of the modifications that a system of social organization, the family system, has made on the natural environment.

Part 1

Minatogawa, the Fishing Community

1

Introduction

Fishing families are a closely knit group. They are usually interrelated. For the most part, the main houses of their extended families are in the fishing town of Itoman. Fathers, sons, [illegible], daughters, grandparents participate in some phase of fishing activity. 226 [596] 607

In an agricultural community, the first son remains in the home working the fields of his father. In fishing, through long custom, there is an avoidance of teamwork among close relatives. Members of the immediate family will not go out on the same fishing boat. A father will not take his son, an elder brother will not take a younger. Partners and working teams on boats are more distant relatives or friends. If a father and a son are on the same boat and it is lost, the present and the succeeding head both perish. To this incontrovertible possibility, there has been added the belief that if two persons of the same immediate family go to sea together on the same boat, there will be a disaster. And actual and near disasters are frequent enough to make both points of view understandable. The sons of fishermen, who are learning the ways of the fish and of the sea, go on the boats of others. Many younger fishermen regard the belief that it is inviting disaster to have two members of the same immediate family together on the same boat as a superstition (meishin), but to my knowledge, no fisherman ignores the custom. 226 593 [183]

In Minatogawa, about one half of the fishermen have fields of their own, usually small and poor. Perhaps twenty men in the village may be classed as half farmers and half fishermen, but even in these cases it is the wives and the children who have the continuing responsibility for the fields. 226 241 [923]

Neither is it rare for a fisherman to be a stonecutter. Perhaps another twenty men are engaged in the summer in fishing, and in stonecutting in the winter, or on unfavorable fishing days. The three main occupations of the village, including Nagamo, are thus found in varying combinations. Fishing is the most exacting and offers few opportunities for amateurs. Stonecutting requires strength and endurance. For those who have land, agriculture offers possibilities of growing one's own food and of avoiding cash outlays. 226 324 463

In an average summer month, there may be about 20 good fishing days. But because of unusual or unexpected rains or typhoons opportunities may be fewer. In 1951, there were only about ten working days in each of the summer months. In winter fishing days average about a week in a 226 461 [132]

Free choice in marriage does not mean that the family system will disintegrate because parents have lost control in selecting mates for their children. The family system is much more likely to break down if the head of a house must assume greater responsibility for the support of relatives, or if the young leave their homes and are scattered in the towns. 582 602

Trial marriage is said to be uncommon in Okinawa, but there does not seem to be any disapproval when it appears. Perhaps trial marriage is an inappropriate word, and living together prior to an intended marriage is a better term. In one case, a young man lived with his intended wife; sometimes he brought her to his parents' home. As his duties required some travelling, the girl often went with him. In Hanashiro, this custom is not practiced. When young people live together before marriage, with the parents' consent, they help one another's families with the daily chores. 583

Some married men have relations with other women, usually widows or unmarried girls, and have children by them. This is not rare, but it is by no means considered correct behavior. In one village, the first son with his wife and children live, as is customary, with his parents, but he continues to have relations with two unmarried women by whom he has had children. All three women live in the same village, know the situation, and manage to avoid one another fairly well. Naturally the wife is much disturbed by the arrangement. The man, now about 33, has 11 children by the three women. The children of the second and third women are classified in the family registers in the mother's family as illegitimate (shiseiji). This is an extreme case. 837 [848]

In another community, there was an instance of the effects of war and repatriation on a marriage. Before the war this man and his wife had emigrated to Saipan. She was afraid of the bombing and decided to return to her parents' home in rural Japan, to which her husband consented. He remained in Saipan and later lived with and married the girl who was his personal servant. They returned to Okinawa; he had a child by her and is now living with her. The new family register, made up after the war, does not show the old marriage. His first wife, whom he still admires, has written him, but he has not replied. While he expressed no regrets about the loss of the first wife, he talked about the second as if she were still a servant.

In the villages, the cases of a married man living with another woman, without any formal estrangement from the real wife, are in my opinion not uncommon--with the exception of Hanashiro. As one lives in a village and gradually hears confidences, departures from strict fidelity seem more frequent than appear on the surface. There is general agreement too that illegitimacy has increased since the 848

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

The native medicine, including the use of plants and fish as medicines, the native doctor, the use of cauterization, the golden needle, slashing, and acupuncture, seem to be disappearing in favor of modern patent medicines and drugs, and scientific medicine, nursing, and midwifery. Of all the traditional practices (ultimately derived from China), slashing and burning with moguza seem to have the greatest vitality. 75 178 [177]

10

Tattooing

Tattooing (ireizumi)in Japanese, dake in Okinawan) is a subject of great historical interest in the Ryukyu chain. In Okinawa, it exists now only among elderly women (in the late sixties and seventies), as it was forbidden by law when the Japanese annexed the islands. Tattooing usually was done on the back of the hands, including the fingers, parts of the wrist, and the knuckles. The design was put on by spreading India ink (often with sake or awamori added) on the surface, pricking out the design and wiping off the surplus, repeating the operation for the lighter parts. To my knowledge, there was no facial tattooing. 304 [636] [386]

Until quite recently tattooing was practiced on men as well. Basil Hall in 1816 wrote of a landing in the south of Okinawa island. "Most of these people had fish spears tatooed on their arms in the form of a trident, with rude barbs." On the right arm it was called (in Hall's transcription) "codeemaw," and on the left, "tooga." Apparently this was confined to fishermen. Furness in his account of the Luchus (1899) observed such markings among young and mature men in Itoman. The explanation given him was that they were a protection against evil spirits. Furness also discussed the theory that tattooing was historically connected with weaving. Simon, in an interesting speculative discussion, based on the designs of cloth in Miyako and their correspondence with house or family markings thought that the tattooing was a means of identifying women's membership in a family.7 304 114 [531] [789] [602]

This interesting idea unfortunately did not occur to me while in the villages, but the notion that tattooing may have been related 119 304 602

7 Hall's Voyage, as cited, Vocabulary (no pagination). Hall includes sketches of the marks. Furness, Life in the Luchu islands, as cited, 9. See also Simon's extremely interesting discussion, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, as cited, 134-150. Furness and Simon are especially valuable because they personally observed instances of tattooing at a time when it was much more commonly seen. Both authors reproduce patterns which show differences among the islands and among individuals.

114 to the family system, the extended family, or to the household
304 order naming system is well worth exploring. No tattooing was
602 observed among the Minatogawa fishermen, but this may have been an oversight. According to an old women there, it did exist. One would expect it from the close relationship of Minatogawa to Itoman. It is quite probable, in my opinion, that tattooing of men and women have different origins.

304 According to the early observers, tattooing of women took place around puberty, although Furness puts the age at 4 or 5 years. Patterns differed distinctly by island.

In Okinawa, everywhere one hears the same explanation for the origin of women's tattooing. Although there are variants, the core of the explanation is that the Ryukyu islanders (presumably after the Satsuma conquest of 1609) tattooed their young girls to prevent
[698] their being carried off to brothels in Japan. The tattooing was supposed to have made the girls so unattractive that they were untouched. Other variations are that the tattoo indicated marriage and thus kept the girl from being taken away. An old woman of Minatogawa told of a legend (not seen or heard from any other source) in which the tattooing of women was an act of thanksgiving for a
[773] rescue at sea. A boat was sinking, and the survivors swimming saw two hands in the sky. They stopped the waves and the storm passed, permitting the swimmers to reach shore easily. The families were told, and after that the hands of the women were tattooed.

[114] This subject needs considerable research. It would be of great interest to know the relationship, if any, to the family system, the extended family, and the household order naming system, whether it is comparatively recent in the islands, and whether the tattooing
[177] of the fisherman is a result of Chinese or Portugese influences and a consequence of the early Pacific trade described in Chapter II.

11

Knuckle Cracking

157 One of the most puzzling of Okinawan mannerisms is the frequency of knuckle cracking. It may be observed in young children from 5 to 6 to old men and women in their seventies. It is done on so many occasions that cataloging them would be a real chore. The knuckle is cracked crisply and sharply. Young boys and girls may talk a whole evening, cracking their knuckles incessantly. It occurs in ordinary conversation, at lively parties, and during periods when a conversation lags. Children say they learned it from their mothers.

It seems a habit acquired very early. Perhaps it is an indication of tension, but I am inclined to be less specific. One Okinawan explained it as a continuation of childhood habit and ascribed it to the limberness of the fingers coming from early training on the abacus,

the tomb shaped like a horseshoe or the Greek letter, omega. A great deal of popular lore has accumulated around this type of tomb. Okinawans believe that the shape of the tomb symbolizes the position of a woman giving birth to a child. This is related to another idea, "returning to the source" (moto ni kaeru in Japanese). 764 [811]

Four different but related meanings seem to be involved in the idea of "returning to the source": (1) that life here is but a momentary experience. One's real and permanent life is in the afterworld. At death one returns to his permanent home. (2) After death a person becomes a god (hotoke-san) in the Buddhist sense. He reaches this state 49 days after death, according to some explanations, though there is much confusion on this point. This godhood is a "return to the source." (3) At death one returns to a state of peace, and (4) one returns to a former state or to a former place. It is with this last meaning that the turtleback tomb is associated in popular lore with "returning to the source." 761 775

On death one returns to the womb of nature from which he came. (Similar lore has collected around the Buddhist coffin in which the corpse is put in a position like that of a child in the womb). Whether the popular explanation is the true one is very hard to say. It certainly should not be accepted without critically evaluating the questions which such an explanation raises. Early European and American observers were quick to point out the similarities between those tombs and those of China, though the fact that they were introduced from China does not rule out the symbolic meaning they might have. Many Okinawans regard these tombs as indigenous. But the Okinawan antiquarians, who so love to find symbols in everything, would be loathe to surrender this lore. It is generally agreed that the tombs were introduced from Fukien province in China. Captain Basil Hall was the first western traveller, I think, to notice the similarity between Okinawan and Fukien tombs. M'Leod also mentioned it. 775 764 811 [114] [171] [77]

The gable (hafu) type of tomb is very common. There are also small temporary tombs of masonry, more often built of rocks. The tombs of Hinatogawa are of this type. There are also very old tombs, hollowed out of the rock of a hillside. These were rare in the villages. Only one was seen in the dense vegetation and undergrowth at the bottom of a deep ravine in the center of Hatsuda. Large tombs hollowed out of hillsides are a commonplace, but the small ones apparently were the tombs of the very poor. Recently a new small tomb is being built by families unwilling to undergo the expense of the larger tombs. Tombs, though appearing to be haphazardly placed on mountains or on rocky hillsides, are on privately owned land. 764 [565]

The tombs may also be classified as to use, that is, whether they are intended for a single or the extended family. In Hanashiro, tombs are of the extended family type, located on land owned by the main family. They are the responsibility of the head of the main family. Branch families may contribute to the purchase price of the land, construction materials, and to maintenance. 764 602

000 construction materials, and to maintenance.

614 766 In an earlier chapter, a villager's remark was quoted to the effect that Hinatogawa was a branch family of Itoman. This is well illustrated in the burial customs of this village. Both children and adults are placed in a simple, temporary tomb, usually along the coast near the stonecutting area. Later the tomb is opened, the bones washed, and sent to Itoman. The transfer of the remains from the temporary tombs of the village to the extended family tomb in Itoman may be done at a time when it is necessary to open the Itoman tomb because of the death of a member of the extended family there. There is no second funeral. The cleaned bones are put in a box. There are short prayers before the opened Itoman tomb, the bones placed inside, and the box discarded.

764 602 In the adjoining village of Nagamo, burial customs are similar to those of Hanashiro. Nagamo has three different kinds of tombs: (1) large gable and turtleback extended family types, (2) a similar large tomb for a single family, and (3) small tombs for individual families.

The tombs of Hatsuda also are mainly of the extended family type. There are examples here of the turtleback, the gable, and the new small tomb. They are scattered throughout the village area, sometimes on the summit of a hill whose slopes are given over to terraced rice fields or dry cropping. Not all families own tombs; for reasons of economy, the small tomb for individual burial is becoming more frequent.

765 [462] [178] [114] In all the villages, after the coffin is put inside the tomb, it is left there for about three years. The tomb is reopened, the bones are removed from the coffin, washed, and put back in the tomb, tasks done by female relatives of the deceased, usually women over 40 years old. This three year period is not a set one. If a later death occurs in the family, the coffin may be opened at that time. An old custom of placing the bones in an urn after they are taken from the coffin has been abandoned. Basil Hall has some interesting comments on these old Okinawan urns.

3

Observances in Memory of the Dead

765 769 Observances in memory of the dead are held in all villages on the 1st, 7th, 14th, 21st, 28th, 35th, 42nd, and 49th day after death, and on the 1st, 3rd, 7th, 13th, 25th, and 33rd anniversary of death.

765 The simple observances and prayers at the tomb on the day following burial have already been mentioned. At the home, temporary memorial tablets made of white paper (shiroihai) are prepared to be replaced later with permanent red memorial tablets on the Buddhist god shelf. Both at home and at the tomb only relatives or close friends participate in the prayers and food offerings.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

4

Ancestor Worship

"Ancestor worship" has been used to describe the devotion to the spirit of the dead and the long continued remembrance of them by the living. While it is too deeply intrenched to be changed, the term is not satisfactory. It is really the worship of those who precede one in death, and these may be ascendants or descendants. The term, "ancestor worship," also conceals the fact that there is a partnership of the living and the dead, which, continued by the living generation in the production of children, will carry over in the future, so that family continuity from the remote past to the remote future is never broken. It is, in the phrase of John Hubbard, "a chain of worship,"[2] not merely the worship of the past and of the dead. But whether in the popular mind these two conceptions, worship of the dead and the family as a continuity, are closely and consciously related is impossible for me to say. The two ideas exist side by side on the level of feeling: to respect one's ancestors and to have children. 769 602

Another form of ancestor worship occurs in observances honoring the first ancestor or the founder of the village. Each village has a place of the guardian god (ujigami), located on the supposed site where the founder of the village first settled, which perpetuates the memory of the founder, who may, in some cases, also be the first ancestor of a family living in the village. (It has been suggested that the ujigami also might be related historically to the fire deity). Ceremonies at the place of the village guardian god have a public character and were often conducted by the priestesses. 776 778 [793]

Hanashiro. The place of the guardian god, a small building, is located on a plot of village owned land, off the main road at the edge of the settlement where the cultivated land begins. It is not well kept up. There is no attendant or caretaker. When necessary, it is reconstructed by volunteer village effort. Broken stone stairs lead up to the small tile roofed building. Inside, there are 5 stones, about 10 inches on the side and 4 inches thick. Some have thought these also represent the primitive hearth stones associated with worship of the fire god. One villager described it as a woman's deity place. Before the war, emigrants to the South Seas, South America, Manchuria, or Japan and their relatives prayed here for the good health and early return of those departing. [346] [358] [167]

Now there is public worship at the place on several occasions during the year. On the 3rd day of the 3rd month, a woman's holiday, women and children go to the seashore around Hinatogawa, and, on returning, pray at the place of the guardian god. On O-Bon, the village lion appears in front of this site. There is samisen playing and the whole village offers a prayer. (Not all villages have the lion costume. 778 796 [536] [825]

2 Quoted in L. Cranmer-Byng, The vision of Asia, New York, 1933, 42.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

the decades, as the branches grow into unilineal descent lines of their own, new "main" houses are formed. 613

Originally descriptive names were given to each household. These names indicated a "stem" family or one of its branches. The "Big East House," a reference to the lineage as well as to the homestead itself, probably split into several branches. These, the homes of younger sons, were known as "Little East House," or by a further derivative, "Behind Little East House." Sometimes the rank order of a younger son was used to name his house, such as "Second East House." This house order system is no longer in existence in Taira, but a few of the names are still in use to indicate houses, and individuals are frequently referred to as "the person of such and such a house," for instance, "the grandmother of the East House." *

Although every individual is aware of his membership in a "main house," these descent groups have little importance except in religious life and death ceremonies. Members of the same "main house" revere common male ancestors and share in the upkeep of a common tomb in which their remains are placed at death. Funerals and the veneration of deceased members of the "main house" bring the kin group together several times a year. Women, although entombed with their husbands, visit the "main house" of their father to pray before his ancestors' tablets and make offerings. If they were born in Taira, they may first take offerings of rice and sake to the shrine of their husband's paternal ancestors; then later in the day they prepare for a ceremony in their own "main house." 613 769

The descent group also functions in other religious contexts. The oldest woman of the main house acts as priestess for the lineage, and she or another older female may visit the sick and assist their relatives with prayers and practical help. Descent group affiliation does not affect such daily concerns as lending help to others in economic tasks, though some of the descendants of early Taira settlers seem to feel more obligation in this respect than members of the more recently arrived lineages. Lineage affiliation does not determine the choice of a marriage partner. However, although members of the same "main house" or lineage may marry each other provided they are not first cousins, such unions are rare. Marriage with maternal first cousins is also forbidden. 613 [794] [476] [582]

An individual also holds membership in other kin groups which have only a loose structure and few functions. These are the relatives 602 [476]

* Individual surnames among commoners are of recent date, introduced after the Japanese assumed administrative control and required their adoption to establish a population registry. Family names had been in use among the Shuri gentry. 551 177 217

●602 476 on one's mother's side and, after marriage, the wife's family. In seeking mutual assistance for rice planting, house building and other undertakings, such relatives may be approached. In other words, kin, neighbors, and members of the same geographical section of the village participate almost equally in mutual assistance groups. Maternal relatives join in family celebrations and in the discussion of family matters. Since many decisions are made jointly with the help of relatives, there are frequent occasions for the kindred to gather in the evening at one house or another.

561 Each Okinawan also belongs to an age group. As will be described in the section on socialization, beginning at kindergarten an Okinawan becomes associated with a group of boys and girls who will remain his 575 companions through school. As a member of junior high school he will join the formal Student's Association, which is responsible for certain community projects. High school students and all unmarried young adults belong to the Young People's Association, which is both a social group and a cooperative work group.

575 After marriage there are several associations which one may join. 185 Adult married women who are under 57 belong to the Women's Association, which is affiliated with an island organization dedicated to [562] "modernizing" women's lives. The organization is lead by a few women who are in contact with the district and island organization. They attempt at semisocial gatherings to introduce changes aimed at easing [262] the burdens of daily life and the pressure of poverty. For example, they are trying to influence the women to return to making their own bean paste rather than spending precious cash. The leaders show the women how to make bean paste and encourage them to set aside one work-free day a month to catch up with neglected housework. Many of the efforts of the organization, however, are not too successful. Most women go back to their homes and find that the accustomed ways are easier to follow. One has learned to live with economic pressures and tradition and established custom is a strong force. So the few forward-looking women have a difficult task in rallying others.

Both adult married males and females may also join an organization similar in objective—the Home Improvement group. Although the men who are village leaders belong to this association, the majority of the members are the same women who are leaders in the Women's Association.

575 Before World War II there was an association of older men.* Al- 887 though this group seldom, if ever, meets, it still sends a representative 623 to the village council and to a few village functions.

* Apparently of relatively recent origin.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

the wife takes charge of household funds while her husband controls larger spendings. 593 562

Many quarrels between couples originate from financial matters. Disagreements happen frequently when a husband returns home intoxicated late at night. His wife may blame him for using money which she has put aside for a special purchase; from this incident the argument turns to family finances in general. As words become more heated, the woman holds her own, telling her husband in no uncertain terms that he is a squanderer. Some husbands settle such an argument by hitting their wives. [273] [578]

Decisions are seldom made by one person in the family. The more important the issue involved, the more people within the family are consulted. A husband and wife may discuss whether to buy or sell a pig and make a joint decision. They also decide mutually on the buying of seed rice and other agricultural matters. Men concern themselves with the building of new structures or the addition to old ones. On the other hand, women make decisions affecting the daily life of children. They determine if a child needs new clothes, if he should be taken to the doctor, or accompany the mother on a shopping trip to the city. Some fathers take an interest in their children's study habits and accomplishments at school, but few are consistent in supervising their children in this respect. Here, too, mothers seem to have a much greater influence. Girls are likely to receive even less attention from their fathers than boys. In cases of decisions that can vitally affect the future of the whole household, members of the husband's and wife's family, if they live in the village, gather to discuss plans. 593 [602]

Although women are less active politically than men, they participate in village meetings as representatives for their families. With the exception of the Women's Association leaders, their participation is more passive than that of the men. But although they seldom speak in public and sit together at the back of the meeting, women nevertheless exert a great deal of influence on community affairs. Their influence is felt even more in meetings of mutual finance associations. 575 562 623

It is unlikely at this point that a woman in the village would run for political office. Several recent developments, however, indicate a steady increase in their political participation. The headman who was elected to office in 1955 is responsible for an innovation which reflects this trend. He selected his clerk by means of a competitive examination which was open to both young men and young women. Two girls who had graduated from high school were among the candidates. They were defeated by a young man to whom the job was given because of 562 666

The yard in which the Okinawan home stands is also rather uniform in 351
its appearance. It is usually surrounded by a stone wall or a thick hedge for protection against winds. Inside the gate is a himpung, a short wall that prevents one from looking straight through the gate into the house. The space between the himpung and the house is hard earth; this is where mats are spread for drying grain and where many other household tasks are performed. This yard space may be lined on one or both sides with outbuildings for the [343] storage of tools and crops and for housing livestock---two or three goats, [231] and here and there an ox or a horse. Behind the house is a pigsty. There may also be a chicken-coop, but chickens often run loose. There are usually a few trees in the yard, often a clump of bananas. Behind the house is also [514] the toilet; formerly it was combined with the pigsty, but now it is usually an oil-drum. In many villages every house has its own well, but even where [312] wells are fewer there is almost sure to be a cistern beside the house to catch rain-water. The house and yard will be discussed again later in rela- 128 tion to sanitation and health (see Chapter IX).[1]

The social unit that occupies such a house and yard is the family. 592
The structure of the family is also dealt with in detail by Pitts in Chapter VII. Let it suffice to say here that ideally the first son stays with his [591] parents after his marriage while younger sons establish separate households. Thus the family consists of a couple and their unmarried children or a couple with a married first son, his wife and children, and his unmarried brothers and sisters. The deaths of one or more members may reduce the family without breaking it up. Two married couples, parents and grandparents of the youngest generation, is the usual maximum. If two married sons live under the same roof it is usually regarded as a temporary expedient. Thus while the total number of persons in the household may be as many as a dozen, the average number is a little less than five.

The family, that is, the members of the household, is an economic unit, a social unit, and a ceremonial unit. As an economic unit the members of a household work together, producing for and consuming from a common stock. They cooperate with other households on the basis of common interest as neighbors. They form a social unit within the "han", the "ku", and the "son", they are [666] registered as a unit in the "koseki", and may have only one vote---cast by the head of the house---in local elections. As a ceremonial unit they form part of a numbered and graded system based on common descent.

The Structure of Kinship Relations In traditional Okinawan society, as in 593 other societies of East Asia, the funda- 602 mental unit is the family and the basic axis within the family is a vertical one running through the male line, the father-oldest son axis.[2] The basic values that support this structure are unity and continuity. Individuals are of varying importance to the family depending on their closeness to the father-first son axis; females are less important than males; younger sons

[1] For a more detailed account of the house and yard see Glacken, 1953, Chapter 5.

[2] I have borrowed this concept from Francis L. K. Hsu, to whose writings I am indebted.

593 are less important than older sons. The security of the individual depends
602 upon his closeness to this axis. Yet most can attain security. Younger sons grow up to establish families of their own. Daughters grow up to marry and become the means whereby other men establish families. If a man has no son he readily adopts one from among his brothers' or cousins' sons and so the continuity is maintained.

593 This structure is in sharp contrast to that of present-day American
171 society. In American society the individual, not the family, is felt to be the basic unit. The basic axis is horizontal, the husband-wife axis. The values are on affection between the married couple, responsibility toward minor children, and impartiality toward them. The responsibility of parents ends when the children grow up. There is little continuity. The individual can expect equal treatment but cannot expect lasting security within the family. He finds his family ties cut once when he grows up, once again when his children grow up. The only permanent tie is with husband or wife and hence the only permanent security within the family is through marital bond. Hence in American society there is an increasing emphasis on romantic love and an increasing tendency to look for security through it.

The relationship of husband and wife in Okinawan society is quite dif-
593 ferent from that in American society with its comradeship and equality. In
581 Okinawan society the traditional marriage is arranged by the family. Its pri-
[584] mary function is to provide for the continuity of the family units and if possible to produce more units like it. The satisfaction of individual needs is only a secondary function. At marriage a woman enters the family of her husband, where she hopes to produce an heir for him and more besides. Her position is subordinate; she must be submissive to him and to his parents. She expects to work hard. Her husband also expects to work hard, for he is obligated to provide his descendants and his ancestors with their needs, but if he also has the means to seek pleasure outside the home he is not only free to do so, but is expected to do so.

593 As one might expect, the relationship between parents and children is
855 very close. Okinawan parents live more intimately with their children than do American parents; they carry them around, sleep with them, and fondle them
[171] a great deal. And from the American point of view they spoil them. At the same time they seem to regard children as not quite human, and treat them at times with what to an American seems like heartless cruelty. Also they differentiate clearly on the basis of future importance to the family and the maintenance of its continuity; the first son, who will inherit his father's status, is given more consideration than younger sons; daughters, who will eventually leave the family entirely, are given less consideration---and more chores, to prepare them for future status as daughters-in-law---than are sons. Children are expected to respect their parents and to care for them when they are old. Parents are expected to love their children and care for them when they are young. The responsibility of a parent toward a minor child is not
[171] as great as in the United States; for example, in an emergency a parent may sell a child (this may be in conflict with the present law but it is not in
593 conflict with the mores of impoverished Okinawan farmers). Buth this responsibility does not end with the child's attaining majority. In the case

allotment system was now entered in the newly-created land registries as the 175
property of the household head. In the past inheritance of the position of 648
household head by the first son had been largely a matter of status succes- 177
sion involving leadership of the family and certain ceremonial obligations.
Property succession had not been an important factor, for the private 423
property of the family had usually amounted to no more than the family 177
house and lot. Under the old land allotment system there was always land
available for younger sons who set up independent houses, but under Japanese 423
law the bulk of the family property was inherited by the first son. What had 428
been the function of the community in the past now became the responsibility 592
of the family, and since family holdings were usually small, the younger sons
were often landless. Informants stated that a father will usually do every-
thing possible to provide his younger sons with land, but he cannot do this
if it means jeopardizing the resources of the house. Continuation of the
family line for the purpose of continuity in worshipping the ancestors is
the chief responsibility incumbent on the household head, and in the rural
areas the land provides the major support for the house. With the rise in [166]
population there developed an increasing trend for younger sons to emigrate
from the rural areas in search of land or jobs elsewhere. The end result [602]
was a considerable weakening of family and especially kin group ties and a [621]
rapid decline in the communal character of the rural villages.

Though the creation of private property made possible the sale, pur- 175
chase, and rental of land, landlordism never gained a foothold on Okinawa. 423
Undoubtedly this is primarily due to the recency of private property and the 427
lack of time for large accumulations of land to be made. It is also in part
due to a lack of capital in the rural areas; most capital on Okinawa after [471]
the annexation and before World War II was confined to the hands of Japanese
businessmen and members of the former upper classes who seemed disinclined to
invest in land. Likewise the official Japanese attitude toward Okinawa was [648]
to regard it as a rather backward part of Japan not to be exploited as a
colonial dependency as in the case of Formosa and Korea. Glacken has sug- [171]
gested that the heavy fragmentation of the typical Okinawan farm would be an
obstacle to its sale; yet, the Chinese farmland is also highly fragmented
and landlordism has been common there for centuries.[1]

After the abolition of the communal allotment system taxes were ex- 175
tended to cover all categories of land whereas previously they had been ap- 423
plied only to arable land; however, government income from land taxes sharply 651
declined, as the moderate levies of the Japanese administration were con-
siderably below those of the Okinawan monarchy. Despite this reduction in [311]
tax load there has been a steady decline in the amount of land cultivated
since the termination of the old land system; this is clearly shown in Tables
III and IV in Chapter III, Agricultural History, Land Use and Diet.

3. World War II and the American Occupation

175
During World War II Okinawa became the scene of one of the most vio- 727
lent battles of modern times. The entire island was turned into a combat

[1] Glacken, 1951, p. 160.

The mental
isolation of the farm village gradually decreased under a national system of 177
education, but the process did not end with schooling. Upon graduating, the 619
youth, male and female, were enrolled in a national young people's association. 575
Later the young men were drafted for service in the national army, and follow- [702]
ing discharge the veteran was enlisted in a local reserve association which
met frequently for military and social purposes. When a man married, estab-
lished a separate house, and began farming, membership in the farmer's associa-
tion was automatically conferred. His wife upon marriage transferred from the
young women's association to the women's association. There were, in fact, a
variety of national organizations covering the various phases and roles of
the individual's life; membership was never a matter of choice, but a thing
automatically conferred. A stress on patriotism was a strong concomitant in
all of these. Membership gave to the individual a sense of participating in
a national society extending far beyond the limits of his small village.

It should be stressed that most Okinawans regard the Japanese as pro- 177
viders of modern, enlightened government. The Japanese administration abol- 829
ished the old class divisions and freed the peasant from his serf-like status. [565]
Taxes on arable land were substantially reduced, and the villager for the
first time was given some voice in government above the village level. Modern [671]
law courts were introduced and justice was administered impartially, not on a
class basis as was formerly done.

Inadvertently, perhaps, official Japanese policy did much to destroy 177
the self-sufficiency of the farm village. Prior to the land reform, sugar 621
production did not exceed local needs, but government encouragement and sub- 433
sidy so increased production that by the time of World War II it exceeded con-
sumption by 900%. This resulted in a food shortage which necessitated heavy
importations of basic cereals to compensate.

Japanese manufactured goods also contributed to the decline in self- 177
sufficiency. Factory-made cloth gradually displaced home-woven fabrics, and 439
accordingly cotton and fiber banana were no longer raised. The tools, uten- 433
sils, and machines of the factory slowly replaced the simpler devices used [248]
in the village.

Abolition of the system of communal land tenure contributed to a weak- 177
ening of the family and particularly of the large extended kin group. The 602
introduction of private property and Japanese laws of inheritance served to 423
create a landless element which often emigrated from Okinawa in search of land [167]
or jobs elsewhere. Where formerly the kin group had clustered in certain
localities, they now became dispersed over great areas, making continued inter-
action difficult and often impossible.

Sixty-six years of Japanese rule resulted in a fairly successful amal- 177
gamation of Okinawa into the Japanese state; though the Okinawan language and
culture were not destroyed, they were severely altered.

Impact of World War II and the American Occupation The war destroyed vir- 727
tually all of rural and
urban Okinawa, and resulted in the death of twenty percent of the population.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

grandparents. The food was then served: noodles cooked with vegetables, with a slight fish flavor; rolls; tenpura, a sort of fritter; a fish cake known as kamobuko with a red border symbolizing happiness, and plenty of sake (awamori). A streamer hung from the ceiling near the alcove, announcing the name and date of birth of the new born child, together with the written wish that she might live any number of 10,000 year periods. There are no special ceremonies on these occasions. Some guests drop in for a few minutes, others remain for the whole evening. The women and the children go home early, while the men continue talking and drinking. This celebration is the first of a series that continues through a person's life, and if his descendants are devoted, will end 33 years after his death. After this celebration, things settle down until the child's first birthday. 852 [262] [212]

At present a child's age is reckoned in the same way as the Western custom. A child is one year old one year after the date of his birth. This is a recent innovation in force since January 1, 1950. Formerly age was reckoned in the Chinese and Japanese manner. A child born during a year was one year old and on the following New Year became two years of age. Thus a child born on December 27 would be two on January 1. The difference between the Chinese-Japanese and the western reckoning is that the former counts the years during which a person lives with New Years as the date for increasing the age, the latter counts the number of one year periods in which a person has lived. 805 [177]

The old system of reckoning age is inconvenient and conceals age differences. A one day difference might mean a year's difference in age in the case of a child born on December 31, and another on January 1. Determining the actual age of a person was troublesome. When children started to school, they might be 6, 7, or 8 years old and still be about the same actual age.

4

The Early Years

In all the villages studied, the women returned to their normal tasks about a month after childbirth. When the mother returns to the fields, the grandmother may accompany mother and child to the fields, the grandmother watching the child, while the mother nurses it at 10, 1, and 4. If the grandmother is too old and disabled, the child might stay home with the grandmother and the mother return from the fields to feed the child. Lacking help of this kind, the mother remains at home until the other children have returned from school. 846 854 853 603

But arrangements of this sort need not last long, for very early in life the child is strapped on the back and carried around 854

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

as usual. It was an affair organized by the women leaders, which, though a little slow in starting, turned into a gay carousing for the older women, who were less inhibited than the younger ones and needed little encouragement to drink and dance.

The daily life of a woman is more monotonous than her husband's and she has less leisure and recreation. After a day of hard work, men sit down alone or in groups to spend the evening in relaxation with a bottle of sake. After a short time they show signs of pleasant intoxication and all burdens of life seem to disappear. Such recourse to carefree diversion is generally denied women. Instead, they are loaded down with household chores and care of infants and guests after a day of work in fields and forests. They spend their little free time exchanging news with other women or talking with other family members or visitors who assemble around the charcoal fire in the back room during winter evenings. Only women of advanced age feel free to join the men in drinking at home.

Men have greater sexual freedom. They are at liberty to have affairs with other women outside the village and on trips to the city may visit tea houses and afterwards enjoy the favors of a prostitute if their pocket books allow.

Status differences based on age are reflected in the social structure and clearly denoted in the kinship terms. There is a special term of reference and address for "first son" and "first daughter" and for "older brother" and "older sister." As mentioned, ideally the oldest son assumes responsibility for the household, for his parents, and for the ancestral tablets. Even if he leaves his parental home temporarily or permanently for the city, where economic prospects are better, he remains the nominal household head and sends money back to his family. Theoretically the oldest male may retain authority until death, although in practice most men retire from this position at the age of 61. Their retirement is made official by an entry in the population registry. They continue to live with their oldest son and act as advisors and critics. A man's loss of authority with age occurs around his late fifties and early sixties and is evidenced not only by his retirement but also by his loss of the right to vote in village meetings. Veneration for age itself therefore, does not exist. Actual behavior toward the grandparental generation, all the members of which are addressed as "grandmother" or "grandfather" regardless of actual kinship, is warm, mildly playful, and indulgent. Disrespect, however, is absent.

It is characteristic of the relationship between children and grandmothers that in addressing nonrelated old women, the suffix *-san*, which denotes respect, is most often dropped for the "grandmother"

603 term. As the child gets older, the familiar suffixless form of address is
601 used less and less frequently, though girls seem to retain it longer than boys.

601 The strength of one's ties to the community as a whole regardless of
156 actual kinship is seen not only in the use of the term "grandmother"
576 and "grandfather" in addressing all members of this generation but also in the similar use of the terms "uncle" and "aunt" for all members of the parental generation. Those who are not known well or who have high status are addressed by the appropriate kinship term with the suffix -san added.*

554 Achieved status is recognized by special terms of address. The teacher,
576 school principal, the doctor, the village headman or mayor are addressed by their titles. Taira people combine familiarity with formality by calling a young teacher from the same or neighboring community by the first name, then adding the title "teacher." †

621 In summary, although affiliation with a patrilineal descent group
156 and kinship ties with kindred influence certain aspects of life, over and
571 above these ties is the identification with the community, which is drawn together by bonds of economic and social interdependence. Individual leaders serve their term of responsibility and then return to
[157] the egalitarian community life, which is comparatively free of competitive strife.

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♣
♣

Chapter 7

Courtship, Marriage, and Sex

582 Most marriages in Taira take place when both men and women are in their early or middle twenties (see Table 2). It is perhaps most note-

* This refers to the use of Japanese kinship terms which are prevalent in Taira—see Chapter 1 p. 370.

† The use of first names may also help to identify individuals since many persons have the same surname—this explanation, however, is not in contradiction with the statement concerning familiarity.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

brother or big sister" take effect, he is the most miserable creature alive in the village. 866 862

Weaning from the back often occurs at the same time as weaning from the breast; if not it occurs within six months. While this study was being done, eight children between 18 months and 2 years were weaned from the back as well as from the breast. Temper tantrums in which the child would sit down and scream his head off, hurl dirt and stones at his mother, older siblings, or adults who stopped to have a kind word with him or to ridicule him, and incessant whining were symptomatic of the repercussions of abrupt withdrawal. Sulkiness, stubbornness, and tyrannical behavior, however, are short lived. The child finds that although this kind of behavior brought immediate and rewarding responses in the past, he now faces further withdrawal or punishment as a result. The mother impatiently screams back at him to stop crying, and siblings simply leave him behind to keep up with his own pace or drag him along forcibly and uncomfortably, with threats of punishment if he refuses to cooperate. As if to heap more abuse on deprivation, he finds the newly arrived baby the center of the household and taking his place at his mother's breast. He is encouraged and discouraged by turns. "You are an older brother or an older sister. You do not drink your mother's milk now. And see how big you are and such a good child," now encourage visitors. "Come here, hurry!" scream older siblings or mother when he fails to keep in step with them on walks. For about three months the child's bleary eyes, tear-streaked face, and woebegone expression are unquestionable evidences of the most unhappy interval of his childhood.

In an attempt to continue "ruling" the family, he goes into frequent rages. He demands anything and everything in sight, concentrating on the breast and on being carried. Desperately he screams and cries. Finally he sits on the ground and refuses to move. If his caretaker does not pick him up at that point, he will simply lie prone and cry hysterically. Usually adults scream back at him and start walking away, whereupon the child quickly picks himself off the ground and runs after the retreating caretaker. In this way the child's control is broken. Furthermore, he is ridiculed, shamed and scolded for his "babyish" behavior. Only the grandmother, with whom he sleeps at night, responds to his dominating behavior. During the day, he whines, wheedles, and makes numerous demands on her. [513]

Obviously family structure determines in part the severity of the deprivation. The child who lives in a household with a grandmother and perhaps older siblings will have someone to indulge him. The 866 887 603

866 first child of a nuclear family, on the other hand, will not have these
887 supports and thus finds this time severely depriving. The child in a
nuclear family with a number of older siblings to support and meet
603 his dependency needs will find the transition difficult but will suffer less deprivation. If there is a grandmother or older siblings in the house, he can still claim some infantile support until he is about 4 or 5 years old. They continue to comfort him when he cries, help him in dressing, bathing, and eating. "Go ask your grandmother or older sibling," instructs the mother when the child requests aid. Or, if she happens not to be busy, she will help him herself.

[596] Mothers in extended households complained that grandparents often intervened on behalf of the child and made disciplining very difficult. The kindergarten teacher remarked on the differences between children who have grandparents and those who do not. "Those who do not have grandparents are much easier to handle, they don't cry so easily and do many things for themselves. My child always runs to grandfather whenever I scold her (there is no grandmother in the house) . . . and we mothers end up by being scolded by the old folks," she remarked.

It is not an uncommon sight to see a child crying and running to his grandmother on being reprimanded by his mother. With carrying, hugging, and venting anger against the mother, the old woman comforts the child. Children soon learn that if no one else complies with their demands, grandmother or grandfather will grant them satisfaction.

866 Grandmothers often will protect and indulge children of the vil-
603 lage other than their own grandchildren. One day as the fieldworker
855 sat talking with two mothers and watching their children play, the question of Okinawans' dislike of children's crying, and of overindulgence of grandmothers arose. The year and a half old boy of one of the women at that instant got one foot over the lower rail of a fence. As the child watched others climbing the fence, he tried to lift the other foot. He howled as he discovered the feat too difficult. The mother made no move to go to the boy's aid but instead sat laughing at the "foolish predicament he got himself into." Suddenly from the house across the way rushed a grandmother. She picked the screaming boy up and examined him for bruises. When she spotted the mother sitting within eye and earshot, she rushed over with the boy and started to scold her. "What are you doing sitting there! Just looking at your crying child! Why didn't you go over and help him . . . see what the matter was anyway?" And with this she put the child in the mother's lap and gave her a slap on the back. The old woman then

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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went home and hysterically reported the incident to her family. The mother, meanwhile, laughed and told her boy, "Just like your grandmother, can't stand to hear you cry even when you are not hurt!" She then went on to say that both she and her husband ignore the boy's crying in situations where he could help himself, but the boy's grandmother immediately runs to soothe and aid him. Generally it may be said that in extended households, grandmothers tend to prolong the dependence period and discourage independence and responsibility. 866 603 855 [596]

The relationship between grandfather and grandchild is more restrained. Although grandfathers may be seen carrying children or doing things for them, there is always a discreet distance between them, the result of early training in respect and deference to male elders. Children do not tease their grandfathers as they do their grandmothers. Older boys, in their late teens, may carry on a superficial joking relationship with their grandfathers, but they must be careful not to show disrespect. The male elders in turn show greater affection for the male child than for the female. When both grandparents are living in the house, the child, whether male or female, is more likely to direct his succorant appeals to grandmother rather than grandfather.* 603 858 866

Mothers, themselves, are often not too consistent in their training for independence. They will feel sorry for the child when he is first weaned and allow him to stay close to them until the birth of the next sibling. On the other hand, they will encourage the little 2-year-olds to imitate older girls and boys, particularly in their baby-tending role. A mother will strap a "doll" on her daughter or son's back. The "dolls" are usually rolled blankets or jackets, for real dolls are expensive and rarely bought in the village. Older children and adults do not fail to comment to a child carrying such a burden. They praise him for being such a good caretaker; they pretend to see the "baby" sleeping and report this to him. If the strapping becomes loose, they call to him and reassemble the "baby" and the pinning. The doll is never played with or manipulated. Thus the 2-year-old gets praised for emulation of the responsible and nurturant behavior expected of older siblings. 866 857 [862] [524] [155]

Perhaps it is this role training that explains in part the absence of aggression toward the newborn sibling, which might well be expected with such a short interval between weaning from the breast and back and the birth of the next child. The fieldworker did not observe one instance of such hostility. If there is any hostility expressed, it is against the mother in outbursts of temper and against those who ridicule or try to comfort the displaced child. The grandmother's aggressive actions against the mother may encourage the child in this behavior 867 593

* Only 4 out of 24 sample children lived in the same house with a grandfather.

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playing. They had not come home for the noon meal, which was 855
unusual. The mother, however, did not search extensively, for the [857]
fieldworkers, a little later, noticed the two girls peacefully playing "house" in someone's backyard. They stayed for a good part of the afternoon, and the mother probably continued her usual activities.

The relationship between child and mother remains warm and intimate throughout childhood. A mother may be scolding, impatient, angry, or punishing, but to the child she is the center of the family.

In households lucky enough to have a grandmother, she becomes 603
recognized as the person who is at home if something is wanted or 855
if help and comfort are needed. It is interesting to note, however, that the relationship between children and their grandmothers changes decidedly as the child starts off to school. As if to assert his independence, the 6-year-old begins teasing his grandmother unmercifully. In response to her suggestions, the child laughingly refuses and pretends to run away or often pretends not to hear her. As she screams all kinds of invectives at the child, he giggles hilariously while running ahead. But he does not run as fast as he could. He allows grandmother to catch him, and there is much laughter from both of them. Actually the child rarely fails to comply with her wishes. Two girls, aged 8 and 10, and a young female adult aged 23 often saved a part of their share of goodies, given them by the fieldworker, for their grandmothers. The 10-year-old lavished further indulgence by taking her grandmother's clothing along with her own to launder on washdays.

Boys seem to differ somewhat in this respect. Although there is a very affectionate bond between them and their grandmothers, there is less of this kind of indulgent pattern. They will, however, at the time they start off to school, meet with the old women's demands to run errands, carry tools, and share with her the care of their younger siblings.

Because the society feels that child rearing is "women's work," 855
males have little or nothing to do with the handling of children 593
until the time when decisions as to their future have to be made. 861
There need be only one qualification made with reference to the above statement and it is that fathers may serve as "last resort" disciplinary figures in the case of male children. For many mothers the most effective threat is to "report to father."

The father is not so forbidding a figure for the child of preschool age. Many observations show that fathers tolerate the kindergarten child who begs to be taken to parties or on laps while visiting with neighbors; however, an older sibling or mother was called as soon

of a first son the parents' responsibility toward him may even increase as he 593
grows older, since the continuity of the family depends upon him. Also the
child's duty to obey his parents does not end with his majority, and this
duty also may be stronger for a first son. All this is in sharp contrast [171]
with the situation in American society, where the responsibility of the parent to the child is greatest when the child is small and gradually recedes as the child grows older, where the parents' responsibilities toward minor children are identical regardless of the sex or age of the child relative to others, and where the duty of the child to obey its parents clearly ends when it reaches majority.

The relationship between grandparents and grandchildren is also closer 603
than is commonly the case in the United States. There is greater physical 171
intimacy, there are greater mutual obligations, and there is therefore a greater feeling of security derived from the relationship.

The relationship of siblings too is different from that in the United 593
States. There is no equality among Okinawan brothers; each has his own sta- 171
tus, the first son having the most responsibility and the most privileges. Sisters are inferior to their brothers, but are more nearly equal to each other. But the brothers constitute a single unit even though they are unequal, the very numbering of them, first son, second son, and so forth, sets them apart as a unit separate from other units composed of numbered sons. As adults they are expected to cooperate, and usually do. It seems likely that the American passion for equality, with its resulting arguments among children as to who got the larger piece of pie, may result in greater conflict among siblings than exists in Okinawan society.

I have attempted to indicate briefly some of the main features of the 121
Okinawan family, how it differs from the American family, and how it provides 593
a greater sense of security for the individual. This security, it should be 152
emphasized, is at the expense of freedom and equality. Later, in discussing the life of the individual, I shall examine some of these features more closely. Moreover, I shall also try to show that family life not only provides the individual with a feeling of security, but also provides him with the pattern of relationships that he extends to the rest of the world and is the source of some of his basic anxieties.

Classification of Kin It has long been recognized that the categories of 121
language are likely to be the categories of thought, 601
and that if we are to understand how the members of another society see some aspect of reality---color, plant life, the passage of time, we can well begin by learning how they classify their perception---by studying their color terms, botanical taxonomy, terms for the seasons and other divisions of time. In the study of social organization this method is even more useful because the reality as well as the conception is man-made. Thus the categories into which the members of a society group their kinfolk have proved to be important clues to the organization of that society. I shall therefore describe briefly the kinship terms used by the Okinawans.

The terms themselves do not matter for this purpose. They vary from 601
place to place and from social class to class. But it is significant that

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Step-mother	kaibo
Step-father	keifu
Adopted son	yōshi
Adopted daughter	yōjo
Illegitimate child	shiseiji
Person living with a family but not a relative	dōkyonin

Descent is reckoned through the male line. Normally the first son 611
succeeds to the headship of the house, and this is actually true in the 592
great majority of cases, although the failure of the first or later sons to survive to maturity, or the death of sons in the war, have resulted in many household headships being held by sons other than the first, or by daughters. This is brought out in the following table which shows the relationship of the present head of the household to the preceding head.

592

Relationships may be obscured to simple observation because the head of the household (koshu) may reside in a foreign country. This [167]
was a common occurrence before the war during the widespread Okinawan emigration, but repatriation since the war has reduced the number of heads of households who live in foreign countries. At present most absentee heads live in Peru, Brasil, or in Argentina. In the absence or disability of the first son, the second and succeeding sons assume his place, not legally, but in practice, and should the elder son return, his younger brother would relinquish the headship and establish a branch family. The family register, however, is not changed to show the temporary head. But his absence may be indicated by a notation.

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A woman, either a wife or a daughter, is not considered in the succession if there are eligible male heirs, but in their absence, she may succeed to a house. The war produced many instances of this. A mother with minor children is the head of the house and has disposition of the family property, but custom and usage circumscribe her freedom of action. In custom, a mother with minor children, especially if one of them is a boy, is regarded as the trustee and caretaker of a house and its fields during the minority of her children, the eldest of whom, if he is a son, will become head when he reaches maturity. In practice, widows with minor sons do not sell or dispose of their property except under strong economic compulsions, and then only after discussion with representatives of the extended family.

The real place of the woman in the family system is to become part 592
of the family of her husband. If she marries a first son, she enters [591]
the home of her husband's parents. If she marries a second or a third son, she is part of a branch family established by her husband. There is general agreement among Okinawans with whom I consulted that the residence of a young wife with the husband's family does not result in the prolonged quarreling and bickering which have made the mother-in-law [606]
and daughter-in-law relationship so legendary a topic in Chinese and Japanese society. Disagreements exist, but according to residents in

[Text continues top of p.95--analyst]

each of the villages, they seldom reach real intensity or a point where the husband sends his wife back to her parents and obtains a divorce. 592 606

A special problem, ordinarily calling for adoption as the solution, is the situation in a family with no sons. During the child bearing ages a family tries very hard to get a son. The man with a family of daughters will resort to adoption of a male child of a relative, if at the end of a child bearing period, no sons have been born to him. But adoption, while available as a device for insuring the continuity of the family, is uncommon and does not have the importance historically attached to it in Japan. Adoption is discussed in more detail in Section 6. 597 [842]

3

The Extended Family and its Branches

The extended family (ichimon in Japanese, munchu in Okinawan) consists of all families in the main and collateral line of descent from the common ancestor.[2] This ancestor, who founded the house, is an historical, or at least a supposed historical person. The descendants of the founder of the family, themselves united in a family group, are thus related to one another, though the older the family, the more remote these relationships become. Many villagers recognize that they are related to one another, but the relationships are seldom clearly defined beyond the second cousin. After this people become relatives, (shinseki or shinrui in Japanese). These words, used synonymously in Okinawa, indicate an awareness of a relationship without knowing offhand its exact nature. This problem is solved in part, as will appear later on, in Section 8, by knowing the household order name of each family, but even here individual relationships are difficult to trace. 614 596 607

Contemporary lack of precise knowledge of family genealogies is due in large part to the destruction of many family records during the war. The keeping of genealogies was common, especially among the families who belonged to the old Okinawan nobility. The genealogies lost in the war are irreplaceable. The same is true of the official family registers which were also destroyed. They were replaced with ones prepared by officials personally interviewing the families involved. While this procedure succeeded in recording contemporary data with a fair degree of accuracy, it could not duplicate the minute details, going back for generations, which were recorded in the old registers. 601 217 [565]

2 Dictionaries usually define ichimon as clan, but I have avoided using this term because of ambiguities in usuage. In American practice, clan has been applied to groups in which descent is reckoned through the mother. See R. H. Lowie, Primitive society, New York, 1920, 111-12. Father-sibs (Lowie's term) or family groups could be used, but the latter term suggests more a collection of families than a large unified family with many sub-families.

[Koohinda-son]

The husband sought military employment after the divorce. Haru has now also gone to the city to find military employment because her younger brother, who is household head, became angry and said, "...even the animals know enough to suckle their young." An observer commented, "Haru is mentally deficient, so that is why she was jealous." 586 159

Case 2

Kanā at the age of 32 was Chūsei's third wife, and he was her fourth husband. His seventy-year-old mother, Ushii, had become blind as a result of the war. Kanā insulted her mother-in-law somehow. In turn Ushii insulted Kanā by saying she couldn't work very hard. Chūsei divorced Kanā for the quarrel, and she moved to an offshore island. More recently she remarried to a man two villages away, and they have two children. Her new husband fishes during the summer and works for a big sugar mill during the winter.

Case 3

The husband, Jirō, was a second son of 23 years, who had become an adopted husband, or 'yōshi'. His wife Yae, who was a common law child, bore him a son. Because he violently disliked farming he sold the land he inherited and bought a mat-making shop in Naha. His real father, killed in the war, had operated such a business. Jirō also took up a concubine in Naha.

Though she had borne Jirō a son, Yae divorced him because she didn't like the idea of a concubine, and preferred farming to life in Naha. Later Jirō sold the houselot in the village, took the house apart and reassembled it in Naha. The mat shop failed after one year. He now plans to make his living by doing nothing but renting out rooms. He married his concubine eighteen months later, after she bore him a son. Yae married a few days after the divorce, to a man from a neighboring village. She now has two sons.

Diagnosis In the first case cited above, we can see several factors that help us to understand Okinawan society. Attitudes expressed include: [593]

a) A wife should not be jealous of her husband's attention to other women;
b) A brother need not support his sister if she refuses to care for her own child; and
c) A mother's first duty is to care for her own child.

Both divorced persons eventually sought military employment. So we see that urbanization is not alone a matter of pull from the city, but contains in addition an element of being "pushed from the village". [369]

The Chūsei-Kanā divorce was brought on by an insult to the husband's mother. In Okinawa as in Japan the mother-in-law wields a good deal of authority. [606] [171]

In the third case cited, it was found that Jirō had a very bad reputation in the village because he was a 'yōshi' who sold his inherited [829]

597 known as groom-adoption (mukoyoshi in Japanese). No instances of this form of adoption were found in the villages. The husband-to-be is adopted into his wife's family and, at the same time, becomes successor to his wife's father's estate. The adopted man is placed in a similar position to a daughter to be married: he forsakes his own family, his name is taken off the family register of his father, and he becomes, like the bride in a normal situation, a member of his wife's family.

597 183 [171] Common in Japan, this device is considered a humiliating position, both in Japan and in Okinawa,* for the bridegroom, since he puts himself in an unfavorable position regarding the women of the adopting family and leaves his own. Even though unused, reactions to this form of adoption are unreservedly negative in the villages. "It is very distasteful," said one man. "The boy deserts his own home and enters his wife's home." Occasionally however it probably will be used. There are a few families with five or six daughters and no sons. In one instance, a family with six daughters, the eldest of marriageable age, the parents were considering groom adoption.

597 171 In Okinawa unlike Japan, the maintenance of the family system is not contingent upon an elaborate and widely used system of adoption. This is one of the important distinctions to be made between Okinawan and Japanese culture, for in Japan adoption has been used by the royal family, in business and professional circles, as well as among the ordinary classes of people.

7

The "Growing Up" Parent

597 608 855 734 There is also a special form of adoption in Okinawa. It is debatable whether it is directly concerned with the maintenance of the family system, or is a more general aspect of the culture and part of the care and rearing of children. This is known as yashineuya (in Okinawan), yashinaoya or morawako (in Japanese). It is not adoption, but an arrangement that is considered helpful for the survival of sickly children who, the parents feel, might not live to maturity. The verb, yashinsu in Japanese means to rear, adopt, or support. It is also used in referring to raising animals.

[791] [787] The first step is to consult a fortune teller (sanjinsō in Japanese). Hanashiro people can go to nearby Gushichan; Minatogawans to Itoman or Naha, and the parents of Matsuda to Ginoza or to Nago to consult the

* This situation has changed since the war. See The Japanese village in transition, as cited, 213.

fortune teller. The purpose of this visit is to discover who would be a good adopting parent. The fortune teller advises the parents to select a person born under the same year sign as the child. These year signs roughly correspond to the signs of the zodiac. The twelve signs with their Japanese equivalents are: rat (ne), ox (ushi), tiger (tora), hare or rabbit (u), dragon (tatsu), snake (mi), horse (uma), sheep hitsuji), monkey (saru), bird (tori), dog (inu), and hog or boar (i). The year 1951 was the year of the hare; 1952 is the year of the dragon (tatsudoki).

The adopting or "growing up" parent is older, in multiples of 12, than the child. After consulting almanacs and other materials, the fortune teller advises the parents to find a person in the village born under the same year sign as the child. Prospective adopting parents are then sought out and the matter is discussed with them. Both parents may do this, but most often the discussions are carried on by the mother. When the selection is made, the child is "given" to the adopting parent, and there are prayers before the Buddhist god shelf in the home of the adopting parent.

Actually the child continues to live with its own parents, but makes frequent visits to the home of the adopting parent. There are no stated intervals at which these visits are made, except for New Years and O-Bon. The adopting parent may on these visits give food and presents to the child.

The arrangement thus seems to be a form of sponsorship and guardianship without special responsibilities on the part of the adopting parent, to bring good health and long life to the child. It has only slight resemblances to the godfather and godmother in Christian countries who sponsor a child at his baptism and theoretically at least undertake to be responsible for his Christian training. But the sponsorship and guardianship features are somewhat similar.

Adoption of this type may be done in Okinawa by either sex. Generally old women are the favorites and they may have many such adopted children. But old or older men may also assume this obligation. This form of "growing up" adoption existed in all the villages studied in substantially the same form.

8

The Household Order Naming System

Families in a village have, in addition to their own surnames, secondary names by which individual families are known. This secondary naming system is a device to distinguish related families with the same surname from one another.

The secondary naming system is known as "the household order," or Yagō in Japanese. To introduce this discussion, it might be well to

seem to be either supplementary names or household order names held during one's lifetime only, but in some instances became hereditary. Household order names taken from places seem to have become hereditary, if present lists of these names are fair indications. Even today if an American should settle in a village in Okinawa, he would probably be given a household order name and be known by this name outside the circle of friends and acquaintances who knew his surname. Such a house name would be something like Amerikaya, House of America. Ya means house or abode. The American's presence would be well known; his name, too difficult to pronounce and to remember, would be forgotten even if ever learned, and he would be the house of the man from America.

614 613 592 [609]

Each family in a village has this secondary name whether it is in the main or a branch family line. In Minatogawa, some exceptions were found to this, but it is not quite clear what interpretation to put upon them. In this village there were many individuals--mostly single persons living by themselves--who did not have a household order name. Of the 213 households, 20 either did not have such a secondary name, or it was not known to them nor to the residents of Minatogawa. Of these at least 8 were females.

Household order names do not appear in the official family registers (koseki) maintained in the village office (yakuba). Historically, the household order name apparently preceded the giving of first and surnames. In villages the mass of people were not known by their full names. They were designated in the fashion already described. Even up to the beginning of the war, often only important and conspicuous people, such as officials and school teachers, were known by their given and surnames (seimei); the rest were known by their household order name.

[217] 551 592 184 614 613

Of all the villages studied, the household order name seemed to be of greatest living importance in Hanashiro. This naming system is used only in contacts within the village. In contacts with the outside, in schools, and in official dealings, a person's full name is used. Young children, from about ten on, know families by their household order name, and one can inquire for a family by asking either for the surname or the household order name. There were instances in all villages, confined however to the old, of people knowing individuals only by their household order name. According to informants here, a person's household order name is still better known than the given and the surname. Residents are often called for village, community, and official duties by their secondary family names. Here the double naming system, one for contacts within the village, the other for the outside is still strong.

A similar situation existed in Minatogawa. The household order system here might be expected to persist longer, at least for use within the village because of the high frequency of a few surnames. The same ability of young children to know household order names of

Within the village there are no class differences. Considerable prestige continues to be accorded certain occupations---teacher, doctor, government official. Land ownership does not appear to be an important status factor, and there is no landlord class. 621 554

Family The Okinawan family system has been in a process of change for over fifty years. Abolition of the system of communal land tenure and the introduction of private property and Japanese laws of inheritance provided the first shock. The bulk of the estate was hereafter conferred upon the first son while younger sons were frequently landless; consequently, many left the village in search of livelihood elsewhere. Where formerly the kin group was concentrated in a given locality, now its members are often scattered about, making interaction infrequent. A gradual decline in the practice of kin group endogamy also has contributed to weakening the solidarity of the kin group. There seems to be an increasing trend for large kin groups to fragment into smaller segments. According to young people who were consulted on the subject, their generation has little interest in kin group affairs; this may be misleading, as it is chiefly a matter which occupies the attention of older people. Perhaps one young man stated the situation accurately when he said, "I have no interest in such matters now, but I suppose I will when I am past forty." 593 178 [423] [428] 610 178

Many families were shattered by the war, and in the postwar period there has been a weakening of the family due to a variety of factors which might best be described as growing individualism. One factor, noted previously, was an increasing tendency for members of the household to maintain separate purses where formerly all earnings were turned over to the head of the house. There is some sentiment among the more educated for changing existing inheritance laws in favor of equal shares for all heirs regardless of sex or birth order. The author also heard complaints that young people often run off to seek lucrative jobs elsewhere unmindful of their family obligations. 593 178

Marriage In contrast to the prewar period when most marriages were arranged, the young people today claim that they will marry someone of their own choice. This seems to be generally true, but often the parents will go through the process of arranging after the young people have decided. Young people also will vehemently deny that they will make use of a fortune teller to determine the most propitious day, but their mothers most likely will do this and then will exert their influence for the proper day. In all likelihood the young people will accept in order not to displease the parents. 584 178 [585]

If a person, particularly a young woman, delays too long in becoming married, the family will arrange a match. In one such case known to the author a well-educated woman of twenty-five who had financial independence as a school teacher was urged into a match much against her own feelings. She explained her compliance as obligation to her family for having provided her with an excellent education.

Pitts' population studies indicate that the average age of marriage has dropped slightly in the postwar period due to the fact that Okinawan men are no longer delayed by military service. Despite this slight drop in the 582 178

The strong ties of the family system are probably the fundamental reasons for this lack of strangeness. One is a member of the family, even if in another part of the island or of the world. This sense of belonging, to be emphasized later, is not only an emotional feeling but is a basic fact of social organization. Relationships, regardless of their geographic spread, are a binding force. It is true that these become weaker with the remoter relationships of the extended family, but they are still strong enough to blunt the edge of individual frictions that might otherwise be expected. 571 [602] [156] [578]

There was a niche into which a returning person might fit, whether he was a parent, a first son, an elder brother, an uncle or niece of the head of the household. The repatriates who had been long absent were, in turn, able to make an adjustment to conditions in the island of their birth because they had continued the same social system in their foreign residence. They now had to function in a more restricted and less well endowed natural environment. Dissatisfactions took the form, as they still do, of longing for better economic opportunity which they hope will be realized through further opportunities for emigration. They make comparisons, unfavorable to Okinawa, regarding the ease of making a living in other countries. Repatriates from Japan, who have returned to Okinawan rural life, miss the cities and the more exciting life of that country. Among those who have travelled, there is also a more noticeable discontent and dissatisfaction with the loneliness of rural life. The word sabishii is often on their lips. [554] [178] [511] [156]

The ideas of the repatriated Okinawans, furthermore, are not a new phenomenon in contemporary village life. They did not bring back points of view unknown before. In the past these had been communicated by letters and rare visits to the homeland. The reports of the repatriates were richer, more detailed, and more concrete, but not completely different. They have--and this is probably one of their chief influences on post-war village life--stimulated the strong desire of the villagers to emigrate. Life is hard on the island, and their accounts of greater return for the same expenditure of work have quickened hopes of future emigration. These hopes are confined to the New World, Japan, and the Pacific islands. There is no enthusiasm for migration to other islands in the Ryukyu chain. [185] [167]

4

Attitudes Toward Birth Control

There is little in the religious belief or in the cultural tradition that would induce, in large segments of the population, a strong antipathy to birth control on religious grounds, but these beliefs and traditions are not favorable to it either. Respect for ancestors and the need for the continuance of the family system are the most important of these. It is the duty of each generation to provide this continuity between the past and the future. The links in this chain are male children. Once this 842 [602] [611]

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Step-mother	keibo
Step-father	keifu
Adopted son	yōshi
Adopted daughter	yōjo
Illegitimate child	shiseiji
Person living with a family but not a relative	dōkyonin

Descent is reckoned through the male line. Normally the first son 611
succeeds to the headship of the house, and this is actually true in the 592
great majority of cases, although the failure of the first or later sons to survive to maturity, or the death of sons in the war, have resulted in many household headships being held by sons other than the first, or by daughters. This is brought out in the following table which shows the relationship of the present head of the household to the preceding head.

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Relationships may be obscured to simple observation because the head of the household (koshu) may reside in a foreign country. This [167]
was a common occurrence before the war during the widespread Okinawan emigration, but repatriation since the war has reduced the number of heads of households who live in foreign countries. At present most absentee heads live in Peru, Brasil, or in Argentina. In the absence or disability of the first son, the second and succeeding sons assume his place, not legally, but in practice, and should the elder son return, his younger brother would relinquish the headship and establish a branch family. The family register, however, is not changed to show the temporary head. But his absence may be indicated by a notation.

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A woman, either a wife or a daughter, is not considered in the succession if there are eligible male heirs, but in their absence, she may succeed to a house. The war produced many instances of this. A mother with minor children is the head of the house and has disposition of the family property, but custom and usage circumscribe her freedom of action. In custom, a mother with minor children, especially if one of them is a boy, is regarded as the trustee and caretaker of a house and its fields during the minority of her children, the eldest of whom, if he is a son, will become head when he reaches maturity. In practice, widows with minor sons do not sell or dispose of their property except under strong economic compulsions, and then only after discussion with representatives of the extended family.

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The real place of the woman in the family system is to become part of the family of her husband. If she marries a first son, she enters [591]
the home of her husband's parents. If she marries a second or a third son, she is part of a branch family established by her husband. There is general agreement among Okinawans with whom I consulted that the residence of a young wife with the husband's family does not result in the prolonged quarreling and bickering which have made the mother-in-law [606]
and daughter-in-law relationship so legendary a topic in Chinese and Japanese society. Disagreements exist, but according to residents in

[Text continues top of p. 95--analyst]

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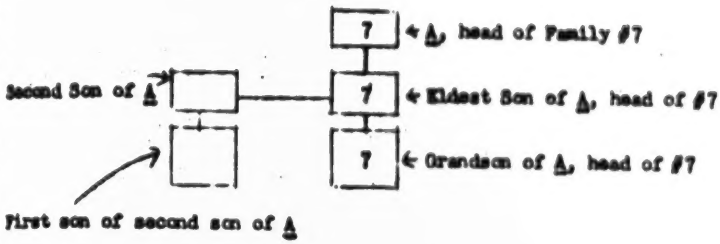
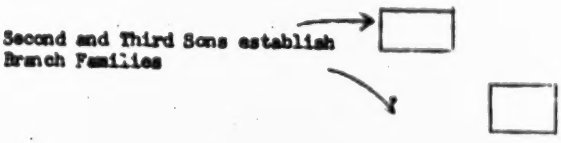
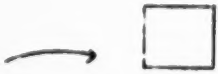




Daughters marry and go to Husband's Father's House or to Branch Families established by their husbands.



[597]

The family system, through the succession of the first son to his father's house, prevents the extinction of the main family line, and at the same time creates branch families with close ties with the parent family. [611]

Lacking a son, adoption (to be discussed below) is available to provide against extinction of any family, but in Okinawan villages it has seldom been necessary to use it. [597]

The emphasis in the family system is on providing for the eldest son who succeeds to the father's estate. The sons other than the first must be prepared to accept little or nothing, in the case of the very poor, when they marry and separate themselves from the parental house. [428]

In these Okinawan villages, the second and succeeding sons (or younger brothers if the head of the house is the eldest brother) remain in the family until marriage, usually around 25. They do not live in separate houses, but may have separate rooms, or a small shack in the compound for sleeping purposes. Unless they live in another town or work 593 [582] [513]

596 live with his wife at the home of his parents, that the father will
[887] formally retire from active management of his property--but not from physical labor--at the age of 60, that both parents will continue living with their eldest son, the daughter-in-law, and the grandchildren, and that the second and any succeeding sons, when they reach marriageable age, will marry, and at this time--if it has not been done before--the father or the eldest son will provide a house site and some land, permitting the establishment of a branch family. The
[591] first and succeeding daughters will marry first or other sons of other families, leave their parents' home and accept a position in the main or in a branch family of the husband's house.

613 The parallelism in structure between the extended family and its
596 member families and the individual family with its branch families established by sons other than the first can be seen in the following diagram:

All of the families, except those designated with the numeral 1, are branch families of the extended family. Family #7, is a branch family of a branch family. Family #5 (itself a branch) is the main family of Family #7 as far as the immediate descendants in Family #7 are concerned.

In the following illustration, the second son has established a branch family of Family #7, while the head's own son will inherit the main house, leaving his second son to establish a branch. Family #7 is a branch of a branch, but with relation to succeeding houses in the direct line, it is a main family.

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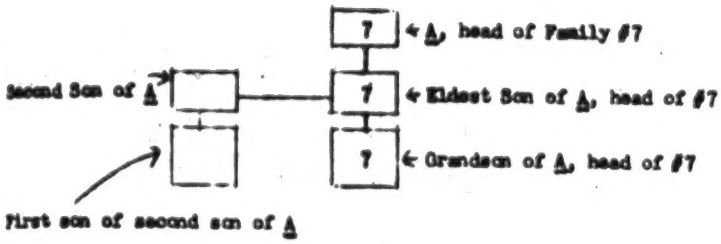

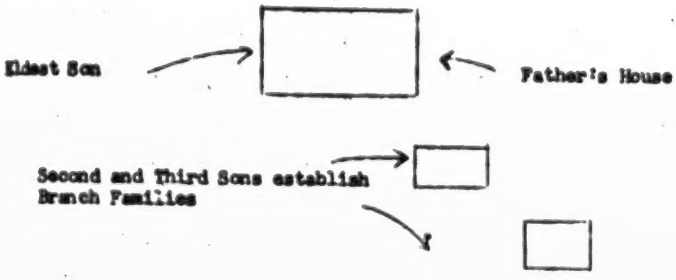

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The arrangement thus seems to be a form of sponsorship and guardianship without special responsibilities on the part of the adopting parent, to bring good health and long life to the child. It has only slight resemblances to the godfather and godmother in Christian countries who sponsor a child at his baptism and theoretically at least undertake to be responsible for his Christian training. But the sponsorship and guardianship features are somewhat similar.

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8

The Household Order Naming System

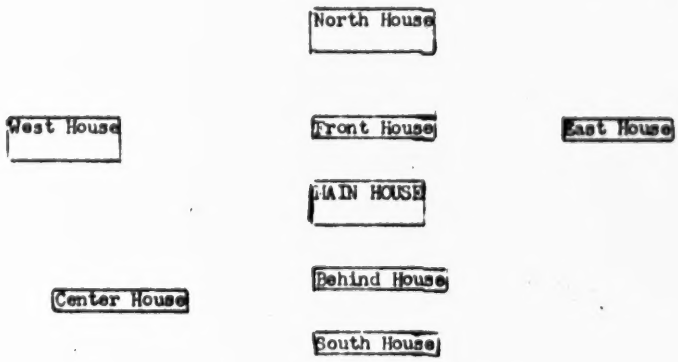
Families in a village have, in addition to their own surnames, secondary names by which individual families are known. This secondary naming system is a device to distinguish related families with the same surname from one another. 614 551 592 613

The secondary naming system is known as "the household order," or yaro in Japanese. To introduce this discussion, it might be well to 000

000 state the idea in rough outline first so that it can be grasped immediately. Let us suppose that in an American small town of about 1000 people, there are 200 families, 75 of which are named Smith; another 75, Jones; 25, Brown; and 25 of assorted surnames of less frequency. These people are neighbors; they are an agricultural people; they have not had much education. It is difficult to remember everyone's surname and distinguish, when talking to others, one family from the other. So the 75 Smith families are given various designations, such as "the Milwaukee Smiths," "Smith, the barber," "the second son of the Milwaukee Smiths. The same is done with the Jones, the Browns, and the other families. These families then become known by their secondary names rather than by their Christian and surnames. A child, instead of being known as Bobbie Smith, would be the child of the Milwaukee Smiths. The parallel between this situation and the household order naming system is inexact, but the example conveys the general idea.

592 The household order name given to any single family shows the
614 place of this particular family in the hierarchy of the extended family.
613 Families belonging to the same extended family have the same surname. But each has a different household order name to distinguish one from the other. In Minatogawa, for example, there are 53 families named Tamaki but each of these families has a distinct household order name.
[193] These names are built up in an agglutinative fashion by using a root word and then by adding prefixes and occasionally a suffix to show distinctions among families.

614 Historically, the household order system seems to have grown up
613 as a result of the building of houses for branch families around or
592 near the house of the original ancestor. In the following illustration, the house of the original founder of the family is shown in the middle.
621 Perhaps his eldest younger brother, when he established a branch house, built his home in front of his brother's home and another younger brother built his home in back of the founder's house. These two houses would then become the "front" and the "behind" houses.



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The founder's first son remains in the main house. But his other sons and their sons take up positions to the north, south, east, or west; subsequent descendants might take up other positions. It is possible to relate any family in this manner to the head family. The prefixes (and one suffix) used in making the various designations are:

Japanese	Okinawan	English
mae-	me-	before, front
ushiro-	kushi-	after, behind
ue-	ui-	top
shita-	shicha-	bottom
higashi-	agari-	east
minami-	fe-	south
nishi-	iri-	west
kita-	nishi-	north
atarashii	mi- miya-	new
naka		center
	ufa-	big, great
	-gwa	diminutive, opposite of ufa, and a suffix.

Let us assume, to use an actual illustration from Hanashiro, that the household order name of a main house is Ganiku. This word has no known meaning; it may be a place name or some local landmark near the site of the original house established perhaps centuries ago. Other families in Hanashiro which are branch families of this main extended family would have the word Ganiku in their house order name with the addition of prefixes and suffixes to show that it was a branch family. There are 14 families in which the word Ganiku appears in the household order name. These are (in Okinawan):

1	Ganiku	The Main House
2	Nakaganiku	Center-
3	Kushiganiku	Behind-
4	Ganikugwa	Little Ganiku
5	Iriganiku	West-
6	Miganiku	New-
7	Miyameganiku	New front-
8	Nishiganiku	North-
9	Nishiganikugwa	Little north-
10	Iriganikugwa	Little west-
11	Meganikugwa	Little front-
12	Meiriganikugwa	Little front west-
13	Mimeganikugwa	Little new front-
14	Meganiku	Front-

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In this Hanashiro example, a man's real name might be Shoichi Shiroma, but he is known also as Iriganikugwa, the Little Western Ganiku family. All of his children, while in his family, have the same secondary name.

551 They are referred to as the son or daughter of the Little Western
590 Ganiku house. When the sons grow up, the first son retains the same
614 house order name, as he is perpetuating the house of his father. When
613 his younger brothers establish a branch household, they may add another prefix and become known, for example, as the New Little Western Ganiku family.

The manner in which the household order names may be applied to
592 successive generations is illustrated in the diagram which follows on the
614 next page. Three things should be pointed out about this diagram:

613 (1) There is no established order in the choice of branch family designations. In column five, for example, the prefix iri for west was chosen. Any other direction could have been selected if it were not already taken. Subsequent directions or space relations taken might be east, west, south, front, behind, etc. In this illustration, the order of relationship to the main family is (a) Little Fukuji, column 2, and New Little Fukuji to show the branch family of a branch family. Succeeding branches are then indicated by repeating the previous pre-
[193] fixes and adding one more. Fukuji plus gwa (little), plus mi (new), plus agari (east), then substituting iri (west), to be alternated with other directional terms such as fe (south) for iri in column 6.

(2) Some branch families are of great antiquity, such as the Fukujigwa.

[602] (3) All these people are related but it is difficult to determine the precise relationship. It is easy to see that without an exhaustive and well kept up genealogy, even in this simplified diagram, the relationship of the last individual in the first column to his contemporary, the last individual in column 6 would be difficult to trace. This is one reason that, in all the communities, people know they are relatives but do not know the precise relationship.

On the other hand, the household order system, much more than given and surnames, is a very easy device for keeping general family relationships in mind, especially when these spread over several villages. At least the Okinawans find it so. A person with the house order name of Miagarifukujigwa would know the general relationship in the extended family of his line to the main and other branch houses, whether these were located in his own or in another village.

There are additional refinements of the household order naming system. Other prefixes denoting the rank order of sons may be added, as indeed they must if the family is old and has many generations. The
[193] root word in the household order name may occasionally be identical with the surname. Some household order names may also depart from this pattern and be descriptive of previous occupations in the family history. These points are illustrated from the household order names of some

[Text continues TOP of P 120--analyst]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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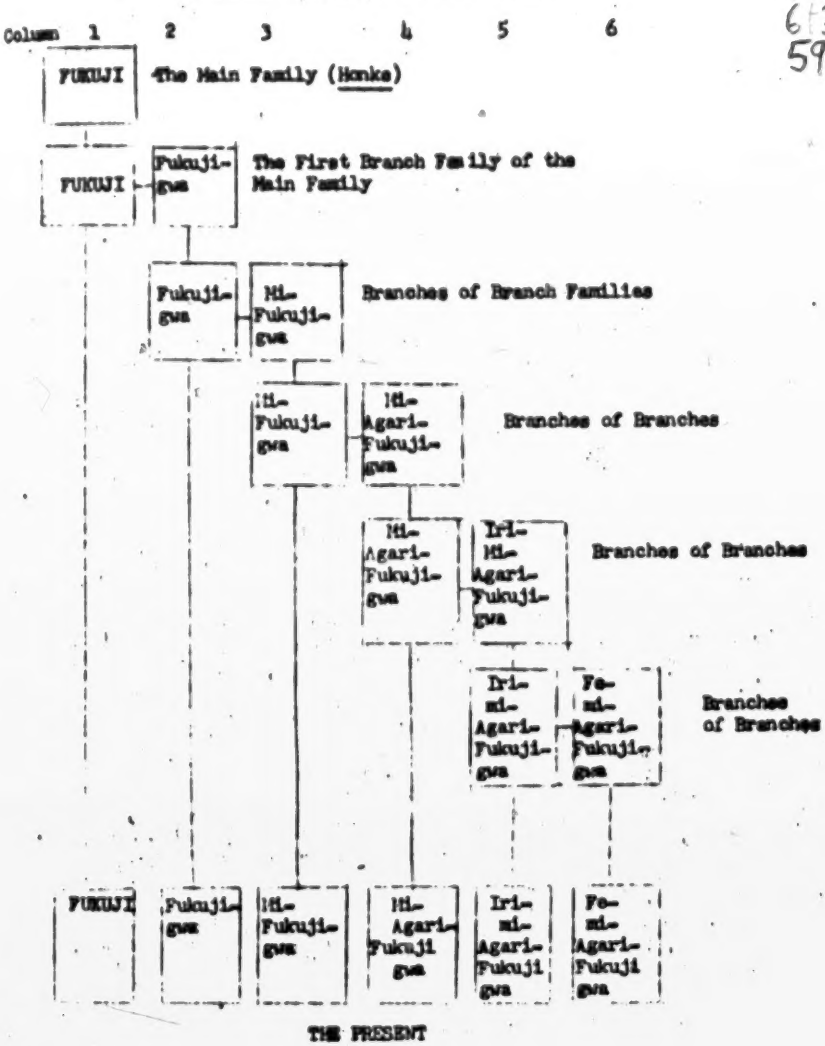
FOUNDING DATE SOMETIME IN THE PAST



1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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Minatogawa families:

1 Jinaniritamagusuku. Second Son Western Tamagusuku, for the name Tamashiro Sunkichi. Here the surname and the root word in the household order name are the same because Tamagusuku is the Okinawan equivalent of Tamashiro, gusuku being the Okinawan and shiro the Japanese reading of castle.

2 Gonanfugoshi. Fifth Son, Fugoshi. Actual surname is Uehara.

3 Yonanagariakaigwa. Fourth Son Little Eastern Akai, actual surname, Kanashiro.

4 Ufuyagwa. This illustrates the use of the prefix ufu (ufa) meaning great or big, to show the main house and the suffix, gwa, meaning little, indicating it is a branch family. The actual surname is Tamashiro.

[193]

5 Jinanufuguchigwa. Second Son of Little Great Ouchi, actual surname, Tamashiro.

6 Inaminegwa, Little Inamine. Actual surname, Inamine.

7 Sannantarunagaminegwa. Third Son of Little Taru Nagamine. Actual full name, Nagamine Tarō, the Japanese equivalent of Nagamine, Taru.

8 Danpachiya. The House of the Barber. Actual surname is Oshira. The Okinawan word for barber is danpachi.

9 Asato. A household order name based on a place name. Asato is a village in this township. Meaning is The House of Asato, actual name, Asato Shinkichi.

Some of the household order names are occupational in character, such as the barber in the above list. According to Minatogawa informants, there was also a navel household order name. Navel is hesso in Japanese, tembusu in Okinawan. If a person had a conspicuously large navel, the house was named after him and became Tembuya, House of the Navel, although it is not clear whether this was a hereditary household order name or merely a temporary one, more resembling an individual nickname. The occupational household order names apparently were both temporary and hereditary. For example, the household order name, Nakama, a surname, might have the prefix kajira (Japanese) or kanja (Okinawan) meaning blacksmith, for one son, and Danpachiya Nakama, Barber Nakama, to distinguish by occupation one son from another.

There are instances, but not in the villages studied, of household order names following the name of the official position of an ancestor. Descendants, for example, of the first head man (kuchō in Japanese) of a village might, if their surname were Moromizato, add the word kuchō making Kuchōmoromizato, Family of the Head Man Moromizato. These however

seem to be either supplementary names or household order names held during one's lifetime only, but in some instances became hereditary. Household order names taken from places seem to have become hereditary, if present lists of these names are fair indications. Even today if an American should settle in a village in Okinawa, he would probably be given a household order name and be known by this name outside the circle of friends and acquaintances who knew his surname. Such a house name would be something like Amerikaya, House of America. Ya means house or abode. The American's presence would be well known; his name, too difficult to pronounce and to remember, would be forgotten even if ever learned, and he would be the house of the man from America.

614 613 592 [609]

Each family in a village has this secondary name whether it is in the main or a branch family line. In Minatogawa, some exceptions were found to this, but it is not quite clear what interpretation to put upon them. In this village there were many individuals--mostly single persons living by themselves--who did not have a household order name. Of the 213 households, 20 either did not have such a secondary name, or it was not known to them nor to the residents of Minatogawa. Of these at least 8 were females.

Household order names do not appear in the official family registers (koseki) maintained in the village office (yakuba). Historically, the household order name apparently preceded the giving of first and surnames. In villages the mass of people were not known by their full names. They were designated in the fashion already described. Even up to the beginning of the war, often only important and conspicuous people, such as officials and school teachers, were known by their given and surnames (seimei); the rest were known by their household order name.

[217] 551 592 184 614 613

Of all the villages studied, the household order name seemed to be of greatest living importance in Hanashiro. This naming system is used only in contacts within the village. In contacts with the outside, in schools, and in official dealings, a person's full name is used. Young children, from about ten on, know families by their household order name, and one can inquire for a family by asking either for the surname or the household order name. There were instances in all villages, confined however to the old, of people knowing individuals only by their household order name. According to informants here, a person's household order name is still better known than the given and the surname. Residents are often called for village, community, and official duties by their secondary family names. Here the double naming system, one for contacts within the village, the other for the outside is still strong.

A similar situation existed in Minatogawa. The household order system here might be expected to persist longer, at least for use within the village because of the high frequency of a few surnames. The same ability of young children to know household order names of

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

551 their own and of other families was also noticeable.[6] Often the two
592 were used interchangeably. From an individual point of view, and this
184 is true of all the villages, the household order name is still impor-
614 tant because it is an indication of relationships to dead relatives
613 whose names are on the family tablets, and to relationships, at least in general, to other families of the same main family in the village or in other villages and towns.

In Matsuda, the household order naming system seems to be dying
[178] out more rapidly than in the other communities. Children here did not know the secondary names so well, and some young people did not know their own. As in Hanashiro, up to the beginning of the war, families were called together for village duties by their household order name, but this practice has been abandoned since the war. Given and surnames are now used. The household order name is still occasionally used on letters to indicate the exact person desired, another indication of the distinctions needed in the confusion of identical surnames.

It is probable that the household order naming system will de-
[178] cline in importance because the growth and universality of education and the constant need for using given and surnames have weakened the hold of the old. As the present old people die off, many of whom know the household order name only, every segment of the population will be accustomed to the use of given and surnames.

9

Conclusion

602 The family system binds one generation to another, and, even more, gives unity to the past, present, and future of the family. It involves a well defined system of rights and obligations. It is a conservative institution in which the rights of individuals are subordinated to the welfare of the group.

602 The conservative nature of the family system in other Oriental
171 cultures, especially when combined, as in old China with a Confucian ethic and ancestor worship, has often been emphasized. But Confucianism, ancestor worship, and the family system are three different things.

6 I tested this in all communities by asking for directions to family houses using the family's yagō. Its present vitality is shown by the fact that in Hanashiro a native of the village and a member of the township council was able to list all the 121 yagō's without hesitation. The clerk of Hinatogawa village did the same. There was not an opportunity of getting the detailed lists of the Matsuda household order names, but samplings were made.

592 Table 1 shows the composition of 60 households in central Taira. It [727] is probable that the effects of war dislocation have increased the number of nuclear households and account for at least one of the matrilocal extended households. Some of the fragmentary households, classed as nuclear, consist of just a widow or widower and an unmarried son or daughter.

Table 1 Household Composition in Central Taira

Total population	328
Number of households	60
Nuclear households	36
Patrilineal extended households * (3 generations)	18
Matrilocal extended households	4
Not classified	2

* In households classified as extended, grandparents of the youngest generation present are distributed as follows: grandmothers 14, grandfathers 4, both grandparents 4.

593 Relationships and status within the household are ordered accord- 554 ing to generation, age, and sex. As will be discussed later, the status of [562] women in general is high. High status of males, especially the first-born male in the family, must be considered as representing an ideal which is not reflected too distinctly in day-by-day interpersonal relationships, although birth order and sex are significant in ancestor worship and in representation of households. Ideally the younger generation members defer to the older people. Normal behavior, however, more frequently reflects a warm, personal relationship that, although not devoid of respect, tends to minimize differences and stress familiarity rather than distance.

● 613 Besides his membership in a household, the individual is part of a larger descent group, a "main house" in which all the members are related through the male line. Most of the "main houses" in the village trace descent to the founder of Taira. They represent three old lineages. The remaining belong to two more recent and unrelated lineages.

The houses of older and younger sons are distinguished, the term "stem" referring to the house of the founder and the descending line of his oldest sons and the term "branch" to those of younger sons who have set up separate households in the village or elsewhere. Through

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

the decades, as the branches grow into unilineal descent lines of their own, new "main" houses are formed. 613

Originally descriptive names were given to each household. These names indicated a "stem" family or one of its branches. The "Big East House," a reference to the lineage as well as to the homestead itself, probably split into several branches. These, the homes of younger sons, were known as "Little East House," or by a further derivative, "Behind Little East House." Sometimes the rank order of a younger son was used to name his house, such as "Second East House." This house order system is no longer in existence in Taira, but a few of the names are still in use to indicate houses, and individuals are frequently referred to as "the person of such and such a house," for instance, "the grandmother of the East House." *

Although every individual is aware of his membership in a "main house," these descent groups have little importance except in religious life and death ceremonies. Members of the same "main house" revere common male ancestors and share in the upkeep of a common tomb in which their remains are placed at death. Funerals and the veneration of deceased members of the "main house" bring the kin group together several times a year. Women, although entombed with their husbands, visit the "main house" of their father to pray before his ancestors' tablets and make offerings. If they were born in Taira, they may first take offerings of rice and sake to the shrine of their husband's paternal ancestors; then later in the day they prepare for a ceremony in their own "main house." 613 769

The descent group also functions in other religious contexts. The oldest woman of the main house acts as priestess for the lineage, and she or another older female may visit the sick and assist their relatives with prayers and practical help. Descent group affiliation does not affect such daily concerns as lending help to others in economic tasks, though some of the descendants of early Taira settlers seem to feel more obligation in this respect than members of the more recently arrived lineages. Lineage affiliation does not determine the choice of a marriage partner. However, although members of the same "main house" or lineage may marry each other provided they are not first cousins, such unions are rare. Marriage with maternal first cousins is also forbidden. 613 [794] [476] [582]

An individual also holds membership in other kin groups which have only a loose structure and few functions. These are the relatives 602 [476]

* Individual surnames among commoners are of recent date, introduced after the Japanese assumed administrative control and required their adoption to establish a population registry. Family names had been in use among the Shuri gentry. 551 177 217

like "owners" of the concrete objects which they inhabit. These objects can be made subservient to human needs if care is taken not to offend the deities. As long as proper ritual observances are performed, humans need not fear their hostility. They are addressed in prayers and chants, and people make offerings to them at several ceremonies during the year. No one in Taira, including the priestess, has any exact knowledge about their characteristics, and there is no theological dogma, but people know that when building a house, for example, one must announce his intention to the deities and pacify these spirits who have been carried with the lumber from the mountains or with gravel from the beach and the sea. They must be thanked for letting the builder use such materials and sent back to their natural abode. Before the house is finished, the surrounding plot of land must be cleared of all evil spirits. Neglect of such ceremonies can turn supernatural beings into adversaries. One family who neglected proper rituals on their house lot when they built their home tried to appease angry deities by holding a ceremony a year after the house was finished because bad luck had befallen members of the household. Although most supernatural beings can be pacified by proper observance of rituals, there are some who are inherently malevolent. These ogres may be seen in the form of fire balls or in some other shape or physical appearance.

776 782 776 782 342 [777] [821]

The worship of these nature deities and the observance of ceremonies in their behalf are in the hands of the high priestess and her female assistants. In former times each main house, later each village, had its own priestess. The present high priestess in Taira derives her office from a much later institution, a nation-wide hierarchy of religious officials established by the Okinawan king in an effort to combine religion with political influence and supervision in the villages. Today the high priestess has no association with the central government; the Japanese abolished the system. The hierarchy of female religious officials (see Lebra: 1958), those representing main houses, and the chief village priestess is no longer clearly delineated in Taira, since representatives of several offices have left the island or died, and the vacancies have not been filled. The high priestess has taken over most of the religious functions. Her chief assistants are older women from the two main houses. While these three women officiate, several other women are in attendance as helpers. In spite of the diminishing role of animistic religion in the daily life of younger people, the high priestess still enjoys prestige in the community. She is exempted from communal labor in recognition of her status.

793 562 794 [177] [613] [554] [653]

The present high priestess is a woman in her fifties who works and 793

women chant. The tempo becomes more and more frenzied, and at a certain moment a bell rings. Nobody knows who rings it, and no amount of questioning elicited any information other than that this was done by divine action. 796 793

Ancestral worship is equally important in the life of Taira people. Each house of an oldest son has a shelf with a shrine in the main living room. On this shelf the family keeps the ancestral tablets, each representing a deceased ancestor of a recent period. The tablets for whole family lines are kept on the shelves of the main houses. Through this system a family maintains continuity between the living and the dead. Although a deceased person is believed to become a buddha or a god who ascends to heaven, his presence is still felt by the living relatives. If they fail to make the required offerings on the first and fifteenth day of each lunar month, or otherwise neglect religious duties toward the ancestor, misfortune may come to the family. At the same time, the worship of common ancestors holds branches of the larger kin groups together. 769 592 [778] [775] [782] [613]

No village adult died during our stay, but the funeral practices for adults described by Glacken (1955) and Pitts et al. (1955) for other villages in Okinawa are similar. Seven years is the age limit for a child burial, which is simple and does not require attendance of people other than immediate relatives and perhaps one or two neighbors.* During the study an 8-year-old boy died from an illness and was given a full funeral, which is similar to that of adults. 764 766

The funeral must take place at the first outgoing tide after the body has been prepared and dressed. Accompanied by family, residents of the ward, and mourners from other parts of the village whose number depends on the prominence of the dead, the body is carried on a simple, open litter to the tomb area just west of the central village (see map 2). Women feel free to show their emotions, while men remain outwardly calm. Until decomposition takes place, the body remains in a tomb used by the whole village for temporary entombment. Like other village ceremonies, funerals are less elaborate now than they once were, perhaps to the relief of all concerned, since death is highly anxiety provoking, and nobody feels comfortable during the prayers and the ritual farewell to the corpse at the tomb. The participants receive a cup of sake before leaving the tomb area to cleanse them of the pollution of death. Some people still prefer to return to the village by a different route so that the spirit of the dead person will be fooled and unable to follow. 764 [152] [154] [783] [784]

* The reason for this is possibly that the younger child has not yet fulfilled his filial obligations.

 178

Today the *yukajiru* ceremony held on the fourth day ends the seclusion. 846
A group of close relatives gather to ask for the good health of the 769
child and to make food offerings to the ancestors.

On the fourth or fifth day a name is selected for the newborn. In 852
the old days rice oracles presided over by an old woman were con- 553
sulted to ensure that the name consist of the proper combination of 787
Japanese writing characters, an essential for the well-being of the child's 156
personality. Today family elders and the local teacher are consulted.
In the pre-Japanese periods, temporary names were used until a per- [875]
manent name was given. This practice was intended to fool the spirits
during the early years when the child was thought to be particularly [784]
susceptible to spirits.*

On the sixth day after birth the mother is allowed to take her first 846
postdelivery bath; the room which she has occupied with her baby is 852
cleaned and aired, and preparations begin for the *mansang* celebra-
tions. For this event the mother's parents try to be present, especially [613]
if it is a first child. Friends and relatives in the village attend. A
female elder of the patrilineal kin group or the priestess prays behind [782]
a tray of rice, rice wine, and incense so that the child will sleep peace- [769]
fully and not cry at night. Thanksgiving prayers are offered to the
ancestors and the nature deities for the health of both mother and
child.

When the prayers are completed, a man sings the *mansang* song to 852
the accompaniment of a samisen. The father of the baby then rises to
dance briefly, sits down, and writes with brush and ink on a white 533
sheet of paper the name and birth date of his child. The paper is then 574
hung on the wall near the alcove. Meanwhile the special song is being
concluded:

> Coming from the darkness to light,
> This baby was received as a treasure
> And the mother is being celebrated.

Food is then served, and the guests discuss the name and admire the newborn. Like all parties, the celebration ends with song, dance, and wine drinking.

The *mansang* celebrations mark the end of the most critical period 852
for the infant. From now on he may be taken outdoors. At the month's
end, his parents may take him to see his maternal grandparents in their 846
village, to offer food at the ancestral shrine of the mother. This is [769]
called the first walk. Sons who have left the paternal village for the [782]
city return with their infant to observe this day.

* Hanging an irregularly left-woven rope in the delivery room to keep out evil spirits which might harm the newborn, is no longer done in Taira.

601 the native terms for "father" and "mother" to uncles and aunts is going out
177 of use. Thus in structure as well as in the terms themselves the Okinawan
192 system is moving in the direction of the Japanese.

552 Maintaining Continuity: House Names Every house has a name (yaanunaa,
613 Japanese 'yagō'). This name, in the case of the older houses, may be descriptive of its location or may be taken from the place of origin of the founder. Insofar as possible a man's first son should succeed him as head of his house. If a man's first son rebuilds the house or even moves it, its name usually remains the same. When younger sons establish their own houses the house of the first son is called the "main house" (muutuyaa, J. 'honke') and the younger sons' houses "branch houses" (tatchiyaa, J. 'bunke'). The branch houses take their house names from the house name of the main house. Thus if the main house is called Taba, a branch house may be called Taba-gwaa, "little Taba". If there are several Taba-gwaa, they may be distinguished by directions such as agari, "east", iri, "west", or by the birth order of their founders, as jinan Taba-gwaa, "second-son little Taba", and so forth. If a family line has been in a village for several generations there may be branch houses of branch houses. In such a case the earlier branch house is a main house to its branch houses while still in the status of branch house to the house of the founder of the line. In such cases new elements may be introduced into the naming system; a branch of a Taba-gwaa might be mii-Taba-gwaa, "new little Taba". If there are several branches and branches of branches the original main house (in Japanese, the 'sōhonke') may come to be called ufu-Taba, "great Taba". Thus the relationship of a number of houses in a village may be shown by the names used for them. The house names of a village are surprisingly well-known by the members of a village, even by the children, better known than either the surnames or given names of the inhabitants.[1]

55 Personal Names Before the Japanese annexation the two main social
177 classes on Okinawa differed in the sorts of names they bore. Members of the
[346] gentry (yukatchu, "superior people", or samuree, cognate of the Japanese 'sa-
[614] murai') belonged to patrilineal common descent groups called uji. These uji each had a name consisting of a single Chinese character, often a Chinese surname. Also, different lineages within each uji each bore surnames that were mainly Okinawan place names; these were taken from the names of villages and larger administrative units where the founders of the lineages served as officials. And in addition, each male member of the gentry class had a given name consisting of two characters read in the Chinese manner (that is, the Okinawan version of the Japanese 'on-yomi'). These were called toonaa, "Chinese names". In each uji the first of the two characters in all names was the same. Thus, to give an example, in the Hyō uji there are three lineages bearing the surnames Moromizato, Itosu, and Higa, but all males in the uji regardless of surname bear given names that begin with the character An. Thus Moromizato Ansei and Itosu Angō are seen to be kinsmen despite the difference in surname. These are the names of two men living today. Had they lived before the annexation they might also have designated themselves for official purposes by what look like proper Chinese names, Hyō Ansei and Hyō Angō.

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1 For a more detailed account of the house-naming system see Glacken, 1953, pp. 115-122.

At the same time, each person, both men and women, bore a given name 551
that was purely Okinawan. These names are called warabinaa, "child names". They are few in number. Several of them---perhaps all of them---are meaningful, such as Kamii, "turtle", Ushi, "ox". Several of them were given both to males and to females. They were transmitted according to rules that seem now to be not too well understood. According to one old woman, a man should give his name to his sons' first sons and his wife hers to the sons' first daughters. Subsequent grandchildren should receive the names of the grandparents' siblings or other relatives. A younger woman said that a first son got his father's father's name and a woman her mother's mother's. But unfortunately not enough information was obtained to support the last assertion or to reveal any further pattern. (This is a subject that would be well worth further [174]
study; the possibility that the naming system is a reflection of a former system of double descent should not be overlooked.)

Among the commoners (hyakusoo, cognate of Japanese 'hyakushō', peasants"), surnames were perhaps not universally taken until after the Japanese [565]
annexation. Nor did they have Chinese-style given names. Their common descent [177]
groups, usually called munchu, seem to bear names that are place names. They [614]
did have house names (yaanuyaa, J. 'yagō'), and Okinawan-style given names. Probably a commoner was known only by these two. Even today among the older Okinawans a man is more likely to be known as Taasachi-gwaa nu Sanree, "Sanree ("Third"?) of the house Taasachi-gwaa ("Little End-of-the-Rice-Field")", than by the name found in the 'koseki'.

Today everyone is registered by and officially known by a surname and 551
given name. The surnames are mainly taken from Okinawan place names but the 177
readings assigned the characters are frequently Japanized. Thus Ufu-gusuku, "great-castle' becomes 'Ōshiro' and Nakandakari becomes 'Nakamura'. Many of the given names for males are of two characters read in the Sino-Japanese manner, like the given names formerly used only by the gentry, but many also are purely Japanese---Masaru, Takeo, Toshiyasu---the last possibly being the Japanese reading of a name that once might have been given its "Chinese" reading. Girls are given such Japanese names as 'Yoshiko' and 'Masako'. And the youngest child recorded in the 'koseki' for Yamada, the first to bear the name, was an infant girl named 'Chiemi', obviously after a currently popular Japanese "starlet".

The Ancestral Tablets In every main house there is a shelf or if 769
possible a cabinet (tootoomee, J. 'butsudan') for the ancestral tablets (ifee, 353
J. 'ihai'). If it is a cabinet it contains three shelves; on the top shelf 592
stand the tablets flanked by a pair of vases, on the second shelf a pair of tea-cups and a wine cup, and on the third an incense burner (u-kooru). The paraphernalia vary somewhat with the means of the family. The tablets are 769
red lacquered slips of wood held in two rows in a black frame. On the upper 592
row are written the names of deceased male members of the family, on the lower row names of deceased females. The ancestral tablets together with the house name form an inseparable unit. The main house of the Taba lineage is the [613]
main house and has the house name "great Taba" because it is the location of the ancestral tablet of the founder of the lineage. The tablets at "new little Taba" contain the tablet for the founder of that house. The tablets are

as the case may be. The munchu has a common tomb or several common tombs, a 614
circuit of ugwanju (sacred spots for worship, connected in tradition to the founder of the munchu), and several kaminchu (religious functionaries of a semi-hereditary status). Well-established branch munchu may have their own tombs, circuits of ugwanju, and kaminchu. If this is the case the main house of the branch is called the nakaa-muutu, "middle root", and the main house of the larger unit the ufu-muutu, "great root". In the absence of written records the exact relationship of the different branches of one of the larger units may occasionally be reinterpreted by the kaminchu and by yuta (seeresses).

The members of a munchu need not, and often do not, have the same sur- 614
name. The usual explanation given for this is that a new surname has entered 551
the munchu through a member's having been adopted as a son-in-law. According [171]
to Japanese law a man who married the daughter of a family with no male heirs became an adopted son-in-law and his children bore his wife's surname. But according to Okinawan custom the ancestral tablets of the woman's parents can go only to a male relative in the male line. The "adopted son-in-law" cannot inherit the tablets; they will go later to a brother's son or grandson. And the children of the "adopted son-in-law" belong to their paternal grandfather's munchu, even though by law they had to take their maternal grandfather's surname. This practice goes back only to the end of the last century. [177]
Before the Japanese annexation it is not likely that many peasants had surnames; those they later took were probably taken from house names. An informant in Chinen-Son, however, gave another explanation why some of the members of his munchu had different surnames. He said that under the old government some had been given surnames for having served as petty officials at the office of the local governor. He named three surnames locally used that were given to officials of the three lowest ranks.

Among the descendants of the former gentry class the largest kinship unit is the uji. This term is identical with one of the older Japanese terms [192]
translated as "clan". The uji have names that are single Chinese characters, [177]
some of them identical with Chinese surnames. The members of an uji may bear different surnames of the native sort; the explanation for this is that under the former monarchy, when a member of the gentry was appointed to the office of governor of a majiri (the present "Son") or appointed official of a village, he was able to take the name of that majiri or village as his surname. Thus the members of an uji may be divided into several lines, each claiming descent from some illustrious official. These divisions may also be named chakushi-firugi, "first-son-lineage", jinan-firugi, "second-son-lineage", and so forth, according to seniority. Despite their different surnames, however, the male members of an uji usually have given names written with two characters read in the Chinese manner (that is, the Okinawan version of the 'on-yomi' of Japanese), the first of the two characters being the same. To give an example, the Hyō uji consists of three lineages with the surnames Moromizato, Itosu, and Higa, all the males of which have given names beginning with the character An.

In the village of Yamada in Onna-Son, many of the kin units of both 613
the commoners and the gentry who settled there late in the last century are small local divisions of larger units the main houses of which are in the

613 southern part of the island. There the term for the local unit, a relatively small lineage with not very strong ties to the larger unit, is chuchooree (literally, "one brotherhood', to translate literally into Japanese, hito-
613 kyōdai). The larger unit of the commoners is called the ichimung ("one gate"),
614 which is equivalent to the munchu of the south. Some of the gentry families refer to the subdivision of the uji having the same surname as their ichimung. Thus a family may belong to a local chuchooree, to an ichimung containing other families elsewhere of the same surname, and to a still larger uji containing ichimung of other surnames.

614 Functions The functions of the common descent group seem to be almost
769 entirely ritual. Just as the members of a family are responsible for helping the head of the family in making the proper offerings before the tablets and the tomb of its immediate ancestors, so the larger unit has such a responsibility toward the remote ancestors. In the family the eldest son bears the greatest responsibility, so in the common descent group the head of the main house bears the greatest responsibility. But the benefits resulting from proper worship and the misfortunes resulting from negligence may extend even to the youngest branch house, and thus all are interested in maintaining the worship.

614 Representatives of the common descent group worship before the ances-
796 tral tablets at the main house on occasions called u-machii (J. 'o-matsuri'),
769 usually the 15th days of the 2nd, 5th and 6th lunar months and during the New Year's season. They worship at the tomb at the shiimii (J. 'seimei') season in April. For this purpose periodic meetings may be held and dues levied for
[789] the expense of the offerings. Many groups send members on pilgrimages every seventh year (shichinin-maari) to pray at remote shrines; many in the south go to Nakijin in the north for this. There may also be special expenditures such as for the repair of a tomb, the building of a new tomb, or even the repair of the main house if its owner has become impoverished.

614 A few common descent groups are said to have a little property from which the income is used for the expense of the worship, but probably none has enough to be of any other value. The common descent group probably has
[476] no economic functions. In a rural community its members may tend to cooperate a little more in farm work; I observed this to be the case in some instances in Yamada, but informants say that kinship is no more important than closeness of residence and that neighbors ought to cooperate.

614 Nevertheless the common descent group occasionally seems to have
666 political functions. In a recent election in southern Okinawa, munchu membership became a factor. A cartoon that appeared in the Okinawa Times of 8 March 1954 shows opposing candidates carrying banners announcing their munchu. In the village of Komesu, south of Itoman, supporters of candidates appealed to members of their candidates' munchu to support their own regardless of political party.

613 The unity of the kin group may appear in time of crisis. In the vil-
722 lage of Yamada, during the battle in 1945, many of the villagers hid out in improved natural caves. According to one informant's account, at first there was some moving around but ultimately people of the same chuchooree clung together. In one instance bad feeling arose between two groups over the sharing of a cave.

CHAPTER VIII LAND TENURE

W. P. Lebra

423 During the lifetime of the oldest living generation of Okinawans
178 there have been operative two radically differing systems of land tenure---at first a system of communal land ownership and later a system of private ownership of land by families. At the present time a third system may be said to be emerging---private ownership by individuals. Changes in the systems of land tenure have been accompanied by significant changes in the family, economy, and community. During the wartime and post-war periods extensive land losses to military installations have severely disrupted the livelihood of a number of communities, thus furthering the process of change.

175 ## 1. The Okinawan Kingdom and the Land Allotment System ('jiwari seido')

Prior to 1879 when Japan formally annexed the Ryukyus, Okinawa was
[642] a small semi-independent kingdom (it was a tribute-paying dependency of the daimiate of Satsuma in Japan) controlling the southern Ryukyus. The
175 urban Naha-Shuri area served as the administrative and commercial center
565 for the kingdom, and nearly all of the upper classes, gentry and nobility, were concentrated there. They formed a ruling class similar to that of
[423] China, functioning as a literati and administrative bureaucracy. Feudalism had been abolished in the fifteenth century, and aside from a small percentage of the nobility who were allowed to retain their hereditary fiefs, the bulk of the upper classes subsisted on pensions granted by the ruler. This group was very large and constituted approximately one-third of the total population.

175 The farming population lived in a state of serfdom, being forbidden
[566] even to move from their native village or to change their hereditary occu-
[364] pation. Farm villages were self-sustaining and physically isolated entities consisting of tightly-nucleated clusters of dwellings surrounded by fields.
[621] Each village was segmented into several lineages whose houses were generally clustered together; these kin groups were related through the male line and
[613] shared a common ancestor, ritual observances, and often a local tomb for
[614] temporary burial. Each lineage was usually related to certain lineages of other villages, thus forming a larger relationship or patri-sib which shared a remote common ancestor, ritual observances, and a common tomb for permanent burial. Usually the membership of this larger kinship group was con-
[582] centrated in the villages of a given district or area. Village endogamy was an obligatory marriage practice, and kin group endogamy was a preferred though not an obligatory practice.

178 Private ownership of land on Okinawa is a recent phenomenon, as
423 recent, in fact, as the beginning of the twentieth century. Under the old
175 kingdom communal ownership of the land obtained for all except a small seg-
423 ment of the upper classes. In theory all land was the property of the ruler,
[638] but in practice the district, or majiri (political unit roughly equivalent

to the modern'son'), was the land-holding unit. The administration of the 175
majiri supervised the distribution of land to the villages or mura (polit- 423
ical unit equivalent to present-day 'ku') where it was divided among the [632]
various families. The amount of land allocated to a given family was de-
pendent on its size, age and sex of members, and social position; conse-
quently the houses of the nuru priestess and local officials received a
proportionately larger allotment than the houses of ordinary farmers. The
distribution of arable land under this system at the end of the nineteenth
century was as follows: 67.1% farmers, 13% local lords, 8.3% nuru
priestesses and local officials, 10.9% newly-cleared land.[1] The farmers
worked the lands of all groups.

The origin of this communal land allotment system ('jiwari seidō')
lies deep in Okinawa's past far beyond the beginning of its recorded history.
Redistributions were made periodically to compensate for changes in house-
hold size and fertility of holdings. These reallotments occurred at from
four to thirty year intervals at the option of the local (majiri) administra-
tion, with the average being about every tenth year. Certain lands were ex-
cluded from redistribution, particularly the lands of the local lords.
Usually the lands of the so-called yādui settlements made up of the younger
sons of gentry families were also excluded. Newly-cleared land was placed
in a special category in order to encourage land development; ordinarily it
was treated as the private property of the family that cleared it and was
not subject to reallotment. Despite these exceptions nearly 75% of the
arable land was subject to periodic redistribution.

175
Under this system the tax-bearing unit was the majiri, not the 423
family. Each majiri was headed by a jiturei, an appointed official from 651
Shuri, who functioned as an administrator, judge, and policeman; he was 632
held responsible for the tax payment of his district and was subject to
recall and punishment in the event of default. The state took no action
against the family or household which failed to pay its tax; such matters
were left to the jiturei and his assistants, who were free to deprive the
offending family of all its lands if they saw fit. When a house defaulted, [672]
its lineage was held accountable and forced to make up the deficit; if the [613]
lineage was unable to meet its obligations, the entire village (mura) had [621]
to assume the responsibility. A marked feature of the old village was a
number of granaries set aside for the community's annual tax levy.

Land valuations were permanently fixed in 1610 when the daimyo of 175
Satsuma had the region surveyed to determine the amount of tribute which 423
could be extracted. There was no reassessment until after the annexation, 651
although the overall tax levy was raised in 1635 and again in 1722. Only
arable land was subject to taxation; no taxes were levied against house
lots which were privately owned, nor against the forest and grass lands
which were communal property. The tax levy for each majiri was based on
the estimated productivity of its land at the time of the survey; it was a
fixed tax and was never altered. It had been set so that in theory 40%
of the yearly crop went to the government and 60% was to be retained by the

[1] Higa, 1950, p. 64.

4. A Comparison of Land Tenure in Two Rural Villages: Kanegusuku and Kitazato

621 Kanegusuku The village of Kanegusuku is located in the southwestern corner of Kanegusuku-son approximately three miles due south of
[34] Naha on the west coast, and it is immediately north of the town of Itoman. As is typical of the old Okinawan villages it is situated on high ground with all of its houses facing in a southerly direction. Aside from a detached cluster of eleven houses, the village houses are close together in
[12] a contiguous settlement. The village was selected for study because of its infrequent contact with Americans, relative lack of war damage, and a reputed antiquity and conservatism. As of December, 1953, the population was 507 persons forming 108 families occupying 103 houses. The present population is said to be about the same as before the war despite a 20% loss of life during the battle; this loss has been made up by repatriates from overseas and immigrants from other areas of Okinawa. The repatriates and some of the immigrants either had formerly resided in the village or regarded it as their ancestral home. There are nine families who were native to some other part of Okinawa before the war and have no previous connections with the village. The majority of the families have been in this village for
[592] many generations. There are approximately five persons in each household, which usually consists of a nuclear family, husband and wife and their children; but the composition of a number of households has been changed due to wartime losses.

Socially the village is segmented into eight lineages which con-
[613] stitute 92% of the total population; the remaining 8% is made up of unrelated families new to the village since the end of the war. One lineage includes nearly 61% of the village in its membership. Each of these lineages
[582] is related to lineages in other villages. Approximately 66% of the village marriages have been within the village, and nearly 50% of the marriages have been between persons of the same kin group. Thus, the composition of the village is fairly homogeneous, and both the community and the kin groups are strong cohesive units.

621 Occupation 98 of the 103 houses are engaged full time in farming;
463 the household heads of the five remaining houses are employed outside the
241 village in non-agricultural pursuits although all participate in some part-time farming. In addition to these five there were approximately fifteen young men, not household heads, who also worked outside. Most of these commuted daily to the greater Naha area where they were engaged in military employment or construction work. For the majority of villagers farming was the sole occupation.

621 Arable Land Over 66% of the total area of this village is under
311 cultivation, and about 38% of the cultivated land is in irrigated fields.
[434] The chief sources of income derive from rice and mats made from a sedge which is grown in an irrigated field. In terms of the average amount of
[136] arable land per household Kanegusuku is somewhat better off than the average for Okinawa: 1514.2 'tsubo' for Kanegusuku as compared with 1037.6 'tsubo' for Okinawa.

each of the villages, they seldom reach real intensity or a point where the husband sends his wife back to her parents and obtains a divorce. 592 606

A special problem, ordinarily calling for adoption as the solution, is the situation in a family with no sons. During the child bearing ages a family tries very hard to get a son. The man with a family of daughters will resort to adoption of a male child of a relative, if at the end of a child bearing period, no sons have been born to him. But adoption, while available as a device for insuring the continuity of the family, is uncommon and does not have the importance historically attached to it in Japan. Adoption is discussed in more detail in Section 6. 597 [842]

3

The Extended Family and its Branches

The extended family (ichimon in Japanese, munchu in Okinawan) consists of all families in the main and collateral line of descent from the common ancestor.[2] This ancestor, who founded the house, is an historical, or at least a supposed historical person. The descendants of the founder of the family, themselves united in a family group, are thus related to one another, though the older the family, the more remote these relationships become. Many villagers recognize that they are related to one another, but the relationships are seldom clearly defined beyond the second cousin. After this people become relatives, (shinseki or shinrui in Japanese). These words, used synonymously in Okinawa, indicate an awareness of a relationship without knowing offhand its exact nature. This problem is solved in part, as will appear later on, in Section 8, by knowing the household order name of each family, but even here individual relationships are difficult to trace. 614 596 602

Contemporary lack of precise knowledge of family genealogies is due in large part to the destruction of many family records during the war. The keeping of genealogies was common, especially among the families who belonged to the old Okinawan nobility. The genealogies lost in the war are irreplaceable. The same is true of the official family registers which were also destroyed. They were replaced with ones prepared by officials personally interviewing the families involved. While this procedure succeeded in recording contemporary data with a fair degree of accuracy, it could not duplicate the minute details, going back for generations, which were recorded in the old registers. 601 217 [565]

2 Dictionaries usually define ichimon as clan, but I have avoided using this term because of ambiguities in usuage. In American practice, clan has been applied to groups in which descent is reckoned through the mother. See R. H. Lowie, Primitive society, New York, 1920, 111-12. Father-sibs (Lowie's term) or family groups could be used, but the latter term suggests more a collection of families than a large unified family with many sub-families.

614 Each contemporary extended family has two main divisions: the main family (honke in Japanese) represented by the families in the direct line of descent, and the branch families (bunke in Japanese) which represent families not in the direct line. The terms, main family and branch family, are also used in a narrower sense to distin-
592 guish, within an individual family, between the family of the first son who will succeed to his father's house, and other sons who will establish branch houses.

The extended family has a main house whose head is the living representative in direct succession of the original founder. The seat of each extended family is a definite site in a village or town. The degree of scattering of the collateral families is dependent on the mobility of people throughout time and the manner in which the original villages were settled. Hanashiro, for example, is considered to be about 400 years old. Sixteen of the main houses are in the village. In Minatogawa, founded as a secondary port for the fishermen of Itoman town, perhaps 250 years ago, the main houses are predominantly in Itoman. In the neighboring village of Nagamo (Minatogawa-niku), an area of recent settlement, the main house of the village families is generally in Naha or in Shuri. Matsuda in the north has family seats not only in the village but some of its collateral families are from adjoining areas, the Motobu peninsula, and also from the south. The location of the main family seats of any village is an indication of the areas from which the place was originally peopled. Considering the
[137] smallness of the island and the even more restricted inhabited area--settlement in the northern two-thirds of the island is along the coastal rim which borders the forest--and the general lack of mobility until recent times, it is apparent that each village is composed in varying proportions of kinship groups whose original ancestral house is either in that village or from other villages or towns, most likely from adjoining areas, or from such larger centers of dispersion as Naha, Shuri, Nago, or Itoman.

It is difficult to say how important the extended family is in the culture. It may be spread over many villages in the island. Distance and lack of contact does not create the strong ties that exist within the village among relatives, friends, and neighbors. The following illustrations, drawn from each village, may however furnish some clues regarding the nature and importance of the extended family.

614 In Hanashiro, there are sixteen head houses. These with their collateral branches total 75 families; in other words, of the 121 families in the village, the head house of 75 is located in the village itself. The head houses of the remaining 46 are in other villages or towns.[3] This situation makes for closer ties of the individual families

3 Parallel information was not available for the other two villages; it was apparent through discussion that the same situation existed, although the proportion of main and branch families might be different

to the extended family, even if in some cases relationships are very distant. This point may be illustrated by discussing the relationships among six families named Shiroma in Hanashiro. The first family is the contemporary representative of the main family line. It is a main family. Its present head is an adopted child, but that does not change the situation. The second family head is a descendant of the younger brother of the grandfather of the head of the family; he is the grandson of the main head's great uncle, and therefore a second cousin of the head of the main family. The third and fourth families are branch families established by his father's younger brothers and are his first cousins. The fifth family is a very old branch family, going farther back than the grandfather. The sixth, in turn, is a branch family of the fifth. The present head of the main family does not know the relationship of the present heads of these two households to himself. 614

The fact that there are 16 main families with their 75 branches in the village of Hanashiro does not mean that there are not other branches of these main families. There are more than 75 families in the extended family. These are merely the branches of these 16 main families which reside in the village.

The head of a main house has responsibilities which are not shared by the heads of the branch families. He is the custodian of the tomb of the extended family. The head house is the meeting place of the extended family reunions. These normally take place on the 15th day of the 7th lunar month, the festival of O-Bon, and on lunar New Year. The extended families, or representatives that may reside in a village which is also the seat of the extended family decide questions of concern to the extended family as a whole. Such a question might be the case of a widow with minor children. For economic reasons, she seeks to sell her property. Since the disposal of property in land is intimately connected with the present and future fortunes of a family, the members of the extended family, especially if many reside in the same place, discuss this matter and give advice which the young widow in practice follows. [764] [527] [769]

Hanashiro is a good example of an old agricultural community in which descendant families have tended to remain in the same place as the original founder of the family. Those collateral families with main houses elsewhere are, in the main, from adjacent or nearby areas. 621 614

When this situation is compared with Minatogawa, certain differences are at once apparent. The fishermen of present day Minatogawa are descendants of settlers originally from the large fishing town of Itoman. Many of these fishing families are related by blood and intermarriage. Not only this, but there is a web of interrelationship which includes Itoman and its daughter village of Minatogawa. Of the 213 households in Minatogawa, 53 had the surname of Tamaki (or Tamashiro), 47 of Uehara, 21 of Oshiro, and 20 of Kanashiro, the four surnames accounting for 141 of the total households. People with the same surname who live in the same village are almost invariably related.[4] Compared with other [628] [551]

4 In sample checks made personally this turned out to be true, but the relationship was often so distant as to be unknown. All informants stated that people living in the same village who had the same surname were relatives.

62 villages studied, these frequencies of families with the same surname
6 are very high. The seat of these extended families of the Minatogawa
fishermen is in almost every instance the town of Itoman. The tombs
[764] of Minatogawa are entirely different from those of the neighboring
agricultural communities. They are small and temporary tombs for
keeping remains that will later be removed to the large, often
dramatically situated extended family tombs of Itoman. One resident
of Minatogawa aptly described his village as a "bunke (branch family)
of Itoman."

463 This is an unusual situation and can not be fully explained except
62 by a study of Itoman and the smaller fishing villages scattered through-
out Okinawa Island. One explanation might be that historically Okinawans
6 have been farmers, and that, while they are excellent fishermen, they have
not as a people participated in large numbers in fishing, leaving this
activity to definite groups, such as the people of Itoman town. The
passing down of occupations of the father to the son, the infrequency of
change in occupation, especially from agriculture to fishing, the estab-
lishment of daughter villages, such as Minatogawa, might account for the
fact that fishing is the occupation of a compact group of families who
have intermarried and continued in their traditional occupations. Even
in Matsuda, to the north, the temporary colonies of fishermen are either
Itoman people or are their descendants. (There are of course a few local
farmers who do some fishing). The close ties between Minatogawa and its
parent town of Itoman illustrate the persistence of occupational and social
relationships over a period of two and a half centuries.

614 Certain exceptions to the usual practice in Minatogawa accentuate the
closeness of extended family relationships between Itoman and Minatogawa.
As an illustration, we may take the case of three related families in
Minatogawa who are not fishermen. The head of one family is a retired
farmer, his son is a school teacher, and a third is a distant relative is
a stone cutter. These people, formerly members or descendants of members
of the nobility, came from Shuri. The main house of their extended family
is in Shuri. This contemporary extended family now has so many members
that the places for reunions and meetings have been increased, since the
site of the main house in Shuri, founded by the original ancestor, can
no longer accommodate all the members. The places of worship are divided
into the main place, (umuta in Okinawan) and intermediate places
[778] (nakamutu in Okinawan). Some of these secondary places of worship are
in nearby Naha. The number of these cases is small compared with the
closely knit ties of the fishermen's families with Itoman town.

In Matsuda, the extended family operates as it does in Hanashiro. In
the former town, there is an illustration of another point regarding the
extended family system: the identity of a family name with a village name.
Historically, the family took the name of the place; the place did not
receive the name of the family. Though the situation is not clear, it
[565] would seem that when the king made grants of land to nobles that they
adopted the name given by the king to the place, while commoners did not
receive surnames, but were known by their household rank order -- to be
explained in Section 8. The village of Matsuda, for example, is the sou

of the head of the extended Matsuda family. In the extended family reunions at this home, which is on the presumed original site of the first house, on New Years and on O-Bon, there are member families not only from Matsuda itself, but from villages in the Motobu peninsula, Nakagusuku, and the Nakijin areas. There are about 180 persons in the present extended family group of the Matsuda family, of whom about 80 attend the reunions. In these extended family reunions, the heads of the branch families who reside in other villages may send money--about 10Y--for charcoal sticks (senko in Japanese) and sake to be used in the observances. These meetings occur at New Years, on the birth of a child, at the celebration on the naming of a child, for the worship at the family tomb in the third month of the lunar year, and on O-Bon in the seventh month. Another practice in this family illustrates a variant in extended family customs. In the Matsuda family, the members of the main family, every seventh year, hold worship at the homes of branch families at Nakagusuku and Nakijin during the festival of the fifth lunar month. 614

The importance of the extended family, it would seem, varies somewhat with the families comprising the larger kinship group. While in the extended family, the ties are not so close as those of the immediate family, and even of friends and neighbors, these ties though sometimes tenuous are really a geographical network of relationships that provide the basis in fact for belonging and for being part of a wider community.

The force of this fact should not be underestimated. It is part of the personal security and of being a link in the chain that is so integral a characteristic of the family system. It is not unusual for a person to go to another village or to the larger towns and to have his relatives in the extended family receive him and take care of him for long or short periods. The head of the extended family and his custodianship of the family tomb, and his leadership in the reunions further cement these wider relationships. With some, it is true, extended family observances are perfunctory. A school teacher, for example, said that when his beliefs in religion and in the worship of ancestors were stronger, he visited the site of the main house quite often; now his visits were perhaps once or twice a year, and these were done as a matter of form. But still they were done, and the indirect effect, if not to deepen religious conviction, was to maintain personal ties with the wider kinship group. There is little doubt that the extended family reinforces and solidifies the family groups, especially when several branch families are located in the village of the seat of the main family, or with those, like the fishing community of Minatogawa, whose family seat is in a common parent town. There does not seem, however, to be that strong sense of extended family loyalty that has been remarked upon so often in the traditional Chinese family system, especially among the gentry class. [574] [183]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

4

Individual Families and Their Branches

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Up to this point, we have been describing the extended families which are composed of the main and the branch families which have descended from a common ancestor. The discussion may now be carried one step further to describe the individual family and its branches.

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The individual family is the basic unit of village life. Normally this individual family is the biological family, composed of the parents and the children. But it is surprising how often family units or households are made up of relatives other than the biological family to create many varieties in family composition. The numerous deaths, as a result of the war, have added to this variety.

An attempt has been made in the following table to hint at the variation of family composition in the villages and to show this in further detail according to the number of individuals in a family. This table is a compromise, for with so many combinations, it cannot show the full detail without reproducing the composition of each family in each village.

In this analysis, family units have been broken down into three main groups: (1) those with single heads, usually but not always representing older people, (2) those with male heads, and (3) those with female heads.

The grouping of male heads has been further broken down into seven sub-groups: (1) the husband and wife, (2) the husband, wife, and child or children, (3) families with a husband, wife, children, plus other relatives, (4) families with a husband and wife, no children, but with other relatives, (5) the male head with children only, (6) the male head with children and other relatives, and (7) the male head with other relatives only.

Those family units having female heads were subdivided into three groups (1) the mother with a child or children, (2) the mother with child or children, plus other relatives, and (3) the female head with other relatives.

The general category of other relatives was necessary in order to present the materials in compact form. Other relatives most commonly are younger brothers and sisters, parents, grandparents, uncles, aunts, nephews, or nieces.

The table shows how widely the families vary from the normal biological family. In Hanashiro, only two of the ten units with two in the family are composed of a husband and a wife. Four have female heads with other relatives, meaning generally that women are taking care of

fortune teller. The purpose of this visit is to discover who would be a good adopting parent. The fortune teller advises the parents to select a person born under the same year sign as the child. These year signs roughly correspond to the signs of the zodiac. The twelve signs with their Japanese equivalents are: rat (ne), ox (ushi), tiger (tora), hare or rabbit (u), dragon (tatsu), snake (mi), horse (uma), sheep hitsuji), monkey (saru), bird (tori), dog (inu), and hog or boar (i). The year 1951 was the year of the hare; 1952 is the year of the dragon (tatsudoki). 597 608 855 734 787 [805]

The adopting or "growing up" parent is older, in multiples of 12, than the child. After consulting almanacs and other materials, the fortune teller advises the parents to find a person in the village born under the same year sign as the child. Prospective adopting parents are then sought out and the matter is discussed with them. Both parents may do this, but most often the discussions are carried on by the mother. When the selection is made, the child is "given" to the adopting parent, and there are prayers before the Buddhist god shelf in the home of the adopting parent. [782] [798]

Actually the child continues to live with its own parents, but makes frequent visits to the home of the adopting parent. There are no stated intervals at which these visits are made, except for New Years and O-Bon. The adopting parent may on these visits give food and presents to the child. [574]

The arrangement thus seems to be a form of sponsorship and guardianship without special responsibilities on the part of the adopting parent, to bring good health and long life to the child. It has only slight resemblances to the godfather and godmother in Christian countries who sponsor a child at his baptism and theoretically at least undertake to be responsible for his Christian training. But the sponsorship and guardianship features are somewhat similar.

Adoption of this type may be done in Okinawa by either sex. [887] Generally old women are the favorites and they may have many such adopted children. But old or older men may also assume this obligation. [164] This form of "growing up" adoption existed in all the villages studied in substantially the same form.

8

The Household Order Naming System

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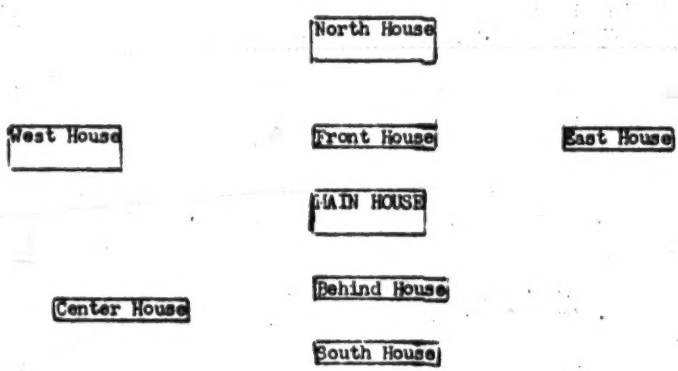
Families in a village have, in addition to their own surnames, secondary names by which individual families are known. This secondary naming system is a device to distinguish related families with the same surname from one another.

The secondary naming system is known as "the household order," or yagō in Japanese. To introduce this discussion, it might be well to 000

000 state the idea in rough outline first so that it can be grasped immediately. Let us suppose that in an American small town of about 1000 people, there are 200 families, 75 of which are named Smith; another 75, Jones; 25, Brown; and 25 of assorted surnames of less frequency. These people are neighbors; they are an agricultural people; they have not had much education. It is difficult to remember everyone's surname and distinguish, when talking to others, one family from the other. So the 75 Smith families are given various designations, such as "the Milwaukee Smiths," "Smith, the barber," "the second son of the Milwaukee Smiths. The same is done with the Jones, the Browns, and the other families. These families then become known by their secondary names rather than by their Christian and surnames. A child, instead of being known as Bobbie Smith, would be the child of the Milwaukee Smiths. The parallel between this situation and the household order naming system is inexact, but the example conveys the general idea.

592 The household order name given to any single family shows the
614 place of this particular family in the hierarchy of the extended family.
613 Families belonging to the same extended family have the same surname. But each has a different household order name to distinguish one from the other. In Minatogawa, for example, there are 53 families named Tamaki but each of these families has a distinct household order name. [193] These names are built up in an agglutinative fashion by using a root word and then by adding prefixes and occasionally a suffix to show distinctions among families.

614 Historically, the household order system seems to have grown up
613 as a result of the building of houses for branch families around or
592 near the house of the original ancestor. In the following illustration, the house of the original founder of the family is shown in the middle.
621 Perhaps his eldest younger brother, when he established a branch house, built his home in front of his brother's home and another younger brother built his home in back of the founder's house. These two houses would then become the "front" and the "behind" houses.



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The founder's first son remains in the main house. But his other sons and their sons take up positions to the north, south, east, or west: subsequent descendants might take up other positions. It is possible to relate any family in this manner to the head family. The prefixes (and one suffix) used in making the various designations are:

Japanese	Okinawan	English
mae-	me-	before, front
ushiro-	kushi-	after, behind
ue-	ui-	top
shita-	shicha-	bottom
higashi-	agari-	east
minami-	fe-	south
nishi-	iri-	west
kita-	nishi-	north
atarashii	mi- miya-	new
naka		center
	ufa-	big, great
	-gwa	diminutive, opposite of ufa, and a suffix.

Let us assume, to use an actual illustration from Hanashiro, that the household order name of a main house is Ganiku. This word has no known meaning; it may be a place name or some local landmark near the site of the original house established perhaps centuries ago. Other families in Hanashiro which are branch families of this main extended family would have the word Ganiku in their house order name with the addition of prefixes and suffixes to show that it was a branch family. There are 14 families in which the word Ganiku appears in the household order name. These are (in Okinawan):

1	Ganiku	The Main House
2	Nakaganiku	Center-
3	Kushiganiku	Behind-
4	Ganikugwa	Little Ganiku
5	Iriganiku	West-
6	Miganiku	New-
7	Miyameganiku	New front-
8	Nishiganiku	North-
9	Nishiganikugwa	Little north-
10	Iriganikugwa	Little west-
11	Meganikugwa	Little front-
12	Meiriganikugwa	Little front west-
13	Mimeganikugwa	Little new front-
14	Meganiku	Front-

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In this Hanashiro example, a man's real name might be Shoichi Shiroma, but he is known also as Iriganikugwa, the Little Western Ganiku family. All of his children, while in his family, have the same secondary name.

551 They are referred to as the son or daughter of the Little Western
592 Ganiku house. When the sons grow up, the first son retains the same
614 house order name, as he is perpetuating the house of his father. When
613 his younger brothers establish a branch household, they may add another prefix and become known, for example, as the New Little Western Ganiku family.

The manner in which the household order names may be applied to
592 successive generations is illustrated in the diagram which follows on the
614 next page. Three things should be pointed out about this diagram:
613

(1) There is no established order in the choice of branch family designations. In column five, for example, the prefix iri for west was chosen. Any other direction could have been selected if it were not already taken. Subsequent directions or space relations taken might be east, west, south, front, behind, etc. In this illustration, the order of relationship to the main family is (a) Little Fukuji, column 2, and New Little Fukuji to show the branch family of a branch family. Succeeding branches are then indicated by repeating the previous pre-
[193] fixes and adding one more. Fukuji plus gwa (little), plus mi (new), plus agari (east), then substituting iri (west), to be alternated with other directional terms such as fe (south) for iri in column 6.

(2) Some branch families are of great antiquity, such as the Fukujigwa.

[602] (3) All these people are related but it is difficult to determine the precise relationship. It is easy to see that without an exhaustive and well kept up genealogy, even in this simplified diagram, the relationship of the last individual in the first column to his contemporary, the last individual in column 6 would be difficult to trace. This is one reason that, in all the communities, people know they are relatives but do not know the precise relationship.

On the other hand, the household order system, much more than given and surnames, is a very easy device for keeping general family relationships in mind, especially when these spread over several villages. At least the Okinawans find it so. A person with the house order name of Miagarifukujigwa would know the general relationship in the extended family of his line to the main and other branch houses, whether these were located in his own or in another village.

There are additional refinements of the household order naming system. Other prefixes denoting the rank order of sons may be added,
[193] as indeed they must if the family is old and has many generations. The root word in the household order name may occasionally be identical with the surname. Some household order names may also depart from this pattern and be descriptive of previous occupations in the family history. These points are illustrated from the household order names of some

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 120--ANALYST]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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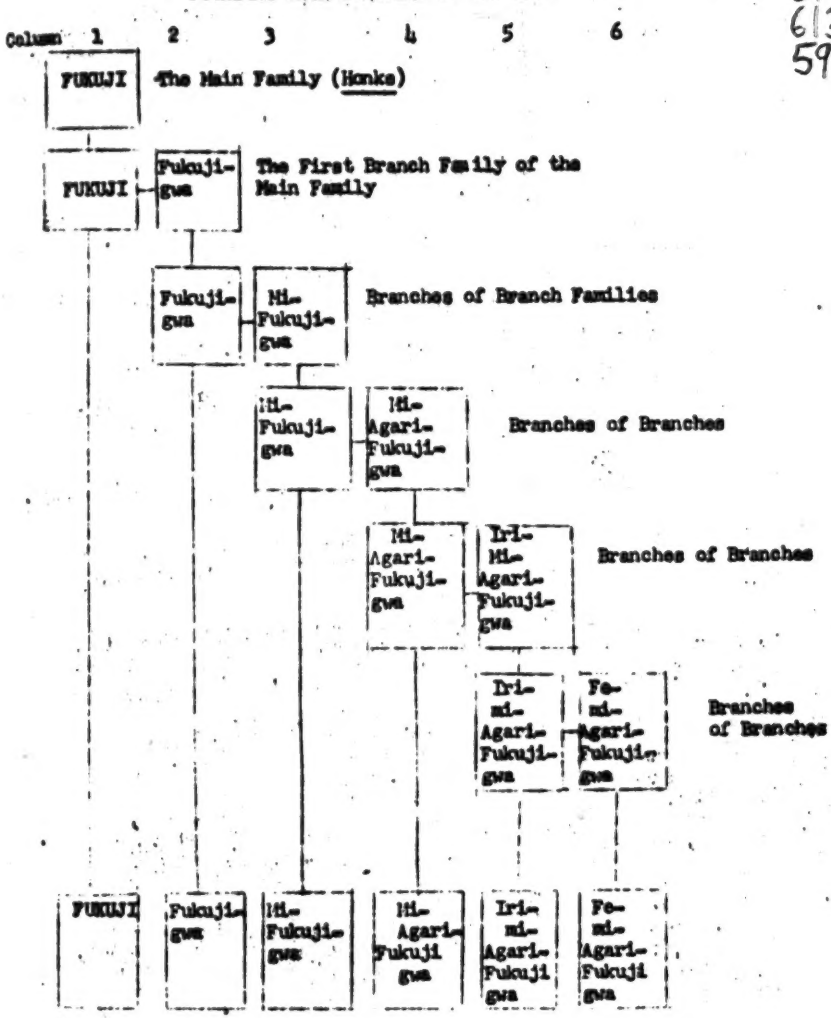
FOUNDING DATE SOMETIME IN THE PAST



1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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Minatogawa families:

1 Jinaniritamagusuku. Second Son Western Tamagusuku, for the name Tamashiro Bunkichi. Here the surname and the root word in the household order name are the same because Tamagusuku is the Okinawan equivalent of Tamashiro, gusuku being the Okinawan and shiro the Japanese reading of castle.

2 Gonanfugoshi. Fifth Son, Fugoshi. Actual surname is Uehara.

3 Yonanagariakaigwa. Fourth Son Little Eastern Akai, actual surname, Kanashiro.

[193]

4 Ufuyagwa. This illustrates the use of the prefix ufu (ufa) meaning great or big, to show the main house and the suffix, gwa, meaning little, indicating it is a branch family. The actual surname is Tamashiro.

5 Jinanufuguchigwa. Second Son of Little Great Guchi, actual surname, Tamashiro.

6 Inaminegwa, Little Inamine. Actual surname, Inamine.

7 Sannantarunagaminegwa. Third Son of Little Taru Nagamine. Actual full name, Nagamine Tarō, the Japanese equivalent of Nagamine, Taru.

8 Danpachiya. The House of the Barber. Actual surname is Oshiro. The Okinawan word for barber is danpachi.

9 Asato. A household order name based on a place name. Asato is a village in this township. Meaning is The House of Asato, actual name, Asato Shinkichi.

Some of the household order names are occupational in character, such as the barber in the above list. According to Minatogawa informants, there was also a navel household order name. Navel is hesso in Japanese, tembusu in Okinawan. If a person had a conspicuously large navel, the house was named after him and became Tembuya, House of the Navel, although it is not clear whether this was a hereditary household order name or merely a temporary one, more resembling an individual nickname. The occupational household order names apparently were both temporary and hereditary. For example, the household order name, Nakama, a surname, might have the prefix kajira (Japanese) or kanja (Okinawan) meaning blacksmith, for one son, and Danpachiya Nakama, Barber Nakama, to distinguish by occupation one son from another.

There are instances, but not in the villages studied, of household order names following the name of the official position of an ancestor. Descendants, for example, of the first head man (kuchō in Japanese) of a village might, if their surname were Moromizato, add the word kuchō making Kuchōmoromizato, Family of the Head Man Moromizato. These however

seem to be either supplementary names or household order names held during one's lifetime only, but in some instances became hereditary. Household order names taken from places seem to have become hereditary, if present lists of these names are fair indications. Even today if an American should settle in a village in Okinawa, he would probably be given a household order name and be known by this name outside the circle of friends and acquaintances who knew his surname. Such a house name would be something like Amerikaya, House of America. Ya means house or abode. The American's presence would be well known; his name, too difficult to pronounce and to remember, would be forgotten even if ever learned, and he would be the house of the man from America.

Each family in a village has this secondary name whether it is in the main or a branch family line. In Minatogawa, some exceptions were found to this, but it is not quite clear what interpretation to put upon them. In this village there were many individuals--mostly single persons living by themselves--who did not have a household order name. Of the 213 households, 20 either did not have such a secondary name, or it was not known to them nor to the residents of Minatogawa. Of these at least 8 were females.

Household order names do not appear in the official family registers (koseki) maintained in the village office (yakuba). Historically, the household order name apparently preceded the giving of first and surnames. In villages the mass of people were not known by their full names. They were designated in the fashion already described. Even up to the beginning of the war, often only important and conspicuous people, such as officials and school teachers, were known by their given and surnames (seimei); the rest were known by their household order name.

Of all the villages studied, the household order name seemed to be of greatest living importance in Hanashiro. This naming system is used only in contacts within the village. In contacts with the outside, in schools, and in official dealings, a person's full name is used. Young children, from about ten on, know families by their household order name, and one can inquire for a family by asking either for the surname or the household order name. There were instances in all villages, confined however to the old, of people knowing individuals only by their household order name. According to informants here, a person's household order name is still better known than the given and the surname. Residents are often called for village, community, and official duties by their secondary family names. Here the double naming system, one for contacts within the village, the other for the outside is still strong.

A similar situation existed in Minatogawa. The household order system here might be expected to persist longer, at least for use within the village because of the high frequency of a few surnames. The same ability of young children to know household order names of

551 their own and of other families was also noticeable.[6] Often the two
592 were used interchangeably. From an individual point of view, and this
184 is true of all the villages, the household order name is still impor-
614 tant because it is an indication of relationships to dead relatives
613 whose names are on the family tablets, and to relationships, at least in general, to other families of the same main family in the village or in other villages and towns.

[178] In Matsuda, the household order naming system seems to be dying out more rapidly than in the other communities. Children here did not know the secondary names so well, and some young people did not know their own. As in Hanashiro, up to the beginning of the war, families were called together for village duties by their household order name, but this practice has been abandoned since the war. Given and surnames are now used. The household order name is still occasionally used on letters to indicate the exact person desired, another indication of the distinctions needed in the confusion of identical surnames.

[178] It is probable that the household order naming system will decline in importance because the growth and universality of education and the constant need for using given and surnames have weakened the hold of the old. As the present old people die off, many of whom know the household order name only, every segment of the population will be accustomed to the use of given and surnames.

9

Conclusion

602 The family system binds one generation to another, and, even more, gives unity to the past, present, and future of the family. It involves a well defined system of rights and obligations. It is a conservative institution in which the rights of individuals are subordinated to the welfare of the group.

602 171 The conservative nature of the family system in other Oriental cultures, especially when combined, as in old China with a Confucian ethic and ancestor worship, has often been emphasized. But Confucianism, ancestor worship, and the family system are three different things.

6 I tested this in all communities by asking for directions to family houses using the family's yagō. Its present vitality is shown by the fact that in Hanashiro a native of the village and a member of the township council was able to list all the 121 yagō's without hesitation. The clerk of Hinatogawa village did the same. There was not an opportunity of getting the detailed lists of the Matsuda household order names, but samplings were made.

000 construction materials, and to maintenance.

614 766 In an earlier chapter, a villager's remark was quoted to the effect that Minatogawa was a branch family of Itoman. This is well illustrated in the burial customs of this village. Both children and adults are placed in a simple, temporary tomb, usually along the coast near the stonecutting area. Later the tomb is opened, the bones washed, and sent to Itoman. The transfer of the remains from the temporary tombs of the village to the extended family tomb in Itoman may be done at a time when it is necessary to open the Itoman tomb because of the death of a member of the extended family there. There is no second funeral. The cleaned bones are put in a box. There are short prayers before the opened Itoman tomb, the bones placed inside, and the box discarded.

764 602 In the adjoining village of Nagamo, burial customs are similar to those of Hanashiro. Nagamo has three different kinds of tombs: (1) large gable and turtleback extended family types, (2) a similar large tomb for a single family, and (3) small tombs for individual families.

The tombs of Hatsuda also are mainly of the extended family type. There are examples here of the turtleback, the gable, and the new small tomb. They are scattered throughout the village area, sometimes on the summit of a hill whose slopes are given over to terraced rice fields or dry cropping. Not all families own tombs; for reasons of economy, the small tomb for individual burial is becoming more frequent.

765 [462] [078] [114] In all the villages, after the coffin is put inside the tomb, it is left there for about three years. The tomb is reopened, the bones are removed from the coffin, washed, and put back in the tomb, tasks done by female relatives of the deceased, usually women over 40 years old. This three year period is not a set one. If a later death occurs in the family, the coffin may be opened at that time. An old custom of placing the bones in an urn after they are taken from the coffin has been abandoned. Basil Hall has some interesting comments on these old Okinawan urns.

3

Observances in Memory of the Dead

765 769 Observances in memory of the dead are held in all villages on the 1st, 7th, 14th, 21st, 28th, 35th, 42nd, and 49th day after death, and on the 1st, 3rd, 7th, 13th, 25th, and 33rd anniversary of death.

765 The simple observances and prayers at the tomb on the day following burial have already been mentioned. At the home, temporary memorial tablets made of white paper (shiroihai) are prepared to be replaced later with permanent red memorial tablets on the Buddhist god shelf. Both at home and at the tomb only relatives or close friends participate in the prayers and food offerings.

484 studied remarked on the discomfort of the rustic north. Many
[829] people in Matsuda thought the people of the northern district more honest than those of the south. This attitude is partly due to knowledge of crime in Naha. Direct or personal knowledge of other islands of the Ryukyus is exceptional. Few people know more than travelers' tales about Yaeyama, Miyako, or Amami.

562 Men are better informed about current events than the women.
Women do not participate so much in social life, nor do they read
521 so much. Conversations at small gatherings are often on a very serious level. A local antiquarian telling of vanished customs and conditions has a very attentive audience. So has a returned traveler
814 from Japan. These people have a sense of history, curiosity, and respect for knowledge and education.

3

Village Co-operation

621 One of the most important things to learn about a culture is
476 the nature of its co-operative endeavor. It is useful knowledge in understanding the transition zone between individual and family living and participation in community activities. In these communities, co-operation involves considering the relation of families resident in the village to one another, to their community organizations, and to local government. These relations are stronger than the tie of an individual to an extended family. The nature and the limitations of co-operation can best be described by pointing to examples from each of the villages.

In Hanashiro, mutual help is mainly found, as one might expect, among close and distant relatives of the same family of families related by marriage, who are living in the village. There are extended family ties, which may involve several villages, but this does not
[C14] mean that tasks are done co-operatively within the extended family. It is uncommon to go to another village to help a relative with his harvest or his housebuilding--and the distance would increase the unlikelihood. Immediate ties to friends, relatives, and neighbors are stronger than those to the more distant members of the extended family.

Within the village, organized co-operation is not conspicuous. Help is given in the form of labor not in money. There is no accounting on a reciprocity basis. At any harvest time--the rice harvest is usually the most urgent--a relative, neighbor or friend may help one day and receive the same aid on the following day. The whole village does not turn out to help each farmer in turn until the crops are in. This work is done by individuals or by very small groups. Since the nature and the amount of help is known and acknowledged, no bookkeeping
[342] is needed or desired. The closest approach to villagewide help to an individual family occurs in housebuilding. All residents of the

village volunteer to help if they have the time; each day a group of 5 or more appear, to be replaced the following day by another group until the house is finished. This type of help is more characteristic of the construction or repair of a simple house with a thatched roof than it is with a more expensive and elaborate house which requires specialists. 621 476 342

No days are specifically set aside for community projects, but these are done through co-operative effort. The amount of time given depends on needs as they arise. The care and maintenance of roads and lanes are the most frequent projects. If a road or lane is needed, the village headman and the council discuss the matter, consult the villagers, and the task is then undertaken. Road and lane maintenance includes cutting weeds and clearing away brush to cut down the danger from snakes. These procedures apply also to the construction and care of community owned buildings, such as the village office and the sugar mill. Hanashiro is small enough so that elaborate plans are not required and the desired ends can be accomplished by casual forms of mutual help. 621 476 [491]

The problems of Hinatogawa are different, but the type of co-operation is essentially the same. Because of its situation, typhoon damage is often severe. Cleaning up and repairing after a typhoon is a co-operative enterprise, since there is so much damage to community property such as roads and breakwaters. In the typhoon "Ruth" in 1951, the wind driven waves lashed the breakwater with such violence that the stones were dislodged and scattered over the main road. Repairing typhoon damage is partly a community, partly a family affair. Many of the frailer houses are blown down and must be reconstructed from their foundations. Help in beaching and lashing down boats in anticipation of a typhoon is given by relatives and friends. Road maintenance and construction, village building, the laying of stones around a community water tank or faucet are tasks accomplished by community effort. House-building is done mostly through the co-operation of friends and relatives. There may be visits to Itoman to help members of the extended family there. The ties with Itoman are close. [731] [614]

Matsuda is a larger village whose scattered settlements and community forests have resulted in a more planned community co-operation than exists in the southern villages. Three general forms can be distinguisheds (1) officially supervised co-operative work on the roads and in the forests in which every male over school age and the unmarried girls are expected to work a stated number of days in a year. Records are kept of this work. One might regard this as obligatory, but it is more correct to say that it is a universally acknowledged duty requiring no enforcement procedure. (2) Voluntary co-operation in the building of a house, and (3) less formal and more casual help, among relatives and friends in a wide variety of daily tasks, including harvesting, carrying wood, threshing rice, and the like.

In the officially supervised co-operative work, the participating

105 A munohu was made up of a number
197 of households or families united through the male line, descended from a common
[619] ancestor, and sharing a common tomb. Village endogamy was an obligatory mar-
[582] riage practice and violations did not pass unpunished; in addition kin group
endogamy was a preferred practice, though not necessarily an obligatory one.
[628] Intervillage contacts and ties, consequently, were held to a minimum. These cus-
[178] toms were followed by the majority of the oldest generation now living, and
even today such practices tend to persist in rural areas. A survey in Kanegu-
[582] suku revealed that fifty percent of the marriages were between members of the
same kin group and sixty-six percent of the marriages were between residents of
[178] the same village. Such practices, to be sure, are breaking down, and this be-
comes evident when the above data are analyzed on an age basis, but in view of
the fact that these customs still prevail, though to a more limited extent than
formerly, it is not surprising that so considerable a diversity of dialects
should also be preserved.

197 Another facet of Okinawan dialect geography is the occurrence of small
621 speech-islands exhibiting dialects distinct from those of the surrounding areas.
184 These are the so called yaadui settlement. founded during the 18th and 19th cen-
turies by migrants from the Naha-Shuri area; the newcomers were usually the
younger sons of gentry families seeking their livelihood in the country. Such
settlements not only enjoyed a political independence from the larger surround-
ing communities but also were never incorporated into the formal religious
system centering on the nuru priestess and unifying the rural areas. These
factors together with previously-mentioned marriage practices enabled such set-
tlements to preserve their identity. Kitazato in Kami Motobu-son serves as a
good example of this type of village, having been settled seven generations
ago by the younger sons of gentry families residing in Naha and Shuri. The
larger neighboring villages never absorbed Kitazato, and to this day it pre-
[194] serves a dialect quite distinct from theirs. The most notable contrast be-
tween them centers on the p and h sounds in the two dialects, for all p sounds
of nearby Gushiken are rendered h in Kitazato; thus, the word for "fire" is pi
in the dialect of the former and hi in the latter's.

197 Undoubtedly this dialectic diversity is decreasing as the old customs
178 die out and the isolation of the village disappears. The war uprooted many
communities and scattered their inhabitants about the island, and nearly all
villages now have a number of families new to the village since the war. New
communities like the entertainment center of Koza have no characteristic dia-
lect of their own, containing as they do a heterogeneous population recruited
from all parts of the Ryukyus. The vast improvements in roads and transporta-
tion services since the end of the war have given the people a mobility un-
dreamed of in the prewar period and have done much to destroy the isolation of
the rural areas.

192 "Uchinaaguchi" Okinawans call their dialect uchinaaguchi and themselves
[101] uchinaanchu. The terms 'Okinawago', Japanese for Okinawan
language, and 'hōgen', Japanese for dialect, are also in common usage though
the latter term is resented by some who feel that it carries the connotation
"rustic". Today all Okinawan speech contains many loan words from Japanese;
this obtains for those who know no Japanese as well as for those who are bi-
lingual. Intimate contact with Japanese coupled with this word borrowing has

601 the native terms for "father" and "mother" to uncles and aunts is going out
177 of use. Thus in structure as well as in the terms themselves the Okinawan
192 system is moving in the direction of the Japanese.

552 Maintaining Continuity: House Names Every house has a name (yaanunaa,
613 Japanese 'yagō'). This name, in the case of the older houses, may be descriptive of its location or may be taken from the place of origin of the founder. Insofar as possible a man's first son should succeed him as head of his house. If a man's first son rebuilds the house or even moves it, its name usually remains the same. When younger sons establish their own houses the house of the first son is called the "main house" (muutuyaa, J. 'honke') and the younger sons' houses "branch houses" (tatchiyaa, J. 'bunke'). The branch houses take their house names from the house name of the main house. Thus if the main house is called Taba, a branch house may be called Taba-gwaa, "little Taba". If there are several Taba-gwaa, they may be distinguished by directions such as agari, "east", iri, "west", or by the birth order of their founders, as jinan Taba-gwaa, "second-son little Taba", and so forth. If a family line has been in a village for several generations there may be branch houses of branch houses. In such a case the earlier branch house is a main house to its branch houses while still in the status of branch house to the house of the founder of the line. In such cases new elements may be introduced into the naming system; a branch of a Taba-gwaa might be mii-Taba-gwaa, "new little Taba". If there are several branches and branches of branches the original main house (in Japanese, the 'sōhonke') may come to be called ufu-Taba, "great Taba". Thus the relationship of a number of houses in a village may be shown by the names used for them. The house names of a village are surprisingly well-known by the members of a village, even by the children, better known than either the surnames or given names of the inhabitants.[1]

55 Personal Names Before the Japanese annexation the two main social
177 classes on Okinawa differed in the sorts of names they bore. Members of the
[545] gentry (yukatchu, "superior people", or samuree, cognate of the Japanese 'sa-
[614] murai') belonged to patrilineal common descent groups called uji. These uji each had a name consisting of a single Chinese character, often a Chinese surname. Also, different lineages within each uji each bore surnames that were mainly Okinawan place names; these were taken from the names of villages and larger administrative units where the founders of the lineages served as officials. And in addition, each male member of the gentry class had a given name consisting of two characters read in the Chinese manner (that is, the Okinawan version of the Japanese 'on-yomi'). These were called toonaa, "Chinese names". In each uji the first of the two characters in all names was the same. Thus, to give an example, in the Hyō uji there are three lineages bearing the surnames Moromizato, Itosu, and Higa, but all males in the uji regardless of surname bear given names that begin with the character An. Thus Moromizato Ansei and Itosu Angō are seen to be kinsmen despite the difference in surname. These are the names of two men living today. Had they lived before the annexation they might also have designated themselves for official purposes by what look like proper Chinese names, Hyō Ansei and Hyō Angō.

[1] For a more detailed account of the house-naming system see Glacken, 1953, pp. 115-122.

At the same time, each person, both men and women, bore a given name 551
that was purely Okinawan. These names are called warabinaa, "child names". They are few in number. Several of them---perhaps all of them---are meaningful, such as Kamii, "turtle", Ushi, "ox". Several of them were given both to males and to females. They were transmitted according to rules that seem now to be not too well understood. According to one old woman, a man should give his name to his sons' first sons and his wife hers to the sons' first daughters. Subsequent grandchildren should receive the names of the grandparents' siblings or other relatives. A younger woman said that a first son got his father's father's name and a woman her mother's mother's. But unfortunately not enough information was obtained to support the last assertion or to reveal any further pattern. (This is a subject that would be well worth further [174] study; the possibility that the naming system is a reflection of a former system of double descent should not be overlooked.)

Among the commoners (hyakusoo, cognate of Japanese 'hyakushō', pea- [565]
santes"), surnames were perhaps not universally taken until after the Japanese 177
annexation. Nor did they have Chinese-style given names. Their common descent [614]
groups, usually called munchu, seem to bear names that are place names. They did have house names (yaanuyaa, J. 'yagō'), and Okinawan-style given names. Probably a commoner was known only by these two. Even today among the older Okinawans a man is more likely to be known as Taasachi-gwaa nu Sanree, "Sanree ("Third"?) of the house Taasachi-gwaa ("Little End-of-the-Rice-Field")", than by the name found in the 'kodeki'.

Today everyone is registered by and officially known by a surname and 551
given name. The surnames are mainly taken from Okinawan place names but the 177
readings assigned the characters are frequently Japanized. Thus Ufu-gusuku, "great-castle' becomes 'Ōshiro' and Nakandakari becomes 'Nakamura'. Many of the given names for males are of two characters read in the Sino-Japanese manner, like the given names formerly used only by the gentry, but many also are purely Japanese---Masaru, Takeo, Toshiyasu---the last possibly being the Japanese reading of a name that once might have been given its "Chinese" reading. Girls are given such Japanese names as 'Yoshiko' and 'Masako'. And the youngest child recorded in the 'koseki' for Yamada, the first to bear the name, was an infant girl named 'Chiemi', obviously after a currently popular Japanese "starlet".

The Ancestral Tablets In every main house there is a shelf or, if 769
possible a cabinet (tootocmee, J. 'butsudan') for the ancestral tablets (ifee, 353
J. 'ihai'). If it is a cabinet it contains three shelves; on the top shelf 592
stand the tablets flanked by a pair of vases, on the second shelf a pair of tea-cups and a wine cup, and on the third an incense burner (u-kooru). The paraphernalia vary somewhat with the means of the family. The tablets are 769
red lacquered slips of wood held in two rows in a black frame. On the upper 592
row are written the names of deceased male members of the family, on the lower row names of deceased females. The ancestral tablets together with the house name form an inseparable unit. The main house of the Taba lineage is the [613]
main house and has the house name "great Taba" because it is the location of the ancestral tablet of the founder of the lineage. The tablets at "new little Taba" contain the tablet for the founder of that house. The tablets are

769 transmitted with the headship of the house. The head of the house, or his
592 wife or mother, has the responsibility of making offerings to them on the proper occasions. On certain occasions representatives of the houses that have branched from a main house come to worship before the tablets in it.

[171] Inheritance and Adoption Inheritance has two aspects, legal and customary. According to Japanese law the headship of a house should pass from a man to his first son or if the first is dead to his second or subsequent son, or in the event that there are no sons or that they are minors, it may pass to his wife. The headship is registered in the koseki. According to Japanese law if a man has no son but a daughter, he may adopt a son-in-law who then becomes his heir and succeeds him to the headship of the house.

In Okinawan custom headship of the house means responsibility for the [562] tablet of the last head and the other tablets that go with it. A woman can do no more than care for the tablets until another male succeeds the last. Moreover, an adopted son-in-law cannot care permanently for the tablets of a man to whom he is not related. Ultimately for every man who lacks a son a male must be found who is a blood relative in the male line. Only such a person can succeed him, that is, care for his tablets after his death and beget [597] descendants who can rightfully care for his tablets. Therefore the man without sons tries to adopt as his heir the second or later son of one of his brothers or of a cousin related through males. If a man dies without an heir one may be adopted posthumously for him. The tablet of a boy who has died unmarried may be kept for a whole generation in a brother's house, until one of the brother's sons or grandsons can become the "adopted son" of the deceased. He then establishes a branch house, which takes the house name the deceased would have had, and becomes custodian of the tablet.

614 The Larger Kin Group: Structure and Variation Every Okinawan family belongs to larger kinship group and often these larger units belong to still larger units. Such a unit consists of a group of families the male heads of which are or believe themselves to be related in the male line. The size and composition of these groups and the terms used for them vary somewhat.[1]

In Shimajiri among the descendants of the peasant class the larger kin group is called the munchu (in Japanese 'monchū', "within the gate"). It may consist of dozens or even hundreds of families living in several villages and with a total membership of several thousands. The munchu usually takes its name from the house-name of the main house. If it has spread to several villages its members in any one village may be referred to as the so-and-so munchu of that village. Or, as often is the case, the members of a certain munchu in one village may be all branch houses of one main house of that munchu for the village and this house will have been founded according to tradition by the second son or the third son of the founder of the main house of the larger unit, which is elsewhere; in this case the local branch will be called the jinan-bara, "second-son belly", or sannan-bara, "third-son belly",

[1] The statements made in this section are based on information obtained from informants. However, I have also consulted Watanabe, 1947.

as the case may be. The munchu has a common tomb or several common tombs, a 614
circuit of ugwanju (sacred spots for worship, connected in tradition to the founder of the munchu), and several kaminchu (religious functionaries of a semi-hereditary status). Well-established branch munchu may have their own tombs, circuits of ugwanju, and kaminchu. If this is the case the main house of the branch is called the nala-muutu, "middle root", and the main house of the larger unit the ufu-muutu, "great root". In the absence of written records the exact relationship of the different branches of one of the larger units may occasionally be reinterpreted by the kaminchu and by yuta (seeresses).

The members of a munchu need not, and often do not, have the same sur- 614
name. The usual explanation given for this is that a new surname has entered 551
the munchu through a member's having been adopted as a son-in-law. According [171]
to Japanese law a man who married the daughter of a family with no male heirs became an adopted son-in-law and his children bore his wife's surname. But according to Okinawan custom the ancestral tablets of the woman's parents can go only to a male relative in the male line. The "adopted son-in-law" cannot inherit the tablets; they will go later to a brother's son or grandson. And the children of the "adopted son-in-law" belong to their paternal grandfather's munchu, even though by law they had to take their maternal grandfather's surname. This practice goes back only to the end of the last century. [177]
Before the Japanese annexation it is not likely that many peasants had surnames; those they later took were probably taken from house names. An informant in Chinen-Son, however, gave another explanation why some of the members of his munchu had different surnames. He said that under the old government some had been given surnames for having served as petty officials at the office of the local governor. He named three surnames locally used that were given to officials of the three lowest ranks.

Among the descendants of the former gentry class the largest kinship unit is the uji. This term is identical with one of the older Japanese terms [192]
translated as "clan". The uji have names that are single Chinese characters, [177]
some of them identical with Chinese surnames. The members of an uji may bear different surnames of the native sort; the explanation for this is that under the former monarchy, when a member of the gentry was appointed to the office of governor of a majiri (the present "Son") or appointed official of a village, he was able to take the name of that majiri or village as his surname. Thus the members of an uji may be divided into several lines, each claiming descent from some illustrious official. These divisions may also be named chakushi-firugi, "first-son-lineage", jinan-firugi, "second-son-lineage", and so forth, according to seniority. Despite their different surnames, however, the male members of an uji usually have given names written with two characters read in the Chinese manner (that is, the Okinawan version of the 'on-yomi' of Japanese), the first of the two characters being the same. To give an example, the Hyō uji consists of three lineages with the surnames Moromizato, Itosu, and Higa, all the males of which have given names beginning with the character An.

In the village of Yamada in Onna-Son, many of the kin units of both 613
the commoners and the gentry who settled there late in the last century are small local divisions of larger units the main houses of which are in the

613 southern part of the island. There the term for the local unit, a relatively small lineage with not very strong ties to the larger unit, is chuchooree (literally, "one brotherhood', to translate literally into Japanese, hito-
613 kyōdai). The larger unit of the commoners is called the ichimung ("one gate"),
• 614 which is equivalent to the munchu of the south. Some of the gentry families refer to the subdivision of the uji having the same surname as their ichimung. Thus a family may belong to a local chuchooree, to an ichimung containing other families elsewhere of the same surname, and to a still larger uji containing ichimung of other surnames.

614 Functions The functions of the common descent group seem to be almost
769 entirely ritual. Just as the members of a family are responsible for helping the head of the family in making the proper offerings before the tablets and the tomb of its immediate ancestors, so the larger unit has such a responsibility toward the remote ancestors. In the family the eldest son bears the greatest responsibility, so in the common descent group the head of the main house bears the greatest responsibility. But the benefits resulting from proper worship and the misfortunes resulting from negligence may extend even to the youngest branch house, and thus all are interested in maintaining the worship.

614 Representatives of the common descent group worship before the ances-
796 tral tablets at the main house on occasions called u-machii (J. 'o-matsuri'),
769 usually the 15th days of the 2nd, 5th and 6th lunar months and during the New Year's season. They worship at the tomb at the shiimii (J. 'seimei') season in April. For this purpose periodic meetings may be held and dues levied for
[789] the expense of the offerings. Many groups send members on pilgrimages every seventh year (shichinin-maari) to pray at remote shrines; many in the south go to Nakijin in the north for this. There may also be special expenditures such as for the repair of a tomb, the building of a new tomb, or even the repair of the main house if its owner has become impoverished.

614 A few common descent groups are said to have a little property from which the income is used for the expense of the worship, but probably none has enough to be of any other value. The common descent group probably has
[576] no economic functions. In a rural community its members may tend to cooperate a little more in farm work; I observed this to be the case in some instances in Yamada, but informants say that kinship is no more important than closeness of residence and that neighbors ought to cooperate.

614 Nevertheless the common descent group occasionally seems to have
666 political functions. In a recent election in southern Okinawa, munchu membership became a factor. A cartoon that appeared in the Okinawa Times of 8 March 1954 shows opposing candidates carrying banners announcing their munchu. In the village of Komesu, south of Itoman, supporters of candidates appealed to members of their candidates' munchu to support their own regardless of political party.

613 The unity of the kin group may appear in time of crisis. In the vil-
722 lage of Yamada, during the battle in 1945, many of the villagers hid out in improved natural caves. According to one informant's account, at first there was some moving around but ultimately people of the same chuchooree clung together. In one instance bad feeling arose between two groups over the sharing of a cave.

It will be seen that for males membership in the common descent group is reckoned strictly patrilineally and this membership is permanent. The status of women is less clear. A woman before marriage worships at the ancestral tablets and tomb of her father's family and lineage. If she dies she is buried in his tomb. After her marriage a woman worships at her husband's tomb, where she will be buried, and if he is an eldest son she knows she will ultimately have the responsibility of preparing the offerings put before his family's tablets; but at the same time she continues to worship at the u-machii before the tablets at the main house of her father's group. She may be called upon to contribute to the fund raised by her father's group for ceremonial expenses. And she may even function as a kaminchu for it. A woman's own tablet, when she dies, will be placed with that of her husband. If a woman is widowed or divorced and marries again, she will very likely be buried in the tomb of the family of her first son, regardless of which husband was his father, and her tablet will be put in his house. A woman without sons may feel uncertain of her future. 614 562

It must also be made explicit that the Okinawan common descent group, unlike most unilateral descent groups, is not exogamous. Even cousins related through the male line may marry and it is said that in some communities they do so frequently. I found one cousin marriage within the kin group in Yamada koseki; Lebra found several marriages within the munchu at Kanegusuku. Informants said it was common in some communities. 614 582

2. The Life Cycle

The Calendar Before a description of the life cycle of the individual can be given, a word must be said about the systems the Okinawans use for reckoning time. Two systems are in use, the "old calendar" (in Japanese 'kyūreki') and the "new calendar" ('shinreki'). The first is the same ancient Chinese calendar that is used throughout East Asia; the second is the Western calendar. 805 177

The "old calendar" is essentially a lunar calendar but combined with the twelve lunar months is a system of twenty-four solar periods and a system of naming days and years by the "Ten Stems and Twelve Branches".[1] The lunar year consists of twelve lunar months, designated as "first month", "second month" and so on, of twenty-nine or thirty days, with the fifteenth or sixteenth of each month falling on the night of the full moon. Since the lunar year is about eleven days shorter than the solar year, an inter-calary month must be inserted every three years to hold the year in place, so that Lunar New Year's usually comes some time in February of the Western Calendar. The principal traditional holidays of the year, except for three, are figured in the lunar calendar. Of particular importance are New Year's (the first day of the first month) and U-bung or Shichigwachi (from the 13th to the 15th of the 7th month; the Japanese 'Bon'). [527]

[1] For tables, etc., see Papinot, 1910, Appendix XII.

[Kochinda-son]

582 For the 114 in-village marriages the average age of the wife at date marriage was recorded was 21.2 years. For the husbands in this category the average was 23.5 years. Both these averages are consistently lower than the averages for out-village marriages---it apparently takes longer to search farther afield. In addition, one often hears the country belief that the more education a man has, the farther away he goes for a wife.

The 150 out-village marriages recorded include 117 women living in Kochinda-son, and 33 women who have married to men outside the 'son'. Of these 33 women, those who married men from relatively far away numbered nineteen, and those who married men living in villages relatively close to their parents' village were fourteen in number. One of the first group married an American serviceman from Kansas. One of the outside-the-'son'-marriages involved a woman fifty years of age who was marrying for the second time. For the remaining 32 marriages---all of which were first marriages---the average age of the woman involved was 22.5 years.

Of the 117 out-village women who married within Kochinda-son, twenty-seven came from rather far away, forty from non-contiguous 'aza' relatively close, and fifty from neighboring, or areally contiguous, 'aza'. The average age of the 117 husbands was 25.0 years. This figure is reduced to 24.9 years if the men over 40 are eliminated. The average age of the wives[1] was 22.1 years, an average reduceable to 21.9 years if women over forty are eliminated.

587 Second Marriages In the normal course of events a certain number of people will marry for the second time. The Navy Civil Affairs Handbook indicates that "...about twice as many men as women remarry after being widowed or legally separated." A considerable number of the postwar marriages analyzed under the spacing of births category above were second marriages. It is of course not possible to ascertain the percentage of these, inasmuch as they are not listed as such in the temporary 'koseki'.

• [614] Lebra was told that in a first marriage men tended to wed women from within the munchu (extended patrilineage) rather than from outside the munchu, and that in a second marriage they tended to marry outside the munchu.

588 831 848 "Common Law Children": Definitions In addition to legally recorded marriages, there are those unions producing children who have no legal claim as heirs to their fathers' property. If the father recognizes the child as his own, it is given his family name, and entered into the 'koseki' as a 'shoshidan', if a boy, and a 'shoshijo', if a girl. In this report these will be called "common law children", though the reader must realize that 'shoshi' is not the exact equivalent of the phrase "common law" as it is used in the United States.

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1 Only the ages of 116 wives could enter this calculation; no birthdate was available for one wife, though the other data for the marriage were complete.

CHAPTER VIII LAND TENURE

W. P. Lebra

423 During the lifetime of the oldest living generation of Okinawans
178 there have been operative two radically differing systems of land tenure---at first a system of communal land ownership and later a system of private ownership of land by families. At the present time a third system may be said to be emerging---private ownership by individuals. Changes in the systems of land tenure have been accompanied by significant changes in the family, economy, and community. During the wartime and post-war periods extensive land losses to military installations have severely disrupted the livelihood of a number of communities, thus furthering the process of change.

175 ## 1. The Okinawan Kingdom and the Land Allotment System ('jiwari seido')

Prior to 1879 when Japan formally annexed the Ryukyus, Okinawa was
[692] a small semi-independent kingdom (it was a tribute-paying dependency of the daimiate of Satsuma in Japan) controlling the southern Ryukyus. The
175 urban Naha-Shuri area served as the administrative and commercial center
565 for the kingdom, and nearly all of the upper classes, gentry and nobility, were concentrated there. They formed a ruling class similar to that of
[423] China, functioning as a literati and administrative bureaucracy. Feudalism had been abolished in the fifteenth century, and aside from a small percentage of the nobility who were allowed to retain their hereditary fiefs, the bulk of the upper classes subsisted on pensions granted by the ruler. This group was very large and constituted approximately one-third of the total population.

175 The farming population lived in a state of serfdom, being forbidden
[566] even to move from their native village or to change their hereditary occu-
[361] pation. Farm villages were self-sustaining and physically isolated entities consisting of tightly-nucleated clusters of dwellings surrounded by fields.
[621] Each village was segmented into several lineages whose houses were generally
[613] clustered together; these kin groups were related through the male line and shared a common ancestor, ritual observances, and often a local tomb for
[614] temporary burial. Each lineage was usually related to certain lineages of other villages, thus forming a larger relationship or patri-sib which shared a remote common ancestor, ritual observances, and a common tomb for permanent burial. Usually the membership of this larger kinship group was con-
[582] centrated in the villages of a given district or area. Village endogamy was an obligatory marriage practice, and kin group endogamy was a preferred though not an obligatory practice.

178 Private ownership of land on Okinawa is a recent phenomenon, as
423 recent, in fact, as the beginning of the twentieth century. Under the old
175 kingdom communal ownership of the land obtained for all except a small seg-
423 ment of the upper classes. In theory all land was the property of the ruler,
[632] but in practice the district, or majiri (political unit roughly equivalent

CHAPTER XI: CULTURE CHANGE IN RURAL OKINAWA

W. P. Lebra

175 177 Within a span of less than fifty years Okinawa has been twice subjected to periods of accelerated culture change. The first began in 1899 when the Japanese administration abolished the system of communal land ownership and taxation then extant in the rural areas and introduced private ownership. Land reform was followed by modernization of the government and the establishment of compulsory education. A second period of rapid change began in World War II with the American invasion and the establishment of military government.

175 423 177 The Japanese Impact (1879-1945) During the first twenty years of Japanese administration relatively few changes were introduced, but beginning with the land reform of 1899-1903 there followed a series of changes which completely altered the fabric of Okinawan society. The policies of the Japanese administration and the results of the long period of close contact with Japanese culture effected the conversion of Okinawans into Japanese nationals, destruction of the self-sufficiency of the rural village, modernization of government, weakening of the kin group, and greater participation in national life.

177 871 The transformation of Okinawans into Japanese nationals was accomplished through the establishment of a national school system which indoctrinated the students with the language and culture of Japan. Official Japanese policy aimed at the eradication of Okinawan culture; this was carried out through the schools and by means of repressive laws, police measures, and the 177 829 practice of discrediting things Okinawan. Although there was some Okinawan reaction to this discrimination, the government was ultimately successful in creating a favorable response to Japanese culture. Its accomplishment was largely due to the close affinity of the Japanese and Okinawans. The linguistic and cultural resemblances between the two are so close as to make their differences bridgeable. A wider gulf might have produced antipathy, but instead the superior civilization of the Japanese came to be regarded as worthy of emulation.

177 The Japanese did discriminate against Okinawan culture, but as an alternative they offered, in theory at least, equal participation in their own culture. The process of assimilation was greatly facilitated by the cultural indoctrination of the schools; each successive generation came to feel and act more Japanese than the previous one. Okinawan culture was not eradicated, as the space of time was too short, but its creativity was reduced. An important factor in aiding the acceptance of Japanese culture was that the ideas and technology of the modern world came to Okinawa through Japan; hence, much of what was of foreign origin was accepted by the Okinawans as Japanese.

177 619 An important aspect of the change which came about under the Japanese administration was the realization for the average individual of a greater participation in the social and political life of the country. The mental

The mental
isolation of the farm village gradually decreased under a national system of 177
education, but the process did not end with schooling. Upon graduating, the 619
youth, male and female, were enrolled in a national young people's association. 575
Later the young men were drafted for service in the national army, and follow- [702]
ing discharge the veteran was enlisted in a local reserve association which
met frequently for military and social purposes. When a man married, estab-
lished a separate house, and began farming, membership in the farmer's associa-
tion was automatically conferred. His wife upon marriage transferred from the
young women's association to the women's association. There were, in fact, a
variety of national organizations covering the various phases and roles of
the individual's life; membership was never a matter of choice, but a thing
automatically conferred. A stress on patriotism was a strong concomitant in
all of these. Membership gave to the individual a sense of participating in
a national society extending far beyond the limits of his small village.

It should be stressed that most Okinawans regard the Japanese as pro- 177
viders of modern, enlightened government. The Japanese administration abol- 829
ished the old class divisions and freed the peasant from his serf-like status. [565]
Taxes on arable land were substantially reduced, and the villager for the
first time was given some voice in government above the village level. Modern [671]
law courts were introduced and justice was administered impartially, not on a
class basis as was formerly done.

Inadvertently, perhaps, official Japanese policy did much to destroy 177
the self-sufficiency of the farm village. Prior to the land reform, sugar 621
production did not exceed local needs, but government encouragement and sub- 433
sidy so increased production that by the time of World War II it exceeded con-
sumption by 900%. This resulted in a food shortage which necessitated heavy
importations of basic cereals to compensate.

Japanese manufactured goods also contributed to the decline in self- 177
sufficiency. Factory-made cloth gradually displaced home-woven fabrics, and 439
accordingly cotton and fiber banana were no longer raised. The tools, uten- 433
sils, and machines of the factory slowly replaced the simpler devices used [248]
in the village.

Abolition of the system of communal land tenure contributed to a weak- 177
ening of the family and particularly of the large extended kin group. The 602
introduction of private property and Japanese laws of inheritance served to 423
create a landless element which often emigrated from Okinawa in search of land [167]
or jobs elsewhere. Where formerly the kin group had clustered in certain
localities, they now became dispersed over great areas, making continued inter-
action difficult and often impossible.

Sixty-six years of Japanese rule resulted in a fairly successful amal- 177
gamation of Okinawa into the Japanese state; though the Okinawan language and
culture were not destroyed, they were severely altered.

Impact of World War II and the American Occupation The war destroyed vir- 727
tually all of rural and
urban Okinawa, and resulted in the death of twenty percent of the population.

177 factors have made possible its resilience. Though the island is small, the
178 Americans and Okinawans tend to be concentrated in their own areas, and the
rate of interaction is not so high as mere figures might indicate. Secondly,
[184] Okinawan culture is fairly homogeneous, hence unaffected areas tend to sus-
[186] tain other areas which might be disturbed. Thirdly, there remains a strong
awareness of cultural identity, much of which is fostered by language, song,
[619] theater, dance, and religion. Fourthly, there exists a sense of belonging
to a larger national entity, Japan; consequently, there is less feeling of
being alone. Fifthly, despite some changes, much the same sort of educational
and political systems operate today as before the war; this has provided a
considerable degree of continuity. Lastly, the present administration has
not been culturally repressive.

Since the war, the old narrow one lane roads have been broadened, permitting heavier auto traffic. Land ownership has been undisturbed, for it is not in an area in which the military has required land. Since the war, the villagers have tried to return to their former way of life, but this has been done with poorer houses and fewer possessions. 363 483 511

3

Minatogawa

Minatogawa, the second village studied, formerly was a shoe string type of settlement. Houses, shops, drinking places were along the seawall road. This pattern is now altered as a result of the war. Scattered areas have been relocated and houses built on lands formerly used for sweet potatoes. It is now an indeterminate type of village, retaining some indications of its old settlement pattern along the main road, with additions of clusters of houses in the newly settled areas. 361 [275] [311] [244]

Like Hanashiro, this village is in Gushichan township, and located on Highway 64. It is directly on the main historical road, previously mentioned, which led from Naha to the Chinen peninsula. The road, along which its houses are built, parallels for a distance the estuary of the small Minatogawa river. This narrow estuary, called Usaregawa, which connects the river mouth with the Pacific Ocean, and the small river itself (Yuhigawa) is a boundary between Gushichan and Tamagusuku townships. On either side there are steep cliffs, the sites of the best known stone quarries of Okinawa. 361 133 [491] [316]

The settlement and the adjoining lands have an area of about 256 acres. It is a mixed economy village with three distinct occupational groups: fishermen, stonecutters, and farmers. There is a second village whose borders blend with those of Minatogawa. These two villages are now known officially as Minatogawa-ikku and Minatogawa-niku. The two terms can be awkwardly translated as Minatogawa first ward, and Minatogawa second ward. But popularly they retain their older names: Minatogawa for the fishing village, and Nagamo for the agricultural second ward. These two separate but adjoining villages were until 1925 a single village. 621 463

The division was the result of distinct differences in outlook and occupation between the two sections. Minatogawa is a fishing village and has strong ties with Itoman, a town on the East China Sea shore about 4 1/2 miles away. Nagamo is an agricultural community originally settled from Naha and Shuri. Stone-cutting operations spread over both areas. While the fishing village of Minatogawa was given the emphasis in this study, it will be necessary occasionally to include Nagamo in the discussion.[8] [226] [241] [324] [128]

8 The writer did not realize until he lived here that two villages were involved, thinking that the two wards referred to a single administrative unit. By this time the work on Hanashiro had been well started, and time did not permit the intensive study of Nagamo. 114

[609] of contemporary relationships. The family system does not mean only family life, or a set of obligations, or a family. It is all of these, and, in addition, a historical continuity. It is an institution in which the past is constantly intruding on the present and in which the present is a combination of acts to secure one's own livelihood and well-being as well as to perpetuate the family in the future. A simple [769] illustration will make this clear. One of the obligations of living members of a family is to observe the death anniversaries of close relatives. The last, the most important, and the most sumptuous of these observances occurs on the 33d year after the death of the relative who is mourned. Thus a grandson, most likely the first son of a first son, may end this period of memorial observances for a grandfather whom he may never have seen. There is a constant intrusion of obligations coming from the past. These, often onerous and expensive, are honored in a positive manner.

In the present, conscious plans are made for the continuance of the family. These are achieved through three closely inter-related devices: [591] the succession of the first son to his father's house and, on his marriage, taking up residence at the father's home, the system of inheritance which [428] favors the first son, and the establishment of branch households for other sons, awarding them, if the family's wealth permits, a house site and field for cultivation.

In this way, the continuance of the main line and collateral branches of the family is provided for. If we pursue the illustration of inheritance a little further, we can think of the division of the land as an [428] expression of the family system applied to the use and to the sharing of the available natural resources. The system of agriculture, the scat- [311] tered ownership of small holdings, the attempts at land conservation and reclamation are best understood as reflections of duties and obligations to the present and future generations in the family system. If they are not seen in this way, they may appear to be isolated practices best discussed as techniques or as aspects of law and custom.

Not only in family observances but in public holidays as well, the [527] subtle influences of the family system can be observed. Public holidays and festivals are centered on two main themes, sometimes both together: [569] thanksgiving for good crops and reverence for those who have passed away. The holiday of O-Bon in the seventh lunar month, in which the departed dead are invited to return for a visit to the homes of their living descendants and the celebrations at lunar New Year are good examples of this.

[582] In village life, the family system is strengthened by the high incidence of intermarriage among local kinship groups. A general lack 621 of mobility in the villages studied has also led to the increase of immediate relatives living in the same village. This lends to community, and even to local government some of the characteristics of a wider family life. The establishment of branch families in the village of their parents

by sons other than the first reinforces this, although there are examples of branch families being established in villages away from the parental home. This intermarriage among kinship groups and the settlement of first sons and other children in the same village brings about a situation in which blood relatives or relatives by marriage are exceedingly numerous. It gives to village life cohesion and solidarity. This was very noticeable in the villages studied. Specific illustrations later will show the influences of these situations on many phases of village life. 621

It is no wonder then that the family system has a strong influence on community organization and on formal government. The semi-official organizations such as the neighborhood groups (han in Japanese), the young men's association (seinendan in Japanese), and the women's association (fujinkai in Japanese) are made up of blocs of relatives, friends, and neighbors. These circumstances blur the distinctions between the private and the public life of the family. The same is true of village government and probably accounts in large measure for democratic village government. At a wedding, at a funeral, at a birthday celebration for a child, the head of the village (kuchō in Japanese), and often the mayor of the township (sonchō in Japanese) will be present, not for political or vote catching reasons, but because he is a relative, by blood or marriage, or a personal friend of his hosts. This theme will be developed later, but it should be pointed out here that the family system, in its contemporary operations, is not only the mould for shaping the outlines of obligations and responsibilities for individuals, but that it is an important guiding principle in the conduct of community life and of formal government. 602 621 [595] [622]

2

Kinship Terminology and the Kinship System

We can now explore in more detail the mechanisms by which the family system operates. To do this, it will be well first to list the common kinship and related terms. These are the terms most often met with in conversation and which appear in the family registers (kosoki in Japanese). Kinship terminology follows the Japanese practice. Like Western usage, many terms such as grandfather, grandmother, uncle, aunt, nephew or niece refer to relatives both on the paternal and the maternal side. The chief differences lie in the rank order in which sons or daughters of a family are designated. A child ordinarily is not referred to as a son or as a daughter but as a first or second son, or a third daughter, or whatever the case may be. The most common terms, with their Japanese equivalents are listed below. The first word is the honorific term and the word in parentheses is the equivalent but less polite form. In general, the honorific is used in speaking of another's relatives, or in speaking to one older than oneself. The less polite term refers to one's own family or is used in speaking to persons younger than one's self. 601 [717]

614 Each contemporary extended family has two main divisions: the main family (honke in Japanese) represented by the families in the direct line of descent, and the branch families (bunke in Japanese) which represent families not in the direct line. The terms, main family and branch family, are also used in a narrower sense to distin-
592 guish, within an individual family, between the family of the first son who will succeed to his father's house, and other sons who will establish branch houses.

614 The extended family has a main house whose head is the living representative in direct succession of the original founder. The
621 seat of each extended family is a definite site in a village or town. The degree of scattering of the collateral families is dependent on the mobility of people throughout time and the manner in which the original villages were settled. Hanashiro, for example, is considered to be about 400 years old. Sixteen of the main houses are in the village. In Minatogawa, founded as a secondary port for the fishermen of Itoman town, perhaps 250 years ago, the main houses are predominantly in Itoman. In the neighboring village of Nagamo (Minatogawa-niku), an area of recent settlement, the main house of the village families is generally in Naha or in Shuri. Matsuda in the north has family seats not only in the village but some of its collateral families are from adjoining areas, the Motobu peninsula, and also from the south. The location of the main family seats of any village is an indication of the areas from which the place was originally peopled. Considering the
[131] smallness of the island and the even more restricted inhabited area--settlement in the northern two-thirds of the island is along the coastal rim which borders the forest--and the general lack of mobility until recent times, it is apparent that each village is composed in varying proportions of kinship groups whose original ancestral house is either in that village or from other villages or towns, most likely from adjoining areas, or from such larger centers of dispersion as Naha, Shuri, Nago, or Itoman.

It is difficult to say how important the extended family is in the culture. It may be spread over many villages in the island. Distance and lack of contact does not create the strong ties that exist within the village among relatives, friends, and neighbors. The following illustrations, drawn from each village, may however furnish some clues regarding the nature and importance of the extended family.

614 In Hanashiro, there are sixteen head houses. These with their collateral branches total 75 families; in other words, of the 121 families in the village, the head house of 75 is located in the village itself. The head houses of the remaining 46 are in other villages or towns.[3] This situation makes for closer ties of the individual families

3 Parallel information was not available for the other two villages; it was apparent through discussion that the same situation existed, although the proportion of main and branch families might be different.

to the extended family, even if in some cases relationships are very distant. This point may be illustrated by discussing the relationships among six families named Shiroma in Hanashiro. The first family is the contemporary representative of the main family line. It is a main family. Its present head is an adopted child, but that does not change the situation. The second family head is a descendant of the younger brother of the grandfather of the head of the family; he is the grandson of the main head's great uncle, and therefore a second cousin of the head of the main family. The third and fourth families are branch families established by his father's younger brothers and are his first cousins. The fifth family is a very old branch family, going farther back than the grandfather. The sixth, in turn, is a branch family of the fifth. The present head of the main family does not know the relationship of the present heads of these two households to himself. 614

The fact that there are 16 main families with their 75 branches in the village of Hanashiro does not mean that there are not other branches of those main families. There are more than 75 families in the extended family. These are merely the branches of these 16 main families which reside in the village.

The head of a main house has responsibilities which are not shared by the heads of the branch families. He is the custodian of the tomb of the extended family. The head house is the meeting place of the extended family reunions. These normally take place on the 15th day of the 7th lunar month, the festival of O-Bon, and on lunar New Year. The extended families, or representatives that may reside in a village which is also the seat of the extended family decide questions of concern to the extended family as a whole. Such a question might be the case of a widow with minor children. For economic reasons, she seeks to sell her property. Since the disposal of property in land is intimately connected with the present and future fortunes of a family, the members of the extended family, especially if many reside in the same place, discuss this matter and give advice which the young widow in practice follows. [764] [527] [769]

Hanashiro is a good example of an old agricultural community in which descendant families have tended to remain in the same place as the original founder of the family. Those collateral families with main houses elsewhere are, in the main, from adjacent or nearby areas. 621 614

When this situation is compared with Minatogawa, certain differences are at once apparent. The fishermen of present day Minatogawa are descendants of settlers originally from the large fishing town of Itoman. Many of these fishing families are related by blood and intermarriage. Not only this, but there is a web of interrelationship which includes Itoman and its daughter village of Minatogawa. Of the 213 households in Minatogawa, 53 had the surname of Tamaki (or Tamashiro), 47 of Uehara, 21 of Oshiro, and 20 of Kanashiro, the four surnames accounting for 141 of the total households. People with the same surname who live in the same village are almost invariably related.[4] Compared with other [628] [551]

4 In sample checks made personally this turned out to be true, but the relationship was often so distant as to be unknown. All informants stated that people living in the same village who had the same surname were relatives.

621 614 villages studied, these frequencies of families with the same surname are very high. The seat of these extended families of the Hinatogawa fishermen is in almost every instance the town of Itoman. The tombs [764] of Hinatogawa are entirely different from those of the neighboring agricultural communities. They are small and temporary tombs for keeping remains that will later be removed to the large, often dramatically situated extended family tombs of Itoman. One resident of Hinatogawa aptly described his village as a "bunke (branch family) of Itoman."

463 621 614 This is an unusual situation and can not be fully explained except by a study of Itoman and the smaller fishing villages scattered throughout Okinawa Island. One explanation might be that historically Okinawans have been farmers, and that, while they are excellent fishermen, they have not as a people participated in large numbers in fishing, leaving this activity to definite groups, such as the people of Itoman town. The passing down of occupations of the father to the son, the infrequency of change in occupation, especially from agriculture to fishing, the establishment of daughter villages, such as Hinatogawa, might account for the fact that fishing is the occupation of a compact group of families who have intermarried and continued in their traditional occupations. Even in Hatsuda, to the north, the temporary colonies of fishermen are either Itoman people or are their descendants. (There are of course a few local farmers who do some fishing). The close ties between Hinatogawa and its parent town of Itoman illustrate the persistence of occupational and social relationships over a period of two and a half centuries.

614 Certain exceptions to the usual practice in Hinatogawa accentuate the closeness of extended family relationships between Itoman and Hinatogawa. As an illustration, we may take the case of three related families in Hinatogawa who are not fishermen. The head of one family is a retired farmer, his son is a school teacher, and a third is a distant relative is a stone cutter. These people, formerly members or descendants of members of the nobility, came from Shuri. The main house of their extended family is in Shuri. This contemporary extended family now has so many members that the places for reunions and meetings have been increased, since the site of the main house in Shuri, founded by the original ancestor, can no longer accommodate all the members. The places of worship are divided into the main place, (umuta in Okinawan) and intermediate places [778] (nakamutu in Okinawan). Some of these secondary places of worship are in nearby Naha. The number of these cases is small compared with the closely knit ties of the fisherman's families with Itoman town.

In Hatsuda, the extended family operates as it does in Hanashiro. In the former town, there is an illustration of another point regarding the extended family system: the identity of a family name with a village name. Historically, the family took the name of the place; the place did not receive the name of the family. Though the situation is not clear, it would seem that when the king made grants of land to nobles that they [565] adopted the name given by the king to the place, while commoners did not receive surnames, but were known by their household rank order — to be explained in Section 8. The village of Hatsuda, for example, is the seat

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FAMILY COMPOSITION OF THE VILLAGES

FAMILY HEAD	NUMBER IN THE FAMILY 1			2			3		
	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu
Single Heads:									
Male	4	10	11						
Female	4	12	12						
Male Heads with:									
Wife only				2	23	19			
Wife and Children Only							8	19	20
Wife, Childr, Other Rels									
Wife and Other Rels								3	1
Child or Children Only				1	1	2			1
Children and Other Rels						2		3	
Other Relatives Only				2	2		9	3	
Female Heads with:									
Child or Children Only				1	8	8		9	13
Children and Other Rels					1	1	2	4	
Other Relatives Only				4	1	1	1		1

	4			5			6		
	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu
Male Heads with:									
Wife only									
Wife and Children only	13	20	10	7	13	16	3	10	11
Wife, Childr, Other Rels		1	4	2	8	6	1	9	4
Wife and Other Rels	1	1		1			1		1
Child or Children Only	1			1					
Children and Other Rels	1	1		1	2				
Other Relatives Only	6	3	2	6			1	2	1
Female Heads with:									
Child or Children Only		9	5		7	8		2	1
Children and Other Rels		3	2		4	1	1	5	
Other Relatives Only	1		1						

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FAMILY COMPOSITION OF THE VILLAGES, con'td.

FAMILY HEAD	NUMBER IN THE FAMILY 7			8			9		
	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu
Male Heads with:									
Wife only									
Wife and Children only	3	7	8	4	3	4	1	1	2
Wife, Childr, Other Rels	5	7	4	1	5	3	4	3	6
Wife and Other Rels									
Child or Children Only	1								
Children and Other Rels	2	1		2		1			
Other Relatives Only	1				1				
Female Heads with:									
Child or Children only		1	4		1			2	
Children and Other Rels									
Other Relatives only					1				

	10			11			12		
	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu
Male Heads with:									
Wife Only									
Wife and Children only	1								
Wife, Childr, Other Rels	3	1	2	3	3	3	1		3
Wife and other Rels									
Other Relatives Only									
Female Heads with:									
Child or Children only									
Children and Other Rels						1			
Other Relatives only									

	13			14		
	Hana	Mina	Matsu	Hana	Mina	Matsu
Male Heads with:						
Wife only						
Wife and Children only						
Wife, Childr, Other Rels	1	1			1	
Wife and other Rels	1					
Other Relatives only						
Children and Other Rels	1					

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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SUMMARY

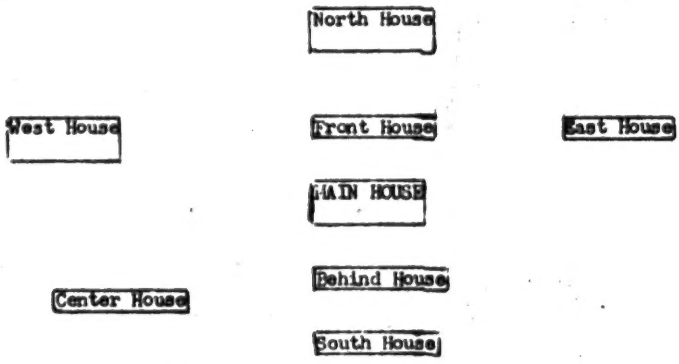
	Total	Single Heads	Male Family Heads	Female Family Heads
Hanashiro	120	8	102	10
Hinatogawa	238	22	158	58
Matsuda	207	23	137	47

Note: This and the preceding tables represent: (a) 120 of the 120 households of Hanashiro as of December 31, 1951, (b) 207 of the 243 households of Matsuda, since one volume of the register was not available, and (c) 238 listings from Hinatogawa, while there are only 213 households. As far as could be determined, there are 238 heads of a family (koshu) who are living in 213 households (kosu). There is thus some doubling up, probably among the female heads who are living in the houses of relatives. A house or a residence in the physical sense may thus have one or more heads of houses or families, just as two families might live in the same house anywhere. No attempt therefore has been made to reconcile the differences.

000 state the idea in rough outline first so that it can be grasped immediately. Let us suppose that in an American small town of about 1000 people, there are 200 families, 75 of which are named Smith; another 75, Jones; 25, Brown; and 25 of assorted surnames of less frequency. These people are neighbors; they are an agricultural people; they have not had much education. It is difficult to remember everyone's surname and distinguish, when talking to others, one family from the other. So the 75 Smith families are given various designations, such as "the Milwaukee Smiths," "Smith, the barber," "the second son of the Milwaukee Smiths. The same is done with the Jones, the Browns, and the other families. These families then become known by their secondary names rather than by their Christian and surnames. A child, instead of being known as Bobbie Smith, would be the child of the Milwaukee Smiths. The parallel between this situation and the household order naming system is inexact, but the example conveys the general idea.

592 The household order name given to any single family shows the
614 place of this particular family in the hierarchy of the extended family.
613 Families belonging to the same extended family have the same surname. But each has a different household order name to distinguish one from the other. In Minatogawa, for example, there are 53 families named Tamaki but each of these families has a distinct household order name. [193] These names are built up in an agglutinative fashion by using a root word and then by adding prefixes and occasionally a suffix to show distinctions among families.

614 Historically, the household order system seems to have grown up
613 as a result of the building of houses for branch families around or
592 near the house of the original ancestor. In the following illustration, the house of the original founder of the family is shown in the middle.
621 Perhaps his eldest younger brother, when he established a branch house, built his home in front of his brother's home and another younger brother built his home in back of the founder's house. These two houses would then become the "front" and the "behind" houses.



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[193]

The founder's first son remains in the main house. But his other sons and their sons take up positions to the north, south, east, or west; subsequent descendants might take up other positions. It is possible to relate any family in this manner to the head family. The prefixes (and one suffix) used in making the various designations are:

Japanese	Okinawan	English
mae-	me-	before, front
ushiro-	kushi-	after, behind
ue-	ui-	top
shita-	shicha-	bottom
higashi-	agari-	east
minami-	fe-	south
nishi-	iri-	west
kita-	nishi-	north
atarashii	mi- miya-	new
naka		center
	ufa-	big, great
	-gwa	diminutive, opposite of ufa, and a suffix.

Let us assume, to use an actual illustration from Hanashiro, that the household order name of a main house is Ganiku. This word has no known meaning; it may be a place name or some local landmark near the site of the original house established perhaps centuries ago. Other families in Hanashiro which are branch families of this main extended family would have the word Ganiku in their house order name with the addition of prefixes and suffixes to show that it was a branch family. There are 14 families in which the word Ganiku appears in the household order name. These are (in Okinawan):

1	Ganiku	The Main House
2	Nakaganiku	Center-
3	Kushiganiku	Behind-
4	Ganikugwa	Little Ganiku
5	Iriganiku	West-
6	Miganiku	New-
7	Miyameganiku	New front-
8	Nishiganiku	North-
9	Nishiganikugwa	Little north-
10	Iriganikugwa	Little west-
11	Meganikugwa	Little front-
12	Meiriganikugwa	Little front west-
13	Mimeganikugwa	Little new front-
14	Meganiku	Front-

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613

In this Hanashiro example, a man's real name might be Shoichi Shiroma, but he is known also as Iriganikugwa, the Little Western Ganiku family. All of his children, while in his family, have the same secondary name.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Husband and wife usually are from the same village, but there are many exceptions. Marriages of persons from different villages have increased in the past decade. This probably should be ascribed to the greater mobility of the people and to the acceptance of free choice in marriage. It is common, for example, for a Hatsuda boy to marry a Ginosa village girl. It is also common for a boy in Minatogawa to marry a girl from the nearby agricultural villages of Hanashiro, Asato, or Oushichan. This apparently is a distinct change from earlier practices. 582 621

If the family registers are accurate, the great majority of the men living in a village were born there; it is the wives who are more likely to be the newcomers. In the social structure of village life, it is the men who provide the continuity; the women are more likely to be strangers. The husband may point to his father and grandfather who live or have lived in the village; fewer wives can do the same. 591

2

The Marriage Ceremony

In my experience, no two marriage ceremonies in Okinawa are alike. Marriages take place at any time of the year, but in all three villages, they were more commonly held in the late fall or in winter. The reasons given are that the heavy clothing and elaborate headdress of the bride are not suited to the hot and humid summer and that these can be more comfortably worn in the cool winter months. The marriage feast with its fish cakes, meats, vegetables, and a variety of other perishable foods can be more easily prepared and kept in winter. In the agricultural villages, the ceremony usually takes place after the day's work; in the winter the reception may start by 5 and the main ceremonies are over by 8 in the evening. 585 [262]

Description of a ceremony at Hatsuda. The party began about 5 in the afternoon. Because of the large number of guests, the primary school was used for the ceremony. At the head of the first room, the grandfather and grandmother of the groom, the groom, his father, and the go-between were seated. Other relatives of the groom found places around the sides. Later the father of the bride, who arrived shortly before his daughter, joined this group. The go-between, a young man of 24, was a friend of the couple, and his wife was a member of the groom's family. 585 576

In the other rooms, opening into one another, about 300 guests, mostly men, were assembled. During the reception and before the beginning of the ceremony, guests representing their families entered the first room to congratulate the father, the groom, and the grandparents. In this period of congratulation involving the father, the groom, and the guest, there was an exchange of sips of sake from a common cup. As in other instances of congratulation, some speeches were long, some short, some well prepared, others extemporaneous. [530]

484 studied remarked on the discomfort of the rustic north. Many
[829] people in Matsuda thought the people of the northern district more honest than those of the south. This attitude is partly due to knowledge of crime in Naha. Direct or personal knowledge of other islands of the Ryukyus is exceptional. Few people know more than travelers' tales about Yaeyama, Miyako, or Amami.

562 Men are better informed about current events than the women.
Women do not participate so much in social life, nor do they read
521 so much. Conversations at small gatherings are often on a very serious level. A local antiquarian telling of vanished customs and conditions has a very attentive audience. So has a returned traveler
814 from Japan. These people have a sense of history, curiosity, and respect for knowledge and education.

3

Village Co-operation

621 One of the most important things to learn about a culture is
476 the nature of its co-operative endeavor. It is useful knowledge in understanding the transition zone between individual and family living and participation in community activities. In these communities, co-operation involves considering the relation of families resident in the village to one another, to their community organizations, and to local government. These relations are stronger than the tie of an individual to an extended family. The nature and the limitations of co-operation can best be described by pointing to examples from each of the villages.

In Hanashiro, mutual help is mainly found, as one might expect, among close and distant relatives of the same family of families related by marriage, who are living in the village. There are extended family ties, which may involve several villages, but this does not
[619] mean that tasks are done co-operatively within the extended family. It is uncommon to go to another village to help a relative with his harvest or his housebuilding--and the distance would increase the unlikelihood. Immediate ties to friends, relatives, and neighbors are stronger than those to the more distant members of the extended family.

Within the village, organized co-operation is not conspicuous. Help is given in the form of labor not in money. There is no accounting on a reciprocity basis. At any harvest time--the rice harvest is usually the most urgent--a relative, neighbor or friend may help one day and receive the same aid on the following day. The whole village does not turn out to help each farmer in turn until the crops are in. This work is done by individuals or by very small groups. Since the nature and the amount of help is known and acknowledged, no bookkeeping
[342] is needed or desired. The closest approach to villagewide help to an individual family occurs in housebuilding. All residents of the

village volunteer to help if they have the time; each day a group of 5 or more appear, to be replaced the following day by another group until the house is finished. This type of help is more characteristic of the construction or repair of a simple house with a thatched roof than it is with a more expensive and elaborate house which requires specialists. 621 496 342

No days are specifically set aside for community projects, but these are done through co-operative effort. The amount of time given depends on needs as they arise. The care and maintenance of roads and lanes are the most frequent projects. If a road or lane is needed, the village headman and the council discuss the matter, consult the villagers, and the task is then undertaken. Road and lane maintenance includes cutting weeds and clearing away brush to cut down the danger from snakes. These procedures apply also to the construction and care of community owned buildings, such as the village office and the sugar mill. Hanashiro is small enough so that elaborate plans are not required and the desired ends can be accomplished by casual forms of mutual help. 621 496 [491]

The problems of Hinatogawa are different, but the type of co-operation is essentially the same. Because of its situation, typhoon damage is often severe. Cleaning up and repairing after a typhoon is a co-operative enterprise, since there is so much damage to community property such as roads and breakwaters. In the typhoon "Ruth" in 1951, the wind driven waves lashed the breakwater with such violence that the stones were dislodged and scattered over the main road. Repairing typhoon damage is partly a community, partly a family affair. Many of the frailer houses are blown down and must be reconstructed from their foundations. Help in beaching and lashing down boats in anticipation of a typhoon is given by relatives and friends. Road maintenance and construction, village building, the laying of stones around a community water tank or faucet are tasks accomplished by community effort. House-building is done mostly through the co-operation of friends and relatives. There may be visits to Itoman to help members of the extended family there. The ties with Itoman are close. [731] [649]

Matsuda is a larger village whose scattered settlements and community forests have resulted in a more planned community co-operation than exists in the southern villages. Three general forms can be distinguished: (1) officially supervised co-operative work on the roads and in the forests in which every male over school age and the unmarried girls are expected to work a stated number of days in a year. Records are kept of this work. One might regard this as obligatory, but it is more correct to say that it is a universally acknowledged duty requiring no enforcement procedure. (2) Voluntary co-operation in the building of a house, and (3) less formal and more casual help, among relatives and friends in a wide variety of daily tasks, including harvesting, carrying wood, threshing rice, and the like.

In the officially supervised co-operative work, the participating

621 individuals give one day each year to forest maintenance and planting.
476 Twice during the year one day is given to cleaning up and repairing village roads and paths, to improve village cleanliness, and to reduce the danger from snakes. These clean-up activities, which take place in March, April and November, include cutting the grass and weeds along the roadside, cleaning off accumulated debris, and filling in ruts, holes, and rough spots.

621 The closest approach to village-wide co-operation in private
476 undertakings is in housebuilding. Regardless of the financial standing of the owner, whenever a new house is being built, there are volunteer
342 helpers from the whole village. This is the only area in which this co-operation exists. It does not occur in agriculture or at harvest times. Each day a different crew helps, but this assistance does not
[463] apply to the more specialized tasks. The skilled work on the larger new houses requires carpenters, masons, and tile setters. There is no rigid system of reciprocity nor does a villager keep a record of the days he has worked for the others and the days due him. Many who help already have substantial houses themselves and have no need of reciprocal aid. Following a custom in all the villages, when the
[594] building is finished, the owner gives a housewarming party, with plenty of sake and food. Both hired and volunteer workers are invited.

476 If we may judge by these villages, the Okinawan is individualistic in his approach to his work. Aside from the work on the roads and in the forests, help in emergencies, and the special case of housebuilding, the circle of mutual help is confined within the family or close associates. In no case, did the co-operation of a whole or a substantial part of the village extend to agriculture.

This preceding discussion does not exhaust the field of cooperative endeavor. The co-operative associations and mutual loan groups have already been discussed. Community organizations and neighborhood associations will be considered in Section 5. But these are either more restricted in membership or have a more planned organizational character.

571 In closing this discussion, a further point should be made to avoid misunderstanding. The farmer, fisherman, or stonecutter, the worker in the forest approaches his task as an individual. But group consultation and the sharing of responsibility in other activities is a positive characteristic of the culture. The principle of prior discussion, arriving at a decision acceptable to the group, is a conspicuous part of family life and is implicit in the family system. The same attitude appears in group and community organizations, and in the conduct, as we shall see, of village government.

4

Village Leadership

565
[127] The recent war brought about a levelling in village life. Before

565 553 A common device among noble families was to vary the second character of the Chinese compound which made up the given name. This custom still remains, but has no significance beyond individual family pride. The following case illustrates this naming device:

Relation to Present Head of House	Given Name
Grandfather	Chohyo
Father	Chokan
Present Head	Choyo
First Son	Choko
Second Son	Choshin
Third Son	Chokeii
Fourth Son	Chosei

554 Before the war, the village hierarchy consisted of the headman and retired elders and officials, the school principal and teachers if resident there, the well-to-do farmer, followed by the ordinary farmers or fishermen.[3] These distinctions are now blurred and have been affected by other changes. The school principal and the school teacher retain their prestige, but they have lost their relatively high economic status. Their clothing and the appearance of their homes are indistinguishable from those of a farmer. The ordinary farmer who works his field during the day and whose wife raises the pigs is in a better economic position. The same applies to village and township officials. Many distinctions based on wealth have disappeared because of the destruction and general [556] impoverishment of the war. Neither are distinctions possible in dress, for everyone wears makeshift clothing. Post-war circumstances have put the old at a disadvantage in dealing with new situations. Present day village life is fluid. The war and its aftermath have blurred many of the former distinctions based on age, occupation, or wealth.

621 208 Village leadership is based on individual qualities, but is limited by group opinion which all individuals respect. Decisions of any character, personal, familial, or political, emerge from consultation and discussion. One constantly hears the word sōdan, meaning a discussion or a consultation, with reference to decision making.

555 212 What types of individuals assume leadership in village affairs? First, leadership comes from a group that is literate. This limits the people available for responsible positions. Occupations such as the

3 According to old residents in Matsuda, there were in their youth, classes whose occupation made them inferior. Examples were bell ringers [461] ringers at funerals and pig killers. Pig killing is still considered [565] a low occupation, but this has no relevance to village life, for no [963] commercial slaughtering is done in the villages. In the villages, there is no suggestion of the existence of groups looked down upon because of their occupation, with the possible exception of a collector of night soil—and this occupation is infrequent.

575 Friendships formed here and in school are the basis of later lifelong
502 associations.

Young Women's Associations (joshiseinen) are not so well developed. Hanashiro has none. In Minatogawa the young men's and the young women's groups are combined. Matsuda has a separate organization of girls from 17 to 23. The latter age is considered the probable date of marriage, when the young woman will enter the Women's Association. Their duties parallel those of the young men: village maintenance, selling firewood, planting sugar cane, taking part in harvest ceremonies and participating with the young men in the New Year's party.

In the villages, a volunteer organization is responsible for fire
[368] fighting. The fire brigades (sobodan) usually are under the direction of the young men's association. The village gong is sounded, the volunteers assemble, and the fire is put out by using a bucket brigade.

[177] Parent Teacher Associations, after the American model, have been formed in the rural area, but it is too early to form a judgment of their effectiveness.

575 There are also the neighborhood associations. A village is divided
621 into areas or zones (han), each with its own head (hanchō). Neighborhood groups had existed before the introduction of the Japanese neighborhood association (tonari gumi) in about 1935 or 1936. These older groups (kumi) had from 30 to 70 families, each with a head (kumichō). These groups often assisted in a family crisis, with housebuilding, or furnished pallbearers for a funeral.

Before and during the war, the Japanese used the neighborhood associations in their rationing, food distribution, civil defense, and other programs.

The neighborhood associations remained after the war, but they are now known as hans. The leader of each neighborhood group is a link in the chain of communication from the township office to the individual
[632] villager. The township mayor transmits a new regulation or a directive from a higher governmental authority to each village headman who informs the heads of each of the neighborhood groups, who can then tell the people living in his area. The people within a neighborhood group may also co-operate with one another in housebuilding. The young men may be pallbearers for a deceased resident of the neighborhood. The group head also informs the people of village meetings (jōkai). These heads may be elected, but usually they serve by rotation (kotai), with a change every three months. In Matsuda, the group head is selected for one year and household heads service under him for one month in rotation to perform stand-by (tōban suru, to be on duty) duties and help the neighborhood head in his work.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

HANS

Hanashiro	5
Minatogawa	9
Matsuda	16

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6

The Democratic Government of the Township and Village

The description of local government has intentionally been delayed to this point because its operation and functions can be seen to greater advantage after an acquaintance with family life and the various forms of group activity. We can see it, not so much a formal structure to be described in legalistic terms, but as an expression of many of the characteristics of the culture we have already found in the family system, group activity, and individual leadership. 128

Okinawa and the various smaller islands of the Central Ryukyus (Okinawa-gunto) is one of the four main political subdivisions of the chain. The gunto is divided into townships, and within each township, there are several settlements (buraku, ku, aza) which we have consistently called villages. Township government is the channel for the enforcement of laws and regulations from higher governmental agencies and the source of local measures which govern the several villages of the township. 631

The seat of the township government is one of the villages of the township.[4] In Gushichan township, the village office (yakuba) is at Gushichan village, while in Ginoza township, the office is in Ginoza village. 632

At the head of this government is a mayor (sonchō) elected for a four year term. There is no strenuous campaigning for the office. Friends may induce a well known man to run, then visit the villages, and ask the people to vote for him. A reputation for being kind, fair, and refined (otonashii) goes far in electing a man. Once in office he is extremely busy, and like the village headman, usually looks forward to the end of his term rather than to re-election. A new mayor appoints his own or reappoints the old staff. He chooses a vice-mayor (jōyaku) with the approval of the village assembly (gikai). 632 622 [666] [577]

A township office generally has the following administrative sections: (1) a treasury and disbursing office (shūnyūyaku), (2) a general affairs (shomu) sections. The head of this section is in charge of the family registers (koseki) and of the registry of seals. These two important functions require a little elaboration. 632

4 The government actually described here is that of Gushichan township. It did not seem worthwhile to repeat essentially the same information for Ginoza and then to make minute comparisons and contrasts between them.

623 (hyōgiin) is an elected body, while the other, composed of village elders and public spirited men (yūshi) is a more honorary group. Sometimes the council is composed of one man from each neighborhood association. The elders are an unofficial body which because of its prestige is consulted when the headman and the council have an emergency problem and wish to get the advice of the respected men of the village. [554] This group is composed of former village headmen, former members of the village council, and well-known residents, such as retired school teachers or farmers.

The village council, composed of about 10 men, is elected from the male heads of a household. Before the war, members were elder men, but they now include young men as well. The council advises the headman on matters for which he is reluctant to assume full responsibility. If the decision is important enough, the village assembly, composed of all the heads of families over 18 years of age, is consulted. A headman may use the village council to help in defending himself against unpopular decisions. The village headman and the council generally make the final decision on village matters, but any decision involving the expenditure of money is referred to the assembly of household heads.

● 621 623 622 Village government is democratic. The people know their elected leaders personally. The problems with which the people and their officials are concerned are concrete, and seldom matters of abstract principle. They usually are concerned with local improvements, taxation, and schooling. The people participate in local government through the village assembly, at which they elect the headman and the council members. They can criticize and question decisions and approve proposals for spending money.

A headman can conceal neither his strong points nor his faults. Village government utilizes the principle of group responsibility without sacrificing the principle of individual leadership and a strong respected headman can do much to prevent the formation of cliques within a village. This does not mean that individual antagonisms and differences of opinion do not exist, but they seem to be resolved before they reach the stage of organized opposition.

Village government is not an extension of the family system. The village headman is not the head of one large family. But there is individual leadership, consultation and discussion, and mutual agreement both in the family system and in village government. Family experience has both a private and a public character. The public influences of family life takes the form of tempering the formality and mechanics of government.

621 591 A village is composed of single families. Many have intermarried. All of these families have a certain relationship to one another. They may be friends; they may live in the same neighborhood. Their children are known to one another as classmates, later as members of youth organizations. The families may have other associations, based on a common economic interest in agriculture, fishing, or pig raising. They

have traditional, though restricted, forms of village co-operation. This meshing in of activities, either among families or groups, when combined with individual leadership brings about a situation in the village which is comparable with the experiences in the family system. 621 571

These individual and family relationships which are the real content of village administration are also felt, though in a diluted form, in the township government. The influence of inter-village marriage, of the school whose pupils come from several villages, and of the annual athletic meets make for informality and elastic government. Township officials generally are drawn from each of the villages which make up a township. These elements provide both in village and township life a feeling of participation and a sense of belonging, already so strongly developed within the family system. 632 628 571

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

is one of the rare, desired body attributes. It was the opinion of some that the descendants of the noble families who came from Shuri, however, are taller and slender, with a prominent, curved nasal ridge. 142

Until they feel confident in the presence of strangers, Taira people appear quiet and restrained. It is considered a virtue not to show one's emotions, and Tairans consider the expressiveness of Americans childish. Actually they are gay, talkative, and given to laughter, especially the women. Men are quiet unless stimulated by alcohol, but both men and women may lose their composure in emergencies. A notable exception is their placid reactions to the threat of disaster from the ever recurrent violent storms. 152 153 [81]

THE COMMUNITY, ITS HISTORY AND NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

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Taira is one of the northern villages on the northeast coast of Okinawa in Higashi township (see map 1). Today it is home to over 700 people who make their living—as did their ancestors since early times—from the surrounding fields, forests, and from the sea. The Okinawan name for the village, Taira, means "sloping fields." The character used for writing the prevalent Japanese version, Taira, means "flat, plain, good." 101 [131] [162]

Since the family records were lost during World War II, it is necessary to depend on oral traditions for reconstruction of the history of Taira. Unfortunately, the desire of many Okinawans to establish a relationship between their local families and the former royal courts casts some doubt on the accuracy of these traditions. 173 621 [114]

According to these traditions, the first village to be settled in the vicinity of Taira was the neighboring community Kawata. After the Hokuzan kingdom in Nakijin (on the northwestern Motobu Peninsula) was conquered by the southern Okinawan kingdom of Chuzan in the fifthteenth century (Kerr, 1958:85), the second son of the Lord of Hokuzan is said to have escaped northward into Kunigami province. Unitokogami, the fleeing nobleman, arrived near the present site of Kawata and established himself in a cave around the year 1477. He is still revered today as founder of the village in a yearly spring ceremony when prayers are said in front of the cave. The oldest Taira families trace their descent in the male line from Nizenya, the "main house," he founded. Taira was settled around 1550 by two families tracing descent from this "main house." The descendents of these settlers are [182] [069]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

173 the two main "houses," or family lines in Taira, and for several cen-
621 turies Taira must have been a small, closely knit community of in-
errelated people.

Between 1875 and 1895, when the court life at the old capitol of

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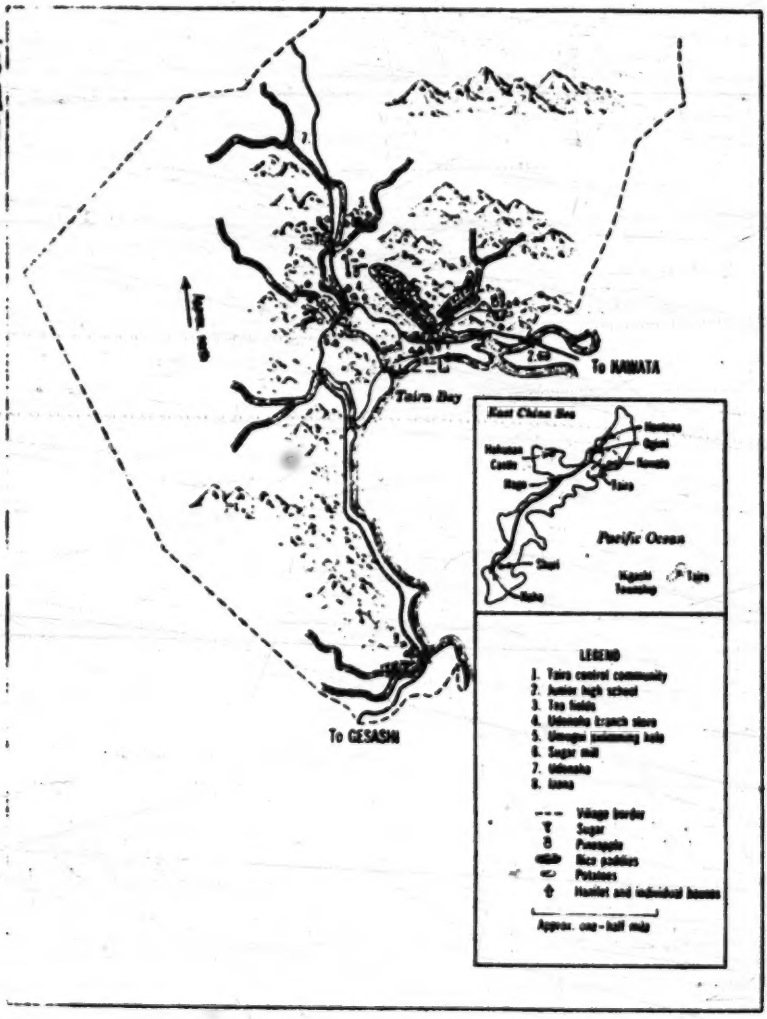

Map 1. Taira village (Higashi Township).

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

Between 1875 and 1895, when the court life at the old capitol of Shuri was broken up under Japanese influence, many families of noble origin moved into the country to become farmers, and the village grew in size. These people settled mainly outside the central village in areas where land was available. One family moved into Taira proper, forming the third "main house." Although it still maintains feeble ceremonial connections with Shuri, it gave up its noble title shortly after coming north and moved its ancestral tomb to the community. The noble families who settled in the valleys and hills preserved their distinctive traditions until the end of World War II. Their noble descent was noted in the population register, and intermarriage with commoners was discouraged.

Except for these Shuri migrants, few outsiders seem to have settled in Taira prior to World War II. The residents on the southern part of the island, especially the residents of Naha and Shuri, consider northerners rustics. Although this part of the island was often used as a hiding place by political and criminal refugees from the south, who are said to have founded nearby villages, none of them made their home in Taira.

The original settlers of Taira were reluctant to accept later arrivals in their midst. Because of the fear of spirits, foreign to the village, they prohibited the burial of the newcomer's dead near the tombs shared by the members of the "main houses." To this day the funeral urns of a family who came to Taira about 60 years ago and later intermarried with settled villages are kept in a cave, away from all other tombs.

Higashi township was established in 1922. The area had previously belonged to Kushi township to the south, but the great distances between villages and the mountainous character of the country made efficient administration very difficult. Furthermore, some Higashi inhabitants felt that because of temperamental differences and divergent interests they should separate from the southern township. Since 1922 contacts have been predominantly with Ogimi township to the northwest and the town of Nago, 16 miles away. Once the road connecting the two coastlines was completed in 1936, Taira's isolation decreased considerably, and it became the administrative seat of Higashi township in 1946.

Taira also became the home of the high priestess. In the period prior to direct Japanese administration, her office was under the jurisdiction of the Shuri court (Lebra, 1958), and her predecessors must have been appointed by the Okinawan kings. Taira may have been chosen as the seat of the high priestess in lieu of Kawata because Kawata lacks the good rice land which traditionally went to the high priestess by royal decree. Some of this rice land is still in the hands of the living priestess.

621 778 Although a number of important shrines and worship places are located in the Kawata area, the main shrine is in Taira.

173 648 722 621 To this tranquil area the activities of World War II brought a great upheaval. Although the main stream of refugees from the south, following threats of United States troups' invasion, did not reach this northern area, Japanese guerilla forces settled in the hills of Higashi township. This, and the constant warnings from the Japanese of the "terrors" of American occupation, caused the population of all villages to take refuge in the mountains, carrying along what few possessions they could, including livestock. Families were separated and individuals lived in constant fear of soldiers from both sides. Nightly excursions to the fields to harvest whatever could be found helped to maintain a meager diet. It is characteristic of the stresses of this period that among the children of central Taira only one was born in 1945.

173 648 722 621 The war ended for Taira people when American troops had cleared the northern areas of Japanese troops. In this action several villages were destroyed, among them Taira. The present economic struggle of Higashi township, an area which was always handicapped by lack of farmland and poor soil, is partly due to the war. On the other hand, the demand for lumber for an island-wide reconstruction program lent a temporary boom to the economy. In the process, however, forests [185] which had been heavily cut before the war fell prey to rapid and poorly planned cutting. At present the whole township is in the throes of economic readjustment.

173 167 621 In the past 50 years, Taira, like the rest of Okinawa, has sent some of its overflow of population to various areas in the world, including Japan, and especially to the industrial areas of Kobe and Osaka, Saipan, and Brazil. At least five of the families in central Taira lived either in Japan or the Pacific Islands and returned shortly after World War II. Emigrants to Brazil have stayed with the exception of one prominent person who returned to Taira several years before the war. Some of the families lived as many as 18 or 20 years abroad, and several children in the study were born in Japan and returned to the village as infants. Among the villagers are many who have served in the Japanese Army in Asia or in the South Seas.

The repatriation of these families does not seem to have caused any serious disturbances to the village, since many people were killed during the war and several families moved to the city. An exodus to the [311] outlying areas of the village also provided room for returnees, so, although rice land is scarce, there is still some uncultivated farmland, admittedly mostly of poor quality.

The community is dispersed. In the outlying parts, as far as 2 miles

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

and look after the sick. Even if they are too old for any work, like two oldsters over 80 years, they can still hold the youngest grandchild. Two exceptional old men, brothers of almost the same age, pass their time by making rope bags and mats from the fiber of the fan palm. Both are active as financial experts, investing money here and there and lending it for high interests in various shrewd transactions.

INFORMAL AND FORMAL COOPERATION

Cooperation plays a prominent part in Taira economy. Assistance is always given for major tasks, such as preparing grass land for farm use or house building, or for work which must be done quickly, such as transplanting rice or harvesting and milling sugar. In fact, since wet rice cultivation depends on assistance in any culture that works its paddies by hand, it is noteworthy that the term *iimarû*, used in Taira for labor exchange in planting and harvesting, is also extended to other mutual assistance. The term, literally translated, means "gathering by rotation." A family who plans a project that needs the help of others makes an informal arrangement with relatives or neighbors to help for one or more days. This is simply done by notifying individuals that such help is needed. No one, unless he has urgent reasons, would refuse to comply with a call for assistance. If it is a small task, a few close relatives are asked. In most larger undertakings, it is the neighborhood group that lends a hand. These mutual-assistance groups usually form within the central village and within each of the geographical clusters of the outlying village, although close relatives from other parts of the community may be called. However, the most recent arrivals in Taira, all present members of one family line who have the same surname, act jointly in reclamation of neglected fields to strengthen their economic position.

Return services are expected, but nobody would admit that there is any thought of equal compensation and would not even joke about the matter. There is a strong feeling that calculated thinking is unseemly not only among relatives but also among unrelated neighbors. One man, when asked what would happen if a person refused to comply to a request for help, answered, "There is no such dirty person, and if there were one, he would be an outcast." During the rice planting season, persons helping in another's fields will shortly be helped themselves. In housebuilding, a long time may pass until those who aided will need aid in return.

Except for people over 56, pregnant women, and mothers of chil-

653 dren under 3 years, every adult past school age, male or female, is re-
[464] quired to work on community projects if called by the village head. Officials may pay the village for exemption from this duty. There are two kinds of community corvées, those in which every adult and qualified member of a household has to participate, and those in which only one household representative is required to attend. As many as 12 days a year may be spent by each villager on road construction, clearing of village land, improvement of village-owned tea fields, or in similar projects. In some cases, where the central government has granted support, this work may be compensated by a small payment. More often, however, it is a free contribution to the village effort.

474 The strength of deeply rooted cooperative behavior seems to have been an essential factor in introducing formal cooperatives successfully in this area. The northern village of Oku is credited with being the first community in Kunigami province to organize a cooperative store in 1906. Initiative for this organization was provided through the Japanese administration. Taira was the first village in present-day Higashi township to establish a cooperative. In 1918 the village was poverty stricken, and village leaders, the president of the Young People's Association, one of the teachers, and others, made a study of the Oku organization. They then convinced the Taira headman of the great possibilities. Over the years the Taira cooperative supported by the majority of Tairan households, through buying of mountain products, marketing, running the store, and sugar production, tried to improve the village economy. One immediate result was that the indebtedness to money lenders from outside the village, especially to the owners of sailing junks which transported mountain products south, could be avoided. Up until the war the cooperative flourished and improved economy.

The end of the war found the village cooperative totally defunct, and it took several years to restore the organization. At present it owns the store, the sugar mill, and the truck. It also controls the use of the
[245] village-owned tea fields in which everybody has the right to grow at least one row of tea bushes.

474 Shares in the cooperative are held by households, and almost every-
621 one in Taira is a member. The two directors and several officers are elected by shareholders. Actually the directorship does not change often, and the most influential leaders usually hold the office. They may initiate measures which will aid the village economy, but they have no absolute power: a check and balance system protects the people. As one person put it, "It is always necessary to have a few persons outside the business so that they can check what is going on. If people of the

highest status are all engaged in it, there is no one who can check it 474
and nobody who would dare to." The accounts are checked and 621
audited, and reports are made to the members.

It is characteristic of the cooperative that it works closely with the political organization of the community and that it is an integral part of the village. In certain ways it has taken over some financial functions of the village, supplying it with funds which would otherwise have to be raised through village taxes.

The cooperative buys all firewood that has been produced by the households at a uniform price, thus giving families a great deal more security than they had in days when selling was done on a competitive basis. Since the firewood market fluctuates, the cooperative often takes a loss which would be hard for individuals to bear alone.

The truck which takes the forest products to the city returns with 474
goods for the store. All shareholders' purchases are recorded. Dividends are issued once a year. They are actually small. Part of the profits are used to finance new shares for each household. Every shareholder now owns an equal number of shares. A limited saving system has also been [454]
resumed by the postwar cooperative. The small amounts which have accumulated (few families are able to lay aside money for long periods of time) are withdrawn around New Year or on other occasions when special purchases are made.

Although the cooperative would like to finance individual projects, such as building, buying livestock, and agricultural expansion, sufficient funds are not available. Mutual finance groups are formed to extend this type of credit. A person who needs money to finance a project asks others in the village to form a partnership in which everybody who agrees to participate pays the same amount monthly, on a prearranged date, into the common fund. A different person takes a loan each month. It usually goes to the lowest bidder, except that the first loan is given to the person who asked to form the group. The difference between the bid and the actual amount collected is paid out as interest. Each person has a guarantor who is made responsible in case the actual participant is unable to make his monthly payment toward the fund.

Mutual finance groups are formed between any persons, based on 621
their willingness to participate at a certain time, either because they 452
themselves need a loan or, as happens in a few cases, because they hope to make some money from the interest. The obligation to pay is taken very seriously, although it can create tremendous hardships on individuals who have to make quick temporary arrangements to borrow money elsewhere in order to meet their monthly payments. Since

Since

621 several finance groups are formed simultaneously in the village, and
452 an individual may belong to more than one, this system can create
474 more problems for the community than it helps to redress. Village leaders therefore think that the cooperative could take over the loan functions at low interest rates more effectively.

433 Concern about improving village economy is genuine and foremost.
621 Since the whole island has common economic problems, many sug-
[654] gestions for developing sound village economy originate from the central government. There are many associations and movements which all aim at the same result. Their number is staggering and bewildering to the outsider. In Taira, concern for improvement of conditions is a program of the Women's Association and the Home Improvement Group, associations who try to introduce such changes as better stoves, making of bean paste by villagers, and saving during feasts. There is also an Agricultural Promotion Association which is concerned with improvement of agricultural practices, promotion of cash crops, and
[474] reduction of forest work. All these organizations, along with the co-operative and the village government, work together. An individual may be a member of several. Persons with enough knowledge and experience to assume responsible positions are limited in number, and the same persons appear as leaders in various groups. This puts a heavy burden on them, since few days pass during which their attendance after work is not required at one meeting or another.

Taira assumed a leading position in the township in improving agricultural and general economy, especially by promoting sugar development, pineapple growing, and tea raising in recent years. Mean-
154 while, low income and general poverty are a constant concern to every-
571 body but do not seem to result in constant anxiety. Security, as will be pointed out in other contexts, is provided by being a member of the kinship group and, in the wider sense, of the village as a whole. This helps to share burdens and thus reduce their weight.

Chapter 4

Property

Rice paddies, farm land and some grass land, trees on private land, a house site and house, as well as livestock and tools, are owned by the heads of households. Land is registered in the household head's name, and he has sole right to dispose of it. Ordinarily younger sons have no right to their father's property, but a man may will property to them. If there is no will, however, everything reverts to the eldest son. Despite this, several families of younger sons were found to have land holdings equal to those of eldest sons. 423 [428]

A widow with young sons may hold land in trust for her sons or, if there are no male heirs, may inherit the land outright. Divorcees and spinsters may also acquire land by purchase, and there are several women in Taira who are household heads and owners of real estate. [589] [428] [592]

Because of the war and a general shift in population, much land and many house sites have changed owners, and former wealthy families are no longer the largest landowners. When they returned, several families with small prewar land holdings were able to raise the necessary cash to buy land. [556]

There is little sentimental attachment to a particular plot of land, and households have never been associated with particular plots. Rather, land is considered a necessary commodity, and thus it frequently changes hands. This sentiment may derive from the communal land-holding system with its periodic redistribution of plots to individuals, which was found throughout Okinawa until abolished under Japanese administration at the turn of the century. 423 592 [177]

Forest land from which villagers derive an income is owned by the village. Being a member of the community confers the right to use village forests, subject to regulations made by the village. Of particular interest is the village-owned tea field, which the village cooperative controls. The field has been subdivided, and each household in the 423 621 474

423 community is entitled to the use of one of the equal-sized lots. A small
[621] yearly payment is made to the cooperative, which passes these proceeds
[474] on to the village to pay salaries for officials and other expenses.

[427] Tenancy was never a problem in the Taira area. Under the old system everyone was entitled to land. The final distribution in the change to individual ownership gave everyone sufficient land. Although many new landowners sold and mortgaged their property in other parts of Okinawa, one source states that "in the villages of Kawata, Taira and Miyagushiku . . . none of 348 families was found landless . . ." (Tamura 1927:292 translation). Today several families hold mortgages
[426] on their land, usually for loans to put up new buildings or some other capital investment. Nevertheless, a shortage of rice paddies is obvious, since a part of the land around Taira is owned by people from the neighboring village, and an extension of paddy land in this mountainous district would be feasible only with the aid of irrigation projects.

427 The renting of property from persons who have moved to the city is not uncommon and is a means of bolstering one's own rice or farm land. People who move out of the community, either temporarily or for longer periods, may rent their land or let relatives and even non-relatives use it. In most cases no compensation is paid for the use of farm land, although in rare cases where the owner continues to live in the village, some agreement is made to share the harvested crop. Rice paddies, however, are rented for half the crop. The owner returns from the city during harvesting time to help in cutting and threshing the rice. If unable to return, he may hire a person to help or to make adjustments in the division of the yield. Taira people do not rent their paddies or farm lands for money. An exception may be made in the case of outside fishermen who move into the village and who may rent a small area of land from a villager. In a few cases land has been left in the care of a family member by a relative who went overseas. One of the most substantial farmers in Taira holds several such properties, part of which he owns and part of which he holds in custodianship for a relative overseas. In such a case he is entitled to exploit the land without any compensation for the departed family member.

[423] Almost all local families own their houses and house lots. The
[122] thought of renting a room or house for money is somewhat foreign to the village, and in the case of the authors, "rent" for two rooms, as originally suggested by the owner of the house, was nominal. Fishermen, however, have to rent a room or a whole house. Their rent is an informal arrangement of payment in kind, fish, or other sea products.
[575] In addition, bachelor teachers from outside the community who re-

Chapter 5

Political Organization and Social Control

THE TOWNSHIP

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631 Administratively Taira village is part of Higashi township, an area of
[131] approximately 30 square miles with six independent villages spread over a distance of about 15 miles along the coast. Taira is centrally located and since 1946 has been the seat of the township administration. Higashi is one of several townships in northern Okinawa. It is responsible to the central Ryukyuan government at Naha which has branch offices at Nago, the nearest town to Taira. Control over communities such as Taira by a central government is of ancient date. The Okinawan king levied taxes throughout the island and held political control over the villages until establishment of Japanese administration.

632 The township office is headed by a mayor who is elected for four years by popular vote. He nominates an assistant mayor who must be confirmed by the township assembly, a council of 16 representatives who are elected from all the villages. The Assembly meets two or three times a year to enact local ordinances, to confirm the mayor's appointments, and to approve the annual budget.

632 The administrative organization of the township consists of five
647 departments, which are responsible for carrying out central government policies. The Finance and Education Department is concerned with tax collection and general school affairs. The Industrial Department acts as controlling and advising agent in all matters of subsistence and cash production. Financial help for farmers is channeled through this department. Attached to it is an Agricultural Extension Division agent who is concerned with individual farmers' problems. A General Affairs
[217] Department is in charge of office administration; it is also responsible

666 tion itself is arranged and supervised by an *ad hoc* committee. In 1955 written ballots were cast and counted immediately so that the result was known within a few minutes after the last ballot was in.

622 In contrast to a position in the township administration, which carries high status, equivalent to that of a teacher, the village headman's job is considered a community service and carries little prestige. This does not mean that the headman should not be an individual of high qualities. He must be at least 25 years old; he has to have sufficient education, especially knowledge of Japanese writing characters, to read government documents and to do the required clerical work; he has to be a good accountant and must be proficient in working with the abacus, since all tax collections are supervised by him; he must be community minded and able to enforce regulations in a friendly but efficient way. The rewards are small, the salary less than that of most township officials. The office is held most frequently by young men who have not been out of high school too long. Most recent headmen are between 25 and 30 years of age. Serving in this office may mark the beginning of an administrative career, either in the township office, in the village store, or in business outside Taira. The clerk, appointed
624 by the headmen to assist in village administration, is also a young man. He too is likely to be headed toward an administrative career.

●621 Each village is subdivided into wards, set up originally by Japanese
624 administration to effect greater control over families through the warden. He is a subagent of the headman, and at present he functions
[203] mainly as a channel for communications, a useful function in a village like Taira, which covers a large geographical area. Regulations, village meetings, and special events are announced through the warden, and he is often called on to collect delinquent taxes. However, he has little authority and functions more as a neighbor who takes care of necessary contacts between residents and the village administration. Ward members elect him to his honorary office for a one-year term.

623 Village affairs are discussed and legislative action concerning the village initiated by the village council. This group is now partly elected, partly composed of holders of essential offices, such as heads of associations, members of the township assembly, and township officials who live in Taira. The 26 members of the Council are responsible for measures affecting the community, and the headman relies heavily on their advice. Most councilmen are middle aged; few are over 50 years
[575] old. Since the head of the Women's Association and the nurse are members, there are at least two female representatives. The youngest councilman is usually the head of the Young People's Association.

623 It is apparent that leadership in the community is always exercised
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623 attend." As on all occasions women usually sit together on one side or in the rear. Few of them participate during discussions. The most active spokesmen for the women are the head of the Women's Association and one or two of her close assistants. If a discussion concerns such matters as liquor and food for celebrating certain holidays, a woman may speak [854] up. Mothers bring their infants along[1] and hold them in their arms or nurse them when they get restless. Sometimes a child feels uncomfortable and starts crying, and the mother is forced to leave the room.

554 In general, Taira people do not enjoy being leaders or playing a 157 dominating role. There are no bosses who attempt to force issues or ●621 dictate policies. Even people who have definite ideas on how to effect changes would not attempt to assume full responsibility by disregarding the advice of others. "Power" is not associated with responsible positions and village leadership. The headman and clerk perform a duty, often loathed by them and never too highly rewarded by others. A man commands respect for his education, age, sound advice, and exemplary behavior, not for the office he holds. Moreover, all villagers are friendly neighbors, and the man who is presently headman still remains a relative or neighbor to everybody. There is more prestige [632] associated with township offices. The mayor, who holds the highest position, is a man of age and experience; he commands a great deal of respect and has been elected to that office because of the high esteem in which he is held. Occasionally one hears of power hungry persons who are unscrupulous and authoritarian, but they are rare.

FORMAL CONTROL

625 Formal control of law and order is in the hands of the police. A detachment of the Hentona district police is located in the village, and one policeman is constantly stationed there. He lives with his family in [206] a building which also has a small office. Recently a telephone with direct connections to Hentona was installed. The policeman and his wife are from another township.

[166] The policeman's main duty, according to villagers, is to protect them from the occasional outside burglars or from fugitives from the south who come north to hide in the woods. The announcement that such a person is on the loose creates much excitement and anxiety. A second important duty is the control of the shore line. Smugglers and [167] illegal entrants from the Japanese island of Yoron, just to the north of Okinawa, land along the coast. Although one man with only a bicycle can hardly control effectively several miles of coastline, since the only road to the outer world leads through Taira, the policeman

1 [i.e. - to the household head meeting - ANALYST]

603 601 term. As the child gets older, the familiar suffixless form of address is used less and less frequently, though girls seem to retain it longer than boys.

601 156 576 The strength of one's ties to the community as a whole regardless of actual kinship is seen not only in the use of the term "grandmother" and "grandfather" in addressing all members of this generation but also in the similar use of the terms "uncle" and "aunt" for all members of the parental generation. Those who are not known well or who have high status are addressed by the appropriate kinship term with the suffix -san added.*

554 576 Achieved status is recognized by special terms of address. The teacher, school principal, the doctor, the village headman or mayor are addressed by their titles. Taira people combine familiarity with formality by calling a young teacher from the same or neighboring community by the first name, then adding the title "teacher." †

● 621 156 571 In summary, although affiliation with a patrilineal descent group and kinship ties with kindred influence certain aspects of life, over and above these ties is the identification with the community, which is drawn together by bonds of economic and social interdependence. Individual leaders serve their term of responsibility and then return to [157] the egalitarian community life, which is comparatively free of competitive strife.

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Chapter 7

Courtship, Marriage, and Sex

582 Most marriages in Taira take place when both men and women are in their early or middle twenties (see Table 2). It is perhaps most note-

* This refers to the use of Japanese kinship terms which are prevalent in Taira—see Chapter 1, p. 370.

† The use of first names may also help to identify individuals since many persons have the same surname—this explanation, however, is not in contradiction with the statement concerning familiarity.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

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ple did not carry it through the streets but along the shore to a spot 784
nearby where the car could pull up.

Communication with ancestral or family spirits lies in the hands of [766]
individual households or the larger kin group. In general, as with the 782
nature deities, women maintain the relationship. The oldest woman 794
in the house prays and makes offerings in front of the divine shelf or by 769
the tombs. Sometimes the high priestess, whose only regular role in the [562]
cult of ancestors centers around the mythical founder of the village [793]
to whom vague references are made, is asked to conduct a special
prayer for a family at its ancestral shrine. Such invitations are usually [756]
the result of consultation with another religious practitioner to whom
one turns in case of misfortune.*

Those who are considering a special undertaking, such as building a 791
new house or moving to another one, or transporting ancestral tablets [342]
from one home shrine to another, seek the advice of a diviner, the
sanjinsō or *yekisha*. This expert, always a man, consults books on the
workings of the universe, special astrological calendars from which he
can predict events by using a horoscope calculated on the birth date of
the person seeking advice.

Although it would seem from the attendance at ceremonies that 771
older people, mostly women, are the supporters of religion, even the 182
most modern of the Tairans seem to share beliefs in the power of the
supernatural forces and are loath to make an open break with traditions. One may verbalize that the old religion is just "superstition," but when it comes to dealing with adverse events, when somebody suggests that perhaps the *yuta* should be consulted, or a special offering is in order, or when the old special wine of the gods is prepared from rice for Boat Race Day, then many of the apparent apostates cooperate. To some extent this is done to appease the older people, but fear of neglecting duties, especially toward ancestors, is probably much stronger in general than people's behavior would suggest. Religious influence, then, which controlled so many facets of village life in former [621] days, still acts as a strong force in uniting the members of families and descent groups as well as in binding together the community as a unit separate from other communities.

* See Chapter 9 for description of the *yuta* or shaman.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

the school. Classes are held from 9 o'clock until noon with one recess. After an hour for lunch, lessons resume for all grades above first. Classes, sports, and cleanup end between 2 and 3:30 in the afternoon, the highest grades staying the longest. 872

All grades receive instruction in Japanese writing and reading, arithmetic, science, music, and drawing. Social science is introduced in the second grade. Since each class has one teacher for all subjects, shifts from one to the next subject may come in the middle of an hour. The greatest amount of time is spent in teaching Japanese reading and writing. At first grade level the simplified syllabary is taught, followed in the second grade by another syllabary and the first Chinese characters. [871 177 191]

Parents maintain contact with the school through a Parent-Teachers Association, called by the American abbreviation, PTA. Every household is a member. Those with children of school age are regular members who pay 15 yen (12 cents) a month; others are supposed to pay 5 yen but have become so delinquent that their fees have been dropped. The actual PTA work is done by a committee from each village, including the headman and the heads of the Women's and Young People's Associations. The main purpose of the PTA is to support the school in some of its maintenance problems. Attendance of all parents at a general meeting occurs only once a year when elections of officers take place and the PTA budget is discussed and approved. 875 575

The principals of both schools are represented in township affairs and in the associations of their own community. Contact between village leaders and school representatives is therefore frequent. Since education taxes are the single largest tax item which villagers pay (80% of the total tax), this representation of the principals is a necessary but burdensome duty for them. 875 621 [651]

Township education taxes are supplemented by government subsidies. School taxes are paid by all households according to their income and average about 515 yen ($4.30) yearly. Since 1952, government orders require education taxes to be levied separately from other taxes so that people are aware of the amount destined for education; tax collection is one of the main problems in village administration, and school principals are sometimes called on to explain the need for such taxation and the obligations of individuals to carry their share of the burden. 871 658 651

The administration of funds and general school matters are the responsibility of an official in the township finance department. During 1954–1955, 310,344 yen ($2586) were collected by the township in education taxes. The government subsidy amounted to 3,716,397 yen [632]

would be nothing more uproarious than a group of singing celebrants seeking further entertainment from house to house. The occasional quarrels after drinking, which are mentioned elsewhere, seemed much more frequent where only a small group of men indulged after work, especially younger ones. No major holidays ended in dissonance. 527 273 574 578

The main events for family celebrations are lunar New Year, *seimei*, a period in spring during which descent group ancestors are revered and *Bon*, a commemoration of the dead in the fall. At these times families are reunited with relatives from other villages or the city. These events are observed in the home or in front of the ancestral tombs. During *Bon* young men and women go from house to house, performing traditional dances for this holiday in front of the assembled families. 527 796 769

Celebration of special birthday cycles and agricultural events, such as the day when ditches in the paddies were cleaned in former times, are observed by villagers as a group. An important religious event for the community is Boat Race Day in lunar June. On lunar August 15, the celebration of the full August moon, some villagers present stage performances and dances at a public celebration. 527

In general, it may be said that families gather as a unit on those days on which ancestors and deceased family members are commemorated. The village jointly celebrates events which are either based on local religion or on agricultural events. The only national holiday which is now in existence was established by the post-war Ryukyuan government. It is observed by school and government offices but not by the people. [769] [621]

Sport events form another category of holidays. The most important one falls in October when both in Japan and all over the Ryukyus athletes compete against each other. Athletic meets take place for several weeks; for the village the biggest event is the competition of all athletes in the township on *undokai* day. Everyone leaves work and takes picnic food to the track at the junior high school where each village competes against the others. This lasts all day. 526 628

Wrestling matches are part of entertainment during outdoor celebrations in the early summer. They are mainly an affair for young men. Occasionally an older man who feels strong enough challenges a younger one. The villagers sit around a large circle near the beach, watching the fights while they eat holiday food and drink sake. On Boat Race Day Taira and the neighboring village of Kawata race fishing canoes against each other. Spectators at this event are enthusiastic supporters of their favorites. After the races this holiday ends like any other, in celebrations with dance and drinking. [262] [574]

Amami Oshima, Okinawa, Miyako, and Yaeyama.[1] Although they appear to differ widely, mutual intelligibility prevails, and informants from other islands assured me that they had managed to understand Okinawan in a short time though most preferred to use Japanese rather than attempt the new dialect. 197

Okinawan Dialects The Okinawan dialect area, Okinawa and its offshore islands, contains many sub-dialects or local speech groups, all of which are easily mutually intelligible. It would be an exaggeration to state that there is a distinctive dialect for each community; yet the variety and diversity of local speech forms constantly impresses one. Nakasone has distinguished five dialects in the Kunigami area alone, and this does not include nearly a dozen and a half distinctive speech islands within the same area.[2] These local speech peculiarities are often pointed out with considerable pride and seem much prized as symbolic of a community's identity. [621]

The dialects of Naha, Shuri, and certain of the larger towns such as Itoman and Yonabaru, are quite distinctive and easily recognized by the Okinawans. Naha dialect is most widely spoken and easily understood throughout the island, and because of its association with the capital carries the greatest prestige among Okinawan speakers. Old residents of Naha complain that their dialect has deteriorated and become coarsened since the war due to the heavy influx from other areas of people who speak the dialect imperfectly. By this they refer to the loss of certain polite forms and the inundations of Japanese. Some Shuri people will contend that the "best" Okinawan is spoken in their city. In the past this was undoubtedly a widely accepted point of view, but with the advent of Japanese administration---exile of the king, removal of the capital to Naha, abolition of the upper classes---Shuri's prestige as a cultural center rapidly declined. A number of informants, rural and urban, felt that the "purest" Okinawan was heard in the Naha theaters, particularly at the Naha Gekijō, where daily performances of modern and historical dramas are presented. Itoman dialect is considered to be very coarse and rough by the people of other communities, and hence is accorded a low prestige. This is in part due to certain prosodic features of the dialect which render it unlike other Okinawan dialects, but more likely it is due to the fact that this town largely derives its livelihood from fishing, an occupation regarded with opprobrium by farmers and urbanites alike. The neighboring farm village of Kanegusuku, though less than a quarter of a mile away and long associated with Itoman, preserves a dialect distinct from it. [554] [177] [648] [177] [545] [554] [226]

This dialectic diversity on Okinawa reflects to a certain extent the physical isolation of the typical village, a tightly-nucleated cluster of dwellings surrounded by fields. It is also a product of the social structure in the Okinawan kingdom. Prior to annexation by Japan (1879), farmers were little more than serfs bound to the soil and forbidden to leave their native village, while the gentry and nobility were for the most part concentrated in the urban Naha-Shuri district. Rural villages tended to be isolated, self-sustaining units; most were composed of a dominant kin group (munchu) and several smaller and possibly remotely related kin groups, or of several unrelated kin groups more nearly equal in size. A munchu was made up of a number [361] 197 105 [566] [565] [621]

[1] Miyanaga /Miyara/, 1950, p. 39.

[2] Nakasone, 1937, pp. 242-258.

195 A munchu was made up of a number
197 of households or families united through the male line, descended from a common
[619] ancestor, and sharing a common tomb. Village endogamy was an obligatory mar-
[582] riage practice and violations did not pass unpunished; in addition kin group endogamy was a preferred practice, though not necessarily an obligatory one.
[628] Intervillage contacts and ties, consequently, were held to a minimum. These cus-
[178] toms were followed by the majority of the oldest generation now living, and even today such practices tend to persist in rural areas. A survey in Kanegu-
[582] suku revealed that fifty percent of the marriages were between members of the same kin group and sixty-six percent of the marriages were between residents of
[178] the same village. Such practices, to be sure, are breaking down, and this becomes evident when the above data are analyzed on an age basis, but in view of the fact that these customs still prevail, though to a more limited extent than formerly, it is not surprising that so considerable a diversity of dialects should also be preserved.

197 Another facet of Okinawan dialect geography is the occurrence of small
621 speech-islands exhibiting dialects distinct from those of the surrounding areas.
184 These are the so called yaadui settlements founded during the 18th and 19th centuries by migrants from the Naha-Shuri area; the newcomers were usually the younger sons of gentry families seeking their livelihood in the country. Such settlements not only enjoyed a political independence from the larger surrounding communities but also were never incorporated into the formal religious system centering on the nuru priestess and unifying the rural areas. These factors together with previously-mentioned marriage practices enabled such settlements to preserve their identity. Kitazato in Kami Motobu-son serves as a good example of this type of village, having been settled seven generations ago by the younger sons of gentry families residing in Naha and Shuri. The larger neighboring villages never absorbed Kitazato, and to this day it pre-
[194] serves a dialect quite distinct from theirs. The most notable contrast between them centers on the p and h sounds in the two dialects, for all p sounds of nearby Gushiken are rendered h in Kitazato; thus, the word for "fire" is pi in the dialect of the former and hi in the latter's.

197 Undoubtedly this dialectic diversity is decreasing as the old customs
178 die out and the isolation of the village disappears. The war uprooted many communities and scattered their inhabitants about the island, and nearly all villages now have a number of families new to the village since the war. New communities like the entertainment center of Koza have no characteristic dialect of their own, containing as they do a heterogeneous population recruited from all parts of the Ryukyus. The vast improvements in roads and transportation services since the end of the war have given the people a mobility undreamed of in the prewar period and have done much to destroy the isolation of the rural areas.

192 "Uchinaaguchi" Okinawans call their dialect uchinaaguchi and themselves
[101] uchinaanchu. The terms 'Okinawago', Japanese for Okinawan language, and 'hōgen', Japanese for dialect, are also in common usage though the latter term is resented by some who feel that it carries the connotation "rustic". Today all Okinawan speech contains many loan words from Japanese; this obtains for those who know no Japanese as well as for those who are bi-
lingual. Intimate contact with Japanese coupled with this word borrowing has

Intimate contact with Japanese coupled with this word borrowing has resulted in a tendency toward slight sound shifts in the direction of Japanese 194
phonology; this is particularly true among the bilingual speakers. The same 177
process is operative in the Japanese of these Okinawan speakers in that there is a tendency toward Okinawan phonology.

The real strongholds of Okinawan speech today are the family and the 191
rural areas. In an old and relatively unchanged village like Kanegusuku little 178
Japanese is heard despite the fact that most of the villagers are bilingual. 177
That Okinawan is the language of the family is best demonstrated by the pre- 621
school-age children who do not speak or understand any Japanese aside from a few greetings and polite phrases. Likewise men over sixty and women over fifty-five usually cannot speak Japanese. The remainder of the village, approximately seventy percent of the total, is bilingual; however, this figure is somewhat misleading in so far as actual usage is concerned. A majority of the married women use Japanese infrequently since Okinawan is the language of their daily lives, which are largely confined to the village and home. For the men, a number of whom have seen service abroad in the Japanese forces, there is a greater freedom of movement and a wider range of contacts providing more occasion for the use of Japanese. Yet within the village many of them preferred to use Okinawan, and even the high school students were inclined to shed their Japanese on returning to the village. A number of bilingual informants ascribed this preference for Okinawan to the influence of the old people who understood Japanese imperfectly or not at all. As one informant put it, "The old people in this village just don't like being spoken to in Japanese, and if some person does this, they say he is trying to be big." Undoubtedly their influence is a strong factor, but this preference is also likely attributable to a low degree of proficiency in Japanese. Prior to the postwar period few villagers obtained more than a sixth grade education; consequently, many are not as articulate in Japanese as they are in Okinawan. [871] It should also be noted that within the village, a selective factor operates so as to perpetuate the use of Okinawan. Mention is made in another section of this report of a mayor's comment to the [566] effect that all those who receive a good education, high school or university, soon leave the village. Thus, the very group most likely to further the spread of Japanese leaves before its influence is felt.

The resentment of the oldest generation toward the use of Japanese re- 191
solves itself among the younger, bilingual generations into an attitude that 829
Japanese imparts a certain formality to an occasion, and hence situations call- 177
ing for the use of Okinawan or Japanese tend to be rather compartmentalized in their minds. Formal occasions prescribe the use of Japanese and informal ones Okinawan. Village political meetings and elections were always conducted in Japanese, and when the 'son' officials made one of their periodic inspections of the village, only Japanese was used in addressing them. On the other hand the use of Japanese at a party would be regarded as too formal and a bit unfriendly, and, of course, with old people and children only Okinawan is used. Besides the formal-informal dichotomy there exists the feeling among the better-educated bilinguals that Japanese is a modern and sophisticated language whereas Okinawan is backward and rustic.

There are several aspects of Okinawan culture wherein the local lan- 191
guage is used to the exclusion of Japanese; chief among these are the theater 178

CHAPTER III: AGRICULTURAL HISTORY, LAND USE AND DIET

F. R. Pitts

121 The concept of the unchanging Orient certainly fails to appear true
178 in the case of Okinawa, when the past is examined closely. Indeed, it seems hard to find an area where so much change has been accomplished so fast. The following is designed to show some major aspects of that change, particularly insofar as the farmer is concerned.

1. Agricultural History

175 The Early Days As early as the 1730's when the great Okinawan statesman,
241 Saion, urged the growing of the sago palm 'sotetsu', farmers
198 were already used to orders and suggestions from the gentry as to modification of their traditional ways. But it was not until the growth of population and the money economy that changes were to be brought about, not so much by orders from above, but chiefly by the workings of economic forces.

175 The ultimately most effective agent of change had been the introduc-
177 tion of the sugar cane plant in 1623 and its concomitant technique of sugar
433 manufacture.[1] It was not until a decade after the Japanese took over the
249 islands, however, that sugar production began to increase, and not until after the Russo-Japanese war that sugar really became an important crop in the economy. By 1939 the production of sugar amounted to more than a million tons, and production exceeded consumption by ninefold.[2] By the end of the 1951-1952 winter pressing season, production had declined to 256,000 tons.[3]

175 About the time of Commodore Perry's visit the population of Okinawa
● 621 had begun to grow, and new areas were settled by both commoners and the gentry. Nanahan dates its existence from this period. Of the first three families to settle here, one came from Shuri gentry, and two others were commoners from the main settlement of Tomoyose. Of the seven settlements of the village of Yamada, three were settled by commoners and one by the gentry. All had come from the urban areas of the south in the latter part of the last century.
[829] In Okinawa everyone seems to be aware of his place in history, and in the older settlements one often hears the remark, "...they are newcomers; they have been here for only two hundred years."

175 In general the agricultural history of Okinawa falls into three per-
241 iods. The first saw a self-sufficient economy, in which banana cloth was
178 made in the village. The chief crops were millet, arrowroot, and sweet po-
433 tatoes. With the introduction of a money economy, and its further intensifi-
[177] cation under the Japanese, sugar gradually turned from its previous use as a home confection to a full money crop. Rice acreage fell as more sugar was planted, and sweet potatoes found a greater place in the diet. The old crops of millet, cassava, and arrowroot were all but abandoned in Shimajiri, and became less important in the north. The third period is essentially the post-war and still continuing one, in which the growing of vegetables for the

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1 Navy Handbook, p. 240.

2 CAARI, p. 156.

3 Summation of U. S. Army Military Government Activities in the Ryukyu Islands, July-November 1946, p. 25.

746 one case investigated, the village secretary and most of the village people thought that a certain old repatriate should be on relief, if only to receive money to obtain the tobacco he could not buy. The 'son' office was not told about his elder brother's second son, who lives in Osaka. Nor was any check made on the untrue report that he was ill, for no medical proof or witnesses are needed. Upon moving from his sister-in-law's house to a grass shack next door, he was placed upon the relief list to receive the monthly maximum of ¥250 (about $2.08).

746 [777] The 'son' office also supervises the distribution to persons on relief of clothes supplied by the American relief agency RIVAC (Ryukyu Islands Voluntary Agencies Committee). Each person receives free two or three useful items upon signing for their receipt with his chop. These are greatly appreciated by the recipients.

• 621 427 Rentals of Village-Owned Land Each village generally owns some grassland, some forest land, and a pond or two. These they rent out to the highest bidder. The 'genya' or grassland is rented anew each year, and the person may keep it in grass, or may convert it to dry crop land ('hatake'). The only requirement is that he must not let the grass grow long and shade the nearby crops. The plot owned by Tomoyose village used to be the village horse-powered sugar mill before the better one was built before the war.

Ponds owned by the village are rented out to the highest bidder in a [228] secret bid, for a period of two years. The renter uses the pond to raise [423] carp. Forest land, I was told, is not supposed to be owned by the village, so it is recorded in the land register as the property of a prominent private individual.

651 [632] Taxes The Okinawan farmer is subject to a great number of official taxes. The following is a list of the fifteen 'sonzei', or township taxes, of Kanegusuku-son. Legally these are called district taxes, or 'chihō-zei'.

Tax Name	Translation
Sonmin-zei	Township Citizens' Tax (on all persons who are able to work, except students)
Tochi-zei	Land Tax
Fudōsan Shutoku zei	Real Estate Acquisition Tax
Kaoku-zei	House (or Building) Tax
Kōgyō-zei	Tax for Industry (eg: 'sake' factory)
Gyubasha-zei	Tax for Horsecart or Oxcart
Jidōsha-zei	Auto, Bus and Jitney Tax (Motor Vehicle Tax)
Rajio-zei	Radio Tax
Denchū-zei	Electric Pole Tax
Tochiku-zei	Slaughter Tax
Chikken-zei	Dog Tax
Sempaku-zei	Boat Tax
Jitensha-zei	Bicycle Tax
Denwa-zei	Telephone Tax
Jigyō-zei	Business Tax

In addition to the above, a 'kenkyū-hi' (study charge) is collected to supplement the pay of the school teachers. The most important of the above taxes are the 'sonmin-zei', the 'tochi-zei', and the 'kaoku-zei'. In Kochinda-son there was instituted for the first time in 1953 an Education Tax, or 'kyōiku-zei'. In most cases this amount was about 10% larger than the 'sonmin-zei' amount. All Nanahan taxes have constantly risen during the years 1951, 1952 and 1953. In part this may reflect the rising value of the land, especially that converted into paddies. But it is also in part a reflection of the rising cost of government. The average of all taxes per household in Kochinda-son for 1952 was ¥486; the tax amount per individual was ¥104.[1] 651

Payments to Officials From the taxes paid by the 'son' citizens come the salaries of the village mayors and the salaries of those employed at the 'son' office. In addition, the 'son' pays for the transportation costs of township assemblymen ('son-giin') so that they may attend meetings held at the village office. The following is a list of the functions of persons working at the Kochinda-son office in 1954: 632

Title	Translation
Sonchō	Township Mayor
Joyaku	Assistant Mayor
Shūnyū-yaku	Treasurer
Keizai-shunin	Head of the Economic Department
Keizaika-in (2)	Member of the Economic Department (2 persons)
Sōmuka-shunin	Head of the General Affairs Dept.
Sōmuka-in	Member of General Affairs Dept. (doubles as Secretary to the Mayor)
Tōkei-shokuin	Statistics Clerk
Koseki-chōsain	Census Registry Inquiry Clerk
Koseki-seibi-in (2)	Census Registry Arrangement Clerks (2)
Tochi-gakari	Persons in Charge of Land Affairs
Zaimuka-shunin	Head of the Financial Department
Zaimuka-in	Member of the Financial Department
Engojimu-in	Person in Charge of Relief and Aid
Shakai-jigyo-in	Person in Charge of Social Affairs
Shakai-fukushi-shi	Public Welfare Officer
Kōmuka-in	Person in Charge of Industrial Dept.
Nōgyō-kairyō-fukyū-in	Person in Charge of Agricultural Improvement and Diffusion
Shitei	Servant

On the village level there are other taxes that never enter into the official tax figures. Each 'hanchō', or ward head, collects in Tomoyose monthly about 10% of the year's estimated 'sonmin-zei'. This, however, is not that tax, but is used for the expenses of the village. Much of it goes to pay the expenses of the village clerk. 651 621

Levies In addition to the levy mentioned above, designed to supplement the low salaries of school teachers, there are irregular levies made for special occasions. One very informal levy observed during my stay was a collection of money for the reversion movement. Others include levies upon 651

[1] Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku, op. cit., p. 84.

Others include levies upon
651 organizations and families to support the athletic meets, or 'undōkwai',
[526] which are such a popular part of life in Okinawa.

575 Before the war the women's group ('fujinkai') and the young people's
178 group ('seinendan') levied a certain amount of soybeans against each member,
and when they were delivered the sale brought in money to finance their ac-
[526] tivities. These organizations also made up special meals for local athletic
526 favorites while they were in training, and provided a feast for them at the
631 end of the contests. Today the 'undōkwai' is on more of a monetary basis,
632 and there is a levy called the 'undōkwai no keihi'. In October of 1953, the
cost of the grand athletic meeting held in Naha was divided among the 'son'
according to the number of champions sent to the contest. Kochinda-son was
top grade in Shimajiri, and Tomoyose was a middle-grade village within
Kochinda-son. This grade was judged by the amount of arable land, its yield,
and the population. Within the village, households in turn are assessed by
three grades, according to their income tax records. These three grades
were "minimum," under ¥20; "middle", ¥20-50; and "maximum", ¥50-54.

• 621 Local Philanthropy From time to time the leading household heads are called
741 upon to donate money for improvement of village facili-
ties. Names of contributors and amounts given are written upon a wooden
plaque and hung in the village meeting house. The building of this meeting
house itself involved the gathering of such a fund, to which Nanahan people
gave a total of ¥1,450. Later a request for funds to buy a funeral stretcher
brought ¥350 from the household heads, and a road repair campaign netted
¥1,550 from Nanahan.

Somewhat the reverse of the above occurred after the Russo-Japanese
war when a particularly handsome soldier from the neighboring village came
back from the front. All the leading 'geisha' in Naha had long had the habit
of asking him to come to their establishments without charge. His return
brought such joy to their hearts that they got together a sum of money and
bought him a large plot of land near Nanahan.

52 Prizes at Contests From the time a youngster enters school and participates
in his first contest to the time when he shows an animal
at his last village or 'son' festival before retiring, all winners look for-
ward to some sort of prize to mark the occasion. In school the prizes are
generally beautifully handwritten scrolls, but as one gets older the prizes
assume the form of wooden trays and articles of practical use in the home.

858 Sale of Children When the SIRI team first arrived on Okinawa and mentioned
432 that we were interested in finding if the Okinawans still
[183] practiced the sale of children, sophisticated respondents feigned indignation.
Later on, as we were able to gain rapport in the countryside, a number of such
instances were forthcoming.

In Tomoyose a man got into debt over an effort to make a fortune in
sugar along about 1910. He was so heavily in debt to village people that he
was socially unable to live in the community, and moved to Itoman. There he
sold his son to a fisherman. The son is now a grown man with an Okinawan wife
and a mistress from Amami. His business is still fishing, although he also
owns a truck.

CHAPTER VI: POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND CONTROL

W. P. Lebra

1. Territorial Organization

631 The territory of the Ryukyuan government is subdivided into a number of municipalities whose administrations are directly responsible to the central government in Naha. There are three types of municipalities---city ('shi'), town ('chō'), and township ('son')---depending on their population and character. The 'shi' (city) and 'chō' (town) are urban municipalities whereas the 'son' (township) is always rural. Each of these are in turn subdivided into 'ku' which are equivalent to wards in the urban municipalities and to villages or hamlets in the rural. This study shall concern itself exclusively with the governments of the 'son' and 'ku'. As of May 1954 there were four cities, four towns, and forty-eight townships on Okinawa and its peripheral islands, and these contained over five hundred villages and settlements.

632 The governmental designations in use on Okinawa are the same as those
171 employed in Japan though there are several minor distinctions. A 'son' or township in Japan and Okinawa is a collective grouping of a number of separate communities or villages into a single administrative unit. In Japan the 'son' is a fairly recent creation, dating back to the late nineteenth century; in most cases it is a rather arbitrary grouping of villages in the interests of administrative expediency. It is exclusively a governmental unit, rarely a social or historical entity. This, however, is not the case on Okinawa.
175 Prior to Japanese annexation the present 'son' on Okinawa were called majiri;
632 in the Okinawan feudal age (aji nu yuu---Age of the Aji or Manor Lords) these were the hereditary fiefs of the local lords. Later, after the end of feudalism in the fifteenth century they became the administrative districts of the Shuri government. Each district was headed by an official (jiturei) appointed by the king, and the majiri or district was most important as the land-disbursing unit in a system of communal land ownership. It also served as the basic tax unit, since taxes were levied against the majiri by the Shuri government rather than against the individual family or village. Each majiri, like the present-day 'son', consisted of a number of small villages called mura, the equivalent of the present-day 'aza' or 'ku'. After Japan formally annexed the Ryukyus in 1879, the old administrative system was not immediately abolished and continued to exist for some time. The system of communal land tenure and taxation lasted until 1903, and the majiri were not converted into their present-day counterpart, the 'son', until 1907. In most cases the old majiri name was given to the new 'son', which generally corresponded to the territory of the former although a few of the larger ones have since been subdivided. For example, Motobu was divided into Motobu and Kami Motobu. In most cases, however, there has been a continuity in political districts since the feudal period.

• 621 Each 'son' is made up of a number of villages which are called 'aza' or 'ku' by official designation. For all practical purposes the two terms

mean the same thing, village, although the term 'aza' tends to be geographical in connotation whereas 'ku' refers more to the political community. Official land maps use the designation 'aza' and the same term is used for one's postal address. Conversely, the 'koseki' (household registry) kept in the township office is labelled as the 'koseki' of a certain 'ku', and the political head or mayor of a village is referred to as the 'kuchō' ('ku' leader or head). The villagers never use the term 'ku' in referring to their village; instead the terms 'aza', mura, or 'buraku' are used. The township of Kanegusuku-son located in southern Okinawa approximately three miles south of Naha on the west coast is subdivided into eight villages or 'aza', each of these comprising a separate settlement surrounded by its fields. 621

Every 'aza' consists of a number of haru (cognate to the Japanese hara) which best translates as "field". Kanegusuku, one of the eight villages of Kanegusuku-son and the one from which it takes its name, consists of eight haru, though the number in a given village is completely arbitrary. These haru or fields are local designations for the various areas of a village and are well known to all the villagers. The haru names are fairly similar from village to village throughout Okinawa though occasionally local geographical features or place names, particularly those of streams, are used. Names like wii baru (upper field), agari baru (east field), iri baru (west field), kushi baru (back field), mee baru (front field), shicha baru (lower field) are found in nearly every village. It is interesting to note that the names north field and south field rarely occur, and where they do occur, the author suspects that they have been put in use quite recently, for in the old, typical Okinawan village all of the houses face south, and the field names are usually ordered around this orientation. Thus, mee baru (front field) is usually south of the village while kushi baru (back field) is usually on the north side. This carries over into the household naming system (yago) employed by the villagers to designate each of the house lots within the settlement. 621 103

Each haru is broken into many small parcels or plots of land. On the village land maps every plot is assigned to one of six categories---house or building land, irrigated land, dry farm land, grass land, forest land, and miscellaneous, including tomb land. Each plot is also given a number on the land maps and in the land registry ('tochi daichō') for the purpose of identification, though oftentimes the villagers refer to them by local names. 621 311 [423]

2. Political Organization[1]

There are three levels of government (exclusive of military government) existing on Okinawa today---the central government (Government of the Ryukyu Islands), municipal governments ('shi-chō-son'), and 'ku' (ward or village) governments. The structure of government is pyramidal, there is a hierarchial chain of command, and each echelon of government exceeds in authority the unit immediately below it. There is no allocation of rights and powers as exists among the various national, state, and local segments of American government, since the state operates as a highly-organized and heavily centralized unitary whole. Variation in the form and function of local government from one area to another is slight. Individuals appear to play but a small role in this 642 [631]

[1] A major part of the information presented in this chapter derives from the author's study in the township of Kanegusuku-son and particularly in one of its villages, Kanegusuku-ku. This has been supplemented by data gathered in briefer studies in other parts of Okinawa. 101

One of his major responsibilities to the township office is tax collection within the village; yet, his actual powers are slight, as nearly all of his official acts are first sanctioned by the villagers or the township office. It seemed to the author that the chief role of the 'kuchō' was as an intermediary between the people and the township office or as an agent for the latter, rather than as an administrator. It would seem that the payment of his salary by the township instead of by the village is symbolic of his actual role. 622 [651] [632]

Assisting the 'kuchō' are several officers the first of which is the assistant mayor ('fuku-kuchō') who is elected at the same time as the mayor and serves for one year. He is paid ¥480 ($4.00) per month, and like the mayor he must be over 27 and a household head. In the absence of the mayor he functions in his place, and on all other occasions he assists him in his work. A village clerk ('shōki') is also elected at the same time as the 'kuchō', and serves for a term of one year; he is paid a salary of ¥700 ($5.83) each month. The main qualifications for this position are that one have a fair amount of education and a good mastery of characters for writing. The job holds little appeal since it demands much of the individual's time and affords little in the way of prestige or pay. In Kanegusuku-ku in December of 1953 three elections were held in an effort to fill this position before someone finally and quite reluctantly accepted it. 624 [465] [465]

An advisory body of four councillors ('hyōgiin') assists the mayor in his administration; they represent each of the four neighborhoods or districts of the village. They are elected at the same time as the mayor, serve for one year, and receive a salary of ¥20 (17¢) per meeting. According to the villagers this body has replaced the earlier yuushi which was an unelected advisory council made up of former village officials, the village equivalent of elder statesmen. The 'kuchō' never undertakes an independent course of action; he first consults the 'hyōgiin' and obtains their approval and suggestions before initiating action. 623 [465]

Each village of Kanegusuku-son elects two men to represent it in the township ('son') assembly ('sonkai'); they are elected for a term of four years. Older, mature men who have held several official positions are always selected. They also play a part in village administration and are considered village officials. At all meetings they sit with the officials, and their opinion is much valued. 624 632

All matters of real importance are submitted to the household heads who form the real body politic within the village. The electorate for the village consists exclusively of household heads; to vote in a village election one must be a household head or one appointed by him to vote in his place, but in township and national elections universal suffrage obtains. At one village election which the author witnessed in December of 1953 balloting began as soon as the meeting was called to order without any preliminary speeches or nominations. It was later stated that the election and likely candidates had been informally discussed among the village leaders and household heads so that there was no need for preliminaries. The same situation seemed to prevail when meetings were held to discuss matters of general concern; the apparent unanimity of opinion and agreement indicated that informal concordance had been reached well in advance of formal discussion and decision. 621 592 666

621 For administrative purposes villages are subdivided into sections or
177 neighborhoods called 'han' or 'kumi'. There is considerable variation in the use of these terms throughout Okinawa, in part occasioned by the recency of their introduction and by the confusion following the end of the war. In 1940
[648] the Japanese government ordered all municipalities ('shi-chō-son') subdivided into 'rimpō-han' (settlement sections) which in turn were subdivided into 'tonarigumi' (neighborhood groups). The move was a political one designed to insure more effective control; the divisions were often quite arbitrary and had little relation to social groupings. The term 'kumi', however, had been in use for a long time in both Japan and Okinawa, referring to a group of households. That
[178] these subdivisions have survived into the postwar period indicates that they are fulfilling a function necessary to village administration.

621 A large village such as Henza (of Henza Shima), which has a population
624 of 3800, is subdivided into 5 'han' each headed by an official called 'hanchō'. Every 'han' is subdivided into 'kumi'; there are 41 'kumi' in the village, approximately 8 to each 'han'. Each 'kumi' contains from 12-20 houses; the head of the 'kumi' is the 'kumichō'. In a smaller village such as Kanegusuku-ku which has a population of 507, the 'han' no longer exists; instead the term 'kumi' is applied to the four subdivisions of the village. In Kanegusuku the 'kumichō' functions as the intermediary between the 'kuchō' and the people of the area; there are on the average 25 houses in each 'kumi'. 'Kumichō' are elected each year by the 'kumi' though in actuality the position is really rotated among the households within the 'kumi'. One of the chief functions of the 'kumi' is to provide labor for community work projects. When the township office requests that the 'kuchō' have his village repair a section of a road, he calls in the 'kumichō' and tells them how many workers will be needed. The 'kumichō' notify the household heads within their 'kumi' and the households supply in rotation the needed labor. When local clean-up is in order as preparation for a township inspection, the 'kumichō' supervises the work in his area. Tax collections for village finances are generally made by him, and when tax collections are made by the township, he notifies his constituents as to the time and place of payment.

The importance of the 'kumichō' or 'hanchō' is dependent on the physical nature of the village and its size. In a small tightly-nucleated village like Kanegusuku the 'kumichō' functions mainly as an intermediary or messenger between the 'kuchō' and the people of the 'kumi' and as a foreman on their work details. In a larger village whose 'han' are scattered into more isolated neighborhoods or settlements the 'hanchō' often functions more like a 'kuchō'. In Kanegusuku the divisions are more or less arbitrary ones, and there is definitely no feeling of strong identity with a particular 'kumi'. However, in the village of Tomoyose where Pitts studied, the isolated settlement of Nanahan (literally ("Han Seven") felt itself to be a distinct unit and functioned not unlike a very small village.

621 Most villages have a small building set aside for use as an office or
344 meeting place. These are usually called muraya in Okinawan or 'jimusho' in Japanese. In a large village like Henza the office is nearly as large as those of some of the smaller 'son', containing desks, telephone, records, and a full-time staff. In Kanegusuku a small bare hut large enough for only a dozen people suffices. When village meetings are held, the officials sit inside the building while the people sit outside facing them. Village records are stored in the home of the 'kuchō' or the clerk.

625 high esprit. A policeman's salary is high when compared to that of other government workers and the general public; in addition the job has other advantages such as a uniform and free transportation on public conveyances.

621 625 In rural areas there seems to be some resentment over what is considered to be high pay and special privileges for policemen; this was particularly true where the local policeman was not a native son. In one of the more isolated villages of northern Okinawa, a community which is noted for and prides itself on its strong community spirit, there was some irritation with what they felt to be an unnecessary presence of a policeman (not native to the village) in their midst. The village 'kuchō' and several villagers assured the author that the village was a most peaceful one, everyone cooperated well together, and there was never any stealing or violence. They were also resentful of the fact that the village supplied the policeman with free food and charcoal and that his pay, nevertheless, was about equal to that of their highly respected school principal.

875 625 554 It should be noted that whenever the low pay of teachers was mentioned the correspondingly high pay of the police was cited. The teacher traditionally has been venerated in this culture, and it is held that the teacher is a better-educated person and should, therefore, receive a higher salary, as was the case before the war. In the past the higher positions in the bureaucracy were accorded or ideally should be accorded those with better educations, and since both the policeman and the teacher are civil government employees, the present situation with regard to their respective salaries seems unjust.

625 829 Most people express the belief that the police are honest and conscientious though their high pay may be resented. A number of people observed that the police are much better under the American military administration than they were under the Japanese government before the war, in that they are more polite and less officious today. Under present laws the powers of the police have been clearly defined to insure that they will not violate the rights of individuals as was frequently done in the past. Not a few Okinawans will contend that this curbing of police power while probably democratic has encouraged an increase in crime in recent years. The traditional attitude toward the policeman seems to be a mixture of fear and respect, and mothers frequently use the threat to call a policeman as a means of disciplining a child who misbehaves.

4. Political Participation by Women

562 [666] Since the end of the war universal suffrage has been introduced into Okinawan political life. The enfranchisement of women has not brought with it a surge of political activity on their part. It is now theoretically possible for a woman to hold public office, but in actuality none to date has been elected to a national or municipal office. One woman declared herself a candidate for the Ryukyuan legislature in 1954 but later withdrew from the campaign shortly before election time. In the rural areas political participation by women is even more limited. The men in the village of Kanegusuku laugh when the subject of women in politics is mentioned; they say

that a woman can hold office today since the government has made this law, 562
but that they would never permit this to happen. In village elections only household heads are permitted to vote, and in practice only they are eligible for the village offices. If a woman is a household head (and there are eighteen in this category in Kanegusuku) she is allowed to vote, but she would never be considered for any village office. Most women would not want the job if it were available to them, for this is considered a part of the affairs of men and inconsistent with the traditional concept of woman's role of wife and mother. Women are vaguely aware that their [177] legal and political status has altered under the American military administration, and nearly all have heard stories about America where women are [829] said to be very influential, but they are not so sure that what is good for Americans will necessarily work for them.

An exception to the generally inactive role of women in political 562
affairs is found in Okinawan fishing communities. In Itoman and Henza, 184
which derive their living from fishing, shipping, and ferrying, the men 621
are away much of the time, and the women exercise considerably more control over family and financial matters than elsewhere on Okinawa. Itoman women are noted throughout the island for their independence and shrewdness in financial matters, and there is a common saying that an Itoman woman doesn't need a man if she has a house. On Henza Island the lower echelons of the village political hierarchy are completely dominated by women. The five 'hanchō' are women, each heading a political unit of about eight hundred persons, and the forty-one 'kumichō' are also women. Despite this one gets the impression that women are participating in Henza political life in the absence of the men just as they have a larger role in the management of family affairs than the women of farming villages because the absence of their men has made this a practical necessity. To date no woman has been elected to the position of 'kuchō' nor does it seem likely that one will be in the near future. Perhaps this also serves to define more clearly the real nature of the 'hanchō' and 'kumichō' as messengers for the 'kuchō' instead of as administrators, and that positions of real power are still retained by men.

5. The Political Community

The rural village constitutes a political, territorial, and social 621
unit; its membership is bound together by a common cultural heredity and shares a common experience. All the villagers have attended the same schools, cooperated in village projects, participated in community ceremonies and celebrations, and joined the same organizations. The prevailing [582] marriage practice still tends toward endogamy, and in many places they [197] speak a dialect with features distinct from that of their neighbors. National organizations serve to unite the youth, women, and farmers into their respective local groups for common action and benefit. Further integration is assured by practices of reciprocal labor exchange among the households.

The major social institutions of rural Okinawa are the family-kin 621
group and the community. Within the former there exists a strict hierarchy 512
[181]

621 among its membership, and all relationships are highly structured. Though
592 age-grades tend to structure the membership of the community, this is not
[361] too important, as the basic unit within the village is the family, not the individual. The community is regarded as an association of families bound together in a relationship of equality. Such differences as exist
[565] in wealth and land holdings are not so great as to constitute class dif-
[178] ferentiation; likewise the old Okinawan class structure is no longer of any real significance, and in most rural communities the bulk of the families were and still are of commoner descent.

621 The concept of political participation by households is basic to
829 the thinking of the villagers. Universal suffrage applies only to munic-
592 ipal and national elections; within the village active political partici-
666 pation is restricted to household heads functioning in the capacity of representatives for their respective families. When the mayor of one village was asked why all adults were not allowed to vote in village elections, his quick reply was, "Is it democracy to give some families more votes merely because they have more members?"

6. Political Leadership and Authority

621 There are nine important political offices within the village of Kanegusuku (population 507)---mayor, assistant mayor, clerk, 4 councillors,
[592] and 2 'son' assemblymen. Eighteen of the 108 village families are headed by women, and since only male household heads are elected to positions of political leadership, there remain 90 men eligible for these offices. A number of the young household heads also must be excluded from this group since a man must be over twenty-seven to be eligible, and there are others who are too old or infirm. This leaves 72 men eligible for office on the basis of the formal requirements.

621 Actually the villagers apply several other qualifications which one
554 must possess in order to be eligible for office. In practice the repatriates and the other newcomers to the village since the end of the war are not elected. Those who are poor (less than enough land for mere subsistence) cannot afford to accept an office, since the pay is low and the demands on one's time are too great. The men who have non-agricultural jobs which take them outside the village each day also do not have the time to devote, and the villagers tend to feel that these men are out of touch with the problems of a farming village. Lastly there are several men who otherwise meet all qualifications for village office save for what the villagers vaguely describe as "good character"; the most frequently cited example for this group is a man who dislikes farming and spends much of his time drinking or visiting the 'pachinko' parlor in a nearby town. Thus, the total number qualified for political office on the basis of all criteria which are applied is limited to approximately 47 individuals; this group, which constitutes about 9% of the total population, supplies the village leadership and forms the core of the body politic.

All village officials (excluding 'kumichō') held more land than the average, but the size of their holdings was not so great as to indicate that this was a very significant factor. It was stated that a leader must have sufficient experience and education to enable him to handle the necessary records and to make a good appearance at the village office. Most frequently, however, "good character" was cited as a most necessary prerequisite for an official; this was usually equated with "honest person" and "hard worker". Though the villagers stated that the age range of officials might lie between 28 and 55, the present village leaders are men in their forties. The man considered by a number of villagers to be their most able and influential political leader is forty-seven years old. In contrast the four 'kumichō' are young men ranging in age from 18 to 23, and only one of these is a household head. 621 554

Above the village level in the 'son' (township) government one encounters the professional administrator or bureaucrat----mayor, assistant, treasurer, and department heads. These men, in sharp contrast to the village officials, have an educational background including at least high school and more usually some college, normal school, or other type of advanced training. One gets the impression that they are strongly aware of their personal superiority; their attitude toward the governed is somewhat condescending and at best rather paternalistic. It is doubtful that they regard themselves as public servants although those whom the author encountered appeared to be conscientiously dedicated to their jobs. Of these officials only the mayor is elected; the others are appointed by him with the approval of the township assembly. 632 554

Most people are respectful toward their village officials, recognizing them to be among the ablest men in the community, but they most certainly are not in awe of them. Except for the two representatives to the 'son' assembly, new officials are elected every year, and it is very rare for a man to hold the same office for two consecutive years. No one person remains in a given office long enough to become identified with it or to achieve a special status. 621 554

The officials of the township office are usually professional government workers who have held their positions for a number of years. The villagers look up to them as administrators and superior persons; the mere fact that one has an official position confers a superior status. Some people expressed the belief that officials are good since only persons of education and good character could possibly attain such positions, and nearly all are of the opinion that officials enjoy an easy life and high pay. 632 554

Most rural villagers seem pessimistic about their relationship to the government; they are not mistrustful but rather they expect little. They strongly feel that the government is something from afar and wholly out of touch with their problems. This attitude may carry over from the old kingdom when an urban upper class administered a rural peasantry; the subsequent Japanese administration during its early years consisted of little more than the replacement of one ruling class with another. Nonetheless the government is looked to for aid and direction since it is 829

829 considered the initiator of all action. Frequently there are complaints of high taxes, criticisms of certain policies, and dissatisfaction with certain officials, but the authority of a government to undertake any course it chooses would never be challenged. There does not exist any concept of a limit to obedience or to the powers of government.

7. Social Control

626 The mechanisms of social control within an Okinawan village are not
621 easily observed or studied since they are so rarely overt. One is impressed from the outset by the homogeneous character of the community, a natural outcome of the common experience and cultural heritage which all the members have shared. The average villager has had a limited range of contacts during the course of his or her lifetime, imposed to no small degree by the all-consuming demands of subsistence agriculture. Minorities within
[183] the community rarely exist, and where they do, they are not recognized as such, for this homegeneity, in addition to being an actuality, is insisted upon as a cultural ideal. Consequently great stress is placed on presenting a united front to the outside. Within the community aggressive behavior is not tolerated and so great is the fear of rift through discord that few official acts are initiated without first securing informal concordance; consequently, formal political meetings are most often marked by unanimity and agreement. In enlisting the support of the villagers for a given project or proposed line of action leaders most frequently appeal to group solidarity, stressing the values of cooperation.

As is so often found in small communities where all the members have a face-to-face relationship, the chief mechanisms of social sanction are ridicule, censure, and the threat of ostracism. The small size and homogeneous nature of the Okinawan village limits the individual's behavior to a rather narrow and inflexible standard. The individual, however, must consider his actions not only in terms of the reactions of others to him
[672] but also in terms of the consequences for his family. Under the old king-
[178] dom the family was legally responsible for the actions of its members, and at the present time an individual is officially registered as a member of a certain family and is always thought of by the villagers in association
626 with that family. One's mistakes as well as one's achievements reflect upon
621 the other members of the family and are shared by them. This emphasis on
181 family and community over the individual serves markedly to curb individualism and to further the homogeneity of the society. Conformity and honoring one's obligations are the major cultural values. The surrogate for this strong cultural deemphasis of the individual is provided by a close ego identity with the family and community and by the security which they offer in return. The severest sanction which can be applied is expulsion of the individual from his group.

8. Local Autonomy

642 On a small island with a highly centralized government there is lit-
621 tle room for local autonomy. Most action is initiated in the higher echelons of government and is unquestioningly obeyed at the lower levels. There

is no concept of a division of powers, and in final analysis the village is subject to the bidding of the township which in turn is under the direction of the central government. Nevertheless, the physical and mental isolation of the village from the township and central government does afford some measure of self-government, and a number of problems of specifically local concern are solved at the village level. 642 621

One finds that the villagers are not eager for a greater measure of self-government; in fact, quite the contrary seems true. In several villages the author was told that since the war the villages have been allowed a greater measure of self-rule and that they now have more to do with less aid and direction than ever before. They feel that this has resulted in greater demands on their time and finances than they can afford. 621 829

Village office is regarded as an onerous duty which one assumes in a sense of obligation. The remuneration is very low, and not a few are disinclined to participate in any active role. In December of 1953 there were three elections for village clerk in Kanegusuku before the office was filled; one of those elected stalked off in a fury and refused to return and accept the position. The mayor, who was much irritated by the man's action and the inconvenience it caused, assured the author that it was much better before the war when he had had the power to appoint someone and could not be refused.

[Kochinda-son]

586 property. After that action he was called by the villagers "white ant", or
159 "termite". From the beginning, community feeling was behind Yae and opposed
829 to him. Circumstances of her birth carried little stigma, but his actions outraged everyone. People thought it quite natural that she should live with another man and bear his child before Jirō formally recorded the divorce in the 'koseki'. As far as the villagers were concerned, the divorce had become effective when Jirō sold his inheritance.

161 3. A Note on the Accuracy of Population Statistics in Okinawa

Much conflicting population data were encountered by the SIRI team. Hence this note is included as being of possible value to military government and to other social scientists who may work in Okinawa at a later date.

Census Figures Year-end census figures, which are based upon de facto count rather than de jure count are the most accurate, since they include all persons actually resident in the village at the time, as well as 'museki', or persons without an official local 'koseki' record.

Many times these census figures are supplemented by figures reporting both the above and all persons visiting in the village or town at the date of census. These "visitors" may include students, peddlers, guests at inns, persons in institutions, and persons visiting friends or relatives. A few examples from the 1953 statistics report of GRI are given below:

Table XXVII

Political Unit	Koseki Population	Resident Population	De Facto Population
Okinawa Guntō	649,997	627,556	637,215
Shuri-shi	22,37[illegible]	21,921	23,015
Nago-chō	17,067	16,955	17,255
Goeku-son	21,06[illegible]	20,931	20,749
Kochinda-son	8,738	8,504	-not given-

161 The Museki People 'Museki' is a term applied to single individuals or families who are not registered in the political unit where
641 they are living. They may maintain with varying degrees of attention and accuracy a 'koseki' elsewhere. Some simply may have no registration in a 'koseki' anywhere due to a semi-wandering life or a criminal beat. These latter are said to have no legal rights. "How can anyone have rights unless he has a 'koseki'?"

161 Ad Hoc Counts Persons who wish an accurate count of the people in any village are advised to consult directly with the village
621 headman, or 'kuchō', rather than with the 'son' office. He is in constant daily touch with village affairs, and is the most knowledgeable man to contact about village matters. Figures given by a 'kuchō', usually are the most accurate for total number of people in the village at any given time. 'Museki' persons are included, but those who are legally residents of the village and living elsewhere are not included.

CHAPTER VIII LAND TENURE

W. P. Lebra

423 During the lifetime of the oldest living generation of Okinawans
178 there have been operative two radically differing systems of land tenure---at first a system of communal land ownership and later a system of private ownership of land by families. At the present time a third system may be said to be emerging---private ownership by individuals. Changes in the systems of land tenure have been accompanied by significant changes in the family, economy, and community. During the wartime and post-war periods extensive land losses to military installations have severely disrupted the livelihood of a number of communities, thus furthering the process of change.

175 ## 1. The Okinawan Kingdom and the Land Allotment System ('jiwari seido')

[642] Prior to 1879 when Japan formally annexed the Ryukyus, Okinawa was a small semi-independent kingdom (it was a tribute-paying dependency of the daimiate of Satsuma in Japan) controlling the southern Ryukyus. The
175 urban Naha-Shuri area served as the administrative and commercial center
565 for the kingdom, and nearly all of the upper classes, gentry and nobility, were concentrated there. They formed a ruling class similar to that of
[423] China, functioning as a literati and administrative bureaucracy. Feudalism had been abolished in the fifteenth century, and aside from a small percentage of the nobility who were allowed to retain their hereditary fiefs, the bulk of the upper classes subsisted on pensions granted by the ruler. This group was very large and constituted approximately one-third of the total population.

175 The farming population lived in a state of serfdom, being forbidden
[566] even to move from their native village or to change their hereditary occupation. Farm villages were self-sustaining and physically isolated entities
[361] consisting of tightly-nucleated clusters of dwellings surrounded by fields.
[621] Each village was segmented into several lineages whose houses were generally clustered together; these kin groups were related through the male line and
[613] shared a common ancestor, ritual observances, and often a local tomb for
[614] temporary burial. Each lineage was usually related to certain lineages of other villages, thus forming a larger relationship or patri-sib which shared a remote common ancestor, ritual observances, and a common tomb for permanent burial. Usually the membership of this larger kinship group was con-
[582] centrated in the villages of a given district or area. Village endogamy was an obligatory marriage practice, and kin group endogamy was a preferred though not an obligatory practice.

178 Private ownership of land on Okinawa is a recent phenomenon, as
423 recent, in fact, as the beginning of the twentieth century. Under the old
175 kingdom communal ownership of the land obtained for all except a small seg-
423 ment of the upper classes. In theory all land was the property of the ruler,
[632] but in practice the district, or majiri (political unit roughly equivalent

to the modern'son'), was the land-holding unit. The administration of the majiri supervised the distribution of land to the villages or mura (political unit equivalent to present-day 'ku') where it was divided among the various families. The amount of land allocated to a given family was dependent on its size, age and sex of members, and social position; consequently the houses of the nuru priestess and local officials received a proportionately larger allotment than the houses of ordinary farmers. The distribution of arable land under this system at the end of the nineteenth century was as follows: 67.1% farmers, 13% local lords, 8.3% nuru priestesses and local officials, 10.9% newly-cleared land.[1] The farmers worked the lands of all groups. 175 423 [632]

The origin of this communal land allotment system ('jiwari seidō') lies deep in Okinawa's past far beyond the beginning of its recorded history. Redistributions were made periodically to compensate for changes in household size and fertility of holdings. These reallotments occurred at from four to thirty year intervals at the option of the local (majiri) administration, with the average being about every tenth year. Certain lands were excluded from redistribution, particularly the lands of the local lords. Usually the lands of the so-called yādui settlements made up of the younger sons of gentry families were also excluded. Newly-cleared land was placed in a special category in order to encourage land development; ordinarily it was treated as the private property of the family that cleared it and was not subject to reallotment. Despite these exceptions nearly 75% of the arable land was subject to periodic redistribution.

Under this system the tax-bearing unit was the majiri, not the family. Each majiri was headed by a jiturei, an appointed official from Shuri, who functioned as an administrator, judge, and policeman; he was held responsible for the tax payment of his district and was subject to recall and punishment in the event of default. The state took no action against the family or household which failed to pay its tax; such matters were left to the jiturei and his assistants, who were free to deprive the offending family of all its lands if they saw fit. When a house defaulted, its lineage was held accountable and forced to make up the deficit; if the lineage was unable to meet its obligations, the entire village (mura) had to assume the responsibility. A marked feature of the old village was a number of granaries set aside for the community's annual tax levy. 175 423 651 632 [672] [613] [621]

Land valuations were permanently fixed in 1610 when the daimyo of Satsuma had the region surveyed to determine the amount of tribute which could be extracted. There was no reassessment until after the annexation, although the overall tax levy was raised in 1635 and again in 1722. Only arable land was subject to taxation; no taxes were levied against house lots which were privately owned, nor against the forest and grass lands which were communal property. The tax levy for each majiri was based on the estimated productivity of its land at the time of the survey; it was a fixed tax and was never altered. It had been set so that in theory 40% of the yearly crop went to the government and 60% was to be retained by the 175 423 651

[1] Higa, 1950, p. 64.

allotment system was now entered in the newly-created land registries as the 175
property of the household head. In the past inheritance of the position of 648
household head by the first son had been largely a matter of status succes- 177
sion involving leadership of the family and certain ceremonial obligations.
Property succession had not been an important factor, for the private 423
property of the family had usually amounted to no more than the family
house and lot. Under the old land allotment system there was always land 177
available for younger sons who set up independent houses, but under Japanese 423
law the bulk of the family property was inherited by the first son. What had 428
been the function of the community in the past now became the responsibility 592
of the family, and since family holdings were usually small, the younger sons
were often landless. Informants stated that a father will usually do every-
thing possible to provide his younger sons with land, but he cannot do this
if it means jeopardizing the resources of the house. Continuation of the
family line for the purpose of continuity in worshipping the ancestors is
the chief responsibility incumbent on the household head, and in the rural
areas the land provides the major support for the house. With the rise in [166]
population there developed an increasing trend for younger sons to emigrate
from the rural areas in search of land or jobs elsewhere. The end result [602]
was a considerable weakening of family and especially kin group ties and a [621]
rapid decline in the communal character of the rural villages.

Though the creation of private property made possible the sale, pur- 175
chase, and rental of land, landlordism never gained a foothold on Okinawa. 423
Undoubtedly this is primarily due to the recency of private property and the 427
lack of time for large accumulations of land to be made. It is also in part [471]
due to a lack of capital in the rural areas; most capital on Okinawa after
the annexation and before World War II was confined to the hands of Japanese
businessmen and members of the former upper classes who seemed disinclined to
invest in land. Likewise the official Japanese attitude toward Okinawa was [648]
to regard it as a rather backward part of Japan not to be exploited as a
colonial dependency as in the case of Formosa and Korea. Glacken has sug- [171]
gested that the heavy fragmentation of the typical Okinawan farm would be an
obstacle to its sale; yet, the Chinese farmland is also highly fragmented
and landlordism has been common there for centuries.[1]

After the abolition of the communal allotment system taxes were ex- 175
tended to cover all categories of land whereas previously they had been ap- 423
plied only to arable land; however, government income from land taxes sharply 651
declined, as the moderate levies of the Japanese administration were con-
siderably below those of the Okinawan monarchy. Despite this reduction in [311]
tax load there has been a steady decline in the amount of land cultivated
since the termination of the old land system; this is clearly shown in Tables
III and IV in Chapter III, Agricultural History, Land Use and Diet.

3. World War II and the American Occupation

175
During World War II Okinawa became the scene of one of the most vio- 727
lent battles of modern times. The entire island was turned into a combat

[1] Glacken, 1951, p. 160.

4. A Comparison of Land Tenure in Two Rural Villages: Kanegusuku and Kitazato

621 Kanegusuku The village of Kanegusuku is located in the southwestern cor-
[364] ner of Kanegusuku-son approximately three miles due south of Naha on the west coast, and it is immediately north of the town of Itoman. As is typical of the old Okinawan villages it is situated on high ground with all of its houses facing in a southerly direction. Aside from a detached cluster of eleven houses, the village houses are close together in
[121] a contiguous settlement. The village was selected for study because of its infrequent contact with Americans, relative lack of war damage, and a reputed antiquity and conservatism. As of December, 1953, the population was 507 persons forming 108 families occupying 103 houses. The present population is said to be about the same as before the war despite a 20% loss of life during the battle; this loss has been made up by repatriates from overseas and immigrants from other areas of Okinawa. The repatriates and some of the immigrants either had formerly resided in the village or regarded it as their ancestral home. There are nine families who were native to some other part of Okinawa before the war and have no previous connections with the village. The majority of the families have been in this village for
[592] many generations. There are approximately five persons in each household, which usually consists of a nuclear family, husband and wife and their children; but the composition of a number of households has been changed due to wartime losses.

Socially the village is segmented into eight lineages which con-
[613] stitute 92% of the total population; the remaining 8% is made up of unrelated families new to the village since the end of the war. One lineage includes nearly 61% of the village in its membership. Each of these lineages is related to lineages in other villages. Approximately 66% of the village
[582] marriages have been within the village, and nearly 50% of the marriages have been between persons of the same kin group. Thus, the composition of the village is fairly homogeneous, and both the community and the kin groups are strong cohesive units.

621 Occupation 98 of the 103 houses are engaged full time in farming;
463 the household heads of the five remaining houses are employed outside the village in non-agricultural pursuits although all participate in some part-
241 time farming. In addition to these five there were approximately fifteen young men, not household heads, who also worked outside. Most of these commuted daily to the greater Naha area where they were engaged in military employment or construction work. For the majority of villagers farming was the sole occupation.

621 Arable Land Over 66% of the total area of this village is under
311 cultivation, and about 38% of the cultivated land is in irrigated fields.
[434] The chief sources of income derive from rice and mats made from a sedge which is grown in an irrigated field. In terms of the average amount of
[136] arable land per household Kanegusuku is somewhat better off than the average for Okinawa. 1514.2 'tsubo' for Kanegusuku as compared with 1037.6 'tsubo' for Okinawa.

[Kanegusuku]

Non-cultivated land, however, is equally important to the average farm household in providing fuel, thatching, green manure, and many other necessities. 621 [311]

Land Holdings A breakdown of the 103 houses of Kanegusuku shows that 97 own land; 6 houses own no land of any type. Of the 103 houses, 56 rent land, and 6 of these rent all the land which they use. The remaining 50 own some land and rent some land. The figures are somewhat misleading, as included among the renters are those who rent only house lots; also included are some houses which have more than enough land for their own needs, but have rented plots contiguous to their main plots and in turn rent out their inaccessible plots to others. 621 423 427

In terms of total land per household 60% possess one or more acres of land which includes house lots, grass land, and forest in addition to cultivated fields. Nearly 73% of the village houses possess three-quarters of an acre or more of land which might arbitrarily be taken as the minimum necessary for mere existence, since farmers say that from 1000 to 2000 'tsubo' (1224 'tsubo' equal one acre) are needed for the average family. This leaves 27% of the village or exactly 28 houses with insufficient land for their needs. An investigation revealed that 13 of these 28 "have-not" houses were new to the village since the war. This group includes former residents of other Okinawan communities as well as repatriate families, of which 4 can be classed as having insufficient land. Three of these 28 houses without sufficient land were headed by widows, and two of these significantly were women who were not residents of the village, so that they were without close relatives in the village to help them. One person, the sole occupant of his house, was mentally unfit to take care of his lands and was helped by relatives. The remaining 11 of these 28 houses were headed by persons who were old residents of the village, but of these 9 were houses headed by younger sons who had established independent branch houses since the end of the war. Thus, out of a total of 28 landless and virtually landless houses, only two were headed by first sons who were native to the village. Although this group constitutes but 27% of the houses, it rents 51% of all the land rented by villagers. 621 423 [427]

Fields There are on the average 11 plots of land per household in Kanegusuku; of these 6 are cultivated fields while the remainder are in grass land, house lot, and forest or wood land. The average rice field is a little over a quarter of an acre in size, whereas the average dry field is about one-sixth of an acre in size. [311] [241]

Owners The land records list 160 landowners in Kanegusuku; 146 of these now reside in the village and 14 are listed as absent. Since there are but 103 houses in the village, a number of houses have more than one landowner. This is in part a result of the war, which broke up a number of families by deaths and also caused a severe housing shortage; consequently, there is some doubling up in a number of houses. Another factor is that in the land-rich houses (comparatively speaking) a father often has set aside some land for his younger sons and has entered this land in their names even though they are still quite young. [362]

[Kanegusuku]

621 423 425 [427] Absentee Owners There are 14 former residents of the village who still own land in it; their holdings amount to 5% of the total acreage. Most of these have either rented their land to villagers or have loaned it out to relatives; only a couple have allowed their holdings to remain idle. Absentee landlordism is definitely not a problem in Kanegusuku. Most who leave the village to seek employment in the cities seem reluctant to sell their land, and this does not appear to be because of any deep attachment for the soil. They feel that land is a security against the loss of a job or failure in the city; the land will always provide a subsistence. It is also significant that they are most reluctant to part with their house lots, especially old family sites. The house lot in such cases is regarded as an [769] important tie to the ancestors of the family, and since the dead can influence the fortunes of the living, it is feared that misfortune may follow the sale of a house lot, particularly to a person who is not a close relative. In most of the now unoccupied house lots of Kanegusuku one can find a small site for prayer (uganju) marked by a small censer and bits of incense. Periodically certain of the older members (usually female) of the family return to pay their respects to the ancestors at these spots. One gets the impression that this is done not so much in the spirit of venerating as in the spirit of propitiating.

425 427 Land Transactions Since the land registries were established again in 1950 there has been a sizable turnover in land holdings. From the last quarter of 1950 through the first quarter of 1954 59 plots have been sold and 154 plots have been rented out. As registrations usually lag far behind transactions, the above figures are undoubtedly too low, and this is especially true of the rentals.

427 Land Rentals Land rentals vary widely depending on the type of land, location, quality, and the relationship between owner and tenant. As a general rule payments are made in cash for house lots, grass land, and forest. If the owner and tenant are close relatives a lower rental will be charged, or in the case of house lots most likely no charge will be made at all. For rice fields the rent is always a percentage of the crop; this too will vary depending on the factors previously mentioned, though sometimes it will run as high as from thirty to forty percent of the yield. Dry fields are paid for in cash or produce depending on the crop and the arrangement; usually items that store well such as beans are acceptable as rent. In all cases, it must be stressed, much depends on the owner-tenant relationship; the land records show many instances of brother renting from brother. In most of these cases, according to informants, a lower rental or sometimes none at all is charged, especially if the one brother is considerably more prosperous than the other. Often persons who seek temporary employment elsewhere will lend their lands to close relatives during their absence rather than rent it out for a short term.

The terms "owner" and "renter" seem virtually meaningless unless referred to in context. For example, most widows have been forced to rent out their rice land, as its maintenance is considered too difficult for a woman. Likewise a number of children orphaned by the war are too young to work their holdings, and these are rented out or worked for them by relatives. At the

[Kanegusuku]

time of the author's stay in the village there was no individual or family which could be classified as rentier. 427

Changes Effected by the War War-caused changes in the distribution of land holdings among the various households were considerable. Many of the land-rich houses, if such a term may be used where the "richest" has but eleven acres, are such today because of the war, and conversely some houses have become impoverished or had their resources severely strained because of it. Unlike many other communities Kanegusuku was fortunate in that only about 4% of its total land area was permanently ruined as a result of the war. Some land was lost to a road, but most of the loss was due to a small military camp (about company size) now converted into a tuberculosis sanatorium. Since land holdings are usually fragmented and scattered, no one family lost all its land, though one family lost nearly one-half and several approximately one quarter. The loss to the sanatorium is not compensated for by jobs for Kanegusuku people since no villager is employed there. This is explained by the fact that the director is from Itoman; so "naturally" he could not be expected to hire Kanegusuku people. 621 423 177 727 [186]

The composition of the household has changed in many homes since the war as a result of the large number of deaths. Today a number of households consist of the usual nuclear family of husband, wife, and their offspring plus a related "broken" family such as widowed sister and her children or widower brother and his children or parent and unmarried siblings. In most cases the holdings of both families are pooled and the household functions as a single economic unit, though separate purses are sometimes maintained. There are several old people who live alone in their houses, but they are usually watched over by near relatives. 621 592 177 727

The richest landowner (eleven acres) in the village today was a second son in very moderate circumstances before the war. As a second son he was given by his parents to childless relatives for adoption. During the war his adoptive parents died, leaving him their entire estate. The war also caused the death of his real father and elder brother, leaving him the sole heir to their property. He has since married a woman who as the surviving member of her family is heiress to its property. Consequently, this house now holds the land of three families. The villagers are somewhat envious, but they say that misfortunte may result since this house now must make the ritual observances to the ancestors of three families, which is felt to be too great a task for anyone, and inadequate attention may lead to calamity. 621 556 727 [769]

The women who were widowed by the war and who have chosen to maintain separate households have had in most cases a difficult time of it, and particularly those widows without grown sons have been hard pressed. Farming an irrigated field is said to be impossible for a woman alone; therefore, most of them have had to rent out their rice lands, thereby losing much of its return. It is also very difficult for a house which contains only women to participate in reciprocal labor exchanges, since two days of labor by a woman are equated to one day of labor by a man. 621 589 727 [462] [427] [476]

[Kanegusuku]

621 The group most dissatisfied with its lot today are the repatriates
423 from the former Japanese possessions. A few of these families were able upon
727 return to take up the lands left by relatives killed in the war or were given land by prosperous relatives, and four repatriate families are virtually landless. All of them, regardless of the size of their present holdings, chafe at their circumstances. One repatriate told the author that he had farmed nearly twenty-five acres in a single plot of sugar on Saipan and that he could never be satisfied with Kanegusuku after this. He is hoping that he will eventually be permitted to return to Saipan.

Before the war that segment of the village which possessed the least amount of land consisted almost exclusively of younger sons who had established branch families. Today this group has been augmented by repatriates from the former Japanese possessions and by emigrants from other Okinawan communities.

621 Farm Laborers During the course of the author's stay in Kanegusuku
241 there was only one full-time farm laborer in the village. This man came from
[463] one of the southern islands in the Ryukyus and was employed for less than a month. After his discharge, the former employer remarked that no outsider has enough interest in the lands of another family to make his employment worthwhile. Transplanting and harvesting rice place the heaviest labor de-
[857] mands upon the family; at these times virtually every member of the family
[476] works in the fields; even the grade-school children are given minor tasks, and the family labor force is supplemented by close relatives or neighbors in a reciprocal labor exchange.

829 Attitudes toward the Land One does not hear or see evidence of
554 any great love or attachment for the soil on the part of the Okinawan farmer.
463 In fact, quite the contrary seems true. Most regard their occupation as a
241 lowly one and feel that they are farmers because they know no other occupation. Land is of value because it provides a livelihood, nothing more, though some exception might be made for house land. Nearly all of the younger generation reflect the thinking of their fathers, and they are eager to get a good education (the diligence of even the average Okinawan student would strike the American teacher as amazing), secure a job in the town or city, and leave the drudgery of the farm village forever. Most
[433] farms are so small that they provide no more than mere subsistence for their cultivators; consequently, the young men see no sense in attending agricultural school when they will have little more than an acre to work. One young man from a fairly prosperous family in the village recently secured a job as a stevedore in Naha, and both he and his wife expressed their pleasure over what they regard as a definite improvement in their status. Though they have not sold the land which they own, they hope that it will never be necessary to return and farm it.

To a large extent this attitude toward the land and farming as an
[178] occupation is directly related to the economic and cultural changes taking place on Okinawa today; the city is an exciting place to live in and employment there is economically more advantageous than farming. Nevertheless, this seems in part the product of the old land system and the low, serf-like status accorded farmers under it. Some of the earlier visitors and officials

[Kanegusuku]
[Kitazato]

on Okinawa observed that the farmer took little interest in the care of land which he did not regard as his own. The author was particularly impressed by the contrast between Japan and Okinawa in regard to the care of land, for the meticulous care which the Japanese farmer lavishes on his land seems absent by contrast among the Okinawan farmers. 241 829 554 463 [171]

Kitazato The farm village of Kitazato in Kami Motobu-son presents a marked contrast to Kanegusuku in that it has suffered the loss of a major part of its area to a military installation. In studying the village of Kitazato the village of Kanegusuku was used as a base line for comparisons. To supplement his own observations the author has drawn heavily on actual statements by Kitazato people; in this way he hopes to present as accurately as possible the actual state of the village compared to villages elsewhere on Okinawa, and the villagers' own conceptualization of their circumstances. 621 [727] 121 621 [124]

Kitazato is not an old village, having been founded but seven generations ago by the younger sons of gentry families from the Naha-Shuri area. It was politically independent of the neighboring villages during the time of the old kingdom, but after the annexation it was administered in part by the villages of Gushiken and Jahana. In 1936 or 1937 it was established as an independent village, taking its present name. 175 621

Following their release from civilian internment camps the villagers returned to the site of their old homes shortly before New Year's of 1946. They found virtually their entire village land area converted into an airfield and accompanying military installations. According to their account there was considerable misunderstanding between them and the military as to where they might live, and they feel that they were subject to contradictory and inconsistent orders. Several moves were made which disrupted their plans to settle, and one villager stated, "I grew tired of rebuilding my house." In 1948 they were finally ordered to remove themselves from the military area, and they took up residence in their present location. It is claimed that there was insufficient land in the area to resettle the entire village on a single site; so, the village divided into three sections. Thirty houses were located on the beach between the villages of Gushiken and Shinzato, and this segment was given the name Hama. The remainder of the houses settled in the nearby hills from one to two miles away. Thirty-nine houses settled in the hills between the villages of Furushima and Jahana, taking the name Kijikina. Ten houses located themselves in the hills just north of Kijikina in a settlement which they called Anahana. These latter two, however, function as a single settlement for administrative purposes. These 80 houses making up the scattered village of Kitazato have a total population of 414. Despite their physical separation these segments have striven with considerable difficulty to maintain their political and social unity; one mayor and council serves them, and people are constantly visiting from one area to another. Today most of their land is gone, and they are too far removed from any city, town, or military installation (the airfield is abandoned) for employment. Extreme poverty and bitterness are one's first impressions of the village. 175 621 727 [464] [735]

[Kitazato]

175 It is said that the division of the village cut across family
621 lines and that the motivating factor in a household's choice of one site
727 over another was the location of their remaining landholdings on the periphery of the village. Another factor was the presence of relatives in neighboring villages from whom they might secure land for rental. Thus, Kijikina is largely made up of households which have their lands on that side of the field or have relatives in neighboring Furushima; the Hama people mostly own the land at the north side of the field.

175 The Pre-war Village Prior to the war the village was, according
621 to 'son' officials, a very prosperous community and a great economic asset to the 'son'. It possessed nearly 173 acres in arable land, most of which
[249] was flat or gently rolling. The soil was well suited to sugar cane which
[434] was the chief source of income for the village; cattle-raising for export
[233] to Japan provided an additional source of income.
[439]

Unlike Kanegusuku the lineages were said to be rather weak in Kitazato; there were a number of different kin groups, and no one of these was
[361] dominant. The houses of the village were not tightly nucleated like those of the typical Okinawan village but were scattered about in a loose grouping in the midst of the best agricultural land.

621 Land Loss At the present time (May, 1954) approximately 39% of
311 the total land area of this village is in airfield, and an additional 34%
727 of the total area has been ruined by activities related to its construction (sand dumped onto fields, top soil removed, erosion, etc.). There remains but 27% of the total land area for the use of the villagers, and of this only a small percentage is in arable land, since most of the good, flat farmland was lost to the airfield. The total amount of arable land remaining is
[134] 11,895 'tsubo' (less than ten acres), and this averages out to about 148 'tsubo' or 0.12 acres per household, with approximately five persons in each house. The average amounts of arable land per household in Kanegusuku, Okinawa, and Kitazato compare as follows:

Kanegusuku	---	1514.2 'tsubo'
Okinawa	---	1037.2 'tsubo' (per farm household)
Kitazato	---	148.7 'tsubo'

Land loss to the airfield affected every family in the village; some families lost all of their lands, a very few managed to retain most, but the majority of villagers (70%) lost nearly all of their holdings. For example, the mayor of the village held 2470 'tsubo' before the war and now has 570 'tsubo' left; yet, he is considered one of the more fortunate. To compensate for their losses they now farm some land which was previously left idle: "We would not have farmed such land before the war as we are farming today." Some have rented lands from neighboring villages, and a few have been given land by relatives in these villages.

621 Land Payment The people of Kitazato strongly feel that they are
829 not being paid adequate remuneration in terms of current rental values for
727 their land. They are well aware of the fact that the same U. S. military

[Kitazato]

is paying adequate rentals for lands used in Japan, and it is their contention that Okinawa is being discriminated against because she is weak. Because of this some wish that Japan were back in control, believing that their interests would be better served. One hears no comments on the presence of Americans in the islands or on the legality of building bases there, for they concede that the outcome of the war granted that; yet, they are bitter about the loss of their livelihood and what they feel to be neglect on the part of the military government. Long accustomed to a paternalistic government which directed many aspects of their lives, they are now at a loss to understand this seeming indifference to their present circumstances. They are completely unmoved by argument, which might seem logical to an American, that Congress has not appropriated sufficient funds, for they do not distinguish between the various divisions of American government---it is all American to them. They point to the high standard of living enjoyed by the American personnel and their families stationed on the island and make the inference that there seems to be no lack of funds for their needs. 621 829 727

The villagers say that they have received three payments from military government through May, 1954. The first of these paid for the cost of removing and rebuilding their homes. This amounted to a flat payment of ¥6000 ($50) per house, which they say was inadequate. The first of the land payments was made in June of 1953; the villagers assert that they were paid at pre-war rates, and one person who owned 5480 'tsubo' described the payment as a "laugh". The second payment for the use of their lands was made in May, 1954, while the author was studying the village. This time the payments were said to be substantially higher especially in certain categories; yet, they contend that payments are still far below current rentals. In this payment, ¥5.40 per 'tsubo' per year was paid for grade one house lots, but in Kijikina the owner of one house claimed that he paid ¥24 per 'tsubo' per year for rental on his house lot. Grade one dry fields were paid for by the military government at a rate of ¥3 per 'tsubo' per year; the farmers say that they can get about ¥60 per 'tsubo' in annual yield if this land is planted in beans or potatoes, and local rentals on this same type of land are about ¥15. They are angry at receiving but ¥3 for their land and having to pay ¥15 to rent equivalent land. They are also dissatisfied with the manner of payment for grass land and tomb land which are paid for by the plot regardless of size; thus, they say that the person who has two small plots of 10 'tsubo' each receives twice as much as the man who owns a single, larger 100 'tsubo' plot.

Effect of the Land Loss on the Village: Physical Appearance On first entering any one of the three segments of Kitazato one is struck almost immediately by a level of poverty considerably below that of other Okinawan villages. This is particularly true of Hama, whose houses are jammed tightly together on a treeless beach. Most of the houses consist of a single room which serves as living and sleeping quarters; a small lean-to kitchen is attached on the side. The floor space of the houses was considerably smaller than those of Kanegusuku. Several brackish wells supply the community with water. The Anahana and Kijikina settlements in the hills have a more attractive appearance due to a large number of young pine trees and a small stream in the area, giving a park-like atmosphere; however, 621 735 511 [342] [312] [342]

511 [Kitazato]
621 the houses are the same small, poorly-built structures of thatch and scrap
735 lumber that are found on the beach. By way of contrast, the house which
[342] the author rented in Kanegusuku was the poorest and shabbiest in that vil-
[184] lage; yet, the same house in Kitazato would easily have been the best. Shabby appearances are not limited to houses, for the people too are more poorly dressed than elsewhere on Okinawa.

621 Food Nearly everywhere on Okinawa the authors heard that the peo-
511 ple are eating better today than before the war; such is not the case for
262 Kitazato, and the villagers are most emphatic about this. Potatoes, beans, and other vegetable products form the mainstay of their diet; often times, they say, potatoes are dug up before they are fully mature, so great is the pressure for food. It is the opinion of the local agricultural office that the people are slowly starving to death, and the villagers state that they are always hungry. The local storekeepers say that the people do not have enough money to buy canned foods to supplement their diet. Though Hama is
[226] virtually on the water the villagers do no fishing since the occupation is regarded as a foreign one; however, some shell fish are collected by the women.

621 Exodus of Youth One of the marked features of the village is the
511 general absence of young men and women in the fifteen to twenty-five age
166 group, for as soon as the student completes junior high school, he or she heads for the city seeking employment. A number of the families in the village are said to subsist mainly on the money which their children send back. According to the mayor 61 families have left the village since the end of the war; he feels that if they had not left, things would be much worse. Most of those who left were families containing grown children who could work; the parents in some cases were reluctant to leave, but their children were anxious to leave. A slight decline in military employment in early 1954 resulted in several of these families' returning to the village, and the mayor was apprehensive lest more return.

621 One characteristic of the population of this village which struck
847 the author was the disproportionate number of females to males in the age group under five years. In this group there were 64 males and 33 females, whereas the groups above were more nearly proportionate. Female infanticide has been a common occurrence during times of famine or under conditions of extreme poverty in Japan and China, and the authors heard several stories giving some evidence of it on Okinawa. No factual evidence of any sort was gathered by the author in Kitazato to corroborate this interpretation of the statistics; however, the fact that the permanent resettlement of the village in its present locations took place approximately six years ago in 1948 may lend some credence to this interpretation.

621 Attitude toward Americans The villagers' initial reaction to the
829 presence of the author in the village was one of fear and veiled hostility. Gradually this was overcome, and good rapport was established. During one
[123] of his last visits to the community the author was told, "The first day you were in the village everyone wondered if the military were going to make us move again. No one slept that night." At the same time the villagers are

somewhat appalled by what they regard as a lack of concern on the part of Americans for their plight. As they have been long accustomed to a paternalistic government, this seems to be a deliberately negligent attitude, and they express this feeling not infrequently. The following statements were heard by the author, "We never see any Americans who come to inspect or look at things" and "No Americans ever come to see how we are." 621 829

National Organizations National organizations such as the youth association and the women's association are rather weak in Kitazato when compared with Kanegusuku. They say that they have little spare time for such organizations, which is undoubtedly true, and the scattered nature of the village makes meeting a chore for some in the outlying sections. The ranks of the youth association are thinned by the loss of members who have sought employment in the city or military camps. Even the agricultural association is not as active as elsewhere, since the farmers feel that little can be done to improve their situation. The farmers and the head of the 'son' agricultural office were disgusted by the stupidity of a plan tendered by the central agricultural office to relieve the distress of Kitazato and other dispossessed farmers in Kami Motobu-son. This plan called for the planting of sugar cane as a cash crop and the use of the proceeds to buy food. It failed to take into consideration that sugar takes a long time to mature and that the people would have nothing to eat in the interim, and even if they were to plant their entire holdings in sugar, it would not bring enough cash to feed them. 621 575 621 829 242 241

Village Solidarity Village solidarity seems very high in Kitazato, much higher than in Kanegusuku. Undoubtedly this is largely due to the common problem which faces them all; nevertheless several other factors appear to be involved. The gentry origin of Kitazato kept it aloof from its immediate neighbors for many years, and apparently no real contacts were established in neighboring villages until after the annexation. Even today the people of this village speak a dialect markedly distinct from that of their nearest neighbors; thus, the upper-class origin and the physical and linguistic isolation of the village has perhaps contributed much to its integration and solidarity. The relative weakness of kin groupings seems to be another factor. In Kanegusuku one gets the impression that the strength of the lineages mitigates against informal village-wide cooperation and only through formal organizations such as the youth association is any real village-wide cooperation realized. In Kitazato the weak kin groupings seem no obstacle to this. 621 186 [197]

It seemed to the author that the people of Kitazato never tired of reiterating how well they cooperated together and how much they enjoyed working together as a village. "We want to stay together as a village, as we cooperate so well together." This is typical of the statements which were made. Many say that they would not object to emigration provided they might emigrate as a village.

Land Rentals Two serious problems face the people of Kitazato in regard to renting the land of neighboring villages. They are unable to pay 621 427

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621 for the lands which they rent, since they have no cash; and they feel that
427 the amount of rent in product from their low yield soils is too great to justify the expenditure of labor. Several other villages in the area lost land to the airfield, so that there is very little land available for rental today. The land which they have rented is of a poor quality, and, consequently, yields are very low. A few fortunate ones have had relatives in neighboring villages who have supplied them with land at a low rental; several who have brothers in neighboring villages have been given free use of some lands. These, however, constitute a small portion of the total village.

628 Neighboring villagers who were interviewed expressed their sympathy for Kitazato's loss of its livelihood. They state that relations between them are good.

621 Morale The villagers are in a low state of morale, and they fre-
829 quently express the opinion that their situation is hopeless. The young people see no future in remaining in the village and are anxious to leave as soon as they are able. Older adults cannot conceive of leaving the village; yet, they are depressed by their circumstances. A number of the middle-aged men remarked that it was too late for them to learn another occupation even if they could get away. The older people particularly mourn the loss of their village: "Our village was beautiful, and we loved it," and "Our land is hopeless now; we cry in our minds just to look at it." All age groups were heard to express statements such as, "Each year things are worse," and "We are slowly starving to death." One informant told the author that he believed someone had been stealing potatoes from his field.

The head of the local agricultural office believes that the village should be brought together again as a single community on the site of the old village near the airfield and that they should be given permission to farm the unused land contiguous to the field. In this way, he feels, they might be able to pull themselves together and start rebuilding anew. He is worried that the people will become so demoralized by their present state as to become slothful, and he is of the opinion that the people cannot continue much longer in their present state.

Outlook for the Future The people of Kitazato are uneasy and pessimistic about their future, and the local 'son' officials, political and agricultural, feel that the villagers cannot long continue in their
621 state of poverty and borderline starvation. It seems to the author that the future holds but three possibilities for them---continued endurance of their present situation, emigration, or an increase in the rent paid for the use of their land.

Without an improvement in their present circumstances, ultimate starvation would seem the only possibility; the figures on land holdings
[433] alone will validate that, for ten acres will not provide subsistence for over four hundred no matter how intensive the agricultural techniques. There does not appear sufficient land available for rental with which they might supplement their meager holdings. Many villagers are too poor to cut loose from the wretched plots they farm; it takes cash to move and set up

[Kitazato]

elsewhere, and this they do not have. Others are too timid or feel themselves untrained and incapable of learning a new job elsewhere. This is especially true of the middle-aged men who are supporting aged parents and/or young children; to cut loose from the village and leave his land seems too great a risk for one who has the burden of family support, little education, and no training for any other pursuit. At least in his village, he feels, there are friends, relatives, and others like him sharing common problems. Likewise, seeking employment as an agricultural laborer in other communities would bring in little return; such work is usually taken by young, unmarried men men who have not yet established themselves. Perhaps with government loans and encouragement most of the families might be resettled in other Okinawan farming villages, but there is strong resistance toward any suggestions or moves which would lead to a breakup and scattering of the village. It should be emphasized, however, that this is the feeling of those members of the village who are above 35 to 40 years of age and who have family responsibilities. The young do not share this sentiment for village solidarity, and they are most eager to leave the village once their schooling is completed. A few who have succeeded in establishing themselves in the city have sent for their parents or have regularly sent money to them, but often the rewards of city or military employment are not sufficient to permit this, or they marry and have the problems of their immediate family to think about. 621

The strong desire to remain together as a village is expressed whenever the question of emigration is raised. For example, about four or five young men in the village have expressed a willingness to emigrate to South America. Several South American countries have sought Okinawan settlers; however, they want young people capable of making a contribution to the economy; oldsters are not sought. In most cases this means a breakup of the family, leaving the older people behind on Okinawa until the emigrants have saved sufficient money to send for them. In most cases they would be without support in the absence of the children. Those who have expressed an interest in emigrating as individuals have been subject to some criticism; however, the villagers would be willing to emigrate to South America provided they were allowed to emigrate as a village. In fact, the majority of villagers appear willing to emigrate to South America, the South Seas, or even to Yaeyama in that order of preference. The latter island, despite numerous press campaigns extolling its virtues, holds little appeal for Okinawans. It is considered a dangerous place subject to many typhoons and diseases, and the Japanese government tried for many years to encourage Okinawan settlement there with little more success than that achieved by the military government. The people of Kitazato, however, say that they would resettle in Yaeyama provided the government helped them and allowed them to resettle as a village; or they would not be averse to resettlement elsewhere on Okinawa under the same conditions. In all cases it is their strongest desire to remain together as a village and to be given aid in reestablishing themselves. 621 829

Lastly they would prefer most of all that they be paid adequate rentals in term of current land rentals for their land which has been used for the airfield. Adequate rentals would enable each family to determine the course of its own future without any interference from the government.

[Kitazato]

621 829 If this were done, many villagers state that they would prefer to remain in the area. They would try to rent more land from neighboring villages, and they would be looking forward to the day when they might start life anew on the old village site. The younger generation does not share this nostalgia and this desire to recreate the old village; they feel that adequate rentals would provide the means for establishing themselves elsewhere. In time, one suspects, the older people would follow them.

The mental isolation of the farm village gradually decreased under a national system of education, but the process did not end with schooling. Upon graduating, the youth, male and female, were enrolled in a national young people's association. Later the young men were drafted for service in the national army, and following discharge the veteran was enlisted in a local reserve association which met frequently for military and social purposes. When a man married, established a separate house, and began farming, membership in the farmer's association was automatically conferred. His wife upon marriage transferred from the young women's association to the women's association. There were, in fact, a variety of national organizations covering the various phases and roles of the individual's life; membership was never a matter of choice, but a thing automatically conferred. A stress on patriotism was a strong concomitant in all of these. Membership gave to the individual a sense of participating in a national society extending far beyond the limits of his small village. 177 619 575 [702]

It should be stressed that most Okinawans regard the Japanese as providers of modern, enlightened government. The Japanese administration abolished the old class divisions and freed the peasant from his serf-like status. Taxes on arable land were substantially reduced, and the villager for the first time was given some voice in government above the village level. Modern law courts were introduced and justice was administered impartially, not on a class basis as was formerly done. 177 829 [565] [671]

Inadvertently, perhaps, official Japanese policy did much to destroy the self-sufficiency of the farm village. Prior to the land reform, sugar production did not exceed local needs, but government encouragement and subsidy so increased production that by the time of World War II it exceeded consumption by 900%. This resulted in a food shortage which necessitated heavy importations of basic cereals to compensate. 177 621 433

Japanese manufactured goods also contributed to the decline in self-sufficiency. Factory-made cloth gradually displaced home-woven fabrics, and accordingly cotton and fiber banana were no longer raised. The tools, utensils, and machines of the factory slowly replaced the simpler devices used in the village. 177 439 433 [248]

Abolition of the system of communal land tenure contributed to a weakening of the family and particularly of the large extended kin group. The introduction of private property and Japanese laws of inheritance served to create a landless element which often emigrated from Okinawa in search of land or jobs elsewhere. Where formerly the kin group had clustered in certain localities, they now became dispersed over great areas, making continued interaction difficult and often impossible. 177 602 423 [167]

Sixty-six years of Japanese rule resulted in a fairly successful amalgamation of Okinawa into the Japanese state; though the Okinawan language and culture were not destroyed, they were severely altered. 177

Impact of World War II and the American Occupation The war destroyed virtually all of rural and urban Okinawa, and resulted in the death of twenty percent of the population. 727

Military installations have attracted people from all areas, and at the present time over twenty-five percent of the total labor force is employed by the military or in subsidiary occupations. Some of these people are drawn from the landless element which formerly would have emigrated. In other areas land has been left idle by those who have sought salaried jobs in preference to farming. In places, extensive military land use has greatly increased land pressure. The circulation of money has been accelerated, and new patterns of living have evolved. Many miles of all-weather roads have been constructed and the island transportation system has improved to a point where villagers have a mobility undreamed of in the prewar era.

The major forces for change have been technological and economic. Where changes have occurred in the social system, they have come about largely as a result of these factors. Man has always tended to accept new things faster than new ideas, but in final analysis these will alter ideas too. It has been said that the streetcar and trains have contributed more to the breakdown of the idea of caste in India than any other single factor; so too on Okinawa, the changes effected by a new technology, greater circulation of money, and improved mobility operate to alter the fabric of life. Most rural Okinawans would be decidedly opposed to any overt action designed toward weakening the unity of their village; yet, when they put aside farming to commute daily to a city job, avail themselves of the newspapers, movies, and radio programs emanating from the city, and no longer participate in labor exchanges and other cooperative ventures, it is to precisely this end that they are contributing.

It is the opinion of the author that the major forces for change in contemporary Okinawa were already operative before the war. The real impact of the American occupation has been a rapid acceleration of the forces of change which have been slowly building up since the beginning of the century.

Aspects of Change in Rural Okinawa: Transportation One of the most impressive changes in post-war Okinawa with far-reaching cultural implications has been the improved transportation system which has made possible a greater mobility. A network of modern highways now girdle the land where formerly narrow dirt roads and paths had sufficed. To one who had last seen the island in 1945 the contrast in 1954 was most remarkable.

The increase in motor vehicles has been more than ten-fold over the prewar period. Most villages now have easy access to bus lines which connect to virtually all points of the island. Where formerly villagers but rarely went to town, they now make such trips frequently. It is not uncommon in the Shimajiri and Nakagami areas of the island for an individual to commute each day from his village to his place of employment in a military camp, town, or city.

The improvement in transportation has enabled the farmers to bring products to the best markets. Formerly most Kanegusuku products were sold in nearby Itoman, but today with the advent of rapid bus service to Naha many items are taken there for sale.

households. Noodles are another item of regular purchase. Starch and bean paste are typical items which formerly were always made in the home but now may be purchased instead. 178 262

In sum Okinawan diet has improved in quantity and variety. Food tastes are more catholic today; certain foreign foods are greatly appreciated. There is a greater reliance on manufactured and processed foods, and greater cash expenditures are made for food.

Entertainment and Leisure There has been a marked decline in village celebrations and festivals in which all residents participate. Formerly O Bon, New Year's, and harvesting time were occasions for village-wide celebrations; today these are gone from most communities; celebrations are restricted to the family and friends. Most of the village celebrations were basically religious in nature and with the decline of the old religion these celebrations have been dropped. 527 786 178 621

Parties to mark an individual's change of status were formerly held on the 13th, 25th, 37th, 48th, 61st, 73rd, 85th, 88th and 97th birthdays, but today only those for the old people are observed. Frequently a party is held to mark an individual's success in the competitive examination to enter high school, but aside from that, rites of passage for the young and middle-aged are no longer observed. 527 178

The Japanese introduced one form of entertainment which has achieved immense popularity; this is a sporting event sponsored by the school. These are usually held on Sunday during the fall of the year, and usually the whole school participates. There is intra-school competition and later inter-school; intense interest is generated and often this becomes an important topic for conversation among the young men. 526 177

Local units of the national organizations such as the youths' association and the women's association frequently hold parties for their members. In fact these organizations are mainly of a social nature. 575

As noted above, prior to the war there were five motion picture theaters on Okinawa; today there are fifty-seven. American and European films constitute from one quarter to one third of the total shown. Though most of these theaters are located in the cities and towns, the young people of the nearby farming villages make frequent use of them. The popularity of the American "Western" among the young people has caused some to attribute juvenile delinquency to this, although the relatively more bloody Japanese sword-fighting pictures ('chambara') are considered harmless. 546 177

The popularity of Okinawan dancing and music seems undiminished. Radio broadcasts of Okinawan music are much enjoyed; and virtually every party provides the opportunity for music and dancing in which most of the guests participate. A few of the better-educated young people profess an appreciation of Western classical music and jazz, but most of them prefer Japanese and American love ballads though they still remain very fond of the Okinawan music. 533 535 177

52 The general characteristics of the changed entertainment patterns
178 have been a greater reliance on entertainment provided by sources outside
621 the village---the school, radio, movies---and a sharp decline in celebrations and festivals of the sort which emphasized village participation and unity.

757 Health and Medicine Changes in medical practice well illustrate the
753 principle that material things find more ready acceptance than ideas in the
177 diffusion of culture; in short, Okinawans have been willing to adopt modern medicine when available, but not modern medical principles. Pills, shots, surgery, dentistry, penicillin, and DDT have found acceptance, while modern scientific concepts of disease, health, and sanitation seem to have made relatively little headway. The germ theory, for example, has barely penetrated.

753 However, on talking to people of different ages one becomes aware
751 that many changes in standards of sanitation and ideas about health and dis-
177 ease actually have taken place in the last fifty years. For example, evidence of the practice of tattooing various parts of the body as a cure for certain ills is rarely seen on persons under seventy. Similarly, though many of the younger generation may appear abysmally ignorant of modern knowledge of disease, they are always less ignorant and better informed than the preceding generation. Considerable progress toward better sanitation was made under the
[364] Japanese. Formerly the Okinawan privy was built atop the pigpen, and the pig
[231] subsisted in part on human feces. Stern measures were required to force the abandonment of this practice. The Japanese also introduced monthly sanitation inspections; inoculations for babies and school children were made compulsory.
[515] Through the influence of the schools the toothbrush (usually one) became a
[582] part of every home. The Japanese also sent notable scholars into the countryside to lecture the people on the dangers of in-breeding practices, particularly kin-group endogamy.

757 Penicillin, which was introduced by the Americans, has become a pop-
177 ular treatment, achieving equality with moxacautery and cutting to let blood. It can be obtained easily at any drug shop, and every doctor, midwife, herbalist, and practitioner of any sort is prepared to administer shots. Reliance excessive even by American standards is placed on this drug. There seems, in fact, to be a fondness for shots which does not end with penicillin; hormone shots and various other injections are widely advertised. It is the opinion of the author that any type of modern medicine which cuts, punctures, or otherwise disfigures the skin will find ready acceptance; this, it is felt, is merely an extension of the tradition of acupuncture, moxacautery, tattooing, and cutting. Bettelheim states that in the 1850's the Okinawans made inquiries as to how inoculations for smallpox might be obtained.[1]

759 There is some indication that the yabu, a practitioner whose chief
178 stocks-in-trade are herbs and moxacautery, is slowly disappearing; in several communities the author was told that since the old yabu died there had been no replacement.

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[1] Bettelheim, B. J., Loochoo Mission, London, n.d., pp. 34-36.

434 salaried employees has greatly increased the amount of money in circulation.
178 The large expenditures made by members of the military forces have also con-
464 tributed significantly. The farmer, in turn, has been able to realize a larger return for his products than was formerly possible, and in many farm villages a sizable number of individuals are engaged in military employment.

Farmers are spending more than ever before; self-sufficiency has further declined in that many articles formerly made at home are now purchased.
[511] The standard of living, especially diet, is said to have improved considerably.
[592] Formerly all income and resources were controlled by the household head for the entire family; today individual purses are said to be increasingly common.

621 Community Organization and Social Structure The solidarity and
178 integration of the village was severely diminished by the war and its aftermath. The prewar village was quite homogeneous; most of its families had resided there for many generations, village marriage practices tended to be endogamous, and nearly all were engaged in farming as their major occupation. Today in most villages there are a number of families new to the village since the war, and there are an increasing number of individuals who are employed outside the village in non-agricultural pursuits. Both groups tend to play a lesser role in community affairs than the old residents who continue to farm.

476 There has been a considerable decline in reciprocal labor exchanges.
178 The man who is daily employed outside the village is automatically prevented from participating in such ventures. The widow who heads a household without any adult male members is often unable to participate or must limit her participation since a day's work by a man must be matched by two by a woman. Likewise the man who hires a bulldozer to clear some land or build a rice field instead of engaging his relatives and neighbors in a cooperative exchange is also contributing to the decline of the practice.

369 Formerly those who left the village usually emigrated to other parts
178 of the Japanese Empire, but today they usually obtain employment in the cities
621 or military camps. Consequently, they continue to exert some influence in their place of origin, since interaction is more likely.

621 In a community like Kitazato which has suffered poverty, hunger, land
178 loss, and exodus of members to other communities, there seems to be a reintensification of community spirit stressing cooperation and unity. This is in marked contrast to Kanegusuku and elsewhere, suggesting that when a major value---communal unity---is directly threatened, there is a reaction and reintensification of this value. Elsewhere where the process of change has been more subtle, no reaction has occurred.

565 Okinawan class divisions were officially abolished early in the period
177 of Japanese administration; yet they continued to be of some importance with regard to status and marriage for some time. Today people say that they are no longer of any importance except to a few of the very old. Distinctions on
[559] the basis of wealth were largely erased by the war. It is frequently said, "After the war everyone was equal."

Within the village there are no class differences. Considerable 621
prestige continues to be accorded certain occupations---teacher, doctor, 554
government official. Land ownership does not appear to be an important status factor, and there is no landlord class.

Family The Okinawan family system has been in a process of change 593
for over fifty years. Abolition of the system of communal land tenure and 178
the introduction of private property and Japanese laws of inheritance provided [423]
the first shock. The bulk of the estate was hereafter conferred upon the [428]
first son while younger sons were frequently landless; consequently, many left the village in search of livelihood elsewhere. Where formerly the kin group 61
was concentrated in a given locality, now its members are often scattered 178
about, making interaction infrequent. A gradual decline in the practice of kin group endogamy also has contributed to weakening the solidarity of the kin group. There seems to be an increasing trend for large kin groups to fragment into smaller segments. According to young people who were consulted on the subject, their generation has little interest in kin group affairs; this may be misleading, as it is chiefly a matter which occupies the attention of older people. Perhaps one young man stated the situation accurately when he said, "I have no interest in such matters now, but I suppose I will when I am past forty."

Many families were shattered by the war, and in the postwar period 593
there has been a weakening of the family due to a variety of factors which 178
might best be described as growing individualism. One factor, noted previously, was an increasing tendency for members of the household to maintain separate purses where formerly all earnings were turned over to the head of the house. There is some sentiment among the more educated for changing existing inheritance laws in favor of equal shares for all heirs regardless of sex or birth order. The author also heard complaints that young people often run off to seek lucrative jobs elsewhere unmindful of their family obligations.

Marriage In contrast to the prewar period when most marriages were 584
arranged, the young people today claim that they will marry someone of their 178
own choice. This seems to be generally true, but often the parents will go through the process of arranging after the young people have decided. Young [585]
people also will vehemently deny that they will make use of a fortune teller to determine the most propitious day, but their mothers most likely will do this and then will exert their influence for the proper day. In all likelihood the young people will accept in order not to displease the parents.

If a person, particularly a young woman, delays too long in becoming married, the family will arrange a match. In one such case known to the author a well-educated woman of twenty-five who had financial independence as a school teacher was urged into a match much against her own feelings. She explained her compliance as obligation to her family for having provided her with an excellent education.

Pitts' population studies indicate that the average age of marriage 582
has dropped slightly in the postwar period due to the fact that Okinawan men 178
are no longer delayed by military service. Despite this slight drop in the

582 average age at the time of marriage, investigation into the registries re-
178 veals that the range has narrowed somewhat. Formerly some girls married at thirteen and fourteen; today this would be considered rather unusual.

[177] The Japanese administration attempted to discourage endogamous marriage practices, particularly kin-group endogamy. All agreed that the practice has declined; yet in Kanegusuku nearly 50% of all marriages were within the kin group and 66% of all marriages were within the village. An analysis of these figures on an age basis indicates the practice is declining there.

833 Sex It is said that sexual standards have changed in that there is
178 less sexual license among the young people and that they tend to have their
883 first relations at a later age than formerly. This is attributed in part to the moral training of the schools. Another factor seems to be the general decline of several informal village institutions which permitted young people considerable sexual freedom. One informant stated that those who continue on to high school and university generally have their first experience at a later age than those who attend only junior high school.

642 Government The Japanese introduced a modern system of government,
177 abolished the Okinawan aristocracy, and granted suffrage to all males of
641 twenty-five or more years. The American Civil Administration has attempted to liberalize laws and to make possible a greater degree of self-government.
[625] Police powers have been limited, universal suffrage has been introduced, and
[666] the number of elected officials has been increased.

621 To date there has been little change within the village, where
178 suffrage and office-holding remain limited to household heads. Villagers acknowledge that there is greater freedom for action at the local level today; yet they are not desirous of obtaining greater self-government. They feel that it would require too much of their time and that there is too little money available to finance its operation. Village leadership is virtually unchanged. Change where it has occurred has been initiated at a higher level.

632 At the township level the electorate has been broadened to include
178 all persons, male and female, over twenty years of age. The mayor who was formerly appointed is now elected to office.

771 Religion There has been a general decline in the indigenous Okinawan
177 religion, effected by Japanese policy, wartime attrition, and the spread of
178 education. Formerly a hierarchy of priestesses extended from the kin group
793 through the community and region to the person of the king's sister, the chief priestess. The Japanese removed the top echelons of this hierarchy, but the kin group and community priestesses continued to function. World War II resulted in the death of many religious functionaries, and as the office is usually hereditary within a specific family and often limited to a particular member of that family, there has often been no replacement for the office. Lastly there is an increasing tendency among the young people, due to the influence of the school, to regard religion as superstition.

796 Many villages, especially those without religious functionaries, have
178 discontinued all village ceremonies, and in those few remarkable exceptions

where they are observed there are generally few participants. Also many ceremonies have lost all meaning save that of custom, which is considered sufficient reason for their observance. 796 178

The authors heard dissatisfaction expressed with regard to current funeral practices. At one bone-washing ceremony witnessed by the author, several of the men stated that the practice was pointless and should therefore cease. Statements favorable to the Japanese practice of cremation were frequently heard. 764 765 829

Urbanization Prior to Japanese annexation there existed a sharp urban-rural dichotomy in Okinawan culture. This might best be characterized as a rural peasantry and an urban gentry-nobility. The latter group was in contact with Japan and China and was literate, while the former was divided into many small, isolated villages, lived in a state of serfdom, and was largely uneducated. The urban culture was strongly influenced by its foreign contacts, but in the rural areas an indigenous culture was preserved virtually untouched by outside influences. 369 177 [565]

The Japanese impact was first felt in the urban areas, and the city of Naha gradually assumed the characteristics of a Japanese city. It became the center for the diffusion of things Japanese into the countryside. Despite a number of important changes---abolition of communal land tenure, introduction of private property, gradual penetration of a money economy, introduction of schools and national organizations---rural-urban differences remained strong. The character of the village tended to remain homogeneous and conservative, and contacts with the city were infrequent. When one emigrated from the village, the move usually was to a point outside the country rather than to another part of the island.

World War II shattered the isolation and homogeneity of the village. The American occupation coupled with the cumulative effect of the change initiated by the Japanese has served to bring the village into a closer relationship with the urban areas. The result has been the urbanization of the rural areas. By means of newspapers, motion pictures, and radio the villager has come to share the cultural life of the city. Rural-urban differences in diet, dress, education, entertainment, mobility, and values are tending to disappear. Marked improvements in transportation have given the villager a new mobility, enabling him to participate in the labor market of the city and giving new outlets for his products. The nature of the village is increasingly more heterogeneous due to the presence of newcomers, increased occupational specialization, and greater interaction with the outside world. There is a greater reliance on goods produced by industrial society, and a number of villagers commute daily to a place of employment in the city or in nearby military installations. The trend is toward an ultimate disappearance of rural-urban differences; the process is one that is well advanced in the United States, but in Okinawa it is in an early stage. 369 177 178 621

Conclusion Okinawa has been in a process of change for over fifty years. World War II and the American military occupation have served to accelerate greatly the forces for change. Despite this, Okinawan culture has not been overwhelmed and has managed to preserve its identity. A number of 177 178

CHAPTER XII: OKINAWAN-AMERICAN RELATIONS

[Yamada]

121 In this chapter we shall describe the effects of the occupation and types of relationships that have developed between Americans and Okinawans in a rural setting. We shall discuss the problems of Okinawan military employment. And we shall discuss the nature of Okinawan attitudes toward the United States, toward Japan, and toward themselves as a separate ethnic unit.

1. The Rural Setting: Yamada

W. P. Suttles

621 Changes in Structure and Orientation The village of Yamada lies in southern
[361] Onna-son on the China Sea shore of Okinawa just south of the Ishikawa isthmus. The village is actually composed of several settlements that form a single 'ku' (the administrative unit) in a single 'aza' (the land unit). The topography of the 'aza' is rather uneven.
[241] The great majority of the people are farmers. They raise a little tea on one of the higher hills, sweet potatoes and other root crops and a little wheat on their upland fields, and a considerable amount of rice in paddies at the bottoms of their narrow valleys.

Before the war Aza Yamada consisted of seven settlements. Two were the old villages of Yamada and Kuraha. Four were yaarui (J. 'yadori'), smaller, separate settlements established by settlers (chijuunin, J. 'kiryūmin') who had left the urban areas of the south in the latter part of the last century. Of these four, three, the mee ("front") and kushi ("rear") yaarui of Tirabaru and the yaarui of Uema were settled by commoners (hyakusoo, J. 'heimin'); the fourth and most isolated, Tirabaru, was settled by gentry (yukatchu, J. 'shizoku'). The seventh settlement, Ajimaa, was a recent clustering of houses and shops around the crossroads and school.

For purposes of administration the aza was divided into 'han'. Since administration meant mainly the communication of instructions from above, number of houses and distance were probably the principal factors in determining the size of the 'han'. Thus the three larger settlements, Yamada, Kuraha, and Ajimaa, were each a 'han'; two of the yaarui that were close together, the mee and kushi yaarui of Tirabaru, formed a single 'han'; but the remaining two yaarui, Uema and Tarigaa, were separate 'han', probably because they were too far apart for one 'hanchō' to transmit information to both.

But for purposes of cooperation in certain economic and social activities, a unit larger than the single yaarui was evidently needed. This unit was the chinju (J. 'kinjo', meaning "neighborhood"). The three larger settlements were each a chinju, besides being each a 'han'. The two yaarui that formed a single 'han' also formed a single chinju. But the two yaarui that formed separate 'han' also formed a single chinju, their distance apart apparently being of less importance than the need for a larger cooperative unit.

[Yamada]

Thus Aza Yamada consisted of seven settlements grouped into six 'han' and into five chinju. The chinju was probably the older, "natural" unit, while the 'han' was a unit introduced by the Japanese administration. 621 [177]

During the last few months before the battle for Okinawa, the area south of Yamada was used as an ammunition dump by the Japanese navy, one small unit was stationed in Tarigaa, and a number of Okinawan civilians drafted for labor were quartered there with the local people. These outsiders dispersed as the raiding by American planes increased and by the time the landing took place, on 1 April 1945, the people of Yamada had for the most part gone into caves and prepared underground shelters. Two or three days after the landing the 6th MarDiv passed through Yamada, discovering some of the people and sending them behind the lines, but missing many. Some of those taken were almost immediately allowed to return to their homes. Then, after about a week, all were rounded up, taken to the school, and there loaded onto trucks and taken to Ishikawa. During the following weeks all the buildings in Yamada that had survived the softening-up process that preceded the landing were burned "as a sanitary measure" with the exception of one house and one school building. A part of the Yamada people were moved again to a village north of Kin while the rest stayed in Ishikawa, which was becoming the largest concentration of civilians on the island. Aza Yamada, empty of Okinawans, was occupied by several American units; concrete foundations for quonset huts were laid on the level fields of Tirabaru; the walls and floor of the remaining school building were removed so as to make a garage for a motor pool. 175 621 726 727

The people of Yamada were permitted to move back to their village during the summer of 1946. Some staved in Ishikawa, however, and some returned to Yamada only to go back to Ishikawa later. (One woman said they were told at the time that if they did not return to Yamada then they could never return later.) The houses at Yamada had to be rebuilt and fields reclaimed; American aid in materials was given but the job was not an easy one. For some of those who had employment with American units or whose families were too broken by the war to provide the basis for a farming household, the new city of Ishikawa, crowded and unsanitary as it was (and still is), was more attractive than the ruins of the country village. But in addition to those from Ishikawa, former Yamada people were being shipped home from Japan, the South Seas, and Manchuria, and although some of these too drifted to the city, the population of Yamada is now somewhat larger than it was before the war. 175 621 727

The postwar village of Yamada looks considerably different from the prewar one. While the old village consisted of several widely separated settlements, the new one is fairly compact. The center is Ajimaa at the old cross-roads below the school. Yamada 'mura-uchi' is empty but for three families. The yaarui of Uema and Tarigaa were never reoccupied and Tirabaru exists only as a sort of pseudopodium of Ajimaa stretching toward but not reaching its former location. The greater part of the 'mura-uchi' and yaarui people are in Ajimaa and the present Tirabaru. Kuraha, formerly down on the beach, has been rebuilt above the water, just below Ajimaa, at a new and potentially more important crossroads. 621 178 [361]

[Yamada]

621 361 178 177 One reason for this greater concentration may have been the greater need for cooperation during the period of rebuilding; another may have been the greater dependence since the war on the outside and the resulting greater dependence on the new highways and busses; but a third reason for the present concentration seems to have been a feeling of uneasiness in the presence of American units. There are still units on three sides of Yamada, two in the hills behind and one towards the sea between the settlement and the next village of Maeda. A Tarigaa woman gave the presence of American soldiers in the hills as a definite reason for not returning to her isolated home. A part of the rebuilt Ajimaa extended for a time in the direction of the nearest unit but in the last two or three years these houses have one by one been removed toward the center of the settlement.

621 178 The present aza is divided into five 'han', which are said also to function as chinju. However, the division seems to have been made along 'koaza' boundaries and this has resulted in a very uneven distribution of households per 'han'. Since the settlement pattern is still changing it seems likely that units of a more equal size will develop.

621 178 484 The orientation of Yamada, as well as its settlement pattern, has changed. Before the war contacts were nearly all to the north and south along the west shore of the island; people went south to Kadena on their rare shopping trips. Now, good highways and an excellent bus system not only run north and south but also link the west shore with the east shore via Nakadomari and Ishikawa. Since the war and the internment of many of the Yamada people at Ishikawa, going to town had meant going to Ishikawa, and people who once went twice a year to Kadena may now go to Ishikawa twice a week. People still go south to Kadena, but now more often as employees of the Americans commuting to work.

621 177 727 [648] Formal Relations At the time that the Yamada people returned to their village in 1946 they received material aid from the American Military Government, with which to rebuild. For a time after, they continued to receive a food ration ('haikyū') that was distributed from the 'haikyūjo', which later became the cooperative store. However, for several years now they seem to have had very little direct contact with the Military Government or its successor USCAR. On the other hand they have had considerable contact, both formal and informal, with the 'butai', the "unit", that is stationed just a few hundred yards from the settlement of Kuraha. This relationship was evidently in a process of change while I worked in Yamada early in 1954.

All of the villagers with whom I discussed the matter seemed agreed that for a period in the recent past the relationship had been very good. During the previous year the CO of the unit had held monthly meetings with the 'kuchō' of Yamada and three neighboring villages and with the teachers of the Yamada school, which serves all four villages. The purpose of these meetings was said to be the discussion of mutual problems, and in this they had a fair degree of success. For example the local people asked the unit to decrease the speed of trucks coming through the village, and this was done. The unit in turn asked the villagers to try to stop women from sneaking into

[Yamada]

its area at night (an informant hastened to add that these were not Yamada women). The unit and the village cooperated in repairing roads, the unit supplying equipment and the village labor. The unit also lent equipment for levelling the school grounds and for the 'undōkai' (sports event) lent the school a public address system. At Christmas of 1952 and again in 1953 the unit gave a Christmas party for the school children. The first year only 40 went but the second year nearly 200 went and all received presents. Two that were shown me later were a plastic car and a plastic fire truck; one was marked 65 cents. They were displayed with obvious pride. The school children in turn had sent a bundle of art work to the unit for the Perry Festival. 621 199 727

According to the villagers, late in 1953 the CO of the unit was transferred and the unit was placed under the command of the CO of another unit some miles away. This, they said, had meant the end of the monthly meetings and a decline in the good relations that had existed. The villagers' worries may have been without foundation. The last Christmas party was given after the alleged shift in command. However, some changes were occurring; for example, prostitution had reentered the village.

Informal Relations In addition to the help given to the school by the unit, certain individuals from the unit had also contributed something to it. One man is said to have taught English classes twice a week for about six months. Many of the men of the unit habitually come to the school grounds to play ball. Several are said to come two and three times a week, others come less frequently. Negro soldiers as well as whites come. They play baseball and volleyball with the men teachers and have also taught them basketball.

A few of the villagers have gained financially from the presence of the unit. In Ajimaa where the school is located there are four shops and at Kuraha there is one shop and another establishment that was formerly a cafe. The Ajimaa shops probably rarely sell anything to the soldiers, but the Kuraha shop has several steady customers for "Okinawa Gin", a rather strong variety of 'awamori'. The cafe formerly sold drinks to a regular clientele from the unit, but recently the owner invested in a taxi, has not made as much on it as he had expected and so has not had the capital for stock. There is also a laundry in Kuraha operated by a couple from Amami which does washing for men in the unit. 621 199 727 444 [273]

Several men in the unit are renting houses for their "honeys". (The term "honey" is widely used by both Americans and Okinawans for an American's Okinawan mistress.) At the time I worked in Yamada there were five "honeys", all in Kuraha, three renting one house and two another. All five were from outside the village; one was from Amami, a relative of the laundry people. According to one informant, the relationships between the soldiers and these women had been established at Senaha, Yomitan-son, a small cafe and brothel area to which some of the men of the unit go; after establishing the relationships there the men had brought the women to this village next to their unit. It was my impression that there was not much contact between these outsiders and the villagers. 621 199 727 836

However, there are several Yamada women who have been the mistresses of American soldiers in the past and there are several half-white children in 621 144 563

[Yamada]

621 the village. The oldest of the children is in school; she is the product of
144 a brief affair during the early days of the occupation. While some informants
563 showed some reluctance to discuss the half-white children, by forgetting that they existed until reminded of them, I saw no evidence that the children suffered any discrimination. There are also several Yamada women living outside Yamada, particularly in Ishikawa, with Americans and Filipinos; several of
621 these have mixed-blood children. Some of the Yamada women who are "married"
582 to Americans have attempted to maintain their relationship with their own
177 families and establish some kind of relationship between their families and their "husbands". On New Year's, when family calls are in order, two sisters who were both living with Americans at another village brought their "husbands" to pay their respects to their grandfather. I was in the old man's house when one of the girls appeared with her American. The American behaved quite properly, taking off his shoes and sitting cross-legged on the mat opposite the grandfather. The grandfather greeted him with dignity and reserve. The girl, who had acquired a fair command of English, translated a few sentences and looked very pleased with herself. Drinks were exchanged and the visit was over. Further contact was hardly possible, but this sort of gesture was probably sufficient to demonstrate to the family and to others that the relationship was a serious one. Most relationships are less serious.

621 The former cafe in Kuraha was said to have had women available for
727 prostitution several years ago, but the CO of the local unit who held the
177 meetings with the villagers is said to have disapproved of prostitution in the village and therefore the women left. In the spring of 1954, however,
548 another prostitute was at the cafe, even though it was not operating as such, and a new brothel was established at Ajimaa. There a 'Mama-san' ("madame" in GI Japanese) rented a house for herself and her three girls. The house is one of the newer tile-roofed buildings; it is just below the school grounds and across the highway; it is the property of the brother-in-law of one of the school teachers. Since the shortest way to the place from the unit is directly across the school ground, this was the route taken one afternoon by the three gaudily painted girls as they led a soldier home. I did not have much opportunity to discuss the matter with many people but got the following reaction from one informant: "On the one hand the brothel is good because people are making money; on the other hand it is bad because it makes a bad environment. If anyone complained about it, probably the owners of the house would say that the person complaining is just envious because of the money they are making in rent. Probably even the school teachers could not complain. One cannot interfere with a person's way of making money. The only way it could be stopped would be for the whole village to stop it." This was a clear
[181] expression of two of the basic themes of Okinawan culture, themes that have been mentioned before in connection with other problems; first, one must not interfere in another's livelihood, and second, one must not stand alone; action must be group action. This informant was not overly concerned about the possible bad effects of the presence of the brothel below the school on the school children. Some of the school teachers may have been, yet they too were probably as unwilling to take action individually.

621 While some Yamada people have profited by the presence of the unit,
727 others have suffered some loss. Considerable land is still not available to its owners and while they have received rental from it the amount is not

[Yamada]

regarded as adequate. Also, some of the land that was returned some time ago still has construction materials on it that must be removed. I also heard the complaint that it was not possible to gather fuel in certain areas in the mountains behind the village. One of the units there is said to fire upon Okinawans who approach the fence around it. So far as I know, no one has been hurt. The fact that Okinawans have been known to appropriate fence wire as scrap metal may be the cause of the apparent hostility of this unit. The villagers have no other contact with it. 621 727

Attitudes In 1945 when the American forces were landing on Okinawa the people of Yamada were trembling in their caves and dugouts expecting that if they survived the bombing of the planes they would probably be shot by the troops. One way or another a few people did lose their lives. One man was shot by an American soldier while trying to run away after coming out of his cave. Another Yamada man, who was teaching school in Kunigami at the time, is said to have been found by an American soldier while travelling with his family through the hills; the soldier made him put down the child he was carrying and then shot him where he stood, before the eyes of his wife and children. Two Yamada girls are said to have been raped. Whether these stories are true or not they are factors in the formation of attitudes toward Americans. Yet stories of such incidents are few and amount to little compared to the treatment that most Okinawans expected to receive at the hands of the Americans. Stories of unexpected kindness shown by the Americans in 1945 are numerous and are not forgotten. Nor are the few atrocity stories, though the balance is undoubtedly well on the credit side.

The variety of the experiences that the people of Yamada have had with Americans tends to make them see, I believe, more clearly than many Americans see, the necessity for avoiding generalizations and judging the individual on the basis of his own merits. One can find individuals who have had a wide range of experience even in a remote Okinawan village. One evening in Yamada I sat listening to the war stories of two brothers. Both had spent some time in Japan. One had lived in Manchuria as a settler, had seen the Kuomintang chase the 8th Route Army and vice versa, had finally been captured himself by the Russians and had managed, according to his account, to escape by making off with a Russian truck. The other brother matched this story by telling how he had been captured by the Americans and taken as a prisoner to Hawaii, where he had spent a year working at a laundry. He delighted us with his stories about the good food, the lazy guards, and how he had made off with large quantities of GI clothing by going back to the compound each night wearing several shirts and two and three pairs of pants. Despite their belief in ghosts and spirits, in matters of human relations these are mature and sophisticated men. They know that not all Americans are good, not all are bad, some are industrious, some are lazy, most are honest, but some are dishonest. On several occasions, while somewhat in his cups, the older of the two assured me that "the words are different but the heart is the same". This perhaps summarizes the faith of a good many Okinawans. 621 727 829

To summarize Okinawan-American relations in Yamada: There have been both formal relations between the neighboring unit and the village and school and informal relations between some of the men of the unit and some of the 621 727 199

[Yamada]

villagers. The formal relations, because of the policy of the CO of the unit, have in the past been good (at any rate this is the interpretation of the villagers). Except in rare instances such as that of the man who taught English, the informal relations have been mainly in the fields of sports and sex. In these matters too the role of the unit's CO has been important.

2. Military Employment

W. P. Lebra

464 An important factor in contemporary Okinawan life is the large number of people engaged in military employment or in subsidiary occupations. Over [117] twenty-five percent of the total Okinawan labor force is so employed, and their day-to-day contact with Americans has far-reaching implications for Okinawan-American relations. It is also a factor of prime importance to the Okinawan economy.

In studying and visiting a number of Okinawan communities the authors noted a considerable variation in the importance of military employment to the community, the role of those so employed in village life, and the attitude of the villagers toward these people.

621 727 Kanegusuku The farming village of Kanegusuku was less affected than most communities by the war and subsequent occupation, little land was ruined, no military installations are in the area, and the majority of villagers are attempting to carry on as before the war.

621 464 Out of a total population of 507 persons, constituting 103 houses, there are but twenty men employed outside the village. Of these twenty men, seven are directly engaged in military employment and eight more are employed by civilian construction companies engaged in military construction. These individuals commute from the village each day to the greater Naha area. In most cases these men come from houses which have insufficient land for mere subsistence, or they are younger sons who are without land and/or who have not married and set up households of their own. Several are newcomers to the village since the war.

621 464 166 In the past a few who have secured jobs in military establishments or in subsidiary employment have left the village and established temporary residence in the city or near the camp. One of the motivating factors for making the move is a monthly saving of ¥600 ($5.00) in bus fares, but certainly another and perhaps stronger motivation has been the desire to escape the dreary life of the farm village. These people say that they do not wish to return to the village; yet, they have retained their land as an insurance 621 against job loss. Most do not seem to regard military employment as a perma- 464 nent career. They hope to save enough money to establish a small business 829 or at the last resort to return to the village and buy more land.

Villagers regard those who have been able to secure military employ- [511] ment as rather fortunate individuals. In most families the additional income is most welcome as it provides a standard of living considerably above subsistence farming. In the case of those families where the husband or house- [462] hold head is employed outside the village the wife usually farms the family vegetable plots.

621 464 In most cases those who are engaged in military employment, or in any employment outside the village, do not play an active role in village affairs.

621 464 Only five of these are household heads entitled to vote in village elections or assume village office, but because their jobs keep them out of the community much of the time, they are not given village offices. There is some feeling on the part of the villagers that they are out of touch with the affairs of a farming village; consequently, their influence in the village thus far has not been too great.

621 727 464 Jagaru and Tobaru The villages of Jagaru and Tobaru in Chatan-son offer a marked contrast to Kanegusuku in terms of the importance of military employment to the community. These two contiguous communities are hemmed in on all sides by military installations. They constitute little more than housing areas within a township that has lost, according to its officials, approximately 91% of its land to military installations.

[641] [178] Formerly nearly all of the families were engaged in farming as a full-time occupation; today less than one-sixth are farming and not all of these are able to depend on it for their sole support. Military employment has replaced farming as the chief occupation of these villages. In October of 1953 there were 2,352 persons out of a total population of 10,411 who were employed in military jobs. In addition there were a number of business establishments which were dependent on the trade of military personnel.

621 464 [434] The welfare of Jagaru and Tobaru is wholly dependent on military employment. In the fall of 1953 there were rumors of an anticipated cut of 10% in the over-all Okinawan labor force employed by the military. This would have made over two hundred individuals and their families without any source of income or means of livelihood. The people were much upset by this prospect as every family had at least one member employed in military jobs and were wholly or in part dependent on their income.

In contrast to Kanegusuku those who were engaged in military employment in these villages played an active role in community affairs. A great many of them are household heads, and they are not regarded as being out of touch with village affairs since the chief occupation of the villagers is military employment. While the Kanegusuku people regard securing a military job as good fortune, the people here regard it as a necessity. According to township officials most of this year's graduating class will look for jobs in the nearby installations.

621 464 829

The villagers are bitter because they feel that the military has not paid them adequate rentals for the use of their land. There is also some resentment over the conduct of troops in these communities during their off-duty hours. In short, though the villages are completely dependent on the military for their livelihood, they are bitter and resentful in their attitude toward it. The possibility of job losses seems likely to heighten this feeling.

621 727 464 Henza Shima The island of Henza off the east central coast of Okinawa differs from the above communities in that a large segment of its population is engaged in military employment and yet the village itself is far removed from any military installation. This village suffered but slight damage and no loss of life during the war. After the war over four hundred repatriates returned to the village, bringing its population up to approximately 4,900.

This island has long faced a serious problem of over-population and food shortage; it is not self-supporting in foodstuffs and mainly derives its livelihood from fishing, shipping and ferrying. It has long had a symbiotic relationship with the neighboring island of Takabanare, supplying fish and shipping-ferrying service in return for food, but this has not been rewarding enough in recent years to offset its rapid population increase. A general postwar decline in coastal shipping largely due to the marked improvement of land transportation in highways and vehicles has sharply reduced the number of jobs in this enterprise, and the return of the repatriates b[illegible] added to the number seeking jobs. Military employment, however, ha[illegible] this gap and staved off mass unemployment. 621 464 505 433 [438]

At the present time nearly one quarter of the village labor force is engaged in military employment. Nearly all of the repatriates and a large number of old residents have entered military employ. Some of these have established temporary residence on the mainland nearer the military installations. A large number, however, commute by ferry boat and bus each day to their place of employment, and at low tide it is possible to walk the mile across the tidal flats to the mainland. 621 464 [484]

There has long been a tradition for the men of Henza to be away from the village much of time, engaged in activities on the sea. Thus, those who are away much of the time in military employment are merely following a long-established pattern. Unlike the absent workers of Kanegusuku, these people are not considered to be cut off from village affairs. All farming activities, much of the family's economic affairs, and some of the functions of government are carried on by women, contrary to usual Okinawan practice. [562]

The villagers regard military employment as a blessing and feel that it has contributed significantly to maintaining village prosperity. Aside from military employment they have little contact with Americans, although a few boat-owners have rented their crafts to American fishing parties. The villagers and their officials recall with considerable fondness their military government officer in the early days of the occupation. To date Henza relations with Americans have been not only good but also profitable; in short, American stock is high on this island. [829] 621 197 829

<u>Summary</u> On Henza and to a far smaller degree in Kanegusuku military employment has largely drawn off the surplus and largely landless population that formerly would have emigrated to other parts of the overseas Japanese empire. In Jagaru and Tobaru military employment has replaced farming as the chief occupation of the villagers. The contribution of military employment to the economy of Kanegusuku is negligible, although it should be noted that the number so engaged increased during the period of the author's study. In Jagaru, Tobaru, and Henza military employment is of vital importance to the village economy, and any sharp decrease will have severe repercussions. 464

<u>Okinawan Attitudes Toward Those Engaged in Military Employment</u> Okinawans make a sharp distinction in their attitudes toward men employed in military jobs and their attitudes toward women similarly employed. There seems to be no stigma of any sort attached to the male who has a job working for the Americans; in fact, 464 562 829

by sons other than the first reinforces this, although there are examples of branch families being established in villages away from the parental home. This intermarriage among kinship groups and the settlement of first sons and other children in the same village brings about a situation in which blood relatives or relatives by marriage are exceedingly numerous. It gives to village life cohesion and solidarity. This was very noticeable in the villages studied. Specific illustrations later will show the influences of these situations on many phases of village life. 621

It is no wonder then that the family system has a strong influence on community organization and on formal government. The semi-official organizations such as the neighborhood groups (han in Japanese), the young men's association (seinendan in Japanese), and the women's association (fujinkai in Japanese) are made up of blocs of relatives, friends, and neighbors. These circumstances blur the distinctions between the private and the public life of the family. The same is true of village government and probably accounts in large measure for democratic village government. At a wedding, at a funeral, at a birthday celebration for a child, the head of the village (kuchō in Japanese), and often the mayor of the township (sonchō in Japanese) will be present, not for political or vote catching reasons, but because he is a relative, by blood or marriage, or a personal friend of his hosts. This theme will be developed later, but it should be pointed out here that the family system, in its contemporary operations, is not only the mould for shaping the outlines of obligations and responsibilities for individuals, but that it is an important guiding principle in the conduct of community life and of formal government. 602 621 [595] [622]

2

Kinship Terminology and the Kinship System

We can now explore in more detail the mechanisms by which the family system operates. To do this, it will be well first to list the common kinship and related terms. These are the terms most often met with in conversation and which appear in the family registers (koseki in Japanese). Kinship terminology follows the Japanese practice. Like Western usage, many terms such as grandfather, grandmother, uncle, aunt, nephew or niece refer to relatives both on the paternal and the maternal side. The chief differences lie in the rank order in which sons or daughters of a family are designated. A child ordinarily is not referred to as a son or as a daughter but as a first or second son, or a third daughter, or whatever the case may be. The most common terms, with their Japanese equivalents are listed below. The first word is the honorific term and the word in parentheses is the equivalent but less polite form. In general, the honorific is used in speaking of another's relatives, or in speaking to one older than oneself. The less polite term refers to one's own family or is used in speaking to persons younger than one's self. 601 [217]

conduct of a local business of any size, employment in official and 555
semi-official organizations, and teaching require facility in reading 212
and writing Japanese, that is, the use of the Chinese character and
the two Japanese syllabaries, katakana and hiragana. It is true
that under the Japanese and the present system of education, everyone [872]
learns the characters. But after school is left behind, there must
be continued practice in reading and writing, or one's fund of
knowledge gradually disappears and he remembers only a few of the
simpler or more common characters. For responsible leadership, this
school vocabulary must at least be maintained. A village headman
today must hold his own in reading and writing. Reports have to be [622]
made to the township office. The frequent conferences and meetings
require note taking. Storm warnings may be received, correspondence
and simple record keeping are continual tasks. In one village, the
criticism made of the headman was that his knowledge of characters
was too elementary.

If a person has leisure, this makes him available for positions of 556
leadership. A poor farmer could not ordinarily accept the position 622
of village headman except at a great sacrifice. Public duties, even
in a small village like Hanashiro, require that a headman be on call
most of the time for meetings, or to hear personal problems and com-
plaints of the villagers. It is significant that the former village
headman of Hanashiro and the current headman of Hatsuda both are
operators of rice mills and do not have the exacting dawn to dusk
duties of a farmer. In Hanashiro and Nagamo, the present headmen
are operating farmers who are able to combine their private and public
duties, but both places are small. The headman of Hinatogawa, a
fisherman, has had to forego many fishing trips because his duties
kept him in the village.

Leadership is also assumed by those who have had foreign experience, 554
either in the Japanese administrative hierarchy abroad or simply through 484
foreign residence. These people generally have a broader point of view
and know more.

The last factor is age. It is often thought that village life in 554
Oriental countries under the family system is dominated by the older 561
and respected males. It is true that the opinion of retired elders is
sought for and respected, but not merely because of age. In addition,
there may be a life of successful farming, teaching, office holding,
possibly a combination of these, behind them. Leadership comes from
young men too, usually the result of experience in the young men's
association. Energetic leadership, often accompanied by organisational
ability, is noticeable in the age group from about 24 to 27. Women [562]
have fewer opportunities but can show their abilities in their work in
the Women's Association.

Village leadership rests both on the respected elders and the 554
promising young men, on those who have kept and increased their skill
in language, who have occupations that relieve them from the unremitting

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Hanashiro	5
Hinatogawa	9
Hatsuda	16

6

The Democratic Government of the Township and Village

The description of local government has intentionally been delayed to this point because its operation and functions can be seen to greater advantage after an acquaintance with family life and the various forms of group activity. We can see it, not so much a formal structure to be described in legalistic terms, but as an expression of many of the characteristics of the culture we have already found in the family system, group activity, and individual leadership. 128

Okinawa and the various smaller islands of the Central Ryukyus (Okinawa-gunto) is one of the four main political subdivisions of the chain. The gunto is divided into townships, and within each township, there are several settlements (buraku, ku, aza) which we have consistently called villages. Township government is the channel for the enforcement of laws and regulations from higher governmental agencies and the source of local measures which govern the several villages of the township. 631

The seat of the township government is one of the villages of the township.4 In Gushichan township, the village office (yakuba) is at Gushichan village, while in Ginoza township, the office is in Ginoza village. 632

At the head of this government is a mayor (sonchō) elected for a four year term. There is no strenuous campaigning for the office. Friends may induce a well known man to run, then visit the villages, and ask the people to vote for him. A reputation for being kind, fair, and refined (otonashii) goes far in electing a man. Once in office he is extremely busy, and like the village headman, usually looks forward to the end of his term rather than to re-election. A new mayor appoints his own or reappoints the old staff. He chooses a vice-mayor (jōyaku) with the approval of the village assembly (gikai). 632 622 [666] [577]

A township office generally has the following administrative sections: (1) a treasury and disbursing office (shūnyūyaku), (2) a general affairs (shomu) sections. The head of this section is in charge of the family registers (koseki) and of the registry of seals. These two important functions require a little elaboration. 632

4 The government actually described here is that of Gushichan township. It did not seem worthwhile to repeat essentially the same information for Ginoza and then to make minute comparisons and contrasts between them.

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The family register is a basic official document recording officially all the family data for each household. These have been compiled since the war. The old registers which gave the family history in great and accurate detail were destroyed as a consequence of the war or intentionally by the Japanese. The standard form for the register contains (1) the place of permanent domicile of the family head (honseki), (2) the place of present residence (genjūshō), (3) the name of the previous head of the family (zenkonushi), (4) the head of the family (koshu), his birthdate, and his relationship to the preceding head, (5) the name of the father and mother of the present head, (6) the name of the wife, her birthdate, whether she is a first or succeeding daughter, the names of her parents, (7) the date of the marriage, (8) names of each family member with birthdate and relationship to the head. All matters pertaining to the family are recorded in one place. The register contains information about births, deaths, marriages, and additions, deletions, or notations as to foreign residence. If a second son establishes a branch family, a line is drawn through his name on the register and a notation refers to a new sheet set up for his family. Deaths are shown by drawing a red line through the name.

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The registry of seals (inkanbō) is a list of the seals of everyone in the township. The individual stamps his seal in the registry himself. The registry shows the date on which the seal is registered, the present address, permanent address, and the name and birthdate of its owner. Seals (han) are used whenever a signature would be required here. When used they are pressed into an India ink paste and stamped on the document requiring the seal.

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Following general affairs, there is (3) the tax collection (saisei) (4) school affairs (kōmu), (5) a section devoted to agriculture, industry, fishing, or other important occupations in the township (sangyō), (6) health and sanitation (eisei) concerned with community sanitation, health and vital statistics, and (7) a relief and welfare section (shakaijigyō) which administers relief to the indigent.

[423]

The village office also issues to each landowner a certificate of ownership (shoyūkenshōmeisho) with the seal of the mayor for each parcel a villager owns. These sheets, a separate one for each parcel, are bound up in a small book.

[622]

The mayor and his staff hear complaints from individual taxpayers regarding assessments, the amount of the tax, or the classification of land. The atmosphere of a township office is friendly and informal. Callers bow on entering. The mayor is readily accessible. (In my experience, mayors and headmen are very high types of individuals). Most members of the staff bring their own lunches. Each office has a young girl or boy to serve tea and to watch the fire.

The legislative functions of township government are performed by an assembly (gikai), whose members, elected at large, enact ordinances and approve the mayor's appointment of a vice mayor. The mayor, his administrative staff, and the township assembly administer the township.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Their acts are enforced in each of the villages by the headman. 632

The village headman (kuchō) is an intermediary between the people and the township government. He listens to complaints from his people, carries them to the township government for a hearing, and has supervision over official community projects and activities. The headman, like the mayor, is a busy, hardworking man. His pay, insufficient to live on, is midway between a salary and an honorarium. The headman of Hanashiro, for example, received ¥720 per month, Hinatogawa ¥950, and Hatsuda ¥2000 a month.[5] The headman usually has a paid clerk (shoki) who works full time and may receive more pay than the headman. The clerk compiles reports of the village population, assists the headman at meetings, and is a general administrative assistant. 622 622 [965] [624]

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The village headman does not have, nor does he desire, complete responsibility for administering the village. Two groups are available for advice. The headman will not make decisions on important non-routine matters without consulting them. The first of these, the village council 623

5 For comparative purposes, the minimum wage for young Okinawan girls employed as maids for US personnel was about ¥100 ($9.17) per month. [465]

623 (hyōgiin) is an elected body, while the other, composed of village elders and public spirited men (yūshi) is a more honorary group. Sometimes the council is composed of one man from each neighborhood association. The elders are an unofficial body which because of its prestige is consulted when the headman and the council have an emergency problem and wish to get the advice of the respected men of the village. [554] This group is composed of former village headmen, former members of the village council, and well-known residents, such as retired school teachers or farmers.

The village council, composed of about 10 men, is elected from the male heads of a household. Before the war, members were elder men, but they now include young men as well. The council advises the headman on matters for which he is reluctant to assume full responsibility. If the decision is important enough, the village assembly, composed of all the heads of families over 18 years of age, is consulted. A headman may use the village council to help in defending himself against unpopular decisions. The village headman and the council generally make the final decision on village matters, but any decision involving the expenditure of money is referred to the assembly of household heads.

621 623 622 Village government is democratic. The people know their elected leaders personally. The problems with which the people and their officials are concerned are concrete, and seldom matters of abstract principle. They usually are concerned with local improvements, taxation, and schooling. The people participate in local government through the village assembly, at which they elect the headman and the council members. They can criticize and question decisions and approve proposals for spending money.

A headman can conceal neither his strong points nor his faults. Village government utilizes the principle of group responsibility without sacrificing the principle of individual leadership and a strong respected headman can do much to prevent the formation of cliques within a village. This does not mean that individual antagonisms and differences of opinion do not exist, but they seem to be resolved before they reach the stage of organized opposition.

Village government is not an extension of the family system. The village headman is not the head of one large family. But there is individual leadership, consultation and discussion, and mutual agreement both in the family system and in village government. Family experience has both a private and a public character. The public influences of family life takes the form of tempering the formality and mechanics of government.

621 591 A village is composed of single families. Many have intermarried. All of these families have a certain relationship to one another. They may be friends; they may live in the same neighborhood. Their children are known to one another as classmates, later as members of youth organizations. The families may have other associations, based on a common economic interest in agriculture, fishing, or pig raising. They

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for keeping the population registry, with vital statistics and relevant information on all township residents.* The Welfare Department investigates relief cases and receives applications for support from the poorest families. The Health and Sanitation Administration is primarily concerned with preventive work. Representatives from these five departments are supposed to visit all the villages in the township frequently to inspect and to discuss regulations. The officials and personnel of the five departments are drawn equally from all the villages and commute daily by foot, bicycle, or bus. 632 [217]

The township administration links the central government and individual villages. Numerous requests for central government aid, originating in each community, are sent through the township office. The government in turn deals with each community through the township administration. Contact between township and the villages is maintained by weekly meetings of all village headmen with the mayor and his staff. The village headman is responsible for carrying out township and central government ordinances. 631

THE VILLAGE

The village headman is elected once a year, in June, from a slate agreed on beforehand during informal discussions by villagers. There is no campaigning; in fact, the elections are treated more as a necessity than a politically important event, and neither before nor after do they incite much public discussion. This democratic process of elections is of post-World War II date. Before the war, the council of village leaders accepted a new headman only if the choice pleased them, so that the headman at that time was virtually appointed. Villagers remarked that "listening to public opinion is a recent change." 622 666 [177]

The village is still experimenting with the mechanics of a free election. Votes are still restricted to household heads, but the Taira Women's Association and Young People's Association tried to change this in 1955. Although they did not succeed, a concession was made by permitting "representatives" to vote for their household in the absence of a household head, provided the voter was 20 years of age. The elec- 666 [592] [575]

* The old registry was totally destroyed during the war. A new one is being prepared with the help of the people. It no longer differentiates between persons of noble and common descent. Information on crimes committed by people, sentences passed by courts, and other information, such as diseases in the family, like mental illness, is also omitted now.

666 tion itself is arranged and supervised by an *ad hoc* committee. In 1955 written ballots were cast and counted immediately so that the result was known within a few minutes after the last ballot was in.

622 In contrast to a position in the township administration, which carries high status, equivalent to that of a teacher, the village headman's job is considered a community service and carries little prestige. This does not mean that the headman should not be an individual of high qualities. He must be at least 25 years old; he has to have sufficient education, especially knowledge of Japanese writing characters, to read government documents and to do the required clerical work; he has to be a good accountant and must be proficient in working with the abacus, since all tax collections are supervised by him; he must be community minded and able to enforce regulations in a friendly but efficient way. The rewards are small, the salary less than that of most township officials. The office is held most frequently by young men who have not been out of high school too long. Most recent headmen are between 25 and 30 years of age. Serving in this office may mark the beginning of an administrative career, either in the township office, in the village store, or in business outside Taira. The clerk, appointed
624 by the headmen to assist in village administration, is also a young man. He too is likely to be headed toward an administrative career.

621 Each village is subdivided into wards, set up originally by Japanese administration to effect greater control over families through the
624 warden. He is a subagent of the headman, and at present he functions
[203] mainly as a channel for communications, a useful function in a village like Taira, which covers a large geographical area. Regulations, village meetings, and special events are announced through the warden, and he is often called on to collect delinquent taxes. However, he has little authority and functions more as a neighbor who takes care of necessary contacts between residents and the village administration. Ward members elect him to his honorary office for a one-year term.

623 Village affairs are discussed and legislative action concerning the village initiated by the village council. This group is now partly elected, partly composed of holders of essential offices, such as heads of associations, members of the township assembly, and township officials who live in Taira. The 26 members of the Council are responsible for measures affecting the community, and the headman relies heavily on their advice. Most councilmen are middle aged; few are over 50 years
[575] old. Since the head of the Women's Association and the nurse are members, there are at least two female representatives. The youngest councilman is usually the head of the Young People's Association.

623 It is apparent that leadership in the community is always exercised
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2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

by a limited group. The council represents almost all potential leaders. 623
Education and experience in the outside world are the most important 555
qualifications. This is a change from the old days when wealth was also an important factor. An example of a member of township assembly and village council is the man who lived for many years in Brazil (see Chapter 1, p. 374). His leadership is widely recognized and partly due to his successful use of modern farming techniques. Another village leader is a graduate of an agricultural high school, a man of superior intelligence and qualifications who ranked high in an island-wide civil service examination. Another former headman, and now a council member, was born and raised in Japan of Okinawan parents. Although unfamiliar with local dialect and practices, he is well versed in things Japanese and is a financial expert.

The full village council seldom meets. Instead, local matters are 623
discussed among a core of its most active leaders. Noncouncil members, such as the postmaster, policeman, or teachers, may be invited to some meetings. A discussion may start because several villagers want to set aside a special day during which nobody is permitted to go to the mountains to cut firewood, so that more work can be done in the fields. Such a proposal, if approved by the committee of council members, need not be brought before the entire council. Since no formal vote is taken by the council as a rule, friendly discussions decide the issue. Such a decision is then taken directly to a meeting of registered [592]
household heads which is held monthly or whenever there are a number of matters to be discussed and voted on. They are presented point by point, first by the headman, next by one or more council members; then discussion is opened to the whole meeting and eventually a vote is taken. This is done in a very relaxed manner and without actually counting the votes, since discussions have continued until there is a general consensus in the group.

Minor matters of immediate importance, such as tax collections, 622
plans for celebrating a holiday, or maintenance work on roads and 624
ditches in parts of the village, are taken up between the headman and wardens in weekly meetings.

The household head meeting is attended by many women who are 623
either registered household heads or have been sent by their husbands [592]
or fathers as representatives. Some men may actually be unable to [681]
attend; others are disinterested. Failure to send any family representative over 18 years old to a village meeting results in a fine of 20 yen. At one meeting when it seemed as if more women than men were present, the headman joked, "Let's call it a Women's Association Meeting." The women answered, "We are just nice to our husbands, so we

625 went out for fugitives from the south, he would accompany the police-
[632] man or investigate himself. In cases of death, both he and the police-
[647] man have to make a report.

The Young People's Association may serve as a vigilante in emer-
[575] gencies such as fires, floods, tornadoes, and other disasters. When a
[731] military jeep was reported to have been stolen near Naha and driven on the dead-end road running north, the young people in all villages on the way erected road blocks and were ready to help catch the thief. The group would act together in a similar fashion at any threat from outsiders.

● 622 The headman can only enforce local ordinances insofar as he is
681 able to persuade people to comply. He is not concerned directly with crime or disturbance of the peace. Exceptions are such matters as stealing sugar cane or letting chickens run loose so that they enter every yard. For such acts, money fines can be imposed. One warden still has a tag which used to be given to the man whose chickens ran around freely. The offender had to pay the fine and keep the tag until he detected someone else's chicken running loose. Then he could pass the tag on to that person. Such measures are no longer used. But the un-
[626] derlying principle of public censure and fear of ridicule continues to operate in village social control.

623 Public censure is used along with fines to ensure attendance at vil-
626 lage meetings. Roll call is taken before each meeting so that the ab-
[681] sence of individuals is made known to the whole group. Similarly, when tax collections became more and more delinquent, it was decided to have ward meetings in which everybody would be reminded in public to pay his share. Those who were unable to do so would have to state their reasons. As soon as this new plan was announced, several people got up during the meeting to pay outstanding amounts to the head-
872 man. The school uses similar devices to achieve better attendance and scholarship. During home visit week, about once a year, a meeting is held for all parents and the statistics for attendance for each village are read as well as scholastic performances for each community.

INFORMAL CONTROL

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626 What other people might think is uppermost on everybody's mind.
[867] Children are reminded by their mothers not to play alone lest people would think they are unpopular. They are told not to fight lest others think badly of them or make them responsible for the consequences. Censure by gossip is common, but criticism is seldom made directly to a person's face, and the target of extensive gossip is often unaware of it.

632 423 [651] The Land Affairs Department maintains the land ownership records ('tochi daichō') and issues certificates of land title ('chiken'). The head of this department ('tochijimuchō' or 'tochi gakari') together with the village mayor ('kuchō') and his council assesses land values for tax purposes.

632 744 The Departments of Public Welfare and Social Affairs are concerned with matters relating to relief, health, sanitation, etc. The functions of these overlap somewhat with those of the police and the Naha Health Center. One day each month a nurse from the Health Center is at the township office giving shots to children. Once a month there is a sanitation inspection of all the villages within the 'son'; the emphasis shifts each month---thus, one month it may be for mosquito control and the next it may be extermination of flies. Relief measures are also handled from these departments.

632 178 A 'son' assemoly ('senkai' or 'songikai') functions as the legislative branch of 'son' government; it is empowered to enact local ordinances, approve the mayor's selection of employees for the village office, and make local tax levies. In Kanegusuku-son each of the eight villages selects two representatives ('sonkaigiin') for the assembly, and the term of office is four years. Before the end of the war this body was an appointive one selected by the mayors of the villages ('kuchō'); in turn the assembly appointed the township mayor. The bulk of the population had no voice in local government; today, however, both the mayor and the assembly stand for election. In all elections [666] for municipal and central government offices universal suffrage now obtains; all those twenty and above are entitled to vote.

632 622 The meetings of the 'son' assembly are too infrequent to provide effective representation at all times for the people. Regular contact between the people and the township office is maintained by frequent meetings of all the village mayors ('kuchō') with the township mayor ('sonchō'). This group, known as 'kuchokai' (village mayors' assembly), meets three times each month generally on the fifth, fifteenth, and twenty-fifth, though in times of emergency or pressing business it may meet oftener. Problems of general concern to the villages are discussed. These meetings enable the township mayor to keep in touch with the problems of the villages and what the people are thinking; they also provide the opportunity to inform and instruct the village mayors regarding directives or projects to be carried out in the villages.

632 651 One of the chief functions of the township government is to collect taxes for the central government and for its own needs. The following township taxes ('senzei', or in legal terminology, 'chihōzei') are those levied by Kanegusuku-son:

senmin-zei	Villagers' Tax. This is a head tax on all persons who are able to work between the ages of 17 and 60 excluding students, blind, sick, and crippled persons.
tochi-zei	Land Tax. For details see chapter on Land Tenure.
fudōsan shutoku-zei	Real Estate Acquisition Tax.
kaoku-zei	House or Building Tax.

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15th - Industrial Inspection of Southern Okinawa.
16th - Sunday.
17th - Extermination of all noxious insects.
18th - 'Kuchōkai'. Meeting of all village mayors at 2 p.m.
19th -
20th - Inspection of fields.
Study for preparation of new 'koseki' at Shuri City Office, 10 p.m.
Meeting of chiefs of all Public Welfare Departments at Okinawa Kaikan, Naha.
21st - Training class for office workers of municipalities. The following must attend: Assistant Mayor, Chief of General Affairs Department, Treasurer, Chief Accountant, and Election Secretary.
Meeting of chiefs of all Public Welfare Departments, Naha.
22nd - Meeting of chiefs of all Public Welfare Departments, Naha.
23rd - Sunday. Farewell and welcome party for new and old mayors of the municipalities at Restaurant Hanasaki, Naha, 6 p.m.
24th - Dispensary. Shots for children.
25th - 'Kuchōkai'. Meeting of all village mayors at 2 p.m.
26th -
27th -
28th -
29th -
30th - Sunday
31st -

622 Village ('ku') Government Political Organization A 'kuchō' (mayor of 'ku') presides over the administration of the village and functions as an intermediary between the villagers and the township office. In the latter capacity he carries the problems, questions, and complaints of the people to the township office ('senyakuba'); he also brings to the village directives and projects requested by that office and supervises their execution. In Kanegusuku-ku a 'kuchō' is elected for a term of one year and is not eligible for reelection; in order to be eligible [465] for the office he must be over 27 years of age and a household head. He receives a monthly salary of ¥1100 ($9.17) which is paid by the township, not the village. The office exacts heavy demands on the individual's time; consequently the position is accepted with a sense of responsibility or obligation, as a duty to be performed, rather than for any prestige or other benefits which m might accrue. A 'kuchō' must make frequent trips to the township office, at least several a week; in addition three times each month he attends meetings of all the village mayors in his township. Emergencies in the village always demand his time. For example, when a death occurred in the village, he walked to the township office and notified the officials there, next notified the 'son' policeman, and then he walked to another village to secure a funeral palanquin; lastly he returned to his village and participated in the funeral ceremonies. His home is usually open at all times to villagers who seek information or wish to discuss a problem. Often he is asked to attend to a minor matter at the township office in their behalf; frequently these are matters of a sort which might as easily be handled by the individual concerned.

One of his major responsibilities to the township office is tax collection within the village; yet, his actual powers are slight, as nearly all of his official acts are first sanctioned by the villagers or the township office. It seemed to the author that the chief role of the 'kuchō' was as an intermediary between the people and the township office or as an agent for the latter, rather than as an administrator. It would seem that the payment of his salary by the township instead of by the village is symbolic of his actual role. 622 [651] [632]

Assisting the 'kuchō' are several officers the first of which is the assistant mayor ('fuku-kuchō') who is elected at the same time as the mayor and serves for one year. He is paid ¥480 ($4.00) per month, and like the mayor he must be over 27 and a household head. In the absence of the mayor he functions in his place, and on all other occasions he assists him in his work. A village clerk ('shōki') is also elected at the same time as the 'kuchō', and serves for a term of one year; he is paid a salary of ¥700 ($5.83) each month. The main qualifications for this position are that one have a fair amount of education and a good mastery of characters for writing. The job holds little appeal since it demands much of the individual's time and affords little in the way of prestige or pay. In Kanegusuku-ku in December of 1953 three elections were held in an effort to fill this position before someone finally and quite reluctantly accepted it. 624 [465] [465]

An advisory body of four councillors ('hyōgiin') assists the mayor in his administration; they represent each of the four neighborhoods or districts of the village. They are elected at the same time as the mayor, serve for one year, and receive a salary of ¥20 (17¢) per meeting. According to the villagers this body has replaced the earlier yuushi which was an unelected advisory council made up of former village officials, the village equivalent of elder statesmen. The 'kuchō' never undertakes an independent course of action; he first consults the 'hyōgiin' and obtains their approval and suggestions before initiating action. 623 [465]

Each village of Kanegusuku-son elects two men to represent it in the township ('son') assembly ('sonkai'); they are elected for a term of four years. Older, mature men who have held several official positions are always selected. They also play a part in village administration and are considered village officials. At all meetings they sit with the officials, and their opinion is much valued. 624 632

All matters of real importance are submitted to the household heads who form the real body politic within the village. The electorate for the village consists exclusively of household heads; to vote in a village election one must be a household head or one appointed by him to vote in his place, but in township and national elections universal suffrage obtains. At one village election which the author witnessed in December of 1953 balloting began as soon as the meeting was called to order without any preliminary speeches or nominations. It was later stated that the election and likely candidates had been informally discussed among the village leaders and household heads so that there was no need for preliminaries. The same situation seemed to prevail when meetings were held to discuss matters of general concern; the apparent unanimity of opinion and agreement indicated that informal concordance had been reached well in advance of formal discussion and decision. 621 592 666

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

311 Land classification in Okinawa proceeds from the village to the township and then to the whole island. Each class of land in a village has its own grade. By combining these grades a township classification is made. This is done first by village committees determining the grades for each of their classes of land, and then by setting up a table of equivalences after discussion by the committee representing the whole township. Matsuda's first grade dry crop land might be considered by the land classification committee to be equal in quality to Ginoza village's second class land. While there might be only six classifications for any one village, when all these are combined, there may be ten grades for the township. This is shown by the table of correspondences for Matsuda and neighboring villages in Ginoza-son, as of November 1951.

In this illustration, Matsuda's first class rice land is considered second grade on a township wide basis; its sixth grade dry crop land is grade nine, and its first and second class houses are by comparison, grades three and four in the whole township.

311 623 632 With minor variations, the procedures in classifying land are the same in both townships. Each village makes the classification of its own land. This is done by five villagers, chosen by the people for their knowledge and integrity. In Gushichan township, village experts are designated to serve on the township committee.[8] Seven men from the villages are joined by the mayor (sonchō), the vice-mayor (joyaku), the trade and industry section head, the agricultural section head of the township office, a total of seven men, who then determine the township classifications. These committees make inspections of doubtful cases, often after working hours. The field trips usually end [574] up with a sake party.

In Ginoza-son essentially the same procedures are followed. Each village sends representatives, the number being determined by the area of the village. In late 1951, this village-wide committee had 24 members with the township mayor as chairman. Each village prepares its own land classification map. The local classifications, later combined to make a township-wide classification, have the advantage of limiting the range of grades in a small area and of comparing parcels close together.

Occasionally the grade of a plot is changed to correct an error or to make it consistent with an improvement. A new road may make a plot of land more accessible and thus change its grade.

311 651 433 556 In all the villages studied, land classification was important for the same reasons: for tax purposes, for estimating future production, and for the individual farmer, a means of demonstrating tangible wealth.

8 One representative each is chosen from the villages of Gushichan, Aragusuku, Koshihara, and Hakaza villages, one from Oton and Hanashiro combined, one from Asato and Yoza combined, and one from Hinatogawa-ikku and Hinatogawa-niku combined.

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5 For comparative purposes, the minimum wage for young Okinawan girls employed as maids for US personnel was about ¥100 ($9.17) per month. [465]

623 (hyōgiin) is an elected body, while the other, composed of village elders and public spirited men (yūshi) is a more honorary group. Sometimes the council is composed of one man from each neighborhood association. The elders are an unofficial body which because of its prestige is consulted when the headman and the council have an emergency problem and wish to get the advice of the respected men of the village. [554] This group is composed of former village headmen, former members of the village council, and well-known residents, such as retired school teachers or farmers.

The village council, composed of about 10 men, is elected from the male heads of a household. Before the war, members were elder men, but they now include young men as well. The council advises the headman on matters for which he is reluctant to assume full responsibility. If the decision is important enough, the village assembly, composed of all the heads of families over 18 years of age, is consulted. A headman may use the village council to help in defending himself against unpopular decisions. The village headman and the council generally make the final decision on village matters, but any decision involving the expenditure of money is referred to the assembly of household heads.

621 623 622 Village government is democratic. The people know their elected leaders personally. The problems with which the people and their officials are concerned are concrete, and seldom matters of abstract principle. They usually are concerned with local improvements, taxation, and schooling. The people participate in local government through the village assembly, at which they elect the headman and the council members. They can criticize and question decisions and approve proposals for spending money.

A headman can conceal neither his strong points nor his faults. Village government utilizes the principle of group responsibility without sacrificing the principle of individual leadership and a strong respected headman can do much to prevent the formation of cliques within a village. This does not mean that individual antagonisms and differences of opinion do not exist, but they seem to be resolved before they reach the stage of organized opposition.

Village government is not an extension of the family system. The village headman is not the head of one large family. But there is individual leadership, consultation and discussion, and mutual agreement both in the family system and in village government. Family experience has both a private and a public character. The public influences of family life takes the form of tempering the formality and mechanics of government.

621 591 A village is composed of single families. Many have intermarried. All of these families have a certain relationship to one another. They may be friends; they may live in the same neighborhood. Their children are known to one another as classmates, later as members of youth organizations. The families may have other associations, based on a common economic interest in agriculture, fishing, or pig raising. They

soup. Nothing is wasted and leftovers are kept for the next meal. The majority of people are fast eaters, and chopsticks move from bowl to mouth quickly and deftly. Some families eat silently, others enjoy talking during the meal. 512 262 769 [521]

Before and after full moon, people like to go out after supper and gather in small groups by the store to talk and smoke or to visit each other. Less running back and forth is observed during dark nights. There is also a seasonal variation in that respect. On cold winter nights, or when it rains, doors are closed early, and visitors slip into the house by the side kitchen door. On warm nights all houses are open, and one can see people sitting in their living room by the light of a kerosene lamp; passers-by just call over and then go in for a chat. Guests are served tea, bits of brown sugar, and other sweets. Men get together at this time and start talking over a cup of sake. A relative or neighbor, bottle in hand, walks in and joins the party. Here and there somebody pulls a samisen out of the corner and starts singing. 512 574 [521] [262]

Evenings are also the time for village meetings, finance group meetings, family gatherings, and other formal get-togethers. Several times during the week a light shines from the village office or the store office, where some of the village leaders meet to discuss community affairs. In the winter, household-head meetings or other general meetings are called for 8 o'clock; in the summer they do not start until 9 o'clock. In the absence of clocks, few meetings ever start on time. 512 623

The young men and women have their get-togethers at the clubhouse in Udenaha. Both sexes attend, sometimes for lectures by a village official on village affairs, sometimes for lessons in bookkeeping and the use of the abacus in business, for which one village leader dedicates his time, or for other educational purposes. Once a week they have a social evening with discussion and sometimes folk dances. On nights when no meetings are scheduled, young men gather at someone's house to smoke, drink, or sing together. If enough sake is available, parties can become noisy. Occasionally a fight or quarrel starts later in the evening after everybody has drunk steadily. Such interruptions on quiet evenings are rare and seldom occur more than once or twice a month. Loud singing at midnight or later, a group of gay men knocking on somebody's door, these are the only disturbances an early sleeper may experience if a party is held somewhere. 512 883 571 [544] [578]

By 11 o'clock mosquito nets are hung in the rooms and comforters spread on the floor. Except in the house where men gather to drink, quiet descends over the village around that time. Individuals, however, may be seen until long after midnight. Taira goes to sleep late, and although people claim that everyone gets eight hours of sleep, it 512 513

But actually no family is entirely self-sufficient, for each needs to purchase foodstuff as well as ready-made clothes, manufactured mostly in Japan, more substantial building materials, such as better grades of wood, tiles, and cement, tobacco, alcoholic beverages, sweets, toilet articles, some medical supplies, and other luxuries. Farmers buy their tools; students their books and writing materials. Finally, cash is needed to pay taxes. 433 438

In addition to the utilization of sugar, pineapple, firewood, and building materials for cash, Tairans also raise pigs for sale to slaughter houses, and some families derive an income from raising silkworms and producing tea. Fishermen sell fish inside and outside the village, and a small group of people are salaried workers or have an income from specialized services. [231]

Village leaders fear dependence on rapidly dwindling forest resources, still the main source of ready cash. They realize that the present modest living conditions of all families could be much improved if Tairans concentrated on increasing the cultivation of subsistence crops and farmed more intensively to raise cash crops. Most people lack this insight, however, and live on a day-to-day basis without much thought of the future. This is an island-wide problem which has the attention of central government agencies, and a great deal of educational propaganda comes to the village through government channels. 433 241 [313] [185] [654]

AGRICULTURE

The productivity of the land varies not only with its quality but also with the industriousness of the owners. Farmers who show foresight, those who seem to be under less pressure for immediate cash, take off more time from forest work to cultivate fields during planting season. The village headman and council members remind everybody during village meetings and informal discussions that work in the fields should not be neglected. With the approval of the whole community, the first and 15th of each lunar month have been set aside for farming. On these two days it is forbidden to go to the forests to cut wood. Such agreements are usually observed (as a rule), and they help to achieve their purpose but are not completely effective. 241 185 [433] [623] [313]

Rice is planted and harvested twice a year. The first rice is prepared in January when seeds are put into special beds where they are left to grow into young shoots until March. Until about 30 years ago it was said that all people seeded rice on the same day while prayers were 243 [782] [793]

666 tion itself is arranged and supervised by an *ad hoc* committee. In 1955 written ballots were cast and counted immediately so that the result was known within a few minutes after the last ballot was in.

622 In contrast to a position in the township administration, which carries high status, equivalent to that of a teacher, the village headman's job is considered a community service and carries little prestige. This does not mean that the headman should not be an individual of high qualities. He must be at least 25 years old; he has to have sufficient education, especially knowledge of Japanese writing characters, to read government documents and to do the required clerical work; he has to be a good accountant and must be proficient in working with the abacus, since all tax collections are supervised by him; he must be community minded and able to enforce regulations in a friendly but efficient way. The rewards are small, the salary less than that of most township officials. The office is held most frequently by young men who have not been out of high school too long. Most recent headmen are between 25 and 30 years of age. Serving in this office may mark the beginning of an administrative career, either in the township office, in the village store, or in business outside Taira. The clerk, appointed
624 by the headmen to assist in village administration, is also a young man. He too is likely to be headed toward an administrative career.

621 Each village is subdivided into wards, set up originally by Japanese
624 administration to effect greater control over families through the warden. He is a subagent of the headman, and at present he functions
[203] mainly as a channel for communications, a useful function in a village like Taira, which covers a large geographical area. Regulations, village meetings, and special events are announced through the warden, and he is often called on to collect delinquent taxes. However, he has little authority and functions more as a neighbor who takes care of necessary contacts between residents and the village administration. Ward members elect him to his honorary office for a one-year term.

623 Village affairs are discussed and legislative action concerning the village initiated by the village council. This group is now partly elected, partly composed of holders of essential offices, such as heads of associations, members of the township assembly, and township officials who live in Taira. The 26 members of the Council are responsible for measures affecting the community, and the headman relies heavily on their advice. Most councilmen are middle aged; few are over 50 years
[575] old. Since the head of the Women's Association and the nurse are members, there are at least two female representatives. The youngest councilman is usually the head of the Young People's Association.

623 It is apparent that leadership in the community is always exercised
555

by a limited group. The council represents almost all potential leaders. 623
Education and experience in the outside world are the most important 555
qualifications. This is a change from the old days when wealth was also an important factor. An example of a member of township assembly and village council is the man who lived for many years in Brazil (see Chapter 1, p. 374). His leadership is widely recognized and partly due to his successful use of modern farming techniques. Another village leader is a graduate of an agricultural high school, a man of superior intelligence and qualifications who ranked high in an island-wide civil service examination. Another former headman, and now a council member, was born and raised in Japan of Okinawan parents. Although unfamiliar with local dialect and practices, he is well versed in things Japanese and is a financial expert.

The full village council seldom meets. Instead, local matters are 623
discussed among a core of its most active leaders. Noncouncil members, such as the postmaster, policeman, or teachers, may be invited to some meetings. A discussion may start because several villagers want to set aside a special day during which nobody is permitted to go to the mountains to cut firewood, so that more work can be done in the fields. Such a proposal, if approved by the committee of council members, need not be brought before the entire council. Since no formal vote is taken by the council as a rule, friendly discussions decide the issue. Such a decision is then taken directly to a meeting of registered [592]
household heads which is held monthly or whenever there are a number of matters to be discussed and voted on. They are presented point by point, first by the headman, next by one or more council members; then discussion is opened to the whole meeting and eventually a vote is taken. This is done in a very relaxed manner and without actually counting the votes, since discussions have continued until there is a general consensus in the group.

Minor matters of immediate importance, such as tax collections, 622
plans for celebrating a holiday, or maintenance work on roads and 624
ditches in parts of the village, are taken up between the headman and wardens in weekly meetings.

The household head meeting is attended by many women who are 623
either registered household heads or have been sent by their husbands [592]
or fathers as representatives. Some men may actually be unable to [681]
attend; others are disinterested. Failure to send any family representative over 18 years old to a village meeting results in a fine of 20 yen. At one meeting when it seemed as if more women than men were present, the headman joked, "Let's call it a Women's Association Meeting." The women answered, "We are just nice to our husbands, so we

623 attend." As on all occasions women usually sit together on one side or in the rear. Few of them participate during discussions. The most active spokesmen for the women are the head of the Women's Association and one or two of her close assistants. If a discussion concerns such matters as liquor and food for celebrating certain holidays, a woman may speak [854] up. Mothers bring their infants along[1] and hold them in their arms or nurse them when they get restless. Sometimes a child feels uncomfortable and starts crying, and the mother is forced to leave the room.

554 In general, Taira people do not enjoy being leaders or playing a 157 dominating role. There are no bosses who attempt to force issues or 621 dictate policies. Even people who have definite ideas on how to effect changes would not attempt to assume full responsibility by disregarding the advice of others. "Power" is not associated with responsible positions and village leadership. The headman and clerk perform a duty, often loathed by them and never too highly rewarded by others. A man commands respect for his education, age, sound advice, and exemplary behavior, not for the office he holds. Moreover, all villagers are friendly neighbors, and the man who is presently headman still remains a relative or neighbor to everybody. There is more prestige [632] associated with township offices. The mayor, who holds the highest position, is a man of age and experience; he commands a great deal of respect and has been elected to that office because of the high esteem in which he is held. Occasionally one hears of power hungry persons who are unscrupulous and authoritarian, but they are rare.

FORMAL CONTROL

625 Formal control of law and order is in the hands of the police. A detachment of the Hentona district police is located in the village, and one policeman is constantly stationed there. He lives with his family in [206] a building which also has a small office. Recently a telephone with direct connections to Hentona was installed. The policeman and his wife are from another township.

[166] The policeman's main duty, according to villagers, is to protect them from the occasional outside burglars or from fugitives from the south who come north to hide in the woods. The announcement that such a person is on the loose creates much excitement and anxiety. A second important duty is the control of the shore line. Smugglers and [167] illegal entrants from the Japanese island of Yoron, just to the north of Okinawa, land along the coast. Although one man with only a bicycle can hardly control effectively several miles of coastline, since the only road to the outer world leads through Taira, the policeman

1 [i.e. - to the household head meeting - ANALYST]

625 went out for fugitives from the south, he would accompany the police-
[632] man or investigate himself. In cases of death, both he and the police-
[647] man have to make a report.

The Young People's Association may serve as a vigilante in emer-
[575] gencies such as fires, floods, tornadoes, and other disasters. When a
[731] military jeep was reported to have been stolen near Naha and driven on the dead-end road running north, the young people in all villages on the way erected road blocks and were ready to help catch the thief. The group would act together in a similar fashion at any threat from outsiders.

622 The headman can only enforce local ordinances insofar as he is
681 able to persuade people to comply. He is not concerned directly with crime or disturbance of the peace. Exceptions are such matters as steal-
[625] ing sugar cane or letting chickens run loose so that they enter every yard. For such acts, money fines can be imposed. One warden still has a tag which used to be given to the man whose chickens ran around freely. The offender had to pay the fine and keep the tag until he detected someone else's chicken running loose. Then he could pass the tag on to that person. Such measures are no longer used. But the un-
[626] derlying principle of public censure and fear of ridicule continues to operate in village social control.

●623 Public censure is used along with fines to ensure attendance at vil-
626 lage meetings. Roll call is taken before each meeting so that the ab-
[681] sence of individuals is made known to the whole group. Similarly, when tax collections became more and more delinquent, it was decided to have ward meetings in which everybody would be reminded in public to pay his share. Those who were unable to do so would have to state their reasons. As soon as this new plan was announced, several people got up during the meeting to pay outstanding amounts to the head-
872 man. The school uses similar devices to achieve better attendance and scholarship. During home visit week, about once a year, a meeting is held for all parents and the statistics for attendance for each village are read as well as scholastic performances for each community.

INFORMAL CONTROL

156
626 What other people might think is uppermost on everybody's mind.
[867] Children are reminded by their mothers not to play alone lest people would think they are unpopular. They are told not to fight lest others think badly of them or make them responsible for the consequences. Censure by gossip is common, but criticism is seldom made directly to a person's face, and the target of extensive gossip is often unaware of it.

602 on one's mother's side and, after marriage, the wife's family. In seek-
476 ing mutual assistance for rice planting, house building and other undertakings, such relatives may be approached. In other words, kin, neighbors, and members of the same geographical section of the village participate almost equally in mutual assistance groups. Maternal relatives join in family celebrations and in the discussion of family matters. Since many decisions are made jointly with the help of relatives, there are frequent occasions for the kindred to gather in the evening at one house or another.

561 Each Okinawan also belongs to an age group. As will be described in the section on socialization, beginning at kindergarten an Okinawan becomes associated with a group of boys and girls who will remain his
575 companions through school. As a member of junior high school he
653 will join the formal Student's Association, which is responsible for certain community projects. High school students and all unmarried young adults belong to the Young People's Association, which is both a social group and a cooperative work group.

575 After marriage there are several associations which one may join.
185 Adult married women who are under 57 belong to the Women's Asso-
[562] ciation, which is affiliated with an island organization dedicated to "modernizing" women's lives. The organization is lead by a few women who are in contact with the district and island organization. They attempt at semisocial gatherings to introduce changes aimed at easing
[262] the burdens of daily life and the pressure of poverty. For example, they are trying to influence the women to return to making their own bean paste rather than spending precious cash. The leaders show the women how to make bean paste and encourage them to set aside one work-free day a month to catch up with neglected housework. Many of the efforts of the organization, however, are not too successful. Most women go back to their homes and find that the accustomed ways are easier to follow. One has learned to live with economic pressures and tradition and established custom is a strong force. So the few forward-looking women have a difficult task in rallying others.

Both adult married males and females may also join an organization similar in objective—the Home Improvement group. Although the men who are village leaders belong to this association, the majority of the members are the same women who are leaders in the Women's Association.

575 Before World War II there was an association of older men.* Al-
887 though this group seldom, if ever, meets, it still sends a representative
623 to the village council and to a few village functions.

* Apparently of relatively recent origin.

the wife takes charge of household funds while her husband controls larger spendings. 593 562

Many quarrels between couples originate from financial matters. Disagreements happen frequently when a husband returns home intoxicated late at night. His wife may blame him for using money which she has put aside for a special purchase; from this incident the argument turns to family finances in general. As words become more heated, the woman holds her own, telling her husband in no uncertain terms that he is a squanderer. Some husbands settle such an argument by hitting their wives. [273] [578]

Decisions are seldom made by one person in the family. The more important the issue involved, the more people within the family are consulted. A husband and wife may discuss whether to buy or sell a pig and make a joint decision. They also decide mutually on the buying of seed rice and other agricultural matters. Men concern themselves with the building of new structures or the addition to old ones. On the other hand, women make decisions affecting the daily life of children. They determine if a child needs new clothes, if he should be taken to the doctor, or accompany the mother on a shopping trip to the city. Some fathers take an interest in their children's study habits and accomplishments at school, but few are consistent in supervising their children in this respect. Here, too, mothers seem to have a much greater influence. Girls are likely to receive even less attention from their fathers than boys. In cases of decisions that can vitally affect the future of the whole household, members of the husband's and wife's family, if they live in the village, gather to discuss plans. 593 [602]

Although women are less active politically than men, they participate in village meetings as representatives for their families. With the exception of the Women's Association leaders, their participation is more passive than that of the men. But although they seldom speak in public and sit together at the back of the meeting, women nevertheless exert a great deal of influence on community affairs. Their influence is felt even more in meetings of mutual finance associations. 575 562 623

It is unlikely at this point that a woman in the village would run for political office. Several recent developments, however, indicate a steady increase in their political participation. The headman who was elected to office in 1955 is responsible for an innovation which reflects this trend. He selected his clerk by means of a competitive examination which was open to both young men and young women. Two girls who had graduated from high school were among the candidates. They were defeated by a young man to whom the job was given because of 562 666

562 his high score. Under American influence, universal suffrage and
666 equal representation have been introduced and formally adopted in some village affairs, although the household head vote—traditionally mostly male—is still maintained in many cases.

562 The Women's Association is the main force behind the attempts to
575 give women greater equality. The spokesmen for this group do not proclaim equality for women as such as the important goal but express hopes that women's life can be made easier by reducing their work load and providing more conveniences for them, such as better stoves. Attempts are made to give a woman more time to spend at home instead of in forests or fields and to reduce the expenses involved in preparing for holidays and special celebrations. The opinions of the Women's Association carry weight in village affairs. This, as one old woman pointed out, is a considerable change from earlier times. There had been a Women's Association before the war, but
[623] women were still barred from participation in village meetings at that time, and the only place where they could make themselves heard in village matters was at the meeting of the individuals required to do periodic labor for the village.

562 The situation at the time of fieldwork with regard to the attempts
527 of women to gain more recognition and the role which men play in
595 this respect is illustrated by a celebration of Mother's Day—an event
[177] which came to Taira quite recently from the outside. The women decided to observe it by taking off from their daily duties during the afternoon. The Women's Association made all arrangements, so that it was not a day dedicated by children or adult men to the mothers, but a day that the mothers celebrated themselves. Nevertheless, for the meeting at the old warehouse, where mats had been spread and food prepared, there were also tables arranged for the male village officials, such as the headman, village council members, and the policeman. They started the affair by treating the women to a few speeches in which the importance of motherhood was eulogized by such observations as: "A man can be great only if he has a mother who is making him great," and (from the policeman): "Mothers are an important factor in preventing juvenile delinquency." After this initial hour-long introduction, the leader of the Women's Association declared that festivities could now begin and that she "did not care how much sake the women drank as long as they were happy on this day." The children, who had been told by their teachers to help their mothers on this day by cleaning house and freeing them from some of their chores, gathered near the building, received some feast food and played as usual, and men—with the exception of the invited officials—worked

One of his major responsibilities to the township office is tax collection within the village; yet, his actual powers are slight, as nearly all of his official acts are first sanctioned by the villagers or the township office. It seemed to the author that the chief role of the 'kuchō' was as an intermediary between the people and the township office or as an agent for the latter, rather than as an administrator. It would seem that the payment of his salary by the township instead of by the village is symbolic of his actual role. 622 [651] [632]

Assisting the 'kuchō' are several officers the first of which is the assistant mayor ('fuku-kuchō') who is elected at the same time as the mayor and serves for one year. He is paid ¥480 ($4.00) per month, and like the mayor he must be over 27 and a household head. In the absence of the mayor he functions in his place, and on all other occasions he assists him in his work. A village clerk ('shōki') is also elected at the same time as the 'kuchō', and serves for a term of one year; he is paid a salary of ¥700 ($5.83) each month. The main qualifications for this position are that one have a fair amount of education and a good mastery of characters for writing. The job holds little appeal since it demands much of the individual's time and affords little in the way of prestige or pay. In Kanegusuku-ku in December of 1953 three elections were held in an effort to fill this position before someone finally and quite reluctantly accepted it. 624 [465] [465]

An advisory body of four councillors ('hyōgiin') assists the mayor in his administration; they represent each of the four neighborhoods or districts of the village. They are elected at the same time as the mayor, serve for one year, and receive a salary of ¥20 (17¢) per meeting. According to the villagers this body has replaced the earlier yuushi which was an unelected advisory council made up of former village officials, the village equivalent of elder statesmen. The 'kuchō' never undertakes an independent course of action; he first consults the 'hyōgiin' and obtains their approval and suggestions before initiating action. 623a [465]

Each village of Kanegusuku-son elects two men to represent it in the township ('son') assembly ('sonkai'); they are elected for a term of four years. Older, mature men who have held several official positions are always selected. They also play a part in village administration and are considered village officials. At all meetings they sit with the officials, and their opinion is much valued. 624 632

All matters of real importance are submitted to the household heads who form the real body politic within the village. The electorate for the village consists exclusively of household heads; to vote in a village election one must be a household head or one appointed by him to vote in his place, but in township and national elections universal suffrage obtains. At one village election which the author witnessed in December of 1953 balloting began as soon as the meeting was called to order without any preliminary speeches or nominations. It was later stated that the election and likely candidates had been informally discussed among the village leaders and household heads so that there was no need for preliminaries. The same situation seemed to prevail when meetings were held to discuss matters of general concern; the apparent unanimity of opinion and agreement indicated that informal concordance had been reached well in advance of formal discussion and decision. 621 592 666

fuel. The usual practice here too is to clear cut up a steep hill or mountain, the lower and more convenient the spot, the more efficient the clearcutting. Weeds, shrubs, grasses, and the Yambaru bamboo have quickly taken the place of the trees. The man induced climax vegetation is grass and shrub. 313 [137]

Forest destruction in Okinawa does not seem to have reached the alarming proportions observed in Japan.[6] The destruction of the war increased the demand for lumber and firewood. This demand accelerated the dangerous practices and led to widespread waste.[7] Fortunately, if Hatsuda is a good example, the roads were poor and underdeveloped, and the mills small. There was some brake on uncontrolled deforestation.

In the accompanying photograph of the Hatsuda forest area, there was access to the summit and the trees there were cut down. For some reason, probably the steepness of the mountain side, the pine and shii on the slopes were not cut. The result was that tall stands of dwarf bamboo took over the spaces on the summit left by the trees, while the trees continued to grow on the mountain sides. [137]

Since the forest is owned by the village, any resident may cut trees for his own use. This custom has few dangers because it is a large forest with a small population in the environs. The cutting is scattered. The villager selects the tree with the consent of the village official in charge of forest control, cuts it and takes it to his courtyard. There is a charge of Y1 for each large tree, or Y1 for five small trees. This money goes to the village office. Villagers' personal needs are a small drain on the forest resource. [423] [624] [651]

The village government also sells wood. In lulls in farming, or when the farmer needs some cash, he may cut trees for the village. Wood cutting for lumber is a year round activity. September to December is the season for cutting firewood. There are two common practices in commercial dealings with wood and lumber. For cutting and gathering firewood, the village office pays Y5 a bundle, Y4 goes to the person cutting the wood, and Y1 to the village office, 60% of which it retains and 40% going to the township office. 313 655

Cutting and gathering wood is by no means an easy task. The walk to the forest may take an hour one way, though there may be truck transportation part way. The trees must be cut, the wood chopped up and made into the familiar bundles tied with a stout rush (often the i) and carried back or put in a central location to be picked up later. This marketing of wood on an individual basis is casual and intermittent. More continuous and larger scale exploitation takes place when the village office sells a certain area for cutting. The village takes 60%, the township 40% of the proceeds. 313 [655]

6 Ibid, 285-87. [Text continues on p. 232.--Analyst]
7 Okinawan forests, as cited, 2-3, 5-8.

Their acts are enforced in each of the villages by the headman. 632

The village headman (kuchō) is an intermediary between the people and the township government. He listens to complaints from his people, carries them to the township government for a hearing, and has supervision over official community projects and activities. The headman, like the mayor, is a busy, hardworking man. His pay, insufficient to live on, is midway between a salary and an honorarium. The headman of Hanashiro, for example, received Y720 per month, Hinatogawa Y950, and Hatsuda Y2000 a month.[5] The headman usually has a paid clerk (shoki) who works full time and may receive more pay than the headman. The clerk compiles reports of the village population, assists the headman at meetings, and is a general administrative assistant. 622 622 [465] [624]

The village headman is elected for a period of one year. There is no campaigning. The election generally is preceded by discussions among the heads of households, village elders, the young men's association and the women's association. These discussions reveal the candidates who are able to do the work and have the leisure and the money to undertake the responsibility. [66]

A village headman usually leads a harried life. Most of them regard their term as a duty to be discharged rather than a beginning of a career in office holding. A former village headman of Hanashiro said that, in addition to the formal meetings he attended at the township office, he had to visit the village office at least 15 times a month on some village problem, such as taxes, health and sanitation, or individual complaints. The village headman of Hinatogawa had a constant succession of problems: reports on overdue fishermen, getting water pipe lines from the mountains to the water tank repaired, taking charge of typhoon damage repair, and trying to have small improvements made in the village. The headman is caught between the township officials who need tax money and the villagers who complain that they have so little money with which to pay them. In Hatsuda, there was the same multiplication of problems involving taxes, need for extra school supplies or repairs, and road maintenance. [651]

Village headmen belong to no special age group. In one township, they ranged in age from 30 to 52. Age is not a decisive factor in their selection, but reputation, literacy, and friendliness are. Though there is a change in administration each year, the incumbent headman stays on one month after the close of his term until the new one has become accustomed to his duties. In some villages, the clerk is elected at the same time as the village headman. [624]

The village headman does not have, nor does he desire, complete responsibility for administering the village. Two groups are available for advice. The headman will not make decisions on important non-routine matters without consulting them. The first of these, the village council 623

5 For comparative purposes, the minimum wage for young Okinawan girls employed as maids for US personnel was about Y100 ($9.17) per month. [465]

666 tion itself is arranged and supervised by an *ad hoc* committee. In 1955 written ballots were cast and counted immediately so that the result was known within a few minutes after the last ballot was in.

622 In contrast to a position in the township administration, which carries high status, equivalent to that of a teacher, the village headman's job is considered a community service and carries little prestige. This does not mean that the headman should not be an individual of high qualities. He must be at least 25 years old; he has to have sufficient education, especially knowledge of Japanese writing characters, to read government documents and to do the required clerical work; he has to be a good accountant and must be proficient in working with the abacus, since all tax collections are supervised by him; he must be community minded and able to enforce regulations in a friendly but efficient way. The rewards are small, the salary less than that of most township officials. The office is held most frequently by young men who have not been out of high school too long. Most recent headmen are between 25 and 30 years of age. Serving in this office may mark the beginning of an administrative career, either in the township office, in the village store, or in business outside Taira. The clerk, appointed ●624 by the headmen to assist in village administration, is also a young man. He too is likely to be headed toward an administrative career.

621 Each village is subdivided into wards, set up originally by Japanese
624 administration to effect greater control over families through the warden. He is a subagent of the headman, and at present he functions
[203] mainly as a channel for communications, a useful function in a village like Taira, which covers a large geographical area. Regulations, village meetings, and special events are announced through the warden, and he is often called on to collect delinquent taxes. However, he has little authority and functions more as a neighbor who takes care of necessary contacts between residents and the village administration. Ward members elect him to his honorary office for a one-year term.

623 Village affairs are discussed and legislative action concerning the village initiated by the village council. This group is now partly elected, partly composed of holders of essential offices, such as heads of associations, members of the township assembly, and township officials who live in Taira. The 26 members of the Council are responsible for measures affecting the community, and the headman relies heavily on their advice. Most councilmen are middle aged; few are over 50 years
[575] old. Since the head of the Women's Association and the nurse are members, there are at least two female representatives. The youngest councilman is usually the head of the Young People's Association.

623 It is apparent that leadership in the community is always exercised
555

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

by a limited group. The council represents almost all potential leaders. 623
Education and experience in the outside world are the most important 555
qualifications. This is a change from the old days when wealth was also an important factor. An example of a member of township assembly and village council is the man who lived for many years in Brazil (see Chapter 1, p. 374). His leadership is widely recognized and partly due to his successful use of modern farming techniques. Another village leader is a graduate of an agricultural high school, a man of superior intelligence and qualifications who ranked high in an island-wide civil service examination. Another former headman, and now a council member, was born and raised in Japan of Okinawan parents. Although unfamiliar with local dialect and practices, he is well versed in things Japanese and is a financial expert.

The full village council seldom meets. Instead, local matters are 623
discussed among a core of its most active leaders. Noncouncil members, such as the postmaster, policeman, or teachers, may be invited to some meetings. A discussion may start because several villagers want to set aside a special day during which nobody is permitted to go to the mountains to cut firewood, so that more work can be done in the fields. Such a proposal, if approved by the committee of council members, need not be brought before the entire council. Since no formal vote is taken by the council as a rule, friendly discussions decide the issue. Such a decision is then taken directly to a meeting of registered [592]
household heads which is held monthly or whenever there are a number of matters to be discussed and voted on. They are presented point by point, first by the headman, next by one or more council members; then discussion is opened to the whole meeting and eventually a vote is taken. This is done in a very relaxed manner and without actually counting the votes, since discussions have continued until there is a general consensus in the group.

Minor matters of immediate importance, such as tax collections, 622
plans for celebrating a holiday, or maintenance work on roads and 624
ditches in parts of the village, are taken up between the headman and wardens in weekly meetings.

The household head meeting is attended by many women who are 623
either registered household heads or have been sent by their husbands [592]
or fathers as representatives. Some men may actually be unable to [681]
attend; others are disinterested. Failure to send any family representative over 18 years old to a village meeting results in a fine of 20 yen. At one meeting when it seemed as if more women than men were present, the headman joked, "Let's call it a Women's Association Meeting." The women answered, "We are just nice to our husbands, so we

One of his major responsibilities to the township office is tax collection within the village; yet, his actual powers are slight, as nearly all of his official acts are first sanctioned by the villagers or the township office. It seemed to the author that the chief role of the 'kuchō' was as an intermediary between the people and the township office or as an agent for the latter, rather than as an administrator. It would seem that the payment of his salary by the township instead of by the village is symbolic of his actual role. 622 [657] [632]

Assisting the 'kuchō' are several officers the first of which is the assistant mayor ('fuku-kuchō') who is elected at the same time as the mayor and serves for one year. He is paid ¥480 ($4.00) per month, and like the mayor he must be over 27 and a household head. In the absence of the mayor he functions in his place, and on all other occasions he assists him in his work. A village clerk ('shōki') is also elected at the same time as the 'kuchō', and serves for a term of one year; he is paid a salary of ¥700 ($5.83) each month. The main qualifications for this position are that one have a fair amount of education and a good mastery of characters for writing. The job holds little appeal since it demands much of the individual's time and affords little in the way of prestige or pay. In Kanegusuku-ku in December of 1953 three elections were held in an effort to fill this position before someone finally and quite reluctantly accepted it. 624 [465] [465]

An advisory body of four councillors ('hyōgiin') assists the mayor in his administration; they represent each of the four neighborhoods or districts of the village. They are elected at the same time as the mayor, serve for one year, and receive a salary of ¥20 (17¢) per meeting. According to the villagers this body has replaced the earlier yuushi which was an unelected advisory council made up of former village officials, the village equivalent of elder statesmen. The 'kuchō' never undertakes an independent course of action; he first consults the 'hyōgiin' and obtains their approval and suggestions before initiating action. 623 [465]

Each village of Kanegusuku-son elects two men to represent it in the township ('son') assembly ('sonkai'); they are elected for a term of four years. Older, mature men who have held several official positions are always selected. They also play a part in village administration and are considered village officials. At all meetings they sit with the officials, and their opinion is much valued. 624 632

All matters of real importance are submitted to the household heads who form the real body politic within the village. The electorate for the village consists exclusively of household heads; to vote in a village election one must be a household head or one appointed by him to vote in his place, but in township and national elections universal suffrage obtains. At one village election which the author witnessed in December of 1953 balloting began as soon as the meeting was called to order without any preliminary speeches or nominations. It was later stated that the election and likely candidates had been informally discussed among the village leaders and household heads so that there was no need for preliminaries. The same situation seemed to prevail when meetings were held to discuss matters of general concern; the apparent unanimity of opinion and agreement indicated that informal concordance had been reached well in advance of formal discussion and decision. 621 592 666

621 For administrative purposes villages are subdivided into sections or
177 neighborhoods called 'han' or 'kumi'. There is considerable variation in the use of these terms throughout Okinawa, in part occasioned by the recency of their introduction and by the confusion following the end of the war. In 1940
[648] the Japanese government ordered all municipalities ('shi-chō-son') subdivided into 'rimpō-han' (settlement sections) which in turn were subdivided into 'tonari-gumi' (neighborhood groups). The move was a political one designed to insure more effective control; the divisions were often quite arbitrary and had little relation to social groupings. The term 'kumi', however, had been in use for a long time in both Japan and Okinawa, referring to a group of households. That
[178] these subdivisions have survived into the postwar period indicates that they are fulfilling a function necessary to village administration.

621 A large village such as Henza (of Henza Shima), which has a population
624 of 3800, is subdivided into 5 'han' each headed by an official called 'hanchō'. Every 'han' is subdivided into 'kumi'; there are 41 'kumi' in the village, approximately 8 to each 'han'. Each 'kumi' contains from 12-20 houses; the head of the 'kumi' is the 'kumichō'. In a smaller village such as Kanegusuku-ku which has a population of 507, the 'han' no longer exists; instead the term 'kumi' is applied to the four subdivisions of the village. In Kanegusuku the 'kumichō' functions as the intermediary between the 'kuchō' and the people of the area; there are on the average 25 houses in each 'kumi'. 'Kumichō' are elected each year by the 'kumi' though in actuality the position is really rotated among the households within the 'kumi'. One of the chief functions of the 'kumi' is to provide labor for community work projects. When the township office requests that the 'kuchō' have his village repair a section of a road, he calls in the 'kumichō' and tells them how many workers will be needed. The 'kumichō' notify the household heads within their 'kumi' and the households supply in rotation the needed labor. When local clean-up is in order as preparation for a township inspection, the 'kumichō' supervises the work in his area. Tax collections for village finances are generally made by him, and when tax collections are made by the township, he notifies his constituents as to the time and place of payment.

The importance of the 'kumichō' or 'hanchō' is dependent on the physical nature of the village and its size. In a small tightly-nucleated village like Kanegusuku the 'kumichō' functions mainly as an intermediary or messenger between the 'kuchō' and the people of the 'kumi' and as a foreman on their work details. In a larger village whose 'han' are scattered into more isolated neighborhoods or settlements the 'hanchō' often functions more like a 'kuchō'. In Kanegusuku the divisions are more or less arbitrary ones, and there is definitely no feeling of strong identity with a particular 'kumi'. However, in the village of Tomoyose where Pitts studied, the isolated settlement of Nanahan (literally ("Han Seven") felt itself to be a distinct unit and functioned not unlike a very small village.

621 Most villages have a small building set aside for use as an office or
344 meeting place. These are usually called <u>muraya</u> in Okinawan or 'jimusho' in Japanese. In a large village like Henza the office is nearly as large as those of some of the smaller 'son', containing desks, telephone, records, and a full-time staff. In Kanegusuku a small bare hut large enough for only a dozen people suffices. When village meetings are held, the officials sit inside the building while the people sit outside facing them. Village records are stored in the home of the 'kuchō' or the clerk.

623 attend." As on all occasions women usually sit together on one side or in the rear. Few of them participate during discussions. The most active spokesmen for the women are the head of the Women's Association and one or two of her close assistants. If a discussion concerns such matters as liquor and food for celebrating certain holidays, a woman may speak [854] up. Mothers bring their infants along[1] and hold them in their arms or nurse them when they get restless. Sometimes a child feels uncomfortable and starts crying, and the mother is forced to leave the room.

554 In general, Taira people do not enjoy being leaders or playing a 157 dominating role. There are no bosses who attempt to force issues or 621 dictate policies. Even people who have definite ideas on how to effect changes would not attempt to assume full responsibility by disregarding the advice of others. "Power" is not associated with responsible positions and village leadership. The headman and clerk perform a duty, often loathed by them and never too highly rewarded by others. A man commands respect for his education, age, sound advice, and exemplary behavior, not for the office he holds. Moreover, all villagers are friendly neighbors, and the man who is presently headman still remains a relative or neighbor to everybody. There is more prestige [632] associated with township offices. The mayor, who holds the highest position, is a man of age and experience; he commands a great deal of respect and has been elected to that office because of the high esteem in which he is held. Occasionally one hears of power hungry persons who are unscrupulous and authoritarian, but they are rare.

FORMAL CONTROL

● 625 Formal control of law and order is in the hands of the police. A detachment of the Hentona district police is located in the village, and one policeman is constantly stationed there. He lives with his family in [206] a building which also has a small office. Recently a telephone with direct connections to Hentona was installed. The policeman and his wife are from another township.

The policeman's main duty, according to villagers, is to protect [166] them from the occasional outside burglars or from fugitives from the south who come north to hide in the woods. The announcement that such a person is on the loose creates much excitement and anxiety. A second important duty is the control of the shore line. Smugglers and [167] illegal entrants from the Japanese island of Yoron, just to the north of Okinawa, land along the coast. Although one man with only a bicycle can hardly control effectively several miles of coastline, since the only road to the outer world leads through Taira, the policeman

1 [i.e. - to the household head meeting - ANALYST]

can at least check all transients. Another important duty is to prevent the use of explosives by fishermen, a difficult if not impossible assignment, for he must catch the fisherman *flagrante delicto* when he lands with fish killed in this way. There is no indication that villagers assist the policeman in detecting offenders. 625 [226]

Policing the village itself is not a difficult job. The absence of crime and the low incidence of quarrels, disputes, and brawls would seem to make policing unnecessary. Nevertheless, the policeman interferes at times in disputes. He considers it his duty when actual blows are exchanged and somebody is hurt. In such a case he "investigates," takes notes, and makes a report to the police department. During the entire field work, reportable incidents occurred at about the rate of one a month; in the two or three cases where violence occurred, the matter was settled peacefully later, although the policeman kept a record of it. The rare quarrels which do occur are usually the result of drinking or domestic disagreements, generated by financial problems. 625 578 [674] [273]

The policeman plays the role of judge and jury. In one case a young man hit a woman and was temporarily detained by the policeman until he made apologies to the victim. In disputes over business transactions, the policeman often arbitrates. In a dispute in which a Taira woman was accused of cheating a trader from another village, the policeman heard the case and ordered the Taira woman to make refunds over a period of time. The villagers seem to accept such arbitration. Serious disagreements seem to be unthinkable, and everyone fears public censure and ostracism. Court action is extremely rare and is referred to the provincial courts in the town of Nago. 625 627 [692]

The policeman is given high status by the villagers and commands respect. He remains, probably by his own choice, a neutral person in village affairs. He attends village functions, where he is given a place among village leaders. Being friendly with many families, he visits and is visited by other men. It was noted that fishermen sometimes send a special catch to the policeman. But since this is a courtesy which is also common among farmers with regard to nonfarming people, such as teachers, one should not think of such actions as bribery. Mothers use the policeman as a threat in disciplining children. "If you do such a bad thing again, I'll take you to the police station." This, however, does not seem to instill any fear of his person, but rather a respect towards the general area in which the policeman lives. Village children play freely with the policeman's children, but his courtyard is entered less frequently by children than that of other villagers. 625 [554] [662] [861]

The head of the General Affairs Department at the township office is charged with supervision of public order. It is not clear how much this is a self-assigned task. During several occasions, when an alarm 632 647 625

625 went out for fugitives from the south, he would accompany the policeman or investigate himself. In cases of death, both he and the policeman have to make a report.

The Young People's Association may serve as a vigilante in emergencies such as fires, floods, tornadoes, and other disasters. When a military jeep was reported to have been stolen near Naha and driven on the dead-end road running north, the young people in all villages on the way erected road blocks and were ready to help catch the thief. The group would act together in a similar fashion at any threat from outsiders.

The headman can only enforce local ordinances insofar as he is able to persuade people to comply. He is not concerned directly with crime or disturbance of the peace. Exceptions are such matters as stealing sugar cane or letting chickens run loose so that they enter every yard. For such acts, money fines can be imposed. One warden still has a tag which used to be given to the man whose chickens ran around freely. The offender had to pay the fine and keep the tag until he detected someone else's chicken running loose. Then he could pass the tag on to that person. Such measures are no longer used. But the underlying principle of public censure and fear of ridicule continues to operate in village social control.

Public censure is used along with fines to ensure attendance at village meetings. Roll call is taken before each meeting so that the absence of individuals is made known to the whole group. Similarly, when tax collections became more and more delinquent, it was decided to have ward meetings in which everybody would be reminded in public to pay his share. Those who were unable to do so would have to state their reasons. As soon as this new plan was announced, several people got up during the meeting to pay outstanding amounts to the headman. The school uses similar devices to achieve better attendance and scholarship. During home visit week, about once a year, a meeting is held for all parents and the statistics for attendance for each village are read as well as scholastic performances for each community.

INFORMAL CONTROL

What other people might think is uppermost on everybody's mind. Children are reminded by their mothers not to play alone lest people would think they are unpopular. They are told not to fight lest others think badly of them or make them responsible for the consequences. Censure by gossip is common, but criticism is seldom made directly to a person's face, and the target of extensive gossip is often unaware of it.

3. Police

625

Local governments of the municipalities ('shi-chō-son') and the various 'ku' (villages and wards) exercise no control over the police stationed in their areas. Central police headquarters are located in Naha, and the organization of the police command is outside the regular civil structure except at the top national level. The police officer located in Kanegusuku-son reports directly to the district police headquarters in Itoman which in turn reports to Naha. In addition to maintaining law and order the police are charged with certain responsibilities in the fields of sanitation, health, and public welfare. Crime rates on Okinawa are low, particularly [674] in the rural areas, and policemen stationed there rarely face serious problems of law violation. A 'son' policeman has a "beat" which he is supposed to patrol each day unless other business is pressing. Actually his visits to some of the villages are rather infrequent, since there is little need for his presence. When a villager dies, it is usually the policeman who checks and certifies the cause of death. Certain dangerous or [744] highly contagious diseases such as leprosy or smallpox must by law be reported, and any infractions of this are usually investigated by the police. If a restaurant or food store is reported as unsanitary, it is the police who take steps to see that the situation is corrected.

Not infrequently the policeman is called upon to function informally 625
as a judge in settling minor disputes which in the United States would be 627
taken to court. One man rented out a room in his home to a former schoolmate, after living and eating there for several months, the roomer disappeared without making any payment for his room and board. A few months later the owner located this person's place of employment, collared him as he left work, and dragged him to the nearest policeman. The policeman listened patiently to both sides of the argument and then ruled that the roomer must pay the entire amount due the owner, ¥6000 ($50.00), at the rate of ¥2000 per month. The two disputants signed an agreement to this effect, and the policeman also signed it "to make it official". An American would regard this action as an abuse of police power; yet, an Okinawan would see nothing untoward in it. In light of this it is worth noting [178] that the jiturei who headed the rural district (majiri) under the old kingdom functioned as policeman, judge, and administrator.

In the matter of juvenile delinquency the school and police are re- 871
ported to work closely together. One police officer stated that when juve- 625
niles commit misdemeanors in his area they are usually turned over to their 674
schools for special "education". That an errant child should be released to the custody of his school rather than to his family would seem an inconsistency in a society which places so much emphasis on family. In America [171] and perhaps in all of Western society the teaching of ethics is largely a function of the home, but in Japan and Okinawa this is considered a task for the school.

To an outsider Okinawan police appear to be efficient in the per- 625
formance of their duty and possessed of a pride in their job and a fairly

625 high esprit. A policeman's salary is high when compared to that of other government workers and the general public; in addition the job has other advantages such as a uniform and free transportation on public conveyances.

621 625 In rural areas there seems to be some resentment over what is considered to be high pay and special privileges for policemen; this was particularly true where the local policeman was not a native son. In one of the more isolated villages of northern Okinawa, a community which is noted for and prides itself on its strong community spirit, there was some irritation with what they felt to be an unnecessary presence of a policeman (not native to the village) in their midst. The village 'kuchō' and several villagers assured the author that the village was a most peaceful one, everyone cooperated well together, and there was never any stealing or violence. They were also resentful of the fact that the village supplied the policeman with free food and charcoal and that his pay, nevertheless, was about equal to that of their highly respected school principal.

875 625 554 It should be noted that whenever the low pay of teachers was mentioned the correspondingly high pay of the police was cited. The teacher traditionally has been venerated in this culture, and it is held that the teacher is a better-educated person and should, therefore, receive a higher salary, as was the case before the war. In the past the higher positions in the bureaucracy were accorded or ideally should be accorded those with better educations, and since both the policeman and the teacher are civil government employees, the present situation with regard to their respective salaries seems unjust.

625 829 Most people express the belief that the police are honest and conscientious though their high pay may be resented. A number of people observed that the police are much better under the American military administration than they were under the Japanese government before the war, in that they are more polite and less officious today. Under present laws the powers of the police have been clearly defined to insure that they will not violate the rights of individuals as was frequently done in the past. Not a few Okinawans will contend that this curbing of police power while probably democratic has encouraged an increase in crime in recent years. The traditional attitude toward the policeman seems to be a mixture of fear and respect, and mothers frequently use the threat to call a policeman as a means of disciplining a child who misbehaves.

4. Political Participation by Women

562 [666] Since the end of the war universal suffrage has been introduced into Okinawan political life. The enfranchisement of women has not brought with it a surge of political activity on their part. It is now theoretically possible for a woman to hold public office, but in actuality none to date has been elected to a national or municipal office. One woman declared herself a candidate for the Ryukyuan legislature in 1954 but later withdrew from the campaign shortly before election time. In the rural areas political participation by women is even more limited. The men in the village of Kanegusuku laugh when the subject of women in politics is mentioned; they say

751 Social factors contributing to poor sanitation stem mainly from the
312 failure of the individual in Okinawan society to take individual action.
364 For example, four unrelated families, one of which I knew well, rented the
156 four quarters of a house in the city. The well beside the house was badly in need of a drainage system; the water from everyone's laundry and bathing formed a large puddle around the concrete well-top and eventually sank into the ground, no doubt to re-enter the well, which of course also provided drinking water. No one made a move to do anything about this individually. Finally the owner of the house suggested that the several families join with him on a certain day in digging a drainage ditch. This was done. However, instead of digging a ditch to allow the water to run down hill and away, they dug the ditch only a few feet into a tiny field on the same level as the house and well. They did not feel that they could dig a ditch that led the water onto the land of the family who lived below, despite the fact that this was the natural lay of the land and despite the fact that the water was now sinking into the ground above the well of another neighbor. It was felt that only if all the neighbors joined to dig ditches together to allow all the water to drain to the municipal drainage ditch beside the street, only then would it be proper to let one's old wash water drain into another's yard. So far as I know this joint action was never taken.

751 At the same house, when one of the tenants moved out they dumped a
364 great pile of garbage in front of their room. Another tenant moved into the
156 room and, although the wife commented on the "bad sanitation" ('eisei ga warui'), for some time nothing was done about the pile of garbage. In this case the reason for inaction may have been pride rather than consideration of another's feelings. It seems likely that the new tenant felt that it was not his responsibility to remove the garbage and that it was also beneath his dignity to do so.

ooo Social factors of this sort can perhaps be attacked in two ways. First, by appealing to the individual, to his pride and his esthetic sense, and by creating a greater degree of personal identification, it may be possible to extend the "sphere of sanitation" beyond the floor of the house and out into the yard and perhaps even to the street. But this would not be an easy task. At the present time the average Okinawan is probably less embarrassed by a pile of garbage in his yard and the hundreds of flies that infest it, than he would be to be seen doing the menial task of cleaning it up. He would not feel embarrassed, however, if it were a community endeavor. And therefore as a second method of attack one might encourage more group action. But this requires the development of outspoken leadership.

178 It is possible that standards of sanitation are lower at the pre-
751 sent time than before the war. Residents of the village of Yamada spoke
744 of the "big cleanings" ('ōsōji') that were held at regular intervals before
[625] the war. On orders from the 'son' office every household in the village was obliged to clean up its house and yard and submit to inspection by the local police officer, a man who was much more feared than his present counterpart. At present clean-ups may be encouraged by the Youth Organization, Women's Organization, etc., but there is certainly less compulsion than
ooo formerly. Moreover, during the last days of the battle and for a period of

(their 'tane-hon', "seed books"), and who seemed to have little contact with others of their own interests. (I must hasten to add that there are also genuine local historians and folklorists who are critical, open to new ideas, and in contact with reputable men in their field; but these are clearly in the minority.) In the city the pseudo-scholar may be a man teaching a subject that he is totally incompetent to teach or he may be one of the numerous diviners and medical practitioners described in Chapter IX. Some of the diviners (sanjinsoo), however, could be better described as genuinely serious scholars working in a pseudo-science. 554

2. The Role of the Teacher

Despite the great importance attached to the family in East Asian societies and which the Japanese government has always professed to attach to it, the Japanese education system of pre-war times actually took more authority away from the family than does the American system. Incidents related by informants indicate that both before the war and since a teacher may reprimand a student for breaking school regulations outside of school hours and even in the student's own home. The police also may report the misdeeds of a student to the student's teacher rather than to his parents.[1] Partly this authority must have come from the teacher's position in a nationalized system of education and his role as the local spokesman for Japanese nationalism. And on Okinawa teachers had the additional task of creating good Japanese out of little Okinawans. This meant teaching the Japanese language as well as the Japanese ideology.[2] 891 199 875

Since the war the status of the teacher has deteriorated. Partly this may be due to the fact that he is no longer the local representative of a powerful government, and partly it may be due to poor morale resulting from the tragedy of war, but it is also undoubtedly due to a lower economic status. Teachers were formerly relatively well-paid. In 1954 Okinawan teachers were receiving a basic average salary of ¥3400 per month, principals, ¥6110. A police chief, by contrast, receives ¥6470. An elementary teacher, who must have 12 years of schooling and six months of professional training, at present receives 75% of the salary of a policeman on the beat, who must have 9 years of schooling and three months of training; in the prewar period the teacher received 155% of the salary of the policeman. 875 178 554 875 465 178 625 554

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1 See also "Police" in Chapter VI.

2 That in this effort they were not always successful is revealed by a few anecdotes: Someone is said to have encouraged a child to interrupt his teacher's lecture on the virtues of the semidivine monarch with the question, "Does the Emperor produce night soil?" Students are said to have referred to him secretly as 'Ten-chan', "Empy-Boy", rather than 'Tennō Heika', "His Imperial Majesty the Emperor". And the very old and the very young are said to have parodied 'Amaterasu Ōmikami', the name of the Sun Goddess, with "Aman-tarashi kuman-tarashi 'waa nu kami", "dropping it there, dropping it here, the pig god."

582 178 average age at the time of marriage, investigation into the registries reveals that the range has narrowed somewhat. Formerly some girls married at thirteen and fourteen; today this would be considered rather unusual.

[177] The Japanese administration attempted to discourage endogamous marriage practices, particularly kin-group endogamy. All agreed that the practice has declined; yet in Kanegusuku nearly 50% of all marriages were within the kin group and 66% of all marriages were within the village. An analysis of these figures on an age basis indicates the practice is declining there.

833 178 833 Sex It is said that sexual standards have changed in that there is less sexual license among the young people and that they tend to have their first relations at a later age than formerly. This is attributed in part to the moral training of the schools. Another factor seems to be the general decline of several informal village institutions which permitted young people considerable sexual freedom. One informant stated that those who continue on to high school and university generally have their first experience at a later age than those who attend only junior high school.

642 177 641 Government The Japanese introduced a modern system of government, abolished the Okinawan aristocracy, and granted suffrage to all males of twenty-five or more years. The American Civil Administration has attempted to liberalize laws and to make possible a greater degree of self-government. [625] Police powers have been limited, universal suffrage has been introduced, and [666] the number of elected officials has been increased.

621 178 To date there has been little change within the village, where suffrage and office-holding remain limited to household heads. Villagers acknowledge that there is greater freedom for action at the local level today; yet they are not desirous of obtaining greater self-government. They feel that it would require too much of their time and that there is too little money available to finance its operation. Village leadership is virtually unchanged. Change where it has occurred has been initiated at a higher level.

632 178 At the township level the electorate has been broadened to include all persons, male and female, over twenty years of age. The mayor who was formerly appointed is now elected to office.

771 177 178 793 Religion There has been a general decline in the indigenous Okinawan religion, effected by Japanese policy, wartime attrition, and the spread of education. Formerly a hierarchy of priestesses extended from the kin group through the community and region to the person of the king's sister, the chief priestess. The Japanese removed the top echelons of this hierarchy, but the kin group and community priestesses continued to function. World War II resulted in the death of many religious functionaries, and as the office is usually hereditary within a specific family and often limited to a particular member of that family, there has often been no replacement for the office. Lastly there is an increasing tendency among the young people, due to the influence of the school, to regard religion as superstition.

796 178 Many villages, especially those without religious functionaries, have discontinued all village ceremonies, and in those few remarkable exceptions

197 mutually intelligible. The speech differences are so great that even
191 two neighboring villages have noticeable dialectical variations. Japanese is the second language.

Okinawan is spoken in almost all households. The first words learned by the child from his mother or others around him are Okinawan. The child is praised or scolded in Okinawan; he learns Okinawan terms for numbers, names for plants, tools, and other implements used around the house. A curious exception in this pattern is the use of
[601] kinship terms. Taira children start using Japanese kinship terms in
[177] infancy with one exception—in some families the grandmother is addressed by the Okinawan term.

[648] Knowledge of the Okinawan language is said to have been helpful to Americans during the war in distinguishing the local people from Japanese. Japanese has been the official language in Okinawa for over 60 years. It is taught and used in schools exclusively until the upper grades, when foreign languages are introduced. Everybody who has gone to school learns Japanese, and only the oldest persons in Taira speak Okinawan exclusively.

197 Young children, even though they learn to speak Okinawan first,
872 soon pick up Japanese words and phrases. While their Okinawan
191 vocabulary is limited to everyday experiences, the child's horizon is widened gradually by the use of Japanese terms. First formal efforts to teach Japanese are made in kindergarten, and teachers quickly succeed in eliminating the use of Okinawan in class. Even in play groups of
[626] school-age children, Japanese is usual. Children frequently censure each other for occasional slips or shifts to Okinawan.

191 Taira adults vary in the use of language. Simple, routine matters in
197 daily living are mostly discussed in Okinawan. This language is also predominant in small, informal social gatherings and in emotionally tense situations, such as domestic quarrels. Furthermore, the priestess and her assistants conduct all religious ceremonies in Okinawan. People resorted to Okinawan in our presence when they did not want to be understood. On the other hand, village meetings and gatherings of village leaders or visits of teachers and other officials are conducted in Japanese.

THE PEOPLE

142 The majority of the Taira people are of short, stocky build, with heavy bones. Their hair growth is strong, their skin dark. A light skin

625 went out for fugitives from the south, he would accompany the police-
[632] man or investigate himself. In cases of death, both he and the police-
[647] man have to make a report.

The Young People's Association may serve as a vigilante in emer-
[575] gencies such as fires, floods, tornadoes, and other disasters. When a
[731] military jeep was reported to have been stolen near Naha and driven on the dead-end road running north, the young people in all villages on the way erected road blocks and were ready to help catch the thief. The group would act together in a similar fashion at any threat from outsiders.

622 The headman can only enforce local ordinances insofar as he is
681 able to persuade people to comply. He is not concerned directly with crime or disturbance of the peace. Exceptions are such matters as stealing sugar cane or letting chickens run loose so that they enter every
[625] yard. For such acts, money fines can be imposed. One warden still has a tag which used to be given to the man whose chickens ran around freely. The offender had to pay the fine and keep the tag until he detected someone else's chicken running loose. Then he could pass the tag on to that person. Such measures are no longer used. But the un-
[626] derlying principle of public censure and fear of ridicule continues to operate in village social control.

623 Public censure is used along with fines to ensure attendance at vil-
626 lage meetings. Roll call is taken before each meeting so that the absence of individuals is made known to the whole group. Similarly, when
[681] tax collections became more and more delinquent, it was decided to have ward meetings in which everybody would be reminded in public to pay his share. Those who were unable to do so would have to state their reasons. As soon as this new plan was announced, several people got up during the meeting to pay outstanding amounts to the head-
872 man. The school uses similar devices to achieve better attendance and scholarship. During home visit week, about once a year, a meeting is held for all parents and the statistics for attendance for each village are read as well as scholastic performances for each community.

INFORMAL CONTROL

156
626 What other people might think is uppermost on everybody's mind.
[867] Children are reminded by their mothers not to play alone lest people would think they are unpopular. They are told not to fight lest others think badly of them or make them responsible for the consequences. Censure by gossip is common, but criticism is seldom made directly to a person's face, and the target of extensive gossip is often unaware of it.

An exception to this was the case of a junior high school girl who left her mother and stepfather and went to live in the city. The incident was known to all villagers within a short time, and gossip was rife, but referring to the case directly in the presence of the mother was avoided. When the mother finally heard the gossip, she contended that the story had been circulated by a certain family, singled out the woman of that house (who happens to be one of the few Christians in Taira) and told her in no uncertain words that she, as a Christian who wants to do good and others to be good, should know better than to spread evil gossip. 626 156

Concern with the affairs of other villagers is, of course, a result of the general intimacy between people. Not only one's immediate family but also anyone in Taira is aware of what happens to others in the community, and the right to such knowledge of private and family matters does not seem to be denied by anybody. People ask and receive answers, and news travels rapidly from one house to another. In considering the fear of censure and its effectiveness in social control, however, one should not forget that, conversely, the concern of others for one's life leads to a feeling of belonging and the expectation of help and affection.

Children are part of the gossip channel in that they are talkative and report news. They do not seem to invent malicious stories but do join in fun making at other people's expense. [867]

Being too malicious is censured. Older people still remember that they heard in their youth about old wicked women who could bring a curse on others. The term for curse still connotes a person who is disliked or who snoops excessively in other people's affairs. [754]

If possible, nobody is deliberately made subject to public exposure in case of wrongdoing. A township official, who by virtue of his office was also a member of the village council, showed little interest and responsibility toward the community. When the village meeting deliberated whether township officials should continue to be made members of the village council, his name was not mentioned, although the case was discussed at length in public. The final decision was to give him another chance. This, too, is characteristic of community behavior. Ostracism and complete rejection of serious offenders against the community would be a most serious punishment. This in itself would give the community a bad standing. A common front toward the outside is preferred, so that all drastic actions are left only for extreme cases. Rather, one tries to get along, even with a deviant person. Individuals between whom disagreement exists act friendly toward each other in public. 626 627 156

A deep sense of mutual obligation and duty not only toward imme- 626 156

626 diate relatives but also toward members of the entire community, and
156 even certain strangers, appears in many contexts. Any villager feels
[479] a sense of obligation to participate in mutual assistance, and someone who fails to live up to this obligation is severely criticized. A person who commits a crime is said to have no feeling of obligation, and it seems clear that the infrequency of transgression, either the violation of mutual help codes or more serious infractions, is held in check by fear of censure.

626 The Japanese moral code, which stresses obligations and feelings of
577 indebtedness and gratitude toward those from whom favors have been
867 received, is obviously related to such social control forces or is in fact
[177] identical with them. Japanese ethical training was part of school training before World War II, and it is still deeply valued and followed.
[571] That any close-knit community tends to foster such forces of control is common knowledge. Yet the positive attitude toward obligations and their elaboration in interpersonal relationships is noteworthy and characterizes an important aspect of Taira life. It is learned early, as we found out when one mother said about her 4-year-old daughter: "She understands the idea (of obligations and indebtedness), although she does not know the concepts." When the family receives a gift, the little girl asks, "Shall we take some fish (a counter present) to them?" In spite of the positive value mentioned, there seem to be few compulsions connected with obligations. Actions appear spontaneous rather than forced. Of course, these obligations are of importance in determining contributions of individual households at weddings, funerals, and other occasions where interpersonal ties are cemented.

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Chapter 6

Social Organization

571 In every society an individual belongs to a number of groups, overlapping in membership and differentiated by function. A resident of Taira is no exception. Some groups are open, that is to say, new mem-

829 considered the initiator of all action. Frequently there are complaints of high taxes, criticisms of certain policies, and dissatisfaction with certain officials, but the authority of a government to undertake any course it chooses would never be challenged. There does not exist any concept of a limit to obedience or to the powers of government.

7. Social Control

626 621 The mechanisms of social control within an Okinawan village are not easily observed or studied since they are so rarely overt. One is impressed from the outset by the homogeneous character of the community, a natural outcome of the common experience and cultural heritage which all the members have shared. The average villager has had a limited range of contacts during the course of his or her lifetime, imposed to no small degree by the all-consuming demands of subsistence agriculture. Minorities within [102] the community rarely exist, and where they do, they are not recognized as such, for this homogeneity, in addition to being an actuality, is insisted upon as a cultural ideal. Consequently great stress is placed on presenting a united front to the outside. Within the community aggressive behavior is not tolerated and so great is the fear of rift through discord that few official acts are initiated without first securing informal concordance; consequently, formal political meetings are most often marked by unanimity and agreement. In enlisting the support of the villagers for a given project or proposed line of action leaders most frequently appeal to group solidarity, stressing the values of cooperation.

As is so often found in small communities where all the members have a face-to-face relationship, the chief mechanisms of social sanction are ridicule, censure, and the threat of ostracism. The small size and homogeneous nature of the Okinawan village limits the individual's behavior to a rather narrow and inflexible standard. The individual, however, must consider his actions not only in terms of the reactions of others to him [672] but also in terms of the consequences for his family. Under the old king- [178] dom the family was legally responsible for the actions of its members, and at the present time an individual is officially registered as a member of a certain family and is always thought of by the villagers in association 626 with that family. One's mistakes as well as one's achievements reflect upon 621 the other members of the family and are shared by them. This emphasis on 181 family and community over the individual serves markedly to curb individualism and to further the homogeneity of the society. Conformity and honoring one's obligations are the major cultural values. The surrogate for this strong cultural deemphasis of the individual is provided by a close ego identity with the family and community and by the security which they offer in return. The severest sanction which can be applied is expulsion of the individual from his group.

8. Local Autonomy

642 On a small island with a highly centralized government there is lit- 621 tle room for local autonomy. Most action is initiated in the higher echelons of government and is unquestioningly obeyed at the lower levels. There

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

quire room and board are sometimes put up without compensation, and they agree, perhaps, to give some help with studies of the landlord's children. Only the village "doctor" takes transient guests, mostly visiting officials from the city, who pay for lodgings. 427 [875] [485]

Although the household head is a legal owner of the family property, there is a feeling that it belongs to the family and everyone in the household identifies himself with his land and house. This is expressed in the language. A person who is asked, "Whose rice paddy is this?" would answer that it is the household's or "ours." 423 592

In addition to the communal land holdings and the property of the cooperative described earlier, the following items are shared. The government supplies a breeding boar to each village; it is then left in the care of one farmer. This animal is available to pig owners for studding on request, and a small charge is made for the upkeep of the boar. A few tools are jointly owned by several households. Threshing machines were bought jointly after the war by two or more families to defray the high cost of such equipment. These families could be neighbors or relatives. Today many are complaining that joint ownership works hardships during the busy harvest season when there is heavy demand for the machines. As a result, everybody wishes to own his own machine as soon as he can afford to. For tea harvesting, special clippers are owned by the village cooperative and loaned to people as they need them. Since tea harvesting, though seasonal, is not done by all families during the same day, sharing of these tools presents no difficulties. 422 [231] [654] [476] [474]

Property of others is very much respected. Stealing among villagers is almost unheard of, except for some pilfering of green vegetables and fruits by children. Only one case was reported during the field-work period—a person tried to take some goods without payment from the community store. When a village meeting was called, and it was announced that the person's identity was known to the store manager, the merchandise was later replaced. Willful damage to fields is similarly strictly forbidden. No child would really think of doing such damage. But there are no formal rules about trespassing. Movement across other people's property is completely free and unchallenged. 421 685 [627] [867]

can at least check all transients. Another important duty is to prevent the use of explosives by fishermen, a difficult if not impossible assignment, for he must catch the fisherman *flagrante delicto* when he lands with fish killed in this way. There is no indication that villagers assist the policeman in detecting offenders. 625 [226]

Policing the village itself is not a difficult job. The absence of crime and the low incidence of quarrels, disputes, and brawls would seem to make policing unnecessary. Nevertheless, the policeman interferes at times in disputes. He considers it his duty when actual blows are exchanged and somebody is hurt. In such a case he "investigates," takes notes, and makes a report to the police department. During the entire field work, reportable incidents occurred at about the rate of one a month; in the two or three cases where violence occurred, the matter was settled peacefully later, although the policeman kept a record of it. The rare quarrels which do occur are usually the result of drinking or domestic disagreements, generated by financial problems. 625 578 [674] [273]

The policeman plays the role of judge and jury. In one case a young man hit a woman and was temporarily detained by the policeman until he made apologies to the victim. In disputes over business transactions, the policeman often arbitrates. In a dispute in which a Taira woman was accused of cheating a trader from another village, the policeman heard the case and ordered the Taira woman to make refunds over a period of time. The villagers seem to accept such arbitration. Serious disagreements seem to be unthinkable, and everyone fears public censure and ostracism. Court action is extremely rare and is referred to the provincial courts in the town of Nago. 625 627 [692]

The policeman is given high status by the villagers and commands respect. He remains, probably by his own choice, a neutral person in village affairs. He attends village functions, where he is given a place among village leaders. Being friendly with many families, he visits and is visited by other men. It was noted that fishermen sometimes send a special catch to the policeman. But since this is a courtesy which is also common among farmers with regard to nonfarming people, such as teachers, one should not think of such actions as bribery. Mothers use the policeman as a threat in disciplining children. "If you do such a bad thing again, I'll take you to the police station." This, however, does not seem to instill any fear of his person, but rather a respect towards the general area in which the policeman lives. Village children play freely with the policeman's children, but his courtyard is entered less frequently by children than that of other villagers. 625 [554] [662] [861]

The head of the General Affairs Department at the township office is charged with supervision of public order. It is not clear how much this is a self-assigned task. During several occasions, when an alarm 632 647 625

An exception to this was the case of a junior high school girl who left her mother and stepfather and went to live in the city. The incident was known to all villagers within a short time, and gossip was rife, but referring to the case directly in the presence of the mother was avoided. When the mother finally heard the gossip, she contended that the story had been circulated by a certain family, singled out the woman of that house (who happens to be one of the few Christians in Taira) and told her in no uncertain words that she, as a Christian who wants to do good and others to be good, should know better than to spread evil gossip. 626 156

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A deep sense of mutual obligation and duty not only toward imme- 626 156

3. Police

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Local governments of the municipalities ('shi-chō-son') and the various 'ku' (villages and wards) exercise no control over the police stationed in their areas. Central police headquarters are located in Naha, and the organization of the police command is outside the regular civil structure except at the top national level. The police officer located in Kanegusuku-son reports directly to the district police headquarters in Itoman which in turn reports to Naha. In addition to maintaining law and order the police are charged with certain responsibilities in the fields of sanitation, health, and public welfare. Crime rates on Okinawa are low, particularly [674] in the rural areas, and policemen stationed there rarely face serious problems of law violation. A 'son' policeman has a "beat" which he is supposed to patrol each day unless other business is pressing. Actually his visits to some of the villages are rather infrequent, since there is little need for his presence. When a villager dies, it is usually the policeman who checks and certifies the cause of death. Certain dangerous or [744] highly contagious diseases such as leprosy or smallpox must by law be reported, and any infractions of this are usually investigated by the police. If a restaurant or food store is reported as unsanitary, it is the police who take steps to see that the situation is corrected.

Not infrequently the policeman is called upon to function informally 625 as a judge in settling minor disputes which in the United States would be 627 taken to court. One man rented out a room in his home to a former schoolmate; after living and eating there for several months, the roomer disappeared without making any payment for his room and board. A few months later the owner located this person's place of employment, collared him as he left work, and dragged him to the nearest policeman. The policeman listened patiently to both sides of the argument and then ruled that the roomer must pay the entire amount due the owner, ¥6000 ($50.00), at the rate of ¥2000 per month. The two disputants signed an agreement to this effect, and the policeman also signed it "to make it official". An American would regard this action as an abuse of police power; yet, an Okinawan would see nothing untoward in it. In light of this it is worth noting [178] that the jituzei who headed the rural district (majiri) under the old kingdom functioned as policeman, judge, and administrator.

In the matter of juvenile delinquency the school and police are re- 871 ported to work closely together. One police officer stated that when juve- 625 niles commit misdemeanors in his area they are usually turned over to their 674 schools for special "education". That an errant child should be released to the custody of his school rather than to his family would seem an inconsistency in a society which places so much emphasis on family. In America [171] and perhaps in all of Western society the teaching of ethics is largely a function of the home, but in Japan and Okinawa this is considered a task for the school.

To an outsider Okinawan police appear to be efficient in the per- 625 formance of their duty and possessed of a pride in their job and a fairly

to the extended family, even if in some cases relationships are very distant. This point may be illustrated by discussing the relationships among six families named Shiroma in Hanashiro. The first family is the contemporary representative of the main family line. It is a main family. Its present head is an adopted child, but that does not change the situation. The second family head is a descendant of the younger brother of the grandfather of the head of the family; he is the grandson of the main head's great uncle, and therefore a second cousin of the head of the main family. The third and fourth families are branch families established by his father's younger brothers and are his first cousins. The fifth family is a very old branch family, going farther back than the grandfather. The sixth, in turn, is a branch family of the fifth. The present head of the main family does not know the relationship of the present heads of these two households to himself. 614

The fact that there are 16 main families with their 75 branches in the village of Hanashiro does not mean that there are not other branches of these main families. There are more than 75 families in the extended family. These are merely the branches of these 16 main families which reside in the village.

The head of a main house has responsibilities which are not shared by the heads of the branch families. He is the custodian of the tomb of the extended family. The head house is the meeting place of the extended family reunions. These normally take place on the 15th day of the 7th lunar month, the festival of O-Bon, and on lunar New Year. The extended families, or representatives that may reside in a village which is also the seat of the extended family decide questions of concern to the extended family as a whole. Such a question might be the case of a widow with minor children. For economic reasons, she seeks to sell her property. Since the disposal of property in land is intimately connected with the present and future fortunes of a family, the members of the extended family, especially if many reside in the same place, discuss this matter and give advice which the young widow in practice follows. [764] [527] [769]

Hanashiro is a good example of an old agricultural community in which descendant families have tended to remain in the same place as the original founder of the family. Those collateral families with main houses elsewhere are, in the main, from adjacent or nearby areas. 621 614

When this situation is compared with Minatogawa, certain differences are at once apparent. The fishermen of present day Minatogawa are descendants of settlers originally from the large fishing town of Itoman. Many of these fishing families are related by blood and intermarriage. Not only this, but there is a web of interrelationship which includes Itoman and its daughter village of Minatogawa. Of the 213 households in Minatogawa, 53 had the surname of Tamaki (or Tamashiro), 47 of Uehara, 21 of Oshiro, and 20 of Kanashiro, the four surnames accounting for 141 of the total households. People with the same surname who live in the same village are almost invariably related.[4] Compared with other [628] [551]

4 In sample checks made personally this turned out to be true, but the relationship was often so distant as to be unknown. All informants stated that people living in the same village who had the same surname were relatives.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Village Shops and Businesses

Village stores, small in number and modest in size, furnish their own people many essential services, but the offerings differ from place to place in number and kind, so that there are always commercial contacts of a sort with nearby villages or towns. This is brought out in the accompanying table of business and personal service establishments in each of the villages.

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Village Shops, Businesses, Personal Service Enterprises

Type	Number of Enterprises in:			
	Hanashiro	Hinatogawa	Nagamo	Hatsuda
Rice Mills	1	a/	a/	1
Sugar Mills	1		1	1
Small Retail Shops	3	5	3	5
Power Plant		1	b/	1
Import Store	c/	1	b/	1
Saw Mill				1
Blacksmith	d/	d/	1	
Retail Butcher Shop		1		
Motion Picture Theatre	e/	e/	e/	f/
Public Bath House	h/	2	h/	2/
Village Inn		1		2/
Eating Places		1		
Barbershop	g/	e/	a/	1

a No need for rice mills, no rice grown
b Served by Hinatogawa
c In nearby Asato
d Nagamo serves these and other villages in the township
e In Horikawa, opposite Hinatogawa
f Served by Ginoza village
g Served by Gushichan village

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Rice mills (seimaisho) are recent in rural Okinawa. The mill in Hanashiro was installed in 1940. It serves nearby villages. The mill in Hatsuda, also a recent introduction, is more modern. In each case, the mill has two machines of Japanese manufacture, one for hulling, the other for polishing.

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Sugar mills (seitojo) vary in quality in the communities. Hanashiro has a machine for crushing cane. In Hatsuda, war destruction

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

who upset the tea cups and the sake flasks. 000

A public parade and celebration was held in Itoman in 1951, and a short digression to describe it may be worth while. The main attraction was a parade, which halted frequently so that participating groups could perform dances, acts, or skits. In these there were several themes: (1) dances by female groups of all ages from beginning school girls to old women in their seventies. Many women wore artificial turtles on their hats, the younger children having paper outlines of turtles. The young girls were led by an older man who kept time either by playing the samisen or by clapping his hands. The very young girls beat small tin cans with sticks. The dances of the older girls and women were of two kinds: one symbolized the crane and the turtle (tsurukame). The turtle is a symbol of longevity. The second is the pine-bamboo-plum tree triad (shochikubai) symbolizing long life and beauty. (2) Female impersonators imitated both the traditional Japanese woman with her costume and hair arrangement, and the modern woman with a chignon wearing a bright kimono, sun glasses, and smoking a cigarette. Their antics depended for their humor on the gracelessness of the men: they included mock flirtations and rejections, kicking of the heels, slapping with a fan, and other clowning. (3) Various balancing acts with long poles done by boys and young men. (4) Skits of individuals dressed as savages from the south seas. (5) Humorous acts showing the people of the northern district who were portrayed as jolly country bumpkins. Their caps, with tassels, looked like a cocoanut shell. The long false hair and beards were made of palm fibre. They carried ludicrous looking saws and axes while dragging a log. 527 541 [535] [533] [825] [824] [536]

One feature of the Itoman celebration was the well-known rope pulling contest (tsunahiki). The giant rope, made of rice straw, is at least 100 yards long, and about two feet in diameter. Each end has a loop. These loops, joined by a heavy piece of wood, are above the center line. The men of the town divide into two groups. The tug of war began about 5 in the afternoon and was soon over, but one has been known to last until one or two o'clock in the morning. It is found in all villages, but there is no set date for it. The tug of war is an old diversion in Okinawa.[5] 527 526

In former years, Minatogawa people participated in the Itoman festival. In 1951, they held their own evening celebration. This is a time of great beauty, with the light of the full moon illuminating the Pacific, the coral coast, and the mountains. The evening entertainment consists of some acts, similar to vaudeville, and a longer play. Crowds came from the surrounding villages, bringing their own mats and their own sake. Most of the officials of the township attended. 527 [628]

5 Goldschmidt, Neu-Japan, has reproduced an interesting painting showing a tug of war in Naha around the end of the 18th century. It shows an audience of court officials, the Chinese ambassador, as well as the various participants. Facing p. 179. [114]

have traditional, though restricted, forms of village co-operation. 621
This meshing in of activities, either among families or groups, when 571
combined with individual leadership brings about a situation in the village which is comparable with the experiences in the family system.

These individual and family relationships which are the real con- 632
tent of village administration are also felt, though in a diluted form, 628
in the township government. The influence of inter-village marriage, 571
of the school whose pupils come from several villages, and of the annual athletic meets make for informality and elastic government. Township officials generally are drawn from each of the villages which make up a township. These elements provide both in village and township life a feeling of participation and a sense of belonging, already so strongly developed within the family system.

a running mate was vigorously applauded. The infant on her back was sleeping! 526

Four teams, the village officials, the teachers, high school students, and members of the Young Men's Association competed in a relay race. Later the teachers, and the mayor, participated in a rope and loop race. A rope about 20 feet long was tied to a stake driven in the ground. On the other end of the rope was a large loop. The trick is to run from a starting point, put the loop over the head, let it drop down and then step out. In the meantime, the opposing team has been trying to prevent the player from getting the loop by jerking the rope away, or throwing it at a distance. Other comedy events based on groping blindfolded to selected goals or objects were part of the program.

The races produce the greatest excitement, especially in the inter-village competition. A team from each village competes in a relay and runners representing their village participate in various dashes. In these competitive events, the old women become very excited. [628]

On this occasion the township gives a present to all people present who are 70 years old or over. The gift is now a plain towel; formerly the towel was embroidered with characters expressing wishes for a long life, but this practice has been abandoned for reasons of economy. [431]

The prizes, presented by the mayor to the contestants, are modest and generously given. The young men get four cigarettes, the women a paper of tooth powder, and the children, small school notebooks. The prize winners line up; each one steps up, makes a bow, receives his prize, lifts it up slightly, a typical Okinawan gesture of thanks noted by Basil Hall in 1816, bows again and retires. [576]

Though it centers around the school, the athletic meet is one of the strong forces bringing both families and village communities together. It would be hard to exaggerate the interest in the meet or the work that goes into its preparation. The fact that the mayor of the township, his staff, the village headmen, the principals of high schools, every parent and all the children who could possibly come, were present is enough to show its importance and vitality. 526 182

Between 1875 and 1895, when the court life at the old capitol of Shuri was broken up under Japanese influence, many families of noble origin moved into the country to become farmers, and the village grew in size. These people settled mainly outside the central village in areas where land was available. One family moved into Taira proper, forming the third "main house." Although it still maintains feeble ceremonial connections with Shuri, it gave up its noble title shortly after coming north and moved its ancestral tomb to the community. The noble families who settled in the valleys and hills preserved their distinctive traditions until the end of World War II. Their noble descent was noted in the population register, and intermarriage with commoners was discouraged.

Except for these Shuri migrants, few outsiders seem to have settled in Taira prior to World War II. The residents on the southern part of the island, especially the residents of Naha and Shuri, consider northerners rustics. Although this part of the island was often used as a hiding place by political and criminal refugees from the south, who are said to have founded nearby villages, none of them made their home in Taira.

The original settlers of Taira were reluctant to accept later arrivals in their midst. Because of the fear of spirits, foreign to the village, they prohibited the burial of the newcomer's dead near the tombs shared by the members of the "main houses." To this day the funeral urns of a family who came to Taira about 60 years ago and later intermarried with settled villages are kept in a cave, away from all other tombs.

Higashi township was established in 1922. The area had previously belonged to Kushi township to the south, but the great distances between villages and the mountainous character of the country made efficient administration very difficult. Furthermore, some Higashi inhabitants felt that because of temperamental differences and divergent interests they should separate from the southern township. Since 1922 contacts have been predominantly with Ogimi township to the northwest and the town of Nago, 16 miles away. Once the road connecting the two coastlines was completed in 1936, Taira's isolation decreased considerably, and it became the administrative seat of Higashi township in 1946.

Taira also became the home of the high priestess. In the period prior to direct Japanese administration, her office was under the jurisdiction of the Shuri court (Lebra, 1958), and her predecessors must have been appointed by the Okinawan kings. Taira may have been chosen as the seat of the high priestess in lieu of Kawata because Kawata lacks the good rice land which traditionally went to the high priestess by royal decree. Some of this rice land is still in the hands of the living priestess.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

would be nothing more uproarious than a group of singing celebrants seeking further entertainment from house to house. The occasional quarrels after drinking, which are mentioned elsewhere, seemed much more frequent where only a small group of men indulged after work, especially younger ones. No major holidays ended in dissonance. 527 273 574 578

The main events for family celebrations are lunar New Year, *seimei*, a period in spring during which descent group ancestors are revered and *Bon*, a commemoration of the dead in the fall. At these times families are reunited with relatives from other villages or the city. These events are observed in the home or in front of the ancestral tombs. During *Bon* young men and women go from house to house, performing traditional dances for this holiday in front of the assembled families. 527 796 769

Celebration of special birthday cycles and agricultural events, such as the day when ditches in the paddies were cleaned in former times, are observed by villagers as a group. An important religious event for the community is Boat Race Day in lunar June. On lunar August 15, the celebration of the full August moon, some villagers present stage performances and dances at a public celebration. 527

In general, it may be said that families gather as a unit on those days on which ancestors and deceased family members are commemorated. The village jointly celebrates events which are either based on local religion or on agricultural events. The only national holiday which is now in existence was established by the post-war Ryukyuan government. It is observed by school and government offices but not by the people. [769] [621]

Sport events form another category of holidays. The most important one falls in October when both in Japan and all over the Ryukyus athletes compete against each other. Athletic meets take place for several weeks; for the village the biggest event is the competition of all athletes in the township on *undokai* day. Everyone leaves work and takes picnic food to the track at the junior high school where each village competes against the others. This lasts all day. 526 628

Wrestling matches are part of entertainment during outdoor celebrations in the early summer. They are mainly an affair for young men. Occasionally an older man who feels strong enough challenges a younger one. The villagers sit around a large circle near the beach, watching the fights while they eat holiday food and drink sake. On Boat Race Day Taira and the neighboring village of Kawata race fishing canoes against each other. Spectators at this event are enthusiastic supporters of their favorites. After the races this holiday ends like any other, in celebrations with dance and drinking. [262] [574]

195 A munchu was made up of a number
197 of households or families united through the male line, descended from a common
[61] ancestor, and sharing a common tomb. Village endogamy was an obligatory mar-
[58] riage practice and violations did not pass unpunished; in addition kin group
endogamy was a preferred practice, though not necessarily an obligatory one.
[62] Intervillage contacts and ties, consequently, were held to a minimum. These cus-
[178] toms were followed by the majority of the oldest generation now living, and
even today such practices tend to persist in rural areas. A survey in Kanegu-
[58] suku revealed that fifty percent of the marriages were between members of the
same kin group and sixty-six percent of the marriages were between residents of
[178] the same village. Such practices, to be sure, are breaking down, and this be-
comes evident when the above data are analyzed on an age basis, but in view of
the fact that these customs still prevail, though to a more limited extent than
formerly, it is not surprising that so considerable a diversity of dialects
should also be preserved.

197 Another facet of Okinawan dialect geography is the occurrence of small
621 speech-islands exhibiting dialects distinct from those of the surrounding areas.
184 These are the so called yaadui settlements founded during the 18th and 19th cen-
turies by migrants from the Naha-Shuri area; the newcomers were usually the
younger sons of gentry families seeking their livelihood in the country. Such
settlements not only enjoyed a political independence from the larger surround-
ing communities but also were never incorporated into the formal religious
system centering on the nuru priestess and unifying the rural areas. These
factors together with previously-mentioned marriage practices enabled such set-
tlements to preserve their identity. Kitazato in Kami Motobu-son serves as a
good example of this type of village, having been settled seven generations
ago by the younger sons of gentry families residing in Naha and Shuri. The
larger neighboring villages never absorbed Kitazato, and to this day it pre-
[194] serves a dialect quite distinct from theirs. The most notable contrast be-
tween them centers on the p and h sounds in the two dialects, for all p sounds
of nearby Gushiken are rendered h in Kitazato; thus, the word for "fire" is pi
in the dialect of the former and hi in the latter's.

197 Undoubtedly this dialectic diversity is decreasing as the old customs
178 die out and the isolation of the village disappears. The war uprooted many
communities and scattered their inhabitants about the island, and nearly all
villages now have a number of families new to the village since the war. New
communities like the entertainment center of Koza have no characteristic dia-
lect of their own, containing as they do a heterogeneous population recruited
from all parts of the Ryukyus. The vast improvements in roads and transporta-
tion services since the end of the war have given the people a mobility un-
dreamed of in the prewar period and have done much to destroy the isolation of
the rural areas.

192 "Uchinaaguchi" Okinawans call their dialect uchinaaguchi and themselves
[01] uchinaanchu. The terms 'Okinawago', Japanese for Okinawan
language, and 'hōgen', Japanese for dialect, are also in common usage though
the latter term is resented by some who feel that it carries the connotation
"rustic". Today all Okinawan speech contains many loan words from Japanese;
this obtains for those who know no Japanese as well as for those who are bi-
lingual. Intimate contact with Japanese coupled with this word borrowing has

[Kitazato]

621 for the lands which they rent, since they have no cash; and they feel that
427 the amount of rent in product from their low yield soils is too great to justify the expenditure of labor. Several other villages in the area lost land to the airfield, so that there is very little land available for rental today. The land which they have rented is of a poor quality, and, consequently, yields are very low. A few fortunate ones have had relatives in neighboring villages who have supplied them with land at a low rental; several who have brothers in neighboring villages have been given free use of some lands. These, however, constitute a small portion of the total village.

628 Neighboring villagers who were interviewed expressed their sympathy for Kitazato's loss of its livelihood. They state that relations between them are good.

621 Morale The villagers are in a low state of morale, and they fre-
829 quently express the opinion that their situation is hopeless. The young people see no future in remaining in the village and are anxious to leave as soon as they are able. Older adults cannot conceive of leaving the village; yet, they are depressed by their circumstances. A number of the middle-aged men remarked that it was too late for them to learn another occupation even if they could get away. The older people particularly mourn the loss of their village: "Our village was beautiful, and we loved it," and "Our land is hopeless now; we cry in our minds just to look at it." All age groups were heard to express statements such as, "Each year things are worse," and "We are slowly starving to death." One informant told the author that he believed someone had been stealing potatoes from his field.

The head of the local agricultural office believes that the village should be brought together again as a single community on the site of the old village near the airfield and that they should be given permission to farm the unused land contiguous to the field. In this way, he feels, they might be able to pull themselves together and start rebuilding anew. He is worried that the people will become so demoralized by their present state as to become slothful, and he is of the opinion that the people cannot continue much longer in their present state.

Outlook for the Future The people of Kitazato are uneasy and pessimistic about their future, and the local 'son' officials, political and agricultural, feel that the villagers cannot long continue in their
621 state of poverty and borderline starvation. It seems to the author that the future holds but three possibilities for them---continued endurance of their present situation, emigration, or an increase in the rent paid for the use of their land.

Without an improvement in their present circumstances, ultimate starvation would seem the only possibility; the figures on land holdings
[433] alone will validate that, for ten acres will not provide subsistence for over four hundred no matter how intensive the agricultural techniques. There does not appear sufficient land available for rental with which they might supplement their meager holdings. Many villagers are too poor to cut loose from the wretched plots they farm; it takes cash to move and set up

chain, Ie, Iheya, and Kudaka islands. The main island is about sixty miles long, its length running generally northeast to southwest. It has an irregular coast line, peninsulas which jut out into the sea, and two isthmuses, one near present Camp Kue, the other farther north at Ishikawa. The width of the island varies from two to eighteen miles. 133 131

Okinawa may be divided into three geographical regions, which also roughly correspond to the ancient division of the island into a northern district (Kunigami or Yambaru), a central district (Nakagami), and a southern district (Shimajiri). [631]

The northern district takes up about two-thirds of the area of the island. It begins at the northern isthmus which runs from Ishikawa town on the Pacific side to Nakadomari on the East China Sea side. South of this line, the island runs more or less in a north-south direction; north of the line, the island is situated in a pronounced northeast-southwest direction. Certain features distinguish this northern area from the two southern parts of Okinawa. A mountain ridge, almost entirely forested, runs down the center. Drainage from the short streams which rise in the mountains is down the east and west slopes. Villages and towns are on or near the coastal flatlands or on the coastal rolling hills. There are few settlements in the interior of the northern part of the island. 131 631 133 [137] [361]

The central region of the island extends south from the Ishikawa-Nakadomari isthmus to the Naha-Yonabaru line. A corridor beginning on the eastern side at Yonabaru on Buckner Bay (formerly Nakagusuku-wan) connects with a long valley beginning around Naha. This provides a natural route cutting across the southern part of the island. The central region is the area of oldest settlement. It and the region to the south were the areas of the most intensive warfare during the campaign for Okinawa. The central region has a patternless physiography. Low rolling eroded hills, stony hills with sharp relief, dissected uplands and escarpments alternate with small alluvial valleys and flatlands. On these and on the lower slopes of the less stony hills cultivation takes place. Limestone sinks and caverns are commonplace. The most rugged terrain in this area is the region around Shuri and its northern approaches, the scene of the most prolonged fighting of the war in Okinawa. Unlike the north, settlements are scattered throughout the countryside, usually on the low lands at the base of hills, along the coasts, or in narrow winding valleys with low passes leading from one to the other. [487] [361]

The third region of the island extends from the Naha-Yonabaru line to the southern tip of the island. It is like the central part in the haphazard distribution of its land forms but somewhat flatter. Part of it is a limestone plain. The highest elevations are around the hills and mountains along Buckner Bay, with its narrow flat coastal strips, and along the southern portion of the Chinen peninsula, which also has flat beaches and beach ridges. It is an area of small plains, long, narrow but steep limestone mountains, and of rolling hills, escarpments which often abruptly end on the water's edge. In the area of one of these escarpments, Yaeju Dake, the final battle scenes of the war took place. The settlement

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

131 pattern is similar to that of the central part. Villages are scattered
631 throughout the area with population distribution comparable with the cen-
133 tral area. Before the war, the densities here were over one thousand per
36 square mile, actually considerably more if the uninhabitable lands are
[161] subtracted.[4]

The Settlement

How long this settlement pattern and these regional differences have existed is difficult to say. In studying contemporary environments, like
311 Okinawa, which bear the imprint of long human settlement, it is useful to try to reconstruct the nature of the landscape before the interference of man. At one time, the whole island, with the exception of stony, rocky, and shallow soils and beach and marsh land was covered with forest. There are now no virgin stands. "It is evident that the present forest has been cut over many times. There seems to be no part of the island in which the forest cover has not been disturbed in some way by man."[5] In this light, the regional differences between the forested north and the deforested south are the work of man.

361 The oldest settlements are thought to have been in the Naha and Shuri areas. Kudaka Island, off the southeast coast, according to one
[173] legend, was the site of the supernatural creation of the Okinawan people. The town of Unten, the Port Melville of Captain Hall and Commodore Perry,
[174] was, in one version, the scene of the landing of the Japanese warrior, Tametomo, but this was in the twelfth century. Northern areas were in-
[161] habited prior to the unification of the island in the twelfth century because they had their own regional chieftans before this. But the population of the north, at least up to the war, has been sparse and scattered. If the forests are any indication, it has been the central and southern regions which have been the scenes of longest settlement. Probably the
[177] settlement pattern had not changed much until the Japanese interventions
[178] of the nineteenth century and the great changes coming with the recent war, and with the extensive modifications which the Americans have made in the landscape of the central region.

3

General Climatic Conditions

132 In the Köppen system, Okinawa has a humid subtropical climate. It is a rainy climate with no marked dry season; it has a mild winter and the temperature of the warmest month is over 71.6°F. The average annual temperatures in Naha range from 61° for January and February to 82°F for July and August, and the range from the mean minimum of 55° in February to the

[Text continues top of p. 14--Analyst]

4 See the population distribution maps in CA Handbook, Ryukyu (Loo-choo Islands, 48-49.

5 Okinawan Forests. (Prepared by the USGS, Military Geology Section under the direction of Office of the Engineer, GHQ, Far East Command), 1948, 2.

773 In the first version, a male person (Shinarikyu) and a female person (Amamikyu) descended from Heaven. Amamikyu without sexual intercourse gave birth to three children: the first son became the first ruler; the first daughter, the first priestess; and the second son, the first farmer.

In the second version, the male and female deities gave birth to a child. "They carried stones and earth to the edge of the sea and planted trees to keep back the waves." Mountains and forests thus made, "mankind sprung up." Knowledge was attained and one person divided mankind into classes. This man, Tenteishi, had five children: Tensonshi, the first son and first ruler; the second son, the first noble (ansu); the third son, the first farmer. The eldest daughter became the first kikoe-oh-gimi who later headed the institutionalized noro religious system. The second [773] daughter became the first priestess (noro).

173 The dynasty established by Tensonshi, according to tradition, lasted for twenty-five generations, 17,802 years, or until 1187 A. D. During this period, Okinawa was divided into three districts (magiri), Kunchan in the [631] north, Nakagami in the center and Shimajiri in the south, divisions which remain to this day.[4] The districts were divided into mura or townships. [243] "Wheat and millet were raised at Kutaka /a name of a magiri/ and rice was grown at Chinen and Tamagusuku."[5] There is reason to believe that Tensonshi 174 dynasty had its greatest control over what would now be the area of Naha, Shuri, Tamagusuku township, and the Chinen peninsula area.

773 In both myths, a female priesthood, as Spencer points out, is placed at the very beginning of Ryukyuan history. A king, lesser nobles, a female priesthood, and farmers were the basis of the culture.

3

Events of the Early Historical Period

175 Not enough is known of the early historical contacts between the Great
177 Loochoo and the Chinese and Japanese to warrant any conclusions regarding
648 influences which these countries could have exerted.

Chinese punitive expeditions took place in the early seventh century A. D., but the consensus of opinion is that the invasion of Great Loochoo resulted in no prolonged cultural contact or influence. Some Japanese

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 29 -- analyst]

4 Chamberlain, The Luchu Islands and their inhabitants, as cited, 306.

5 Leavenworth, Charles S. The Loochoo islands, 15. Quotation is from the manuscript history translated by Leavenworth, ibid, 77.

361 Perry's men, the aspect of these villages was one of rare and romantic
175 beauty.[3]

2

Hanashiro

361 Hanashiro is a small village of the cluster type in Gushichan
103 township (Gushichan-son) in the southeastern part of Okinawa.[4] It is on
[491] the present Highway 54 which begins on the Chinen peninsula, travels southwesterly, following the coast at a distance to Mabuni in the southeast, then crossing the island to Nagushiku town, a village south of Itoman.

361 The village and its surroundings are small in area, the actual town
241 site including various village owned properties, taking up slightly over
443 22 acres. This is an agricultural village, with the exception of minor
256 activities such as storekeeping and rice milling. As of December 31, 1951,
162 it had a population of 589 (269 male, 320 female), living together in 120 households, an average of 4.9 persons per household.

361 The village is believed to have been founded about 400 years ago.
[103] By Okinawan standards this is not very old. It is off the main historical
[491] road which ran from Naha to Shuri to Kochinda, Gushichan, Hinatogawa, through Tamagusuku township to the Chinen peninsula, probably the road travelled by Okinawan kings up to the latter part of the seventeenth century when they prayed at the altars on Kudaka Island.[5] There were in this area a series of castles on the tops of hills commanding the road
175 and its approaches, the castles, the rough determinants of various regions
349 formerly under a regional nobility. To the west there was Kochinda castle,
631 Tamagusuku on the east, Gushichan castle near Hanashiro, where a surviving stone fence can still be seen, and the castle site of Itokazu. There is reason for believing, as we mentioned in Chapter 1, that this is in the general area of oldest settlement in the island.

[Text continues on P. 49 --analyst]

3 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, Vol. I, 163, 164, 179-80, and an illustration of a "cung-qua" on p. 180. On the older village with granaries and storehouses, see Green's remarks in Hawks, Perry's expedition, as cited, Vol. II, 34, 36, and illustration in Vol. I, 178.

[103] 4 The village is also known as Hanagusuku: the meaning is the same, as
[192] shiro is the Japanese, gusuku the Okinawan word for castle. Many Okinawan place names have the suffix, —gusuku.

5 Spencer, The Noro, or priestesses of Loo Choo, as cited, 107.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

HANS

575
621

Hanashiro	5
Hinatogawa	9
Hatsuda	16

6

The Democratic Government of the Township and Village

The description of local government has intentionally been delayed to this point because its operation and functions can be seen to greater advantage after an acquaintance with family life and the various forms of group activity. We can see it, not so much a formal structure to be described in legalistic terms, but as an expression of many of the characteristics of the culture we have already found in the family system, group activity, and individual leadership. 128

Okinawa and the various smaller islands of the Central Ryukyus (Okinawa-gunto) is one of the four main political subdivisions of the chain. The gunto is divided into townships, and within each township, there are several settlements (buraku, ku, aza) which we have consistently called villages. Township government is the channel for the enforcement of laws and regulations from higher governmental agencies and the source of local measures which govern the several villages of the township. 631

The seat of the township government is one of the villages of the township.[4] In Gushichan township, the village office (yakuba) is at Gushichan village, while in Ginoza township, the office is in Ginoza village. 632

At the head of this government is a mayor (sonchō) elected for a four year term. There is no strenuous campaigning for the office. Friends may induce a well known man to run, then visit the villages, and ask the people to vote for him. A reputation for being kind, fair, and refined (otonashii) goes far in electing a man. Once in office he is extremely busy, and like the village headman, usually looks forward to the end of his term rather than to re-election. A new mayor appoints his own or reappoints the old staff. He chooses a vice-mayor (joyaku) with the approval of the village assembly (gikai). 632 622 [666] [577]

A township office generally has the following administrative sections: (1) a treasury and disbursing office (shūnyūyaku), (2) a general affairs (shomu) sections. The head of this section is in charge of the family registers (koseki) and of the registry of seals. These two important functions require a little elaboration. 632

4 The government actually described here is that of Gushichan township. It did not seem worthwhile to repeat essentially the same information for Ginoza and then to make minute comparisons and contrasts between them.

Chapter 5

Political Organization and Social Control

THE TOWNSHIP

621
●631 Administratively Taira village is part of Higashi township, an area of
[131] approximately 30 square miles with six independent villages spread over a distance of about 15 miles along the coast. Taira is centrally located and since 1946 has been the seat of the township administration. Higashi is one of several townships in northern Okinawa. It is responsible to the central Ryukyuan government at Naha which has branch offices at Nago, the nearest town to Taira. Control over communities such as Taira by a central government is of ancient date. The Okinawan king levied taxes throughout the island and held political control over the villages until establishment of Japanese administration.

632 The township office is headed by a mayor who is elected for four years by popular vote. He nominates an assistant mayor who must be confirmed by the township assembly, a council of 16 representatives who are elected from all the villages. The Assembly meets two or three times a year to enact local ordinances, to confirm the mayor's appointments, and to approve the annual budget.

632 The administrative organization of the township consists of five
647 departments, which are responsible for carrying out central government policies. The Finance and Education Department is concerned with tax collection and general school affairs. The Industrial Department acts as controlling and advising agent in all matters of subsistence and cash production. Financial help for farmers is channeled through this department. Attached to it is an Agricultural Extension Division agent who is concerned with individual farmers' problems. A General Affairs
[217] Department is in charge of office administration; it is also responsible

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

 647

for keeping the population registry, with vital statistics and relevant information on all township residents.* The Welfare Department investigates relief cases and receives applications for support from the poorest families. The Health and Sanitation Administration is primarily concerned with preventive work. Representatives from these five departments are supposed to visit all the villages in the township frequently to inspect and to discuss regulations. The officials and personnel of the five departments are drawn equally from all the villages and commute daily by foot, bicycle, or bus. 632 [217]

The township administration links the central government and individual villages. Numerous requests for central government aid, originating in each community, are sent through the township office. The government in turn deals with each community through the township administration. Contact between township and the villages is maintained by weekly meetings of all village headmen with the mayor and his staff. The village headman is responsible for carrying out township and central government ordinances. 631

THE VILLAGE

The village headman is elected once a year, in June, from a slate agreed on beforehand during informal discussions by villagers. There is no campaigning; in fact, the elections are treated more as a necessity than a politically important event, and neither before nor after do they incite much public discussion. This democratic process of elections is of post-World War II date. Before the war, the council of village leaders accepted a new headman only if the choice pleased them, so that the headman at that time was virtually appointed. Villagers remarked that "listening to public opinion is a recent change." 622 666 [177]

The village is still experimenting with the mechanics of a free election. Votes are still restricted to household heads, but the Taira Women's Association and Young People's Association tried to change this in 1955. Although they did not succeed, a concession was made by permitting "representatives" to vote for their household in the absence of a household head, provided the voter was 20 years of age. The elec- 666 [592] [575]

* The old registry was totally destroyed during the war. A new one is being prepared with the help of the people. It no longer differentiates between persons of noble and common descent. Information on crimes committed by people, sentences passed by courts, and other information, such as diseases in the family, like mental illness, is also omitted now.

CHAPTER VI: POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND CONTROL

W. P. Lebra

1. Territorial Organization

631 The territory of the Ryukyuan government is subdivided into a number of municipalities whose administrations are directly responsible to the central government in Naha. There are three types of municipalities---city ('shi'), town ('chō'), and township ('son')---depending on their population and character. The 'shi' (city) and 'chō' (town) are urban municipalities whereas the 'son' (township) is always rural. Each of these are in turn subdivided into 'ku' which are equivalent to wards in the urban municipalities and to villages or hamlets in the rural. This study shall concern itself exclusively with the governments of the 'son' and 'ku'. As of May 1954 there were four cities, four towns, and forty-eight townships on Okinawa and its peripheral islands, and these contained over five hundred villages and settlements.

632 171 The governmental designations in use on Okinawa are the same as those employed in Japan though there are several minor distinctions. A 'son' or township in Japan and Okinawa is a collective grouping of a number of separate communities or villages into a single administrative unit. In Japan the 'son' is a fairly recent creation, dating back to the late nineteenth century; in most cases it is a rather arbitrary grouping of villages in the interests of administrative expediency. It is exclusively a governmental unit, rarely a social or historical entity. This, however, is not the case on Okinawa.
175 632 Prior to Japanese annexation the present 'son' on Okinawa were called majiri; in the Okinawan feudal age (aji nu yuu---Age of the Aji or Manor Lords) these were the hereditary fiefs of the local lords. Later, after the end of feudalism in the fifteenth century they became the administrative districts of the Shuri government. Each district was headed by an official (jiturei) appointed by the king, and the majiri or district was most important as the land-disbursing unit in a system of communal land ownership. It also served as the basic tax unit, since taxes were levied against the majiri by the Shuri government rather than against the individual family or village. Each majiri, like the present-day 'son', consisted of a number of small villages called mura, the equivalent of the present-day 'aza' or 'ku'. After Japan formally annexed the Ryukyus in 1879, the old administrative system was not immediately abolished and continued to exist for some time. The system of communal land tenure and taxation lasted until 1903, and the majiri were not converted into their present-day counterpart, the 'son', until 1907. In most cases the old majiri name was given to the new 'son', which generally corresponded to the territory of the former although a few of the larger ones have since been subdivided. For example, Motobu was divided into Motobu and Kami Motobu. In most cases, however, there has been a continuity in political districts since the feudal period.

621 Each 'son' is made up of a number of villages which are called 'aza' or 'ku' by official designation. For all practical purposes the two terms

mean the same thing, village, although the term 'aza' tends to be geographical in connotation whereas 'ku' refers more to the political community. Official land maps use the designation 'aza' and the same term is used for one's postal address. Conversely, the 'koseki' (household registry) kept in the township office is labelled as the 'koseki' of a certain 'ku', and the political head or mayor of a village is referred to as the 'kuchō' ('ku' leader or head). The villagers never use the term 'ku' in referring to their village; instead the terms 'aza', mura, or 'buraku' are used. The township of Kanegusuku-son located in southern Okinawa approximately three miles south of Naha on the west coast is subdivided into eight villages or 'aza', each of these comprising a separate settlement surrounded by its fields. 621

Every 'aza' consists of a number of haru (cognate to the Japanese hara) which best translates as "field". Kanegusuku, one of the eight villages of Kanegusuku-son and the one from which it takes its name, consists of eight haru, though the number in a given village is completely arbitrary. These haru or fields are local designations for the various areas of a village and are well known to all the villagers. The haru names are fairly similar from village to village throughout Okinawa though occasionally local geographical features or place names, particularly those of streams, are used. Names like wii baru (upper field), agari baru (east field), iri baru (west field), kushi baru (back field), mee baru (front field), shicha baru (lower field) are found in nearly every village. It is interesting to note that the names north field and south field rarely occur, and where they do occur, the author suspects that they have been put in use quite recently, for in the old, typical Okinawan village all of the houses face south, and the field names are usually ordered around this orientation. Thus, mee baru (front field) is usually south of the village while kushi baru (back field) is usually on the north side. This carries over into the household naming system (yago) employed by the villagers to designate each of the house lots within the settlement. 621 103

Each haru is broken into many small parcels or plots of land. On the village land maps every plot is assigned to one of six categories---house or building land, irrigated land, dry farm land, grass land, forest land, and miscellaneous, including tomb land. Each plot is also given a number on the land maps and in the land registry ('tochi daichō') for the purpose of identification, though oftentimes the villagers refer to them by local names. 621 311 [423]

2. Political Organization[1]

There are three levels of government (exclusive of military government) existing on Okinawa today---the central government (Government of the Ryukyu Islands), municipal governments ('shi-chō-son'), and 'ku' (ward or village) governments. The structure of government is pyramidal, there is a hierarchial chain of command, and each echelon of government exceeds in authority the unit immediately below it. There is no allocation of rights and powers as exists among the various national, state, and local segments of American government, since the state operates as a highly-organized and heavily centralized unitary whole. Variation in the form and function of local government from one area to another is slight. Individuals appear to play but a small role in this 642 [631]

[1] A major part of the information presented in this chapter derives from the author's study in the township of Kanegusuku-son and particularly in one of its villages, Kanegusuku-ku. This has been supplemented by data gathered in briefer studies in other parts of Okinawa. 101

311 Land appraisal made by people with long experience with the
[242] capabilities of their soils under traditional methods of farming, fertilization, and land reclamation is very old in the culture. This in itself is a very significant fact about the culture aside from the obvious technical utility of a land classification system.
[556] Land classification is important as a tangible indication of wealth
[651] as appraised by representatives of the village. This classification is the basis of taxation of land. A grade two rice paddy pays a
[433] lower tax than a grade one. The system of land classification also provides a basis for estimating probable yields.

[632] Township officials are responsible for land classification on a township basis, but each village does its own. In Oushichan township (Hanashiro and Hinatogawa) the elected mayor and his appointed subordinates and local farmers who know the land well have set up the system based on classes and grades of land. In Ginoza-son, the mayor performs a similar function. Since each village has its land classification, a table of correspondences makes possible the comparison of equivalent grades. A composite system for the township can then be made. Grade three rice land in Matsuda, for example, may be equivalent to grade two rice land in Ginoza village. By listing all these together, a village wide classification is made.

The main classifications (tōkyū) of land found in all communities are: (1) Rice lands, (ta, tambo), (2) dry crop land (hatake). It is very difficult to translate the word hatake. So far the expression dry crop land has been used. This land may be contrasted with the wet rice fields; it is dry farming land, usually on rolling slopes or upland. It is land used for cultivation of domestic plants except rice and one or two other minor crops. Rice and dry crop land are the two main classes. (3) Genya land. This word is also difficult to translate. It is variously rendered as wild or waste land, but it is neither wild nor wasteland in an economic sense. It is best described negatively as land not suited for cultivation. Despite its low value, it is important land for its production of grass, reeds, firewood and plant shoots for domestic animals. It is vital in land
[185] conservation. The genya land, sometimes on steep or gentle mountain slopes, sometimes cropping out in the midst of cultivated fields or rice paddies, with its dense growth of grass, its occasional pine tree or cycad effectively binds the soil and prevents disastrous run off and flash floods. Around the village of Hanashiro, genya land is rocky and most of its vegetation consists of grass with some shrubs. Before the war, this genya land had more pine and cycads than at present, and the disappearance of the cycad and pine furnished greater opportunity for the omnipresent miscanthus, though there are occasional regrowths of the pine. In Matsuda, the genya land often is indistinguishable from the forest. But the trees are less dense and the privately owned genya is interspersed with the small cultivated paddies and fields. (4) House sites (yashiki, takuchi). There are usually two classes: the first class site is convenient and on a main road or lane; the second class is inconvenient, a rear house, or one

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

311 Land classification in Okinawa proceeds from the village to the township and then to the whole island. Each class of land in a village has its own grade. By combining these grades a township classification is made. This is done first by village committees determining the grades for each of their classes of land, and then by setting up a table of equivalences after discussion by the committee representing the whole township. Matsuda's first grade dry crop land might be considered by the land classification committee to be equal in quality to Ginoza village's second class land. While there might be only six classifications for any one village, when all these are combined, there may be ten grades for the township. This is shown by the table of correspondences for Matsuda and neighboring villages in Ginoza-son, as of November 1951.

In this illustration, Matsuda's first class rice land is considered second grade on a township wide basis; its sixth grade dry crop land is grade nine, and its first and second class houses are by comparison, grades three and four in the whole township.

311 623 632 With minor variations, the procedures in classifying land are the same in both townships. Each village makes the classification of its own land. This is done by five villagers, chosen by the people for their knowledge and integrity. In Gushichan township, village experts are designated to serve on the township committee.[8] Seven men from the villages are joined by the mayor (sonchō), the vice-mayor (joyaku), the trade and industry section head, the agricultural section head of the township office, a total of eleven men, who then determine the township classifications. These committees make inspections of doubtful cases, often after working hours. The field trips usually end [574] up with a sake party.

In Ginoza-son essentially the same procedures are followed. Each village sends representatives, the number being determined by the area of the village. In late 1951, this village-wide committee had 24 members with the township mayor as chairman. Each village prepares its own land classification map. The local classifications, later combined to make a township-wide classification, have the advantage of limiting the range of grades in a small area and of comparing parcels close together.

Occasionally the grade of a plot is changed to correct an error or to make it consistent with an improvement. A new road may make a plot of land more accessible and thus change its grade.

311 651 433 556 In all the villages studied, land classification was important for the same reasons: for tax purposes, for estimating future production, and for the individual farmer, a means of demonstrating tangible wealth.

8 One representative each is chosen from the villages of Gushichan, Aragusuku, Koshihara, and Nakaza villages, one from Oton and Hanashiro combined, one from Asato and Yoza combined, and one from Hinatogawa-ikku and Hinatogawa-niku combined.

313 476 [465] tion, but the village receives payment, through the township, from the central government for this labor. In November 1951, the rate was Y80 per day for each male, and Y50 for each female. Married women do not participate, except to take the place of a husband who cannot attend. This community project is a continuation of pre-war custom. On the day set aside for this work, the participants are taken part way by truck or bus. A half hour walk over the paths, often leading through dense thickets, brings them to the site selected. Everyone brings his own lunch, perhaps in a little metal box, or merely wrapped in banana leaves. Around noon, the girls take their buckets, go down hill to the stream, and carry up the water for the tea. Weeds and grasses, especially miscanthus and the dwarf bamboo are cleared cut from the predominating shii and pine. A shii is known here as the shiigi or shiija. When work begins the area is almost an impenetrable thicket. The grasses and the thick dwarf bamboo have grown up in dense stands among the trees. Only these grasses are cut. Trees are not touched, except for the very young ones in overcrowded spots, or the malformed and dying trees. With the brush and grasses cut, the stand of trees is still dense.

When the undergrowth has been cut down, one can walk through the area. The cuttings, as well as the litter on the forest floor, are not removed. This wise practice keeps the soils at least at their normal productivity. In this area, the relatively low density of population, the scattering of settlement, the large areas of [311] forest compared with the cultivated areas have not brought about conditions requiring the removal of forest litter for fertilising fields and for fuel, a practice which creates acute problems in Japan.[9]

The work is supervised by a forestry official living in the [637] village but an employee of the township. His supervision is nominal, as everyone knows what is to be done and how to do it. Like all officials of a village, he is a friend, neighbor, or relative of those who participate. He checks off the names of those who have reported. On returning from the forest at five in the afternoon, most of the villagers bring back some wood, perhaps a long pole, a bunch of dwarf bamboo, or miscanthus to make an outdoor broom. They are lighthearted as they return single file along the winding paths back to the village.

Pine cones are gathered for their seeds by the co-operative effort of the villagers. The cones are soaked in water so the seeds can be removed more easily. The village office takes the seeds, [C55] gives them to the township office which sells them to the central government for planting purposes. Once a year, the village receives 10% of the amount of seeds it collected for its own planting purposes.

9 A report on Japanese natural resources, as cited, 358.

575 [572] Friendships formed here and in school are the basis of later lifelong associations.

Young Women's Associations (joshiseinen) are not so well developed. Hanashiro has none. In Minatogawa the young men's and the young women's groups are combined. Matsuda has a separate organization of girls from 17 to 23. The latter age is considered the probable date of marriage, when the young woman will enter the Women's Association. Their duties parallel those of the young men: village maintenance, selling firewood, planting sugar cane, taking part in harvest ceremonies and participating with the young men in the New Year's party.

[368] In the villages, a volunteer organization is responsible for fire fighting. The fire brigades (sobodan) usually are under the direction of the young men's association. The village gong is sounded, the volunteers assemble, and the fire is put out by using a bucket brigade.

[177] Parent Teacher Associations, after the American model, have been formed in the rural area, but it is too early to form a judgment of their effectiveness.

575 621 There are also the neighborhood associations. A village is divided into areas or zones (han), each with its own head (hanchō). Neighborhood groups had existed before the introduction of the Japanese neighborhood association (tonari gumi) in about 1935 or 1936. These older groups (kumi) had from 30 to 70 families, each with a head (kumichō). These groups often assisted in a family crisis, with housebuilding, or furnished pallbearers for a funeral.

Before and during the war, the Japanese used the neighborhood associations in their rationing, food distribution, civil defense, and other programs.

The neighborhood associations remained after the war, but they are now known as hans. The leader of each neighborhood group is a link in the chain of communication from the township office to the individual villager. [632] The township mayor transmits a new regulation or a directive from a higher governmental authority to each village headman who informs the heads of each of the neighborhood groups, who can then tell the people living in his area. The people within a neighborhood group may also co-operate with one another in housebuilding. The young men may be pallbearers for a deceased resident of the neighborhood. The group head also informs the people of village meetings (jōkai). These heads may be elected, but usually they serve by rotation (kotai), with a change every three months. In Matsuda, the group head is selected for one year and household heads service under him for one month in rotation to perform stand-by (tōban suru, to be on duty) duties and help the neighborhood head in his work.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

HANS

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Hanashiro 5
Minatogawa 9
Hatsuda 16

6

The Democratic Government of the Township and Village

The description of local government has intentionally been delayed to this point because its operation and functions can be seen to greater advantage after an acquaintance with family life and the various forms of group activity. We can see it, not so much a formal structure to be described in legalistic terms, but as an expression of many of the characteristics of the culture we have already found in the family system, group activity, and individual leadership. 128

Okinawa and the various smaller islands of the Central Ryukyus (Okinawa-gunto) is one of the four main political subdivisions of the chain. The gunto is divided into townships, and within each township, there are several settlements (buraku, ku, aza) which we have consistently called villages. Township government is the channel for the enforcement of laws and regulations from higher governmental agencies and the source of local measures which govern the several villages of the township. 631

The seat of the township government is one of the villages of the township.[4] In Gushichan township, the village office (yakuba) is at Gushichan village, while in Ginoza township, the office is in Ginoza village. 632

At the head of this government is a mayor (sonchō) elected for a four year term. There is no strenuous campaigning for the office. Friends may induce a well known man to run, then visit the villages, and ask the people to vote for him. A reputation for being kind, fair, and refined (otonashii) goes far in electing a man. Once in office he is extremely busy, and like the village headman, usually looks forward to the end of his term rather than to re-election. A new mayor appoints his own or reappoints the old staff. He chooses a vice-mayor (joyaku) with the approval of the village assembly (gikai). 632 622 [666] [577]

A township office generally has the following administrative sections: (1) a treasury and disbursing office (shūnyūyaku), (2) a general affairs (shomu) sections. The head of this section is in charge of the family registers (koseki) and of the registry of seals. These two important functions require a little elaboration. 632

4 The government actually described here is that of Gushichan township. It did not seem worthwhile to repeat essentially the same information for Ginoza and then to make minute comparisons and contrasts between them.

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The family register is a basic official document recording officially all the family data for each household. These have been compiled since the war. The old registers which gave the family history in great and accurate detail were destroyed as a consequence of the war or intentionally by the Japanese. The standard form for the register contains (1) the place of permanent domicile of the family head (honseki), (2) the place of present residence (genjūshō), (3) the name of the previous head of the family (senkonushi), (4) the head of the family (koshu), his birthdate, and his relationship to the preceding head, (5) the name of the father and mother of the present head, (6) the name of the wife, her birthdate, whether she is a first or succeeding daughter, the names of her parents, (7) the date of the marriage, (8) names of each family member with birthdate and relationship to the head. All matters pertaining to the family are recorded in one place. The register contains information about births, deaths, marriages, and additions, deletions, or notations as to foreign residence. If a second son establishes a branch family, a line is drawn through his name on the register and a notation refers to a new sheet set up for his family. Deaths are shown by drawing a red line through the name.

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The registry of seals (inkanbō) is a list of the seals of everyone in the township. The individual stamps his seal in the registry himself. The registry shows the date on which the seal is registered, the present address, permanent address, and the name and birthdate of its owner. Seals (han) are used whenever a signature would be required here. When used they are pressed into an India ink paste and stamped on the document requiring the seal.

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Following general affairs, there is (3) the tax collection (saisei) (4) school affairs (kōmu), (5) a section devoted to agriculture, industry, fishing, or other important occupations in the township (sangyō), (6) health and sanitation (eisei) concerned with community sanitation, health and vital statistics, and (7) a relief and welfare section (shakaijigyō) which administers relief to the indigent.

[423]

The village office also issues to each landowner a certificate of ownership (shoyūkenshōmeisho) with the seal of the mayor for each parcel a villager owns. These sheets, a separate one for each parcel, are bound up in a small book.

[622]

The mayor and his staff hear complaints from individual taxpayers regarding assessments, the amount of the tax, or the classification of land. The atmosphere of a township office is friendly and informal. Callers bow on entering. The mayor is readily accessible. (In my experience, mayors and headmen are very high types of individuals). Most members of the staff bring their own lunches. Each office has a young girl or boy to serve tea and to watch the fire.

The legislative functions of township government are performed by an assembly (gikai), whose members, elected at large, enact ordinances and approve the mayor's appointment of a vice mayor. The mayor, his administrative staff, and the township assembly administer the township.

Their acts are enforced in each of the villages by the headman. 632

The village headman (kuchō) is an intermediary between the people and the township government. He listens to complaints from his people, carries them to the township government for a hearing, and has supervision over official community projects and activities. The headman, like the mayor, is a busy, hardworking man. His pay, insufficient to live on, is midway between a salary and an honorarium. The headman of Hanashiro, for example, received Y720 per month, Hinatogawa Y950, and Hatsuda Y2000 a month.[5] The headman usually has a paid clerk (shoki) who works full time and may receive more pay than the headman. The clerk compiles reports of the village population, assists the headman at meetings, and is a general administrative assistant. 622 622 [465] [624]

The village headman is elected for a period of one year. There is no campaigning. The election generally is preceded by discussions among the heads of households, village elders, the young men's association and the women's association. These discussions reveal the candidates who are able to do the work and have the leisure and the money to undertake the responsibility. [66]

A village headman usually leads a harried life. Most of them regard their term as a duty to be discharged rather than a beginning of a career in office holding. A former village headman of Hanashiro said that, in addition to the formal meetings he attended at the township office, he had to visit the village office at least 15 times a month on some village problem, such as taxes, health and sanitation, or individual complaints. The village headman of Hinatogawa had a constant succession of problems: reports on overdue fishermen, getting water pipe lines from the mountains to the water tank repaired, taking charge of typhoon damage repair, and trying to have small improvements made in the village. The headman is caught between the township officials who need tax money and the villagers who complain that they have so little money with which to pay them. In Hatsuda, there was the same multiplication of problems involving taxes, need for extra school supplies or repairs, and road maintenance. [651]

Village headmen belong to no special age group. In one township, they ranged in age from 30 to 52. Age is not a decisive factor in their selection, but reputation, literacy, and friendliness are. Though there is a change in administration each year, the incumbent headman stays on one month after the close of his term until the new one has become accustomed to his duties. In some villages, the clerk is elected at the same time as the village headman. [624]

The village headman does not have, nor does he desire, complete responsibility for administering the village. Two groups are available for advice. The headman will not make decisions on important non-routine matters without consulting them. The first of these, the village council 623

5 For comparative purposes, the minimum wage for young Okinawan girls employed as maids for US personnel was about Y100 ($9.17) per month. [465]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

have traditional, though restricted, forms of village co-operation. 621
This meshing in of activities, either among families or groups, when 571
combined with individual leadership brings about a situation in the village which is comparable with the experiences in the family system.

These individual and family relationships which are the real content of village administration are also felt, though in a diluted form, 632
in the township government. The influence of inter-village marriage, 628
of the school whose pupils come from several villages, and of the annual 571
athletic meets make for informality and elastic government. Township officials generally are drawn from each of the villages which make up a township. These elements provide both in village and township life a feeling of participation and a sense of belonging, already so strongly developed within the family system.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

Between 1875 and 1895, when the court life at the old capitol of Shuri was broken up under Japanese influence, many families of noble origin moved into the country to become farmers, and the village grew in size. These people settled mainly outside the central village in areas where land was available. One family moved into Taira proper, forming the third "main house." Although it still maintains feeble ceremonial connections with Shuri, it gave up its noble title shortly after coming north and moved its ancestral tomb to the community. The noble families who settled in the valleys and hills preserved their distinctive traditions until the end of World War II. Their noble descent was noted in the population register, and intermarriage with commoners was discouraged.

Except for these Shuri migrants, few outsiders seem to have settled in Taira prior to World War II. The residents on the southern part of the island, especially the residents of Naha and Shuri, consider northerners rustics. Although this part of the island was often used as a hiding place by political and criminal refugees from the south, who are said to have founded nearby villages, none of them made their home in Taira.

The original settlers of Taira were reluctant to accept later arrivals in their midst. Because of the fear of spirits, foreign to the village, they prohibited the burial of the newcomer's dead near the tombs shared by the members of the "main houses." To this day the funeral urns of a family who came to Taira about 60 years ago and later intermarried with settled villages are kept in a cave, away from all other tombs.

Higashi township was established in 1922. The area had previously belonged to Kushi township to the south, but the great distances between villages and the mountainous character of the country made efficient administration very difficult. Furthermore, some Higashi inhabitants felt that because of temperamental differences and divergent interests they should separate from the southern township. Since 1922 contacts have been predominantly with Ogimi township to the northwest and the town of Nago, 16 miles away. Once the road connecting the two coastlines was completed in 1936, Taira's isolation decreased considerably, and it became the administrative seat of Higashi township in 1946.

Taira also became the home of the high priestess. In the period prior to direct Japanese administration, her office was under the jurisdiction of the Shuri court (Lebra, 1958), and her predecessors must have been appointed by the Okinawan kings. Taira may have been chosen as the seat of the high priestess in lieu of Kawata because Kawata lacks the good rice land which traditionally went to the high priestess by royal decree. Some of this rice land is still in the hands of the living priestess.

Chapter 5

Political Organization and Social Control

THE TOWNSHIP

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631 Administratively Taira village is part of Higashi township, an area of
[131] approximately 30 square miles with six independent villages spread over a distance of about 15 miles along the coast. Taira is centrally located and since 1946 has been the seat of the township administration. Higashi is one of several townships in northern Okinawa. It is responsible to the central Ryukyuan government at Naha which has branch offices at Nago, the nearest town to Taira. Control over communities such as Taira by a central government is of ancient date. The Okinawan king levied taxes throughout the island and held political control over the villages until establishment of Japanese administration.

632 The township office is headed by a mayor who is elected for four years by popular vote. He nominates an assistant mayor who must be confirmed by the township assembly, a council of 16 representatives who are elected from all the villages. The Assembly meets two or three times a year to enact local ordinances, to confirm the mayor's appointments, and to approve the annual budget.

632 The administrative organization of the township consists of five
647 departments, which are responsible for carrying out central government policies. The Finance and Education Department is concerned with tax collection and general school affairs. The Industrial Department acts as controlling and advising agent in all matters of subsistence and cash production. Financial help for farmers is channeled through this department. Attached to it is an Agricultural Extension Division agent who is concerned with individual farmers' problems. A General Affairs
[217] Department is in charge of office administration; it is also responsible

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for keeping the population registry, with vital statistics and relevant 632
information on all township residents.* The Welfare Department investigates relief cases and receives applications for support from the [217]
poorest families. The Health and Sanitation Administration is primarily concerned with preventive work. Representatives from these five departments are supposed to visit all the villages in the township frequently to inspect and to discuss regulations. The officials and personnel of the five departments are drawn equally from all the villages and commute daily by foot, bicycle, or bus.

The township administration links the central government and individual villages. Numerous requests for central government aid, originating in each community, are sent through the township office. The government in turn deals with each community through the township administration. Contact between township and the villages is maintained by weekly meetings of all village headmen with the mayor and his staff. The village headman is responsible for carrying out township and central government ordinances. 631

THE VILLAGE

The village headman is elected once a year, in June, from a slate agreed on beforehand during informal discussions by villagers. There 622 666
is no campaigning; in fact, the elections are treated more as a necessity than a politically important event, and neither before nor after do they incite much public discussion. This democratic process of elections is [177]
of post-World War II date. Before the war, the council of village leaders accepted a new headman only if the choice pleased them, so that the headman at that time was virtually appointed. Villagers remarked that "listening to public opinion is a recent change."

The village is still experimenting with the mechanics of a free 666
election. Votes are still restricted to household heads, but the Taira Women's Association and Young People's Association tried to change [592]
this in 1955. Although they did not succeed, a concession was made by [575]
permitting "representatives" to vote for their household in the absence of a household head, provided the voter was 20 years of age. The elec-

* The old registry was totally destroyed during the war. A new one is being prepared with the help of the people. It no longer differentiates between persons of noble and common descent. Information on crimes committed by people, sentences passed by courts, and other information, such as diseases in the family, like mental illness, is also omitted now.

623 attend." As on all occasions women usually sit together on one side or in the rear. Few of them participate during discussions. The most active spokesmen for the women are the head of the Women's Association and one or two of her close assistants. If a discussion concerns such matters as liquor and food for celebrating certain holidays, a woman may speak [854] up. Mothers bring their infants along[1] and hold them in their arms or nurse them when they get restless. Sometimes a child feels uncomfortable and starts crying, and the mother is forced to leave the room.

554 In general, Taira people do not enjoy being leaders or playing a 157 dominating role. There are no bosses who attempt to force issues or 621 dictate policies. Even people who have definite ideas on how to effect changes would not attempt to assume full responsibility by disregarding the advice of others. "Power" is not associated with responsible positions and village leadership. The headman and clerk perform a duty, often loathed by them and never too highly rewarded by others. A man commands respect for his education, age, sound advice, and exemplary behavior, not for the office he holds. Moreover, all villagers are friendly neighbors, and the man who is presently headman still remains a relative or neighbor to everybody. There is more prestige [632] associated with township offices. The mayor, who holds the highest position, is a man of age and experience; he commands a great deal of respect and has been elected to that office because of the high esteem in which he is held. Occasionally one hears of power hungry persons who are unscrupulous and authoritarian, but they are rare.

FORMAL CONTROL

625 Formal control of law and order is in the hands of the police. A detachment of the Hentona district police is located in the village, and one policeman is constantly stationed there. He lives with his family in [206] a building which also has a small office. Recently a telephone with direct connections to Hentona was installed. The policeman and his wife are from another township.

[166] The policeman's main duty, according to villagers, is to protect them from the occasional outside burglars or from fugitives from the south who come north to hide in the woods. The announcement that such a person is on the loose creates much excitement and anxiety. A second important duty is the control of the shore line. Smugglers and [167] illegal entrants from the Japanese island of Yoron, just to the north of Okinawa land along the coast. Although one man with only a bicycle can hardly control effectively several miles of coastline, since the only road to the outer world leads through Taira, the policeman

1 [ie - to the household head meeting - ANALYST]

can at least check all transients. Another important duty is to prevent the use of explosives by fishermen, a difficult if not impossible assignment, for he must catch the fisherman *flagrante delicto* when he lands with fish killed in this way. There is no indication that villagers assist the policeman in detecting offenders. 625 [226]

Policing the village itself is not a difficult job. The absence of crime and the low incidence of quarrels, disputes, and brawls would seem to make policing unnecessary. Nevertheless, the policeman interferes at times in disputes. He considers it his duty when actual blows are exchanged and somebody is hurt. In such a case he "investigates," takes notes, and makes a report to the police department. During the entire field work, reportable incidents occurred at about the rate of one a month; in the two or three cases where violence occurred, the matter was settled peacefully later, although the policeman kept a record of it. The rare quarrels which do occur are usually the result of drinking or domestic disagreements, generated by financial problems. 625 578 [674] [273]

The policeman plays the role of judge and jury. In one case a young man hit a woman and was temporarily detained by the policeman until he made apologies to the victim. In disputes over business transactions, the policeman often arbitrates. In a dispute in which a Taira woman was accused of cheating a trader from another village, the policeman heard the case and ordered the Taira woman to make refunds over a period of time. The villagers seem to accept such arbitration. Serious disagreements seem to be unthinkable, and everyone fears public censure and ostracism. Court action is extremely rare and is referred to the provincial courts in the town of Nago. 625 627 [692]

The policeman is given high status by the villagers and commands respect. He remains, probably by his own choice, a neutral person in village affairs. He attends village functions, where he is given a place among village leaders. Being friendly with many families, he visits and is visited by other men. It was noted that fishermen sometimes send a special catch to the policeman. But since this is a courtesy which is also common among farmers with regard to nonfarming people, such as teachers, one should not think of such actions as bribery. Mothers use the policeman as a threat in disciplining children. "If you do such a bad thing again, I'll take you to the police station." This, however, does not seem to instill any fear of his person, but rather a respect towards the general area in which the policeman lives. Village children play freely with the policeman's children, but his courtyard is entered less frequently by children than that of other villagers. 625 [554] [662] [861]

The head of the General Affairs Department at the township office is charged with supervision of public order. It is not clear how much this is a self-assigned task. During several occasions, when an alarm 632 647 625

625 went out for fugitives from the south, he would accompany the police-
[632] man or investigate himself. In cases of death, both he and the police-
[647] men have to make a report.

The Young People's Association may serve as a vigilante in emer-
[575] gencies such as fires, floods, tornadoes, and other disasters. When a
[731] military jeep was reported to have been stolen near Naha and driven on the dead-end road running north, the young people in all villages on the way erected road blocks and were ready to help catch the thief. The group would act together in a similar fashion at any threat from outsiders.

622 The headman can only enforce local ordinances insofar as he is
681 able to persuade people to comply. He is not concerned directly with crime or disturbance of the peace. Exceptions are such matters as stealing sugar cane or letting chickens run loose so that they enter every
[625] yard. For such acts, money fines can be imposed. One warden still has a tag which used to be given to the man whose chickens ran around freely. The offender had to pay the fine and keep the tag until he detected someone else's chickens running loose. Then he could pass the tag on to that person. Such measures are no longer used. But the un-
[626] derlying principle of public censure and fear of ridicule continues to operate in village social control.

623 Public censure is used along with fines to ensure attendance at vil-
626 lage meetings. Roll call is taken before each meeting so that the absence of individuals is made known to the whole group. Similarly, when
[681] tax collections became more and more delinquent, it was decided to have ward meetings in which everybody would be reminded in public to pay his share. Those who were unable to do so would have to state their reasons. As soon as this new plan was announced, several people got up during the meeting to pay outstanding amounts to the head-
872 man. The school uses similar devices to achieve better attendance and scholarship. During home visit week, about once a year, a meeting is held for all parents and the statistics for attendance for each village are read as well as scholastic performances for each community.

INFORMAL CONTROL

156
626 What other people might think is uppermost on everybody's mind.
[867] Children are reminded by their mothers not to play alone lest people would think they are unpopular. They are told not to fight lest others think badly of them or make them responsible for the consequences. Censure by gossip is common, but criticism is seldom made directly to a person's face, and the target of extensive gossip is often unaware of it.

the school. Classes are held from 9 o'clock until noon with one recess. After an hour for lunch, lessons resume for all grades above first. Classes, sports, and cleanup end between 2 and 3:30 in the afternoon, the highest grades staying the longest. 872

All grades receive instruction in Japanese writing and reading, arithmetic, science, music, and drawing. Social science is introduced in the second grade. Since each class has one teacher for all subjects, shifts from one to the next subject may come in the middle of an hour. The greatest amount of time is spent in teaching Japanese reading and writing. At first grade level the simplified syllabary is taught, followed in the second grade by another syllabary and the first Chinese characters. [871 177 191]

Parents maintain contact with the school through a Parent-Teachers Association, called by the American abbreviation, PTA. Every household is a member. Those with children of school age are regular members who pay 15 yen (12 cents) a month; others are supposed to pay 5 yen but have become so delinquent that their fees have been dropped. The actual PTA work is done by a committee from each village, including the headman and the heads of the Women's and Young People's Associations. The main purpose of the PTA is to support the school in some of its maintenance problems. Attendance of all parents at a general meeting occurs only once a year when elections of officers take place and the PTA budget is discussed and approved. 875 575

The principals of both schools are represented in township affairs and in the associations of their own community. Contact between village leaders and school representatives is therefore frequent. Since education taxes are the single largest tax item which villagers pay (80% of the total tax), this representation of the principals is a necessary but burdensome duty for them. 875 621 [651]

Township education taxes are supplemented by government subsidies. School taxes are paid by all households according to their income and average about 515 yen ($4.30) yearly. Since 1952, government orders require education taxes to be levied separately from other taxes so that people are aware of the amount destined for education; tax collection is one of the main problems in village administration, and school principals are sometimes called on to explain the need for such taxation and the obligations of individuals to carry their share of the burden. 871 658 651

The administration of funds and general school matters are the responsibility of an official in the township finance department. During 1954–1955, 310,344 yen ($2586) were collected by the township in education taxes. The government subsidy amounted to 3,716,397 yen [632]

Loans Almost no rural person deals as an individual with a bank for small amounts, as he is embarrassed to deal with strangers and has a tradition of distrust of city people in general. The small 'moai' is the mark of a rather stable agricultural community. Between the 'moai' and the city bank operates the individual loan shark, catering to people who need money desperately---either because of ill health or family troubles---or because with a little capital the borrower hopes to "make a killing" in some enterprise. These needy people are quite willing to contract to repay at the exorbitant interest rate of ten per cent per month. As might be expected, many persons default on repayment of these loans, to the intense and very vocal indignation of the lender. 452

Almost every 'son' has a credit cooperative, or 'Shin'yō Kyōdo Kamiai'. These are operated by the 'son' office, and when the money involved filters down to individuals the amount concerned is much less than one can obtain through a 'moai'. Amounts available for loan generally range from ¥10,000 to ¥15,000 for each village. Then the amount is divided according to the number of households in the 'han', or ward, of the village. Bigger 'han' can borrow about ¥3,000 while smaller ones may borrow ¥2,000. The money is borrowed by the 'han' and then sub-borrowed by individuals or by groups of two or three men. A person may but seldom does borrow directly from the 'son' office as an individual. However, repayment is always made on an individual basis, rather than through the 'han' and village. The village headman, or 'kucho', is the person responsible ('sekinin-sha') for the operation of the fund in his bailiwick. [632]

One Nanahan man has moved temporarily to Itoman. He obtained a GARIOA-subsidized bank loan for ¥360,000 ($3,000) to buy a truck. His success in finding customers in the Naha port area assures that the loan will not be defaulted. 453

'Son' Relief At the end of 1952 there were 335 persons, representing 114 households, who were receiving relief from the 'son' office. Details are presented below: 746 [632]

Class of Aid	From Prewar		Due to War		Postwar		Total	
	Houses	Persons	Houses	Persons	Houses	Persons	Houses	Persons
Orphans	--	--	8	15	--	--	8	15
Aged persons	23	28	14	29	4	5	41	62
Widows	--	--	15	76	12	60	27	136
Sick persons	3	10	5	12	7	26	15	48
Disabled	8	13	3	7	1	5	12	25
Other	1	4	4	18	6	27	11	49
TOTAL	35	55	49	157	30	123	114	335

To obtain relief, old people must fulfill the usual requirements of living alone, being propertyless, ill, and without familial support. In the

746 one case investigated, the village secretary and most of the village people thought that a certain old repatriate should be on relief, if only to receive money to obtain the tobacco he could not buy. The 'son' office was not told about his elder brother's second son, who lives in Osaka. Nor was any check made on the untrue report that he was ill, for no medical proof or witnesses are needed. Upon moving from his sister-in-law's house to a grass shack next door, he was placed upon the relief list to receive the monthly maximum of ¥250 (about $2.08).

746 (177) The 'son' office also supervises the distribution to persons on relief of clothes supplied by the American relief agency RIVAC (Ryukyu Islands Voluntary Agencies Committee). Each person receives free two or three useful items upon signing for their receipt with his chop. These are greatly appreciated by the recipients.

621 427 Rentals of Village-Owned Land Each village generally owns some grassland, some forest land, and a pond or two. These they rent out to the highest bidder. The 'genya' or grassland is rented anew each year, and the person may keep it in grass, or may convert it to dry crop land ('hatake'). The only requirement is that he must not let the grass grow long and shade the nearby crops. The plot owned by Tomoyose village used to be the village horse-powered sugar mill before the better one was built before the war.

Ponds owned by the village are rented out to the highest bidder in a [228] secret bid, for a period of two years. The renter uses the pond to raise [423] carp. Forest land, I was told, is not supposed to be owned by the village, so it is recorded in the land register as the property of a prominent private individual.

65 [632] Taxes The Okinawan farmer is subject to a great number of official taxes. The following is a list of the fifteen 'sonzei', or township taxes, of Kanegusuku-son. Legally these are called district taxes, or 'chihō-zei'.

Tax Name	Translation
Sonmin-zei	Township Citizens' Tax (on all persons who are able to work, except students)
Tochi-zei	Land Tax
Fudōsan Shutoku zei	Real Estate Acquisition Tax
Kaoku-zei	House (or Building) Tax
Kōgyō-zei	Tax for Industry (eg: 'sake' factory)
Gyubasha-zei	Tax for Horsecart or Oxcart
Jidōsha-zei	Auto, Bus and Jitney Tax (Motor Vehicle Tax)
Rajio-zei	Radio Tax
Denchū-zei	Electric Pole Tax
Tochiku-zei	Slaughter Tax
Chikken-zei	Dog Tax
Sempaku-zei	Boat Tax
Jitensha-zei	Bicycle Tax
Denwa-zei	Telephone Tax
Jigyō-zei	Business Tax

In addition to the above, a 'kenkyū-hi' (study charge) is collected to supplement the pay of the school teachers. The most important of the above taxes are the 'sonmin-zei', the 'tochi-zei', and the 'kaoku-zei'. In Kochinda-son there was instituted for the first time in 1953 an Education Tax, or 'kyōiku-zei'. In most cases this amount was about 10% larger than the 'sonmin-zei' amount. All Nanahan taxes have constantly risen during the years 1951, 1952 and 1953. In part this may reflect the rising value of the land, especially that converted into paddies. But it is also in part a reflection of the rising cost of government. The average of all taxes per household in Kochinda-son for 1952 was ¥486; the tax amount per individual was ¥104.[1] 651

Payments to Officials From the taxes paid by the 'son' citizens come the salaries of the village mayors and the salaries of those employed at the 'son' office. In addition, the 'son' pays for the transportation costs of township assemblymen ('son-giin') so that they may attend meetings held at the village office. The following is a list of the functions of persons working at the Kochinda-son office in 1954: 632

Title	Translation
Sonchō	Township Mayor
Joyaku	Assistant Mayor
Shūnyū-yaku	Treasurer
Keizai-shunin	Head of the Economic Department
Keizaika-in (2)	Member of the Economic Department (2 persons)
Sōmuka-shunin	Head of the General Affairs Dept.
Sōmuka-in	Member of General Affairs Dept. (doubles as Secretary to the Mayor)
Tōkei-shokuin	Statistics Clerk
Koseki-chōsain	Census Registry Inquiry Clerk
Koseki-seibi-in (2)	Census Registry Arrangement Clerks (2)
Tochi-gakari	Persons in Charge of Land Affairs
Zaimuka-shunin	Head of the Financial Department
Zaimuka-in	Member of the Financial Department
Engojimu-in	Person in Charge of Relief and Aid
Shakai-jigyo-in	Person in Charge of Social Affairs
Shakai-fukushi-shi	Public Welfare Officer
Kōmuka-in	Person in Charge of Industrial Dept.
Nōgyō-kairyō-fukyū-in	Person in Charge of Agricultural Improvement and Diffusion
Shitei	Servant

On the village level there are other taxes that never enter into the official tax figures. Each 'hanchō', or ward head, collects in Tomoyose monthly about 10% of the year's estimated 'sonmin-zei'. This, however, is not that tax, but is used for the expenses of the village. Much of it goes to pay the expenses of the village clerk. 651 621

Levies In addition to the levy mentioned above, designed to supplement the low salaries of school teachers, there are irregular levies made for special occasions. One very informal levy observed during my stay was a collection of money for the reversion movement. Others include levies upon 651

[1] Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku, op. cit., p. 84.

Others include levies upon
651 organizations and families to support the athletic meets, or 'undōkwai',
[526] which are such a popular part of life in Okinawa.

575 Before the war the women's group ('fujinkai') and the young people's
178 group ('seinendan') levied a certain amount of soybeans against each member, and when they were delivered the sale brought in money to finance their ac-
[526] tivities. These organizations also made up special meals for local athletic favorites while they were in training, and provided a feast for them at the
526 end of the contests. Today the 'undōkwai' is on more of a monetary basis,
651 and there is a levy called the 'undōkwai no keihi'. In October of 1953, the
632 cost of the grand athletic meeting held in Naha was divided among the 'son' according to the number of champions sent to the contest. Kochinda-son was top grade in Shimajiri, and Tomoyose was a middle-grade village within Kochinda-son. This grade was judged by the amount of arable land, its yield, and the population. Within the village, households in turn are assessed by three grades, according to their income tax records. These three grades were "minimum," under ¥20; "middle", ¥20-50; and "maximum", ¥50-54.

621 Local Philanthropy From time to time the leading household heads are called
741 upon to donate money for improvement of village facilities. Names of contributors and amounts given are written upon a wooden plaque and hung in the village meeting house. The building of this meeting house itself involved the gathering of such a fund, to which Nanahan people gave a total of ¥1,450. Later a request for funds to buy a funeral stretcher brought ¥350 from the household heads, and a road repair campaign netted ¥1,550 from Nanahan.

Somewhat the reverse of the above occurred after the Russo-Japanese war when a particularly handsome soldier from the neighboring village came back from the front. All the leading 'geisha' in Naha had long had the habit of asking him to come to their establishments without charge. His return brought such joy to their hearts that they got together a sum of money and bought him a large plot of land near Nanahan.

52 Prizes at Contests From the time a youngster enters school and participates in his first contest to the time when he shows an animal at his last village or 'son' festival before retiring, all winners look forward to some sort of prize to mark the occasion. In school the prizes are generally beautifully handwritten scrolls, but as one gets older the prizes assume the form of wooden trays and articles of practical use in the home.

858 Sale of Children When the SIRI team first arrived on Okinawa and mentioned
432 that we were interested in finding if the Okinawans still
[183] practiced the sale of children, sophisticated respondents feigned indignation. Later on, as we were able to gain rapport in the countryside, a number of such instances were forthcoming.

In Tomoyose a man got into debt over an effort to make a fortune in sugar along about 1910. He was so heavily in debt to village people that he was socially unable to live in the community, and moved to Itoman. There he sold his son to a fisherman. The son is now a grown man with an Okinawan wife and a mistress from Amami. His business is still fishing, although he also owns a truck.

CHAPTER VI: POLITICAL ORGANIZATION AND CONTROL

W. P. Lebra

1. Territorial Organization

631 The territory of the Ryukyuan government is subdivided into a number of municipalities whose administrations are directly responsible to the central government in Naha. There are three types of municipalities---city ('shi'), town ('chō'), and township ('son')---depending on their population and character. The 'shi' (city) and 'chō' (town) are urban municipalities whereas the 'son' (township) is always rural. Each of these are in turn subdivided into 'ku' which are equivalent to wards in the urban municipalities and to villages or hamlets in the rural. This study shall concern itself exclusively with the governments of the 'son' and 'ku'. As of May 1954 there were four cities, four towns, and forty-eight townships on Okinawa and its peripheral islands, and these contained over five hundred villages and settlements.

632 The governmental designations in use on Okinawa are the same as those
171 employed in Japan though there are several minor distinctions. A 'son' or township in Japan and Okinawa is a collective grouping of a number of separate communities or villages into a single administrative unit. In Japan the 'son' is a fairly recent creation, dating back to the late nineteenth century; in most cases it is a rather arbitrary grouping of villages in the interests of administrative expediency. It is exclusively a governmental unit, rarely a social or historical entity. This, however, is not the case on Okinawa.
175 Prior to Japanese annexation the present 'son' on Okinawa were called majiri;
632 in the Okinawan feudal age (aji nu yuu---Age of the Aji or Manor Lords) these were the hereditary fiefs of the local lords. Later, after the end of feudalism in the fifteenth century they became the administrative districts of the Shuri government. Each district was headed by an official (jiturei) appointed by the king, and the majiri or district was most important as the land-disbursing unit in a system of communal land ownership. It also served as the basic tax unit, since taxes were levied against the majiri by the Shuri government rather than against the individual family or village. Each majiri, like the present-day 'son', consisted of a number of small villages called mura, the equivalent of the present-day 'aza' or 'ku'. After Japan formally annexed the Ryukyus in 1879, the old administrative system was not immediately abolished and continued to exist for some time. The system of communal land tenure and taxation lasted until 1903, and the majiri were not converted into their present-day counterpart, the 'son', until 1907. In most cases the old majiri name was given to the new 'son', which generally corresponded to the territory of the former although a few of the larger ones have since been subdivided. For example, Motobu was divided into Motobu and Kami Motobu. In most cases, however, there has been a continuity in political districts since the feudal period.

621 Each 'son' is made up of a number of villages which are called 'aza' or 'ku' by official designation. For all practical purposes the two terms

642 highly structured system; the overall impression is of rule by bureaucracy. Most importantly the average individual accepts all of this as in the natural ordering of things. The best possible relationship of the state to the people is thought to be a paternalistic one, like father to children. Such an attitude is wholly in keeping with a culture which has traditionally stressed family and community over individual, and obligations over rights.

[181]

632 'Son' Government The administrative center of every 'son' is the township office ('sonyakuba') which serves as the connecting link between the people of its villages and the central government in Naha. The main functions of this office are to transmit and implement the directives and laws of the central government to the people, to collect taxes, and to keep records---the most important of these being the household registry ('koseki') and land records ('tochi daichō'). The size of the office staff is largely determined by the township size; in the larger townships there are many departments and employees, but in a small 'son' several departments may be grouped under a single head.

632 344 [368] The building housing this office is usually a single-storied structure located in the largest village of the township; a post office, school, agricultural office, and store are often nearby. The interior of the office building is one large room sometimes sub-divided into smaller offices by the use of screens; one end of the room is set aside for meetings. On the exterior of the building along one side the names of the various departments are above the windows. When a villager calls at the office on business, he ordinarily does not enter the building but stands outside the window appropriate to his business until a clerk or official of that department opens it and speaks to him.

632 554 At the head of the township government is the 'sonchō' ('son' mayor), who in addition to directing its affairs functions as the liaison between the 'son' and the central government. It was the author's impression after spending considerable time in one 'son' office and visiting several others that the 'sonchō' is usually a very busy man and that he is more often away from his office than in it. In addition to directing the activities of his office, he makes numerous inspections within the township, attends meetings and conferences in other parts of the island, and once a month participates in a council of all the mayors of the municipalities, which is held in Naha. The latter enables the mayors of the municipalities to discuss common problems and to come in contact with the officials of the central government. Three times each month he meets with the mayors ('kuchō') of the villages within his township for a discussion of local problems. It is said that the office can be a stepping stone for the politically ambitious since his activities bring a wide range of contacts; this cannot be said for any other office in the 'son' or 'ku'. During the course of his research on Okinawa the author met the mayors of five or six municipalities, and in all cases he was impressed by the intelligence and ability of these men. A mayor is elected for a term of four years and is eligible for reelection.

632 The chief lieutenants of the 'sonchō' are the assistant mayor ('joyaku') and the revenue officer or treasurer ('shūnyūyaku'); the latter usually directs all financial matters, and his major function is tax collection and

maintaining tax records. The major departments within the 'son' office are 632
General Affairs, Economic and Financial, School Affairs, Agriculture and Industry, Public Welfare and Social Affairs, and Land Affairs. The organization of the staff and the composition of the various departments are not consistent from 'son' to 'son', much depending on the size of the township, but in all cases the same functions are performed. The office staff also includes a chief accountant or statistician and a servant-janitor. The entire staff is appointed by the mayor with the approval of the 'son' assembly. Once a person secures such a job, he is rarely discharged except for gross incompetence or misbehavior; consequently, there is a very slow turnover of office personnel except among the young girls employed as clerks.

Next in importance only to the functions of the treasurer is the General Affairs Department ('shomuka'), which is responsible for the keeping of 632
census data and the household registry ('koseki'). The latter is a record of 217
particular importance to all citizens. A 'koseki' is a registry of the households (families) within the 'ku'; thus, in Kanegusuku-son there are eight 'koseki' for the eight villages within the township. Every individual is regarded as a member of a family, and every family has a place of permanent residence where its 'koseki' is kept with the others of the community. The 'koseki' for a family lists all members of the family or household beginning with the former household head ('koshu'), followed by the household head. Each member is listed according to his relationship to the head of the house, and also included for each person are birth order, parentage, birth date, marriage, divorce, place of residence (temporary and permanent). When a person dies, leaves the family or community permanently, marries (in the case of women only), or sets up an independent house of his own (males only), his or her name is crossed out in the 'koseki' of that family. When a woman marries, her name is crossed out in her father's and is entered in that of her husband or his family. When a younger son marries and sets up an independent house, his name is also removed from his father's household, and a new household record is begun with himself as head. The names of those who have died or have permanently left the community are entered in a record called 'joseki' (literally---removed from registry) which is a listing of all those names which have been removed from the household registries. Persons who wish to have a copy of their birth record and family affiliation secure a certificate called 'koseki shōhon' ('koseki' copy) which is an abbreviated 'koseki' listing the individual concerned and the household head. Everyone is theoretically listed in a 'koseki' somewhere, and without this one cannot secure government employment, enter school, or leave the country. Nevertheless, in every municipality and particularly in the urban ones there are a number of persons who live illegally unregistered; these persons are called 'musekisha' (persons without registered domicile), and they are said to be a source of concern to officials and police. In Kanegusuku-son there are three such individuals (known to 'son' officials) who are the offspring of American servicemen and Okinawan mothers. The mothers are said to be too embarrassed to come in and register the children, and the officials are hesitant to press the matter lest the mothers suffer any more anguish; however, unless the children are registered, they will be unable to attend school. In addition to these records the General Affairs Department also maintains an important registry of seal ('han') impressions which serve as the equivalent of legal signatures in American life.

632 423 [651] The Land Affairs Department maintains the land ownership records ('tochi daichō') and issues certificates of land title ('chiken'). The head of this department ('tochijimuchō' or 'tochi gakari') together with the village mayor ('kuchō') and his council assesses land values for tax purposes.

632 744 The Departments of Public Welfare and Social Affairs are concerned with matters relating to relief, health, sanitation, etc. The functions of these overlap somewhat with those of the police and the Naha Health Center. One day each month a nurse from the Health Center is at the township office giving shots to children. Once a month there is a sanitation inspection of all the villages within the 'son'; the emphasis shifts each month---thus, one month it may be for mosquito control and the next it may be extermination of flies. Relief measures are also handled from these departments.

632 178 A 'son' assembly ('senkai' or 'songikai') functions as the legislative branch of 'son' government; it is empowered to enact local ordinances, approve the mayor's selection of employees for the village office, and make local tax levies. In Kanegusuku-son each of the eight villages selects two representatives ('sonkaigiin') for the assembly, and the term of office is four years. Before the end of the war this body was an appointive one selected by the mayors of the villages ('kuchō'); in turn the assembly appointed the township mayor. The bulk of the population had no voice in local government; today, however, both the mayor and the assembly stand for election. In all elections [666] for municipal and central government offices universal suffrage now obtains; all those twenty and above are entitled to vote.

632 622 The meetings of the 'son' assembly are too infrequent to provide effective representation at all times for the people. Regular contact between the people and the township office is maintained by frequent meetings of all the village mayors ('kuchō') with the township mayor ('sonchō'). This group, known as 'kuchokai' (village mayors' assembly), meets three times each month generally on the fifth, fifteenth, and twenty-fifth, though in times of emergency or pressing business it may meet oftener. Problems of general concern to the villages are discussed. These meetings enable the township mayor to keep in touch with the problems of the villages and what the people are thinking; they also provide the opportunity to inform and instruct the village mayors regarding directives or projects to be carried out in the villages.

632 651 One of the chief functions of the township government is to collect taxes for the central government and for its own needs. The following township taxes ('senzei', or in legal terminology, 'chihōzei') are those levied by Kanegusuku-son:

senmin-zei	Villagers' Tax. This is a head tax on all persons who are able to work between the ages of 17 and 60 excluding students, blind, sick, and crippled persons.
tochi-zei	Land Tax. For details see chapter on Land Tenure.
fudōsan shutoku-zei	Real Estate Acquisition Tax.
kaoku-zei	House or Building Tax.

kōgyō-zei	Industry Tax.	632 651
gyūbasha-zei	Horsecart or Oxcart Tax.	
jidōsha-zei	Automotive Vehicle Tax (all types).	
rajio-zei	Radio Tax.	
denchū-zei	Electric Pole Tax.	
tochiku-zei	Slaughter Tax.	
chikken-zei	Dog Tax.	
senpaku-zei	Boat Tax.	
jitensha-zei	Bicycle Tax.	
denwa-zei	Telephone Tax.	
jigyō-zei	Business Tax	
kenkyu-hi	Study Fee. This is assessed on the basis of land holding, and it is used to provide a yearly bonus, 50% of one month's salary, to all the school teachers of Kanegusuku-son. The 'son' feels that the salaries paid by the central government are too low and uses this tax as a means of supplementing them.	[871]

The following work schedule was copied from the blackboard in the township offices of Kanegusuku-son in May, 1954. All of the listed activities are those which must be handled in addition to the regular work load. Virtually all of the scheduled meetings required the presence of the mayor (sonchō); a number of these were held outside of his district (son). At the present time American work schedules are followed. Saturday afternoon and Sunday are regarded as holidays for the office staff, though oftentimes the mayor and department heads may work on those days if there is pressing business. 632 [527]

Schedule of Activities for Kanegusuku-son Office
for May 1954

May
1st -
2nd - Sunday
3rd - Industrial Conference at Ryukyu-American Cultural Center, Naha.
4th - Welfare Week, May 4th through 10th.
5th - 'Kochōkai'. Meeting of all village mayors at 2 p.m.
6th -
7th -
8th -
9th - Sunday
10th - Meeting of all mayors of municipalities at Okinawa Kaikan, Naha, 10 a.m. Proclamation of law for welfare of children at Sekai Theater, Naha, 2 p.m.
11th -
12th - Injections for pigs for prevention of infectious diseases.
13th - Meeting of Assembly Chairmen's Association of Southern Okinawa at Agricultural Cooperative Club.
Injections for pigs.
14th - Industrial inspection of Southern Okinawa.
Injections for pigs.

632

15th - Industrial Inspection of Southern Okinawa.
16th - Sunday.
17th - Extermination of all noxious insects.
18th - 'Kuchōkai'. Meeting of all village mayors at 2 p.m.
19th -
20th - Inspection of fields.
Study for preparation of new 'koseki' at Shuri City Office, 10 p.m.
Meeting of chiefs of all Public Welfare Departments at Okinawa Kaikan, Naha.
21st - Training class for office workers of municipalities. The following must attend: Assistant Mayor, Chief of General Affairs Department, Treasurer, Chief Accountant, and Election Secretary.
Meeting of chiefs of all Public Welfare Departments, Naha.
22nd - Meeting of chiefs of all Public Welfare Departments, Naha.
23rd - Sunday. Farewell and welcome party for new and old mayors of the municipalities at Restaurent Hanasaki, Naha, 5 p.m.
24th - Dispensary. Shots for children.
25th - 'Kuchōkai'. Meeting of all village mayors at 2 p.m.
26th -
27th -
28th -
29th -
30th - Sunday
31st -

622 Village ('ku') Government Political Organization A 'kuchō' (mayor of 'ku') presides over the administration of the village and functions as an intermediary between the villagers and the township office. In the latter capacity he carries the problems, questions, and complaints of the people to the township office ('senyakuba'); he also brings to the village directives and projects requested by that office and supervises their execution. In Kanegusuku-ku a 'kuchō' is elected for a term of one year and is not eligible for reelection; in order to be eligible for the office he must be over 27 years of age and a household head. He [465] receives a monthly salary of ¥1100 ($9.17) which is paid by the township, not the village. The office exacts heavy demands on the individual's time; consequently the position is accepted with a sense of responsibility or obligation, as a duty to be performed, rather than for any prestige or other benefits which m might accrue. A 'kuchō' must make frequent trips to the township office, at least several a week; in addition three times each month he attends meetings of all the village mayors in his township. Emergencies in the village always demand his time. For example, when a death occurred in the village, he walked to the township office and notified the officials there, next notified the 'son' policeman, and then he walked to another village to secure a funeral palanquin; lastly he returned to his village and participated in the funeral ceremonies. His home is usually open at all times to villagers who seek information or wish to discuss a problem. Often he is asked to attend to a minor matter at the township office in their behalf; frequently these are matters of a sort which might as easily be handled by the individual concerned.

One of his major responsibilities to the township office is tax collection within the village; yet, his actual powers are slight, as nearly all of his official acts are first sanctioned by the villagers or the township office. It seemed to the author that the chief role of the 'kuchō' was as an intermediary between the people and the township office or as an agent for the latter, rather than as an administrator. It would seem that the payment of his salary by the township instead of by the village is symbolic of his actual role. 622 [65] [632]

Assisting the 'kuchō' are several officers the first of which is the assistant mayor ('fuku-kuchō') who is elected at the same time as the mayor and serves for one year. He is paid ¥480 ($4.00) per month, and like the mayor he must be over 27 and a household head. In the absence of the mayor he functions in his place, and on all other occasions he assists him in his work. A village clerk ('shōki') is also elected at the same time as the 'kuchō', and serves for a term of one year; he is paid a salary of ¥700 ($5.83) each month. The main qualifications for this position are that one have a fair amount of education and a good mastery of characters for writing. The job holds little appeal since it demands much of the individual's time and affords little in the way of prestige or pay. In Kanegusuku-ku in December of 1953 three elections were held in an effort to fill this position before someone finally and quite reluctantly accepted it. 624 [465] [465]

An advisory body of four councillors ('hyōgiin') assists the mayor in his administration; they represent each of the four neighborhoods or districts of the village. They are elected at the same time as the mayor, serve for one year, and receive a salary of ¥20 (17¢) per meeting. According to the villagers this body has replaced the earlier yuushi which was an unelected advisory council made up of former village officials, the village equivalent of elder statesmen. The 'kuchō' never undertakes an independent course of action; he first consults the 'hyōgiin' and obtains their approval and suggestions before initiating action. 623 [465]

Each village of Kanegusuku-son elects two men to represent it in the township ('son') assembly ('sonkai'); they are elected for a term of four years. Older, mature men who have held several official positions are always selected. They also play a part in village administration and are considered village officials. At all meetings they sit with the officials, and their opinion is much valued. 624 632

All matters of real importance are submitted to the household heads who form the real body politic within the village. The electorate for the village consists exclusively of household heads; to vote in a village election one must be a household head or one appointed by him to vote in his place, but in township and national elections universal suffrage obtains. At one village election which the author witnessed in December of 1953 balloting began as soon as the meeting was called to order without any preliminary speeches or nominations. It was later stated that the election and likely candidates had been informally discussed among the village leaders and household heads so that there was no need for preliminaries. The same situation seemed to prevail when meetings were held to discuss matters of general concern; the apparent unanimity of opinion and agreement indicated that informal concordance had been reached well in advance of formal discussion and decision. 621 592 666

All village officials (excluding 'kumichō') held more land than the average, but the size of their holdings was not so great as to indicate that this was a very significant factor. It was stated that a leader must have sufficient experience and education to enable him to handle the necessary records and to make a good appearance at the village office. Most frequently, however, "good character" was cited as a most necessary prerequisite for an official; this was usually equated with "honest person" and "hard worker". Though the villagers stated that the age range of officials might lie between 28 and 55, the present village leaders are men in their forties. The man considered by a number of villagers to be their most able and influential political leader is forty-seven years old. In contrast the four 'kumichō' are young men ranging in age from 18 to 23, and only one of these is a household head. 621 554

Above the village level in the 'son' (township) government one encounters the professional administrator or bureaucrat----mayor, assistant, treasurer, and department heads. These men, in sharp contrast to the village officials, have an educational background including at least high school and more usually some college, normal school, or other type of advanced training. One gets the impression that they are strongly aware of their personal superiority; their attitude toward the governed is somewhat condescending and at best rather paternalistic. It is doubtful that they regard themselves as public servants although those whom the author encountered appeared to be conscientiously dedicated to their jobs. Of these officials only the mayor is elected; the others are appointed by him with the approval of the township assembly. 632 554

Most people are respectful toward their village officials, recognizing them to be among the ablest men in the community, but they most certainly are not in awe of them. Except for the two representatives to the 'son' assembly, new officials are elected every year, and it is very rare for a man to hold the same office for two consecutive years. No one person remains in a given office long enough to become identified with it or to achieve a special status. 621 554

The officials of the township office are usually professional government workers who have held their positions for a number of years. The villagers look up to them as administrators and superior persons; the mere fact that one has an official position confers a superior status. Some people expressed the belief that officials are good since only persons of education and good character could possibly attain such positions, and nearly all are of the opinion that officials enjoy an easy life and high pay. 632 554

Most rural villagers seem pessimistic about their relationship to the government; they are not mistrustful but rather they expect little. They strongly feel that the government is something from afar and wholly out of touch with their problems. This attitude may carry over from the old kingdom when an urban upper class administered a rural peasantry; the subsequent Japanese administration during its early years consisted of little more than the replacement of one ruling class with another. Nonetheless the government is looked to for aid and direction since it is 829

162 this may be the result of the war; the southern islands escaped heavy damage and loss of life. The urban area of Naha-Mawashi has a well-balanced sex ratio, and is probably a reflection of the number of men who directly or indirectly are connected with military employment.

The total number of persons per household has not appreciably changed in the fifteen years from 1937 to 1952:

Table Ia

Political Unit	Persons per Household, 1937	Persons per HH, 1952
Okinawa-ken	4.67	4.70
Naha	4.21	4.41
Shuri	4.18	4.17

The loss of men in the war was compensated for by those men who returned from Japan and those who repatriated from the Mandated Islands.

2. Population Characteristics of a Rural 'Son'

●632 16

Kochinda-son lies almost in the center of the southern section of Shimajiri. It does not border anywhere on the sea, and is entirely rural in that it has no industries of urban character. It is realized that no one area will be entirely typical of the whole of Okinawa; however, the population dynamics of this 'son' will undoubtedly be reflected in kind, if not in degree, by that of other farming areas. Fishing towns such as Itoman, Benza, Yakena and Yonabaru each probably have special types of adjustments that are not true of Kochinda.

[127] This researcher was permitted to copy the entire 'koseki' (population register) of Kochinda-son. In addition explanatory information was given by the 'son' office personnel when requested. In many cases it was possible to follow up and interview persons cognizant of the details of certain situations.

121 16

[428] Okinawa still follows the prewar Japanese system of inheritance by first sons. Under normal conditions in the countryside, the first sons [178] would inherit the bulk of the farm plots, and second sons would inherit a [179] few plots and set up separate households. Or the second and following sons might go to Naha, Osaka or the south seas to seek employment. The war disrupted this pattern, and it is germane to examine the types and numbers of household heads, as one index of postwar change.

Because the solution of the population problem is a factor in Civil Administration planing for Okinawa, it is of importance to know the fertility ratio and the amount of spacing between births. The Okinawans, like the Japanese, tend to register a marriage after the birth of the first child. This should be quantified if possible. In addition, age at marriage should be known, since it bears a direct relationship to population increase. The number of illegitimate and common law children in the villages indicates

CHAPTER VIII LAND TENURE

W. P. Lebra

423 During the lifetime of the oldest living generation of Okinawans
178 there have been operative two radically differing systems of land tenure---at first a system of communal land ownership and later a system of private ownership of land by families. At the present time a third system may be said to be emerging---private ownership by individuals. Changes in the systems of land tenure have been accompanied by significant changes in the family, economy, and community. During the wartime and post-war periods extensive land losses to military installations have severely disrupted the livelihood of a number of communities, thus furthering the process of change.

175 1. The Okinawan Kingdom and the Land Allotment System ('jivari seido')

Prior to 1879 when Japan formally annexed the Ryukyus, Okinawa was
[692] a small semi-independent kingdom (it was a tribute-paying dependency of the daimiate of Satsuma in Japan) controlling the southern Ryukyus. The
175 urban Naha-Shuri area served as the administrative and commercial center
565 for the kingdom, and nearly all of the upper classes, gentry and nobility, were concentrated there. They formed a ruling class similar to that of
[423] China, functioning as a literati and administrative bureaucracy. Feudalism had been abolished in the fifteenth century, and aside from a small percentage of the nobility who were allowed to retain their hereditary fiefs, the bulk of the upper classes subsisted on pensions granted by the ruler. This group was very large and constituted approximately one-third of the total population.

175 The farming population lived in a state of serfdom, being forbidden
[566] even to move from their native village or to change their hereditary occu-
[361] pation. Farm villages were self-sustaining and physically isolated entities consisting of tightly-nucleated clusters of dwellings surrounded by fields.
[621] Each village was segmented into several lineages whose houses were generally
[613] clustered together; these kin groups were related through the male line and shared a common ancestor, ritual observances, and often a local tomb for
[614] temporary burial. Each lineage was usually related to certain lineages of other villages, thus forming a larger relationship or patri-sib which shared a remote common ancestor, ritual observances, and a common tomb for permanent burial. Usually the membership of this larger kinship group was con-
[582] centrated in the villages of a given district or area. Village endogamy was an obligatory marriage practice, and kin group endogamy was a preferred though not an obligatory practice.

178 Private ownership of land on Okinawa is a recent phenomenon, as
423 recent, in fact, as the beginning of the twentieth century. Under the old
175 kingdom communal ownership of the land obtained for all except a small seg-
423 ment of the upper classes. In theory all land was the property of the ruler,
[638] but in practice the district, or majiri (political unit roughly equivalent

to the modern 'son'), was the land-holding unit. The administration of the majiri supervised the distribution of land to the villages or mura (political unit equivalent to present-day 'ku') where it was divided among the various families. The amount of land allocated to a given family was dependent on its size, age and sex of members, and social position; consequently the houses of the nuru priestess and local officials received a proportionately larger allotment than the houses of ordinary farmers. The distribution of arable land under this system at the end of the nineteenth century was as follows: 67.1% farmers, 13% local lords, 8.3% nuru priestesses and local officials, 10.9% newly-cleared land.[1] The farmers worked the lands of all groups. 175 423 [632]

The origin of this communal land allotment system ('jiwari seidō') lies deep in Okinawa's past far beyond the beginning of its recorded history. Redistributions were made periodically to compensate for changes in household size and fertility of holdings. These reallotments occurred at from four to thirty year intervals at the option of the local (majiri) administration, with the average being about every tenth year. Certain lands were excluded from redistribution, particularly the lands of the local lords. Usually the lands of the so-called yādui settlements made up of the younger sons of gentry families were also excluded. Newly-cleared land was placed in a special category in order to encourage land development; ordinarily it was treated as the private property of the family that cleared it and was not subject to reallotment. Despite these exceptions nearly 75% of the arable land was subject to periodic redistribution.

Under this system the tax-bearing unit was the majiri, not the family. Each majiri was headed by a jiturei, an appointed official from Shuri, who functioned as an administrator, judge, and policeman; he was held responsible for the tax payment of his district and was subject to recall and punishment in the event of default. The state took no action against the family or household which failed to pay its tax; such matters were left to the jiturei and his assistants, who were free to deprive the offending family of all its lands if they saw fit. When a house defaulted, its lineage was held accountable and forced to make up the deficit; if the lineage was unable to meet its obligations, the entire village (mura) had to assume the responsibility. A marked feature of the old village was a number of granaries set aside for the community's annual tax levy. 175 423 651 632 [672] [613] [621]

Land valuations were permanently fixed in 1610 when the daimyo of Satsuma had the region surveyed to determine the amount of tribute which could be extracted. There was no reassessment until after the annexation, although the overall tax levy was raised in 1635 and again in 1722. Only arable land was subject to taxation; no taxes were levied against house lots which were privately owned, nor against the forest and grass lands which were communal property. The tax levy for each majiri was based on the estimated productivity of its land at the time of the survey; it was a fixed tax and was never altered. It had been set so that in theory 40% of the yearly crop went to the government and 60% was to be retained by the 175 423 651

[1] Higa, 1950, p. 64.

582 178 average age at the time of marriage, investigation into the registries reveals that the range has narrowed somewhat. Formerly some girls married at thirteen and fourteen; today this would be considered rather unusual.

[177] The Japanese administration attempted to discourage endogamous marriage practices, particularly kin-group endogamy. All agreed that the practice has declined; yet in Kanegusuku nearly 50% of all marriages were within the kin group and 66% of all marriages were within the village. An analysis of these figures on an age basis indicates the practice is declining there.

833 178 833 Sex It is said that sexual standards have changed in that there is less sexual license among the young people and that they tend to have their first relations at a later age than formerly. This is attributed in part to the moral training of the schools. Another factor seems to be the general decline of several informal village institutions which permitted young people considerable sexual freedom. One informant stated that those who continue on to high school and university generally have their first experience at a later age than those who attend only junior high school.

642 177 641 Government The Japanese introduced a modern system of government, abolished the Okinawan aristocracy, and granted suffrage to all males of twenty-five or more years. The American Civil Administration has attempted to liberalize laws and to make possible a greater degree of self-government. [625] [666] Police powers have been limited, universal suffrage has been introduced, and the number of elected officials has been increased.

621 178 To date there has been little change within the village, where suffrage and office-holding remain limited to household heads. Villagers acknowledge that there is greater freedom for action at the local level today; yet they are not desirous of obtaining greater self-government. They feel that it would require too much of their time and that there is too little money available to finance its operation. Village leadership is virtually unchanged. Change where it has occurred has been initiated at a higher level.

632 178 At the township level the electorate has been broadened to include all persons, male and female, over twenty years of age. The mayor who was formerly appointed is now elected to office.

771 177 178 793 Religion There has been a general decline in the indigenous Okinawan religion, effected by Japanese policy, wartime attrition, and the spread of education. Formerly a hierarchy of priestesses extended from the kin group through the community and region to the person of the king's sister, the chief priestess. The Japanese removed the top echelons of this hierarchy, but the kin group and community priestesses continued to function. World War II resulted in the death of many religious functionaries, and as the office is usually hereditary within a specific family and often limited to a particular member of that family, there has often been no replacement for the office. Lastly there is an increasing tendency among the young people, due to the influence of the school, to regard religion as superstition.

796 178 Many villages, especially those without religious functionaries, have discontinued all village ceremonies, and in those few remarkable exceptions

6

Conclusion

311 184 In the comparative study of these villages, certain distinctions are worth summarizing. (1) In the southern villages, which lack forest land, there is much more dependence on the uncultivated wild land (genya) which supports the grasses. (2) The forest, in Matsuda as elsewhere in the north, is a reserve for necessities like firewood, thatch, charcoal and building materials, both for local use and southern trade. (3) The shelter belts and groves have been preserved in the north. (4) Tidewater plantings of shelter belts are needed in the south. Plantings of the Ryukyuan Forestry Agency, under American Civil Administration encouragement, have begun in the south as protection from wind and salt water spray damage. These include the mokumao, the pandanus, the hibiscus (Albizzia julibrissum Durazz, in Japanese the nemunoki) and the hirugi (Bruguieria spp.)[12] (5) Ecologically, the situation is more balanced in the north where a good start seems to have been made in arresting progressive deforestation. (6) This balance, if Matsuda is a representative village, can only be maintained by constant appraisal of the relationships of the forest to agriculture, to the growing population, and to the economic demands to which this leads, unless the wood and timber demands of the island are to be met in large part by imports.

[245] [647]

114 648 636 An occupying power like the United States, rich in modern techniques, can do much to improve the life of a small island people. If it is mindful of the history and the present features of the culture, it can suggest improvements without destroying the bases on which the culture rests.

313 114 One of its greatest accomplishments could be an aggressive and continuing program of conservation and afforestation. The present administration, through the Forestry Section of the Food and Natural Resources Department, has started a program which, if permanently pursued, could have far-reaching consequences. An emphasis on selective cutting, conservation, fire control, tidewater plantings, and many other measures could only be a credit to American administrators and foresters as well. The costs, as such things go, would be moderate.

From personal experience in village life, I have no doubt that the co-operation of villagers in all parts of the island could be readily obtained in advancing a large scale afforestation program. The readiness of the people of Matsuda cannot be an exception. These things could be accomplished without an unwieldy administrative apparatus. I have been continually struck with the ability of the Okinawans, with their skill in local organization, to accomplish

12 I am indebted to Mr. Richard Varney of the Department of Food and Natural Resources, USCAR, for this information.

The native medicine, including the use of plants and fish as medicines, the native doctor, the use of cauterization, the golden needle, slashing, and acupuncture, seem to be disappearing in favor of modern patent medicines and drugs, and scientific medicine, nursing, and midwifery. Of all the traditional practices (ultimately derived from China), slashing and burning with moguza seem to have the greatest vitality. 75 178 [177]

10

Tattooing

Tattooing (ireizumi) in Japanese, dake in Okinawan) is a subject of great historical interest in the Ryukyu chain. In Okinawa, it exists now only among elderly women (in the late sixties and seventies), as it was forbidden by law when the Japanese annexed the islands. Tattooing usually was done on the back of the hands, including the fingers, parts of the wrist, and the knuckles. The design was put on by spreading India ink (often with sake or awamori added) on the surface, pricking out the design and wiping off the surplus, repeating the operation for the lighter parts. To my knowledge, there was no facial tattooing. 304 [636] [386]

Until quite recently tattooing was practiced on men as well. Basil Hall in 1816 wrote of a landing in the south of Okinawa island. "Most of these people had fish spears tatooed on their arms in the form of a trident, with rude barbs." On the right arm it was called (in Hall's transcription) "oodeemaw," and on the left, "tooga." Apparently this was confined to fishermen. Furness in his account of the Luchus (1899) observed such markings among young and mature men in Itoman. The explanation given him was that they were a protection against evil spirits. Furness also discussed the theory that tattooing was historically connected with weaving. Simon, in an interesting speculative discussion, based on the designs of cloth in Miyako and their correspondence with house or family markings thought that the tattooing was a means of identifying women's membership in a family.7 304 114 [531] [789] [602]

This interesting idea unfortunately did not occur to me while in the villages, but the notion that tattooing may have been related 114 304 602

7 Hall's Voyage, as cited, Vocabulary (no pagination). Hall includes sketches of the marks. Furness, Life in the Luchu islands, as cited, 9. See also Simon's extremely interesting discussion, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, as cited, 134-150. Furness and Simon are especially valuable because they personally observed instances of tattooing at a time when it was much more commonly seen. Both authors reproduce patterns which show differences among the islands and among individuals.

543 these matters. In township exhibits of arts and crafts, there are evidences of these skills, such as the training of a chrysanthemum, a favorite choice, but these are not part of daily life.

532 Yet there is evidence of artistic talent and interest which teachers and parents encourage in the young. Okinawan children draw [353] and copy well. It is not unusual to see an otherwise bare room of a poor farmer's home decorated with the paintings or drawings of a son or daughter. While clearly the work of novices, they often show feeling for line and color. School buildings, houses, and landscapes are the favorite subjects. Drawing skills come as no surprise because of the close relationship, in countries using the Chinese character, 815 of calligraphy and art. Teachers of drawing and art in the schools 212 are skillful in rapid sketching, and part of this skill must be the result of early training in the sequence of strokes and in writing the Chinese character with confidence and boldness.

535 Dancing and samisen playing are learned by imitation and self-533 instruction. Music is learned by ear, the dancing by observing the old and skilled. Parents do not instruct their children in these arts; 868 they pick up the skill themselves. There are no village teachers nor do the schools teach native dances, songs, or samisen playing. (In recent years instruction books have been furnished when a samisen is [562] purchased). Samisen playing is a monopoly of the men, many of whom also have a repertoire of traditional dances. These performers are always in demand on social occasions. Both old and young men dance, but only the old women feel free to do so. Seeing a seventy or eighty year old grandmother dancing at a party is commonplace, but I have never seen a young girl or a young woman in her thirties doing this. (Young girls and young women may participate in formal dances in processions and on holidays). Among the younger people, there is considerable interest, but little facility in American dancing.

532 Hanging scrolls (kakemono) are often purchased by the villagers. But these are dashed off affairs, following Japanese art conventions, such as the jolly Japanese patron saint, tigers, the bamboo-plum blossom-cherry triad, and the turtle and the cormorant, etc.

181 One has the impression of latent talent in music, dancing, and drawing but that the cultural conditions have not been favorable to [533] their development. Social events and parties are unthinkable without [535] singing, dancing, and samisen playing. Good drawing and calligraphy [532] are admired. But none of these seem to be highly developed folk arts. [868] Possibly one reason is that the transmission of the skills has been purely imitative, and that a body of knowledge has not accumulated in books, organized teaching, or through apprenticeship and hereditary [369] occupations by which ideas can be improved upon by wider dissemination. The cultural isolation of rural villages may have prevented the building up of a tradition in art and handicraft. Naha and Shuri, the historical [636] cultural centers, have produced the fine examples of lacquer ware, ceramics, and paintings. Possibly also Japanese repression of the native culture has been the main reason. Whatever they are, the lack of advance-

175 empire provided the incentive. The central district of Okinawa became an
648 entrepot in the triangular China-Ryukyuan-Japan trade. In the beginning
439 the cultural interchange was a consequence of sending Chinese ambassadors to assist in the investiture of Ryukyuan kings and the travels of Ryukyuan emissaries to Peking. Naha in Okinawa and Foochow in Fukien were ports of entry and exit for the travellers.

The Ryukyuan emissaries left Naha for Foochow on the Min river in Fukien and then began the trip north to Peking. Ryukyuans brought copper, tin, and sulphur and received brocades and silk in return. The Ryukyuan as well as ambassadors from Korea, Annam, Burma participated in this official reception at Peking.[9]

175 The first contact with Chinese learning has been dated at 1392, when
177 the son of the king and the son of his master of camp were allowed to attend the Imperial College. The usual route from Naha to Foochow became a cultural corridor joining China and Okinawa. This contact with Chinese learning and writing lasted until the Japanese annexation in 1879. Hall in 1816 and Perry's staff in 1853 mentioned the devotion among the higher
[565] classes to Chinese learning, and though this no doubt was confined to those residing in Naha and Shuri, it was this Chinese educated class that ruled the island. With this learning too, there came the ideals of the
● [641] Confucian state and its five relationships, parent-child, husband-wife,
[593] friend-friend, younger brother-elder brother, and subject-sovereign, which were reflected so forcefully in the family system and in the state as well. This coloring of the whole government, composed of men with Confucian ideals gradually changed, says Spencer, following Iha, "the whole mental outlook of the male population, at least around Shuri. This would, per-
[562] haps, not extend inland, and was not given to the women." In the countryside the influence of women, through the noro system, was still strong. This Confucian ideal of the state, as Spencer and Iha have suggested,
[779] probably had a great deal to do with the dis-establishment of the noro system as a state religion in the seventeenth century.[10]

In the reign of Sho Shin (1477-1526), there were further foreign contacts and domestic consolidations. Buddhism was encouraged and in
[779] fact reintroduced, this time from Korea. The Okinawans requested from their Korean "suzerain" the sutras, the Buddhist canon, and religious objects in 1462, 1479, and 1483.[11] Chinese artifacts, books, and other articles were imported, and palaces on the Chinese model were constructed at Shuri. Chinese customs, dress by rank order, and the Confucian ideal of the state became part of the culture of Naha and Shuri, probably less so in the other parts of Okinawa.

[Text continues on top of p. 31 -- Analyst]

9 Binkenstein, Okinawa-Studien. Monumenta Nipponica 3 (1940), 201-02. Binkenstein, Zur Frage der Ryūkyū Gesandtschaften. Monumenta Nipponica 4 (1941), 264-67. For the route to Peking, see p. 266.

10 Spencer, as cited, 108-09. Quotation is on p. 108.

11 Haguenauer, Relations du royaume des Ryūkyū avec les pays des mers du sud et la Corée. Bulletin de la maison franco-Japonaise. Série française. T 3, No. 1-2. Comptes rendues, 114.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

This desire to learn English is more than a wish to communicate with Americans. Opportunities are open for those who know English, and people of all ages realize that theoretical and applied science and improved techniques come from the West, and that English is a means of understanding and applying this knowledge. Channelling this desire, through competent instruction in the schools, which will result in efficient self-guidance afterwards, is one of the significant problems of Okinawan education. But the techniques to be used on a permanent basis should be left to the professional linguist.

Should for example the methods of Basic English be adopted as a matter of policy and be encouraged in private study? Or should language study be based on the principles set forth by the rapidly advancing field of linguistics? Or should we accept the guidance of doctors of education who are specialists in curriculum construction and language training? My own bias is toward the manuals developed by the linguists, such as Spoken Japanese (EI 561-62). This approach, with its pattern sentences, is based on an analysis of the structure of the language itself. Basic English poses the problem whether the English taught is really basic. In my opinion, the crux of the matter is to study the presuppositions underlying these approaches and not the subject matter they produce. American learned societies, with the co-operation of the Army and the Navy, and the subsequent university programs in language study, have made great strides in these fields, both theoretical and applied. They represent the most advanced thinking in the world on these subjects, and the body of knowledge which they have should be most useful.[4]

5

Home, School, and Village

There are strong bonds between the home, the village, and the school. Parents help their children with their elementary readers. There is homework and classmates may stay at one another's houses over night. Parents are interested in children's school problems, but they do not visit the schools often, except at times arranged by the officials. PTA's have been organized, but it is still too early to tell how successful they will be. Since the PTA, like the Women's Association and the Young Men's Association, fits in the culture, it probably will thrive.

On entering school, the child is introduced to a new language which he has not spoken to any extent in childhood. Okinawan is the language of the pre-school child. Beginning school, therefore, is a bigger break than it is with most cultures.

The schools usually draw on several villages for their student body

4 It is only fair to say that my own bias in favor of the approach developed by the technical linguists grows out of instruction I received in Japanese in the Army's Civil Affairs Training School Program in 1943-44.

[Kochinda-son]

586 property. After that action he was called by the villagers "white ant", or
159 "termite". From the beginning, community feeling was behind Yae and opposed
829 to him. Circumstances of her birth carried little stigma, but his actions outraged everyone. People thought it quite natural that she should live with another man and bear his child before Jirō formally recorded the divorce in the 'koseki'. As far as the villagers were concerned, the divorce had become effective when Jirō sold his inheritance.

161 ## 3. A Note on the Accuracy of Population Statistics in Okinawa

Much conflicting population data were encountered by the SIRI team. Hence this note is included as being of possible value to military government and to other social scientists who may work in Okinawa at a later date.

Census Figures Year-end census figures, which are based upon de facto count rather than de jure count are the most accurate, since they include all persons actually resident in the village at the time, as well as 'museki', or persons without an official local 'koseki' record.

Many times these census figures are supplemented by figures reporting both the above and all persons visiting in the village or town at the date of census. These "visitors" may include students, peddlers, guests at inns, persons in institutions, and persons visiting friends or relatives. A few examples from the 1953 statistics report of GRI are given below:

Table XXVII

Political Unit	Koseki Population	Resident Population	De Facto Population
Okinawa Guntō	649,997	627,556	637,215
Shuri-shi	22,372	21,921	23,015
Nago-chō	17,067	16,955	17,255
Goeku-son	21,065	20,931	20,749
Kochinda-son	8,738	8,504	-not given-

161 The Museki People 'Museki' is a term applied to single individuals or fami-
641 lies who are not registered in the political unit where they are living. They may maintain with varying degrees of attention and accuracy a 'koseki' elsewhere. Some simply may have no registration in a 'koseki' anywhere due to a semi-wandering life or a criminal beat. These latter are said to have no legal rights. "How can anyone have rights unless he has a 'koseki'?"

161 Ad Hoc Counts Persons who wish an accurate count of the people in any village are advised to consult directly with the village
621 headman, or 'kuchō', rather than with the 'son' office. He is in constant daily touch with village affairs, and is the most knowledgeable man to contact about village matters. Figures given by a 'kuchō', usually are the most accurate for total number of people in the village at any given time. 'Museki' persons are included, but those who are legally residents of the village and living elsewhere are not included.

582 178 average age at the time of marriage, investigation into the registries reveals that the range has narrowed somewhat. Formerly some girls married at thirteen and fourteen; today this would be considered rather unusual.

[177] The Japanese administration attempted to discourage endogamous marriage practices, particularly kin-group endogamy. All agreed that the practice has declined; yet in Kanegusuku nearly 50% of all marriages were within the kin group and 66% of all marriages were within the village. An analysis of these figures on an age basis indicates the practice is declining there.

833 178 833 Sex It is said that sexual standards have changed in that there is less sexual license among the young people and that they tend to have their first relations at a later age than formerly. This is attributed in part to the moral training of the schools. Another factor seems to be the general decline of several informal village institutions which permitted young people considerable sexual freedom. One informant stated that those who continue on to high school and university generally have their first experience at a later age than those who attend only junior high school.

642 177 641 [625] [666] Government The Japanese introduced a modern system of government, abolished the Okinawan aristocracy, and granted suffrage to all males of twenty-five or more years. The American Civil Administration has attempted to liberalize laws and to make possible a greater degree of self-government. Police powers have been limited, universal suffrage has been introduced, and the number of elected officials has been increased.

621 178 To date there has been little change within the village, where suffrage and office-holding remain limited to household heads. Villagers acknowledge that there is greater freedom for action at the local level today; yet they are not desirous of obtaining greater self-government. They feel that it would require too much of their time and that there is too little money available to finance its operation. Village leadership is virtually unchanged. Change where it has occurred has been initiated at a higher level.

632 178 At the township level the electorate has been broadened to include all persons, male and female, over twenty years of age. The mayor who was formerly appointed is now elected to office.

771 177 178 793 Religion There has been a general decline in the indigenous Okinawan religion, effected by Japanese policy, wartime attrition, and the spread of education. Formerly a hierarchy of priestesses extended from the kin group through the community and region to the person of the king's sister, the chief priestess. The Japanese removed the top echelons of this hierarchy, but the kin group and community priestesses continued to function. World War II resulted in the death of many religious functionaries, and as the office is usually hereditary within a specific family and often limited to a particular member of that family, there has often been no replacement for the office. Lastly there is an increasing tendency among the young people, due to the influence of the school, to regard religion as superstition.

796 178 Many villages, especially those without religious functionaries, have discontinued all village ceremonies, and in those few remarkable exceptions

These foreign introductions were accompanied with the reinforcement of a native institution: the elevation of the female priesthood to what amounted to a state religion. This institutionalizing of a native religion did not mean the exclusion of foreign religions or foreign ideas. The king used the noro system to bind his realm together: at the same time, he reintroduced Buddhism, himself becoming an adherent. The priestess of the Sho household, that is the royal house, was removed "to a place without the palace, but near the main gateway" of the palace at Shuri, signifying the closeness of the chief priestess to the royal house, the extension of the system to all the islands, and the centralization, both of religious and political life. Political institutions, borrowed from China and in a Confucian mold, with the dominance of the male in the family and in the government, now existed side by side with the hierarchy of priestesses whose power rested not only on royal patronage but on an economic security whose basis was ownership in land. With the passage of time, it was the order of priestesses that gave way to the male dominated Confucian ideal. This Confucian idea of the state, a combination of the individual morality of Confucius with the ideas of statecraft of the legists developed in the Han dynasty, retained its hold until the Japanese did away with the monarchy.[12]

175 178 793 779 642 [177] [562]

The new government with its capital at Shuri, a port at Naha, a royal granary at Kung, and the town of Tomari, was rigidly departmentalized along Chinese lines.[13]

175 177 642

The Ryukyuan kingdom, from the middle of the fourteenth to the second half of the sixteenth century was part of a great trade network. This included the Great Loochoo, Korea, Japan, China, Siam, and with the port of Malacca as the center of the trade. The normal route was from Naha[14] along the coast of Fukien province, stopping at Foochow, up from the mouth of the Min River, along the coast of the Campa (modern Indo-China), thence to Malacca. From here, it was possible to trade with the islands of the Sunda (Java) seas, Siam, and with the province of Pataai on the east coast of the Malay peninsula, south of the isthmus of Kra. From Naha, the products of Japan, Korea, and Central China were brought to Malacca; from Malacca, essences, various woods, pepper, sugar, ivory, and articles of Portugese and Arab manufacture were brought north. The various traders brought back to the Great Loochoo Chinese money, Ming porcelains, and silks of south China. There were Korean, Chinese, and Japanese colonies

175 439

[Text Continues TOP of P. 32--Analyst]

12 Spencer, as cited, 103. On the role of the legists in political Confucianism in China, see Fitzgerald, China: a cultural history, 103-04,156.

13. For interesting details, see CA Handbook Ryukyu (Loochoo) Islands, 103.

14 The age of Naha, I believe, is unknown. Under King Satsudo in the late fourteenth century, and in the period of trade of which we are speaking, Naha had a sudden expansion. There were three channels into the harbor, the northern "Yamatoguchi," used by the Japanese, a center one, "Karefuneguchi" (literally Chinese ship terminus (mouth)), and a "Miyakoguchi", the south channel which was used by the ships engaged in trade with the Sakishima group. Simon, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, 36.

Amami Oshima and the northern islands being directly ceded, the others agreeing to vassalage. 175 648

From this time until the seventh decade of the nineteenth century, the Ryukyu kingdom existed, acknowledging both suzerainty of China and vassalage to Satsuma in a twilight of sovereignty which statecraft and the political realities of the time did not find it necessary to resolve.

During this period of contact with other countries, an intrusion of an entirely different order, but what must have been of revolutionary consequence, was the introduction of the sweet potato in 1605. "In the 10th year /1605/ Noguni Tsunkwan imported sweet potatoes from China. Mashi Gima Uyakata Shinjo obtaining them, planted them in the fields, and in a few years they were raised all over the islands.[16] In view of the widespread reluctance of peoples to adopt new foods, the swift acceptance of the sweet potato is noteworthy. It must have furnished the means of subsistence for a much greater population. The topography, the soils, the fewness of valleys, alluvial plains, and marsh land could not have permitted the growth of rice to feed great masses of people as in China and Japan. This dependence on the sweet potato has persisted to this day. Modern accounts mention the reliance of the ordinary Okinawan on the sweet potato, and in times of stress on the sago palm, or cycad. Rice is seldom if ever mentioned as the food of the common people. 175 177 262

Scarcely had the sweet potato reached Okinawa, when it was carried to Japan. At first it was known as the kara-mmu (Okinawan) or Karaimo (Japanese), that is the Chinese potato. When it reached Satsuma in Kyūshū, it became known as the Luchuan potato; as it spread northward and eastward in Japan, the Japanese, believing the plant to be a native of southern Japan, called it the Satsuma potato (satsuma imo), and it is by this last name that the sweet potato is known in Okinawa to this day.[17]

4

Inertia from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Centuries

175 178

The period 1609 to 1871, when the Japanese took their initial steps toward the eventual incorporation of the island of Okinawa within the empire, was a quiescent one, continuing a pattern of life already set. The ideals of the Confucian state were strong. In the 17th century, it [642]

16 Quoted from a manuscript history in C. S. Leavenworth, The history of the Loochoo Islands, 88. "Native historians," says Chamberlain, "inform us that it was acclimatized in Luchu and passed into common use within the short period of four years after its first introduction." No further sources are given. Chamberlain, as cited, 302.

17 On the fortunes of the sweet potato in Japan, see Rein, The industries of Japan, London, 1889, 65.

175 succeeded in shearing the noro system of much of its political power.
178 During the early part of the 18th century, there was an improvement in agricultural methods and in forestry conservation, associated with the
642 name of the statesman, Hozui Saion (1682-1761).[18] Saion was a descendant of a Chinese who had settled at Kune near Naha. He is said to have
175 planted several kinds of trees, including the pine, the Japanese red-
137 wood (sugi), and the maki (in Japanese; podocarpus ssp.) Saion is well
145 remembered in Okinawa. In Matsuda, I was shown trees which were said
185 to have been planted along the road to Ginoza during Saion's lifetime and at his inspiration. There are stories told in the forest areas like Matsuda, crediting Saion with intentionally inventing superstitions to prevent people from cutting down the trees. In 1951, a Saion commemorative stamp was issued, and his name is used frequently in forest conservation literature and in posters. Whether Saion was the medium through which agricultural techniques of Japan or China were introduced, or whether these improvements came from his own initiative and study of local conditions, I have been unable to determine. In any case, the teachings of Saion on agriculture and forestry must have reached to the rural areas, improving the agricultural possibilities and encouraging planting trees and preserving the forests, constantly subject to destruction through fire, carelessness, and merciless cutting for firewood, as has been the case in many parts of China. These improvements, with the advantages from the introduction of the sweet potato one hun-
[178] dred years earlier, took place within the framework of a political and social and religious system that had now been well established.

5

European Awareness of the Great Loochoo

175 The Loochooans were known to the Portugese through the trade cen-
648 tering at Malacca. The Portugese explorer Pinto had visited Tanegashima around 1542. Captain Broughton had been shipwrecked on Miyako to the south in 1798. But the western exploration of Okinawa itself was reserved for later times. During the nineteenth century, the Europeans, then the Americans, became aware of the people of the Great Loochoo.

The first detailed observations based on personal contact date from the works of Captain Basil Hall, and his surgeon, William M'Leod, who

[Text Continues Top of P. 35--Analyst]

18 In the manuscript history reproduced by Leavenworth, there is this passage: "In the 20th year of Kyoho /1735/, Hozui Saion fixed a system for the protection of forestry, and a forestry office and shipping office were established." Op. cit., 89. Saion's famous work, Eight Volumes of Forest Administration, I am told was destroyed in the war. Chamberlain, as cited, p. 310, says that Loochooan polity in the 17th century crystallized in a form it wore from then on.

mean the same thing, village, although the term 'aza' tends to be geographical in connotation whereas 'ku' refers more to the political community. Official land maps use the designation 'aza' and the same term is used for one's postal address. Conversely, the 'koseki' (household registry) kept in the township office is labelled as the 'koseki' of a certain 'ku', and the political head or mayor of a village is referred to as the 'kuchō' ('ku' leader or head). The villagers never use the term 'ku' in referring to their village; instead the terms 'aza', mura, or 'buraku' are used. The township of Kanegusuku-son located in southern Okinawa approximately three miles south of Naha on the west coast is subdivided into eight villages or 'aza', each of these comprising a separate settlement surrounded by its fields. 621

Every 'aza' consists of a number of haru (cognate to the Japanese hara) which best translates as "field". Kanegusuku, one of the eight villages of Kanegusuku-son and the one from which it takes its name, consists of eight haru, though the number in a given village is completely arbitrary. These haru or fields are local designations for the various areas of a village and are well known to all the villagers. The haru names are fairly similar from village to village throughout Okinawa though occasionally local geographical features or place names, particularly those of streams, are used. Names like wii baru (upper field), agari baru (east field), iri baru (west field), kushi baru (back field), mee baru (front field), shicha baru (lower field) are found in nearly every village. It is interesting to note that the names north field and south field rarely occur, and where they do occur, the author suspects that they have been put in use quite recently, for in the old, typical Okinawan village all of the houses face south, and the field names are usually ordered around this orientation. Thus, mee baru (front field) is usually south of the village while kushi baru (back field) is usually on the north side. This carries over into the household naming system (yago) employed by the villagers to designate each of the house lots within the settlement. 621 103

Each haru is broken into many small parcels or plots of land. On the village land maps every plot is assigned to one of six categories---house or building land, irrigated land, dry farm land, grass land, forest land, and miscellaneous, including tomb land. Each plot is also given a number on the land maps and in the land registry ('tochi daichō') for the purpose of identification, though oftentimes the villagers refer to them by local names. 621 311 [423]

2. Political Organization[1]

There are three levels of government (exclusive of military government) existing on Okinawa today---the central government (Government of the Ryukyu Islands), municipal governments ('shi-chō-son'), and 'ku' (ward or village) governments. The structure of government is pyramidal, there is a hierarchial chain of command, and each echelon of government exceeds in authority the unit immediately below it. There is no allocation of rights and powers as exists among the various national, state, and local segments of American government, since the state operates as a highly-organized and heavily centralized unitary whole. Variation in the form and function of local government from one area to another is slight. Individuals appear to play but a small role in this 642 [631]

[1] A major part of the information presented in this chapter derives from the author's study in the township of Kanegusuku-son and particularly in one of its villages, Kanegusuku-ku. This has been supplemented by data gathered in briefer studies in other parts of Okinawa. 101

642 highly structured system; the overall impression is of rule by bureaucracy. Most importantly the average individual accepts all of this as in the natural ordering of things. The best possible relationship of the state to the people is thought to be a paternalistic one, like father to children. Such an attitude is wholly in keeping with a culture which has traditionally stressed family and community over individual, and obligations over rights.
[181]

632 'Son' Government The administrative center of every 'son' is the township office ('sonyakuba') which serves as the connecting link between the people of its villages and the central government in Naha. The main functions of this office are to transmit and implement the directives and laws of the central government to the people, to collect taxes, and to keep records---the most important of these being the household registry ('koseki') and land records ('tochi daichō'). The size of the office staff is largely determined by the township size; in the larger townships there are many departments and employees, but in a small 'son' several departments may be grouped under a single head.

632 The building housing this office is usually a single-storied structure
344 located in the largest village of the township; a post office, school, agri-
[368] cultural office, and store are often nearby. The interior of the office building is one large room sometimes sub-divided into smaller offices by the use of screens; one end of the room is set aside for meetings. On the exterior of the building along one side the names of the various departments are above the windows. When a villager calls at the office on business, he ordinarily does not enter the building but stands outside the window appropriate to his business until a clerk or official of that department opens it and speaks to him.

632 At the head of the township government is the 'sonchō' ('son' mayor),
554 who in addition to directing its affairs functions as the liaison between the 'son' and the central government. It was the author's impression after spending considerable time in one 'son' office and visiting several others that the 'sonchō' is usually a very busy man and that he is more often away from his office than in it. In addition to directing the activities of his office, he makes numerous inspections within the township, attends meetings and conferences in other parts of the island, and once a month participates in a council of all the mayors of the municipalities, which is held in Naha. The latter enables the mayors of the municipalities to discuss common problems and to come in contact with the officials of the central government. Three times each month he meets with the mayors ('kuchō') of the villages within his township for a discussion of local problems. It is said that the office can be a stepping stone for the politically ambitious since his activities bring a wide range of contacts; this cannot be said for any other office in the 'son' or 'ku'. During the course of his research on Okinawa the author met the mayors of five or six municipalities, and in all cases he was impressed by the intelligence and ability of these men. A mayor is elected for a term of four years and is eligible for reelection.

632 The chief lieutenants of the 'sonchō' are the assistant mayor ('joyaku') and the revenue officer or treasurer ('shūnyūyaku'); the latter usually directs all financial matters, and his major function is tax collection and

829 considered the initiator of all action. Frequently there are complaints of high taxes, criticisms of certain policies, and dissatisfaction with certain officials, but the authority of a government to undertake any course it chooses would never be challenged. There does not exist any concept of a limit to obedience or to the powers of government.

7. Social Control

626 The mechanisms of social control within an Okinawan village are not
621 easily observed or studied since they are so rarely overt. One is impressed from the outset by the homogeneous character of the community, a natural outcome of the common experience and cultural heritage which all the members have shared. The average villager has had a limited range of contacts during the course of his or her lifetime, imposed to no small degree by the all-consuming demands of subsistence agriculture. Minorities within
[183] the community rarely exist, and where they do, they are not recognized as such, for this homegeneity, in addition to being an actuality, is insisted upon as a cultural ideal. Consequently great stress is placed on presenting a united front to the outside. Within the community aggressive behavior is not tolerated and so great is the fear of rift through discord that few official acts are initiated without first securing informal concordance; consequently, formal political meetings are most often marked by unanimity and agreement. In enlisting the support of the villagers for a given project or proposed line of action leaders most frequently appeal to group solidarity, stressing the values of cooperation.

As is so often found in small communities where all the members have a face-to-face relationship, the chief mechanisms of social sanction are ridicule, censure, and the threat of ostracism. The small size and homogeneous nature of the Okinawan village limits the individual's behavior to a rather narrow and inflexible standard. The individual, however, must consider his actions not only in terms of the reactions of others to him
[672] but also in terms of the consequences for his family. Under the old king-
[178] dom the family was legally responsible for the actions of its members, and at the present time an individual is officially registered as a member of a certain family and is always thought of by the villagers in association
626 with that family. One's mistakes as well as one's achievements reflect upon
621 the other members of the family and are shared by them. This emphasis on
181 family and community over the individual serves markedly to curb individualism and to further the homogeneity of the society. Conformity and honoring one's obligations are the major cultural values. The surrogate for this strong cultural deemphasis of the individual is provided by a close ego identity with the family and community and by the security which they offer in return. The severest sanction which can be applied is expulsion of the individual from his group.

8. Local Autonomy

• 642 On a small island with a highly centralized government there is lit-
621 tle room for local autonomy. Most action is initiated in the higher echelons of government and is unquestioningly obeyed at the lower levels. There

is no concept of a division of powers, and in final analysis the village is subject to the bidding of the township which in turn is under the direction of the central government. Nevertheless, the physical and mental isolation of the village from the township and central government does afford some measure of self-government, and a number of problems of specifically local concern are solved at the village level. 642 621

One finds that the villagers are not eager for a greater measure of self-government; in fact, quite the contrary seems true. In several villages the author was told that since the war the villages have been allowed a greater measure of self-rule and that they now have more to do with less aid and direction than ever before. They feel that this has resulted in greater demands on their time and finances than they can afford. 621 829

Village office is regarded as an onerous duty which one assumes in a sense of obligation. The remuneration is very low, and not a few are disinclined to participate in any active role. In December of 1953 there were three elections for village clerk in Kanegusuku before the office was filled; one of those elected stalked off in a fury and refused to return and accept the position. The mayor, who was much irritated by the man's action and the inconvenience it caused, assured the author that it was much better before the war when he had had the power to appoint someone and could not be refused.

CHAPTER VIII LAND TENURE

W. P. Lebra

423 During the lifetime of the oldest living generation of Okinawans
178 there have been operative two radically differing systems of land tenure---at first a system of communal land ownership and later a system of private ownership of land by families. At the present time a third system may be said to be emerging---private ownership by individuals. Changes in the systems of land tenure have been accompanied by significant changes in the family, economy, and community. During the wartime and post-war periods extensive land losses to military installations have severely disrupted the livelihood of a number of communities, thus furthering the process of change.

175 ## 1. The Okinawan Kingdom and the Land Allotment System ('jiwari seido')

Prior to 1879 when Japan formally annexed the Ryukyus, Okinawa was
[692] a small semi-independent kingdom (it was a tribute-paying dependency of the daimiate of Satsuma in Japan) controlling the southern Ryukyus. The
175 urban Naha-Shuri area served as the administrative and commercial center
565 for the kingdom, and nearly all of the upper classes, gentry and nobility, were concentrated there. They formed a ruling class similar to that of
[423] China, functioning as a literati and administrative bureaucracy. Feudalism had been abolished in the fifteenth century, and aside from a small percentage of the nobility who were allowed to retain their hereditary fiefs, the bulk of the upper classes subsisted on pensions granted by the ruler. This group was very large and constituted approximately one-third of the total population.

175 The farming population lived in a state of serfdom, being forbidden
[566] even to move from their native village or to change their hereditary occu-
[364] pation. Farm villages were self-sustaining and physically isolated entities consisting of tightly-nucleated clusters of dwellings surrounded by fields.
[621] Each village was segmented into several lineages whose houses were generally
[613] clustered together; these kin groups were related through the male line and shared a common ancestor, ritual observances, and often a local tomb for
[614] temporary burial. Each lineage was usually related to certain lineages of other villages, thus forming a larger relationship or patri-sib which shared a remote common ancestor, ritual observances, and a common tomb for permanent burial. Usually the membership of this larger kinship group was con-
[582] centrated in the villages of a given district or area. Village endogamy was an obligatory marriage practice, and kin group endogamy was a preferred though not an obligatory practice.

178 Private ownership of land on Okinawa is a recent phenomenon, as
423 recent, in fact, as the beginning of the twentieth century. Under the old
175 kingdom communal ownership of the land obtained for all except a small seg-
423 ment of the upper classes. In theory all land was the property of the ruler,
[632] but in practice the district, or majiri (political unit roughly equivalent

to take registration seriously until conditions are more stable. The Central 423
Land Office in Naha appears to be almost wholly out of touch with local 647
changes; for example, the extensive land changes subsequently described for Kitazato did not appear to be known or recorded on the maps in that office.

Taxation of farm lands is a very complex matter. Land assessments 651
are made by the district land office in conjunction with village leaders; 423
consequently, there is not only some variation in grading from 'son' to 'son' but also from village to village within the same 'son'. All land is divided into six categories: 1) rice lands or irrigated fields, 2) farm land or dry fields, 3) grass land or meadow (often erroneously translated as wasteland), 4) forest, 5) house or building land, and 6) miscellaneous, including graves, ponds, etc. It will be noted that only the first two categories are food-producing. The first five categories are sub-divided into grades depending on a variety of factors such as fertility, accessibility, availability of water, etc. In Kami Motobu-son there are sixteen grades of land within the five graded categories; thus, there are five grades of rice land, five grades of dry field, two grades of grass land, two grades of forest land, and two grades of house land. The tax is computed by the tax rate per grade of category times the area in 'tsubo' (1224 'tsubo' equal one acre). In Kami Motobu-son grade one dry fields carry an annual tax of 15 'sen' per tsubo; therefore, at current exchange rates (¥120 equal $1.00) a house would pay a tax of $1.53 (¥183.60) for an acre of this grade one land.

In regard to the matter of property inheritance there is some dis- 428
satisfaction with the present laws on the part of educated Okinawans. They 829
feel that the new Japanese constitution adopted during the American Occupation should also be enacted for the Ryukyus. The constitutional reform [642]
which took place in Japan after the war did not apply to the Ryukyus; consequently, Okinawa still operates under the old Japanese civil code except for certain gross inequities which have been corrected by military government proclamation. The new Japanese law holds that all children, regardless of sex or birth order, are entitled to an equal share of the parents' estate. In contrast, the old law, which still obtains on Okinawa, grants the bulk of the estate to the first-born son. Under this law property in reality is [423]
held for the family by the first son or household head; it is not his to dispose of as he sees fit. Educated Okinawans who discussed this subject 428
with the author expressed the opinion that the old law was undemocratic in 829
giving emphasis to the family over the individual, and they felt that Oki- 184
nawa should keep pace with Japan in this respect. It should be emphasized, however, that these persons were not farmers; the latter, most of whom are not too well educated, tend to regard the present laws as just, since the emphasis is on preserving the continuity of the family. A further subdivision of the typical Okinawan farm into still more fragmented plots would do little to improve the prosperity of the rural areas.

582 average age at the time of marriage, investigation into the registries re-
178 veals that the range has narrowed somewhat. Formerly some girls married at thirteen and fourteen; today this would be considered rather unusual.

[177] The Japanese administration attempted to discourage endogamous marriage practices, particularly kin-group endogamy. All agreed that the practice has declined; yet in Kanegusuku nearly 50% of all marriages were within the kin group and 66% of all marriages were within the village. An analysis of these figures on an age basis indicates the practice is declining there.

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178 less sexual license among the young people and that they tend to have their
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To date there has been little change within the village, where
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178 acknowledge that there is greater freedom for action at the local level today; yet they are not desirous of obtaining greater self-government. They feel that it would require too much of their time and that there is too little money available to finance its operation. Village leadership is virtually unchanged. Change where it has occurred has been initiated at a higher level.

632 At the township level the electorate has been broadened to include
178 all persons, male and female, over twenty years of age. The mayor who was formerly appointed is now elected to office.

771 Religion There has been a general decline in the indigenous Okinawan
177 religion, effected by Japanese policy, wartime attrition, and the spread of
178 education. Formerly a hierarchy of priestesses extended from the kin group
793 through the community and region to the person of the king's sister, the chief priestess. The Japanese removed the top echelons of this hierarchy, but the kin group and community priestesses continued to function. World War II resulted in the death of many religious functionaries, and as the office is usually hereditary within a specific family and often limited to a particular member of that family, there has often been no replacement for the office. Lastly there is an increasing tendency among the young people, due to the influence of the school, to regard religion as superstition.

796 Many villages, especially those without religious functionaries, have
178 discontinued all village ceremonies, and in those few remarkable exceptions

177
829 3) View of American Social Life With the large number of American women and children now on Okinawa and the large number of Okinawans employed as domestic servants, there is considerable opportunity for Okinawans to observe American family life. However, they may very well be getting a somewhat distorted view of American life by trying to generalize from the rather luxurious quarters provided for American dependents and from the behavior of American women who have now, many for the first time in their lives, plenty of domestic help.

648
829 4) Official Policy On the positive side, the Okinawans were impressed by the generosity of the Americans with relief, especially in the early days of the occupation, they are impressed with the highway and communication system the occupation has brought them, and they have much good to say about changes in the police system, education, and other aspects of government---along with criticisms, of course, as had been discussed elsewhere. On the negative side, the most persistent criticisms have to do with the land question and the question of self-government.

A chapter has already been devoted to the land question. To summarize the points pertaining to this discussion: many Okinawans feel, and apparently with some justification, that the Army has not paid adequate rental on land. In some instances the payments have not reached the owners at all. In addition some Okinawans feel that land has been unnecessarily diverted from its vital agricultural use. One example is the unused airfield next to the village of Kitazato; another would be the Awase Meadows Golf Course. The resentment felt about the loss of land is re-enforced by the important cultural theme that we have stated elsewhere: one must not interfere with the livelihood of another. The Army, by taking land and not paying adequately for it, has interfered with the livelihood of the farmers.

642
648
829 The question of self-government, to be discussed adequately, would require a whole chapter on the history of GRI and its predecessors; since this study was aimed at the community level, the history and structure of GRI were not investigated. The gist of the argument is, however, that instead of progressing toward a greater degree of self-government the Ryukyu Islands are in fact slipping backward. The present GRI with its appointed chief executive replaced an organization with an elected chief. Hence one of the two major political parties has insisted on an elected chief executive. The other major party is that of the chief executive. Those who see the appointment of the chief executive by USCAR as undemocratic assert that USCAR's professions to be bringing democracy to Okinawa are simply not true. Occasional
648
829 clumsy maneuvers on the part of USCAR have only provided them with more ammunition. For example, various labor organizations and the People's Party (which is pretty clearly affiliated ~~with the Communist Party~~ of Japan) were planning to stage a parade on the First of May, 1954. USCAR opposed this, apparently feeling that the participation of the People's Party would make it look like a Communist demonstration. But in opposing it USCAR asserted that May Day is strictly a Communist holiday and on several occasions gave it the label "Karl Marx Day". A number of Okinawans pointed out that May Day was originally an American Labor holiday that had nothing to do with Marx, quoted encyclopedia articles to prove it, and concluded that the USCAR officials were either ignorant or deliberately misrepresenting the truth.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

361 [167] After the war, this cleared land was further settled, with American encouragement, by families returning from abroad. This subdivision of Mateuda, a here-and-there settlement, is called "the clearing" (kaikon). Its houses are few and far apart, and with its isolated farmsteads is in contrast with the thickly settled cluster of a typical agricultural village.

5

Conservation

313 [647] In Mateuda, the preservation of the forest is constantly encouraged. This awareness, inspired by officials of the Ryukyuan Forestry Agency and its American advisors, reaches down to the school children. Before any burning is done, a permit must be secured. Fire lanes (bōkasen) are cut to prevent the spread of fire. These lanes are circular, and an area on the lee side is burned to prevent spread of the fire in the direction of the wind.

Fire Lane (Bōkasen)

In addition to the fire protection, officials of the Ryukyu Forestry Agency and specialists in the American Civil Administration are trying to discourage overcutting (kanbatsu) which in this area has affected the most numerous species, the pine, the shii, and the Japanese redwood. Since clearcutting (kaibatsu) so easily leads to overcutting, the former practice is also being discouraged. The newer emphasis is on selective cutting (takubatsu).

[843] School children participate in forest conservation. The children attending high school at nearby Ginoza village take part in forest improvement. An active campaign for conservation and forest fire prevention could not begin immediately after the war. In the post-war confusion, it was not until about 1950, with the establishment of [647] the Ryukyuan Forestry Agency, that active supervision on a central government level could be seriously instituted. On an island wide basis, posters and literature pointing to the dangers of forest fires have tried to bring this message to the Okinawans as well as to the [208] Americans. The name of Saion has been used to tie the preservation of the Okinawan forests in with the history and traditions of the people. The famous "Smoky" appears on posters as well.

[727] In the Mateuda area, the recent periods of relaxation or loss of control, according to local residents, were (1) about 1940 when

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Conclusion

311 184 In the comparative study of these villages, certain distinctions are worth summarizing. (1) In the southern villages, which lack forest land, there is much more dependence on the uncultivated wild land (genya) which supports the grasses. (2) The forest, in Matsuda as elsewhere in the north, is a reserve for necessities like firewood, thatch, charcoal and building materials, both for local use and southern trade. (3) The shelter belts and groves have been preserved in the north. (4) Tidewater plantings of shelter belts are needed in the south. Plantings of the Ryukyuan Forestry Agency, under American Civil Administration encouragement, have begun in the south as protection from wind and salt water spray damage. These include the mokumao, the pandanus, the hibiscus (Albizzia julibrissum Durass, in Japanese the nemunoki) and the hirugi (Bruguieria spp.)[12] (5) Ecologically, the situation is more balanced in the north where a good start seems to have been made in arresting progressive deforestation. (6) This balance, if Matsuda is a representative village, can only be maintained by constant appraisal of the relationships of the forest to agriculture, to the growing population, and to the economic demands to which this leads, unless the wood and timber demands of the island are to be met in large part by imports.

[245] [647]

114 648 636 An occupying power like the United States, rich in modern techniques, can do much to improve the life of a small island people. If it is mindful of the history and the present features of the culture, it can suggest improvements without destroying the bases on which the culture rests.

313 114 One of its greatest accomplishments could be an aggressive and continuing program of conservation and afforestation. The present administration, through the Forestry Section of the Food and Natural Resources Department, has started a program which, if permanently pursued, could have far-reaching consequences. An emphasis on selective cutting, conservation, fire control, tidewater plantings, and many other measures could only be a credit to American administrators and foresters as well. The costs, as such things go, would be moderate.

From personal experience in village life, I have no doubt that the co-operation of villagers in all parts of the island could be readily obtained in advancing a large scale afforestation program. The readiness of the people of Matsuda cannot be an exception. These things could be accomplished without an unwieldy administrative apparatus. I have been continually struck with the ability of the Okinawans, with their skill in local organization, to accomplish

12 I am indebted to Mr. Richard Varney of the Department of Food and Natural Resources, USCAR, for this information.

313 which they use interchangeably. After sufficient trees have been cut and
[412] cleared of branches, a large bundle of firewood is carried to the village. Most forest workers make four or five trips a day into the hills—two or three during the hot summer season. As the afternoon ends, they sit down along the road in the village or nearby to prepare firewood
474 bundles. Pieces of wood are inserted through a bamboo loop of stand-
313 ard size, prescribed by the cooperative store, until a tight, uniform bundle is obtained. The last piece has to be driven into the bundle by force. All over the village one can hear the knocking of wood pieces
[592] which marks the end of a forest worker's daily labor. Each household works independently and sells firewood to the cooperative. A store
[436] clerk travels around the village in late afternoon, checks all bundles, and issues credit slips to each household; these can be changed into money at the store. The following morning the truck, owned by the
[438] cooperative, carries the firewood to Naha or Itoman where it is sold to a dealer who redistributes it to individual consumers or public bathhouses. The northern part of the island has always supplied firewood to the population of southern Okinawa to be used for kitchen hearths
[354] and bath stoves. In recent years kerosene kitchen stoves have become so popular that the depletion of wood resources tends to coincide with decreasing demand.

TRADES AND PROFESSIONS

463 Other ways of making a living exist. A few artisans in Taira derive part of their income from wage labor. A number of Taira men earn their living by carpentering, although they do most of their work in the south. They return occasionally when their services are needed for local house building. When working on local construction, they are
[465] paid in money, free lodging, and meals. There are also a few part-time resident carpenters who, whenever they are not employed in house building or repairs, spend their time farming and cutting wood. New
[342] buildings are usually put up between the beginning of the second rice crop and the New Year.

463 Several persons are salaried township or village officials. They are paid monthly and work a 44-hour week, not counting many extra meet-
466 ings and duties connected with their work. All office workers however
[647] have fields, either their own or those of their parents, where they spend Sundays helping in agricultural pursuits. During rice planting season, they are given special time off to attend to their fields.

Also among the salaried workers are store employees, a full-time

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

director with assistants and clerks. The clerks are always young people just out of school who receive nominal wages in return for a seven-day work week. The township office employs as janitor a girl who keeps the office in order, serves tea at any time during the day, washes dishes, and helps to cook meals for entertaining. Her family owns one of the largest houses in the central village and more land than most others. No social stigma is attached to her job; in fact, most Taira girls would consider it a privilege to exchange their mountain work for her kind of employment even though they would earn no more. Another girl, employed by the local "doctor" as nurse and maid, lives with the family, eats with them, and sleeps with their children. Only one farmer employs a hired hand, a man from another township.

Among others living on a salary is the postmaster. His father held the same office, and his son is now trained to succeed him as the third in line. The rice miller, a man from outside the village and married to a Taira woman, and the "doctor" also depend for most of their incomes on specialized services. The latter owns his dispensary and small hospital. He receives some financial support from the township government. His services to people are compensated for either in cash or kind. Patients who are unable to pay at once will bring rice to his house after the harvest. These remunerations, pig raising, and other side activities make him, along with the rice miller and the postmaster, the wealthiest person in Taira. Local male school teachers also own fields, to which they give time in the afternoons and Sundays to help their wives.

The priestess and her assistants, although they are religious specialists, are not paid in money for their services. They participate in daily work like the rest of the village. Only when performing services outside the community is the priestess paid a small fee. Within the village she receives the food and sake which are offered in the ceremony, whether she is called by a family or prays at the village shrine on a general holiday.

DIVISION OF LABOR BY SEX AND AGE

Men and women are equal partners in everyday economic activities, both in agricultural and forest work. Only a few occupations are clearly differentiated by sex: fishing, the handling of horses, and the carrying of night soil are done exclusively by males; housework and the care and feeding of pigs predominantly by women. Some agricultural work is considered too heavy for women, for example, the turning of the

Chapter 5

Political Organization and Social Control

THE TOWNSHIP

621
631 Administratively Taira village is part of Higashi township, an area of
[131] approximately 30 square miles with six independent villages spread over a distance of about 15 miles along the coast. Taira is centrally located and since 1946 has been the seat of the township administration. Higashi is one of several townships in northern Okinawa. It is responsible to the central Ryukyuan government at Naha which has branch offices at Nago, the nearest town to Taira. Control over communities such as Taira by a central government is of ancient date. The Okinawan king levied taxes throughout the island and held political control over the villages until establishment of Japanese administration.

632 The township office is headed by a mayor who is elected for four years by popular vote. He nominates an assistant mayor who must be confirmed by the township assembly, a council of 16 representatives who are elected from all the villages. The Assembly meets two or three times a year to enact local ordinances, to confirm the mayor's appointments, and to approve the annual budget.

632
647 The administrative organization of the township consists of five departments, which are responsible for carrying out central government policies. The Finance and Education Department is concerned with tax collection and general school affairs. The Industrial Department acts as controlling and advising agent in all matters of subsistence and cash production. Financial help for farmers is channeled through this department. Attached to it is an Agricultural Extension Division agent who is concerned with individual farmers' problems. A General Affairs
[217] Department is in charge of office administration; it is also responsible

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for keeping the population registry, with vital statistics and relevant 632
information on all township residents.* The Welfare Department in- [217]
vestigates relief cases and receives applications for support from the
poorest families. The Health and Sanitation Administration is primarily concerned with preventive work. Representatives from these five departments are supposed to visit all the villages in the township frequently to inspect and to discuss regulations. The officials and personnel of the five departments are drawn equally from all the villages and commute daily by foot, bicycle, or bus.

The township administration links the central government and in- 631
dividual villages. Numerous requests for central government aid, originating in each community, are sent through the township office. The government in turn deals with each community through the township administration. Contact between township and the villages is maintained by weekly meetings of all village headmen with the mayor and his staff. The village headman is responsible for carrying out township and central government ordinances.

THE VILLAGE

The village headman is elected once a year, in June, from a slate 622
agreed on beforehand during informal discussions by villagers. There 666
is no campaigning; in fact, the elections are treated more as a necessity
than a politically important event, and neither before nor after do they
incite much public discussion. This democratic process of elections is [177]
of post-World War II date. Before the war, the council of village leaders accepted a new headman only if the choice pleased them, so that the headman at that time was virtually appointed. Villagers remarked that "listening to public opinion is a recent change."

The village is still experimenting with the mechanics of a free 666
election. Votes are still restricted to household heads, but the Taira
Women's Association and Young People's Association tried to change [592]
this in 1955. Although they did not succeed, a concession was made by [575]
permitting "representatives" to vote for their household in the absence of a household head, provided the voter was 20 years of age. The elec-

* The old registry was totally destroyed during the war. A new one is being prepared with the help of the people. It no longer differentiates between persons of noble and common descent. Information on crimes committed by people, sentences passed by courts, and other information, such as diseases in the family, like mental illness, is also omitted now.

can at least check all transients. Another important duty is to prevent the use of explosives by fishermen, a difficult if not impossible assignment, for he must catch the fisherman *flagrante delicto* when he lands with fish killed in this way. There is no indication that villagers assist the policeman in detecting offenders. 625 [226]

Policing the village itself is not a difficult job. The absence of crime and the low incidence of quarrels, disputes, and brawls would seem to make policing unnecessary. Nevertheless, the policeman interferes at times in disputes. He considers it his duty when actual blows are exchanged and somebody is hurt. In such a case he "investigates," takes notes, and makes a report to the police department. During the entire field work, reportable incidents occurred at about the rate of one a month; in the two or three cases where violence occurred, the matter was settled peacefully later, although the policeman kept a record of it. The rare quarrels which do occur are usually the result of drinking or domestic disagreements, generated by financial problems. 625 578 [674] [273]

The policeman plays the role of judge and jury. In one case a young man hit a woman and was temporarily detained by the policeman until he made apologies to the victim. In disputes over business transactions, the policeman often arbitrates. In a dispute in which a Taira woman was accused of cheating a trader from another village, the policeman heard the case and ordered the Taira woman to make refunds over a period of time. The villagers seem to accept such arbitration. Serious disagreements seem to be unthinkable, and everyone fears public censure and ostracism. Court action is extremely rare and is referred to the provincial courts in the town of Nago. 625 627 [692]

The policeman is given high status by the villagers and commands respect. He remains, probably by his own choice, a neutral person in village affairs. He attends village functions, where he is given a place among village leaders. Being friendly with many families, he visits and is visited by other men. It was noted that fishermen sometimes send a special catch to the policeman. But since this is a courtesy which is also common among farmers with regard to nonfarming people, such as teachers, one should not think of such actions as bribery. Mothers use the policeman as a threat in disciplining children. "If you do such a bad thing again, I'll take you to the police station." This, however, does not seem to instill any fear of his person, but rather a respect towards the general area in which the policeman lives. Village children play freely with the policeman's children, but his courtyard is entered less frequently by children than that of other villagers. 625 [554] [662] [861]

The head of the General Affairs Department at the township office is charged with supervision of public order. It is not clear how much this is a self-assigned task. During several occasions, when an alarm 632 647 625

625 went out for fugitives from the south, he would accompany the police-
[632] man or investigate himself. In cases of death, both he and the police-
647 man have to make a report.

The Young People's Association may serve as a vigilante in emer-
[575] gencies such as fires, floods, tornadoes, and other disasters. When a
[731] military jeep was reported to have been stolen near Naha and driven on the dead-end road running north, the young people in all villages on the way erected road blocks and were ready to help catch the thief. The group would act together in a similar fashion at any threat from outsiders.

622 The headman can only enforce local ordinances insofar as he is
681 able to persuade people to comply. He is not concerned directly with
[625] crime or disturbance of the peace. Exceptions are such matters as stealing sugar cane or letting chickens run loose so that they enter every yard. For such acts, money fines can be imposed. One warden still has a tag which used to be given to the man whose chickens ran around freely. The offender had to pay the fine and keep the tag until he detected someone else's chicken running loose. Then he could pass the
[626] tag on to that person. Such measures are no longer used. But the underlying principle of public censure and fear of ridicule continues to operate in village social control.

623 Public censure is used along with fines to ensure attendance at vil-
626 lage meetings. Roll call is taken before each meeting so that the ab-
[681] sence of individuals is made known to the whole group. Similarly, when tax collections became more and more delinquent, it was decided to have ward meetings in which everybody would be reminded in public to pay his share. Those who were unable to do so would have to state their reasons. As soon as this new plan was announced, several people got up during the meeting to pay outstanding amounts to the head-
872 man. The school uses similar devices to achieve better attendance and scholarship. During home visit week, about once a year, a meeting is held for all parents and the statistics for attendance for each village are read as well as scholastic performances for each community.

INFORMAL CONTROL

156
626 What other people might think is uppermost on everybody's mind.
[867] Children are reminded by their mothers not to play alone lest people would think they are unpopular. They are told not to fight lest others think badly of them or make them responsible for the consequences. Censure by gossip is common, but criticism is seldom made directly to a person's face, and the target of extensive gossip is often unaware of it.

175 area which resulted in a twenty percent reduction in the civilian population
727 and in the destruction of virtually every city, town, and village. The densely-populated southern half of the island, scene of the heaviest fighting, was particularly devastated.

Staggering reconstruction tasks faced the military government at the conclusion of the war, and at first nearly all its efforts were absorbed in managing the problems of food and health for the civilian population. In the course of the campaign nearly all of the people had been removed into civilian internment camps, and many remained there for nearly a year or more before returning to their homes. Most returned to find their homes destroyed and fields overgrown with weeds or littered with the debris of war. In a few areas whole villages were replaced by military installations. The average village found itself without housing, its fields in an unusable condition, and its families decimated. In most cases the district office ('sonyakuba') had been destroyed and with it all family and land records. The physical destruction of the war and the humiliation of defeat left the population apathetic and indifferent for some time. One informant stated this feeling succinctly, "After the war we were left with only the will to live, nothing more." A former war-time and post-war mayor of one village informed the author that nearly six years were required to restore the land to its pre-war state, and he expressed the opinion that this recovery was unduly prolonged by the generous food ration issued by the military government: "No one wanted to work as long as there was free food. Without this food it could have been done in two or three years."

175 On April 14, 1950, the military governor issued Special Proclamation
423 36 which authorized the issuance of new certificates of land title.[1] The measure necessitated surveying and preparing new land maps and issuing new
[648] titles. It was first necessary to set up schools to train personnel for carrying out the assignment. The mapping job was one which the authors heard praised in all farm villages, with a number of informants remarking that Okinawa now had the best land maps of any time in its history. In the confirmation of ownership local bodies were made sovereign, but the individual had the right of appeal to the courts.

423 Copies of the land titles are kept in three offices, the land regis-
647 try and tax collection offices in the district office ('sonyakuba') and in the Central Land Office located in Naha. Under the law all land transactions, rental or sale, must be registered within thirty days; however, even the most casual check of these records plus a knowledge of local holdings indicates that this is not being done, for both the bookkeeping and registration appear to lag far behind transactions. This does not seem to be the result of any deliberate attempt to withhold information but rather appears due to a lack of concern for such details on the part of the individuals concerned. The same sort of situation prevails in the registration of births and deaths. Another factor might well be that the large number of land transactions occurring in the postwar period have left the farmer disinclined

[1] Ryukyu Statistical Bulletin, no. 5, May 1950.

to take registration seriously until conditions are more stable. The Central 423
Land Office in Naha appears to be almost wholly out of touch with local 647
changes; for example, the extensive land changes subsequently described for Kitazato did not appear to be known or recorded on the maps in that office.

Taxation of farm lands is a very complex matter. Land assessments 651
are made by the district land office in conjunction with village leaders; 423
consequently, there is not only some variation in grading from 'son' to 'son' but also from village to village within the same 'son'. All land is divided into six categories: 1) rice lands or irrigated fields, 2) farm land or dry fields, 3) grass land or meadow (often erroneously translated as wasteland), 4) forest, 5) house or building land, and 6) miscellaneous, including graves, ponds, etc. It will be noted that only the first two categories are food-producing. The first five categories are sub-divided into grades depending on a variety of factors such as fertility, accessibility, availability of water, etc. In Kami Motobu-son there are sixteen grades of land within the five graded categories; thus, there are five grades of rice land, five grades of dry field, two grades of grass land, two grades of forest land, and two grades of house land. The tax is computed by the tax rate per grade of category times the area in 'tsubo' (1224 'tsubo' equal one acre). In Kami Motobu-son grade one dry fields carry an annual tax of 15 'sen' per tsubo; therefore, at current exchange rates (¥120 equal $1.00) a house would pay a tax of $1.53 (¥183.60) for an acre of this grade one land.

In regard to the matter of property inheritance there is some dis- 428
satisfaction with the present laws on the part of educated Okinawans. They 829
feel that the new Japanese constitution adopted during the American Occupation should also be enacted for the Ryukyus. The constitutional reform [642]
which took place in Japan after the war did not apply to the Ryukyus; consequently, Okinawa still operates under the old Japanese civil code except for certain gross inequities which have been corrected by military government proclamation. The new Japanese law holds that all children, regardless of sex or birth order, are entitled to an equal share of the parents' estate. In contrast, the old law, which still obtains on Okinawa, grants the bulk of the estate to the first-born son. Under this law property in reality is [423]
held for the family by the first son or household head; it is not his to dispose of as he sees fit. Educated Okinawans who discussed this subject 428
with the author expressed the opinion that the old law was undemocratic in 829
giving emphasis to the family over the individual, and they felt that Oki- 184
nawa should keep pace with Japan in this respect. It should be emphasized, however, that these persons were not farmers; the latter, most of whom are not too well educated, tend to regard the present laws as just, since the emphasis is on preserving the continuity of the family. A further subdivision of the typical Okinawan farm into still more fragmented plots would do little to improve the prosperity of the rural areas.

CHAPTER X: EDUCATION

W. P. Suttles

121 871 None of the SIRI team worked on education as such. We have no basis for a discussion of the physical condition of the schools, number of teachers per pupil, texts, etc., other than the data readily available in USCAR publications. However, it may be useful to include in this report a brief chapter on attitudes toward education, the role of the teacher, and evidence of the results of education, as we have seen them in the course of our research. As I shall try to point out, there are indications that education on Okinawa may not be doing all that it professes to do. Yet it is a remarkable and praiseworthy fact that education has progressed as well as it has, considering the truly terrible destruction of the war and the long and trying process of rebuilding the material facilities and the morale of teachers and students.

1. Respect for Education

871 554 565 [647] Respect for education and the educated is deeply rooted in Okinawan culture. For several centuries administrative posts in the Ryukyuan kingdom were filled by officials drawn from the gentry class and appointed, it is said, on the basis of an examination. The gentry class held a virtual monopoly of education, which was thus one of the bases of their superior status. It is not surprising that the gentry class of the past is identified with learning. An illiterate old man of gentry descent once explained to me that the gentry were originally teachers appointed to various villages, thus misinterpreting the former bureaucracy as a school system.

871 554 791 Another profession open to the educated man in the past, and in the present, is that of the diviner. One of the native terms for this person is suumuchi, the "person with books", his books being the ones with which he reads a person's fate. This is a profession that commands respect. It is quite likely that at one time the diviner was the only person who possessed books with whom the ordinary peasant ever had contact. Books were thus associated with status and with nearly supernatural power.

554 871 Education is still regarded as a means of rising in status. As indicated in Chapter V, the potential scholar is given special treatment by his family because all may participate in the rise in status that his education may bring. But times have changed. In the days of the Ryukyuan kingdom the rewards for education may have come automatically, but under the Japanese administration this was less true, and perhaps least of all today. Education is indeed still valued for its own sake, but it is expected to bring material rewards; if it does not, its authenticity may be questioned.

554 Still, the prestige of learning probably accounts for a type of pseudo-scholar who may be found both in the rural and in the urban scene. In several villages we encountered such individuals, elderly men who were regarded as local sages, who discoursed learnedly and uncritically on local traditions, who revealed information derived from one or two carefully guarded books

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

175
● 648 This nineteenth century conception of the Ryukyus as remote and isolated islands in a part of the world in which travel and trade had reached a high degree of development continued unabated to the beginning of the war in the Pacific. The reasons were entirely political. The Ryukyus were part of that walling off process which characterized Japan's policy and strategy toward its island mandates and possessions since the end of the first world war. Okinawa might well have become, as some of the English and American explorers of the nineteenth century hoped, a crossroads of importance in world trade. If it had, it would only have repeated a role it played centuries before.

Since the invasion of 1945, worldwide political realignments have given it a new, and perhaps its most important significance. Its general geography has remained the same. It is the history since the war, and the shaping of ideologies that have brought about this change. Before 1945, Okinawa was regarded by the Japanese as the outer fort and protector of the home islands; during the war, it became the important strategic spot, from the American point of view, for the contemplated invasion of Japan. With the Korean war, it has been transformed from a small outlier in the Pacific to an important strategic center off the Asiatic mainland.

2

Regional Differences in Okinawa Island[3]

131
133 Okinawa, the largest of the islands in the Ryukyu chain, is about 485 square miles in area, 510 including its offshore islands, such as the Keram

[TEXT CONTINUES ON TOP OF P. 12--ANALYST]

114 3 A cultural geography of Okinawa is a real desideratum. But this is outside the scope of this work. Many materials have been brought together in memoranda, published and unpublished, surveys and the like, since the close of the war and the beginning of the American occupation. Lacking a newer synthesis, it seemed foolish to lengthen this report by merely repeating the published materials already available. The intention in this chapter is merely to indicate some of the general considerations helpful in understanding the history of the island and of contemporary life in the villages described. For the pre-war
114 geographical materials see Civil Affairs Handbook, Ryukyu (Loo-choo)
113 Islands, OPNAV 3-13, 3-38, the sections on geography and resources, and passim. Interesting information regarding local geography is scattered through the pages of Okinawa, The Last Battle, and for a general statement, see pp. 7-14. See also Walter R. Hacker's chapter on the Kurils and the Ryukyus in Geography of the Pacific, edited by Otis Freeman, New York and London, 1951, and M. Y. Nuttonson, Ecological Crop Geography and Field Practices of the Ryukyu Islands..., 11-58. For the geology, see, the CA Handbook, 11-12, Nuttonson, 29-36, and Engineering Geology, Okinawa (Prepared by Military Geology Branch US Geological Survey for Intelligence Division Office of the Engineer, GHQ, FEC, April 1951). This contains an Engineering Geology map of the island. For general relationships in this area see Trewartha, Glenn. T. Japan. A Physical, Cultural, and Regional Geography, v-ix, 3-4, and the map on the arcs and nodes, 8.

793 In the first version, a male person (Shinerikyu) and a female person (Amamikyu) descended from Heaven. Amamikyu without sexual intercourse gave birth to three children: the first son became the first ruler; the first daughter, the first priestess; and the second son, the first farmer.

In the second version, the male and female deities gave birth to a child. "They carried stones and earth to the edge of the sea and planted trees to keep back the waves." Mountains and forests thus made, "mankind sprung up." Knowledge was attained and one person divided mankind into classes. This man, Tenteishi, had five children: Tensonshi, the first son and first ruler; the second son, the first noble (ansu); the third son, the first farmer. The eldest daughter became the first kikoe-oh-gimi who later headed the institutionalised noro religious system. The second
[793] daughter became the first priestess (noro).

173 The dynasty established by Tensonshi, according to tradition, lasted for twenty-five generations, 17,802 years, or until 1187 A. D. During this period, Okinawa was divided into three districts (magiri), Kunchan in the
[631] north, Nakagami in the center and Shimajiri in the south, divisions which remain to this day.[4] The districts were divided into mura or townships.
[943] "Wheat and millet were raised at Kutaka /a name of a magiri/ and rice was grown at Chinen and Tamagusuku."[5] There is reason to believe that Tensons
174 dynasty had its greatest control over what would now be the area of Naha, Shuri, Tamagusuku township, and the Chinen peninsula area.

793 In both myths, a female priesthood, as Spencer points out, is placed at the very beginning of Ryukyuan history. A king, lesser nobles, a female priesthood, and farmers were the basis of the culture.

3

Events of the Early Historical Period

175 Not enough is known of the early historical contacts between the Great
197 Loochoo and the Chinese and Japanese to warrant any conclusions regarding influences which these countries could have exerted.

● 648 Chinese punitive expeditions took place in the early seventh century A. D., but the consensus of opinion is that the invasion of Great Loochoo resulted in no prolonged cultural contact or influence. Some Japanese

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 29 -- ANALYST]

4 Chamberlain, The Luchu Islands and their inhabitants, as cited, 306.

5 Leavenworth, Charles S. The Loochoo islands, 15. Quotation is from the manuscript history translated by Leavenworth, ibid, 77.

contact with Okinawa may have taken place in 743 A.D., but this may have been confined to the island of Kume, west of Naha, and not involved Okinawa itself.[6] 175 177 648

The modern Japanese contact with Okinawa which brought about the fall of the Tenson dynasty is associated with the arrival at Unten of Tametomo in the latter part of the twelfth century. Some have regarded this as historical, others as perhaps legendary.

Unten, on the Motobu peninsula, is one of the important places in the historical geography of Okinawa island. This is the Port Melville of the Western explorers, Hall and Perry, both of whom charted the bay and its harbor.

Tametomo, of the Minemoto clan, exiled after the final defeat of the Minemoto by the Taira clan in Japan, ultimately reached Unten and there married the daughter of one of the regional nobles, and after a period of civil war, the Tenson dynasty collapsed. In 1187 A. D., the son of Minemoto Tametomo by his Okinawan wife became King Shunten. Shunten, the first of three "Japanese kings," was followed by his son Shumma Junki (1238-1248), and his grandson Gihon (1249-1260). In 1260, the legitimate dynasty was restored under king Eiso.[7]

After his succession, Eiso toured the islands and is credited with setting regular boundaries to rice-fields. "It has been said that this greatly attracted the people so that they started to look after farming." Graves, according to a manuscript history, were first built in the island, at Urasoye, and the Buddhist temple, Gokurakuji was constructed with an officiating priest named Jenkan in charge of the temple.[8] [764] [346]

The Japanese syllabary may have been introduced at this time. Buddhism apparently did not take hold. Chinese attacks on the islands in connection with the Mongol wars and the attempted invasion of Japan seem to have left no mark on the island. [818] [799]

The year 1372 is the beginning of the period of relationships with the Chinese, in this case, the Ming dynasty. This is contemporary with the growth of a vast trade network involving Korea, Japan, China, the Ryukyus, and Southeast Asia. It is not clear whether the trade voyages under King Satsudo (reigned 1350-1399) to South China, Malaya, and the Philippines were instrumental in stimulating the Ming dynasty to engage in the Pacific trade, or whether the forced alliance of the Ryukyus with the Chinese 175 648 439

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 30--Analyst]

6 CA Handbook, as cited, 41, and Chamberlain, as cited, 306.

7 Chamberlain, as cited, 308

8 Manuscript history in Leavenworth, The Loochoo islands, 80. On the Japanese syllabary, see Chamberlain, as cited, 308.

175 empire provided the incentive. The central district of Okinawa became an
648 entrepot in the triangular China-Ryukyuan-Japan trade. In the beginning
439 the cultural interchange was a consequence of sending Chinese ambassadors to assist in the investiture of Ryukyuan kings and the travels of Ryukyuan emissaries to Peking. Naha in Okinawa and Foochow in Fukien were ports of entry and exit for the travellers.

The Ryukyuan emissaries left Naha for Foochow on the Min river in Fukien and then began the trip north to Peking. Ryukyuans brought copper, tin, and sulphur and received brocades and silk in return. The Ryukyuan as well as ambassadors from Korea, Annam, Burma participated in this official reception at Peking.[9]

The first contact with Chinese learning has been dated at 1392, when the son of the king and the son of his master of camp were allowed to attend the Imperial College. The usual route from Naha to Foochow became a cultural corridor joining China and Okinawa. This contact with Chinese learning and writing lasted until the Japanese annexation in 1879. Hall in 1816 and Perry's staff in 1853 mentioned the devotion among the higher [565] classes to Chinese learning, and though this no doubt was confined to those residing in Naha and Shuri, it was this Chinese educated class that ruled the island. With this learning too, there came the ideals of the [641] Confucian state and its five relationships, parent-child, husband-wife, [593] friend-friend, younger brother-elder brother, and subject-sovereign, which were reflected so forcefully in the family system and in the state as well. This coloring of the whole government, composed of men with Confucian ideals gradually changed, says Spencer, following Iha, "the whole mental outlook of the male population, at least around Shuri. This would, per- [562] haps, not extend inland, and was not given to the women." In the countryside the influence of women, through the noro system, was still strong. This Confucian ideal of the state, as Spencer and Iha have suggested, [999] probably had a great deal to do with the dis-establishment of the noro system as a state religion in the seventeenth century.[10]

In the reign of Sho Shin (1477-1526), there were further foreign contacts and domestic consolidations. Buddhism was encouraged and in [999] fact reintroduced, this time from Korea. The Okinawans requested from their Korean "suzerain" the sutras, the Buddhist canon, and religious objects in 1462, 1479, and 1483.[11] Chinese artifacts, books, and other articles were imported, and palaces on the Chinese model were constructed at Shuri. Chinese customs, dress by rank order, and the Confucian ideal of the state became part of the culture of Naha and Shuri, probably less so in the other parts of Okinawa.

[TEXT CONTINUES ON TOP of P. 31--Analyst]

9 Binkenstein, Okinawa-Studien. Monumenta Nipponica 3 (1940), 201-02. Binkenstein, Zur Frage der Ryūkyū Gesandtschaften. Monumenta Nipponica 4 (1941), 264-67. For the route to Peking, see p. 266.

10 Spencer, as cited, 108-09. Quotation is on p. 108.

11 Haguenauer, Relations du royaume des Ryūkyū avec les pays des mers du sud et la Corée. Bulletin de la maison franco-Japonaise. Série française. T 3, No. 1-2. Comptes rendues, 114.

175 439 at Naha, and junks from the south seas touched at that port. Loochoans in this manner became known to the Portugese.[15]

175 648 Political relationships with countries other than China had accompanied this trade. Following the establishment of relations with China in 1372, there were contacts with Korea in 1389 when the woods from the southeastern trade, paper, and other articles originating in Indo-China and the East Indies were presented by King Satsudo of the Ryukyus to the Korean court. These relations with Korea were renewed in 1392 under the new Yi dynasty. The usual route north was from Naha to Hakata in Kyūshū to the Korean port of Pusan on the southeast coast, thence overland to the capital city of Seoul. Relationships between the two peoples finally broke off in 1500, although Koreans actually were settled in Okinawa and some were evacuated in 1574.

This was therefore a period of considerable cultural contact with [177] China, Japan, Korea, and with the countries of Southeast Asia, and indirectly with the arts and manufacture of the Mahomedan world and of the Portugese in the crossroads port of Malacca.

175 648 439 This lively and important trade was brought to an end through three situations: the existence of Japanese pirates, necessitating, at a period toward the close of the era, hiring Japanese Buddhist priests as ambassadors and cargo protectors, (2) the appearance of the Portugese in the East China Sea, and around 1542 at Tanegashima, one of the northern islands of the Ryukyus southeast of Kyūshū, and (3) the maritime expansion of Japan in the last quarter of the sixteenth century, the coup de grace to the Ryukyuan trade.

175 177 369 It is likely that many of these outside contacts, even up to the end of the nineteenth century, really affected Naha and Shuri, and that the rural areas were essentially unchanged. This would mean that the two cities had a culture revealing a strong Chinese influence, but also of Japan and perhaps indirectly of other nations, while the rural areas languished in the older elements of the folk culture, such as the priesthood dominated by women. Other facts which will be brought out in the chapters to which they belong tend to substantiate this interpretation that we cannot speak simply of a homogeneous Okinawan culture.

175 648 [439] The conquest of the islands by the Japanese in 1609 was a consequence of the growing trade that had developed with Japan, first with the Shogunate, later, more specifically, with the Satsuma clan. Ultimately the Satsuma clan succeeded in displacing the Shogunate in the Loochoo trade and with the conquest of 1609 the kingdom came under Satsuma influence,

[TEXT Continues TOP of P. 33--Analyst]

15 On this trade, which is much too complex to treat in a short summary, see Haguenauer, as cited, 4-16. Much new material appeared in two articles by R. Binkenstein, Zur Frage der Ryūkyū Gesandtschaften, Monumenta Nipponica, 4(1941), 256-69, and Die Ryūkyū-Expedition unter Shimazu Iehisa, ibid, 622-28.

Amami Oshima and the northern islands being directly ceded, the others agreeing to vassalage.

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From this time until the seventh decade of the nineteenth century, the Ryukyu kingdom existed, acknowledging both suzerainty of China and vassalage to Satsuma in a twilight of sovereignty which statecraft and the political realities of the time did not find it necessary to resolve.

During this period of contact with other countries, an intrusion of an entirely different order, but what must have been of revolutionary consequence, was the introduction of the sweet potato in 1605. "In the 10th year /1605/ Noguni Tsunkwan imported sweet potatoes from China. Mashi Oima Uyakata Shinjo obtaining them, planted them in the fields, and in a few years they were raised all over the islands.[16] In view of the widespread reluctance of peoples to adopt new foods, the swift acceptance of the sweet potato is noteworthy. It must have furnished the means of subsistence for a much greater population. The topography, the soils, the fewness of valleys, alluvial plains, and marsh land could not have permitted the growth of rice to feed great masses of people as in China and Japan. This dependence on the sweet potato has persisted to this day. Modern accounts mention the reliance of the ordinary Okinawan on the sweet potato, and in times of stress on the sago palm, or cycad. Rice is seldom if ever mentioned as the food of the common people.

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Scarcely had the sweet potato reached Okinawa, when it was carried to Japan. At first it was known as the kara-mmu (Okinawan) or Karaimo (Japanese), that is the Chinese potato. When it reached Satsuma in Kyūshū, it became known as the Luchuan potato; as it spread northward and eastward in Japan, the Japanese, believing the plant to be a native of southern Japan, called it the Satsuma potato (satsuma imo), and it is by this last name that the sweet potato is known in Okinawa to this day.[17]

4

Inertia from the Seventeenth to the Nineteenth Centuries

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The period 1609 to 1871, when the Japanese took their initial steps toward the eventual incorporation of the island of Okinawa within the empire, was a quiescent one, continuing a pattern of life already set. The ideals of the Confucian state were strong. In the 17th century, it

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16 Quoted from a manuscript history in C. S. Leavenworth, The history of the Loochoo Islands, 88. "Native historians," says Chamberlain, "inform us that it was acclimatized in Luchu and passed into common use within the short period of four years after its first introduction." No further sources are given. Chamberlain, as cited, 302.

17 On the fortunes of the sweet potato in Japan, see Rein, The industries of Japan, London, 1889, 65.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

succeeded in shearing the noro system of much of its political power. During the early part of the 18th century, there was an improvement in agricultural methods and in forestry conservation, associated with the name of the statesman, Hozui Saion (1682-1761).[18] Saion was a descendant of a Chinese who had settled at Kune near Naha. He is said to have planted several kinds of trees, including the pine, the Japanese red-wood (sugi), and the maki (in Japanese; podocarpus ssp.) Saion is well remembered in Okinawa. In Matsuda, I was shown trees which were said to have been planted along the road to Ginoza during Saion's lifetime and at his inspiration. There are stories told in the forest areas like Matsuda, crediting Saion with intentionally inventing superstitions to prevent people from cutting down the trees. In 1951, a Saion commemorative stamp was issued, and his name is used frequently in forest conservation literature and in posters. Whether Saion was the medium through which agricultural techniques of Japan or China were introduced, or whether these improvements came from his own initiative and study of local conditions, I have been unable to determine. In any case, the teachings of Saion on agriculture and forestry must have reached to the rural areas, improving the agricultural possibilities and encouraging planting trees and preserving the forests, constantly subject to destruction through fire, carelessness, and merciless cutting for firewood, as has been the case in many parts of China. These improvements, with the advantages from the introduction of the sweet potato one hundred years earlier, took place within the framework of a political and social and religious system that had now been well established.

5

European Awareness of the Great Loochoo

The Loochooans were known to the Portugese through the trade centering at Malacca. The Portugese explorer Pinto had visited Tanegashima around 1542. Captain Broughton had been shipwrecked on Miyako to the south in 1798. But the western exploration of Okinawa itself was reserved for later times. During the nineteenth century, the Europeans, then the Americans, became aware of the people of the Great Loochoo.

The first detailed observations based on personal contact date from the works of Captain Basil Hall, and his surgeon, William M'Leod, who

[Text Continues Top of P. 35--Analyst]

18 In the manuscript history reproduced by Leavenworth, there is this passage: "In the 20th year of Kyoho [1735], Hozui Saion fixed a system for the protection of forestry, and a forestry office and shipping office were established." Op. cit., 89. Saion's famous work, Eight Volumes of Forest Administration, I am told was destroyed in the war. Chamberlain, as cited, p. 310, says that Loochooan polity in the 17th century crystallized in a form it wore from then on.

had been directed by the British government, at the conclusion of the Napoleonic wars, to discover and chart waters and routes in the Far East, especially along the China shore. 195 648

Hall found in Okinawa a people who knew nothing of the English or the French. They were acquainted only with the Chinese, the Japanese, and the Koreans. The Okinawans of his day apparently had forgotten any memories of their seafaring in the centuries and this ignorance of their neighbors was reciprocated by the Filipinos.[19]

Halls book describing his journey along the west coast of Korea and to the Great Loochoo, with its engravings and a vocabulary of Loochooan words, is written with spirit and great charm.

Hall's and M'Leod's accounts were very favorable to the Okinawans. They describe an honest, peace loving, unworried people, with neither money nor arms, kindly and hospitable, without guile. According to him, they were gentle and kind, secure within the classes in which their society was organized (and the social distinctions that went with it), adhering with tenacity to their own customs, gracious to those of others, an island of quiet beauty, fertility, and repose. In the manner of the voyages and travels of the times, there are wisps of information about many things, exhaustive accounts of none. Hall described the agriculture, the square plots of rice fields divided from one another by small banks of earth, the picturesque villages with their hedges, arbors, and the creepers over the bamboo, the dress according to rank, the casual attitude toward religion, domestic animals, the lack of carts and wheeled vehicles, the horseshoe tombs, and the tattooing, not of the women, but of the fishermen. [181]

Considering the difficulties Hall and his men had in landing, the endless importunity and cajolery required to get permission to walk along a village road, for the Okinawans were willing to feed, provision and entertain the travellers but were in no mood for guided tours, he has much of interest to record of the island and its people. The expedition travelled around the southeastern and eastern part of the island, made a poor map of the Great Loochoo, and named the town of Unten--called by him Conching or Winching--Port Melville, after the first lord of the Admiralty.

M'Leod's book covered much the same ground. He wrote also of the priestesses (the noros), of the irrigation systems, the Loochooans' lack of money, their use of ginseng, and mentioned the extensive forests.

[Text Continues on Top of P. 36--Analyst]

19 Hall, Voyage to Corea and the Great Lew Chew, 184: "At Manilla /sic/ we found that the Great Loo-choo Island was known only by name. There appeared to be no intercourse between the two places." Page 184, footnote. There was some memory of Broughton's shipwreck on Miyako.

175 648 In April 1844, the French corvette Alcemène landed at Naha to open up negotiations for trade with France. The local official protested to the French commander that the islands were sterile, provided only a little rice, had no gold, copper, or iron, and that from antiquity they had engaged in a modest trade in rice with the neighboring islands, if drought or floods did not interfere. He implored the French not to land because of the unhealthy climate. The French response was gracious, but a landing was made and a friendly interchange followed. This visit was the beginning of the French missionary effort in the Ryukyus.[20] [199]

175 Belcher's Narrative of the Voyage of H. M. S. Samarang (1848) describes some explorations in Okinawa, but his materials for this island are disappointing.

These earlier travellers generally concerned themselves with casual observations, as they came to the eye, on such subjects as marriage and burial customs, hairdress, religion, and clothing, but on the less colorful and more commonplace but just as important subjects as the family system, land tenure, and land use there is virtually no mention.

The Perry expedition, which first arrived at Okinawa and anchored at the port of Naha on May 26, 1853, made outstanding contributions.[21] The expedition explored large parts of the island. Previous observers had only touched the coasts or described the areas around Naha and Shuri and Unten. A series of technical papers on such subjects as agriculture, ethnology, and plant and animal life were prepared. Observations were made of court, town, and everyday village life. It is the last document, based on personal observations and exploration, and written from a modern point of view, which appeared before the Japanese formally took over the island and introduced the changes in the last two decades of the century that were to affect the daily life both of the villages and towns and alter the culture fundamentally. [199]

The land explorations of the Perry expedition, as far as can be determined from the various place names and landmarks which in the account can be identified, included the south, the central, and parts bordering on the northern district of Kunigami. The exploration started from the home of the unhappy Dr. Bettelheim, a converted Jew and the resident missionary in Naha. Bettelheim told the members of the party what he knew of the language, Okinawan knowledge of arms and of money, and of their religion. From Naha, the explorers went to Tumai, subsequent

[Text Continues Top of P. 39 -- Analyst]

20 Cordier, Henri. Les français aux iles Lieou K'ieou. Mélanges d'histoire et de géographie orientales. Tome 1, 296-317.

21 See Hawk's Narrative of the Expedition, especially Vol. I, chapters 7-9, 11, and 17, and Vol. II which contains the specialized articles on various aspects of the exploration. See table of contents for the Loochoo articles.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

195 This last document, written prior to the complete absorption of Okinawa into the Japanese social and political system is still worth careful study. The conditions it describes were probably true for the ensuing thirty or forty years. It is a last glimpse of a culture before being exposed to Western influences indirectly through the Westernization of Japan, which was then just beginning. The Okinawa of 1853 was a terra incognita, but the intervening years have brought many new changes and circumstances throughout the world, and the terra incognita of one age has become a household word of another.

6

Okinawa Island, the Capital of a New Japanese Province

195 One might well ask why the Japanese changes beginning in the latter
199 part of the nineteenth century were so revolutionary, when Japan had
648 exercised an influence in the twilight zone of sovereignty over the islands with China since the early seventeenth century. The answer, I think, is that in the earlier period, Japanese influence was confined largely to the upper level of government, particularly to the handling of foreign relations and trade, and to supervising any contacts between the Okinawans and the Western nations. The members of Perry's expedition mention that there was spying everywhere and that these spies were Japanese in Loochooan dress, an observation about internal espionage not made by Hall about forty years earlier, though it existed from the Japanese conquest of the seventeenth century.

195 After the Japanese made the Okinawan king a Japanese marquis, their
199 influence, though gradual, reached down into the masses of the people. A systematic effort was made to replace the old life with the new Japanese ideas, themselves a compound of traditional practices and innovations derived from the west.

Although the Ryukyuan monarchy was restricted in 1871, the prefecture was not actually established until 1879. But the cultural domination of the islands, as distinct from political and police control, must be dated, inexactly, later. The readiness of Okinawans to abandon Chinese customs and to accept Japanese customs seems to have increased after the success of the Japanese in the sino-Japanese war of 1894-95. After the war, the former king of the islands cut his hair, a symbol of acceptance of a more modern way of doing things.

In this period, whether we date it from 1871, 1879, or 1894-95, to the beginning of World War II in Asia, the Japanese made several fundamental changes in Okinawan society. These early changes coincided also with a period in which the Japanese were most hospitable to Western influences. The changes within Japan ranged from the reorganization of the government, a new educational system, the inauguration of a Western calendar, the establishment of post offices and telegraphs to crases and

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

175 167 Another departure from the past was that Okinawans, soon after the turn of the century, were provided with opportunities for emigration. The history of Okinawan emigration is not well known. But in the twentieth century, the people of Okinawa changed from an almost complete ignorance of the outside world to one of the most widely travelled and informed peoples of the Orient. Okinawan settlements in the twentieth century were scattered in many parts of the world, such as Peru, Argentina, Brazil, Hawaii, and the Japanese mandates of the Pacific, Singapore, Japan, Manchuria, and Korea. The cessation of this historic emigration is an event pregnant with meaning for the future. The population and its natural increase now must subsist on the island.

175 480 [233] [61] Late nineteenth and twentieth century improvements in roads and communication, modest as they were by American standards, broke down some of the isolation of the three districts of Okinawa. The forests and the lack of roads to the north had always discouraged contact. Much of the trade in firewood between the north and the south, even up to the recent war, was done by ship. Elsewhere there were only paths and in the north, not even these. In 1895 Chamberlain wrote of the sparsely inhabited northern (Kunigami) forest area whose inhabitants were "despised for their poverty and rough speech by the natives of the central and southern provinces." Later on he remarked about the "groans of Japanese officials when obliged to go their country rounds," and, that, in the north it was necessary for them to carry a tent.[28]

175 199 240 As the main island in the newly created province (ken) of Japan, Okinawa benefitted from the scientific approach to agronomy pursued enthusiastically by the Japanese, in contrast with the Chinese and the Koreans before their annexation. Concentration on the development of suitable varieties of rice, the study of sugar cane, plant disease and agricultural techniques represented a body of knowledge that could be applied with local adaptations to all parts of the empire.

175 178 565 [511] Direct Japanese annexation meant also the disappearance of the top heavy native nobility or gentry (shizoku) to be displaced by the Japanese elite, although membership in the Okinawan nobility continued to be recorded in the family registers up to the recent war. The displacement of the old higher social classes resulted in a certain levelling of all the people, a levelling which continued up to the war, and was accentuated in an economic way by the widespread impoverishment of rich and poor alike in the campaign for Okinawa.

7

Okinawa in World War II

175 648 The terra incognita described by Bayard Taylor in 1853 became the

28 Chamberlain, as cited, 294, 459

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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scene of the final campaign of World War II. American landings were made on the Kerama Islands, about 15 miles west of Okinawa on March 26, 1945. By March 29, they had been conquered. The occupation of Keise Island, about eight miles west of Naha, followed soon after.

Plans for the invasion of Okinawa were centered on two areas, the Higashi beaches north of Naha, and the Minatogawa beaches in the southeastern part of the island. The Higashi beaches were finally chosen. On April 1, the invasion began with a simultaneous feint landing above Minatogawa. The invasion was immediately successful, and by the second of April, the American force had patrols on Nakagusuku Bay and occupied the highlands in its vicinity. American troops, athwart the island, had effectively cut it in two. Thenceforth, the main fighting was in the south. The Japanese forces had also been divided.

By the 4th of April, the United States Tenth Army held an area 15 miles long and from three to ten miles wide. The Japanese plan was to concentrate the defences around and north of the ancient capital of Shuri, with the other principal defenses at Naha, Yonabaru on Nakagusuku (Buckner) Bay. The initial fighting was concerned with American attacks on outposts to the north of the Shuri defense area, and with severe and unsuccessful counter-attacks by the Japanese.[29]

While the attacks on the Shuri defenses were going on, the Motobu peninsula, extending westward above Nago, was cut off and conquered on April 16-18. Ie Shima fell after the attacks of the 16th and 17th, and was declared secure on the 21st of April. In the south, the "Shuri defense ring," was breached between April 19 and April 24. "If any doubt remained about the kind of fighting that lay ahead before Okinawa could be won, it was dissipated by the heavy combat and high casualities experienced from 19 to 24 April in penetrating the first main ring of the Shuri defense zone."

General Buckner, however, rejected a proposed second landing on the Minatogawa beaches because of the difficulties in supply. In the 2nd Shuri defense ring, the Maeda escarpment was captured and a Japanese counteroffensive failed. The Americans were able to make an opening to the east of the Shuri line and thus could penetrate into south Okinawa. "At the end of the third week of May the fighting had penetrated to the inner ring of the Shuri defenses." Toward the end of May, two circumstances were clear: "Most of the big prizes--the port of Naha, the big anchorage of Nakagusuku Bay, Yonabaru, Shuri,

29 Appleman, Roy E., Burns, James M., Gugeler, Russell A., and Stevens, John. Okinawa, the last battle. (U.S.Army in World War II. Historical Division, Dept. of the Army). Washington, 1948. 51-52, 57, 68, 74, 76-77, 83, 93, 125ff.

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Naha airfield, and the flat coastal ground of Southern Okinawa were still effectively denied to the Americans, long after they had expected to capture them. / By the end of May, however, the flower of General Ushijima's forces on Okinawa had been destroyed."[30]

As American pressure continued, the Japanese command could choose between staying at Shuri, retreating south, or retreating to the Chinen peninsula. The second of these was chosen. The retreat of Japanese soldiers, dressed as civilians, from Shuri is believed to have started on May 22. The ruse was discovered by the Americans on the 30th; Japanese headquarters left Shuri castle around May 29, and by May 31, the destroyed capital was occupied.[31]

After the fall of Shuri, for the Americans the campaign became a task of pushing the Japanese into the sea, and, for the Japanese, one of exacting as many casualties as possible in a struggle the Japanese commander realized to be hopeless.

In the conquest of the south of Okinawa, Minatogawa, one of the villages studied in this report, became a forward unloading point. On May 31, the army boundary extended along the road joining the villages of Chan, Iwa, and Oushichan. Three major areas remained to be conquered. The Chinen peninsula was occupied "against light opposition that indicated an absence of enemy plans for a defense of that area." The Oroku peninsula, south of Naha, and commanding that port, fell on June 15. The last remaining stronghold was in the south. "With the elimination of possible defensive terrain on Chinen Peninsula and in central southern Okinawa, it was becoming evident by the evening of 3 June that General Ushijima intended to stage his final stand on the southern tip of the island, almost certainly on the Yaeju-Dake escarpment..."

Using the port of Minatogawa, the fighting leading up to the attack and conquest of Yaeju-Dake proceeded through the villages of Oushichan and Hanashiro, the second village studied here, and including the dramatic struggles for Hill 95 in the vicinity of Hanashiro. "The battle for the southern tip of Okinawa blazed with orange rods of flame and became a thunderous roar of machine guns, shells, rockets, and bombs." Finally on Hill 89 near the village of Mabuni, the campaign came to an end, 18-21 June 1945.

30 Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 146-48, 156ff, 181, 258 (Quoted), 262-63, 281, 301, 351, 360 (Quoted), 383 (Quoted).

31 Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 388, 392, 394, 400. For a dramatic description of the appearance of Shuri, see 400-02.

With the suicide, by harakiri, of General Ushijima and his Chief of Staff, General Cho, whose stars "have fallen with the setting of the waning moon over Mabuni,"[32] the island was conquered, and though it was not known at that time, this was the "last battle" of World War II.[33] 175 648

Unlike the Japanese, the Okinawans seemed unwilling to die when the alternative was death or surrender. They apparently did not take the emperor cult and State Shinto seriously, and though they were conscripted in the Japanese army, they did not identify themselves strongly with the war or its successful conclusion.[34] [103]

The Okinawan people showed remarkable ability to stand up under physical and mental strain. Many lived in caves for long periods, subsisting on whatever food could be obtained. Aside from filth diseases and lice infestations, the death of many of the very young, and some of the very old, they suffered little deterioration and recuperated under care of military government teams with the help of American foods and clothing. Professional observers were struck by their lack of mental collapse and breakdown, and one observer has suggested that prolonged breast feeding and free access to the mother's breast in infancy had given the people the emotional security to withstand the trials of the war.[35] [720] [727] [155]

8

Okinawa After the War

The war brought catastrophic upheavals to the civilian population, especially in those areas of greatest military activity. One consequence 175 727

[Text continues top of p. 44--analyst]

32 Quoted from Okinawa, the last battle, from the account of a prisoner of war, 470.

33 The campaign was declared ended on July 2, 1945. Sources for the statements in this and the preceding paragraphs will be found on pp. 407, 422, 425 (Quotation), 426-27 (Quotation), 437-42, 441 (Quotation), 470 of Okinawa, the last battle.

34 These statements are based on personal conversations with Okinawans who lived through the war, either as soldiers or civilians.

35 Materials in the first part of the paragraph are based on personal conversations. The interesting thesis about breast feeding, which I believe has serious defects, will be commented upon in the section on family life. See James C. Moloney, Psychiatric observations in Okinawa Shima. The psychology of the Okinawan. Psychiatry 8 (1945), 391-99; and, with Charles R. Biddle, A psychiatric hospital in military government, ibid, 400-01. Of great interest are the first hand observations of the authors made at Ginoza hospital. For other comments on the behavior of Okinawans during the war, see Okinawa, the last battle, 48, 415-17, 463, 468.

175 was that large numbers of refugees from the south were sent to the
227 northern area. The destruction of the heavily populated south and cen-
166 tral areas, with their many villages, gave new prominence to the northern district whose villages, much less damaged and less densely populated, were now in the best preserved part of the island. The roles of the two regions had, in a sense, been reversed. The northern region was no longer a rustic hinterland.

In 1945, the Okinawans came under the direct military government
648 of the Americans, and from these early beginnings, which in the heat of conflict were scarcely more than compounds for the relief and care of refugees, there has evolved the extensive present civil administration and the native government.

175 The Americans have thus been the most recent arrivals on an island
177 with a long history of inertia and change. The results of this last, and probably greatest intrusion into the culture of Okinawa cannot yet be predicted. This cultural influence is a stronger, certainly a much different one, than the great changes which came about when the Japanese set on their course to make over Ryukyuan, especially Okinawan life.

The war years, with conscription and service in the Japanese army
227 in other parts of the empire, the disruption and deaths in the war, were
178 effective in preventing the handing down of the traditional culture from one generation to another. This may mean a more ready receptivity to newer influences. It will be clear in the pages that follow that many aspects of the culture, familiar to the old, are now unknown to the young.

177 Whether the American influence will be a conservative one, in the sense that the fundamental attitudes and framework of the culture as it existed before the war, will be retained, or whether it will be a revolutionary intrusion remains to be seen. Will, for example, the individualis of the American culture tend to break down the structure of the family system? Or will American influences assert themselves within the framework of the culture, and will the flexible family system absorb only surface influences, leaving the basic culture as it is?

175 On a preceding page, the point was made that in the earlier periods
177 there probably was not a homogeneous Okinawan culture, that its centers,
184 Naha and Shuri, were under strong contemporary Chinese and Japanese influences, and that in the rural areas an older culture existed relatively unmolested. This gap was narrowed after the island became the seat of a province of the Japanese empire, through such measures as the new land law and the introduction of mass education, direct interferences were made in the traditional life of the rural areas.

175 In my opinion, the American influence so far has been to close this
184 gap even more, but for different reasons. The Americans have made no
648 direct interferences in the lives of the villages, except in those cases

in which villages have been moved and land preempted for military purposes. The devastation of the war, the mixing of the people, their dispersion as refugees throughout the island prepared the way for greater uniformity. Since the war's end, increased mobility, ease of transportation, the widening of the roads have done much to further obliterate sectional differences in this small island, scarcely sixty miles long.

During historical times, and probably during times now lost to an undocumented past, this island, far from being isolated, has been influenced strongly by other cultures. From the examples which have been given, one can at least gain an intimation of the stability and change that have characterized its experience, and some insight, no matter how slight, into the historical depth of a culture with which the Americans, in one form or another, and for some time to come, will be associated.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 'AC7 Okinawa AC7

8

Daily Life of the Fishing Village

Fishing families may have informal gatherings toward the end of the day. On a late summer afternoon, the family may sit in the open doorway of the house, for hedges, fences, the barriers, and trees are rare. The wife may be nursing her naked child. Her husband, a fisherman, has changed into his indigo blue and white striped kimono, a tall, broad, deeply tanned man. Next to him sits his mother, over 70 years old, her hands tattooed, as are those of all the old women. She is wearing a kimono of the same color, but of a dot pattern. They sit on unrolled mats. On the veranda, three or four men, unwashed and still in their work clothes, discuss the events of the day. A lacquer tray with tea cups is on the floor near them and the tea (as it so often is) may be cold. There is brown sugar to eat along with the tea. The grandmother may be economically smoking a half or a third of a cigarette in the typical Japanese pipe. As it grows later, the wife gets up, pours some water in the stone mortar, and smashes the sweet potatoes with the long wooden pole. The men continue talking for a while, then take their leave. The wife, her work at the mortar finished, goes into the dirt kitchen to start the evening meal.

The wife of the fisherman has worries that do not bother the farmer's wife. There is always the danger that her husband, or son, will not return, a real possibility, of which the frequency of widowhood in Minatogawa is proof. Every season, there is at least one instance of a fisherman who has either been lost, or whose delay in returning has provoked intense worry. If crews are still out when an unexpected storm arises, there is considerable tension in the village. Since the war, rescues at sea are more likely than before. The village headman quickly reports overdue boats. The American forces have created much good will in seeking fishermen lost at sea.

Women, on the other hand, have opportunities for leisure when the catch is light, or weather is unfavorable. At these times, they can busy themselves with other tasks, in the field, gathering stones, getting miscanthus, but they do not have the unremitting activity of the woman in the agricultural village. There is more visiting during the day than one observes in an agricultural village.

The fisherman, with or without land, tries to keep pigs and perhaps a few goats. In Minatogawa, the pens are often made of sandstone quarried here. Not only the floors and the sides, but the stalls are made of this material. One reason for this is the openness of the village and the danger that pigs will be killed in a storm. A typhoon may carry away the house, its owners having gone to the stronger house of a friend or relative, but pigs are an investment and an asset to be guarded.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Conclusion

311 184 In the comparative study of these villages, certain distinctions are worth summarizing. (1) In the southern villages, which lack forest land, there is much more dependence on the uncultivated wild land (genya) which supports the grasses. (2) The forest, in Matsuda as elsewhere in the north, is a reserve for necessities like firewood, thatch, charcoal and building materials, both for local use and southern trade. (3) The shelter belts and groves have been preserved in the north. (4) Tidewater plantings of shelter belts are needed in the south. Plantings of the Ryukyuan Forestry Agency, under American Civil Administration encouragement, have begun in the south as protection from wind and salt water spray damage. These include the mokumao, the pandanus, the hibiscus (Albiszia julibrissum Durass, in Japanese the nemunoki) and the hirugi (Bruqieria spp.)[12] (5) Ecologically, the situation is more balanced in the north where a good start seems to have been made in arresting progressive deforestation. (6) This balance, if Matsuda is a representative village, can only be maintained by constant appraisal of the relationships of the forest to agriculture, to the growing population, and to the economic demands to which this leads, unless the wood and timber demands of the island are to be met in large part by imports.

[245] [647]

114 648 636 An occupying power like the United States, rich in modern techniques, can do much to improve the life of a small island people. If it is mindful of the history and the present features of the culture, it can suggest improvements without destroying the bases on which the culture rests.

313 114 One of its greatest accomplishments could be an aggressive and continuing program of conservation and afforestation. The present administration, through the Forestry Section of the Food and Natural Resources Department, has started a program which, if permanently pursued, could have far-reaching consequences. An emphasis on selective cutting, conservation, fire control, tidewater plantings, and many other measures could only be a credit to American administrators and foresters as well. The costs, as such things go, would be moderate.

From personal experience in village life, I have no doubt that the co-operation of villagers in all parts of the island could be readily obtained in advancing a large scale afforestation program. The readiness of the people of Matsuda cannot be an exception. These things could be accomplished without an unwieldy administrative apparatus. I have been continually struck with the ability of the Okinawans, with their skill in local organization, to accomplish

12 I am indebted to Mr. Richard Varney of the Department of Food and Natural Resources, USCAR, for this information.

119 to the family system, the extended family, or to the household
304 order naming system is well worth exploring. No tattooing was
602 observed among the Hinatogawa fishermen, but this may have been an oversight. According to an old woman there, it did exist. One would expect it from the close relationship of Hinatogawa to Itoman. It is quite probable, in my opinion, that tattooing of men and women have different origins.

304 According to the early observers, tattooing of women took place around puberty, although Furness puts the age at 4 or 5 years. Patterns differed distinctly by island.

In Okinawa, everywhere one hears the same explanation for the origin of women's tattooing. Although there are variants, the core of the explanation is that the Ryukyu islanders (presumably after the Satsuma conquest of 1609) tattooed their young girls to prevent [698] their being carried off to brothels in Japan. The tattooing was supposed to have made the girls so unattractive that they were untouched. Other variations are that the tattoo indicated marriage and thus kept the girl from being taken away. An old woman of Hinatogawa told of a legend (not seen or heard from any other source) in which the tattooing of women was an act of thanksgiving for a rescue at sea. A boat was sinking, and the survivors swimming saw [773] two hands in the sky. They stopped the waves and the storm passed, permitting the swimmers to reach shore easily. The families were told, and after that the hands of the women were tattooed.

This subject needs considerable research. It would be of great [119] interest to know the relationship, if any, to the family system, the extended family, and the household order naming system, whether it is comparatively recent in the islands, and whether the tattooing of the fisherman is a result of Chinese or Portugese influences and a [177] consequence of the early Pacific trade described in Chapter II.

11

Knuckle Cracking

157 One of the most puzzling of Okinawan mannerisms is the frequency of knuckle cracking. It may be observed in young children from 5 to 6 to old men and women in their seventies. It is done on so many occasions that cataloging them would be a real chore. The knuckle is cracked crisply and sharply. Young boys and girls may talk a whole evening, cracking their knuckles incessantly. It occurs in ordinary conversation, at lively parties, and during periods when a conversation lags. Children say they learned it from their mothers.

It seems a habit acquired very early. Perhaps it is an indication of tension, but I am inclined to be less specific. One Okinawan explained it as a continuation of childhood habit and ascribed it to the limberness of the fingers coming from early training on the abacus,

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

Part I

The Ethnographic Background

Chapter 1

The Setting

THE ISLAND

105
Okinawa lies a day's voyage by steamer to the southwest of the Japa- 131
nese island of Kyushu. Leaving Kyushu, the ship passes along the Ryukyuan chain until it reaches Okinawa, the largest of the islands. Land is never completely out of sight until the ship enters the port of Naha, capital of the southern Ryukyus.

The Ryukyus are part of a long string of islands which, beginning [133]
in the north with the Kurile Islands and Sakhalin, run all the way south, including Japan, the Ryukyus, Formosa, the Philippines, and the Indonesian archipelago. In their offshore position on the Western rim of the Pacific Ocean, the Ryukyus are within access by small craft from Japan, Korea, and China. This geographic position of the [648]
Ryukyus puts them within the sphere of influence of several countries,

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

131 a fact which has been a determinant in their historical development
648 and an important factor in speculations about prehistoric events.

105 Until further archaeological evidence permits greater certainty, the
174 original settlement of the Ryukyus is believed to have taken place predominantly from the Asiatic mainland, with occasional influx from the southern islands, Formosa, the Philippines, and Indonesia (Kerr,
[172] 1958). Surviving culture elements of great antiquity support these theories. Most frequently cited are a basic form of Shinto, characteristic of the religion, and the shamanistic role of the priestesses. Specifi-
[177] cally, the "curved jewels," formerly worn by all priestesses, are mentioned as apparent links with the neolithic cultures of Japan.

105 On the other hand, sporadic contact with the islands to the south
177 is evidenced by culture traits, such as raised houses of tropical design
174 (common to all of Japan) and perhaps the practice of "mother roast-
[846] ing," a period of recuperation after the birth of a child during which the mother is kept near a fire. This custom is widespread in Malaysia (Cole, 1945:155).

[197] Linguistic evidence points to a separation of Okinawan from a common proto Japanese language about 1500 years ago (Hattori, 1954). This may indicate a southern movement of peoples from Japan under the pressure of the Yayoi people who introduced the wet rice complex into southwestern and central Japan at this period. That this was not the earliest settlement of the Ryukyus, however, is evidenced by remains in the Ryukyus of the earlier Jomon period.

105 From the first mention of the Ryukyus in Chinese annals of 605 A.D.
648 until the end of the nineteenth century when Japan formally annexed
175 the islands, they stood in a curious relationship of dependency toward China and Japan. Both nations claimed suzerainty over the kingdom of Okinawa with its royal court in Shuri and extracted tribute. Eventually the Lord of Satsuma in southern Japan extended his sovereignty over the Ryukyus. But with ties to China remaining, Okinawa participated in both Chinese and Japanese culture, which disseminated through the urban trading center of Naha into the outlying areas. It is this intermediate cultural position which still gives Okinawa a peculiar character, although it long ago became part of Japan and abandoned direct contacts with China.

105 In 1872 Japan formally declared its claims on the Ryukyuan king-
175 dom, and after deposing the last king in 1879, made the Ryukyuan
177 islands a province of Japan, with the capital at Naha. Between this
648 time and the present, intensive contact with Japan has led to an overwhelming absorption of Japanese culture, a willingness on the part of Okinawans to adopt Japanese ways and to identify with Japan as their

home country. Nevertheless, many aspects of Okinawan life still suggest an earlier phase in which independent developments gave the islands their own particular culture.

The Okinawan people, approximately 655,000 as counted in 1954, live in an area of about 454 square miles. Their major economic activities have traditionally been agriculture and fishing. In 1945 a long, peaceful existence was brought to an abrupt end during the final battles of World War II in the Pacific. As a result of world conditions Okinawans have been placed under American administration for an indefinite period of time. Today large numbers of men—and some women—find employment as unskilled and semiskilled laborers with the American forces. Gradual training for highly skilled jobs widens these opportunities for employment. Indirectly Okinawan life is influenced by Americans through stimulation of trade, building, and improved health conditions. Land requirements of the American forces in some areas also have influenced the settlement pattern. While these changes have affected the entire island to some degree, the greatest changes are noticeable in the central part around Naha where American administrative and military personnel are located. The village of Taira in the northern province of Kunigami, where the present study was located, had been subject to relatively few of these postwar changes in 1954. Isolated since earliest times because of mountainous terrain, this part of the island participates, as it probably always did, marginally in cultural influences which affect the center of the island. A great deal of cultural stability has therefore been preserved until the present day.

Nevertheless, it is useful to remember that the population of northern Okinawa is linked with the rest of the island by an efficient communications system. Roads connect almost all settlements in the north with the central island, and a bus transportation system extends its service into the remote areas. But long before all villages were connected by road with the center of Okinawa, people of Kunigami province traveled by foot over the many trails which traverse the mountains, and, since the turn of the century, many have left their home villages. Some went to Japan as laborers; others settled in the Japanese-controlled Islands of the Pacific, and some families joined the numerous Okinawan settlements in South American countries.

LANGUAGE

Taira people are bilingual. Okinawan, which linguists consider a separate language, has many regional dialects, some of which are not

197 mutually intelligible. The speech differences are so great that even
191 two neighboring villages have noticeable dialectical variations. Japanese is the second language.

Okinawan is spoken in almost all households. The first words learned by the child from his mother or others around him are Okinawan. The child is praised or scolded in Okinawan; he learns Okinawan terms for numbers, names for plants, tools, and other implements used around the house. A curious exception in this pattern is the use of
[601] kinship terms. Taira children start using Japanese kinship terms in
[177] infancy with one exception—in some families the grandmother is addressed by the Okinawan term.

● [648] Knowledge of the Okinawan language is said to have been helpful to Americans during the war in distinguishing the local people from Japanese. Japanese has been the official language in Okinawa for over 60 years. It is taught and used in schools exclusively until the upper grades, when foreign languages are introduced. Everybody who has gone to school learns Japanese, and only the oldest persons in Taira speak Okinawan exclusively.

197 Young children, even though they learn to speak Okinawan first,
807 soon pick up Japanese words and phrases. While their Okinawan
191 vocabulary is limited to everyday experiences, the child's horizon is widened gradually by the use of Japanese terms. First formal efforts to teach Japanese are made in kindergarten, and teachers quickly succeed in eliminating the use of Okinawan in class. Even in play groups of
[626] school-age children, Japanese is usual. Children frequently censure each other for occasional slips or shifts to Okinawan.

191 Taira adults vary in the use of language. Simple, routine matters in
197 daily living are mostly discussed in Okinawan. This language is also predominant in small, informal social gatherings and in emotionally tense situations, such as domestic quarrels. Furthermore, the priestess and her assistants conduct all religious ceremonies in Okinawan. People resorted to Okinawan in our presence when they did not want to be understood. On the other hand, village meetings and gatherings of village leaders or visits of teachers and other officials are conducted in Japanese.

THE PEOPLE

142 The majority of the Taira people are of short, stocky build, with heavy bones. Their hair growth is strong, their skin dark. A light skin

621 778 Although a number of important shrines and worship places are located in the Kawata area, the main shrine is in Taira.

173 648 722 621 To this tranquil area the activities of World War II brought a great upheaval. Although the main stream of refugees from the south, following threats of United States troups' invasion, did not reach this northern area, Japanese guerilla forces settled in the hills of Higashi township. This, and the constant warnings from the Japanese of the "terrors" of American occupation, caused the population of all villages to take refuge in the mountains, carrying along what few possessions they could, including livestock. Families were separated and individuals lived in constant fear of soldiers from both sides. Nightly excursions to the fields to harvest whatever could be found helped to maintain a meager diet. It is characteristic of the stresses of this period that among the children of central Taira only ~~one~~ was born in 1945.

173 648 722 621 The war ended for Taira people when American troops had cleared the northern areas of Japanese troops. In this action several villages were destroyed, among them Taira. The present economic struggle of Higashi township, an area which was always handicapped by lack of farmland and poor soil, is partly due to the war. On the other hand, the demand for lumber for an island-wide reconstruction program lent a temporary boom to the economy. In the process, however, forests [185] which had been heavily cut before the war fell prey to rapid and poorly planned cutting. At present the whole township is in the throes of economic readjustment.

173 167 621 In the past 50 years, Taira, like the rest of Okinawa, has sent some of its overflow of population to various areas in the world, including Japan, and especially to the industrial areas of Kobe and Osaka, Saipan, and Brazil. At least five of the families in central Taira lived either in Japan or the Pacific Islands and returned shortly after World War II. Emigrants to Brazil have stayed with the exception of one prominent person who returned to Taira several years before the war. Some of the families lived as many as 18 or 20 years abroad, and several children in the study were born in Japan and returned to the village as infants. Among the villagers are many who have served in the Japanese Army in Asia or in the South Seas.

The repatriation of these families does not seem to have caused any serious disturbances to the village, since many people were killed during the war and several families moved to the city. An exodus to the [311] outlying areas of the village also provided room for returnees, so, although rice land is scarce, there is still some uncultivated farmland, admittedly mostly of poor quality.

The community is dispersed. In the outlying parts, as far as 2 miles

861 forced when his mother does search for him and takes him home. Furthermore, she serves him the dinner which he was to have been deprived of as punishment. This theme apprears not only in reality [125] but also in the children's projections in the verbal TAT's.

There are, however, threats of withdrawal of love by the mother which evoke great fear of actual loss of love among children. These fears are based on the fact that, in contrast with the foregoing examples, no happy ending can be expected from this threatened punishment. The child is no longer confident that his mother's feelings will soften in the long run when she says to a disobedient son: "We will sell you to the Itoman fisherman." The boy has undoubtedly heard stories of little boys being sold to southern Okinawan fishermen. Such words make him quake with fear, and he promises to obey. Girls, on the other hand, are told they will be "changed for money" and made to live a life of virtual slavery in the house of strangers. These threats [466] have a realistic basis; children know that until recent times boys were [548] sold to fishermen and that girls paid off their parents' debts by working in a house of prostitution or for a farmer who accepted the extra hand instead of money for his debt. At least two persons still live in the village who had such experiences when they were young. One woman can testify to the mistreatment which she received from her masters during indentured labor, and such stories of many cases which are widely known are passed on to children.

At present a new twist has been added to the old theme. Mothers [648] silence a crying child with, "If you don't stop crying, we will give you to the Negroes." Now and then a grandmother will point to a jeep full of soldiers passing by and warn, "Eh! Come home now or we give you to the Americans." The response is usually immediate. The frightened child runs home, clutching onto his grandmother's kimono while the old woman cackles with amusement.

Some mothers threaten their children with running away themselves and leaving them with their fathers. This technique proves just as effective as the former, for a child's concept of support or love with respect to his father is never clearly defined.

One mother, after a particularly exasperating day, thought she would make good her threat to run away from the house. She packed some clothes in a bundle and started off in the direction of the main road. Quickly ducking around houses, she ended up a couple of houses away from her own and sat sipping tea with her neighbor in the back room. Meanwhile, the child, who had been hiding from her mother all day to avoid chores, discovered that her mother was missing. She started to search the village and was told by cooperating adults that

Amami Oshima, Okinawa, Miyako, and Yaeyama.[1] Although they appear to differ widely, mutual intelligibility prevails, and informants from other islands assured me that they had managed to understand Okinawan in a short time though most preferred to use Japanese rather than attempt the new dialect. 197

Okinawan Dialects The Okinawan dialect area, Okinawa and its offshore islands, contains many sub-dialects or local speech groups, all of which are easily mutually intelligible. It would be an exaggeration to state that there is a distinctive dialect for each community; yet the variety and diversity of local speech forms constantly impresses one. Nakasone has distinguished five dialects in the Kunigami area alone, and this does not include nearly a dozen and a half distinctive speech islands within the same area.[2] These local speech peculiarities are often pointed out with considerable pride and seem much prized as symbolic of a community's identity. [621]

The dialects of Naha, Shuri, and certain of the larger towns such as Itoman and Yonabaru, are quite distinctive and easily recognized by the Okinawans. Naha dialect is most widely spoken and easily understood throughout the island, and because of its association with the capital carries the greatest prestige among Okinawan speakers. Old residents of Naha complain that their dialect has deteriorated and become coarsened since the war due to the heavy influx from other areas of people who speak the dialect imperfectly. By this they refer to the loss of certain polite forms and the inundations of Japanese. Some Shuri people will contend that the "best" Okinawan is spoken in their city. In the past this was undoubtedly a widely accepted point of view, but with the advent of Japanese administration---exile of the king, removal of the capital to Naha, abolition of the upper classes---Shuri's prestige as a cultural center rapidly declined. A number of informants, rural and urban, felt that the "purest" Okinawan was heard in the Naha theaters, particularly at the Naha Gekijō, where daily performances of modern and historical dramas are presented. Itoman dialect is considered to be very coarse and rough by the people of other communities, and hence is accorded a low prestige. This is in part due to certain prosodic features of the dialect which render it unlike other Okinawan dialects, but more likely it is due to the fact that this town largely derives its livelihood from fishing, an occupation regarded with opprobrium by farmers and urbanites alike. The neighboring farm village of Kanegusuku, though less than a quarter of a mile away and long associated with Itoman, preserves a dialect distinct from it. [554] [177] [648] [177] [545] [554] [226]

This dialectic diversity on Okinawa reflects to a certain extent the physical isolation of the typical village, a tightly-nucleated cluster of dwellings surrounded by fields. It is also a product of the social structure in the Okinawan kingdom. Prior to annexation by Japan (1879), farmers were little more than serfs bound to the soil and forbidden to leave their native village, while the gentry and nobility were for the most part concentrated in the urban Naha-Shuri district. Rural villages tended to be isolated, self-sustaining units; most were composed of a dominant kin group (munchu) and several smaller and possibly remotely related kin groups, or of several unrelated kin groups more nearly equal in size. A munchu was made up of a number [361] 197 105 [566] [565] [621]

[1] Miyanaga /Miyara/, 1950, p. 39.

[2] Nakasone, 1937, pp. 242-258.

191 (mentioned previously), song, and the indigenous religion. Okinawan song and
178 music undoubtedly exceed both Japanese and Western in popularity; in fact, no
191 other facet of Okinawan culture has so successfully withstood the changes of
178 the past seventy-five years. Songs such as the Kagiyadefu (which some Okina-
533 wans liken to a national anthem), Nubui Kuduchi, Hamachidori, Tanchame are
known and loved by all. Some of the phonograph record stores in Naha carry
as many as several hundred different recordings of Okinawan songs, and vir-
191 tually all of these are recorded in Okinawan. All priestesses of the indigen-
178 ous religion interviewed by the author stated that Okinawan was the language
796 of prayer and ceremony; to some this was a burden, as in the case of one
priestess who had spent most of her life in Japan. A few admitted that the
language of the ceremonies and particularly that of the old songs or umui
(sometime rendered omoro) was rather obscure and not fully understood; these
are transmitted orally from the older priestess to her successor and undoubtedly
191 contain many archaic words. Outside the formal religious structure yet inex-
178 tricably linked to it are shamans (yuta) and fortune tellers ('ekisha'). The
756 former, most often a woman, uses Okinawan almost exclusively in rites concerned
791 with divining, exorcism, and curing. The latter, nearly always a male, is
usually a fairly well-educated person, as the profession is based on interpre-
tations of certain books used in conjunction with the ancient Chinese Book of
Changes (I Ching), and either Japanese or Okinawan, depending on the customer,
may be used in giving the reading. Both practitioners are extremely popular,
but the fortune teller is usually found in the cities and towns whereas the
shaman may be found in Naha or the smallest hamlet.

175 Japanese With the abdication of Shō Tai in 1879 the Japanese government ini-
191 tiated a program designed for integrating Okinawa into the national
177 state as rapidly as possible. An effort was made to stamp out all vestiges of
a [648] Okinawan culture, utilizing techniques ranging from education and indoctrina-
tion to repressive laws and police measures. Greatest emphasis was given to
making Japanese speakers out of Okinawans. Leavenworth quotes Governor Nara-
hara as stating that the creation of Japanese speakers was of more value than
175 all the repressive laws prohibiting certain customs.[1] At the start the Japanese
191 were hindered by a lack of schools and teachers, and so the program moved ahead
177 slowly. An effective national school system covering the rural areas where the
871 bulk of the population was located and taking in both sexes was not fully oper-
ative until about the time of World War I. The failure of Japanese to displace
Okinawan can be attributed largely to a lack of time and a lack of facilities
for education beyond the elementary level. By the time of World War II but two
generations were schooled in Japanese, and the majority of these had received
no more than six years of education.

191 Though Japanese failed to displace Okinawan, it did succeed in becom-
177 ing a necessity in the lives of most people and in establishing itself as the
554 prestige language. With the government, press, schools, cinema, radio, and
high-level commerce utilizing Japanese exclusively, participation in modern
life without a knowledge of Japanese became impossible. The incentives towards
competence in Japanese were many, whereas there appeared to be little gained

[1] Leavenworth, 1905, p. 37.

464 the bulldozer had done the basic shaping of the field, a new member of the
[465] 'han' was hired to finish the pounding of the paddy walls. He was paid ¥900 for six days' work, and was required to provide his own lunch. His employer had spent the first year after the war in Hokkaido, working for no money but receiving one 'shō' (3.18 pints) of rice a day. Later he rented a horse and cart from its owner at ¥60 a day and pocketed anything above that amount that he earned. During planting and harvest season he worked in the rice fields.

445 Horses are rented out by their owners to other people, but when a cow
426 is rented the owner's services are always included. No farmer trusts anyone
435 else with his cow. A man-and-cow hire out for ¥250-300 a day, depending on
379 the distance they must travel. A horse is most often rented to pull the sweep
299 of a rotary sugar-press, and is paid according to the amount of juice of black sugar produced. Various prices are quoted. ¥100 is paid for each 'chō' (100 kin, or 132 pounds) of black sugar produced. One farmer charges for the use of his horse a flat rate of ¥1 for each gallon of juice squeezed. Another charges ¥60 for 50 gallons of juice if the renter lives in Nanahan or close by, and ¥70 if he lives farther away. Horses were scarce the first year after the war, and fifteen men together pulled the sweeps of the rotary presses.

464 <u>Buying of Labor and Services</u> Many times farmers have need of a great amount
575 of labor in a short period of time. Then they are most likely to call upon the services of the young people's group, the 'seinendan'. One Nanahan farmer in 1952 had this group make a paddy field for him from a dry field. In 1953 another farmer had the group make a 300 'tsubo' dry field for him out of 'arechi', or war-destroyed land. The 'seinendan' also hires its members out to work for people who need help in the busy season. The following daily wage rates were quotes: women and new
[465] members, ¥40; men of 18 and 19 years, ¥50; and men of 20 years and above, ¥60.

Abolition of the stringent Japanese regulations compelling farmers
445 to raise sugar has resulted in the reconversion of many sugar fields to rice
[648] paddies. At first this was done exclusively by hand labor, but now bull-
[435] dozers are more in favor. One farmer had 420 'tsubo' of dry land converted into paddy at a total cost for bulldozer leveling of ¥6,300. The rate for machine and operator was ¥600 an hour. The farmer owns 450 tsubo more of paddy, which provides rice for one meal a day. With this newly-converted
[262] field he plans to have his family eat rice twice daily. Labor charges for finishing the new paddy will run about ¥4,000, according to estimate.

One of his relatives is a repatriate from the hemp-growing colony at Davao, in the Philippines. This man bought land from a villager who was dissatisfied with country life, and hired a bulldozer to convert it to paddy.
[435] For conversion of 816 tsubo he paid bulldozer charges of ¥12,000 and ¥8,000 additional for labor. He had bought the dry land ('hatake') originally for ¥65 per tsubo.

About the only other service regularly engaged is the hulling and polishing of rice. Nanahan people take their threshed rice to a neighboring village where there is a 'seimaisho' (rice-cleaning mill), and pay only cash for the service. They return home with the polished rice and the bran, or

621 For administrative purposes villages are subdivided into sections or
179 neighborhoods called 'han' or 'kumi'. There is considerable variation in the use of these terms throughout Okinawa, in part occasioned by the recency of their introduction and by the confusion following the end of the war. In 1940
[648] the Japanese government ordered all municipalities ('shi-chō-son') subdivided into 'rimpō-han' (settlement sections) which in turn were subdivided into 'tonari-gumi' (neighborhood groups). The move was a political one designed to insure more effective control; the divisions were often quite arbitrary and had little relation to social groupings. The term 'kumi', however, had been in use for a long time in both Japan and Okinawa, referring to a group of households. That
[178] these subdivisions have survived into the postwar period indicates that they are fulfilling a function necessary to village administration.

621 A large village such as Henza (of Henza Shima), which has a population
624 of 3800, is subdivided into 5 'han' each headed by an official called 'hanchō'. Every 'han' is subdivided into 'kumi'; there are 41 'kumi' in the village, approximately 8 to each 'han'. Each 'kumi' contains from 12-20 houses; the head of the 'kumi' is the 'kumichō'. In a smaller village such as Kanegusuku-ku which has a population of 507, the 'han' no longer exists; instead the term 'kumi' is applied to the four subdivisions of the village. In Kanegusuku the 'kumichō' functions as the intermediary between the 'kuchō' and the people of the area; there are on the average 25 houses in each 'kumi'. 'Kumichō' are elected each year by the 'kumi' though in actuality the position is really rotated among the households within the 'kumi'. One of the chief functions of the 'kumi' is to provide labor for community work projects. When the township office requests that the 'kuchō' have his village repair a section of a road, he calls in the 'kumichō' and tells them how many workers will be needed. The 'kumichō' notify the household heads within their 'kumi' and the households supply in rotation the needed labor. When local clean-up is in order as preparation for a township inspection, the 'kumichō' supervises the work in his area. Tax collections for village finances are generally made by him, and when tax collections are made by the township, he notifies his constituents as to the time and place of payment.

The importance of the 'kumichō' or 'hanchō' is dependent on the physical nature of the village and its size. In a small tightly-nucleated village like Kanegusuku the 'kumichō' functions mainly as an intermediary or messenger between the 'kuchō' and the people of the 'kumi' and as a foreman on their work details. In a larger village whose 'han' are scattered into more isolated neighborhoods or settlements the 'hanchō' often functions more like a 'kuchō'. In Kanegusuku the divisions are more or less arbitrary ones, and there is definitely no feeling of strong identity with a particular 'kumi'. However, in the village of Tomoyose where Pitts studied, the isolated settlement of Nanahan (literally ("Han Seven") felt itself to be a distinct unit and functioned not unlike a very small village.

621 Most villages have a small building set aside for use as an office or
344 meeting place. These are usually called muraya in Okinawan or 'jimusho' in Japanese. In a large village like Henza the office is nearly as large as those of some of the smaller 'son', containing desks, telephone, records, and a full-time staff. In Kanegusuku a small bare hut large enough for only a dozen people suffices. When village meetings are held, the officials sit inside the building while the people sit outside facing them. Village records are stored in the home of the 'kuchō' or the clerk.

'Koseki' Changes The present 'koseki'---those used when this SIRI team visited Okinawa---are temporary ones set up about 1948. 161 217
In some very few areas 'koseki' remain from before the war. Registration in the 'koseki' is not automatic when an individual or family moves into a community. Hence there may even be persons who have bought houselots in a village, rented land there and raised crops---without ever having contacted the 'son' office for change of 'koseki'. Three such instances were observed in Nanahan. Areas such as Goeku-son and the Naha-Mawashi area, which contain many "floaters", may actually have a much larger population than is reported in the census figures.

'Koseki' Inaccuracies The present 'koseki' not only does not contain information on 'museki' persons, but it is often very far behind---sometimes as much as two years---in recording the movement of persons and families out of the villages and into urban centers.

Because old 'koseki' were for the most part destroyed, information on birthdates is very often inaccurate. The Kochinda 'koseki', for example, is full of requests for changes in birthdates, changes ostensibly sought on the basis of more accurate family records recently discovered or assembled. However, some changes may conceivably be sought in order deliberately to misrepresent one's age to a Company or to the military. Also, the possibility should not be ruled out that some persons change their recorded birthdate in order to bring about a change in their luck. [777]

Accuracy of Kochinda-son Data The statistics on household heads presented above represents the total number of people registered in the Kochinda 'koseki'. It does not take into consideration those persons and families who are recorded as having temporarily moved elsewhere. 217 162 592

Many people in Kochinda who have moved to the city have failed to record that fact in the 'koseki'. Many times this is attributable to apathy and poverty, but may often involve the matter of pride in having one's record in the same 'koseki' as one's close relatives. There is an additional factor at work: most Okinawans realize that the present urban trend brought about by the presence of the military is a temporary phenomenon, and they fully expect to return to the village in event of a lessening of urban opportunities. Thus Okinawa follows the Japanese pattern---by tightening their belts and working a little harder, the farmers can always make their plots feed an additional mouth until some adjustment can be made. [369] [829]

Hence the Kochinda statistics as presented above represent some 2,000 household heads and some 10,000 persons, rather than the census count of some 8,500 persons and 1,970 household heads.

The New 'Koseki' Early in 1954 the Government of the Ryukyu Islands ordered a new 'koseki' to be compiled. It will no doubt be more complete in most respects than is the temporary 'koseki'. The demand for a new 'koseki' came about chiefly because Japanese governmental pension agencies 217 [648]

217 need information having to do with widows, orphans, and the war dead. An
[648] interesting study might revolve around comparisons between the temporary 'koseki' and the new one. A study of the 'museki' persons should be very revealing in regard to aspects of lower-class life.

Usefulness in Research The 'koseki' is a mine of information of great potential value to anthropologists and other social scientists. A study of the personal names of people, especially women,
[777] would help show when new ideas came into the village. Name changes are often registered because a person feels his luck will change with a better-sounding name. Those 'koseki' which record the 'yagō', or house name, would enable one to make an extensive survey of the munchu system. A complete study of a 'son's' population should include supplementary records from the land ownership register and tax rolls.

When more accurate records are kept upon those who have left the village for urban work, the 'koseki' will provide many opportunities to study the process and pace of urbanization. Finally, in the process of copying a 'koseki', innumerable opportunities arise for consulting 'son' office personnel on customs and practices in the villages, thus providing new insights into Okinawan life. All in all, the 'koseki' is a most useful document whose possibilities have scarcely been tapped by social scientists.

175 family, but in actual practice the family often received a far lower percent-
423 age, since with a fixed tax there was no possibility of compensating for crop
651 failure, decline in productivity, and population growth. Tax payments were made in grain though cloth was also accepted. In addition to the inflexibility of the tax system there was a lack of uniformity in tax levies; certain areas such as Kunigami and the outer islands bore an unequal tax load, and farmers in all areas paid a proportionately higher tax than the officials and upper classes. These inequalities inherent in the system plus
[433] the periodic redistribution of plots served to curb any interest which the farmer might have had in improving his holdings; consequently, productivity was said to be very low.

423
178 Vestiges of this system may still be found in some of the peripheral areas of Okinawa. The village of Oku in northern Kunigami-son still has communal ownership of its forest lands, and on Kudaka Shima off Chinen Peninsula a villager must turn his land over to the community when he goes to live elsewhere.

2. Okinawa-ken (1879-1945). Japanese Administration and the Termination of the Land Allotment System

175 Following the annexation of Okinawa, the new government embarked on
648 a program designed to integrate Okinawa (and the southern Ryukyus) into the
177 national state. The task facing the early administrators was a difficult one, for in addition to differences in language and culture Okinawa was poor in natural resources and possessed an antiquated administrative system. It was soon realized that modernization could not be accomplished overnight; therefore the Japanese allowed virtually all of the old customs to be retained during the first twenty years of their administration, and efforts were directed toward educating a sufficient number of Okinawans to assist
[565] them in carrying out the program. Though the old class system was abolished, members of the former classes continued to subsist on pensions now paid by the new government, and in the rural areas life continued much as before except that the mura replaced the majiri as the land-holding and disbursing
175 unit. By 1899 the government was prepared to introduce more radical changes,
648 and in March of that year Law 59 relating to land adjustment was promulgated.
177 Its objectives were to confirm private ownership and to determine land values for tax purposes. The importance which the administration attached
423 to this measure was clearly stated by Narahara Shigeru, superintendent of the Land Adjustment Board, "Now, the only way to reform the administration is to destroy old customs, but its accomplishment must be commenced with the reform of the system of land taxation, the very foundation of the old customs."[1] Following a mapping survey which began in 1899, officials went into the villages to explain the purposes of the law and to settle conflicting claims. Private ownership was generally confirmed in favor of the cultivator. By 1903 the land reform was carried through to a successful completion.

Private ownership of land was accompanied by the introduction of Japanese laws of property and inheritance; their combined effect was to alter substantially the prevailing social organization and economic balance of the rural community. Land formerly held by the family under the communal

[1] Summary of the Land Adjustment in the Okinawa Prefecture, 1904, p. ii.

allotment system was now entered in the newly-created land registries as the 175
property of the household head. In the past inheritance of the position of 648
household head by the first son had been largely a matter of status succes- 177
sion involving leadership of the family and certain ceremonial obligations. 423
Property succession had not been an important factor, for the private 177
property of the family had usually amounted to no more than the family 423
house and lot. Under the old land allotment system there was always land 428
available for younger sons who set up independent houses, but under Japanese 592
law the bulk of the family property was inherited by the first son. What had
been the function of the community in the past now became the responsibility
of the family, and since family holdings were usually small, the younger sons
were often landless. Informants stated that a father will usually do every-
thing possible to provide his younger sons with land, but he cannot do this
if it means jeopardizing the resources of the house. Continuation of the
family line for the purpose of continuity in worshipping the ancestors is
the chief responsibility incumbent on the household head, and in the rural
areas the land provides the major support for the house. With the rise in [166]
population there developed an increasing trend for younger sons to emigrate
from the rural areas in search of land or jobs elsewhere. The end result [602]
was a considerable weakening of family and especially kin group ties and a [621]
rapid decline in the communal character of the rural villages.

Though the creation of private property made possible the sale, pur- 175
chase, and rental of land, landlordism never gained a foothold on Okinawa. 423
Undoubtedly this is primarily due to the recency of private property and the 429
lack of time for large accumulations of land to be made. It is also in part
due to a lack of capital in the rural areas; most capital on Okinawa after [471]
the annexation and before World War II was confined to the hands of Japanese
businessmen and members of the former upper classes who seemed disinclined to
invest in land. Likewise the official Japanese attitude toward Okinawa was [648]
to regard it as a rather backward part of Japan not to be exploited as a
colonial dependency as in the case of Formosa and Korea. Glacken has sug- [171]
gested that the heavy fragmentation of the typical Okinawan farm would be an
obstacle to its sale; yet, the Chinese farmland is also highly fragmented
and landlordism has been common there for centuries.[1]

After the abolition of the communal allotment system taxes were ex- 175
tended to cover all categories of land whereas previously they had been ap- 423
plied only to arable land; however, government income from land taxes sharply 651
declined, as the moderate levies of the Japanese administration were con-
siderably below those of the Okinawan monarchy. Despite this reduction in [311]
tax load there has been a steady decline in the amount of land cultivated
since the termination of the old land system; this is clearly shown in Tables
III and IV in Chapter III, Agricultural History, Land Use and Diet.

3. World War II and the American Occupation

175
During World War II Okinawa became the scene of one of the most vio- 727
lent battles of modern times. The entire island was turned into a combat

[1] Glacken, 1951, p. 160.

175 area which resulted in a twenty percent reduction in the civilian population
727 and in the destruction of virtually every city, town, and village. The densely-populated southern half of the island, scene of the heaviest fighting, was particularly devastated.

Staggering reconstruction tasks faced the military government at the conclusion of the war, and at first nearly all its efforts were absorbed in managing the problems of food and health for the civilian population. In the course of the campaign nearly all of the people had been removed into civilian internment camps, and many remained there for nearly a year or more before returning to their homes. Most returned to find their homes destroyed and fields overgrown with weeds or littered with the debris of war. In a few areas whole villages were replaced by military installations. The average village found itself without housing, its fields in an unusable condition, and its families decimated. In most cases the district office ('sonyakuba') had been destroyed and with it all family and land records. The physical destruction of the war and the humiliation of defeat left the population apathetic and indifferent for some time. One informant stated this feeling succinctly, "After the war we were left with only the will to live, nothing more." A former war-time and post-war mayor of one village informed the author that nearly six years were required to restore the land to its pre-war state, and he expressed the opinion that this recovery was unduly prolonged by the generous food ration issued by the military government: "No one wanted to work as long as there was free food. Without this food it could have been done in two or three years."

175 On April 14, 1950, the military governor issued Special Proclamation
423 36 which authorized the issuance of new certificates of land title.[1] The
[648] measure necessitated surveying and preparing new land maps and issuing new titles. It was first necessary to set up schools to train personnel for carrying out the assignment. The mapping job was one which the authors heard praised in all farm villages, with a number of informants remarking that Okinawa now had the best land maps of any time in its history. In the confirmation of ownership local bodies were made sovereign, but the individual had the right of appeal to the courts.

423 Copies of the land titles are kept in three offices, the land regis-
647 try and tax collection offices in the district office ('sonyakuba') and in the Central Land Office located in Naha. Under the law all land transactions, rental or sale, must be registered within thirty days; however, even the most casual check of these records plus a knowledge of local holdings indicates that this is not being done, for both the bookkeeping and registration appear to lag far behind transactions. This does not seem to be the result of any deliberate attempt to withhold information but rather appears due to a lack of concern for such details on the part of the individuals concerned. The same sort of situation prevails in the registration of births and deaths. Another factor might well be that the large number of land transactions occurring in the postwar period have left the farmer disinclined

1 Ryukyu Statistical Bulletin, no. 5, May 1950.

[Yamada]

621 361 178 177 One reason for this greater concentration may have been the greater need for cooperation during the period of rebuilding; another may have been the greater dependence since the war on the outside and the resulting greater dependence on the new highways and busses; but a third reason for the present concentration seems to have been a feeling of uneasiness in the presence of American units. There are still units on three sides of Yamada, two in the hills behind and one towards the sea between the settlement and the next village of Maeda. A Tarigaa woman gave the presence of American soldiers in the hills as a definite reason for not returning to her isolated home. A part of the rebuilt Ajimaa extended for a time in the direction of the nearest unit but in the last two or three years these houses have one by one been removed toward the center of the settlement.

621 178 The present aza is divided into five 'han', which are said also to function as chinju. However, the division seems to have been made along 'koaza' boundaries and this has resulted in a very uneven distribution of households per 'han'. Since the settlement pattern is still changing it seems likely that units of a more equal size will develop.

621 178 484 The orientation of Yamada, as well as its settlement pattern, has changed. Before the war contacts were nearly all to the north and south along the west shore of the island; people went south to Kadena on their rare shopping trips. Now, good highways and an excellent bus system not only run north and south but also link the west shore with the east shore via Nakadomari and Ishikawa. Since the war and the internment of many of the Yamada people at Ishikawa, going to town had meant going to Ishikawa, and people who once went twice a year to Kadena may now go to Ishikawa twice a week. People still go south to Kadena, but now more often as employees of the Americans commuting to work.

621 177 727 [648] Formal Relations At the time that the Yamada people returned to their village in 1946 they received material aid from the American Military Government, with which to rebuild. For a time after, they continued to receive a food ration ('haikyū') that was distributed from the 'haikyūjo', which later became the cooperative store. However, for several years now they seem to have had very little direct contact with the Military Government or its successor USCAR. On the other hand they have had considerable contact, both formal and informal, with the 'butai', the "unit", that is stationed just a few hundred yards from the settlement of Kuraha. This relationship was evidently in a process of change while I worked in Yamada early in 1954.

All of the villagers with whom I discussed the matter seemed agreed that for a period in the recent past the relationship had been very good. During the previous year the CO of the unit had held monthly meetings with the 'kuchō' of Yamada and three neighboring villages and with the teachers of the Yamada school, which serves all four villages. The purpose of these meetings was said to be the discussion of mutual problems, and in this they had a fair degree of success. For example the local people asked the unit to decrease the speed of trucks coming through the village, and this was done. The unit in turn asked the villagers to try to stop women from sneaking into

It
186 is also important to keep in mind that the relationship is always one of
829 American employer to Okinawan employee; consequently, the American is most
177 often the initiator of action.

464 Conclusion In a number of Okinawan communities military employment has drawn
434 off the surplus population which formerly had emigrated. In not a few communities it has become the mainstay of the economy.

464 Most Okinawans regard military employment as economically advantageous.
829 There is no stigma attached to men who are so employed, but considerable
554 stigma is attached to women who take this employment, particularly the maids.

177 The American installations are dependent to no small degree upon their
• 648 Okinawan employees, and in turn many Okinawan individuals and communities are
464 wholly dependent upon the military for their livelihood. Their relationship is a symbiotic one which can best be enhanced by mutual understanding; yet the social distance between the Okinawan and American is so great as to make interaction on a basis of equality rare. Because of their different cultural backgrounds and their job situations, both remain ignorant of the other's motives and values, and mutual understanding is difficult if not impossible. Common
[171] denominators in both cultures might be sought as a means of bridging this gap, as, for example, their common love of sports.

3. Japan, America, and Okinawa

W. P. Suttles

829 Japan in Retrospect Okinawan attitudes toward Japan are decidedly ambivalent. Factors that have entered into the formation of these attitudes are as follows:

175 1) Historic Relations On the negative side are the historic separa-
648 tion and former independence of Okinawa. This separate status is still re-
829 membered by old people, some of whom speak of wars between Okinawa and "Yamatu" (Yamato, that is, Japan). Several illiterate old people seemed to make no distinction between the conquest and oppression of Okinawa by the feudal state of Satsuma and the later annexation by the national government, and thus seemed to be blaming Japan as a whole for wrongs done by Satsuma.

171 On the positive side there is the indisputable remote common origin
174 and basic similarity of the Japanese and the Okinawans. Racially, linguis-
177 tically, and culturally the Okinawans are closely related to the Japanese.
829 They may be said to be merely a kind of Japanese. It is highly probable that the majority of the ancestors of the Okinawans came from the north, from Japan, in the not too remote past. Their isolation made it possible for them to be politically independent and their political independence made it possible for them to escape the levelling influence of Japanese national governments, particularly that of the Tokugawa Shogunate, and for them to have closer contact with China. This accounts for their having a number of elements of Chinese culture that are not found in Japan, but it does not make them a kind of Chinese.

2) Japanese Political Administration On the negative side is the domination, during the period of Japanese administration, of Okinawan public life by men from Japan. But on the other hand Okinawa became another perfecture and not a colony, and there were possibly not many more men in Okinawa from Japan's urban centers than in other remote and poor perfectures. As Japanese subjects in a Japanese prefecture, Okinawans could rise in the Japanese system and indeed a few did. The position of Okinawa was quite different from that of Korea. 648 829

Insofar as the Japanese policy of assimilation was successful, the fact that most of the important posts in the prefectural government were occupied by men from Tokyo could be ignored. If the Okinawans identified themselves as Japanese the difference would be less important. (The degree of Japanese domination and the harshness of the regime, moreover, seem to have become exaggerated in the minds of many of the Americans on Okinawa at present; some of the USCAR personnel with whom we talked appeared to be unaware of the fact that Okinawa had the same legal status as other parts of Japan.)

3) Japanese Assimilation Policy The policy of the Japanese government and particularly that of the Ministry of Education was undoubtedly one of cultural imperialism. The aim was to produce a uniform people. A strong attempt was made to eradicate the native language and many native customs that did not agree with Japanese ideals, the periodic redivision of land ('jiwari seido') and the use of the pigpen as a toilet, to name two. School teachers labelled the Okinawan language a "dialect" of Japanese, thus giving it inferior status, and labelled many Okinawan beliefs "superstitions". The army also undoubtedly attempted to replace Okinawan with Japanese ideals in many young men. These attempts may have produced hostility in some Okinawans, but it is our impression that the more usual result was to produce merely a feeling of inferiority. Okinawan speech and culture went down in value and Japanese speech and culture went up. Younger Okinawans who could not speak good Japanese felt inferior, but within the Japanese hierarchy. Moreover, in recent years Okinawan speech and customs have been given new prestige as museum pieces by the fact that outstanding Japanese scholars have devoted some attention to them. 648 177 829 152

4) Treatment of Okinawans in Japan Undoubtedly Okinawans who went to Japan in the twenties and thirties to look for employment were disiscriminated against by Japanese employers. A great number of Okinawans went to Osaka to work in the textile mills. Accounts of informants reveal that the mill foremen stereotyped Okinawans as lazy and unreliable and did not hesitate to say so. (In view of the conditions of labor, Americans in the same position might well have earned the same stereotype.) Some mills did not hire Okinawans if they could avoid it. 167 464 177

In rural Japan people were in utter ignorance of Okinawa. Students who were evacuated in 1944 to Kyushu discovered this. One young man told how the peasants in Miyazaki-ken thought that Okinawans were South Sea Islanders and expected them to come wearing clothes made of the leaves of trees and expected to have to teach them how to cook rice. 000

177
829 3) View of American Social Life With the large number of American women and children now on Okinawa and the large number of Okinawans employed as domestic servants, there is considerable opportunity for Okinawans to observe American family life. However, they may very well be getting a somewhat distorted view of American life by trying to generalize from the rather luxurious quarters provided for American dependents and from the behavior of American women who have now, many for the first time in their lives, plenty of domestic help.

• 648
829 4) Official Policy On the positive side, the Okinawans were impressed by the generosity of the Americans with relief, especially in the early days of the occupation, they are impressed with the highway and communication system the occupation has brought them, and they have much good to say about changes in the police system, education, and other aspects of government---along with criticisms, of course, as had been discussed elsewhere. On the negative side, the most persistent criticisms have to do with the land question and the question of self-government.

A chapter has already been devoted to the land question. To summarize the points pertaining to this discussion: many Okinawans feel, and apparently with some justification, that the Army has not paid adequate rental on land. In some instances the payments have not reached the owners at all. In addition some Okinawans feel that land has been unnecessarily diverted from its vital agricultural use. One example is the unused airfield next to the village of Kitazato; another would be the Awase Meadows Golf Course. The resentment felt about the loss of land is re-enforced by the important cultural theme that we have stated elsewhere: one must not interfere with the livelihood of another. The Army, by taking land and not paying adequately for it, has interfered with the livelihood of the farmers.

642
648 The question of self-government, to be discussed adequately, would
829 require a whole chapter on the history of GRI and its predecessors; since this study was aimed at the community level, the history and structure of GRI were not investigated. The gist of the argument is, however, that instead of progressing toward a greater degree of self-government the Ryukyu Islands are in fact slipping backward. The present GRI with its appointed chief executive replaced an organization with an elected chief. Hence one of the two major political parties has insisted on an elected chief executive. The other major party is that of the chief executive. Those who see the appointment of the chief executive by USCAR as undemocratic assert that USCAR's pro-
648 fessions to be bringing democracy to Okinawa are simply not true. Occasional
829 clumsy maneuvers on the part of USCAR have only provided them with more ammunition. For example, various labor organizations and the People's Party (which is pretty clearly affiliated with the Communist Party of Japan) were planning to stage a parade on the First of May, 1954. USCAR opposed this, apparently feeling that the participation of the People's Party would make it look like a Communist demonstration. But in opposing it USCAR asserted that May Day is strictly a Communist holiday and on several occasions gave it the label "Karl Marx Day". A number of Okinawans pointed out that May Day was originally an American Labor holiday that had nothing to do with Marx, quoted encyclopedia articles to prove it, and concluded that the USCAR officials were either ignorant or deliberately misrepresenting the truth.

Actually, of course, although the adoption of May Day as a labor holiday had nothing to do with Karl Marx, it has been preempted by the Communists throughout the world, and the added participation of the People's Party on this occasion would have made it a Communist demonstration irrespective of the origin of the holiday. 648 829

Another rumor, not about corruption but about official policy, is one that we heard several times to the effect that the cost of the American occupation and particularly of dependent housing is coming out of the taxes paid by Okinawans. To the people of as poor a country as Okinawa it is nearly incredible that a country could be so wealthy that it is willing to build hundreds of beautiful homes (at an estimated cost of $20,000 to $30,000 each) in such a distant spot. This sort of belief is undoubtedly very damaging to the American position.

Attitudes toward American Negroes Since the first days of the occupation there have been Negro troops stationed on Okinawa. The Okinawan view of them and especially of their status in relation to white Americans is worth noting. The Okinawans do not use the word "American" or its equivalent for Negroes, but instead use one of several other words. Perhaps the commonest is 'kurombō' ("black-boy"), which may be identified with the English derogatory term "nigger". At any rate many Negroes on Okinawa have evidently made the identification; they are said to become angry when they hear the term used. The standard term, corresponding to the English "Negro", is 'Kokujin', but this also is said to be unacceptable to some; therefore other terms may be used when speaking of a Negro in his presence. One such term is 'iro-otoko', which means literally "colorman", but figuratively, "lover". The Okinawan attitudes toward Negroes are conditioned by three factors, Japanese racial attitudes, their observation of Negro-white relations on Okinawa, and the behavior of the Negro troops. 186 829

The Japanese are, or were before the Pacific War, a race-proud people. They classified the peoples of the South Seas and Southeast Asia as 'dojin', "natives", and their attitudes toward them were inclined to be colonial, exploitive, and superior. It is quite likely that Okinawans identify the American Negroes as 'dojin'. They probably have no concept of "colored" races; they certainly do not identify themselves with the Negroes as non-white. But since many Okinawans are aware that some Americans look upon Okinawans as a sort of "native people", the attitudes of white Americans toward non-white Americans are of especial interest to them.

In observing the American Army's treatment of Negroes the Okinawans have seen segregation and some discrimination. At present there are de jure no segregated units as there were during the Pacific War, but a unit at an ammunition dump near a village studied is still referred to as the 'kurombō butai'. The behavior of the Negro troops themselves is probably on the average a bit rowdier and less inhibited than that of the whites, partly because of an average lower education and partly because of some cultured differences especially in patterns of recreation. This behavior probably together with some stereotypes picked up from white Americans has made many Okinawans somewhat afraid of Negroes. Relations seem to be better, however, in those

428

In this illustration, the first son receives slightly over 60% of the land, ignoring type and grade within type. There was general agreement in all villages that the grade of land within each classification (grades 1 to 4 in dry crop land, for example) had little significance in inheritance matters. The grade is more important for tax purposes. [242] [651]

The example also illustrates two other principles: the natural desire to keep contiguous or close in land within the main family, using inconvenient or far off land where possible for house sites for branch families, or for arable land for second and other sons. In this illustration, the shares of the second and of the third sons could be equalized by subdividing plot #6, although its small area would not make it worth while, as 75 tsubo is a very low average size for dry crop land. [241]

Another practice, noted in Hanashiro and in Matsuda, is that the first son receives everything on the retirement of the father. This may be contrasted with a situation in which the father divides the property before younger sons marry and establish branch families. In such cases, the father might take the income from part of the property. But the more general practice is for the father to give all to the first son. Fathers may also make a will. When the first son receives all, it is the custom for him to hold property which the younger sons will need in establishing their branch families. It is in cases where the first son is given full disposition of the property that quarrels are most likely to occur, for much depends on the generosity and sense of fairness of the elder brother.[3] [593]

423 34

In Hanashiro and Minatogawa, it is important that younger brothers receive genya land. Genya is often translated as wild land. In Japan the term is usually used to describe treeless, waste, hilly, rocky, or rolling land unsuitable for cultivation. In Okinawa, the genya land may be in the center of a rice field; it may be a rocky mound with cultivation around it. It may be land in the mountains. It is almost invariably in grass (miscanthus) with an occasional cycad or scrub pine. [137] It is not owned in large tracts. In Hanashiro, the largest single parcel [423] is 4564 tsubo (3.77 acres), in Minatogawa 1333 (tsubo) (1.9 acres), and in Matsuda 6398 tsubo (5.28 acres), but these are far above the average. In Hanashiro it is important because grass is constantly needed for thatched roofs and other uses. [824] The importance of genya and its grass was well illustrated in Minatogawa after the typhoon, Ruth, of October 13-14, 1951. [731] These villagers own little land and many have no genya. They were obliged to buy the grass to replace the roofs of many of the frailer houses which had been partially or completely destroyed by the typhoon. [432] Genya is also used for family tombs. In Hanashiro, the genya [764]

[Text continues top of P. 133--Analyst]

3 The problem can be appreciated by analyzing the acreage areas of each classification of land and the grades within it, bearing in mind that the average farmer has hatake, genya, and often rice paddies. These statistics will be given in the following chapter.

311 Land appraisal made by people with long experience with the [242] capabilities of their soils under traditional methods of farming, fertilization, and land reclamation is very old in the culture. This in itself is a very significant fact about the culture aside from the obvious technical utility of a land classification system. [556] Land classification is important as a tangible indication of wealth as appraised by representatives of the village. This classification [651] is the basis of taxation of land. A grade two rice paddy pays a lower tax than a grade one. The system of land classification also [433] provides a basis for estimating probable yields.

Township officials are responsible for land classification on [632] a township basis, but each village does its own. In Gushichan township (Hanashiro and Hinatogawa) the elected mayor and his appointed subordinates and local farmers who know the land well have set up the system based on classes and grades of land. In Ginoza-son, the mayor performs a similar function. Since each village has its land classification, a table of correspondences makes possible the comparison of equivalent grades. A composite system for the township can then be made. Grade three rice land in Matsuda, for example, may be equivalent to grade two rice land in Ginoza village. By listing all these together, a village wide classification is made.

The main classifications (tōkyū) of land found in all communities are: (1) Rice lands, (ta, tambo), (2) dry crop land (hatake). It is very difficult to translate the word hatake. So far the expression dry crop land has been used. This land may be contrasted with the wet rice fields; it is dry farming land, usually on rolling slopes or upland. It is land used for cultivation of domestic plants except rice and one or two other minor crops. Rice and dry crop land are the two main classes. (3) Genya land. This word is also difficult to translate. It is variously rendered as wild or waste land, but it is neither wild nor wasteland in an economic sense. It is best described negatively as land not suited for cultivation. Despite its low value, it is important land for its production of grass, reeds, firewood and plant shoots for domestic animals. It is vital in land [185] conservation. The genya land, sometimes on steep or gentle mountain slopes, sometimes cropping out in the midst of cultivated fields or rice paddies, with its dense growth of grass, its occasional pine tree or cycad effectively binds the soil and prevents disastrous run off and flash floods. Around the village of Hanashiro, genya land is rocky and most of its vegetation consists of grass with some shrubs. Before the war, this genya land had more pine and cycads than at present, and the disappearance of the cycad and pine furnished greater opportunity for the omnipresent miscanthus, though there are occasional regrowths of the pine. In Matsuda, the genya land often is indistinguishable from the forest. But the trees are less dense and the privately owned genya is interspersed with the small cultivated paddies and fields. (4) House sites (yashiki, takuchi). There are usually two classes: the first class site is convenient and on a main road or lane; the second class is inconvenient, a rear house, or one

311 243 be lowered. If the rainfall is unusually low, the estimated yields may even be cut in half. Grade differences are also shown by the Gushichan tax table on rice land:

[651]

Class	Rate in Yen (per tsubo)
1	37
2	34
3	31
4	28
5	25
6	22
7	19

311 The grading of dry crop land is not so simple because various crops can be grown and there are difficulties in making equivalences of yields. The grading is more subjective and vague, with gradations based on the judgment of the land committee. It might seem that the grades of dry crop land based on subjective judgment would be difficult to agree upon. This is not the case. Farmers who have lived in the village all their lives, and who as children remembered the experience of their fathers, know their own and their neighbors' land well. Representatives from the village who suggest the grades are chosen by the farmers for their honesty, skill in agriculture, and knowledge of the land.

311 134 133 Depth of the soil, flatness, degree of stoniness and accessibility are the most important criteria. The first three of these follow naturally from conditions widespread in Okinawa. There often is very little topsoil. One can observe cuts in roads or sharp declivities which show soils only an inch or two deep before meeting the consolidated or unconsolidated rock below. The hilly and mountainous nature of the island enforces cultivation on slopes, summits, and rolling hills. Stoniness, whether large boulders or small pebbles or both is common. One of the occupations of the old in Minatogawa and Nagamo is to convert stony to arable land by tediously picking up the stones and throwing them into piles for subsequent sale in road building. But often the boulders are so large that cultivation must curve around them. These conditions can be seen to good advantage in Nagamo. In Manashiro, the soils are flatter, less stony, and deeper. Matsuda has wide areas of poor shallow and stony soils. First class hatake land, then, is flat, deep, with few or no stones, and suitable either for sugar or the sweet potato and the various common vegetables.

[887] [241]

311 With this standard of first class hatake land, the other grades are judged, mostly by inspection and through consultation and agreement by the committee. In the Gushichan township, there are ten such grades of hatake land, the tenth grade being so poor that it is virtually genya land. In dry crop land, probably the most important

single criterion is nearness, providing the land has possibilities. Good land, unless of substantial area, if remote and far from roads, is very time consuming and inconvenient. 311

Genya land in the Oushichan area has two grades. The criterion here is the presence of grass and small shrubs that can be used for firewood. Grade two genya grows little or nothing either because of the large boulders or because it has too many small stones or unconsolidated rock with little vegetation. If it were not for stones or such topographical factors as steepness or ruggedness, some genya land could be classified as poor grade dry crop land. There are, as in rice land, tax differentials according to grade of hatake and genya land: [824] [134] [133]

Grade	Dry Crop Land Tax in Yen	Wild Land (Genya) Tax in Yen
1	13	2
2	12	1.80
3	11	
4	10	
5	9	
6	8	
7	7	
8	6	
9	5	
10	4	

[651]

In Ginoza-son, the land classification system is substantially the same. There are six different grades of land classified according to yield in go per tsubo. (A go is 1/1000 of a koku, a tsubo about 4 square yards). [804]

Grade	Yield	Remarks
1	5	Two annual plantings.
2	4	Two annual plantings.
3	3	Dependent entirely on amount of estimated rainfall.
4	2	
5	1.5	
6	1.0	Mountain paddy, very uncertain, depending on rainfall; occasionally two crops a year are possible.

[433] [241]

Dry crop land is judged by criteria similar to those in Oushichan-son. Grade 1 is good soil and convenient to water with good yields as shown by experience. Grades 2 and 3 are convenient to water, but soils are of lesser quality. The classification is also based on experience. Grade 4 is in low places, generally narrow ravines between steep wooded slopes. Grades 5 and 6 have little or no water, are stony, and inconvenient. [134] [312] [133]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

311 Land classification in Okinawa proceeds from the village to the township and then to the whole island. Each class of land in a village has its own grade. By combining these grades a township classification is made. This is done first by village committees determining the grades for each of their classes of land, and then by setting up a table of equivalences after discussion by the committee representing the whole township. Matsuda's first grade dry crop land might be considered by the land classification committee to be equal in quality to Ginoza village's second class land. While there might be only six classifications for any one village, when all these are combined, there may be ten grades for the township. This is shown by the table of correspondences for Matsuda and neighboring villages in Ginoza-son, as of November 1951.

In this illustration, Matsuda's first class rice land is considered second grade on a township wide basis; its sixth grade dry crop land is grade nine, and its first and second class houses are by comparison, grades three and four in the whole township.

311 623 632 With minor variations, the procedures in classifying land are the same in both townships. Each village makes the classification of its own land. This is done by five villagers, chosen by the people for their knowledge and integrity. In Gushichan township, village experts are designated to serve on the township committee.[8] Seven men from the villages are joined by the mayor (sonchō), the vice-mayor (joyaku), the trade and industry section head, the agricultural section head of the township office, a total of eleven men, who then determine the township classifications. These committees make inspections of doubtful cases, often after working hours. The field trips usually end [574] up with a sake party.

In Ginoza-son essentially the same procedures are followed. Each village sends representatives, the number being determined by the area of the village. In late 1951, this village-wide committee had 24 members with the township mayor as chairman. Each village prepares its own land classification map. The local classifications, later combined to make a township-wide classification, have the advantage of limiting the range of grades in a small area and of comparing parcels close together.

Occasionally the grade of a plot is changed to correct an error or to make it consistent with an improvement. A new road may make a plot of land more accessible and thus change its grade.

311 651 433 556 In all the villages studied, land classification was important for the same reasons: for tax purposes, for estimating future production, and for the individual farmer, a means of demonstrating tangible wealth.

8 One representative each is chosen from the villages of Gushichan, Aragusuku, Koshihara, and Nakaza villages, one from Oton and Hanashiro combined, one from Asato and Yoza combined, and one from Hinatogawa-ikku and Hinatogawa-niku combined.

fuel. The usual practice here too is to clear cut up a steep hill or mountain, the lower and more convenient the spot, the more efficient the clearcutting. Weeds, shrubs, grasses, and the Yambaru bamboo have quickly taken the place of the trees. The man induced climax vegetation is grass and shrub. 313 [137]

Forest destruction in Okinawa does not seem to have reached the alarming proportions observed in Japan.[6] The destruction of the war increased the demand for lumber and firewood. This demand accelerated the dangerous practices and led to widespread waste.[7] Fortunately, if Matsuda is a good example, the roads were poor and underdeveloped, and the mills small. There was some brake on uncontrolled deforestation.

In the accompanying photograph of the Matsuda forest area, there was access to the summit and the trees there were cut down. For some reason, probably the steepness of the mountain side, the pine and shii on the slopes were not cut. The result was that tall stands of dwarf bamboo took over the spaces on the summit left by the trees, while the trees continued to grow on the mountain sides. [137]

Since the forest is owned by the village, any resident may cut trees for his own use. This custom has few dangers because it is a large forest with a small population in the environs. The cutting is scattered. The villager selects the tree with the consent of the village official in charge of forest control, cuts it and takes it to his courtyard. There is a charge of Y1 for each large tree, or Y1 for five small trees. This money goes to the village office. Villagers' personal needs are a small drain on the forest resource. [423] [624] [651]

The village government also sells wood. In lulls in farming, or when the farmer needs some cash, he may cut trees for the village. Wood cutting for lumber is a year round activity. September to December is the season for cutting firewood. There are two common practices in commercial dealings with wood and lumber. For cutting and gathering firewood, the village office pays Y5 a bundle, Y4 goes to the person cutting the wood, and Y1 to the village office, 60% of which it retains and 40% going to the township office. 313 655

Cutting and gathering wood is by no means an easy task. The walk to the forest may take an hour one way, though there may be truck transportation part way. The trees must be cut, the wood chopped up and made into the familiar bundles tied with a stout rush (often the i) and carried back or put in a central location to be picked up later. This marketing of wood on an individual basis is casual and intermittent. More continuous and larger scale exploitation takes place when the village office sells a certain area for cutting. The village takes 60%, the township 40% of the proceeds. 313 [655]

6 Ibid, 285-87. [Text continues on p. 232.--Analyst]
7 Okinawan forests, as cited, 2-3, 5-8.

60% of the proceeds. The trees thus sold are all cut down. After clearcutting, the area is left to natural reseeding. About twenty years hence, the clearing will again be sufficiently forested to permit repetition of the same procedure. This follows an established Japanese pre-war practice. This was known as the five year period share (gonenkanbun). The forest is divided into subdivisions, each 110 chō in area. (A chō is 2.45 acres). These 110 chō plots are in turn subdivided into five parcels of twenty-two chō each. Each year one of these five subdivisions may be cleared. 313 [804]

Throughout the forest, divided up into these plots, there may be a five year cycle of cutting, but not all the plots are available every year. If this were so, the forest could be cut over in five years. The system is planned so that there will always be parcels being cleared, those in various stages of regrowth, and mature stands. During and after the war, this practice broke down in favor of uncontrolled cutting.

If a family has little cash, a villager may pay his taxes in part by cutting wood. The village office pays Y4 for a bundle of firewood (late 1951), Y2 going to the villager as a cash payment, and Y2 being applied to his taxes for the year. [651]

The farmer makes frequent excursions to the mountains to obtain firewood or poles to make improvements in the compound, such as repairing a tool or food shed. Men do this work, especially when the distances are far, but the participation of women is by no means exceptional. Along the roads of northern Okinawa, one can frequently see old women walking down from the mountains carrying bundles of firewood on heavy poles. Much of the wood is hand carried from the mountains; if the farmer has a horse and cart or a truck, the wood is carried to a convenient road for loading and transport. [462] [482] [887] [494]

Charcoal is manufactured in the forest area. In Okinawa charcoal has many uses, mainly for heating and cooking, and for charcoal sticks (senko). Lumps of charcoal are placed in braziers and the sticks are used as touchwood in place of matches and in ceremonial and religious observances. Charcoal containers (tangu) are often constructed on the spot. These are round or box-shaped and made out of the dwarf bamboo. 314 [372] [796] [415]

Charcoal kilns are privately owned. They are of the simplest sort. The kiln may be covered with a rude housing, built up by poles and a thatch roof. A mound of large boulders and dirt is built with an opening on the dirt floor running the length of the firing area. Poles which have been stripped and cut in various lengths, from five to nine feet, are shoved in the opening and moved forward as they burn. The smoke comes out the back.

Forest maintenance and improvement is, in part, a result of community endeavor. With some exceptions, each person in the village from 16 to 60 participates one day a year in forest improvement (sōrin).[8] The participants are boys past school age, unmarried girls, and all men up to the age of 60. These people work without personal remunera- 313 [496]

[8] The usual meaning of sōrin is afforestation or reforestation. In Matsuda it is used in the sense of care and improvement of the forest.

436 no native money and used the Japanese cash, and that the Japanese
175 did not permit a native coinage.[2]

436 Up to the war, only bills of low denominations circulated in the villages. In Minatogawa, an old lady, now about 73, said that before the war she had never seen a Y100 note, which at that time was worth slightly over US$25. But since the 19th century, new conditions have pried the farmer loose from barter and self-sufficiency.
434 There is little to warrant a belief that rural villages are self-
511 sufficient. The most elementary obligations, such as sending one's children to school, require cash. An average rural family of five may require from Y40-60,000 a year.

Cash outlays include: (1) Entertainment, including the purchase
[574] of sake. Entertainment is an integral part of the culture and cannot be dismissed as a luxury. (2) Clothing. (3) Fertilizer. (4) Tobacco.
[388] (5) Soap. No soap is made in the home. American soap flakes are highly prized, but generally are not purchased because of the cost.
[262] (6) Hair cutting. (7) Food and food supplements, such as noodles and vermicelli types of paste, cooking oils, salt, soy sauce, meat, fish, seaweed (kombu), rice, if not grown and purchases from the import store. (8) Fuel, charcoal, charcoal sticks. (9) Transportation for business or pleasure. (10) Newspapers. Many subscriptions are can-
[204] celled when the price goes up. (11) Tools and tool repairs, but maintenance is small after the original investment. (12) School books and
[872] contributions to schools for purchasing special items. (13) Medicines and mid-wives' fees. (14) Occasional purchases of lumber, stone, or
[651] tile. (15) Taxes.

In the farming areas, sugar and pigs are the only significant
434 sources of cash income. Sweet potatoes, rice, eggs, and soy beans may be sold, but the amounts are either too small or the selling price too low to provide substantial amounts of cash. Occasionally younger sons may have jobs which bring in money, and a farmer or his sons may have a horse cart for hire.

In Minatogawa, cash outlays, in addition to the items already mentioned, are required for nets, gasoline, and oil. Cash comes from sales of fish, pigs, and stone. The lack of rice, an insufficient
[5] sweet potato crop for year round needs, imports of firewood from the north and the occasional need to purchase grasses for thatch make this community more dependent on cash than the agricultural community.

42 The economic problem of the fisherman is also different from that of the farmer. Both the farmer and the fisherman must pay cash for
8 medicines, fertilizer, alcoholic drinks, clothing, various special but traditional articles of the diet, taxes, tools, and supplies. The farmer, however, can produce much of his food. He can exist on sweet potatoes, bean curd, and bean paste soup, and if need be may spend little money on food. The fisherman cannot exist on fish alone. Fishermen without fields must depend on cash earnings to buy the

2 Hawks, Perry's expeditions to Japan, Vol. I, 160, 220-21. Chamberlain, The Luchu islands and their inhabitants, Geo. journal 5 (1895), 313.

Their acts are enforced in each of the villages by the headman. 632

The village headman (kuchō) is an intermediary between the people and the township government. He listens to complaints from his people, carries them to the township government for a hearing, and has supervision over official community projects and activities. The headman, like the mayor, is a busy, hardworking man. His pay, insufficient to live on, is midway between a salary and an honorarium. The headman of Hanashiro, for example, received Y720 per month, Hinatogawa Y950, and Hatsuda Y2000 a month.[5] The headman usually has a paid clerk (shoki) who works full time and may receive more pay than the headman. The clerk compiles reports of the village population, assists the headman at meetings, and is a general administrative assistant. 622 622 [465] [624]

The village headman is elected for a period of one year. There is no campaigning. The election generally is preceded by discussions among the heads of households, village elders, the young men's association and the women's association. These discussions reveal the candidates who are able to do the work and have the leisure and the money to undertake the responsibility. [66]

A village headman usually leads a harried life. Most of them regard their term as a duty to be discharged rather than a beginning of a career in office holding. A former village headman of Hanashiro said that, in addition to the formal meetings he attended at the township office, he had to visit the village office at least 15 times a month on some village problem, such as taxes, health and sanitation, or individual complaints. The village headman of Hinatogawa had a constant succession of problems: reports on overdue fishermen, getting water pipe lines from the mountains to the water tank repaired, taking charge of typhoon damage repair, and trying to have small improvements made in the village. The headman is caught between the township officials who need tax money and the villagers who complain that they have so little money with which to pay them. In Hatsuda, there was the same multiplication of problems involving taxes, need for extra school supplies or repairs, and road maintenance. [651]

Village headmen belong to no special age group. In one township, they ranged in age from 30 to 52. Age is not a decisive factor in their selection, but reputation, literacy, and friendliness are. Though there is a change in administration each year, the incumbent headman stays on one month after the close of his term until the new one has become accustomed to his duties. In some villages, the clerk is elected at the same time as the village headman. [624]

The village headman does not have, nor does he desire, complete responsibility for administering the village. Two groups are available for advice. The headman will not make decisions on important non-routine matters without consulting them. The first of these, the village council 623

5 For comparative purposes, the minimum wage for young Okinawan girls employed as maids for US personnel was about Y100 ($9.17) per month. [465]

of the permanent Tairan families fish; the majority of the fishermen are migrants from the surrounding islands who come for a season, leaving their families behind. A few families have moved in permanently. The fishermen supply Taira, but most of the catch is peddled in the Nago market by the fishermen's wives. Some of the more enterprising and mercantile-minded women in the village buy up fish and peddle it for a profit.

Two or three times a year, during February or March, large fishing boats from Henza Island land in Taira with whale meat. All the able women look forward to making extra cash at this time, for whale meat is considered a delicacy in homes where meat is rare. Blubber is eaten and used as frying fat. The distribution of whale meat is arranged by one village woman whose fishermen relatives from Henza supply it in response to her request. She acts as agent, distributing the meat to the women on consignment.

LUMBERING

The main source of immediate cash for most families is firewood. Forest land in the mountains is owned by the township and the village, except for some woods near the fields, which are personal property. The township permits the village to exploit a certain region surrounding the community in return for payment of a forest tax. This tax is levied on firewood bundles or on lumber sold by villagers. Everyone in the village is free to cut wood in the designated area in any amount he desires. This, however, does not imply that unlimited cutting is possible, for resources have been utilized so heavily that most forests near the village are almost cleaned out, and it has become increasingly difficult to find wood. Reforestation has only recently been introduced on a serious scale. Often villagers are found trespassing on land owned by the central Ryukyan government in order to cut from the less depleted forests there. Government officials are sympathetic to the villagers' plight, and they tend to dispose of such transgressions with a stern warning.

Men and women, and during vactions, some children over 12 years, go to the forest. Most people prefer to walk and work in small groups. To reach a place high up in the hills, they may have to hike almost a mile from the center of Taira. The steep, narrow paths made by woodcutters traverse the mountains. Following the approach trails during the day, one can hear voices and the sawing of wood from many directions. All lumber people carry a short handsaw and a heavy bush knife

the school. Classes are held from 9 o'clock until noon with one recess. After an hour for lunch, lessons resume for all grades above first. Classes, sports, and cleanup end between 2 and 3:30 in the afternoon, the highest grades staying the longest. 872

All grades receive instruction in Japanese writing and reading, arithmetic, science, music, and drawing. Social science is introduced in the second grade. Since each class has one teacher for all subjects, shifts from one to the next subject may come in the middle of an hour. The greatest amount of time is spent in teaching Japanese reading and writing. At first grade level the simplified syllabary is taught, followed in the second grade by another syllabary and the first Chinese characters. [871 177 191]

Parents maintain contact with the school through a Parent-Teachers Association, called by the American abbreviation, PTA. Every household is a member. Those with children of school age are regular members who pay 15 yen (12 cents) a month; others are supposed to pay 5 yen but have become so delinquent that their fees have been dropped. The actual PTA work is done by a committee from each village, including the headman and the heads of the Women's and Young People's Associations. The main purpose of the PTA is to support the school in some of its maintenance problems. Attendance of all parents at a general meeting occurs only once a year when elections of officers take place and the PTA budget is discussed and approved. 875 575

The principals of both schools are represented in township affairs and in the associations of their own community. Contact between village leaders and school representatives is therefore frequent. Since education taxes are the single largest tax item which villagers pay (80% of the total tax), this representation of the principals is a necessary but burdensome duty for them. 875 621 [651]

Township education taxes are supplemented by government subsidies. School taxes are paid by all households according to their income and average about 515 yen ($4.30) yearly. Since 1952, government orders require education taxes to be levied separately from other taxes so that people are aware of the amount destined for education; tax collection is one of the main problems in village administration, and school principals are sometimes called on to explain the need for such taxation and the obligations of individuals to carry their share of the burden. 871 658 651

The administration of funds and general school matters are the responsibility of an official in the township finance department. During 1954–1955, 310,344 yen ($2586) were collected by the township in education taxes. The government subsidy amounted to 3,716,397 yen [632]

871 ($30,970) for the four schools in the township. The largest expenses
658 are salaries, construction, and maintenance. Money is also provided for
[651] conferences, supplies, and other items on the school budget. The PTA budget serves to supplement the regular school appropriations, which are always insufficient to cover all expenses.

The concern with educational matters is carried into the community in another way. Taira has established a so-called scholarship incentive fund for which money is contributed by the village store and some prominent Taira businessmen from the city, such as the former mayor. This fund is used to give awards, usually notebooks or pencils, to all students, double amounts to those with outstanding attendance records. Honor students are not singled out. The largest part of the fund is used as financial help to families with one or more high school students and to widows with schoolchildren who have no other breadwinner in their family. This is another example of direct support of education by the community.

871 As with all matters concerning village life, participation of parents in school affairs and an interest in the school's goals and problems depend greatly on the educational and economic background of individual families. For this reason, scholastic standing of children is frequently a reflection of the interest and encouragement they receive at home. Incentive is therefore to some extent passed on from successful parents to their children, and if one can speak of a succession in leadership, it is partly determined by this instruction.

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Chapter 11

Recreation

517 No one can remain in the village of Taira for long without recognizing that its people have a happy faculty for enjoying themselves during those periods which they can spare from their work. The daily routine is broken by a good number of rests and holidays, and the full and unburdened indulgence in social activities at such times, without any ap-

746 one case investigated, the village secretary and most of the village people thought that a certain old-repatriate should be on relief, if only to receive money to obtain the tobacco he could not buy. The 'son' office was not told about his elder brother's second son, who lives in Osaka. Nor was any check made on the untrue report that he was ill, for no medical proof or witnesses are needed. Upon moving from his sister-in-law's house to a grass shack next door, he was placed upon the relief list to receive the monthly maximum of ¥250 (about $2.08).

746 (77) The 'son' office also supervises the distribution to persons on relief of clothes supplied by the American relief agency RIVAC (Ryukyu Islands Voluntary Agencies Committee). Each person receives free two or three useful items upon signing for their receipt with his chop. These are greatly appreciated by the recipients.

621 427 Rentals of Village-Owned Land Each village generally owns some grassland, some forest land, and a pond or two. These they rent out to the highest bidder. The 'genya' or grassland is rented anew each year, and the person may keep it in grass, or may convert it to dry crop land ('hatake'). The only requirement is that he must not let the grass grow long and shade the nearby crops. The plot owned by Tomoyose village used to be the village horse-powered sugar mill before the better one was built before the war.

Ponds owned by the village are rented out to the highest bidder in a [228] secret bid, for a period of two years. The renter uses the pond to raise [423] carp. Forest land, I was told, is not supposed to be owned by the village, so it is recorded in the land register as the property of a prominent private individual.

• 651 [632] Taxes The Okinawan farmer is subject to a great number of official taxes. The following is a list of the fifteen 'sonzei', or township taxes, of Kanegusuku-son. Legally these are called district taxes, or 'chihō-zei'.

Tax Name	Translation
Sonmin-zei	Township Citizens' Tax (on all persons who are able to work, except students)
Tochi-zei	Land Tax
Fudōsan Shutoku zei	Real Estate Acquisition Tax
Kaoku-zei	House (or Building) Tax
Kōgyō-zei	Tax for Industry (eg: 'sake' factory)
Gyubasha-zei	Tax for Horsecart or Oxcart
Jidōsha-zei	Auto, Bus and Jitney Tax (Motor Vehicle Tax)
Rajio-zei	Radio Tax
Denchū-zei	Electric Pole Tax
Tochiku-zei	Slaughter Tax
Chikken-zei	Dog Tax
Sempaku-zei	Boat Tax
Jitensha-zei	Bicycle Tax
Denwa-zei	Telephone Tax
Jigyō-zei	Business Tax

In addition to the above, a 'kenkyū-hi' (study charge) is collected to supplement the pay of the school teachers. The most important of the above taxes are the 'sonmin-zei', the 'tochi-zei', and the 'kaoku-zei'. In Kochinda-son there was instituted for the first time in 1953 an Education Tax, or 'kyōiku-zei'. In most cases this amount was about 10% larger than the 'sonmin-zei' amount. All Nanahan taxes have constantly risen during the years 1951, 1952 and 1953. In part this may reflect the rising value of the land, especially that converted into paddies. But it is also in part a reflection of the rising cost of government. The average of all taxes per household in Kochinda-son for 1952 was ¥486; the tax amount per individual was ¥104.[1] 651

Payments to Officials From the taxes paid by the 'son' citizens come the salaries of the village mayors and the salaries of those employed at the 'son' office. In addition, the 'son' pays for the transportation costs of township assemblymen ('son-giin') so that they may attend meetings held at the village office. The following is a list of the functions of persons working at the Kochinda-son office in 1954: 632

Title	Translation
Sonchō	Township Mayor
Joyaku	Assistant Mayor
Shūnyū-yaku	Treasurer
Keizai-shunin	Head of the Economic Department
Keizaika-in (2)	Member of the Economic Department (2 persons)
Sōmuka-shunin	Head of the General Affairs Dept.
Sōmuka-in	Member of General Affairs Dept. (doubles as Secretary to the Mayor)
Tōkei-shokuin	Statistics Clerk
Kōseki-chōsain	Census Registry Inquiry Clerk
Koseki-seibi-in (2)	Census Registry Arrangement Clerks (2)
Tochi-gakari	Persons in Charge of Land Affairs
Zaimuka-shunin	Head of the Financial Department
Zaimuka-in	Member of the Financial Department
Engojimu-in	Person in Charge of Relief and Aid
Shakai-jigyo-in	Person in Charge of Social Affairs
Shakai-fukushi-shi	Public Welfare Officer
Kōmuka-in	Person in Charge of Industrial Dept.
Nōgyō-kairyō-fukyū-in	Person in Charge of Agricultural Improvement and Diffusion
Shitei	Servant

On the village level there are other taxes that never enter into the official tax figures. Each 'hanchō', or ward head, collects in Tomoyose monthly about 10% of the year's estimated 'sonmin-zei'. This, however, is not that tax, but is used for the expenses of the village. Much of it goes to pay the expenses of the village clerk. 651 621

Levies In addition to the levy mentioned above, designed to supplement the low salaries of school teachers, there are irregular levies made for special occasions. One very informal levy observed during my stay was a collection of money for the reversion movement. Others include levies upon 651

[1] Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku, op. cit., p. 84.

Others include levies upon
• 651 organizations and families to support the athletic meets, or 'undōkwai',
[526] which are such a popular part of life in Okinawa.

575 Before the war the women's group ('fujinkai') and the young people's
178 group ('seinendan') levied a certain amount of soybeans against each member,
and when they were delivered the sale brought in money to finance their ac-
tivities. These organizations also made up special meals for local athletic
[524] favorites while they were in training, and provided a feast for them at the
526 end of the contests. Today the 'undōkwai' is on more of a monetary basis,
651 and there is a levy called the 'undōkwai no keihi'. In October of 1953, the
632 cost of the grand athletic meeting held in Naha was divided among the 'son'
according to the number of champions sent to the contest. Kochinda-son was
top grade in Shimajiri, and Tomoyose was a middle-grade village within
Kochinda-son. This grade was judged by the amount of arable land, its yield,
and the population. Within the village, households in turn are assessed by
three grades, according to their income tax records. These three grades
were "minimum," under ¥20; "middle", ¥20-50; and "maximum", ¥50-54.

621 Local Philanthropy From time to time the leading household heads are called
741 upon to donate money for improvement of village facili-
ties. Names of contributors and amounts given are written upon a wooden
plaque and hung in the village meeting house. The building of this meeting
house itself involved the gathering of such a fund, to which Nanahan people
gave a total of ¥1,450. Later a request for funds to buy a funeral stretcher
brought ¥350 from the household heads, and a road repair campaign netted
¥1,550 from Nanahan.

Somewhat the reverse of the above occurred after the Russo-Japanese
war when a particularly handsome soldier from the neighboring village came
back from the front. All the leading 'geisha' in Naha had long had the habit
of asking him to come to their establishments without charge. His return
brought such joy to their hearts that they got together a sum of money and
bought him a large plot of land near Nanahan.

52 Prizes at Contests From the time a youngster enters school and participates
in his first contest to the time when he shows an animal
at his last village or 'son' festival before retiring, all winners look for-
ward to some sort of prize to mark the occasion. In school the prizes are
generally beautifully handwritten scrolls, but as one gets older the prizes
assume the form of wooden trays and articles of practical use in the home.

858 Sale of Children When the SIRI team first arrived on Okinawa and mentioned
432 that we were interested in finding if the Okinawans still
[183] practiced the sale of children, sophisticated respondents feigned indignation.
Later on, as we were able to gain rapport in the countryside, a number of such
instances were forthcoming.

In Tomoyose a man got into debt over an effort to make a fortune in
sugar along about 1910. He was so heavily in debt to village people that he
was socially unable to live in the community, and moved to Itoman. There he
sold his son to a fisherman. The son is now a grown man with an Okinawan wife
and a mistress from Amami. His business is still fishing, although he also
owns a truck.

632 423 [651] The Land Affairs Department maintains the land ownership records ('tochi daichō') and issues certificates of land title ('chiken'). The head of this department ('tochijimuchō' or 'tochi gakari') together with the village mayor ('kuchō') and his council assesses land values for tax purposes.

632 744 The Departments of Public Welfare and Social Affairs are concerned with matters relating to relief, health, sanitation, etc. The functions of these overlap somewhat with those of the police and the Naha Health Center. One day each month a nurse from the Health Center is at the township office giving shots to children. Once a month there is a sanitation inspection of all the villages within the 'son'; the emphasis shifts each month---thus, one month it may be for mosquito control and the next it may be extermination of flies. Relief measures are also handled from these departments.

632 178 A 'son' assembly ('senkai' or 'songikai') functions as the legislative branch of 'son' government; it is empowered to enact local ordinances, approve the mayor's selection of employees for the village office, and make local tax levies. In Kanegusuku-son each of the eight villages selects two representatives ('sonkaigiin') for the assembly, and the term of office is four years. Before the end of the war this body was an appointive one selected by the mayors of the villages ('kuchō'); in turn the assembly appointed the township mayor. The bulk of the population had no voice in local government; today, however, both the mayor and the assembly stand for election. In all elections [666] for municipal and central government offices universal suffrage now obtains; all those twenty and above are entitled to vote.

632 622 The meetings of the 'son' assembly are too infrequent to provide effective representation at all times for the people. Regular contact between the people and the township office is maintained by frequent meetings of all the village mayors ('kuchō') with the township mayor ('sonchō'). This group, known as 'kuchokai' (village mayors' assembly), meets three times each month generally on the fifth, fifteenth, and twenty-fifth, though in times of emergency or pressing business it may meet oftener. Problems of general concern to the villages are discussed. These meetings enable the township mayor to keep in touch with the problems of the villages and what the people are thinking; they also provide the opportunity to inform and instruct the village mayors regarding directives or projects to be carried out in the villages.

632 651 One of the chief functions of the township government is to collect taxes for the central government and for its own needs. The following township taxes ('senzei', or in legal terminology, 'chihōzei') are those levied by Kanegusuku-son:

senmin-zei	Villagers' Tax. This is a head tax on all persons who are able to work between the ages of 17 and 60 excluding students, blind, sick, and crippled persons.
tochi-zei	Land Tax. For details see chapter on Land Tenure.
fudōsan shutoku-zei	Real Estate Acquisition Tax.
kaoku-zei	House or Building Tax.

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kōgyō-zei	Industry Tax.
gyūbasha-zei	Horsecart or Oxcart Tax.
jidōsha-zei	Automotive Vehicle Tax (all types).
rajio-zei	Radio Tax.
denchū-zei	Electric Pole Tax.
tochikō-zei	Slaughter Tax.
chikken-zei	Dog Tax.
senpaku-zei	Boat Tax.
jitensha-zei	Bicycle Tax.
denwa-zei	Telephone Tax.
jigyō-zei	Business Tax
kenkyu-hi	Study Fee. This is assessed on the basis of land holding, and it is used to provide a yearly bonus, 50% of one month's salary, to all the school teachers of Kanegusuku-son. The 'son' feels that the salaries paid by the central government are too low and uses this tax as a means of supplementing them.

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The following work schedule was copied from the blackboard in the township offices of Kanegusuku-son in May, 1954. All of the listed activities are those which must be handled in addition to the regular work load. Virtually all of the scheduled meetings required the presence of the mayor (sonchō); a number of these were held outside of his district (son). At the present time American work schedules are followed. Saturday afternoon and Sunday are regarded as holidays for the office staff, though oftentimes the mayor and department heads may work on those days if there is pressing business.

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Schedule of Activities for Kanegusuku-son Office
for May 1954

May
1st -
2nd - Sunday
3rd - Industrial Conference at Ryukyu-American Cultural Center, Naha.
4th - Welfare Week, May 4th through 10th.
5th - 'Kochōkai'. Meeting of all village mayors at 2 p.m.
6th -
7th -
8th -
9th - Sunday
10th - Meeting of all mayors of municipalities at Okinawa Kaikan, Naha, 10 a.m. Proclamation of law for welfare of children at Sekai Theater, Naha, 2 p.m.
11th -
12th - Injections for pigs for prevention of infectious diseases.
13th - Meeting of Assembly Chairmen's Association of Southern Okinawa at Agricultural Cooperative Club.
Injections for pigs.
14th - Industrial inspection of Southern Okinawa.
Injections for pigs.

One of his major responsibilities to the township office is tax collection within the village; yet, his actual powers are slight, as nearly all of his official acts are first sanctioned by the villagers or the township office. It seemed to the author that the chief role of the 'kuchō' was as an intermediary between the people and the township office or as an agent for the latter, rather than as an administrator. It would seem that the payment of his salary by the township instead of by the village is symbolic of his actual role. 622 [651] [632]

Assisting the 'kuchō' are several officers the first of which is the assistant mayor ('fuku-kuchō') who is elected at the same time as the mayor and serves for one year. He is paid ¥480 ($4.00) per month, and like the mayor he must be over 27 and a household head. In the absence of the mayor he functions in his place, and on all other occasions he assists him in his work. A village clerk ('shōki') is also elected at the same time as the 'kuchō', and serves for a term of one year; he is paid a salary of ¥700 ($5.83) each month. The main qualifications for this position are that one have a fair amount of education and a good mastery of characters for writing. The job holds little appeal since it demands much of the individual's time and affords little in the way of prestige or pay. In Kanegusuku-ku in December of 1953 three elections were held in an effort to fill this position before someone finally and quite reluctantly accepted it. 624 [465] [465]

An advisory body of four councillors ('hyōgiin') assists the mayor in his administration; they represent each of the four neighborhoods or districts of the village. They are elected at the same time as the mayor, serve for one year, and receive a salary of ¥20 (17¢) per meeting. According to the villagers this body has replaced the earlier yuushi which was an unelected advisory council made up of former village officials, the village equivalent of elder statesmen. The 'kuchō' never undertakes an independent course of action; he first consults the 'hyōgiin' and obtains their approval and suggestions before initiating action. 623 [465]

Each village of Kanegusuku-son elects two men to represent it in the township ('son') assembly ('sonkai'); they are elected for a term of four years. Older, mature men who have held several official positions are always selected. They also play a part in village administration and are considered village officials. At all meetings they sit with the officials, and their opinion is much valued. 624 632

All matters of real importance are submitted to the household heads who form the real body politic within the village. The electorate for the village consists exclusively of household heads; to vote in a village election one must be a household head or one appointed by him to vote in his place, but in township and national elections universal suffrage obtains. At one village election which the author witnessed in December of 1953 balloting began as soon as the meeting was called to order without any preliminary speeches or nominations. It was later stated that the election and likely candidates had been informally discussed among the village leaders and household heads so that there was no need for preliminaries. The same situation seemed to prevail when meetings were held to discuss matters of general concern; the apparent unanimity of opinion and agreement indicated that informal concordance had been reached well in advance of formal discussion and decision. 621 592 666

to the modern 'son'), was the land-holding unit. The administration of the 175
majiri supervised the distribution of land to the villages or mura (polit- 423
ical unit equivalent to present-day 'ku') where it was divided among the [632]
various families. The amount of land allocated to a given family was dependent on its size, age and sex of members, and social position; consequently the houses of the nuru priestess and local officials received a proportionately larger allotment than the houses of ordinary farmers. The distribution of arable land under this system at the end of the nineteenth century was as follows: 67.1% farmers, 13% local lords, 8.3% nuru priestesses and local officials, 10.9% newly-cleared land.[1] The farmers worked the lands of all groups.

The origin of this communal land allotment system ('jiwari seidō') lies deep in Okinawa's past far beyond the beginning of its recorded history. Redistributions were made periodically to compensate for changes in household size and fertility of holdings. These reallotments occurred at from four to thirty year intervals at the option of the local (majiri) administration, with the average being about every tenth year. Certain lands were excluded from redistribution, particularly the lands of the local lords. Usually the lands of the so-called yādui settlements made up of the younger sons of gentry families were also excluded. Newly-cleared land was placed in a special category in order to encourage land development; ordinarily it was treated as the private property of the family that cleared it and was not subject to reallotment. Despite these exceptions nearly 75% of the arable land was subject to periodic redistribution.

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Under this system the tax-bearing unit was the majiri, not the 651
family. Each majiri was headed by a jiturei, an appointed official from 632
Shuri, who functioned as an administrator, judge, and policeman; he was held responsible for the tax payment of his district and was subject to recall and punishment in the event of default. The state took no action against the family or household which failed to pay its tax; such matters were left to the jiturei and his assistants, who were free to deprive the offending family of all its lands if they saw fit. When a house defaulted, [672]
its lineage was held accountable and forced to make up the deficit; if the [613]
lineage was unable to meet its obligations, the entire village (mura) had [621]
to assume the responsibility. A marked feature of the old village was a number of granaries set aside for the community's annual tax levy.

Land valuations were permanently fixed in 1610 when the daimyo of 175
Satsuma had the region surveyed to determine the amount of tribute which 423
could be extracted. There was no reassessment until after the annexation, 651
although the overall tax levy was raised in 1635 and again in 1722. Only arable land was subject to taxation; no taxes were levied against house lots which were privately owned, nor against the forest and grass lands which were communal property. The tax levy for each majiri was based on the estimated productivity of its land at the time of the survey; it was a fixed tax and was never altered. It had been set so that in theory 40% of the yearly crop went to the government and 60% was to be retained by the

[1] Higa, 1950, p. 64.

175 family, but in actual practice the family often received a far lower percent-
423 age, since with a fixed tax there was no possibility of compensating for crop
651 failure, decline in productivity, and population growth. Tax payments were made in grain though cloth was also accepted. In addition to the inflexibility of the tax system there was a lack of uniformity in tax levies; certain areas such as Kunigami and the outer islands bore an unequal tax load, and farmers in all areas paid a proportionately higher tax than the officials and upper classes. These inequalities inherent in the system plus
[433] the periodic redistribution of plots served to curb any interest which the farmer might have had in improving his holdings; consequently, productivity was said to be very low.

423 Vestiges of this system may still be found in some of the peripheral
178 areas of Okinawa. The village of Oku in northern Kunigami-son still has communal ownership of its forest lands, and on Kudaka Shima off Chinen Peninsula a villager must turn his land over to the community when he goes to live elsewhere.

2. Okinawa-ken (1879-1945). Japanese Administration and the Termination of the Land Allotment System

175 Following the annexation of Okinawa, the new government embarked on
648 a program designed to integrate Okinawa (and the southern Ryukyus) into the
179 national state. The task facing the early administrators was a difficult one, for in addition to differences in language and culture Okinawa was poor in natural resources and possessed an antiquated administrative system. It was soon realized that modernization could not be accomplished overnight; therefore the Japanese allowed virtually all of the old customs to be retained during the first twenty years of their administration, and efforts were directed toward educating a sufficient number of Okinawans to assist
[565] them in carrying out the program. Though the old class system was abolished, members of the former classes continued to subsist on pensions now paid by the new government, and in the rural areas life continued much as before except that the mura replaced the majiri as the land-holding and disbursing
175 unit. By 1899 the government was prepared to introduce more radical changes,
648 and in March of that year Law 59 relating to land adjustment was promulgated.
179 Its objectives were to confirm private ownership and to determine land values for tax purposes. The importance which the administration attached
423 to this measure was clearly stated by Narahara Shigeru, superintendent of the Land Adjustment Board, "Now, the only way to reform the administration is to destroy old customs, but its accomplishment must be commenced with the reform of the system of land taxation, the very foundation of the old customs."[1] Following a mapping survey which began in 1899, officials went into the villages to explain the purposes of the law and to settle conflicting claims. Private ownership was generally confirmed in favor of the cultivator. By 1903 the land reform was carried through to a successful completion.

Private ownership of land was accompanied by the introduction of Japanese laws of property and inheritance; their combined effect was to alter substantially the prevailing social organization and economic balance of the rural community. Land formerly held by the family under the communal

[1] Summary of the Land Adjustment in the Okinawa Prefecture, 1904, p. ii.

allotment system was now entered in the newly-created land registries as the 175
property of the household head. In the past inheritance of the position of 648
household head by the first son had been largely a matter of status succes- 177
sion involving leadership of the family and certain ceremonial obligations. 423
Property succession had not been an important factor, for the private
property of the family had usually amounted to no more than the family 177
house and lot. Under the old land allotment system there was always land 423
available for younger sons who set up independent houses, but under Japanese 428
law the bulk of the family property was inherited by the first son. What had 592
been the function of the community in the past now became the responsibility
of the family, and since family holdings were usually small, the younger sons
were often landless. Informants stated that a father will usually do every-
thing possible to provide his younger sons with land, but he cannot do this
if it means jeopardizing the resources of the house. Continuation of the
family line for the purpose of continuity in worshipping the ancestors is
the chief responsibility incumbent on the household head, and in the rural
areas the land provides the major support for the house. With the rise in [166]
population there developed an increasing trend for younger sons to emigrate
from the rural areas in search of land or jobs elsewhere. The end result [602]
was a considerable weakening of family and especially kin group ties and a [621]
rapid decline in the communal character of the rural villages.

Though the creation of private property made possible the sale, pur- 175
chase, and rental of land, landlordism never gained a foothold on Okinawa. 423
Undoubtedly this is primarily due to the recency of private property and the 427
lack of time for large accumulations of land to be made. It is also in part
due to a lack of capital in the rural areas; most capital on Okinawa after [471]
the annexation and before World War II was confined to the hands of Japanese
businessmen and members of the former upper classes who seemed disinclined to
invest in land. Likewise the official Japanese attitude toward Okinawa was [648]
to regard it as a rather backward part of Japan not to be exploited as a
colonial dependency as in the case of Formosa and Korea. Glacken has sug- [171]
gested that the heavy fragmentation of the typical Okinawan farm would be an
obstacle to its sale; yet, the Chinese farmland is also highly fragmented
and landlordism has been common there for centuries.[1]

After the abolition of the communal allotment system taxes were ex- 175
tended to cover all categories of land whereas previously they had been ap- 423
plied only to arable land; however, government income from land taxes sharply 651
declined, as the moderate levies of the Japanese administration were con-
siderably below those of the Okinawan monarchy. Despite this reduction in [311]
tax load there has been a steady decline in the amount of land cultivated
since the termination of the old land system; this is clearly shown in Tables
III and IV in Chapter III, Agricultural History, Land Use and Diet.

3. World War II and the American Occupation

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During World War II Okinawa became the scene of one of the most vio- 727
lent battles of modern times. The entire island was turned into a combat

[1] Glacken, 1951, p. 160.

to take registration seriously until conditions are more stable. The Central 423
Land Office in Naha appears to be almost wholly out of touch with local 647
changes; for example, the extensive land changes subsequently described for Kitazato did not appear to be known or recorded on the maps in that office.

Taxation of farm lands is a very complex matter. Land assessments 651
are made by the district land office in conjunction with village leaders; 423
consequently, there is not only some variation in grading from 'son' to 'son' but also from village to village within the same 'son'. All land is divided into six categories: 1) rice lands or irrigated fields, 2) farm land or dry fields, 3) grass land or meadow (often erroneously translated as wasteland), 4) forest, 5) house or building land, and 6) miscellaneous, including graves, ponds, etc. It will be noted that only the first two categories are food-producing. The first five categories are sub-divided into grades depending on a variety of factors such as fertility, accessibility, availability of water, etc. In Kami Motobu-son there are sixteen grades of land within the five graded categories; thus, there are five grades of rice land, five grades of dry field, two grades of grass land, two grades of forest land, and two grades of house land. The tax is computed by the tax rate per grade of category times the area in 'tsubo' (1224 'tsubo' equal one acre). In Kami Motobu-son grade one dry fields carry an annual tax of 15 'sen' per tsubo; therefore, at current exchange rates (¥120 equal $1.00) a house would pay a tax of $1.53 (¥183.60) for an acre of this grade one land.

In regard to the matter of property inheritance there is some dis- 428
satisfaction with the present laws on the part of educated Okinawans. They 829
feel that the new Japanese constitution adopted during the American Occupation should also be enacted for the Ryukyus. The constitutional reform [642]
which took place in Japan after the war did not apply to the Ryukyus; consequently, Okinawa still operates under the old Japanese civil code except for certain gross inequities which have been corrected by military government proclamation. The new Japanese law holds that all children, regardless of sex or birth order, are entitled to an equal share of the parents' estate. In contrast, the old law, which still obtains on Okinawa, grants the bulk of the estate to the first-born son. Under this law property in reality is [423]
held for the family by the first son or household head; it is not his to dispose of as he sees fit. Educated Okinawans who discussed this subject 428
with the author expressed the opinion that the old law was undemocratic in 829
giving emphasis to the family over the individual, and they felt that Okinawa should keep pace with Japan in this respect. It should be emphasized, 184
however, that these persons were not farmers; the latter, most of whom are not too well educated, tend to regard the present laws as just, since the emphasis is on preserving the continuity of the family. A further subdivision of the typical Okinawan farm into still more fragmented plots would do little to improve the prosperity of the rural areas.

Statistics show (see chapter on Agricultural History) that since the termination of the communal land holding system in 1903, there has been a steady decrease in the amount of land cultivated on Okinawa. That this has continued unabated at the same time that the population has rapidly increased seems a paradox. Most certainly improvements in crop yields through research development have not been sufficient to offset this. Nor has the tax burden been excessive or crushing; in fact, quite the contrary is true since the Japanese substantially reduced land taxes when they abolished the communal system. What is more, the shortage of food has for many years necessitated importation of a considerable portion of the food consumed, and in view of the limited job opportunities in pre-war Okinawa, it seems unlikely that this means of livelihood would be overlooked. It would seem that the major reasons for this decline are cultural and historical. 178 241 [311]

It will be recalled that the farmer in the Okinawan kingdom lived in a state of serfdom; class differences were in effect those of caste. When freed from the restrictions by the Japanese, many were likely eager to depart from the farm village. The status of the farmer traditionally has been quite low on Okinawa. People dislike farming, and those who do farm state quite frankly that they are farmers only because they know nothing else, being poorly educated or possessed of little ability. No young men were heard to express a desire to become farmers, and no father wishes this occupation for his son. Pitts and the author noted in studying the household registries for their respective villages that not infrequently the first son has left the farm to seek employment elsewhere, quite contrary to usual Japanese practice. Farming is not a goal for the Okinawan youth today, and at the University of the Ryukyus the quotas for admission to agricultural studies were barely filled in 1954 whereas some of the other departments had three and four times as many applicants as openings. Centuries of a communal land ownership system left the farmer with no feeling of attachment toward his soil such as exists among the Chinese peasantry. Land was frequently reapportioned, and no plots were retained long enough by a given cultivator to give him a feeling of proprietorship. It is said that few ever tried to improve their holdings, as they felt these would soon be allotted to another. 178 241 554 [566]

The nature of taxation under the communal land system together with slowly rising population also made necessary a greater exploitation of land resources than is necessary today. The old tax rate was fixed and was set at a ratio of 40%. If the government had set 100 koku per year as the expected yield for a given village, then the government demanded 40 koku from that village each year. This may perhaps have been satisfactory to the villagers at the time of assessment, but as the population slowly rose there were more mouths to feed out of the villagers' 60 koku portion, and there was no respite from the tax demands in time of crop failure. Consequently, there was increasing pressure to bring more and more land under cultivation; undoubtedly, inferior, low-yield, idle soils were made into farm land. After the peasant was freed from this system and the trend toward sugar production began, foods were imported from outside, and the slow contraction of arable land figures began. 178 241 651 311

The average Japanese farm of 2 1/2 acres and the average Chinese farm of over 4 acres contrast strongly with the Okinawan average (and most are 241 433

462 heavy sods in the rice paddy; nevertheless, women and younger girls
[241] often do this work along with the men and boys if time runs short. There are some women who prepare their farm land without the help of their husbands.

[313] In mountain work, women produce almost as much as men except that they do not handle the large logs. Even pregnant women make
[843] three or four daily mountain trips, sometimes up until the day of childbirth. Only the mode of carrying wood, like any load, differs for
[482] the sexes: a man uses a carrying stick supported on his shoulder, with two bundles attached to each end; a woman carries bundles on her back, tied and held in place by a tump line tied over her forehead. Women can carry loads of 100 to 120 pounds in this manner.

[312] Men seldom carry water from the tank or faucet to the house; this is considered women's work, although younger boys are expected to
241 help at times. Work in the potato fields is mainly women's respon-
462 sibility. Their hands are also preferred in rice transplanting, where dexterity is needed in pulling out the tender shoots from the seed bed and replanting them in straight rows at measured intervals. Occasionally a young man helps, and boys sometimes try to work along with their sisters when they learn transplanting. Both men and women sow
462 the seed beds. In special activities, such as house building, a more dis-
[342] tinct division of labor can be observed. In any building activity, men do the structural work and women carry materials and cook for the
[653] men. The same division of labor is found on community projects, road building, fencing against wild pigs, or repairing the water pipes. In general, however, no special comment is made if either a man or woman performs work usually done by the opposite sex.

887 Men and women work in the fields and forests from ages 15 to 60.
462 When they approach 60, men like to "retire." If possible, they turn over their responsibilities as household heads to their eldest sons. From
[464] then on, they tend to stay home more and more. They can still help with less demanding work, making bamboo rings for firewood bundles, sawing wood, or doing odd jobs around the house. Approaching old age, most men become economically useless and in other ways contribute little to society. For old women, quite the contrary is true. Even grandmothers who are well over 60 seem strong and active. Most of
[241] them go to the fields to plant or harvest potatoes or other vegetables. One woman, well into her sixties and bent over from arthritis, took long walks to distant potato fields, with a heavy load of slips or potatoes in a basket on her back, a hoe on top of it, supporting herself on a
[855] stick. Other grandmothers look after the youngest children, thus freeing the mother for work. Old women also cook, help bundle firewood,

and look after the sick. Even if they are too old for any work, like two oldsters over 80 years, they can still hold the youngest grandchild. Two exceptional old men, brothers of almost the same age, pass their time by making rope bags and mats from the fiber of the fan palm. Both are active as financial experts, investing money here and there and lending it for high interests in various shrewd transactions.

INFORMAL AND FORMAL COOPERATION

Cooperation plays a prominent part in Taira economy. Assistance is always given for major tasks, such as preparing grass land for farm use or house building, or for work which must be done quickly, such as transplanting rice or harvesting and milling sugar. In fact, since wet rice cultivation depends on assistance in any culture that works its paddies by hand, it is noteworthy that the term *iimarû*, used in Taira for labor exchange in planting and harvesting, is also extended to other mutual assistance. The term, literally translated, means "gathering by rotation." A family who plans a project that needs the help of others makes an informal arrangement with relatives or neighbors to help for one or more days. This is simply done by notifying individuals that such help is needed. No one, unless he has urgent reasons, would refuse to comply with a call for assistance. If it is a small task, a few close relatives are asked. In most larger undertakings, it is the neighborhood group that lends a hand. These mutual-assistance groups usually form within the central village and within each of the geographical clusters of the outlying village, although close relatives from other parts of the community may be called. However, the most recent arrivals in Taira, all present members of one family line who have the same surname, act jointly in reclamation of neglected fields to strengthen their economic position.

Return services are expected, but nobody would admit that there is any thought of equal compensation and would not even joke about the matter. There is a strong feeling that calculated thinking is unseemly not only among relatives but also among unrelated neighbors. One man, when asked what would happen if a person refused to comply to a request for help, answered, "There is no such dirty person, and if there were one, he would be an outcast." During the rice planting season, persons helping in another's fields will shortly be helped themselves. In housebuilding, a long time may pass until those who aided will need aid in return.

Except for people over 56, pregnant women, and mothers of chil-

653 dren under 3 years, every adult past school age, male or female, is required to work on community projects if called by the village head. [464] Officials may pay the village for exemption from this duty. There are two kinds of community corvées, those in which every adult and qualified member of a household has to participate, and those in which only one household representative is required to attend. As many as 12 days a year may be spent by each villager on road construction, clearing of village land, improvement of village-owned tea fields, or in similar projects. In some cases, where the central government has granted support, this work may be compensated by a small payment. More often, however, it is a free contribution to the village effort.

474 The strength of deeply rooted cooperative behavior seems to have been an essential factor in introducing formal cooperatives successfully in this area. The northern village of Oku is credited with being the first community in Kunigami province to organize a cooperative store in 1906. Initiative for this organization was provided through the Japanese administration. Taira was the first village in present-day Higashi township to establish a cooperative. In 1918 the village was poverty stricken, and village leaders, the president of the Young People's Association, one of the teachers, and others, made a study of the Oku organization. They then convinced the Taira headman of the great possibilities. Over the years the Taira cooperative supported by the majority of Tairan households, through buying of mountain products, marketing, running the store, and sugar production, tried to improve the village economy. One immediate result was that the indebtedness to money lenders from outside the village, especially to the owners of sailing junks which transported mountain products south, could be avoided. Up until the war the cooperative flourished and improved economy.

The end of the war found the village cooperative totally defunct, and it took several years to restore the organization. At present it owns the store, the sugar mill, and the truck. It also controls the use of the [245] village-owned tea fields in which everybody has the right to grow at least one row of tea bushes.

474 Shares in the cooperative are held by households, and almost every-
621 one in Taira is a member. The two directors and several officers are elected by shareholders. Actually the directorship does not change often, and the most influential leaders usually hold the office. They may initiate measures which will aid the village economy, but they have no absolute power: a check and balance system protects the people. As one person put it, "It is always necessary to have a few persons outside the business so that they can check what is going on. If people of the

on one's mother's side and, after marriage, the wife's family. In seeking mutual assistance for rice planting, house building and other undertakings, such relatives may be approached. In other words, kin, neighbors, and members of the same geographical section of the village participate almost equally in mutual assistance groups. Maternal relatives join in family celebrations and in the discussion of family matters. Since many decisions are made jointly with the help of relatives, there are frequent occasions for the kindred to gather in the evening at one house or another.

Each Okinawan also belongs to an age group. As will be described in the section on socialization, beginning at kindergarten an Okinawan becomes associated with a group of boys and girls who will remain his companions through school. As a member of junior high school he will join the formal Student's Association, which is responsible for certain community projects. High school students and all unmarried young adults belong to the Young People's Association, which is both a social group and a cooperative work group.

After marriage there are several associations which one may join. Adult married women who are under 57 belong to the Women's Association, which is affiliated with an island organization dedicated to "modernizing" women's lives. The organization is lead by a few women who are in contact with the district and island organization. They attempt at semisocial gatherings to introduce changes aimed at easing the burdens of daily life and the pressure of poverty. For example, they are trying to influence the women to return to making their own bean paste rather than spending precious cash. The leaders show the women how to make bean paste and encourage them to set aside one work-free day a month to catch up with neglected housework. Many of the efforts of the organization, however, are not too successful. Most women go back to their homes and find that the accustomed ways are easier to follow. One has learned to live with economic pressures and tradition and established custom is a strong force. So the few forward-looking women have a difficult task in rallying others.

Both adult married males and females may also join an organization similar in objective—the Home Improvement group. Although the men who are village leaders belong to this association, the majority of the members are the same women who are leaders in the Women's Association.

Before World War II there was an association of older men.* Although this group seldom, if ever, meets, it still sends a representative to the village council and to a few village functions.

* Apparently of relatively recent origin.

Both adult men and women also belong to mutual assistance groups, mutual loan associations, and to the work groups described in Chapter 3. All individuals between 16 and 57 are expected to cooperate in community work projects. All households are members of the village cooperative. Since most villagers look to the cooperative for help in improving their economic conditions, this draws them together in a familial way. 571 [653] [474]

It will be noted that age and marital status are prerequisites for membership in most of these associations and that only one is exclusively for women and one exclusively for men. 575

Taira culture is essentially egalitarian. Personal status is not ascribed by membership in social classes or achieved by the accumulation of wealth. Furthermore, although power and respect are the attributes of certain village offices, such as headman and school teacher, these only give rank *ex officio*. An ex-headman has no higher status than one who has never held such an office. 554

There are factors, however, which do differentiate Tairans as to personal status. Men have somewhat more power and command more respect than women; adults must be addressed respectfully by children; older siblings have more authority and privileges than younger; and in recent years the educated are somewhat more respected and are more likely to be chosen to hold office than those with the minimum required amount of schooling. And since education often leads to better jobs, greater wealth is sometimes associated with status, though not a necessary prerequisite. [562]

The status of women in Okinawa, although, ideally, inferior to that of men, is in reality relatively high. Many cultural forms are based on the principal of male superiority, which Japanese values tend to reinforce, but there are numerous indications in daily life that women command a comparatively high degree of respect and power. It is difficult to assess to what degree status differences have been influenced by contact with Japanese; the importance of women in religious affairs suggest their higher status prior to the introduction of the Japanese school system in Taira. 554 562 177

As will be discussed in the chapter on religion, although the veneration of one's father's ancestors is the core of one part of Okinawan religion, the ceremonies are run by the women. The oldest male of each main house and the household head in each household are nominally responsible for keeping the tablets of the ancestors on his house shrine, but the actual upkeep of this ancestral shelf and the bimonthly offerings are performed by the women. If no direct male descendant is available to keep the ancestral tablets, a widowed woman retains them 769 782 562

like "owners" of the concrete objects which they inhabit. These objects can be made subservient to human needs if care is taken not to offend the deities. As long as proper ritual observances are performed, humans need not fear their hostility. They are addressed in prayers and chants, and people make offerings to them at several ceremonies during the year. No one in Taira, including the priestess, has any exact knowledge about their characteristics, and there is no theological dogma, but people know that when building a house, for example, one must announce his intention to the deities and pacify these spirits who have been carried with the lumber from the mountains or with gravel from the beach and the sea. They must be thanked for letting the builder use such materials and sent back to their natural abode. Before the house is finished, the surrounding plot of land must be cleared of all evil spirits. Neglect of such ceremonies can turn supernatural beings into adversaries. One family who neglected proper rituals on their house lot when they built their home tried to appease angry deities by holding a ceremony a year after the house was finished because bad luck had befallen members of the household. Although most supernatural beings can be pacified by proper observance of rituals, there are some who are inherently malevolent. These ogres may be seen in the form of fire balls or in some other shape or physical appearance.

The worship of these nature deities and the observance of ceremonies in their behalf are in the hands of the high priestess and her female assistants. In former times each main house, later each village, had its own priestess. The present high priestess in Taira derives her office from a much later institution, a nation-wide hierarchy of religious officials established by the Okinawan king in an effort to combine religion with political influence and supervision in the villages. Today the high priestess has no association with the central government; the Japanese abolished the system. The hierarchy of female religious officials (see Lebra: 1958), those representing main houses, and the chief village priestess is no longer clearly delineated in Taira, since representatives of several offices have left the island or died, and the vacancies have not been filled. The high priestess has taken over most of the religious functions. Her chief assistants are older women from the two main houses. While these three women officiate, several other women are in attendance as helpers. In spite of the diminishing role of animistic religion in the daily life of younger people, the high priestess still enjoys prestige in the community. She is exempted from communal labor in recognition of her status.

The present high priestess is a woman in her fifties who works and

857 fed every day. This is a job for him, and if he does not do it he gets
866 a scolding. . . . My husband does not believe in letting him play too much, and so K. has to take his job seriously—otherwise he will get scolded by his father."

The mother of a 5-year-old girl, after mentioning that she washes her own hair and shoes, said, "The day before yesterday she helped me clean up the place after eating, and so I told her that if she would do this two times a day for me, she would get one yen. She said she would do it, but I don't expect much because she is still
[861] too young." The girl's father is a township employee, but giving one yen as reward is also done by other mothers when they feel that a child has done more than can be expected at that age. Of her 8-year-old daughter, a mother says that "she can mop the floor, fetch water, watch the baby, and serve rice into the bowls at dinner time. But she does not really have to do these chores regularly. Whenever I am busy I ask her to do these things for me," and she adds that her girl very seldom refuses, but "if she should not do what I ask her to, I scold her." And the mother of another girl, 7 years old, tells that her daughter's job is "to mop the floor every day. She knows that it is her responsibility and she has to do it. When she does not do it,
[861] she gets a scolding until she does it. She usually does it, though, with-
[855] out too much difficulty." Only a few mothers point to care of younger siblings as one of the duties. It simply seems to be taken for granted so much that it is not even mentioned.

857 An enthusiastic 6-year-old girl surprised her mother one day, not
866 long after starting school, by taking the family laundry to the well
296 and washing it. When she returned, she hung out the wash carefully to dry, then went out to join her playmates. The mother came home, examined the wash, and found that it still needed a good scrubbing. Quickly gathering the once-washed clothing, she hurried down to the well. She chose a path around the back of the house to avoid being seen by her daughter. That night she thanked the girl for doing the wash and helping her so much. "I did not want to hurt her feelings by telling her that the washing was still dirty. It was fortunate that she did not see me going down to wash it the second time, for if she did, she would have been discouraged and might never have done it again," reported the mother.

857 The community as a whole also makes some demands on these
866 children of school age. Several times a year they sweep the streets
● 653 and adjoining public areas in the morning, before they leave for school.

Children seem to have an ambivalent attitude toward greater pres-

415 not use household equipment in their games. Instead they find broken Children do
857 dishes, old cans, and other discarded items in the trash heap.

354 The kitchen has no equipment other than the open fireplace with
[776] three hearth stones and a shelf above it on which a salt column, sym-
[654] bolizing kitchen deities, is kept. During the last few years, the Ryukyan government Home Extension Service has been trying to introduce brick stoves into farmhouses. Several families now have this kind of stove although it is expensive to build.

356 As far as can be superficially discerned, the home is kept clean. A visitor usually finds the floor of the house free of dirt. Footgear is taken off before entering, and children are reminded to wash their bare feet before going into the house. Less care is given to the area around the kitchen.

312 Outside the kitchen stand one or two jars to store water. A dipper is
415 kept nearby, and children playing in the vicinity or adults often walk to one of these jars for water, which they drink out of a dipper. There may also be an array of pots, pans, crates, baskets, and other equipment piled up around the kitchen. Knives and hatchets are openly left around among the equipment behind the kitchen.

351 The courtyard is an important place for domestic activities. Here women and girls wash dishes, mix pig food in large kettles, make bean paste in a hand stone grinder, and prepare grain for storage. There are
[23] vegetable patches in one corner of the yard, chicken coops, pigsties,
[514] goat pens, and an outhouse in another. Most garbage is fed to the pigs;
[364] the rest is thrown over the sea wall to roll down onto the beach.

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Chapter 2

Daily Routine

805 There are few clocks in central Taira. Except for the township office,
512 post office, and village store, only two or three families own a timepiece. Twice a day, at noon and 10 o'clock in the evening, a clerk strikes

But actually no family is entirely self-sufficient, for each needs to purchase foodstuff as well as ready-made clothes, manufactured mostly in Japan, more substantial building materials, such as better grades of wood, tiles, and cement, tobacco, alcoholic beverages, sweets, toilet articles, some medical supplies, and other luxuries. Farmers buy their tools; students their books and writing materials. Finally, cash is needed to pay taxes. 433 438

In addition to the utilization of sugar, pineapple, firewood, and building materials for cash, Tairans also raise pigs for sale to slaughter houses, and some families derive an income from raising silkworms and producing tea. Fishermen sell fish inside and outside the village, and a small group of people are salaried workers or have an income from specialized services. [231]

Village leaders fear dependence on rapidly dwindling forest resources, still the main source of ready cash. They realize that the present modest living conditions of all families could be much improved if Tairans concentrated on increasing the cultivation of subsistence crops and farmed more intensively to raise cash crops. Most people lack this insight, however, and live on a day-to-day basis without much thought of the future. This is an island-wide problem which has the attention of central government agencies, and a great deal of educational propaganda comes to the village through government channels. 433 241 [313] [185] [654]

AGRICULTURE

The productivity of the land varies not only with its quality but also with the industriousness of the owners. Farmers who show foresight, those who seem to be under less pressure for immediate cash, take off more time from forest work to cultivate fields during planting season. The village headman and council members remind everybody during village meetings and informal discussions that work in the fields should not be neglected. With the approval of the whole community, the first and 15th of each lunar month have been set aside for farming. On these two days it is forbidden to go to the forests to cut wood. Such agreements are usually observed (as a rule), and they help to achieve their purpose but are not completely effective. 241 185 [433] [623] [313]

Rice is planted and harvested twice a year. The first rice is prepared in January when seeds are put into special beds where they are left to grow into young shoots until March. Until about 30 years ago it was said that all people seeded rice on the same day while prayers were 243 [782] [793]

Since

621 several finance groups are formed simultaneously in the village, and
452 an individual may belong to more than one, this system can create
more problems for the community than it helps to redress. Village
474 leaders therefore think that the cooperative could take over the loan functions at low interest rates more effectively.

433 Concern about improving village economy is genuine and foremost.
621 Since the whole island has common economic problems, many sug-
[654] gestions for developing sound village economy originate from the central government. There are many associations and movements which all aim at the same result. Their number is staggering and bewildering to the outsider. In Taira, concern for improvement of conditions is a program of the Women's Association and the Home Improvement Group, associations who try to introduce such changes as better stoves, making of bean paste by villagers, and saving during feasts. There is also an Agricultural Promotion Association which is concerned with improvement of agricultural practices, promotion of cash crops, and
[474] reduction of forest work. All these organizations, along with the co-operative and the village government, work together. An individual may be a member of several. Persons with enough knowledge and experience to assume responsible positions are limited in number, and the same persons appear as leaders in various groups. This puts a heavy burden on them, since few days pass during which their attendance after work is not required at one meeting or another.

Taira assumed a leading position in the township in improving agricultural and general economy, especially by promoting sugar development, pineapple growing, and tea raising in recent years. Mean-
154 while, low income and general poverty are a constant concern to every-
571 body but do not seem to result in constant anxiety. Security, as will be pointed out in other contexts, is provided by being a member of the kinship group and, in the wider sense, of the village as a whole. This helps to share burdens and thus reduce their weight.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

quire room and board are sometimes put up without compensation, and they agree, perhaps, to give some help with studies of the landlord's children. Only the village "doctor" takes transient guests, mostly visiting officials from the city, who pay for lodgings. 427 [875] [485]

Although the household head is a legal owner of the family property, there is a feeling that it belongs to the family and everyone in the household identifies himself with his land and house. This is expressed in the language. A person who is asked, "Whose rice paddy is this?" would answer that it is the household's or "ours." 423 592

In addition to the communal land holdings and the property of the cooperative described earlier, the following items are shared. The government supplies a breeding boar to each village; it is then left in the care of one farmer. This animal is available to pig owners for studding on request, and a small charge is made for the upkeep of the boar. A few tools are jointly owned by several households. Threshing machines were bought jointly after the war by two or more families to defray the high cost of such equipment. These families could be neighbors or relatives. Today many are complaining that joint ownership works hardships during the busy harvest season when there is heavy demand for the machines. As a result, everybody wishes to own his own machine as soon as he can afford to. For tea harvesting, special clippers are owned by the village cooperative and loaned to people as they need them. Since tea harvesting, though seasonal, is not done by all families during the same day, sharing of these tools presents no difficulties. 422 [231] [654] [476] [474]

Property of others is very much respected. Stealing among villagers is almost unheard of, except for some pilfering of green vegetables and fruits by children. Only one case was reported during the field-work period—a person tried to take some goods without payment from the community store. When a village meeting was called, and it was announced that the person's identity was known to the store manager, the merchandise was later replaced. Willful damage to fields is similarly strictly forbidden. No child would really think of doing such damage. But there are no formal rules about trespassing. Movement across other people's property is completely free and unchallenged. 421 685 [627] [867]

military competes with sugar as a primary cash crop, and cane fields are being converted back to rice paddies as fast as the farmer's resources permit. A more detailed discussion of the crop changes in the last two or three decades follows. 175 241 178 433

Chronology of Change in Crops The major changes in crops revolve chiefly around the replacement of rice as a cash crop by sugar cane, and the later reversal of this situation. About fifty years ago, rice was the chief cash crop. It was rarely consumed in the home, but was sold in order to meet the monetary expenses of taxes, and to buy occasionally the new commodities that were beginning to appear in the markets. Then, not long after the Russo-Japanese war had ended, the price of black sugar jumped almost overnight from ¥8.50 to ¥64 for a 150-'kin' barrel. Everyone wanted to get a share of this boom in sugar, and most began to convert paddy land into 'hatake' for the growing of cane. They were stuck with the 'hatake' when the price fell after two months. The Japanese subsidized sugar later, however, and most of the land that had been converted remained sugar land. [654]

When the people began returning to their farms more than a year after the end of World War II hostilities, there was little market for sugar. The subsidy had gone with defeat, and providentially the sugar lands were available for the growing of more sweet potatoes. American canned food and sweet potatoes were the main items of diet until about 1949. Gradually farmers began to convert 'hatake' to paddy fields, and to grow rice again---this time less for sale than for home consumption. [262] [177]

The old "bearded rice" varieties (fijimē and mēdakōja) of the nineteenth century were replaced gradually by the shorter-statured but higher-yielding 'hōraimai'. The bearded rice, planted only once a year, had a yield of about one-third the present variety, and had only five or six stalks per plant. The twice a year modern variety yields more and has on the average fourteen to fifteen stalks per plant. As a result of the adoption of the two-crop variety, at least one traditional ceremony was abandoned. This was the tentui, in which the whole village participated before simultaneously planting their seedbeds. Before the war, two-thirds of Okinawa's rice requirements were imported.[1] Indicative of the postwar change to rice are the figures for area of paddy-fields in Kochinda-son; the 114,142 'tsubo' of paddy in February of 1948 had increased to 306,220 'tsubo' by September of 1952. Field investigation proved that conversion to paddy has proceeded at least as fast since 1952 as it did prior to that date. 175 241 433 243 178

Before the First World War almost everyone in Nanahan raised forty to fifty 'tsubo' of millet. It was boiled with glutinous rice to make millet rice-cakes, or 'awamochi'. None is raised now. The same is true of cotton. "It grew only a foot high, but its fiber was very strong and would last a lifetime." Some other crops lasted into the post-war period. Until about 1950 textile bananas and yams were raised in Nanahan, but they both proved to be too weak in typhoons, and their cultivation was abandoned. 178 175 241 [252]

[1] Summation....July-November 1946, p. 25.

fuel. The usual practice here too is to clear cut up a steep hill or mountain, the lower and more convenient the spot, the more efficient the clearcutting. Weeds, shrubs, grasses, and the Yambaru bamboo have quickly taken the place of the trees. The man induced climax vegetation is grass and shrub. 313 [137]

Forest destruction in Okinawa does not seem to have reached the alarming proportions observed in Japan.[6] The destruction of the war increased the demand for lumber and firewood. This demand accelerated the dangerous practices and led to widespread waste.[7] Fortunately, if Matsuda is a good example, the roads were poor and underdeveloped, and the mills small. There was some brake on uncontrolled deforestation.

In the accompanying photograph of the Matsuda forest area, there was access to the summit and the trees there were cut down. For some reason, probably the steepness of the mountain side, the pine and shii on the slopes were not cut. The result was that tall stands of dwarf bamboo took over the spaces on the summit left by the trees, while the trees continued to grow on the mountain sides. [137]

Since the forest is owned by the village, any resident may cut trees for his own use. This custom has few dangers because it is a large forest with a small population in the environs. The cutting is scattered. The villager selects the tree with the consent of the village official in charge of forest control, cuts it and takes it to his courtyard. There is a charge of Y1 for each large tree, or Y1 for five small trees. This money goes to the village office. Villagers' personal needs are a small drain on the forest resource. [423] [624] [651]

The village government also sells wood. In lulls in farming, or when the farmer needs some cash, he may cut trees for the village. Wood cutting for lumber is a year round activity. September to December is the season for cutting firewood. There are two common practices in commercial dealings with wood and lumber. For cutting and gathering firewood, the village office pays Y5 a bundle, Y4 goes to the person cutting the wood, and Y1 to the village office, 60% of which it retains and 40% going to the township office. 313 655

Cutting and gathering wood is by no means an easy task. The walk to the forest may take an hour one way, though there may be truck transportation part way. The trees must be cut, the wood chopped up and made into the familiar bundles tied with a stout rush (often the i) and carried back or put in a central location to be picked up later. This marketing of wood on an individual basis is casual and intermittent. More continuous and larger scale exploitation takes place when the village office sells a certain area for cutting. The village takes 60%, the township 40% of the proceeds. 313 [655]

6 Ibid, 285-87. [Text continues on p. 232.--Analyst]
7 Okinawan forests, as cited, 2-3, 5-8.

313 tion, but the village receives payment, through the township,
47½ from the central government for this labor. In November 1951,
[465] the rate was Y80 per day for each male, and Y50 for each female. Married women do not participate, except to take the place of a husband who cannot attend. This community project is a continuation of pre-war custom. On the day set aside for this work, the participants are taken part way by truck or bus. A half hour walk over the paths, often leading through dense thickets, brings them to the site selected. Everyone brings his own lunch, perhaps in a little metal box, or merely wrapped in banana leaves. Around noon, the girls take their buckets, go down hill to the stream, and carry up the water for the tea. Weeds and grasses, especially miscanthus and the dwarf bamboo are cleared cut from the predominating shii and pine. A shii is known here as the shiigi or shiija. When work begins the area is almost an impenetrable thicket. The grasses and the thick dwarf bamboo have grown up in dense stands among the trees. Only these grasses are cut. Trees are not touched, except for the very young ones in overcrowded spots, or the malformed and dying trees. With the brush and grasses cut, the stand of trees is still dense.

When the undergrowth has been cut down, one can walk through the area. The cuttings, as well as the litter on the forest floor, are not removed. This wise practice keeps the soils at least at their normal productivity. In this area, the relatively low density
[311] of population, the scattering of settlement, the large areas of forest compared with the cultivated areas have not brought about conditions requiring the removal of forest litter for fertilising fields and for fuel, a practice which creates acute problems in Japan.[9]

The work is supervised by a forestry official living in the
[637] village but an employee of the township. His supervision is nominal, as everyone knows what is to be done and how to do it. Like all officials of a village, he is a friend, neighbor, or relative of those who participate. He checks off the names of those who have reported. On returning from the forest at five in the afternoon, most of the villagers bring back some wood, perhaps a long pole, a bunch of dwarf bamboo, or miscanthus to make an outdoor broom. They are lighthearted as they return single file along the winding paths back to the village.

Pine cones are gathered for their seeds by the co-operative effort of the villagers. The cones are soaked in water so the seeds can be removed more easily. The village office takes the seeds,
[C55] gives them to the township office which sells them to the central government for planting purposes. Once a year, the village receives 10% of the amount of seeds it collected for its own planting purposes.

9 A report on Japanese natural resources, as cited, 358.

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426

Hanashiro
Women's Mutual Loan Group
The Cycle of Loans and Repayments

Borrower of the:	Advances Made by Members	Repayments Made by Borrower-Members	Amount Available For Lending Each Month
1st Month	Y2000 (100 x 20)		Y 2000
2nd	1900 (100 x 19)	Y110 (110 x 1)	2010
3rd	1800 (100 x 18)	220 (110 x 2)	2020
4th	1700 (100 x 17)	330 (110 x 3)	2030
5th	1600 (100 x 16)	440 (110 x 4)	2040
6th	1500 (100 x 15)	550 (110 x 5)	2050
7th	1400 (100 x 14)	660 (110 x 6)	2060
8th	1300 (100 x 13)	770 (110 x 7)	2070
9th	1200 (100 x 12)	880 (110 x 8)	2080
10th	1100 (100 x 11)	990 (110 x 9)	2090
11th	1000 (100 x 10)	1100 (110 x 10)	2100
12th	900 (100 x 9)	1210 (110 x 11)	2110
13th	800 (100 x 8)	1320 (110 x 12)	2120
14th	700 (100 x 7)	1430 (110 x 13)	2130
15th	600 (100 x 6)	1540 (110 x 14)	2140
16th	500 (100 x 5)	1650 (110 x 15)	2150
17th	400 (100 x 4)	1760 (110 x 16)	2160
18th	300 (100 x 3)	1870 (110 x 17)	2170
19th	200 (100 x 2)	1980 (110 x 18)	2180
20th		2090 (110 x 19)	End of Period

The twentieth member, the banker gets Y2090 from the other members, which, when added to the Y100 plus Y10 interest which he would have paid had he borrowed the money, equals Y2200.

[655]
[177]

The availability of government loans for homes, part of the American program for the rehabilitation of the Ryukyus may point the way to an acceptable type of financing in which resistance to institutional borrowing is lowered. The mutual loan groups and bank and government loans, however, operate in different spheres. The sums involved in the small loan groups are too modest for a major undertaking, but they are substantial enough to help with minor, yet otherwise difficult, purchases or improvements.

3

Associations

474 Associations and co-operative groups of farmers, fishermen, and animal breeders, part of the Japanese program for the organization

director with assistants and clerks. The clerks are always young people just out of school who receive nominal wages in return for a seven-day work week. The township office employs as janitor a girl who keeps the office in order, serves tea at any time during the day, washes dishes, and helps to cook meals for entertaining. Her family owns one of the largest houses in the central village and more land than most others. No social stigma is attached to her job; in fact, most Taira girls would consider it a privilege to exchange their mountain work for her kind of employment even though they would earn no more. Another girl, employed by the local "doctor" as nurse and maid, lives with the family, eats with them, and sleeps with their children. Only one farmer employs a hired hand, a man from another township. 463 466 [647]

Among others living on a salary is the postmaster. His father held the same office, and his son is now trained to succeed him as the third in line. The rice miller, a man from outside the village and married to a Taira woman, and the "doctor" also depend for most of their incomes on specialized services. The latter owns his dispensary and small hospital. He receives some financial support from the township government. His services to people are compensated for either in cash or kind. Patients who are unable to pay at once will bring rice to his house after the harvest. These remunerations, pig raising, and other side activities make him, along with the rice miller and the postmaster, the wealthiest person in Taira. Local male school teachers also own fields, to which they give time in the afternoons and Sundays to help their wives. 463 [205] [759] [657] [465] [556] [875]

The priestess and her assistants, although they are religious specialists, are not paid in money for their services. They participate in daily work like the rest of the village. Only when performing services outside the community is the priestess paid a small fee. Within the village she receives the food and sake which are offered in the ceremony, whether she is called by a family or prays at the village shrine on a general holiday. 463 793 465 [782]

DIVISION OF LABOR BY SEX AND AGE

Men and women are equal partners in everyday economic activities, both in agricultural and forest work. Only a few occupations are clearly differentiated by sex: fishing, the handling of horses, and the carrying of night soil are done exclusively by males; housework and the care and feeding of pigs predominantly by women. Some agricultural work is considered too heavy for women, for example, the turning of the 462 [241]

744 tuberculosis, the public health nurse teaches the family how to treat the patient in the home by giving him rest and drugs provided through her. Isolation, though recommended, is not carried out effectively, as might be expected from the general treatment of sick in the village.

744 Like most public offices in Okinawa, the nurse's carries with it a large load of administrative duties. Between these and attending meet-
759 ings and lectures at Nago hospital, there is relatively little time to cover the long distances between villages. Taira is fortunate to be the residence of the nurse, and when occasionally a nurse from another township comes to help her with inocculations, the children crowd around her and say "We want 'our' nurse to do it."

743 The dispensary, or small hospital, in Taira is owned and run by a former medical corps man in the Japanese Army, referred to as "doc-
759 tor." After the war the government gave permission to a number of
758 former army medical personnel to practice on a limited scale in the
[844] villages. The Taira practitioner takes the place of a midwife, gives first aid, and diagnoses simple illnesses. If there are no complications, a patient requesting medical care may be kept at the dispensary, where a family member and the doctor's "nurse," a young female servant, attend to all his needs. If the doctor is confronted with a complicated birth or a case requiring surgical skill, he refers the patient to a private
● [657] clinic in Nago or to the public hospital there. The township gives financial aid to the doctor to maintain his establishment.

757 Penicillin has become the doctor's stock in trade, and other anti-
[278] biotics and drugs are liberally administered via the hypodermic needle. But the doctor does not restrict himself entirely to the use of rec-
[262] ognized Western medicines and practices. He may recommend special diets to which people have resorted for a long time, such as goat soup,
[759] which is believed to cure colds. Although the doctor has a high status in the community, most persons do not rely on his advice alone but resort to other practitioners and their remedies.

[759] Until a few years ago a popular medical practitioner, the bush doctor, resided in Taira. After his death nobody took over his work, and now many people have to travel far to receive treatment from a bush doctor in another village. His methods primarily include the use of moxa cautery, burning mogusa weed on the patient's skin, and acupuncture by the use of a fine golden needle. He may also prescribe a certain diet and the use of special herbal remedies, which the patient prepares for himself. Those who have great confidence in the bush doctor's competence, particularly older persons, do not consult the Taira doctor at all.

758 In all their dealings with sickness and its prevention, Taira people are severely handicapped by their economic conditions. Even families

the school. Classes are held from 9 o'clock until noon with one recess. After an hour for lunch, lessons resume for all grades above first. Classes, sports, and cleanup end between 2 and 3:30 in the afternoon, the highest grades staying the longest. 872

All grades receive instruction in Japanese writing and reading, arithmetic, science, music, and drawing. Social science is introduced in the second grade. Since each class has one teacher for all subjects, shifts from one to the next subject may come in the middle of an hour. The greatest amount of time is spent in teaching Japanese reading and writing. At first grade level the simplified syllabary is taught, followed in the second grade by another syllabary and the first Chinese characters. [871 177 191]

Parents maintain contact with the school through a Parent-Teachers Association, called by the American abbreviation, PTA. Every household is a member. Those with children of school age are regular members who pay 15 yen (12 cents) a month; others are supposed to pay 5 yen but have become so delinquent that their fees have been dropped. The actual PTA work is done by a committee from each village, including the headman and the heads of the Women's and Young People's Associations. The main purpose of the PTA is to support the school in some of its maintenance problems. Attendance of all parents at a general meeting occurs only once a year when elections of officers take place and the PTA budget is discussed and approved. 875 575

The principals of both schools are represented in township affairs and in the associations of their own community. Contact between village leaders and school representatives is therefore frequent. Since education taxes are the single largest tax item which villagers pay (80% of the total tax), this representation of the principals is a necessary but burdensome duty for them. 875 621 [651]

Township education taxes are supplemented by government subsidies. School taxes are paid by all households according to their income and average about 515 yen ($4.30) yearly. Since 1952, government orders require education taxes to be levied separately from other taxes so that people are aware of the amount destined for education; tax collection is one of the main problems in village administration, and school principals are sometimes called on to explain the need for such taxation and the obligations of individuals to carry their share of the burden. 871 658 651

The administration of funds and general school matters are the responsibility of an official in the township finance department. During 1954–1955, 310,344 yen ($2586) were collected by the township in education taxes. The government subsidy amounted to 3,716,397 yen [632]

871 ($30,970) for the four schools in the township. The largest expenses
658 are salaries, construction, and maintenance. Money is also provided for
[651] conferences, supplies, and other items on the school budget. The PTA budget serves to supplement the regular school appropriations, which are always insufficient to cover all expenses.

The concern with educational matters is carried into the community in another way. Taira has established a so-called scholarship incentive fund for which money is contributed by the village store and some prominent Taira businessmen from the city, such as the former mayor. This fund is used to give awards, usually notebooks or pencils, to all students, double amounts to those with outstanding attendance records. Honor students are not singled out. The largest part of the fund is used as financial help to families with one or more high school students and to widows with schoolchildren who have no other breadwinner in their family. This is another example of direct support of education by the community.

871 As with all matters concerning village life, participation of parents in school affairs and an interest in the school's goals and problems depend greatly on the educational and economic background of individual families. For this reason, scholastic standing of children is frequently a reflection of the interest and encouragement they receive at home. Incentive is therefore to some extent passed on from successful parents to their children, and if one can speak of a succession in leadership, it is partly determined by this instruction.

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Chapter 11

Recreation

517 No one can remain in the village of Taira for long without recognizing that its people have a happy faculty for enjoying themselves during those periods which they can spare from their work. The daily routine is broken by a good number of rests and holidays, and the full and unburdened indulgence in social activities at such times, without any ap-

can at least check all transients. Another important duty is to prevent the use of explosives by fishermen, a difficult if not impossible assignment, for he must catch the fisherman *flagrante delicto* when he lands with fish killed in this way. There is no indication that villagers assist the policeman in detecting offenders. 625 [226]

Policing the village itself is not a difficult job. The absence of crime and the low incidence of quarrels, disputes, and brawls would seem to make policing unnecessary. Nevertheless, the policeman interferes at times in disputes. He considers it his duty when actual blows are exchanged and somebody is hurt. In such a case he "investigates," takes notes, and makes a report to the police department. During the entire field work, reportable incidents occurred at about the rate of one a month; in the two or three cases where violence occurred, the matter was settled peacefully later, although the policeman kept a record of it. The rare quarrels which do occur are usually the result of drinking or domestic disagreements, generated by financial problems. 625 578 [674] [273]

The policeman plays the role of judge and jury. In one case a young man hit a woman and was temporarily detained by the policeman until he made apologies to the victim. In disputes over business transactions, the policeman often arbitrates. In a dispute in which a Taira woman was accused of cheating a trader from another village, the policeman heard the case and ordered the Taira woman to make refunds over a period of time. The villagers seem to accept such arbitration. Serious disagreements seem to be unthinkable, and everyone fears public censure and ostracism. Court action is extremely rare and is referred to the provincial courts in the town of Nago. 625 627 [692]

The policeman is given high status by the villagers and commands respect. He remains, probably by his own choice, a neutral person in village affairs. He attends village functions, where he is given a place among village leaders. Being friendly with many families, he visits and is visited by other men. It was noted that fishermen sometimes send a special catch to the policeman. But since this is a courtesy which is also common among farmers with regard to nonfarming people, such as teachers, one should not think of such actions as bribery. Mothers use the policeman as a threat in disciplining children. "If you do such a bad thing again, I'll take you to the police station." This, however, does not seem to instill any fear of his person, but rather a respect towards the general area in which the policeman lives. Village children play freely with the policeman's children, but his courtyard is entered less frequently by children than that of other villagers. 625 [554] [662] [861]

The head of the General Affairs Department at the township office is charged with supervision of public order. It is not clear how much this is a self-assigned task. During several occasions, when an alarm 632 647 625

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

HANS

575
621

Hanashiro 5
Hinatogawa 9
Matsuda 16

6

The Democratic Government of the Township and Village

The description of local government has intentionally been delayed to this point because its operation and functions can be seen to greater advantage after an acquaintance with family life and the various forms of group activity. We can see it, not so much a formal structure to be described in legalistic terms, but as an expression of many of the characteristics of the culture we have already found in the family system, group activity, and individual leadership. 128

Okinawa and the various smaller islands of the Central Ryukyus (Okinawa-gunto) is one of the four main political subdivisions of the chain. The gunto is divided into townships, and within each township, there are several settlements (buraku, ku, aza) which we have consistently called villages. Township government is the channel for the enforcement of laws and regulations from higher governmental agencies and the source of local measures which govern the several villages of the township. 631

The seat of the township government is one of the villages of the township.[4] In Gushichan township, the village office (yakuba) is at Gushichan village, while in Ginoza township, the office is in Ginoza village. 632

At the head of this government is a mayor (sonchō) elected for a four year term. There is no strenuous campaigning for the office. Friends may induce a well known man to run, then visit the villages, and ask the people to vote for him. A reputation for being kind, fair, and refined (otonashii) goes far in electing a man. Once in office he is extremely busy, and like the village headman, usually looks forward to the end of his term rather than to re-election. A new mayor appoints his own or reappoints the old staff. He chooses a vice-mayor (joyaku) with the approval of the village assembly (gikai). 632 622 [666] [577]

A township office generally has the following administrative sections: (1) a treasury and disbursing office (shūnyūyaku), (2) a general affairs (shomu) sections. The head of this section is in charge of the family registers (koseki) and of the registry of seals. These two important functions require a little elaboration. 632

4 The government actually described here is that of Gushichan township. It did not seem worthwhile to repeat essentially the same information for Ginoza and then to make minute comparisons and contrasts between them.

Their acts are enforced in each of the villages by the headman. 632

The village headman (kuchō) is an intermediary between the people 622
and the township government. He listens to complaints from his people, carries them to the township government for a hearing, and has supervision over official community projects and activities. The headman, 622
like the mayor, is a busy, hardworking man. His pay, insufficient to live on, is midway between a salary and an honorarium. The headman of Hanashiro, for example, received Y720 per month, Hinatogawa Y950, and [465]
Hatsuda Y2000 a month.[5] The headman usually has a paid clerk (shoki) who works full time and may receive more pay than the headman. The clerk compiles reports of the village population, assists the headman [624]
at meetings, and is a general administrative assistant.

The village headman is elected for a period of one year. There [666]
is no campaigning. The election generally is preceded by discussions among the heads of households, village elders, the young men's association and the women's association. These discussions reveal the candidates who are able to do the work and have the leisure and the money to undertake the responsibility.

A village headman usually leads a harried life. Most of them regard their term as a duty to be discharged rather than a beginning of a career in office holding. A former village headman of Hanashiro said that, in addition to the formal meetings he attended at the township office, he had to visit the village office at least 15 times a month on some village problems, such as taxes, health and sanitation, or individual complaints. The village headman of Hinatogawa had a constant succession of problems: reports on overdue fishermen, getting water pipe lines from the mountains to the water tank repaired, taking charge of typhoon damage repair, and trying to have small improvements made in the village. The headman is caught between the township officials who need tax money and the villagers who complain that they have so little money with which to pay them. In [651]
Hatsuda, there was the same multiplication of problems involving taxes, need for extra school supplies or repairs, and road maintenance.

Village headmen belong to no special age group. In one township, they ranged in age from 30 to 52. Age is not a decisive factor in their selection, but reputation, literacy, and friendliness are. Though there is a change in administration each year, the incumbent headman stays on one month after the close of his term until the new one has become accustomed to his duties. In some villages, the clerk is elected at the [624]
same time as the village headman.

The village headman does not have, nor does he desire, complete 623
responsibility for administering the village. Two groups are available for advice. The headman will not make decisions on important non-routine matters without consulting them. The first of these, the village council

5 For comparative purposes, the minimum wage for young Okinawan girls employed as maids for US personnel was about Y100 ($9.17) per month. [465]

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for keeping the population registry, with vital statistics and relevant 632
information on all township residents.* The Welfare Department in-
vestigates relief cases and receives applications for support from the [217]
poorest families. The Health and Sanitation Administration is primarily concerned with preventive work. Representatives from these five departments are supposed to visit all the villages in the township frequently to inspect and to discuss regulations. The officials and personnel of the five departments are drawn equally from all the villages and commute daily by foot, bicycle, or bus.

The township administration links the central government and in- 631
dividual villages. Numerous requests for central government aid, originating in each community, are sent through the township office. The government in turn deals with each community through the township administration. Contact between township and the villages is maintained by weekly meetings of all village headmen with the mayor and his staff. The village headman is responsible for carrying out township and central government ordinances.

THE VILLAGE

The village headman is elected once a year, in June, from a slate 622
agreed on beforehand during informal discussions by villagers. There 666
is no campaigning; in fact, the elections are treated more as a necessity
than a politically important event, and neither before nor after do they
incite much public discussion. This democratic process of elections is [177]
of post-World War II date. Before the war, the council of village leaders accepted a new headman only if the choice pleased them, so that the headman at that time was virtually appointed. Villagers remarked that "listening to public opinion is a recent change."

The village is still experimenting with the mechanics of a free 666
election. Votes are still restricted to household heads, but the Taira
Women's Association and Young People's Association tried to change [592]
this in 1955. Although they did not succeed, a concession was made by [575]
permitting "representatives" to vote for their household in the absence of a household head, provided the voter was 20 years of age. The elec-

* The old registry was totally destroyed during the war. A new one is being prepared with the help of the people. It no longer differentiates between persons of noble and common descent. Information on crimes committed by people, sentences passed by courts, and other information, such as diseases in the family, like mental illness, is also omitted now.

●666 tion itself is arranged and supervised by an *ad hoc* committee. In 1955 written ballots were cast and counted immediately so that the result was known within a few minutes after the last ballot was in.

622 In contrast to a position in the township administration, which carries high status, equivalent to that of a teacher, the village headman's job is considered a community service and carries little prestige. This does not mean that the headman should not be an individual of high qualities. He must be at least 25 years old; he has to have sufficient education, especially knowledge of Japanese writing characters, to read government documents and to do the required clerical work; he has to be a good accountant and must be proficient in working with the abacus, since all tax collections are supervised by him; he must be community minded and able to enforce regulations in a friendly but efficient way. The rewards are small, the salary less than that of most township officials. The office is held most frequently by young men who have not been out of high school too long. Most recent headmen are between 25 and 30 years of age. Serving in this office may mark the beginning of an administrative career, either in the township office, in the village store, or in business outside Taira. The clerk, appointed 624 by the headmen to assist in village administration, is also a young man. He too is likely to be headed toward an administrative career.

621 Each village is subdivided into wards, set up originally by Japanese administration to effect greater control over families through the 624 warden. He is a subagent of the headman, and at present he functions [203] mainly as a channel for communications, a useful function in a village like Taira, which covers a large geographical area. Regulations, village meetings, and special events are announced through the warden, and he is often called on to collect delinquent taxes. However, he has little authority and functions more as a neighbor who takes care of necessary contacts between residents and the village administration. Ward members elect him to his honorary office for a one-year term.

623 Village affairs are discussed and legislative action concerning the village initiated by the village council. This group is now partly elected, partly composed of holders of essential offices, such as heads of associations, members of the township assembly, and township officials who live in Taira. The 26 members of the Council are responsible for measures affecting the community, and the headman relies heavily on their advice. Most councilmen are middle aged; few are over 50 years [575] old. Since the head of the Women's Association and the nurse are members, there are at least two female representatives. The youngest councilman is usually the head of the Young People's Association.

623 It is apparent that leadership in the community is always exercised
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2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

the wife takes charge of household funds while her husband controls larger spendings. 593 562

Many quarrels between couples originate from financial matters. Disagreements happen frequently when a husband returns home intoxicated late at night. His wife may blame him for using money which she has put aside for a special purchase; from this incident the argument turns to family finances in general. As words become more heated, the woman holds her own, telling her husband in no uncertain terms that he is a squanderer. Some husbands settle such an argument by hitting their wives. [273] [578]

Decisions are seldom made by one person in the family. The more important the issue involved, the more people within the family are consulted. A husband and wife may discuss whether to buy or sell a pig and make a joint decision. They also decide mutually on the buying of seed rice and other agricultural matters. Men concern themselves with the building of new structures or the addition to old ones. On the other hand, women make decisions affecting the daily life of children. They determine if a child needs new clothes, if he should be taken to the doctor, or accompany the mother on a shopping trip to the city. Some fathers take an interest in their children's study habits and accomplishments at school, but few are consistent in supervising their children in this respect. Here, too, mothers seem to have a much greater influence. Girls are likely to receive even less attention from their fathers than boys. In cases of decisions that can vitally affect the future of the whole household, members of the husband's and wife's family, if they live in the village, gather to discuss plans. 593 [602]

Although women are less active politically than men, they participate in village meetings as representatives for their families. With the exception of the Women's Association leaders, their participation is more passive than that of the men. But although they seldom speak in public and sit together at the back of the meeting, women nevertheless exert a great deal of influence on community affairs. Their influence is felt even more in meetings of mutual finance associations. 575 562 623

It is unlikely at this point that a woman in the village would run for political office. Several recent developments, however, indicate a steady increase in their political participation. The headman who was elected to office in 1955 is responsible for an innovation which reflects this trend. He selected his clerk by means of a competitive examination which was open to both young men and young women. Two girls who had graduated from high school were among the candidates. They were defeated by a young man to whom the job was given because of 562 666

562 his high score. Under American influence, universal suffrage and
666 equal representation have been introduced and formally adopted in some village affairs, although the household head vote—traditionally mostly male—is still maintained in many cases.

562 The Women's Association is the main force behind the attempts to
575 give women greater equality. The spokesmen for this group do not proclaim equality for women as such as the important goal but express hopes that women's life can be made easier by reducing their work load and providing more conveniences for them, such as better stoves. Attempts are made to give a woman more time to spend at home instead of in forests or fields and to reduce the expenses involved in preparing for holidays and special celebrations. The opinions of the Women's Association carry weight in village affairs. This, as one old woman pointed out, is a considerable change from earlier times. There had been a Women's Association before the war, but
[623] women were still barred from participation in village meetings at that time, and the only place where they could make themselves heard in village matters was at the meeting of the individuals required to do periodic labor for the village.

562 The situation at the time of fieldwork with regard to the attempts
527 of women to gain more recognition and the role which men play in
575 this respect is illustrated by a celebration of Mother's Day—an event which came to Taira quite recently from the outside. The women de-
[177] cided to observe it by taking off from their daily duties during the afternoon. The Women's Association made all arrangements, so that it was not a day dedicated by children or adult men to the mothers, but a day that the mothers celebrated themselves. Nevertheless, for the meeting at the old warehouse, where mats had been spread and food prepared, there were also tables arranged for the male village officials, such as the headman, village council members, and the policeman. They started the affair by treating the women to a few speeches in which the importance of motherhood was eulogized by such observations as: "A man can be great only if he has a mother who is making him great," and (from the policeman): "Mothers are an important factor in preventing juvenile delinquency." After this initial hour-long introduction, the leader of the Women's Association declared that festivities could now begin and that she "did not care how much sake the women drank as long as they were happy on this day." The children, who had been told by their teachers to help their mothers on this day by cleaning house and freeing them from some of their chores, gathered near the building, received some feast food and played as usual, and men—with the exception of the invited officials—worked

The yard in which the Okinawan home stands is also rather uniform in 351
its appearance. It is usually surrounded by a stone wall or a thick hedge for protection against winds. Inside the gate is a himpung, a short wall that prevents one from looking straight through the gate into the house. The space between the himpung and the house is hard earth; this is where mats are spread for drying grain and where many other household tasks are performed. This yard space may be lined on one or both sides with outbuildings for the [343]
storage of tools and crops and for housing livestock---two or three goats, [231]
and here and there an ox or a horse. Behind the house is a pigsty. There may also be a chicken-coop, but chickens often run loose. There are usually a few trees in the yard, often a clump of bananas. Behind the house is also [514]
the toilet; formerly it was combined with the pigsty, but now it is usually an oil-drum. In many villages every house has its own well, but even where [312]
wells are fewer there is almost sure to be a cistern beside the house to catch rain-water. The house and yard will be discussed again later in rela- 128
tion to sanitation and health (see Chapter IX).[1]

The social unit that occupies such a house and yard is the family. 592
The structure of the family is also dealt with in detail by Pitts in Chapter VII. Let it suffice to say here that ideally the first son stays with his [591]
parents after his marriage while younger sons establish separate households. Thus the family consists of a couple and their unmarried children or a couple with a married first son, his wife and children, and his unmarried brothers and sisters. The deaths of one or more members may reduce the family without breaking it up. Two married couples, parents and grandparents of the youngest generation, is the usual maximum. If two married sons live under the same roof it is usually regarded as a temporary expedient. Thus while the total number of persons in the household may be as many as a dozen, the average number is a little less than five.

The family, that is, the members of the household, is an economic unit, a social unit, and a ceremonial unit. As an economic unit the members of a household work together, producing for and consuming from a common stock. They cooperate with other households on the basis of common interest as neighbors. They form a social unit within the "han", the "ku", and the "son", they are [666]
registered as a unit in the "koseki", and may have only one vote---cast by the head of the house---in local elections. As a ceremonial unit they form part of a numbered and graded system based on common descent.

The Structure of Kinship Relations In traditional Okinawan society, as in 593
other societies of East Asia, the funda- 602
mental unit is the family and the basic axis within the family is a vertical one running through the male line, the father-oldest son axis.[2] The basic values that support this structure are unity and continuity. Individuals are of varying importance to the family depending on their closeness to the father-first son axis; females are less important than males; younger sons

[1] For a more detailed account of the house and yard see Glacken, 1953, Chapter 5.

[2] I have borrowed this concept from Francis L. K. Hsu, to whose writings I am indebted.

613 southern part of the island. There the term for the local unit, a relatively small lineage with not very strong ties to the larger unit, is chuchooree (literally, "one brotherhood', to translate literally into Japanese, hito-
613 kyōdai). The larger unit of the commoners is called the ichimung ("one gate"),
614 which is equivalent to the munchu of the south. Some of the gentry families refer to the subdivision of the uji having the same surname as their ichimung. Thus a family may belong to a local chuchooree, to an ichimung containing other families elsewhere of the same surname, and to a still larger uji containing ichimung of other surnames.

614 Functions The functions of the common descent group seem to be almost
761 entirely ritual. Just as the members of a family are responsible for helping the head of the family in making the proper offerings before the tablets and the tomb of its immediate ancestors, so the larger unit has such a responsibility toward the remote ancestors. In the family the eldest son bears the greatest responsibility, so in the common descent group the head of the main house bears the greatest responsibility. But the benefits resulting from proper worship and the misfortunes resulting from negligence may extend even to the youngest branch house, and thus all are interested in maintaining the worship.

614 Representatives of the common descent group worship before the ances-
796 tral tablets at the main house on occasions called u-machii (J. 'o-matsuri'),
769 usually the 15th days of the 2nd, 5th and 6th lunar months and during the New Year's season. They worship at the tomb at the shiimii (J. 'seimei') season in April. For this purpose periodic meetings may be held and dues levied for
[789] the expense of the offerings. Many groups send members on pilgrimages every seventh year (shichinin-maari) to pray at remote shrines; many in the south go to Nakijin in the north for this. There may also be special expenditures such as for the repair of a tomb, the building of a new tomb, or even the repair of the main house if its owner has become impoverished.

614 A few common descent groups are said to have a little property from which the income is used for the expense of the worship, but probably none has enough to be of any other value. The common descent group probably has
[476] no economic functions. In a rural community its members may tend to cooperate a little more in farm work; I observed this to be the case in some instances in Yamada, but informants say that kinship is no more important than closeness of residence and that neighbors ought to cooperate.

614 Nevertheless the common descent group occasionally seems to have
• 666 political functions. In a recent election in southern Okinawa, munchu membership became a factor. A cartoon that appeared in the Okinawa Times of 8 March 1954 shows opposing candidates carrying banners announcing their munchu. In the village of Komesu, south of Itoman, supporters of candidates appealed to members of their candidates' munchu to support their own regardless of political party.

613 The unity of the kin group may appear in time of crisis. In the vil-
722 lage of Yamada, during the battle in 1945, many of the villagers hid out in improved natural caves. According to one informant's account, at first there was some moving around but ultimately people of the same chuchooree clung together. In one instance bad feeling arose between two groups over the sharing of a cave.

632 423 [651] The Land Affairs Department maintains the land ownership records ('tochi daichō') and issues certificates of land title ('chiken'). The head of this department ('tochijimuchō' or 'tochi gakari') together with the village mayor ('kuchō') and his council assesses land values for tax purposes.

632 744 The Departments of Public Welfare and Social Affairs are concerned with matters relating to relief, health, sanitation, etc. The functions of these overlap somewhat with those of the police and the Naha Health Center. One day each month a nurse from the Health Center is at the township office giving shots to children. Once a month there is a sanitation inspection of all the villages within the 'son'; the emphasis shifts each month---thus, one month it may be for mosquito control and the next it may be extermination of flies. Relief measures are also handled from these departments.

632 178 A 'son' assembly ('senkai' or 'songikai') functions as the legislative branch of 'son' government; it is empowered to enact local ordinances, approve the mayor's selection of employees for the village office, and make local tax levies. In Kanegusuku-son each of the eight villages selects two representatives ('sonkaigiin') for the assembly, and the term of office is four years. Before the end of the war this body was an appointive one selected by the mayors of the villages ('kuchō'); in turn the assembly appointed the township mayor. The bulk of the population had no voice in local government; today, however, both the mayor and the assembly stand for election. In all elections [664] for municipal and central government offices universal suffrage now obtains; all those twenty and above are entitled to vote.

632 622 The meetings of the 'son' assembly are too infrequent to provide effective representation at all times for the people. Regular contact between the people and the township office is maintained by frequent meetings of all the village mayors ('kuchō') with the township mayor ('sonchō'). This group, known as 'kuchokai' (village mayors' assembly), meets three times each month generally on the fifth, fifteenth, and twenty-fifth, though in times of emergency or pressing business it may meet oftener. Problems of general concern to the villages are discussed. These meetings enable the township mayor to keep in touch with the problems of the villages and what the people are thinking; they also provide the opportunity to inform and instruct the village mayors regarding directives or projects to be carried out in the villages.

632 651 One of the chief functions of the township government is to collect taxes for the central government and for its own needs. The following township taxes ('senzei', or in legal terminology, 'chihōzei') are those levied by Kanegusuku-son:

senmin-zei	Villagers' Tax. This is a head tax on all persons who are able to work between the ages of 17 and 60 excluding students, blind, sick, and crippled persons.
tochi-zei	Land Tax. For details see chapter on Land Tenure.
fudōsan shutoku-zei	Real Estate Acquisition Tax.
kaoku-zei	House or Building Tax.

One of his major responsibilities to the township office is tax collection within the village; yet, his actual powers are slight, as nearly all of his official acts are first sanctioned by the villagers or the township office. It seemed to the author that the chief role of the 'kuchō' was as an intermediary between the people and the township office or as an agent for the latter, rather than as an administrator. It would seem that the payment of his salary by the township instead of by the village is symbolic of his actual role. 622 [651] [632]

Assisting the 'kuchō' are several officers the first of which is the assistant mayor ('fuku-kuchō') who is elected at the same time as the mayor and serves for one year. He is paid ¥480 ($4.00) per month, and like the mayor he must be over 27 and a household head. In the absence of the mayor he functions in his place, and on all other occasions he assists him in his work. A village clerk ('shōki') is also elected at the same time as the 'kuchō', and serves for a term of one year; he is paid a salary of ¥700 ($5.83) each month. The main qualifications for this position are that one have a fair amount of education and a good mastery of characters for writing. The job holds little appeal since it demands much of the individual's time and affords little in the way of prestige or pay. In Kanegusuku-ku in December of 1953 three elections were held in an effort to fill this position before someone finally and quite reluctantly accepted it. 624 [465] [465]

An advisory body of four councillors ('hyōgiin') assists the mayor in his administration; they represent each of the four neighborhoods or districts of the village. They are elected at the same time as the mayor, serve for one year, and receive a salary of ¥20 (17¢) per meeting. According to the villagers this body has replaced the earlier yuushi which was an unelected advisory council made up of former village officials, the village equivalent of elder statesmen. The 'kuchō' never undertakes an independent course of action; he first consults the 'hyōgiin' and obtains their approval and suggestions before initiating action. 623 [465]

Each village of Kanegusuku-son elects two men to represent it in the township ('son') assembly ('sonkai'); they are elected for a term of four years. Older, mature men who have held several official positions are always selected. They also play a part in village administration and are considered village officials. At all meetings they sit with the officials, and their opinion is much valued. 624 632

All matters of real importance are submitted to the household heads who form the real body politic within the village. The electorate for the village consists exclusively of household heads; to vote in a village election one must be a household head or one appointed by him to vote in his place, but in township and national elections universal suffrage obtains. At one village election which the author witnessed in December of 1953 balloting began as soon as the meeting was called to order without any preliminary speeches or nominations. It was later stated that the election and likely candidates had been informally discussed among the village leaders and household heads so that there was no need for preliminaries. The same situation seemed to prevail when meetings were held to discuss matters of general concern; the apparent unanimity of opinion and agreement indicated that informal concordance had been reached well in advance of formal discussion and decision. 621 592 666

625 high esprit. A policeman's salary is high when compared to that of other government workers and the general public; in addition the job has other advantages such as a uniform and free transportation on public conveyances.

621 625 In rural areas there seems to be some resentment over what is considered to be high pay and special privileges for policemen; this was particularly true where the local policeman was not a native son. In one of the more isolated villages of northern Okinawa, a community which is noted for and prides itself on its strong community spirit, there was some irritation with what they felt to be an unnecessary presence of a policeman (not native to the village) in their midst. The village 'kuchō' and several villagers assured the author that the village was a most peaceful one, everyone cooperated well together, and there was never any stealing or violence. They were also resentful of the fact that the village supplied the policeman with free food and charcoal and that his pay, nevertheless, was about equal to that of their highly respected school principal.

875 625 554 It should be noted that whenever the low pay of teachers was mentioned the correspondingly high pay of the police was cited. The teacher traditionally has been venerated in this culture, and it is held that the teacher is a better-educated person and should, therefore, receive a higher salary, as was the case before the war. In the past the higher positions in the bureaucracy were accorded or ideally should be accorded those with better educations, and since both the policeman and the teacher are civil government employees, the present situation with regard to their respective salaries seems unjust.

625 829 Most people express the belief that the police are honest and conscientious though their high pay may be resented. A number of people observed that the police are much better under the American military administration than they were under the Japanese government before the war, in that they are more polite and less officious today. Under present laws the powers of the police have been clearly defined to insure that they will not violate the rights of individuals as was frequently done in the past. Not a few Okinawans will contend that this curbing of police power while probably democratic has encouraged an increase in crime in recent years. The traditional attitude toward the policeman seems to be a mixture of fear and respect, and mothers frequently use the threat to call a policeman as a means of disciplining a child who misbehaves.

4. Political Participation by Women

562 [666] Since the end of the war universal suffrage has been introduced into Okinawan political life. The enfranchisement of women has not brought with it a surge of political activity on their part. It is now theoretically possible for a woman to hold public office, but in actuality none to date has been elected to a national or municipal office. One woman declared herself a candidate for the Ryukyuan legislature in 1954 but later withdrew from the campaign shortly before election time. In the rural areas political participation by women is even more limited. The men in the village of Kanegusuku laugh when the subject of women in politics is mentioned; they say

621 among its membership, and all relationships are highly structured. Though
592 age-grades tend to structure the membership of the community, this is not
[561] too important, as the basic unit within the village is the family, not the individual. The community is regarded as an association of families
[565] bound together in a relationship of equality. Such differences as exist
[178] in wealth and land holdings are not so great as to constitute class differentiation; likewise the old Okinawan class structure is no longer of any real significance, and in most rural communities the bulk of the families were and still are of commoner descent.

621 The concept of political participation by households is basic to
829 the thinking of the villagers. Universal suffrage applies only to munic-
592 ipal and national elections; within the village active political partici-
666 pation is restricted to household heads functioning in the capacity of representatives for their respective families. When the mayor of one village was asked why all adults were not allowed to vote in village elections, his quick reply was, "Is it democracy to give some families more votes merely because they have more members?"

6. Political Leadership and Authority

621 There are nine important political offices within the village of Kanegusuku (population 507)---mayor, assistant mayor, clerk, 4 councillors,
[592] and 2 'son' assemblymen. Eighteen of the 108 village families are headed by women, and since only male household heads are elected to positions of political leadership, there remain 90 men eligible for these offices. A number of the young household heads also must be excluded from this group since a man must be over twenty-seven to be eligible, and there are others who are too old or infirm. This leaves 72 men eligible for office on the basis of the formal requirements.

621 Actually the villagers apply several other qualifications which one
554 must possess in order to be eligible for office. In practice the repatriates and the other newcomers to the village since the end of the war are not elected. Those who are poor (less than enough land for mere subsistence) cannot afford to accept an office, since the pay is low and the demands on one's time are too great. The men who have non-agricultural jobs which take them outside the village each day also do not have the time to devote, and the villagers tend to feel that these men are out of touch with the problems of a farming village. Lastly there are several men who otherwise meet all qualifications for village office save for what the villagers vaguely describe as "good character"; the most frequently cited example for this group is a man who dislikes farming and spends much of his time drinking or visiting the 'pachinko' parlor in a nearby town. Thus, the total number qualified for political office on the basis of all criteria which are applied is limited to approximately 47 individuals; this group, which constitutes about 9% of the total population, supplies the village leadership and forms the core of the body politic.

582 average age at the time of marriage, investigation into the registries re-
178 veals that the range has narrowed somewhat. Formerly some girls married at thirteen and fourteen; today this would be considered rather unusual.

[177] The Japanese administration attempted to discourage endogamous marriage practices, particularly kin-group endogamy. All agreed that the practice has declined; yet in Kanegusuku nearly 50% of all marriages were within the kin group and 66% of all marriages were within the village. An analysis of these figures on an age basis indicates the practice is declining there.

833 Sex It is said that sexual standards have changed in that there is
178 less sexual license among the young people and that they tend to have their
813 first relations at a later age than formerly. This is attributed in part to the moral training of the schools. Another factor seems to be the general decline of several informal village institutions which permitted young people considerable sexual freedom. One informant stated that those who continue on to high school and university generally have their first experience at a later age than those who attend only junior high school.

642 Government The Japanese introduced a modern system of government,
177 abolished the Okinawan aristocracy, and granted suffrage to all males of
641 twenty-five or more years. The American Civil Administration has attempted to liberalize laws and to make possible a greater degree of self-government.
[625] Police powers have been limited, universal suffrage has been introduced, and
[666] the number of elected officials has been increased.

621 To date there has been little change within the village, where
178 suffrage and office-holding remain limited to household heads. Villagers acknowledge that there is greater freedom for action at the local level today; yet they are not desirous of obtaining greater self-government. They feel that it would require too much of their time and that there is too little money available to finance its operation. Village leadership is virtually unchanged. Change where it has occurred has been initiated at a higher level.

632 At the township level the electorate has been broadened to include
178 all persons, male and female, over twenty years of age. The mayor who was formerly appointed is now elected to office.

791 Religion There has been a general decline in the indigenous Okinawan
177 religion, effected by Japanese policy, wartime attrition, and the spread of
178 education. Formerly a hierarchy of priestesses extended from the kin group
793 through the community and region to the person of the king's sister, the chief priestess. The Japanese removed the top echelons of this hierarchy, but the kin group and community priestesses continued to function. World War II resulted in the death of many religious functionaries, and as the office is usually hereditary within a specific family and often limited to a particular member of that family, there has often been no replacement for the office. Lastly there is an increasing tendency among the young people, due to the influence of the school, to regard religion as superstition.

796 Many villages, especially those without religious functionaries, have
178 discontinued all village ceremonies, and in those few remarkable exceptions

186 areas where Negroes are more numerous and have become better known. The
829 presence of Negro officers and others of higher status undoubtedly does much to demonstrate to Okinawans that it is possible for non-whites to rise in the American system.

Attitudes toward Other Peoples The Ryukyuan kingdom was once a vassal state of China and had considerable direct contact with China. Among some older Okinawans things Chinese still are valued. However, the younger people who expressed any opinion to us on China and the Chinese expressed opinions almost bordering on contempt. The years of lack of national unity and of Japanese aggression have left their mark on the Okinawan view of China. The news that a group on Formosa has agitated for a reversion of Okinawa to Nationalist China can hardly have been taken seriously by anyone.

Attitudes toward the Filipinos are probably also colored by Japanese attitudes toward "natives" and by American discriminatory practices in wages. Moreover, the fact that many of the Filipinos who have worked on Okinawa speak very poor English probably gives them a lower status in the eyes of the Okinawans.

668 The Status of Okinawa There is certainly no unanimity of opinion on what
829 would be the most desirable status for Okinawa. As I have tried to indicate, attitudes toward both Japan and the United States are varied and ambivalent. Both practical considerations and emotional reasons have motivated some Okinawans to agitate for reversion to Japan. For most reversionists reversion appears to mean simply political reversion, return of the political administration to Japan; the majority of reversionists do not seem to be saying "Yankee Go Home"; they grant the necessity of military bases on Okinawa both for the military security of the Far East and at present for the economic security of Okinawa. This seems to be the point of view of the Social Mass Party, which won nearly half the seats in the last election.

Generally those who feel that they would gain materially by the reversion of Okinawa are teachers and other state employees who feel that they have lost status, the owners of land being used by the military who feel that reversion would bring the rental up to standards paid in Japan, and some politicians who want to participate in Japanese national as well as local politics. Generally those who would stand to lose by reversion are the businessmen, because of the increase in taxes and the free competition from the large Japanese industries that reversion would bring, the skilled and semi-skilled laborers who might be replaced by Japanese if free movement were permitted between Japan and Okinawa, and again some of the present political leaders.

However, there are emotional reasons for embracing reversionism that may far outweigh practical considerations. In the chapter on family life
[152] and again in the chapter on health I stressed one of the basic anxieties created within Okinawan culture---the fear of being cut off from parents, the fear of being cut off from the deceased ancestors, the fear of being alone.

The frequent use of the word 'sabishii', "lonely", expresses this anxiety. 668
One often hears that Okinawa is a 'sabishii' place. The frequent use of the 829
term 'sokoku', "ancestral country", in reversionist literature suggests that 152
this anxiety is operating in the realm of politics too. Many Okinawans do not want to stand alone. They want to be part of a larger system. They cannot identify themselves with the United States or with any other country but Japan and so even though they recognize that Japan in the past did not always treat them fairly, they would still prefer to be part of Japan. This I believe is part of the emotional basis of reversionism; it has its roots in the Okinawan family and Okinawan religion.

For the politically more sophisticated reversionist we must add the 668
discontent he feels with the present regime and the hope that reversion 829
would mean greater political freedom. This type might be more numerous still if it were not for the obvious economic difficulties that reversion would bring, to say nothing of the chaos that would come if American forces were to pull out altogether.

were justified. Both children were slightly retarded, and people believed that this fact added even more proof. 848

An illegitimate child is loved by everybody and treated like any legitimate child. The bastard's name is listed in the registry under his mother's and his illegitimacy noted. Since World War II the distinguishing red ink mark is no longer used in recording these children. Unless the mother marries the child's real father, the offspring has no legal rights of inheritance. If she marries another man, the child may receive affectionate treatment from the stepfather, but he remains legally her son. Socially such a child does not suffer any form of ostracism, but adults make references to his status within his earshot. One such girl proudly said that people had told her that she was half-Japanese. 837 732 217 428 554

Legally a man cannot have more than one wife, but there are cases of multiple marriage even in Taira. It takes a substantial income for such an arrangement, since a second wife is given a separate place to live. A younger "wife" is usually taken if there is no male heir born by the legal wife or if the marriage remains childless altogether. A man, formerly a resident of the village, took a young concubine late in life after his sons were killed during the war. She bore him a son, apparently with the consent of the first wife, since there was amicable interaction between the two although they lived separately. The husband registers such children as his legal offspring. 595 842

Two modes of divorce are possible. A couple may agree to separate and call a family council of parents and relatives on both sides. The township office is then notified and separation acknowledged. Once children have been born, such divorces are not too frequent, at least there were few cases of divorced women with children in Taira. A husband may initiate a divorce by telling his wife of his desire to separate. Extra-marital relationships of the wife would be sufficient cause, as would be sterility, which is interpreted as her fault. In Taira a settlement within the family is the more frequent mode of divorce although relatively rare. One official estimated that the rate of divorce for the whole township is two per year. Among the 59 marriages we found listings for five subsequent divorces. During fieldwork, many debates about modernizing divorce laws were held among members of the Women's Association, which advocated the abolition of the unilateral emphasis that gave husbands all the rights and wives almost none. Only a crime committed by a man would be sufficient cause under existing law to permit the wife to initiate a divorce. 586 837 842 671 575

The mental isolation of the farm village gradually decreased under a national system of education, but the process did not end with schooling. Upon graduating, the youth, male and female, were enrolled in a national young people's association. Later the young men were drafted for service in the national army, and following discharge the veteran was enlisted in a local reserve association which met frequently for military and social purposes. When a man married, established a separate house, and began farming, membership in the farmer's association was automatically conferred. His wife upon marriage transferred from the young women's association to the women's association. There were, in fact, a variety of national organizations covering the various phases and roles of the individual's life; membership was never a matter of choice, but a thing automatically conferred. A stress on patriotism was a strong concomitant in all of these. Membership gave to the individual a sense of participating in a national society extending far beyond the limits of his small village. 177 619 575 [702]

It should be stressed that most Okinawans regard the Japanese as providers of modern, enlightened government. The Japanese administration abolished the old class divisions and freed the peasant from his serf-like status. Taxes on arable land were substantially reduced, and the villager for the first time was given some voice in government above the village level. Modern law courts were introduced and justice was administered impartially, not on a class basis as was formerly done. 177 829 [565] [671]

Inadvertently, perhaps, official Japanese policy did much to destroy the self-sufficiency of the farm village. Prior to the land reform, sugar production did not exceed local needs, but government encouragement and subsidy so increased production that by the time of World War II it exceeded consumption by 900%. This resulted in a food shortage which necessitated heavy importations of basic cereals to compensate. 177 621 433

Japanese manufactured goods also contributed to the decline in self-sufficiency. Factory-made cloth gradually displaced home-woven fabrics, and accordingly cotton and fiber banana were no longer raised. The tools, utensils, and machines of the factory slowly replaced the simpler devices used in the village. 177 439 433 [248]

Abolition of the system of communal land tenure contributed to a weakening of the family and particularly of the large extended kin group. The introduction of private property and Japanese laws of inheritance served to create a landless element which often emigrated from Okinawa in search of land or jobs elsewhere. Where formerly the kin group had clustered in certain localities, they now became dispersed over great areas, making continued interaction difficult and often impossible. 177 602 423 [167]

Sixty-six years of Japanese rule resulted in a fairly successful amalgamation of Okinawa into the Japanese state; though the Okinawan language and culture were not destroyed, they were severely altered. 177

Impact of World War II and the American Occupation The war destroyed virtually all of rural and urban Okinawa, and resulted in the death of twenty percent of the population. 727

in Far Eastern affairs study the history, structure, and functioning of both GRI and USCAR with the objective of investigating the allegations, which we heard from both Okinawans and Americans, that a) GRI is too removed from the rural villages to be concerned with them or aware of their problems; b) GRI is essentially a puppet of USCAR and therefore not to be respected or relied upon by the Okinawan people; c) USCAR has become an unwieldy bureaucratic structure more interested in self-perpetuation than in furthering U.S. policy.

Our own observations lead us to believe that there is some truth in each of these charges. The study of Kitazato revealed that GRI's Central Land Office in Naha, despite its apparent vast quantities of data, did not actually know of the extensive land changes which had taken place several years earlier and of the resultant division of the village into three separate settlements. But to determine where channels of communication had broken down would have required just such a separate politically-oriented study as that which we now recommend.

Going to the upper end of the political chain, we have the distinct impression that a study of USCAR would reveal a strong tendency toward "empire-building" on the part of some men who had no particular qualifications to begin with, but who have been allowed by time and circumstance to rise in the structure to the point where they are driven by their own insecurity to justify their positions by usurping numerous powers and functions that should be left to the Okinawans. This tendency can only result in inefficiency, duplication of function, and the basis for the second charge given above, that GRI is USCAR's puppet. These results are not only financially burdensome but damaging to U. S. prestige.

Besides the general recommendation that the present political organization of Okinawa be studied, we make the following specific recommendations:

1) Reevaluation of the legal code. The present legal code consists of a combination of U. S. Military Government ordinances, USCAR directives, etc., and legislation passed by the GRI legislature. We heard complaints from local officials to the effect that much of the law in operation was prewar Japanese law and that Okinawa had not benefitted from the new and more democratic Japanese constitution. Sometimes the charge becomes specifically, "USCAR is preventing the democratization of Okinawa". The study recommended above should discover whether the fault lies with USCAR or with the GRI legislature and what might be done about it. [177] [671]

2) Selection and rotation of USCAR personnel. Where there are Americans whose duties are to advise other nations in the solution of various political, social, and economic problems and to represent the American people in doing so, these men ought to have both the special knowledge required for the first function and the appreciation of what life is like in the United States for the second. Men who have no particular knowledge of the area or of the specific problems that need solving and who have not lived in the United States for any length of time since before World War II are hardly competent to perform these functions. It is highly desirable that USCAR personnel be selected

829 considered the initiator of all action. Frequently there are complaints of high taxes, criticisms of certain policies, and dissatisfaction with certain officials, but the authority of a government to undertake any course it chooses would never be challenged. There does not exist any concept of a limit to obedience or to the powers of government.

7. Social Control

626 The mechanisms of social control within an Okinawan village are not
621 easily observed or studied since they are so rarely overt. One is impressed from the outset by the homogeneous character of the community, a natural outcome of the common experience and cultural heritage which all the members have shared. The average villager has had a limited range of contacts during the course of his or her lifetime, imposed to no small degree by the all-consuming demands of subsistence agriculture. Minorities within
[183] the community rarely exist, and where they do, they are not recognized as such, for this homogeneity, in addition to being an actuality, is insisted upon as a cultural ideal. Consequently great stress is placed on presenting a united front to the outside. Within the community aggressive behavior is not tolerated and so great is the fear of rift through discord that few official acts are initiated without first securing informal concordance; consequently, formal political meetings are most often marked by unanimity and agreement. In enlisting the support of the villagers for a given project or proposed line of action leaders most frequently appeal to group solidarity, stressing the values of cooperation.

As is so often found in small communities where all the members have a face-to-face relationship, the chief mechanisms of social sanction are ridicule, censure, and the threat of ostracism. The small size and homogeneous nature of the Okinawan village limits the individual's behavior to a rather narrow and inflexible standard. The individual, however, must consider his actions not only in terms of the reactions of others to him
[672] but also in terms of the consequences for his family. Under the old king-
[178] dom the family was legally responsible for the actions of its members, and at the present time an individual is officially registered as a member of a certain family and is always thought of by the villagers in association
626 with that family. One's mistakes as well as one's achievements reflect upon
621 the other members of the family and are shared by them. This emphasis on
181 family and community over the individual serves markedly to curb individualism and to further the homogeneity of the society. Conformity and honoring one's obligations are the major cultural values. The surrogate for this strong cultural deemphasis of the individual is provided by a close ego identity with the family and community and by the security which they offer in return. The severest sanction which can be applied is expulsion of the individual from his group.

8. Local Autonomy

642 On a small island with a highly centralized government there is lit-
621 tle room for local autonomy. Most action is initiated in the higher echelons of government and is unquestioningly obeyed at the lower levels. There

to the modern'son'), was the land-holding unit. The administration of the majiri supervised the distribution of land to the villages or mura (political unit equivalent to present-day 'ku') where it was divided among the various families. The amount of land allocated to a given family was dependent on its size, age and sex of members, and social position; consequently the houses of the nuru priestess and local officials received a proportionately larger allotment than the houses of ordinary farmers. The distribution of arable land under this system at the end of the nineteenth century was as follows: 67.1% farmers, 13% local lords, 8.3% nuru priestesses and local officials, 10.9% newly-cleared land.[1] The farmers worked the lands of all groups. 175 423 [632]

The origin of this communal land allotment system ('jiwari seidō') lies deep in Okinawa's past far beyond the beginning of its recorded history. Redistributions were made periodically to compensate for changes in household size and fertility of holdings. These reallotments occurred at from four to thirty year intervals at the option of the local (majiri) administration, with the average being about every tenth year. Certain lands were excluded from redistribution, particularly the lands of the local lords. Usually the lands of the so-called yādui settlements made up of the younger sons of gentry families were also excluded. Newly-cleared land was placed in a special category in order to encourage land development; ordinarily it was treated as the private property of the family that cleared it and was not subject to reallotment. Despite these exceptions nearly 75% of the arable land was subject to periodic redistribution.

Under this system the tax-bearing unit was the majiri, not the family. Each majiri was headed by a jiturei, an appointed official from Shuri, who functioned as an administrator, judge, and policeman; he was held responsible for the tax payment of his district and was subject to recall and punishment in the event of default. The state took no action against the family or household which failed to pay its tax; such matters were left to the jiturei and his assistants, who were free to deprive the offending family of all its lands if they saw fit. When a house defaulted, its lineage was held accountable and forced to make up the deficit; if the lineage was unable to meet its obligations, the entire village (mura) had to assume the responsibility. A marked feature of the old village was a number of granaries set aside for the community's annual tax levy. 175 423 651 632 [672] [613] [621]

Land valuations were permanently fixed in 1610 when the daimyo of Satsuma had the region surveyed to determine the amount of tribute which could be extracted. There was no reassessment until after the annexation, although the overall tax levy was raised in 1635 and again in 1722. Only arable land was subject to taxation; no taxes were levied against house lots which were privately owned, nor against the forest and grass lands which were communal property. The tax levy for each majiri was based on the estimated productivity of its land at the time of the survey; it was a fixed tax and was never altered. It had been set so that in theory 40% of the yearly crop went to the government and 60% was to be retained by the 175 423 651

[1] Higa, 1950, p. 64.

at least check all transients. Another important duty is to prevent the use of explosives by fishermen, a difficult if not impossible assignment, for he must catch the fisherman *flagrante delicto* when he lands with fish killed in this way. There is no indication that villagers assist the policeman in detecting offenders. 625 [226]

Policing the village itself is not a difficult job. The absence of crime and the low incidence of quarrels, disputes, and brawls would seem to make policing unnecessary. Nevertheless, the policeman interferes at times in disputes. He considers it his duty when actual blows are exchanged and somebody is hurt. In such a case he "investigates," takes notes, and makes a report to the police department. During the entire field work, reportable incidents occurred at about the rate of one a month; in the two or three cases where violence occurred, the matter was settled peacefully later, although the policeman kept a record of it. The rare quarrels which do occur are usually the result of drinking or domestic disagreements, generated by financial problems. 625 578 [674] [273]

The policeman plays the role of judge and jury. In one case a young man hit a woman and was temporarily detained by the policeman until he made apologies to the victim. In disputes over business transactions, the policeman often arbitrates. In a dispute in which a Taira woman was accused of cheating a trader from another village, the policeman heard the case and ordered the Taira woman to make refunds over a period of time. The villagers seem to accept such arbitration. Serious disagreements seem to be unthinkable, and everyone fears public censure and ostracism. Court action is extremely rare and is referred to the provincial courts in the town of Nago. 625 627 [692]

The policeman is given high status by the villagers and commands respect. He remains, probably by his own choice, a neutral person in village affairs. He attends village functions, where he is given a place among village leaders. Being friendly with many families, he visits and is visited by other men. It was noted that fishermen sometimes send a special catch to the policeman. But since this is a courtesy which is also common among farmers with regard to nonfarming people, such as teachers, one should not think of such actions as bribery. Mothers use the policeman as a threat in disciplining children. "If you do such a bad thing again, I'll take you to the police station." This, however, does not seem to instill any fear of his person, but rather a respect towards the general area in which the policeman lives. Village children play freely with the policeman's children, but his courtyard is entered less frequently by children than that of other villagers. 625 [554] [662] [861]

The head of the General Affairs Department at the township office is charged with supervision of public order. It is not clear how much this is a self-assigned task. During several occasions, when an alarm 632 647 625

3. Police

625

Local governments of the municipalities ('shi-chō-son') and the various 'ku' (villages and wards) exercise no control over the police stationed in their areas. Central police headquarters are located in Naha, and the organization of the police command is outside the regular civil structure except at the top national level. The police officer located in Kanegusuku-son reports directly to the district police headquarters in Itoman which in turn reports to Naha. In addition to maintaining law and order the police are charged with certain responsibilities in the fields of sanitation, health, and public welfare. Crime rates on Okinawa are low, particularly [674] * in the rural areas, and policemen stationed there rarely face serious problems of law violation. A 'son' policeman has a "beat" which he is supposed to patrol each day unless other business is pressing. Actually his visits to some of the villages are rather infrequent, since there is little need for his presence. When a villager dies, it is usually the policeman who checks and certifies the cause of death. Certain dangerous or [744] highly contagious diseases such as leprosy or smallpox must by law be reported, and any infractions of this are usually investigated by the police. If a restaurant or food store is reported as unsanitary, it is the police who take steps to see that the situation is corrected.

Not infrequently the policeman is called upon to function informally 625 as a judge in settling minor disputes which in the United States would be 627 taken to court. One man rented out a room in his home to a former schoolmate; after living and eating there for several months, the roomer disappeared without making any payment for his room and board. A few months later the owner located this person's place of employment, collared him as he left work, and dragged him to the nearest policeman. The policeman listened patiently to both sides of the argument and then ruled that the roomer must pay the entire amount due the owner, ¥6000 ($50.00), at the rate of ¥2000 per month. The two disputants signed an agreement to this effect, and the policeman also signed it "to make it official". An American would regard this action as an abuse of police power; yet, an Okinawan would see nothing untoward in it. In light of this it is worth noting [178] that the jiturei who headed the rural district (majiri) under the old kingdom functioned as policeman, judge, and administrator.

In the matter of juvenile delinquency the school and police are re- 871 ported to work closely together. One police officer stated that when juve- 625 niles commit misdemeanors in his area they are usually turned over to their 674 schools for special "education". That an errant child should be released to the custody of his school rather than to his family would seem an inconsistency in a society which places so much emphasis on family. In America [171] and perhaps in all of Western society the teaching of ethics is largely a function of the home, but in Japan and Okinawa this is considered a task for the school.

To an outsider Okinawan police appear to be efficient in the per- 625 formance of their duty and possessed of a pride in their job and a fairly

by a limited group. The council represents almost all potential leaders. 623
Education and experience in the outside world are the most important 555
qualifications. This is a change from the old days when wealth was also an important factor. An example of a member of township assembly and village council is the man who lived for many years in Brazil (see Chapter 1, p. 374). His leadership is widely recognized and partly due to his successful use of modern farming techniques. Another village leader is a graduate of an agricultural high school, a man of superior intelligence and qualifications who ranked high in an island-wide civil service examination. Another former headman, and now a council member, was born and raised in Japan of Okinawan parents. Although unfamiliar with local dialect and practices, he is well versed in things Japanese and is a financial expert.

The full village council seldom meets. Instead, local matters are 623
discussed among a core of its most active leaders. Noncouncil members, such as the postmaster, policeman, or teachers, may be invited to some meetings. A discussion may start because several villagers want to set aside a special day during which nobody is permitted to go to the mountains to cut firewood, so that more work can be done in the fields. Such a proposal, if approved by the committee of council members, need not be brought before the entire council. Since no formal vote is taken by the council as a rule, friendly discussions decide the issue. Such a decision is then taken directly to a meeting of registered [592]
household heads which is held monthly or whenever there are a number of matters to be discussed and voted on. They are presented point by point, first by the headman, next by one or more council members; then discussion is opened to the whole meeting and eventually a vote is taken. This is done in a very relaxed manner and without actually counting the votes, since discussions have continued until there is a general consensus in the group.

Minor matters of immediate importance, such as tax collections, 622
plans for celebrating a holiday, or maintenance work on roads and 624
ditches in parts of the village, are taken up between the headman and wardens in weekly meetings.

The household head meeting is attended by many women who are 623
either registered household heads or have been sent by their husbands [592]
or fathers as representatives. Some men may actually be unable to [681]
attend; others are disinterested. Failure to send any family representative over 18 years old to a village meeting results in a fine of 20 yen. At one meeting when it seemed as if more women than men were present, the headman joked, "Let's call it a Women's Association Meeting." The women answered, "We are just nice to our husbands, so we

625 went out for fugitives from the south, he would accompany the police-
[632] man or investigate himself. In cases of death, both he and the police-
[647] man have to make a report.

The Young People's Association may serve as a vigilante in emer-
[575] gencies such as fires, floods, tornadoes, and other disasters. When a
[731] military jeep was reported to have been stolen near Naha and driven on the dead-end road running north, the young people in all villages on the way erected road blocks and were ready to help catch the thief. The group would act together in a similar fashion at any threat from outsiders.

622 The headman can only enforce local ordinances insofar as he is
681 able to persuade people to comply. He is not concerned directly with
[625] crime or disturbance of the peace. Exceptions are such matters as stealing sugar cane or letting chickens run loose so that they enter every yard. For such acts, money fines can be imposed. One warden still has a tag which used to be given to the man whose chickens ran around freely. The offender had to pay the fine and keep the tag until he detected someone else's chicken running loose. Then he could pass the
[626] tag on to that person. Such measures are no longer used. But the underlying principle of public censure and fear of ridicule continues to operate in village social control.

623 Public censure is used along with fines to ensure attendance at vil-
626 lage meetings. Roll call is taken before each meeting so that the ab-
[681] sence of individuals is made known to the whole group. Similarly, when tax collections became more and more delinquent, it was decided to have ward meetings in which everybody would be reminded in public to pay his share. Those who were unable to do so would have to state their reasons. As soon as this new plan was announced, several people got up during the meeting to pay outstanding amounts to the head-
872 man. The school uses similar devices to achieve better attendance and scholarship. During home visit week, about once a year, a meeting is held for all parents and the statistics for attendance for each village are read as well as scholastic performances for each community.

INFORMAL CONTROL

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626 What other people might think is uppermost on everybody's mind.
[867] Children are reminded by their mothers not to play alone lest people would think they are unpopular. They are told not to fight lest others think badly of them or make them responsible for the consequences. Censure by gossip is common, but criticism is seldom made directly to a person's face, and the target of extensive gossip is often unaware of it.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

of the permanent Tairan families fish; the majority of the fishermen are migrants from the surrounding islands who come for a season, leaving their families behind. A few families have moved in permanently. The fishermen supply Taira, but most of the catch is peddled in the Nago market by the fishermen's wives. Some of the more enterprising and mercantile-minded women in the village buy up fish and peddle it for a profit.

Two or three times a year, during February or March, large fishing boats from Henza Island land in Taira with whale meat. All the able women look forward to making extra cash at this time, for whale meat is considered a delicacy in homes where meat is rare. Blubber is eaten and used as frying fat. The distribution of whale meat is arranged by one village woman whose fishermen relatives from Henza supply it in response to her request. She acts as agent, distributing the meat to the women on consignment.

LUMBERING

The main source of immediate cash for most families is firewood. Forest land in the mountains is owned by the township and the village, except for some woods near the fields, which are personal property. The township permits the village to exploit a certain region surrounding the community in return for payment of a forest tax. This tax is levied on firewood bundles or on lumber sold by villagers. Everyone in the village is free to cut wood in the designated area in any amount he desires. This, however, does not imply that unlimited cutting is possible, for resources have been utilized so heavily that most forests near the village are almost cleaned out, and it has become increasingly difficult to find wood. Reforestation has only recently been introduced on a serious scale. Often villagers are found trespassing on land owned by the central Ryukyan government in order to cut from the less depleted forests there. Government officials are sympathetic to the villagers' plight, and they tend to dispose of such transgressions with a stern warning.

Men and women, and during vactions, some children over 12 years, go to the forest. Most people prefer to walk and work in small groups. To reach a place high up in the hills, they may have to hike almost a mile from the center of Taira. The steep, narrow paths made by woodcutters traverse the mountains. Following the approach trails during the day, one can hear voices and the sawing of wood from many directions. All lumber people carry a short handsaw and a heavy bush knife

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

quire room and board are sometimes put up without compensation, and they agree, perhaps, to give some help with studies of the landlord's children. Only the village "doctor" takes transient guests, mostly visiting officials from the city, who pay for lodgings.

Although the household head is a legal owner of the family property, there is a feeling that it belongs to the family and everyone in the household identifies himself with his land and house. This is expressed in the language. A person who is asked, "Whose rice paddy is this?" would answer that it is the household's or "ours."

In addition to the communal land holdings and the property of the cooperative described earlier, the following items are shared. The government supplies a breeding boar to each village; it is then left in the care of one farmer. This animal is available to pig owners for studding on request, and a small charge is made for the upkeep of the boar. A few tools are jointly owned by several households. Threshing machines were bought jointly after the war by two or more families to defray the high cost of such equipment. These families could be neighbors or relatives. Today many are complaining that joint ownership works hardships during the busy harvest season when there is heavy demand for the machines. As a result, everybody wishes to own his own machine as soon as he can afford to. For tea harvesting, special clippers are owned by the village cooperative and loaned to people as they need them. Since tea harvesting, though seasonal, is not done by all families during the same day, sharing of these tools presents no difficulties.

Property of others is very much respected. Stealing among villagers is almost unheard of, except for some pilfering of green vegetables and fruits by children. Only one case was reported during the field-work period—a person tried to take some goods without payment from the community store. When a village meeting was called, and it was announced that the person's identity was known to the store manager, the merchandise was later replaced. Willful damage to fields is similarly strictly forbidden. No child would really think of doing such damage. But there are no formal rules about trespassing. Movement across other people's property is completely free and unchallenged.

875 As indicated above, education is highly regarded as a key to success,
554 but it still must produce financial rewards. Education earns for one the
178 esteem of his fellows, but not as much as does money. This decline in status seems to have produced considerable dissatisfaction among teachers. This is probably true at all levels. The best-known Okinawan scholars, for example, have mainly chosen to remain in Japan.

3. Classroom Atmosphere

876 Informants gave the impression that the pre-war classroom atmosphere
[871] was decidedly more authoritarian than at present. Most of what was taught was rather rigidly prescribed by the Ministry of Education and questions were not encouraged. Students rarely spoke up, partly because of the attitudes of the teachers and partly at embarrassment at having to speak in Japanese. Free discussion was probably less common even than in Japan.

In their attempt to make their students learn Japanese some schools adopted the tag system that has been mentioned elsewhere in connection with the prevention of the misuse or theft of crops. In the Yamada school before the war there was for each class a 'hōgen fuda', "dialect tag", which was hung around the neck of the first child heard speaking "the dialect", that is, the Okinawan language. This child wore the tag in disgrace until he heard another child slip into Okinawan, whereupon he hung the tag around that child's neck. And so it went from child to child. The difference between such a system of control and those regarded as appropriate by modern Western educators can hardly be exaggerated. It is true that the tag does resemble the old dunce cap, known to us from cartoons of the last century, in that it uses ridicule as the form of punishment. But in other respects it is different. First, it means that one child is singled out to function as an unwilling policeman, his functioning as policeman being part of his disgrace; that is, as long as he is in disgrace with the tag he is forced to watch for another culprit. Second, the system does not provide equal punishment for the same crime; one child may wear the tag a day while another wears it a week or more, both for the same offense. And third, the theory behind the system does not assume that the offense can be eliminated altogether; on the contrary there must always be some child to make the mistake of speaking Okinawan for the system to work.

[685] As used in the village as a whole the tag system sometimes worked considerable hardship. A person who received the tag for cutting someone else's crop or his own cane out of season had to pay two sen a day to the village. It is said that there is an old woman in Naha who was sold when a girl into prostitution by her father because he could not get rid of the tag and could no longer make the payments. Here is a concept of justice that is indeed remote from ours.

876 No doubt the tag system is no longer in use anywhere on Okinawa.
178 Students say that the schools are less authoritarian and that there is con-
875 siderably more freedom of discussion. Yet many of the teachers are the same
[177] persons who imposed such controls as the tag system a few years ago. Some may have opposed the former rigidity and some may have changed their views since, but it would be surprising indeed if all have taken over American ideas.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

Between 1875 and 1895, when the court life at the old capitol of Shuri was broken up under Japanese influence, many families of noble origin moved into the country to become farmers, and the village grew in size. These people settled mainly outside the central village in areas where land was available. One family moved into Taira proper, forming the third "main house." Although it still maintains feeble ceremonial connections with Shuri, it gave up its noble title shortly after coming north and moved its ancestral tomb to the community. The noble families who settled in the valleys and hills preserved their distinctive traditions until the end of World War II. Their noble descent was noted in the population register, and intermarriage with commoners was discouraged.

Except for these Shuri migrants, few outsiders seem to have settled in Taira prior to World War II. The residents on the southern part of the island, especially the residents of Naha and Shuri, consider northerners rustics. Although this part of the island was often used as a hiding place by political and criminal refugees from the south, who are said to have founded nearby villages, none of them made their home in Taira.

The original settlers of Taira were reluctant to accept later arrivals in their midst. Because of the fear of spirits, foreign to the village, they prohibited the burial of the newcomer's dead near the tombs shared by the members of the "main houses." To this day the funeral urns of a family who came to Taira about 60 years ago and later intermarried with settled villages are kept in a cave, away from all other tombs.

Higashi township was established in 1922. The area had previously belonged to Kushi township to the south, but the great distances between villages and the mountainous character of the country made efficient administration very difficult. Furthermore, some Higashi inhabitants felt that because of temperamental differences and divergent interests they should separate from the southern township. Since 1922 contacts have been predominantly with Ogimi township to the northwest and the town of Nago, 16 miles away. Once the road connecting the two coastlines was completed in 1936, Taira's isolation decreased considerably, and it became the administrative seat of Higashi township in 1946.

Taira also became the home of the high priestess. In the period prior to direct Japanese administration, her office was under the jurisdiction of the Shuri court (Lebra, 1958), and her predecessors must have been appointed by the Okinawan kings. Taira may have been chosen as the seat of the high priestess in lieu of Kawata because Kawata lacks the good rice land which traditionally went to the high priestess by royal decree. Some of this rice land is still in the hands of the living priestess.

Other Diviners Besides the sanjinsoo there are several other types of diviners, such as palmists, physiognomists, and card readers. 791
Some of these combine prayer and supposed reliance upon supernatural powers with their science. For example in Ishikawa there is a young woman who is referred to as a kaminchu-gwaa or yuta-gwaa, though neither term is very apt. She is consulted about the character and future of individual persons. Her performance consists of asking the birth year of the person in question, [787] praying, and then dealing out a fortune from a pack of playing cards of an archaic type. She charges ¥30 for each person inquired about. As with the true yuta illness may be a matter on which she is consulted.

Like the sanjinsoo, these persons are found mainly in the larger towns and cities, where it appears that they manage to make a living. Whatever the law reads on the matter the police and the public evidently 791 regard these professions as legitimate as long as the practitioners are 689 sincere in their work. There was a famous case in Ishikawa about 1951, however, where two young women set up an establishment as diviners. They are said to have given advice free to the needy at first and built up a large clientele, whereupon they began overcharging their wealthier customers and spending the money on riotous living. Finally the police put a stop to their activities, charging them with giving advice in an irresponsible manner.

The Yabuu The term yabuu seems to be derived from the Japanese 'yabu-isha', 759 literally "bush-doctor", defined by the dictionary as "quack". 177
The Japanese and English terms, however, reflect attitudes that are probably not associated with the Okinawan yabuu. The yabuu is a practitioner of 'Kampōi', "Chinese Medicine", a term that was once coordinate with 'Rampōi' "Dutch Medicine", that is, modern Western (and now modern Japanese) medicine. The methods of the yabuu include moxibustion, acupuncture, and the prescription of various foods.

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Moxibustion (Japanese 'o-kyū') is the burning of 'mogusa' or "moxa" on the patient's flesh. On an occasion which I observed, a woman brought a child of two or three to be treated. The yabuu took out his charts of the body, which, he explained, showed where the nerves may be reached. The theory seems to be that the burning activates the nerves and causes the body to throw off the illness. In this case the child seemed to be suffering from some internal disorder. Its body bore the scars of previous treatment. The yabuu, after consulting his chart, painted four dots on the child's bare back with a red liquid. Then he wetted a finger and put on each dot a tiny bit of 'mogusa' and with a lighted punk lit each bit, let it burn down to the skin, and then tamped it out. His wife then wiped off the ashes, leaving a small black scar where each dot had been. He then burned six more spots on each side of the child's chest, four around the navel, one on each ankle and one on each wrist. Throughout the procedure the child cried and had to be restrained by its mother. The scars, however, are said not usually to be permanent.

Acupuncture consists of inserting into the flesh a long gold needle ('kimbari'), usually at the afflicted spot. It is used, for example, to relieve the stiffness of the hips associated with childbirth.

593 596 tered in the villages--a first son may be passed over in favor of a second son because of mental disability, gross incompetence, or excessive drinking, or the father, by selling his land to his other sons may in effect disinherit his first son. These actions involve [428] the courts and it is rare for villagers to engage in litigation. In [691] practice, the first son almost invariably succeeds. On his marriage, the first son and his wife live in the home of his parents. There are some exceptions to this. Since the war, some first sons in agri- [464] cultural communities have found opportunities in business in Naha, in larger towns like Itoman or Nago, in military government or in Okinawan government positions. In this case, the first son does not live with his parents, but he continues with this new work in the strange town, the [591] parents on their retirement, or as they become more helpless, joining the son. But in cases where the first son continues in the occupation of his father, this is the usual and expected practice. Only long standing incompatability between father and son prevents such an arrangement.

593 464 166 167 One point regarding the future of the family system that may assume importance in Okinawa is that the responsibilities of the first son increase with any decline in opportunities for succeeding sons. The traditional outlet for sons other than the first in Oriental countries has been migration to the cities, to lands of new settlement, or emigration to foreign countries. In Okinawa, emigration to various parts of the world, the South Seas, Hawaii, Peru, Brazil has been the most important of these outlets. Its history cannot be understood without appreciating this fact. Both first and succeeding sons have emigrated. With the virtual stoppage of emigration, the only solution for second and succeeding sons would seem to lie in opportunities coming from military installations, government work, industrial and urban development, in addition to the present opportunities in agriculture. If with a growing population, the family system begins to break apart, it will probably be first noticed in the inability of the first sons to bear increased responsibilities.

593 596 For this reason, it is interesting to record some observed attitudes of first and other sons in the villages studied. These attitudes are personal ones. No inter-village comparisons can be made. The first is one of pride in being a first son and in assuming the headship of the house but dislike of the responsibility of providing for siblings, especially when the estate is not large. Dislike of the responsibilities of being the first son was most observable in Minatogawa. Here the lack of land, succession merely to a house site, a boat or fishing gear, but with the same responsibility for care for younger brothers and sisters, parents and grandparents put the clearest burden on the first son. The financial burden of paying for anniversary celebrations on the death of a relative is especially onerous. There is only minor help from younger brothers. This fact is not resented as a lack of generosity of the younger brothers who by now would have branch houses of their own; it is part of the family system. Younger brothers might contribute, as one first son jokingly said, fifty yen to a celebration that cost two thousand.

Daughters are not considered in inheritance matters if there are male heirs. A daughter's share of family possessions normally comes to her as a marriage present: a kimono, a chest, a mirror, a pillow, and a quilt-like blanket (futon), and other personal articles, or money, depending on the economic abilities of the father. In the absence of male heirs, women (either as wives or daughters) can and do inherit the house and property. In a family without sons, the head has several alternatives: he may allow the daughter to inherit, or adopt a bridegroom for his own house, the first distasteful to the father because there is no one to continue the family line, the second distasteful to the groom who must desert his own family. A third alternative is to adopt a young male child of a relative. 428 [562] [583] [597]

The passing down of property in these villages is governed in large part also by custom and the individual desire of the parents. In the villages, there were no instances of which I knew in which disputes over inheritance and the disposition of property had been carried to court for settlement. Quarrels among a father and his sons or the first sons and his younger brothers are said to be rather common. Much depends on the temperament and the generosity of the first son who controls the property on the death or retirement of his father. The problem was often put in this way: the first son must look after his younger brothers and give them land, but he must also keep his eye on the estate he will be able to pass down to his own children. [692] [578]

2

Essentials of the Inheritance System.

The essentials of the inheritance system, as it was found to be working in these villages, were substantially the same. (1) In the division of property on the death or retirement of the father (or the head of the house), the house site itself is never divided. The family residence, the buildings in the compound remain intact. The house is a symbol of a family's existence and its future. If it is also the main house of the extended family, it is the site of the original founder and is even more inviolate.

An interesting question arises when the first sons are male twins. An old practice, now abandoned, was that the second of the twins inherited as the first son. This was based on a belief that the last child out of the womb was the first one in, and therefore the older. In the villages, one still hears this explanation from older people, but now the universal practice is for the first born to become the first son.

(2) The rest of the property is divided, in varying proportions, among the remaining sons. The first son gets the money, but he is expected to share this. He normally gets at least half the property, the remaining half being divided up among the other sons, either in the

can at least check all transients. Another important duty is to prevent the use of explosives by fishermen, a difficult if not impossible assignment, for he must catch the fisherman *flagrante delicto* when he lands with fish killed in this way. There is no indication that villagers assist the policeman in detecting offenders. 625 [226]

Policing the village itself is not a difficult job. The absence of crime and the low incidence of quarrels, disputes, and brawls would seem to make policing unnecessary. Nevertheless, the policeman interferes at times in disputes. He considers it his duty when actual blows are exchanged and somebody is hurt. In such a case he "investigates," takes notes, and makes a report to the police department. During the entire field work, reportable incidents occurred at about the rate of one a month; in the two or three cases where violence occurred, the matter was settled peacefully later, although the policeman kept a record of it. The rare quarrels which do occur are usually the result of drinking or domestic disagreements, generated by financial problems. 625 578 [674] [273]

The policeman plays the role of judge and jury. In one case a young man hit a woman and was temporarily detained by the policeman until he made apologies to the victim. In disputes over business transactions, the policeman often arbitrates. In a dispute in which a Taira woman was accused of cheating a trader from another village, the policeman heard the case and ordered the Taira woman to make refunds over a period of time. The villagers seem to accept such arbitration. Serious disagreements seem to be unthinkable, and everyone fears public censure and ostracism. Court action is extremely rare and is referred to the provincial courts in the town of Nago. 625 627 [692]

The policeman is given high status by the villagers and commands respect. He remains, probably by his own choice, a neutral person in village affairs. He attends village functions, where he is given a place among village leaders. Being friendly with many families, he visits and is visited by other men. It was noted that fishermen sometimes send a special catch to the policeman. But since this is a courtesy which is also common among farmers with regard to nonfarming people, such as teachers, one should not think of such actions as bribery. Mothers use the policeman as a threat in disciplining children. "If you do such a bad thing again, I'll take you to the police station." This, however, does not seem to instill any fear of his person, but rather a respect towards the general area in which the policeman lives. Village children play freely with the policeman's children, but his courtyard is entered less frequently by children than that of other villagers. 625 [554] [662] [861]

The head of the General Affairs Department at the township office is charged with supervision of public order. It is not clear how much this is a self-assigned task. During several occasions, when an alarm 632 647 625

The mental
isolation of the farm village gradually decreased under a national system of 177
education, but the process did not end with schooling. Upon graduating, the 619
youth, male and female, were enrolled in a national young people's association. 575
Later the young men were drafted for service in the national army, and follow- [702]
ing discharge the veteran was enlisted in a local reserve association which
met frequently for military and social purposes. When a man married, established a separate house, and began farming, membership in the farmer's association was automatically conferred. His wife upon marriage transferred from the young women's association to the women's association. There were, in fact, a variety of national organizations covering the various phases and roles of the individual's life; membership was never a matter of choice, but a thing automatically conferred. A stress on patriotism was a strong concomitant in all of these. Membership gave to the individual a sense of participating in a national society extending far beyond the limits of his small village.

It should be stressed that most Okinawans regard the Japanese as pro- 177
viders of modern, enlightened government. The Japanese administration abol- 829
ished the old class divisions and freed the peasant from his serf-like status. [565]
Taxes on arable land were substantially reduced, and the villager for the
first time was given some voice in government above the village level. Modern [671]
law courts were introduced and justice was administered impartially, not on a class basis as was formerly done.

Inadvertently, perhaps, official Japanese policy did much to destroy 177
the self-sufficiency of the farm village. Prior to the land reform, sugar 621
production did not exceed local needs, but government encouragement and sub- 433
sidy so increased production that by the time of World War II it exceeded consumption by 900%. This resulted in a food shortage which necessitated heavy importations of basic cereals to compensate.

Japanese manufactured goods also contributed to the decline in self- 177
sufficiency. Factory-made cloth gradually displaced home-woven fabrics, and 439
accordingly cotton and fiber banana were no longer raised. The tools, uten- 433
sils, and machines of the factory slowly replaced the simpler devices used [248]
in the village.

Abolition of the system of communal land tenure contributed to a weak- 177
ening of the family and particularly of the large extended kin group. The 602
introduction of private property and Japanese laws of inheritance served to 423
create a landless element which often emigrated from Okinawa in search of land [167]
or jobs elsewhere. Where formerly the kin group had clustered in certain localities, they now became dispersed over great areas, making continued interaction difficult and often impossible.

Sixty-six years of Japanese rule resulted in a fairly successful amal- 177
gamation of Okinawa into the Japanese state; though the Okinawan language and culture were not destroyed, they were severely altered.

Impact of World War II and the American Occupation The war destroyed vir- 727
tually all of rural and urban Okinawa, and resulted in the death of twenty percent of the population.

With the suicide, by harakiri, of General Ushijima and his Chief of Staff, General Cho, whose stars "have fallen with the setting of the waning moon over Mabuni,"[32] the island was conquered, and though it was not known at that time, this was the "last battle" of World War II.[33] 175 648

Unlike the Japanese, the Okinawans seemed unwilling to die when the alternative was death or surrender. They apparently did not take the emperor cult and State Shinto seriously, and though they were conscripted in the Japanese army, they did not identify themselves strongly with the war or its successful conclusion.[34] [103]

The Okinawan people showed remarkable ability to stand up under physical and mental strain. Many lived in caves for long periods, subsisting on whatever food could be obtained. Aside from filth diseases and lice infestations, the death of many of the very young, and some of the very old, they suffered little deterioration and recuperated under care of military government teams with the help of American foods and clothing. Professional observers were struck by their lack of mental collapse and breakdown, and one observer has suggested that prolonged breast feeding and free access to the mother's breast in infancy had given the people the emotional security to withstand the trials of the war.[35] [722] [727] [155]

8

Okinawa After the War

The war brought catastrophic upheavals to the civilian population, especially in those areas of greatest military activity. One consequence 175 727

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000 varying degrees of success.[2]

311 Another period of recklessness began in 1935 and reached its climax in 1940-41. This deterioration was simultaneous with the increase in the acreage of cut over forest land in Japan beginning in 1941.[3]

313 In Okinawa, exploitation of the forests immediately before and during the war were due, according to residents who lived [72] through the experience, to unrestricted cutting for troop shelters and to the large Japanese military requirements for wood. The war's end brought no relief to the forests. Housebuilding and firewood are continuing challenges to forest conservation in Okinawa. The destruction of houses in the populated south caused continuous cutting for building and firewood. In 1947, rates of cutting were estimated to exceed replacement, the main drains being for housebuilding, firewood, and charcoal.[4]

2

The Forests and the Trees of Matsuda

423 311 Matsuda has a large area of village owned forest within its borders. These village owned lands are a survival of the old land allotment system when the arable, the forest, and the wild (genya) lands were community owned.

[Text Continues Top of p. 226--analyst]

2 Civil Affairs Handbook Ryukyu (Loochoo) Islands, 143, gives these dates as 1879-1906. For a published summary of Okinawan forests, their pre-war and post-war problems, and the role of the Ryukyuan Forestry Agency, see H. Y. Nuttonson, Ecological crop geography and field practices of the Ryukyu islands, as cited, 49-58. Nuttonson, following E. H. Walker, makes interesting comparisons of the islands of the Ryukyus. See the remarks on Miyako, Ishigaki, and Irimote, 54-56. For a short and forceful statement of the problem as it applies to Japan, see A report on Japanese natural resources, Tokyo, 1948, 347-59. Many of these remarks apply mutatis mutandis to Okinawa.

3 Nuttonson, as cited, p. 57. Based on B. O. Hughes, A forest policy for the Ryukyu islands. (Food and Natural Resources Department, USCAR), 1951.

4 Okinawan forests, as cited, 5.

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621 778 Although a number of important shrines and worship places are located in the Kawata area, the main shrine is in Taira.

173 648 722 621 To this tranquil area the activities of World War II brought a great upheaval. Although the main stream of refugees from the south, following threats of United States troups' invasion, did not reach this northern area, Japanese guerilla forces settled in the hills of Higashi township. This, and the constant warnings from the Japanese of the "terrors" of American occupation, caused the population of all villages to take refuge in the mountains, carrying along what few possessions they could, including livestock. Families were separated and individuals lived in constant fear of soldiers from both sides. Nightly excursions to the fields to harvest whatever could be found helped to maintain a meager diet. It is characteristic of the stresses of this period that among the children of central Taira only one was born in 1945.

173 648 722 621 The war ended for Taira people when American troops had cleared the northern areas of Japanese troops. In this action several villages were destroyed, among them Taira. The present economic struggle of Higashi township, an area which was always handicapped by lack of farmland and poor soil, is partly due to the war. On the other hand, the demand for lumber for an island-wide reconstruction program lent a temporary boom to the economy. In the process, however, forests [185] which had been heavily cut before the war fell prey to rapid and poorly planned cutting. At present the whole township is in the throes of economic readjustment.

173 167 621 In the past 50 years, Taira, like the rest of Okinawa, has sent some of its overflow of population to various areas in the world, including Japan, and especially to the industrial areas of Kobe and Osaka, Saipan, and Brazil. At least five of the families in central Taira lived either in Japan or the Pacific Islands and returned shortly after World War II. Emigrants to Brazil have stayed with the exception of one prominent person who returned to Taira several years before the war. Some of the families lived as many as 18 or 20 years abroad, and several children in the study were born in Japan and returned to the village as infants. Among the villagers are many who have served in the Japanese Army in Asia or in the South Seas.

The repatriation of these families does not seem to have caused any serious disturbances to the village, since many people were killed during the war and several families moved to the city. An exodus to the [311] outlying areas of the village also provided room for returnees, so, although rice land is scarce, there is still some uncultivated farmland, admittedly mostly of poor quality.

The community is dispersed. In the outlying parts, as far as 2 miles

613 southern part of the island. There the term for the local unit, a relatively small lineage with not very strong ties to the larger unit, is chuchooree (literally, "one brotherhood', to translate literally into Japanese, hito-
613 kyōdai). The larger unit of the commoners is called the ichimung ("one gate"),
614 which is equivalent to the munchu of the south. Some of the gentry families refer to the subdivision of the uji having the same surname as their ichimung. Thus a family may belong to a local chuchooree, to an ichimung containing other families elsewhere of the same surname, and to a still larger uji containing ichimung of other surnames.

614 Functions The functions of the common descent group seem to be almost
769 entirely ritual. Just as the members of a family are responsible for helping the head of the family in making the proper offerings before the tablets and the tomb of its immediate ancestors, so the larger unit has such a responsibility toward the remote ancestors. In the family the eldest son bears the greatest responsibility, so in the common descent group the head of the main house bears the greatest responsibility. But the benefits resulting from proper worship and the misfortunes resulting from negligence may extend even to the youngest branch house, and thus all are interested in maintaining the worship.

614 Representatives of the common descent group worship before the ances-
796 tral tablets at the main house on occasions called u-machii (J. 'o-matsuri'),
769 usually the 15th days of the 2nd, 5th and 6th lunar months and during the New Year's season. They worship at the tomb at the shiimii (J. 'seimei') season in April. For this purpose periodic meetings may be held and dues levied for
[789] the expense of the offerings. Many groups send members on pilgrimages every seventh year (shichinin-maari) to pray at remote shrines; many in the south go to Nakijin in the north for this. There may also be special expenditures such as for the repair of a tomb, the building of a new tomb, or even the repair of the main house if its owner has become impoverished.

614 A few common descent groups are said to have a little property from which the income is used for the expense of the worship, but probably none has enough to be of any other value. The common descent group probably has
[476] no economic functions. In a rural community its members may tend to cooperate a little more in farm work; I observed this to be the case in some instances in Yamada, but informants say that kinship is no more important than closeness of residence and that neighbors ought to cooperate.

614 Nevertheless the common descent group occasionally seems to have
666 political functions. In a recent election in southern Okinawa, munchu membership became a factor. A cartoon that appeared in the Okinawa Times of 8 March 1954 shows opposing candidates carrying banners announcing their munchu. In the village of Komesu, south of Itoman, supporters of candidates appealed to members of their candidates' munchu to support their own regardless of political party.

613 The unity of the kin group may appear in time of crisis. In the vil-
722 lage of Yamada, during the battle in 1945, many of the villagers hid out in improved natural caves. According to one informant's account, at first there was some moving around but ultimately people of the same chuchooree clung together. In one instance bad feeling arose between two groups over the sharing of a cave.

[Yamada]

Thus Aza Yamada consisted of seven settlements grouped into six 'han' and into five chinju. The chinju was probably the older, "natural" unit, while the 'han' was a unit introduced by the Japanese administration. 621 [177]

During the last few months before the battle for Okinawa, the area south of Yamada was used as an ammunition dump by the Japanese navy, one small unit was stationed in Tarigaa, and a number of Okinawan civilians drafted for labor were quartered there with the local people. These outsiders dispersed as the raiding by American planes increased and by the time the landing took place, on 1 April 1945, the people of Yamada had for the most part gone into caves and prepared underground shelters. Two or three days after the landing the 6th MarDiv passed through Yamada, discovering some of the people and sending them behind the lines, but missing many. Some of those taken were almost immediately allowed to return to their homes. Then, after about a week, all were rounded up, taken to the school, and there loaded onto trucks and taken to Ishikawa. During the following weeks all the buildings in Yamada that had survived the softening-up process that preceded the landing were burned "as a sanitary measure" with the exception of one house and one school building. A part of the Yamada people were moved again to a village north of Kin while the rest stayed in Ishikawa, which was becoming the largest concentration of civilians on the island. Aza Yamada, empty of Okinawans, was occupied by several American units; concrete foundations for quonset huts were laid on the level fields of Tirabaru; the walls and floor of the remaining school building were removed so as to make a garage for a motor pool. 175 621 726 727

The people of Yamada were permitted to move back to their village during the summer of 1946. Some stayed in Ishikawa, however, and some returned to Yamada only to go back to Ishikawa later. (One woman said they were told at the time that if they did not return to Yamada then they could never return later.) The houses at Yamada had to be rebuilt and fields reclaimed; American aid in materials was given but the job was not an easy one. For some of those who had employment with American units or whose families were too broken by the war to provide the basis for a farming household, the new city of Ishikawa, crowded and unsanitary as it was (and still is), was more attractive than the ruins of the country village. But in addition to those from Ishikawa, former Yamada people were being shipped home from Japan, the South Seas, and Manchuria, and although some of these too drifted to the city, the population of Yamada is now somewhat larger than it was before the war. 175 621 727

The postwar village of Yamada looks considerably different from the prewar one. While the old village consisted of several widely separated settlements, the new one is fairly compact. The center is Ajimaa at the old cross-roads below the school. Yamada 'mura-uchi' is empty but for three families. The yaarui of Uema and Tarigaa were never reoccupied and Tirabaru exists only as a sort of pseudopodium of Ajimaa stretching toward but not reaching its former location. The greater part of the 'mura-uchi' and yaarui people are in Ajimaa and the present Tirabaru. Kuraha, formerly down on the beach, has been rebuilt above the water, just below Ajimaa, at a new and potentially more important crossroads. 621 178 [341]

829 726 5) War Experiences Many younger and even middle-aged men saw service in the war, some in Manchuria, China, and Southeast Asia. Their experiences of course varied. One well-educated man told me how pleasant he found Burma and how much he would like to return there as a civilian; he had been in the Japanese Military Government there. Others returned from the war to tell of terrible experiences. One story, which was said to be well-known around Itoman, told how an Okinawan whose unit was making a last stand deserted to surrender to the Americans when he was warned by a friend that as an Okinawan he had been chosen to go into the pot for dinner.

829 On the home front old people, women, and children were able to see the army at first hand during the last few months before the battle, when many units prepared to defend the island. Many civilians saw the harsh army discipline and saw, we were told, how when army rations became short the officers continued to eat well while the men had to loot from the fields of the civilians. They remember the Korean labor units, some of whom in the south were detailed to cut the Okinawan farmers' trees to build defenses. They also remember the 'Chōsen-P', the Korean girls brought by the Japanese army to serve as prostitutes for the men; some informants believed the Japanese army's system of army brothels to be superior to the policy of the American army.

In general the present Okinawan view of the late Japanese army is not a flattering one. But it must be emphasized that most informants seemed quick to distinguish between the Japanese army and Japanese civilians, army policy and national culture.

177 829 [724] 6) The Present Scene The Japanese government's present display of interest in Okinawa, as seen for example in the recent granting of pensions to survivors of war dead, the renewed interest of Japanese scholars in Okinawan culture, and the movie industry's "Okinawa boom" have made an impression on the Okinawans. The government's interest may be mainly political; the interest of the scholars, however, is genuine, and the reasons for the 829 movie boom too may run deeper than propaganda considerations. Okinawa was 724 the only part of Japan, the only one of the forty-six prefectures, that was actually defended against a landing. The people of Okinawa were the only 177 Japanese who fought to protect their homeland from invasion. And thus the people of Okinawa-ken showed the greatest heroism of any Japanese. This, potentially, is the argument that may one day raise the status of Okinawans to great heights in the Japanese scheme of things, apart from any conscious policy on the part of the Japanese government. Many Okinawans may be well aware of their latent heroism as a group. What they actually did go through as individuals must not be minimized and may well motivate some to try to derive some reward from it. (I must admit that this is speculation; I have not been told by any Okinawans that they are, or might be considered to be, the most heroic of the Japanese, but I believe that this interpretation is inherent in the situation.)

177 829 On the other hand, the differentiating treatment that Okinawans met in Japan in the past is still there too. Recently a volleyball team went to Japan, where, it is said, the first meal served them consisted of bread while the Japanese teams around them were served rice. When they objected they were told that it was understood that the Okinawans had become wholly Americanized

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175 was that large numbers of refugees from the south were sent to the
● 177 northern area. The destruction of the heavily populated south and cen-
166 tral areas, with their many villages, gave new prominence to the northern district whose villages, much less damaged and less densely populated, were now in the best preserved part of the island. The roles of the two regions had, in a sense, been reversed. The northern region was no longer a rustic hinterland.

In 1945, the Okinawans came under the direct military government
[648] of the Americans, and from these early beginnings, which in the heat of conflict were scarcely more than compounds for the relief and care of refugees, there has evolved the extensive present civil administration and the native government.

175 The Americans have thus been the most recent arrivals on an island
177 with a long history of inertia and change. The results of this last, and probably greatest intrusion into the culture of Okinawa cannot yet be predicted. This cultural influence is a stronger, certainly a much different one, than the great changes which came about when the Japanese set on their course to make over Ryukyuan, especially Okinawan life.

177 The war years, with conscription and service in the Japanese army
178 in other parts of the empire, the disruption and deaths in the war, were effective in preventing the handing down of the traditional culture from one generation to another. This may mean a more ready receptivity to newer influences. It will be clear in the pages that follow that many aspects of the culture, familiar to the old, are now unknown to the young.

177 Whether the American influence will be a conservative one, in the sense that the fundamental attitudes and framework of the culture as it existed before the war, will be retained, or whether it will be a revolutionary intrusion remains to be seen. Will, for example, the individualis of the American culture tend to break down the structure of the family system? Or will American influences assert themselves within the framework of the culture, and will the flexible family system absorb only surface influences, leaving the basic culture as it is?

175 On a preceding page, the point was made that in the earlier periods
177 there probably was not a homogeneous Okinawan culture, that its centers,
184 Naha and Shuri, were under strong contemporary Chinese and Japanese influences, and that in the rural areas an older culture existed relatively unmolested. This gap was narrowed after the island became the seat of a province of the Japanese empire, through such measures as the new land law and the introduction of mass education, direct interferences were made in the traditional life of the rural areas.

175 In my opinion, the American influence so far has been to close this
184 gap even more, but for different reasons. The Americans have made no
648 direct interferences in the lives of the villages, except in those cases

in which villages have been moved and land preempted for military purposes. The devastation of the war, the mixing of the people, their dispersion as refugees throughout the island prepared the way for greater uniformity. Since the war's end, increased mobility, ease of transportation, the widening of the roads have done much to further obliterate sectional differences in this small island, scarcely sixty miles long. 175 184 648 [227] [484]

During historical times, and probably during times now lost to an undocumented past, this island, far from being isolated, has been influenced strongly by other cultures. From the examples which have been given, one can at least gain an intimation of the stability and change that have characterized its experience, and some insight, no matter how slight, into the historical depth of a culture with which the Americans, in one form or another, and for some time to come, will be associated. 177 178

361 The village is a group of houses, each with its own compound, and
351 these give it an inclosed look. There are few if any gardens or vegetable patches either in the compounds or within the village settlement.

363 The lanes resemble quiet winding country roads. The rock fences, or the lines of trees or shrubbery often conceal the houses. There is an appearance of loneliness in these lanes and roads, except at busy times of the day when the children return from school. The lack of commercial
[482] activity, except for the women carrying rice on their heads to the mill
[462] and for the small village stores, contributes to this impression of quiet, which one would expect from the routine of agriculture. At night, when
[354] the doors are drawn, and when the flickering and smoky oil lamps are lit, the loneliness and quiet of the village is even more pronounced. The
[493] lanes and the roads are deserted, save for an occasional passing truck,
[192] bicycle, or three wheeled cycle, and in one of the favorite words of all Okinawans, the place is sabishii.[6]

Since there is little activity in the village other than farming,
366 neighboring villages and distant towns supply the additional needs. At
368 nearby Gushichan village, there are the primary and junior high schools, the post office, the township and agricultural association offices, a barbershop, and some small stores. At Minatogawa, about one and one half miles away, there is a public bath, and across the river from this village, in Horikawa, an occasional play from the Okinawan stage, or a movie. Buses run through the village twice a day and one can make connections to Naha or Itoman, the two most likely places for buying
[494] or selling. Or one can take the three wheeled cycles which pass through more frequently.

● 727 Physically, the village was much affected by the war. On June 11,
362 1945, the front line ran through the cultivated area between Hanashiro and Gushichan villages. Hill 95, the scene of fierce fighting was in the vicinity of Hanashiro.[7] One can still see an occasional tank track, abandoned helmets and scattered fragments of war materials in the fields. The village was affected by the war in ways which are now observable indirectly in the makeshift houses, improvised shacks, the roofs of half
[355] tile and half thatch, the odd additions to the older buildings partly destroyed, and the lack of drain pipes and water catchment tanks. Houses, which to superficial appearance, have existed for generations, have been rebuilt since the war with grass substituting for the tile roofs.
[311] War operations over the cultivated areas also resulted in some loss of land. A long mound in the rice areas, with paths along its ridge, was formerly a road built by the Americans in the final drive toward Mabuni. Almost all the houses in the village were destroyed.

6 This Japanese word suggests both loneliness and melancholy.

7 Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 437 (illustration), 434-42 on the struggle for Hill 95.

133 Hanashiro and Oushichan villages to a broad semi-circular valley, the
361 Oushichan plain, with a gentle gradient sloping to the sea. Shortly before the coast is reached there is a sharper drop, and it is in this depression along the shore and the coastal strip that the fishing village lies.

134 The Okinawan clay loams and the Chinen stony clays are also the
133 predominating soils of the area. There are about 85 acres of the gently sloping clay loams, 155 acres of the gently sloping Chinen stony clays. While moderately fertile and well drained, these soils are also shallow and stony, with obvious defects for the pursuit of agriculture. There are 10 acres of deep, fertile poorly drained, slightly acid alluvial soils. These occur along the river and its estuary and in a small former river mouth to the south. There are about six acres in rough stony land.

731 The village has very little storm protection. There are no shelter
133 belts around it, nor are there many trees within. It is open to storms
417 and typhoons, and the water, lashed by the sea, is sufficient to break and scatter the large stones of the seawall. At present, inside the village there is none of the privacy typical of the agricultural villages and their compounds. There are few trees, shrubs, or fences. In the
361 older part of the village, the houses are closely set together. Fishing
351 nets hang on the lines of the yard. In season, the yard is covered with
227 drying fish, fish fins, and fish backs. The yards and the shore are dotted with men cleaning or repairing their boats.

362 The lack of natural beauty of the place is accentuated by the poor-
512 ness of the houses and the other buildings. Its atmosphere is unmistakably different. The village is more commercial and more lively than the quiet
484 and concealed agricultural village. Life is not so much of a routine, for much depends on the weather and the sea. The village has people who have travelled widely. Some of its fishermen have been in the waters of Java, of the South Seas, of the Andaman Islands, the Philippines, and Indo-China.

438 The village's main commercial contacts are with the remaining agricultural villages of the township from which it must obtain much of
[311] its food, for the area is not suited to agriculture, nor is much land available. For wider contacts, there are Itoman about 4 1/2 miles, and Naha about 8 1/2 miles away. Buses go through the village twice a day.
494 The three wheeled cycles are irregular but come and go more often. Fish
368 is sold at Naha. The theatre for the travelling troupe of actors from Naha and for movies is in Horikawa across the river. Many visits are
574 also made to Itoman to see relatives and friends.

The war was even more catastrophic for Hinatogawa than for Hanashiro.
● 727 Before the war, Hinatogawa was a thriving, prosperous and well built up small town. About 70% of its buildings had a tile roof and 30% had
[361] thatch roofs. There were about 30 stores, sake shops and drinking places, including a geisha house, along the road, serving the fishermen and the stonecutters. Of the 430 buildings in the area, only three were left

standing. At one time, the Hinatogawa beaches were seriously considered for the initial landings in Okinawa, and later as a possible second landing. After the campaign for the south had begun, Hinatogawa became a forward loading point.[10] The present village has been completely rebuilt, and the newer buildings, with few exceptions, are frail and undistinguished. The war shows its effects, too, on the southern part of the village where there is a barren acreage, formerly the site of an army camp, its top soil so shallow that the bulldozers in levelling it soon reached the rock beneath.

Nearby Nagamo is a village of a different type. It is divided into two distinct quarters, also a result of the war. The old part formerly was to the north in the main stonecutting area, but following the destruction, a new settlement was started in the farm land a few hundred yards south. Cultivation is marginal on the shallow soil of the sloping valley before it descends into the flat coastal area in which the fishing village is located.

Hinatogawa, which means River Port, is a distinctive village reminiscent of the famous fishing town of Itoman, though without its size, beauty, or color.

4

Matsuda

Matsuda is a here-and-there type of village. The village area including the community owned forest is over a square mile. The countryside is dotted with several small sub-settlements. Within each sub-settlement, the houses also are scattered about and separated from one another by large trees, thick growths of shrubbery, grasses, stone fences, and cultivated fields.

The village is located in Ginoza township (Ginoza-son) on the northeast side of the island. This township is in the northern district (Kunigami, or Yambaru). The village is on Highway 13, which winds along the northeast coast through Ishikawa, Kin, Kanna, and Ginoza villages.

Though near the sea, a typical site of a northern Okinawan village, it is a settlement engaged in agriculture and forestry. Its name suggests its nature. Matsuda is a compound of the characters for pine tree, matsu, and rice field, ta, da. Though there is some fishing in the sub-settlements along the Pacific shore, it is casual and a part time occupation for farmers on the coast. The families exclusively

[Text Continues TOP of P. 55--Analyst]

10 The statistics on village destruction are taken from accounts of the villagers. They are estimates. For operations in this area, see Okinawa, the last battle, as cited, 68, 74, 426-27, 436, 439.

361 traditional attitudes that the north was a culturally rude and physically
311 inhospitable place. The highway which now goes through the center of the main part of the village is a good, hard surfaced, dirt road, widened since the war. A lively traffic of trucks and buses and the three wheel
[491] cycles contrasts with the narrow pre-war roads, traces and abandoned
[494] sections of which can still be seen. The frequent buses supply transportation to the larger cities and towns of the island: to Nago across the island and slightly to the north, to Ishikawa on the south, and to distant Naha, about 31 miles away.

● 927 Matsuda, unlike the southern villages, was not destroyed by the war. There were some air raids, some bombing out of the houses, but nothing like the destruction in the main areas of conflict. Early in the Okinawan campaign, the north was cut off and isolated and the struggle for the
[362] island took place in central and southern Okinawa. As a consequence,
[342] many of the old houses, sturdily built with tile roofs, have been preserved.
[166] Numerous refugees from the south gathered in this area during and after the campaign. In nearby Ginoza (Jinuza) village, slightly over a mile to the southwest, also on Highway 13, the Americans operated a hospital
[193] for Okinawan refugees. It is still in use. This relative lack of war destruction in the northern villages has, to a degree, reversed the roles
184 of the north and the south. The opening up of the north, its prosperity, the survival of many of its old homes, give the impression of comfort and well being conspicuously lacking in most of the makeshift villages of the south.

The descriptions of these three villages perhaps make clear the diversity that can be expected among Okinawan settlements. Hanashiro, the small village cluster, with adjoining rice fields on the valley floor, its other crops on the terraced slopes, is the most typical. Minatogawa, the fishing village in an impoverished countryside of stony or shallow soil, is dependent on the seas and its catch for its livelihood and the wherewithal to buy the foods which cannot be grown in sufficient abundance. Matsuda, a collection of small settlements, scattered here and there from the coast inland, with its large preserve of community forest, is an example of agriculture in a forest setting, and of the use of the forest in daily living. This by no means exhausts the diversity. The village of
[136] Oku to the north, with its tea, its rice, its fences for wild boar pro-
[292] tection, its cycads planted on the hillsides to prevent erosion, is still another example. But our task here is not to catalogue all diversity, but to indicate that it exists and to a much greater degree than would appear to superficial observation.

1

Generalities on the Population History of Okinawa Island

Virtually nothing is known, to my knowledge, of the growth of population in Okinawa in historic times. Early travellers made some estimates, but they gave no basis for them. In a previous chapter, it was mentioned that the introduction of the sweet potato in the early 17th century must have allowed a greater population on the island than had hitherto been the case. No doubt also malaria and other diseases kept the population down, at least until the latter part of the 19th century. This ignorance of population growth extends down to recent history.[1] 161 174 [177] [164]

There seems to have been very little immigration to the Ryukyus and the population has probably been homogeneous for long periods of time. There were many Japanese in Okinawa, but these were largely in the towns and main cities. Most of them left after the war.[2] This meant that the population of Okinawa continued to be made up of preponderantly the native born, though in recent years there has been some immigration of Amamians. 167 [563] [162]

Emigration during the 20th century has been the outstanding fact in the population history of the island. Little is known of the nature of this emigration, but it is believed to have started in the early years of the twentieth century. Until World War II, emigration was the answer to the problem of a population that was growing beyond the ability of the island's resources to support it. It has been estimated that the emigration from Okinawa prefecture in the period 1920-1940 was over 193,400 persons. This represented a loss of 98% of the estimated natural increase for the 1920-1940 period. It was 34% of the prefecture's total 1920 population.[3]

The Okinawan campaign, also, was accompanied by large scale displacements of people who remained on the island. It was estimated that in a pre-invasion shifting of the population, over 3/4 of the people 177 166

[Text continues on top of p. 60--analyst]

1 Dr. Green in 1853 estimated the population of Okinawa at 150,000 or possibly 200,000. But this was only a crude guess. Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 36. For population estimates prior to World War II, see CA Handbook, as cited, 45-51.

2 As of Nov. 30, 1946, 57,345 Japanese, 1,755 Koreans, and 21 Formosans had been repatriated from the Ryukyus, with 3,706 Japanese remaining to be repatriated. See note 3 following.

3 Newman, Marshall T. and Eng, Roman, L. The Ryukyu people, a biological appraisal. Amer. Journ. of physical anthropology, n.s., 5 (1947), 113-57. Reference on pp. 135-36. This estimate was made by subtracting the estimated natural increase from the total increase, 1920-40, making allowances for the under registration of births. On post-war population history immediately following the war, see pp. 135-46 of this article.

were in the north and central portions of the island.[4] During the campaign, the displacements of people and the destruction of villages in the south were particularly striking. Large numbers were sent to the Kunigami region. "There they overwhelmed the local inhabitants and all suffered great privations, despite the efforts of U. S. personnel to properly feed, clothe, and house them." By June 1, 1946, 138,000 had been resettled, and as of July 1 of the same year, there were still 125,000 displaced persons on the island.

The war and the subsequent occupation have stopped the historic emigration of Okinawans. Repatriation began in 1946. By November 30, 1946, a year and four months after the conclusion of the Okinawan campaign, 183,077 Okinawans had been returned, 142,713 from Japan, 26,003 from the Pacific islands, 12,154 from Formosa, 1954 from Hawaii, and 253 from Korea. An additional 36,720 were awaiting repatriation at this time. The result was that "by November 30, 1946, repatriation brought the population up to within 40,000 of its early 1944 level." The total population of the Ryukyus on February 22, 1944 was given as 857,019, and 817,160 on November 30, 1946. In this short period of 16 months, the war losses had been largely made up. While these figures are Ryukyu totals, Okinawa island, as the largest and most populous island in the chain undoubtedly reflected these trends.[5] According to the 1950 census, the population of Okinawa island was 517,600.

The twentieth century history of the population of Okinawa is therefore one of large scale emigration up to the war, wholesale displacement of people within the island during the campaign of 1945, the repatriation of considerable numbers of Ryukyuans following the conclusion of the war, and the present period of growth of the population under conditions of peace, health measures, and without the historic outlet of emigration.

2

Village Populations and Their Characteristics

One can only surmise what has happened to the population structure of Okinawan villages as a result of the war. The old records which would furnish materials for detailed comparisons have been destroyed; hence, one can know only vaguely how the present characteristics of village populations compare with the pre-war conditions. The contemporary characteristics of the population of each of the villages studied and for the totals of each of their respective townships are shown in the accompanying population pyramids and in the tables illustrating sex and age distribution at five year age intervals (Western age count).

In the totals of the three villages and the two townships females substantially outnumber males, though there is considerable variation in the numbers and proportions within the age groups.

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 61 -- analyst]

4 Ibid, 137. Quotation is on pp. 140-41.

5 Newman and Eng, as cited, 140-41, 143. See also the very interesting article of Henry S. Bennett, The impact of invasion and occupation on the civilians of Okinawa. United States Naval Institute Proceedings, 72 (1946), 263-75.

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727

There are noticeably fewer children of both sexes in the 5-9 age group. These are the children born from about 1942 to 1946. If these statistics are presented in further detail for the age groups under twenty, further distinctions are clear. These are shown in the following table:

Totals	Hanashiro Village			Minatogawa Village			Gushichan Township			Matsuda Village			Ginoza Township		
	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F	T	M	F
Under 5 years	118	70	48	198	101	97	1153	606	547	230	120	110	849	446	403
Under 1 yr.	24	14	10	22	12	10	215	112	103	50	30	20	171	89	82
1-4 years	94	56	38	176	89	87	938	494	444	180	90	90	678	357	321
5-9 years	50	25	25	111	63	48	566	285	281	166	79	87	638	306	332
10-14 yrs.	72	32	40	128	53	75	818	393	426	182	84	98	704	336	368

In Gushichan-son, an active theatre of the war, the proportion of the children under 5 to those from five to nine is 2:1. In Ginoza-son, a much less active theatre, the proportion is 1.3: 1. The corresponding figures for the villages are:

Hanashiro (Gushichan township) 2.4 : 1
Minatogawa (Gushichan township) 1.8 : 1
Matsuda (Ginoza township) 1.4 : 1

In every case the totals of the age group of 10-14 are greater than in the 5-9 year group. In all villages, and in both townships, males are more frequent than females in the age group under one year.

The greatest imbalance in the sex ratios is in the age group from 20 to 49; here the females outnumber the males. During the war years, these groups ranged in age from approximately 10-15 to 39-44 years of age. This group now includes the main child bearing part of the population.

After 50 years of age, the balance between the sexes is somewhat restored and, with some minor deviations, they tend to be about equal, with women predominating at the highest age levels, 80 years and over.

These village statistics indicate that the effects of the war were shown in a shortage of males of young and middle age, an excess of women, to which pre-war emigration of men probably also contributed, and the lowered birthrate during the war years and the probable high infant mortality during the Okinawan campaign. The present broad base, represented by those under 5 years of age in the pyramids is indicative of what might be expected under the Occupation, with public health measures and no emigration. The pyramid for Gushichan township is especially striking in the comparison between the under 5 and the 5-9 age group.

161

If these figures are typical of Okinawa island, they furnish a hint as to the trend toward population increase, a combination of such circumstances as peace, lack of conscription and foreign service, repatriation,

[Text Continues top of P. 65--Analyst]

stoppage of emigration, and public health measures. While the following statistics are worthless from a demographic point of view, they may nevertheless indicate the village trends. 161

Matsuda Village, 1951 163 165

	Births	Deaths
Total	46	11
Male	26	5
Female	20	6

In Gushichan township, where individual village totals were not available, the statistics show a similar trend:

Gushichan Township, 1951

	Births	Deaths
Total	263	52
Male	140	26
Female	123	26

3

What Happened with Repatriation

In the peace time emigration before the war, the intention to return was almost universal. Typically a first son, as the future responsible person for his parents, emigrated as a young man, before marriage, with the intention of accumulating savings and supporting his parents during his absence, later returning to marry if he had not acquired a wife abroad. People in the villages now say that the desire to return has declined sharply with the economic hardships and the threat of renewed warfare, and that Okinawans in foreign countries will probably remain there for the rest of their lives. Okinawans living abroad, according to family registers in the villages, are now mostly in Peru, Brazil, Argentina, and Hawaii. 167 [593] [454] [582]

The effects of repatriation on the township level can be seen from the following statistics for Gushichan township. Comparable statistics were not available in Ginoza-son. 161 728

Pre-war population, 1940	6445
Deaths resulting from the war	1700
Repatriates	1030
Population, December 31, 1951	6267

Despite the fact that deaths resulting from the war must have been between 20% and 25% of the total population of the township, repatriates [727]

593 in a military installation which keeps them away from their homes, they
remain there, helping in the fields, or go out on the fishing boats, as
[582] the case may be. If a son other than the first remains in the family
after the age of marriage, it is generally for some physical or mental
disability. Under the normal operation of the family system, there is
591 no time in a person's life in which he is not part of some family unit
and living in the same house with his parents, an elder brother, or
with a wife and his children, or with his grandchildren.

727 The war enforced many exceptions to this normal life cycle, as the
593 discussion of the previous table brought out: conscription and military
service, deaths in battle or as a consequence of the campaign, widow-
hood and the orphaning of children. In the villages studied, the post-
war situation was not disrupting family life further by the movement of
younger unattached men to Naha or the larger towns, or by their separatio
from daily life while doing work for military camps. At least it was not
sufficiently frequent to result in a deterioration of normal family life.
591 In these villages branch families were established for the most part
in the village of the parent family. There are two reasons for this:
first, the desire to remain near the parents and siblings, and second,
[423] that the property which the father, or elder brother, has at his disposal
is normally real property and land holdings in the village. Cash, which a
[435] agricultural or fishing family might have at its disposal, would usually
be insufficient at present prices for a second or succeeding son to be
given money to purchase land and a house site elsewhere. Occasionally a
[425] father sells land in the village to provide his son with money to purchas
a house site and fields elsewhere, but this is not usual.

The mechanics of establishing a branch household may be illustrated from practices observed in each of the villages, though the procedure is essentially the same.

Hanashiro is a settlement in the center of a cultivated area of dry
[361] field farming and rice paddies. The cultivated area begins on the outer
rim of the village. The father, or the elder brother, gives a field
(hatake in Japanese) to the son, or younger brother, if it is suitable
for a house site. If the land owned is too far away--there are no
[425] isolated homesteads--an effort is made to exchange with a neighbor, frie
or relative, the far off property for a parcel closer in. If this is
not possible, the remote piece is sold and the proceeds used to purchas
a suitable plot in the residential area. If the family is too poor to
[426] give money or land, an attempt may be made to borrow the money for pur-
chase. If none of these arrangements is possible, the son may simply
start out on his own, or less commonly, may live with his wife in the
home of his parents, or delay his marriage. But it is uncommon for a
second or succeeding son and his wife and children to live in the house
of the parents or of the elder brother.

311 In this way, the residential area gradually replaces the cultivated
591 areas which surround it. One consequence of the establishment of branch
families in agricultural villages is that it gradually decreases the

off a main road or village lane. (5) Forest lands (sanrin). This is an important classification in Matsuda, but of minor significance in Hanashiro and Minatogawa. In the latter villages forest land is not recognizable because so many of the trees have been destroyed. In general, forest lands are community owned. (6) Shelter belts or groves of trees along the seashore or on crests of hills for typhoon protection. These are known as bōfurin. The trees are distinct from the forest lands; often they stand in isolated groves. In the south trees for typhoon shelters are confined to the settled area. There are no large groves surrounding and protecting the whole cultivated countryside. (7) Religious sites (haisho). These are small in area, the sites of buildings devoted to the local tutelary deities (ujigami). (8) The village community property (kyōchi). This may include the village office site and school grounds. (9) A miscellaneous classification (zashuchi). This is also public property, including vegetable plots, small public squares, very small parks, ponds, road meeting places and the like. These combined areas are usually small. (10) In the Gushichan area, there is one further classification: destroyed land (tsuborechi). This is land in the war area which has not been or cannot be restored. The pieces are not large. During the war a bulldozer may have made a road out of this land; it may be filled with stones or the shallow top soil of the land may have been scraped off in leveling for an army post or camp. 311 [127]

The bases for grading land within each class are different. In Gushichan township, the main consideration in grading rice land is the availability of water. First class rice land is where the water is. In this township, there are seven grades of rice land, although any one village may have only four or five. The first five grades in the township are rice lands with two yields a year. Grades one through five are determined by the yield of the plot, through past experience. Grades six and seven are one crop areas. The distinctions between the grades can be seen in the following table: 311 243 [312]

Grade of Rice Land	Expected Yield in Koku per Cho
1	24
2	18
3	15
4	12
5	7.5
6	6.7
7	6.0

[433]

A koku is 5.12 US dry bushels. A chō is 3000 tsubo, about 2.45 acres. [804]

If there is a drought in any year, the grades of land are not changed the following year, but the estimate of expected yield may

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Care and Conservation of Land

One of the significant tasks of our time is the study of the relation between population growth and density and the exploitation of renewable and non-renewable resources: the effects of a culture on the land, the forests, the soils and the vegetation must be considered in ethnographic and geographic work. If this is not done the culture is studied as if it rested, like a plate on a table, on a geographic base, without bothering to discover the nature of the environment or what the culture is doing to it.

Nineteenth century studies of primitive and advanced societies emphasized the influence of the physical environment in molding a culture. This crude fallacy, often known as geographic determinism or environmentalism, was exploded by studies made of cultures in all parts of the world in which it became clear that the physical environment is not the cause of cultural differences.

But the reverse of this approach, the examination of what a culture is doing to its physical environment, its soils, its vegetation, and its forests has not been carried on with the vigor with which other aspects of culture have been studied. This point of view has practical significance in day to day administration. Economic matters such as foreign trade or the labor force requirement should not be a separate and independent segment for study. Changes in inheritance should not be viewed solely with reference to the family system. Forest conservation should not be regarded only as a technique and a necessary department in the government.

The effects of the devastating typhoons, for example, need no elaboration: the destruction of life, crops, houses, of boats, and breakwaters. But their effects are also influenced by other factors. The two southern villages were in the midst of some of the violent fighting of the Okinawan campaign. Large numbers of houses in both communities were destroyed by the war. The new buildings to replace them are so frail that in typhoon times they are often destroyed. This rebuilding requires more wood and more grass. Thus, such factors as the war, the inability to reconstruct permanent housing, typhoons, and the natural growing of miscanthus grass are joined together in a close relationship.

In the south the relationship of typhoon destruction to deforestation is striking. There is need for tidebreak groves and shelter belts along the coast to protect crops from wind and salt-water spray, a need which fortunately the Ryukyuan Forest Agency is attempting to meet. Deforestation in the south seems inescapably tied up with long occupance. The center of population has always been in the southern part of the island. Not only should there be trees, but they should be planted in the right places. The deforestation of

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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Not all of the upland or slope cultivation is done by terracing, as we have seen. Crops other than rice are often grown on hillsides, or up slopes, less often following the contour of the land. The precautions here are also suited to the cultivation: weeds or grasses grow along boundary lines or divide off sharp drops, or small stone fences may be used.

In Nagamo, where there is no rice grown, there is little water from these sources. It comes from rainfall and amounts of sugar cane and sweet potato that are grown depend on its quantity and regularity. Water regardless of crop is a constant problem. [312]

In Okinawan agriculture, constant fertilization is necessary. There are too many people to leave land fallow in ordinary times. Each plot must be used if the farmer has the time and energy to do so. Since the island is in a humid subtropical climate, the organic materials in the soil (humus) are quickly oxidized. Porous soils encourage the leaching of minerals from the top soil, especially with torrential rains. The fewness of domestic animals increases the dependence on plant residues and artificial fertilizers. One of the commonest complaints of the Okinawan farmer, in addition to the poorness of his soil and crop damage from typhoons, is that it must be unceasingly fertilized. It is a treadmill. He must walk fast to stay in the same place. [134] [231]

There is very little difference in the use of fertilizers in the communities studied. Fertilizers most frequently used are:

(1) Composts. A typical mixture (though there are many combinations) may be composed of dried miscanthus, or any kind of grass, ashes and cinders, perhaps some pieces of charcoal, and goat droppings. This is left a month outside in a pile and put on the fields and hoed under.

(2) Plant residues. These are put on the soil, both of paddy and dry crop land, and hoed under. Plants are the greatest single source of fertilizer. The cut over rice plant is turned under in the paddy field. Tops of the sweet potato, if not used as slips or for food for animals, miscanthus grass, and burned rice hulls are other sources of fertilizer. [824]

(3) Animal manures mixed usually with pen grass. Animal fertilizers are not abundant, an indirect effect of the war which greatly reduced the number of horses, cattle, pigs, goats, and the smaller domestic animals. When available, goat, pig, or horse manures are used. Pig or goat pen grass is gathered up and spread on the fields. Pig manure is the best source of animal fertilizer, for pigs are the most numerous of the larger domestic animals. [727] [232] [231]

(4) Night soil. The use of night soil, called jinpun in Okinawan, has declined from pre-war times. It is often said that it is not used at all. But this statement must be qualified. It is [514]

Rotation #2, Matsuie

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First year, ninth month: Autumn planting of sugar cane
Second year, twelfth month: Harvest of sugar cane. Followed by: Soy bean, sweet potato, or vegetables.

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Land is seldom allowed to lie fallow intentionally for any length of time. At any one time of the year, a farmer may have idle land for which there may be a variety of reasons. He may have other tasks and be unable to cultivate all his land, or have no need of doing so, or some of his land may be so poor that he will not cultivate it unless necessary. Much depends on the individual farmer and his holdings. The village records indicate that in Hanashiro 97.2% of the rice and 83.1% of the dry crop land is under cultivation. From the preceding discussion of land classification, it is clear that many parcels are of marginal quality, and these areas may be left uncultivated, at least part of the year. During the post-war [426] period there has been some informal lending of land, free of rent, to friends and neighbors, if the farmer is not using it himself.

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[231]
[227]
[482]
[415]
[493]

Manual labor with hand tools is the dominant method of cultivation. Domestic animals are not uncommon, but their use in farming is minor. The war increased the dependence on manual labor through the loss of domestic animals. Only cattle are now used in rice cultivation for plowing and harrowing and this is infrequent. The man or woman and the hoe are far more common. Crops are carried from the fields by human labor. The basket or the straw container, or the tied rice sheaves on either end of a pole over the shoulder, and not horse carts, push carts, or wheel barrows are the main means of transport from field to courtyard. The barefooted farmer, with his hoe and a pole or a basket does the greatest part of the work. The common tools of agriculture are hand tools and adapted to the intensive cultivation which so often has more properly been called the work of a gardener rather than that of a farmer.

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[434]

The basic all purpose tool is the solid bladed hoe. The hoe, since deep cuts are possible with its heavy blade, takes the place of the plow. The hoe also replaces the spade, and even the rake, for it can be used to break up and smooth the soil. A poorer farmer may lack many of the tools in the following list, but he will have two or three of the solid bladed hoes.

The accompanying illustration shows the most common agricultural tools:

1. The hera, a spatula or trowel, used for transplanting tops of the sweet potato. Its wooden hand grip curves toward the end of the tool. The hera is also used as a scraper to remove brown sugar from the sides of the cooking pans during the sugar making season.

2. The kama, a small sickle. Next to the hoe, it is the most

256 until the desired white shade was obtained. After the milling, the rice is quite warm, and both the chaff and the rice have an odor similar to brewer's yeast.

[462] Women carry the rice to the mill. It is heaped up in baskets set
[482] on their heads. Rice straw or a braid of rice stalks is placed over
[415] the small towel which rests directly on the head. On this the woman sets the basket with its rice. When the milling is over, the women pick up a handful, blow off the chaff, inspect the rice for wholeness and whiteness, and then put it in a large gunny sack. The chaff is placed in a smaller one. Hulls, occasionally taken, are usually left at the mill to accumulate in a pile outside the mill and there, at
[824] frequent intervals, are burned. Sometimes the hulls or the ashes are taken for fertilizer.

Bringing rice for milling is a social occasion for the women.
[521] They often have a child on their back. While waiting for their rice to be hulled and milled, they exchange greetings and news with their neighbors or with women from adjoining villages.

As a result of the war, quality of machinery for rice milling
[727] differs with villages. Most now have access to a mill. The machinery at Matsuda, being more efficient than the older machines at Hanashiro is able to polish the rice satisfactorily after going through the mill three times. These mills are very busy during the harvest seasons.

252 There are also survivals of older methods of hulling and polishing rice. These are no longer used, though many of the old have not lost
[412] their skill. Before machine polishing was introduced, the hulls were removed by pounding the rice in a mortar, usually with a long bamboo pole narrowed in the center for a grip. After the hulls were removed, the rice was put through a quern, or a mill known as a shiriushi. This has two working parts: a base about a foot in diameter and perhaps a foot in height. It looks like a smoothed off log. In the center, there is a wooden pin, perhaps 1 1/2 feet long. Over this part, which looks like an upright piece of a log with a rolling pin stuck in its center, the upper part, made of wood and of the same diameter is fitted. A bar across the inside of the top of the upper part has a hole for the pin. On the outside, wooden plugs provide places for attaching ropes.
[462] These are pulled back and forth by women sitting opposite one another. The rice is poured in at the top, the quern is moved first clock- and then counterclockwise, the rice coming out in the rough crevice where the two pieces join. The rice is put through the quern as many times as is necessary to effect the polishing. In some querns, the inside of the upper part is grooved to quicken the polishing.

In polishing rice in this way, the mill is placed on a mat and the rice is gathered up periodically and put in baskets. It is then winnowed by tossing in a flat basket. Many of the farmers in the villages still have a shiriushi in their sheds, but it is seldom used.

In Matsuda, the stalk is cut up with a large knife. In Nagano and Hanashiro, the oshikiriba (literally, push-cut-machine) is common. This is a device with a fixed blade, curving upward, on a stand. The cane is laid on the top of the blade. The handle is pressed down, forcing the cane stalk through the stationary blade. The use of this device is not universal. In the north, the hand cutting machine was a casualty of the war. 249 184

It is worth a slight digression here to add that, in considering various techniques as evidences of a departure from or adherence to traditional methods, the effects of the recent war must constantly be borne in mind. Sugar making is a good example. Primitive methods of making it today are a return, out of economic necessity, to earlier ways because of lack of capital to replace the former machinery. In Matsuda, the continued use of the horse drawn crushing rollers is not an expression of conservatism but of improvisation and return, in lieu of anything better, to old methods previously in use. Such devices as the oshikiriba are not good examples of this because it is not a decisively superior tool. A skilled farmer can cut the cane very efficiently with his knife. 178 727 249

Cane cuttings are made when the plant is about six months old and before it is mature. When year old plants are used for cuttings, only the top, or the youngest part is taken. The slip used may have two or three joints or buds. The length of the cutting apparently is determined by the number of joints. In Matsuda, slant planting seems to be favored because the plant is said to receive more water and to be able to withstand typhoons better. Flat planting is faster than slope planting. From one stalk usually five or six transplants are made. 249

There are two plantings of sugar cane, the spring (haru-ue) and the fall (akiue). Cane planted in the spring planting, from January to March, is harvested in April of the following year. In the fall planting from July to September, the cane is harvested a year from the following December. The cane of the fall planting is harvested but the stumps are allowed to sprout and grow again. Following this harvest, the whole plant is torn out and the field is replanted with slips. Though the ratoon crop could be continued longer, the general practice is to tear up the plants after the second growth. 249 221

The slips are about 8 sun (9.6 inches) long. In Hanashiro, they are generally planted flat with the exception of the slip nearest the top of the cane stalk, which is planted at about a 45° angle, the theory being that this part of the stalk has less vitality than the others. These slips are planted about 6-8 inches apart, 8-12 inches deep in rows about 4 feet apart. 249

In Hanashiro, at harvest time, the sugar cane is carried on the shoulder or by horsecart and stacked in piles outside the sugar mill. Though an effort is made to crush it immediately, cuttings may remain overnight or be stacked for a day or two outside the mill. The mill [482] [493]

of the rest of the syrup. With the stirring finished, the sugar for contemplated home use is spread out in pans to harden. That intended for export is put in specially prepared boxes, furnished by Naha export firms, stencilled and ready for shipment. 249 [439] [415]

In Matsuda, the harvesting of the cane is the same as in Hanashiro. But the old Okinawan and Japanese method of crushing the cane is still used because the destroyed machinery has not been replaced. The cane is crushed outside. Three large steel rollers are placed side by side in a frame, with gear teeth on the top meshing. A sweep about 30 feet long is attached to the center wheel.[6] A horse draws the sweep, revolving the wheels. The cane is fed into the left roller, caught as it comes out, and then fed back into the right roller. The juice is caught below. The residue (kibikasu) is left outside to dry to be used later for firewood. The juices which have been caught are taken in a low lying building with a tile roof, put in a large round pot (marunabe) or a rectangular pan (kikunabe). An open fire place is used for boiling the juice; the fire place is sunk in the ground and lined with stone, with a small opening at the bottom for putting in firewood. This mill is privately owned, the property of an association (kumiai) of about twenty men who rent it out for individual processing. As in Hanashiro, sugar is the production of the individual small farmer from its first planting until its sale for export or for home use. [727] [423] [427]

7

Other Crops

The most important of the other crops commonly grown in the villages remain to be considered. 241

(1) Soy beans (daisu in Japanese, Glycine max Merrill). In all the villages, soy beans were planted once a year, sowing in the first or second month, and harvesting in the fifth month. The field is prepared by making furrows and putting a mixture of chopped up green grasses and some animal manure, or a commercial fertilizer, in the hole in which the seed is planted. The farmer then waits for rain. After rain, he plants the seeds about three feet apart in rows from one shaku five sun (about 18 inches) for very good land to one shaku one sun (about 13 inches) for usual land. The plant is harvested with the small sickle. The beans are threshed by a flail (gurumanbo in Okinawan). The residues are used either for fertilizer or fuel.

6 This device is also relatively unchanged since Perry's time. The only difference is in the wheels which were formerly of wood, geared together by mortise and tenon joints. Stone crushers were also used formerly. In Hanashiro, I saw one of these stone rollers lying in the yard of a villager. For sugar making operations in the 1850's, see Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 20, 30.

The starch comes from two sources: the large oval seed, ranging from orange to Chinese red when mature, and the stalk. Use of the stalk involves destruction of the plant. According to Gushichan area residents, the starch of the cycad seed was used for food in 1945, 1946, and parts of 1947. Timing is an important part of the starch making because at certain stages of development the cycad is poisonous. Today in areas where the cycad is plentiful, the seeds are still gathered and dried in large quantities. Toward the end of November in Oku and in the nearby mountain village of Hedo, and in other villages of the far north of the island, large quantities of cycad seeds can be seen drying in the compounds. In the Hanashiro and Hinatogawa area, the cycad is not plentiful enough and is too scattered for these uses. 824 262

The main uses of miscanthus are: (1) roof thatch, including the saddle back which caps the roof, (2) firewood, (3) the younger shoots for animal food, (4) fertilizer, (5) a raw material for home weaving of baskets and slings for carrying vegetables. 824

Miscanthus can be seen to best advantage in December when it is in full bloom and covers large areas of the uncultivated countryside. Considering the present economic situation in the south, these plentiful grasses are indispensable to daily living. One must see, from day to day and with his own eyes, the dependence on these wild grasses to appreciate the force of this statement.

In the southern area studied, one consequence of the war on the natural vegetation was the spread of the grasses at the expense of the pine and the cycad. Residents of the Hanashiro, Gushichan, and Hinatogawa areas have said that prior to the war, the Ryukyuan pine was plentiful and covered hill and mountain sides now quite bare, save for an occasional scrub tree. These trees were destroyed by bombing and firing. There are occasional evidences of regrowth due to natural seeding, but the clumps are small, and nothing like a stand is growing. The stands even before the war, however, must have been inconsequential compared with descriptions of the area fifty years ago given by old residents of the area. The present deforestation of large parts of southern Okinawa seems to have accelerated in the recent past. 137 727

The cycad had a similar fate in the south. The plants are numerous in the sense that one can always be observed on a walk. They grow in clumps, often alongside the pandanus. The grasses seem to have displaced the cycad and the pandanus as well. The dense settlement, cultivation, use of trees for firewood, and the recent war account for the uncultivated hillsides in which the grasses now predominate, and on some of which not a single tree or shrub is to be observed. The original native vegetation, perhaps, may still be preserved in the limestone sinks which occur here and there in this area. 137 [311]

In Hanashiro, the absence of trees and shrubs except in the settled areas has already been noticed. This is a characteristic of villages in the south. The treelessness of Hinatogawa is exceptional.

Domestic Animals

231 [727] The effects of the war are still to be seen in the scarcity of domestic animals (kachiku). The domestic animal population is increasing. Horses were far more numerous before the war. The same is true of cattle and oxen which, however, are more numerous than horses. All are used as draft animals, with the greatest frequency in Hanashiro. Cattle and oxen are used for plowing and harrowing in [492] the rice fields; horses for pulling carts and wagons. Horse meat is [267] not eaten. All larger animals are tethered or in stalls. They are not allowed to graze or to roam freely around the villages or on the hillsides. Since each bit of land is owned, grazing would deprive someone of needed grasses, either the young shoots or the matured 235 fibres. Chickens are generally kept in coops. Ducks have a little more freedom.

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231 235

DOMESTIC ANIMALS

Animal	Hanashiro	Nagamo	Minatogawa	Matsuda
Cattle and Oxen	40	5	0	1 (80)
Horses	2	1	0	20 (90)
Pigs	125	100	150	315
Goats	50	50	40	321
Chickens	a/	30	a/	706
Ducks	0	50	a/	10
Rabbits	0	0	0	6

Source: Village clerks of each village and township records. Figures are approximate as of January 1952. Pre-war estimates where known are shown in parentheses. Villages try to keep an accurate and up to date animal census. a/ Not available, village has some

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231 In all the villages studied, pig raising is the most important secondary occupation of the individual farmer or fisherman. Pig raising is old in the culture. According to Chamberlain (1895), under the old kingdom every household by law had to raise goats and pigs. Pigs were fed in part on human excrement. This practice in my observation has now been abandoned.

[434] Pigs are raised for sale. They are the most significant single source of cash for the farm family and they supplement the fisherman's cash income.

361 [167] After the war, this cleared land was further settled, with American encouragement, by families returning from abroad. This subdivision of Matsuda, a here-and-there settlement, is called "the clearing" (kaikon). Its houses are few and far apart, and with its isolated farmsteads is in contrast with the thickly settled cluster of a typical agricultural village.

5

Conservation

313 [647] In Matsuda, the preservation of the forest is constantly encouraged. This awareness, inspired by officials of the Ryukyuan Forestry Agency and its American advisors, reaches down to the school children. Before any burning is done, a permit must be secured. Fire lanes (bōkasen) are cut to prevent the spread of fire. These lanes are circular, and an area on the lee side is burned to prevent spread of the fire in the direction of the wind.

Fire Lane (Bōkasen)

In addition to the fire protection, officials of the Ryukyu Forestry Agency and specialists in the American Civil Administration are trying to discourage overcutting (kanbatsu) which in this area has affected the most numerous species, the pine, the shii, and the Japanese redwood. Since clearcutting (kaibatsu) so easily leads to overcutting, the former practice is also being discouraged. The newer emphasis is on selective cutting (takubatsu).

[813] School children participate in forest conservation. The children attending high school at nearby Ginoza village take part in forest improvement. An active campaign for conservation and forest fire prevention could not begin immediately after the war. In the post-war confusion, it was not until about 1950, with the establishment of [647] the Ryukyuan Forestry Agency, that active supervision on a central government level could be seriously instituted. On an island wide basis, posters and literature pointing to the dangers of forest fires [208] have tried to bring this message to the Okinawans as well as to the Americans. The name of Saion has been used to tie the preservation of the Okinawan forests in with the history and traditions of the people. The famous "Smoky" appears on posters as well.

[727] In the Matsuda area, the recent periods of relaxation or loss of control, according to local residents, were (1) about 1940 when

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

wood and lumber for Japanese army uses and for air raid shelters were in demand, (2) the burning in the course of the war, and (3) the intense cutting after the war for firewood and rebuilding. 313 720

Okinawan traditions relating to forest care have a positive value and it is worth while to recapitulate them here. Local old men and antiquarians in Matsuda give credit to Saion who wrote a long treatise on agriculture and is said to have intentionally devised superstitions to save trees. Death or misfortune would come to him who cut the trees, especially those in sacred groves or on the tops of mountains. Some local residents have said that the gods of the mountain are really not of religious inspiration at all, but had their origin in the conscious desire of Saion to save the trees. While there does not seem to be any truth in this assertion, since these deities of the sacred groves and mountain tops reach far back into antiquity, there is no doubt that sacred groves and houses of the mountain gods saved trees that otherwise would have been cut down. (In China and Japan, religious shrines and holy places have also been areas of the preservation of trees). 313 173 [078] [171]

Present attitudes were summarized by a Matsuda school principal who said that beliefs in mountain gods and in death and misfortune following cutting trees were dying out, and that these old beliefs had been replaced by awareness of the scientific reasons for preserving the trees. [183] [076] [077]

In Matsuda, pride in the trees, in the groves that line its hill tops and overlook the narrow valleys and ravines planted to rice and other crops is a conspicuous part of village experience. There are trees along the main road near the town that are said to have been planted in Saion's time under his inspiration.

These favorable traditions are helpful. They do not guarantee the preservation of the forests. Previous experience has shown this. From what may be surmised of the history of Okinawan forests, the destruction of modern times has been correlated with war and the expansion of economic activities. We may speculate, too, that previous deforestation was slow, inexorable and related to the clearing of accessible stands near settlements, and the extension of these settled areas as they grew. "Most of the accessible primitive forests have been exhausted," Dr. Green wrote in his report to Commodore Perry.11 The need for fuel increases with population. In China, Japan, Korea, and Okinawa, the relation of forests, either as a source for lumber or fuel, to population growth and settlement is a very intimate one. This is a basic consideration in discussing not only the "patterns of culture" but the relation of culture to the natural environment in this part of the world. [311] [161] [171]

11 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, Vol. II, 35

585 the day of the wedding ceremony, preparations are made at the
184 bride's home. Food is served for relatives and friends, and the party then proceeds to the groom's home for the ceremony.

[431] Gifts from the groom's family depend upon economic circumstances, but usually range from Y50 to Y100 up to Y1000. In Hanashiro, something, no matter how small, is always given by the groom's family to the bride's family. Since the war, gifts of chests of drawers and blankets are less common because of high prices.

On the third day, in this Hanashiro custom, the bride and the groom with relatives and friends visit the bride's parents during the day. On the same evening, the visit is returned by the bride's family.

585 There is a general agreement in all the villages that as a con-
178 sequence of the war, the preliminaries to marriage, the ceremony, the gifts, and the events following the ceremony have become simpler.
727 Part of this is due to the high cost of food and entertainment. In the competition with other ceremonies and celebrations, the tendency
435 has been, in the interest of economy, to simplify the old customs, or when this is not possible, to combine celebrations coming close together in the year. One frequently hears the word keisai (economy) used in this connection.

3

Contemporary Attitudes Toward Marriage

58 Marriage customs today are different from those of even 20 years
178 ago. From information collected from the villages, the chief changes in marriage customs have been: (1) the preliminaries and the ceremony have been simplified, (2) marriage takes place at a much older age, (3) marriages between individuals of different villages are more common, (4) there is a shorter engagement period and its significance has declined, (5) the custom in which the bride temporarily returns to her home has disappeared or become rare, (6) the go-between, formerly a respected elder negotiating a marriage, is now a friend, generally the same age as the principals, offering help and advice, and (7) the arranged marriage has given way to freer choice in marriage in which the parents' consent has become largely a formality.

581 Judging by the statements of residents of all villages, many of
582 whom were married under the old arrangement, there is almost universal approval of free choice in marriage. Divorces were said to have been
[586] common under the old system, mainly because of the wife's barrenness or unattractiveness. The chances that the marriage will be a happy one are
[562] thought to be greater under the new. Among women, it harmonizes with
[177] ideas of equality which they have heard of or read about in Japanese magazines since the occupation.

848 [727] [160] war.[5] The reasons given by the villagers are the increase in the number of widows and the present disproportion between young men and young women in the marrying ages.

One cannot generalize about attitudes toward illegitimacy. In two of the communities, Hinatogawa and Matsuda, my impression was that there had been a change from disapproval to tolerance. The current reaction was often described in the famous Japanese phrase which covers thousands of situations: shi kata ga nai ("It can't be helped"). In Hanashiro, opinion seemed much stronger [837] [184] against extra-marital relations and having an illegitimate child. One housewife said that any married woman or single woman who has an illegitimate child is dirty (kitanai). This was not so much a moral condemnation as the notion that she was unclean. Such a woman is spoken to but is not liked. There is also the problem that in the family system there is no place for an illegitimate child, unacknowledged by the father, except to grow up in the household of his mother. There is no public concealment. The village family register has the shiseiji entry for any illegitimate child--and some of them are now very old men.

5 These and the following statements are necessarily qualitative as statistics were not available. Illegitimacy here refers to Okinawan parents. To my knowledge, in these villages, there were no children whose fathers had been members of the occupying force. Some apparent illegitimacy may occur when the marriage is recorded after the birth of a child (a common practice) and the register is not corrected. For this reason, it was difficult to evaluate the illegitimate entries in the family registers.

Present day
Clothing is of a non-descript character. The war destroyed old stocks and villagers have been unable to buy much new clothing. Many farmers and fishermen have one western style suit, shirt, necktie, and a pair of shoes, but these are worn only on rare occasions, such as having one's picture taken. Most of the women still have a Japanese style kimono in storage. An article of army clothing, mostly American but occasionally Japanese, often is the basic garment whether it be a pair of trousers, a shirt, or a field jacket. Older women still wear a cheap cotton kimono usually indigo blue with white dots. 291 727 [292] [177]

In work anything at hand is worn. Fishermen, farmers, workers in the forest generally go barefoot the year round. Girls and young married women are increasingly wearing cheap and attractive house dresses which they prefer to the inconvenient kimono. Children's clothing shows similar improvisation in the use of what is available. 291

In leisure hours, clogs (geta) are often worn by men, women, and children, particularly in the evenings as a protection against snakes. Some men wear shoes consistently, but they are most commonly worn by officials, school teachers, or men in business.

There is no standard headdress. Hats are few. A few cone shaped hats are worn in the rice fields. These are made from straw or rush. An ordinary cotton cap with a visor is common. Men and women frequently wrap a cloth, usually a piece of towelling, around the head. A towel hanging from the back pocket of the trousers of a young man is part of his summer equipment.

5

Laundering and Bathing

Laundering is done by women. There are no set customs about doing it. Neither is it a community affair. In Hanashiro those who have wells do their laundry in their own compound. Those without wells either do it at a neighbor's well (without charge), or at one of the community ponds designated for this purpose. In Matsuda, the small stream, a pond, or wells are also used. 296 [312]

Clothes are rubbed, washed, and rinsed by hand. The custom practiced in Matsuda up to 20 years ago of beating clothes against stones has disappeared. If laundering is done in a spring or small stream in the summer, it is common to take a bath after the washing is done. In Minatogawa, the women collect around an open faucet, or the public water tank. These are in continuous use for laundry, hair washing, and washing vegetables.

The passion for bathing, conspicuous among the fastidious Japanese, is less in evidence in these villages. But it is also difficult to bathe. Villagers must content themselves with washing with a cloth, like a sponge bath. In Hanashiro villagers may go to 515

621 individuals give one day each year to forest maintenance and planting.
476 Twice during the year one day is given to cleaning up and repairing village roads and paths, to improve village cleanliness, and to reduce the danger from snakes. These clean-up activities, which take place in March, April and November, include cutting the grass and weeds along the roadside, cleaning off accumulated debris, and filling in ruts, holes, and rough spots.

621 The closest approach to village-wide co-operation in private
476 undertakings is in housebuilding. Regardless of the financial standing of the owner, whenever a new house is being built, there are volunteer
342 helpers from the whole village. This is the only area in which this co-operation exists. It does not occur in agriculture or at harvest times. Each day a different crew helps, but this assistance does not
[463] apply to the more specialized tasks. The skilled work on the larger new houses requires carpenters, masons, and tile setters. There is no rigid system of reciprocity nor does a villager keep a record of the days he has worked for the others and the days due him. Many who help already have substantial houses themselves and have no need of reciprocal aid. Following a custom in all the villages, when the
[594] building is finished, the owner gives a housewarming party, with plenty of sake and food. Both hired and volunteer workers are invited.

476 If we may judge by these villages, the Okinawan is individualistic in his approach to his work. Aside from the work on the roads and in the forests, help in emergencies, and the special case of housebuilding, the circle of mutual help is confined within the family or close associates. In no case, did the co-operation of a whole or a substantial part of the village extend to agriculture.

This preceding discussion does not exhaust the field of cooperative endeavor. The co-operative associations and mutual loan groups have already been discussed. Community organizations and neighborhood associations will be considered in Section 5. But these are either more restricted in membership or have a more planned organizational character.

571 In closing this discussion, a further point should be made to avoid misunderstanding. The farmer, fisherman, or stonecutter, the worker in the forest approaches his task as an individual. But group consultation and the sharing of responsibility in other activities is a positive characteristic of the culture. The principle of prior discussion, arriving at a decision acceptable to the group, is a conspicuous part of family life and is implicit in the family system. The same attitude appears in group and community organizations, and in the conduct, as we shall see, of village government.

4

Village Leadership

565
[727] The recent war brought about a levelling in village life. Before

358 children, whether in primary, junior, or senior high school, clean up the grounds and do repair and upkeep work. Young teachers, many
[875] of whom are single, supervise the work, and often stay during the evening hours to plan the day's work or to study. Male teachers are night watchmen at the school, sleeping there in rotation.

346 The main problems of education are (1) adequate school buildings. Their condition reflects the haphazard tragedies of war. Schools vary in quality from place to place. The high school at Ginoza and the elementary school at Matsuda, for example, are excellent buildings; in other places, such as Gushichan village, the classroom buildings are little more than shanties with thatched roofs, and a siding of boards, corrugated iron, or other materials at hand. At typhoon times, some
[358] of these are flattened, and it is normal to see school children helping to clear the grounds and putting on new thatch. It is my impression
[727] generally that conditions are worse in southern Okinawa than in the northern area where war destruction was much less. The Civil Administration is well aware of these problems and the school construction program is, to all appearances, progressing. (2) Much the same situation and for the same reasons, exists with regard to school equipment. Rickety
[352] chairs, old benches, bad blackboards contrast with the equipment of the new schools or of the old which escaped destruction.

875 (3) The post-war period has made a difference in the status of the school teacher (sensei). The destruction and disruption of the war, scarcity, high prices and low salaries have made his position in most
[727] cases a precarious one. Before the war, the school teacher had prestige and money. Only the prestige remains. One high school principal estimated that the post-war prices have increased 100 times, the teachers'
[465] salaries about fifty times. Immediately before the war, the starting salary of a beginning teacher was Y45 a month. (The value of the pre-
[435] war Japanese yen was about US $0.27). A school principal received Y100 a month. Now the beginning salary for school teachers is about Y2200 and for principals Y5000. (The present value of the Okinawan yen is officially pegged at 120 to the dollar). Increases averaging about 30% went into effect in October 1951.

The school teacher has little or no money for clothing; his dress is the same nondescript combination of old civilian and army clothing that one sees on everyone else. This situation, serious in any country, is particularly so in a culture that has always regarded the teacher with such honor. The teaching profession is the source of many careers
[555] in public office. Even in casual observation, one frequently finds that mayors, vice-mayors, former members of the Japanese civil service, started life as teachers.

The Okinawan teacher works hard and enthusiastically, but new attitudes are appearing which must be recognized. There is a desire to leave the profession, particularly noticeable in the male teachers under 30. Economic difficulties are reflected in frustration and discouragement. Okinawan school teachers, if the ones I knew are representative, have enthusiasm for ideas of democracy and freedom and for reforms that have

The only Buddhist priest in the areas studied was at the small village of Maegawa, within walking distance of Minatogawa and Hanashiro. He was a priest of the Jōdo sect (Jōdoshu), one of the important sects of Japan, and stressing salvation by faith. The sect of the priest in this village is of no importance, since the rural people now or before the war had neither the interest nor the capacity for doctrinal distinctions. The temples of this sect were burned during the war, including one in the village of Kochinda, a junction point between Naha and Gushichan. 793 [795] 346 727

Before the war the colors of the robes varied with the sect and with the position of the priest in the hierarchy. In the Jōdo sect, the lowest grade wore black, followed up the scale by orange, blue or green, a chocolate reddish brown, and purple, the highest. This contrasts sharply with the priest's present improvisations. His is the black robe of the Shinshu sect. It is a summer garment, made of soft light silk called shiya and resembles a man's kimono, but is longer and sweeps the floor. The garment hangs straight down and is not gathered or tucked. The only other religious possessions were a bell and a badly soiled print of the Buddha (oshaku) which hung in his room. 793 795 292 [778]

Before the war, some people in the Gushichan area requested the services of a priest at funerals. After the war, the people of Hanashiro, and other villages as well, decided because of the expense, to forego the services of a priest. 793

Occasionally this priest officiates when the bones in the temporary tombs of Minatogawa are moved to the extended family tomb at Itoman, or in a ceremony honoring a death anniversary. Few Okinawans became priests. This priest is a native of Japan, one of the few remaining Japanese priests in the island. At eleven, he entered a Buddhist temple (tera) and has been engaged in religious activity ever since. Now about 50, he has a wife and two children; his head is unshaved and the hair is of a conventional cut. He does not depend on the priesthood for a living, but is employed as an official in a village office. [797]

The situation with regard to Buddhism was quite similar in Matsuda, although there is no priest in the vicinity. There is little doubt, if the villages studied are typical, that this already moribund religion is disappearing altogether here, choked off by lack of temples, lack of priests, and by indifference. 771 778

It is not so with household Buddhism, if this term may be used to describe ceremonies and beliefs centering around the Buddhist god shelf or family altar (butsudan). This household altar is in the second room of every home. Around it collect the sentimental memories of the past, such as family pictures, photographs of young soldiers and dearly loved relatives. Prayers and offerings of food and drink to the dead are made before it. 771 778 183

An important part of the Buddhist altar is a frame holding the memorial tablets for the family dead. These tablets (ihai) are pieces 778 769

system and by the public life which they lead. There is a blending and shading of the private life of the home with the public life of the lanes, the shops, and the homes of others. The process is so subtle that one can live among them and be unaware of it. But children do more than grow up. They grow and reach maturity impressed with their duties and obligations. It is this cultural environment, rather than single element explanations such as breast feeding, which in my opinion accounts for the politeness, the essential gentleness, and the sense of security of the people. These characteristics can best be understood by knowing history, by knowing how people live within a family, how families live together, what these groups of families do to their arable land, their plants, their stones, their trees, and their forested and wild land, and how the private life of an individual or a family blends in with the wider public experience of the community. 156 [155]

The recent war has been a powerful agent of cultural change in Okinawa. The destruction of the south, the comparative well-being of the north have equalized the roles of the two great divisions of the island, and the north is no longer a rustic hinterland. The years of military service in the Japanese army interfered with the transmission of the traditional culture from the old to the young. One of the striking aspects is the differences in types of information possessed by the old and the young. Men fifty years or over speak of things of which younger men and women have never heard. What is part of one man's culture is foreign to the other. 727 178 184

Before the war success in transmitting the traditional culture to the young depended to a great extent on the hierarchy of the family system and its scale of values. Women were subordinated to men and the younger deferred to the elder. Obedience of children and acknowledgment of parental leadership were said to characterise the pre-war society. In many ways, all these things still do. But there are indications of a growing dependence of the older on the advice and knowledge of the young. [867] [593]

The war and its aftermath produced conditions favorable to the leadership of younger people, especially younger men. It was easy for them to drive trucks. It was no chore to become acquainted with Americans and adapt themselves to their ways. They could learn, and comprehend more easily, some of the Western concepts implicit in governmental change. A twenty year old is not impressed with skill at typing. A sixty year old person looks upon this skill with a certain wonder. [177]

The destruction of pre-war housing and its replacement by inferior makeshift housing have had an unsettling effect on village life. Sleeping habits and living arrangements were disrupted. The destruction even affected the use of rainwater coming from the drains on the tile roofs. It converted villages with their houses and an occasional garden into a camp-like atmosphere. [362]

The post-war repatriation often brought to villagers a more personal awareness of the outside world. Those who returned, especially from the non-Oriental countries, created an atmosphere congenial to change. [167] [177]

In the post-war period also roads have increased, and they have been widened. More vehicles are on the roads. One can travel through the villages of Okinawa over widened roads which before the war probably differed little from those described by Captain Hall in 1816 and by his grandson Basil Hall Chamberlain in 1895. This extension of the highway system has increased the mobility of Okinawans. Perhaps ultimately the cultural differences among villages will give way to wider uniformity induced by these innovations.

There is something enthralling in reading the chapters on "Lew Chew" in Francis Hawks' Narrative of the Expedition of an American Squadron to the China Seas and Japan, which he compiled from the notes and journals of Commodore Perry, and the pages of Bayard Taylor's work, along with Okinawa, The Last Battle, which the Historical Division of the Department of the Army published in 1948. These give some measure of the change that has been brought about not only in the Great Loo Choo but in the world.

It has been my purpose here to tell part of the remaining, the contemporary story of the people whose islands early ethnologists were so fond of referring to as an anthropological museum.

The End

Although a number of important shrines and worship places are located in the Kawata area, the main shrine is in Taira.

To this tranquil area the activities of World War II brought a great upheaval. Although the main stream of refugees from the south, following threats of United States troups' invasion, did not reach this northern area, Japanese guerilla forces settled in the hills of Higashi township. This, and the constant warnings from the Japanese of the "terrors" of American occupation, caused the population of all villages to take refuge in the mountains, carrying along what few possessions they could, including livestock. Families were separated and individuals lived in constant fear of soldiers from both sides. Nightly excursions to the fields to harvest whatever could be found helped to maintain a meager diet. It is characteristic of the stresses of this period that among the children of central Taira only one was born in 1945.

The war ended for Taira people when American troops had cleared the northern areas of Japanese troops. In this action several villages were destroyed, among them Taira. The present economic struggle of Higashi township, an area which was always handicapped by lack of farmland and poor soil, is partly due to the war. On the other hand, the demand for lumber for an island-wide reconstruction program lent a temporary boom to the economy. In the process, however, forests which had been heavily cut before the war fell prey to rapid and poorly planned cutting. At present the whole township is in the throes of economic readjustment.

In the past 50 years, Taira, like the rest of Okinawa, has sent some of its overflow of population to various areas in the world, including Japan, and especially to the industrial areas of Kobe and Osaka, Saipan, and Brazil. At least five of the families in central Taira lived either in Japan or the Pacific Islands and returned shortly after World War II. Emigrants to Brazil have stayed with the exception of one prominent person who returned to Taira several years before the war. Some of the families lived as many as 18 or 20 years abroad, and several children in the study were born in Japan and returned to the village as infants. Among the villagers are many who have served in the Japanese Army in Asia or in the South Seas.

The repatriation of these families does not seem to have caused any serious disturbances to the village, since many people were killed during the war and several families moved to the city. An exodus to the outlying areas of the village also provided room for returnees, so, although rice land is scarce, there is still some uncultivated farmland, admittedly mostly of poor quality.

The community is dispersed. In the outlying parts, as far as 2 miles

the community is dispersed. In the outlying parts, as far as 2 miles
from the center (see map 1), the houses are scattered between the pad- 361
dies or farm lands in sections which form subvillages or wards. As mentioned above, settlers from the south took up residence in these areas. Recently families from the main village have also moved to the more remote parts of the community, such as Udenaha, because they can reach their fields more conveniently. Although the name Taira [101]
refers to the political unit of main village and outlying parts, including Udenaha and Izena, most references in this study pertain only to the central community. Its 60 households, with about 330 individuals, [162]
form the primary social unit from which the sample of 24 children was [124]
chosen.

Central Taira nestles along the inner shore of Taira Bay, which 361
opens into the Pacific Ocean. At this point the median range moun- 133
tains recede from the coastline. Behind the village, rice paddies spread [24]
in a crazed pattern at the bottom and on the terraced sides of several valleys which are separated from each other by sparsely wooded hills. Here and there the red earth of an eroded section shows like a scab through the green slopes.

In traveling by road from the south, most people choose the highway [49]
along the East China Sea coast, which is connected with the road which crosses the island. Higashi township is entered through a low saddle in the mountains which separate the two coastlines. To the right and left begins Taira's forest. Central Taira is reached through a winding lane bordered by pine trees. To the left the view opens into one of the neatly cultivated rice fields, backed by the hills on whose flat tops and terraced sides village people cultivate their farm lands.

The central village itself lies on a sand bluff, separating the valley 361
from the ocean, so that there is a slight drop toward both sides (see map 2). The main road runs the length of the village. Except for the [363]
thoroughfare, which is dirt and gravel, the side roads are not surfaced, and after heavy rains puddles form and remain for more than a day, to the delight of children who play in them.

When Taira was destroyed during World War II, along with its 363
houses went much of the foliage which once served as a windbreak. A 137
few fukugi trees* line the main street, and hibiscus hedges here and 727
there hide some of the houses from a first inspection. There are bushes around the edges of the village.

The war-time destruction is hardly apparent on a first walk through 36
the village. Along the main street, lined by houses, one finds the rice mill, a substantial new building of concrete and wood, the police sta-

* A small- to medium-sized evergreen tree with a narrow, upright, very dark green crown of leaves.

[Text continues on p. 377]

tion, a frame wood building, and the main store. On the eastern end of the village the road opens into a little square in front of the simple, open prayer house with a small concrete shrine in back, housing three sacred stones. Beyond these is the township office crowned by a mighty pine tree of tremendous and symmetric proportions, acclaimed by Taira people to be the oldest existing pine in Okinawa. Across from the office are the post office and the dispensary. 36

Closer inspection of the village shows former house sites which were not rebuilt. Some still have empty concrete shells or single concrete walls and abandoned pigsties or storage sheds. Some of the vacant lots are used as potato fields, others as play areas, the favorite being a large house lot surrounded by a concrete wall, near the main store. 361 727 [311]

Houses are set back a short distance from the roads and paths, and most face south. In spite of the hedges and trees, the house is easily accessible from the street—its orientation is therefore toward the community as a whole and, as will be seen later, open to visitors who can enter freely without going through winding garden paths and knocking on doors or entering through long corridors and passages. Each house lot is small, ranging from 1300 to 6050 square feet. Houses are set so close to each other that neighborly conversations from one to the other can be conducted without leaving one's premises. Although some privacy is attained by the hibiscus hedges and fences, few secrets can be kept from neighbors. 361 351 [521]

There are several focal areas where people frequently meet and interact. The main store is a geographical center. Its two bulletin boards make it a natural congregating point. The banyan tree, overshadowing the village office and the lower water tank, is another such place, and on any day of the year scores of children can be found on or under it. In prewar times it was flanked by important structures, but now the empty lots, which are adjacent, form a green which is used on good days for village meetings. 361 [203] [139]

South of this green, and close to the water, stands the old warehouse, a concrete structure with tile roof which once served as a storage center for agricultural products shipped south by boat; now it serves as a village meeting playground, especially on rainy days. The open space around it, bordering on the sea wall, is also used as a play area and as a gathering place for young adults. Here people prepare firewood for sale and stack it to be picked up by the village truck. Houses once stood near the 10-foot sea wall but were not rebuilt after the war. [251] [344]

To the north of the store lies the upper water tank. Until several standing faucets were installed in 1955, this used to be another place where people met frequently. Water is diverted from a stream a mile 312 365

592 [727] Table 1 shows the composition of 60 households in central Taira. It is probable that the effects of war dislocation have increased the number of nuclear households and account for at least one of the matrilocal extended households. Some of the fragmentary households, classed as nuclear, consist of just a widow or widower and an unmarried son or daughter.

Table 1 Household Composition in Central Taira

Total population	328
Number of households	60
Nuclear households	36
Patrilineal extended households * (3 generations)	18
Matrilocal extended households	4
Not classified	2

* In households classified as extended, grandparents of the youngest generation present are distributed as follows: grandmothers 14, grandfathers 4, both grandparents 4.

593 554 [562] Relationships and status within the household are ordered according to generation, age, and sex. As will be discussed later, the status of women in general is high. High status of males, especially the first-born male in the family, must be considered as representing an ideal which is not reflected too distinctly in day-by-day interpersonal relationships, although birth order and sex are significant in ancestor worship and in representation of households. Ideally the younger generation members defer to the older people. Normal behavior, however, more frequently reflects a warm, personal relationship that, although not devoid of respect, tends to minimize differences and stress familiarity rather than distance.

613 Besides his membership in a household, the individual is part of a larger descent group, a "main house" in which all the members are related through the male line. Most of the "main houses" in the village trace descent to the founder of Taira. They represent three old lineages. The remaining belong to two more recent and unrelated lineages.

The houses of older and younger sons are distinguished, the term "stem" referring to the house of the founder and the descending line of his oldest sons and the term "branch" to those of younger sons who have set up separate households in the village or elsewhere. Through

178
175 Before the war Okinawa imported half its soybean requirements. By
241 early 1951 the prewar acreage had been cut by half.[1] This resulted in the
339 necessity to import soy sauce tax-free from Japan, which brought an ineffec-
249 tive protest from the Legislature early in 1954. 'Miso' paste, which is made
252 of soybeans when they are available, is now made also of corn, broad beans, kidney beans, and various other legumes.

175 As early as 1946 the occupation forces reported:
241
727
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178

> Rapid restoration of Okinawa's prewar agriculture is hampered chiefly by an arable land shortage induced by military requirements in the southern half of the island, where roughly 30,000 acres are devoted to military use. War damage and migration from combat and, later, base development areas seriously disrupted agrarian economy and early planning was delayed pending disposition of farm tracts affected by military expansion.[2]

That loss of both upland dry fields and paddy land was affected is shown by the following:[3] (figures are in 1,000's of acres)

Table II

Type of Land	1940 Acreage	1950 Acreage	% of 1940
Cultivated land	103.8	67.2	65%
Paddy land	11.5	9.6	83%
Upland fields	92.3	57.6	62%

Even more significant is a comparison of the 1940-1950 figures with those for 1904, which show the situation which existed before any Japanese military installations were built.

Table III[4]

Year	Acres Paddy Land	Acres Dry Fields	Total Arable Acres
1904	15,779.1	93,952.6	109,731.7
1940	11,527.25	82,273.86	93,801.11
1950	9,559.56	57,610.16	67,169.72

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[1] Ryukyu Islands Economic Statistics Bulletin, no. 10, January-March, 1951.

[2] Summation...op. cit., p. 26.

[3] Ryukyu...., p. 13.

[4] The 1904 data are from Summary of the Land Adjustment in Okinawa Prefecture, Tokyo, 1904. The 1940 and 1950 figures are from the reverse side of the large map, Okinawa shotō shōzu.

In all cases, Kunigami seems to have held up the best, and Nakagami has fared the worst. Again this reflects the military interest of both the Japanese and the Americans. The comparison of 1904 acreage with that of 1950 in each of the three areas is shown below: 178 175 241 727 311

Table IV

Area	1904 Acreage		1950 Acreage		% Decrease	
	Paddy	Dry	Paddy	Dry	Paddy	Dry
Kunigami	6,530.5	28,398.5	5,463.0	20,773.8	16%	27%
Nakagami	3,861.2	34,176.1	1,675.1	14,932.0	57%	55%
Shimajiri	5,370.3	30,978.7	2,443.9	21,904.4	55%	29%
Okinawa Island[1]	15,719.1	93,952.6	9,589.0	57,610.2	39%	39%

Chronology of Changes in Farming Technique It is impossible to give for the whole of Okinawa a schedule showing just when each technical innovation was introduced. Some parts of Shimajiri and Nakagami were in advance of the rest of the island; conversely, one finds on the outer islands practices still carried on that the more progressive areas abandoned more than two decades ago. 178 241

In Yamada the transplanting of rice was originally done by scattering (bara'ii) of the shoots. Shortly before 1930 this method was replaced by planting in rows, with a string to mark the distance. The spaces were filled in by planting while walking backwards. About 1950 people started transplanting while moving forward. This has been replaced in part---at least in areas where the mud is firm and clayey---by the planting frame, the 'waku'. 178 243

Farmers kept the harvested rice in conical stacks (majin) several feet high. The bundles (tabai) had the heads facing inward to prevent attack by rats. The number of these stacks was indicative of the farmer's prestige in the community. The sheaves were removed from the bottom layer always, and only when rice was needed for food. [554]

Removal of the grain from the stalk was accomplished by the kūrashijii. This was a pair of bamboo tongs held in the right hand, while the sheaf was drawn through the tongs with the left hand. When the new variety of rice was introduced, use of the kanabā became common. This iron-comb-like device, through which the sheaves were drawn one at a time, can still be found in use on the isle of Sesoko, off the Motobu peninsula. It apparently did not find 178 243 412

[1] The discrepancy in the 1904 totals for Okinawa Island and grand totals for the three division of the island is accounted for by 17.1 acres of paddy land and 256.7 acres of dry fields in Naha, and 142.6 acres of dry fields in Shuri.

It apparently did not find
178 widespread use in Tomoyose, for that village passed almost directly from the use
243 of bamboo tongs to the rotary thresher, or 'dakkokki' (see photo). Yamada first
412 saw this thresher about 1933, but Nanahan farmers began using it only in 1941.
[407]

Hulling of grain was in the past accomplished---as needed for home use
178 or sale---by using a wooden rotary mill (see photos) called fichiūshi in Yamada
252 and shiriūshi in Nanahan. In Yamada two women sat with their feet braced against it, and pulled straw ropes alternately. In Nanahan men did the hulling, and the rotary mill was lower but was three feet in diameter. In the late thirties motor-powered hulling mills were built in many areas, and farmers took their rice there for hulling and polishing.

Polishing of brown rice in Nanahan was accomplished until about 1935 by use of a mortar, or chichiūshi (see photo), and pestle, or ajin. Most families still have these in reserve, as they were used after the war and were replaced by rice mills only after 1949. People in remote areas still use them exclusively. Nowadays people have their rice hulled and polished in one operation at a rice mill, if it is close at hand.

178 Very little wheat was grown in the three farm villages studied, but
246 it was noticed that on the outer isles wheat was more dominant. On Henza isle, removal of the grain from the sheaf and hull was accomplished by rubbing it upon a piece of bumpy limestone. On Kudaka, separation was by rubbing on a canvas, both with the hands and feet.

178 After the war farmers took advantage of the spread of the lantana bush,
241 which had flourished due to the neglect of the land. It furnished an excellent livestock feed, and also a short pole which they could use in roofing their re-
[342] built houses. Such poles, or kichigwā, had formerly been brought down from the forested north country.

178 Chronology of Change in Livestock Recovery of the land after the war pro-
727 ceeded far more rapidly than replacement
231 of the livestock killed or eaten in the invasion. The following table illustrates the loss and slow recovery (except for swine) in livestock numbers:

Table V

Type of Livestock	1940[1]	1946[2]	1952[3]	1952 as % of 1940
Cattle	22,000	112	6,837	31.0%
Horses	25,000	899	5,110	20.4%
Swine	108,425	1,165	107,077	98.8%
Goats	106,257	1,547	58,472	55.1%

In Kachinda-son the story has been somewhat the same, with the exception that there are many more swine and cattle now than in the thirties. This is due partly to the lesser amount of land in sugar and the planting of more

1, 2 Summation....July-November, 1946, p. 26.
3 Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku, Vol. 3, No. 3, 1943, p. 1. Valid as of 31 Dec. 1952.

swiss chard for pig feed, as well as the greater availability of lantana bushes for livestock feed. The following table compares the 1931 figures with those for 1952: 178 727 231

Table VI

Livestock Type	1931	1952	1952 as % of 1931
Cattle	41	229	558.0%
Horses	1,676	74	4.4%
Swine	1,774	2,490	140.0%
Goats	4,217	1,400	33.3%

The "great rabbit boom" is often spoken of by farmers in an amusing vein. In the winter of 1946-1947 rabbits assumed the form of currency, and in a mad fever people bought rabbits and sold them, never realizing their true value. A Nanahan farmer related: 175 231 [43]

> I hitched a ride on a truck, and went up to the Katchin peninsula. There I bought a rabbit for ¥600. I sold it the next day to B. for ¥1200. He resold it for ¥700 profit to a Gisshi farmer who was waiting to buy one. Then I went up again, stayed overnight, and sold the new rabbit for ¥1000 profit. Again and again I went, and finally amassed ¥5000 in profits. With these rabbit profits I bought what I thought was a pregnant goat for ¥7000. It wasn't pregnant, and I had to sell it for ¥3000, taking a loss. But then I bought a pig from B. for ¥2500 and sold it to 'One-armed K' for ¥3000.
>
> In Tsukazan, which was the center of the rabbit trade in this area, a man sold all of his land to invest in rabbits, but he lost everything on the deal.

2. Land Use

The basic pattern of land use has been described in Glacken's Okinawan Village Studies (SIRI Report No. 4), and in Nuttonson, Ecological Crop Geography and Field Practices of the Ryukyu Islands, Natural Vegetation of the Ryukyus, and Agro-Climatic Analogues in the Northern Hemisphere. Although agriculture is not quite as intensive nor yields so high as in Japan, still much intercropping, double-cropped and rotation of crops is carried on. Because sugar cane takes a year or more to mature, various crops such as kidney beans, giant radish, cucumbers, broad beans, soy beans and mustard cabbage are interplanted with the cane. They mature and are harvested before the cane grows too tall and cuts off the sunlight. Sugar cane is rotated in a two-crop cycle of cane and sweet potatoes; or it is rotated with soybeans and sweet potato in a three-crop cycle. Very rarely is cane replanted in a field which has just produced a crop. In this way the farmers hope to diminish the damage done by worms and insects. 311 241

Although animals are generally bought for prices that the community considers as relatively fixed (see below), meat animals sell for a certain rate per unit weight that varies with the market. Old cows and bullocks are generally sold for meat at the rate of ¥60 per kin. Boars, if fat, are sold for ¥42 per kin. Male goats bring ¥20 per kin for eating purposes, and chickens bring about ¥200 per kin. Females of any animals are very seldom sold unless old and almost dying, or unless the farmer finds himself in dire monetary emergency. Nanahan, which has the greatest vegetable acreage in Tomoyose village, has a 'han'-wide agreement not to raise chickens, due to their possible destruction of young plants. 435

Buying of Livestock and Daily Necessities The war depleted most of the livestock of Okinawa, and recovery has been slow. Okinawan farmers frequently expressed their gratitude to the American religious organizations which sent goats to them to help in reconstruction. 727 231 [177]

The reversion of Amami indirectly helped to increase the livestock on Okinawa. A Nanahan farmer described the situation in late November of 1953: 439 231

> Horses, cows, goats and pigs, together with household furniture come into Tomari port from Amami every day. The Amamians want to get as much Okinawan yen as possible, because it will convert to Japanese yen at three to one, and they think they will be ahead. The accelerated cattle movement started right after reversion intentions were announced. We are very glad to be able to buy the animals, but important people on Amami are afraid that this movement will deplete the island of animals, especially stud horses and bulls, goats and pigs for breeding.

Nanahan farmers have relatively fixed ideas on the prices of livestock. For middle grade, or average, stock the following prices are quoted: horses, ¥13,000; cows, ¥25,000; heifers, ¥10-11,000; calves ¥9-10,000; boars, ¥2,500; sows, ¥2,700; and all goats, ¥300-400. 435

Before the war there were many people traveling through the countryside selling 'miso' paste and bean curd. Every other day such peddlers would visit even the most isolated settlements. Better roads and increased communications by bus and jitney have oriented purchase of staples urbanward. The only peddlers who now come through Nanahan are basket peddlers. Two small stores in the main settlement provide 'sake', noodles, matches and other small-cost items that are not worth a trip to town. 438 178 443

Sale of Services Farm labor is drawn from the southern islands and from poorer families who are just getting a start in the community. In Nanahan there was only one full-time farm laborer, who was paid ¥2,000 a month, in addition to room and board. He had left Miyako when eighteen, two years before, because of a famine that was being caused by a sweet-potato virus. His employer was a man who managed a good deal of land---indeed the land that belonged to himself and two minor relatives---and sorely needed the extra labor. Another landowner was converting dry land to paddy, and after 464 [465]

CHAPTER VII: POPULATION

F. R. Pitts

1. Postwar Growth and Change in Okinawan Population

167
727 Repatriates

Much of the population increase in the first five years after the end of the war was due to the influx of repatriates. It is not known for certain just how many Ryukyuans were abroad. However, a rough picture may be seen by examining the statistics and comment presented in the Navy handbook:[1]

> No complete summary of the destinations of Ryukyu emigrants is available, but estimates drawn from a number of sources appear to indicate that the industrial regions of Japan proper and the Japanese mandated islands have attracted a vast majority of those leaving the archipelago. A summary of available estimates and census data on the destination of approximately 130,000 emigrants from Okinawa prefecture in the last quarter century is given below:

Destination	Number
Japan proper (principally to Osaka, Kobe, Tokyo and Yokohama)	60,000
Japanese mandated islands:	
Mandated Marianas	25,772*
Western Carolines	4,943*
Eastern Carolines	3,474*
Marshalls	48*
Hawaiian Islands	11,000
Brazil	9,000
Peru	6,800
Philippine Islands	5,900
Argentina	2,300
United States	600
Total	129,837

*1937 Japanese Census Figures

Many more Ryukyuans came back than the above figures show were abroad. The difference may well be accounted for by a) some inaccuracies in the Navy handbook data, and b) repatriation of Ryukyuan soldiers. Repatriation figures given by USCAR are as follows:

Postwar, prior to August 1945	30,000[2]
1946	112,014
1947	7,738
1948	2,607
1949	1,585
Total postwar repatriates	153,944

[1] P. 55.

[2] USCAR estimate, p. 79 of CAARI.

When a great number of people are repatriated, it is far more likely that more will find their way into urban areas than into rural areas. This tends to remain true in spite of prior resettlement in the country villages. 167 727

People and the Arable Land One of the best indicators of urbanization is the number of persons for each acre of arable land under cultivation. In Okinawa, cultivation of the sweet potato permits a much larger population to live off an acre of land than would be true if other crops were raised in its place. The following scale has been set up, and is the basis for Map 5:[1] 161 389

Areas of Occasional Surplus	Up to 6 persons per acre
Areas of Moderate Self-sufficiency	6-9 persons per acre
Areas of Definite Deficiency	9-20 persons per acre
Semi-urbanized Areas	20-30 persons per acre
Urban Areas	Over 30 persons per acre

In examining Map 5, which is based on conditions at the end of 1950, it is seen that the entire area from Oroku to Ishikawa, and from Katsuren to Yomitan, is included in the food-deficient areas. This is true also of Nago, the southwestern half of the Motobu peninsula, and the far north 'son' of Kunigami. The urban node in the south results from prewar settlement. The urbanized areas of Kadena, Chatan and Goeku of course are postwar phenomena. The fact that this urbanized three-'son' block is bordered by semi-urbanized areas, while the urban areas of the south are not, indicates that a greater center of attraction is found in this area. The answer is the amount of military employment available here.

In discussing the postwar growth and rearrangements of population it is convenient to divide the discussion into two parts. The first will deal with the period prior to 1951, when repatriation and a mild amount of construction were prevalent. The second period under consideration is from 1 January 1951 to 31 December 1952, during which time accelerated military construction was the rule, and repatriation almost non-existent. 161 128

Population Increase from 1940 to 1950 In this decade the population of the Ryukyus increased by 20%, while that of Okinawa Guntō increased by 22%. Map 6 indicates the areas of relative decrease and increase. Much of Shimajiri suffered great losses in the fighting, and by the end of 1950 still registered a net decrease for the decade. The relatively undestroyed areas from Ishikawa north experienced a greater than average growth, and the scattered military installations in Goeku, Misato and Gushikawa attracted a great number of people. Ishikawa owed its growth mainly to its designation as the postwar temporary capital city. 161

The setting up of a military government area on the Chinen peninsula attracted a few people there, as did the repair of the Japanese airbase in Oroku. The height, relative remoteness and almost total destruction of Shuri, combined with the military requisitioning of much of the Naha port area, contributed greatly to the unexpected growth of Mawashi.

[1] Figures for each political area for all maps are given in the appendix.

allotment system was now entered in the newly-created land registries as the 175
property of the household head. In the past inheritance of the position of 648
household head by the first son had been largely a matter of status succes- 177
sion involving leadership of the family and certain ceremonial obligations. 423
Property succession had not been an important factor, for the private
property of the family had usually amounted to no more than the family 177
house and lot. Under the old land allotment system there was always land 423
available for younger sons who set up independent houses, but under Japanese 428
law the bulk of the family property was inherited by the first son. What had 592
been the function of the community in the past now became the responsibility
of the family, and since family holdings were usually small, the younger sons
were often landless. Informants stated that a father will usually do every-
thing possible to provide his younger sons with land, but he cannot do this
if it means jeopardizing the resources of the house. Continuation of the
family line for the purpose of continuity in worshipping the ancestors is
the chief responsibility incumbent on the household head, and in the rural
areas the land provides the major support for the house. With the rise in [166]
population there developed an increasing trend for younger sons to emigrate
from the rural areas in search of land or jobs elsewhere. The end result [602]
was a considerable weakening of family and especially kin group ties and a [621]
rapid decline in the communal character of the rural villages.

Though the creation of private property made possible the sale, pur- 175
chase, and rental of land, landlordism never gained a foothold on Okinawa. 423
Undoubtedly this is primarily due to the recency of private property and the 427
lack of time for large accumulations of land to be made. It is also in part
due to a lack of capital in the rural areas; most capital on Okinawa after [471]
the annexation and before World War II was confined to the hands of Japanese
businessmen and members of the former upper classes who seemed disinclined to
invest in land. Likewise the official Japanese attitude toward Okinawa was [648]
to regard it as a rather backward part of Japan not to be exploited as a
colonial dependency as in the case of Formosa and Korea. Glacken has sug- [171]
gested that the heavy fragmentation of the typical Okinawan farm would be an
obstacle to its sale; yet, the Chinese farmland is also highly fragmented
and landlordism has been common there for centuries.[1]

After the abolition of the communal allotment system taxes were ex- 175
tended to cover all categories of land whereas previously they had been ap- 423
plied only to arable land; however, government income from land taxes sharply 651
declined, as the moderate levies of the Japanese administration were con-
siderably below those of the Okinawan monarchy. Despite this reduction in [311]
tax load there has been a steady decline in the amount of land cultivated
since the termination of the old land system; this is clearly shown in Tables
III and IV in Chapter III, Agricultural History, Land Use and Diet.

3. World War II and the American Occupation

175
During World War II Okinawa became the scene of one of the most vio- 727
lent battles of modern times. The entire island was turned into a combat

[1] Glacken, 1951, p. 160.

175 area which resulted in a twenty percent reduction in the civilian population
727 and in the destruction of virtually every city, town, and village. The densely-populated southern half of the island, scene of the heaviest fighting, was particularly devastated.

Staggering reconstruction tasks faced the military government at the conclusion of the war, and at first nearly all its efforts were absorbed in managing the problems of food and health for the civilian population. In the course of the campaign nearly all of the people had been removed into civilian internment camps, and many remained there for nearly a year or more before returning to their homes. Most returned to find their homes destroyed and fields overgrown with weeds or littered with the debris of war. In a few areas whole villages were replaced by military installations. The average village found itself without housing, its fields in an unusable condition, and its families decimated. In most cases the district office ('sonyakuba') had been destroyed and with it all family and land records. The physical destruction of the war and the humiliation of defeat left the population apathetic and indifferent for some time. One informant stated this feeling succinctly, "After the war we were left with only the will to live, nothing more." A former war-time and post-war mayor of one village informed the author that nearly six years were required to restore the land to its pre-war state, and he expressed the opinion that this recovery was unduly prolonged by the generous food ration issued by the military government: "No one wanted to work as long as there was free food. Without this food it could have been done in two or three years."

175 On April 14, 1950, the military governor issued Special Proclamation
423 36 which authorized the issuance of new certificates of land title.[1] The
[648] measure necessitated surveying and preparing new land maps and issuing new titles. It was first necessary to set up schools to train personnel for carrying out the assignment. The mapping job was one which the authors heard praised in all farm villages, with a number of informants remarking that Okinawa now had the best land maps of any time in its history. In the confirmation of ownership local bodies were made sovereign, but the individual had the right of appeal to the courts.

423 Copies of the land titles are kept in three offices, the land regis-
647 try and tax collection offices in the district office ('sonyakuba') and in the Central Land Office located in Naha. Under the law all land transactions, rental or sale, must be registered within thirty days; however, even the most casual check of these records plus a knowledge of local holdings indicates that this is not being done, for both the bookkeeping and registration appear to lag far behind transactions. This does not seem to be the result of any deliberate attempt to withhold information but rather appears due to a lack of concern for such details on the part of the individuals concerned. The same sort of situation prevails in the registration of births and deaths. Another factor might well be that the large number of land transactions occurring in the postwar period have left the farmer disinclined

[1] Ryukyu Statistical Bulletin, no. 5, May 1950.

[Kanegusuku]

time of the author's stay in the village there was no individual or family which could be classified as rentier. 427

Changes Effected by the War War-caused changes in the distribution of land holdings among the various households were considerable. Many of the land-rich houses, if such a term may be used where the "richest" has but eleven acres, are such today because of the war, and conversely some houses have become impoverished or had their resources severely strained because of it. Unlike many other communities Kanegusuku was fortunate in that only about 4% of its total land area was permanently ruined as a result of the war. Some land was lost to a road, but most of the loss was due to a small military camp (about company size) now converted into a tuberculosis sanatorium. Since land holdings are usually fragmented and scattered, no one family lost all its land, though one family lost nearly one-half and several approximately one quarter. The loss to the sanatorium is not compensated for by jobs for Kanegusuku people since no villager is employed there. This is explained by the fact that the director is from Itoman, so "naturally" he could not be expected to hire Kanegusuku people. 621 423 177 727 [186]

The composition of the household has changed in many homes since the war as a result of the large number of deaths. Today a number of households consist of the usual nuclear family of husband, wife, and their offspring plus a related "broken" family such as widowed sister and her children or widower brother and his children or parent and unmarried siblings. In most cases the holdings of both families are pooled and the household functions as a single economic unit, though separate purses are sometimes maintained. There are several old people who live alone in their houses, but they are usually watched over by near relatives. 621 592 177 727

The richest landowner (eleven acres) in the village today was a second son in very moderate circumstances before the war. As a second son he was given by his parents to childless relatives for adoption. During the war his adoptive parents died, leaving him their entire estate. The war also caused the death of his real father and elder brother, leaving him the sole heir to their property. He has since married a woman who as the surviving member of her family is heiress to its property. Consequently, this house now holds the land of three families. The villagers are somewhat envious, but they say that misfortunte may result since this house now must make the ritual observances to the ancestors of three families, which is felt to be too great a task for anyone, and inadequate attention may lead to calamity. 621 556 727 [769]

The women who were widowed by the war and who have chosen to maintain separate households have had in most cases a difficult time of it, and particularly those widows without grown sons have been hard pressed. Farming an irrigated field is said to be impossible for a woman alone; therefore, most of them have had to rent out their rice lands, thereby losing much of its return. It is also very difficult for a house which contains only women to participate in reciprocal labor exchanges, since two days of labor by a woman are equated to one day of labor by a man. 621 589 727 [462] [427] [476]

[Kanegusuku]

621 The group most dissatisfied with its lot today are the repatriates
423 from the former Japanese possessions. A few of these families were able upon
727 return to take up the lands left by relatives killed in the war or were given land by prosperous relatives, and four repatriate families are virtually landless. All of them, regardless of the size of their present holdings, chafe at their circumstances. One repatriate told the author that he had farmed nearly twenty-five acres in a single plot of sugar on Saipan and that he could never be satisfied with Kanegusuku after this. He is hoping that he will eventually be permitted to return to Saipan.

Before the war that segment of the village which possessed the least amount of land consisted almost exclusively of younger sons who had established branch families. Today this group has been augmented by repatriates from the former Japanese possessions and by emigrants from other Okinawan communities.

621 Farm Laborers During the course of the author's stay in Kanegusuku
241 there was only one full-time farm laborer in the village. This man came from
[463] one of the southern islands in the Ryukyus and was employed for less than a month. After his discharge, the former employer remarked that no outsider has enough interest in the lands of another family to make his employment worthwhile. Transplanting and harvesting rice place the heaviest labor de-
[859] mands upon the family; at these times virtually every member of the family
[476] works in the fields; even the grade-school children are given minor tasks, and the family labor force is supplemented by close relatives or neighbors in a reciprocal labor exchange.

829 Attitudes toward the Land One does not hear or see evidence of
554 any great love or attachment for the soil on the part of the Okinawan farmer.
463 In fact, quite the contrary seems true. Most regard their occupation as a
241 lowly one and feel that they are farmers because they know no other occupation. Land is of value because it provides a livelihood, nothing more, though some exception might be made for house land. Nearly all of the younger generation reflect the thinking of their fathers, and they are eager to get a good education (the diligence of even the average Okinawan student would strike the American teacher as amazing), secure a job in the town or city, and leave the drudgery of the farm village forever. Most
[433] farms are so small that they provide no more than mere subsistence for their cultivators; consequently, the young men see no sense in attending agricultural school when they will have little more than an acre to work. One young man from a fairly prosperous family in the village recently secured a job as a stevedore in Naha, and both he and his wife expressed their pleasure over what they regard as a definite improvement in their status. Though they have not sold the land which they own, they hope that it will never be necessary to return and farm it.

To a large extent this attitude toward the land and farming as an
[178] occupation is directly related to the economic and cultural changes taking place on Okinawa today; the city is an exciting place to live in and employment there is economically more advantageous than farming. Nevertheless, this seems in part the product of the old land system and the low, serf-like status accorded farmers under it. Some of the earlier visitors and officials

[Kanegusuku]
[Kitazato]

on Okinawa observed that the farmer took little interest in the care of land which he did not regard as his own. The author was particularly impressed by the contrast between Japan and Okinawa in regard to the care of land, for the meticulous care which the Japanese farmer lavishes on his land seems absent by contrast among the Okinawan farmers. 241 829 554 463 [171]

Kitazato The farm village of Kitazato in Kami Motobu-son presents a marked contrast to Kanegusuku in that it has suffered the loss of a major part of its area to a military installation. In studying the village of Kitazato the village of Kanegusuku was used as a base line for comparisons. To supplement his own observations the author has drawn heavily on actual statements by Kitazato people; in this way he hopes to present as accurately as possible the actual state of the village compared to villages elsewhere on Okinawa, and the villagers' own conceptualization of their circumstances. 621 [727] 121 621 [124]

Kitazato is not an old village, having been founded but seven generations ago by the younger sons of gentry families from the Naha-Shuri area. It was politically independent of the neighboring villages during the time of the old kingdom, but after the annexation it was administered in part by the villages of Gushiken and Jahana. In 1936 or 1937 it was established as an independent village, taking its present name. 175 621

Following their release from civilian internment camps the villagers returned to the site of their old homes shortly before New Year's of 1946. They found virtually their entire village land area converted into an airfield and accompanying military installations. According to their account there was considerable misunderstanding between them and the military as to where they might live, and they feel that they were subject to contradictory and inconsistent orders. Several moves were made which disrupted their plans to settle, and one villager stated, "I grew tired of rebuilding my house." In 1948 they were finally ordered to remove themselves from the military area, and they took up residence in their present location. It is claimed that there was insufficient land in the area to resettle the entire village on a single site; so, the village divided into three sections. Thirty houses were located on the beach between the villages of Gushiken and Shinzato, and this segment was given the name Hama. The remainder of the houses settled in the nearby hills from one to two miles away. Thirty-nine houses settled in the hills between the villages of Furushima and Jahana, taking the name Kijikina. Ten houses located themselves in the hills just north of Kijikina in a settlement which they called Anahana. These latter two, however, function as a single settlement for administrative purposes. These 80 houses making up the scattered village of Kitazato have a total population of 414. Despite their physical separation these segments have striven with considerable difficulty to maintain their political and social unity; one mayor and council serves them, and people are constantly visiting from one area to another. Today most of their land is gone, and they are too far removed from any city, town, or military installation (the airfield is abandoned) for employment. Extreme poverty and bitterness are one's first impressions of the village. 175 621 727 [464] [735]

[Kitazato]

175 621 727 It is said that the division of the village cut across family lines and that the motivating factor in a household's choice of one site over another was the location of their remaining landholdings on the periphery of the village. Another factor was the presence of relatives in neighboring villages from whom they might secure land for rental. Thus, Kijikina is largely made up of households which have their lands on that side of the field or have relatives in neighboring Furushima; the Hama people mostly own the land at the north side of the field.

175 621 The Pre-war Village Prior to the war the village was, according to 'son' officials, a very prosperous community and a great economic asset to the 'son'. It possessed nearly 173 acres in arable land, most of which [249] was flat or gently rolling. The soil was well suited to sugar cane which [434] was the chief source of income for the village; cattle-raising for export [235] to Japan provided an additional source of income. [439]

Unlike Kanegusuku the lineages were said to be rather weak in Kitazato; there were a number of different kin groups, and no one of these was [360] dominant. The houses of the village were not tightly nucleated like those of the typical Okinawan village but were scattered about in a loose grouping in the midst of the best agricultural land.

621 311 727 Land Loss At the present time (May, 1954) approximately 39% of the total land area of this village is in airfield, and an additional 34% of the total area has been ruined by activities related to its construction (sand dumped onto fields, top soil removed, erosion, etc.). There remains but 27% of the total land area for the use of the villagers, and of this only a small percentage is in arable land, since most of the good, flat farmland was lost to the airfield. The total amount of arable land remaining is [134] 11,895 'tsubo' (less than ten acres), and this averages out to about 148 'tsubo' or 0.12 acres per household, with approximately five persons in each house. The average amounts of arable land per household in Kanegusuku, Okinawa, and Kitazato compare as follows:

Kanegusuku	---	1514.2 'tsubo'
Okinawa	---	1037.2 'tsubo' (per farm household)
Kitazato	---	148.7 'tsubo'

Land loss to the airfield affected every family in the village; some families lost all of their lands, a very few managed to retain most, but the majority of villagers (70%) lost nearly all of their holdings. For example, the mayor of the village held 2470 'tsubo' before the war and now has 570 'tsubo' left; yet, he is considered one of the more fortunate. To compensate for their losses they now farm some land which was previously left idle: "We would not have farmed such land before the war as we are farming today." Some have rented lands from neighboring villages, and a few have been given land by relatives in these villages.

621 829 727 Land Payment The people of Kitazato strongly feel that they are not being paid adequate remuneration in terms of current rental values for their land. They are well aware of the fact that the same U. S. military

[Kitazato]

is paying adequate rentals for lands used in Japan, and it is their contention that Okinawa is being discriminated against because she is weak. Because of this some wish that Japan were back in control, believing that their interests would be better served. One hears no comments on the presence of Americans in the islands or on the legality of building bases there, for they concede that the outcome of the war granted that; yet, they are bitter about the loss of their livelihood and what they feel to be neglect on the part of the military government. Long accustomed to a paternalistic government which directed many aspects of their lives, they are now at a loss to understand this seeming indifference to their present circumstances. They are completely unmoved by argument, which might seem logical to an American, that Congress has not appropriated sufficient funds, for they do not distinguish between the various divisions of American government---it is all American to them. They point to the high standard of living enjoyed by the American personnel and their families stationed on the island and make the inference that there seems to be no lack of funds for their needs. 621 829 727

The villagers say that they have received three payments from military government through May, 1954. The first of these paid for the cost of removing and rebuilding their homes. This amounted to a flat payment of ¥6000 ($50) per house, which they say was inadequate. The first of the land payments was made in June of 1953; the villagers assert that they were paid at pre-war rates, and one person who owned 5480 'tsubo' described the payment as a "laugh". The second payment for the use of their lands was made in May, 1954, while the author was studying the village. This time the payments were said to be substantially higher especially in certain categories; yet, they contend that payments are still far below current rentals. In this payment, ¥5.40 per 'tsubo' per year was paid for grade one house lots, but in Kijikina the owner of one house claimed that he paid ¥24 per 'tsubo' per year for rental on his house lot. Grade one dry fields were paid for by the military government at a rate of ¥3 per 'tsubo' per year; the farmers say that they can get about ¥60 per 'tsubo' in annual yield if this land is planted in beans or potatoes, and local rentals on this same type of land are about ¥15. They are angry at receiving but ¥3 for their land and having to pay ¥15 to rent equivalent land. They are also dissatisfied with the manner of payment for grass land and tomb land which are paid for by the plot regardless of size; thus, they say that the person who has two small plots of 10 'tsubo' each receives twice as much as the man who owns a single, larger 100 'tsubo' plot.

Effect of the Land Loss on the Village: Physical Appearance On first entering any one of the three segments of Kitazato one is struck almost immediately by a level of poverty considerably below that of other Okinawan villages. This is particularly true of Hama, whose houses are jammed tightly together on a treeless beach. Most of the houses consist of a single room which serves as living and sleeping quarters; a small lean-to kitchen is attached on the side. The floor space of the houses was considerably smaller than those of Kanegusuku. Several brackish wells supply the community with water. The Anahana and Kijikina settlements in the hills have a more attractive appearance due to a large number of young pine trees and a small stream in the area, giving a park-like atmosphere; however, 621 735 511 [342] [312] [342]

Moreover, during the last days of the battle and for a period of nearly a year afterwards the Yamada people, like most other villagers in the vicinity, lived a concentration-camp sort of existence in the very crowded and unsanitary city of Ishikawa. Then when they returned to their village they had to rebuild their houses from materials given by the Americans and from salvage. This experience undoubtedly had a bad effect on morale and perhaps also on standards of cleanliness. Yet Yamada appears to be a cleaner village than many seen in Southern Okinawa. This may be because of its less dense concentration of houses and its fairly good water system. 178 751 927

Economic factors can be summed up in the single word "poverty". The most modern knowledge and the best intentions are not sufficient if one has to carry water from a distance, has no money for soap, and has little strength left after the daily grind of making a living. 751 511

3. The Supernatural and Disease

The Okinawans, like all peoples, have a large body of traditional knowledge about the ills of the body and what to do about them. As among many peoples with little contact with Western science, a great many illnesses are attributed to causes that we would call supernatural. Thus before one can understand the Okinawan view of diseases one must understand some of the Okinawan concepts of the supernatural. 753

Concepts of the Supernatural The living human being, according to Okinawan belief, contains two entities, the mabui (or mabuyaa, possibly related to Japanese 'mamori', "guardian") and the shii (pos. ident. with Japanese 'sei', "essence"). These correspond to the Western concept "soul". According to some informants the two are the same, but then further conversation reveals a difference in usage that must reflect a difference in concept. It appears that the mabui is a discrete entity capable of being dislodged from the body without death resulting immediately. The shii on the other hand appears to have more the nature of a force that can be augmented or diminished. 774 778 [71]

What happens after a person dies is not altogether clear (see also Chapter V). According to some he becomes a "Buddha" (Japanese 'hotoke'), according to others he becomes a "god" (Japanese 'kami-sama') and ascends to Heaven. This happens if all goes well, if the person dies in a normal manner and has left no important task undone, and if his family makes the proper offerings. However, if such is not the case, he may become a ghost and haunt this world. Several terms are used for dead persons in this latter form---yanamung ("bad thing"), yanakaji ("bad wind"), majimung (?), shininchu ("dead person"), shinigami ("dead god"), shinimabui ("dead mabui"). The last term, shinimabui, contrasts with ichimabui,("live mabui"), used for the displaced mabui of a living person. All of these terms seem to mean the same thing, the dead who are not cared for and who are therefore a potential danger. 775.

The dead who are cared for are said to ascend to Heaven (in Japanese, 'Ten ni agaru'), but they may also be present in the tomb and at

The mental
isolation of the farm village gradually decreased under a national system of 177
education, but the process did not end with schooling. Upon graduating, the 619
youth, male and female, were enrolled in a national young people's association. 575
Later the young men were drafted for service in the national army, and following discharge the veteran was enlisted in a local reserve association which [702]
met frequently for military and social purposes. When a man married, established a separate house, and began farming, membership in the farmer's association was automatically conferred. His wife upon marriage transferred from the young women's association to the women's association. There were, in fact, a variety of national organizations covering the various phases and roles of the individual's life; membership was never a matter of choice, but a thing automatically conferred. A stress on patriotism was a strong concomitant in all of these. Membership gave to the individual a sense of participating in a national society extending far beyond the limits of his small village.

It should be stressed that most Okinawans regard the Japanese as pro- 177
viders of modern, enlightened government. The Japanese administration abol- 829
ished the old class divisions and freed the peasant from his serf-like status. [565]
Taxes on arable land were substantially reduced, and the villager for the
first time was given some voice in government above the village level: modern [671]
law courts were introduced and justice was administered impartially, not on a class basis as was formerly done.

Inadvertently, perhaps, official Japanese policy did much to destroy 177
the self-sufficiency of the farm village. Prior to the land reform, sugar 621
production did not exceed local needs, but government encouragement and sub- 433
sidy so increased production that by the time of World War II it exceeded consumption by 900%. This resulted in a food shortage which necessitated heavy importations of basic cereals to compensate.

Japanese manufactured goods also contributed to the decline in self- 177
sufficiency. Factory-made cloth gradually displaced home-woven fabrics, and 439
accordingly cotton and fiber banana were no longer raised. The tools, uten- 433
sils, and machines of the factory slowly replaced the simpler devices used [248]
in the village.

Abolition of the system of communal land tenure contributed to a weak- 177
ening of the family and particularly of the large extended kin group. The 602
introduction of private property and Japanese laws of inheritance served to 423
create a landless element which often emigrated from Okinawa in search of land [167]
or jobs elsewhere. Where formerly the kin group had clustered in certain localities, they now became dispersed over great areas, making continued interaction difficult and often impossible.

Sixty-six years of Japanese rule resulted in a fairly successful amal- 177
gamation of Okinawa into the Japanese state; though the Okinawan language and culture were not destroyed, they were severely altered.

Impact of World War II and the American Occupation The war destroyed vir- 727
tually all of rural and urban Okinawa, and resulted in the death of twenty percent of the population.

727 Much of the civilian population was herded into internment camps early in the campaign, and many remained there for over a year. The people were so scattered about the land that today nearly every village has a number of families new since the war. The effects of the destruction, loss of life, and displacement were far-reaching---families were shattered, whole villages were moved, fields were ruined, countless homes and buildings were demolished, and the records of government were lost or destroyed. In short, the land was laid waste and its people impoverished.

The effect on the people is best summarized by two frequently-heard statements: "After the war we were left with only the will to live, nothing more," and, "After the war everyone was equal."

177 727 Okinawa's small area, large population, and the sizable number of Americans proportionate to that population put the two peoples in close proximity to one another. Certainly the mere presence of foreign troops and their military administration has far-reaching implications in terms of culture change. This close proximity, however, might be easily exaggerated in so far as actual interaction is concerned. The social and cultural barriers separating American and Okinawan have been so great as to preclude large scale interactions, and, consequently, actual change which might result from this interaction has not been as great as might be expected.

177 829 In contrast to the Japanese administration the American military government has not been culturally repressive with regard to Okinawans. Quite likely the Okinawan does not feel as embarrassed or defensive about his culture before an American as he did before a Japanese. The important factor, however, is that the Japanese held out cultural assimilation and equality in their own culture as an alternative to the Okinawan. As the differences were not too great, the Okinawan came to think of himself as Japanese. On the other hand, the difference between the American and Okinawan is so great as to make assimilation most difficult, even if both parties desired it, which they do not. Consequently, though Japanese political control is no longer exercised, Japanese culture is admired as much as ever. The close cultural and racial ties between the two peoples and the continuance of what is essentially a Japanese education in the schools have done much to perpetuate this.

Okinawans greatly admire the wealth and technology of the Americans, but American social, political, and ethical-religious beliefs and practices, which are not so easily observed, have not made any real impression. Precisely because American wealth and technology are so superior to their own, they conceive of Americans as a people addicted to material things. They are not at all convinced that American social institutions are superior to theirs.

177 727 178 Despite undoubted good intentions, the legislation and proclamations enacted by the military government have had but slight effect on the social system. It is one thing to liberalize laws on police powers, suffrage, and human rights, and quite another to have them carried out in the spirit that was intended. The men of the farm village acknowledge that women may hold [50] public office according to the law but say that they (the men) will never permit this to happen. In most cases a potentiality for change has been noted rather than an actual change; it remains to be seen whether acceptance will ultimately occur.

178
Military installations have attracted people from all areas, and at 177
the present time over twenty-five percent of the total labor force is employed 727
by the military or in subsidiary occupations. Some of these people are drawn [464]
from the landless element which formerly would have emigrated. In other areas
land has been left idle by those who have sought salaried jobs in preference [311]
to farming. In places, extensive military land use has greatly increased
land pressure. The circulation of money has been accelerated, and new pat- [491]
terns of living have evolved. Many miles of all-weather roads have been constructed and the island transportation system has improved to a point where villagers have a mobility undreamed of in the prewar era.

The major forces for change have been technological and economic. 177
Where changes have occurred in the social system, they have come about largely 178
as a result of these factors. Man has always tended to accept new things faster than new ideas, but in final analysis these will alter ideas too. It has been said that the streetcar and trains have contributed more to the breakdown of the idea of caste in India than any other single factor; so too on Okinawa, the changes effected by a new technology, greater circulation of money, and improved mobility operate to alter the fabric of life. Most rural 177
Okinawans would be decidedly opposed to any overt action designed toward 369
weakening the unity of their village; yet, when they put aside farming to 621
commute daily to a city job, avail themselves of the newspapers, movies, and 178
radio programs emanating from the city, and no longer participate in labor exchanges and other cooperative ventures, it is to precisely this end that they are contributing.

It is the opinion of the author that the major forces for change in 177
contemporary Okinawa were already operative before the war. The real impact 178
of the American occupation has been a rapid acceleration of the forces of change which have been slowly building up since the beginning of the century.

<u>Aspects of Change in Rural Okinawa: Transportation</u> One of the most im- 178
pressive changes in 491
post-war Okinawa with far-reaching cultural implications has been the improved transportation system which has made possible a greater mobility. A network of modern highways now girdle the land where formerly narrow dirt roads and paths had sufficed. To one who had last seen the island in 1945 the contrast in 1954 was most remarkable.

The increase in motor vehicles has been more than ten-fold over the 178
prewar period. Most villages now have easy access to bus lines which connect [494]
to virtually all points of the island. Where formerly villagers but rarely
went to town, they now make such trips frequently. It is not uncommon in the [484]
Shimajiri and Nakagami areas of the island for an individual to commute each day from his village to his place of employment in a military camp, town, or city.

The improvement in transportation has enabled the farmers to bring 178
products to the best markets. Formerly most Kanegusuku products were sold 443
in nearby Itoman, but today with the advent of rapid bus service to Naha many items are taken there for sale.

241 433 average, since the range is narrow) of approximately one acre.[1] Even by the most skillful and intensive gardening methods there are limits to what can be extracted from the best of soils. One might say that the average Okinawan farmer is engaged in sub-subsistence farming. With the traditionally low 241 554 status accorded a farmer and the minute size of his holdings it is hardly any wonder that the Okinawan does not like farming and is eager to accept whatever is available elsewhere.

178 Land loss to military installations has accelerated a process which 241 has been operative for fifty years. In this case, however, the effect has 311 been concentrated in certain areas and not distributed over the island at 727 large; consequently, there has been considerable hardship in these localities. But the main point of bitterness where it has been so engendered is over the loss of livelihood rather than over the loss of the land per se. The point, they feel, is that not only have they lost their lands but that they also are not receiving adequate compensation for this loss. It would not be an exaggeration to state that most perhaps would prefer to be landlords, under reasonable terms, to the military than farm the land if it were available again.

178 Okinawan food production has passed through three phases in the last 433 fifty to sixty years. During the first phase prior to the land reform of 1899-1903 there was a self-sufficiency of food in the rural areas. After the reform, the Japanese subsidized sugar and did much to encourage its production, which rose to a point 900% above local consumption. This led to a sharp decline in acreage planted in other foods, particularly grains---rice, wheat, millet. Since 1943 there has been a shift toward increasing food production[2], and sugar has dropped to about one-tenth its prewar level. In some villages such as Kanegusuku where mat weaving was formerly of considerable importance the irrigated fields formerly planted in sedge have been replanted with rice. Despite the increasing emphasis on food production it is unlikely that the village will ever return to self-sufficiency, for in recent years new tastes have altered the diet and created a dependence on foods not produced within the village.

<u>Settlement Patterns</u> The reconstruction of villages after the war 178 often did not follow the prewar pattern. Suttles states that prewar Yamada 361 was a scattered settlement made up of several small hamlets, whereas the new postwar settlement is a nucleated one. The new site is at an important crossroads, while the heart of the old village is virtually empty. North of Yamada on the highway to Nago one can see where the new road has departed from the old one: in several cases the villagers have moved closer to the new road despite the fact that it was much dustier there.

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1 Cressey, George B., <u>Asia's Lands and Peoples</u>, New York, 1944, p. 84, p. 191.

2 Several informants stated that the word went out to the farmers in that year to concentrate all efforts on food production. Undoubtedly this was linked to the turn of events in the war for the Japanese.

Elongated roadside settlements seem to be an increasing phenomena of post-war Okinawa. In central Okinawa (Nakagami) this is particularly apparent in the areas of military camps, where the commercial value of being on the road is fully exploited. Numerous car-washing establishments, repair shops, laundries, souvenir shops, etc., line the roadsides in these settlements. With current expansion and improvement of the highway system there seems increasing likelihood that more settlements of this type will develop. 178 361 [443]

Houses and Buildings Architectural styles and the materials of construction appear to have changed but slightly as a result of the war. There are now thousands of small temporary huts made of scrap materials which will suffice until the individual family can afford a more permanent structure. When new houses are built, the styles are closely similar to those of the prewar period. The major change in the style of country houses appears to have occurred during the Japanese period of administration, for early travelers and investigators report that the typical farmer's dwelling consisted of woven bamboo walls, thatch roof, and dirt floor. These are but rarely found today, and where they do occur, there is always a raised floor as in the case of the Japanese home. In certain areas, such as Kitazato for example, there has been a reversion to this house of woven bamboo and thatch due to poverty, a [illegible] of wood, and the readily available bamboo. The prewar house of wooden walls and frame with a tile roof still remains the most common house type and that which is most frequently built. 178 342 [171]

The use of concrete blocks in building is attributed to American influence; however, their usage to date has been limited mostly to non-residential buildings. Roofing of corrugated iron is sometimes used, but it is regarded as a temporary device. [177]

Interiors have changed but little; rooms are usually relatively bare of furnishings. Frequently the walls are covered with pictures taken from Japanese and American magazines. 177 178 353

The enclosed yard surrounding the Okinawan house often contains considerable evidence of the war. Oil drums have been put to use as rain barrels and privies; American helmets are frequently found serving as pails or buckets; old shell cases are used for support and occasionally, if a sufficient number are available, for decorative fencing; sections of portable landing-strips serve as sidewalks; and on one occasion a Japanese machine-gun was observed in use as a clothes pole. 177 351

Crafts There has been a marked decline in Okinawan handicrafts and a greater reliance placed on factory-made products. The manufacture of cloth, baskets, rope, hats, pottery, raincapes, mats, sandals, etc. has dropped markedly in comparison to the prewar era; yet, it is acknowledged that the war only served to accelerate the decline. Several factors are involved in this process. In many cases the Japanese factory products are cheaper and better than the local article. The cultural domination of Japan also created an attitude that things Ryukyuan were inferior to things Japanese; hence, Japanese products and styles assumed an ascendancy over those of Ryukyuan origin. Lastly, the war destroyed many of the places of manufacture and the machinery employed, and replacement has never been made. 177 178 433 28 [329] [727]

[Yamada]

Thus Aza Yamada consisted of seven settlements grouped into six 'han' 621
and into five chinju. The chinju was probably the older, "natural" unit, [177]
while the 'han' was a unit introduced by the Japanese administration.

During the last few months before the battle for Okinawa, the area 175
south of Yamada was used as an ammunition dump by the Japanese navy, one 621
small unit was stationed in Tarigaa, and a number of Okinawan civilians 726
drafted for labor were quartered there with the local people. These out- 727
siders dispersed as the raiding by American planes increased and by the time the landing took place, on 1 April 1945, the people of Yamada had for the most part gone into caves and prepared underground shelters. Two or three days after the landing the 6th MarDiv passed through Yamada, discovering some of the people and sending them behind the lines, but missing many. Some of those taken were almost immediately allowed to return to their homes. Then, after about a week, all were rounded up, taken to the school, and there loaded onto trucks and taken to Ishikawa. During the following weeks all the buildings in Yamada that had survived the softening-up process that preceded the landing were burned "as a sanitary measure" with the exception of one house and one school building. A part of the Yamada people were moved again to a village north of Kin while the rest stayed in Ishikawa, which was becoming the largest concentration of civilians on the island. Aza Yamada, empty of Okinawans, was occupied by several American units; concrete foundations for quonset huts were laid on the level fields of Tirabaru; the walls and floor of the remaining school building were removed so as to make a garage for a motor pool.

The people of Yamada were permitted to move back to their village 175
during the summer of 1946. Some staved in Ishikawa, however, and some 621
returned to Yamada only to go back to Ishikawa later. (One woman said they 727
were told at the time that if they did not return to Yamada then they could never return later.) The houses at Yamada had to be rebuilt and fields reclaimed; American aid in materials was given but the job was not an easy one. For some of those who had employment with American units or whose families were too broken by the war to provide the basis for a farming household, the new city of Ishikawa, crowded and unsanitary as it was (and still is), was more attractive than the ruins of the country village. But in addition to those from Ishikawa, former Yamada people were being shipped home from Japan, the South Seas, and Manchuria, and although some of these too drifted to the city, the population of Yamada is now somewhat larger than it was before the war.

The postwar village of Yamada looks considerably different from the 621
prewar one. While the old village consisted of several widely separated 178
settlements, the new one is fairly compact. The center is Ajimaa at the old [341]
cross-roads below the school. Yamada 'mura-uchi' is empty but for three families. The yaarui of Uema and Tarigaa were never reoccupied and Tirabaru exists only as a sort of pseudopodium of Ajimaa stretching toward but not reaching its former location. The greater part of the 'mura-uchi' and yaarui people are in Ajimaa and the present Tirabaru. Kuraha, formerly down on the beach, has been rebuilt above the water, just below Ajimaa, at a new and potentially more important crossroads.

[Yamada]

621 361 178 177 One reason for this greater concentration may have been the greater need for cooperation during the period of rebuilding; another may have been the greater dependence since the war on the outside and the resulting greater dependence on the new highways and busses; but a third reason for the present concentration seems to have been a feeling of uneasiness in the presence of American units. There are still units on three sides of Yamada, two in the hills behind and one towards the sea between the settlement and the next village of Maeda. A Tarigaa woman gave the presence of American soldiers in the hills as a definite reason for not returning to her isolated home. A part of the rebuilt Ajimaa extended for a time in the direction of the nearest unit but in the last two or three years these houses have one by one been removed toward the center of the settlement.

621 178 The present aza is divided into five 'han', which are said also to function as chinju. However, the division seems to have been made along 'koaza' boundaries and this has resulted in a very uneven distribution of households per 'han'. Since the settlement pattern is still changing it seems likely that units of a more equal size will develop.

621 178 484 The orientation of Yamada, as well as its settlement pattern, has changed. Before the war contacts were nearly all to the north and south along the west shore of the island; people went south to Kadena on their rare shopping trips. Now, good highways and an excellent bus system not only run north and south but also link the west shore with the east shore, via Nakadomari and Ishikawa. Since the war and the internment of many of the Yamada people at Ishikawa, going to town had meant going to Ishikawa, and people who once went twice a year to Kadena may now go to Ishikawa twice a week. People still go south to Kadena, but now more often as employees of the Americans commuting to work.

621 177 727 [648] Formal Relations At the time that the Yamada people returned to their village in 1946 they received material aid from the American Military Government, with which to rebuild. For a time after, they continued to receive a food ration ('haikyū') that was distributed from the 'haikyūjo', which later became the cooperative store. However, for several years now they seem to have had very little direct contact with the Military Government or its successor USCAR. On the other hand they have had considerable contact, both formal and informal, with the 'butai', the "unit", that is stationed just a few hundred yards from the settlement of Kuraha. This relationship was evidently in a process of change while I worked in Yamada early in 1954.

All of the villagers with whom I discussed the matter seemed agreed that for a period in the recent past the relationship had been very good. During the previous year the CO of the unit had held monthly meetings with the 'kuchō' of Yamada and three neighboring villages and with the teachers of the Yamada school, which serves all four villages. The purpose of these meetings was said to be the discussion of mutual problems, and in this they had a fair degree of success. For example the local people asked the unit to decrease the speed of trucks coming through the village, and this was done. The unit in turn asked the villagers to try to stop women from sneaking into

[Yamada]

its area at night (an informant hastened to add that these were not Yamada women). The unit and the village cooperated in repairing roads, the unit supplying equipment and the village labor. The unit also lent equipment for levelling the school grounds and for the 'undōkai' (sports event) lent the school a public address system. At Christmas of 1952 and again in 1953 the unit gave a Christmas party for the school children. The first year only 40 went but the second year nearly 200 went and all received presents. Two that were shown me later were a plastic car and a plastic fire truck; one was marked 65 cents. They were displayed with obvious pride. The school children in turn had sent a bundle of art work to the unit for the Perry Festival. 621 177 727

According to the villagers, late in 1953 the CO of the unit was transferred and the unit was placed under the command of the CO of another unit some miles away. This, they said, had meant the end of the monthly meetings and a decline in the good relations that had existed. The villagers' worries may have been without foundation. The last Christmas party was given after the alleged shift in command. However, some changes were occurring; for example, prostitution had reentered the village.

Informal Relations In addition to the help given to the school by the unit, certain individuals from the unit had also contributed something to it. One man is said to have taught English classes twice a week for about six months. Many of the men of the unit habitually come to the school grounds to play ball. Several are said to come two and three times a week, others come less frequently. Negro soldiers as well as whites come. They play baseball and volleyball with the men teachers and have also taught them basketball.

A few of the villagers have gained financially from the presence of the unit. In Ajimaa where the school is located there are four shops and at Kuraha there is one shop and another establishment that was formerly a cafe. The Ajimaa shops probably rarely sell anything to the soldiers, but the Kuraha shop has several steady customers for "Okinawa Gin", a rather strong variety of 'awamori'. The cafe formerly sold drinks to a regular clientele from the unit, but recently the owner invested in a taxi, has not made as much on it as he had expected and so has not had the capital for stock. There is also a laundry in Kuraha operated by a couple from Amami which does washing for men in the unit. 621 177 727 444 [273]

Several men in the unit are renting houses for their "honeys". (The term "honey" is widely used by both Americans and Okinawans for an American's Okinawan mistress.) At the time I worked in Yamada there were five "honeys", all in Kuraha, three renting one house and two another. All five were from outside the village; one was from Amami, a relative of the laundry people. According to one informant, the relationships between the soldiers and these women had been established at Senaha, Yomitan-son, a small cafe and brothel area to which some of the men of the unit go; after establishing the relationships there the men had brought the women to this village next to their unit. It was my impression that there was not much contact between these outsiders and the villagers. 621 177 727 836

However, there are several Yamada women who have been the mistresses of American soldiers in the past and there are several half-white children in 621 144 563

[Yamada]

621 the village. The oldest of the children is in school; she is the product of
144 a brief affair during the early days of the occupation. While some informants
563 showed some reluctance to discuss the half-white children, by forgetting that they existed until reminded of them, I saw no evidence that the children suffered any discrimination. There are also several Yamada women living outside Yamada, particularly in Ishikawa, with Americans and Filipinos; several of
621 these have mixed-blood children. Some of the Yamada women who are "married"
582 to Americans have attempted to maintain their relationship with their own
177 families and establish some kind of relationship between their families and their "husbands". On New Year's, when family calls are in order, two sisters who were both living with Americans at another village brought their "husbands" to pay their respects to their grandfather. I was in the old man's house when one of the girls appeared with her American. The American behaved quite properly, taking off his shoes and sitting cross-legged on the mat opposite the grandfather. The grandfather greeted him with dignity and reserve. The girl, who had acquired a fair command of English, translated a few sentences and looked very pleased with herself. Drinks were exchanged and the visit was over. Further contact was hardly possible, but this sort of gesture was probably sufficient to demonstrate to the family and to others that the relationship was a serious one. Most relationships are less serious.

621 The former cafe in Kuraha was said to have had women available for
• 727 prostitution several years ago, but the CO of the local unit who held the
177 meetings with the villagers is said to have disapproved of prostitution in the village and therefore the women left. In the spring of 1954, however,
548 another prostitute was at the cafe, even though it was not operating as such, and a new brothel was established at Ajimaa. There a 'Mama-san' ("madame" in GI Japanese) rented a house for herself and her three girls. The house is one of the newer tile-roofed buildings; it is just below the school grounds and across the highway; it is the property of the brother-in-law of one of the school teachers. Since the shortest way to the place from the unit is directly across the school ground, this was the route taken one afternoon by the three gaudily painted girls as they led a soldier home. I did not have much opportunity to discuss the matter with many people but got the following reaction from one informant: "On the one hand the brothel is good because people are making money; on the other hand it is bad because it makes a bad environment. If anyone complained about it, probably the owners of the house would say that the person complaining is just envious because of the money they are making in rent. Probably even the school teachers could not complain. One cannot interfere with a person's way of making money. The only way it could be stopped would be for the whole village to stop it." This was a clear
[101] expression of two of the basic themes of Okinawan culture, themes that have been mentioned before in connection with other problems; first, one must not interfere in another's livelihood, and second, one must not stand alone; action must be group action. This informant was not overly concerned about the possible bad effects of the presence of the brothel below the school on the school children. Some of the school teachers may have been, yet they too were probably as unwilling to take action individually.

621 While some Yamada people have profited by the presence of the unit,
others have suffered some loss. Considerable land is still not available to
727 its owners and while they have received rental from it the amount is not

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regarded as adequate. Also, some of the land that was returned some time ago still has construction materials on it that must be removed. I also heard the complaint that it was not possible to gather fuel in certain areas in the mountains behind the village. One of the units there is said to fire upon Okinawans who approach the fence around it. So far as I know, no one has been hurt. The fact that Okinawans have been known to appropriate fence wire as scrap metal may be the cause of the apparent hostility of this unit. The villagers have no other contact with it. 621 729

Attitudes In 1945 when the American forces were landing on Okinawa the people of Yamada were trembling in their caves and dugouts expecting that if they survived the bombing of the planes they would probably be shot by the troops. One way or another a few people did lose their lives. One man was shot by an American soldier while trying to run away after coming out of his cave. Another Yamada man, who was teaching school in Kunigami at the time, is said to have been found by an American soldier while travelling with his family through the hills; the soldier made him put down the child he was carrying and then shot him where he stood, before the eyes of his wife and children. Two Yamada girls are said to have been raped. Whether these stories are true or not they are factors in the formation of attitudes toward Americans. Yet stories of such incidents are few and amount to little compared to the treatment that most Okinawans expected to receive at the hands of the Americans. Stories of unexpected kindness shown by the Americans in 1945 are numerous and are not forgotten. Nor are the few atrocity stories, though the balance is undoubtedly well on the credit side.

The variety of the experiences that the people of Yamada have had with Americans tends to make them see, I believe, more clearly than many Americans see, the necessity for avoiding generalizations and judging the individual on the basis of his own merits. One can find individuals who have had a wide range of experience even in a remote Okinawan village. One evening in Yamada I sat listening to the war stories of two brothers. Both had spent some time in Japan. One had lived in Manchuria as a settler, had seen the Kuomintang chase the 8th Route Army and vice versa, had finally been captured himself by the Russians and had managed, according to his account, to escape by making off with a Russian truck. The other brother matched this story by telling how he had been captured by the Americans and taken as a prisoner to Hawaii, where he had spent a year working at a laundry. He delighted us with his stories about the good food, the lazy guards, and how he had made off with large quantities of GI clothing by going back to the compound each night wearing several shirts and two and three pairs of pants. Despite their belief in ghosts and spirits, in matters of human relations these are mature and sophisticated men. They know that not all Americans are good, not all are bad, some are industrious, some are lazy, most are honest, but some are dishonest. On several occasions, while somewhat in his cups, the older of the two assured me that "the words are different but the heart is the same". This perhaps summarizes the faith of a good many Okinawans. 621 729 829

To summarize Okinawan-American relations in Yamada: There have been both formal relations between the neighboring unit and the village and school and informal relations between some of the men of the unit and some of the 621 729 829

[Yamada]

villagers. The formal relations, because of the policy of the CO of the unit, have in the past been good (at any rate this is the interpretation of the villagers). Except in rare instances such as that of the man who taught English, the informal relations have been mainly in the fields of sports and sex. In these matters too the role of the unit's CO has been important.

2. Military Employment

W. P. Lebra

464 An important factor in contemporary Okinawan life is the large number of people engaged in military employment or in subsidiary occupations. Over [177] twenty-five percent of the total Okinawan labor force is so employed, and their day-to-day contact with Americans has far-reaching implications for Okinawan-American relations. It is also a factor of prime importance to the Okinawan economy.

In studying and visiting a number of Okinawan communities the authors noted a considerable variation in the importance of military employment to the community, the role of those so employed in village life, and the attitude of the villagers toward these people.

621 727 Kanegusuku The farming village of Kanegusuku was less affected than most communities by the war and subsequent occupation, little land was ruined, no military installations are in the area, and the majority of villagers are attempting to carry on as before the war.

621 464 Out of a total population of 507 persons, constituting 103 houses, there are but twenty men employed outside the village. Of these twenty men, seven are directly engaged in military employment and eight more are employed by civilian construction companies engaged in military construction. These individuals commute from the village each day to the greater Naha area. In most cases these men come from houses which have insufficient land for mere subsistence, or they are younger sons who are without land and/or who have not married and set up households of their own. Several are newcomers to the village since the war.

621 464 166 In the past a few who have secured jobs in military establishments or in subsidiary employment have left the village and established temporary residence in the city or near the camp. One of the motivating factors for making the move is a monthly saving of ¥600 ($5.00) in bus fares, but certainly another and perhaps stronger motivation has been the desire to escape the dreary life of the farm village. These people say that they do not wish to return to the village; yet, they have retained their land as an insurance 621 against job loss. Most do not seem to regard military employment as a perma- 464 nent career. They hope to save enough money to establish a small business 829 or at the last resort to return to the village and buy more land.

Villagers regard those who have been able to secure military employment as rather fortunate individuals. In most families the additional income [511] is most welcome as it provides a standard of living considerably above subsistence farming. In the case of those families where the husband or house- [462] hold head is employed outside the village the wife usually farms the family vegetable plots.

621 464 In most cases those who are engaged in military employment, or in any employment outside the village, do not play an active role in village affairs.

621 464 Only five of these are household heads entitled to vote in village elections or assume village office, but because their jobs keep them out of the community much of the time, they are not given village offices. There is some feeling on the part of the villagers that they are out of touch with the affairs of a farming village; consequently, their influence in the village thus far has not been too great.

621 727 464 Jagaru and Tobaru The villages of Jagaru and Tobaru in Chatan-son offer a marked contrast to Kanegusuku in terms of the importance of military employment to the community. These two contiguous communities are hemmed in on all sides by military installations. They constitute little more than housing areas within a township that has lost, according to its officials, approximately 91% of its land to military installations.

[541] [178] Formerly nearly all of the families were engaged in farming as a full-time occupation; today less than one-sixth are farming and not all of these are able to depend on it for their sole support. Military employment has replaced farming as the chief occupation of these villages. In October of 1953 there were 2,352 persons out of a total population of 10,411 who were employed in military jobs. In addition there were a number of business establishments which were dependent on the trade of military personnel.

621 464 [434] The welfare of Jagaru and Tobaru is wholly dependent on military employment. In the fall of 1953 there were rumors of an anticipated cut of 10% in the over-all Okinawan labor force employed by the military. This would have made over two hundred individuals and their families without any source of income or means of livelihood. The people were much upset by this prospect as every family had at least one member employed in military jobs and were wholly or in part dependent on their income.

In contrast to Kanegusuku those who were engaged in military employment in these villages played an active role in community affairs. A great many of them are household heads, and they are not regarded as being out of touch with village affairs since the chief occupation of the villagers is military employment. While the Kanegusuku people regard securing a military job as good fortune, the people here regard it as a necessity. According to township officials most of this year's graduating class will look for jobs in the nearby installations.

621 464 829

The villagers are bitter because they feel that the military has not paid them adequate rentals for the use of their land. There is also some resentment over the conduct of troops in those communities during their off-duty hours. In short, though the villages are completely dependent on the military for their livelihood, they are bitter and resentful in their attitude toward it. The possibility of job losses seems likely to heighten this feeling.

621 727 464 Henza Shima The island of Henza off the east central coast of Okinawa differs from the above communities in that a large segment of its population is engaged in military employment and yet the village itself is far removed from any military installation. This village suffered but slight damage and no loss of life during the war. After the war over four hundred repatriates returned to the village, bringing its population up to approximately 4,900.

RECOMMENDATIONS

Recommendations on policy can only be made in relation to objectives and therefore we must state first our assumptions about the aims of United States policy on Okinawa. We assume that the aims of United States policy on Okinawa are primarily to promote a stable economy and a friendly attitude among the nearly 500,000 Okinawans toward the United States. Both a stable economy and a friendly population are essential to the defense of the island as a military base. We further assume that essential to both economic stability and friendly attitude are the attainment of higher standards of health and education and greater social and political freedom than existed prior to 1945. And finally we assume that the United States has no intention of retaining the Ryukyus permanently (Secretary of State Dulles has stated that Japan has "residual sovereignty" over the Ryukyu Islands) and that the military forces will be withdrawn and the islands reverted to Japan when the international crisis ends.

With these assumptions then we make the recommendations that follow. Of these recommendations, two deserve special mention here; they are 1) the immediate payment of an adequate rental for lands used by U. S. forces, and 2) the granting of funds to raise the salaries of school teachers. The land question and the status of teachers are the two most serious problems that can be lessened by immediate action, or at least this was the situation as we saw it a year ago. These and other recommendations we give below topically rather than in order of importance.

433 Economy The economy of Okinawa, not especially healthy before the war, suf-
929 fered greatly because of the war both through the widespread destruction of the battle and through the sudden increase in population brought by the repatriation of thousands of persons from other parts of the former Japanese empire. The task of reconstruction has been enormous and we are well aware that, considering conditions in 1945 (which two of us observed then at first hand), the present situation is not at all bad. We recommend the following:

1) That the land question be settled immediately. The land question was undoubtedly the most urgent problem that we saw during the course of our research. The study of the village of Kitazato demonstrated that poverty, to the point of malnutrition and possible infanticide, together with considerable anti-American feeling has been caused by the confiscation of land without adequate compensation. We recommend that land be rented, not purchased, and that the amount paid in rent be at least equal to current market value, and that it be paid promptly. It is further recommended that payment for categories of land listed in the land records as "genya" and "sanrin" be according to the size of plot instead of the current practice of a flat rate per plot regardless of size.

2) That consideration be given to the possibility of opening to farming hitherto untilled areas in Northern Okinawa in addition to those areas

727 were in the north and central portions of the island.[4] During the campaign, the displacements of people and the destruction of villages in
166 the south were particularly striking. Large numbers were sent to the Kunigami region. "There they overwhelmed the local inhabitants and all suffered great privations, despite the efforts of U. S. personnel to properly feed, clothe, and house them." By June 1, 1946, 138,000 had been resettled, and as of July 1 of the same year, there were still 125,000 displaced persons on the island.

167 The war and the subsequent occupation have stopped the historic emigration of Okinawans. Repatriation began in 1946. By November 30,
728 1946, a year and four months after the conclusion of the Okinawan campaign, 183,077 Okinawans had been returned, 142,713 from Japan, 26,003 from the Pacific islands, 12,154 from Formosa, 1954 from Hawaii, and 253 from Korea. An additional 36,720 were awaiting repatriation at this time. The result was that "by November 30, 1946, repatriation brought the population up to within 40,000 of its early 1944 level." The total
161 population of the Ryukyus on February 22, 1944 was given as 857,019, and 817,160 on November 30, 1946. In this short period of 16 months, the war losses had been largely made up. While these figures are Ryukyu totals, Okinawa island, as the largest and most populous island in the chain undoubtedly reflected these trends.[5] According to the 1950 census, the population of Okinawa island was 517,600.

The twentieth century history of the population of Okinawa is therefore one of large scale emigration up to the war, wholesale displacement of people within the island during the campaign of 1945, the repatriation of considerable numbers of Ryukyuans following the conclusion of the war, and the present period of growth of the population under conditions of peace, health measures, and without the historic outlet of emigration.

2

Village Populations and Their Characteristics

162 One can only surmise what has happened to the population structure
727 of Okinawan villages as a result of the war. The old records which would furnish materials for detailed comparisons have been destroyed; hence, one can know only vaguely how the present characteristics of village populations compare with the pre-war conditions. The contemporary characteristics of the population of each of the villages studied and for the totals of each of their respective townships are shown in the accompanying population pyramids and in the tables illustrating sex and age distribution at five year age intervals (Western age count).

In the totals of the three villages and the two townships females substantially outnumber males, though there is considerable variation in the numbers and proportions within the age groups.

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 61 -- analyst]

4 Ibid, 137. Quotation is on pp. 140-41.

5 Newman and Eng, as cited, 140-41, 143. See also the very interesting article of Henry S. Bennett, The impact of invasion and occupation on the civilians of Okinawa. United States Naval Institute Proceedings, 72 (1946), 263-75.

stoppage of emigration, and public health measures. While the following statistics are worthless from a demographic point of view, they may nevertheless indicate the village trends. 161

Matsuda Village, 1951 163 165

	Births	Deaths
Total	46	11
Male	26	5
Female	20	6

In Gushichan township, where individual village totals were not available, the statistics show a similar trend:

Gushichan Township, 1951

	Births	Deaths
Total	263	52
Male	140	26
Female	123	26

3

What Happened with Repatriation

In the peace time emigration before the war, the intention to return was almost universal. Typically a first son, as the future responsible person for his parents, emigrated as a young man, before marriage, with the intention of accumulating savings and supporting his parents during his absence, later returning to marry if he had not acquired a wife abroad. People in the villages now say that the desire to return has declined sharply with the economic hardships and the threat of renewed warfare, and that Okinawans in foreign countries will probably remain there for the rest of their lives. Okinawans living abroad, according to family registers in the villages, are now mostly in Peru, Brazil, Argentina, and Hawaii. 167 [593] [454] [581]

The effects of repatriation on the township level can be seen from the following statistics for Gushichan township. Comparable statistics were not available in Ginoza-son. 161 728

Pre-war population, 1940	6445
Deaths resulting from the war	1700
Repatriates	1030
Population, December 31, 1951	6267

Despite the fact that deaths resulting from the war must have been between 20% and 25% of the total population of the township, repatriates [727]

plus the excess of births over deaths were sufficient six years after the conclusion of the war to bring the post-war population of the village within 200 of the pre-war level.

Okinawans returning to Hanashiro came largely from Japan, the Philippines, Manchuria, Formosa, the South Seas and a few from Hawaii. From Hinatogawa, the areas of former settlement were broader, probably reflecting a wider activity of the fishermen. They came from Java, Palau, Singapore, the Philippine Islands, and Taraua. Some had previously returned voluntarily from Hawaii and Peru before the war. The largest segments came from the Philippines and Taraua, the smaller groups from Hawaii and Peru. The repatriates to Matsuda also came from Japan, the Philippines, Hawaii, and the South Seas.

One consequence of the pre-war emigration and of the repatriation that followed was that each village after the war had a group of people who had been in foreign countries or had relatives still residing in foreign areas.

In the villages studied, according to the residents living there now, repatriation was not accompanied by the tensions and the ill feeling that was so conspicuous in post-war Europe, especially Germany. There were no cliques between those who had stayed during the war and those who returned to live beside them.

The reasons for this are probably these: many of the repatriates even though absent a long time owned land in a village. This was true of Hanashiro and Matsuda, the agricultural villages, and to a lesser extent of Hinatogawa. Some adjustments were necessary. The land owned by these people had not been idle during their absence. If a first son returned, in most cases his younger brother was cultivating the fields and occupying the family house. He, in the absence of his eldest brother, acted as head of the house. When the first son returned, he received the possessions and assumed the responsibilities of the head of the house, and in turn gave his younger brother land to establish a branch household. When the returned member of the family was a second son, the adjustment was easier. The first son, if possible, gave his younger brother a house site and fields to cultivate.[6]

Other relatives, parents, younger or older sisters, nephews, or nieces were absorbed within the family, the parents or grandparents resuming a retirement which they would have had in any case, while the younger relatives became working and contributing members to the family. They did not come back to an altogether strange place. They or their parents had been born there, and their names had remained in the village family register.

6 The reasons for these acts will be made clear in Chapter 6 on the family system.

829 5) War Experiences Many younger and even middle-aged men saw ser-
826 vice in the war, some in Manchuria, China, and Southeast Asia. Their exper-
iences of course varied. One well-educated man told me how pleasant he found Burma and how much he would like to return there as a civilian; he had been in the Japanese Military Government there. Others returned from the war to tell of terrible experiences. One story, which was said to be well-known around Itoman, told how an Okinawan whose unit was making a last stand deserted to surrender to the Americans when he was warned by a friend that as an Okinawan he had been chosen to go into the pot for dinner.

824 On the home front old people, women, and children were able to see the army at first hand during the last few months before the battle, when many units prepared to defend the island. Many civilians saw the harsh army discipline and saw, we were told, how when army rations became short the officers continued to eat well while the men had to loot from the fields of the civilians. They remember the Korean labor units, some of whom in the south were detailed to cut the Okinawan farmers' trees to build defenses. They also remember the 'Chōsen-P', the Korean girls brought by the Japanese army to serve as prostitutes for the men; some informants believed the Japanese army's system of army brothels to be superior to the policy of the American army.

In general the present Okinawan view of the late Japanese army is not a flattering one. But it must be emphasized that most informants seemed quick to distinguish between the Japanese army and Japanese civilians, army policy and national culture.

177 829 6) The Present Scene The Japanese government's present display of
interest in Okinawa, as seen for example in the recent granting of pensions
[724] to survivors of war dead, the renewed interest of Japanese scholars in Okinawan culture, and the movie industry's "Okinawa boom" have made an impression on the Okinawans. The government's interest may be mainly political; the interest of the scholars, however, is genuine, and the reasons for the
829 movie boom too may run deeper than propaganda considerations. Okinawa was
the only part of Japan, the only one of the forty-six prefectures, that was
726 actually defended against a landing. The people of Okinawa were the only
177 Japanese who fought to protect their homeland from invasion. And thus the people of Okinawa-ken showed the greatest heroism of any Japanese. This, potentially, is the argument that may one day raise the status of Okinawans to great heights in the Japanese scheme of things, apart from any conscious policy on the part of the Japanese government. Many Okinawans may be well aware of their latent heroism as a group. What they actually did go through as individuals must not be minimized and may well motivate some to try to derive some reward from it. (I must admit that this is speculation; I have not been told by any Okinawans that they are, or might be considered to be, the most heroic of the Japanese, but I believe that this interpretation is inherent in the situation.)

170 On the other hand, the differentiating treatment that Okinawans met
829 in Japan in the past is still there too. Recently a volleyball team went to Japan, where, it is said, the first meal served them consisted of bread while the Japanese teams around them were served rice. When they objected they were told that it was understood that the Okinawans had become wholly Americanized

132 There are further local variations. Thundershowers often occur over a limited area. This precipitation is described by Okinawans as katabui, by which they mean a scattered, here-and-there rainfall.

[131] These variations in rainfall throughout the year and from year to year are the source of complaints of drought, frequently heard in the summer growing and fall harvesting season from July to October.
[217] Dr. Green of Commodore Perry's staff mentions that droughts were spoken of in an official Loochoo document.

[134] There is also hidden drought caused by the rapid runoff of water and the absorption of water by permeable soils and quick subterranean drainage.
[133] Water for crop growth is thus immediately dependent upon rainfall which must be immediately used before it becomes inaccessible. There are no snowy mountains to store the water for gradual use.

Since it is in a zone of mixture of warm and cold air, Okinawa is cloudy a great deal of the year. The days with the highest percentage of sunshine occur from June to October. There is very little condensation near the surface and fog is uncommon.

Relative humidity is high throughout the year. On the average, it does not fall below 74% (in December), and the highest average is 85% in June. This condition produces a hot humid summer, often with overcast skies and it also brings about a felt or sensible temperature much colder in winter than the temperature would indicate. Okinawan winters may be cold, especially with the winds from the northeast and east northeast. Blankets and heavy clothing do not hold the bodily heat. The insulating value of clothing and blankets seems to be reduced.

Okinawa is also affected by monsoonal influences in southern Asia. In the summer, the basic factor is the heating of large masses of continental air, the creation of low pressure areas, and the transport of air from the ocean to the continent. Prevailing winds are from the east, south, or south south east, or east south east, but here the prevailing should be stressed. Actually in a given period winds may shift and flow from varying directions.

In the winter, it is the air over the ocean that is warmer and the dry air from the cold high pressure areas blows out over the island. Prevailing winds from October through January are from the northeast. Though the mean velocities are modest, strong winds are recorded for every month in the year, winds either from the continent, or typhoons originating in the oceans north of the equator.

132 133 Another modifying factor is the Japanese current (Kuroshio). This current is really part of the North Equatorial current thought to have its origin on the Pacific side of Central America. As the current crosses the Pacific, it gets added colder water from the California current, and is further mixed with tropical and north Pacific waters, and later with western North Pacific waters. The North Equatorial current divides east of the Philippines, its northern arm going along the east side of the

northern Philippines and Formosa. From Formosa, these warm waters continue northeast between the Ryukyus and the shallow parts of the China Sea. In August the current flows on both sides of the islands. The behavior of the Japanese current in this area is strikingly similar to that of the Florida current of the Gulf Stream.[6] 132 133

The Ryukyus are in one of the great typhoon areas of the world. The season is from May to October, times of low atmospheric pressure, when the average range is from 1007 to 1015 millibars compared with a November-April range of 1015 to 1021 millibars. The period usually described as the typhoon season actually represents minimum expectations, for, as the table shows, typhoons have occurred in every month of the year, with the lowest incidence in April. The range from a minimum of twelve to a maximum of forty-five shows the reasons for uncertainties and the uneasiness with which the weather is regarded in the islands. The period of most frequent typhoon incidence coincides with the growing season, and violent typhoons can be expected as a matter of course prior to the winter rice harvest. 132 [731]

In typhoons, heavy winds, and gales, damage from salt water spray, especially in cultivated strips along the coast, can be expected. Local topography has a determining influence on the direction and area of spray damage, but some farmers in the Nagano area estimated that spray damage had extended inland in some cases for two miles. There is also the problem of the saline content of rainwater. 132 133 [311]

Okinawa has a marine climate modified from what one might expect of its latitude by the monsoon regime which affects southeast Asia. When we understand this, the nature of the rainfall and its distribution, the possibility of drought, and of typhoons and their destructiveness, we are are in a better position to appreciate the difficulties under which agriculture must be practiced. 132

6 Sverdrup, Johnson, and Fleming, The Oceans, 718-22 and the literature there cited. Wüst has pointed out in detail the similarities between the two currents. One difference is that the salinity of the Kuroshio is less and its waters are subject to excessive cooling in winter by the cold winds from the continent. See also Nuttonson, as cited, 20.

133 Hanashiro and Gushichan villages to a broad semi-circular valley, the
361 Gushichan plain, with a gentle gradient sloping to the sea. Shortly before the coast is reached there is a sharper drop, and it is in this depression along the shore and the coastal strip that the fishing village lies.

134 The Okinawan clay loams and the Chinen stony clays are also the
133 predominating soils of the area. There are about 85 acres of the gently sloping clay loams, 155 acres of the gently sloping Chinen stony clays. While moderately fertile and well drained, these soils are also shallow and stony, with obvious defects for the pursuit of agriculture. There are 10 acres of deep, fertile poorly drained, slightly acid alluvial soils. These occur along the river and its estuary and in a small former river mouth to the south. There are about six acres in rough stony land.

731 The village has very little storm protection. There are no shelter
133 belts around it, nor are there many trees within. It is open to storms
417 and typhoons, and the water, lashed by the sea, is sufficient to break and scatter the large stones of the seawall. At present, inside the village there is none of the privacy typical of the agricultural villages
361 and their compounds. There are few trees, shrubs, or fences. In the
351 older part of the village, the houses are closely set together. Fishing
227 nets hang on the lines of the yard. In season, the yard is covered with drying fish, fish fins, and fish backs. The yards and the shore are dotted with men cleaning or repairing their boats.

362 The lack of natural beauty of the place is accentuated by the poor-
512 ness of the houses and the other buildings. Its atmosphere is unmistakably
484 different. The village is more commercial and more lively than the quiet and concealed agricultural village. Life is not so much of a routine, for much depends on the weather and the sea. The village has people who have travelled widely. Some of its fishermen have been in the waters of Java, of the South Seas, of the Andaman Islands, the Philippines, and Indo-China.

438 The village's main commercial contacts are with the remaining
[311] agricultural villages of the township from which it must obtain much of its food, for the area is not suited to agriculture, nor is much land available. For wider contacts, there are Itoman about 4 1/2 miles, and Naha about 8 1/2 miles away. Buses go through the village twice a day.
494 The three wheeled cycles are irregular but come and go more often. Fish
368 is sold at Naha. The theatre for the travelling troupe of actors from Naha and for movies is in Horikawa across the river. Many visits are
574 also made to Itoman to see relatives and friends.

The war was even more catastrophic for Minatogawa than for Hanashiro.
727 Before the war, Minatogawa was a thriving, prosperous and well built up small town. About 70% of its buildings had a tile roof and 30% had
[361] thatch roofs. There were about 30 stores, sake shops and drinking places, including a geisha house, along the road, serving the fishermen and the stonecutters. Of the 430 buildings in the area, only three were left

combined with the destructiveness of typhoons, make for an unproductive life in terms of rewards for work done. To these, there is now being added a fourth realisation, that there are too many people in Okinawa. Greater mobility has increased this awareness.[8]

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8 These remarks, too, are based on impressions. Neither would I claim that they represent a majority opinion. Polls with samples competently chosen could only determine these attitudes. But complaints about the poorness of the land are proverbial among Okinawans. So are the discouragements coming from the typhoons.

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In this illustration, the first son receives slightly over 60% of the land, ignoring type and grade within type. There was general agreement in all villages that the grade of land within each classification (grades 1 to 4 in dry crop land, for example) had little significance in inheritance matters. The grade is more important for tax purposes. [242] [651]

The example also illustrates two other principles: the natural desire to keep contiguous or close in land within the main family, using inconvenient or far off land where possible for house sites for branch families, or for arable land for second and other sons. In this illustration, the shares of the second and of the third sons could be equalized by subdividing plot #6, although its small area would not make it worth while, as 75 tsubo is a very low average size for dry crop land. [241]

Another practice, noted in Hanashiro and in Matsuda, is that the first son receives everything on the retirement of the father. This may be contrasted with a situation in which the father divides the property before younger sons marry and establish branch families. In such cases, the father might take the income from part of the property. But the more general practice is for the father to give all to the first son. Fathers may also make a will. When the first son receives all, it is the custom for him to hold property which the younger sons will need in establishing their branch families. It is in cases where the first son is given full disposition of the property that quarrels are most likely to occur, for much depends on the generosity and sense of fairness of the elder brother.[3] [593]

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In Hanashiro and Minatogawa, it is important that younger brothers receive genya land. Genya is often translated as wild land. In Japan the term is usually used to describe treeless, waste, hilly, rocky, or rolling land unsuitable for cultivation. In Okinawa, the genya land may be in the center of a rice field; it may be a rocky mound with cultivation around it. It may be land in the mountains. It is almost invariably in grass (miscanthus) with an occasional cycad or scrub pine. [137] It is not owned in large tracts. In Hanashiro, the largest single parcel [423] is 4564 tsubo (3.77 acres), in Minatogawa 1333 (tsubo) (1.9 acres), and in Matsuda 6398 tsubo (5.28 acres), but these are far above the average. In Hanashiro it is important because grass is constantly needed for thatched roofs and other uses. The importance of genya and its grass [824] was well illustrated in Minatogawa after the typhoon, Ruth, of October 13-14, 1951. These villagers own little land and many have no genya. [731] They were obliged to buy the grass to replace the roofs of many of the [432] frailer houses which had been partially or completely destroyed by the typhoon. Genya is also used for family tombs. In Hanashiro, the genya [764]

[Text continues top of P. 133--Analyst]

3 The problem can be appreciated by analyzing the acreage areas of each classification of land and the grades within it, bearing in mind that the average farmer has hatake, genya, and often rice paddies. These statistics will be given in the following chapter.

place. Then, as now, paddy and dry crop land might lie together, depending upon local factors. In the periodic redistribution, each family received shares of each in non-contiguous fragmented parcels. In the nature of things, they received small shares of the excellent, moderate shares of the good, and large holdings in poor land. 175 423 311

The old classification of lands was simple and did not go beyond three general divisions of good, fair, and poor. Apparently the Japanese after 1879 introduced more refinements and increased the number of classifications to six. Land classification, then as now, was empirical. It was based on observation, local knowledge of present and past yields, and known dangers to the land. It was not based on scientific knowledge of the soils, nor is it today. 175 311 [177] [242]

Several dangers to land and crops were considered: (1) the danger of the wild boar (inoshishi). These reddish brown wild boars have disappeared from large parts of Okinawa, though occasionally one is seen in the northern forest. The boars destroyed crops by night feeding. Remnants of old fences can still be seen in the area around Matsuda. In Oku, in the extreme north, fences are still used and many can be seen along the hillsides. (2) Dangers from floods and salt water spray. Local flooding is common and often confined to a narrow area. Salt water spray and salt water in the air, especially in typhoon times, are still menaces to crops. The danger from typhoons did not enter directly into the determination of land classification because the area of destruction was so wide that it was not a factor distinguishing one plot from another. (One can however observe areas of differential damage in a village as an aftermath of typhoons). 175 241 [136] [417] [173]

This old land allotment system is now forgotten except in a few isolated areas where its main features are still apparently preserved. The best known of these is Kudaka Island off the southeastern shore of Okinawa. If the system has disappeared, except for a few isolated survivals, its influence remains to the present: it determined the pattern of land use still in effect today, the pattern of small, discontinuous parcels, and set the precedents for the mechanics of land classification. The basic classifications such as rice land, dry crop land, community forest were Japanese and are of great age. The old land allotment system is also considered to be of great antiquity.[2] 178 423 [189] [177]

2 It was a matter of considerable disappointment that I was unable to spend two or three weeks on Kudaka to study the land system there. Neither has time permitted an investigation (of great inherent interest) of the historical antecedants of the old Okinawan system. Land classification, such as we will be discussing in the next chapter, is very old in Japanese culture. The old Okinawan system bears some resemblances to the "mouth-share-land" (ku-bu-den) system of old Japan which appears in the Taihō code (702 A.D.). This was a system of distribution of communally owned land, but I have not been able to determine whether the distribution was periodic. See Wigmore, J. H. and Simmons, D. B. Notes on land tenure and local institutions in old Japan. Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan, 19 (1891), 77 on land classification, (continued on next page)

3

Care and Conservation of Land

One of the significant tasks of our time is the study of the relation between population growth and density and the exploitation of renewable and non-renewable resources: the effects of a culture on the land, the forests, the soils and the vegetation must be considered in ethnographic and geographic work. If this is not done the culture is studied as if it rested, like a plate on a table, on a geographic base, without bothering to discover the nature of the environment or what the culture is doing to it. 121 114

Nineteenth century studies of primitive and advanced societies emphasized the influence of the physical environment in molding a culture. This crude fallacy, often known as geographic determinism or environmentalism, was exploded by studies made of cultures in all parts of the world in which it became clear that the physical environment is not the cause of cultural differences.

But the reverse of this approach, the examination of what a culture is doing to its physical environment, its soils, its vegetation, and its forests has not been carried on with the vigor with which other aspects of culture have been studied. This point of view has practical significance in day to day administration. Economic matters such as foreign trade or the labor force requirement should not be a separate and independent segment for study. Changes in inheritance should not be viewed solely with reference to the family system. Forest conservation should not be regarded only as a technique and a necessary department in the government.

The effects of the devastating typhoons, for example, need no elaboration: the destruction of life, crops, houses, of boats, and breakwaters. But their effects are also influenced by other factors. The two southern villages were in the midst of some of the violent fighting of the Okinawan campaign. Large numbers of houses in both communities were destroyed by the war. The new buildings to replace them are so frail that in typhoon times they are often destroyed. This rebuilding requires more wood and more grass. Thus, such factors as the war, the inability to reconstruct permanent housing, typhoons, and the natural growing of miscanthus grass are joined together in a close relationship. 731 727 367 824 182

In the south the relationship of typhoon destruction to deforestation is striking. There is need for tidebreak groves and shelter belts along the coast to protect crops from wind and saltwater spray, a need which fortunately the Ryukyuan Forest Agency is attempting to meet. Deforestation in the south seems inescapably tied up with long occupance. The center of population has always been in the southern part of the island. Not only should there be trees, but they should be planted in the right places. The deforestation of 731 137 [313] [361]

The deforestation of
173 the south over a period of centuries thus is related to water spray
313 and wind damage, relationships which a wise administration cannot neglect.

121 The natural tendency is to think in terms of population and land and of the food which it can produce. But if the population is envisaged in terms of forest, the land, both cultivated and uncultivated, and the role of the uncultivated land in protecting the soil, broader understandings are possible.[9]

231 It is a significant fact, to use another example, that goats are tethered and not allowed to graze. They do not roam the hillsides, nor crop off the shoots of young plants. If they did, it is possible that legislation controlling the goat might have to be enacted such as has been done in the island of Cyprus.

311 It is important therefore, to ascertain how a culture makes
731 use of its natural environment and also how it takes care of it.
185 Typhoons cannot be controlled. Neither can periods of drought which often produce water shortages, prevent the planting of sweet potatoes, or the harvesting of a good rice crop. In areas where control is possible, the Okinawans have developed conservation measures. Almost one hundred years ago, Dr. D. S. Green, Fleet Surgeon attached to the
175 frigate Mississippi on Perry's expedition to Japan, wrote:
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> "Two objects seem to influence the islanders in all their operations, viz: the retention of water or moisture, and the avoidance of surface-washing. To effect these desirable ends, especially in a rolling country, a great quantity of grading is required, besides very deep culture; and here both of these have been done."[10]

000 In the areas studied, no serious sheet erosion was observed.

[Text continues top of P. 157 -- analyst]

9 The general ideas and points of view expressed by Edward Graham in his Natural principles of land use, London, New York, and Toronto, 1944, are pertinent here.

10 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, II, 26-27. The emphasis is in the original. Green continues with further details of grading around streams, along ravines, and on the uplands. His description today would still fit many parts of Okinawa. He was particularly impressed with the lands on a journey between Nugah (i.e., Nago) and Tanegah, southwest of Unten. His whole passage is well worth reading.

Two other forms of land conservation and maintenance, crop rotation and fertilizers, will be discussed under agriculture.

423 241 business. Fragmentation means inconvenience, loss of time and effort in the simultaneous cultivation of different fields. The situation is the same for the well-to-do and the poor alike. Large holdings do not mean single pieces of land within a large area, but many small parcels of land, of different classification and grade, scattered like those of a less prosperous farmer. There are offsetting advantages. The greatest of these is that crop destruction through typhoons, salt spray, or flooding may be less catastrophic to the individual owner with small scattered holdings than if a family has a single large plot of land.

423 425 Another effect of fragmentation is that it makes a particular plot of land difficult to sell. If one has a small plot of land, an island in a sea of other ownership, the prospective buyer is in the same position as the seller, unless the buyer owns contiguous land and has the money to make the purchase.

423 The natural question at this point is: what are the possibilities of consolidation of ownership in the interests of more efficient and convenient agriculture? The general answer, I believe, is that fragmentation is almost inevitable, consolidation only possible.

In both of the agricultural villages studied, some voluntary consolidation (kokanbungo) has taken place, but it is not of major proportions. It occurs chiefly for two reasons: (1) clustering one's land near the house site, or having two or more parcels of contiguous land is universally desired. Going to and fro is considered troublesome and onerous. (2) When branch families are established, farmers wish to exchange a distant plot for one in the village for a house site. This is often difficult to do, for such an exchange must be mutually advantageous to bring about a transfer.

423 731 Typhoons are a major obstacle to voluntary consolidation into large holdings. It is perhaps possible to exaggerate this, but personal experience and conversation with villagers who have lost the entire crop of one parcel but have salvaged part of the crop of another convince me of its force. A typhoon damages a whole area but the scattered holdings provide the chance that something might be saved. The total damage is the same in any event regardless of ownership. It is the distribution of loss that varies. If in the future, land consolidation were attempted on a broad scale, either by voluntary individual effort, or cooperatively, crop insurance or some form of sharing losses would seem to be necessary.

423 311 407 The present system of land ownership and of land use and the fragmentation of land would seem to preclude any extensive mechanization of agriculture. Even with consolidated holdings, the nature of the landscape might make the effort uneconomical, though this is a question for technicians in these fields.

Some young farmers are now breaking away from the traditional lunar month and using the western calendar in describing their annual activities.[1] 221 805

The use of the lunar month is not confined to farmers. Fishermen, describing their work year, speak in terms of lunar months. For this reason, it is essential in talking to farmers or fishermen to establish at the outset what reckoning they are using. The names of the lunar month and the western month are identical. Following the Chinese, there are no distinctive names for the months. They are numbered from one to twelve. The months have to be distinguished by saying, for example, "sixth month, old calendar," or sixth month, Western calendar." [177]

An interesting minor detail of agriculture and the timekeeping connected with it is the reliance of Okinawan farmers on Japanese almanacs. These are printed and may be purchased throughout the island. One of these printed almanacs is in almost every house, or is readily available from a neighbor. Often, if one asks what is planted or harvested in any particular month, the farmer reaches for his almanac and produces the desired information. If the inquirer is not careful, he will obtain not what a farmer does during the year but what the almanac says he does.

2

Methods and Tools

In the chapter on general geography, it was pointed out that, despite a high annual rainfall and precipitation every month of the year, there is a problem of water shortage and of drought. This is especially serious in the summer months in all three communities. 132 731

[Text Continues Top of P. 167--Analyst]

1 The 24 seasons, borrowed from the 24 Chinese solar terms, into which the lunar year is divided, are also retained on the modern calendar, largely for the use of farmers. For example, Shōkan (Little Cold) begins about Jan 6, Chūkei (Insects Awaken) on March 6, Bōshu (Grain in Ear) on June 5, Ritto (Beginning of winter) on Nov. 7. These 24 seasons, in my experience, are not used much. Farmers think more in terms of the four seasons instead of the 24 little seasons. In Okinawa, they must be revised mentally to suit the humid subtropical climate. "Light snow," and "Heavy snow" are inapplicable in Okinawa; they would simply be small seasons in which one would expect the greatest severity of winter. For a list of the small seasons with Chinese characters, see The five thousand character dictionary, 5th ed., with additions and revisions by George D. Wilder and Chien Hsien Tseng. Peking, 1940, xxxi. [177]

132 March through June is the season of greatest rainfall and therefore
131 of greatest flood danger. September and October rain is often light, and it is during this period that there is the greatest likelihood that the sweet potatoes will dry up. During the rainy season, there is flood damage to the rice and dry crop fields, especially if they are in the narrow ravines, or along small stream beds.

132 In Hanashiro, dependence on rainfall is immediate and direct.
312 There is no way of storing water in the mountains by accumulations of snow. Runoff from the hills into the small streams is rapid. Short
241 periods without rain are serious. The planting of the sweet potato is very sensitive to this factor. If one asks a farmer when he plants sweet potatoes, he always qualifies his reply by beginning, "If there is enough rain..."

241 There is in these villages no complex irrigation (kangai). In
312 Hanashiro, the flow of water through rice fields and its division are controlled by simple means. Water comes from the nearby hills, either in rivulets or in slightly wider ditches. In the former case, the water is divided by allowing the owner on one side of the stream to get water one day, diverting it on the next to the other side. The larger streams may be forked.

[133] Streams soon lose their identity as they descend from the hills to the lowlands, where they become the water of the paddy. The streams of Okinawa are hidden in the rice fields.

241 In Matsuda, the flow of water down the hillsides is controlled
311 largely by bench cultivation. Rice paddies go far up the narrow valleys and ravines. When these have been converted to rice fields, the water
312 flows into the highest level. A small aperture on the opposite side allows it to fall into the next lower paddy until the water reaches the level of the valley or lowland, where it may be further dispersed throughout rice fields, or trickle off again as a stream. In this way, the flow of the water, not too fast, not too sluggish, provides continually fresh water with its nutrients from the hillsides for each field, and makes possible the irrigation of large areas.

It is for these reasons that terracing is practiced. Cultivation is easier. So is irrigation. Soil runoff is avoided. Terracing is the only way that a ravine or a small slope can be used for paddies, for which a flat and level piece of land is required. Otherwise, the water necessary for the plant runs off.

Rice may also be polished by the use of rude wooden mallets. These have a handle about 3 feet long and a head about 1 1/2 feet long. Rice is placed in a mortar with straw on top. It is pounded, often by two or three women swinging alternately. After the hulls are removed, the rice is winnowed, and put back in the mortar until a rough polish is secured. 252 [412]

Uses of rice. Every part of the rice plant has a use. The stubble, left in the ground, becomes a part of next season's fertilizer. The chaff and waste dust (nuka) is saved for pigs, cows, and other domestic animals. The hulls often are used for fertilizer, before or after burning. Rice straw has a variety of uses. The most frequent and important of these is for making rope. 824

After threshing, the straw is dried two or three days. Three or four stalks of about the same length are taken and rolled between the palms. The lower palm, usually the left, is open and up. The right palm rolls the straw into a twist. As the rope grows, new stalks are inserted one at a time, and, when needed, a new length of straw is added. This is not a strong rope, but it has a variety of uses, such as tying down the grass thatch to the roof poles, children's swings, and clothes lines. Mats and pads shaped like a life saver and used to set the sugar pots on after the sugar has been boiled, are made out of rice straw. Another use is in the making of the Ōda (Okinawan). This is a mesh about one foot wide and two feet long. There are loops on each corner. The end of a pole may be inserted in these loops when gathered together. The pole is carried over the shoulder, and sweet potatoes, straw, or other articles may be easily transported. Simple brooms without a handle, little more than a bunch of straw tied together in three places are also made of rice straw. Twisting and braiding rice straw is likely to be rainy day work. These articles are most often made twice in the year, corresponding with the harvests. [283] [285] [482] [412]

At typhoon times, if rice is not completely destroyed, the damaged rice may be used for pig food. The preparation of this rice is women's work. The rice is put in a mortar and pounded with a mallet in the manner already described, although a single operator usually does the work. [731] [231] [462]

Types and preferences. As a general rule, the selection of varieties of rice for planting depends on taste, the nature of the soils, and individual judgment of the expected yield of each type. In Matsuda, it is estimated that about one half of the rice is the Formosan variety, Taichu 65 (Taichu rokujugo), in Okinawa known as horai. Another variety, Kunigami #1 (Kunigami ichigo) represents about one-fourth of the crop. Mochigome (akaho) takes up about another one-fourth. This glutinous rice has a brown reddish rust colored kernel and is used for rice cakes. A fourth variety, horai-mochimai, is also well liked. No black rice is grown here. 243 [262]

244 [132] months. The amount of sweet potatoes grown is not closely related to the season. It depends much more on rainfall.

[131] [131] The effects of typhoons on the plant are most noticeable after transplanting. Salt water spray shrivels the transplants up and they die without developing. These conditions are more noticeable near the seashore in areas like Nagamo that lack trees and tidewater shelters.

824 Like rice, all of the sweet potato plant is used. Plant residues are turned under to fertilize the soil. This turning under of the vines or their use in composts is a doubtful blessing if the plants are diseased. The good potatoes are reserved for human consumption. [231] The poor or the diseased ones are mashed up in a stone mortar with a long pole, used like a pestle, for pig and goat food. Besides using the tops as slips, women constantly cut them off for fresh greens for the pigs. [262] The sweet potato is the basic food because it is cheap, can be grown the year round in lowlands and uplands, and can be cultivated by all members of the family. As pig food, it is a means of inexpensively raising animals which later have cash value. [462] The feeding and care of pigs is usually one of the incidental chores of women.

244 184 The varieties most commonly found in these Okinawan villages are the Okinawan #100 (Okinawan no hyakugo) and varieties known locally as the bentō, a small round tuber, and the bokuto. The two chief differences between the northern and southern villages in cultivating the sweet potato are (1) the two and three pronged hoes are much more in evidence in the north. With practice, they can be used advantageously in quickly weeding a plot while not cutting the potato itself. (2) Matsuda appears to be less dependent on the [262] sweet potato as a human food. The farmer here has more rice for himself and a greater proportion of his sweet potato crop goes for [231] animal food.

6

The Planting of Sugar Cane and Sugar Making

249 Sugar cane (kibi) is grown on dry crop land, its rows often alternating on the same plot with the sweet potato. Cane may be started with cuttings, or it may be a second growth (ratoon) from the stubs of the old plant after it has been cut down for crushing. Cuttings may be purchased or selected plants from another planting are used. The slips are cut to leave three buds. These cuttings may be planted in three ways: (1) all horizontally, (2) horizontally with the cutting which comes from the topmost part of the stalk planted slantwise, or (3) all cuttings may be planted slanting.

The soil must be thoroughly worked with the ever present hoe. Plowing and harrowing are rarely done. The earth must be thoroughly fertilized. In addition, small amounts of compost may be placed under the cutting, and less often liquid night soil might be used.

824 The most common of the Hanashiro trees are (1) the banyan or gajimaru, or yōsu. This tree is a common sight with its long roots growing around and through the stone fences. The tree with [731] its roots bracing the stone fences is excellent typhoon protection for the village. (2) The usuku (Japanese scientific name, the akou) resembles the gajimaru in appearance and serves the same purpose. The fukugi (Garcinia spicata Hook) and an occasional cycad are common windbreaks. These trees are almost invariably in combination [417] with stone fences, made of blocks, or with fences made of loose stones which have settled and been bound together by small plant roots. Village typhoon protection is a simple but effective combination of stone, shrubs, and trees. There is also an occasional kuroki (kurchi in Okinawan), from whose trunk the samisen, the stringed [534] musical instrument, is made, and the palm (shuro).

There are wild plants in each of the areas but their importance has also declined. Among these is the pandanus (the adan, Japanese scientific name, the takonoki). This plant was plentiful before the war, but is now scarce except in the mountain area. It can occasionally be seen in genya land or in small clumps on an outcrop. The blades of the pandanus are long and hard, with a row of spines down both sides of the blade. It has had several uses. Formerly it was the common material for making slippers (sori), hats, cigarette cases, and hand-[463] bags. These home industries have all but disappeared, but old people [887] occasionally do a little. In preparing the pandanus blades for use, the thorns are removed and several strips are made. These are then boiled, dried, and smoothed out. Then they are woven into the desired pattern. A first class pandanus blade is about 5 feet long. In the [782] celebration of O-Bon, the fruit of the pandanus may be offered as food to the ancestors.

Another plant occasionally used is the getto, known also in Okinawa as sannin or muchigasa. Its chief use is in the festival of the 8th day of the 12th lunar month. At this time, rice cakes (mochi) are wrapped up in its long and wide and flexible fibres. These wrappings, often made by children, are hung from the ceiling or from the wall. The stem of this plant was much used in the past for rope.

824 The nigana (njana in Okinawan, Ixeris dentata Nakai) is still 262 used in this area as a food and medicine. It has an exceedingly bitter 957 root, about 1/8 of an inch in diameter in a mature plant. The root is put in hot water, and the liquid drunk as a stomach medicine. The leaves, not so bitter as the root, have a sour, slightly bitter taste. They are often served with the white cuttlefish (shiroi-ikka).

The ōbako (known in Okinawan as the hirawakusa or hirawagusa, Plantago Asiatica L, "Japanese ribwort") is used as a medicine and as a food. When vegetables are scarce, it is eaten as a green. As a medicine, the leaf is heated over a fire and the hot leaf is then pressed over a swelling.

The time at which a young man becomes a full fledged fisherman depends on his own ability and progress. Age is not a criterion of skill after a young man has had experience. Perhaps when he is 24, a young man can handle every phase of the work, including catching the swordfish. It is common for a young and an old man to work together, the one as master, the other as novice. There is no stated apprenticeship period. In bad weather, or in rough seas, only the unusually apt young fisherman is allowed to bring in a large fish by himself because of the danger of capsizing. 276 868

2

Types of Boats

All boats are now motor driven. There are 42 in the village, 41 of which are small skiffs. Three types of boats are distinguished: (1) the hatsudoki. This is little more than a good sized motorboat with a cabin. It carries about 8 men. There is one in the village. The small scale individualized character of fishing here is indicated by the smallness of the remaining craft. (2) the kuribune (literally, "hollowed out boat," from the verb kuru, to carve or to hollow out). Properly speaking, it is a boat carved out of a log, usually of the Japanese redwood (sugi) imported from Japan, but the term is extended to mean any small boat. This type has largely disappeared, and only one remains in the village. The hollowed out boat seems, in this area at least, to have become a lost art. It has been displaced by (3) the hagibune (jointed, pieced together boat). This is also made from the Japanese redwood and is constructed, often by the fishermen themselves, out of planks about 2 1/2 inches thick. There were 40 of these hagibune in January 1952. The number is never constant due to new building, losses at sea, or on shore from typhoon destruction. 501

These small boats do not require much maintenance. At typhoon times, they are lifted from the shore up over the breakwater and lashed down on the side of the road. This may not avoid destruction. If the breaking waves are high and strong, they crush the breakwater, hurling its stones against the boats. Every two months, the boats are thoroughly treated by rubbing with shark oil. Cracks and small holes are repaired with small wooden plugs, called fundu in Okinawan. These are shaped like a stylized butterfly. They are inserted in the bottom of the sides of the boats across the running planks, that is, against the grain. 504 [731] 501 322

3

Common Fish and How They Are Caught

In this area, many different kinds of fish are caught, but the following discussion is limited to the most plentiful and economically 226

village volunteer to help if they have the time; each day a group of 5 or more appear, to be replaced the following day by another group until the house is finished. This type of help is more characteristic of the construction or repair of a simple house with a thatched roof than it is with a more expensive and elaborate house which requires specialists. 621 496 342

No days are specifically set aside for community projects, but these are done through co-operative effort. The amount of time given depends on needs as they arise. The care and maintenance of roads and lanes are the most frequent projects. If a road or lane is needed, the village headman and the council discuss the matter, consult the villagers, and the task is then undertaken. Road and lane maintenance includes cutting weeds and clearing away brush to cut down the danger from snakes. These procedures apply also to the construction and care of community owned buildings, such as the village office and the sugar mill. Hanashiro is small enough so that elaborate plans are not required and the desired ends can be accomplished by casual forms of mutual help. 621 496 [491]

The problems of Minatogawa are different, but the type of co-operation is essentially the same. Because of its situation, typhoon damage is often severe. Cleaning up and repairing after a typhoon is a co-operative enterprise, since there is so much damage to community property such as roads and breakwaters. In the typhoon "Ruth" in 1951, the wind driven waves lashed the breakwater with such violence that the stones were dislodged and scattered over the main road. Repairing typhoon damage is partly a community, partly a family affair. Many of the frailer houses are blown down and must be reconstructed from their foundations. Help in beaching and lashing down boats in anticipation of a typhoon is given by relatives and friends. Road maintenance and construction, village building, the laying of stones around a community water tank or faucet are tasks accomplished by community effort. House-building is done mostly through the co-operation of friends and relatives. There may be visits to Itoman to help members of the extended family there. The ties with Itoman are close. [731] [649]

Matsuda is a larger village whose scattered settlements and community forests have resulted in a more planned community co-operation than exists in the southern villages. Three general forms can be distinguished: (1) officially supervised co-operative work on the roads and in the forests in which every male over school age and the unmarried girls are expected to work a stated number of days in a year. Records are kept of this work. One might regard this as obligatory, but it is more correct to say that it is a universally acknowledged duty requiring no enforcement procedure. (2) Voluntary co-operation in the building of a house, and (3) less formal and more casual help, among relatives and friends in a wide variety of daily tasks, including harvesting, carrying wood, threshing rice, and the like.

In the officially supervised co-operative work, the participating

132 however, shows much less variation. From the low 50's in early winter it rises to the low 80's in midsummer. The relative humidities, having daily means of 70% in January and February and 82% in July and August, may often reach an uncomfortable 96% preceding or following one of the many rain squalls in the hot season.

From January through March, winds blowing from the northwest to north carry cold, damp air from the Asian continent across the East China Sea. Although many houses in Taira are somewhat protected by bushes separating them from the open valley behind, nevertheless, house doors are often kept shut during this coldest part of the year.

March and April offer a pleasant, balanced climate. Winds are east to southeast, rainfall is low, and temperatures reach the high 60's. The rainy season begins in late May and lasts until late June. During these [464] four weeks it sometimes rains steadily for one or two days, and adults are forced to give up working.

Children take shelter during the worst downpours, but they reappear outside even before the rains are over to play in puddles or little streams running down the streets. During this time floods and landslides occur.

Midsummer is often so hot and humid that villagers frequently comment on their discomfort. This is one of the busiest agricultural seasons, but exhaustion causes many people to take naps during noon [461] [513] hours. Work efficiency decreases, and fewer daily trips are made to the mountains. Children also stay at home in the afternoon. It is believed that the heat causes severe headaches. The hot season gradually gives way to a few weeks in late October, November, and early December which correspond in climate to an early fall in northeastern United States.

132 Typhoons are known to have hit Okinawa at almost any time of 031 the year. The most dangerous season for these violent storms, however, with wind velocities of over 50 miles per hour, is from late June [206] until October. An extensive warning system exists, and Taira, though remote and without radio, is notified immediately by telephone of storm warnings, sometimes days in advance. Taira people hardly need such warnings. They can sense the oncoming storm and often predict one correctly before the official forecasts confirm that a storm is approaching the island. Since 1955 was one of the rare years in which no major storm hit the island, no firsthand description can be given. The damage is always considerable, not only to crops and trees but also to houses and other property.

625 went out for fugitives from the south, he would accompany the police-
[632] man or investigate himself. In cases of death, both he and the police-
[647] man have to make a report.

[575] The Young People's Association may serve as a vigilante in emer-
[731] gencies such as fires, floods, tornadoes, and other disasters. When a military jeep was reported to have been stolen near Naha and driven on the dead-end road running north, the young people in all villages on the way erected road blocks and were ready to help catch the thief. The group would act together in a similar fashion at any threat from outsiders.

622 The headman can only enforce local ordinances insofar as he is
681 able to persuade people to comply. He is not concerned directly with crime or disturbance of the peace. Exceptions are such matters as steal-
[625] ing sugar cane or letting chickens run loose so that they enter every yard. For such acts, money fines can be imposed. One warden still has a tag which used to be given to the man whose chickens ran around freely. The offender had to pay the fine and keep the tag until he detected someone else's chicken running loose. Then he could pass the tag on to that person. Such measures are no longer used. But the un-
[626] derlying principle of public censure and fear of ridicule continues to operate in village social control.

623 Public censure is used along with fines to ensure attendance at vil-
626 lage meetings. Roll call is taken before each meeting so that the ab-
[681] sence of individuals is made known to the whole group. Similarly, when tax collections became more and more delinquent, it was decided to have ward meetings in which everybody would be reminded in public to pay his share. Those who were unable to do so would have to state their reasons. As soon as this new plan was announced, several people got up during the meeting to pay outstanding amounts to the head-
872 man. The school uses similar devices to achieve better attendance and scholarship. During home visit week, about once a year, a meeting is held for all parents and the statistics for attendance for each village are read as well as scholastic performances for each community.

INFORMAL CONTROL

156
626 What other people might think is uppermost on everybody's mind.
[867] Children are reminded by their mothers not to play alone lest people would think they are unpopular. They are told not to fight lest others think badly of them or make them responsible for the consequences. Censure by gossip is common, but criticism is seldom made directly to a person's face, and the target of extensive gossip is often unaware of it.

831 keep others from noticing sex activities. Keeping sex a private matter
833 does not mean that there is a feeling of shame or guilt. It is considered a natural function, and although they do not discuss marital relations, men feel free to mention sex and its pleasurable aspects. Such conversations seem to cause some embarrassment among the younger women but are thought entertaining by older ones.

To men, sex, like food and drink, is to be enjoyed and indulged in. Women, too, enjoy sex but are more reticent and give much less overt expression to their desires. There are stories about women who are sexually aggressive, but they are either characters in the folklore or women of a neighboring village who are said to be this way "because they don't work hard enough." Men enjoy sex activity until an advanced age. One man over 60 whose wife had long been dead twice took a young woman as second wife; in both cases the women left him after a short period, but dissatisfaction with his sexual capacity was supposedly not the cause. Several children in Taira were fathered by
[278] men who had passed their sixtieth birthday. People believe that potency depends on physical well-being and age, but that it can be
[262] produced by a special drink consisting of sake in which a poisonous
[273] snake, the *habu*, is steeped. As soon as one finishes drinking this brew, its effects should be felt. Sake, meat, and eggs are also thought to increase potency.

833 Women's breasts are considered sexually stimulating. Men like to caress the breasts and the skin in general. Kissing occurs during foreplay only among some younger couples; older people do not care for it. In a room or house, shared with others, few couples undress fully for intercourse. Moving the baby to one side of the mat or mattress, a husband joins his wife.

834 There are no pre- or postparturition taboos; relations continue
[843] throughout pregnancy and are resumed about a week after childbirth,
[846] when the wife has taken her first bath. Men tend to disregard the public health nurse's urging that women be given a little longer rest.

837 That extra marital affairs do occur is evidenced by the presence of
848 illegitimate children. But the mothers are likely to be widows or girls
732 who for one reason or another did not get married at the usual age. Deformity may be a reason for not finding a husband. Two children
[835] in Taira were claimed to be the issue of an incestuous relationship
[581] between a man and his widowed daughter. Although the children were conceived and born outside the village, people became suspicious after the family returned to Taira. Because the putative father failed to deny paternity strongly, villagers felt certain that their suspicions

were justified. Both children were slightly retarded, and people believed that this fact added even more proof. 848

An illegitimate child is loved by everybody and treated like any legitimate child. The bastard's name is listed in the registry under his mother's and his illegitimacy noted. Since World War II the distinguishing red ink mark is no longer used in recording these children. Unless the mother marries the child's real father, the offspring has no legal rights of inheritance. If she marries another man, the child may receive affectionate treatment from the stepfather, but he remains legally her son. Socially such a child does not suffer any form of ostracism, but adults make references to his status within his earshot. One such girl proudly said that people had told her that she was half-Japanese. [837] [732] [217] [428] [554]

Legally a man cannot have more than one wife, but there are cases of multiple marriage even in Taira. It takes a substantial income for such an arrangement, since a second wife is given a separate place to live. A younger "wife" is usually taken if there is no male heir born by the legal wife or if the marriage remains childless altogether. A man, formerly a resident of the village, took a young concubine late in life after his sons were killed during the war. She bore him a son, apparently with the consent of the first wife, since there was amicable interaction between the two although they lived separately. The husband registers such children as his legal offspring. 595 842

Two modes of divorce are possible. A couple may agree to separate and call a family council of parents and relatives on both sides. The township office is then notified and separation acknowledged. Once children have been born, such divorces are not too frequent, at least there were few cases of divorced women with children in Taira. A husband may initiate a divorce by telling his wife of his desire to separate. Extra-marital relationships of the wife would be sufficient cause, as would be sterility, which is interpreted as her fault. In Taira a settlement within the family is the more frequent mode of divorce although relatively rare. One official estimated that the rate of divorce for the whole township is two per year. Among the 59 marriages we found listings for five subsequent divorces. During fieldwork, many debates about modernizing divorce laws were held among members of the Women's Association, which advocated the abolition of the unilateral emphasis that gave husbands all the rights and wives almost none. Only a crime committed by a man would be sufficient cause under existing law to permit the wife to initiate a divorce. 586 [837] [842] [671] [575]

842 of the economic hardship incurred as a result of large families. A few
[843] of the more outspoken mothers complain bitterly against the old people who expect them to continue bearing children until three male
[593] heirs are born. Men desire male heirs, and one son is not enough: the favored number is three. Informal interviews reveal that in spite of the cultural preference for sons, mothers welcome daughters, who grow up to be useful helpers. Even if women protest when they feel tired of bearing children, they submit to their husband's demands. Since Japa-
551 nese given names are used today, the practice of naming a girl Sueko
553 (end child), to indicate that one considers her to be the last, is often
842 resorted to. If this proves insufficient and another follows, she might
[177] be called Tomeko (stop child). In one family the wife gave her baby girl the name Sueko to indicate that she did not desire any more children. Her husband, however, disagreed, for he wanted another son, and registered the child without his wife's knowledge under another name.

842 Although the older generation, which has supported large families,
744 looks on birth control measures with distaste, the young mothers circulate information published in Japanese magazines and by the Okinawan public health department on this matter, and a few families actually use contraceptives. However, in general, public health nurses
847 have found it extremely difficult to discuss matters like birth control, abortion, and infanticide with villagers. "We suspect that these measures are practiced everywhere. Of course, with the system of registration and public health nursing, infanticide is hardly possible; how-
[732] ever . . . we could not say. . . ." * It is interesting to note that in Taira there are mental defectives but no physical defectives. Abortion
[848] is legal with a doctor's consent, but informants claimed it was not practiced. There are illegitimate children born in the village.

842 "The seeds, they must match. If they do not match, then it cannot be," explain the villagers. They continue, "It is like planting a field, however; if the soil is hostile to growth, nothing can happen." Thus the villagers express their theories of conception.

843 Cessation of menstrual periods signals the start of pregnancy, and the sudden craving for a particular kind of food forces the woman to acknowledge the fact. Informal interviewing and casual observation reveal that morning sickness is not usual. Women rarely miss a work-
[461] ing day in the fields and mountains even in the early stages of preg-
[522] nancy. One male who failed to appear for work with the rest of the male population of the village was the butt of many a joke. "How now, you are taking over the task of your wife?" teased the men and women.

[164] Malfunction of the kidneys is not uncommon among pregnant

* Personal communication from public health nurses.

shopping trip to a larger town. In the very common evening visiting among men, women participate very little. 562

There has been some improvement in the social position of women since the war. In Hanashiro, for example, before the war, the husband, children, and grandparents ate in the second or third room, while the wife and sometimes the eldest daughter ate in the kitchen. (The Okinawan kitchen, though part of the house, differs from the other rooms in that it has direct access to the outside, is generally on a level with the ground, and has a dirt, cement, or stone floor). The wife in preparing the meal can go back and forth readily and need not take off her clogs or wash her feet if she goes barefoot when she goes up into the rooms. Her meal is a slight interlude between duties. 562 264 [342]

In most homes now, the women eat with the family in the main house. Some old women still spend most of their time in the kitchen watching the fire and eating their meals there. One of the reasons given for the change in attitude toward women is that many of the repatriated Okinawans brought newer ideas with them and did not practice segregation at meal times. [178]

Another important fact about social life is the drinking of the men and the abstinence of the women.[3] Young men usually begin drinking sake around the age of marriage. It is exceptional for a young man in his teens or early twenties to drink. But once this dividing line is passed, it is the exceptional man who does not drink. In each village one finds a few lifelong teetotalers. Drinking is always done in company, as the climax of a task completed, because of some happy turn of events, or because there is a party or celebration. As a general rule, the village men do not drink every day, but only when a suitable occasion arises. While there is drunkenness, I did not observe the solitary, prolonged drinking commonly associated with alcoholism in western societies. Prolonged drinking at night has the expected effects the next day, but there is very little remorse, unless a man has done something of which he is subsequently ashamed. Men who have drunk too much the night before do not hesitate to lie in bed 273 [562] [133]

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 295--ANALYST]

3 In Okinawa, the commonest and cheapest alcoholic drink is sake. This is not the same as Japanese sake, the light rice wine, slightly resembling sauterne, that is usually served warm or hot. Okinawan sake is awamori, a much stronger drink of distilled rice spirits, a variety of the Japanese shochu. The alcoholic content of awamori ranges from about 25% to 30%. It is a raw liquor with an unpleasant taste. It is not the favorite, but it is the cheapest drink. Awamori is made from rice in small distilleries throughout Okinawa, bottled in large jugs and distributed to village shops. Most shops carry it. Sometimes there are special sake shops. Awamori or sake is sold for about Y14 per go (.318 pint). The normal intake for an evening is considered to be 2 go. Most men are fairly inebriated after drinking this much. The American army canteen, when available, is the favorite sake container. Japanese and American beer and Japanese sake are liked, but too expensive. 279 435 804

597 known as groom-adoption (mukoyoshi in Japanese). No instances of this form of adoption were found in the villages. The husband-to-be is adopted into his wife's family and, at the same time, becomes successor to his wife's father's estate. The adopted man is placed in a similar position to a daughter to be married: he forsakes his own family, his name is taken off the family register of his father, and he becomes, like the bride in a normal situation, a member of his wife's family.

597 183 [171] Common in Japan, this device is considered a humiliating position, both in Japan and in Okinawa,* for the bridegroom, since he puts himself in an unfavorable position regarding the women of the adopting family and leaves his own. Even though unused, reactions to this form of adoption are unreservedly negative in the villages. "It is very distasteful," said one man. "The boy deserts his own home and enters his wife's home." Occasionally however it probably will be used. There are a few families with five or six daughters and no sons. In one instance, a family with six daughters, the eldest of marriageable age, the parents were considering groom adoption.

597 171 In Okinawa unlike Japan, the maintenance of the family system is not contingent upon an elaborate and widely used system of adoption. This is one of the important distinctions to be made between Okinawan and Japanese culture, for in Japan adoption has been used by the royal family, in business and professional circles, as well as among the ordinary classes of people.

7

The "Growing Up" Parent

597 608 855 734 There is also a special form of adoption in Okinawa. It is debatable whether it is directly concerned with the maintenance of the family system, or is a more general aspect of the culture and part of the care and rearing of children. This is known as yashineuya (in Okinawan), yashinaoya or morawako (in Japanese). It is not adoption, but an arrangement that is considered helpful for the survival of sickly children who, the parents feel, might not live to maturity. The verb, yashinsu in Japanese means to rear, adopt, or support. It is also used in referring to raising animals.

[791] [787] The first step is to consult a fortune teller (sanjinsō in Japanese). Hanashiro people can go to nearby Gushichan; Minatogawans to Itoman or Naha, and the parents of Matsuda to Ginoza or to Nago to consult the

* This situation has changed since the war. See The Japanese village in transition, as cited, 213.

fortune teller. The purpose of this visit is to discover who would be a good adopting parent. The fortune teller advises the parents to select a person born under the same year sign as the child. These year signs roughly correspond to the signs of the zodiac. The twelve signs with their Japanese equivalents are: rat (ne), ox (ushi), tiger (tora), hare or rabbit (u), dragon (tatsu), snake (mi), horse (uma), sheep hitsuji), monkey (saru), bird (tori), dog (inu), and hog or boar (i). The year 1951 was the year of the hare; 1952 is the year of the dragon (tatsudoki). 597 608 855 734 787 [805]

The adopting or "growing up" parent is older, in multiples of 12, than the child. After consulting almanacs and other materials, the fortune teller advises the parents to find a person in the village born under the same year sign as the child. Prospective adopting parents are then sought out and the matter is discussed with them. Both parents may do this, but most often the discussions are carried on by the mother. When the selection is made, the child is "given" to the adopting parent, and there are prayers before the Buddhist god shelf in the home of the adopting parent. [782] [778]

Actually the child continues to live with its own parents, but makes frequent visits to the home of the adopting parent. There are no stated intervals at which these visits are made, except for New Years and O-Bon. The adopting parent may on these visits give food and presents to the child. [574]

The arrangement thus seems to be a form of sponsorship and guardianship without special responsibilities on the part of the adopting parent, to bring good health and long life to the child. It has only slight resemblances to the godfather and godmother in Christian countries who sponsor a child at his baptism and theoretically at least undertake to be responsible for his Christian training. But the sponsorship and guardianship features are somewhat similar.

Adoption of this type may be done in Okinawa by either sex. Generally old women are the favorites and they may have many such adopted children. But old or older men may also assume this obligation. This form of "growing up" adoption existed in all the villages studied in substantially the same form. [887] [184]

8

The Household Order Naming System

Families in a village have, in addition to their own surnames, secondary names by which individual families are known. This secondary naming system is a device to distinguish related families with the same surname from one another. 614 551 592 613

The secondary naming system is known as "the household order," or yagō in Japanese. To introduce this discussion, it might be well to 000

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

who have accepted them cannot afford to buy the recommended drugs. 758
Furthermore, the choice between the bush doctor and the trained medical men in town is sometimes determined by lack of money to pay for the more expensive services.

Cleanliness of the village and general sanitation are theoretically 744
under township control. Except for superficial biannual inspections, 575
nothing much is done about them. Perhaps the Women's Association, once they carry out plans to take over this function, will be more effective.

There are several cases of physically deformed, mentally deficient, 158
and mentally ill persons. A young man of about 20 years, born as an 734
idiot or imbecile, lives in the back of his parents' house, protected from 757
the gaze of outsiders. His family provides well for him, and when no stranger is around to embarrass the family, the grandfather may take him out to attend a village event. Another young man, who was normal, one day began to frighten his family and eventually the whole village by outbursts of violence. He attacked other persons and property. Nobody really knew how to cope with the situation, since the single mental hospital in Okinawa could not keep him longer than six months, and everybody realized that he was sick, not evil minded, when he broke bottles and other glassware in the village store. The [755]
family tried religious treatment and locked the man up but never for long, for he had intermittent periods of calm and seemingly rational behavior. Another man, during a busy day, complained of sudden headaches. Soon afterward he became severely depressed and attempted [762]
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Chapter 10

Formal Education

The Japanese school system, which was introduced to Okinawa in the 871
1880's, reached Taira by 1891. At that time a small school was estab-
lished in the village. Some of its early graduates are still alive and re- 177

[Kanegusuku]
[Kitazato]

on Okinawa observed that the farmer took little interest in the care of land which he did not regard as his own. The author was particularly impressed by the contrast between Japan and Okinawa in regard to the care of land, for the meticulous care which the Japanese farmer lavishes on his land seems absent by contrast among the Okinawan farmers. 241 829 554 463 [17]

Kitazato The farm village of Kitazato in Kami Motobu-son presents a marked contrast to Kanegusuku in that it has suffered the loss of a major part of its area to a military installation. In studying the village of Kitazato the village of Kanegusuku was used as a base line for comparisons. To supplement his own observations the author has drawn heavily on actual statements by Kitazato people; in this way he hopes to present as accurately as possible the actual state of the village compared to villages elsewhere on Okinawa, and the villagers' own conceptualization of their circumstances. 621 [727] 121 621 [124]

Kitazato is not an old village, having been founded but seven generations ago by the younger sons of gentry families from the Naha-Shuri area. It was politically independent of the neighboring villages during the time of the old kingdom, but after the annexation it was administered in part by the villages of Gushiken and Jahana. In 1936 or 1937 it was established as an independent village, taking its present name. 175 621

Following their release from civilian internment camps the villagers returned to the site of their old homes shortly before New Year's of 1946. They found virtually their entire village land area converted into an airfield and accompanying military installations. According to their account there was considerable misunderstanding between them and the military as to where they might live, and they feel that they were subject to contradictory and inconsistent orders. Several moves were made which disrupted their plans to settle, and one villager stated, "I grew tired of rebuilding my house." In 1948 they were finally ordered to remove themselves from the military area, and they took up residence in their present location. It is claimed that there was insufficient land in the area to resettle the entire village on a single site; so, the village divided into three sections. Thirty houses were located on the beach between the villages of Gushiken and Shinzato, and this segment was given the name Hama. The remainder of the houses settled in the nearby hills from one to two miles away. Thirty-nine houses settled in the hills between the villages of Furushima and Jahana, taking the name Kijikina. Ten houses located themselves in the hills just north of Kijikina in a settlement which they called Anahana. These latter two, however, function as a single settlement for administrative purposes. These 80 houses making up the scattered village of Kitazato have a total population of 414. Despite their physical separation these segments have striven with considerable difficulty to maintain their political and social unity; one mayor and council serves them, and people are constantly visiting from one area to another. Today most of their land is gone, and they are too far removed from any city, town, or military installation (the airfield is abandoned) for employment. Extreme poverty and bitterness are one's first impressions of the village. 175 621 727 [464] [735]

[Kitazato]

is paying adequate rentals for lands used in Japan, and it is their contention that Okinawa is being discriminated against because she is weak. Because of this some wish that Japan were back in control, believing that their interests would be better served. One hears no comments on the presence of Americans in the islands or on the legality of building bases there, for they concede that the outcome of the war granted that; yet, they are bitter about the loss of their livelihood and what they feel to be neglect on the part of the military government. Long accustomed to a paternalistic government which directed many aspects of their lives, they are now at a loss to understand this seeming indifference to their present circumstances. They are completely unmoved by argument, which might seem logical to an American, that Congress has not appropriated sufficient funds, for they do not distinguish between the various divisions of American government---it is all American to them. They point to the high standard of living enjoyed by the American personnel and their families stationed on the island and make the inference that there seems to be no lack of funds for their needs. 621 829 727

The villagers say that they have received three payments from military government through May, 1954. The first of these paid for the cost of removing and rebuilding their homes. This amounted to a flat payment of ¥6000 ($50) per house, which they say was inadequate. The first of the land payments was made in June of 1953; the villagers assert that they were paid at pre-war rates, and one person who owned 5480 'tsubo' described the payment as a "laugh". The second payment for the use of their lands was made in May, 1954, while the author was studying the village. This time the payments were said to be substantially higher especially in certain categories; yet, they contend that payments are still far below current rentals. In this payment, ¥5.40 per 'tsubo' per year was paid for grade one house lots, but in Kijikina the owner of one house claimed that he paid ¥24 per 'tsubo' per year for rental on his house lot. Grade one dry fields were paid for by the military government at a rate of ¥3 per 'tsubo' per year; the farmers say that they can get about ¥60 per 'tsubo' in annual yield if this land is planted in beans or potatoes, and local rentals on this same type of land are about ¥15. They are angry at receiving but ¥3 for their land and having to pay ¥15 to rent equivalent land. They are also dissatisfied with the manner of payment for grass land and tomb land which are paid for by the plot regardless of size; thus, they say that the person who has two small plots of 10 'tsubo' each receives twice as much as the man who owns a single, larger 100 'tsubo' plot.

<u>Effect of the Land Loss on the Village: Physical Appearance</u> On first entering any one of the three segments of Kitazato one is struck almost immediately by a level of poverty considerably below that of other Okinawan villages. This is particularly true of Hama, whose houses are jammed tightly together on a treeless beach. Most of the houses consist of a single room which serves as living and sleeping quarters; a small lean-to kitchen is attached on the side. The floor space of the houses was considerably smaller than those of Kanegusuku. Several brackish wells supply the community with water. The Anahana and Kijikina settlements in the hills have a more attractive appearance due to a large number of young pine trees and a small stream in the area, giving a park-like atmosphere; however, 621 735 511 [342] [312] [342]

511 [Kitazato]
621 the houses are the same small, poorly-built structures of thatch and scrap
735 lumber that are found on the beach. By way of contrast, the house which
[342] the author rented in Kanegusuku was the poorest and shabbiest in that vil-
[184] lage; yet, the same house in Kitazato would easily have been the best.
Shabby appearances are not limited to houses, for the people too are more poorly dressed than elsewhere on Okinawa.

621 Food Nearly everywhere on Okinawa the authors heard that the peo-
511 ple are eating better today than before the war; such is not the case for
262 Kitazato, and the villagers are most emphatic about this. Potatoes, beans, and other vegetable products form the mainstay of their diet; often times, they say, potatoes are dug up before they are fully mature, so great is the pressure for food. It is the opinion of the local agricultural office that the people are slowly starving to death, and the villagers state that they are always hungry. The local storekeepers say that the people do not have enough money to buy canned foods to supplement their diet. Though Hama is
[226] virtually on the water the villagers do no fishing since the occupation is regarded as a foreign one; however, some shell fish are collected by the women.

621 Exodus of Youth One of the marked features of the village is the
511 general absence of young men and women in the fifteen to twenty-five age
166 group, for as soon as the student completes junior high school, he or she heads for the city seeking employment. A number of the families in the village are said to subsist mainly on the money which their children send back. According to the mayor 61 families have left the village since the end of the war; he feels that if they had not left, things would be much worse. Most of those who left were families containing grown children who could work; the parents in some cases were reluctant to leave, but their children were anxious to leave. A slight decline in military employment in early 1954 resulted in several of these families' returning to the village, and the mayor was apprehensive lest more return.

621 One characteristic of the population of this village which struck
847 the author was the disproportionate number of females to males in the age group under five years. In this group there were 54 males and 33 females, whereas the groups above were more nearly proportionate. Female infanticide has been a common occurrence during times of famine or under conditions of extreme poverty in Japan and China, and the authors heard several stories giving some evidence of it on Okinawa. No factual evidence of any sort was gathered by the author in Kitazato to corroborate this interpretation of the statistics; however, the fact that the permanent resettlement of the village in its present locations took place approximately six years ago in 1948 may lend some credence to this interpretation.

621 Attitude toward Americans The villagers' initial reaction to the
829 presence of the author in the village was one of fear and veiled hostility.
[123] Gradually this was overcome, and good rapport was established. During one of his last visits to the community the author was told, "The first day you were in the village everyone wondered if the military were going to make us move again. No one slept that night." At the same time the villagers are

Others include levies upon
651 organizations and families to support the athletic meets, or 'undōkwai',
[526] which are such a popular part of life in Okinawa.

575 Before the war the women's group ('fujinkai') and the young people's
178 group ('seinendan') levied a certain amount of soybeans against each member, and when they were delivered the sale brought in money to finance their activities. These organizations also made up special meals for local athletic
[526] favorites while they were in training, and provided a feast for them at the
526 end of the contests. Today the 'undōkwai' is on more of a monetary basis,
651 and there is a levy called the 'undōkwai no keihi'. In October of 1953, the
632 cost of the grand athletic meeting held in Naha was divided among the 'son' according to the number of champions sent to the contest. Kochinda-son was top grade in Shimajiri, and Tomoyose was a middle-grade village within Kochinda-son. This grade was judged by the amount of arable land, its yield, and the population. Within the village, households in turn are assessed by three grades, according to their income tax records. These three grades were "minimum," under ¥20; "middle", ¥20-50; and "maximum", ¥50-54.

621 Local Philanthropy From time to time the leading household heads are called
741 upon to donate money for improvement of village facilities. Names of contributors and amounts given are written upon a wooden plaque and hung in the village meeting house. The building of this meeting house itself involved the gathering of such a fund, to which Nanahan people gave a total of ¥1,450. Later a request for funds to buy a funeral stretcher brought ¥350 from the household heads, and a road repair campaign netted ¥1,550 from Nanahan.

Somewhat the reverse of the above occurred after the Russo-Japanese war when a particularly handsome soldier from the neighboring village came back from the front. All the leading 'geisha' in Naha had long had the habit of asking him to come to their establishments without charge. His return brought such joy to their hearts that they got together a sum of money and bought him a large plot of land near Nanahan.

52 Prizes at Contests From the time a youngster enters school and participates in his first contest to the time when he shows an animal at his last village or 'son' festival before retiring, all winners look forward to some sort of prize to mark the occasion. In school the prizes are generally beautifully handwritten scrolls, but as one gets older the prizes assume the form of wooden trays and articles of practical use in the home.

858 Sale of Children When the SIRI team first arrived on Okinawa and mentioned
432 that we were interested in finding if the Okinawans still
[183] practiced the sale of children, sophisticated respondents feigned indignation. Later on, as we were able to gain rapport in the countryside, a number of such instances were forthcoming.

In Tomoyose a man got into debt over an effort to make a fortune in sugar along about 1910. He was so heavily in debt to village people that he was socially unable to live in the community, and moved to Itoman. There he sold his son to a fisherman. The son is now a grown man with an Okinawan wife and a mistress from Amami. His business is still fishing, although he also owns a truck.

36 31 traditional attitudes that the north was a culturally rude and physically inhospitable place. The highway which now goes through the center of the main part of the village is a good, hard surfaced, dirt road, widened since the war. A lively traffic of trucks and buses and the three wheels [491] cycles contrasts with the narrow pre-war roads, traces and abandoned sections of which can still be seen. The frequent buses supply transpor- [494] tation to the larger cities and towns of the island: to Nago across the island and slightly to the north, to Ishikawa on the south, and to distant Naha, about 31 miles away.

927 Matsuda, unlike the southern villages, was not destroyed by the war. There were some air raids, some bombing out of the houses, but nothing like the destruction in the main areas of conflict. Early in the Okinawan campaign, the north was cut off and isolated and the struggle for the [362] island took place in central and southern Okinawa. As a consequence, [342] many of the old houses, sturdily built with tile roofs, have been preserved. [166] Numerous refugees from the south gathered in this area during and after the campaign. In nearby Oinosa (Jinusa) village, slightly over a mile to the southwest, also on Highway 13, the Americans operated a hospital [193] for Okinawan refugees. It is still in use. This relative lack of war destruction in the northern villages has, to a degree, reversed the roles of the north and the south. The opening up of the north, its prosperity, 184 the survival of many of its old homes, give the impression of comfort and well being conspicuously lacking in most of the makeshift villages of the south.

The descriptions of these three villages perhaps make clear the diversity that can be expected among Okinawan settlements. Hanashiro, the small village cluster, with adjoining rice fields on the valley floor, its other crops on the terraced slopes, is the most typical. Minatogawa, the fishing village in an impoverished countryside of stony or shallow soil, is dependent on the seas and its catch for its livelihood and the wherewithal to buy the foods which cannot be grown in sufficient abundance. Matsuda, a collection of small settlements, scattered here and there from the coast inland, with its large preserve of community forest, is an example of agriculture in a forest setting, and of the use of the forest in daily living. This by no means exhausts the diversity. The village of [136] Oku to the north, with its tea, its rice, its fences for wild boar pro- [242] tection, its cycads planted on the hillsides to prevent erosion, is still another example. But our task here is not to catalogue all diversity, but to indicate that it exists and to a much greater degree than would appear to superficial observation.

diseases seemed to be below the expected rate for Okinawa, in general, and we had the impression that Taira people are healthy on the whole. Only one case of leprosy, which had been removed to a special hospital on the island of Yagaji, was reported from Taira. 164 [743]

Among the children there were frequent complaints of intestinal diseases. Most children seem to lodge a variety of parasites, mostly hookworms and tapeworms, and many were subject to skin ailments. One girl had a severe case of what was thought by the nurse to be congenital syphilis. The skin of her whole body was covered with sores which were a constant source of irritation. This 4-year-old never appeared in the company of children other than her younger sister. She would stand in front of her house, her face swollen, her head stooped from discomfort and embarrassment. Almost all children have impetigo and various kinds of rashes. During the summer these cover their faces and parts of the body. Almost all have marks of boils which have plagued them in the course of years.

Because sickness is always a threat, it creates fear, and any explanation which may restore some hope is important knowledge. Although some Western or modern theories about disease have been introduced recently through the school and the village nurse, they filter into every house only slowly and do not materially affect what has been handed down as popular knowledge from older members of each household. Most Taira people are probably quite eclectic in their beliefs as well as in their choice of treatments, so that it would be difficult to ascribe to them any single body of theory of disease. 753 [152]

Home remedies, often applied by old women, are widespread. The most popular ones are blood letting and the use of *moxa* cautery. Whenever people agree that there is "bad" blood in an adult's or child's system, it must be removed. There are many phenomena which are accounted for by the presence of "bad" blood. Visible signs such as eczema of the skin or swellings are such indications, but malfunctioning of certain organs, the stomach, liver, kidneys, can also call for the removal of "bad" blood. Mothers expose infants as young as five days to the treatment, which may be preventive as well as curative. Pointing to a bluish green area on the infant's back (not the mongoloid spot), whether real or imagined, the mother swabs the area with sake before she or the grandmother make numerous ¼-inch incisions with a razor. After the blood starts to ooze out of the tiny wounds, more sake is rubbed into the skin. The mixture of blood and sake is caught and rubbed on again and again until all the undesirable blood has been drained. 757 753 [751] 757

So many Taira babies have eczema that this treatment takes place [854] [164]

744 tuberculosis, the public health nurse teaches the family how to treat the patient in the home by giving him rest and drugs provided through her. Isolation, though recommended, is not carried out effectively, as might be expected from the general treatment of sick in the village.

744 759 Like most public offices in Okinawa, the nurse's carries with it a large load of administrative duties. Between these and attending meetings and lectures at Nago hospital, there is relatively little time to cover the long distances between villages. Taira is fortunate to be the residence of the nurse, and when occasionally a nurse from another township comes to help her with inocculations, the children crowd around her and say "We want 'our' nurse to do it."

● 743 759 758 [844] The dispensary, or small hospital, in Taira is owned and run by a former medical corps man in the Japanese Army, referred to as "doctor." After the war the government gave permission to a number of former army medical personnel to practice on a limited scale in the villages. The Taira practitioner takes the place of a midwife, gives first aid, and diagnoses simple illnesses. If there are no complications, a patient requesting medical care may be kept at the dispensary, where a family member and the doctor's "nurse," a young female servant, attend to all his needs. If the doctor is confronted with a complicated birth or a case requiring surgical skill, he refers the patient to a private clinic in Nago or to the public hospital there. The township gives financial aid to the doctor to maintain his establishment.

[657]

757 [278] [262] [759] Penicillin has become the doctor's stock in trade, and other antibiotics and drugs are liberally administered via the hypodermic needle. But the doctor does not restrict himself entirely to the use of recognized Western medicines and practices. He may recommend special diets to which people have resorted for a long time, such as goat soup, which is believed to cure colds. Although the doctor has a high status in the community, most persons do not rely on his advice alone but resort to other practitioners and their remedies.

[759] Until a few years ago a popular medical practitioner, the bush doctor, resided in Taira. After his death nobody took over his work, and now many people have to travel far to receive treatment from a bush doctor in another village. His methods primarily include the use of moxa cautery, burning mogusa weed on the patient's skin, and accupuncture by the use of a fine golden needle. He may also prescribe a certain diet and the use of special herbal remedies, which the patient prepares for himself. Those who have great confidence in the bush doctor's competence, particularly older persons, do not consult the Taira doctor at all.

758 In all their dealings with sickness and its prevention, Taira people are severely handicapped by their economic conditions. Even families

year. On these occasions his parents take gifts of tea, noodles, and whatever else they can spare to the foster parents. During their visit the foster parents present the gift as an offering on the ancestral shrine and pray to their own ancestors, the guardians of the foster child. It is believed that this may help to offset the adverse effects of the child's own ancestors. 597 755 769

In spite of some treatments, such as blood letting and moxa cautery, which seem harsh to the unaccustomed observer, Taira people are extremely concerned about their sick. Illness, and most of all the need to remove the patient to the local dispensary or to a hospital in town, involves the whole family. No one likes to leave a sick person alone. His family and friends attend to him in such numbers that the small rooms are never large enough to hold all. The security given in everyday life by the presence of relatives and neighbors in the village continues during the critical period of illness. In the case of a fisherman from the south who was washed ashore in his boat after a storm, township officials kept the man continuous company in his dispensary room even though he was close to death. Female relatives cook meals and look after the comfort of a hospitalized person. This means that a young girl or an older woman will leave her usual work for days or weeks to attend the patient. 758 [156]

Because of intimacy in the home and visits to the sick, children are quite familiar with illness. A mother who has to go to the hospital takes her youngest child with her. After burning moxa weeds on her skin for two weeks had failed to cure a nephritic condition, one woman went to the hospital in town, taking her 8-months-old daughter although she did not have enough milk to nurse. The infant had to be given bottled milk prepared from cans. Meanwhile the older children remained under the care of their father. [757]

There is, however, little concern with children who have minor ailments. A school child may be excused from attending classes. In one case a boy stayed home from school with stomach pains. He was happily playing with younger children in the street. One of the adult villagers walked past, stopped after seeing him, and inquired: "Why aren't you in school today?" When told by the boy that he had an upset stomach, the man ordered him to go home right away and stay inside or go to school. The boy's mother, although aware of her son's discomfort, did not pay any special attention to it. 757 855 872

Preventive medicine is officially the responsibility of the public health nurse. She advises people on proper preventive care, inocculates children against whooping cough, diphtheria, and other diseases. She also acts as an advisor to mothers on child care and occasionally helps with a birth if the doctor is unavailable. If a case is diagnosed as 744 [751] [759] [844]

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Chapter 10

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The Japanese school system, which was introduced to Okinawa in the 871
1880's, reached Taira by 1891. At that time a small school was established in the village. Some of its early graduates are still alive and re- 177

842 of the economic hardship incurred as a result of large families. A few
[843] of the more outspoken mothers complain bitterly against the old people who expect them to continue bearing children until three male
[593] heirs are born. Men desire male heirs, and one son is not enough: the favored number is three. Informal interviews reveal that in spite of the cultural preference for sons, mothers welcome daughters, who grow up to be useful helpers. Even if women protest when they feel tired of bearing children, they submit to their husband's demands. Since Japa-
551 nese given names are used today, the practice of naming a girl Sueko
553 (end child), to indicate that one considers her to be the last, is often
842 resorted to. If this proves insufficient and another follows, she might
[177] be called Tomeko (stop child). In one family the wife gave her baby girl the name Sueko to indicate that she did not desire any more children. Her husband, however, disagreed, for he wanted another son, and registered the child without his wife's knowledge under another name.

842 Although the older generation, which has supported large families, looks on birth control measures with distaste, the young mothers cir-
● 744 culate information published in Japanese magazines and by the Okinawan public health department on this matter, and a few families actually use contraceptives. However, in general, public health nurses
847 have found it extremely difficult to discuss matters like birth control, abortion, and infanticide with villagers. "We suspect that these measures are practiced everywhere. Of course, with the system of registration and public health nursing, infanticide is hardly possible; however . . . we could not say. . . ." * It is interesting to note that in
[732] Taira there are mental defectives but no physical defectives. Abortion is legal with a doctor's consent, but informants claimed it was not
[848] practiced. There are illegitimate children born in the village.

842 "The seeds, they must match. If they do not match, then it cannot be," explain the villagers. They continue, "It is like planting a field, however; if the soil is hostile to growth, nothing can happen." Thus the villagers express their theories of conception.

843 Cessation of menstrual periods signals the start of pregnancy, and the sudden craving for a particular kind of food forces the woman to acknowledge the fact. Informal interviewing and casual observation reveal that morning sickness is not usual. Women rarely miss a work-
[461] ing day in the fields and mountains even in the early stages of preg-
[522] nancy. One male who failed to appear for work with the rest of the male population of the village was the butt of many a joke. "How now, you are taking over the task of your wife?" teased the men and women.

[164] Malfunction of the kidneys is not uncommon among pregnant

* Personal communication from public health nurses.

855 the mother becomes pregnant. Usually, however, weaning is not
[262] started in earnest until the mother is three months pregnant.

If the infant has a fever or "bad color," he may be subjected to an-
854 other painful experience, blood letting. Incisions are made on those
757 parts of the body which are thought to be affected, and blood is drawn and caught in a cup. The area is washed with sake. The mother often suckles the baby and holds him while the grandmother or some other older person performs the operation.

854 Babies are diapered and swaddled until they are about a year old. For the first two months their wet and soiled diapers are changed frequently; however, as time goes on, less attention is paid to wet diapers, although those soiled from excreta are promptly changed. Infants are checked often during the raw winter days, but because they are bundled so heavily, there is hardly any danger of their contracting colds as their
[164] mothers fear. Severe urine burns and annoying diaper rash are more common than colds among young babies.

[855] Although care is taken to keep the infant as clean as possible during the first year of his life, this attitude changes as the child grows older.
[594] This is in large part due to the mother's inability to devote much time to her offspring once she has resumed full participation in economics. activities. Depending on the season of the year, babies are bathed from every third or fourth day to once a week. They are bathed almost daily
[744] during the first two months of their lives as a result of the insistence of the village nurse. Water is heated on the kitchen hearth and poured into a small washpan. Mothers test the warmth of the water by immersing their arms up to the elbows and adding cold or hot water as they see fit. Soap is gently applied either with a soft washcloth or with the hands and rinsed off by splashing. On chilly winter days the bath takes place indoors, but on the hot sunny days it takes place right outside the kitchen door. In drying the baby, the mother places him in a large towel and pats the dampness from his body. She is careful to dry the skin at the joints where rash is likely to erupt. Except for the very poor, all families keep a bottle of talcum powder, which is applied right after the bath. Throughout the bath, the mother talks softly to the baby, smiling and tickling him. The atmosphere of the bath at this
[855] time contrasts sharply with that of a later time when the child is 2 and 3 years old.

863 Although there is hardly any possibility that the infant at this time would be able to smear himself with excreta, the opportunity for doing so is present later when he no longer wears diapers but is still untrained. It rarely happens, as the child is almost constantly watched by a caretaker. One mother reported disgustedly that her infant smeared

632 423 [651] The Land Affairs Department maintains the land ownership records ('tochi daichō') and issues certificates of land title ('chiken'). The head of this department ('tochijimuchō' or 'tochi gakari') together with the village mayor ('kuchō') and his council assesses land values for tax purposes.

632 744 The Departments of Public Welfare and Social Affairs are concerned with matters relating to relief, health, sanitation, etc. The functions of these overlap somewhat with those of the police and the Naha Health Center. One day each month a nurse from the Health Center is at the township office giving shots to children. Once a month there is a sanitation inspection of all the villages within the 'son'; the emphasis shifts each month---thus, one month it may be for mosquito control and the next it may be extermination of flies. Relief measures are also handled from these departments.

632 178 A 'son' assembly ('senkai' or 'songikai') functions as the legislative branch of 'son' government; it is empowered to enact local ordinances, approve the mayor's selection of employees for the village office, and make local tax levies. In Kanegusuku-son each of the eight villages selects two representatives ('sonkaigiin') for the assembly, and the term of office is four years. Before the end of the war this body was an appointive one selected by the mayors of the villages ('kuchō'); in turn the assembly appointed the township mayor. The bulk of the population had no voice in local government; today, however, both the mayor and the assembly stand for election. In all elections [664] for municipal and central government offices universal suffrage now obtains; all those twenty and above are entitled to vote.

632 622 The meetings of the 'son' assembly are too infrequent to provide effective representation at all times for the people. Regular contact between the people and the township office is maintained by frequent meetings of all the village mayors ('kuchō') with the township mayor ('sonchō'). This group, known as 'kuchokai' (village mayors' assembly), meets three times each month generally on the fifth, fifteenth, and twenty-fifth, though in times of emergency or pressing business it may meet oftener. Problems of general concern to the villages are discussed. These meetings enable the township mayor to keep in touch with the problems of the villages and what the people are thinking; they also provide the opportunity to inform and instruct the village mayors regarding directives or projects to be carried out in the villages.

632 651 One of the chief functions of the township government is to collect taxes for the central government and for its own needs. The following township taxes ('senzei', or in legal terminology, 'chihōzei') are those levied by Kanegusuku-son:

senmin-zei	Villagers' Tax. This is a head tax on all persons who are able to work between the ages of 17 and 60 excluding students, blind, sick, and crippled persons.
tochi-zei	Land Tax. For details see chapter on Land Tenure.
fudōsan shutoku-zei	Real Estate Acquisition Tax.
kaoku-zei	House or Building Tax.

3. Police

625

Local governments of the municipalities ('shi-chō-son') and the various 'ku' (villages and wards) exercise no control over the police stationed in their areas. Central police headquarters are located in Naha, and the organization of the police command is outside the regular civil structure except at the top national level. The police officer located in Kanegusuku-son reports directly to the district police headquarters in Itoman which in turn reports to Naha. In addition to maintaining law and order the police are charged with certain responsibilities in the fields of sanitation, health, and public welfare. Crime rates on Okinawa are low, particularly [674] in the rural areas, and policemen stationed there rarely face serious problems of law violation. A 'son' policeman has a "beat" which he is supposed to patrol each day unless other business is pressing. Actually his visits to some of the villages are rather infrequent, since there is little need for his presence. When a villager dies, it is usually the policeman who checks and certifies the cause of death. Certain dangerous or [744] highly contagious diseases such as leprosy or smallpox must by law be reported, and any infractions of this are usually investigated by the police. If a restaurant or food store is reported as unsanitary, it is the police who take steps to see that the situation is corrected.

Not infrequently the policeman is called upon to function informally 625 as a judge in settling minor disputes which in the United States would be 627 taken to court. One man rented out a room in his home to a former schoolmate; after living and eating there for several months, the roomer disappeared without making any payment for his room and board. A few months later the owner located this person's place of employment, collared him as he left work, and dragged him to the nearest policeman. The policeman listened patiently to both sides of the argument and then ruled that the roomer must pay the entire amount due the owner, ¥6000 ($50.00), at the rate of ¥2000 per month. The two disputants signed an agreement to this effect, and the policeman also signed it "to make it official". An American would regard this action as an abuse of police power; yet, an Okinawan would see nothing untoward in it. In light of this it is worth noting [178] that the jiturei who headed the rural district (majiri) under the old kingdom functioned as policeman, judge, and administrator.

In the matter of juvenile delinquency the school and police are re- 871 ported to work closely together. One police officer stated that when juve- 625 niles commit misdemeanors in his area they are usually turned over to their 674 schools for special "education". That an errant child should be released to the custody of his school rather than to his family would seem an inconsistency in a society which places so much emphasis on family. In America [171] and perhaps in all of Western society the teaching of ethics is largely a function of the home, but in Japan and Okinawa this is considered a task for the school.

To an outsider Okinawan police appear to be efficient in the per- 625 formance of their duty and possessed of a pride in their job and a fairly

751 Social factors contributing to poor sanitation stem mainly from the
312 failure of the individual in Okinawan society to take individual action.
364 For example, four unrelated families, one of which I knew well, rented the
156 four quarters of a house in the city. The well beside the house was badly in need of a drainage system; the water from everyone's laundry and bathing formed a large puddle around the concrete well-top and eventually sank into the ground, no doubt to re-enter the well, which of course also provided drinking water. No one made a move to do anything about this individually. Finally the owner of the house suggested that the several families join with him on a certain day in digging a drainage ditch. This was done. However, instead of digging a ditch to allow the water to run down hill and away, they dug the ditch only a few feet into a tiny field on the same level as the house and well. They did not feel that they could dig a ditch that led the water onto the land of the family who lived below, despite the fact that this was the natural lay of the land and despite the fact that the water was now sinking into the ground above the well of another neighbor. It was felt that only if all the neighbors joined to dig ditches together to allow all the water to drain to the municipal drainage ditch beside the street, only then would it be proper to let one's old wash water drain into another's yard. So far as I know this joint action was never taken.

751 At the same house, when one of the tenants moved out they dumped a
364 great pile of garbage in front of their room. Another tenant moved into the
156 room and, although the wife commented on the "bad sanitation" ('eisei ga warui'), for some time nothing was done about the pile of garbage. In this case the reason for inaction may have been pride rather than consideration of another's feelings. It seems likely that the new tenant felt that it was not his responsibility to remove the garbage and that it was also beneath his dignity to do so.

ooo Social factors of this sort can perhaps be attacked in two ways. First, by appealing to the individual, to his pride and his esthetic sense, and by creating a greater degree of personal identification, it may be possible to extend the "sphere of sanitation" beyond the floor of the house and out into the yard and perhaps even to the street. But this would not be an easy task. At the present time the average Okinawan is probably less embarrassed by a pile of garbage in his yard and the hundreds of flies that infest it, than he would be to be seen doing the menial task of cleaning it up. He would not feel embarrassed, however, if it were a community endeavor. And therefore as a second method of attack one might encourage more group action. But this requires the development of outspoken leadership.

178 It is possible that standards of sanitation are lower at the pre-
751 sent time than before the war. Residents of the village of Yamada spoke
● 744 of the "big cleanings" ('ōsōji') that were held at regular intervals before
[625] the war. On orders from the 'son' office every household in the village was obliged to clean up its house and yard and submit to inspection by the local police officer, a man who was much more feared than his present counterpart. At present clean-ups may be encouraged by the Youth Organization, Women's Organization, etc., but there is certainly less compulsion than
ooo formerly. Moreover, during the last days of the battle and for a period of

Loans Almost no rural person deals as an individual with a bank for small amounts, as he is embarrassed to deal with strangers and has a tradition of distrust of city people in general. The small 'moai' is the mark of a rather stable agricultural community. Between the 'moai' and the city bank operates the individual loan shark, catering to people who need money desperately---either because of ill health or family troubles---or because with a little capital the borrower hopes to "make a killing" in some enterprise. These needy people are quite willing to contract to repay at the exorbitant interest rate of ten per cent per month. As might be expected, many persons default on repayment of these loans, to the intense and very vocal indignation of the lender. 452

Almost every 'son' has a credit cooperative, or 'Shin'yō Kyōdo Kumiai'. These are operated by the 'son' office, and when the money involved filters down to individuals the amount concerned is much less than one can obtain through a 'moai'. Amounts available for loan generally range from ¥10,000 to ¥15,000 for each village. Then the amount is divided according to the number of households in the 'han', or ward, of the village. Bigger 'han' can borrow about ¥3,000 while smaller ones may borrow ¥2,000. The money is borrowed by the 'han' and then sub-borrowed by individuals or by groups of two or three men. A person may but seldom does borrow directly from the 'son' office as an individual. However, repayment is always made on an individual basis, rather than through the 'han' and village. The village headman, or 'kucho', is the person responsible ('sekinin-sha') for the operation of the fund in his bailiwick. [632]

One Nanahan man has moved temporarily to Itoman. He obtained a GARIOA-subsidized bank loan for ¥360,000 ($3,000) to buy a truck. His success in finding customers in the Naha port area assures that the loan will not be defaulted. 453

'Son' Relief At the end of 1952 there were 335 persons, representing 114 households, who were receiving relief from the 'son' office. Details are presented below: 746 [632]

Class of Aid	From Prewar		Due to War		Postwar		Total	
	Houses	Persons	Houses	Persons	Houses	Persons	Houses	Persons
Orphans	--	--	8	15	--	--	8	15
Aged persons	23	28	14	29	4	5	41	62
Widows	--	--	15	76	12	60	27	136
Sick persons	3	10	5	12	7	26	15	48
Disabled	8	13	3	7	1	5	12	25
Other	1	4	4	18	6	27	11	49
TOTAL	35	55	49	157	30	123	114	335

To obtain relief, old people must fulfill the usual requirements of living alone, being propertyless, ill, and without familial support. In the

• 746 one case investigated, the village secretary and most of the village people thought that a certain old repatriate should be on relief, if only to receive money to obtain the tobacco he could not buy. The 'son' office was not told about his elder brother's second son, who lives in Osaka. Nor was any check made on the untrue report that he was ill, for no medical proof or witnesses are needed. Upon moving from his sister-in-law's house to a grass shack next door, he was placed upon the relief list to receive the monthly maximum of ¥250 (about $2.08).

746 177 The 'son' office also supervises the distribution to persons on relief of clothes supplied by the American relief agency RIVAC (Ryukyu Islands Voluntary Agencies Committee). Each person receives free two or three useful items upon signing for their receipt with his chop. These are greatly appreciated by the recipients.

621 427 Rentals of Village-Owned Land Each village generally owns some grassland, some forest land, and a pond or two. These they rent out to the highest bidder. The 'genya' or grassland is rented anew each year, and the person may keep it in grass, or may convert it to dry crop land ('hatake'). The only requirement is that he must not let the grass grow long and shade the nearby crops. The plot owned by Tomoyose village used to be the village horse-powered sugar mill before the better one was built before the war.

Ponds owned by the village are rented out to the highest bidder in a [228] secret bid, for a period of two years. The renter uses the pond to raise [423] carp. Forest land, I was told, is not supposed to be owned by the village, so it is recorded in the land register as the property of a prominent private individual.

651 [632] Taxes The Okinawan farmer is subject to a great number of official taxes. The following is a list of the fifteen 'sonzei', or township taxes, of Kanegusuku-son. Legally these are called district taxes, or 'chihō-zei'.

Tax Name	Translation
Sonmin-zei	Township Citizens' Tax (on all persons who are able to work, except students)
Tochi-zei	Land Tax
Fudōsan Shutoku zei	Real Estate Acquisition Tax
Kaoku-zei	House (or Building) Tax
Kōgyō-zei	Tax for Industry (eg: 'sake' factory)
Gyubasha-zei	Tax for Horsecart or Oxcart
Jidōsha-zei	Auto, Bus and Jitney Tax (Motor Vehicle Tax)
Rajio-zei	Radio Tax
Denchū-zei	Electric Pole Tax
Tochiku-zei	Slaughter Tax
Chikken-zei	Dog Tax
Sempaku-zei	Boat Tax
Jitensha-zei	Bicycle Tax
Denwa-zei	Telephone Tax
Jigyō-zei	Business Tax

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

The native medicine, including the use of plants and fish as medicines, the native doctor, the use of cauterization, the golden needle, slashing, and acupuncture, seem to be disappearing in favor of modern patent medicines and drugs, and scientific medicine, nursing, and midwifery. Of all the traditional practices (ultimately derived from China), slashing and burning with moguza seem to have the greatest vitality. 75 178 [177]

10

Tattooing

Tattooing (ireizumi in Japanese, dake in Okinawan) is a subject of great historical interest in the Ryukyu chain. In Okinawa, it exists now only among elderly women (in the late sixties and seventies), as it was forbidden by law when the Japanese annexed the islands. Tattooing usually was done on the back of the hands, including the fingers, parts of the wrist, and the knuckles. The design was put on by spreading India ink (often with sake or awamori added) on the surface, pricking out the design and wiping off the surplus, repeating the operation for the lighter parts. To my knowledge, there was no facial tattooing. 304 [636] [386]

Until quite recently tattooing was practiced on men as well. Basil Hall in 1816 wrote of a landing in the south of Okinawa island. "Most of these people had fish spears tatooed on their arms in the form of a trident, with rude barbs." On the right arm it was called (in Hall's transcription) "oodeemaw," and on the left, "tooga." Apparently this was confined to fishermen. Furness in his account of the Luchus (1899) observed such markings among young and mature men in Itoman. The explanation given him was that they were a protection against evil spirits. Furness also discussed the theory that tattooing was historically connected with weaving. Simon, in an interesting speculative discussion, based on the designs of cloth in Miyako and their correspondence with house or family markings thought that the tattooing was a means of identifying women's membership in a family.7 304 114 [531] [789] [602]

This interesting idea unfortunately did not occur to me while in the villages, but the notion that tattooing may have been related 114 304 602

7 Hall's Voyage, as cited, Vocabulary (no pagination). Hall includes sketches of the marks. Furness, Life in the Luchu islands, as cited, 9. See also Simon's extremely interesting discussion, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, as cited, 134-150. Furness and Simon are especially valuable because they personally observed instances of tattooing at a time when it was much more commonly seen. Both authors reproduce patterns which show differences among the islands and among individuals.

593 The husband or father is not a tyrant. Nevertheless the wife is unlikely to challenge her husband directly on any important matter. If she is scolded, she may continue with her work in silence, ignoring her husband.

562 177 Women who have lived abroad in places like Hawaii or who have experienced the metropolitan life of Japanese cities are more likely to be dissatisfied. Occasionally one meets a woman who thinks this is a man's world (otoko no tenka) and that women should have more privileges than they now have. This attitude has been sharpened through American influences, directly by contact with American soldiers and civilians, indirectly by discussions which appear in Japanese periodicals of the life of American women. How widely this attitude exists is difficult to say, though I believe that at present (January 1952) it is not a strong force among women in the villages.

562 Though her place is at home, the woman is by no means removed from the wider aspects of village life. She may take an active part in the Women's Association. She may handle the family money or part of it. She may operate a little store to supplement her husband's income from the fields, or if she is a widow, to provide for her own support. She may participate in mutual loan groups. And she may be the head of a household.

8

Public Health

The people of the villages are conscious of health and sanitation, an awareness gained under the Japanese. This awareness and desire for cleanliness and sanitation meet major obstacles in the lack of running water, the distance to public baths, the expense and trouble (or both) of heating quantities of water, the cost of soap, the poorness of the outdoor toilets especially in the devastated areas.

515 511 ● 751

An analysis of village health problems requires the specialized knowledge of the physician or doctor of public health. The observations of a layman however may have some interest.

511 364 751 The general sanitary conditions are not good. The weak spots are (1) Poor outdoor toilets and their haphazard location with relation to wells. (2) The dirty and smoky Okinawan kitchen. Many have dirt floors and little effort is made to keep them clean. The situation is better with the stone floor or cemented kitchen. Women complain about smoke smarting and injuring their eyes. All of the rooms of an Okinawan house, especially in winter, are likely to be very smoky around meal times. (3) Food preparation and dishwashing are often done in dirty surroundings. Foods are fried or boiled, and this is all to the good. In making tea, the water is seldom boiled; more often it is only brought to a boil or allowed to get hot.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Nevertheless, to superficial observation at least, villagers seem to enjoy good health. Most of them are energetic. Obesity is very unusual. The average man or woman of any age has little spare flesh. The most frequent complaints are of dysentery, constipation, colds, boils and swellings, and intestinal parasites. There are signs of malnutrition in the distended bellies of some small children, probably due to the unrelieved and starchy diet of the sweet potato,[6] with extremely few animal fats and proteins. 146 [164]

The sores and scabs on the heads, faces, arms, and legs of infants and young children are still the curse of childhood, conditions made worse by the flies which swarm around them. (In summer, I have seen as many as 20 flies on the face of a sleeping child without a trace of any muscular reaction). There are few Okinawans today who do not bear the scars of these sores of infancy, especially on the scalp. (Young men are sensitive about this and it is one reason also for keeping the hair long). Younger parents now are beginning to use various disinfecting powders and talcs to prevent these sores (which look like impetigo) and seem to have abandoned the attitude of a previous generation that these were childhood experiences to be endured. Much could be done to eliminate these diseases of childhood by a campaign in which local groups like the Women's Association and the public health authorities joined. 164 [751] ● 000

In the summer months, Jap B encephalitis (known as nūen) is very much dreaded. Some villagers had only a vague idea that it was a brain fever and a few knew that the mosquito was the vector. 164 [753]

According to residents of each of the villages, no cases of leprosy had been discovered in recent years. This disease is also dreaded and I doubt that an attempt would be made to conceal a case.

Young people have uncommonly beautiful, evenly spaced, white teeth. This seems to have been an Okinawan characteristic for a long time, as Basil Hall commented upon it 135 years ago. Around the late teens or early twenties, the teeth decay, and there are many extractions and replacements with gold or steel false teeth. Some extractions are intentional, especially among young girls who believe that a gold tooth sets them apart and adds to beauty. But I am convinced that this is of minor importance as an explanation. Okinawans [145] [757] [832]

6 I am not acquainted with any analyses of the composition of the Okinawan sweet potato. In laboratory tests of an improved high-starch American variety, the composition when ground for starch was: moisture, 64.5%; starch, 25.5%; sugars, 2.8%; crude protein, 1.5%; pectic substances, 2.2%; crude fat, 0.6%; mineral matter, 0.9%; other, 2%. Sweet potato carotene can be readily converted to Vitamin A. See Dawson, P. R., Greathouse, L. H., and Gordon, W. O. Sweet potatoes: more than starch. In: Crops in peace and war. (U. S. Dept. of Agric., The yearbook of agriculture 1950-51) Washington, 195-203. Ref. on 195, 201. [146]

diseases seemed to be below the expected rate for Okinawa, in general, and we had the impression that Taira people are healthy on the whole. Only one case of leprosy, which had been removed to a special hospital on the island of Yagaji, was reported from Taira. 164 [743]

Among the children there were frequent complaints of intestinal diseases. Most children seem to lodge a variety of parasites, mostly hookworms and tapeworms, and many were subject to skin ailments. One girl had a severe case of what was thought by the nurse to be congenital syphilis. The skin of her whole body was covered with sores which were a constant source of irritation. This 4-year-old never appeared in the company of children other than her younger sister. She would stand in front of her house, her face swollen, her head stooped from discomfort and embarrassment. Almost all children have impetigo and various kinds of rashes. During the summer these cover their faces and parts of the body. Almost all have marks of boils which have plagued them in the course of years.

Because sickness is always a threat, it creates fear, and any explanation which may restore some hope is important knowledge. Although some Western or modern theories about disease have been introduced recently through the school and the village nurse, they filter into every house only slowly and do not materially affect what has been handed down as popular knowledge from older members of each household. Most Taira people are probably quite eclectic in their beliefs as well as in their choice of treatments, so that it would be difficult to ascribe to them any single body of theory of disease. 753 [152]

Home remedies, often applied by old women, are widespread. The most popular ones are blood letting and the use of *moxa* cautery. Whenever people agree that there is "bad" blood in an adult's or child's system, it must be removed. There are many phenomena which are accounted for by the presence of "bad" blood. Visible signs such as eczema of the skin or swellings are such indications, but malfunctioning of certain organs, the stomach, liver, kidneys, can also call for the removal of "bad" blood. Mothers expose infants as young as five days to the treatment, which may be preventive as well as curative. Pointing to a bluish green area on the infant's back (not the mongoloid spot), whether real or imagined, the mother swabs the area with sake before she or the grandmother make numerous ¼-inch incisions with a razor. After the blood starts to ooze out of the tiny wounds, more sake is rubbed into the skin. The mixture of blood and sake is caught and rubbed on again and again until all the undesirable blood has been drained. 757 753 [751] 757

So many Taira babies have eczema that this treatment takes place [854] [164]

year. On these occasions his parents take gifts of tea, noodles, and whatever else they can spare to the foster parents. During their visit the foster parents present the gift as an offering on the ancestral shrine and pray to their own ancestors, the guardians of the foster child. It is believed that this may help to offset the adverse effects of the child's own ancestors. 597 755 769

In spite of some treatments, such as blood letting and moxa cautery, which seem harsh to the unaccustomed observer, Taira people are extremely concerned about their sick. Illness, and most of all the need to remove the patient to the local dispensary or to a hospital in town, involves the whole family. No one likes to leave a sick person alone. His family and friends attend to him in such numbers that the small rooms are never large enough to hold all. The security given in everyday life by the presence of relatives and neighbors in the village continues during the critical period of illness. In the case of a fisherman from the south who was washed ashore in his boat after a storm, township officials kept the man continuous company in his dispensary room even though he was close to death. Female relatives cook meals and look after the comfort of a hospitalized person. This means that a young girl or an older woman will leave her usual work for days or weeks to attend the patient. 758 [156]

Because of intimacy in the home and visits to the sick, children are quite familiar with illness. A mother who has to go to the hospital takes her youngest child with her. After burning moxa weeds on her skin for two weeks had failed to cure a nephritic condition, one woman went to the hospital in town, taking her 8-months-old daughter although she did not have enough milk to nurse. The infant had to be given bottled milk prepared from cans. Meanwhile the older children remained under the care of their father. [757]

There is, however, little concern with children who have minor ailments. A school child may be excused from attending classes. In one case a boy stayed home from school with stomach pains. He was happily playing with younger children in the street. One of the adult villagers walked past, stopped after seeing him, and inquired: "Why aren't you in school today?" When told by the boy that he had an upset stomach, the man ordered him to go home right away and stay inside or go to school. The boy's mother, although aware of her son's discomfort, did not pay any special attention to it. 757 855 872

Preventive medicine is officially the responsibility of the public health nurse. She advises people on proper preventive care, inocculates children against whooping cough, diphtheria, and other diseases. She also acts as an advisor to mothers on child care and occasionally helps with a birth if the doctor is unavailable. If a case is diagnosed as 744 [751] [759] [844]

There is no specific or preferred posture for nursing. While the mothers are in confinement for the brief period following delivery, they often lie next to the baby and feed him. Sitting while nursing is the most common posture, but mothers frequently nurse while standing or squatting. The baby is held loosely and the mother is relaxed. If others are about, she will carry on a lively conversation and occasionally pat the baby gently on or around the region of the buttocks. When alone, she holds the baby with one arm, talks softly, smiles, and with her other hand tugs gently at the baby's limbs. Each feeding is leisurely; the breast is never withdrawn from the infant's mouth. More often than not he suckles his fill and falls asleep. 853

It is as natural to suckle one's infant at a village meeting as it is to do so in the privacy of one's home. A common sight is that of a mother sitting and listening intently to speeches while cradling her suckling infant loosely in her arms. On buses, in market places, or at large public intervillage gatherings, one is sure to encounter such a scene. [291]

The breast is used to soothe a baby when he is ill, irritable, or in distress from pain. This was quite evident when all the babies in the village were being given a series of innoculations for diphtheria and typhoid. As the injections were given in one large open room, the cries of the infant being innoculated prompted others to cry. Invariably the mother offered the breast to the baby. 853 854 751

After the birth of a child, the mother sits at home during a short rest period, watching happily as neighbors, friends, and relatives continually drop in to admire the newborn. Sipping tea, the visitors offer bits of advice, exchange the latest gossip, ask to hold the infant, and take their leave with the standard phrase: "Take care of yourself." It is a pleasant interlude, but as the family resources begin to dwindle, there is a slight but perceptible change in the attitude of the mother toward her newborn. The constant stream of visitors, for whom tea and some small tidbits must be offered, and her nonparticipation in the regular economic activities prove to be a drain on the family budget, in spite of the fact that the mother and her husband have worked with extra diligence in the months prior to parturition. The mother begins to talk about the approaching feast day and the need to get new clothing for the older children. She asks anxiously about the condition of the firewood market and starts to plan her inevitable resumption of work in the mountains and fields. In spite of her feelings of protectiveness and pity for the young baby, she begins, bit by bit, to reinstate her normal routine. Although she continues to cuddle, kiss, and affectionately nurse the infant, she thinks of the good weather and of how she might have been able to make one more trip to the mountains 846 574 846 461 [843] [594]

frowned and tugged at the straps that were straining at her neck muscles. 593

At a still later date, Hanako, with her baby sister strapped to her back, played on the beach. At one point, when all the children were scattered over the beach and no one else was nearby, Hanako edged up to the fieldworker and asked, "Would you like this baby, teacher? Here, take her," she said wearily. Asked why she had changed her mind, the little girl smiled shyly, squirmed uncomfortably for a moment, then whispered, "She's too heavy." Her 3-year-old sister, off in the distance at that point, began to scream and cry at being left so far behind. Hanako turned to look back once, then walked on as the 3-year-old squatted on the sand and screamed to be carried. At that moment her mother appeared to nurse the infant, and Hanako ran to her. She bounded swiftly away to the 3-year-old as the mother started to nurse the baby. Returning a few minutes later with the 3-year-old on her back, Hanako deposited her disgustedly, panting heavily from the weight. "Shall we give baby to teacher, Hanako?" asked the mother, and without any hesitation Hanako this time nodded "Yes." The mother laughed and said, "Hah, she has had enough of her already. When the baby was tiny and cute, she was so eager to carry her and wouldn't give her to you, but they all get tired of babies in time." And with that the mother began to rock the baby back and forth in her arms. Smiling affectionately, she kissed and hugged the cooing infant and murmured, "Nobody wants you, eh?" Because she was an unusually outspoken mother she confided, "I think I have had enough too, here, I give her to you!" She laughed as she continued, "How can I make money, feed and clothe the children when I have to rush back from the mountains to nurse this baby." 857 854 [594]

When the child is about 6 months old, he is subjected to a painful operation which prepares him for the introduction to solid foods. The area around the navel is moxa-cauterized. Nine little brown dots in three rows of three attest to the practice of burning a special kind of grass on the skin in this area to protect the infant from various digestive complications. The child thus treated, the mother will begin to supplement breast feedings with rice water, milky white in appearance, that is spooned out of the boiling pot of rice. Sometime later, before the child is about one, bits of sweet potato and special kinds of fish mashed between the fingers are thrust into the mouth of the infant as he sits on his mother's lap at mealtime. Gradually he is given more and more solid foods until, finally, at the age of 2 he is eating rice, unmashed fish, potatoes and vegetables, but nursing is continued until 853 [751] [262] 862 855 262

had complained to the police about this but the police had said that this 838
was a mental disorder and therefore not their affair. The disregard shown [858]
the young boys in this case accords with Okinawan attitudes toward children discussed elsewhere; they are not developed enough, perhaps, to be corruptible. Another example is that of a male employee of a 'ryōtei' in another city who is in the habit of putting on a woman's kimono and wig and singing in a falsetto voice for the amusement of male guests. He is not known to "take guests" but is very effeminate in his ordinary manner. School girls are said to form strong attachments to one another, but there is no indication of the persistence of such relationships.

The terms for the sex organs, tani, "penis", and hoo, "vulva", are 834
used rather freely by older persons, but children are expected to use them 864
only for serious purposes. It is said that if children used the terms repeatedly in joking they might be scolded for "dirty talk". An old woman once told me, in the presence of several younger women and a twelve-year-old girl, an amusing story about an old woman who always sat with her kimono pulled up and was therefore called "Hoo-Hai Ayaa", "Mother Vulva-Visible". Everyone laughed but the girl, who looked rather embarrassed. After the battle in 1945 when American food was issued in quantities, Okinawans became familiar with wiener sausages, which they still remember with relish as tani-gwaa, "little penises". As in Japanese, the word for sexual relations is formed by adding the verb "to do" to the word for vulva. This term would not be used before children or in polite conversation.

2. Sanitation

751 •
An American, watching the habits of daily living of an Okinawan 512
family, may find his first impression to be one of shock. In the morning
the sliding doors that kept out any fresh air all night are pushed open and [514]
the children, dressed in the underclothes they have slept in, walk sleepily to the step and urinate off it. Father steps down and walks a few feet around the side of the house and does the same. Grandmother is already in the kitchen preparing breakfast and smoke soon fills the upper air in the main part of the house, looking for a way out in the absence of a chimney.
Father goes to the well with a small towel around his neck, throws cold [515]
water over his face, and washes it with a little soap. He then brushes his teeth long and hard and puts the family toothbrush back on the hook for Mother to use later. Mother takes down the great mosquito net the family
has slept under, folds up the quilts, and brings out breakfast---tea, a [264]
thin soup, and sweet potatoes. Soon tea grounds and potato peels come fly- [351]
ing out onto the ground in rapid succession. A chicken walks in from a neighbor's yard, pecks diffidently at a potato peel, and walks on, leaving a token of gratitude behind. The sun begins to warm the air and the flies to swarm around the toilet behind the house, into the kitchen, across the remains of the family's meal in the main rooms, and around the scraps in front. Father goes to work and the older children go to school. Mother [264]
washes the dishes at the well, in cold water without soap, and leaves them to dry in the sun. Flies light on them.

751
The visitor looks into the toilet. It is an oil drum with a plat- 514
form over it and a wood and canvas shelter over that. The cover is off. 343

•751
514 The drum is nearly full and its surface is in constant motion, a seething
343 mass of maggots. One of those men with the carts that cause you to cross
[364] to the other side of the road will come in a few days to dump it, he hopes.
574 He crosses the yard and is invited into the house. He takes off his shoes
751 and steps up onto the floor. It is surprisingly clean, he finds. A mat is
[356] spread and he sits cross-legged upon it. Tea is offered and he accepts, thinking that it must have been made from boiled water. He learns later that he was wrong. He is given a fan and perceives that its function is keeping the flies away as much as it is creating a breeze. In a spirit of friendly cooperation he and Grandfather take turns shooing the flies off the broken chunks of black sugar that have been placed before them. A larger blue-bottle fly enters and someone makes a special effort to chase
[825] it out. Should the visitor be so crude and impolite as to mention flies and in connection with the toilet, it will be pointed out that only the blue-bottle flies are hatched from the maggots in the toilet. The smaller black house-flies simply produce more flies and hence are harmless.

[264] Bananas are served and the peels follow those of the potatoes out
[315] onto the ground. Smaller children run in and out. One child comes in with its nose running. After a time Mother pulls up its shirt tail and wipes the
[757] mucus off the upper lip. The child has not been well; Mother or Grandmother may take it to the yabuu, who will burn moxa on its skin at the proper
[753] places. A neighbor's child walks by; its face and nearly hairless head are a mass of scabs and its eyes are almost shut by pus. Someone laughingly explains that this is what happens when you don't cut a baby's buttocks properly with a razor to draw out the bad blood.

The visitor is urged to take more tea and sugar. He is complimented on his interest in Okinawa and is asked innumerable questions about America. The family is eager for knowledge and for further contact. As he rises to leave, he is urged to return. He puts on his shoes, finding one slightly
[753] damp from the poor aim of the youngest child. He is cautioned to wear his hat and knows by now the unspoken fear---encephalitis---caused by too much exposure to the sun. He notices that around the well where Mother has been
[296] doing laundry a great pool of water is gradually sinking into the sand. As he picks his way across the yard he wonders if the family would not be better off living in a houseboat, preferably in a fast-moving stream.

751 Such are some of the features of Okinawan life. Yet it would be a mistake to assume that there are no standards of sanitation. There are; they
356 are simply narrower than those of most Americans. Many Okinawans do throw
751 garbage out their front doors as indicated above, but it is also true that the floor of the house is usually cleaner than many American floors. It has to be clean; people sit on it and sleep on it. People take off their shoes before stepping up onto it or if they have been to the fields barefooted
751 they may wash their feet before stepping up onto it. But the area of clean-
[351] liness ends with the step. Beyond the step is a different sort of territory. Yet even in the yard there is a limit to the amount of trash that may be al-
[514] lowed to accumulate before it is swept away. The practice of urinating in the yard is distasteful to the American observer, but there is perhaps less basis for objection to it as a health hazard. Urine is relatively harmless. Feces, however, go into the toilet. If an untrained child defecates in the yard usually someone cleans up the spot.

Three sets of factors seem to contribute to the low standards of sanitation that exist in both rural and urban Okinawa. These factors lie in the realm of knowledge, of society, and of economics. Many Okinawans very clearly lack scientific knowledge of the causes of diseases and their relation to sanitation. But it would be incorrect to say that they are simply ignorant or that they need only education. They do not regard themselves as ignorant but feel rather that they already know the true causes of diseases and their proper treatment. What they need is not merely education but re-education. Before educators can teach scientifically accurate information they must first determine what the folk beliefs are and then replace them with scientific explanations. It is not sufficient merely to add some scientific information to folk beliefs. Many Okinawans, perhaps most, have heard of 'baikin', "bacteria", and their relationship to certain diseases. But probably few see them as sufficient causes of diseases or see them as organisms subject to biological laws of life, growth, and death. Bacteria have no doubt become for many Okinawans merely contributing factors, ranged alongside ghosts, unsupported ancestors, and bad blood, in the mixture of the natural and the supernatural that constitutes Okinawan medical knowledge. 751 753

The belief that only blue-bottle flies hatch from the maggots in the toilet may not be universal on Okinawa but is certainly found among some people; one person who subscribed to the belief was a university student. This belief leads people to take pains to keep blue-bottle flies out of the house "because they contain bacteria", but to tolerate the smaller black house flies. If people believe that house flies merely give birth to more house flies, they can regard house flies as just a nuisance but not a danger. Posters encouraging people to get rid of flies because they carry disease may thus be interpreted as applying only to the blue-bottle fly. The house fly continues to infest many homes in incredibly great numbers. 751 825 753

Several persons who discussed encephalitis revealed that though they had heard of mosquitoes having something to do with it, they believed that it was mainly caused by over-exposure to the rays of the sun. The university student mentioned above was one of these persons. It is worth noting also that an announcement issued 9 May 1954 warns people that the encephalitis season is approaching and therefore everyone should beware of mosquitoes and exposure to the sun.[1]

Other beliefs regarding the cause of disease will be discussed in the next section of this chapter. Many of these beliefs rule out natural causes altogether and thus rule out sanitation as non-essential. Ignorance is therefore not a negative factor but a positive factor against better sanitation. 751 753

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1 I have no information at this writing as to whether exposure to the sun has the effect of making one more susceptible to Japanese Type B encephalitis. But even if this were the case, as it may possibly be, the point is that some, perhaps a majority, of the Okinawans believe that the sun is the sole cause of the disease, and therefore do not see encephalitis as another reason for mosquito control.

751 Social factors contributing to poor sanitation stem mainly from the
312 failure of the individual in Okinawan society to take individual action.
364 For example, four unrelated families, one of which I knew well, rented the
156 four quarters of a house in the city. The well beside the house was badly in need of a drainage system; the water from everyone's laundry and bathing formed a large puddle around the concrete well-top and eventually sank into the ground, no doubt to re-enter the well, which of course also provided drinking water. No one made a move to do anything about this individually. Finally the owner of the house suggested that the several families join with him on a certain day in digging a drainage ditch. This was done. However, instead of digging a ditch to allow the water to run down hill and away, they dug the ditch only a few feet into a tiny field on the same level as the house and well. They did not feel that they could dig a ditch that led the water onto the land of the family who lived below, despite the fact that this was the natural lay of the land and despite the fact that the water was now sinking into the ground above the well of another neighbor. It was felt that only if all the neighbors joined to dig ditches together to allow all the water to drain to the municipal drainage ditch beside the street, only then would it be proper to let one's old wash water drain into another's yard. So far as I know this joint action was never taken.

751 At the same house, when one of the tenants moved out they dumped a
364 great pile of garbage in front of their room. Another tenant moved into the
156 room and, although the wife commented on the "bad sanitation" ('eisei ga warui'), for some time nothing was done about the pile of garbage. In this case the reason for inaction may have been pride rather than consideration of another's feelings. It seems likely that the new tenant felt that it was not his responsibility to remove the garbage and that it was also beneath his dignity to do so.

ooo Social factors of this sort can perhaps be attacked in two ways. First, by appealing to the individual, to his pride and his esthetic sense, and by creating a greater degree of personal identification, it may be possible to extend the "sphere of sanitation" beyond the floor of the house and out into the yard and perhaps even to the street. But this would not be an easy task. At the present time the average Okinawan is probably less embarrassed by a pile of garbage in his yard and the hundreds of flies that infest it, than he would be to be seen doing the menial task of cleaning it up. He would not feel embarrassed, however, if it were a community endeavor. And therefore as a second method of attack one might encourage more group action. But this requires the development of outspoken leadership.

178 It is possible that standards of sanitation are lower at the pre-
751 sent time than before the war. Residents of the village of Yamada spoke
744 of the "big cleanings" ('ōsōji') that were held at regular intervals before
[625] the war. On orders from the 'son' office every household in the village was obliged to clean up its house and yard and submit to inspection by the local police officer, a man who was much more feared than his present counterpart. At present clean-ups may be encouraged by the Youth Organization, Women's Organization, etc., but there is certainly less compulsion than
ooo formerly. Moreover, during the last days of the battle and for a period of

Moreover, during the last days of the battle and for a period of nearly a year afterwards the Yamada people, like most other villagers in the vicinity, lived a concentration-camp sort of existence in the very crowded and unsanitary city of Ishikawa. Then when they returned to their village they had to rebuild their houses from materials given by the Americans and from salvage. This experience undoubtedly had a bad effect on morale and perhaps also on standards of cleanliness. Yet Yamada appears to be a cleaner village than many seen in Southern Okinawa. This may be because of its less dense concentration of houses and its fairly good water system. 178 751 727

Economic factors can be summed up in the single word "poverty". The most modern knowledge and the best intentions are not sufficient if one has to carry water from a distance, h[illegible]o money for soap, and has little strength left after the daily gr[illegible] of making a living. 751 511

3. The Supernatural and Disease

The Okinawans, like all peoples, have a large body of traditional knowledge about the ills of the body and what to do about them. As among many peoples with little contact with Western science, a great many illnesses are attributed to causes that we would call supernatural. Thus before one can understand the Okinawan view of diseases one must understand some of the Okinawan concepts of the supernatural. 753

Concepts of the Supernatural The living human being, according to Okinawan belief, contains two entities, the mabui (or mabuyaa, possibly related to Japanese 'mamori', "guardian") and the shii (pos. ident. with Japanese 'sei', "essence"). These correspond to the Western concept "soul". According to some informants the two are the same, but then further conversation reveals a difference in usage that must reflect a difference in concept. It appears that the mabui is a discrete entity capable of being dislodged from the body without death resulting immediately. The shii on the other hand appears to have more the nature of a force that can be augmented or diminished. 774 778 [071]

What happens after a person dies is not altogether clear (see also Chapter V). According to some he becomes a "Buddha" (Japanese 'hotoke'), according to others he becomes a "god" (Japanese 'kami-sama') and ascends to Heaven. This happens if all goes well, if the person dies in a normal manner and has left no important task undone, and if his family makes the proper offerings. However, if such is not the case, he may become a ghost and haunt this world. Several terms are used for dead persons in this latter form---yanamung ("bad thing"), yanakaji ("bad wind"), majimung (?), shininchu ("dead person"), shinigami ("dead god"), shinimabui ("dead mabui"). The last term, shinimabui, contrasts with ichimabui,("live mabui"), used for the displaced mabui of a living person. All of these terms seem to mean the same thing, the dead who are not cared for and who are therefore a potential danger. 775

The dead who are cared for are said to ascend to Heaven (in Japanese, 'Ten ni agaru'), but they may also be present in the tomb and at

52 The general characteristics of the changed entertainment patterns
178 have been a greater reliance on entertainment provided by sources outside
621 the village---the school, radio, movies---and a sharp decline in celebrations and festivals of the sort which emphasized village participation and unity.

757 Health and Medicine Changes in medical practice well illustrate the
753 principle that material things find more ready acceptance than ideas in the
177 diffusion of culture; in short, Okinawans have been willing to adopt modern medicine when available, but not modern medical principles. Pills, shots, surgery, dentistry, penicillin, and DDT have found acceptance, while modern scientific concepts of disease, health, and sanitation seem to have made relatively little headway. The germ theory, for example, has barely penetrated.

753 However, on talking to people of different ages one becomes aware
751 that many changes in standards of sanitation and ideas about health and dis-
177 ease actually have taken place in the last fifty years. For example, evidence of the practice of tattooing various parts of the body as a cure for certain ills is rarely seen on persons under seventy. Similarly, though many of the younger generation may appear abysmally ignorant of modern knowledge of disease, they are always less ignorant and better informed than the preceding generation. Considerable progress toward better sanitation was made under the
[364] Japanese. Formerly the Okinawan privy was built atop the pigpen, and the pig
[231] subsisted in part on human feces. Stern measures were required to force the abandonment of this practice. The Japanese also introduced monthly sanitation inspections; inoculations for babies and school children were made compulsory.
[515] Through the influence of the schools the toothbrush (usually one) became a
[582] part of every home. The Japanese also sent notable scholars into the countryside to lecture the people on the dangers of in-breeding practices, particularly kin-group endogamy.

757 Penicillin, which was introduced by the Americans, has become a pop-
177 ular treatment, achieving equality with moxacautery and cutting to let blood. It can be obtained easily at any drug shop, and every doctor, midwife, herbalist, and practitioner of any sort is prepared to administer shots. Reliance excessive even by American standards is placed on this drug. There seems, in fact, to be a fondness for shots which does not end with penicillin; hormone shots and various other injections are widely advertised. It is the opinion of the author that any type of modern medicine which cuts, punctures, or otherwise disfigures the skin will find ready acceptance; this, it is felt, is merely an extension of the tradition of acupuncture, moxacautery, tattooing, and cutting. Bettelheim states that in the 1850's the Okinawans made inquiries as to how inoculations for smallpox might be obtained.[1]

759 There is some indication that the yabu, a practitioner whose chief
178 stocks-in-trade are herbs and moxacautery, is slowly disappearing; in several communities the author was told that since the old yabu died there had been no replacement.

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[1] Bettelheim, B. J., Loochoo Mission, London, n.d., pp. 34-36.

Nevertheless, to superficial observation at least, villagers seem to enjoy good health. Most of them are energetic. Obesity is very unusual. The average man or woman of any age has little spare flesh. The most frequent complaints are of dysentery, constipation, colds, boils and swellings, and intestinal parasites. There are signs of malnutrition in the distended bellies of some small children, probably due to the unrelieved and starchy diet of the sweet potato,[6] with extremely few animal fats and proteins. 146 [164]

The sores and scabs on the heads, faces, arms, and legs of infants and young children are still the curse of childhood, conditions made worse by the flies which swarm around them. (In summer, I have seen as many as 20 flies on the face of a sleeping child without a trace of any muscular reaction). There are few Okinawans today who do not bear the scars of these sores of infancy, especially on the scalp. (Young men are sensitive about this and it is one reason also for keeping the hair long). Younger parents now are beginning to use various disinfecting powders and talcs to prevent these sores (which look like impetigo) and seem to have abandoned the attitude of a previous generation that these were childhood experiences to be endured. Much could be done to eliminate these diseases of childhood by a campaign in which local groups like the Women's Association and the public health authorities joined. 164 [751] 000

In the summer months, Jap B encephalitis (known as nÜen) is very much dreaded. Some villagers had only a vague idea that it was a brain fever and a few knew that the mosquito was the vector. 164 [753]

According to residents of each of the villages, no cases of leprosy had been discovered in recent years. This disease is also dreaded and I doubt that an attempt would be made to conceal a case.

Young people have uncommonly beautiful, evenly spaced, white teeth. This seems to have been an Okinawan characteristic for a long time, as Basil Hall commented upon it 135 years ago. Around the late teens or early twenties, the teeth decay, and there are many extractions and replacements with gold or steel false teeth. Some extractions are intentional, especially among young girls who believe that a gold tooth sets them apart and adds to beauty. But I am convinced that this is of minor importance as an explanation. Okinawans [145] [757] [832]

6 I am not acquainted with any analyses of the composition of the Okinawan sweet potato. In laboratory tests of an improved high-starch American variety, the composition when ground for starch was: moisture, 64.5%; starch, 25.5%; sugars, 2.8%; crude protein, 1.5%; pectic substances, 2.2%; crude fat, 0.6%; mineral matter, 0.9%; other, 2%. Sweet potato carotene can be readily converted to Vitamin A. See Dawson, P. R., Greathouse, L. H., and Gordon, W. O. Sweet potatoes: more than starch. In: Crops in peace and war. (U. S. Dept. of Agric., The yearbook of agriculture 1950-51) Washington, 195-203. Ref. on 195, 201. [146]

164 Okinawans blame tooth decay on the brown sugar. It may be diet or water.
[753] Use of tooth brushes varies considerably with individuals and
[515] families.

The standard of cleanliness in Okinawan homes is not high,
515 but this cannot be ascribed to indifference. One should constantly
511 bear in mind that it is easy to keep clean with plenty of soap, showers, hot running water, washing machines, and flush toilets.

9

Native Medicine

278 The native medicine has already been referred to in the discussion of fish and wild plants used as medicines. Their use has declined with growing reliance on manufactured drugs and pharmaceuticals.

757 The golden needle (kinbari) is still used by rural doctors (yabu)
[759] in the treatment of inflammations of the joints and rheumatism. There was one such doctor in Minatogawa, but ordinarily he is called only when real medical attention is not available.

The needle is scarcely thicker than a horse hair. It is encased
[913] in a shaft about 2 3/8 inches long. The grip or base of the needle is 3/4 of an inch long and the needle itself 1 7/8 inches. The needle is tapped and gradually worked into the affected part, and a length from 3/4 to one inch is broken off and allowed to remain in the body and circulate to effect its curative powers.

Blood letting is still practiced, often by the individual himself. Thin cuts are made with a razor, generally on the forehead above the eyebrows and slanting toward the bridge of the nose. This is done to relieve headaches and general pains and may be resorted to after aspirin has failed to relieve a headache. On a close look, one can often observe the slight, thin, long scars, which look like tiny wrinkles, resulting from these slashes. During the operation, a sake cup is held up to the place being cut. The cup may even have a little sake in it. When done by a native doctor, the blood may be sucked through a small tube and allowed to drip into a sake cup.

Cauterization using mogusa (moxa) also is still common. One can frequently see scar tissue, the results of burning mogusa on the flesh, usually in the area around the wrist. Mogusa is applied with glowing charcoal sticks, burning thread, or tobacco. It is used for no specific complaint, but as a counter-irritant cureall for a wide variety of ailments.

Acupuncture apparently is little used now. Formerly an area was pricked with a needle, or a series of needles brought to a point, and
[386] an indigo dye applied. One can observe these round spots, circles of dots, occasionally on the shoulders and the backs of older people. These should not be confused with tattooing.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

diseases seemed to be below the expected rate for Okinawa, in general, and we had the impression that Taira people are healthy on the whole. Only one case of leprosy, which had been removed to a special hospital on the island of Yagaji, was reported from Taira. 164 [743]

Among the children there were frequent complaints of intestinal diseases. Most children seem to lodge a variety of parasites, mostly hookworms and tapeworms, and many were subject to skin ailments. One girl had a severe case of what was thought by the nurse to be congenital syphilis. The skin of her whole body was covered with sores which were a constant source of irritation. This 4-year-old never appeared in the company of children other than her younger sister. She would stand in front of her house, her face swollen, her head stooped from discomfort and embarrassment. Almost all children have impetigo and various kinds of rashes. During the summer these cover their faces and parts of the body. Almost all have marks of boils which have plagued them in the course of years.

Because sickness is always a threat, it creates fear, and any explanation which may restore some hope is important knowledge. Although some Western or modern theories about disease have been introduced recently through the school and the village nurse, they filter into every house only slowly and do not materially affect what has been handed down as popular knowledge from older members of each household. Most Taira people are probably quite eclectic in their beliefs as well as in their choice of treatments, so that it would be difficult to ascribe to them any single body of theory of disease. 753 [152]

Home remedies, often applied by old women, are widespread. The most popular ones are blood letting and the use of *moxa* cautery. Whenever people agree that there is "bad" blood in an adult's or child's system, it must be removed. There are many phenomena which are accounted for by the presence of "bad" blood. Visible signs such as eczema of the skin or swellings are such indications, but malfunctioning of certain organs, the stomach, liver, kidneys, can also call for the removal of "bad" blood. Mothers expose infants as young as five days to the treatment, which may be preventive as well as curative. Pointing to a bluish green area on the infant's back (not the mongoloid spot), whether real or imagined, the mother swabs the area with sake before she or the grandmother make numerous ¼-inch incisions with a razor. After the blood starts to ooze out of the tiny wounds, more sake is rubbed into the skin. The mixture of blood and sake is caught and rubbed on again and again until all the undesirable blood has been drained. 757 753 [751] 757

So many Taira babies have eczema that this treatment takes place [854] [164]

757 frequently and may be repeated as many as four times during the
[854] first year of a child's life. An older child occasionally undergoes this
[164] treatment for a case of violent impetigo. Even a horse may be bled in
[232] this way for loss of appetite or other symptoms of disease.
[578] A woman whose face had been struck in an unusual display of temper underwent a blood letting soon after a swelling appeared. Her neighbor from across the street, a farmer like everyone else, sterilized her cheek with iodine and then cut it with a razor until the blood flowed freely. After a night's rest, the woman appeared outside her house without any signs of swelling and seemingly recovered.

● 753 As was pointed out previously, many diseases are believed to be
776 caused by supernatural forces: the ancestor spirits, spirits of those who
769 have just died, and natural deities and evil spirits who wander around
775 at night. The ancestors expect proper respect and attention and in gen-
[764] eral are benevolent unless neglected. Spirits of those who have recently died are most dangerous if the deceased is from another village. For deceased villagers one is careful to purify oneself after the funeral. The doors of each house are shut at night to protect against the evil spirits of the night air. Disease is less frequently caused by natural deities who have been neglected or mistreated.

755 In case of sickness or other unfortunate events in the family, some-
756 body may go to consult the *yuta,* a shaman who communicates with
[787] the supernatural. She discovers the cause of misfortune with the help of rice oracles and through powers of divination received through visions and hallucinations. There is no *yuta* living in Taira now, so that people have to travel to the other side of the island, an hour or more on foot, if they want to learn about the source of some evil. Taira
[769] people make many such trips to consult this shamanistic specialist. The most common cause of misfortune discovered by the *yuta* is neglect of ceremonies to the ancestral gods or, less frequently, the neglect of cere-
[793] monies to the natural deities. Although the *yuta* stands in no direct connection with the high priestess, she may suggest that her client ask the priestess for special prayers to rectify the negligence. In such cases, then, the competence of individuals in the family may not be adequate to deal with the ancestral world, and the priestess enters into family religion.

597 Some Taira parents still find an adoptive parent for a sickly child in
755 the belief that his own ancestors have caused bad health, and that this
769 can only be remedied by making a formal arrangement which transfers
[796] ancestral responsibility for the child to another family. The child remains with his own parents and only visits his foster parents during the New Year and the midsummer Buddhist *Bon* Festival, which honors ancestors, and perhaps at one or two other occasions during the year.

751
514 The drum is nearly full and its surface is in constant motion, a seething
343 mass of maggots. One of those men with the carts that cause you to cross
[364] to the other side of the road will come in a few days to dump it, he hopes.
574 He crosses the yard and is invited into the house. He takes off his shoes
751 and steps up onto the floor. It is surprisingly clean, he finds. A mat is
[356] spread and he sits cross-legged upon it. Tea is offered and he accepts, thinking that it must have been made from boiled water. He learns later that he was wrong. He is given a fan and perceives that its function is keeping the flies away as much as it is creating a breeze. In a spirit of friendly cooperation he and Grandfather take turns shooing the flies off the broken chunks of black sugar that have been placed before them. A larger blue-bottle fly enters and someone makes a special effort to chase
[825] it out. Should the visitor be so crude and impolite as to mention flies and in connection with the toilet, it will be pointed out that only the blue-bottle flies are hatched from the maggots in the toilet. The smaller black house-flies simply produce more flies and hence are harmless.

[264] Bananas are served and the peels follow those of the potatoes out onto the ground. Smaller children run in and out. One child comes in with
[515] its nose running. After a time Mother pulls up its shirt tail and wipes the
[757] mucus off the upper lip. The child has not been well; Mother or Grandmother may take it to the yabuu, who will burn moxa on its skin at the proper places. A neighbor's child walks by; its face and nearly hairless head are
[753] a mass of scabs and its eyes are almost shut by pus. Someone laughingly explains that this is what happens when you don't cut a baby's buttocks properly with a razor to draw out the bad blood.

The visitor is urged to take more tea and sugar. He is complimented on his interest in Okinawa and is asked innumerable questions about America. The family is eager for knowledge and for further contact. As he rises to leave, he is urged to return. He puts on his shoes, finding one slightly
[753] damp from the poor aim of the youngest child. He is cautioned to wear his hat and knows by now the unspoken fear---encephalitis---caused by too much exposure to the sun. He notices that around the well where Mother has been
[296] doing laundry a great pool of water is gradually sinking into the sand. As he picks his way across the yard he wonders if the family would not be better off living in a houseboat, preferably in a fast-moving stream.

751 Such are some of the features of Okinawan life. Yet it would be a mistake to assume that there are no standards of sanitation. There are; they
356 are simply narrower than those of most Americans. Many Okinawans do throw
751 garbage out their front doors as indicated above, but it is also true that the floor of the house is usually cleaner than many American floors. It has to be clean; people sit on it and sleep on it. People take off their shoes before stepping up onto it or if they have been to the fields barefooted
751 they may wash their feet before stepping up onto it. But the area of clean-
[351] liness ends with the step. Beyond the step is a different sort of territory. Yet even in the yard there is a limit to the amount of trash that may be al-
[514] lowed to accumulate before it is swept away. The practice of urinating in the yard is distasteful to the American observer, but there is perhaps less basis for objection to it as a health hazard. Urine is relatively harmless. Feces, however, go into the toilet. If an untrained child defecates in the yard usually someone cleans up the spot.

Three sets of factors seem to contribute to the low standards of sanitation that exist in both rural and urban Okinawa. These factors lie in the realm of knowledge, of society, and of economics. Many Okinawans very clearly lack scientific knowledge of the causes of diseases and their relation to sanitation. But it would be incorrect to say that they are simply ignorant or that they need only education. They do not regard themselves as ignorant but feel rather that they already know the true causes of diseases and their proper treatment. What they need is not merely education but re-education. Before educators can teach scientifically accurate information they must first determine what the folk beliefs are and then replace them with scientific explanations. It is not sufficient merely to add some scientific information to folk beliefs. Many Okinawans, perhaps most, have heard of 'baikin', "bacteria", and their relationship to certain diseases. But probably few see them as sufficient causes of diseases or see them as organisms subject to biological laws of life, growth, and death. Bacteria have no doubt become for many Okinawans merely contributing factors, ranged alongside ghosts, unsupported ancestors, and bad blood, in the mixture of the natural and the supernatural that constitutes Okinawan medical knowledge. 751 753

The belief that only blue-bottle flies hatch from the maggots in the toilet may not be universal on Okinawa but is certainly found among some people; one person who subscribed to the belief was a university student. This belief leads people to take pains to keep blue-bottle flies out of the house "because they contain bacteria", but to tolerate the smaller black house flies. If people believe that house flies merely give birth to more house flies, they can regard house flies as just a nuisance but not a danger. Posters encouraging people to get rid of flies because they carry disease may thus be interpreted as applying only to the blue-bottle fly. The house fly continues to infest many homes in incredibly great numbers. 751 825 753

Several persons who discussed encephalitis revealed that though they had heard of mosquitoes having something to do with it, they believed that it was mainly caused by over-exposure to the rays of the sun. The university student mentioned above was one of these persons. It is worth noting also that an announcement issued 9 May 1954 warns people that the encephalitis season is approaching and therefore everyone should beware of mosquitoes and exposure to the sun.[1]

Other beliefs regarding the cause of disease will be discussed in the next section of this chapter. Many of these beliefs rule out natural causes altogether and thus rule out sanitation as non-essential. Ignorance is therefore not a negative factor but a positive factor against better sanitation. 751 753

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1 I have no information at this writing as to whether exposure to the sun has the effect of making one more susceptible to Japanese Type B encephalitis. But even if this were the case, as it may possibly be, the point is that some, perhaps a majority, of the Okinawans believe that the sun is the sole cause of the disease, and therefore do not see encephalitis as another reason for mosquito control.

Moreover, during the last days of the battle and for a period of nearly a year afterwards the Yamada people, like most other villagers in the vicinity, lived a concentration-camp sort of existence in the very crowded and unsanitary city of Ishikawa. Then when they returned to their village they had to rebuild their houses from materials given by the Americans and from salvage. This experience undoubtedly had a bad effect on morale and perhaps also on standards of cleanliness. Yet Yamada appears to be a cleaner village than many seen in Southern Okinawa. This may be because of its less dense concentration of houses and its fairly good water system. 178 751 727

Economic factors can be summed up in the single word "poverty". The most modern knowledge and the best intentions are not sufficient if one has to carry water from a distance, has no money for soap, and has little strength left after the daily grind of making a living. 751 511

3. The Supernatural and Disease

The Okinawans, like all peoples, have a large body of traditional knowledge about the ills of the body and what to do about them. As among many peoples with little contact with Western science, a great many illnesses are attributed to causes that we would call supernatural. Thus before one can understand the Okinawan view of diseases one must understand some of the Okinawan concepts of the supernatural. 753

Concepts of the Supernatural The living human being, according to Okinawan belief, contains two entities, the mabui (or mabuyaa, possibly related to Japanese 'mamori', "guardian") and the shii (pos. ident. with Japanese 'sei', "essence"). These correspond to the Western concept "soul". According to some informants the two are the same, but then further conversation reveals a difference in usage that must reflect a difference in concept. It appears that the mabui is a discrete entity capable of being dislodged from the body without death resulting immediately. The shii on the other hand appears to have more the nature of a force that can be augmented or diminished. 774 778 [171]

What happens after a person dies is not altogether clear (see also Chapter V). According to some he becomes a "Buddha" (Japanese 'hotoke'), according to others he becomes a "god" (Japanese 'kami-sama') and ascends to Heaven. This happens if all goes well, if the person dies in a normal manner and has left no important task undone, and if his family makes the proper offerings. However, if such is not the case, he may become a ghost and haunt this world. Several terms are used for dead persons in this latter form---yanamung ("bad thing"), yanakaji ("bad wind"), majimung (?), shiniachu ("dead person"), shinigami ("dead god"), shinimabui ("dead mabui"). The last term, shinimabui, contrasts with ichimabui,("live mabui"), used for the displaced mabui of a living person. All of these terms seem to mean the same thing, the dead who are not cared for and who are therefore a potential danger. 775

The dead who are cared for are said to ascend to Heaven (in Japanese, 'Ten ni agaru'), but they may also be present in the tomb and at

778 'kami' is like the Oceanian "mana", a supernatural power that enters natural
171 objects or persons.[1] Whatever may be the case in Japan, the Okinawan kami refers to definite beings, discrete entities, and not to a force. However, the concepts shiji and perhaps shii may be mana-like.

753 Causes of Disease Okinawans frequently use these concepts of the supernatural in their interpretation of the causes and proper treatment of illnesses of the body. Illness may be caused, they believe, by loss of the shii or the mabui, by the harmful inclinations of other living persons and of dead persons, and by offences to ancestors and other spirits that are ordinarily helpful.

753
774 Gradual withdrawal of the shii may cause illness or death. A preg-
[778] nant woman is warned not to attend a funeral or a bone-washing because the shii of the unborn child may be drawn into the tomb. A sudden jolt or a scare may cause the mabui to be dislodged and this will result in a feeling of weakness and, if the mabui is not replaced, perhaps ultimately death. Treatment of loss of mabui is often practiced by old women. One woman who had treated her grandchildren on numerous occasions said that she laid on a table offerings including salt, rice, water, and a dish containing seven stones; then she took a garment of the sick child, prayed at the entrance to the house, and called the child's name. The mabui of the child then entered the garment and when she put the garment on the child the mabui re-entered the child. Formerly she would have prayed at the pigsty-privy, but
[776] it no longer exists. One of her sons gave the interpretation that the pigsty-privy god being the lowest god knew the whereabouts of the lost mabui and he informed the ancestral spirits who were able to bring it back to the garment.

The most serious cases of loss of mabui are caused by the actual
[775] theft of the mabui by dead persons, who are said to take the mabui to the tomb. As I have already mentioned, this may happen when a baby sneezes. Treatment of this type of soul-loss probably requires the services of a
[756] yuta, a sort of shaman. The yuta is said to be able to see the living person's mabui before the tomb, in the form of the person. If the form is facing this world and looks sad there is a chance of recovery, but if it is facing the tomb and looks happy, the patient will probably die. But in spite of the occasional serious nature of loss of mabui, I have observed young boys when startled jokingly cry out "mabuyaa, mabuyaa!" as if to call back their displaced mabui. And it is said that some persons jokingly pretend to scoop it up and pour it back into the body through the head. However, the joke may serve to relieve actual tensions that exist after a sudden shock.

754 Little information was obtained on the harm that can be done by a living person with ichijama. According to Yanagida[1] the ichijama is the soul of a woman who can send it to possess a person or object in order to

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1 Haring, 1946, p. 221 and elsewhere.

2 Yanagida, 1951, p. 30.

cause misfortune; the ability to do this, he says, is hereditary from mother 754
to daughter. My informants did not identify ichijama with the mabui or any other such entity, but merely explained it as a kind of 'noroi', "curse". Its effect is a sharp pain inside the body or the feeling that a fingernail has been thrust into the eye. If the person responsible is known, they said, the affliction may be cured by spitting in his direction and throwing pig dung in his direction, shouting, "I smear it on your face!" According to [756]
Yanagida, a yuta can cure an afflicted person by squeezing his thumb, which causes the thumb of the person responsible to be crushed.

Illness may also be caused by gods or local spirits as punishment 753
for the breaking of tabus. For example, at Yamazato in Chinen-son it was 784
said that on the 1st, 8th, 18th, and 28th of every month the "mountain god" (yama nu kami) makes a circuit of inspection of the mountain behind the village and therefore one cannot go to cut trees or grass on those days for fear of punishment.

But probably the most frequent interpretation of illness and mis- 753
fortune is that it is caused by ugwambusuku, an insufficiency of worship 769
(from ugwang, "worship" and fusuku, "insufficiency"). As has been explained, 775
the dead can influence the lives of the living for good or bad. If the ancestors of a family are well cared for, that is, receive the proper offerings and worship, they may help that family to prosper and multiply, but on the other hand, if the ancestors are not cared for they will let the family know of their needs by some light illness, or, if their needs are still ignored, by some greater misfortune. They may not deliberately mean to harm their descendants; the misfortune may be automatic; this point is not clear. At any rate, the fear of ugwambusuku appears to be a very common anxiety [152]
and to play a central role in the whole structure of ancestor worship. Various religious practitioners and diviners, but particularly the yuta, are [756]
frequently called upon to try to determine where the insufficiency lies, what deceased person has not received his full share of worship and is therefore causing the current illness or other misfortune. To account for such [787]
illnesses and misfortunes the yuta and others may have revelations (shirashi) which revise the family's genealogy and even reveal the existence of hitherto unknown ancestors.

The insufficiency is not always of worship of the ancestors, al- 753
though this is probably the most frequent type. Illness may also be caused 782
by an insufficiency of worship of the Fire God. It is said that if an il- [848]
legitimate child or the child of a secondary wife does not worship at least once at the Fire God of his shiji ("line") that is, the Fire God of his father's family, he may become ill. Thus it is not uncommon for the mother of an illegitimate child to bring it to the house of its father and ask to let it pray once to the Fire God there. This practice may also, of course, [851]
serve to demonstrate paternity.

Also probably related to the concept that the ancestors influence 769
the living is the practice of establishing a fictitious adoptive relation- 753
ship between a child and an unrelated family. If a child is weakly its mother may ask an unrelated adult to become the yashinee-uya, "adopted parent",

769 of the child; the child prays several times a year, on the important occa-
753 sions, at the ancestral tablets of the adopted parent, but otherwise lives as before. The rationale of this practice may be: if one set of ancestors is not sufficient for the child, why not give him another?

753 Also related to the concept ugwambusuku is the notion that certain
828 persons are destined to do more than just make offerings; some are to become
794 kaminchu, "god persons", and play the principal roles at the family worship at the important holidays. If these persons shirk this duty they may become ill as a consequence. In certain persons, particularly older women, persistent illness and especially mental illness may be interpreted as a sure sign that the afflicted person ought to become a kaminchu. There is one well-recognized type of mental illness called 'kami-buri'; the person with this disorder constantly makes the gestures of prayer toward various persons and objects in an extravagant manner. Such a person is almost sure to become a religious practitioner after recovery. In fact some kaminchu positions must
[756] be filled by persons who have had 'kami-buri'. The yuta may also receive his, or more often her, vocation through such an illness. (Recently a visiting psychiatrist commented on the low number of cases at the Kin mental hospital. There are of course many cases that are not committed to the institution because Okinawan society has a place for them; they become its psychiatrists.)

Other concepts of disease will be discussed in the next section.

4. Medical Practice

755 Home Remedies There are a number of home remedies that are known to many
757 persons, especially older women. These include the use of certain herbs, the letting of blood, the use of salt, prayer, swearing for exorcism, spells. These methods of treatment may be used by any old woman to the extent of her knowledge, but if the illness appears to be too serious for these treatments a professional medical practitioner may be consulted. However, the distinction between the professional person and the skilled amateur is not always clear.

757 Herbs are used for digestive disorders and particularly for female
824 disorders. Tawada in his description of Okinawan flora[1] lists ten plants used for medicinal purposes, nine of which are said to be useful to female disorders along with a variety of other things ranging from toothaches to appendicitis.

757 Blood-letting is practiced on most infants as a cure for skin eruptions and is sometimes also used on adults. Shallow incisions are made with a razor to let out the "bad blood". These are made on a baby's buttocks and sometimes, though less frequently at the present time than in the past, on the face of an adult.

755 Salt is used for purification. A yuta whom I saw exorcise a house and yard took salt into his mouth and then spit it and threw it in the

[1] Tawada, 1951.

direction of some tombs in order to prevent the ghosts from coming into the 755
yard. I have also seen a woman who had some training as a nurse throw salt over a hospital patient who had just had a major operation; this was, she said, to cleanse the patient and the bed. Salt is also used as a home 767
remedy for stomach disorders. A mother or grandmother may rub salt on the navel of a child suffering from a stomach ache. According to a small boy who received this treatment, it works.

Prayers are directed toward the supernatural beings who may help 782
one overcome an illness. Curses and spells are directed toward malevolent 755
beings, usually ghosts, when they are the cause of illness. Spells (mannaa, Japanese 'majinai') are verbal formulae that have a magical effect. Persons who are known to know spells and who may be asked to use them for the benefit of others are called mannaasaa ('majinai suru hito'), but spells seem to be useful only for a few diseases and so there is probably little specialization in their use.

To indicate something of the mixture of the natural and the super- 755
natural (to use Western categories) in the treatment of illness in the Oki- 757
nawan home, I have appended a description of the notions about and treatment of a few diseases as observed and as described by informants. These are all skin ailments.

1. Kamigasaa A kasa (skin eruption or rash) caused by kami (gods). 755 757

a. Irigasaa Identified as the same as the Japanese 'hashika' 753
(dictionary translation, "measles"). This disease is caught only once, [64]
usually as a child. One must catch it before he becomes a complete person ('ichininmae'). Because children sometimes die of it, parents worry before they have caught it but are eager to have it over with. There are lighter and heavier "requests" ('o-negai') so that if a child has a "light request" the parents of other children may bring them in to lie beside the sick child and eat what food he leaves in order that they may contact the disease. But the disease is given by the god and therefore the other children get it only if they were meant to do so.

The disease begins with a fever and then a rash appears on the head and moves downward. If the rash does not appear the fever may rise and therefore parents worry if the rash is delayed. If there is no rash visible it may be that the rash is on the inside unable to get out and thus is causing the fever. This is dangerous.

Careful treatment is essential. The god comes around to see how the patient is being treated; if the family is not watching the child carefully, the god makes the disease worse. In a case observed, the mother kept the child in bed covered with a thick quilt and mosquito net and sat beside him, fanning him almost continuously. Polite language is also necessary in order not to offend the god.

755 On the 3rd, 5th, and 7th days after the appearance of the rash,
757 mijinaarii ("water-stroking") is performed. It must be performed at the
753 time of day when the tide is beginning to ebb. In the case observed it was performed by the child's maternal grandmother. The old woman first placed a cup of water before the incense-burner representing the Fire God, lit two sticks of incense and placed them in the burner, and prayed. Then she took the water and applied it to the child's forehead and cheeks, stroking lightly downward. The prayer, explained later, went, "A Dog boy (i.e. a boy born in the Year of the Dog) has a request of irigasa-ganashii (term of respect); today I perform the third day water-stroking and so I beg that you make him well."

During the period when the rash is present and perhaps for a few days after, the child ought not to be bathed or even have his face washed; water, except for that used in the "water-stroking", is harmful to the patient. During the course of the disease and for about a month after, the child must not be permitted to eat heavy or fatty foods; these would cause a congestion in the child's throat which might become dangerous.

(In the case observed I asked if it were not true that light might hurt the sick child's eyes; it was agreed that this was said to be true, but it seemed to be distinctly a secondary consideration. The question, in fact, led to a discussion of the decline in the practice of keeping doors tightly closed in order to keep out ghosts.)

b. Mijigasaa, "water rash", a second type of kamigasaa. It is also caused by a god, but it is not as serious. It may be caught two or three times. The eruptions contain a fluid, hence the name. The rash spreads if the fluid touches other parts of the body, so the eruptions are covered with sweet-potato starch when they begin to run. Treatment also includes "water-stroking" and certain food restrictions while the rash is present.

2. Kaji-coraa-kasa A rash accompanied by itching but no running. It may be caught by either a child or an adult. It is caused by yanakaji ("bad winds", i.e. ghosts). It may be contracted either while out walking in the hills or while at home. This disease must be treatly unkindly; the patient should be sworn at and slapped. The itching may be stopped by the use of a pair of 'zōri' (a Japanese style sandal). The person who knows how to perform the treatment first heats the 'zōri' over a fire and then while uttering a spell (mannaa, Japanese 'majinai') he rubs their undersides over the face and body of the afflicted person. He then takes the 'zōri' to a crossroads and puts them in the middle where someone will step on them. This will stop the itching.

An incident was related where this disease was confused with the first one described. At the end of the war, in Ishikawa, an old man of 75 became ill and broke out in large pox. His family believed his disease was caused by yanakaji so they gathered around him and shouted curses ("Eat feces", etc.) at him to chase the yanakaji away. But the old man merely got worse. Then they consulted a yuta and were told that the illness was

not caused by ghosts but by a god and therefore they should speak politely. They did so and the old man recovered. 755 757 753

3. Tangasa A rash with running eruptions, which may be contracted by both children and adults. It begins at the nape of the neck or at the base of the spine. If it spreads all the way around the neck or trunk the patient is in danger of losing his life. One ought not to say the name of this disease and so instead of saying tangasa, people say naa-irannuu-gasa, "the rash that is not called by name".

A person with this disease may be treated by a mannaasaa (spell-worker, in Japanese, 'majinau hito'). The patient is taken to the mannaasaa early in the morning. The mannaasaa, before drinking morning tea even, takes a full puff of tobacco, blows it on the affected spot, and recites a spell. He must say the words without taking a breath and without making a mistake for them to be effective. The words are addressed to the disease, which is probably caused by ghosts.

4. Heegasaa From hee, "skin"; a condition in which the face and scalp become a mass of scabs and the eyes matter. The condition occurs in both children and adults, but seems more common among smaller children. It is treated in small children by blood-letting (hanchuung, in Japanese 'sakuru'). Most infants are said to be bled for breaking out on the buttocks. The buttocks are cut with a razor blade just enough to draw blood. If heegasaa develops it is because the bad blood has not all been drawn out, and so the treatment may be repeated. If the bad blood is not drawn out in childhood the condition may become much worse in adult life. (The mild condition for which infants are bled looks to me like what would be called "diaper rash" in America. The heegasaa is a truly hideous condition which afflicts a number of small children and a few older persons. One of the USCAR medical officers referred to it as "scruff" and expressed the belief that it could be checked in its early stages with a frequent application of warm water and soap. Once it gets started, however, exposure to dirt and flies must make improvement difficult. One case encountered by Lebra had continued for several years. An informant mentioned cases from before the war that had lasted from childhood into adult life; two brothers had heegasaa so that they could not go to school, could not marry, and did nothing but stay at home and scratch themselves. It was said that even more than they feared policemen, they feared flies. This informant believed their condition was caused by their not having been properly bled when children; another informant suggested congenital syphilis.)

5. Ha'imakaa A kind of rash that may be caught by a person who happens to pass by a tree called makaa. This tree causes the illness, but not to persons who have the Okinawan name (warabinaa) of Makaa. Therefore a person not so named who sees that he is passing a makaa tree will say, "I am named Makaa too, so if you give it to me I'll break your neck." If this fails and he contracts the illness, he may go back and tie rocks to the limbs of the tree so that they bend down, and repeat his threat.

759 757 [278] The yabuu also prescribe herbal remedies. They do not, however, prepare their medicines, but rather instruct the patient how to gather and prepare the plants for use. The act of preparing one's own medicine may thus have a magical value. Yabuu also prescribe the eating of certain parts of certain animals for their good influence on the corresponding parts of the human body. Dogs and cats are among the animals so used. (This practice may be the source of the belief widespread among Americans on Okinawa that the Okinawans eat dogs; they do, on rare occasions, but not as food, merely as medicine.)

759 Short-cut Systems Standing somewhere between the yabuu and the modern doctor are several types of practitioners who give treatments with heat, light, steam, etc. as all-purpose cures. One man was observed to use a tube in which he burned a substance, probably moxa, while he moved it over the patient's body. His system seemed to be the moxibustion of the yabuu dressed up with "scientific" gadgets. He was described by a friend as "half-doctor half-yabuu", a description that was meant to elicit a favorable response since it implies that he possesses the efficacy of both.

759 278 [164] In addition to these full-time professionals on the fringes of medicine, there are also a number of part-time penicillin-shooters, who are particularly active in areas frequented by American personnel, where they are in demand for the treatment of venereal disease. Penicillin is sold freely and in quantity, perhaps because of the prevalence of venereal disease, and has become a very popular treatment even for very minor infections. Hormone shots also seem to be widely used by untrained persons.

759 [177] Modern Medicine There are of course modern Japanese-trained doctors on Okinawa. But they are relatively few in number, about one for every 3,900 persons.[1] Trained nurses and medical facilities are also too few and too little. But even if there were more doctors and more facilities, it is doubtful that the ordinary Okinawan would make more use of them.

759 753 829 [554] Medical doctors have a high status in Okinawan society. They are admired and respected. Parents frequently express the wish that a son might grow up to become a doctor. But the advice of the doctor is not always heeded. The respect may be more for his education and the social position it gives him than for his professional opinion. In the matter of illness the advice that the ordinary Okinawan respects is more likely to be that of the older members of his own family and of the familiar yuta, sanjinsoo, and yabuu, for this advice is given in terms of insufficiency of worship, soul-loss, and the influence of the twelve-year-cycle. These are concepts that are familiar to him and have an integration with other beliefs, which the concepts dealt with by the doctor do not have. The doctor's disregard of the supernatural runs counter to the feelings of the

[1] CAARI, Vol. 1, no. 2, p. 52 gives 126 practicing physicians for Okinawa plus 50 working for GRI. Japan has about one for every 1300 persons; Japan Statistical Yearbook, 1950, gives 63,273 (p. 432) and the total population as 80,216,896 (p. 12).

ordinary Okinawan. Besides, the doctor's interpretation of illness and its 759
cause is more likely to put the responsibility for it on the shoulders of 753
the individual, whereas the traditional interpretation makes the individual 829
less responsible. This, I suspect, is likely to make the doctor's interpretation less popular. Also the treatment received from the native practitioners is familiar and predictable, while the doctor's methods vary more greatly with the nature of the illness, as do his fees.

Another factor contributing to the tendency not to go to the medical doctor may be the very respect in which he is held socially. I have 759
already suggested that in the fields of religion and politics Okinawans try to solve problems at the local level without appealing to higher authorities. This may also be true in dealing with illness. The relations between patient and doctor are certainly of a more formal sort than those between patient and yuta or ysbuu. And around the relationship between patient and doctor there have grown up customs that may make the patient hesitate before entering a doctor's care. For example, a patient who is discharged from a hospital after a successful surgical operation (this may not be true of the largest and most modern hospitals) is expected to show his gratitude by giving a 'Tai-in no O-iwai' ("Leaving the Hospital Celebration") on the day of his departure. For this he hires a yuta or some [431]
appropriate person to pray for him, he gives gifts to the doctor and the nurses who attended him, and distributes holiday cakes to the other patients. If this is done in style it may cost the patient nearly as much as the operation itself.

5. Prospect of Change

Earlier in this chapter I suggested that Okinawan standards of 000
sanitation might be raised by appealing to individual family pride in appearances. The sphere of sanitation might be pushed out of the house and across the yard by increasing the family's feeling of identification with it. An esthetic appeal might also be made. Okinawans are certainly not insensitive to beauty, and many do have little patches of flowers beside these houses. Standards could also be raised by encouraging more community endeavors. There seem to be a much greater need for this in the city than in the country, where long-established patterns of cooperation in agricultural practices, house-building, etc., exist. It is my impression that in the cities the 'han' or some even smaller unit could be used more effectively in keeping yards and streets clean and drained. It must be remembered that what is needed is constant cleanliness, not merely the sort of holiday cleanliness that comes with periodic inspection. It must also be stressed that the reasons for unsanitary conditions are part of a vicious circle. Filth leads to a high rate of infection from disease and parasites, this leads to diminishing energy and greater poverty, and these in turn cause more unsanitary conditions.

But improving sanitation will probably be rather easy compared to the problem of changing Okinawan attitudes toward disease. In talking with 753
Okinawans, it was in comparing Okinawan and American treatment of disease 177

753 that I found the greatest resistance to any suggestion that American methods
177 might have equal or greater validity. American material culture the Okina-
wans are delighted to accept, and they are eager for more. American social
[562] relationships they look somewhat askance at but they are willing to experi-
ment, in a small way, with equal rights for women. But the suggestion that
medically they don't know what ails them is harder to take. They are will-
ing to accept modern medical explanations of disease as a partial explana-
tion, perhaps as the occasional means by which the ultimate causes affect
disease. The ultimate causes are supernatural.

753 To challenge the concept ugwambusuku, the insufficiency of worship
177 that causes illness, is to challenge the present structure of religion, and
769 at a point where it is most closely bound to social organization. Anxiety
182 over insufficiency of worship and its possible consequences is probably the
strongest force motivating the whole range of activities connected with
death, burial, and the worship of ancestors. It is not too far-fetched to
suggest that it is also a reason for respecting one's elders during their
lifetime. It is no wonder that Okinavans show a strong resistance to any
challenge to these beliefs, even though they may not be conscious of all the
implications of the challenge.

753 To challenge the whole structure of belief would probably be wholly
177 unsuccessful. Or if somehow the Okinawans could be persuaded to abandon
757 these beliefs at once, the result would probably be either chaos or the un-
critical acceptance of another set of beliefs that might soon prove to be
just as far out of line with medical science as the present. Probably the
surest way to introduce modern medical concepts is by gradually whittling
down the native concepts beginning with the more peripheral ones. This is
not as hopeless as it might seem, for some changes have already taken place.
[846] Until recently women after childbirth were baked for about a week over a
fire in the jiiru, a hearth in the back room of the house, even in hot wea-
ther. It is said that it was a very uncomfortable experience and that in
warm weather it often resulted in rashes and boils, yet it was practiced be-
cause it was thought to be necessary for the health of the woman. In the
last few years this practice has been abandoned. One woman informant was
positive that the hideous skin condition called heegasa or "scruff" could be
prevented by drawing out the "bad blood", but she was equally positive that
the former practice of baking a new mother was useless if not harmful. Some
day she may become convinced that cutting an infant's buttocks with a razor
is useless if not harmful. She will be convinced when someone has demon-
strated to her that heegasa can be prevented by another means and that be-
cause the blood circulates it is no more "bad" at one place than another. The
concept "bad blood" is a peripheral one, with no close relationship to re-
ligion or social organization.

Other peripheral beliefs are those associated with the yabuu, the
efficacy of moxa and the golden needle of acupuncture. In demonstrating the
superiority of modern medicine over these techniques one may not always
count on the cooperation of educated Okinawans. In opposing the practice of
[181] the yabuu and other practitioners one runs counter to one of the strongest
themes of Okinawan culture---one must not interfere with another's livelihood.

52 The general characteristics of the changed entertainment patterns
178 have been a greater reliance on entertainment provided by sources outside
621 the village---the school, radio, movies---and a sharp decline in celebrations and festivals of the sort which emphasized village participation and unity.

757 Health and Medicine Changes in medical practice well illustrate the
• 753 principle that material things find more ready acceptance than ideas in the
177 diffusion of culture; in short, Okinawans have been willing to adopt modern medicine when available, but not modern medical principles. Pills, shots, surgery, dentistry, penicillin, and DDT have found acceptance, while modern scientific concepts of disease, health, and sanitation seem to have made relatively little headway. The germ theory, for example, has barely penetrated.

753 However, on talking to people of different ages one becomes aware
751 that many changes in standards of sanitation and ideas about health and dis-
177 ease actually have taken place in the last fifty years. For example, evidence of the practice of tattooing various parts of the body as a cure for certain ills is rarely seen on persons under seventy. Similarly, though many of the younger generation may appear abysmally ignorant of modern knowledge of disease, they are always less ignorant and better informed than the preceding generation. Considerable progress toward better sanitation was made under the
[364] Japanese. Formerly the Okinawan privy was built atop the pigpen, and the pig
[231] subsisted in part on human feces. Stern measures were required to force the abandonment of this practice. The Japanese also introduced monthly sanitation inspections; inoculations for babies and school children were made compulsory.
[515] Through the influence of the schools the toothbrush (usually one) became a part of every home. The Japanese also sent notable scholars into the country-
[582] side to lecture the people on the dangers of in-breeding practices, particularly kin-group endogamy.

757 Penicillin, which was introduced by the Americans, has become a pop-
177 ular treatment, achieving equality with moxacautery and cutting to let blood. It can be obtained easily at any drug shop, and every doctor, midwife, herbalist, and practitioner of any sort is prepared to administer shots. Reliance excessive even by American standards is placed on this drug. There seems, in fact, to be a fondness for shots which does not end with penicillin; hormone shots and various other injections are widely advertised. It is the opinion of the author that any type of modern medicine which cuts, punctures, or otherwise disfigures the skin will find ready acceptance; this, it is felt, is merely an extension of the tradition of acupuncture, moxacautery, tattooing, and cutting. Bettelheim states that in the 1850's the Okinawans made inquiries as to how inoculations for smallpox might be obtained.[1]

759 There is some indication that the yabu, a practitioner whose chief
178 stocks-in-trade are herbs and moxacautery, is slowly disappearing; in several communities the author was told that since the old yabu died there had been no replacement.

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[1] Bettelheim, B. J., Loochoo Mission, London, n.d., pp. 34-36.

An exception to this was the case of a junior high school girl who left her mother and stepfather and went to live in the city. The incident was known to all villagers within a short time, and gossip was rife, but referring to the case directly in the presence of the mother was avoided. When the mother finally heard the gossip, she contended that the story had been circulated by a certain family, singled out the woman of that house (who happens to be one of the few Christians in Taira) and told her in no uncertain words that she, as a Christian who wants to do good and others to be good, should know better than to spread evil gossip. 626 156

Concern with the affairs of other villagers is, of course, a result of the general intimacy between people. Not only one's immediate family but also anyone in Taira is aware of what happens to others in the community, and the right to such knowledge of private and family matters does not seem to be denied by anybody. People ask and receive answers, and news travels rapidly from one house to another. In considering the fear of censure and its effectiveness in social control, however, one should not forget that, conversely, the concern of others for one's life leads to a feeling of belonging and the expectation of help and affection.

Children are part of the gossip channel in that they are talkative and report news. They do not seem to invent malicious stories but do join in fun making at other people's expense. [867]

Being too malicious is censured. Older people still remember that they heard in their youth about old wicked women who could bring a curse on others. The term for curse still connotes a person who is disliked or who snoops excessively in other people's affairs. [754]

If possible, nobody is deliberately made subject to public exposure in case of wrongdoing. A township official, who by virtue of his office was also a member of the village council, showed little interest and responsibility toward the community. When the village meeting deliberated whether township officials should continue to be made members of the village council, his name was not mentioned, although the case was discussed at length in public. The final decision was to give him another chance. This, too, is characteristic of community behavior. Ostracism and complete rejection of serious offenders against the community would be a most serious punishment. This in itself would give the community a bad standing. A common front toward the outside is preferred, so that all drastic actions are left only for extreme cases. Rather, one tries to get along, even with a deviant person. Individuals between whom disagreement exists act friendly toward each other in public. 626 627 156

A deep sense of mutual obligation and duty not only toward imme- 626 156

778 'kami' is like the Oceanian "mana", a supernatural power that enters natural
171 objects or persons.[1] Whatever may be the case in Japan, the Okinawan kami refers to definite beings, discrete entities, and not to a force. However, the concepts shiji and perhaps shii may be mana-like.

753 Causes of Disease Okinawans frequently use these concepts of the supernatural in their interpretation of the causes and proper treatment of illnesses of the body. Illness may be caused, they believe, by loss of the shii or the mabui, by the harmful inclinations of other living persons and of dead persons, and by offences to ancestors and other spirits that are ordinarily helpful.

753
774 Gradual withdrawal of the shii may cause illness or death. A preg-
[778] nant woman is warned not to attend a funeral or a bone-washing because the shii of the unborn child may be drawn into the tomb. A sudden jolt or a scare may cause the mabui to be dislodged and this will result in a feeling of weakness and, if the mabui is not replaced, perhaps ultimately death. Treatment of loss of mabui is often practiced by old women. One woman who had treated her grandchildren on numerous occasions said that she laid on a table offerings including salt, rice, water, and a dish containing seven stones; then she took a garment of the sick child, prayed at the entrance to the house, and called the child's name. The mabui of the child then entered the garment and when she put the garment on the child the mabui re-entered the child. Formerly she would have prayed at the pigsty-privy, but
[776] it no longer exists. One of her sons gave the interpretation that the pigsty-privy god being the lowest god knew the whereabouts of the lost mabui and he informed the ancestral spirits who were able to bring it back to the garment.

The most serious cases of loss of mabui are caused by the actual
[775] theft of the mabui by dead persons, who are said to take the mabui to the tomb. As I have already mentioned, this may happen when a baby sneezes. Treatment of this type of soul-loss probably requires the services of a
[756] yuta, a sort of shaman. The yuta is said to be able to see the living person's mabui before the tomb, in the form of the person. If the form is facing this world and looks sad there is a chance of recovery, but if it is facing the tomb and looks happy, the patient will probably die. But in spite of the occasional serious nature of loss of mabui, I have observed young boys when startled jokingly cry out "mabuyaa, mabuyaa!" as if to call back their displaced mabui. And it is said that some persons jokingly pretend to scoop it up and pour it back into the body through the head. However, the joke may serve to relieve actual tensions that exist after a sudden shock.

754 Little information was obtained on the harm that can be done by a living person with ichijama. According to Yanagida[1] the ichijama is the soul of a woman who can send it to possess a person or object in order to

1 Haring, 1946, p. 221 and elsewhere.

2 Yanagida, 1951, p. 30.

cause misfortune; the ability to do this, he says, is hereditary from mother 754
to daughter. My informants did not identify ichijama with the mabui or any other such entity, but merely explained it as a kind of 'noroi', "curse". Its effect is a sharp pain inside the body or the feeling that a fingernail has been thrust into the eye. If the person responsible is known, they said, the affliction may be cured by spitting in his direction and throwing pig dung in his direction, shouting, "I smear it on your face!" According to [756]
Yanagida, a yuta can cure an afflicted person by squeezing his thumb, which causes the thumb of the person responsible to be crushed.

Illness may also be caused by gods or local spirits as punishment 753
for the breaking of tabus. For example, at Yamazato in Chinen-son it was 784
said that on the 1st, 8th, 18th, and 28th of every month the "mountain god" (yama nu kami) makes a circuit of inspection of the mountain behind the village and therefore one cannot go to cut trees or grass on those days for fear of punishment.

But probably the most frequent interpretation of illness and mis- 753
fortune is that it is caused by ugwambusuku, an insufficiency of worship 769
(from ugwang, "worship" and fusuku, "insufficiency"). As has been explained, 775
the dead can influence the lives of the living for good or bad. If the ancestors of a family are well cared for, that is, receive the proper offerings and worship, they may help that family to prosper and multiply, but on the other hand, if the ancestors are not cared for they will let the family know of their needs by some light illness, or, if their needs are still ignored, by some greater misfortune. They may not deliberately mean to harm their descendants; the misfortune may be automatic; this point is not clear. At any rate, the fear of ugwambusuku appears to be a very common anxiety [152]
and to play a central role in the whole structure of ancestor worship. Various religious practitioners and diviners, but particularly the yuta, are [756]
frequently called upon to try to determine where the insufficiency lies, what deceased person has not received his full share of worship and is therefore causing the current illness or other misfortune. To account for such [782]
illnesses and misfortunes the yuta and others may have revelations (shirashi) which revise the family's genealogy and even reveal the existence of hitherto unknown ancestors.

The insufficiency is not always of worship of the ancestors, al- 753
though this is probably the most frequent type. Illness may also be caused 782
by an insufficiency of worship of the Fire God. It is said that if an il- [848]
legitimate child or the child of a secondary wife does not worship at least once at the Fire God of his shiji ("line") that is, the Fire God of his father's family, he may become ill. Thus it is not uncommon for the mother of an illegitimate child to bring it to the house of its father and ask to let it pray once to the Fire God there. This practice may also, of course, [851]
serve to demonstrate paternity.

Also probably related to the concept that the ancestors influence 769
the living is the practice of establishing a fictitious adoptive relation- 753
ship between a child and an unrelated family. If a child is weakly its mother may ask an unrelated adult to become the yashinee-uya, "adopted parent",

757 frequently and may be repeated as many as four times during the
[854] first year of a child's life. An older child occasionally undergoes this
[164] treatment for a case of violent impetigo. Even a horse may be bled in
this way for loss of appetite or other symptoms of disease.

[232] A woman whose face had been struck in an unusual display of temper
[578] underwent a blood letting soon after a swelling appeared. Her neighbor from across the street, a farmer like everyone else, sterilized her cheek with iodine and then cut it with a razor until the blood flowed freely. After a night's rest, the woman appeared outside her house without any signs of swelling and seemingly recovered.

753 As was pointed out previously, many diseases are believed to be
776 caused by supernatural forces: the ancestor spirits, spirits of those who
769 have just died, and natural deities and evil spirits who wander around
775 at night. The ancestors expect proper respect and attention and in gen-
[764] eral are benevolent unless neglected. Spirits of those who have recently died are most dangerous if the deceased is from another village. For deceased villagers one is careful to purify oneself after the funeral. The doors of each house are shut at night to protect against the evil spirits of the night air. Disease is less frequently caused by natural deities who have been neglected or mistreated.

● 755 In case of sickness or other unfortunate events in the family, some-
756 body may go to consult the *yuta,* a shaman who communicates with
[787] the supernatural. She discovers the cause of misfortune with the help of rice oracles and through powers of divination received through visions and hallucinations. There is no *yuta* living in Taira now, so that people have to travel to the other side of the island, an hour or more on foot, if they want to learn about the source of some evil. Taira
[769] people make many such trips to consult this shamanistic specialist. The most common cause of misfortune discovered by the *yuta* is neglect of ceremonies to the ancestral gods or, less frequently, the neglect of cere-
[793] monies to the natural deities. Although the *yuta* stands in no direct connection with the high priestess, she may suggest that her client ask the priestess for special prayers to rectify the negligence. In such cases, then, the competence of individuals in the family may not be adequate to deal with the ancestral world, and the priestess enters into family religion.

597 Some Taira parents still find an adoptive parent for a sickly child in
755 the belief that his own ancestors have caused bad health, and that this
769 can only be remedied by making a formal arrangement which transfers
[796] ancestral responsibility for the child to another family. The child remains with his own parents and only visits his foster parents during the New Year and the midsummer Buddhist *Bon* Festival, which honors ancestors, and perhaps at one or two other occasions during the year.

year. On these occasions his parents take gifts of tea, noodles, and whatever else they can spare to the foster parents. During their visit the foster parents present the gift as an offering on the ancestral shrine and pray to their own ancestors, the guardians of the foster child. It is believed that this may help to offset the adverse effects of the child's own ancestors. 597 755 769

In spite of some treatments, such as blood letting and moxa cautery, which seem harsh to the unaccustomed observer, Taira people are extremely concerned about their sick. Illness, and most of all the need to remove the patient to the local dispensary or to a hospital in town, involves the whole family. No one likes to leave a sick person alone. His family and friends attend to him in such numbers that the small rooms are never large enough to hold all. The security given in everyday life by the presence of relatives and neighbors in the village continues during the critical period of illness. In the case of a fisherman from the south who was washed ashore in his boat after a storm, township officials kept the man continuous company in his dispensary room even though he was close to death. Female relatives cook meals and look after the comfort of a hospitalized person. This means that a young girl or an older woman will leave her usual work for days or weeks to attend the patient. 758 [156]

Because of intimacy in the home and visits to the sick, children are quite familiar with illness. A mother who has to go to the hospital takes her youngest child with her. After burning moxa weeds on her skin for two weeks had failed to cure a nephritic condition, one woman went to the hospital in town, taking her 8-months-old daughter although she did not have enough milk to nurse. The infant had to be given bottled milk prepared from cans. Meanwhile the older children remained under the care of their father. [757]

There is, however, little concern with children who have minor ailments. A school child may be excused from attending classes. In one case a boy stayed home from school with stomach pains. He was happily playing with younger children in the street. One of the adult villagers walked past, stopped after seeing him, and inquired: "Why aren't you in school today?" When told by the boy that he had an upset stomach, the man ordered him to go home right away and stay inside or go to school. The boy's mother, although aware of her son's discomfort, did not pay any special attention to it. 757 855 872

Preventive medicine is officially the responsibility of the public health nurse. She advises people on proper preventive care, inocculates children against whooping cough, diphtheria, and other diseases. She also acts as an advisor to mothers on child care and occasionally helps with a birth if the doctor is unavailable. If a case is diagnosed as 744 [751] [759] [844]

who have accepted them cannot afford to buy the recommended drugs. 758
Furthermore, the choice between the bush doctor and the trained medical men in town is sometimes determined by lack of money to pay for the more expensive services.

Cleanliness of the village and general sanitation are theoretically 744
under township control. Except for superficial biannual inspections, 575
nothing much is done about them. Perhaps the Women's Association, once they carry out plans to take over this function, will be more effective.

There are several cases of physically deformed, mentally deficient, 158
and mentally ill persons. A young man of about 20 years, born as an 734
idiot or imbecile, lives in the back of his parents' house, protected from 757
the gaze of outsiders. His family provides well for him, and when no stranger is around to embarrass the family, the grandfather may take him out to attend a village event. Another young man, who was normal, one day began to frighten his family and eventually the whole village by outbursts of violence. He attacked other persons and property. Nobody really knew how to cope with the situation, since the single mental hospital in Okinawa could not keep him longer than six months, and everybody realized that he was sick, not evil minded, when he broke bottles and other glassware in the village store. The [755] family tried religious treatment and locked the man up but never for long, for he had intermittent periods of calm and seemingly rational behavior. Another man, during a busy day, complained of sudden headaches. Soon afterward he became severely depressed and attempted [762] to commit suicide, quite an infrequent phenomenon in the Okinawan village.

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Chapter 10

Formal Education

The Japanese school system, which was introduced to Okinawa in the 871
1880's, reached Taira by 1891. At that time a small school was estab- 177
lished in the village. Some of its early graduates are still alive and re-

In addition to meeting with physical and emotional needs, the child must be protected from the nurtured by the numerous supernatural forces in the form of malevolent and benevolent spirits which operate to influence the course of an individual's life. There are lucky and unlucky days, years, and tides, which are believed to determine the fate of a person. Females born in the year of the monkey are considered unlucky, for they are thought to outlive their male contemporaries. Men dislike marrying them. Supplications are made and precautionary measures taken by adults to secure the newborn's life, happiness, and health. 776 777 854 [581]

Ancestral spirits influence the development and fate of the child. Occasionally a child who is the victim of ill health during his early years is adopted by a couple whose ancestral spirits are thought to be more favorable than his own on the dictate of the fortune teller. By mysterious calculations involving birth dates of the principals, the fortune teller uncovers some incompatibility and advises adoption. The child remains with his parents but worships the ancestral spirits of his adoptive parents. In this way parents seek to ensure the well-being of the child. 597 769 755

Mother interview data indicate the awareness of Taira people of the variations in personality among children of one family. Adults do in a large measure adapt their actions in accord with these differences. They recognize hereditary influences, but although a mother may comment on the similarity of temperament with regard to her child and other members in the family or kin group, there are no ideas or beliefs that the souls of deceased are inherited. Usually the mother, in describing the characteristics of the child, rarely goes beyond likenesses which can be attributed to herself or her husband. She is at a loss to explain the "very different child." "My eldest son has my nasty temper whereas my second daughter is not like either of us, very strange. All the others have a little of myself and my husband in them. We often wonder how it is that she is so unlike either of us." 155 828 858 [124]

A child born with two cowlicks predicates a "problem" to his parents. Parents often explain, "Oh, this child is very naughty, for as you can see, he has two cowlicks." Children often search each other's heads, and on discovering two instead of the single whorl, they shout in glee, "Naughty, naughty." One 4-year-old cuddled and hugged his newborn sister after searching her head. "You have two cowlicks just like me! You and I are 'naughty,' " he whispered to her. Turning to the adults in the room, he snapped his small bright eyes and grinned impishly as he reported his discovery joyfully. [826]

Twin births are disliked only because they place a burden on the 845

769 of the child; the child prays several times a year, on the important occa-
753 sions, at the ancestral tablets of the adopted parent, but otherwise lives as before. The rationale of this practice may be: if one set of ancestors is not sufficient for the child, why not give him another?

753 Also related to the concept ugwambusuku is the notion that certain
828 persons are destined to do more than just make offerings; some are to become
794 kaminchu, "god persons", and play the principal roles at the family worship at the important holidays. If these persons shirk this duty they may become ill as a consequence. In certain persons, particularly older women, persistent illness and especially mental illness may be interpreted as a sure sign that the afflicted person ought to become a kaminchu. There is one well-recognized type of mental illness called 'kami-buri'; the person with this disorder constantly makes the gestures of prayer toward various persons and objects in an extravagant manner. Such a person is almost sure to become a religious practitioner after recovery. In fact some kaminchu positions must
[756] be filled by persons who have had 'kami-buri'. The yuta may also receive his, or more often her, vocation through such an illness. (Recently a visiting psychiatrist commented on the low number of cases at the Kin mental hospital. There are of course many cases that are not committed to the institution because Okinawan society has a place for them; they become its psychiatrists.)

Other concepts of disease will be discussed in the next section.

4. Medical Practice

755 Home Remedies There are a number of home remedies that are known to many
757 persons, especially older women. These include the use of certain herbs, the letting of blood, the use of salt, prayer, swearing for exorcism, spells. These methods of treatment may be used by any old woman to the extent of her knowledge, but if the illness appears to be too serious for these treatments a professional medical practitioner may be consulted. However, the distinction between the professional person and the skilled amateur is not always clear.

757 Herbs are used for digestive disorders and particularly for female
824 disorders. Tawada in his description of Okinawan flora[1] lists ten plants used for medicinal purposes, nine of which are said to be useful to female disorders along with a variety of other things ranging from toothaches to appendicitis.

757 Blood-letting is practiced on most infants as a cure for skin eruptions and is sometimes also used on adults. Shallow incisions are made with a razor to let out the "bad blood". These are made on a baby's buttocks and sometimes, though less frequently at the present time than in the past, on the face of an adult.

755 Salt is used for purification. A yuta whom I saw exorcise a house and yard took salt into his mouth and then spit it and threw it in the

[1] Tawada, 1951.

direction of some tombs in order to prevent the ghosts from coming into the 755
yard. I have also seen a woman who had some training as a nurse throw salt over a hospital patient who had just had a major operation; this was, she said, to cleanse the patient and the bed. Salt is also used as a home 757
remedy for stomach disorders. A mother or grandmother may rub salt on the navel of a child suffering from a stomach ache. According to a small boy who received this treatment, it works.

Prayers are directed toward the supernatural beings who may help 782
one overcome an illness. Curses and spells are directed toward malevolent 755
beings, usually ghosts, when they are the cause of illness. Spells (mannaa, Japanese 'majinai') are verbal formulae that have a magical effect. Persons who are known to know spells and who may be asked to use them for the benefit of others are called mannaasaa ('majinai suru hito'), but spells seem to be useful only for a few diseases and so there is probably little specialization in their use.

To indicate something of the mixture of the natural and the super- 755
natural (to use Western categories) in the treatment of illness in the Oki- 757
nawan home, I have appended a description of the notions about and treatment of a few diseases as observed and as described by informants. These are all skin ailments.

1. Kamigasaa A kasa (skin eruption or rash) caused by kami (gods). 755 757

a. Irigasaa Identified as the same as the Japanese 'hashika' 753
(dictionary translation, "measles"). This disease is caught only once, [164]
usually as a child. One must catch it before he becomes a complete person ('ichininmae'). Because children sometimes die of it, parents worry before they have caught it but are eager to have it over with. There are lighter and heavier "requests" ('o-negai') so that if a child has a "light request" the parents of other children may bring them in to lie beside the sick child and eat what food he leaves in order that they may contact the disease. But the disease is given by the god and therefore the other children get it only if they were meant to do so.

The disease begins with a fever and then a rash appears on the head and moves downward. If the rash does not appear the fever may rise and therefore parents worry if the rash is delayed. If there is no rash visible it may be that the rash is on the inside unable to get out and thus is causing the fever. This is dangerous.

Careful treatment is essential. The god comes around to see how the patient is being treated; if the family is not watching the child carefully, the god makes the disease worse. In a case observed, the mother kept the child in bed covered with a thick quilt and mosquito net and sat beside him, fanning him almost continuously. Polite language is also necessary in order not to offend the god.

755 On the 3rd, 5th, and 7th days after the appearance of the rash,
757 mijinaarii ("water-stroking") is performed. It must be performed at the
753 time of day when the tide is beginning to ebb. In the case observed it was performed by the child's maternal grandmother. The old woman first placed a cup of water before the incense-burner representing the Fire God, lit two sticks of incense and placed them in the burner, and prayed. Then she took the water and applied it to the child's forehead and cheeks, stroking lightly downward. The prayer, explained later, went, "A Dog boy (i.e. a boy born in the Year of the Dog) has a request of irigasa-ganashii (term of respect); today I perform the third day water-stroking and so I beg that you make him well."

During the period when the rash is present and perhaps for a few days after, the child ought not to be bathed or even have his face washed; water, except for that used in the "water-stroking", is harmful to the patient. During the course of the disease and for about a month after, the child must not be permitted to eat heavy or fatty foods; these would cause a congestion in the child's throat which might become dangerous.

(In the case observed I asked if it were not true that light might hurt the sick child's eyes; it was agreed that this was said to be true, but it seemed to be distinctly a secondary consideration. The question, in fact, led to a discussion of the decline in the practice of keeping doors tightly closed in order to keep out ghosts.)

b. Mijigasaa, "water rash", a second type of kamigasaa. It is also caused by a god, but it is not as serious. It may be caught two or three times. The eruptions contain a fluid, hence the name. The rash spreads if the fluid touches other parts of the body, so the eruptions are covered with sweet-potato starch when they begin to run. Treatment also includes "water-stroking" and certain food restrictions while the rash is present.

2. Kaji-ooraa-kasa : rash accompanied by itching but no running. It may be caught by either a child or an adult. It is caused by yanakaji ("bad winds", i.e. ghosts). It may be contracted either while out walking in the hills or while at home. This disease must be treatly unkindly; the patient should be sworn at and slapped. The itching may be stopped by the use of a pair of 'zōri' (a Japanese style sandal). The person who knows how to perform the treatment first heats the 'zōri' over a fire and then while uttering a spell (mannaa, Japanese 'majinai') he rubs their undersides over the face and body of the afflicted person. He then takes the 'zōri' to a crossroads and puts them in the middle where someone will step on them. This will stop the itching.

An incident was related where this disease was confused with the first one described. At the end of the war, in Ishikawa, an old man of 75 became ill and broke out in large pox. His family believed his disease was caused by yanakaji so they gathered around him and shouted curses ("Eat feces", etc.) at him to chase the yanakaji away. But the old man merely got worse. Then they consulted a yuta and were told that the illness was

not caused by ghosts but by a god and therefore they should speak politely. They did so and the old man recovered. 755 757 753

3. Tangasa A rash with running eruptions, which may be contracted by both children and adults. It begins at the nape of the neck or at the base of the spine. If it spreads all the way around the neck or trunk the patient is in danger of losing his life. One ought not to say the name of this disease and so instead of saying tangasa, people say naa-irannuu-gasa, "the rash that is not called by name".

A person with this disease may be treated by a mannaasaa (spell-worker, in Japanese, 'majinau hito'). The patient is taken to the mannaasaa early in the morning. The mannaasaa, before drinking morning tea even, takes a full puff of tobacco, blows it on the affected spot, and recites a spell. He must say the words without taking a breath and without making a mistake for them to be effective. The words are addressed to the disease, which is probably caused by ghosts.

4. Heegasaa From hee, "skin"; a condition in which the face and scalp become a mass of scabs and the eyes matter. The condition occurs in both children and adults, but seems more common among smaller children. It is treated in small children by blood-letting (hanchuung, in Japanese 'sakuru'). Most infants are said to be bled for breaking out on the buttocks. The buttocks are cut with a razor blade just enough to draw blood. If heegasaa develops it is because the bad blood has not all been drawn out, and so the treatment may be repeated. If the bad blood is not drawn out in childhood the condition may become much worse in adult life. (The mild condition for which infants are bled looks to me like what would be called "diaper rash" in America. The heegasaa is a truly hideous condition which afflicts a number of small children and a few older persons. One of the USCAR medical officers referred to it as "scruff" and expressed the belief that it could be checked in its early stages with a frequent application of warm water and soap. Once it gets started, however, exposure to dirt and flies must make improvement difficult. One case encountered by Lebra had continued for several years. An informant mentioned cases from before the war that had lasted from childhood into adult life; two brothers had heegasaa so that they could not go to school, could not marry, and did nothing but stay at home and scratch themselves. It was said that even more than they feared policemen, they feared flies. This informant believed their condition was caused by their not having been properly bled when children; another informant suggested congenital syphilis.)

5. Ha'imakaa A kind of rash that may be caught by a person who happens to pass by a tree called makaa. This tree causes the illness, but not to persons who have the Okinawan name (warabinaa) of Makaa. Therefore a person not so named who sees that he is passing a makaa tree will say, "I am named Makaa too, so if you give it to me I'll break your neck." If this fails and he contracts the illness, he may go back and tie rocks to the limbs of the tree so that they bend down, and repeat his threat.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

 775

ple did not carry it through the streets but along the shore to a spot 784
nearby where the car could pull up.

Communication with ancestral or family spirits lies in the hands of [766]
individual households or the larger kin group. In general, as with the 782
nature deities, women maintain the relationship. The oldest woman 794
in the house prays and makes offerings in front of the divine shelf or by 769
the tombs. Sometimes the high priestess, whose only regular role in the [562]
cult of ancestors centers around the mythical founder of the village
to whom vague references are made, is asked to conduct a special [793]
prayer for a family at its ancestral shrine. Such invitations are usually
the result of consultation with another religious practitioner to whom [756]
one turns in case of misfortune.*

Those who are considering a special undertaking, such as building a 791
new house or moving to another one, or transporting ancestral tablets
from one home shrine to another, seek the advice of a diviner, the [342]
sanjinsō or *yekisha*. This expert, always a man, consults books on the
workings of the universe, special astrological calendars from which he
can predict events by using a horoscope calculated on the birth date of
the person seeking advice.

Although it would seem from the attendance at ceremonies that 771
older people, mostly women, are the supporters of religion, even the
most modern of the Tairans seem to share beliefs in the power of the 182
supernatural forces and are loath to make an open break with traditions. One may verbalize that the old religion is just "superstition," but when it comes to dealing with adverse events, when somebody suggests that perhaps the *yuta* should be consulted, or a special offering is in order, or when the old special wine of the gods is prepared from rice for Boat Race Day, then many of the apparent apostates cooperate. To some extent this is done to appease the older people, but fear of neglecting duties, especially toward ancestors, is probably much stronger in general than people's behavior would suggest. Religious in- [621]
fluence, then, which controlled so many facets of village life in former days, still acts as a strong force in uniting the members of families and descent groups as well as in binding together the community as a unit separate from other communities.

* See Chapter 9 for description of the *yuta* or shaman.

757 frequently and may be repeated as many as four times during the
[854] first year of a child's life. An older child occasionally undergoes this
[164] treatment for a case of violent impetigo. Even a horse may be bled in
this way for loss of appetite or other symptoms of disease.

[232] A woman whose face had been struck in an unusual display of temper
[578] underwent a blood letting soon after a swelling appeared. Her neighbor from across the street, a farmer like everyone else, sterilized her cheek with iodine and then cut it with a razor until the blood flowed freely. After a night's rest, the woman appeared outside her house without any signs of swelling and seemingly recovered.

753 As was pointed out previously, many diseases are believed to be
776 caused by supernatural forces: the ancestor spirits, spirits of those who
769 have just died, and natural deities and evil spirits who wander around
775 at night. The ancestors expect proper respect and attention and in gen-
[764] eral are benevolent unless neglected. Spirits of those who have recently died are most dangerous if the deceased is from another village. For deceased villagers one is careful to purify oneself after the funeral. The doors of each house are shut at night to protect against the evil spirits of the night air. Disease is less frequently caused by natural deities who have been neglected or mistreated.

755 In case of sickness or other unfortunate events in the family, some-
756 body may go to consult the *yuta,* a shaman who communicates with
[787] the supernatural. She discovers the cause of misfortune with the help of rice oracles and through powers of divination received through visions and hallucinations. There is no *yuta* living in Taira now, so that people have to travel to the other side of the island, an hour or more on foot, if they want to learn about the source of some evil. Taira
[769] people make many such trips to consult this shamanistic specialist. The most common cause of misfortune discovered by the *yuta* is neglect of ceremonies to the ancestral gods or, less frequently, the neglect of cere-
[793] monies to the natural deities. Although the *yuta* stands in no direct connection with the high priestess, she may suggest that her client ask the priestess for special prayers to rectify the negligence. In such cases, then, the competence of individuals in the family may not be adequate to deal with the ancestral world, and the priestess enters into family religion.

597 Some Taira parents still find an adoptive parent for a sickly child in
755 the belief that his own ancestors have caused bad health, and that this
769 can only be remedied by making a formal arrangement which transfers
[796] ancestral responsibility for the child to another family. The child remains with his own parents and only visits his foster parents during the New Year and the midsummer Buddhist *Bon* Festival, which honors ancestors, and perhaps at one or two other occasions during the year.

191 (mentioned previously), song, and the indigenous religion. Okinawan song and
178 music undoubtedly exceed both Japanese and Western in popularity; in fact, no
191 other facet of Okinawan culture has so successfully withstood the changes of
178 the past seventy-five years. Songs such as the Kagiyadefu (which some Okina-
533 wans liken to a national anthem), Nubui Kuduchi, Hamachidori, Tanchame are known and loved by all. Some of the phonograph record stores in Naha carry as many as several hundred different recordings of Okinawan songs, and vir-
191 tually all of these are recorded in Okinawan. All priestesses of the indigen-
178 ous religion interviewed by the author stated that Okinawan was the language
796 of prayer and ceremony; to some this was a burden, as in the case of one priestess who had spent most of her life in Japan. A few admitted that the language of the ceremonies and particularly that of the old songs or umui (sometime rendered omoro) was rather obscure and not fully understood; these are transmitted orally from the older priestess to her successor and undoubtedly
191 contain many archaic words. Outside the formal religious structure yet inex-
178 tricably linked to it are shamans (yuta) and fortune tellers ('ekisha'). The
756 former, most often a woman, uses Okinawan almost exclusively in rites concerned
791 with divining, exorcism, and curing. The latter, nearly always a male, is usually a fairly well-educated person, as the profession is based on interpretations of certain books used in conjunction with the ancient Chinese Book of Changes (I Ching), and either Japanese or Okinawan, depending on the customer, may be used in giving the reading. Both practitioners are extremely popular, but the fortune teller is usually found in the cities and towns whereas the shaman may be found in Naha or the smallest hamlet.

175 Japanese With the abdication of Shō Tai in 1879 the Japanese government ini-
191 tiated a program designed for integrating Okinawa into the national
177 state as rapidly as possible. An effort was made to stamp out all vestiges of
[648] Okinawan culture, utilizing techniques ranging from education and indoctrination to repressive laws and police measures. Greatest emphasis was given to making Japanese speakers out of Okinawans. Leavenworth quotes Governor Narahara as stating that the creation of Japanese speakers was of more value than
175 all the repressive laws prohibiting certain customs.[1] At the start the Japanese
191 were hindered by a lack of schools and teachers, and so the program moved ahead
177 slowly. An effective national school system covering the rural areas where the
871 bulk of the population was located and taking in both sexes was not fully operative until about the time of World War I. The failure of Japanese to displace Okinawan can be attributed largely to a lack of time and a lack of facilities for education beyond the elementary level. By the time of World War II but two generations were schooled in Japanese, and the majority of these had received no more than six years of education.

191 Though Japanese failed to displace Okinawan, it did succeed in becom-
177 ing a necessity in the lives of most people and in establishing itself as the
554 prestige language. With the government, press, schools, cinema, radio, and high-level commerce utilizing Japanese exclusively, participation in modern life without a knowledge of Japanese became impossible. The incentives towards competence in Japanese were many, whereas there appeared to be little gained

[1] Leavenworth, 1905, p. 37.

885
562 Adult Responsibility For women responsibilities come early. Mothers
[857] give their daughters tasks while their sons play. At marriage a woman enters her husband's household and immediately assumes adult burdens that she may
[882] not put down until old age. As a grandmother she may still care for grandchildren while her husband has left most of his responsibilities to his sons. She may acquire ritual responsibilities toward her husband's family which can only increase with time.

For a man responsibilities come gradually. Childhood is a time for
[857] play---except for the future scholar, or in cases of extreme poverty. Youth is a time when responsibilities may be postponed---except where an oldest son has been orphaned. Even after marriage a young man, though he may have to work hard, is not expected to remain sober and stay home nights. The peak of a man's responsibility comes with full maturity, when he has sons himself and when his father is beginning to age. This peak may rise to greater heights than that of his wife and his labor may be harder and make greater demands on
[882] his strength and health. But again in old age he may put his burden down and he is expected to seek those pleasures that he can still enjoy.

562 Women's lives may be duller but they are generally longer. And in old
888 age a woman has the compensation of greater freedom than she has ever had before. Old women often speak with a frankness that is embarrassing to young people of either sex. Old women are also the repositories of knowledge of the ancestors and of the supernatural and thus become greatly respected and
[74] influential. Both the religious functionaries (kaminchu) of the kinship group
[156] and the seeresses or mediums (yute) consulted on numerous occasions are usually women. An old man, unless he is a scholar or a diviner (sanjinsoo) has less chance of attaining fame.

But old men, as well as old women, may become tyrants. One Yamada family consisted of an old couple and their three grandchildren, the oldest a boy of twenty. This boy was registered as the head of the family, while the old man, according to the register, had retired; but when the boy had the opportunity to make a little money, which he needed for clothes, the old man took it for tobacco. On the other hand he permitted the youths of the neighborhood to hold parties in his house---hoping, one suspects, to help consume the refreshments---something a middle-aged parent might not have tolerated.

888 Formal Recognition of Old Age A man may officially retire , that is,
he may transfer house headship in the register to a son or grandson, but as I have just indicated this may not prevent him from actually holding the family
888 purse strings. For the community formal recognition of old age comes with the
527 celebration of "year days" (tushibii). These are held on the anniversaries of the "birth year" of an old person. A person's birth year is the year, in the cycle of twelve, in which he was born. Since the reckoning of age is a matter of counting the years during which one has lived, the year of birth counts as one and so when the cycle of twelve has passed once and the year is again the birth year, a person's years are thirteen. Each time a person's birth year recurs it marks a significant point in his life. These recurrences are celebrated not on the anniversary of the day of birth but on the first day of the cycle that corresponds to the year, after Lunar New Year's. Thus 1954 was

the Year of the Horse, and so all persons born during any year of the Horse---1942, 1930, etc.---celebrated their "year day" on the first Day of the Horse of the new year. Although theoretically all year days are important, in practice only those of old age are given much attention. These are the celebrations of the 61st, 73rd, 85th, and 97th years. The 88th and 90th may also be celebrated. The celebration of the year day of an old person is a matter of pride for the whole family; formal invitations are sent, and the guests are served food and drink requiring considerable expense on the part of the family. 888 527

Death After his death a person does not cease to be of any importance to the family. On the contrary he takes on a new importance as a focal point for ceremonies and perhaps for feelings of anxiety. 769

Death is attributed to both natural and supernatural causes[1] with natural causes probably barely in the majority. But there is also the vague notion that one's life span is predetermined. 761

Almost immediately after the death of a person, members of his family usually consult a yuta to learn if there was any last request or information that the deceased had wished to impart to his family. This might consist of an explanation of his death, a confession of some early misdeed, or last instructions to his heirs. While I was working at Yamada an informant, an energetic, thoroughly likeable old lady, died suddenly. I learned later that her family immediately went to Yakena, some twelve miles away, a place famous for its many yuta. There they consulted a yuta and asked if there had been any message the old woman wanted to communicate. They were told that the old woman had been destined to die a year before but because she was such a good woman she had lived an extra year, during which she had accomplished everything she had intended to do---there was nothing to reveal. The family was relieved and comforted. 756 763

The Funeral Women may cry out immediately upon learning that a member of the family has died. The body is laid in the second room of the house and flexed so that it may be more easily put into the coffin. If the death occurs in the morning the funeral may be held the afternoon of that day; if later in the day, the next afternoon. Offerings are placed before the body and when the funeral is not until the next day, relatives keep a wake over it. 764

The funeral itself consists of a ceremony at the home of the deceased, a procession to the tomb, and the placing of the coffin in the tomb. These steps may be more or less elaborate depending upon the means of the family. However, the local unit, the 'han' or the chinju, takes responsibility for some activities, making for uniformity. Member of the 'han' or chinju make two paper tablets with the name of the deceased written on them and make a large square wooden box for a coffin. On the afternoon of the funeral, the body is put into the coffin and a tray containing one of the paper tablets, offerings of fruit, and an incense burner is placed before it. If the deceased has requested it, a Buddhist priest may be called from one of the larger towns, but many country people do not call a priest, and indeed may never [793]

[1] See Chapter IX.

778 171 'kami' is like the Oceanian "mana", a supernatural power that enters natural objects or persons.[1] Whatever may be the case in Japan, the Okinawan kami refers to definite beings, discrete entities, and not to a force. However, the concepts shiji and perhaps shii may be mana-like.

753 Causes of Disease Okinawans frequently use these concepts of the supernatural in their interpretation of the causes and proper treatment of illnesses of the body. Illness may be caused, they believe, by loss of the shii or the mabui, by the harmful inclinations of other living persons and of dead persons, and by offences to ancestors and other spirits that are ordinarily helpful.

753 774 [778] Gradual withdrawal of the shii may cause illness or death. A pregnant woman is warned not to attend a funeral or a bone-washing because the shii of the unborn child may be drawn into the tomb. A sudden jolt or a scare may cause the mabui to be dislodged and this will result in a feeling of weakness and, if the mabui is not replaced, perhaps ultimately death. Treatment of loss of mabui is often practiced by old women. One woman who had treated her grandchildren on numerous occasions said that she laid on a table offerings including salt, rice, water, and a dish containing seven stones; then she took a garment of the sick child, prayed at the entrance to the house, and called the child's name. The mabui of the child then entered the garment and when she put the garment on the child the mabui re-entered the child. Formerly she would have prayed at the pigsty-privy, but it no longer exists. [776] One of her sons gave the interpretation that the pigsty-privy god being the lowest god knew the whereabouts of the lost mabui and he informed the ancestral spirits who were able to bring it back to the garment.

[775] The most serious cases of loss of mabui are caused by the actual theft of the mabui by dead persons, who are said to take the mabui to the tomb. As I have already mentioned, this may happen when a baby sneezes. [756] Treatment of this type of soul-loss probably requires the services of a yuta, a sort of shaman. The yuta is said to be able to see the living person's mabui before the tomb, in the form of the person. If the form is facing this world and looks sad there is a chance of recovery, but if it is facing the tomb and looks happy, the patient will probably die. But in spite of the occasional serious nature of loss of mabui, I have observed young boys when startled jokingly cry out "mabuyaa, mabuyaa!" as if to call back their displaced mabui. And it is said that some persons jokingly pretend to scoop it up and pour it back into the body through the head. However, the joke may serve to relieve actual tensions that exist after a sudden shock.

754 Little information was obtained on the harm that can be done by a living person with ichijama. According to Yanagida[2] the ichijama is the soul of a woman who can send it to possess a person or object in order to

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1 Haring, 1946, p. 221 and elsewhere.

2 Yanagida, 1951, p. 30.

cause misfortune; the ability to do this, he says, is hereditary from mother 754
to daughter. My informants did not identify ichijama with the mabui or any
other such entity, but merely explained it as a kind of 'noroi', "curse".
Its effect is a sharp pain inside the body or the feeling that a fingernail
has been thrust into the eye. If the person responsible is known, they said,
the affliction may be cured by spitting in his direction and throwing pig
dung in his direction, shouting, "I smear it on your face!" According to
Yanagida, a yuta can cure an afflicted person by squeezing his thumb, which [756]
causes the thumb of the person responsible to be crushed.

Illness may also be caused by gods or local spirits as punishment 753
for the breaking of tabus. For example, at Yamazato in Chinen-son it was 784
said that on the 1st, 8th, 18th, and 28th of every month the "mountain god"
(yama nu kami) makes a circuit of inspection of the mountain behind the vil-
lage and therefore one cannot go to cut trees or grass on those days for
fear of punishment.

But probably the most frequent interpretation of illness and mis- 753
fortune is that it is caused by ugwambusuku, an insufficiency of worship 769
(from ugwang, "worship" and fusuku, "insufficiency"). As has been explained, 775
the dead can influence the lives of the living for good or bad. If the an-
cestors of a family are well cared for, that is, receive the proper offer-
ings and worship, they may help that family to prosper and multiply, but on
the other hand, if the ancestors are not cared for they will let the family
know of their needs by some light illness, or, if their needs are still ig-
nored, by some greater misfortune. They may not deliberately mean to harm
their descendants; the misfortune may be automatic; this point is not clear.
At any rate, the fear of ugwambusuku appears to be a very common anxiety [152]
and to play a central role in the whole structure of ancestor worship. Var-
ious religious practitioners and diviners, but particularly the yuta, are [756]
frequently called upon to try to determine where the insufficiency lies,
what deceased person has not received his full share of worship and is there-
fore causing the current illness or other misfortune. To account for such [782]
illnesses and misfortunes the yuta and others may have revelations (shirashi)
which revise the family's genealogy and even reveal the existence of hitherto
unknown ancestors.

The insufficiency is not always of worship of the ancestors, al- 753
though this is probably the most frequent type. Illness may also be caused 782
by an insufficiency of worship of the Fire God. It is said that if an il- [848]
legitimate child or the child of a secondary wife does not worship at least
once at the Fire God of his shiji ("line") that is, the Fire God of his
father's family, he may become ill. Thus it is not uncommon for the mother
of an illegitimate child to bring it to the house of its father and ask to
let it pray once to the Fire God there. This practice may also, of course, [851]
serve to demonstrate paternity.

Also probably related to the concept that the ancestors influence 769
the living is the practice of establishing a fictitious adoptive relation- 753
ship between a child and an unrelated family. If a child is weakly its
mother may ask an unrelated adult to become the yashinee-uya, "adopted parent",

769 of the child; the child prays several times a year, on the important occa-
753 sions, at the ancestral tablets of the adopted parent, but otherwise lives as before. The rationale of this practice may be: if one set of ancestors is not sufficient for the child, why not give him another?

753 Also related to the concept ugwambusuku is the notion that certain
828 persons are destined to do more than just make offerings; some are to become
794 kaminchu, "god persons", and play the principal roles at the family worship at the important holidays. If these persons shirk this duty they may become ill as a consequence. In certain persons, particularly older women, persistent illness and especially mental illness may be interpreted as a sure sign that the afflicted person ought to become a kaminchu. There is one well-recognized type of mental illness called 'kami-buri'; the person with this disorder constantly makes the gestures of prayer toward various persons and objects in an extravagant manner. Such a person is almost sure to become a religious practitioner after recovery. In fact some kaminchu positions must
[756] be filled by persons who have had 'kami-buri'. The yuta may also receive his, or more often her, vocation through such an illness. (Recently a visiting psychiatrist commented on the low number of cases at the Kin mental hospital. There are of course many cases that are not committed to the institution because Okinawan society has a place for them; they become its psychiatrists.)

Other concepts of disease will be discussed in the next section.

4. Medical Practice

755 Home Remedies There are a number of home remedies that are known to many
757 persons, especially older women. These include the use of certain herbs, the letting of blood, the use of salt, prayer, swearing for exorcism, spells. These methods of treatment may be used by any old woman to the extent of her knowledge, but if the illness appears to be too serious for these treatments a professional medical practitioner may be consulted. However, the distinction between the professional person and the skilled amateur is not always clear.

757 Herbs are used for digestive disorders and particularly for female
824 disorders. Tawada in his description of Okinawan flora[1] lists ten plants used for medicinal purposes, nine of which are said to be useful to female disorders along with a variety of other things ranging from toothaches to appendicitis.

757 Blood-letting is practiced on most infants as a cure for skin eruptions and is sometimes also used on adults. Shallow incisions are made with a razor to let out the "bad blood". These are made on a baby's buttocks and sometimes, though less frequently at the present time than in the past, on the face of an adult.

755 Salt is used for purification. A yuta whom I saw exorcise a house and yard took salt into his mouth and then spit it and threw it in the

1 Tawada, 1951.

756 787 The Yuta The yuta has been mentioned several times already as a dealer in the supernatural, a sort of shaman. She is usually a woman, though not always so, and usually an older person. In the minds of some [794] she is confused with the kaminchu ("god person"), but the two are probably quite distinct. A kaminchu is a person, also usually a woman, who officiates at the family worship or assists the nuru in village worship on the important holidays. The yuta on the other hand is a person whose services may be sought on any occasion for individual problems. Her methods are divination, prayer, and possession. She may be called upon to determine the cause of an illness. She may do so by divining with grains of rice. She asks a question and then takes a pinch of grains and separates them out into pairs. If there is none left over the question is answered in the affirmative; if there is one left over it is in the negative. Or she may pray and then wait for the inspiration of some supernatural being. If the cause of the illness is determined to be an ugwambusuku, as it often is, then she may reveal what ancestor or god it is who has not received sufficient worship. If she is consulted after the death of a relative to learn if there was any last wish to communicate, she may function as a medium, letting the dead person speak with her mouth. She may be consulted merely to learn about the character and future of an individual. In this case and perhaps in most she asks for the saa (the birth year) of the person in question, but uses no other astrological data.

791 The Sanjinsoo The most respected type of diviner is the person called sanjinsoo (possibly from his sign board, which resembles the character 'three' written three times) or suumuchi ("book person") in Okinawan or 'ekisha' in Japanese. This person is always a man, usually [791] dignified and scholarly in appearance. He regards himself as a scholar, perhaps even as a scientist; he is a student of 'ekigaku', the "study of changes", a theory of the workings of the universe that goes back to the I Ching, the Book of Changes, a Chinese work that was old at the time of Confucius. The sanjinsoo is consulted after New Year's to obtain advice for the new year and before important undertakings, such as house-building, tomb building, marriage, bone-washing. Illness may also be a reason for [787] consulting him but is of less importance. The method of the sanjinsoo consists of drawing one from a number of thin sticks, looking up the mark on it in his book or books, and then calculating this against a horoscope derived from the birth year of the person about whom information is requested. For the literate person he will write out a list of good months and bad months, things to be avoided and things which may bring good fortune.

Although the sanjinsoo deals with a pseudo-science, he may also admit that the gods may influence men's lives. A sanjinsoo whom I consulted as an experiment spoke at length about the importance of the gods and prayed before beginning his work, but the greater part of the time he spent looking up signs in his books, of which he had an impressive number. Some sanjinsoo are said to function also nearly in the same manner as yuta.

Sanjinsoo flourish in the larger towns and cities but are probably rare in country villages. Country people consult them on the occasions mentioned above but probably not as frequently as they consult the yuta, who are found in many, perhaps most villages.

824 The most common of the Hanashiro trees are (1) the banyan or gajimaru, or yōsu. This tree is a common sight with its long roots growing around and through the stone fences. The tree with [731] its roots bracing the stone fences is excellent typhoon protection for the village. (2) The usuku (Japanese scientific name, the akou) resembles the gajimaru in appearance and serves the same purpose. The fukugi (Darcinia spicata Hook) and an occasional cycad are common windbreaks. These trees are almost invariably in combina- [417] tion with stone fences, made of blocks, or with fences made of loose stones which have settled and been bound together by small plant roots. Village typhoon protection is a simple but effective combination of stone, shrubs, and trees. There is also an occasional kuroki (kurchi in Okinawan), from whose trunk the samisen, the stringed [534] musical instrument, is made, and the palm (shuro).

There are wild plants in each of the areas but their importance has also declined. Among these is the pandanus (the adan, Japanese scientific name, the takonoki). This plant was plentiful before the war, but is now scarce except in the mountain area. It can occasionally be seen in genya land or in small clumps on an outcrop. The blades of the pandanus are long and hard, with a row of spines down both sides of the blade. It has had several uses. Formerly it was the common material for making slippers (zori), hats, cigarette cases, and hand- [463] bags. These home industries have all but disappeared, but old people [887] occasionally do a little. In preparing the pandanus blades for use, the thorns are removed and several strips are made. These are then boiled, dried, and smoothed out. Then they are woven into the desired pattern. A first class pandanus blade is about 5 feet long. In the [782] celebration of O-Bon, the fruit of the pandanus may be offered as food to the ancestors.

Another plant occasionally used is the getto, known also in Okinawa as sannin or muchigasa. Its chief use is in the festival of the 8th day of the 12th lunar month. At this time, rice cakes (mochi) are wrapped up in its long and wide and flexible fibres. These wrappings, often made by children, are hung from the ceiling or from the wall. The stem of this plant was much used in the past for rope.

824 The nigana (njana in Okinawan, Ixeris dentata Nakai) is still 262 used in this area as a food and medicine. It has an exceedingly bitter 757 root, about 1/8 of an inch in diameter in a mature plant. The root is put in hot water, and the liquid drunk as a stomach medicine. The leaves, not so bitter as the root, have a sour, slightly bitter taste. They are often served with the white cuttlefish (shiroi-ikka).

The ōbako (known in Okinawan as the hirawakusa or hirawagusa, Plantago Asiatica L, "Japanese ribwort") is used as a medicine and as a food. When vegetables are scarce, it is eaten as a green. As a medicine, the leaf is heated over a fire and the hot leaf is then pressed over a swelling.

Moxa (mogusa in Japanese, fuchiba in Okinawan) in the traditional Chinese and Japanese pharmacopoeia, had considerable former importance. In powdered form, it is placed on a swelling or painful part, which is cauterized by burning the moxa with a charcoal stick or a hot piece of metal. Moxa can be bought, packed and prepared in Japan, at most Okinawan village stores. But wild moxa is not used for this purpose. Formerly a brew was made of the wild plant and drunk for bringing down a fever. It is still used with the yagi, another plant, as a broth. Now aspirin, also obtainable at village shops is commonly taken for these ills. 824 757

These plants are now nearly forgotten. In Hanashiro only the nigana and mogusa were remembered. In Minatogawa, the situation was the same. In Nagamo, a few slippers from the pandanus are still made. The virtual disappearance of home industries based on the pandanus is the result of a diminished supply and in part to loss of skills and failure of a younger generation to acquire them either because of the attraction of more exciting occupations or to lack of interest. This is not meant as a generalization. Home industries based on the use of uncultivated plants, has not vanished from all parts of Okinawa. Activity changes from locality to locality, even when these are close together. Slipper production from the pandanus has practically disappeared in Minatogawa, but across the river in the village of Horikawa they are still made. 824 178 184 [472]

Plant	Hanashiro	Minatogawa-Nagamo	Matsuda
Pandanus (adan)	Scarce, not used	Some slippers made	Not used
Nigana	Root boiled and used as a medicine		Broth for stomach and headaches.
Ubako	Not used	For swellings; hot leaf used as a poultice.	Not used [757]
Moxa (mogusa)	Used as in Minatogawa	Wild plant boiled, brew used for bringing down fever. Powdered form purchased.	Used in combination with another plant, the yagi, resulting broth used for general complaints. [757]

434 593 earned by women in the marketing of the fish, after The money deduction of travel expenses, becomes part of the family funds. Women in the fishing village have custody of the family money, due to frequent and prolonged absence of their husbands. This is an unusual practice, for in the agricultural and stonecutting areas of the village the husband handles the money, with the exception of a few yen which the wife may have at home to meet incidental expenses. The custody of the money (much made over by some observers) has no special cultural significance in my observation. It is merely a convenience, based on custom and occupation. Most earnings of husband and wife are in a common fund, though older children may handle their own money.

6

Other Activities Associated with Fishing

251 [439] There is some local drying of fish for home use and export. Of the common fish, the most frequently dried are the mackerel, the swordfish, and the shark. Shark fins are dried for export to Japan; before the war, they were also sent to China. The small amounts dried in local villages are accumulated in places like Naha for shipment. Drying processes are of the simplest. The fish may be laid out on a piece of canvas on the ground in front of the house, an operation which creates a stench and an overwhelming concentration of the blow fly population. Racks may be improvised. Their ends, made of odd pieces of wood, support thin bamboo poles laid parallel, on which the fish are put to dry. Sometimes fish are hung on a line. If the weather is good, they dry in two or three weeks, but rain quickly produces spoilage if the fish are not taken in immediately. The mackerel when dried may be heated up by placing a piece over the open fire, then rolled between the palms to see if it has been heated enough, torn into shreds, and put on a plate. Occasionally a poor family of non-fishing people, or a widow, purchases whole fish or backs or fins to dry for home use or resale.

278 825 Certain fish are valued as medicines. Their scarcity in agricultural villages prevents any but the most casual use. In Minatogawa, the commonest fish used as medicines are the lobster, the white cuttle fish, and the carp (koi), though the latter fish is rare here.

[252] 259 The whole lobster is put into boiling water. After a few minutes, this broth, which is the medicine, is drained off, and the lobster is cracked open and heated, this time for preparation as a food. The broth, which is regarded as very disagreeable, is taken for a variety of ailments. Its commonest use is as a laxative, although it is also taken for swellings, boils, or gatherings of any kind (haremono), for pains in the small of the back and the loin, or for a cold. The lobster broth is regarded as a very effective medicine. A white cuttlefish soup is put to similar use. The carp is boiled in water and the broth is drunk for fevers. The carp may also be grown in village ponds.

In Hanashiro, the fish were raised for sale by the young men's association. The supply of fish is too uncertain and too seasonal for these remedies to be an effective part of the traditional medicine. Like the native plants, and many of the traditional medical practices, they are yielding to the drugs which can be found in the small village shops: stomach and headache powders, eye lotions, aspirin, and other pharmaceuticals and patent medicines.

The economic and occupational organization of village fishing is very informal. Partnerships are made on a basis of friendship and continue so until one party, for any reason, decides to leave. There are about 40 of these partnerships among the 120 odd adult fishermen.[2] The fishermen of the village also have a fisherman's association (suisankumiai) similar in function to the agricultural associations which the Japanese instituted throughout the empire. This association has a head (suisankumiaichō). Like so many official and administrative jobs in a village, these offices are thrust upon the man. He seldom seeks them. In the larger places where there is more remuneration, the man might seek the job. The head of the association is chosen by the fishermen of the village. He receives Y10 a month for each fisherman he represents. This is a supplementary job, as he could not exist on this sum. Lack of cash prevents any ambitious services to the membership. The association buys and sells gas and oil, nets, lines, hooks, and other necessary items which have been imported either from the United States or from Japan. Occasionally, the association has sufficient funds for small temporary loans for purchasing imported gear, loans from Y100 to Y 500 for a period of a week or two. The main function of the association is the exchange of information between the local head and representatives from the larger association in Naha. This becomes a study of the daily market demands; the information provided is a guide to fishermen in meeting the demand. This is all very informal. The head of the association circulates among the fishermen, giving them tips on what to expect and how prices are going.

7

The Rough Language of Hinatogawa

The Hinatogawans have one characteristic which is not shared by their agricultural neighbors of Nagano, nor indeed by any of the agricultural villages. This is their rough (arai) language, so described by Hinatogawans with a certain amount of pride. This language, if used in the other village, would be considered insulting. It is notable for the freedom with which nicknames, some funny, some disparaging, some pointed at infirmities, are used.

2 The word used here is kumiai but actually these partnerships do not have the organized co-operative character that this word usually implies when used in an economic sense.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Nevertheless, to superficial observation at least, villagers seem to enjoy good health. Most of them are energetic. Obesity is very unusual. The average man or woman of any age has little spare flesh. The most frequent complaints are of dysentery, constipation, colds, boils and swellings, and intestinal parasites. There are signs of malnutrition in the distended bellies of some small children, probably due to the unrelieved and starchy diet of the sweet potato,[6] with extremely few animal fats and proteins. 146 [164]

The sores and scabs on the heads, faces, arms, and legs of infants and young children are still the curse of childhood, conditions made worse by the flies which swarm around them. (In summer, I have seen as many as 20 flies on the face of a sleeping child without a trace of any muscular reaction). There are few Okinawans today who do not bear the scars of these sores of infancy, especially on the scalp. (Young men are sensitive about this and it is one reason also for keeping the hair long). Younger parents now are beginning to use various disinfecting powders and talcs to prevent these sores (which look like impetigo) and seem to have abandoned the attitude of a previous generation that these were childhood experiences to be endured. Much could be done to eliminate these diseases of childhood by a campaign in which local groups like the Women's Association and the public health authorities joined. 164 [751] 000

In the summer months, Jap B encephalitis (known as nūen) is very much dreaded. Some villagers had only a vague idea that it was a brain fever and a few knew that the mosquito was the vector. 164 [753]

According to residents of each of the villages, no cases of leprosy had been discovered in recent years. This disease is also dreaded and I doubt that an attempt would be made to conceal a case.

Young people have uncommonly beautiful, evenly spaced, white teeth. This seems to have been an Okinawan characteristic for a long time, as Basil Hall commented upon it 135 years ago. Around the late teens or early twenties, the teeth decay, and there are many extractions and replacements with gold or steel false teeth. Some extractions are intentional, especially among young girls who believe that a gold tooth sets them apart and adds to beauty. But I am convinced that this is of minor importance as an explanation. Okinawans [145] [757] [832]

6 I am not acquainted with any analyses of the composition of the Okinawan sweet potato. In laboratory tests of an improved high-starch American variety, the composition when ground for starch was: moisture, 64.5%; starch, 25.5%; sugars, 2.8%; crude protein, 1.5%; pectic substances, 2.2%; crude fat, 0.6%; mineral matter, 0.9%; other, 2%. Sweet potato carotene can be readily converted to Vitamin A. See Dawson, P. R., Greathouse, L. H., and Gordon, W. O. Sweet potatoes: more than starch. In: Crops in peace and war. (U. S. Dept. of Agric., The yearbook of agriculture 1950-51) Washington, 195-203. Ref. on 195, 201. [146]

164 Okinawans blame tooth decay on the brown sugar. It may be diet or water.
[753] Use of tooth brushes varies considerably with individuals and
[515] families.

515 The standard of cleanliness in Okinawan homes is not high,
but this cannot be ascribed to indifference. One should constantly
511 bear in mind that it is easy to keep clean with plenty of soap,
showers, hot running water, washing machines, and flush toilets.

9

Native Medicine

278 The native medicine has already been referred to in the discussion of fish and wild plants used as medicines. Their use has declined with growing reliance on manufactured drugs and pharmaceuticals.

757 The golden needle (kinbari) is still used by rural doctors (yabu)
[759] in the treatment of inflamations of the joints and rheumatism. There was one such doctor in Minatogawa, but ordinarily he is called only when real medical attention is not available.

The needle is scarcely thicker than a horse hair. It is encased
[913] in a shaft about 2 3/8 inches long. The grip or base of the needle is 3/4 of an inch long and the needle itself 1 7/8 inches. The needle is tapped and gradually worked into the affected part, and a length from 3/4 to one inch is broken off and allowed to remain in the body and circulate to effect its curative powers.

Blood letting is still practiced, often by the individual himself. Thin cuts are made with a razor, generally on the forehead above the eyebrows and slanting toward the bridge of the nose. This is done to relieve headaches and general pains and may be resorted to after aspirin has failed to relieve a headache. On a close look, one can often observe the slight, thin, long scars, which look like tiny wrinkles, resulting from these slashes. During the operation, a sake cup is held up to the place being cut. The cup may even have a little sake in it. When done by a native doctor, the blood may be sucked through a small tube and allowed to drip into a sake cup.

Cauterization using mogusa (moxa) also is still common. One can frequently see scar tissue, the results of burning mogusa on the flesh, usually in the area around the wrist. Mogusa is applied with glowing charcoal sticks, burning thread, or tobacco. It is used for no specific complaint, but as a counter-irritant cureall for a wide variety of ailments.

Acupuncture apparently is little used now. Formerly an area was pricked with a needle, or a series of needles brought to a point, and
[386] an indigo dye applied. One can observe these round spots, circles of dots, occasionally on the shoulders and the backs of older people. These should not be confused with tattooing.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

diseases seemed to be below the expected rate for Okinawa, in general, and we had the impression that Taira people are healthy on the whole. Only one case of leprosy, which had been removed to a special hospital on the island of Yagaji, was reported from Taira. 164 [743]

Among the children there were frequent complaints of intestinal diseases. Most children seem to lodge a variety of parasites, mostly hookworms and tapeworms, and many were subject to skin ailments. One girl had a severe case of what was thought by the nurse to be congenital syphilis. The skin of her whole body was covered with sores which were a constant source of irritation. This 4-year-old never appeared in the company of children other than her younger sister. She would stand in front of her house, her face swollen, her head stooped from discomfort and embarrassment. Almost all children have impetigo and various kinds of rashes. During the summer these cover their faces and parts of the body. Almost all have marks of boils which have plagued them in the course of years.

Because sickness is always a threat, it creates fear, and any explanation which may restore some hope is important knowledge. Although some Western or modern theories about disease have been introduced recently through the school and the village nurse, they filter into every house only slowly and do not materially affect what has been handed down as popular knowledge from older members of each household. Most Taira people are probably quite eclectic in their beliefs as well as in their choice of treatments, so that it would be difficult to ascribe to them any single body of theory of disease. 753 [152]

Home remedies, often applied by old women, are widespread. The most popular ones are blood letting and the use of *moxa* cautery. Whenever people agree that there is "bad" blood in an adult's or child's system, it must be removed. There are many phenomena which are accounted for by the presence of "bad" blood. Visible signs such as eczema of the skin or swellings are such indications, but malfunctioning of certain organs, the stomach, liver, kidneys, can also call for the removal of "bad" blood. Mothers expose infants as young as five days to the treatment, which may be preventive as well as curative. Pointing to a bluish green area on the infant's back (not the mongoloid spot), whether real or imagined, the mother swabs the area with sake before she or the grandmother make numerous ¼-inch incisions with a razor. After the blood starts to ooze out of the tiny wounds, more sake is rubbed into the skin. The mixture of blood and sake is caught and rubbed on again and again until all the undesirable blood has been drained. 757 753 [751] 757

So many Taira babies have eczema that this treatment takes place [854] [164]

757 frequently and may be repeated as many as four times during the
[854] first year of a child's life. An older child occasionally undergoes this
[164] treatment for a case of violent impetigo. Even a horse may be bled in
this way for loss of appetite or other symptoms of disease.

[232] A woman whose face had been struck in an unusual display of temper
[578] underwent a blood letting soon after a swelling appeared. Her neighbor from across the street, a farmer like everyone else, sterilized her cheek with iodine and then cut it with a razor until the blood flowed freely. After a night's rest, the woman appeared outside her house without any signs of swelling and seemingly recovered.

753 As was pointed out previously, many diseases are believed to be
776 caused by supernatural forces: the ancestor spirits, spirits of those who
769 have just died, and natural deities and evil spirits who wander around
775 at night. The ancestors expect proper respect and attention and in gen-
[764] eral are benevolent unless neglected. Spirits of those who have recently died are most dangerous if the deceased is from another village. For deceased villagers one is careful to purify oneself after the funeral. The doors of each house are shut at night to protect against the evil spirits of the night air. Disease is less frequently caused by natural deities who have been neglected or mistreated.

755 In case of sickness or other unfortunate events in the family, some-
756 body may go to consult the *yuta*, a shaman who communicates with
[787] the supernatural. She discovers the cause of misfortune with the help of rice oracles and through powers of divination received through visions and hallucinations. There is no *yuta* living in Taira now, so that people have to travel to the other side of the island, an hour or more on foot, if they want to learn about the source of some evil. Taira
[769] people make many such trips to consult this shamanistic specialist. The most common cause of misfortune discovered by the *yuta* is neglect of ceremonies to the ancestral gods or, less frequently, the neglect of cere-
[793] monies to the natural deities. Although the *yuta* stands in no direct connection with the high priestess, she may suggest that her client ask the priestess for special prayers to rectify the negligence. In such cases, then, the competence of individuals in the family may not be adequate to deal with the ancestral world, and the priestess enters into family religion.

597 Some Taira parents still find an adoptive parent for a sickly child in
755 the belief that his own ancestors have caused bad health, and that this
769 can only be remedied by making a formal arrangement which transfers
[796] ancestral responsibility for the child to another family. The child remains with his own parents and only visits his foster parents during the New Year and the midsummer Buddhist *Bon* Festival, which honors ancestors, and perhaps at one or two other occasions during the year.

year. On these occasions his parents take gifts of tea, noodles, and whatever else they can spare to the foster parents. During their visit the foster parents present the gift as an offering on the ancestral shrine and pray to their own ancestors, the guardians of the foster child. It is believed that this may help to offset the adverse effects of the child's own ancestors. 597 755 769

In spite of some treatments, such as blood letting and moxa cautery, which seem harsh to the unaccustomed observer, Taira people are extremely concerned about their sick. Illness, and most of all the need to remove the patient to the local dispensary or to a hospital in town, involves the whole family. No one likes to leave a sick person alone. His family and friends attend to him in such numbers that the small rooms are never large enough to hold all. The security given in everyday life by the presence of relatives and neighbors in the village continues during the critical period of illness. In the case of a fisherman from the south who was washed ashore in his boat after a storm, township officials kept the man continuous company in his dispensary room even though he was close to death. Female relatives cook meals and look after the comfort of a hospitalized person. This means that a young girl or an older woman will leave her usual work for days or weeks to attend the patient. 758 [156]

Because of intimacy in the home and visits to the sick, children are quite familiar with illness. A mother who has to go to the hospital takes her youngest child with her. After burning moxa weeds on her skin for two weeks had failed to cure a nephritic condition, one woman went to the hospital in town, taking her 8-months-old daughter although she did not have enough milk to nurse. The infant had to be given bottled milk prepared from cans. Meanwhile the older children remained under the care of their father. [757]

There is, however, little concern with children who have minor ailments. A school child may be excused from attending classes. In one case a boy stayed home from school with stomach pains. He was happily playing with younger children in the street. One of the adult villagers walked past, stopped after seeing him, and inquired: "Why aren't you in school today?" When told by the boy that he had an upset stomach, the man ordered him to go home right away and stay inside or go to school. The boy's mother, although aware of her son's discomfort, did not pay any special attention to it. 757 855 872

Preventive medicine is officially the responsibility of the public health nurse. She advises people on proper preventive care, inocculates children against whooping cough, diphtheria, and other diseases. She also acts as an advisor to mothers on child care and occasionally helps with a birth if the doctor is unavailable. If a case is diagnosed as 744 [751] [759] [844]

744 tuberculosis, the public health nurse teaches the family how to treat the patient in the home by giving him rest and drugs provided through her. Isolation, though recommended, is not carried out effectively, as might be expected from the general treatment of sick in the village.

744 Like most public offices in Okinawa, the nurse's carries with it a large load of administrative duties. Between these and attending meet-
759 ings and lectures at Nago hospital, there is relatively little time to cover the long distances between villages. Taira is fortunate to be the residence of the nurse, and when occasionally a nurse from another township comes to help her with inocculations, the children crowd around her and say "We want 'our' nurse to do it."

743 The dispensary, or small hospital, in Taira is owned and run by a former medical corps man in the Japanese Army, referred to as "doc-
759 tor." After the war the government gave permission to a number of
758 former army medical personnel to practice on a limited scale in the villages. The Taira practitioner takes the place of a midwife, gives first
[844] aid, and diagnoses simple illnesses. If there are no complications, a patient requesting medical care may be kept at the dispensary, where a family member and the doctor's "nurse," a young female servant, attend to all his needs. If the doctor is confronted with a complicated birth or a case requiring surgical skill, he refers the patient to a private clinic in Nago or to the public hospital there. The township gives
[657] financial aid to the doctor to maintain his establishment.

757 Penicillin has become the doctor's stock in trade, and other anti-
[278] biotics and drugs are liberally administered via the hypodermic needle. But the doctor does not restrict himself entirely to the use of rec-
[262] ognized Western medicines and practices. He may recommend special diets to which people have resorted for a long time, such as goat soup, which is believed to cure colds. Although the doctor has a high status
[759] in the community, most persons do not rely on his advice alone but resort to other practitioners and their remedies.

[759] Until a few years ago a popular medical practitioner, the bush doctor, resided in Taira. After his death nobody took over his work, and now many people have to travel far to receive treatment from a bush doctor in another village. His methods primarily include the use of moxa cautery, burning mogusa weed on the patient's skin, and acupuncture by the use of a fine golden needle. He may also prescribe a certain diet and the use of special herbal remedies, which the patient prepares for himself. Those who have great confidence in the bush doctor's competence, particularly older persons, do not consult the Taira doctor at all.

758 In all their dealings with sickness and its prevention, Taira people are severely handicapped by their economic conditions. Even families

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

who have accepted them cannot afford to buy the recommended drugs. 758
Furthermore, the choice between the bush doctor and the trained medical men in town is sometimes determined by lack of money to pay for the more expensive services.

Cleanliness of the village and general sanitation are theoretically 744
under township control. Except for superficial biannual inspections, 575
nothing much is done about them. Perhaps the Women's Association, once they carry out plans to take over this function, will be more effective.

There are several cases of physically deformed, mentally deficient, 158
and mentally ill persons. A young man of about 20 years, born as an 734
idiot or imbecile, lives in the back of his parents' house, protected from 757
the gaze of outsiders. His family provides well for him, and when no stranger is around to embarrass the family, the grandfather may take him out to attend a village event. Another young man, who was normal, one day began to frighten his family and eventually the whole village by outbursts of violence. He attacked other persons and property. Nobody really knew how to cope with the situation, since the single mental hospital in Okinawa could not keep him longer than six months, and everybody realized that he was sick, not evil minded, when he broke bottles and other glassware in the village store. The [755]
family tried religious treatment and locked the man up but never for long, for he had intermittent periods of calm and seemingly rational behavior. Another man, during a busy day, complained of sudden headaches. Soon afterward he became severely depressed and attempted [762]
to commit suicide, quite an infrequent phenomenon in the Okinawan village.

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Chapter 10

Formal Education

The Japanese school system, which was introduced to Okinawa in the 871
1880's, reached Taira by 1891. At that time a small school was established in the village. Some of its early graduates are still alive and re- 177

862 855 the mother becomes pregnant. Usually, however, weaning is not [262] started in earnest until the mother is three months pregnant.

If the infant has a fever or "bad color," he may be subjected to an- 854 other painful experience, blood letting. Incisions are made on those 757 parts of the body which are thought to be affected, and blood is drawn and caught in a cup. The area is washed with sake. The mother often suckles the baby and holds him while the grandmother or some other older person performs the operation.

854 Babies are diapered and swaddled until they are about a year old. For the first two months their wet and soiled diapers are changed frequently; however, as time goes on, less attention is paid to wet diapers, although those soiled from excreta are promptly changed. Infants are checked often during the raw winter days, but because they are bundled so heavily, there is hardly any danger of their contracting colds as their mothers fear. Severe urine burns and annoying diaper rash are more [164] common than colds among young babies.

[855] Although care is taken to keep the infant as clean as possible during the first year of his life, this attitude changes as the child grows older. [594] This is in large part due to the mother's inability to devote much time to her offspring once she has resumed full participation in economics activities. Depending on the season of the year, babies are bathed from every third or fourth day to once a week. They are bathed almost daily [744] during the first two months of their lives as a result of the insistence of the village nurse. Water is heated on the kitchen hearth and poured into a small washpan. Mothers test the warmth of the water by immersing their arms up to the elbows and adding cold or hot water as they see fit. Soap is gently applied either with a soft washcloth or with the hands and rinsed off by splashing. On chilly winter days the bath takes place indoors, but on the hot sunny days it takes place right outside the kitchen door. In drying the baby, the mother places him in a large towel and pats the dampness from his body. She is careful to dry the skin at the joints where rash is likely to erupt. Except for the very poor, all families keep a bottle of talcum powder, which is applied right after the bath. Throughout the bath, the mother talks softly to the baby, smiling and tickling him. The atmosphere of the bath at this [855] time contrasts sharply with that of a later time when the child is 2 and 3 years old.

863 Although there is hardly any possibility that the infant at this time would be able to smear himself with excreta, the opportunity for doing so is present later when he no longer wears diapers but is still untrained. It rarely happens, as the child is almost constantly watched by a caretaker. One mother reported disgustedly that her infant smeared

Table I, Cont'd.

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Crop	Tsubo Prewar	Tsubo Postwar	Comments
Green peas	80	--	None now due to rats.
Giant radish	50	50	Sell half; use the rest in soups.
Burdock root	--	50	Sell 90%; use only at home for feasts.
Carrots	1	5	Sell half the crop.
Dryland taro	--	20	
Irish potatoes	--	50	Winter crop; seed from Hokkaido.
Cucumbers	1-2	50	Prewar, all used at home. Now sell 90% at about ¥10 per 'kin'.
Chives	1	1	Always use in soup. Raise for home use only.
Wax melon	50	50	Sold half in Itoman prewar; now sell same amount in Naha.
Pumpkins	1	1	Entirely for home use then and now.
Kidney beans	100	100	Then and now entirely for home use, in 'gohan' and 'miso'.
Cabbage	--	50	Sell 90% at ¥2-7 per 'kin'.
Eggplant	--	4-5 stalks	For occasional home use.
Green onion	--	10	Entirely for home use, in soups, etc.
Chinese cabbage	--	20	Sell over two-thirds.
Bitter melon	--	5	Mainly for home use.
Mustard cabbage	--	3	Sell half. Pickle temporarily with salt for home use. [251]
Swiss chard	5	50	Pigs eat the old and large leaves; people the young and tender small ones. [231]
Garlic	--	3	It is pickled, and is entirely for home use. [351]
Shallot	--	2	Entirely for home use.
Red peppers	--	1-2 stalks	Used with soybean curd, or when one has a stomach ache. [159]

'Miso' is used not only in soups, but as a flavoring for other dishes. 262
Jūshiimē is rice fried in oil and 'miso', with green onions added. Tōfu- 252
champuru is made by putting shredded bonito and hot lard in a pan, adding a little 'miso' and some soysauce, and one-inch cubes of bean curd, or 'tōfu'. 'Tōfu' was eaten about every three days in Nanahan before the war, and every day about twenty peddlers from Tsukazan went through the countryside selling it. It is eaten not oftener than once a month now.

A strong rice drink, 'awamori', is in evidence at all parties. It is 273
sometimes diluted with orange soda, but more often it is served full-strength flavored with either garlic or red peppers. Before the war the refuse from [231]
making 'awamori', called kashijii, was very cheap---about two gallons could be had for fifteen sen---and was generally fed to pigs. However, it also fur- [257]
nished the base for kashijē-ēi, made by pouring hot water on half-boiled spinach or swiss chard, and adding the liquid from the refuse. It was said to have been very good for the stomach.

Feast Foods When a person reaches the age of 61, 73, or 85, a celebration 262
known as tushibii is held. This is the occasion for a feast of 574
whatever proportions the extended family's budget can afford. In the spring [561]
of 1954 a Nanahan lady who was a member of the dominant family reached seventy-three. The following was served at the feast:

--Paddy taro boiled in sugar syrup
--Soup containing 'konnyaku', pork, tripe, goat meat and ginger
--Giant radish and carrots, shredded in vinegar
--Several slices of fried bean curd
--Fish cake
--Deep-fried sugar batter
--A dish of 'konnyaku', 'daikon', pork and shredded radish
--Deep-fried whale tripe in peanut butter sauce
--Red rice; noodle soup
--Fried bean curd and pork, with seaweed

In addition, guests were given two boxes to take home, which contained the following:

--Two pieces of pork
--1 piece fried bean curd
--Two pieces of fish, deep-fried in batter
--1 piece of pork heart
--Two pieces of fish cake
--A red-dyed hard-boiled egg
--Two pieces of burdock root, deep-fried in batter
--Two pieces of sweet pound cake
--Two pieces of kujimuchi (a rice cake)
--Two large pieces of deep fried sugar batter
--One deep-fried flour dumpling
--Five cakes of baked rice flour, in shapes of the pine, bamboo, plum, crane and tortoise---symbols of longevity.

261 262 Famine Food and Wartime Substitutes The standard famine foods on Okinawa have always been dried sweet potato chips or refuse from the making of starch, sago palm nuts and the pulp of the same palm. The latter two are eaten with restraint, as they contain small [252] amounts of an alkaloid poison. The sweet potato materials are made into soups, and the sago palm provides a type of flour for deep frying, or 'tempura'.

[137] During the last war, soups were also made from the stem of the plant Ligularia Kaempferia, known as 'tsuwabuki' in Japanese, and chiipappā in Okinawan. One Nanahan farmer related, "The chiipappā which I ate in Kin-son during the war was delicious, and one felt better after eating it. When I came back here, I tried our local variety, but it is bitter and inedible." The giant African snail was used to alleviate famine just before the invasion. It [252] was boiled in its shell, then de-shelled and the "snail juice" washed out with a bitter orange called shiisā. The meat was then fried with vegetables and the white part of a leek.

273 177 276 272 Japanese soldiers during the war taught the Okinawans how to make a strong liquor from sugar cane, as no real 'sake' or 'awamori' was then available. Tobacco was also scarce, and pine tree bark was substituted. Some people preferred to smoke the leaves of the 'mogusa' plant, which is also used for cautery. One very poor family in Nanahan still retains the practice. Tea could not be bought in the late pre-invasion period, and the beans of the lantana bush furnished a palatable substitute.

263 Uses of Sugar in the Home When a guest calls at an Okinawan farmer's home, he is served tea, black sugar chunks, and quite [574] often 'awamori'. Many other uses were related. It is used in batter for deep [757] frying; for cure of headache, sickness, and fainting spells; for a hangover; and when food is not delicious.

[56] punishment, the threat to send a child away is not an idle one. Nor is the threat to sell a child. Children are still sold, though poverty is doubtless the principal reason. The use of the threat to sell in dealing with a recalcitrant child undoubtedly has an effect both on the outlook of the child who because of poverty is actually sold and on the attitudes of others toward him.

Physical punishments include such measures as a slap on the buttocks, a sharp blow on the head with the knuckles---especially with the joint of the middle finger protruding from the clenched fist, a pinch on the fleshy part of the thigh. These last two are particularly used by older women and are rather severe so that after a few experiences the child is likely to be impressed by the threat. Instead of putting the child out of the house, a parent or grandparent may confine the child by tying him to a post of the house or tying him and putting him into a box up on the storage shelf on the rafters. [57] Another treatment is to have moxa burned on the skin. This is a recognized medical practice and its use is interpreted as curative rather than punitive.

The following occurred in a family that occupied a quarter of a city house. The mother was told by one neighbor that another neighbor was telling people that she had observed, through a crack in the wall between their sections of the house, the seven-year old son of the first woman kissing his twelve-year-old sister and displaying his genitals to her. The mother was nearly frantic with worry about the story. She confronted her son and asked him what had happened. He said he didn't know. The mother then said, "Mother saw it, so tell me about it." The boy repeated that he did not know what she was talking about. Then she said, "The kami-sama (gods) saw it, so you can't hide it." He remained silent. Then she said, "Tomorrow we'll go to the police station and then maybe we'll find out what happened." The boy continued to remain silent. Nothing at all came of the matter. The mother later concluded that the gossipy neighbor, with whom she was not on speaking terms anyway, may have made the story up. The mother's statement that she had seen what happened was an outright lie and if the story was false the boy must have known it was a lie, or he could easily have concluded that it was a lie from the very manner in which it was said. The threat to take him to the police of course never materialized; it may have been an old one and therefore also recognized as an empty threat. It is possibly significant that the mother questioned the boy rather than his older sister.

A good example of punishment devised to fit the crime is provided by the following incident reported by Lebra. An old woman lived alone with her grandson, a boy of seven or so. The boy was rather mischievous and on several occasions started fires in the house. The grandmother scolded him for it at first but the last time he did it she used more drastic measures. She caught him, tied him to a house-post, tore two long strips of paper, stuffed an end of each up one of his nostrils, and lit a match to the free ends that dangled down at his waist. As the smoke curled up into his nose and the flames licked nearer, he screamed and promised never to play with matches again. Before he was burned the grandmother removed the burning strips of paper. When she was satisfied that he would reform, she untied him. She

a young man would have had no previous sexual experience and that it was felt 585
that it was necessary for him to be instructed by an experienced woman before 178
he had relations with his bride. The third explanation was given by a country 565
woman in her fifties, of gentry descent. She told how her husband had gone to the wedding of a city relative and had been taken afterwards to the juri-nuyaa. She did not know if her husband had been treated to a juri or not but was sure that the groom must have had one. Her explanation of the practice was that it was mainly a display of the position of the family and its ability to provide entertainment. Probably there is a bit of truth in all three explanations. The practice does undoubtedly reenforce the male's right to sexual freedom. The second explanation seems a little weak, especially in view of the reported former practice of the city gentry of combining a sexual initiation with the boy's coming-of-age ceremony, but the explanation may be that given for the earlier trip to the brothel and it may also be the "explanation" of the practice conventionally given, conventional explanations not necessarily revealing real motives. The last explanation, that the practice is mainly a display, probably strikes at the most important motive, the use of entertainment to demonstrate status.

Secondary Marriage Formerly wealthier men sometimes took juri as 837
mistresses. In the village of Yamada before the war, the richest man, or 556
perhaps the only man designated as "rich man" had his own juri. She was a kooi-juri, a "bought juri", that is, he had bought her from the house she had been indentured to. She stayed in Naha, but occasionally came to Yamada. The informant who told of this, a woman in her thirties, expressed the opinion that any man who became rich would naturally soon want his own juri.

At the present time it seems to be a fairly widespread practice for a 595
man who has enough means to have a second wife (yuubee, in Japanese 'nigō', "number two"). Sometimes this is done openly, sometimes secretly. It may be a more common practice today than formerly because of the present skewed sex ratio. Some information was obtained about two such men, one a fisherman and the other a doctor, so-called.

The fisherman was an Itoman man; his first wife had no children so he took as a second wife a woman whose family lived in a town to the north. The second wife has borne three children. The "main wife" (in Japanese 'honsai') stays at Itoman in the house of the man's father, and there she is raising the husband's first son, the child of the second wife. But most of the time the husband is at one of the northern villages with his second wife, her other children, and two boys of junior high school age whom he bought on one of the outer islands to help him in his fishing. Unfortunately I did not learn how the family was registered in the 'koseki'.

The "doctor" was a man from a village south of Naha, who had an office [757]
at his home and also a practice in Naha. His methods consisted of heat treatments and steam baths. He spent about half the time with his "number two", whom he had set up in a room in Naha. His first wife was presumably unaware of the existence of the second wife, even though he once took the second wife to his home along with a patient, ostensibly as a friend of the patient.

751
514 The drum is nearly full and its surface is in constant motion, a seething
343 mass of maggots. One of those men with the carts that cause you to cross
[364] to the other side of the road will come in a few days to dump it, he hopes.
574 He crosses the yard and is invited into the house. He takes off his shoes
751 and steps up onto the floor. It is surprisingly clean, he finds. A mat is
[356] spread and he sits cross-legged upon it. Tea is offered and he accepts, thinking that it must have been made from boiled water. He learns later that he was wrong. He is given a fan and perceives that its function is keeping the flies away as much as it is creating a breeze. In a spirit of friendly cooperation he and Grandfather take turns shooing the flies off the broken chunks of black sugar that have been placed before them. A larger blue-bottle fly enters and someone makes a special effort to chase
[825] it out. Should the visitor be so crude and impolite as to mention flies and in connection with the toilet, it will be pointed out that only the blue-bottle flies are hatched from the maggots in the toilet. The smaller black house-flies simply produce more flies and hence are harmless.

[264] Bananas are served and the peels follow those of the potatoes out onto the ground. Smaller children run in and out. One child comes in with
[315] its nose running. After a time Mother pulls up its shirt tail and wipes the mucus off the upper lip. The child has not been well; Mother or Grandmother
[757] may take it to the yabuu, who will burn moxa on its skin at the proper places. A neighbor's child walks by; its face and nearly hairless head are
[753] a mass of scabs and its eyes are almost shut by pus. Someone laughingly explains that this is what happens when you don't cut a baby's buttocks properly with a razor to draw out the bad blood.

The visitor is urged to take more tea and sugar. He is complimented on his interest in Okinawa and is asked innumerable questions about America. The family is eager for knowledge and for further contact. As he rises to leave, he is urged to return. He puts on his shoes, finding one slightly
[753] damp from the poor aim of the youngest child. He is cautioned to wear his hat and knows by now the unspoken fear---encephalitis---caused by too much exposure to the sun. He notices that around the well where Mother has been
[296] doing laundry a great pool of water is gradually sinking into the sand. As he picks his way across the yard he wonders if the family would not be better off living in a houseboat, preferably in a fast-moving stream.

751 Such are some of the features of Okinawan life. Yet it would be a mistake to assume that there are no standards of sanitation. There are, they
356 are simply narrower than those of most Americans. Many Okinawans do throw
751 garbage out their front doors as indicated above, but it is also true that the floor of the house is usually cleaner than many American floors. It has to be clean; people sit on it and sleep on it. People take off their shoes before stepping up onto it or if they have been to the fields barefooted
751 they may wash their feet before stepping up onto it. But the area of clean-
[351] liness ends with the step. Beyond the step is a different sort of territory. Yet even in the yard there is a limit to the amount of trash that may be al-
[514] lowed to accumulate before it is swept away. The practice of urinating in the yard is distasteful to the American observer, but there is perhaps less basis for objection to it as a health hazard. Urine is relatively harmless. Feces, however, go into the toilet. If an untrained child defecates in the yard usually someone cleans up the spot.

Although Okinawans occasionally refer to Heaven or the Gods of Heaven (J. 'Ten no kami-sama'; Okinawan U-kami-ganashii, etc.), the concept does not seem to be well defined. The clearest statement heard on the subject was the one just mentioned in connection with the Fire God. Since the dead, or some of them, rise to Heaven, the term "Gods of Heaven" may include them, but there are evidently other greater beings too. These may be identical with the figures of the native origin myth. But aside from a few enthusiasts, mainly local historians and shamans (yuta), few Okinawans seem informed about or concerned with native cosmology, or any other. This may in part be the result of a generation or so of Japanese education with educators attempting to take the Japanese mythology seriously and making Okinawan mythology jibe with it. But it is more likely that this lack of concern with Heaven is due rather to an old tendency common in East Asia to settle matters at the local level without bothering the higher authorities, in dealing with both political problems and spiritual problems. 772 [175] [176] [177] [181]

In the Okinawan universe there are also a few earthly beings with supernatural power. The akamataa is a real species of non-poisonous snake. But it is believed to be able to change itself into a handsome young man, in which form it seduces unwitting young women. One young woman who was seduced is said to have given birth to a whole tubful of baby akamataa. 776

The kijimunaa is a wholly mythical being but seems to belong more in the natural world. According to some it lives in old trees, but according to others it is a sea-being who lives on fish and shellfish and who will become the helper of a fisherman who makes friends with it. Regardless of habitat, the kijimunaa is believed to approach a sleeping person and sit on his chest, nearly suffocating him and preventing him from crying out. Apparently the being is not dangerous but merely annoying.

Another being that is feared is the tamagai or 'hidama', "fireball". This was described in Yamada as a light that appears at certain times as an omen. However, in a village in Southern Okinawa it is regarded as the cause of fire. Since it is a female being the young men of this village drive it away by forming a procession and marching through the village shouting "Hoo hai!" ("Your vulva's showing.") [787] [184] [372]

The Itoman people speak of the ja or 'ryu', the "dragon". This being lives in the sea or the clouds; its tail is the whirlwind; its feces, if one is fortunate enough to find them; are like coal tar and are a very valuable medicine. Other Okinawans seem to regard this as something only the Itoman people know about. [757] [184]

One more concept is perhaps worth mentioning; this is shiji. Certain places, the sacred hilltop of the village, etc., are said to be shiji-dakasang, "high in shiji", and therefore to be approached with respect. It is also said of persons, especially those believed to be destined to become religious practitioners. The term shiji evidently signifies a sort of supernatural power that adheres to places and people, perhaps like the Oceanian concept "mana". Haring has suggested that the Japanese concept 778 [171]

769 of the child; the child prays several times a year, on the important occa-
753 sions, at the ancestral tablets of the adopted parent, but otherwise lives as before. The rationale of this practice may be: if one set of ancestors is not sufficient for the child, why not give him another?

753 Also related to the concept ugvambusuku is the notion that certain
828 persons are destined to do more than just make offerings; some are to become
794 kaminchu, "god persons", and play the principal roles at the family worship at the important holidays. If these persons shirk this duty they may become ill as a consequence. In certain persons, particularly older women, persistent illness and especially mental illness may be interpreted as a sure sign that the afflicted person ought to become a kaminchu. There is one well-recognized type of mental illness called 'kami-buri'; the person with this disorder constantly makes the gestures of prayer toward various persons and objects in an extravagant manner. Such a person is almost sure to become a religious practitioner after recovery. In fact some kaminchu positions must
[756] be filled by persons who have had 'kami-buri'. The yuta may also receive his, or more often her, vocation through such an illness. (Recently a visiting psychiatrist commented on the low number of cases at the Kin mental hospital. There are of course many cases that are not committed to the institution because Okinawan society has a place for them; they become its psychiatrists.)

Other concepts of disease will be discussed in the next section.

4. Medical Practice

755 Home Remedies There are a number of home remedies that are known to many
757 persons, especially older women. These include the use of certain herbs, the letting of blood, the use of salt, prayer, swearing for exorcism, spells. These methods of treatment may be used by any old woman to the extent of her knowledge, but if the illness appears to be too serious for these treatments a professional medical practitioner may be consulted. However, the distinction between the professional person and the skilled amateur is not always clear.

757 Herbs are used for digestive disorders and particularly for female
824 disorders. Tawada in his description of Okinawan flora[1] lists ten plants used for medicinal purposes, nine of which are said to be useful to female disorders along with a variety of other things ranging from toothaches to appendicitis.

757 Blood-letting is practiced on most infants as a cure for skin eruptions and is sometimes also used on adults. Shallow incisions are made with a razor to let out the "bad blood". These are made on a baby's buttocks and sometimes, though less frequently at the present time than in the past, on the face of an adult.

755 Salt is used for purification. A yuta whom I saw exorcise a house and yard took salt into his mouth and then spit it and threw it in the

[1] Tawada, 1951.

direction of some tombs in order to prevent the ghosts from coming into the 755
yard. I have also seen a woman who had some training as a nurse throw salt over a hospital patient who had just had a major operation; this was, she said, to cleanse the patient and the bed. Salt is also used as a home 767
remedy for stomach disorders. A mother or grandmother may rub salt on the navel of a child suffering from a stomach ache. According to a small boy who received this treatment, it works.

Prayers are directed toward the supernatural beings who may help 782
one overcome an illness. Curses and spells are directed toward malevolent 755
beings, usually ghosts, when they are the cause of illness. Spells (mannaa, Japanese 'majinai') are verbal formulae that have a magical effect. Persons who are known to know spells and who may be asked to use them for the benefit of others are called mannaasaa ('majinai suru hito'), but spells seem to be useful only for a few diseases and so there is probably little specialization in their use.

To indicate something of the mixture of the natural and the super- 755
natural (to use Western categories) in the treatment of illness in the Oki- 757
nawan home, I have appended a description of the notions about and treatment of a few diseases as observed and as described by informants. These are all skin ailments.

1. Kamigasaa A kasa (skin eruption or rash) caused by kami (gods). 755 757

a. Irigasaa Identified as the same as the Japanese 'hashika' 753
(dictionary translation, "measles"). This disease is caught only once, [164]
usually as a child. One must catch it before he becomes a complete person ('ichininmae'). Because children sometimes die of it, parents worry before they have caught it but are eager to have it over with. There are lighter and heavier "requests" ('o-negai') so that if a child has a "light request" the parents of other children may bring them in to lie beside the sick child and eat what food he leaves in order that they may contact the disease. But the disease is given by the god and therefore the other children get it only if they were meant to do so.

The disease begins with a fever and then a rash appears on the head and moves downward. If the rash does not appear the fever may rise and therefore parents worry if the rash is delayed. If there is no rash visible it may be that the rash is on the inside unable to get out and thus is causing the fever. This is dangerous.

Careful treatment is essential. The god comes around to see how the patient is being treated; if the family is not watching the child carefully, the god makes the disease worse. In a case observed, the mother kept the child in bed covered with a thick quilt and mosquito net and sat beside him, fanning him almost continuously. Polite language is also necessary in order not to offend the god.

755 On the 3rd, 5th, and 7th days after the appearance of the rash,
757 mijinaarii ("water-stroking") is performed. It must be performed at the
753 time of day when the tide is beginning to ebb. In the case observed it was performed by the child's maternal grandmother. The old woman first placed a cup of water before the incense-burner representing the Fire God, lit two sticks of incense and placed them in the burner, and prayed. Then she took the water and applied it to the child's forehead and cheeks, stroking lightly downward. The prayer, explained later, went, "A Dog boy (i.e. a boy born in the Year of the Dog) has a request of irigasa-ganashii (term of respect); today I perform the third day water-stroking and so I beg that you make him well."

During the period when the rash is present and perhaps for a few days after, the child ought not to be bathed or even have his face washed; water, except for that used in the "water-stroking", is harmful to the patient. During the course of the disease and for about a month after, the child must not be permitted to eat heavy or fatty foods; these would cause a congestion in the child's throat which might become dangerous.

(In the case observed I asked if it were not true that light might hurt the sick child's eyes; it was agreed that this was said to be true, but it seemed to be distinctly a secondary consideration. The question, in fact, led to a discussion of the decline in the practice of keeping doors tightly closed in order to keep out ghosts.)

b. Mijigasaa, "water rash", a second type of kamigasaa. It is also caused by a god, but it is not as serious. It may be caught two or three times. The eruptions contain a fluid, hence the name. The rash spreads if the fluid touches other parts of the body, so the eruptions are covered with sweet-potato starch when they begin to run. Treatment also includes "water-stroking" and certain food restrictions while the rash is present.

2. Kaji-ooraa-kasa : rash accompanied by itching but no running. It may be caught by either a child or an adult. It is caused by yanakaji ("bad winds", i.e. ghosts). It may be contracted either while out walking in the hills or while at home. This disease must be treatly unkindly; the patient should be sworn at and slapped. The itching may be stopped by the use of a pair of 'zōri' (a Japanese style sandal). The person who knows how to perform the treatment first heats the 'zōri' over a fire and then while uttering a spell (mannaa, Japanese 'majinai') heats their undersides over the face and body of the afflicted person. He then takes the 'zōri' to a crossroads and puts them in the middle where someone will step on them. This will stop the itching.

An incident was related where this disease was confused with the first one described. At the end of the war, in Ishikawa, an old man of 75 became ill and broke out in large pox. His family believed his disease was caused by yanakaji so they gathered around him and shouted curses ("Eat feces", etc.) at him to chase the yanakaji away. But the old man merely got worse. Then they consulted a yuta and were told that the illness was

not caused by ghosts but by a god and therefore they should speak politely. They did so and the old man recovered. 755 757 753

3. Tangasa A rash with running eruptions, which may be contracted by both children and adults. It begins at the nape of the neck or at the base of the spine. If it spreads all the way around the neck or trunk the patient is in danger of losing his life. One ought not to say the name of this disease and so instead of saying tangasa, people say naa-iramnuu-gasa, "the rash that is not called by name".

A person with this disease may be treated by a mannaasaa (spell-worker, in Japanese, 'majinau hito'). The patient is taken to the mannaasaa early in the morning. The mannaasaa, before drinking morning tea even, takes a full puff of tobacco, blows it on the affected spot, and recites a spell. He must say the words without taking a breath and without making a mistake for them to be effective. The words are addressed to the disease, which is probably caused by ghosts.

4. Heegasaa From hee, "skin"; a condition in which the face and scalp become a mass of scabs and the eyes matter. The condition occurs in both children and adults, but seems more common among smaller children. It is treated in small children by blood-letting (hanchuung, in Japanese 'sakuru'). Most infants are said to be bled for breaking out on the buttocks. The buttocks are cut with a razor blade just enough to draw blood. If heegasaa develops it is because the bad blood has not all been drawn out, and so the treatment may be repeated. If the bad blood is not drawn out in childhood the condition may become much worse in adult life. (The mild condition for which infants are bled looks to me like what would be called "diaper rash" in America. The heegasaa is a truly hideous condition which afflicts a number of small children and a few older persons. One of the USCAR medical officers referred to it as "scruff" and expressed the belief that it could be checked in its early stages with a frequent application of warm water and soap. Once it gets started, however, exposure to dirt and flies must make improvement difficult. One case encountered by Lebra had continued for several years. An informant mentioned cases from before the war that had lasted from childhood into adult life; two brothers had heegasaa so that they could not go to school, could not marry, and did nothing but stay at home and scratch themselves. It was said that even more than they feared policemen, they feared flies. This informant believed their condition was caused by their not having been properly bled when children; another informant suggested congenital syphilis.)

5. Ha'imakaa A kind of rash that may be caught by a person who happens to pass by a tree called makaa. This tree causes the illness, but not to persons who have the Okinawan name (warabinaa) of Makaa. Therefore a person not so named who sees that he is passing a makaa tree will say, "I am named Makaa too, so if you give it to me I'll break your neck." If this fails and he contracts the illness, he may go back and tie rocks to the limbs of the tree so that they bend down, and repeat his threat.

Other Diviners Besides the sanjinsoo there are several other types of diviners, such as palmists, physiognomists, and card readers. 791
Some of these combine prayer and supposed reliance upon supernatural powers with their science. For example in Ishikawa there is a young woman who is referred to as a kaminchu-gwaa or yuta-gwaa, though neither term is very apt. She is consulted about the character and future of individual persons. Her performance consists of asking the birth year of the person in question, praying, and then dealing out a fortune from a pack of playing cards of an archaic type. She charges ¥30 for each person inquired about. As with the true yuta illness may be a matter on which she is consulted. [787]

Like the sanjinsoo, these persons are found mainly in the larger towns and cities, where it appears that they manage to make a living. Whatever the law reads on the matter the police and the public evidently regard these professions as legitimate as long as the practitioners are sincere in their work. There was a famous case in Ishikawa about 1951, however, where two young women set up an establishment as diviners. They are said to have given advice free to the needy at first and built up a large clientele, whereupon they began overcharging their wealthier customers and spending the money on riotous living. Finally the police put a stop to their activities, charging them with giving advice in an irresponsible manner. 791 689

The Yabuu The term yabuu seems to be derived from the Japanese 'yabu-isha', literally "bush-doctor", defined by the dictionary as "quack". 759 177
The Japanese and English terms, however, reflect attitudes that are probably not associated with the Okinawan yabuu. The yabuu is a practitioner of 'Kampōi', "Chinese Medicine", a term that was once coordinate with 'Rampōi' "Dutch Medicine", that is, modern Western (and now modern Japanese) medicine. The methods of the yabuu include moxibustion, acupuncture, and the prescription of various foods.

Moxibustion (Japanese 'o-kyū') is the burning of 'mogusa' or "moxa" on the patient's flesh. On an occasion which I observed, a woman brought a child of two or three to be treated. The yabuu took out his charts of the body, which, he explained, showed where the nerves may be reached. The theory seems to be that the burning activates the nerves and causes the body to throw off the illness. In this case the child seemed to be suffering from some internal disorder. Its body bore the scars of previous treatment. The yabuu, after consulting his chart, painted four dots on the child's bare back with a red liquid. Then he wetted a finger and put on each dot a tiny bit of 'mogusa' and with a lighted punk lit each bit, let it burn down to the skin, and then tamped it out. His wife then wiped off the ashes, leaving a small black scar where each dot had been. He then burned six more spots on each side of the child's chest, four around the navel, one on each ankle and one on each wrist. Throughout the procedure the child cried and had to be restrained by its mother. The scars, however, are said not usually to be permanent. 759 757

Acupuncture consists of inserting into the flesh a long gold needle ('kimbari'), usually at the afflicted spot. It is used, for example, to relieve the stiffness of the hips associated with childbirth.

759 757 [228] The yabuu also prescribe herbal remedies. They do not, however, prepare their medicines, but rather instruct the patient how to gather and prepare the plants for use. The act of preparing one's own medicine may thus have a magical value. Yabuu also prescribe the eating of certain parts of certain animals for their good influence on the corresponding parts of the human body. Dogs and cats are among the animals so used. (This practice may be the source of the belief widespread among Americans on Okinawa that the Okinawans eat dogs; they do, on rare occasions, but not as food, merely as medicine.)

759 Short-cut Systems Standing somewhere between the yabuu and the modern doctor are several types of practitioners who give treatments with heat, light, steam, etc. as all-purpose cures. One man was observed to use a tube in which he burned a substance, probably moxa, while he moved it over the patient's body. His system seemed to be the moxibustion of the yabuu dressed up with "scientific" gadgets. He was described by a friend as "half-doctor half-yabuu", a description that was meant to elicit a favorable response since it implies that he possesses the efficacy of both.

759 278 [164] In addition to these full-time professionals on the fringes of medicine, there are also a number of part-time penicillin-shooters, who are particularly active in areas frequented by American personnel, where they are in demand for the treatment of venereal disease. Penicillin is sold freely and in quantity, perhaps because of the prevalence of venereal disease, and has become a very popular treatment even for very minor infections. Hormone shots also seem to be widely used by untrained persons.

759 [177] Modern Medicine There are of course modern Japanese-trained doctors on Okinawa. But they are relatively few in number, about one for every 3,900 persons.[1] Trained nurses and medical facilities are also too few and too little. But even if there were more doctors and more facilities, it is doubtful that the ordinary Okinawan would make more use of them.

759 753 829 [554] Medical doctors have a high status in Okinawan society. They are admired and respected. Parents frequently express the wish that a son might grow up to become a doctor. But the advice of the doctor is not always heeded. The respect may be more for his education and the social position it gives him than for his professional opinion. In the matter of illness the advice that the ordinary Okinawan respects is more likely to be that of the older members of his own family and of the familiar yuta, sanjinsoo, and yabuu, for this advice is given in terms of insufficiency of worship, soul-loss, and the influence of the twelve-year-cycle. These are concepts that are familiar to him and have an integration with other beliefs, which the concepts dealt with by the doctor do not have. The doctor's very disregard of the supernatural runs counter to the feelings of the

[1] CAARI, Vol. 1, no. 2, p. 52 gives 126 practicing physicians for Okinawa plus 50 working for GRI. Japan has about one for every 1300 persons; Japan Statistical Yearbook, 1950, gives 63,273 (p. 432) and the total population as 80,216,896 (p. 12).

753 that I found the greatest resistance to any suggestion that American methods
177 might have equal or greater validity. American material culture the Okina-
wans are delighted to accept, and they are eager for more. American social
[562] relationships they look somewhat askance at but they are willing to experi-
ment, in a small way, with equal rights for women. But the suggestion that
medically they don't know what ails them is harder to take. They are will-
ing to accept modern medical explanations of disease as a partial explana-
tion, perhaps as the occasional means by which the ultimate causes affect
disease. The ultimate causes are supernatural.

753 To challenge the concept ugwambusuku, the insufficiency of worship
177 that causes illness, is to challenge the present structure of religion, and
769 at a point where it is most closely bound to social organization. Anxiety
182 over insufficiency of worship and its possible consequences is probably the
strongest force motivating the whole range of activities connected with
death, burial, and the worship of ancestors. It is not too far-fetched to
suggest that it is also a reason for respecting one's elders during their
lifetime. It is no wonder that Okinawans show a strong resistance to any
challenge to these beliefs, even though they may not be conscious of all the
implications of the challenge.

753 To challenge the whole structure of belief would probably be wholly
177 unsuccessful. Or if somehow the Okinawans could be persuaded to abandon
757 these beliefs at once, the result would probably be either chaos or the un-
critical acceptance of another set of beliefs that might soon prove to be
just as far out of line with medical science as the present. Probably the
surest way to introduce modern medical concepts is by gradually whittling
down the native concepts beginning with the more peripheral ones. This is
not as hopeless as it might seem, for some changes have already taken place.
[846] Until recently women after childbirth were baked for about a week over a
fire in the jiiru, a hearth in the back room of the house, even in hot wea-
ther. It is said that it was a very uncomfortable experience and that in
warm weather it often resulted in rashes and boils, yet it was practiced be-
cause it was thought to be necessary for the health of the woman. In the
last few years this practice has been abandoned. One woman informant was
positive that the hideous skin condition called heegasa or "scruff" could be
prevented by drawing out the "bad blood", but she was equally positive that
the former practice of baking a new mother was useless if not harmful. Some
day she may become convinced that cutting an infant's buttocks with a razor
is useless if not harmful. She will be convinced when someone has demon-
strated to her that heegasa can be prevented by another means and that be-
cause the blood circulates it is no more "bad" at one place than another. The
concept "bad blood" is a peripheral one, with no close relationship to re-
ligion or social organization.

Other peripheral beliefs are those associated with the yabuu, the
efficacy of moxa and the golden needle of acupuncture. In demonstrating the
superiority of modern medicine over these techniques one may not always
count on the cooperation of educated Okinawans. In opposing the practice of
[181] the yabuu and other practitioners one runs counter to one of the strongest
themes of Okinawan culture---one must not interfere with another's livelihood.

52 The general characteristics of the changed entertainment patterns
178 have been a greater reliance on entertainment provided by sources outside
621 the village---the school, radio, movies---and a sharp decline in celebrations and festivals of the sort which emphasized village participation and unity.

757 Health and Medicine Changes in medical practice well illustrate the
753 principle that material things find more ready acceptance than ideas in the
177 diffusion of culture; in short, Okinawans have been willing to adopt modern medicine when available, but not modern medical principles. Pills, shots, surgery, dentistry, penicillin, and DDT have found acceptance, while modern scientific concepts of disease, health, and sanitation seem to have made relatively little headway. The germ theory, for example, has barely penetrated.

753 However, on talking to people of different ages one becomes aware
751 that many changes in standards of sanitation and ideas about health and dis-
177 ease actually have taken place in the last fifty years. For example, evidence of the practice of tattooing various parts of the body as a cure for certain ills is rarely seen on persons under seventy. Similarly, though many of the younger generation may appear abysmally ignorant of modern knowledge of disease, they are always less ignorant and better informed than the preceding generation. Considerable progress toward better sanitation was made under the
[364] Japanese. Formerly the Okinawan privy was built atop the pigpen, and the pig
[231] subsisted in part on human feces. Stern measures were required to force the abandonment of this practice. The Japanese also introduced monthly sanitation inspections; inoculations for babies and school children were made compulsory.
[515] Through the influence of the schools the toothbrush (usually one) became a
[582] part of every home. The Japanese also sent notable scholars into the countryside to lecture the people on the dangers of in-breeding practices, particularly kin-group endogamy.

757 Penicillin, which was introduced by the Americans, has become a pop-
177 ular treatment, achieving equality with moxacautery and cutting to let blood. It can be obtained easily at any drug shop, and every doctor, midwife, herbalist, and practitioner of any sort is prepared to administer shots. Reliance excessive even by American standards is placed on this drug. There seems, in fact, to be a fondness for shots which does not end with penicillin; hormone shots and various other injections are widely advertised. It is the opinion of the author that any type of modern medicine which cuts, punctures, or otherwise disfigures the skin will find ready acceptance; this, it is felt, is merely an extension of the tradition of acupuncture, moxacautery, tattooing, and cutting. Bettelheim states that in the 1850's the Okinawans made inquiries as to how inoculations for smallpox might be obtained.[1]

759 There is some indication that the yabu, a practitioner whose chief
178 stocks-in-trade are herbs and moxacautery, is slowly disappearing; in several communities the author was told that since the old yabu died there had been no replacement.

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[1] Bettelheim, B. J., Loochoo Mission, London, n.d., pp. 34-36.

year. On these occasions his parents take gifts of tea, noodles, and whatever else they can spare to the foster parents. During their visit the foster parents present the gift as an offering on the ancestral shrine and pray to their own ancestors, the guardians of the foster child. It is believed that this may help to offset the adverse effects of the child's own ancestors. 597 755 769

In spite of some treatments, such as blood letting and moxa cautery, which seem harsh to the unaccustomed observer, Taira people are extremely concerned about their sick. Illness, and most of all the need to remove the patient to the local dispensary or to a hospital in town, involves the whole family. No one likes to leave a sick person alone. His family and friends attend to him in such numbers that the small rooms are never large enough to hold all. The security given in everyday life by the presence of relatives and neighbors in the village continues during the critical period of illness. In the case of a fisherman from the south who was washed ashore in his boat after a storm, township officials kept the man continuous company in his dispensary room even though he was close to death. Female relatives cook meals and look after the comfort of a hospitalized person. This means that a young girl or an older woman will leave her usual work for days or weeks to attend the patient. 758 ● [156]

Because of intimacy in the home and visits to the sick, children are quite familiar with illness. A mother who has to go to the hospital takes her youngest child with her. After burning moxa weeds on her skin for two weeks had failed to cure a nephritic condition, one woman went to the hospital in town, taking her 8-months-old daughter although she did not have enough milk to nurse. The infant had to be given bottled milk prepared from cans. Meanwhile the older children remained under the care of their father. [757]

There is, however, little concern with children who have minor ailments. A school child may be excused from attending classes. In one case a boy stayed home from school with stomach pains. He was happily playing with younger children in the street. One of the adult villagers walked past, stopped after seeing him, and inquired: "Why aren't you in school today?" When told by the boy that he had an upset stomach, the man ordered him to go home right away and stay inside or go to school. The boy's mother, although aware of her son's discomfort, did not pay any special attention to it. 757 855 872

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744 Like most public offices in Okinawa, the nurse's carries with it a large load of administrative duties. Between these and attending meet-
759 ings and lectures at Nago hospital, there is relatively little time to cover the long distances between villages. Taira is fortunate to be the residence of the nurse, and when occasionally a nurse from another township comes to help her with inocculations, the children crowd around her and say "We want 'our' nurse to do it."

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759 tor." After the war the government gave permission to a number of
758 former army medical personnel to practice on a limited scale in the
[844] villages. The Taira practitioner takes the place of a midwife, gives first aid, and diagnoses simple illnesses. If there are no complications, a patient requesting medical care may be kept at the dispensary, where a family member and the doctor's "nurse," a young female servant, attend to all his needs. If the doctor is confronted with a complicated birth or a case requiring surgical skill, he refers the patient to a private
[657] clinic in Nago or to the public hospital there. The township gives financial aid to the doctor to maintain his establishment.

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[278] biotics and drugs are liberally administered via the hypodermic needle. But the doctor does not restrict himself entirely to the use of rec-
[262] ognized Western medicines and practices. He may recommend special diets to which people have resorted for a long time, such as goat soup,
[759] which is believed to cure colds. Although the doctor has a high status in the community, most persons do not rely on his advice alone but resort to other practitioners and their remedies.

[759] Until a few years ago a popular medical practitioner, the bush doctor, resided in Taira. After his death nobody took over his work, and now many people have to travel far to receive treatment from a bush doctor in another village. His methods primarily include the use of moxa cautery, burning mogusa weed on the patient's skin, and acupuncture by the use of a fine golden needle. He may also prescribe a certain diet and the use of special herbal remedies, which the patient prepares for himself. Those who have great confidence in the bush doctor's competence, particularly older persons, do not consult the Taira doctor at all.

758 In all their dealings with sickness and its prevention, Taira people are severely handicapped by their economic conditions. Even families

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1983 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

who have accepted them cannot afford to buy the recommended drugs. 758
Furthermore, the choice between the bush doctor and the trained medical men in town is sometimes determined by lack of money to pay for the more expensive services.

Cleanliness of the village and general sanitation are theoretically 744
under township control. Except for superficial biannual inspections, 575
nothing much is done about them. Perhaps the Women's Association, once they carry out plans to take over this function, will be more effective.

There are several cases of physically deformed, mentally deficient, 158
and mentally ill persons. A young man of about 20 years, born as an 734
idiot or imbecile, lives in the back of his parents' house, protected from 757
the gaze of outsiders. His family provides well for him, and when no stranger is around to embarrass the family, the grandfather may take him out to attend a village event. Another young man, who was normal, one day began to frighten his family and eventually the whole village by outbursts of violence. He attacked other persons and property. Nobody really knew how to cope with the situation, since the single mental hospital in Okinawa could not keep him longer than six months, and everybody realized that he was sick, not evil minded, when he broke bottles and other glassware in the village store. The [755]
family tried religious treatment and locked the man up but never for long, for he had intermittent periods of calm and seemingly rational behavior. Another man, during a busy day, complained of sudden headaches. Soon afterward he became severely depressed and attempted [762]
to commit suicide, quite an infrequent phenomenon in the Okinawan village.

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Chapter 10

Formal Education

The Japanese school system, which was introduced to Okinawa in the 871
1880's, reached Taira by 1891. At that time a small school was estab-
lished in the village. Some of its early graduates are still alive and re- 177

1

The Okinawan Midwife

Children are born under the care of a midwife (sanba). Physicians do not attend at birth, but they may be called later if complications develop. Native doctors (yabu), who have now largely disappeared, are not consulted. One midwife may serve several villages. She is engaged some months before the expected birth. Midwives are highly respected. The older ones have added to their initial training a wealth of knowledge based on experience. A midwife in Ginoza village takes care of the expectant mothers of Hatsuda and one in Gushichan village serves those of Hanashiro and Hinatogawa. Midwives long resident in an area are beloved by the children they have delivered. The children when adult visit her, or she is invited to the homes of those at whose birth she has assisted. 844 [159] [554] [504]

Prenatal examinations are made by the midwife in the 3rd, 5th, 7th, and 9th month of pregnancy, the most thorough of those being the last three. The mother goes to the midwife for the examinations, but the birth takes place in the home. A birth other than in one's home is considered bad luck. [843] [777]

Starting with the 5th month, the belly is wrapped around with a flannel sash (a haraobi). On the 5th month, it may be 7 shaku (about 7 feet) long and about 8 inches wide; by the ninth month, a 9 shaku length is used. The sash is not needed, in one midwife's opinion, during the last month of pregnancy, but it may be left on. While the sash is worn, it is taken off three times a month for laundering. The purpose of the binding is to keep the child in its natural position and to prevent it from turning and causing an abnormal delivery. 843 292

After birth, the child may be slapped on the backside if the mother has been in labor 17 hours or more. According to one midwife, the usual labor for a first child is about 17 hours, and 7 for the second. The midwife cuts the umbilical cord and may, but not always, dispose of the afterbirth (taiban, iya in Japanese). 844

In the villages, this may be disposed of by women relatives or by the father. It is buried, following an old custom, behind the house in a place where it does not rain. In Hatsuda, women relatives wrap the placenta in a cloth and bury it, while friends, relatives, and children gather around and laugh. There are variants of this custom. In Hinatogawa, the afterbirth is wrapped in a cloth and buried back of the house by the father. Neighboring children gather and laugh while this is going on. The reason for the laughing is that the new born child may always smile and be gay. In another variant, the father alone does the laughing. In all villages studied, this custom in its variants still has vitality. [184]

According to a Ginoza midwife, maternal death in child birth is unusual. Hanashiro women said the same. Miscarriages in early 165 843

Okinawans

164 blame tooth decay on the brown sugar. It may be diet or water.
[753] Use of tooth brushes varies considerably with individuals and
[515] families.

The standard of cleanliness in Okinawan homes is not high,
515 but this cannot be ascribed to indifference. One should constantly
511 bear in mind that it is easy to keep clean with plenty of soap, showers, hot running water, washing machines, and flush toilets.

9

Native Medicine

278 The native medicine has already been referred to in the discussion of fish and wild plants used as medicines. Their use has declined with growing reliance on manufactured drugs and pharmaceuticals.

750 The golden needle (kinbari) is still used by rural doctors (yabu)
[759] in the treatment of inflamations of the joints and rheumatism. There was one such doctor in Hinatogawa, but ordinarily he is called only when real medical attention is not available.

The needle is scarcely thicker than a horse hair. It is encased
[913] in a shaft about 2 3/8 inches long. The grip or base of the needle is 3/4 of an inch long and the needle itself 1 7/8 inches. The needle is tapped and gradually worked into the affected part, and a length from 3/4 to one inch is broken off and allowed to remain in the body and circulate to effect its curative powers.

Blood letting is still practiced, often by the individual himself. Thin cuts are made with a razor, generally on the forehead above the eyebrows and slanting toward the bridge of the nose. This is done to relieve headaches and general pains and may be resorted to after aspirin has failed to relieve a headache. On a close look, one can often observe the slight, thin, long scars, which look like tiny wrinkles, resulting from these slashes. During the operation, a sake cup is held up to the place being cut. The cup may even have a little sake in it. When done by a native doctor, the blood may be sucked through a small tube and allowed to drip into a sake cup.

Cauterization using moxusa (moxa) also is still common. One can frequently see scar tissue, the results of burning moxusa on the flesh, usually in the area around the wrist. Moxusa is applied with glowing charcoal sticks, burning thread, or tobacco. It is used for no specific complaint, but as a counter-irritant cureall for a wide variety of ailments.

Acupuncture apparently is little used now. Formerly an area was pricked with a needle, or a series of needles brought to a point, and
[386] an indigo dye applied. One can observe these round spots, circles of dots, occasionally on the shoulders and the backs of older people. These should not be confused with tattooing.

director with assistants and clerks. The clerks are always young people just out of school who receive nominal wages in return for a seven-day work week. The township office employs as janitor a girl who keeps the office in order, serves tea at any time during the day, washes dishes, and helps to cook meals for entertaining. Her family owns one of the largest houses in the central village and more land than most others. No social stigma is attached to her job; in fact, most Taira girls would consider it a privilege to exchange their mountain work for her kind of employment even though they would earn no more. Another girl, employed by the local "doctor" as nurse and maid, lives with the family, eats with them, and sleeps with their children. Only one farmer employs a hired hand, a man from another township. 463 466 [647]

Among others living on a salary is the postmaster. His father held the same office, and his son is now trained to succeed him as the third in line. The rice miller, a man from outside the village and married to a Taira woman, and the "doctor" also depend for most of their incomes on specialized services. The latter owns his dispensary and small hospital. He receives some financial support from the township government. His services to people are compensated for either in cash or kind. Patients who are unable to pay at once will bring rice to his house after the harvest. These remunerations, pig raising, and other side activities make him, along with the rice miller and the postmaster, the wealthiest person in Taira. Local male school teachers also own fields, to which they give time in the afternoons and Sundays to help their wives. 463 [205] [759] [657] [465] [556] [875]

The priestess and her assistants, although they are religious specialists, are not paid in money for their services. They participate in daily work like the rest of the village. Only when performing services outside the community is the priestess paid a small fee. Within the village she receives the food and sake which are offered in the ceremony, whether she is called by a family or prays at the village shrine on a general holiday. 463 793 465 [782]

DIVISION OF LABOR BY SEX AND AGE

Men and women are equal partners in everyday economic activities, both in agricultural and forest work. Only a few occupations are clearly differentiated by sex: fishing, the handling of horses, and the carrying of night soil are done exclusively by males; housework and the care and feeding of pigs predominantly by women. Some agricultural work is considered too heavy for women, for example, the turning of the 462 [241]

year. On these occasions his parents take gifts of tea, noodles, and whatever else they can spare to the foster parents. During their visit the foster parents present the gift as an offering on the ancestral shrine and pray to their own ancestors, the guardians of the foster child. It is believed that this may help to offset the adverse effects of the child's own ancestors. 597 755 769

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2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

women in Taira. Three young mothers, who continued to work despite the discomfort and pain of swollen extremities, consulted with the doctor in the nearby town, and a fourth described this condition, which had prohibited her from any but the most simple and undemanding work. The old people look upon unusual pregnancies in askance. "Work, good, hard physical labor is what we did and we never had any difficulties. Young people pamper themselves." 843 164 [461]

Special foods and advice are proffered the expectant mother for the benefit of the baby. "Eat this so that you will have lots of milk for the baby. Remember that spicy things are bad for the baby. Do you recall the one who was born with a great patch of hair on its arms? Its mother was frightened by a great big cat while she was carrying that child," comment villagers to the mother. Some husbands indulge their wives' cravings for special delicacies like expensive imported fruits. 843 [262]

To keep the baby in position, a sash is wound several times about the pregnant woman's abdomen by a midwife or some old woman. [292]

In the "old days" it was not unusual for a woman to return from the mountains or fields carrying her newborn. Grandmothers recall with relish the days when "Women paid little heed to their condition, did hard work, and had their babies without a whimper." "The women today pamper themselves," snap the wizened grandmothers watching an expectant mother resting between trips to the mountains. 844 843

As the day of parturition approaches, the expectant mother schedules her work to remain as close to the house as possible. When labor starts, she retires to the back room of the house, which is situated next to the kitchen. The medical practitioner, or in his absence a midwife,* is called to assist in the delivery. The husband's mother, if she lives in the house, or other older related women attend. A man may be present during his wife's first delivery but at subsequent births will wait with some of the women in the front room. In the old days a woman was supported by her husband or someone else in a half-sitting position. Nowadays, however, women give birth lying down. Only rarely does a woman in labor cry out in pain. Soft crying is permissible, but any loud demonstration would elicit contemptuous comments from the older women. "If you had worked hard, the baby would not be so big, then labor would not be difficult," is an often heard retort. 844 [759] [152]

Informal interviewing revealed that birth takes place in a large number of cases during late evening or early morning hours. Usually children of the house sleep on undisturbed. Should they awake, they are kept out of the delivery room, although the youngest may be allowed to enter to visit with his mother shortly after delivery. [858] [593]

The newborn is bathed in tepid water then bundled in blankets,

* At present there is no midwife in Taira.

warned to be careful on days corresponding to their birth-years. A man who was a "bird person" could not go to participate in a bone-washing because it was held on a Day of the Bird. During the recurrence of one's birth-year, he must be cautious during the whole period. 805 527

The Western calendar was introduced into Okinawa after the Japanese annexation, but it is still referred to as the "new calendar". It is the calendar of the schools and government and of business, but not of the farmer. In the city the more important celebration of New Year's is held on the "new" New Year's; in the country it is on "old" New Year's a month later. 805 177

Before the Japanese annexation years were named in an absolute sequence (that is, besides being named by position in the cycles of twelve and of sixty) by the reigns of Chinese emperors. After the annexation the reigns of Japanese emperors were used. At the present time the Western chronology ('seireki') is official, but some still speak of the year 1954 as "Shōwa 29", the 29th year of the reign of the present emperor.

Birth and Infancy: Notions about Conception Okinawans recognize that sexual relations are necessary for but do not always result in conception. Younger people have heard of the struggle of the sperm to reach the egg, but their notions may be rather foggy. For example, a woman in her middle thirties, discussing the responsibilities of parents, argued in the following manner: a woman cannot conceive without having an orgasm; she cannot have an orgasm without feeling love ('aijō'); hence conception is the result of love, hence she should willingly take responsibility for her child. The ethical principle involved in this argument may not be typical, but the lack of precise information of physiology probably is. And it suggests two things: first, that women may inhibit their emotions as a contraceptive measure, and second, they may be willing to take chances in having sex relations thinking that they can inhibit conception. But it is worth noting here that young women do not discuss these matters very freely and hence generalizations may be very unsafe. 842

Condoms are sold in the cities but probably not in the country. A former country woman living in the city believed that country people would use them if they knew of them, but that they do not know. She regarded four children as enough. However, a young unmarried man from the city said that one would use a condom only when visiting a prostitute; it would be insulting to use one with your sweetheart. Some of this attitude may carry over after marriage.

Pregnancy If a woman believes that she may be pregnant she goes to a midwife for a diagnosis. This is usually about three months after her last menstrual period. The fee is usually ¥50. If she is in fact pregnant she continues to consult the midwife and the midwife attends her at the birth of the child. The total fee is about ¥1,000. 843 [759]

For the good of her unborn child a pregnant woman is urged to be happy and to avoid situations potentially harmful to it; for example if she were to go to a funeral or a bone-washing the shii, a sort of soul, of the baby might be drawn into the tomb. [974]

Other Diviners Besides the sanjinsoo there are several other types of diviners, such as palmists, physiognomists, and card readers. 791
Some of these combine prayer and supposed reliance upon supernatural powers with their science. For example in Ishikawa there is a young woman who is referred to as a kaminchu-gwaa or yuta-gwaa, though neither term is very apt. She is consulted about the character and future of individual persons. Her [787]
performance consists of asking the birth year of the person in question, praying, and then dealing out a fortune from a pack of playing cards of an archaic type. She charges ¥30 for each person inquired about. As with the true yuta illness may be a matter on which she is consulted.

Like the sanjinsoo, these persons are found mainly in the larger towns and cities, where it appears that they manage to make a living. Whatever the law reads on the matter the police and the public evidently 791
regard these professions as legitimate as long as the practitioners are 689
sincere in their work. There was a famous case in Ishikawa about 1951, however, where two young women set up an establishment as diviners. They are said to have given advice free to the needy at first and built up a large clientele, whereupon they began overcharging their wealthier customers and spending the money on riotous living. Finally the police put a stop to their activities, charging them with giving advice in an irresponsible manner.

The Yabuu The term yabuu seems to be derived from the Japanese 'yabu-isha', 759
literally "bush-doctor", defined by the dictionary as "quack". 177
The Japanese and English terms, however, reflect attitudes that are probably not associated with the Okinawan yabuu. The yabuu is a practitioner of 'Kampōi', "Chinese Medicine", a term that was once coordinate with 'Rampōi' "Dutch Medicine", that is, modern Western (and now modern Japanese) medicine. The methods of the yabuu include moxibustion, acupuncture, and the prescription of various foods.

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Moxibustion (Japanese 'o-kyū') is the burning of 'mogusa' or "moxa" on the patient's flesh. On an occasion which I observed, a woman brought a child of two or three to be treated. The yabuu took out his charts of the body, which, he explained, showed where the nerves may be reached. The theory seems to be that the burning activates the nerves and causes the body to throw off the illness. In this case the child seemed to be suffering from some internal disorder. Its body bore the scars of previous treatment. The yabuu, after consulting his chart, painted four dots on the child's bare back with a red liquid. Then he wetted a finger and put on each dot a tiny bit of 'mogusa' and with a lighted punk lit each bit, let it burn down to the skin, and then tamped it out. His wife then wiped off the ashes, leaving a small black scar where each dot had been. He then burned six more spots on each side of the child's chest, four around the navel, one on each ankle and one on each wrist. Throughout the procedure the child cried and had to be restrained by its mother. The scars, however, are said not usually to be permanent.

Acupuncture consists of inserting into the flesh a long gold needle ('kimbari'), usually at the afflicted spot. It is used, for example, to relieve the stiffness of the hips associated with childbirth.

759 757 [278] The yabuu also prescribe herbal remedies. They do not, however, prepare their medicines, but rather instruct the patient how to gather and prepare the plants for use. The act of preparing one's own medicine may thus have a magical value. Yabuu also prescribe the eating of certain parts of certain animals for their good influence on the corresponding parts of the human body. Dogs and cats are among the animals so used. (This practice may be the source of the belief widespread among Americans on Okinawa that the Okinawans eat dogs; they do, on rare occasions, but not as food, merely as medicine.)

759 Short-cut Systems Standing somewhere between the yabuu and the modern doctor are several types of practitioners who give treatments with heat, light, steam, etc. as all-purpose cures. One man was observed to use a tube in which he burned a substance, probably moxa, while he moved it over the patient's body. His system seemed to be the moxibustion of the yabuu dressed up with "scientific" gadgets. He was described by a friend as "half-doctor half-yabuu", a description that was meant to elicit a favorable response since it implies that he possesses the efficacy of both.

759 278 [164] In addition to these full-time professionals on the fringes of medicine, there are also a number of part-time penicillin-shooters, who are particularly active in areas frequented by American personnel, where they are in demand for the treatment of venereal disease. Penicillin is sold freely and in quantity, perhaps because of the prevalence of venereal disease, and has become a very popular treatment even for very minor infections. Hormone shots also seem to be widely used by untrained persons.

759 [177] Modern Medicine There are of course modern Japanese-trained doctors on Okinawa. But they are relatively few in number, about one for every 3,900 persons.[1] Trained nurses and medical facilities are also too few and too little. But even if there were more doctors and more facilities, it is doubtful that the ordinary Okinawan would make more use of them.

759 753 829 [554] Medical doctors have a high status in Okinawan society. They are admired and respected. Parents frequently express the wish that a son might grow up to become a doctor. But the advice of the doctor is not always heeded. The respect may be more for his education and the social position it gives him than for his professional opinion. In the matter of illness the advice that the ordinary Okinawan respects is more likely to be that of the older members of his own family and of the familiar yuta, sanjinsoo, and yabuu, for this advice is given in terms of insufficiency of worship, soul-loss, and the influence of the twelve-year-cycle. These are concepts that are familiar to him and have an integration with other beliefs, which the concepts dealt with by the doctor do not have. The doctor's very disregard of the supernatural runs counter to the feelings of the

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1 CAARI, Vol. 1, no. 2, p. 52 gives 126 practicing physicians for Okinawa plus 50 working for GRI. Japan has about one for every 1300 persons; Japan Statistical Yearbook, 1950, gives 63,273 (p. 432) and the total population as 80,216,896 (p. 12).

ordinary Okinawan. Besides, the doctor's interpretation of illness and its 759
cause is more likely to put the responsibility for it on the shoulders of 753
the individual, whereas the traditional interpretation makes the individual 829
less responsible. This, I suspect, is likely to make the doctor's interpretation less popular. Also the treatment received from the native practitioners is familiar and predictable, while the doctor's methods vary more greatly with the nature of the illness, as do his fees.

Another factor contributing to the tendency not to go to the medical doctor may be the very respect in which he is held socially. I have 759
already suggested that in the fields of religion and politics Okinawans try to solve problems at the local level without appealing to higher authorities. This may also be true in dealing with illness. The relations between patient and doctor are certainly of a more formal sort than those between patient and yuta or yubuu. And around the relationship between patient and doctor there have grown up customs that may make the patient hesitate before entering a doctor's care. For example, a patient who is discharged from a hospital after a successful surgical operation (this may not be true of the largest and most modern hospitals) is expected to show his gratitude by giving a 'Tai-in no O-iwai' ("Leaving the Hospital Celebration") on the day of his departure. For this he hires a yuta or some [431]
appropriate person to pray for him, he gives gifts to the doctor and the nurses who attended him, and distributes holiday cakes to the other patients. If this is done in style it may cost the patient nearly as much as the operation itself.

5. Prospect of Change

Earlier in this chapter I suggested that Okinawan standards of 000
sanitation might be raised by appealing to individual family pride in appearances. The sphere of sanitation might be pushed out of the house and across the yard by increasing the family's feeling of identification with it. An esthetic appeal might also be made. Okinawans are certainly not insensitive to beauty, and many do have little patches of flowers beside these houses. Standards could also be raised by encouraging more community endeavors. There seem to be a much greater need for this in the city than in the country, where long-established patterns of cooperation in agricultural practices, house-building, etc., exist. It is my impression that in the cities the 'han' or some even smaller unit could be used more effectively in keeping yards and streets clean and drained. It must be remembered that what is needed is constant cleanliness, not merely the sort of holiday cleanliness that comes with periodic inspection. It must also be stressed that the reasons for unsanitary conditions are part of a vicious circle. Filth leads to a high rate of infection from disease and parasites, this leads to diminishing energy and greater poverty, and these in turn cause more unsanitary conditions.

But improving sanitation will probably be rather easy compared to the problem of changing Okinawan attitudes toward disease. In talking with 753
Okinawans, it was in comparing Okinawan and American treatment of disease 177

52 178 621 The general characteristics of the changed entertainment patterns have been a greater reliance on entertainment provided by sources outside the village---the school, radio, movies---and a sharp decline in celebrations and festivals of the sort which emphasized village participation and unity.

757 753 177 Health and Medicine Changes in medical practice well illustrate the principle that material things find more ready acceptance than ideas in the diffusion of culture; in short, Okinawans have been willing to adopt modern medicine when available, but not modern medical principles. Pills, shots, surgery, dentistry, penicillin, and DDT have found acceptance, while modern scientific concepts of disease, health, and sanitation seem to have made relatively little headway. The germ theory, for example, has barely penetrated.

753 751 177 However, on talking to people of different ages one becomes aware that many changes in standards of sanitation and ideas about health and disease actually have taken place in the last fifty years. For example, evidence of the practice of tattooing various parts of the body as a cure for certain ills is rarely seen on persons under seventy. Similarly, though many of the younger generation may appear abysmally ignorant of modern knowledge of disease, they are always less ignorant and better informed than the preceding generation. Considerable progress toward better sanitation was made under the [364] Japanese. Formerly the Okinawan privy was built atop the pigpen, and the pig [231] subsisted in part on human feces. Stern measures were required to force the abandonment of this practice. The Japanese also introduced monthly sanitation inspections; inoculations for babies and school children were made compulsory. [515] Through the influence of the schools the toothbrush (usually one) became a part of every home. The Japanese also sent notable scholars into the country- [582] side to lecture the people on the dangers of in-breeding practices, particularly kin-group endogamy.

757 177 Penicillin, which was introduced by the Americans, has become a popular treatment, achieving equality with moxacautery and cutting to let blood. It can be obtained easily at any drug shop, and every doctor, midwife, herbalist, and practitioner of any sort is prepared to administer shots. Reliance excessive even by American standards is placed on this drug. There seems, in fact, to be a fondness for shots which does not end with penicillin; hormone shots and various other injections are widely advertised. It is the opinion of the author that any type of modern medicine which cuts, punctures, or otherwise disfigures the skin will find ready acceptance; this, it is felt, is merely an extension of the tradition of acupuncture, moxacautery, tattooing, and cutting. Bettelheim states that in the 1850's the Okinawans made inquiries as to how inoculations for smallpox might be obtained.[1]

759 178 There is some indication that the yabu, a practitioner whose chief stocks-in-trade are herbs and moxacautery, is slowly disappearing; in several communities the author was told that since the old yabu died there had been no replacement.

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[1] Bettelheim, B. J., Loochoo Mission, London, n.d., pp. 34-36.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Death and Funeral Services

Okinawans, as so many have thought, are not preoccupied with death, burial customs, and their tombs. The popular criticism that they extravagantly spend all their money building tombs is unjust and comes from a superficial understanding of their function. Memorial observances, not the tombs, are the real sources of expense to surviving relatives. 761 181 [769]

The same basic customs were found in all the villages. On the death of an adult, the eyes are closed, the body washed, and fresh clothes are put on it. There is no embalming. The finger nails and hair are cut. (Haircutting is not universal). The body is then placed in a small wooden coffin. This is about 19 inches wide and about 22 inches deep, with the length varying according to height. An average length would be slightly over 4 feet. This is the traditional Buddhist coffin. Placing the body in a coffin this size requires doubling it up. The head rests on a small Japanese type pillow (makura). The legs are bent to bring the knees near the chin, and the hands folded over the chest. Articles for use in the afterworld, okurimono ("sending away things"), are also placed in the coffin. Though the articles vary, they generally include a pair of slippers, a kimono (for a woman), a kimono or western style pair of pants for a man, tobacco and tobacco cases, a towel, and sake in one flask, and water in another. Seven needles are stuck on each side of the kimono or the lapel of a coat. In Hanashiro, clogs and slippers are not placed in the coffin, but in front of the tomb at interment. When the coffin is closed, it is turned with the head facing west.[1] 764

On death, close relatives up to first cousins are first summoned, followed by relatives in the extended family living in or near the village. There are no hard and fast customs about taking care of the body. First or other sons may take care of a father's body; brothers and cousins of a young girl's; the first son of the mother's; the eldest younger brother of an elder brother's; the first son or the father of a second or succeeding son's. Sometimes female relatives take care of the body. A husband or wife does not perform this duty for the other. The father or the mother prepare the body of a younger child.

Burial follows death very quickly. By law a body must be buried within 24 hours, but the interment is often quicker than this. An adult

1 There is confusion whether the head is placed to the north or to the west because the Okinawan word for north is the Japanese word for west.

764 The beginning of a funeral procession is announced by a gong in the yard of a village office. The head man and other leaders and elders of the village attend the funeral. The mayor of the township or his representative joins in the procession.

[793] A Buddhist priest (bōzu-san) did not officiate at this funeral. Priests are scarce in rural Okinawa. Most of them were Japanese who returned to Japan after the war. Families can also save by dispensing with the Buddhist service. The participation of Buddhist priests, already nominal before the war, has now in the villages studied, virtually disappeared.

764 43 It is customary at a death to give a ten or twenty yen offering to the family. The money is put in a small envelop with an expression of sympathy written on it. (In Okinawa money is the usual gift at marriage, birthday celebrations, and at death. The gift may be put in a small envelop but it is common also to give a loose bill).

765 [782] Early on the morning following the funeral, the tomb is visited by members of the family. Food offerings of rice, tea, sake, and a flower may be placed in front of the tomb. A charcoal stick is burned. These visits with the offerings and prayers on the following morning are associated with a belief, still held by the old, that the dead person might still be alive and that the pounding of an adult on the wall or the crying of a child might be heard so that the living could be rescued from the tomb. The belief that the person might still be alive and possibly could be heard seems to persist in Hanashiro and Hinatogawa. It was not encountered in Matsuda, although it might well exist. [761]

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Burial Places and the Family System

764 Okinawan tombs have excited the interest of foreigners from the earliest days of European contact. There are no cemeteries in the usual sense of the word, but areas scattered throughout the countryside, usually on the tops of hills, or on the stony sides of mountains, are given over to burial grounds. Tombs are not located on land suitable [311] for agriculture. It has been said that the Japanese forbad using agricultural land for tombs, but the practice in Okinawa seems to antedate these Japanese interferences in the culture of the rural areas. In the interior, the tombs are always on wild (genya) land. But one can also see tombs along the seashore and on offshore rocks. The outstanding [565] exceptions to this are the royal tomb area in Shuri, now largely destroyed, and the large and dramatically placed tombs in the center of Itoman town. In the case of Itoman, it is quite probable that the growing town has surrounded the areas taken as tomb sites.

Of the several types of tombs, the turtleback (kamekokata) is the most famous. It has been variously described by European travellers as

the tomb shaped like a horseshoe or the Greek letter, omega. A great deal of popular lore has accumulated around this type of tomb. Okinawans believe that the shape of the tomb symbolizes the position of a woman giving birth to a child. This is related to another idea, "returning to the source" (moto ni kaeru in Japanese). 764 [811]

Four different but related meanings seem to be involved in the idea of "returning to the source": (1) that life here is but a momentary experience. One's real and permanent life is in the afterworld. At death one returns to his permanent home. (2) After death a person becomes a god (hotoke-san) in the Buddhist sense. He reaches this state 49 days after death, according to some explanations, though there is much confusion on this point. This godhood is a "return to the source." (3) At death one returns to a state of peace, and (4) one returns to a former state or to a former place. It is with this last meaning that the turtleback tomb is associated in popular lore with "returning to the source." 764 775

On death one returns to the womb of nature from which he came. (Similar lore has collected around the Buddhist coffin in which the corpse is put in a position like that of a child in the womb). Whether the popular explanation is the true one is very hard to say. It certainly should not be accepted without critically evaluating the questions which such an explanation raises. Early European and American observers were quick to point out the similarities between those tombs and those of China, though the fact that they were introduced from China does not rule out the symbolic meaning they might have. Many Okinawans regard these tombs as indigenous. But the Okinawan antiquarians, who so love to find symbols in everything, would be loathe to surrender this lore. It is generally agreed that the tombs were introduced from Fukien province in China. Captain Basil Hall was the first western traveller, I think, to notice the similarity between Okinawan and Fukien tombs. M'Leod also mentioned it. 775 764 811 [114] [171] [077]

The gable (hafu) type of tomb is very common. There are also small temporary tombs of masonry, more often built of rocks. The tombs of Minatogawa are of this type. There are also very old tombs, hollowed out of the rock of a hillside. These were rare in the villages. Only one was seen in the dense vegetation and undergrowth at the bottom of a deep ravine in the center of Matsuda. Large tombs hollowed out of hillsides are a commonplace, but the small ones apparently were the tombs of the very poor. Recently a new small tomb is being built by families unwilling to undergo the expense of the larger tombs. Tombs, though appearing to be haphazardly placed on mountains or on rocky hillsides, are on privately owned land. 764 [565]

The tombs may also be classified as to use, that is, whether they are intended for a single or the extended family. In Hanashiro, tombs are of the extended family type, located on land owned by the main family. They are the responsibility of the head of the main family. Branch families may contribute to the purchase price of the land, construction materials, and to maintenance. 764 602

the Year of the Horse, and so all persons born during any year of the Horse--- 858
1942, 1930, etc.---celebrated their "year day" on the first Day of the Horse 527
of the new year. Although theoretically all year days are important, in practice only those of old age are given much attention. These are the celebrations of the 61st, 73rd, 85th, and 97th years. The 88th and 90th may also be celebrated. The celebration of the year day of an old person is a matter of pride for the whole family; formal invitations are sent, and the guests are served food and drink requiring considerable expense on the part of the family.

Death After his death a person does not cease to be of any importance to 769
the family. On the contrary he takes on a new importance as a focal point for ceremonies and perhaps for feelings of anxiety.

Death is attributed to both natural and supernatural causes[1] with 761*
natural causes probably barely in the majority. But there is also the vague notion that one's life span is predetermined.

Almost immediately after the death of a person, members of his family 756
usually consult a yuta to learn if there was any last request or information 763
that the deceased had wished to impart to his family. This might consist of an explanation of his death, a confession of some early misdeed, or last instructions to his heirs. While I was working at Yamada an informant, an energetic, thoroughly likeable old lady, died suddenly. I learned later that her family immediately went to Yakena, some twelve miles away, a place famous for its many yuta. There they consulted a yuta and asked if there had been any message the old woman wanted to communicate. They were told that the old woman had been destined to die a year before but because she was such a good woman she had lived an extra year, during which she had accomplished everything she had intended to do---there was nothing to reveal. The family was relieved and comforted.

The Funeral Women may cry out immediately upon learning that a mem- 764
ber of the family has died. The body is laid in the second room of the house and flexed so that it may be more easily put into the coffin. If the death occurs in the morning the funeral may be held the afternoon of that day; if later in the day, the next afternoon. Offerings are placed before the body and when the funeral is not until the next day, relatives keep a wake over it.

The funeral itself consists of a ceremony at the home of the deceased, a procession to the tomb, and the placing of the coffin in the tomb. These steps may be more or less elaborate depending upon the means of the family. However, the local unit, the 'han' or the chinju, takes responsibility for some activities, making for uniformity. Member of the 'han' or chinju make two paper tablets with the name of the deceased written on them and make a large square wooden box for a coffin. On the afternoon of the funeral, the body is put into the coffin and a tray containing one of the paper tablets, offerings of fruit, and an incense burner is placed before it. If the de- [743]
ceased has requested it, a Buddhist priest may be called from one of the larger towns, but many country people do not call a priest, and indeed may never

[1] See Chapter IX.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

who have accepted them cannot afford to buy the recommended drugs. 758
Furthermore, the choice between the bush doctor and the trained medical men in town is sometimes determined by lack of money to pay for the more expensive services.

Cleanliness of the village and general sanitation are theoretically 744
under township control. Except for superficial biannual inspections, 575
nothing much is done about them. Perhaps the Women's Association, once they carry out plans to take over this function, will be more effective.

There are several cases of physically deformed, mentally deficient, 158
and mentally ill persons. A young man of about 20 years, born as an 734
idiot or imbecile, lives in the back of his parents' house, protected from 757
the gaze of outsiders. His family provides well for him, and when no stranger is around to embarrass the family, the grandfather may take him out to attend a village event. Another young man, who was normal, one day began to frighten his family and eventually the whole village by outbursts of violence. He attacked other persons and property. Nobody really knew how to cope with the situation, since the single mental hospital in Okinawa could not keep him longer than six months, and everybody realized that he was sick, not evil minded, when he broke bottles and other glassware in the village store. The [755] family tried religious treatment and locked the man up but never for long, for he had intermittent periods of calm and seemingly rational behavior. Another man, during a busy day, complained of sudden headaches. Soon afterward he became severely depressed and attempted [762] to commit suicide, quite an infrequent phenomenon in the Okinawan village.

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Chapter 10

Formal Education

The Japanese school system, which was introduced to Okinawa in the 871
1880's, reached Taira by 1891. At that time a small school was estab- 177
lished in the village. Some of its early graduates are still alive and re-

the Year of the Horse, and so all persons born during any year of the Horse---1942, 1930, etc.---celebrated their "year day" on the first Day of the Horse of the new year. Although theoretically all year days are important, in practice only those of old age are given much attention. These are the celebrations of the 61st, 73rd, 85th, and 97th years. The 88th and 90th may also be celebrated. The celebration of the year day of an old person is a matter of pride for the whole family; formal invitations are sent, and the guests are served food and drink requiring considerable expense on the part of the family. 888 527

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Death is attributed to both natural and supernatural causes[1] with natural causes probably barely in the majority. But there is also the vague notion that one's life span is predetermined. 761

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The Funeral Women may cry out immediately upon learning that a member of the family has died. The body is laid in the second room of the house and flexed so that it may be more easily put into the coffin. If the death occurs in the morning the funeral may be held the afternoon of that day; if later in the day, the next afternoon. Offerings are placed before the body and when the funeral is not until the next day, relatives keep a wake over it. 764

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[1] See Chapter IX.

1

Introduction

Okinawan history is the story of inertia and change. Basil Hall Chamberlain, the distinguished Japanese and Ryukyuan scholar of the last century and grandson of Basil Hall who visited the island in 1816, said rightly in 1895 that "the general assertion may safely be hazarded that Oriental stagnation exists only in Occidental fancy."[1] 178 [114]

One of the reasons for this fancy is that there is a certain stability in parts of the culture, and from this circumstance it is often concluded that changelessness and lack of variety have characterized the historical experience of the people. Agricultural methods seem to have changed little with the centuries, though some of the tools are new. This stability in agriculture is another way of saying that a fine technology based on experience and empiric observation, had been developed, and that in the absence of modern scientific knowledge of soils, crops, plant pathology and fertilizers, it was the best technology possible under the circumstances. The tombs, introductions from China over five centuries ago, add to this impression of the changelessness of rural life. But this is more apparent than real when we look into the history of burial customs more closely. [242] [177] [269]

This view of Okinawan history in terms of inertia and change has meaning for the present. The American influence on Okinawa is not a new way of life that is conditioning a static society, but an important, forceful, and new intrusion in a culture that already has undergone fundamental changes in the past. Those who think within the framework of Western European and American history, those whose minds are trained to recognize the changes which have come about as a result of the Renaissance, the Reformation, and the beginnings of theoretical science in the seventeenth century, tend to neglect the rest of world history as relatively unchanging, or to see only those changes coming about from Western intrusions. This one sided interpretation, often expressed in the idea of the Europeanization or the Westernization of the world, should be supplemented with the insight that Oriental cultures have influenced and changed one another greatly and have still maintained their own distinctive features. Chinese influences have been strong in Korea, Japan, and the Ryukyus. But each of these cultures is separate and distinct, although, as one might expect, contemporary Okinawan society bears the strong imprint of long cultural and economic associations with Japan. 178 177

1 The Luchu Islands and their Inhabitants. Geo. Journal 5 (1895), 311.

contact with Okinawa may have taken place in 743 A.D., but this may have been confined to the island of Kume, west of Naha, and not involved Okinawa itself.[6] 175 177 648

The modern Japanese contact with Okinawa which brought about the fall of the Tenson dynasty is associated with the arrival at Unten of Tametomo in the latter part of the twelfth century. Some have regarded this as historical, others as perhaps legendary.

Unten, on the Motobu peninsula, is one of the important places in the historical geography of Okinawa island. This is the Port Melville of the Western explorers, Hall and Perry, both of whom charted the bay and its harbor.

Tametomo, of the Minemoto clan, exiled after the final defeat of the Minemoto by the Taira clan in Japan, ultimately reached Unten and there married the daughter of one of the regional nobles, and after a period of civil war, the Tenson dynasty collapsed. In 1187 A. D., the son of Minemoto Tametomo by his Okinawan wife became King Shunten. Shunten, the first of three "Japanese kings," was followed by his son Shunna Junki (1238-1248), and his grandson Gihon (1249-1260). In 1260, the legitimate dynasty was restored under king Eiso.[7]

After his succession, Eiso toured the islands and is credited with setting regular boundaries to rice-fields. "It has been said that this greatly attracted the people so that they started to look after farming." Graves, according to a manuscript history, were first built in the island, at Urasoye, and the Buddhist temple, Gokurakuji was constructed with an officiating priest named Jenkan in charge of the temple.[8] [764] [346]

The Japanese syllabary may have been introduced at this time. Buddhism apparently did not take hold. Chinese attacks on the islands in connection with the Mongol wars and the attempted invasion of Japan seem to have left no mark on the island. [818] [799]

The year 1372 is the beginning of the period of relationships with the Chinese, in this case, the Ming dynasty. This is contemporary with the growth of a vast trade network involving Korea, Japan, China, the Ryukyus, and Southeast Asia. It is not clear whether the trade voyages under King Satsudo (reigned 1350-1399) to South China, Malaya, and the Philippines were instrumental in stimulating the Ming dynasty to engage in the Pacific trade, or whether the forced alliance of the Ryukyus with the Chinese 175 648 439

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP of P. 30--Analyst]

6 CA Handbook, as cited, 41, and Chamberlain, as cited, 306.

7 Chamberlain, as cited, 308

8 Manuscript history in Leavenworth, The Loochoo islands, 80. On the Japanese syllabary, see Chamberlain, as cited, 308.

The village is one of a series of settlements in a long narrow valley, on a limestone plain, bordered on the east by a steep ridge, up to 300 feet in elevation and running in a northwest and southeast direction, which divides the valley from the sea. On these cliff like formations, large outcrops are covered with shrubs and miscanthus grass. Lanes and roads lead from the valley floor to the summits of these hills, where villagers collect their firewood and grass for roof thatch. On the rocky, steep slopes of this seaward ridge, above the line of cultivation, is the tomb area. Precipitous and stony hills prevent cultivation, but occasionally a sharp tongue of land reaches far up the slope, its end protected from the rains and wash by a short stone fence. 361 133 [137] [491] [824] [764] [417]

Between Oushichan and Hanashiro village, there is a bridge over a small stream, its upstream course obscured by its dispersion in the rice fields. The dirt road, gradually ascending, cuts through the main rice growing area of the village, on a gentle slope, reflected in the bench cultivation of the rice fields. Here and there are large rocks and stony outcrops, with an occasional scrub pine, cycad, or a covering of miscanthus. Cultivation goes around these large stones. 491 133 [243] [137]

The road, about one-fourth of a mile from the bridge, soon leads into what looks like, from a distance, a densely wooded area. This is the settlement. 361

With the exception of the rough stony land of the limestone mountains and steep slopes, the soils of the area are the Okinawa clay loams and the Chinen stony clays lying on the limestone plains. The farm and village area takes up approximately 427 acres, of which 257 are in gently sloping Okinawa clay loams, a deep, well drained, neutral to slightly acid and very fertile soil. Another five acres is of the same type but these are in slopes, of a gradient ranging from 8-15%. There are 80 acres in gently sloping Shuri clays, shallow, moderately fertile, an olive colored, crumbly, calcareous clay; another 35 acres in the Awase clays, deep fertile, crumbly, calcareous clay of olive-gray color, and 14 acres of rough stony land. 134 133 311

The hillsides and the summits are free of densely growing trees and shrubs, and the lowlands are given over to cultivation. There are no groves of trees to protect the crops from typhoons. The trees and the protection they give are confined to the village. This is typical of many villages of southern Okinawa, where the hills and mountains have few trees, and dense growths are associated with habitation. 311

Inside the village, winding lanes branch off the main dirt road. The older houses are on the north side of the road. On the opposite side, the houses, newer or rebuilt since the war, adjoin the cultivated area. In the older section, the dense shrubbery, the tree lined lanes, broken occasionally by stone fences, wind through the village with footpaths branching off, sometimes past an open field, a reminder of a failure to rebuild after the war. On the northern outskirts is the village office, its gong in the yard, the open field, a playground for the children. 361 363 [417] [987] [367]

The people of Nagamo are farmers. The seat of their extended families is in Naha and Shuri, and they have their own local deity places (ujigami in Japanese). The people of Minatogawa are fishermen, their extended family seats are in Itoman. They too have their local deities and many of their religious ceremonies are centered around the gods of the sea and the dragon of the sea god's palace. 596 776 778

The population of Minatogawa, as of December 31, 1951, was 1108 (515 males, 593 females) in 213 households, an average of 5.2 persons per household, and of adjoining Nagamo, 564 persons (262 males, 302 females) with 113 households, an average of 5.0 persons per household. 162

The fishing village of Minatogawa is believed to be about 250 years old. It was founded, according to local residents, by the fishermen of Itoman who were accustomed to fish off shore near the islands around the southeastern and southwestern parts of Okinawa. The place was first established as a temporary location for the fishing boats and later permanent settlement took place. The tombs of Itoman are still the ultimate burying ground for large numbers of the Minatogawa fishermen. After 250 years the ties with the parent town are still strong. 361 173 [764]

The village has two traditions involving contacts with other peoples. The first is concerned with the Chinese. One is a spot on the shore where some Chinese are said to have landed over 200 years ago. Many fishermen pray to it on certain occasions of the year. Little is known of what happened to the Chinese, but supposedly they were buried high up the side of a steep mountain nearby, inside a cave with stalactites. Bones said to be of these Chinese may still be seen there. The cave is difficult of access. 173 170 [778]

There is also the tradition of London sailors said to have been shipwrecked at the port of Kiyan on the southwest tip of Okinawa. A child was born of the union of one of these sailors with an Okinawan woman and the sailor later returned to England. The tomb of the woman and the child is revered as a religious site. It is now a small shrine on the outskirts of Itoman called Rondongama, Rondon for London.[9] Old women of Minatogawa sing a song of this old love called Michinakankai. The theme of the song is the unashamed love of the woman for her departed London lover, an Okinawan anticipation of Madame Butterfly. [778] [533]

In this area the low, bare hills form in a haphazard way a series of valleys, some long and narrow, others like an amphitheatre with an open face to the sea. Low passes connect the valleys. One such pass, about 150 feet high, now on Highway 64, leads from the valley of 133 361

[Text Continues on Top of P. 53--Analyst]

9 The writer visited both the cave and the site near Itoman town in August 1951. The shrine is now situated on a small hill on the outskirts of Itoman. The bones were moved here during the war from Maizato village to escape Japanese bombing. A large cave nearby, associated with the mother and the child, is overgrown and very dangerous to enter because of the danger of snakes.

226 463 engaged in fishing are permanent or transient families originally from Itoman, a place name which comes up whenever fishing is mentioned anywhere in Okinawa. Agriculture and the care and utilization of the community forest make up the significant economic activities of the village.

162 Matsuda had a population of 1370 individuals (604 male, 766 female) as of November 30, 1951. There were, at this time, 243 households, an average of 5.6 persons per household. The village is said by local 361 residents and antiquarians to be about 600 years old. If the age is correct, it must be one of the older settlements in northern Okinawa. Before the war, this village was known as Kochiya.

173 Matsuda also has its lore regarding shipwrecks and foreigners. There are old men who believe Perry's party came to the village and that they left carvings on the top of a picturesque rock in the Burushii district along the coast, a not unbelievable story since the explorers certainly were not far from here.

Near the seashore, but in a very remote area, there is a natural bridge, concealed by large trees. Roots of the banyan grow through the [137] thirty or forty foot drop from the top of the bridge until they find root in the soil below. On a ledge under this bridge, there are two [164] old and open boxes which were used to collect the skulls and bones of unknown persons. Locally it is believed that they are the remains of shipwrecked sailors, possibly Hollanders. There are still 25 or 30 skulls there, and many of the bones are scattered on the ground. The place is seldom visited.

361 The village rests on low rolling hills. The combination of the 133 hills, the depressions, the caves and the sinks give the topography an uneven almost rugged character. There are few flat places and these are seldom wide. They are the narrow meadows or valleys between the hills. The hilly nature of the surroundings determines to a large extent the 241 manner of cultivation, and historically probably has had much to do with 311 the shapes of the individual parcels themselves. One does not see in this area the plains or small valleys with rice cultivation that is observed in Haneji township near Nago or around the island of U in Tamagusuku township, or even in the Hanashiro area of Gushichan township. In these communities, the normal pattern of cultivation is that the rice is on the lowlands, with the slopes and upland areas devoted to sugar cane, the sweet potato, or other crops, or left to native grasses. Here in the hundreds of small hills, all of these may be observed in close proximity, hard work and minute tillage comprising with the topography.

361 The village is subdivided into several distinct areas: (1) the main 311 part of the village where most of the houses, the village office, the small stores, the rice mill, the sawmill, the power plant, and the barbershop are located, (2) a reclaimed area known locally as the kaikon, newly settled and with a different type of land use due to the poorness of the land and to the fact that it is a deforested area, (3) a district near the sea coast and along the sea with scattered settlements, isolated houses, and some cultivation, and (4) the forest lands, which in the

417 the house from the glances of the curious. It has been suggested that the stationary gate at the entrance of the courtyard is of Chinese [177] origin, that its purpose originally was to scare away spirits, and that its former presence in the tomb compound indicates that it was intro- [164] duced along with the turtleback or horseshoe tomb from Fukien province in China.[2]

175 Captain Hall described Okinawan house exteriors and the surrounding 351 buildings, including those of the common people. The house was "buried 340 in foliage" and hidden from view. It was surrounded by a light fence of rods, about one foot apart with creepers on top. These rods were probably stalks of miscanthus grass, or of the dwarf bamboo. The site had a wicker gate, possibly meaning the hinpun made out of the dried grass stalks. One house which he described was divided into two compartments, eight feet square, with a small veranda at one end. The floors, made of bamboo, and about six feet above the ground, were covered with a straw mat. The walls, about five feet high, were wattled with split bamboo, and the house had a pointed thatched roof.

[352] In the interior, there were shelves for bowls and cups, and in a [354] loft or garret tools, nets, or baskets were stored. These installations now are often found in the kitchen. In the middle of one side of the house there was a fireplace, sunk below the level of the ground.

[343] Outside, in the compound, a pigeon house, poultry yard and spinning 175 wheels were observed. In another passage, Hall describes a cottage of 342 "wattled rattans" with a light open bamboo roof with thatch and creepers, one wing of which was occupied by goats. The compound consisted of a stable, a pig sty, and a poultry house. There was also a mill. The granary was on posts about six feet above the ground with firewood [325] piled below. There was an anvil with a forge of masonry but no bellows.[3]

The houses of the poor, said Fahs in his report to Commodore Perry, were made of bamboo and had no floors.[4] Accounts around the turn of the century say that houses and granaries were supported by corner posts of considerable height. Schwartz said these posts were about five feet high. The house walls of straw thatch were held in place by bamboo grass matting with a space two feet in width acting both as a door and a window, a matting curtain covering the aperture.[5]

[Text continues top of p. 73--analyst]

2 Simon, as cited, 80. C. W. Bishop has suggested that the stone houses of the Ainus of Hokkaido point to contact with southern insular peoples. Also, the primitive Japanese hut which was illustrated resembled the one we have been describing for Okinawa. It had a thatched roof and a courtyard which was cut off from the outside view by the hinpun. The historical geography of early Japan. Geo. Review, 13 (1923), 40-63. Note especially Figures 5 and 6. (This article was reprinted in Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution, 1925).

3 Captain Basil Hall, Voyage to Corea and the Great Loo Choo, as cited, 124, 141, 142-43.

4 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, Vol. II, 50.

5 Henry B. Schwartz, In Togo's country. New York and Cincinnati, 1908, 148-49.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

to the extended family, even if in some cases relationships are very distant. This point may be illustrated by discussing the relationships among six families named Shiroma in Hanashiro. The first family is the contemporary representative of the main family line. It is a main family. Its present head is an adopted child, but that does not change the situation. The second family head is a descendant of the younger brother of the grandfather of the head of the family; he is the grandson of the main head's great uncle, and therefore a second cousin of the head of the main family. The third and fourth families are branch families established by his father's younger brothers and are his first cousins. The fifth family is a very old branch family, going farther back than the grandfather. The sixth, in turn, is a branch family of the fifth. The present head of the main family does not know the relationship of the present heads of these two households to himself. 614

The fact that there are 16 main families with their 75 branches in the village of Hanashiro does not mean that there are not other branches of these main families. There are more than 75 families in the extended family. These are merely the branches of these 16 main families which reside in the village.

The head of a main house has responsibilities which are not shared by the heads of the branch families. He is the custodian of the tomb of the extended family. The head house is the meeting place of the extended family reunions. These normally take place on the 15th day of the 7th lunar month, the festival of O-Bon, and on lunar New Year. The extended families, or representatives that may reside in a village which is also the seat of the extended family decide questions of concern to the extended family as a whole. Such a question might be the case of a widow with minor children. For economic reasons, she seeks to sell her property. Since the disposal of property in land is intimately connected with the present and future fortunes of a family, the members of the extended family, especially if many reside in the same place, discuss this matter and give advice which the young widow in practice follows. [764] [527] [769]

Hanashiro is a good example of an old agricultural community in which descendant families have tended to remain in the same place as the original founder of the family. Those collateral families with main houses elsewhere are, in the main, from adjacent or nearby areas. 621 614

When this situation is compared with Minatogawa, certain differences are at once apparent. The fishermen of present day Minatogawa are descendants of settlers originally from the large fishing town of Itoman. Many of these fishing families are related by blood and intermarriage. Not only this, but there is a web of interrelationship which includes Itoman and its daughter village of Minatogawa. Of the 213 households in Minatogawa, 53 had the surname of Tamaki (or Tamashiro), 47 of Uehara, 21 of Oshiro, and 20 of Kanashiro, the four surnames accounting for 141 of the total households. People with the same surname who live in the same village are almost invariably related.[4] Compared with other [628] [551]

4 In sample checks made personally this turned out to be true, but the relationship was often so distant as to be unknown. All informants stated that people living in the same village who had the same surname were relatives.

621 614 villages studied, these frequencies of families with the same surname are very high. The seat of these extended families of the Minatogawa fishermen is in almost every instance the town of Itoman. The tombs of Minatogawa are entirely different from those of the neighboring [564] agricultural communities. They are small and temporary tombs for keeping remains that will later be removed to the large, often dramatically situated extended family tombs of Itoman. One resident of Minatogawa aptly described his village as a "bunke (branch family) of Itoman."

463 621 614 This is an unusual situation and can not be fully explained except by a study of Itoman and the smaller fishing villages scattered throughout Okinawa Island. One explanation might be that historically Okinawans have been farmers, and that, while they are excellent fishermen, they have not as a people participated in large numbers in fishing, leaving this activity to definite groups, such as the people of Itoman town. The passing down of occupations of the father to the son, the infrequency of change in occupation, especially from agriculture to fishing, the establishment of daughter villages, such as Minatogawa, might account for the fact that fishing is the occupation of a compact group of families who have intermarried and continued in their traditional occupations. Even in Matsuda, to the north, the temporary colonies of fishermen are either Itoman people or are their descendants. (There are of course a few local farmers who do some fishing). The close ties between Minatogawa and its parent town of Itoman illustrate the persistence of occupational and social relationships over a period of two and a half centuries.

614 Certain exceptions to the usual practice in Minatogawa accentuate the closeness of extended family relationships between Itoman and Minatogawa. As an illustration, we may take the case of three related families in Minatogawa who are not fishermen. The head of one family is a retired farmer, his son is a school teacher, and a third is a distant relative to a stone cutter. These people, formerly members or descendants of members of the nobility, came from Shuri. The main house of their extended family is in Shuri. This contemporary extended family now has so many members that the places for reunions and meetings have been increased, since the site of the main house in Shuri, founded by the original ancestor, can no longer accommodate all the members. The places of worship are divided into the main place, (umuta in Okinawan) and intermediate places [178] (nakamutu in Okinawan). Some of these secondary places of worship are in nearby Naha. The number of these cases is small compared with the closely knit ties of the fishermen's families with Itoman town.

In Matsuda, the extended family operates as it does in Hanashiro, the former town, there is an illustration of another point regarding the extended family system: the identity of a family name with a village name. Historically, the family took the name of the place; the place did not receive the name of the family. Though the situation is not clear, it would seem that when the king made grants of land to nobles that they [565] adopted the name given by the king to the place, while commoners did not receive surnames, but were known by their household rank order -- to be explained in Section 8. The village of Matsuda, for example, is the sa

428

In this illustration, the first son receives slightly over 60% of the land, ignoring type and grade within type. There was general agreement [242] in all villages that the grade of land within each classification (grades [651] 1 to 4 in dry crop land, for example) had little significance in inheritance matters. The grade is more important for tax purposes.

The example also illustrates two other principles: the natural desire to keep contiguous or close in land within the main family, using inconvenient or far off land where possible for house sites for branch families, or for arable land for second and other sons. In this illustration, the shares of the second and of the third sons could be equalized by subdividing plot #6, although its small area would not make it worth while, as 75 tsubo is a very low average size for dry crop land. [241]

Another practice, noted in Hanashiro and in Matsuda, is that the first son receives everything on the retirement of the father. This may be contrasted with a situation in which the father divides the property before younger sons marry and establish branch families. In such cases, the father might take the income from part of the property. But the more general practice is for the father to give all to the first son. Fathers may also make a will. When the first son receives all, it is the custom for him to hold property which the younger sons will need in establishing their branch families. It is in cases where the first son is given full disposition of the property that quarrels are most likely to occur, for much depends on the generosity and sense of fairness of the elder brother.[3] [593]

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In Hanashiro and Minatogawa, it is important that younger brothers receive genya land. Genya is often translated as wild land. In Japan the term is usually used to describe treeless, waste, hilly, rocky, or rolling land unsuitable for cultivation. In Okinawa, the genya land may be in the center of a rice field; it may be a rocky mound with cultivation around it. It may be land in the mountains. It is almost invariably in grass (miscanthus) with an occasional cycad or scrub pine. [137] It is not owned in large tracts. In Hanashiro, the largest single parcel [423] is 4564 tsubo (3.77 acres), in Minatogawa 1333 (tsubo) (1.9 acres), and in Matsuda 6398 tsubo (5.28 acres), but these are far above the average. In Hanashiro it is important because grass is constantly needed for [824] thatched roofs and other uses. The importance of genya and its grass was well illustrated in Minatogawa after the typhoon, Ruth, of October [731] 13-14, 1951. These villagers own little land and many have no genya. [432] They were obliged to buy the grass to replace the roofs of many of the frailer houses which had been partially or completely destroyed by the typhoon. Genya is also used for family tombs. In Hanashiro, the genya [764]

[Text continues Top of P. 133--Analyst]

3 The problem can be appreciated by analyzing the acreage areas of each classification of land and the grades within it, bearing in mind that the average farmer has hatake, genya, and often rice paddies. These statistics will be given in the following chapter.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

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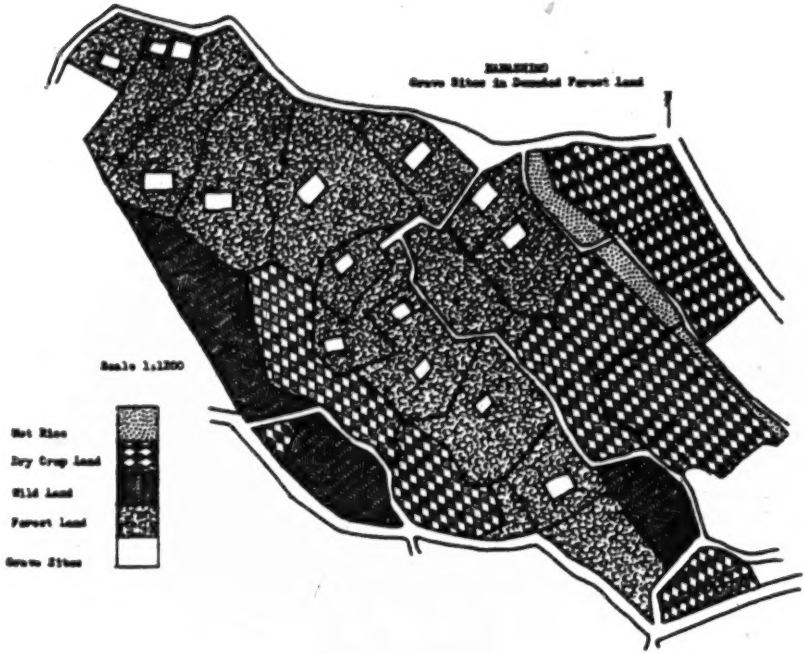

sandstone one sees in the new buildings of Naha often is from the quarries of this area. Stone quarries are scattered in various parts of Okinawa, but the Hinatogawa stone is considered the best. 324 [316]

Sandstone quarrying started, according to older settlers, about sixty years ago. Cutting began on the coast, gradually working up slope over rolling stony land. It is an interesting example of the transformation of a landscape by man. Now with the old methods still in use, the cutting has extended beyond the village. Stonecutting operations in the main are in the steep bluffs around both villages, although there are numerous cuttings in the newer settlements of Hinatogawa and along the seashore. Frequently the cut stone blocks lie near the temporary Hinatogawa tombs which dot the rocky coast. By the simplest methods, large quantities of stone have been and continue to be removed. All work is done by hand; machinery was installed by the Americans after the war, but it is out of working order and stands idle. 316 [133] [764]

Before the war, stonecutting in this vicinity was a more thriving industry than now. Quarries are also found in neighboring Tamagusuku township and there is a distributing outlet in Horikawa, the village across the river. Before the war from 300-500 men are said to have engaged in stonecutting. Now there are about 120 in both villages. Many of these stone workers had come from other parts of Okinawa and the Ryukyus: men from the offshore islands, Ie-shima, the Kerama chain, and Iheya, and on the south east, from Kudaka, Tsuken, and Heanza islands. Most of these settlers from the offshore islands have left. A few, born on Ie-shima, or from the northern district still remain. [464]

Since the war coastwise shipping of lumber and firewood from the north and stone from the south had declined sharply. Trucks have largely displaced the boats. Transport costs are high and the stone is in demand in closer markets. 505 494

2

Acquiring and Working the Land

Customary practices govern the quarrying of stone. These eliminate the need for written agreements. Interested persons know the properties and the possibilities of each site. These customary practices are concerned with the acquisition, the working and the restoration of land. Techniques for working the stone have remained nearly the same for at least sixty years. 316

The stonecutter purchases rights to the stone, not the land itself. When the stone has been extracted, the land is returned to its owner. This is unimproved land, but after the stone has been quarried, a house may be built on the site. When a stonecutter (sekko) wishes to acquire a certain holding, he calls on the owner of the land. Following oral negotiations, the price is agreed upon. A good price 316 425 [435]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

Death and Funeral Services

Okinawans, as so many have thought, are not preoccupied with death, burial customs, and their tombs. The popular criticism that they extravagantly spend all their money building tombs is unjust and comes from a superficial understanding of their function. Memorial observances, not the tombs, are the real sources of expense to surviving relatives. 761 181 [769]

The same basic customs were found in all the villages. On the death of an adult, the eyes are closed, the body washed, and fresh clothes are put on it. There is no embalming. The finger nails and hair are cut. (Haircutting is not universal). The body is then placed in a small wooden coffin. This is about 19 inches wide and about 22 inches deep, with the length varying according to height. An average length would be slightly over 4 feet. This is the traditional Buddhist coffin. Placing the body in a coffin this size requires doubling it up. The head rests on a small Japanese type pillow (makura). The legs are bent to bring the knees near the chin, and the hands folded over the chest. Articles for use in the afterworld, okurimono ("sending away things"), are also placed in the coffin. Though the articles vary, they generally include a pair of slippers, a kimono (for a woman), a kimono or western style pair of pants for a man, tobacco and tobacco cases, a towel, and sake in one flask, and water in another. Seven needles are stuck on each side of the kimono or the lapel of a coat. In Nanashiro, clogs and slippers are not placed in the coffin, but in front of the tomb at interment. When the coffin is closed, it is turned with the head facing west.[1] 764●

On death, close relatives up to first cousins are first summoned, followed by relatives in the extended family living in or near the village. There are no hard and fast customs about taking care of the body. First or other sons may take care of a father's body; brothers and cousins of a young girl's; the first son of the mother's; the eldest younger brother of an elder brother's; the first son or the father of a second or succeeding son's. Sometimes female relatives take care of the body. A husband or wife does not perform this duty for the other. The father or the mother prepare the body of a younger child.

Burial follows death very quickly. By law a body must be buried within 24 hours, but the interment is often quicker than this. An adult

1 There is confusion whether the head is placed to the north or to the west because the Okinawan word for north is the Japanese word for west.

764 dying in the evening or during the night is buried the next day, one dying in the morning will probably be interred by nightfall.

766 Burial customs for children differ from those of adults. The immediate burial of a dead child seems to be general in the villages, even if, according to one informant, it dies at 12 or 1 o'clock in the morning. With the death verified, relatives are called, and the child might be taken away within 15 minutes. Certain distinctions are made depending on whether (1) the child is still-born or dies shortly after birth, (2) the child is under 8 years old, and (3) the child is 8 years or older. A premature, still-born child, or an in-
[845] fant dying shortly after birth is buried almost immediately in the compound, usually behind the house. The child under eight is buried in a temporary grave near the family tomb, remaining there until the family tomb is opened upon the death of an adult. The infant's bones are then gathered up and put in the tomb. The temporary grave is prepared by a younger man of the family. The dead child is carried by the mother, an aunt or other female relative. The tomb, in general practice, is opened for a child over 8 years of age.

These are general statements and the details vary. In Minatogawa, for example, a child's funeral is similar to an adult's, but the body is not put in the coffin until the tomb is reached. The mother, or a close female relative, carries it in her arms. The coffin is carried by other mourners. The explanation given is that it was formerly believed that the child might revive on the way. In a child's funeral here, there is no banner announcing the name and death date, at the head of the procession. Neither is a hearse or funeral palanquin (gan) used.

In Hatsuda, this palanquin also is not used for children 8 and under. Whether a tomb is opened for a child seems to depend on individual family custom. In one case, an extended family tomb was not opened for a child; in another it was. The child is carried to the tomb and then placed in the coffin. In this village, children are not buried immediately. The custom is the same as for adults.

764 Judging by descriptions which villagers gave of pre-war customs,
178 funerals and burial customs have been simplified in the post-war period. The services of Buddhist priests have been almost completely dispensed with. Offerings are more modest. Priestesses (noro) and their assistants
[793] seldom officiate. The contemporary rural Okinawan funeral is simple. The following description of a funeral observed near Gushichan village probably is typical.

764 The deceased, a woman of 40, died about eleven in the morning. The funeral procession passed the village office at 5:30 on the same day. There were no special ceremonies before the funeral. The body, washed and dressed, had been placed in the coffin which was put on the funeral palanquin or hearse. This red palanquin is normally owned by the village. Since the war, not all villages have an gan.

The hearse was carried by four young men. (There may be 8 pallbearers,

764

four for relief if the tomb is at a distance). At the head of the procession, there was a group of older men, some relatives, some close friends of the family. Behind them was the hearse, followed by the immediate female relatives of the deceased. One of these, a young daughter, crying softly, was helped along by an aunt. At the end were the rest of the women, both friends and neighbors.

The procession left the road and wound up a narrow path leading to the tomb, located on the summit of a rocky hill with a magnificent view of the nearby mountains, the valley and the sea below. The ringing of a bell could be heard as the hearse approached the tomb. A small stone in front of the tomb had been removed. Above the opening, a white cloth, about the size of a large handkerchief fluttered in the chill wind. On it there was written (in Chinese characters) "The spirit of _____" (_____ no rei). Friends and relatives went in the tomb area. Others remained outside its entrances, standing in the grass near a sweet potato patch, reclaimed from the stony soil. When the hearse arrived, the pallbearers immediately took the coffin out. It was shoved into the aperture of the tomb, one or two men going in first to guide it in straight. The point of the final farewell had now been reached. The women relatives who had gathered around the hearse now sobbed and cried more audibly. The men did not assemble as a group. Neither was there any outward sign of grief among them. During this short period of final prayer, everyone kneeled. The stone was replaced over the opening. Charcoal sticks were lighted. The prayer over, everyone walked silently down the path from the rocky hill with its high miscanthus grass. There was a high wind and the dusk was deepened by the low dark thunder clouds.

Several comments are worth mentioning regarding the preceding description. At the head of the procession there may be a small banner (hata) with the name of the deceased and the date of death. This practice has fallen into disuse. When used, either a white or red (the color seems to have no significance) banner is carried by a grandchild or other child relative of the deceased. Hinatogawa was the only village in which the banner was still used.

The method of selecting pallbearers may also vary. In Hinatogawa, they are usually chosen from among friends and relatives. In Hanashiro, the young men from the neighborhood group (han) in which the deceased lived become the pallbearers. Here also adults representing each family in the village assemble as a mark of respect in front of the house of the deceased.

The order of march in the procession is fairly standardized: (1) the banner if used, (2) the male mourners. In some instances, male relatives precede the others. (3) The palanquin with the coffin, (4) the close female relatives of the deceased. This group occasionally may include parents and children, although it is more usual for the adult male relatives to be in the leading group, and (5) the women, without regard to relationship.

●764 The beginning of a funeral procession is announced by a gong in the yard of a village office. The head man and other leaders and elders of the village attend the funeral. The mayor of the township or his representative joins in the procession.

[793] A Buddhist priest (bōsu-san) did not officiate at this funeral. Priests are scarce in rural Okinawa. Most of them were Japanese who returned to Japan after the war. Families can also save by dispensing with the Buddhist service. The participation of Buddhist priests, already nominal before the war, has now in the villages studied, virtually disappeared.

764 43 It is customary at a death to give a ten or twenty yen offering to the family. The money is put in a small envelop with an expression of sympathy written on it. (In Okinawa money is the usual gift at marriage, birthday celebrations, and at death. The gift may be put in a small envelop but it is common also to give a loose bill).

765 [782] Early on the morning following the funeral, the tomb is visited by members of the family. Food offerings of rice, tea, sake, and a flower may be placed in front of the tomb. A charcoal stick is burned. These visits with the offerings and prayers on the following morning are associated with a belief, still held by the old, that the dead

[761] person might still be alive and that the pounding of an adult on the wall or the crying of a child might be heard so that the living could be rescued from the tomb. The belief that the person might still be alive and possibly could be heard seems to persist in Hanashiro and Hinatogawa. It was not encountered in Matsuda, although it might well exist.

2

Burial Places and the Family System

764 Okinawan tombs have excited the interest of foreigners from the earliest days of European contact. There are no cemeteries in the usual sense of the word, but areas scattered throughout the countryside, usually on the tops of hills, or on the stony sides of mountains, are

[311] given over to burial grounds. Tombs are not located on land suitable for agriculture. It has been said that the Japanese forbad using agricultural land for tombs, but the practice in Okinawa seems to antedate these Japanese interferences in the culture of the rural areas. In the interior, the tombs are always on wild (genya) land. But one can also see tombs along the seashore and on offshore rocks. The outstanding

[565] exceptions to this are the royal tomb area in Shuri, now largely destroyed, and the large and dramatically placed tombs in the center of Itoman town. In the case of Itoman, it is quite probable that the growing town has surrounded the areas taken as tomb sites.

Of the several types of tombs, the turtleback (kamekokata) is the most famous. It has been variously described by European travellers as

the tomb shaped like a horseshoe or the Greek letter, omega. A great deal of popular lore has accumulated around this type of tomb. Okinawans believe that the shape of the tomb symbolizes the position of a woman giving birth to a child. This is related to another idea, "returning to the source" (moto ni kaeru in Japanese). 764 [811]

Four different but related meanings seem to be involved in the idea of "returning to the source": (1) that life here is but a momentary experience. One's real and permanent life is in the afterworld. At death one returns to his permanent home. (2) After death a person becomes a god (hotoke-san) in the Buddhist sense. He reaches this state 49 days after death, according to some explanations, though there is much confusion on this point. This godhood is a "return to the source." (3) At death one returns to a state of peace, and (4) one returns to a former state or to a former place. It is with this last meaning that the turtleback tomb is associated in popular lore with "returning to the source." 761 775

On death one returns to the womb of nature from which he came. (Similar lore has collected around the Buddhist coffin in which the corpse is put in a position like that of a child in the womb). Whether the popular explanation is the true one is very hard to say. It certainly should not be accepted without critically evaluating the questions which such an explanation raises. Early European and American observers were quick to point out the similarities between those tombs and those of China, though the fact that they were introduced from China does not rule out the symbolic meaning they might have. Many Okinawans regard these tombs as indigenous. But the Okinawan antiquarians, who so love to find symbols in everything, would be loathe to surrender this lore. It is generally agreed that the tombs were introduced from Fukien province in China. Captain Basil Hall was the first western traveller, I think, to notice the similarity between Okinawan and Fukien tombs. M'Leod also mentioned it. 775 764 811 [114] [171] [177]

The gable (hafu) type of tomb is very common. There are also small temporary tombs of masonry, more often built of rocks. The tombs of Minatogawa are of this type. There are also very old tombs, hollowed out of the rock of a hillside. These were rare in the villages. Only one was seen in the dense vegetation and undergrowth at the bottom of a deep ravine in the center of Matsuda. Large tombs hollowed out of hillsides are a commonplace, but the small ones apparently were the tombs of the very poor. Recently a new small tomb is being built by families unwilling to undergo the expense of the larger tombs. Tombs, though appearing to be haphazardly placed on mountains or on rocky hillsides, are on privately owned land. 764 [565]

The tombs may also be classified as to use, that is, whether they are intended for a single or the extended family. In Hanashiro, tombs are of the extended family type, located on land owned by the main family. They are the responsibility of the head of the main family. Branch families may contribute to the purchase price of the land, construction materials, and to maintenance. 764 602

000 construction materials, and to maintenance.

614 766 In an earlier chapter, a villager's remark was quoted to the effect that Minatogawa was a branch family of Itoman. This is well illustrated in the burial customs of this village. Both children and adults are placed in a simple, temporary tomb, usually along the coast near the stonecutting area. Later the tomb is opened, the bones washed, and sent to Itoman. The transfer of the remains from the temporary tombs of the village to the extended family tomb in Itoman may be done at a time when it is necessary to open the Itoman tomb because of the death of a member of the extended family there. There is no second funeral. The cleaned bones are put in a box. There are short prayers before the opened Itoman tomb, the bones placed inside, and the box discarded.

764 602 In the adjoining village of Nagamo, burial customs are similar to those of Hanashiro. Nagamo has three different kinds of tombs: (1) large gable and turtleback extended family types, (2) a similar large tomb for a single family, and (3) small tombs for individual families.

The tombs of Matsuda also are mainly of the extended family type. There are examples here of the turtleback, the gable, and the new small tomb. They are scattered throughout the village area, sometimes on the summit of a hill whose slopes are given over to terraced rice fields or dry cropping. Not all families own tombs; for reasons of economy, the small tomb for individual burial is becoming more frequent.

765 [462] [178] [114] In all the villages, after the coffin is put inside the tomb, it is left there for about three years. The tomb is reopened, the bones are removed from the coffin, washed, and put back in the tomb, tasks done by female relatives of the deceased, usually women over 40 years old. This three year period is not a set one. If a later death occurs in the family, the coffin may be opened at that time. An old custom of placing the bones in an urn after they are taken from the coffin has been abandoned. Basil Hall has some interesting comments on these old Okinawan urns.

3

Observances in Memory of the Dead

765 769 Observances in memory of the dead are held in all villages on the 1st, 7th, 14th, 21st, 28th, 35th, 42nd, and 49th day after death, and on the 1st, 3rd, 7th, 13th, 25th, and 33rd anniversary of death.

765 The simple observances and prayers at the tomb on the day following burial have already been mentioned. At the home, temporary memorial tablets made of white paper (shiroihai) are prepared to be replaced later with permanent red memorial tablets on the Buddhist god shelf. Both at home and at the tomb only relatives or close friends participate in the prayers and food offerings.

778 One person in front fills in the head and forelegs, another in back
796 provides the rear and hindlegs. The lion, with its human mechanism,
536 is a common sight at festivals and parades. It is a symbol of health
825 and strength worthy of imitation). In the Festival of the Full Moon, during the autumnal equinox, the lion appears again and the whole village participates in prayers before the festivities begin.

778 On the 1st and 15th of each lunar month, the headman goes to the
796 place of the guardian god and makes an offering of tea, burns a charcoal stick, and says a prayer. On the 9th day of the 9th lunar month, the
[764] village council and the elders assemble before the village burial
[825] palanquin (gan), offer prayer at the founder's site and then before the village office where the lion is standing.

Minatogawa. This village has three deity places and various explanations are given for this. Some believe that two of them represent
778 sites of co-founders, a first son, and his younger brother, the second
776 son. The third site is vaguely known as a village god place. It is a small outdoor place of worship on the main village road, with a step and a shelf for charcoal sticks. The founders' sites are located in the center of the settled area, but on different sides of the road. In the site of the second son, there are three stones, shaped like life savers but with a bottom for placing the charcoal sticks, three glasses for tea, and three bottles. The site of the supposed first son, less well kept, has a small altar, four stones, tea cups, and cans for the burning of incense.

778 On New Year and at O-Bon, the whole, or substantial portions, of
796 the village pray first at the supposed first son's site, then at the second son's. Prayers are offered also at the roadside deity place.
[782] Some of the younger villagers hope that as the older residents die off,
[358] the expenses of providing offerings and upkeep for all three can be eliminated and that simpler observances can take place at the roadside shrine. The situation now is complicated by the fact that many people regard themselves as descendants of one or the other co-founder.

778 Matsuda. In this village, the founder's site is reached by stairs
189 leading up a hillside. It is in the settled area near a dense growth of trees and shrubs. Close by there is a shed in which the lion skin
[793] is kept. In this village the founder's site seemed less important than another religious place, on the main road, in which women of lesser rank in the former priestess system participate in ceremonies. In this village there seems to be less participation by all the people of the village at the place of the guardian or founder deity, and, instead, representatives, like the headman, elders, and the former priestesses
[796] conduct the ceremonies at New Year, O-Bon, and at the equinoctial holidays.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

Between 1875 and 1895, when the court life at the old capitol of Shuri was broken up under Japanese influence, many families of noble origin moved into the country to become farmers, and the village grew in size. These people settled mainly outside the central village in areas where land was available. One family moved into Taira proper, forming the third "main house." Although it still maintains feeble ceremonial connections with Shuri, it gave up its noble title shortly after coming north and moved its ancestral tomb to the community. The noble families who settled in the valleys and hills preserved their distinctive traditions until the end of World War II. Their noble descent was noted in the population register, and intermarriage with commoners was discouraged. 621 173 565 166 [177] 621 173

Except for these Shuri migrants, few outsiders seem to have settled in Taira prior to World War II. The residents on the southern part of the island, especially the residents of Naha and Shuri, consider northerners rustics. Although this part of the island was often used as a hiding place by political and criminal refugees from the south, who are said to have founded nearby villages, none of them made their home in Taira. [186] [687] [166]

The original settlers of Taira were reluctant to accept later arrivals in their midst. Because of the fear of spirits, foreign to the village, they prohibited the burial of the newcomer's dead near the tombs shared by the members of the "main houses." To this day the funeral urns of a family who came to Taira about 60 years ago and later intermarried with settled villages are kept in a cave, away from all other tombs. [176] [164]

Higashi township was established in 1922. The area had previously belonged to Kushi township to the south, but the great distances between villages and the mountainous character of the country made efficient administration very difficult. Furthermore, some Higashi inhabitants felt that because of temperamental differences and divergent interests they should separate from the southern township. Since 1922 contacts have been predominantly with Ogimi township to the northwest and the town of Nago, 16 miles away. Once the road connecting the two coastlines was completed in 1936, Taira's isolation decreased considerably, and it became the administrative seat of Higashi township in 1946. 632 173 621 [628] [491]

Taira also became the home of the high priestess. In the period prior to direct Japanese administration, her office was under the jurisdiction of the Shuri court (Lebra, 1958), and her predecessors must have been appointed by the Okinawan kings. Taira may have been chosen as the seat of the high priestess in lieu of Kawata because Kawata lacks the good rice land which traditionally went to the high priestess by royal decree. Some of this rice land is still in the hands of the living priestess. 173 173 621

312 Water is diverted from a stream a mile
365 above the village and piped into the upper and lower tanks where
[482] people fill their buckets which they carry home on a shoulder yoke.
[857] Both tanks always attract children. Before faucets were installed, the two spigots on each tank were closed with a wooden stopper which the children often pulled to get a drink or water to play in. An open lot surrounding the upper water tank is another popular play area.

361 On the eastern side of the village below the main road lies a flat sandy plain, separating the actual beach from the houses above. Children are frequently found playing there or walking along the beach to the mouth of the Noro Mata and Fukuji rivers, which reach the sea
[764] about 400 yards away. To the west of the central village lie the tombs
[211] and the monument for the war dead of the village.

487 Many hills around the village drop off vertically toward the south;
[133] these drops are partly effects of the geological conditions, such as karst depressions, partly caused by erosion of drainage during the heavy rains. Narrow paths, leading up the steep claylike hillsides, are slippery
[491] and very treacherous during rains. On the way to school in Kawata, the neighboring village, children have to pass a section of the road where river and rains have washed away the bank so badly that a misstep on the edge of the road could lead to a fall of more than 50 feet.

312 The little river which runs through parts of the valley behind Taira
[857] is another gathering place of children. A path alongside it leads into
[487] the hills and mountain forest lands. Seven minutes walking along this path takes one to Umugui, a natural swimming hole which also serves as one of the favorite laundry places. During the summer the river offers several other popular swimming spots downstream from Umugui.
[296] There is also a little concrete bridge in the rice fields beyond the houses, where adults and children go to wash laundry and sometimes pots and pans. Yamagawa well is a water hole, lined with concrete, near the northwestern part of Taira. Before water faucets were installed, girls frequently went there to wash their hair and do laundry.

857 Children go to the fields to look for flowers and berries or, in the
[484] case of older boys, to cut grass for animals. Distances covered by any child depend, of course, on the age. Younger siblings under 5 accompany the older ones to places beyond the area, but no expeditions extend to areas that are not also regularly traversed by adults in the course of their daily duties. Perhaps because of the multiple rivers and water sources, the beach offers less enticement than one might expect. On some days a group may decide to play on the beach, but since sand is also available throughout the village, everybody will soon shift back to some other area inland.

137 Tropical plants, bushes, and trees grow at sea level. At higher ele-

women chant. The tempo becomes more and more frenzied, and at a certain moment a bell rings. Nobody knows who rings it, and no amount of questioning elicited any information other than that this was done by divine action. 796 793

Ancestral worship is equally important in the life of Taira people. Each house of an oldest son has a shelf with a shrine in the main living room. On this shelf the family keeps the ancestral tablets, each representing a deceased ancestor of a recent period. The tablets for whole family lines are kept on the shelves of the main houses. Through this system a family maintains continuity between the living and the dead. Although a deceased person is believed to become a buddha or a god who ascends to heaven, his presence is still felt by the living relatives. If they fail to make the required offerings on the first and fifteenth day of each lunar month, or otherwise neglect religious duties toward the ancestor, misfortune may come to the family. At the same time, the worship of common ancestors holds branches of the larger kin groups together. 769 592 [778] [775] [782] [613]

No village adult died during our stay, but the funeral practices for adults described by Glacken (1955) and Pitts et al. (1955) for other villages in Okinawa are similar. Seven years is the age limit for a child burial, which is simple and does not require attendance of people other than immediate relatives and perhaps one or two neighbors.* During the study an 8-year-old boy died from an illness and was given a full funeral, which is similar to that of adults. 764 766

The funeral must take place at the first outgoing tide after the body has been prepared and dressed. Accompanied by family, residents of the ward, and mourners from other parts of the village whose number depends on the prominence of the dead, the body is carried on a simple, open litter to the tomb area just west of the central village (see map 2). Women feel free to show their emotions, while men remain outwardly calm. Until decomposition takes place, the body remains in a tomb used by the whole village for temporary entombment. Like other village ceremonies, funerals are less elaborate now than they once were, perhaps to the relief of all concerned, since death is highly anxiety provoking, and nobody feels comfortable during the prayers and the ritual farewell to the corpse at the tomb. The participants receive a cup of sake before leaving the tomb area to cleanse them of the pollution of death. Some people still prefer to return to the village by a different route so that the spirit of the dead person will be fooled and unable to follow. 764 [152] [154] [783] [784]

* The reason for this is possibly that the younger child has not yet fulfilled his filial obligations.

757 frequently and may be repeated as many as four times during the
[854] first year of a child's life. An older child occasionally undergoes this
[164] treatment for a case of violent impetigo. Even a horse may be bled in
[232] this way for loss of appetite or other symptoms of disease.

A woman whose face had been struck in an unusual display of temper
[578] underwent a blood letting soon after a swelling appeared. Her neighbor from across the street, a farmer like everyone else, sterilized her cheek with iodine and then cut it with a razor until the blood flowed freely. After a night's rest, the woman appeared outside her house without any signs of swelling and seemingly recovered.

753 As was pointed out previously, many diseases are believed to be
776 caused by supernatural forces: the ancestor spirits, spirits of those who
769 have just died, and natural deities and evil spirits who wander around
775 at night. The ancestors expect proper respect and attention and in gen-
[764] eral are benevolent unless neglected. Spirits of those who have recently died are most dangerous if the deceased is from another village. For deceased villagers one is careful to purify oneself after the funeral. The doors of each house are shut at night to protect against the evil spirits of the night air. Disease is less frequently caused by natural deities who have been neglected or mistreated.

755 In case of sickness or other unfortunate events in the family, some-
756 body may go to consult the *yuta,* a shaman who communicates with
[787] the supernatural. She discovers the cause of misfortune with the help of rice oracles and through powers of divination received through visions and hallucinations. There is no *yuta* living in Taira now, so that people have to travel to the other side of the island, an hour or more on foot, if they want to learn about the source of some evil. Taira
[769] people make many such trips to consult this shamanistic specialist. The most common cause of misfortune discovered by the *yuta* is neglect of ceremonies to the ancestral gods or, less frequently, the neglect of cere-
[793] monies to the natural deities. Although the *yuta* stands in no direct connection with the high priestess, she may suggest that her client ask the priestess for special prayers to rectify the negligence. In such cases, then, the competence of individuals in the family may not be adequate to deal with the ancestral world, and the priestess enters into family religion.

597 Some Taira parents still find an adoptive parent for a sickly child in
755 the belief that his own ancestors have caused bad health, and that this
769 can only be remedied by making a formal arrangement which transfers
[796] ancestral responsibility for the child to another family. The child remains with his own parents and only visits his foster parents during the New Year and the midsummer Buddhist *Bon* Festival, which honors ancestors, and perhaps at one or two other occasions during the year.

857 intimate as they used to be. He has little in common with them, but
561 since he still takes care of a younger sibling or plays games to which younger children are attracted, there remain frequent contacts between the age groups. The transition between first grade and second grade is in no way as pronounced as the drastic status change from
[866] kindergarten to first grade. Children feel it mostly as a gradually increasing pressure toward assuming more responsibility. The transition which takes place at a ritual level * during the early latency period, however, is not reflected in their daily life.

CHORES AND RESPONSIBILITY TRAINING

857 Although adults say that the elementary school student is still very
868 much of a child who only toward the latter part of this stage can seriously be expected to contribute much to the tasks and duties in home and village; the children, in fact, do some work daily. Already in first grade, responsibility is approached with seriousness, girls exceeding boys in this respect. Children beg tasks, and obeying the school's directive to "help one's parents" seems to become the prime objective of first graders who have just proudly attained their new
857 status. They plead to accompany their older siblings who, with much
868 less zeal than the younger ones, gather giant African snails after a heavy rainfall, hunt frogs, dragon flies, and grasshoppers, or wash
231 potatoes for the pigs. Adults consider some of these chores play.
[866] Although frogs and grasshoppers are fed to the chickens, and minnows and seaweed are added to the pig swill, nevertheless, adults would not seriously label expeditions to collect these responsible. On the other hand, if there is no available feed, as occasionally happens, the child will be scolded and berated for "thinking only of play and not of the hungry chickens." Four- to 6-year-olds are discouraged from these foraging trips, for the danger of snake bites and accidents in the paddies and on the beach is very real. Accompanied by older siblings, however, they, too, may participate.

Some tasks, such as fetching water and feeding the pigs, cutting grass for the horse and goats, washing down the horse, and gathering faggots for the hearth, are still too difficult for the first grade child. But some of them are attempted, at least by assisting older children.
866 Once the child starts off to school, he is made aware that he is

[764] * In case of death, the child who has reached the age of 8 must be given a full
[775] fledged burial since in afterlife he becomes a buddha from now on. We had no indication that children were aware of this.

the Year of the Horse, and so all persons born during any year of the Horse--- 888
1942, 1930, etc.---celebrated their "year day" on the first Day of the Horse 527
of the new year. Although theoretically all year days are important, in practice only those of old age are given much attention. These are the celebrations of the 61st, 73rd, 85th, and 97th years. The 88th and 90th may also be celebrated. The celebration of the year day of an old person is a matter of pride for the whole family; formal invitations are sent, and the guests are served food and drink requiring considerable expense on the part of the family.

Death After his death a person does not cease to be of any importance to 769
the family. On the contrary he takes on a new importance as a focal point for ceremonies and perhaps for feelings of anxiety.

Death is attributed to both natural and supernatural causes[1] with 761
natural causes probably barely in the majority. But there is also the vague notion that one's life span is predetermined.

Almost immediately after the death of a person, members of his family 756
usually consult a yuta to learn if there was any last request or information 763
that the deceased had wished to impart to his family. This might consist of an explanation of his death, a confession of some early misdeed, or last instructions to his heirs. While I was working at Yamada as informant, an energetic, thoroughly likeable old lady, died suddenly. I learned later that her family immediately went to Yakena, some twelve miles away, a place famous for its many yuta. There they consulted a yuta and asked if there had been any message the old woman wanted to communicate. They were told that the old woman had been destined to die a year before but because she was such a good woman she had lived an extra year, during which she had accomplished everything she had intended to do---there was nothing to reveal. The family was relieved and comforted.

The Funeral Women may cry out immediately upon learning that a mem- 764
ber of the family has died. The body is laid in the second room of the house and flexed so that it may be more easily put into the coffin. If the death occurs in the morning the funeral may be held the afternoon of that day; if later in the day, the next afternoon. Offerings are placed before the body and when the funeral is not until the next day, relatives keep a wake over it.

The funeral itself consists of a ceremony at the home of the deceased, a procession to the tomb, and the placing of the coffin in the tomb. These steps may be more or less elaborate depending upon the means of the family. However, the local unit, the 'han' or the chinju, takes responsibility for some activities, making for uniformity. Member of the 'han' or chinju make two paper tablets with the name of the deceased written on them and make a large square wooden box for a coffin. On the afternoon of the funeral, the body is put into the coffin and a tray containing one of the paper tablets, offerings of fruit, and an incense burner is placed before it. If the de- [793]
ceased has requested it, a Buddhist priest may be called from one of the larger towns, but many country people do not call a priest, and indeed may never

[1] See Chapter IX.

764 have the occasion to talk with one. If a priest is called, he kneels before
793 the coffin, rings a bell, and recites from the sutras. His recitation is in
[177] a Japanized Sanskrit, which is probably wholly incomprehensible to all. After the recitation he burns incense before the coffin and the assembled relatives and friends do likewise. The coffin is then carried out of the house and put into the gang, a red palanquin that is village property in many villages. At this point all present pray. The procession to the tomb now begins. It is led by the bearer of a flag announcing the death, followed by the priest (if there is one), then the paper tablet carried by the heir of the deceased, who holds an umbrella over it. Then the family comes, then male relatives and neighbors, and then the gang containing the coffin, borne by four neighbors of the deceased. And finally come the female relatives and neighbors of the deceased. When the procession arrives at the enclosure before the tomb, the neighbors who have been bearing the gang set it down and relatives take the coffin out and carry it in before the tomb. Only relatives and the priest enter. While the women again weep aloud the coffin is put into the tomb and offerings are left before it. In returning, the women take a different route.

767 Formerly funeral processions were led by member of a special profes-
565 sion called nimbuchaa (from nimbuchi, J. 'nembutsu', a kind of Buddhist
[171] prayer for the dead). These persons formed a separate social class looked down upon by others, and lived in a few separate villages, rather like the Eta of Japanese society.

765 Bone-Washing and the Tomb After the body has been in the coffin a suitable length of time, usually about two years, the coffin is removed from the tomb, the body is removed from the coffin, which is destroyed, the remaining decayed flesh is then washed from the bones, and they are returned to the tomb.

764 In Northern Okinawa the tombs are relatively small and are usually the property of smaller kinship units, but in Southern Okinawa the tombs are larger and are usually the property of the larger kin groups, the munchu. In some instances several munchu share the same tomb. Even the smaller tombs are built with considerable expense; the larger ones cost the equivalent of several hundred dollars. Both the larger and the smaller tombs contain a floor at ground level upon which a coffin may be set and behind this a shelf or
[565] shelves upon which washed bones are placed. Families descended from the former gentry class place the washed bones into large urns. Commoners simply place the bones on the shelf and when the shelf is filled, push the older bones into a pit behind the shelf. If one death follows another so closely that there is a coffin with unwashed bones still in the tomb, the family, rather than reopen the tomb too soon, may choose to make a temporary tomb by walling a natural opening in the rocks. Or, as may happen in the case of the tombs belonging to the larger kin groups, if there is a body in the tomb with flesh sufficiently decayed for bone-washing, the family who suffered that loss may wash the bones at the same time that the family who has suffered the second loss is holding its funeral.

765 The bone-washing is an emotionally charged performance. Women usually wash the bones and do so with a great and apparently genuine display of grief.

Two members of the SIRI team both saw bone-washings, and were both impressed 765
by this display. The ceremony I saw consisted not only of the washing of one set of bones but the transfer of another skeleton from another tomb. While the tomb was being prepared the daughter of the man whose bones were being transferred was made to hold the skull. The sight of the teen-age girl holding her father's skull before her, hardly able to move, her lips and eyes shut tight, tears streaming down her face, is one not easily forgotten.

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mony in order to show Americans what went on. This rumor might have seriously damaged my rapport with this family and with others in the community if I had not been defended by the person who had supervised the bone-washing, the old lady mentioned at the beginning of this section. All three SIRI team members were questioned about American practices and heard statements to the effect that perhaps cremation should be adopted. Cremation does, of course, do away with the necessity for both the bone-washings and the large tombs. A crematorium is operating in Naha, but it is doubtful if the practice will spread very rapidly in the country. New tombs, bigger and better than ever, are still being built, old ones are being repaired, and the familiar method of burial and reburial goes on. The prestige attached to the larger and impres- [554]
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However, throughout each year on a number of occasions offerings are 769
made for all the dead members of the family. These occasions are the major 527
holidays, nearly all of which are primarily directed toward the worship of the dead. The principal of these are: 1) Lunar New Year's; 2) Shiimii, in the spring, an occasion for visiting both the tomb of the immediate family and tombs of more remote ancestors; 3) the U-machii, the 15th days of the 5th and 6th lunar months, occasions when representatives of the larger kin groups worship before the ancestral tablets at the main house; 4) U-bung, during the 7th lunar month, when all the dead are believed to return to the house. Beside these there are a number of minor holidays on which offerings are made.

where they are observed there are generally few participants. Also many ceremonies have lost all meaning save that of custom, which is considered sufficient reason for their observance. 796 178

The authors heard dissatisfaction expressed with regard to current funeral practices. At one bone-washing ceremony witnessed by the author, several of the men stated that the practice was pointless and should therefore cease. Statements favorable to the Japanese practice of cremation were frequently heard. 764 765 829

Urbanization Prior to Japanese annexation there existed a sharp urban-rural dichotomy in Okinawan culture. This might best be characterized as a rural peasantry and an urban gentry-nobility. The latter group was in contact with Japan and China and was literate, while the former was divided into many small, isolated villages, lived in a state of serfdom, and was largely uneducated. The urban culture was strongly influenced by its foreign contacts, but in the rural areas an indigenous culture was preserved virtually untouched by outside influences. 369 177 [565]

The Japanese impact was first felt in the urban areas, and the city of Naha gradually assumed the characteristics of a Japanese city. It became the center for the diffusion of things Japanese into the countryside. Despite a number of important changes---abolition of communal land tenure, introduction of private property, gradual penetration of a money economy, introduction of schools and national organizations---rural-urban differences remained strong. The character of the village tended to remain homogeneous and conservative, and contacts with the city were infrequent. When one emigrated from the village, the move usually was to a point outside the country rather than to another part of the island.

World War II shattered the isolation and homogeneity of the village. The American occupation coupled with the cumulative effect of the change initiated by the Japanese has served to bring the village into a closer relationship with the urban areas. The result has been the urbanization of the rural areas. By means of newspapers, motion pictures, and radio the villager has come to share the cultural life of the city. Rural-urban differences in diet, dress, education, entertainment, mobility, and values are tending to disappear. Marked improvements in transportation have given the villager a new mobility, enabling him to participate in the labor market of the city and giving new outlets for his products. The nature of the village is increasingly more heterogeneous due to the presence of newcomers, increased occupational specialization, and greater interaction with the outside world. There is a greater reliance on goods produced by industrial society, and a number of villagers commute daily to a place of employment in the city or in nearby military installations. The trend is toward an ultimate disappearance of rural-urban differences; the process is one that is well advanced in the United States, but in Okinawa it is in an early stage. 369 177 178 621

Conclusion Okinawa has been in a process of change for over fifty years. World War II and the American military occupation have served to accelerate greatly the forces for change. Despite this, Okinawan culture has not been overwhelmed and has managed to preserve its identity. A number of 177 178

764 The beginning of a funeral procession is announced by a gong in the yard of a village office. The head man and other leaders and elders of the village attend the funeral. The mayor of the township or his representative joins in the procession.

[793] A Buddhist priest (bōzu-san) did not officiate at this funeral. Priests are scarce in rural Okinawa. Most of them were Japanese who returned to Japan after the war. Families can also save by dispensing with the Buddhist service. The participation of Buddhist priests, already nominal before the war, has now in the villages studied, virtually disappeared.

764 43 It is customary at a death to give a ten or twenty yen offering to the family. The money is put in a small envelop with an expression of sympathy written on it. (In Okinawa money is the usual gift at marriage, birthday celebrations, and at death. The gift may be put in a small envelop but it is common also to give a loose bill).

765 [782] [761] Early on the morning following the funeral, the tomb is visited by members of the family. Food offerings of rice, tea, sake, and a flower may be placed in front of the tomb. A charcoal stick is burned. These visits with the offerings and prayers on the following morning are associated with a belief, still held by the old, that the dead person might still be alive and that the pounding of an adult on the wall or the crying of a child might be heard so that the living could be rescued from the tomb. The belief that the person might still be alive and possibly could be heard seems to persist in Hanashiro and Hinatogawa. It was not encountered in Matsuda, although it might well exist.

2

Burial Places and the Family System

764 Okinawan tombs have excited the interest of foreigners from the earliest days of European contact. There are no cemeteries in the usual sense of the word, but areas scattered throughout the countryside, usually on the tops of hills, or on the stony sides of mountains, are given over to burial grounds. Tombs are not located on land suitable [311] for agriculture. It has been said that the Japanese forbad using agricultural land for tombs, but the practice in Okinawa seems to antedate these Japanese interferences in the culture of the rural areas. In the interior, the tombs are always on wild (genya) land. But one can also see tombs along the seashore and on offshore rocks. The outstanding [565] exceptions to this are the royal tomb area in Shuri, now largely destroyed, and the large and dramatically placed tombs in the center of Itoman town. In the case of Itoman, it is quite probable that the growing town has surrounded the areas taken as tomb sites.

Of the several types of tombs, the turtleback (kamekokata) is the most famous. It has been variously described by European travellers as

000 construction materials, and to maintenance.

614 766 In an earlier chapter, a villager's remark was quoted to the effect that Hinatogawa was a branch family of Itoman. This is well illustrated in the burial customs of this village. Both children and adults are placed in a simple, temporary tomb, usually along the coast near the stonecutting area. Later the tomb is opened, the bones washed, and sent to Itoman. The transfer of the remains from the temporary tombs of the village to the extended family tomb in Itoman may be done at a time when it is necessary to open the Itoman tomb because of the death of a member of the extended family there. There is no second funeral. The cleaned bones are put in a box. There are short prayers before the opened Itoman tomb, the bones placed inside, and the box discarded.

764 602 In the adjoining village of Nagamo, burial customs are similar to those of Hanashiro. Nagamo has three different kinds of tombs: (1) large gable and turtleback extended family types, (2) a similar large tomb for a single family, and (3) small tombs for individual families.

The tombs of Hatsuda also are mainly of the extended family type. There are examples here of the turtleback, the gable, and the new small tomb. They are scattered throughout the village area, sometimes on the summit of a hill whose slopes are given over to terraced rice fields or dry cropping. Not all families own tombs; for reasons of economy, the small tomb for individual burial is becoming more frequent.

765 [462] [178] [114] In all the villages, after the coffin is put inside the tomb, it is left there for about three years. The tomb is reopened, the bones are removed from the coffin, washed, and put back in the tomb, tasks done by female relatives of the deceased, usually women over 40 years old. This three year period is not a set one. If a later death occurs in the family, the coffin may be opened at that time. An old custom of placing the bones in an urn after they are taken from the coffin has been abandoned. Basil Hall has some interesting comments on these old Okinawan urns.

3

Observances in Memory of the Dead

765 769 Observances in memory of the dead are held in all villages on the 1st, 7th, 14th, 21st, 28th, 35th, 42nd, and 49th day after death, and on the 1st, 3rd, 7th, 13th, 25th, and 33rd anniversary of death.

765 The simple observances and prayers at the tomb on the day following burial have already been mentioned. At the home, temporary memorial tablets made of white paper (shiroihai) are prepared to be replaced later with permanent red memorial tablets on the Buddhist god shelf. Both at home and at the tomb only relatives or close friends participate in the prayers and food offerings.

The tomb is revisited on the 7th day. Rice cakes, bean curd, and a little sake may be taken as offerings. The food items vary. Pork, rice, and tea may be added or substituted. The offering may consist of a variety of favored foods (a gochisō, a feast or a treat). The observances on the 14th, 21st, 28th, 35th, and 42nd day are like the preceding ones, though beginning with the 35th day, the prayers and the food offerings may be more elaborate. 765 ● [262]

The 49th day has special significance. At this time, the temporary white memorial tablets are removed from the god shelf and burned, and the permanent tablets hung there. This god shelf has the tablets of the immediate family in the male line: the father, grandfather, the mother and grandmother, or of deceased children. A son who establishes a branch family has a god shelf in his own house. While I found no unanimity on the point, many interpreted the 49th day as the day on which the deceased is presumed to have become a god (hotoke-san). Others have said this did not take place until the 33rd year after death, certainly a more logical time, since the observances cease at this time. On the 49th day, there are visits to the tomb and prayers before the god shelf at night. As the last of a series of observances which follow closely after death, the food offerings and the food served to guests are much more sumptuous than those of previous weeks. [778] [776]

In the annual anniversaries, differences depend on family piety and economic status. With some families, observances become more elaborate as the years go by. The prayers and the feast of the 1st and 3rd years are usually the same as that of the 49th day. Beginning with the 7th year the rice may be dyed red. Rice dyed red is used as the years from the date of death increase. In all cases, the 33rd year is the last and the most luxurious of the celebrations. The occasion begins with prayers at the god shelf, the food offering, sake, followed by a banquet for the guests, most of whom are relatives. This 33rd year celebration is the final recognition of a person's life on earth as a member of the family and ends the responsibility for observing the anniversary of his death. 769

Though rare, a family may call on a Buddhist priest to officiate at one of these memorial observances. One service, in memory of a fourth son who had died in the Philippines in 1944, was observed in Minatogawa. The priest received from the father the name, age, and place of death of his son and wrote this information on a piece of paper. The chant began with the tapping of a small bell (inkin), ringing which was repeated frequently throughout the service. The chant, which lasted about 25 minutes, was sung in an archaic Japanese which no one understood. Toward the end, the priest read the paper on which he had written the information regarding the deceased. These were the only words which could be clearly understood. The purpose here was to inform the Buddha of the name of the dead. The priest wore a black robe with gold trimming. Around his neck was a string of beads (zuzu) with a pendant purple tassel. He sat in the front of the first room with the father of the dead boy on his right. The women guests were in the second room. As the long chant continued, people began talking to one another, and when the priest 769 793 788 [292]

765 After death, memorial services are held in the home of the deceased
769 every seventh day until the 49th day when a more elaborate ceremony
782 concludes this period, and a permanent tablet is installed on the house shrine. On this day, too, offerings to the deceased change from white rice to red-colored rice, indicating the end of the mourning period. From now on, observances in memory of the dead are held on the first, third, seventh, thirteenth, twenty-fifth, and thirty-third anniversary of death. These are small family affairs at which special food is prepared and offered at the shrine before it is consumed.

765 The body is left in the tomb for at least three years until a propitious day when the whole village decides to wash the bones of all those who have died within the preceding three to seven years. On Bone Washing Day little groups of family members gather around the coffin. They take out the bones, clean them, wrap them in a white cloth and place
[778] them in an urn. Women do all the cleaning of bones because it is be-
[152] lieved that they have more power to expel the evil. They weep freely,
[852] and even some men find it hard to restrain their emotions. Young children are kept away from the tomb area at this time. The urns are then placed inside the family tomb, which has been opened for this purpose. Remains other than bones are burned with the coffin.

769 Every lunar March ancestral services take place at the tombs, at-
782 tended by many members of the kin groups to whom each tomb belongs. Some come from the city or other villages for this occasion, including women who have married into another kin group. This celebration of the dead is more serious than other religious events. Offerings of sake and special delicacies are made and then eaten by the family group. One family, sitting in picnic style around the tomb after their prayers, even began to sing and dance—probably to the delight of the ancestors who in their life must have enjoyed many a good feast and dance. Tombs of other relatives may also be visited for short prayers and other offerings.

775 Spirits of the dead are harmful only if the deceased is not from the
784 village. For this reason new residents formerly could not bury their
766 dead near the village. Even now, recent settlers in the central village have no tombs and keep their dead in urns in a cave, and the residents
[764] of outlying houses or field houses have a separate tomb area altogether. If a stranger happens to die in the village, measures are taken to prevent his spirit from doing harm. The body of a fisherman from southern Okinawa was brought to shore after a storm. There it was left for several hours on the beach under a tent in the hot sun until relatives arrived in a hired car to take the body home. Even then peo-

764 have the occasion to talk with one. If a priest is called, he kneels before
793 the coffin, rings a bell, and recites from the sutras. His recitation is in
[177] a Japanized Sanskrit, which is probably wholly incomprehensible to all. After the recitation he burns incense before the coffin and the assembled relatives and friends do likewise. The coffin is then carried out of the house and put into the gang, a red palanquin that is village property in many villages. At this point all present pray. The procession to the tomb now begins. It is led by the bearer of a flag announcing the death, followed by the priest (if there is one), then the paper tablet carried by the heir of the deceased, who holds an umbrella over it. Then the family comes, then male relatives and neighbors, and then the gang containing the coffin, borne by four neighbors of the deceased. And finally come the female relatives and neighbors of the deceased. When the procession arrives at the enclosure before the tomb, the neighbors who have been bearing the gang set it down and relatives take the coffin out and carry it in before the tomb. Only relatives and the priest enter. While the women again weep aloud the coffin is put into the tomb and offerings are left before it. In returning, the women take a different route.

767 Formerly funeral processions were led by member of a special profes-
565 sion called nimbuchaa (from nimbuchi, J. 'nembutsu', a kind of Buddhist
[171] prayer for the dead). These persons formed a separate social class looked down upon by others, and lived in a few separate villages, rather like the Eta of Japanese society.

• 765 Bone-Washing and the Tomb After the body has been in the coffin a suitable length of time, usually about two years, the coffin is removed from the tomb, the body is removed from the coffin, which is destroyed, the remaining decayed flesh is then washed from the bones, and they are returned to the tomb.

764 In Northern Okinawa the tombs are relatively small and are usually the property of smaller kinship units, but in Southern Okinawa the tombs are larger and are usually the property of the larger kin groups, the munchu. In some instances several munchu share the same tomb. Even the smaller tombs are built with considerable expense; the larger ones cost the equivalent of several hundred dollars. Both the larger and the smaller tombs contain a floor at ground level upon which a coffin may be set and behind this a shelf or
[563] shelves upon which washed bones are placed. Families descended from the former gentry class place the washed bones into large urns. Commoners simply place the bones on the shelf and when the shelf is filled, push the older bones into a pit behind the shelf. If one death follows another so closely that there is a coffin with unwashed bones still in the tomb, the family, rather than reopen the tomb too soon, may choose to make a temporary tomb by walling a natural opening in the rocks. Or, as may happen in the case of the tombs belonging to the larger kin groups, if there is a body in the tomb with flesh sufficiently decayed for bone-washing, the family who suffered that loss may wash the bones at the same time that the family who has suffered the second loss is holding its funeral.

765 The bone-washing is an emotionally charged performance. Women usually wash the bones and do so with a great and apparently genuine display of grief.

Two members of the SIRI team both saw bone-washings, and were both impressed 765
by this display. The ceremony I saw consisted not only of the washing of one set of bones but the transfer of another skeleton from another tomb. While the tomb was being prepared the daughter of the man whose bones were being transferred was made to hold the skull. The sight of the teen-age girl holding her father's skull before her, hardly able to move, her lips and eyes shut tight, tears streaming down her face, is one not easily forgotten.

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Urbanization Prior to Japanese annexation there existed a sharp urban-rural dichotomy in Okinawan culture. This might best be characterized as a rural peasantry and an urban gentry-nobility. The latter group was in contact with Japan and China and was literate, while the former was divided into many small, isolated villages, lived in a state of serfdom, and was largely uneducated. The urban culture was strongly influenced by its foreign contacts, but in the rural areas an indigenous culture was preserved virtually untouched by outside influences. 369 177 [565]

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Conclusion Okinawa has been in a process of change for over fifty years. World War II and the American military occupation have served to accelerate greatly the forces for change. Despite this, Okinawan culture has not been overwhelmed and has managed to preserve its identity. A number of 177 178

764 dying in the evening or during the night is buried the next day, one dying in the morning will probably be interred by nightfall.

766 Burial customs for children differ from those of adults. The immediate burial of a dead child seems to be general in the villages, even if, according to one informant, it dies at 12 or 1 o'clock in the morning. With the death verified, relatives are called, and the child might be taken away within 15 minutes. Certain distinctions are made depending on whether (1) the child is still-born or dies shortly after birth, (2) the child is under 8 years old, and (3) the child is 8 years or older. A premature, still-born child, or an infant dying shortly after birth is buried almost immediately in the compound, usually behind the house. The child under eight is buried in a temporary grave near the family tomb, remaining there until the family tomb is opened upon the death of an adult. The infant's bones are then gathered up and put in the tomb. The temporary grave is prepared by a younger man of the family. The dead child is carried by the mother, an aunt or other female relative. The tomb, in general practice, is opened for a child over 8 years of age.

[845]

These are general statements and the details vary. In Minatogawa, for example, a child's funeral is similar to an adult's, but the body is not put in the coffin until the tomb is reached. The mother, or a close female relative, carries it in her arms. The coffin is carried by other mourners. The explanation given is that it was formerly believed that the child might revive on the way. In a child's funeral here, there is no banner announcing the name and death date, at the head of the procession. Neither is a hearse or funeral palanquin (gan) used.

In Hatsuda, this palanquin also is not used for children 8 and under. Whether a tomb is opened for a child seems to depend on individual family custom. In one case, an extended family tomb was not opened for a child; in another it was. The child is carried to the tomb and then placed in the coffin. In this village, children are not buried immediately. The custom is the same as for adults.

764 178 Judging by descriptions which villagers gave of pre-war customs, funerals and burial customs have been simplified in the post-war period. The services of Buddhist priests have been almost completely dispensed with. Offerings are more modest. Priestesses (noro) and their assistants seldom officiate. The contemporary rural Okinawan funeral is simple. The following description of a funeral observed near Gushichan village probably is typical.

[793]

764 The deceased, a woman of 40, died about eleven in the morning. The funeral procession passed the village office at 5:30 on the same day. There were no special ceremonies before the funeral. The body, washed and dressed, had been placed in the coffin which was put on the funeral palanquin or hearse. This red palanquin is normally owned by the village. Since the war, not all villages have an gan.

The hearse was carried by four young men. (There may be 8 pallbearers,

000 construction materials, and to maintenance.

614 In an earlier chapter, a villager's remark was quoted to the effect that Hinatogawa was a branch family of Itoman. This is well illustrated in the burial customs of this village. Both children and adults are
●766 placed in a simple, temporary tomb, usually along the coast near the stonecutting area. Later the tomb is opened, the bones washed, and sent to Itoman. The transfer of the remains from the temporary tombs of the village to the extended family tomb in Itoman may be done at a time when it is necessary to open the Itoman tomb because of the death of a member of the extended family there. There is no second funeral. The cleaned bones are put in a box. There are short prayers before the opened Itoman tomb, the bones placed inside, and the box discarded.

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women chant. The tempo becomes more and more frenzied, and at a certain moment a bell rings. Nobody knows who rings it, and no amount of questioning elicited any information other than that this was done by divine action. 796 793

Ancestral worship is equally important in the life of Taira people. Each house of an oldest son has a shelf with a shrine in the main living room. On this shelf the family keeps the ancestral tablets, each representing a deceased ancestor of a recent period. The tablets for whole family lines are kept on the shelves of the main houses. Through this system a family maintains continuity between the living and the dead. Although a deceased person is believed to become a buddha or a god who ascends to heaven, his presence is still felt by the living relatives. If they fail to make the required offerings on the first and fifteenth day of each lunar month, or otherwise neglect religious duties toward the ancestor, misfortune may come to the family. At the same time, the worship of common ancestors holds branches of the larger kin groups together. 769 592 [778] [775] [782] [613]

No village adult died during our stay, but the funeral practices for adults described by Glacken (1955) and Pitts et al. (1955) for other villages in Okinawa are similar. Seven years is the age limit for a child burial, which is simple and does not require attendance of people other than immediate relatives and perhaps one or two neighbors.* During the study an 8-year-old boy died from an illness and was given a full funeral, which is similar to that of adults. 764 766

The funeral must take place at the first outgoing tide after the body has been prepared and dressed. Accompanied by family, residents of the ward, and mourners from other parts of the village whose number depends on the prominence of the dead, the body is carried on a simple, open litter to the tomb area just west of the central village (see map 2). Women feel free to show their emotions, while men remain outwardly calm. Until decomposition takes place, the body remains in a tomb used by the whole village for temporary entombment. Like other village ceremonies, funerals are less elaborate now than they once were, perhaps to the relief of all concerned, since death is highly anxiety provoking, and nobody feels comfortable during the prayers and the ritual farewell to the corpse at the tomb. The participants receive a cup of sake before leaving the tomb area to cleanse them of the pollution of death. Some people still prefer to return to the village by a different route so that the spirit of the dead person will be fooled and unable to follow. 764 [152] [154] [783] [784]

* The reason for this is possibly that the younger child has not yet fulfilled his filial obligations.

765 After death, memorial services are held in the home of the deceased
769 every seventh day until the 49th day when a more elaborate ceremony
782 concludes this period, and a permanent tablet is installed on the house shrine. On this day, too, offerings to the deceased change from white rice to red-colored rice, indicating the end of the mourning period. From now on, observances in memory of the dead are held on the first, third, seventh, thirteenth, twenty-fifth, and thirty-third anniversary of death. These are small family affairs at which special food is prepared and offered at the shrine before it is consumed.

765 The body is left in the tomb for at least three years until a propitious day when the whole village decides to wash the bones of all those who have died within the preceding three to seven years. On Bone Washing Day little groups of family members gather around the coffin. They take out the bones, clean them, wrap them in a white cloth and place
[778] them in an urn. Women do all the cleaning of bones because it is be-
[152] lieved that they have more power to expel the evil. They weep freely,
[852] and even some men find it hard to restrain their emotions. Young children are kept away from the tomb area at this time. The urns are then placed inside the family tomb, which has been opened for this purpose. Remains other than bones are burned with the coffin.

769 Every lunar March ancestral services take place at the tombs, at-
782 tended by many members of the kin groups to whom each tomb belongs. Some come from the city or other villages for this occasion, including women who have married into another kin group. This celebration of the dead is more serious than other religious events. Offerings of sake and special delicacies are made and then eaten by the family group. One family, sitting in picnic style around the tomb after their prayers, even began to sing and dance—probably to the delight of the ancestors who in their life must have enjoyed many a good feast and dance. Tombs of other relatives may also be visited for short prayers and other offerings.

775 Spirits of the dead are harmful only if the deceased is not from the
784 village. For this reason new residents formerly could not bury their dead near the village. Even now, recent settlers in the central village
● 766 have no tombs and keep their dead in urns in a cave, and the residents
[764] of outlying houses or field houses have a separate tomb area altogether. If a stranger happens to die in the village, measures are taken to prevent his spirit from doing harm. The body of a fisherman from southern Okinawa was brought to shore after a storm. There it was left for several hours on the beach under a tent in the hot sun until relatives arrived in a hired car to take the body home. Even then peo-

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

 775

ple did not carry it through the streets but along the shore to a spot 784
nearby where the car could pull up.

Communication with ancestral or family spirits lies in the hands of [766]
individual households or the larger kin group. In general, as with the 782
nature deities, women maintain the relationship. The oldest woman 794
in the house prays and makes offerings in front of the divine shelf or by 769
the tombs. Sometimes the high priestess, whose only regular role in the [562]
cult of ancestors centers around the mythical founder of the village
to whom vague references are made, is asked to conduct a special [793]
prayer for a family at its ancestral shrine. Such invitations are usually
the result of consultation with another religious practitioner to whom [756]
one turns in case of misfortune.*

Those who are considering a special undertaking, such as building a 791
new house or moving to another one, or transporting ancestral tablets
from one home shrine to another, seek the advice of a diviner, the [342]
sanjinsō or *yekisha*. This expert, always a man, consults books on the
workings of the universe, special astrological calendars from which he
can predict events by using a horoscope calculated on the birth date of
the person seeking advice.

Although it would seem from the attendance at ceremonies that 771
older people, mostly women, are the supporters of religion, even the 182
most modern of the Tairans seem to share beliefs in the power of the
supernatural forces and are loath to make an open break with traditions. One may verbalize that the old religion is just "superstition," but when it comes to dealing with adverse events, when somebody suggests that perhaps the *yuta* should be consulted, or a special offering is in order, or when the old special wine of the gods is prepared from rice for Boat Race Day, then many of the apparent apostates cooperate. To some extent this is done to appease the older people, but fear of neglecting duties, especially toward ancestors, is probably much stronger in general than people's behavior would suggest. Religious in- [621]
fluence, then, which controlled so many facets of village life in former days, still acts as a strong force in uniting the members of families and descent groups as well as in binding together the community as a unit separate from other communities.

* See Chapter 9 for description of the *yuta* or shaman.

764 have the occasion to talk with one. If a priest is called, he kneels before
793 the coffin, rings a bell, and recites from the sutras. His recitation is in
[177] a Japanized Sanskrit, which is probably wholly incomprehensible to all. After the recitation he burns incense before the coffin and the assembled relatives and friends do likewise. The coffin is then carried out of the house and put into the gang, a red palanquin that is village property in many villages. At this point all present pray. The procession to the tomb now begins. It is led by the bearer of a flag announcing the death, followed by the priest (if there is one), then the paper tablet carried by the heir of the deceased, who holds an umbrella over it. Then the family comes, then male relatives and neighbors, and then the gang containing the coffin, borne by four neighbors of the deceased. And finally come the female relatives and neighbors of the deceased. When the procession arrives at the enclosure before the tomb, the neighbors who have been bearing the gang set it down and relatives take the coffin out and carry it in before the tomb. Only relatives and the priest enter. While the women again weep aloud the coffin is put into the tomb and offerings are left before it. In returning, the women take a different route.

767 Formerly funeral processions were led by member of a special profes-
565 sion called nimbuchaa (from nimbuchi, J. 'nembutsu', a kind of Buddhist
[171] prayer for the dead). These persons formed a separate social class looked down upon by others, and lived in a few separate villages, rather like the Eta of Japanese society.

765 Bone-Washing and the Tomb After the body has been in the coffin a suitable length of time, usually about two years, the coffin is removed from the tomb, the body is removed from the coffin, which is destroyed, the remaining decayed flesh is then washed from the bones, and they are returned to the tomb.

764 In Northern Okinawa the tombs are relatively small and are usually the property of smaller kinship units, but in Southern Okinawa the tombs are larger and are usually the property of the larger kin groups, the munchu. In some instances several munchu share the same tomb. Even the smaller tombs are built with considerable expense; the larger ones cost the equivalent of several hundred dollars. Both the larger and the smaller tombs contain a floor at ground level upon which a coffin may be set and behind this a shelf or
[563] shelves upon which washed bones are placed. Families descended from the former gentry class place the washed bones into large urns. Commoners simply place the bones on the shelf and when the shelf is filled, push the older bones into a pit behind the shelf. If one death follows another so closely that there is a coffin with unwashed bones still in the tomb, the family, rather than reopen the tomb too soon, may choose to make a temporary tomb by walling a natural opening in the rocks. Or, as may happen in the case of the tombs belonging to the larger kin groups, if there is a body in the tomb with flesh sufficiently decayed for bone-washing, the family who suffered that loss may wash the bones at the same time that the family who has suffered the second loss is holding its funeral.

765 The bone-washing is an emotionally charged performance. Women usually wash the bones and do so with a great and apparently genuine display of grief.

plus a sort of veranda, or inside hallway, an inner small porch parallaling it, and an outer porch--but in some cases there is only a stepping stone. The outer walls are usually of Japanese redwood. The houses are unpainted. 342

A narrow porch runs around the front and the side of the house opposite the kitchen. Between the porch and the room proper, there is a space for a paper sliding door (shōji in Japanese) and a connecting corridor (or veranda) known as an en (in Japanese). This corridor is about 35 sun, or almost a yard wide. The sliding doors covered with paper, so familiar in the houses of Japan, have all disappeared, though provision is made for them in the construction. Before the war, some houses had them; in others they were never installed. The rooms, therefore, are usually open, joined in front by the corridor. Partitions may cut off the whole room or be built up to face level. The outer porch (haji in Japanese) is in the courtyard in front or on a line with the poles which support the eaves. It may be off the ground about a foot; sometimes a cemented area or a stone walk two or three feet wide and on the ground acts as a substitute for this porch.

The pre-war house, of which a few remain in the southern villages, more in the north, normally has three rooms and a kitchen, with a back part for storage. The size of the house is determined by the number of mats which each room will have, and this Japanese convention produces uniformity and regularity in house construction. Actually only a small minority of houses have these mats. They were more common before the war. The pre-war ones have largely been destroyed or worn out, but during winter months or occasionally at parties or celebrations those remaining are taken out and used. A more modest mat, called a mushiro (in Japanese), made in Okinawa, often in the home or in the village, has taken the place of the tatami. It has the same function as a throw rug, but is rolled up when not in use. [352]

The names of the rooms also follow Japanese custom. The first room (ichibanza in Japanese) is the best. It contains the alcove, or recessed part, suitable for hanging a scroll (kakemono in Japanese), or for ornamental and religious objects. This is the room for guests; at parties or celebrations the men gather here, the women meeting in the second room. 342 353

The second room (nibanza in Japanese) has the Buddhist god shelf, universal in all houses except the very poor or makeshift ones. This shelf has the memorial tablets (ihai in Japanese) of the dead of the family. At parties and celebrations, the second room is the gathering place of the women. [169]

The third room (sanbanza) which adjoins the kitchen is a dining room. It has a small, low table for meals, perhaps a wall shelf. All of these rooms are also sleeping rooms (nema in Japanese). [352]

[Text Continues Top of P. 78--analyst]

1

Introduction

Everyone knows that the family is a most important social institution in Asiatic countries such as China, Korea, and Japan. What is not so well, nor so widely understood, is that the idea of the family is deeply involved not only with obligations and duties within a family, but also with such matters as ancestor worship, inheritance and succession, land tenure, public and private holidays, and in certain phases of community organization and of government. It is better therefore to abandon the expression family and substitute for it a term which at the outset suggests the implications and ramifications of the idea of the family. This term is the family system (kazoku seido in Japanese). The Ryukyu Islands have felt the influence of China, Korea, and Japan in many different ways and at different times. Perhaps the most important of these borrowings, ultimately from China, is the family system. 602 171 [182] [171]

The family system is a series of mutual obligations and duties which members of a living generation of a family owe to one another, to those who have lived before them and who have been responsible directly or indirectly for their present condition and status, and owe also to those who will come after them to perform for their time the tasks now imposed on the contemporary generation. 602

The family system embraces the same family relationships found in countries of the west. Here as in the west, the biological family, composed of the husband, the wife, and the children, is the fundamental unit of social organization. In American society, family ties beyond the immediate biological family tend to become more fragile, and indeed often become so within the biological family itself—due in part at least to a strong tradition of individualism and greater mobility. [599]

In Okinawa, the biological family is but a segment of a wider system of family relationships. These spread out not only into the contemporary extended families but find expression also in reverence for those who have lived in the past and in a feeling of responsibility for the continuation of the family into the future by assuming one's duty to prevent extinction of the family line. In the so-called ancestor worship, there is this expression of the extension of the family system throughout time. Ancestor worship, the conventional term, is not quite correct, but it conveys the general meaning desired. Actually it is not only the ancestors but all deceased relatives, including child descendants, whose memory is revered. [069]

The family system is a great chain of responsibilities and obligations which extends from the remote past to the remote future and of which the living generation is the responsible contemporary representative. It is this aspect of the family system that makes it more a philosophical, ethical, or social concept than merely the descriptive term for a system

[609] of contemporary relationships. The family system does not mean only family life, or a set of obligations, or a family. It is all of these, and, in addition, a historical continuity. It is an institution in which the past is constantly intruding on the present and in which the present is a combination of acts to secure one's own livelihood and well-being as well as to perpetuate the family in the future. A simple illustration will make this clear. One of the obligations of living [769] members of a family is to observe the death anniversaries of close relatives. The last, the most important, and the most sumptuous of these observances occurs on the 33d year after the death of the relative who is mourned. Thus a grandson, most likely the first son of a first son, may end this period of memorial observances for a grandfather whom he may never have seen. There is a constant intrusion of obligations coming from the past. These, often onerous and expensive, are honored in a positive manner.

In the present, conscious plans are made for the continuance of the family. These are achieved through three closely inter-related devices: [591] the succession of the first son to his father's house and, on his marriage, taking up residence at the father's home, the system of inheritance which [428] favors the first son, and the establishment of branch households for other sons, awarding them, if the family's wealth permits, a house site and field for cultivation.

In this way, the continuance of the main line and collateral branches of the family is provided for. If we pursue the illustration of inheritance a little further, we can think of the division of the land as an [428] expression of the family system applied to the use and to the sharing of the available natural resources. The system of agriculture, the scat- [311] tered ownership of small holdings, the attempts at land conservation and reclamation are best understood as reflections of duties and obligations to the present and future generations in the family system. If they are not seen in this way, they may appear to be isolated practices best discussed as techniques or as aspects of law and custom.

Not only in family observances but in public holidays as well, the subtle influences of the family system can be observed. Public holidays [507] and festivals are centered on two main themes, sometimes both together: [769] thanksgiving for good crops and reverence for those who have passed away. The holiday of O-Bon in the seventh lunar month, in which the departed dead are invited to return for a visit to the homes of their living descendants and the celebrations at lunar New Year are good examples of this.

[582] In village life, the family system is strengthened by the high incidence of intermarriage among local kinship groups. A general lack 621 of mobility in the villages studied has also led to the increase of immediate relatives living in the same village. This lends to community, and even to local government some of the characteristics of a wider family life. The establishment of branch families in the village of their parent

to the extended family, even if in some cases relationships are very distant. This point may be illustrated by discussing the relationships among six families named Shiroma in Hanashiro. The first family is the contemporary representative of the main family line. It is a main family. Its present head is an adopted child, but that does not change the situation. The second family head is a descendant of the younger brother of the grandfather of the head of the family; he is the grandson of the main head's great uncle, and therefore a second cousin of the head of the main family. The third and fourth families are branch families established by his father's younger brothers and are his first cousins. The fifth family is a very old branch family, going farther back than the grandfather. The sixth, in turn, is a branch family of the fifth. The present head of the main family does not know the relationship of the present heads of these two households to himself. 614

The fact that there are 16 main families with their 75 branches in the village of Hanashiro does not mean that there are not other branches of these main families. There are more than 75 families in the extended family. These are merely the branches of these 16 main families which reside in the village.

The head of a main house has responsibilities which are not shared by the heads of the branch families. He is the custodian of the tomb of the extended family. The head house is the meeting place of the extended family reunions. These normally take place on the 15th day of the 7th lunar month, the festival of O-Bon, and on lunar New Year. The extended families, or representatives that may reside in a village which is also the seat of the extended family decide questions of concern to the extended family as a whole. Such a question might be the case of a widow with minor children. For economic reasons, she seeks to sell her property. Since the disposal of property in land is intimately connected with the present and future fortunes of a family, the members of the extended family, especially if many reside in the same place, discuss this matter and give advice which the young widow in practice follows. [764] [527] [769]

Hanashiro is a good example of an old agricultural community in which descendant families have tended to remain in the same place as the original founder of the family. Those collateral families with main houses elsewhere are, in the main, from adjacent or nearby areas. 621 614

When this situation is compared with Hinatogawa, certain differences are at once apparent. The fishermen of present day Hinatogawa are descendants of settlers originally from the large fishing town of Itoman. Many of these fishing families are related by blood and intermarriage. Not only this, but there is a web of interrelationship which includes Itoman and its daughter village of Hinatogawa. Of the 213 households in Hinatogawa, 53 had the surname of Tamaki (or Tamashiro), 47 of Uehara, 21 of Oshiro, and 20 of Kanashiro, the four surnames accounting for 141 of the total households. People with the same surname who live in the same village are almost invariably related.[4] Compared with other [628] [551]

[4] In sample checks made personally this turned out to be true, but the relationship was often so distant as to be unknown. All informants stated that people living in the same village who had the same surname were relatives.

In Japan, as well as in Okinawa, the system has been maintained without the ultra-conservative duties and regulations and the severe subordination of women associated with Confucianism in its political and social aspects. This is true at least for late nineteenth and twentieth century Okinawa, though some Confucian survivals no doubt persist. 602 171

But the family system is also an admirably flexible institution. It need not depend for its survival on a Confucian ethic, the subordination of women, or on the arranged marriage. It does require a continuing reverence for the dead and care to insure the existence of generations to come. There is room for free choice in marriage within the general framework of the family system. There is in the family system a sense of belonging from early infancy to death, a sense of identity with the past as well as sharing in the future, an emotional security, free participation of the old in village life, mutual reinforcements coming from the performances of these obligations. These are striking characteristics of Okinawan village life. It is true that the family system in Japan has been unable to avoid many deep lying insecurities and conflicts. But in Japan there have been in recent times strong competitive situations along with the harnessing of the nation's energies to war. In Okinawa, these conditions have been lacking, at least in an intense form, until the Okinawans were in the midst of the fierce fighting of the war. The sense of security and of belonging is unmistakable in the great majority of villagers, and while this does not mean there is no dissension or that everything is serene, it does mean that the system as it has developed here has permitted a certain personal flexibility and freedom within the system. The culture also has not encouraged strong individual competition. [769] [582] [156]

The family system, with its obligations and duties, both in the individual and the extended families, is the key to an understanding, not only of the non-material, but much of the material culture as well. The social organization as it has developed within the family system has strong influences through inheritance on land tenure and land use, and on agriculture and other occupations, in addition to its influences on daily family living, religious observances, public recreation and holidays. These will be explored in the chapters to come. 602 182

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

Death and Funeral Services

Okinawans, as so many have thought, are not preoccupied with death, burial customs, and their tombs. The popular criticism that they extravagantly spend all their money building tombs is unjust and comes from a superficial understanding of their function. Memorial observances, not the tombs, are the real sources of expense to surviving relatives. 761 181 [969]

The same basic customs were found in all the villages. On the death of an adult, the eyes are closed, the body washed, and fresh clothes are put on it. There is no embalming. The finger nails and hair are cut. (Haircutting is not universal). The body is then placed in a small wooden coffin. This is about 19 inches wide and about 22 inches deep, with the length varying according to height. An average length would be slightly over 4 feet. This is the traditional Buddhist coffin. Placing the body in a coffin this size requires doubling it up. The head rests on a small Japanese type pillow (makura). The legs are bent to bring the knees near the chin, and the hands folded over the chest. Articles for use in the afterworld, okurimono ("sending away things"), are also placed in the coffin. Though the articles vary, they generally include a pair of slippers, a kimono (for a woman), a kimono or western style pair of pants for a man, tobacco and tobacco cases, a towel, and sake in one flask, and water in another. Seven needles are stuck on each side of the kimono or the lapel of a coat. In Hanashiro, clogs and slippers are not placed in the coffin, but in front of the tomb at interment. When the coffin is closed, it is turned with the head facing west.[1] 764

On death, close relatives up to first cousins are first summoned, followed by relatives in the extended family living in or near the village. There are no hard and fast customs about taking care of the body. First or other sons may take care of a father's body; brothers and cousins of a young girl's; the first son of the mother's; the eldest younger brother of an elder brother's; the first son or the father of a second or succeeding son's. Sometimes female relatives take care of the body. A husband or wife does not perform this duty for the other. The father or the mother prepare the body of a younger child.

Burial follows death very quickly. By law a body must be buried within 24 hours, but the interment is often quicker than this. An adult

1 There is confusion whether the head is placed to the north or to the west because the Okinawan word for north is the Japanese word for west.

000 construction materials, and to maintenance.

In an earlier chapter, a villager's remark was quoted to the effect
614 that Minatogawa was a branch family of Itoman. This is well illustrated
766 in the burial customs of this village. Both children and adults are placed in a simple, temporary tomb, usually along the coast near the stonecutting area. Later the tomb is opened, the bones washed, and sent to Itoman. The transfer of the remains from the temporary tombs of the village to the extended family tomb in Itoman may be done at a time when it is necessary to open the Itoman tomb because of the death of a member of the extended family there. There is no second funeral. The cleaned bones are put in a box. There are short prayers before the opened Itoman tomb, the bones placed inside, and the box discarded.

764 In the adjoining village of Nagamo, burial customs are similar to
602 those of Hanashiro. Nagamo has three different kinds of tombs: (1) large gable and turtleback extended family types, (2) a similar large tomb for a single family, and (3) small tombs for individual families.

The tombs of Hatsuda also are mainly of the extended family type. There are examples here of the turtleback, the gable, and the new small tomb. They are scattered throughout the village area, sometimes on the summit of a hill whose slopes are given over to terraced rice fields or dry cropping. Not all families own tombs; for reasons of economy, the small tomb for individual burial is becoming more frequent.

765 In all the villages, after the coffin is put inside the tomb, it is left there for about three years. The tomb is reopened, the bones are removed from the coffin, washed, and put back in the tomb, tasks done by
[462] female relatives of the deceased, usually women over 40 years old. This three year period is not a set one. If a later death occurs in the family, the coffin may be opened at that time. An old custom of placing
[178] the bones in an urn after they are taken from the coffin has been abandoned. Basil Hall has some interesting comments on these old
[114] Okinawan urns.

3

Observances in Memory of the Dead

765 Observances in memory of the dead are held in all villages on the
769 1st, 7th, 14th, 21st, 28th, 35th, 42nd, and 49th day after death, and on the 1st, 3rd, 7th, 13th, 25th, and 33rd anniversary of death.

The simple observances and prayers at the tomb on the day following
765 burial have already been mentioned. At the home, temporary memorial tablets made of white paper (shiroihai) are prepared to be replaced later with permanent red memorial tablets on the Buddhist god shelf. Both at home and at the tomb only relatives or close friends participate in the prayers and food offerings.

The tomb is revisited on the 7th day. Rice cakes, bean curd, and a little sake may be taken as offerings. The food items vary. Pork, rice, and tea may be added or substituted. The offering may consist of a variety of favored foods (a gochisō, a feast or a treat). The observances on the 14th, 21st, 28th, 35th, and 42nd day are like the preceding ones, though beginning with the 35th day, the prayers and the food offerings may be more elaborate. 765 [262]

The 49th day has special significance. At this time, the temporary white memorial tablets are removed from the god shelf and burned, and the permanent tablets hung there. This god shelf has the tablets of the immediate family in the male line: the father, grandfather, the mother and grandmother, or of deceased children. A son who establishes a branch family has a god shelf in his own house. While I found no unanimity on the point, many interpreted the 49th day as the day on which the deceased is presumed to have become a god (hotoke-san). Others have said this did not take place until the 33rd year after death, certainly a more logical time, since the observances cease at this time. On the 49th day, there are visits to the tomb and prayers before the god shelf at night. As the last of a series of observances which follow closely after death, the food offerings and the food served to guests are much more sumptuous than those of previous weeks. [778] [776]

In the annual anniversaries, differences depend on family piety and economic status. With some families, observances become more elaborate as the years go by. The prayers and the feast of the 1st and 3rd years are usually the same as that of the 49th day. Beginning with the 7th year the rice may be dyed red. Rice dyed red is used as the years from the date of death increase. In all cases, the 33rd year is the last and the most luxurious of the celebrations. The occasion begins with prayers at the god shelf, the food offering, sake, followed by a banquet for the guests, most of whom are relatives. This 33rd year celebration is the final recognition of a person's life on earth as a member of the family and ends the responsibility for observing the anniversary of his death. 769

Though rare, a family may call on a Buddhist priest to officiate at one of these memorial observances. One service, in memory of a fourth son who had died in the Philippines in 1944, was observed in Minatogawa. The priest received from the father the name, age, and place of death of his son and wrote this information on a piece of paper. The chant began with the tapping of a small bell (inkin), ringing which was repeated frequently throughout the service. The chant, which lasted about 25 minutes, was sung in an archaic Japanese which no one understood. Toward the end, the priest read the paper on which he had written the information regarding the deceased. These were the only words which could be clearly understood. The purpose here was to inform the Buddha of the name of the dead. The priest wore a black robe with gold trimming. Around his neck was a string of beads (zuzu) with a pendant purple tassel. He sat in the front of the first room with the father of the dead boy on his right. The women guests were in the second room. As the long chant continued, people began talking to one another, and when the priest 769 793 788 [292]

769 finished the restless children already had become noisy. The ceremony
793 completed, the priest exchanged a few courtesies, explained the sig-
788 nificance of the chant to the father, received a gratuity and left shortly after. The women and the children soon retired, and the men were served sake, but the party was more subdued than the usual social affair.

769 These ceremonies in memory of the dead are the responsibility of
511 the head of the house. These, and not the family tombs, are the real financial burdens. Since the war, village and township governments, and community organizations have tried to persuade the people to spend less on these and to spread what good food they have more evenly throughout the year.

829 They have tried to standardize gifts at marriage, on birthdays,
511 and at deaths, and to cut down the cost of food by simplifying the banquets. In this they have been at least partly successful because everyone recognizes the difficulties. Villagers do not like to spend all their resources on celebrations, and yet, there is an obligation which cannot be avoided. Two sensible adjustments have been made. Economies have been effected in the food served, and, whenever possible, celebrations or holidays that come close together are combined. The 7 year memorial service, described above, was combined by the family with the festival of the autumnal equinox (higan).

527 577 better behavior. In one instance from Matsuda, the members of the family talk over their good and bad acts and resolve henceforth to do good.

527 [823] In all the villages, the custom of new or young water (wakamizu) has survived. In Minatogawa, at 5 or 6 o'clock in the morning of the New Year, young children take fresh water in a tea pot to the homes of relatives. The new water is poured into a cup, placed on the Buddhist god shelf, or on the shelf of the fire god in the kitchen. The children are given Y5 or Y10 by the relatives, who are then supposed to stay young themselves. In Matsuda, new water is taken from a well early in the morning, and some is put on the god shelf. The first tea of the New Year is made with "young water".

A parent may also give a piece of pork with salt on it to his child announcing that he is now one year older. This custom is still observed, even though ages officially are now reckoned in the western manner.

In all the villages, the morning observances are family affairs; the public nature of the holiday is evident later. Tea and sake are [769] placed in front of the ancestral tablets on the god shelf. A fresh kimono is put on and the offering is made before breakfast. Then the [782] father takes the sake from the god shelf, offering sips first to his wife and then to the children.

[778] Later there are visits to the place of the patron deity or first ancestor of the village (ujigami). In Hanashiro, all of the people make this visit. In Minatogawa, it is also a village affair, but is more involved because there are more places to go: a local religious site of unknown origin, the palace of the gods of the sea (ryūgū), the supposed place of the mountain god, the three wells with their god places, and finally to the places of the two patron deities. In Matsuda, the village head man, accompanied by surviving minor priestesses (formerly in the noro order) make visits to the place of [793] the patron deity. But whether all the villagers or only their representatives take part, the visits have the same meaning: to offer thanks to the founders of the village.

The New Year is a time for extended family reunions. If the home site of the extended family is not in the village, the family or a representative may go to the reunion in another village, if it is not too far away. Only members of the extended family attend these celebrations.

With early morning observances in the home, the public ceremonies, and the extended family reunions over, the gay, informal and public part of the holiday begins. Hospitality is offered on all sides, and [524] there is much drinking among the men. The celebration continues for the rest of the first day and through the second. The third day is a transitional day whose theme is the need of returning to work. This is hachibaru (to begin farming). The day is given over to more feasting and drinking and to some actual or token work.

By the 7th day, the reminders of New Year have been cleared away. The old offerings are taken from the god shelf and replaced by new food. The rice straw rope, if any, has been removed. 527

Of all the holidays New Year is the most eagerly anticipated and the most varied in its activities. It combines ideas of renewal and new beginnings with worship of the dead and of the founders of the village, as well as being a means of making closer ties with more distant relatives of the extended family. It is a time of work and some pleasure for the women, a time of relaxation and drinking for the men.

2

Jūrokunichi

The second public holiday, Jūrokunichi (literally 16th day) is on the 16th day of the 1st lunar month (February 21, 1951). This is a holiday of devotion and prayer at the family tomb. Worshippers go singly or in a group. The tomb is cleaned and food is left for the dead. 769 [096]

In Hanashiro, food is taken in two lacquer boxes (jūbako) the first of which contains rice cakes, the second, fritters, meat, bean curd, and other food depending on the resources of the family. For the first observance after death, two boxes are taken on this holiday. On succeeding anniversaries only the box containing the fritters, meat, bean curd and other foods is taken.1 The purpose of this offering is to comfort the dead. The food, usually with tea and sake, is left before the tomb for about two hours and taken home, where it is eaten. (Offerings at tombs or at home are only temporary; later they are removed and eaten as ordinary food). The lacquer boxes may also be taken on New Year, at the spring equinox, and at O-Bon. [262] [415]

In Minatogawa, descendants of the former nobility or gentry (shizoku) take four boxes, two of rice cakes, two of the miscellaneous foods, while descendants of commoners take two boxes, one of the rice cakes, and one of the assortment. Every year the same offering is made. It is not reduced to one box after the first. In Matsuda, any kind of a flower is placed by the tomb. A lacquer box with food is prepared for all who died during the preceding year, but it remains on the god shelf in the house and is not taken to the tomb. The contents of the two boxes are as previously described. On succeeding anniversaries after the first, plates instead of lacquer boxes are used. [565] [262]

1 The idea behind this is not clear. Possibly in the first year the dead person requires more food and comfort than in succeeding ones. As they do with so many other practices, most Okinawans explain it by saying that it is shikan (the custom).

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

4

O-Bon

The festival of O-Bon takes place on the 15th and 16th of the 7th lunar month (August 17-18, 1951), or from the 13th to the 16th, if preliminary preparations are included.[3] This very important holiday lacks the variety of themes which appear in the celebration of New Year. O-Bon is a festival to entice the spirits of the dead to their earthly home, and then, what is just as important, to induce them, after their visit, to return to the other world. O-Bon is an occasion for extended family reunions. 796 775 769

Generally on the 7th day of the month, about a week before O-Bon, the family or representatives of the family visit the tombs, take an offering of sake, and clean up around the tomb. At this time, the dead are asked to come back on O-Bon. This is the tanabata matsuri.[4]

On the evening of the 13th, two candles are placed within the compound entrance to guide the spirits back. This act of welcome is known as unke or omukaebi.

In Hanashiro, on the 15th there are prayers and offerings to the dead. Candles are then relit at the compound entrance and the spirits beseeched to return to the afterworld (ukui in Okinawan, okuribi in Japanese, meaning sending back). This may also be done on the 16th. Members gather at the home of the head of the house of the main family. The 16th is passed in rest and recreation. In Minatogawa, observing the holiday may require a visit to Itoman. The Matsuda custom is like that of Hanashiro.

O-Bon is a colorful holiday. Lanterns are freely used. Whether the people believe that the spirits of the dead return is a question to which there is no easy answer. Many observe the formalities and the customs of O-Bon without believing that the spirits have actually returned. There is formal compliance, but in my opinion real belief is to be found mostly among women of middle age and older. [916] [183]

3 O-Bon has been variously translated as "The Lantern Festival," "Festival of the Dead," "All Souls Day," but I prefer here to retain the Japanese word, as these translations are only misleading approximations.

4 For an interesting discussion of the origin of tanabata in Japan, see Chamberlain, Things Japanese, 436-37. In Okinawa one occasionally hears this referred to as a "star festival."

5

Festival of the Full Moon

527 The autumnal equinox, called, like the spring festival, higan, is the last big celebration of the lunar year. It is held during the full moon around the 15th day of the 8th lunar month (September 15, in 1951). It is called Jugova. The date varies each year, and the actual time for the festival is decided upon by each village. The climax of the festival is the night of the full moon. This, a Buddhist festival, is a time for respect to the dead and of thanksgiving. It is not celebrated in all villages of Okinawa. If it has been a good year, the inducements for local celebrations are greater. The ceremonies are similar to those of the spring equinox on the 15th day of the second month, when thanks are given for barley, and to the 14th day of the 5th month, a day of thanksgiving for rice. The differences seem to be that the festival of the second month is primarily thanksgiving for barley, that of the fifth for rice, and that of the autumnal equinox for all crops. Ceremonies occur within the homes, but public celebrations may not be held in all the villages.

527 788 In one private observance, an old woman placed two bowls of rice, dyed pink (someiko) on the alcove of the first room. After placing the rice on the alcove, she went to the Buddhist god shelf in the second room where she lit charcoal sticks. Then, sitting before the god shelf, she ignited three strips of paper with a charcoal stick. These provide pocket money for the dead. The paper had previously been prepared by placing an aluminum Japanese 10 sen coin (minted before the war) on the paper and tapping the coin sharply with a hammer to make the impression on the paper. The embers were quenched with a little sake. A wash basin with two strips of wood laid diagonally across its top was used for the burning to eliminate the danger of fire. The old lady's granddaughter held the paper on the wood strips with a pair of chopsticks. The old lady then offered three prayers in a scarcely audible voice, the first two with bowed head, the last with her face to the god shelf. Then she served a meal of rice, dyed pink, fish fritters, and sake, though she did not partake of the drink.

[769] Providing pocket money for the dead by tapping an impression of a coin on a strip of paper is now practiced only by the very old. In Hanashiro and Hatsuda, this custom is rarely observed. Formerly in Hanashiro, everyone offered pocket money on New Year, O-Bon, and the equinoctial festivals.

In observances which include a party, the ceremonies are likely to be simpler. In one such ceremony observed in Minatogawa, white rice cakes and an assortment of miscellaneous foods, tea, sake, and charcoal sticks were placed on the god shelf. The charcoal sticks were lighted. The rest of the evening was like a normal party, with its segregation of the sexes, noisy conversation, and the running children who upset the tea cups and the sake flasks.

[527] Young girls with pots of hot tea circulated in the audience. The
[202] stage performance was a combination of local amateur talent and
[535] professionals from Naha. Normally the entertainment begins with
a traditional Okinawan dance by a professional woman dancer, followed
by a short skit. Conversations in Okinawan between an educated man
[536] and a stupid rustic are favorite subjects. Acts of this type are
greatly enjoyed and cause laughter, mainly I was told because the
jokes had sexual overtones. The shorter acts are followed by a play.
(The theme of this play will be discussed in the following chapter).

6

Other Holidays of the Year

Chrysanthemum day, the ninth day of the ninth month (October 9,
[824] 1951), is a very minor holiday. A chrysanthemum is put in sake, and
the flask is placed on the god shelf. A leaf of the plant is put in the
sake when it is drunk. People at this time wish one another good
health. The festival is only spottily observed.

There is a minor public holiday, the rice cake festival (mochi no
matsuri), said to be native to Okinawa, on the 8th day of the 12th
lunar month (January 4, 1952). On the day before, women prepare red
[262] and white cylindrical rice cakes, about 4 inches long and one inch in
[252] diameter. These are wrapped in the leaf of the sannin plant or in the
leaves of sugar cane. The glutinous rice cake is made by first soaking
rice in water and then mashing it in a hand mill. The rice is put in
a cloth bag to allow excess water to drip out. The following morning
the rice is boiled and shaped and wrapped in the leaves. The cake is
doughy and insipid to taste. On the morning of the 8th, the cakes
are placed on the god shelf and after prayers the cakes are removed.
They are served during the day to guests. Sometimes children attach
strings to these cakes and hang them about the room. The holiday is
not observed by every family in the village, but it was recognized
in all the villages studied.

The festival of the winter solstice, the longest night of the
year (tōji) is known, but Hinatogawa was the only place in which its
observance was noted. It is a home festival with prayers and the
[969] familiar offering of assorted foods to the ancestors.

Western Christmas is not observed in any of the villages. It
[177] would not be surprising if it should become a holiday, with gift
giving, feasting, and drinking, but without the religious connotations.
Since the occupation, Okinawans have become conscious of Christmas.[6]

6 I was told that in certain villages of the northern district, such as
[797] Kushi and Higashi near Ogimi that there is a Christmas festival, with-
out the gift exchange, a survival of earlier missionary teaching. Time
did not permit me to verify this, but there seems little doubt that a
Christmas festival does exist in some Okinawan villages, judging by
the frequency with which I heard of it in Matsuda and Ginoza villages.

The only Buddhist priest in the areas studied was at the small village of Maegawa, within walking distance of Hinatogawa and Hanashiro. He was a priest of the Jōdo sect (Jōdoshu), one of the important sects of Japan, and stressing salvation by faith. The sect of the priest in this village is of no importance, since the rural people now or before the war had neither the interest nor the capacity for doctrinal distinctions. The temples of this sect were burned during the war, including one in the village of Kochinda, a junction point between Maha and Gushichan. 793 [795] 346 727

Before the war the colors of the robes varied with the sect and with the position of the priest in the hierarchy. In the Jōdo sect, the lowest grade wore black, followed up the scale by orange, blue or green, a chocolate reddish brown, and purple, the highest. This contrasts sharply with the priest's present improvisations. His is the black robe of the Shinshu sect. It is a summer garment, made of soft light silk called shiya and resembles a man's kimono, but is longer and sweeps the floor. The garment hangs straight down and is not gathered or tucked. The only other religious possessions were a bell and a badly soiled print of the Buddha (oshaku) which hung in his room. 793 795 292 [778]

Before the war, some people in the Gushichan area requested the services of a priest at funerals. After the war, the people of Hanashiro, and other villages as well, decided because of the expense, to forego the services of a priest. 793

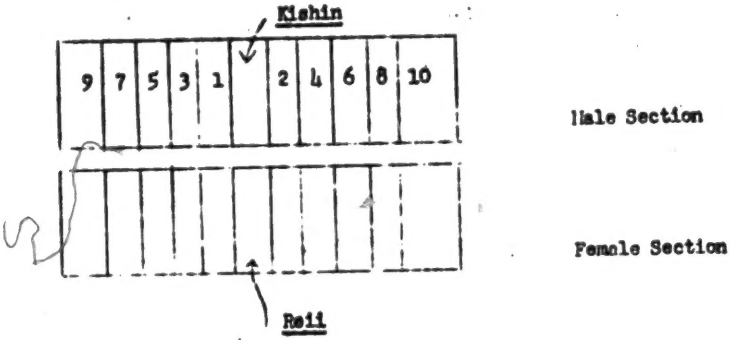
Occasionally this priest officiates when the bones in the temporary tombs of Hinatogawa are moved to the extended family tomb at Itoman, or in a ceremony honoring a death anniversary. Few Okinawans became priests. This priest is a native of Japan, one of the few remaining Japanese priests in the island. At eleven, he entered a Buddhist temple (tera) and has been engaged in religious activity ever since. Now about 50, he has a wife and two children; his head is unshaved and the hair is of a conventional cut. He does not depend on the priesthood for a living, but is employed as an official in a village office. [797]

The situation with regard to Buddhism was quite similar in Matsuda, although there is no priest in the vicinity. There is little doubt, if the villages studied are typical, that this already moribund religion is disappearing altogether here, choked off by lack of temples, lack of priests, and by indifference. 771 178

It is not so with household Buddhism, if this term may be used to describe ceremonies and beliefs centering around the Buddhist god shelf or family altar (butsudan). This household altar is in the second room of every home. Around it collect the sentimental memories of the past, such as family pictures, photographs of young soldiers and dearly loved relatives. Prayers and offerings of food and drink to the dead are made before it. 771 778 183

An important part of the Buddhist altar is a frame holding the memorial tablets for the family dead. These tablets (ihai) are pieces 778 769

768 769 of wood lacquered red and lettered in gold. The frame has an upper section for the male dead and a lower for the female. The date of death is written on the back of each tablet. In the center of each section is a strip with a Chinese character written on it. The upper or male section has the character, kishin, with a meaning similar to returning to the source (moto ni kaeru). The lower or female section has the character reii, suggesting that your spirit is in this place. The tablets are placed in an order, the first to the left of the middle character, the second to the right, so that the last placed ones are toward the outer edge.



(Arrangement of the Memorial Tablets (ihai)

778 782 The frequent occasions throughout the year when devotions are made at the altar have already been described in many of the preceding pages. These can be summarized by saying that offerings and prayers are made (1) to commemorate important dates in an individual's life, like birth, the first birthday, engagement, marriage, death, and the anniversary of a death, (2) during holidays and festivals in which honoring the dead and thanksgiving are dominant themes, and (3) at times of individual and private religious worship or prayer. Some women pray daily after placing a cup of tea, a bowl of rice and a burning charcoal stick on the altar. Others observe the 1st and the 15th of the lunar month.

791 This household Buddhism, centering around the altar, has no institutional basis. There are no Buddhist temples in any of the villages. Family worship at the altar is both an honoring of the ancestral dead and also, it would seem, an acceptance of the merciful and humane doctrines of the Buddhist faith. Buddhism traditionally is the religion of consolation at death. The fact that ancestor worship takes place at the [182] Buddhist altar, however, does not mean that this is a religion in a doctrinal sense. One has been grafted on to the other.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

4

Ancestor Worship

"Ancestor worship" has been used to describe the devotion to the spirit of the dead and the long continued remembrance of them by the living. While it is too deeply intrenched to be changed, the term is not satisfactory. It is really the worship of those who precede one in death, and these may be ascendants or descendants. The term, "ancestor worship," also conceals the fact that there is a partnership of the living and the dead, which, continued by the living generation in the production of children, will carry over in the future, so that family continuity from the remote past to the remote future is never broken. It is, in the phrase of John Hubbard, "a chain of worship,"[2] not merely the worship of the past and of the dead. But whether in the popular mind these two conceptions, worship of the dead and the family as a continuity, are closely and consciously related is impossible for me to say. The two ideas exist side by side on the level of feeling: to respect one's ancestors and to have children. 769 602

Another form of ancestor worship occurs in observances honoring the first ancestor or the founder of the village. Each village has a place of the guardian god (ujigami), located on the supposed site where the founder of the village first settled, which perpetuates the memory of the founder, who may, in some cases, also be the first ancestor of a family living in the village. (It has been suggested that the ujigami also might be related historically to the fire deity). Ceremonies at the place of the village guardian god have a public character and were often conducted by the priestesses. 776 778 [193]

Hanashiro. The place of the guardian god, a small building, is located on a plot of village owned land, off the main road at the edge of the settlement where the cultivated land begins. It is not well kept up. There is no attendant or caretaker. When necessary, it is reconstructed by volunteer village effort. Broken stone stairs lead up to the small tile roofed building. Inside, there are 5 stones, about 10 inches on the side and 4 inches thick. Some have thought these also represent the primitive hearth stones associated with worship of the fire god. One villager described it as a woman's deity place. Before the war, emigrants to the South Seas, South America, Manchuria, or Japan and their relatives prayed here for the good health and early return of those departing. [346] [358] [167]

Now there is public worship at the place on several occasions during the year. On the 3rd day of the 3rd month, a woman's holiday, women and children go to the seashore around Minatogawa, and, on returning, pray at the place of the guardian god. On O-Bon, the village lion appears in front of this site. There is samisen playing and the whole village offers a prayer. (Not all villages have the lion costume. 778 796 [536] [825]

2 Quoted in L. Cranmer-Byng, The vision of Asia, New York, 1933, 42.

trees of the sacred grove and used old beliefs to preserve the forests. Formerly it was believed that misfortune would come to him who cut a tree in groves sacred to these gods. If the trees were cut, the god would become angry, the person cutting the tree would be the victim of self-induced illness and by worrying about his deed, gradually would become ill, and perhaps die. These sacred groves, whose religious significance is now almost ignored, are arranged to enclose the village from three directions, with the open side on the south. On the north was the sacred grove in the back (ushiro no utaki) or the grove of the white gold mountain (kinpuku utaki in Okinawan). The mountain gods were supposed to live here. On the west was the grove in front (mae no utaki) on the white silver mountain. This was also known as the fire shrine.

The priestesses also had a hand in this worship of the mountain gods. There are about seven of these places of worship now, and there is still a voluntary caretaker, an old woman with tattooed hands, a family priestess (nigami) in the old system. Occasionally one sees an old woman going to a grove to pray. The only other visitors are the farmers who walk along the paths of the grove on their way to the fields.

7

Other Religious Observances

There are a few other observations which may have some interest. Old women use patches of grass or knotted rice straw to ward off the spirits on days when they are thought to be abroad in great numbers. At the festival of the autumnal equinox, knotted or braided grass (shiba) is placed in various parts of the house. In some houses, bunches are suspended from the cross beams, perhaps three or four bunches to the side. They may be placed in the toilet, at the entrance to the house compound, on the water barrel in the kitchen, on the front and back of fishing boats, or in the interior of the house. Blades of miscanthus grass may be tied around the neck of a bean paste jug (misogami). Spirits, plentiful at this time, are frightened away by the patches of grass and will not enter. The young, while not believing in this, acquiesce to avoid making the old angry.

When a death anniversary is being celebrated, there may be a blade of miscanthus, a rice straw, or a knotted blade of grass on the top of a box of candies or sweet meats to prevent the intrusion of evil spirits. A blade of grass (the san) is occasionally tied around the handle of a tea pot. For the first week after a family death, tea is served from a pot which has this blade of grass. But these are almost invariably the observances of the old and are only infrequently seen. These customs, observed in Hinatogawa, are said to survive among the very old in the other villages.

In Matsuda, a rice rope (shimenawa) was observed at one home. The rice rope, a Shinto symbol, is not common in Okinawan culture. This

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

is one of the rare, desired body attributes. It was the opinion of some that the descendants of the noble families who came from Shuri, however, are taller and slender, with a prominent, curved nasal ridge. 142

Until they feel confident in the presence of strangers, Taira people appear quiet and restrained. It is considered a virtue not to show one's emotions, and Tairans consider the expressiveness of Americans childish. Actually they are gay, talkative, and given to laughter, especially the women. Men are quiet unless stimulated by alcohol, but both men and women may lose their composure in emergencies. A notable exception is their placid reactions to the threat of disaster from the ever recurrent violent storms. 152 153 [81]

THE COMMUNITY, ITS HISTORY AND NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

621

Taira is one of the northern villages on the northeast coast of Okinawa in Higashi township (see map 1). Today it is home to over 700 people who make their living—as did their ancestors since early times—from the surrounding fields, forests, and from the sea. The Okinawan name for the village, Taira, means "sloping fields." The character used for writing the prevalent Japanese version, Taira, means "flat, plain, good." 101 [131] [162]

Since the family records were lost during World War II, it is necessary to depend on oral traditions for reconstruction of the history of Taira. Unfortunately, the desire of many Okinawans to establish a relationship between their local families and the former royal courts casts some doubt on the accuracy of these traditions. 173 621 [114]

According to these traditions, the first village to be settled in the vicinity of Taira was the neighboring community Kawata. After the Hokuzan kingdom in Nakijin (on the northwestern Motobu Peninsula) was conquered by the southern Okinawan kingdom of Chuzan in the fifthteenth century (Kerr, 1958:85), the second son of the Lord of Hokuzan is said to have escaped northward into Kunigami province. Unitokogami, the fleeing nobleman, arrived near the present site of Kawata and established himself in a cave around the year 1477. He is still revered today as founder of the village in a yearly spring ceremony when prayers are said in front of the cave. The oldest Taira families trace their descent in the male line from Nizenya, the "main house," he founded. Taira was settled around 1550 by two families tracing descent from this "main house." The descendents of these settlers are [182] [69]

342 floor, resting his feet outside on the ground. An overhanging roof protects him from the rain. Larger houses have an entrance hall and a porch running along the front. Since these porches also have sliding-door panels, few people bother to use the entrance except on formal visits.

The simple structures have a framework which is basically the same [336] as that of the more complex ones. Neither is constructed with nails but held together by mortise and tenon joints. Thick layers of thatch or a tile roof give adequate protection from rains. Thatch roofs need re- [356] placement every few years, but they keep the house cooler than the more permanent, more expensive clay or cement tile roofs. House walls are made of very thin, cheap wood which weathers fast and cracks, allowing winds to enter freely. Only the new houses have solid double walls. The floor in the simple buildings consists of planks which in many houses are not nailed down; during the winter months the cold penetrates through the wide slots between the boards. Better houses have ceilings and doors to separate the "first" and "second" room in the front of the house, as well as solid floors.

Smoke from the open fireplace in the kitchen rises into the roof and [151] seeps through the thatch. Poor eyesight, common among children, is believed by the villagers to result from smoke-filled houses and poor lighting. In the evening, dim light is provided by one or two kerosene lamps.

342 The ancestral shrine, a built-in shelf for the ancestral tablets, has 353 its place in the "second" room. This shrine is only found in the homes ●769 of oldest sons. It is not treated with special reverence. Photographs of the deceased as well as of living relatives are kept there as well as personal belongings—a letter, money, a bottle of sake, or gifts. During [822] religious holidays of ancestral worship, red hibiscus flowers, the color for the dead, are placed on the shelf. Since the shelf is high from the floor, small children cannot get at it.

352 The only furniture in all houses is a low table on which food and [516] drinks are served. Everybody sits on the floor, legs crossed and feet tucked under their thighs in the case of men or put behind to one side in the case of women. Very few houses in Taira have the thick, padded straw mats found in the homes of more well-to-do people in Okinawa. But every family has several thin mats of woven reed standing in one corner of the room; these are spread out for guests to sit on or for a member of the household who lies down during the day. Storage 353 shelves are used in simple houses, but in the better houses mattresses, comforters, and hard pillows are kept in a built-in closet space during [356] the day. On sunny days women air the bedding by spreading it over walls, fences, or in the grass.

the decades, as the branches grow into unilineal descent lines of their own, new "main" houses are formed. 613

Originally descriptive names were given to each household. These names indicated a "stem" family or one of its branches. The "Big East House," a reference to the lineage as well as to the homestead itself, probably split into several branches. These, the homes of younger sons, were known as "Little East House," or by a further derivative, "Behind Little East House." Sometimes the rank order of a younger son was used to name his house, such as "Second East House." This house order system is no longer in existence in Taira, but a few of the names are still in use to indicate houses, and individuals are frequently referred to as "the person of such and such a house," for instance, "the grandmother of the East House." *

Although every individual is aware of his membership in a "main house," these descent groups have little importance except in religious life and death ceremonies. Members of the same "main house" revere common male ancestors and share in the upkeep of a common tomb in which their remains are placed at death. Funerals and the veneration of deceased members of the "main house" bring the kin group together several times a year. Women, although entombed with their husbands, visit the "main house" of their father to pray before his ancestors' tablets and make offerings. If they were born in Taira, they may first take offerings of rice and sake to the shrine of their husband's paternal ancestors; then later in the day they prepare for a ceremony in their own "main house." 613 769

The descent group also functions in other religious contexts. The oldest woman of the main house acts as priestess for the lineage, and she or another older female may visit the sick and assist their relatives with prayers and practical help. Descent group affiliation does not affect such daily concerns as lending help to others in economic tasks, though some of the descendants of early Taira settlers seem to feel more obligation in this respect than members of the more recently arrived lineages. Lineage affiliation does not determine the choice of a marriage partner. However, although members of the same "main house" or lineage may marry each other provided they are not first cousins, such unions are rare. Marriage with maternal first cousins is also forbidden. 613 [794] [476] [582]

An individual also holds membership in other kin groups which have only a loose structure and few functions. These are the relatives 602 [476]

* Individual surnames among commoners are of recent date, introduced after the Japanese assumed administrative control and required their adoption to establish a population registry. Family names had been in use among the Shuri gentry. 551 177 217

Both adult men and women also belong to mutual assistance groups, mutual loan associations, and to the work groups described in Chapter 3. All individuals between 16 and 57 are expected to cooperate in community work projects. All households are members of the village cooperative. Since most villagers look to the cooperative for help in improving their economic conditions, this draws them together in a familial way. 571 [653] [474]

It will be noted that age and marital status are prerequisites for membership in most of these associations and that only one is exclusively for women and one exclusively for men. 575

Taira culture is essentially egalitarian. Personal status is not ascribed by membership in social classes or achieved by the accumulation of wealth. Furthermore, although power and respect are the attributes of certain village offices, such as headman and school teacher, these only give rank *ex officio*. An ex-headman has no higher status than one who has never held such an office. 554

There are factors, however, which do differentiate Tairans as to personal status. Men have somewhat more power and command more respect than women; adults must be addressed respectfully by children; older siblings have more authority and privileges than younger; and in recent years the educated are somewhat more respected and are more likely to be chosen to hold office than those with the minimum required amount of schooling. And since education often leads to better jobs, greater wealth is sometimes associated with status, though not a necessary prerequisite. [562]

The status of women in Okinawa, although, ideally, inferior to that of men, is in reality relatively high. Many cultural forms are based on the principal of male superiority, which Japanese values tend to reinforce, but there are numerous indications in daily life that women command a comparatively high degree of respect and power. It is difficult to assess to what degree status differences have been influenced by contact with Japanese; the importance of women in religious affairs suggest their higher status prior to the introduction of the Japanese school system in Taira. 554 562 177

As will be discussed in the chapter on religion, although the veneration of one's father's ancestors is the core of one part of Okinawan religion, the ceremonies are run by the women. The oldest male of each main house and the household head in each household are nominally responsible for keeping the tablets of the ancestors on his house shrine, but the actual upkeep of this ancestral shelf and the bimonthly offerings are performed by the women. If no direct male descendant is available to keep the ancestral tablets, a widowed woman retains them 769 782 562

782 in her house until a male can assume the responsibility for them. The
562 propitiation of the natural deities is lead by the village priestess—and
[769] she is assisted by a group of women.

Taira women are essential to the financial well-being of the family.
562 Their role in both agriculture and lumbering is equal to that of the
462 men. Since there are few kinds of work which women cannot do and
592 do not engage in, a widow or single woman, although handicapped, can
[589] support herself and her family. Several women, whose husbands died during World War II or who have been divorced, support themselves and their children. One Taira woman supported her four children while her husband left for Japan to help a sick brother. She worked the household fields and sold fish. Her husband, who was expected to return after three weeks, remained away for six months. Once or twice he wrote his family to ask for money; his wife and sister obliged. Even old women remain active members of the family. They contribute to the household economy by working in the potato fields, cutting firewood, and doing other useful work around the house.

593 Such economic independence gives women a place in the family
562 which cannot easily be challenged by a male who theoretically can
[462] claim preferential treatment. Perhaps a man is more dependent on his wife than she is on him. Men never cook. They expect the womenfolk to look after house affairs. A wife, although she does not usually own the land on which she works, has the same rights as her husband to the village forest lands. There she cuts firewood like the men, cooperating with the husband in preparing it for sale. Most of all, pig raising is her concern, and this gives her an important hold on the purse strings.

There is no uniform rule as to who keeps the money in the family. In some households the husband takes care of all financial matters and hands over small sums of money to the wife for daily use. In these
[156] families it is either found that the wife does not contribute heavily to subsistence or that she is from another village and is somewhat intimidated by her husband and unable to find security in having relatives close by. Such women are meek or at least restrained and solicitous of their husbands.

There are numerous cases, however, in which women handle all money affairs. In one such home the husband is a township official. His wife, although from a distant village, is a forceful character and follows economic pursuits independent of her husband. He is glad to let his wife handle finances, although he retains ultimate control over them. The more common situation, however, is almost equal responsibility in economic matters between the sexes. Where this is the case,

Chapter 8

Religion

771 The religious beliefs of people in Taira and their ritual practices rec-
177 ognize the existence of two different sources of supernatural forces.
[776] The old Okinawan religion, which is still practiced by many persons
in the village, centers on beliefs in a host of nonhuman spirits that
[769] inhabit certain localities. A historically more recent Confuscian-
Bhuddist influence from China and Japan has added to these beliefs
the veneration of ancestors who, in their divine state after death, con-
[782] trol many activities of the living. Under the influence of these two
[784] forces, the animistic and the ancestral, life must be conducted in such
a way that both remain appeased at all times by proper worship and
performance of ritual as well as by avoidance of actions which might
offend these supernatural forces.

771 Even though many younger people laugh away the adherence to
[154] beliefs, especially in animistic deities, there is much evidence that the
life of almost all people is controlled by fears, anxieties, and desires
for appeasement stemming from these religious beliefs. Although his-
torically the animistic and ancestral religious beliefs were separate,
they are synchronized at present so that it is not always possible to
make a clear distinction between each system (Lebra: 1958).

776 The supernatural beings of nature live all around the village. There
are mountain deities, deities of the sea, of the well, of trees, and other
places. Any localities connected with productive activities, such as the
store, the sugar mill, the sugar press, and the village truck, have their
[372] own deities. There is also the Deity of Fire, associated with the hearth
and the house. He is represented in three hearth stones found in most
simple kitchens. Three upright small stones, resembling the hearth
stones, are the divine symbols in the village shrine where all these
supernatural beings are worshipped.

[782] The supernatural beings living in and around the village appear

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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women chant. The tempo becomes more and more frenzied, and at a certain moment a bell rings. Nobody knows who rings it, and no amount of questioning elicited any information other than that this was done by divine action. 796 793

Ancestral worship is equally important in the life of Taira people. Each house of an oldest son has a shelf with a shrine in the main living room. On this shelf the family keeps the ancestral tablets, each representing a deceased ancestor of a recent period. The tablets for whole family lines are kept on the shelves of the main houses. Through this system a family maintains continuity between the living and the dead. Although a deceased person is believed to become a buddha or a god who ascends to heaven, his presence is still felt by the living relatives. If they fail to make the required offerings on the first and fifteenth day of each lunar month, or otherwise neglect religious duties toward the ancestor, misfortune may come to the family. At the same time, the worship of common ancestors holds branches of the larger kin groups together. 769 592 [778] [775] [782] [613]

No village adult died during our stay, but the funeral practices for adults described by Glacken (1955) and Pitts et al. (1955) for other villages in Okinawa are similar. Seven years is the age limit for a child burial, which is simple and does not require attendance of people other than immediate relatives and perhaps one or two neighbors.* During the study an 8-year-old boy died from an illness and was given a full funeral, which is similar to that of adults. 764 766

The funeral must take place at the first outgoing tide after the body has been prepared and dressed. Accompanied by family, residents of the ward, and mourners from other parts of the village whose number depends on the prominence of the dead, the body is carried on a simple, open litter to the tomb area just west of the central village (see map 2). Women feel free to show their emotions, while men remain outwardly calm. Until decomposition takes place, the body remains in a tomb used by the whole village for temporary entombment. Like other village ceremonies, funerals are less elaborate now than they once were, perhaps to the relief of all concerned, since death is highly anxiety provoking, and nobody feels comfortable during the prayers and the ritual farewell to the corpse at the tomb. The participants receive a cup of sake before leaving the tomb area to cleanse them of the pollution of death. Some people still prefer to return to the village by a different route so that the spirit of the dead person will be fooled and unable to follow. 764 [152] [154] [783] [784]

* The reason for this is possibly that the younger child has not yet fulfilled his filial obligations.

765 After death, memorial services are held in the home of the deceased
769 every seventh day until the 49th day when a more elaborate ceremony
782 concludes this period, and a permanent tablet is installed on the house shrine. On this day, too, offerings to the deceased change from white rice to red-colored rice, indicating the end of the mourning period. From now on, observances in memory of the dead are held on the first, third, seventh, thirteenth, twenty-fifth, and thirty-third anniversary of death. These are small family affairs at which special food is prepared and offered at the shrine before it is consumed.

765 The body is left in the tomb for at least three years until a propitious day when the whole village decides to wash the bones of all those who have died within the preceding three to seven years. On Bone Washing Day little groups of family members gather around the coffin. They take out the bones, clean them, wrap them in a white cloth and place
[778] them in an urn. Women do all the cleaning of bones because it is be-
[152] lieved that they have more power to expel the evil. They weep freely,
[852] and even some men find it hard to restrain their emotions. Young children are kept away from the tomb area at this time. The urns are then placed inside the family tomb, which has been opened for this purpose. Remains other than bones are burned with the coffin.

769 Every lunar March ancestral services take place at the tombs, at-
782 tended by many members of the kin groups to whom each tomb belongs. Some come from the city or other villages for this occasion, including women who have married into another kin group. This celebration of the dead is more serious than other religious events. Offerings of sake and special delicacies are made and then eaten by the family group. One family, sitting in picnic style around the tomb after their prayers, even began to sing and dance—probably to the delight of the ancestors who in their life must have enjoyed many a good feast and dance. Tombs of other relatives may also be visited for short prayers and other offerings.

775 Spirits of the dead are harmful only if the deceased is not from the
784 village. For this reason new residents formerly could not bury their
766 dead near the village. Even now, recent settlers in the central village have no tombs and keep their dead in urns in a cave, and the residents
[764] of outlying houses or field houses have a separate tomb area altogether. If a stranger happens to die in the village, measures are taken to prevent his spirit from doing harm. The body of a fisherman from southern Okinawa was brought to shore after a storm. There it was left for several hours on the beach under a tent in the hot sun until relatives arrived in a hired car to take the body home. Even then peo-

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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 775

ple did not carry it through the streets but along the shore to a spot 784
nearby where the car could pull up.

Communication with ancestral or family spirits lies in the hands of [766]
individual households or the larger kin group. In general, as with the 782
nature deities, women maintain the relationship. The oldest woman 794
in the house prays and makes offerings in front of the divine shelf or by 769
the tombs. Sometimes the high priestess, whose only regular role in the [562]
cult of ancestors centers around the mythical founder of the village
to whom vague references are made, is asked to conduct a special [793]
prayer for a family at its ancestral shrine. Such invitations are usually
the result of consultation with another religious practitioner to whom [756]
one turns in case of misfortune.*

Those who are considering a special undertaking, such as building a 791
new house or moving to another one, or transporting ancestral tablets
from one home shrine to another, seek the advice of a diviner, the [342]
sanjinsō or *yekisha*. This expert, always a man, consults books on the
workings of the universe, special astrological calendars from which he
can predict events by using a horoscope calculated on the birth date of
the person seeking advice.

Although it would seem from the attendance at ceremonies that 771
older people, mostly women, are the supporters of religion, even the
most modern of the Tairans seem to share beliefs in the power of the 182
supernatural forces and are loath to make an open break with traditions. One may verbalize that the old religion is just "superstition," but when it comes to dealing with adverse events, when somebody suggests that perhaps the *yuta* should be consulted, or a special offering is in order, or when the old special wine of the gods is prepared from rice for Boat Race Day, then many of the apparent apostates cooperate. To some extent this is done to appease the older people, but fear of neglecting duties, especially toward ancestors, is probably much stronger in general than people's behavior would suggest. Religious in- [621]
fluence, then, which controlled so many facets of village life in former days, still acts as a strong force in uniting the members of families and descent groups as well as in binding together the community as a unit separate from other communities.

* See Chapter 9 for description of the *yuta* or shaman.

757 frequently and may be repeated as many as four times during the
[854] first year of a child's life. An older child occasionally undergoes this
[164] treatment for a case of violent impetigo. Even a horse may be bled in
[232] this way for loss of appetite or other symptoms of disease.
[578] A woman whose face had been struck in an unusual display of temper underwent a blood letting soon after a swelling appeared. Her neighbor from across the street, a farmer like everyone else, sterilized her cheek with iodine and then cut it with a razor until the blood flowed freely. After a night's rest, the woman appeared outside her house without any signs of swelling and seemingly recovered.

753 As was pointed out previously, many diseases are believed to be
776 caused by supernatural forces: the ancestor spirits, spirits of those who
769 have just died, and natural deities and evil spirits who wander around
775 at night. The ancestors expect proper respect and attention and in gen-
[764] eral are benevolent unless neglected. Spirits of those who have recently died are most dangerous if the deceased is from another village. For deceased villagers one is careful to purify oneself after the funeral. The doors of each house are shut at night to protect against the evil spirits of the night air. Disease is less frequently caused by natural deities who have been neglected or mistreated.

755 In case of sickness or other unfortunate events in the family, some-
756 body may go to consult the *yuta,* a shaman who communicates with
[787] the supernatural. She discovers the cause of misfortune with the help of rice oracles and through powers of divination received through visions and hallucinations. There is no *yuta* living in Taira now, so that people have to travel to the other side of the island, an hour or more on foot, if they want to learn about the source of some evil. Taira
[769] people make many such trips to consult this shamanistic specialist. The most common cause of misfortune discovered by the *yuta* is neglect of ceremonies to the ancestral gods or, less frequently, the neglect of cere-
[793] monies to the natural deities. Although the *yuta* stands in no direct connection with the high priestess, she may suggest that her client ask the priestess for special prayers to rectify the negligence. In such cases, then, the competence of individuals in the family may not be adequate to deal with the ancestral world, and the priestess enters into family religion.

597 Some Taira parents still find an adoptive parent for a sickly child in
755 the belief that his own ancestors have caused bad health, and that this
769 can only be remedied by making a formal arrangement which transfers
[796] ancestral responsibility for the child to another family. The child remains with his own parents and only visits his foster parents during the New Year and the midsummer Buddhist *Bon* Festival, which honors ancestors, and perhaps at one or two other occasions during the year.

year. On these occasions his parents take gifts of tea, noodles, and whatever else they can spare to the foster parents. During their visit the foster parents present the gift as an offering on the ancestral shrine and pray to their own ancestors, the guardians of the foster child. It is believed that this may help to offset the adverse effects of the child's own ancestors. 597 755 769

In spite of some treatments, such as blood letting and moxa cautery, which seem harsh to the unaccustomed observer, Taira people are extremely concerned about their sick. Illness, and most of all the need to remove the patient to the local dispensary or to a hospital in town, involves the whole family. No one likes to leave a sick person alone. His family and friends attend to him in such numbers that the small rooms are never large enough to hold all. The security given in everyday life by the presence of relatives and neighbors in the village continues during the critical period of illness. In the case of a fisherman from the south who was washed ashore in his boat after a storm, township officials kept the man continuous company in his dispensary room even though he was close to death. Female relatives cook meals and look after the comfort of a hospitalized person. This means that a young girl or an older woman will leave her usual work for days or weeks to attend the patient. 758 [156]

Because of intimacy in the home and visits to the sick, children are quite familiar with illness. A mother who has to go to the hospital takes her youngest child with her. After burning moxa weeds on her skin for two weeks had failed to cure a nephritic condition, one woman went to the hospital in town, taking her 8-months-old daughter although she did not have enough milk to nurse. The infant had to be given bottled milk prepared from cans. Meanwhile the older children remained under the care of their father. [757]

There is, however, little concern with children who have minor ailments. A school child may be excused from attending classes. In one case a boy stayed home from school with stomach pains. He was happily playing with younger children in the street. One of the adult villagers walked past, stopped after seeing him, and inquired: "Why aren't you in school today?" When told by the boy that he had an upset stomach, the man ordered him to go home right away and stay inside or go to school. The boy's mother, although aware of her son's discomfort, did not pay any special attention to it. 757 855 872

Preventive medicine is officially the responsibility of the public health nurse. She advises people on proper preventive care, inocculates children against whooping cough, diphtheria, and other diseases. She also acts as an advisor to mothers on child care and occasionally helps with a birth if the doctor is unavailable. If a case is diagnosed as 744 [751] [759] [844]

would be nothing more uproarious than a group of singing celebrants seeking further entertainment from house to house. The occasional quarrels after drinking, which are mentioned elsewhere, seemed much more frequent where only a small group of men indulged after work, especially younger ones. No major holidays ended in dissonance. 527 273 574 578

The main events for family celebrations are lunar New Year, *seimei*, a period in spring during which descent group ancestors are revered and *Bon*, a commemoration of the dead in the fall. At these times families are reunited with relatives from other villages or the city. These events are observed in the home or in front of the ancestral tombs. During *Bon* young men and women go from house to house, performing traditional dances for this holiday in front of the assembled families. 527 796 769

Celebration of special birthday cycles and agricultural events, such as the day when ditches in the paddies were cleaned in former times, are observed by villagers as a group. An important religious event for the community is Boat Race Day in lunar June. On lunar August 15, the celebration of the full August moon, some villagers present stage performances and dances at a public celebration. 527

In general, it may be said that families gather as a unit on those days on which ancestors and deceased family members are commemorated. The village jointly celebrates events which are either based on local religion or on agricultural events. The only national holiday which is now in existence was established by the post-war Ryukyuan government. It is observed by school and government offices but not by the people. [769] [621]

Sport events form another category of holidays. The most important one falls in October when both in Japan and all over the Ryukyus athletes compete against each other. Athletic meets take place for several weeks; for the village the biggest event is the competition of all athletes in the township on *undokai* day. Everyone leaves work and takes picnic food to the track at the junior high school where each village competes against the others. This lasts all day. 526 628

Wrestling matches are part of entertainment during outdoor celebrations in the early summer. They are mainly an affair for young men. Occasionally an older man who feels strong enough challenges a younger one. The villagers sit around a large circle near the beach, watching the fights while they eat holiday food and drink sake. On Boat Race Day Taira and the neighboring village of Kawata race fishing canoes against each other. Spectators at this event are enthusiastic supporters of their favorites. After the races this holiday ends like any other, in celebrations with dance and drinking. [262] [574]

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Today the *yukajiru* ceremony held on the fourth day ends the seclusion. A group of close relatives gather to ask for the good health of the child and to make food offerings to the ancestors.

On the fourth or fifth day a name is selected for the newborn. In the old days rice oracles presided over by an old woman were consulted to ensure that the name consist of the proper combination of Japanese writing characters, an essential for the well-being of the child's personality. Today family elders and the local teacher are consulted. In the pre-Japanese periods, temporary names were used until a permanent name was given. This practice was intended to fool the spirits during the early years when the child was thought to be particularly susceptible to spirits.*

On the sixth day after birth the mother is allowed to take her first postdelivery bath; the room which she has occupied with her baby is cleaned and aired, and preparations begin for the *mansang* celebrations. For this event the mother's parents try to be present, especially if it is a first child. Friends and relatives in the village attend. A female elder of the patrilineal kin group or the priestess prays behind a tray of rice, rice wine, and incense so that the child will sleep peacefully and not cry at night. Thanksgiving prayers are offered to the ancestors and the nature deities for the health of both mother and child.

When the prayers are completed, a man sings the *mansang* song to the accompaniment of a samisen. The father of the baby then rises to dance briefly, sits down, and writes with brush and ink on a white sheet of paper the name and birth date of his child. The paper is then hung on the wall near the alcove. Meanwhile the special song is being concluded:

> Coming from the darkness to light,
> This baby was received as a treasure
> And the mother is being celebrated.

Food is then served, and the guests discuss the name and admire the newborn. Like all parties, the celebration ends with song, dance, and wine drinking.

The *mansang* celebrations mark the end of the most critical period for the infant. From now on he may be taken outdoors. At the month's end, his parents may take him to see his maternal grandparents in their village, to offer food at the ancestral shrine of the mother. This is called the first walk. Sons who have left the paternal village for the city return with their infant to observe this day.

* Hanging an irregularly left-woven rope in the delivery room to keep out evil spirits which might harm the newborn, is no longer done in Taira.

In addition to meeting with physical and emotional needs, the child must be protected from the nurtured by the numerous supernatural forces in the form of malevolent and benevolent spirits which operate to influence the course of an individual's life. There are lucky and unlucky days, years, and tides, which are believed to determine the fate of a person. Females born in the year of the monkey are considered unlucky, for they are thought to outlive their male contemporaries. Men dislike marrying them. Supplications are made and precautionary measures taken by adults to secure the newborn's life, happiness, and health. 776 777 854 [581]

Ancestral spirits influence the development and fate of the child. Occasionally a child who is the victim of ill health during his early years is adopted by a couple whose ancestral spirits are thought to be more favorable than his own on the dictate of the fortune teller. By mysterious calculations involving birth dates of the principals, the fortune teller uncovers some incompatibility and advises adoption. The child remains with his parents but worships the ancestral spirits of his adoptive parents. In this way parents seek to ensure the well-being of the child. 597 769 755

Mother interview data indicate the awareness of Taira people of the variations in personality among children of one family. Adults do in a large measure adapt their actions in accord with these differences. They recognize hereditary influences, but although a mother may comment on the similarity of temperament with regard to her child and other members in the family or kin group, there are no ideas or beliefs that the souls of deceased are inherited. Usually the mother, in describing the characteristics of the child, rarely goes beyond likenesses which can be attributed to herself or her husband. She is at a loss to explain the "very different child." "My eldest son has my nasty temper whereas my second daughter is not like either of us, very strange. All the others have a little of myself and my husband in them. We often wonder how it is that she is so unlike either of us." 155 828 858 [124]

A child born with two cowlicks predicates a "problem" to his parents. Parents often explain, "Oh, this child is very naughty, for as you can see, he has two cowlicks." Children often search each other's heads, and on discovering two instead of the single whorl, they shout in glee, "Naughty, naughty." One 4-year-old cuddled and hugged his newborn sister after searching her head. "You have two cowlicks just like me! You and I are 'naughty,'" he whispered to her. Turning to the adults in the room, he snapped his small bright eyes and grinned impishly as he reported his discovery joyfully. [826]

Twin births are disliked only because they place a burden on the 845

On the whole it can be said that children seem to decide for themselves how far they can move around. Underlying the action of most is a dislike of venturing into unfamiliar grounds, and this largely restricts the territory commonly covered. Most children travel in groups of more than two, an aspect of Taira children's behavior to which reference will often be made. 857 855 156

The area of tombs is generally avoided by children, except by those who pass there to walk to the mouth of the Udenaha River or over the narrow, fragile bridge across it. While children do not fear the bodies of the dead, they express a fear of spirits. But during ceremonies for the dead, children accompany adults and participate in the social gatherings in front of tombs following the prayer. When the body of a fisherman was brought up on the shores of Taira after a typhoon, scores of children of kindergarten age roamed to the beach to take a peek beneath the canvas which covered the corpse. The policeman who officiated on the occasion impatiently waved away the kindergarteners, and when the schoolchildren returned in the afternoon, they also had to be warned to stay away. 857 769 775 [852]

In the central village itself, few places are closed to children. The village office building, of which only a section is reserved for office space, quite often attracts children. It is a convenient temporary shelter during rain squalls and a cool spot during hot weather. The village headman or his clerk may complain about too much noise and chase a group out, but this does not discourage them from returning soon afterward. The open prayer house, too, is a place for play, and no objections are voiced by adults, including the priestess and her assistants. These buildings are village gathering places, and children, as essential members of the community, have free access to them. The situation is different with regard to the township office and the post office, which children never enter except on special errands. 857 858

Children are familiar with dangerous spots, such as steep hills, and show amazing skill in maintaining balance, even when the ground is wet and the dirt is loose. On a picnic hike of a little under 4 miles, kindergarteners ranging from 3 to 6 years scampered across a frail, wide-slatted bridge, up and down over slippery clay paths and over rocky terrain with only a 30 minute stop to eat their lunches. In a group of about 15 children only two 3-year-olds slipped and cried to be carried down unusually steep inclines and over the rickety bridge. None seemed exhausted although many roamed off the paths to forage in the bushes for berries and laurellike flowers from which they sucked nectar. 855 857

Journeys outside the village are rare for most children. It is usually 857

In the houses of first sons there are family altars upon which memorial tablets of family ancestors are placed. Children from these homes are told that their deceased grandfathers are now divine beings and are watching them. In one such family a 4-year-old boy was told by his mother that, since he was naughty, the divine ancestor would punish him. She pointed to the picture of his deceased grandfather and the memorial tablets on the altar. The little boy looked up to the shelf and then to his mother. "That's only a memorial tablet," he said sneeringly. 861 778 769

Not many children are as skeptical as this 4-year-old. A hunchbacked storyteller sometimes comes to Taira. This man is a preacher for a Japanese sect which combines Japanese nationalistic teachings and concepts of proper conduct and healthful living with a belief in a supreme being. He appeals to children and reinforces the belief in the sanctioning power of God. Occasionally a Christian missionary visits the village, and the children look forward to his bible readings, which also reinforce the belief. In addition, the children of the two Christian families help to caution others, warning of divine omnipresence and knowledge. 861 776 177

Shaming and ridicule as techniques of socialization are used to a fair extent. An older child's shortcomings may frequently be compared with a younger's achievements. However, some form of verbal lashing is usually accompanied by direct physical punishment, whether it be merely a slap on the buttocks, a crack on the head, or a whipping. 861

Several mothers summed up their flexibility in handling their children by saying, "I have so many children and it seems that each one is different in some way. For some children one thing works and for others you have to think of other ways. You cannot scold this one because she is so sensitive. The boy you cannot scold because he would get so angry he would not be able to understand the wrong he did."

Nevertheless, it is important to point out that mothers in Taira, for the most part, do not spend as much time with their children as do their counterparts in a more wealthy village. Their work day is long and strenuous. They return home exhausted and impatient. During the long rainy spells, when work in the fields and mountains is impossible, mothers have to stay home more often than usual. At such times they manifest an irritability with respect to the numerous demands children make upon them that can be attributed partly to the fact that their long absence from home during a normal work day makes them forget children's cravings for attention; the loss of income during bad weather just increases their impatience. 861 462 [184] [152]

At the same time, each person, both men and women, bore a given name 551
that was purely Okinawan. These names are called warabinaa, "child names". They are few in number. Several of them---perhaps all of them---are meaningful, such as Kamii, "turtle", Ushi, "ox". Several of them were given both to males and to females. They were transmitted according to rules that seem now to be not too well understood. According to one old woman, a man should give his name to his sons' first sons and his wife hers to the sons' first daughters. Subsequent grandchildren should receive the names of the grandparents' siblings or other relatives. A younger woman said that a first son got his father's father's name and a woman her mother's mother's. But unfortunately not enough information was obtained to support the last assertion or to reveal any further pattern. (This is a subject that would be well worth further [174]
study; the possibility that the naming system is a reflection of a former system of double descent should not be overlooked.)

Among the commoners (hyakusoo, cognate of Japanese 'hyakushō', peasants"), surnames were perhaps not universally taken until after the Japanese [565]
annexation. Nor did they have Chinese-style given names. Their common descent [177]
groups, usually called munchu, seem to bear names that are place names. They [614]
did have house names (yaanuyaa, J. 'yagō'), and Okinawan-style given names. Probably a commoner was known only by these two. Even today among the older Okinawans a man is more likely to be known as Taasachi-gwaa nu Sanree, "Sanree ("Third"?) of the house Taasachi-gwaa ("Little End-of-the-Rice-Field")", than by the name found in the 'koseki'.

Today everyone is registered by and officially known by a surname and 551
given name. The surnames are mainly taken from Okinawan place names but the 177
readings assigned the characters are frequently Japanized. Thus Ufu-gusuku, "great-castle' becomes 'Ōshiro' and Nakandakari becomes 'Nakamura'. Many of the given names for males are of two characters read in the Sino-Japanese manner, like the given names formerly used only by the gentry, but many also are purely Japanese---Masaru, Takeo, Toshiyasu---the last possibly being the Japanese reading of a name that once might have been given its "Chinese" reading. Girls are given such Japanese names as 'Yoshiko' and 'Masako'. And the youngest child recorded in the 'koseki' for Yamada, the first to bear the name, was an infant girl named 'Chiemi', obviously after a currently popular Japanese "starlet".

The Ancestral Tablets In every main house there is a shelf or, if 769
possible a cabinet (tootoomee, J. 'butsudan') for the ancestral tablets (ifee, 353
J. 'ihai'). If it is a cabinet it contains three shelves; on the top shelf 592
stand the tablets flanked by a pair of vases, on the second shelf a pair of tea-cups and a wine cup, and on the third an incense burner (u-kooru). The paraphernalia vary somewhat with the means of the family. The tablets are 769
red lacquered slips of wood held in two rows in a black frame. On the upper 592
row are written the names of deceased male members of the family, on the lower row names of deceased females. The ancestral tablets together with the house name form an inseparable unit. The main house of the Taba lineage is the [613]
main house and has the house name "great Taba" because it is the location of the ancestral tablet of the founder of the lineage. The tablets at "new little Taba" contain the tablet for the founder of that house. The tablets are

•769 transmitted with the headship of the house. The head of the house, or his
592 wife or mother, has the responsibility of making offerings to them on the proper occasions. On certain occasions representatives of the houses that have branched from a main house come to worship before the tablets in it.

[171] Inheritance and Adoption Inheritance has two aspects, legal and customary. According to Japanese law the headship of a house should pass from a man to his first son or if the first is dead to his second or subsequent son, or in the event that there are no sons or that they are minors, it may pass to his wife. The headship is registered in the koseki. According to Japanese law if a man has no son but a daughter, he may adopt a son-in-law who then becomes his heir and succeeds him to the headship of the house.

In Okinawan custom headship of the house means responsibility for the tablet of the last head and the other tablets that go with it. A woman can [562] do no more than care for the tablets until another male succeeds the last. Moreover, an adopted son-in-law cannot care permanently for the tablets of a man to whom he is not related. Ultimately for every man who lacks a son a male must be found who is a blood relative in the male line. Only such a person can succeed him, that is, care for his tablets after his death and beget [597] descendants who can rightfully care for his tablets. Therefore the man without sons tries to adopt as his heir the second or later son of one of his brothers or of a cousin related through males. If a man dies without an heir one may be adopted posthumously for him. The tablet of a boy who has died unmarried may be kept for a whole generation in a brother's house, until one of the brother's sons or grandsons can become the "adopted son" of the deceased. He then establishes a branch house, which takes the house name the deceased would have had, and becomes custodian of the tablet.

614 The Larger Kin Group: Structure and Variation Every Okinawan family belongs to larger kinship group and often these larger units belong to still larger units. Such a unit consists of a group of families the male heads of which are or believe themselves to be related in the male line. The size and composition of these groups and the terms used for them vary somewhat.[1]

In Shimajiri among the descendants of the peasant class the larger kin group is called the munchu (in Japanese 'monchū', "within the gate"). It may consist of dozens or even hundreds of families living in several villages and with a total membership of several thousands. The munchu usually takes its name from the house-name of the main house. If it has spread to several villages its members in any one village may be referred to as the so-and-so munchu of that village. Or, as often is the case, the members of a certain munchu in one village may be all branch houses of one main house of that munchu for the village and this house will have been founded according to tradition by the second son or the third son of the founder of the main house of the larger unit, which is elsewhere; in this case the local branch will be called the jinan-bara, "second-son belly", or sannan-bara, "third-son belly",

[1] The statements made in this section are based on information obtained from informants. However, I have also consulted Watanabe, 1947.

613 southern part of the island. There the term for the local unit, a relatively small lineage with not very strong ties to the larger unit, is chuchooree (literally, "one brotherhood', to translate literally into Japanese, hito-
613 kyōdai). The larger unit of the commoners is called the ichimung ("one gate"),
614 which is equivalent to the munchu of the south. Some of the gentry families refer to the subdivision of the uji having the same surname as their ichimung. Thus a family may belong to a local chuchooree, to an ichimung containing other families elsewhere of the same surname, and to a still larger uji containing ichimung of other surnames.

614 Functions The functions of the common descent group seem to be almost
769 entirely ritual. Just as the members of a family are responsible for helping the head of the family in making the proper offerings before the tablets and the tomb of its immediate ancestors, so the larger unit has such a responsibility toward the remote ancestors. In the family the eldest son bears the greatest responsibility, so in the common descent group the head of the main house bears the greatest responsibility. But the benefits resulting from proper worship and the misfortunes resulting from negligence may extend even to the youngest branch house, and thus all are interested in maintaining the worship.

614 Representatives of the common descent group worship before the ances-
796 tral tablets at the main house on occasions called u-machii (J. 'o-matsuri'),
769 usually the 15th days of the 2nd, 5th and 6th lunar months and during the New Year's season. They worship at the tomb at the shiimii (J. 'seimei') season in April. For this purpose periodic meetings may be held and dues levied for
[769] the expense of the offerings. Many groups send members on pilgrimages every seventh year (shichinin-maari) to pray at remote shrines; many in the south go to Nakijin in the north for this. There may also be special expenditures such as for the repair of a tomb, the building of a new tomb, or even the repair of the main house if its owner has become impoverished.

614 A few common descent groups are said to have a little property from which the income is used for the expense of the worship, but probably none has enough to be of any other value. The common descent group probably has
[476] no economic functions. In a rural community its members may tend to cooperate a little more in farm work; I observed this to be the case in some instances in Yamada, but informants say that kinship is no more important than closeness of residence and that neighbors ought to cooperate.

614 Nevertheless the common descent group occasionally seems to have
666 political functions. In a recent election in southern Okinawa, munchu membership became a factor. A cartoon that appeared in the Okinawa Times of 8 March 1954 shows opposing candidates carrying banners announcing their munchu. In the village of Komesu, south of Itoman, supporters of candidates appealed to members of their candidates' munchu to support their own regardless of political party.

613 The unity of the kin group may appear in time of crisis. In the vil-
722 lage of Yamada, during the battle in 1945, many of the villagers hid out in improved natural caves. According to one informant's account, at first there was some moving around but ultimately people of the same chuchooree clung together. In one instance bad feeling arose between two groups over the sharing of a cave.

brazier in the city. She was kept warm continuously, even in hot weather, so that, it is said, women often broke out in skin eruptions from the heat. At present younger women are not following this practice and many regard it as a foolish custom. The absence of jiiru in post-war houses may be a factor in the decline of the custom. 178 846 [354]

Post-natal Observances During the first year of life the child is the center of several ceremonies. They are in brief: 852

1) Mbagii sunji, "Red rice ceremony". Held on the day of birth. Relatives, friends, and neighbors come. Rice dyed red and a soup of tar stems (a symbol of many children) are offered to the ancestral tablets and served to the guests. The afterbirth is buried behind the house while the children are made to laugh so that the baby will have a good disposition. [844]

2) Naajiki, "Naming". Held during the first week. Practices vary. In one variety the baby's grandmother releases a crab and a grasshopper and shoots an arrow at a winnowing tray; in another she divines with rice grains to see if the name she has selected is proper. This rite was formerly held to give the baby its native Okinawan name. [553] [787]

3) Mansang, "Full birth". Held on the 7th or 30th day after the birth to celebrate the full term. A feast is served to relative, friends, and neighbors.

4) Naa'njii, "First going out". Held for a boy on the first day of the ten-day cycle, designated as kanii, on the second kanii day for a girl. The baby's grandmother makes it pray to the ancestral tablets and to the oven god, then marks its forehead with soot and takes it out, formerly to pray to the god of the pigsty-privy. [769] [782]

5) Hachi-atchii, "First walking". Held whenever the mother is first able to go to visit her parents and siblings. She takes gifts of food to them and in return they give money to the baby.

6) Tanka, "Birthday". Held on the first anniversary of the birth. A feast is prepared and many relatives and friends come bringing gifts of money. The child's future career is divined by placing a number of objects in front of it---money, a book, an abacus, food, etc. If the child chooses the money he will be rich; if the book, a scholar; if the food, a glutton; and so forth. The odds are usually weighted in favor of a desirable future. [527] [787]

There seems to be some variation in all of these practices. Several may be obsolescent because some of the elements entering into them are no longer in use, the pigsty-privy and the native names, for example. [178]

Infanticide New-born babies may be done away with if they are not wanted, but this is probably not at all common under ordinary circumstances. One example was recorded: An old woman who died recently lay for about a week on her death bed unable to talk. Her children gathered about her, wondering if some sin ('tsumi') were not in need of atonement ('tsugunai'). 847 783

the Year of the Horse, and so all persons born during any year of the Horse--- 888
1942, 1930, etc.---celebrated their "year day" on the first Day of the Horse 527
of the new year. Although theoretically all year days are important, in practice only those of old age are given much attention. These are the celebrations of the 61st, 73rd, 85th, and 97th years. The 88th and 90th may also be celebrated. The celebration of the year day of an old person is a matter of pride for the whole family; formal invitations are sent, and the guests are served food and drink requiring considerable expense on the part of the family.

Death After his death a person does not cease to be of any importance to 769
the family. On the contrary he takes on a new importance as a focal point for ceremonies and perhaps for feelings of anxiety.

Death is attributed to both natural and supernatural causes[1] with 761
natural causes probably barely in the majority. But there is also the vague notion that one's life span is predetermined.

Almost immediately after the death of a person, members of his family 756
usually consult a yuta to learn if there was any last request or information 763
that the deceased had wished to impart to his family. This might consist of an explanation of his death, a confession of some early misdeed, or last instructions to his heirs. While I was working at Yamada ar informant, an energetic, thoroughly likeable old lady, died suddenly. I learned later that her family immediately went to Yakena, some twelve miles away, a place famous for its many yuta. There they consulted a yuta and asked if there had been any message the old woman wanted to communicate. They were told that the old woman had been destined to die a year before but because she was such a good woman she had lived an extra year, during which she had accomplished everything she had intended to do---there was nothing to reveal. The family was relieved and comforted.

The Funeral Women may cry out immediately upon learning that a mem- 764
ber of the family has died. The body is laid in the second room of the house and flexed so that it may be more easily put into the coffin. If the death occurs in the morning the funeral may be held the afternoon of that day; if later in the day, the next afternoon. Offerings are placed before the body and when the funeral is not until the next day, relatives keep a wake over it.

The funeral itself consists of a ceremony at the home of the deceased, a procession to the tomb, and the placing of the coffin in the tomb. These steps may be more or less elaborate depending upon the means of the family. However, the local unit, the 'han' or the chinju, takes responsibility for some activities, making for uniformity. Member of the 'han' or chinju make two paper tablets with the name of the deceased written on them and make a large square wooden box for a coffin. On the afternoon of the funeral, the body is put into the coffin and a tray containing one of the paper tablets, offerings of fruit, and an incense burner is placed before it. If the de- [793]
ceased has requested it, a Buddhist priest may be called from one of the larger towns, but many country people do not call a priest, and indeed may never

[1] See Chapter IX.

Two members of the SIRI team both saw bone-washings, and were both impressed 765
by this display. The ceremony I saw consisted not only of the washing of one set of bones but the transfer of another skeleton from another tomb. While the tomb was being prepared the daughter of the man whose bones were being transferred was made to hold the skull. The sight of the teen-age girl holding her father's skull before her, hardly able to move, her lips and eyes shut tight, tears streaming down her face, is one not easily forgotten.

The Okinawans are curious about the funeral customs of others, sensi- 764
tive about their own, and possibly dissatisfied with them. Their sensitivity 765
is shown by the fact that after I had observed the bone-washing just men- 123
tioned, someone circulated a rumor, untrue, that I had photographed the cere- 829
mony in order to show Americans what went on. This rumor might have seriously damaged my rapport with this family and with others in the community if I had not been defended by the person who had supervised the bone-washing, the old lady mentioned at the beginning of this section. All three SIRI team members were questioned about American practices and heard statements to the effect that perhaps cremation should be adopted. Cremation does, of course, do away with the necessity for both the bone-washings and the large tombs. A crematorium is operating in Naha, but it is doubtful if the practice will spread very rapidly in the country. New tombs, bigger and better than ever, are still being built, old ones are being repaired, and the familiar method of burial and reburial goes on. The prestige attached to the larger and impres- [554]
sive tomb is undoubtedly a factor in the survival of the system. But there may also be psychic needs as yet unexplored that the system and in particular the emotional orgy of the bone-washing satisfies.

Offerings to the Dead After the funeral the family of the deceased 765
makes offerings both before the tomb and before the temporary paper tablet in 769
the home. During the first seven weeks after a death this tablet is kept on a low table with incense burning before it; relatives and neighbors make formal visits in order to burn incense, pray, and leave gifts of money. On every seventh day till the forty-ninth the family makes extra offerings, burns uchikabi (imitation paper money said to be used for paying taxes in the next world), and makes offerings before the tomb. Then the name is written on the permanent tablet. Thereafter, the family makes offerings at the tomb and at the tablets and burns uchikabi on the first, second, seventh, thirteenth, twenty-fifth, and thirty-third anniversaries of the death. At the end of this time the deceased is believed to require no more individual consideration---if all the offerings up to that time have been properly made.

However, throughout each year on a number of occasions offerings are 769
made for all the dead members of the family. These occasions are the major 527
holidays, nearly all of which are primarily directed toward the worship of the dead. The principal of these are: 1) Lunar New Year's; 2) Shiimii, in the spring, an occasion for visiting both the tomb of the immediate family and tombs of more remote ancestors; 3) the U-machii, the 15th days of the 5th and 6th lunar months, occasions when representatives of the larger kin groups worship before the ancestral tablets at the main house; 4) U-bung, during the 7th lunar month, when all the dead are believed to return to the house. Beside these there are a number of minor holidays on which offerings are made.

769 On the spring and autumn equinoxes imitation money is burned, on other occa-
527 sions special food is offered, and so forth.

775 In spite of the great concern that Okinawans appear to take for the
969 welfare of the dead, they can tell one surprisingly little about what happens to them. According to one account, the dead person crosses seven bridges on his way to the other world; if he has led a wicked life he may have difficulty crossing them. In the next world he needs food and drink and money to pay taxes. Eventually, unless something holds him to this world, he becomes a "Buddha" (J. 'hotoke') or a "god" (J. 'kami-sama')---the terms seem synonymous---and ascends to Heaven. The most clearly defined and frequently heard notion seems to be simply that there is a vast and awful chasm between "this world" and "that world" and that a person who has once crossed the chasm ought to stay on the other side. A dead person may return, however, and appear to the living as a ghost if something disturbs him---a wrong unrighted, for example. Ghosts may attack former enemies or even harm anyone who happens to be around. But also a deceased person may cause disease or other misfortune to come to his own living relatives and descendants if he has not had sufficient help from them through their offerings. Thus many Okinawans, particularly the older people, are greatly concerned about the possibility of an ugwam-busuku, an "insufficiency (fusuku) of worship (ugwang)." They explain sickness, accidents, and lack of success in undertakings as the result of some ugwam-busuku. And so they consult with yuta and other dealers in the supernatural to determine where the insufficiency lies.

They also interpret success or good fortune, especially that which helps the family or larger kin group, as due to the help of the deceased ancestors. A woman gave the following incident as an example. During the bombing that preceded the landing in 1945 she had left the cave where her family was hiding to go to a neighbor's cave just when a great-uncle appeared there looking for a midwife to deliver a daughter's baby. The two related families had not known of each others' whereabouts and the informant's family was overjoyed to be able to move to the better cave of the great-uncle. This, the informant said, was not the result of the protection of the gods but of the ancestors.

The concern of the Okinawans for the dead is great, but it is hard to avoid the conclusion that it is motivated primarily by concern for the living.

3. Prospect of Change

152 Family life provides the individual with the security that he desires
593 but at the same time it gives him a basis for feelings of anxiety. The feelings of security he derives from the love he receives as a child, the honor he receives as a parent, and the knowledge that he will not be neglected in the next world. The solidarity of the family and the continuity of the family are essential to this security and so they are constantly stressed. But he also derives feelings of anxiety from family life. As a child he is carried around in an intimate fashion and then put down and made to run to keep

[Kanegusuku]

621 423 425 [427] Absentee Owners There are 14 former residents of the village who still own land in it; their holdings amount to 5% of the total acreage. Most of these have either rented their land to villagers or have loaned it out to relatives; only a couple have allowed their holdings to remain idle. Absentee landlordism is definitely not a problem in Kanegusuku. Most who leave the village to seek employment in the cities seem reluctant to sell their land, and this does not appear to be because of any deep attachment for the soil. They feel that land is a security against the loss of a job or failure in the city; the land will always provide a subsistence. It is also significant that they are most reluctant to part with their house lots, especially old family sites. The house lot in such cases is regarded as an [769] important tie to the ancestors of the family, and since the dead can influence the fortunes of the living, it is feared that misfortune may follow the sale of a house lot, particularly to a person who is not a close relative. In most of the now unoccupied house lots of Kanegusuku one can find a small site for prayer (uganju) marked by a small censer and bits of incense. Periodically certain of the older members (usually female) of the family return to pay their respects to the ancestors at these spots. One gets the impression that this is done not so much in the spirit of venerating as in the spirit of propitiating.

425 427 Land Transactions Since the land registries were established again in 1950 there has been a sizable turnover in land holdings. From the last quarter of 1950 through the first quarter of 1954 59 plots have been sold and 154 plots have been rented out. As registrations usually lag far behind transactions, the above figures are undoubtedly too low, and this is especially true of the rentals.

427 Land Rentals Land rentals vary widely depending on the type of land, location, quality, and the relationship between owner and tenant. As a general rule payments are made in cash for house lots, grass land, and forest. If the owner and tenant are close relatives a lower rental will be charged, or in the case of house lots most likely no charge will be made at all. For rice fields the rent is always a percentage of the crop; this too will vary depending on the factors previously mentioned, though sometimes it will run as high as from thirty to forty percent of the yield. Dry fields are paid for in cash or produce depending on the crop and the arrangement; usually items that store well such as beans are acceptable as rent. In all cases, it must be stressed, much depends on the owner-tenant relationship; the land records show many instances of brother renting from brother. In most of these cases, according to informants, a lower rental or sometimes none at all is charged, especially if the one brother is considerably more prosperous than the other. Often persons who seek temporary employment elsewhere will lend their lands to close relatives during their absence rather than rent it out for a short term.

The terms "owner" and "renter" seem virtually meaningless unless referred to in context. For example, most widows have been forced to rent out their rice land, as its maintenance is considered too difficult for a woman. Likewise a number of children orphaned by the war are too young to work their holdings, and these are rented out or worked for them by relatives. At the

[Kanegusuku]

time of the author's stay in the village there was no individual or family which could be classified as rentier. 427

Changes Effected by the War War-caused changes in the distribution of land holdings among the various households were considerable. Many of the land-rich houses, if such a term may be used where the "richest" has but eleven acres, are such today because of the war, and conversely some houses have become impoverished or had their resources severely strained because of it. Unlike many other communities Kanegusuku was fortunate in that only about 4% of its total land area was permanently ruined as a result of the war. Some land was lost to a road, but most of the loss was due to a small military camp (about company size) now converted into a tuberculosis sanatorium. Since land holdings are usually fragmented and scattered, no one family lost all its land, though one family lost nearly one-half and several approximately one quarter. The loss to the sanatorium is not compensated for by jobs for Kanegusuku people since no villager is employed there. This is explained by the fact that the director is from Itoman; so "naturally" he could not be expected to hire Kanegusuku people. 621 423 177 727 [186]

The composition of the household has changed in many homes since the war as a result of the large number of deaths. Today a number of households consist of the usual nuclear family of husband, wife, and their offspring plus a related "broken" family such as widowed sister and her children or widower brother and his children or parent and unmarried siblings. In most cases the holdings of both families are pooled and the household functions as a single economic unit, though separate purses are sometimes maintained. There are several old people who live alone in their houses, but they are usually watched over by near relatives. 621 592 177 727

The richest landowner (eleven acres) in the village today was a second son in very moderate circumstances before the war. As a second son he was given by his parents to childless relatives for adoption. During the war his adoptive parents died, leaving him their entire estate. The war also caused the death of his real father and elder brother, leaving him the sole heir to their property. He has since married a woman who as the surviving member of her family is heiress to its property. Consequently, this house now holds the land of three families. The villagers are somewhat envious, but they say that misfortunte may result since this house now must make the ritual observances to the ancestors of three families, which is felt to be too great a task for anyone, and inadequate attention may lead to calamity. 621 556 727 [769]

The women who were widowed by the war and who have chosen to maintain separate households have had in most cases a difficult time of it, and particularly those widows without grown sons have been hard pressed. Farming an irrigated field is said to be impossible for a woman alone; therefore, most of them have had to rent out their rice lands, thereby losing much of its return. It is also very difficult for a house which contains only women to participate in reciprocal labor exchanges, since two days of labor by a woman are equated to one day of labor by a man. 621 589 727 [462] [427] [476]

cause misfortune; the ability to do this, he says, is hereditary from mother 754
to daughter. My informants did not identify ichijama with the mabui or any other such entity, but merely explained it as a kind of 'noroi', "curse". Its effect is a sharp pain inside the body or the feeling that a fingernail has been thrust into the eye. If the person responsible is known, they said, the affliction may be cured by spitting in his direction and throwing pig dung in his direction, shouting, "I smear it on your face!" According to [756]
Yanagida, a yuta can cure an afflicted person by squeezing his thumb, which causes the thumb of the person responsible to be crushed.

Illness may also be caused by gods or local spirits as punishment 753
for the breaking of tabus. For example, at Yamazato in Chinen-son it was 784
said that on the 1st, 8th, 18th, and 28th of every month the "mountain god" (yama nu kami) makes a circuit of inspection of the mountain behind the village and therefore one cannot go to cut trees or grass on those days for fear of punishment.

But probably the most frequent interpretation of illness and mis- 753
fortune is that it is caused by ugwambusuku, an insufficiency of worship 769
(from ugwang, "worship" and fusuku, "insufficiency"). As has been explained, 775
the dead can influence the lives of the living for good or bad. If the ancestors of a family are well cared for, that is, receive the proper offerings and worship, they may help that family to prosper and multiply, but on the other hand, if the ancestors are not cared for they will let the family know of their needs by some light illness, or, if their needs are still ignored, by some greater misfortune. They may not deliberately mean to harm their descendants; the misfortune may be automatic; this point is not clear. At any rate, the fear of ugwambusuku appears to be a very common anxiety [152]
and to play a central role in the whole structure of ancestor worship. Various religious practitioners and diviners, but particularly the yuta, are [756]
frequently called upon to try to determine where the insufficiency lies, what deceased person has not received his full share of worship and is therefore causing the current illness or other misfortune. To account for such [782]
illnesses and misfortunes the yuta and others may have revelations (shirashi) which revise the family's genealogy and even reveal the existence of hitherto unknown ancestors.

The insufficiency is not always of worship of the ancestors, al- 753
though this is probably the most frequent type. Illness may also be caused 782
by an insufficiency of worship of the Fire God. It is said that if an il- [848]
legitimate child or the child of a secondary wife does not worship at least once at the Fire God of his shiji ("line") that is, the Fire God of his father's family, he may become ill. Thus it is not uncommon for the mother of an illegitimate child to bring it to the house of its father and ask to let it pray once to the Fire God there. This practice may also, of course, [851]
serve to demonstrate paternity.

Also probably related to the concept that the ancestors influence 769
the living is the practice of establishing a fictitious adoptive relation- 753
ship between a child and an unrelated family. If a child is weakly its mother may ask an unrelated adult to become the yashinee-uya, "adopted parent",

769 of the child; the child prays several times a year, on the important occa-
753 sions, at the ancestral tablets of the adopted parent, but otherwise lives as before. The rationale of this practice may be: if one set of ancestors is not sufficient for the child, why not give him another?

753 Also related to the concept ugvambusuku is the notion that certain
828 persons are destined to do more than just make offerings; some are to become
794 kaminchu, "god persons", and play the principal roles at the family worship at the important holidays. If these persons shirk this duty they may become ill as a consequence. In certain persons, particularly older women, persistent illness and especially mental illness may be interpreted as a sure sign that the afflicted person ought to become a kaminchu. There is one well-recognized type of mental illness called 'kami-buri'; the person with this disorder constantly makes the gestures of prayer toward various persons and objects in an extravagant manner. Such a person is almost sure to become a religious practitioner after recovery. In fact some kaminchu positions must
[756] be filled by persons who have had 'kami-buri'. The yuta may also receive his, or more often her, vocation through such an illness. (Recently a visiting psychiatrist commented on the low number of cases at the Kin mental hospital. There are of course many cases that are not committed to the institution because Okinawan society has a place for them; they become its psychiatrists.)

Other concepts of disease will be discussed in the next section.

4. Medical Practice

755 Home Remedies There are a number of home remedies that are known to many
757 persons, especially older women. These include the use of certain herbs, the letting of blood, the use of salt, prayer, swearing for exorcism, spells. These methods of treatment may be used by any old woman to the extent of her knowledge, but if the illness appears to be too serious for these treatments a professional medical practitioner may be consulted. However, the distinction between the professional person and the skilled amateur is not always clear.

757 Herbs are used for digestive disorders and particularly for female
824 disorders. Tawada in his description of Okinawan flora[1] lists ten plants used for medicinal purposes, nine of which are said to be useful to female disorders along with a variety of other things ranging from toothaches to appendicitis.

757 Blood-letting is practiced on most infants as a cure for skin eruptions and is sometimes also used on adults. Shallow incisions are made with a razor to let out the "bad blood". These are made on a baby's buttocks and sometimes, though less frequently at the present time than in the past, on the face of an adult.

755 Salt is used for purification. A yuta whom I saw exorcise a house and yard took salt into his mouth and then spit it and threw it in the

[1] Tawada, 1951.

753 that I found the greatest resistance to any suggestion that American methods
177 might have equal or greater validity. American material culture the Okina-
wans are delighted to accept, and they are eager for more. American social
[562] relationships they look somewhat askance at but they are willing to experi-
ment, in a small way, with equal rights for women. But the suggestion that
medically they don't know what ails them is harder to take. They are will-
ing to accept modern medical explanations of disease as a partial explana-
tion, perhaps as the occasional means by which the ultimate causes affect
disease. The ultimate causes are supernatural.

753 To challenge the concept ugwambusuku, the insufficiency of worship
177 that causes illness, is to challenge the present structure of religion, and
769 at a point where it is most closely bound to social organization. Anxiety
182 over insufficiency of worship and its possible consequences is probably the
strongest force motivating the whole range of activities connected with
death, burial, and the worship of ancestors. It is not too far-fetched to
suggest that it is also a reason for respecting one's elders during their
lifetime. It is no wonder that Okinawans show a strong resistance to any
challenge to these beliefs, even though they may not be conscious of all the
implications of the challenge.

753 To challenge the whole structure of belief would probably be wholly
177 unsuccessful. Or if somehow the Okinawans could be persuaded to abandon
757 these beliefs at once, the result would probably be either chaos or the un-
critical acceptance of another set of beliefs that might soon prove to be
just as far out of line with medical science as the present. Probably the
surest way to introduce modern medical concepts is by gradually whittling
down the native concepts beginning with the more peripheral ones. This is
not as hopeless as it might seem, for some changes have already taken place.
[846] Until recently women after childbirth were baked for about a week over a
fire in the jiiru, a hearth in the back room of the house, even in hot wea-
ther. It is said that it was a very uncomfortable experience and that in
warm weather it often resulted in rashes and boils, yet it was practiced be-
cause it was thought to be necessary for the health of the woman. In the
last few years this practice has been abandoned. One woman informant was
positive that the hideous skin condition called heegasa or "scruff" could be
prevented by drawing out the "bad blood", but she was equally positive that
the former practice of baking a new mother was useless if not harmful. Some
day she may become convinced that cutting an infant's buttocks with a razor
is useless if not harmful. She will be convinced when someone has demon-
strated to her that heegasa can be prevented by another means and that be-
cause the blood circulates it is no more "bad" at one place than another. The
concept "bad blood" is a peripheral one, with no close relationship to re-
ligion or social organization.

Other peripheral beliefs are those associated with the yabuu, the
efficacy of moxa and the golden needle of acupuncture. In demonstrating the
superiority of modern medicine over these techniques one may not always
count on the cooperation of educated Okinawans. In opposing the practice of
[181] the yabuu and other practitioners one runs counter to one of the strongest
themes of Okinawan culture---one must not interfere with another's livelihood.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

Introduction

The study of religious ideas in Okinawa quickly involves one in a quagmire of beliefs, formal observances, and conventions, of various origins, often grafted on one another, so that it is almost impossible to disentangle them. There is a vagueness among the people, a lack of distinctions among various types of belief, and this makes the analysis even more uncertain and subject to error. When after death, for example, does the deceased become a god (hotoke-sama) in the Buddhist pantheon? At the end of the 49th day when the temporary white tablets are burned and replaced by the permanent red ones? Or at the end of the 33rd year when the dead person is no longer mourned, and the anniversary of his death no longer observed? And is he regarded as a god in the Buddhist pantheon or simply as a god? I was unable to find satisfactory answers to these questions. 771 128

Religious beliefs, such as ancestor worship, are closely related to the underlying ideas of the family system. Praying to the ancestors at the god shelf ties Buddhism in with the family system, but worship at the Buddhist alter and the god shelf would, if accepted at its face value, give an erroneous idea of the vitality of Buddhism and the degree to which it has become a religion of the people.

The student of these matters must also make certain that this vagueness and mixing of religious belief is an actuality and does not arise out of faulty comprehension. I became convinced, however, that the vagueness, the compounding of beliefs from different sources, the uncertainty are realities, and this point of view was later reinforced in reading the works of students of an earlier age.

There is a noticeably sharp cleavage in belief between the old and the young, with the dividing line around the age of 55. Furthermore, among the old, it is the women who believe and worship. The old men are much less serious, and, except for the few antiquarians, are much more poorly informed. 771 184

2

Contemporary Religious Beliefs

The religious tradition of Okinawa is a feminine one. Women appear in the creation myth as the practitioners of religion. The priestess (noro) system became an institutionalized religion in the early 16th century. From that time until the very recent past, the priestesses have been strong and influential because, for one thing, they had property and the economic power that accompanied its possession. These priestesses have now largely disappeared. But women remain the chief repositories of religious knowledge and belief. 771 [773] [793] [562]

•771 Buddhism, as an organized religion, is of no importance, even though most villagers say they are Buddhists. Buddhist symbols and practices inspired by Buddhism remain, but that is a different matter. The universal use of the Buddhist god shelf or household altar, the [183] observance of Buddhist holidays, such as higan, are matters more of custom and tradition than of religious fervor. This is significant be- [177] cause the Okinawans, for almost 70 years, were a part of the Japanese homeland, the greatest Buddhist nation on earth. During my stay in Okinawa, I thought that the recent war had caused the decline in Buddhist influence. This is only partly true. Subsequent reading of the older [198] literature made it clear that in modern times, Buddhism has not been a living force. The ethical and political systems were primarily Confucian. The priestesses had a greater influence on daily life and at death ceremonials, at least in rural Okinawa.

A variety of practices concerned with the worship of natural phenomena, such as the summits of mountains, groves of trees, wells and springs and the sea survive, but they are not strong.

[177] There is little evidence of Shinto beliefs, except in a few families who were long resident in Japan. Shrine Shinto, closely tied in with emperor worship, has been abolished.

177 Villagers are acquainted with Christianity, but I encountered no 797 adherents. The name of the 19th century missionary, Dr. Bettelheim, is still remembered by people in Hinatogawa and Hanashiro. Dr. Bettelheim, a Jewish convert to Christianity, came to Okinawa in 1846. He was both ineffective and unhappy, but his ineffectiveness was probably due more to the lack of enthusiasm of the Okinawan rulers than to personal inadequacy.

3

Buddhism

771 Buddhist formalisms and home observances exist in all the villages. 183 But the religion is not practiced. The people do not attend services or 114 temples, nor do they support or seek out priests. This present situation is apparently little changed from the recent past. Captain Basil Hall (1816) mentioned the apparent low status of the bonze. Charles Fahs, on Perry's staff, said that, "The people, however, appear to be indifferent to it, and do not seem to have much veneration for it. Basil Hall Chamberlain wrote in 1893 that Buddhist influence was almost extinct. In 1910, Simon spoke of the weakness of Buddhism and that priests often did not participate in funerals. Goldschmidt in 1927 made similar observations.[1]

1 Hall, as cited, 98-99; Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 49. Chamberlain, On the manners and customs of the Loochooans, In: Trans. of the Asiatic society of Japan, 21 (1893), 274. Simon, Beitrage sur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, 103-04, 177. Goldschmidt, Neu-Japan, 145.

The only Buddhist priest in the areas studied was at the small village of Maegawa, within walking distance of Hinatogawa and Hanashiro. He was a priest of the Jōdo sect (Jōdoshu), one of the important sects of Japan, and stressing salvation by faith. The sect of the priest in this village is of no importance, since the rural people now or before the war had neither the interest nor the capacity for doctrinal distinctions. The temples of this sect were burned during the war, including one in the village of Kochinda, a junction point between Naha and Gushichan. 793 [795] 846 727

Before the war the colors of the robes varied with the sect and with the position of the priest in the hierarchy. In the Jōdo sect, the lowest grade wore black, followed up the scale by orange, blue or green, a chocolate reddish brown, and purple, the highest. This contrasts sharply with the priest's present improvisations. His is the black robe of the Shinshu sect. It is a summer garment, made of soft light silk called shiya and resembles a man's kimono, but is longer and sweeps the floor. The garment hangs straight down and is not gathered or tucked. The only other religious possessions were a bell and a badly soiled print of the Buddha (oshaku) which hung in his room. 793 795 292 [778]

Before the war, some people in the Gushichan area requested the services of a priest at funerals. After the war, the people of Hanashiro, and other villages as well, decided because of the expense, to forego the services of a priest. 793

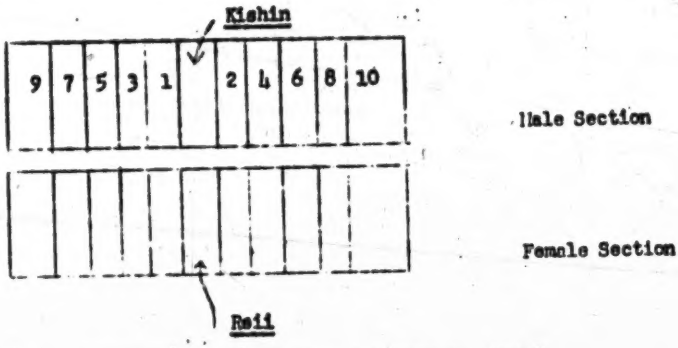
Occasionally this priest officiates when the bones in the temporary tombs of Hinatogawa are moved to the extended family tomb at Itoman, or in a ceremony honoring a death anniversary. Few Okinawans became priests. This priest is a native of Japan, one of the few remaining Japanese priests in the island. At eleven, he entered a Buddhist temple (tera) and has been engaged in religious activity ever since. Now about 50, he has a wife and two children; his head is unshaved and the hair is of a conventional cut. He does not depend on the priesthood for a living, but is employed as an official in a village office. [797]

The situation with regard to Buddhism was quite similar in Hatsuda, although there is no priest in the vicinity. There is little doubt, if the villages studied are typical, that this already moribund religion is disappearing altogether here, choked off by lack of temples, lack of priests, and by indifference. 771 178

It is not so with household Buddhism, if this term may be used to describe ceremonies and beliefs centering around the Buddhist god shelf or family altar (butsudan). This household altar is in the second room of every home. Around it collect the sentimental memories of the past, such as family pictures, photographs of young soldiers and dearly loved relatives. Prayers and offerings of food and drink to the dead are made before it. 771 778 183

An important part of the Buddhist altar is a frame holding the memorial tablets for the family dead. These tablets (ihai) are pieces 778 769

778 of wood lacquered red and lettered in gold. The frame has an upper
769 section for the male dead and a lower for the female. The date of death is written on the back of each tablet. In the center of each section is a strip with a Chinese character written on it. The upper or male section has the character, kishin, with a meaning similar to returning to the source (moto ni kaeru). The lower or female section has the character reii, suggesting that your spirit is in this place. The tablets are placed in an order, the first to the left of the middle character, the second to the right, so that the last placed ones are toward the outer edge.



(Arrangement of the Memorial Tablets (ihai)

778 The frequent occasions throughout the year when devotions are made
782 at the altar have already been described in many of the preceding pages. These can be summarized by saying that offerings and prayers are made (1) to commemorate important dates in an individual's life, like birth, the first birthday, engagement, marriage, death, and the anniversary of a death, (2) during holidays and festivals in which honoring the dead and thanksgiving are dominant themes, and (3) at times of individual and private religious worship or prayer. Some women pray daily after placing a cup of tea, a bowl of rice and a burning charcoal stick on the altar. Others observe the 1st and the 15th of the lunar month.

● 771 This household Buddhism, centering around the altar, has no institutional basis. There are no Buddhist temples in any of the villages. Family worship at the altar is both an honoring of the ancestral dead and also, it would seem, an acceptance of the merciful and humane doctrines of the Buddhist faith. Buddhism traditionally is the religion of consolation at death. The fact that ancestor worship takes place at the
[182] Buddhist altar, however, does not mean that this is a religion in a doctrinal sense. One has been grafted on to the other.

000.

in the toilet.

Religious beliefs shade into other aspects of village life, such as honoring the dead, the obligations of the family system, and the celebration of public holidays and festivals. The war has hastened the decline of many of the old beliefs we have been describing. The inability of the old, during the war and its aftermath, to communicate a body of belief to the newer generation has meant that now, even more than before, religious beliefs and customs are dying out rapidly and henceforth will appear only in vague outlines to inquiring scholarship.

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Chapter 8

Religion

● 771 The religious beliefs of people in Taira and their ritual practices rec-
177 ognize the existence of two different sources of supernatural forces.
[776] The old Okinawan religion, which is still practiced by many persons
in the village, centers on beliefs in a host of nonhuman spirits that
[769] inhabit certain localities. A historically more recent Confuscian-
Bhuddist influence from China and Japan has added to these beliefs
the veneration of ancestors who, in their divine state after death, con-
trol many activities of the living. Under the influence of these two
[782] forces, the animistic and the ancestral, life must be conducted in such
[784] a way that both remain appeased at all times by proper worship and
performance of ritual as well as by avoidance of actions which might
offend these supernatural forces.

771 Even though many younger people laugh away the adherence to
[154] beliefs, especially in animistic deities, there is much evidence that the
life of almost all people is controlled by fears, anxieties, and desires
for appeasement stemming from these religious beliefs. Although his-
torically the animistic and ancestral religious beliefs were separate,
they are synchronized at present so that it is not always possible to
make a clear distinction between each system (Lebra: 1958).

776 The supernatural beings of nature live all around the village. There
are mountain deities, deities of the sea, of the well, of trees, and other
places. Any localities connected with productive activities, such as the
store, the sugar mill, the sugar press, and the village truck, have their
[372] own deities. There is also the Deity of Fire, associated with the hearth
and the house. He is represented in three hearth stones found in most
simple kitchens. Three upright small stones, resembling the hearth
stones, are the divine symbols in the village shrine where all these
supernatural beings are worshipped.

[782] The supernatural beings living in and around the village appear

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

 775

ple did not carry it through the streets but along the shore to a spot 784
nearby where the car could pull up.

Communication with ancestral or family spirits lies in the hands of [766]
individual households or the larger kin group. In general, as with the 782
nature deities, women maintain the relationship. The oldest woman 794
in the house prays and makes offerings in front of the divine shelf or by 769
the tombs. Sometimes the high priestess, whose only regular role in the [562]
cult of ancestors centers around the mythical founder of the village
to whom vague references are made, is asked to conduct a special [793]
prayer for a family at its ancestral shrine. Such invitations are usually
the result of consultation with another religious practitioner to whom [756]
one turns in case of misfortune.*

Those who are considering a special undertaking, such as building a 791
new house or moving to another one, or transporting ancestral tablets [342]
from one home shrine to another, seek the advice of a diviner, the
sanjinsō or *yekisha*. This expert, always a man, consults books on the
workings of the universe, special astrological calendars from which he
can predict events by using a horoscope calculated on the birth date of
the person seeking advice.

Although it would seem from the attendance at ceremonies that 771
older people, mostly women, are the supporters of religion, even the 182
most modern of the Tairans seem to share beliefs in the power of the
supernatural forces and are loath to make an open break with traditions. One may verbalize that the old religion is just "superstition," but when it comes to dealing with adverse events, when somebody suggests that perhaps the *yuta* should be consulted, or a special offering is in order, or when the old special wine of the gods is prepared from rice for Boat Race Day, then many of the apparent apostates cooperate. To some extent this is done to appease the older people, but fear of neglecting duties, especially toward ancestors, is probably much stronger in general than people's behavior would suggest. Religious in- [621]
fluence, then, which controlled so many facets of village life in former days, still acts as a strong force in uniting the members of families and descent groups as well as in binding together the community as a unit separate from other communities.

* See Chapter 9 for description of the *yuta* or shaman.

582 178 average age at the time of marriage, investigation into the registries reveals that the range has narrowed somewhat. Formerly some girls married at thirteen and fourteen; today this would be considered rather unusual.

[177] The Japanese administration attempted to discourage endogamous marriage practices, particularly kin-group endogamy. All agreed that the practice has declined; yet in Xanegusuku nearly 50% of all marriages were within the kin group and 66% of all marriages were within the village. An analysis of these figures on an age basis indicates the practice is declining there.

833 178 833 Sex It is said that sexual standards have changed in that there is less sexual license among the young people and that they tend to have their first relations at a later age than formerly. This is attributed in part to the moral training of the schools. Another factor seems to be the general decline of several informal village institutions which permitted young people considerable sexual freedom. One informant stated that those who continue on to high school and university generally have their first experience at a later age than those who attend only junior high school.

642 177 641 Government The Japanese introduced a modern system of government, abolished the Okinawan aristocracy, and granted suffrage to all males of twenty-five or more years. The American Civil Administration has attempted to liberalize laws and to make possible a greater degree of self-government. [625] [626] Police powers have been limited, universal suffrage has been introduced, and the number of elected officials has been increased.

621 178 To date there has been little change within the village, where suffrage and office-holding remain limited to household heads. Villagers acknowledge that there is greater freedom for action at the local level today; yet they are not desirous of obtaining greater self-government. They feel that it would require too much of their time and that there is too little money available to finance its operation. Village leadership is virtually unchanged. Change where it has occurred has been initiated at a higher level.

632 178 At the township level the electorate has been broadened to include all persons, male and female, over twenty years of age. The mayor who was formerly appointed is now elected to office.

771 177 178 793 Religion There has been a general decline in the indigenous Okinawan religion, effected by Japanese policy, wartime attrition, and the spread of education. Formerly a hierarchy of priestesses extended from the kin group through the community and region to the person of the king's sister, the chief priestess. The Japanese removed the top echelons of this hierarchy, but the kin group and community priestesses continued to function. World War II resulted in the death of many religious functionaries, and as the office is usually hereditary within a specific family and often limited to a particular member of that family, there has often been no replacement for the office. Lastly there is an increasing tendency among the young people, due to the influence of the school, to regard religion as superstition.

796 178 Many villages, especially those without religious functionaries, have discontinued all village ceremonies, and in those few remarkable exceptions

away evil spirits (bakemono).[1] From the pig sty the child is then taken to the kitchen, where a pot of rice has been cooking. Soot from the outside of the pot is taken up with the middle finger of the right hand and a round black spot pressed on the forehead above the bridge of the nose between the eyebrows. The reason for this could not be ascertained. 844 852

Beliefs in the power of a pig sty to ward off evil spirits are still held in Minatogawa and the customs were generally practiced up to the beginning of the war. But these beliefs were related more to celebrations following the birth of the child than to the birth itself. The elements of these beliefs seemed to be that the afterworld was close to this world. If a child were not protected, the spirits of the afterworld would steal the child and take him back. The party celebrating the birth lasted a whole week, usually starting each evening about 8 and ending at 8 the following morning. Guests stayed up all night to prevent the child from being stolen, for if anyone went to sleep, the spirit would enter. Spirits followed behind the guest and were especially dangerous after 10 at night. The spirits however were frightened by the pigs; guests arriving during the danger hours went to the pig pen first to scare off the spirit following them, before entering the house. There was no evidence, in the parties I attended, of any present observance of this custom by young parents. The week of all night parties is no longer held. 854 776 231 [772] [574] [183]

These beliefs were found in Minatogawa. Hanashiro informants had heard of such customs, but were vague about them. While their seeming absence in Matsuda may be due to incomplete data, there may be another explanation. These beliefs may have been picked up by fishing people from other sources. [184]

One other birth custom known as jiru belongs to the recent history of the island. Jiru, as explained in Chapter V, is a fire place sunk in the floor of an Okinawan house, often in the corner of the dining room which adjoins a hall or a sleeping room, and near the kitchen. Convalescence was called jiru because mother and child warmed themselves by the device. Today convalescence may be called jiru, though it has nothing to do with the old custom, which in the literature has been referred to as "roasting." 846 [354]

1 When I discussed this and the following beliefs relating to pigs with people in Matsuda, they ridiculed them and said there was no truth in it, implying that people in the south did not know what they were talking about. Subsequent rechecking convinced me that this was not so and that the beliefs in Minatogawa represent differences in the rural culture. 184

Although Okinawans occasionally refer to Heaven or the Gods of Heaven (J. 'Ten no kami-sama'; Okinawan U-kami-ganashii, etc.), the concept does not seem to be well defined. The clearest statement heard on the subject was the one just mentioned in connection with the Fire God. Since the dead, or some of them, rise to Heaven, the term "Gods of Heaven" may include them, but there are evidently other greater beings too. These may be identical with the figures of the native origin myth. But aside from a few enthusiasts, mainly local historians and shamans (yuta), few Okinawans seem informed about or concerned with native cosmology, or any other. This may in part be the result of a generation or so of Japanese education with educators attempting to take the Japanese mythology seriously and making Okinawan mythology jibe with it. But it is more likely that this lack of concern with Heaven is due rather to an old tendency common in East Asia to settle matters at the local level without bothering the higher authorities, in dealing with both political problems and spiritual problems. 772 [175] [176] [177] [181]

In the Okinawan universe there are also a few earthly beings with supernatural power. The akamataa is a real species of non-poisonous snake. But it is believed to be able to change itself into a handsome young man, in which form it seduces unwitting young women. One young woman who was seduced is said to have given birth to a whole tubful of baby akamataa. 776

The kijimunaa is a wholly mythical being but seems to belong more in the natural world. According to some it lives in old trees, but according to others it is a sea-being who lives on fish and shellfish and who will become the helper of a fisherman who makes friends with it. Regardless of habitat, the kijimunaa is believed to approach a sleeping person and sit on his chest, nearly suffocating him and preventing him from crying out. Apparently the being is not dangerous but merely annoying.

Another being that is feared is the tamagai or 'hidama', "fireball". This was described in Yamada as a light that appears at certain times as an omen. However, in a village in Southern Okinawa it is regarded as the cause of fire. Since it is a female being the young men of this village drive it away by forming a procession and marching through the village shouting "Hoo hai!" ("Your vulva's showing.") [787] [184] [372]

The Itoman people speak of the ja or 'ryu', the "dragon". This being lives in the sea or the clouds; its tail is the whirlwind; its feces, if one is fortunate enough to find them; are like coal tar and are a very valuable medicine. Other Okinawans seem to regard this as something only the Itoman people know about. [757] [184]

One more concept is perhaps worth mentioning; this is shiji. Certain places, the sacred hilltop of the village, etc., are said to be shiji-dakasang, "high in shiji", and therefore to be approached with respect. It is also said of persons, especially those believed to be destined to become religious practitioners. The term shiji evidently signifies a sort of supernatural power that adheres to places and people, perhaps like the Oceanian concept "mana". Haring has suggested that the Japanese concept 778 [171]

131 631 133 36 [161] pattern is similar to that of the central part. The settlement Villages are scattered throughout the area with population distribution comparable with the central area. Before the war, the densities here were over one thousand per square mile, actually considerably more if the uninhabitable lands are subtracted.[4]

How long this settlement pattern and these regional differences have existed is difficult to say. In studying contemporary environments, like 311 Okinawa, which bear the imprint of long human settlement, it is useful to try to reconstruct the nature of the landscape before the interference of man. At one time, the whole island, with the exception of stony, rocky, and shallow soils and beach and marsh land was covered with forest. There are now no virgin stands. "It is evident that the present forest has been cut over many times. There seems to be no part of the island in which the forest cover has not been disturbed in some way by man."[5] In this light, the regional differences between the forested north and the deforested south are the work of man.

361 The oldest settlements are thought to have been in the Naha and Shuri areas. Kudaka Island, off the southeast coast, according to one legend, was the site of the supernatural creation of the Okinawan people. [173] The town of Unten, the Port Melville of Captain Hall and Commodore Perry, was, in one version, the scene of the landing of the Japanese warrior, [174] Tametomo, but this was in the twelfth century. Northern areas were inhabited prior to the unification of the island in the twelfth century because [161] they had their own regional chieftans before this. But the population of the north, at least up to the war, has been sparse and scattered. If the forests are any indication, it has been the central and southern regions which have been the scenes of longest settlement. Probably the [177] settlement pattern had not changed much until the Japanese interventions [178] of the nineteenth century and the great changes coming with the recent war, and with the extensive modifications which the Americans have made in the landscape of the central region.

3

General Climatic Conditions

132 In the Köppen system, Okinawa has a humid subtropical climate. It is a rainy climate with no marked dry season; it has a mild winter and the temperature of the warmest month is over 71.6°F. The average annual temperatures in Naha range from 61° for January and February to 82°F for July and August, and the range from the mean minimum of 55° in February to the

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP of P. 14--Analyst]

4 See the population distribution maps in CA Handbook, Ryukyu (Loo-choo Islands, 48-49.

5 Okinawan Forests. (Prepared by the USGS, Military Geology Section under the direction of Office of the Engineer, GHQ, Far East Command), 1948, 2.

of Okinawan prehistory will probably depend on research throughout a wide area and on the comparison and collation of discoveries already made in western Japan, south Korea, Quelpart Island, the Shantung peninsula, the Ryukyu Islands, Formosa, and China, particularly concerning the role of Fukien province in later times, to say nothing of determining the sources and routes of influences from southeastern Asia on Japan and the Ryukyus. Links with Polynesia and Hawaii have been suggested. Obviously present day political conditions are unfavorable for this type of inquiry. 174

The suppositions of which we have been speaking have led to the belief that the Ryukyu people, like the Japanese, are composed of the North Mongoloid, South Mongoloid or Malayan, and the Ainu type, but that the proportions are different, since there seem to be larger elements of the Malayan and Ainu types in the Ryukyu Islands. Whether these reconstructions are correct or not, the significant fact is that the islands owed their peopling to migration and invasion, and that culture mixture and contact is of very ancient origin.[2] [144]

The Ryukyuan creation myth is a crystallization of ideas that must have been long dominant at the time they were recorded. There are two versions of this myth, one simple, the other, as Spencer points out, more complex and probably reflecting the influence of new and foreign ideas. The first of these versions appears in Ryukyu Shindoki, written about 1603 A.D., the second in the Kyu Yo, a Chinese translation of a work by Haneji Tomohide entitled Chuzan Seikan (1650).[3] 173 [175]

[Text Continues Top of P. 28--Analyst]

2 Bishop, C. W. The historical geography of early Japan. Geo. Rev. 13 (1923), 40-63. See also this author's, The geographical factor in the development of Chinese civilization. Geo. Rev. 12 (1922), 19-41. For a recapitulation of the theories regarding the peopling of the Ryukyus, see Marshall T. Newman and Roman L. English, The Ryukyuan people: a biological appraisal. Amer. Journ. of Physical Anthropology, 5 (1947), 114-24, and Binkenstein, R. Okinawa-Studien. Monumenta Nipponica, 3(1940), 196 ff. and the literature there cited. Chamberlain's ideas are summarized in The Luchu islands and their inhabitants. Geo. Journ. 5 (1895), 316-19. R. S. Spencer, The Noro, or priestesses of Loo Choo. Trans. Asiatic Society of Japan. 2d Series. 8 (1931), 94-112, especially p. 94. For a recapitulation of Ryukyuan history, see C. A. Handbook, as cited, 13-31 and John R. Potter, A Preface to Liu Ch'iuan history: an analysis of the basis for establishing a United Nation's Trusteeship. (Unpublished Master's Dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1948. Leavenworth, Charles S. The Loochoo Islands. Shanghai, 1905. [194] [113]

3 This discussion is based on the article by Spencer cited above. Partial translations of the myths from the sources are reproduced here. See also Binkenstein, Okinawa-Studien, as cited, 198.

●793 In the first version, a male person (Shinerikyu) and a female person (Amamikyu) descended from Heaven. Amamikyu without sexual intercourse gave birth to three children: the first son became the first ruler; the first daughter, the first priestess; and the second son, the first farmer.

In the second version, the male and female deities gave birth to a child. "They carried stones and earth to the edge of the sea and planted trees to keep back the waves." Mountains and forests thus made, "mankind sprung up." Knowledge was attained and one person divided mankind into classes. This man, Tenteishi, had five children: Tensonshi, the first son and first ruler; the second son, the first noble (ansu); the third son, the first farmer. The eldest daughter became the first kikoe-oh-gimi, who later headed the institutionalized noro religious system. The second [793] daughter became the first priestess (noro).

173 The dynasty established by Tensonshi, according to tradition, lasted for twenty-five generations, 17,802 years, or until 1187 A. D. During this period, Okinawa was divided into three districts (magiri), Kunchan in the [631] north, Nakagami in the center and Shimajiri in the south, divisions which remain to this day.[4] The districts were divided into mura, or townships. [943] "Wheat and millet were raised at Kutaka /a name of a magiri/ and rice was grown at Chinen and Tamagusuku."[5] There is reason to believe that Tensons 174 dynasty had its greatest control over what would now be the area of Naha, Shuri, Tamagusuku township, and the Chinen peninsula area.

793 In both myths, a female priesthood, as Spencer points out, is placed at the very beginning of Ryukyuan history. A king, lesser nobles, a female priesthood, and farmers were the basis of the culture.

3

Events of the Early Historical Period

175 Not enough is known of the early historical contacts between the Great 177 Loochoo and the Chinese and Japanese to warrant any conclusions regarding 648 influences which these countries could have exerted.

Chinese punitive expeditions took place in the early seventh century A. D., but the consensus of opinion is that the invasion of Great Loochoo resulted in no prolonged cultural contact or influence. Some Japanese

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 29 -- ANALYST]

4 Chamberlain, The Luchu Islands and their inhabitants, as cited, 306.

5 Leavenworth, Charles S. The Loochoo islands, 15. Quotation is from the manuscript history translated by Leavenworth, ibid, 77.

119 304 602 to the family system, the extended family, or to the household order naming system is well worth exploring. No tattooing was observed among the Hinatogawa fishermen, but this may have been an oversight. According to an old women there, it did exist. One would expect it from the close relationship of Hinatogawa to Itoman. It is quite probable, in my opinion, that tattooing of men and women have different origins.

304 According to the early observers, tattooing of women took place around puberty, although Furness puts the age at 4 or 5 years. Patterns differed distinctly by island.

In Okinawa, everywhere one hears the same explanation for the origin of women's tattooing. Although there are variants, the core of the explanation is that the Ryukyu islanders (presumably after the Satsuma conquest of 1609) tattooed their young girls to prevent [698] their being carried off to brothels in Japan. The tattooing was supposed to have made the girls so unattractive that they were untouched. Other variations are that the tattoo indicated marriage and thus kept the girl from being taken away. An old woman of Hinatogawa told of a legend (not seen or heard from any other source) in which the tattooing of women was an act of thanksgiving for a rescue at sea. A boat was sinking, and the survivors swimming saw [773] two hands in the sky. They stopped the waves and the storm passed, permitting the swimmers to reach shore easily. The families were told, and after that the hands of the women were tattooed.

[119] This subject needs considerable research. It would be of great interest to know the relationship, if any, to the family system, the extended family, and the household order naming system, whether it is comparatively recent in the islands, and whether the tattooing [177] of the fisherman is a result of Chinese or Portugese influences and a consequence of the early Pacific trade described in Chapter II.

11

Knuckle Cracking

157 One of the most puzzling of Okinawan mannerisms is the frequency of knuckle cracking. It may be observed in young children from 5 to 6 to old men and women in their seventies. It is done on so many occasions that cataloging them would be a real chore. The knuckle is cracked crisply and sharply. Young boys and girls may talk a whole evening, cracking their knuckles incessantly. It occurs in ordinary conversation, at lively parties, and during periods when a conversation lags. Children say they learned it from their mothers.

It seems a habit acquired very early. Perhaps it is an indication of tension, but I am inclined to be less specific. One Okinawan explained it as a continuation of childhood habit and ascribed it to the limberness of the fingers coming from early training on the abacus,

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

Introduction

The study of religious ideas in Okinawa quickly involves one in a quagmire of beliefs, formal observances, and conventions, of various origins, often grafted on one another, so that it is almost impossible to disentangle them. There is a vagueness among the people, a lack of distinctions among various types of belief, and this makes the analysis even more uncertain and subject to error. When after death, for example, does the deceased become a god (hotoke-sama) in the Buddhist pantheon? At the end of the 49th day when the temporary white tablets are burned and replaced by the permanent red ones? Or at the end of the 33rd year when the dead person is no longer mourned, and the anniversary of his death no longer observed? And is he regarded as a god in the Buddhist pantheon or simply as a god? I was unable to find satisfactory answers to these questions. 771 128

Religious beliefs, such as ancestor worship, are closely related to the underlying ideas of the family system. Praying to the ancestors at the god shelf ties Buddhism in with the family system, but worship at the Buddhist alter and the god shelf would, if accepted at its face value, give an erroneous idea of the vitality of Buddhism and the degree to which it has become a religion of the people.

The student of these matters must also make certain that this vagueness and mixing of religious belief is an actuality and does not arise out of faulty comprehension. I became convinced, however, that the vagueness, the compounding of beliefs from different sources, the uncertainty are realities, and this point of view was later reinforced in reading the works of students of an earlier age.

There is a noticeably sharp cleavage in belief between the old and the young, with the dividing line around the age of 55. Furthermore, among the old, it is the women who believe and worship. The old men are much less serious, and, except for the few antiquarians, are much more poorly informed. 771 184

2

Contemporary Religious Beliefs

The religious tradition of Okinawa is a feminine one. Women appear in the creation myth as the practitioners of religion. The priestess (noro) system became an institutionalized religion in the early 16th century. From that time until the very recent past, the priestesses have been strong and influential because, for one thing, they had property and the economic power that accompanied its possession. These priestesses have now largely disappeared. But women remain the chief repositories of religious knowledge and belief. 771 773 793 562

789 824 rope was hung across the entrance of the family compound two times a year, on the 9th day of the 8th month, and on the 8th day of the 12th month. Along the rope, there were knotted blades of grass, also the san plant. The purpose is to frighten away evil spirits and evil doers. One peculiarity of this twisted rice rope is that 283 it is made in a different manner from the ordinary rope. The usual rope is a twist made by rolling the fibre between the palms to the right or away from the body. In this special rope, the roll is reversed and is to the left or toward the body. It is difficult for a person already skilled in the regular method. This villager told of going to two noro [193] priestesses in the village of Yabu who specialized in teaching this method of making ropes. The husband and the wife received instruction, paying about ¥40 for it because the wife believed in the efficacy of the practice. Each year at the proper times, the husband now makes the special rope himself.

787 791 184 Some fortune telling practices shade into religious beliefs, just as religious customs have also included soothsaying and divination. The noros and the Buddhist priests formerly practiced some fortune telling. There were no fortune tellers in any of the villages studied, but villagers occasionally consult them. Here, too, the patronage comes largely from the old and from the women. Younger people, if they know about them, regard these practices as superstitions unworthy of belief. The word meishin (superstition) is frequently heard among the young in describing customs and beliefs of the old. The sign of the fortune 791 teller (sanjinsō) is the Chinese character for three written three [212] times. These characters are said to signify the three states of existence, pre-natal, the present, and the afterlife, on all of which the fortune teller is well versed. Those in Hanashiro and Hinatogawa who wish to consult a fortune teller go to Itoman; those in Hatsuda go to Nago. The cost is usually from ¥40-50 a visit. Typical reasons for a consultation with a fortune teller are: (1) to find out if an ill person will become well, (2) among the fishermen, to find out if the fishermen will return when an unexpected storm has arisen, (3) to discover if a present unhappiness has been caused by the evil deed of an ancestor and if this can be corrected, and (4) to find out the lucky days for such undertakings as marriages, building a house, or beginning new phases of construction.

782 774 Old women may utter a prayer on seeing a child fall, fearing that the child's spirit might escape because of surprise or fright. (This was observed in Hinatogawa).

778 In Hatsuda, there were shelves for burning charcoal sticks in some of the numerous caves in the area. The nature of the worship could not be ascertained, but they may be offerings to deities of the cave.

5/4 [776] 782 778 Worship and prayers in the toilet seem to have completely disappeared. There were no personified toilet gods. The toilet apparently was the place in which thanks were given that a place for excrement had been provided. In all the villages, it was said to be an old belief which has now died out. There was no shelf or special place of worship in the Toilet.

warned to be careful on days corresponding to their birth-years. A man who was 805
a "bird person" could not go to participate in a bone-washing because it was 527
held on a Day of the Bird. During the recurrence of one's birth-year, he must be cautious during the whole period.

The Western calendar was introduced into Okinawa after the Japanese an- 805
nexation, but it is still referred to as the "new calendar". It is the calen- 177
dar of the schools and government and of business, but not of the farmer. In the city the more important celebration of New Year's is held on the "new" New Year's; in the country it is on "old" New Year's a month later.

Before the Japanese annexation years were named in an absolute sequence (that is, besides being named by position in the cycles of twelve and of sixty) by the reigns of Chinese emperors. After the annexation the reigns of Japanese emperors were used. At the present time the Western chronology ('seireki') is official, but some still speak of the year 1954 as "Shōwa 29", the 29th year of the reign of the present emperor.

Birth and Infancy: Notions about Conception Okinawans recognize that sexual 842
relations are necessary for but do not always result in conception. Younger people have heard of the struggle of the sperm to reach the egg, but their notions may be rather foggy. For example, a woman in her middle thirties, discussing the responsibilities of parents, argued in the following manner: a woman cannot conceive without having an orgasm; she cannot have an orgasm without feeling love ('aijō'); hence conception is the result of love, hence she should willingly take responsibility for her child. The ethical principle involved in this argument may not be typical, but the lack of precise information of physiology probably is. And it suggests two things: first, that women may inhibit their emotions as a contraceptive measure, and second, they may be willing to take chances in having sex relations thinking that they can inhibit conception. But it is worth noting here that young women do not discuss these matters very freely and hence generalizations may be very unsafe.

Condoms are sold in the cities but probably not in the country. A former country woman living in the city believed that country people would use them if they knew of them, but that they do not know. She regarded four children as enough. However, a young unmarried man from the city said that one would use a condom only when visiting a prostitute; it would be insulting to use one with your sweetheart. Some of this attitude may carry over after marriage.

Pregnancy If a woman believes that she may be pregnant she goes to 843
a midwife for a diagnosis. This is usually about three [759]
months after her last menstrual period. The fee is usually ¥50. If she is in fact pregnant she continues to consult the midwife and the midwife attends her at the birth of the child. The total fee is about ¥1,000.

For the good of her unborn child a pregnant woman is urged to be happy [674]
and to avoid situations potentially harmful to it; for example if she were to go to a funeral or a bone-washing the shii, a sort of soul, of the baby might be drawn into the tomb.

843 be drawn into the tomb. Some say the prospective father should also avoid these situations. Another set of observances has an easy delivery as its aim. The woman is urged to work hard and not to overeat so that the unborn child may not become too large. During the fifth month a "belly band" is wrapped tightly about her for the same purpose, especially to keep the head small.

A woman neither hides her pregnancy nor displays it unnecessarily--- if she is married and it is her husband's child. If this is not the case she may attempt to hide the fact. On the other hand if she is bearing what may be her husband's first son , she may be very pleased at the prospect, but she does not go out of her way to show it.

843 774 [847] No clear statement was given to the effect that the "soul" enters the body of the unborn child at a particular time, but statements are made about dangers to the shii of the child. One informant suggested that this soul-like entity enters the body of the mother during the third month and that for this reason a moxibustionist had refused to abort a woman after her third month had passed.

847 Abortion Abortions have always been and continue to be performed on Okinawa. The most frequent reason is said to be the desire not to bear an illegitimate child. An old-fashioned home method is to brew camphor-wood leaves and drink the brew or to burn the leaves and breathe the smoke. Experts in cautery are also believed to be able to cause an abortion by burning moxa on the proper areas of the body. But at the present time women are said to be aborted more frequently by midwives. The practice does not appear to be regarded as illegal.

844 Birth A woman tries to work up until the time of childbirth. If she has had several children already she knows when labor starts, how long it is likely to last, and may go out to the fields confident that she can return in time. Delivery is in the kucha, the back room of the house. Women of the family are present and men are not forbidden, though children are sent out. Often a woman's husband grasps her during delivery. Formerly she squatted on the floor holding a rope suspended from a house-beam above her. At present she is usually made to lie down. The labor is spoken of as "pain" but the woman must not cry out; she may only grunt when putting her strength into the ejection of the baby. If she were to cry out because of the pain she would later feel very ashamed---"because it is something that happens to every woman; people would talk about her."

Formerly the newly-born child was neither bathed nor dressed but simply wrapped in an old kimono; now it is bathed in boiled water and dressed. The 853 infant is permitted to nurse from about the fourth day on, after there is milk in the mother's breasts. Before this it may be given a little sugar in water and possibly allowed to suck a little colostrum about the second day after birth.

178 846 [354] Formerly the mother was kept in the kucha for about a week in front of a fire burning on the jiiru, an open hearth in country homes, a kind of brazier in the city.

192 any kind of body dirt or excretion, as mii-kusu, "sleep" in the eyes, haa-
[578] kusu, "stains on the teeth". As in Japanese it is used also in cursing; in
[774] anger an Okinawan may say, "I'll make you eat feces." A similar phrase,
[775] kusu takkwee, "eat feces", is often spoken after someone, especially a baby, sneezes. It is explained that the custom arose when a person once overheard two ghosts plotting to steal a baby's soul (mabui), which may be easily detached by a sneeze; one of the ghosts revealed that if a living person spoke the phrase it would be sufficient to drive him away. The fact that the phrase is used in anger suggests that it is an undesirable one; that it is used in the case of sneezing probably demonstrates the greater fear of ghosts.

831 Sex Practices and attitudes related to marriage have been discussed under that heading in Chapter V. The sex drive seems to be regarded as
864 natural and not sinful. Adults playfully tweak the penises of little boys and may put little children of both sexes to sleep by prolonged patting of the buttocks. They do not tell their children about the nature of sex and expect them not to know, yet the children hear much thinly-disguised discussion of sexual relationships and, sleeping with their parents as they do, may be vaguely aware of their parents' relations. Parents expect their children to learn of sex "naturally" as they grow older. As Maloney reports[1],
[839] there is little masturbation among small children, but two of Pitts' informants reported that adolescent boys sometimes hold masturbation contests to see who can ejaculate the fastest. This practice is said to stop with the beginning of heterosexual activity.

836 Formerly adolescents, except for girls of the gentry class, seem
883 to have had some sexual freedom. The practice of meeting in the fields at
178 night for parties, moo-ashibii, often led to sexual relations. According to informants in one community syphilis was brought in late in the last century through moo-ashibii with the youths of a neighboring village. Pre-marital sexual relations are probably frequent today, though the conditions under which young people meet are changing.

837 Married women are expected to have relations with only their hus-
548 bands, but married men are, in theory, limited only by their finances. There exists in the larger towns a relatively large class of women called juri, who function as both entertainers and prostitutes. (There is no distinction, like the Japanese distinction between 'geisha' and 'jorō'.) The
[178] juriinuyaa, "juri houses", were formerly centers of social life for the men of the city. The present 'ryōtei' have much the same function. A group of men may spend an evening there eating and drinking and being entertained by dancing and singing. If one chooses to remain and "buy a woman" his wife's only objection to it can be that it costs more money.

838 Homosexuality is evidently rare, but not unknown. A Naha woman reported that a Japanese who lived in a room next to hers was in the habit of luring young boys into his room with good food and then seducing them, sometimes to their physical discomfort. She said that some of the neighbors

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1 Maloney, 1945, p. 392.

Moreover, during the last days of the battle and for a period of 178
nearly a year afterwards the Yamada people, like most other villagers in 751
the vicinity, lived a concentration-camp sort of existence in the very 727
crowded and unsanitary city of Ishikawa. Then when they returned to their village they had to rebuild their houses from materials given by the Americans and from salvage. This experience undoubtedly had a bad effect on morale and perhaps also on standards of cleanliness. Yet Yamada appears to be a cleaner village than many seen in Southern Okinawa. This may be because of its less dense concentration of houses and its fairly good water system.

Economic factors can be summed up in the single word "poverty". The 751
most modern knowledge and the best intentions are not sufficient if one has 511
to carry water from a distance, has no money for soap, and has little strength left after the daily grind of making a living.

3. The Supernatural and Disease

The Okinawans, like all peoples, have a large body of traditional 753
knowledge about the ills of the body and what to do about them. As among many peoples with little contact with Western science, a great many illnesses are attributed to causes that we would call supernatural. Thus before one can understand the Okinawan view of diseases one must understand some of the Okinawan concepts of the supernatural.

Concepts of the Supernatural The living human being, according to Okinawan 774 •
belief, contains two entities, the mabui 778
(or mabuyaa, possibly related to Japanese 'mamori', "guardian") and the shii [171]
(pos. ident. with Japanese 'sei', "essence"). These correspond to the Western concept "soul". According to some informants the two are the same, but then further conversation reveals a difference in usage that must reflect a difference in concept. It appears that the mabui is a discrete entity capable of being dislodged from the body without death resulting immediately. The shii on the other hand appears to have more the nature of a force that can be augmented or diminished.

What happens after a person dies is not altogether clear (see also 775
Chapter V). According to some he becomes a "Buddha" (Japanese 'hotoke'), according to others he becomes a "god" (Japanese 'kami-sama') and ascends to Heaven. This happens if all goes well, if the person dies in a normal manner and has left no important task undone, and if his family makes the proper offerings. However, if such is not the case, he may become a ghost and haunt this world. Several terms are used for dead persons in this latter form---yanamung ("bad thing"), yanakaji ("bad wind"), majimung (?), shininchu ("dead person"), shinigami ("dead god"), shinimabui ("dead mabui"). The last term, shinimabui, contrasts with ichimabui,("live mabui"), used for the displaced mabui of a living person. All of these terms seem to mean the same thing, the dead who are not cared for and who are therefore a potential danger.

The dead who are cared for are said to ascend to Heaven (in Japanese, 'Ten ni agaru'), but they may also be present in the tomb and at

778 'kami' is like the Oceanian "mana", a supernatural power that enters natural
171 objects or persons.[1] Whatever may be the case in Japan, the Okinawan kami refers to definite beings, discrete entities, and not to a force. However, the concepts shiji and perhaps shii may be mana-like.

753 Causes of Disease Okinawans frequently use these concepts of the supernatural in their interpretation of the causes and proper treatment of illnesses of the body. Illness may be caused, they believe, by loss of the shii or the mabui, by the harmful inclinations of other living persons and of dead persons, and by offences to ancestors and other spirits that are ordinarily helpful.

753
• 774 Gradual withdrawal of the shii may cause illness or death. A preg-
[778] nant woman is warned not to attend a funeral or a bone-washing because the shii of the unborn child may be drawn into the tomb. A sudden jolt or a scare may cause the mabui to be dislodged and this will result in a feeling of weakness and, if the mabui is not replaced, perhaps ultimately death. Treatment of loss of mabui is often practiced by old women. One woman who had treated her grandchildren on numerous occasions said that she laid on a table offerings including salt, rice, water, and a dish containing seven stones; then she took a garment of the sick child, prayed at the entrance to the house, and called the child's name. The mabui of the child then entered the garment and when she put the garment on the child the mabui re-entered the child. Formerly she would have prayed at the pigsty-privy, but it no longer exists. One of her sons gave the interpretation that the
[776] pigsty-privy god being the lowest god knew the whereabouts of the lost mabui and he informed the ancestral spirits who were able to bring it back to the garment.

The most serious cases of loss of mabui are caused by the actual
[775] theft of the mabui by dead persons, who are said to take the mabui to the tomb. As I have already mentioned, this may happen when a baby sneezes. Treatment of this type of soul-loss probably requires the services of a
[756] yuta, a sort of shaman. The yuta is said to be able to see the living person's mabui before the tomb, in the form of the person. If the form is facing this world and looks sad there is a chance of recovery, but if it is facing the tomb and looks happy, the patient will probably die. But in spite of the occasional serious nature of loss of mabui, I have observed young boys when startled jokingly cry out "mabuyaa, mabuyaa!" as if to call back their displaced mabui. And it is said that some persons jokingly pretend to scoop it up and pour it back into the body through the head. However, the joke may serve to relieve actual tensions that exist after a sudden shock.

754 Little information was obtained on the harm that can be done by a living person with ichijama. According to Yanagida[1] the ichijama is the soul of a woman who can send it to possess a person or object in order to

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1 Haring, 1946, p. 221 and elsewhere.

2 Yanagida, 1951, p. 30.

the tomb shaped like a horseshoe or the Greek letter, omega. A great deal of popular lore has accumulated around this type of tomb. Okinawans believe that the shape of the tomb symbolizes the position of a woman giving birth to a child. This is related to another idea, "returning to the source" (moto ni kaeru in Japanese). 764 [811]

Four different but related meanings seem to be involved in the idea of "returning to the source": (1) that life here is but a momentary experience. One's real and permanent life is in the afterworld. At death one returns to his permanent home. (2) After death a person becomes a god (hotoke-san) in the Buddhist sense. He reaches this state 49 days after death, according to some explanations, though there is much confusion on this point. This godhood is a "return to the source." (3) At death one returns to a state of peace, and (4) one returns to a former state or to a former place. It is with this last meaning that the turtleback tomb is associated in popular lore with "returning to the source." 761 775

On death one returns to the womb of nature from which he came. (Similar lore has collected around the Buddhist coffin in which the corpse is put in a position like that of a child in the womb). Whether the popular explanation is the true one is very hard to say. It certainly should not be accepted without critically evaluating the questions which such an explanation raises. Early European and American observers were quick to point out the similarities between those tombs and those of China, though the fact that they were introduced from China does not rule out the symbolic meaning they might have. Many Okinawans regard these tombs as indigenous. But the Okinawan antiquarians, who so love to find symbols in everything, would be loathe to surrender this lore. It is generally agreed that the tombs were introduced from Fukien province in China. Captain Basil Hall was the first western traveller, I think, to notice the similarity between Okinawan and Fukien tombs. M'Leod also mentioned it. 775 764 811 [114] [171] [177]

The gable (hafu) type of tomb is very common. There are also small temporary tombs of masonry, more often built of rocks. The tombs of Hinatogawa are of this type. There are also very old tombs, hollowed out of the rock of a hillside. These were rare in the villages. Only one was seen in the dense vegetation and undergrowth at the bottom of a deep ravine in the center of Hatsuda. Large tombs hollowed out of hillsides are a commonplace, but the small ones apparently were the tombs of the very poor. Recently a new small tomb is being built by families unwilling to undergo the expense of the larger tombs. Tombs, though appearing to be haphazardly placed on mountains or on rocky hillsides, are on privately owned land. 764 [565]

The tombs may also be classified as to use, that is, whether they are intended for a single or the extended family. In Hanashiro, tombs are of the extended family type, located on land owned by the main family. They are the responsibility of the head of the main family. Branch families may contribute to the purchase price of the land, construction materials, and to maintenance. 764 602

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

4

O-Bon

The festival of O-Bon takes place on the 15th and 16th of the 7th lunar month (August 17-18, 1951), or from the 13th to the 16th, if preliminary preparations are included.[3] This very important holiday lacks the variety of themes which appear in the celebration of New Year. O-Bon is a festival to entice the spirits of the dead to their earthly home, and then, what is just as important, to induce them, after their visit, to return to the other world. O-Bon is an occasion for extended family reunions. 796 775 769

Generally on the 7th day of the month, about a week before O-Bon, the family or representatives of the family visit the tombs, take an offering of sake, and clean up around the tomb. At this time, the dead are asked to come back on O-Bon. This is the tanabata matsuri.[4]

On the evening of the 13th, two candles are placed within the compound entrance to guide the spirits back. This act of welcome is known as unke or omukaebi.

In Hanashiro, on the 15th there are prayers and offerings to the dead. Candles are then relit at the compound entrance and the spirits beseeched to return to the afterworld (ukui in Okinawan, okuribi in Japanese, meaning sending back). This may also be done on the 16th. Members gather at the home of the head of the house of the main family. The 16th is passed in rest and recreation. In Hinatogawa, observing the holiday may require a visit to Itoman. The Matsuda custom is like that of Hanashiro.

O-Bon is a colorful holiday. Lanterns are freely used. Whether the people believe that the spirits of the dead return is a question to which there is no easy answer. Many observe the formalities and the customs of O-Bon without believing that the spirits have actually returned. There is formal compliance, but in my opinion real belief is to be found mostly among women of middle age and older. [916] [183]

3 O-Bon has been variously translated as "The Lantern Festival," "Festival of the Dead," "All Souls Day," but I prefer here to retain the Japanese word, as these translations are only misleading approximations.

4 For an interesting discussion of the origin of tanabata in Japan, see Chamberlain, Things Japanese, 436-37. In Okinawa one occasionally hears this referred to as a "star festival."

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

women chant. The tempo becomes more and more frenzied, and at a certain moment a bell rings. Nobody knows who rings it, and no amount of questioning elicited any information other than that this was done by divine action. 796 793

Ancestral worship is equally important in the life of Taira people. Each house of an oldest son has a shelf with a shrine in the main living room. On this shelf the family keeps the ancestral tablets, each representing a deceased ancestor of a recent period. The tablets for whole family lines are kept on the shelves of the main houses. Through this system a family maintains continuity between the living and the dead. Although a deceased person is believed to become a buddha or a god who ascends to heaven, his presence is still felt by the living relatives. If they fail to make the required offerings on the first and fifteenth day of each lunar month, or otherwise neglect religious duties toward the ancestor, misfortune may come to the family. At the same time, the worship of common ancestors holds branches of the larger kin groups together. 769 592 [778] [775] [782] [613]

No village adult died during our stay, but the funeral practices for adults described by Glacken (1955) and Pitts et al. (1955) for other villages in Okinawa are similar. Seven years is the age limit for a child burial, which is simple and does not require attendance of people other than immediate relatives and perhaps one or two neighbors.* During the study an 8-year-old boy died from an illness and was given a full funeral, which is similar to that of adults. 764 766

The funeral must take place at the first outgoing tide after the body has been prepared and dressed. Accompanied by family, residents of the ward, and mourners from other parts of the village whose number depends on the prominence of the dead, the body is carried on a simple, open litter to the tomb area just west of the central village (see map 2). Women feel free to show their emotions, while men remain outwardly calm. Until decomposition takes place, the body remains in a tomb used by the whole village for temporary entombment. Like other village ceremonies, funerals are less elaborate now than they once were, perhaps to the relief of all concerned, since death is highly anxiety provoking, and nobody feels comfortable during the prayers and the ritual farewell to the corpse at the tomb. The participants receive a cup of sake before leaving the tomb area to cleanse them of the pollution of death. Some people still prefer to return to the village by a different route so that the spirit of the dead person will be fooled and unable to follow. 764 [152] [154] [783] [784]

* The reason for this is possibly that the younger child has not yet fulfilled his filial obligations.

765 After death, memorial services are held in the home of the deceased
769 every seventh day until the 49th day when a more elaborate ceremony
782 concludes this period, and a permanent tablet is installed on the house shrine. On this day, too, offerings to the deceased change from white rice to red-colored rice, indicating the end of the mourning period. From now on, observances in memory of the dead are held on the first, third, seventh, thirteenth, twenty-fifth, and thirty-third anniversary of death. These are small family affairs at which special food is prepared and offered at the shrine before it is consumed.

765 The body is left in the tomb for at least three years until a propitious day when the whole village decides to wash the bones of all those who have died within the preceding three to seven years. On Bone Washing Day little groups of family members gather around the coffin. They take out the bones, clean them, wrap them in a white cloth and place
[778] them in an urn. Women do all the cleaning of bones because it is be-
[152] lieved that they have more power to expel the evil. They weep freely,
[852] and even some men find it hard to restrain their emotions. Young children are kept away from the tomb area at this time. The urns are then placed inside the family tomb, which has been opened for this purpose. Remains other than bones are burned with the coffin.

769 Every lunar March ancestral services take place at the tombs, at-
782 tended by many members of the kin groups to whom each tomb belongs. Some come from the city or other villages for this occasion, including women who have married into another kin group. This celebration of the dead is more serious than other religious events. Offerings of sake and special delicacies are made and then eaten by the family group. One family, sitting in picnic style around the tomb after their prayers, even began to sing and dance—probably to the delight of the ancestors who in their life must have enjoyed many a good feast and dance. Tombs of other relatives may also be visited for short prayers and other offerings.

775 Spirits of the dead are harmful only if the deceased is not from the
784 village. For this reason new residents formerly could not bury their
766 dead near the village. Even now, recent settlers in the central village have no tombs and keep their dead in urns in a cave, and the residents
[764] of outlying houses or field houses have a separate tomb area altogether. If a stranger happens to die in the village, measures are taken to prevent his spirit from doing harm. The body of a fisherman from southern Okinawa was brought to shore after a storm. There it was left for several hours on the beach under a tent in the hot sun until relatives arrived in a hired car to take the body home. Even then peo-

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

 775

ple did not carry it through the streets but along the shore to a spot 784
nearby where the car could pull up.

Communication with ancestral or family spirits lies in the hands of [766]
individual households or the larger kin group. In general, as with the 782
nature deities, women maintain the relationship. The oldest woman 794
in the house prays and makes offerings in front of the divine shelf or by 769
the tombs. Sometimes the high priestess, whose only regular role in the [562]
cult of ancestors centers around the mythical founder of the village
to whom vague references are made, is asked to conduct a special [793]
prayer for a family at its ancestral shrine. Such invitations are usually
the result of consultation with another religious practitioner to whom [756]
one turns in case of misfortune.*

Those who are considering a special undertaking, such as building a 791
new house or moving to another one, or transporting ancestral tablets
from one home shrine to another, seek the advice of a diviner, the [342]
sanjinsō or *yekisha*. This expert, always a man, consults books on the
workings of the universe, special astrological calendars from which he
can predict events by using a horoscope calculated on the birth date of
the person seeking advice.

Although it would seem from the attendance at ceremonies that 771
older people, mostly women, are the supporters of religion, even the
most modern of the Tairans seem to share beliefs in the power of the 182
supernatural forces and are loath to make an open break with traditions. One may verbalize that the old religion is just "superstition," but when it comes to dealing with adverse events, when somebody suggests that perhaps the *yuta* should be consulted, or a special offering is in order, or when the old special wine of the gods is prepared from rice for Boat Race Day, then many of the apparent apostates cooperate. To some extent this is done to appease the older people, but fear of neglecting duties, especially toward ancestors, is probably much stronger in general than people's behavior would suggest. Religious in- [621]
fluence, then, which controlled so many facets of village life in former days, still acts as a strong force in uniting the members of families and descent groups as well as in binding together the community as a unit separate from other communities.

* See Chapter 9 for description of the *yuta* or shaman.

757 frequently and may be repeated as many as four times during the
[854] first year of a child's life. An older child occasionally undergoes this
[164] treatment for a case of violent impetigo. Even a horse may be bled in
[232] this way for loss of appetite or other symptoms of disease.
[578] A woman whose face had been struck in an unusual display of temper underwent a blood letting soon after a swelling appeared. Her neighbor from across the street, a farmer like everyone else, sterilized her cheek with iodine and then cut it with a razor until the blood flowed freely. After a night's rest, the woman appeared outside her house without any signs of swelling and seemingly recovered.

753 As was pointed out previously, many diseases are believed to be
776 caused by supernatural forces: the ancestor spirits, spirits of those who
769 have just died, and natural deities and evil spirits who wander around
775 at night. The ancestors expect proper respect and attention and in gen-
[764] eral are benevolent unless neglected. Spirits of those who have recently died are most dangerous if the deceased is from another village. For deceased villagers one is careful to purify oneself after the funeral. The doors of each house are shut at night to protect against the evil spirits of the night air. Disease is less frequently caused by natural deities who have been neglected or mistreated.

755 In case of sickness or other unfortunate events in the family, some-
756 body may go to consult the *yuta,* a shaman who communicates with
[787] the supernatural. She discovers the cause of misfortune with the help of rice oracles and through powers of divination received through visions and hallucinations. There is no *yuta* living in Taira now, so that people have to travel to the other side of the island, an hour or more on foot, if they want to learn about the source of some evil. Taira
[769] people make many such trips to consult this shamanistic specialist. The most common cause of misfortune discovered by the *yuta* is neglect of ceremonies to the ancestral gods or, less frequently, the neglect of cere-
[793] monies to the natural deities. Although the *yuta* stands in no direct connection with the high priestess, she may suggest that her client ask the priestess for special prayers to rectify the negligence. In such cases, then, the competence of individuals in the family may not be adequate to deal with the ancestral world, and the priestess enters into family religion.

597 Some Taira parents still find an adoptive parent for a sickly child in
755 the belief that his own ancestors have caused bad health, and that this
769 can only be remedied by making a formal arrangement which transfers
[796] ancestral responsibility for the child to another family. The child remains with his own parents and only visits his foster parents during the New Year and the midsummer Buddhist *Bon* Festival, which honors ancestors, and perhaps at one or two other occasions during the year.

On the whole it can be said that children seem to decide for themselves how far they can move around. Underlying the action of most is a dislike of venturing into unfamiliar grounds, and this largely restricts the territory commonly covered. Most children travel in groups of more than two, an aspect of Taira children's behavior to which reference will often be made. 857 855 156

The area of tombs is generally avoided by children, except by those who pass there to walk to the mouth of the Udenaha River or over the narrow, fragile bridge across it. While children do not fear the bodies of the dead, they express a fear of spirits. But during ceremonies for the dead, children accompany adults and participate in the social gatherings in front of tombs following the prayer. When the body of a fisherman was brought up on the shores of Taira after a typhoon, scores of children of kindergarten age roamed to the beach to take a peek beneath the canvas which covered the corpse. The policeman who officiated on the occasion impatiently waved away the kindergarteners, and when the schoolchildren returned in the afternoon, they also had to be warned to stay away. 857 769 775 [852]

In the central village itself, few places are closed to children. The village office building, of which only a section is reserved for office space, quite often attracts children. It is a convenient temporary shelter during rain squalls and a cool spot during hot weather. The village headman or his clerk may complain about too much noise and chase a group out, but this does not discourage them from returning soon afterward. The open prayer house, too, is a place for play, and no objections are voiced by adults, including the priestess and her assistants. These buildings are village gathering places, and children, as essential members of the community, have free access to them. The situation is different with regard to the township office and the post office, which children never enter except on special errands. 857 858

Children are familiar with dangerous spots, such as steep hills, and show amazing skill in maintaining balance, even when the ground is wet and the dirt is loose. On a picnic hike of a little under 4 miles, kindergarteners ranging from 3 to 6 years scampered across a frail, wide-slatted bridge, up and down over slippery clay paths and over rocky terrain with only a 30 minute stop to eat their lunches. In a group of about 15 children only two 3-year-olds slipped and cried to be carried down unusually steep inclines and over the rickety bridge. None seemed exhausted although many roamed off the paths to forage in the bushes for berries and laurellike flowers from which they sucked nectar. 855 857

Journeys outside the village are rare for most children. It is usually 857

857 intimate as they used to be. He has little in common with them, but
561 since he still takes care of a younger sibling or plays games to which younger children are attracted, there remain frequent contacts between the age groups. The transition between first grade and second grade is in no way as pronounced as the drastic status change from
[866] kindergarten to first grade. Children feel it mostly as a gradually increasing pressure toward assuming more responsibility. The transition which takes place at a ritual level * during the early latency period, however, is not reflected in their daily life.

CHORES AND RESPONSIBILITY TRAINING

857 Although adults say that the elementary school student is still very
868 much of a child who only toward the latter part of this stage can seriously be expected to contribute much to the tasks and duties in home and village; the children, in fact, do some work daily. Already in first grade, responsibility is approached with seriousness, girls exceeding boys in this respect. Children beg tasks, and obeying the school's directive to "help one's parents" seems to become the prime objective of first graders who have just proudly attained their new
857 status. They plead to accompany their older siblings who, with much
868 less zeal than the younger ones, gather giant African snails after a heavy rainfall, hunt frogs, dragon flies, and grasshoppers, or wash
231 potatoes for the pigs. Adults consider some of these chores play.
[866] Although frogs and grasshoppers are fed to the chickens, and minnows and seaweed are added to the pig swill, nevertheless, adults would not seriously label expeditions to collect these responsible. On the other hand, if there is no available feed, as occasionally happens, the child will be scolded and berated for "thinking only of play and not of the hungry chickens." Four- to 6-year-olds are discouraged from these foraging trips, for the danger of snake bites and accidents in the paddies and on the beach is very real. Accompanied by older siblings, however, they, too, may participate.

Some tasks, such as fetching water and feeding the pigs, cutting grass for the horse and goats, washing down the horse, and gathering faggots for the hearth, are still too difficult for the first grade child. But some of them are attempted, at least by assisting older children.

866 Once the child starts off to school, he is made aware that he is

[764] * In case of death, the child who has reached the age of 8 must be given a full
[775] fledged burial since in afterlife he becomes a buddha from now on. We had no indication that children were aware of this.

769 On the spring and autumn equinoxes imitation money is burned, on other occa-
527 sions special food is offered, and so forth.

•775 In spite of the great concern that Okinawans appear to take for the
969 welfare of the dead, they can tell one surprisingly little about what happens to them. According to one account, the dead person crosses seven bridges on his way to the other world; if he has led a wicked life he may have difficulty crossing them. In the next world he needs food and drink and money to pay taxes. Eventually, unless something holds him to this world, he becomes a "Buddha" (J. 'hotoke') or a "god" (J. 'kami-sama')---the terms seem synonymous---and ascends to Heaven. The most clearly defined and frequently heard notion seems to be simply that there is a vast and awful chasm between "this world" and "that world" and that a person who has once crossed the chasm ought to stay on the other side. A dead person may return, however, and appear to the living as a ghost if something disturbs him---a wrong unrighted, for example. Ghosts may attack former enemies or even harm anyone who happens to be around. But also a deceased person may cause disease or other misfortune to come to his own living relatives and descendants if he has not had sufficient help from them through their offerings. Thus many Okinawans, particularly the older people, are greatly concerned about the possibility of an ugwam-busuku, an "insufficiency (fusuku) of worship (ugwang)." They explain sickness, accidents, and lack of success in undertakings as the result of some ugwam-busuku. And so they consult with yuta and other dealers in the supernatural to determine where the insufficiency lies.

They also interpret success or good fortune, especially that which helps the family or larger kin group, as due to the help of the deceased ancestors. A woman gave the following incident as an example. During the bombing that preceded the landing in 1945 she had left the cave where her family was hiding to go to a neighbor's cave just when a great-uncle appeared there looking for a midwife to deliver a daughter's baby. The two related families had not known of each others' whereabouts and the informant's family was overjoyed to be able to move to the better cave of the great-uncle. This, the informant said, was not the result of the protection of the gods but of the ancestors.

The concern of the Okinawans for the dead is great, but it is hard to avoid the conclusion that it is motivated primarily by concern for the living.

3. Prospect of Change

152 Family life provides the individual with the security that he desires
593 but at the same time it gives him a basis for feelings of anxiety. The feelings of security he derives from the love he receives as a child, the honor he receives as a parent, and the knowledge that he will not be neglected in the next world. The solidarity of the family and the continuity of the family are essential to this security and so they are constantly stressed. But he also derives feelings of anxiety from family life. As a child he is carried around in an intimate fashion and then put down and made to run to keep

513 Ventilation at night may be poor; the sliding doors are usually tightly shut and locked. In larger towns and cities this practice may be explained as due to the prevalence of thieves, but in the country there must be another reason; it is probably the fear of yanakaji or of the kijimunaa. [175] The first, yanakaji, literally "bad winds", are ghosts, who may [176] cause illness. The kijimunaa is a sea-being or tree-being who causes a frightening but harmless sensation of smothering and weight on the chest. These creatures may enter through open doors or windows. According to one informant their entry might be prevented by setting up a butcher knife in the opening but I have not seen it done. (It could only be done for a window; in a door it would be dangerous to the human occupants.)

In spite of their sleeping with relatively little change in position while in bed, Okinawans seem to be able to fall asleep in a variety of positions and circumstances, in busses and on trucks, in the midst of family activities, with noise and bright lights apparently presenting no obstacles. This ability may be the result of the early experience of sleeping under all sorts of conditions while being carried on the mother's back. There are two restrictions to sleeping. All avoid sleeping with the head oriented west, because that is the way a corpse is oriented. The other is that girls and women must avoid sleeping with the legs separated. Lebra observed one grandmother give her little granddaughter a hard pinch on the thigh for this.

Okinawans recognize that sleep is essential to maintaining the body. After a restless night one may say that he "had insufficient sleep". [171] It has been asserted that the Japanese regard sleep as a luxury rather than as a necessity. This cannot be said of the Okinawans.

515 Cleanliness In care of the body, the Okinawans are among the cleanlier of
171 the world's peoples. They bathe frequently, keep their nails [302] clean by constant trimming, their teeth clean by prolonged morning brushing, and their hair neatly cut or dressed. But they are not as cleanly as the Japanese or at least as the urban Japanese. One reason why they bathe less frequently is that baths are simply less available. Many villages are without public baths. Most farmers must either pour cold water over themselves at their wells or a little hot water warmed in the kitchen. In villages [934] where there are few wells the water must be carried. Another factor may be modesty; nudity is not taken for granted as in Japan, so that one does not strip nude at the well in the daytime. A third factor may be the lack [703] of such highly-developed concepts of ceremonial purity and pollution as exist in Japan. There are no tabus on the activities of menstruating women on Okinawa as there are in Japan, for example.

291 Nudity Pre-school children often play nude. Mothers sometimes appear to
334 be displaying little boys nude to demonstrate their masculinity. Photographs of naked baby boys are popular. Boys may continue to swim nude until eight or so, but girls begin to put on some garment for swimming [153] sooner. Women nurse in public and sometimes work at home with the breasts [514] uncovered. Adults of both sexes may urinate in public, but in such a way that the body may not be seen. Adults do not appear publicly or privately [515] before one another nude. Public bath houses have separate sections for men

192 any kind of body dirt or excretion, as mii-kusu, "sleep" in the eyes, haa-
[578] kusu, "stains on the teeth". As in Japanese it is used also in cursing; in
[774] anger an Okinawan may say, "I'll make you eat feces." A similar phrase,
[775] kusu takkwee, "eat feces", is often spoken after someone, especially a baby, sneezes. It is explained that the custom arose when a person once overheard two ghosts plotting to steal a baby's soul (mabui), which may be easily detached by a sneeze; one of the ghosts revealed that if a living person spoke the phrase it would be sufficient to drive him away. The fact that the phrase is used in anger suggests that it is an undesirable one; that it is used in the case of sneezing probably demonstrates the greater fear of ghosts.

831 Sex Practices and attitudes related to marriage have been discussed under that heading in Chapter V. The sex drive seems to be regarded as
864 natural and not sinful. Adults playfully tweak the penises of little boys and may put little children of both sexes to sleep by prolonged patting of the buttocks. They do not tell their children about the nature of sex and expect them not to know, yet the children hear much thinly-disguised discussion of sexual relationships and, sleeping with their parents as they do, may be vaguely aware of their parents' relations. Parents expect their children to learn of sex "naturally" as they grow older. As Maloney reports[1],
[839] there is little masturbation among small children, but two of Pitts' informants reported that adolescent boys sometimes hold masturbation contests to see who can ejaculate the fastest. This practice is said to stop with the beginning of heterosexual activity.

836 Formerly adolescents, except for girls of the gentry class, seem
883 to have had some sexual freedom. The practice of meeting in the fields at
178 night for parties, moo-ashibii, often led to sexual relations. According to informants in one community syphilis was brought in late in the last century through moo-ashibii with the youths of a neighboring village. Pre-marital sexual relations are probably frequent today, though the conditions under which young people meet are changing.

837 Married women are expected to have relations with only their hus-
548 bands, but married men are, in theory, limited only by their finances. There exists in the larger towns a relatively large class of women called juri, who function as both entertainers and prostitutes. (There is no distinction, like the Japanese distinction between 'geisha' and 'jorō'.) The
[179] jurinuyaa, "juri houses", were formerly centers of social life for the men of the city. The present 'ryōtei' have much the same function. A group of men may spend an evening there eating and drinking and being entertained by dancing and singing. If one chooses to remain and "buy a woman" his wife's only objection to it can be that it costs more money.

838 Homosexuality is evidently rare, but not unknown. A Naha woman reported that a Japanese who lived in a room next to hers was in the habit of luring young boys into his room with good food and then seducing them, sometimes to their physical discomfort. She said that some of the neighbors

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1 Maloney, 1945, p. 392.

Moreover, during the last days of the battle and for a period of nearly a year afterwards the Yamada people, like most other villagers in the vicinity, lived a concentration-camp sort of existence in the very crowded and unsanitary city of Ishikawa. Then when they returned to their village they had to rebuild their houses from materials given by the Americans and from salvage. This experience undoubtedly had a bad effect on morale and perhaps also on standards of cleanliness. Yet Yamada appears to be a cleaner village than many seen in Southern Okinawa. This may be because of its less dense concentration of houses and its fairly good water system. 178 751 727

Economic factors can be summed up in the single word "poverty". The most modern knowledge and the best intentions are not sufficient if one has to carry water from a distance, has no money for soap, and has little strength left after the daily grind of making a living. 751 511

3. The Supernatural and Disease

The Okinawans, like all peoples, have a large body of traditional knowledge about the ills of the body and what to do about them. As among many peoples with little contact with Western science, a great many illnesses are attributed to causes that we would call supernatural. Thus before one can understand the Okinawan view of diseases one must understand some of the Okinawan concepts of the supernatural. 753

Concepts of the Supernatural The living human being, according to Okinawan belief, contains two entities, the mabui (or mabuyaa, possibly related to Japanese 'mamori', "guardian") and the shii (pos. ident. with Japanese 'sei', "essence"). These correspond to the Western concept "soul". According to some informants the two are the same, but then further conversation reveals a difference in usage that must reflect a difference in concept. It appears that the mabui is a discrete entity capable of being dislodged from the body without death resulting immediately. The shii on the other hand appears to have more the nature of a force that can be augmented or diminished. 774 778 [771]

What happens after a person dies is not altogether clear (see also Chapter V). According to some he becomes a "Buddha" (Japanese 'hotoke'), according to others he becomes a "god" (Japanese 'kami-sama') and ascends to Heaven. This happens if all goes well, if the person dies in a normal manner and has left no important task undone, and if his family makes the proper offerings. However, if such is not the case, he may become a ghost and haunt this world. Several terms are used for dead persons in this latter form---yanamung ("bad thing"), yanakaji ("bad wind"), majimung (?), shininchu ("dead person"), shinigami ("dead god"), shinimabui ("dead mabui"). The last term, shinimabui, contrasts with ichimabui, ("live mabui"), used for the displaced mabui of a living person. All of these terms seem to mean the same thing, the dead who are not cared for and who are therefore a potential danger. 775

The dead who are cared for are said to ascend to Heaven (in Japanese, 'Ten ni agaru'), but they may also be present in the tomb and at

775 the ancestral tablets, since they receive offerings and worship at both places. The spirits of the ancestors present in the tablets are called ugwansu (probably literally "masters of worship"). The existence of the dead in Heaven seems rather unclearly defined. In speaking of the dead, people much more frequently use the term "yonder world" (Japanese 'ano yo'), which seems to refer to a realm co-existent with this world, different from it in form but not necessarily remote in space. It is my impression that "yonder world" refers to an unseen spiritual world around the living rather than any distant Heaven or Land of the Dead. It may be that different entities go to different places, as in Chinese eschatology, where each individual has two souls, the "hun" which goes to Heaven as a god, and the "p'o" which stays on Earth as a demon. But the data at hand do not reveal [777] such a neat structure. Or perhaps the concept "Heaven" is merely a recent introduction from China and not yet wholly integrated with native concepts.

778 The distinction between spiritual beings who formerly had a human
776 existence and spiritual beings who are wholly non-human is also not always clear. In every village there are numerous ugwanju, places of worship. These seem to be associated with the founder of the village or the aji or local official---his tomb, the wells where he got water, the hilltop where he worshipped, etc. Non-human spirits probably are believed to inhabit these places, other than the tombs, but it is my impression that most of the worship is directed toward the deceased persons, and indeed that most important local spirits are in fact deceased persons who have become deified.

776 On the other hand, there are spirits associated with the house and yard that are clearly non-human. The most important of these is the Fii-nu-kang, "God of the Fire", or U-kama, "Oven". (These two terms may represent two historically separate concepts, but they are now used interchangeably.)
776 The Fire God is represented by a small vessel containing ashes that stands
778 above or behind the oven in nearly every house. It may even be found behind the little kerosene stoves used by city rooming-house dwellers. This vessel is made and attended by the mistress of the house. When a branch house is established she makes a vessel of earth or obtains one and partly fills it with ashes from the Fire God of the main house. The offerings, among some
776 Yamada families, consist of incense and three cups of cooked rice offered
782 on the first and fifteenth of every lunar month, before similar offerings are made to the ancestral tablets. On the 24th day of the 12th lunar month
776 the Fire God is said to ascend to Heaven to return again on New Year's. One old woman explained that the Fire God (Fii-nu-kang-ganashii) is "like a policeman" and Heaven (U-kami-ganashii) is "like the government"; when the Fire God goes up it reports whatever the family has done wrong during the year.

776 Offerings are also made on occasion to the gate, the well, the
corners of the yard, the pigsty-privy, and elsewhere. The "Pigsty-privy
782 God" (Fuuru-nu-kami) was formerly of importance especially in treating cases of loss of mabui.

Although Okinawans occasionally refer to Heaven or the Gods of Heaven (J. 'Ten no kami-sama'; Okinawan U-kami-ganashii, etc.), the concept does not seem to be well defined. The clearest statement heard on the subject was the one just mentioned in connection with the Fire God. Since the dead, or some of them, rise to Heaven, the term "Gods of Heaven" may include them, but there are evidently other greater beings too. These may be identical with the figures of the native origin myth. But aside from a few enthusiasts, mainly local historians and shamans (yuta), few Okinawans seem informed about or concerned with native cosmology, or any other. This may in part be the result of a generation or so of Japanese education with educators attempting to take the Japanese mythology seriously and making Okinawan mythology jibe with it. But it is more likely that this lack of concern with Heaven is due rather to an old tendency common in East Asia to settle matters at the local level without bothering the higher authorities, in dealing with both political problems and spiritual problems. 772 [775] [776] [177] [181]

In the Okinawan universe there are also a few earthly beings with supernatural power. The akamataa is a real species of non-poisonous snake. But it is believed to be able to change itself into a handsome young man, in which form it seduces unwitting young women. One young woman who was seduced is said to have given birth to a whole tubful of baby akamataa. 776

The kijimunaa is a wholly mythical being but seems to belong more in the natural world. According to some it lives in old trees, but according to others it is a sea-being who lives on fish and shellfish and who will become the helper of a fisherman who makes friends with it. Regardless of habitat, the kijimunaa is believed to approach a sleeping person and sit on his chest, nearly suffocating him and preventing him from crying out. Apparently the being is not dangerous but merely annoying.

Another being that is feared is the tamagai or 'hidama', "fireball". This was described in Yamada as a light that appears at certain times as an omen. However, in a village in Southern Okinawa it is regarded as the cause of fire. Since it is a female being the young men of this village drive it away by forming a procession and marching through the village shouting "Hoo hai!" ("Your vulva's showing.") [787] [184] [372]

The Itoman people speak of the ja or 'ryu', the "dragon". This being lives in the sea or the clouds; its tail is the whirlwind; its feces, if one is fortunate enough to find them; are like coal tar and are a very valuable medicine. Other Okinawans seem to regard this as something only the Itoman people know about. [757] [184]

One more concept is perhaps worth mentioning; this is shiji. Certain places, the sacred hilltop of the village, etc., are said to be shiji-dakasang, "high in shiji", and therefore to be approached with respect. It is also said of persons, especially those believed to be destined to become religious practitioners. The term shiji evidently signifies a sort of supernatural power that adheres to places and people, perhaps like the Oceanian concept "mana". Haring has suggested that the Japanese concept 778 [171]

'kami' is like the Oceanic "mana", a supernatural power that enters natural objects or persons.[1] Whatever may be the case in Japan, the Okinawan kami refers to definite beings, discrete entities, and not to a force. However, the concepts shiji and perhaps shii may be mana-like.

Causes of Disease Okinawans frequently use these concepts of the supernatural in their interpretation of the causes and proper treatment of illnesses of the body. Illness may be caused, they believe, by loss of the shii or the mabui, by the harmful inclinations of other living persons and of dead persons, and by offences to ancestors and other spirits that are ordinarily helpful.

Gradual withdrawal of the shii may cause illness or death. A pregnant woman is warned not to attend a funeral or a bone-washing because the shii of the unborn child may be drawn into the tomb. A sudden jolt or a scare may cause the mabui to be dislodged and this will result in a feeling of weakness and, if the mabui is not replaced, perhaps ultimately ~~death.~~ Treatment of loss of mabui is often practiced by old women. One woman who had treated her grandchildren on numerous occasions said that she laid on a table offerings including salt, rice, water, and a dish containing seven stones; then she took a garment of the sick child, prayed at the entrance to the house, and called the child's name. The mabui of the child then entered the garment and when she put the garment on the child the mabui re-entered the child. Formerly she would have prayed at the pigsty-privy, but it no longer exists. One of her sons gave the interpretation that the pigsty-privy god being the lowest god knew the whereabouts of the lost mabui and he informed the ancestral spirits who were able to bring it back to the garment.

The most serious cases of loss of mabui are caused by the actual theft of the mabui by dead persons, who are said to take the mabui to the tomb. As I have already mentioned, this may happen when a baby sneezes. Treatment of this type of soul-loss probably requires the services of a yuta, a sort of shaman. The yuta is said to be able to see the living person's mabui before the tomb, in the form of the person. If the form is facing this world and looks sad there is a chance of recovery, but if it is facing the tomb and looks happy, the patient will probably die. But in spite of the occasional serious nature of loss of mabui, I have observed young boys when startled jokingly cry out "mabuyaa, mabuyaa!" as if to call back their displaced mabui. And it is said that some persons jokingly pretend to scoop it up and pour it back into the body through the head. However, the joke may serve to relieve actual tensions that exist after a sudden shock.

Little information was obtained on the harm that can be done by a living person with ichijama. According to Yanagida[1] the ichijama is the soul of a woman who can send it to possess a person or object in order to

1 Haring, 1946, p. 221 and elsewhere.

2 Yanagida, 1951, p. 30.

cause misfortune; the ability to do this, he says, is hereditary from mother to daughter. My informants did not identify ichijama with the mabui or any other such entity, but merely explained it as a kind of 'noroi', "curse". Its effect is a sharp pain inside the body or the feeling that a fingernail has been thrust into the eye. If the person responsible is known, they said, the affliction may be cured by spitting in his direction and throwing pig dung in his direction, shouting, "I smear it on your face!" According to Yanagida, a yuta can cure an afflicted person by squeezing his thumb, which causes the thumb of the person responsible to be crushed. 754 [756]

Illness may also be caused by gods or local spirits as punishment for the breaking of tabus. For example, at Yamazato in Chinen-son it was said that on the 1st, 8th, 18th, and 28th of every month the "mountain god" (yama nu kami) makes a circuit of inspection of the mountain behind the village and therefore one cannot go to cut trees or grass on those days for fear of punishment. 753 784

But probably the most frequent interpretation of illness and misfortune is that it is caused by ugwambusuku, an insufficiency of worship (from ugwang, "worship" and fusuku, "insufficiency"). As has been explained, the dead can influence the lives of the living for good or bad. If the ancestors of a family are well cared for, that is, receive the proper offerings and worship, they may help that family to prosper and multiply, but on the other hand, if the ancestors are not cared for they will let the family know of their needs by some light illness, or, if their needs are still ignored, by some greater misfortune. They may not deliberately mean to harm their descendants; the misfortune may be automatic; this point is not clear. At any rate, the fear of ugwambusuku appears to be a very common anxiety and to play a central role in the whole structure of ancestor worship. Various religious practitioners and diviners, but particularly the yuta, are frequently called upon to try to determine where the insufficiency lies, what deceased person has not received his full share of worship and is therefore causing the current illness or other misfortune. To account for such illnesses and misfortunes the yuta and others may have revelations (shirashi) which revise the family's genealogy and even reveal the existence of hitherto unknown ancestors. 753 769 775 [152] [756] [782]

The insufficiency is not always of worship of the ancestors, although this is probably the most frequent type. Illness may also be caused by an insufficiency of worship of the Fire God. It is said that if an illegitimate child or the child of a secondary wife does not worship at least once at the Fire God of his shiji ("line") that is, the Fire God of his father's family, he may become ill. Thus it is not uncommon for the mother of an illegitimate child to bring it to the house of its father and ask to let it pray once to the Fire God there. This practice may also, of course, serve to demonstrate paternity. 753 782 [848] [851]

Also probably related to the concept that the ancestors influence the living is the practice of establishing a fictitious adoptive relationship between a child and an unrelated family. If a child is weakly its mother may ask an unrelated adult to become the yashinee-uya, "adopted parent", 769 753

The people of Nagamo are farmers. The seat of their extended families is in Naha and Shuri, and they have their own local deity places (ujigami in Japanese). The people of Minatogawa are fishermen, their extended family seats are in Itoman. They too have their local deities and many of their religious ceremonies are centered around the gods of the sea and the dragon of the sea god's palace. 596 776 778

The population of Minatogawa, as of December 31, 1951, was 1108 (515 males, 593 females) in 213 households, an average of 5.2 persons per household, and of adjoining Nagamo, 564 persons (262 males, 302 females) with 113 households, an average of 5.0 persons per household. 162

The fishing village of Minatogawa is believed to be about 250 years old. It was founded, according to local residents, by the fishermen of Itoman who were accustomed to fish off shore near the islands around the southeastern and southwestern parts of Okinawa. The place was first established as a temporary location for the fishing boats and later permanent settlement took place. The tombs of Itoman are still the ultimate burying ground for large numbers of the Minatogawa fishermen. After 250 years the ties with the parent town are still strong. 361 173 [764]

The village has two traditions involving contacts with other peoples. The first is concerned with the Chinese. One is a spot on the shore where some Chinese are said to have landed over 200 years ago. Many fishermen pray to it on certain occasions of the year. Little is known of what happened to the Chinese, but supposedly they were buried high up the side of a steep mountain nearby, inside a cave with stalactites. Bones said to be of these Chinese may still be seen there. The cave is difficult of access. 173 170 [778]

There is also the tradition of London sailors said to have been shipwrecked at the port of Kiyan on the southwest tip of Okinawa. A child was born of the union of one of these sailors with an Okinawan woman and the sailor later returned to England. The tomb of the woman and the child is revered as a religious site. It is now a small shrine on the outskirts of Itoman called Rondongama, Rondon for London.[9] Old women of Minatogawa sing a song of this old love called Michinakankai. The theme of the song is the unashamed love of the woman for her departed London lover, an Okinawan anticipation of Madame Butterfly. [778] [533]

In this area the low, bare hills form in a haphazard way a series of valleys, some long and narrow, others like an amphitheatre with an open face to the sea. Low passes connect the valleys. One such pass, about 150 feet high, now on Highway 64, leads from the valley of 133 361

[TEXT Continues on Top of P. 53--Analyst]

9 The writer visited both the cave and the site near Itoman town in August 1951. The shrine is now situated on a small hill on the outskirts of Itoman. The bones were moved here during the war from Maizato village to escape Japanese bombing. A large cave nearby, associated with the mother and the child, is overgrown and very dangerous to enter because of the danger of snakes.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

wood and lumber for Japanese army uses and for air raid shelters were in demand, (2) the burning in the course of the war, and (3) the intense cutting after the war for firewood and rebuilding. 313 727

Okinawan traditions relating to forest care have a positive value and it is worth while to recapitulate them here. Local old men and antiquarians in Matsuda give credit to Saion who wrote a long treatise on agriculture and is said to have intentionally devised superstitions to save trees. Death or misfortune would come to him who cut the trees, especially those in sacred groves or on the tops of mountains. Some local residents have said that the gods of the mountain are really not of religious inspiration at all, but had their origin in the conscious desire of Saion to save the trees. While there does not seem to be any truth in this assertion, since these deities of the sacred groves and mountain tops reach far back into antiquity, there is no doubt that sacred groves and houses of the mountain gods saved trees that otherwise would have been cut down. (In China and Japan, religious shrines and holy places have also been areas of the preservation of trees). 313 173 [178] [171]

Present attitudes were summarized by a Matsuda school principal who said that beliefs in mountain gods and in death and misfortune following cutting trees were dying out, and that these old beliefs had been replaced by awareness of the scientific reasons for preserving the trees. [183] [186] [177]

In Matsuda, pride in the trees, in the groves that line its hill tops and overlook the narrow valleys and ravines planted to rice and other crops is a conspicuous part of village experience. There are trees along the main road near the town that are said to have been planted in Saion's time under his inspiration.

These favorable traditions are helpful. They do not guarantee the preservation of the forests. Previous experience has shown this. From what may be surmised of the history of Okinawan forests, the destruction of modern times has been correlated with war and the expansion of economic activities. We may speculate, too, that previous deforestation was slow, inexorable and related to the clearing of accessible stands near settlements, and the extension of these settled areas as they grew. "Most of the accessible primitive forests have been exhausted," Dr. Green wrote in his report to Commodore Perry.11 The need for fuel increases with population. In China, Japan, Korea, and Okinawa, the relation of forests, either as a source for lumber or fuel, to population growth and settlement is a very intimate one. This is a basic consideration in discussing not only the "patterns of culture" but the relation of culture to the natural environment in this part of the world. [311] [161] [171]

11 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, Vol. II, 35

away evil spirits (bakemono).[1] From the pig sty the child is then taken to the kitchen, where a pot of rice has been cooking. Soot from the outside of the pot is taken up with the middle finger of the right hand and a round black spot pressed on the forehead above the bridge of the rose between the eyebrows. The reason for this could not be ascertained. 844 852

Beliefs in the power of a pig sty to ward off evil spirits are still held in Minatogawa and the customs were generally practiced up to the beginning of the war. But these beliefs were related more to celebrations following the birth of the child than to the birth itself. The elements of these beliefs seemed to be that the afterworld was close to this world. If a child were not protected, the spirits of the afterworld would steal the child and take him back. The party celebrating the birth lasted a whole week, usually starting each evening about 8 and ending at 8 the following morning. Guests stayed up all night to prevent the child from being stolen, for if anyone went to sleep, the spirit would enter. Spirits followed behind the guest and were especially dangerous after 10 at night. The spirits however were frightened by the pigs; guests arriving during the danger hours went to the pig pen first to scare off the spirit following them, before entering the house. There was no evidence, in the parties I attended, of any present observance of this custom by young parents. The week of all night parties is no longer held. 854 776 231 [772] [574] [183]

These beliefs were found in Minatogawa. Hanashiro informants had heard of such customs, but were vague about them. While their seeming absence in Hatsuda may be due to incomplete data, there may be another explanation. These beliefs may have been picked up by fishing people from other sources. [184]

One other birth custom known as jiru belongs to the recent history of the island. Jiru, as explained in Chapter V, is a fire place sunk in the floor of an Okinawan house, often in the corner of the dining room which adjoins a hall or a sleeping room, and near the kitchen. Convalescence was called jiru because mother and child warmed themselves by the device. Today convalescence may be called jiru, though it has nothing to do with the old custom, which in the literature has been referred to as "roasting." 846 [354]

1 When I discussed this and the following beliefs relating to pigs with people in Hatsuda, they ridiculed them and said there was no truth in it, implying that people in the south did not know what they were talking about. Subsequent rechecking convinced me that this was not so and that the beliefs in Minatogawa represent differences in the rural culture. 184

The tomb is revisited on the 7th day. Rice cakes, bean curd, and a little sake may be taken as offerings. The food items vary. Pork, rice, and tea may be added or substituted. The offering may consist of a variety of favored foods (a gochisō, a feast or a treat). The observances on the 14th, 21st, 28th, 35th, and 42nd day are like the preceding ones, though beginning with the 35th day, the prayers and the food offerings may be more elaborate. 765 [262]

The 49th day has special significance. At this time, the temporary white memorial tablets are removed from the god shelf and burned, and the permanent tablets hung there. This god shelf has the tablets of the immediate family in the male line: the father, grandfather, the mother and grandmother, or of deceased children. A son who establishes a branch family has a god shelf in his own house. While I found no unanimity on the point, many interpreted the 49th day as the day on which the deceased is presumed to have become a god (hotoke-san). Others have said this did not take place until the 33rd year after death, certainly a more logical time, since the observances cease at this time. On the 49th day, there are visits to the tomb and prayers before the god shelf at night. As the last of a series of observances which follow closely after death, the food offerings and the food served to guests are much more sumptuous than those of previous weeks. [778] [776]

In the annual anniversaries, differences depend on family piety and economic status. With some families, observances become more elaborate as the years go by. The prayers and the feast of the 1st and 3rd years are usually the same as that of the 49th day. Beginning with the 7th year the rice may be dyed red. Rice dyed red is used as the years from the date of death increase. In all cases, the 33rd year is the last and the most luxurious of the celebrations. The occasion begins with prayers at the god shelf, the food offering, sake, followed by a banquet for the guests, most of whom are relatives. This 33rd year celebration is the final recognition of a person's life on earth as a member of the family and ends the responsibility for observing the anniversary of his death. 769

Though rare, a family may call on a Buddhist priest to officiate at one of these memorial observances. One service, in memory of a fourth son who had died in the Philippines in 1944, was observed in Minatogawa. The priest received from the father the name, age, and place of death of his son and wrote this information on a piece of paper. The chant began with the tapping of a small bell (inkin), ringing which was repeated frequently throughout the service. The chant, which lasted about 25 minutes, was sung in an archaic Japanese which no one understood. Toward the end, the priest read the paper on which he had written the information regarding the deceased. These were the only words which could be clearly understood. The purpose here was to inform the Buddha of the name of the dead. The priest wore a black robe with gold trimming. Around his neck was a string of beads (zuzu) with a pendant purple tassel. He sat in the front of the first room with the father of the dead boy on his right. The women guests were in the second room. As the long chant continued, people began talking to one another, and when the priest 769 793 788 [292]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

4

Ancestor Worship

"Ancestor worship" has been used to describe the devotion to the spirit of the dead and the long continued remembrance of them by the living. While it is too deeply intrenched to be changed, the term is not satisfactory. It is really the worship of those who precede one in death, and these may be ascendants or descendants. The term, "ancestor worship," also conceals the fact that there is a partnership of the living and the dead, which, continued by the living generation in the production of children, will carry over in the future, so that family continuity from the remote past to the remote future is never broken. It is, in the phrase of John Hubbard, "a chain of worship,"[2] not merely the worship of the past and of the dead. But whether in the popular mind these two conceptions, worship of the dead and the family as a continuity, are closely and consciously related is impossible for me to say. The two ideas exist side by side on the level of feeling: to respect one's ancestors and to have children. 769 602

Another form of ancestor worship occurs in observances honoring the first ancestor or the founder of the village. Each village has a place of the guardian god (ujigami), located on the supposed site where the founder of the village first settled, which perpetuates the memory of the founder, who may, in some cases, also be the first ancestor of a family living in the village. (It has been suggested that the ujigami also might be related historically to the fire deity). Ceremonies at the place of the village guardian god have a public character and were often conducted by the priestesses. 776 778 [793]

Hanashiro. The place of the guardian god, a small building, is located on a plot of village owned land, off the main road at the edge of the settlement where the cultivated land begins. It is not well kept up. There is no attendant or caretaker. When necessary, it is reconstructed by volunteer village effort. Broken stone stairs lead up to the small tile roofed building. Inside, there are 5 stones, about 10 inches on the side and 4 inches thick. Some have thought these also represent the primitive hearth stones associated with worship of the fire god. One villager described it as a woman's deity place. Before the war, emigrants to the South Seas, South America, Manchuria, or Japan and their relatives prayed here for the good health and early return of those departing. [346] [358] [167]

Now there is public worship at the place on several occasions during the year. On the 3rd day of the 3rd month, a woman's holiday, women and children go to the seashore around Minatogawa, and, on returning, pray at the place of the guardian god. On O-Bon, the village lion appears in front of this site. There is samisen playing and the whole village offers a prayer. (Not all villages have the lion costume. 778 796 [536] [825]

2 Quoted in L. Cranmer-Byng, The vision of Asia, New York, 1933, 42.

778 One person in front fills in the head and forelegs, another in back
796 provides the rear and hindlegs. The lion, with its human mechanism,
536 is a common sight at festivals and parades. It is a symbol of health
825 and strength worthy of imitation). In the Festival of the Full Moon, during the autumnal equinox, the lion appears again and the whole village participates in prayers before the festivities begin.

778 On the 1st and 15th of each lunar month, the headman goes to the
796 place of the guardian god and makes an offering of tea, burns a charcoal
[764] stick, and says a prayer. On the 9th day of the 9th lunar month, the village council and the elders assemble before the village burial
[825] palanquin (gan), offer prayer at the founder's site and then before the village office where the lion is standing.

Minatogawa. This village has three deity places and various explanations are given for this. Some believe that two of them represent
778 sites of co-founders, a first son, and his younger brother, the second
796 son. The third site is vaguely known as a village god place. It is a small outdoor place of worship on the main village road, with a step and a shelf for charcoal sticks. The founders' sites are located in the center of the settled area, but on different sides of the road. In the site of the second son, there are three stones, shaped like life savers but with a bottom for placing the charcoal sticks, three glasses for tea, and three bottles. The site of the supposed first son, less well kept, has a small altar, four stones, tea cups, and cans for the burning of incense.

778 On New Year and at O-Bon, the whole, or substantial portions, of
796 the village pray first at the supposed first son's site, then at the
[782] second son's. Prayers are offered also at the roadside deity place.
[358] Some of the younger villagers hope that as the older residents die off, the expenses of providing offerings and upkeep for all three can be eliminated and that simpler observances can take place at the roadside shrine. The situation now is complicated by the fact that many people regard themselves as descendants of one or the other co-founder.

778 Matsuda. In this village, the founder's site is reached by stairs
789 leading up a hillside. It is in the settled area near a dense growth
[793] of trees and shrubs. Close by there is a shed in which the lion skin is kept. In this village the founder's site seemed less important than another religious place, on the main road, in which women of lesser rank in the former priestess system participate in ceremonies. In this village there seems to be less participation by all the people of the village at the place of the guardian or founder deity, and, instead, representatives, like the headman, elders, and the former priestesses
[796] conduct the ceremonies at New Year, O-Bon, and at the equinoctial holidays.

The group sat in a circle. The priestess occupied the highest spot, her female assistants somewhat lower places, and the men, for once, in the lowest position. The priestess, her women and the male entourage held public worship on the 15th day of the 5th, the 15th and 16th day of the 6th, and the 10th day of the 8th lunar months. On these days there were prayers for good crops, for freedom from disasters and typhoon damage. On the 10th day of the 8th month, there were special prayers that neither diseases nor epidemics enter Hatsuda. These three periods may be rest days on which the villagers may assemble at the place where the prayers are being offered. Because there is no priestess, these ceremonies are now conducted by former assistants. The meetings are attended by fewer and fewer people and the ceremonies may disappear altogether. 793 796 [782]

6

Gods of the Fire, Wells, and Sacred Groves

There are also other forms of worship which still survive. These are (1) the god of fire (hi no kami), (2) spirits of the sea, of wells, springs, and groves, and (3) types of fortune telling which blend into religious belief. 776 [787]

Gods of the Fire. In every Okinawan kitchen, there is a place above the stove or hearth dedicated to the kitchen or the fire god. There is no image or personification of the god. Usually the place is a very small shelf on which charcoal sticks are burned for the god of the hearth. This is done by women exclusively. The women may light the sticks daily, but it is more usual for the housewife to perform the observance on the 1st and 15th of the lunar month. This was true of all the villages, and I have never seen a kitchen which lacked a place for the fire god.[7] 776 778 372 782 [562]

Gods of the Well (ido no kami). In Hanashiro, prayers are offered in front of the two public wells on lunar New Year. The whole village does not participate. Two or three older men from each extended family perform the rite. The gods of the well are told that the villagers need water; they are thanked for what they have had, and asked to continue to furnish a plentiful supply. 776 778 796

7 The Shinto god shelf (kamidana) is extremely rare. In my observation, it was present only in the homes of Okinawans who had lived in Japan. One in Hatsuda, located in the first room, had two shelves, on both of which a small urn for burning incense sticks was placed between two flower vases. The place on the left represents the founder, the one on the right, his immediate descendant. The family prays to the Shinto god on the 1st and 15th of the lunar month. The husband and wife pray first, followed by the children. A rice offering is placed on the shelf. On it there was a small figurine of the fox god (inari-san) and a mirror, both Shinto symbols. 177 189

798 Similar worship may take place at a spring (izumi). Near
796 Gushichan village there is a large spring. Stone stairs have been built up, amphitheatre-like, around it. Prayers are offered by villagers, or substantial numbers of them, on New Year and on the 5th day of the 5th lunar month. In daily life, the spring is a favorite place for laundering and bathing.

776 There are three well gods in Hinatogawa, and they are worshipped
778 at the three public wells scattered throughout the village. The people of the village, or large numbers of them, assemble at these wells for
796 prayer at various times of the year, the most important being on New Year and on boat racing day. Sake and a box of candy are placed before the well as offerings of thanks for water.

This village has also a place for the worship of the sea god. This is a simple stone on a small shelf, on a barren spot of the seashore, scarcely distinguishable from the rocks scattered in natural disarray by the waves. In a high wind, the remains of the offerings and the charcoal sticks are swept out to sea. The most important observance here occurs on the 4th day of the 5th month, the day of the sea festival and the boat races. Fishermen come to the place by boat and make offerings of sharks' fins. On this day, the whole village assembles twice to pray at the spot, once before, and once after the races and the celebration. Individual or family worship is common on New Year and at O-Bon. On the equinoctial holiday of the full moon, the headman, the heads of the neighborhood groups, the council and retired elder men assemble, offer thanks and pray for continued plenty from the sea. Very close to the palace of the sea god, a short round stick of bamboo or of thick miscanthus may be stuck in a pile of rocks. Near the top, a dried fish (usually the ika) tail is placed in a slit. In the center there is a slit for another but larger part of the dried fish.

776 The palace of the mountain god, though its identity is uncertain,
778 is near the palace of the sea god. It is under an overhanging rock along the seashore. This seems an unusual place for the home of a
778 mountain god, but seafarers may have prayed to the god in thanks for guiding them safely in. It seems now to have fallen into disuse. It is now partially overgrown with pandanus and little is known of the place.

776 Hatsuda. In Hatsuda, there are beliefs in well, mountain top, and
778 tree grove spirits. There are 8 wells here and family groups usually divide up and worship at one of the wells. After drinking some of the
782 water, thanks are offered to the well god.

The gods of the mountain top and the tree groves are difficult to
776 understand. Little seems to be known about them locally, and it is
128 difficult to disengage historical from religious elements.

One popular explanation is that these gods were the intentional
776 invention of Saion, the 18th century statesman and authority on forestry
782 and agriculture. But this seems highly unlikely. It is more likely
778 that Saion capitalized on the ancient interdict against cutting down

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

trees of the sacred grove and used old beliefs to preserve the forests. Formerly it was believed that misfortune would come to him who cut a tree in groves sacred to these gods. If the trees were cut, the god would become angry, the person cutting the tree would be the victim of self-induced illness and by worrying about his deed, gradually would become ill, and perhaps die. These sacred groves, whose religious significance is now almost ignored, are arranged to enclose the village from three directions, with the open side on the south. On the north was the sacred grove in the back (ushiro no utaki) or the grove of the white gold mountain (kinpuku utaki in Okinawan). The mountain gods were supposed to live here. On the west was the grove in front (mae no utaki) on the white silver mountain. This was also known as the fire shrine. 789 778 185 778 823 [176]

The priestesses also had a hand in this worship of the mountain gods. There are about seven of these places of worship now, and there is still a voluntary caretaker, an old woman with tattooed hands, a family priestess (nigami) in the old system. Occasionally one sees an old woman going to a grove to pray. The only other visitors are the farmers who walk along the paths of the grove on their way to the fields. 778 793

7

Other Religious Observances

There are a few other observations which may have some interest. Old women use patches of grass or knotted rice straw to ward off the spirits on days when they are thought to be abroad in great numbers. At the festival of the autumnal equinox, knotted or braided grass (shiba) is placed in various parts of the house. In some houses, bunches are suspended from the cross beams, perhaps three or four bunches to the side. They may be placed in the toilet, at the entrance to the house compound, on the water barrel in the kitchen, on the front and back of fishing boats, or in the interior of the house. Blades of miscanthus grass may be tied around the neck of a bean paste jug (misogami). Spirits, plentiful at this time, are frightened away by the patches of grass and will not enter. The young, while not believing in this, acquiesce to avoid making the old angry. 789 824 [184]

When a death anniversary is being celebrated, there may be a blade of miscanthus, a rice straw, or a knotted blade of grass on the top of a box of candies or sweet meats to prevent the intrusion of evil spirits. A blade of grass (the san) is occasionally tied around the handle of a tea pot. For the first week after a family death, tea is served from a pot which has this blade of grass. But these are almost invariably the observances of the old and are only infrequently seen. These customs, observed in Hinatogawa, are said to survive among the very old in the other villages. [769] [176] [184]

In Matsuda, a rice rope (shimenawa) was observed at one home. The rice rope, a Shinto symbol, is not common in Okinawan culture. This [77] [184]

789 824 rope was hung across the entrance of the family compound two times a year, on the 9th day of the 8th month, and on the 8th day of the 12th month. Along the rope, there were knotted blades of grass, also the san plant. The purpose is to frighten away evil spirits and evil doers. One peculiarity of this twisted rice rope is that 283 it is made in a different manner from the ordinary rope. The usual rope is a twist made by rolling the fibre between the palms to the right or away from the body. In this special rope, the roll is reversed and is to the left or toward the body. It is difficult for a person already skilled in the regular method. This villager told of going to two noro [193] priestesses in the village of Yabu who specialized in teaching this method of making ropes. The husband and the wife received instruction, paying about Y40 for it because the wife believed in the efficacy of the practice. Each year at the proper times, the husband now makes the special rope himself.

787 791 184 Some fortune telling practices shade into religious beliefs, just as religious customs have also included soothsaying and divination. The noros and the Buddhist priests formerly practiced some fortune telling. There were no fortune tellers in any of the villages studied, but villagers occasionally consult them. Here, too, the patronage comes largely from the old and from the women. Younger people, if they know about them, regard these practices as superstitions unworthy of belief. The word meishin (superstition) is frequently heard among the young in describing customs and beliefs of the old. The sign of the fortune 791 [212] teller (sanjinsō) is the Chinese charactor for three written three times. These characters are said to signify the three states of existence, pre-natal, the present, and the afterlife, on all of which the fortune teller is well versed. Those in Hanashiro and Hinatogawa who wish to consult a fortune teller go to Itoman; those in Hatsuda go to Nago. The cost is usually from Y40-50 a visit. Typical reasons for a consultation with a fortune teller are: (1) to find out if an ill person will become well, (2) among the fishermen, to find out if the fishermen will return when an unexpected storm has arisen, (3) to discover if a present unhappiness has been caused by the evil deed of an ancestor and if this can be corrected, and (4) to find out the lucky days for such undertakings as marriages, building a house, or beginning new phases of construction.

782 774 Old women may utter a prayer on seeing a child fall, fearing that the child's spirit might escape because of surprise or fright. (This was observed in Hinatogawa).

778 In Hatsuda, there were shelves for burning charcoal sticks in some of the numerous caves in the area. The nature of the worship could not be ascertained, but they may be offerings to deities of the cave.

514 [776] 782 178 Worship and prayers in the toilet seem to have completely disappeared. There were no personified toilet gods. The toilet apparently was the place in which thanks were given that a place for excrement had been provided. In all the villages, it was said to be an old belief which has now died out. There was no shelf or special place of worship in The Toilet.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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Between 1875 and 1895, when the court life at the old capitol of Shuri was broken up under Japanese influence, many families of noble origin moved into the country to become farmers, and the village grew in size. These people settled mainly outside the central village in areas where land was available. One family moved into Taira proper, forming the third "main house." Although it still maintains feeble ceremonial connections with Shuri, it gave up its noble title shortly after coming north and moved its ancestral tomb to the community. The noble families who settled in the valleys and hills preserved their distinctive traditions until the end of World War II. Their noble descent was noted in the population register, and intermarriage with commoners was discouraged.

Except for these Shuri migrants, few outsiders seem to have settled in Taira prior to World War II. The residents on the southern part of the island, especially the residents of Naha and Shuri, consider northerners rustics. Although this part of the island was often used as a hiding place by political and criminal refugees from the south, who are said to have founded nearby villages, none of them made their home in Taira.

The original settlers of Taira were reluctant to accept later arrivals in their midst. Because of the fear of spirits, foreign to the village, they prohibited the burial of the newcomer's dead near the tombs shared by the members of the "main houses." To this day the funeral urns of a family who came to Taira about 60 years ago and later intermarried with settled villages are kept in a cave, away from all other tombs.

Higashi township was established in 1922. The area had previously belonged to Kushi township to the south, but the great distances between villages and the mountainous character of the country made efficient administration very difficult. Furthermore, some Higashi inhabitants felt that because of temperamental differences and divergent interests they should separate from the southern township. Since 1922 contacts have been predominantly with Ogimi township to the northwest and the town of Nago, 16 miles away. Once the road connecting the two coastlines was completed in 1936, Taira's isolation decreased considerably, and it became the administrative seat of Higashi township in 1946.

Taira also became the home of the high priestess. In the period prior to direct Japanese administration, her office was under the jurisdiction of the Shuri court (Lebra, 1958), and her predecessors must have been appointed by the Okinawan kings. Taira may have been chosen as the seat of the high priestess in lieu of Kawata because Kawata lacks the good rice land which traditionally went to the high priestess by royal decree. Some of this rice land is still in the hands of the living priestess.

415 not use household equipment in their games. Instead they find broken Children do
857 dishes, old cans, and other discarded items in the trash heap.

354 The kitchen has no equipment other than the open fireplace with
[176] three hearth stones and a shelf above it on which a salt column, sym-
[654] bolizing kitchen deities, is kept. During the last few years, the Ryukyan government Home Extension Service has been trying to introduce brick stoves into farmhouses. Several families now have this kind of stove although it is expensive to build.

356 As far as can be superficially discerned, the home is kept clean. A visitor usually finds the floor of the house free of dirt. Footgear is taken off before entering, and children are reminded to wash their bare feet before going into the house. Less care is given to the area around the kitchen.

312 Outside the kitchen stand one or two jars to store water. A dipper is
415 kept nearby, and children playing in the vicinity or adults often walk to one of these jars for water, which they drink out of a dipper. There may also be an array of pots, pans, crates, baskets, and other equipment piled up around the kitchen. Knives and hatchets are openly left around among the equipment behind the kitchen.

351 The courtyard is an important place for domestic activities. Here women and girls wash dishes, mix pig food in large kettles, make bean paste in a hand stone grinder, and prepare grain for storage. There are
[73] vegetable patches in one corner of the yard, chicken coops, pigsties,
[514] goat pens, and an outhouse in another. Most garbage is fed to the pigs;
[364] the rest is thrown over the sea wall to roll down onto the beach.

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Chapter 2

Daily Routine

805 There are few clocks in central Taira. Except for the township office,
512 post office, and village store, only two or three families own a timepiece. Twice a day, at noon and 10 o'clock in the evening, a clerk strikes

Chapter 8

Religion

771 The religious beliefs of people in Taira and their ritual practices rec-
177 ognize the existence of two different sources of supernatural forces.
[776] The old Okinawan religion, which is still practiced by many persons
in the village, centers on beliefs in a host of nonhuman spirits that
[769] inhabit certain localities. A historically more recent Confuscian-
Bhuddist influence from China and Japan has added to these beliefs
the veneration of ancestors who, in their divine state after death, con-
[782] trol many activities of the living. Under the influence of these two
[784] forces, the animistic and the ancestral, life must be conducted in such
a way that both remain appeased at all times by proper worship and
performance of ritual as well as by avoidance of actions which might
offend these supernatural forces.

771 Even though many younger people laugh away the adherence to
[154] beliefs, especially in animistic deities, there is much evidence that the
life of almost all people is controlled by fears, anxieties, and desires
for appeasement stemming from these religious beliefs. Although his-
torically the animistic and ancestral religious beliefs were separate,
they are synchronized at present so that it is not always possible to
make a clear distinction between each system (Lebra: 1958).

776 The supernatural beings of nature live all around the village. There
are mountain deities, deities of the sea, of the well, of trees, and other
places. Any localities connected with productive activities, such as the
store, the sugar mill, the sugar press, and the village truck, have their
[372] own deities. There is also the Deity of Fire, associated with the hearth
and the house. He is represented in three hearth stones found in most
simple kitchens. Three upright small stones, resembling the hearth
stones, are the divine symbols in the village shrine where all these
supernatural beings are worshipped.

[782] The supernatural beings living in and around the village appear

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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like "owners" of the concrete objects which they inhabit. These objects can be made subservient to human needs if care is taken not to offend the deities. As long as proper ritual observances are performed, humans need not fear their hostility. They are addressed in prayers and chants, and people make offerings to them at several ceremonies during the year. No one in Taira, including the priestess, has any exact knowledge about their characteristics, and there is no theological dogma, but people know that when building a house, for example, one must announce his intention to the deities and pacify these spirits who have been carried with the lumber from the mountains or with gravel from the beach and the sea. They must be thanked for letting the builder use such materials and sent back to their natural abode. Before the house is finished, the surrounding plot of land must be cleared of all evil spirits. Neglect of such ceremonies can turn supernatural beings into adversaries. One family who neglected proper rituals on their house lot when they built their home tried to appease angry deities by holding a ceremony a year after the house was finished because bad luck had befallen members of the household. Although most supernatural beings can be pacified by proper observance of rituals, there are some who are inherently malevolent. These ogres may be seen in the form of fire balls or in some other shape or physical appearance.

The worship of these nature deities and the observance of ceremonies in their behalf are in the hands of the high priestess and her female assistants. In former times each main house, later each village, had its own priestess. The present high priestess in Taira derives her office from a much later institution, a nation-wide hierarchy of religious officials established by the Okinawan king in an effort to combine religion with political influence and supervision in the villages. Today the high priestess has no association with the central government; the Japanese abolished the system. The hierarchy of female religious officials (see Lebra: 1958), those representing main houses, and the chief village priestess is no longer clearly delineated in Taira, since representatives of several offices have left the island or died, and the vacancies have not been filled. The high priestess has taken over most of the religious functions. Her chief assistants are older women from the two main houses. While these three women officiate, several other women are in attendance as helpers. In spite of the diminishing role of animistic religion in the daily life of younger people, the high priestess still enjoys prestige in the community. She is exempted from communal labor in recognition of her status.

The present high priestess is a woman in her fifties who works and

793 lives like other villagers, spending most of her time in the fields and around her home. She has children and grandchildren, but the father of her children no longer lives in Taira. She regards the continuation of the old ceremonies as her holy duty even though she has to do without most of the accustomed material support from the village and [358] in spite of disbelief and lack of participation. She has sought in vain [346] to have the village make necessary repairs on the simple village shrine near the township office and on the little hut where the ancestral tablets of her predecessors are kept.

793 While many of the former ceremonies have been discontinued, the 782 priestess is still called on to officiate at house-building ceremonies, to purify the lot, to offer prayers when the beams are raised, and to con- [342] duct the dedication when the house is finished. If the owner is mov- [776] ing out of an old house, the priestess notifies the fire deity so that he [778] will follow to the new abode. On other occasions the priestess conducts prayers at the village shrine or at one of the other sacred places near the village. Many of the prayers are succorant—requesting the aid and blessing of the gods in accomplishing a certain goal. In general, as Lebra has pointed out (1958), ceremonies of asking for help are more numerous and elaborate than thanksgiving ones.

[312] On New Year's morning the priestess prays at the water well. Since [178] so many ceremonies have been abbreviated and are no longer carried out in traditional detail, the priestess apologizes for short cuts in her prayers. If she fails to offer prayers in all prescribed spots, she pacifies [794] the deities by facing in the direction of the sacred place where the [787] ceremony should have been conducted. Although the priestess is clearly best qualified to enter into communication with the deities, many older women seem to possess such power also, and if the priestess' assistants are not present, another older woman can function as her helper.

782 For these ceremonies food for offerings is contributed by the village. 788 The priestess, in a white gown, kneels, flanked by her assistants, also in white, in front of a tray of sake, rice, or other food for the deities. [262] Charcoal incense sticks are burned while brief prayers asking the deities for a successful crop, thanking them for a harvest, or whatever [533] is appropriate to the occasion are mumbled. On certain occasions the women sing chants. After these ceremonies, the priestess, her assistants and the few others present, usually old women, share the food offerings.

796 One of the most dramatic ceremonies is held on Boat Race Day in 793 lunar June. Priestesses from several villages gather near Taira. During the ceremony the Taira priestess stands in the middle of a circle formed by the other priestesses and helpers, beating a drum as the

757 frequently and may be repeated as many as four times during the
[854] first year of a child's life. An older child occasionally undergoes this
[164] treatment for a case of violent impetigo. Even a horse may be bled in
this way for loss of appetite or other symptoms of disease.

[232] A woman whose face had been struck in an unusual display of temper
[578] underwent a blood letting soon after a swelling appeared. Her neighbor from across the street, a farmer like everyone else, sterilized her cheek with iodine and then cut it with a razor until the blood flowed freely. After a night's rest, the woman appeared outside her house without any signs of swelling and seemingly recovered.

753 As was pointed out previously, many diseases are believed to be
776 caused by supernatural forces: the ancestor spirits, spirits of those who
769 have just died, and natural deities and evil spirits who wander around
775 at night. The ancestors expect proper respect and attention and in gen-
[764] eral are benevolent unless neglected. Spirits of those who have recently died are most dangerous if the deceased is from another village. For deceased villagers one is careful to purify oneself after the funeral. The doors of each house are shut at night to protect against the evil spirits of the night air. Disease is less frequently caused by natural deities who have been neglected or mistreated.

755 In case of sickness or other unfortunate events in the family, some-
756 body may go to consult the *yuta*, a shaman who communicates with
[787] the supernatural. She discovers the cause of misfortune with the help of rice oracles and through powers of divination received through visions and hallucinations. There is no *yuta* living in Taira now, so that people have to travel to the other side of the island, an hour or more on foot, if they want to learn about the source of some evil. Taira
[769] people make many such trips to consult this shamanistic specialist. The most common cause of misfortune discovered by the *yuta* is neglect of ceremonies to the ancestral gods or, less frequently, the neglect of cere-
[793] monies to the natural deities. Although the *yuta* stands in no direct connection with the high priestess, she may suggest that her client ask the priestess for special prayers to rectify the negligence. In such cases, then, the competence of individuals in the family may not be adequate to deal with the ancestral world, and the priestess enters into family religion.

597 Some Taira parents still find an adoptive parent for a sickly child in
755 the belief that his own ancestors have caused bad health, and that this
769 can only be remedied by making a formal arrangement which transfers
[796] ancestral responsibility for the child to another family. The child remains with his own parents and only visits his foster parents during the New Year and the midsummer Buddhist *Bon* Festival, which honors ancestors, and perhaps at one or two other occasions during the year.

In addition to meeting with physical and emotional needs, the child must be protected from the nurtured by the numerous supernatural forces in the form of malevolent and benevolent spirits which operate to influence the course of an individual's life. There are lucky and unlucky days, years, and tides, which are believed to determine the fate of a person. Females born in the year of the monkey are considered unlucky, for they are thought to outlive their male contemporaries. Men dislike marrying them. Supplications are made and precautionary measures taken by adults to secure the newborn's life, happiness, and health. 776 777 854 [581]

Ancestral spirits influence the development and fate of the child. Occasionally a child who is the victim of ill health during his early years is adopted by a couple whose ancestral spirits are thought to be more favorable than his own on the dictate of the fortune teller. By mysterious calculations involving birth dates of the principals, the fortune teller uncovers some incompatibility and advises adoption. The child remains with his parents but worships the ancestral spirits of his adoptive parents. In this way parents seek to ensure the well-being of the child. 597 769 755

Mother interview data indicate the awareness of Taira people of the variations in personality among children of one family. Adults do in a large measure adapt their actions in accord with these differences. They recognize hereditary influences, but although a mother may comment on the similarity of temperament with regard to her child and other members in the family or kin group, there are no ideas or beliefs that the souls of deceased are inherited. Usually the mother, in describing the characteristics of the child, rarely goes beyond likenesses which can be attributed to herself or her husband. She is at a loss to explain the "very different child." "My eldest son has my nasty temper whereas my second daughter is not like either of us, very strange. All the others have a little of myself and my husband in them. We often wonder how it is that she is so unlike either of us." 155 828 858 [124]

A child born with two cowlicks predicates a "problem" to his parents. Parents often explain, "Oh, this child is very naughty, for as you can see, he has two cowlicks." Children often search each other's heads, and on discovering two instead of the single whorl, they shout in glee, "Naughty, naughty." One 4-year-old cuddled and hugged his newborn sister after searching her head. "You have two cowlicks just like me! You and I are 'naughty,' " he whispered to her. Turning to the adults in the room, he snapped his small bright eyes and grinned impishly as he reported his discovery joyfully. [826]

Twin births are disliked only because they place a burden on the 845

861 "naughty child." When the child is about 5 months and capable of responding to smiles and a disapproving eye, his mother will murmur affectionately, "good child," to encourage and praise. She will open her eyes wide, assume a disapproving look, and scold, "naughty child, naughty child," to discourage and censure him.

A 7-year-old girl was carrying a large winnowing basket filled with potato peelings from her uncle's house to her own. Behind her trailed her 3-year-old brother who was well known for his crying. Suddenly, for no apparent reason, the little boy started to scream and cry for his sister to carry him. The 7-year-old tried to no avail to get the boy to follow her. She shifted the basket to her head, stooped down, and the boy scrambled onto her back. With some effort she stood up, one hand on the basket and the other around the boy's buttocks. The boy clung to his sister's neck and grinned. "Naughty child," murmured the fieldworker's companion, a 23-year-old girl. To the 7-year-old girl she then turned and said admiringly, "Good child that you are!"

"Be a good child and do this . . ." instructs an adult to a child. "Naughty child that you are, making your sister cry," one child is chided by another. Praising and punishing by referring to the person of the child as the locus of evaluation are most frequent. The child's action itself, or his response to a particular situation, is usually not evaluated. Very few adults set a standard which is intended as a guide to the child's performance of a task. Therefore children who have completed a task do not ask themselves: "Did I do it well?" or "Did I do it poorly?" If scolded for inadequate performance, the child may echo reprimands by saying to himself: "I was bad to do it that way," or "I was bad to do that" and not: "That was a bad thing to do."

Words which evaluate the person rather than the action are generally applied only to children under 12, although occasionally one hears a young adult say to another teasingly, "Ah, good child," in praise or "naughty child" in response to being tricked.

861 Of the 24 mothers interviewed, only three reported they did not refer to a deity to control their children's behavior. This deity is always present, always watching and can be depended on to punish the erring child. To the child, this god is a being to be feared, although he is told that not only his misbehavior is observed but also his good behavior. "The divine being is everywhere. When you are alone and do something bad, you might think that no one knows about it, but the god knows and he will punish you," warn mothers. This technique of control is very useful in Taira, where the children spend a great deal of time without adult supervision.

776 [124]

In the houses of first sons there are family altars upon which memorial tablets of family ancestors are placed. Children from these homes are told that their deceased grandfathers are now divine beings and are watching them. In one such family a 4-year-old boy was told by his mother that, since he was naughty, the divine ancestor would punish him. She pointed to the picture of his deceased grandfather and the memorial tablets on the altar. The little boy looked up to the shelf and then to his mother. "That's only a memorial tablet," he said sneeringly. 861 778 769

Not many children are as skeptical as this 4-year-old. A hunchbacked storyteller sometimes comes to Taira. This man is a preacher for a Japanese sect which combines Japanese nationalistic teachings and concepts of proper conduct and healthful living with a belief in a supreme being. He appeals to children and reinforces the belief in the sanctioning power of God. Occasionally a Christian missionary visits the village, and the children look forward to his bible readings, which also reinforce the belief. In addition, the children of the two Christian families help to caution others, warning of divine omnipresence and knowledge. 861 776 177

Shaming and ridicule as techniques of socialization are used to a fair extent. An older child's shortcomings may frequently be compared with a younger's achievements. However, some form of verbal lashing is usually accompanied by direct physical punishment, whether it be merely a slap on the buttocks, a crack on the head, or a whipping. 861

Several mothers summed up their flexibility in handling their children by saying, "I have so many children and it seems that each one is different in some way. For some children one thing works and for others you have to think of other ways. You cannot scold this one because she is so sensitive. The boy you cannot scold because he would get so angry he would not be able to understand the wrong he did."

Nevertheless, it is important to point out that mothers in Taira, for the most part, do not spend as much time with their children as do their counterparts in a more wealthy village. Their work day is long and strenuous. They return home exhausted and impatient. During the long rainy spells, when work in the fields and mountains is impossible, mothers have to stay home more often than usual. At such times they manifest an irritability with respect to the numerous demands children make upon them that can be attributed partly to the fact that their long absence from home during a normal work day makes them forget children's cravings for attention; the loss of income during bad weather just increases their impatience. 861 462 [184] [152]

805 177 The Chinese solar year is divided into twenty-four periods of about fifteen days each. All of them bear two-character names, "Spring Begins", "Rain Water", "Excited Insects", etc. This division of the year is based on solar phenomena, so that it remains relatively stable. A solar period therefore does not begin on the same lunar date every year. The three holidays [527] mentioned above that are calculated by the solar calendar rather than by the lunar are the spring and autumn equinoxes (Fiigang, in Japanese 'Higan') and Shiimii (in Japanese, 'Seimei'; the Chinese Ch'ing Ming, "Clear and Bright"; the period from April 5 to 20). Most farmers, however, do not seem to know even the names of the whole sequence of twenty-four; they merely look at their calendars to see when the important dates fall, much as we look to see when Easter will fall in any given year.

805 The Ten Stems and Twelve Branches (in Japanese 'Jikkan Jūnishi') make up a system of designating both days and years. The ten stems are ten characters named in pairs after the five elements---wood, fire, earth, metal, and water---each occurring twice, once in a senior aspect and once in a junior aspect (or in Chinese "Yang" and "Yin" aspects). The twelve branches are twelve characters named after twelve animals---rat, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, snake, horse, sheep, monkey, cock, dog, boar. The two series run simultaneously, beginning "senior-wood rat", "junior-wood ox", and so on, so that after sixty days, or years, have elapsed, the cycle is complete and it is again "senior-[787] wood rat". On Okinawa the system is used by diviners (sanjinsoo, in J. 'ekisha') in drawing up horoscopes, but is probably not followed in its entirety by the layman. The twelve branches, however, are of interest to everyone. For many ritual purposes the individual is identified by the year of his birth within this cycle of twelve. A person praying may identify himself as a "rat man" or an "ox woman". The yuta, who are otherwise not concerned with calendrical lore, make it a point to ask the birth year of anyone about whom information is desired. An older person when asked his age may give it not in years but as "Year of the Horse," or the like, explaining which cycle only if questioned further. The term for the cycle is saa, so that a person may explain that he is chu-saa, "one cycle", above or below someone of the same [7X6] birth year. The twelve animals were even deified; there were twelve images of them scattered through four temples in Shuri. After the new year representatives of Shuri families made offerings before those corresponding to the birth years of all the members of their families.

Age, when it is reckoned in years, is traditionally reckoned not in full years since birth, as in the West, but in total number of years during which one has lived. Thus a child's years are one at birth, two after the following New Year's, three the next New Year's and so on. To know a person's age according to the Western system of reckoning one has to ask "how many full 805 years are you?" Thus what correspond to birthdays in the West are celebrated 527 on New Year's, when everyone simultaneously becomes a year older. The important ones are on the recurrence of the birth year, when one is thirteen, twenty-five, thirty-seven, and so forth, by year-count. These occasions are celebrated on the first occurrence of the corresponding day after the new year. Thus 1954 was the Year of the Horse and so people born during a Year of the Horse celebrated on the first Day of the Horse after New Year's. People are

513 Ventilation at night may be poor; the sliding doors are usually tightly shut and locked. In larger towns and cities this practice may be explained as due to the prevalence of thieves, but in the country there must be another reason; it is probably the fear of yanakaji or of the kijimunaa. The first, yanakaji, literally "bad winds", are ghosts, who may [775] [776] cause illness. The kijimunaa is a sea-being or tree-being who causes a frightening but harmless sensation of smothering and weight on the chest. These creatures may enter through open doors or windows. According to one informant their entry might be prevented by setting up a butcher knife in the opening but I have not seen it done. (It could only be done for a window; in a door it would be dangerous to the human occupants.)

In spite of their sleeping with relatively little change in position while in bed, Okinawans seem to be able to fall asleep in a variety of positions and circumstances, in busses and on trucks, in the midst of family activities, with noise and bright lights apparently presenting no obstacles. This ability may be the result of the early experience of sleeping under all sorts of conditions while being carried on the mother's back. There are two restrictions to sleeping. All avoid sleeping with the head oriented west, because that is the way a corpse is oriented. The other is that girls and women must avoid sleeping with the legs separated. Lebra observed one grandmother give her little granddaughter a hard pinch on the thigh for this.

Okinawans recognize that sleep is essential to maintaining the body. After a restless night one may say that he "had insufficient sleep". [171] It has been asserted that the Japanese regard sleep as a luxury rather than as a necessity. This cannot be said of the Okinawans.

515 171 Cleanliness In care of the body, the Okinawans are among the cleanlier of the world's peoples. They bathe frequently, keep their nails [302] clean by constant trimming, their teeth clean by prolonged morning brushing, and their hair neatly cut or dressed. But they are not as cleanly as the Japanese or at least as the urban Japanese. One reason why they bathe less frequently is that baths are simply less available. Many villages are without public baths. Most farmers must either pour cold water over themselves at their wells or a little hot water warmed in the kitchen. In villages [834] where there are few wells the water must be carried. Another factor may be modesty; nudity is not taken for granted as in Japan, so that one does not strip nude at the well in the daytime. A third factor may be the lack [763] of such highly-developed concepts of ceremonial purity and pollution as exist in Japan. There are no tabus on the activities of menstruating women on Okinawa as there are in Japan, for example.

291 834 Nudity Pre-school children often play nude. Mothers sometimes appear to be displaying little boys nude to demonstrate their masculinity. Photographs of naked baby boys are popular. Boys may continue to swim nude until eight or so, but girls begin to put on some garment for swimming [853] sooner. Women nurse in public and sometimes work at home with the breasts [814] uncovered. Adults of both sexes may urinate in public, but in such a way that the body may not be seen. Adults do not appear publicly or privately [815] before one another nude. Public bath houses have separate sections for men

775 the ancestral tablets, since they receive offerings and worship at both places. The spirits of the ancestors present in the tablets are called ugwansu (probably literally "masters of worship"). The existence of the dead in Heaven seems rather unclearly defined. In speaking of the dead, people much more frequently use the term "yonder world" (Japanese 'ano yo'), which seems to refer to a realm co-existent with this world, different from it in form but not necessarily remote in space. It is my impression that "yonder world" refers to an unseen spiritual world around the living rather than any distant Heaven or Land of the Dead. It may be that different entities go to different places, as in Chinese eschatology, where each individual has two souls, the "hun" which goes to Heaven as a god, and the "p'o" which stays on Earth as a demon. But the data at hand do not reveal [777] such a neat structure. Or perhaps the concept "Heaven" is merely a recent introduction from China and not yet wholly integrated with native concepts.

778 The distinction between spiritual beings who formerly had a human existence and spiritual beings who are wholly non-human is also not always 776 clear. In every village there are numerous ugwanju, places of worship. These seem to be associated with the founder of the village or the aji or local official---his tomb, the wells where he got water, the hilltop where he worshipped, etc. Non-human spirits probably are believed to inhabit these places, other than the tombs, but it is my impression that most of the worship is directed toward the deceased persons, and indeed that most important local spirits are in fact deceased persons who have become deified.

776 On the other hand, there are spirits associated with the house and yard that are clearly non-human. The most important of these is the Fii-gu-kang, "God of the Fire", or U-kama, "Oven". (These two terms may represent two historically separate concepts, but they are now used interchangeably.) 776 The Fire God is represented by a small vessel containing ashes that stands 778 above or behind the oven in nearly every house. It may even be found behind the little kerosene stoves used by city rooming-house dwellers. This vessel is made and attended by the mistress of the house. When a branch house is established she makes a vessel of earth or obtains one and partly fills it with ashes from the Fire God of the main house. The offerings, among some 776 Yamada families, consist of incense and three cups of cooked rice offered 782 on the first and fifteenth of every lunar month, before similar offerings are made to the ancestral tablets. On the 24th day of the 12th lunar month 776 the Fire God is said to ascend to Heaven to return again on New Year's. One old woman explained that the Fire God (Fii-nu-kang-ganashii) is "like a policeman" and Heaven (U-kami-ganashii) is "like the government"; when the Fire God goes up it reports whatever the family has done wrong during the year.

776 Offerings are also made on occasion to the gate, the well, the corners of the yard, the pigsty-privy, and elsewhere. The "Pigsty-privy 782 God" (Fuuru-nu-kami) was formerly of importance especially in treating cases of loss of mabui.

Although Okinawans occasionally refer to Heaven or the Gods of Heaven (J. 'Ten no kami-sama'; Okinawan U-kami-ganashii, etc.), the concept does not seem to be well defined. The clearest statement heard on the subject was the one just mentioned in connection with the Fire God. Since the dead, or some of them, rise to Heaven, the term "Gods of Heaven" may include them, but there are evidently other greater beings too. These may be identical with the figures of the native origin myth. But aside from a few enthusiasts, mainly local historians and shamans (yuta), few Okinawans seem informed about or concerned with native cosmology, or any other. This may in part be the result of a generation or so of Japanese education with educators attempting to take the Japanese mythology seriously and making Okinawan mythology jibe with it. But it is more likely that this lack of concern with Heaven is due rather to an old tendency common in East Asia to settle matters at the local level without bothering the higher authorities, in dealing with both political problems and spiritual problems. 772 [175] [176] [177] [181]

In the Okinawan universe there are also a few earthly beings with supernatural power. The akamataa is a real species of non-poisonous snake. But it is believed to be able to change itself into a handsome young man, in which form it seduces unwitting young women. One young woman who was seduced is said to have given birth to a whole tubful of baby akamataa. 776

The kijimunaa is a wholly mythical being but seems to belong more in the natural world. According to some it lives in old trees, but according to others it is a sea-being who lives on fish and shellfish and who will become the helper of a fisherman who makes friends with it. Regardless of habitat, the kijimunaa is believed to approach a sleeping person and sit on his chest, nearly suffocating him and preventing him from crying out. Apparently the being is not dangerous but merely annoying.

Another being that is feared is the tamagai or 'hidama', "fireball". This was described in Yamada as a light that appears at certain times as an omen. However, in a village in Southern Okinawa it is regarded as the cause of fire. Since it is a female being the young men of this village drive it away by forming a procession and marching through the village shouting "Hoo hai!" ("Your vulva's showing.") [787] [184] [372]

The Itoman people speak of the ja or 'ryu', the "dragon". This being lives in the sea or the clouds; its tail is the whirlwind; its feces, if one is fortunate enough to find them, are like coal tar and are a very valuable medicine. Other Okinawans seem to regard this as something only the Itoman people know about. [757] [194]

One more concept is perhaps worth mentioning; this is shiji. Certain places, the sacred hilltop of the village, etc., are said to be shijidakasang, "high in shiji", and therefore to be approached with respect. It is also said of persons, especially those believed to be destined to become religious practitioners. The term shiji evidently signifies a sort of supernatural power that adheres to places and people, perhaps like the Oceanian concept "mana". Haring has suggested that the Japanese concept 778 [171]

778 'kami' is like the Oceanian "mana", a supernatural power that enters natural
171 objects or persons.[1] Whatever may be the case in Japan, the Okinawan kami refers to definite beings, discrete entities, and not to a force. However, the concepts shiji and perhaps shii may be mana-like.

753 Causes of Disease Okinawans frequently use these concepts of the supernatural in their interpretation of the causes and proper treatment of illnesses of the body. Illness may be caused, they believe, by loss of the shii or the mabui, by the harmful inclinations of other living persons and of dead persons, and by offences to ancestors and other spirits that are ordinarily helpful.

753
774 Gradual withdrawal of the shii may cause illness or death. A preg-
[778] nant woman is warned not to attend a funeral or a bone-washing because the shii of the unborn child may be drawn into the tomb. A sudden jolt or a scare may cause the mabui to be dislodged and this will result in a feeling of weakness and, if the mabui is not replaced, perhaps ultimately death. Treatment of loss of mabui is often practiced by old women. One woman who had treated her grandchildren on numerous occasions said that she laid on a table offerings including salt, rice, water, and a dish containing seven stones; then she took a garment of the sick child, prayed at the entrance to the house, and called the child's name. The mabui of the child then entered the garment and when she put the garment on the child the mabui re-entered the child. Formerly she would have prayed at the pigsty-privy, but
[776] it no longer exists. One of her sons gave the interpretation that the pigsty-privy god being the lowest god knew the whereabouts of the lost mabui and he informed the ancestral spirits who were able to bring it back to the garment.

The most serious cases of loss of mabui are caused by the actual
[775] theft of the mabui by dead persons, who are said to take the mabui to the tomb. As I have already mentioned, this may happen when a baby sneezes. Treatment of this type of soul-loss probably requires the services of a
[756] yuta, a sort of shaman. The yuta is said to be able to see the living person's mabui before the tomb, in the form of the person. If the form is facing this world and looks sad there is a chance of recovery, but if it is facing the tomb and looks happy, the patient will probably die. But in spite of the occasional serious nature of loss of mabui, I have observed young boys when startled jokingly cry out "mabuyaa, mabuyaa!" as if to call back their displaced mabui. And it is said that some persons jokingly pretend to scoop it up and pour it back into the body through the head. However, the joke may serve to relieve actual tensions that exist after a sudden shock.

754 Little information was obtained on the harm that can be done by a living person with ichijama. According to Yanagida[1] the ichijama is the soul of a woman who can send it to possess a person or object in order to

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1 Haring, 1946, p. 221 and elsewhere.

2 Yanagida, 1951, p. 30.

this time. Upon completing the house, the owner gives a party for those who helped him. During the last day of work, with the party scheduled for the evening, the workmen strive feverishly to complete the house on time. This is a party to celebrate a task completed. Sake flows freely. Occasionally on the last day, a man walks around the house talking to himself and throws salt toward the inside of the house. His words are not formalized and not known to his hearers. After finishing throwing the salt, he bangs the back of the house three times with a stick. This custom is said to be gradually disappearing, and is only occasionally practiced in Matsuda.[9] 342 527 788 [273]

In Hanashiro, there is a similar custom that differs in details. On the date the house is started, there is a small ceremony. A plate containing boiled rice, bean curd, a kind of fritter (tenpura in Japanese) and meat, together with a flask of sake are placed in the center of the site on which the house is to be built. Prayers are offered that the house be a good one. The ceremony of raising the roof is identical with that previously described in Matsuda. This applies only to the raising of the ridge pole, no ceremonies taking place with the erecting of the side poles. The center board, near to or nailed to the ridge pole, and from which the articles wrapped in a leaf or in sea weed are suspended, is inscribed with the word, shibiranka. Its meaning is unknown to me. One villager said it was the name of a legendary Chinese protector of houses. 342 782 [262] [273] [192]

In one instance from Minatogawa, instead of the salt, charcoal, and bean paste, only a bit of charcoal (tsumi in Japanese) was suspended and wrapped in seaweed (kombu in Japanese).

About 20 years ago in Hanashiro, the celebration on the day of completion was much more elaborate than now. A pig was killed, fish purchased, and a large feast was prepared to which the whole village was invited. The celebration now is confined to relatives, friends, and helpers, including the carpenter, whether hired or a volunteer. 342 530

In Minatogawa, when a good house is being built, there is the custom of going to a fortune teller (sanjinsō in Japanese) to discover the lucky day for commencing construction. This may be repeated to find the lucky day for putting up the poles and supports or putting on the roof. Here also a son about to establish a branch household and to build his own house takes a food offering to his father's house, places it on the Buddhist god shelf, gives thanks, and prays for good fortune before construction starts. When the house has been completed, similar offerings are made, either before the god shelf of the new house, if it has been installed, or again at the father's house. In this village, the usual observances are confined to the raising of the roof and to the celebration following completion of the home. 342 [291] [777] [782]

One last custom observed in all the villages is that one does not move into a new house unless the tide is coming in. Other occasions in which the tide is taken into consideration will be discussed later. The idea here seems to be that one moves at times of growing fullness and increase not at times of ebb and withdrawal. [823]

9 I was unable to secure any explanation of the reason for this and the other practices beyond the familiar statement that "it is a custom." (shukan)

139 settled area and for protection of the surrounding crops. Around
311 houses, there are common stone fences, bamboo fences and trees.
Stone fences, though solid may be toppled over. Bamboo, or dwarf
[919] bamboo fences, seemingly slight, resist the winds and remain intact
because of their flexible loose weave.

130 The trees on the ridges of the low lying hills or on high pieces
133 of ground are tall, and sturdy, and jealously protected. The villagers
185 take great pride in them. Today this pride is based on the realization
[198] of their effectiveness; in former times, their protection was associated
[199] with the worship of the gods of the sacred grove (utaki). There were
[193] beliefs, which now seem to be dying out, that cutting these trees
would bring bad luck. Many villagers say that Saion in the 18th
century intentionally invented superstitions concerned with the cutting
of the trees in order to save them. Now these trees are no longer in
danger of cutting, even though the penalties of the old beliefs are no
longer feared.

The following short list does not exhaust the kinds of trees and plants found in this area. It is confined to those trees, shrubs, and grasses which are most frequently found and which have the greatest local importance.

829 (1) The Ryukyuan pine (Riukiu-matsu in Japanese, Pinus luchuensis
313 Mayr). This tree is still one of the commonest sights of the island,
even in southern Okinawa. At present, it is a source of firewood, cheap lumber, and siding. It is not considered good housebuilding material because of termites (shiroari). Pine was used for fishing boats within living memory, but now they are made of much harder woods. In this area, the coniferous groves are along the seashore. The larger stands are not cut. Scrub pine on individually owned wild land may be cut for firewood.

(2) The fukugi (Daroinia spicata Hook.). The fukugi is used around homes and on mountain ridges as a typhoon protection. It is fairly plentiful here and prized as a building material (kenchikuzai). The hard studs, beams and cross beams and the wide plank floors in the older and better houses are often made out of this wood.

(3) The iju (Schima luchuensis Nak.). This tree, common here, is used as a building material and is considered to be better than the Japanese redwood (sugi). It is not regarded as a good firewood.

(4) The inumaki (Podocarpus macrophyllum D. Don). This tree is not well known here, and there are no large specimens. But it is regarded as the best building material when available. Often the large, hard, rough hewn poles which are placed on stones and support the eaves of the older houses are made from this wood.

(5) The shii (Shiia cuspidata). The dense stands of this tree in the village owned forest restrict the size of the specimens, though

wood and lumber for Japanese army uses and for air raid shelters were in demand, (2) the burning in the course of the war, and (3) the intense cutting after the war for firewood and rebuilding. 313 727

Okinawan traditions relating to forest care have a positive value and it is worth while to recapitulate them here. Local old men and antiquarians in Matsuda give credit to Saion who wrote a long treatise on agriculture and is said to have intentionally devised superstitions to save trees. Death or misfortune would come to him who cut the trees, especially those in sacred groves or on the tops of mountains. Some local residents have said that the gods of the mountain are really not of religious inspiration at all, but had their origin in the conscious desire of Saion to save the trees. While there does not seem to be any truth in this assertion, since these deities of the sacred groves and mountain tops reach far back into antiquity, there is no doubt that sacred groves and houses of the mountain gods saved trees that otherwise would have been cut down. (In China and Japan, religious shrines and holy places have also been areas of the preservation of trees). 313 173 [178] [171]

Present attitudes were summarized by a Matsuda school principal who said that beliefs in mountain gods and in death and misfortune following cutting trees were dying out, and that these old beliefs had been replaced by awareness of the scientific reasons for preserving the trees. [183] [176] [177]

In Matsuda, pride in the trees, in the groves that line its hill tops and overlook the narrow valleys and ravines planted to rice and other crops is a conspicuous part of village experience. There are trees along the main road near the town that are said to have been planted in Saion's time under his inspiration.

These favorable traditions are helpful. They do not guarantee the preservation of the forests. Previous experience has shown this. From what may be surmised of the history of Okinawan forests, the destruction of modern times has been correlated with war and the expansion of economic activities. We may speculate, too, that previous deforestation was slow, inexorable and related to the clearing of accessible stands near settlements, and the extension of these settled areas as they grew. "Most of the accessible primitive forests have been exhausted," Dr. Green wrote in his report to Commodore Perry.11 The need for fuel increases with population. In China, Japan, Korea, and Okinawa, the relation of forests, either as a source for lumber or fuel, to population growth and settlement is a very intimate one. This is a basic consideration in discussing not only the "patterns of culture" but the relation of culture to the natural environment in this part of the world. [311] [161] [171]

11 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, Vol. II, 35

Y2000 each to make Y18,000 available. If the lowest bid is Y1800 per share, the borrower accepts a discount (waribiki) of Y200 for each Y2000 advanced and will repay Y2100 a month, which includes Y100 interest (rishi) 474 426

Amount of the loan	Y18,000 (2000 x 9)
Less Discount	- 1,800 (200 x 9)
Actual Amount Received	Y16,200
Interest paid	900 (100 x 9)
Actual Cost of the Loan	Y2700 (Y1800 plus Y900)

The proceeds from the discount may be distributed as a dividend to those who furnished the money, or it may be held in the group for additional loans.

The essentials are summarized in the accompanying tables. There are 11 members, A through K. The first month, A, the initiator, gets Y20,000, and by the end of the period (the beginning of the 11th month) has repaid Y21,000 in ten monthly installments of Y2100 each. In the seventh month G is the borrower. He bid Y1880 for Y2000 loan from each of the remaining members and received Y7520 (Y1880 x 4) and repays Y8400 (Y2100 x 4). In this example, K is the man with the money. He has advanced Y18,385, the sum of column K, and has received principal, interest, and discount payments of Y21000 (total of line 11, A through J), making Y2615 for himself).

This type of mutual loan group was found only in Minatogawa. There is a three time rule for the initiator (hakkinin) of the group. He is expected, after the life of the first one, to start two more, whose membership may or may not be the same. It is considered unlucky for him to fail to do this. He will suffer misfortune, such as illness, poverty, or death. Whether these eventualities are feared is hard to say, but the three time rule is always observed. The initiator also is responsible for calling on guarantors to pay amounts in default. [184] [177]

Since these groups are composed of individuals who trust one another, there is flexibility in handling the funds. Generally one meeting a month is held. But there may be 15 in a year. If extra money is picked up in the summer months, two meetings might be held in July, August, and September. Certain fictions are recognized. If A needs more than Y20,000, he may, when it is D's turn, and with his consent, act as if he were D, and get an additional loan in place of D. These maneuverings depend on consultation and discussion within the group. Very short term loans are seldom made. But the same object can be achieved by splitting a loan with the actual borrower, the silent borrower assuming the interest and repayments for his portion of the total.

The discount type is more adapted to a cash economy in which fishermen or business men have available money, and borrowers are willing to pay substantial amounts for immediate loans. The agricultural [184]

[Text continues top of P. 248 -- analyst]

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The Okinawan Midwife

Children are born under the care of a midwife (sanba). Physicians do not attend at birth, but they may be called later if complications develop. Native doctors (yabu), who have now largely disappeared, are not consulted. One midwife may serve several villages. She is engaged some months before the expected birth. Midwives are highly respected. The older ones have added to their initial training a wealth of knowledge based on experience. A midwife in Ginosa village takes care of the expectant mothers of Matsuda and one in Gushichan village serves those of Hanashiro and Minatogawa. Midwives long resident in an area are beloved by the children they have delivered. The children when adult visit her, or she is invited to the homes of those at whose birth she has assisted. 844 [159] [554] [574]

Prenatal examinations are made by the midwife in the 3rd, 5th, 7th, and 9th month of pregnancy, the most thorough of those being the last three. The mother goes to the midwife for the examinations, but the birth takes place in the home. A birth other than in one's home is considered bad luck. [843] [nn]

Starting with the 5th month, the belly is wrapped around with a flannel sash (a harasobi). On the 5th month, it may be 7 shaku (about 7 feet) long and about 8 inches wide; by the ninth month, a 9 shaku length is used. The sash is not needed, in one midwife's opinion, during the last month of pregnancy, but it may be left on. While the sash is worn, it is taken off three times a month for laundering. The purpose of the binding is to keep the child in its natural position and to prevent it from turning and causing an abnormal delivery. 843 292

After birth, the child may be slapped on the backside if the mother has been in labor 17 hours or more. According to one midwife, the usual labor for a first child is about 17 hours, and 7 for the second. The midwife cuts the umbilical cord and may, but not always, dispose of the afterbirth (taiban, iya in Japanese). 844

In the villages, this may be disposed of by women relatives or by the father. It is buried, following an old custom, behind the house in a place where it does not rain. In Matsuda, women relatives wrap the placenta in a cloth and bury it, while friends, relatives, and children gather around and laugh. There are variants of this custom. In Minatogawa, the afterbirth is wrapped in a cloth and buried back of the house by the father. Neighboring children gather and laugh while this is going on. The reason for the laughing is that the new born child may always smile and be gay. In another variant, the father alone does the laughing. In all villages studied, this custom in its variants still has vitality. [184]

According to a Ginosa midwife, maternal death in child birth is unusual. Hanashiro women said the same. Miscarriages in early 165 843

Naming the Child

On the day of his birth, the child is given a name, but this is not the one it carries throughout life. The latter name, sometimes called the school name, may be given 5 days after birth, counting the date of the birth. This custom of double naming is still used in Hanashiro and Hinatogawa, though, according to local residents, it disappeared from Hatsuda ten years ago. It is hard to discover the reasons for this double naming. Perhaps the first name is a temporary one to be used for the first crucial days of the child's life. If he survives, he receives his permanent one. This name, while known to the child, is not ordinarily retained when he gets his second name. Among the very old, however, some of these first names have been retained through life.[4] In Hanashiro, young and old alike may be known by both names, but the younger are apt to use the full given name. Adults and the old are known by both names. 553 [184]

The names given on the birth day are often the occasion of laughter, as some have the same pronunciation as common names of household utensils, agricultural tools, or domestic animals. The following list was obtained in Hanashiro but the same names were equally familiar in the other villages. (1) Ushi, given to males and females. Ushi is also the word for cattle. (2) Kame, also the word for a turtle or a tortoise. (3) Tsuru, also a stork or crane. (4) Nta, given to both sexes, the Okinawan word for pig. (5) Handu, also a water barrel. (6) Kama, also a sickle. (7) Nabi, a pot.[5] 551

These are homonyms. The name is written in hiragana or katakana (the Japanese syllabaries), not with the Chinese character of its homonym. Hence it would be incorrect to say that the child is named "Cow," "Pig," "Pot," etc. [212]

In Hatsuda, up to about 30 years ago, according to one informant, if a wife gave birth to a child in the husband's absence, the eldest relative present gave the child a name of the sex opposite its own, apparently to avoid bad luck by resort to contrariety. When mothers gave birth to a child in the toilet, it was named nta or nte, apparently referring to the identity of the toilet and the pig pen. 844 553 [nn]

4 This is apparent in analyzing the family registers (koseki)

5 Other names are Tamachi (female); Unato (female in Hanashiro); Makatu (f); Chiru (f); Taru (male and female); Jira (m); Sanra (m and f but scarce); Miyo (m); Uku (f); Kanashi (f), and Kana (m and f).

like "owners" of the concrete objects which they inhabit. These objects can be made subservient to human needs if care is taken not to offend the deities. As long as proper ritual observances are performed, humans need not fear their hostility. They are addressed in prayers and chants, and people make offerings to them at several ceremonies during the year. No one in Taira, including the priestess, has any exact knowledge about their characteristics, and there is no theological dogma, but people know that when building a house, for example, one must announce his intention to the deities and pacify these spirits who have been carried with the lumber from the mountains or with gravel from the beach and the sea. They must be thanked for letting the builder use such materials and sent back to their natural abode. Before the house is finished, the surrounding plot of land must be cleared of all evil spirits. Neglect of such ceremonies can turn supernatural beings into adversaries. One family who neglected proper rituals on their house lot when they built their home tried to appease angry deities by holding a ceremony a year after the house was finished because bad luck had befallen members of the household. Although most supernatural beings can be pacified by proper observance of rituals, there are some who are inherently malevolent. These ogres may be seen in the form of fire balls or in some other shape or physical appearance.

776 782 776 782 342 [777] [821]

The worship of these nature deities and the observance of ceremonies in their behalf are in the hands of the high priestess and her female assistants. In former times each main house, later each village, had its own priestess. The present high priestess in Taira derives her office from a much later institution, a nation-wide hierarchy of religious officials established by the Okinawan king in an effort to combine religion with political influence and supervision in the villages. Today the high priestess has no association with the central government; the Japanese abolished the system. The hierarchy of female religious officials (see Lebra: 1958), those representing main houses, and the chief village priestess is no longer clearly delineated in Taira, since representatives of several offices have left the island or died, and the vacancies have not been filled. The high priestess has taken over most of the religious functions. Her chief assistants are older women from the two main houses. While these three women officiate, several other women are in attendance as helpers. In spite of the diminishing role of animistic religion in the daily life of younger people, the high priestess still enjoys prestige in the community. She is exempted from communal labor in recognition of her status.

793 562 794 [177] [613] [554] [653]

The present high priestess is a woman in her fifties who works and

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In addition to meeting with physical and emotional needs, the child must be protected from the nurtured by the numerous supernatural forces in the form of malevolent and benevolent spirits which operate to influence the course of an individual's life. There are lucky and unlucky days, years, and tides, which are believed to determine the fate of a person. Females born in the year of the monkey are considered unlucky, for they are thought to outlive their male contemporaries. Men dislike marrying them. Supplications are made and precautionary measures taken by adults to secure the newborn's life, happiness, and health. 776 777 854 [581]

Ancestral spirits influence the development and fate of the child. Occasionally a child who is the victim of ill health during his early years is adopted by a couple whose ancestral spirits are thought to be more favorable than his own on the dictate of the fortune teller. By mysterious calculations involving birth dates of the principals, the fortune teller uncovers some incompatibility and advises adoption. The child remains with his parents but worships the ancestral spirits of his adoptive parents. In this way parents seek to ensure the well-being of the child. 597 769 755

Mother interview data indicate the awareness of Taira people of the variations in personality among children of one family. Adults do in a large measure adapt their actions in accord with these differences. They recognize hereditary influences, but although a mother may comment on the similarity of temperament with regard to her child and other members in the family or kin group, there are no ideas or beliefs that the souls of deceased are inherited. Usually the mother, in describing the characteristics of the child, rarely goes beyond likenesses which can be attributed to herself or her husband. She is at a loss to explain the "very different child." "My eldest son has my nasty temper whereas my second daughter is not like either of us, very strange. All the others have a little of myself and my husband in them. We often wonder how it is that she is so unlike either of us." 155 828 858 [124]

A child born with two cowlicks predicates a "problem" to his parents. Parents often explain, "Oh, this child is very naughty, for as you can see, he has two cowlicks." Children often search each other's heads, and on discovering two instead of the single whorl, they shout in glee, "Naughty, naughty." One 4-year-old cuddled and hugged his newborn sister after searching her head. "You have two cowlicks just like me! You and I are 'naughty,'" he whispered to her. Turning to the adults in the room, he snapped his small bright eyes and grinned impishly as he reported his discovery joyfully. [826]

Twin births are disliked only because they place a burden on the 845

'Koseki' Changes The present 'koseki'---those used when this SIRI team visited Okinawa---are temporary ones set up about 1948. 161 217
In some very few areas 'koseki' remain from before the war. Registration in the 'koseki' is not automatic when an individual or family moves into a community. Hence there may even be persons who have bought houselots in a village, rented land there and raised crops---without ever having contacted the 'son' office for change of 'koseki'. Three such instances were observed in Nanahan. Areas such as Goeku-son and the Naha-Mawashi area, which contain many "floaters", may actually have a much larger population than is reported in the census figures.

'Koseki' Inaccuracies The present 'koseki' not only does not contain information on 'museki' persons, but it is often very far behind---sometimes as much as two years---in recording the movement of persons and families out of the villages and into urban centers.

Because old 'koseki' were for the most part destroyed, information on birthdates is very often inaccurate. The Kochinda 'koseki', for example, is full of requests for changes in birthdates, changes ostensibly sought on the basis of more accurate family records recently discovered or assembled. However, some changes may conceivably be sought in order deliberately to misrepresent one's age to a Company or to the military. Also, the possibility should not be ruled out that some persons change their recorded birthdate in order to bring about a change in their luck. [777]

Accuracy of Kochinda-son Data The statistics on household heads presented above represents the total number of people registered in the Kochinda 'koseki'. It does not take into consideration those persons and families who are recorded as having temporarily moved elsewhere. 217 162 592

Many people in Kochinda who have moved to the city have failed to record that fact in the 'koseki'. Many times this is attributable to apathy and poverty, but may often involve the matter of pride in having one's record in the same 'koseki' as one's close relatives. There is an additional factor at work: most Okinawans realize that the present urban trend brought about by the presence of the military is a temporary phenomenon, and they fully expect to return to the village in event of a lessening of urban opportunities. Thus Okinawa follows the Japanese pattern---by tightening their belts and working a little harder, the farmers can always make their plots feed an additional mouth until some adjustment can be made. [369] [829]

Hence the Kochinda statistics as presented above represent some 2,000 household heads and some 10,000 persons, rather than the census count of some 8,500 persons and 1,970 household heads.

The New 'Koseki' Early in 1954 the Government of the Ryukyu Islands ordered a new 'koseki' to be compiled. It will no doubt be more complete in most respects than is the temporary 'koseki'. The demand for a new 'koseki' came about chiefly because Japanese governmental pension agencies 217 [648]

217 need information having to do with widows, orphans, and the war dead. An
[648] interesting study might revolve around comparisons between the temporary 'koseki' and the new one. A study of the 'museki' persons should be very revealing in regard to aspects of lower-class life.

Usefulness in Research The 'koseki' is a mine of information of great potential value to anthropologists and other social scientists. A study of the personal names of people, especially women,
[777] would help show when new ideas came into the village. Name changes are often registered because a person feels his luck will change with a better-sounding name. Those 'koseki' which record the 'yagō', or house name, would enable one to make an extensive survey of the munchu system. A complete study of a 'son's' population should include supplementary records from the land ownership register and tax rolls.

When more accurate records are kept upon those who have left the village for urban work, the 'koseki' will provide many opportunities to study the process and pace of urbanization. Finally, in the process of copying a 'koseki', innumerable opportunities arise for consulting 'son' office personnel on customs and practices in the villages, thus providing new insights into Okinawan life. All in all, the 'koseki' is a most useful document whose possibilities have scarcely been tapped by social scientists.

The people of Nagamo are farmers. The seat of their extended families is in Naha and Shuri, and they have their own local deity places (ujigami in Japanese). The people of Minatogawa are fishermen, their extended family seats are in Itoman. They too have their local deities and many of their religious ceremonies are centered around the gods of the sea and the dragon of the sea god's palace. 596 706 708

The population of Minatogawa, as of December 31, 1951, was 1108 (515 males, 593 females) in 213 households, an average of 5.2 persons per household, and of adjoining Nagamo, 564 persons (262 males, 302 females) with 113 households, an average of 5.0 persons per household. 162.

The fishing village of Minatogawa is believed to be about 250 years old. It was founded, according to local residents, by the fishermen of Itoman who were accustomed to fish off shore near the islands around the southeastern and southwestern parts of Okinawa. The place was first established as a temporary location for the fishing boats and later permanent settlement took place. The tombs of Itoman are still the ultimate burying ground for large numbers of the Minatogawa fishermen. After 250 years the ties with the parent town are still strong. 361 193 [764]

The village has two traditions involving contacts with other peoples. The first is concerned with the Chinese. One is a spot on the shore where some Chinese are said to have landed over 200 years ago. Many fishermen pray to it on certain occasions of the year. Little is known of what happened to the Chinese, but supposedly they were buried high up the side of a steep mountain nearby, inside a cave with stalactites. Bones said to be of these Chinese may still be seen there. The cave is difficult of access. 173 177 [978]

There is also the tradition of London sailors said to have been shipwrecked at the port of Kiyan on the southwest tip of Okinawa. A child was born of the union of one of these sailors with an Okinawan woman and the sailor later returned to England. The tomb of the woman and the child is revered as a religious site. It is now a small shrine on the outskirts of Itoman called Rondongama, Rondon for London.[9] Old women of Minatogawa sing a song of this old love called Michinakankai. The theme of the song is the unashamed love of the woman for her departed London lover, an Okinawan anticipation of Madame Butterfly. [978] [533]

In this area the low, bare hills form in a haphazard way a series of valleys, some long and narrow, others like an amphitheatre with an open face to the sea. Low passes connect the valleys. One such pass, about 150 feet high, now on Highway 64, leads from the valley of 133 361

[Text Continues on Top of P. 53--Analyst]

9 The writer visited both the cave and the site near Itoman town in August 1951. The shrine is now situated on a small hill on the outskirts of Itoman. The bones were moved here during the war from Maisato village to escape Japanese bombing. A large cave nearby, associated with the mother and the child, is overgrown and very dangerous to enter because of the danger of snakes.

621 614 villages studied, these frequencies of families with the same surname are very high. The seat of these extended families of the Hinatogawa fishermen is in almost every instance the town of Itoman. The tombs of Hinatogawa are entirely different from those of the neighboring [764] agricultural communities. They are small and temporary tombs for keeping remains that will later be removed to the large, often dramatically situated extended family tombs of Itoman. One resident of Hinatogawa aptly described his village as a "bunke (branch family) of Itoman."

463 621 614 This is an unusual situation and can not be fully explained except by a study of Itoman and the smaller fishing villages scattered throughout Okinawa Island. One explanation might be that historically Okinawans have been farmers, and that, while they are excellent fishermen, they have not as a people participated in large numbers in fishing, leaving this activity to definite groups, such as the people of Itoman town. The passing down of occupations of the father to the son, the infrequency of change in occupation, especially from agriculture to fishing, the establishment of daughter villages, such as Hinatogawa, might account for the fact that fishing is the occupation of a compact group of families who have intermarried and continued in their traditional occupations. Even in Matsuda, to the north, the temporary colonies of fishermen are either Itoman people or are their descendants. (There are of course a few local farmers who do some fishing). The close ties between Hinatogawa and its parent town of Itoman illustrate the persistence of occupational and social relationships over a period of two and a half centuries.

614 Certain exceptions to the usual practice in Hinatogawa accentuate the closeness of extended family relationships between Itoman and Hinatogawa. As an illustration, we may take the case of three related families in Hinatogawa who are not fishermen. The head of one family is a retired farmer, his son is a school teacher, and a third is a distant relative is a stone cutter. These people, formerly members or descendants of members of the nobility, came from Shuri. The main house of their extended family is in Shuri. This contemporary extended family now has so many members that the places for reunions and meetings have been increased, since the site of the main house in Shuri, founded by the original ancestor, can no longer accommodate all the members. The places of worship are divided into the main place, (umuta in Okinawan) and intermediate places [778] (nakamutu in Okinawan). Some of these secondary places of worship are in nearby Naha. The number of these cases is small compared with the closely knit ties of the fishermen's families with Itoman town.

In Matsuda, the extended family operates as it does in Hanashiro. In the former town, there is an illustration of another point regarding the extended family system: the identity of a family name with a village name. Historically, the family took the name of the place; the place did not receive the name of the family. Though the situation is not clear, it would seem that when the king made grants of land to nobles that they [565] adopted the name given by the king to the place, while commoners did not receive surnames, but were known by their household rank order — to be explained in Section 8. The village of Matsuda, for example, is the same

fortune teller. The purpose of this visit is to discover who would be a good adopting parent. The fortune teller advises the parents to select a person born under the same year sign as the child. These year signs roughly correspond to the signs of the zodiac. The twelve signs with their Japanese equivalents are: rat (ne), ox (ushi), tiger (tora), hare or rabbit (u), dragon (tatsu), snake (mi), horse (uma), sheep hitsuji), monkey (saru), bird (tori), dog (inu), and hog or boar (i). The year 1951 was the year of the hare; 1952 is the year of the dragon (tatsudoki).

The adopting or "growing up" parent is older, in multiples of 12, than the child. After consulting almanacs and other materials, the fortune teller advises the parents to find a person in the village born under the same year sign as the child. Prospective adopting parents are then sought out and the matter is discussed with them. Both parents may do this, but most often the discussions are carried on by the mother. When the selection is made, the child is "given" to the adopting parent, and there are prayers before the Buddhist god shelf in the home of the adopting parent.

Actually the child continues to live with its own parents, but makes frequent visits to the home of the adopting parent. There are no stated intervals at which these visits are made, except for New Years and O-Bon. The adopting parent may on these visits give food and presents to the child.

The arrangement thus seems to be a form of sponsorship and guardianship without special responsibilities on the part of the adopting parent, to bring good health and long life to the child. It has only slight resemblances to the godfather and godmother in Christian countries who sponsor a child at his baptism and theoretically at least undertake to be responsible for his Christian training. But the sponsorship and guardianship features are somewhat similar.

Adoption of this type may be done in Okinawa by either sex. Generally old women are the favorites and they may have many such adopted children. But old or older men may also assume this obligation. This form of "growing up" adoption existed in all the villages studied in substantially the same form.

8

The Household Order Naming System

Families in a village have, in addition to their own surnames, secondary names by which individual families are known. This secondary naming system is a device to distinguish related families with the same surname from one another.

The secondary naming system is known as "the household order," or yagō in Japanese. To introduce this discussion, it might be well to

137 settled area and for protection of the surrounding crops. Around
311 houses, there are common stone fences, bamboo fences and trees.
Stone fences, though solid may be toppled over. Bamboo, or dwarf
[417] bamboo fences, seemingly slight, resist the winds and remain intact
because of their flexible loose weave.

137 The trees on the ridges of the low lying hills or on high pieces
133 of ground are tall, and sturdy, and jealously protected. The villagers
185 take great pride in them. Today this pride is based on the realization
of their effectiveness; in former times, their protection was associated
with the worship of the gods of the sacred grove (utaki). There were
[178] beliefs, which now seem to be dying out, that cutting these trees
[177] would bring bad luck. Many villagers say that Saion in the 18th
[173] century intentionally invented superstitions concerned with the cutting
of the trees in order to save them. Now these trees are no longer in
danger of cutting, even though the penalties of the old beliefs are no
longer feared.

The following short list does not exhaust the kinds of trees and plants found in this area. It is confined to those trees, shrubs, and grasses which are most frequently found and which have the greatest local importance.

824 (1) The Ryukyuan pine (Riukiu-matsu in Japanese, Pinus luchuensis
313 Mayr). This tree is still one of the commonest sights of the island,
even in southern Okinawa. At present, it is a source of firewood,
cheap lumber, and siding. It is not considered good housebuilding
material because of termites (shiroari). Pine was used for fishing
boats within living memory, but now they are made of much harder woods.
In this area, the coniferous groves are along the seashore. The larger
stands are not cut. Scrub pine on individually owned wild land may be
cut for firewood.

(2) The fukugi (Garcinia spicata Hook.). The fukugi is used around homes and on mountain ridges as a typhoon protection. It is fairly plentiful here and prized as a building material (kenchikuzai). The hard studs, beams and cross beams and the wide plank floors in the older and better houses are often made out of this wood.

(3) The iju (Schima luchuensis Nak.). This tree, common here, is used as a building material and is considered to be better than the Japanese redwood (sugi). It is not regarded as a good firewood.

(4) The inumaki (Podocarpus macrophyllum D. Don). This tree is not well known here, and there are no large specimens. But it is regarded as the best building material when available. Often the large, hard, rough hewn poles which are placed on stones and support the eaves of the older houses are made from this wood.

(5) The shii (Shiia cuspidata). The dense stands of this tree in the village owned forest restrict the size of the specimens, though

wood and lumber for Japanese army uses and for air raid shelters were in demand, (2) the burning in the course of the war, and (3) the intense cutting after the war for firewood and rebuilding. 313 [7]2[7]

Okinawan traditions relating to forest care have a positive value and it is worth while to recapitulate them here. Local old men and antiquarians in Matsuda give credit to Saion who wrote a long treatise on agriculture and is said to have intentionally devised superstitions to save trees. Death or misfortune would come to him who cut the trees, especially those in sacred groves or on the tops of mountains. Some local residents have said that the gods of the mountain are really not of religious inspiration at all, but had their origin in the conscious desire of Saion to save the trees. While there does not seem to be any truth in this assertion, since these deities of the sacred groves and mountain tops reach far back into antiquity, there is no doubt that sacred groves and houses of the mountain gods saved trees that otherwise would have been cut down. (In China and Japan, religious shrines and holy places have also been areas of the preservation of trees). 313 173 [178] [171]

Present attitudes were summarized by a Matsuda school principal who said that beliefs in mountain gods and in death and misfortune following cutting trees were dying out, and that these old beliefs had been replaced by awareness of the scientific reasons for preserving the trees. [183] [176] [177]

In Matsuda, pride in the trees, in the groves that line its hill tops and overlook the narrow valleys and ravines planted to rice and other crops is a conspicuous part of village experience. There are trees along the main road near the town that are said to have been planted in Saion's time under his inspiration.

These favorable traditions are helpful. They do not guarantee the preservation of the forests. Previous experience has shown this. From what may be surmised of the history of Okinawan forests, the destruction of modern times has been correlated with war and the expansion of economic activities. We may speculate, too, that previous deforestation was slow, inexorable and related to the clearing of accessible stands near settlements, and the extension of these settled areas as they grew. "Most of the accessible primitive forests have been exhausted," Dr. Green wrote in his report to Commodore Perry.11 The need for fuel increases with population. In China, Japan, Korea, and Okinawa, the relation of forests, either as a source for lumber or fuel, to population growth and settlement is a very intimate one. This is a basic consideration in discussing not only the "patterns of culture" but the relation of culture to the natural environment in this part of the world. [311] [161] [171]

11 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, Vol. II, 35

who are less shy, can meet and enjoy one another's company under socially approved conditions. 834

The engagement (uino in Japanese, sakimui in Okinawan) varies with individuals and villages. In this respect it is like the marriage ceremony. A one year engagement period is considered long. In one instance of a formal engagement taken from Hanashiro, the young man goes to the girl's house, taking a small amount of sake with him. The parents of both principals are present. The group makes a short prayer, before the Buddhist god shelf, that the two will be a happy couple. The sake is placed on the god shelf. In Hinatogawa, the prospective groom's parents prepare a small feast, and they and the boy go to the bride's house. The food offering is put on the god shelf. The two young people promise to marry. In another variant, from Hatsuda, the boy takes a food offering and sake to the girl's house. The two eat together and promise to marry at a drink exchange (kampai) in which they alternately sip, as is the custom in Okinawa, out of the same cup. From Hatsuda there was still another variant in which the boy was not involved. His mother met the girl's mother and her female relatives in the girl's house. Sake was given to the relatives of the girl. The girl's mother agreed to give her daughter up, the boy's mother agreed that the prospective daughter-in-law would be received in his family. 584 184 [018] [082]

All these variants have this in common, that the engagement symbolizes an act that is more than the decision of two young people. It involves the families as well.

The tomb is revisited on the 7th day. Rice cakes, bean curd, and a little sake may be taken as offerings. The food items vary. Pork, rice, and tea may be added or substituted. The offering may consist of a variety of favored foods (a gochisō, a feast or a treat). The observances on the 14th, 21st, 28th, 35th, and 42nd day are like the preceding ones, though beginning with the 35th day, the prayers and the food offerings may be more elaborate. 765 [262]

The 49th day has special significance. At this time, the temporary white memorial tablets are removed from the god shelf and burned, and the permanent tablets hung there. This god shelf has the tablets of the immediate family in the male line: the father, grandfather, the mother and grandmother, or of deceased children. A son who establishes a branch family has a god shelf in his own house. While I found no unanimity on the point, many interpreted the 49th day as the day on which the deceased is presumed to have become a god (hotoke-san). Others have said this did not take place until the 33rd year after death, certainly a more logical time, since the observances cease at this time. On the 49th day, there are visits to the tomb and prayers before the god shelf at night. As the last of a series of observances which follow closely after death, the food offerings and the food served to guests are much more sumptuous than those of previous weeks. [778] [776]

In the annual anniversaries, differences depend on family piety and economic status. With some families, observances become more elaborate as the years go by. The prayers and the feast of the 1st and 3rd years are usually the same as that of the 49th day. Beginning with the 7th year the rice may be dyed red. Rice dyed red is used as the years from the date of death increase. In all cases, the 33rd year is the last and the most luxurious of the celebrations. The occasion begins with prayers at the god shelf, the food offering, sake, followed by a banquet for the guests, most of whom are relatives. This 33rd year celebration is the final recognition of a person's life on earth as a member of the family and ends the responsibility for observing the anniversary of his death. 769

Though rare, a family may call on a Buddhist priest to officiate at one of these memorial observances. One service, in memory of a fourth son who had died in the Philippines in 1944, was observed in Minatogawa. The priest received from the father the name, age, and place of death of his son and wrote this information on a piece of paper. The chant began with the tapping of a small bell (inkin), ringing which was repeated frequently throughout the service. The chant, which lasted about 25 minutes, was sung in an archaic Japanese which no one understood. Toward the end, the priest read the paper on which he had written the information regarding the deceased. These were the only words which could be clearly understood. The purpose here was to inform the Buddha of the name of the dead. The priest wore a black robe with gold trimming. Around his neck was a string of beads (zuzu) with a pendant purple tassel. He sat in the front of the first room with the father of the dead boy on his right. The women guests were in the second room. As the long chant continued, people began talking to one another, and when the priest 769 793 788 [292]

527 577 better behavior. In one instance from Matsuda, the members of the family talk over their good and bad acts and resolve henceforth to do good.

527 [823] In all the villages, the custom of new or young water (wakamizu) has survived. In Hinatogawa, at 5 or 6 o'clock in the morning of the New Year, young children take fresh water in a tea pot to the homes of relatives. The new water is poured into a cup, placed on the Buddhist god shelf, or on the shelf of the fire god in the kitchen. The children are given ¥5 or ¥10 by the relatives, who are then supposed to stay young themselves. In Matsuda, new water is taken from a well early in the morning, and some is put on the god shelf. The first tea of the New Year is made with "young water".

A parent may also give a piece of pork with salt on it to his child announcing that he is now one year older. This custom is still observed, even though ages officially are now reckoned in the western manner.

In all the villages, the morning observances are family affairs; the public nature of the holiday is evident later. Tea and sake are [769] placed in front of the ancestral tablets on the god shelf. A fresh kimono is put on and the offering is made before breakfast. Then the [782] father takes the sake from the god shelf, offering sips first to his wife and then to the children.

[778] Later there are visits to the place of the patron deity or first ancestor of the village (ujigami). In Hanashiro, all of the people make this visit. In Hinatogawa, it is also a village affair, but is more involved because there are more places to go: a local religious site of unknown origin, the palace of the gods of the sea (ryūgū), the supposed place of the mountain god, the three wells with their god places, and finally to the places of the two patron deities. In Matsuda, the village head man, accompanied by surviving minor [793] priestesses (formerly in the noro order) make visits to the place of the patron deity. But whether all the villagers or only their representatives take part, the visits have the same meaning: to offer thanks to the founders of the village.

The New Year is a time for extended family reunions. If the home site of the extended family is not in the village, the family or a representative may go to the reunion in another village, if it is not too far away. Only members of the extended family attend these celebrations.

With early morning observances in the home, the public ceremonies, and the extended family reunions over, the gay, informal and public [524] part of the holiday begins. Hospitality is offered on all sides, and there is much drinking among the men. The celebration continues for the rest of the first day and through the second. The third day is a transitional day whose theme is the need of returning to work. This is hachibaru (to begin farming). The day is given over to more feasting and drinking and to some actual or token work.

3

Celebrations Through the Festival of the Fifth Month

796 The 15th day of the second lunar month (March 22, 1951) is the Buddhist holiday, higan, celebrating the spring equinox. Here it is a home festival of thanksgiving. Barley (ōmugi) or barley cakes [262] with brown sugar are offered with prayers for continued good fortune. Other grains, such as rice, millet (awa) may be offered, though the cakes (mugimochi) are of barley. In Hatsuda, this is not a home ceremony. An offering of white rice cakes is made by the village [193] head man, with the assistance of lower orders of the former priestess system, at the site of the village patron deity.

527 The third day of the third month is the festival of the dolls, (hinamatsuri). It is not important in Okinawa and is spottily ob- [524] served. In Hinatogawa, it is a woman's holiday. Women and children [562] make dolls. Gifts of dainties and candies in red lacquer boxes are prepared. People from nearby villages come to Hinatogawa, bring their lunches, and gather shells and catch fish.

The fifth day of the fifth month is Boy's Day. This Japanese holiday is not significant in the villages. There may be banners with a picture of a carp (koi no bori) displayed, visits to the place of the patron deity, some visiting and samisen playing, and perhaps a play.

527 The 14th day of the 5th month (June 18, 1951) is the festival 526 of the Gods of the Sea and is observed only in Hinatogawa. It is this village's greatest celebration. The boat race, held on this day, attracts many from the interior villages. In Hanashiro, most activity ceases while everyone goes to the boat races. Before the [178] races, the villagers go to the religious sites to make small offerings [182] and to pray. The races are held in the estuary of the river. In their excitement, children with infants on their back often wade out in the water to cheer their favorite boat.

796 The Festival of the Fifth Month (Gogatsumatsuri) is held on the 15th day of the 5th lunar month (June 19, 1951). Like the festival of the spring equinox, it is a day of thanksgiving. Thanks are given for rice [193] instead of for barley. In Hatsuda, the ceremony is conducted by the village head man and former members of the priestess system.[2]

[114] [825] 2 According to a Hatsuda informant, women should not sew on this day. It is a rest day. If work is done, including gathering plants for fertilizer, the dreaded poisonous snake, the habu, will come. These customs were not encountered in the other villages.

The only Buddhist priest in the areas studied was at the small village of Maegawa, within walking distance of Hinatogawa and Hanashiro. He was a priest of the Jōdo sect (Jōdoshu), one of the important sects of Japan, and stressing salvation by faith. The sect of the priest in this village is of no importance, since the rural people now or before the war had neither the interest nor the capacity for doctrinal distinctions. The temples of this sect were burned during the war, including one in the village of Kochinda, a junction point between Maha and Gushichan. 793 [795] 346 727

Before the war the colors of the robes varied with the sect and with the position of the priest in the hierarchy. In the Jōdo sect, the lowest grade wore black, followed up the scale by orange, blue or green, a chocolate reddish brown, and purple, the highest. This contrasts sharply with the priest's present improvisations. His is the black robe of the Shinshu sect. It is a summer garment, made of soft light silk called shiya and resembles a man's kimono, but is longer and sweeps the floor. The garment hangs straight down and is not gathered or tucked. The only other religious possessions were a bell and a badly soiled print of the Buddha (oshaku) which hung in his room. 793 795 292 [778]

Before the war, some people in the Gushichan area requested the services of a priest at funerals. After the war, the people of Hanashiro, and other villages as well, decided because of the expense, to forego the services of a priest. 793

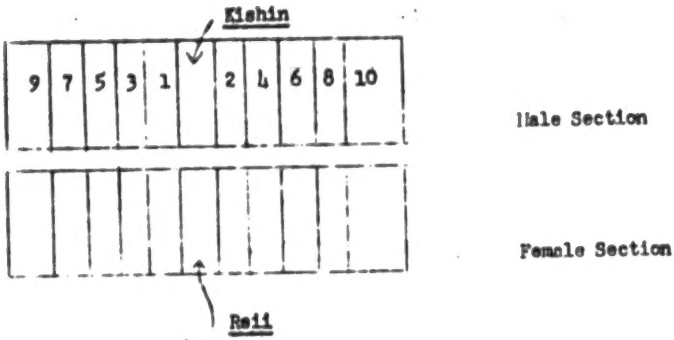
Occasionally this priest officiates when the bones in the temporary tombs of Hinatogawa are moved to the extended family tomb at Itoman, or in a ceremony honoring a death anniversary. Few Okinawans became priests. This priest is a native of Japan, one of the few remaining Japanese priests in the island. At eleven, he entered a Buddhist temple (tera) and has been engaged in religious activity ever since. Now about 50, he has a wife and two children; his head is unshaved and the hair is of a conventional cut. He does not depend on the priesthood for a living, but is employed as an official in a village office. [797]

The situation with regard to Buddhism was quite similar in Hatsuda, although there is no priest in the vicinity. There is little doubt, if the villages studied are typical, that this already moribund religion is disappearing altogether here, choked off by lack of temples, lack of priests, and by indifference. 771 178

It is not so with household Buddhism, if this term may be used to describe ceremonies and beliefs centering around the Buddhist god shelf or family altar (butsudan). This household altar is in the second room of every home. Around it collect the sentimental memories of the past, such as family pictures, photographs of young soldiers and dearly loved relatives. Prayers and offerings of food and drink to the dead are made before it. 771 178 183

An important part of the Buddhist altar is a frame holding the memorial tablets for the family dead. These tablets (ihai) are pieces 778 769

778 of wood lacquered red and lettered in gold. The frame has an upper
769 section for the male dead and a lower for the female. The date of death is written on the back of each tablet. In the center of each section is a strip with a Chinese character written on it. The upper or male section has the character, kishin, with a meaning similar to returning to the source (moto ni kaeru). The lower or female section has the character reii, suggesting that your spirit is in this place. The tablets are placed in an order, the first to the left of the middle character, the second to the right, so that the last placed ones are toward the outer edge.



(Arrangement of the Memorial Tablets (ihai)

778 The frequent occasions throughout the year when devotions are made
782 at the altar have already been described in many of the preceding pages. These can be summarized by saying that offerings and prayers are made (1) to commemorate important dates in an individual's life, like birth, the first birthday, engagement, marriage, death, and the anniversary of a death, (2) during holidays and festivals in which honoring the dead and thanksgiving are dominant themes, and (3) at times of individual and private religious worship or prayer. Some women pray daily after placing a cup of tea, a bowl of rice and a burning charcoal stick on the altar. Others observe the 1st and the 15th of the lunar month.

771 This household Buddhism, centering around the altar, has no institutional basis. There are no Buddhist temples in any of the villages. Family worship at the altar is both an honoring of the ancestral dead and also, it would seem, an acceptance of the merciful and humane doctrines of the Buddhist faith. Buddhism traditionally is the religion of consolation at death. The fact that ancestor worship takes place at the
[182] Buddhist altar, however, does not mean that this is a religion in a doctrinal sense. One has been grafted on to the other.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

4

Ancestor Worship

"Ancestor worship" has been used to describe the devotion to the spirit of the dead and the long continued remembrance of them by the living. While it is too deeply intrenched to be changed, the term is not satisfactory. It is really the worship of those who precede one in death, and these may be ascendants or descendants. The term, "ancestor worship," also conceals the fact that there is a partnership of the living and the dead, which, continued by the living generation in the production of children, will carry over in the future, so that family continuity from the remote past to the remote future is never broken. It is, in the phrase of John Hubbard, "a chain of worship,"[2] not merely the worship of the past and of the dead. But whether in the popular mind these two conceptions, worship of the dead and the family as a continuity, are closely and consciously related is impossible for me to say. The two ideas exist side by side on the level of feeling: to respect one's ancestors and to have children. 769 602

Another form of ancestor worship occurs in observances honoring the first ancestor or the founder of the village. Each village has a place of the guardian god (ujigami), located on the supposed site where the founder of the village first settled, which perpetuates the memory of the founder, who may, in some cases, also be the first ancestor of a family living in the village. (It has been suggested that the ujigami also might be related historically to the fire deity). Ceremonies at the place of the village guardian god have a public character and were often conducted by the priestesses. 776 778 [993]

Hanashiro. The place of the guardian god, a small building, is located on a plot of village owned land, off the main road at the edge of the settlement where the cultivated land begins. It is not well kept up. There is no attendant or caretaker. When necessary, it is reconstructed by volunteer village effort. Broken stone stairs lead up to the small tile roofed building. Inside, there are 5 stones, about 10 inches on the side and 4 inches thick. Some have thought these also represent the primitive hearth stones associated with worship of the fire god. One villager described it as a woman's deity place. Before the war, emigrants to the South Seas, South America, Manchuria, or Japan and their relatives prayed here for the good health and early return of those departing. [346] [358] [167]

Now there is public worship at the place on several occasions during the year. On the 3rd day of the 3rd month, a woman's holiday, women and children go to the seashore around Minatogawa, and, on returning, pray at the place of the guardian god. On O-Bon, the village lion appears in front of this site. There is samisen playing and the whole village offers a prayer. (Not all villages have the lion costume. 778 796 [536] [825]

2 Quoted in L. Cranmer-Byng, The vision of Asia, New York, 1933, 42.

778 One person in front fills in the head and forelegs, another in back
796 provides the rear and hindlegs. The lion, with its human mechanism,
is a common sight at festivals and parades. It is a symbol of health
536 and strength worthy of imitation). In the Festival of the Full Moon,
825 during the autumnal equinox, the lion appears again and the whole village participates in prayers before the festivities begin.

778 On the 1st and 15th of each lunar month, the headman goes to the
796 place of the guardian god and makes an offering of tea, burns a charcoal
stick, and says a prayer. On the 9th day of the 9th lunar month, the
[764] village council and the elders assemble before the village burial
palanquin (gan), offer prayer at the founder's site and then before the
[825] village office where the lion is standing.

Minatogawa. This village has three deity places and various explanations are given for this. Some believe that two of them represent
778 sites of co-founders, a first son, and his younger brother, the second
796 son. The third site is vaguely known as a village god place. It is
a small outdoor place of worship on the main village road, with a step and a shelf for charcoal sticks. The founders' sites are located in the center of the settled area, but on different sides of the road. In the site of the second son, there are three stones, shaped like life savers but with a bottom for placing the charcoal sticks, three glasses for tea, and three bottles. The site of the supposed first son, less well kept, has a small altar, four stones, tea cups, and cans for the burning of incense.

778 On New Year and at O-Bon, the whole, or substantial portions, of
796 the village pray first at the supposed first son's site, then at the
second son's. Prayers are offered also at the roadside deity place.
[782] Some of the younger villagers hope that as the older residents die off,
the expenses of providing offerings and upkeep for all three can be
[358] eliminated and that simpler observances can take place at the roadside shrine. The situation now is complicated by the fact that many people regard themselves as descendants of one or the other co-founder.

778 Matsuda. In this village, the founder's site is reached by stairs
leading up a hillside. It is in the settled area near a dense growth
189 of trees and shrubs. Close by there is a shed in which the lion skin
is kept. In this village the founder's site seemed less important than
[793] another religious place, on the main road, in which women of lesser rank in the former priestess system participate in ceremonies. In this village there seems to be less participation by all the people of the village at the place of the guardian or founder deity, and, instead, representatives, like the headman, elders, and the former priestesses
[796] conduct the ceremonies at New Year, O-Bon, and at the equinoctial holidays.

The group sat in a circle. The priestess occupied the highest spot, her female assistants somewhat lower places, and the men, for once, in the lowest position. The priestess, her women and the male entourage held public worship on the 15th day of the 5th, the 15th and 16th day of the 6th, and the 10th day of the 8th lunar months. On these days there were prayers for good crops, for freedom from disasters and typhoon damage. On the 10th day of the 8th month, there were special prayers that neither diseases nor epidemics enter Hatsuda. These three periods may be rest days on which the villagers may assemble at the place where the prayers are being offered. Because there is no priestess, these ceremonies are now conducted by former assistants. The meetings are attended by fewer and fewer people and the ceremonies may disappear altogether. 793 796 [782]

6

Gods of the Fire, Wells, and Sacred Groves

There are also other forms of worship which still survive. These are (1) the god of fire (hi no kami), (2) spirits of the sea, of wells, springs, and groves, and (3) types of fortune telling which blend into religious belief. 776 [787]

Gods of the Fire. In every Okinawan kitchen, there is a place above the stove or hearth dedicated to the kitchen or the fire god. There is no image or personification of the god. Usually the place is a very small shelf on which charcoal sticks are burned for the god of the hearth. This is done by women exclusively. The women may light the sticks daily, but it is more usual for the housewife to perform the observance on the 1st and 15th of the lunar month. This was true of all the villages, and I have never seen a kitchen which lacked a place for the fire god.[7] 776 778 372 782 [562]

Gods of the Well (ido no kami). In Hanashiro, prayers are offered in front of the two public wells on lunar New Year. The whole village does not participate. Two or three older men from each extended family perform the rite. The gods of the well are told that the villagers need water; they are thanked for what they have had, and asked to continue to furnish a plentiful supply. 776 778 796

7 The Shinto god shelf (kamidana) is extremely rare. In my observation, it was present only in the homes of Okinawans who had lived in Japan. One in Hatsuda, located in the first room, had two shelves, on both of which a small urn for burning incense sticks was placed between two flower vases. The place on the left represents the founder, the one on the right, his immediate descendant. The family prays to the Shinto god on the 1st and 15th of the lunar month. The husband and wife pray first, followed by the children. A rice offering is placed on the shelf. On it there was a small figurine of the fox god (inari-san) and a mirror, both Shinto symbols. 177 184

778 796 Similar worship may take place at a spring (isumi). Near Oushichan village there is a large spring. Stone stairs have been built up, amphitheatre-like, around it. Prayers are offered by villagers, or substantial numbers of them, on New Year and on the 5th day of the 5th lunar month. In daily life, the spring is a favorite place for laundering and bathing.

776 778 796 There are three well gods in Hinatogawa, and they are worshipped at the three public wells scattered throughout the village. The people of the village, or large numbers of them, assemble at these wells for prayer at various times of the year, the most important being on New Year and on boat racing day. Sake and a box of candy are placed before the well as offerings of thanks for water.

This village has also a place for the worship of the sea god. This is a simple stone on a small shelf, on a barren spot of the seashore, scarcely distinguishable from the rocks scattered in natural disarray by the waves. In a high wind, the remains of the offerings and the charcoal sticks are swept out to sea. The most important observance here occurs on the 4th day of the 5th month, the day of the sea festival and the boat races. Fishermen come to the place by boat and make offerings of sharks' fins. On this day, the whole village assembles twice to pray at the spot, once before, and once after the races and the celebration. Individual or family worship is common on New Year and at O-Bon. On the equinoctial holiday of the full moon, the headman, the heads of the neighborhood groups, the council and retired elder men assemble, offer thanks and pray for continued plenty from the sea. Very close to the palace of the sea god, a short round stick of bamboo or of thick miscanthus may be stuck in a pile of rocks. Near the top, a dried fish (usually the ika) tail is placed in a slit. In the center there is a slit for another but larger part of the dried fish.

776 778 178 The palace of the mountain god, though its identity is uncertain, is near the palace of the sea god. It is under an overhanging rock along the seashore. This seems an unusual place for the home of a mountain god, but seafarers may have prayed to the god in thanks for guiding them safely in. It seems now to have fallen into disuse. It is now partially overgrown with pandanus and little is known of the place.

776 778 782 Matsuda. In Matsuda, there are beliefs in well, mountain top, and tree grove spirits. There are 8 wells here and family groups usually divide up and worship at one of the wells. After drinking some of the water, thanks are offered to the well god.

776 778 The gods of the mountain top and the tree groves are difficult to understand. Little seems to be known about them locally, and it is difficult to disengage historical from religious elements.

776 787 788 One popular explanation is that these gods were the intentional invention of Saion, the 18th century statesman and authority on forestry and agriculture. But this seems highly unlikely. It is more likely that Saion capitalized on the ancient interdict against cutting down

trees of the sacred grove and used old beliefs to preserve the forests. Formerly it was believed that misfortune would come to him who cut a tree in groves sacred to these gods. If the trees were cut, the god would become angry, the person cutting the tree would be the victim of self-induced illness and by worrying about his deed, gradually would become ill, and perhaps die. These sacred groves, whose religious significance is now almost ignored, are arranged to enclose the village from three directions, with the open side on the south. On the north was the sacred grove in the back (ushiro no utaki) or the grove of the white gold mountain (kinpuku utaki in Okinawan). The mountain gods were supposed to live here. On the west was the grove in front (mae no utaki) on the white silver mountain. This was also known as the fire shrine.

The priestesses also had a hand in this worship of the mountain gods. There are about seven of these places of worship now, and there is still a voluntary caretaker, an old woman with tattooed hands, a family priestess (nigami) in the old system. Occasionally one sees an old woman going to a grove to pray. The only other visitors are the farmers who walk along the paths of the grove on their way to the fields.

7

Other Religious Observances

There are a few other observations which may have some interest. Old women use patches of grass or knotted rice straw to ward off the spirits on days when they are thought to be abroad in great numbers. At the festival of the autumnal equinox, knotted or braided grass (shiba) is placed in various parts of the house. In some houses, bunches are suspended from the cross beams, perhaps three or four bunches to the side. They may be placed in the toilet, at the entrance to the house compound, on the water barrel in the kitchen, on the front and back of fishing boats, or in the interior of the house. Blades of miscanthus grass may be tied around the neck of a bean paste jug (misogami). Spirits, plentiful at this time, are frightened away by the patches of grass and will not enter. The young, while not believing in this, acquiesce to avoid making the old angry.

When a death anniversary is being celebrated, there may be a blade of miscanthus, a rice straw, or a knotted blade of grass on the top of a box of candies or sweet meats to prevent the intrusion of evil spirits. A blade of grass (the san) is occasionally tied around the handle of a tea pot. For the first week after a family death, tea is served from a pot which has this blade of grass. But these are almost invariably the observances of the old and are only infrequently seen. These customs, observed in Hinatogawa, are said to survive among the very old in the other villages.

In Matsuda, a rice rope (shimenawa) was observed at one home. The rice rope, a Shinto symbol, is not common in Okinawan culture. This

789 rope was hung across the entrance of the family compound two times
824 a year, on the 9th day of the 8th month, and on the 8th day of the 12th month. Along the rope, there were knotted blades of grass, also the san plant. The purpose is to frighten away evil spirits
283 and evil doers. One peculiarity of this twisted rice rope is that it is made in a different manner from the ordinary rope. The usual rope is a twist made by rolling the fibre between the palms to the right or away from the body. In this special rope, the roll is reversed and is to the left or toward the body. It is difficult for a person already skilled in the regular method. This villager told of going to two noro
[193] priestesses in the village of Yabu who specialized in teaching this method of making ropes. The husband and the wife received instruction, paying about ¥40 for it because the wife believed in the efficacy of the practice. Each year at the proper times, the husband now makes the special rope himself.

787 Some fortune telling practices shade into religious beliefs,
791 just as religious customs have also included soothsaying and divination. The noros and the Buddhist priests formerly practiced some fortune
184 telling. There were no fortune tellers in any of the villages studied, but villagers occasionally consult them. Here, too, the patronage comes largely from the old and from the women. Younger people, if they know about them, regard these practices as superstitions unworthy of belief. The word meishin (superstition) is frequently heard among the young in
791 describing customs and beliefs of the old. The sign of the fortune teller (sanjinsō) is the Chinese character for three written three
[212] times. These characters are said to signify the three states of existence, pre-natal, the present, and the afterlife, on all of which the fortune teller is well versed. Those in Hanashiro and Minatogawa who wish to consult a fortune teller go to Itoman; those in Hatsuda go to Nago. The cost is usually from ¥40-50 a visit. Typical reasons for a consultation with a fortune teller are: (1) to find out if an ill person will become well, (2) among the fishermen, to find out if the fishermen will return when an unexpected storm has arisen, (3) to discover if a present unhappiness has been caused by the evil deed of an ancestor and if this can be corrected, and (4) to find out the lucky days for such undertakings as marriages, building a house, or beginning new phases of construction.

782 Old women may utter a prayer on seeing a child fall, fearing that
774 the child's spirit might escape because of surprise or fright. (This was observed in Minatogawa).

778 In Hatsuda, there were shelves for burning charcoal sticks in some of the numerous caves in the area. The nature of the worship could not be ascertained, but they may be offerings to deities of the cave.

514 Worship and prayers in the toilet seem to have completely dis-
[776] appeared. There were no personified toilet gods. The toilet apparently was the place in which thanks were given that a place for excrement had
782 been provided. In all the villages, it was said to be an old belief which has now died out. There was no shelf or special place of worship
178 in the Toilet.

778 Although a number of important shrines and worship places are located in the Kawata area, the main shrine is in Taira.

173 To this tranquil area the activities of World War II brought a great
648 upheaval. Although the main stream of refugees from the south, fol-
722 lowing threats of United States troups' invasion, did not reach this
621 northern area, Japanese guerilla forces settled in the hills of Higashi township. This, and the constant warnings from the Japanese of the "terrors" of American occupation, caused the population of all villages to take refuge in the mountains, carrying along what few possessions they could, including livestock. Families were separated and individuals lived in constant fear of soldiers from both sides. Nightly excursions to the fields to harvest whatever could be found helped to maintain a meager diet. It is characteristic of the stresses of this period that among the children of central Taira only one was born in 1945.

173 The war ended for Taira people when American troops had cleared
648 the northern areas of Japanese troops. In this action several villages
727 were destroyed, among them Taira. The present economic struggle of
621 Higashi township, an area which was always handicapped by lack of farmland and poor soil, is partly due to the war. On the other hand, the demand for lumber for an island-wide reconstruction program lent a temporary boom to the economy. In the process, however, forests
[185] which had been heavily cut before the war fell prey to rapid and poorly planned cutting. At present the whole township is in the throes of economic readjustment.

173 In the past 50 years, Taira, like the rest of Okinawa, has sent some
167 of its overflow of population to various areas in the world, including
621 Japan, and especially to the industrial areas of Kobe and Osaka, Saipan, and Brazil. At least five of the families in central Taira lived either in Japan or the Pacific Islands and returned shortly after World War II. Emigrants to Brazil have stayed with the exception of one prominent person who returned to Taira several years before the war. Some of the families lived as many as 18 or 20 years abroad, and several children in the study were born in Japan and returned to the village as infants. Among the villagers are many who have served in the Japanese Army in Asia or in the South Seas.

The repatriation of these families does not seem to have caused any serious disturbances to the village, since many people were killed during the war and several families moved to the city. An exodus to the
[311] outlying areas of the village also provided room for returnees, so, although rice land is scarce, there is still some uncultivated farmland, admittedly mostly of poor quality.

000 The community is dispersed. In the outlying parts, as far as 2 miles

793 lives like other villagers, spending most of her time in the fields and around her home. She has children and grandchildren, but the father of her children no longer lives in Taira. She regards the continuation of the old ceremonies as her holy duty even though she has to do without most of the accustomed material support from the village and [358] in spite of disbelief and lack of participation. She has sought in vain [346] to have the village make necessary repairs on the simple village shrine near the township office and on the little hut where the ancestral tablets of her predecessors are kept.

793 While many of the former ceremonies have been discontinued, the 782 priestess is still called on to officiate at house-building ceremonies, to purify the lot, to offer prayers when the beams are raised, and to con- [342] duct the dedication when the house is finished. If the owner is mov- [776] ing out of an old house, the priestess notifies the fire deity so that he [778] will follow to the new abode. On other occasions the priestess conducts prayers at the village shrine or at one of the other sacred places near the village. Many of the prayers are succorant—requesting the aid and blessing of the gods in accomplishing a certain goal. In general, as Lebra has pointed out (1958), ceremonies of asking for help are more numerous and elaborate than thanksgiving ones.

[312] On New Year's morning the priestess prays at the water well. Since [178] so many ceremonies have been abbreviated and are no longer carried out in traditional detail, the priestess apologizes for short cuts in her prayers. If she fails to offer prayers in all prescribed spots, she pacifies [794] the deities by facing in the direction of the sacred place where the [787] ceremony should have been conducted. Although the priestess is clearly best qualified to enter into communication with the deities, many older women seem to possess such power also, and if the priestess' assistants are not present, another older woman can function as her helper.

782 For these ceremonies food for offerings is contributed by the village. 788 The priestess, in a white gown, kneels, flanked by her assistants, also in white, in front of a tray of sake, rice, or other food for the deities. [262] Charcoal incense sticks are burned while brief prayers asking the deities for a successful crop, thanking them for a harvest, or whatever [533] is appropriate to the occasion are mumbled. On certain occasions the women sing chants. After these ceremonies, the priestess, her assistants and the few others present, usually old women, share the food offerings.

796 One of the most dramatic ceremonies is held on Boat Race Day in 793 lunar June. Priestesses from several villages gather near Taira. During the ceremony the Taira priestess stands in the middle of a circle formed by the other priestesses and helpers, beating a drum as the

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

women chant. The tempo becomes more and more frenzied, and at a certain moment a bell rings. Nobody knows who rings it, and no amount of questioning elicited any information other than that this was done by divine action. 796 793

Ancestral worship is equally important in the life of Taira people. Each house of an oldest son has a shelf with a shrine in the main living room. On this shelf the family keeps the ancestral tablets, each representing a deceased ancestor of a recent period. The tablets for whole family lines are kept on the shelves of the main houses. Through this system a family maintains continuity between the living and the dead. Although a deceased person is believed to become a buddha or a god who ascends to heaven, his presence is still felt by the living relatives. If they fail to make the required offerings on the first and fifteenth day of each lunar month, or otherwise neglect religious duties toward the ancestor, misfortune may come to the family. At the same time, the worship of common ancestors holds branches of the larger kin groups together. 769 592 [778] [775] [782] [613]

No village adult died during our stay, but the funeral practices for adults described by Glacken (1955) and Pitts et al. (1955) for other villages in Okinawa are similar. Seven years is the age limit for a child burial, which is simple and does not require attendance of people other than immediate relatives and perhaps one or two neighbors.* During the study an 8-year-old boy died from an illness and was given a full funeral, which is similar to that of adults. 764 766

The funeral must take place at the first outgoing tide after the body has been prepared and dressed. Accompanied by family, residents of the ward, and mourners from other parts of the village whose number depends on the prominence of the dead, the body is carried on a simple, open litter to the tomb area just west of the central village (see map 2). Women feel free to show their emotions, while men remain outwardly calm. Until decomposition takes place, the body remains in a tomb used by the whole village for temporary entombment. Like other village ceremonies, funerals are less elaborate now than they once were, perhaps to the relief of all concerned, since death is highly anxiety provoking, and nobody feels comfortable during the prayers and the ritual farewell to the corpse at the tomb. The participants receive a cup of sake before leaving the tomb area to cleanse them of the pollution of death. Some people still prefer to return to the village by a different route so that the spirit of the dead person will be fooled and unable to follow. 764 [152] [154] [783] [784]

* The reason for this is possibly that the younger child has not yet fulfilled his filial obligations.

765 After death, memorial services are held in the home of the deceased
769 every seventh day until the 49th day when a more elaborate ceremony
782 concludes this period, and a permanent tablet is installed on the house shrine. On this day, too, offerings to the deceased change from white rice to red-colored rice, indicating the end of the mourning period. From now on, observances in memory of the dead are held on the first, third, seventh, thirteenth, twenty-fifth, and thirty-third anniversary of death. These are small family affairs at which special food is prepared and offered at the shrine before it is consumed.

765 The body is left in the tomb for at least three years until a propitious day when the whole village decides to wash the bones of all those who have died within the preceding three to seven years. On Bone Washing Day little groups of family members gather around the coffin. They take out the bones, clean them, wrap them in a white cloth and place
[778] them in an urn. Women do all the cleaning of bones because it is be-
[152] lieved that they have more power to expel the evil. They weep freely,
[852] and even some men find it hard to restrain their emotions. Young children are kept away from the tomb area at this time. The urns are then placed inside the family tomb, which has been opened for this purpose. Remains other than bones are burned with the coffin.

769 Every lunar March ancestral services take place at the tombs, at-
782 tended by many members of the kin groups to whom each tomb belongs. Some come from the city or other villages for this occasion, including women who have married into another kin group. This celebration of the dead is more serious than other religious events. Offerings of sake and special delicacies are made and then eaten by the family group. One family, sitting in picnic style around the tomb after their prayers, even began to sing and dance—probably to the delight of the ancestors who in their life must have enjoyed many a good feast and dance. Tombs of other relatives may also be visited for short prayers and other offerings.

775 Spirits of the dead are harmful only if the deceased is not from the
784 village. For this reason new residents formerly could not bury their
766 dead near the village. Even now, recent settlers in the central village have no tombs and keep their dead in urns in a cave, and the residents
[764] of outlying houses or field houses have a separate tomb area altogether. If a stranger happens to die in the village, measures are taken to prevent his spirit from doing harm. The body of a fisherman from southern Okinawa was brought to shore after a storm. There it was left for several hours on the beach under a tent in the hot sun until relatives arrived in a hired car to take the body home. Even then peo-

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

In the houses of first sons there are family altars upon which memorial tablets of family ancestors are placed. Children from these homes are told that their deceased grandfathers are now divine beings and are watching them. In one such family a 4-year-old boy was told by his mother that, since he was naughty, the divine ancestor would punish him. She pointed to the picture of his deceased grandfather and the memorial tablets on the altar. The little boy looked up to the shelf and then to his mother. "That's only a memorial tablet," he said sneeringly. 861 778 769

Not many children are as skeptical as this 4-year-old. A hunchbacked storyteller sometimes comes to Taira. This man is a preacher for a Japanese sect which combines Japanese nationalistic teachings and concepts of proper conduct and healthful living with a belief in a supreme being. He appeals to children and reinforces the belief in the sanctioning power of God. Occasionally a Christian missionary visits the village, and the children look forward to his bible readings, which also reinforce the belief. In addition, the children of the two Christian families help to caution others, warning of divine omnipresence and knowledge. 861 776 177

Shaming and ridicule as techniques of socialization are used to a fair extent. An older child's shortcomings may frequently be compared with a younger's achievements. However, some form of verbal lashing is usually accompanied by direct physical punishment, whether it be merely a slap on the buttocks, a crack on the head, or a whipping. 861

Several mothers summed up their flexibility in handling their children by saying, "I have so many children and it seems that each one is different in some way. For some children one thing works and for others you have to think of other ways. You cannot scold this one because she is so sensitive. The boy you cannot scold because he would get so angry he would not be able to understand the wrong he did."

Nevertheless, it is important to point out that mothers in Taira, for the most part, do not spend as much time with their children as do their counterparts in a more wealthy village. Their work day is long and strenuous. They return home exhausted and impatient. During the long rainy spells, when work in the fields and mountains is impossible, mothers have to stay home more often than usual. At such times they manifest an irritability with respect to the numerous demands children make upon them that can be attributed partly to the fact that their long absence from home during a normal work day makes them forget children's cravings for attention; the loss of income during bad weather just increases their impatience. 861 462 [184] [152]

Moreover, during the last days of the battle and for a period of 178
nearly a year afterwards the Yamada people, like most other villagers in 751
the vicinity, lived a concentration-camp sort of existence in the very 727
crowded and unsanitary city of Ishikawa. Then when they returned to their village they had to rebuild their houses from materials given by the Americans and from salvage. This experience undoubtedly had a bad effect on morale and perhaps also on standards of cleanliness. Yet Yamada appears to be a cleaner village than many seen in Southern Okinawa. This may be because of its less dense concentration of houses and its fairly good water system.

Economic factors can be summed up in the single word "poverty". The 751
most modern knowledge and the best intentions are not sufficient if one has 511
to carry water from a distance, has no money for soap, and has little strength left after the daily grind of making a living.

3. The Supernatural and Disease

The Okinawans, like all peoples, have a large body of traditional 753
knowledge about the ills of the body and what to do about them. As among many peoples with little contact with Western science, a great many illnesses are attributed to causes that we would call supernatural. Thus before one can understand the Okinawan view of diseases one must understand some of the Okinawan concepts of the supernatural.

Concepts of the Supernatural The living human being, according to Okinawan 774
belief, contains two entities, the mabui 778
(or mabuyaa, possibly related to Japanese 'mamori', "guardian") and the shii [171]
(pos. ident. with Japanese 'sei', "essence"). These correspond to the Western concept "soul". According to some informants the two are the same, but then further conversation reveals a difference in usage that must reflect a difference in concept. It appears that the mabui is a discrete entity capable of being dislodged from the body without death resulting immediately. The shii on the other hand appears to have more the nature of a force that can be augmented or diminished.

What happens after a person dies is not altogether clear (see also 775
Chapter V). According to some he becomes a "Buddha" (Japanese 'hotoke'), according to others he becomes a "god" (Japanese 'kami-sama') and ascends to Heaven. This happens if all goes well, if the person dies in a normal manner and has left no important task undone, and if his family makes the proper offerings. However, if such is not the case, he may become a ghost and haunt this world. Several terms are used for dead persons in this latter form---yanamung ("bad thing"), yanakaji ("bad wind"), majimung (?), shininchu ("dead person"), shinigami ("dead god"), shinimabui ("dead mabui"). The last term, shinimabui, contrasts with ichimabui, ("live mabui"), used for the displaced mabui of a living person. All of these terms seem to mean the same thing, the dead who are not cared for and who are therefore a potential danger.

The dead who are cared for are said to ascend to Heaven (in Japanese, 'Ten ni agaru'), but they may also be present in the tomb and at

the ancestral tablets, since they receive offerings and worship at both places. The spirits of the ancestors present in the tablets are called ugwansu (probably literally "masters of worship"). The existence of the dead in Heaven seems rather unclearly defined. In speaking of the dead, people much more frequently use the term "yonder world" (Japanese 'ano yo'), which seems to refer to a realm co-existent with this world, different from it in form but not necessarily remote in space. It is my impression that "yonder world" refers to an unseen spiritual world around the living rather than any distant Heaven or Land of the Dead. It may be that different entities go to different places, as in Chinese eschatology, where each individual has two souls, the "hun" which goes to Heaven as a god, and the "p'o" which stays on Earth as a demon. But the data at hand do not reveal such a neat structure. Or perhaps the concept "Heaven" is merely a recent introduction from China and not yet wholly integrated with native concepts.

The distinction between spiritual beings who formerly had a human existence and spiritual beings who are wholly non-human is also not always clear. In every village there are numerous ugwanju, places of worship. These seem to be associated with the founder of the village or the aji or local official---his tomb, the wells where he got water, the hilltop where he worshipped, etc. Non-human spirits probably are believed to inhabit these places, other than the tombs, but it is my impression that most of the worship is directed toward the deceased persons, and indeed that most important local spirits are in fact deceased persons who have become deified.

On the other hand, there are spirits associated with the house and yard that are clearly non-human. The most important of these is the Fii-nu-kang, "God of the Fire", or U-kama, "Oven". (These two terms may represent two historically separate concepts, but they are now used interchangeably.) The Fire God is represented by a small vessel containing ashes that stands above or behind the oven in nearly every house. It may even be found behind the little kerosene stoves used by city rooming-house dwellers. This vessel is made and attended by the mistress of the house. When a branch house is established she makes a vessel of earth or obtains one and partly fills it with ashes from the Fire God of the main house. The offerings, among some Yamada families, consist of incense and three cups of cooked rice offered on the first and fifteenth of every lunar month, before similar offerings are made to the ancestral tablets. On the 24th day of the 12th lunar month the Fire God is said to ascend to Heaven to return again on New Year's. One old woman explained that the Fire God (Fii-nu-kang-ganashii) is "like a policeman" and Heaven (U-kami-ganashii) is "like the government"; when the Fire God goes up it reports whatever the family has done wrong during the year.

Offerings are also made on occasion to the gate, the well, the corners of the yard, the pigsty-privy, and elsewhere. The "Pigsty-privy God" (Fuuru-nu-kami) was formerly of importance especially in treating cases of loss of mabui.

Although Okinawans occasionally refer to Heaven or the Gods of Heaven (J. 'Ten no kami-sama'; Okinawan U-kami-ganashii, etc.), the concept does not seem to be well defined. The clearest statement heard on the subject was the one just mentioned in connection with the Fire God. Since the dead, or some of them, rise to Heaven, the term "Gods of Heaven" may include them, but there are evidently other greater beings too. These may be identical with the figures of the native origin myth. But aside from a few enthusiasts, mainly local historians and shamans (yuta), few Okinawans seem informed about or concerned with native cosmology, or any other. This may in part be the result of a generation or so of Japanese education with educators attempting to take the Japanese mythology seriously and making Okinawan mythology jibe with it. But it is more likely that this lack of concern with Heaven is due rather to an old tendency common in East Asia to settle matters at the local level without bothering the higher authorities, in dealing with both political problems and spiritual problems. 772 [175] [176] [177] [181]

In the Okinawan universe there are also a few earthly beings with supernatural power. The akamataa is a real species of non-poisonous snake. But it is believed to be able to change itself into a handsome young man, in which form it seduces unwitting young women. One young woman who was seduced is said to have given birth to a whole tubful of baby akamataa. 776

The kijimunaa is a wholly mythical being but seems to belong more in the natural world. According to some it lives in old trees, but according to others it is a sea-being who lives on fish and shellfish and who will become the helper of a fisherman who makes friends with it. Regardless of habitat, the kijimunaa is believed to approach a sleeping person and sit on his chest, nearly suffocating him and preventing him from crying out. Apparently the being is not dangerous but merely annoying.

Another being that is feared is the tamagai or 'hidama', "fireball". This was described in Yamada as a light that appears at certain times as an omen. However, in a village in Southern Okinawa it is regarded as the cause of fire. Since it is a female being the young men of this village drive it away by forming a procession and marching through the village shouting "Hoo hai!" ("Your vulva's showing.") [787] [184] [372]

The Itoman people speak of the ja or 'ryu', the "dragon". This being lives in the sea or the clouds; its tail is the whirlwind; its feces, if one is fortunate enough to find them; are like coal tar and are a very valuable medicine. Other Okinawans seem to regard this as something only the Itoman people know about. [757] [184]

One more concept is perhaps worth mentioning; this is shiji. Certain places, the sacred hilltop of the village, etc., are said to be shiji-dakasang, "high in shiji", and therefore to be approached with respect. It is also said of persons, especially those believed to be destined to become religious practitioners. The term shiji evidently signifies a sort of supernatural power that adheres to places and people, perhaps like the Oceanian concept "mana". Haring has suggested that the Japanese concept 778 [171]

778 'kami' is like the Oceanian "mana", a supernatural power that enters natural
171 objects or persons.[1] Whatever may be the case in Japan, the Okinawan kami refers to definite beings, discrete entities, and not to a force. However, the concepts shiji and perhaps shii may be mana-like.

753 Causes of Disease Okinawans frequently use these concepts of the supernatural in their interpretation of the causes and proper treatment of illnesses of the body. Illness may be caused, they believe, by loss of the shii or the mabui, by the harmful inclinations of other living persons and of dead persons, and by offences to ancestors and other spirits that are ordinarily helpful.

753
774 Gradual withdrawal of the shii may cause illness or death. A preg-
[778] nant woman is warned not to attend a funeral or a bone-washing because the shii of the unborn child may be drawn into the tomb. A sudden jolt or a scare may cause the mabui to be dislodged and this will result in a feeling of weakness and, if the mabui is not replaced, perhaps ultimately death. Treatment of loss of mabui is often practiced by old women. One woman who had treated her grandchildren on numerous occasions said that she laid on a table offerings including salt, rice, water, and a dish containing seven stones; then she took a garment of the sick child, prayed at the entrance to the house, and called the child's name. The mabui of the child then entered the garment and when she put the garment on the child the mabui re-entered the child. Formerly she would have prayed at the pigsty-privy, but it no longer exists. One of her sons gave the interpretation that the
[776] pigsty-privy god being the lowest god knew the whereabouts of the lost mabui and he informed the ancestral spirits who were able to bring it back to the garment.

The most serious cases of loss of mabui are caused by the actual
[775] theft of the mabui by dead persons, who are said to take the mabui to the tomb. As I have already mentioned, this may happen when a baby sneezes. Treatment of this type of soul-loss probably requires the services of a
[754] yuta, a sort of shaman. The yuta is said to be able to see the living person's mabui before the tomb, in the form of the person. If the form is facing this world and looks sad there is a chance of recovery, but if it is facing the tomb and looks happy, the patient will probably die. But in spite of the occasional serious nature of loss of mabui, I have observed young boys when startled jokingly cry out "mabuyaa, mabuyaa!" as if to call back their displaced mabui. And it is said that some persons jokingly pretend to scoop it up and pour it back into the body through the head. However, the joke may serve to relieve actual tensions that exist after a sudden shock.

754 Little information was obtained on the harm that can be done by a living person with ichijama. According to Yanagida[1] the ichijama is the soul of a woman who can send it to possess a person or object in order to

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1 Haring, 1946, p. 221 and elsewhere.

2 Yanagida, 1951, p. 30.

contact with Okinawa may have taken place in 743 A.D., but this may have been confined to the island of Kume, west of Naha, and not involved Okinawa itself.[6] 175 177 648

The modern Japanese contact with Okinawa which brought about the fall of the Tenson dynasty is associated with the arrival at Unten of Tametomo in the latter part of the twelfth century. Some have regarded this as historical, others as perhaps legendary.

Unten, on the Motobu peninsula, is one of the important places in the historical geography of Okinawa island. This is the Port Melville of the Western explorers, Hall and Perry, both of whom charted the bay and its harbor.

Tametomo, of the Minemoto clan, exiled after the final defeat of the Minemoto by the Taira clan in Japan, ultimately reached Unten and there married the daughter of one of the regional nobles, and after a period of civil war, the Tenson dynasty collapsed. In 1187 A. D., the son of Minemoto Tametomo by his Okinawan wife became King Shunten. Shunten, the first of three "Japanese kings," was followed by his son Shunna Junki (1238-1248), and his grandson Gihon (1249-1260). In 1260, the legitimate dynasty was restored under king Eiso.[7]

After his succession, Eiso toured the islands and is credited with setting regular boundaries to rice-fields. "It has been said that this greatly attracted the people so that they started to look after farming." Graves, according to a manuscript history, were first built in the island, at Urasoye, and the Buddhist temple, Gokurakuji was constructed with an officiating priest named Jenkan in charge of the temple.[8] [764] [346]

The Japanese syllabary may have been introduced at this time. Buddhism apparently did not take hold. Chinese attacks on the islands in connection with the Mongol wars and the attempted invasion of Japan seem to have left no mark on the island. [018] [779]

The year 1372 is the beginning of the period of relationships with the Chinese, in this case, the Ming dynasty. This is contemporary with the growth of a vast trade network involving Korea, Japan, China, the Ryukyus, and Southeast Asia. It is not clear whether the trade voyages under King Satsudo (reigned 1350-1399) to South China, Malaya, and the Philippines were instrumental in stimulating the Ming dynasty to engage in the Pacific trade, or whether the forced alliance of the Ryukyus with the Chinese 175 648 439

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP of P. 30--Analyst]

6 CA Handbook, as cited, 41, and Chamberlain, as cited, 306.

7 Chamberlain, as cited, 308

8 Manuscript history in Leavenworth, The Loochoo islands, 80. On the Japanese syllabary, see Chamberlain, as cited, 308.

175 648 439 empire provided the incentive. The central district of Okinawa became an entrepot in the triangular China-Ryukyuan-Japan trade. In the beginning the cultural interchange was a consequence of sending Chinese ambassadors to assist in the investiture of Ryukyuan kings and the travels of Ryukyuan emissaries to Peking. Naha in Okinawa and Foochow in Fukien were ports of entry and exit for the travellers.

The Ryukyuan emissaries left Naha for Foochow on the Min river in Fukien and then began the trip north to Peking. Ryukyuans brought copper, tin, and sulphur and received brocades and silk in return. The Ryukyuan as well as ambassadors from Korea, Annam, Burma participated in this official reception at Peking.[9]

175 179 The first contact with Chinese learning has been dated at 1392, when the son of the king and the son of his master of camp were allowed to attend the Imperial College. The usual route from Naha to Foochow became a cultural corridor joining China and Okinawa. This contact with Chinese learning and writing lasted until the Japanese annexation in 1879. Hall in 1816 and Perry's staff in 1853 mentioned the devotion among the higher [565] classes to Chinese learning, and though this no doubt was confined to those residing in Naha and Shuri, it was this Chinese educated class that ruled the island. With this learning too, there came the ideals of the Confucian state and its five relationships, parent-child, husband-wife, [641] friend-friend, younger brother-elder brother, and subject-sovereign, which [593] were reflected so forcefully in the family system and in the state as well. This coloring of the whole government, composed of men with Confucian ideals gradually changed, says Spencer, following Iha, "the whole mental outlook of the male population, at least around Shuri. This would, per- [562] haps, not extend inland, and was not given to the women." In the countryside the influence of women, through the noro system, was still strong. This Confucian ideal of the state, as Spencer and Iha have suggested, [179] probably had a great deal to do with the dis-establishment of the noro system as a state religion in the seventeenth century.[10]

In the reign of Sho Shin (1477-1526), there were further foreign contacts and domestic consolidations. Buddhism was encouraged and in [179] fact reintroduced, this time from Korea. The Okinawans requested from their Korean "suzerain" the sutras, the Buddhist canon, and religious objects in 1462, 1479, and 1483.[11] Chinese artifacts, books, and other articles were imported, and palaces on the Chinese model were constructed at Shuri. Chinese customs, dress by rank order, and the Confucian ideal of the state became part of the culture of Naha and Shuri, probably less so in the other parts of Okinawa.

[Text continues on top of p. 31 -- Analyst]

9 Binkenstein, Okinawa-Studien. Monumenta Nipponica 3 (1940), 201-02. Binkenstein, Zur Frage der Ryūkyū Gesandtschaften. Monumenta Nipponica 4 (1941), 264-67. For the route to Peking, see p. 266.

10 Spencer, as cited, 108-09. Quotation is on p. 108.

11 Haguenauer, Relations du royaume des Ryūkyū avec les pays des mers du sud et la Corée. Bulletin de la maison franco-Japonaise. Série française. T 3, No. 1-2. Comptes rendues, 114.

These foreign introductions were accompanied with the reinforcement of a native institution: the elevation of the female priesthood to what amounted to a state religion. This institutionalizing of a native religion did not mean the exclusion of foreign religions or foreign ideas. The king used the noro system to bind his realm together: at the same time, he reintroduced Buddhism, himself becoming an adherent. The priestess of the Sho household, that is the royal house, was removed "to a place without the palace, but near the main gateway" of the palace at Shuri, signifying the closeness of the chief priestess to the royal house, the extension of the system to all the islands, and the centralization, both of religious and political life. Political institutions, borrowed from China and in a Confucian mold, with the dominance of the male in the family and in the government, now existed side by side with the hierarchy of priestesses whose power rested not only on royal patronage but on an economic security whose basis was ownership in land. With the passage of time, it was the order of priestesses that gave way to the male dominated Confucian ideal. This Confucian idea of the state, a combination of the individual morality of Confucius with the ideas of statecraft of the legists developed in the Han dynasty, retained its hold until the Japanese did away with the monarchy.[12]

175 178 793 779 642 177 562

The new government with its capital at Shuri, a port at Naha, a royal granary at Kune, and the town of Tomari, was rigidly departmentalized along Chinese lines.[13]

175 177 642

The Ryukyuan kingdom, from the middle of the fourteenth to the second half of the sixteenth century was part of a great trade network. This included the Great Loochoo, Korea, Japan, China, Siam, and with the port of Malacca as the center of the trade. The normal route was from Naha[14] along the coast of Fukien province, stopping at Foochow, up from the mouth of the Min River, along the coast of the Campa (modern Indo-China), thence to Malacca. From here, it was possible to trade with the islands of the Sunda (Java) seas, Siam, and with the province of Pataai on the east coast of the Malay peninsula, south of the isthmus of Kra. From Naha, the products of Japan, Korea, and Central China were brought to Malacca; from Malacca, essences, various woods, pepper, sugar, ivory, and articles of Portugese and Arab manufacture were brought north. The various traders brought back to the Great Loochoo Chinese money, Ming porcelains, and silks of south China. There were Korean, Chinese, and Japanese colonies

175 439

[Text Continues TOP of P. 32--Analyst]

12 Spencer, as cited, 103. On the role of the legists in political Confucianism in China, see Fitzgerald, China: a cultural history, 103-04,156.

13. For interesting details, see CA Handbook Ryukyu (Loochoo) Islands, 103.

14 The age of Naha, I believe, is unknown. Under King Satsudo in the late fourteenth century, and in the period of trade of which we are speaking, Naha had a sudden expansion. There were three channels into the harbor, the northern "Yamatoguchi," used by the Japanese, a center one, "Karefuneguchi" (literally Chinese ship terminus (mouth)), and a "Miyakoguchi", the south channel which was used by the ships engaged in trade with the Sakishima group. Simon, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, 36.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Survivals of the Priestess (Noro) System

The origin of the priestess system has been traced to primitive fire or hearth worship. A woman was a priestess to the God of Fire (hi no kami) represented in the hearth stone. A set of three rather long stones sometimes set in a triangle often represented the hearth. (These stones in the place of the guardian gods of the village may have the same meaning. In the poorer kitchens, stones set in this manner for the hearth are common to this day). In every house there was a primitive hearth (kanaio). "Here, before this hearth, the ancestors of the household are worshipped, the Fire coming to summarize the ancestors who have sat before the hearth in past generations."[3] Each household of a village, each village, and each township had a hearth attendant. The priestess (noro) of the whole township "represents the original worship of the predominant hearth of that region." The duties of the rural priestesses included worshipping at the ancestral shrines, deciding the lucky days for planting, and officiating at marriage and burial ceremonies.

This priestess system was made an institutionalized state religion by King Shō Shin (1477-1526). Their political power was broken by Shō Jōkan, a prime minister of King Shō Tei (1669-1709). The most logical explanation offered for their fall from political power is the influence of Confucianism with its standards of male dominance and the subordination of women. By the end of the 17th century, its economic and political power were declining, but its influence on individual worship, especially, in rural Okinawa, lasted down to the beginning of the recent war.[4]

The priestess system had a place in inheritance customs of the old land tenure system. "Under the ancient system," said Spencer, "certain valuable farm lands were the possession of the Noro, the remainder of the land being held by the community and reassigned at various periods."[5] Inheritance within the system insured the handing down of these properties in the female line. This succession could be accomplished in a number of ways. The female child of the brother of a priestess might succeed her. This is believed to be the method of succession in ancient times. In later times, the noro married and succession was traced in the male line. The wife of a son of the priestess,

3 This material is based on the article of R. S. Spencer, Noro or Priestesses of Loo-Choo, as cited. The quotation is on p. 97.

4 Ibid, 98, 108.

5 Ibid, 109. The material following is to be found on p. 110.

342 476 463 Co-operation often takes the form of a division of labor. In building an elaborate permanent house with cement foundations, siding, plank flooring and a tile roof, greater skills than the handyman techniques of a smaller house are required. In the building of a house, men with special skills, such as a carpenter, a cement mixer, a stonecutter, or a mason participate; others bring lumber and wood from the mountains, as in Matsuda, or lay the grass on the tile roof. In some [464] cases, all the labor may be donated; in others, the carpenter, the cement mixer, the stonecutter may be hired, with helper's work done by volunteers. In simpler construction, the carpentry may be done by anyone who has this secondary skill but is primarily a farmer or a fisherman. People who have those skills are said to have half and half occupations (hannohangyō in Japanese).

7

Housebuilding Ceremonies

342 In building, a distinction is made between a temporary and a permanent house. A temporary house may be built following a typhoon or a fire, or it may be constructed for a poor man and in fact be a permanent house for the family, the good house to come being more an aspiration than an early reality. The marks of a permanent house are construction with beams, instead of poles, good siding, a good roof, now mostly of tile, a design based on mat size, and a cemented kitchen. Housebuilding ceremonies and celebrations apply only to the permanent house.

[84] Ceremonies or observances during stages in the building of a house differ from place to place and among people in the same village. In 342 Matsuda before the house is started, the owner, his friends, and neighbors gather and offer a prayer that the house be a good and a happy ●782 one. Before construction, and once each year following completion, rice cakes (mochi in Japanese) and sake are placed in each of the four corners [262] of the house site. Three rice cakes are put on the smallest of three saucers which fit into one another. Two of these saucer sets with the [203] rice cakes, together with a sake bottle and a small cup are placed on a tray. The east, north, west, and south corners are visited in that [415] order. Sake is poured from the flask to a small cup. There is a short prayer. A piece of white paper, attached to a stick of dwarf bamboo (Yanbaru take) about one foot long is burned. The sake is poured over the embers. The top rice cake is placed on the corner; the other two remain on the small plate. Prayers are offered for protection against [825] the deadly snake (habu). The rice cake is then picked up. On the next corner, the ceremony is repeated.

When the ridge pole is put up, the carpenter prays that there will be no injuries. Observances at the raising of the roof (muneage in [183] Okinawan) seem to be universal in the villages. Three parcels, one of salt, one of bean paste, and one of charcoal are wrapped in a leaf--any [262] will do--and these are tied with a string and suspended from the inner side of the crossbeam or from the ridge pole. There are no prayers at This Time.

this time. Upon completing the house, the owner gives a party for those who helped him. During the last day of work, with the party scheduled for the evening, the workmen strive feverishly to complete the house on time. This is a party to celebrate a task completed. Sake flows freely. Occasionally on the last day, a man walks around the house talking to himself and throws salt toward the inside of the house. His words are not formalized and not known to his hearers. After finishing throwing the salt, he bangs the back of the house three times with a stick. This custom is said to be gradually disappearing, and is only occasionally practiced in Matsuda.[9]

In Hanashiro, there is a similar custom that differs in details. On the date the house is started, there is a small ceremony. A plate containing boiled rice, bean curd, a kind of fritter (tenpura in Japanese) and meat, together with a flask of sake are placed in the center of the site on which the house is to be built. Prayers are offered that the house be a good one. The ceremony of raising the roof is identical with that previously described in Matsuda. This applies only to the raising of the ridge pole, no ceremonies taking place with the erecting of the side poles. The center board, near to or nailed to the ridge pole, and from which the articles wrapped in a leaf or in sea weed are suspended, is inscribed with the word, shibiranka. Its meaning is unknown to me. One villager said it was the name of a legendary Chinese protector of houses.

In one instance from Minatogawa, instead of the salt, charcoal, and bean paste, only a bit of charcoal (tsumi in Japanese) was suspended and wrapped in seaweed (kombu in Japanese).

About 20 years ago in Hanashiro, the celebration on the day of completion was much more elaborate than now. A pig was killed, fish purchased, and a large feast was prepared to which the whole village was invited. The celebration now is confined to relatives, friends, and helpers, including the carpenter, whether hired or a volunteer.

In Minatogawa, when a good house is being built, there is the custom of going to a fortune teller (sanjinsō in Japanese) to discover the lucky day for commencing construction. This may be repeated to find the lucky day for putting up the poles and supports or putting on the roof. Here also a son about to establish a branch household and to build his own house takes a food offering to his father's house, places it on the Buddhist god shelf, gives thanks, and prays for good fortune before construction starts. When the house has been completed, similar offerings are made, either before the god shelf of the new house, if it has been installed, or again at the father's house. In this village, the usual observances are confined to the raising of the roof and to the celebration following completion of the home.

One last custom observed in all the villages is that one does not move into a new house unless the tide is coming in. Other occasions in which the tide is taken into consideration will be discussed later. The idea here seems to be that one moves at times of growing fullness and increase not at times of ebb and withdrawal.

9 I was unable to secure any explanation of the reason for this and the other practices beyond the familiar statement that "it is a custom." (shukan)

824 The most common of the Hanashiro trees are (1) the banyan or gajimaru, or yōzu. This tree is a common sight with its long roots growing around and through the stone fences. The tree with [731] its roots bracing the stone fences is excellent typhoon protection for the village. (2) The usuku (Japanese scientific name, the akou) resembles the gajimaru in appearance and serves the same purpose. The fukugi (Garcinia spicata Hook) and an occasional cycad are common windbreaks. These trees are almost invariably in combina- [417] tion with stone fences, made of blocks, or with fences made of loose stones which have settled and been bound together by small plant roots. Village typhoon protection is a simple but effective combination of stone, shrubs, and trees. There is also an occasional kuroki (kurchi in Okinawan), from whose trunk the samisen, the stringed [534] musical instrument, is made, and the palm (shuro).

There are wild plants in each of the areas but their importance has also declined. Among these is the pandanus (the adan, Japanese scientific name, the takonoki). This plant was plentiful before the war, but is now scarce except in the mountain area. It can occasionally be seen in genya land or in small clumps on an outcrop. The blades of the pandanus are long and hard, with a row of spines down both sides of the blade. It has had several uses. Formerly it was the common material for making slippers (sori), hats, cigarette cases, and hand- [463] bags. These home industries have all but disappeared, but old people [887] occasionally do a little. In preparing the pandanus blades for use, the thorns are removed and several strips are made. These are then boiled, dried, and smoothed out. Then they are woven into the desired pattern. A first class pandanus blade is about 5 feet long. In the [782] celebration of O-Bon, the fruit of the pandanus may be offered as food to the ancestors.

Another plant occasionally used is the getto, known also in Okinawa as sannin or muchigasa. Its chief use is in the festival of the 8th day of the 12th lunar month. At this time, rice cakes (mochi) are wrapped up in its long and wide and flexible fibres. These wrappings, often made by children, are hung from the ceiling or from the wall. The stem of this plant was much used in the past for rope.

824 The nigana (njana in Okinawan, Ixeris dentata Nakai) is still 262 used in this area as a food and medicine. It has an exceedingly bitter 757 root, about 1/8 of an inch in diameter in a mature plant. The root is put in hot water, and the liquid drunk as a stomach medicine. The leaves, not so bitter as the root, have a sour, slightly bitter taste. They are often served with the white cuttlefish (shiroi-ikka).

The ōbako (known in Okinawan as the hirawakusa or hirawagusa, Plantago Asiatica L, "Japanese ribwort") is used as a medicine and as a food. When vegetables are scarce, it is eaten as a green. As a medicine, the leaf is heated over a fire and the hot leaf is then pressed over a swelling.

553 The first naming of children is done at a ceremony on the day of birth, or on the following day, if the birth took place at night. It is known as umbagi. There is a small gathering of [262] relatives. Soup, rice, and a little sake may be served. Ordinary rice or rice cakes (mochigome) may be prepared and put on the Buddhist god shelf. If a boy, the relatives and parents pray for [787] his strength, if a girl for her good health. Umbagi, an Okinawan word, is also known as shichisan no iwai (Japanese). The ceremony precedes the burying of the afterbirth.

553 One important element in the naming of a child on its day of birth is the state of the tide. The child is named only if the tide 823 is coming in. It is not necessary that the tide be high. Perhaps midpoint is the best, though high tide is considered good. Practically everyone can calculate the time when the tide is coming in or out; since they all know the lunar calendar with a cycle completed in 15 days, it is a simple calculation.[6] The explanation always given for calculating the tide on this and other occasions is that when the tide is coming in, fortune and happiness will enter in the new life or the new situation. When the tide is ebbing, everything goes out and away.

852 The real celebration of the birth of a child occurs several days after birth. It usually occurs on the 5th or 6th day counting the birth day. This is known as mansan (Okinawan) and is in honor of the good health of the mother and the child. In Japanese, it is also called muikajari.[7] In all communities studied, the week long all night celebration has disappeared, though the celebration of mansan might last well into the night.

One celebration, observed in Hinatogawa, is probably typical of the thousands that take place every year in rural Okinawa. The guests came early in the evening to the parents' home, or, as in this case, to the home of the child's grandfather, since the father, a first son, lived in his parents' home. The men sat in the first room (ichibansa), [562] the women in the second (nibansa), following custom in parties in which both sexes are present. The head of the house, the grandfather, sat in front of the alcove (tokonoma) of the first room. The child's father [576] sat next to him. Each guest went on his knees, bowed, congratulated the father and presented him with a small money gift. The usual gift [931] is about Y20. This was accepted by the father, who then responded with a short speech. Sometimes these are formal and stiff, sometimes like a simple conversation. The guests also congratulated the

6 The method of computing times of high and low tide will be given later. The tide is important in the marriage ceremony, when moving into a new house, or when moving, in the case of a second or succeeding son, from a main house to establish a branch family, and at a child's party on the first anniversary of its birth.

7 The day was variously given me as 4-5th, 6th, and 7th day after birth. Muika in muikajari means 6th day.

who are less shy, can meet and enjoy one another's company under socially approved conditions. 834

The engagement (uino in Japanese, sakimui in Okinawan) varies with individuals and villages. In this respect it is like the marriage ceremony. A one year engagement period is considered long. In one instance of a formal engagement taken from Hanashiro, the young man goes to the girl's house, taking a small amount of sake with him. The parents of both principals are present. The group makes a short prayer, before the Buddhist god shelf, that the two will be a happy couple. The sake is placed on the god shelf. In Hinatogawa, the prospective groom's parents prepare a small feast, and they and the boy go to the bride's house. The food offering is put on the god shelf. The two young people promise to marry. In another variant, from Hatsuda, the boy takes a food offering and sake to the girl's house. The two eat together and promise to marry at a drink exchange (kawpai) in which they alternately sip, as is the custom in Okinawa, out of the same cup. From Hatsuda there was still another variant in which the boy was not involved. His mother met the girl's mother and her female relatives in the girl's house. Sake was given to the relatives of the girl. The girl's mother agreed to give her daughter up, the boy's mother agreed that the prospective daughter-in-law would be received in his family. 584 184 [178] [182]

All these variants have this in common, that the engagement symbolizes an act that is more than the decision of two young people. It involves the families as well.

764 The beginning of a funeral procession is announced by a gong in the yard of a village office. The head man and other leaders and elders of the village attend the funeral. The mayor of the township or his representative joins in the procession.

[793] A Buddhist priest (bōzu-san) did not officiate at this funeral. Priests are scarce in rural Okinawa. Most of them were Japanese who returned to Japan after the war. Families can also save by dispensing with the Buddhist service. The participation of Buddhist priests, already nominal before the war, has now in the villages studied, virtually disappeared.

764 431 It is customary at a death to give a ten or twenty yen offering to the family. The money is put in a small envelop with an expression of sympathy written on it. (In Okinawa money is the usual gift at marriage, birthday celebrations, and at death. The gift may be put in a small envelop but it is common also to give a loose bill).

765 [782] Early on the morning following the funeral, the tomb is visited by members of the family. Food offerings of rice, tea, sake, and a flower may be placed in front of the tomb. A charcoal stick is burned. These visits with the offerings and prayers on the following morning are associated with a belief, still held by the old, that the dead person might still be alive and that the pounding of an adult on the wall or the crying of a child might be heard so that the living could be rescued from the tomb. The belief that the person might still be alive and possibly could be heard seems to persist in Hanashiro and Hinatogawa. It was not encountered in Matsuda, although it might well exist.

[761]

2

Burial Places and the Family System

764 Okinawan tombs have excited the interest of foreigners from the earliest days of European contact. There are no cemeteries in the usual sense of the word, but areas scattered throughout the countryside, usually on the tops of hills, or on the stony sides of mountains, are given over to burial grounds. Tombs are not located on land suitable for agriculture. It has been said that the Japanese forbad using agricultural land for tombs, but the practice in Okinawa seems to antedate these Japanese interferences in the culture of the rural areas. In the interior, the tombs are always on wild (genya) land. But one can also see tombs along the seashore and on offshore rocks. The outstanding exceptions to this are the royal tomb area in Shuri, now largely destroyed, and the large and dramatically placed tombs in the center of Itoman town. In the case of Itoman, it is quite probable that the growing town has surrounded the areas taken as tomb sites.

[311] [565]

Of the several types of tombs, the turtleback (kamekokata) is the most famous. It has been variously described by European travellers as

527 577 better behavior. In one instance from Matsuda, the members of the family talk over their good and bad acts and resolve henceforth to do good.

527 [823] In all the villages, the custom of new or young water (wakamizu) has survived. In Hinatogawa, at 5 or 6 o'clock in the morning of the New Year, young children take fresh water in a tea pot to the homes of relatives. The new water is poured into a cup, placed on the Buddhist god shelf, or on the shelf of the fire god in the kitchen. The children are given Y5 or Y10 by the relatives, who are then supposed to stay young themselves. In Matsuda, new water is taken from a well early in the morning, and some is put on the god shelf. The first tea of the New Year is made with "young water".

A parent may also give a piece of pork with salt on it to his child announcing that he is now one year older. This custom is still observed, even though ages officially are now reckoned in the western manner.

In all the villages, the morning observances are family affairs; the public nature of the holiday is evident later. Tea and sake are [769] placed in front of the ancestral tablets on the god shelf. A fresh kimono is put on and the offering is made before breakfast. Then the [782] father takes the sake from the god shelf, offering sips first to his wife and then to the children.

[778] Later there are visits to the place of the patron deity or first ancestor of the village (ujigami). In Hanashiro, all of the people make this visit. In Hinatogawa, it is also a village affair, but is more involved because there are more places to go: a local religious site of unknown origin, the palace of the gods of the sea (ryūgū), the supposed place of the mountain god, the three wells with their god places, and finally to the places of the two patron deities. In Matsuda, the village head man, accompanied by surviving minor priestesses (formerly in the noro order) make visits to the place of [793] the patron deity. But whether all the villagers or only their representatives take part, the visits have the same meaning: to offer thanks to the founders of the village.

The New Year is a time for extended family reunions. If the home site of the extended family is not in the village, the family or a representative may go to the reunion in another village, if it is not too far away. Only members of the extended family attend these celebrations.

With early morning observances in the home, the public ceremonies, and the extended family reunions over, the gay, informal and public [524] part of the holiday begins. Hospitality is offered on all sides, and there is much drinking among the men. The celebration continues for the rest of the first day and through the second. The third day is a transitional day whose theme is the need of returning to work. This is hachiharu (to begin farming). The day is given over to more feasting and drinking and to some actual or token work.

Celebrations Through the Festival of the Fifth Month

796 The 15th day of the second lunar month (March 22, 1951) is the Buddhist holiday, higan, celebrating the spring equinox. Here it is a home festival of thanksgiving. Barley (ōmugi) or barley cakes [262] with brown sugar are offered with prayers for continued good fortune. Other grains, such as rice, millet (awa) may be offered, though the cakes (mugimochi) are of barley. In Hatsuda, this is not a home ceremony. An offering of white rice cakes is made by the village [193] head man, with the assistance of lower orders of the former priestess system, at the site of the village patron deity.

527 The third day of the third month is the festival of the dolls, (hinamatsuri). It is not important in Okinawa and is spottily ob- [524] served. In Hinatogawa, it is a woman's holiday. Women and children [562] make dolls. Gifts of dainties and candies in red lacquer boxes are prepared. People from nearby villages come to Hinatogawa, bring their lunches, and gather shells and catch fish.

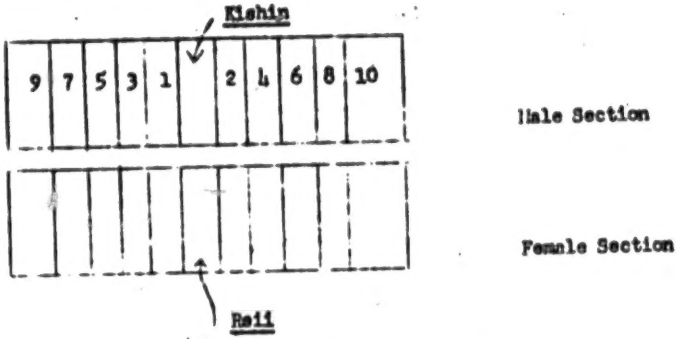
The fifth day of the fifth month is Boy's Day. This Japanese holiday is not significant in the villages. There may be banners with a picture of a carp (koi no bori) displayed, visits to the place of the patron deity, some visiting and sanisen playing, and perhaps a play.

527 The 14th day of the 5th month (June 18, 1951) is the festival 526 of the Gods of the Sea and is observed only in Hinatogawa. It is this village's greatest celebration. The boat race, held on this day, attracts many from the interior villages. In Hanashiro, most activity ceases while everyone goes to the boat races. Before the [178] races, the villagers go to the religious sites to make small offerings [182] and to pray. The races are held in the estuary of the river. In their excitement, children with infants on their back often wade out in the water to cheer their favorite boat.

796 The Festival of the Fifth Month (Gogatsumatsuri) is held on the 15th day of the 5th lunar month (June 19, 1951). Like the festival of the spring equinox, it is a day of thanksgiving. Thanks are given for rice [193] instead of for barley. In Hatsuda, the ceremony is conducted by the village head man and former members of the priestess system.[2]

2 According to a Hatsuda informant, women should not sew on this [114] day. It is a rest day. If work is done, including gathering [825] plants for fertilizer, the dreaded poisonous snake, the habu, will come. These customs were not encountered in the other villages.

778 of wood lacquered red and lettered in gold. The frame has an upper
769 section for the male dead and a lower for the female. The date of death is written on the back of each tablet. In the center of each section is a strip with a Chinese character written on it. The upper or male section has the character, Kishin, with a meaning similar to returning to the source (moto ni kaeru). The lower or female section has the character reii, suggesting that your spirit is in this place. The tablets are placed in an order, the first to the left of the middle character, the second to the right, so that the last placed ones are toward the outer edge.



(Arrangement of the Memorial Tablets (ihai)

778 The frequent occasions throughout the year when devotions are made
782 at the altar have already been described in many of the preceding pages. These can be summarized by saying that offerings and prayers are made (1) to commemorate important dates in an individual's life, like birth, the first birthday, engagement, marriage, death, and the anniversary of a death, (2) during holidays and festivals in which honoring the dead and thanksgiving are dominant themes, and (3) at times of individual and private religious worship or prayer. Some women pray daily after placing a cup of tea, a bowl of rice and a burning charcoal stick on the altar. Others observe the 1st and the 15th of the lunar month.

771 This household Buddhism, centering around the altar, has no institutional basis. There are no Buddhist temples in any of the villages. Family worship at the altar is both an honoring of the ancestral dead and also, it would seem, an acceptance of the merciful and humane doctrines of the Buddhist faith. Buddhism traditionally is the religion of consolation at death. The fact that ancestor worship takes place at the
[182] Buddhist altar, however, does not mean that this is a religion in a doctrinal sense. One has been grafted on to the other.

778 One person in front fills in the head and forelegs, another in back
796 provides the rear and hindlegs. The lion, with its human mechanism,
536 is a common sight at festivals and parades. It is a symbol of health
825 and strength worthy of imitation). In the Festival of the Full Moon, during the autumnal equinox, the lion appears again and the whole village participates in prayers before the festivities begin.

778 On the 1st and 15th of each lunar month, the headman goes to the
796 place of the guardian god and makes an offering of tea, burns a charcoal
[764] stick, and says a prayer. On the 9th day of the 9th lunar month, the
[825] village council and the elders assemble before the village burial palanquin (gan), offer prayer at the founder's site and then before the village office where the lion is standing.

Minatogawa. This village has three deity places and various explanations are given for this. Some believe that two of them represent
778 sites of co-founders, a first son, and his younger brother, the second
796 son. The third site is vaguely known as a village god place. It is a small outdoor place of worship on the main village road, with a step and a shelf for charcoal sticks. The founders' sites are located in the center of the settled area, but on different sides of the road. In the site of the second son, there are three stones, shaped like life savers but with a bottom for placing the charcoal sticks, three glasses for tea, and three bottles. The site of the supposed first son, less well kept, has a small altar, four stones, tea cups, and cans for the burning of incense.

778 On New Year and at O-Bon, the whole, or substantial portions, of
796 the village pray first at the supposed first son's site, then at the
[782] second son's. Prayers are offered also at the roadside deity place.
[358] Some of the younger villagers hope that as the older residents die off, the expenses of providing offerings and upkeep for all three can be eliminated and that simpler observances can take place at the roadside shrine. The situation now is complicated by the fact that many people regard themselves as descendants of one or the other co-founder.

Matsuda. In this village, the founder's site is reached by stairs
778 leading up a hillside. It is in the settled area near a dense growth
189 of trees and shrubs. Close by there is a shed in which the lion skin is kept. In this village the founder's site seemed less important than
[793] another religious place, on the main road, in which women of lesser rank in the former priestess system participate in ceremonies. In this village there seems to be less participation by all the people of the village at the place of the guardian or founder deity, and, instead, representatives, like the headman, elders, and the former priestesses
[796] conduct the ceremonies at New Year, O-Bon, and at the equinoctial holidays.

The group sat in a circle. The priestess occupied the highest spot, her female assistants somewhat lower places, and the men, for once, in the lowest position. The priestess, her women and the male entourage held public worship on the 15th day of the 5th, the 15th and 16th day of the 6th, and the 10th day of the 8th lunar months. On these days there were prayers for good crops, for freedom from disasters and typhoon damage. On the 10th day of the 8th month, there were special prayers that neither diseases nor epidemics enter Hatsuda. These three periods may be rest days on which the villagers may assemble at the place where the prayers are being offered. Because there is no priestess, these ceremonies are now conducted by former assistants. The meetings are attended by fewer and fewer people and the ceremonies may disappear altogether. 793 796 [782]

6

Gods of the Fire, Wells, and Sacred Groves

There are also other forms of worship which still survive. These are (1) the god of fire (hi no kami), (2) spirits of the sea, of wells, springs, and groves, and (3) types of fortune telling which blend into religious belief. 776 [787]

Gods of the Fire. In every Okinawan kitchen, there is a place above the stove or hearth dedicated to the kitchen or the fire god. There is no image or personification of the god. Usually the place is a very small shelf on which charcoal sticks are burned for the god of the hearth. This is done by women exclusively. The women may light the sticks daily, but it is more usual for the housewife to perform the observance on the 1st and 15th of the lunar month. This was true of all the villages, and I have never seen a kitchen which lacked a place for the fire god.[7] 776 778 372 782 [562]

Gods of the Well (ido no kami). In Hanashiro, prayers are offered in front of the two public wells on lunar New Year. The whole village does not participate. Two or three older men from each extended family perform the rite. The gods of the well are told that the villagers need water; they are thanked for what they have had, and asked to continue to furnish a plentiful supply. 776 778 796

7 The Shinto god shelf (kamidana) is extremely rare. In my observation, it was present only in the homes of Okinawans who had lived in Japan. One in Hatsuda, located in the first room, had two shelves, on both of which a small urn for burning incense sticks was placed between two flower vases. The place on the left represents the founder, the one on the right, his immediate descendant. The family prays to the Shinto god on the 1st and 15th of the lunar month. The husband and wife pray first, followed by the children. A rice offering is placed on the shelf. On it there was a small figurine of the fox god (inari-san) and a mirror, both Shinto symbols. 177 184

778 Similar worship may take place at a spring (isumi). Near
796 Oushichan village there is a large spring. Stone stairs have been built up, amphitheatre-like, around it. Prayers are offered by villagers, or substantial numbers of them, on New Year and on the 5th day of the 5th lunar month. In daily life, the spring is a favorite place for laundering and bathing.

796 There are three well gods in Hinatogawa, and they are worshipped
778 at the three public wells scattered throughout the village. The people of the village, or large numbers of them, assemble at these wells for
796 prayer at various times of the year, the most important being on New Year and on boat racing day. Sake and a box of candy are placed before the well as offerings of thanks for water.

This village has also a place for the worship of the sea god. This is a simple stone on a small shelf, on a barren spot of the seashore, scarcely distinguishable from the rocks scattered in natural disarray by the waves. In a high wind, the remains of the offerings and the charcoal sticks are swept out to sea. The most important observance here occurs on the 4th day of the 5th month, the day of the sea festival and the boat races. Fishermen come to the place by boat and make offerings of sharks' fins. On this day, the whole village assembles twice to pray at the spot, once before, and once after the races and the celebration. Individual or family worship is common on New Year and at O-Bon. On the equinoctial holiday of the full moon, the headman, the heads of the neighborhood groups, the council and retired elder men assemble, offer thanks and pray for continued plenty from the sea. Very close to the palace of the sea god, a short round stick of bamboo or of thick miscanthus may be stuck in a pile of rocks. Near the top, a dried fish (usually the ika) tail is placed in a slit. In the center there is a slit for another but larger part of the dried fish.

796 The palace of the mountain god, though its identity is uncertain,
778 is near the palace of the sea god. It is under an overhanging rock along the seashore. This seems an unusual place for the home of a
778 mountain god, but seafarers may have prayed to the god in thanks for guiding them safely in. It seems now to have fallen into disuse. It is now partially overgrown with pandanus and little is known of the place.

796 Matsuda. In Matsuda, there are beliefs in well, mountain top, and
778 tree grove spirits. There are 8 wells here and family groups usually divide up and worship at one of the wells. After drinking some of the
782 water, thanks are offered to the well god.

The gods of the mountain top and the tree groves are difficult to
796 understand. Little seems to be known about them locally, and it is
128 difficult to disengage historical from religious elements.

One popular explanation is that these gods were the intentional
[796] invention of Saion, the 18th century statesman and authority on forestry
782 and agriculture. But this seems highly unlikely. It is more likely
778 that Saion capitalized on the ancient interdict against cutting down

789 824 rope was hung across the entrance of the family compound two times a year, on the 9th day of the 8th month, and on the 8th day of the 12th month. Along the rope, there were knotted blades of grass, also the san plant. The purpose is to frighten away evil spirits and evil doers. One peculiarity of this twisted rice rope is that 283 it is made in a different manner from the ordinary rope. The usual rope is a twist made by rolling the fibre between the palms to the right or away from the body. In this special rope, the roll is reversed and is to the left or toward the body. It is difficult for a person already skilled in the regular method. This villager told of going to two noro [193] priestesses in the village of Yabu who specialized in teaching this method of making ropes. The husband and the wife received instruction, paying about Y40 for it because the wife believed in the efficacy of the practice. Each year at the proper times, the husband now makes the special rope himself.

787 791 184 Some fortune telling practices shade into religious beliefs, just as religious customs have also included soothsaying and divination. The noros and the Buddhist priests formerly practiced some fortune telling. There were no fortune tellers in any of the villages studied, but villagers occasionally consult them. Here, too, the patronage comes largely from the old and from the women. Younger people, if they know about them, regard these practices as superstitions unworthy of belief. The word meishin (superstition) is frequently heard among the young in describing customs and beliefs of the old. The sign of the fortune 791 teller (sanjinsō) is the Chinese charactor for three written three [212] times. These characters are said to signify the three states of existence, pre-natal, the present, and the afterlife, on all of which the fortune teller is well versed. Those in Hanashiro and Minatogawa who wish to consult a fortune teller go to Itoman; those in Matsuda go to Nago. The cost is usually from Y40-50 a visit. Typical reasons for a consultation with a fortune teller are: (1) to find out if an ill person will become well, (2) among the fishermen, to find out if the fishermen will return when an unexpected storm has arisen, (3) to discover if a present unhappiness has been caused by the evil deed of an ancestor and if this can be corrected, and (4) to find out the lucky days for such undertakings as marriages, building a house, or beginning new phases of construction.

782 774 Old women may utter a prayer on seeing a child fall, fearing that the child's spirit might escape because of surprise or fright. (This was observed in Minatogawa).

778 In Matsuda, there were shelves for burning charcoal sticks in some of the numerous caves in the area. The nature of the worship could not be ascertained, but they may be offerings to deities of the cave.

5/4 [776] 782 178 Worship and prayers in the toilet seem to have completely disappeared. There were no personified toilet gods. The toilet apparently was the place in which thanks were given that a place for excrement had been provided. In all the villages, it was said to be an old belief which has now died out. There was no shelf or special place of worship in the Toilet.

SiMaretski & Maretski E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

is one of the rare, desired body attributes. It was the opinion of some that the descendants of the noble families who came from Shuri, however, are taller and slender, with a prominent, curved nasal ridge. 142

Until they feel confident in the presence of strangers, Taira people appear quiet and restrained. It is considered a virtue not to show one's emotions, and Tairans consider the expressiveness of Americans childish. Actually they are gay, talkative, and given to laughter, especially the women. Men are quiet unless stimulated by alcohol, but both men and women may lose their composure in emergencies. A notable exception is their placid reactions to the threat of disaster from the ever recurrent violent storms. 152 153 [181]

THE COMMUNITY, ITS HISTORY AND NATURAL ENVIRONMENT

621

Taira is one of the northern villages on the northeast coast of Okinawa in Higashi township (see map 1). Today it is home to over 700 people who make their living—as did their ancestors since early times—from the surrounding fields, forests, and from the sea. The Okinawan name for the village, Taira, means "sloping fields." The character used for writing the prevalent Japanese version, Taira, means "flat, plain, good." 101 [131] [162]

Since the family records were lost during World War II, it is necessary to depend on oral traditions for reconstruction of the history of Taira. Unfortunately, the desire of many Okinawans to establish a relationship between their local families and the former royal courts casts some doubt on the accuracy of these traditions. 173 621 [114]

According to these traditions, the first village to be settled in the vicinity of Taira was the neighboring community Kawata. After the Hokuzan kingdom in Nakijin (on the northwestern Motobu Peninsula) was conquered by the southern Okinawan kingdom of Chuzan in the fifthteenth century (Kerr, 1958:85), the second son of the Lord of Hokuzan is said to have escaped northward into Kunigami province. Unitokogami, the fleeing nobleman, arrived near the present site of Kawata and established himself in a cave around the year 1477. He is still revered today as founder of the village in a yearly spring ceremony when prayers are said in front of the cave. The oldest Taira families trace their descent in the male line from Nizenya, the "main house," he founded. Taira was settled around 1550 by two families tracing descent from this "main house." The descendents of these settlers are [182] [169]

But actually no family is entirely self-sufficient, for each needs to purchase foodstuff as well as ready-made clothes, manufactured mostly in Japan, more substantial building materials, such as better grades of wood, tiles, and cement, tobacco, alcoholic beverages, sweets, toilet articles, some medical supplies, and other luxuries. Farmers buy their tools; students their books and writing materials. Finally, cash is needed to pay taxes. 433 438

In addition to the utilization of sugar, pineapple, firewood, and building materials for cash, Tairans also raise pigs for sale to slaughter houses, and some families derive an income from raising silkworms and producing tea. Fishermen sell fish inside and outside the village, and a small group of people are salaried workers or have an income from specialized services. [231]

Village leaders fear dependence on rapidly dwindling forest resources, still the main source of ready cash. They realize that the present modest living conditions of all families could be much improved if Tairans concentrated on increasing the cultivation of subsistence crops and farmed more intensively to raise cash crops. Most people lack this insight, however, and live on a day-to-day basis without much thought of the future. This is an island-wide problem which has the attention of central government agencies, and a great deal of educational propaganda comes to the village through government channels. 433 241 [313] [185] [654]

AGRICULTURE

The productivity of the land varies not only with its quality but also with the industriousness of the owners. Farmers who show foresight, those who seem to be under less pressure for immediate cash, take off more time from forest work to cultivate fields during planting season. The village headman and council members remind everybody during village meetings and informal discussions that work in the fields should not be neglected. With the approval of the whole community, the first and 15th of each lunar month have been set aside for farming. On these two days it is forbidden to go to the forests to cut wood. Such agreements are usually observed (as a rule), and they help to achieve their purpose but are not completely effective. 241 185 [433] [623] [313]

Rice is planted and harvested twice a year. The first rice is prepared in January when seeds are put into special beds where they are left to grow into young shoots until March. Until about 30 years ago it was said that all people seeded rice on the same day while prayers were 243 [782] [793]

243 offered at the village shrine by the priestess. Today key agricultural
[782] events are still marked by small ceremonies in which the priestess be-
[793] seeches or thanks the gods, but the actual day for planting is determined by weather and the condition of seed.

When the rice is transplanted in March, the whole family spends long hours in the paddy. Then the paddies swarm with people; some prepare the soil by spreading fertilizer, others stand in the ooze to set the seedlings. Transplanting is done by mutual assistance groups, which
[476] will be discussed later in this chapter. They guarantee everyone a sufficient number of helping hands during the painstaking, rapid work, which has to be finished within a limited time. In a few days the whole paddy area suddenly turns from brown into the tender green of the young shoots. Once planted, intermittent weeding is all the care that is needed.

[261] In July the rice turns brown and is ready for harvest. This is an event of joy for the whole village, for young rice is most delicious and
[857] loved by everyone. By then vacations have started, so that schoolchildren can help to cut rice and carry bundles to the spot where it is threshed in treadle-type machines, located either near the field or behind one's house. As soon as the rice is threshed, the grain is carried to a place in the village where the wind blows freely. There a woman holds a flat winnowing basket filled with grain at an angle to let the
[782] breeze separate the chaff from the grain. The first rice is cut by men
[264] and offered at the family shrine before the whole family eats a specially
[251] prepared gruel. Rice is usually stored in one or two oil drums in the kitchen-side corner of the front room. Better houses have a metal-lined
[256] storeroom. Once a week a supply is taken to the miller to be hulled and polished.

Those whose fields are sufficiently wet plant a second crop, and the cycle is repeated once more in midsummer, with the second harvest falling in late December.

244 Sweet potatoes can be planted throughout the greater part of the year if the soil is not too dry. They take from five to seven months to
[262] grow to full size. Although less popular than rice, no part of the plant
[231] is wasted. The large tubers are consumed, the small ones are usually fed to the pigs; the young leaves are used as vegetables, the older ones cooked into pig food. Slips are cut and used for planting a new crop.

The preferred variety of potato (*tadushi imu*) is grown in the dry paddies during the second rice season. To plant this potato, the soil must be piled up to form a long, narrow, flat-topped mound. One of the hardest jobs for farmers, this is done by men in the humid heat of a midsummer day. Women set the slips after the earth has been moved.
[251] These potatoes are the only variety which are thought to improve with

director with assistants and clerks. The clerks are always young people 463
just out of school who receive nominal wages in return for a seven-day 466
work week. The township office employs as janitor a girl who keeps
the office in order, serves tea at any time during the day, washes dishes, [647]
and helps to cook meals for entertaining. Her family owns one of the largest houses in the central village and more land than most others. No social stigma is attached to her job; in fact, most Taira girls would consider it a privilege to exchange their mountain work for her kind of employment even though they would earn no more. Another girl, employed by the local "doctor" as nurse and maid, lives with the family, eats with them, and sleeps with their children. Only one farmer employs a hired hand, a man from another township.

Among others living on a salary is the postmaster. His father held 463
the same office, and his son is now trained to succeed him as the third [205]
in line. The rice miller, a man from outside the village and married to
a Taira woman, and the "doctor" also depend for most of their in- [759]
comes on specialized services. The latter owns his dispensary and small [657]
hospital. He receives some financial support from the township gov-
ernment. His services to people are compensated for either in cash or [465]
kind. Patients who are unable to pay at once will bring rice to his
house after the harvest. These remunerations, pig raising, and other [556]
side activities make him, along with the rice miller and the postmaster,
the wealthiest person in Taira. Local male school teachers also own [875]
fields, to which they give time in the afternoons and Sundays to help their wives.

The priestess and her assistants, although they are religious spe- 463
cialists, are not paid in money for their services. They participate in 793
daily work like the rest of the village. Only when performing services
outside the community is the priestess paid a small fee. Within the 465
village she receives the food and sake which are offered in the cere- [782]
mony, whether she is called by a family or prays at the village shrine on a general holiday.

DIVISION OF LABOR BY SEX AND AGE

Men and women are equal partners in everyday economic activities, 462
both in agricultural and forest work. Only a few occupations are clearly differentiated by sex: fishing, the handling of horses, and the carrying of night soil are done exclusively by males; housework and the care
and feeding of pigs predominantly by women. Some agricultural work [241]
is considered too heavy for women, for example, the turning of the

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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Both adult men and women also belong to mutual assistance groups, mutual loan associations, and to the work groups described in Chapter 3. All individuals between 16 and 57 are expected to cooperate in community work projects. All households are members of the village cooperative. Since most villagers look to the cooperative for help in improving their economic conditions, this draws them together in a familial way. 571 [653] [474]

It will be noted that age and marital status are prerequisites for membership in most of these associations and that only one is exclusively for women and one exclusively for men. 575

Taira culture is essentially egalitarian. Personal status is not ascribed by membership in social classes or achieved by the accumulation of wealth. Furthermore, although power and respect are the attributes of certain village offices, such as headman and school teacher, these only give rank *ex officio*. An ex-headman has no higher status than one who has never held such an office. 554

There are factors, however, which do differentiate Tairans as to personal status. Men have somewhat more power and command more respect than women; adults must be addressed respectfully by children; older siblings have more authority and privileges than younger; and in recent years the educated are somewhat more respected and are more likely to be chosen to hold office than those with the minimum required amount of schooling. And since education often leads to better jobs, greater wealth is sometimes associated with status, though not a necessary prerequisite. [562]

The status of women in Okinawa, although, ideally, inferior to that of men, is in reality relatively high. Many cultural forms are based on the principal of male superiority, which Japanese values tend to reinforce, but there are numerous indications in daily life that women command a comparatively high degree of respect and power. It is difficult to assess to what degree status differences have been influenced by contact with Japanese; the importance of women in religious affairs suggest their higher status prior to the introduction of the Japanese school system in Taira. 554 562 177

As will be discussed in the chapter on religion, although the veneration of one's father's ancestors is the core of one part of Okinawan religion, the ceremonies are run by the women. The oldest male of each main house and the household head in each household are nominally responsible for keeping the tablets of the ancestors on his house shrine, but the actual upkeep of this ancestral shelf and the bimonthly offerings are performed by the women. If no direct male descendant is available to keep the ancestral tablets, a widowed woman retains them 769 782 562

782 on her house until a male can assume the responsibility for them. The
562 propitiation of the natural deities is lead by the village priestess—and
[769] she is assisted by a group of women.

Taira women are essential to the financial well-being of the family.
562 Their role in both agriculture and lumbering is equal to that of the
462 men. Since there are few kinds of work which women cannot do and
592 do not engage in, a widow or single woman, although handicapped, can
[589] support herself and her family. Several women, whose husbands died during World War II or who have been divorced, support themselves and their children. One Taira woman supported her four children while her husband left for Japan to help a sick brother. She worked the household fields and sold fish. Her husband, who was expected to return after three weeks, remained away for six months. Once or twice he wrote his family to ask for money; his wife and sister obliged. Even old women remain active members of the family. They contribute to the household economy by working in the potato fields, cutting firewood, and doing other useful work around the house.

593 Such economic independence gives women a place in the family
562 which cannot easily be challenged by a male who theoretically can
[462] claim preferential treatment. Perhaps a man is more dependent on his wife than she is on him. Men never cook. They expect the womenfolk to look after house affairs. A wife, although she does not usually own the land on which she works, has the same rights as her husband to the village forest lands. There she cuts firewood like the men, cooperating with the husband in preparing it for sale. Most of all, pig raising is her concern, and this gives her an important hold on the purse strings.

There is no uniform rule as to who keeps the money in the family. In some households the husband takes care of all financial matters and hands over small sums of money to the wife for daily use. In these
[156] families it is either found that the wife does not contribute heavily to subsistence or that she is from another village and is somewhat intimidated by her husband and unable to find security in having relatives close by. Such women are meek or at least restrained and solicitous of their husbands.

There are numerous cases, however, in which women handle all money affairs. In one such home the husband is a township official. His wife, although from a distant village, is a forceful character and follows economic pursuits independent of her husband. He is glad to let his wife handle finances, although he retains ultimate control over them. The more common situation, however, is almost equal responsibility in economic matters between the sexes. Where this is the case,

Chapter 8

Religion

771 The religious beliefs of people in Taira and their ritual practices rec-
177 ognize the existence of two different sources of supernatural forces.
[776] The old Okinawan religion, which is still practiced by many persons
in the village, centers on beliefs in a host of nonhuman spirits that
[769] inhabit certain localities. A historically more recent Confuscian-
Bhuddist influence from China and Japan has added to these beliefs
the veneration of ancestors who, in their divine state after death, con-
trol many activities of the living. Under the influence of these two
[782] forces, the animistic and the ancestral, life must be conducted in such
[784] a way that both remain appeased at all times by proper worship and
performance of ritual as well as by avoidance of actions which might
offend these supernatural forces.

771 Even though many younger people laugh away the adherence to
[154] beliefs, especially in animistic deities, there is much evidence that the
life of almost all people is controlled by fears, anxieties, and desires
for appeasement stemming from these religious beliefs. Although his-
torically the animistic and ancestral religious beliefs were separate,
they are synchronized at present so that it is not always possible to
make a clear distinction between each system (Lebra: 1958).

776 The supernatural beings of nature live all around the village. There
are mountain deities, deities of the sea, of the well, of trees, and other
places. Any localities connected with productive activities, such as the
store, the sugar mill, the sugar press, and the village truck, have their
[372] own deities. There is also the Deity of Fire, associated with the hearth
and the house. He is represented in three hearth stones found in most
simple kitchens. Three upright small stones, resembling the hearth
stones, are the divine symbols in the village shrine where all these
supernatural beings are worshipped.

[782] The supernatural beings living in and around the village appear

like "owners" of the concrete objects which they inhabit. These objects can be made subservient to human needs if care is taken not to offend the deities. As long as proper ritual observances are performed, humans need not fear their hostility. They are addressed in prayers and chants, and people make offerings to them at several ceremonies during the year. No one in Taira, including the priestess, has any exact knowledge about their characteristics, and there is no theological dogma, but people know that when building a house, for example, one must announce his intention to the deities and pacify these spirits who have been carried with the lumber from the mountains or with gravel from the beach and the sea. They must be thanked for letting the builder use such materials and sent back to their natural abode. Before the house is finished, the surrounding plot of land must be cleared of all evil spirits. Neglect of such ceremonies can turn supernatural beings into adversaries. One family who neglected proper rituals on their house lot when they built their home tried to appease angry deities by holding a ceremony a year after the house was finished because bad luck had befallen members of the household. Although most supernatural beings can be pacified by proper observance of rituals, there are some who are inherently malevolent. These ogres may be seen in the form of fire balls or in some other shape or physical appearance.

The worship of these nature deities and the observance of ceremonies in their behalf are in the hands of the high priestess and her female assistants. In former times each main house, later each village, had its own priestess. The present high priestess in Taira derives her office from a much later institution, a nation-wide hierarchy of religious officials established by the Okinawan king in an effort to combine religion with political influence and supervision in the villages. Today the high priestess has no association with the central government; the Japanese abolished the system. The hierarchy of female religious officials (see Lebra: 1958), those representing main houses, and the chief village priestess is no longer clearly delineated in Taira, since representatives of several offices have left the island or died, and the vacancies have not been filled. The high priestess has taken over most of the religious functions. Her chief assistants are older women from the two main houses. While these three women officiate, several other women are in attendance as helpers. In spite of the diminishing role of animistic religion in the daily life of younger people, the high priestess still enjoys prestige in the community. She is exempted from communal labor in recognition of her status.

The present high priestess is a woman in her fifties who works and

793 lives like other villagers, spending most of her time in the fields and around her home. She has children and grandchildren, but the father of her children no longer lives in Taira. She regards the continuation of the old ceremonies as her holy duty even though she has to do without most of the accustomed material support from the village and [358] in spite of disbelief and lack of participation. She has sought in vain [346] to have the village make necessary repairs on the simple village shrine near the township office and on the little hut where the ancestral tablets of her predecessors are kept.

793 While many of the former ceremonies have been discontinued, the 782 priestess is still called on to officiate at house-building ceremonies, to purify the lot, to offer prayers when the beams are raised, and to con- [342] duct the dedication when the house is finished. If the owner is mov- [776] ing out of an old house, the priestess notifies the fire deity so that he [778] will follow to the new abode. On other occasions the priestess conducts prayers at the village shrine or at one of the other sacred places near the village. Many of the prayers are succorant—requesting the aid and blessing of the gods in accomplishing a certain goal. In general, as Lebra has pointed out (1958), ceremonies of asking for help are more numerous and elaborate than thanksgiving ones.

[312] On New Year's morning the priestess prays at the water well. Since [178] so many ceremonies have been abbreviated and are no longer carried out in traditional detail, the priestess apologizes for short cuts in her prayers. If she fails to offer prayers in all prescribed spots, she pacifies [794] the deities by facing in the direction of the sacred place where the [787] ceremony should have been conducted. Although the priestess is clearly best qualified to enter into communication with the deities, many older women seem to possess such power also, and if the priestess' assistants are not present, another older woman can function as her helper.

782 For these ceremonies food for offerings is contributed by the village. 788 The priestess, in a white gown, kneels, flanked by her assistants, also in white, in front of a tray of sake, rice, or other food for the deities. [262] Charcoal incense sticks are burned while brief prayers asking the deities for a successful crop, thanking them for a harvest, or whatever [533] is appropriate to the occasion are mumbled. On certain occasions the women sing chants. After these ceremonies, the priestess, her assistants and the few others present, usually old women, share the food offerings.

796 One of the most dramatic ceremonies is held on Boat Race Day in 793 lunar June. Priestesses from several villages gather near Taira. During the ceremony the Taira priestess stands in the middle of a circle formed by the other priestesses and helpers, beating a drum as the

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women chant. The tempo becomes more and more frenzied, and at a certain moment a bell rings. Nobody knows who rings it, and no amount of questioning elicited any information other than that this was done by divine action. 796 793

Ancestral worship is equally important in the life of Taira people. Each house of an oldest son has a shelf with a shrine in the main living room. On this shelf the family keeps the ancestral tablets, each representing a deceased ancestor of a recent period. The tablets for whole family lines are kept on the shelves of the main houses. Through this system a family maintains continuity between the living and the dead. Although a deceased person is believed to become a buddha or a god who ascends to heaven, his presence is still felt by the living relatives. If they fail to make the required offerings on the first and fifteenth day of each lunar month, or otherwise neglect religious duties toward the ancestor, misfortune may come to the family. At the same time, the worship of common ancestors holds branches of the larger kin groups together. 769 592 [778] [775] [782] [613]

No village adult died during our stay, but the funeral practices for adults described by Glacken (1955) and Pitts et al. (1955) for other villages in Okinawa are similar. Seven years is the age limit for a child burial, which is simple and does not require attendance of people other than immediate relatives and perhaps one or two neighbors.* During the study an 8-year-old boy died from an illness and was given a full funeral, which is similar to that of adults. 764 766

The funeral must take place at the first outgoing tide after the body has been prepared and dressed. Accompanied by family, residents of the ward, and mourners from other parts of the village whose number depends on the prominence of the dead, the body is carried on a simple, open litter to the tomb area just west of the central village (see map 2). Women feel free to show their emotions, while men remain outwardly calm. Until decomposition takes place, the body remains in a tomb used by the whole village for temporary entombment. Like other village ceremonies, funerals are less elaborate now than they once were, perhaps to the relief of all concerned, since death is highly anxiety provoking, and nobody feels comfortable during the prayers and the ritual farewell to the corpse at the tomb. The participants receive a cup of sake before leaving the tomb area to cleanse them of the pollution of death. Some people still prefer to return to the village by a different route so that the spirit of the dead person will be fooled and unable to follow. 764 [152] [154] [783] [784]

* The reason for this is possibly that the younger child has not yet fulfilled his filial obligations.

765 After death, memorial services are held in the home of the deceased
769 every seventh day until the 49th day when a more elaborate ceremony
782 concludes this period, and a permanent tablet is installed on the house shrine. On this day, too, offerings to the deceased change from white rice to red-colored rice, indicating the end of the mourning period. From now on, observances in memory of the dead are held on the first, third, seventh, thirteenth, twenty-fifth, and thirty-third anniversary of death. These are small family affairs at which special food is prepared and offered at the shrine before it is consumed.

765 The body is left in the tomb for at least three years until a propitious day when the whole village decides to wash the bones of all those who have died within the preceding three to seven years. On Bone Washing Day little groups of family members gather around the coffin. They take out the bones, clean them, wrap them in a white cloth and place
[778] them in an urn. Women do all the cleaning of bones because it is be-
[152] lieved that they have more power to expel the evil. They weep freely,
[852] and even some men find it hard to restrain their emotions. Young children are kept away from the tomb area at this time. The urns are then placed inside the family tomb, which has been opened for this purpose. Remains other than bones are burned with the coffin.

769 Every lunar March ancestral services take place at the tombs, at-
782 tended by many members of the kin groups to whom each tomb belongs. Some come from the city or other villages for this occasion, including women who have married into another kin group. This celebration of the dead is more serious than other religious events. Offerings of sake and special delicacies are made and then eaten by the family group. One family, sitting in picnic style around the tomb after their prayers, even began to sing and dance—probably to the delight of the ancestors who in their life must have enjoyed many a good feast and dance. Tombs of other relatives may also be visited for short prayers and other offerings.

775 Spirits of the dead are harmful only if the deceased is not from the
784 village. For this reason new residents formerly could not bury their
766 dead near the village. Even now, recent settlers in the central village have no tombs and keep their dead in urns in a cave, and the residents
[764] of outlying houses or field houses have a separate tomb area altogether. If a stranger happens to die in the village, measures are taken to prevent his spirit from doing harm. The body of a fisherman from southern Okinawa was brought to shore after a storm. There it was left for several hours on the beach under a tent in the hot sun until relatives arrived in a hired car to take the body home. Even then peo-

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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ple did not carry it through the streets but along the shore to a spot 784
nearby where the car could pull up.

Communication with ancestral or family spirits lies in the hands of [766]
individual households or the larger kin group. In general, as with the 782
nature deities, women maintain the relationship. The oldest woman 794
in the house prays and makes offerings in front of the divine shelf or by 769
the tombs. Sometimes the high priestess, whose only regular role in the [562]
cult of ancestors centers around the mythical founder of the village
to whom vague references are made, is asked to conduct a special [793]
prayer for a family at its ancestral shrine. Such invitations are usually
the result of consultation with another religious practitioner to whom [756]
one turns in case of misfortune.*

Those who are considering a special undertaking, such as building a 791
new house or moving to another one, or transporting ancestral tablets
from one home shrine to another, seek the advice of a diviner, the [342]
sanjinsō or *yekisha*. This expert, always a man, consults books on the
workings of the universe, special astrological calendars from which he
can predict events by using a horoscope calculated on the birth date of
the person seeking advice.

Although it would seem from the attendance at ceremonies that 771
older people, mostly women, are the supporters of religion, even the 182
most modern of the Tairans seem to share beliefs in the power of the
supernatural forces and are loath to make an open break with tradi-
tions. One may verbalize that the old religion is just "superstition,"
but when it comes to dealing with adverse events, when somebody sug-
gests that perhaps the *yuta* should be consulted, or a special offering is
in order, or when the old special wine of the gods is prepared from
rice for Boat Race Day, then many of the apparent apostates cooperate.
To some extent this is done to appease the older people, but fear of
neglecting duties, especially toward ancestors, is probably much
stronger in general than people's behavior would suggest. Religious in- [621]
fluence, then, which controlled so many facets of village life in former
days, still acts as a strong force in uniting the members of families and
descent groups as well as in binding together the community as a
unit separate from other communities.

* See Chapter 9 for description of the *yuta* or shaman.

Today the *yukajiru* ceremony held on the fourth day ends the seclusion. A group of close relatives gather to ask for the good health of the child and to make food offerings to the ancestors.

On the fourth or fifth day a name is selected for the newborn. In the old days rice oracles presided over by an old woman were consulted to ensure that the name consist of the proper combination of Japanese writing characters, an essential for the well-being of the child's personality. Today family elders and the local teacher are consulted. In the pre-Japanese periods, temporary names were used until a permanent name was given. This practice was intended to fool the spirits during the early years when the child was thought to be particularly susceptible to spirits.*

On the sixth day after birth the mother is allowed to take her first postdelivery bath; the room which she has occupied with her baby is cleaned and aired, and preparations begin for the *mansang* celebrations. For this event the mother's parents try to be present, especially if it is a first child. Friends and relatives in the village attend. A female elder of the patrilineal kin group or the priestess prays behind a tray of rice, rice wine, and incense so that the child will sleep peacefully and not cry at night. Thanksgiving prayers are offered to the ancestors and the nature deities for the health of both mother and child.

When the prayers are completed, a man sings the *mansang* song to the accompaniment of a samisen. The father of the baby then rises to dance briefly, sits down, and writes with brush and ink on a white sheet of paper the name and birth date of his child. The paper is then hung on the wall near the alcove. Meanwhile the special song is being concluded:

> Coming from the darkness to light,
> This baby was received as a treasure
> And the mother is being celebrated.

Food is then served, and the guests discuss the name and admire the newborn. Like all parties, the celebration ends with song, dance, and wine drinking.

The *mansang* celebrations mark the end of the most critical period for the infant. From now on he may be taken outdoors. At the month's end, his parents may take him to see his maternal grandparents in their village, to offer food at the ancestral shrine of the mother. This is called the first walk. Sons who have left the paternal village for the city return with their infant to observe this day.

* Hanging an irregularly left-woven rope in the delivery room to keep out evil spirits which might harm the newborn, is no longer done in Taira.

brazier in the city. She was kept warm continuously, even in hot weather, so that, it is said, women often broke out in skin eruptions from the heat. At present younger women are not following this practice and many regard it as a foolish custom. The absence of jiiru in post-war houses may be a factor in the decline of the custom. 178 846 [354]

Post-natal Observances During the first year of life the child is the center of several ceremonies. They are in brief: 852

1) Mbagii suuji, "Red rice ceremony". Held on the day of birth. Relatives, friends, and neighbors come. Rice dyed red and a soup of taro stems (a symbol of many children) are offered to the ancestral tablets and served to the guests. The afterbirth is buried behind the house while the children are made to laugh so that the baby will have a good disposition. [844]

2) Naajiki, "Naming". Held during the first week. Practices vary. In one variety the baby's grandmother releases a crab and a grasshopper and shoots an arrow at a winnowing tray; in another she divines with rice grains to see if the name she has selected is proper. This rite was formerly held to give the baby its native Okinawan name. [553] [787]

3) Mansang, "Full birth". Held on the 7th or 30th day after the birth to celebrate the full term. A feast is served to relative, friends, and neighbors.

4) Naa'njii, "First going out". Held for a boy on the first day of the ten-day cycle, designated as kanii, on the second kanii day for a girl. The baby's grandmother makes it pray to the ancestral tablets and to the oven god, then marks its forehead with soot and takes it out, formerly to pray to the god of the pigsty-privy. [769] [782]

5) Hachi-atchii, "First walking". Held whenever the mother is first able to go to visit her parents and siblings. She takes gifts of food to them and in return they give money to the baby.

6) Tanza, "Birthday". Held on the first anniversary of the birth. A feast is prepared and many relatives and friends come bringing gifts of money. The child's future career is divined by placing a number of objects in front of it---money, a book, an abacus, food, etc. If the child chooses the money he will be rich; if the book, a scholar; if the food, a glutton; and so forth. The odds are usually weighted in favor of a desirable future. [527] [787]

There seems to be some variation in all of these practices. Several may be obsolescent because some of the elements entering into them are no longer in use, the pigsty-privy and the native names, for example. [178]

Infanticide New-born babies may be done away with if they are not wanted, but this is probably not at all common under ordinary circumstances. One example was recorded: An old woman who died recently lay for about a week on her death bed unable to talk. Her children gathered about her, wondering if some sin ('tsumi') were not in need of atonement ('tsugunai'). 847 783

775 the ancestral tablets, since they receive offerings and worship at both places. The spirits of the ancestors present in the tablets are called ugwansu (probably literally "masters of worship"). The existence of the dead in Heaven seems rather unclearly defined. In speaking of the dead, people much more frequently use the term "yonder world" (Japanese 'ano yo'), which seems to refer to a realm co-existent with this world, different from it in form but not necessarily remote in space. It is my impression that "yonder world" refers to an unseen spiritual world around the living rather than any distant Heaven or Land of the Dead. It may be that different entities go to different places, as in Chinese eschatology, where each individual has two souls, the "hun" which goes to Heaven as a god, and the "p'o" which stays on Earth as a demon. But the data at hand do not reveal [777] such a neat structure. Or perhaps the concept "Heaven" is merely a recent introduction from China and not yet wholly integrated with native concepts.

778 The distinction between spiritual beings who formerly had a human
776 existence and spiritual beings who are wholly non-human is also not always clear. In every village there are numerous ugwanju, places of worship. These seem to be associated with the founder of the village or the aji or local official---his tomb, the wells where he got water, the hilltop where he worshipped, etc. Non-human spirits probably are believed to inhabit these places, other than the tombs, but it is my impression that most of the worship is directed toward the deceased persons, and indeed that most important local spirits are in fact deceased persons who have become deified.

776 On the other hand, there are spirits associated with the house and yard that are clearly non-human. The most important of these is the Fii-nu-kang, "God of the Fire", or U-kama, "Oven". (These two terms may represent two historically separate concepts, but they are now used interchangeably.)
776 The Fire God is represented by a small vessel containing ashes that stands
778 above or behind the oven in nearly every house. It may even be found behind the little kerosene stoves used by city rooming-house dwellers. This vessel is made and attended by the mistress of the house. When a branch house is established she makes a vessel of earth or obtains one and partly fills it with ashes from the Fire God of the main house. The offerings, among some
776 Yamada families, consist of incense and three cups of cooked rice offered
● 782 on the first and fifteenth of every lunar month, before similar offerings are made to the ancestral tablets. On the 24th day of the 12th lunar month
776 the Fire God is said to ascend to Heaven to return again on New Year's. One old woman explained that the Fire God (Fii-nu-kang-ganashii) is "like a policeman" and Heaven (U-kami-ganashii) is "like the government"; when the Fire God goes up it reports whatever the family has done wrong during the year.

776 Offerings are also made on occasion to the gate, the well, the
782 corners of the yard, the pigsty-privy, and elsewhere. The "Pigsty-privy God" (Fuuru-nu-kami) was formerly of importance especially in treating cases of loss of mabui.

cause misfortune; the ability to do this, he says, is hereditary from mother 754
to daughter. My informants did not identify ichijama with the mabui or any other such entity, but merely explained it as a kind of 'noroi', "curse". Its effect is a sharp pain inside the body or the feeling that a fingernail has been thrust into the eye. If the person responsible is known, they said, the affliction may be cured by spitting in his direction and throwing pig dung in his direction, shouting, "I smear it on your face!" According to [756]
Yanagida, a yuta can cure an afflicted person by squeezing his thumb, which causes the thumb of the person responsible to be crushed.

Illness may also be caused by gods or local spirits as punishment 753
for the breaking of tabus. For example, at Yamazato in Chinen-son it was 784
said that on the 1st, 8th, 18th, and 28th of every month the "mountain god" (yama nu kami) makes a circuit of inspection of the mountain behind the village and therefore one cannot go to cut trees or grass on those days for fear of punishment.

But probably the most frequent interpretation of illness and mis- 753
fortune is that it is caused by ugwambusuku, an insufficiency of worship 769
(from ugwang, "worship" and fusuku, "insufficiency"). As has been explained, 775
the dead can influence the lives of the living for good or bad. If the ancestors of a family are well cared for, that is, receive the proper offerings and worship, they may help that family to prosper and multiply, but on the other hand, if the ancestors are not cared for they will let the family know of their needs by some light illness, or, if their needs are still ignored, by some greater misfortune. They may not deliberately mean to harm their descendants; the misfortune may be automatic; this point is not clear. At any rate, the fear of ugwambusuku appears to be a very common anxiety [152]
and to play a central role in the whole structure of ancestor worship. Various religious practitioners and diviners, but particularly the yuta, are [756]
frequently called upon to try to determine where the insufficiency lies, what deceased person has not received his full share of worship and is therefore causing the current illness or other misfortune. To account for such [787]
illnesses and misfortunes the yuta and others may have revelations (shirashi) which revise the family's genealogy and even reveal the existence of hitherto unknown ancestors.

The insufficiency is not always of worship of the ancestors, al- 753
though this is probably the most frequent type. Illness may also be caused 782
by an insufficiency of worship of the Fire God. It is said that if an il- [848]
legitimate child or the child of a secondary wife does not worship at least once at the Fire God of his shiji ("line") that is, the Fire God of his father's family, he may become ill. Thus it is not uncommon for the mother of an illegitimate child to bring it to the house of its father and ask to let it pray once to the Fire God there. This practice may also, of course, [851]
serve to demonstrate paternity.

Also probably related to the concept that the ancestors influence 769
the living is the practice of establishing a fictitious adoptive relation- 753
ship between a child and an unrelated family. If a child is weakly its mother may ask an unrelated adult to become the yashinee-uya, "adopted parent",

direction of some tombs in order to prevent the ghosts from coming into the 755
yard. I have also seen a woman who had some training as a nurse throw salt over a hospital patient who had just had a major operation; this was, she said, to cleanse the patient and the bed. Salt is also used as a home 767
remedy for stomach disorders. A mother or grandmother may rub salt on the navel of a child suffering from a stomach ache. According to a small boy who received this treatment, it works.

Prayers are directed toward the supernatural beings who may help 782
one overcome an illness. Curses and spells are directed toward malevolent 755
beings, usually ghosts, when they are the cause of illness. Spells (mannaa, Japanese 'majinai') are verbal formulae that have a magical effect. Persons who are known to know spells and who may be asked to use them for the benefit of others are called mannaasaa ('majinai suru hito'), but spells seem to be useful only for a few diseases and so there is probably little specialization in their use.

To indicate something of the mixture of the natural and the super- 755
natural (to use Western categories) in the treatment of illness in the Oki- 757
nawan home, I have appended a description of the notions about and treatment of a few diseases as observed and as described by informants. These are all skin ailments.

1. Kamigasaa A kasa (skin eruption or rash) caused by kami (gods). 755 757

a. Irigasaa Identified as the same as the Japanese 'hashika' 753
(dictionary translation, "measles"). This disease is caught only once, [64]
usually as a child. One must catch it before he becomes a complete person ('ichininmae'). Because children sometimes die of it, parents worry before they have caught it but are eager to have it over with. There are lighter and heavier "requests" ('o-negai') so that if a child has a "light request" the parents of other children may bring them in to lie beside the sick child and eat what food he leaves in order that they may contact the disease. But the disease is given by the god and therefore the other children get it only if they were meant to do so.

The disease begins with a fever and then a rash appears on the head and moves downward. If the rash does not appear the fever may rise and therefore parents worry if the rash is delayed. If there is no rash visible it may be that the rash is on the inside unable to get out and thus is causing the fever. This is dangerous.

Careful treatment is essential. The god comes around to see how the patient is being treated; if the family is not watching the child carefully, the god makes the disease worse. In a case observed, the mother kept the child in bed covered with a thick quilt and mosquito net and sat beside him, fanning him almost continuously. Polite language is also necessary in order not to offend the god.

women chant. The tempo becomes more and more frenzied, and at a certain moment a bell rings. Nobody knows who rings it, and no amount of questioning elicited any information other than that this was done by divine action. 796 793

Ancestral worship is equally important in the life of Taira people. Each house of an oldest son has a shelf with a shrine in the main living room. On this shelf the family keeps the ancestral tablets, each representing a deceased ancestor of a recent period. The tablets for whole family lines are kept on the shelves of the main houses. Through this system a family maintains continuity between the living and the dead. Although a deceased person is believed to become a buddha or a god who ascends to heaven, his presence is still felt by the living relatives. If they fail to make the required offerings on the first and fifteenth day of each lunar month, or otherwise neglect religious duties toward the ancestor, misfortune may come to the family. At the same time, the worship of common ancestors holds branches of the larger kin groups together. 769 592 [778] [775] [782] [613]

No village adult died during our stay, but the funeral practices for adults described by Glacken (1955) and Pitts et al. (1955) for other villages in Okinawa are similar. Seven years is the age limit for a child burial, which is simple and does not require attendance of people other than immediate relatives and perhaps one or two neighbors.* During the study an 8-year-old boy died from an illness and was given a full funeral, which is similar to that of adults. 764 766

The funeral must take place at the first outgoing tide after the body has been prepared and dressed. Accompanied by family, residents of the ward, and mourners from other parts of the village whose number depends on the prominence of the dead, the body is carried on a simple, open litter to the tomb area just west of the central village (see map 2). Women feel free to show their emotions, while men remain outwardly calm. Until decomposition takes place, the body remains in a tomb used by the whole village for temporary entombment. Like other village ceremonies, funerals are less elaborate now than they once were, perhaps to the relief of all concerned, since death is highly anxiety provoking, and nobody feels comfortable during the prayers and the ritual farewell to the corpse at the tomb. The participants receive a cup of sake before leaving the tomb area to cleanse them of the pollution of death. Some people still prefer to return to the village by a different route so that the spirit of the dead person will be fooled and unable to follow. 764 [152] [154] [783] [784]

* The reason for this is possibly that the younger child has not yet fulfilled his filial obligations.

brazier in the city. She was kept warm continuously, even in hot weather, so that, it is said, women often broke out in skin eruptions from the heat. At present younger women are not following this practice and many regard it as a foolish custom. The absence of jiiru in post-war houses may be a factor in the decline of the custom. 178 846 [354]

Post-natal Observances During the first year of life the child is the center of several ceremonies. They are in brief: 852

1) Mbagii sunji, "Red rice ceremony". Held on the day of birth. Relatives, friends, and neighbors come. Rice dyed red and a soup of taro stems (a symbol of many children) are offered to the ancestral tablets and served to the guests. The afterbirth is buried behind the house while the children are made to laugh so that the baby will have a good disposition. [844]

2) Naajiki, "Naming". Held during the first week. Practices vary. In one variety the baby's grandmother releases a crab and a grasshopper and shoots an arrow at a winnowing tray; in another she divines with rice grains to see if the name she has selected is proper. This rite was formerly held to give the baby its native Okinawan name. [553] [787]

3) Mansang, "Full birth". Held on the 7th or 30th day after the birth to celebrate the full term. A feast is served to relative, friends, and neighbors.

4) Naa'njii, "First going out". Held for a boy on the first day of the ten-day cycle, designated as kanii, on the second kanii day for a girl. The baby's grandmother makes it pray to the ancestral tablets and to the oven god, then marks its forehead with soot and takes it out, formerly to pray to the god of the pigsty-privy. [769] [782]

5) Hachi-atchii, "First walking". Held whenever the mother is first able to go to visit her parents and siblings. She takes gifts of food to them and in return they give money to the baby.

6) Tanka, "Birthday". Held on the first anniversary of the birth. A feast is prepared and many relatives and friends come bringing gifts of money. The child's future career is divined by placing a number of objects in front of it---money, a book, an abacus, food, etc. If the child chooses the money he will be rich; if the book, a scholar; if the food, a glutton; and so forth. The odds are usually weighted in favor of a desirable future. [527] [787]

There seems to be some variation in all of these practices. Several may be obsolescent because some of the elements entering into them are no longer in use, the pigsty-privy and the native names, for example. [178]

Infanticide New-born babies may be done away with if they are not wanted, but this is probably not at all common under ordinary circumstances. One example was recorded: An old woman who died recently lay for about a week on her death bed unable to talk. Her children gathered about her, wondering if some sin ('tsumi') were not in need of atonement ('tsugunai'). 847 783

847 783 Finally one of her brothers told them the reason. When she had been a young woman her husband had been awa for a long period during which she had had relations with other men and had had a baby by one of them. To avoid the disgrace and the anger of her husband, the woman's mother had buried the child alive in the back yard. The story was known to other older members of the family because some time later the bones had been discovered. When the story was told to the children, they told their dying mother that she could now go peacefully. She died soon after. All agreed that if a tablet had been made for the dead infant and incense had been burned, even in secret, the mother would not have suffered when she died. Infanticide thus may be punished by the supernatural, but then the punishment may also be avoided by the proper offerings.

847 Lebra reports that birth statistics from the village of Kitazato suggest that female infanticide has been practiced there recently. Statistics from other communities studied do not give the same skewed sex ration.

853 854 Infant Care Okinawan mothers nurse their babies for a year to a year and a half, though some are said to continue even until the child is three. They keep no schedules but give their babies the breast whenever they seem to want it. They deliberately offer a fretful baby the breast not only to appease its hunger but also to comfort it and it is not unusual to see a grandmother offer her dry breast to a child as a pacifier. I once commented to two Okinawan women that a certain American doctor has argued that Okinawans are happier than Americans because they are breast-fed as infants rather than bottle-fed; the women answered immediately, "But it's not the milk; it's the love ('aijō')."

853 Infants receive no food other than milk for the first nine months. Then they are given a little gruel made by skimming off the top of a mixture of cooked rice and water. This is not given earlier because it is believed that milk and rice do not mix well in the infant's stomach. After the child's first birthday it is given most adult foods, unless it is especially weak. Most children will not eat everything, however, but, it is said, will prefer sweet foods and avoid highly seasoned foods. Mothers do not prechew food for small children as a rule but may do so in some cases, to take the bones out of fish, for example.

863 [5N] Toilet training is neither early nor strict. Adults as a rule defecate only in the toilet but are likely to urinate almost anywhere. They do not expect small children to be very careful. A baby wears a diaper until it is a year or a year and a half; then it may wear only a dress or shirt with no pants. At first the mother holds it over the toilet or merely off the edge of the house. In time it is expected to go to the toilet itself to defecate. Children are said to go by themselves when they are three. I have seen children of four still defecating beside the house, too busy playing to go to the toilet. They were scolded for it but received no more severe punishment. [178] This was in the city, however, and I was told that while their mothers did not object much to this behavior, their grandmother objected more strongly and scolded their mothers for permitting it. The change in type of toilet may

513 Ventilation at night may be poor; the sliding doors are usually tightly shut and locked. In larger towns and cities this practice may be explained as due to the prevalence of thieves, but in the country there must be another reason; it is probably the fear of yanakaji or of the kiji-
[775] munaa. The first, yanakaji, literally "bad winds", are ghosts, who may
[776] cause illness. The kijimunaa is a sea-being or tree-being who causes a frightening but harmless sensation of smothering and weight on the chest. These creatures may enter through open doors or windows. According to one informant their entry might be prevented by setting up a butcher knife in the opening but I have not seen it done. (It could only be done for a window; in a door it would be dangerous to the human occupants.)

In spite of their sleeping with relatively little change in position while in bed, Okinawans seem to be able to fall asleep in a variety of positions and circumstances, in busses and on trucks, in the midst of family activities, with noise and bright lights apparently presenting no obstacles. This ability may be the result of the early experience of sleeping under all sorts of conditions while being carried on the mother's back. There are two restrictions to sleeping. All avoid sleeping with the head oriented west, because that is the way a corpse is oriented. The other is that girls and women must avoid sleeping with the legs separated. Lebra observed one grandmother give her little granddaughter a hard pinch on the thigh for this.

Okinawans recognize that sleep is essential to maintaining the body. After a restless night one may say that he "had insufficient sleep".
[171] It has been asserted that the Japanese regard sleep as a luxury rather than as a necessity. This cannot be said of the Okinawans.

515 171 Cleanliness In care of the body, the Okinawans are among the cleanlier of the world's peoples. They bathe frequently, keep their nails
[302] clean by constant trimming, their teeth clean by prolonged morning brushing, and their hair neatly cut or dressed. But they are not as cleanly as the Japanese or at least as the urban Japanese. One reason why they bathe less frequently is that baths are simply less available. Many villages are without public baths. Most farmers must either pour cold water over themselves at their wells or a little hot water warmed in the kitchen. In villages
[834] where there are few wells the water must be carried. Another factor may be modesty; nudity is not taken for granted as in Japan, so that one does not strip nude at the well in the daytime. A third factor may be the lack
[703] of such highly-developed concepts of ceremonial purity and pollution as exist in Japan. There are no tabus on the activities of menstruating women on Okinawa as there are in Japan, for example.

291 834 Nudity Pre-school children often play nude. Mothers sometimes appear to be displaying little boys nude to demonstrate their masculinity. Photographs of naked baby boys are popular. Boys may continue to swim nude until eight or so, but girls begin to put on some garment for swimming
[153] sooner. Women nurse in public and sometimes work at home with the breasts
[814] uncovered. Adults of both sexes may urinate in public, but in such a way that the body may not be seen. Adults do not appear publicly or privately
[515] before one another nude. Public bath houses have separate sections for men

778 Similar worship may take place at a spring (isumi). Near
796 Gushichan village there is a large spring. Stone stairs have been built up, amphitheatre-like, around it. Prayers are offered by villagers, or substantial numbers of them, on New Year and on the 5th day of the 5th lunar month. In daily life, the spring is a favorite place for laundering and bathing.

776 There are three well gods in Hinatogawa, and they are worshipped
778 at the three public wells scattered throughout the village. The people of the village, or large numbers of them, assemble at these wells for
796 prayer at various times of the year, the most important being on New Year and on boat racing day. Sake and a box of candy are placed before the well as offerings of thanks for water.

This village has also a place for the worship of the sea god. This is a simple stone on a small shelf, on a barren spot of the seashore, scarcely distinguishable from the rocks scattered in natural disarray by the waves. In a high wind, the remains of the offerings and the charcoal sticks are swept out to sea. The most important observance here occurs on the 4th day of the 5th month, the day of the sea festival and the boat races. Fishermen come to the place by boat and make offerings of sharks' fins. On this day, the whole village assembles twice to pray at the spot, once before, and once after the races and the celebration. Individual or family worship is common on New Year and at O-Bon. On the equinoctial holiday of the full moon, the headman, the heads of the neighborhood groups, the council and retired elder men assemble, offer thanks and pray for continued plenty from the sea. Very close to the palace of the sea god, a short round stick of bamboo or of thick miscanthus may be stuck in a pile of rocks. Near the top, a dried fish (usually the ika) tail is placed in a slit. In the center there is a slit for another but larger part of the dried fish.

776 The palace of the mountain god, though its identity is uncertain,
778 is near the palace of the sea god. It is under an overhanging rock along the seashore. This seems an unusual place for the home of a
178 mountain god, but seafarers may have prayed to the god in thanks for guiding them safely in. It seems now to have fallen into disuse. It is now partially overgrown with pandanus and little is known of the place.

776 Matsuda. In Matsuda, there are beliefs in well, mountain top, and
778 tree grove spirits. There are 8 wells here and family groups usually divide up and worship at one of the wells. After drinking some of the
782 water, thanks are offered to the well god.

The gods of the mountain top and the tree groves are difficult to
776 understand. Little seems to be known about them locally, and it is
128 difficult to disengage historical from religious elements.

One popular explanation is that these gods were the intentional
[176] invention of Saion, the 18th century statesman and authority on forestry and agriculture. But this seems highly unlikely. It is more likely
789 that Saion capitalized on the ancient interdict against cutting down
778

trees of the sacred grove and used old beliefs to preserve the forests. Formerly it was believed that misfortune would come to him who cut a tree in groves sacred to these gods. If the trees were cut, the god would become angry, the person cutting the tree would be the victim of self-induced illness and by worrying about his deed, gradually would become ill, and perhaps die. These sacred groves, whose religious significance is now almost ignored, are arranged to enclose the village from three directions, with the open side on the south. On the north was the sacred grove in the back (ushiro no utaki) or the grove of the white gold mountain (kinpuku utaki in Okinawan). The mountain gods were supposed to live here. On the west was the grove in front (mae no utaki) on the white silver mountain. This was also known as the fire shrine.

The priestesses also had a hand in this worship of the mountain gods. There are about seven of these places of worship now, and there is still a voluntary caretaker, an old woman with tattooed hands, a family priestess (nigami) in the old system. Occasionally one sees an old woman going to a grove to pray. The only other visitors are the farmers who walk along the paths of the grove on their way to the fields.

7

Other Religious Observances

There are a few other observations which may have some interest. Old women use patches of grass or knotted rice straw to ward off the spirits on days when they are thought to be abroad in great numbers. At the festival of the autumnal equinox, knotted or braided grass (shiba) is placed in various parts of the house. In some houses, bunches are suspended from the cross beams, perhaps three or four bunches to the side. They may be placed in the toilet, at the entrance to the house compound, on the water barrel in the kitchen, on the front and back of fishing boats, or in the interior of the house. Blades of miscanthus grass may be tied around the neck of a bean paste jug (misogami). Spirits, plentiful at this time, are frightened away by the patches of grass and will not enter. The young, while not believing in this, acquiesce to avoid making the old angry.

When a death anniversary is being celebrated, there may be a blade of miscanthus, a rice straw, or a knotted blade of grass on the top of a box of candies or sweet meats to prevent the intrusion of evil spirits. A blade of grass (the san) is occasionally tied around the handle of a tea pot. For the first week after a family death, tea is served from a pot which has this blade of grass. But these are almost invariably the observances of the old and are only infrequently seen. These customs, observed in Hinatogawa, are said to survive among the very old in the other villages.

In Matsuda, a rice rope (shimenawa) was observed at one home. The rice rope, a Shinto symbol, is not common in Okinawan culture. This

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Chapter 8

Religion

771 The religious beliefs of people in Taira and their ritual practices rec-
177 ognize the existence of two different sources of supernatural forces.
[776] The old Okinawan religion, which is still practiced by many persons
in the village, centers on beliefs in a host of nonhuman spirits that
[769] inhabit certain localities. A historically more recent Confuscian-
Bhuddist influence from China and Japan has added to these beliefs
the veneration of ancestors who, in their divine state after death, con-
[782] trol many activities of the living. Under the influence of these two
forces, the animistic and the ancestral, life must be conducted in such
[784] a way that both remain appeased at all times by proper worship and
performance of ritual as well as by avoidance of actions which might
offend these supernatural forces.

771 Even though many younger people laugh away the adherence to
[154] beliefs, especially in animistic deities, there is much evidence that the
life of almost all people is controlled by fears, anxieties, and desires
for appeasement stemming from these religious beliefs. Although his-
torically the animistic and ancestral religious beliefs were separate,
they are synchronized at present so that it is not always possible to
make a clear distinction between each system (Lebra: 1958).

776 The supernatural beings of nature live all around the village. There
are mountain deities, deities of the sea, of the well, of trees, and other
places. Any localities connected with productive activities, such as the
store, the sugar mill, the sugar press, and the village truck, have their
[372] own deities. There is also the Deity of Fire, associated with the hearth
and the house. He is represented in three hearth stones found in most
simple kitchens. Three upright small stones, resembling the hearth
stones, are the divine symbols in the village shrine where all these
supernatural beings are worshipped.

[2] The supernatural beings living in and around the village appear

women chant. The tempo becomes more and more frenzied, and at a certain moment a bell rings. Nobody knows who rings it, and no amount of questioning elicited any information other than that this was done by divine action. 796 793

Ancestral worship is equally important in the life of Taira people. Each house of an oldest son has a shelf with a shrine in the main living room. On this shelf the family keeps the ancestral tablets, each representing a deceased ancestor of a recent period. The tablets for whole family lines are kept on the shelves of the main houses. Through this system a family maintains continuity between the living and the dead. Although a deceased person is believed to become a buddha or a god who ascends to heaven, his presence is still felt by the living relatives. If they fail to make the required offerings on the first and fifteenth day of each lunar month, or otherwise neglect religious duties toward the ancestor, misfortune may come to the family. At the same time, the worship of common ancestors holds branches of the larger kin groups together. 769 592 [778] [775] [782] [613]

No village adult died during our stay, but the funeral practices for adults described by Glacken (1955) and Pitts et al. (1955) for other villages in Okinawa are similar. Seven years is the age limit for a child burial, which is simple and does not require attendance of people other than immediate relatives and perhaps one or two neighbors.* During the study an 8-year-old boy died from an illness and was given a full funeral, which is similar to that of adults. 764 766

The funeral must take place at the first outgoing tide after the body has been prepared and dressed. Accompanied by family, residents of the ward, and mourners from other parts of the village whose number depends on the prominence of the dead, the body is carried on a simple, open litter to the tomb area just west of the central village (see map 2). Women feel free to show their emotions, while men remain outwardly calm. Until decomposition takes place, the body remains in a tomb used by the whole village for temporary entombment. Like other village ceremonies, funerals are less elaborate now than they once were, perhaps to the relief of all concerned, since death is highly anxiety provoking, and nobody feels comfortable during the prayers and the ritual farewell to the corpse at the tomb. The participants receive a cup of sake before leaving the tomb area to cleanse them of the pollution of death. Some people still prefer to return to the village by a different route so that the spirit of the dead person will be fooled and unable to follow. 764 [152] [154] [783] [784]

* The reason for this is possibly that the younger child has not yet fulfilled his filial obligations.

765 After death, memorial services are held in the home of the deceased
769 every seventh day until the 49th day when a more elaborate ceremony
782 concludes this period, and a permanent tablet is installed on the house shrine. On this day, too, offerings to the deceased change from white rice to red-colored rice, indicating the end of the mourning period. From now on, observances in memory of the dead are held on the first, third, seventh, thirteenth, twenty-fifth, and thirty-third anniversary of death. These are small family affairs at which special food is prepared and offered at the shrine before it is consumed.

765 The body is left in the tomb for at least three years until a propitious day when the whole village decides to wash the bones of all those who have died within the preceding three to seven years. On Bone Washing Day little groups of family members gather around the coffin. They take out the bones, clean them, wrap them in a white cloth and place
[778] them in an urn. Women do all the cleaning of bones because it is be-
[152] lieved that they have more power to expel the evil. They weep freely,
[852] and even some men find it hard to restrain their emotions. Young children are kept away from the tomb area at this time. The urns are then placed inside the family tomb, which has been opened for this purpose. Remains other than bones are burned with the coffin.

769 Every lunar March ancestral services take place at the tombs, at-
782 tended by many members of the kin groups to whom each tomb belongs. Some come from the city or other villages for this occasion, including women who have married into another kin group. This celebration of the dead is more serious than other religious events. Offerings of sake and special delicacies are made and then eaten by the family group. One family, sitting in picnic style around the tomb after their prayers, even began to sing and dance—probably to the delight of the ancestors who in their life must have enjoyed many a good feast and dance. Tombs of other relatives may also be visited for short prayers and other offerings.

775 Spirits of the dead are harmful only if the deceased is not from the
784 village. For this reason new residents formerly could not bury their
766 dead near the village. Even now, recent settlers in the central village have no tombs and keep their dead in urns in a cave, and the residents
[764] of outlying houses or field houses have a separate tomb area altogether. If a stranger happens to die in the village, measures are taken to prevent his spirit from doing harm. The body of a fisherman from southern Okinawa was brought to shore after a storm. There it was left for several hours on the beach under a tent in the hot sun until relatives arrived in a hired car to take the body home. Even then peo-

 775

ple did not carry it through the streets but along the shore to a spot 784 ●
nearby where the car could pull up. [766]

Communication with ancestral or family spirits lies in the hands of 782
individual households or the larger kin group. In general, as with the 794
nature deities, women maintain the relationship. The oldest woman 769
in the house prays and makes offerings in front of the divine shelf or by [562]
the tombs. Sometimes the high priestess, whose only regular role in the [793]
cult of ancestors centers around the mythical founder of the village [756]
to whom vague references are made, is asked to conduct a special
prayer for a family at its ancestral shrine. Such invitations are usually
the result of consultation with another religious practitioner to whom
one turns in case of misfortune.*

Those who are considering a special undertaking, such as building a 791
new house or moving to another one, or transporting ancestral tablets [342]
from one home shrine to another, seek the advice of a diviner, the
sanjinsō or *yekisha*. This expert, always a man, consults books on the
workings of the universe, special astrological calendars from which he
can predict events by using a horoscope calculated on the birth date of
the person seeking advice.

Although it would seem from the attendance at ceremonies that 771
older people, mostly women, are the supporters of religion, even the 182
most modern of the Tairans seem to share beliefs in the power of the
supernatural forces and are loath to make an open break with traditions. One may verbalize that the old religion is just "superstition," but when it comes to dealing with adverse events, when somebody suggests that perhaps the *yuta* should be consulted, or a special offering is in order, or when the old special wine of the gods is prepared from rice for Boat Race Day, then many of the apparent apostates cooperate. To some extent this is done to appease the older people, but fear of neglecting duties, especially toward ancestors, is probably much stronger in general than people's behavior would suggest. Religious in- [621]
fluence, then, which controlled so many facets of village life in former days, still acts as a strong force in uniting the members of families and descent groups as well as in binding together the community as a unit separate from other communities.

* See Chapter 9 for description of the *yuta* or shaman.

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Today the *yukajiru* ceremony held on the fourth day ends the seclusion. 846
A group of close relatives gather to ask for the good health of the 769
child and to make food offerings to the ancestors.

On the fourth or fifth day a name is selected for the newborn. In 852
the old days rice oracles presided over by an old woman were con- 553
sulted to ensure that the name consist of the proper combination of 787
Japanese writing characters, an essential for the well-being of the child's 156
personality. Today family elders and the local teacher are consulted.
In the pre-Japanese periods, temporary names were used until a per- [875]
manent name was given. This practice was intended to fool the spirits
during the early years when the child was thought to be particularly [784]
susceptible to spirits.*

On the sixth day after birth the mother is allowed to take her first 846
postdelivery bath; the room which she has occupied with her baby is 852
cleaned and aired, and preparations begin for the *mansang* celebra-
tions. For this event the mother's parents try to be present, especially [613]
if it is a first child. Friends and relatives in the village attend. A
female elder of the patrilineal kin group or the priestess prays behind [782]
a tray of rice, rice wine, and incense so that the child will sleep peace- [769]
fully and not cry at night. Thanksgiving prayers are offered to the
ancestors and the nature deities for the health of both mother and
child.

When the prayers are completed, a man sings the *mansang* song to 852
the accompaniment of a samisen. The father of the baby then rises to
dance briefly, sits down, and writes with brush and ink on a white 533
sheet of paper the name and birth date of his child. The paper is then 574
hung on the wall near the alcove. Meanwhile the special song is being
concluded:

> Coming from the darkness to light,
> This baby was received as a treasure
> And the mother is being celebrated.

Food is then served, and the guests discuss the name and admire the newborn. Like all parties, the celebration ends with song, dance, and wine drinking.

The *mansang* celebrations mark the end of the most critical period 852
for the infant. From now on he may be taken outdoors. At the month's
end, his parents may take him to see his maternal grandparents in their 846
village, to offer food at the ancestral shrine of the mother. This is [769]
called the first walk. Sons who have left the paternal village for the [782]
city return with their infant to observe this day.

* Hanging an irregularly left-woven rope in the delivery room to keep out evil spirits which might harm the newborn, is no longer done in Taira.

cause misfortune; the ability to do this, he says, is hereditary from mother 754
to daughter. My informants did not identify ichijama with the mabui or any other such entity, but merely explained it as a kind of 'noroi', "curse". Its effect is a sharp pain inside the body or the feeling that a fingernail has been thrust into the eye. If the person responsible is known, they said, the affliction may be cured by spitting in his direction and throwing pig dung in his direction, shouting, "I smear it on your face!" According to [756]
Yanagida, a yuta can cure an afflicted person by squeezing his thumb, which causes the thumb of the person responsible to be crushed.

Illness may also be caused by gods or local spirits as punishment 753
for the breaking of tabus. For example, at Yamazato in Chinen-son it was 784
said that on the 1st, 8th, 18th, and 28th of every month the "mountain god" (yama nu kami) makes a circuit of inspection of the mountain behind the village and therefore one cannot go to cut trees or grass on those days for fear of punishment.

But probably the most frequent interpretation of illness and mis- 753
fortune is that it is caused by ugwambusuku, an insufficiency of worship 769
(from ugwang, "worship" and fusuku, "insufficiency"). As has been explained, 775
the dead can influence the lives of the living for good or bad. If the ancestors of a family are well cared for, that is, receive the proper offerings and worship, they may help that family to prosper and multiply, but on the other hand, if the ancestors are not cared for they will let the family know of their needs by some light illness, or, if their needs are still ignored, by some greater misfortune. They may not deliberately mean to harm their descendants; the misfortune may be automatic; this point is not clear. At any rate, the fear of ugwambusuku appears to be a very common anxiety [152]
and to play a central role in the whole structure of ancestor worship. Vari- [756]
ous religious practitioners and diviners, but particularly the yuta, are frequently called upon to try to determine where the insufficiency lies, what deceased person has not received his full share of worship and is therefore causing the current illness or other misfortune. To account for such [782]
illnesses and misfortunes the yuta and others may have revelations (shirashi) which revise the family's genealogy and even reveal the existence of hitherto unknown ancestors.

The insufficiency is not always of worship of the ancestors, al- 753
though this is probably the most frequent type. Illness may also be caused 782
by an insufficiency of worship of the Fire God. It is said that if an il- [848]
legitimate child or the child of a secondary wife does not worship at least once at the Fire God of his shiji ("line") that is, the Fire God of his father's family, he may become ill. Thus it is not uncommon for the mother of an illegitimate child to bring it to the house of its father and ask to let it pray once to the Fire God there. This practice may also, of course, [851]
serve to demonstrate paternity.

Also probably related to the concept that the ancestors influence 769
the living is the practice of establishing a fictitious adoptive relation- 753
ship between a child and an unrelated family. If a child is weakly its mother may ask an unrelated adult to become the yashinee-uya, "adopted parent",

597 known as groom-adoption (mukoyoshi in Japanese). No instances of this form of adoption were found in the villages. The husband-to-be is adopted into his wife's family and, at the same time, becomes successor to his wife's father's estate. The adopted man is placed in a similar position to a daughter to be married: he forsakes his own family, his name is taken off the family register of his father, and he becomes, like the bride in a normal situation, a member of his wife's family.

597 183 [171] Common in Japan, this device is considered a humiliating position, both in Japan and in Okinawa,* for the bridegroom, since he puts himself in an unfavorable position regarding the women of the adopting family and leaves his own. Even though unused, reactions to this form of adoption are unreservedly negative in the villages. "It is very distasteful," said one man. "The boy deserts his own home and enters his wife's home." Occasionally however it probably will be used. There are a few families with five or six daughters and no sons. In one instance, a family with six daughters, the eldest of marriageable age, the parents were considering groom adoption.

597 171 In Okinawa unlike Japan, the maintenance of the family system is not contingent upon an elaborate and widely used system of adoption. This is one of the important distinctions to be made between Okinawan and Japanese culture, for in Japan adoption has been used by the royal family, in business and professional circles, as well as among the ordinary classes of people.

7

The "Growing Up" Parent

597 608 855 134 There is also a special form of adoption in Okinawa. It is debatable whether it is directly concerned with the maintenance of the family system, or is a more general aspect of the culture and part of the care and rearing of children. This is known as yashineuya (in Okinawan), yashinaoya or morawako (in Japanese). It is not adoption, but an arrangement that is considered helpful for the survival of sickly children who, the parents feel, might not live to maturity. The verb, yashinsu in Japanese means to rear, adopt, or support. It is also used in referring to raising animals.

[791] [787] The first step is to consult a fortune teller (sanjinsō in Japanese). Hanashiro people can go to nearby Gushichan; Minatogawans to Itoman or Naha, and the parents of Matsuda to Ginoza or to Nago to consult the

* This situation has changed since the war. See The Japanese village in transition, as cited, 213.

fortune teller. The purpose of this visit is to discover who would be a good adopting parent. The fortune teller advises the parents to select a person born under the same year sign as the child. These year signs roughly correspond to the signs of the zodiac. The twelve signs with their Japanese equivalents are: rat (ne), ox (ushi), tiger (tora), hare or rabbit (u), dragon (tatsu), snake (mi), horse (uma), sheep hitsuji), monkey (saru), bird (tori), dog (inu), and hog or boar (i). The year 1951 was the year of the hare; 1952 is the year of the dragon (tatsudoki). 597 608 855 734 781 [805]

The adopting or "growing up" parent is older, in multiples of 12, than the child. After consulting almanacs and other materials, the fortune teller advises the parents to find a person in the village born under the same year sign as the child. Prospective adopting parents are then sought out and the matter is discussed with them. Both parents may do this, but most often the discussions are carried on by the mother. When the selection is made, the child is "given" to the adopting parent, and there are prayers before the Buddhist god shelf in the home of the adopting parent. [782] [798]

Actually the child continues to live with its own parents, but makes frequent visits to the home of the adopting parent. There are no stated intervals at which these visits are made, except for New Years and O-Bon. The adopting parent may on these visits give food and presents to the child. [594]

The arrangement thus seems to be a form of sponsorship and guardianship without special responsibilities on the part of the adopting parent, to bring good health and long life to the child. It has only slight resemblances to the godfather and godmother in Christian countries who sponsor a child at his baptism and theoretically at least undertake to be responsible for his Christian training. But the sponsorship and guardianship features are somewhat similar.

Adoption of this type may be done in Okinawa by either sex. Generally old women are the favorites and they may have many such adopted children. But old or older men may also assume this obligation. This form of "growing up" adoption existed in all the villages studied in substantially the same form. [887] [184]

8

The Household Order Naming System

Families in a village have, in addition to their own surnames, secondary names by which individual families are known. This secondary naming system is a device to distinguish related families with the same surname from one another. 614 551 592 613

The secondary naming system is known as "the household order," or yagō in Japanese. To introduce this discussion, it might be well to 000

The group sat in a circle. The priestess occupied the highest spot, her female assistants somewhat lower places, and the men, for once, in the lowest position. The priestess, her women and the male entourage held public worship on the 15th day of the 5th, the 15th and 16th day of the 6th, and the 10th day of the 8th lunar months. On these days there were prayers for good crops, for freedom from disasters and typhoon damage. On the 10th day of the 8th month, there were special prayers that neither diseases nor epidemics enter Hatsuda. These three periods may be rest days on which the villagers may assemble at the place where the prayers are being offered. Because there is no priestess, these ceremonies are now conducted by former assistants. The meetings are attended by fewer and fewer people and the ceremonies may disappear altogether. 793 796 [782]

6

Gods of the Fire, Wells, and Sacred Groves

There are also other forms of worship which still survive. These are (1) the god of fire (hi no kami), (2) spirits of the sea, of wells, springs, and groves, and (3) types of fortune telling which blend into religious belief. 776 [787]

Gods of the Fire. In every Okinawan kitchen, there is a place above the stove or hearth dedicated to the kitchen or the fire god. There is no image or personification of the god. Usually the place is a very small shelf on which charcoal sticks are burned for the god of the hearth. This is done by women exclusively. The women may light the sticks daily, but it is more usual for the housewife to perform the observance on the 1st and 15th of the lunar month. This was true of all the villages, and I have never seen a kitchen which lacked a place for the fire god.[7] 776 778 372 782 [562]

Gods of the Well (ido no kami). In Hanashiro, prayers are offered in front of the two public wells on lunar New Year. The whole village does not participate. Two or three older men from each extended family perform the rite. The gods of the well are told that the villagers need water; they are thanked for what they have had, and asked to continue to furnish a plentiful supply. 776 778 796

7 The Shinto god shelf (kamidana) is extremely rare. In my observation, it was present only in the homes of Okinawans who had lived in Japan. One in Hatsuda, located in the first room, had two shelves, on both of which a small urn for burning incense sticks was placed between two flower vases. The place on the left represents the founder, the one on the right, his immediate descendant. The family prays to the Shinto god on the 1st and 15th of the lunar month. The husband and wife pray first, followed by the children. A rice offering is placed on the shelf. On it there was a small figurine of the fox god (inari-san) and a mirror, both Shinto symbols. 177 184

789 824 rope was hung across the entrance of the family compound two times a year, on the 9th day of the 8th month, and on the 8th day of the 12th month. Along the rope, there were knotted blades of grass, also the san plant. The purpose is to frighten away evil spirits and evil doers. One peculiarity of this twisted rice rope is that 283 it is made in a different manner from the ordinary rope. The usual rope is a twist made by rolling the fibre between the palms to the right or away from the body. In this special rope, the roll is reversed and is to the left or toward the body. It is difficult for a person already skilled in the regular method. This villager told of going to two noro [193] priestesses in the village of Yabu who specialized in teaching this method of making ropes. The husband and the wife received instruction, paying about Y40 for it because the wife believed in the efficacy of the practice. Each year at the proper times, the husband now makes the special rope himself.

787 791 184 Some fortune telling practices shade into religious beliefs, just as religious customs have also included soothsaying and divination. The noros and the Buddhist priests formerly practiced some fortune telling. There were no fortune tellers in any of the villages studied, but villagers occasionally consult them. Here, too, the patronage comes largely from the old and from the women. Younger people, if they know about them, regard these practices as superstitions unworthy of belief. The word meishin (superstition) is frequently heard among the young in describing customs and beliefs of the old. The sign of the fortune 791 [212] teller (sanjinsō) is the Chinese character for three written three times. These characters are said to signify the three states of existence, pre-natal, the present, and the afterlife, on all of which the fortune teller is well versed. Those in Hanashiro and Hinatogawa who wish to consult a fortune teller go to Itoman; those in Hatsuda go to Nago. The cost is usually from Y40-50 a visit. Typical reasons for a consultation with a fortune teller are: (1) to find out if an ill person will become well, (2) among the fishermen, to find out if the fishermen will return when an unexpected storm has arisen, (3) to discover if a present unhappiness has been caused by the evil deed of an ancestor and if this can be corrected, and (4) to find out the lucky days for such undertakings as marriages, building a house, or beginning new phases of construction.

782 774 Old women may utter a prayer on seeing a child fall, fearing that the child's spirit might escape because of surprise or fright. (This was observed in Hinatogawa).

778 In Hatsuda, there were shelves for burning charcoal sticks in some of the numerous caves in the area. The nature of the worship could not be ascertained, but they may be offerings to deities of the cave.

514 776 782 778 Worship and prayers in the toilet seem to have completely disappeared. There were no personified toilet gods. The toilet apparently was the place in which thanks were given that a place for excrement had been provided. In all the villages, it was said to be an old belief which has now died out. There was no shelf or special place of worship in the Toilet.

793 lives like other villagers, spending most of her time in the fields and around her home. She has children and grandchildren, but the father of her children no longer lives in Taira. She regards the continuation of the old ceremonies as her holy duty even though she has to do without most of the accustomed material support from the village and [358] in spite of disbelief and lack of participation. She has sought in vain [346] to have the village make necessary repairs on the simple village shrine near the township office and on the little hut where the ancestral tablets of her predecessors are kept.

793 While many of the former ceremonies have been discontinued, the 782 priestess is still called on to officiate at house-building ceremonies, to purify the lot, to offer prayers when the beams are raised, and to con- [342] duct the dedication when the house is finished. If the owner is mov- [776] ing out of an old house, the priestess notifies the fire deity so that he [778] will follow to the new abode. On other occasions the priestess conducts prayers at the village shrine or at one of the other sacred places near the village. Many of the prayers are succorant—requesting the aid and blessing of the gods in accomplishing a certain goal. In general, as Lebra has pointed out (1958), ceremonies of asking for help are more numerous and elaborate than thanksgiving ones.

[312] On New Year's morning the priestess prays at the water well. Since [178] so many ceremonies have been abbreviated and are no longer carried out in traditional detail, the priestess apologizes for short cuts in her prayers. If she fails to offer prayers in all prescribed spots, she pacifies [794] the deities by facing in the direction of the sacred place where the ceremony should have been conducted. Although the priestess is clearly [787] best qualified to enter into communication with the deities, many older women seem to possess such power also, and if the priestess' assistants are not present, another older woman can function as her helper.

782 For these ceremonies food for offerings is contributed by the village. 788 The priestess, in a white gown, kneels, flanked by her assistants, also in white, in front of a tray of sake, rice, or other food for the deities. [262] Charcoal incense sticks are burned while brief prayers asking the deities for a successful crop, thanking them for a harvest, or whatever [533] is appropriate to the occasion are mumbled. On certain occasions the women sing chants. After these ceremonies, the priestess, her assistants and the few others present, usually old women, share the food offerings.

796 One of the most dramatic ceremonies is held on Boat Race Day in 793 lunar June. Priestesses from several villages gather near Taira. During the ceremony the Taira priestess stands in the middle of a circle formed by the other priestesses and helpers, beating a drum as the

757 frequently and may be repeated as many as four times during the
[854] first year of a child's life. An older child occasionally undergoes this
[164] treatment for a case of violent impetigo. Even a horse may be bled in
[232] this way for loss of appetite or other symptoms of disease.
[578] A woman whose face had been struck in an unusual display of temper underwent a blood letting soon after a swelling appeared. Her neighbor from across the street, a farmer like everyone else, sterilized her cheek with iodine and then cut it with a razor until the blood flowed freely. After a night's rest, the woman appeared outside her house without any signs of swelling and seemingly recovered.

753 As was pointed out previously, many diseases are believed to be
776 caused by supernatural forces: the ancestor spirits, spirits of those who
769 have just died, and natural deities and evil spirits who wander around
775 at night. The ancestors expect proper respect and attention and in gen-
[764] eral are benevolent unless neglected. Spirits of those who have recently died are most dangerous if the deceased is from another village. For deceased villagers one is careful to purify oneself after the funeral. The doors of each house are shut at night to protect against the evil spirits of the night air. Disease is less frequently caused by natural deities who have been neglected or mistreated.

755 In case of sickness or other unfortunate events in the family, some-
756 body may go to consult the *yuta,* a shaman who communicates with
[787] the supernatural. She discovers the cause of misfortune with the help of rice oracles and through powers of divination received through visions and hallucinations. There is no *yuta* living in Taira now, so that people have to travel to the other side of the island, an hour or more on foot, if they want to learn about the source of some evil. Taira
[769] people make many such trips to consult this shamanistic specialist. The most common cause of misfortune discovered by the *yuta* is neglect of ceremonies to the ancestral gods or, less frequently, the neglect of cere-
[793] monies to the natural deities. Although the *yuta* stands in no direct connection with the high priestess, she may suggest that her client ask the priestess for special prayers to rectify the negligence. In such cases, then, the competence of individuals in the family may not be adequate to deal with the ancestral world, and the priestess enters into family religion.

597 Some Taira parents still find an adoptive parent for a sickly child in
755 the belief that his own ancestors have caused bad health, and that this
769 can only be remedied by making a formal arrangement which transfers
[796] ancestral responsibility for the child to another family. The child remains with his own parents and only visits his foster parents during the New Year and the midsummer Buddhist *Bon* Festival, which honors ancestors, and perhaps at one or two other occasions during the Year.

Today the *yukajiru* ceremony held on the fourth day ends the seclusion. A group of close relatives gather to ask for the good health of the child and to make food offerings to the ancestors.

On the fourth or fifth day a name is selected for the newborn. In the old days rice oracles presided over by an old woman were consulted to ensure that the name consist of the proper combination of Japanese writing characters, an essential for the well-being of the child's personality. Today family elders and the local teacher are consulted. In the pre-Japanese periods, temporary names were used until a permanent name was given. This practice was intended to fool the spirits during the early years when the child was thought to be particularly susceptible to spirits.*

On the sixth day after birth the mother is allowed to take her first postdelivery bath; the room which she has occupied with her baby is cleaned and aired, and preparations begin for the *mansang* celebrations. For this event the mother's parents try to be present, especially if it is a first child. Friends and relatives in the village attend. A female elder of the patrilineal kin group or the priestess prays behind a tray of rice, rice wine, and incense so that the child will sleep peacefully and not cry at night. Thanksgiving prayers are offered to the ancestors and the nature deities for the health of both mother and child.

When the prayers are completed, a man sings the *mansang* song to the accompaniment of a samisen. The father of the baby then rises to dance briefly, sits down, and writes with brush and ink on a white sheet of paper the name and birth date of his child. The paper is then hung on the wall near the alcove. Meanwhile the special song is being concluded:

> Coming from the darkness to light,
> This baby was received as a treasure
> And the mother is being celebrated.

Food is then served, and the guests discuss the name and admire the newborn. Like all parties, the celebration ends with song, dance, and wine drinking.

The *mansang* celebrations mark the end of the most critical period for the infant. From now on he may be taken outdoors. At the month's end, his parents may take him to see his maternal grandparents in their village, to offer food at the ancestral shrine of the mother. This is called the first walk. Sons who have left the paternal village for the city return with their infant to observe this day.

* Hanging an irregularly left-woven rope in the delivery room to keep out evil spirits which might harm the newborn, is no longer done in Taira.

805 The Chinese solar year is divided into twenty-four periods of about
177 fifteen days each. All of them bear two-character names, "Spring Begins", "Rain Water", "Excited Insects", etc. This division of the year is based on solar phenomena, so that it remains relatively stable. A solar period therefore does not begin on the same lunar date every year. The three holidays
[529] mentioned above that are calculated by the solar calendar rather than by the lunar are the spring and autumn equinoxes (Fiigang, in Japanese 'Higan') and Shiimii (in Japanese, 'Seimei'; the Chinese Ch'ing Ming, "Clear and Bright"; the period from April 5 to 20). Most farmers, however, do not seem to know even the names of the whole sequence of twenty-four; they merely look at their calendars to see when the important dates fall, much as we look to see when Easter will fall in any given year.

805 The Ten Stems and Twelve Branches (in Japanese 'Jikkan Jūnishi') make up a system of designating both days and years. The ten stems are ten characters named in pairs after the five elements---wood, fire, earth, metal, and water---each occurring twice, once in a senior aspect and once in a junior aspect (or in Chinese "Yang" and "Yin" aspects). The twelve branches are twelve characters named after twelve animals---rat, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, snake, horse, sheep, monkey, cock, dog, boar. The two series run simultaneously, beginning "senior-wood rat", "junior-wood ox", and so on, so that after sixty days, or years, have elapsed, the cycle is complete and it is again "senior-
[787] wood rat". On Okinawa the system is used by diviners (sanjinsoo, in J. 'ekisha') in drawing up horoscopes, but is probably not followed in its entirety by the layman. The twelve branches, however, are of interest to everyone. For many ritual purposes the individual is identified by the year of his birth within this cycle of twelve. A person praying may identify himself as a "rat man" or an "ox woman". The yuta, who are otherwise not concerned with calendrical lore, make it a point to ask the birth year of anyone about whom information is desired. An older person when asked his age may give it not in years but as "Year of the Horse," or the like, explaining which cycle only if questioned further. The term for the cycle is saa, so that a person may explain that he is chu-saa, "one cycle", above or below someone of the same
[796] birth year. The twelve animals were even deified; there were twelve images of them scattered through four temples in Shuri. After the new year representatives of Shuri families made offerings before those corresponding to the birth years of all the members of their families.

Age, when it is reckoned in years, is traditionally reckoned not in full years since birth, as in the West, but in total number of years during which one has lived. Thus a child's years are one at birth, two after the following New Year's, three the next New Year's and so on. To know a person's age according to the Western system of reckoning one has to ask "how many full
805 years are you?" Thus what correspond to birthdays in the West are celebrated
527 on New Year's, when everyone simultaneously becomes a year older. The important ones are on the recurrence of the birth year, when one is thirteen, twenty-five, thirty-seven, and so forth, by year-count. These occasions are celebrated on the first occurrence of the corresponding day after the new year. Thus 1954 was the Year of the Horse and so people born during a Year of the Horse celebrated on the first Day of the Horse after New Year's. People are

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brazier in the city. She was kept warm continuously, even in hot weather, so that, it is said, women often broke out in skin eruptions from the heat. At present younger women are not following this practice and many regard it as a foolish custom. The absence of jiiru in post-war houses may be a factor in the decline of the custom. 178 846 [354]

Post-natal Observances During the first year of life the child is the center of several ceremonies. They are in brief: 852

1) Mbagii sunji, "Red rice ceremony". Held on the day of birth. Relatives, friends, and neighbors come. Rice dyed red and a soup of tar stems (a symbol of many children) are offered to the ancestral tablets and served to the guests. The afterbirth is buried behind the house while the children are made to laugh so that the baby will have a good disposition. [844]

2) Naajiki, "Naming". Held during the first week. Practices vary. In one variety the baby's grandmother releases a crab and a grasshopper and shoots an arrow at a winnowing tray; in another she divines with rice grains to see if the name she has selected is proper. This rite was formerly held to give the baby its native Okinawan name. [553] [787]

3) Mansang, "Full birth". Held on the 7th or 30th day after the birth to celebrate the full term. A feast is served to relative, friends, and neighbors.

4) Naa'njii, "First going out". Held for a boy on the first day of the ten-day cycle, designated as kanii, on the second kanii day for a girl. The baby's grandmother makes it pray to the ancestral tablets and to the oven god, then marks its forehead with soot and takes it out, formerly to pray to the god of the pigsty-privy. [769] [782]

5) Hachi-atchii, "First walking". Held whenever the mother is first able to go to visit her parents and siblings. She takes gifts of food to them and in return they give money to the baby.

6) Tanka, "Birthday". Held on the first anniversary of the birth. A feast is prepared and many relatives and friends come bringing gifts of money. The child's future career is divined by placing a number of objects in front of it---money, a book, an abacus, food, etc. If the child chooses the money he will be rich; if the book, a scholar; if the food, a glutton; and so forth. The odds are usually weighted in favor of a desirable future. [527] [787]

There seems to be some variation in all of these practices. Several may be obsolescent because some of the elements entering into them are no longer in use, the pigsty-privy and the native names, for example. [178]

Infanticide New-born babies may be done away with if they are not wanted, but this is probably not at all common under ordinary circumstances. One example was recorded: An old woman who died recently lay for about a week on her death bed unable to talk. Her children gathered about her, wondering if some sin ('tsumi') were not in need of atonement ('tsugumai'). 847 783

Although Okinawans occasionally refer to Heaven or the Gods of Heaven (J. 'Ten no kami-sama'; Okinawan U-kami-ganashii, etc.), the concept does not seem to be well defined. The clearest statement heard on the subject was the one just mentioned in connection with the Fire God. Since the dead, or some of them, rise to Heaven, the term "Gods of Heaven" may include them, but there are evidently other greater beings too. These may be identical with the figures of the native origin myth. But aside from a few enthusiasts, mainly local historians and shamans (yuta), few Okinawans seem informed about or concerned with native cosmology, or any other. This may in part be the result of a generation or so of Japanese education with educators attempting to take the Japanese mythology seriously and making Okinawan mythology jibe with it. But it is more likely that this lack of concern with Heaven is due rather to an old tendency common in East Asia to settle matters at the local level without bothering the higher authorities, in dealing with both political problems and spiritual problems. 772 [775] [776] [177] [181]

In the Okinawan universe there are also a few earthly beings with supernatural power. The akamataa is a real species of non-poisonous snake. But it is believed to be able to change itself into a handsome young man, in which form it seduces unwitting young women. One young woman who was seduced is said to have given birth to a whole tubful of baby akamataa. 776

The kijimunaa is a wholly mythical being but seems to belong more in the natural world. According to some it lives in old trees, but according to others it is a sea-being who lives on fish and shellfish and who will become the helper of a fisherman who makes friends with it. Regardless of habitat, the kijimunaa is believed to approach a sleeping person and sit on his chest, nearly suffocating him and preventing him from crying out. Apparently the being is not dangerous but merely annoying.

Another being that is feared is the tamagai or 'hidama', "fireball". This was described in Yamada as a light that appears at certain times as an omen. However, in a village in Southern Okinawa it is regarded as the cause of fire. Since it is a female being the young men of this village drive it away by forming a procession and marching through the village shouting "Hoo hai!" ("Your vulva's showing.") [787] [184] [372]

The Itoman people speak of the ja or 'ryu', the "dragon". This being lives in the sea or the clouds; its tail is the whirlwind; its feces, if one is fortunate enough to find them; are like coal tar and are a very valuable medicine. Other Okinawans seem to regard this as something only the Itoman people know about. [757] [184]

One more concept is perhaps worth mentioning; this is shiji. Certain places, the sacred hilltop of the village, etc., are said to be shiji-dakasang, "high in shiji", and therefore to be approached with respect. It is also said of persons, especially those believed to be destined to become religious practitioners. The term shiji evidently signifies a sort of supernatural power that adheres to places and people, perhaps like the Oceanian concept "mana". Haring has suggested that the Japanese concept 778 [171]

cause misfortune; the ability to do this, he says, is hereditary from mother 754
to daughter. My informants did not identify ichijama with the mabui or any other such entity, but merely explained it as a kind of 'noroi', "curse". Its effect is a sharp pain inside the body or the feeling that a fingernail has been thrust into the eye. If the person responsible is known, they said, the affliction may be cured by spitting in his direction and throwing pig dung in his direction, shouting, "I smear it on your face!" According to Yanagida, a yuta can cure an afflicted person by squeezing his thumb, which [756] causes the thumb of the person responsible to be crushed.

Illness may also be caused by gods or local spirits as punishment 753
for the breaking of tabus. For example, at Yamazato in Chinen-son it was 784
said that on the 1st, 8th, 18th, and 28th of every month the "mountain god" (yama nu kami) makes a circuit of inspection of the mountain behind the village and therefore one cannot go to cut trees or grass on those days for fear of punishment.

But probably the most frequent interpretation of illness and mis- 753
fortune is that it is caused by ugwambusuku, an insufficiency of worship 769
(from ugwang, "worship" and fusuku, "insufficiency"). As has been explained, 775
the dead can influence the lives of the living for good or bad. If the ancestors of a family are well cared for, that is, receive the proper offerings and worship, they may help that family to prosper and multiply, but on the other hand, if the ancestors are not cared for they will let the family know of their needs by some light illness, or, if their needs are still ignored, by some greater misfortune. They may not deliberately mean to harm their descendants; the misfortune may be automatic; this point is not clear. At any rate, the fear of ugwambusuku appears to be a very common anxiety [152]
and to play a central role in the whole structure of ancestor worship. Various religious practitioners and diviners, but particularly the yuta, are [756]
frequently called upon to try to determine where the insufficiency lies, what deceased person has not received his full share of worship and is therefore causing the current illness or other misfortune. To account for such [787]
illnesses and misfortunes the yuta and others may have revelations (shirashi) which revise the family's genealogy and even reveal the existence of hitherto unknown ancestors.

The insufficiency is not always of worship of the ancestors, al- 753
though this is probably the most frequent type. Illness may also be caused 782
by an insufficiency of worship of the Fire God. It is said that if an il- [848]
legitimate child or the child of a secondary wife does not worship at least once at the Fire God of his shiji ("line") that is, the Fire God of his father's family, he may become ill. Thus it is not uncommon for the mother of an illegitimate child to bring it to the house of its father and ask to let it pray once to the Fire God there. This practice may also, of course, [851]
serve to demonstrate paternity.

Also probably related to the concept that the ancestors influence 769
the living is the practice of establishing a fictitious adoptive relation- 753
ship between a child and an unrelated family. If a child is weakly its mother may ask an unrelated adult to become the yashinee-uya, "adopted parent",

756 The Yuta The yuta has been mentioned several times already as a dealer in
● 787 the supernatural, a sort of shaman. She is usually a woman,
though not always so, and usually an older person. In the minds of some
[794] she is confused with the kaminchu ("god person"), but the two are probably
quite distinct. A kaminchu is a person, also usually a woman, who officiates at the family worship or assists the nuru in village worship on the important holidays. The yuta on the other hand is a person whose services may be sought on any occasion for individual problems. Her methods are divination, prayer, and possession. She may be called upon to determine the cause of an illness. She may do so by divining with grains of rice. She asks a question and then takes a pinch of grains and separates them out into pairs. If there is none left over the question is answered in the affirmative; if there is one left over it is in the negative. Or she may pray and then wait for the inspiration of some supernatural being. If the cause of the illness is determined to be an ugwambusuku, as it often is, then she may reveal what ancestor or god it is who has not received sufficient worship. If she is consulted after the death of a relative to learn if there was any last wish to communicate, she may function as a medium, letting the dead person speak with her mouth. She may be consulted merely to learn about the character and future of an individual. In this case and perhaps in most she asks for the saa (the birth year) of the person in question, but uses no other astrological data.

791 The Sanjinsoo The most respected type of diviner is the person called
sanjinsoo (possibly from his sign board, which resembles
the character 'three' written three times) or suumuchi ("book person") in
Okinawan or 'ekisha' in Japanese. This person is always a man, usually
dignified and scholarly in appearance. He regards himself as a scholar,
[171] perhaps even as a scientist; he is a student of 'ekigaku', the "study of
changes", a theory of the workings of the universe that goes back to the
I Ching, the Book of Changes, a Chinese work that was old at the time of
Confucius. The sanjinsoo is consulted after New Year's to obtain advice
for the new year and before important undertakings, such as house-building,
tomb building, marriage, bone-washing. Illness may also be a reason for
consulting him but is of less importance. The method of the sanjinsoo con-
[787] sists of drawing one from a number of thin sticks, looking up the mark on
it in his book or books, and then calculating this against a horoscope derived from the birth year of the person about whom information is requested. For the literate person he will write out a list of good months and bad months, things to be avoided and things which may bring good fortune.

Although the sanjinsoo deals with a pseudo-science, he may also admit that the gods may influence men's lives. A sanjinsoo whom I consulted as an experiment spoke at length about the importance of the gods and prayed before beginning his work, but the greater part of the time he spent looking up signs in his books, of which he had an impressive number. Some sanjinsoo are said to function also nearly in the same manner as yuta.

Sanjinsoo flourish in the larger towns and cities but are probably rare in country villages. Country people consult them on the occasions mentioned above but probably not as frequently as they consult the yuta, who are found in many, perhaps most villages.

Other Diviners Besides the sanjinsoo there are several other types of diviners, such as palmists, physiognomists, and card readers. 791
Some of these combine prayer and supposed reliance upon supernatural powers with their science. For example in Ishikawa there is a young woman who is referred to as a kaminchū-gwaa or yuta-gwaa, though neither term is very apt. She is consulted about the character and future of individual persons. Her performance consists of asking the birth year of the person in question, [787] praying, and then dealing out a fortune from a pack of playing cards of an archaic type. She charges ¥30 for each person inquired about. As with the true yuta illness may be a matter on which she is consulted.

Like the sanjinsoo, these persons are found mainly in the larger towns and cities, where it appears that they manage to make a living. Whatever the law reads on the matter the police and the public evidently 791 regard these professions as legitimate as long as the practitioners are 689 sincere in their work. There was a famous case in Ishikawa about 1951, however, where two young women set up an establishment as diviners. They are said to have given advice free to the needy at first and built up a large clientele, whereupon they began overcharging their wealthier customers and spending the money on riotous living. Finally the police put a stop to their activities, charging them with giving advice in an irresponsible manner.

The Yabuu The term yabuu seems to be derived from the Japanese 'yabu-isha', 759 literally "bush-doctor", defined by the dictionary as "quack". 177
The Japanese and English terms, however, reflect attitudes that are probably not associated with the Okinawan yabuu. The yabuu is a practitioner of 'Kampōi', "Chinese Medicine", a term that was once coordinate with 'Rampōi' "Dutch Medicine", that is, modern Western (and now modern Japanese) medicine. The methods of the yabuu include moxibustion, acupuncture, and the prescription of various foods.

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Moxibustion (Japanese 'o-kyū') is the burning of 'mogusa' or "moxa" on the patient's flesh. On an occasion which I observed, a woman brought a child of two or three to be treated. The yabuu took out his charts of the body, which, he explained, showed where the nerves may be reached. The theory seems to be that the burning activates the nerves and causes the body to throw off the illness. In this case the child seemed to be suffering from some internal disorder. Its body bore the scars of previous treatment. The yabuu, after consulting his chart, painted four dots on the child's bare back with a red liquid. Then he wetted a finger and put on each dot a tiny bit of 'mogusa' and with a lighted punk lit each bit, let it burn down to the skin, and then tamped it out. His wife then wiped off the ashes, leaving a small black scar where each dot had been. He then burned six more spots on each side of the child's chest, four around the navel, one on each ankle and one on each wrist. Throughout the procedure the child cried and had to be restrained by its mother. The scars, however, are said not usually to be permanent.

Acupuncture consists of inserting into the flesh a long gold needle ('kimbari'), usually at the afflicted spot. It is used, for example, to relieve the stiffness of the hips associated with childbirth.

this time. Upon completing the house, the owner gives a party for those who helped him. During the last day of work, with the party scheduled for the evening, the workmen strive feverishly to complete the house on time. This is a party to celebrate a task completed. Sake flows freely. Occasionally on the last day, a man walks around the house talking to himself and throws salt toward the inside of the house. His words are not formalized and not known to his hearers. After finishing throwing the salt, he bangs the back of the house three times with a stick. This custom is said to be gradually disappearing, and is only occasionally practiced in Matsuda.[9]

In Hanashiro, there is a similar custom that differs in details. On the date the house is started, there is a small ceremony. A plate containing boiled rice, bean curd, a kind of fritter (tenpura in Japanese) and meat, together with a flask of sake are placed in the center of the site on which the house is to be built. Prayers are offered that the house be a good one. The ceremony of raising the roof is identical with that previously described in Matsuda. This applies only to the raising of the ridge pole, no ceremonies taking place with the erecting of the side poles. The center board, near to or nailed to the ridge pole, and from which the articles wrapped in a leaf or in sea weed are suspended, is inscribed with the word, shibiranka. Its meaning is unknown to me. One villager said it was the name of a legendary Chinese protector of houses.

In one instance from Minatogawa, instead of the salt, charcoal, and bean paste, only a bit of charcoal (tsumi in Japanese) was suspended and wrapped in seaweed (kombu in Japanese).

About 20 years ago in Hanashiro, the celebration on the day of completion was much more elaborate than now. A pig was killed, fish purchased, and a large feast was prepared to which the whole village was invited. The celebration now is confined to relatives, friends, and helpers, including the carpenter, whether hired or a volunteer.

In Minatogawa, when a good house is being built, there is the custom of going to a fortune teller (sanjinsō in Japanese) to discover the lucky day for commencing construction. This may be repeated to find the lucky day for putting up the poles and supports or putting on the roof. Here also a son about to establish a branch household and to build his own house takes a food offering to his father's house, places it on the Buddhist god shelf, gives thanks, and prays for good fortune before construction starts. When the house has been completed, similar offerings are made, either before the god shelf of the new house, if it has been installed, or again at the father's house. In this village, the usual observances are confined to the raising of the roof and to the celebration following completion of the home.

One last custom observed in all the villages is that one does not move into a new house unless the tide is coming in. Other occasions in which the tide is taken into consideration will be discussed later. The idea here seems to be that one moves at times of growing fullness and increase not at times of ebb and withdrawal.

9 I was unable to secure any explanation of the reason for this and the other practices beyond the familiar statement that "it is a custom." (shukan)

The tomb is revisited on the 7th day. Rice cakes, bean curd, and a little sake may be taken as offerings. The food items vary. Pork, rice, and tea may be added or substituted. The offering may consist of a variety of favored foods (a gochisō, a feast or a treat). The observances on the 14th, 21st, 28th, 35th, and 42nd day are like the preceding ones, though beginning with the 35th day, the prayers and the food offerings may be more elaborate. 765 [262]

The 49th day has special significance. At this time, the temporary white memorial tablets are removed from the god shelf and burned, and the permanent tablets hung there. This god shelf has the tablets of the immediate family in the male line: the father, grandfather, the mother and grandmother, or of deceased children. A son who establishes a branch family has a god shelf in his own house. While I found no unanimity on the point, many interpreted the 49th day as the day on which the deceased is presumed to have become a god (hotoke-san). Others have said this did not take place until the 33rd year after death, certainly a more logical time, since the observances cease at this time. On the 49th day, there are visits to the tomb and prayers before the god shelf at night. As the last of a series of observances which follow closely after death, the food offerings and the food served to guests are much more sumptuous than those of previous weeks. [778] [776]

In the annual anniversaries, differences depend on family piety and economic status. With some families, observances become more elaborate as the years go by. The prayers and the feast of the 1st and 3rd years are usually the same as that of the 49th day. Beginning with the 7th year the rice may be dyed red. Rice dyed red is used as the years from the date of death increase. In all cases, the 33rd year is the last and the most luxurious of the celebrations. The occasion begins with prayers at the god shelf, the food offering, sake, followed by a banquet for the guests, most of whom are relatives. This 33rd year celebration is the final recognition of a person's life on earth as a member of the family and ends the responsibility for observing the anniversary of his death. 769

Though rare, a family may call on a Buddhist priest to officiate at one of these memorial observances. One service, in memory of a fourth son who had died in the Philippines in 1944, was observed in Minatogawa. The priest received from the father the name, age, and place of death of his son and wrote this information on a piece of paper. The chant began with the tapping of a small bell (inkin), ringing which was repeated frequently throughout the service. The chant, which lasted about 25 minutes, was sung in an archaic Japanese which no one understood. Toward the end, the priest read the paper on which he had written the information regarding the deceased. These were the only words which could be clearly understood. The purpose here was to inform the Buddha of the name of the dead. The priest wore a black robe with gold trimming. Around his neck was a string of beads (zuzu) with a pendant purple tassel. He sat in the front of the first room with the father of the dead boy on his right. The women guests were in the second room. As the long chant continued, people began talking to one another, and when the priest 769 793 788 [292]

769 finished the restless children already had become noisy. The ceremony
793 completed, the priest exchanged a few courtesies, explained the sig-
788 nificance of the chant to the father, received a gratuity and left shortly after. The women and the children soon retired, and the men were served sake, but the party was more subdued than the usual social affair.

769 These ceremonies in memory of the dead are the responsibility of
511 the head of the house. These, and not the family tombs, are the real financial burdens. Since the war, village and township governments, and community organizations have tried to persuade the people to spend less on these and to spread what good food they have more evenly throughout the year.

829 They have tried to standardize gifts at marriage, on birthdays,
511 and at deaths, and to cut down the cost of food by simplifying the banquets. In this they have been at least partly successful because everyone recognizes the difficulties. Villagers do not like to spend all their resources on celebrations, and yet, there is an obligation which cannot be avoided. Two sensible adjustments have been made. Economies have been effected in the food served, and, whenever possible, celebrations or holidays that come close together are combined. The 7 year memorial service, described above, was combined by the family with the festival of the autumnal equinox (higan).

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Festival of the Full Moon

527 The autumnal equinox, called, like the spring festival, higan, is the last big celebration of the lunar year. It is held during the full moon around the 15th day of the 8th lunar month (September 15, in 1951). It is called Jugoya. The date varies each year, and the actual time for the festival is decided upon by each village. The climax of the festival is the night of the full moon. This, a Buddhist festival, is a time for respect to the dead and of thanksgiving. It is not celebrated in all villages of Okinawa. If it has been a good year, the inducements for local celebrations are greater. The ceremonies are similar to those of the spring equinox on the 15th day of the second month, when thanks are given for barley, and to the 14th day of the 5th month, a day of thanksgiving for rice. The differences seem to be that the festival of the second month is primarily thanksgiving for barley, that of the fifth for rice, and that of the autumnal equinox for all crops. Ceremonies occur within the homes, but public celebrations may not be held in all the villages.

527 788 In one private observance, an old woman placed two bowls of rice, dyed pink (someiko) on the alcove of the first room. After placing the rice on the alcove, she went to the Buddhist god shelf in the second room where she lit charcoal sticks. Then, sitting before the god shelf, she ignited three strips of paper with a charcoal stick. These provide pocket money for the dead. The paper had previously been prepared by placing an aluminum Japanese 10 sen coin (minted before the war) on the paper and tapping the coin sharply with a hammer to make the impression on the paper. The embers were quenched with a little sake. A wash basin with two strips of wood laid diagonally across its top was used for the burning to eliminate the danger of fire. The old lady's granddaughter held the paper on the wood strips with a pair of chopsticks. The old lady then offered three prayers in a scarcely audible voice, the first two with bowed head, the last with her face to the god shelf. Then she served a meal of rice, dyed pink, fish fritters, and sake, though she did not partake of the drink.

[169] Providing pocket money for the dead by tapping an impression of a coin on a strip of paper is now practiced only by the very old. In Hanashiro and Hatsuda, this custom is rarely observed. Formerly in Hanashiro, everyone offered pocket money on New Year, O-Bon, and the equinoctial festivals.

In observances which include a party, the ceremonies are likely to be simpler. In one such ceremony observed in Hinatogawa, white rice cakes and an assortment of miscellaneous foods, tea, sake, and charcoal sticks were placed on the god shelf. The charcoal sticks were lighted. The rest of the evening was like a normal party, with its segregation of the sexes, noisy conversation, and the running children who upset the tea cups and the sake flasks.

793 lives like other villagers, spending most of her time in the fields and around her home. She has children and grandchildren, but the father of her children no longer lives in Taira. She regards the continuation of the old ceremonies as her holy duty even though she has to do without most of the accustomed material support from the village and [358] in spite of disbelief and lack of participation. She has sought in vain [346] to have the village make necessary repairs on the simple village shrine near the township office and on the little hut where the ancestral tablets of her predecessors are kept.

793 While many of the former ceremonies have been discontinued, the 782 priestess is still called on to officiate at house-building ceremonies, to [342] purify the lot, to offer prayers when the beams are raised, and to con- [776] duct the dedication when the house is finished. If the owner is mov- [778] ing out of an old house, the priestess notifies the fire deity so that he will follow to the new abode. On other occasions the priestess conducts prayers at the village shrine or at one of the other sacred places near the village. Many of the prayers are succorant—requesting the aid and blessing of the gods in accomplishing a certain goal. In general, as Lebra has pointed out (1958), ceremonies of asking for help are more numerous and elaborate than thanksgiving ones.

[312] On New Year's morning the priestess prays at the water well. Since [178] so many ceremonies have been abbreviated and are no longer carried out in traditional detail, the priestess apologizes for short cuts in her prayers. If she fails to offer prayers in all prescribed spots, she pacifies [794] the deities by facing in the direction of the sacred place where the [787] ceremony should have been conducted. Although the priestess is clearly best qualified to enter into communication with the deities, many older women seem to possess such power also, and if the priestess' assistants are not present, another older woman can function as her helper.

782 For these ceremonies food for offerings is contributed by the village. 788 The priestess, in a white gown, kneels, flanked by her assistants, also [262] in white, in front of a tray of sake, rice, or other food for the deities. Charcoal incense sticks are burned while brief prayers asking the deities for a successful crop, thanking them for a harvest, or whatever [533] is appropriate to the occasion are mumbled. On certain occasions the women sing chants. After these ceremonies, the priestess, her assistants and the few others present, usually old women, share the food offerings.

796 One of the most dramatic ceremonies is held on Boat Race Day in 793 lunar June. Priestesses from several villages gather near Taira. During the ceremony the Taira priestess stands in the middle of a circle formed by the other priestesses and helpers, beating a drum as the

613 southern part of the island. There the term for the local unit, a relatively small lineage with not very strong ties to the larger unit, is chuchooree (literally, "one brotherhood', to translate literally into Japanese, hito-
613 kyōdai). The larger unit of the commoners is called the ichimung ("one gate"),
614 which is equivalent to the munchu of the south. Some of the gentry families refer to the subdivision of the uji having the same surname as their ichimung. Thus a family may belong to a local chuchooree, to an ichimung containing other families elsewhere of the same surname, and to a still larger uji containing ichimung of other surnames.

614 Functions The functions of the common descent group seem to be almost
769 entirely ritual. Just as the members of a family are responsible for helping the head of the family in making the proper offerings before the tablets and the tomb of its immediate ancestors, so the larger unit has such a responsibility toward the remote ancestors. In the family the eldest son bears the greatest responsibility, so in the common descent group the head of the main house bears the greatest responsibility. But the benefits resulting from proper worship and the misfortunes resulting from negligence may extend even to the youngest branch house, and thus all are interested in maintaining the worship.

614 Representatives of the common descent group worship before the ances-
796 tral tablets at the main house on occasions called u-machii (J. 'o-matsuri'),
769 usually the 15th days of the 2nd, 5th and 6th lunar months and during the New Year's season. They worship at the tomb at the shiimii (J. 'seimei') season in April. For this purpose periodic meetings may be held and dues levied for
• [785] the expense of the offerings. Many groups send members on pilgrimages every seventh year (shichinin-maari) to pray at remote shrines; many in the south go to Nakijin in the north for this. There may also be special expenditures such as for the repair of a tomb, the building of a new tomb, or even the repair of the main house if its owner has become impoverished.

614 A few common descent groups are said to have a little property from which the income is used for the expense of the worship, but probably none has enough to be of any other value. The common descent group probably has
[576] no economic functions. In a rural community its members may tend to cooperate a little more in farm work; I observed this to be the case in some instances in Yamada, but informants say that kinship is no more important than closeness of residence and that neighbors ought to cooperate.

614 Nevertheless the common descent group occasionally seems to have
666 political functions. In a recent election in southern Okinawa, munchu membership became a factor. A cartoon that appeared in the Okinawa Times of 8 March 1954 shows opposing candidates carrying banners announcing their munchu. In the village of Komesu, south of Itoman, supporters of candidates appealed to members of their candidates' munchu to support their own regardless of political party.

613 The unity of the kin group may appear in time of crisis. In the vil-
722 lage of Yamada, during the battle in 1945, many of the villagers hid out in improved natural caves. According to one informant's account, at first there was some moving around but ultimately people of the same chuchooree clung together. In one instance bad feeling arose between two groups over the sharing of a cave.

843 pregnancy are also said to be rare, although miscarriages in later pregnancy up to two or three months before the birth are more numerous because of the continuing heavy work of the mother in the fields. The mother in the agricultural village normally works up to the time for
849 the birth. She eats her normal diet. After birth, the child is placed on a large comforter (futon) beside the mother.

The midwife, after delivery, goes once a day for a week to the mother's home. Her fee is not decided upon before hand, but according
[841] to custom, averages Y350 for a normal and Y500 for a difficult birth,
[965] a low fee probably enforced by the poverty and lack of cash of farm families. (In Naha corresponding fees are said to be Y1-2000).

853 There is no uniform way of feeding the child after birth. In most cases the child is not breast fed until after the third day due to the fact that mothers have little milk at this time. The first, second, and the third days it is fed warm water with small amounts of white sugar, but this is by no means universal. Some mothers have said that they give the child the breast 4 or 5 hours after birth. In any case, the child very quickly becomes accustomed to feeding at the breast, and this continues for an indeterminate period, depending on the mother and the child. It may be for two years, or until the next
[862] child comes. In all communities studied, other arrangements are made in the unlikely event that the mother does not have milk of her own. The child may be given evaporated cow's milk or friends or relatives nurse the child. In Minatogawa, if a woman has special duties or takes a trip out of town and cannot take her child with her, she can pay to have it nursed.

843 One belief regarding pregnancy still exists among the old in the Oinosa area. If a new house is being built during the pregnancy of the woman of the house, the cap of the roof is not put on until after the birth has taken place.

2

Birth Customs and Convalescence

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[184] In Minatogawa, and to a much lesser extent in Hanashiro, birth customs are related to certain beliefs about the pig pen. These were not known in Matsuda. In the two southern villages they have virtually disappeared, except among the old. According to a Hanashiro farmer's wife, the child on the day of its birth is washed, dressed in new
[789] clothes, and carried to the pig pen, which is supposed to frighten away evil spirits (bakemono).[1]
[See footnote 1, bottom of p. 257--analyst]

The native medicine, including the use of plants and fish as medicines, the native doctor, the use of cauterization, the golden needle, slashing, and acupuncture, seem to be disappearing in favor of modern patent medicines and drugs, and scientific medicine, nursing, and midwifery. Of all the traditional practices (ultimately derived from China), slashing and burning with moguza seem to have the greatest vitality. 75 178 [177]

10

Tattooing

Tattooing (ireizumi)in Japanese, dake in Okinawan) is a subject of great historical interest in the Ryukyu chain. In Okinawa, it exists now only among elderly women (in the late sixties and seventies), as it was forbidden by law when the Japanese annexed the islands. Tattooing usually was done on the back of the hands, including the fingers, parts of the wrist, and the knuckles. The design was put on by spreading India ink (often with sake or awamori added) on the surface, pricking out the design and wiping off the surplus, repeating the operation for the lighter parts. To my knowledge, there was no facial tattooing. 304 [636] [386]

Until quite recently tattooing was practiced on men as well. Basil Hall in 1816 wrote of a landing in the south of Okinawa island. "Most of these people had fish spears tatooed on their arms in the form of a trident, with rude barbs." On the right arm it was called (in Hall's transcription) "oodeemaw," and on the left, "tooga." Apparently this was confined to fishermen. Furness in his account of the Luchus (1899) observed such markings among young and mature men in Itoman. The explanation given him was that they were a protection against evil spirits. Furness also discussed the theory that tattooing was historically connected with weaving. Simon, in an interesting speculative discussion, based on the designs of cloth in Miyako and their correspondence with house or family markings thought that the tattooing was a means of identifying women's membership in a family.7 304 114 [531] [789] [602]

This interesting idea unfortunately did not occur to me while in the villages, but the notion that tattooing may have been related 114 304 602

7 Hall's Voyage, as cited, Vocabulary (no pagination). Hall includes sketches of the marks. Furness, Life in the Luchu islands, as cited, 9. See also Simon's extremely interesting discussion, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, as cited, 134-150. Furness and Simon are especially valuable because they personally observed instances of tattooing at a time when it was much more commonly seen. Both authors reproduce patterns which show differences among the islands and among individuals.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

The New Year

Two basic themes are expressed in public celebrations and holidays. 527
The first of these is remembrance and respect for the dead. The holidays are in part public observances of basic obligations under the family system. In the second place, holidays are occasions of thanksgiving. In a year there are not many official holidays or rest days. The work year is not interrupted, as is our custom, with week ends which may provide from one to two days of leisure. Sunday is not a day of rest. Officials and school teachers do not work at their official duties on the week ends.

The traditional public holidays are based on the lunar calendar. [805]
In the discussion which follows, some holidays have been included, even though they involve only some of the people.

The western New Year is observed perfunctorily. It is observed [177]
only by present and former officials and honored elders of a township. The custom, about 40 years old in Gushichan-son, is known as New Year Banquet Party (Shinnenenkai). Headmen from each of the villages, members [554]
and former members of the village councils, and respected elders, the mayor and his subordinate officials and members of the township assembly are the chief participants. It is a social event, held in a public building or at a school, a "meeting for conversation" (hanashiai) at which food and sake are served. The event begins early in the afternoon and is generally over by early evening.

Lunar New Year (shōgatsu), the first day of the first lunar month and O-Bon in the seventh lunar month, are the two most important holidays. Lunar New Year falls in late January or early February. (In 1951 it was on February 6; in 1952, on January 27). This is a time of new beginnings, of thanksgiving, family reunions, and observances in honor of the dead. It is a three day holiday, with much prior preparation, and on the third day, there is either a symbolic or a partial return to work.

The new year is preceded by a series of activities on the last day of the 12th month (Ōmisoka). Before the war, these preparations were more elaborate than they are now. In Hinatogawa, bamboo and pine poles with [789]
a rice straw rope (shimenawa) hanging across the top were placed at the compound entrance. The purpose was to scare off evil spirits and devils. A piece of charcoal wrapped in sea weed and an orange hung from the rice rope. This custom now is also rare in Hatsuda. Only one rice straw rope used for this purpose was observed, and this had been put up some time before the new year.

Other customs of preparing for the new beginning are still observed in all the villages: the house is cleaned; a bath is taken; old debts are paid; the New Year pig is slaughtered, or in the interests of economy three or four families may share a pig. The day before the New Year is the occasion for recalling one's bad deeds and of resolving on [577]

trees of the sacred grove and used old beliefs to preserve the forests. Formerly it was believed that misfortune would come to him who cut a tree in groves sacred to these gods. If the trees were cut, the god would become angry, the person cutting the tree would be the victim of self-induced illness and by worrying about his deed, gradually would become ill, and perhaps die. These sacred groves, whose religious significance is now almost ignored, are arranged to enclose the village from three directions, with the open side on the south. On the north was the sacred grove in the back (ushiro no utaki) or the grove of the white gold mountain (kinpuku utaki in Okinawan). The mountain gods were supposed to live here. On the west was the grove in front (mae no utaki) on the white silver mountain. This was also known as the fire shrine.

The priestesses also had a hand in this worship of the mountain gods. There are about seven of these places of worship now, and there is still a voluntary caretaker, an old woman with tattooed hands, a family priestess (nigami) in the old system. Occasionally one sees an old woman going to a grove to pray. The only other visitors are the farmers who walk along the paths of the grove on their way to the fields.

7

Other Religious Observances

There are a few other observations which may have some interest. Old women use patches of grass or knotted rice straw to ward off the spirits on days when they are thought to be abroad in great numbers. At the festival of the autumnal equinox, knotted or braided grass (shiba) is placed in various parts of the house. In some houses, bunches are suspended from the cross beams, perhaps three or four bunches to the side. They may be placed in the toilet, at the entrance to the house compound, on the water barrel in the kitchen, on the front and back of fishing boats, or in the interior of the house. Blades of miscanthus grass may be tied around the neck of a bean paste jug (misogami). Spirits, plentiful at this time, are frightened away by the patches of grass and will not enter. The young, while not believing in this, acquiesce to avoid making the old angry.

When a death anniversary is being celebrated, there may be a blade of miscanthus, a rice straw, or a knotted blade of grass on the top of a box of candies or sweet meats to prevent the intrusion of evil spirits. A blade of grass (the san) is occasionally tied around the handle of a tea pot. For the first week after a family death, tea is served from a pot which has this blade of grass. But these are almost invariably the observances of the old and are only infrequently seen. These customs, observed in Hinatogawa, are said to survive among the very old in the other villages.

In Matsuda, a rice rope (shimenawa) was observed at one home. The rice rope, a Shinto symbol, is not common in Okinawan culture. This

789 824 rope was hung across the entrance of the family compound two times a year, on the 9th day of the 8th month, and on the 8th day of the 12th month. Along the rope, there were knotted blades of grass, also the san plant. The purpose is to frighten away evil spirits and evil doers. One peculiarity of this twisted rice rope is that 283 it is made in a different manner from the ordinary rope. The usual rope is a twist made by rolling the fibre between the palms to the right or away from the body. In this special rope, the roll is reversed and is to the left or toward the body. It is difficult for a person already skilled in the regular method. This villager told of going to two noro [193] priestesses in the village of Yabu who specialized in teaching this method of making ropes. The husband and the wife received instruction, paying about ¥40 for it because the wife believed in the efficacy of the practice. Each year at the proper times, the husband now makes the special rope himself.

787 791 184 Some fortune telling practices shade into religious beliefs, just as religious customs have also included soothsaying and divination. The noros and the Buddhist priests formerly practiced some fortune telling. There were no fortune tellers in any of the villages studied, but villagers occasionally consult them. Here, too, the patronage comes largely from the old and from the women. Younger people, if they know about them, regard these practices as superstitions unworthy of belief. The word meishin (superstition) is frequently heard among the young in describing customs and beliefs of the old. The sign of the fortune 791 teller (sanjinsō) is the Chinese charactor for three written three [212] times. These characters are said to signify the three states of existence, pre-natal, the present, and the afterlife, on all of which the fortune teller is well versed. Those in Hanashiro and Minatogawa who wish to consult a fortune teller go to Itoman; those in Matsuda go to Nago. The cost is usually from ¥40-50 a visit. Typical reasons for a consultation with a fortune teller are: (1) to find out if an ill person will become well, (2) among the fishermen, to find out if the fishermen will return when an unexpected storm has arisen, (3) to discover if a present unhappiness has been caused by the evil deed of an ancestor and if this can be corrected, and (4) to find out the lucky days for such undertakings as marriages, building a house, or beginning new phases of construction.

782 774 Old women may utter a prayer on seeing a child fall, fearing that the child's spirit might escape because of surprise or fright. (This was observed in Minatogawa).

778 In Matsuda, there were shelves for burning charcoal sticks in some of the numerous caves in the area. The nature of the worship could not be ascertained, but they may be offerings to deities of the cave.

514 786 782 778 Worship and prayers in the toilet seem to have completely disappeared. There were no personified toilet gods. The toilet apparently was the place in which thanks were given that a place for excrement had been provided. In all the villages, it was said to be an old belief which has now died out. There was no shelf or special place of worship in the Toilet

this time. Upon completing the house, the owner gives a party for those who helped him. During the last day of work, with the party scheduled for the evening, the workmen strive feverishly to complete the house on time. This is a party to celebrate a task completed. Sake flows freely. Occasionally on the last day, a man walks around the house talking to himself and throws salt toward the inside of the house. His words are not formalized and not known to his hearers. After finishing throwing the salt, he bangs the back of the house three times with a stick. This custom is said to be gradually disappearing, and is only occasionally practiced in Hatsuda.[9] 342 527 788 [273]

In Hanashiro, there is a similar custom that differs in details. On the date the house is started, there is a small ceremony. A plate containing boiled rice, bean curd, a kind of fritter (tenpura in Japanese) and meat, together with a flask of sake are placed in the center of the site on which the house is to be built. Prayers are offered that the house be a good one. The ceremony of raising the roof is identical with that previously described in Matsuda. This applies only to the raising of the ridge pole, no ceremonies taking place with the erecting of the side poles. The center board, near to or nailed to the ridge pole, and from which the articles wrapped in a leaf or in sea weed are suspended, is inscribed with the word, shibiranka. Its meaning is unknown to me. One villager said it was the name of a legendary Chinese protector of houses. 342 782 [262] [273] [192]

In one instance from Minatogawa, instead of the salt, charcoal, and bean paste, only a bit of charcoal (tsumi in Japanese) was suspended and wrapped in seaweed (kombu in Japanese).

About 20 years ago in Hanashiro, the celebration on the day of completion was much more elaborate than now. A pig was killed, fish purchased, and a large feast was prepared to which the whole village was invited. The celebration now is confined to relatives, friends, and helpers, including the carpenter, whether hired or a volunteer. 342 527

In Minatogawa, when a good house is being built, there is the custom of going to a fortune teller (sanjinsō in Japanese) to discover the lucky day for commencing construction. This may be repeated to find the lucky day for putting up the poles and supports or putting on the roof. Here also a son about to establish a branch household and to build his own house takes a food offering to his father's house, places it on the Buddhist god shelf, gives thanks, and prays for good fortune before construction starts. When the house has been completed, similar offerings are made, either before the god shelf of the new house, if it has been installed, or again at the father's house. In this village, the usual observances are confined to the raising of the roof and to the celebration following completion of the home. 342 [791] [777] [782]

One last custom observed in all the villages is that one does not move into a new house unless the tide is coming in. Other occasions in which the tide is taken into consideration will be discussed later. The idea here seems to be that one moves at times of growing fullness and increase not at times of ebb and withdrawal. [823]

9 I was unable to secure any explanation of the reason for this and the other practices beyond the familiar statement that "it is a custom." (shukan)

597 known as groom-adoption (mukoyoshi in Japanese). No instances of this form of adoption were found in the villages. The husband-to-be is adopted into his wife's family and, at the same time, becomes successor to his wife's father's estate. The adopted man is placed in a similar position to a daughter to be married: he forsakes his own family, his name is taken off the family register of his father, and he becomes, like the bride in a normal situation, a member of his wife's family.

597 183 [171] Common in Japan, this device is considered a humiliating position, both in Japan and in Okinawa,* for the bridegroom, since he puts himself in an unfavorable position regarding the women of the adopting family and leaves his own. Even though unused, reactions to this form of adoption are unreservedly negative in the villages. "It is very distasteful," said one man. "The boy deserts his own home and enters his wife's home." Occasionally however it probably will be used. There are a few families with five or six daughters and no sons. In one instance, a family with six daughters, the eldest of marriageable age, the parents were considering groom adoption.

597 171 In Okinawa unlike Japan, the maintenance of the family system is not contingent upon an elaborate and widely used system of adoption. This is one of the important distinctions to be made between Okinawan and Japanese culture, for in Japan adoption has been used by the royal family, in business and professional circles, as well as among the ordinary classes of people.

7

The "Growing Up" Parent

597 608 855 934 There is also a special form of adoption in Okinawa. It is debatable whether it is directly concerned with the maintenance of the family system, or is a more general aspect of the culture and part of the care and rearing of children. This is known as yashineuya (in Okinawan), yashinaoya or morawako (in Japanese). It is not adoption, but an arrangement that is considered helpful for the survival of sickly children who, the parents feel, might not live to maturity. The verb, yashinsu in Japanese means to rear, adopt, or support. It is also used in referring to raising animals.

[791] [787] The first step is to consult a fortune teller (sanjinsō in Japanese). Hanashiro people can go to nearby Gushichan; Minatogawans to Itoman or Naha, and the parents of Matsuda to Ginoza or to Nago to consult the

* This situation has changed since the war. See The Japanese village in transition, as cited, 213.

793 or her granddaughter might succeed her. In earlier times, priestesses
423 were unmarried. But with private ownership in land the fields owned by
428 the priestess were divided according to the new laws and fell into possession of the priestess' family.

Spencer pointed out in his discussion of their status in 1931 that
793 they still had considerable influence. There was one in practically every village, although they were losing out to the female fortune tellers (yuta).
[791] Spencer cited the case of the principal of the primary school at Itoman who could get controversial plans adopted readily if a priestess sponsored them. This was over 30 years after the abolition of the old allotment system, and their economic power had vanished. But they were important figures in festivals and holidays. Their private services included advice and prayer on journeys and business undertakings. This brief summary of their past history will make the discussion that follows clearer.

793 The Japanese discouraged the priestess system, regarding it as a
178 superstition. In the years immediately preceding the war, the priestesses seem to have prospered more in the northern district of Okinawa. By 1951, the noros were virtually forgotten, victims of a long decline, Japanese discouragement, the war, public indifference, and the conviction, among the young and middle aged people, that the priestesses taught only superstitions (meishin) like the fortune tellers and the soothsayers.

Hanashiro had a priestess before the war; when she died, there was no young female relative to replace her. Now there are none in Hanashiro, Nagamo, or Hinatogawa. Their failure to revive after the war is attributed by the villagers to the influence of education among the people. In Hatsuda, there are some last survivals of the system, but the Ginoza priestess has also died, and there was no one to replace her.

793 Before the war, the priestess (noro in Japanese, nuru in Okinawan) and her assistants conducted services in Hatsuda.[6] The priestess, who was then about 60, lived in Ginoza village, and was carried by two men on a palanquin (kago) from her village to Hatsuda. The high priestess and her assistants constituted a ten woman group. The first in rank after her lived in Ginoza, and the other eight in Hatsuda. These participants in the festivals and religious ceremonies were known as kannushi-san (Japanese) or kamichuyu (Okinawan). The priestess was assisted by a second woman, first in rank after the noro herself (uchigami in Okinawan), a third (nigami in Okinawan), and the fourth (yurashigami in Okinawan). The fifth to ninth women were learners and followers. They could be either young or old women. All ranks wore a simple garment, similar in cut to a kimono, made of white gauze-like material. For a head covering, a piece of the same material was wrapped around the head like a towel. Four men attended the priestess and her women assistants but only at public ceremonies.

[115] 6 The material which follows is based on information from a lady about 50, a resident of Hatsuda, who was a second ranking assistant (nigami) to the noro. She now operates a tiny store in Hatsuda.

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2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

 775

ple did not carry it through the streets but along the shore to a spot 784
nearby where the car could pull up.

Communication with ancestral or family spirits lies in the hands of [766]
individual households or the larger kin group. In general, as with the 782
nature deities, women maintain the relationship. The oldest woman 794
in the house prays and makes offerings in front of the divine shelf or by 769
the tombs. Sometimes the high priestess, whose only regular role in the [562]
cult of ancestors centers around the mythical founder of the village
to whom vague references are made, is asked to conduct a special [793]
prayer for a family at its ancestral shrine. Such invitations are usually
the result of consultation with another religious practitioner to whom [756]
one turns in case of misfortune.*

Those who are considering a special undertaking, such as building a 791
new house or moving to another one, or transporting ancestral tablets
from one home shrine to another, seek the advice of a diviner, the [342]
sanjinsō or *yekisha*. This expert, always a man, consults books on the
workings of the universe, special astrological calendars from which he
can predict events by using a horoscope calculated on the birth date of
the person seeking advice.

Although it would seem from the attendance at ceremonies that 771
older people, mostly women, are the supporters of religion, even the 182
most modern of the Tairans seem to share beliefs in the power of the
supernatural forces and are loath to make an open break with traditions. One may verbalize that the old religion is just "superstition," but when it comes to dealing with adverse events, when somebody suggests that perhaps the *yuta* should be consulted, or a special offering is in order, or when the old special wine of the gods is prepared from rice for Boat Race Day, then many of the apparent apostates cooperate. To some extent this is done to appease the older people, but fear of neglecting duties, especially toward ancestors, is probably much stronger in general than people's behavior would suggest. Religious in- [621]
fluence, then, which controlled so many facets of village life in former days, still acts as a strong force in uniting the members of families and descent groups as well as in binding together the community as a unit separate from other communities.

* See Chapter 9 for description of the *yuta* or shaman.

191 (mentioned previously), song, and the indigenous religion. Okinawan song and
178 music undoubtedly exceed both Japanese and Western in popularity; in fact, no
191 other facet of Okinawan culture has so successfully withstood the changes of
178 the past seventy-five years. Songs such as the Kagiyadefu (which some Okina-
523 wans liken to a national anthem), Nubui Kuduchi, Hamachidori, Tanchame are known and loved by all. Some of the phonograph record stores in Naha carry as many as several hundred different recordings of Okinawan songs, and vir-
191 tually all of these are recorded in Okinawan. All priestesses of the indigen-
178 ous religion interviewed by the author stated that Okinawan was the language
796 of prayer and ceremony; to some this was a burden, as in the case of one priestess who had spent most of her life in Japan. A few admitted that the language of the ceremonies and particularly that of the old songs or umui (somestime rendered omoro) was rather obscure and not fully understood; these are transmitted orally from the older priestess to her successor and undoubtedly
191 contain many archaic words. Outside the formal religious structure yet inex-
178 tricably linked to it are shamans (yuta) and fortune tellers ('ekisha'). The
756 former, most often a woman, uses Okinawan almost exclusively in rites concerned
791 with divining, exorcism, and curing. The latter, nearly always a male, is usually a fairly well-educated person, as the profession is based on interpretations of certain books used in conjunction with the ancient Chinese Book of Changes (I Ching), and either Japanese or Okinawan, depending on the customer, may be used in giving the reading. Both practitioners are extremely popular, but the fortune teller is usually found in the cities and towns whereas the shaman may be found in Naha or the smallest hamlet.

175 Japanese With the abdication of Shō Tai in 1879 the Japanese government ini-
191 tiated a program designed for integrating Okinawa into the national
177 state as rapidly as possible. An effort was made to stamp out all vestiges of
[648] Okinawan culture, utilizing techniques ranging from education and indoctrination to repressive laws and police measures. Greatest emphasis was given to making Japanese speakers out of Okinawans. Leavenworth quotes Governor Narahara as stating that the creation of Japanese speakers was of more value than
175 all the repressive laws prohibiting certain customs.[1] At the start the Japanese
191 were hindered by a lack of schools and teachers, and so the program moved ahead
177 slowly. An effective national school system covering the rural areas where the
871 bulk of the population was located and taking in both sexes was not fully operative until about the time of World War I. The failure of Japanese to displace Okinawan can be attributed largely to a lack of time and a lack of facilities for education beyond the elementary level. By the time of World War II but two generations were schooled in Japanese, and the majority of these had received no more than six years of education.

191 Though Japanese failed to displace Okinawan, it did succeed in becom-
177 ing a necessity in the lives of most people and in establishing itself as the
554 prestige language. With the government, press, schools, cinema, radio, and high-level commerce utilizing Japanese exclusively, participation in modern life without a knowledge of Japanese became impossible. The incentives towards competence in Japanese were many, whereas there appeared to be little gained

[1] Leavenworth, 1905, p. 37.

If the
584 girl's family is favorably disposed, one or both parties visit a diviner
741 (sanjinsoo, Japanese 'ekisha') to determine the compatibility of the couple (seesoo shirabi). The diviner ostensibly does this by casting horoscopes and drawing lots, but it is likely that he also gives weight to factors known to him or revealed by the persons requesting advice so that if one of the partic-ipants has strong objections to the marriage he may find reasons why it should not be. This interpretation is merely an hypothesis, but it seems probably that the decision of the diviner may thus be a useful face-saving device. Possibly for this reason the go-between seems to be of secondary im-portance.

After the decision has been made to unite the two families in marriage there may be a formal betrothal ceremony (ubukui). For this the prospective
[593] groom's family sends certain gifts including a sum of money to the bride's home. This money, called injoojing, corresponds to the "bride price" of some societies. Its payment is probably the most essential element in the whole procedure, since a small sum is still paid even when other formalities are dispensed with. This payment seals the agreement.

585 The wedding ceremony (niibichi, "drawing the roots") takes place at the groom's house in the evening of a day determined by the diviner. First a party goes from the groom's house to the bride's house with gifts. This party then carries the bride to the groom's house, where they are met by a
[117] welcoming party. In recent times the ceremony at the groom's house has been the Japanese 'sansankudo', exchange of drinks; the original Okinawan ceremony was somewhat different. When this has been completed the bride and groom celebrate separately each with friends and relatives of the same sex. On the following day, or whenever the celebration is over, the couple pays a formal visit to the bride's parents.

[184] This elaborate procedure is not usual at the present time among country
[583] people. In fact, the ceremony may not occur at all; the woman may merely come to live with the man with little or no formal recognition of the change in status beyond perhaps the payment of a small bride price. The marriage has a legal existence when it is recorded in the 'koseki'. It may not be recorded immediately; often it is recorded only a little before or together with the recording of the birth of the first child. This practice obviates changing the record if the marriage is not successful.

585 But formerly among the gentry of Naha and Shuri the wedding was even
178 more elaborate than the procedure just described. Moreover, after the cere-
565 mony the groom, instead of entertaining his male relatives and friends at home, took them to a jurinuyaa where for three days and nights they were en-
[548] tertained by the juri with food, drink, music, and sex. I am acquainted with three interpretations explaining why the groom spends his wedding night with a prostitute. The first, that given by an American missionary[1] explains the practice as symbolizing the freedom of the male and demonstrating to the bride that her husband was free to find sexual gratification elsewhere. The second interpretation was one given to me by a man in his thirties, a descend-ant of the Shuri gentry, and a man with rather "modern" ideas. He said that

[1] The missionary Schwarz, whose work is not presently available to me.

756 787 **The Yuta** The yuta has been mentioned several times already as a dealer in the supernatural, a sort of shaman. She is usually a woman, though not always so, and usually an older person. In the minds of some [794] she is confused with the kaminchu ("god person"), but the two are probably quite distinct. A kaminchu is a person, also usually a woman, who officiates at the family worship or assists the nuru in village worship on the important holidays. The yuta on the other hand is a person whose services may be sought on any occasion for individual problems. Her methods are divination, prayer, and possession. She may be called upon to determine the cause of an illness. She may do so by divining with grains of rice. She asks a question and then takes a pinch of grains and separates them out into pairs. If there is none left over the question is answered in the affirmative; if there is one left over it is in the negative. Or she may pray and then wait for the inspiration of some supernatural being. If the cause of the illness is determined to be an ugwambusuku, as it often is, then she may reveal what ancestor or god it is who has not received sufficient worship. If she is consulted after the death of a relative to learn if there was any last wish to communicate, she may function as a medium, letting the dead person speak with her mouth. She may be consulted merely to learn about the character and future of an individual. In this case and perhaps in most she asks for the saa (the birth year) of the person in question, but uses no other astrological data.

791 **The Sanjinsoo** The most respected type of diviner is the person called sanjinsoo (possibly from his sign board, which resembles the character 'three' written three times) or suumuchi ("book person") in Okinawan or 'ekisha' in Japanese. This person is always a man, usually [111] dignified and scholarly in appearance. He regards himself as a scholar, perhaps even as a scientist; he is a student of 'ekigaku', the "study of changes", a theory of the workings of the universe that goes back to the I Ching, the Book of Changes, a Chinese work that was old at the time of Confucius. The sanjinsoo is consulted after New Year's to obtain advice for the new year and before important undertakings, such as house-building, tomb building, marriage, bone-washing. Illness may also be a reason for [787] consulting him but is of less importance. The method of the sanjinsoo consists of drawing one from a number of thin sticks, looking up the mark on it in his book or books, and then calculating this against a horoscope derived from the birth year of the person about whom information is requested. For the literate person he will write out a list of good months and bad months, things to be avoided and things which may bring good fortune.

Although the sanjinsoo deals with a pseudo-science, he may also admit that the gods may influence men's lives. A sanjinsoo whom I consulted as an experiment spoke at length about the importance of the gods and prayed before beginning his work, but the greater part of the time he spent looking up signs in his books, of which he had an impressive number. Some sanjinsoo are said to function also nearly in the same manner as yuta.

Sanjinsoo flourish in the larger towns and cities but are probably rare in country villages. Country people consult them on the occasions mentioned above but probably not as frequently as they consult the yuta, who are found in many, perhaps most villages.

Other Diviners Besides the sanjinsoo there are several other types of diviners, such as palmists, physiognomists, and card readers. 791
Some of these combine prayer and supposed reliance upon supernatural powers with their science. For example in Ishikawa there is a young woman who is referred to as a kaminchu-gwaa or yuta-gwaa, though neither term is very apt. She is consulted about the character and future of individual persons. Her [787]
performance consists of asking the birth year of the person in question, praying, and then dealing out a fortune from a pack of playing cards of an archaic type. She charges ¥30 for each person inquired about. As with the true yuta illness may be a matter on which she is consulted.

Like the sanjinsoo, these persons are found mainly in the larger towns and cities, where it appears that they manage to make a living. Whatever the law reads on the matter the police and the public evidently 791
regard these professions as legitimate as long as the practitioners are 689
sincere in their work. There was a famous case in Ishikawa about 1951, however, where two young women set up an establishment as diviners. They are said to have given advice free to the needy at first and built up a large clientele, whereupon they began overcharging their wealthier customers and spending the money on riotous living. Finally the police put a stop to their activities, charging them with giving advice in an irresponsible manner.

The Yabuu The term yabuu seems to be derived from the Japanese 'yabu-isha', 759
literally "bush-doctor", defined by the dictionary as "quack". 177
The Japanese and English terms, however, reflect attitudes that are probably not associated with the Okinawan yabuu. The yabuu is a practitioner of 'Kampōi', "Chinese Medicine", a term that was once coordinate with 'Rampōi' "Dutch Medicine", that is, modern Western (and now modern Japanese) medicine. The methods of the yabuu include moxibustion, acupuncture, and the prescription of various foods.

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757
Moxibustion (Japanese 'o-kyū') is the burning of 'mogusa' or "moxa" on the patient's flesh. On an occasion which I observed, a woman brought a child of two or three to be treated. The yabuu took out his charts of the body, which, he explained, showed where the nerves may be reached. The theory seems to be that the burning activates the nerves and causes the body to throw off the illness. In this case the child seemed to be suffering from some internal disorder. Its body bore the scars of previous treatment. The yabuu, after consulting his chart, painted four dots on the child's bare back with a red liquid. Then he wetted a finger and put on each dot a tiny bit of 'mogusa' and with a lighted punk lit each bit, let it burn down to the skin, and then tamped it out. His wife then wiped off the ashes, leaving a small black scar where each dot had been. He then burned six more spots on each side of the child's chest, four around the navel, one on each ankle and one on each wrist. Throughout the procedure the child cried and had to be restrained by its mother. The scars, however, are said not usually to be permanent.

Acupuncture consists of inserting into the flesh a long gold needle ('kimbari'), usually at the afflicted spot. It is used, for example, to relieve the stiffness of the hips associated with childbirth.

CHAPTER X: EDUCATION

W. P. Suttles

121 None of the SIRI team worked on education as such. We have no basis
871 for a discussion of the physical condition of the schools, number of teachers per pupil, texts, etc., other than the data readily available in USCAR publications. However, it may be useful to include in this report a brief chapter on attitudes toward education, the role of the teacher, and evidence of the results of education, as we have seen them in the course of our research. As I shall try to point out, there are indications that education on Okinawa may not be doing all that it professes to do. Yet it is a remarkable and praiseworthy fact that education has progressed as well as it has, considering the truly terrible destruction of the war and the long and trying process of rebuilding the material facilities and the morale of teachers and students.

1. Respect for Education

871
554 Respect for education and the educated is deeply rooted in Okinawan
565 culture. For several centuries administrative posts in the Ryukyuan kingdom
[647] were filled by officials drawn from the gentry class and appointed, it is said, on the basis of an examination. The gentry class held a virtual monopoly of education, which was thus one of the bases of their superior status. It is not surprising that the gentry class of the past is identified with learning. An illiterate old man of gentry descent once explained to me that the gentry were originally teachers appointed to various villages, thus misinterpreting the former bureaucracy as a school system.

871 Another profession open to the educated man in the past, and in the
554 present, is that of the diviner. One of the native terms for this person is
791 suumuchi, the "person with books", his books being the ones with which he reads a person's fate. This is a profession that commands respect. It is quite likely that at one time the diviner was the only person who possessed books with whom the ordinary peasant ever had contact. Books were thus associated with status and with nearly supernatural power.

554 Education is still regarded as a means of rising in status. As indi-
871 cated in Chapter V, the potential scholar is given special treatment by his family because all may participate in the rise in status that his education may bring. But times have changed. In the days of the Ryukyuan kingdom the rewards for education may have come automatically, but under the Japanese administration this was less true, and perhaps least of all today. Education is indeed still valued for its own sake, but it is expected to bring material rewards; if it does not, its authenticity may be questioned.

554 Still, the prestige of learning probably accounts for a type of pseudo-scholar who may be found both in the rural and in the urban scene. In several villages we encountered such individuals, elderly men who were regarded as local sages, who discoursed learnedly and uncritically on local traditions, who revealed information derived from one or two carefully guarded books

793 In the first version, a male person (Shinerikyu) and a female person (Amamikyu) descended from Heaven. Amamikyu without sexual intercourse gave birth to three children: the first son became the first ruler; the first daughter, the first priestess; and the second son, the first farmer.

In the second version, the male and female deities gave birth to a child. "They carried stones and earth to the edge of the sea and planted trees to keep back the waves." Mountains and forests thus made, "mankind sprung up." Knowledge was attained and one person divided mankind into classes. This man, Tenteishi, had five children: Tensonshi, the first son and first ruler; the second son, the first noble (ansu); the third son, the first farmer. The eldest daughter became the first kikoe-oh-gimi, who later headed the institutionalized noro religious system. The second [793] daughter became the first priestess (noro).

173 The dynasty established by Tensonshi, according to tradition, lasted for twenty-five generations, 17,802 years, or until 1187 A. D. During this period, Okinawa was divided into three districts (magiri), Kunchan in the [631] north, Nakagami in the center and Shimajiri in the south, divisions which remain to this day.[4] The districts were divided into mura or townships. [243] "Wheat and millet were raised at Kutaka /a name of a magiri/ and rice was grown at Chinen and Tamagusuku."[5] There is reason to believe that Tensonshi 174 dynasty had its greatest control over what would now be the area of Naha, Shuri, Tamagusuku township, and the Chinen peninsula area.

793 In both myths, a female priesthood, as Spencer points out, is placed at the very beginning of Ryukyuan history. A king, lesser nobles, a female priesthood, and farmers were the basis of the culture.

3

Events of the Early Historical Period

175 Not enough is known of the early historical contacts between the Great 177 Loochoo and the Chinese and Japanese to warrant any conclusions regarding 648 influences which these countries could have exerted.

Chinese punitive expeditions took place in the early seventh century A. D., but the consensus of opinion is that the invasion of Great Loochoo resulted in no prolonged cultural contact or influence. Some Japanese

[TEXT CONTINUES ON P. 29 -- ANALYST]

4 Chamberlain, The Luchu Islands and their inhabitants, as cited, 306.

5 Leavenworth, Charles S. The Loochoo islands, 15. Quotation is from the manuscript history translated by Leavenworth, ibid, 77.

These foreign introductions were accompanied with the reinforcement of a native institution: the elevation of the female priesthood to what amounted to a state religion. This institutionalizing of a native religion did not mean the exclusion of foreign religions or foreign ideas. The king used the noro system to bind his realm together: at the same time, he reintroduced Buddhism, himself becoming an adherent. The priestess of the Sho household, that is the royal house, was removed "to a place without the palace, but near the main gateway" of the palace at Shuri, signifying the closeness of the chief priestess to the royal house, the extension of the system to all the islands, and the centralization, both of religious and political life. Political institutions, borrowed from China and in a Confucian mold, with the dominance of the male in the family and in the government, now existed side by side with the hierarchy of priestesses whose power rested not only on royal patronage but on an economic security whose basis was ownership in land. With the passage of time, it was the order of priestesses that gave way to the male dominated Confucian ideal. This Confucian idea of the state, a combination of the individual morality of Confucius with the ideas of statecraft of the legists developed in the Han dynasty, retained its hold until the Japanese did away with the monarchy.[12]

175 178 793 779 692 177 562

The new government with its capital at Shuri, a port at Naha, a royal granary at Kune, and the town of Tomari, was rigidly departmentalized along Chinese lines.[13]

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The Ryukyuan kingdom, from the middle of the fourteenth to the second half of the sixteenth century was part of a great trade network. This included the Great Loochoo, Korea, Japan, China, Siam, and with the port of Malacca as the center of the trade. The normal route was from Naha[14] along the coast of Fukien province, stopping at Foochow, up from the mouth of the Min River, along the coast of the Campa (modern Indo-China), thence to Malacca. From here, it was possible to trade with the islands of the Sunda (Java) seas, Siam, and with the province of Pataai on the east coast of the Malay peninsula, south of the isthmus of Kra. From Naha, the products of Japan, Korea, and Central China were brought to Malacca; from Malacca, essences, various woods, pepper, sugar, ivory, and articles of Portugese and Arab manufacture were brought north. The various traders brought back to the Great Loochoo Chinese money, Ming porcelains, and silks of south China. There were Korean, Chinese, and Japanese colonies

175 439

[Text Continues TOP of P. 32--analyst]

12 Spencer, as cited, 103. On the role of the legists in political Confucianism in China, see Fitzgerald, China: a cultural history, 103-04,156.

13. For interesting details, see CA Handbook Ryukyu (Loochoo) Islands, 103.

14 The age of Naha, I believe, is unknown. Under King Satsudo in the late fourteenth century, and in the period of trade of which we are speaking, Naha had a sudden expansion. There were three channels into the harbor, the northern "Yamatoguchi," used by the Japanese, a center one, "Karefuneguchi" (literally Chinese ship terminus (mouth)), and a "Miyakoguchi", the south channel which was used by the ships engaged in trade with the Sakishima group. Simon, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, 36.

fads of Western inspiration. Vaccination, the calendar, European dress for officials, photography, edicts against long hair belong to the late 1870's. Chamberlain has spoken of the years 1885-87 as the "years of the great foreign fever."[24] Japan was the medium through which Western ideas were brought to bear on the old Okinawan culture. This new intrusion, indirectly set off both by the Perry expedition and the determination of the Japanese to change their own country, was modern Japan, compounded of traditional and Western ideas. When we speak of the "Japanization" of the islands, we must remember that some of this is also Westernization.

Foremost among these changes was the introduction of the new Japanese education. Education came to the rural areas and provided the basis, as in Japan, for mass literacy. This was not an easy task. Nor was it accomplished at once. Chamberlain in 1895 tells of the signs at the entrance to each village, giving the population, the number of children of school age and the number of children actually attending school, a "device not used in Japan itself, but resorted to here with the object of shaming parents into sending their children to school. To get the girls sent there has been found very difficult--the Further Isles almost impossible." The extent of this change can be appreciated by Chamberlain's further remark that few outside of Naha understood Japanese, and that the language was taught the first year so that it could be used later in instruction in other subjects.[25] Before World War II, as now, Japanese was spoken and understood by all, except the very old, the Japanese language existing side by side with Okinawan which remained the language of children, intimates, and of the village. The adoption of Japanese dress, the cutting of the hair, the learning of the Japanese language were the avenues to official employment.

Another great change was the abolition of the old system of land tenure, something we shall dwell upon at length later. By a series of laws over the period 1899-1903, the old system of village communal ownership with a periodic distribution of the rice lands and the dry crop land was abolished and private ownership and inheritance of land were instituted. The abolition of the old land allotment system must have changed the aspect of the villages, for village-owned granaries, were part of the central area of a village.[26] This change in land tenure, as Spencer has suggested, contributed to the further economic decline of the native religion of the noro priestesses whose lands, still retained, were now subject to different laws of inheritance.[27]

[Text continues on top of p. 40 — Analyst]

24 Basil Hall Chamberlain. Things Japanese, 238. See his comments on "fashionable crazes," 155-57.

25 The Luchu islands and their inhabitants, as cited, 457-58. Chamberlain adds, page 457, an interesting table showing school attendance by district which indicated that eligibles going to school were in a distinct minority.

26 Hawks, Perry's Expedition to Japan, as cited, I, 314; II, 34.

27 The Noro, or priestesses of Loo-choo, as cited, 109. This is an interesting example of the relation of an old religion to economic changes brought about by a revolution in land tenure induced from above.

764 dying in the evening or during the night is buried the next day, one dying in the morning will probably be interred by nightfall.

766 Burial customs for children differ from those of adults. The immediate burial of a dead child seems to be general in the villages, even if, according to one informant, it dies at 12 or 1 o'clock in the morning. With the death verified, relatives are called, and the child might be taken away within 15 minutes. Certain distinctions are made depending on whether (1) the child is still-born or dies shortly after birth, (2) the child is under 8 years old, and (3) the child is 8 years or older. A premature, still-born child, or an infant dying shortly after birth is buried almost immediately in the compound, usually behind the house. The child under eight is buried in a temporary grave near the family tomb, remaining there until the family tomb is opened upon the death of an adult. The infant's bones are then gathered up and put in the tomb. The temporary grave is prepared by a younger man of the family. The dead child is carried by the mother, an aunt or other female relative. The tomb, in general practice, is opened for a child over 8 years of age.

[845]

These are general statements and the details vary. In Minatogawa, for example, a child's funeral is similar to an adult's, but the body is not put in the coffin until the tomb is reached. The mother, or a close female relative, carries it in her arms. The coffin is carried by other mourners. The explanation given is that it was formerly believed that the child might revive on the way. In a child's funeral here, there is no banner announcing the name and death date, at the head of the procession. Neither is a hearse or funeral palanquin (gan) used.

In Matsuda, this palanquin also is not used for children 8 and under. Whether a tomb is opened for a child seems to depend on individual family custom. In one case, an extended family tomb was not opened for a child; in another it was. The child is carried to the tomb and then placed in the coffin. In this village, children are not buried immediately. The custom is the same as for adults.

764 178 Judging by descriptions which villagers gave of pre-war customs, funerals and burial customs have been simplified in the post-war period. The services of Buddhist priests have been almost completely dispensed with. Offerings are more modest. Priestesses (noro) and their assistants seldom officiate. The contemporary rural Okinawan funeral is simple. The following description of a funeral observed near Gushichan village probably is typical.

[793]

764 The deceased, a woman of 40, died about eleven in the morning. The funeral procession passed the village office at 5:30 on the same day. There were no special ceremonies before the funeral. The body, washed and dressed, had been placed in the coffin which was put on the funeral palanquin or hearse. This red palanquin is normally owned by the village. Since the war, not all villages have an gan.

The hearse was carried by four young men. (There may be 8 pallbearers,

764 The beginning of a funeral procession is announced by a gong in the yard of a village office. The head man and other leaders and elders of the village attend the funeral. The mayor of the township or his representative joins in the procession.

[793] A Buddhist priest (bōzu-san) did not officiate at this funeral. Priests are scarce in rural Okinawa. Most of them were Japanese who returned to Japan after the war. Families can also save by dispensing with the Buddhist service. The participation of Buddhist priests, already nominal before the war, has now in the villages studied, virtually disappeared.

764 431 It is customary at a death to give a ten or twenty yen offering to the family. The money is put in a small envelop with an expression of sympathy written on it. (In Okinawa money is the usual gift at marriage, birthday celebrations, and at death. The gift may be put in a small envelop but it is common also to give a loose bill).

765 [782] Early on the morning following the funeral, the tomb is visited by members of the family. Food offerings of rice, tea, sake, and a flower may be placed in front of the tomb. A charcoal stick is burned. These visits with the offerings and prayers on the following morning are associated with a belief, still held by the old, that the dead [761] person might still be alive and that the pounding of an adult on the wall or the crying of a child might be heard so that the living could be rescued from the tomb. The belief that the person might still be alive and possibly could be heard seems to persist in Hanashiro and Minatogawa. It was not encountered in Matsuda, although it might well exist.

2

Burial Places and the Family System

764 Okinawan tombs have excited the interest of foreigners from the earliest days of European contact. There are no cemeteries in the usual sense of the word, but areas scattered throughout the countryside, usually on the tops of hills, or on the stony sides of mountains, are [311] given over to burial grounds. Tombs are not located on land suitable for agriculture. It has been said that the Japanese forbad using agricultural land for tombs, but the practice in Okinawa seems to antedate these Japanese interferences in the culture of the rural areas. In the interior, the tombs are always on wild (genya) land. But one can also see tombs along the seashore and on offshore rocks. The outstanding [565] exceptions to this are the royal tomb area in Shuri, now largely destroyed, and the large and dramatically placed tombs in the center of Itoman town. In the case of Itoman, it is quite probable that the growing town has surrounded the areas taken as tomb sites.

Of the several types of tombs, the turtleback (kamekokata) is the most famous. It has been variously described by European travellers as

The tomb is revisited on the 7th day. Rice cakes, bean curd, and a little sake may be taken as offerings. The food items vary. Pork, rice, and tea may be added or substituted. The offering may consist of a variety of favored foods (a gochisō, a feast or a treat). The observances on the 14th, 21st, 28th, 35th, and 42nd day are like the preceding ones, though beginning with the 35th day, the prayers and the food offerings may be more elaborate. 765 [262]

The 49th day has special significance. At this time, the temporary white memorial tablets are removed from the god shelf and burned, and the permanent tablets hung there. This god shelf has the tablets of the immediate family in the male line: the father, grandfather, the mother and grandmother, or of deceased children. A son who establishes a branch family has a god shelf in his own house. While I found no unanimity on the point, many interpreted the 49th day as the day on which the deceased is presumed to have become a god (hotoke-san). Others have said this did not take place until the 33rd year after death, certainly a more logical time, since the observances cease at this time. On the 49th day, there are visits to the tomb and prayers before the god shelf at night. As the last of a series of observances which follow closely after death, the food offerings and the food served to guests are much more sumptuous than those of previous weeks. [778] [776]

In the annual anniversaries, differences depend on family piety and economic status. With some families, observances become more elaborate as the years go by. The prayers and the feast of the 1st and 3rd years are usually the same as that of the 49th day. Beginning with the 7th year the rice may be dyed red. Rice dyed red is used as the years from the date of death increase. In all cases, the 33rd year is the last and the most luxurious of the celebrations. The occasion begins with prayers at the god shelf, the food offering, sake, followed by a banquet for the guests, most of whom are relatives. This 33rd year celebration is the final recognition of a person's life on earth as a member of the family and ends the responsibility for observing the anniversary of his death. 769

Though rare, a family may call on a Buddhist priest to officiate at one of these memorial observances. One service, in memory of a fourth son who had died in the Philippines in 1944, was observed in Minatogawa. The priest received from the father the name, age, and place of death of his son and wrote this information on a piece of paper. The chant began with the tapping of a small bell (inkin), ringing which was repeated frequently throughout the service. The chant, which lasted about 25 minutes, was sung in an archaic Japanese which no one understood. Toward the end, the priest read the paper on which he had written the information regarding the deceased. These were the only words which could be clearly understood. The purpose here was to inform the Buddha of the name of the dead. The priest wore a black robe with gold trimming. Around his neck was a string of beads (zuzu) with a pendant purple tassel. He sat in the front of the first room with the father of the dead boy on his right. The women guests were in the second room. As the long chant continued, people began talking to one another, and when the priest 769 793 788 [292]

769 finished the restless children already had become noisy. The ceremony
793 completed, the priest exchanged a few courtesies, explained the sig-
788 nificance of the chant to the father, received a gratuity and left shortly after. The women and the children soon retired, and the men were served sake, but the party was more subdued than the usual social affair.

769 These ceremonies in memory of the dead are the responsibility of
511 the head of the house. These, and not the family tombs, are the real financial burdens. Since the war, village and township governments, and community organizations have tried to persuade the people to spend less on these and to spread what good food they have more evenly throughout the year.

829 They have tried to standardize gifts at marriage, on birthdays,
511 and at deaths, and to cut down the cost of food by simplifying the banquets. In this they have been at least partly successful because everyone recognizes the difficulties. Villagers do not like to spend all their resources on celebrations, and yet, there is an obligation which cannot be avoided. Two sensible adjustments have been made. Economies have been affected in the food served, and, whenever possible, celebrations or holidays that come close together are combined. The 7 year memorial service, described above, was combined by the family with the festival of the autumnal equinox (higan).

527 577 better behavior. In one instance from Matsuda, the members of the family talk over their good and bad acts and resolve henceforth to do good.

527 [823] In all the villages, the custom of new or young water (wakamizu) has survived. In Hinatogawa, at 5 or 6 o'clock in the morning of the New Year, young children take fresh water in a tea pot to the homes of relatives. The new water is poured into a cup, placed on the Buddhist god shelf, or on the shelf of the fire god in the kitchen. The children are given Y5 or Y10 by the relatives, who are then supposed to stay young themselves. In Matsuda, new water is taken from a well early in the morning, and some is put on the god shelf. The first tea of the New Year is made with "young water".

A parent may also give a piece of pork with salt on it to his child announcing that he is now one year older. This custom is still observed, even though ages officially are now reckoned in the western manner.

In all the villages, the morning observances are family affairs; the public nature of the holiday is evident later. Tea and sake are [769] placed in front of the ancestral tablets on the god shelf. A fresh kimono is put on and the offering is made before breakfast. Then the [782] father takes the sake from the god shelf, offering sips first to his wife and then to the children.

[778] Later there are visits to the place of the patron deity or first ancestor of the village (ujigami). In Hanashiro, all of the people make this visit. In Hinatogawa, it is also a village affair, but is more involved because there are more places to go: a local religious site of unknown origin, the palace of the gods of the sea (ryūgū), the supposed place of the mountain god, the three wells with their god places, and finally to the places of the two patron deities. In Matsuda, the village head man, accompanied by surviving minor priestesses (formerly in the noro order) make visits to the place of [793] the patron deity. But whether all the villagers or only their representatives take part, the visits have the same meaning: to offer thanks to the founders of the village.

The New Year is a time for extended family reunions. If the home site of the extended family is not in the village, the family or a representative may go to the reunion in another village, if it is not too far away. Only members of the extended family attend these celebrations.

With early morning observances in the home, the public ceremonies, and the extended family reunions over, the gay, informal and public part of the holiday begins. Hospitality is offered on all sides, and [594] there is much drinking among the men. The celebration continues for the rest of the first day and through the second. The third day is a transitional day whose theme is the need of returning to work. This is hachibaru (to begin farming). The day is given over to more feasting and drinking and to some actual or token work.

Celebrations Through the Festival of the Fifth Month

796 The 15th day of the second lunar month (March 22, 1951) is the Buddhist holiday, higan, celebrating the spring equinox. Here it is a home festival of thanksgiving. Barley (ōmugi) or barley cakes [262] with brown sugar are offered with prayers for continued good fortune. Other grains, such as rice, millet (awa) may be offered, though the cakes (mugimochi) are of barley. In Hatsuda, this is not a home ceremony. An offering of white rice cakes is made by the village [193] head man, with the assistance of lower orders of the former priestess system, at the site of the village patron deity.

527 The third day of the third month is the festival of the dolls, (hinamatsuri). It is not important in Okinawa and is spottily observed. In Hinatogawa, it is a woman's holiday. Women and children [524] make dolls. Gifts of dainties and candies in red lacquer boxes are [562] prepared. People from nearby villages come to Hinatogawa, bring their lunches, and gather shells and catch fish.

The fifth day of the fifth month is Boy's Day. This Japanese holiday is not significant in the villages. There may be banners with a picture of a carp (koi no bori) displayed, visits to the place of the patron deity, some visiting and sanisen playing, and perhaps a play.

527 The 14th day of the 5th month (June 18, 1951) is the festival of the Gods of the Sea and is observed only in Hinatogawa. It is 526 this village's greatest celebration. The boat race, held on this day, attracts many from the interior villages. In Hanashiro, most activity ceases while everyone goes to the boat races. Before the [178] races, the villagers go to the religious sites to make small offerings [182] and to pray. The races are held in the estuary of the river. In their excitement, children with infants on their back often wade out in the water to cheer their favorite boat.

796 The Festival of the Fifth Month (Gogatsumatsuri) is held on the 15th day of the 5th lunar month (June 19, 1951). Like the festival of the spring equinox, it is a day of thanksgiving. Thanks are given for rice [193] instead of for barley. In Hatsuda, the ceremony is conducted by the village head man and former members of the priestess system.[2]

2 According to a Hatsuda informant, women should not sew on this [114] day. It is a rest day. If work is done, including gathering [825] plants for fertiliser, the dreaded poisonous snake, the habu, will come. These customs were not encountered in the other villages.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

Introduction

The study of religious ideas in Okinawa quickly involves one in a quagmire of beliefs, formal observances, and conventions, of various origins, often grafted on one another, so that it is almost impossible to disentangle them. There is a vagueness among the people, a lack of distinctions among various types of belief, and this makes the analysis even more uncertain and subject to error. When after death, for example, does the deceased become a god (hotoke-sama) in the Buddhist pantheon? At the end of the 49th day when the temporary white tablets are burned and replaced by the permanent red ones? Or at the end of the 33rd year when the dead person is no longer mourned, and the anniversary of his death no longer observed? And is he regarded as a god in the Buddhist pantheon or simply as a god? I was unable to find satisfactory answers to these questions. 771 128

Religious beliefs, such as ancestor worship, are closely related to the underlying ideas of the family system. Praying to the ancestors at the god shelf ties Buddhism in with the family system, but worship at the Buddhist alter and the god shelf would, if accepted at its face value, give an erroneous idea of the vitality of Buddhism and the degree to which it has become a religion of the people.

The student of these matters must also make certain that this vagueness and mixing of religious belief is an actuality and does not arise out of faulty comprehension. I became convinced, however, that the vagueness, the compounding of beliefs from different sources, the uncertainty are realities, and this point of view was later reinforced in reading the works of students of an earlier age.

There is a noticeably sharp cleavage in belief between the old and the young, with the dividing line around the age of 55. Furthermore, among the old, it is the women who believe and worship. The old men are much less serious, and, except for the few antiquarians, are much more poorly informed. 771 184

2

Contemporary Religious Beliefs

The religious tradition of Okinawa is a feminine one. Women appear in the creation myth as the practitioners of religion. The priestess (noro) system became an institutionalised religion in the early 16th century. From that time until the very recent past, the priestesses have been strong and influential because, for one thing, they had property and the economic power that accompanied its possession. These priestesses have now largely disappeared. But women remain the chief repositories of religious knowledge and belief. 771 773 793 [562]

The only Buddhist priest in the areas studied was at the small village of Maegawa, within walking distance of Minatogawa and Hanashiro. He was a priest of the Jōdo sect (Jōdoshu), one of the important sects of Japan, and stressing salvation by faith. The sect of the priest in this village is of no importance, since the rural people now or before the war had neither the interest nor the capacity for doctrinal distinctions. The temples of this sect were burned during the war, including one in the village of Kochinda, a junction point between Naha and Gushichan.

Before the war the colors of the robes varied with the sect and with the position of the priest in the hierarchy. In the Jōdo sect, the lowest grade wore black, followed up the scale by orange, blue or green, a chocolate reddish brown, and purple, the highest. This contrasts sharply with the priest's present improvisations. His is the black robe of the Shinshu sect. It is a summer garment, made of soft light silk called shiya and resembles a man's kimono, but is longer and sweeps the floor. The garment hangs straight down and is not gathered or tucked. The only other religious possessions were a bell and a badly soiled print of the Buddha (oshaku) which hung in his room.

Before the war, some people in the Gushichan area requested the services of a priest at funerals. After the war, the people of Hanashiro, and other villages as well, decided because of the expense, to forego the services of a priest.

Occasionally this priest officiates when the bones in the temporary tombs of Minatogawa are moved to the extended family tomb at Itoman, or in a ceremony honoring a death anniversary. Few Okinawans became priests. This priest is a native of Japan, one of the few remaining Japanese priests in the island. At eleven, he entered a Buddhist temple (tera) and has been engaged in religious activity ever since. Now about 50, he has a wife and two children; his head is unshaved and the hair is of a conventional cut. He does not depend on the priesthood for a living, but is employed as an official in a village office.

The situation with regard to Buddhism was quite similar in Hatsuda, although there is no priest in the vicinity. There is little doubt, if the villages studied are typical, that this already moribund religion is disappearing altogether here, choked off by lack of temples, lack of priests, and by indifference.

It is not so with household Buddhism, if this term may be used to describe ceremonies and beliefs centering around the Buddhist god shelf or family altar (butsudan). This household altar is in the second room of every home. Around it collect the sentimental memories of the past, such as family pictures, photographs of young soldiers and dearly loved relatives. Prayers and offerings of food and drink to the dead are made before it.

An important part of the Buddhist altar is a frame holding the memorial tablets for the family dead. These tablets (ihai) are pieces

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

4

Ancestor Worship

"Ancestor worship" has been used to describe the devotion to the spirit of the dead and the long continued remembrance of them by the living. While it is too deeply intrenched to be changed, the term is not satisfactory. It is really the worship of those who precede one in death, and these may be ascendants or descendants. The term, "ancestor worship," also conceals the fact that there is a partnership of the living and the dead, which, continued by the living generation in the production of children, will carry over in the future, so that family continuity from the remote past to the remote future is never broken. It is, in the phrase of John Hubbard, "a chain of worship,"[2] not merely the worship of the past and of the dead. But whether in the popular mind these two conceptions, worship of the dead and the family as a continuity, are closely and consciously related is impossible for me to say. The two ideas exist side by side on the level of feeling: to respect one's ancestors and to have children. 769 602

Another form of ancestor worship occurs in observances honoring the first ancestor or the founder of the village. Each village has a place of the guardian god (ujigami), located on the supposed site where the founder of the village first settled, which perpetuates the memory of the founder, who may, in some cases, also be the first ancestor of a family living in the village. (It has been suggested that the ujigami also might be related historically to the fire deity). Ceremonies at the place of the village guardian god have a public character and were often conducted by the priestesses. 776 778 [793]

Hanashiro. The place of the guardian god, a small building, is located on a plot of village owned land, off the main road at the edge of the settlement where the cultivated land begins. It is not well kept up. There is no attendant or caretaker. When necessary, it is reconstructed by volunteer village effort. Broken stone stairs lead up to the small tile roofed building. Inside, there are 5 stones, about 10 inches on the side and 4 inches thick. Some have thought these also represent the primitive hearth stones associated with worship of the fire god. One villager described it as a woman's deity place. Before the war, emigrants to the South Seas, South America, Manchuria, or Japan and their relatives prayed here for the good health and early return of those departing. [346] [358] [167]

Now there is public worship at the place on several occasions during the year. On the 3rd day of the 3rd month, a woman's holiday, women and children go to the seashore around Minatogawa, and, on returning, pray at the place of the guardian god. On O-Bon, the village lion appears in front of this site. There is samisen playing and the whole village offers a prayer. (Not all villages have the lion costume. 778 796 [536] [825]

2 Quoted in L. Cranmer-Byng, The vision of Asia, New York, 1933, 42.

778 One person in front fills in the head and forelegs, another in back
796 provides the rear and hindlegs. The lion, with its human mechanism,
536 is a common sight at festivals and parades. It is a symbol of health
825 and strength worthy of imitation). In the Festival of the Full Moon, during the autumnal equinox, the lion appears again and the whole village participates in prayers before the festivities begin.

778 On the 1st and 15th of each lunar month, the headman goes to the
796 place of the guardian god and makes an offering of tea, burns a charcoal
[764] stick, and says a prayer. On the 9th day of the 9th lunar month, the
[825] village council and the elders assemble before the village burial palanquin (gan), offer prayer at the founder's site and then before the village office where the lion is standing.

Minatogawa. This village has three deity places and various explanations are given for this. Some believe that two of them represent
778 sites of co-founders, a first son, and his younger brother, the second
776 son. The third site is vaguely known as a village god place. It is a small outdoor place of worship on the main village road, with a step and a shelf for charcoal sticks. The founders' sites are located in the center of the settled area, but on different sides of the road. In the site of the second son, there are three stones, shaped like life savers but with a bottom for placing the charcoal sticks, three glasses for tea, and three bottles. The site of the supposed first son, less well kept, has a small altar, four stones, tea cups, and cans for the burning of incense.

778 On New Year and at O-Bon, the whole, or substantial portions, of
796 the village pray first at the supposed first son's site, then at the second son's. Prayers are offered also at the roadside deity place.
[782] Some of the younger villagers hope that as the older residents die off,
[358] the expenses of providing offerings and upkeep for all three can be eliminated and that simpler observances can take place at the roadside shrine. The situation now is complicated by the fact that many people regard themselves as descendants of one or the other co-founder.

778 Matsuda. In this village, the founder's site is reached by stairs
189 leading up a hillside. It is in the settled area near a dense growth
[093] of trees and shrubs. Close by there is a shed in which the lion skin is kept. In this village the founder's site seemed less important than another religious place, on the main road, in which women of lesser rank in the former priestess system participate in ceremonies. In this village there seems to be less participation by all the people of the village at the place of the guardian or founder deity, and, instead, representatives, like the headman, elders, and the former priestesses
[096] conduct the ceremonies at New Year, O-Bon, and at the equinoctial holidays.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Survivals of the Priestess (Noro) System

The origin of the priestess system has been traced to primitive fire or hearth worship. A woman was a priestess to the God of Fire (hi no kami) represented in the hearth stone. A set of three rather long stones sometimes set in a triangle often represented the hearth. (These stones in the place of the guardian gods of the village may have the same meaning. In the poorer kitchens, stones set in this manner for the hearth are common to this day). In every house there was a primitive hearth (kanaio). "Here, before this hearth, the ancestors of the household are worshipped, the Fire coming to summarize the ancestors who have sat before the hearth in past generations."[3] Each household of a village, each village, and each township had a hearth attendant. The priestess (noro) of the whole township "represents the original worship of the predominant hearth of that region." The duties of the rural priestesses included worshipping at the ancestral shrines, deciding the lucky days for planting, and officiating at marriage and burial ceremonies.

This priestess system was made an institutionalized state religion by King Shō Shin (1477-1526). Their political power was broken by Shō Jōkan, a prime minister of King Shō Tei (1669-1709). The most logical explanation offered for their fall from political power is the influence of Confucianism with its standards of male dominance and the subordination of women. By the end of the 17th century, its economic and political power were declining, but its influence on individual worship, especially, in rural Okinawa, lasted down to the beginning of the recent war.[4]

The priestess system had a place in inheritance customs of the old land tenure system. "Under the ancient system," said Spencer, "certain valuable farm lands were the possession of the Noro, the remainder of the land being held by the community and reassigned at various periods."[5] Inheritance within the system insured the handing down of these properties in the female line. This succession could be accomplished in a number of ways. The female child of the brother of a priestess might succeed her. This is believed to be the method of succession in ancient times. In later times, the noro married and succession was traced in the male line. The wife of a son of the priestess,

3 This material is based on the article of R. S. Spencer, Noro or Priestesses of Loo-Choo, as cited. The quotation is on p. 97.

4 Ibid, 98, 108.

5 Ibid, 109. The material following is to be found on p. 110.

793 or her granddaughter might succeed her. In earlier times, priestesses
423 were unmarried. But with private ownership in land the fields owned by
428 the priestess were divided according to the new laws and fell into possession of the priestess' family.

793 Spencer pointed out in his discussion of their status in 1931 that they still had considerable influence. There was one in practically every village, although they were losing out to the female fortune tellers (yuta).
[791] Spencer cited the case of the principal of the primary school at Itoman who could get controversial plans adopted readily if a priestess sponsored them. This was over 30 years after the abolition of the old allotment system, and their economic power had vanished. But they were important figures in festivals and holidays. Their private services included advice and prayer on journeys and business undertakings. This brief summary of their past history will make the discussion that follows clearer.

793 The Japanese discouraged the priestess system, regarding it as a
178 superstition. In the years immediately preceding the war, the priestesses seem to have prospered more in the northern district of Okinawa. By 1951, the noros were virtually forgotten, victims of a long decline, Japanese discouragement, the war, public indifference, and the conviction, among the young and middle aged people, that the priestesses taught only superstitions (meishin) like the fortune tellers and the soothsayers.

Hanashiro had a priestess before the war; when she died, there was no young female relative to replace her. Now there are none in Hanashiro, Nagamo, or Hinatogawa. Their failure to revive after the war is attributed by the villagers to the influence of education among the people. In Hatsuda, there are some last survivals of the system, but the Ginosa priestess has also died, and there was no one to replace her.

793 Before the war, the priestess (noro in Japanese, nuru in Okinawan) and her assistants conducted services in Hatsuda.[6] The priestess, who was then about 60, lived in Ginosa village, and was carried by two men on a palanquin (kago) from her village to Hatsuda. The high priestess and her assistants constituted a ten woman group. The first in rank after her lived in Ginosa, and the other eight in Hatsuda. These participants in the festivals and religious ceremonies were known as kannushi-san (Japanese) or kamichuyu (Okinawan). The priestess was assisted by a second woman, first in rank after the noro herself (uchigami in Okinawan), a third (nigami in Okinawan), and the fourth (yurashigami in Okinawan). The fifth to ninth women were learners and followers. They could be either young or old women. All ranks wore a simple garment, similar in cut to a kimono, made of white gauze-like material. For a head covering, a piece of the same material was wrapped around the head like a towel. Four men attended the priestess and her women assistants but only at public ceremonies.

6 The material which follows is based on information from a lady about 50, a resident of Hatsuda, who was a second ranking assistant (nigami) to the noro. She now operates a tiny store in Hatsuda.

The group sat in a circle. The priestess occupied the highest spot, her female assistants somewhat lower places, and the men, for once, in the lowest position. The priestess, her women and the male entourage held public worship on the 15th day of the 5th, the 15th and 16th day of the 6th, and the 10th day of the 8th lunar months. On these days there were prayers for good crops, for freedom from disasters and typhoon damage. On the 10th day of the 8th month, there were special prayers that neither diseases nor epidemics enter Hatsuda. These three periods may be rest days on which the villagers may assemble at the place where the prayers are being offered. Because there is no priestess, these ceremonies are now conducted by former assistants. The meetings are attended by fewer and fewer people and the ceremonies may disappear altogether. 793 796 [782]

6

Gods of the Fire, Wells, and Sacred Groves

There are also other forms of worship which still survive. These are (1) the god of fire (hi no kami), (2) spirits of the sea, of wells, springs, and groves, and (3) types of fortune telling which blend into religious belief. 776 [787]

Gods of the Fire. In every Okinawan kitchen, there is a place above the stove or hearth dedicated to the kitchen or the fire god. There is no image or personification of the god. Usually the place is a very small shelf on which charcoal sticks are burned for the god of the hearth. This is done by women exclusively. The women may light the sticks daily, but it is more usual for the housewife to perform the observance on the 1st and 15th of the lunar month. This was true of all the villages, and I have never seen a kitchen which lacked a place for the fire god.[7] 776 778 372 782 [562]

Gods of the Well (ido no kami). In Hanashiro, prayers are offered in front of the two public wells on lunar New Year. The whole village does not participate. Two or three older men from each extended family perform the rite. The gods of the well are told that the villagers need water; they are thanked for what they have had, and asked to continue to furnish a plentiful supply. 776 778 796

7 The Shinto god shelf (kamidana) is extremely rare. In my observation, it was present only in the homes of Okinawans who had lived in Japan. One in Hatsuda, located in the first room, had two shelves, on both of which a small urn for burning incense sticks was placed between two flower vases. The place on the left represents the founder, the one on the right, his immediate descendant. The family prays to the Shinto god on the 1st and 15th of the lunar month. The husband and wife pray first, followed by the children. A rice offering is placed on the shelf. On it there was a small figurine of the fox god (inari-san) and a mirror, both Shinto symbols. 177 189

trees of the sacred grove and used old beliefs to preserve the forests. Formerly it was believed that misfortune would come to him who cut a tree in groves sacred to these gods. If the trees were cut, the god would become angry, the person cutting the tree would be the victim of self-induced illness and by worrying about his deed, gradually would become ill, and perhaps die. These sacred groves, whose religious significance is now almost ignored, are arranged to enclose the village from three directions, with the open side on the south. On the north was the sacred grove in the back (ushiro no utaki) or the grove of the white gold mountain (kinpuku utaki in Okinawan). The mountain gods were supposed to live here. On the west was the grove in front (mae no utaki) on the white silver mountain. This was also known as the fire shrine. 789 78 185 778 823 [776]

The priestesses also had a hand in this worship of the mountain gods. There are about seven of these places of worship now, and there is still a voluntary caretaker, an old woman with tattooed hands, a family priestess (nigami) in the old system. Occasionally one sees an old woman going to a grove to pray. The only other visitors are the farmers who walk along the paths of the grove on their way to the fields. 778 793

7

Other Religious Observances

There are a few other observations which may have some interest. Old women use patches of grass or knotted rice straw to ward off the spirits on days when they are thought to be abroad in great numbers. At the festival of the autumnal equinox, knotted or braided grass (shiba) is placed in various parts of the house. In some houses, bunches are suspended from the cross beams, perhaps three or four bunches to the side. They may be placed in the toilet, at the entrance to the house compound, on the water barrel in the kitchen, on the front and back of fishing boats, or in the interior of the house. Blades of miscanthus grass may be tied around the neck of a bean paste jug (misogami). Spirits, plentiful at this time, are frightened away by the patches of grass and will not enter. The young, while not believing in this, acquiesce to avoid making the old angry. 789 824 [184]

When a death anniversary is being celebrated, there may be a blade of miscanthus, a rice straw, or a knotted blade of grass on the top of a box of candies or sweet meats to prevent the intrusion of evil spirits. A blade of grass (the san) is occasionally tied around the handle of a tea pot. For the first week after a family death, tea is served from a pot which has this blade of grass. But these are almost invariably the observances of the old and are only infrequently seen. These customs, observed in Hinatogawa, are said to survive among the very old in the other villages. [769] [776] [184]

In Matsuda, a rice rope (shimenawa) was observed at one home. The rice rope, a Shinto symbol, is not common in Okinawan culture. This [777] [184]

789 824 rope was hung across the entrance of the family compound two times a year, on the 9th day of the 8th month, and on the 8th day of the 12th month. Along the rope, there were knotted blades of grass, also the san plant. The purpose is to frighten away evil spirits and evil doers. One peculiarity of this twisted rice rope is that 283 it is made in a different manner from the ordinary rope. The usual rope is a twist made by rolling the fibre between the palms to the right or away from the body. In this special rope, the roll is reversed and is to the left or toward the body. It is difficult for a person already skilled in the regular method. This villager told of going to two noro [193] priestesses in the village of Yabu who specialized in teaching this method of making ropes. The husband and the wife received instruction, paying about Y40 for it because the wife believed in the efficacy of the practice. Each year at the proper times, the husband now makes the special rope himself.

787 791 184 Some fortune telling practices shade into religious beliefs, just as religious customs have also included soothsaying and divination. The noros and the Buddhist priests formerly practiced some fortune telling. There were no fortune tellers in any of the villages studied, but villagers occasionally consult them. Here, too, the patronage comes largely from the old and from the women. Younger people, if they know about them, regard these practices as superstitions unworthy of belief. The word meishin (superstition) is frequently heard among the young in describing customs and beliefs of the old. The sign of the fortune 791 teller (sanjinsō) is the Chinese character for three written three [212] times. These characters are said to signify the three states of existence, pre-natal, the present, and the afterlife, on all of which the fortune teller is well versed. Those in Hanashiro and Hinatogawa who wish to consult a fortune teller go to Itoman; those in Hatsuda go to Nago. The cost is usually from Y40-50 a visit. Typical reasons for a consultation with a fortune teller are: (1) to find out if an ill person will become well, (2) among the fishermen, to find out if the fishermen will return when an unexpected storm has arisen, (3) to discover if a present unhappiness has been caused by the evil deed of an ancestor and if this can be corrected, and (4) to find out the lucky days for such undertakings as marriages, building a house, or beginning new phases of construction.

782 774 Old women may utter a prayer on seeing a child fall, fearing that the child's spirit might escape because of surprise or fright. (This was observed in Hinatogawa).

778 In Hatsuda, there were shelves for burning charcoal sticks in some of the numerous caves in the area. The nature of the worship could not be ascertained, but they may be offerings to deities of the cave.

514 776 782 778 Worship and prayers in the toilet seem to have completely disappeared. There were no personified toilet gods. The toilet apparently was the place in which thanks were given that a place for excrement had been provided. In all the villages, it was said to be an old belief which has now died out. There was no shelf or special place of worship in the Toilet

Between 1875 and 1895, when the court life at the old capitol of Shuri was broken up under Japanese influence, many families of noble origin moved into the country to become farmers, and the village grew in size. These people settled mainly outside the central village in areas where land was available. One family moved into Taira proper, forming the third "main house." Although it still maintains feeble ceremonial connections with Shuri, it gave up its noble title shortly after coming north and moved its ancestral tomb to the community. The noble families who settled in the valleys and hills preserved their distinctive traditions until the end of World War II. Their noble descent was noted in the population register, and intermarriage with commoners was discouraged. 621 173 565 166 [177] 621 173

Except for these Shuri migrants, few outsiders seem to have settled in Taira prior to World War II. The residents on the southern part of the island, especially the residents of Naha and Shuri, consider northerners rustics. Although this part of the island was often used as a hiding place by political and criminal refugees from the south, who are said to have founded nearby villages, none of them made their home in Taira. [186] [287] [166]

The original settlers of Taira were reluctant to accept later arrivals in their midst. Because of the fear of spirits, foreign to the village, they prohibited the burial of the newcomer's dead near the tombs shared by the members of the "main houses." To this day the funeral urns of a family who came to Taira about 60 years ago and later intermarried with settled villages are kept in a cave, away from all other tombs. [176] [164]

Higashi township was established in 1922. The area had previously belonged to Kushi township to the south, but the great distances between villages and the mountainous character of the country made efficient administration very difficult. Furthermore, some Higashi inhabitants felt that because of temperamental differences and divergent interests they should separate from the southern township. Since 1922 contacts have been predominantly with Ogimi township to the northwest and the town of Nago, 16 miles away. Once the road connecting the two coastlines was completed in 1936, Taira's isolation decreased considerably and it became the administrative seat of Higashi township in 1946. 632 173 621 [628] [491]

Taira also became the home of the high priestess. In the period prior to direct Japanese administration, her office was under the jurisdiction of the Shuri court (Lebra, 1958), and her predecessors must have been appointed by the Okinawan kings. Taira may have been chosen as the seat of the high priestess in lieu of Kawata because Kawata lacks the good rice land which traditionally went to the high priestess by royal decree. Some of this rice land is still in the hands of the living priestess. 173 793 621

But actually no family is entirely self-sufficient, for each needs to purchase foodstuff as well as ready-made clothes, manufactured mostly in Japan, more substantial building materials, such as better grades of wood, tiles, and cement, tobacco, alcoholic beverages, sweets, toilet articles, some medical supplies, and other luxuries. Farmers buy their tools; students their books and writing materials. Finally, cash is needed to pay taxes. 433 438

In addition to the utilization of sugar, pineapple, firewood, and building materials for cash, Tairans also raise pigs for sale to slaughter houses, and some families derive an income from raising silkworms and producing tea. Fishermen sell fish inside and outside the village, and a small group of people are salaried workers or have an income from specialized services. [231]

Village leaders fear dependence on rapidly dwindling forest resources, still the main source of ready cash. They realize that the present modest living conditions of all families could be much improved if Tairans concentrated on increasing the cultivation of subsistence crops and farmed more intensively to raise cash crops. Most people lack this insight, however, and live on a day-to-day basis without much thought of the future. This is an island-wide problem which has the attention of central government agencies, and a great deal of educational propaganda comes to the village through government channels. 433 241 [313] [185] [654]

AGRICULTURE

The productivity of the land varies not only with its quality but also with the industriousness of the owners. Farmers who show foresight, those who seem to be under less pressure for immediate cash, take off more time from forest work to cultivate fields during planting season. The village headman and council members remind everybody during village meetings and informal discussions that work in the fields should not be neglected. With the approval of the whole community, the first and 15th of each lunar month have been set aside for farming. On these two days it is forbidden to go to the forests to cut wood. Such agreements are usually observed (as a rule), and they help to achieve their purpose but are not completely effective. 241 185 [433] [623] [313]

Rice is planted and harvested twice a year. The first rice is prepared in January when seeds are put into special beds where they are left to grow into young shoots until March. Until about 30 years ago it was said that all people seeded rice on the same day while prayers were 243 [782] [793]

243 offered at the village shrine by the priestess. Today key agricultural
[782] events are still marked by small ceremonies in which the priestess be-
[793] seeches or thanks the gods, but the actual day for planting is determined by weather and the condition of seed.

When the rice is transplanted in March, the whole family spends long hours in the paddy. Then the paddies swarm with people; some prepare the soil by spreading fertilizer, others stand in the ooze to set
[476] the seedlings. Transplanting is done by mutual assistance groups, which will be discussed later in this chapter. They guarantee everyone a sufficient number of helping hands during the painstaking, rapid work, which has to be finished within a limited time. In a few days the whole paddy area suddenly turns from brown into the tender green of the young shoots. Once planted, intermittent weeding is all the care that is needed.

[261] In July the rice turns brown and is ready for harvest. This is an event of joy for the whole village, for young rice is most delicious and
[857] loved by everyone. By then vacations have started, so that schoolchildren can help to cut rice and carry bundles to the spot where it is threshed in treadle-type machines, located either near the field or behind one's house. As soon as the rice is threshed, the grain is carried to a place in the village where the wind blows freely. There a woman holds a flat winnowing basket filled with grain at an angle to let the
[782] breeze separate the chaff from the grain. The first rice is cut by men
[264] and offered at the family shrine before the whole family eats a specially
[251] prepared gruel. Rice is usually stored in one or two oil drums in the kitchen-side corner of the front room. Better houses have a metal-lined
[256] storeroom. Once a week a supply is taken to the miller to be hulled and polished.

Those whose fields are sufficiently wet plant a second crop, and the cycle is repeated once more in midsummer, with the second harvest falling in late December.

244 Sweet potatoes can be planted throughout the greater part of the year if the soil is not too dry. They take from five to seven months to
[262] grow to full size. Although less popular than rice, no part of the plant
[231] is wasted. The large tubers are consumed, the small ones are usually fed to the pigs; the young leaves are used as vegetables, the older ones cooked into pig food. Slips are cut and used for planting a new crop.

The preferred variety of potato (*tadushi imu*) is grown in the dry paddies during the second rice season. To plant this potato, the soil must be piled up to form a long, narrow, flat-topped mound. One of the hardest jobs for farmers, this is done by men in the humid heat of a midsummer day. Women set the slips after the earth has been moved.
[251] These potatoes are the only variety which are thought to improve with

director with assistants and clerks. The clerks are always young people 463
just out of school who receive nominal wages in return for a seven-day 466
work week. The township office employs as janitor a girl who keeps
the office in order, serves tea at any time during the day, washes dishes, [647]
and helps to cook meals for entertaining. Her family owns one of the largest houses in the central village and more land than most others. No social stigma is attached to her job; in fact, most Taira girls would consider it a privilege to exchange their mountain work for her kind of employment even though they would earn no more. Another girl, employed by the local "doctor" as nurse and maid, lives with the family, eats with them, and sleeps with their children. Only one farmer employs a hired hand, a man from another township.

Among others living on a salary is the postmaster. His father held 463
the same office, and his son is now trained to succeed him as the third [205]
in line. The rice miller, a man from outside the village and married to [759]
a Taira woman, and the "doctor" also depend for most of their in- [657]
comes on specialized services. The latter owns his dispensary and small
hospital. He receives some financial support from the township gov- [465]
ernment. His services to people are compensated for either in cash or
kind. Patients who are unable to pay at once will bring rice to his [556]
house after the harvest. These remunerations, pig raising, and other
side activities make him, along with the rice miller and the postmaster, [875]
the wealthiest person in Taira. Local male school teachers also own
fields, to which they give time in the afternoons and Sundays to help
their wives.

The priestess and her assistants, although they are religious spe- 463
cialists, are not paid in money for their services. They participate in 793
daily work like the rest of the village. Only when performing services 465
outside the community is the priestess paid a small fee. Within the
village she receives the food and sake which are offered in the cere- [782]
mony, whether she is called by a family or prays at the village shrine on a general holiday.

DIVISION OF LABOR BY SEX AND AGE

Men and women are equal partners in everyday economic activities, 462
both in agricultural and forest work. Only a few occupations are clearly differentiated by sex: fishing, the handling of horses, and the carrying of night soil are done exclusively by males; housework and the care and feeding of pigs predominantly by women. Some agricultural work [241]
is considered too heavy for women, for example, the turning of the

like "owners" of the concrete objects which they inhabit. These objects can be made subservient to human needs if care is taken not to offend the deities. As long as proper ritual observances are performed, humans need not fear their hostility. They are addressed in prayers and chants, and people make offerings to them at several ceremonies during the year. No one in Taira, including the priestess, has any exact knowledge about their characteristics, and there is no theological dogma, but people know that when building a house, for example, one must announce his intention to the deities and pacify these spirits who have been carried with the lumber from the mountains or with gravel from the beach and the sea. They must be thanked for letting the builder use such materials and sent back to their natural abode. Before the house is finished, the surrounding plot of land must be cleared of all evil spirits. Neglect of such ceremonies can turn supernatural beings into adversaries. One family who neglected proper rituals on their house lot when they built their home tried to appease angry deities by holding a ceremony a year after the house was finished because bad luck had befallen members of the household. Although most supernatural beings can be pacified by proper observance of rituals, there are some who are inherently malevolent. These ogres may be seen in the form of fire balls or in some other shape or physical appearance.

The worship of these nature deities and the observance of ceremonies in their behalf are in the hands of the high priestess and her female assistants. In former times each main house, later each village, had its own priestess. The present high priestess in Taira derives her office from a much later institution, a nation-wide hierarchy of religious officials established by the Okinawan king in an effort to combine religion with political influence and supervision in the villages. Today the high priestess has no association with the central government; the Japanese abolished the system. The hierarchy of female religious officials (see Lebra: 1958), those representing main houses, and the chief village priestess is no longer clearly delineated in Taira, since representatives of several offices have left the island or died, and the vacancies have not been filled. The high priestess has taken over most of the religious functions. Her chief assistants are older women from the two main houses. While these three women officiate, several other women are in attendance as helpers. In spite of the diminishing role of animistic religion in the daily life of younger people, the high priestess still enjoys prestige in the community. She is exempted from communal labor in recognition of her status.

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796 One of the most dramatic ceremonies is held on Boat Race Day in 793 lunar June. Priestesses from several villages gather near Taira. During the ceremony the Taira priestess stands in the middle of a circle formed by the other priestesses and helpers, beating a drum as the

women chant. The tempo becomes more and more frenzied, and at a certain moment a bell rings. Nobody knows who rings it, and no amount of questioning elicited any information other than that this was done by divine action. 796 793

Ancestral worship is equally important in the life of Taira people. Each house of an oldest son has a shelf with a shrine in the main living room. On this shelf the family keeps the ancestral tablets, each representing a deceased ancestor of a recent period. The tablets for whole family lines are kept on the shelves of the main houses. Through this system a family maintains continuity between the living and the dead. Although a deceased person is believed to become a buddha or a god who ascends to heaven, his presence is still felt by the living relatives. If they fail to make the required offerings on the first and fifteenth day of each lunar month, or otherwise neglect religious duties toward the ancestor, misfortune may come to the family. At the same time, the worship of common ancestors holds branches of the larger kin groups together. 769 592 [778] [775] [782] [613]

No village adult died during our stay, but the funeral practices for adults described by Glacken (1955) and Pitts et al. (1955) for other villages in Okinawa are similar. Seven years is the age limit for a child burial, which is simple and does not require attendance of people other than immediate relatives and perhaps one or two neighbors.* During the study an 8-year-old boy died from an illness and was given a full funeral, which is similar to that of adults. 764 766

The funeral must take place at the first outgoing tide after the body has been prepared and dressed. Accompanied by family, residents of the ward, and mourners from other parts of the village whose number depends on the prominence of the dead, the body is carried on a simple, open litter to the tomb area just west of the central village (see map 2). Women feel free to show their emotions, while men remain outwardly calm. Until decomposition takes place, the body remains in a tomb used by the whole village for temporary entombment. Like other village ceremonies, funerals are less elaborate now than they once were, perhaps to the relief of all concerned, since death is highly anxiety provoking, and nobody feels comfortable during the prayers and the ritual farewell to the corpse at the tomb. The participants receive a cup of sake before leaving the tomb area to cleanse them of the pollution of death. Some people still prefer to return to the village by a different route so that the spirit of the dead person will be fooled and unable to follow. 764 [152] [154] [783] [784]

* The reason for this is possibly that the younger child has not yet fulfilled his filial obligations.

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the result of consultation with another religious practitioner to whom [756]
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* See Chapter 9 for description of the *yuta* or shaman.

757 frequently and may be repeated as many as four times during the
[854] first year of a child's life. An older child occasionally undergoes this
[164] treatment for a case of violent impetigo. Even a horse may be bled in
this way for loss of appetite or other symptoms of disease.

[232] A woman whose face had been struck in an unusual display of temper
[578] underwent a blood letting soon after a swelling appeared. Her neighbor from across the street, a farmer like everyone else, sterilized her cheek with iodine and then cut it with a razor until the blood flowed freely. After a night's rest, the woman appeared outside her house without any signs of swelling and seemingly recovered.

753 As was pointed out previously, many diseases are believed to be
776 caused by supernatural forces: the ancestor spirits, spirits of those who
769 have just died, and natural deities and evil spirits who wander around
775 at night. The ancestors expect proper respect and attention and in gen-
[764] eral are benevolent unless neglected. Spirits of those who have recently died are most dangerous if the deceased is from another village. For deceased villagers one is careful to purify oneself after the funeral. The doors of each house are shut at night to protect against the evil spirits of the night air. Disease is less frequently caused by natural deities who have been neglected or mistreated.

755 In case of sickness or other unfortunate events in the family, some-
756 body may go to consult the *yuta,* a shaman who communicates with
[787] the supernatural. She discovers the cause of misfortune with the help of rice oracles and through powers of divination received through visions and hallucinations. There is no *yuta* living in Taira now, so that people have to travel to the other side of the island, an hour or more on foot, if they want to learn about the source of some evil. Taira
[769] people make many such trips to consult this shamanistic specialist. The most common cause of misfortune discovered by the *yuta* is neglect of ceremonies to the ancestral gods or, less frequently, the neglect of cere-
[793] monies to the natural deities. Although the *yuta* stands in no direct connection with the high priestess, she may suggest that her client ask the priestess for special prayers to rectify the negligence. In such cases, then, the competence of individuals in the family may not be adequate to deal with the ancestral world, and the priestess enters into family religion.

597 Some Taira parents still find an adoptive parent for a sickly child in
755 the belief that his own ancestors have caused bad health, and that this
769 can only be remedied by making a formal arrangement which transfers
[796] ancestral responsibility for the child to another family. The child remains with his own parents and only visits his foster parents during the New Year and the midsummer Buddhist *Bon* Festival, which honors ancestors, and perhaps at one or two other occasions during the year.

the Year of the Horse, and so all persons born during any year of the Horse--- 868
1942, 1930, etc.---celebrated their "year day" on the first Day of the Horse 527
of the new year. Although theoretically all year days are important, in practice only those of old age are given much attention. These are the celebrations of the 61st, 73rd, 85th, and 97th years. The 88th and 90th may also be celebrated. The celebration of the year day of an old person is a matter of pride for the whole family; formal invitations are sent, and the guests are served food and drink requiring considerable expense on the part of the family.

Death After his death a person does not cease to be of any importance to 769
the family. On the contrary he takes on a new importance as a focal point for ceremonies and perhaps for feelings of anxiety.

Death is attributed to both natural and supernatural causes[1] with 761
natural causes probably barely in the majority. But there is also the vague notion that one's life span is predetermined.

Almost immediately after the death of a person, members of his family 756
usually consult a yuta to learn if there was any last request or information 763
that the deceased had wished to impart to his family. This might consist of an explanation of his death, a confession of some early misdeed, or last instructions to his heirs. While I was working at Yamada ar informant, an energetic, thoroughly likeable old lady, died suddenly. I learned later that her family immediately went to Yakena, some twelve miles away, a place famous for its many yuta. There they consulted a yuta and asked if there had been any message the old woman wanted to communicate. They were told that the old woman had been destined to die a year before but because she was such a good woman she had lived an extra year, during which she had accomplished everything she had intended to do---there was nothing to reveal. The family was relieved and comforted.

The Funeral Women may cry out immediately upon learning that a mem- 764
ber of the family has died. The body is laid in the second room of the house and flexed so that it may be more easily put into the coffin. If the death occurs in the morning the funeral may be held the afternoon of that day; if later in the day, the next afternoon. Offerings are placed before the body and when the funeral is not until the next day, relatives keep a wake over it.

The funeral itself consists of a ceremony at the home of the deceased, a procession to the tomb, and the placing of the coffin in the tomb. These steps may be more or less elaborate depending upon the means of the family. However, the local unit, the 'han' or the chinju, takes responsibility for some activities, making for uniformity. Member of the 'han' or chinju make two paper tablets with the name of the deceased written on them and make a large square wooden box for a coffin. On the afternoon of the funeral, the body is put into the coffin and a tray containing one of the paper tablets, offerings of fruit, and an incense burner is placed before it. If the de- [793]
ceased has requested it, a Buddhist priest may be called from one of the larger towns, but many country people do not call a priest, and indeed may never

[1] See Chapter IX.

764 have the occasion to talk with one. If a priest is called, he kneels before
• 793 the coffin, rings a bell, and recites from the sutras. His recitation is in
[77] a Japanized Sanskrit, which is probably wholly incomprehensible to all. After the recitation he burns incense before the coffin and the assembled relatives and friends do likewise. The coffin is then carried out of the house and put into the gang, a red palanquin that is village property in many villages. At this point all present pray. The procession to the tomb now begins. It is led by the bearer of a flag announcing the death, followed by the priest (if there is one), then the paper tablet carried by the heir of the deceased, who holds an umbrella over it. Then the family comes, then male relatives and neighbors, and then the gang containing the coffin, borne by four neighbors of the deceased. And finally come the female relatives and neighbors of the deceased. When the procession arrives at the enclosure before the tomb, the neighbors who have been bearing the gang set it down and relatives take the coffin out and carry it in before the tomb. Only relatives and the priest enter. While the women again weep aloud the coffin is put into the tomb and offerings are left before it. In returning, the women take a different route.

767 Formerly funeral processions were led by member of a special profes-
565 sion called nimbuchaa (from nimbuchi, J. 'nembutsu', a kind of Buddhist
[71] prayer for the dead). These persons formed a separate social class looked down upon by others, and lived in a few separate villages, rather like the Eta of Japanese society.

765 Bone-Washing and the Tomb After the body has been in the coffin a suitable length of time, usually about two years, the coffin is removed from the tomb, the body is removed from the coffin, which is destroyed, the remaining decayed flesh is then washed from the bones, and they are returned to the tomb.

764 In Northern Okinawa the tombs are relatively small and are usually the property of smaller kinship units, but in Southern Okinawa the tombs are larger and are usually the property of the larger kin groups, the munchu. In some instances several munchu share the same tomb. Even the smaller tombs are built with considerable expense; the larger ones cost the equivalent of several hundred dollars. Both the larger and the smaller tombs contain a floor at ground level upon which a coffin may be set and behind this a shelf or
[563] shelves upon which washed bones are placed. Families descended from the former gentry class place the washed bones into large urns. Commoners simply place the bones on the shelf and when the shelf is filled, push the older bones into a pit behind the shelf. If one death follows another so closely that there is a coffin with unwashed bones still in the tomb, the family, rather than reopen the tomb too soon, may choose to make a temporary tomb by walling a natural opening in the rocks. Or, as may happen in the case of the tombs belonging to the larger kin groups, if there is a body in the tomb with flesh sufficiently decayed for bone-washing, the family who suffered that loss may wash the bones at the same time that the family who has suffered the second loss is holding its funeral.

765 The bone-washing is an emotionally charged performance. Women usually wash the bones and do so with a great and apparently genuine display of grief.

582 178 average age at the time of marriage, investigation into the registries reveals that the range has narrowed somewhat. Formerly some girls married at thirteen and fourteen; today this would be considered rather unusual.

[177] The Japanese administration attempted to discourage endogamous marriage practices, particularly kin-group endogamy. All agreed that the practice has declined; yet in Kanegusuku nearly 50% of all marriages were within the kin group and 66% of all marriages were within the village. An analysis of these figures on an age basis indicates the practice is declining there.

833 178 833 Sex It is said that sexual standards have changed in that there is less sexual license among the young people and that they tend to have their first relations at a later age than formerly. This is attributed in part to the moral training of the schools. Another factor seems to be the general decline of several informal village institutions which permitted young people considerable sexual freedom. One informant stated that those who continue on to high school and university generally have their first experience at a later age than those who attend only junior high school.

642 177 641 Government The Japanese introduced a modern system of government, abolished the Okinawan aristocracy, and granted suffrage to all males of twenty-five or more years. The American Civil Administration has attempted to liberalize laws and to make possible a greater degree of self-government. [625] Police powers have been limited, universal suffrage has been introduced, and [666] the number of elected officials has been increased.

621 178 To date there has been little change within the village, where suffrage and office-holding remain limited to household heads. Villagers acknowledge that there is greater freedom for action at the local level today; yet they are not desirous of obtaining greater self-government. They feel that it would require too much of their time and that there is too little money available to finance its operation. Village leadership is virtually unchanged. Change where it has occurred has been initiated at a higher level.

632 178 At the township level the electorate has been broadened to include all persons, male and female, over twenty years of age. The mayor who was formerly appointed is now elected to office.

771 177 178 793 Religion There has been a general decline in the indigenous Okinawan religion, effected by Japanese policy, wartime attrition, and the spread of education. Formerly a hierarchy of priestesses extended from the kin group through the community and region to the person of the king's sister, the chief priestess. The Japanese removed the top echelons of this hierarchy, but the kin group and community priestesses continued to function. World War II resulted in the death of many religious functionaries, and as the office is usually hereditary within a specific family and often limited to a particular member of that family, there has often been no replacement for the office. Lastly there is an increasing tendency among the young people, due to the influence of the school, to regard religion as superstition.

796 178 Many villages, especially those without religious functionaries, have discontinued all village ceremonies, and in those few remarkable exceptions

the decades, as the branches grow into unilineal descent lines of their own, new "main" houses are formed. 613

Originally descriptive names were given to each household. These names indicated a "stem" family or one of its branches. The "Big East House," a reference to the lineage as well as to the homestead itself, probably split into several branches. These, the homes of younger sons, were known as "Little East House," or by a further derivative, "Behind Little East House." Sometimes the rank order of a younger son was used to name his house, such as "Second East House." This house order system is no longer in existence in Taira, but a few of the names are still in use to indicate houses, and individuals are frequently referred to as "the person of such and such a house," for instance, "the grandmother of the East House." *

Although every individual is aware of his membership in a "main house," these descent groups have little importance except in religious life and death ceremonies. Members of the same "main house" revere common male ancestors and share in the upkeep of a common tomb in which their remains are placed at death. Funerals and the veneration of deceased members of the "main house" bring the kin group together several times a year. Women, although entombed with their husbands, visit the "main house" of their father to pray before his ancestors' tablets and make offerings. If they were born in Taira, they may first take offerings of rice and sake to the shrine of their husband's paternal ancestors; then later in the day they prepare for a ceremony in their own "main house." 613 769

The descent group also functions in other religious contexts. The oldest woman of the main house acts as priestess for the lineage, and she or another older female may visit the sick and assist their relatives with prayers and practical help. Descent group affiliation does not affect such daily concerns as lending help to others in economic tasks, though some of the descendants of early Taira settlers seem to feel more obligation in this respect than members of the more recently arrived lineages. Lineage affiliation does not determine the choice of a marriage partner. However, although members of the same "main house" or lineage may marry each other provided they are not first cousins, such unions are rare. Marriage with maternal first cousins is also forbidden. 613 [794] [476] [582]

An individual also holds membership in other kin groups which have only a loose structure and few functions. These are the relatives 602 [476]

* Individual surnames among commoners are of recent date, introduced after the Japanese assumed administrative control and required their adoption to establish a population registry. Family names had been in use among the Shuri gentry. 551 177 217

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542 Adult Responsibility For women responsibilities come early. Mothers
[357] give their daughters tasks while their sons play. At marriage a woman enters her husband's household and immediately assumes adult burdens that she may
[887] not put down until old age. As a grandmother she may still care for grandchildren while her husband has left most of his responsibilities to his sons. She may acquire ritual responsibilities toward her husband's family which can only increase with time.

For a man responsibilities come gradually. Childhood is a time for
[857] play---except for the future scholar, or in cases of extreme poverty. Youth is a time when responsibilities may be postponed---except where an oldest son has been orphaned. Even after marriage a young man, though he may have to work hard, is not expected to remain sober and stay home nights. The peak of a man's responsibility comes with full maturity, when he has sons himself and when his father is beginning to age. This peak may rise to greater heights than that of his wife and his labor may be harder and make greater demands on
[887] his strength and health. But again in old age he may put his burden down and he is expected to seek those pleasures that he can still enjoy.

542 Women's lives may be duller but they are generally longer. And in old
888 age a woman has the compensation of greater freedom than she has ever had before. Old women often speak with a frankness that is embarrassing to young people of either sex. Old women are also the repositories of knowledge of the ancestors and of the supernatural and thus become greatly respected and
[794] influential. Both the religious functionaries (kaminchu) of the kinship group
[857] and the seeresses or mediums (yuta) consulted on numerous occasions are usually women. An old man, unless he is a scholar or a diviner (sanjinsoo) has less chance of attaining fame.

But old men, as well as old women, may become tyrants. One Yamada family consisted of an old couple and their three grandchildren, the oldest a boy of twenty. This boy was registered as the head of the family, while the old man, according to the register, had retired; but when the boy had the opportunity to make a little money, which he needed for clothes, the old man took it for tobacco. On the other hand he permitted the youths of the neighborhood to hold parties in his house---hoping, one suspects, to help consume the refreshments---something a middle-aged parent might not have tolerated.

888 Formal Recognition of Old Age A man may officially retire , that is,
he may transfer house headship in the register to a son or grandson, but as I have just indicated this may not prevent him from actually holding the family
888 purse strings. For the community formal recognition of old age comes with the
527 celebration of "year days" (tushibii). These are held on the anniversaries of the "birth year" of an old person. A person's birth year is the year, in the cycle of twelve, in which he was born. Since the reckoning of age is a matter of counting the years during which one has lived, the year of birth counts as one and so when the cycle of twelve has passed once and the year is again the birth year, a person's years are thirteen. Each time a person's birth year recurs it marks a significant point in his life. These recurrences are celebrated not on the anniversary of the day of birth but on the first day of the cycle that corresponds to the year, after Lunar New Year's. Thus 1954 was

769 of the child; the child prays several times a year, on the important occa-
753 sions, at the ancestral tablets of the adopted parent, but otherwise lives as before. The rationale of this practice may be: if one set of ancestors is not sufficient for the child, why not give him another?

753 Also related to the concept ugwambusuku is the notion that certain
828 persons are destined to do more than just make offerings; some are to become kaminchu, "god persons", and play the principal roles at the family worship
794 at the important holidays. If these persons shirk this duty they may become ill as a consequence. In certain persons, particularly older women, persistent illness and especially mental illness may be interpreted as a sure sign that the afflicted person ought to become a kaminchu. There is one well-recognized type of mental illness called 'kami-buri'; the person with this disorder constantly makes the gestures of prayer toward various persons and objects in an extravagant manner. Such a person is almost sure to become a religious practitioner after recovery. In fact some kaminchu positions must
[756] be filled by persons who have had 'kami-buri'. The yuta may also receive his, or more often her, vocation through such an illness. (Recently a visiting psychiatrist commented on the low number of cases at the Kin mental hospital. There are of course many cases that are not committed to the institution because Okinawan society has a place for them; they become its psychiatrists.)

Other concepts of disease will be discussed in the next section.

4. Medical Practice

755 **Home Remedies** There are a number of home remedies that are known to many
757 persons, especially older women. These include the use of certain herbs, the letting of blood, the use of salt, prayer, swearing for exorcism, spells. These methods of treatment may be used by any old woman to the extent of her knowledge, but if the illness appears to be too serious for these treatments a professional medical practitioner may be consulted. However, the distinction between the professional person and the skilled amateur is not always clear.

757 Herbs are used for digestive disorders and particularly for female
824 disorders. Tawada in his description of Okinawan flora[1] lists ten plants used for medicinal purposes, nine of which are said to be useful to female disorders along with a variety of other things ranging from toothaches to appendicitis.

757 Blood-letting is practiced on most infants as a cure for skin eruptions and is sometimes also used on adults. Shallow incisions are made with a razor to let out the "bad blood". These are made on a baby's buttocks and sometimes, though less frequently at the present time than in the past, on the face of an adult.

755 Salt is used for purification. A yuta whom I saw exorcise a house and yard took salt into his mouth and then spit it and threw it in the

[1] Tawada, 1951.

756 The Yuta The yuta has been mentioned several times already as a dealer in
787 the supernatural, a sort of shaman. She is usually a woman,
though not always so, and usually an older person. In the minds of some
[794] she is confused with the kaminchu ("god person"), but the two are probably quite distinct. A kaminchu is a person, also usually a woman, who officiates at the family worship or assists the nuru in village worship on the important holidays. The yuta on the other hand is a person whose services may be sought on any occasion for individual problems. Her methods are divination, prayer, and possession. She may be called upon to determine the cause of an illness. She may do so by divining with grains of rice. She asks a question and then takes a pinch of grains and separates them out into pairs. If there is none left over the question is answered in the affirmative; if there is one left over it is in the negative. Or she may pray and then wait for the inspiration of some supernatural being. If the cause of the illness is determined to be an ugwanbusuku, as it often is, then she may reveal what ancestor or god it is who has not received sufficient worship. If she is consulted after the death of a relative to learn if there was any last wish to communicate, she may function as a medium, letting the dead person speak with her mouth. She may be consulted merely to learn about the character and future of an individual. In this case and perhaps in most she asks for the saa (the birth year) of the person in question, but uses no other astrological data.

791 The Sanjinsoo The most respected type of diviner is the person called sanjinsoo (possibly from his sign board, which resembles the character 'three' written three times) or suumuchi ("book person") in Okinawan or 'ekisha' in Japanese. This person is always a man, usually
[79] dignified and scholarly in appearance. He regards himself as a scholar, perhaps even as a scientist; he is a student of 'ekigaku', the "study of changes", a theory of the workings of the universe that goes back to the I Ching, the Book of Changes, a Chinese work that was old at the time of Confucius. The sanjinsoo is consulted after New Year's to obtain advice for the new year and before important undertakings, such as house-building, tomb building, marriage, bone-washing. Illness may also be a reason for consulting him but is of less importance. The method of the sanjinsoo con-
[787] sists of drawing one from a number of thin sticks, looking up the mark on it in his book or books, and then calculating this against a horoscope derived from the birth year of the person about whom information is requested. For the literate person he will write out a list of good months and bad months, things to be avoided and things which may bring good fortune.

Although the sanjinsoo deals with a pseudo-science, he may also admit that the gods may influence men's lives. A sanjinsoo whom I consulted as an experiment spoke at length about the importance of the gods and prayed before beginning his work, but the greater part of the time he spent looking up signs in his books, of which he had an impressive number. Some sanjinsoo are said to function also nearly in the same manner as yuta.

Sanjinsoo flourish in the larger towns and cities but are probably rare in country villages. Country people consult them on the occasions mentioned above but probably not as frequently as they consult the yuta, who are found in many, perhaps most villages.

The only Buddhist priest in the areas studied was at the small village of Maegawa, within walking distance of Hinatogawa and Hanashiro. He was a priest of the Jōdo sect (Jōdoshu), one of the important sects of Japan, and stressing salvation by faith. The sect of the priest in this village is of no importance, since the rural people now or before the war had neither the interest nor the capacity for doctrinal distinctions. The temples of this sect were burned during the war, including one in the village of Kochinda, a junction point between Maha and Gushichan. 793 [795] 346 727

Before the war the colors of the robes varied with the sect and with the position of the priest in the hierarchy. In the Jōdo sect, the lowest grade wore black, followed up the scale by orange, blue or green, a chocolate reddish brown, and purple, the highest. This contrasts sharply with the priest's present improvisations. His is the black robe of the Shinshu sect. It is a summer garment, made of soft light silk called shiya and resembles a man's kimono, but is longer and sweeps the floor. The garment hangs straight down and is not gathered or tucked. The only other religious possessions were a bell and a badly soiled print of the Buddha (oshaku) which hung in his room. 793 795 292 [778]

Before the war, some people in the Gushichan area requested the services of a priest at funerals. After the war, the people of Hanashiro, and other villages as well, decided because of the expense, to forego the services of a priest. 793

Occasionally this priest officiates when the bones in the temporary tombs of Hinatogawa are moved to the extended family tomb at Itoman, or in a ceremony honoring a death anniversary. Few Okinawans became priests. This priest is a native of Japan, one of the few remaining Japanese priests in the island. At eleven, he entered a Buddhist temple (tera) and has been engaged in religious activity ever since. Now about 50, he has a wife and two children; his head is unshaved and the hair is of a conventional cut. He does not depend on the priesthood for a living, but is employed as an official in a village office. [797]

The situation with regard to Buddhism was quite similar in Hatsuda, although there is no priest in the vicinity. There is little doubt, if the villages studied are typical, that this already moribund religion is disappearing altogether here, choked off by lack of temples, lack of priests, and by indifference. 771 178

It is not so with household Buddhism, if this term may be used to describe ceremonies and beliefs centering around the Buddhist god shelf or family altar (butsudan). This household altar is in the second room of every home. Around it collect the sentimental memories of the past, such as family pictures, photographs of young soldiers and dearly loved relatives. Prayers and offerings of food and drink to the dead are made before it. 771 778 183

An important part of the Buddhist altar is a frame holding the memorial tablets for the family dead. These tablets (ihai) are pieces 778 769

40% of the proceeds. The trees thus sold are all cut down. After clearcutting, the area is left to natural reseeding. About twenty years hence, the clearing will again be sufficiently forested to permit repetition of the same procedure. This follows an established Japanese pre-war practice. This was known as the five year period share (gonenkanbun). The forest is divided into subdivisions, each 110 chō in area. (A chō is 2.45 acres). These 110 chō plots are in turn subdivided into five parcels of twenty-two chō each. Each year one of these five subdivisions may be cleared. 313 [804]

Throughout the forest, divided up into these plots, there may be a five year cycle of cutting, but not all the plots are available every year. If this were so, the forest could be cut over in five years. The system is planned so that there will always be parcels being cleared, those in various stages of regrowth, and mature stands. During and after the war, this practice broke down in favor of uncontrolled cutting.

If a family has little cash, a villager may pay his taxes in part by cutting wood. The village office pays Y4 for a bundle of firewood (late 1951), Y2 going to the villager as a cash payment, and Y2 being applied to his taxes for the year. [651]

The farmer makes frequent excursions to the mountains to obtain firewood or poles to make improvements in the compound, such as repairing a tool or food shed. Men do this work, especially when the distances are far, but the participation of women is by no means exceptional. Along the roads of northern Okinawa, one can frequently see old women walking down from the mountains carrying bundles of firewood on heavy poles. Much of the wood is hand carried from the mountains; if the farmer has a horse and cart or a truck, the wood is carried to a convenient road for loading and transport. [462] [482] [887] [494]

Charcoal is manufactured in the forest area. In Okinawa charcoal has many uses, mainly for heating and cooking, and for charcoal sticks (senko). Lumps of charcoal are placed in braziers and the sticks are used as touchwood in place of matches and in ceremonial and religious observances. Charcoal containers (tangu) are often constructed on the spot. These are round or box-shaped and made out of the dwarf bamboo. 314 [372] [996] [915]

Charcoal kilns are privately owned. They are of the simplest sort. The kiln may be covered with a rude housing, built up by poles and a thatch roof. A mound of large boulders and dirt is built with an opening on the dirt floor running the length of the firing area. Poles which have been stripped and cut in various lengths, from five to nine feet, are shoved in the opening and moved forward as they burn. The smoke comes out the back.

Forest maintenance and improvement is, in part, a result of community endeavor. With some exceptions, each person in the village from 16 to 60 participates one day a year in forest improvement (sōrin).[8] The participants are boys past school age, unmarried girls, and all men up to the age of 60. These people work without personal remunera- 313 [996]

[8] The usual meaning of sōrin is afforestation or reforestation. In Matsuda it is used in the sense of care and improvement of the forest.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

By the 7th day, the reminders of New Year have been cleared away. The old offerings are taken from the god shelf and replaced by new food. The rice straw rope, if any, has been removed. 527

Of all the holidays New Year is the most eagerly anticipated and the most varied in its activities. It combines ideas of renewal and new beginnings with worship of the dead and of the founders of the village, as well as being a means of making closer ties with more distant relatives of the extended family. It is a time of work and some pleasure for the women, a time of relaxation and drinking for the men.

2

Jūrokunichi

The second public holiday, Jūrokunichi (literally 16th day) is on the 16th day of the 1st lunar month (February 21, 1951). This is a holiday of devotion and prayer at the family tomb. Worshippers go singly or in a group. The tomb is cleaned and food is left for the dead. 769 [796]

In Hanashiro, food is taken in two lacquer boxes (jūbako) the first of which contains rice cakes, the second, fritters, meat, bean curd, and other food depending on the resources of the family. For the first observance after death, two boxes are taken on this holiday. On succeeding anniversaries only the box containing the fritters, meat, bean curd and other foods is taken.[1] The purpose of this offering is to comfort the dead. The food, usually with tea and sake, is left before the tomb for about two hours and taken home, where it is eaten. (Offerings at tombs or at home are only temporary; later they are removed and eaten as ordinary food). The lacquer boxes may also be taken on New Year, at the spring equinox, and at O-Bon. [262] [415]

In Minatogawa, descendants of the former nobility or gentry (shizoku) take four boxes, two of rice cakes, two of the miscellaneous foods, while descendants of commoners take two boxes, one of the rice cakes, and one of the assortment. Every year the same offering is made. It is not reduced to one box after the first. In Hatsuda, any kind of a flower is placed by the tomb. A lacquer box with food is prepared for all who died during the preceding year, but it remains on the god shelf in the house and is not taken to the tomb. The contents of the two boxes are as previously described. On succeeding anniversaries after the first, plates instead of lacquer boxes are used. [565] [262]

1 The idea behind this is not clear. Possibly in the first year the dead person requires more food and comfort than in succeeding ones. As they do with so many other practices, most Okinawans explain it by saying that it is shūkan (the custom).

Celebrations Through the Festival of the Fifth Month

796 The 15th day of the second lunar month (March 22, 1951) is the Buddhist holiday, higan, celebrating the spring equinox. Here it is a home festival of thanksgiving. Barley (ōmugi) or barley cakes [262] with brown sugar are offered with prayers for continued good fortune. Other grains, such as rice, millet (awa) may be offered, though the cakes (mugimochi) are of barley. In Hatsuda, this is not a home ceremony. An offering of white rice cakes is made by the village [193] head man, with the assistance of lower orders of the former priestess system, at the site of the village patron deity.

527 The third day of the third month is the festival of the dolls, (hinamatsuri). It is not important in Okinawa and is spottily ob- [524] served. In Hinatogawa, it is a woman's holiday. Women and children [562] make dolls. Gifts of dainties and candies in red lacquer boxes are prepared. People from nearby villages come to Hinatogawa, bring their lunches, and gather shells and catch fish.

The fifth day of the fifth month is Boy's Day. This Japanese holiday is not significant in the villages. There may be banners with a picture of a carp (koi no bori) displayed, visits to the place of the patron deity, some visiting and sanisen playing, and perhaps a play.

527 The 14th day of the 5th month (June 18, 1951) is the festival 526 of the Gods of the Sea and is observed only in Hinatogawa. It is this village's greatest celebration. The boat race, held on this day, attracts many from the interior villages. In Hanashiro, most activity ceases while everyone goes to the boat races. Before the [778] races, the villagers go to the religious sites to make small offerings [782] and to pray. The races are held in the estuary of the river. In their excitement, children with infants on their back often wade out in the water to cheer their favorite boat.

796 The Festival of the Fifth Month (Gogatsumatsuri) is held on the 15th day of the 5th lunar month (June 19, 1951). Like the festival of the spring equinox, it is a day of thanksgiving. Thanks are given for rice [193] instead of for barley. In Hatsuda, the ceremony is conducted by the village head man and former members of the priestess system.[2]

2 According to a Hatsuda informant, women should not sew on this [714] day. It is a rest day. If work is done, including gathering [825] plants for fertilizer, the dreaded poisonous snake, the habu, will come. These customs were not encountered in the other villages.

4

O-Bon

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The festival of O-Bon takes place on the 15th and 16th of the 7th lunar month (August 17-18, 1951), or from the 13th to the 16th, if preliminary preparations are included.[3] This very important holiday lacks the variety of themes which appear in the celebration of New Year. O-Bon is a festival to entice the spirits of the dead to their earthly home, and then, what is just as important, to induce them, after their visit, to return to the other world. O-Bon is an occasion for extended family reunions.

Generally on the 7th day of the month, about a week before O-Bon, the family or representatives of the family visit the tombs, take an offering of sake, and clean up around the tomb. At this time, the dead are asked to come back on O-Bon. This is the tanabata matsuri.[4]

On the evening of the 13th, two candles are placed within the compound entrance to guide the spirits back. This act of welcome is known as unke or omukaebi.

In Hanashiro, on the 15th there are prayers and offerings to the dead. Candles are then relit at the compound entrance and the spirits beseeched to return to the afterworld (ukui in Okinawan, okuribi in Japanese, meaning sending back). This may also be done on the 16th. Members gather at the home of the head of the house of the main family. The 16th is passed in rest and recreation. In Minatogawa, observing the holiday may require a visit to Itoman. The Matsuda custom is like that of Hanashire.

O-Bon is a colorful holiday. Lanterns are freely used. Whether the people believe that the spirits of the dead return is a question to which there is no easy answer. Many observe the formalities and the customs of O-Bon without believing that the spirits have actually returned. There is formal compliance, but in my opinion real belief is to be found mostly among women of middle age and older. [416] [183]

3 O-Bon has been variously translated as "The Lantern Festival," "Festival of the Dead," "All Souls Day," but I prefer here to retain the Japanese word, as these translations are only misleading approximations.

4 For an interesting discussion of the origin of tanabata in Japan, see Chamberlain, Things Japanese, 436-37. In Okinawa one occasionally hears this referred to as a "star festival."

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

4

Ancestor Worship

"Ancestor worship" has been used to describe the devotion to the spirit of the dead and the long continued remembrance of them by the living. While it is too deeply intrenched to be changed, the term is not satisfactory. It is really the worship of those who precede one in death, and these may be ascendants or descendants. The term, "ancestor worship," also conceals the fact that there is a partnership of the living and the dead, which, continued by the living generation in the production of children, will carry over in the future, so that family continuity from the remote past to the remote future is never broken. It is, in the phrase of John Hubbard, "a chain of worship,"[2] not merely the worship of the past and of the dead. But whether in the popular mind these two conceptions, worship of the dead and the family as a continuity, are closely and consciously related is impossible for me to say. The two ideas exist side by side on the level of feeling: to respect one's ancestors and to have children. 769 602

Another form of ancestor worship occurs in observances honoring the first ancestor or the founder of the village. Each village has a place of the guardian god (ujigami), located on the supposed site where the founder of the village first settled, which perpetuates the memory of the founder, who may, in some cases, also be the first ancestor of a family living in the village. (It has been suggested that the ujigami also might be related historically to the fire deity). Ceremonies at the place of the village guardian god have a public character and were often conducted by the priestesses. 776 778 [793]

Hanashiro. The place of the guardian god, a small building, is located on a plot of village owned land, off the main road at the edge of the settlement where the cultivated land begins. It is not well kept up. There is no attendant or caretaker. When necessary, it is reconstructed by volunteer village effort. Broken stone stairs lead up to the small tile roofed building. Inside, there are 5 stones, about 10 inches on the side and 4 inches thick. Some have thought these also represent the primitive hearth stones associated with worship of the fire god. One villager described it as a woman's deity place. Before the war, emigrants to the South Seas, South America, Manchuria, or Japan and their relatives prayed here for the good health and early return of those departing. [346] [358] [167]

Now there is public worship at the place on several occasions during the year. On the 3rd day of the 3rd month, a woman's holiday, women and children go to the seashore around Minatogawa, and, on returning, pray at the place of the guardian god. On O-Bon, the village lion appears in front of this site. There is sanisen playing and the whole village offers a prayer. (Not all villages have the lion costume. 778 796 [536] [825]

2 Quoted in L. Cranmer-Byng, The vision of Asia, New York, 1933, 42.

778 One person in front fills in the head and forelegs, another in back
796 provides the rear and hindlegs. The lion, with its human mechanism,
536 is a common sight at festivals and parades. It is a symbol of health
825 and strength worthy of imitation). In the Festival of the Full Moon, during the autumnal equinox, the lion appears again and the whole village participates in prayers before the festivities begin.

778 On the 1st and 15th of each lunar month, the headman goes to the
796 place of the guardian god and makes an offering of tea, burns a charcoal
[764] stick, and says a prayer. On the 9th day of the 9th lunar month, the
[825] village council and the elders assemble before the village burial palanquin (gan), offer prayer at the founder's site and then before the village office where the lion is standing.

Minatogawa. This village has three deity places and various ex-
778 planations are given for this. Some believe that two of them represent
796 sites of co-founders, a first son, and his younger brother, the second son. The third site is vaguely known as a village god place. It is a small outdoor place of worship on the main village road, with a step and a shelf for charcoal sticks. The founders' sites are located in the center of the settled area, but on different sides of the road. In the site of the second son, there are three stones, shaped like life savers but with a bottom for placing the charcoal sticks, three glasses for tea, and three bottles. The site of the supposed first son, less well kept, has a small altar, four stones, tea cups, and cans for the burning of incense.

778 On New Year and at O-Bon, the whole, or substantial portions, of
796 the village pray first at the supposed first son's site, then at the
[782] second son's. Prayers are offered also at the roadside deity place.
[358] Some of the younger villagers hope that as the older residents die off, the expenses of providing offerings and upkeep for all three can be eliminated and that simpler observances can take place at the roadside shrine. The situation now is complicated by the fact that many people regard themselves as descendants of one or the other co-founder.

778 Matsuda. In this village, the founder's site is reached by stairs
189 leading up a hillside. It is in the settled area near a dense growth
[793] of trees and shrubs. Close by there is a shed in which the lion skin is kept. In this village the founder's site seemed less important than another religious place, on the main road, in which women of lesser rank in the former priestess system participate in ceremonies. In this village there seems to be less participation by all the people of the village at the place of the guardian or founder deity, and, instead, representatives, like the headman, elders, and the former priestesses
[796] conduct the ceremonies at New Year, O-Bon, and at the equinoctial holidays.

The group sat in a circle. The priestess occupied the highest spot, her female assistants somewhat lower places, and the men, for once, in the lowest position. The priestess, her women and the male entourage held public worship on the 15th day of the 5th, the 15th and 16th day of the 6th, and the 10th day of the 8th lunar months. On these days there were prayers for good crops, for freedom from disasters and typhoon damage. On the 10th day of the 8th month, there were special prayers that neither diseases nor epidemics enter Hatsuda. These three periods may be rest days on which the villagers may assemble at the place where the prayers are being offered. Because there is no priestess, these ceremonies are now conducted by former assistants. The meetings are attended by fewer and fewer people and the ceremonies may disappear altogether. 793 796 [782]

6

Gods of the Fire, Wells, and Sacred Groves

There are also other forms of worship which still survive. These are (1) the god of fire (hi no kami), (2) spirits of the sea, of wells, springs, and groves, and (3) types of fortune telling which blend into religious belief. 776 [787]

Gods of the Fire. In every Okinawan kitchen, there is a place above the stove or hearth dedicated to the kitchen or the fire god. There is no image or personification of the god. Usually the place is a very small shelf on which charcoal sticks are burned for the god of the hearth. This is done by women exclusively. The women may light the sticks daily, but it is more usual for the housewife to perform the observance on the 1st and 15th of the lunar month. This was true of all the villages, and I have never seen a kitchen which lacked a place for the fire god.[7] 776 778 372 782 [562]

Gods of the Well (ido no kami). In Hanashire, prayers are offered in front of the two public wells on lunar New Year. The whole village does not participate. Two or three older men from each extended family perform the rite. The gods of the well are told that the villagers need water; they are thanked for what they have had, and asked to continue to furnish a plentiful supply. 776 778 796

7 The Shinto god shelf (kamidana) is extremely rare. In my observation, it was present only in the homes of Okinawans who had lived in Japan. One in Hatsuda, located in the first room, had two shelves, on both of which a small urn for burning incense sticks was placed between two flower vases. The place on the left represents the founder, the one on the right, his immediate descendant. The family prays to the Shinto god on the 1st and 15th of the lunar month. The husband and wife pray first, followed by the children. A rice offering is placed on the shelf. On it there was a small figurine of the fox god (inari-san) and a mirror, both Shinto symbols. 177 184

778 796 Similar worship may take place at a spring (izumi). Near Gushichan village there is a large spring. Stone stairs have been built up, amphitheatre-like, around it. Prayers are offered by villagers, or substantial numbers of them, on New Year and on the 5th day of the 5th lunar month. In daily life, the spring is a favorite place for laundering and bathing.

776 778 796 There are three well gods in Hinatogawa, and they are worshipped at the three public wells scattered throughout the village. The people of the village, or large numbers of them, assemble at these wells for prayer at various times of the year, the most important being on New Year and on boat racing day. Sake and a box of candy are placed before the well as offerings of thanks for water.

This village has also a place for the worship of the sea god. This is a simple stone on a small shelf, on a barren spot of the seashore, scarcely distinguishable from the rocks scattered in natural disarray by the waves. In a high wind, the remains of the offerings and the charcoal sticks are swept out to sea. The most important observance here occurs on the 4th day of the 5th month, the day of the sea festival and the boat races. Fishermen come to the place by boat and make offerings of sharks' fins. On this day, the whole village assembles twice to pray at the spot, once before, and once after the races and the celebration. Individual or family worship is common on New Year and at O-Bon. On the equinoctial holiday of the full moon, the headman, the heads of the neighborhood groups, the council and retired elder men assemble, offer thanks and pray for continued plenty from the sea. Very close to the palace of the sea god, a short round stick of bamboo or of thick miscanthus may be stuck in a pile of rocks. Near the top, a dried fish (usually the ika) tail is placed in a slit. In the center there is a slit for another but larger part of the dried fish.

776 778 778 The palace of the mountain god, though its identity is uncertain, is near the palace of the sea god. It is under an overhanging rock along the seashore. This seems an unusual place for the home of a mountain god, but seafarers may have prayed to the god in thanks for guiding them safely in. It seems now to have fallen into disuse. It is now partially overgrown with pandanus and little is known of the place.

776 778 782 Matsuda. In Matsuda, there are beliefs in well, mountain top, and tree grove spirits. There are 8 wells here and family groups usually divide up and worship at one of the wells. After drinking some of the water, thanks are offered to the well god.

776 128 The gods of the mountain top and the tree groves are difficult to understand. Little seems to be known about them locally, and it is difficult to disengage historical from religious elements.

[776] 789 778 One popular explanation is that these gods were the intentional invention of Saion, the 18th century statesman and authority on forestry and agriculture. But this seems highly unlikely. It is more likely that Saion capitalized on the ancient interdict against cutting down

793 lives like other villagers, spending most of her time in the fields and around her home. She has children and grandchildren, but the father of her children no longer lives in Taira. She regards the continuation of the old ceremonies as her holy duty even though she has to do without most of the accustomed material support from the village and [358] in spite of disbelief and lack of participation. She has sought in vain [346] to have the village make necessary repairs on the simple village shrine near the township office and on the little hut where the ancestral tablets of her predecessors are kept.

793 While many of the former ceremonies have been discontinued, the 782 priestess is still called on to officiate at house-building ceremonies, to purify the lot, to offer prayers when the beams are raised, and to con- [342] duct the dedication when the house is finished. If the owner is mov- [776] ing out of an old house, the priestess notifies the fire deity so that he [778] will follow to the new abode. On other occasions the priestess conducts prayers at the village shrine or at one of the other sacred places near the village. Many of the prayers are succorant—requesting the aid and blessing of the gods in accomplishing a certain goal. In general, as Lebra has pointed out (1958), ceremonies of asking for help are more numerous and elaborate than thanksgiving ones.

[312] On New Year's morning the priestess prays at the water well. Since [178] so many ceremonies have been abbreviated and are no longer carried out in traditional detail, the priestess apologizes for short cuts in her prayers. If she fails to offer prayers in all prescribed spots, she pacifies [794] the deities by facing in the direction of the sacred place where the [787] ceremony should have been conducted. Although the priestess is clearly best qualified to enter into communication with the deities, many older women seem to possess such power also, and if the priestess' assistants are not present, another older woman can function as her helper.

782 For these ceremonies food for offerings is contributed by the village. 788 The priestess, in a white gown, kneels, flanked by her assistants, also in white, in front of a tray of sake, rice, or other food for the deities. [262] Charcoal incense sticks are burned while brief prayers asking the deities for a successful crop, thanking them for a harvest, or whatever [533] is appropriate to the occasion are mumbled. On certain occasions the women sing chants. After these ceremonies, the priestess, her assistants and the few others present, usually old women, share the food offerings.

• 796 One of the most dramatic ceremonies is held on Boat Race Day in 793 lunar June. Priestesses from several villages gather near Taira. During the ceremony the Taira priestess stands in the middle of a circle formed by the other priestesses and helpers, beating a drum as the

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

women chant. The tempo becomes more and more frenzied, and at a certain moment a bell rings. Nobody knows who rings it, and no amount of questioning elicited any information other than that this was done by divine action. 796 793

Ancestral worship is equally important in the life of Taira people. Each house of an oldest son has a shelf with a shrine in the main living room. On this shelf the family keeps the ancestral tablets, each representing a deceased ancestor of a recent period. The tablets for whole family lines are kept on the shelves of the main houses. Through this system a family maintains continuity between the living and the dead. Although a deceased person is believed to become a buddha or a god who ascends to heaven, his presence is still felt by the living relatives. If they fail to make the required offerings on the first and fifteenth day of each lunar month, or otherwise neglect religious duties toward the ancestor, misfortune may come to the family. At the same time, the worship of common ancestors holds branches of the larger kin groups together. 769 592 [778] [775] [782] [613]

No village adult died during our stay, but the funeral practices for adults described by Glacken (1955) and Pitts et al. (1955) for other villages in Okinawa are similar. Seven years is the age limit for a child burial, which is simple and does not require attendance of people other than immediate relatives and perhaps one or two neighbors.* During the study an 8-year-old boy died from an illness and was given a full funeral, which is similar to that of adults. 764 766

The funeral must take place at the first outgoing tide after the body has been prepared and dressed. Accompanied by family, residents of the ward, and mourners from other parts of the village whose number depends on the prominence of the dead, the body is carried on a simple, open litter to the tomb area just west of the central village (see map 2). Women feel free to show their emotions, while men remain outwardly calm. Until decomposition takes place, the body remains in a tomb used by the whole village for temporary entombment. Like other village ceremonies, funerals are less elaborate now than they once were, perhaps to the relief of all concerned, since death is highly anxiety provoking, and nobody feels comfortable during the prayers and the ritual farewell to the corpse at the tomb. The participants receive a cup of sake before leaving the tomb area to cleanse them of the pollution of death. Some people still prefer to return to the village by a different route so that the spirit of the dead person will be fooled and unable to follow. 764 [152] [154] [783] [784]

* The reason for this is possibly that the younger child has not yet fulfilled his filial obligations.

757 frequently and may be repeated as many as four times during the
[854] first year of a child's life. An older child occasionally undergoes this
[164] treatment for a case of violent impetigo. Even a horse may be bled in
[232] this way for loss of appetite or other symptoms of disease.

A woman whose face had been struck in an unusual display of temper
[578] underwent a blood letting soon after a swelling appeared. Her neighbor from across the street, a farmer like everyone else, sterilized her cheek with iodine and then cut it with a razor until the blood flowed freely. After a night's rest, the woman appeared outside her house without any signs of swelling and seemingly recovered.

753 As was pointed out previously, many diseases are believed to be
776 caused by supernatural forces: the ancestor spirits, spirits of those who
769 have just died, and natural deities and evil spirits who wander around
775 at night. The ancestors expect proper respect and attention and in gen-
[764] eral are benevolent unless neglected. Spirits of those who have recently died are most dangerous if the deceased is from another village. For deceased villagers one is careful to purify oneself after the funeral. The doors of each house are shut at night to protect against the evil spirits of the night air. Disease is less frequently caused by natural deities who have been neglected or mistreated.

755 In case of sickness or other unfortunate events in the family, some-
756 body may go to consult the *yuta,* a shaman who communicates with
[787] the supernatural. She discovers the cause of misfortune with the help of rice oracles and through powers of divination received through visions and hallucinations. There is no *yuta* living in Taira now, so that people have to travel to the other side of the island, an hour or more on foot, if they want to learn about the source of some evil. Taira
[769] people make many such trips to consult this shamanistic specialist. The most common cause of misfortune discovered by the *yuta* is neglect of ceremonies to the ancestral gods or, less frequently, the neglect of cere-
[793] monies to the natural deities. Although the *yuta* stands in no direct connection with the high priestess, she may suggest that her client ask the priestess for special prayers to rectify the negligence. In such cases, then, the competence of individuals in the family may not be adequate to deal with the ancestral world, and the priestess enters into family religion.

597 Some Taira parents still find an adoptive parent for a sickly child in
755 the belief that his own ancestors have caused bad health, and that this
769 can only be remedied by making a formal arrangement which transfers ancestral responsibility for the child to another family. The child re-
[796] mains with his own parents and only visits his foster parents during the New Year and the midsummer Buddhist *Bon* Festival, which honors ancestors, and perhaps at one or two other occasions during the year.

parent aftereffects of remorse or physical incapacitation, is a characteristic of this village. Excessive or orgiastic feasting which might interfere with work duties of the following day or days is absent. Leisure events spent in groups are joyful and desirable to all, untinged by hidden motives of social compulsion or conformity, which marks so many recreational activities in a culture like ours. 517

The village calendar does not include a weekly rest day, although government offices are closed on Sunday. Rest and holidays for the majority of villagers are regulated by religious and agricultural events which, in former times, were observed at least once during each lunar month. Although some of these have been simplified or given up in recent times by people whose participation in the old religion has diminished or by those who seek a sounder economy by urging greater production of crops and accumulation of savings, when it comes to observing and enjoying holidays, even the most rational village leader forgets his concern for the time being. The elaborateness of celebrations may be less today, as a result of economic pressure, than in former times—the spirit hardly could be. To know and appreciate the sense of humor and the wit of the people, one has only to attend their parties. During other times these qualities are less expressed—though they are never completely absent. If the naive comment that Okinawans are "childlike"—an observation which Westerners in describing them have permitted themselves—can be taken to have any foundation in fact, it could only be that like many children they are capable of complete absorption and indulgence in fun when the occasion is proper. For the Taira person such indulgence cannot be achieved without food, drink, music, and dance. These are the main components of entertainment which help to elicit gaiety and good humor, whether during holidays observed by families in individual homes, or those of the descent group main houses, or in village-wide celebrations, which are extremely common. These ingredients also appear during more informal hours of relaxation, each day after work, when there are small gatherings here and there, though on a more modest scale. 527 796 157 527 574 [522]

Since calendrical holidays, whether of a family nature or community-wide, have many aspects in common, we may mention some of these in general. Most gatherings begin in the late afternoon and last until late at night although never until daybreak. These are the rare times when people can dress in their best clothes and by doing so shed, perhaps, symbolically all associations with everyday routine. 527 574

The sequence of events at any kind of celebration is somewhat like a veil dance during which one layer of formality after another disappears. A formal period precedes not only all village-wide celebrations

would be nothing more uproarious than a group of singing celebrants seeking further entertainment from house to house. The occasional quarrels after drinking, which are mentioned elsewhere, seemed much more frequent where only a small group of men indulged after work, especially younger ones. No major holidays ended in dissonance. 527 273 574 578

The main events for family celebrations are lunar New Year, *seimei*, a period in spring during which descent group ancestors are revered and *Bon*, a commemoration of the dead in the fall. At these times families are reunited with relatives from other villages or the city. These events are observed in the home or in front of the ancestral tombs. During *Bon* young men and women go from house to house, performing traditional dances for this holiday in front of the assembled families. 527 796 769

Celebration of special birthday cycles and agricultural events, such as the day when ditches in the paddies were cleaned in former times, are observed by villagers as a group. An important religious event for the community is Boat Race Day in lunar June. On lunar August 15, the celebration of the full August moon, some villagers present stage performances and dances at a public celebration. 527

In general, it may be said that families gather as a unit on those days on which ancestors and deceased family members are commemorated. The village jointly celebrates events which are either based on local religion or on agricultural events. The only national holiday which is now in existence was established by the post-war Ryukyuan government. It is observed by school and government offices but not by the people. [769] [621]

Sport events form another category of holidays. The most important one falls in October when both in Japan and all over the Ryukyus athletes compete against each other. Athletic meets take place for several weeks; for the village the biggest event is the competition of all athletes in the township on *undokai* day. Everyone leaves work and takes picnic food to the track at the junior high school where each village competes against the others. This lasts all day. 526 628

Wrestling matches are part of entertainment during outdoor celebrations in the early summer. They are mainly an affair for young men. Occasionally an older man who feels strong enough challenges a younger one. The villagers sit around a large circle near the beach, watching the fights while they eat holiday food and drink sake. On Boat Race Day Taira and the neighboring village of Kawata race fishing canoes against each other. Spectators at this event are enthusiastic supporters of their favorites. After the races this holiday ends like any other, in celebrations with dance and drinking. [262] [574]

191 (mentioned previously), song, and the indigenous religion. Okinawan song and
178 music undoubtedly exceed both Japanese and Western in popularity; in fact, no
191 other facet of Okinawan culture has so successfully withstood the changes of
178 the past seventy-five years. Songs such as the Kagiyadefu (which some Okina-
533 wans liken to a national anthem), Nubui Kuduchi, Hamachidori, Tanchame are
known and loved by all. Some of the phonograph record stores in Naha carry
as many as several hundred different recordings of Okinawan songs, and vir-
191 tually all of these are recorded in Okinawan. All priestesses of the indigen-
178 ous religion interviewed by the author stated that Okinawan was the language
of prayer and ceremony; to some this was a burden, as in the case of one
priestess who had spent most of her life in Japan. A few admitted that the
language of the ceremonies and particularly that of the old songs or umui
(sometime rendered omoro) was rather obscure and not fully understood; these
are transmitted orally from the older priestess to her successor and undoubtedly
191 contain many archaic words. Outside the formal religious structure yet inex-
178 tricably linked to it are shamans (yuta) and fortune tellers ('ekisha'). The
756 former, most often a woman, uses Okinawan almost exclusively in rites concerned
791 with divining, exorcism, and curing. The latter, nearly always a male, is
usually a fairly well-educated person, as the profession is based on interpre-
tations of certain books used in conjunction with the ancient Chinese Book of
Changes (I Ching), and either Japanese or Okinawan, depending on the customer,
may be used in giving the reading. Both practitioners are extremely popular,
but the fortune teller is usually found in the cities and towns whereas the
shaman may be found in Naha or the smallest hamlet.

175 Japanese With the abdication of Shō Tai in 1879 the Japanese government ini-
191 tiated a program designed for integrating Okinawa into the national
177 state as rapidly as possible. An effort was made to stamp out all vestiges of
[648] Okinawan culture, utilizing techniques ranging from education and indoctrina-
tion to repressive laws and police measures. Greatest emphasis was given to
making Japanese speakers out of Okinawans. Leavenworth quotes Governor Nara-
hara as stating that the creation of Japanese speakers was of more value than
175 all the repressive laws prohibiting certain customs.[1] At the start the Japanese
191 were hindered by a lack of schools and teachers, and so the program moved ahead
177 slowly. An effective national school system covering the rural areas where the
871 bulk of the population was located and taking in both sexes was not fully oper-
ative until about the time of World War I. The failure of Japanese to displace
Okinawan can be attributed largely to a lack of time and a lack of facilities
for education beyond the elementary level. By the time of World War II but two
generations were schooled in Japanese, and the majority of these had received
no more than six years of education.

191 Though Japanese failed to displace Okinawan, it did succeed in becom-
177 ing a necessity in the lives of most people and in establishing itself as the
554 prestige language. With the government, press, schools, cinema, radio, and
high-level commerce utilizing Japanese exclusively, participation in modern
life without a knowledge of Japanese became impossible. The incentives towards
competence in Japanese were many, whereas there appeared to be little gained

[1] Leavenworth, 1905, p. 37.

613 southern part of the island. There the term for the local unit, a relatively small lineage with not very strong ties to the larger unit, is chuchooree (literally, "one brotherhood', to translate literally into Japanese, hito-
613 kyōdai). The larger unit of the commoners is called the ichimung ("one gate"),
614 which is equivalent to the munchu of the south. Some of the gentry families refer to the subdivision of the uji having the same surname as their ichimung. Thus a family may belong to a local chuchooree, to an ichimung containing other families elsewhere of the same surname, and to a still larger uji containing ichimung of other surnames.

614 Functions The functions of the common descent group seem to be almost
769 entirely ritual. Just as the members of a family are responsible for helping the head of the family in making the proper offerings before the tablets and the tomb of its immediate ancestors, so the larger unit has such a responsibility toward the remote ancestors. In the family the eldest son bears the greatest responsibility, so in the common descent group the head of the main house bears the greatest responsibility. But the benefits resulting from proper worship and the misfortunes resulting from negligence may extend even to the youngest branch house, and thus all are interested in maintaining the worship.

614 Representatives of the common descent group worship before the ances-
• 796 tral tablets at the main house on occasions called u-machii (J. 'o-matsuri'),
769 usually the 15th days of the 2nd, 5th and 6th lunar months and during the New Year's season. They worship at the tomb at the shiimii (J. 'seimei') season in April. For this purpose periodic meetings may be held and dues levied for
[785] the expense of the offerings. Many groups send members on pilgrimages every seventh year (shichinin-maari) to pray at remote shrines; many in the south go to Nakijin in the north for this. There may also be special expenditures such as for the repair of a tomb, the building of a new tomb, or even the repair of the main house if its owner has become impoverished.

614 A few common descent groups are said to have a little property from which the income is used for the expense of the worship, but probably none has enough to be of any other value. The common descent group probably has
[476] no economic functions. In a rural community its members may tend to cooperate a little more in farm work; I observed this to be the case in some instances in Yamada, but informants say that kinship is no more important than closeness of residence and that neighbors ought to cooperate.

614 Nevertheless the common descent group occasionally seems to have
666 political functions. In a recent election in southern Okinawa, munchu membership became a factor. A cartoon that appeared in the Okinawa Times of 8 March 1954 shows opposing candidates carrying banners announcing their munchu. In the village of Komesu, south of Itoman, supporters of candidates appealed to members of their candidates' munchu to support their own regardless of political party.

613 The unity of the kin group may appear in time of crisis. In the vil-
722 lage of Yamada, during the battle in 1945, many of the villagers hid out in improved natural caves. According to one informant's account, at first there was some moving around but ultimately people of the same chuchooree clung together. In one instance bad feeling arose between two groups over the sharing of a cave.

households. Noodles are another item of regular purchase. Starch and bean paste are typical items which formerly were always made in the home but now may be purchased instead. 178 262

In sum Okinawan diet has improved in quantity and variety. Food tastes are more catholic today; certain foreign foods are greatly appreciated. There is a greater reliance on manufactured and processed foods, and greater cash expenditures are made for food.

Entertainment and leisure There has been a marked decline in village celebrations and festivals in which all residents participate. Formerly O Bon, New Year's, and harvesting time were occasions for village-wide celebrations; today these are gone from most communities; celebrations are restricted to the family and friends. Most of the village celebrations were basically religious in nature and with the decline of the old religion these celebrations have been dropped. 527 796 178 621

Parties to mark an individual's change of status were formerly held on the 13th, 25th, 37th, 48th, 61st, 73rd, 85th, 88th and 97th birthdays, but today only those for the old people are observed. Frequently a party is held to mark an individual's success in the competitive examination to enter high school, but aside from that, rites of passage for the young and middle-aged are no longer observed. 527 178

The Japanese introduced one form of entertainment which has achieved immense popularity; this is a sporting event sponsored by the school. These are usually held on Sunday during the fall of the year, and usually the whole school participates. There is intra-school competition and later inter-school; intense interest is generated and often this becomes an important topic for conversation among the young men. 526 177

Local units of the national organizations such as the youths' association and the women's association frequently hold parties for their members. In fact these organizations are mainly of a social nature. 575

As noted above, prior to the war there were five motion picture theaters on Okinawa; today there are fifty-seven. American and European films constitute from one quarter to one third of the total shown. Though most of these theaters are located in the cities and towns, the young people of the nearby farming villages make frequent use of them. The popularity of the American "Western" among the young people has caused some to attribute juvenile delinquency to this, although the relatively more bloody Japanese sword-fighting pictures ('chambara') are considered harmless. 546 177

The popularity of Okinawan dancing and music seems undiminished. Radio broadcasts of Okinawan music are much enjoyed; and virtually every party provides the opportunity for music and dancing in which most of the guests participate. A few of the better-educated young people profess an appreciation of Western classical music and jazz, but most of them prefer Japanese and American love ballads though they still remain very fond of the Okinawan music. 533 535 177

582 178 average age at the time of marriage, investigation into the registries reveals that the range has narrowed somewhat. Formerly some girls married at thirteen and fourteen; today this would be considered rather unusual.

[177] The Japanese administration attempted to discourage endogamous marriage practices, particularly kin-group endogamy. All agreed that the practice has declined; yet in Kanegusuku nearly 50% of all marriages were within the kin group and 66% of all marriages were within the village. An analysis of these figures on an age basis indicates the practice is declining there.

833 178 833 Sex It is said that sexual standards have changed in that there is less sexual license among the young people and that they tend to have their first relations at a later age than formerly. This is attributed in part to the moral training of the schools. Another factor seems to be the general decline of several informal village institutions which permitted young people considerable sexual freedom. One informant stated that those who continue on to high school and university generally have their first experience at a later age than those who attend only junior high school.

642 177 641 [625] [667] Government The Japanese introduced a modern system of government, abolished the Okinawan aristocracy, and granted suffrage to all males of twenty-five or more years. The American Civil Administration has attempted to liberalize laws and to make possible a greater degree of self-government. Police powers have been limited, universal suffrage has been introduced, and the number of elected officials has been increased.

621 178 To date there has been little change within the village, where suffrage and office-holding remain limited to household heads. Villagers acknowledge that there is greater freedom for action at the local level today; yet they are not desirous of obtaining greater self-government. They feel that it would require too much of their time and that there is too little money available to finance its operation. Village leadership is virtually unchanged. Change where it has occurred has been initiated at a higher level.

632 178 At the township level the electorate has been broadened to include all persons, male and female, over twenty years of age. The mayor who was formerly appointed is now elected to office.

771 177 178 793 Religion There has been a general decline in the indigenous Okinawan religion, effected by Japanese policy, wartime attrition, and the spread of education. Formerly a hierarchy of priestesses extended from the kin group through the community and region to the person of the king's sister, the chief priestess. The Japanese removed the top echelons of this hierarchy, but the kin group and community priestesses continued to function. World War II resulted in the death of many religious functionaries, and as the office is usually hereditary within a specific family and often limited to a particular member of that family, there has often been no replacement for the office. Lastly there is an increasing tendency among the young people, due to the influence of the school, to regard religion as superstition.

796 178 Many villages, especially those without religious functionaries, have discontinued all village ceremonies, and in those few remarkable exceptions

where they are observed there are generally few participants. Also many ceremonies have lost all meaning save that of custom, which is considered sufficient reason for their observance. 796 178

The authors heard dissatisfaction expressed with regard to current funeral practices. At one bone-washing ceremony witnessed by the author, several of the men stated that the practice was pointless and should therefore cease. Statements favorable to the Japanese practice of cremation were frequently heard. 764 765 829

Urbanization Prior to Japanese annexation there existed a sharp urban-rural dichotomy in Okinawan culture. This might best be characterized as a rural peasantry and an urban gentry-nobility. The latter group was in contact with Japan and China and was literate, while the former was divided into many small, isolated villages, lived in a state of serfdom, and was largely uneducated. The urban culture was strongly influenced by its foreign contacts, but in the rural areas an indigenous culture was preserved virtually untouched by outside influences. 369 177 [565]

The Japanese impact was first felt in the urban areas, and the city of Naha gradually assumed the characteristics of a Japanese city. It became the center for the diffusion of things Japanese into the countryside. Despite a number of important changes---abolition of communal land tenure, introduction of private property, gradual penetration of a money economy, introduction of schools and national organizations---rural-urban differences remained strong. The character of the village tended to remain homogeneous and conservative, and contacts with the city were infrequent. When one emigrated from the village, the move usually was to a point outside the country rather than to another part of the island.

World War II shattered the isolation and homogeneity of the village. The American occupation coupled with the cumulative effect of the change initiated by the Japanese has served to bring the village into a closer relationship with the urban areas. The result has been the urbanization of the rural areas. By means of newspapers, motion pictures, and radio the villager has come to share the cultural life of the city. Rural-urban differences in diet, dress, education, entertainment, mobility, and values are tending to disappear. Marked improvements in transportation have given the villager a new mobility, enabling him to participate in the labor market of the city and giving new outlets for his products. The nature of the village is increasingly more heterogeneous due to the presence of newcomers, increased occupational specialization, and greater interaction with the outside world. There is a greater reliance on goods produced by industrial society, and a number of villagers commute daily to a place of employment in the city or in nearby military installations. The trend is toward an ultimate disappearance of rural-urban differences; the process is one that is well advanced in the United States, but in Okinawa it is in an early stage. 369 177 178 621

Conclusion Okinawa has been in a process of change for over fifty years. World War II and the American military occupation have served to accelerate greatly the forces for change. Despite this, Okinawan culture has not been overwhelmed and has managed to preserve its identity. A number of 177 178

175 648 In April 1844, the French corvette Alcmène landed at Naha to open up negotiations for trade with France. The local official protested to the French commander that the islands were sterile, provided only a little rice, had no gold, copper, or iron, and that from antiquity they had engaged in a modest trade in rice with the neighboring islands, if drought or floods did not interfere. He implored the French not to land because of the unhealthy climate. The French response was gracious, but a landing was made and a friendly interchange followed. This visit was the beginning of the French missionary effort in the Ryukyus.[20]

[199]

175 Belcher's Narrative of the Voyage of H. M. S. Samarang (1848) describes some explorations in Okinawa, but his materials for this island are disappointing.

These earlier travellers generally concerned themselves with casual observations, as they came to the eye, on such subjects as marriage and burial customs, hairdress, religion, and clothing, but on the less colorful and more commonplace but just as important subjects as the family system, land tenure, and land use there is virtually no mention.

The Perry expedition, which first arrived at Okinawa and anchored at the port of Naha on May 26, 1853, made outstanding contributions.[21] The expedition explored large parts of the island. Previous observers had only touched the coasts or described the areas around Naha and Shuri and Unten. A series of technical papers on such subjects as agriculture, ethnology, and plant and animal life were prepared. Observations were made of court, town, and everyday village life. It is the last document, based on personal observations and exploration, and written from a modern point of view, which appeared before the Japanese formally took over the island and introduced the changes in the last two decades of the century that were to affect the daily life both of the villages and towns and alter the culture fundamentally.

[177]

The land explorations of the Perry expedition, as far as can be determined from the various place names and landmarks which in the account can be identified, included the south, the central, and parts bordering on the northern district of Kunigami. The exploration started from the home of the unhappy Dr. Bettelheim, a converted Jew and the resident missionary in Naha. Bettelheim told the members of the party what he knew of the language, Okinawan knowledge of arms and of money, and of their religion. From Naha, the explorers went to Tumai, subsequent

[Text continues top of p. 39 -- analyst]

20 Cordier, Henri. Les français aux iles Liéou K'iéou. Mélanges d'histoire et de géographie orientales. Tome 1, 296-317.

21 See Hawk's Narrative of the Expedition, especially Vol. I, chapters 7-9, 11, and 17, and Vol. II which contains the specialized articles on various aspects of the exploration. See table of contents for the Loochoo articles.

[529] Young girls with pots of hot tea circulated in the audience. The
[272] stage performance was a combination of local amateur talent and
[535] professionals from Naha. Normally the entertainment begins with a traditional Okinawan dance by a professional woman dancer, followed by a short skit. Conversations in Okinawan between an educated man
[536] and a stupid rustic are favorite subjects. Acts of this type are greatly enjoyed and cause laughter, mainly I was told because the jokes had sexual overtones. The shorter acts are followed by a play. (The theme of this play will be discussed in the following chapter).

6

Other Holidays of the Year

Chrysanthemum day, the ninth day of the ninth month (October 9, 1951), is a very minor holiday. A chrysanthemum is put in sake, and
[824] the flask is placed on the god shelf. A leaf of the plant is put in the sake when it is drunk. People at this time wish one another good health. The festival is only spottily observed.

There is a minor public holiday, the rice cake festival (mochi no matsuri), said to be native to Okinawa, on the 8th day of the 12th lunar month (January 4, 1952). On the day before, women prepare red
[262] and white cylindrical rice cakes, about 4 inches long and one inch in diameter. These are wrapped in the leaf of the sannin plant or in the
[252] leaves of sugar cane. The glutinous rice cake is made by first soaking rice in water and then mashing it in a hand mill. The rice is put in a cloth bag to allow excess water to drip out. The following morning the rice is boiled and shaped and wrapped in the leaves. The cake is doughy and insipid to taste. On the morning of the 8th, the cakes are placed on the god shelf and after prayers the cakes are removed. They are served during the day to guests. Sometimes children attach strings to these cakes and hang them about the room. The holiday is not observed by every family in the village, but it was recognised in all the villages studied.

The festival of the winter solstice, the longest night of the year (tōji) is known, but Hinatogawa was the only place in which its observance was noted. It is a home festival with prayers and the
[769] familiar offering of assorted foods to the ancestors.

Western Christmas is not observed in any of the villages. It
[197] would not be surprising if it should become a holiday, with gift giving, feasting, and drinking, but without the religious connotations. Since the occupation, Okinawans have become conscious of Christmas.[6]

6 I was told that in certain villages of the northern district, such as
[797] Kushi and Higashi near Ogimi that there is a Christmas festival, without the gift exchange, a survival of earlier missionary teaching. Time did not permit me to verify this, but there seems little doubt that a Christmas festival does exist in some Okinawan villages, judging by the frequency with which I heard of it in Matsuda and Ginoza villages.

771 Buddhism, as an organized religion, is of no importance, even though most villagers say they are Buddhists. Buddhist symbols and practices inspired by Buddhism remain, but that is a different matter. 183 The universal use of the Buddhist god shelf or household altar, the observance of Buddhist holidays, such as higan, are matters more of custom and tradition than of religious fervor. This is significant be- 177 cause the Okinawans, for almost 70 years, were a part of the Japanese homeland, the greatest Buddhist nation on earth. During my stay in Okinawa, I thought that the recent war had caused the decline in Buddhist influence. This is only partly true. Subsequent reading of the older 198 literature made it clear that in modern times, Buddhism has not been a living force. The ethical and political systems were primarily Confucian. The priestesses had a greater influence on daily life and at death ceremonials, at least in rural Okinawa.

A variety of practices concerned with the worship of natural phenomena, such as the summits of mountains, groves of trees, wells and springs and the sea survive, but they are not strong.

177 There is little evidence of Shinto beliefs, except in a few families who were long resident in Japan. Shrine Shinto, closely tied in with emperor worship, has been abolished.

177 Villagers are acquainted with Christianity, but I encountered no 799 adherents. The name of the 19th century missionary, Dr. Bettelheim, is still remembered by people in Minatogawa and Hanashiro. Dr. Bettelheim, a Jewish convert to Christianity, came to Okinawa in 1846. He was both ineffective and unhappy, but his ineffectiveness was probably due more to the lack of enthusiasm of the Okinawan rulers than to personal inadequacy.

3

Buddhism

771 Buddhist formalisms and home observances exist in all the villages. 183 But the religion is not practiced. The people do not attend services or 114 temples, nor do they support or seek out priests. This present situation is apparently little changed from the recent past. Captain Basil Hall (1816) mentioned the apparent low status of the bonse. Charles Fahs, on Perry's staff, said that, "The people, however, appear to be indifferent to it, and do not seem to have much veneration for it. Basil Hall Chamberlain wrote in 1893 that Buddhist influence was almost extinct. In 1910, Simon spoke of the weakness of Buddhism and that priests often did not participate in funerals. Goldschmidt in 1927 made similar observations.[1]

1 Hall, as cited, 98-99; Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, II, 49. Chamberlain, On the manners and customs of the Loochooans, In: Trans. of the Asiatic society of Japan, 21 (1893), 274. Simon, Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, 103-04, 177. Goldschmidt, Neu-Japan, 145.

The only Buddhist priest in the areas studied was at the small village of Maegawa, within walking distance of Hinatogawa and Hanashiro. He was a priest of the Jōdo sect (Jōdoshu), one of the important sects of Japan, and stressing salvation by faith. The sect of the priest in this village is of no importance, since the rural people now or before the war had neither the interest nor the capacity for doctrinal distinctions. The temples of this sect were burned during the war, including one in the village of Kochinda, a junction point between Naha and Gushichan. 793 [795] 346 727

Before the war the colors of the robes varied with the sect and with the position of the priest in the hierarchy. In the Jōdo sect, the lowest grade wore black, followed up the scale by orange, blue or green, a chocolate reddish brown, and purple, the highest. This contrasts sharply with the priest's present improvisations. His is the black robe of the Shinshu sect. It is a summer garment, made of soft light silk called shiya and resembles a man's kimono, but is longer and sweeps the floor. The garment hangs straight down and is not gathered or tucked. The only other religious possessions were a bell and a badly soiled print of the Buddha (oshaku) which hung in his room. 793 795 292 [778]

Before the war, some people in the Gushichan area requested the services of a priest at funerals. After the war, the people of Hanashiro, and other villages as well, decided because of the expense, to forego the services of a priest. 793

Occasionally this priest officiates when the bones in the temporary tombs of Hinatogawa are moved to the extended family tomb at Itoman, or in a ceremony honoring a death anniversary. Few Okinawans became priests. This priest is a native of Japan, one of the few remaining Japanese priests in the island. At eleven, he entered a Buddhist temple (tera) and has been engaged in religious activity ever since. Now about 50, he has a wife and two children; his head is unshaved and the hair is of a conventional cut. He does not depend on the priesthood for a living, but is employed as an official in a village office. [797]

The situation with regard to Buddhism was quite similar in Matsuda, although there is no priest in the vicinity. There is little doubt, if the villages studied are typical, that this already moribund religion is disappearing altogether here, choked off by lack of temples, lack of priests, and by indifference. 771 178

It is not so with household Buddhism, if this term may be used to describe ceremonies and beliefs centering around the Buddhist god shelf or family altar (butsudan). This household altar is in the second room of every home. Around it collect the sentimental memories of the past, such as family pictures, photographs of young soldiers and dearly loved relatives. Prayers and offerings of food and drink to the dead are made before it. 771 778 183

An important part of the Buddhist altar is a frame holding the memorial tablets for the family dead. These tablets (ihai) are pieces 778 769

mother, for example, fed her child rice gruel (okayu) at eight months and at the age of one year the child began eating sweet potatoes. By the time the child is ready to walk and play, he often carries with him a piece of sweet potato, and, in season, a piece of sugar cane. 853 262

A party is held on the first birthday anniversary of the child. This is more elaborate than the one which honored his birth. Birthdays are not celebrated each year. After the first anniversary, the next are on the 13th, 25th, 37th, 49th, and 61st birthdays, that is, at twelve year intervals. 852 527

The party for the first birthday of a child is particularly tender and affectionate. At one year, he can walk or stumble, and answer or smile to the calls of his parents and grandparents. He can pick up things, throw them, and make his presence felt. The exhibition of these skills becomes part of the celebration. It is customary to invite both relatives and friends, who bring a small money present, from Y20 which is usual to Y100 which is uncommon. [856]

During the party, the child is given several symbolic gifts. These are placed on a low table in the middle of the room which the child can easily walk to and reach. Usually the gifts are a book, a fountain pen (or a writing brush, fude), an abacus (soroban), and a stack of paper money. These symbolize the wish that the child will become proficient in learning, writing, counting and mathematics, and will become rich. The child is eagerly watched as he unsteadily toddles to the table to see which article he picks up first. While the act is not taken seriously, the article which the child picks up first is supposed to indicate the field of endeavor in which he will be most fortunate. 527 852 431 [212] [802] [554]

These parties, small or large, include men, women, and children, but the majority of the guests usually are men. After the child has gone to bed, the party continues. In more formal and larger parties, the guests first come up to the father, go on their knees, bow, and make a short speech of congratulation. Sometimes these speeches sound as if they are prepared beforehand, other times as if they are spoken spontaneously. There is an exchange of sake between the father and his guest, both sipping from the same cup, the usual custom. The mother and the female relatives during this time are in the kitchen preparing the food. 852 527 [576] [537]

Women sit by themselves. This is true of all celebrations when the sexes are together. Women do not drink. (In a similar party near Matsuda, the old women--usually over 60--drank a little). The jolly old women also love to dance solos in the traditional style. They dance with grace and vigor. The evening progresses without any planned entertainment. There is talking and drinking, singing, and samisen playing. Men, with a repertoire of Okinawan songs, sing in [562] [535] [387] [533]

428 A possible distribution is shown in the following diagram. (Fig. 1) In this arrangement, the first son gets the house site and parcel #4. The second son gets 600 tsubo of the 700 tsubo in parcel #2. The third son gets 600 tsubo in two different places, 100 from parcel #2 and all of parcel #3.

423 311 Now let us take a more complicated situation, one that more closely parallels an actual division. The land of the head of the house is distributed in the following plots:

#1 19 tsubo of first grade rice land. This is a minute holding, roughly equivalent to a rectangle 20' x 34'. The fact that it is first class paddy and very small indicates that it is a rice seed bed (naidoko).

#2, 3, 4 are parcels of rice land, second grade, of 150 tsubo each.

#5 A plot of 3d grade rice land, 300 tsubo.

#6 A plot of 150 tsubo of dry farm land (hatake). This is first grade, but far from the house and in a different area from other family holdings.

#7 One plot of 2d grade dry farm land, 350 tsubo of medium quality but close in.

#8 A plot of 500 tsubo of dry farm land, 4th grade, hence rather poor, but close to the house.

#9 A plot of 400 tsubo dry farm land, 5th grade and barely usable for cultivation, almost like genya land.

428 423 The possible distribution is shown in Fig. 2. In this arrangement, the first son gets the house site, the seed bed (#1) and the three nearby rice fields (#2,3,4), the 500 tsubo of 4th grade dry crop land (#8), and the 350 tsubo of grade 2 dry crop land (#7). The second son receives 150 tsubo of rice land through the subdivision of plot #5, 150 tsubo of first grade dry crop land (#6), and one-half of the 400 tsubo of fifth grade dry crop land (#9). The third son gets the second half of the rice plot (#5), and the second half of the dry crop land (#9).

Summarized, the totals are:

	Total Tsubo*	Rice (Ta)	Dry Crop Land (Hatake)
Total	2169	769	1400
First Son	1319	469	850
Second Son	500	150	350
Third Son	350	150	200

[809] * A tsubo is about four square yards

off a main road or village lane. (5) Forest lands (sanrin). This is an important classification in Matsuda, but of minor significance in Hanashiro and Minatogawa. In the latter villages forest land is not recognizable because so many of the trees have been destroyed. In general, forest lands are community owned. (6) Shelter belts or groves of trees along the seashore or on crests of hills for typhoon protection. These are known as bōfurin. The trees are distinct from the forest lands; often they stand in isolated groves. In the south trees for typhoon shelters are confined to the settled area. There are no large groves surrounding and protecting the whole cultivated countryside. (7) Religious sites (haisho). These are small in area, the sites of buildings devoted to the local tutelary deities (ujigami). (8) The village community property (kyōchi). This may include the village office site and school grounds. (9) A miscellaneous classification (zashuchi). This is also public property, including vegetable plots, small public squares, very small parks, ponds, road meeting places and the like. These combined areas are usually small. (10) In the Gushichan area, there is one further classification: destroyed land (tsuborechi). This is land in the war area which has not been or cannot be restored. The pieces are not large. During the war a bulldozer may have made a road out of this land; it may be filled with stones or the shallow top soil of the land may have been scraped off in leveling for an army post or camp. 311 [127]

The bases for grading land within each class are different. In Gushichan township, the main consideration in grading rice land is the availability of water. First class rice land is where the water is. In this township, there are seven grades of rice land, although any one village may have only four or five. The first five grades in the township are rice lands with two yields a year. Grades one through five are determined by the yield of the plot, through past experience. Grades six and seven are one crop areas. The distinctions between the grades can be seen in the following table: 311 243 [312]

Grade of Rice Land	Expected Yield in Koku per Cho
1	24
2	18
3	15
4	12
5	7.5
6	6.7
7	6.0

[433]

A koku is 5.12 US dry bushels. A chō is 3000 tsubo, about 2.45 acres. [804]

If there is a drought in any year, the grades of land are not changed the following year, but the estimate of expected yield may

single criterion is nearness, providing the land has possibilities. Good land, unless of substantial area, if remote and far from roads, is very time consuming and inconvenient. 311

Genya land in the Gushichan area has two grades. The criterion here is the presence of grass and small shrubs that can be used for firewood. Grade two genya grows little or nothing either because of the large boulders or because it has too many small stones or unconsolidated rock with little vegetation. If it were not for stones or such topographical factors as steepness or ruggedness, some genya land could be classified as poor grade dry crop land. There are, as in rice land, tax differentials according to grade of hatake and genya land: [824] [134] [133]

Grade	Dry Crop Land Tax in Yen	Wild Land (Genya) Tax in Yen
1	13	2
2	12	1.80
3	11	
4	10	
5	9	
6	8	
7	7	
8	6	
9	5	
10	4	

[651]

In Ginoza-son, the land classification system is substantially the same. There are six different grades of land classified according to yield in go per tsubo. (A go is 1/1000 of a koku, a tsubo about 4 square yards). [804]

Grade	Yield	Remarks
1	5	Two annual plantings.
2	4	Two annual plantings.
3	3	Dependent entirely on amount of estimated rainfall.
4	2	
5	1.5	
6	1.0	Mountain paddy, very uncertain, depending on rainfall; occasionally two crops a year are possible.

[433] [241]

Dry crop land is judged by criteria similar to those in Gushichan-son. Grade 1 is good soil and convenient to water with good yields as shown by experience. Grades 2 and 3 are convenient to water, but soils are of lesser quality. The classification is also based on experience. Grade 4 is in low places, generally narrow ravines between steep wooded slopes. Grades 5 and 6 have little or no water, are stony, and inconvenient. [134] [312] [133]

243 by plowing.

There is water on the land when it is dug and harrowed, but it is not flooded. Not all rice land is harrowed. If it is not harrowed, the same result is accomplished by further hoeing. The harrow (magwa [407] in Japanese, maga in Okinawan) is partly a home made tool and looks like a large clumsily constructed rake. Essentially it is a piece of timber with a row of strong spikes. This timber ordinarily is made of pine, but other woods may be used. Twelve nails, spaced at about two inch intervals, are driven into the board. These nails or spikes, [414] about 8 sun (almost 10 inches long), square at the head, and with a [326] sharp point, are made by a blacksmith for about Yen 20 each. The [231] harrow is drawn by cattle; two shafts, with a yoke over the animal's [435] head complete the simple implement. The plow is used in the preparation of the field, but far more commonly, the work is done with a hoe.

In the fall and winter planting of rice, the seedlings remain in the seed bed for about 40 days. In the summer, the period is only 20 days and may be less. The winter shoots are from 7-8 inches long, the summer shoots from 4-7 inches. The length is important, for if the seedlings are too long, losses in transplanting will, according to Hanashiro farmers, increase to almost half. In rare instances, due to adverse conditions, seedlings in the seed bed reach 15-20 inches in length. The losses here are said to be considerable in transplanting.

[462] The hoeing or the plowing and harrowing of a field is almost exclusively done by men. It is tiring, uncomfortable, and heavy work. It is much more common to see women hoeing the dry crop land. But transplanting is done by men, women, and the older children. A handful of seedlings in the bed is pulled out and bound with straw, grass, or a rush. There is a knack in pulling these out. They must be jerked quickly, but dexterously to avoid root damage. The bundle is tossed either into a central place or into the paddy field to be planted, if it is adjoining. In the latter case, the bunches are tossed to various parts of the paddy.

243 The seedlings are generally set out in rows. For this purpose, a
804 string with small markers like buttons (shirushi) is used. These are 7 sun (about 8.4 inches) apart. Both the rows and the hills are 7 sun apart. Differences between rows and hills may vary considerably. In these localities, the distances were generally the same. The string is stretched from one end of the row to the other. Each seedling is planted at the interval indicated by the marker on the string. This method of planting is not universal. When there is little time, the seedlings might be scatter planted.

243 Another method of obtaining the checker-board pattern is by means
804 of a home made hexagonal frame, the waku (literally, a reel or a frame).
413 Each of the six sides is divided into nine squares, 7 sun on the side. The overall length is over six feet. The frame is set along the outside border, or at any desired starting point. When in place, the

bottom will imprint nine squares on the wet soil, and as it is turned another nine will be imprinted so that when continued the field is laid out in tiny squares. Three or four seedlings are planted on the corners of the square made by the waku. 243 804 413

Men operate the frame. As they turn it, making the square pattern on the damp soil, women follow behind with the seedlings. The frame has been in use in Matsuda for about fifteen years. An Okinawan agricultural school student is said to have invented it. It was not used in the southern villages studied, an interesting sidelight on the slowness of innovation even on a small island like Okinawa, for many farmers in the south expressed surprise at its use and had not heard of it. The device is helpful to those with large plots. In Matsuda, there are not many of these frames, but borrowing is frequent. [462] [176] [184] [426]

In contrast with recent introductions, such as the universal treadle thresher, the frame seems to be confined to one geographic area. The reason for this may be that the use of the thresher was actively encouraged by the Japanese as a successful time and labor saving device, while the frame was not similarly publicized. 243 804 [407]

Another method, a more traditional one, is to use a piece of wood the same length as the waku with seven little knobs and the two ends to give the nine spaces. This is the jiyogi. A piece of string stretched from one end of the field to the other is used to get a straight line along a row. When the planting has taken place along one row, the jiyogi is used to measure off one space between rows, the guide line is moved over and the operation repeated. This achieves the same purpose as the frame or the string with the markers. Men are more likely to handle these operations, the women following along with the transplanting. But the division of labor is by no means hard and fast. [462]

Care of rice until its maturity. Rice set out in squares is easier to cultivate, weed, and harvest. During its growth, it will be necessary occasionally to loosen the soil or to break up clods which escaped the initial working. There may be some temporary drainage of water off the fields at these times. 243

Weeding rice is usually done by hand, though once in a while a farmer has a hand cultivator. Weeding the rice field is an unrelenting job which is done about once a week. More attention is given to this task when the plants are younger. Weeding is worked in with other daily chores, and all members of the family may participate.

The rice is now allowed to grow with the hope that strong winds or a typhoon will not blow over the slender shoots or submerge them. If the rice is submerged when the shoots are still fairly young, they will gradually right themselves. Farmers say that attempting to upright the plants by hand will not work. The quality of rice once submerged is poor and sometimes half the rice in the plot is lost. If the submersion occurs when the plants are near maturity and the stalks are 20 or 25

241 a/ A chō is 3000 tsubo, or about 2.45 acres.

311 Source: Agricultural Section, Gushichan Village Office, Gushichan-son, Okinawa, September 1951.

[804]

In Ginoza-son, statistics for crops on an individual village basis were only obtainable in part. Some Matsuda figures which were available indicate that rice, the sweet potato, and sugar cane were the most important of the crops:

Rice lands 82,151 tsubo (about 27.4 chō)
Summer planting: 58,000
Fall planting: 54,000
112,000 tsubo, including double cropping.

Dry Crop Land 188,305 tsubo (about 62.8 chō)

Sugar Cane:
Summer planting 2170 tsubo
Spring planting 6840 " "
9010 tsubo

The greater part of the remaining dry crop land is believed to be in sweet potatoes.

8

Native Uncultivated Plants of Use to Man
(Other than Forest Trees)

824 In the south, trees such as the banyan (gajimaru), the Japanese redwood (sugi), and the usuki are important within the village as windbreaks. The importance of miscanthus sinensis, often called kaya or susuki, has already been mentioned. Certain plants, used for medicinal purposes, are becoming scarce and are being displaced by modern drugs, but have some interest. Other plants, formerly used in home industries for weaving and making straw sandals, have also declined in importance in the villages.

In the south one of the most interesting associations is that of the Ryukyuan pine (Pinus ryukyuensis), the cycad (sotetsu in Japanese, Cycas revoluta, Thumb.) and Chinese silver grass (miscanthus sinensis). The Ryukyu pine in this area is little more than a shrub. It has some uses for firewood and for minor construction, but the lumber for substantial houses comes from the northern forests.

The cycad, now rather uncommon in this area, has had several uses. The whole plant may be a windbreak or be used for firewood. A form of starch (renpun in Japanese, kumu in Okinawan) is made from this plant, a food traditionally used in time of great hardship or crop failure.

[262]

One can infrequently observe women walking from Minatogawa to nearby villages to sell their fish. Women and young girls also sell fish locally, standing somewhere off the main street with their hand scale (hakkari) and a basket or bucket of fish. Housewives come up, price the individual fish, often weighing it for themselves on the hand scale. 443 804

Like the Chinese scale, this is simply a round piece of wood on one end of which there is a weight. The fulcrum is a string, held in the hand, which holds the scale. The item to be weighed is put in a basket and placed on the other end. The weight is ascertained by moving the counter-weight till both sides are in balance. Markings along the piece of wood show the exact amount. Every village shop has one of these scales.

There is very little haggling over prices, although the housewife is choosy and will inquire the cost of different individual fish before deciding which one, if any, to buy. 443

Usually the night's catch is marketed the following morning. Women, by custom, receive a fee for selling fish. A woman who takes her husband's and his partner's fish to market (the catch being insufficient for both wives to participate) is paid her fee by weight. 443 465

25 kin (about 33 pounds) sold at Y30 per kin	Y1500
Woman's share, at Y5 per kin	- 150
Remainder	Y1350
Each Partner's Share	675

[804]

The Y5 per kin is a selling commission. If more than one woman goes, the fee is split between them. Women pay all expenses and their bus fare from the commission. Occasionally wives alternate in taking the catch to market.

When the woman of a fishing family takes fish to market, she is doing more than performing an errand. Her skill in bargaining and general knowledge of prices, of the catch and the demand for various kinds of fish determine whether she gets a good or only a fair price. Generally, mature women sell the fish. Younger women, in the late teens and early twenties, often accompany the older women as helpers and gradually are initiated into the tricks of the trade. Young women, not being skillful, are more likely to accept the first offer, or to sell below the highest price obtainable. One source of family quarreling (fufukonka) is the anger of a husband when his wife has sold at a lower price than his neighbor's wife. Women who have children leave them with a relative, or an older daughter. When the wife of the family is unable to sell the fish because her children are too young, the chore is taken over by a woman relative. In Minatogawa, this substitute work also is often done by widows who, in addition, might sell fish caught by male relatives. 443 562 [578] [855] [589]

The money earned by women in the marketing of the fish, after 000

316 (1951-52) is from Y300-400 per tsubo (about four square yards), much
425 higher than ordinary agricultural land. The price varies with supposed
435 quality. The good judgment of the purchaser is necessary for success. He must estimate the quantity of stone, its depth, whether there may be cracks, fissures, or black streaks below, and the effect of underground water as he cuts down deeper. In a year, a good stonecutter can remove stone from about four tsubo of land. If he has extra capital, he may hire help.

316 The types of employment found are either the single operator or the
472 small operator who has one or more employees. The industry is not notable for large capital outlays, or many employees of a single operator. A simple partnership is common. There may be some division of labor, with the owner of the rights doing all the cutting, while a friend or relative who does this as a secondary occupation assists in the removal of the stone and in loading it on a horse cart. The operator who has a piece of land too large to work by himself may hire someone. The employee (yatoi in Japanese, ninpu in Okinawan) is paid according to skill: Y100
[965] a day for a beginning 17 or 18 year old boy, Y150 to the experienced, and Y200 to the worker who can do all phases of the work quickly and skillfully.

Much depends on the nature of the stone being worked. This varies
[804] by locality and with moisture content. It will require 8 hours for a man to cut a six shaku (about six feet) length of hard rock 1 shaku
[961] 2 sun (14.4 inches) deep, but he may be able to make three cuttings of moist or wet rock in the same period. Working time naturally varies with the strength and skill of the cutter. For this reason, piece
[965] work payment is common. The employee, however, may work unused portions of the holdings, receiving two-thirds of the value of the stone cut.

3

Tools and Types of Stone Cut

413 Six tools are used in cutting and extracting the sandstone: (1) the hichi (Okinawan). This tool, about six feet long, resembles a crow bar, but has a sharp chisel edge for cutting the stone. (2) A sharp hand axe (ono in Japanese, yuki in Okinawan) for chipping and finishing, (3) the ishiyuki, a smaller axe, used like the yuki, for chipping and finishing but principally in shaping pyramidal stones (kenchi). The tool is also used to knock off the rough edges of the stone, where it has been split, an operation often performed by old men. (4) The kusukacha (Okinawan). This reminds one of a small light golf iron. It has a handle four or five feet long with a metal strip attached at an angle to one end. It is used to rake off chippings and dust that accumulate in the groove while the cut is being made with the long chisel. (5) Wedges (iya in Okinawan), and (6) sledge hammers are used to split off the stone after the cut has been made.

316 Methods of working with these tools are very simple. The surface dirt is cleared away until the stone to be cut is visible and clean.

324 The truck or horsecart of the buyer comes to the stonecutting area,
432 the blocks are loaded and taken away. Prior to sale, for convenience,
stone may be taken from the cutting area. It is loaded on horse carts,
[994] the men carrying the heavy blocks by means of ropes looped around the
[983] ends of the stone and over poles which in turn rest on the shoulders.
[804] A six foot length (1 ken linear measure), one foot wide and about ten
[435] inches thick sells for ¥140 (1951-52).

Foot injuries are the chief hazards of this occupation. The toes may be accidentally cut by the long chisel, and there is danger
316 of bruising or crushing by accidentally dropping the block, or by
[164] rolling when it is being dislodged. Very hard and calloused hands are the mark of the stonecutter; his hands are especially conspicuous for the hard, raised areas on the palm around the base of the fingers, the
[142] result of the constant lifting and pounding of the long chisel. There is also danger to the eyes in flying chips but few use glasses or goggles.

Like some phases of fishing, this work is for the young and the
[561] physically mature men. After the middle forties or early fifties, a man no longer does the heavy work and confines himself to lighter chores. The very old and the retired may chip and finish the foundation and the pyramidal stones.

472 If a cutter is unable to extract all the stone in a plot whose stone he has bought, there are also customary solutions. When the father dies, his son continues the workings and returns the field to the owner. If a stone worker moves to another village when only half the work has been done, he arranges for a friend, relative, or neighbor to take over the remaining part.

4

Restoring the Land

185 Formerly excavations (which might be 10 or 15 feet deep and the
311 size of a large room) were refilled by the buyer of the stone rights. Rocks, pebbles, and miscellaneous trash were used as fill, but following the war there has been a heavy demand for rock and stone for road
[499] construction. As a consequence, many excavations are now only partly refilled. After refilling, houses are built on the sites of formerly excavated land. Here and there one can see sweet potatoes or vegetables growing on land which formerly was covered with stone. The original state of the land, its appearance after excavation and its restoration may be seen in Figure 2. Evidences of this reclamation may be seen throughout the stoneworking area.

324 Minatogawa, because it lacks vegetation for protective and decorative purposes, is a good example of the use and adaptation of stone to local needs. There are still stone fences, waist or shoulder height, and many small stone boundary lines, a foot or two and of uneven height. Coral stones, weathered by the sea, honeycombed and pocked, are seen everywhere.

60% of the proceeds. The trees thus sold are all cut down. After clearcutting, the area is left to natural reseeding. About twenty years hence, the clearing will again be sufficiently forested to permit repetition of the same procedure. This follows an established Japanese pre-war practice. This was known as the five year period share (gonenkanbun). The forest is divided into subdivisions, each 110 chō in area. (A chō is 2.45 acres). These 110 chō plots are in turn subdivided into five parcels of twenty-two chō each. Each year one of these five subdivisions may be cleared. 313 [804]

Throughout the forest, divided up into these plots, there may be a five year cycle of cutting, but not all the plots are available every year. If this were so, the forest could be cut over in five years. The system is planned so that there will always be parcels being cleared, those in various stages of regrowth, and mature stands. During and after the war, this practice broke down in favor of uncontrolled cutting.

If a family has little cash, a villager may pay his taxes in part by cutting wood. The village office pays Y4 for a bundle of firewood (late 1951), Y2 going to the villager as a cash payment, and Y2 being applied to his taxes for the year. [651]

The farmer makes frequent excursions to the mountains to obtain firewood or poles to make improvements in the compound, such as repairing a tool or food shed. Men do this work, especially when the distances are far, but the participation of women is by no means exceptional. Along the roads of northern Okinawa, one can frequently see old women walking down from the mountains carrying bundles of firewood on heavy poles. Much of the wood is hand carried from the mountains; if the farmer has a horse and cart or a truck, the wood is carried to a convenient road for loading and transport. [462] [482] [887] [494]

Charcoal is manufactured in the forest area. In Okinawa charcoal has many uses, mainly for heating and cooking, and for charcoal sticks (senko). Lumps of charcoal are placed in braziers and the sticks are used as touchwood in place of matches and in ceremonial and religious observances. Charcoal containers (tangu) are often constructed on the spot. These are round or box-shaped and made out of the dwarf bamboo. 314 [372] [796] [415]

Charcoal kilns are privately owned. They are of the simplest sort. The kiln may be covered with a rude housing, built up by poles and a thatch roof. A mound of large boulders and dirt is built with an opening on the dirt floor running the length of the firing area. Poles which have been stripped and cut in various lengths, from five to nine feet, are shoved in the opening and moved forward as they burn. The smoke comes out the back.

Forest maintenance and improvement is, in part, a result of community endeavor. With some exceptions, each person in the village from 16 to 60 participates one day a year in forest improvement (sōrin).[8] The participants are boys past school age, unmarried girls, and all men up to the age of 60. These people work without personal remunera- 313 476

[8] The usual meaning of sōrin is afforestation or reforestation. In Matsuda it is used in the sense of care and improvement of the forest.

shopping trip to a larger town. In the very common evening visiting among men, women participate very little. 562

There has been some improvement in the social position of women since the war. In Hanashiro, for example, before the war, the husband, children, and grandparents ate in the second or third room, while the wife and sometimes the eldest daughter ate in the kitchen. (The Okinawan kitchen, though part of the house, differs from the other rooms in that it has direct access to the outside, is generally on a level with the ground, and has a dirt, cement, or stone floor). The wife in preparing the meal can go back and forth readily and need not take off her clogs or wash her feet if she goes barefoot when she goes up into the rooms. Her meal is a slight interlude between duties. 562 264 [342]

In most homes now, the women eat with the family in the main house. Some old women still spend most of their time in the kitchen watching the fire and eating their meals there. One of the reasons given for the change in attitude toward women is that many of the repatriated Okinawans brought newer ideas with them and did not practice segregation at meal times. [178]

Another important fact about social life is the drinking of the men and the abstinence of the women.[3] Young men usually begin drinking sake around the age of marriage. It is exceptional for a young man in his teens or early twenties to drink. But once this dividing line is passed, it is the exceptional man who does not drink. In each village one finds a few lifelong teetotalers. Drinking is always done in company, as the climax of a task completed, because of some happy turn of events, or because there is a party or celebration. As a general rule, the village men do not drink every day, but only when a suitable occasion arises. While there is drunkenness, I did not observe the solitary, prolonged drinking commonly associated with alcoholism in western societies. Prolonged drinking at night has the expected effects the next day, but there is very little remorse, unless a man has done something of which he is subsequently ashamed. Men who have drunk too much the night before do not hesitate to lie in bed 273 [562] [133]

[TEXT CONTINUES TOP OF P. 295--ANALYST]

3 In Okinawa, the commonest and cheapest alcoholic drink is sake. This is not the same as Japanese sake, the light rice wine, slightly resembling sauterne, that is usually served warm or hot. Okinawan sake is awamori, a much stronger drink of distilled rice spirits, a variety of the Japanese shochu. The alcoholic content of awamori ranges from about 25% to 30%. It is a raw liquor with an unpleasant taste. It is not the favorite, but it is the cheapest drink. Awamori is made from rice in small distilleries throughout Okinawa, bottled in large jugs and distributed to village shops. Most shops carry it. Sometimes there are special sake shops. Awamori or sake is sold for about Y14 per go (.318 pint). The normal intake for an evening is considered to be 2 go. Most men are fairly inebriated after drinking this much. The American army canteen, when available, is the favorite sake container. Japanese and American beer and Japanese sake are liked, but too expensive. 279 435 809

Home Industries, Arts, and Crafts

438 Home industries, arts, and crafts are not a conspicuous part of the life of the villages studied. Even before the war, home crafts, training in dancing, singing, landscape gardening were not cultivated to any degree.

252 Certain foods, like bean curd and bean paste, are made in the home. There is a standard method of preparing bean curd. The soy beans are soaked until soft and then mashed in a hand operated stone mill or quern. This mill has two round stones. The top stone, turned by hand, rests on the stationary bottom stone. The crushed beans, thinned by frequent dashes of water, ooze out of the space between the two stones. This liquid is collected and strained through a cloth drawn over the top of a frame box. The residue in the cloth is saved for pig food. The liquid is boiled. After it curdles, it is strained. The curds remain in the cloth, the liquid [231] is also used for the pigs. The curds, of the consistency of a soft cottage cheese, are wrapped in a cloth and put in the frame box. A tight fitting lid is put on the box and pressed down hard to expel the rest of the liquid. After the curd has been thoroughly pressed, the frame box is turned upside down, the curd taken out, and the cloth wrapper removed. The smooth mold can now be sliced. It is a common sight to see women operating these mills in the villages before a family celebration or a public holiday. Bean curd, fried, boiled in a soup, or in a mixture with vegetables, or as an ingredient [574] of sukiyaki is always served at a party.

251 Bean paste (miso), an even more important food, is also made in the home. Most families serve bean paste soup (misoshiru) every 252 meal every day. It has four basic ingredients: soy beans, rice [264] (or barley), salt, and water. Recipes differ considerably among families. In one recipe, 8 sho of rice are boiled, after which it is spread out on a large flat basket to drain, and then placed on a mat and allowed to ferment for about one week. An equal amount of soy beans, crushed in a stone mortar, is mixed with the rice. Salt (about 7 go, one go being 1/10 of a sho) is added and the mixture is boiled.[8] The salt retards fermentation and is a preservative. If obtainable, an American hand food grinder is preferred to the mortar and pestle. The mixture is put in a large jar (tsubo) which is placed in the kitchen or in a storeroom and allowed to stand at least a year, sometimes for three. With age, the paste becomes sweeter and is considered to be better. A woman may make three large jars of bean paste 3 times a year, the frequency depending on the size of the jars. Some are 5 1/2 feet high. Occasionally the cycad is an ingredient of miso. Every house has a supply of bean paste. When ready for use, it is very soluble in water.

[804] 8 A koku equals 10 to equals 100 sho equals 1000 go, 47.96 US gallons liquid, 5.12 US dry bushels.

fortune teller. The purpose of this visit is to discover who would be a good adopting parent. The fortune teller advises the parents to select a person born under the same year sign as the child. These year signs roughly correspond to the signs of the zodiac. The twelve signs with their Japanese equivalents are: rat (ne), ox (ushi), tiger (tora), hare or rabbit (u), dragon (tatsu), snake (mi), horse (uma), sheep hitsuji), monkey (saru), bird (tori), dog (inu), and hog or boar (i). The year 1951 was the year of the hare; 1952 is the year of the dragon (tatsudoki). 597 608 855 [805]

The adopting or "growing up" parent is older, in multiples of 12, than the child. After consulting almanacs and other materials, the fortune teller advises the parents to find a person in the village born under the same year sign as the child. Prospective adopting parents are then sought out and the matter is discussed with them. Both parents may do this, but most often the discussions are carried on by the mother. When the selection is made, the child is "given" to the adopting parent, and there are prayers before the Buddhist god shelf in the home of the adopting parent. [782] [778]

Actually the child continues to live with its own parents, but makes frequent visits to the home of the adopting parent. There are no stated intervals at which these visits are made, except for New Years and O-Bon. The adopting parent may on these visits give food and presents to the child. [574]

The arrangement thus seems to be a form of sponsorship and guardianship without special responsibilities on the part of the adopting parent, to bring good health and long life to the child. It has only slight resemblances to the godfather and godmother in Christian countries who sponsor a child at his baptism and theoretically at least undertake to be responsible for his Christian training. But the sponsorship and guardianship features are somewhat similar.

Adoption of this type may be done in Okinawa by either sex. [887] Generally old women are the favorites and they may have many such adopted children. But old or older men may also assume this obligation. [184] This form of "growing up" adoption existed in all the villages studied in substantially the same form.

8

The Household Order Naming System

Families in a village have, in addition to their own surnames, secondary names by which individual families are known. This secondary naming system is a device to distinguish related families with the same surname from one another. 619 551 592 613

The secondary naming system is known as "the household order," or yaro in Japanese. To introduce this discussion, it might be well to 000

241
262 These crops do not exhaust their agriculture. Wheat and barley are grown, but not in significant quantities. Varieties of beans other than the soybean are important. Pumpkins and gourds of various kinds make valuable food supplements. The onion, the carrot, and the giant horse radish are grown for home use, occasionally for sale. More unusual products, such as the taro, are grown less frequently and then only for side dishes at meals.

221
805 In their agricultural work, farmers prefer the lunar (kyūreki, literally, old calendar) to the western, solar (seireki) calendar. The lunar calendar was abolished for official purposes by the Japanese in 1874. While this change was introduced into Okinawa, the lunar calendar still has vitality in the countryside. The present published calendars show with a large numeral the day in the western count, but in each block, in smaller script, is the corresponding lunar date:

JANUARY	1952
1	
12th Month	5th day

Births, deaths, official correspondence are recorded in the western count. The farmer, however, thinks in terms of the lunar calendar. When he says he plants his sweet potatoes in May, he means May by the lunar count.

805

Western Solar and Lunar Day Equivalents

Western	1951, Year of the Hare	Lunar Count 1952, Year of the Dragon
Jan 1	Nov 24	Dec 5
Feb 1	Dec 25	Jan 6
Mar 1	Jan 24	Feb 6
Apr 1	Feb 25	Mar 7
May 1	Mar 26	Apr 8
Jun 1	Apr 27	May 9*
Jul 1	May 27	May 10*
Aug 1	Jun 29	Jun 11
Sept 1	Aug 1	Jul 12
Oct 1	Sep 1	Aug 13
Nov 1	Oct 3	Sep 14
Dec 1	Nov 3	Oct 15

* The period from May 24 to June 21, 1952, western calendar, corresponds to the lunar May 1 to May 29. The fifth month is then repeated beginning June 22 and ending July 21, western count. This intercalary month is necessary because the lunar year is about 355 days long. As a consequence about 11 days are lost each year, and an additional month is required every third year.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Some young farmers are now breaking away from the traditional lunar month and using the western calendar in describing their annual activities.[1] 221 805

The use of the lunar month is not confined to farmers. Fishermen, describing their work year, speak in terms of lunar months. For this reason, it is essential in talking to farmers or fishermen to establish at the outset what reckoning they are using. The names of the lunar month and the western month are identical. Following the Chinese, there are no distinctive names for the months. They are numbered from one to twelve. The months have to be distinguished by saying, for example, "sixth month, old calendar," or sixth month, Western calendar." [177]

An interesting minor detail of agriculture and the timekeeping connected with it is the reliance of Okinawan farmers on Japanese almanacs. These are printed and may be purchased throughout the island. One of these printed almanacs is in almost every house, or is readily available from a neighbor. Often, if one asks what is planted or harvested in any particular month, the farmer reaches for his almanac and produces the desired information. If the inquirer is not careful, he will obtain not what a farmer does during the year but what the almanac says he does.

2

Methods and Tools

In the chapter on general geography, it was pointed out that, despite a high annual rainfall and precipitation every month of the year, there is a problem of water shortage and of drought. This is especially serious in the summer months in all three communities. 132 731

[Text Continues Top of P. 167--Analyst]

1 The 24 seasons, borrowed from the 24 Chinese solar terms, into which the lunar year is divided, are also retained on the modern calendar, largely for the use of farmers. For example, Shōkan (Little Cold) begins about Jan 6, Chūkei (Insects Awaken) on March 6, Bōshu (Grain in Ear) on June 5, Ritto (Beginning of winter) on Nov. 7. These 24 seasons, in my experience, are not used much. Farmers think more in terms of the four seasons instead of the 24 little seasons. In Okinawa, they must be revised mentally to suit the humid subtropical climate. "Light snow," and "Heavy snow" are inapplicable in Okinawa; they would simply be small seasons in which one would expect the greatest severity of winter. For a list of the small seasons with Chinese characters, see The five thousand character dictionary, 5th ed., with additions and revisions by George D. Wilder and Chien Hsien Tseng, Peking, 1940, xxxi. [177]

common and indispensable tool. It has many uses, including cutting rice stalks at harvest, brush, and sweet potato tops. 412

3. A small sharp pointed hoe, with a short handle, used in sweet potato planting.

4. A two pronged hoe, the futamata, used mostly with sweet potatoes. The two pronged hoe is used in softer soils. It is much more common in Matsuda than in the southern villages.

5. The three pronged hoe, the mutsumata, also used in sweet potato cultivation and in digging. These prongs, with skilful use, do not cut the potato. It is also much more common in Matsuda than in Hanashiro or Nagamo.

6. The common all purpose hoe (kuwa). It has a thick, solid, wide blade. The handle (about 3 1/2 feet long) is stout. The hoe is much sturdier than the ordinary American garden hoe.

7. Another hoe, longer and with a sharper angle between the handle and the blade. It has a variety of uses.

8. A long handled hoe with a heart shaped blade. It is used for making furrows.

9. An ordinary rake.

10. A cultivator and weeding tool for rice paddies. (The pole in back near the handle of the pitchfork is a prop to hold the tool upright for the picture). Only the more prosperous farmers possess this tool. Rice weeding is done almost entirely by hand. [934]

11. An ordinary pitchfork.

12. The plow (suki) 407

13. The harrow (maguwa), and

14. The waku, a hexagonal wooden frame used in laying out a rice field for transplanting. The last three tools or devices, which are not shown in the picture, will be described under rice cultivation. 413

3

The Annual Work Cycle

The following charts show the annual work cycle by lunar month of two farmers, one in Hanashiro, one in Matsuda. The Western calendar equivalents for 1951-52 are shown below the lunar month. Because the lunar year is shorter, there is a gap, as the period actually covered is from February 6, 1951 to January 26, 1952. These materials are based on observation and conversation with the farmers concerned. 221 241 [805] [114]

grandparents. The food was then served: noodles cooked with vegetables, with a slight fish flavor; rolls; tempura, a sort of fritter; a fish cake known as kamobuko with a red border symbolizing happiness, and plenty of sake (awamori). A streamer hung from the ceiling near the alcove, announcing the name and date of birth of the new born child, together with the written wish that she might live any number of 10,000 year periods. There are no special ceremonies on these occasions. Some guests drop in for a few minutes, others remain for the whole evening. The women and the children go home early, while the men continue talking and drinking. This celebration is the first of a series that continues through a person's life, and if his descendants are devoted, will end 33 years after his death. After this celebration, things settle down until the child's first birthday. 852 [262] [212]

At present a child's age is reckoned in the same way as the Western custom. A child is one year old one year after the date of his birth. This is a recent innovation in force since January 1, 1950. Formerly age was reckoned in the Chinese and Japanese manner. A child born during a year was one year old and on the following New Year became two years of age. Thus a child born on December 27 would be two on January 1. The difference between the Chinese-Japanese and the western reckoning is that the former counts the years during which a person lives with New Years as the date for increasing the age, the latter counts the number of one year periods in which a person has lived. 865 [171]

The old system of reckoning age is inconvenient and conceals age differences. A one day difference might mean a year's difference in age in the case of a child born on December 31, and another on January 1. Determining the actual age of a person was troublesome. When children started to school, they might be 6, 7, or 8 years old and still be about the same actual age.

4

The Early Years

In all the villages studied, the women returned to their normal tasks about a month after childbirth. When the mother returns to the fields, the grandmother may accompany mother and child to the fields, the grandmother watching the child, while the mother nurses it at 10, 1, and 4. If the grandmother is too old and disabled, the child might stay home with the grandmother and the mother return from the fields to feed the child. Lacking help of this kind, the mother remains at home until the other children have returned from school. 846 854 853 603

But arrangements of this sort need not last long, for very early in life the child is strapped on the back and carried around 854

3

Daily Work Habits

512 The people of a village are continually busy. Their daily work habits depend on the season and the type of work. The work day of the fisherman is the least predictable because his activities are more sensitive to the present and anticipated weather. Most farmers continue working in their fields in a slight rain, but activity ceases with heavy rains. While the farmer works steadily and hard, there is a certain elasticity in his schedule. He does not go to the fields every morning at exactly the same time. Neither does he feel compelled to put in a full day's work every day; he is guided more by the tasks to be done. Work is interrupted by an occasional smoke or conversation with friends or neighbors passing by. There is a routine in daily life, but it is not strictly adhered to. Meal times vary from day to day sometimes by an hour. Time may [264] be taken out from the fields to gather firewood, make bean curd, to dry out bean pods, or to fix up one's house. Three or four days in a row may be devoted to helping with another's house. The sun is [476] the guide to time. Most houses have clocks but few are running and they are not well regulated. Perhaps the chief distinction between [805] agriculture and fishing work is that in the former, the tasks of all blend together.

A farmer's work day in summer begins about 8 or 9 in the morning and ends almost the same time in the evening. Full advantage is taken of the daylight hours. In summer, the evening meal is not eaten until 9 and often later. By the time the meal is finished and the table cleared, it is ten. After short visits within the family, or with neighbors, the farmer retires about 11. In the winter, the routine is the same, but the day's work stops earlier, and the evening meal is at about 6 P.M. The fishermen do not have this unbroken routine. There is often night work and the day may be used for sleeping. Intense activity is followed by periods of greater or less leisure.

4

Clothing

175 The history of costume in Okinawa is full of interest, but it is 292 too broad a subject to deal with here. In the old Okinawan kingdom, 565 clothing and its color, hair pins, caps, and other articles of men's wear were used to designate rank. The clothing of the commoners had [286] much less variety. Until quite recently, banana fibre was used in farmers' clothing. A dyed indigo kimono, stripes for men and dots 291 for women, is still worn. [537] 000

Present day clothing is of a non-descript character. The war

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

discounting the idea that it was a sign of nervousness or of being ill at ease. Certainly it occurs equally with strangers, relatives and life-long friends, and it may well be nothing more than an extremely common mannerism. 157

12

The Tide

Scattered throughout the previous discussion there have been references to the importance of reckoning the tide on certain occasions. At these times, it is necessary that it either be high tide or that the tide is coming in. Though doubtless there are many more instances than have been mentioned, the following were found to be the most common occasions in which high tide or the beginning of flood tide was considered: (1) The marriage ceremony of san-san-kudo, (2) giving a child a name on its birth date, (3) when moving from a main house to a branch house, (4) when the child is given symbolic gifts at his first birthday party, (5) when carrying salt, the Buddhist god shelf and other articles into a new house. 823

Under these circumstances it is necessary to be able to compute the tide quickly and easily. For this purpose, the lunar month is divided into two periods of 15 days each. From an almanac a figure is obtained which gives the number of hours to be added to 12 o'clock on the first day of the 15 day lunar cycle. This is 0.8 hours or 48 minutes for low tide. (Everyone seems to have this at his finger tips). On the first day of the fifteen day cycle, low tide is 48 minutes after 12 o'clock. High tide is obtained by adding or subtracting 6 hours. The computation is shown in the following table. 805 823

Lunar Day at 12 o'clock (15 day cycle)		Multiplied by:	Equals Period of time in Hours to be Added to 12 o'clock.	Or, Low Tide at:
1	x	0.8 hrs	0.8 hrs.	12:48
2	x	0.8	1.6	1:36
3	x	0.8	2.4	2:24
4	x	0.8	3.2	3:12
5	x	0.8	4.0	4:00
6	x	0.8	4.8	4:48
7	x	0.8	5.6	5:36
8	x	0.8	6.4	6:24
9	x	0.8	7.2	7:12
10	x	0.8	8.0	8:00
11	x	0.8	8.8	8:48
12	x	0.8	9.6	9:36
13	x	0.8	10.4	10:24
14	x	0.8	11.2	11:12
15	x	0.8	12.0	12:00
16 (or 1)	x	0.8	12.8	12:48

To obtain high tide add or subtract 6 hours.

1

The New Year

Two basic themes are expressed in public celebrations and holidays. 527
The first of these is remembrance and respect for the dead. The holidays are in part public observances of basic obligations under the family system. In the second place, holidays are occasions of thanksgiving. In a year there are not many official holidays or rest days. The work year is not interrupted, as is our custom, with week ends which may provide from one to two days of leisure. Sunday is not a day of rest. Officials and school teachers do not work at their official duties on the week ends.

The traditional public holidays are based on the lunar calendar. [805]
In the discussion which follows, some holidays have been included, even though they involve only some of the people.

The western New Year is observed perfunctorily. It is observed [177]
only by present and former officials and honored elders of a township. The custom, about 40 years old in Gushichan-son, is known as New Year Banquet Party (Shinnenenkai). Headmen from each of the villages, members [554]
and former members of the village councils, and respected elders, the mayor and his subordinate officials and members of the township assembly are the chief participants. It is a social event, held in a public building or at a school, a "meeting for conversation" (hanashiai) at which food and sake are served. The event begins early in the afternoon and is generally over by early evening.

Lunar New Year (shōgatsu), the first day of the first lunar month and O-Bon in the seventh lunar month, are the two most important holidays. Lunar New Year falls in late January or early February. (In 1951 it was on February 6; in 1952, on January 27). This is a time of new beginnings, of thanksgiving, family reunions, and observances in honor of the dead. It is a three day holiday, with much prior preparation, and on the third day, there is either a symbolic or a partial return to work.

The new year is preceded by a series of activities on the last day of the 12th month (ōmisoka). Before the war, these preparations were more elaborate than they are now. In Hinatogawa, bamboo and pine poles with [789]
a rice straw rope (shimenawa) hanging across the top were placed at the compound entrance. The purpose was to scare off evil spirits and devils. A piece of charcoal wrapped in sea weed and an orange hung from the rice rope. This custom now is also rare in Hatsuda. Only one rice straw rope used for this purpose was observed, and this had been put up some time before the new year.

Other customs of preparing for the new beginning are still observed in all the villages: the house is cleaned; a bath is taken; old debts are paid; the New Year pig is slaughtered, or in the interests of economy three or four families may share a pig. The day before the New Year is the occasion for recalling one's bad deeds and of resolving on [577]

415 not use household equipment in their games. Instead they find broken Children do
857 dishes, old cans, and other discarded items in the trash heap.

354 The kitchen has no equipment other than the open fireplace with
[776] three hearth stones and a shelf above it on which a salt column, sym-
[654] bolizing kitchen deities, is kept. During the last few years, the Ryukyan government Home Extension Service has been trying to introduce brick stoves into farmhouses. Several families now have this kind of stove although it is expensive to build.

356 As far as can be superficially discerned, the home is kept clean. A visitor usually finds the floor of the house free of dirt. Footgear is taken off before entering, and children are reminded to wash their bare feet before going into the house. Less care is given to the area around the kitchen.

312 Outside the kitchen stand one or two jars to store water. A dipper is
415 kept nearby, and children playing in the vicinity or adults often walk to one of these jars for water, which they drink out of a dipper. There may also be an array of pots, pans, crates, baskets, and other equipment piled up around the kitchen. Knives and hatchets are openly left around among the equipment behind the kitchen.

351 The courtyard is an important place for domestic activities. Here women and girls wash dishes, mix pig food in large kettles, make bean paste in a hand stone grinder, and prepare grain for storage. There are vegetable patches in one corner of the yard, chicken coops, pigsties, goat pens, and an outhouse in another. Most garbage is fed to the pigs; the rest is thrown over the sea wall to roll down onto the beach.

*
*
*

Chapter 2

Daily Routine

805 There are few clocks in central Taira. Except for the township office,
512 post office, and village store, only two or three families own a timepiece. Twice a day, at noon and 10 o'clock in the evening, a clerk strikes

an empty oxygen bottle with a wooden mallet to mark the time. The noon bell tells people in the fields and mountains that it is time for the midday meal and helps those who have a clock to compare the time. The evening bell indicates that it is time to end the day. Schoolchildren do not need a clock, since they get up early in the morning and go to school soon after, knowing that they are probably early. For most adults, daylight and sun position are enough to tell the approximate hour of the day. Some take arrival and departure of the bus, four times a day, as a point of orientation. 805 512 [464]

Old women are the first to rise in the morning. Long before dawn during the winter, or with the first light of the summer day, they get up and start a fire to boil sweet potatoes and heat the soybean soup. Blue smoke rising through the thatched roof into the early morning sky indicates that life in the village has begun. Children soon awake. The door is pushed open and a sleepy child appears to urinate off the edge of the house. Men are the last to rise. Considering the effect of the sake which they may have consumed on the preceding evening, it is remarkable that they are able to wake up so soon. By 6:30 the sleepiest person has risen. 512 [887] [752] [514]

The addition of outer clothes to the underclothing in which most people sleep is simple. Cold water splashed over the face and a quick turn at the toothbrush is all the toilet needed to begin a new day. [513] [515]

The task of folding comforters and taking down the mosquito net falls to one of the older children or to the mother. Older children and young girls help to carry water from the tank, the first task that has to be done after getting up. After breakfast, women feed the pigs. By about 7 o'clock everybody is ready for work. On a good day people leave for the mountains or start toward their fields—schoolchildren are on their way, too. [857] [462]

By 8 o'clock, except during very poor weather, the village is left to the old people and young children. Little boys and girls hang around, waiting for kindergarten to start at 9 o'clock. Play begins for them after they leave the house in the morning and does not end until evening. [855] [872]

For men and women, the routine of work in fields and forests is prescribed by seasonal activities which demand their special attention, but there are daily chores, such as digging potatoes, picking vegetables, and collecting feed for the animals and firewood for cooking. Only a few men who go to the mountains, taking their midday meal along, are away all day. The rest come and go during the day from the rice paddies, potato fields, or forests, so that there is repeated contact between children and their parents. A young child, even if left in the 512 461 [855]

It will be seen that for males membership in the common descent group is reckoned strictly patrilineally and this membership is permanent. The status of women is less clear. A woman before marriage worships at the ancestral tablets and tomb of her father's family and lineage. If she dies she is buried in his tomb. After her marriage a woman worships at her husband's tomb, where she will be buried, and if he is an eldest son she knows she will ultimately have the responsibility of preparing the offerings put before his family's tablets; but at the same time she continues to worship at the u-machii before the tablets at the main house of her father's group. She may be called upon to contribute to the fund raised by her father's group for ceremonial expenses. And she may even function as a kaninchu for it. A woman's own tablet, when she dies, will be placed with that of her husband. If a woman is widowed or divorced and marries again, she will very likely be buried in the tomb of the family of her first son, regardless of which husband was his father, and her tablet will be put in his house. A woman without sons may feel uncertain of her future. 614 562

It must also be made explicit that the Okinawan common descent group, unlike most unilateral descent groups, is not exogamous. Even cousins related through the male line may marry and it is said that in some communities they do so frequently. I found one cousin marriage within the kin group in Yamada koseki; Lebra found several marriages within the munchu at Kanegusuku. Informants said it was common in some communities. 614 582

2. The Life Cycle

The Calendar Before a description of the life cycle of the individual can be given, a word must be said about the systems the Okinawans use for reckoning time. Two systems are in use, the "old calendar" (in Japanese 'kyūreki') and the "new calendar" ('shinreki'). The first is the same ancient Chinese calendar that is used throughout East Asia; the second is the Western calendar. 805 177

The "old calendar" is essentially a lunar calendar but combined with the twelve lunar months is a system of twenty-four solar periods and a system of naming days and years by the "Ten Stems and Twelve Branches".[1] The lunar year consists of twelve lunar months, designated as "first month", "second month" and so on, of twenty-nine or thirty days, with the fifteenth or sixteenth of each month falling on the night of the full moon. Since the lunar year is about eleven days shorter than the solar year, an inter-calary month must be inserted every three years to hold the year in place, so that Lunar New Year's usually comes some time in February of the Western Calendar. The principal traditional holidays of the year, except for three, are figured in the lunar calendar. Of particular importance are New Year's (the first day of the first month) and U-bung or Shichigwachi (from the 13th to the 15th of the 7th month; the Japanese 'Bon'). [527]

[1] For tables, etc., see Papinot, 1910, Appendix XII.

• 805 177 The Chinese solar year is divided into twenty-four periods of about fifteen days each. All of them bear two-character names, "Spring Begins", "Rain Water", "Excited Insects", etc. This division of the year is based on solar phenomena, so that it remains relatively stable. A solar period therefore does not begin on the same lunar date every year. The three holidays [527] mentioned above that are calculated by the solar calendar rather than by the lunar are the spring and autumn equinoxes (Fiigang, in Japanese 'Higan') and Shiimii (in Japanese, 'Seimei'; the Chinese Ch'ing Ming, "Clear and Bright"; the period from April 5 to 20). Most farmers, however, do not seem to know even the names of the whole sequence of twenty-four; they merely look at their calendars to see when the important dates fall, much as we look to see when Easter will fall in any given year.

805 The Ten Stems and Twelve Branches (in Japanese 'Jikkan Jūnishi') make up a system of designating both days and years. The ten stems are ten characters named in pairs after the five elements---wood, fire, earth, metal, and water---each occurring twice, once in a senior aspect and once in a junior aspect (or in Chinese "Yang" and "Yin" aspects). The twelve branches are twelve characters named after twelve animals---rat, ox, tiger, hare, dragon, snake, horse, sheep, monkey, cock, dog, boar. The two series run simultaneously, beginning "senior-wood rat", "junior-wood ox", and so on, so that after sixty days, or years, have elapsed, the cycle is complete and it is again "senior-[787] wood rat". On Okinawa the system is used by diviners (sanjinsoo, in J. 'ekisha') in drawing up horoscopes, but is probably not followed in its entirety by the layman. The twelve branches, however, are of interest to everyone. For many ritual purposes the individual is identified by the year of his birth within this cycle of twelve. A person praying may identify himself as a "rat man" or an "ox woman". The yuta, who are otherwise not concerned with calendrical lore, make it a point to ask the birth year of anyone about whom information is desired. An older person when asked his age may give it not in years but as "Year of the Horse," or the like, explaining which cycle only if questioned further. The term for the cycle is saa, so that a person may explain that he is chu-saa, "one cycle", above or below someone of the same [7X6] birth year. The twelve animals were even deified; there were twelve images of them scattered through four temples in Shuri. After the new year representatives of Shuri families made offerings before those corresponding to the birth years of all the members of their families.

Age, when it is reckoned in years, is traditionally reckoned not in full years since birth, as in the West, but in total number of years during which one has lived. Thus a child's years are one at birth, two after the following New Year's, three the next New Year's and so on. To know a person's age according to the Western system of reckoning one has to ask "how many full 805 years are you?" Thus what correspond to birthdays in the West are celebrated 527 on New Year's, when everyone simultaneously becomes a year older. The important ones are on the recurrence of the birth year, when one is thirteen, twenty-five, thirty-seven, and so forth, by year-count. These occasions are celebrated on the first occurrence of the corresponding day after the new year. Thus 1954 was the Year of the Horse and so people born during a Year of the Horse celebrated on the first Day of the Horse after New Year's. People are

warned to be careful on days corresponding to their birth-years. A man who was 805
a "bird person" could not go to participate in a bone-washing because it was 527
held on a Day of the Bird. During the recurrence of one's birth-year, he must be cautious during the whole period.

The Western calendar was introduced into Okinawa after the Japanese an- 805
nexation, but it is still referred to as the "new calendar". It is the calen- 177
dar of the schools and government and of business, but not of the farmer. In the city the more important celebration of New Year's is held on the "new" New Year's; in the country it is on "old" New Year's a month later.

Before the Japanese annexation years were named in an absolute sequence (that is, besides being named by position in the cycles of twelve and of sixty) by the reigns of Chinese emperors. After the annexation the reigns of Japanese emperors were used. At the present time the Western chronology ('seireki') is official, but some still speak of the year 1954 as "Shōwa 29", the 29th year of the reign of the present emperor.

Birth and Infancy: Notions about Conception Okinawans recognize that sexual 842
relations are necessary for but do not always result in conception. Younger people have heard of the struggle of the sperm to reach the egg, but their notions may be rather foggy. For example, a woman in her middle thirties, discussing the responsibilities of parents, argued in the following manner: a woman cannot conceive without having an orgasm; she cannot have an orgasm without feeling love ('aijō'); hence conception is the result of love, hence she should willingly take responsibility for her child. The ethical principle involved in this argument may not be typical, but the lack of precise information of physiology probably is. And it suggests two things: first, that women may inhibit their emotions as a contraceptive measure, and second, they may be willing to take chances in having sex relations thinking that they can inhibit conception. But it is worth noting here that young women do not discuss these matters very freely and hence generalizations may be very unsafe.

Condoms are sold in the cities but probably not in the country. A former country woman living in the city believed that country people would use them if they knew of them, but that they do not know. She regarded four children as enough. However, a young unmarried man from the city said that one would use a condom only when visiting a prostitute; it would be insulting to use one with your sweetheart. Some of this attitude may carry over after marriage.

Pregnancy If a woman believes that she may be pregnant she goes to 843
a midwife for a diagnosis. This is usually about three [759]
months after her last menstrual period. The fee is usually ¥50. If she is in fact pregnant she continues to consult the midwife and the midwife attends her at the birth of the child. The total fee is about ¥1,000.

For the good of her unborn child a pregnant woman is urged to be happy [574]
and to avoid situations potentially harmful to it; for example if she were to go to a funeral or a bone-washing the shii, a sort of soul, of the baby might be drawn into the tomb.

the tomb shaped like a horseshoe or the Greek letter, omega. A great deal of popular lore has accumulated around this type of tomb. Okinawans believe that the shape of the tomb symbolises the position of a woman giving birth to a child. This is related to another idea, "returning to the source" (moto ni kaeru in Japanese). 764 [811]

Four different but related meanings seem to be involved in the idea of "returning to the source": (1) that life here is but a momentary experience. One's real and permanent life is in the afterworld. At death one returns to his permanent home. (2) After death a person becomes a god (hotoke-san) in the Buddhist sense. He reaches this state 49 days after death, according to some explanations, though there is much confusion on this point. This godhood is a "return to the source." (3) At death one returns to a state of peace, and (4) one returns to a former state or to a former place. It is with this last meaning that the turtleback tomb is associated in popular lore with "returning to the source." 761 775

On death one returns to the womb of nature from which he came. (Similar lore has collected around the Buddhist coffin in which the corpse is put in a position like that of a child in the womb). Whether the popular explanation is the true one is very hard to say. It certainly should not be accepted without critically evaluating the questions which such an explanation raises. Early European and American observers were quick to point out the similarities between those tombs and those of China, though the fact that they were introduced from China does not rule out the symbolic meaning they might have. Many Okinawans regard these tombs as indigenous. But the Okinawan antiquarians, who so love to find symbols in everything, would be loathe to surrender this lore. It is generally agreed that the tombs were introduced from Fukien province in China. Captain Basil Hall was the first western traveller, I think, to notice the similarity between Okinawan and Fukien tombs. M'Leod also mentioned it. 775 764 811 [114] [171] [177]

The gable (hafu) type of tomb is very common. There are also small temporary tombs of masonry, more often built of rocks. The tombs of Hinatogawa are of this type. There are also very old tombs, hollowed out of the rock of a hillside. These were rare in the villages. Only one was seen in the dense vegetation and undergrowth at the bottom of a deep ravine in the center of Hatsuda. Large tombs hollowed out of hillsides are a commonplace, but the small ones apparently were the tombs of the very poor. Recently a new small tomb is being built by families unwilling to undergo the expense of the larger tombs. Tombs, though appearing to be haphazardly placed on mountains or on rocky hillsides, are on privately owned land. 764 [565]

The tombs may also be classified as to use, that is, whether they are intended for a single or the extended family. In Hanashiro, tombs are of the extended family type, located on land owned by the main family. They are the responsibility of the head of the main family. Branch families may contribute to the purchase price of the land, construction materials, and to maintenance. 764 602

226 461 month. The decline in opportunity is due, not to the weather, but to the scarcity of fish, which are said to move from these coastal waters during the winter season.

226 821 The fishermen follow the lunar calendar. The type of fish caught is determined by the season. There is some specialization based on age and experience. Only the skilled and relatively young can successfully make a living diving for the lobster and disengaging him from the rocks below. The most intense activity is during the summer months, and the [434] cash earnings of the fishermen are greatest at this time.

226 821 Fishermen pay attention to the weather and to the moon. Part of their weather knowledge comes from traditional lore, part from observation, part from the modern storm warning systems. Fishermen do not go out if there are storm clouds overhead, especially if they are moving fast. The worst sign is an increase in the height of the waves, even if the weather is good. The phases of the moon are also considered. The half moon is the best, the quarter moon is good, but neither a full moon nor a moonless night is considered favorable. The exception is fishing for white cuttle fish, caught on winter moonlit nights. At present, official storm warning signals are universally observed. The red flag flying from a pole on the main street near the breakwater is enough to keep every fisherman at home. This faith in meteorology has not always existed. Even in recent years, fishermen have disregarded the warnings because of disbelief, or ignored them when storms did not appear following a previous warning.

226 Fishing in the Hinatogawa area is coastal (if we include distances up to twelve miles out) and is on a small scale. Much of the gear is improvised by the fishermen themselves. The methods are simple and effective, and the boats are small. This is not one of the most important fishing areas in Ryukyuan waters.[1]

226 868 Men become fishermen by imitating their skilled elders. Knowledge of the fish and of the waters is imparted by word of mouth. The old men are the sources of the detailed knowledge of the currents and of the main fishing grounds, and this knowledge, held in the memory, is also [813] transmitted orally. There are no maps or charts. Usually it takes a beginner about two years to become acquainted with the fishing areas, and about three years to have a working knowledge of the currents.

1 For a general discussion, see Aquatic resources of the Ryukyu Area. (U.S. Dept. of the Interior. Fish and Wildlife Service. Fishing Leaflet 333), Washington, 1949. This work has an interesting collection of maps and drawings of various types of nets. It is not concerned with particular areas in Okinawa, nor with customs connected with fishing.

484 studied remarked on the discomfort of the rustic north. Many
[829] people in Matsuda thought the people of the northern district more honest than those of the south. This attitude is partly due to knowledge of crime in Naha. Direct or personal knowledge of other islands of the Ryukyus is exceptional. Few people know more than travelers' tales about Yaeyama, Miyako, or Amami.

562 Men are better informed about current events than the women.
Women do not participate so much in social life, nor do they read
521 so much. Conversations at small gatherings are often on a very serious level. A local antiquarian telling of vanished customs and conditions has a very attentive audience. So has a returned traveler
● 814 from Japan. These people have a sense of history, curiosity, and respect for knowledge and education.

3

Village Co-operation

621 One of the most important things to learn about a culture is
476 the nature of its co-operative endeavor. It is useful knowledge in understanding the transition zone between individual and family living and participation in community activities. In these communities, co-operation involves considering the relation of families resident in the village to one another, to their community organizations, and to local government. These relations are stronger than the tie of an individual to an extended family. The nature and the limitations of co-operation can best be described by pointing to examples from each of the villages.

In Hanashiro, mutual help is mainly found, as one might expect, among close and distant relatives of the same family of families related by marriage, who are living in the village. There are extended family ties, which may involve several villages, but this does not
[C14] mean that tasks are done co-operatively within the extended family. It is uncommon to go to another village to help a relative with his harvest or his housebuilding--and the distance would increase the unlikelihood. Immediate ties to friends, relatives, and neighbors are stronger than those to the more distant members of the extended family.

Within the village, organized co-operation is not conspicuous. Help is given in the form of labor not in money. There is no accounting on a reciprocity basis. At any harvest time--the rice harvest is usually the most urgent--a relative, neighbor or friend may help one day and receive the same aid on the following day. The whole village does not turn out to help each farmer in turn until the crops are in. This work is done by individuals or by very small groups. Since the nature and the amount of help is known and acknowledged, no bookkeeping
[342] is needed or desired. The closest approach to villagewide help to an individual family occurs in housebuilding. All residents of the

226 461 month. The decline in opportunity is due, not to the weather, but to the scarcity of fish, which are said to move from these coastal waters during the winter season.

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512 A fishing village has a different kind of regularity than an
● 821 agricultural village. Activities in both are determined by the weather. During a heavy rain, everyone is in his house. But the farmer, even with a dark angry sky, can work up to the storm, and often continues working in a mild rain. The fishing village is guided both by bad and anticipated bad weather. On a fine fishing day, the village seems deserted with the men gone, and the women in the homes. But several days of rain or unfavorable weather keep the men home, and the village is alive with other activities, such as repairing nets, boats, and houses. Much of the fisherman's work at sea is at night, either in the actual fishing or in going and coming.
[513] For this reason, there is considerable daytime sleeping among them. On off days, the young fishermen loll around, often finding it difficult to pass the time away.

9

Conclusion

226 Fishing has become the occupation of a few places, such as
184 Itoman town, some villages on the Motobu peninsular, and Minatogawa. Ryukyuans have achieved considerable fame for their skill in fishing in waters other than their own, such as their drive-in net fishing in the East Indies and around Singapore.[3] Possibly it is the fewness of good ports, the necessity of adapting requirements to varying local geographical conditions, such as the coral reefs, or the long period of emigration that have prevented the large scale development of fishing on this island and insured the dominance of an agricultural life.

262 It is also a striking fact that, on this small island where no village is far from the sea, fish is an uncommon article of the diet. The explanation is simple. It is a problem of distribution in which
[435] two considerations are involved: the higher prices obtainable in Naha,
[251] and the difficulties of preserving fish while distributing them through
[439] the rural villages. More often than not, the fish in a farmer's diet is the dried sardine or a canned fish from Japan, not the local catch.

Part 2

The Quarries of Minatogawa-Nagamo

1

Introduction

324 Minatogawa is famous throughout Okinawa for its stone. Stone from the village and its environs may be seen in many towns and villages
[458] of the island. Before the war, there was a flourishing boat trade in wood and stone between Minatogawa and the northern region. The fine

3 For a recent statement, see Aquatic resources of the Ryukyu area, as cited, 7-9.

21Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

like "owners" of the concrete objects which they inhabit. These objects can be made subservient to human needs if care is taken not to offend the deities. As long as proper ritual observances are performed, humans need not fear their hostility. They are addressed in prayers and chants, and people make offerings to them at several ceremonies during the year. No one in Taira, including the priestess, has any exact knowledge about their characteristics, and there is no theological dogma, but people know that when building a house, for example, one must announce his intention to the deities and pacify these spirits who have been carried with the lumber from the mountains or with gravel from the beach and the sea. They must be thanked for letting the builder use such materials and sent back to their natural abode. Before the house is finished, the surrounding plot of land must be cleared of all evil spirits. Neglect of such ceremonies can turn supernatural beings into adversaries. One family who neglected proper rituals on their house lot when they built their home tried to appease angry deities by holding a ceremony a year after the house was finished because bad luck had befallen members of the household. Although most supernatural beings can be pacified by proper observance of rituals, there are some who are inherently malevolent. These ogres may be seen in the form of fire balls or in some other shape or physical appearance.

The worship of these nature deities and the observance of ceremonies in their behalf are in the hands of the high priestess and her female assistants. In former times each main house, later each village, had its own priestess. The present high priestess in Taira derives her office from a much later institution, a nation-wide hierarchy of religious officials established by the Okinawan king in an effort to combine religion with political influence and supervision in the villages. Today the high priestess has no association with the central government; the Japanese abolished the system. The hierarchy of female religious officials (see Lebra: 1958), those representing main houses, and the chief village priestess is no longer clearly delineated in Taira, since representatives of several offices have left the island or died, and the vacancies have not been filled. The high priestess has taken over most of the religious functions. Her chief assistants are older women from the two main houses. While these three women officiate, several other women are in attendance as helpers. In spite of the diminishing role of animistic religion in the daily life of younger people, the high priestess still enjoys prestige in the community. She is exempted from communal labor in recognition of her status.

The present high priestess is a woman in her fifties who works and

342 floor, resting his feet outside on the ground. An overhanging roof protects him from the rain. Larger houses have an entrance hall and a porch running along the front. Since these porches also have sliding-door panels, few people bother to use the entrance except on formal visits.

The simple structures have a framework which is basically the same [335] as that of the more complex ones. Neither is constructed with nails but held together by mortise and tenon joints. Thick layers of thatch or a tile roof give adequate protection from rains. Thatch roofs need re- [356] placement every few years, but they keep the house cooler than the more permanent, more expensive clay or cement tile roofs. House walls are made of very thin, cheap wood which weathers fast and cracks, allowing winds to enter freely. Only the new houses have solid double walls. The floor in the simple buildings consists of planks which in many houses are not nailed down; during the winter months the cold penetrates through the wide slots between the boards. Better houses have ceilings and doors to separate the "first" and "second" room in the front of the house, as well as solid floors.

Smoke from the open fireplace in the kitchen rises into the roof and [151] seeps through the thatch. Poor eyesight, common among children, is believed by the villagers to result from smoke-filled houses and poor lighting. In the evening, dim light is provided by one or two kerosene lamps.

342 The ancestral shrine, a built-in shelf for the ancestral tablets, has 353 its place in the "second" room. This shrine is only found in the homes 769 of oldest sons. It is not treated with special reverence. Photographs of the deceased as well as of living relatives are kept there as well as personal belongings—a letter, money, a bottle of sake, or gifts. During [822] religious holidays of ancestral worship, red hibiscus flowers, the color for the dead, are placed on the shelf. Since the shelf is high from the floor, small children cannot get at it.

352 The only furniture in all houses is a low table on which food and [516] drinks are served. Everybody sits on the floor, legs crossed and feet tucked under their thighs in the case of men or put behind to one side in the case of women. Very few houses in Taira have the thick, padded straw mats found in the homes of more well-to-do people in Okinawa. But every family has several thin mats of woven reed standing in one corner of the room; these are spread out for guests to sit on or for a member of the household who lies down during the day. Storage 353 shelves are used in simple houses, but in the better houses mattresses, comforters, and hard pillows are kept in a built-in closet space during [356] the day. On sunny days women air the bedding by spreading it over walls, fences, or in the grass.

this time. Upon completing the house, the owner gives a party for those who helped him. During the last day of work, with the party scheduled for the evening, the workmen strive feverishly to complete the house on time. This is a party to celebrate a task completed. Sake flows freely. Occasionally on the last day, a man walks around the house talking to himself and throws salt toward the inside of the house. His words are not formalized and not known to the hearers. After finishing throwing the salt, he bangs the back of the house three times with a stick. This custom is said to be gradually disappearing, and is only occasionally practiced in Matsuda.[9] 342 527 788 [273]

In Hanashiro, there is a similar custom that differs in details. On the date the house is started, there is a small ceremony. A plate containing boiled rice, bean curd, a kind of fritter (tenpura in Japanese) and meat, together with a flask of sake are placed in the center of the site on which the house is to be built. Prayers are offered that the house be a good one. The ceremony of raising the roof is identical with that previously described in Matsuda. This applies only to the raising of the ridge pole, no ceremonies taking place with the erecting of the side poles. The center board, near to or nailed to the ridge pole, and from which the articles wrapped in a leaf or in sea weed are suspended, is inscribed with the word, shibiranka. Its meaning is unknown to me. One villager said it was the name of a legendary Chinese protector of houses. 342 782 [962] [273] [192]

In one instance from Minatogawa, instead of the salt, charcoal, and bean paste, only a bit of charcoal (tsumi in Japanese) was suspended and wrapped in seaweed (kombu in Japanese).

About 20 years ago in Hanashiro, the celebration on the day of completion was much more elaborate than now. A pig was killed, fish purchased, and a large feast was prepared to which the whole village was invited. The celebration now is confined to relatives, friends, and helpers, including the carpenter, whether hired or a volunteer. 342 527

In Minatogawa, when a good house is being built, there is the custom of going to a fortune teller (sanjinsō in Japanese) to discover the lucky day for commencing construction. This may be repeated to find the lucky day for putting up the poles and supports or putting on the roof. Here also a son about to establish a branch household and to build his own house takes a food offering to his father's house, places it on the Buddhist god shelf, gives thanks, and prays for good fortune before construction starts. When the house has been completed, similar offerings are made, either before the god shelf of the new house, if it has been installed, or again at the father's house. In this village, the usual observances are confined to the raising of the roof and to the celebration following completion of the home. 342 [991] [777] [982]

One last custom observed in all the villages is that one does not move into a new house unless the tide is coming in. Other occasions in which the tide is taken into consideration will be discussed later. The idea here seems to be that one moves at times of growing fullness and increase not at times of ebb and withdrawal. [823]

9 I was unable to secure any explanation of the reason for this and the other practices beyond the familiar statement that "it is a custom." (shukan)

553 The first naming of children is done at a ceremony on the day of birth, or on the following day, if the birth took place at night. It is known as umbagi. There is a small gathering of [262] relatives. Soup, rice, and a little sake may be served. Ordinary rice or rice cakes (mochigome) may be prepared and put on the [787] Buddhist god shelf. If a boy, the relatives and parents pray for his strength, if a girl for her good health. Umbagi, an Okinawan word, is also known as suchusan no iwai (Japanese). The ceremony precedes the burying of the afterbirth.

553 One important element in the naming of a child on its day of birth is the state of the tide. The child is named only if the tide 823 is coming in. It is not necessary that the tide be high. Perhaps midpoint is the best, though high tide is considered good. Practically everyone can calculate the time when the tide is coming in or out; since they all know the lunar calendar with a cycle completed in 15 days, it is a simple calculation.[6] The explanation always given for calculating the tide on this and other occasions is that when the tide is coming in, fortune and happiness will enter in the new life or the new situation. When the tide is ebbing, everything goes out and away.

852 The real celebration of the birth of a child occurs several days after birth. It usually occurs on the 5th or 6th day counting the birth day. This is known as mansan (Okinawan) and is in honor of the good health of the mother and the child. In Japanese, it is also called muikajari.[7] In all communities studied, the week long all night celebration has disappeared, though the celebration of mansan might last well into the night.

One celebration, observed in Hinatogawa, is probably typical of the thousands that take place every year in rural Okinawa. The guests came early in the evening to the parents' home, or, as in this case, to the home of the child's grandfather, since the father, a first son, lived in his parents' home. The men sat in the first room (ichibansa), [562] the women in the second (nibansa), following custom in parties in which both sexes are present. The head of the house, the grandfather, sat in front of the alcove (tokonoma) of the first room. The child's father [576] sat next to him. Each guest went on his knees, bowed, congratulated the father and presented him with a small money gift. The usual gift [931] is about Y20. This was accepted by the father, who then responded with a short speech. Sometimes these are formal and stiff, sometimes like a simple conversation. The guests also congratulated the

6 The method of computing times of high and low tide will be given later. The tide is important in the marriage ceremony, when moving into a new house, or when moving, in the case of a second or succeeding son, from a main house to establish a branch family, and at a child's party on the first anniversary of its birth.

7 The day was variously given me as 4-5th, 6th, and 7th day after birth. Muika in muikajari means 6th day.

585 following the marriage, there is another ceremony, the day time for relatives and perhaps a few close friends. The couple go to the bride's house where there is food and sake. This means the husband has really and finally accepted the daughter of the house and is thanking her parents for her.

But these events also are not observed uniformly. On the second day, there may be a gathering of friends and relatives, to be followed on the next day by visits of the bride, groom, and the groom's friends and relatives to the bride's home to give thanks for receiving the girl in marriage.

585 The food served at weddings depends on the economic circumstances
268 of the family. But at today's prices food which would be considered acceptable costs at least Y100 per person including sake. This feast had many extras and consisted of a buckwheat (soba) noodle soup, slices of beef and pork, eggs, tenpura, a fritter without a fish or meat filling, sweet potatoes, a vegetable salad of raw radish, green onion and sea weed shoots, bean curd, a boiled fish paste, rice cakes, and a sweet round fritter (sato tenpura) very much resembling the doughnut in taste, various cakes, and a sponge cake (kasutera).

585 The marriage ceremony is performed only when the tide is coming in,
[823] for the same reasons that were noted with the birthday celebration of the child. Marriage is a time of bounty and fulfillment, not of diminution and withdrawal.

585 There was a "very ancient" Okinawan custom, cited by Spencer on
114 the authority of Shimabuku Genkichi, the student of Okinawan history, of the bride remaining in the home of her parents even after marriage, and the husband coming to her home to spend the nights with her. This Spencer ascribed to the high economic value of the woman and the custom at the time of Spencer's writing (1931) was still said to exist in parts of the northern district (Kunigami) of Okinawa.[3] The temporary return of the wife to her home after her marriage, while the husband
[548] went to a public brothel was also an old custom.[4]

585 The preceding description of a wedding ceremony in Hatsuda may be
184 compared with one seen in Gushichan village close to Hanashiro. (Rural weddings are not so easy to see as one might think. There may be only one or two in a year in a village; when the parties are from different villages, the number in any one village is also reduced). In this

3 Spencer, as cited, 96. In my studies at Hatsuda (which is in the Kunigami district) and in visits to Oku on the extreme northern part of the island, I did not encounter any indication of the survival of this custom. But unfortunately I was unaware of their previous existence and there may well be survivals in some of the villages.

4 Simon, Beitrage zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, 97.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

discounting the idea that it was a sign of nervousness or of being ill at ease. Certainly it occurs equally with strangers, relatives and life-long friends, and it may well be nothing more than an extremely common mannerism. 157

12

The Tide

823 ●

Scattered throughout the previous discussion there have been references to the importance of reckoning the tide on certain occasions. At these times, it is necessary that it either be high tide or that the tide is coming in. Though doubtless there are many more instances than have been mentioned, the following were found to be the most common occasions in which high tide or the beginning of flood tide was considered: (1) The marriage ceremony of san-san-kudo, (2) giving a child a name on its birth date, (3) when moving from a main house to a branch house, (4) when the child is given symbolic gifts at his first birthday party, (5) when carrying salt, the Buddhist god shelf and other articles into a new house.

Under these circumstances it is necessary to be able to compute the tide quickly and easily. For this purpose, the lunar month is divided into two periods of 15 days each. From an almanac a figure is obtained which gives the number of hours to be added to 12 o'clock on the first day of the 15 day lunar cycle. This is 0.8 hours or 48 minutes for low tide. (Everyone seems to have this at his finger tips). On the first day of the fifteen day cycle, low tide is 48 minutes after 12 o'clock. High tide is obtained by adding or subtracting 6 hours. The computation is shown in the following table. 805 823

Lunar Day at 12 o'clock (15 day cycle)		Multiplied by:	Equals Period of time in Hours to be Added to 12 o'clock.	Or, Low Tide at:
1	x	0.8 hrs	0.8 hrs.	12:48
2	x	0.8	1.6	1:36
3	x	0.8	2.4	2:24
4	x	0.8	3.2	3:12
5	x	0.8	4.0	4:00
6	x	0.8	4.8	4:48
7	x	0.8	5.6	5:36
8	x	0.8	6.4	6:24
9	x	0.8	7.2	7:12
10	x	0.8	8.0	8:00
11	x	0.8	8.8	8:48
12	x	0.8	9.6	9:36
13	x	0.8	10.4	10:24
14	x	0.8	11.2	11:12
15	x	0.8	12.0	12:00
16 (or 1)	x	0.8	12.8	12:48

To obtain high tide add or subtract 6 hours.

527 577 better behavior. In one instance from Matsuda, the members of the family talk over their good and bad acts and resolve henceforth to do good.

527 [823] In all the villages, the custom of new or young water (wakamisu) has survived. In Hinatogawa, at 5 or 6 o'clock in the morning of the New Year, young children take fresh water in a tea pot to the homes of relatives. The new water is poured into a cup, placed on the Buddhist god shelf, or on the shelf of the fire god in the kitchen. The children are given Y5 or Y10 by the relatives, who are then supposed to stay young themselves. In Matsuda, new water is taken from a well early in the morning, and some is put on the god shelf. The first tea of the New Year is made with "young water".

A parent may also give a piece of pork with salt on it to his child announcing that he is now one year older. This custom is still observed, even though ages officially are now reckoned in the western manner.

In all the villages, the morning observances are family affairs; the public nature of the holiday is evident later. Tea and sake are [769] placed in front of the ancestral tablets on the god shelf. A fresh kimono is put on and the offering is made before breakfast. Then the [782] father takes the sake from the god shelf, offering sips first to his wife and then to the children.

[778] Later there are visits to the place of the patron deity or first ancestor of the village (ujigami). In Hanashiro, all of the people make this visit. In Hinatogawa, it is also a village affair, but is more involved because there are more places to go: a local religious site of unknown origin, the palace of the gods of the sea (ryūgū), the supposed place of the mountain god, the three wells with their god places, and finally to the places of the two patron deities. In Matsuda, the village head man, accompanied by surviving minor [793] priestesses (formerly in the noro order) make visits to the place of the patron deity. But whether all the villagers or only their representatives take part, the visits have the same meaning: to offer thanks to the founders of the village.

The New Year is a time for extended family reunions. If the home site of the extended family is not in the village, the family or a representative may go to the reunion in another village, if it is not too far away. Only members of the extended family attend these celebrations.

With early morning observances in the home, the public ceremonies, and the extended family reunions over, the gay, informal and public [504] part of the holiday begins. Hospitality is offered on all sides, and there is much drinking among the men. The celebration continues for the rest of the first day and through the second. The third day is a transitional day whose theme is the need of returning to work. This is hachibaru (to begin farming). The day is given over to more feasting and drinking and to some actual or token work.

trees of the sacred grove and used old beliefs to preserve the forests. Formerly it was believed that misfortune would come to him who cut a tree in groves sacred to these gods. If the trees were cut, the god would become angry, the person cutting the tree would be the victim of self-induced illness and by worrying about his deed, gradually would become ill, and perhaps die. These sacred groves, whose religious significance is now almost ignored, are arranged to enclose the village from three directions, with the open side on the south. On the north was the sacred grove in the back (ushiro no utaki) or the grove of the white gold mountain (kinpuku utaki in Okinawan). The mountain gods were supposed to live here. On the west was the grove in front (mae no utaki) on the white silver mountain. This was also known as the fire shrine. 784 778 185 778 823 [176]

The priestesses also had a hand in this worship of the mountain gods. There are about seven of these places of worship now, and there is still a voluntary caretaker, an old woman with tattooed hands, a family priestess (nigami) in the old system. Occasionally one sees an old woman going to a grove to pray. The only other visitors are the farmers who walk along the paths of the grove on their way to the fields. 778 793

7

Other Religious Observances

There are a few other observations which may have some interest. Old women use patches of grass or knotted rice straw to ward off the spirits on days when they are thought to be abroad in great numbers. At the festival of the autumnal equinox, knotted or braided grass (shiba) is placed in various parts of the house. In some houses, bunches are suspended from the cross beams, perhaps three or four bunches to the side. They may be placed in the toilet, at the entrance to the house compound, on the water barrel in the kitchen, on the front and back of fishing boats, or in the interior of the house. Blades of miscanthus grass may be tied around the neck of a bean paste jug (misogami). Spirits, plentiful at this time, are frightened away by the patches of grass and will not enter. The young, while not believing in this, acquiesce to avoid making the old angry. 789 824 [184]

When a death anniversary is being celebrated, there may be a blade of miscanthus, a rice straw, or a knotted blade of grass on the top of a box of candies or sweet meats to prevent the intrusion of evil spirits. A blade of grass (the san) is occasionally tied around the handle of a tea pot. For the first week after a family death, tea is served from a pot which has this blade of grass. But these are almost invariably the observances of the old and are only infrequently seen. These customs, observed in Hinatogawa, are said to survive among the very old in the other villages. [769] [176] [184]

In Matsuda, a rice rope (shimenawa) was observed at one home. The rice rope, a Shinto symbol, is not common in Okinawan culture. This [177] [184]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

121 in the growth of ecological thinking, though this history is older.

But when we say that it has paralleled ecological thinking, we do not mean that the approach should be identical or even similar. In ecology, the plant or animal, as an individual or in association, is studied as part of the community of plants and animals, whose own growth may be encouraged or hindered by the growth and competition from others. When we study human cultures, this functional approach breaks down. It is not enough to show the context of each cultural trait in the whole, indispensable as this may be. This might produce a satisfying interpretation but it would suffer from important omissions. These are the history of the culture and the periods of contact and isolation that may have characterized it and the changes that the culture has made in the physical environment in which it is placed. No place in the world offers such fruitful illustrations over so great an area and over so long a period of time as Southeast Asia, with the exception of the Mediterranean. The great changes in the soils due to paddy culture and the long fertilization from human excreta and plant residues, soil erosion, deforestation, the minute changes of land from mountain tops to the cultivated valleys can be found in abundance here.

121 This study of three villages on the island of Okinawa is concerned
181 with many of these themes. As the inquiry progressed and during the period of reflection that followed the collection of materials, it seemed that
182 the most significant characteristic was the existence of the family system, and that this had meaning not only in the places where one would expect it, such as family and daily life, and in the desire to respect the memory of the dead and to guard against extinction of the family line, but that its influence was the key to an understanding of the way in which the culture had changed and modified the natural environment and utilized the resources available to it.

The connecting link between the family system, on the one hand, and the use of the natural environment, on the other, is the system of inheritance, and through the inheritance system on land tenure and land use. And when speaking of land tenure and land use, the reference is not merely to the agricultural land, but to all land, including the forest soils of the north, the uncultivated land scattered over the island, but so vital in its production of grasses to the livelihood of peoples.

121 One of the most striking aspects of this culture is its dependence on
181 plants, not only for food, but for uses other than food. Houses, their roofs and sidings, plank floorings, excepting only the stones; fibres or
824 wood for sandals or clogs; grasses, cane stalks, shrubbery for fuels; imported cottons for clothing, which have replaced an earlier dependence on reeds or banana leaves; fibres and reeds for rugs and floor mats; rice stalks or other grasses for making carrying baskets; rope of palm or of rice stalks; wooden poles, are but a few illustrations of this close dependence on plant life. It is a culture based on the utilization of plants for all purposes to which are added the multifarious and skillful employment of stone and of water.

The village is one of a series of settlements in a long narrow valley, on a limestone plain, bordered on the east by a steep ridge, up to 300 feet in elevation and running in a northwest and southeast direction, which divides the valley from the sea. On these cliff like formations, large outcrops are covered with shrubs and miscanthus grass. Lanes and roads lead from the valley floor to the summits of these hills, where villagers collect their firewood and grass for roof thatch. On the rocky, steep slopes of this seaward ridge, above the line of cultivation, is the tomb area. Precipitous and stony hills prevent cultivation, but occasionally a sharp tongue of land reaches far up the slope, its end protected from the rains and wash by a short stone fence. 361 133 [137] [491] [824] [764] [417]

Between Gushichan and Hanashiro village, there is a bridge over a small stream, its upstream course obscured by its dispersion in the rice fields. The dirt road, gradually ascending, cuts through the main rice growing area of the village, on a gentle slope, reflected in the bench cultivation of the rice fields. Here and there are large rocks and stony outcrops, with an occasional scrub pine, cycad, or a covering of miscanthus. Cultivation goes around these large stones. 491 133 [243] [137]

The road, about one-fourth of a mile from the bridge, soon leads into what looks like, from a distance, a densely wooded area. This is the settlement. 361

With the exception of the rough stony land of the limestone mountains and steep slopes, the soils of the area are the Okinawa clay loams and the Chinen stony clays lying on the limestone plains. The farm and village area takes up approximately 427 acres, of which 257 are in gently sloping Okinawa clay loams, a deep, well drained, neutral to slightly acid and very fertile soil. Another five acres is of the same type but these are in slopes, of a gradient ranging from 8-15%. There are 80 acres in gently sloping Shuri clays, shallow, moderately fertile, an olive colored, crumbly, calcareous clay; another 35 acres in the Awase clays, deep fertile, crumbly, calcareous clay of olive-gray color, and 14 acres of rough stony land. 134 133 311

The hillsides and the summits are free of densely growing trees and shrubs, and the lowlands are given over to cultivation. There are no groves of trees to protect the crops from typhoons. The trees and the protection they give are confined to the village. This is typical of many villages of southern Okinawa, where the hills and mountains have few trees, and dense growths are associated with habitation. 311

Inside the village, winding lanes branch off the main dirt road. The older houses are on the north side of the road. On the opposite side, the houses, newer or rebuilt since the war, adjoin the cultivated area. In the older section, the dense shrubbery, the tree lined lanes, broken occasionally by stone fences, wind through the village with footpaths branching off, sometimes past an open field, a reminder of a failure to rebuild after the war. On the northern outskirts is the village office, its gong in the yard, the open field, a playground for the children. 361 363 [417] [487] [367]

342 (9) While the stones are being set and the uprights are being
[462] put on them, the women of the house and their female friends and
[476] relatives have brought in miscanthus grass and have begun making
[824] sheaves, tying each sheaf with a piece of grass. This goes on while the rafter poles are being nailed down. It is over this that the thatch is placed. The grass may be green or dry. In December it is in blossom, and when it is used, it gives the roof a snowy, fluffy appearance.

342 (10) A series of short rods of dwarf bamboo or dried miscanthus
335 stalks is then prepared to fit over the checkerboard made by the intersecting poles of the roof. The ends of these, which are about 7 feet long and 1/2 inch in diameter, are inserted into the braid of two lengths of rope about 5 feet long. These rods are placed at about 3 inch intervals. These frames are laid end down slope. They
[284] are lashed to the poles and to other bracing material beneath. All
[462] this is the work of men. While some of them are on the roof, others have begun nailing the siding. (See Fig. 6 for a sketch of the frames).

This is a very cheap lumber about 6 feet x 1 inch x 3/8 inch. The sides are boarded up like shingles except that the boards have uniform thickness. Each board overlaps the next lower one by 1/2 inch, a space of about 3 inches is left from the top of the upright poles to which the siding is nailed. The siding is sufficiently thin so that one side need not be thicker than the other.

(11) The triangular odd corners formed by the cross beams, the rafters and the center post are filled by fitted pieces instead of the rows of parallel rods used for the larger and more regular areas.

342 (12) The roof is now ready for sewing the thatch on. First,
284 the women throw several sheaves of miscanthus on the roof. They are tossed by hand or pitched by a rude pitchfork made by lashing a short branch to a long pole to form a Y. This is the kishi. (Fig. 7).
[413] One workman goes inside the dwelling. He has a pole about 6 feet long (a hari, the Japanese word for needle) pointed at the end with a hole near the point. (Fig. 8). Starting from the eaves and working up, the man on the roof unties the sheaves and spreads a layer of grass along the length of the roof. This layer is held in place by a horizontal pole placed over it. The man inside has threaded the needle with stout twine; he pushes the long needle with the twine up through the network of the roof. This is taken by the workman on the roof who feeds the needle with its twine back again. This sewing continues until the three layers, the checkerboard, the parallel rods which have been lashed to it, and the grass with the poles to hold it down have been finally sewed together. As each strip is completed the workmen move up the slope a little. The grass is about 3 1/2 feet long and about one foot is allowed loose on the end to overlap the layer below. That portion of the grass which is not free is tied and sewed very securely. There is much tugging, pulling, and grunting to make the knot as tight as possible.

000 (13) As the top is reached, another operation is necessary to cap

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In this illustration, the first son receives slightly over 60% of the land, ignoring type and grade within type. There was general agreement [242] in all villages that the grade of land within each classification (grades [651] 1 to 4 in dry crop land, for example) had little significance in inheritance matters. The grade is more important for tax purposes.

The example also illustrates two other principles: the natural desire to keep contiguous or close in land within the main family, using inconvenient or far off land where possible for house sites for branch families, or for arable land for second and other sons. In this illustration, the shares of the second and of the third sons could be equalized by subdividing plot #6, although its small area would not make it worth while, as 75 tsubo is a very low average size for dry crop land. [241]

Another practice, noted in Hanashiro and in Matsuda, is that the first son receives everything on the retirement of the father. This may be contrasted with a situation in which the father divides the property before younger sons marry and establish branch families. In such cases, the father might take the income from part of the property. But the more general practice is for the father to give all to the first son. Fathers may also make a will. When the first son receives all, it is the custom for him to hold property which the younger sons will need in establishing their branch families. It is in cases where the first son is given full disposition of the property that quarrels are most likely to occur, for much depends on the generosity and sense of fairness of the elder brother.[3] [593]

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In Hanashiro and Minatogawa, it is important that younger brothers receive genya land. Genya is often translated as wild land. In Japan the term is usually used to describe treeless, waste, hilly, rocky, or rolling land unsuitable for cultivation. In Okinawa, the genya land may be in the center of a rice field; it may be a rocky mound with cultivation around it. It may be land in the mountains. It is almost invariably in grass (miscanthus) with an occasional cycad or scrub pine. [137] It is not owned in large tracts. In Hanashiro, the largest single parcel [423] is 4564 tsubo (3.77 acres), in Minatogawa 1333 (tsubo) (1.9 acres), and in Matsuda 6398 tsubo (5.28 acres), but these are far above the average. In Hanashiro it is important because grass is constantly needed for [824] thatched roofs and other uses. The importance of genya and its grass was well illustrated in Minatogawa after the typhoon, Ruth, of October [731] 13-14, 1951. These villagers own little land and many have no genya. [432] They were obliged to buy the grass to replace the roofs of many of the frailer houses which had been partially or completely destroyed by the typhoon. Genya is also used for family tombs. In Hanashiro, the genya [764]

[Text continues top of P. 133--Analyst]

3 The problem can be appreciated by analyzing the acreage areas of each classification of land and the grades within it, bearing in mind that the average farmer has hatake, genya, and often rice paddies. These statistics will be given in the following chapter.

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134 In Hanashiro, The genya
[824] grass and shrub are essential as a substitute for firewood. In Matsuda with large areas of community owned forest, this genya is not so important to the individual family.

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311 In considering the inheritance of land, it is essential to understand that a family needs different types of land. Not everyone has rice paddies, but parcels of dry crop land and genya in the south are necessary to existence.

428
593 If the practices of these three villages are indicative of the division of family holdings in general, the first son obtains between 50% and 60% of the land in addition to the house site. The remainder is divided, often equally, among the other sons. In the poorer families, if the sons are widely spaced, there may be enough left over for the second son, but when the third son reaches marriageable age, there may be nothing for him. Instances of this type were observed in the villages. One young farmer of Minatogawa, a third son, said he received nothing, and set out by himself, first through wages, and then through small purchases to acquire his present modest land holdings.

This discussion may suggest a greater rigidity in the system of inheritance than is actually the case. It may give the impression of a series of families headed by the first son with most of the property and with younger sons and their branch families struggling along on what land can be spared for them. There has been, for historical reasons, more fluidity than this. The large number of heads of families who themselves are not first sons indicates that many second to fifth sons as well as daughters ultimately come into control of a family estate.

There have been four main reasons for this. (1) Emigration of first sons before they became of age. They left to earn a living in foreign countries to support their parents in the villages, became established and postponed to an indefinite future their return to Okinawa. Since the end of the war, according to relatives who are living in the village, many of these have no intention of ever returning except to visit. (2) Deaths of first sons without issue, and the succession of other sons or daughters. (3) Heavy war losses, especially of males. Some of these naturally were first sons, opening the way for the succession of young widows or second sons in the case of the unmarried first sons. (4) Deaths from catastrophes like typhoons, and in the case of Minatogawa, the losses of fishermen at sea.

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602 Inheritance practices with private ownership of land follow logically
182 from the family system. They are a means of providing the economic base by saving the estate for future generations, at the same time providing where possible for sons not in the direct line of succession. Inheritance is a connecting link between the family system and land use and land tenure. Present land use and land tenure are an interesting example of the modifications that a system of social organization, the family system, has made on the natural environment.

single criterion is nearness, providing the land has possibilities. Good land, unless of substantial area, if remote and far from roads, is very time consuming and inconvenient. 311

Genya land in the Gushichan area has two grades. The criterion here is the presence of grass and small shrubs that can be used for firewood. Grade two genya grows little or nothing either because of the large boulders or because it has too many small stones or unconsolidated rock with little vegetation. If it were not for stones or such topographical factors as steepness or ruggedness, some genya land could be classified as poor grade dry crop land. There are, as in rice land, tax differentials according to grade of hatake and genya land: [824] [134] [133]

Grade	Dry Crop Land Tax in Yen	Wild Land (Genya) Tax in Yen
1	13	2
2	12	1.80
3	11	
4	10	
5	9	
6	8	
7	7	
8	6	
9	5	
10	4	

[651]

In Ginoza-son, the land classification system is substantially the same. There are six different grades of land classified according to yield in go per tsubo. (A go is 1/1000 of a koku, a tsubo about 4 square yards). [804]

Grade	Yield	Remarks
1	5	Two annual plantings.
2	4	Two annual plantings.
3	3	Dependent entirely on amount of estimated rainfall.
4	2	
5	1.5	
6	1.0	Mountain paddy, very uncertain, depending on rainfall; occasionally two crops a year are possible.

[433] [241]

Dry crop land is judged by criteria similar to those in Gushichan-son. Grade 1 is good soil and convenient to water with good yields as shown by experience. Grades 2 and 3 are convenient to water, but soils are of lesser quality. The classification is also based on experience. Grade 4 is in low places, generally narrow ravines between steep wooded slopes. Grades 5 and 6 have little or no water, are stony, and inconvenient. [134] [312] [133]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

3

Care and Conservation of Land

One of the significant tasks of our time is the study of the relation between population growth and density and the exploitation of renewable and non-renewable resources: the effects of a culture on the land, the forests, the soils and the vegetation must be considered in ethnographic and geographic work. If this is not done the culture is studied as if it rested, like a plate on a table, on a geographic base, without bothering to discover the nature of the environment or what the culture is doing to it. 121 114

Nineteenth century studies of primitive and advanced societies emphasized the influence of the physical environment in molding a culture. This crude fallacy, often known as geographic determinism or environmentalism, was exploded by studies made of cultures in all parts of the world in which it became clear that the physical environment is not the cause of cultural differences.

But the reverse of this approach, the examination of what a culture is doing to its physical environment, its soils, its vegetation, and its forests has not been carried on with the vigor with which other aspects of culture have been studied. This point of view has practical significance in day to day administration. Economic matters such as foreign trade or the labor force requirement should not be a separate and independent segment for study. Changes in inheritance should not be viewed solely with reference to the family system. Forest conservation should not be regarded only as a technique and a necessary department in the government.

The effects of the devastating typhoons, for example, need no elaboration: the destruction of life, crops, houses, of boats, and breakwaters. But their effects are also influenced by other factors. The two southern villages were in the midst of some of the violent fighting of the Okinawan campaign. Large numbers of houses in both communities were destroyed by the war. The new buildings to replace them are so frail that in typhoon times they are often destroyed. This rebuilding requires more wood and more grass. Thus, such factors as the war, the inability to reconstruct permanent housing, typhoons, and the natural growing of miscanthus grass are joined together in a close relationship. 731 727 362 824 182

In the south the relationship of typhoon destruction to deforestation is striking. There is need for tidebreak groves and shelter belts along the coast to protect crops from wind and saltwater spray, a need which fortunately the Ryukyuan Forest Agency is attempting to meet. Deforestation in the south seems inescapably tied up with long occupance. The center of population has always been in the southern part of the island. Not only should there be trees, but they should be planted in the right places. The deforestation of 731 137 [313] [361]

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Not all of the upland or slope cultivation is done by terracing, as we have seen. Crops other than rice are often grown on hillsides, or up slopes, less often following the contour of the land. The precautions here are also suited to the cultivation: weeds or grasses grow along boundary lines or divide off sharp drops, or small stone fences may be used.

In Nagamo, where there is no rice grown, there is little water from these sources. It comes from rainfall and amounts of sugar cane and sweet potato that are grown depend on its quantity and regularity. Water regardless of crop is a constant problem. [312]

In Okinawan agriculture, constant fertilization is necessary. There are too many people to leave land fallow in ordinary times. Each plot must be used if the farmer has the time and energy to do so. Since the island is in a humid subtropical climate, the organic materials in the soil (humus) are quickly oxidized. Porous soils encourage the leaching of minerals from the top soil, especially with torrential rains. The fewness of domestic animals increases the dependence on plant residues and artificial fertilizers. One of the commonest complaints of the Okinawan farmer, in addition to the poorness of his soil and crop damage from typhoons, is that it must be unceasingly fertilized. It is a treadmill. He must walk fast to stay in the same place. [134] [231]

There is very little difference in the use of fertilizers in the communities studied. Fertilizers most frequently used are:

(1) Composts. A typical mixture (though there are many combinations) may be composed of dried miscanthus, or any kind of grass, ashes and cinders, perhaps some pieces of charcoal, and goat droppings. This is left a month outside in a pile and put on the fields and hoed under.

(2) Plant residues. These are put on the soil, both of paddy and dry crop land, and hoed under. Plants are the greatest single source of fertilizer. The cut over rice plant is turned under in the paddy field. Tops of the sweet potato, if not used as slips or for food for animals, miscanthus grass, and burned rice hulls are other sources of fertilizer. [824]

(3) Animal manures mixed usually with pen grass. Animal fertilizers are not abundant, an indirect effect of the war which greatly reduced the number of horses, cattle, pigs, goats, and the smaller domestic animals. When available, goat, pig, or horse manures are used. Pig or goat pen grass is gathered up and spread on the fields. Pig manure is the best source of animal fertilizer, for pigs are the most numerous of the larger domestic animals. [727] [232] [231]

(4) Night soil. The use of night soil, called jinpun in Okinawan, has declined from pre-war times. It is often said that it is not used at all. But this statement must be qualified. It is [514]

The writers of a recent report on Okinawan economy have emphasized that the combination of generally poor soils, the rapid decomposition of organic matter in a near tropical climate, and excessive leaching make the problem of fertilisation very difficult--[4] to say nothing of the trace elements. 241 [114]

(6) Other substances are used for fertilizers. In Hatsuda the barber gathers the cuttings from the luxuriant hair of his clients and places them around his sugar cane--and recommends them highly. Acacia leaves are also used for this purpose here. Leaves and miscellaneous plants are often considered to be especially good fertilizers. [305] [302] [824]

Crop rotation (rinsaku) practices differ by district. In the Hanashiro area, the sugar cane, soy bean, and sweet potato (or vegetable), sugar cane rotation is common. Rotation of paddy with another crop does not occur. Rice succeeds rice in the double cropping system here. In Hatsuda, a common rotation is either (1) the sweet potato, soy beans (or grain, millet, or green peas) and the sweet potato, or (2) the soy bean, sweet potato, grain (barley or millet) rotation. Here rice is not rotated with other crops. (This however does occur in Okinawa).

242 221

Simple Rotations
Hanashiro and Nagamo

One Year

After the sweet potato harvest, the plot is planted in soybeans in the first lunar month.

The soybeans are harvested in the fifth lunar month.

Sweet potatoes follow the soybeans in the sixth lunar month

or

Vegetables alternating with the sweet potato for a year.

Two Years

Sugar cane is sown in the sixth lunar month.

Harvested two years hence, followed by ordinary beans or vegetables, again followed by cane.

4 Agricultural and economic reconstruction in the Ryukyus. A report. Agricultural mission to the Ryukyus, Nov. 1949, 46-47.

One of these, the shimba (nnihija in Okinawan) is essentially a concave forked piece of metal set on a frame, which in turn rests on four props set up in sawbuck fashion. The rice sheaves are drawn through the teeth, causing the kernels to drop below. The sawbuck may be any desired height. Usually the top of the fork is waist level. The only significance of the shimba today is that it provides diversion and occupation for the old women, many of whom are too weak or too unsteady to operate the treadle thresher. The same is true of an even simpler device for threshing. Two short pieces of bamboo, or any piece of round wood, a little longer and with a slightly greater diameter than a pair of chopsticks, are loosely tied together on one end with straw or a strong blade of grass. The tied ends of the two sticks are held in the right hand, leaving the free ends to strip off the rice kernels from the straw. This labor is done by very old women. Age is no deterrent to work as long as people are able to get around. But, as in the south, the treadle thresher is universally used. This device was widely distributed by the Japanese agricultural specialists of the government throughout the empire in the years immediately before the war. In Matsuda, it is also thought to be about 15 years since its introduction. 243 407 [887] [177]

As in Japan, from which the terms were borrowed, rice in various stages of cultivation and processing is known by different names. Rice in the hull is momei; unpolished rice is genmai, and polished rice is hakumai. Rice stalks are known as wara. 824 192

Hulling and polishing rice by machinery are also new in Okinawan villages. In Hanashiro, those machines driven by an open belt are about ten years old. A hand mill, the shiriushi, to be described shortly, was in general use for polishing rice up to 1940. 256

At present everyone, no matter how poor, pays for hulling and polishing of his rice. The mill owner in Hanashiro estimated that the machinery processed in ten minutes the amount of rice that formerly took a day to hull and polish by hand. Poor families do not try to effect savings by hand work. They pay the fee, sell the polished rice, and eat sweet potatoes. [511] [262]

Unpolished rice is disliked and is never eaten. It is described as hard and bitter in taste. The machinery in a rice mill varies from place to place in quality and modernity. The mill (seimaisho) has two machines: a hulling machine (momitsuriki) and a polishing machine (seimaiki). One simple type of a hulling machine is an endless chain type of mechanism. The rice is put in little buckets on the chain which carry it to rubber layers. As the rice is forced through the layers, the hulls are cracked and pinched off, and are then blown out on a pile in back. After being hulled, the rice goes through the shaft of the milling machine. The shaft housing is grooved. As the shaft revolves, it polishes the rice which is going through it. The shaft also gets heated, and this makes the polishing easier. In the older machine in Hanashiro, the rice was put through the shaft ten times

256 until the desired white shade was obtained. After the milling, the rice is quite warm, and both the chaff and the rice have an odor similar to brewer's yeast.

[462] Women carry the rice to the mill. It is heaped up in baskets set
[482] on their heads. Rice straw or a braid of rice stalks is placed over the small towel which rests directly on the head. On this the woman
[415] sets the basket with its rice. When the milling is over, the women pick up a handful, blow off the chaff, inspect the rice for wholeness and whiteness, and then put it in a large gunny sack. The chaff is placed in a smaller one. Hulls, occasionally taken, are usually left
[824] at the mill to accumulate in a pile outside the mill and there, at frequent intervals, are burned. Sometimes the hulls or the ashes are taken for fertilizer.

[521] Bringing rice for milling is a social occasion for the women. They often have a child on their back. While waiting for their rice to be hulled and milled, they exchange greetings and news with their neighbors or with women from adjoining villages.

[727] As a result of the war, quality of machinery for rice milling differs with villages. Most now have access to a mill. The machinery at Matsuda, being more efficient than the older machines at Hanashiro is able to polish the rice satisfactorily after going through the mill three times. These mills are very busy during the harvest seasons.

252 There are also survivals of older methods of hulling and polishing
[912] rice. These are no longer used, though many of the old have not lost their skill. Before machine polishing was introduced, the hulls were removed by pounding the rice in a mortar, usually with a long bamboo pole narrowed in the center for a grip. After the hulls were removed, the rice was put through a quern, or a mill known as a shiriushi. This has two working parts: a base about a foot in diameter and perhaps a foot in height. It looks like a smoothed off log. In the center, there is a wooden pin, perhaps 1 1/2 feet long. Over this part, which looks like an upright piece of a log with a rolling pin stuck in its center, the upper part, made of wood and of the same diameter is fitted. A bar across the inside of the top of the upper part has a hole for the pin. On the outside, wooden plugs provide places for attaching ropes.
[462] These are pulled back and forth by women sitting opposite one another. The rice is poured in at the top, the quern is moved first clock- and then counterclockwise, the rice coming out in the rough crevice where the two pieces join. The rice is put through the quern as many times as is necessary to effect the polishing. In some querns, the inside of the upper part is grooved to quicken the polishing.

In polishing rice in this way, the mill is placed on a mat and the rice is gathered up periodically and put in baskets. It is then winnowed by tossing in a flat basket. Many of the farmers in the villages still have a shiriushi in their sheds, but it is seldom used.

Rice may also be polished by the use of rude wooden mallets. These have a handle about 3 feet long and a head about 1 1/2 feet long. Rice is placed in a mortar with straw on top. It is pounded, often by two or three women swinging alternately. After the hulls are removed, the rice is winnowed, and put back in the mortar until a rough polish is secured. 252 [412]

Uses of rice. Every part of the rice plant has a use. The stubble, left in the ground, becomes a part of next season's fertilizer. The chaff and waste dust (nuka) is saved for pigs, cows, and other domestic animals. The hulls often are used for fertilizer, before or after burning. Rice straw has a variety of uses. The most frequent and important of these is for making rope. 824

After threshing, the straw is dried two or three days. Three or four stalks of about the same length are taken and rolled between the palms. The lower palm, usually the left, is open and up. The right palm rolls the straw into a twist. As the rope grows, new stalks are inserted one at a time, and, when needed, a new length of straw is added. This is not a strong rope, but it has a variety of uses, such as tying down the grass thatch to the roof poles, children's swings, and clothes lines. Mats and pads shaped like a life saver and used to set the sugar pots on after the sugar has been boiled, are made out of rice straw. Another use is in the making of the Oda (Okinawan). This is a mesh about one foot wide and two feet long. There are loops on each corner. The end of a pole may be inserted in these loops when gathered together. The pole is carried over the shoulder, and sweet potatoes, straw, or other articles may be easily transported. Simple brooms without a handle, little more than a bunch of straw tied together in three places are also made of rice straw. Twisting and braiding rice straw is likely to be rainy day work. These articles are most often made twice in the year, corresponding with the harvests. [283] [285] [482] [412]

At typhoon times, if rice is not completely destroyed, the damaged rice may be used for pig food. The preparation of this rice is women's work. The rice is put in a mortar and pounded with a mallet in the manner already described, although a single operator usually does the work. [731] [231] [462]

Types and preferences. As a general rule, the selection of varieties of rice for planting depends on taste, the nature of the soils, and individual judgment of the expected yield of each type. In Matsuda, it is estimated that about one half of the rice is the Formosan variety, Taichu 65 (Taichu rokujugo), in Okinawa known as horai. Another variety, Kunigami 71 (Kunigami ichigo) represents about one-fourth of the crop. Mochigome (akaho) takes up about another one-fourth. This glutinous rice has a brown reddish rust colored kernel and is used for rice cakes. A fourth variety, horai-mochimai, is also well liked. No black rice is grown here. 243 [262]

244 [132] months. The amount of sweet potatoes grown is not closely related to the season. It depends much more on rainfall.

[131] The effects of typhoons on the plant are most noticeable after transplanting. Salt water spray shrivels the transplants up and they [131] die without developing. These conditions are more noticeable near the seashore in areas like Nagamo that lack trees and tidewater shelters.

824 Like rice, all of the sweet potato plant is used. Plant residues are turned under to fertilize the soil. This turning under of the vines or their use in composts is a doubtful blessing if the plants are diseased. The good potatoes are reserved for human consumption. [231] The poor or the diseased ones are mashed up in a stone mortar with a long pole, used like a pestle, for pig and goat food. Besides using the tops as slips, women constantly cut them off for fresh greens for the pigs. [262] The sweet potato is the basic food because it is cheap, can be grown the year round in lowlands and uplands, and can be cultivated by all members of the family. As pig food, it is a means of inexpensively raising animals which later have cash value. [962] The feeding and care of pigs is usually one of the incidental chores of women.

244 184 The varieties most commonly found in these Okinawan villages are the Okinawan #100 (Okinawan no hyakugo) and varieties known locally as the bentō, a small round tuber, and the bokuto. The two chief differences between the northern and southern villages in cultivating the sweet potato are (1) the two and three pronged hoes are much more in evidence in the north. With practice, they can be used advantageously in quickly weeding a plot while not cutting the potato itself. (2) Matsuda appears to be less dependent on the [262] sweet potato as a human food. The farmer here has more rice for himself and a greater proportion of his sweet potato crop goes for [231] animal food.

6

The Planting of Sugar Cane and Sugar Making

249 Sugar cane (kibi) is grown on dry crop land, its rows often alternating on the same plot with the sweet potato. Cane may be started with cuttings, or it may be a second growth (ratoon) from the stubs of the old plant after it has been cut down for crushing. Cuttings may be purchased or selected plants from another planting are used. The slips are cut to leave three buds. These cuttings may be planted in three ways: (1) all horizontally, (2) horizontally with the cutting which comes from the topmost part of the stalk planted slantwise, or (3) all cuttings may be planted slanting.

The soil must be thoroughly worked with the ever present hoe. Plowing and harrowing are rarely done. The earth must be thoroughly fertilized. In addition, small amounts of compost may be placed under the cutting, and less often liquid night soil might be used.

824 Soy beans have three main uses: soy sauce which is seldom made
[262] in the home, bean curd (tōfu) and miso, a bean paste, both always
[432] home made. For this reason, soy beans are grown mostly for home use,
with the surplus sold. In Hanashiro, where the surpluses are greater,
[462] the beans may be sold in Naha, Shuri, or Itoman. Women do the selling,
taking the beans to market on the buses, trucks, or three wheeled
[494] vehicles.

(2) Other types of beans such as the red dwarf bean (asuki)
241 (Phaseolus angularis Wight), the kidney bean (ingen in Japanese,
Phaseolus vulgaris L), the broad or horse bean (soramame in Japanese,
262 Vician fabia L), and peas (endō in Japanese, Pisum sativum L) are
grown for home use, usually in parcels which are closest to the house.

(3) The giant radish, (daikon in Japanese, Raphanus sativus L)
[263] is, after the soy bean, the most important of the minor crops grown
for home use. This is the vegetable most favored either as a condiment,
or as a side dish. It is eaten sliced raw, pickled, or fried in
[252] strips in soy sauce. When eaten boiled, its flavor resembles that of
a turnip.

(5) The pumpkin (Cucurbita pepo L) called nanka or kabocha,
the latter name being derived from the word Cambodia from which the
pumpkin was introduced into Japan. They are harvested in summer, and
one crop a year, generally for home use, is grown. If the flesh
[231] becomes too ripe and turns reddish and sweet, it is not relished and
the pumpkin is fed to the pigs.

(6) The cucumber (kiuri in Japanese, Cucumus sativus L) is a
very minor crop. In none of the villages were they generally grown,
and then only for home use.

(7) The hechima or tōgwa in Japanese, subui in Okinawan.[7] This
is very large and cylindrical. In exceptional specimens, its outward
appearance is indistinguishable from the water melon. Its flesh is
[184] white. In the two southern villages, the tōgwa is grown very sparingly.
In Katsuda and the surrounding villages, it is more common. Here it is
used to fill in during times of food shortage. Some specimens I have
[221] seen weighed over 100 pounds. It is planted after lunar New Years,
harvested in the 6th or 7th lunar month, a period reaching from about
January to May. From April to July, when other vegetables are scarce,
[252] it is often used as a substitute. The flesh when boiled is rather
tasteless; it is commonly boiled and served with chunks of meat. The
tōgwa, in the northern villages, is often stored in dark cool places
[251] away from the sunlight, often under the house. If not cut open, the
melon can be saved for a year.

7 I am not certain whether this is Luffa cylindrica Roem, Luffa petola, Ser, the Luffa sponge, rag gourd, etc., whose pulp disappears when ripe to be replaced by a web of fibres.

241 a/ A chō is 3000 tsubo, or about 2.45 acres.
311
[804] Source: Agricultural Section, Gushichan Village Office, Gushichan-son, Okinawa, September 1951.

In Ginoza-son, statistics for crops on an individual village basis were only obtainable in part. Some Matsuda figures which were available indicate that rice, the sweet potato, and sugar cane were the most important of the crops:

Rice lands 82,151 tsubo (about 27.4 chō)
Summer planting: 58,000
Fall planting: 54,000
112,000 tsubo, including double cropping.

Dry Crop Land 188,305 tsubo (about 62.8 chō)

Sugar Cane:
Summer planting 2170 tsubo
Spring planting 6840 " "
9010 tsubo

The greater part of the remaining dry crop land is believed to be in sweet potatoes.

6

Native Uncultivated Plants of Use to Man
(Other than Forest Trees)

● 824 In the south, trees such as the banyan (gajimaru), the Japanese redwood (sugi), and the usuki are important within the village as windbreaks. The importance of miscanthus sinensis, often called kaya or susuki, has already been mentioned. Certain plants, used for medicinal purposes, are becoming scarce and are being displaced by modern drugs, but have some interest. Other plants, formerly used in home industries for weaving and making straw sandals, have also declined in importance in the villages.

In the south one of the most interesting associations is that of the Ryukyuan pine (Pinus ryukyuensis), the cycad (sotetsu in Japanese, Cycas revoluta, Thumb.) and Chinese silver grass (miscanthus sinensis). The Ryukyu pine in this area is little more than a shrub. It has some uses for firewood and for minor construction, but the lumber for substantial houses comes from the northern forests.

The cycad, now rather uncommon in this area, has had several uses. The whole plant may be a windbreak or be used for firewood. A form of
[262] starch (rennun in Japanese, kuzu in Okinawan) is made from this plant, a food traditionally used in time of great hardship or crop failure.

The starch comes from two sources: the large oval seed, ranging from orange to Chinese red when mature, and the stalk. Use of the stalk involves destruction of the plant. According to Gushichan area residents, the starch of the cycad seed was used for food in 1945, 1946, and parts of 1947. Timing is an important part of the starch making because at certain stages of development the cycad is poisonous. Today in areas where the cycad is plentiful, the seeds are still gathered and dried in large quantities. Toward the end of November in Oku and in the nearby mountain village of Hedo, and in other villages of the far north of the island, large quantities of cycad seeds can be seen drying in the compounds. In the Hanashiro and Hinatogawa area, the cycad is not plentiful enough and is too scattered for these uses. 824 262

The main uses of miscanthus are: (1) roof thatch, including the saddle back which caps the roof, (2) firewood, (3) the younger shoots for animal food, (4) fertilizer, (5) a raw material for home weaving of baskets and slings for carrying vegetables. 824

Miscanthus can be seen to best advantage in December when it is in full bloom and covers large areas of the uncultivated countryside. Considering the present economic situation in the south, these plentiful grasses are indispensable to daily living. One must see, from day to day and with his own eyes, the dependence on these wild grasses to appreciate the force of this statement.

In the southern area studied, one consequence of the war on the natural vegetation was the spread of the grasses at the expense of the pine and the cycad. Residents of the Hanashiro, Gushichan, and Hinatogawa areas have said that prior to the war, the Ryukyuan pine was plentiful and covered hill and mountain sides now quite bare, save for an occasional scrub tree. These trees were destroyed by bombing and firing. There are occasional evidences of regrowth due to natural seeding, but the clumps are small, and nothing like a stand is growing. The stands even before the war, however, must have been inconsequential compared with descriptions of the area fifty years ago given by old residents of the area. The present deforestation of large parts of southern Okinawa seems to have accelerated in the recent past. 137 727

The cycad had a similar fate in the south. The plants are numerous in the sense that one can always be observed on a walk. They grow in clumps, often alongside the pandanus. The grasses seem to have displaced the cycad and the pandanus as well. The dense settlement, cultivation, use of trees for firewood, and the recent war account for the uncultivated hillsides in which the grasses now predominate, and on some of which not a single tree or shrub is to be observed. The original native vegetation, perhaps, may still be preserved in the limestone sinks which occur here and there in this area. 137 [311]

In Hanashiro, the absence of trees and shrubs except in the settled areas has already been noticed. This is a characteristic of villages in the south. The treelessness of Hinatogawa is exceptional.

824 The most common of the Hanashiro trees are (1) the banyan or gajimaru, or yōsu. This tree is a common sight with its long roots growing around and through the stone fences. The tree with [731] its roots bracing the stone fences is excellent typhoon protection for the village. (2) The usuku (Japanese scientific name, the akou) resembles the gajimaru in appearance and serves the same purpose. The fukugi (Garcinia spicata Hook) and an occasional cycad are common windbreaks. These trees are almost invariably in combina- [417] tion with stone fences, made of blocks, or with fences made of loose stones which have settled and been bound together by small plant roots. Village typhoon protection is a simple but effective combination of stone, shrubs, and trees. There is also an occasional kuroki (kurchi in Okinawan), from whose trunk the samisen, the stringed [534] musical instrument, is made, and the palm (shuro).

There are wild plants in each of the areas but their importance has also declined. Among these is the pandanus (the adan, Japanese scientific name, the takonoki). This plant was plentiful before the war, but is now scarce except in the mountain area. It can occasionally be seen in genya land or in small clumps on an outcrop. The blades of the pandanus are long and hard, with a row of spines down both sides of the blade. It has had several uses. Formerly it was the common material for making slippers (sori), hats, cigarette cases, and hand- [463] bags. These home industries have all but disappeared, but old people [887] occasionally do a little. In preparing the pandanus blades for use, the thorns are removed and several strips are made. These are then boiled, dried, and smoothed out. Then they are woven into the desired pattern. A first class pandanus blade is about 5 feet long. In the [782] celebration of O-Bon, the fruit of the pandanus may be offered as food to the ancestors.

Another plant occasionally used is the getto, known also in Okinawa as sannin or muchigasa. Its chief use is in the festival of the 8th day of the 12th lunar month. At this time, rice cakes (mochi) are wrapped up in its long and wide and flexible fibres. These wrappings, often made by children, are hung from the ceiling or from the wall. The stem of this plant was much used in the past for rope.

824 The nigana (njana in Okinawan, Ixeris dentata Nakai) is still 262 used in this area as a food and medicine. It has an exceedingly bitter 757 root, about 1/8 of an inch in diameter in a mature plant. The root is put in hot water, and the liquid drunk as a stomach medicine. The leaves, not so bitter as the root, have a sour, slightly bitter taste. They are often served with the white cuttlefish (shiroi-ikka).

The ōbako (known in Okinawan as the hirawakusa or hirawagusa, Plantago Asiatica L, "Japanese ribwort") is used as a medicine and as a food. When vegetables are scarce, it is eaten as a green. As a medicine, the leaf is heated over a fire and the hot leaf is then pressed over a swelling.

Moxa (mogusa in Japanese, fuchiba in Okinawan) in the traditional Chinese and Japanese pharmacopoeia, had considerable former importance. In powdered form, it is placed on a swelling or painful part, which is cauterized by burning the moxa with a charcoal stick or a hot piece of metal. Moxa can be bought, packed and prepared in Japan, at most Okinawan village stores. But wild moxa is not used for this purpose. Formerly a brew was made of the wild plant and drunk for bringing down a fever. It is still used with the yagi, another plant, as a broth. Now aspirin, also obtainable at village shops is commonly taken for these ills. 824 757

These plants are now nearly forgotten. In Hanashiro only the nigana and mogusa were remembered. In Minatogawa, the situation was the same. In Nagamo, a few slippers from the pandanus are still made. The virtual disappearance of home industries based on the pandanus is the result of a diminished supply and in part to loss of skills and failure of a younger generation to acquire them either because of the attraction of more exciting occupations or to lack of interest. This is not meant as a generalization. Home industries based on the use of uncultivated plants, has not vanished from all parts of Okinawa. Activity changes from locality to locality, even when these are close together. Slipper production from the pandanus has practically disappeared in Minatogawa, but across the river in the village of Horikawa they are still made. 824 178 184 [492]

Plant	Hanashiro	Minatogawa-Nagamo	Matsuda
Pandanus (adan)	Scarce, not used	Some slippers made	Not used
Nigana	Root boiled and used as a medicine		Broth for stomach and headaches.
Obako	Not used	For swellings; hot leaf used as a poultice.	Not used [757]
Moxa (mogusa)	Used as in Minatogawa	Wild plant boiled, brew used for bringing down fever. Powdered form purchased.	Used in combination with another plant, the yagi, resulting broth used for general complaints. [757]

cash income. Pigs are seldom eaten by the family that raises them. On New Year's, a family will slaughter a pig or three or four families might co-operate in sharing one. Pork may also be served at O-Bon and at Jūgoya, the autumn equinoctial holiday season. 231 [262] [527]

A family often gets its start in pig raising by obtaining a loan from a mutual loan group. (These groups will be discussed later). A young pig may cost about Y2000. Male pigs intended for market (nikubuta in Japanese, shishiwa in Okinawan) are castrated two months after birth. Keeping breeding pigs (tanebuta) is a special business. Men engaged in this business bring the boar to the pig raiser's home. Each village has such a businessman or at least has convenient access to one in a neighboring village. The fee usually charged is Y200. If the first attempt at breeding is unsuccessful, a second opportunity is given free. On the third try, the dealer claims his fee again. In Hatsuda, there is a belief among the old that as the tide is coming in, if a sow is in heat, the male will be able to perform, but that in the ebb tide he cannot. [426] [435] [232]

Great care is taken in housing pigs adequately, if the family is able to do so. The pig sties made of stone or coral may be better than the houses of their owners. This is by no means so shortsighted or ridiculous as it might seem. Pigs are the means, one of the very few means, by which an agricultural family may acquire substantial sums of cash. To protect this living bank account, considerable sums are invested in fine stone, or cement floors and an adequate roof. The pen must be strong to withstand typhoons. With a good pig pen, a sow, and a good litter, a family can look forward to improving its financial condition and its own housing. There is great variety in the quality of pig pens. The pen may be in combination with the outside toilet, but with the two places completely separate; it may be part of a larger shed which also houses the goats, the cattle, or the horse. If a family can afford it, the pig is housed in a stone pen with stone floors, or with other sturdy materials. 231 343 [434] [511]

The day to day care of pigs is mostly the work of women. While the husband is at work in the fields, the wife, as an incidental part of her duties, goes to the nearest plot to cut sweet potato tops, or mashes sweet potatoes in the stone mortar in the compound, often with her infant child on her back. There are three favorite varieties of food for pigs: (1) the leaves of the sweet potato plant not suitable for human consumption or not needed for transplanting, (2) the potato itself. The poorer grades of potato are put in a stone mortar and are smashed with a long pole, or pestle. (3) A cloudy liquid consisting of the sweet potato, waste bean curd (tōfu no kasshu) and water. This is always given warm. The pig may also get poor rice, or rice spoiled for human consumption by submersion as a result of a typhoon, or miscellaneous left overs from the table. 231 824 [462]

There are no ceremonies in any of the villages associated with slaughtering the pig. Villagers seldom kill their own except on 231

137 settled area and for protection of the surrounding crops. Around
311 houses, there are common stone fences, bamboo fences and trees.
Stone fences, though solid may be toppled over. Bamboo, or dwarf
[419] bamboo fences, seemingly slight, resist the winds and remain intact
because of their flexible loose weave.

137 The trees on the ridges of the low lying hills or on high pieces
133 of ground are tall, and sturdy, and jealously protected. The villagers
185 take great pride in them. Today this pride is based on the realization
of their effectiveness; in former times, their protection was associated
with the worship of the gods of the sacred grove (utaki). There were
[198] beliefs, which now seem to be dying out, that cutting these trees
[199] would bring bad luck. Many villagers say that Saion in the 18th
[193] century intentionally invented superstitions concerned with the cutting
of the trees in order to save them. Now these trees are no longer in
danger of cutting, even though the penalties of the old beliefs are no
longer feared.

The following short list does not exhaust the kinds of trees and plants found in this area. It is confined to those trees, shrubs, and grasses which are most frequently found and which have the greatest local importance.

● 829 (1) The Ryukyuan pine (Riukiu-matsu in Japanese, Pinus luchuensis
313 Mayr). This tree is still one of the commonest sights of the island, even in southern Okinawa. At present, it is a source of firewood, cheap lumber, and siding. It is not considered good housebuilding material because of termites (shiroari). Pine was used for fishing boats within living memory, but now they are made of much harder woods. In this area, the coniferous groves are along the seashore. The larger stands are not cut. Scrub pine on individually owned wild land may be cut for firewood.

(2) The fukugi (Garcinia spicata Hook.). The fukugi is used around homes and on mountain ridges as a typhoon protection. It is fairly plentiful here and prized as a building material (kenchikuzai). The hard studs, beams and cross beams and the wide plank floors in the older and better houses are often made out of this wood.

(3) The iju (Schima luchuensis Nak.). This tree, common here, is used as a building material and is considered to be better than the Japanese redwood (sugi). It is not regarded as a good firewood.

(4) The inumaki (Podocarpus macrophyllum D. Don). This tree is not well known here, and there are no large specimens. But it is regarded as the best building material when available. Often the large, hard, rough hewn poles which are placed on stones and support the eaves of the older houses are made from this wood.

(5) The shii (Shiia cuspidata). The dense stands of this tree in the village owned forest restrict the size of the specimens, though

in isolated spots the tree grows to a considerable height. This is a favored wood for housebuilding materials. It is also used for firewood. 824 313

(6) The mokumao (Australian pine, Casuarina equisetifolia L). This is a fast growing tree and quite plentiful in this area. The mokumao is commonly a shelter belt tree here. Along with the pine, and the shii, it is used for firewood.

(7) The shuro (Prachycarpus excelsus Wendl. Var.). Individual specimens of this palm are scattered through the village. It is found in local ravines, sinks, and near the natural bridge. When it was more plentiful, rope was made from its fibres. Before the war, it was the standard material of the farmer's raincoat. Rope making continues on a very restricted scale.

(8) The soshiju (Acacia confusa Merr.). Individual acacia trees are numerous but scattered. Frequently the tree grows on the house site as a typhoon protection. It is also used for firewood. Branches of the soshiju are often placed over or around young vegetables and other plants to shield them. Its leaves are placed on the dry crop lands and on paddy fields as a fertilizer.

(9) The gajimaru (Ficus retusa). This banyan tree was noticed by earlier travellers. It is a picturesque tree. The exposed roots twine around lesser shrubs, stumps, and stones. Specimens are scattered, and its chief use, here and in the southern villages, is for typhoon protection. Smaller trees, their roots growing in an around the stone fences, are a common sight. The leaves may be used for fertilizing the soil of rice fields.

(10) The cycad (sotetsu in Japanese, Cycas revoluta). This plant has already been discussed. While more frequent here than in the south, it is not plentiful. One must go farther north before the cycad becomes important in the daily economy. In Matsuda, the fronds are used to protect young growing plants, the leaves as a fertilizer for plants other than rice. Occasionally starch and a bread are made from the seed. Fermented drinks were once made from the cycad. There is no present market, as there was in the past, of fronds used in funeral wreathes. 824 [273]

(11) Suzuki (miscanthus sinensis, Chinese silver grass), commonly referred to as kaya, upon which we have already commented so frequently. This grass is not so important here as in the southern villages because of the availability of superior wood and fibres from the forest. It is not used as a major fuel, nor to any great extent for roofs, since the dwarf bamboo is available. The grasses collectively known as susuki are used as a fertilizer. The young shoots are often given to horses, cattle, and goats. One does not observe here the dominance of this plant, such a conspicuous part of the landscape of the south.

824 (12) The pandanus (adan or takonoki, Japanese scientific name, Pandanus oderatissimus L) is also scattered. Formerly the pandanus was widely used in Okinawa for slippers and a Panama type hat was made for export. This home industry has disappeared from Matsuda, as it has from the south.

(13) The i (Juncus effusus, Linn. var. decipiens Buch). This rush is used in the better quality home made mats (mushiro). The i is generally the warp of these mats, with some other grass the weft. It is occasionally cultivated when rice paddies are not in use, as it requires much water. There are two varieties of i, the round, and the three cornered (sankaku). The three cornered variety is used in cheaper quality mats. The round variety with cotton string as the warp, is used in weaving the best mats.

(14) The Yambaru bamboo (Yambaru take). This I believe is the same as, or at least very similar to the Japanese sasa, or dwarf bamboo (Arundinaria communis Mak.). Yambaru take means "northern district bamboo" and throughout Okinawa the term is used to describe this valuable plant. In appearance, it resembles the susuki grass, but its stalks are much woodier, have a greater diameter, and the plant is much taller. In an uncleared forest, the Yambaru bamboo grows six to nine feet high and has a foothold wherever there is the slightest room in the forest. Patches often are intermingled with the shii, pine, and the numerous shrubs. This is the roof thatch material of the north. Its other uses include the weaving of stationary barriers (hinpun) in front of the house compound. The stalks are closely woven diagonally while still green. The plant has innumerable uses, depending on individual improvisation. While green, charcoal containers may be made out of it; it may be woven into rough
285 baskets (zaru) for carrying sweet potatoes, or to bind up the small
415 bundles of firewood which are sent south. In general, the smaller diameters of Yambaru bamboo are used for roofs; the larger for bamboo fences (takegaki) and the face level hinpun. Bundles of Yambaru bamboo are sent to Naha and Shuri for weaving.

3

The Uses of the Forest

313 Clearcutting seems to be the curse of traditional Oriental forestry. Starting at the convenient base of a hill or mountain, every tree has been cut up the hill until a steep or inaccessible part is reached. This destructive exploitation has been an established Japanese forestry practice despite the obvious inducements to soil erosion.[5]

The results of clearcutting observable near Matsuda now are a product of the overwhelming war and post-war demand for lumber and

5 A report on Japanese natural resources, as cited, 357.

283

Few articles for wear or general household use are made in the home. In Hanashiro and Hatsuda, different kinds of ropes are made from the palm or from rice straw. The fibre of the palm is pulled apart and carded with the hands. Lengths of the fibre are twisted by rolling between the palms of the hand. These ropes are very strong, but the palm fibre is now scarce.

824

Weaker articles made of rice straw are far more common. The chief ones are ropes (waratsuna), mats (mushiro), a rope mesh (Ōda in Okinawan) carried on the ends of poles, twine, and swings (buranko) for children. Braided rice twine is used to tie the dwarf bamboo down to the roof before putting on the tile on top. In Hinatogawa, very few articles of home manufacture are made. Some mats, a very few slippers, and fishing lures are the chief articles.

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The people of Hatsuda have better plant fibres and more mat making is found here. Two families specialize in making mats, one using a foot operated loom from Japan, the other a very simple hand loom. Mats are made from two plants which are indigenous: the i rush and the pandanus. Two kinds are used, a three corned (sankaku) and the round (maru), the latter considered superior. In Hatsuda, there are four types of mats distinguished by the materials employed: (1) the pandanus mat, (2) the pandanus as the warp, the i rush as the weft, (3) cotton string as the warp, the i as the weft, and (4) an all i rush mat. The best quality is the all rush mat. It is a strong, closely woven and attractive mat. Weaving is done by men in their spare time, or as a full time occupation by those physically unable to do hard work. Occasionally women weave, but it is uncommon. The market is mainly local.

[462]

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In the simple upright hand loom, the warp beam is attached to the top board of the loom. The warp is stretched taut and fastened to the bottom board of the loom (corresponding with the cloth beam). The cotton strings, which make up the warp, are alternately set forward and backward, and when the weft is pushed in it goes over one string and under another to make the weave. The weft once in place is pushed down to the bottom by a movable board, with holes which guide it up and down the warp, to make the weave. In lieu of a shuttle, the rush strips used as a weft are guided through the cotton strings of the warp with a piece of bamboo about 4 feet long notched in the end like a bottle cap opener. One end of the rush is put in the notch and the stick is pushed alternately through the threads of the warp. The ends of the weft are tied to the warp to make a fringe and secure the mat against ripping. The rush is wet with a brush before using. It takes about 12 hours to make a 3 x 6 feet mat on this type of loom.

285

Men in Hatsuda also make rough baskets, mainly for carrying vegetables and the stationary barriers (hinpun), made of the dwarf bamboo. These are woven diagonally when the plant is green and moist.

351

In the villages there is little effort to beautify the courtyard, train trees, or to cultivate shrubs and flowers. Now and then one sees a flower bed in the compound or the remains of a rock garden with shrubs and a small pond. But there is little to suggest the Japanese skill in these matters.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

who upset the tea cups and the sake flasks. 000

A public parade and celebration was held in Itoman in 1951, and a short digression to describe it may be worth while. The main attraction was a parade, which halted frequently so that participating groups could perform dances, acts, or skits. In these there were several themes: (1) dances by female groups of all ages from beginning school girls to old women in their seventies. Many women wore artificial turtles on their hats, the younger children having paper outlines of turtles. The young girls were led by an older man who kept time either by playing the samisen or by clapping his hands. The very young girls beat small tin cans with sticks. The dances of the older girls and women were of two kinds: one symbolised the crane and the turtle (tsurukame). The turtle is a symbol of longevity. The second is the pine-bamboo-plum tree triad (shochikubai) symbolizing long life and beauty. (2) Female impersonators imitated both the traditional Japanese woman with her costume and hair arrangement, and the modern woman with a chignon wearing a bright kimono, sun glasses, and smoking a cigarette. Their antics depended for their humor on the gracelessness of the men: they included mock flirtations and rejections, kicking of the heels, slapping with a fan, and other clowning. (3) Various balancing acts with long poles done by boys and young men. (4) Skits of individuals dressed as savages from the south seas. (5) Humorous acts showing the people of the northern district who were portrayed as jolly country bumpkins. Their caps, with tassels, looked like a cocoanut shell. The long false hair and beards were made of palm fibre. They carried ludicrous looking saws and axes while dragging a log. 527 541 [535] [533] [825] [824] [536]

One feature of the Itoman celebration was the well-known rope pulling contest (tsunahiki). The giant rope, made of rice straw, is at least 100 yards long, and about two feet in diameter. Each end has a loop. These loops, joined by a heavy piece of wood, are above the center line. The men of the town divide into two groups. The tug of war began about 5 in the afternoon and was soon over, but one has been known to last until one or two o'clock in the morning. It is found in all villages, but there is no set date for it. The tug of war is an old diversion in Okinawa.[5] 527 526

In former years, Minatogawa people participated in the Itoman festival. In 1951, they held their own evening celebration. This is a time of great beauty, with the light of the full moon illuminating the Pacific, the coral coast, and the mountains. The evening entertainment consists of some acts, similar to vaudeville, and a longer play. Crowds came from the surrounding villages, bringing their own mats and their own sake. Most of the officials of the township attended. 527 [628]

5 Goldschmidt, Neu-Japan, has reproduced an interesting painting showing a tug of war in Naha around the end of the 18th century. It shows an audience of court officials, the Chinese ambassador, as well as the various participants. Facing p. 179. [114]

[529] Young girls with pots of hot tea circulated in the audience. The
[272] stage performance was a combination of local amateur talent and
[535] professionals from Naha. Normally the entertainment begins with a traditional Okinawan dance by a professional woman dancer, followed by a short skit. Conversations in Okinawan between an educated man
[536] and a stupid rustic are favorite subjects. Acts of this type are greatly enjoyed and cause laughter, mainly I was told because the jokes had sexual overtones. The shorter acts are followed by a play. (The theme of this play will be discussed in the following chapter).

6

Other Holidays of the Year

Chrysanthemum day, the ninth day of the ninth month (October 9, 1951), is a very minor holiday. A chrysanthemum is put in sake, and
[824] the flask is placed on the god shelf. A leaf of the plant is put in the sake when it is drunk. People at this time wish one another good health. The festival is only spottily observed.

There is a minor public holiday, the rice cake festival (mochi no matsuri), said to be native to Okinawa, on the 8th day of the 12th lunar month (January 4, 1952). On the day before, women prepare red
[262] and white cylindrical rice cakes, about 4 inches long and one inch in diameter. These are wrapped in the leaf of the sannin plant or in the
[252] leaves of sugar cane. The glutinous rice cake is made by first soaking rice in water and then mashing it in a hand mill. The rice is put in a cloth bag to allow excess water to drip out. The following morning the rice is boiled and shaped and wrapped in the leaves. The cake is doughy and insipid to taste. On the morning of the 8th, the cakes are placed on the god shelf and after prayers the cakes are removed. They are served during the day to guests. Sometimes children attach strings to these cakes and hang them about the room. The holiday is not observed by every family in the village, but it was recognised in all the villages studied.

The festival of the winter solstice, the longest night of the year (tōji) is known, but Hinatogawa was the only place in which its observance was noted. It is a home festival with prayers and the
[769] familiar offering of assorted foods to the ancestors.

Western Christmas is not observed in any of the villages. It
[177] would not be surprising if it should become a holiday, with gift giving, feasting, and drinking, but without the religious connotations. Since the occupation, Okinawans have become conscious of Christmas.[6]

6 I was told that in certain villages of the northern district, such as
[797] Kushi and Higashi near Ogimi that there is a Christmas festival, without the gift exchange, a survival of earlier missionary teaching. Time did not permit me to verify this, but there seems little doubt that a Christmas festival does exist in some Okinawan villages, judging by the frequency with which I heard of it in Matsuda and Ginoza villages.

trees of the sacred grove and used old beliefs to preserve the forests. Formerly it was believed that misfortune would come to him who cut a tree in groves sacred to these gods. If the trees were cut, the god would become angry, the person cutting the tree would be the victim of self-induced illness and by worrying about his deed, gradually would become ill, and perhaps die. These sacred groves, whose religious significance is now almost ignored, are arranged to enclose the village from three directions, with the open side on the south. On the north was the sacred grove in the back (ushiro no utaki) or the grove of the white gold mountain (kinpuku utaki in Okinawan). The mountain gods were supposed to live here. On the west was the grove in front (mae no utaki) on the white silver mountain. This was also known as the fire shrine. 784 778 185 778 823 [176]

The priestesses also had a hand in this worship of the mountain gods. There are about seven of these places of worship now, and there is still a voluntary caretaker, an old woman with tattooed hands, a family priestess (nigami) in the old system. Occasionally one sees an old woman going to a grove to pray. The only other visitors are the farmers who walk along the paths of the grove on their way to the fields. 778 793

7

Other Religious Observances

There are a few other observations which may have some interest. Old women use patches of grass or knotted rice straw to ward off the spirits on days when they are thought to be abroad in great numbers. At the festival of the autumnal equinox, knotted or braided grass (shiba) is placed in various parts of the house. In some houses, bunches are suspended from the cross beams, perhaps three or four bunches to the side. They may be placed in the toilet, at the entrance to the house compound, on the water barrel in the kitchen, on the front and back of fishing boats, or in the interior of the house. Blades of miscanthus grass may be tied around the neck of a bean paste jug (misogami). Spirits, plentiful at this time, are frightened away by the patches of grass and will not enter. The young, while not believing in this, acquiesce to avoid making the old angry. 789 824 [184]

When a death anniversary is being celebrated, there may be a blade of miscanthus, a rice straw, or a knotted blade of grass on the top of a box of candies or sweet meats to prevent the intrusion of evil spirits. A blade of grass (the san) is occasionally tied around the handle of a tea pot. For the first week after a family death, tea is served from a pot which has this blade of grass. But these are almost invariably the observances of the old and are only infrequently seen. These customs, observed in Hinatogawa, are said to survive among the very old in the other villages. [169] [176] [184]

In Matsuda, a rice rope (shimenawa) was observed at one home. The rice rope, a Shinto symbol, is not common in Okinawan culture. This [177] [184]

789 rope was hung across the entrance of the family compound two times
824 a year, on the 9th day of the 8th month, and on the 8th day of the 12th month. Along the rope, there were knotted blades of grass, also the san plant. The purpose is to frighten away evil spirits and evil doers. One peculiarity of this twisted rice rope is that
283 it is made in a different manner from the ordinary rope. The usual rope is a twist made by rolling the fibre between the palms to the right or away from the body. In this special rope, the roll is reversed and is to the left or toward the body. It is difficult for a person already skilled in the regular method. This villager told of going to two noro
[193] priestesses in the village of Yabu who specialized in teaching this method of making ropes. The husband and the wife received instruction, paying about Y40 for it because the wife believed in the efficacy of the practice. Each year at the proper times, the husband now makes the special rope himself.

787 Some fortune telling practices shade into religious beliefs,
791 just as religious customs have also included soothsaying and divination.
184 The noros and the Buddhist priests formerly practiced some fortune telling. There were no fortune tellers in any of the villages studied, but villagers occasionally consult them. Here, too, the patronage comes largely from the old and from the women. Younger people, if they know about them, regard these practices as superstitions unworthy of belief. The word meishin (superstition) is frequently heard among the young in describing customs and beliefs of the old. The sign of the fortune
791 teller (sanjinsō) is the Chinese character for three written three
[212] times. These characters are said to signify the three states of existence, pre-natal, the present, and the afterlife, on all of which the fortune teller is well versed. Those in Manashiro and Minatogawa who wish to consult a fortune teller go to Itoman; those in Hatsuda go to Nago. The cost is usually from Y40-50 a visit. Typical reasons for a consultation with a fortune teller are: (1) to find out if an ill person will become well, (2) among the fishermen, to find out if the fishermen will return when an unexpected storm has arisen, (3) to discover if a present unhappiness has been caused by the evil deed of an ancestor and if this can be corrected, and (4) to find out the lucky days for such undertakings as marriages, building a house, or beginning new phases of construction.

782 Old women may utter a prayer on seeing a child fall, fearing that
794 the child's spirit might escape because of surprise or fright. (This was observed in Minatogawa).

798 In Hatsuda, there were shelves for burning charcoal sticks in some of the numerous caves in the area. The nature of the worship could not be ascertained, but they may be offerings to deities of the cave.

514 Worship and prayers in the toilet seem to have completely dis-
796 appeared. There were no personified toilet gods. The toilet apparently
782 was the place in which thanks were given that a place for excrement had been provided. In all the villages, it was said to be an old belief
798 which has now died out. There was no shelf or special place of worship in the toilet.

Table VIII, cont'd.

Crop	Yield per tan	Tons per acre
Cucumbers	1,570	42.4
Wax Melon	1,859	50.2
Tomatoes	2,789	75.5
Watermelons	1,557	42.0
'I' rush ('Bingo-i')	1,411	38.1
'I' sedge ('Shichitō-i')	1,715	46.3
Tea	197	5.32
Mandarin orange ('mikan')	1,183	31.95
Edible banana	1,629	44.0
Green manure crops	2,994	87.5
Sugar cane (cane weight)[1]	9,000	243.0

Use of Grass, Trees and Brush Southern Okinawa looks barren to the American observer---few trees break the skyline and great fields of long grass cover the hillsides. The comment heard most often is, "Why don't the Okinawans plow up the grass and plant crops, instead of letting all that land go to waste?" The only proper and truthful answer to this query, of course, is that the grass is utilized to the full and that none "goes to waste".

The "ubiquitous miscanthus" referred to by Glacken actually comprises many grasses, chief among which are 'susuku', 'kaya', and one known by the Okinawan name nāichū. 'Susuki' is used mainly for the making of brooms, which occurs in December after the flowering of this grass has turned the countryside from deep green to a cloudy whiteness. 'Kaya' is used mainly for the thatching of roofs, but is also fed to livestock. Among other plants of the wild land, or 'genya', are the 'mogusa' or fūchibā, used for moxibustion and as a vegetable in soups; the hirahāgusa, used to cure leech bites; and the warabinufūnii, or edible bracken fern.

The Japanese butter-bur is found in the 'genya', and is utilized as a tobacco substitute in hard times, and occasionally as food. The flowering ginger, or sannin, furnishes leaves for wrapping rice cakes, and fiber for the tying of bundles of sugar cane. The leaf of the inedible potato or m-bashi (Japanese, 'kuwazu-imo') was used by very poor people before the war as a wrapper for 'miso' paste, which they peddled throughout the countryside. The plant is still used to stop the bleeding of wounds. The lantana---known in Hawaii as "haole-koa"---furnished poles for house roofs, leaves for fodder, and beans for tea during famines. Numerous other grasses and herbs are used by the older generation for medicinal purposes, as can be seen by perusal of Tawada's excellent book, Okinawa Yakuyō Shokubutsu Yakkō, 2nd edition, Naha, 1951.

Almost all trees, which in Shimajiri means essentially those surrounding the houses, are used in some way above and beyond their major function as windbreaks in time of typhoons. The leaves of the yūna tree are a native

[1] This information is from the Kochinda-son Office.

The leaves of the yūna tree are a native
311 substitute for toilet paper, and are still used in some villages, though people
824 deny that the practice continues. When pressed they may intimate that so-and-
[54] so, "the poor family over the hill", retains the practice. Banyan trees fur-
[178] nish leaves for green manure, as do many other varieties. Before the war many
people grew kuroki for eventual use in the making of samisens. The top of the
[53] tree was cut when young so that it would become stubby and thick. The neigh-
boring village of Tsukazan boasts of a samisen-maker whose fame has taken him to Naha. The 'kusunoki' tree is considered to be the best tree to plant near the home, for it discourages termites.

241 Fertilizers Okinawan farmers in most areas utilize the traditional night soil and green manures, as well as the modern synthetic fertilizers.
[54] Almost every house has two toilets. The one not in use is utilized as a
[237] night-soil decay pit. Pig manure is mixed with the human excreta, water added, and the whole let set for about a fortnight before use on the fields. Use of animal manure in the paddies was abandoned with the introduction of the new variety of rice. Animal manure produced good heads on the old variety but makes heavy stalks only on the new.

241 Green manure is extensively used as a plant nutrient in the paddy
824 fields. Indeed, some paddies in winter are devoted to the raising of green manure, which is plowed under before spring planting. Outer leaves of cabbage are fed to goats to become manure for the dry fields, or the leaves are trampled into the mud of the paddy to decay. Thistles, 'kuwazu-imo' leaves, and tree leaves of the yūna and banyan are only a few of the many types of green manure. Compost, or 'taihi', is made for the dry fields and some paddies by mixing animal manure with 'genya' grasses, rice straw, and other plant remains. Before the war, compost was not used for vegetables, because it would cause a shortage in the amount available for the cane fields. Nowadays compost is more available, and many vegetables assume huge proportions. One Nanahan farmer produced a wax melon weighting 97 'kin', or 128 pounds.

241 Commercial fertilizers available to the farmers include ammonium sulphate ('ryusan ammoniya', 'ryūan'), synthesized fertilizer ('kasei hiryo'), ammonium nitrate ('ryusan kari'), nitrogen-lime ('sekkai chisso'), urea ('nyōso'), potassium chloride ('enkakari'), and superphosphate of lime ('Karinsan sekkai'). Ammonium sulphate is preferred for sugar cane. During the last four or five years the Agricultural Federation ('Nōren') in Naha has enforced a tie-in sale so that when a farmer buys two sacks of ammonium sulphate, he must also buy one sack of superphosphate of lime. Farmers in Tomoyose quite often dispose of the latter by dumping it beside the road, as they believe that it is not good for the soil found on their farms. One enterprising Nanahan farmer, who for several years was a member of the Kochinda-son agricultural committee, enquires about the cast-off fertilizer, and when he finds it he uses it to good effect. When he was interviewed concerning this, he expressed anger at what he considered the backwardness of his neighbors.

[177] Okinawans were first introduced to chemical fertilizer in the mid-twenties, when a black fertilizer appeared. This was later replaced by the various white products, which since some time before the war have been supplemented by soybean waste when available.

769 of the child; the child prays several times a year, on the important occa-
753 sions, at the ancestral tablets of the adopted parent, but otherwise lives as before. The rationale of this practice may be: if one set of ancestors is not sufficient for the child, why not give him another?

753 Also related to the concept ugwambusuku is the notion that certain
828 persons are destined to do more than just make offerings; some are to become
794 kaminchu, "god persons", and play the principal roles at the family worship at the important holidays. If these persons shirk this duty they may become ill as a consequence. In certain persons, particularly older women, persistent illness and especially mental illness may be interpreted as a sure sign that the afflicted person ought to become a kaminchu. There is one well-recognized type of mental illness called 'kami-buri'; the person with this disorder constantly makes the gestures of prayer toward various persons and objects in an extravagant manner. Such a person is almost sure to become a religious practitioner after recovery. In fact some kaminchu positions must
[756] be filled by persons who have had 'kami-buri'. The yuta may also receive his, or more often her, vocation through such an illness. (Recently a visiting psychiatrist commented on the low number of cases at the Kin mental hospital. There are of course many cases that are not committed to the institution because Okinawan society has a place for them; they become its psychiatrists.)

Other concepts of disease will be discussed in the next section.

4. Medical Practice

755 Home Remedies There are a number of home remedies that are known to many
757 persons, especially older women. These include the use of certain herbs, the letting of blood, the use of salt, prayer, swearing for exorcism, spells. These methods of treatment may be used by any old woman to the extent of her knowledge, but if the illness appears to be too serious for these treatments a professional medical practitioner may be consulted. However, the distinction between the professional person and the skilled amateur is not always clear.

757 Herbs are used for digestive disorders and particularly for female
● 824 disorders. Tawada in his description of Okinawan flora[1] lists ten plants used for medicinal purposes, nine of which are said to be useful to female disorders along with a variety of other things ranging from toothaches to appendicitis.

757 Blood-letting is practiced on most infants as a cure for skin eruptions and is sometimes also used on adults. Shallow incisions are made with a razor to let out the "bad blood". These are made on a baby's buttocks and sometimes, though less frequently at the present time than in the past, on the face of an adult.

755 Salt is used for purification. A yuta whom I saw exorcise a house and yard took salt into his mouth and then spit it and threw it in the

[1] Tawada, 1951.

342 Co-operation often takes the form of a division of labor. In
476 building an elaborate permanent house with cement foundations, siding,
463 plank flooring and a tile roof, greater skills than the handyman techniques of a smaller house are required. In the building of a house, men with special skills, such as a carpenter, a cement mixer, a stonecutter, or a mason participate; others bring lumber and wood from the mountains, as in Matsuda, or lay the grass on the tile roof. In some
[464] cases, all the labor may be donated; in others, the carpenter, the cement mixer, the stonecutter may be hired, with helper's work done by volunteers. In simpler construction, the carpentry may be done by anyone who has this secondary skill but is primarily a farmer or a fisherman. People who have those skills are said to have half and half occupations (hannohangyō in Japanese).

7

Housebuilding Ceremonies

342 In building, a distinction is made between a temporary and a permanent house. A temporary house may be built following a typhoon or a fire, or it may be constructed for a poor man and in fact be a permanent house for the family, the good house to come being more an aspiration than an early reality. The marks of a permanent house are construction with beams, instead of poles, good siding, a good roof, now mostly of tile, a design based on mat size, and a cemented kitchen. Housebuilding ceremonies and celebrations apply only to the permanent house.

[184] Ceremonies or observances during stages in the building of a house differ from place to place and among people in the same village. In
342 Matsuda before the house is started, the owner, his friends, and neighbors gather and offer a prayer that the house be a good and a happy
782 one. Before construction, and once each year following completion, rice cakes (mochi in Japanese) and sake are placed in each of the four corners
[262] of the house site. Three rice cakes are put on the smallest of three saucers which fit into one another. Two of these saucer sets with the
[203] rice cakes, together with a sake bottle and a small cup are placed on a tray. The east, north, west, and south corners are visited in that
[415] order. Sake is poured from the flask to a small cup. There is a short prayer. A piece of white paper, attached to a stick of dwarf bamboo (Yambaru take) about one foot long is burned. The sake is poured over the embers. The top rice cake is placed on the corner; the other two remain on the small plate. Prayers are offered for protection against
[825] the deadly snake (habu). The rice cake is then picked up. On the next corner, the ceremony is repeated.

When the ridge pole is put up, the carpenter prays that there will be no injuries. Observances at the raising of the roof (muneage in
[183] Okinawan) seem to be universal in the villages. Three parcels, one of salt, one of bean paste, and one of charcoal are wrapped in a leaf--any
[262] will do--and these are tied with a string and suspended from the inner side of the crossbeam or from the ridge pole. There are no prayers at This Time.

231 special holiday occasions. Pig killing or the killing of any animals
[825] is distasteful. The pig generally is driven out of the pen to a
[943] waiting truck or horse cart and hauled squealing off to market.

232 Considerable interest is being shown (early 1952) in the scientific
[197] breeding of pigs from stock imported from the United States. Chester White is a well known word among the farmers of Matsuda. In this area, regional meetings of pig breeders and raisers from the northern part of Okinawa and the Motobu peninsula are held to discuss the care, breeding, and marketing of pigs. These farmers have come a long way from the earlier days, even 25 years ago, when the toilet and the pig pen were the same. A farmer going from one of his fields to another often stops home to look at the pigs and perhaps to discuss his problems with
[474] a friend. In Matsuda, a pig growers' association has now been started.

231 Domestic animals, especially the pig, can be expected to increase and to reach at least their pre-war level, if the villages studied are typical. This development will be all to the good. The pig consumes food not fit or not used for human consumption. It does not compete with humans for food. It is unlikely that land now devoted to the production of human food would be diverted to animal food. In my observation, there is not a strong competition between animals and man for the products of the land. Domestic animals really round out the agriculture and consume food that otherwise would not be used.

[311] The lack of grazing land, except on the hill sides and summits, means that domestic animals must be fed with food grown and prepared and fed to them by the farmer. Grazing also would be out of the question since the land on the hills is privately owned and split up in small parcels. The young plants are valued too highly to permit indiscriminate grazing.

[435] Goats are cheaply raised. The only expense is the labor of getting leaves, grass, and tender shoots from the family's genya land on the hills. In the market, goat is the cheapest of all meats.
[262] There are also sharp differences in taste among villagers for goat's meat. The milk is not used as a food. Goats are tied up or kept in stalls for their entire life. They are never allowed to roam through the village or to graze on the hill sides. They are not given water and depend entirely on the water in the grasses and shoots which they are fed.

Horses, cattle, and oxen are fed grasses, mashed sweet potatoes, and waste bean curd. Though occasionally used in rice fields, the
[492] chief use of horses is in drayage. In Matsuda, the horse and the two wheeled cart make frequent trips to the mountains to transport the longpoles, firewood, and charcoal.

235 Chickens are fed anything that might be on hand. Often they are given the chaff from the rice or the rice that is blown off in
[262] winnowing. Occasionally chickens are eaten, but they are kept primarily

434 593 earned by women in the marketing of the fish, after The money deduction of travel expenses, becomes part of the family funds. Women in the fishing village have custody of the family money, due to frequent and prolonged absence of their husbands. This is an unusual practice, for in the agricultural and stonecutting areas of the village the husband handles the money, with the exception of a few yen which the wife may have at home to meet incidental expenses. The custody of the money (much made over by some observers) has no special cultural significance in my observation. It is merely a convenience, based on custom and occupation. Most earnings of husband and wife are in a common fund, though older children may handle their own money.

6

Other Activities Associated with Fishing

251 [439] There is some local drying of fish for home use and export. Of the common fish, the most frequently dried are the mackerel, the swordfish, and the shark. Shark fins are dried for export to Japan; before the war, they were also sent to China. The small amounts dried in local villages are accumulated in places like Naha for shipment. Drying processes are of the simplest. The fish may be laid out on a piece of canvas on the ground in front of the house, an operation which creates a stench and an overwhelming concentration of the blow fly population. Racks may be improvised. Their ends, made of odd pieces of wood, support thin bamboo poles laid parallel, on which the fish are put to dry. Sometimes fish are hung on a line. If the weather is good, they dry in two or three weeks, but rain quickly produces spoilage if the fish are not taken in immediately. The mackerel when dried may be heated up by placing a piece over the open fire, then rolled between the palms to see if it has been heated enough, torn into shreds, and put on a plate. Occasionally a poor family of non-fishing people, or a widow, purchases whole fish or backs or fins to dry for home use or resale.

278 825 Certain fish are valued as medicines. Their scarcity in agricultural villages prevents any but the most casual use. In Minatogawa, the commonest fish used as medicines are the lobster, the white cuttle fish, and the carp (koi), though the latter fish is rare here.

[252] 757 The whole lobster is put into boiling water. After a few minutes, this broth, which is the medicine, is drained off, and the lobster is cracked open and heated, this time for preparation as a food. The broth, which is regarded as very disagreeable, is taken for a variety of ailments. Its commonest use is as a laxative, although it is also taken for swellings, boils, or gatherings of any kind (haremono), for pains in the small of the back and the loin, or for a cold. The lobster broth is regarded as a very effective medicine. A white cuttlefish soup is put to similar use. The carp is boiled in water and the broth is drunk for fevers. The carp may also be grown in village ponds.

Celebrations Through the Festival of the Fifth Month

796 The 15th day of the second lunar month (March 22, 1951) is the Buddhist holiday, higan, celebrating the spring equinox. Here it is a home festival of thanksgiving. Barley (Omugi) or barley cakes
[262] with brown sugar are offered with prayers for continued good fortune. Other grains, such as rice, millet (awa) may be offered, though the cakes (mugimochi) are of barley. In Matsuda, this is not a home ceremony. An offering of white rice cakes is made by the village
[193] head man, with the assistance of lower orders of the former priestess system, at the site of the village patron deity.

527 The third day of the third month is the festival of the dolls, (hinamatsuri). It is not important in Okinawa and is spottily ob-
[524] served. In Minatogawa, it is a woman's holiday. Women and children
[562] make dolls. Gifts of dainties and candies in red lacquer boxes are prepared. People from nearby villages come to Minatogawa, bring their lunches, and gather shells and catch fish.

The fifth day of the fifth month is Boy's Day. This Japanese holiday is not significant in the villages. There may be banners with a picture of a carp (koi no bori) displayed, visits to the place of the patron deity, some visiting and samisen playing, and perhaps a play.

527 The 14th day of the 5th month (June 18, 1951) is the festival of the Gods of the Sea and is observed only in Minatogawa. It is
526 this village's greatest celebration. The boat race, held on this day, attracts many from the interior villages. In Hanashiro, most activity ceases while everyone goes to the boat races. Before the
[178] races, the villagers go to the religious sites to make small offerings
[182] and to pray. The races are held in the estuary of the river. In their excitement, children with infants on their back often wade out in the water to cheer their favorite boat.

796 The Festival of the Fifth Month (Gogatsumatsuri) is held on the 15th day of the 5th lunar month (June 19, 1951). Like the festival of the spring equinox, it is a day of thanksgiving. Thanks are given for rice
[193] instead of for barley. In Matsuda, the ceremony is conducted by the village head man and former members of the priestess system.[2]

2 According to a Matsuda informant, women should not sew on this
[114] day. It is a rest day. If work is done, including gathering
[825] plants for fertiliser, the dreaded poisonous snake, the habu, will come. These customs were not encountered in the other villages.

who upset the tea cups and the sake flasks. 000

A public parade and celebration was held in Itoman in 1951, and a short digression to describe it may be worth while. The main attraction was a parade, which halted frequently so that participating groups could perform dances, acts, or skits. In these there were several themes: (1) dances by female groups of all ages from beginning school girls to old women in their seventies. Many women wore artificial turtles on their hats, the younger children having paper outlines of turtles. The young girls were led by an older man who kept time either by playing the samisen or by clapping his hands. The very young girls beat small tin cans with sticks. The dances of the older girls and women were of two kinds: one symbolized the crane and the turtle (tsurukame). The turtle is a symbol of longevity. The second is the pine-bamboo-plum tree triad (shochikubai) symbolizing long life and beauty. (2) Female impersonators imitated both the traditional Japanese woman with her costume and hair arrangement, and the modern woman with a chignon wearing a bright kimono, sun glasses, and smoking a cigarette. Their antics depended for their humor on the gracelessness of the men: they included mock flirtations and rejections, kicking of the heels, slapping with a fan, and other clowning. (3) Various balancing acts with long poles done by boys and young men. (4) Skits of individuals dressed as savages from the south seas. (5) Humorous acts showing the people of the northern district who were portrayed as jolly country bumpkins. Their caps, with tassels, looked like a cocoanut shell. The long false hair and beards were made of palm fibre. They carried ludicrous looking saws and axes while dragging a log. 527 541 [535] [533] [825] [824] [536]

One feature of the Itoman celebration was the well-known rope pulling contest (tsunahiki). The giant rope, made of rice straw, is at least 100 yards long, and about two feet in diameter. Each end has a loop. These loops, joined by a heavy piece of wood, are above the center line. The men of the town divide into two groups. The tug of war began about 5 in the afternoon and was soon over, but one has been known to last until one or two o'clock in the morning. It is found in all villages, but there is no set date for it. The tug of war is an old diversion in Okinawa.[5] 527 526

In former years, Minatogawa people participated in the Itoman festival. In 1951, they held their own evening celebration. This is a time of great beauty, with the light of the full moon illuminating the Pacific, the coral coast, and the mountains. The evening entertainment consists of some acts, similar to vaudeville, and a longer play. Crowds came from the surrounding villages, bringing their own mats and their own sake. Most of the officials of the township attended. 527 [628]

5 Goldschmidt, Neu-Japan, has reproduced an interesting painting showing a tug of war in Naha around the end of the 18th century. It shows an audience of court officials, the Chinese ambassador, as well as the various participants. Facing p. 179. [114]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

vary according to the problems and conditions in a village. The first meeting of the year is usually held around Jan. 2, when there is a party. The young men, even those of 17 drink sake at this time. Young women, who do not drink, contribute gifts of candy and soft drinks. 575

In Hanashiro, the young men cultivate a field of their own and sell the produce. They maintain a carp pond. (Before the war, there were two such ponds). They also work out for wages. Every morning rotating groups work for two hours either in the association's field or for wages. This is done before the daily work. Their earnings of Y8 an hour, low by Okinawan standards, are accumulated for special projects, such as the annual athletic meet. Occasionally they help with road maintenance, though this is a job for all the people of the village. The carp in the pond are sold to the villagers, normally in July, for medicinal purposes. [465] [825] [278]

In Minatogawa, the young men's and the young women's association are combined. The head is a young man, the second in charge a young woman. They help in times of emergency and with repairing of typhoon damage. Since there are no fields or carp ponds, they are not so active as the young men of the agricultural villages. Sometimes they do night guard duty around the village, though this practice now has fallen into disuse.

In Matsuda, the association performs tasks similar to those in Hanashiro. Rotating groups, arising at 4 in the morning, do two or three hours work before starting their own. Absentees are fined Y20 and tardy members Y5. The young men grow sugar cane on land loaned free of charge by farmers. The purpose of the project is to increase sugar cane production by providing transplants. The Matsuda group also works in the forests, for which they receive Y100 per day per person. With the permission of the village headman, they get firewood from the forests, sell it to provide funds for their projects. They stand by during typhoons. But they also have discontinued the custom of providing a 3 or 4 member patrol to walk around the village in the early morning hours. Since thievery is uncommon, the patrolling is no longer required. When the village gong sounds a fire alarm, all the young men assemble. At the harvest festivals, such as the autumnal equinoctial holiday, the young men may present a play, do Okinawan dances, and supply the motive power for the village lion. [249]

The leader (danchō) of a young man's association usually is from the older age group. Meetings are held twice a month, normally on the 1st and 15th. The annual parties are either at the beginning or the end of the year. In all the villages, the young men's associations have a leading part in the annual athletic meetings. Most of their accumulated funds are expended at this time. They not only participate, but do much of the preparatory work in co-operation with the school teachers.

One result of membership in the young men's associations is that the age range (an 8 year span) of one's acquaintance is broadened.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

4

Ancestor Worship

"Ancestor worship" has been used to describe the devotion to the spirit of the dead and the long continued remembrance of them by the living. While it is too deeply intrenched to be changed, the term is not satisfactory. It is really the worship of those who precede one in death, and these may be ascendants or descendants. The term, "ancestor worship," also conceals the fact that there is a partnership of the living and the dead, which, continued by the living generation in the production of children, will carry over in the future, so that family continuity from the remote past to the remote future is never broken. It is, in the phrase of John Hubbard, "a chain of worship,"[2] not merely the worship of the past and of the dead. But whether in the popular mind these two conceptions, worship of the dead and the family as a continuity, are closely and consciously related is impossible for me to say. The two ideas exist side by side on the level of feeling: to respect one's ancestors and to have children. 769 602

Another form of ancestor worship occurs in observances honoring the first ancestor or the founder of the village. Each village has a place of the guardian god (ujigami), located on the supposed site where the founder of the village first settled, which perpetuates the memory of the founder, who may, in some cases, also be the first ancestor of a family living in the village. (It has been suggested that the ujigami also might be related historically to the fire deity). Ceremonies at the place of the village guardian god have a public character and were often conducted by the priestesses. 776 778 [793]

Hanashiro. The place of the guardian god, a small building, is located on a plot of village owned land, off the main road at the edge of the settlement where the cultivated land begins. It is not well kept up. There is no attendant or caretaker. When necessary, it is reconstructed by volunteer village effort. Broken stone stairs lead up to the small tile roofed building. Inside, there are 5 stones, about 10 inches on the side and 4 inches thick. Some have thought these also represent the primitive hearth stones associated with worship of the fire god. One villager described it as a woman's deity place. Before the war, emigrants to the South Seas, South America, Manchuria, or Japan and their relatives prayed here for the good health and early return of those departing. [346] [358] [167]

Now there is public worship at the place on several occasions during the year. On the 3rd day of the 3rd month, a woman's holiday, women and children go to the seashore around Minatogawa, and, on returning, pray at the place of the guardian god. On O-Bon, the village lion appears in front of this site. There is samisen playing and the whole village offers a prayer. (Not all villages have the lion costume. 778 796 [536] [825]

2 Quoted in L. Cranmer-Byng, The vision of Asia, New York, 1933, 42.

778 One person in front fills in the head and forelegs, another in back
796 provides the rear and hindlegs. The lion, with its human mechanism,
is a common sight at festivals and parades. It is a symbol of health
536 and strength worthy of imitation). In the Festival of the Full Moon,
825 during the autumnal equinox, the lion appears again and the whole village participates in prayers before the festivities begin.

778 On the 1st and 15th of each lunar month, the headman goes to the
796 place of the guardian god and makes an offering of tea, burns a charcoal stick, and says a prayer. On the 9th day of the 9th lunar month, the
[764] village council and the elders assemble before the village burial palanquin (gan), offer prayer at the founder's site and then before the
[825] village office where the lion is standing.

Minatogawa. This village has three deity places and various explanations are given for this. Some believe that two of them represent
778 sites of co-founders, a first son, and his younger brother, the second
776 son. The third site is vaguely known as a village god place. It is a small outdoor place of worship on the main village road, with a step and a shelf for charcoal sticks. The founders' sites are located in the center of the settled area, but on different sides of the road. In the site of the second son, there are three stones, shaped like life savers but with a bottom for placing the charcoal sticks, three glasses for tea, and three bottles. The site of the supposed first son, less well kept, has a small altar, four stones, tea cups, and cans for the burning of incense.

778 On New Year and at O-Bon, the whole, or substantial portions, of
796 the village pray first at the supposed first son's site, then at the second son's. Prayers are offered also at the roadside deity place.
[782] Some of the younger villagers hope that as the older residents die off,
[358] the expenses of providing offerings and upkeep for all three can be eliminated and that simpler observances can take place at the roadside shrine. The situation now is complicated by the fact that many people regard themselves as descendants of one or the other co-founder.

778 Matsuda. In this village, the founder's site is reached by stairs
184 leading up a hillside. It is in the settled area near a dense growth of trees and shrubs. Close by there is a shed in which the lion skin
[793] is kept. In this village the founder's site seemed less important than another religious place, on the main road, in which women of lesser rank in the former priestess system participate in ceremonies. In this village there seems to be less participation by all the people of the village at the place of the guardian or founder deity, and, instead, representatives, like the headman, elders, and the former priestesses
[796] conduct the ceremonies at New Year, O-Bon, and at the equinoctial holidays.

262 Sea food eaten differs by the season. Most available in summer are bonito and the sea turtle. Common in October and later are seabream, whitefish, and globefish. Canned mackerel is by far the most common fish food eaten, and seaweed is a staple in all but the poorest homes. Though every [823] adult in the village speaks Okinawan by preference in everyday life, even the old people rarely know the dialect names for various fish, "because we are so far from the sea." The nearest coast is less than three airline miles away. Before the war most of the fish consumed was bought in Itoman, but with the removal of the railroad and the orientation of bus traffic toward Naha, very little is purchased in Itoman.

252 The entire day's supply of sweet potatoes, for man and beast, is prepared by boiling in early morning in a large pot. It takes about an hour to boil fifty pounds. Those for human consumption are placed on top, with those for the animals underlying them. Naturally those eaten by the pigs and other [231] animals are the less beautiful, and often slightly rotten ones. When the family eats 'imo', they peel off both the outer and inner skins and give them to the animals. They realize that the inner skin contains vitamins, but it is too much trouble to peel separately. People regard baked 'imo' as more delicious than boiled, but do not make them in Nanahan as a rule due to shortage of fuel. The children often stick 'imo' right into the fire while their mothers are boiling 'imo' for the day. Sometimes children under ten [857] years of age make baked 'imo' when they collect trash and burn it. When they do this is not determined, but occurs as the children suddenly decide there is enough trash to burn.

262 'O-kazu' (Okinawan: katimun) refers in Nanahan to any dish whose basic 252 ingredients are lard, soy sauce, and 'aji-no-moto' (monosodium glutamate). It is generally made about two times a week. First lard is put in a pan. Then either raw 'daikon' or 'sengei' (dried and shredded 'daikon') is added, together with globe onions. Soy sauce is then added, and the mixture salted to taste. If meat is available, it is put in as soon as the lard is melted. 'Aji-no-moto' is added just before serving.

252 The making of 'miso' paste is a home task for the women and girls. The amount made depends on the weather. Good weather for proper mildewing is generally found in the spring and autumn. At the equinoxes, when most of the 'miso' is made if people have a choice in the matter, mildewing takes two or three days. The process involves two steps---the making of malt ('kōji') and the making of soybean flour or paste. For malt one must use broad beans, wheat or barley, kidney beans or, infrequently, soybeans. The malt materials are boiled until the skins come off. Then they are drained, spread out on a straw mat inside the house, and dusted with wheat flour. Rice straw is spread over the mixture to form a hotbed. When the mildew starts the mixture turns yellow, and is then spread out to dry in the sun. When dry it is stored in a box, to be mixed with soybean flour or paste later. The latter is very easily made. Boiled soybeans are ground up in a meat grinder, and dried. The flour may be stored separately, but it is most often mixed immediately with an equal amount of malt. To prevent spoiling, about three parts salt are added [251] to ten of the mixture, now called 'miso'. It is put into a pot for "ripening" during the next six months, and then is used gradually. If stored longer than one year it loses its taste.

751
514 The drum is nearly full and its surface is in constant motion, a seething
343 mass of maggots. One of those men with the carts that cause you to cross
[364] to the other side of the road will come in a few days to dump it, he hopes.
574 He crosses the yard and is invited into the house. He takes off his shoes
751 and steps up onto the floor. It is surprisingly clean, he finds. A mat is
[356] spread and he sits cross-legged upon it. Tea is offered and he accepts, thinking that it must have been made from boiled water. He learns later that he was wrong. He is given a fan and perceives that its function is keeping the flies away as much as it is creating a breeze. In a spirit of friendly cooperation he and Grandfather take turns shooing the flies off the broken chunks of black sugar that have been placed before them. A larger blue-bottle fly enters and someone makes a special effort to chase
[825] it out. Should the visitor be so crude and impolite as to mention flies and in connection with the toilet, it will be pointed out that only the blue-bottle flies are hatched from the maggots in the toilet. The smaller black house-flies simply produce more flies and hence are harmless.

[264] Bananas are served and the peels follow those of the potatoes out onto the ground. Smaller children run in and out. One child comes in with
[515] its nose running. After a time Mother pulls up its shirt tail and wipes the mucus off the upper lip. The child has not been well; Mother or Grandmother
[757] may take it to the yabuu, who will burn moxa on its skin at the proper places. A neighbor's child walks by; its face and nearly hairless head are
[753] a mass of scabs and its eyes are almost shut by pus. Someone laughingly explains that this is what happens when you don't cut a baby's buttocks properly with a razor to draw out the bad blood.

The visitor is urged to take more tea and sugar. He is complimented on his interest in Okinawa and is asked innumerable questions about America. The family is eager for knowledge and for further contact. As he rises to leave, he is urged to return. He puts on his shoes, finding one slightly
[753] damp from the poor aim of the youngest child. He is cautioned to wear his hat and knows by now the unspoken fear---encephalitis---caused by too much
[296] exposure to the sun. He notices that around the well where Mother has been doing laundry a great pool of water is gradually sinking into the sand. As he picks his way across the yard he wonders if the family would not be better off living in a houseboat, preferably in a fast-moving stream.

751 Such are some of the features of Okinawan life. Yet it would be a mistake to assume that there are no standards of sanitation. There are; they
356 are simply narrower than those of most Americans. Many Okinawans do throw
751 garbage out their front doors as indicated above, but it is also true that the floor of the house is usually cleaner than many American floors. It has to be clean; people sit on it and sleep on it. People take off their shoes before stepping up onto it or if they have been to the fields barefooted
751 they may wash their feet before stepping up onto it. But the area of clean-
[351] liness ends with the step. Beyond the step is a different sort of territory. Yet even in the yard there is a limit to the amount of trash that may be al-
[514] lowed to accumulate before it is swept away. The practice of urinating in the yard is distasteful to the American observer, but there is perhaps less basis for objection to it as a health hazard. Urine is relatively harmless. Feces, however, go into the toilet. If an untrained child defecates in the yard usually someone cleans up the spot.

Three sets of factors seem to contribute to the low standards of sanitation that exist in both rural and urban Okinawa. These factors lie in the realm of knowledge, of society, and of economics. Many Okinawans very clearly lack scientific knowledge of the causes of diseases and their relation to sanitation. But it would be incorrect to say that they are simply ignorant or that they need only education. They do not regard themselves as ignorant but feel rather that they already know the true causes of diseases and their proper treatment. What they need is not merely education but re-education. Before educators can teach scientifically accurate information they must first determine what the folk beliefs are and then replace them with scientific explanations. It is not sufficient merely to add some scientific information to folk beliefs. Many Okinawans, perhaps most, have heard of 'baikin', "bacteria", and their relationship to certain diseases. But probably few see them as sufficient causes of diseases or see them as organisms subject to biological laws of life, growth, and death. Bacteria have no doubt become for many Okinawans merely contributing factors, ranged alongside ghosts, unsupported ancestors, and bad blood, in the mixture of the natural and the supernatural that constitutes Okinawan medical knowledge. 751 753

The belief that only blue-bottle flies hatch from the maggots in the toilet may not be universal on Okinawa but is certainly found among some people; one person who subscribed to the belief was a university student. This belief leads people to take pains to keep blue-bottle flies out of the house "because they contain bacteria", but to tolerate the smaller black house flies. If people believe that house flies merely give birth to more house flies, they can regard house flies as just a nuisance but not a danger. Posters encouraging people to get rid of flies because they carry disease may thus be interpreted as applying only to the blue-bottle fly. The house fly continues to infest many homes in incredibly great numbers. 751 825 753

Several persons who discussed encephalitis revealed that though they had heard of mosquitoes having something to do with it, they believed that it was mainly caused by over-exposure to the rays of the sun. The university student mentioned above was one of these persons. It is worth noting also that an announcement issued 9 May 1954 warns people that the encephalitis season is approaching and therefore everyone should beware of mosquitoes and exposure to the sun.[1]

Other beliefs regarding the cause of disease will be discussed in the next section of this chapter. Many of these beliefs rule out natural causes altogether and thus rule out sanitation as non-essential. Ignorance is therefore not a negative factor but a positive factor against better sanitation. 751 753

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[1] I have no information at this writing as to whether exposure to the sun has the effect of making one more susceptible to Japanese Type B encephalitis. But even if this were the case, as it may possibly be, the point is that some, perhaps a majority, of the Okinawans believe that the sun is the sole cause of the disease, and therefore do not see encephalitis as another reason for mosquito control.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

tion between couples is not seen in public. Men and women are teased by the community if they are seen standing and talking together. One or several boys teasing a girl would be the boldest advance seen in public. Although, even at night, we never observed couples pairing off in or near the village, we were told that a boy and a girl would arrange private meetings. It is our impression that there is more self-consciousness about love-making than there used to be. 584 178

Although there is little occasion for intimacy between a couple during times when other villagers are around, young men and women associate frequently in larger groups during the week in community-wide activities of the Young People's Association. During the many hours which are spent in club meetings, work projects, and other social activities, there is a comraderie between young men and women which effectively neutralizes the formal social distance that is maintained in the traditionally separate seating arrangements. There is, nevertheless, a certain embarrassment and almost clumsy behavior of young men toward the better poised and adroit girls, at least in the presence of strangers like ourselves. 584 575

Young men may seek intimacies with girls of other villages, but in doing so they risk the ire of the young men there. It is also possible that a Taira girl agrees to an intimate relationship with someone in another village where she may feel safer from detection. Young men are more likely to seek a girl with whom an arrangement for a meeting away from her home can be made. The girl, of course, suffers public disapproval if the couple is detected, while a man is not subject to the same criticism. In contrast to girls, men have many more opportunities for sexual relationships without public censure. 584 836 562

Sexual attraction does not seem decisive in selecting a mate for marriage, although beauty is appreciated in a woman with long, black hair, a dark arched eyebrow, fair skin, a prominent nose, small mouth, and large eyes. Younger people are beginning to adopt some of the American standards of beauty, which are introduced through movies and magazines via Japan. Although the concept of romantic love is gaining in popularity, arranged marriages still outnumber love marriages in Taira. Even if a young man and woman reach an agreement about marriage, there follows a formal arrangement by their parents with the help of go-betweens, a trusted neighbor or a friendly couple, or a person who commands status and respect. If a man or his family are interested in arranging a marriage with a girl, the go-between notifies her family. Eventually word will reach the girl. If the suitor has not previously indicated his interest to the girl, she may voice her feelings and wishes to her mother, father, or to some other relative. If 581 584 826 177 831 584

In addition to meeting with physical and emotional needs, the child must be protected from the nurtured by the numerous supernatural forces in the form of malevolent and benevolent spirits which operate to influence the course of an individual's life. There are lucky and unlucky days, years, and tides, which are believed to determine the fate of a person. Females born in the year of the monkey are considered unlucky, for they are thought to outlive their male contemporaries. Men dislike marrying them. Supplications are made and precautionary measures taken by adults to secure the newborn's life, happiness, and health. 776 777 854 [581]

Ancestral spirits influence the development and fate of the child. Occasionally a child who is the victim of ill health during his early years is adopted by a couple whose ancestral spirits are thought to be more favorable than his own on the dictate of the fortune teller. By mysterious calculations involving birth dates of the principals, the fortune teller uncovers some incompatibility and advises adoption. The child remains with his parents but worships the ancestral spirits of his adoptive parents. In this way parents seek to ensure the well-being of the child. 597 769 755

Mother interview data indicate the awareness of Taira people of the variations in personality among children of one family. Adults do in a large measure adapt their actions in accord with these differences. They recognize hereditary influences, but although a mother may comment on the similarity of temperament with regard to her child and other members in the family or kin group, there are no ideas or beliefs that the souls of deceased are inherited. Usually the mother, in describing the characteristics of the child, rarely goes beyond likenesses which can be attributed to herself or her husband. She is at a loss to explain the "very different child." "My eldest son has my nasty temper whereas my second daughter is not like either of us, very strange. All the others have a little of myself and my husband in them. We often wonder how it is that she is so unlike either of us." 155 828 858 [124]

A child born with two cowlicks predicates a "problem" to his parents. Parents often explain, "Oh, this child is very naughty, for as you can see, he has two cowlicks." Children often search each other's heads, and on discovering two instead of the single whorl, they shout in glee, "Naughty, naughty." One 4-year-old cuddled and hugged his newborn sister after searching her head. "You have two cowlicks just like me! You and I are 'naughty,'" he whispered to her. Turning to the adults in the room, he snapped his small bright eyes and grinned impishly as he reported his discovery joyfully. [826]

Twin births are disliked only because they place a burden on the 845

and women. Two informants who had lived in Japan denied having ever heard of 291
public baths with mixed bathing. Okinawans have occasionally been shocked by 834
seeing Americans nude. Okinawans feel that not only should the lower part of [515]
the torso be covered for the sake of modesty but the upper part also should be covered, if one is out of doors, for reasons of health; the sun's rays are harmful if too strong. Modesty may even reach proportions uncommon in the [826]
West; one young man told Lebra that he does not enjoy going swimming because he believes he is too hairy. The same young man told how he and other boys, when in high school, used to peep through a crack in the bathhouse wall in order to see the women bathing on the other side, until they were chased away by the proprietor. This hardly suggests the casual attitude toward nudity reported for the Japanese.

Body Ornamentation The Okinawans seem never to have practiced any sort of 178
body mutilation---such as the Chinese foot-binding. 304
However, women were tattooed on the wrists and backs of the hands until early in this century. Most women over 50 have tattooed hands. There are several stories told that purport to explain the origin of the practice---that it was to prevent Okinawan women from being kidnapped, for example---but these stories are of doubtful value. The designs have names but evidently no meaning; one old woman said that they varied with the tattoo artist, who put on whatever he wanted. Tattooing was done before puberty and marriage. It may have originally been part of a puberty rite.

Many people of both sexes between the ages of 20 and 40 have elab- 301
orate gold and silver work on their teeth. In many cases the work does not consist of fillings or bridges but of thin caps put over sound teeth for purely ornamental reasons. These can be removed without harming the teeth. People are said to be having this sort of work done today, but in time the [177]
value Americans and present-day Japanese put on "natural-looking" teeth may win out over the urge to ornament the mouth. Of course there is also a great deal genuine dental work done because of tooth decay.

At present American values and modern Japanese values in feminine 177
beauty are being spread by the beauty parlor. For several years the perma- 832
nent wave has been popular though perhaps not well suited to Mongoloid hair. [305]
And recently a number of young women are said to have added padded brassieres [302]
to their equipment. [291]

Elimination Urination and defecation are regarded differently. Urination 514
in public is permissible for males, if they turn away. I have seen a dignified old gentleman talking over his shoulder to a young woman while he urinated into the ditch. Women may also urinate in public, though they do so less frequently. Defecation in public is not usual; even children [863]
are scolded for it though they may occasionally do it. Feces ought to go [241]
in the proper place; one reason for using the toilet may be that the "night-soil" is used as fertilizer.

The Okinawan term kusu is used rather more freely than its Japanese 192
cognate, though the uses are parallel. Alone it means "feces", human or animal. It is the usual word for animal manure. In compounds it may mean

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769 of the child; the child prays several times a year, on the important occa-
753 sions, at the ancestral tablets of the adopted parent, but otherwise lives as before. The rationale of this practice may be: if one set of ancestors is not sufficient for the child, why not give him another?

753 Also related to the concept ugwambusuku is the notion that certain
828 persons are destined to do more than just make offerings; some are to become kaminchu, "god persons", and play the principal roles at the family worship
794 at the important holidays. If these persons shirk this duty they may become ill as a consequence. In certain persons, particularly older women, persistent illness and especially mental illness may be interpreted as a sure sign that the afflicted person ought to become a kaminchu. There is one well-recognized type of mental illness called 'kami-buri'; the person with this disorder constantly makes the gestures of prayer toward various persons and objects in an extravagant manner. Such a person is almost sure to become a religious practitioner after recovery. In fact some kaminchu positions must
[756] be filled by persons who have had 'kami-buri'. The yuta may also receive his, or more often her, vocation through such an illness. (Recently a visiting psychiatrist commented on the low number of cases at the Kin mental hospital. There are of course many cases that are not committed to the institution because Okinawan society has a place for them; they become its psychiatrists.)

Other concepts of disease will be discussed in the next section.

4. Medical Practice

755 Home Remedies There are a number of home remedies that are known to many
757 persons, especially older women. These include the use of certain herbs, the letting of blood, the use of salt, prayer, swearing for exorcism, spells. These methods of treatment may be used by any old woman to the extent of her knowledge, but if the illness appears to be too serious for these treatments a professional medical practitioner may be consulted. However, the distinction between the professional person and the skilled amateur is not always clear.

757 Herbs are used for digestive disorders and particularly for female
824 disorders. Tawada in his description of Okinawan flora[1] lists ten plants used for medicinal purposes, nine of which are said to be useful to female disorders along with a variety of other things ranging from toothaches to appendicitis.

757 Blood-letting is practiced on most infants as a cure for skin eruptions and is sometimes also used on adults. Shallow incisions are made with a razor to let out the "bad blood". These are made on a baby's buttocks and sometimes, though less frequently at the present time than in the past, on the face of an adult.

755 Salt is used for purification. A yuta whom I saw exorcise a house and yard took salt into his mouth and then spit it and threw it in the

1 Tawada, 1951.

769 finished the restless children already had become noisy. The ceremony
793 completed, the priest exchanged a few courtesies, explained the sig-
788 nificance of the chant to the father, received a gratuity and left shortly after. The women and the children soon retired, and the men were served sake, but the party was more subdued than the usual social affair.

769 These ceremonies in memory of the dead are the responsibility of
511 the head of the house. These, and not the family tombs, are the real financial burdens. Since the war, village and township governments, and community organizations have tried to persuade the people to spend less on these and to spread what good food they have more evenly throughout the year.

• 829 They have tried to standardize gifts at marriage, on birthdays,
511 and at deaths, and to cut down the cost of food by simplifying the banquets. In this they have been at least partly successful because everyone recognizes the difficulties. Villagers do not like to spend all their resources on celebrations, and yet, there is an obligation which cannot be avoided. Two sensible adjustments have been made. Economies have been effected in the food served, and, whenever possible, celebrations or holidays that come close together are combined. The 7 year memorial service, described above, was combined by the family with the festival of the autumnal equinox (higan).

536 reminds his mother that he is a school teacher, that if he does not permit his father to enter the house, he can no longer teach school. The mother yields; the son and his wife bring their child to the new found grandfather, and the play closes with the overjoyed grandfather fondling and holding the child in his arms.

In the play, the conflict is resolved by a balancing of obligation with pride. A real father would have been so ashamed that he would [829] never have returned, but then there would have been no play. Only a poor, lonely shameless and crafty fellow would have come back. But once he was back, the son had no alternative but to accept and honor him. The woman's power in the house and her devotion to her son are demonstrated, but she too must yield to the obligation of her son's filial piety, though she does this only after a determined and dignified resistance.

545 Plays on the rural circuit start about 9 and end about 11 in the evening. The entertainment generally consists of an opening traditional dance by a woman, followed by a comedy skit, and a longer play, such as
536 the one just described. Comedy skits usually depend on clumsiness or obtuseness as the sources of their humor. One skit, for example, involved a thief entering a house at night. Clumsy and unsure of his way, he stumbled over everything, made loud noises, and was constantly in fright to see if some fresh stumble had awakened the house. Finally he manages to hide under a table, near which the members of the family are seated discussing a problem. His discovery, due to further awkward motions and noises, the chase, and his final apprehension close the skit.

545 Rural audiences are critical. Some actors cause laughter because their Okinawan pronunciation is considered poor, and the laughter often carries over to the serious parts. Delays between the acts are met with impatience, and there is some prompting from the audience. The admission is Y20 for adults and Y10 for children. The audience sits on the ground. These plays do not attract a large crowd unless the offering is a well liked play.

526 Sports and athletic meets are favorite recreations both for participants and observers. The sports mentioned by travellers 50 or 60 years ago, such as horse racing, boat racing, tugs of war, archery, and boxing have given way to a more organized athletic activity, inspired by the Japanese example. Only the boat racing and the rope tug of war have survived in these villages. Hinatogawa's boat race each year attracts villagers from miles around. All villages, at various times of the year, have a rope tug of war. The annual athletic meets, which will be discussed under education, were introduced into Okinawa about 50 or 60 years ago.

484 studied remarked on the discomfort of the rustic north. Many
[829] people in Matsuda thought the people of the northern district more honest than those of the south. This attitude is partly due to knowledge of crime in Naha. Direct or personal knowledge of other islands of the Ryukyus is exceptional. Few people know more than travelers' tales about Yaeyama, Miyako, or Amami.

562 Men are better informed about current events than the women. Women do not participate so much in social life, nor do they read
521 so much. Conversations at small gatherings are often on a very serious level. A local antiquarian telling of vanished customs and conditions has a very attentive audience. So has a returned traveler
814 from Japan. These people have a sense of history, curiosity, and respect for knowledge and education.

3

Village Co-operation

621 One of the most important things to learn about a culture is
476 the nature of its co-operative endeavor. It is useful knowledge in understanding the transition zone between individual and family living and participation in community activities. In these communities, co-operation involves considering the relation of families resident in the village to one another, to their community organizations, and to local government. These relations are stronger than the tie of an individual to an extended family. The nature and the limitations of co-operation can best be described by pointing to examples from each of the villages.

In Hanashiro, mutual help is mainly found, as one might expect, among close and distant relatives of the same family of families related by marriage, who are living in the village. There are extended family ties, which may involve several villages, but this does not
[614] mean that tasks are done co-operatively within the extended family. It is uncommon to go to another village to help a relative with his harvest or his housebuilding--and the distance would increase the unlikelihood. Immediate ties to friends, relatives, and neighbors are stronger than those to the more distant members of the extended family.

Within the village, organized co-operation is not conspicuous. Help is given in the form of labor not in money. There is no accounting on a reciprocity basis. At any harvest time--the rice harvest is usually the most urgent--a relative, neighbor or friend may help one day and receive the same aid on the following day. The whole village does not turn out to help each farmer in turn until the crops are in. This work is done by individuals or by very small groups. Since the nature and the amount of help is known and acknowledged, no bookkeeping is needed or desired. The closest approach to villagewide help to
[342] an individual family occurs in housebuilding. All residents of the

Intimate contact with Japanese coupled with this word borrowing has resulted in a tendency toward slight sound shifts in the direction of Japanese 194
phonology; this is particularly true among the bilingual speakers. The same 177
process is operative in the Japanese of these Okinawan speakers in that there is a tendency toward Okinawan phonology.

The real strongholds of Okinawan speech today are the family and the 191
rural areas. In an old and relatively unchanged village like Kanegusuku little 178
Japanese is heard despite the fact that most of the villagers are bilingual. 177
That Okinawan is the language of the family is best demonstrated by the pre- 621
school-age children who do not speak or understand any Japanese aside from a few greetings and polite phrases. Likewise men over sixty and women over fifty-five usually cannot speak Japanese. The remainder of the village, approximately seventy percent of the total, is bilingual; however, this figure is somewhat misleading in so far as actual usage is concerned. A majority of the married women use Japanese infrequently since Okinawan is the language of their daily lives, which are largely confined to the village and home. For the men, a number of whom have seen service abroad in the Japanese forces, there is a greater freedom of movement and a wider range of contacts providing more occasion for the use of Japanese. Yet within the village many of them preferred to use Okinawan, and even the high school students were inclined to shed their Japanese on returning to the village. A number of bilingual informants ascribed this preference for Okinawan to the influence of the old people who understood Japanese imperfectly or not at all. As one informant put it, "The old people in this village just don't like being spoken to in Japanese, and if some person does this, they say he is trying to be big." Undoubtedly their influence is a strong factor, but this preference is also likely attributable to a low degree of proficiency in Japanese. Prior to the postwar period few villagers obtained more than a sixth grade education; consequently, many are not as articulate in Japanese as they are in Okinawan. It should also be noted that within the village a selective factor operates so as to perpetuate the use of Okinawan. Mention is made in another section of this report of a mayor's comment to the effect that all those who receive a good education, high school or university, soon leave the village. Thus, the very group most likely to further the spread of Japanese leaves before its influence is felt. [871] [66]

The resentment of the oldest generation toward the use of Japanese re- 191
solves itself among the younger, bilingual generations into an attitude that 829
Japanese imparts a certain formality to an occasion, and hence situations call- 177
ing for the use of Okinawan or Japanese tend to be rather compartmentalized in their minds. Formal occasions prescribe the use of Japanese and informal ones Okinawan. Village political meetings and elections were always conducted in Japanese, and when the 'son' officials made one of their periodic inspections of the village, only Japanese was used in addressing them. On the other hand the use of Japanese at a party would be regarded as too formal and a bit unfriendly, and, of course, with old people and children only Okinawan is used. Besides the formal-informal dichotomy there exists the feeling among the better-educated bilinguals that Japanese is a modern and sophisticated language whereas Okinawan is backward and rustic.

There are several aspects of Okinawan culture wherein the local lan- 191
guage is used to the exclusion of Japanese; chief among these are the theater 178

212 Writing Okinawa never developed an independent system of writing; in the old
197 kingdom both Japanese and Chinese were used. Literacy was largely
•829 confined to the upper classes, and it is said that students were sent to both
[571] countries for study. Apparently the literati held the Chinese language and culture in high regard while disdaining that of the Japanese; yet, Bettelheim noted in 1851 that Japanese books were very popular in spite of this contempt of the literati.[1] He also stated that the Okinawans always preferred biblical texts written in Japanese to those in Chinese. In view of the political paramouncy of Japan from 1609 and the close linguistic and cultural ties between the two peoples this popularity of Japanese is not surprising. It also should
[538] be noted that although the literati are reported as preferring Chinese to Japanese, the major literary achievements of Okinawa were written in Japanese. Thus, for example, the Omorosōshi, sixteenth century collection of songs which the late Dr. Ifa has called the Ryukyuan scriptures, was recorded in a Japanese style of writing; the same is true for the annals of the old kingdom and for the first dictionary of the Okinawan language.

212 With the advent of a Japanese administration and educational system,
197 the study of Chinese ceased, and today Japanese is used exclusively. Most Okinawan place names and family names as they are written in Japanese can be given two interpretations, the Japanese and the Okinawan; in a majority of cases the Japanese is given preference. Occasionally when Okinawan speech is transcribed as in the case of lyrics accompanying phonograph records, the Japanese syllabary is used. This is not a suitable devise for transcribing Okinawan speech, which contains many sounds unfamiliar to Japanese. Unfortunately much of the early
[114] linguistic research conducted in this area was rendered virtually worthless by the employment of this syllabary. In recent years scholars like Miyanaga and Kinjo have recorded Ryukyuan using the International Phonetic Alphabet.

197 Conclusion At the present time Okinawan speech enjoys widespread use throughout the whole of the island. It is still the language of the home,
191 and as such it is a more common medium of expression than the official language,
177 Japanese. The latter, backed by the government, schools, and all the forces of
178 modern life, is gradually supplanting Okinawan, but it would be an over-statement to say that the language is dying out. It may be expected that the majority of Okinawans will remain bilingual as they are today until such time when a whole adult generation will speak only Japanese and transmit only Japanese to its offspring.

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[1] Bettelheim, n.d., p. 31.

CHAPTER III: AGRICULTURAL HISTORY, LAND USE AND DIET

F. R. Pitts

121 178 The concept of the unchanging Orient certainly fails to appear true in the case of Okinawa, when the past is examined closely. Indeed, it seems hard to find an area where so much change has been accomplished so fast. The following is designed to show some major aspects of that change, particularly insofar as the farmer is concerned.

1. Agricultural History

175 241 198 The Early Days As early as the 1730's when the great Okinawan statesman, Saion, urged the growing of the sago palm 'sotetsu', farmers were already used to orders and suggestions from the gentry as to modification of their traditional ways. But it was not until the growth of population and the money economy that changes were to be brought about, not so much by orders from above, but chiefly by the workings of economic forces.

175 177 433 249 The ultimately most effective agent of change had been the introduction of the sugar cane plant in 1623 and its concomitant technique of sugar manufacture.[1] It was not until a decade after the Japanese took over the islands, however, that sugar production began to increase, and not until after the Russo-Japanese war that sugar really became an important crop in the economy. By 1939 the production of sugar amounted to more than a million tons, and production exceeded consumption by ninefold.[2] By the end of the 1951-1952 winter pressing season, production had declined to 256,000 tons.[3]

175 62 About the time of Commodore Perry's visit the population of Okinawa had begun to grow, and new areas were settled by both commoners and the gentry. Nanahan dates its existence from this period. Of the first three families to settle here, one came from Shuri gentry, and two others were commoners from the main settlement of Tomoyose. Of the seven settlements of the village of Yamada, three were settled by commoners and one by the gentry. All had come from the urban areas of the south in the latter part of the last century. [829] In Okinawa everyone seems to be aware of his place in history, and in the older settlements one often hears the remark, "...they are newcomers; they have been here for only two hundred years."

175 241 178 433 [179] In general the agricultural history of Okinawa falls into three periods. The first saw a self-sufficient economy, in which banana cloth was made in the village. The chief crops were millet, arrowroot, and sweet potatoes. With the introduction of a money economy, and its further intensification under the Japanese, sugar gradually turned from its previous use as a home confection to a full money crop. Rice acreage fell as more sugar was planted, and sweet potatoes found a greater place in the diet. The old crops of millet, cassava, and arrowroot were all but abandoned in Shimajiri, and became less important in the north. The third period is essentially the postwar and still continuing one, in which the growing of vegetables for the

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1 Navy Handbook, p. 240.

2 CAARI, p. 156.

3 Summation of U. S. Army Military Government Activities in the Ryukyu Islands, July-November 1946, p. 25.

Two members of the SIRI team both saw bone-washings, and were both impressed 765
by this display. The ceremony I saw consisted not only of the washing of one set of bones but the transfer of another skeleton from another tomb. While the tomb was being prepared the daughter of the man whose bones were being transferred was made to hold the skull. The sight of the teen-age girl holding her father's skull before her, hardly able to move, her lips and eyes shut tight, tears streaming down her face, is one not easily forgotten.

The Okinawans are curious about the funeral customs of others, sensi- 764
tive about their own, and possibly dissatisfied with them. Their sensitivity 765
is shown by the fact that after I had observed the bone-washing just men- 123
tioned, someone circulated a rumor, untrue, that I had photographed the cere- 829
mony in order to show Americans what went on. This rumor might have seriously damaged my rapport with this family and with others in the community if I had not been defended by the person who had supervised the bone-washing, the old lady mentioned at the beginning of this section. All three SIRI team members were questioned about American practices and heard statements to the effect that perhaps cremation should be adopted. Cremation does, of course, do away with the necessity for both the bone-washings and the large tombs. A crematorium is operating in Naha, but it is doubtful if the practice will spread very rapidly in the country. New tombs, bigger and better than ever, are still being built, old ones are being repaired, and the familiar method of burial and reburial goes on. The prestige attached to the larger and impres- [554]
sive tomb is undoubtedly a factor in the survival of the system. But there may also be psychic needs as yet unexplored that the system and in particular the emotional orgy of the bone-washing satisfies.

Offerings to the Dead After the funeral the family of the deceased 765
makes offerings both before the tomb and before the temporary paper tablet in 769
the home. During the first seven weeks after a death this tablet is kept on a low table with incense burning before it; relatives and neighbors make formal visits in order to burn incense, pray, and leave gifts of money. On every seventh day till the forty-ninth the family makes extra offerings, burns uchikabi (imitation paper money said to be used for paying taxes in the next world), and makes offerings before the tomb. Then the name is written on the permanent tablet. Thereafter, the family makes offerings at the tomb and at the tablets and burns uchikabi on the first, second, seventh, thirteenth, twenty-fifth, and thirty-third anniversaries of the death. At the end of this time the deceased is believed to require no more individual consideration---if all the offerings up to that time have been properly made.

However, throughout each year on a number of occasions offerings are 769
made for all the dead members of the family. These occasions are the major 527
holidays, nearly all of which are primarily directed toward the worship of the dead. The principal of these are: 1) Lunar New Year's; 2) Shiimii, in the spring, an occasion for visiting both the tomb of the immediate family and tombs of more remote ancestors; 3) the U-machii, the 15th days of the 5th and 6th lunar months, occasions when representatives of the larger kin groups worship before the ancestral tablets at the main house; 4) U-bung, during the 7th lunar month, when all the dead are believed to return to the house. Beside these there are a number of minor holidays on which offerings are made.

up; he is made to find most of his needs satisfied by his mother and then he is told that he may be given away if he is not obedient; later he is made to believe that the spirits of his ancestors are protecting him, but when he becomes ill he is told that it is because he has not given them enough offerings. The threat in each of these instances is abandonment, being cut off from his family, because of insufficiency---disobedience or unfiliality. The fear that this threat creates does much to maintain the family system. It probably also accounts for the fear Okinawans seem to have of being alone, and their frequent use, remarked upon by several observers, of the word 'sabishii', "lonely". It may also account for their frequently expressed view of Okinawa itself as a lonely, remote, and neglected island. 152 593 [829]

Family life also provides the indiyidual with a pattern for human relationships. In the family he learns what behavior is appropriate to the status of older sibling and younger sibling, parent and child, male and female; he learns about authority, responsibility, and mutual obligation. This pattern of relationships learned in the family he reads into the larger society, and, entering the larger society he assumes the roles learned in the family. He defers to seniors; he expects juniors and females to defer to him. If he is a farmer he may expect instruction and support from the government, as a child expects it from his parents. If he is an official or a teacher he may at times deliberately speak down to the less educated and at other times deliberately speak over their heads, as a parent does with his children. 593 867

It seems that several phenomena of recent years should have weakened the old family system. The war destroyed much of the physical reminders of the past and nearly every family lost one or more of its members. The subsequent shift in population further uprooted many. The repatriation brought back people who had long been away, and with them, new ideas. The American occupation has given rural Okinawans a mobility they could not have imagined before. It has provided jobs for many of the younger people, which could mean a degree of economic independence that they could never have had otherwise. The schools have given young people of the opposite sexes more opportunity to meet on a respectable basis than they had ever had before. Yet we find families carrying on in spite of the shift in residence and the loss of important members, repatriates being reintegrated into the larger kin groups, and young people who might be independent turning their earnings over to their elders and asking their elders' permission to marry. Obviously family ties are still strong. 593 178 177

But the structure of the family may still be changing. The relationship between the behavior of individuals in the family and in the larger society is a reciprocal one. It is quite likely that the individual takes the roles that he has learned as a child in the family and plays them as an adult in the larger society, as he interprets its structure. But it is also likely that if the larger society is in a process of change, the individual may reinterpret his roles or even learn new ones to conform to the new structure. He may then go back to his family as a parent and reinterpret its structure on the basis of what he has learned. His behavior as a parent then becomes different from his father's before him. One of the professed aims of the Civil Administration on Okinawa is the democratisation of Okinawan society. [185]

625 high esprit. A policeman's salary is high when compared to that of other government workers and the general public; in addition the job has other advantages such as a uniform and free transportation on public conveyances.

621 625 In rural areas there seems to be some resentment over what is considered to be high pay and special privileges for policemen; this was particularly true where the local policeman was not a native son. In one of the more isolated villages of northern Okinawa, a community which is noted for and prides itself on its strong community spirit, there was some irritation with what they felt to be an unnecessary presence of a policeman (not native to the village) in their midst. The village 'kuchō' and several villagers assured the author that the village was a most peaceful one, everyone cooperated well together, and there was never any stealing or violence. They were also resentful of the fact that the village supplied the policeman with free food and charcoal and that his pay, nevertheless, was about equal to that of their highly respected school principal.

875 625 554 It should be noted that whenever the low pay of teachers was mentioned the correspondingly high pay of the police was cited. The teacher traditionally has been venerated in this culture, and it is held that the teacher is a better-educated person and should, therefore, receive a higher salary, as was the case before the war. In the past the higher positions in the bureaucracy were accorded or ideally should be accorded those with better educations, and since both the policeman and the teacher are civil government employees, the present situation with regard to their respective salaries seems unjust.

625 • 829 Most people express the belief that the police are honest and conscientious though their high pay may be resented. A number of people observed that the police are much better under the American military administration than they were under the Japanese government before the war, in that they are more polite and less officious today. Under present laws the powers of the police have been clearly defined to insure that they will not violate the rights of individuals as was frequently done in the past. Not a few Okinawans will contend that this curbing of police power while probably democratic has encouraged an increase in crime in recent years. The traditional attitude toward the policeman seems to be a mixture of fear and respect, and mothers frequently use the threat to call a policeman as a means of disciplining a child who misbehaves.

4. Political Participation by Women

562 [666] Since the end of the war universal suffrage has been introduced into Okinawan political life. The enfranchisement of women has not brought with it a surge of political activity on their part. It is now theoretically possible for a woman to hold public office, but in actuality none to date has been elected to a national or municipal office. One woman declared herself a candidate for the Ryukyuan legislature in 1954 but later withdrew from the campaign shortly before election time. In the rural areas political participation by women is even more limited. The men in the village of Kanegusuku laugh when the subject of women in politics is mentioned; they say

that a woman can hold office today since the government has made this law, 562
but that they would never permit this to happen. In village elections only household heads are permitted to vote, and in practice only they are eligible for the village offices. If a woman is a household head (and there are eighteen in this category in Kanegusuku) she is allowed to vote, but she would never be considered for any village office. Most women would not want the job if it were available to them, for this is considered a part of the affairs of men and inconsistent with the traditional concept of woman's role of wife and mother. Women are vaguely aware that their [177] legal and political status has altered under the American military administration, and nearly all have heard stories about America where women are [829] said to be very influential, but they are not so sure that what is good for Americans will necessarily work for them.

An exception to the generally inactive role of women in political 562
affairs is found in Okinawan fishing communities. In Itoman and Henza, 184
which derive their living from fishing, shipping, and ferrying, the men 621
are away much of the time, and the women exercise considerably more control over family and financial matters than elsewhere on Okinawa. Itoman women are noted throughout the island for their independence and shrewdness in financial matters, and there is a common saying that an Itoman woman doesn't need a man if she has a house. On Henza Island the lower echelons of the village political hierarchy are completely dominated by women. The five 'hanchō' are women, each heading a political unit of about eight hundred persons, and the forty-one 'kumichō' are also women. Despite this one gets the impression that women are participating in Henza political life in the absence of the men just as they have a larger role in the management of family affairs than the women of farming villages because the absence of their men has made this a practical necessity. To date no woman has been elected to the position of 'kuchō' nor does it seem likely that one will be in the near future. Perhaps this also serves to define more clearly the real nature of the 'hanchō' and 'kumichō' as messengers for the 'kuchō' instead of as administrators, and that positions of real power are still retained by men.

5. The Political Community

The rural village constitutes a political, territorial, and social 621
unit; its membership is bound together by a common cultural heredity and shares a common experience. All the villagers have attended the same schools, cooperated in village projects, participated in community ceremonies and celebrations, and joined the same organizations. The prevailing [582] marriage practice still tends toward endogamy, and in many places they [197] speak a dialect with features distinct from that of their neighbors. National organizations serve to unite the youth, women, and farmers into their respective local groups for common action and benefit. Further integration is assured by practices of reciprocal labor exchange among the households.

The major social institutions of rural Okinawa are the family-kin 621
group and the community. Within the former there exists a strict hierarchy 592
[181]

621 among its membership, and all relationships are highly structured. Though
592 age-grades tend to structure the membership of the community, this is not
[361] too important, as the basic unit within the village is the family, not the individual. The community is regarded as an association of families
[565] bound together in a relationship of equality. Such differences as exist
[178] in wealth and land holdings are not so great as to constitute class differentiation; likewise the old Okinawan class structure is no longer of any real significance, and in most rural communities the bulk of the families were and still are of commoner descent.

621 The concept of political participation by households is basic to
• 829 the thinking of the villagers. Universal suffrage applies only to municipal and national elections; within the village active political partici-
592 pation is restricted to household heads functioning in the capacity of
666 representatives for their respective families. When the mayor of one village was asked why all adults were not allowed to vote in village elections, his quick reply was, "Is it democracy to give some families more votes merely because they have more members?"

6. Political Leadership and Authority

621 There are nine important political offices within the village of Kanegusuku (population 507)---mayor, assistant mayor, clerk, 4 councillors,
[592] and 2 'son' assemblymen. Eighteen of the 108 village families are headed by women, and since only male household heads are elected to positions of political leadership, there remain 90 men eligible for these offices. A number of the young household heads also must be excluded from this group since a man must be over twenty-seven to be eligible, and there are others who are too old or infirm. This leaves 72 men eligible for office on the basis of the formal requirements.

621 Actually the villagers apply several other qualifications which one
554 must possess in order to be eligible for office. In practice the repatriates and the other newcomers to the village since the end of the war are not elected. Those who are poor (less than enough land for mere subsistence) cannot afford to accept an office, since the pay is low and the demands on one's time are too great. The men who have non-agricultural jobs which take them outside the village each day also do not have the time to devote, and the villagers tend to feel that these men are out of touch with the problems of a farming village. Lastly there are several men who otherwise meet all qualifications for village office save for what the villagers vaguely describe as "good character"; the most frequently cited example for this group is a man who dislikes farming and spends much of his time drinking or visiting the 'pachinko' parlor in a nearby town. Thus, the total number qualified for political office on the basis of all criteria which are applied is limited to approximately 47 individuals; this group, which constitutes about 9% of the total population, supplies the village leadership and forms the core of the body politic.

All village officials (excluding 'kumichō') held more land than the average, but the size of their holdings was not so great as to indicate that this was a very significant factor. It was stated that a leader must have sufficient experience and education to enable him to handle the necessary records and to make a good appearance at the village office. Most frequently, however, "good character" was cited as a most necessary prerequisite for an official; this was usually equated with "honest person" and "hard worker". Though the villagers stated that the age range of officials might lie between 28 and 55, the present village leaders are men in their forties. The man considered by a number of villagers to be their most able and influential political leader is forty-seven years old. In contrast the four 'kumichō' are young men ranging in age from 18 to 23, and only one of these is a household head. 621 554

Above the village level in the 'son' (township) government one encounters the professional administrator or bureaucrat----mayor, assistant, treasurer, and department heads. These men, in sharp contrast to the village officials, have an educational background including at least high school and more usually some college, normal school, or other type of advanced training. One gets the impression that they are strongly aware of their personal superiority; their attitude toward the governed is somewhat condescending and at best rather paternalistic. It is doubtful that they regard themselves as public servants although those whom the author encountered appeared to be conscientiously dedicated to their jobs. Of these officials only the mayor is elected; the others are appointed by him with the approval of the township assembly. 632 554

Most people are respectful toward their village officials, recognizing them to be among the ablest men in the community, but they most certainly are not in awe of them. Except for the two representatives to the 'son' assembly, new officials are elected every year, and it is very rare for a man to hold the same office for two consecutive years. No one person remains in a given office long enough to become identified with it or to achieve a special status. 621 554

The officials of the township office are usually professional government workers who have held their positions for a number of years. The villagers look up to them as administrators and superior persons; the mere fact that one has an official position confers a superior status. Some people expressed the belief that officials are good since only persons of education and good character could possibly attain such positions, and nearly all are of the opinion that officials enjoy an easy life and high pay. 632 554

Most rural villagers seem pessimistic about their relationship to the government; they are not mistrustful but rather they expect little. They strongly feel that the government is something from afar and wholly out of touch with their problems. This attitude may carry over from the old kingdom when an urban upper class administered a rural peasantry; the subsequent Japanese administration during its early years consisted of little more than the replacement of one ruling class with another. Nonetheless the government is looked to for aid and direction since it is 829

829 considered the initiator of all action. Frequently there are complaints of high taxes, criticisms of certain policies, and dissatisfaction with certain officials, but the authority of a government to undertake any course it chooses would never be challenged. There does not exist any concept of a limit to obedience or to the powers of government.

7. Social Control

626 621 The mechanisms of social control within an Okinawan village are not easily observed or studied since they are so rarely overt. One is impressed from the outset by the homogeneous character of the community, a natural outcome of the common experience and cultural heritage which all the members have shared. The average villager has had a limited range of contacts during the course of his or her lifetime, imposed to no small degree by the all-consuming demands of subsistence agriculture. Minorities within [183] the community rarely exist, and where they do, they are not recognized as such, for this homegeneity, in addition to being an actuality, is insisted upon as a cultural ideal. Consequently great stress is placed on presenting a united front to the outside. Within the community aggressive behavior is not tolerated and so great is the fear of rift through discord that few official acts are initiated without first securing informal concordance; consequently, formal political meetings are most often marked by unanimity and agreement. In enlisting the support of the villagers for a given project or proposed line of action leaders most frequently appeal to group solidarity, stressing the values of cooperation.

As is so often found in small communities where all the members have a face-to-face relationship, the chief mechanisms of social sanction are ridicule, censure, and the threat of ostracism. The small size and homogeneous nature of the Okinawan village limits the individual's behavior to a rather narrow and inflexible standard. The individual, however, must consider his actions not only in terms of the reactions of others to him but also in terms of the consequences for his family. Under the old king- [672] dom the family was legally responsible for the actions of its members, and [178] at the present time an individual is officially registered as a member of a certain family and is always thought of by the villagers in association 626 with that family. One's mistakes as well as one's achievements reflect upon 621 the other members of the family and are shared by them. This emphasis on 181 family and community over the individual serves markedly to curb individualism and to further the homogeneity of the society. Conformity and honoring one's obligations are the major cultural values. The surrogate for this strong cultural deemphasis of the individual is provided by a close ego identity with the family and community and by the security which they offer in return. The severest sanction which can be applied is expulsion of the individual from his group.

8. Local Autonomy

642 621 On a small island with a highly centralized government there is little room for local autonomy. Most action is initiated in the higher echelons of government and is unquestioningly obeyed at the lower levels. There

is no concept of a division of powers, and in final analysis the village 642
is subject to the bidding of the township which in turn is under the di- 621
rection of the central government. Nevertheless, the physical and mental isolation of the village from the township and central government does afford some measure of self-government, and a number of problems of specifically local concern are solved at the village level.

One finds that the villagers are not eager for a greater measure 621
of self-government; in fact, quite the contrary seems true. In several 829
villages the author was told that since the war the villages have been allowed a greater measure of self-rule and that they now have more to do with less aid and direction than ever before. They feel that this has resulted in greater demands on their time and finances than they can afford.

Village office is regarded as an onerous duty which one assumes in a sense of obligation. The remuneration is very low, and not a few are disinclined to participate in any active role. In December of 1953 there were three elections for village clerk in Kanegusuku before the office was filled; one of those elected stalked off in a fury and refused to return and accept the position. The mayor, who was much irritated by the man's action and the inconvenience it caused, assured the author that it was much better before the war when he had had the power to appoint someone and could not be refused.

[Koohinda-son]

The husband sought military employment after the divorce. Haru has now also gone to the city to find military employment because her younger brother, who is household head, became angry and said, "...even the animals know enough to suckle their young." An observer commented, "Haru is mentally deficient, so that is why she was jealous." 586 159

Case 2

Kanā at the age of 32 was Chūsei's third wife, and he was her fourth husband. His seventy-year-old mother, Ushii, had become blind as a result of the war. Kanā insulted her mother-in-law somehow. In turn Ushii insulted Kanā by saying she couldn't work very hard. Chūsei divorced Kanā for the quarrel, and she moved to an offshore island. More recently she remarried to a man two villages away, and they have two children. Her new husband fishes during the summer and works for a big sugar mill during the winter.

Case 3

The husband, Jirō, was a second son of 23 years, who had become an adopted husband, or 'yōshi'. His wife Yae, who was a common law child, bore him a son. Because he violently disliked farming he sold the land he inherited and bought a mat-making shop in Naha. His real father, killed in the war, had operated such a business. Jirō also took up a concubine in Naha.

Though she had borne Jirō a son, Yae divorced him because she didn't like the idea of a concubine, and preferred farming to life in Naha. Later Jirō sold the houselot in the village, took the house apart and reassembled it in Naha. The mat shop failed after one year. He now plans to make his living by doing nothing but renting out rooms. He married his concubine eighteen months later, after she bore him a son. Yae married a few days after the divorce, to a man from a neighboring village. She now has two sons.

Diagnosis In the first case cited above, we can see several factors that help us to understand Okinawan society. Attitudes expressed include: [593]

a) A wife should not be jealous of her husband's attention to other women;
b) A brother need not support his sister if she refuses to care for her own child; and
c) A mother's first duty is to care for her own child.

Both divorced persons eventually sought military employment. So we see that urbanization is not alone a matter of pull from the city, but contains in addition an element of being "pushed from the village". [369]

The Chūsei-Kanā divorce was brought on by an insult to the husband's mother. In Okinawa as in Japan the mother-in-law wields a good deal of authority. [606] [171]

In the third case cited, it was found that Jirō had a very bad reputation in the village because he was a 'yōshi' who sold his inherited [829]

[Kochinda-son]

586 property. After that action he was called by the villagers "white ant", or
159 "termite". From the beginning, community feeling was behind Yae and opposed
829 to him. Circumstances of her birth carried little stigma, but his actions outraged everyone. People thought it quite natural that she should live with another man and bear his child before Jirō formally recorded the divorce in the 'koseki'. As far as the villagers were concerned, the divorce had become effective when Jirō sold his inheritance.

161 3. A Note on the Accuracy of Population Statistics in Okinawa

Much conflicting population data were encountered by the SIRI team. Hence this note is included as being of possible value to military government and to other social scientists who may work in Okinawa at a later date.

Census Figures Year-end census figures, which are based upon de facto count rather than de jure count are the most accurate, since they include all persons actually resident in the village at the time, as well as 'museki', or persons without an official local 'koseki' record.

Many times these census figures are supplemented by figures reporting both the above and all persons visiting in the village or town at the date of census. These "visitors" may include students, peddlers, guests at inns, persons in institutions, and persons visiting friends or relatives. A few examples from the 1953 statistics report of GRI are given below:

Table XXVII

Political Unit	Koseki Population	Resident Population	De Facto Population
Okinawa Guntō	649,997	627,556	637,215
Shuri-shi	22,372	21,921	23,015
Nago-chō	17,067	16,955	17,255
Goeku-son	21,065	20,931	20,749
Kochinda-son	8,738	8,504	-not given-

161 The Museki People 'Museki' is a term applied to single individuals or fami-
641 lies who are not registered in the political unit where they are living. They may maintain with varying degrees of attention and accuracy a 'koseki' elsewhere. Some simply may have no registration in a 'koseki' anywhere due to a semi-wandering life or a criminal bent. These latter are said to have no legal rights. "How can anyone have rights unless he has a 'koseki'?"

161 Ad Hoc Counts Persons who wish an accurate count of the people in any
621 village are advised to consult directly with the village headman, or 'kuchō', rather than with the 'son' office. He is in constant daily touch with village affairs, and is the most knowledgeable man to contact about village matters. Figures given by a 'kuchō', usually are the most accurate for total number of people in the village at any given time. 'Museki' persons are included, but those who are legally residents of the village and living elsewhere are not included.

'Koseki' Changes The present 'koseki'---those used when this SIRI team visited Okinawa---are temporary ones set up about 1948. 161 217
In some very few areas 'koseki' remain from before the war. Registration in the 'koseki' is not automatic when an individual or family moves into a community. Hence there may even be persons who have bought houselots in a village, rented land there and raised crops---without ever having contacted the 'son' office for change of 'koseki'. Three such instances were observed in Nanahan. Areas such as Goeku-son and the Naha-Mawashi area, which contain many "floaters", may actually have a much larger population than is reported in the census figures.

'Koseki' Inaccuracies The present 'koseki' not only does not contain information on 'museki' persons, but it is often very far behind---sometimes as much as two years---in recording the movement of persons and families out of the villages and into urban centers.

Because old 'koseki' were for the most part destroyed, information on birthdates is very often inaccurate. The Kochinda 'koseki', for example, is full of requests for changes in birthdates, changes ostensibly sought on the basis of more accurate family records recently discovered or assembled. However, some changes may conceivably be sought in order deliberately to misrepresent one's age to a Company or to the military. Also, the possibility should not be ruled out that some persons change their recorded birthdate in order to bring about a change in their luck. [277]

Accuracy of Kochinda-son Data The statistics on household heads presented above represents the total number of people registered in the Kochinda 'koseki'. It does not take into consideration those persons and families who are recorded as having temporarily moved elsewhere. 217 162 592

Many people in Kochinda who have moved to the city have failed to record that fact in the 'koseki'. Many times this is attributable to apathy and poverty, but may often involve the matter of pride in having one's record in the same 'koseki' as one's close relatives. There is an additional factor at work: most Okinawans realize that the present urban trend brought about by the presence of the military is a temporary phenomenon, and they fully expect to return to the village in event of a lessening of urban opportunities. Thus Okinawa follows the Japanese pattern---by tightening their belts and working a little harder, the farmers can always make their plots feed an additional mouth until some adjustment can be made. [369] [829]

Hence the Kochinda statistics as presented above represent some 2,000 household heads and some 10,000 persons, rather than the census count of some 8,500 persons and 1,970 household heads.

The New 'Koseki' Early in 1954 the Government of the Ryukyu Islands ordered a new 'koseki' to be compiled. It will no doubt be more complete in most respects than is the temporary 'koseki'. The demand for a new 'koseki' came about chiefly because Japanese governmental pension agencies 217 [648]

to take registration seriously until conditions are more stable. The Central 423
Land Office in Naha appears to be almost wholly out of touch with local 647
changes; for example, the extensive land changes subsequently described for Kitazato did not appear to be known or recorded on the maps in that office.

Taxation of farm lands is a very complex matter. Land assessments 651
are made by the district land office in conjunction with village leaders; 423
consequently, there is not only some variation in grading from 'son' to 'son' but also from village to village within the same 'son'. All land is divided into six categories: 1) rice lands or irrigated fields, 2) farm land or dry fields, 3) grass land or meadow (often erroneously translated as wasteland), 4) forest, 5) house or building land, and 6) miscellaneous, including graves, ponds, etc. It will be noted that only the first two categories are food-producing. The first five categories are sub-divided into grades depending on a variety of factors such as fertility, accessibility, availability of water, etc. In Kami Motobu-son there are sixteen grades of land within the five graded categories; thus, there are five grades of rice land, five grades of dry field, two grades of grass land, two grades of forest land, and two grades of house land. The tax is computed by the tax rate per grade of category times the area in 'tsubo' (1224 'tsubo' equal one acre). In Kami Motobu-son grade one dry fields carry an annual tax of 15 'sen' per tsubo; therefore, at current exchange rates (¥120 equal $1.00) a house would pay a tax of $1.53 (¥183.60) for an acre of this grade one land.

In regard to the matter of property inheritance there is some dis- 428
satisfaction with the present laws on the part of educated Okinawans. They 829
feel that the new Japanese constitution adopted during the American Occupation should also be enacted for the Ryukyus. The constitutional reform [642]
which took place in Japan after the war did not apply to the Ryukyus; consequently, Okinawa still operates under the old Japanese civil code except for certain gross inequities which have been corrected by military government proclamation. The new Japanese law holds that all children, regardless of sex or birth order, are entitled to an equal share of the parents' estate. In contrast, the old law, which still obtains on Okinawa, grants the bulk of the estate to the first-born son. Under this law property in reality is [423]
held for the family by the first son or household head; it is not his to dispose of as he sees fit. Educated Okinawans who discussed this subject 428
with the author expressed the opinion that the old law was undemocratic in 829
giving emphasis to the family over the individual, and they felt that Oki- 184
nawa should keep pace with Japan in this respect. It should be emphasized, however, that these persons were not farmers; the latter, most of whom are not too well educated, tend to regard the present laws as just, since the emphasis is on preserving the continuity of the family. A further subdivision of the typical Okinawan farm into still more fragmented plots would do little to improve the prosperity of the rural areas.

[Kanegusuku]

621 The group most dissatisfied with its lot today are the repatriates
423 from the former Japanese possessions. A few of these families were able upon
727 return to take up the lands left by relatives killed in the war or were given land by prosperous relatives, and four repatriate families are virtually landless. All of them, regardless of the size of their present holdings, chafe at their circumstances. One repatriate told the author that he had farmed nearly twenty-five acres in a single plot of sugar on Saipan and that he could never be satisfied with Kanegusuku after this. He is hoping that he will eventually be permitted to return to Saipan.

Before the war that segment of the village which possessed the least amount of land consisted almost exclusively of younger sons who had established branch families. Today this group has been augmented by repatriates from the former Japanese possessions and by emigrants from other Okinawan communities.

621 Farm Laborers During the course of the author's stay in Kanegusuku
241 there was only one full-time farm laborer in the village. This man came from
[463] one of the southern islands in the Ryukyus and was employed for less than a month. After his discharge, the former employer remarked that no outsider has enough interest in the lands of another family to make his employment worthwhile. Transplanting and harvesting rice place the heaviest labor de-
[857] mands upon the family; at these times virtually every member of the family
[476] works in the fields; even the grade-school children are given minor tasks, and the family labor force is supplemented by close relatives or neighbors in a reciprocal labor exchange.

829 Attitudes toward the Land One does not hear or see evidence of
554 any great love or attachment for the soil on the part of the Okinawan farmer.
463 In fact, quite the contrary seems true. Most regard their occupation as a
241 lowly one and feel that they are farmers because they know no other occupation. Land is of value because it provides a livelihood, nothing more, though some exception might be made for house land. Nearly all of the younger generation reflect the thinking of their fathers, and they are eager to get a good education (the diligence of even the average Okinawan student would strike the American teacher as amazing), secure a job in the town or city, and leave the drudgery of the farm village forever. Most
[433] farms are so small that they provide no more than mere subsistence for their cultivators; consequently, the young men see no sense in attending agricultural school when they will have little more than an acre to work. One young man from a fairly prosperous family in the village recently secured a job as a stevedore in Naha, and both he and his wife expressed their pleasure over what they regard as a definite improvement in their status. Though they have not sold the land which they own, they hope that it will never be necessary to return and farm it.

To a large extent this attitude toward the land and farming as an
[178] occupation is directly related to the economic and cultural changes taking place on Okinawa today; the city is an exciting place to live in and employment there is economically more advantageous than farming. Nevertheless, this seems in part the product of the old land system and the low, serf-like status accorded farmers under it. Some of the earlier visitors and officials

[Kanegusuku]
[Kitazato]

on Okinawa observed that the farmer took little interest in the care of land which he did not regard as his own. The author was particularly impressed by the contrast between Japan and Okinawa in regard to the care of land, for the meticulous care which the Japanese farmer lavishes on his land seems absent by contrast among the Okinawan farmers. 241 829 554 463 [171]

Kitazato The farm village of Kitazato in Kami Motobu-son presents a marked contrast to Kanegusuku in that it has suffered the loss of a major part of its area to a military installation. In studying the village of Kitazato the village of Kanegusuku was used as a base line for comparisons. To supplement his own observations the author has drawn heavily on actual statements by Kitazato people; in this way he hopes to present as accurately as possible the actual state of the village compared to villages elsewhere on Okinawa, and the villagers' own conceptualization of their circumstances. 621 [727] 121 621 [124]

Kitazato is not an old village, having been founded but seven generations ago by the younger sons of gentry families from the Naha-Shuri area. It was politically independent of the neighboring villages during the time of the old kingdom, but after the annexation it was administered in part by the villages of Gushiken and Jahana. In 1936 or 1937 it was established as an independent village, taking its present name. 175 621

Following their release from civilian internment camps the villagers returned to the site of their old homes shortly before New Year's of 1946. They found virtually their entire village land area converted into an airfield and accompanying military installations. According to their account there was considerable misunderstanding between them and the military as to where they might live, and they feel that they were subject to contradictory and inconsistent orders. Several moves were made which disrupted their plans to settle, and one villager stated, "I grew tired of rebuilding my house." In 1948 they were finally ordered to remove themselves from the military area, and they took up residence in their present location. It is claimed that there was insufficient land in the area to resettle the entire village on a single site; so, the village divided into three sections. Thirty houses were located on the beach between the villages of Gushiken and Shinzato, and this segment was given the name Hama. The remainder of the houses settled in the nearby hills from one to two miles away. Thirty-nine houses settled in the hills between the villages of Furushima and Jahana, taking the name Kijikina. Ten houses located themselves in the hills just north of Kijikina in a settlement which they called Anahana. These latter two, however, function as a single settlement for administrative purposes. These 80 houses making up the scattered village of Kitazato have a total population of 414. Despite their physical separation these segments have striven with considerable difficulty to maintain their political and social unity; one mayor and council serves them, and people are constantly visiting from one area to another. Today most of their land is gone, and they are too far removed from any city, town, or military installation (the airfield is abandoned) for employment. Extreme poverty and bitterness are one's first impressions of the village. 175 621 727 [464] [735]

[Kitazato]

175 621 727 It is said that the division of the village cut across family lines and that the motivating factor in a household's choice of one site over another was the location of their remaining landholdings on the periphery of the village. Another factor was the presence of relatives in neighboring villages from whom they might secure land for rental. Thus, Kijikina is largely made up of households which have their lands on that side of the field or have relatives in neighboring Furushima; the Hama people mostly own the land at the north side of the field.

175 621 [24] [134] [238] [439] The Pre-war Village Prior to the war the village was, according to 'son' officials, a very prosperous community and a great economic asset to the 'son'. It possessed nearly 173 acres in arable land, most of which was flat or gently rolling. The soil was well suited to sugar cane which was the chief source of income for the village; cattle-raising for export to Japan provided an additional source of income.

[361] Unlike Kanegusuku the lineages were said to be rather weak in Kitazato; there were a number of different kin groups, and no one of these was dominant. The houses of the village were not tightly nucleated like those of the typical Okinawan village but were scattered about in a loose grouping in the midst of the best agricultural land.

621 311 727 Land Loss At the present time (May, 1954) approximately 39% of the total land area of this village is in airfield, and an additional 34% of the total area has been ruined by activities related to its construction (sand dumped onto fields, top soil removed, erosion, etc.). There remains but 27% of the total land area for the use of the villagers, and of this only a small percentage is in arable land, since most of the good, flat farmland was lost to the airfield. The total amount of arable land remaining is [134] 11,895 'tsubo' (less than ten acres), and this averages out to about 148 'tsubo' or 0.12 acres per household, with approximately five persons in each house. The average amounts of arable land per household in Kanegusuku, Okinawa, and Kitazato compare as follows:

Kanegusuku	--- 1514.2 'tsubo'	
Okinawa	--- 1037.2 'tsubo'	(per farm household)
Kitazato	--- 148.7 'tsubo'	

Land loss to the airfield affected every family in the village; some families lost all of their lands, a very few managed to retain most, but the majority of villagers (70%) lost nearly all of their holdings. For example, the mayor of the village held 2470 'tsubo' before the war and now has 570 'tsubo' left; yet, he is considered one of the more fortunate. To compensate for their losses they now farm some land which was previously left idle: "We would not have farmed such land before the war as we are farming today." Some have rented lands from neighboring villages, and a few have been given land by relatives in these villages.

621 829 727 Land Payment The people of Kitazato strongly feel that they are not being paid adequate remuneration in terms of current rental values for their land. They are well aware of the fact that the same U. S. military

[Kitazato]

is paying adequate rentals for lands used in Japan, and it is their contention that Okinawa is being discriminated against because she is weak. Because of this some wish that Japan were back in control, believing that their interests would be better served. One hears no comments on the presence of Americans in the islands or on the legality of building bases there, for they concede that the outcome of the war granted that; yet, they are bitter about the loss of their livelihood and what they feel to be neglect on the part of the military government. Long accustomed to a paternalistic government which directed many aspects of their lives, they are now at a loss to understand this seeming indifference to their present circumstances. They are completely unmoved by argument, which might seem logical to an American, that Congress has not appropriated sufficient funds, for they do not distinguish between the various divisions of American government---it is all American to them. They point to the high standard of living enjoyed by the American personnel and their families stationed on the island and make the inference that there seems to be no lack of funds for their needs. 621 829 727

The villagers say that they have received three payments from military government through May, 1954. The first of these paid for the cost of removing and rebuilding their homes. This amounted to a flat payment of ¥6000 ($50) per house, which they say was inadequate. The first of the land payments was made in June of 1953; the villagers assert that they were paid at pre-war rates, and one person who owned 5480 'tsubo' described the payment as a "laugh". The second payment for the use of their lands was made in May, 1954, while the author was studying the village. This time the payments were said to be substantially higher especially in certain categories; yet, they contend that payments are still far below current rentals. In this payment, ¥5.40 per 'tsubo' per year was paid for grade one house lots, but in Kijikina the owner of one house claimed that he paid ¥24 per 'tsubo' per year for rental on his house lot. Grade one dry fields were paid for by the military government at a rate of ¥3 per 'tsubo' per year; the farmers say that they can get about ¥60 per 'tsubo' in annual yield if this land is planted in beans or potatoes, and local rentals on this same type of land are about ¥15. They are angry at receiving but ¥3 for their land and having to pay ¥15 to rent equivalent land. They are also dissatisfied with the manner of payment for grass land and tomb land which are paid for by the plot regardless of size; thus, they say that the person who has two small plots of 10 'tsubo' each receives twice as much as the man who owns a single, larger 100 'tsubo' plot.

Effect of the Land Loss on the Village: Physical Appearance On first entering any one of the three segments of Kitazato one is struck almost immediately by a level of poverty considerably below that of other Okinawan villages. This is particularly true of Hama, whose houses are jammed tightly together on a treeless beach. Most of the houses consist of a single room which serves as living and sleeping quarters; a small lean-to kitchen is attached on the side. The floor space of the houses was considerably smaller than those of Kanegusuku. Several brackish wells supply the community with water. The Anahana and Kijikina settlements in the hills have a more attractive appearance due to a large number of young pine trees and a small stream in the area, giving a park-like atmosphere; however, 621 735 511 [342] [312] [342]

511 [Kitazato]
621 the houses are the same small, poorly-built structures of thatch and scrap
735 lumber that are found on the beach. By way of contrast, the house which
[342] the author rented in Kanegusuku was the poorest and shabbiest in that vil-
[184] lage; yet, the same house in Kitazato would easily have been the best.
Shabby appearances are not limited to houses, for the people too are more poorly dressed than elsewhere on Okinawa.

621 Food Nearly everywhere on Okinawa the authors heard that the peo-
511 ple are eating better today than before the war; such is not the case for
262 Kitazato, and the villagers are most emphatic about this. Potatoes, beans, and other vegetable products form the mainstay of their diet; often times, they say, potatoes are dug up before they are fully mature, so great is the pressure for food. It is the opinion of the local agricultural office that the people are slowly starving to death, and the villagers state that they are always hungry. The local storekeepers say that the people do not have enough money to buy canned foods to supplement their diet. Though Hama is
[226] virtually on the water the villagers do no fishing since the occupation is regarded as a foreign one; however, some shell fish are collected by the women.

621 Exodus of Youth One of the marked features of the village is the
511 general absence of young men and women in the fifteen to twenty-five age
166 group, for as soon as the student completes junior high school, he or she heads for the city seeking employment. A number of the families in the village are said to subsist mainly on the money which their children send back. According to the mayor 61 families have left the village since the end of the war; he feels that if they had not left, things would be much worse. Most of those who left were families containing grown children who could work; the parents in some cases were reluctant to leave, but their children were anxious to leave. A slight decline in military employment in early 1954 resulted in several of these families' returning to the village, and the mayor was apprehensive lest more return.

621 One characteristic of the population of this village which struck
847 the author was the disproportionate number of females to males in the age group under five years. In this group there were 64 males and 33 females, whereas the groups above were more nearly proportionate. Female infanticide has been a common occurrence during times of famine or under conditions of extreme poverty in Japan and China, and the authors heard several stories giving some evidence of it on Okinawa. No factual evidence of any sort was gathered by the author in Kitazato to corroborate this interpretation of the statistics; however, the fact that the permanent resettlement of the village in its present locations took place approximately six years ago in 1948 may lend some credence to this interpretation.

621 Attitude toward Americans The villagers' initial reaction to the
829 presence of the author in the village was one of fear and veiled hostility.
[123] Gradually this was overcome, and good rapport was established. During one of his last visits to the community the author was told, "The first day you were in the village everyone wondered if the military were going to make us move again. No one slept that night." At the same time the villagers are

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somewhat appalled by what they regard as a lack of concern on the part of Americans for their plight. As they have been long accustomed to a paternalistic government, this seems to be a deliberately negligent attitude, and they express this feeling not infrequently. The following statements were heard by the author, "We never see any Americans who come to inspect or look at things" and "No Americans ever come to see how we are." 621 829

National Organizations National organizations such as the youth association and the women's association are rather weak in Kitazato when compared with Kanegusuku. They say that they have little spare time for such organizations, which is undoubtedly true, and the scattered nature of the village makes meeting a chore for some in the outlying sections. The ranks of the youth association are thinned by the loss of members who have sought employment in the city or military camps. Even the agricultural association is not as active as elsewhere, since the farmers feel that little can be done to improve their situation. The farmers and the head of the 'son' agricultural office were disgusted by the stupidity of a plan tendered by the central agricultural office to relieve the distress of Kitazato and other dispossessed farmers in Kami Motobu-son. This plan called for the planting of sugar cane as a cash crop and the use of the proceeds to buy food. It failed to take into consideration that sugar takes a long time to mature and that the people would have nothing to eat in the interim, and even if they were to plant their entire holdings in sugar, it would not bring enough cash to feed them. 621 575 621 829 242 241

Village Solidarity Village solidarity seems very high in Kitazato, much higher than in Kanegusuku. Undoubtedly this is largely due to the common problem which faces them all; nevertheless several other factors appear to be involved. The gentry origin of Kitazato kept it aloof from its immediate neighbors for many years, and apparently no real contacts were established in neighboring villages until after the annexation. Even today the people of this village speak a dialect markedly distinct from that of their nearest neighbors; thus, the upper-class origin and the physical and linguistic isolation of the village has perhaps contributed much to its integration and solidarity. The relative weakness of kin groupings seems to be another factor. In Kanegusuku one gets the impression that the strength of the lineages mitigates against informal village-wide cooperation and only through formal organizations such as the youth association is any real village-wide cooperation realized. In Kitazato the weak kin groupings seem no obstacle to this. 621 186 [197]

It seemed to the author that the people of Kitazato never tired of reiterating how well they cooperated together and how much they enjoyed working together as a village. "We want to stay together as a village, as we cooperate so well together." This is typical of the statements which were made. Many say that they would not object to emigration provided they might emigrate as a village.

Land Rentals Two serious problems face the people of Kitazato in regard to renting the land of neighboring villages. They are unable to pay 621 427

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621 for the lands which they rent, since they have no cash; and they feel that
427 the amount of rent in product from their low yield soils is too great to justify the expenditure of labor. Several other villages in the area lost land to the airfield, so that there is very little land available for rental today. The land which they have rented is of a poor quality, and, consequently, yields are very low. A few fortunate ones have had relatives in neighboring villages who have supplied them with land at a low rental; several who have brothers in neighboring villages have been given free use of some lands. These, however, constitute a small portion of the total village.

628 Neighboring villagers who were interviewed expressed their sympathy for Kitazato's loss of its livelihood. They state that relations between them are good.

621 Morale The villagers are in a low state of morale, and they fre-
829 quently express the opinion that their situation is hopeless. The young people see no future in remaining in the village and are anxious to leave as soon as they are able. Older adults cannot conceive of leaving the village; yet, they are depressed by their circumstances. A number of the middle-aged men remarked that it was too late for them to learn another occupation even if they could get away. The older people particularly mourn the loss of their village: "Our village was beautiful, and we loved it," and "Our land is hopeless now; we cry in our minds just to look at it." All age groups were heard to express statements such as, "Each year things are worse," and "We are slowly starving to death." One informant told the author that he believed someone had been stealing potatoes from his field.

The head of the local agricultural office believes that the village should be brought together again as a single community on the site of the old village near the airfield and that they should be given permission to farm the unused land contiguous to the field. In this way, he feels, they might be able to pull themselves together and start rebuilding anew. He is worried that the people will become so demoralized by their present state as to become slothful, and he is of the opinion that the people cannot continue much longer in their present state.

Outlook for the Future The people of Kitazato are uneasy and pessimistic about their future, and the local 'son' officials, political and agricultural, feel that the villagers cannot long continue in their
621 state of poverty and borderline starvation. It seems to the author that the future holds but three possibilities for them---continued endurance of their present situation, emigration, or an increase in the rent paid for the use of their land.

Without an improvement in their present circumstances, ultimate starvation would seem the only possibility; the figures on land holdings
[433] alone will validate that, for ten acres will not provide subsistence for over four hundred no matter how intensive the agricultural techniques. There does not appear sufficient land available for rental with which they might supplement their meager holdings. Many villagers are too poor to cut loose from the wretched plots they farm; it takes cash to move and set up

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elsewhere, and this they do not have. Others are too timid or feel themselves untrained and incapable of learning a new job elsewhere. This is especially true of the middle-aged men who are supporting aged parents and/or young children; to cut loose from the village and leave his land seems too great a risk for one who has the burden of family support, little education, and no training for any other pursuit. At least in his village, he feels, there are friends, relatives, and others like him sharing common problems. Likewise, seeking employment as an agricultural laborer in other communities would bring in little return; such work is usually taken by young, unmarried men men who have not yet established themselves. Perhaps with government loans and encouragement most of the families might be resettled in other Okinawan farming villages, but there is strong resistance toward any suggestions or moves which would lead to a breakup and scattering of the village. It should be emphasized, however, that this is the feeling of those members of the village who are above 35 to 40 years of age and who have family responsibilities. The young do not share this sentiment for village solidarity, and they are most eager to leave the village once their schooling is completed. A few who have succeeded in establishing themselves in the city have sent for their parents or have regularly sent money to them, but often the rewards of city or military employment are not sufficient to permit this, or they marry and have the problems of their immediate family to think about. 621

The strong desire to remain together as a village is expressed whenever the question of emigration is raised. For example, about four or five young men in the village have expressed a willingness to emigrate to South America. Several South American countries have sought Okinawan settlers; however, they want young people capable of making a contribution to the economy; oldsters are not sought. In most cases this means a breakup of the family, leaving the older people behind on Okinawa until the emigrants have saved sufficient money to send for them. In most cases they would be without support in the absence of the children. Those who have expressed an interest in emigrating as individuals have been subject to some criticism; however, the villagers would be willing to emigrate to South America provided they were allowed to emigrate as a village. In fact, the majority of villagers appear willing to emigrate to South America, the South Seas, or even to Yueyama in that order of preference. The latter island, despite numerous press campaigns extolling its virtues, holds little appeal for Okinawans. It is considered a dangerous place subject to many typhoons and diseases, and the Japanese government tried for many years to encourage Okinawan settlement there with little more success than that achieved by the military government. The people of Kitazato, however, say that they would resettle in Yaeyama provided the government helped them and allowed them to resettle as a village; or they would not be averse to resettlement elsewhere on Okinawa under the same conditions. In all cases it is their strongest desire to remain together as a village and to be given aid in reestablishing themselves. 621 829

Lastly they would prefer most of all that they be paid adequate rentals in term of current land rentals for their land which has been used for the airfield. Adequate rentals would enable each family to determine the course of its own future without any interference from the government.

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621 If this were done, many villagers state that they would prefer to remain in
829 the area. They would try to rent more land from neighboring villages, and they would be looking forward to the day when they might start life anew on the old village site. The younger generation does not share this nostalgia and this desire to recreate the old village; they feel that adequate rentals would provide the means for establishing themselves elsewhere. In time, one suspects, the older people would follow them.

759 The yabuu also prescribe herbal remedies. They do not, however,
757 prepare their medicines, but rather instruct the patient how to gather and
[278] prepare the plants for use. The act of preparing one's own medicine may thus have a magical value. Yabuu also prescribe the eating of certain parts of certain animals for their good influence on the corresponding parts of the human body. Dogs and cats are among the animals so used. (This practice may be the source of the belief widespread among Americans on Okinawa that the Okinawans eat dogs; they do, on rare occasions, but not as food, merely as medicine.)

759 Short-cut Systems Standing somewhere between the yabuu and the modern doctor are several types of practitioners who give treatments with heat, light, steam, etc. as all-purpose cures. One man was observed to use a tube in which he burned a substance, probably moxa, while he moved it over the patient's body. His system seemed to be the moxibustion of the yabuu dressed up with "scientific" gadgets. He was described by a friend as "half-doctor half-yabuu", a description that was meant to elicit a favorable response since it implies that he possesses the efficacy of both.

759 In addition to these full-time professionals on the fringes of medi-
278 cine, there are also a number of part-time penicillin-shooters, who are par-
[164] ticularly active in areas frequented by American personnel, where they are in demand for the treatment of venereal disease. Penicillin is sold freely and in quantity, perhaps because of the prevalence of venereal disease, and has become a very popular treatment even for very minor infections. Hormone shots also seem to be widely used by untrained persons.

759 Modern Medicine There are of course modern Japanese-trained doctors on
[177] Okinawa. But they are relatively few in number, about one for every 3,900 persons.[1] Trained nurses and medical facilities are also too few and too little. But even if there were more doctors and more facilities, it is doubtful that the ordinary Okinawan would make more use of them.

759 Medical doctors have a high status in Okinawan society. They are
753 admired and respected. Parents frequently express the wish that a son
829 might grow up to become a doctor. But the advice of the doctor is not al-
[554] ways heeded. The respect may be more for his education and the social position it gives him than for his professional opinion. In the matter of illness the advice that the ordinary Okinawan respects is more likely to be that of the older members of his own family and of the familiar yuta, sanjinsoo, and yabuu, for this advice is given in terms of insufficiency of worship, soul-loss, and the influence of the twelve-year-cycle. These are concepts that are familiar to him and have an integration with other beliefs, which the concepts dealt with by the doctor do not have. The doctor's very disregard of the supernatural runs counter to the feelings of the

1 CAARI, Vol. 1, no. 2, p. 52 gives 126 practicing physicians for Okinawa plus 50 working for GRI. Japan has about one for every 1300 persons; Japan Statistical Yearbook, 1950, gives 63,273 (p. 432) and the total population as 80,216,896 (p. 12).

ordinary Okinawan. Besides, the doctor's interpretation of illness and its 759
cause is more likely to put the responsibility for it on the shoulders of 753
the individual, whereas the traditional interpretation makes the individual 829
less responsible. This, I suspect, is likely to make the doctor's interpretation less popular. Also the treatment received from the native practitioners is familiar and predictable, while the doctor's methods vary more greatly with the nature of the illness, as do his fees.

Another factor contributing to the tendency not to go to the medical doctor may be the very respect in which he is held socially. I have 759
already suggested that in the fields of religion and politics Okinawans try to solve problems at the local level without appealing to higher authorities. This may also be true in dealing with illness. The relations between patient and doctor are certainly of a more formal sort than those between patient and yuta or yabuu. And around the relationship between patient and doctor there have grown up customs that may make the patient hesitate before entering a doctor's care. For example, a patient who is discharged from a hospital after a successful surgical operation (this may not be true of the largest and most modern hospitals) is expected to show his gratitude by giving a 'Tai-in no O-iwai' ("Leaving the Hospital Celebration") on the day of his departure. For this he hires a yuta or some appropriate person to pray for him, he gives gifts to the doctor and the [431]
nurses who attended him, and distributes holiday cakes to the other patients. If this is done in style it may cost the patient nearly as much as the operation itself.

5. Prospect of Change

Earlier in this chapter I suggested that Okinawan standards of 000
sanitation might be raised by appealing to individual family pride in appearances. The sphere of sanitation might be pushed out of the house and across the yard by increasing the family's feeling of identification with it. An esthetic appeal might also be made. Okinawans are certainly not insensitive to beauty, and many do have little patches of flowers beside these houses. Standards could also be raised by encouraging more community endeavors. There seem to be a much greater need for this in the city than in the country, where long-established patterns of cooperation in agricultural practices, house-building, etc., exist. It is my impression that in the cities the 'han' or some even smaller unit could be used more effectively in keeping yards and streets clean and drained. It must be remembered that what is needed is constant cleanliness, not merely the sort of holiday cleanliness that comes with periodic inspection. It must also be stressed that the reasons for unsanitary conditions are part of a vicious circle. Filth leads to a high rate of infection from disease and parasites, this leads to diminishing energy and greater poverty, and these in turn cause more unsanitary conditions.

But improving sanitation will probably be rather easy compared to the problem of changing Okinawan attitudes toward disease. In talking with 753
Okinawans, it was in comparing Okinawan and American treatment of disease 177

CHAPTER XI: CULTURE CHANGE IN RURAL OKINAWA

W. P. Lebra

175 Within a span of less than fifty years Okinawa has been twice sub-
177 jected to periods of accelerated culture change. The first began in 1899 when the Japanese administration abolished the system of communal land ownership and taxation then extant in the rural areas and introduced private ownership. Land reform was followed by modernization of the government and the establishment of compulsory education. A second period of rapid change began in World War II with the American invasion and the establishment of military government.

175 The Japanese Impact (1879-1945) During the first twenty years of Japanese
423 administration relatively few changes were
177 introduced, but beginning with the land reform of 1899-1903 there followed a series of changes which completely altered the fabric of Okinawan society. The policies of the Japanese administration and the results of the long period of close contact with Japanese culture effected the conversion of Okinawans into Japanese nationals, destruction of the self-sufficiency of the rural village, modernization of government, weakening of the kin group, and greater participation in national life.

177 The transformation of Okinawans into Japanese nationals was accom-
871 plished through the establishment of a national school system which indoctrinated the students with the language and culture of Japan. Official Japanese policy aimed at the eradication of Okinawan culture; this was carried out through the schools and by means of repressive laws, police measures, and the
177 practice of discrediting things Okinawan. Although there was some Okinawan
829 reaction to this discrimination, the government was ultimately successful in creating a favorable response to Japanese culture. Its accomplishment was largely due to the close affinity of the Japanese and Okinawans. The linguistic and cultural resemblances between the two are so close as to make their differences bridgeable. A wider gulf might have produced antipathy, but instead the superior civilization of the Japanese came to be regarded as worthy of emulation.

177 The Japanese did discriminate against Okinawan culture, but as an alternative they offered, in theory at least, equal participation in their own culture. The process of assimilation was greatly facilitated by the cultural indoctrination of the schools; each successive generation came to feel and act more Japanese than the previous one. Okinawan culture was not eradicated, as the space of time was too short, but its creativity was reduced. An important factor in aiding the acceptance of Japanese culture was that the ideas and technology of the modern world came to Okinawa through Japan; hence, much of what was of foreign origin was accepted by the Okinawans as Japanese.

An important aspect of the change which came about under the Japanese
177 administration was the realization for the average individual of a greater
619 participation in the social and political life of the country. The mental

The mental
isolation of the farm village gradually decreased under a national system of 177
education, but the process did not end with schooling. Upon graduating, the 619
youth, male and female, were enrolled in a national young people's association. 575
Later the young men were drafted for service in the national army, and follow- [702]
ing discharge the veteran was enlisted in a local reserve association which
met frequently for military and social purposes. When a man married, estab-
lished a separate house, and began farming, membership in the farmer's associa-
tion was automatically conferred. His wife upon marriage transferred from the
young women's association to the women's association. There were, in fact, a
variety of national organizations covering the various phases and roles of
the individual's life; membership was never a matter of choice, but a thing
automatically conferred. A stress on patriotism was a strong concomitant in
all of these. Membership gave to the individual a sense of participating in
a national society extending far beyond the limits of his small village.

It should be stressed that most Okinawans regard the Japanese as pro- 177
viders of modern, enlightened government. The Japanese administration abol- 829
ished the old class divisions and freed the peasant from his serf-like status. [565]
Taxes on arable land were substantially reduced, and the villager for the
first time was given some voice in government above the village level. Modern [671]
law courts were introduced and justice was administered impartially, not on a
class basis as was formerly done.

Inadvertently, perhaps, official Japanese policy did much to destroy 177
the self-sufficiency of the farm village. Prior to the land reform, sugar 621
production did not exceed local needs, but government encouragement and sub- 433
sidy so increased production that by the time of World War II it exceeded con-
sumption by 900%. This resulted in a food shortage which necessitated heavy
importations of basic cereals to compensate.

Japanese manufactured goods also contributed to the decline in self- 177
sufficiency. Factory-made cloth gradually displaced home-woven fabrics, and 439
accordingly cotton and fiber banana were no longer raised. The tools, uten- 433
sils, and machines of the factory slowly replaced the simpler devices used [249]
in the village.

Abolition of the system of communal land tenure contributed to a weak- 177
ening of the family and particularly of the large extended kin group. The 602
introduction of private property and Japanese laws of inheritance served to 423
create a landless element which often emigrated from Okinawa in search of land [147]
or jobs elsewhere. Where formerly the kin group had clustered in certain
localities, they now became dispersed over great areas, making continued inter-
action difficult and often impossible.

Sixty-six years of Japanese rule resulted in a fairly successful amal- 177
gamation of Okinawa into the Japanese state; though the Okinawan language and
culture were not destroyed, they were severely altered.

<u>Impact of World War II and the American Occupation</u> The war destroyed vir- 727
tually all of rural and
urban Okinawa, and resulted in the death of twenty percent of the population.

727 Much of the civilian population was herded into internment camps early in the campaign, and many remained there for over a year. The people were so scattered about the land that today nearly every village has a number of families new since the war. The effects of the destruction, loss of life, and displacement were far-reaching---families were shattered, whole villages were moved, fields were ruined, countless homes and buildings were demolished, and the records of government were lost or destroyed. In short, the land was laid waste and its people impoverished.

The effect on the people is best summarized by two frequently-heard statements: "After the war we were left with only the will to live, nothing more," and, "After the war everyone was equal."

177 727 Okinawa's small area, large population, and the sizable number of Americans proportionate to that population put the two peoples in close proximity to one another. Certainly the mere presence of foreign troops and their military administration has far-reaching implications in terms of culture change. This close proximity, however, might be easily exaggerated in so far as actual interaction is concerned. The social and cultural barriers separating American and Okinawan have been so great as to preclude large scale interactions, and, consequently, actual change which might result from this interaction has not been as great as might be expected.

177 829 In contrast to the Japanese administration the American military government has not been culturally repressive with regard to Okinawans. Quite likely the Okinawan does not feel as embarrassed or defensive about his culture before an American as he did before a Japanese. The important factor, however, is that the Japanese held out cultural assimilation and equality in their own culture as an alternative to the Okinawan. As the differences were not too great, the Okinawan came to think of himself as Japanese. On the other hand, the difference between the American and Okinawan is so great as to make assimilation most difficult, even if both parties desired it, which they do not. Consequently, though Japanese political control is no longer exercised, Japanese culture is admired as much as ever. The close cultural and racial ties between the two peoples and the continuance of what is essentially a Japanese education in the schools have done much to perpetuate this.

Okinawans greatly admire the wealth and technology of the Americans, but American social, political, and ethical-religious beliefs and practices, which are not so easily observed, have not made any real impression. Precisely because American wealth and technology are so superior to their own, they conceive of Americans as a people addicted to material things. They are not at all convinced that American social institutions are superior to theirs.

177 727 178 Despite undoubted good intentions, the legislation and proclamations enacted by the military government have had but slight effect on the social system. It is one thing to liberalize laws on police powers, suffrage, and human rights, and quite another to have them carried out in the spirit that was intended. The men of the farm village acknowledge that women may hold [54] public office according to the law but say that they (the men) will never permit this to happen. In most cases a potentiality for change has been noted rather than an actual change; it remains to be seen whether acceptance will ultimately occur.

Elongated roadside settlements seem to be an increasing phenomena of post-war Okinawa. In central Okinawa (Nakagami) this is particularly apparent in the areas of military camps, where the commercial value of being on the road is fully exploited. Numerous car-washing establishments, repair shops, laundries, souvenir shops, etc., line the roadsides in these settlements. With current expansion and improvement of the highway system there seems increasing likelihood that more settlements of this type will develop. 178 361 [443]

Houses and Buildings Architectural styles and the materials of construction appear to have changed but slightly as a result of the war. There are now thousands of small temporary huts made of scrap materials which will suffice until the individual family can afford a more permanent structure. When new houses are built, the styles are closely similar to those of the prewar period. The major change in the style of country houses appears to have occurred during the Japanese period of administration, for early travelers and investigators report that the typical farmer's dwelling consisted of woven bamboo walls, thatch roof, and dirt floor. These are but rarely found today, and where they do occur, there is always a raised floor as in the case of the Japanese home. In certain areas, such as Kitazato for example, there has been a reversion to this house of woven bamboo and thatch due to poverty, a lack of wood, and the readily available bamboo. The prewar house of wooden walls and frame with a tile roof still remains the most common house type and that which is most frequently built. 178 342 [171]

The use of concrete blocks in building is attributed to American influence; however, their usage to date has been limited mostly to non-residential buildings. Roofing of corrugated iron is sometimes used, but it is regarded as a temporary device. [177]

Interiors have changed but little; rooms are usually relatively bare of furnishings. Frequently the walls are covered with pictures taken from Japanese and American magazines. 177 178 353

The enclosed yard surrounding the Okinawan house often contains considerable evidence of the war. Oil drums have been put to use as rain barrels and privies; American helmets are frequently found serving as pails or buckets; old shell cases are used for support and occasionally, if a sufficient number are available, for decorative fencing; sections of portable landing-strips serve as sidewalks; and on one occasion a Japanese machine-gun was observed in use as a clothes pole. 177 351

Crafts There has been a marked decline in Okinawan handicrafts and a greater reliance placed on factory-made products. The manufacture of cloth, baskets, rope, hats, pottery, raincapes, mats, sandals, etc. has dropped markedly in comparison to the prewar era; yet, it is acknowledged that the war only served to accelerate the decline. Several factors are involved in this process. In many cases the Japanese factory products are cheaper and better than the local article. The cultural domination of Japan also created an attitude that things Ryukyuan were inferior to things Japanese; hence, Japanese products and styles assumed an ascendancy over those of Ryukyuan origin. Lastly, the war destroyed many of the places of manufacture and the machinery employed, and replacement has never been made. 177 178 433 28 [329] [727]

Education The Japanese established the first schools in the rural areas some time before World War I. Great emphasis was placed on making Japanese speakers and nationals out of Okinawans. Today most of the population is bilingual; those who speak only a dialect of the Ryukyuan language are persons over sixty and pre-school children. Most Okinawans have come to regard themselves as Japanese. 871 177 [191] [829]

A major change in the postwar educational system has been the addition of three years to the period of compulsory schooling, making a total of nine years. Since the schools continue to provide a Japanese education, the effect will be to increase the Japanization of Okinawa, raise literacy, and ultimately make all speakers bilingual. As a student is usually excused from all work by the family, this measure has served to withhold a large number of teenagers from the labor market.

In the rural areas the author heard frequent praise for the extension of the schooling period and the new school construction program initiated by the military government. Most rural peoples stated that educational opportunities were poor for them in the prewar period; high school education was said to be particularly difficult for a village child to achieve. Now they feel that they are realizing equality with the urban areas. The urbanite is more likely to suggest that the quality of education has deteriorated in the postwar period. Both rural and urban people were agreed that one decided improvement has been that students no longer fight among themselves. Before and during the war all students were organized into small groups based on area of residence; each group was headed by a student leader who shepherded his charges to and from school in semi-military formation. Rivalry between these organized groups frequently led to gang fighting so severe that the intervention of teachers or police was often necessary to restore order. 871 369 178 877 178

Rural people regard education as providing one of the best opportunities for improving one's status; consequently, the improvement of educational opportunities will have far-reaching effects on social mobility. Those who acquire a high school or university education rarely remain in the village, and the few who do remain adopt an occupation other than farming. 871 554

Economy Money was virtually non-existent in the old Okinawan village; barter was the chief means of exchange. Taxes under the communal land holding system were paid in grain and cloth. The land reforms initiated by the Japanese brought the introduction of tax payments in cash. Increasing emphasis on sugar production due to governmental encouragement and subsidy did much to destroy the self-sufficiency of the village and brought dependence on a cash crop. The period of Japanese administration was marked by a gradual adoption of a money economy in the rural areas. 437 436 178 177

Okinawans state that there is a far greater amount of money in the village today than in the prewar period. Some assert that due to governmental price controls they were never able to realize a fair return for their products (chiefly sugar) in the prewar era, but the great increase in money in recent years seems largely attributable to factors relating to the military occupation. Today over twenty-five percent of the total labor force is employed by the military and in subsidiary occupations such as construction; this steep rise in 434 178 [435] [464]

where they are observed there are generally few participants. Also many ceremonies have lost all meaning save that of custom, which is considered sufficient reason for their observance. 796 178

The authors heard dissatisfaction expressed with regard to current funeral practices. At one bone-washing ceremony witnessed by the author, several of the men stated that the practice was pointless and should therefore cease. Statements favorable to the Japanese practice of cremation were frequently heard. 764 765 829

Urbanization Prior to Japanese annexation there existed a sharp urban-rural dichotomy in Okinawan culture. This might best be characterized as a rural peasantry and an urban gentry-nobility. The latter group was in contact with Japan and China and was literate, while the former was divided into many small, isolated villages, lived in a state of serfdom, and was largely uneducated. The urban culture was strongly influenced by its foreign contacts, but in the rural areas an indigenous culture was preserved virtually untouched by outside influences. 369 177 [565]

The Japanese impact was first felt in the urban areas, and the city of Naha gradually assumed the characteristics of a Japanese city. It became the center for the diffusion of things Japanese into the countryside. Despite a number of important changes---abolition of communal land tenure, introduction of private property, gradual penetration of a money economy, introduction of schools and national organizations---rural-urban differences remained strong. The character of the village tended to remain homogeneous and conservative, and contacts with the city were infrequent. When one emigrated from the village, the move usually was to a point outside the country rather than to another part of the island.

World War II shattered the isolation and homogeneity of the village. The American occupation coupled with the cumulative effect of the change initiated by the Japanese has served to bring the village into a closer relationship with the urban areas. The result has been the urbanization of the rural areas. By means of newspapers, motion pictures, and radio the villager has come to share the cultural life of the city. Rural-urban differences in diet, dress, education, entertainment, mobility, and values are tending to disappear. Marked improvements in transportation have given the villager a new mobility, enabling him to participate in the labor market of the city and giving new outlets for his products. The nature of the village is increasingly more heterogeneous due to the presence of newcomers, increased occupational specialization, and greater interaction with the outside world. There is a greater reliance on goods produced by industrial society, and a number of villagers commute daily to a place of employment in the city or in nearby military installations. The trend is toward an ultimate disappearance of rural-urban differences; the process is one that is well advanced in the United States, but in Okinawa it is in an early stage. 369 177 178 621

Conclusion Okinawa has been in a process of change for over fifty years. World War II and the American military occupation have served to accelerate greatly the forces for change. Despite this, Okinawan culture has not been overwhelmed and has managed to preserve its identity. A number of 177 178

[Yamada]

regarded as adequate. Also, some of the land that was returned some time ago still has construction materials on it that must be removed. I also heard the complaint that it was not possible to gather fuel in certain areas in the mountains behind the village. One of the units there is said to fire upon Okinawans who approach the fence around it. So far as I know, no one has been hurt. The fact that Okinawans have been known to appropriate fence wire as scrap metal may be the cause of the apparent hostility of this unit. The villagers have no other contact with it. 621 727

Attitudes In 1945 when the American forces were landing on Okinawa the people of Yamada were trembling in their caves and dugouts expecting that if they survived the bombing of the planes they would probably be shot by the troops. One way or another a few people did lose their lives. One man was shot by an American soldier while trying to run away after coming out of his cave. Another Yamada man, who was teaching school in Kunigami at the time, is said to have been found by an American soldier while travelling with his family through the hills; the soldier made him put down the child he was carrying and then shot him where he stood, before the eyes of his wife and children. Two Yamada girls are said to have been raped. Whether these stories are true or not they are factors in the formation of attitudes toward Americans. Yet stories of such incidents are few and amount to little compared to the treatment that most Okinawans expected to receive at the hands of the Americans. Stories of unexpected kindness shown by the Americans in 1945 are numerous and are not forgotten. Nor are the few atrocity stories, though the balance is undoubtedly well on the credit side.

The variety of the experiences that the people of Yamada have had with Americans tends to make them see, I believe, more clearly than many Americans see, the necessity for avoiding generalizations and judging the individual on the basis of his own merits. One can find individuals who have had a wide range of experience even in a remote Okinawan village. One evening in Yamada I sat listening to the war stories of two brothers. Both had spent some time in Japan. One had lived in Manchuria as a settler, had seen the Kuomintang chase the 8th Route Army and vice versa, had finally been captured himself by the Russians and had managed, according to his account, to escape by making off with a Russian truck. The other brother matched this story by telling how he had been captured by the Americans and taken as a prisoner to Hawaii, where he had spent a year working at a laundry. He delighted us with his stories about the good food, the lazy guards, and how he had made off with large quantities of GI clothing by going back to the compound each night wearing several shirts and two and three pairs of pants. Despite their belief in ghosts and spirits, in matters of human relations these are mature and sophisticated men. They know that not all Americans are good, not all are bad, some are industrious, some are lazy, most are honest, but some are dishonest. On several occasions, while somewhat in his cups, the older of the two assured me that "the words are different but the heart is the same". This perhaps summarizes the faith of a good many Okinawans. 621 727 829

To summarize Okinawan-American relations in Yamada: There have been both formal relations between the neighboring unit and the village and school and informal relations between some of the men of the unit and some of the 621 727 199

2. Military Employment

W. P. Lebra

464 An important factor in contemporary Okinawan life is the large number of people engaged in military employment or in subsidiary occupations. Over [177] twenty-five percent of the total Okinawan labor force is so employed, and their day-to-day contact with Americans has far-reaching implications for Okinawan-American relations. It is also a factor of prime importance to the Okinawan economy.

In studying and visiting a number of Okinawan communities the authors noted a considerable variation in the importance of military employment to the community, the role of those so employed in village life, and the attitude of the villagers toward these people.

621 727 Kanegusuku The farming village of Kanegusuku was less affected than most communities by the war and subsequent occupation, little land was ruined, no military installations are in the area, and the majority of villagers are attempting to carry on as before the war.

621 464 Out of a total population of 507 persons, constituting 103 houses, there are but twenty men employed outside the village. Of these twenty men, seven are directly engaged in military employment and eight more are employed by civilian construction companies engaged in military construction. These individuals commute from the village each day to the greater Naha area. In most cases these men come from houses which have insufficient land for mere subsistence, or they are younger sons who are without land and/or who have not married and set up households of their own. Several are newcomers to the village since the war.

621 464 166 In the past a few who have secured jobs in military establishments or in subsidiary employment have left the village and established temporary residence in the city or near the camp. One of the motivating factors for making the move is a monthly saving of ¥600 ($5.00) in bus fares, but certainly another and perhaps stronger motivation has been the desire to escape the dreary life of the farm village. These people say that they do not wish to return to the village; yet, they have retained their land as an insurance 621 464 against job loss. Most do not seem to regard military employment as a permanent career. They hope to save enough money to establish a small business 829 or at the last resort to return to the village and buy more land.

Villagers regard those who have been able to secure military employment as rather fortunate individuals. In most families the additional income [511] is most welcome as it provides a standard of living considerably above subsistence farming. In the case of those families where the husband or house- [462] hold head is employed outside the village the wife usually farms the family vegetable plots.

621 464 In most cases those who are engaged in military employment, or in any employment outside the village, do not play an active role in village affairs.

621 464 Only five of these are household heads entitled to vote in village elections or assume village office, but because their jobs keep them out of the community much of the time, they are not given village offices. There is some feeling on the part of the villagers that they are out of touch with the affairs of a farming village; consequently, their influence in the village thus far has not been too great.

621 727 464 Jagaru and Tobaru The villages of Jagaru and Tobaru in Chatan-son offer a marked contrast to Kanegusuku in terms of the importance of military employment to the community. These two contiguous communities are hemmed in on all sides by military installations. They constitute little more than housing areas within a township that has lost, according to its officials, approximately 91% of its land to military installations.

[241] [178] Formerly nearly all of the families were engaged in farming as a full-time occupation; today less than one-sixth are farming and not all of these are able to depend on it for their sole support. Military employment has replaced farming as the chief occupation of these villages. In October of 1953 there were 2,352 persons out of a total population of 10,411 who were employed in military jobs. In addition there were a number of business establishments which were dependent on the trade of military personnel.

621 464 [434] The welfare of Jagaru and Tobaru is wholly dependent on military employment. In the fall of 1953 there were rumors of an anticipated cut of 10% in the over-all Okinawan labor force employed by the military. This would have made over two hundred individuals and their families without any source of income or means of livelihood. The people were much upset by this prospect as every family had at least one member employed in military jobs and were wholly or in part dependent on their income.

In contrast to Kanegusuku those who were engaged in military employment in these villages played an active role in community affairs. A great many of them are household heads, and they are not regarded as being out of touch with village affairs since the chief occupation of the villagers is military employment. While the Kanegusuku people regard securing a military job as good fortune, the people here regard it as a necessity. According to township officials most of this year's graduating class will look for jobs in the nearby installations.

621 464 829

The villagers are bitter because they feel that the military has not paid them adequate rentals for the use of their land. There is also some resentment over the conduct of troops in these communities during their off-duty hours. In short, though the villages are completely dependent on the military for their livelihood, they are bitter and resentful in their attitude toward it. The possibility of job losses seems likely to heighten this feeling.

621 727 464 Henza Shima The island of Henza off the east central coast of Okinawa differs from the above communities in that a large segment of its population is engaged in military employment and yet the village itself is far removed from any military installation. This village suffered but slight damage and no loss of life during the war. After the war over four hundred repatriates returned to the village, bringing its population up to approximately 4,900.

This island has long faced a serious problem of over-population and food shortage; it is not self-supporting in foodstuffs and mainly derives its livelihood from fishing, shipping and ferrying. It has long had a symbiotic relationship with the neighboring island of Takabanare, supplying fish and shipping-ferrying service in return for food, but this has not been rewarding enough in recent years to offset its rapid population increase. A general postwar decline in coastal shipping largely due to the marked improvement of land transportation in highways and vehicles has sharply reduced the number of jobs in this enterprise, and the return of the repatriates has only added to the number seeking jobs. Military employment, however, has filled this gap and staved off mass unemployment. 621 464 505 433 [438]

At the present time nearly one quarter of the village labor force is engaged in military employment. Nearly all of the repatriates and a large number of old residents have entered military employ. Some of these have established temporary residence on the mainland nearer the military installations. A large number, however, commute by ferry boat and bus each day to their place of employment, and at low tide it is possible to walk the mile across the tidal flats to the mainland. 621 464 [484]

There has long been a tradition for the men of Henza to be away from the village much of time, engaged in activities on the sea. Thus, those who are away much of the time in military employment are merely following a long-established pattern. Unlike the absent workers of Kanegusuku, these people are not considered to be cut off from village affairs. All farming activities, much of the family's economic affairs, and some of the functions of government are carried on by women, contrary to usual Okinawan practice. [562]

The villagers regard military employment as a blessing and feel that it has contributed significantly to maintaining village prosperity. Aside from military employment they have little contact with Americans, although a few boat-owners have rented their crafts to American fishing parties. The villagers and their officials recall with considerable fondness their military government officer in the early days of the occupation. To date Henza relations with Americans have been not only good but also profitable; in short, American stock is high on this island. [829] * 621 197 829

<u>Summary</u> On Henza and to a far smaller degree in Kanegusuku military employment has largely drawn off the surplus and largely landless population that formerly would have emigrated to other parts of the overseas Japanese empire. In Jagaru and Tobaru military employment has replaced farming as the chief occupation of the villagers. The contribution of military employment to the economy of Kanegusuku is negligible, although it should be noted that the number so engaged increased during the period of the author's study. In Jagaru, Tobaru, and Henza military employment is of vital importance to the village economy, and any sharp decrease will have severe repercussions. 464

<u>Okinawan Attitudes Toward Those Engaged in Military Employment</u> Okinawans make a sharp distinction in their attitudes toward men employed in military jobs and their attitudes toward women similarly employed. There seems to be no stigma of any sort attached to the male who has a job working for the Americans; in fact, 464 562 829

464 usually people tend to regard these persons as fortunate. During the entire
562 course of the author's stay on Okinawa he heard no sharp criticism of men who
829 were in military employment, yet many statements were heard about women who were so employed. This dichotomy seems to stem from the widely held belief that the American employers have sexual access to these women, particularly
[831] the maids. Okinawan culture affords its males a high degree of sexual freedom, but not its females.

464 It is said that the women who are employed by the military are cate-
554 gorized into several grades; the highest status is accorded to the office workers and PX clerks. These are followed by the kitchen and table maids, after which comes the maids who are employed in the dependent housing units; lastly there are the barracks maids, including those of the bachelor officers' and civilians' quarters. It is also claimed that these women can be distinguished on the basis of their dress. Supposedly the office workers and
[291] PX girls dress in the fashion of Japanese business women, whereas the housing
[197] and barracks maids dress in American styles which are considered loud and flashy.

464 It is claimed that many young men will not marry women who have been
554 maids in military installations. One young man asserted that these women were
582 no better than the "honeys" (a term used by Okinawans and GI's to designate the soldier's mistress).

464 The low status and pay (¥1200-1800, or $10-15 per month) for maids is
466 offset to a large extent by the gifts, food, and in many cases board which they receive from their employers. Despite the stigma there is no shortage
[465] of applicants for these jobs. Another factor is the free bathing privileges which ordinarily accompany these jobs. Very few Okinawan homes have a bath,
[515] and public baths cost the equivalent of ten cents in American money, a sizeable outlay for the Okinawan purse.

464 Most of the discrimination is directly attributable to the sexual
554 jealousy of the Okinawan male toward the women who work and often live in
829 close daily contact with Americans. There also seems to be some discrimination against any women in the category of maid, whether employed by American or Okinawan; in the past these were often indentured servants who had been sold by their parents into this low status.

186 <u>Okinawan Attitudes toward Their American Employers</u> It was the author's im-
829 pression that even those who had worked in close daily contact with Americans for a considerable period of time shared much the same stereotypes of the American as those held by the general public. It must be remembered that the points of emphasis in any stereotype are often those traits which seem obvious because they are so unfamiliar and hence not understood by the person of a different culture. Secondly, in every stereotype there is undoubtedly some considerable measure of truth; the important factor is the base of reference. Both Americans and Okinawans judge one another on the basis of different values and cultural backgrounds.

The following statements were made by persons who were employed by Americans, and are typical of those frequently made: 186 829

"Americans are very impolite and always in a hurry."

"For such big people they are very gentle."

"We are all afraid of your (American) women." This statement was made by a male.

"Americans are very rich."

"The corporal who was my boss received a salary of about $500 a month, I think."

"Americans do not stay angry very long."

"We say Americans are like children with their feelings." This refers to the American openly displaying his emotions where an Okinawan would hold himself in check.

American Attitudes toward Okinawan Employees The novel and play, Teahouse of the August Moon, well depicts the American stereotypes of the Okinawans---the simple, child-like people who somehow by trickery and deception manage to frustrate the good intentions of their military administrators. When the play was briefly shown on Okinawa, the Okinawans reacted by objecting to being made to appear child-like and dirty in contrast to the Americans. 000

The following comments were obtained from casual conversations with Americans who had Okinawans under their direction or in their personal employ:

"They don't know the meaning of truth."

"...but can you really trust them?"

"You would think that after eight years (of occupation) they would have picked up some English!"

"All you have to do is ask something out of the ordinary, and they hold a conference. And after that you have to ask them for their decision, as they won't volunteer this information."

"Once an idea is installed in their minds, they will hold it forever."

"After all, they really are like children, you know."

Most Okinawan comments about Americans centered on their wealth, the rushed nature of their lives, and their impoliteness. American commentary on Okinawans stressed tardiness, untruthfulness, and lack of initiative. It is amusing to note that both groups regarded the other as rather child-like. It 186 829

It
186 is also important to keep in mind that the relationship is always one of
829 American employer to Okinawan employee; consequently, the American is most
177 often the initiator of action.

464 434 Conclusion In a number of Okinawan communities military employment has drawn off the surplus population which formerly had emigrated. In not a few communities it has become the mainstay of the economy.

464 829 554 Most Okinawans regard military employment as economically advantageous. There is no stigma attached to men who are so employed, but considerable stigma is attached to women who take this employment, particularly the maids.

177 618 464 The American installations are dependent to no small degree upon their Okinawan employees, and in turn many Okinawan individuals and communities are wholly dependent upon the military for their livelihood. Their relationship is a symbiotic one which can best be enhanced by mutual understanding; yet the social distance between the Okinawan and American is so great as to make interaction on a basis of equality rare. Because of their different cultural backgrounds and their job situations, both remain ignorant of the other's motives and values, and mutual understanding is difficult if not impossible. Common [171] denominators in both cultures might be sought as a means of bridging this gap, as, for example, their common love of sports.

3. Japan, America, and Okinawa

W. P. Suttles

829 Japan in Retrospect Okinawan attitudes toward Japan are decidedly ambivalent. Factors that have entered into the formation of these attitudes are as follows:

175 648 829 1) Historic Relations On the negative side are the historic separation and former independence of Okinawa. This separate status is still remembered by old people, some of whom speak of wars between Okinawa and "Yamatu" (Yamato, that is, Japan). Several illiterate old people seemed to make no distinction between the conquest and oppression of Okinawa by the feudal state of Satsuma and the later annexation by the national government, and thus seemed to be blaming Japan as a whole for wrongs done by Satsuma.

171 174 177 829 On the positive side there is the indisputable remote common origin and basic similarity of the Japanese and the Okinawans. Racially, linguistically, and culturally the Okinawans are closely related to the Japanese. They may be said to be merely a kind of Japanese. It is highly probable that the majority of the ancestors of the Okinawans came from the north, from Japan, in the not too remote past. Their isolation made it possible for them to be politically independent and their political independence made it possible for them to escape the levelling influence of Japanese national governments, particularly that of the Tokugawa Shogunate, and for them to have closer contact with China. This accounts for their having a number of elements of Chinese culture that are not found in Japan, but it does not make them a kind of Chinese.

2) Japanese Political Administration On the negative side is the domination, during the period of Japanese administration, of Okinawan public life by men from Japan. But on the other hand Okinawa became another perfecture and not a colony, and there were possibly not many more men in Okinawa from Japan's urban centers than in other remote and poor perfectures. As Japanese subjects in a Japanese prefecture, Okinawans could rise in the Japanese system and indeed a few did. The position of Okinawa was quite different from that of Korea. 648 829

Insofar as the Japanese policy of assimilation was successful, the fact that most of the important posts in the prefectural government were occupied by men from Tokyo could be ignored. If the Okinawans identified themselves as Japanese the difference would be less important. (The degree of Japanese domination and the harshness of the regime, moreover, seem to have become exaggerated in the minds of many of the Americans on Okinawa at present; some of the USCAR personnel with whom we talked appeared to be unaware of the fact that Okinawa had the same legal status as other parts of Japan.)

3) Japanese Assimilation Policy The policy of the Japanese government and particularly that of the Ministry of Education was undoubtedly one of cultural imperialism. The aim was to produce a uniform people. A strong attempt was made to eradicate the native language and many native customs that did not agree with Japanese ideals, the periodic redivision of land ('jiwari seido') and the use of the pigpen as a toilet, to name two. School teachers labelled the Okinawan language a "dialect" of Japanese, thus giving it inferior status, and labelled many Okinawan beliefs "superstitions". The army also undoubtedly attempted to replace Okinawan with Japanese ideals in many young men. These attempts may have produced hostility in some Okinawans, but it is our impression that the more usual result was to produce merely a feeling of inferiority. Okinawan speech and culture went down in value and Japanese speech and culture went up. Younger Okinawans who could not speak good Japanese felt inferior, but within the Japanese hierarchy. Moreover, in recent years Okinawan speech and customs have been given new prestige as museum pieces by the fact that outstanding Japanese scholars have devoted some attention to them. 648 177 829 152

4) Treatment of Okinawans in Japan Undoubtedly Okinawans who went to Japan in the twenties and thirties to look for employment were disiscriminated against by Japanese employers. A great number of Okinawans went to Osaka to work in the textile mills. Accounts of informants reveal that the mill foremen stereotyped Okinawans as lazy and unreliable and did not hesitate to say so. (In view of the conditions of labor, Americans in the same position might well have earned the same stereotype.) Some mills did not hire Okinawans if they could avoid it. 167 464 177

In rural Japan people were in utter ignorance of Okinawa. Students who were evacuated in 1944 to Kyushu discovered this. One young man told how the peasants in Miyazaki-ken thought that Okinawans were South Sea Islanders and expected them to come wearing clothes made of the leaves of trees and expected to have to teach them how to cook rice. 000

829 726 5) War Experiences Many younger and even middle-aged men saw service in the war, some in Manchuria, China, and Southeast Asia. Their experiences of course varied. One well-educated man told me how pleasant he found Burma and how much he would like to return there as a civilian; he had been in the Japanese Military Government there. Others returned from the war to tell of terrible experiences. One story, which was said to be well-known around Itoman, told how an Okinawan whose unit was making a last stand deserted to surrender to the Americans when he was warned by a friend that as an Okinawan he had been chosen to go into the pot for dinner.

824 On the home front old people, women, and children were able to see the army at first hand during the last few months before the battle, when many units prepared to defend the island. Many civilians saw the harsh army discipline and saw, we were told, how when army rations became short the officers continued to eat well while the men had to loot from the fields of the civilians. They remember the Korean labor units, some of whom in the south were detailed to cut the Okinawan farmers' trees to build defenses. They also remember the 'Chōsen-P', the Korean girls brought by the Japanese army to serve as prostitutes for the men; some informants believed the Japanese army's system of army brothels to be superior to the policy of the American army.

In general the present Okinawan view of the late Japanese army is not a flattering one. But it must be emphasized that most informants seemed quick to distinguish between the Japanese army and Japanese civilians, army policy and national culture.

177 829 [724] 6) The Present Scene The Japanese government's present display of interest in Okinawa, as seen for example in the recent granting of pensions to survivors of war dead, the renewed interest of Japanese scholars in Okinawan culture, and the movie industry's "Okinawa boom" have made an impression on the Okinawans. The government's interest may be mainly political; the interest of the scholars, however, is genuine, and the reasons for the 829 movie boom too may run deeper than propaganda considerations. Okinawa was 724 the only part of Japan, the only one of the forty-six prefectures, that was 177 actually defended against a landing. The people of Okinawa were the only Japanese who fought to protect their homeland from invasion. And thus the people of Okinawa-ken showed the greatest heroism of any Japanese. This, potentially, is the argument that may one day raise the status of Okinawans to great heights in the Japanese scheme of things, apart from any conscious policy on the part of the Japanese government. Many Okinawans may be well aware of their latent heroism as a group. What they actually did go through as individuals must not be minimized and may well motivate some to try to derive some reward from it. (I must admit that this is speculation; I have not been told by any Okinawans that they are, or might be considered to be, the most heroic of the Japanese, but I believe that this interpretation is inherent in the situation.)

177 829 On the other hand, the differentiating treatment that Okinawans met in Japan in the past is still there too. Recently a volleyball team went to Japan, where, it is said, the first meal served them consisted of bread while the Japanese teams around them were served rice. When they objected they were told that it was understood that the Okinawans had become wholly Americanized

in diet and therefore ate bread instead of rice. The Okinawans objected and thereafter got rice too. 177 829

The few Japanese who are on Okinawa at present working mainly as contractors for the military are often spoken of contemptuously as 'Japani', but politely they are spoken of as 'Naichijin', "persons from the mainland [of Japan]". The term 'Nihonjin' still includes the Okinawans as far as most Okinawans are concerned. 186 829

These are some of the factors contributing to the attitudes that Okinawans feel toward Japan as such. Although there is overlapping, they must be distinguished from the basis of attitudes toward the possible reversion of Okinawa to the status of a Japanese prefecture. I shall discuss attitudes toward reversion after looking at some of the attitudes that exist toward the United States. 829

Attitudes toward the United States I shall confine myself to a discussion of attitudes derived from contact with Americans on Okinawa. Okinawans call Americans Amirikaa in Okinawan, 'Amerika-jin' or 'Amerika-san' in Japanese. The last is the most polite term. Upon asking for a term corresponding to the 'ketō', "hairy barbarian", of the last century, I was told that Amirikaa in a scornful tone of voice conveyed the same feeling. The diminutive, Amirikaa-gwaa, is used either for the child of an American or somewhat slurringly for an adult American. (These terms are usually used only for white Americans; colored Americans are classified differently. See below.) The following are some of the factors contributing to attitudes toward Americans: 177 829

1) Behavior of Individual Soldiers On the positive side are numerous unsolicited acts of kindness on the part of many GI's and the relatively free and easy relationship that often develops between Americans and Okinawans who work together. On the negative side there is the normal rowdiness of GI's, their frequently belligerent behavior when drunk (which is quite different from the sort of behavior Okinawans can expect of drunks---see p.147), and their frequent open display of sexuality (also contrary to Okinawan standards). There have also been a few acts of violence.

2) View of American Military Life When they first came in contact with the American armed forces in 1945, the Okinawans were greatly impressed by the contrast American military life presented to that of the Japanese. Several Okinawans commented to me at that time on the fact that officers worked alongside the men, often working even harder, and on the fact that officers did not discipline the men by slapping them. Slapping, one commented, was the business of the Japanese army.

Today their impressions are probably somewhat different. The distinctions between officers and men are undoubtedly greater now than in 1945. Moreover, morale and efficiency also undoubtedly declined after the end of the war and are at present rather low. One of the SIRI team saw a unit on maneuvers in the mountains of Kunigami. The men had hired Okinawan women to carry their packs; the officers had evidently driven home for the night. The impression this makes needs no comment.

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829 3) View of American Social Life With the large number of American women and children now on Okinawa and the large number of Okinawans employed as domestic servants, there is considerable opportunity for Okinawans to observe American family life. However, they may very well be getting a somewhat distorted view of American life by trying to generalize from the rather luxurious quarters provided for American dependents and from the behavior of American women who have now, many for the first time in their lives, plenty of domestic help.

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829 4) Official Policy On the positive side, the Okinawans were impressed by the generosity of the Americans with relief, especially in the early days of the occupation, they are impressed with the highway and communication system the occupation has brought them, and they have much good to say about changes in the police system, education, and other aspects of government--along with criticisms, of course, as had been discussed elsewhere. On the negative side, the most persistent criticisms have to do with the land question and the question of self-government.

A chapter has already been devoted to the land question. To summarize the points pertaining to this discussion: many Okinawans feel, and apparently with some justification, that the Army has not paid adequate rental on land. In some instances the payments have not reached the owners at all. In addition some Okinawans feel that land has been unnecessarily diverted from its vital agricultural use. One example is the unused airfield next to the village of Kitazato; another would be the Awase Meadows Golf Course. The resentment felt about the loss of land is re-enforced by the important cultural theme that we have stated elsewhere: one must not interfere with the livelihood of another. The Army, by taking land and not paying adequately for it, has interfered with the livelihood of the farmers.

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829 The question of self-government, to be discussed adequately, would require a whole chapter on the history of GRI and its predecessors; since this study was aimed at the community level, the history and structure of GRI were not investigated. The gist of the argument is, however, that instead of progressing toward a greater degree of self-government the Ryukyu Islands are in fact slipping backward. The present GRI with its appointed chief executive replaced an organization with an elected chief. Hence one of the two major political parties has insisted on an elected chief executive. The other major party is that of the chief executive. Those who see the appointment of the chief executive by USCAR as undemocratic assert that USCAR's professions to be bringing democracy to Okinawa are simply not true. Occasional
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829 clumsy maneuvers on the part of USCAR have only provided them with more ammunition. For example, various labor organizations and the People's Party (which is pretty clearly affiliated with the Communist Party of Japan) were planning to stage a parade on the First of May, 1954. USCAR opposed this, apparently feeling that the participation of the People's Party would make it look like a Communist demonstration. But in opposing it USCAR asserted that May Day is strictly a Communist holiday and on several occasions gave it the label "Karl Marx Day". A number of Okinawans pointed out that May Day was originally an American Labor holiday that had nothing to do with Marx, quoted encyclopedia articles to prove it, and concluded that the USCAR officials were either ignorant or deliberately misrepresenting the truth.

Actually, of course, although the adoption of May Day as a labor holiday had nothing to do with Karl Marx, it has been preempted by the Communists throughout the world, and the added participation of the People's Party on this occasion would have made it a Communist demonstration irrespective of the origin of the holiday. 648 829

Another rumor, not about corruption but about official policy, is one that we heard several times to the effect that the cost of the American occupation and particularly of dependent housing is coming out of the taxes paid by Okinawans. To the people of as poor a country as Okinawa it is nearly incredible that a country could be so wealthy that it is willing to build hundreds of beautiful homes (at an estimated cost of $20,000 to $30,000 each) in such a distant spot. This sort of belief is undoubtedly very damaging to the American position.

<u>Attitudes toward American Negroes</u> Since the first days of the occupation there have been Negro troops stationed on Okinawa. The Okinawan view of them and especially of their status in relation to white Americans is worth noting. The Okinawans do not use the word "American" or its equivalent for Negroes, but instead use one of several other words. Perhaps the commonest is 'kurombō' ("black-boy"), which may be identified with the English derogatory term "nigger". At any rate many Negroes on Okinawa have evidently made the identification; they are said to become angry when they hear the term used. The standard term, corresponding to the English "Negro", is 'Kokujin', but this also is said to be unacceptable to some; therefore other terms may be used when speaking of a Negro in his presence. One such term is 'iro-otoko', which means literally "color-man", but figuratively, "lover". The Okinawan attitudes toward Negroes are conditioned by three factors, Japanese racial attitudes, their observation of Negro-white relations on Okinawa, and the behavior of the Negro troops. 186 829

The Japanese are, or were before the Pacific War, a race-proud people. They classified the peoples of the South Seas and Southeast Asia as 'dojin', "natives", and their attitudes toward them were inclined to be colonial, exploitive, and superior. It is quite likely that Okinawans identify the American Negroes as 'dojin'. They probably have no concept of "colored" races; they certainly do not identify themselves with the Negroes as non-white. But since many Okinawans are aware that some Americans look upon Okinawans as a sort of "native people", the attitudes of white Americans toward non-white Americans are of especial interest to them.

In observing the American Army's treatment of Negroes the Okinawans have seen segregation and some discrimination. At present there are de jure no segregated units as there were during the Pacific War, but a unit at an ammunition dump near a village studied is still referred to as the 'kurombō butai'. The behavior of the Negro troops themselves is probably on the average a bit rowdier and less inhibited than that of the whites, partly because of an average lower education and partly because of some cultured differences especially in patterns of recreation. This behavior probably together with some stereotypes picked up from white Americans has made many Okinawans somewhat afraid of Negroes. Relations seem to be better, however, in those

186 areas where Negroes are more numerous and have become better known. The
829 presence of Negro officers and others of higher status undoubtedly does much to demonstrate to Okinawans that it is possible for non-whites to rise in the American system.

Attitudes toward Other Peoples The Ryukyuan kingdom was once a vassal state of China and had considerable direct contact with China. Among some older Okinawans things Chinese still are valued. However, the younger people who expressed any opinion to us on China and the Chinese expressed opinions almost bordering on contempt. The years of lack of national unity and of Japanese aggression have left their mark on the Okinawan view of China. The news that a group on Formosa has agitated for a reversion of Okinawa to Nationalist China can hardly have been taken seriously by anyone.

Attitudes toward the Filipinos are probably also colored by Japanese attitudes toward "natives" and by American discriminatory practices in wages. Moreover, the fact that many of the Filipinos who have worked on Okinawa speak very poor English probably gives them a lower status in the eyes of the Okinawans.

668 The Status of Okinawa There is certainly no unanimity of opinion on what
829 would be the most desirable status for Okinawa. As I have tried to indicate, attitudes toward both Japan and the United States are varied and ambivalent. Both practical considerations and emotional reasons have motivated some Okinawans to agitate for reversion to Japan. For most reversionists reversion appears to mean simply political reversion, return of the political administration to Japan; the majority of reversionists do not seem to be saying "Yankee Go Home"; they grant the necessity of military bases on Okinawa both for the military security of the Far East and at present for the economic security of Okinawa. This seems to be the point of view of the Social Mass Party, which won nearly half the seats in the last election.

Generally those who feel that they would gain materially by the reversion of Okinawa are teachers and other state employees who feel that they have lost status, the owners of land being used by the military who feel that reversion would bring the rental up to standards paid in Japan, and some politicians who want to participate in Japanese national as well as local politics. Generally those who would stand to lose by reversion are the businessmen, because of the increase in taxes and the free competition from the large Japanese industries that reversion would bring, the skilled and semi-skilled laborers who might be replaced by Japanese if free movement were permitted between Japan and Okinawa, and again some of the present political leaders.

However, there are emotional reasons for embracing reversionism that may far outweigh practical considerations. In the chapter on family life
[152] and again in the chapter on health I stressed one of the basic anxieties created within Okinawan culture---the fear of being cut off from parents, the fear of being cut off from the deceased ancestors, the fear of being alone.

The frequent use of the word 'sabishii', "lonely", expresses this anxiety. One often hears that Okinawa is a 'sabishii' place. The frequent use of the term 'sokoku', "ancestral country", in reversionist literature suggests that this anxiety is operating in the realm of politics too. Many Okinawans do not want to stand alone. They want to be part of a larger system. They cannot identify themselves with the United States or with any other country but Japan and so even though they recognize that Japan in the past did not always treat them fairly, they would still prefer to be part of Japan. This I believe is part of the emotional basis of reversionism; it has its roots in the Okinawan family and Okinawan religion. 668 829 152

For the politically more sophisticated reversionist we must add the discontent he feels with the present regime and the hope that reversion would mean greater political freedom. This type might be more numerous still if it were not for the obvious economic difficulties that reversion would bring, to say nothing of the chaos that would come if American forces were to pull out altogether. 668 829

tion between couples is not seen in public. Men and women are teased by the community if they are seen standing and talking together. One or several boys teasing a girl would be the boldest advance seen in public. Although, even at night, we never observed couples pairing off in or near the village, we were told that a boy and a girl would arrange private meetings. It is our impression that there is more self-consciousness about love-making than there used to be. 584 178

Although there is little occasion for intimacy between a couple during times when other villagers are around, young men and women associate frequently in larger groups during the week in community-wide activities of the Young People's Association. During the many hours which are spent in club meetings, work projects, and other social activities, there is a comraderie between young men and women which effectively neutralizes the formal social distance that is maintained in the traditionally separate seating arrangements. There is, nevertheless, a certain embarrassment and almost clumsy behavior of young men toward the better poised and adroit girls, at least in the presence of strangers like ourselves. 584 575

Young men may seek intimacies with girls of other villages, but in doing so they risk the ire of the young men there. It is also possible that a Taira girl agrees to an intimate relationship with someone in another village where she may feel safer from detection. Young men are more likely to seek a girl with whom an arrangement for a meeting away from her home can be made. The girl, of course, suffers public disapproval if the couple is detected, while a man is not subject to the same criticism. In contrast to girls, men have many more opportunities for sexual relationships without public censure. 584 836 562

Sexual attraction does not seem decisive in selecting a mate for marriage, although beauty is appreciated in a woman with long, black hair, a dark arched eyebrow, fair skin, a prominent nose, small mouth, and large eyes. Younger people are beginning to adopt some of the American standards of beauty, which are introduced through movies and magazines via Japan. Although the concept of romantic love is gaining in popularity, arranged marriages still outnumber love marriages in Taira. Even if a young man and woman reach an agreement about marriage, there follows a formal arrangement by their parents with the help of go-betweens, a trusted neighbor or a friendly couple, or a person who commands status and respect. If a man or his family are interested in arranging a marriage with a girl, the go-between notifies her family. Eventually word will reach the girl. If the suitor has not previously indicated his interest to the girl, she may voice her feelings and wishes to her mother, father, or to some other relative. If 581 584 826 177 831 584

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

cash income, earned by several adult members in joint work, or equal 585
to about one half of a teacher's monthly salary. The girl brings a dowry [583]
consisting of furniture, household utensils, and other things, so, as one
person said, the groom is repaid in one form or another. In former [582]
times the men had to pay a fine to the parents of the bride if she married out of the village (Suttles, personal communication; Tamura, 1927 translation:44).

Even under present conditions the wedding ceremony is colorful
compared to most other private ceremonies. All guests attend in their [292]
best clothes and the bride wears a special kimono and a special wig
hair dress. She is seated next to the groom, who wears Western-style
clothes instead of the traditional silk kimono. The whole ceremony
is presided over by the go-betweens. While preliminaries take place,
the bride sits almost motionless. Her face expresses what Glacken
describes as "undescribable gloom" (1955:218). This continues even
through the climax of the event, the ceremonial exchange of wine
which symbolizes the union of the participants. During this part of the
ceremony the guests, who have been enjoying food and sake and talk-
ing amicably, give this moment a solemn meaning by their silence.
Speeches by the go-between and other notables follow. The virtue of [537]
the bride and her family and of the groom are told and acknowledged
by a thank-you address by the groom. Parents of the couple sit close
to them but have no other function than to accept congratulations.
The bride then goes around introducing herself to the guests.

Children are not present at this event. They line up outside the [852]
house and peek through openings to see the bride and watch the
guests, who start dances as soon as good food and wine take effect.
After the formal part of the wedding, the feast ends like any such
event in the village—with great gaiety. The bride acts as hostess; she
changes from her kimono and heavy hair dress into more suitable
clothes and sees that the guests are well taken care of. The length of
this feast depends, of course, on how much food and drink the family is
able to provide. Finally, when all guests have left, the bride and groom
retire to the bedroom which has been reserved for them, sometimes [352]
furnished with one or two pieces, a chest of drawers or a Western-style
closet supplied by the bride's family. The bride also provides the [513]
comforter for the marriage bed. Friends of the groom may play a prank
and replace the normal-sized comforter with a small one, "so that the
marriage is consumated quicker," as they say.

Sexual relations between husband and wife are not discussed in 833
public except in jocular references. In spite of the intimacy of house-
hold members in the confinement of a small house, one attempts to 831

831 keep others from noticing sex activities. Keeping sex a private matter
833 does not mean that there is a feeling of shame or guilt. It is considered a natural function, and although they do not discuss marital relations, men feel free to mention sex and its pleasurable aspects. Such conversations seem to cause some embarrassment among the younger women but are thought entertaining by older ones.

To men, sex, like food and drink, is to be enjoyed and indulged in. Women, too, enjoy sex but are more reticent and give much less overt expression to their desires. There are stories about women who are sexually aggressive, but they are either characters in the folklore or women of a neighboring village who are said to be this way "because they don't work hard enough." Men enjoy sex activity until an advanced age. One man over 60 whose wife had long been dead twice took a young woman as second wife; in both cases the women left him after a short period, but dissatisfaction with his sexual capacity was supposedly not the cause. Several children in Taira were fathered by
[278] men who had passed their sixtieth birthday. People believe that potency depends on physical well-being and age, but that it can be
[262] produced by a special drink consisting of sake in which a poisonous
[273] snake, the *habu*, is steeped. As soon as one finishes drinking this brew, its effects should be felt. Sake, meat, and eggs are also thought to increase potency.

833 Women's breasts are considered sexually stimulating. Men like to caress the breasts and the skin in general. Kissing occurs during foreplay only among some younger couples; older people do not care for it. In a room or house, shared with others, few couples undress fully for intercourse. Moving the baby to one side of the mat or mattress, a husband joins his wife.

834 There are no pre- or postparturition taboos; relations continue
[843] throughout pregnancy and are resumed about a week after childbirth,
[846] when the wife has taken her first bath. Men tend to disregard the public health nurse's urging that women be given a little longer rest.

837 That extra marital affairs do occur is evidenced by the presence of
848 illegitimate children. But the mothers are likely to be widows or girls
732 who for one reason or another did not get married at the usual age. Deformity may be a reason for not finding a husband. Two children
[835] in Taira were claimed to be the issue of an incestuous relationship
[581] between a man and his widowed daughter. Although the children were conceived and born outside the village, people became suspicious after the family returned to Taira. Because the putative father failed to deny paternity strongly, villagers felt certain that their suspicions

574 for their special skills on the samisen (a three-stringed banjolike in-
533 strument covered with snake hide), open the singing and dancing with
the first, traditional song, *Kagiyadefu*, a solemn and slow piece which
[534] is rendered in the forced, nasal voice peculiar to Okinawan song. Im-
574 mediately after this, the tempo changes, the music takes a fast, stirring
beat, and the first dancer, a man, gets up.
535 Dances at social events can be performed by a single man or a woman, or by several dancers of either sex, but traditional group dances are done by women only. Taira people like to dance some of the many Okinawan dances in which a story, sung by the vocalists, is acted out. For example, a popular dance deals with a fisherman and his catch. A hat, hastily put on, and a basket under the arm suggest the role of the dancer, his body and hand movements the actions. No one is much concerned with accurate or highly artistic rendition of these familiar dances; many performances become simply improvisations in which one male dancer is joined by other men or women who, dancing freely, add their own versions to established movements. There is much applause and laughter from the audience around the dance floor, which sings and animatedly claps hands in rhythm to the music. As all, men and older women, imbibe more sake, they become gayer, and more talents are unleashed. Amusing presenta-
[831] tions of a husband and wife, in which sometimes aggression and sexual interaction are acted out playfully, are received with great hilarity by the audience. If such a suggestive performance is given by an old woman and a young man, it seems to appear even funnier. As they get tired, dancers leave the floor, making room for others.

[562] Not everybody participates with equal lack of restraint. Younger
[273] women do not drink sake and show much more inhibition; they dance established versions of Okinawan dances in group performances if called on, usually before the merrymakers take over. Often a mother, young child in arm, cannot resist. Passing the infant to a relative or a girl sitting nearby, she joins other dancers and becomes carried away by the spirit of the event. On one occasion a young woman, seeing her aged mother display her talents on the dance floor in comical movements to the delight of everybody, angrily demanded that she come home right away, only to be rejoined with a taunting remark by the old lady, who defiantly swallowed some more sake and continued her entertainment.

527 Not a single event that we attended was marred by any serious un-
273 pleasantness. No guest was ever seen to become sick, although some
578 men drank themselves into a stupor. Here and there a paper screen may
be broken as a result of a tumbling body, or a hard bang against a
574 thin panel may set the house shaking. But the end of such a feast

832 Sexual Relations and Prostitution. A married couple engage in sexual relations only when they are sure that they will be neither observed nor heard. If they have children they can have relations only after the children have fallen asleep and can be safely pushed to one side. The children are told nothing of the nature of sex and it is assumed that they are unaware of their [831] parents' relations. A married woman is expected to have relations with her husband only and at his pleasure. There are evidently no tabued positions or times, except for the period of menstruation. Relations may continue through [837] pregnancy and be resumed shortly after childbirth. The husband, however, may have relations with other women.

831 In spite of the secrecy regarding sex and the restrictions imposed upon women, at least women with husbands, there is no feeling of guilt connected with sex as is often the case in American society. Sex is regarded as a natural function. The feeling is probably more that it should be restricted for the good of society. Children should not know about it because, being foolish, they might try to imitate their elders; this seems to be a real fear. A man ought not to tolerate his wife's having relations with another. But he is free to enjoy the pleasures of sex as his means allows. If he can afford it he may go to the jurinuyaa or keep a mistress. His wife may become jealous, but she would be ashamed to become angry or scold him solely because of jealousy. The only valid argument that a wife may use against her husband's having relations with other women is that it costs money.

834 In public there is no demonstration of affection between husband and wife or between lovers. Behavior in public suggestive of sexual relations, such as kissing or embracing, is appropriate only at a brothel. I have seen very young couples walking hand in hand, but this is said to be a very recent development.

831 522 But there is considerable talk about sex, particularly joking, sometimes using metaphors, and sometimes in plainer language. This joking takes place most frequently at parties, but they may be in the home and in the presence of children, who are not expected to understand. These jokes do not involve married women. The relationships implied by the joking are between men and juri. An instance occurred at a gathering that consisted of relatives and one or two friends of the second son. After an hour or so of drinking the second son seized the 'shamisen' and sang a bit and then shouted, "I am --- Second Son. I am the best shamisen player. I am the best singer. I am the one who goes to the jurinuyaa the most." Everyone laughed, including the man's wife, who sat opposite with their children. Later I asked a member of the family if this boast had not made the wife feel uncomfortable. I was told that it probably did not, since there was no basis to the claim (though it turned out later that Second Son had been carrying on a secret affair with a married woman). But the informant admitted that a joke about the wife's having extramarital relations would not be funny, because it would be unlikely; the humor must lie in the possibility that the joke is the truth.

Another example occurred at the home of an older man whom my assistant and I tried to interview one evening. We were the only guests, but he

called for 'awamori'. After a few drinks he asked in a fairly serious manner, 831
"Have you bought a woman yet during your stay? You really ought to try an 522
Okinawan woman before you go." His daughter-in-law and two half-grown sons looked on in amusement. The question is not uncommon; on another occasion it was, "Have you tasted Okinawan women?"

In common talk, and perhaps in feeling, sex seems to be identified al- 548
most wholly with prostitution and the sex act with the hiring of a juri. The 831
sight of a seed boar being led across a field evoked the comment, "That pig's a man; he's on his way to buy a woman." Perhaps the above statement should be narrowed down to something like: the pleasurable aspects of sex are identified with prostitution. And sexual pleasure, like the pleasures of eating and drinking, singing and dancing, is something that guests may be treated to. (Hence the concern that the visitor sample all the pleasures that Okinawa offers and a pride in those for which it is famous.) In view of the fact that children grow up hearing about juri and jurinuyaa and associating them with other pleasures before they have any notion of their sexual functions, it is not surprising that when they become adults they display attitudes that are different from those found among Americans.

Before the war in the Tsuji district of Naha there were about three thousand juri.[1] The district was the center of the social life of the men [565]
of the upper classes. Business men, government officials, and teachers were entertained there. No doubt all did not "buy" juri, but sex was one of the principal commodities dispensed there. Also it is unlikely that the average farmer ever went there, but the indications are that he would have if he could have. A man is expected to want these things if he can afford them. The [184]
values of the farmer are not likely to be very different from those of the better-off city man. The jurinuyaa has played an important role in Okinawa society in the past and is not likely to disappear very soon.

Maturity and Old Age: Associations Men may continue to belong to the 575
'Seinenkai' until thirty; women drop 562
out at marriage. The reason that men stay longer may be to give greater continuity to the organization and to provide older members as leaders, but in view of the recreational activities of the organization it seems as likely that the rule is merely a part of the general tendency to give more freedom to men and more responsibility to women.

Adult Associations ('Seijinkai') are said to exist in some villages 575
but are not of any great importance. Associations formed by persons of the same age ('dōnenkai') also exist. In Japan such organizations are often com- [171]
posed of persons who were in the same class in school[2]; on Okinawa the number of older persons who attended school probably does not permit the formation of very large associations. The tendency among younger persons is not very noticeabe. Younger men may organize 'shōbōkai', volunteer fire brigades; such [368]
an organization patrolled the streets of Ishikawa nightly. We did not see any evidence of the persistence of any organizations based on former military [177]
service; the Japanese Army Reservists' Association may never have been very active on Okinawa.

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1 Yanagida, 1951, p. 309.

2 Embree, 1939, p. 163ff.

192 any kind of body dirt or excretion, as mii-kusu, "sleep" in the eyes, haa-
[578] kusu, "stains on the teeth". As in Japanese it is used also in cursing; in
[774] anger an Okinawan may say, "I'll make you eat feces." A similar phrase,
[775] kusu takkwee, "eat feces", is often spoken after someone, especially a baby, sneezes. It is explained that the custom arose when a person once overheard two ghosts plotting to steal a baby's soul (mabui), which may be easily detached by a sneeze; one of the ghosts revealed that if a living person spoke the phrase it would be sufficient to drive him away. The fact that the phrase is used in anger suggests that it is an undesirable one; but that it is used in the case of sneezing probably demonstrates the greater fear of ghosts.

• 831 Sex Practices and attitudes related to marriage have been discussed under that heading in Chapter V. The sex drive seems to be regarded as
864 natural and not sinful. Adults playfully tweak the penises of little boys and may put little children of both sexes to sleep by prolonged patting of the buttocks. They do not tell their children about the nature of sex and expect them not to know, yet the children hear much thinly-disguised discussion of sexual relationships and, sleeping with their parents as they do, may be vaguely aware of their parents' relations. Parents expect their children to learn of sex "naturally" as they grow older. As Maloney reports[1],
[839] there is little masturbation among small children, but two of Pitts' informants reported that adolescent boys sometimes hold masturbation contests to see who can ejaculate the fastest. This practice is said to stop with the beginning of heterosexual activity.

836 Formerly adolescents, except for girls of the gentry class, seem
883 to have had some sexual freedom. The practice of meeting in the fields at
178 night for parties, moo-ashibii, often led to sexual relations. According to informants in one community syphilis was brought in late in the last century through moo-ashibii with the youths of a neighboring village. Pre-marital sexual relations are probably frequent today, though the conditions under which young people meet are changing.

837 Married women are expected to have relations with only their hus-
548 bands, but married men are, in theory, limited only by their finances. There exists in the larger towns a relatively large class of women called juri, who function as both entertainers and prostitutes. (There is no distinction, like the Japanese distinction between 'geisha' and 'jorō'.) The
[178] jurimuyaa, "juri houses", were formerly centers of social life for the men of the city. The present 'ryōtei' have much the same function. A group of men may spend an evening there eating and drinking and being entertained by dancing and singing. If one chooses to remain and "buy a woman" his wife's only objection to it can be that it costs more money.

838 Homosexuality is evidently rare, but not unknown. A Naha woman reported that a Japanese who lived in a room next to hers was in the habit of luring young boys into his room with good food and then seducing them, sometimes to their physical discomfort. She said that some of the neighbors

1 Maloney, 1945, p. 392.

464 usually people tend to regard these persons as fortunate. During the entire
562 course of the author's stay on Okinawa he heard no sharp criticism of men who
829 were in military employment, yet many statements were heard about women who were so employed. This dichotomy seems to stem from the widely held belief that the American employers have sexual access to these women, particularly
[831] the maids. Okinawan culture affords its males a high degree of sexual freedom, but not its females.

464 It is said that the women who are employed by the military are cate-
554 gorized into several grades; the highest status is accorded to the office workers and PX clerks. These are followed by the kitchen and table maids, after which comes the maids who are employed in the dependent housing units; lastly there are the barracks maids, including those of the bachelor officers' and civilians' quarters. It is also claimed that these women can be distinguished on the basis of their dress. Supposedly the office workers and
[291] PX girls dress in the fashion of Japanese business women, whereas the housing
[117] and barracks maids dress in American styles which are considered loud and flashy.

464 It is claimed that many young men will not marry women who have been
554 maids in military installations. One young man asserted that these women were
582 no better than the "honeys" (a term used by Okinawans and GI's to designate the soldier's mistress).

464 The low status and pay (¥1200-1800, or $10-15 per month) for maids is
466 offset to a large extent by the gifts, food, and in many cases board which they receive from their employers. Despite the stigma there is no shortage
[465] of applicants for these jobs. Another factor is the free bathing privileges which ordinarily accompany these jobs. Very few Okinawan homes have a bath,
[515] and public baths cost the equivalent of ten cents in American money, a sizeable outlay for the Okinawan purse.

464 Most of the discrimination is directly attributable to the sexual
554 jealousy of the Okinawan male toward the women who work and often live in
829 close daily contact with Americans. There also seems to be some discrimination against any women in the category of maid, whether employed by American or Okinawan; in the past these were often indentured servants who had been sold by their parents into this low status.

186 <u>Okinawan Attitudes toward Their American Employers</u> It was the author's im-
829 pression that even those who had worked in close daily contact with Americans for a considerable period of time shared much the same stereotypes of the American as those held by the general public. It must be remembered that the points of emphasis in any stereotype are often those traits which seem obvious because they are so unfamiliar and hence not understood by the person of a different culture. Secondly, in every stereotype there is undoubtedly some considerable measure of truth; the important factor is the base of reference. Both Americans and Okinawans judge one another on the basis of different values and cultural backgrounds.

885 well accustomed to the routine of the occupation they will follow.
888 The young fisherman has gone to sea for his beginning lessons. The young farmer knows most of the skills of planting and cultivating. The young stone worker, requiring little training to begin, is already at work.

885 Young men maintain close relationships with their families prior
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A64 ment, at various times, in government and military government offices as account clerks, maids, translators, clerks at post exchanges, officer's clubs, restaurants, bars, and the like. But there were few instances in these villages.

A young man does not leave the village ordinarily, nor does he rent separate living quarters. These continuing family ties up to marriage may account for the boyishness and lack of maturity noticeable in so many young men in the age group from 17 to 25. The young school teacher, the truck driver, fisherman, or farmer may turn over part of his earnings to the parents. In rural Okinawa, residence in the home and attachment to the family last well into the years of younger maturity. This does not mean that there are no personal dissatisfactions with their situation.

834 There are few outward signs of personal attraction among young men and women during the teens and the years before marriage. In public, boys and young men of the same age group usually are seen together. This is true of the girls. Clandestine meetings among young men and young women take place. A mutual attraction is often communicated by a young go-between trusted by both. This secrecy does not come about from a desire to conceal the attraction, but because both parties are shy (hasukashii). This public reticence, so old in
[178] Oriental cultures, is gradually breaking down. It is a convention, based on public repression of one's feelings. This does not mean that people dislike personal and physical contact and lack demonstrativeness.
[150] Okinawans are emotional and demonstrative, and do not avoid physical contact, as anyone who has seen them at their parties has discovered.[16]

But young men and young women may meet quite openly. A young man in his early twenties may visit a girl's house, stay all day with her and her parents, and part of the time be alone with her. The young,

16 It is too early to tell the effect of ideas of sex equality on rural Okinawan society. That the supposed high position of the American woman has made an impression on many rural Okinawan women there can be no doubt. The influence of young American soldiers and sailors, their catering and thoughtfulness toward Okinawan girls to whom they
[177] are deeply attracted has spread beyond the range of those with the immediate experience. The soldiers are responsible for the adoption
[832] of the word, "honey." Okinawan boys use it in the same sense as Americans: as any very attractive girl, or as a girl deeply loved personally.

Nevertheless, to superficial observation at least, villagers seem to enjoy good health. Most of them are energetic. Obesity is very unusual. The average man or woman of any age has little spare flesh. The most frequent complaints are of dysentery, constipation, colds, boils and swellings, and intestinal parasites. There are signs of malnutrition in the distended bellies of some small children, probably due to the unrelieved and starchy diet of the sweet potato,[6] with extremely few animal fats and proteins. 146 [164]

The sores and scabs on the heads, faces, arms, and legs of infants and young children are still the curse of childhood, conditions made worse by the flies which swarm around them. (In summer, I have seen as many as 20 flies on the face of a sleeping child without a trace of any muscular reaction). There are few Okinawans today who do not bear the scars of these sores of infancy, especially on the scalp. (Young men are sensitive about this and it is one reason also for keeping the hair long). Younger parents now are beginning to use various disinfecting powders and talcs to prevent these sores (which look like impetigo) and seem to have abandoned the attitude of a previous generation that these were childhood experiences to be endured. Much could be done to eliminate these diseases of childhood by a campaign in which local groups like the Women's Association and the public health authorities joined. 164 [751] 000

In the summer months, Jap B encephalitis (known as nUen) is very much dreaded. Some villagers had only a vague idea that it was a brain fever and a few knew that the mosquito was the vector. 164 [753]

According to residents of each of the villages, no cases of leprosy had been discovered in recent years. This disease is also dreaded and I doubt that an attempt would be made to conceal a case.

Young people have uncommonly beautiful, evenly spaced, white teeth. This seems to have been an Okinawan characteristic for a long time, as Basil Hall commented upon it 135 years ago. Around the late teens or early twenties, the teeth decay, and there are many extractions and replacements with gold or steel false teeth. Some extractions are intentional, especially among young girls who believe that a gold tooth sets them apart and adds to beauty. But I am convinced that this is of minor importance as an explanation. Okinawans [145] [757] [832]

6 I am not acquainted with any analyses of the composition of the Okinawan sweet potato. In laboratory tests of an improved high-starch American variety, the composition when ground for starch was: moisture, 64.5%; starch, 25.5%; sugars, 2.8%; crude protein, 1.5%; pectic substances, 2.2%; crude fat, 0.6%; mineral matter, 0.9%; other, 2%. Sweet potato carotene can be readily converted to Vitamin A. See Dawson, P. R., Greathouse, L. H., and Gordon, W. O. Sweet potatoes: more than starch. In: Crops in peace and war. (U. S. Dept. of Agric., The yearbook of agriculture 1950-51) Washington, 195-203. Ref. on 195, 201. [146]

832 Sexual Relations and Prostitution A married couple engage in sexual relations only when they are sure that they will be neither observed nor heard. If they have children they can have relations only after the children have fallen asleep and can be safely pushed to one side. The children are told nothing of the nature of sex and it is assumed that they are unaware of their [831] parents' relations. A married woman is expected to have relations with her husband only and at his pleasure. There are evidently no tabued positions or times, except for the period of menstruation. Relations may continue through [837] pregnancy and be resumed shortly after childbirth. The husband, however, may have relations with other women.

831 In spite of the secrecy regarding sex and the restrictions imposed upon women, at least women with husbands, there is no feeling of guilt connected with sex as is often the case in American society. Sex is regarded as a natural function. The feeling is probably more that it should be restricted for the good of society. Children should not know about it because, being foolish, they might try to imitate their elders; this seems to be a real fear. A man ought not to tolerate his wife's having relations with another. But he is free to enjoy the pleasures of sex as his means allows. If he can afford it he may go to the jurinuyaa or keep a mistress. His wife may become jealous, but she would be ashamed to become angry or scold him solely because of jealousy. The only valid argument that a wife may use against her husband's having relations with other women is that it costs money.

834 In public there is no demonstration of affection between husband and wife or between lovers. Behavior in public suggestive of sexual relations, such as kissing or embracing, is appropriate only at a brothel. I have seen very young couples walking hand in hand, but this is said to be a very recent development.

831 522 But there is considerable talk about sex, particularly joking, sometimes using metaphors, and sometimes in plainer language. This joking takes place most frequently at parties, but they may be in the home and in the presence of children, who are not expected to understand. These jokes do not involve married women. The relationships implied by the joking are between men and juri. An instance occurred at a gathering that consisted of relatives and one or two friends of the second son. After an hour or so of drinking the second son seized the 'shamisen' and sang a bit and then shouted, "I am --- Second Son. I am the best shamisen player. I am the best singer. I am the one who goes to the jurinuyaa the most." Everyone laughed, including the man's wife, who sat opposite with their children. Later I asked a member of the family if this boast had not made the wife feel uncomfortable. I was told that it probably did not, since there was no basis to the claim (though it turned out later that Second Son had been carrying on a secret affair with a married woman). But the informant admitted that a joke about the wife's having extramarital relations would not be funny, because it would be unlikely; the humor must lie in the possibility that the joke is the truth.

Another example occurred at the home of an older man whom my assistant and I tried to interview one evening. We were the only guests, but he

and women. Two informants who had lived in Japan denied having ever heard of 291
public baths with mixed bathing. Okinawans have occasionally been shocked by 834
seeing Americans nude. Okinawans feel that not only should the lower part of [515]
the torso be covered for the sake of modesty but the upper part also should be covered, if one is out of doors, for reasons of health; the sun's rays are harmful if too strong. Modesty may even reach proportions uncommon in the [326]
West; one young man told Lebra that he does not enjoy going swimming because he believes he is too hairy. The same young man told how he and other boys, when in high school, used to peep through a crack in the bathhouse wall in order to see the women bathing on the other side, until they were chased away by the proprietor. This hardly suggests the casual attitude toward nudity reported for the Japanese.

Body Ornamentation The Okinawans seem never to have practiced any sort of 178
body mutilation---such as the Chinese foot-binding. 304
However, women were tattooed on the wrists and backs of the hands until early in this century. Most women over 50 have tattooed hands. There are several stories told that purport to explain the origin of the practice---that it was to prevent Okinawan women from being kidnapped, for example---but these stories are of doubtful value. The designs have names but evidently no meaning; one old woman said that they varied with the tattoo artist, who put on whatever he wanted. Tattooing was done before puberty and marriage. It may have originally been part of a puberty rite.

Many people of both sexes between the ages of 20 and 40 have elab- 301
orate gold and silver work on their teeth. In many cases the work does not consist of fillings or bridges but of thin caps put over sound teeth for purely ornamental reasons. These can be removed without harming the teeth. People are said to be having this sort of work done today, but in time the [177]
value Americans and present-day Japanese put on "natural-looking" teeth may win out over the urge to ornament the mouth. Of course there is also a great deal genuine dental work done because of tooth decay.

At present American values and modern Japanese values in feminine 177
beauty are being spread by the beauty parlor. For several years the perma- 832
nent wave has been popular though perhaps not well suited to Mongoloid hair. [305]
And recently a number of young women are said to have added padded brassieres [302]
to their equipment. [291]

Elimination Urination and defecation are regarded differently. Urination 514
in public is permissible for males, if they turn away. I have seen a dignified old gentleman talking over his shoulder to a young woman while he urinated into the ditch. Women may also urinate in public, though they do so less frequently. Defecation in public is not usual; even children [863]
are scolded for it though they may occasionally do it. Feces ought to go [241]
in the proper place; one reason for using the toilet may be that the "night-soil" is used as fertilizer.

The Okinawan term kusu is used rather more freely than its Japanese 192
cognate, though the uses are parallel. Alone it means "feces", human or animal. It is the usual word for animal manure. In compounds it may mean

cash income, earned by several adult members in joint work, or equal 585
to about one half of a teacher's monthly salary. The girl brings a dowry [583]
consisting of furniture, household utensils, and other things, so, as one
person said, the groom is repaid in one form or another. In former [582]
times the men had to pay a fine to the parents of the bride if she married out of the village (Suttles, personal communication; Tamura, 1927 translation:44).

Even under present conditions the wedding ceremony is colorful
compared to most other private ceremonies. All guests attend in their [292]
best clothes and the bride wears a special kimono and a special wig
hair dress. She is seated next to the groom, who wears Western-style clothes instead of the traditional silk kimono. The whole ceremony is presided over by the go-betweens. While preliminaries take place, the bride sits almost motionless. Her face expresses what Glacken describes as "undescribable gloom" (1955:218). This continues even through the climax of the event, the ceremonial exchange of wine which symbolizes the union of the participants. During this part of the ceremony the guests, who have been enjoying food and sake and talking amicably, give this moment a solemn meaning by their silence. [537]
Speeches by the go-between and other notables follow. The virtue of the bride and her family and of the groom are told and acknowledged by a thank-you address by the groom. Parents of the couple sit close to them but have no other function than to accept congratulations. The bride then goes around introducing herself to the guests.

Children are not present at this event. They line up outside the [852]
house and peek through openings to see the bride and watch the
guests, who start dances as soon as good food and wine take effect. After the formal part of the wedding, the feast ends like any such event in the village—with great gaiety. The bride acts as hostess; she changes from her kimono and heavy hair dress into more suitable clothes and sees that the guests are well taken care of. The length of this feast depends, of course, on how much food and drink the family is able to provide. Finally, when all guests have left, the bride and groom
retire to the bedroom which has been reserved for them, sometimes [352]
furnished with one or two pieces, a chest of drawers or a Western-style
closet supplied by the bride's family. The bride also provides the [513]
comforter for the marriage bed. Friends of the groom may play a prank and replace the normal-sized comforter with a small one, "so that the marriage is consumated quicker," as they say.

Sexual relations between husband and wife are not discussed in 833
public except in jocular references. In spite of the intimacy of house- 831
hold members in the confinement of a small house, one attempts to

831 keep others from noticing sex activities. Keeping sex a private matter
833 does not mean that there is a feeling of shame or guilt. It is considered a natural function, and although they do not discuss marital relations, men feel free to mention sex and its pleasurable aspects. Such conversations seem to cause some embarrassment among the younger women but are thought entertaining by older ones.

To men, sex, like food and drink, is to be enjoyed and indulged in. Women, too, enjoy sex but are more reticent and give much less overt expression to their desires. There are stories about women who are sexually aggressive, but they are either characters in the folklore or women of a neighboring village who are said to be this way "because they don't work hard enough." Men enjoy sex activity until an advanced age. One man over 60 whose wife had long been dead twice took a young woman as second wife; in both cases the women left him after a short period, but dissatisfaction with his sexual capacity was supposedly not the cause. Several children in Taira were fathered by
[278] men who had passed their sixtieth birthday. People believe that potency depends on physical well-being and age, but that it can be
[262] produced by a special drink consisting of sake in which a poisonous
[273] snake, the *habu*, is steeped. As soon as one finishes drinking this brew, its effects should be felt. Sake, meat, and eggs are also thought to increase potency.

833 Women's breasts are considered sexually stimulating. Men like to caress the breasts and the skin in general. Kissing occurs during foreplay only among some younger couples; older people do not care for it. In a room or house, shared with others, few couples undress fully for intercourse. Moving the baby to one side of the mat or mattress, a husband joins his wife.

834 There are no pre- or postparturition taboos; relations continue
[843] throughout pregnancy and are resumed about a week after childbirth,
[846] when the wife has taken her first bath. Men tend to disregard the public health nurse's urging that women be given a little longer rest.

837 That extra marital affairs do occur is evidenced by the presence of
848 illegitimate children. But the mothers are likely to be widows or girls
732 who for one reason or another did not get married at the usual age. Deformity may be a reason for not finding a husband. Two children
[835] in Taira were claimed to be the issue of an incestuous relationship
[581] between a man and his widowed daughter. Although the children were conceived and born outside the village, people became suspicious after the family returned to Taira. Because the putative father failed to deny paternity strongly, villagers felt certain that their suspicions

The activities at the moo-ashibii and the yagamayaa undoubtedly led 893
in many cases to secret sexual relations. Probably most young men in the 836
country first experienced sex as a result of intrigues developing through
these activities. Young women differed more in their experience. Daughters
of the gentry may have had little or none. Some girls who did go to the moo-
ashibii, it is said, went merely to hear the singing. Those who behaved
promiscuously were talked about and the reputation they gained lasted. Yet
it seems unlikely that chastity was valued very highly or that virginity was
expected at marriage. One young woman had heard in Japan how husbands some- [171]
times divorced their wives upon finding after marriage that they were not
virgins. She had never heard of this having been done on Okinawa and neither
she nor her mother could even give an Okinawan equivalent of the Japanese
word 'shojo', "virgin".

Formerly among the gentry class in Naha and Shuri it was customary 833
for a father to take his son, or have a relative or friend take him, to a 565
jurimayaa to let him have his first sexual experience. According to Yanagida, 178
until the last decades of the last century this was part of a young man's 548
coming-of-age celebration held at the beginning of his 13th (15th?) year;
the juri who functioned in this capacity were called niisee-chuurasaa, "those
who make youths into men".[1]

At the present time the rural moo-ashibii and yagamayaa are probably 178
less important institutions than they formerly were, but they undoubtedly do 813
still exist. At present there are more occasions when young people of the
opposite sex can meet and feel that it is proper to do so. In the pre-war
counterparts of the Youth Organization and in the schools the sexes were
separate. Now they mingle more freely. The need to meet in groups in a half-
clandestine manner is not so great. Now as before real intrigues are con- [584]
ducted in secret, but something approaching an open courtship is now possible.

Marriage: Preliminaries Until recently marriages were nearly always ar- 584
ranged by the family for the good of the family. 178
The object in arranging a match was to acquire a daughter-in-law to produce [581]
heirs for and to keep house for the son. The couple themselves were con-
sulted and one of them could refuse the match if it were really disagreeable,
but more often they agreed to it. At present young people often choose for
themselves, but even so they may abandon a desired marriage if it is strongly
opposed by one or more of the parents.

In the past moo-ashibii may have led to marriage in some cases but
more often it did not, even when liaisons resulted in children. At present
young unmarried men and women associate more freely in public, and mutual at-
traction may lead to a relationship more like the Western courtship leading
to marriage. This had been especially true since the war.

Formal Ceremonies As in many societies there are more formal and 584
less formal ways of marrying. The preliminaries to the older family-arranged
marriage usually begin with a proposal by the young man's family. If the

[1] Yanagida, 1951, p. 309.

[Koohinda-son]

The ages of the mothers at the first illegitimate birth are shown below. Unmarried mothers naturally had their first illegitimate child sooner than did the widows, but the amount of overlap in ages is worthy of note. 848

Table XXI

Ages	Unmarried Mothers	Widows	Total
16	1		1
17	1		1
18	5		5
19	5		5
20	4		4
21	8		8
22	10		10
23	9	1	10
24	5	1	6
25	4	2	6
26	5	1	6
27	1	3	4
28	2		2
29	1		1
30		3	3
31		6	6
32			-
33			-
34		2	2
35		3	3
36		1	1
37		4	4
--			
41		1	1
Unknown	13	1	14
Total	74	29	103

Relation to Household Head In Kochinda-son twenty categories were found of relationship of the household head to the illegitimate child. However, just three categories---mother, mother's father, and uncle---account for 64% of the cases. The distribution is shown in Table XXII.

582 178 average age at the time of marriage, investigation into the registries reveals that the range has narrowed somewhat. Formerly some girls married at thirteen and fourteen; today this would be considered rather unusual.

[177] The Japanese administration attempted to discourage endogamous marriage practices, particularly kin-group endogamy. All agreed that the practice has declined; yet in Kanegusuku nearly 50% of all marriages were within the kin group and 66% of all marriages were within the village. An analysis of these figures on an age basis indicates the practice is declining there.

833 178 883 Sex It is said that sexual standards have changed in that there is less sexual license among the young people and that they tend to have their first relations at a later age than formerly. This is attributed in part to the moral training of the schools. Another factor seems to be the general decline of several informal village institutions which permitted young people considerable sexual freedom. One informant stated that those who continue on to high school and university generally have their first experience at a later age than those who attend only junior high school.

642 177 641 Government The Japanese introduced a modern system of government, abolished the Okinawan aristocracy, and granted suffrage to all males of twenty-five or more years. The American Civil Administration has attempted to liberalize laws and to make possible a greater degree of self-government. [625] [666] Police powers have been limited, universal suffrage has been introduced, and the number of elected officials has been increased.

621 178 To date there has been little change within the village, where suffrage and office-holding remain limited to household heads. Villagers acknowledge that there is greater freedom for action at the local level today; yet they are not desirous of obtaining greater self-government. They feel that it would require too much of their time and that there is too little money available to finance its operation. Village leadership is virtually unchanged. Change where it has occurred has been initiated at a higher level.

632 178 At the township level the electorate has been broadened to include all persons, male and female, over twenty years of age. The mayor who was formerly appointed is now elected to office.

771 177 178 793 Religion There has been a general decline in the indigenous Okinawan religion, effected by Japanese policy, wartime attrition, and the spread of education. Formerly a hierarchy of priestesses extended from the kin group through the community and region to the person of the king's sister, the chief priestess. The Japanese removed the top echelons of this hierarchy, but the kin group and community priestesses continued to function. World War II resulted in the death of many religious functionaries, and as the office is usually hereditary within a specific family and often limited to a particular member of that family, there has often been no replacement for the office. Lastly there is an increasing tendency among the young people, due to the influence of the school, to regard religion as superstition.

796 178 Many villages, especially those without religious functionaries, have discontinued all village ceremonies, and in those few remarkable exceptions

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[832] Americans: as any very attractive girl, or as a girl deeply loved personally.

who are less shy, can meet and enjoy one another's company under socially approved conditions. 834

The engagement (uino in Japanese, sakimui in Okinawan) varies with individuals and villages. In this respect it is like the marriage ceremony. A one year engagement period is considered long. In one instance of a formal engagement taken from Hanashiro, the young man goes to the girl's house, taking a small amount of sake with him. The parents of both principals are present. The group makes a short prayer, before the Buddhist god shelf, that the two will be a happy couple. The sake is placed on the god shelf. In Hinatogawa, the prospective groom's parents prepare a small feast, and they and the boy go to the bride's house. The food offering is put on the god shelf. The two young people promise to marry. In another variant, from Hatsuda, the boy takes a food offering and sake to the girl's house. The two eat together and promise to marry at a drink exchange (kampai) in which they alternately sip, as is the custom in Okinawa, out of the same cup. From Hatsuda there was still another variant in which the boy was not involved. His mother met the girl's mother and her female relatives in the girl's house. Sake was given to the relatives of the girl. The girl's mother agreed to give her daughter up, the boy's mother agreed that the prospective daughter-in-law would be received in his family. 584 184 [178] [182]

All these variants have this in common, that the engagement symbolizes an act that is more than the decision of two young people. It involves the families as well.

831 keep others from noticing sex activities. Keeping sex a private matter
833 does not mean that there is a feeling of shame or guilt. It is considered a natural function, and although they do not discuss marital relations, men feel free to mention sex and its pleasurable aspects. Such conversations seem to cause some embarrassment among the younger women but are thought entertaining by older ones.

To men, sex, like food and drink, is to be enjoyed and indulged in. Women, too, enjoy sex but are more reticent and give much less overt expression to their desires. There are stories about women who are sexually aggressive, but they are either characters in the folklore or women of a neighboring village who are said to be this way "because they don't work hard enough." Men enjoy sex activity until an advanced age. One man over 60 whose wife had long been dead twice took a young woman as second wife; in both cases the women left him after a short period, but dissatisfaction with his sexual capacity was supposedly not the cause. Several children in Taira were fathered by
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[273] snake, the *habu*, is steeped. As soon as one finishes drinking this brew, its effects should be felt. Sake, meat, and eggs are also thought to increase potency.

833 Women's breasts are considered sexually stimulating. Men like to caress the breasts and the skin in general. Kissing occurs during foreplay only among some younger couples; older people do not care for it. In a room or house, shared with others, few couples undress fully for intercourse. Moving the baby to one side of the mat or mattress, a husband joins his wife.

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[846] when the wife has taken her first bath. Men tend to disregard the public health nurse's urging that women be given a little longer rest.

837 That extra marital affairs do occur is evidenced by the presence of
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832 Sexual Relations and Prostitution A married couple engage in sexual relations only when they are sure that they will be neither observed nor heard. If they have children they can have relations only after the children have fallen asleep and can be safely pushed to one side. The children are told nothing of the nature of sex and it is assumed that they are unaware of their [831] parents' relations. A married woman is expected to have relations with her husband only and at his pleasure. There are evidently no tabued positions or times, except for the period of menstruation. Relations may continue through [837] pregnancy and be resumed shortly after childbirth. The husband, however, may have relations with other women.

831 In spite of the secrecy regarding sex and the restrictions imposed upon women, at least women with husbands, there is no feeling of guilt connected with sex as is often the case in American society. Sex is regarded as a natural function. The feeling is probably more that it should be restricted for the good of society. Children should not know about it because, being foolish, they might try to imitate their elders; this seems to be a real fear. A man ought not to tolerate his wife's having relations with another. But he is free to enjoy the pleasures of sex as his means allows. If he can afford it he may go to the jurinuyaa or keep a mistress. His wife may become jealous, but she would be ashamed to become angry or scold him solely because of jealousy. The only valid argument that a wife may use against her husband's having relations with other women is that it costs money.

• 834 In public there is no demonstration of affection between husband and wife or between lovers. Behavior in public suggestive of sexual relations, such as kissing or embracing, is appropriate only at a brothel. I have seen very young couples walking hand in hand, but this is said to be a very recent development.

831 522 But there is considerable talk about sex, particularly joking, sometimes using metaphors, and sometimes in plainer language. This joking takes place most frequently at parties, but they may be in the home and in the presence of children, who are not expected to understand. These jokes do not involve married women. The relationships implied by the joking are between men and juri. An instance occurred at a gathering that consisted of relatives and one or two friends of the second son. After an hour or so of drinking the second son seized the 'shamisen' and sang a bit and then shouted, "I am --- Second Son. I am the best shamisen player. I am the best singer. I am the one who goes to the jurinuyaa the most." Everyone laughed, including the man's wife, who sat opposite with their children. Later I asked a member of the family if this boast had not made the wife feel uncomfortable. I was told that it probably did not, since there was no basis to the claim (though it turned out later that Second Son had been carrying on a secret affair with a married woman). But the informant admitted that a joke about the wife's having extramarital relations would not be funny, because it would be unlikely; the humor must lie in the possibility that the joke is the truth.

Another example occurred at the home of an older man whom my assistant and I tried to interview one evening. We were the only guests, but he

513 Ventilation at night may be poor; the sliding doors are usually tightly shut and locked. In larger towns and cities this practice may be explained as due to the prevalence of thieves, but in the country there must be another reason; it is probably the fear of yanakaji or of the kiji-
[775] munaa. The first, yanakaji, literally "bad winds", are ghosts, who may
[776] cause illness. The kijimunaa is a sea-being or tree-being who causes a frightening but harmless sensation of smothering and weight on the chest. These creatures may enter through open doors or windows. According to one informant their entry might be prevented by setting up a butcher knife in the opening but I have not seen it done. (It could only be done for a window; in a door it would be dangerous to the human occupants.)

In spite of their sleeping with relatively little change in position while in bed, Okinawans seem to be able to fall asleep in a variety of positions and circumstances, in busses and on trucks, in the midst of family activities, with noise and bright lights apparently presenting no obstacles. This ability may be the result of the early experience of sleeping under all sorts of conditions while being carried on the mother's back. There are two restrictions to sleeping. All avoid sleeping with the head oriented west, because that is the way a corpse is oriented. The other is that girls and women must avoid sleeping with the legs separated. Lebra observed one grandmother give her little granddaughter a hard pinch on the thigh for this.

Okinawans recognize that sleep is essential to maintaining the body. After a restless night one may say that he "had insufficient sleep".
[171] It has been asserted that the Japanese regard sleep as a luxury rather than as a necessity. This cannot be said of the Okinawans.

515 Cleanliness In care of the body, the Okinawans are among the cleanlier of
171 the world's peoples. They bathe frequently, keep their nails
[30] clean by constant trimming, their teeth clean by prolonged morning brushing, and their hair neatly cut or dressed. But they are not as cleanly as the Japanese or at least as the urban Japanese. One reason why they bathe less frequently is that baths are simply less available. Many villages are without public baths. Most farmers must either pour cold water over themselves at their wells or a little hot water warmed in the kitchen. In villages
• [834] where there are few wells the water must be carried. Another factor may be modesty; nudity is not taken for granted as in Japan, so that one does not strip nude at the well in the daytime. A third factor may be the lack
[703] of such highly-developed concepts of ceremonial purity and pollution as exist in Japan. There are no tabus on the activities of menstruating women on Okinawa as there are in Japan, for example.

291 Nudity Pre-school children often play nude. Mothers sometimes appear to
834 be displaying little boys nude to demonstrate their masculinity. Photographs of naked baby boys are popular. Boys may continue to swim nude until eight or so, but girls begin to put on some garment for swimming
[853] sooner. Women nurse in public and sometimes work at home with the breasts
[34] uncovered. Adults of both sexes may urinate in public, but in such a way that the body may not be seen. Adults do not appear publicly or privately
[515] before one another nude. Public bath houses have separate sections for men

and women. Two informants who had lived in Japan denied having ever heard of 291
public baths with mixed bathing. Okinawans have occasionally been shocked by 834
seeing Americans nude. Okinawans feel that not only should the lower part of [515]
the torso be covered for the sake of modesty but the upper part also should be covered, if one is out of doors, for reasons of health; the sun's rays are harmful if too strong. Modesty may even reach proportions uncommon in the [826]
West; one young man told Lebra that he does not enjoy going swimming because he believes he is too hairy. The same young man told how he and other boys, when in high school, used to peep through a crack in the bathhouse wall in order to see the women bathing on the other side, until they were chased away by the proprietor. This hardly suggests the casual attitude toward nudity reported for the Japanese.

Body Ornamentation. The Okinawans seem never to have practiced any sort of 178
body mutilation---such as the Chinese foot-binding. 304
However, women were tattooed on the wrists and backs of the hands until early in this century. Most women over 50 have tattooed hands. There are several stories told that purport to explain the origin of the practice---that it was to prevent Okinawan women from being kidnapped, for example---but these stories are of doubtful value. The designs have names but evidently no meaning; one old woman said that they varied with the tattoo artist, who put on whatever he wanted. Tattooing was done before puberty and marriage. It may have originally been part of a puberty rite.

Many people of both sexes between the ages of 20 and 40 have elab- 301
orate gold and silver work on their teeth. In many cases the work does not consist of fillings or bridges but of thin caps put over sound teeth for purely ornamental reasons. These can be removed without harming the teeth. People are said to be having this sort of work done today, but in time the [177]
value Americans and present-day Japanese put on "natural-looking" teeth may win out over the urge to ornament the mouth. Of course there is also a great deal genuine dental work done because of tooth decay.

At present American values and modern Japanese values in feminine 177
beauty are being spread by the beauty parlor. For several years the perma- 832
nent wave has been popular though perhaps not well suited to Mongoloid hair. [305]
And recently a number of young women are said to have added padded brassieres [302]
to their equipment. [294]

Elimination. Urination and defecation are regarded differently. Urination 514
in public is permissible for males, if they turn away. I have seen a dignified old gentleman talking over his shoulder to a young woman while he urinated into the ditch. Women may also urinate in public, though they do so less frequently. Defecation in public is not usual; even children [863]
are scolded for it though they may occasionally do it. Feces ought to go [241]
in the proper place; one reason for using the toilet may be that the "night-soil" is used as fertilizer.

The Okinawan term kusu is used rather more freely than its Japanese 192
cognate, though the uses are parallel. Alone it means "feces", human or animal. It is the usual word for animal manure. In compounds it may mean

had complained to the police about this but the police had said that this was a mental disorder and therefore not their affair. The disregard shown the young boys in this case accords with Okinawan attitudes toward children discussed elsewhere; they are not developed enough, perhaps, to be corruptible. Another example is that of a male employee of a 'ryōtei' in another city who is in the habit of putting on a woman's kimono and wig and singing in a falsetto voice for the amusement of male guests. He is not known to "take guests" but is very effeminate in his ordinary manner. School girls are said to form strong attachments to one another, but there is no indication of the persistence of such relationships. 838 [858]

The terms for the sex organs, tani, "penis", and hoo, "vulva", are used rather freely by older persons, but children are expected to use them only for serious purposes. It is said that if children used the terms repeatedly in joking they might be scolded for "dirty talk". An old woman once told me, in the presence of several younger women and a twelve-year-old girl, an amusing story about an old woman who always sat with her kimono pulled up and was therefore called "Hoo-Hai Ayaa", "Mother Vulva-Visible". Everyone laughed but the girl, who looked rather embarrassed. After the battle in 1945 when American food was issued in quantities, Okinawans became familiar with wiener sausages, which they still remember with relish as tani-gwaa, "little penises". As in Japanese, the word for sexual relations is formed by adding the verb "to do" to the word for vulva. This term would not be used before children or in polite conversation. 834 864

2. Sanitation

751 512

An American, watching the habits of daily living of an Okinawan family, may find his first impression to be one of shock. In the morning the sliding doors that kept out any fresh air all night are pushed open and the children, dressed in the underclothes they have slept in, walk sleepily to the step and urinate off it. Father steps down and walks a few feet around the side of the house and does the same. Grandmother is already in the kitchen preparing breakfast and smoke soon fills the upper air in the main part of the house, looking for a way out in the absence of a chimney. Father goes to the well with a small towel around his neck, throws cold water over his face, and washes it with a little soap. He then brushes his teeth long and hard and puts the family toothbrush back on the hook for Mother to use later. Mother takes down the great mosquito net the family has slept under, folds up the quilts, and brings out breakfast---tea, a thin soup, and sweet potatoes. Soon tea grounds and potato peels come flying out onto the ground in rapid succession. A chicken walks in from a neighbor's yard, pecks diffidently at a potato peel, and walks on, leaving a token of gratitude behind. The sun begins to warm the air and the flies to swarm around the toilet behind the house, into the kitchen, across the remains of the family's meal in the main rooms, and around the scraps in front. Father goes to work and the older children go to school. Mother washes the dishes at the well, in cold water without soap, and leaves them to dry in the sun. Flies light on them. [514] [515] [264] [351] [264]

751 514 343

The visitor looks into the toilet. It is an oil drum with a platform over it and a wood and canvas shelter over that. The cover is off.

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584 place, as it requires the participation of the principals and their families. Young country people are likely to hesitate before going against their parents' wishes, dispensing with a ceremony and the celebration which follows, and eloping to Naha or to some larger town.

In practice, events seldom reach this stage of differences in opinion. Some one will give way. An actual happening illustrates this point. A young man, a third son, about 20 years old, fell in love with a girl, aged 23, a bus driver's assistant. The boy wished to marry her, even though by present day standards he was young for marriage.[1] His parents objected to the match, not because of antipathy to the girl whom they liked, but because she was three years older than the boy. This is an interesting objec-
[582] tion because formerly many wives were older than their husbands, although too great an age differential was considered a trifle ludicrous. Apparently in the older arranged marriage, parents intentionally selected a bride older than the husband. In the family registers, among the very old, the wife is often older than the husband. At present the girl is either younger or about the same age.

The boy acceded to his parents' wishes and did not marry the
[848] girl but kept on seeing her. Later the girl became pregnant. His parents discussed the matter among members of the extended family resident in the village, and, in much distress, consented to the marriage. Once the marriage was decided upon, there was no objection to the two living together.

● 836 Some premarital living together is found in Okinawa. The boy works on his own parents' fields and helps the girl's parents. The
[583] girl reciprocates by helping at the boy's parents' home. During this time, the boy lives at home but spends the night with the girl at her home.

582 Young men normally do not get married until their 24th or 25th year, though there are cases of earlier marriages. Girls are in their early twenties. Earlier marriages may be an indication that a child is on the way. This relatively late age for marriage is not old in the culture. In older times, young people were married in their 13th
[117] and 14th year. This practice gradually changed under Japanese rule.[2]

1 The Japanese word for love is ai-suru, but now one frequently hears the Japanese word rabu borrowed from the English love.

2 Writing in 1910 from personal observation, Simon said that with the "Japanization" of the islands and the increased difficulty and expense in making a living, the time for marriage was postponed and that a marriage at 15 years was now an exception. Beitrage zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, 88 and 90. Schwartz, In Togo's country, 1908, writing of conditions around the turn of the century, says that marriages are contracted between the 14th and 17th year, p. 150.

tion between couples is not seen in public. Men and women are teased 584
by the community if they are seen standing and talking together. One 178
or several boys teasing a girl would be the boldest advance seen in public. Although, even at night, we never observed couples pairing off in or near the village, we were told that a boy and a girl would arrange private meetings. It is our impression that there is more self-consciousness about love-making than there used to be.

Although there is little occasion for intimacy between a couple dur- 584
ing times when other villagers are around, young men and women asso- 575
ciate frequently in larger groups during the week in community-wide activities of the Young People's Association. During the many hours which are spent in club meetings, work projects, and other social activities, there is a comraderie between young men and women which effectively neutralizes the formal social distance that is maintained in the traditionally separate seating arrangements. There is, nevertheless, a certain embarrassment and almost clumsy behavior of young men toward the better poised and adroit girls, at least in the presence of strangers like ourselves.

Young men may seek intimacies with girls of other villages, but in 584
doing so they risk the ire of the young men there. It is also possible 836
that a Taira girl agrees to an intimate relationship with someone in 562
another village where she may feel safer from detection. Young men are more likely to seek a girl with whom an arrangement for a meeting away from her home can be made. The girl, of course, suffers public disapproval if the couple is detected, while a man is not subject to the same criticism. In contrast to girls, men have many more opportunities for sexual relationships without public censure.

Sexual attraction does not seem decisive in selecting a mate for mar- 581
riage, although beauty is appreciated in a woman with long, black 584
hair, a dark arched eyebrow, fair skin, a prominent nose, small mouth, 826
and large eyes. Younger people are beginning to adopt some of the 177
American standards of beauty, which are introduced through movies 831
and magazines via Japan. Although the concept of romantic love is gaining in popularity, arranged marriages still outnumber love mar- 584
riages in Taira. Even if a young man and woman reach an agreement about marriage, there follows a formal arrangement by their parents with the help of go-betweens, a trusted neighbor or a friendly couple, or a person who commands status and respect. If a man or his family are interested in arranging a marriage with a girl, the go-between notifies her family. Eventually word will reach the girl. If the suitor has not previously indicated his interest to the girl, she may voice her feelings and wishes to her mother, father, or to some other relative. If

584 she objects violently, the matter may be dropped. If the go-betweens
[851] succeed in making arrangements, they become the special friends and patrons of the young couple, officiating at the marriage ceremony and attending the rituals during the first week after the birth of all the couple's children.

The first engagement event is a small family affair at the bride's house, attended by a few close relatives of the couple, who ceremonially eat rice from the same bowl. The food is contributed by the groom's family. From this time on the groom may spend evenings and nights at
[836] the bride's house, where he is permitted to have sexual intercourse
[583] with the girl. For a man whose girl lives in the same village, the day is now divided between work for his own household and helping the girl's family in the field. The groom receives supper from the girl's family, who encourage him to stay for the night. The couple is never seen together in public, although the girl also helps occasionally at her groom's house.

The second engagement party is held some later time, also at the girl's house. All the relatives of the bride whom she wishes to introduce to the groom and his family are invited. The groom also invites his relatives and friends. Food and drink are supplied by the groom. Since this may be quite a burden, the bride urges him not to hurry in planning for this party. At this engagement ceremony, relatives and friends congratulate the male members of the bride's family and some of the close female relatives, the mother and sometimes an aunt, or the grand-
[537] mother. Short speeches are exchanged. The girl's father, in response to well-wishing, may point out that the girl is inexperienced and that she needs guidance and education from the groom's family. The groom also toasts his father-in-law, tells him that he will do his best, and thanks him and his wife for their permission to marry.

585 The actual marriage ceremony may be postponed until much later.
[584] One reason for the long engagement period is to see whether the girl becomes pregnant, or as one person said, "To see if the seeds match."
[842] There are also economic considerations. The ceremony takes place at the groom's house. The go-between, his wife, and a few friends go to the bride's home to accompany her and her relatives and friends to the
[178] groom's house. The elaborateness of the celebration depends on the wealth of the groom's family, but since the war, all families have economized in this as well as in other ceremonies. The cost of the wedding is carried by the groom, but it is to some extent offset by small money gifts which guests contribute. The groom gives the bride's family a certain amount of money—in one case about 2000 yen (approximately $17.00) or two thirds of a well-to-do Taira family's monthly

The activities at the moo-ashibii and the yagamayaa undoubtedly led 883
in many cases to secret sexual relations. Probably most young men in the 836
country first experienced sex as a result of intrigues developing through
these activities. Young women differed more in their experience. Daughters
of the gentry may have had little or none. Some girls who did go to the moo-
ashibii, it is said, went merely to hear the singing. Those who behaved
promiscuously were talked about and the reputation they gained lasted. Yet
it seems unlikely that chastity was valued very highly or that virginity was
expected at marriage. One young woman had heard in Japan how husbands some- [171]
times divorced their wives upon finding after marriage that they were not
virgins. She had never heard of this having been done on Okinawa and neither
she nor her mother could even give an Okinawan equivalent of the Japanese
word 'shojo', "virgin".

Formerly among the gentry class in Naha and Shuri it was customary 833
for a father to take his son, or have a relative or friend take him, to a 565
jurimayaa to let him have his first sexual experience. According to Yanagida, 178
until the last decades of the last century this was part of a young man's 548
coming-of-age celebration held at the beginning of his 13th (15th?) year;
the juri who functioned in this capacity were called niisee-chuurasaa, "those
who make youths into men".[1]

At the present time the rural moo-ashibii and yagamayaa are probably 178
less important institutions than they formerly were, but they undoubtedly do 883
still exist. At present there are more occasions when young people of the
opposite sex can meet and feel that it is proper to do so. In the pre-war
counterparts of the Youth Organization and in the schools the sexes were
separate. Now they mingle more freely. The need to meet in groups in a half-
clandestine manner is not so great. Now as before real intrigues are con- [584]
ducted in secret, but something approaching an open courtship is now possible.

Marriage: Preliminaries Until recently marriages were nearly always ar- 584
ranged by the family for the good of the family. 178
The object in arranging a match was to acquire a daughter-in-law to produce [581]
heirs for and to keep house for the son. The couple themselves were con-
sulted and one of them could refuse the match if it were really disagreeable,
but more often they agreed to it. At present young people often choose for
themselves, but even so they may abandon a desired marriage if it is strongly
opposed by one or more of the parents.

In the past moo-ashibii may have led to marriage in some cases but
more often it did not, even when liaisons resulted in children. At present
young unmarried men and women associate more freely in public, and mutual at-
traction may lead to a relationship more like the Western courtship leading
to marriage. This had been especially true since the war.

Formal Ceremonies As in many societies there are more formal and 584
less formal ways of marrying. The preliminaries to the older family-arranged
marriage usually begin with a proposal by the young man's family. If the

[1] Yanagida, 1951, p. 309.

192 any kind of body dirt or excretion, as mii-kusu, "sleep" in the eyes, haa-
[578] kusu, "stains on the teeth". As in Japanese it is used also in cursing; in
[774] anger an Okinawan may say, "I'll make you eat feces." A similar phrase,
[775] kusu tekkwee, "eat feces", is often spoken after someone, especially a baby, sneezes. It is explained that the custom arose when a person once overheard two ghosts plotting to steal a baby's soul (mabui), which may be easily detached by a sneeze; one of the ghosts revealed that if a living person spoke the phrase it would be sufficient to drive him away. The fact that the phrase is used in anger suggests that it is an undesirable one; that it is used in the case of sneezing probably demonstrates the greater fear of ghosts.

831 Sex Practices and attitudes related to marriage have been discussed under that heading in Chapter V. The sex drive seems to be regarded as
864 natural and not sinful. Adults playfully tweak the penises of little boys and may put little children of both sexes to sleep by prolonged patting of the buttocks. They do not tell their children about the nature of sex and expect them not to know, yet the children hear much thinly-disguised discussion of sexual relationships and, sleeping with their parents as they do, may be vaguely aware of their parents' relations. Parents expect their children to learn of sex "naturally" as they grow older. As Maloney reports[1],
[839] there is little masturbation among small children, but two of Pitts' informants reported that adolescent boys sometimes hold masturbation contests to see who can ejaculate the fastest. This practice is said to stop with the beginning of heterosexual activity.

836 Formerly adolescents, except for girls of the gentry class, seem
883 to have had some sexual freedom. The practice of meeting in the fields at
178 night for parties, moo-ashibii, often led to sexual relations. According to informants in one community syphilis was brought in late in the last century through moo-ashibii with the youths of a neighboring village. Pre-marital sexual relations are probably frequent today, though the conditions under which young people meet are changing.

837 Married women are expected to have relations with only their hus-
548 bands, but married men are, in theory, limited only by their finances. There exists in the larger towns a relatively large class of women called juri, who function as both entertainers and prostitutes. (There is no distinction, like the Japanese distinction between 'geisha' and 'jorō'.) The
[178] Jurinuyaa, "juri houses", were formerly centers of social life for the men of the city. The present 'ryōtei' have much the same function. A group of men may spend an evening there eating and drinking and being entertained by dancing and singing. If one chooses to remain and "buy a woman" his wife's only objection to it can be that it costs more money.

838 Homosexuality is evidently rare, but not unknown. A Naha woman reported that a Japanese who lived in a room next to hers was in the habit of luring young boys into his room with good food and then seducing them, sometimes to their physical discomfort. She said that some of the neighbors

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1 Maloney, 1945, p. 392.

[Yamada]

its area at night (an informant hastened to add that these were not Yamada women). The unit and the village cooperated in repairing roads, the unit supplying equipment and the village labor. The unit also lent equipment for levelling the school grounds and for the 'undōkai' (sports event) lent the school a public address system. At Christmas of 1952 and again in 1953 the unit gave a Christmas party for the school children. The first year only 40 went but the second year nearly 200 went and all received presents. Two that were shown me later were a plastic car and a plastic fire truck; one was marked 65 cents. They were displayed with obvious pride. The school children in turn had sent a bundle of art work to the unit for the Perry Festival. 621 177 727

According to the villagers, late in 1953 the CO of the unit was transferred and the unit was placed under the command of the CO of another unit some miles away. This, they said, had meant the end of the monthly meetings and a decline in the good relations that had existed. The villagers' worries may have been without foundation. The last Christmas party was given after the alleged shift in command. However, some changes were occurring; for example, prostitution had reentered the village.

Informal Relations In addition to the help given to the school by the unit, certain individuals from the unit had also contributed something to it. One man is said to have taught English classes twice a week for about six months. Many of the men of the unit habitually come to the school grounds to play ball. Several are said to come two and three times a week, others come less frequently. Negro soldiers as well as whites come. They play baseball and volleyball with the men teachers and have also taught them basketball.

A few of the villagers have gained financially from the presence of the unit. In Ajimaa where the school is located there are four shops and at Kuraha there is one shop and another establishment that was formerly a cafe. The Ajimaa shops probably rarely sell anything to the soldiers, but the Kuraha shop has several steady customers for "Okinawa Gin", a rather strong variety of 'awamori'. The cafe formerly sold drinks to a regular clientele from the unit, but recently the owner invested in a taxi, has not made as much on it as he had expected and so has not had the capital for stock. There is also a laundry in Kuraha operated by a couple from Amami which does washing for men in the unit. 621 177 727 444 [-73]

Several men in the unit are renting houses for their "honeys". (The term "honey" is widely used by both Americans and Okinawans for an American's Okinawan mistress.) At the time I worked in Yamada there were five "honeys", all in Kuraha, three renting one house and two another. All five were from outside the village; one was from Amami, a relative of the laundry people. According to one informant, the relationships between the soldiers and these women had been established at Senaha, Yomitan-son, a small cafe and brothel area to which some of the men of the unit go; after establishing the relationships there the men had brought the women to this village next to their unit. It was my impression that there was not much contact between these outsiders and the villagers. 621 177 727 836

However, there are several Yamada women who have been the mistresses of American soldiers in the past and there are several half-white children in 621 144 563

Free choice in marriage does not mean that the family system will disintegrate because parents have lost control in selecting mates for their children. The family system is much more likely to break down if the head of a house must assume greater responsibility for the support of relatives, or if the young leave their homes and are scattered in the towns. 582 602

Trial marriage is said to be uncommon in Okinawa, but there does not seem to be any disapproval when it appears. Perhaps trial marriage is an inappropriate word, and living together prior to an intended marriage is a better term. In one case, a young man lived with his intended wife; sometimes he brought her to his parents' home. As his duties required some travelling, the girl often went with him. In Hanashiro, this custom is not practiced. When young people live together before marriage, with the parents' consent, they help one another's families with the daily chores. 583

Some married men have relations with other women, usually widows or unmarried girls, and have children by them. This is not rare, but it is by no means considered correct behavior. In one village, the first son with his wife and children live, as is customary, with his parents, but he continues to have relations with two unmarried women by whom he has had children. All three women live in the same village, know the situation, and manage to avoid one another fairly well. Naturally the wife is much disturbed by the arrangement. The man, now about 33, has 11 children by the three women. The children of the second and third women are classified in the family registers in the mother's family as illegitimate (shiseiji). This is an extreme case. 837 [848]

In another community, there was an instance of the effects of war and repatriation on a marriage. Before the war this man and his wife had emigrated to Saipan. She was afraid of the bombing and decided to return to her parents' home in rural Japan, to which her husband consented. He remained in Saipan and later lived with and married the girl who was his personal servant. They returned to Okinawa; he had a child by her and is now living with her. The new family register, made up after the war, does not show the old marriage. His first wife, whom he still admires, has written him, but he has not replied. While he expressed no regrets about the loss of the first wife, he talked about the second as if she were still a servant.

In the villages, the cases of a married man living with another woman, without any formal estrangement from the real wife, are in my opinion not uncommon--with the exception of Hanashiro. As one lives in a village and gradually hears confidences, departures from strict fidelity seem more frequent than appear on the surface. There is general agreement too that illegitimacy has increased since the 848

898 [720] [160] war.[5] The reasons given by the villagers are the increase in the number of widows and the present disproportion between young men and young women in the marrying ages.

One cannot generalize about attitudes toward illegitimacy. In two of the communities, Minatogawa and Matsuda, my impression was that there had been a change from disapproval to tolerance. The current reaction was often described in the famous Japanese phrase which covers thousands of situations: shi kata ga nai ("It can't be helped"). In Hanashiro, opinion seemed much stronger [837] [184] against extra-marital relations and having an illegitimate child. One housewife said that any married woman or single woman who has an illegitimate child is dirty (kitanai). This was not so much a moral condemnation as the notion that she was unclean. Such a woman is spoken to but is not liked. There is also the problem that in the family system there is no place for an illegitimate child, unacknowledged by the father, except to grow up in the household of his mother. There is no public concealment. The village family register has the shiseiji entry for any illegitimate child--and some of them are now very old men.

5 These and the following statements are necessarily qualitative as statistics were not available. Illegitimacy here refers to Okinawan parents. To my knowledge, in these villages, there were no children whose fathers had been members of the occupying force. Some apparent illegitimacy may occur when the marriage is recorded after the birth of a child (a common practice) and the register is not corrected. For this reason, it was difficult to evaluate the illegitimate entries in the family registers.

as usual. It was an affair organized by the women leaders, which, though a little slow in starting, turned into a gay carousing for the older women, who were less inhibited than the younger ones and needed little encouragement to drink and dance.

The daily life of a woman is more monotonous than her husband's and she has less leisure and recreation. After a day of hard work, men sit down alone or in groups to spend the evening in relaxation with a bottle of sake. After a short time they show signs of pleasant intoxication and all burdens of life seem to disappear. Such recourse to carefree diversion is generally denied women. Instead, they are loaded down with household chores and care of infants and guests after a day of work in fields and forests. They spend their little free time exchanging news with other women or talking with other family members or visitors who assemble around the charcoal fire in the back room during winter evenings. Only women of advanced age feel free to join the men in drinking at home.

Men have greater sexual freedom. They are at liberty to have affairs with other women outside the village and on trips to the city may visit tea houses and afterwards enjoy the favors of a prostitute if their pocket books allow.

Status differences based on age are reflected in the social structure and clearly denoted in the kinship terms. There is a special term of reference and address for "first son" and "first daughter" and for "older brother" and "older sister." As mentioned, ideally the oldest son assumes responsibility for the household, for his parents, and for the ancestral tablets. Even if he leaves his parental home temporarily or permanently for the city, where economic prospects are better, he remains the nominal household head and sends money back to his family. Theoretically the oldest male may retain authority until death, although in practice most men retire from this position at the age of 61. Their retirement is made official by an entry in the population registry. They continue to live with their oldest son and act as advisors and critics. A man's loss of authority with age occurs around his late fifties and early sixties and is evidenced not only by his retirement but also by his loss of the right to vote in village meetings. Veneration for age itself therefore, does not exist. Actual behavior toward the grandparental generation, all the members of which are addressed as "grandmother" or "grandfather" regardless of actual kinship, is warm, mildly playful, and indulgent. Disrespect, however, is absent.

It is characteristic of the relationship between children and grandmothers that in addressing nonrelated old women, the suffix *-san*, which denotes respect, is most often dropped for the "grandmother"

831 keep others from noticing sex activities. Keeping sex a private matter
833 does not mean that there is a feeling of shame or guilt. It is considered a natural function, and although they do not discuss marital relations, men feel free to mention sex and its pleasurable aspects. Such conversations seem to cause some embarrassment among the younger women but are thought entertaining by older ones.

To men, sex, like food and drink, is to be enjoyed and indulged in. Women, too, enjoy sex but are more reticent and give much less overt expression to their desires. There are stories about women who are sexually aggressive, but they are either characters in the folklore or women of a neighboring village who are said to be this way "because they don't work hard enough." Men enjoy sex activity until an advanced age. One man over 60 whose wife had long been dead twice took a young woman as second wife; in both cases the women left him after a short period, but dissatisfaction with his sexual capacity was supposedly not the cause. Several children in Taira were fathered by
[278] men who had passed their sixtieth birthday. People believe that potency depends on physical well-being and age, but that it can be
[262] produced by a special drink consisting of sake in which a poisonous
[273] snake, the *habu*, is steeped. As soon as one finishes drinking this brew, its effects should be felt. Sake, meat, and eggs are also thought to increase potency.

833 Women's breasts are considered sexually stimulating. Men like to caress the breasts and the skin in general. Kissing occurs during foreplay only among some younger couples; older people do not care for it. In a room or house, shared with others, few couples undress fully for intercourse. Moving the baby to one side of the mat or mattress, a husband joins his wife.

834 There are no pre- or postparturition taboos; relations continue
[843] throughout pregnancy and are resumed about a week after childbirth,
[846] when the wife has taken her first bath. Men tend to disregard the public health nurse's urging that women be given a little longer rest.

837 That extra marital affairs do occur is evidenced by the presence of
848 illegitimate children. But the mothers are likely to be widows or girls
732 who for one reason or another did not get married at the usual age. Deformity may be a reason for not finding a husband. Two children
[835] in Taira were claimed to be the issue of an incestuous relationship
[581] between a man and his widowed daughter. Although the children were conceived and born outside the village, people became suspicious after the family returned to Taira. Because the putative father failed to deny paternity strongly, villagers felt certain that their suspicions

were justified. Both children were slightly retarded, and people believed that this fact added even more proof. 848

An illegitimate child is loved by everybody and treated like any legitimate child. The bastard's name is listed in the registry under his mother's and his illegitimacy noted. Since World War II the distinguishing red ink mark is no longer used in recording these children. Unless the mother marries the child's real father, the offspring has no legal rights of inheritance. If she marries another man, the child may receive affectionate treatment from the stepfather, but he remains legally her son. Socially such a child does not suffer any form of ostracism, but adults make references to his status within his earshot. One such girl proudly said that people had told her that she was half-Japanese. [837] [732] [217] [428] [554]

Legally a man cannot have more than one wife, but there are cases of multiple marriage even in Taira. It takes a substantial income for such an arrangement, since a second wife is given a separate place to live. A younger "wife" is usually taken if there is no male heir born by the legal wife or if the marriage remains childless altogether. A man, formerly a resident of the village, took a young concubine late in life after his sons were killed during the war. She bore him a son, apparently with the consent of the first wife, since there was amicable interaction between the two although they lived separately. The husband registers such children as his legal offspring. 595 842

Two modes of divorce are possible. A couple may agree to separate and call a family council of parents and relatives on both sides. The township office is then notified and separation acknowledged. Once children have been born, such divorces are not too frequent; at least there were few cases of divorced women with children in Taira. A husband may initiate a divorce by telling his wife of his desire to separate. Extra-marital relationships of the wife would be sufficient cause, as would be sterility, which is interpreted as her fault. In Taira a settlement within the family is the more frequent mode of divorce although relatively rare. One official estimated that the rate of divorce for the whole township is two per year. Among the 59 marriages we found listings for five subsequent divorces. During fieldwork, many debates about modernizing divorce laws were held among members of the Women's Association, which advocated the abolition of the unilateral emphasis that gave husbands all the rights and wives almost none. Only a crime committed by a man would be sufficient cause under existing law to permit the wife to initiate a divorce. 586 [837] [842] [671] [575]

a young man would have had no previous sexual experience and that it was felt 585
that it was necessary for him to be instructed by an experienced woman before 178
he had relations with his bride. The third explanation was given by a country 565
woman in her fifties, of gentry descent. She told how her husband had gone to the wedding of a city relative and had been taken afterwards to the juri-muyaa. She did not know if her husband had been treated to a juri or not but was sure that the groom must have had one. Her explanation of the practice was that it was mainly a display of the position of the family and its ability to provide entertainment. Probably there is a bit of truth in all three explanations. The practice does undoubtedly reenforce the male's right to sexual freedom. The second explanation seems a little weak, especially in view of the reported former practice of the city gentry of combining a sexual initiation with the boy's coming-of-age ceremony, but the explanation may be that given for the earlier trip to the brothel and it may also be the "explanation" of the practice conventionally given, conventional explanations not necessarily revealing real motives. The last explanation, that the practice is mainly a display, probably strikes at the most important motive, the use of entertainment to demonstrate status.

Secondary Marriage Formerly wealthier men sometimes took juri as 837
mistresses. In the village of Yamada before the war, the richest man, or 556
perhaps the only man designated as "rich man" had his own juri. She was a kooi-juri, a "bought juri", that is, he had bought her from the house she had been indentured to. She stayed in Naha, but occasionally came to Yamada. The informant who told of this, a woman in her thirties, expressed the opinion that any man who became rich would naturally soon want his own juri.

At the present time it seems to be a fairly widespread practice for a 595
man who has enough means to have a second wife (yuubee, in Japanese 'nigō', "number two"). Sometimes this is done openly, sometimes secretly. It may be a more common practice today than formerly because of the present skewed sex ratio. Some information was obtained about two such men, one a fisherman and the other a doctor, so-called.

The fisherman was an Itoman man; his first wife had no children so he took as a second wife a woman whose family lived in a town to the north. The second wife has borne three children. The "main wife" (in Japanese 'honsai') stays at Itoman in the house of the man's father, and there she is raising the husband's first son, the child of the second wife. But most of the time the husband is at one of the northern villages with his second wife, her other children, and two boys of junior high school age whom he bought on one of the outer islands to help him in his fishing. Unfortunately I did not learn how the family was registered in the 'koseki'.

The "doctor" was a man from a village south of Naha, who had an office
at his home and also a practice in Naha. His methods consisted of heat treat- [757]
ments and steam baths. He spent about half the time with his "number two", whom he had set up in a room in Naha. His first wife was presumably unaware of the existence of the second wife, even though he once took the second wife to his home along with a patient, ostensibly as a friend of the patient.

832 Sexual Relations and Prostitution A married couple engage in sexual relations only when they are sure that they will be neither observed nor heard. If they have children they can have relations only after the children have fallen asleep and can be safely pushed to one side. The children are told nothing of the nature of sex and it is assumed that they are unaware of their [831] parents' relations. A married woman is expected to have relations with her husband only and at his pleasure. There are evidently no tabued positions or times, except for the period of menstruation. Relations may continue through [837] pregnancy and be resumed shortly after childbirth. The husband, however, may have relations with other women.

831 In spite of the secrecy regarding sex and the restrictions imposed upon women, at least women with husbands, there is no feeling of guilt connected with sex as is often the case in American society. Sex is regarded as a natural function. The feeling is probably more that it should be restricted for the good of society. Children should not know about it because, being foolish, they might try to imitate their elders; this seems to be a real fear. A man ought not to tolerate his wife's having relations with another. But he is free to enjoy the pleasures of sex as his means allows. If he can afford it he may go to the jurimuyaa or keep a mistress. His wife may become jealous, but she would be ashamed to become angry or scold him solely because of jealousy. The only valid argument that a wife may use against her husband's having relations with other women is that it costs money.

834 In public there is no demonstration of affection between husband and wife or between lovers. Behavior in public suggestive of sexual relations, such as kissing or embracing, is appropriate only at a brothel. I have seen very young couples walking hand in hand, but this is said to be a very recent development.

831 522 But there is considerable talk about sex, particularly joking, sometimes using metaphors, and sometimes in plainer language. This joking takes place most frequently at parties, but they may be in the home and in the presence of children, who are not expected to understand. These jokes do not involve married women. The relationships implied by the joking are between men and juri. An instance occurred at a gathering that consisted of relatives and one or two friends of the second son. After an hour or so of drinking the second son seized the 'shamisen' and sang a bit and then shouted, "I am --- Second Son. I am the best shamisen player. I am the best singer. I am the one who goes to the jurimuyaa the most." Everyone laughed, including the man's wife, who sat opposite with their children. Later I asked a member of the family if this boast had not made the wife feel uncomfortable. I was told that it probably did not, since there was no basis to the claim (though it turned out later that Second Son had been carrying on a secret affair with a married woman). But the informant admitted that a joke about the wife's having extramarital relations would not be funny, because it would be unlikely; the humor must lie in the possibility that the joke is the truth.

Another example occurred at the home of an older man whom my assistant and I tried to interview one evening. We were the only guests, but he

192 any kind of body dirt or excretion, as mii-kusu, "sleep" in the eyes, haa-
[598] kusu, "stains on the teeth". As in Japanese it is used also in cursing; in
[774] anger an Okinawan may say, "I'll make you eat feces." A similar phrase,
[775] kusu takkwee, "eat feces", is often spoken after someone, especially a baby, sneezes. It is explained that the custom arose when a person once overheard two ghosts plotting to steal a baby's soul (mabui), which may be easily detached by a sneeze; one of the ghosts revealed that if a living person spoke the phrase it would be sufficient to drive him away. The fact that the phrase is used in anger suggests that it is an undesirable one; that it is used in the case of sneezing probably demonstrates the greater fear of ghosts.

831 Sex Practices and attitudes related to marriage have been discussed under that heading in Chapter V. The sex drive seems to be regarded as
864 natural and not sinful. Adults playfully tweak the penises of little boys and may put little children of both sexes to sleep by prolonged patting of the buttocks. They do not tell their children about the nature of sex and expect them not to know, yet the children hear much thinly-disguised discussion of sexual relationships and, sleeping with their parents as they do, may be vaguely aware of their parents' relations. Parents expect their children to learn of sex "naturally" as they grow older. As Maloney reports[1],
[839] there is little masturbation among small children, but two of Pitts' informants reported that adolescent boys sometimes hold masturbation contests to see who can ejaculate the fastest. This practice is said to stop with the beginning of heterosexual activity.

836 Formerly adolescents, except for girls of the gentry class, seem
883 to have had some sexual freedom. The practice of meeting in the fields at
178 night for parties, moo-ashibii, often led to sexual relations. According to informants in one community syphilis was brought in late in the last century through moo-ashibii with the youths of a neighboring village. Pre-marital sexual relations are probably frequent today, though the conditions under which young people meet are changing.

837 Married women are expected to have relations with only their hus-
548 bands, but married men are, in theory, limited only by their finances. There exists in the larger towns a relatively large class of women called juri, who function as both entertainers and prostitutes. (There is no distinction, like the Japanese distinction between 'geisha' and 'jorō'.) The
[178] jurinuyaa, "juri houses", were formerly centers of social life for the men of the city. The present 'ryōtei' have much the same function. A group of men may spend an evening there eating and drinking and being entertained by dancing and singing. If one chooses to remain and "buy a woman" his wife's only objection to it can be that it costs more money.

838 Homosexuality is evidently rare, but not unknown. A Naha woman reported that a Japanese who lived in a room next to hers was in the habit of luring young boys into his room with good food and then seducing them, sometimes to their physical discomfort. She said that some of the neighbors

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had complained to the police about this but the police had said that this 838
was a mental disorder and therefore not their affair. The disregard shown
the young boys in this case accords with Okinawan attitudes toward children [858]
discussed elsewhere; they are not developed enough, perhaps, to be corrupt-
ible. Another example is that of a male employee of a 'ryōtei' in another
city who is in the habit of putting on a woman's kimono and wig and singing
in a falsetto voice for the amusement of male guests. He is not known to
"take guests" but is very effeminate in his ordinary manner. School girls
are said to form strong attachments to one another, but there is no in-
dication of the persistence of such relationships.

The terms for the sex organs, tani, "penis", and hoo, "vulva", are 834
used rather freely by older persons, but children are expected to use them 864
only for serious purposes. It is said that if children used the terms re-
peatedly in joking they might be scolded for "dirty talk". An old woman
once told me, in the presence of several younger women and a twelve-year-
old girl, an amusing story about an old woman who always sat with her kimono
pulled up and was therefore called "Hoo-Hai Ayaa", "Mother Vulva-Visible".
Everyone laughed but the girl, who looked rather embarrassed. After the
battle in 1945 when American food was issued in quantities, Okinawans be-
came familiar with wiener sausages, which they still remember with relish
as tani-gwaa, "little penises". As in Japanese, the word for sexual re-
lations is formed by adding the verb "to do" to the word for vulva. This
term would not be used before children or in polite conversation.

2. Sanitation

751
An American, watching the habits of daily living of an Okinawan 512
family, may find his first impression to be one of shock. In the morning
the sliding doors that kept out any fresh air all night are pushed open and [514]
the children, dressed in the underclothes they have slept in, walk sleepily
to the step and urinate off it. Father steps down and walks a few feet
around the side of the house and does the same. Grandmother is already in
the kitchen preparing breakfast and smoke soon fills the upper air in the
main part of the house, looking for a way out in the absence of a chimney.
Father goes to the well with a small towel around his neck, throws cold [515]
water over his face, and washes it with a little soap. He then brushes his
teeth long and hard and puts the family toothbrush back on the hook for
Mother to use later. Mother takes down the great mosquito net the family [264]
has slept under, folds up the quilts, and brings out breakfast---tea, a
thin soup, and sweet potatoes. Soon tea grounds and potato peels come fly- [351]
ing out onto the ground in rapid succession. A chicken walks in from a
neighbor's yard, pecks diffidently at a potato peel, and walks on, leaving
a token of gratitude behind. The sun begins to warm the air and the flies
to swarm around the toilet behind the house, into the kitchen, across the
remains of the family's meal in the main rooms, and around the scraps in
front. Father goes to work and the older children go to school. Mother [264]
washes the dishes at the well, in cold water without soap, and leaves them
to dry in the sun. Flies light on them.

751
The visitor looks into the toilet. It is an oil drum with a plat- 514
form over it and a wood and canvas shelter over that. The cover is off. 343

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549 bands, but married men are, in theory, limited only by their finances. There exists in the larger towns a relatively large class of women called juri, who function as both entertainers and prostitutes. (There is no distinction, like the Japanese distinction between 'geisha' and 'jorō'.) The
[178] Jurinuyaa, "juri houses", were formerly centers of social life for the men of the city. The present 'ryōtei' have much the same function. A group of men may spend an evening there eating and drinking and being entertained by dancing and singing. If one chooses to remain and "buy a woman" his wife's only objection to it can be that it costs more money.

838 Homosexuality is evidently rare, but not unknown. A Naha woman reported that a Japanese who lived in a room next to hers was in the habit of luring young boys into his room with good food and then seducing them, sometimes to their physical discomfort. She said that some of the neighbors

1 Maloney, 1945, p. 392.

need of succession is met, birth control measures might be accepted. There is, it is true, a widespread feeling that many children are a happiness which artificial control should not destroy. But this feeling, especially true with women, is often lost after the fourth or fifth child when mothers may dread further child bearing.[7]

In the villages studied, there is an awareness of birth control. This awareness comes from conversation and reading, the primary sources being Japanese magazines and newspapers. I did not meet anyone who admitted practicing birth control or who desired to do so. According to the informants, it is not practiced at all. There may be some instances.

But birth control methods are not widely understood, and even if they were, it is doubtful that people would use them on their own initiative. The present apathy toward birth control methods may be due to the fact that only recently has the question been of any significance. In the past economic difficulties within a family were relieved by emigration. There was thus little need to think of a limited family. On the contrary, there was pride in a family that might spread over continents.

Historically, the whole emphasis in the family system has been on a large or a medium sized, not a limited, family, and this, even today, is tied in with family pride coming from having children and grandchildren. If families have girls to begin with, the feeling is all the stronger. Though unusual, it is not unheard of to have a family of girls, and even if there are sons, there should be enough of them to take care of the hazards of death.

5

Conclusion

Among some villagers--and this seems to be independent of the degree of education--there are now more realistic appraisals of what the soil and the land can make available to a growing population and to their own children. Emigration for the time being is not possible. And, even if it were on a broad scale, it would not only have to skim off the present excess population, but take continuing care of future natural increases as well.

There were in all the villages several considerations that have influenced these appraisals. Land is insufficient, even in quantity, though in local areas such as Matsuda, it might suffice for local demands. The arable land is also poor. The poor and insufficient land,

[TEXT Continues TOP of P. 69--Analyst]

7 This dread of continual child bearing is discussed as an attitude, not as a general truth. The statement is based on conversations with men and women in each of the villages. Many women in Okinawa would not agree with this, but the attitude, I am convinced, if not a prevailing one, is at least frequent enough to be worth recording as something more than individual distaste.

The strong ties of the family system are probably the fundamental reasons for this lack of strangeness. One is a member of the family, even if in another part of the island or of the world. This sense of belonging, to be emphasized later, is not only an emotional feeling but is a basic fact of social organization. Relationships, regardless of their geographic spread, are a binding force. It is true that these become weaker with the remoter relationships of the extended family, but they are still strong enough to blunt the edge of individual frictions that might otherwise be expected. 571 [602] [156] [578]

There was a niche into which a returning person might fit, whether he was a parent, a first son, an elder brother, an uncle or niece of the head of the household. The repatriates who had been long absent were, in turn, able to make an adjustment to conditions in the island of their birth because they had continued the same social system in their foreign residence. They now had to function in a more restricted and less well endowed natural environment. Dissatisfactions took the form, as they still do, of longing for better economic opportunity which they hope will be realized through further opportunities for emigration. They make comparisons, unfavorable to Okinawa, regarding the ease of making a living in other countries. Repatriates from Japan, who have returned to Okinawan rural life, miss the cities and the more exciting life of that country. Among those who have travelled, there is also a more noticeable discontent and dissatisfaction with the loneliness of rural life. The word sabishii is often on their lips. [554] [178] [511] [156]

The ideas of the repatriated Okinawans, furthermore, are not a new phenomenon in contemporary village life. They did not bring back points of view unknown before. In the past these had been communicated by letters and rare visits to the homeland. The reports of the repatriates were richer, more detailed, and more concrete, but not completely different. They have--and this is probably one of their chief influences on post-war village life--stimulated the strong desire of the villagers to emigrate. Life is hard on the island, and their accounts of greater return for the same expenditure of work have quickened hopes of future emigration. These hopes are confined to the New World, Japan, and the Pacific islands. There is no enthusiasm for migration to other islands in the Ryukyu chain. [185] [167]

4

Attitudes Toward Birth Control

There is little in the religious belief or in the cultural tradition that would induce, in large segments of the population, a strong antipathy to birth control on religious grounds, but these beliefs and traditions are not favorable to it either. Respect for ancestors and the need for the continuance of the family system are the most important of these. It is the duty of each generation to provide this continuity between the past and the future. The links in this chain are male children. Once this 842 [602] [611]

each of the villages, they seldom reach real intensity or a point where the husband sends his wife back to her parents and obtains a divorce. 592 606

A special problem, ordinarily calling for adoption as the solution, is the situation in a family with no sons. During the child bearing ages a family tries very hard to get a son. The man with a family of daughters will resort to adoption of a male child of a relative, if at the end of a child bearing period, no sons have been born to him. But adoption, while available as a device for insuring the continuity of the family, is uncommon and does not have the importance historically attached to it in Japan. Adoption is discussed in more detail in Section 6. 597 [842]

3

The Extended Family and its Branches

The extended family (ichimon in Japanese, munchu in Okinawan) consists of all families in the main and collateral line of descent from the common ancestor.[2] This ancestor, who founded the house, is an historical, or at least a supposed historical person. The descendants of the founder of the family, themselves united in a family group, are thus related to one another, though the older the family, the more remote these relationships become. Many villagers recognize that they are related to one another, but the relationships are seldom clearly defined beyond the second cousin. After this people become relatives, (shinseki or shinrui in Japanese). These words, used synonymously in Okinawa, indicate an awareness of a relationship without knowing offhand its exact nature. This problem is solved in part, as will appear later on, in Section 8, by knowing the household order name of each family, but even here individual relationships are difficult to trace. 614 596 602

Contemporary lack of precise knowledge of family genealogies is due in large part to the destruction of many family records during the war. The keeping of genealogies was common, especially among the families who belonged to the old Okinawan nobility. The genealogies lost in the war are irreplaceable. The same is true of the official family registers which were also destroyed. They were replaced with ones prepared by officials personally interviewing the families involved. While this procedure succeeded in recording contemporary data with a fair degree of accuracy, it could not duplicate the minute details, going back for generations, which were recorded in the old registers. 601 217 [565]

2 Dictionaries usually define ichimon as clan, but I have avoided using this term because of ambiguities in usuage. In American practice, clan has been applied to groups in which descent is reckoned through the mother. See R. H. Lowie, Primitive society, New York, 1920, 111-12. Father-sibs (Lowie's term) or family groups could be used, but the latter term suggests more a collection of families than a large unified family with many sub-families.

155 is an impression, and I doubt that Okinawan mothers would agree
114 with me. The toddler stage, in my opinion, is a difficult one for the Okinawan child. It is an abrupt change from the continuous care and physical contact of infancy. This transition need not necessarily be abrupt. A child may be carried some and walk some. As he learns to walk, his mother is near him.

857 When the child is no longer carried, he ceases to be an observer and becomes a participant in play. Formerly he watched the activities of the older children and smiled to the attention when it was given. Now he wishes to catch up with them as they walk down the lanes; he is often left behind and is not fast enough nor expert enough to keep up. This is a problem of childhood everywhere, but I believe here
155 that the transition from one type of activity to another is more drastic. The child also receives less attention from his parents,
855 especially from his mother. This most mothers would deny. But I have often seen parents walking along a village lane, a toddler behind them crying and trying hard to keep up with them. They showed less solicitude and patience with him than they had when he was being carried. The mother gives less attention to the child during this period, particularly if she has had another child. In this, I do not mean to imply any lack of kindness or tenderness in the treatment of children, but to point out a change of emphasis. There is much more crying in the 2 to 3 year age groups than among infants who cry very little because they are entertained so much.

The toddler not only has the problem of becoming a participant in play, but of getting along without the close attention of the mother, his elder sisters, and possibly brothers.

855 Children are rather regularly spaced. The middle child of the
[842] lower three is most likely to be neglected. The baby is on the mother's back; he gets his breast feeding and is always with the mother. The older child has started to school or is leading an active play life. The middle child, too young for school and only tolerated by the older child who has his own interests, is too old for the breast and the back. The successful transition from the back carrying and breast feeding stage to walking and to the stage of independent play seems most successful when there are many children of the same age in the village, and consequently absorption in play can replace the intimate attention of parents and older siblings. A father may fill in this gap, allowing his young child to accompany him to work, but this experience generally belongs to a later period of childhood.

853 As the infant grows, nursed by the mother, he gradually receives
262 other foods, but the variety depends on the economic status of the family. The first food (other than the mother's milk) is rice water. Later rice is made into a gruel. The rice is soaked and mashed up in a quern. Families who have rice fields, or who can buy rice, may delay feeding the sweet potato to the child until the third year. Among the poor, sweet potato feeding begins much earlier. One

584 she objects violently, the matter may be dropped. If the go-betweens
[851] succeed in making arrangements, they become the special friends and patrons of the young couple, officiating at the marriage ceremony and attending the rituals during the first week after the birth of all the couple's children.

The first engagement event is a small family affair at the bride's house, attended by a few close relatives of the couple, who ceremonially eat rice from the same bowl. The food is contributed by the groom's
[836] family. From this time on the groom may spend evenings and nights at the bride's house, where he is permitted to have sexual intercourse
[583] with the girl. For a man whose girl lives in the same village, the day is now divided between work for his own household and helping the girl's family in the field. The groom receives supper from the girl's family, who encourage him to stay for the night. The couple is never seen together in public, although the girl also helps occasionally at her groom's house.

The second engagement party is held some later time, also at the girl's house. All the relatives of the bride whom she wishes to introduce to the groom and his family are invited. The groom also invites his relatives and friends. Food and drink are supplied by the groom. Since this may be quite a burden, the bride urges him not to hurry in planning for this party. At this engagement ceremony, relatives and friends congratulate the male members of the bride's family and some of the close female relatives, the mother and sometimes an aunt, or the grand-
[537] mother. Short speeches are exchanged. The girl's father, in response to well-wishing, may point out that the girl is inexperienced and that she needs guidance and education from the groom's family. The groom also toasts his father-in-law, tells him that he will do his best, and thanks him and his wife for their permission to marry.

585 The actual marriage ceremony may be postponed until much later.
[584] One reason for the long engagement period is to see whether the girl becomes pregnant, or as one person said, "To see if the seeds match."
[842] There are also economic considerations. The ceremony takes place at the groom's house. The go-between, his wife, and a few friends go to the bride's home to accompany her and her relatives and friends to the
[178] groom's house. The elaborateness of the celebration depends on the wealth of the groom's family, but since the war, all families have economized in this as well as in other ceremonies. The cost of the wedding is carried by the groom, but it is to some extent offset by small money gifts which guests contribute. The groom gives the bride's family a certain amount of money—in one case about 2000 yen (approximately $17.00) or two thirds of a well-to-do Taira family's monthly

were justified. Both children were slightly retarded, and people believed that this fact added even more proof. 848

An illegitimate child is loved by everybody and treated like any legitimate child. The bastard's name is listed in the registry under his mother's and his illegitimacy noted. Since World War II the distinguishing red ink mark is no longer used in recording these children. Unless the mother marries the child's real father, the offspring has no legal rights of inheritance. If she marries another man, the child may receive affectionate treatment from the stepfather, but he remains legally her son. Socially such a child does not suffer any form of ostracism, but adults make references to his status within his earshot. One such girl proudly said that people had told her that she was half-Japanese. [837] [732] [217] [428] [554]

Legally a man cannot have more than one wife, but there are cases of multiple marriage even in Taira. It takes a substantial income for such an arrangement, since a second wife is given a separate place to live. A younger "wife" is usually taken if there is no male heir born by the legal wife or if the marriage remains childless altogether. A man, formerly a resident of the village, took a young concubine late in life after his sons were killed during the war. She bore him a son, apparently with the consent of the first wife, since there was amicable interaction between the two although they lived separately. The husband registers such children as his legal offspring. 595 842

Two modes of divorce are possible. A couple may agree to separate and call a family council of parents and relatives on both sides. The township office is then notified and separation acknowledged. Once children have been born, such divorces are not too frequent; at least there were few cases of divorced women with children in Taira. A husband may initiate a divorce by telling his wife of his desire to separate. Extra-marital relationships of the wife would be sufficient cause, as would be sterility, which is interpreted as her fault. In Taira a settlement within the family is the more frequent mode of divorce although relatively rare. One official estimated that the rate of divorce for the whole township is two per year. Among the 59 marriages we found listings for five subsequent divorces. During fieldwork, many debates about modernizing divorce laws were held among members of the Women's Association, which advocated the abolition of the unilateral emphasis that gave husbands all the rights and wives almost none. Only a crime committed by a man would be sufficient cause under existing law to permit the wife to initiate a divorce. 586 [837] [842] [671] [575]

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Part II

Child Training

Chapter 12

Pregnancy and Childbirth

The custom of "trial marriage" stresses the importance Taira villagers put on a woman's ability to bear children, for it is imperative that there be heirs to carry on the family line. The first child is usually born within one or two years after marriage. Taira people would be extremely surprised if a child is not born soon, for children, especially male offspring, are desired. A barren wife faces the possibility of annulment of her marriage by her husband or even her husband's parents. Should this action be disagreeable to her husband, she may still be forced to take the lesser role of co-wife. A fertile woman who fails to bear a male child may suffer a situation not unlike that of a barren woman. Pregnancies, however, arouse a great amount of ambivalence in attitude. 842 [583] [586] [595] 843

Most women welcome pregnancy happily, knowing that they are fulfilling their role as a woman. Nevertheless, some women complain 842

842 of the economic hardship incurred as a result of large families. A few
[843] of the more outspoken mothers complain bitterly against the old peo-
ple who expect them to continue bearing children until three male
[593] heirs are born. Men desire male heirs, and one son is not enough: the
favored number is three. Informal interviews reveal that in spite of the
cultural preference for sons, mothers welcome daughters, who grow up
to be useful helpers. Even if women protest when they feel tired of
bearing children, they submit to their husband's demands. Since Japa-
551 nese given names are used today, the practice of naming a girl Sueko
553 (end child), to indicate that one considers her to be the last, is often
842 resorted to. If this proves insufficient and another follows, she might
[177] be called Tomeko (stop child). In one family the wife gave her baby
girl the name Sueko to indicate that she did not desire any more chil-
dren. Her husband, however, disagreed, for he wanted another son, and
registered the child without his wife's knowledge under another name.

842 Although the older generation, which has supported large families,
looks on birth control measures with distaste, the young mothers cir-
744 culate information published in Japanese magazines and by the Oki-
nawan public health department on this matter, and a few families
actually use contraceptives. However, in general, public health nurses
847 have found it extremely difficult to discuss matters like birth control,
abortion, and infanticide with villagers. "We suspect that these meas-
ures are practiced everywhere. Of course, with the system of registra-
tion and public health nursing, infanticide is hardly possible; how-
[732] ever . . . we could not say. . . ." * It is interesting to note that in
Taira there are mental defectives but no physical defectives. Abortion
[848] is legal with a doctor's consent, but informants claimed it was not
practiced. There are illegitimate children born in the village.

842 "The seeds, they must match. If they do not match, then it cannot
be," explain the villagers. They continue, "It is like planting a field,
however, if the soil is hostile to growth, nothing can happen." Thus
the villagers express their theories of conception.

843 Cessation of menstrual periods signals the start of pregnancy, and
the sudden craving for a particular kind of food forces the woman to
acknowledge the fact. Informal interviewing and casual observation
reveal that morning sickness is not usual. Women rarely miss a work-
[461] ing day in the fields and mountains even in the early stages of preg-
nancy. One male who failed to appear for work with the rest of the
[522] male population of the village was the butt of many a joke. "How
now, you are taking over the task of your wife?" teased the men and
women.

[164] Malfunction of the kidneys is not uncommon among pregnant

* Personal communication from public health nurses.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

fields and away from the village, the young caretaker jiggles up and down to soothe the baby on his back. As his cries become frantic, the caretaker's peers will pat him on his buttocks and try to placate him by guiding his fingers to his mouth. 854 857 594

For the nuclear family with no other caretaker except the mother, the newborn proves to be a problem. One such mother complained that she could not do anything efficiently with a baby on her back. She was able to go to the fields to harvest potatoes but had to leave the laden basket until the afternoon to carry it home, for at that time the neighbor's child returned from school to look after the baby. In payment for baby-sitting services she had planned on buying the neighbor's child a dress for the next New Year.

In the nuclear family with school age children, the mother works around the house and in the nearby fields in the morning and rushes off to the mountains when her relief returns in the middle of the afternoon. Thus the infant which brought so much joy to the family and gave its mother respite from the rigorous routine for a short time becomes somewhat of a burden to all. Nevertheless, the baby continues to be indulged, pitied for his helplessness, and the object of affection.

It is important to note, briefly, the father's attitude and behavior during this initial period. Although only females were born during this study, interviews suggest that a male birth elicits a somewhat more solicitous behavior on the part of the father toward both mother and infant than a female one. The father will discourage the mother's early resumption of work and may even feel encouraged to carry the male infant despite the fact that children are deemed "women's work." Ostensibly, however, he seems embarrassed and disinterested in the whole matter be it a male or female. Congratulating visitors find that after a few polite exchanges the father will retire to a corner in the house as attention focuses on mother and child. After sitting out what seems a proper length of time, he will mumble some excuse or other and leave the house to do some chore. The observer visiting the household on the occasion of the birth of a fourth daughter found gloom and disgust in the father's expression. A male visitor who sat trying to convince the father that daughters are quite useful, too, received only contemptuous stares. His wife sat dejectedly holding the infant loosely in her arms. In contrast, a visit of the same purpose to another household on the birth of a fourth daughter revealed similar but notably less intense reactions on the part of the father. Perhaps because of the existence of one male heir he felt less threatened. 846 842

There is a tenacious belief in Taira that the female determines the sex of the child. If the woman fails to produce a male heir, the man

846 can take on a second wife. The woman who is delivered of her third
842 son is the envy of others who have none or only one son to their credit, for she has achieved what is considered to be the ideal in a wife. Thus the first mother with four daughters was treated with outright disgust and contempt by her husband, whereas in the second instance the mother was receiving the normal treatment of disinterest with minor solicitation.

593 The constant stream of visitors during the first month gives the
857 other children in the household a sense of importance. Whenever an
854 older child has a chance, he stresses the fact that there is a newborn in the house and reports the identity of the latest visitor to scores of admiring peers. He is the envy of the lot when at last he is allowed to carry the infant and play. But the envy is short lived, and the older sibling's pride withers rapidly when he finds that this is just another baby to be carried and cared for constantly. As the baby gains weight and no longer sleeps quietly for extended periods of time on the back, the older sibling begins to run and hide when he sees his mother approaching with the baby.

593 A few days after the birth of an infant, the fieldworker visited a
522 household and found the older siblings all crowded in the back room
857 with the mother and child. One of the girls, a 5-year-old who was
854 unusually sturdy and large in build, was teased by her mother. "Hey Hanako, let's give the teacher this baby, all right?" said the mother, winking on the side to the fieldworker. The little girl looked anxiously at the fieldworker and slowly edged over protectively toward the infant. She shook her head slowly and deliberately for some minutes, indicating that she would not assent to giving her baby sister away. At this point the grandmother entered the teasing and told the little girl that the baby would only prove to be a burden when she had to carry her later on, but she continued to shake her head. As the mother handed the baby over to the fieldworker, the girl burst into tears and cried out "No! No!" All laughed and assured her that the baby would remain in the household.

593 Several weeks later, Hanako proudly paraded her newest baby sister
857 for all her playmates to see. Many begged to carry the infant "for just a
854 little while" to no avail. When her older sister returned from school, she reluctantly gave up her charge in deference to age and experience. This went on for about two months until one day the fieldworker came on the mother calling frantically around the village for Hanako and the older girl. The older girl successfully evaded her mother, but Hanako was discovered and the baby was strapped to her back. Hanako

warned to be careful on days corresponding to their birth-years. A man who was 805
a "bird person" could not go to participate in a bone-washing because it was 527
held on a Day of the Bird. During the recurrence of one's birth-year, he must be cautious during the whole period.

The Western calendar was introduced into Okinawa after the Japanese an- 805
nexation, but it is still referred to as the "new calendar". It is the calen- 177
dar of the schools and government and of business, but not of the farmer. In the city the more important celebration of New Year's is held on the "new" New Year's; in the country it is on "old" New Year's a month later.

Before the Japanese annexation years were named in an absolute sequence (that is, besides being named by position in the cycles of twelve and of sixty) by the reigns of Chinese emperors. After the annexation the reigns of Japanese emperors were used. At the present time the Western chronology ('seireki') is official, but some still speak of the year 1954 as "Shōwa 29", the 29th year of the reign of the present emperor.

Birth and Infancy: Notions about Conception Okinawans recognize that sexual 842
relations are necessary for but do not always result in conception. Younger people have heard of the struggle of the sperm to reach the egg, but their notions may be rather foggy. For example, a woman in her middle thirties, discussing the responsibilities of parents, argued in the following manner: a woman cannot conceive without having an orgasm; she cannot have an orgasm without feeling love ('aijō'); hence conception is the result of love, hence she should willingly take responsibility for her child. The ethical principle involved in this argument may not be typical, but the lack of precise information of physiology probably is. And it suggests two things: first, that women may inhibit their emotions as a contraceptive measure, and second, they may be willing to take chances in having sex relations thinking that they can inhibit conception. But it is worth noting here that young women do not discuss these matters very freely and hence generalizations may be very unsafe.

Condoms are sold in the cities but probably not in the country. A former country woman living in the city believed that country people would use them if they knew of them, but that they do not know. She regarded four children as enough. However, a young unmarried man from the city said that one would use a condom only when visiting a prostitute; it would be insulting to use one with your sweetheart. Some of this attitude may carry over after marriage.

Pregnancy If a woman believes that she may be pregnant she goes to 843
a midwife for a diagnosis. This is usually about three [759]
months after her last menstrual period. The fee is usually ¥50. If she is in fact pregnant she continues to consult the midwife and the midwife attends her at the birth of the child. The total fee is about ¥1,000.

For the good of her unborn child a pregnant woman is urged to be happy [674]
and to avoid situations potentially harmful to it; for example if she were to go to a funeral or a bone-washing the shii, a sort of soul, of the baby might be drawn into the tomb.

[Kochinda-son]

163 The prewar birthrate figures for Okinawa-ken include the following: 1936--26.2; 1937--26.4; and 1938--27.2.[1] So it is evident that in the prewar period there was a slight tendency for the birth rate to increase. A decrease is noted for recent years. In 1951 the birth rate was 36.7 for the Ryukyus as a whole, and was 34.2 in 1952.[2]

A more nearly accurate measure of the rapidity of the increase in population is the fertility ratio. For this study it was defined as the ratio of children under five years of age to the number of women aged fifteen to forty inclusive. The fertility ratio in 1953 for Kochinda-son was 663. This may be compared to the United States average of 464 for the white rural-farm population [illegible] 1940, or the average of 587 for the Negro rural-farm population in the same year. The 1947 fertility ratio in Japan was 528.[3]

[171]

842 Most Okinawan men are familiar with the condom method of preventing conception. The Japanese Army was said to have followed a policy of distributing packages as men left the posts for liberty. A brand called "Shikishima" could also be bought at drug stores. One farmer asked me if there was a shot in the arm that a woman could get so as to render her sterile for a two-week period.

[m]

847 Informants stated that abortions were sometimes performed before the war, but were rare. Postwar doctors are not supposed to perform abortions unless the husband consents in person.

163 178 Spacing of Births By an analysis of the period between births, it may be possible to learn of shifts in frequency of births. For this purpose, a sampling was made of families with complete birth records in 25% of the households of Kochinda-son. The same villages were checked for postwar birth records. Only families with three or more postwar births were included in the latter category. Families with complete birth records covering both the pre- and post-invasion periods were also checked.

The comparison between the 37 households representing complete prewar records and the 39 households representing the postwar records of three or more births can best be seen by examining the following table:

Table IX

	Prewar	Postwar
Average Age of Mother at Birth of First Child	23.1	22.4
Average Age of Father at Birth of First Child	29.6[4]	27.1[5]

1 Navy Civil Affairs Handbook, page 56.
2 CAARI, p. 76. Projected annual rates per 1,000 inhabitants based upon estimated midyear population.
3 Japan Statistical Yearbook, 1950, p. 17. The population figures used are valid for 1 October 1947.
4 The ages of only nine prewar fathers were available. The remainder were war dead, and were not recorded in the temporary 'koseki'.
5 All 39 cases are represented above.

1

The Okinawan Midwife

Children are born under the care of a midwife (sanba). Physicians do not attend at birth, but they may be called later if complications develop. Native doctors (yabu), who have now largely disappeared, are not consulted. One midwife may serve several villages. She is engaged some months before the expected birth. Midwives are highly respected. The older ones have added to their initial training a wealth of knowledge based on experience. A midwife in Ginosa village takes care of the expectant mothers of Matsuda and one in Gushichan village serves those of Hanashiro and Minatogawa. Midwives long resident in an area are beloved by the children they have delivered. The children when adult visit her, or she is invited to the homes of those at whose birth she has assisted. 844 [159] [554] [574]

Prenatal examinations are made by the midwife in the 3rd, 5th, 7th, and 9th month of pregnancy, the most thorough of those being the last three. The mother goes to the midwife for the examinations, but the birth takes place in the home. A birth other than in one's home is considered bad luck. [843] [777]

Starting with the 5th month, the belly is wrapped around with a flannel sash (a haraobi). On the 5th month, it may be 7 shaku (about 7 feet) long and about 8 inches wide; by the ninth month, a 9 shaku length is used. The sash is not needed, in one midwife's opinion, during the last month of pregnancy, but it may be left on. While the sash is worn, it is taken off three times a month for laundering. The purpose of the binding is to keep the child in its natural position and to prevent it from turning and causing an abnormal delivery. 843 292

After birth, the child may be slapped on the backside if the mother has been in labor 17 hours or more. According to one midwife, the usual labor for a first child is about 17 hours, and 7 for the second. The midwife cuts the umbilical cord and may, but not always, dispose of the afterbirth (taiban, iya in Japanese). 844

In the villages, this may be disposed of by women relatives or by the father. It is buried, following an old custom, behind the house in a place where it does not rain. In Matsuda, women relatives wrap the placenta in a cloth and bury it, while friends, relatives, and children gather around and laugh. There are variants of this custom. In Minatogawa, the afterbirth is wrapped in a cloth and buried back of the house by the father. Neighboring children gather and laugh while this is going on. The reason for the laughing is that the new born child may always smile and be gay. In another variant, the father alone does the laughing. In all villages studied, this custom in its variants still has vitality. [184]

According to a Ginosa midwife, maternal death in child birth is unusual. Hanashiro women said the same. Miscarriages in early 165 843

843 pregnancy are also said to be rare, although miscarriages in later pregnancy up to two or three months before the birth are more numerous because of the continuing heavy work of the mother in the fields. The mother in the agricultural village normally works up to the time for
849 the birth. She eats her normal diet. After birth, the child is placed on a large comforter (futon) beside the mother.

The midwife, after delivery, goes once a day for a week to the mother's home. Her fee is not decided upon before hand, but according
[846] to custom, averages Y350 for a normal and Y500 for a difficult birth,
[965] a low fee probably enforced by the poverty and lack of cash of farm families. (In Naha corresponding fees are said to be Y1-2000).

853 There is no uniform way of feeding the child after birth. In most cases the child is not breast fed until after the third day due to the fact that mothers have little milk at this time. The first, second, and the third days it is fed warm water with small amounts of white sugar, but this is by no means universal. Some mothers have said that they give the child the breast 4 or 5 hours after birth. In any case, the child very quickly becomes accustomed to feeding at the breast, and this continues for an indeterminate period, depending on the mother and the child. It may be for two years, or until the next
[862] child comes. In all communities studied, other arrangements are made in the unlikely event that the mother does not have milk of her own. The child may be given evaporated cow's milk or friends or relatives nurse the child. In Minatogawa, if a woman has special duties or takes a trip out of town and cannot take her child with her, she can pay to have it nursed.

843 One belief regarding pregnancy still exists among the old in the Ginoza area. If a new house is being built during the pregnancy of the woman of the house, the cap of the roof is not put on until after the birth has taken place.

2

Birth Customs and Convalescence

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In Minatogawa, and to a much lesser extent in Hanashiro, birth customs are related to certain beliefs about the pig pen. These were not known in Hateuda. In the two southern villages they have virtually disappeared, except among the old. According to a Hanashiro farmer's wife, the child on the day of its birth is washed, dressed in new clothes, and carried to the pig pen, which is supposed to frighten away evil spirits (bakemono).[1]
[See footnote 1, bottom of p. 257 --analyst]

462 heavy sods in the rice paddy; nevertheless, women and younger girls
[241] often do this work along with the men and boys if time runs short. There are some women who prepare their farm land without the help of their husbands.

[313] In mountain work, women produce almost as much as men except that they do not handle the large logs. Even pregnant women make
[843] three or four daily mountain trips, sometimes up until the day of childbirth. Only the mode of carrying wood, like any load, differs for
[482] the sexes: a man uses a carrying stick supported on his shoulder, with two bundles attached to each end; a woman carries bundles on her back, tied and held in place by a tump line tied over her forehead. Women can carry loads of 100 to 120 pounds in this manner.

[312] Men seldom carry water from the tank or faucet to the house; this is considered women's work, although younger boys are expected to
241 help at times. Work in the potato fields is mainly women's responsibility. Their hands are also preferred in rice transplanting, where
462 dexterity is needed in pulling out the tender shoots from the seed bed and replanting them in straight rows at measured intervals. Occasionally a young man helps, and boys sometimes try to work along with their sisters when they learn transplanting. Both men and women sow the seed beds. In special activities, such as house building, a more dis-
462 tinct division of labor can be observed. In any building activity, men
[342] do the structural work and women carry materials and cook for the
[653] men. The same division of labor is found on community projects, road building, fencing against wild pigs, or repairing the water pipes. In general, however, no special comment is made if either a man or woman performs work usually done by the opposite sex.

887 Men and women work in the fields and forests from ages 15 to 60. When they approach 60, men like to "retire." If possible, they turn
462 over their responsibilities as household heads to their eldest sons. From
[464] then on, they tend to stay home more and more. They can still help with less demanding work, making bamboo rings for firewood bundles, sawing wood, or doing odd jobs around the house. Approaching old age, most men become economically useless and in other ways contribute little to society. For old women, quite the contrary is true. Even grandmothers who are well over 60 seem strong and active. Most of
[241] them go to the fields to plant or harvest potatoes or other vegetables. One woman, well into her sixties and bent over from arthritis, took long walks to distant potato fields, with a heavy load of slips or potatoes in a basket on her back, a hoe on top of it, supporting herself on a
[855] stick. Other grandmothers look after the youngest children, thus freeing the mother for work. Old women also cook, help bundle firewood,

831 keep others from noticing sex activities. Keeping sex a private matter
833 does not mean that there is a feeling of shame or guilt. It is considered a natural function, and although they do not discuss marital relations, men feel free to mention sex and its pleasurable aspects. Such conversations seem to cause some embarrassment among the younger women but are thought entertaining by older ones.

To men, sex, like food and drink, is to be enjoyed and indulged in. Women, too, enjoy sex but are more reticent and give much less overt expression to their desires. There are stories about women who are sexually aggressive, but they are either characters in the folklore or women of a neighboring village who are said to be this way "because they don't work hard enough." Men enjoy sex activity until an advanced age. One man over 60 whose wife had long been dead twice took a young woman as second wife; in both cases the women left him after a short period, but dissatisfaction with his sexual capacity was supposedly not the cause. Several children in Taira were fathered by
[278] men who had passed their sixtieth birthday. People believe that potency depends on physical well-being and age, but that it can be
[262] produced by a special drink consisting of sake in which a poisonous
[273] snake, the *habu,* is steeped. As soon as one finishes drinking this brew, its effects should be felt. Sake, meat, and eggs are also thought to increase potency.

833 Women's breasts are considered sexually stimulating. Men like to caress the breasts and the skin in general. Kissing occurs during foreplay only among some younger couples; older people do not care for it. In a room or house, shared with others, few couples undress fully for intercourse. Moving the baby to one side of the mat or mattress, a husband joins his wife.

834 There are no pre- or postparturition taboos; relations continue
[843] throughout pregnancy and are resumed about a week after childbirth,
[846] when the wife has taken her first bath. Men tend to disregard the public health nurse's urging that women be given a little longer rest.

837 That extra marital affairs do occur is evidenced by the presence of
848 illegitimate children. But the mothers are likely to be widows or girls
732 who for one reason or another did not get married at the usual age. Deformity may be a reason for not finding a husband. Two children
[835] in Taira were claimed to be the issue of an incestuous relationship
[581] between a man and his widowed daughter. Although the children were conceived and born outside the village, people became suspicious after the family returned to Taira. Because the putative father failed to deny paternity strongly, villagers felt certain that their suspicions

[p. 454 is blank]

Part II

Child Training

Chapter 12

Pregnancy and Childbirth

The custom of "trial marriage" stresses the importance Taira villagers put on a woman's ability to bear children, for it is imperative that there be heirs to carry on the family line. The first child is usually born within one or two years after marriage. Taira people would be extremely surprised if a child is not born soon, for children, especially male offspring, are desired. A barren wife faces the possibility of annulment of her marriage by her husband or even her husband's parents. Should this action be disagreeable to her husband, she may still be forced to take the lesser role of co-wife. A fertile woman who fails to bear a male child may suffer a situation not unlike that of a barren woman. Pregnancies, however, arouse a great amount of ambivalence in attitude. 842 [583] [586] [595] 843

Most women welcome pregnancy happily, knowing that they are fulfilling their role as a woman. Nevertheless, some women complain 842

842 of the economic hardship incurred as a result of large families. A few
[843] of the more outspoken mothers complain bitterly against the old people who expect them to continue bearing children until three male
[593] heirs are born. Men desire male heirs, and one son is not enough: the favored number is three. Informal interviews reveal that in spite of the cultural preference for sons, mothers welcome daughters, who grow up to be useful helpers. Even if women protest when they feel tired of bearing children, they submit to their husband's demands. Since Japa-
551 nese given names are used today, the practice of naming a girl Sueko
553 (end child), to indicate that one considers her to be the last, is often
842 resorted to. If this proves insufficient and another follows, she might
[177] be called Tomeko (stop child). In one family the wife gave her baby girl the name Sueko to indicate that she did not desire any more children. Her husband, however, disagreed, for he wanted another son, and registered the child without his wife's knowledge under another name.

842 Although the older generation, which has supported large families,
744 looks on birth control measures with distaste, the young mothers circulate information published in Japanese magazines and by the Okinawan public health department on this matter, and a few families actually use contraceptives. However, in general, public health nurses
847 have found it extremely difficult to discuss matters like birth control, abortion, and infanticide with villagers. "We suspect that these measures are practiced everywhere. Of course, with the system of registration and public health nursing, infanticide is hardly possible; how-
[732] ever . . . we could not say. . . ." * It is interesting to note that in Taira there are mental defectives but no physical defectives. Abortion is legal with a doctor's consent, but informants claimed it was not
[848] practiced. There are illegitimate children born in the village.

842 "The seeds, they must match. If they do not match, then it cannot be," explain the villagers. They continue, "It is like planting a field, however; if the soil is hostile to growth, nothing can happen." Thus the villagers express their theories of conception.

843 Cessation of menstrual periods signals the start of pregnancy, and the sudden craving for a particular kind of food forces the woman to acknowledge the fact. Informal interviewing and casual observation reveal that morning sickness is not usual. Women rarely miss a work-
[461] ing day in the fields and mountains even in the early stages of preg-
[522] nancy. One male who failed to appear for work with the rest of the male population of the village was the butt of many a joke. "How now, you are taking over the task of your wife?" teased the men and women.

[164] Malfunction of the kidneys is not uncommon among pregnant

* Personal communication from public health nurses.

women in Taira. Three young mothers, who continued to work despite the discomfort and pain of swollen extremities, consulted with the doctor in the nearby town, and a fourth described this condition, which had prohibited her from any but the most simple and undemanding work. The old people look upon unusual pregnancies in askance. "Work, good, hard physical labor is what we did and we never had any difficulties. Young people pamper themselves." 843 164 [461]

Special foods and advice are proffered the expectant mother for the benefit of the baby. "Eat this so that you will have lots of milk for the baby. Remember that spicy things are bad for the baby. Do you recall the one who was born with a great patch of hair on its arms? Its mother was frightened by a great big cat while she was carrying that child," comment villagers to the mother. Some husbands indulge their wives' cravings for special delicacies like expensive imported fruits. 843 [262]

To keep the baby in position, a sash is wound several times about the pregnant woman's abdomen by a midwife or some old woman. [292]

In the "old days" it was not unusual for a woman to return from the mountains or fields carrying her newborn. Grandmothers recall with relish the days when "Women paid little heed to their condition, did hard work, and had their babies without a whimper." "The women today pamper themselves," snap the wizened grandmothers watching an expectant mother resting between trips to the mountains. 844 843

As the day of parturition approaches, the expectant mother schedules her work to remain as close to the house as possible. When labor starts, she retires to the back room of the house, which is situated next to the kitchen. The medical practitioner, or in his absence a midwife,* is called to assist in the delivery. The husband's mother, if she lives in the house, or other older related women attend. A man may be present during his wife's first delivery but at subsequent births will wait with some of the women in the front room. In the old days a woman was supported by her husband or someone else in a half-sitting position. Nowadays, however, women give birth lying down. Only rarely does a woman in labor cry out in pain. Soft crying is permissible, but any loud demonstration would elicit contemptuous comments from the older women. "If you had worked hard, the baby would not be so big, then labor would not be difficult," is an often heard retort. 844 [759] [152]

Informal interviewing revealed that birth takes place in a large number of cases during late evening or early morning hours. Usually children of the house sleep on undisturbed. Should they awake, they are kept out of the delivery room, although the youngest may be allowed to enter to visit with his mother shortly after delivery. [858] [593]

The newborn is bathed in tepid water then bundled in blankets,

* At present there is no midwife in Taira.

853 There are no food taboos during pregnancy, and after birth mothers
262 can continue to eat what they wish except for certain "hard" foods,
such as octopus, whale meat, and certain kinds of fish which are be-
● [843] lieved to stop the flow of milk. To stimulate lactation, the mother is
given papaya boiled with flour and noodles or a medicine made from
herbs.

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Chapter 13

Infancy

858 The infant is considered a helpless, pitiable treasure who is incapable
155 of knowing, understanding, or learning until he is around 6 years old.
855 If this senseless child is treated affectionately and indulgently, he will
177 grow to be a healthy, happy adult.

With the spread of Japanese influence throughout Okinawa, accord-
[861] ing to informants, there evolved another belief, which in Taira is
complementary to the idea of the senseless child. This new belief is
vaguely conceptualized by most young parents but was verbalized con-
cretely by at least two sets of parents. "Children are the gift of gods.*
They are godly until they are 7 years old." Exoneration of misbehavior
on the part of the child under 7 (6 years according to Western count)
conjures up in the mind of the observer a picture of willful capricious
gods who are totally unpredictable. A shrug of the shoulder and a
phrase which completely defines both attitude and resignation in Japa-
nese is, "helpless, against one's will." Because children are godlike in
nature, they do not know any better; because they do not know any
better they are godlike in nature. Just why and how a child outgrows
this temperament could not be explained by the parents. These beliefs
foster the extreme indulgence, protection, and nurturance of young
babies. Their physical and emotional needs are attended to constantly,
with a great deal of affection.

* This notion may well have been influenced by Christian as much as by Japanese ideas.

There is no specific or preferred posture for nursing. While the mothers are in confinement for the brief period following delivery, they often lie next to the baby and feed him. Sitting while nursing is the most common posture, but mothers frequently nurse while standing or squatting. The baby is held loosely and the mother is relaxed. If others are about, she will carry on a lively conversation and occasionally pat the baby gently on or around the region of the buttocks. When alone, she holds the baby with one arm, talks softly, smiles, and with her other hand tugs gently at the baby's limbs. Each feeding is leisurely; the breast is never withdrawn from the infant's mouth. More often than not he suckles his fill and falls asleep. 853

It is as natural to suckle one's infant at a village meeting as it is to do so in the privacy of one's home. A common sight is that of a mother sitting and listening intently to speeches while cradling her suckling infant loosely in her arms. On buses, in market places, or at large public intervillage gatherings, one is sure to encounter such a scene. [291]

The breast is used to soothe a baby when he is ill, irritable, or in distress from pain. This was quite evident when all the babies in the village were being given a series of innoculations for diphtheria and typhoid. As the injections were given in one large open room, the cries of the infant being innoculated prompted others to cry. Invariably the mother offered the breast to the baby. 853 854 751

After the birth of a child, the mother sits at home during a short rest period, watching happily as neighbors, friends, and relatives continually drop in to admire the newborn. Sipping tea, the visitors offer bits of advice, exchange the latest gossip, ask to hold the infant, and take their leave with the standard phrase: "Take care of yourself." It is a pleasant interlude, but as the family resources begin to dwindle, there is a slight but perceptible change in the attitude of the mother toward her newborn. The constant stream of visitors, for whom tea and some small tidbits must be offered, and her nonparticipation in the regular economic activities prove to be a drain on the family budget, in spite of the fact that the mother and her husband have worked with extra diligence in the months prior to parturition. The mother begins to talk about the approaching feast day and the need to get new clothing for the older children. She asks anxiously about the condition of the firewood market and starts to plan her inevitable resumption of work in the mountains and fields. In spite of her feelings of protectiveness and pity for the young baby, she begins, bit by bit, to reinstate her normal routine. Although she continues to cuddle, kiss, and affectionately nurse the infant, she thinks of the good weather and of how she might have been able to make one more trip to the mountains 846 574 846 461 [843] [594]

copy their behavior. When several mothers and their children are gathered, a mother of a year-old child will coo, "Cute baby" as she strokes a friend's infant's head. She smiles at her child, takes his hand, and repeats the action. A spontaneous response such as this on the part of a year-old child would evoke admiration and voluble praise from the audience. A year and a half old boy became the pride of his mother when he approached all little children with a highly nurturant attitude. He had learned his lesson so well that he considered children of his own age babies because they were smaller than himself. Walking up to them, he would bend down, pat their heads patronizingly, and take their hands to guide them along. 854 155

Equally important to the Okinawan parent is a friendly child who is well liked by everyone in the village. A happy, smiling personality is ideal, and it is this wish for the child which leads grandmothers and mothers to perpetuate the custom of burying the afterbirth of a newborn to the accompaniment of laughter and appeals to the spirits to ensure this characteristic. Adults constantly try to get infants to smile by talking and making funny sounds and faces. Even young children approach infants clapping their hands together in an attempt to elicit smiles. [156]

Treatment of children during this initial period discourages expression of self-reliant behavior. As described above, except for rare and very brief intervals during the day, a child is strapped onto someone's back from the time he wakes up in the morning to the time he is put to bed at night. The child is carried about in this fashion from the age of one month until he is almost 2 years old. [866]

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Chapter 14

Weaning

When a mother discovers that she is pregnant again, usually about two years after her last delivery, she begins to think of weaning her child. Most mothers nurse the last child until they are about three months 862 853 [843]

warned to be careful on days corresponding to their birth-years. A man who was 805
a "bird person" could not go to participate in a bone-washing because it was 527
held on a Day of the Bird. During the recurrence of one's birth-year, he must be cautious during the whole period.

The Western calendar was introduced into Okinawa after the Japanese an- 805
nexation, but it is still referred to as the "new calendar". It is the calen- 177
dar of the schools and government and of business, but not of the farmer. In the city the more important celebration of New Year's is held on the "new" New Year's; in the country it is on "old" New Year's a month later.

Before the Japanese annexation years were named in an absolute sequence (that is, besides being named by position in the cycles of twelve and of sixty) by the reigns of Chinese emperors. After the annexation the reigns of Japanese emperors were used. At the present time the Western chronology ('seireki') is official, but some still speak of the year 1954 as "Shōwa 29", the 29th year of the reign of the present emperor.

Birth and Infancy: Notions about Conception Okinawans recognize that sexual 842
relations are necessary for but do not always result in conception. Younger people have heard of the struggle of the sperm to reach the egg, but their notions may be rather foggy. For example, a woman in her middle thirties, discussing the responsibilities of parents, argued in the following manner: a woman cannot conceive without having an orgasm; she cannot have an orgasm without feeling love ('aijō'); hence conception is the result of love, hence she should willingly take responsibility for her child. The ethical principle involved in this argument may not be typical, but the lack of precise information of physiology probably is. And it suggests two things: first, that women may inhibit their emotions as a contraceptive measure, and second, they may be willing to take chances in having sex relations thinking that they can inhibit conception. But it is worth noting here that young women do not discuss these matters very freely and hence generalizations may be very unsafe.

Condoms are sold in the cities but probably not in the country. A former country woman living in the city believed that country people would use them if they knew of them, but that they do not know. She regarded four children as enough. However, a young unmarried man from the city said that one would use a condom only when visiting a prostitute; it would be insulting to use one with your sweetheart. Some of this attitude may carry over after marriage.

Pregnancy If a woman believes that she may be pregnant she goes to 843
a midwife for a diagnosis. This is usually about three [759]
months after her last menstrual period. The fee is usually ¥50. If she is in fact pregnant she continues to consult the midwife and the midwife attends her at the birth of the child. The total fee is about ¥1,000.

For the good of her unborn child a pregnant woman is urged to be happy [674]
and to avoid situations potentially harmful to it; for example if she were to go to a funeral or a bone-washing the shii, a sort of soul, of the baby might be drawn into the tomb.

843 be drawn into the tomb. Some say the prospective father should also avoid these situations. Another set of observances has an easy delivery as its aim. The woman is urged to work hard and not to overeat so that the unborn child may not become too large. During the fifth month a "belly band" is wrapped tightly about her for the same purpose, especially to keep the head small.

A woman neither hides her pregnancy nor displays it unnecessarily---if she is married and it is her husband's child. If this is not the case she may attempt to hide the fact. On the other hand if she is bearing what may be her husband's first son , she may be very pleased at the prospect, but she does not go out of her way to show it.

843 774 [847] No clear statement was given to the effect that the "soul" enters the body of the unborn child at a particular time, but statements are made about dangers to the shii of the child. One informant suggested that this soul-like entity enters the body of the mother during the third month and that for this reason a moxibustionist had refused to abort a woman after her third month had passed.

847 Abortion Abortions have always been and continue to be performed on Okinawa. The most frequent reason is said to be the desire not to bear an illegitimate child. An old-fashioned home method is to brew camphor-wood leaves and drink the brew or to burn the leaves and breathe the smoke. Experts in cautery are also believed to be able to cause an abortion by burning moxa on the proper areas of the body. But at the present time women are said to be aborted more frequently by midwives. The practice does not appear to be regarded as illegal.

844 Birth A woman tries to work up until the time of childbirth. If she has had several children already she knows when labor starts, how long it is likely to last, and may go out to the fields confident that she can return in time. Delivery is in the kucha, the back room of the house. Women of the family are present and men are not forbidden, though children are sent out. Often a woman's husband grasps her during delivery. Formerly she squatted on the floor holding a rope suspended from a house-beam above her. At present she is usually made to lie down. The labor is spoken of as "pain" but the woman must not cry out; she may only grunt when putting her strength into the ejection of the baby. If she were to cry out because of the pain she would later feel very ashamed---"because it is something that happens to every woman; people would talk about her."

Formerly the newly-born child was neither bathed nor dressed but simply wrapped in an old kimono; now it is bathed in boiled water and dressed. The 853 infant is permitted to nurse from about the fourth day on, after there is milk in the mother's breasts. Before this it may be given a little sugar in water and possibly allowed to suck a little colostrum about the second day after birth.

178 846 [354] Formerly the mother was kept in the kucha for about a week in front of a fire burning on the jiiru, an open hearth in country homes, a kind of brazier in the city.

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The Okinawan Midwife

Children are born under the care of a midwife (sanba). Physicians do not attend at birth, but they may be called later if complications develop. Native doctors (yabu), who have now largely disappeared, are not consulted. One midwife may serve several villages. She is engaged some months before the expected birth. Midwives are highly respected. The older ones have added to their initial training a wealth of knowledge based on experience. A midwife in Ginosa village takes care of the expectant mothers of Matsuda and one in Gushichan village serves those of Hanashiro and Minatogawa. Midwives long resident in an area are beloved by the children they have delivered. The children when adult visit her, or she is invited to the homes of those at whose birth she has assisted. 844 [759] [554] [504]

Prenatal examinations are made by the midwife in the 3rd, 5th, 7th, and 9th month of pregnancy, the most thorough of those being the last three. The mother goes to the midwife for the examinations, but the birth takes place in the home. A birth other than in one's home is considered bad luck. [843] [777]

Starting with the 5th month, the belly is wrapped around with a flannel sash (a haraobi). On the 5th month, it may be 7 shaku (about 7 feet) long and about 8 inches wide; by the ninth month, a 9 shaku length is used. The sash is not needed, in one midwife's opinion, during the last month of pregnancy, but it may be left on. While the sash is worn, it is taken off three times a month for laundering. The purpose of the binding is to keep the child in its natural position and to prevent it from turning and causing an abnormal delivery. 843 292

After birth, the child may be slapped on the backside if the mother has been in labor 17 hours or more. According to one midwife, the usual labor for a first child is about 17 hours, and 7 for the second. The midwife cuts the umbilical cord and may, but not always, dispose of the afterbirth (taiban, iya in Japanese). 844

In the villages, this may be disposed of by women relatives or by the father. It is buried, following an old custom, behind the house in a place where it does not rain. In Matsuda, women relatives wrap the placenta in a cloth and bury it, while friends, relatives, and children gather around and laugh. There are variants of this custom. In Minatogawa, the afterbirth is wrapped in a cloth and buried back of the house by the father. Neighboring children gather and laugh while this is going on. The reason for the laughing is that the new born child may always smile and be gay. In another variant, the father alone does the laughing. In all villages studied, this custom in its variants still has vitality. [184]

According to a Ginosa midwife, maternal death in child birth is unusual. Hanashiro women said the same. Miscarriages in early 765 843

843 pregnancy are also said to be rare, although miscarriages in later pregnancy up to two or three months before the birth are more numerous because of the continuing heavy work of the mother in the fields. The mother in the agricultural village normally works up to the time for
844 the birth. She eats her normal diet. After birth, the child is placed on a large comforter (futon) beside the mother.

The midwife, after delivery, goes once a day for a week to the mother's home. Her fee is not decided upon before hand, but according
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Birth Customs and Convalescence

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[184] In Minatogawa, and to a much lesser extent in Hanashiro, birth customs are related to certain beliefs about the pig pen. These were not known in Matsuda. In the two southern villages they have virtually disappeared, except among the old. According to a Hanashiro farmer's wife, the child on the day of its birth is washed, dressed in new clothes, and carried to the pig pen, which is supposed to frighten
[189] away evil spirits (bakemono).[1]
[See footnote 1, bottom of p. 255 - analyst]

away evil spirits (bakemono).[1] From the pig sty the child is then taken to the kitchen, where a pot of rice has been cooking. Soot from the outside of the pot is taken up with the middle finger of the right hand and a round black spot pressed on the forehead above the bridge of the nose between the eyebrows. The reason for this could not be ascertained. 844 852

Beliefs in the power of a pig sty to ward off evil spirits are still held in Minatogawa and the customs were generally practiced up to the beginning of the war. But these beliefs were related more to celebrations following the birth of the child than to the birth itself. The elements of these beliefs seemed to be that the afterworld was close to this world. If a child were not protected, the spirits of the afterworld would steal the child and take him back. The party celebrating the birth lasted a whole week, usually starting each evening about 8 and ending at 8 the following morning. Guests stayed up all night to prevent the child from being stolen, for if anyone went to sleep, the spirit would enter. Spirits followed behind the guest and were especially dangerous after 10 at night. The spirits however were frightened by the pigs; guests arriving during the danger hours went to the pig pen first to scare off the spirit following them, before entering the house. There was no evidence, in the parties I attended, of any present observance of this custom by young parents. The week of all night parties is no longer held. 854 776 231 [772] [574] [183]

These beliefs were found in Minatogawa. Hanashiro informants had heard of such customs, but were vague about them. While their seeming absence in Hatsuda may be due to incomplete data, there may be another explanation. These beliefs may have been picked up by fishing people from other sources. [184]

One other birth custom known as jiru belongs to the recent history of the island. Jiru, as explained in Chapter V, is a fire place sunk in the floor of an Okinawan house, often in the corner of the dining room which adjoins a hall or a sleeping room, and near the kitchen. Convalescence was called jiru because mother and child warmed themselves by the device. Today convalescence may be called jiru, though it has nothing to do with the old custom, which in the literature has been referred to as "roasting." 846 [354]

1 When I discussed this and the following beliefs relating to pigs with people in Hatsuda, they ridiculed them and said there was no truth in it, implying that people in the south did not know what they were talking about. Subsequent rechecking convinced me that this was not so and that the beliefs in Minatogawa represent differences in the rural culture. 184

846 [354] In Matsuda, the jiru used after childbirth was either a small fireplace about three feet square set in the floor or an ordinary brazier (hibachi). The mother and the child were put in a dark sleeping room outfitted with the warmer. Sometimes the entire body of the mother was heated; in other cases, she seems to have placed herself so that the vagina received most of the heat. This was done regardless of season and happened in the hottest summer. The mother and child stayed in this room for 20 days. Attending female relatives went in and out only to keep things clean and to take care of the laundry. This form of jiru is said to have been practiced in Matsuda until 10 or 15 years ago.

In Hanashiro, this custom of warming was substantially the same. Regardless of season, the mother with her child retired to a dark room heated with a stove or a brazier. The mother nursed the child and no one entered or disturbed the two except for necessary attentions. No special portions of the body were heated. According to one Hanashiro woman, this custom existed up to 1940.[2] In present day practice, the mother rests for about 9 days including the day the child is born. During this period, the two are left alone. Necessary changes of clothing are put out and washed by female relatives. Following the rest period, the mother gets up, female friends and relatives clean the place thoroughly, and the house is back to normal.

In Minatogawa, warming is said to have disappeared about 20 years ago. The present period of convalescence lasts also about 9 days, with visits by grandparents on the day of birth, friends of the father on the second day, and those of the mother on the third.

[M] [849] These customs seem to have died out because of the introduction, through Japan, of modern medicine and the growth of midwifery. The knowledge of a Japanese trained midwife is based on a study of anatomy and a thorough exposition of child birth and child care. Some lore, such as lucky days, and the reckoning of the tide enter, but her techniques are based on medical practice.[3]

2 An old man, a village official, said warming had disappeared 30 years ago, but in this matter the mother's testimony is probably the more reliable. In either event, both point to the relative recency of the practice.

3 One Japanese midwife uses as her guide two volumes by Kinoshita, Seichu. Sanbagakukogi (Lectures on the Science of Midwifery), 1923. Vol. I deals with normal, Vol. II with difficult deliveries.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

3

Naming the Child

On the day of his birth, the child is given a name, but this is not the one it carries throughout life. The latter name, sometimes called the school name, may be given 5 days after birth, counting the date of the birth. This custom of double naming is still used in Hanashiro and Hinatogawa, though, according to local residents, it disappeared from Matsuda ten years ago. It is hard to discover the reasons for this double naming. Perhaps the first name is a temporary one to be used for the first crucial days of the child's life. If he survives, he receives his permanent one. This name, while known to the child, is not ordinarily retained when he gets his second name. Among the very old, however, some of these first names have been retained through life.[4] In Hanashiro, young and old alike may be known by both names, but the younger are apt to use the full given name. Adults and the old are known by both names. 553 [164]

The names given on the birth day are often the occasion of laughter, as some have the same pronunciation as common names of household utensils, agricultural tools, or domestic animals. The following list was obtained in Hanashiro but the same names were equally familiar in the other villages. (1) Ushi, given to males and females. Ushi is also the word for cattle. (2) Kame, also the word for a turtle or a tortoise. (3) Tsuru, also a stork or crane. (4) Nta, given to both sexes, the Okinawan word for pig. (5) Handu, also a water barrel. (6) Kama, also a sickle. (7) Nabi, a pot.[5] 551

These are homonyms. The name is written in hiragana or katakana (the Japanese syllabaries), not with the Chinese character of its homonym. Hence it would be incorrect to say that the child is named "Cow," "Pig," "Pot," etc. [212]

In Matsuda, up to about 30 years ago, according to one informant, if a wife gave birth to a child in the husband's absence, the eldest relative present gave the child a name of the sex opposite its own, apparently to avoid bad luck by resort to contrariety. When mothers gave birth to a child in the toilet, it was named nta or nte, apparently referring to the identity of the toilet and the pig pen. 849 553 [nn]

4 This is apparent in analyzing the family registers (koseki)

5 Other names are Tamachi (female); Uuto (female in Hanashiro); Makatu (f); Chiru (f); Taru (male and female); Jiru (m); Sanru (m and f but scarce); Miyo (m); Utu (f); Kenashi (f), and Kana (m and f).

year. On these occasions his parents take gifts of tea, noodles, and whatever else they can spare to the foster parents. During their visit the foster parents present the gift as an offering on the ancestral shrine and pray to their own ancestors, the guardians of the foster child. It is believed that this may help to offset the adverse effects of the child's own ancestors. 597 755 769

In spite of some treatments, such as blood letting and moxa cautery, which seem harsh to the unaccustomed observer, Taira people are extremely concerned about their sick. Illness, and most of all the need to remove the patient to the local dispensary or to a hospital in town, involves the whole family. No one likes to leave a sick person alone. His family and friends attend to him in such numbers that the small rooms are never large enough to hold all. The security given in everyday life by the presence of relatives and neighbors in the village continues during the critical period of illness. In the case of a fisherman from the south who was washed ashore in his boat after a storm, township officials kept the man continuous company in his dispensary room even though he was close to death. Female relatives cook meals and look after the comfort of a hospitalized person. This means that a young girl or an older woman will leave her usual work for days or weeks to attend the patient. 758 [156]

Because of intimacy in the home and visits to the sick, children are quite familiar with illness. A mother who has to go to the hospital takes her youngest child with her. After burning moxa weeds on her skin for two weeks had failed to cure a nephritic condition, one woman went to the hospital in town, taking her 8-months-old daughter although she did not have enough milk to nurse. The infant had to be given bottled milk prepared from cans. Meanwhile the older children remained under the care of their father. [757]

There is, however, little concern with children who have minor ailments. A school child may be excused from attending classes. In one case a boy stayed home from school with stomach pains. He was happily playing with younger children in the street. One of the adult villagers walked past, stopped after seeing him, and inquired: "Why aren't you in school today?" When told by the boy that he had an upset stomach, the man ordered him to go home right away and stay inside or go to school. The boy's mother, although aware of her son's discomfort, did not pay any special attention to it. 757 855 872

Preventive medicine is officially the responsibility of the public health nurse. She advises people on proper preventive care, inocculates children against whooping cough, diphtheria, and other diseases. She also acts as an advisor to mothers on child care and occasionally helps with a birth if the doctor is unavailable. If a case is diagnosed as 744 [751] [759] [844]

744 tuberculosis, the public health nurse teaches the family how to treat the patient in the home by giving him rest and drugs provided through her. Isolation, though recommended, is not carried out effectively, as might be expected from the general treatment of sick in the village.

744 Like most public offices in Okinawa, the nurse's carries with it a
759 large load of administrative duties. Between these and attending meetings and lectures at Nago hospital, there is relatively little time to cover the long distances between villages. Taira is fortunate to be the residence of the nurse, and when occasionally a nurse from another township comes to help her with inocculations, the children crowd around her and say "We want 'our' nurse to do it."

743 The dispensary, or small hospital, in Taira is owned and run by a
759 former medical corps man in the Japanese Army, referred to as "doc-
758 tor." After the war the government gave permission to a number of former army medical personnel to practice on a limited scale in the
[844] villages. The Taira practitioner takes the place of a midwife, gives first aid, and diagnoses simple illnesses. If there are no complications, a patient requesting medical care may be kept at the dispensary, where a family member and the doctor's "nurse," a young female servant, attend to all his needs. If the doctor is confronted with a complicated birth or a case requiring surgical skill, he refers the patient to a private
[657] clinic in Nago or to the public hospital there. The township gives financial aid to the doctor to maintain his establishment.

757 Penicillin has become the doctor's stock in trade, and other anti-
[278] biotics and drugs are liberally administered via the hypodermic needle. But the doctor does not restrict himself entirely to the use of rec-
[262] ognized Western medicines and practices. He may recommend special diets to which people have resorted for a long time, such as goat soup,
[759] which is believed to cure colds. Although the doctor has a high status in the community, most persons do not rely on his advice alone but resort to other practitioners and their remedies.

[759] Until a few years ago a popular medical practitioner, the bush doctor, resided in Taira. After his death nobody took over his work, and now many people have to travel far to receive treatment from a bush doctor in another village. His methods primarily include the use of moxa cautery, burning mogusa weed on the patient's skin, and acupuncture by the use of a fine golden needle. He may also prescribe a certain diet and the use of special herbal remedies, which the patient prepares for himself. Those who have great confidence in the bush doctor's competence, particularly older persons, do not consult the Taira doctor at all.

758 In all their dealings with sickness and its prevention, Taira people are severely handicapped by their economic conditions. Even families

women in Taira. Three young mothers, who continued to work despite the discomfort and pain of swollen extremities, consulted with the doctor in the nearby town, and a fourth described this condition, which had prohibited her from any but the most simple and undemanding work. The old people look upon unusual pregnancies in askance. "Work, good, hard physical labor is what we did and we never had any difficulties. Young people pamper themselves." 843 164 [461]

Special foods and advice are proffered the expectant mother for the benefit of the baby. "Eat this so that you will have lots of milk for the baby. Remember that spicy things are bad for the baby. Do you recall the one who was born with a great patch of hair on its arms? Its mother was frightened by a great big cat while she was carrying that child," comment villagers to the mother. Some husbands indulge their wives' cravings for special delicacies like expensive imported fruits. 843 [262]

To keep the baby in position, a sash is wound several times about the pregnant woman's abdomen by a midwife or some old woman. [292]

In the "old days" it was not unusual for a woman to return from the mountains or fields carrying her newborn. Grandmothers recall with relish the days when "Women paid little heed to their condition, did hard work, and had their babies without a whimper." "The women today pamper themselves," snap the wizened grandmothers watching an expectant mother resting between trips to the mountains. 844 843

As the day of parturition approaches, the expectant mother schedules her work to remain as close to the house as possible. When labor starts, she retires to the back room of the house, which is situated next to the kitchen. The medical practitioner, or in his absence a midwife,* is called to assist in the delivery. The husband's mother, if she lives in the house, or other older related women attend. A man may be present during his wife's first delivery but at subsequent births will wait with some of the women in the front room. In the old days a woman was supported by her husband or someone else in a half-sitting position. Nowadays, however, women give birth lying down. Only rarely does a woman in labor cry out in pain. Soft crying is permissible, but any loud demonstration would elicit contemptuous comments from the older women. "If you had worked hard, the baby would not be so big, then labor would not be difficult," is an often heard retort. 844 [759] [152]

Informal interviewing revealed that birth takes place in a large number of cases during late evening or early morning hours. Usually children of the house sleep on undisturbed. Should they awake, they are kept out of the delivery room, although the youngest may be allowed to enter to visit with his mother shortly after delivery. [858] [593]

The newborn is bathed in tepid water then bundled in blankets,

* At present there is no midwife in Taira.

844 kimonos, and diapers. He is placed under the blanket next to the
[853] mother and given a gauze nipple dipped in tea and sugar to suck, which is often his only food for as long as two days if lactation is slow. Meanwhile the afterbirth is wrapped in straw and left under the floorboards in the kitchen to await the outgoing tide.

846 Tea is now served in the front room, and the birth is discussed by
593 the women who assisted. On one such occasion, the father and grandmother showed a little boy whose sister had just been born a great deal of affection. The father held the boy in his lap, and both adults told him that he was now a big brother.

844 At the first hour of the outgoing tide, old women—the grandmother
851 of the baby, relatives, and neighbors—wrap the afterbirth in rice straw
156 and bury it in a specified place outdoors behind the hearth. The purpose of the ceremony is to ensure that the child will be happy and sociable. To the accompaniment of laughing, loud clanging of pots and covers, and calling to each other, the women circle the house. When the burial is completed, they chant loudly, "May this baby al-
[152] ways laugh and be pleasant." A stone is then placed over the burial mound so that the infant will not be frightened in his sleep, an emotion which is inferred from the jerking of a young infant while asleep.

852 Until about 10 years ago a ceremony was performed by descendants
565 of noble families from Shuri over the newborn to ensure success in his
462 future role. For boys, a winnowing basket was propped up against a hoe on which a clump of soil and grass rested. While the father's mother
[178] held the child in one arm, she shot an arrow with a bow into the basket. This act was to make certain that the child would become a good
[286] hunter (provider) as well as a successful farmer. The grass on the hoe symbolized strength. A girl, on the other hand, received a miniature loom constructed especially for such occasions, which was to assure her success as a weaver of cloth. A spool of banana fiber was presented along with the loom.

852 There is a story that long, long ago an infant was born on the beach.
565 Immediately after he was born, as he still lay on the sand, a crab
538 crawled over his chest. This infant grew up to be a strong, famous man. Shuri descendants still have a custom of grandmothers holding a newborn boy in their laps and releasing a small crab, which scurries over the infant's chest. These practices, however, are absent in central Taira now and are rarely found in the outlying settlements of predominantly Shuri descendants.

846 Formerly mother and child were confined to the darkened delivery
178 room next to the kitchen and at the rear of the house for seven days, while an open fire was kept blazing in the brazier near the mother.

843 be drawn into the tomb. Some say the prospective father should also avoid these situations. Another set of observances has an easy delivery as its aim. The woman is urged to work hard and not to overeat so that the unborn child may not become too large. During the fifth month a "belly band" is wrapped tightly about her for the same purpose, especially to keep the head small.

A woman neither hides her pregnancy nor displays it unnecessarily---if she is married and it is her husband's child. If this is not the case she may attempt to hide the fact. On the other hand if she is bearing what may be her husband's first son , she may be very pleased at the prospect, but she does not go out of her way to show it.

843 774 [847] No clear statement was given to the effect that the "soul" enters the body of the unborn child at a particular time, but statements are made about dangers to the shii of the child. One informant suggested that this soul-like entity enters the body of the mother during the third month and that for this reason a moxibustionist had refused to abort a woman after her third month had passed.

847 Abortion Abortions have always been and continue to be performed on Okinawa. The most frequent reason is said to be the desire not to bear an illegitimate child. An old-fashioned home method is to brew camphor-wood leaves and drink the brew or to burn the leaves and breathe the smoke. Experts in cautery are also believed to be able to cause an abortion by burning moxa on the proper areas of the body. But at the present time women are said to be aborted more frequently by midwives. The practice does not appear to be regarded as illegal.

• 844 Birth A woman tries to work up until the time of childbirth. If she has had several children already she knows when labor starts, how long it is likely to last, and may go out to the fields confident that she can return in time. Delivery is in the kucha, the back room of the house. Women of the family are present and men are not forbidden, though children are sent out. Often a woman's husband grasps her during delivery. Formerly she squatted on the floor holding a rope suspended from a house-beam above her. At present she is usually made to lie down. The labor is spoken of as "pain" but the woman must not cry out; she may only grunt when putting her strength into the ejection of the baby. If she were to cry out because of the pain she would later feel very ashamed---"because it is something that happens to every woman; people would talk about her."

Formerly the newly-born child was neither bathed nor dressed but simply wrapped in an old kimono; now it is bathed in boiled water and dressed. The 853 infant is permitted to nurse from about the fourth day on, after there is milk in the mother's breasts. Before this it may be given a little sugar in water and possibly allowed to suck a little colostrum about the second day after birth.

178 846 [354] Formerly the mother was kept in the kucha for about a week in front of a fire burning on the jiiru, an open hearth in country homes, a kind of brazier in the city.

brazier in the city. She was kept warm continuously, even in hot weather, so that, it is said, women often broke out in skin eruptions from the heat. At present younger women are not following this practice and many regard it as a foolish custom. The absence of jiiru in post-war houses may be a factor in the decline of the custom. 178 846 [354]

Post-natal Observances During the first year of life the child is the center of several ceremonies. They are in brief: 852

1) Mbagii suuji, "Red rice ceremony". Held on the day of birth. Relatives, friends, and neighbors come. Rice dyed red and a soup of taro stems (a symbol of many children) are offered to the ancestral tablets and served to the guests. The afterbirth is buried behind the house while the children are made to laugh so that the baby will have a good disposition. [344]

2) Naajiki, "Naming". Held during the first week. Practices vary. In one variety the baby's grandmother releases a crab and a grasshopper and shoots an arrow at a winnowing tray; in another she divines with rice grains to see if the name she has selected is proper. This rite was formerly held to give the baby its native Okinawan name. [553] [787]

3) Mansang, "Full birth". Held on the 7th or 30th day after the birth to celebrate the full term. A feast is served to relative, friends, and neighbors.

4) Naa'njii, "First going out". Held for a boy on the first day of the ten-day cycle, designated as kanii, on the second kanii day for a girl. The baby's grandmother makes it pray to the ancestral tablets and to the oven god, then marks its forehead with soot and takes it out, formerly to pray to the god of the pigsty-privy. [769] [782]

5) Hachi-atchii, "First walking". Held whenever the mother is first able to go to visit her parents and siblings. She takes gifts of food to them and in return they give money to the baby.

6) Tanka, "Birthday". Held on the first anniversary of the birth. A feast is prepared and many relatives and friends come bringing gifts of money. The child's future career is divined by placing a number of objects in front of it---money, a book, an abacus, food, etc. If the child chooses the money he will be rich; if the book, a scholar; if the food, a glutton; and so forth. The odds are usually weighted in favor of a desirable future. [527] [787]

There seems to be some variation in all of these practices. Several may be obsolescent because some of the elements entering into them are no longer in use, the pigsty-privy and the native names, for example. [178]

Infanticide New-born babies may be done away with if they are not wanted, but this is probably not at all common under ordinary circumstances. One example was recorded: An old woman who died recently lay for about a week on her death bed unable to talk. Her children gathered about her, wondering if some sin ('tsumi') were not in need of atonement ('tsugunai'). 847 783

764 dying in the evening or during the night is buried the next day, one dying in the morning will probably be interred by nightfall.

766 Burial customs for children differ from those of adults. The immediate burial of a dead child seems to be general in the villages, even if, according to one informant, it dies at 12 or 1 o'clock in the morning. With the death verified, relatives are called, and the child might be taken away within 15 minutes. Certain distinctions are made depending on whether (1) the child is still-born or dies shortly after birth, (2) the child is under 8 years old, and (3) the child is 8 years or older. A premature, still-born child, or an infant dying shortly after birth is buried almost immediately in the compound, usually behind the house. The child under eight is buried in a temporary grave near the family tomb, remaining there until the family tomb is opened upon the death of an adult. The infant's bones are then gathered up and put in the tomb. The temporary grave is prepared by a younger man of the family. The dead child is carried by the mother, an aunt or other female relative. The tomb, in general practice, is opened for a child over 8 years of age.

[845]

These are general statements and the details vary. In Minatogawa, for example, a child's funeral is similar to an adult's, but the body is not put in the coffin until the tomb is reached. The mother, or a close female relative, carries it in her arms. The coffin is carried by other mourners. The explanation given is that it was formerly believed that, the child might revive on the way. In a child's funeral here, there is no banner announcing the name and death date, at the head of the procession. Neither is a hearse or funeral palanquin (gan) used.

In Matsuda, this palanquin also is not used for children 8 and under. Whether a tomb is opened for a child seems to depend on individual family custom. In one case, an extended family tomb was not opened for a child; in another it was. The child is carried to the tomb and then placed in the coffin. In this village, children are not buried immediately. The custom is the same as for adults.

764 178 Judging by descriptions which villagers gave of pre-war customs, funerals and burial customs have been simplified in the post-war period. The services of Buddhist priests have been almost completely dispensed with. Offerings are more modest. Priestesses (noro) and their assistants seldom officiate. The contemporary rural Okinawan funeral is simple. The following description of a funeral observed near Gushichan village probably is typical.

[793]

764 The deceased, a woman of 40, died about eleven in the morning. The funeral procession passed the village office at 5:30 on the same day. There were no special ceremonies before the funeral. The body, washed and dressed, had been placed in the coffin which was put on the funeral palanquin or hearse. This red palanquin is normally owned by the village. Since the war, not all villages have an gan.

The hearse was carried by four young men. (There may be 8 pallbearers,

In addition to meeting with physical and emotional needs, the child must be protected from the nurtured by the numerous supernatural forces in the form of malevolent and benevolent spirits which operate to influence the course of an individual's life. There are lucky and unlucky days, years, and tides, which are believed to determine the fate of a person. Females born in the year of the monkey are considered unlucky, for they are thought to outlive their male contemporaries. Men dislike marrying them. Supplications are made and precautionary measures taken by adults to secure the newborn's life, happiness, and health. 776 777 854 [581]

Ancestral spirits influence the development and fate of the child. Occasionally a child who is the victim of ill health during his early years is adopted by a couple whose ancestral spirits are thought to be more favorable than his own on the dictate of the fortune teller. By mysterious calculations involving birth dates of the principals, the fortune teller uncovers some incompatibility and advises adoption. The child remains with his parents but worships the ancestral spirits of his adoptive parents. In this way parents seek to ensure the well-being of the child. 597 769 755

Mother interview data indicate the awareness of Taira people of the variations in personality among children of one family. Adults do in a large measure adapt their actions in accord with these differences. They recognize hereditary influences, but although a mother may comment on the similarity of temperament with regard to her child and other members in the family or kin group, there are no ideas or beliefs that the souls of deceased are inherited. Usually the mother, in describing the characteristics of the child, rarely goes beyond likenesses which can be attributed to herself or her husband. She is at a loss to explain the "very different child." "My eldest son has my nasty temper whereas my second daughter is not like either of us, very strange. All the others have a little of myself and my husband in them. We often wonder how it is that she is so unlike either of us." 155 828 858 [124]

A child born with two cowlicks predicates a "problem" to his parents. Parents often explain, "Oh, this child is very naughty, for as you can see, he has two cowlicks." Children often search each other's heads, and on discovering two instead of the single whorl, they shout in glee, "Naughty, naughty." One 4-year-old cuddled and hugged his newborn sister after searching her head. "You have two cowlicks just like me! You and I are 'naughty,'" he whispered to her. Turning to the adults in the room, he snapped his small bright eyes and grinned impishly as he reported his discovery joyfully. [826]

Twin births are disliked only because they place a burden on the 845

845 mother and family. "Nursing two babies at once on a diet as meager as ours is too difficult," explain the mothers, and they also point out that multiple births cause great economic hardships.

854 Infancy in Taira, in congruence with the concept of the nature of an infant, is a period of indulgent and affectionate nurturance. Except for a brief period during the initial month of life, the baby is rarely left to lie on the floor to sleep, and during this period the mother or grandmother is always close by to pick him up at the slightest whimper. From the time he is a month old until shortly before the arrival of the next baby, he is constantly carried during the daytime on the back of another, an adult or an older child. At night he sleeps next to his mother. His carriers include parents, paternal grandparents, unmarried aunts and uncles, older siblings in an extended household, and parents and older siblings in a nuclear household.

854 Those mothers who have read or heard that it is good for babies to cry occasionally never have an opportunity to test it. "The old people 178 feel sorry for the baby and insist upon prompt attention," complain 853 young mothers with "modern" ideas. The immediate response of adult and child caretakers to an infant's cry is to take him to his mother, who promptly nurses him. The breast is thrust into his mouth whether he is hungry or not. "Pitiful!" exclaim old grandmothers and rush to pick up the infant. More often than not it is the newborn's father or older sibling who orders the mother to do so with the same expression.

854 There is the belief that the first four months are a trying period in which the "bad" habit of crying is formed; therefore every attempt is 853 made to keep the infant comfortable and quiet. One mother described how she and her husband took turns eating their evening meal because one of the children had formed such a bad habit. "We would take turns carrying him and walking around the yard and eating. There was nothing else we could do. Both of us did not like to have babies cry." Another mother told of how her whole family converged on her every time the infant whimpered. "Hurry and nurse it . . . must be hungry . . . may be sick . . . so pitiful!" they would say to her.

853 It is imperative that a mother have enough milk. She is given special foods and told not to get overtired. She is advised to avoid foods that [262] could pass on properties which might be harmful to the child. Sometimes she has more milk than her infant can consume. One such fortunate mother nursed the baby of a mother whose milk supply had failed. Women who have a plentiful supply of milk are also sought out when mothers find it necessary to work at some distance from the village. In these cases reciprocal arrangements are made so the baby need not go hungry for very long.

843 pregnancy are also said to be rare, although miscarriages in later pregnancy up to two or three months before the birth are more numerous because of the continuing heavy work of the mother in the fields. The mother in the agricultural village normally works up to the time for
844 the birth. She eats her normal diet. After birth, the child is placed on a large comforter (futon) beside the mother.

The midwife, after delivery, goes once a day for a week to the mother's home. Her fee is not decided upon before hand, but according
[846] to custom, averages Y350 for a normal and Y500 for a difficult birth,
[965] a low fee probably enforced by the poverty and lack of cash of farm families. (In Naha corresponding fees are said to be Y1-2000).

853 There is no uniform way of feeding the child after birth. In most cases the child is not breast fed until after the third day due to the fact that mothers have little milk at this time. The first, second, and the third days it is fed warm water with small amounts of white sugar, but this is by no means universal. Some mothers have said that they give the child the breast 4 or 5 hours after birth. In any case, the child very quickly becomes accustomed to feeding at the breast, and this continues for an indeterminate period, depending on the mother and the child. It may be for two years, or until the next
[862] child comes. In all communities studied, other arrangements are made in the unlikely event that the mother does not have milk of her own. The child may be given evaporated cow's milk or friends or relatives nurse the child. In Minatogawa, if a woman has special duties or takes a trip out of town and cannot take her child with her, she can pay to have it nursed.

843 One belief regarding pregnancy still exists among the old in the Ginosa area. If a new house is being built during the pregnancy of the woman of the house, the cap of the roof is not put on until after the birth has taken place.

2

Birth Customs and Convalescence

852
844
23
[184] In Minatogawa, and to a much lesser extent in Hanashiro, birth customs are related to certain beliefs about the pig pen. These were not known in Hateuda. In the two southern villages they have virtually disappeared, except among the old. According to a Hanashiro farmer's wife, the child on the day of its birth is washed, dressed in new
[184] clothes, and carried to the pig pen, which is supposed to frighten away evil spirits (bakemono).
[See footnote 1, bottom of p. 257--analyst]

away evil spirits (bakemono).[1] From the pig sty the child is then taken to the kitchen, where a pot of rice has been cooking. Soot from the outside of the pot is taken up with the middle finger of the right hand and a round black spot pressed on the forehead above the bridge of the nose between the eyebrows. The reason for this could not be ascertained. 844 852

Beliefs in the power of a pig sty to ward off evil spirits are still held in Minatogawa and the customs were generally practiced up to the beginning of the war. But these beliefs were related more to celebrations following the birth of the child than to the birth itself. The elements of these beliefs seemed to be that the afterworld was close to this world. If a child were not protected, the spirits of the afterworld would steal the child and take him back. The party celebrating the birth lasted a whole week, usually starting each evening about 8 and ending at 8 the following morning. Guests stayed up all night to prevent the child from being stolen, for if anyone went to sleep, the spirit would enter. Spirits followed behind the guest and were especially dangerous after 10 at night. The spirits however were frightened by the pigs; guests arriving during the danger hours went to the pig pen first to scare off the spirit following them, before entering the house. There was no evidence, in the parties I attended, of any present observance of this custom by young parents. The week of all night parties is no longer held. 854 776 231 [772] [574] [183]

These beliefs were found in Minatogawa. Hanashiro informants had heard of such customs, but were vague about them. While their seeming absence in Hatsuda may be due to incomplete data, there may be another explanation. These beliefs may have been picked up by fishing people from other sources. [184]

One other birth custom known as jiru belongs to the recent history of the island. Jiru, as explained in Chapter V, is a fire place sunk in the floor of an Okinawan house, often in the corner of the dining room which adjoins a hall or a sleeping room, and near the kitchen. Convalescence was called jiru because mother and child warmed themselves by the device. Today convalescence may be called jiru, though it has nothing to do with the old custom, which in the literature has been referred to as "roasting." 846 [354]

1 When I discussed this and the following beliefs relating to pigs with people in Hatsuda, they ridiculed them and said there was no truth in it, implying that people in the south did not know what they were talking about. Subsequent rechecking convinced me that this was not so and that the beliefs in Minatogawa represent differences in the rural culture. 184

846 [354] In Matsuda, the jiru used after childbirth was either a small fireplace about three feet square set in the floor or an ordinary brazier (hibachi). The mother and the child were put in a dark sleeping room outfitted with the warmer. Sometimes the entire body of the mother was heated; in other cases, she seems to have placed herself so that the vagina received most of the heat. This was done regardless of season and happened in the hottest summer. The mother and child stayed in this room for 20 days. Attending female relatives went in and out only to keep things clean and to take care of the laundry. This form of jiru is said to have been practiced in Matsuda until 10 or 15 years ago.

In Hanashiro, this custom of warming was substantially the same. Regardless of season, the mother with her child retired to a dark room heated with a stove or a brazier. The mother nursed the child and no one entered or disturbed the two except for necessary attentions. No special portions of the body were heated. According to one Hanashiro woman, this custom existed up to 1940.[2] In present day practice, the mother rests for about 9 days including the day the child is born. During this period, the two are left alone. Necessary changes of clothing are put out and washed by female relatives. Following the rest period, the mother gets up, female friends and relatives clean the place thoroughly, and the house is back to normal.

In Minatogawa, warming is said to have disappeared about 20 years ago. The present period of convalescence lasts also about 9 days, with visits by grandparents on the day of birth, friends of the father on the second day, and those of the mother on the third.

[M 849] These customs seem to have died out because of the introduction, through Japan, of modern medicine and the growth of midwifery. The knowledge of a Japanese trained midwife is based on a study of anatomy and a thorough exposition of child birth and child care. Some lore, such as lucky days, and the reckoning of the tide enter, but her techniques are based on medical practice.[3]

2 An old man, a village official, said warming had disappeared 30 years ago, but in this matter the mother's testimony is probably the more reliable. In either event, both point to the relative recency of the practice.

3 One Japanese midwife uses as her guide two volumes by Kinoshita, Seichu. Sanbagakukogi (Lectures on the Science of Midwifery), 1923. Vol. I deals with normal, Vol. II with difficult deliveries.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

grandparents. The food was then served: noodles cooked with vegetables, with a slight fish flavor; rolls; tenpura, a sort of fritter; a fish cake known as kamobuko with a red border symbolizing happiness, and plenty of sake (awamori). A streamer hung from the ceiling near the alcove, announcing the name and date of birth of the new born child, together with the written wish that she might live any number of 10,000 year periods. There are no special ceremonies on these occasions. Some guests drop in for a few minutes, others remain for the whole evening. The women and the children go home early, while the men continue talking and drinking. This celebration is the first of a series that continues through a person's life, and if his descendants are devoted, will end 33 years after his death. After this celebration, things settle down until the child's first birthday. 852 [262] [212]

At present a child's age is reckoned in the same way as the Western custom. A child is one year old one year after the date of his birth. This is a recent innovation in force since January 1, 1950. Formerly age was reckoned in the Chinese and Japanese manner. A child born during a year was one year old and on the following New Year became two years of age. Thus a child born on December 27 would be two on January 1. The difference between the Chinese-Japanese and the western reckoning is that the former counts the years during which a person lives with New Years as the date for increasing the age, the latter counts the number of one year periods in which a person has lived. 805 [M]

The old system of reckoning age is inconvenient and conceals age differences. A one day difference might mean a year's difference in age in the case of a child born on December 31, and another on January 1. Determining the actual age of a person was troublesome. When children started to school, they might be 6, 7, or 8 years old and still be about the same actual age.

4

The Early Years

In all the villages studied, the women returned to their normal tasks about a month after childbirth. When the mother returns to the fields, the grandmother may accompany mother and child to the fields, the grandmother watching the child, while the mother nurses it at 10, 1, and 4. If the grandmother is too old and disabled, the child might stay home with the grandmother and the mother return from the fields to feed the child. Lacking help of this kind, the mother remains at home until the other children have returned from school. 846 854 853 603

But arrangements of this sort need not last long, for very early in life the child is strapped on the back and carried around 854

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

a fact which has been a determinant in their historical development and an important factor in speculations about prehistoric events.

Until further archaeological evidence permits greater certainty, the original settlement of the Ryukyus is believed to have taken place predominantly from the Asiatic mainland, with occasional influx from the southern islands, Formosa, the Philippines, and Indonesia (Kerr, 1958). Surviving culture elements of great antiquity support these theories. Most frequently cited are a basic form of Shinto, characteristic of the religion, and the shamanistic role of the priestesses. Specifically, the "curved jewels," formerly worn by all priestesses, are mentioned as apparent links with the neolithic cultures of Japan.

On the other hand, sporadic contact with the islands to the south is evidenced by culture traits, such as raised houses of tropical design (common to all of Japan) and perhaps the practice of "mother roasting," a period of recuperation after the birth of a child during which the mother is kept near a fire. This custom is widespread in Malaysia (Cole, 1945:155).

Linguistic evidence points to a separation of Okinawan from a common proto Japanese language about 1500 years ago (Hattori, 1954). This may indicate a southern movement of peoples from Japan under the pressure of the Yayoi people who introduced the wet rice complex into southwestern and central Japan at this period. That this was not the earliest settlement of the Ryukyus, however, is evidenced by remains in the Ryukyus of the earlier Jomon period.

From the first mention of the Ryukyus in Chinese annals of 605 A.D. until the end of the nineteenth century when Japan formally annexed the islands, they stood in a curious relationship of dependency toward China and Japan. Both nations claimed suzerainty over the kingdom of Okinawa with its royal court in Shuri and extracted tribute. Eventually the Lord of Satsuma in southern Japan extended his sovereignty over the Ryukyus. But with ties to China remaining, Okinawa participated in both Chinese and Japanese culture, which disseminated through the urban trading center of Naha into the outlying areas. It is this intermediate cultural position which still gives Okinawa a peculiar character, although it long ago became part of Japan and abandoned direct contacts with China.

In 1872 Japan formally declared its claims on the Ryukyuan kingdom, and after deposing the last king in 1879, made the Ryukyuan islands a province of Japan, with the capital at Naha. Between this time and the present, intensive contact with Japan has led to an overwhelming absorption of Japanese culture, a willingness on the part of Okinawans to adopt Japanese ways and to identify with Japan as their

831 keep others from noticing sex activities. Keeping sex a private matter
833 does not mean that there is a feeling of shame or guilt. It is considered a natural function, and although they do not discuss marital relations, men feel free to mention sex and its pleasurable aspects. Such conversations seem to cause some embarrassment among the younger women but are thought entertaining by older ones.

To men, sex, like food and drink, is to be enjoyed and indulged in. Women, too, enjoy sex but are more reticent and give much less overt expression to their desires. There are stories about women who are sexually aggressive, but they are either characters in the folklore or women of a neighboring village who are said to be this way "because they don't work hard enough." Men enjoy sex activity until an advanced age. One man over 60 whose wife had long been dead twice took a young woman as second wife; in both cases the women left him after a short period, but dissatisfaction with his sexual capacity was supposedly not the cause. Several children in Taira were fathered by
[278] men who had passed their sixtieth birthday. People believe that potency depends on physical well-being and age, but that it can be
[262] produced by a special drink consisting of sake in which a poisonous
[273] snake, the *habu*, is steeped. As soon as one finishes drinking this brew, its effects should be felt. Sake, meat, and eggs are also thought to increase potency.

833 Women's breasts are considered sexually stimulating. Men like to caress the breasts and the skin in general. Kissing occurs during foreplay only among some younger couples; older people do not care for it. In a room or house, shared with others, few couples undress fully for intercourse. Moving the baby to one side of the mat or mattress, a husband joins his wife.

834 There are no pre- or postparturition taboos; relations continue
[843] throughout pregnancy and are resumed about a week after childbirth,
[846] when the wife has taken her first bath. Men tend to disregard the public health nurse's urging that women be given a little longer rest.

837 That extra marital affairs do occur is evidenced by the presence of
848 illegitimate children. But the mothers are likely to be widows or girls
732 who for one reason or another did not get married at the usual age. Deformity may be a reason for not finding a husband. Two children
[835] in Taira were claimed to be the issue of an incestuous relationship
[581] between a man and his widowed daughter. Although the children were conceived and born outside the village, people became suspicious after the family returned to Taira. Because the putative father failed to deny paternity strongly, villagers felt certain that their suspicions

844 kimonos, and diapers. He is placed under the blanket next to the
[853] mother and given a gauze nipple dipped in tea and sugar to suck, which is often his only food for as long as two days if lactation is slow. Meanwhile the afterbirth is wrapped in straw and left under the floorboards in the kitchen to await the outgoing tide.

846 Tea is now served in the front room, and the birth is discussed by
593 the women who assisted. On one such occasion, the father and grandmother showed a little boy whose sister had just been born a great deal of affection. The father held the boy in his lap, and both adults told him that he was now a big brother.

844 At the first hour of the outgoing tide, old women—the grandmother
851 of the baby, relatives, and neighbors—wrap the afterbirth in rice straw
156 and bury it in a specified place outdoors behind the hearth. The purpose of the ceremony is to ensure that the child will be happy and sociable. To the accompaniment of laughing, loud clanging of pots and covers, and calling to each other, the women circle the house. When the burial is completed, they chant loudly, "May this baby al-
[152] ways laugh and be pleasant." A stone is then placed over the burial mound so that the infant will not be frightened in his sleep, an emotion which is inferred from the jerking of a young infant while asleep.

852 Until about 10 years ago a ceremony was performed by descendants
565 of noble families from Shuri over the newborn to ensure success in his
462 future role. For boys, a winnowing basket was propped up against a hoe on which a clump of soil and grass rested. While the father's mother
[178] held the child in one arm, she shot an arrow with a bow into the basket. This act was to make certain that the child would become a good
[286] hunter (provider) as well as a successful farmer. The grass on the hoe symbolized strength. A girl, on the other hand, received a miniature loom constructed especially for such occasions, which was to assure her success as a weaver of cloth. A spool of banana fiber was presented along with the loom.

852 There is a story that long, long ago an infant was born on the beach.
565 Immediately after he was born, as he still lay on the sand, a crab
538 crawled over his chest. This infant grew up to be a strong, famous man. Shuri descendants still have a custom of grandmothers holding a newborn boy in their laps and releasing a small crab, which scurries over the infant's chest. These practices, however, are absent in central Taira now and are rarely found in the outlying settlements of predominantly Shuri descendants.

846 Formerly mother and child were confined to the darkened delivery
178 room next to the kitchen and at the rear of the house for seven days, while an open fire was kept blazing in the brazier near the mother.

Today the *yukajiru* ceremony held on the fourth day ends the seclusion. A group of close relatives gather to ask for the good health of the child and to make food offerings to the ancestors.

On the fourth or fifth day a name is selected for the newborn. In the old days rice oracles presided over by an old woman were consulted to ensure that the name consist of the proper combination of Japanese writing characters, an essential for the well-being of the child's personality. Today family elders and the local teacher are consulted. In the pre-Japanese periods, temporary names were used until a permanent name was given. This practice was intended to fool the spirits during the early years when the child was thought to be particularly susceptible to spirits.*

On the sixth day after birth the mother is allowed to take her first postdelivery bath; the room which she has occupied with her baby is cleaned and aired, and preparations begin for the *mansang* celebrations. For this event the mother's parents try to be present, especially if it is a first child. Friends and relatives in the village attend. A female elder of the patrilineal kin group or the priestess prays behind a tray of rice, rice wine, and incense so that the child will sleep peacefully and not cry at night. Thanksgiving prayers are offered to the ancestors and the nature deities for the health of both mother and child.

When the prayers are completed, a man sings the *mansang* song to the accompaniment of a samisen. The father of the baby then rises to dance briefly, sits down, and writes with brush and ink on a white sheet of paper the name and birth date of his child. The paper is then hung on the wall near the alcove. Meanwhile the special song is being concluded:

> Coming from the darkness to light,
> This baby was received as a treasure
> And the mother is being celebrated.

Food is then served, and the guests discuss the name and admire the newborn. Like all parties, the celebration ends with song, dance, and wine drinking.

The *mansang* celebrations mark the end of the most critical period for the infant. From now on he may be taken outdoors. At the month's end, his parents may take him to see his maternal grandparents in their village, to offer food at the ancestral shrine of the mother. This is called the first walk. Sons who have left the paternal village for the city return with their infant to observe this day.

* Hanging an irregularly left-woven rope in the delivery room to keep out evil spirits which might harm the newborn, is no longer done in Taira.

There is no specific or preferred posture for nursing. While the mothers are in confinement for the brief period following delivery, they often lie next to the baby and feed him. Sitting while nursing is the most common posture, but mothers frequently nurse while standing or squatting. The baby is held loosely and the mother is relaxed. If others are about, she will carry on a lively conversation and occasionally pat the baby gently on or around the region of the buttocks. When alone, she holds the baby with one arm, talks softly, smiles, and with her other hand tugs gently at the baby's limbs. Each feeding is leisurely; the breast is never withdrawn from the infant's mouth. More often than not he suckles his fill and falls asleep. 853

It is as natural to suckle one's infant at a village meeting as it is to do so in the privacy of one's home. A common sight is that of a mother sitting and listening intently to speeches while cradling her suckling infant loosely in her arms. On buses, in market places, or at large public intervillage gatherings, one is sure to encounter such a scene. [291]

The breast is used to soothe a baby when he is ill, irritable, or in distress from pain. This was quite evident when all the babies in the village were being given a series of innoculations for diphtheria and typhoid. As the injections were given in one large open room, the cries of the infant being innoculated prompted others to cry. Invariably the mother offered the breast to the baby. 853 854 751

After the birth of a child, the mother sits at home during a short rest period, watching happily as neighbors, friends, and relatives continually drop in to admire the newborn. Sipping tea, the visitors offer bits of advice, exchange the latest gossip, ask to hold the infant, and take their leave with the standard phrase: "Take care of yourself." It is a pleasant interlude, but as the family resources begin to dwindle, there is a slight but perceptible change in the attitude of the mother toward her newborn. The constant stream of visitors, for whom tea and some small tidbits must be offered, and her nonparticipation in the regular economic activities prove to be a drain on the family budget, in spite of the fact that the mother and her husband have worked with extra diligence in the months prior to parturition. The mother begins to talk about the approaching feast day and the need to get new clothing for the older children. She asks anxiously about the condition of the firewood market and starts to plan her inevitable resumption of work in the mountains and fields. In spite of her feelings of protectiveness and pity for the young baby, she begins, bit by bit, to reinstate her normal routine. Although she continues to cuddle, kiss, and affectionately nurse the infant, she thinks of the good weather and of how she might have been able to make one more trip to the mountains 846 574 846 461 [843] [594]

before noon but for the fact that she had to return to attend to the infant.

If a grandmother is available, the mother straps the 3-to-4 months old baby onto the grandmother's back in the morning and goes off to the mountains with her husband to haul firewood or to the fields to cultivate sweet potatoes. For the first six months she returns to the house frequently during the day to nurse the infant. It is likely that while the infant demands feeding at short intervals, a mother will work in or around the village. At one of the locations for firewood bundling she can make the bamboo rings, fit the cut wood into them, and stack the bundles.

Throughout the morning hours grandmother, with the infant on her back, wanders about the village. Occasionally she offers her dry breast to the bawling infant who cannot seem to wait until its mother returns from the fields or mountains. If the mother is nearby, she hurries so that the infant does not cry for long. When the hour for lunch approaches, the grandmother hurries home to begin preparations for the noonday meal. As she walks, the infant's head bobs up and down, forward and back precariously, but it continues to sleep undisturbed.

After lunch has been eaten and the infant nursed, the adults in the household sip their tea and rest for an hour or so. Within that hour the mother may play with the infant or nap with it nestled in her arms. Rousing themselves from the noon nap, the adults return to the mountains and fields. The infant is again strapped to the grandmother's back, but this time as she slowly wends her way to the main thoroughfare, she calls out to someone in a house which boasts one of the few clocks in the village. "Hey, what is the time there?" The answer will quicken her pace, for it is near the time for an older sibling to return from school. As she reaches the main street, she joins other grandmothers as well as mothers who are anxiously scanning the direction from which the schoolchildren return. Each admires the infants on the other's back and exchanges timely topics of the day, but as the minutes pass and no children appear, they begin to grumble about the "irresponsible siblings who *must* be playing on their way home." At last the older child returns, and the grandmother hurries home with her charges, promptly transfering the infant onto the back of the older sibling. The old woman rushes to get her hoe and basket, mumbling to herself about the quantity of potatoes she should harvest for the next day's use.

An older child who ignores the crying of his infant charge will be criticized severely by his peers. If the mother happens to be in the

fields and away from the village, the young caretaker jiggles up and down to soothe the baby on his back. As his cries become frantic, the caretaker's peers will pat him on his buttocks and try to placate him by guiding his fingers to his mouth. 854 857 594

For the nuclear family with no other caretaker except the mother, the newborn proves to be a problem. One such mother complained that she could not do anything efficiently with a baby on her back. She was able to go to the fields to harvest potatoes but had to leave the laden basket until the afternoon to carry it home, for at that time the neighbor's child returned from school to look after the baby. In payment for baby-sitting services she had planned on buying the neighbor's child a dress for the next New Year.

In the nuclear family with school age children, the mother works around the house and in the nearby fields in the morning and rushes off to the mountains when her relief returns in the middle of the afternoon. Thus the infant which brought so much joy to the family and gave its mother respite from the rigorous routine for a short time becomes somewhat of a burden to all. Nevertheless, the baby continues to be indulged, pitied for his helplessness, and the object of affection.

It is important to note, briefly, the father's attitude and behavior during this initial period. Although only females were born during this study, interviews suggest that a male birth elicits a somewhat more solicitous behavior on the part of the father toward both mother and infant than a female one. The father will discourage the mother's early resumption of work and may even feel encouraged to carry the male infant despite the fact that children are deemed "women's work." Ostensibly, however, he seems embarrassed and disinterested in the whole matter be it a male or female. Congratulating visitors find that after a few polite exchanges the father will retire to a corner in the house as attention focuses on mother and child. After sitting out what seems a proper length of time, he will mumble some excuse or other and leave the house to do some chore. The observer visiting the household on the occasion of the birth of a fourth daughter found gloom and disgust in the father's expression. A male visitor who sat trying to convince the father that daughters are quite useful, too, received only contemptuous stares. His wife sat dejectedly holding the infant loosely in her arms. In contrast, a visit of the same purpose to another household on the birth of a fourth daughter revealed similar but notably less intense reactions on the part of the father. Perhaps because of the existence of one male heir he felt less threatened. 846 842

There is a tenacious belief in Taira that the female determines the sex of the child. If the woman fails to produce a male heir, the man

846 can take on a second wife. The woman who is delivered of her third
842 son is the envy of others who have none or only one son to their credit, for she has achieved what is considered to be the ideal in a wife. Thus the first mother with four daughters was treated with outright disgust and contempt by her husband, whereas in the second instance the mother was receiving the normal treatment of disinterest with minor solicitation.

593 The constant stream of visitors during the first month gives the
857 other children in the household a sense of importance. Whenever an
854 older child has a chance, he stresses the fact that there is a newborn in the house and reports the identity of the latest visitor to scores of admiring peers. He is the envy of the lot when at last he is allowed to carry the infant and play. But the envy is short lived, and the older sibling's pride withers rapidly when he finds that this is just another baby to be carried and cared for constantly. As the baby gains weight and no longer sleeps quietly for extended periods of time on the back, the older sibling begins to run and hide when he sees his mother approaching with the baby.

593 A few days after the birth of an infant, the fieldworker visited a
522 household and found the older siblings all crowded in the back room
857 with the mother and child. One of the girls, a 5-year-old who was
854 unusually sturdy and large in build, was teased by her mother. "Hey Hanako, let's give the teacher this baby, all right?" said the mother, winking on the side to the fieldworker. The little girl looked anxiously at the fieldworker and slowly edged over protectively toward the infant. She shook her head slowly and deliberately for some minutes, indicating that she would not assent to giving her baby sister away. At this point the grandmother entered the teasing and told the little girl that the baby would only prove to be a burden when she had to carry her later on, but she continued to shake her head. As the mother handed the baby over to the fieldworker, the girl burst into tears and cried out "No! No!" All laughed and assured her that the baby would remain in the household.

593 Several weeks later, Hanako proudly paraded her newest baby sister
857 for all her playmates to see. Many begged to carry the infant "for just a
854 little while" to no avail. When her older sister returned from school, she reluctantly gave up her charge in deference to age and experience. This went on for about two months until one day the fieldworker came on the mother calling frantically around the village for Hanako and the older girl. The older girl successfully evaded her mother, but Hanako was discovered and the baby was strapped to her back. Hanako

843 be drawn into the tomb. Some say the prospective father should also avoid these situations. Another set of observances has an easy delivery as its aim. The woman is urged to work hard and not to overeat so that the unborn child may not become too large. During the fifth month a "belly band" is wrapped tightly about her for the same purpose, especially to keep the head small.

A woman neither hides her pregnancy nor displays it unnecessarily---if she is married and it is her husband's child. If this is not the case she may attempt to hide the fact. On the other hand if she is bearing what may be her husband's first son , she may be very pleased at the prospect, but she does not go out of her way to show it.

843 774 [847] No clear statement was given to the effect that the "soul" enters the body of the unborn child at a particular time, but statements are made about dangers to the shii of the child. One informant suggested that this soul-like entity enters the body of the mother during the third month and that for this reason a moxibustionist had refused to abort a woman after her third month had passed.

847 Abortion Abortions have always been and continue to be performed on Okinawa. The most frequent reason is said to be the desire not to bear an illegitimate child. An old-fashioned home method is to brew camphor-wood leaves and drink the brew or to burn the leaves and breathe the smoke. Experts in cautery are also believed to be able to cause an abortion by burning moxa on the proper areas of the body. But at the present time women are said to be aborted more frequently by midwives. The practice does not appear to be regarded as illegal.

844 Birth A woman tries to work up until the time of childbirth. If she has had several children already she knows when labor starts, how long it is likely to last, and may go out to the fields confident that she can return in time. Delivery is in the kucha, the back room of the house. Women of the family are present and men are not forbidden, though children are sent out. Often a woman's husband grasps her during delivery. Formerly she squatted on the floor holding a rope suspended from a house-beam above her. At present she is usually made to lie down. The labor is spoken of as "pain" but the woman must not cry out; she may only grunt when putting her strength into the ejection of the baby. If she were to cry out because of the pain she would later feel very ashamed---"because it is something that happens to every woman; people would talk about her."

Formerly the newly-born child was neither bathed nor dressed but simply wrapped in an old kimono; now it is bathed in boiled water and dressed. The 853 infant is permitted to nurse from about the fourth day on, after there is milk in the mother's breasts. Before this it may be given a little sugar in water and possibly allowed to suck a little colostrum about the second day after birth.

178 846 [354] Formerly the mother was kept in the kucha for about a week in front of a fire burning on the jiiru, an open hearth in country homes, a kind of brazier in the city.

brazier in the city. She was kept warm continuously, even in hot weather, so that, it is said, women often broke out in skin eruptions from the heat. At present younger women are not following this practice and many regard it as a foolish custom. The absence of jiiru in post-war houses may be a factor in the decline of the custom. 178 846 [354]

Post-natal Observances During the first year of life the child is the center of several ceremonies. They are in brief: 852

1) Mbagii sunji, "Red rice ceremony". Held on the day of birth. Relatives, friends, and neighbors come. Rice dyed red and a soup of taro stems (a symbol of many children) are offered to the ancestral tablets and served to the guests. The afterbirth is buried behind the house while the children are made to laugh so that the baby will have a good disposition. [844]

2) Naajiki, "Naming". Held during the first week. Practices vary. In one variety the baby's grandmother releases a crab and a grasshopper and shoots an arrow at a winnowing tray; in another she divines with rice grains to see if the name she has selected is proper. This rite was formerly held to give the baby its native Okinawan name. [553] [787]

3) Mansang, "Full birth". Held on the 7th or 30th day after the birth to celebrate the full term. A feast is served to relative, friends, and neighbors.

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5) Hachi-atchii, "First walking". Held whenever the mother is first able to go to visit her parents and siblings. She takes gifts of food to them and in return they give money to the baby.

6) Tanja, "Birthday". Held on the first anniversary of the birth. A feast is prepared and many relatives and friends come bringing gifts of money. The child's future career is divined by placing a number of objects in front of it---money, a book, an abacus, food, etc. If the child chooses the money he will be rich; if the book, a scholar; if the food, a glutton; and so forth. The odds are usually weighted in favor of a desirable future. [527] [787]

There seems to be some variation in all of these practices. Several may be obsolescent because some of the elements entering into them are no longer in use, the pigsty-privy and the native names, for example. [178]

Infanticide New-born babies may be done away with if they are not wanted, but this is probably not at all common under ordinary circumstances. One example was recorded: An old woman who died recently lay for about a week on her death bed unable to talk. Her children gathered about her, wondering if some sin ('tsumi') were not in need of atonement ('tsugunai'). 847 783

753 that I found the greatest resistance to any suggestion that American methods
177 might have equal or greater validity. American material culture the Okina-
wans are delighted to accept, and they are eager for more. American social
[562] relationships they look somewhat askance at but they are willing to experi-
ment, in a small way, with equal rights for women. But the suggestion that
medically they don't know what ails them is harder to take. They are will-
ing to accept modern medical explanations of disease as a partial explana-
tion, perhaps as the occasional means by which the ultimate causes affect
disease. The ultimate causes are supernatural.

753 To challenge the concept ugwambusuku, the insufficiency of worship
177 that causes illness, is to challenge the present structure of religion, and
769 at a point where it is most closely bound to social organization. Anxiety
182 over insufficiency of worship and its possible consequences is probably the
strongest force motivating the whole range of activities connected with
death, burial, and the worship of ancestors. It is not too far-fetched to
suggest that it is also a reason for respecting one's elders during their
lifetime. It is no wonder that Okinawans show a strong resistance to any
challenge to these beliefs, even though they may not be conscious of all the
implications of the challenge.

753 To challenge the whole structure of belief would probably be wholly
177 unsuccessful. Or if somehow the Okinawans could be persuaded to abandon
757 these beliefs at once, the result would probably be either chaos or the un-
critical acceptance of another set of beliefs that might soon prove to be
just as far out of line with medical science as the present. Probably the
surest way to introduce modern medical concepts is by gradually whittling
down the native concepts beginning with the more peripheral ones. This is
not as hopeless as it might seem, for some changes have already taken place.
[846] Until recently women after childbirth were baked for about a week over a
fire in the jiiru, a hearth in the back room of the house, even in hot wea-
ther. It is said that it was a very uncomfortable experience and that in
warm weather it often resulted in rashes and boils, yet it was practiced be-
cause it was thought to be necessary for the health of the woman. In the
last few years this practice has been abandoned. One woman informant was
positive that the hideous skin condition called heegasa or "scruff" could be
prevented by drawing out the "bad blood", but she was equally positive that
the former practice of baking a new mother was useless if not harmful. Some
day she may become convinced that cutting an infant's buttocks with a razor
is useless if not harmful. She will be convinced when someone has demo-
strated to her that heegasa can be prevented by another means and that be-
cause the blood circulates it is no more "bad" at one place than another. The
concept "bad blood" is a peripheral one, with no close relationship to re-
ligion or social organization.

Other peripheral beliefs are those associated with the yabuu, the
efficacy of moxa and the golden needle of acupuncture. In demonstrating the
superiority of modern medicine over these techniques one may not always
count on the cooperation of educated Okinawans. In opposing the practice of
[181] the yabuu and other practitioners one runs counter to one of the strongest
themes of Okinawan culture---one must not interfere with another's livelihood.

842 of the economic hardship incurred as a result of large families. A few
[843] of the more outspoken mothers complain bitterly against the old people who expect them to continue bearing children until three male
[593] heirs are born. Men desire male heirs, and one son is not enough: the favored number is three. Informal interviews reveal that in spite of the cultural preference for sons, mothers welcome daughters, who grow up to be useful helpers. Even if women protest when they feel tired of bearing children, they submit to their husband's demands. Since Japa-
551 nese given names are used today, the practice of naming a girl Sueko
553 (end child), to indicate that one considers her to be the last, is often
842 resorted to. If this proves insufficient and another follows, she might
[177] be called Tomeko (stop child). In one family the wife gave her baby girl the name Sueko to indicate that she did not desire any more children. Her husband, however, disagreed, for he wanted another son, and registered the child without his wife's knowledge under another name.

842 Although the older generation, which has supported large families,
744 looks on birth control measures with distaste, the young mothers circulate information published in Japanese magazines and by the Okinawan public health department on this matter, and a few families actually use contraceptives. However, in general, public health nurses
847 have found it extremely difficult to discuss matters like birth control, abortion, and infanticide with villagers. "We suspect that these measures are practiced everywhere. Of course, with the system of registration and public health nursing, infanticide is hardly possible; however . . . we could not say. . . ." * It is interesting to note that in
[732] Taira there are mental defectives but no physical defectives. Abortion is legal with a doctor's consent, but informants claimed it was not
[848] practiced. There are illegitimate children born in the village.

842 "The seeds, they must match. If they do not match, then it cannot be," explain the villagers. They continue, "It is like planting a field, however; if the soil is hostile to growth, nothing can happen." Thus the villagers express their theories of conception.

843 Cessation of menstrual periods signals the start of pregnancy, and the sudden craving for a particular kind of food forces the woman to acknowledge the fact. Informal interviewing and casual observation reveal that morning sickness is not usual. Women rarely miss a work-
[461] ing day in the fields and mountains even in the early stages of preg-
[522] nancy. One male who failed to appear for work with the rest of the male population of the village was the butt of many a joke. "How now, you are taking over the task of your wife?" teased the men and women.

[164] Malfunction of the kidneys is not uncommon among pregnant

* Personal communication from public health nurses.

843 be drawn into the tomb. Some say the prospective father should also avoid these situations. Another set of observances has an easy delivery as its aim. The woman is urged to work hard and not to overeat so that the unborn child may not become too large. During the fifth month a "belly band" is wrapped tightly about her for the same purpose, especially to keep the head small.

A woman neither hides her pregnancy nor displays it unnecessarily---if she is married and it is her husband's child. If this is not the case she may attempt to hide the fact. On the other hand if she is bearing what may be her husband's first son , she may be very pleased at the prospect, but she does not go out of her way to show it.

843 774 [847] No clear statement was given to the effect that the "soul" enters the body of the unborn child at a particular time, but statements are made about dangers to the shii of the child. One informant suggested that this soul-like entity enters the body of the mother during the third month and that for this reason a moxibustionist had refused to abort a woman after her third month had passed.

847 Abortion Abortions have always been and continue to be performed on Okinawa. The most frequent reason is said to be the desire not to bear an illegitimate child. An old-fashioned home method is to brew camphor-wood leaves and drink the brew or to burn the leaves and breathe the smoke. Experts in cautery are also believed to be able to cause an abortion by burning moxa on the proper areas of the body. But at the present time women are said to be aborted more frequently by midwives. The practice does not appear to be regarded as illegal.

844 Birth A woman tries to work up until the time of childbirth. If she has had several children already she knows when labor starts, how long it is likely to last, and may go out to the fields confident that she can return in time. Delivery is in the kucha, the back room of the house. Women of the family are present and men are not forbidden, though children are sent out. Often a woman's husband grasps her during delivery. Formerly she squatted on the floor holding a rope suspended from a house-beam above her. At present she is usually made to lie down. The labor is spoken of as "pain" but the woman must not cry out; she may only grunt when putting her strength into the ejection of the baby. If she were to cry out because of the pain she would later feel very ashamed---"because it is something that happens to every woman; people would talk about her."

Formerly the newly-born child was neither bathed nor dressed but simply wrapped in an old kimono; now it is bathed in boiled water and dressed. The 853 infant is permitted to nurse from about the fourth day on, after there is milk in the mother's breasts. Before this it may be given a little sugar in water and possibly allowed to suck a little colostrum about the second day after birth.

178 846 [354] Formerly the mother was kept in the kucha for about a week in front of a fire burning on the jiiru, an open hearth in country homes, a kind of brazier in the city.

brazier in the city. She was kept warm continuously, even in hot weather, so that, it is said, women often broke out in skin eruptions from the heat. At present younger women are not following this practice and many regard it as a foolish custom. The absence of jiiru in post-war houses may be a factor in the decline of the custom. 178 846 [354]

Post-natal Observances During the first year of life the child is the center of several ceremonies. They are in brief: 852

1) Mbagii sunji, "Red rice ceremony". Held on the day of birth. Relatives, friends, and neighbors come. Rice dyed red and a soup of taro stems (a symbol of many children) are offered to the ancestral tablets and served to the guests. The afterbirth is buried behind the house while the children are made to laugh so that the baby will have a good disposition. [344]

2) Naajiki, "Naming". Held during the first week. Practices vary. In one variety the baby's grandmother releases a crab and a grasshopper and shoots an arrow at a winnowing tray; in another she divines with rice grains to see if the name she has selected is proper. This rite was formerly held to give the baby its native Okinawan name. [553] [787]

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5) Hachi-atchii, "First walking". Held whenever the mother is first able to go to visit her parents and siblings. She takes gifts of food to them and in return they give money to the baby.

6) Tanka, "Birthday". Held on the first anniversary of the birth. A feast is prepared and many relatives and friends come bringing gifts of money. The child's future career is divined by placing a number of objects in front of it---money, a book, an abacus, food, etc. If the child chooses the money he will be rich; if the book, a scholar; if the food, a glutton; and so forth. The odds are usually weighted in favor of a desirable future. [527] [787]

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847 783 Finally one of her brothers told them the reason. When she had been a young woman her husband had been awa for a long period during which she had had relations with other men and had had a baby by one of them. To avoid the disgrace and the anger of her husband, the woman's mother had buried the child alive in the back yard. The story was known to other older members of the family because some time later the bones had been discovered. When the story was told to the children, they told their dying mother that she could now go peacefully. She died soon after. All agreed that if a tablet had been made for the dead infant and incense had been burned, even in secret, the mother would not have suffered when she died. Infanticide thus may be punished by the supernatural, but then the punishment may also be avoided by the proper offerings.

847 Lebra reports that birth statistics from the village of Kitazato suggest that female infanticide has been practiced there recently. Statistics from other communities studied do not give the same skewed sex ration.

853 854 Infant Care Okinawan mothers nurse their babies for a year to a year and a half, though some are said to continue even until the child is three. They keep no schedules but give their babies the breast whenever they seem to want it. They deliberately offer a fretful baby the breast not only to appease its hunger but also to comfort it and it is not unusual to see a grandmother offer her dry breast to a child as a pacifier. I once commented to two Okinawan women that a certain American doctor has argued that Okinawans are happier than Americans because they are breast-fed as infants rather than bottle-fed; the women answered immediately, "But it's not the milk; it's the love ('aijō')."

853 Infants receive no food other than milk for the first nine months. Then they are given a little gruel made by skimming off the top of a mixture of cooked rice and water. This is not given earlier because it is believed that milk and rice do not mix well in the infant's stomach. After the child's first birthday it is given most adult foods, unless it is especially weak. Most children will not eat everything, however, but, it is said, will prefer sweet foods and avoid highly seasoned foods. Mothers do not prechew food for small children as a rule but may do so in some cases, to take the bones out of fish, for example.

863 [514] Toilet training is neither early nor strict. Adults as a rule defecate only in the toilet but are likely to urinate almost anywhere. They do not expect small children to be very careful. A baby wears a diaper until it is a year or a year and a half; then it may wear only a dress or shirt with no pants. At first the mother holds it over the toilet or merely off the edge of the house. In time it is expected to go to the toilet itself to defecate. Children are said to go by themselves when they are three. I have seen children of four still defecating beside the house, too busy playing to go to the toilet. They were scolded for it but received no more severe punishment. [178] This was in the city, however, and I was told that while their mothers did not object much to this behavior, their grandmother objected more strongly and scolded their mothers for permitting it. The change in type of toilet may

[Kochinda-son]

163 The prewar birthrate figures for Okinawa-ken include the following: 1936--26.2; 1937--26.4; and 1938--27.2.[1] So it is evident that in the prewar period there was a slight tendency for the birth rate to increase. A decrease is noted for recent years. In 1951 the birth rate was 36.7 for the Ryukyus as a whole, and was 34.2 in 1952.[2]

A more nearly accurate measure of the rapidity of the increase in population is the fertility ratio. For this study it was defined as the ratio of children under five years of age to the number of women aged fifteen to forty inclusive. The fertility ratio in 1953 for Kochinda-son was 663. This may be compared to the United States average of 464 for the white rural-farm population in 1940, or the average of 587 for the Negro rural-farm population in the same year. The 1947 fertility ratio in Japan was 528.[3]

842 [m] Most Okinawan men are familiar with the condom method of preventing conception. The Japanese Army was said to have followed a policy of distributing packages as men left the posts for liberty. A brand called "Shikishima" could also be bought at drug stores. One farmer asked me if there was a shot in the arm that a woman could get so as to render her sterile for a two-week period.

847 Informants stated that abortions were sometimes performed before the war, but were rare. Postwar doctors are not supposed to perform abortions unless the husband consents in person.

163 178 Spacing of Births By an analysis of the period between births, it may be possible to learn of shifts in frequency of births. For this purpose, a sampling was made of families with complete birth records in 25% of the households of Kochinda-son. The same villages were checked for postwar birth records. Only families with three or more postwar births were included in the latter category. Families with complete birth records covering both the pre- and post-invasion periods were also checked.

The comparison between the 37 households representing complete prewar records and the 39 households representing the postwar records of three or more births can best be seen by examining the following table:

Table IX

	Prewar	Postwar
Average Age of Mother at Birth of First Child	23.1	22.4
Average Age of Father at Birth of First Child	29.6[4]	27.1[5]

1 Navy Civil Affairs Handbook, page 56.
2 CAARI, p. 76. Projected annual rates per 1,000 inhabitants based upon estimated midyear population.
3 Japan Statistical Yearbook, 1950, p. 17. The population figures used are valid for 1 October 1947.
4 The ages of only nine prewar fathers were available. The remainder were war dead, and were not recorded in the temporary 'koseki'.
5 All 39 cases are represented above.

511 [Kitazato]
621 the houses are the same small, poorly-built structures of thatch and scrap
735 lumber that are found on the beach. By way of contrast, the house which
[342] the author rented in Kanegusuku was the poorest and shabbiest in that vil-
[184] lage; yet, the same house in Kitazato would easily have been the best.
Shabby appearances are not limited to houses, for the people too are more poorly dressed than elsewhere on Okinawa.

621 Food Nearly everywhere on Okinawa the authors heard that the peo-
511 ple are eating better today than before the war; such is not the case for
262 Kitazato, and the villagers are most emphatic about this. Potatoes, beans, and other vegetable products form the mainstay of their diet; often times, they say, potatoes are dug up before they are fully mature, so great is the pressure for food. It is the opinion of the local agricultural office that the people are slowly starving to death, and the villagers state that they are always hungry. The local storekeepers say that the people do not have enough money to buy canned foods to supplement their diet. Though Hama is
[226] virtually on the water the villagers do no fishing since the occupation is regarded as a foreign one; however, some shell fish are collected by the women.

621 Exodus of Youth One of the marked features of the village is the
511 general absence of young men and women in the fifteen to twenty-five age
166 group, for as soon as the student completes junior high school, he or she heads for the city seeking employment. A number of the families in the village are said to subsist mainly on the money which their children send back. According to the mayor 61 families have left the village since the end of the war; he feels that if they had not left, things would be much worse. Most of those who left were families containing grown children who could work; the parents in some cases were reluctant to leave, but their children were anxious to leave. A slight decline in military employment in early 1954 resulted in several of these families' returning to the village, and the mayor was apprehensive lest more return.

621 One characteristic of the population of this village which struck
847 the author was the disproportionate number of females to males in the age group under five years. In this group there were 64 males and 33 females, whereas the groups above were more nearly proportionate. Female infanticide has been a common occurrence during times of famine or under conditions of extreme poverty in Japan and China, and the authors heard several stories giving some evidence of it on Okinawa. No factual evidence of any sort was gathered by the author in Kitazato to corroborate this interpretation of the statistics; however, the fact that the permanent resettlement of the village in its present locations took place approximately six years ago in 1948 may lend some credence to this interpretation.

621 Attitude toward Americans The villagers' initial reaction to the
829 presence of the author in the village was one of fear and veiled hostility. Gradually this was overcome, and good rapport was established. During one
[123] of his last visits to the community the author was told, "The first day you were in the village everyone wondered if the military were going to make us move again. No one slept that night." At the same time the villagers are

592

Mother of head, age 48
Grandfather of head, age 65
Younger brother, age 25
Younger brother, age 16
Younger sister, age 9
Younger sister, age 11
Younger brother's wife, age 25
Two nieces, ages 4 and 2, daughters of the eldest younger brother and his wife.

These examples, of which many more could be given, illustrate several points regarding the family system. It is not uncommon to have as many as four generations in a family unit, the present head, his parent, the children, and the grandchildren of the head. There are four generations in illustration #3. The combination of a first son and his wife, with his parents, his younger brothers and sisters, and the head's own children, a common composition, illustrates the responsibilities of the first son both to his parents and to his siblings. Responsibility for illegitimate children is with the family of the girl. Occasionally [848] a husband will accept an illegitimate child born to his wife either before or during the marriage, but it is more usual for the illegitimate child to be reared in the household from which the mother came. In the second illustration, one illegitimate daughter lives with her grandparents and the mother is not in the household. The third illustration shows an unusual situation in which the young head and his wife have their children, his mother, his grandfather, minor younger sisters and brothers, and, in addition, a married younger brother and his wife and their two children. Ordinarily these would have established a branch family and not have been part of the older brother's household.

At present, the commonest family compositions are (1) the biological family, (2) the family with a young eldest son as the head with the widowed mother and other minor brothers and sisters, a type of composition which has increased as a result of the war, (3) uncles, aunts, cousins, and occasionally unrelated persons may live in the house, (4) often grandparents are found with their grandchildren, (5) widows with minor children are also common, an incidence increased by war.

The percentage of widows in Hinatogawa, in addition to the casualties of war, is due to the loss of fishermen at sea, a not uncommon tragedy as the typhoon season coincides with the best fishing seasons. Since widows with children seldom remarry, the family composition remains the same until the first son assumes the leadership of the family and the mother resides with him. [62] [65] [58]

Each of the families making up the extended family is either a main or a branch family. This arrangement is repeated in the individual families as well. If we take as an example a family with both parents, a first son, a second son, and a first daughter, we may expect as a normal development that the eldest son will marry between 24 and 27 and live with his wife at the home of his parents, that the father will 596 [582] [591]

584 place, as it requires the participation of the principals and their families. Young country people are likely to hesitate before going against their parents' wishes, dispensing with a ceremony and the celebration which follows, and eloping to Naha or to some larger town.

In practice, events seldom reach this stage of differences in opinion. Some one will give way. An actual happening illustrates this point. A young man, a third son, about 20 years old, fell in love with a girl, aged 23, a bus driver's assistant. The boy wished to marry her, even though by present day standards he was young for marriage.[1] His parents objected to the match, not because of antipathy to the girl whom they liked, but because she was three years older than the boy. This is an interesting objec-
[582] tion because formerly many wives were older than their husbands, although too great an age differential was considered a trifle ludicrous. Apparently in the older arranged marriage, parents intentionally selected a bride older than the husband. In the family registers, among the very old, the wife is often older than the husband. At present the girl is either younger or about the same age.

The boy acceded to his parents' wishes and did not marry the
[848] girl but kept on seeing her. Later the girl became pregnant. His parents discussed the matter among members of the extended family resident in the village, and, in much distress, consented to the marriage. Once the marriage was decided upon, there was no objection to the two living together.

836 Some premarital living together is found in Okinawa. The boy works on his own parents' fields and helps the girl's parents. The
[583] girl reciprocates by helping at the boy's parents' home. During this time, the boy lives at home but spends the night with the girl at her home.

582 Young men normally do not get married until their 24th or 25th year, though there are cases of earlier marriages. Girls are in their early twenties. Earlier marriages may be an indication that a child is on the way. This relatively late age for marriage is not old in the culture. In older times, young people were married in their 13th
[117] and 14th year. This practice gradually changed under Japanese rule.[2]

1 The Japanese word for love is ai-suru, but now one frequently hears the Japanese word rabu borrowed from the English love.

2 Writing in 1910 from personal observation, Simon said that with the "Japanisation" of the islands and the increased difficulty and expense in making a living, the time for marriage was postponed and that a marriage at 15 years was now an exception. Beitrage zur Kenntnis der Riukiu-Inseln, 88 and 90. Schwartz, In Togo's country, 1908, writing of conditions around the turn of the century, says that marriages are contracted between the 14th and 17th year, p. 150.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

Free choice in marriage does not mean that the family system will disintegrate because parents have lost control in selecting mates for their children. The family system is much more likely to break down if the head of a house must assume greater responsibility for the support of relatives, or if the young leave their homes and are scattered in the towns. 582 602

Trial marriage is said to be uncommon in Okinawa, but there does not seem to be any disapproval when it appears. Perhaps trial marriage is an inappropriate word, and living together prior to an intended marriage is a better term. In one case, a young man lived with his intended wife; sometimes he brought her to his parents' home. As his duties required some travelling, the girl often went with him. In Hanashiro, this custom is not practiced. When young people live together before marriage, with the parents' consent, they help one another's families with the daily chores. 583

Some married men have relations with other women, usually widows or unmarried girls, and have children by them. This is not rare, but it is by no means considered correct behavior. In one village, the first son with his wife and children live, as is customary, with his parents, but he continues to have relations with two unmarried women by whom he has had children. All three women live in the same village, know the situation, and manage to avoid one another fairly well. Naturally the wife is much disturbed by the arrangement. The man, now about 33, has 11 children by the three women. The children of the second and third women are classified in the family registers in the mother's family as illegitimate (shiseiji). This is an extreme case. 837 [848]

In another community, there was an instance of the effects of war and repatriation on a marriage. Before the war this man and his wife had emigrated to Saipan. She was afraid of the bombing and decided to return to her parents' home in rural Japan, to which her husband consented. He remained in Saipan and later lived with and married the girl who was his personal servant. They returned to Okinawa; he had a child by her and is now living with her. The new family register, made up after the war, does not show the old marriage. His first wife, whom he still admires, has written him, but he has not replied. While he expressed no regrets about the loss of the first wife, he talked about the second as if she were still a servant.

In the villages, the cases of a married man living with another woman, without any formal estrangement from the real wife, are in my opinion not uncommon--with the exception of Hanashiro. As one lives in a village and gradually hears confidences, departures from strict fidelity seem more frequent than appear on the surface. There is general agreement too that illegitimacy has increased since the 848

848 [727] [160] war.[5] The reasons given by the villagers are the increase in the number of widows and the present disproportion between young men and young women in the marrying ages.

One cannot generalize about attitudes toward illegitimacy. In two of the communities, Hinatogawa and Hatsuda, my impression was that there had been a change from disapproval to tolerance. The current reaction was often described in the famous Japanese phrase which covers thousands of situations: shi kata ga nai ("It can't be helped"). In Hanashiro, opinion seemed much stronger against extra-marital relations and having an illegitimate child. One housewife said that any married woman or single woman who has an illegitimate child is dirty (kitanai). This was not so much a moral condemnation as the notion that she was unclean. Such a woman is spoken to but is not liked. There is also the problem that in the family system there is no place for an illegitimate child, unacknowledged by the father, except to grow up in the household of his mother. There is no public concealment. The village family register has the shiseiji entry for any illegitimate child--and some of them are now very old men.

[837] [184]

5 These and the following statements are necessarily qualitative as statistics were not available. Illegitimacy here refers to Okinawan parents. To my knowledge, in these villages, there were no children whose fathers had been members of the occupying force. Some apparent illegitimacy may occur when the marriage is recorded after the birth of a child (a common practice) and the register is not corrected. For this reason, it was difficult to evaluate the illegitimate entries in the family registers.

831 keep others from noticing sex activities. Keeping sex a private matter
833 does not mean that there is a feeling of shame or guilt. It is considered a natural function, and although they do not discuss marital relations, men feel free to mention sex and its pleasurable aspects. Such conversations seem to cause some embarrassment among the younger women but are thought entertaining by older ones.

To men, sex, like food and drink, is to be enjoyed and indulged in. Women, too, enjoy sex but are more reticent and give much less overt expression to their desires. There are stories about women who are sexually aggressive, but they are either characters in the folklore or women of a neighboring village who are said to be this way "because they don't work hard enough." Men enjoy sex activity until an advanced age. One man over 60 whose wife had long been dead twice took a young woman as second wife; in both cases the women left him after a short period, but dissatisfaction with his sexual capacity was supposedly not the cause. Several children in Taira were fathered by
[278] men who had passed their sixtieth birthday. People believe that potency depends on physical well-being and age, but that it can be
[262] produced by a special drink consisting of sake in which a poisonous
[273] snake, the *habu*, is steeped. As soon as one finishes drinking this brew, its effects should be felt. Sake, meat, and eggs are also thought to increase potency.

833 Women's breasts are considered sexually stimulating. Men like to caress the breasts and the skin in general. Kissing occurs during foreplay only among some younger couples; older people do not care for it. In a room or house, shared with others, few couples undress fully for intercourse. Moving the baby to one side of the mat or mattress, a husband joins his wife.

834 There are no pre- or postparturition taboos; relations continue
[843] throughout pregnancy and are resumed about a week after childbirth,
[846] when the wife has taken her first bath. Men tend to disregard the public health nurse's urging that women be given a little longer rest.

837 That extra marital affairs do occur is evidenced by the presence of
848 illegitimate children. But the mothers are likely to be widows or girls
732 who for one reason or another did not get married at the usual age. Deformity may be a reason for not finding a husband. Two children
[835] in Taira were claimed to be the issue of an incestuous relationship
[581] between a man and his widowed daughter. Although the children were conceived and born outside the village, people became suspicious after the family returned to Taira. Because the putative father failed to deny paternity strongly, villagers felt certain that their suspicions

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

were justified. Both children were slightly retarded, and people believed that this fact added even more proof. 848

An illegitimate child is loved by everybody and treated like any legitimate child. The bastard's name is listed in the registry under his mother's and his illegitimacy noted. Since World War II the distinguishing red ink mark is no longer used in recording these children. Unless the mother marries the child's real father, the offspring has no legal rights of inheritance. If she marries another man, the child may receive affectionate treatment from the stepfather, but he remains legally her son. Socially such a child does not suffer any form of ostracism, but adults make references to his status within his earshot. One such girl proudly said that people had told her that she was half-Japanese. 837 732 217 428 554

Legally a man cannot have more than one wife, but there are cases of multiple marriage even in Taira. It takes a substantial income for such an arrangement, since a second wife is given a separate place to live. A younger "wife" is usually taken if there is no male heir born by the legal wife or if the marriage remains childless altogether. A man, formerly a resident of the village, took a young concubine late in life after his sons were killed during the war. She bore him a son, apparently with the consent of the first wife, since there was amicable interaction between the two although they lived separately. The husband registers such children as his legal offspring. 595 842

Two modes of divorce are possible. A couple may agree to separate and call a family council of parents and relatives on both sides. The township office is then notified and separation acknowledged. Once children have been born, such divorces are not too frequent, at least there were few cases of divorced women with children in Taira. A husband may initiate a divorce by telling his wife of his desire to separate. Extra-marital relationships of the wife would be sufficient cause, as would be sterility, which is interpreted as her fault. In Taira a settlement within the family is the more frequent mode of divorce although relatively rare. One official estimated that the rate of divorce for the whole township is two per year. Among the 59 marriages we found listings for five subsequent divorces. During fieldwork, many debates about modernizing divorce laws were held among members of the Women's Association, which advocated the abolition of the unilateral emphasis that gave husbands all the rights and wives almost none. Only a crime committed by a man would be sufficient cause under existing law to permit the wife to initiate a divorce. 586 837 842 671 575

842 of the economic hardship incurred as a result of large families. A few
[843] of the more outspoken mothers complain bitterly against the old people who expect them to continue bearing children until three male
[593] heirs are born. Men desire male heirs, and one son is not enough: the favored number is three. Informal interviews reveal that in spite of the cultural preference for sons, mothers welcome daughters, who grow up to be useful helpers. Even if women protest when they feel tired of bearing children, they submit to their husband's demands. Since Japa-
551 nese given names are used today, the practice of naming a girl Sueko
553 (end child), to indicate that one considers her to be the last, is often
842 resorted to. If this proves insufficient and another follows, she might
[177] be called Tomeko (stop child). In one family the wife gave her baby girl the name Sueko to indicate that she did not desire any more children. Her husband, however, disagreed, for he wanted another son, and registered the child without his wife's knowledge under another name.

842 Although the older generation, which has supported large families,
744 looks on birth control measures with distaste, the young mothers circulate information published in Japanese magazines and by the Okinawan public health department on this matter, and a few families actually use contraceptives. However, in general, public health nurses
847 have found it extremely difficult to discuss matters like birth control, abortion, and infanticide with villagers. "We suspect that these measures are practiced everywhere. Of course, with the system of registration and public health nursing, infanticide is hardly possible; however . . . we could not say. . . ." * It is interesting to note that in
[732] Taira there are mental defectives but no physical defectives. Abortion is legal with a doctor's consent, but informants claimed it was not
●[848] practiced. There are illegitimate children born in the village.

842 "The seeds, they must match. If they do not match, then it cannot be." explain the villagers. They continue, "It is like planting a field, however; if the soil is hostile to growth, nothing can happen." Thus the villagers express their theories of conception.

843 Cessation of menstrual periods signals the start of pregnancy, and the sudden craving for a particular kind of food forces the woman to acknowledge the fact. Informal interviewing and casual observation reveal that morning sickness is not usual. Women rarely miss a work-
[461] ing day in the fields and mountains even in the early stages of preg-
[522] nancy. One male who failed to appear for work with the rest of the male population of the village was the butt of many a joke. "How now, you are taking over the task of your wife?" teased the men and women.

[164] Malfunction of the kidneys is not uncommon among pregnant

* Personal communication from public health nurses.

161 The percentage growth categories used on Map 6 are as follows:

Negative Growth
Less than Okinawa Average of 22% Growth
23-39% Growth
40-100% Growth
Over 100% Growth

Population Increase During 1951 and 1952 The accelerated military construction program has been quite important in drawing people to the main island of Okinawa. This is shown by [167] the fact that in the years 1951 and 1952 it gained over 47,000 inhabitants. More than 11,000 of these were contractors and construction workers from Japan. About 2,300 more such workers arrived from Japan in the first seven months of 1953.[1]

161 During this two year period, Okinawa's population increased by 5.55%.
166 On Map 7 all areas with an increase of less than that amount are considered as areas of emigration. Those areas where the increase was more than 5.55% are shown as areas of immigration.

All urban areas except Ishikawa continued to grow. Goeku and Kadena, which had in the previous decade grown amazingly fast, continued to be among the fastest-growing 'son' on the island. On the other hand, Kunigami-son and the entire east coast north of Ishikawa City reversed the trend of growth noted on Map 6, and became areas of excessive migration. In part this was due to the improvement of roads along the east coast, thus making the urban trek easier. But it owed just as much to the demand for skilled carpenters, who were abundant along the east coast.

If data were available at the 'aza', or village area level, the urban trend could be localized with greater accuracy. Military government personnel concerned with problems on the island relative to urbanization and its pace are advised to work with population data on the village ('aza' or 'ku') level if greater accuracy is desired. This information is rarely if ever presented in that detailed form to agencies of the Government of the Ryukyu Islands, and local inquiry must be made.

162 The Sex Ratio Okinawa shares with most of the Orient a great density of population per arable acre of land. Aside from this, the out- [161] standing fact about the population of Okinawa is the great preponderance of women over men. There are about 90 men for every 100 women in this area.[2] [54] This excess of women is reflected in such sociological phenomena as prosti- [54] tution, illegitimate and common law children, women functioning as heads of [162] households, and a high fertility ratio. The reasons for the excess are some- [163] what complex, but the most important factor is the recent war, in which many

1 CAARI, p. 78.

2 The standard demographic definition of sex ratio is "the number of men for each 100 women."

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162 This is true in 32 cases, or 9.54% of the households in this category con-
592 taining more than one person. Another reason is that of the illegitimate
[848] children born to women household heads, more boy babies are registered as legal children by their fathers than is the case with girl babies. Of the illegitimates living in households headed by women, 19 were female, 11 were male, and an additional seven were in the class "sex unrecorded". If the same proportion are girls as is true of "common law children", this would indicate a surplus of illegitimate females.[1]

Additional Three other categories relating to household head status were analyzed. The data were cross-filed from the above categories. There were sixty-seven cases of father or grandfather not functioning as household head, but living. Or in other words, retirement of males. Persons under twenty-one years of age functioning as household heads were counted, as were household heads living alone.

162 1. Retirement: In the category of retired fathers or grandfathers,
592 we find that in 59 of the 67 cases retirement was in favor of a first son.
886 In seven cases retirement was in favor of a grandchild first son, and in one instance in favor of a son's wife. The ages of the retired oldsters ran from 51 to 87, with 33 of the 67 instances being between the ages of 60 to 70 inclusive. The median age was 65, and the average age was roughly 66.5.

162 2. Living Alone: In the second additional category, household heads
592 living alone, we find 166 cases. Thirty of these cases, or 16%, were orphans
597 under twenty-one years of age. Twenty-two of these were male and eight female, thus showing a greater tendency for female orphans to be adopted. Male orphans are not often adopted, because relatives want them to grow up to be the heads of their deceased fathers' households.

162 With regard to division by sex, 89 were males. Of these, 21, or
592 26%, were born before 1900. Of the 77 females, 39 (51%) were born before 1900, thus giving another instance of the longevity of women.

3. Minors: In the third supplementary category of minor household heads, the mother was living in 79 instances and deceased in 69 instances. One father and four grandfathers were still living, but retired. In all these five cases the mother was also still living. There was an overwhelming tendency for the first son to be household head, followed by second sons and first daughters equally. The full range is shown below:

Table VI

First Sons	110	Fifth Sons	1
Second Sons	11	Second Daughters	1
First Daughters	11	Common Law (boy)	1
Third Sons	5	Illegitimate (girl)	1
Fourth Sons	4	Adopted Son[2]	1
Sons, Unknown Birth Order	2		
Total			148

1 Refer to "Common Law Children---Numbers", p. 112.

2 This boy's birth order was second son in his family of orientation.

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582 For the 114 in-village marriages the average age of the wife at date marriage was recorded was 21.2 years. For the husbands in this category the average was 23.5 years. Both these averages are consistently lower than the averages for out-village marriages---it apparently takes longer to search farther afield. In addition, one often hears the country belief that the more education a man has, the farther away he goes for a wife.

The 150 out-village marriages recorded include 117 women living in Kochinda-son, and 33 women who have married to men outside the 'son'. Of these 33 women, those who married men from relatively far away numbered nineteen, and those who married men living in villages relatively close to their parents' village were fourteen in number. One of the first group married an American serviceman from Kansas. One of the outside-the-'son'-marriages involved a woman fifty years of age who was marrying for the second time. For the remaining 32 marriages---all of which were first marriages---the average age of the woman involved was 22.5 years.

Of the 117 out-village women who married within Kochinda-son, twenty-seven came from rather far away, forty from non-contiguous 'aza' relatively close, and fifty from neighboring, or areally contiguous, 'aza'. The average age of the 117 husbands was 25.0 years. This figure is reduced to 24.9 years if the men over 40 are eliminated. The average age of the wives[1] was 22.1 years, an average reduceable to 21.9 years if women over forty are eliminated.

587 Second Marriages In the normal course of events a certain number of people will marry for the second time. The Navy Civil Affairs Handbook indicates that "...about twice as many men as women remarry after being widowed or legally separated." A considerable number of the postwar marriages analyzed under the spacing of births category above were second marriages. It is of course not possible to ascertain the percentage of these, inasmuch as they are not listed as such in the temporary 'koseki'.

[614] Lebra was told that in a first marriage men tended to wed women from within the munchu (extended patrilineage) rather than from outside the munchu, and that in a second marriage they tended to marry outside the munchu.

588 "Common Law Children": Definitions In addition to legally recorded marriages, there are those unions producing children who have no legal claim as heirs to their fathers' property. If the father recognizes the child as his own, it is given his family name, and entered into the 'koseki' as a 'shoshidan', if a boy, and a 'shoshijo', if a girl. In this report these will be called "common law children", though the reader must realize that 'shoshi' is not the exact equivalent of the phrase "common law" as it is used in the United States.

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• 848

[1] Only the ages of 116 wives could enter this calculation; no birthdate was available for one wife, though the other data for the marriage were complete.

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If the child's father refused to admit paternity or is unknown, the child is registered as a 'shiseiji', or "privately born child", in the 'koseki' of the mother. In this report 'shiseiji' will be referred to as "illegitimates". There are rare cases where a young man may claim the illegitimate child, but will not permit its mother's name to be registered. 588 848 851

Numbers In Kochinda-son there were registered in the 'koseki' 57 common law children. Of these, 26 were born prior to 1 January 1946; that is, 46% of the total were conceived prior to the invasion of 1 April 1945. It is more likely than not that many prewar cases of illegitimacy were not registered in the temporary postwar 'koseki' from which this information was taken. The remaining 31, comprising 54% of the total, were born after 1 January 1946.

The 57 were divided by sex as follows: female---31, male--22, not accurately recorded--4. Even if the indeterminate ones are all male, it means that there is a preponderance of females. This low sex ratio may help to balance the extremely high sex ratio noted above for first birth children of parents who reported the marriage after the birth of their first child. For comparative purposes, the data are repeated below:

Table XVII

	First Born Child a Boy	First Born Child a Girl
Marriages Recorded Before First Birth	51	55
Marriages Recorded After First Birth	45	24
Total	96	79

Birth Years One prewar common law child does not have a birthdate recorded, although internal evidence in the 'koseki' indicates that he was born sometime in the period between 1939 and 1941 inclusive. The years of birth of the remaining 56 common law children, of all ages, is shown below: 848 851

Table XVIII

Year Born	Number of Children
1954[1]	3
1953	4
1952	4
1951	4
1950	6
1949	3
1948	3

[1] This is for the first three months of 1954 only.

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Table XVIII, cont'd.

• 848
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Year Born	Number of Children
1947	1
1946	3
1945	2
1944	5
1941	3
1940	2
1939	1
1938	1
1937	3
1934	1
1933	1
1932	1
1929	2
1928	2
1916	1
Total:	56

Fathers There were 53 fathers responsible for the 57 offspring. In two cases one man fathered three common law children. In half the cases, the age of the father at the date of the child's birth is not known. The ages of the other 25 fathers ranges from 15 years eleven months to 60 years ten months. The age period 20-30 inclusive contains 19 fathers of common law children. It may be assumed that the 50% of fathers whose age data at the birth of their common law children are missing would tend to follow much the same distribution. The birth orders of the prewar and postwar fathers in the 20-30 year age group are shown in Table XIX, with comments on each case.

Table XIX

Birth Order of Fathers of Common Law Children Born Before the Invasion	Comments on the Fathers of Common Law Children
First Son	Has only one common law child. Has eight children by his legal wife.
Second Son	The common law child was his first. He has had five legal children since.
Second Son	He is household head. The common law child is his first daughter. His first wife was either sterile or was killed in the war and her children married off or killed. He is eighteen years older than his second wife, by whom he has had one daughter and three sons since marriage.

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(Birth Orders...)	(Comments...)
Second Son	He was born in 1887, and was a 'yōshi'. The common law child was born in 1915, has fathered three daughters and two sons, and is uncle to an illegitimate child. 848 851
Third Son	He had an illegitimate child, and admitted paternity eight years later, thus making it a common law child so that it could go to school without stigma. His legal wife had borne him two sons.

Birth Order of Fathers of Common Law Children Born After the Invasion	Comments....
First Son	He is unmarried, and lives with two teen-age younger brothers.
First Son	Unmarried first son of a father in first case of this tabulation.
First Son	He is married, but his legal wife has had no children yet.
First Son	He is unmarried and lives with his parents.
First Son	He is unmarried and lives with his mother and his common law child.
First Son	He is unmarried, lives with his parents, a younger brother and the brother's wife.
Second Son	He is unmarried, and is living with his mother and his common law child, a son.
Second Son	Lives with his elder brother and family, where he cares for his common law daughter.
Second Son	He is unmarried, and is living with father, elder brother and brother's wife.
Second Son	He is unmarried, lives with his father and younger brother.
Third Son	He married two years after the birth of his common law child, but his wife is not the child's mother. He lives with his mother, who is legal household head.

(Birth Orders...)	[Kochinda-son] (Comments...)
848 851 Fourth Son	He has had a son and daughter by his legal wife, and three children by his "secret wife." He had the third common law child after the age of thirty.
Fifth Son	He is unmarried and lives with his parents. His elder sister has had an illegitimate child.

163 848 851 Mothers The ages of the mothers at birth of the common law child were available in only thirty, or 53%, of the 57 cases. One half of the first births occurred to mothers aged 17 to 24 years inclusive. The range of mothers' ages at first common law births was from seventeen years ten months to forty years one month.

848 851 Registration Thirty births were registered in the 'koseki' of the fathers, and twenty-two in the mothers' 'koseki'. One common law child had become a 'yōshi', and it could not be determined where he had been registered. Four were adults whose 'koseki' registration at time of birth was unascertainable.

848 Illegitimate Children In the Kochinda-son 'koseki' at time of copying, 112 persons were registered as having been born "illegitimate", or 'shiseiji'. Twenty-eight of these, or 25%, were born prior to 1 January 1946. That is, these were conceived before the invasion. The remaining 84, constituting 75% of the total, were born after 1 January 1946. As of 31 December 1953 there were 106 living registered illegitimates.[1]

Mothers Because there were nine cases of women who had two illegitimate children, a total of 103 mothers were involved. Of those nine mothers bearing double illegitimates, six were widows. In two of the nine cases the children were fourth and fifth order births. In two cases they were third and fourth order births---one of the latter were twins. In three cases the children were first and second order births, and were first and third order in another instance. There was one case in which the mother had probably had legal children who were war dead. The birth orders of the mothers are as follows:

Table XX

Birth Order of Mothers	Number of Mothers
First Daughter	38
Second Daughter	23
Third Daughter	10
Fourth Daughter	6
Fifth Daughter	1
Birth Order Unknown	24
Total:	103

1 Two had become common law children, one became a legal child, two had died, and one was not born until January 1954.

[Kochinda-son]

Table XXII

• 848

Relationship of Legal Household Head to Illegitimate Child	Number of Illegitimate Children Involved
Mother	27
Mother's Father	23
Elder Brother	10
Mother's Elder Brother	9
Mother's Younger Brother	9
Mother's Mother	8
Mother's Husband	5
Uncle[1]	4
Self	3
Father	2
Grandfather[2]	2
Mother's Former Husband	2
Mother's Sister-in-Law	1
Mother's Adopted Son	1
Mother's Husband's Mother	1
Mother's Deceased Husband's Mother	1
Mother's Adoptive Father	1
Husband's Father[3]	1
Husband's Elder Brother[3]	1
Unknown	1
Total:	112

Information on the age and marital status of the 106 illegitimates as of 31 December 1953 indicated that two were married and over 21 years of age; one was married and under 21 years of age; the remaining 103 were unmarried minors.

Comparison with Other Areas It is interesting to compare the figures for the thirteen villages comprising Kochinda-son with the data from the villages of Kanegusuku and Kitazato. The relationship of household head to the illegitimate child was the mother in four instances, the mother's parents in six instances, and a sibling of the mother in eighteen instances. The breakdown is given below:

Table XXIII

Relationship of Legal Household Head to Illegitimate Child	Kanegusuku Illegitimates	Kitazato Illegitimates	Total
Mother	1	2	3
Mother's Husband	1	-	1
Mother's Mother	2	1	3
Mother's Father	1	2	3
Mother's Sister	-	1	1
Mother's Brother	7	10	17
Total:	12	16	28

1 It is not certain whether he is the mother's or father's brother.
2 Whether he is mother's father or father's father was not ascertainable from the 'koseki' record.
3 These two illegitimates are married; their pre-marital relationship to the household head in the family of their orientation is not known.

[Kochinda-son]

A total of nine households contain the illegitimates of Kanegusuku, as do nine households in Kitazato. In the latter village, one household has six illegitimates. Lebra, who collected the above information, comments: "A straight 'koseki' count for Kanegusuku indicated a total of 32 illegitimates for the village, with a 'koseki' population of 589. A house-to-house check and consultation with the village mayor ('kuchō') resulted in a population of 501 and only 12 illegitimates. A recheck indicated that most were transient families that settled in the village temporarily following the war, some were from the former fifth 'han' of Kanegusuku (now a part of Itoman), and a small number were Kanegusuku people who moved elsewhere." 848

"The Kitazato figures above are based on a straight 'koseki' count. However, unlike Kanegusuku, the 'koseki' count and that of the 'kuchō' are so close that I accepted the former as reasonably accurate although I suspect that it is a bit lower. The 'kuchō' explained the discrepancy as being due to the great number of 'seinen' (youth) who have gone to the city for work and have not taken their 'koseki' with them."

Birth Order Of the 94 cases of single illegitimates, twenty (21.3%) were not children of first order birth. Of these twenty, sixteen were offspring of widows. The birth orders of single illegitimates are shown below:

Table XXIV

Birth Order	Number of Children
First Child	74
Second Child	12
Third Child	3
Fourth Child	4
Fifth Child	1
Total:	94

Season of Birth The chart of the month and year of births of illegitimates presented below is suggestive of possible relationships of date of conception of illegitimates to both international events and local holidays.

Table XXV

Birth Month	'53	'52	'51	'50	'49	'48	'47	'46	'45	Pre-'45	Month of Conception	Total Births
Jan.	1		3	1		2	2		1	1	April	11
Feb.		2			1	1	1			3	May	8
Mar.		2	2	1				1		3	June	9
Apr.	1			1	2	1					July	5
May	4		3	1						4	August	12
June		1	2	1	1					3	September	8
July	1	2		1	2	2	1	1		1	October	11
Aug.	1	1		2	2		1	2		2	November	11

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Table XXV, cont'd.

848 163

Birth Month	'53	'52	'51	'50	'49	'48	'47	'46	'45	Pre-'45	Month of Conception	Total Births
Sept.	1		4	1						1	December	7
Oct.		1	1		2					1	January	5
Nov.	1	2	4	1	1					5	February	16
Dec.	1		1			1			1	1	March	6
Total:	11	11	20	10	11	7	7	5	2	25		109[1]

The number of illegitimate children born in the year and a half following the outbreak of the Korean War doubled. The demoralization and uncertainty which accompanied the withdrawal of United Nations forces may be reflected in the rise in illegitimacy. Similarly it is seen that the rate returned to its postwar normal course with the advance of the fighting to positions nearer the Thirty-eighth Parallel.

848 163 527 Interesting also is the "season of conception" pattern that is suggested by the above chart. The greatest number of mothers were impregnated in February, which in most years contains the Lunar New Year's season. It is the occasion for much visiting around and many parties. The month containing the next highest number of impregnations is August. This is the month of the O-bon season, when community contests are held, and 'awamori' flows even more freely than usual. October and November---seasons of cooperative rice harvest---and April, the month of lunar sangwachi sannichi (Third Month, Third Day---Women's Festival), are the months of the third most frequent impregnations, or conceptions.

163 To some extent this approximates the season of birth pattern for Okinawa Guntō in 1951 and 1952:

Table XXVI

Month of Birth	Births 1951[2]	Births 1952[2]	Total Births 1951-1952	Month of Conception
January	2,347	2,056	4,403	April
February	1,876	2,108	3,984	May
March	2,108	1,837	3,945	June
April	1,713	1,713	3,426	July
May	1,711	1,563	3,274	August
June	1,575	1,396	2,971	September
July	1,602	1,366	2,968	October
August	1,851	1,449	3,300	November
September	1,792	1,868	3,660	December
October	2,326	2,245	4,571	January
November	2,414	2,106	4,520	February
December	1,753	2,268	4,021	March

1 This excludes two whose birthdate data were not complete, and one born in 1954.

2 Civil Affairs Activities in the Ryukyu Islands, Vol. 1, no. 2, p. 77.

[Kochinda-son]

January, February and April lead in total numbers of births. However, August is the lower fourth in number of conceptions. The possible relationship suggested above awaits validating or disproving when more 'son' can be studied in order to obtain a larger sample. The subject is here mentioned in order to provide researchers with a new path of inquiry. 163

Widows as Mothers of Illegitimates Twenty-nine widows are mothers of 35 illegitimate children. One had twins, and five other widows had illegitimate children in tandem. In the months of February, August, April, October and November, 19 widows conceived illegitimate children, while in the remaining seven months only 15 illegitimates were conceived. The sample involved here is too small to do more than suggest a possible correlation of date of conception and festivals. The possibility should be kept in mind, however, by anyone who does further research on Okinawan population. 848 163

Mixed Blood Illegitimates There are only two registered illegitimates in Kochinda-son who have non-Okinawan fathers. Both are from one village, and neither are included in the above analysis. The 'son' office personnel said that they have heard of about seven or eight more, but that they are not registered as such in the 'koseki'. According to them, the children of mixed blood are probably not registered at all, and will not be until they become of school age. 848 [44]

Connections with Divorce Three illegitimate children were the cause of divorces. One husband divorced his wife upon the birth of her illegitimate child, and sent her and the child back to her parents' home. Another husband recorded the divorce of his wife and the adoption by him of her illegitimate daughter the same day. In the third instance, the widow of a man killed in the war bore an illegitimate girl child. The widow's parents-in-law forced her to return to her family and to record in the 'koseki' a divorce from her deceased husband. 848 586

Accuracy of Figures There are more illegitimates in the 'son' than are registered in the 'koseki' as such. Quite often in the prewar period---and possibly even now---the husband's child by another woman was recorded as the son or daughter of his legal wife. In one case the 'koseki' record showed one woman as bearing two children seven months apart. Investigation showed that the above method of recording had been used. The same method of concealment is often used when a man's unmarried daughter bears a child. 848

Postwar Divorces While there were 264 postwar marriages recorded in the 'koseki' of Kochinda-son, 54 postwar divorces were entered into the record for the same period. This would indicate a rough divorce rate of 20.4 in Kochinda. Since in America one in four marriages ends in divorce[1], and in Japan the rate (as of 1949) is 9.7, it is clear that the Okinawan divorce rate much more closely resembles the American. This Okinawan rate is confirmed by the 1952 statistics, which showed a rate of 20.3 (3,220 marriages and 653 divorces)[2] for Okinawa Guntō. 586 [171]

1 George C. Homans, The Human Group, p. 276.
2 Ryūkyū tōkei hōkoku, p. 1.

cause misfortune; the ability to do this, he says, is hereditary from mother 754
to daughter. My informants did not identify ichijama with the mabui or any other such entity, but merely explained it as a kind of 'noroi', "curse". Its effect is a sharp pain inside the body or the feeling that a fingernail has been thrust into the eye. If the person responsible is known, they said, the affliction may be cured by spitting in his direction and throwing pig dung in his direction, shouting, "I smear it on your face!" According to [756]
Yanagida, a yuta can cure an afflicted person by squeezing his thumb, which causes the thumb of the person responsible to be crushed.

Illness may also be caused by gods or local spirits as punishment 753
for the breaking of tabus. For example, at Yamazato in Chinen-son it was 784
said that on the 1st, 8th, 18th, and 28th of every month the "mountain god" (yama nu kami) makes a circuit of inspection of the mountain behind the village and therefore one cannot go to cut trees or grass on those days for fear of punishment.

But probably the most frequent interpretation of illness and mis- 753
fortune is that it is caused by ugwambusuku, an insufficiency of worship 769
(from ugwang, "worship" and fusuku, "insufficiency"). As has been explained, 775
the dead can influence the lives of the living for good or bad. If the ancestors of a family are well cared for, that is, receive the proper offerings and worship, they may help that family to prosper and multiply, but on the other hand, if the ancestors are not cared for they will let the family know of their needs by some light illness, or, if their needs are still ignored, by some greater misfortune. They may not deliberately mean to harm their descendants; the misfortune may be automatic; this point is not clear. At any rate, the fear of ugwambusuku appears to be a very common anxiety [152]
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The insufficiency is not always of worship of the ancestors, al- 753
though this is probably the most frequent type. Illness may also be caused 782
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legitimate child or the child of a secondary wife does not worship at least once at the Fire God of his shiji ("line") that is, the Fire God of his father's family, he may become ill. Thus it is not uncommon for the mother of an illegitimate child to bring it to the house of its father and ask to let it pray once to the Fire God there. This practice may also, of course, [851]
serve to demonstrate paternity.

Also probably related to the concept that the ancestors influence 769
the living is the practice of establishing a fictitious adoptive relation- 753
ship between a child and an unrelated family. If a child is weakly its mother may ask an unrelated adult to become the yashinee-uya, "adopted parent",

584 she objects violently, the matter may be dropped. If the go-betweens
[851] succeed in making arrangements, they become the special friends and patrons of the young couple, officiating at the marriage ceremony and attending the rituals during the first week after the birth of all the couple's children.

The first engagement event is a small family affair at the bride's house, attended by a few close relatives of the couple, who ceremonially eat rice from the same bowl. The food is contributed by the groom's
[836] family. From this time on the groom may spend evenings and nights at the bride's house, where he is permitted to have sexual intercourse
[583] with the girl. For a man whose girl lives in the same village, the day is now divided between work for his own household and helping the girl's family in the field. The groom receives supper from the girl's family, who encourage him to stay for the night. The couple is never seen together in public, although the girl also helps occasionally at her groom's house.

The second engagement party is held some later time, also at the girl's house. All the relatives of the bride whom she wishes to introduce to the groom and his family are invited. The groom also invites his relatives and friends. Food and drink are supplied by the groom. Since this may be quite a burden, the bride urges him not to hurry in planning for this party. At this engagement ceremony, relatives and friends congratulate the male members of the bride's family and some of the close female relatives, the mother and sometimes an aunt, or the grand-
[537] mother. Short speeches are exchanged. The girl's father, in response to well-wishing, may point out that the girl is inexperienced and that she needs guidance and education from the groom's family. The groom also toasts his father-in-law, tells him that he will do his best, and thanks him and his wife for their permission to marry.

585 The actual marriage ceremony may be postponed until much later.
[584] One reason for the long engagement period is to see whether the girl becomes pregnant, or as one person said, "To see if the seeds match."
[842] There are also economic considerations. The ceremony takes place at the groom's house. The go-between, his wife, and a few friends go to the bride's home to accompany her and her relatives and friends to the
[178] groom's house. The elaborateness of the celebration depends on the wealth of the groom's family, but since the war, all families have economized in this as well as in other ceremonies. The cost of the wedding is carried by the groom, but it is to some extent offset by small money gifts which guests contribute. The groom gives the bride's family a certain amount of money—in one case about 2000 yen (approximately $17.00) or two thirds of a well-to-do Taira family's monthly

844 kimonos, and diapers. He is placed under the blanket next to the
[853] mother and given a gauze nipple dipped in tea and sugar to suck, which is often his only food for as long as two days if lactation is slow. Meanwhile the afterbirth is wrapped in straw and left under the floorboards in the kitchen to await the outgoing tide.

846 Tea is now served in the front room, and the birth is discussed by
593 the women who assisted. On one such occasion, the father and grandmother showed a little boy whose sister had just been born a great deal of affection. The father held the boy in his lap, and both adults told him that he was now a big brother.

844 At the first hour of the outgoing tide, old women—the grandmother
851 of the baby, relatives, and neighbors—wrap the afterbirth in rice straw
156 and bury it in a specified place outdoors behind the hearth. The purpose of the ceremony is to ensure that the child will be happy and sociable. To the accompaniment of laughing, loud clanging of pots and covers, and calling to each other, the women circle the house. When the burial is completed, they chant loudly, "May this baby al-
[152] ways laugh and be pleasant." A stone is then placed over the burial mound so that the infant will not be frightened in his sleep, an emotion which is inferred from the jerking of a young infant while asleep.

852 Until about 10 years ago a ceremony was performed by descendants
565 of noble families from Shuri over the newborn to ensure success in his
462 future role. For boys, a winnowing basket was propped up against a hoe on which a clump of soil and grass rested. While the father's mother
[178] held the child in one arm, she shot an arrow with a bow into the basket. This act was to make certain that the child would become a good hunter (provider) as well as a successful farmer. The grass on the hoe
[286] symbolized strength. A girl, on the other hand, received a miniature loom constructed especially for such occasions, which was to assure her success as a weaver of cloth. A spool of banana fiber was presented along with the loom.

852 There is a story that long, long ago an infant was born on the beach.
565 Immediately after he was born, as he still lay on the sand, a crab
538 crawled over his chest. This infant grew up to be a strong, famous man. Shuri descendants still have a custom of grandmothers holding a newborn boy in their laps and releasing a small crab, which scurries over the infant's chest. These practices, however, are absent in central Taira now and are rarely found in the outlying settlements of predominantly Shuri descendants.

846 Formerly mother and child were confined to the darkened delivery
178 room next to the kitchen and at the rear of the house for seven days, while an open fire was kept blazing in the brazier near the mother.

[Kochinda-son]

The days between report of the marriage and the first birth ranged from one day prior to 275 days prior. The range is tabulated below: 582

Table XI

Days Prior	Cases
1- 7	8
8- 20	9
21- 30	8
31- 60	13
61- 90	8
91-120	8
121-150	10
151-180	3
181-210	4
211-240	3
241-275	3
Total	77

The composition of the families in which the marriages occurred is shown in Table XII:

Table XII

Type Family	Number of Marraiges	Percentage
Lineal	32	42
Lateral	6	8
Mixed	18	23
Nuclear	21	27
Total	77	100

Marriages Reported after First Birth Marriages reported on or after the birth of the first baby say a greater proportion of younger husbands. Fifteen of the 71 were younger than their wives. In four cases the husband had had a divorce and remarried. In another case the first wife had died, and the husband remarried. The first birth was a boy in 45 cases, and a girl in 24 of the remaining 26 cases. In two instances the information as to sex of the child was faulty. This imbalance leads one to believe that in many cases when a girl child is born, the father refuses to acknowledge paternity by registering the marriage. The child must then be registered as an illegitimate or common law child. [851]

Marriages to girls within the village accounted for 28, or 40%, of the cases; while marriages to women who came from outside the village accounted for 43, or 60%, of the cases. This shift in relative percentages from the second category to the third suggests that marriages to women within one's own village have a slight tendency to be reported earlier, or before the first baby is born. On the other hand, unions with girls from outside one's own village tend to be reported later, or after the first baby arrives.

[Kochinda-son]

582 For the 114 in-village marriages the average age of the wife at date marriage was recorded was 21.2 years. For the husbands in this category the average was 23.5 years. Both these averages are consistently lower than the averages for out-village marriages---it apparently takes longer to search farther afield. In addition, one often hears the country belief that the more education a man has, the farther away he goes for a wife.

The 150 out-village marriages recorded include 117 women living in Kochinda-son, and 33 women who have married to men outside the 'son'. Of these 33 women, those who married men from relatively far away numbered nineteen, and those who married men living in villages relatively close to their parents' village were fourteen in number. One of the first group married an American serviceman from Kansas. One of the outside-the-'son'-marriages involved a woman fifty years of age who was marrying for the second time. For the remaining 32 marriages---all of which were first marriages---the average age of the woman involved was 22.5 years.

Of the 117 out-village women who married within Kochinda-son, twenty-seven came from rather far away, forty from non-contiguous 'aza' relatively close, and fifty from neighboring, or areally contiguous, 'aza'. The average age of the 117 husbands was 25.0 years. This figure is reduced to 24.9 years if the men over 40 are eliminated. The average age of the wives[1] was 22.1 years, an average reduceable to 21.9 years if women over forty are eliminated.

587 Second Marriages In the normal course of events a certain number of people will marry for the second time. The Navy Civil Affairs Handbook indicates that "...about twice as many men as women remarry after being widowed or legally separated." A considerable number of the postwar marriages analyzed under the spacing of births category above were second marriages. It is of course not possible to ascertain the percentage of these, inasmuch as they are not listed as such in the temporary 'koseki'.

[614] Lebra was told that in a first marriage men tended to wed women from within the munchu (extended patrilineage) rather than from outside the munchu, and that in a second marriage they tended to marry outside the munchu.

588 "Common Law Children": Definitions In addition to legally recorded marriages, there are those unions pro-
• 831 ducing children who have no legal claim as heirs to their fathers' property.
848 If the father recognizes the child as his own, it is given his family name, and entered into the 'koseki' as a 'shoshidan', if a boy, and a 'shoshijo', if a girl. In this report these will be called "common law children", though the reader must realize that 'shoshi' is not the exact equivalent of the phrase "common law" as it is used in the United States.

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1 Only the ages of 116 wives could enter this calculation; no birthdate was available for one wife, though the other data for the marriage were complete.

[Kochinda-son]

If the child's father refused to admit paternity or is unknown, the child is registered as a 'shiseiji', or "privately born child", in the 'koseki' of the mother. In this report 'shiseiji' will be referred to as "illegitimates". There are rare cases where a young man may claim the illegitimate child, but will not permit its mother's name to be registered. 588 848 851

Numbers In Kochinda-son there were registered in the 'koseki' 57 common law children. Of these, 26 were born prior to 1 January 1946; that is, 46% of the total were conceived prior to the invasion of 1 April 1945. It is more likely than not that many prewar cases of illegitimacy were not registered in the temporary postwar 'koseki' from which this information was taken. The remaining 31, comprising 54% of the total, were born after 1 January 1946.

The 57 were divided by sex as follows: female---31, male--22, not accurately recorded--4. Even if the indeterminate ones are all male, it means that there is a preponderance of females. This low sex ratio may help to balance the extremely high sex ratio noted above for first birth children of parents who reported the marriage after the birth of their first child. For comparative purposes, the data are repeated below:

Table XVII

	First Born Child a Boy	First Born Child a Girl
Marriages Recorded Before First Birth	51	55
Marriages Recorded After First Birth	45	24
Total	96	79

Birth Years One prewar common law child does not have a birthdate recorded, although internal evidence in the 'koseki' indicates that he was born sometime in the period between 1939 and 1941 inclusive. The years of birth of the remaining 56 common law children, of all ages, is shown below: 848 851

Table XVIII

Year Born	Number of Children
1954[1]	3
1953	4
1952	4
1951	4
1950	6
1949	3
1948	3

[1] This is for the first three months of 1954 only.

[Kochinda-son]

Table XVIII, cont'd.

848
851

Year Born	Number of Children
1947	1
1946	3
1945	2
1944	5
1941	3
1940	2
1939	1
1938	1
1937	3
1934	1
1933	1
1932	1
1929	2
1928	2
1916	1
Total:	56

Fathers There were 53 fathers responsible for the 57 offspring. In two cases one man fathered three common law children. In half the cases, the age of the father at the date of the child's birth is not known. The ages of the other 25 fathers ranges from 15 years eleven months to 60 years ten months. The age period 20-30 inclusive contains 19 fathers of common law children. It may be assumed that the 50% of fathers whose age data at the birth of their common law children are missing would tend to follow much the same distribution. The birth orders of the prewar and postwar fathers in the 20-30 year age group are shown in Table XIX, with comments on each case.

Table XIX

Birth Order of Fathers of Common Law Children Born Before the Invasion	Comments on the Fathers of Common Law Children
First Son	Has only one common law child. Has eight children by his legal wife.
Second Son	The common law child was his first. He has had five legal children since.
Second Son	He is household head. The common law child is his first daughter. His first wife was either sterile or was killed in the war and her children married off or killed. He is eighteen years older than his second wife, by whom he has had one daughter and three sons since marriage.

[Koohinda-son]

(Birth Orders...)	(Comments...)
Second Son	He was born in 1887, and was a 'yōshi'. The common law child was born in 1915, has fathered three daughters and two sons, and is uncle to an illegitimate child. 848 851
Third Son	He had an illegitimate child, and admitted paternity eight years later, thus making it a common law child so that it could go to school without stigma. His legal wife had borne him two sons.

Birth Order of Fathers of Common Law Children Born After the Invasion	Comments....
First Son	He is unmarried, and lives with two teen-age younger brothers.
First Son	Unmarried first son of a father in first case of this tabulation.
First Son	He is married, but his legal wife has had no children yet.
First Son	He is unmarried and lives with his parents.
First Son	He is unmarried and lives with his mother and his common law child.
First Son	He is unmarried, lives with his parents, a younger brother and the brother's wife.
Second Son	He is unmarried, and is living with his mother and his common law child, a son.
Second Son	Lives with his elder brother and family, where he cares for his common law daughter.
Second Son	He is unmarried, and is living with father, elder brother and brother's wife.
Second Son	He is unmarried, lives with his father and younger brother.
Third Son	He married two years after the birth of his common law child, but his wife is not the child's mother. He lives with his mother, who is legal household head.

(Birth Orders...)	[Kochinda-son] (Comments...)
848 851 Fourth Son	He has had a son and daughter by his legal wife, and three children by his "secret wife." He had the third common law child after the age of thirty.
Fifth Son	He is unmarried and lives with his parents. His elder sister has had an illegitimate child.

163 848 851 Mothers The ages of the mothers at birth of the common law child were available in only thirty, or 53%, of the 57 cases. One half of the first births occurred to mothers aged 17 to 24 years inclusive. The range of mothers' ages at first common law births was from seventeen years ten months to forty years one month.

848 851 Registration Thirty births were registered in the 'koseki' of the fathers, and twenty-two in the mothers' 'koseki'. One common law child had become a 'yōshi', and it could not be determined where he had been registered. Four were adults whose 'koseki' registration at time of birth was unascertainable.

848 Illegitimate Children In the Kochinda-son 'koseki' at time of copying, 112 persons were registered as having been born "illegitimate", or 'shiseiji'. Twenty-eight of these, or 25%, were born prior to 1 January 1946. That is, these were conceived before the invasion. The remaining 84, constituting 75% of the total, were born after 1 January 1946. As of 31 December 1953 there were 106 living registered illegitimates.[1]

Mothers Because there were nine cases of women who had two illegitimate children, a total of 103 mothers were involved. Of those nine mothers bearing double illegitimates, six were widows. In two of the nine cases the children were fourth and fifth order births. In two cases they were third and fourth order births---one of the latter were twins. In three cases the children were first and second order births, and were first and third order in another instance. There was one case in which the mother had probably had legal children who were war dead. The birth orders of the mothers are as follows:

Table XX

Birth Order of Mothers	Number of Mothers
First Daughter	38
Second Daughter	23
Third Daughter	10
Fourth Daughter	6
Fifth Daughter	1
Birth Order Unknown	24
Total:	103

[1] Two had become common law children, one became a legal child, two had died, and one was not born until January 1954.

cause misfortune; the ability to do this, he says, is hereditary from mother 754
to daughter. My informants did not identify ichijama with the mabui or any other such entity, but merely explained it as a kind of 'noroi', "curse". Its effect is a sharp pain inside the body or the feeling that a fingernail has been thrust into the eye. If the person responsible is known, they said, the affliction may be cured by spitting in his direction and throwing pig dung in his direction, shouting, "I smear it on your face!" According to [756]
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the living is the practice of establishing a fictitious adoptive relation- 753
ship between a child and an unrelated family. If a child is weakly its mother may ask an unrelated adult to become the yashinee-uya, "adopted parent",

an interwoven diagonal weave of miscanthus whose hollow stalks at maturity are strong but brittle, resembling in appearance a very small piece of bamboo. (2) The house with a simple thatch roof with walls of various sized rocks or small pebbles cemented together with mud taken from the yard, and (3) a thatch roof house whose frame is built with small rough hewn poles, over which a thin cheap pine siding is nailed. The construction of this house will be described in some detail below because, with the exception of the modern pine siding to replace the straw or diagonal weave, it is, according to the Okinawans, the oldest type of native rural house. 342

The house must have heat during the winter. The kitchen hearth is not used for this purpose. The kitchen fires are allowed to die down and are only started at meal times. It would be too expensive or wasteful of gathered fuel to do otherwise. Room heat is provided by a brazier (hibachi in Japanese). This may be a large square box with an inset lined with metal in which ashes and charcoal are placed. Some winter cooking may be done here. The hibachi may also be a large earthenware pot in which coals of charcoal are placed. 354 [415]

In some old homes, another device suitable both for heating and cooking, can still be seen. This was observed in Matsuda, but not in the southern villages. This is also a sort of hearth (jiru in Japanese). The jiru consists of a hanging bamboo pole one end of which is secured by a rope tied to a lattice in the ceiling. On the other end of the pole, about three feet long, there is an iron hook with another device, like an arm bent at the elbow, allowing the height of the hook above the fire to be adjusted. The handle of the pot is placed on this hook and the pot hangs at any desired distance over a bed of coals and ashes. This hearth is not in the kitchen, but at one corner of the dining room, usually where the two open rooms adjoin. The jiru is rare in the villages at the present time. It is from this device that the former practice of a mother and a new born infant "roasting" themselves takes its name; both the mother and the new born child were exposed, in a closed room, to heat from the jiru or from a brazier, even in the intensest heat of summer.[7] [184] [852]

4

Building a Simple House

The following description is based on observations made of the construction of a simple house in Hinatogawa. The steps are given in some detail because it was said that this house was being constructed in the manner of the traditional rural Okinawan house. 342

Rough hewn poles were used. The traditional method of putting on

7 This will be discussed in Chapter 13 on family life in the section on the rearing of children.

843 pregnancy are also said to be rare, although miscarriages in later pregnancy up to two or three months before the birth are more numerous because of the continuing heavy work of the mother in the fields. The mother in the agricultural village normally works up to the time for
849 the birth. She eats her normal diet. After birth, the child is placed on a large comforter (futon) beside the mother.

The midwife, after delivery, goes once a day for a week to the mother's home. Her fee is not decided upon before hand, but according
[841] to custom, averages Y350 for a normal and Y500 for a difficult birth,
[965] a low fee probably enforced by the poverty and lack of cash of farm families. (In Naha corresponding fees are said to be Y1-2000).

853 There is no uniform way of feeding the child after birth. In most cases the child is not breast fed until after the third day due to the fact that mothers have little milk at this time. The first, second, and the third days it is fed warm water with small amounts of white sugar, but this is by no means universal. Some mothers have said that they give the child the breast 4 or 5 hours after birth. In any case, the child very quickly becomes accustomed to feeding at the breast, and this continues for an indeterminate period, depending on the mother and the child. It may be for two years, or until the next
[862] child comes. In all communities studied, other arrangements are made in the unlikely event that the mother does not have milk of her own. The child may be given evaporated cow's milk or friends or relatives nurse the child. In Minatogawa, if a woman has special duties or takes a trip out of town and cannot take her child with her, she can pay to have it nursed.

843 One belief regarding pregnancy still exists among the old in the Ginosa area. If a new house is being built during the pregnancy of the woman of the house, the cap of the roof is not put on until after the birth has taken place.

2

Birth Customs and Convalescence

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23
[184] In Minatogawa, and to a much lesser extent in Hanashiro, birth customs are related to certain beliefs about the pig pen. These were not known in Hateuda. In the two southern villages they have virtually disappeared, except among the old. According to a Hanashiro farmer's wife, the child on the day of its birth is washed, dressed in new clothes, and carried to the pig pen, which is supposed to frighten
[189] away evil spirits (bakemono). 1
1 [See footnote 1, bottom of p. 257--analyst]

away evil spirits (bakemono).[1] From the pig sty the child is then taken to the kitchen, where a pot of rice has been cooking. Soot from the outside of the pot is taken up with the middle finger of the right hand and a round black spot pressed on the forehead above the bridge of the nose between the eyebrows. The reason for this could not be ascertained. 844 852

Beliefs in the power of a pig sty to ward off evil spirits are still held in Minatogawa and the customs were generally practiced up to the beginning of the war. But these beliefs were related more to celebrations following the birth of the child than to the birth itself. The elements of these beliefs seemed to be that the afterworld was close to this world. If a child were not protected, the spirits of the afterworld would steal the child and take him back. The party celebrating the birth lasted a whole week, usually starting each evening about 8 and ending at 8 the following morning. Guests stayed up all night to prevent the child from being stolen, for if anyone went to sleep, the spirit would enter. Spirits followed behind the guest and were especially dangerous after 10 at night. The spirits however were frightened by the pigs; guests arriving during the danger hours went to the pig pen first to scare off the spirit following them, before entering the house. There was no evidence, in the parties I attended, of any present observance of this custom by young parents. The week of all night parties is no longer held. 854 776 231 [772] [574] [183]

These beliefs were found in Minatogawa. Hanashiro informants had heard of such customs, but were vague about them. While their seeming absence in Hatsuda may be due to incomplete data, there may be another explanation. These beliefs may have been picked up by fishing people from other sources. [184]

One other birth custom known as jiru belongs to the recent history of the island. Jiru, as explained in Chapter V, is a fire place sunk in the floor of an Okinawan house, often in the corner of the dining room which adjoins a hall or a sleeping room, and near the kitchen. Convalescence was called jiru because mother and child warmed themselves by the device. Today convalescence may be called jiru, though it has nothing to do with the old custom, which in the literature has been referred to as "roasting." 846 [354]

1 When I discussed this and the following beliefs relating to pigs with people in Hatsuda, they ridiculed them and said there was no truth in it, implying that people in the south did not know what they were talking about. Subsequent rechecking convinced me that this was not so and that the beliefs in Minatogawa represent differences in the rural culture. 184

553 The first naming of children is done at a ceremony on the day of birth, or on the following day, if the birth took place at night. It is known as umbagi. There is a small gathering of [262] relatives. Soup, rice, and a little sake may be served. Ordinary rice or rice cakes (mochigome) may be prepared and put on the [788] Buddhist god shelf. If a boy, the relatives and parents pray for his strength, if a girl for her good health. Umbagi, an Okinawan word, is also known as sūchūsan no iwai (Japanese). The ceremony precedes the burying of the afterbirth.

553 One important element in the naming of a child on its day of 823 birth is the state of the tide. The child is named only if the tide is coming in. It is not necessary that the tide be high. Perhaps midpoint is the best, though high tide is considered good. Practically everyone can calculate the time when the tide is coming in or out; since they all know the lunar calendar with a cycle completed in 15 days, it is a simple calculation.[6] The explanation always given for calculating the tide on this and other occasions is that when the tide is coming in, fortune and happiness will enter in the new life or the new situation. When the tide is ebbing, everything goes out and away.

852 The real celebration of the birth of a child occurs several days after birth. It usually occurs on the 5th or 6th day counting the birth day. This is known as mansan (Okinawan) and is in honor of the good health of the mother and the child. In Japanese, it is also called muikajari.[7] In all communities studied, the week long all night celebration has disappeared, though the celebration of mansan might last well into the night.

One celebration, observed in Hinatogawa, is probably typical of the thousands that take place every year in rural Okinawa. The guests came early in the evening to the parents' home, or, as in this case, to the home of the child's grandfather, since the father, a first son, lived in his parents' home. The men sat in the first room (ichibanza), [562] the women in the second (nibanza), following custom in parties in which both sexes are present. The head of the house, the grandfather, sat in front of the alcove (tokonoma) of the first room. The child's father [576] sat next to him. Each guest went on his knees, bowed, congratulated the father and presented him with a small money gift. The usual gift [931] is about Y20. This was accepted by the father, who then responded with a short speech. Sometimes these are formal and stiff, sometimes like a simple conversation. The guests also congratulated the

6 The method of computing times of high and low tide will be given later. The tide is important in the marriage ceremony, when moving into a new house, or when moving, in the case of a second or succeding son, from a main house to establish a branch family, and at a child's party on the first anniversary of its birth.

7 The day was variously given me as 4-5th, 6th, and 7th day after birth. Muika in muikajari means 6th day.

grandparents. The food was then served: noodles cooked with vegetables, with a slight fish flavor; rolls; tempura, a sort of fritter; a fish cake known as kamobuko with a red border symbolizing happiness, and plenty of sake (awamori). A streamer hung from the ceiling near the alcove, announcing the name and date of birth of the new born child, together with the written wish that she might live any number of 10,000 year periods. There are no special ceremonies on these occasions. Some guests drop in for a few minutes, others remain for the whole evening. The women and the children go home early, while the men continue talking and drinking. This celebration is the first of a series that continues through a person's life, and if his descendants are devoted, will end 33 years after his death. After this celebration, things settle down until the child's first birthday. 852 [262] [212]

At present a child's age is reckoned in the same way as the Western custom. A child is one year old one year after the date of his birth. This is a recent innovation in force since January 1, 1950. Formerly age was reckoned in the Chinese and Japanese manner. A child born during a year was one year old and on the following New Year became two years of age. Thus a child born on December 27 would be two on January 1. The difference between the Chinese-Japanese and the western reckoning is that the former counts the years during which a person lives with New Years as the date for increasing the age, the latter counts the number of one year periods in which a person has lived. 805 [171]

The old system of reckoning age is inconvenient and conceals age differences. A one day difference might mean a year's difference in age in the case of a child born on December 31, and another on January 1. Determining the actual age of a person was troublesome. When children started to school, they might be 6, 7, or 8 years old and still be about the same actual age.

4

The Early Years

In all the villages studied, the women returned to their normal tasks about a month after childbirth. When the mother returns to the fields, the grandmother may accompany mother and child to the fields, the grandmother watching the child, while the mother nurses it at 10, 1, and 4. If the grandmother is too old and disabled, the child might stay home with the grandmother and the mother return from the fields to feed the child. Lacking help of this kind, the mother remains at home until the other children have returned from school. 846 854 853 603

But arrangements of this sort need not last long, for very early in life the child is strapped on the back and carried around 854

mother, for example, fed her child rice gruel (ōkayū) at eight months and at the age of one year the child began eating sweet potatoes. By the time the child is ready to walk and play, he often carries with him a piece of sweet potato, and, in season, a piece of sugar cane. 853 262

A party is held on the first birthday anniversary of the child. This is more elaborate than the one which honored his birth. Birthdays are not celebrated each year. After the first anniversary, the next are on the 13th, 25th, 37th, 49th, and 61st birthdays, that is, at twelve year intervals. 852 527

The party for the first birthday of a child is particularly tender and affectionate. At one year, he can walk or stumble, and answer or smile to the calls of his parents and grandparents. He can pick up things, throw them, and make his presence felt. The exhibition of these skills becomes part of the celebration. It is customary to invite both relatives and friends, who bring a small money present, from Y20 which is usual to Y100 which is uncommon. [856]

During the party, the child is given several symbolic gifts. These are placed on a low table in the middle of the room which the child can easily walk to and reach. Usually the gifts are a book, a fountain pen (or a writing brush, fude), an abacus (soroban), and a stack of paper money. These symbolize the wish that the child will become proficient in learning, writing, counting and mathematics, and will become rich. The child is eagerly watched as he unsteadily toddles to the table to see which article he picks up first. While the act is not taken seriously, the article which the child picks up first is supposed to indicate the field of endeavor in which he will be most fortunate. 527 852 431 [212] [802] [554]

These parties, small or large, include men, women, and children, but the majority of the guests usually are men. After the child has gone to bed, the party continues. In more formal and larger parties, the guests first come up to the father, go on their knees, bow, and make a short speech of congratulation. Sometimes these speeches sound as if they are prepared beforehand, other times as if they are spoken spontaneously. There is an exchange of sake between the father and his guest, both sipping from the same cup, the usual custom. The mother and the female relatives during this time are in the kitchen preparing the food. 852 527 [576] [537]

Women sit by themselves. This is true of all celebrations when the sexes are together. Women do not drink. (In a similar party near Matsuda, the old women--usually over 60--drank a little). The jolly old women also love to dance solos in the traditional style. They dance with grace and vigor. The evening progresses without any planned entertainment. There is talking and drinking, singing, and samisen playing. Men, with a repertoire of Okinawan songs, sing in [562] [535] [382] [533]

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[533]
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[534]

a harsh, often rasping voice. Only men play the Okinawan samisen, a stringed instrument slightly different from its Japanese counterpart. Men also join in the dancing.

In a village parties on the fifth or sixth day after the birth of a child and on his first birthday happen frequently. They are an important part of social life. A relative or a friend is always celebrating one or the other occasion, either in the village or in a neighboring one. These celebrations increase, especially for the men, the number of social occasions and recreational opportunities during the year in a culture where holidays and rest days are comparatively few. (There are no weekly rest days or week ends).

After the first birthday, little attention is paid to the succeeding ones until the thirteenth. The child's experience from the
861 time he begins to walk until he reaches school comes from family life and neighborhood play. In my observation, there is no rigid, customary way of bringing up the child. It is toilet trained around
863 one year of age. This does not seem to be forced. Training comes through imitation. Parents do not punish the child for indiscretions, though they are quick to lift him off the mat if he begins wetting. With young boys, the father may make a hissing sound while the child's penis is out. One has the impression that it is a gradual transition, mostly effected by imitation or gentle suasion.

304 Male children are not circumcised. Circumcision is known only to those who have learned of it through books, foreign residence, or from others who have this information.[9]

867 In early training, boys are not taught that they are superior to girls. But when she reaches school age, the girl is likely to be kept
562 busier around the house. Before the war, there may have been a greater subordination of girls to boys. But any conscious training of girls to subordinate themselves to boys is unnecessary. The child grows up in a culture in which the father is waited on, the sons favored in inheritance, and in which the men have a richer social life.

855 Parents are kind to their children. They seldom spank a child,
593 though an exasperated parent may give the child a sharp slap. There is little nagging or shouting at children in anger. In my opinion,

9 Two young men, school teachers about 23 years old, expressed great astonishment when asked about circumcision. They did not know it existed.

cash income, earned by several adult members in joint work, or equal 585
to about one half of a teacher's monthly salary. The girl brings a dowry [583]
consisting of furniture, household utensils, and other things, so, as one
person said, the groom is repaid in one form or another. In former [582]
times the men had to pay a fine to the parents of the bride if she married out of the village (Suttles, personal communication; Tamura, 1927 translation:44).

Even under present conditions the wedding ceremony is colorful
compared to most other private ceremonies. All guests attend in their [292]
best clothes and the bride wears a special kimono and a special wig
hair dress. She is seated next to the groom, who wears Western-style clothes instead of the traditional silk kimono. The whole ceremony is presided over by the go-betweens. While preliminaries take place, the bride sits almost motionless. Her face expresses what Glacken describes as "undescribable gloom" (1955:218). This continues even through the climax of the event, the ceremonial exchange of wine which symbolizes the union of the participants. During this part of the ceremony the guests, who have been enjoying food and sake and talking amicably, give this moment a solemn meaning by their silence. [537]
Speeches by the go-between and other notables follow. The virtue of the bride and her family and of the groom are told and acknowledged by a thank-you address by the groom. Parents of the couple sit close to them but have no other function than to accept congratulations. The bride then goes around introducing herself to the guests.

Children are not present at this event. They line up outside the [852]
house and peek through openings to see the bride and watch the
guests, who start dances as soon as good food and wine take effect. After the formal part of the wedding, the feast ends like any such event in the village—with great gaiety. The bride acts as hostess; she changes from her kimono and heavy hair dress into more suitable clothes and sees that the guests are well taken care of. The length of this feast depends, of course, on how much food and drink the family is able to provide. Finally, when all guests have left, the bride and groom
retire to the bedroom which has been reserved for them, sometimes [352]
furnished with one or two pieces, a chest of drawers or a Western-style
closet supplied by the bride's family. The bride also provides the [513]
comforter for the marriage bed. Friends of the groom may play a prank and replace the normal-sized comforter with a small one, "so that the marriage is consumated quicker," as they say.

Sexual relations between husband and wife are not discussed in 833
public except in jocular references. In spite of the intimacy of house- 831
hold members in the confinement of a small house, one attempts to

765 After death, memorial services are held in the home of the deceased
769 every seventh day until the 49th day when a more elaborate ceremony
782 concludes this period, and a permanent tablet is installed on the house shrine. On this day, too, offerings to the deceased change from white rice to red-colored rice, indicating the end of the mourning period. From now on, observances in memory of the dead are held on the first, third, seventh, thirteenth, twenty-fifth, and thirty-third anniversary of death. These are small family affairs at which special food is prepared and offered at the shrine before it is consumed.

765 The body is left in the tomb for at least three years until a propitious day when the whole village decides to wash the bones of all those who have died within the preceding three to seven years. On Bone Washing Day little groups of family members gather around the coffin. They take out the bones, clean them, wrap them in a white cloth and place
[778] them in an urn. Women do all the cleaning of bones because it is be-
[152] lieved that they have more power to expel the evil. They weep freely, and even some men find it hard to restrain their emotions. Young chil-
[852] dren are kept away from the tomb area at this time. The urns are then placed inside the family tomb, which has been opened for this purpose. Remains other than bones are burned with the coffin.

769 Every lunar March ancestral services take place at the tombs, at-
782 tended by many members of the kin groups to whom each tomb belongs. Some come from the city or other villages for this occasion, including women who have married into another kin group. This celebration of the dead is more serious than other religious events. Offerings of sake and special delicacies are made and then eaten by the family group. One family, sitting in picnic style around the tomb after their prayers, even began to sing and dance—probably to the delight of the ancestors who in their life must have enjoyed many a good feast and dance. Tombs of other relatives may also be visited for short prayers and other offerings.

775 Spirits of the dead are harmful only if the deceased is not from the
784 village. For this reason new residents formerly could not bury their
766 dead near the village. Even now, recent settlers in the central village have no tombs and keep their dead in urns in a cave, and the residents
[764] of outlying houses or field houses have a separate tomb area altogether. If a stranger happens to die in the village, measures are taken to prevent his spirit from doing harm. The body of a fisherman from southern Okinawa was brought to shore after a storm. There it was left for several hours on the beach under a tent in the hot sun until relatives arrived in a hired car to take the body home. Even then peo-

844 kimonos, and diapers. He is placed under the blanket next to the
[853] mother and given a gauze nipple dipped in tea and sugar to suck, which is often his only food for as long as two days if lactation is slow. Meanwhile the afterbirth is wrapped in straw and left under the floorboards in the kitchen to await the outgoing tide.

846 Tea is now served in the front room, and the birth is discussed by
593 the women who assisted. On one such occasion, the father and grandmother showed a little boy whose sister had just been born a great deal of affection. The father held the boy in his lap, and both adults told him that he was now a big brother.

844 At the first hour of the outgoing tide, old women—the grandmother
851 of the baby, relatives, and neighbors—wrap the afterbirth in rice straw
156 and bury it in a specified place outdoors behind the hearth. The purpose of the ceremony is to ensure that the child will be happy and sociable. To the accompaniment of laughing, loud clanging of pots and covers, and calling to each other, the women circle the house. When the burial is completed, they chant loudly, "May this baby al-
[152] ways laugh and be pleasant." A stone is then placed over the burial mound so that the infant will not be frightened in his sleep, an emotion which is inferred from the jerking of a young infant while asleep.

852 Until about 10 years ago a ceremony was performed by descendants
565 of noble families from Shuri over the newborn to ensure success in his
462 future role. For boys, a winnowing basket was propped up against a hoe on which a clump of soil and grass rested. While the father's mother
[178] held the child in one arm, she shot an arrow with a bow into the basket. This act was to make certain that the child would become a good
[286] hunter (provider) as well as a successful farmer. The grass on the hoe symbolized strength. A girl, on the other hand, received a miniature loom constructed especially for such occasions, which was to assure her success as a weaver of cloth. A spool of banana fiber was presented along with the loom.

852 There is a story that long, long ago an infant was born on the beach.
565 Immediately after he was born, as he still lay on the sand, a crab
538 crawled over his chest. This infant grew up to be a strong, famous man. Shuri descendants still have a custom of grandmothers holding a newborn boy in their laps and releasing a small crab, which scurries over the infant's chest. These practices, however, are absent in central Taira now and are rarely found in the outlying settlements of predominantly Shuri descendants.

846 Formerly mother and child were confined to the darkened delivery
178 room next to the kitchen and at the rear of the house for seven days, while an open fire was kept blazing in the brazier near the mother.

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Today the *yukajiru* ceremony held on the fourth day ends the seclusion. 846
A group of close relatives gather to ask for the good health of the 769
child and to make food offerings to the ancestors.

On the fourth or fifth day a name is selected for the newborn. In 852
the old days rice oracles presided over by an old woman were con- 553
sulted to ensure that the name consist of the proper combination of 787
Japanese writing characters, an essential for the well-being of the child's 156
personality. Today family elders and the local teacher are consulted.
In the pre-Japanese periods, temporary names were used until a per- [875]
manent name was given. This practice was intended to fool the spirits [784]
during the early years when the child was thought to be particularly
susceptible to spirits.*

On the sixth day after birth the mother is allowed to take her first 846
postdelivery bath; the room which she has occupied with her baby is 852
cleaned and aired, and preparations begin for the *mansang* celebra-
tions. For this event the mother's parents try to be present, especially [613]
if it is a first child. Friends and relatives in the village attend. A [782]
female elder of the patrilineal kin group or the priestess prays behind [769]
a tray of rice, rice wine, and incense so that the child will sleep peace-
fully and not cry at night. Thanksgiving prayers are offered to the
ancestors and the nature deities for the health of both mother and
child.

When the prayers are completed, a man sings the *mansang* song to 852
the accompaniment of a samisen. The father of the baby then rises to 533
dance briefly, sits down, and writes with brush and ink on a white 574
sheet of paper the name and birth date of his child. The paper is then
hung on the wall near the alcove. Meanwhile the special song is being
concluded:

> Coming from the darkness to light,
> This baby was received as a treasure
> And the mother is being celebrated.

Food is then served, and the guests discuss the name and admire the newborn. Like all parties, the celebration ends with song, dance, and wine drinking.

The *mansang* celebrations mark the end of the most critical period 852
for the infant. From now on he may be taken outdoors. At the month's 846
end, his parents may take him to see his maternal grandparents in their
village, to offer food at the ancestral shrine of the mother. This is [769]
called the first walk. Sons who have left the paternal village for the [782]
city return with their infant to observe this day.

* Hanging an irregularly left-woven rope in the delivery room to keep out evil spirits which might harm the newborn, is no longer done in Taira.

855 swaddling and diapers. Almost immediately after he has passed his first
863 birthday, she will stop diapering him and substitute a short shirt or a dress during the summer and kimonos during the cold weather. This is the period which proves most trying to the young caretaker. Unless the baby is filthy and evokes much comment from others, however, they ignore the condition. The following examples illustrate common occurrences during this period:

H. (an 8-year-old girl) carrying her baby sister on the back is playing on the beach. She straightens up suddenly with a wry expression on her face. "She urinated, wet," she exclaims, standing up and spreading her dress at the back which is completely soaked. The baby is bare-bottomed and crowing happily at the older children playing around her. The older sister waves her dress briefly in the wind, then squats to continue her play. When asked if she was not going home to change, she exclaims that she would dry soon enough, and, as for the baby, she was dry. The day is warm and windy and the dress dries off rapidly.

K. (a 7-year-old girl), baby sister on her back, is squatting with other girls, drawing in the sand. As they draw figures in the sand, the baby breaks wind and defecates. It is a rather noisy operation, and the other girls watch fascinated and somewhat amused while K. keeps on sitting unconcerned. (The baby's bottom is bare so that the feces drops on the sand.) One of the girls laughs and comments on the feces dropping. K. says, "I will let my mother clean the ground." The other children walk away, spitting,* showing some disgust. All through this K. squats calmly, letting the baby eliminate undisturbed. She tells the baby "Finish defecating quickly," but she is not impatient, rather absent-minded.

863 Probably the earliest cleanliness training is the gentle withdrawal of unclean objects from the child, with statements of "Dirty, dirty." As he begins to respond to facial expression, the mother will show her disgust, shake her head and say, "Dirty!"

864 Infants may be patted or manipulated around the genital area by
854 an adult. Old women like to tweak a little boy's penis and jokingly say, "What is that, what is that?" Female infants are quickly covered with exaggerated expressions of shame whenever they are exposed for diaper changes. Petting of genitals by an adult is used mostly to soothe the child. It would be severely rebuked, however, if attempted by a child caretaker.

● 852 When the child is a year old, a simple ceremony is held. After a short birthday prayer, the child is offered a tray with food, an abacus counter, pencil, book, and money. The audience waits expectantly to see what the infant will choose. The pencil portends a writer, the money a

[514] * Expectoration at the sight of unpleasant things, such as dead animals or a pile of feces, is common among children and adults. Children pass a pile of dirt, spit at it, and cover it with dirt by a careless kick before continuing on.

financier, the abacus a mathematician, the book a scholar, and food a glutton. The villagers did not seem to place much credence in the choice. Mothers laughed when asked what choices their children made and commented, "It's something to talk about, but many times we can't even remember which child chose what!" 852

The child continues to be carried on the back until the next sibling is born, the interval being between about two or three years. By the time an infant is a year old, he has been taken through every nook and cranny of the village. He has also seen all the adults and children of the village and has witnessed the economic and social-ceremonial activities. Whereas he slept most of the time when he was young, he now begins to participate in what goes on about him. He claps his hands in glee in response to his older sibling's delight over some aspect of play or raises his arm in defiance of another child who attempts to strike at his older sibling. In spite of the fact that he is capable of crawling or learning to walk within the second half year of his life, he is kept on the back. He does not protest or clamor to be put down; he seems to prefer being carried to being left to crawl. 855 854 [856]

Caretakers are too busy with work or play to let the child crawl about freely, so there is no crawling stage in Taira. Older siblings are too involved in play to sit and patiently watch a crawler. The older child would also be severely punished should the infant pick up some object and swallow it or injure himself in his crawling. One 8-year-old found that the 10-month-old sister she toted on her back took to standing on the ground and jouncing up and down every time she squatted to play. After several unsuccessful attempts to stop this annoying behavior, she unstrapped her and allowed her to crawl about freely. The older girl became so engrossed in the game that her mouth dropped open and eyes turned round with fear when one of her playmates shouted, "Hey! the baby put some dirt into her mouth!" Immediately she rushed to "flush" the baby's mouth out with her fingers and promptly strapped her onto the back again and continued playing despite the uncomfortable jouncings. The baby did not protest at being restrapped; she just jounced and played with her hands. 857 855

A mother who sits and plucks sweet potato leaves off the vines for hog feed works more efficiently with the baby on her back. Crawling around on the loose floorboards near the fire pit or over the edge of the raised floor, the child would require constant attention. On one occasion the observer was sitting and talking with a mother who was weaving a bamboo basket in her front room. The floor was littered with bamboo shavings and slats. As the mother worked, she was relaxed. She turned and twisted the sharp ends of the bamboo slats, leaving pointed [231] [285]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

On the whole it can be said that children seem to decide for themselves how far they can move around. Underlying the action of most is a dislike of venturing into unfamiliar grounds, and this largely restricts the territory commonly covered. Most children travel in groups of more than two, an aspect of Taira children's behavior to which reference will often be made. 857 855 156

The area of tombs is generally avoided by children, except by those who pass there to walk to the mouth of the Udenaha River or over the narrow, fragile bridge across it. While children do not fear the bodies of the dead, they express a fear of spirits. But during ceremonies for the dead, children accompany adults and participate in the social gatherings in front of tombs following the prayer. When the body of a fisherman was brought up on the shores of Taira after a typhoon, scores of children of kindergarten age roamed to the beach to take a peek beneath the canvas which covered the corpse. The policeman who officiated on the occasion impatiently waved away the kindergarteners, and when the schoolchildren returned in the afternoon, they also had to be warned to stay away. 857 769 775 [852]

In the central village itself, few places are closed to children. The village office building, of which only a section is reserved for office space, quite often attracts children. It is a convenient temporary shelter during rain squalls and a cool spot during hot weather. The village headman or his clerk may complain about too much noise and chase a group out, but this does not discourage them from returning soon afterward. The open prayer house, too, is a place for play, and no objections are voiced by adults, including the priestess and her assistants. These buildings are village gathering places, and children, as essential members of the community, have free access to them. The situation is different with regard to the township office and the post office, which children never enter except on special errands. 857 858

Children are familiar with dangerous spots, such as steep hills, and show amazing skill in maintaining balance, even when the ground is wet and the dirt is loose. On a picnic hike of a little under 4 miles, kindergarteners ranging from 3 to 6 years scampered across a frail, wide-slatted bridge, up and down over slippery clay paths and over rocky terrain with only a 30 minute stop to eat their lunches. In a group of about 15 children only two 3-year-olds slipped and cried to be carried down unusually steep inclines and over the rickety bridge. None seemed exhausted although many roamed off the paths to forage in the bushes for berries and laurellike flowers from which they sucked nectar. 855 857

Journeys outside the village are rare for most children. It is usually 857

857 the infant still at the breast who is taken on shopping trips to Nago, the nearest town, or to neighboring townships to visit maternal relatives. When whale meat was marketed from the village on weekends, a school age child was taken along to carry the infant because the mother was burdened with her basket of meat, but this was infrequent. Few children have explored their township beyond Miyagi, a village 5 miles to the east of Taira or Gesashi, 4 miles to the southwest.

[364] Children also rummage through the garbage heaps, where they find useful things like tin cans, bottles, and discarded bits of vegetable with which to play house or store.

857 241 During the harvest and planting seasons, children accompany adults to the rice paddies and potato fields near the village. Mats are spread out on the dikes and kindergarten children gaily dangle their feet in the oozy mud while "keeping watch over the sleeping infants." Those who whimper to help are given small sheaves of rice to carry to their fathers and older brothers, who thresh them in the dry fields or on the flat grounds bordering the paddies.

855 [412] Many 4-year-olds are adept at handling knives. As implements like knives, hatchets, pronged hoes, sickles, rakes, and saws were often left within reach of children, it was not unusual for them to use them. Although many cut themselves, adults do not seem to take special care to put them out of reach. Children of kindergarten age are frequently scolded for playing with sharp instruments, but with persistent crying or begging they usually gain reluctant consent.

852 855 527 During all holiday events, children participate without much control from adults. Young children are carried by their mothers as they make the visiting rounds or sit on the floor in the building where the whole village congregates. Toddlers explore the surroundings and, finding themselves in the middle of the dance floor, are gently pushed aside and handed back to their mother. Older children hang around while food is served; then they disappear to play games of their own. During sport events, track meets, wrestling, and at dance performances, children are as interested spectators as their parents. Nobody would think of leaving a child at home on a holiday, and nobody would demand that the child sit quietly through lengthy speeches or ceremonies.

868 535 [872] Children learn dances from kindergarten days on, either by watching or by coaching from an older person, a friend, one's older sister, or mother. Sometimes they are called on to perform for adults, or a special children's performance is given under the direction of the kindergarten teacher. Adults enjoy these dances as much as if they were done by grownups. They are amused and delighted if a little girl

TRAINING IN SKILLS

868 There are no complex systems of training in skills. Adults rely heavily on observation and imitation on the part of children; they seldom "teach" them to do things systematically. Parents were surprised and amused when questions such as "How do you teach children to transplant rice, harvest rice, or otherwise help in the fields?" were put to them. "We don't teach them; why they just learn by themselves," was the usual answer.

Children learn by observing and experimenting. Whatever adults are doing, children are present to watch their activities and overhear their conversations. Although parents do not seem to make any special [852] efforts to have a child attend a function so that he might learn adult ways, they take their children to the fields, parties, public meetings, and rituals long before they consider them ready to absorb any learning.

868 In the fields, children play among rows of vegetables. When a par-
857 ent, grandparent, or older sibling stops for a rest to have a cup of tea,
243 the little ones pick up a hoe and attempt to imitate their elders. While
[264] rice is being transplanted, throngs of children sit on the dikes in the paddies, dangling their legs in the mud. They intently watch adults transplanting and weeding the paddies. Gradually they edge down into the mud to stamp with their bare feet in the ooze as they have seen adults do, until a warning shout arrests their educational water play. During the harvest season, groups of children carry mats out to the paddies and watch infants who need to be near their mothers for their feedings. While the infants sleep, the older children walk along the dikes, watching the work that is going on and clamoring to be of some help. Even a little child of kindergarten age stands by gloomily until an adult laughingly hands him a small bundle of rice sheaves to carry over to the threshing machine. By the time the child is 8, he has learned enough by watching to attempt cutting and tying small bundles of rice sheaves.

868 After the harvest, rice straw can be found in great quantities around
283 the village. Some of the best straw is preserved to be made into rope.
[526] If there are rainy days, men will sit and twist the rice straw into rope, while 8- and 9-year-olds sit and watch. In a few days rope games and swings are in evidence everywhere. Little 4- and 5-year-olds stand by watching the older children, and soon they pick up stray bits of straw and twist them to no avail. A younger sibling whines as her move-

brazier in the city. She was kept warm continuously, even in hot weather, so that, it is said, women often broke out in skin eruptions from the heat. At present younger women are not following this practice and many regard it as a foolish custom. The absence of jiiru in post-war houses may be a factor in the decline of the custom. 178 846 [354]

Post-natal Observances During the first year of life the child is the center of several ceremonies. They are in brief: 852

1) Mbagii suuji, "Red rice ceremony". Held on the day of birth. Relatives, friends, and neighbors come. Rice dyed red and a soup of tar stems (a symbol of many children) are offered to the ancestral tablets and served to the guests. The afterbirth is buried behind the house while the children are made to laugh so that the baby will have a good disposition. [844]

2) Naajiki, "Naming". Held during the first week. Practices vary. In one variety the baby's grandmother releases a crab and a grasshopper and shoots an arrow at a winnowing tray; in another she divines with rice grains to see if the name she has selected is proper. This rite was formerly held to give the baby its native Okinawan name. [553] [787]

3) Mansang, "Full birth". Held on the 7th or 30th day after the birth to celebrate the full term. A feast is served to relative, friends, and neighbors.

4) Naa'njii, "First going out". Held for a boy on the first day of the ten-day cycle, designated as kanii, on the second kanii day for a girl. The baby's grandmother makes it pray to the ancestral tablets and to the oven god, then marks its forehead with soot and takes it out, formerly to pray to the god of the pigsty-privy. [769] [782]

5) Hachi-atchii, "First walking". Held whenever the mother is first able to go to visit her parents and siblings. She takes gifts of food to them and in return they give money to the baby.

6) Tanja, "Birthday". Held on the first anniversary of the birth. A feast is prepared and many relatives and friends come bringing gifts of money. The child's future career is divined by placing a number of objects in front of it---money, a book, an abacus, food, etc. If the child chooses the money he will be rich; if the book, a scholar; if the food, a glutton; and so forth. The odds are usually weighted in favor of a desirable future. [527] [787]

There seems to be some variation in all of these practices. Several may be obsolescent because some of the elements entering into them are no longer in use, the pigsty-privy and the native names, for example. [178]

Infanticide New-born babies may be done away with if they are not wanted, but this is probably not at all common under ordinary circumstances. One example was recorded: An old woman who died recently lay for about a week on her death bed unable to talk. Her children gathered about her, wondering if some sin ('tsumi') were not in need of atonement ('tsugunai'). 847 783

8

Daily Life of the Fishing Village

Fishing families may have informal gatherings toward the end 512
of the day. On a late summer afternoon, the family may sit in the
open doorway of the house, for hedges, fences, the barriers, and [351]
trees are rare. The wife may be nursing her naked child. Her [853]
husband, a fisherman, has changed into his indigo blue and white
striped kimono, a tall, broad, deeply tanned man. Next to him sits [291]
his mother, over 70 years old, her hands tattooed, as are those of [304]
all the old women. She is wearing a kimono of the same color, but
of a dot pattern. They sit on unrolled mats. On the veranda, [285]
three or four men, unwashed and still in their work clothes, discuss
the events of the day. A lacquer tray with tea cups is on the floor [415]
near them and the tea (as it so often is) may be cold. There is
brown sugar to eat along with the tea. The grandmother may be [263]
economically smoking a half or a third of a cigarette in the typical [276]
Japanese pipe. As it grows later, the wife gets up, pours some water
in the stone mortar, and smashes the sweet potatoes with the long [252]
wooden pole. The men continue talking for a while, then take their
leave. The wife, her work at the mortar finished, goes into the dirt
kitchen to start the evening meal.

The wife of the fisherman has worries that do not bother the 152
farmer's wife. There is always the danger that her husband, or son,
will not return, a real possibility, of which the frequency of widow- [165]
hood in Minatogawa is proof. Every season, there is at least one
instance of a fisherman who has either been lost, or whose delay in
returning has provoked intense worry. If crews are still out when an
unexpected storm arises, there is considerable tension in the village.
Since the war, rescues at sea are more likely than before. The village
headman quickly reports overdue boats. The American forces have created [648]
much good will in seeking fishermen lost at sea.

Woman, on the other hand, have opportunities for leisure when the 562
catch is light, or weather is unfavorable. At these times, they can
busy themselves with other tasks, in the field, gathering stones, [461]
getting miscanthus, but they do not have the unremitting activity of
the woman in the agricultural village. There is more visiting during [517]
the day than one observes in an agricultural village.

The fisherman, with or without land, tries to keep pigs and 231
perhaps a few goats. In Minatogawa, the pens are often made of
sandstone quarried here. Not only the floors and the sides, but the [343]
stalls are made of this material. One reason for this is the openness
of the village and the danger that pigs will be killed in a storm. A
typhoon may carry away the house, its owners having gone to the stronger
house of a friend or relative, but pigs are an investment and an asset
to be guarded.

843 pregnancy are also said to be rare, although miscarriages in later pregnancy up to two or three months before the birth are more numerous because of the continuing heavy work of the mother in the fields. The mother in the agricultural village normally works up to the time for
844 the birth. She eats her normal diet. After birth, the child is placed on a large comforter (futon) beside the mother.

The midwife, after delivery, goes once a day for a week to the mother's home. Her fee is not decided upon before hand, but according
[846] to custom, averages Y350 for a normal and Y500 for a difficult birth,
[965] a low fee probably enforced by the poverty and lack of cash of farm families. (In Naha corresponding fees are said to be Y1-2000).

853 There is no uniform way of feeding the child after birth. In most cases the child is not breast fed until after the third day due to the fact that mothers have little milk at this time. The first, second, and the third days it is fed warm water with small amounts of white sugar, but this is by no means universal. Some mothers have said that they give the child the breast 4 or 5 hours after birth. In any case, the child very quickly becomes accustomed to feeding at the breast, and this continues for an indeterminate period, depending on the mother and the child. It may be for two years, or until the next
[862] child comes. In all communities studied, other arrangements are made in the unlikely event that the mother does not have milk of her own. The child may be given evaporated cow's milk or friends or relatives nurse the child. In Minatogawa, if a woman has special duties or takes a trip out of town and cannot take her child with her, she can pay to have it nursed.

843 One belief regarding pregnancy still exists among the old in the Ginoza area. If a new house is being built during the pregnancy of the woman of the house, the cap of the roof is not put on until after the birth has taken place.

2

Birth Customs and Convalescence

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[184] In Minatogawa, and to a much lesser extent in Hanashiro, birth customs are related to certain beliefs about the pig pen. These were not known in Hateuda. In the two southern villages they have virtually disappeared, except among the old. According to a Hanashiro farmer's
[189] wife, the child on the day of its birth is washed, dressed in new clothes, and carried to the pig pen, which is supposed to frighten away evil spirits (bakemono).[1]
[See footnote 1, bottom of p. 257--analyst]

I: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

grandparents. The food was then served: noodles cooked with vegetables, with a slight fish flavor; rolls; tenpura, a sort of fritter; a fish cake known as kamobuko with a red border symbolizing happiness, and plenty of sake (awamori). A streamer hung from the ceiling near the alcove, announcing the name and date of birth of the new born child, together with the written wish that she might live any number of 10,000 year periods. There are no special ceremonies on these occasions. Some guests drop in for a few minutes, others remain for the whole evening. The women and the children go home early, while the men continue talking and drinking. This celebration is the first of a series that continues through a person's life, and if his descendants are devoted, will end 33 years after his death. After this celebration, things settle down until the child's first birthday. 852 [262] [212]

At present a child's age is reckoned in the same way as the Western custom. A child is one year old one year after the date of his birth. This is a recent innovation in force since January 1, 1950. Formerly age was reckoned in the Chinese and Japanese manner. A child born during a year was one year old and on the following New Year became two years of age. Thus a child born on December 27 would be two on January 1. The difference between the Chinese-Japanese and the western reckoning is that the former counts the years during which a person lives with New Years as the date for increasing the age, the latter counts the number of one year periods in which a person has lived. 805 [M]

The old system of reckoning age is inconvenient and conceals age differences. A one day difference might mean a year's difference in age in the case of a child born on December 31, and another on January 1. Determining the actual age of a person was troublesome. When children started to school, they might be 6, 7, or 8 years old and still be about the same actual age.

4

The Early Years

In all the villages studied, the women returned to their normal tasks about a month after childbirth. When the mother returns to the fields, the grandmother may accompany mother and child to the fields, the grandmother watching the child, while the mother nurses it at 10, 1, and 4. If the grandmother is too old and disabled, the child might stay home with the grandmother and the mother return from the fields to feed the child. Lacking help of this kind, the mother remains at home until the other children have returned from school. 846 854 853 603

But arrangements of this sort need not last long, for very early in life the child is strapped on the back and carried around 854

155 is an impression, and I doubt that Okinawan mothers would agree
114 with me. The toddler stage, in my opinion, is a difficult one for the Okinawan child. It is an abrupt change from the continuous care and physical contact of infancy. This transition need not necessarily be abrupt. A child may be carried some and walk some. As he learns to walk, his mother is near him.

857 When the child is no longer carried, he ceases to be an observer and becomes a participant in play. Formerly he watched the activities of the older children and smiled to the attention when it was given. Now he wishes to catch up with them as they walk down the lanes; he is often left behind and is not fast enough nor expert enough to keep up. This is a problem of childhood everywhere, but I believe here
155 that the transition from one type of activity to another is more drastic. The child also receives less attention from his parents,
855 especially from his mother. This most mothers would deny. But I have often seen parents walking along a village lane, a toddler behind them crying and trying hard to keep up with them. They showed less solicitude and patience with him than they had when he was being carried. The mother gives less attention to the child during this period, particularly if she has had another child. In this, I do not mean to imply any lack of kindness or tenderness in the treatment of children, but to point out a change of emphasis. There is much more crying in the 2 to 3 year age groups than among infants who cry very little because they are entertained so much.

The toddler not only has the problem of becoming a participant in play, but of getting along without the close attention of the mother, his elder sisters, and possibly brothers.

855 Children are rather regularly spaced. The middle child of the
[842] lower three is most likely to be neglected. The baby is on the mother's back; he gets his breast feeding and is always with the mother. The older child has started to school or is leading an active play life. The middle child, too young for school and only tolerated by the older child who has his own interests, is too old for the breast and the back. The successful transition from the back carrying and breast feeding stage to walking and to the stage of independent play seems most successful when there are many children of the same age in the village, and consequently absorption in play can replace the intimate attention of parents and older siblings. A father may fill in this gap, allowing his young child to accompany him to work, but this experience generally belongs to a later period of childhood.

● 853 As the infant grows, nursed by the mother, he gradually receives
262 other foods, but the variety depends on the economic status of the family. The first food (other than the mother's milk) is rice water. Later rice is made into a gruel. The rice is soaked and mashed up in a quern. Families who have rice fields, or who can buy rice, may delay feeding the sweet potato to the child until the third year. Among the poor, sweet potato feeding begins much earlier. One

mother, for example, fed her child rice gruel (okayū) at eight months and at the age of one year the child began eating sweet potatoes. By the time the child is ready to walk and play, he often carries with him a piece of sweet potato, and, in season, a piece of sugar cane. 853 262

A party is held on the first birthday anniversary of the child. This is more elaborate than the one which honored his birth. Birthdays are not celebrated each year. After the first anniversary, the next are on the 13th, 25th, 37th, 49th, and 61st birthdays, that is, at twelve year intervals. 852 527

The party for the first birthday of a child is particularly tender and affectionate. At one year, he can walk or stumble, and answer or smile to the calls of his parents and grandparents. [856] He can pick up things, throw them, and make his presence felt. The exhibition of these skills becomes part of the celebration. It is customary to invite both relatives and friends, who bring a small money present, from Y20 which is usual to Y100 which is uncommon.

During the party, the child is given several symbolic gifts. These are placed on a low table in the middle of the room which the child can easily walk to and reach. Usually the gifts are a book, a fountain pen (or a writing brush, fude), an abacus (soroban), [212] and a stack of paper money. These symbolize the wish that the child will become proficient in learning, writing, counting and mathematics, [802] and will become rich. The child is eagerly watched as he unsteadily [554] toddles to the table to see which article he picks up first. While the act is not taken seriously, the article which the child picks up first is supposed to indicate the field of endeavor in which he will be most fortunate. 527 852 431

These parties, small or large, include men, women, and children, but the majority of the guests usually are men. After the child has gone to bed, the party continues. In more formal and larger parties, the guests first come up to the father, go on their knees, bow, and make a short speech of congratulation. Sometimes these speeches sound as if they are prepared beforehand, other times as if they are spoken spontaneously. There is an exchange of sake between the father and his guest, both sipping from the same cup, the usual custom. The mother and the female relatives during this time are in the kitchen preparing the food. 852 527 [576] [537]

Women sit by themselves. This is true of all celebrations when the sexes are together. Women do not drink. (In a similar party near Matsuda, the old women--usually over 60--drank a little). The jolly old women also love to dance solos in the traditional style. They dance with grace and vigor. The evening progresses without any planned entertainment. There is talking and drinking, singing, and samisen playing. Men, with a repertoire of Okinawan songs, sing in [562] [535] [382] [533]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

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Young girl carrying baby sister.

Boys wrestling.

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Playing house.

Mother about to nurse her daughter says, "Now say please."

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[p 456-D]

844 kimonos, and diapers. He is placed under the blanket next to the
[853] mother and given a gauze nipple dipped in tea and sugar to suck, which is often his only food for as long as two days if lactation is slow. Meanwhile the afterbirth is wrapped in straw and left under the floorboards in the kitchen to await the outgoing tide.

846 Tea is now served in the front room, and the birth is discussed by
593 the women who assisted. On one such occasion, the father and grandmother showed a little boy whose sister had just been born a great deal of affection. The father held the boy in his lap, and both adults told him that he was now a big brother.

844 At the first hour of the outgoing tide, old women—the grandmother
851 of the baby, relatives, and neighbors—wrap the afterbirth in rice straw
156 and bury it in a specified place outdoors behind the hearth. The purpose of the ceremony is to ensure that the child will be happy and sociable. To the accompaniment of laughing, loud clanging of pots and covers, and calling to each other, the women circle the house. When the burial is completed, they chant loudly, "May this baby al-
[152] ways laugh and be pleasant." A stone is then placed over the burial mound so that the infant will not be frightened in his sleep, an emotion which is inferred from the jerking of a young infant while asleep.

852 Until about 10 years ago a ceremony was performed by descendants
565 of noble families from Shuri over the newborn to ensure success in his
462 future role. For boys, a winnowing basket was propped up against a hoe on which a clump of soil and grass rested. While the father's mother
[178] held the child in one arm, she shot an arrow with a bow into the basket. This act was to make certain that the child would become a good
[286] hunter (provider) as well as a successful farmer. The grass on the hoe symbolized strength. A girl, on the other hand, received a miniature loom constructed especially for such occasions, which was to assure her success as a weaver of cloth. A spool of banana fiber was presented along with the loom.

852 There is a story that long, long ago an infant was born on the beach.
565 Immediately after he was born, as he still lay on the sand, a crab
538 crawled over his chest. This infant grew up to be a strong, famous man. Shuri descendants still have a custom of grandmothers holding a newborn boy in their laps and releasing a small crab, which scurries over the infant's chest. These practices, however, are absent in central Taira now and are rarely found in the outlying settlements of predominantly Shuri descendants.

846 Formerly mother and child were confined to the darkened delivery
178 room next to the kitchen and at the rear of the house for seven days, while an open fire was kept blazing in the brazier near the mother.

853 There are no food taboos during pregnancy, and after birth mothers
262 can continue to eat what they wish except for certain "hard" foods,
[843] such as octopus, whale meat, and certain kinds of fish which are believed to stop the flow of milk. To stimulate lactation, the mother is given papaya boiled with flour and noodles or a medicine made from herbs.

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Chapter 13

Infancy

858 The infant is considered a helpless, pitiable treasure who is incapable
155 of knowing, understanding, or learning until he is around 6 years old.
855 If this senseless child is treated affectionately and indulgently, he will
177 grow to be a healthy, happy adult.

[861] With the spread of Japanese influence throughout Okinawa, according to informants, there evolved another belief, which in Taira is complementary to the idea of the senseless child. This new belief is vaguely conceptualized by most young parents but was verbalized concretely by at least two sets of parents. "Children are the gift of gods.* They are godly until they are 7 years old." Exoneration of misbehavior on the part of the child under 7 (6 years according to Western count) conjures up in the mind of the observer a picture of willful capricious gods who are totally unpredictable. A shrug of the shoulder and a phrase which completely defines both attitude and resignation in Japanese is, "helpless, against one's will." Because children are godlike in nature they do not know any better; because they do not know any better they are godlike in nature. Just why and how a child outgrows this temperament could not be explained by the parents. These beliefs foster the extreme indulgence, protection, and nurturance of young babies. Their physical and emotional needs are attended to constantly, with a great deal of affection.

* This notion may well have been influenced by Christian as much as by Japanese ideas.

845 mother and family. "Nursing two babies at once on a diet as meager as ours is too difficult," explain the mothers, and they also point out that multiple births cause great economic hardships.

854 Infancy in Taira, in congruence with the concept of the nature of an infant, is a period of indulgent and affectionate nurturance. Except for a brief period during the initial month of life, the baby is rarely left to lie on the floor to sleep, and during this period the mother or grandmother is always close by to pick him up at the slightest whimper. From the time he is a month old until shortly before the arrival of the next baby, he is constantly carried during the daytime on the back of another, an adult or an older child. At night he sleeps next to his mother. His carriers include parents, paternal grandparents, unmarried aunts and uncles, older siblings in an extended household, and parents and older siblings in a nuclear household.

854 Those mothers who have read or heard that it is good for babies to cry occasionally never have an opportunity to test it. "The old people 178 feel sorry for the baby and insist upon prompt attention," complain 853 young mothers with "modern" ideas. The immediate response of adult and child caretakers to an infant's cry is to take him to his mother, who promptly nurses him. The breast is thrust into his mouth whether he is hungry or not. "Pitiful!" exclaim old grandmothers and rush to pick up the infant. More often than not it is the newborn's father or older sibling who orders the mother to do so with the same expression.

854 There is the belief that the first four months are a trying period in which the "bad" habit of crying is formed; therefore every attempt is 853 made to keep the infant comfortable and quiet. One mother described how she and her husband took turns eating their evening meal because one of the children had formed such a bad habit. "We would take turns carrying him and walking around the yard and eating. There was nothing else we could do. Both of us did not like to have babies cry." Another mother told of how her whole family converged on her every time the infant whimpered. "Hurry and nurse it . . . must be hungry . . . may be sick . . . so pitiful!" they would say to her.

853 It is imperative that a mother have enough milk. She is given special foods and told not to get overtired. She is advised to avoid foods that [262] could pass on properties which might be harmful to the child. Sometimes she has more milk than her infant can consume. One such fortunate mother nursed the baby of a mother whose milk supply had failed. Women who have a plentiful supply of milk are also sought out when mothers find it necessary to work at some distance from the village. In these cases reciprocal arrangements are made so the baby need not go hungry for very long.

There is no specific or preferred posture for nursing. While the mothers are in confinement for the brief period following delivery, they often lie next to the baby and feed him. Sitting while nursing is the most common posture, but mothers frequently nurse while standing or squatting. The baby is held loosely and the mother is relaxed. If others are about, she will carry on a lively conversation and occasionally pat the baby gently on or around the region of the buttocks. When alone, she holds the baby with one arm, talks softly, smiles, and with her other hand tugs gently at the baby's limbs. Each feeding is leisurely; the breast is never withdrawn from the infant's mouth. More often than not he suckles his fill and falls asleep. 853

It is as natural to suckle one's infant at a village meeting as it is to do so in the privacy of one's home. A common sight is that of a mother sitting and listening intently to speeches while cradling her suckling infant loosely in her arms. On buses, in market places, or at large public intervillage gatherings, one is sure to encounter such a scene. [291]

The breast is used to soothe a baby when he is ill, irritable, or in distress from pain. This was quite evident when all the babies in the village were being given a series of innoculations for diphtheria and typhoid. As the injections were given in one large open room, the cries of the infant being innoculated prompted others to cry. Invariably the mother offered the breast to the baby. 853 854 751

After the birth of a child, the mother sits at home during a short rest period, watching happily as neighbors, friends, and relatives continually drop in to admire the newborn. Sipping tea, the visitors offer bits of advice, exchange the latest gossip, ask to hold the infant, and take their leave with the standard phrase: "Take care of yourself." It is a pleasant interlude, but as the family resources begin to dwindle, there is a slight but perceptible change in the attitude of the mother toward her newborn. The constant stream of visitors, for whom tea and some small tidbits must be offered, and her nonparticipation in the regular economic activities prove to be a drain on the family budget, in spite of the fact that the mother and her husband have worked with extra diligence in the months prior to parturition. The mother begins to talk about the approaching feast day and the need to get new clothing for the older children. She asks anxiously about the condition of the firewood market and starts to plan her inevitable resumption of work in the mountains and fields. In spite of her feelings of protectiveness and pity for the young baby, she begins, bit by bit, to reinstate her normal routine. Although she continues to cuddle, kiss, and affectionately nurse the infant, she thinks of the good weather and of how she might have been able to make one more trip to the mountains 846 574 846 461 [843] [594]

before noon but for the fact that she had to return to attend to the infant.

If a grandmother is available, the mother straps the 3-to-4 months old baby onto the grandmother's back in the morning and goes off to the mountains with her husband to haul firewood or to the fields to cultivate sweet potatoes. For the first six months she returns to the house frequently during the day to nurse the infant. It is likely that while the infant demands feeding at short intervals, a mother will work in or around the village. At one of the locations for firewood bundling she can make the bamboo rings, fit the cut wood into them, and stack the bundles.

Throughout the morning hours grandmother, with the infant on her back, wanders about the village. Occasionally she offers her dry breast to the bawling infant who cannot seem to wait until its mother returns from the fields or mountains. If the mother is nearby, she hurries so that the infant does not cry for long. When the hour for lunch approaches, the grandmother hurries home to begin preparations for the noonday meal. As she walks, the infant's head bobs up and down, forward and back precariously, but it continues to sleep undisturbed.

After lunch has been eaten and the infant nursed, the adults in the household sip their tea and rest for an hour or so. Within that hour the mother may play with the infant or nap with it nestled in her arms. Rousing themselves from the noon nap, the adults return to the mountains and fields. The infant is again strapped to the grandmother's back, but this time as she slowly wends her way to the main thoroughfare, she calls out to someone in a house which boasts one of the few clocks in the village. "Hey, what is the time there?" The answer will quicken her pace, for it is near the time for an older sibling to return from school. As she reaches the main street, she joins other grandmothers as well as mothers who are anxiously scanning the direction from which the schoolchildren return. Each admires the infants on the other's back and exchanges timely topics of the day, but as the minutes pass and no children appear, they begin to grumble about the "irresponsible siblings who *must* be playing on their way home." At last the older child returns, and the grandmother hurries home with her charges, promptly transfering the infant onto the back of the older sibling. The old woman rushes to get her hoe and basket, mumbling to herself about the quantity of potatoes she should harvest for the next day's use.

An older child who ignores the crying of his infant charge will be criticized severely by his peers. If the mother happens to be in the

frowned and tugged at the straps that were straining at her neck muscles. 593

At a still later date, Hanako, with her baby sister strapped to her back, played on the beach. At one point, when all the children were scattered over the beach and no one else was nearby, Hanako edged up to the fieldworker and asked, "Would you like this baby, teacher? Here, take her," she said wearily. Asked why she had changed her mind, the little girl smiled shyly, squirmed uncomfortably for a moment, then whispered, "She's too heavy." Her 3-year-old sister, off in the distance at that point, began to scream and cry at being left so far behind. Hanako turned to look back once, then walked on as the 3-year-old squatted on the sand and screamed to be carried. At that moment her mother appeared to nurse the infant, and Hanako ran to her. She bounded swiftly away to the 3-year-old as the mother started to nurse the baby. Returning a few minutes later with the 3-year-old on her back, Hanako deposited her disgustedly, panting heavily from the weight. "Shall we give baby to teacher, Hanako?" asked the mother, and without any hesitation Hanako this time nodded "Yes." The mother laughed and said, "Hah, she has had enough of her already. When the baby was tiny and cute, she was so eager to carry her and wouldn't give her to you, but they all get tired of babies in time." And with that the mother began to rock the baby back and forth in her arms. Smiling affectionately, she kissed and hugged the cooing infant and murmured, "Nobody wants you, eh?" Because she was an unusually outspoken mother she confided, "I think I have had enough too, here, I give her to you!" She laughed as she continued, "How can I make money, feed and clothe the children when I have to rush back from the mountains to nurse this baby." 857 854 [594]

When the child is about 6 months old, he is subjected to a painful operation which prepares him for the introduction to solid foods. The area around the navel is moxa-cauterized. Nine little brown dots in three rows of three attest to the practice of burning a special kind of grass on the skin in this area to protect the infant from various digestive complications. The child thus treated, the mother will begin to supplement breast feedings with rice water, milky white in appearance, that is spooned out of the boiling pot of rice. Sometime later, before the child is about one, bits of sweet potato and special kinds of fish mashed between the fingers are thrust into the mouth of the infant as he sits on his mother's lap at mealtime. Gradually he is given more and more solid foods until, finally, at the age of 2 he is eating rice, unmashed fish, potatoes and vegetables, but nursing is continued until 853 [751] [262] 862 855 262

copy their behavior. When several mothers and their children are gathered, a mother of a year-old child will coo, "Cute baby" as she strokes a friend's infant's head. She smiles at her child, takes his hand, and repeats the action. A spontaneous response such as this on the part of a year-old child would evoke admiration and voluble praise from the audience. A year and a half old boy became the pride of his mother when he approached all little children with a highly nurturant attitude. He had learned his lesson so well that he considered children of his own age babies because they were smaller than himself. Walking up to them, he would bend down, pat their heads patronizingly, and take their hands to guide them along. 854 155

Equally important to the Okinawan parent is a friendly child who is well liked by everyone in the village. A happy, smiling personality is ideal, and it is this wish for the child which leads grandmothers and mothers to perpetuate the custom of burying the afterbirth of a newborn to the accompaniment of laughter and appeals to the spirits to ensure this characteristic. Adults constantly try to get infants to smile by talking and making funny sounds and faces. Even young children approach infants clapping their hands together in an attempt to elicit smiles. [156]

Treatment of children during this initial period discourages expression of self-reliant behavior. As described above, except for rare and very brief intervals during the day, a child is strapped onto someone's back from the time he wakes up in the morning to the time he is put to bed at night. The child is carried about in this fashion from the age of one month until he is almost 2 years old. [866]

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Chapter 14

Weaning

When a mother discovers that she is pregnant again, usually about two years after her last delivery, she begins to think of weaning her child. Most mothers nurse the last child until they are about three months 862 853 [843]

862 into their term, but one mother reported that she nursed her first son until the day before the second was born. Curiously, the determination [853] with which mothers wean contrasts sharply with their very indulgent [861] nurturant handling of the young child, who now encounters a period of withdrawal.

There is a month-long period of what seems, to the observer, indecision and vacillation on the part of the mother. The child is refused the breast, but, if he persists and becomes vociferous in his protests, the mother nurses him. She and others present, however, are no longer solicitous and protective. Derisive comments are directed against him, and, finally, at the end of the month drastic steps are taken. When mothers stated in their interviews that it took four or five days to wean, it usually meant after the final drastic measures were taken.

[513] The child who has slept beside his mother from birth is simply put to sleep with an aunt, grandmother, grandfather, father, or older sibling. In some instances an overnight trip to the city proves extremely convenient for the mother, who leaves the child behind instead of taking him with her as usual. If merely denying the breast does not work, big patches of black paper used for toothaches, backaches, and bruises are pasted on the chest, and the baby is told that the mother is suffering from pain there. "The black paper frightens them and we pretend to wince with pain if the child tries to nurse," report mothers. The black paper proves to be very effective. When this device is not used, another similarly drastic in nature is resorted to. Red pepper or bitter medicine is rubbed into the breast so that the child attempting to suckle is promptly punished with a very unpleasant burning sensation. Frequently a combination of these techniques is applied to wean what a mother terms a very difficult child.

[861] Shaming is a technique that is directed not only to the child but also to the mother. "Ah, shame! Hide the breast," says the mother to the child, or, "Hide, hide, drinking mother's milk!" says she, pulling one end of her blouse flap over the suckling child's head.

On one occasion an old man approached a mother who was nursing her 1-year-old. Immediately the mother pushed the child's head down to acknowledge the elder's presence. The old man, on the other hand, pulled the breast, taking the nipple from the child's mouth. "A big baby! You should not be drinking your mother's milk!" he scolded in a growling voice. As the little girl started to scream and cry, he laughed and, squeezing the breast, squirted milk into her face. The mother laughed with him, then mocked an attack on the old man to pacify the crying child.

Another technique which uses threat to the mother was applied very

effectively in the case of a boy who did not respond to red pepper or black paper. The mother described how she tried to fend off the boy one day by simply refusing. As he fussed and cried there was a loud clanging of the pots in the kitchen. The boy stopped crying and looked at the mother who pretended to be very frightened. "Look now! There! It's a big rat coming for your mother's breast, let's hide it, quick, quick!" And with that she buttoned her blouse hurriedly and took the boy in her arms. She laughed as she described how she reminded him thereafter about the rat and how he ran to her and held onto her breasts protectively. 862

For the child, this whole interim period is a stormy one filled with tantrums, whining, and obstinancy. At no time, however, does the child resort to thumbsucking or other breast substitutes. For older siblings who are his caretakers, this period is a very unpleasant one. Many things displease the child. If his caretaker squats, he screams to have him stand; if he stands, he whines to have him walk. Frequently the sibling caring for him reflects the changing attitude toward the child, and, jiggles him up and down impatiently with a frown and curt comment, "What is it!" [856] [857]

As far as actual nourishment is concerned, weaning should not be so traumatic. Long before weaning commences, when the child is about one, he is given a spoon with which he can learn to feed himself. If families can afford it, they purchase new spoons and special small-sized rice bowls as well as chopsticks for these novices. When the budget is so limited that purchases of new implements are impossible, adult-sized ones are used, and often as not the tablespoon used for cooking and serving proves useful. [853] [412] [415]

At mealtime the entire household sits in the back room, which is next to the kitchen. The head of the family sits nearest to the raised hearth, and the rest of the members form a circle to the left and right of him at a low round or rectangular table. The baby sits on his mother's or grandmother's lap. Usually the mess resulting from this early training period in self-feeding is ignored. The adult holding the novice in his lap occasionally picks up the dropped rice and thrusts small pieces of fish or vegetable into his mouth. Only when he bangs the table excessively with his spoon do his elders mildly chide him. At first the adult holding him will absently reach for the offending arm and slip some food into his mouth. Later they will begin reprimanding him by scowling and glaring at him saying, "Me-me!" (child talk for "eye," meaning "I look at you disapprovingly.") But all this is done in a very gentle way, and often when the novice bursts into tears from fright of the disapproving response, he will be hugged, laughed at, and 853 264 862

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[853] told, "No, no, no." In this manner the child is taught his early table manners.

As the child approaches the age of 2, the mother begins to praise him for eating without messing but still does not scold him if he fails to do so. He is the center of interest at the table, and his grandparents as well as older siblings encourage him with smiles and expressions of approval. At this time he loses interest in the spoon and is attracted to [412] the chopsticks, which everyone else at the table uses. As he struggles to handle the sticks, the adult holding him sets them in his hand. Holding his hand, with the chopsticks held in the proper position, they guide him a few times; then, as he protests and indicates annoyance at being restrained, they leave him to experiment for himself. This ritual is repeated at each meal, but the child is fed from the adult's chopsticks until he has mastered the technique for himself. The child is not hurried along in his experimentations or learning attempts. The adult praises each fortunate action and quickly slips food into the smiling, open mouth, and the child continues without protest.

Before each meal, people in the village raise their bowls and chopsticks slightly and bow their heads momentarily, murmuring, "Itadakimasu" (a polite signal that the meal is about to be partaken). Similarly, at the conclusion of the meal, the bowl is raised with a brief nod of the head, but this time the expression offered is "Gochiso-sama" (to indicate it was a treat . . . feast). Two very outspoken and good-humored mothers would nurse their young babies, then take the little hands, fold them over each other, palm sides up, gently push the bodies forward, and say, "Gochiso-sama!" Serious training in this aspect of eating etiquette, however, is left until the child is learning to feed himself.

862 Weaning, then, does not involve a dramatic change in all aspects of
866 the diet of a child, and in many ways may be most traumatic as a withdrawal of the indulgent nurturance of the mother. With the arrival of the new baby, a further step in the emotional weaning takes place. The child is denied his mother's back, for she now has a new baby to tend and eventually to carry.

Treatment of succorance during weaning contrasts sharply with that of the infancy and early childhood period. Unless there is a grandmother or older siblings in the family, this is the time of real deprivation for the child. He is ridiculed, shamed, and punished for demanding to be carried. It is a time marked with temper tantrums, extended periods of crying, and sullenness. Without doubt, this is the most trying stage in the life of a Taira child. Until the words, "You are a big

843 be drawn into the tomb. Some say the prospective father should also avoid these situations. Another set of observances has an easy delivery as its aim. The woman is urged to work hard and not to overeat so that the unborn child may not become too large. During the fifth month a "belly band" is wrapped tightly about her for the same purpose, especially to keep the head small.

A woman neither hides her pregnancy nor displays it unnecessarily---if she is married and it is her husband's child. If this is not the case she may attempt to hide the fact. On the other hand if she is bearing what may be her husband's first son , she may be very pleased at the prospect, but she does not go out of her way to show it.

843 774 [847] No clear statement was given to the effect that the "soul" enters the body of the unborn child at a particular time, but statements are made about dangers to the shii of the child. One informant suggested that this soul-like entity enters the body of the mother during the third month and that for this reason a moxibustionist had refused to abort a woman after her third month had passed.

847 Abortion Abortions have always been and continue to be performed on Okinawa. The most frequent reason is said to be the desire not to bear an illegitimate child. An old-fashioned home method is to brew camphor-wood leaves and drink the brew or to burn the leaves and breathe the smoke. Experts in cautery are also believed to be able to cause an abortion by burning moxa on the proper areas of the body. But at the present time women are said to be aborted more frequently by midwives. The practice does not appear to be regarded as illegal.

844 Birth A woman tries to work up until the time of childbirth. If she has had several children already she knows when labor starts, how long it is likely to last, and may go out to the fields confident that she can return in time. Delivery is in the kucha, the back room of the house. Women of the family are present and men are not forbidden, though children are sent out. Often a woman's husband grasps her during delivery. Formerly she squatted on the floor holding a rope suspended from a house-beam above her. At present she is usually made to lie down. The labor is spoken of as "pain" but the woman must not cry out; she may only grunt when putting her strength into the ejection of the baby. If she were to cry out because of the pain she would later feel very ashamed---"because it is something that happens to every woman; people would talk about her."

Formerly the newly-born child was neither bathed nor dressed but simply wrapped in an old kimono; now it is bathed in boiled water and dressed. The 853 infant is permitted to nurse from about the fourth day on, after there is milk in the mother's breasts. Before this it may be given a little sugar in water and possibly allowed to suck a little colostrum about the second day after birth.

178 846 [354] Formerly the mother was kept in the kucha for about a week in front of a fire burning on the jiiru, an open hearth in country homes, a kind of brazier in the city.

847 783 Finally one of her brothers told them the reason. When she had been a young woman her husband had been awa for a long period during which she had had relations with other men and had had a baby by one of them. To avoid the disgrace and the anger of her husband, the woman's mother had buried the child alive in the back yard. The story was known to other older members of the family because some time later the bones had been discovered. When the story was told to the children, they told their dying mother that she could now go peacefully. She died soon after. All agreed that if a tablet had been made for the dead infant and incense had been burned, even in secret, the mother would not have suffered when she died. Infanticide thus may be punished by the supernatural, but then the punishment may also be avoided by the proper offerings.

847 Lebra reports that birth statistics from the village of Kitazato suggest that female infanticide has been practiced there recently. Statistics from other communities studied do not give the same skewed sex ration.

853 854 Infant Care Okinawan mothers nurse their babies for a year to a year and a half, though some are said to continue even until the child is three. They keep no schedules but give their babies the breast whenever they seem to want it. They deliberately offer a fretful baby the breast not only to appease its hunger but also to comfort it and it is not unusual to see a grandmother offer her dry breast to a child as a pacifier. I once commented to two Okinawan women that a certain American doctor has argued that Okinawans are happier than Americans because they are breast-fed as infants rather than bottle-fed; the women answered immediately, "But it's not the milk; it's the love ('aijō')."

853 Infants receive no food other than milk for the first nine months. Then they are given a little gruel made by skimming off the top of a mixture of cooked rice and water. This is not given earlier because it is believed that milk and rice do not mix well in the infant's stomach. After the child's first birthday it is given most adult foods, unless it is especially weak. Most children will not eat everything, however, but, it is said, will prefer sweet foods and avoid highly seasoned foods. Mothers do not prechew food for small children as a rule but may do so in some cases, to take the bones out of fish, for example.

863 [54] Toilet training is neither early nor strict. Adults as a rule defecate only in the toilet but are likely to urinate almost anywhere. They do not expect small children to be very careful. A baby wears a diaper until it is a year or a year and a half; then it may wear only a dress or shirt with no pants. At first the mother holds it over the toilet or merely off the edge of the house. In time it is expected to go to the toilet itself to defecate. Children are said to go by themselves when they are three. I have seen children of four still defecating beside the house, too busy playing to go to the toilet. They were scolded for it but received no more severe punishment. [178] This was in the city, however, and I was told that while their mothers did not object much to this behavior, their grandmother objected more strongly and scolded their mothers for permitting it. The change in type of toilet may

513 Ventilation at night may be poor; the sliding doors are usually tightly shut and locked. In larger towns and cities this practice may be explained as due to the prevalence of thieves, but in the country there must be another reason; it is probably the fear of yanakaji or of the kiji-
[775] munaa. The first, yanakaji, literally "bad winds", are ghosts, who may
[776] cause illness. The kijimunaa is a sea-being or tree-being who causes a frightening but harmless sensation of smothering and weight on the chest. These creatures may enter through open doors or windows. According to one informant their entry might be prevented by setting up a butcher knife in the opening but I have not seen it done. (It could only be done for a window; in a door it would be dangerous to the human occupants.)

In spite of their sleeping with relatively little change in position while in bed, Okinawans seem to be able to fall asleep in a variety of positions and circumstances, in busses and on trucks, in the midst of family activities, with noise and bright lights apparently presenting no obstacles. This ability may be the result of the early experience of sleeping under all sorts of conditions while being carried on the mother's back. There are two restrictions to sleeping. All avoid sleeping with the head oriented west, because that is the way a corpse is oriented. The other is that girls and women must avoid sleeping with the legs separated. Lebra observed one grandmother give her little granddaughter a hard pinch on the thigh for this.

Okinawans recognize that sleep is essential to maintaining the body. After a restless night one may say that he "had insufficient sleep".
[171] It has been asserted that the Japanese regard sleep as a luxury rather than as a necessity. This cannot be said of the Okinawans.

515 171 Cleanliness In care of the body, the Okinawans are among the cleanlier of the world's peoples. They bathe frequently, keep their nails
[302] clean by constant trimming, their teeth clean by prolonged morning brushing, and their hair neatly cut or dressed. But they are not as cleanly as the Japanese or at least as the urban Japanese. One reason why they bathe less frequently is that baths are simply less available. Many villages are without public baths. Most farmers must either pour cold water over themselves at their wells or a little hot water warmed in the kitchen. In villages
[834] where there are few wells the water must be carried. Another factor may be modesty; nudity is not taken for granted as in Japan, so that one does not strip nude at the well in the daytime. A third factor may be the lack
[763] of such highly-developed concepts of ceremonial purity and pollution as exist in Japan. There are no tabus on the activities of menstruating women on Okinawa as there are in Japan, for example.

291 834 Nudity Pre-school children often play nude. Mothers sometimes appear to be displaying little boys nude to demonstrate their masculinity. Photographs of naked baby boys are popular. Boys may continue to swim nude until eight or so, but girls begin to put on some garment for swimming
[853] sooner. Women nurse in public and sometimes work at home with the breasts
[847] uncovered. Adults of both sexes may urinate in public, but in such a way that the body may not be seen. Adults do not appear publicly or privately
[515] before one another nude. Public bath houses have separate sections for men

away evil spirits (bakemono).[1] From the pig sty the child is then taken to the kitchen, where a pot of rice has been cooking. Soot from the outside of the pot is taken up with the middle finger of the right hand and a round black spot pressed on the forehead above the bridge of the nose between the eyebrows. The reason for this could not be ascertained. 844 852

Beliefs in the power of a pig sty to ward off evil spirits are still held in Minatogawa and the customs were generally practiced up to the beginning of the war. But these beliefs were related more to celebrations following the birth of the child than to the birth itself. The elements of these beliefs seemed to be that the after-world was close to this world. If a child were not protected, the spirits of the afterworld would steal the child and take him back. The party celebrating the birth lasted a whole week, usually starting each evening about 8 and ending at 8 the following morning. Guests stayed up all night to prevent the child from being stolen, for if anyone went to sleep, the spirit would enter. Spirits followed behind the guest and were especially dangerous after 10 at night. The spirits however were frightened by the pigs; guests arriving during the danger hours went to the pig pen first to scare off the spirit following them, before entering the house. There was no evidence, in the parties I attended, of any present observance of this custom by young parents. The week of all night parties is no longer held. 854 776 231 [002] [574] [183]

These beliefs were found in Minatogawa. Hanashiro informants had heard of such customs, but were vague about them. While their seeming absence in Hatsuda may be due to incomplete data, there may be another explanation. These beliefs may have been picked up by fishing people from other sources. [184]

One other birth custom known as jiru belongs to the recent history of the island. Jiru, as explained in Chapter V, is a fire place sunk in the floor of an Okinawan house, often in the corner of the dining room which adjoins a hall or a sleeping room, and near the kitchen. Convalescence was called jiru because mother and child warmed themselves by the device. Today convalescence may be called jiru, though it has nothing to do with the old custom, which in the literature has been referred to as "roasting." 846 [354]

1 When I discussed this and the following beliefs relating to pigs with people in Hatsuda, they ridiculed them and said there was no truth in it, implying that people in the south did not know what they were talking about. Subsequent rechecking convinced me that this was not so and that the beliefs in Minatogawa represent differences in the rural culture. 184

grandparents. The food was then served: noodles cooked with vegetables, with a slight fish flavor; rolls; tempura, a sort of fritter; a fish cake known as kamobuko with a red border symbolizing happiness, and plenty of sake (awamori). A streamer hung from the ceiling near the alcove, announcing the name and date of birth of the new born child, together with the written wish that she might live any number of 10,000 year periods. There are no special ceremonies on these occasions. Some guests drop in for a few minutes, others remain for the whole evening. The women and the children go home early, while the men continue talking and drinking. This celebration is the first of a series that continues through a person's life, and if his descendants are devoted, will end 33 years after his death. After this celebration, things settle down until the child's first birthday. 852 [262] [212]

At present a child's age is reckoned in the same way as the Western custom. A child is one year old one year after the date of his birth. This is a recent innovation in force since January 1, 1950. Formerly age was reckoned in the Chinese and Japanese manner. A child born during a year was one year old and on the following New Year became two years of age. Thus a child born on December 27 would be two on January 1. The difference between the Chinese-Japanese and the western reckoning is that the former counts the years during which a person lives with New Years as the date for increasing the age, the latter counts the number of one year periods in which a person has lived. 805 [177]

The old system of reckoning age is inconvenient and conceals age differences. A one day difference might mean a year's difference in age in the case of a child born on December 31, and another on January 1. Determining the actual age of a person was troublesome. When children started to school, they might be 6, 7, or 8 years old and still be about the same actual age.

4

The Early Years

In all the villages studied, the women returned to their normal tasks about a month after childbirth. When the mother returns to the fields, the grandmother may accompany mother and child to the fields, the grandmother watching the child, while the mother nurses it at 10, 1, and 4. If the grandmother is too old and disabled, the child might stay home with the grandmother and the mother return from the fields to feed the child. Lacking help of this kind, the mother remains at home until the other children have returned from school. 846 854 853 603

But arrangements of this sort need not last long, for very early in life the child is strapped on the back and carried around 854

854 wherever the mother goes. The age at which this begins varies, some saying 20 days, others two months. But on the average, it probably is about one month.

[171] This custom, known as onbu in Japanese, is identical with the practice in rural Japan. The child is strapped on by crossing the sash in front of the mother, crisscrossing it above the baby's [482] buttocks, and then bringing the binding around the mother's waist where the sash is securely tied in front. In the summer, the child may only wear a diaper-like garment. The child is carried on the back until he begins to walk. But there is often a long transition period, and the child is carried at times long after he has learned to walk, perhaps until he is 3 years of age. I have seen boys of 4 still being carried on the mother's back.

At one time or another, the infant is carried by every member of the family physically able to do so, the child accommodating itself effortlessly to the activities of his elder. Its longest continual contact is with the mother. A mother does most of her chores with the child on her back. The child is with her when she is scrubbing the plank floors on her knees, carrying in firewood, building a fire, cooking, when she is turning the quern to make bean curd, shopping, or doing the laundry. If occasion requires, she unstraps the child, changes the diaper-like cloth, for diapers are unusual, and allows it to sleep a while on the thick comforter.

When school is out, the mother may get a rest. The baby is [857] taken over by the eldest girl. In communities where there are many girls, few young boys are seen carrying their young brothers or sisters, although carrying by boys is very common in the absence of elder sisters. Sometimes older children begin so young that they look small under the load of a fat or plump baby. In the fishing village, a father might walk around in the evening either with the child strapped on his back, or if the child is big enough, he puts his arms around the father's neck and his legs around the father's waist. Occasionally in the agricultural villages, a father carries a small child around in his work basket. The basket is tied to the end of a pole which rests on the shoulder. Children enjoy this.

Children who carry the babies around do not allow this to interfere with their activities. They play games, such as tag, hide and [857] seek, and a kind of hop scotch. They walk surefootedly along the sharp, and often dangerous, coral rocks of the seashore, along narrow hill or mountain paths, wherever inclination leads them.

The ability of the infant child to sleep under these circumstances is remarkable. Once the child is strapped on the back, he is given little further attention. He seldom cries unless in discomfort. Most often he goes to sleep. His head in sleep frequently falls at right angles with the shoulders, and he sleeps like this while his mother

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

is bending and stooping, or while his older brother or sister is 854
running or jumping. The ease with which adults sleep is equally remarkable. On buses in Okinawa, I have seen men and women with 513
their heads against window sashes, while the bus bounces over the rough roads. Sharp cracks on the head are unavoidable, and to one unaccustomed to it, would be very painful. But people sleep like this, with their heads knocking against the hard surface of the bus, for miles.

This carrying of the child continues regardless of season. 854
In the winter, coats are put over or around the child's body. One of the obvious and most important facts about Okinawan child rearing is this custom of carrying the child on the back. But it is difficult to say precisely what this importance is. Certainly in this way the child has continuous contact from earliest infancy with the life around him. He is not accustomed to being alone, except for an occasional hour during the day when he may sleep on a blanket. At night he sleeps with his mother. A child does not have to be introduced to the world. He is not shielded in a crib. From early infancy he has seen and been almost every place in the village and learns to know many whom he will know throughout life.

This "public" and community life from earliest infancy is one 571
of the outstanding features of Okinawan culture, a characteristic 177
which it shares with-and which is derived from-Japan. One of the surprises is that despite these contacts with all phases of village experience, the child, as it grows older, becomes quite shy. This 157
is true of boys and girls, and continues in my observation from the age of puberty up to marriage. No person who has had any contact with Okinawans fails to notice this shyness. The Okinawans use the Japanese word hazukashii to describe it, and, in this connection, the meaning is something between a feeling of shyness, self-consciousness, and shame. The shyness often does not disappear until marriage or even until the birth of the first child, when father and mother take their place as mature and responsible adults.

Two recent observers who analyzed the reactions of Okinawans 155
under the stress of war have thought that early and continuous 114
breast feeding is largely responsible for giving the child, from earliest infancy, a sense of security. While this thesis was advanced out of intimate experience (mostly in the wartime hospital at Ginosa village), it must, in my opinion, be qualified considerably.[8] The period during which the child is breast fed is but one period in the formative years of childhood. Besides breast feeding is no monopoly of the Okinawans. Neither is carrying on the back confined to them. The period immediately after the child is taken off the back and begins to walk is a difficult one for most children. This

8 See Moloney, James C. Psychiatric observations in Okinawa Shima. The psychology of the Okinawan. Psychiatry 8 (1945), 391-99. Moloney, James C. and Biddle, Charles R. A psychiatric hospital in military government, ibid, 400-01.

623 attend." As on all occasions women usually sit together on one side or in the rear. Few of them participate during discussions. The most active spokesmen for the women are the head of the Women's Association and one or two of her close assistants. If a discussion concerns such matters as liquor and food for celebrating certain holidays, a woman may speak [854] up. Mothers bring their infants along[1] and hold them in their arms or nurse them when they get restless. Sometimes a child feels uncomfortable and starts crying, and the mother is forced to leave the room.

554 In general, Taira people do not enjoy being leaders or playing a 157 dominating role. There are no bosses who attempt to force issues or 621 dictate policies. Even people who have definite ideas on how to effect changes would not attempt to assume full responsibility by disregarding the advice of others. "Power" is not associated with responsible positions and village leadership. The headman and clerk perform a duty, often loathed by them and never too highly rewarded by others. A man commands respect for his education, age, sound advice, and exemplary behavior, not for the office he holds. Moreover, all villagers are friendly neighbors, and the man who is presently headman still remains a relative or neighbor to everybody. There is more prestige [632] associated with township offices. The mayor, who holds the highest position, is a man of age and experience; he commands a great deal of respect and has been elected to that office because of the high esteem in which he is held. Occasionally one hears of power hungry persons who are unscrupulous and authoritarian, but they are rare.

FORMAL CONTROL

625 Formal control of law and order is in the hands of the police. A detachment of the Hentona district police is located in the village, and one policeman is constantly stationed there. He lives with his family in [206] a building which also has a small office. Recently a telephone with direct connections to Hentona was installed. The policeman and his wife are from another township.

The policeman's main duty, according to villagers, is to protect [166] them from the occasional outside burglars or from fugitives from the south who come north to hide in the woods. The announcement that such a person is on the loose creates much excitement and anxiety. A second important duty is the control of the shore line. Smugglers and [167] illegal entrants from the Japanese island of Yoron, just to the north of Okinawa, land along the coast. Although one man with only a bicycle can hardly control effectively several miles of coastline, since the only road to the outer world leads through Taira, the policeman

1 [ie - to the household head meeting - ANALYST]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

diseases seemed to be below the expected rate for Okinawa, in general, 164
and we had the impression that Taira people are healthy on the whole.
Only one case of leprosy, which had been removed to a special hospital [743]
on the island of Yagaji, was reported from Taira.

Among the children there were frequent complaints of intestinal diseases. Most children seem to lodge a variety of parasites, mostly hookworms and tapeworms, and many were subject to skin ailments. One girl had a severe case of what was thought by the nurse to be congenital syphilis. The skin of her whole body was covered with sores which were a constant source of irritation. This 4-year-old never appeared in the company of children other than her younger sister. She would stand in front of her house, her face swollen, her head stooped from discomfort and embarrassment. Almost all children have impetigo and various kinds of rashes. During the summer these cover their faces and parts of the body. Almost all have marks of boils which have plagued them in the course of years.

Because sickness is always a threat, it creates fear, and any explana- 753
tion which may restore some hope is important knowledge. Although
some Western or modern theories about disease have been introduced [152]
recently through the school and the village nurse, they filter into every house only slowly and do not materially affect what has been handed down as popular knowledge from older members of each household. Most Taira people are probably quite eclectic in their beliefs as well as in their choice of treatments, so that it would be difficult to ascribe to them any single body of theory of disease.

Home remedies, often applied by old women, are widespread. The 757
most popular ones are blood letting and the use of *moxa* cautery.
Whenever people agree that there is "bad" blood in an adult's or 753
child's system, it must be removed. There are many phenomena which are accounted for by the presence of "bad" blood. Visible signs such as eczema of the skin or swellings are such indications, but malfunctioning of certain organs, the stomach, liver, kidneys, can also call for the removal of "bad" blood. Mothers expose infants as young as five days [751]
to the treatment, which may be preventive as well as curative. Point-
ing to a bluish green area on the infant's back (not the mongoloid 757
spot), whether real or imagined, the mother swabs the area with sake before she or the grandmother make numerous ¼-inch incisions with a razor. After the blood starts to ooze out of the tiny wounds, more sake is rubbed into the skin. The mixture of blood and sake is caught and rubbed on again and again until all the undesirable blood has been drained.

So many Taira babies have eczema that this treatment takes place [854]
[164]

757 frequently and may be repeated as many as four times during the
[854] first year of a child's life. An older child occasionally undergoes this
[164] treatment for a case of violent impetigo. Even a horse may be bled in
[232] this way for loss of appetite or other symptoms of disease.
[578] A woman whose face had been struck in an unusual display of temper underwent a blood letting soon after a swelling appeared. Her neighbor from across the street, a farmer like everyone else, sterilized her cheek with iodine and then cut it with a razor until the blood flowed freely. After a night's rest, the woman appeared outside her house without any signs of swelling and seemingly recovered.

753 As was pointed out previously, many diseases are believed to be
776 caused by supernatural forces: the ancestor spirits, spirits of those who
769 have just died, and natural deities and evil spirits who wander around
775 at night. The ancestors expect proper respect and attention and in gen-
[764] eral are benevolent unless neglected. Spirits of those who have recently died are most dangerous if the deceased is from another village. For deceased villagers one is careful to purify oneself after the funeral. The doors of each house are shut at night to protect against the evil spirits of the night air. Disease is less frequently caused by natural deities who have been neglected or mistreated.

755 In case of sickness or other unfortunate events in the family, some-
756 body may go to consult the *yuta,* a shaman who communicates with
[787] the supernatural. She discovers the cause of misfortune with the help of rice oracles and through powers of divination received through visions and hallucinations. There is no *yuta* living in Taira now, so that people have to travel to the other side of the island, an hour or more on foot, if they want to learn about the source of some evil. Taira
[769] people make many such trips to consult this shamanistic specialist. The most common cause of misfortune discovered by the *yuta* is neglect of ceremonies to the ancestral gods or, less frequently, the neglect of cere-
[793] monies to the natural deities. Although the *yuta* stands in no direct connection with the high priestess, she may suggest that her client ask the priestess for special prayers to rectify the negligence. In such cases, then, the competence of individuals in the family may not be adequate to deal with the ancestral world, and the priestess enters into family religion.

597 Some Taira parents still find an adoptive parent for a sickly child in
755 the belief that his own ancestors have caused bad health, and that this
769 can only be remedied by making a formal arrangement which transfers
[796] ancestral responsibility for the child to another family. The child remains with his own parents and only visits his foster parents during the New Year and the midsummer Buddhist *Bon* Festival, which honors ancestors, and perhaps at one or two other occasions during the year.

312
854
296
415

Women washing at water tank.

Women transplanting rice.

243
291

Woman transplanting.

Carrying wood.

[482]

[p 456-B]

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857
226
854
291

Children catching small fish.

Girls washing their laundry.

857
291
302

[296]
[415]
←

[482]
→
[312]

Carrying water while their mother is recovering from giving birth.

[243]
→

Boy harvesting.

[p. 456-C]

854
482
302
←

857
→

Young girl carrying baby sister.

Playing house.

Boys wrestling.

857
291
526
←

Mother about to nurse her daughter says, "Now say please."

853
302
291
→

[p 456-D]

In addition to meeting with physical and emotional needs, the child must be protected from the nurtured by the numerous supernatural forces in the form of malevolent and benevolent spirits which operate to influence the course of an individual's life. There are lucky and unlucky days, years, and tides, which are believed to determine the fate of a person. Females born in the year of the monkey are considered unlucky, for they are thought to outlive their male contemporaries. Men dislike marrying them. Supplications are made and precautionary measures taken by adults to secure the newborn's life, happiness, and health. 776 777 854 [581]

Ancestral spirits influence the development and fate of the child. Occasionally a child who is the victim of ill health during his early years is adopted by a couple whose ancestral spirits are thought to be more favorable than his own on the dictate of the fortune teller. By mysterious calculations involving birth dates of the principals, the fortune teller uncovers some incompatibility and advises adoption. The child remains with his parents but worships the ancestral spirits of his adoptive parents. In this way parents seek to ensure the well-being of the child. 597 769 755

Mother interview data indicate the awareness of Taira people of the variations in personality among children of one family. Adults do in a large measure adapt their actions in accord with these differences. They recognize hereditary influences, but although a mother may comment on the similarity of temperament with regard to her child and other members in the family or kin group, there are no ideas or beliefs that the souls of deceased are inherited. Usually the mother, in describing the characteristics of the child, rarely goes beyond likenesses which can be attributed to herself or her husband. She is at a loss to explain the "very different child." "My eldest son has my nasty temper whereas my second daughter is not like either of us, very strange. All the others have a little of myself and my husband in them. We often wonder how it is that she is so unlike either of us." 155 828 858 [124]

A child born with two cowlicks predicates a "problem" to his parents. Parents often explain, "Oh, this child is very naughty, for as you can see, he has two cowlicks." Children often search each other's heads, and on discovering two instead of the single whorl, they shout in glee, "Naughty, naughty." One 4-year-old cuddled and hugged his newborn sister after searching her head. "You have two cowlicks just like me! You and I are 'naughty,' " he whispered to her. Turning to the adults in the room, he snapped his small bright eyes and grinned impishly as he reported his discovery joyfully. [826]

Twin births are disliked only because they place a burden on the 845

845 mother and family. "Nursing two babies at once on a diet as meager as ours is too difficult," explain the mothers, and they also point out that multiple births cause great economic hardships.

854 Infancy in Taira, in congruence with the concept of the nature of an infant, is a period of indulgent and affectionate nurturance. Except for a brief period during the initial month of life, the baby is rarely left to lie on the floor to sleep, and during this period the mother or grandmother is always close by to pick him up at the slightest whimper. From the time he is a month old until shortly before the arrival of the next baby, he is constantly carried during the daytime on the back of another, an adult or an older child. At night he sleeps next to his mother. His carriers include parents, paternal grandparents, unmarried aunts and uncles, older siblings in an extended household, and parents and older siblings in a nuclear household.

854 Those mothers who have read or heard that it is good for babies to cry occasionally never have an opportunity to test it. "The old people 178 feel sorry for the baby and insist upon prompt attention," complain 853 young mothers with "modern" ideas. The immediate response of adult and child caretakers to an infant's cry is to take him to his mother, who promptly nurses him. The breast is thrust into his mouth whether he is hungry or not. "Pitiful!" exclaim old grandmothers and rush to pick up the infant. More often than not it is the newborn's father or older sibling who orders the mother to do so with the same expression.

854 There is the belief that the first four months are a trying period in 853 which the "bad" habit of crying is formed; therefore every attempt is made to keep the infant comfortable and quiet. One mother described how she and her husband took turns eating their evening meal because one of the children had formed such a bad habit. "We would take turns carrying him and walking around the yard and eating. There was nothing else we could do. Both of us did not like to have babies cry." Another mother told of how her whole family converged on her every time the infant whimpered. "Hurry and nurse it . . . must be hungry . . . may be sick . . . so pitifull" they would say to her.

853 It is imperative that a mother have enough milk. She is given special foods and told not to get overtired. She is advised to avoid foods that [262] could pass on properties which might be harmful to the child. Sometimes she has more milk than her infant can consume. One such fortunate mother nursed the baby of a mother whose milk supply had failed. Women who have a plentiful supply of milk are also sought out when mothers find it necessary to work at some distance from the village. In these cases reciprocal arrangements are made so the baby need not go hungry for very long.

There is no specific or preferred posture for nursing. While the mothers are in confinement for the brief period following delivery, they often lie next to the baby and feed him. Sitting while nursing is the most common posture, but mothers frequently nurse while standing or squatting. The baby is held loosely and the mother is relaxed. If others are about, she will carry on a lively conversation and occasionally pat the baby gently on or around the region of the buttocks. When alone, she holds the baby with one arm, talks softly, smiles, and with her other hand tugs gently at the baby's limbs. Each feeding is leisurely; the breast is never withdrawn from the infant's mouth. More often than not he suckles his fill and falls asleep. 853

It is as natural to suckle one's infant at a village meeting as it is to do so in the privacy of one's home. A common sight is that of a mother sitting and listening intently to speeches while cradling her suckling infant loosely in her arms. On buses, in market places, or at large public intervillage gatherings, one is sure to encounter such a scene. [291]

The breast is used to soothe a baby when he is ill, irritable, or in distress from pain. This was quite evident when all the babies in the village were being given a series of innoculations for diphtheria and typhoid. As the injections were given in one large open room, the cries of the infant being innoculated prompted others to cry. Invariably the mother offered the breast to the baby. 853 854 751

After the birth of a child, the mother sits at home during a short rest period, watching happily as neighbors, friends, and relatives continually drop in to admire the newborn. Sipping tea, the visitors offer bits of advice, exchange the latest gossip, ask to hold the infant, and take their leave with the standard phrase: "Take care of yourself." It is a pleasant interlude, but as the family resources begin to dwindle, there is a slight but perceptible change in the attitude of the mother toward her newborn. The constant stream of visitors, for whom tea and some small tidbits must be offered, and her nonparticipation in the regular economic activities prove to be a drain on the family budget, in spite of the fact that the mother and her husband have worked with extra diligence in the months prior to parturition. The mother begins to talk about the approaching feast day and the need to get new clothing for the older children. She asks anxiously about the condition of the firewood market and starts to plan her inevitable resumption of work in the mountains and fields. In spite of her feelings of protectiveness and pity for the young baby, she begins, bit by bit, to reinstate her normal routine. Although she continues to cuddle, kiss, and affectionately nurse the infant, she thinks of the good weather and of how she might have been able to make one more trip to the mountains 846 574 846 461 [843] [594]

before noon but for the fact that she had to return to attend to the infant.

If a grandmother is available, the mother straps the 3-to-4 months old baby onto the grandmother's back in the morning and goes off to the mountains with her husband to haul firewood or to the fields to cultivate sweet potatoes. For the first six months she returns to the house frequently during the day to nurse the infant. It is likely that while the infant demands feeding at short intervals, a mother will work in or around the village. At one of the locations for firewood bundling she can make the bamboo rings, fit the cut wood into them, and stack the bundles.

Throughout the morning hours grandmother, with the infant on her back, wanders about the village. Occasionally she offers her dry breast to the bawling infant who cannot seem to wait until its mother returns from the fields or mountains. If the mother is nearby, she hurries so that the infant does not cry for long. When the hour for lunch approaches, the grandmother hurries home to begin preparations for the noonday meal. As she walks, the infant's head bobs up and down, forward and back precariously, but it continues to sleep undisturbed.

After lunch has been eaten and the infant nursed, the adults in the household sip their tea and rest for an hour or so. Within that hour the mother may play with the infant or nap with it nestled in her arms. Rousing themselves from the noon nap, the adults return to the mountains and fields. The infant is again strapped to the grandmother's back, but this time as she slowly wends her way to the main thoroughfare, she calls out to someone in a house which boasts one of the few clocks in the village. "Hey, what is the time there?" The answer will quicken her pace, for it is near the time for an older sibling to return from school. As she reaches the main street, she joins other grandmothers as well as mothers who are anxiously scanning the direction from which the schoolchildren return. Each admires the infants on the other's back and exchanges timely topics of the day, but as the minutes pass and no children appear, they begin to grumble about the "irresponsible siblings who *must* be playing on their way home." At last the older child returns, and the grandmother hurries home with her charges, promptly transfering the infant onto the back of the older sibling. The old woman rushes to get her hoe and basket, mumbling to herself about the quantity of potatoes she should harvest for the next day's use.

An older child who ignores the crying of his infant charge will be criticized severely by his peers. If the mother happens to be in the

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fields and away from the village, the young caretaker jiggles up and down to soothe the baby on his back. As his cries become frantic, the caretaker's peers will pat him on his buttocks and try to placate him by guiding his fingers to his mouth. 854 857 594

For the nuclear family with no other caretaker except the mother, the newborn proves to be a problem. One such mother complained that she could not do anything efficiently with a baby on her back. She was able to go to the fields to harvest potatoes but had to leave the laden basket until the afternoon to carry it home, for at that time the neighbor's child returned from school to look after the baby. In payment for baby-sitting services she had planned on buying the neighbor's child a dress for the next New Year.

In the nuclear family with school age children, the mother works around the house and in the nearby fields in the morning and rushes off to the mountains when her relief returns in the middle of the afternoon. Thus the infant which brought so much joy to the family and gave its mother respite from the rigorous routine for a short time becomes somewhat of a burden to all. Nevertheless, the baby continues to be indulged, pitied for his helplessness, and the object of affection.

It is important to note, briefly, the father's attitude and behavior during this initial period. Although only females were born during this study, interviews suggest that a male birth elicits a somewhat more solicitous behavior on the part of the father toward both mother and infant than a female one. The father will discourage the mother's early resumption of work and may even feel encouraged to carry the male infant despite the fact that children are deemed "women's work." Ostensibly, however, he seems embarrassed and disinterested in the whole matter be it a male or female. Congratulating visitors find that after a few polite exchanges the father will retire to a corner in the house as attention focuses on mother and child. After sitting out what seems a proper length of time, he will mumble some excuse or other and leave the house to do some chore. The observer visiting the household on the occasion of the birth of a fourth daughter found gloom and disgust in the father's expression. A male visitor who sat trying to convince the father that daughters are quite useful, too, received only contemptuous stares. His wife sat dejectedly holding the infant loosely in her arms. In contrast, a visit of the same purpose to another household on the birth of a fourth daughter revealed similar but notably less intense reactions on the part of the father. Perhaps because of the existence of one male heir he felt less threatened. 846 842

There is a tenacious belief in Taira that the female determines the sex of the child. If the woman fails to produce a male heir, the man

846 can take on a second wife. The woman who is delivered of her third
842 son is the envy of others who have none or only one son to their credit, for she has achieved what is considered to be the ideal in a wife. Thus the first mother with four daughters was treated with outright disgust and contempt by her husband, whereas in the second instance the mother was receiving the normal treatment of disinterest with minor solicitation.

593 The constant stream of visitors during the first month gives the
857 other children in the household a sense of importance. Whenever an older child has a chance, he stresses the fact that there is a newborn
854 in the house and reports the identity of the latest visitor to scores of admiring peers. He is the envy of the lot when at last he is allowed to carry the infant and play. But the envy is short lived, and the older sibling's pride withers rapidly when he finds that this is just another baby to be carried and cared for constantly. As the baby gains weight and no longer sleeps quietly for extended periods of time on the back, the older sibling begins to run and hide when he sees his mother approaching with the baby.

593 A few days after the birth of an infant, the fieldworker visited a
522 household and found the older siblings all crowded in the back room with the mother and child. One of the girls, a 5-year-old who was
857 unusually sturdy and large in build, was teased by her mother. "Hey
854 Hanako, let's give the teacher this baby, all right?" said the mother, winking on the side to the fieldworker. The little girl looked anxiously at the fieldworker and slowly edged over protectively toward the infant. She shook her head slowly and deliberately for some minutes, indicating that she would not assent to giving her baby sister away. At this point the grandmother entered the teasing and told the little girl that the baby would only prove to be a burden when she had to carry her later on, but she continued to shake her head. As the mother handed the baby over to the fieldworker, the girl burst into tears and cried out "No! No!" All laughed and assured her that the baby would remain in the household.

593 Several weeks later, Hanako proudly paraded her newest baby sister
857 for all her playmates to see. Many begged to carry the infant "for just a little while" to no avail. When her older sister returned from school,
854 she reluctantly gave up her charge in deference to age and experience. This went on for about two months until one day the fieldworker came on the mother calling frantically around the village for Hanako and the older girl. The older girl successfully evaded her mother, but Hanako was discovered and the baby was strapped to her back. Hanako

frowned and tugged at the straps that were straining at her neck muscles. 593

At a still later date, Hanako, with her baby sister strapped to her back, played on the beach. At one point, when all the children were scattered over the beach and no one else was nearby, Hanako edged up to the fieldworker and asked, "Would you like this baby, teacher? Here, take her," she said wearily. Asked why she had changed her mind, the little girl smiled shyly, squirmed uncomfortably for a moment, then whispered, "She's too heavy." Her 3-year-old sister, off in the distance at that point, began to scream and cry at being left so far behind. Hanako turned to look back once, then walked on as the 3-year-old squatted on the sand and screamed to be carried. At that moment her mother appeared to nurse the infant, and Hanako ran to her. She bounded swiftly away to the 3-year-old as the mother started to nurse the baby. Returning a few minutes later with the 3-year-old on her back, Hanako deposited her disgustedly, panting heavily from the weight. "Shall we give baby to teacher, Hanako?" asked the mother, and without any hesitation Hanako this time nodded "Yes." The mother laughed and said, "Hah, she has had enough of her already. When the baby was tiny and cute, she was so eager to carry her and wouldn't give her to you, but they all get tired of babies in time." And with that the mother began to rock the baby back and forth in her arms. Smiling affectionately, she kissed and hugged the cooing infant and murmured, "Nobody wants you, eh?" Because she was an unusually outspoken mother she confided, "I think I have had enough too, here, I give her to you!" She laughed as she continued, "How can I make money, feed and clothe the children when I have to rush back from the mountains to nurse this baby." 857 854 [594]

When the child is about 6 months old, he is subjected to a painful operation which prepares him for the introduction to solid foods. The area around the navel is moxa-cauterized. Nine little brown dots in three rows of three attest to the practice of burning a special kind of grass on the skin in this area to protect the infant from various digestive complications. The child thus treated, the mother will begin to supplement breast feedings with rice water, milky white in appearance, that is spooned out of the boiling pot of rice. Sometime later, before the child is about one, bits of sweet potato and special kinds of fish mashed between the fingers are thrust into the mouth of the infant as he sits on his mother's lap at mealtime. Gradually he is given more and more solid foods until, finally, at the age of 2 he is eating rice, unmashed fish, potatoes and vegetables, but nursing is continued until 853 [751] [262] 862 855 262

855 the mother becomes pregnant. Usually, however, weaning is not started in earnest until the mother is three months pregnant.

[262] If the infant has a fever or "bad color," he may be subjected to another painful experience, blood letting. Incisions are made on those 854 757 parts of the body which are thought to be affected, and blood is drawn and caught in a cup. The area is washed with sake. The mother often suckles the baby and holds him while the grandmother or some other older person performs the operation.

854 Babies are diapered and swaddled until they are about a year old. For the first two months their wet and soiled diapers are changed frequently; however, as time goes on, less attention is paid to wet diapers, although those soiled from excreta are promptly changed. Infants are checked often during the raw winter days, but because they are bundled so heavily, there is hardly any danger of their contracting colds as their mothers fear. Severe urine burns and annoying diaper rash are more [164] common than colds among young babies.

[855] Although care is taken to keep the infant as clean as possible during the first year of his life, this attitude changes as the child grows older. This is in large part due to the mother's inability to devote much time [594] to her offspring once she has resumed full participation in economics activities. Depending on the season of the year, babies are bathed from every third or fourth day to once a week. They are bathed almost daily [744] during the first two months of their lives as a result of the insistence of the village nurse. Water is heated on the kitchen hearth and poured into a small washpan. Mothers test the warmth of the water by immersing their arms up to the elbows and adding cold or hot water as they see fit. Soap is gently applied either with a soft washcloth or with the hands and rinsed off by splashing. On chilly winter days the bath takes place indoors, but on the hot sunny days it takes place right outside the kitchen door. In drying the baby, the mother places him in a large towel and pats the dampness from his body. She is careful to dry the skin at the joints where rash is likely to erupt. Except for the very poor, all families keep a bottle of talcum powder, which is applied right after the bath. Throughout the bath, the mother talks softly to the baby, smiling and tickling him. The atmosphere of the bath at this [855] time contrasts sharply with that of a later time when the child is 2 and 3 years old.

863 Although there is hardly any possibility that the infant at this time would be able to smear himself with excreta, the opportunity for doing so is present later when he no longer wears diapers but is still untrained. It rarely happens, as the child is almost constantly watched by a caretaker. One mother reported disgustedly that her infant smeared

herself from head to toe when she had left her diaperless on the floor for a few minutes. She had assumed that the child had completed elimination and had gone out to rinse the soiled diaper. 863

When the infant is anywhere from 22 days to 10 months old, the mothers start trying to anticipate urination before the baby wets his diapers. Each mother trains herself to her child's particular cues, squirming, peculiar facial expressions, and so on, or keeps a kind of mental time check. Holding the infant in a semisitting position out over the edge of the porch, and supporting him under his knees with her hands and at his back with her chest, she coaxes gently, repeating "shi-shi" until he urinates onto the ground outside. If the mother is successful in her efforts, she hugs, kisses, and praises the infant. On the other hand, if she does not reach him in time and he is already wet, she will hold the child over the wet diaper and say "shi-shi." This is to ensure that he has fully eliminated, or if the interval between diaper checks has been long, to make certain that he does not need to urinate again before putting on a fresh change. In these instances she does not praise unless the infant does urinate or eliminate at her coaxing, but she does not punish him for urinating in his diapers. [861]

Although mothers may desire bladder control to develop, their statements do not indicate that they conceive of holding the child out as training. In discussing the practice, mothers seemed more concerned about the number of diapers they had to wash or buy. With a great deal of pride one mother reported that she never had to wash a diaper except when it was soiled with feces. Another bragged that she had only had to buy diapers once, and this was for her first child. Treatment of bladder control at a later period raises further doubt that this practice is meant for training purposes. Pertinent here, too, is the belief that children are incapable of learning at this early date. [861]

While a few mothers who have the time to look after their babies continue to avoid wet diapers, most of them eventually abandon the routine and leave it to the child to train himself. When they resume normal activities following childbirth, an older sibling takes over the care of the infant, and the mother does not instruct the older child to continue the practice. Fear for the safety of the baby keeps her from doing so. Once she straps the baby onto the young caretaker's back, she expects him to remain there until she or another adult unstraps him. Teen-age caretakers seldom bother to change wet diapers until it becomes unbearable. If the grandmother is the chief caretaker, however, she will continue the practice. For the greater part of the first year, the infant urinates in his diaper, frequently wetting his caretaker. Just before the child turns one, most mothers will reduce the amount of 863 854 855 863

855 swaddling and diapers. Almost immediately after he has passed his first
863 birthday, she will stop diapering him and substitute a short shirt or a dress during the summer and kimonos during the cold weather. This is the period which proves most trying to the young caretaker. Unless the baby is filthy and evokes much comment from others, however, they ignore the condition. The following examples illustrate common occurrences during this period:

H. (an 8-year-old girl) carrying her baby sister on the back is playing on the beach. She straightens up suddenly with a wry expression on her face. "She urinated, wet," she exclaims, standing up and spreading her dress at the back which is completely soaked. The baby is bare-bottomed and crowing happily at the older children playing around her. The older sister waves her dress briefly in the wind, then squats to continue her play. When asked if she was not going home to change, she exclaims that she would dry soon enough, and, as for the baby, she was dry. The day is warm and windy and the dress dries off rapidly.

K. (a 7-year-old girl), baby sister on her back, is squatting with other girls, drawing in the sand. As they draw figures in the sand, the baby breaks wind and defecates. It is a rather noisy operation, and the other girls watch fascinated and somewhat amused while K. keeps on sitting unconcerned. (The baby's bottom is bare so that the feces drops on the sand.) One of the girls laughs and comments on the feces dropping. K. says, "I will let my mother clean the ground." The other children walk away, spitting,* showing some disgust. All through this K. squats calmly, letting the baby eliminate undisturbed. She tells the baby "Finish defecating quickly," but she is not impatient, rather absent-minded.

863 Probably the earliest cleanliness training is the gentle withdrawal of unclean objects from the child, with statements of "Dirty, dirty." As he begins to respond to facial expression, the mother will show her disgust, shake her head and say, "Dirty!"

864 Infants may be patted or manipulated around the genital area by
854 an adult. Old women like to tweak a little boy's penis and jokingly say, "What is that, what is that?" Female infants are quickly covered with exaggerated expressions of shame whenever they are exposed for diaper changes. Petting of genitals by an adult is used mostly to soothe the child. It would be severely rebuked, however, if attempted by a child caretaker.

852 When the child is a year old, a simple ceremony is held. After a short birthday prayer, the child is offered a tray with food, an abacus counter, pencil, book, and money. The audience waits expectantly to see what the infant will choose. The pencil portends a writer, the money a

[514] * Expectoration at the sight of unpleasant things, such as dead animals or a pile of feces, is common among children and adults. Children pass a pile of dirt, spit at it, and cover it with dirt by a careless kick before continuing on.

financier, the abacus a mathematician, the book a scholar, and food a glutton. The villagers did not seem to place much credence in the choice. Mothers laughed when asked what choices their children made and commented, "It's something to talk about, but many times we can't even remember which child chose what!" 852

The child continues to be carried on the back until the next sibling is born, the interval being between about two or three years. By the time an infant is a year old, he has been taken through every nook and cranny of the village. He has also seen all the adults and children of the village and has witnessed the economic and social-ceremonial activities. Whereas he slept most of the time when he was young, he now begins to participate in what goes on about him. He claps his hands in glee in response to his older sibling's delight over some aspect of play or raises his arm in defiance of another child who attempts to strike at his older sibling. In spite of the fact that he is capable of crawling or learning to walk within the second half year of his life, he is kept on the back. He does not protest or clamor to be put down; he seems to prefer being carried to being left to crawl. 855 854 [856]

Caretakers are too busy with work or play to let the child crawl about freely, so there is no crawling stage in Taira. Older siblings are too involved in play to sit and patiently watch a crawler. The older child would also be severely punished should the infant pick up some object and swallow it or injure himself in his crawling. One 8-year-old found that the 10-month-old sister she toted on her back took to standing on the ground and jouncing up and down every time she squatted to play. After several unsuccessful attempts to stop this annoying behavior, she unstrapped her and allowed her to crawl about freely. The older girl became so engrossed in the game that her mouth dropped open and eyes turned round with fear when one of her playmates shouted, "Hey! the baby put some dirt into her mouth!" Immediately she rushed to "flush" the baby's mouth out with her fingers and promptly strapped her onto the back again and continued playing despite the uncomfortable jouncings. The baby did not protest at being restrapped; she just jounced and played with her hands. 857 855

A mother who sits and plucks sweet potato leaves off the vines for hog feed works more efficiently with the baby on her back. Crawling around on the loose floorboards near the fire pit or over the edge of the raised floor, the child would require constant attention. On one occasion the observer was sitting and talking with a mother who was weaving a bamboo basket in her front room. The floor was littered with bamboo shavings and slats. As the mother worked, she was relaxed. She turned and twisted the sharp ends of the bamboo slats, leaving pointed [231] [285]

855 ends swinging in the air, and dropping the huge knife in a careless
857 fashion on the floor near her. Suddenly there was the sound of a crying
[285] baby and her eldest girl appeared with the 8-month-old on her back. Unstrapping the baby, the girl plopped her onto her mother's lap. Instinctively the mother pushed the basket, bamboo slats, and knife away as she unbuttoned her blouse to nurse the baby. When the baby had had its fill, the mother called to the little caretaker to come and carry her. The older child called out that she was going to get a drink of water and disappeared around the house. She entered through the back and called to the baby to come. The baby crawled over but was attracted on the way by the big knife. Instantly the mother snatched it away, and the baby started to move toward the sharp pieces of bamboo. In desperation the mother picked up the baby and called crossly to the girl to come immediately. The older child obeyed, and the baby was strapped onto her back. "Now go and play somewhere," instructed the annoyed mother.

855 Another instance of similar nature took place in the frontyard of a
863 place which that day was the scene of "house playing." A grandmother watching the activity decided to let the year-old baby on her back down to join in the play. "Eh, go and play with your older sisters," she smiled and said to the child as she put her gently down on the ground. The child started to crawl over to the group but stopped and sat very quietly staring ahead for a minute. The grandmother, who had disappeared into the house, reappeared. "A-yah!" she exclaimed as she looked down to see the baby scratching the damp earth about her. The baby had urinated and was puddling about so that in that brief instant she had thoroughly soiled herself as well as her clothing. Grumbling and scolding, "Dirty, dirty!" she picked up and carried at arm's length the baby, who was smiling and gurgling. The old woman cleaned the baby at the water barrel and, dressing her in clean clothes, promptly put her on her back again.

855 The only children who were allowed to crawl about were the sons
184 of two fishermen. Fishermen's wives, compared to the farmer-woods-
462 men's wives, have a great deal more leisure time. They buy their potatoes and rice with money from the sale of fish. The men send their catch to the market via the bus, so their wives, except when they accompany a catch to the city, have only to care for the house and a pig and are free to watch their children as they crawl about.

●854 In summary, the infancy period is characterized by consistent nur-
155 turance. Mothers, grandmothers, and child baby-tenders are helpful and demonstrative in their affection. That they value such behavior is further evidenced by their conscious teaching of young children to

copy their behavior. When several mothers and their children are gathered, a mother of a year-old child will coo, "Cute baby" as she strokes a friend's infant's head. She smiles at her child, takes his hand, and repeats the action. A spontaneous response such as this on the part of a year-old child would evoke admiration and voluble praise from the audience. A year and a half old boy became the pride of his mother when he approached all little children with a highly nurturant attitude. He had learned his lesson so well that he considered children of his own age babies because they were smaller than himself. Walking up to them, he would bend down, pat their heads patronizingly, and take their hands to guide them along. 854 155

Equally important to the Okinawan parent is a friendly child who is well liked by everyone in the village. A happy, smiling personality is ideal, and it is this wish for the child which leads grandmothers and mothers to perpetuate the custom of burying the afterbirth of a newborn to the accompaniment of laughter and appeals to the spirits to ensure this characteristic. Adults constantly try to get infants to smile by talking and making funny sounds and faces. Even young children approach infants clapping their hands together in an attempt to elicit smiles. [156]

Treatment of children during this initial period discourages expression of self-reliant behavior. As described above, except for rare and very brief intervals during the day, a child is strapped onto someone's back from the time he wakes up in the morning to the time he is put to bed at night. The child is carried about in this fashion from the age of one month until he is almost 2 years old. [866]

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Chapter 14

Weaning

When a mother discovers that she is pregnant again, usually about two years after her last delivery, she begins to think of weaning her child. Most mothers nurse the last child until they are about three months 862 853 [843]

wiggles her hips and otherwise makes movements that are not permitted in the classical Okinawan dance. 868 535

Kindergarten children are usually asleep by 8:30 in the winter and 9:00 in the summer. They sleep an average 8 hours. Ten o'clock is considered to be proper bedtime for all people. The village bell is rung to remind everyone that the day has ended. The entire family sleeps on the mattresses spread on the floor with wooden pillows. In winter the heavy quilts are taken down. Children vary in their bedtime. Those who feel tired fall asleep soon after the evening meal. Often the grandparents lie down with the small children. If children accompany parents on a visit, they lie down in their father's or mother's lap, or on the floor to sleep. Since not all adults go to sleep at 10:00, older children may stay up longer, particularly during moonlight nights. Few children take naps except during the summer, when the heat makes everyone drowsy and slows down work during midday. Once in a while a young child goes home to lie down for a nap. 857 513

The kindergarten child's day has been an active and carefree one. He is seldom alone. "Do not play alone, go and play with others. If you play alone, people might think that others dislike you," instruct parents in Taira. Anyone passing a child playing alone would remark, "How lonely he seems." Furthermore, mothers worry about a child being alone "because he is more apt to do naughty things or get into dangerous play." 857 155 156

A 4- or 5-year-old may sometimes find himself being a caretaker, but generally he is not considered very reliable, and being a "senseless" individual, he is not held responsible by the village for anything that might happen to his charges. It is the mother who is held culpable and is censured in this case. 857 855 861

One mother was severely criticized by her neighbors when she punished her 4-year-old boy for abandoning his 2-year-old sibling. The children had been sent out to play. When the older boy came home for supper, he faced an angry mother who berated him for thinking only of his own pleasure and leaving his little brother on the main road and to the dangers of passing trucks. She spanked the boy, tied his hands and legs briefly, and left the crying child behind when she went to the village store with his younger sibling.

In another case, a grandmother grumbled about the "laxity" and irresponsibility of the mother. A 5-year-old was carrying her month-old sibling who was sleeping on the back in a twisted position due to loose strappings. "Come here! Your mother, where is she . . . how could she leave this child with you! Almost falling . . . ," the old woman mumbled as she unstrapped the peacefully sleeping baby and 857 854

857 cuddled it in her arms. The 5-year-old in this case was disappointed
854 at being relieved of his charge, but no doubt would have been happy to be absolved of any blame in the event that the baby had fallen and hurt itself.

857 Most 4- and 5-year-olds, therefore, find their nurturant efforts frus-
866 trated, for they are considered too young to carry their younger siblings. They are told that their necks will hurt, they are not strong enough,
[593] and that they will be dwarfs if they started to carry such a heavy bur-
[155] den from such an early age. A sturdy 5-year-old, nevertheless, finds that if he is persistent enough, his mother will allow him to carry his infant sibling for short periods of time with close supervision. It is on these short jaunts that the child basks in the shower of praise and is richly rewarded for his nurturant behavior. Several mothers reported how their 4- and 5-year-olds take pride periodically in mopping up floors, setting tables, and clearing up after a meal. "They don't really do these chores, they help at it, but we let them do it because they like to. And if they don't feel like doing it, we don't say anything," report these mothers.

857 Frequently kindergarten children accompany their mothers to the
241 potato fields in the afternoons. There they play in and around the plants or "help" their mothers. One 4-year-old girl pointed out with
866 pride that she goes with her mother to their fields to "clean dirt off the potatoes" which her mother has dug before placing them in the basket. Boys of 3 and 5 were observed "assisting" by following adults' instructions to drop the seed potato into the hole at planting time. Generally adults dislike taking children to distant fields, for they beg to be carried near the half-way point. Occasionally a young child who has been on such a trip is toted back in the grandmother's empty carrying basket or in one of the suspended shoulder-yoke baskets of his grandfather.

863 During the kindergarten period, constant pressure is put on the child to learn sphincter control. The child goes pantless until he at-
514 tains this goal, which is usually achieved by the age of 4. There is little formal bowel training. Children simply crouch and defecate. Grandmothers or mothers clean up the feces as soon as they see them. Younger children eliminate all over the village, but by 3 they usually restrict themselves to their own yards. When there are grandmothers
[887] in the family, bowel training seems to be taken over by them. Not infrequently the old woman can be seen standing over a child in the yard or cleaning up both the child and the yard. She is generally the one who gently coaxes the child to use the outhouse when he is old enough and physically able to straddle the opening over the pit. The

practice of allowing the child to eliminate wherever he chooses is 863
necessitated by the structure of the outhouse, a concrete tank covered [514]
with a slotted wooden board or loose planks.

Girls may go pantless until they are completely toilet trained but [291]
must wear dresses. Since clothing distinguishes those who have been toilet trained, girls proudly compare bright printed panties while boys sport nondescript short pants. Untrained boys wear short shirts or cotton kimonos in summer or flannel ones in the winter.

Accidental wetting of pants and bedwetting do not present much of a problem to parents. Children, however, appear to be embarrassed in such situations. Mothers claim they do not scold or shame the children. It seems to be more of a threat to the child, who realizes his newly gained status and recognizes the accident as infantile behavior. A few children, ranging from 4 to 11, suffer from eneuresis. An 11-year-old, according to the mother, wakes himself and rinses out his wet clothing without waking anyone else. She felt that he was suffering enough and so refrained from saying anything about it.

As seen in the description of the kindergarten session, constant pressure is placed on the child to keep himself clean. A mother seeing a 863
dirty child will laughingly tell him to go sleep with the rats. There 515
is a nasal affliction which is common among children up until the age of 8. Whereas the mother or grandmother tends the infant, sucking [854]
the mucus out of his nose, they do not aid the weaned child. During the preschool years, the child, with a well-practiced movement of the arm, smears the discharge over half his face, onto his kimono or shirt sleeves, or wipes it impatiently with his grimy hands. The resulting appearance prompts others to tease, "Dirty faced cat," or to question sneeringly, "Did the rat walk over your face?" It seems, however, that boys are less interested in cleanliness and tolerate dirty and unkemptness for a longer period of time than girls. By the time they are 3 years [296]
old, girls are conscious of their appearance, but this may be because they frequently accompany older girls to the wells and rivers when laundering is being done. As it was the usual procedure to end the task with washing heads and delousing, the girls were less soiled than the boys at this age. Five- and 6-year-old girls are praised for going to the well or river to wash their own clothing and heads if they go with older children. If they go alone, they are severely scolded and punished. When the faucets were installed in the village, 4-year-old girls assiduously tended to their grooming, spurred on by the praise and admiration of adults. Girls may be punished, on the other hand, for using too much soap or washing too often. One mother complained that her 8-year-old girl used to be such a stickler for cleanliness and

847 783 Finally one of her brothers told them the reason. When she had been a young woman her husband had been awa for a long period during which she had had relations with other men and had had a baby by one of them. To avoid the disgrace and the anger of her husband, the woman's mother had buried the child alive in the back yard. The story was known to other older members of the family because some time later the bones had been discovered. When the story was told to the children, they told their dying mother that she could now go peacefully. She died soon after. All agreed that if a tablet had been made for the dead infant and incense had been burned, even in secret, the mother would not have suffered when she died. Infanticide thus may be punished by the supernatural, but then the punishment may also be avoided by the proper offerings.

847 Lebra reports that birth statistics from the village of Kitazato suggest that female infanticide has been practiced there recently. Statistics from other communities studied do not give the same skewed sex ration.

853 854 Infant Care Okinawan mothers nurse their babies for a year to a year and a half, though some are said to continue even until the child is three. They keep no schedules but give their babies the breast whenever they seem to want it. They deliberately offer a fretful baby the breast not only to appease its hunger but also to comfort it and it is not unusual to see a grandmother offer her dry breast to a child as a pacifier. I once commented to two Okinawan women that a certain American doctor has argued that Okinawans are happier than Americans because they are breast-fed as infants rather than bottle-fed; the women answered immediately, "But it's not the milk; it's the love ('aijō')."

853 Infants receive no food other than milk for the first nine months. Then they are given a little gruel made by skimming off the top of a mixture of cooked rice and water. This is not given earlier because it is believed that milk and rice do not mix well in the infant's stomach. After the child's first birthday it is given most adult foods, unless it is especially weak. Most children will not eat everything, however, but, it is said, will prefer sweet foods and avoid highly seasoned foods. Mothers do not prechew food for small children as a rule but may do so in some cases, to take the bones out of fish, for example.

863 [SN] Toilet training is neither early nor strict. Adults as a rule defecate only in the toilet but are likely to urinate almost anywhere. They do not expect small children to be very careful. A baby wears a diaper until it is a year or a year and a half; then it may wear only a dress or shirt with no pants. At first the mother holds it over the toilet or merely off the edge of the house. In time it is expected to go to the toilet itself to defecate. Children are said to go by themselves when they are three. I have seen children of four still defecating beside the house, too busy playing to go to the toilet. They were scolded for it but received no more severe punishment. [178] This was in the city, however, and I was told that while their mothers did not object much to this behavior, their grandmother objected more strongly and scolded their mothers for permitting it. The change in type of toilet may

possibly have lowered standards of sanitation. Morale may also be a factor; 863
in the instance just mentioned the morale of the grandmother was undoubtedly 178
better than that of her daughter and daughter-in-law whom she criticized.

A very small baby may be carried in the arms, but usually it is car- 854
ried on the back. The mother places it with its belly to her back, its legs spread apart, and its head about at a level with the top of her shoulder. She secures it there with a long sash that runs once under its bottom, makes an X across her chest, passes around its shoulders, and ties in front. A baby is carried most frequently by its mother, but may also be carried a good deal by others, of either sex and any age, grandparents and older siblings being most frequent. The baby may look over the shoulder of its carrier or it may simply sleep, often with its head back and rolling. If it is fretful its carrier may lean forward a bit and jog it to sleep. Larger children may be carried without the sash, by just letting them hang on. Babies are carried about while all sorts of tasks are being performed.

Mothers often carry their babies into the fields when they go out to work, but when they are working in the house they may put their babies to sleep on the floor of the house. If a baby is put to sleep on the floor it is made to sleep on its back. Often the hard floor, which may or may not be covered with a thin mat, will cause the back of the baby's head to become flattened, or if the baby constantly turns its head to one side, the head may become assymetrical, but later fills out to assume its normal shape. Some mothers use a small mosquito net on a frame to protect the sleeping baby from insects, but frequently it is uncovered and flies may alight on it. A few mothers use a hammock-like device called 'burank', as a cradle; these are said to be becoming more popular. At night children, especially smaller children, [513]
sleep with their parents on quilts on the floor, under the one large net.

Children are expected to learn to walk at about 12 to 14 months. 856
Early walking is a sign of good health so that if a child is late to walk, 866
the parents may worry about it. As Glacken points out, there is an important change in the life of the child at this time. Instead of being carried everywhere on his mother's or older sibling's back, the child is now put down and expected to todule along behind his mother, who is not always sympathetic when he fails to keep up. This change may be a greater trauma to the child than weaning or toilet-training.[1]

Children are said to begin talking at about a year and a half. The 856
first words are usually, nowadays, 'o-kaa', o-tō', 'o-baa', the Japanese equivalents of "daddy', "mommy", and "grandma". Parents do not worry if a child is a little late in talking.

<u>Childhood: Adult Attitudes</u> Okinawans recognize clearly that children are 858
not capable of participating in most adult activities and indeed appear to regard it as undesirable that they do so. Oki- [171]
nawan attitude contrasts sharply with the "modern" American one that takes

[1] Glacken, 1953, p. 264.

597 known as groom-adoption (mukoyoshi in Japanese). No instances of this form of adoption were found in the villages. The husband-to-be is adopted into his wife's family and, at the same time, becomes successor to his wife's father's estate. The adopted man is placed in a similar position to a daughter to be married: he forsakes his own family, his name is taken off the family register of his father, and he becomes, like the bride in a normal situation, a member of his wife's family.

597 183 [171] Common in Japan, this device is considered a humiliating position, both in Japan and in Okinawa,* for the bridegroom, since he puts himself in an unfavorable position regarding the women of the adopting family and leaves his own. Even though unused, reactions to this form of adoption are unreservedly negative in the villages. "It is very distasteful," said one man. "The boy deserts his own home and enters his wife's home." Occasionally however it probably will be used. There are a few families with five or six daughters and no sons. In one instance, a family with six daughters, the eldest of marriageable age, the parents were considering groom adoption.

597 171 In Okinawa unlike Japan, the maintenance of the family system is not contingent upon an elaborate and widely used system of adoption. This is one of the important distinctions to be made between Okinawan and Japanese culture, for in Japan adoption has been used by the royal family, in business and professional circles, as well as among the ordinary classes of people.

7

The "Growing Up" Parent

597 608 855 734 There is also a special form of adoption in Okinawa. It is debatable whether it is directly concerned with the maintenance of the family system, or is a more general aspect of the culture and part of the care and rearing of children. This is known as yashineuya (in Okinawan), yashinaoya or morawako (in Japanese). It is not adoption, but an arrangement that is considered helpful for the survival of sickly children who, the parents feel, might not live to maturity. The verb, yashinsu in Japanese means to rear, adopt, or support. It is also used in referring to raising animals.

[791] [787] The first step is to consult a fortune teller (sanjinsō in Japanese). Hanashiro people can go to nearby Gushichan; Minatogawans to Itoman or Naha, and the parents of Matsuda to Ginoza or to Nago to consult the

* This situation has changed since the war. See The Japanese village in transition, as cited, 213.

fortune teller. The purpose of this visit is to discover who would be a good adopting parent. The fortune teller advises the parents to select a person born under the same year sign as the child. These year signs roughly correspond to the signs of the zodiac. The twelve signs with their Japanese equivalents are: rat (ne), ox (ushi), tiger (tora), hare or rabbit (u), dragon (tatsu), snake (mi), horse (uma), sheep hitsuji), monkey (saru), bird (tori), dog (inu), and hog or boar (i). The year 1951 was the year of the hare; 1952 is the year of the dragon (tatsudoki). 597 608 855 734 787 [805]

The adopting or "growing up" parent is older, in multiples of 12, than the child. After consulting almanacs and other materials, the fortune teller advises the parents to find a person in the village born under the same year sign as the child. Prospective adopting parents are then sought out and the matter is discussed with them. Both parents may do this, but most often the discussions are carried on by the mother. When the selection is made, the child is "given" to the adopting parent, and there are prayers before the Buddhist god shelf in the home of the adopting parent. [782] [798]

Actually the child continues to live with its own parents, but makes frequent visits to the home of the adopting parent. There are no stated intervals at which these visits are made, except for New Years and O-Bon. The adopting parent may on these visits give food and presents to the child. [504]

The arrangement thus seems to be a form of sponsorship and guardianship without special responsibilities on the part of the adopting parent, to bring good health and long life to the child. It has only slight resemblances to the godfather and godmother in Christian countries who sponsor a child at his baptism and theoretically at least undertake to be responsible for his Christian training. But the sponsorship and guardianship features are somewhat similar.

Adoption of this type may be done in Okinawa by either sex. [887] Generally old women are the favorites and they may have many such adopted children. But old or older men may also assume this obligation. [184] This form of "growing up" adoption existed in all the villages studied in substantially the same form.

8

The Household Order Naming System

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Families in a village have, in addition to their own surnames, secondary names by which individual families are known. This secondary naming system is a device to distinguish related families with the same surname from one another.

The secondary naming system is known as "the household order," or yaro in Japanese. To introduce this discussion, it might be well to 000

One can infrequently observe women walking from Minatogawa to nearby villages to sell their fish. Women and young girls also sell fish locally, standing somewhere off the main street with their hand scale (hakkari) and a basket or bucket of fish. Housewives come up, price the individual fish, often weighing it for themselves on the hand scale. 443 809

Like the Chinese scale, this is simply a round piece of wood on one end of which there is a weight. The fulcrum is a string, held in the hand, which holds the scale. The item to be weighed is put in a basket and placed on the other end. The weight is ascertained by moving the counter-weight till both sides are in balance. Markings along the piece of wood show the exact amount. Every village shop has one of these scales.

There is very little haggling over prices, although the housewife is choosy and will inquire the cost of different individual fish before deciding which one, if any, to buy. 443

Usually the night's catch is marketed the following morning. Women, by custom, receive a fee for selling fish. A woman who takes her husband's and his partner's fish to market (the catch being insufficient for both wives to participate) is paid her fee by weight. 443 465

25 kin (about 33 pounds) sold at Y30 per kin	Y1500
Woman's share, at Y5 per kin	- 150
Remainder	Y1350
Each Partner's Share	675

[804]

The Y5 per kin is a selling commission. If more than one woman goes, the fee is split between them. Women pay all expenses and their bus fare from the commission. Occasionally wives alternate in taking the catch to market.

When the woman of a fishing family takes fish to market, she is doing more than performing an errand. Her skill in bargaining and general knowledge of prices, of the catch and the demand for various kinds of fish determine whether she gets a good or only a fair price. Generally, mature women sell the fish. Younger women, in the late teens and early twenties, often accompany the older women as helpers and gradually are initiated into the tricks of the trade. Young women, not being skillful, are more likely to accept the first offer, or to sell below the highest price obtainable. One source of family quarreling (fufukonka) is the anger of a husband when his wife has sold at a lower price than his neighbor's wife. Women who have children leave them with a relative, or an older daughter. When the wife of the family is unable to sell the fish because her children are too young, the chore is taken over by a woman relative. In Minatogawa, this substitute work also is often done by widows who, in addition, might sell fish caught by male relatives. 443 562 [578] [855] [589]

The money earned by women in the marketing of the fish, after 000

155 is an impression, and I doubt that Okinawan mothers would agree
114 with me. The toddler stage, in my opinion, is a difficult one for the Okinawan child. It is an abrupt change from the continuous care and physical contact of infancy. This transition need not necessarily be abrupt. A child may be carried some and walk some. As he learns to walk, his mother is near him.

857 When the child is no longer carried, he ceases to be an observer and becomes a participant in play. Formerly he watched the activities of the older children and smiled to the attention when it was given. Now he wishes to catch up with them as they walk down the lanes; he is often left behind and is not fast enough nor expert enough to keep up. This is a problem of childhood everywhere, but I believe here
155 that the transition from one type of activity to another is more drastic. The child also receives less attention from his parents,
●855 especially from his mother. This most mothers would deny. But I have often seen parents walking along a village lane, a toddler behind them crying and trying hard to keep up with them. They showed less solicitude and patience with him than they had when he was being carried. The mother gives less attention to the child during this period, particularly if she has had another child. In this, I do not mean to imply any lack of kindness or tenderness in the treatment of children, but to point out a change of emphasis. There is much more crying in the 2 to 3 year age groups than among infants who cry very little because they are entertained so much.

The toddler not only has the problem of becoming a participant in play, but of getting along without the close attention of the mother, his elder sisters, and possibly brothers.

855 Children are rather regularly spaced. The middle child of the
[842] lower three is most likely to be neglected. The baby is on the mother's back; he gets his breast feeding and is always with the mother. The older child has started to school or is leading an active play life. The middle child, too young for school and only tolerated by the older child who has his own interests, is too old for the breast and the back. The successful transition from the back carrying and breast feeding stage to walking and to the stage of independent play seems most successful when there are many children of the same age in the village, and consequently absorption in play can replace the intimate attention of parents and older siblings. A father may fill in this gap, allowing his young child to accompany him to work, but this experience generally belongs to a later period of childhood.

853 As the infant grows, nursed by the mother, he gradually receives
262 other foods, but the variety depends on the economic status of the family. The first food (other than the mother's milk) is rice water. Later rice is made into a gruel. The rice is soaked and mashed up in a quern. Families who have rice fields, or who can buy rice, may delay feeding the sweet potato to the child until the third year. Among the poor, sweet potato feeding begins much earlier. One

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a harsh, often rasping voice. Only men play the Okinawan samisen, a stringed instrument slightly different from its Japanese counterpart. Men also join in the dancing.

In a village parties on the fifth or sixth day after the birth of a child and on his first birthday happen frequently. They are an important part of social life. A relative or a friend is always celebrating one or the other occasion, either in the village or in a neighboring one. These celebrations increase, especially for the men, the number of social occasions and recreational opportunities during the year in a culture where holidays and rest days are comparatively few. (There are no weekly rest days or week ends).

After the first birthday, little attention is paid to the succeeding ones until the thirteenth. The child's experience from the
861 time he begins to walk until he reaches school comes from family life and neighborhood play. In my observation, there is no rigid, customary way of bringing up the child. It is toilet trained around
863 one year of age. This does not seem to be forced. Training comes through imitation. Parents do not punish the child for indiscretions, though they are quick to lift him off the mat if he begins wetting. With young boys, the father may make a hissing sound while the child's penis is out. One has the impression that it is a gradual transition, mostly effected by imitation or gentle suasion.

304 Male children are not circumcised. Circumcision is known only to those who have learned of it through books, foreign residence, or from others who have this information.[9]

867 In early training, boys are not taught that they are superior to girls. But when she reaches school age, the girl is likely to be kept
562 busier around the house. Before the war, there may have been a greater subordination of girls to boys. But any conscious training of girls to subordinate themselves to boys is unnecessary. The child grows up in a culture in which the father is waited on, the sons favored in inheritance, and in which the men have a richer social life.

855 Parents are kind to their children. They seldom spank a child,
593 though an exasperated parent may give the child a sharp slap. There is little nagging or shouting at children in anger. In my opinion,

9 Two young men, school teachers about 23 years old, expressed great astonishment when asked about circumcision. They did not know it existed.

an empty oxygen bottle with a wooden mallet to mark the time. The noon bell tells people in the fields and mountains that it is time for the midday meal and helps those who have a clock to compare the time. The evening bell indicates that it is time to end the day. Schoolchildren do not need a clock, since they get up early in the morning and go to school soon after, knowing that they are probably early. For most adults, daylight and sun position are enough to tell the approximate hour of the day. Some take arrival and departure of the bus, four times a day, as a point of orientation. 805 512 [464]

Old women are the first to rise in the morning. Long before dawn during the winter, or with the first light of the summer day, they get up and start a fire to boil sweet potatoes and heat the soybean soup. Blue smoke rising through the thatched roof into the early morning sky indicates that life in the village has begun. Children soon awake. The door is pushed open and a sleepy child appears to urinate off the edge of the house. Men are the last to rise. Considering the effect of the sake which they may have consumed on the preceding evening, it is remarkable that they are able to wake up so soon. By 6:30 the sleepiest person has risen. 512 [887] [252] [514]

The addition of outer clothes to the underclothing in which most people sleep is simple. Cold water splashed over the face and a quick turn at the toothbrush is all the toilet needed to begin a new day. [513] [515]

The task of folding comforters and taking down the mosquito net falls to one of the older children or to the mother. Older children and young girls help to carry water from the tank, the first task that has to be done after getting up. After breakfast, women feed the pigs. By about 7 o'clock everybody is ready for work. On a good day people leave for the mountains or start toward their fields—schoolchildren are on their way, too. [857] [462]

By 8 o'clock, except during very poor weather, the village is left to the old people and young children. Little boys and girls hang around, waiting for kindergarten to start at 9 o'clock. Play begins for them after they leave the house in the morning and does not end until evening. [855] [872]

For men and women, the routine of work in fields and forests is prescribed by seasonal activities which demand their special attention, but there are daily chores, such as digging potatoes, picking vegetables, and collecting feed for the animals and firewood for cooking. Only a few men who go to the mountains, taking their midday meal along, are away all day. The rest come and go during the day from the rice paddies, potato fields, or forests, so that there is repeated contact between children and their parents. A young child, even if left in the 512 461 [855]

512 care of an older sibling or the kindergarten teacher, therefore has a
461 chance to see the mother. Men and women who have gone to the
[855] mountains return with their first load of wood around 10 o'clock. The
[262] mother will return again around noon and prepare the midday meal: noodle soup, fried cabbage with dried shrimps, perhaps rice, and always sweet potatoes. After lunch there is a short rest period. During the hot summer months this rest extends to an hour or more, and on the hottest days people lie in their houses sleeping during the noon hours. Midday is also a time for social interaction. There is some visit-
[574] ing back and forth. Old people always seek each other's company, and younger ones back from the fields or forest may join them for a while.

512 Toward evening blue smoke indicates again that food is being pre-
[231] pared. Pigs are fed by the women in late afternoon. Then women,
512 young girls, or boys fill water buckets and carry them home. After 5
515 there is a heavy run on the tank or faucets, and this is often the time when families start preparing a bath. It takes until dark to warm up an oil drum filled with water and heated underneath by scraps of wood and twigs. People take their bath after dark. Since the bath house was destroyed during the war, ablutions take place outside near the tank under a faucet or in an old oil drum in one's backyard.

512 Young men who return from the mountains wash their horses in the
[231] sea. The women who sell fish call on each house at this hour to peddle
[438] their wares. The village store, which has only seen a few customers in the morning and during noon, now has its busiest hour. Mothers send their children to buy noodles, kerosene, rice, or seaweed or else they come themselves, a baby on their back or the toddlers following them.

[889] This is also the hour when the young men and women gather to do joint work in the fields of their association or to play volleyball on the playground. Meanwhile, all forest workers have returned and busily cut the last pieces of firewood, bundling them before the store clerk comes along to buy the load. Some adults sit near the playground and watch the children.

512 Work goes on until dark. Only then do families gather for the eve-
264 ning meal. During the summer this may be as late as 8 o'clock. For many families this is the only time during the day when everybody gathers in the family circle. At this time family affairs may be discussed and plans made for the next day's work or other pending matters.

512 The evening meal consists of rice, a bean paste or noodle soup, and
262 some fish. Meat is served occasionally if a goat is killed or on holidays
264 when someone has slaughtered a pig. Most families cannot afford to buy more than small portions of meat, which are fried or made into

462 heavy sods in the rice paddy; nevertheless, women and younger girls
[241] often do this work along with the men and boys if time runs short. There are some women who prepare their farm land without the help of their husbands.

[313] In mountain work, women produce almost as much as men except that they do not handle the large logs. Even pregnant women make
[843] three or four daily mountain trips, sometimes up until the day of childbirth. Only the mode of carrying wood, like any load, differs for
[482] the sexes: a man uses a carrying stick supported on his shoulder, with two bundles attached to each end; a woman carries bundles on her back, tied and held in place by a tump line tied over her forehead. Women can carry loads of 100 to 120 pounds in this manner.

[312] Men seldom carry water from the tank or faucet to the house; this is considered women's work, although younger boys are expected to
241 help at times. Work in the potato fields is mainly women's respon-
462 sibility. Their hands are also preferred in rice transplanting, where dexterity is needed in pulling out the tender shoots from the seed bed and replanting them in straight rows at measured intervals. Occasionally a young man helps, and boys sometimes try to work along with their sisters when they learn transplanting. Both men and women sow
462 the seed beds. In special activities, such as house building, a more dis-
[342] tinct division of labor can be observed. In any building activity, men do the structural work and women carry materials and cook for the
[653] men. The same division of labor is found on community projects, road building, fencing against wild pigs, or repairing the water pipes. In general, however, no special comment is made if either a man or woman performs work usually done by the opposite sex.

887 Men and women work in the fields and forests from ages 15 to 60.
462 When they approach 60, men like to "retire." If possible, they turn over their responsibilities as household heads to their eldest sons. From
[464] then on, they tend to stay home more and more. They can still help with less demanding work, making bamboo rings for firewood bundles, sawing wood, or doing odd jobs around the house. Approaching old age, most men become economically useless and in other ways contribute little to society. For old women, quite the contrary is true. Even grandmothers who are well over 60 seem strong and active. Most of
[241] them go to the fields to plant or harvest potatoes or other vegetables. One woman, well into her sixties and bent over from arthritis, took long walks to distant potato fields, with a heavy load of slips or potatoes in a basket on her back, a hoe on top of it, supporting herself on a
[855] stick. Other grandmothers look after the youngest children, thus freeing the mother for work. Old women also cook, help bundle firewood,

and look after the sick. Even if they are too old for any work, like two oldsters over 80 years, they can still hold the youngest grandchild. Two exceptional old men, brothers of almost the same age, pass their time by making rope bags and mats from the fiber of the fan palm. Both are active as financial experts, investing money here and there and lending it for high interests in various shrewd transactions. 887 462 [855] [285] [454]

INFORMAL AND FORMAL COOPERATION

Cooperation plays a prominent part in Taira economy. Assistance is always given for major tasks, such as preparing grass land for farm use or house building, or for work which must be done quickly, such as transplanting rice or harvesting and milling sugar. In fact, since wet rice cultivation depends on assistance in any culture that works its paddies by hand, it is noteworthy that the term *iimarû*, used in Taira for labor exchange in planting and harvesting, is also extended to other mutual assistance. The term, literally translated, means "gathering by rotation." A family who plans a project that needs the help of others makes an informal arrangement with relatives or neighbors to help for one or more days. This is simply done by notifying individuals that such help is needed. No one, unless he has urgent reasons, would refuse to comply with a call for assistance. If it is a small task, a few close relatives are asked. In most larger undertakings, it is the neighborhood group that lends a hand. These mutual-assistance groups usually form within the central village and within each of the geographical clusters of the outlying village, although close relatives from other parts of the community may be called. However, the most recent arrivals in Taira, all present members of one family line who have the same surname, act jointly in reclamation of neglected fields to strengthen their economic position. 476 241 [621]

Return services are expected, but nobody would admit that there is any thought of equal compensation and would not even joke about the matter. There is a strong feeling that calculated thinking is unseemly not only among relatives but also among unrelated neighbors. One man, when asked what would happen if a person refused to comply to a request for help, answered, "There is no such dirty person, and if there were one, he would be an outcast." During the rice planting season, persons helping in another's fields will shortly be helped themselves. In housebuilding, a long time may pass until those who aided will need aid in return. 476 241 577

Except for people over 56, pregnant women, and mothers of chil- 653 464

year. On these occasions his parents take gifts of tea, noodles, and whatever else they can spare to the foster parents. During their visit the foster parents present the gift as an offering on the ancestral shrine and pray to their own ancestors, the guardians of the foster child. It is believed that this may help to offset the adverse effects of the child's own ancestors. 597 755 769

In spite of some treatments, such as blood letting and moxa cautery, which seem harsh to the unaccustomed observer, Taira people are extremely concerned about their sick. Illness, and most of all the need to remove the patient to the local dispensary or to a hospital in town, involves the whole family. No one likes to leave a sick person alone. His family and friends attend to him in such numbers that the small rooms are never large enough to hold all. The security given in everyday life by the presence of relatives and neighbors in the village continues during the critical period of illness. In the case of a fisherman from the south who was washed ashore in his boat after a storm, township officials kept the man continuous company in his dispensary room even though he was close to death. Female relatives cook meals and look after the comfort of a hospitalized person. This means that a young girl or an older woman will leave her usual work for days or weeks to attend the patient. 758 [156]

Because of intimacy in the home and visits to the sick, children are quite familiar with illness. A mother who has to go to the hospital takes her youngest child with her. After burning moxa weeds on her skin for two weeks had failed to cure a nephritic condition, one woman went to the hospital in town, taking her 8-months-old daughter although she did not have enough milk to nurse. The infant had to be given bottled milk prepared from cans. Meanwhile the older children remained under the care of their father. [757]

There is, however, little concern with children who have minor ailments. A school child may be excused from attending classes. In one case a boy stayed home from school with stomach pains. He was happily playing with younger children in the street. One of the adult villagers walked past, stopped after seeing him, and inquired: "Why aren't you in school today?" When told by the boy that he had an upset stomach, the man ordered him to go home right away and stay inside or go to school. The boy's mother, although aware of her son's discomfort, did not pay any special attention to it. 757 855 872

Preventive medicine is officially the responsibility of the public health nurse. She advises people on proper preventive care, inocculates children against whooping cough, diphtheria, and other diseases. She also acts as an advisor to mothers on child care and occasionally helps with a birth if the doctor is unavailable. If a case is diagnosed as 744 [751] [759] [844]

853 There are no food taboos during pregnancy, and after birth mothers
262 can continue to eat what they wish except for certain "hard" foods,
[843] such as octopus, whale meat, and certain kinds of fish which are believed to stop the flow of milk. To stimulate lactation, the mother is given papaya boiled with flour and noodles or a medicine made from herbs.

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Chapter 13

Infancy

858 The infant is considered a helpless, pitiable treasure who is incapable
155 of knowing, understanding, or learning until he is around 6 years old.
855 If this senseless child is treated affectionately and indulgently, he will
177 grow to be a healthy, happy adult.

[861] With the spread of Japanese influence throughout Okinawa, according to informants, there evolved another belief, which in Taira is complementary to the idea of the senseless child. This new belief is vaguely conceptualized by most young parents but was verbalized concretely by at least two sets of parents. "Children are the gift of gods.* They are godly until they are 7 years old." Exoneration of misbehavior on the part of the child under 7 (6 years according to Western count) conjures up in the mind of the observer a picture of willful capricious gods who are totally unpredictable. A shrug of the shoulder and a phrase which completely defines both attitude and resignation in Japanese is, "helpless, against one's will." Because children are godlike in nature, they do not know any better; because they do not know any better they are godlike in nature. Just why and how a child outgrows this temperament could not be explained by the parents. These beliefs foster the extreme indulgence, protection, and nurturance of young babies. Their physical and emotional needs are attended to constantly, with a great deal of affection.

* This notion may well have been influenced by Christian as much as by Japanese ideas.

frowned and tugged at the straps that were straining at her neck muscles. 593

At a still later date, Hanako, with her baby sister strapped to her back, played on the beach. At one point, when all the children were scattered over the beach and no one else was nearby, Hanako edged up to the fieldworker and asked, "Would you like this baby, teacher? Here, take her," she said wearily. Asked why she had changed her mind, the little girl smiled shyly, squirmed uncomfortably for a moment, then whispered, "She's too heavy." Her 3-year-old sister, off in the distance at that point, began to scream and cry at being left so far behind. Hanako turned to look back once, then walked on as the 3-year-old squatted on the sand and screamed to be carried. At that moment her mother appeared to nurse the infant, and Hanako ran to her. She bounded swiftly away to the 3-year-old as the mother started to nurse the baby. Returning a few minutes later with the 3-year-old on her back, Hanako deposited her disgustedly, panting heavily from the weight. "Shall we give baby to teacher, Hanako?" asked the mother, and without any hesitation Hanako this time nodded "Yes." The mother laughed and said, "Hah, she has had enough of her already. When the baby was tiny and cute, she was so eager to carry her and wouldn't give her to you, but they all get tired of babies in time." And with that the mother began to rock the baby back and forth in her arms. Smiling affectionately, she kissed and hugged the cooing infant and murmured, "Nobody wants you, eh?" Because she was an unusually outspoken mother she confided, "I think I have had enough too, here, I give her to you!" She laughed as she continued, "How can I make money, feed and clothe the children when I have to rush back from the mountains to nurse this baby." 857 854 [594]

When the child is about 6 months old, he is subjected to a painful operation which prepares him for the introduction to solid foods. The area around the navel is moxa-cauterized. Nine little brown dots in three rows of three attest to the practice of burning a special kind of grass on the skin in this area to protect the infant from various digestive complications. The child thus treated, the mother will begin to supplement breast feedings with rice water, milky white in appearance, that is spooned out of the boiling pot of rice. Sometime later, before the child is about one, bits of sweet potato and special kinds of fish mashed between the fingers are thrust into the mouth of the infant as he sits on his mother's lap at mealtime. Gradually he is given more and more solid foods until, finally, at the age of 2 he is eating rice, unmashed fish, potatoes and vegetables, but nursing is continued until 853 [751] [262] 862 855 262

●855 the mother becomes pregnant. Usually, however, weaning is not
[262] started in earnest until the mother is three months pregnant.

If the infant has a fever or "bad color," he may be subjected to an-
854 other painful experience, blood letting. Incisions are made on those
757 parts of the body which are thought to be affected, and blood is drawn and caught in a cup. The area is washed with sake. The mother often suckles the baby and holds him while the grandmother or some other older person performs the operation.

854 Babies are diapered and swaddled until they are about a year old. For the first two months their wet and soiled diapers are changed frequently; however, as time goes on, less attention is paid to wet diapers, although those soiled from excreta are promptly changed. Infants are checked often during the raw winter days, but because they are bundled so heavily, there is hardly any danger of their contracting colds as their
[164] mothers fear. Severe urine burns and annoying diaper rash are more common than colds among young babies.

[855] Although care is taken to keep the infant as clean as possible during the first year of his life, this attitude changes as the child grows older.
[594] This is in large part due to the mother's inability to devote much time to her offspring once she has resumed full participation in economic activities. Depending on the season of the year, babies are bathed from every third or fourth day to once a week. They are bathed almost daily
[744] during the first two months of their lives as a result of the insistence of the village nurse. Water is heated on the kitchen hearth and poured into a small washpan. Mothers test the warmth of the water by immersing their arms up to the elbows and adding cold or hot water as they see fit. Soap is gently applied either with a soft washcloth or with the hands and rinsed off by splashing. On chilly winter days the bath takes place indoors, but on the hot sunny days it takes place right outside the kitchen door. In drying the baby, the mother places him in a large towel and pats the dampness from his body. She is careful to dry the skin at the joints where rash is likely to erupt. Except for the very poor, all families keep a bottle of talcum powder, which is applied right after the bath. Throughout the bath, the mother talks softly to the baby, smiling and tickling him. The atmosphere of the bath at this
[855] time contrasts sharply with that of a later time when the child is 2 and 3 years old.

863 Although there is hardly any possibility that the infant at this time would be able to smear himself with excreta, the opportunity for doing so is present later when he no longer wears diapers but is still untrained. It rarely happens, as the child is almost constantly watched by a caretaker. One mother reported disgustedly that her infant smeared

herself from head to toe when she had left her diaperless on the floor 863
for a few minutes. She had assumed that the child had completed elimination and had gone out to rinse the soiled diaper.

When the infant is anywhere from 22 days to 10 months old, the mothers start trying to anticipate urination before the baby wets his diapers. Each mother trains herself to her child's particular cues, squirming, peculiar facial expressions, and so on, or keeps a kind of mental time check. Holding the infant in a semisitting position out over the edge of the porch, and supporting him under his knees with her hands and at his back with her chest, she coaxes gently, repeating "shi-shi" until he urinates onto the ground outside. If the mother is successful in her efforts, she hugs, kisses, and praises the infant. On the other hand, if she does not reach him in time and he is already wet, she will hold the child over the wet diaper and say "shi-shi." This is to ensure that he has fully eliminated, or if the interval between diaper checks has been long, to make certain that he does not need to urinate again before putting on a fresh change. In these instances she does not [861]
praise unless the infant does urinate or eliminate at her coaxing, but she does not punish him for urinating in his diapers.

Although mothers may desire bladder control to develop, their statements do not indicate that they conceive of holding the child out as training. In discussing the practice, mothers seemed more concerned about the number of diapers they had to wash or buy. With a great deal of pride one mother reported that she never had to wash a diaper except when it was soiled with feces. Another bragged that she had only had to buy diapers once, and this was for her first child. Treatment of bladder control at a later period raises further doubt that this practice is meant for training purposes. Pertinent here, too, is the be- [861]
lief that children are incapable of learning at this early date.

While a few mothers who have the time to look after their babies 863
continue to avoid wet diapers, most of them eventually abandon the 854
routine and leave it to the child to train himself. When they resume normal activities following childbirth, an older sibling takes over the care of the infant, and the mother does not instruct the older child to continue the practice. Fear for the safety of the baby keeps her from doing so. Once she straps the baby onto the young caretaker's back, she expects him to remain there until she or another adult unstraps him. Teen-age caretakers seldom bother to change wet diapers until it becomes unbearable. If the grandmother is the chief caretaker, however, she will continue the practice. For the greater part of the first year, the infant urinates in his diaper, frequently wetting his caretaker. Just 855
before the child turns one, most mothers will reduce the amount of 863

855 swaddling and diapers. Almost immediately after he has passed his first
863 birthday, she will stop diapering him and substitute a short shirt or a dress during the summer and kimonos during the cold weather. This is the period which proves most trying to the young caretaker. Unless the baby is filthy and evokes much comment from others, however, they ignore the condition. The following examples illustrate common occurrences during this period:

H. (an 8-year-old girl) carrying her baby sister on the back is playing on the beach. She straightens up suddenly with a wry expression on her face. "She urinated, wet," she exclaims, standing up and spreading her dress at the back which is completely soaked. The baby is bare-bottomed and crowing happily at the older children playing around her. The older sister waves her dress briefly in the wind, then squats to continue her play. When asked if she was not going home to change, she exclaims that she would dry soon enough, and, as for the baby, she was dry. The day is warm and windy and the dress dries off rapidly.

K. (a 7-year-old girl), baby sister on her back, is squatting with other girls, drawing in the sand. As they draw figures in the sand, the baby breaks wind and defecates. It is a rather noisy operation, and the other girls watch fascinated and somewhat amused while K. keeps on sitting unconcerned. (The baby's bottom is bare so that the feces drops on the sand.) One of the girls laughs and comments on the feces dropping. K. says, "I will let my mother clean the ground." The other children walk away, spitting,* showing some disgust. All through this K. squats calmly, letting the baby eliminate undisturbed. She tells the baby "Finish defecating quickly," but she is not impatient, rather absent-minded.

863 Probably the earliest cleanliness training is the gentle withdrawal of unclean objects from the child, with statements of "Dirty, dirty." As he begins to respond to facial expression, the mother will show her disgust, shake her head and say, "Dirty!"

864 Infants may be patted or manipulated around the genital area by
854 an adult. Old women like to tweak a little boy's penis and jokingly say, "What is that, what is that?" Female infants are quickly covered with exaggerated expressions of shame whenever they are exposed for diaper changes. Petting of genitals by an adult is used mostly to soothe the child. It would be severely rebuked, however, if attempted by a child caretaker.

852 When the child is a year old, a simple ceremony is held. After a short birthday prayer, the child is offered a tray with food, an abacus counter, pencil, book, and money. The audience waits expectantly to see what the infant will choose. The pencil portends a writer, the money a

[514] * Expectoration at the sight of unpleasant things, such as dead animals or a pile of feces, is common among children and adults. Children pass a pile of dirt, spit at it, and cover it with dirt by a careless kick before continuing on.

financier, the abacus a mathematician, the book a scholar, and food a glutton. The villagers did not seem to place much credence in the choice. Mothers laughed when asked what choices their children made and commented, "It's something to talk about, but many times we can't even remember which child chose what!" 852

The child continues to be carried on the back until the next sibling is born, the interval being between about two or three years. By the time an infant is a year old, he has been taken through every nook and cranny of the village. He has also seen all the adults and children of the village and has witnessed the economic and social-ceremonial activities. Whereas he slept most of the time when he was young, he now begins to participate in what goes on about him. He claps his hands in glee in response to his older sibling's delight over some aspect of play or raises his arm in defiance of another child who attempts to strike at his older sibling. In spite of the fact that he is capable of crawling or learning to walk within the second half year of his life, he is kept on the back. He does not protest or clamor to be put down; he seems to prefer being carried to being left to crawl. 855 854 [856]

Caretakers are too busy with work or play to let the child crawl about freely, so there is no crawling stage in Taira. Older siblings are too involved in play to sit and patiently watch a crawler. The older child would also be severely punished should the infant pick up some object and swallow it or injure himself in his crawling. One 8-year-old found that the 10-month-old sister she toted on her back took to standing on the ground and jouncing up and down every time she squatted to play. After several unsuccessful attempts to stop this annoying behavior, she unstrapped her and allowed her to crawl about freely. The older girl became so engrossed in the game that her mouth dropped open and eyes turned round with fear when one of her playmates shouted, "Hey! the baby put some dirt into her mouth!" Immediately she rushed to "flush" the baby's mouth out with her fingers and promptly strapped her onto the back again and continued playing despite the uncomfortable jouncings. The baby did not protest at being restrapped; she just jounced and played with her hands. 857 855

A mother who sits and plucks sweet potato leaves off the vines for hog feed works more efficiently with the baby on her back. Crawling around on the loose floorboards near the fire pit or over the edge of the raised floor, the child would require constant attention. On one occasion the observer was sitting and talking with a mother who was weaving a bamboo basket in her front room. The floor was littered with bamboo shavings and slats. As the mother worked, she was relaxed. She turned and twisted the sharp ends of the bamboo slats, leaving pointed [231] [285]

855 ends swinging in the air, and dropping the huge knife in a careless
857 fashion on the floor near her. Suddenly there was the sound of a crying
[285] baby and her eldest girl appeared with the 8-month-old on her back. Unstrapping the baby, the girl plopped her onto her mother's lap. Instinctively the mother pushed the basket, bamboo slats, and knife away as she unbuttoned her blouse to nurse the baby. When the baby had had its fill, the mother called to the little caretaker to come and carry her. The older child called out that she was going to get a drink of water and disappeared around the house. She entered through the back and called to the baby to come. The baby crawled over but was attracted on the way by the big knife. Instantly the mother snatched it away, and the baby started to move toward the sharp pieces of bamboo. In desperation the mother picked up the baby and called crossly to the girl to come immediately. The older child obeyed, and the baby was strapped onto her back. "Now go and play somewhere," instructed the annoyed mother.

855 Another instance of similar nature took place in the frontyard of a
863 place which that day was the scene of "house playing." A grandmother watching the activity decided to let the year-old baby on her back down to join in the play. "Eh, go and play with your older sisters," she smiled and said to the child as she put her gently down on the ground. The child started to crawl over to the group but stopped and sat very quietly staring ahead for a minute. The grandmother, who had disappeared into the house, reappeared. "A-yah!" she exclaimed as she looked down to see the baby scratching the damp earth about her. The baby had urinated and was puddling about so that in that brief instant she had thoroughly soiled herself as well as her clothing. Grumbling and scolding, "Dirty, dirty!" she picked up and carried at arm's length the baby, who was smiling and gurgling. The old woman cleaned the baby at the water barrel and, dressing her in clean clothes, promptly put her on her back again.

855 The only children who were allowed to crawl about were the sons
184 of two fishermen. Fishermen's wives, compared to the farmer-woods-
462 men's wives, have a great deal more leisure time. They buy their poratoes and rice with money from the sale of fish. The men send their catch to the market via the bus, so their wives, except when they accompany a catch to the city, have only to care for the house and a pig and are free to watch their children as they crawl about.

854 In summary, the infancy period is characterized by consistent nur-
155 turance. Mothers, grandmothers, and child baby-tenders are helpful and demonstrative in their affection. That they value such behavior is further evidenced by their conscious teaching of young children to

866 first child of a nuclear family, on the other hand, will not have these
887 supports and thus finds this time severely depriving. The child in a
603 nuclear family with a number of older siblings to support and meet his dependency needs will find the transition difficult but will suffer less deprivation. If there is a grandmother or older siblings in the house, he can still claim some infantile support until he is about 4 or 5 years old. They continue to comfort him when he cries, help him in dressing, bathing, and eating. "Go ask your grandmother or older sibling," instructs the mother when the child requests aid. Or, if she happens not to be busy, she will help him herself.

[596] Mothers in extended households complained that grandparents often intervened on behalf of the child and made disciplining very difficult. The kindergarten teacher remarked on the differences between children who have grandparents and those who do not. "Those who do not have grandparents are much easier to handle, they don't cry so easily and do many things for themselves. My child always runs to grandfather whenever I scold her (there is no grandmother in the house) . . . and we mothers end up by being scolded by the old folks," she remarked.

It is not an uncommon sight to see a child crying and running to his grandmother on being reprimanded by his mother. With carrying, hugging, and venting anger against the mother, the old woman comforts the child. Children soon learn that if no one else complies with their demands, grandmother or grandfather will grant them satisfaction.

866 Grandmothers often will protect and indulge children of the vil-
603 lage other than their own grandchildren. One day as the fieldworker
●855 sat talking with two mothers and watching their children play, the question of Okinawans' dislike of children's crying, and of overindulgence of grandmothers arose. The year and a half old boy of one of the women at that instant got one foot over the lower rail of a fence. As the child watched others climbing the fence, he tried to lift the other foot. He howled as he discovered the feat too difficult. The mother made no move to go to the boy's aid but instead sat laughing at the "foolish predicament he got himself into." Suddenly from the house across the way rushed a grandmother. She picked the screaming boy up and examined him for bruises. When she spotted the mother sitting within eye- and earshot, she rushed over with the boy and started to scold her. "What are you doing sitting there! Just looking at your crying child! Why didn't you go over and help him . . . see what the matter was anyway?" And with this she put the child in the mother's lap and gave her a slap on the back. The old woman then

went home and hysterically reported the incident to her family. The mother, meanwhile, laughed and told her boy, "Just like your grandmother, can't stand to hear you cry even when you are not hurt!" She then went on to say that both she and her husband ignore the boy's crying in situations where he could help himself, but the boy's grandmother immediately runs to soothe and aid him. Generally it may be said that in extended households, grandmothers tend to prolong the dependence period and discourage independence and responsibility. 866 603 855 [596]

The relationship between grandfather and grandchild is more restrained. Although grandfathers may be seen carrying children or doing things for them, there is always a discreet distance between them, the result of early training in respect and deference to male elders. Children do not tease their grandfathers as they do their grandmothers. Older boys, in their late teens, may carry on a superficial joking relationship with their grandfathers, but they must be careful not to show disrespect. The male elders in turn show greater affection for the male child than for the female. When both grandparents are living in the house, the child, whether male or female, is more likely to direct his succorant appeals to grandmother rather than grandfather.* 603 858 866

Mothers, themselves, are often not too consistent in their training for independence. They will feel sorry for the child when he is first weaned and allow him to stay close to them until the birth of the next sibling. On the other hand, they will encourage the little 2-year-olds to imitate older girls and boys, particularly in their baby-tending role. A mother will strap a "doll" on her daughter or son's back. The "dolls" are usually rolled blankets or jackets, for real dolls are expensive and rarely bought in the village. Older children and adults do not fail to comment to a child carrying such a burden. They praise him for being such a good caretaker; they pretend to see the "baby" sleeping and report this to him. If the strapping becomes loose, they call to him and reassemble the "baby" and the pinning. The doll is never played with or manipulated. Thus the 2-year-old gets praised for emulation of the responsible and nurturant behavior expected of older siblings. 866 857 [862] [524] [155]

Perhaps it is this role training that explains in part the absence of aggression toward the newborn sibling, which might well be expected with such a short interval between weaning from the breast and back and the birth of the next child. The fieldworker did not observe one instance of such hostility. If there is any hostility expressed, it is against the mother in outbursts of temper and against those who ridicule or try to comfort the displaced child. The grandmother's aggressive actions against the mother may encourage the child in this behavior 867 593

* Only 4 out of 24 sample children lived in the same house with a grandfather.

are therefore generally postponed until the child is believed to be endowed with this mysterious capacity to "understand and know." Kindergarten children pilfer from gardens, have temper tantrums, and attack each other physically, but very little enforcement takes place. "They are only children, we can't expect them to know any better," say adults. 858 861 [872]

In spite of this distinction, there is not a complete laissez-faire handling of the still "senseless" child. On the contrary, the child is subject to a number of restrictions. Adults assiduously attempt to train him to say "Please" and "Thank you," "Good morning," "Good day," and "Good-bye." One mother and her eldest daughter were observed trying to teach the youngest child, an 8-month-old girl, to say "Thank you." A piece of brown sugar was extended, withdrawn, given and taken from the baby until she had twice performed the act indicating "Thank you." Mother and daughter took the baby's hands, folded one over the other, palm side up and raised it, saying at the same time, "Ah-ah," baby talk for "Thank you." The situation was not without fussing and screaming on the part of the young child. 861 867

Adults often push the young child's head down to say "Hello," and, if he lets out screams of protest, all laugh hilariously. The child inevitably joins in the laughter and the adults taunt, "Know-nothing." Three and 4-year-olds playing in the dirt along the lanes are picked up and taken to the faucets for a wash down and a scolding, "Dirty! Cat!" Although such enforcement occurs, it is negated when the child starts crying. "Here, here, don't cry; mother was bad" (for scolding you) placates the adult, hugging and cradling the child. [855]

One mother complained that her tomato patch was constantly being raided. When asked whether she knew who was doing it, she said, "Yes, they are kindergarten children." Questioned further as to why she did not scold them or talk to their parents, she said, "It's no use, they are too young to talk to, and besides, I would not like to talk to their mothers because, who knows, my own girls who are under 6 years old may be doing something like that too."

Playing with water is the favorite pastime of young children. During all times of the day a group of them gather at the water tank or at faucets to puddle and "wash." When the water supply was limited, adults would pause in passing by to scream, "Eeyah!" once, then go on, shaking their heads while the children paused only momentarily to look up and then continued with their play. [857]

In the morning, after adults have departed for the fields and mountains and older children have left the village for school, the kindergarten child leaves home with two or three sweet potatoes in his hand 857 872

872 express one's creativeness except in perfecting and improvising song-
876 dance performances. Lacking paper and crayons or paint, children crouch to the ground with the teacher to trace "pictures" in the sandy ground with their fingers or small sticks. The beach provides a rich playground on days when the teacher suffers laryngitis as a result of a cold and is unable to lead songs and direct the play verbally. Collecting shells, learning their names, examining washed up bits of seaweed and fish, exploring exposed stretches of rivers at low tide are real lessons in nature for the kindergarten child as he discovers these things himself and experiments without the direction of formal lessons. If he desires more information about things, he is free to ask the teacher; if he does not, no pressure is put on him to learn and know.

872 The kindergarten phase is a happy one for the child. Under the
857 direction of the teacher, who may be the mother or sister of one of his
[875] peers, he passes the two hours, from 9:30 to 11:30, of the morning, then goes on to play in and around the village for the rest of the day. He runs home only when he is hungry or when it is mealtime. And he hurries back to rejoin his peers for free play for the rest of the day.

857 Adults put little restriction on children's movement. They are free
[576] to occupy any part of the home and run around at will. Before enter-
[515] ing the house, everyone takes off his shoes; a rag lies on the ground to
[291] wipe dirty feet. Few children spend any length of time indoors, however, during daylight hours. If weather forces them to stay inside, they are found either in one of the front rooms or in the cooking area to the back.

● 855 Despite the occasional motor vehicle traffic through the village,
867 adults show little concern, for the kindergarten child has been well exposed to rules of safety in this respect. At the sound of warning horns, children run to the side of the main road and into the yards. The few brazen little boys who dare to chase vehicles and attempt to hang on to the rear bumper are severely reprimanded by those nearby.

A 4-year-old boy who had run out of the way of a lumbering truck stood watching as it rounded the curve and entered the village. Adults waiting for the vehicle to pass chatted idly and scanned the passengers to see if there were any familiar faces. Suddenly the 4-year-old leaned forward and threw a small branch he had in his hand under the tires of the passing truck. At once the driver, passengers, and by-standers screamed, "Fool one!" The passengers waved a warning finger at him, and he was berated by the village adults standing with him. "That was a dangerous thing to do. If you do that another time, you will be taken to the police station!" they threatened. The boy looked down at the ground and nodded to acknowledge his wrongdoing.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

On the whole it can be said that children seem to decide for themselves how far they can move around. Underlying the action of most is a dislike of venturing into unfamiliar grounds, and this largely restricts the territory commonly covered. Most children travel in groups of more than two, an aspect of Taira children's behavior to which reference will often be made. 857 855 156

The area of tombs is generally avoided by children, except by those who pass there to walk to the mouth of the Udenaha River or over the narrow, fragile bridge across it. While children do not fear the bodies of the dead, they express a fear of spirits. But during ceremonies for the dead, children accompany adults and participate in the social gatherings in front of tombs following the prayer. When the body of a fisherman was brought up on the shores of Taira after a typhoon, scores of children of kindergarten age roamed to the beach to take a peek beneath the canvas which covered the corpse. The policeman who officiated on the occasion impatiently waved away the kindergarteners, and when the schoolchildren returned in the afternoon, they also had to be warned to stay away. 857 769 775 [852]

In the central village itself, few places are closed to children. The village office building, of which only a section is reserved for office space, quite often attracts children. It is a convenient temporary shelter during rain squalls and a cool spot during hot weather. The village headman or his clerk may complain about too much noise and chase a group out, but this does not discourage them from returning soon afterward. The open prayer house, too, is a place for play, and no objections are voiced by adults, including the priestess and her assistants. These buildings are village gathering places, and children, as essential members of the community, have free access to them. The situation is different with regard to the township office and the post office, which children never enter except on special errands. 857 858

Children are familiar with dangerous spots, such as steep hills, and show amazing skill in maintaining balance, even when the ground is wet and the dirt is loose. On a picnic hike of a little under 4 miles, kindergarteners ranging from 3 to 6 years scampered across a frail, wide-slatted bridge, up and down over slippery clay paths and over rocky terrain with only a 30 minute stop to eat their lunches. In a group of about 15 children only two 3-year-olds slipped and cried to be carried down unusually steep inclines and over the rickety bridge. None seemed exhausted although many roamed off the paths to forage in the bushes for berries and laurellike flowers from which they sucked nectar. 855 857

Journeys outside the village are rare for most children. It is usually 857

857 the infant still at the breast who is taken on shopping trips to Nago, the nearest town, or to neighboring townships to visit maternal relatives. When whale meat was marketed from the village on weekends, a school age child was taken along to carry the infant because the mother was burdened with her basket of meat, but this was infrequent. Few children have explored their township beyond Miyagi, a village 5 miles to the east of Taira or Gesashi, 4 miles to the southwest.

[364] Children also rummage through the garbage heaps, where they find useful things like tin cans, bottles, and discarded bits of vegetable with which to play house or store.

857 241 During the harvest and planting seasons, children accompany adults to the rice paddies and potato fields near the village. Mats are spread out on the dikes and kindergarten children gaily dangle their feet in the oozy mud while "keeping watch over the sleeping infants." Those who whimper to help are given small sheaves of rice to carry to their fathers and older brothers, who thresh them in the dry fields or on the flat grounds bordering the paddies.

● 855 [412] Many 4-year-olds are adept at handling knives. As implements like knives, hatchets, pronged hoes, sickles, rakes, and saws were often left within reach of children, it was not unusual for them to use them. Although many cut themselves, adults do not seem to take special care to put them out of reach. Children of kindergarten age are frequently scolded for playing with sharp instruments, but with persistent crying or begging they usually gain reluctant consent.

852 855 527 During all holiday events, children participate without much control from adults. Young children are carried by their mothers as they make the visiting rounds or sit on the floor in the building where the whole village congregates. Toddlers explore the surroundings and, finding themselves in the middle of the dance floor, are gently pushed aside and handed back to their mother. Older children hang around while food is served; then they disappear to play games of their own. During sport events, track meets, wrestling, and at dance performances, children are as interested spectators as their parents. Nobody would think of leaving a child at home on a holiday, and nobody would demand that the child sit quietly through lengthy speeches or ceremonies.

868 535 [872] Children learn dances from kindergarten days on, either by watching or by coaching from an older person, a friend, one's older sister, or mother. Sometimes they are called on to perform for adults, or a special children's performance is given under the direction of the kindergarten teacher. Adults enjoy these dances as much as if they were done by grownups. They are amused and delighted if a little girl

wiggles her hips and otherwise makes movements that are not permitted in the classical Okinawan dance. 868 535

Kindergarten children are usually asleep by 8:30 in the winter and 9:00 in the summer. They sleep an average 8 hours. Ten o'clock is considered to be proper bedtime for all people. The village bell is rung to remind everyone that the day has ended. The entire family sleeps on the mattresses spread on the floor with wooden pillows. In winter the heavy quilts are taken down. Children vary in their bedtime. Those who feel tired fall asleep soon after the evening meal. Often the grandparents lie down with the small children. If children accompany parents on a visit, they lie down in their father's or mother's lap, or on the floor to sleep. Since not all adults go to sleep at 10:00, older children may stay up longer, particularly during moonlight nights. Few children take naps except during the summer, when the heat makes everyone drowsy and slows down work during midday. Once in a while a young child goes home to lie down for a nap. 857 513

The kindergarten child's day has been an active and carefree one. He is seldom alone. "Do not play alone, go and play with others. If you play alone, people might think that others dislike you," instruct parents in Taira. Anyone passing a child playing alone would remark, "How lonely he seems." Furthermore, mothers worry about a child being alone "because he is more apt to do naughty things or get into dangerous play." 857 155 156

A 4- or 5-year-old may sometimes find himself being a caretaker, but generally he is not considered very reliable, and being a "senseless" individual, he is not held responsible by the village for anything that might happen to his charges. It is the mother who is held culpable and is censured in this case. 857 855 861

One mother was severely criticized by her neighbors when she punished her 4-year-old boy for abandoning his 2-year-old sibling. The children had been sent out to play. When the older boy came home for supper, he faced an angry mother who berated him for thinking only of his own pleasure and leaving his little brother on the main road and to the dangers of passing trucks. She spanked the boy, tied his hands and legs briefly, and left the crying child behind when she went to the village store with his younger sibling.

In another case, a grandmother grumbled about the "laxity" and irresponsibility of the mother. A 5-year-old was carrying her month-old sibling who was sleeping on the back in a twisted position due to loose strappings. "Come here! Your mother, where is she . . . how could she leave this child with you! Almost falling . . . ," the old woman mumbled as she unstrapped the peacefully sleeping baby and 857 854

863 good grooming but was at present always a mess. One of us was pres-
515 ent at the home one day when a group of younger girls came by to call the 8-year-old to accompany them to the river to wash their heads. The girl dashed around the house and yard searching for a nonexistent bar of soap and finally was crossly told by her mother that there was none and that she really did not need washing. Nevertheless, the girl gathered some hibiscus leaves, which she tore and mashed to extract a slimy, soapylike substance, and left with the other girls to wash her hair. Regular bathing between the age of 1 and 5 is sporadic. During
[857] the summer it is more frequent, for the older children take their younger siblings to the rivers for bathing and swimming.

At irregular intervals during the winter young children are bathed behind the house, near the kitchen doorway, by their mothers or older sisters. A little hot water added to the cold eases their discomfort. During the holiday season mothers and older girls were observed dragging and carrying screaming 2- to 4-year-olds to the bath.

864 As children get older, exposure of genitals is much less serious in the case of a boy than in the case of a girl. Little girls are told to sit like their mothers with their legs together and are never permitted to expose their genitals. This is true even for those young girls who are still without pants. Occasionally boys tease a little girl by shouting, "Your vagina is showing." Sexual manipulation between children, either homosexually or heterosexually, was never observed. The following observation illustrates the response of an older sibling to her 4-year-old sister, who attempts to imitate a urinating boy.

> A group of girls were playing with a ball and K. (4-year-old boy) came along. The girls objected to his presence and began to chase him away. K. then reached in his fly and brought out his penis. He began to urinate, pointing his penis up at the girls. The girls screamed and scattered to get out of reach of the urine. K. chased them briefly, urinating all the while, then stopped to finish. Just as he finished, M. (4-year-old girl), lifting the front of her dress, started to urinate in a standing position. Halfway done, she started to squat, but before she started to squat, her sister saw what was happening and yelled out in an angry voice, "M!" . . . then she went over to give the little girl a slap on the head.

Exhibitionism between boys occurs, and a urinating demonstration among boys with an erection is occasionally seen. Such behavior is not condoned by adults. Girls, however, almost always urinate alone at a short distance from the group. Children are shamed if one refers to their genitals as they approach school age. The separation between boys and girls, which increases with greater age, also discourages mutual play or sex experimentation.

855 There are few other demands made of the kindergarten child. He
861

can still try to get his way by crying, and his mother willingly continues to give him food when he asks. One parent remarked that it was much easier to meet the child's demands. Observations confirmed this statement. Many adults simply say "Yes" and promise things to children which they promptly forget. Obedience is not expected except for conformity with safety rules. Until shortly before he starts off to school, the child's disobedience tends to be excused. "No, no!" says a mother to her year-old child who may be waving a piece of sugar cane around her head from his perch on her back. The child continues, and the mother pushes the stalk aside each time she is hit. "Know nothing," she says as she rearranges the stalk, to avoid being hit. "Don't mess the yard," screams a grandmother. "Stop puddling in that mud," shouts a father. "Go and bring me the hoe," commands a mother. To all these requests the child may turn a deaf ear, and chances are that he will escape being punished for not complying. Mothers admitted that they allow their children a great deal of leeway concerning obedience. 855 861

By instilling fear into the child about the dangers of the well, river and beach, the main road and paddies, adults attempt to enforce the rules of safety. Their attempts are negated, however, when they allow children of this age to play in these areas in the company of older siblings. No one coming across schoolchildren trailed by kindergarteners censures or points out the danger of these places; however, should an adult or older child come upon a group of kindergarten children playing alone at the river or beach, a word of caution or reprimand is sure to be offered. 857 855 861

In a village such as Taira with its closely situated houses, dry thatched roofs, and light wood walls, the danger of fire is very real; therefore the rule with respect to playing with fire and matches is stringently enforced regardless of the age of the child. One mother of a 4-year-old boy found smoke rising from the backyard one day. She went to the source of the smoke and found her 4-year-old busily striking matches and trying to whip up a fire. His 4-year-old companion was scurrying about for pieces of brush and paper with which to feed the fire. "I scolded him roundly, spanked him and tied his hands. I threatened to put him in a basket, then suspend the basket from the rafter posts the next time he played with matches. He was so frightened that I doubt whether he will ever play with matches again."

Aggression in children up to school age is generally tolerated although adults do not approve of such behavior. Because they feel that preschool children change their minds and moods so rapidly, adults do not interfere with their altercations. Parents laughingly explain, 865 857 861

872 [876] The principal smiles as he approaches the classroom but soon begins to frown. He sees that the boys have been misbehaving. Returning the slight bow of the first-grade teacher, he stands just inside the door, looking over the boys with a disapproving eye. Immediately order and quiet reign.

After a short review of the morning's lesson, the teacher picks up each of the books which has been issued to the children. As she explains the contents of each, she names them and lectures on the care and use of books. She interrupts her talk when she notices two children without books. Because they had no older siblings and their parents had failed to appear two days before to pay for and receive their textbooks, these children had none. She quickly jots down their names and the name of the village from which they came and assures them that they will receive their books the next day.

872 264 [863] At 12:15 the children are sent out to wash their hands and told to eat their lunches. It seems that the most wanted, long awaited event of the school day has finally arrived, for even the best behaved children break into a run before they reach the door. The teacher's plea to walk out of the room goes unheeded.

Those children with elaborate lunches and containers proudly spread their meals out on the desk. Rice balls, a fried egg seasoned with soy sauce and bits of scallion, a touch of soybean paste, and a sliver of fish, packed by the proud mother of a family of some means, are exhibited freely. With some reluctance another lunch, consisting of rice balls, pickled vegetable, and a bit of bean paste, is shown. Those with three or four sweet potatoes and a small handful of vegetable mixed with soybean paste or with sweet potatoes alone slip out bits of food from their closed containers in quick, shy movements. When the girls have satisfied their curiosity as to the contents of each other's lunch boxes, they begin to exchange bits of egg for pickled vegetables, soybean paste with scallion for a sweet potato or some fish. The boys do not exchange portions of their meal but instead eat silently and swiftly.

872 ● 855 Standing beside their desks on which lie books and empty lunch boxes, the children face the teacher. "Students, good-bye!" "Teacher, good-bye!" answer the children in unison. Older siblings and the few mothers who accompanied the first graders to school gather. The questioning is rapid and amusing. "What did you do, did you behave, did you eat all of your lunch, did you learn anything?" Without waiting for answers, the older siblings, who have to remain in school until 2:35, begin to recite the rules on walking home and to reiterate the

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dangers of vehicular traffic, steep banks, snakes, the beach, and the river. 855

RETURNING HOME

The first graders leave the schoolyard reluctantly, but once they reach the road their footsteps quicken. The boys shuffle along to see how much dust they can raise, for they are not so concerned about their new canvas shoes with rubber soles. The girls stop to dust off theirs at regular intervals with such comments as: "When they get very dirty, we can take them to Yamagawa well and wash them," or, "My mother says I cannot have another pair for a long time because they are so expensive," or, "On rainy days I will walk barefoot to save my shoes." 857 291

"Ai! Fool one!" suddenly exclaims one of the girls. The others turn to look at her, then follow her gaze. The boys, who have left the road, thus disregarding one of the cardinal rules of safety, are scurrying about in the bush in search of wild berries. They stand above the road eating their finds on the spot and exaggeratedly mimic the girls' censure on their behavior. There is a rumbling noise, and the girls stop on the side of the road to let the lumber truck pass before continuing their walk. An adult sitting on top of the wood in the back of the truck shouts, "Eh, get out of the bush before the snake strikes!" The girls giggle and watch the shamefaced boys scramble down the embankment to the road. They carry on a lively exchange of stories of snake victims, turning occasionally toward the boys with meaningful glances. 857 855

The midday sun is hot. The dry sandy dirt of the road reflects the heat of the sun, and little beads of perspiration run down the flushed faces of the first graders as they plod wearily homeward. Suddenly one of the girls lifts her wide-brimmed straw hat, "Oh, how cool it feels when the wind blows through the hair!" she exclaims. With a sudden burst of enthusiasm, the other girls lift their hats. Surreptitiously the boys imitate the girls. 857 [291]

The junior high school comes into view and with it the bridge over the Fukuji River, and beyond it the land bridge leading directly into the village of Taira. Spirits immediately lift, and the children's pace quickens. As they enter the village, they assume an assured appearance. Their posture is upright and proud. They parade past the main street where mothers, grandmothers, and siblings wait. Each one is greeted

857 by bystanders. Hurrying home, they put their books away carefully,
[291] change their clothing to that designated for play. The girls, eager to assume their new status and the responsibilities that go with it, hurriedly sweep and mop the floors of the house. The boys, who are less interested, rush out to play. Those with younger siblings are promptly
857 entrusted with caretaking duties, and mothers and grandmothers go
512 off to the fields.

At 8 o'clock each evening, even before the village bell is sounded for schoolchildren to start studying, the first graders are on their way home from their after-supper play time. On a quiet, still night their voices are loud and clear and their recitations spirited in comparison with those of the older children.

OBEDIENCE TRAINING

861 Not only in school is new behavior expected of the first grader. He
865 must now be more obedient toward his elders. Adults, however, differentiate between commands for the performance of tasks and rules of safety. The standard, or more specifically the ideal, would be to command unquestioned obedience in both cases. The practice falls far from this mark, for adults lack persistence and consistency in the
●[855] treatment of task performance. Obedience to rules of safety, however, is enforced with greater consistency.

There is, of course, the disposition of the adult at the time when obedience is expected, which the child learns to discriminate very early. Children are more apt to obey their elders when the latter are tired and irritable after a hard day's work than when they are relaxed. It was interesting to observe children teasing parents and escaping obedience when the adults were relatively relaxed. "Bring me those things there," a parent would command a child. The child would laughingly shout "No," and run away without punishment. For this disobedient act a child would be spanked if the parent were tired and harassed. "If you do not listen well to adults, you will grow up to be a good for nothing, a criminal," warns a mother. But adults in their inconsistent handling fail to impress on children the virtue of obedience.

861 It is interesting that, in their relationship with adults other than
865 their parents, children are often more obedient. People of special status and authority enjoy greater obedience from children. Teachers
554 and village officials usually find their orders fulfilled. Shortly after the new water faucets were installed throughout the village, children be-

857 a type of milkweed which was to be fed to the chickens. The older boy
868 would walk on a way, carefully searching the ground, stop when he spotted some milkweed, and call to the younger ones, "There are some near the spot on which I am standing!" The two little boys would rush over and start examining the area carefully. With a shout one of them would drop to the ground, uproot the plant, and bear it triumphantly to his older cousin. Then the game would continue with the older boy saying, "Good child."

861 The relatively few restrictions placed on the young child are an important basis for learning. By being able to participate freely, children learn what is going on in their village from day to day. Since adults feel that children do not really understand what they are talking about, conversations are free and not couched in mysterious terms. The 10-year-old who is fully aware of the subject under discussion may giggle uncontrollably, but none of the adults pays attention to this. An adult giving a blow-by-blow description of the latest quarrel may even turn to a 10- or 12-year-old child for aid when he forgets a detail.

SOCIALIZING AGENTS

855 In general mothers continue to be the chief socializers, with the
593 grandmother and older siblings second in importance. From the child's point of view, the mother retains the closest bond with him
861 throughout childhood, regardless of the grandmother's prominent role in his early life, and even though, in terms of time which the child spends with others, the mother gradually assumes less importance. It is to the mother that children turn for ultimate support, and to her is delegated the responsibility of child rearing in Taira. Although much of the responsibility for caring for children is given to siblings, the villagers hold the mother alone culpable, should a child deviate in his behavior.

855 The mother's ultimate responsibility for the child is not reduced
857 by the fact that she may spend a great part of the day away from her offspring. Mothers frequently ask other children for the whereabouts
593 of a son or a daughter. Just as the fieldworkers soon learned in what places they would be most likely to find a particular child, so mothers on the whole are aware of their children's favorite play areas. A
[152] mother occasionally inquires about her children's whereabouts without showing anxiety. The fieldworkers were once asked by a mother if they knew where her daughter, who carried an infant sister, was

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

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playing. They had not come home for the noon meal, which was 855
unusual. The mother, however, did not search extensively, for the [857]
fieldworkers, a little later, noticed the two girls peacefully playing "house" in someone's backyard. They stayed for a good part of the afternoon, and the mother probably continued her usual activities.

The relationship between child and mother remains warm and intimate throughout childhood. A mother may be scolding, impatient, angry, or punishing, but to the child she is the center of the family.

In households lucky enough to have a grandmother, she becomes 603
recognized as the person who is at home if something is wanted or 855
if help and comfort are needed. It is interesting to note, however, that the relationship between children and their grandmothers changes decidedly as the child starts off to school. As if to assert his independence, the 6-year-old begins teasing his grandmother unmercifully. In response to her suggestions, the child laughingly refuses and pretends to run away or often pretends not to hear her. As she screams all kinds of invectives at the child, he giggles hilariously while running ahead. But he does not run as fast as he could. He allows grandmother to catch him, and there is much laughter from both of them. Actually the child rarely fails to comply with her wishes. Two girls, aged 8 and 10, and a young female adult aged 23 often saved a part of their share of goodies, given them by the fieldworker, for their grandmothers. The 10-year-old lavished further indulgence by taking her grandmother's clothing along with her own to launder on washdays.

Boys seem to differ somewhat in this respect. Although there is a very affectionate bond between them and their grandmothers, there is less of this kind of indulgent pattern. They will, however, at the time they start off to school, meet with the old women's demands to run errands, carry tools, and share with her the care of their younger siblings.

Because the society feels that child rearing is "women's work," 855
males have little or nothing to do with the handling of children 593
until the time when decisions as to their future have to be made. 861
There need be only one qualification made with reference to the above statement and it is that fathers may serve as "last resort" disciplinary figures in the case of male children. For many mothers the most effective threat is to "report to father."

The father is not so forbidding a figure for the child of preschool age. Many observations show that fathers tolerate the kindergarten child who begs to be taken to parties or on laps while visiting with neighbors; however, an older sibling or mother was called as soon

855 as the child began to fuss or show signs of fatigue. The kindergarten
593 child often directs his succorant appeals to his father, particularly in a nuclear family, but the father in turn directs the child to his
861 mother. Should there be any discrepancy in thought as to the way a child should be handled in specific problematic situations, the mother will defer out of custom to the father. Such cases, however, are rare, for men, in informal interviews, generally felt that "women
[124] knew better" where children's affairs were concerned. Only one out of 24 fathers believed that he should "train and discipline" the male child and his wife should confine herself to the female children.

The school age child seems to have more fear of his father. "If father is at home," reports one mother, "the children returning from school go about quietly putting their books away, clean the yard, study, then take the younger siblings out with them to play." She added, "If father is not at home, they drop their books on the porch and run out to play, leaving the house and yard in a mess and me with the babies!"

593 It should be noted that fathers spend less time at home than any other member of the household. Men who work in the mountains
512 go out after the morning meal and often do not return until dark. A man returning at noon seldom sees the children, who are out playing or at school. Since there are no weekly rest days, children see their fathers mainly in the evening after dark or on holidays. But even then fathers spend their time visiting around or entertaining neighbors and relatives in their own homes. Contact with father is, there-
593 fore, only sporadic and is not affected by a special desire on the part
855 of fathers to spend time with children. It should be noted, however, that the mere presence of the father in the house has an effect on the child's behavior.

Next to mother and grandmother, older children in the household are very important child-rearing agents. These are mostly the older siblings, but occasionally a young unmarried aunt or uncle who lives with the family looks after a child. Children between the ages
[857] of 5 and 12 take care of younger children; adolescent siblings or aunts do so to a much lesser extent. The obvious reason for this is that in the distribution of duties in the home, the care of a younger child falls to those who are not otherwise burdened with such responsibilities as exacting studies during junior high school or economic activities in fields and mountains, which begin after graduation from school. While adults, except for the old folks, are in fields and mountains, a young child spends much of his time on the back of the older kindergarten or school age sibling or as a toddler in tow of an older one.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

Both boys and girls are charged with taking care of a younger child, but when possible, boys try to escape this duty by "making a deal" with their sisters. Girls are therefore more frequently seen caring for younger siblings, but when there are no older girls in the family, a boy must assume this responsibility. Often the novelty of having a tiny infant in the home, for instance, the first girl among several boys, causes older boys to volunteer carrying the infant. On the whole, boys are as reliable caretakers as girls. 855 857

The child on the back finds his child caretaker far less sympathetic and indulgent than mother and grandmother and more literal in applying rules of behavior. Young caretakers, under threat of severe punishment, tend to enforce stringently the rules of safety and permit a much narrower latitude with respect to obedience. Boys are inclined to give expression to their impatience with a younger one more easily than girls; nevertheless, a child taking care of a younger one knows that nurturant behavior toward his charge is a virtue, and failure to show indulgence and sympathy toward the little one is subject to severe reprimands by adults. Although a small child may be left with an older sibling for several hours, the older one knows where to find his mother or grandmother in case of a crisis. When the child on the back cannot be put to sleep by the rocking of his carrier, and indicates persistent discomfort by continued crying, the child caretaker knows that the limits of his competence have been reached.

There is some evidence that the young child-rearing agent follows the example of adults in deferring and giving preferential treatment to males. A young caretaker often seems to show more tolerance toward a little boy charge than toward a girl. [858] [562]

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Chapter 17

Latency

By the time a child finishes first grade, he has achieved full membership in the elementary schoolchildren group (age 8 to 12). His associations with kindergarten children are no longer as prevailing or 857 561

no longer one of the "senseless" by praise for responsible behavior. 866
After a relatively brief period of fairly consistent verbal reward, however, parents assume the attitude that chores are not voluntary but compulsory, and they begin to pay more attention to omissions—reminding, threatening, and checking up on the children. Although punishment is rather inconsistent, a child of 9 or 10 finds his chances of escape very slim if he fails to be responsible. But if he carries out some task spontaneously, he may find himself amply rewarded. Children generally seem to react more responsibly to school duties than home duties. This may be because teachers utilize peer group [861] control to elicit responsible behavior by rewarding and punishing in the presence of the whole class.

Girls assume caretaking of younger siblings earlier and more seriously than boys. A 6-year-old girl may be entrusted with a younger 857 sibling during a whole afternoon. A boy, looking after a younger 866 child, is more likely to abandon or neglect his charge than a girl. 855 In families where there are several children of caretaking age, each is assigned a specific share of time. Inevitably the girls find themselves with the greater or entire portion of this duty, for the boys either simply refuse or evade assuming their share. This shirking of duty is partly supported by the mother, who, by her failure to enforce assignments, displays passive acceptance or approval of the boys' actions. A girl, however, invites censure not only from her mother but also from other girls for similar actions.

The most important factor in differential treatment of boys and 857 girls is a cultural one. Most of the tasks or chores assigned to both 858 are, on the adult level, performed by women. Cutting and gathering 462 grass for horses and goats is men's work, but mopping floors, tidying and sweeping yards, fetching water, cleaning lamps, caring for chickens and pigs, and looking after children are all tasks that are "women's work" in Taira village. It is therefore evident that girls derive some intrinsic reward from them, whereas they may be intrinsically punishing for boys.

The difference in parental expectation with regard to children's 857 increasing responsibility with age is reflected in these selected answers 866 from interviews with mothers to the question: "What chores do you expect your child to do?" The mother of a 5-year-old boy said: "His work is to play down at the beach. But his older brother (11 years) is such a big help. . . . If I am busy, I may ask him to feed the pig, watch H. (baby sister) or clean the house, fetch water or wood, and Y. will do it without saying anything." The mother of another 11-year-old boy put it this way: "His job is to see to it that the chickens are

857 fed every day. This is a job for him, and if he does not do it he gets
866 a scolding. . . . My husband does not believe in letting him play too much, and so K. has to take his job seriously—otherwise he will get scolded by his father."

The mother of a 5-year-old girl, after mentioning that she washes her own hair and shoes, said, "The day before yesterday she helped me clean up the place after eating, and so I told her that if she would do this two times a day for me, she would get one yen. She said she would do it, but I don't expect much because she is still
[861] too young." The girl's father is a township employee, but giving one yen as reward is also done by other mothers when they feel that a child has done more than can be expected at that age. Of her 8-year-old daughter, a mother says that "she can mop the floor, fetch water, watch the baby, and serve rice into the bowls at dinner time. But she does not really have to do these chores regularly. Whenever I am busy I ask her to do these things for me," and she adds that her girl very seldom refuses, but "if she should not do what I ask her to, I scold her." And the mother of another girl, 7 years old, tells that her daughter's job is "to mop the floor every day. She knows that it is her responsibility and she has to do it. When she does not do it,
[861] she gets a scolding until she does it. She usually does it, though, with-
[855] out too much difficulty." Only a few mothers point to care of younger siblings as one of the duties. It simply seems to be taken for granted so much that it is not even mentioned.

857 An enthusiastic 6-year-old girl surprised her mother one day, not
866 long after starting school, by taking the family laundry to the well
296 and washing it. When she returned, she hung out the wash carefully to dry, then went out to join her playmates. The mother came home, examined the wash, and found that it still needed a good scrubbing. Quickly gathering the once-washed clothing, she hurried down to the well. She chose a path around the back of the house to avoid being seen by her daughter. That night she thanked the girl for doing the wash and helping her so much. "I did not want to hurt her feelings by telling her that the washing was still dirty. It was fortunate that she did not see me going down to wash it the second time, for if she did, she would have been discouraged and might never have done it again," reported the mother.

857 The community as a whole also makes some demands on these
866 children of school age. Several times a year they sweep the streets
[653] and adjoining public areas in the morning, before they leave for school.

Children seem to have an ambivalent attitude toward greater pres-

593 are less important than older sons. The security of the individual depends
602 upon his closeness to this axis. Yet most can attain security. Younger sons grow up to establish families of their own. Daughters grow up to marry and become the means whereby other men establish families. If a man has no son he readily adopts one from among his brothers' or cousins' sons and so the continuity is maintained.

593 This structure is in sharp contrast to that of present-day American
171 society. In American society the individual, not the family, is felt to be the basic unit. The basic axis is horizontal, the husband-wife axis. The values are on affection between the married couple, responsibility toward minor children, and impartiality toward them. The responsibility of parents ends when the children grow up. There is little continuity. The individual can expect equal treatment but cannot expect lasting security within the family. He finds his family ties cut once when he grows up, once again when his children grow up. The only permanent tie is with husband or wife and hence the only permanent security within the family is through marital bond. Hence in American society there is an increasing emphasis on romantic love and an increasing tendency to look for security through it.

The relationship of husband and wife in Okinawan society is quite dif-
593 ferent from that in American society with its comradeship and equality. In
581 Okinawan society the traditional marriage is arranged by the family. Its pri-
[584] mary function is to provide for the continuity of the family units and if possible to produce more units like it. The satisfaction of individual needs is only a secondary function. At marriage a woman enters the family of her husband, where she hopes to produce an heir for him and more besides. Her position is subordinate; she must be submissive to him and to his parents. She expects to work hard. Her husband also expects to work hard, for he is obligated to provide his descendants and his ancestors with their needs, but if he also has the means to seek pleasure outside the home he is not only free to do so, but is expected to do so.

593 As one might expect, the relationship between parents and children is
• 855 very close. Okinawan parents live more intimately with their children than do American parents; they carry them around, sleep with them, and fondle them
[171] a great deal. And from the American point of view they spoil them. At the same time they seem to regard children as not quite human, and treat them at times with what to an American seems like heartless cruelty. Also they differentiate clearly on the basis of future importance to the family and the maintenance of its continuity; the first son, who will inherit his father's status, is given more consideration than younger sons; daughters, who will eventually leave the family entirely, are given less consideration---and more chores, to prepare them for future status as daughters-in-law---than are sons. Children are expected to respect their parents and to care for them when they are old. Parents are expected to love their children and care for them when they are young. The responsibility of a parent toward a minor child is not
[171] as great as in the United States; for example, in an emergency a parent may sell a child (this may be in conflict with the present law but it is not in
593 conflict with the mores of impoverished Okinawan farmers). Buth this responsibility does not end with the child's attaining majority. In the case

later told the story to Lebra in the child's presence with a good deal of relish, while the boy merely looked sheepish and said nothing. 861

Punishment may be by either parent or by a grandparent. Other relatives may scold. I once observed a four-year-old being scolded long and shrilly by her father's sister. I asked why the mother, who was just inside the house, did not do the scolding and I was told that the child would not mind her mother and so the aunt had had to step in. I was also given the impression that the child's mother would hardly have dared defend her. It seems likely that mothers and grandmothers punish most frequently but that fathers, though they punish less frequently, are more severe; they are certainly more feared. It is said that after a child is punished it is usually comforted by the adult who punished it. There are, of course, individual differences. One man at Nanahan was known to be particularly harsh with his children. Pitts observed him on one occasion chasing one of his children around the village with a strap.

Okinawan adults, especially women, frequently tease children. On two occasions I saw a particularly cocky little boy of three or four teased in a deliberate attempt to make him angry or to make him cry. On the first occasion one of his aunts, his mother's oldest sister, struck the boy's baby sister, pretending to hurt her. He was very fond of the baby and the object of the teasing seemed to be to arouse his sympathy to the point where he would have showed his emotions, at which point, I assume, the crowd of women would have laughed. This time the teasing was unsuccessful. On the second occasion his mother and her sisters told him first that I was going to take him away, then that I was going to take his little sister away, and produced other variations on this theme. After several minutes of this he went grimly over to his mother and began hitting her with his fists. The women all regarded this as great sport. No effort was made to stop him from hitting his mother. This sort of teasing seems to have amusement as its main object, but probably has other functions as well. It may possibly provide women a necessary outlet for feelings of hostility, especially against males. But it may also have the more important functions of producing in the child the desirable emotional responses---sympathy for the little sister, fear of losing her, fear of being separated from home---while at the same time conditioning the child to inhibit the expression of these emotions. 855 [154] [867] [152]

On another occasion I saw the mother of the children just mentioned hold out a lighted match in front of the baby until the baby, after regarding it in wonderment, reached out and was burned. The women watched expectantly and laughed when the baby cried, but in this case the act seemed more like deliberate instruction in the properties of fire than merely teasing. But as in teasing, the discomfort to the child is something not to be avoided but rather to be enjoyed. And as in teasing, the child learns to associate laughter with his own discomfort, or perhaps with his expression of his discomfort. He may thereby learn to avoid being laughed at because it is associated with discomfort, and to avoid the expression of discomfort because it brings laughter. [861] [155]

855 861 Two facts that have been introduced into this discussion should be restated and made more explicit. The first is that Okinawan child-training methods include the use of both verbal appeals and physical punishment. As a result of observations made during and shortly after the battle in 1945, Dr. J. C. Maloney reported[1] that Okinawans were very permissive with their children and did not use corporal punishment. It will be seen from the data just presented that while Okinawans are more permissive in many situations than Americans would be, they do in fact use severe physical punishment on occasion.

152 181 171 861 The second fact has to do with the contrast of "shame" versus "guilt" that has been presented by several writers on the character of the Japanese. Both Gorer and Benedict have asserted that the Japanese conform because they fear the ridicule of others whereas Westerners conform because they fear their own consciences; Japanese culture is a "shame culture" while ours is a "guilt culture".[2] Okinawan culture also seems to be primarily a shame culture. Okinawans clearly fear ridicule greatly, and this fear seems traceable to their early training. But there are also elements in Okinawan child training that would tend to produce something of the Western sort of fear that one may suffer for his wrong-doing regardless of whether he is found out or not. These are to be seen in the phrases "retribution will strike" (Okinawan bachi nu ataaing, Japanese 'bachi ga ataru') and "the gods saw you". Shame and guilt are doubtless not mutually exclusive. Both sanctions exist in Okinawan culture, shame being much the stronger.

837 524 [209] [177] Play Boys play with kites and tops. Girls play hop-scotch. Both, if they can afford it, get one or more of the numerous Japanese children's magazines that are filled with stories, comics, and a variety of make-it-yourself paper toys.

857 Boys catch insects and birds and fasten strings to them in order to jerk them back as they try to fly away, or in order simply to drag them around. They do so quite unconscious of any cruelty in the act. Adults appear to regard living things as proper playthings.

[56] There may be less age-grading among smaller children than among older people or among children in present-day American society. Several boys of different ages were observed playing together on many occasions, mainly, it seemed, because they were related and lived in adjacent houses. The girls who occasionally joined them were also of the same group of related families.

882 178 [881] [877] 877 882 Youth Traditionally, entering one's thirteenth year, for a girl, and fifteenth, for a boy, marks a change in status from that of child to that of youth (niisee, in J. 'seinen', literally "green years"). There was also a later ceremony at which the young man's hair was done in a knot; and the tattooing undergone by a young woman may have been part of a puberty rite. But at present, finishing one's schooling marks the greatest change in the life of a young person. At this time the treatment he receives and the behavior expected of him change markedly. As long as he is in school he is

1 Maloney, 1945, p. 394.

2 Gorer, 1943; Benedict, 1946, p. 223.

mother, for example, fed her child rice gruel (okayu) at eight months and at the age of one year the child began eating sweet potatoes. By the time the child is ready to walk and play, he often carries with him a piece of sweet potato, and, in season, a piece of sugar cane. 853 262

A party is held on the first birthday anniversary of the child. This is more elaborate than the one which honored his birth. Birthdays are not celebrated each year. After the first anniversary, the next are on the 13th, 25th, 37th, 49th, and 61st birthdays, that is, at twelve year intervals. 852 527

The party for the first birthday of a child is particularly tender and affectionate. At one year, he can walk or stumble, and answer or smile to the calls of his parents and grandparents. He can pick up things, throw them, and make his presence felt. The exhibition of these skills becomes part of the celebration. It is customary to invite both relatives and friends, who bring a small money present, from Y20 which is usual to Y100 which is uncommon. [856]

During the party, the child is given several symbolic gifts. These are placed on a low table in the middle of the room which the child can easily walk to and reach. Usually the gifts are a book, a fountain pen (or a writing brush, fude), an abacus (soroban), and a stack of paper money. These symbolize the wish that the child will become proficient in learning, writing, counting and mathematics, and will become rich. The child is eagerly watched as he unsteadily toddles to the table to see which article he picks up first. While the act is not taken seriously, the article which the child picks up first is supposed to indicate the field of endeavor in which he will be most fortunate. 527 852 431 [212] [802] [554]

These parties, small or large, include men, women, and children, but the majority of the guests usually are men. After the child has gone to bed, the party continues. In more formal and larger parties, the guests first come up to the father, go on their knees, bow, and make a short speech of congratulation. Sometimes these speeches sound as if they are prepared beforehand, other times as if they are spoken spontaneously. There is an exchange of sake between the father and his guest, both sipping from the same cup, the usual custom. The mother and the female relatives during this time are in the kitchen preparing the food. 852 527 [576] [537]

Women sit by themselves. This is true of all celebrations when the sexes are together. Women do not drink. (In a similar party near Matsuda, the old women--usually over 60--drank a little). The jolly old women also love to dance solos in the traditional style. They dance with grace and vigor. The evening progresses without any planned entertainment. There is talking and drinking, singing, and samisen playing. Men, with a repertoire of Okinawan songs, sing in [562] [535] [382] [533]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

During the primary and junior high school years, no exacting demands are made at home. Young girls after school strap the baby on their back and go out to play, or they may fetch water from the well, pond, or faucet, carrying it home in buckets hanging from a pole resting on their shoulders, or they may help in preparing the evening meal. Younger boys, 12 and over, help with feeding the pigs or run errands, but they have more leisure than the girls. There is night study at home, including practice on the abacus and reading to which the parents listen, correcting the errors. Formal education, for a large majority, ends with the completion of junior high school. 859 883 [482] [871]

As children grow older, they continue in off hours to help around the home, help which follows the lines of the male and female division of labor of adulthood. This is not a strict division, as there are many areas in which both sexes do common chores. In the agricultural villages, girls continue to help around the home, carry water, and hoe in the sweet potato patches. In the fishing village, they also carry water, help with the laundry, and start helping the older women in selling and distributing fish. The boys work more in the paddies. In the fishing village, they may make trips to the sea, but as a rule, this does not begin until later. [962]

For those who go to senior high school, there is a noticeable change from the earlier school experience. They enter at about 14 or 15 and remain in high school 3 years. It is a period of growing maturity, and the older they get the shyer they seem to become. Girl's hair is allowed to grow longer, perhaps to neck or shoulder length, less often in long braids, and the bangs remain. A big change takes place in the hair styles of the boys. The close clipped haircut is abandoned and the hair is allowed to grow long. Often it is not cut at all on the top, so that in two or three years, it has acquired considerable length. 873 856 302

The child who leaves school at the end of primary or junior high school is more quickly absorbed in the daily work life and traditional occupations of the family. The senior high school student has teaching, clerking, translating, or other white collar work in mind. The boy who leaves school earlier might drive a truck or a horse cart, or adopt the occupation of his father. This is likely to be a time killing period for those young men who live in the fishing village or whose families lack land. 463

6

Early Adulthood and the Engagement

In early adulthood and before marriage, a son of the house might be given a separate room or a small outlying shed which he fixes up for himself. The young girls, more and more, assume full time duties in the home, relieving the mother. Often the mother and her young daughter work together in the fields. These mature young girls also may take over the care of younger children. Young men from 17 on are 885 868

financier, the abacus a mathematician, the book a scholar, and food a glutton. The villagers did not seem to place much credence in the choice. Mothers laughed when asked what choices their children made and commented, "It's something to talk about, but many times we can't even remember which child chose what!" 852

The child continues to be carried on the back until the next sibling is born, the interval being between about two or three years. By the time an infant is a year old, he has been taken through every nook and cranny of the village. He has also seen all the adults and children of the village and has witnessed the economic and social-ceremonial activities. Whereas he slept most of the time when he was young, he now begins to participate in what goes on about him. He claps his hands in glee in response to his older sibling's delight over some aspect of play or raises his arm in defiance of another child who attempts to strike at his older sibling. In spite of the fact that he is capable of crawling or learning to walk within the second half year of his life, he is kept on the back. He does not protest or clamor to be put down; he seems to prefer being carried to being left to crawl. 855 854 [856]

Caretakers are too busy with work or play to let the child crawl about freely, so there is no crawling stage in Taira. Older siblings are too involved in play to sit and patiently watch a crawler. The older child would also be severely punished should the infant pick up some object and swallow it or injure himself in his crawling. One 8-year-old found that the 10-month-old sister she toted on her back took to standing on the ground and jouncing up and down every time she squatted to play. After several unsuccessful attempts to stop this annoying behavior, she unstrapped her and allowed her to crawl about freely. The older girl became so engrossed in the game that her mouth dropped open and eyes turned round with fear when one of her playmates shouted, "Hey! the baby put some dirt into her mouth!" Immediately she rushed to "flush" the baby's mouth out with her fingers and promptly strapped her onto the back again and continued playing despite the uncomfortable jouncings. The baby did not protest at being restrapped; she just jounced and played with her hands. 857 855

A mother who sits and plucks sweet potato leaves off the vines for hog feed works more efficiently with the baby on her back. Crawling around on the loose floorboards near the fire pit or over the edge of the raised floor, the child would require constant attention. On one occasion the observer was sitting and talking with a mother who was weaving a bamboo basket in her front room. The floor was littered with bamboo shavings and slats. As the mother worked, she was relaxed. She turned and twisted the sharp ends of the bamboo slats, leaving pointed [231] [285]

effectively in the case of a boy who did not respond to red pepper or black paper. The mother described how she tried to fend off the boy one day by simply refusing. As he fussed and cried there was a loud clanging of the pots in the kitchen. The boy stopped crying and looked at the mother who pretended to be very frightened. "Look now! There! It's a big rat coming for your mother's breast, let's hide it, quick, quick!" And with that she buttoned her blouse hurriedly and took the boy in her arms. She laughed as she described how she reminded him thereafter about the rat and how he ran to her and held onto her breasts protectively. 862

For the child, this whole interim period is a stormy one filled with tantrums, whining, and obstinancy. At no time, however, does the child resort to thumbsucking or other breast substitutes. For older siblings who are his caretakers, this period is a very unpleasant one. Many things displease the child. If his caretaker squats, he screams to have him stand; if he stands, he whines to have him walk. Frequently the sibling caring for him reflects the changing attitude toward the child, and, jiggles him up and down impatiently with a frown and curt comment, "What is it!" [856] [857]

As far as actual nourishment is concerned, weaning should not be so traumatic. Long before weaning commences, when the child is about one, he is given a spoon with which he can learn to feed himself. If families can afford it, they purchase new spoons and special small-sized rice bowls as well as chopsticks for these novices. When the budget is so limited that purchases of new implements are impossible, adult-sized ones are used, and often as not the tablespoon used for cooking and serving proves useful. [853] [412] [415]

At mealtime the entire household sits in the back room, which is next to the kitchen. The head of the family sits nearest to the raised hearth, and the rest of the members form a circle to the left and right of him at a low round or rectangular table. The baby sits on his mother's or grandmother's lap. Usually the mess resulting from this early training period in self-feeding is ignored. The adult holding the novice in his lap occasionally picks up the dropped rice and thrusts small pieces of fish or vegetable into his mouth. Only when he bangs the table excessively with his spoon do his elders mildly chide him. At first the adult holding him will absently reach for the offending arm and slip some food into his mouth. Later they will begin reprimanding him by scowling and glaring at him saying, "Me-me!" (child talk for "eye," meaning "I look at you disapprovingly.") But all this is done in a very gentle way, and often when the novice bursts into tears from fright of the disapproving response, he will be hugged, laughed at, and 853 264 862

possibly have lowered standards of sanitation. Morale may also be a factor; 863
in the instance just mentioned the morale of the grandmother was undoubtedly 178
better than that of her daughter and daughter-in-law whom she criticized.

A very small baby may be carried in the arms, but usually it is car- 854
ried on the back. The mother places it with its belly to her back, its legs spread apart, and its head about at a level with the top of her shoulder. She secures it there with a long sash that runs once under its bottom, makes an X across her chest, passes around its shoulders, and ties in front. A baby is carried most frequently by its mother, but may also be carried a good deal by others, of either sex and any age, grandparents and older siblings being most frequent. The baby may look over the shoulder of its carrier or it may simply sleep, often with its head back and rolling. If it is fretful its carrier may lean forward a bit and jog it to sleep. Larger children may be carried without the sash, by just letting them hang on. Babies are carried about while all sorts of tasks are being performed.

Mothers often carry their babies into the fields when they go out to work, but when they are working in the house they may put their babies to sleep on the floor of the house. If a baby is put to sleep on the floor it is made to sleep on its back. Often the hard floor, which may or may not be covered with a thin mat, will cause the back of the baby's head to become flattened, or if the baby constantly turns its head to one side, the head may become assymetrical, but later fills out to assume its normal shape. Some mothers use a small mosquito net on a frame to protect the sleeping baby from insects, but frequently it is uncovered and flies may alight on it. A few mothers use a hammock-like device called 'burank', as a cradle; these are said to be becoming more popular. At night children, especially smaller children, [513]
sleep with their parents on quilts on the floor, under the one large net.

Children are expected to learn to walk at about 12 to 14 months. 856
Early walking is a sign of good health so that if a child is late to walk, 866
the parents may worry about it. As Glacken points out, there is an important change in the life of the child at this time. Instead of being carried everywhere on his mother's or older sibling's back, the child is now put down and expected to toddle along behind his mother, who is not always sympathetic when he fails to keep up. This change may be a greater trauma to the child than weaning or toilet-training.[1]

Children are said to begin talking at about a year and a half. The 856
first words are usually, nowadays, 'o-kaa', o-tō', 'o-baa', the Japanese equivalents of "daddy', "mommy", and "grandma". Parents do not worry if a child is a little late in talking.

<u>Childhood: Adult Attitudes</u> Okinawans recognize clearly that children are 858
not capable of participating in most adult activities and indeed appear to regard it as undesirable that they do so. Oki- [171]
nawan attitude contrasts sharply with the "modern" American one that takes

[1] Glacken, 1953, p. 264.

858 children to be "little people". From this viewpoint the Okinawans appear to
171 regard children as being not yet quite human. Okinawan children can observe, overtly or covertly, probably a good deal more of adult life than American children can observe and Okinawan adults discuss matters in front of children that American adults would not discuss before children, yet the Okinawan adult appears to expect his children to understand far less of what is done or said than the American does. To illustrate, an Okinawan grandmother may discuss a three-year old's illegitimate origin in its presence, tease it to the point of tears by offering to give it away to the passing American, and then say nothing when it wantonly snatches and breaks something of value. The American is likely to regard the talking as a possible cause of complexes, the teasing as downright cruel, and the tolerance as intolerable lack of discipline.

Small children are free to observe all that goes on in the house and yard during their waking hours. They are not subject to any rules determining when they are to go to bed. There is hardly a formal gathering into which they cannot insinuate themselves for hand-outs. They are taken to the theatre, where they may have to be shooed off the stage by the actors themselves.
864 The only aspect of life that seems to be deliberately withheld from them is
858 sex. They are told that babies come out of their mothers' knees, and although they may overhear a good deal about the sexual relationships of different people and the difficulties that result from them, they are given no notion of the nature of sex. I will discuss this in more detail under attitudes toward sex.

858 Although children seem bold in actions, they are not bold in speech.
• 856 As a matter of fact they often do not respond when spoken to and seem unwilling to venture to speak at all. I make this statement not merely on the
[104] basis of my own experience as an outsider attempting to talk to them; an Okinawan friend also pointed out how different the children in the north were from those of Central and Southern Okinawa---the Northern children answered his questions when he spoke to them. Some of the children's shyness about speaking may be due to the fact that they usually speak Okinawan in the home and then have to learn Japanese in school. Moreover, they soon learn to feel
[152] that Okinawan is inferior to Japanese as a medium of polite or intellectual expression; they may be shy because they fear to speak Okinawan since it is inferior and because they fear to speak Japanese since they cannot speak it well. But I have the impression that children are also often unresponsive when an adult speaks to them in Okinawan and when the language of the answer
868 is not a factor. I believe that there is another factor that is almost in-
171 herent in the nature of both the Japanese and the Okinawan languages. When
198 speaking to children in Japanese, and also very likely when speaking in Okinawan, adults use a different form of speech than the form they use when addressing adults. Somewhat different forms of speech for children are probably used in every society; they do exist in the United States, but never to such a striking extent as in Japanese. Japanese and Okinawan both have a range of verb forms expressing several degrees of politeness or formality, and to some extent there are also levels of vocabulary corresponding to them. In speaking to a child, the adult uses the simplest verb forms, the simplest words, and then speaks not in whole sentences but rather in a series of phrases each

for eggs, which are reserved more for sale than as a food, though this varies with the well-being of the family. 235 262

10

Conclusion

The agricultural village, with its sweet potatoes, rice, soybeans and cane, its domestic animals, and its dependence on wild grasses illustrates the complex relationships between man and the land, bound together by the family system. The pattern of land ownership, a product of past land tenure, and inheritance, has been created by the family system. The land everywhere bears these traces of the work of man. Not even the barren mountain tops are exempt from his activities, for these supply the fresh grasses for his animals, grass for his roofs and for fertilizer, odd brush for his fires, stones for his fences and boundary ridges. The scarcity of land, the ownership of small scattered plots have induced a local care, through traditional conservation practices and fertilization and crop rotation to maintain a continued economic base for the future of the main and the branch families. 182

Within the family system, there is a tendency toward the persistence of the same occupation from generation to generation. Agriculture has the widest range of possibilities. The extremely old and the extremely young can engage in it. There is a place for the 80 year old grandmother cutting sweet potato tops, and for the nine year old boy to help in weeding the rice paddy. Agriculture demands no retirement from work as long as one has physical strength. Agriculture may readily become a secondary occupation. A stonecutter or a fisherman can tend his land in leisure hours or in off season. The reverse is not nearly so common. Only with difficulty can the farmer acquire the skills and tolerances demanded of a fisherman. It is an occupation known to all, for by maturity a storehouse of information has already been filled, almost unconsciously, by watching and doing. [463] [887] [857]

Alcoholic Beverages

443 Japanese and American canned beer
[273] Japanese type sake (a light rice wine resembling sauterne)
Okinawan sake (awamori)

Miscellaneous

Charcoal sticks
[276] Brass and nickel plated Japanese pipes
Small dishes
[415] Sake bottles
Oil burners to keep mosquitos away
[416] Flashlights, bulbs, and batteries
Matches
Japanese and American tobaccos
Fishing lamps and the ika lamp (fishing villages only)

Transactions are usually on a cash basis, although some customers
[437] pay at the end of the week. In one such store, the gross sales averaged ¥600 a day with a net profit of about 10%. (The yen is pegged at 120 to the US dollar). During the day and the early evening, the village
[366] stores are meeting places, especially if, like Hinatogawa, several together make up a small business center.

443 Supplies are delivered to village stores by truck or sometimes by bus. Often the owner goes to the larger towns to buy. Young boys are
444 an important cog in the distribution system. They deliver candies, cookies, and other small articles which are carried in five gallon lard
[850] tins on racks over the rear mudguard of their bicycles. They ride up to the store, count out their candies or cookies, receive payment, and cycle on to the next store over a route which includes several villages. These boys work out of larger towns like Itoman and Nago. Baking goods,
[262] bread (pan) really a sweet dough with a jelly-like filling, cookies and candies are distributed in this manner. Sometimes housewives make cookies and cakes to sell to village stores.

443 There is not much house to house selling or soliciting. Occasionally women come to the villages with a selection of ready made clothing or cloth. In Hinatogawa, an itinerant drug vendor periodically goes through the village ringing his bell, selling various Japanese patent medicines mainly for colds, headaches, constipation, and stomach aches.

444 Import stores (hyakujo), also operated privately, are a different kind of enterprise than the village shop. They have been set up under
262 the American occupation. Larger wholesalers supply the village re-
511 tailers. These stores deal in a restricted number of commodities, such as rice, flour, soy bean sauce, wheat, and cooking oils. Sales are made to villagers on a rationing system based on the number in the family, its
[842] age distribution, pregnancy, and whether the head is engaged in heavy work. The intent of the import stores is to make food available, at reasonable cost, to those who cannot grow their own, or whose own produce

854 wherever the mother goes. The age at which this begins varies, some saying 20 days, others two months. But on the average, it probably is about one month.

[171] This custom, known as ombu in Japanese, is identical with the practice in rural Japan. The child is strapped on by crossing the sash in front of the mother, crisscrossing it above the baby's [482] buttocks, and then bringing the binding around the mother's waist where the sash is securely tied in front. In the summer, the child may only wear a diaper-like garment. The child is carried on the back until he begins to walk. But there is often a long transition period, and the child is carried at times long after he has learned to walk, perhaps until he is 3 years of age. I have seen boys of 4 still being carried on the mother's back.

At one time or another, the infant is carried by every member of the family physically able to do so, the child accommodating itself effortlessly to the activities of his elder. Its longest continual contact is with the mother. A mother does most of her chores with the child on her back. The child is with her when she is scrubbing the plank floors on her knees, carrying in firewood, building a fire, cooking, when she is turning the quern to make bean curd, shopping, or doing the laundry. If occasion requires, she unstraps the child, changes the diaper-like cloth, for diapers are unusual, and allows it to sleep a while on the thick comforter.

When school is out, the mother may get a rest. The baby is [857] taken over by the eldest girl. In communities where there are many girls, few young boys are seen carrying their young brothers or sisters, although carrying by boys is very common in the absence of elder sisters. Sometimes older children begin so young that they look small under the load of a fat or plump baby. In the fishing village, a father might walk around in the evening either with the child strapped on his back, or if the child is big enough, he puts his arms around the father's neck and his legs around the father's waist. Occasionally in the agricultural villages, a father carries a small child around in his work basket. The basket is tied to the end of a pole which rests on the shoulder. Children enjoy this.

Children who carry the babies around do not allow this to inter- [857] fere with their activities. They play games, such as tag, hide and seek, and a kind of hop scotch. They walk surefootedly along the sharp, and often dangerous, coral rocks of the seashore, along narrow hill or mountain paths, wherever inclination leads them.

The ability of the infant child to sleep under these circumstances is remarkable. Once the child is strapped on the back, he is given little further attention. He seldom cries unless in discomfort. Most often he goes to sleep. His head in sleep frequently falls at right angles with the shoulders, and he sleeps like this while his mother

155 114 is an impression, and I doubt that Okinawan mothers would agree with me. The toddler stage, in my opinion, is a difficult one for the Okinawan child. It is an abrupt change from the continuous care and physical contact of infancy. This transition need not necessarily be abrupt. A child may be carried some and walk some. As he learns to walk, his mother is near him.

857 When the child is no longer carried, he ceases to be an observer and becomes a participant in play. Formerly he watched the activities of the older children and smiled to the attention when it was given. Now he wishes to catch up with them as they walk down the lanes; he is often left behind and is not fast enough nor expert enough to keep up. This is a problem of childhood everywhere, but I believe here 155 that the transition from one type of activity to another is more drastic. The child also receives less attention from his parents, 855 especially from his mother. This most mothers would deny. But I have often seen parents walking along a village lane, a toddler behind them crying and trying hard to keep up with them. They showed less solicitude and patience with him than they had when he was being carried. The mother gives less attention to the child during this period, particularly if she has had another child. In this, I do not mean to imply any lack of kindness or tenderness in the treatment of children, but to point out a change of emphasis. There is much more crying in the 2 to 3 year age groups than among infants who cry very little because they are entertained so much.

The toddler not only has the problem of becoming a participant in play, but of getting along without the close attention of the mother, his elder sisters, and possibly brothers.

855 [842] Children are rather regularly spaced. The middle child of the lower three is most likely to be neglected. The baby is on the mother's back; he gets his breast feeding and is always with the mother. The older child has started to school or is leading an active play life. The middle child, too young for school and only tolerated by the older child who has his own interests, is too old for the breast and the back. The successful transition from the back carrying and breast feeding stage to walking and to the stage of independent play seems most successful when there are many children of the same age in the village, and consequently absorption in play can replace the intimate attention of parents and older siblings. A father may fill in this gap, allowing his young child to accompany him to work, but this experience generally belongs to a later period of childhood.

853 262 As the infant grows, nursed by the mother, he gradually receives other foods, but the variety depends on the economic status of the family. The first food (other than the mother's milk) is rice water. Later rice is made into a gruel. The rice is soaked and mashed up in a quern. Families who have rice fields, or who can buy rice, may delay feeding the sweet potato to the child until the third year. Among the poor, sweet potato feeding begins much earlier. One

197 pronunciation. The people in Matsuda could distinguish and identify villagers from other places, even though the villages were close to one another.[12] Okinawan is the language of social and everyday life. In Matsuda, it seemed to be supplanted by Japanese more than in the
191 other two villages. Japanese is used in official contacts and in dealing with foreigners. Pre-school children know very little Japanese. Their parents do not teach them the language, and they grow up speaking the village dialect. The only exception is that parents teach the child a few Japanese words of greeting, formalities, and expressions of thanks.

524 Children lack the toys and playthings they had prior to the war. At present they are a miscellaneous collection of rocks, pieces of wood, tin cans, twigs, branches, and anything which circumstance or childish improvisation can provide. In play, there is a great deal of running and catching, hide and seek, and games like hop scotch.
[526] After beginning school, play has a more formal character, with dances, games, and organized athletics.

● 857 Sleeping habits, especially those of children, are in part the result of circumstance, in part of custom, and it is difficult to
513 separate the two. Children, often up to the age of 14 or 15, sleep with an older member of the family. In one Hanashiro family, the last born sleeps with the mother and the father until the next child comes. The older children sleep in another room with the grandmother or grandfather. If there are no elder relatives, the whole family may sleep together. This practice frequently is forced by economy and necessity. The war destroyed homes and the rebuilt ones are small. Blankets are expensive. In the better homes before the war, if there were plenty of blankets, rooms, and mosquito nets, children 8 years and over had their own sleeping rooms, or at least their own heavy blanket or cot. The farmer or fisherman does not use a bed or a cot. Now and then they are used by younger adults with a taste for western beds. But even before the war, 15 and 16 year olds often slept with parents or grandparents.

Children from different houses also sleep together after they have begun school. Children come to a house to play, and, when bed time comes, they go to sleep in the house of their playmates. These sleeping groups are common when classmates meet during the evening for study. The village is so small that there is no alarm at a child's absence. An old grandmother living by herself may have many children sleeping with her overnight, spreaded out in various positions on a comforter, protected by the very large mosquito net (kaya) so universal in Okinawa.

12 No attempt was made to study language, linguistics, or dialectical differences. To be profitable, these subjects must be studied by technically trained linguists.

872 calculating on the abacus, and a variety of other subjects. (These topics will be discussed in the chapter on education.

292 291 302 The pre-war school childrens' uniform is no longer obligatory. Children wear what they have and what their parents can afford. The girl frequently wears the familiar blue serge smock but more often her clothing is varied. Her hair has bangs in front and is cut straight, about on the level with the ear lobe. Neither do the boys wear prescribed clothing. With them too, it is a matter of what they have. A boy's hair is closely clipped to his head and will remain cut this way until he leaves junior high school, although this style also is no longer compulsory. He may have a school boy's cap, but this is not officially designated. It may be tan, white, blue, or olive drab, resembling either a military or a baseball type cap. Above the brim there is a metal tag with an abbreviation of the school name written in a Chinese character.

857 883 Three important new experiences come to him as a result of his school life. The first of these is participation in school maintenance and upkeep. One of the commonest sights in any Okinawan primary, junior high, or high school is to see children working around the buildings and grounds under the supervision of their teachers. After typhoons, which destroy many of the rude, temporary, and rebuilt buildings, they 15 straighten out the debris, and help in putting on a new thatched roof. The tasks done by school children and their teachers are those customarily performed by janitors and custodians in our school system. In junior or senior high school, if the child lives far away from the school, he may board there as well.

526 His second experience is with organised athletics. Much of this instruction is pointed to the annual athletic meets (undōkai) which have a remarkable hold in Okinawa on students, teachers, parents, and the rest of the villagers alike. This organised athletic training is a Japanese introduction, but earlier accounts of a period when Japanese [177] cultural influence was more nominal point to a love of games, races, and ball among the people.

572 The third of these new experiences is the formation of attachments with children in his own class. These friendships exist throughout life. The words, dōnen or dōsei, meaning the same year or the same age, are used by mature men and women to describe these early friendships. Close friendships almost invariably have had their origins in early close association in the same grade at school.

15 As is true of school boys the world over, truancy is not unheard of. Every once in a while, especially in junior high school, three or four boys report to the principal or his assistant because of absence from this work--but not from classes.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

During the primary and junior high school years, no exacting demands are made at home. Young girls after school strap the baby on their back and go out to play, or they may fetch water from the well, pond, or faucet, carrying it home in buckets hanging from a pole resting on their shoulders, or they may help in preparing the evening meal. Younger boys, 12 and over, help with feeding the pigs or run errands, but they have more leisure than the girls. There is night study at home, including practice on the abacus and reading to which the parents listen, correcting the errors. Formal education, for a large majority, ends with the completion of junior high school. 857 883 [482] [871]

As children grow older, they continue in off hours to help around the home, help which follows the lines of the male and female division of labor of adulthood. This is not a strict division, as there are many areas in which both sexes do common chores. In the agricultural villages, girls continue to help around the home, carry water, and hoe in the sweet potato patches. In the fishing village, they also carry water, help with the laundry, and start helping the older women in selling and distributing fish. The boys work more in the paddies. In the fishing village, they may make trips to the sea, but as a rule, this does not begin until later. [462]

For those who go to senior high school, there is a noticeable change from the earlier school experience. They enter at about 14 or 15 and remain in high school 3 years. It is a period of growing maturity, and the older they get the shyer they seem to become. Girl's hair is allowed to grow longer, perhaps to neck or shoulder length, less often in long braids, and the bangs remain. A big change takes place in the hair styles of the boys. The close clipped haircut is abandoned and the hair is allowed to grow long. Often it is not cut at all on the top, so that in two or three years, it has acquired considerable length. 873 856 302

The child who leaves school at the end of primary or junior high school is more quickly absorbed in the daily work life and traditional occupations of the family. The senior high school student has teaching, clerking, translating, or other white collar work in mind. The boy who leaves school earlier might drive a truck or a horse cart, or adopt the occupation of his father. This is likely to be a time killing period for those young men who live in the fishing village or whose families lack land. 463

6

Early Adulthood and the Engagement

In early adulthood and before marriage, a son of the house might be given a separate room or a small outlying shed which he fixes up for himself. The young girls, more and more, assume full time duties in the home, relieving the mother. Often the mother and her young daughter work together in the fields. These mature young girls also may take over the care of younger children. Young men from 17 on are 885 868

ceremony the set of three cups (sakazuki) was used. The go-between, a man and a close friend of the groom, poured sake into the top cup. The groom drank; the go-between then refilled the cup, giving it to the bride. The same procedure was repeated with the remaining two cups. 585 184

In this ceremony, after the san-san-kudo, the go-between dipped a pair of chopsticks into salt, putting a bit on the open palm of the bride who then put the salt in her mouth. This was repeated for the groom. The go-between then dipped his finger into a cup of water, touching first the forehead of the bride, then that of the groom.

The presentation of the newly married couple to the guests was also done in a different way. Because of his close friendship with the groom's father, the mayor of the township introduced the bridal pair to the guests. This was a tender and affectionate speech in which the mayor told of the birthplaces of the young man and his bride. He asked the guests, as friends and relatives of the new couple, to teach them how to live well together, how to make a living, and ended by asking everyone present to have a good time. The celebration, the sake drinking; the dancing following the ceremony were essentially the same as in Matsuda. A ring was not used in either ceremony. When used, it is ordinarily given to the bride, not placed on her finger as part of the ceremony. [576] [537] [301]

A custom followed in Hinatogawa illustrates a variation in the preliminaries before the marriage ceremony. The groom (hanamuko) and the go-between or a friend go to the bride's home. They are given refreshments. The groom acknowledges his bride. He returns to his home to await her coming. This may take some time if the tide is not right. Before the war children from 7 to 10 years of age carried long lanterns (chōchin) with candles to light the way for the bride, as she walked to the groom's house. Each child carried two lanterns, which they held very tightly, as it was considered bad luck for them to change from one hand to the other. The lanterns have now been abandoned (when the ceremony is performed) in favor of flashlights, in another triumph of the Industrial Revolution. But the children enjoyed participating because they were given small amounts of money and food. [857] [416] [177]

In the Hinatogawa custom, everyone stepped over the threshhold. Even now, if houses do not have one, a long step is made from the outer stone or ground into the room. Among the guests, there is usually a jokester who humorously announces in a loud voice the arrival of the bride.

In Hinatogawa, the groom's family presents a gift of about Y5-6000 to the bride's family. (This family would have to be in moderate circumstances to do this). Gifts from the guests are from Y20-40. The groom's friends may give money to the groom's parents to defray the heavy expenses of the banquet, and the girl's friends give money to her, presumably for the purchase of wedding articles. [431]

There is one further variation in a custom from Hanashiro. On

312 water is diverted from a stream a mile
365 above the village and piped into the upper and lower tanks where
[482] people fill their buckets which they carry home on a shoulder yoke.
[857] Both tanks always attract children. Before faucets were installed, the two spigots on each tank were closed with a wooden stopper which the children often pulled to get a drink or water to play in. An open lot surrounding the upper water tank is another popular play area.

361 On the eastern side of the village below the main road lies a flat sandy plain, separating the actual beach from the houses above. Children are frequently found playing there or walking along the beach to the mouth of the Noro Mata and Fukuji rivers, which reach the sea
[764] about 400 yards away. To the west of the central village lie the tombs
[211] and the monument for the war dead of the village.

487 Many hills around the village drop off vertically toward the south;
[133] these drops are partly effects of the geological conditions, such as karst depressions, partly caused by erosion of drainage during the heavy rains. Narrow paths, leading up the steep claylike hillsides, are slippery
[491] and very treacherous during rains. On the way to school in Kawata, the neighboring village, children have to pass a section of the road where river and rains have washed away the bank so badly that a misstep on the edge of the road could lead to a fall of more than 50 feet.

312 The little river which runs through parts of the valley behind Taira
[857] is another gathering place of children. A path alongside it leads into
[487] the hills and mountain forest lands. Seven minutes walking along this path takes one to Umugui, a natural swimming hole which also serves as one of the favorite laundry places. During the summer the river offers several other popular swimming spots downstream from Umugui.
[296] There is also a little concrete bridge in the rice fields beyond the houses, where adults and children go to wash laundry and sometimes pots and pans. Yamagawa well is a water hole, lined with concrete, near the northwestern part of Taira. Before water faucets were installed, girls frequently went there to wash their hair and do laundry.

857 Children go to the fields to look for flowers and berries or, in the
[484] case of older boys, to cut grass for animals. Distances covered by any child depend, of course, on the age. Younger siblings under 5 accompany the older ones to places beyond the area, but no expeditions extend to areas that are not also regularly traversed by adults in the course of their daily duties. Perhaps because of the multiple rivers and water sources, the beach offers less enticement than one might expect. On some days a group may decide to play on the beach, but since sand is also available throughout the village, everybody will soon shift back to some other area inland.

137 Tropical plants, bushes, and trees grow at sea level. At higher ele-

415 not use household equipment in their games. Instead they find broken
857 dishes, old cans, and other discarded items in the trash heap.

354 The kitchen has no equipment other than the open fireplace with
[716] three hearth stones and a shelf above it on which a salt column, sym-
[654] bolizing kitchen deities, is kept. During the last few years, the Ryukyan government Home Extension Service has been trying to introduce brick stoves into farmhouses. Several families now have this kind of stove although it is expensive to build.

356 As far as can be superficially discerned, the home is kept clean. A visitor usually finds the floor of the house free of dirt. Footgear is taken off before entering, and children are reminded to wash their bare feet before going into the house. Less care is given to the area around the kitchen.

312 Outside the kitchen stand one or two jars to store water. A dipper is
415 kept nearby, and children playing in the vicinity or adults often walk to one of these jars for water, which they drink out of a dipper. There may also be an array of pots, pans, crates, baskets, and other equipment piled up around the kitchen. Knives and hatchets are openly left around among the equipment behind the kitchen.

351 The courtyard is an important place for domestic activities. Here women and girls wash dishes, mix pig food in large kettles, make bean paste in a hand stone grinder, and prepare grain for storage. There are
[514] vegetable patches in one corner of the yard, chicken coops, pigsties,
[364] goat pens, and an outhouse in another. Most garbage is fed to the pigs; the rest is thrown over the sea wall to roll down onto the beach.

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Chapter 2

Daily Routine

805 There are few clocks in central Taira. Except for the township office,
512 post office, and village store, only two or three families own a timepiece. Twice a day, at noon and 10 o'clock in the evening, a clerk strikes

an empty oxygen bottle with a wooden mallet to mark the time. The noon bell tells people in the fields and mountains that it is time for the midday meal and helps those who have a clock to compare the time. The evening bell indicates that it is time to end the day. Schoolchildren do not need a clock, since they get up early in the morning and go to school soon after, knowing that they are probably early. For most adults, daylight and sun position are enough to tell the approximate hour of the day. Some take arrival and departure of the bus, four times a day, as a point of orientation. 805 512 [464]

Old women are the first to rise in the morning. Long before dawn during the winter, or with the first light of the summer day, they get up and start a fire to boil sweet potatoes and heat the soybean soup. Blue smoke rising through the thatched roof into the early morning sky indicates that life in the village has begun. Children soon awake. The door is pushed open and a sleepy child appears to urinate off the edge of the house. Men are the last to rise. Considering the effect of the sake which they may have consumed on the preceding evening, it is remarkable that they are able to wake up so soon. By 6:30 the sleepiest person has risen. 512 [887] [252] [514]

The addition of outer clothes to the underclothing in which most people sleep is simple. Cold water splashed over the face and a quick turn at the toothbrush is all the toilet needed to begin a new day. [513] [515]

The task of folding comforters and taking down the mosquito net falls to one of the older children or to the mother. Older children and young girls help to carry water from the tank, the first task that has to be done after getting up. After breakfast, women feed the pigs. By about 7 o'clock everybody is ready for work. On a good day people leave for the mountains or start toward their fields—schoolchildren are on their way, too. [857] [462]

By 8 o'clock, except during very poor weather, the village is left to the old people and young children. Little boys and girls hang around, waiting for kindergarten to start at 9 o'clock. Play begins for them after they leave the house in the morning and does not end until evening. [855] [872]

For men and women, the routine of work in fields and forests is prescribed by seasonal activities which demand their special attention, but there are daily chores, such as digging potatoes, picking vegetables, and collecting feed for the animals and firewood for cooking. Only a few men who go to the mountains, taking their midday meal along, are away all day. The rest come and go during the day from the rice paddies, potato fields, or forests, so that there is repeated contact between children and their parents. A young child, even if left in the 512 461 [855]

243 offered at the village shrine by the priestess. Today key agricultural
[782] events are still marked by small ceremonies in which the priestess be-
[793] seeches or thanks the gods, but the actual day for planting is determined by weather and the condition of seed.

When the rice is transplanted in March, the whole family spends long hours in the paddy. Then the paddies swarm with people; some prepare the soil by spreading fertilizer, others stand in the ooze to set the seedlings. Transplanting is done by mutual assistance groups, which
[476] will be discussed later in this chapter. They guarantee everyone a sufficient number of helping hands during the painstaking, rapid work, which has to be finished within a limited time. In a few days the whole paddy area suddenly turns from brown into the tender green of the young shoots. Once planted, intermittent weeding is all the care that is needed.

[261] In July the rice turns brown and is ready for harvest. This is an event of joy for the whole village, for young rice is most delicious and
[857] loved by everyone. By then vacations have started, so that schoolchildren can help to cut rice and carry bundles to the spot where it is threshed in treadle-type machines, located either near the field or behind one's house. As soon as the rice is threshed, the grain is carried to a place in the village where the wind blows freely. There a woman holds a flat winnowing basket filled with grain at an angle to let the
[782] breeze separate the chaff from the grain. The first rice is cut by men
[264] and offered at the family shrine before the whole family eats a specially
[251] prepared gruel. Rice is usually stored in one or two oil drums in the kitchen-side corner of the front room. Better houses have a metal-lined
[256] storeroom. Once a week a supply is taken to the miller to be hulled and polished.

Those whose fields are sufficiently wet plant a second crop, and the cycle is repeated once more in midsummer, with the second harvest falling in late December.

244 Sweet potatoes can be planted throughout the greater part of the year if the soil is not too dry. They take from five to seven months to
[262] grow to full size. Although less popular than rice, no part of the plant
[231] is wasted. The large tubers are consumed, the small ones are usually fed to the pigs; the young leaves are used as vegetables, the older ones cooked into pig food. Slips are cut and used for planting a new crop.

The preferred variety of potato (*tadushi imu*) is grown in the dry paddies during the second rice season. To plant this potato, the soil must be piled up to form a long, narrow, flat-topped mound. One of the hardest jobs for farmers, this is done by men in the humid heat of a midsummer day. Women set the slips after the earth has been moved.
[251] These potatoes are the only variety which are thought to improve with

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

of the permanent Tairan families fish; the majority of the fishermen are migrants from the surrounding islands who come for a season, leaving their families behind. A few families have moved in permanently. The fishermen supply Taira, but most of the catch is peddled in the Nago market by the fishermen's wives. Some of the more enterprising and mercantile-minded women in the village buy up fish and peddle it for a profit.

Two or three times a year, during February or March, large fishing boats from Henza Island land in Taira with whale meat. All the able women look forward to making extra cash at this time, for whale meat is considered a delicacy in homes where meat is rare. Blubber is eaten and used as frying fat. The distribution of whale meat is arranged by one village woman whose fishermen relatives from Henza supply it in response to her request. She acts as agent, distributing the meat to the women on consignment.

LUMBERING

The main source of immediate cash for most families is firewood. Forest land in the mountains is owned by the township and the village, except for some woods near the fields, which are personal property. The township permits the village to exploit a certain region surrounding the community in return for payment of a forest tax. This tax is levied on firewood bundles or on lumber sold by villagers. Everyone in the village is free to cut wood in the designated area in any amount he desires. This, however, does not imply that unlimited cutting is possible, for resources have been utilized so heavily that most forests near the village are almost cleaned out, and it has become increasingly difficult to find wood. Reforestation has only recently been introduced on a serious scale. Often villagers are found trespassing on land owned by the central Ryukyan government in order to cut from the less depleted forests there. Government officials are sympathetic to the villagers' plight, and they tend to dispose of such transgressions with a stern warning.

Men and women, and during vactions, some children over 12 years, go to the forest. Most people prefer to walk and work in small groups. To reach a place high up in the hills, they may have to hike almost a mile from the center of Taira. The steep, narrow paths made by woodcutters traverse the mountains. Following the approach trails during the day, one can hear voices and the sawing of wood from many directions. All lumber people carry a short handsaw and a heavy bush knife

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

857
226
854
291

Children catching small fish.

Girls washing their laundry.

857
291
302

[296]
[415]
←

[482]
→
[312]

Carrying water while their mother is recovering from giving birth.

[243]
→

Boy harvesting.

[p. 456-C]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

854
482
302
←

857
→

Young girl carrying baby sister.

Boys wrestling.

857
291
526
←

Playing house.

Mother about to nurse her daughter says, "Now say please."

853
302
291
→

[p 456-D]

846 461 before noon but for the fact that she had to return to attend to the infant.

854 853 594 [887] If a grandmother is available, the mother straps the 3-to-4 months old baby onto the grandmother's back in the morning and goes off to the mountains with her husband to haul firewood or to the fields to cultivate sweet potatoes. For the first six months she returns to the house frequently during the day to nurse the infant. It is likely that while the infant demands feeding at short intervals, a mother will work in or around the village. At one of the locations for firewood bundling she can make the bamboo rings, fit the cut wood into them, and stack the bundles.

512 854 [853] [887] Throughout the morning hours grandmother, with the infant on her back, wanders about the village. Occasionally she offers her dry breast to the bawling infant who cannot seem to wait until its mother returns from the fields or mountains. If the mother is nearby, she hurries so that the infant does not cry for long. When the hour for lunch approaches, the grandmother hurries home to begin preparations for the noonday meal. As she walks, the infant's head bobs up and down, forward and back precariously, but it continues to sleep undisturbed.

[264] After lunch has been eaten and the infant nursed, the adults in the household sip their tea and rest for an hour or so. Within that hour the mother may play with the infant or nap with it nestled in her arms. Rousing themselves from the noon nap, the adults return to the mountains and fields. The infant is again strapped to the grandmother's back, but this time as she slowly wends her way to the main thoroughfare, she calls out to someone in a house which boasts one of the few clocks in the village. "Hey, what is the time there?" The answer will quicken her pace, for it is near the time for an older sibling to return from school. As she reaches the main street, she joins other grandmothers as well as mothers who are anxiously scanning the direction from which the schoolchildren return. Each admires the infants on the other's back and exchanges timely topics of the day, but as the minutes pass and no children appear, they begin to grumble about the "irresponsible siblings who *must* be playing on their way home." At last the older child returns, and the grandmother hurries home with her charges, promptly transfering the infant onto the back of the older sibling. The old woman rushes to get her hoe and basket, mumbling to herself about the quantity of potatoes she should harvest for the next day's use.

512 854 887 857

854 857 594 An older child who ignores the crying of his infant charge will be criticized severely by his peers. If the mother happens to be in the

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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fields and away from the village, the young caretaker jiggles up and down to soothe the baby on his back. As his cries become frantic, the caretaker's peers will pat him on his buttocks and try to placate him by guiding his fingers to his mouth. 854 857 594

For the nuclear family with no other caretaker except the mother, the newborn proves to be a problem. One such mother complained that she could not do anything efficiently with a baby on her back. She was able to go to the fields to harvest potatoes but had to leave the laden basket until the afternoon to carry it home, for at that time the neighbor's child returned from school to look after the baby. In payment for baby-sitting services she had planned on buying the neighbor's child a dress for the next New Year.

In the nuclear family with school age children, the mother works around the house and in the nearby fields in the morning and rushes off to the mountains when her relief returns in the middle of the afternoon. Thus the infant which brought so much joy to the family and gave its mother respite from the rigorous routine for a short time becomes somewhat of a burden to all. Nevertheless, the baby continues to be indulged, pitied for his helplessness, and the object of affection.

It is important to note, briefly, the father's attitude and behavior during this initial period. Although only females were born during this study, interviews suggest that a male birth elicits a somewhat more solicitous behavior on the part of the father toward both mother and infant than a female one. The father will discourage the mother's early resumption of work and may even feel encouraged to carry the male infant despite the fact that children are deemed "women's work." Ostensibly, however, he seems embarrassed and disinterested in the whole matter be it a male or female. Congratulating visitors find that after a few polite exchanges the father will retire to a corner in the house as attention focuses on mother and child. After sitting out what seems a proper length of time, he will mumble some excuse or other and leave the house to do some chore. The observer visiting the household on the occasion of the birth of a fourth daughter found gloom and disgust in the father's expression. A male visitor who sat trying to convince the father that daughters are quite useful, too, received only contemptuous stares. His wife sat dejectedly holding the infant loosely in her arms. In contrast, a visit of the same purpose to another household on the birth of a fourth daughter revealed similar but notably less intense reactions on the part of the father. Perhaps because of the existence of one male heir he felt less threatened. 846 842

There is a tenacious belief in Taira that the female determines the sex of the child. If the woman fails to produce a male heir, the man

846 can take on a second wife. The woman who is delivered of her third
842 son is the envy of others who have none or only one son to their credit, for she has achieved what is considered to be the ideal in a wife. Thus the first mother with four daughters was treated with outright disgust and contempt by her husband, whereas in the second instance the mother was receiving the normal treatment of disinterest with minor solicitation.

593 The constant stream of visitors during the first month gives the other children in the household a sense of importance. Whenever an
857 older child has a chance, he stresses the fact that there is a newborn
854 in the house and reports the identity of the latest visitor to scores of admiring peers. He is the envy of the lot when at last he is allowed to carry the infant and play. But the envy is short lived, and the older sibling's pride withers rapidly when he finds that this is just another baby to be carried and cared for constantly. As the baby gains weight and no longer sleeps quietly for extended periods of time on the back, the older sibling begins to run and hide when he sees his mother approaching with the baby.

593 A few days after the birth of an infant, the fieldworker visited a household and found the older siblings all crowded in the back room
522 with the mother and child. One of the girls, a 5-year-old who was
857 unusually sturdy and large in build, was teased by her mother. "Hey
854 Hanako, let's give the teacher this baby, all right?" said the mother, winking on the side to the fieldworker. The little girl looked anxiously at the fieldworker and slowly edged over protectively toward the infant. She shook her head slowly and deliberately for some minutes, indicating that she would not assent to giving her baby sister away. At this point the grandmother entered the teasing and told the little girl that the baby would only prove to be a burden when she had to carry her later on, but she continued to shake her head. As the mother handed the baby over to the fieldworker, the girl burst into tears and cried out "No! No!" All laughed and assured her that the baby would remain in the household.

593 Several weeks later, Hanako proudly paraded her newest baby sister for all her playmates to see. Many begged to carry the infant "for just a
857 little while" to no avail. When her older sister returned from school,
854 she reluctantly gave up her charge in deference to age and experience. This went on for about two months until one day the fieldworker came on the mother calling frantically around the village for Hanako and the older girl. The older girl successfully evaded her mother, but Hanako was discovered and the baby was strapped to her back. Hanako

frowned and tugged at the straps that were straining at her neck muscles. 593

At a still later date, Hanako, with her baby sister strapped to her back, played on the beach. At one point, when all the children were scattered over the beach and no one else was nearby, Hanako edged up to the fieldworker and asked, "Would you like this baby, teacher? Here, take her," she said wearily. Asked why she had changed her mind, the little girl smiled shyly, squirmed uncomfortably for a moment, then whispered, "She's too heavy." Her 3-year-old sister, off in the distance at that point, began to scream and cry at being left so far behind. Hanako turned to look back once, then walked on as the 3-year-old squatted on the sand and screamed to be carried. At that moment her mother appeared to nurse the infant, and Hanako ran to her. She bounded swiftly away to the 3-year-old as the mother started to nurse the baby. Returning a few minutes later with the 3-year-old on her back, Hanako deposited her disgustedly, panting heavily from the weight. "Shall we give baby to teacher, Hanako?" asked the mother, and without any hesitation Hanako this time nodded "Yes." The mother laughed and said, "Hah, she has had enough of her already. When the baby was tiny and cute, she was so eager to carry her and wouldn't give her to you, but they all get tired of babies in time." And with that the mother began to rock the baby back and forth in her arms. Smiling affectionately, she kissed and hugged the cooing infant and murmured, "Nobody wants you, eh?" Because she was an unusually outspoken mother she confided, "I think I have had enough too, here, I give her to you!" She laughed as she continued, "How can I make money, feed and clothe the children when I have to rush back from the mountains to nurse this baby." 857 854 [594]

When the child is about 6 months old, he is subjected to a painful operation which prepares him for the introduction to solid foods. The area around the navel is moxa-cauterized. Nine little brown dots in three rows of three attest to the practice of burning a special kind of grass on the skin in this area to protect the infant from various digestive complications. The child thus treated, the mother will begin to supplement breast feedings with rice water, milky white in appearance, that is spooned out of the boiling pot of rice. Sometime later, before the child is about one, bits of sweet potato and special kinds of fish mashed between the fingers are thrust into the mouth of the infant as he sits on his mother's lap at mealtime. Gradually he is given more and more solid foods until, finally, at the age of 2 he is eating rice, unmashed fish, potatoes and vegetables, but nursing is continued until 853 [751] [262] 862 855 262

financier, the abacus a mathematician, the book a scholar, and food a glutton. The villagers did not seem to place much credence in the choice. Mothers laughed when asked what choices their children made and commented, "It's something to talk about, but many times we can't even remember which child chose what!" 852

The child continues to be carried on the back until the next sibling is born, the interval being between about two or three years. By the time an infant is a year old, he has been taken through every nook and cranny of the village. He has also seen all the adults and children of the village and has witnessed the economic and social-ceremonial activities. Whereas he slept most of the time when he was young, he now begins to participate in what goes on about him. He claps his hands in glee in response to his older sibling's delight over some aspect of play or raises his arm in defiance of another child who attempts to strike at his older sibling. In spite of the fact that he is capable of crawling or learning to walk within the second half year of his life, he is kept on the back. He does not protest or clamor to be put down; he seems to prefer being carried to being left to crawl. 855 854 [856]

Caretakers are too busy with work or play to let the child crawl about freely, so there is no crawling stage in Taira. Older siblings are too involved in play to sit and patiently watch a crawler. The older child would also be severely punished should the infant pick up some object and swallow it or injure himself in his crawling. One 8-year-old found that the 10-month-old sister she toted on her back took to standing on the ground and jouncing up and down every time she squatted to play. After several unsuccessful attempts to stop this annoying behavior, she unstrapped her and allowed her to crawl about freely. The older girl became so engrossed in the game that her mouth dropped open and eyes turned round with fear when one of her playmates shouted, "Hey! the baby put some dirt into her mouth!" Immediately she rushed to "flush" the baby's mouth out with her fingers and promptly strapped her onto the back again and continued playing despite the uncomfortable jouncings. The baby did not protest at being restrapped; she just jounced and played with her hands. 857 855

A mother who sits and plucks sweet potato leaves off the vines for hog feed works more efficiently with the baby on her back. Crawling around on the loose floorboards near the fire pit or over the edge of the raised floor, the child would require constant attention. On one occasion the observer was sitting and talking with a mother who was weaving a bamboo basket in her front room. The floor was littered with bamboo shavings and slats. As the mother worked, she was relaxed. She turned and twisted the sharp ends of the bamboo slats, leaving pointed [231] [285]

855 ends swinging in the air, and dropping the huge knife in a careless
857 fashion on the floor near her. Suddenly there was the sound of a crying
[285] baby and her eldest girl appeared with the 8-month-old on her back. Unstrapping the baby, the girl plopped her onto her mother's lap. Instinctively the mother pushed the basket, bamboo slats, and knife away as she unbuttoned her blouse to nurse the baby. When the baby had had its fill, the mother called to the little caretaker to come and carry her. The older child called out that she was going to get a drink of water and disappeared around the house. She entered through the back and called to the baby to come. The baby crawled over but was attracted on the way by the big knife. Instantly the mother snatched it away, and the baby started to move toward the sharp pieces of bamboo. In desperation the mother picked up the baby and called crossly to the girl to come immediately. The older child obeyed, and the baby was strapped onto her back. "Now go and play somewhere," instructed the annoyed mother.

855 Another instance of similar nature took place in the frontyard of a
863 place which that day was the scene of "house playing." A grandmother watching the activity decided to let the year-old baby on her back down to join in the play. "Eh, go and play with your older sisters," she smiled and said to the child as she put her gently down on the ground. The child started to crawl over to the group but stopped and sat very quietly staring ahead for a minute. The grandmother, who had disappeared into the house, reappeared. "A-yah!" she exclaimed as she looked down to see the baby scratching the damp earth about her. The baby had urinated and was puddling about so that in that brief instant she had thoroughly soiled herself as well as her clothing. Grumbling and scolding, "Dirty, dirty!" she picked up and carried at arm's length the baby, who was smiling and gurgling. The old woman cleaned the baby at the water barrel and, dressing her in clean clothes, promptly put her on her back again.

855 The only children who were allowed to crawl about were the sons
184 of two fishermen. Fishermen's wives, compared to the farmer-woods-
462 men's wives, have a great deal more leisure time. They buy their potatoes and rice with money from the sale of fish. The men send their catch to the market via the bus, so their wives, except when they accompany a catch to the city, have only to care for the house and a pig and are free to watch their children as they crawl about.

854 In summary, the infancy period is characterized by consistent nur-
155 turance. Mothers, grandmothers, and child baby-tenders are helpful and demonstrative in their affection. That they value such behavior is further evidenced by their conscious teaching of young children to

effectively in the case of a boy who did not respond to red pepper or black paper. The mother described how she tried to fend off the boy one day by simply refusing. As he fussed and cried there was a loud clanging of the pots in the kitchen. The boy stopped crying and looked at the mother who pretended to be very frightened. "Look now! There! It's a big rat coming for your mother's breast, let's hide it, quick, quick!" And with that she buttoned her blouse hurriedly and took the boy in her arms. She laughed as she described how she reminded him thereafter about the rat and how he ran to her and held onto her breasts protectively. 862

For the child, this whole interim period is a stormy one filled with tantrums, whining, and obstinancy. At no time, however, does the child resort to thumbsucking or other breast substitutes. For older siblings who are his caretakers, this period is a very unpleasant one. Many things displease the child. If his caretaker squats, he screams to have him stand; if he stands, he whines to have him walk. Frequently the sibling caring for him reflects the changing attitude toward the child, and, jiggles him up and down impatiently with a frown and curt comment, "What is it!" [856] [857]

As far as actual nourishment is concerned, weaning should not be so traumatic. Long before weaning commences, when the child is about one, he is given a spoon with which he can learn to feed himself. If families can afford it, they purchase new spoons and special small-sized rice bowls as well as chopsticks for these novices. When the budget is so limited that purchases of new implements are impossible, adult-sized ones are used, and often as not the tablespoon used for cooking and serving proves useful. [853] [412] [415]

At mealtime the entire household sits in the back room, which is next to the kitchen. The head of the family sits nearest to the raised hearth, and the rest of the members form a circle to the left and right of him at a low round or rectangular table. The baby sits on his mother's or grandmother's lap. Usually the mess resulting from this early training period in self-feeding is ignored. The adult holding the novice in his lap occasionally picks up the dropped rice and thrusts small pieces of fish or vegetable into his mouth. Only when he bangs the table excessively with his spoon do his elders mildly chide him. At first the adult holding him will absently reach for the offending arm and slip some food into his mouth. Later they will begin reprimanding him by scowling and glaring at him saying, "Me-me!" (child talk for "eye," meaning "I look at you disapprovingly.") But all this is done in a very gentle way, and often when the novice bursts into tears from fright of the disapproving response, he will be hugged, laughed at, and 853 264 862

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went home and hysterically reported the incident to her family. The mother, meanwhile, laughed and told her boy, "Just like your grandmother, can't stand to hear you cry even when you are not hurt!" She then went on to say that both she and her husband ignore the boy's crying in situations where he could help himself, but the boy's grandmother immediately runs to soothe and aid him. Generally it may be said that in extended households, grandmothers tend to prolong the dependence period and discourage independence and responsibility. 866 603 855 [596]

The relationship between grandfather and grandchild is more restrained. Although grandfathers may be seen carrying children or doing things for them, there is always a discreet distance between them, the result of early training in respect and deference to male elders. Children do not tease their grandfathers as they do their grandmothers. Older boys, in their late teens, may carry on a superficial joking relationship with their grandfathers, but they must be careful not to show disrespect. The male elders in turn show greater affection for the male child than for the female. When both grandparents are living in the house, the child, whether male or female, is more likely to direct his succorant appeals to grandmother rather than grandfather.* 603 858 866

Mothers, themselves, are often not too consistent in their training for independence. They will feel sorry for the child when he is first weaned and allow him to stay close to them until the birth of the next sibling. On the other hand, they will encourage the little 2-year-olds to imitate older girls and boys, particularly in their baby-tending role. A mother will strap a "doll" on her daughter or son's back. The "dolls" are usually rolled blankets or jackets, for real dolls are expensive and rarely bought in the village. Older children and adults do not fail to comment to a child carrying such a burden. They praise him for being such a good caretaker; they pretend to see the "baby" sleeping and report this to him. If the strapping becomes loose, they call to him and reassemble the "baby" and the pinning. The doll is never played with or manipulated. Thus the 2-year-old gets praised for emulation of the responsible and nurturant behavior expected of older siblings. 866 857 [862] [524] [155]

Perhaps it is this role training that explains in part the absence of aggression toward the newborn sibling, which might well be expected with such a short interval between weaning from the breast and back and the birth of the next child. The fieldworker did not observe one instance of such hostility. If there is any hostility expressed, it is against the mother in outbursts of temper and against those who ridicule or try to comfort the displaced child. The grandmother's aggressive actions against the mother may encourage the child in this behavior 867 593

* Only 4 out of 24 sample children lived in the same house with a grandfather.

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are therefore generally postponed until the child is believed to be endowed with this mysterious capacity to "understand and know." Kindergarten children pilfer from gardens, have temper tantrums, and attack each other physically, but very little enforcement takes place. "They are only children, we can't expect them to know any better," say adults. 858 861 [872]

In spite of this distinction, there is not a complete laissez-faire handling of the still "senseless" child. On the contrary, the child is subject to a number of restrictions. Adults assiduously attempt to train him to say "Please" and "Thank you," "Good morning," "Good day," and "Good-bye." One mother and her eldest daughter were observed trying to teach the youngest child, an 8-month-old girl, to say "Thank you." A piece of brown sugar was extended, withdrawn, given and taken from the baby until she had twice performed the act indicating "Thank you." Mother and daughter took the baby's hands, folded one over the other, palm side up and raised it, saying at the same time, "Ah-ah," baby talk for "Thank you." The situation was not without fussing and screaming on the part of the young child. 861 867

Adults often push the young child's head down to say "Hello," and, if he lets out screams of protest, all laugh hilariously. The child inevitably joins in the laughter and the adults taunt, "Know-nothing." Three and 4-year-olds playing in the dirt along the lanes are picked up and taken to the faucets for a wash down and a scolding, "Dirty! Cat!" Although such enforcement occurs, it is negated when the child starts crying. "Here, here, don't cry; mother was bad" (for scolding you) placates the adult, hugging and cradling the child. [855]

One mother complained that her tomato patch was constantly being raided. When asked whether she knew who was doing it, she said, "Yes, they are kindergarten children." Questioned further as to why she did not scold them or talk to their parents, she said, "It's no use, they are too young to talk to, and besides, I would not like to talk to their mothers because, who knows, my own girls who are under 6 years old may be doing something like that too."

Playing with water is the favorite pastime of young children. During all times of the day a group of them gather at the water tank or at faucets to puddle and "wash." When the water supply was limited, adults would pause in passing by to scream, "Eeyah!" once, then go on, shaking their heads while the children paused only momentarily to look up and then continued with their play. [857]

In the morning, after adults have departed for the fields and mountains and older children have left the village for school, the kindergarten child leaves home with two or three sweet potatoes in his hand 857 872

857 to gather with others his age under the great banyan tree at the lower
872 water tank. On rainy days he proceeds to the empty warehouse. There is no compulsion to go; he can join another renegade at the upper tank or on the beach, if he feels inclined to. As the group grows, games of tag, marbles, and rope jumping are started. By the time the kindergarten teacher arrives on the scene, the children have organized themselves into numbers of little groups and games. She carries the big drum
872 from the village office to the banyan tree, and, even before she drums
876 to signal the start of the session, little girls are lining up in front of her. The boys, as if to assert their maleness, play on, disregarding her until she calls sternly to them. Soon a line of boys forms next to the line of girls. As the teacher instructs all to straighten the formations by putting hands onto the shoulders of those in front, boys begin tickling each other and slapping in time to the song of the kindergarteners. The teacher frowns at the boys and tries hard to suppress an amused smile, for the sounds of the childish voices are so incongruent with the brazen attitude. With her drumsticks she reaches over to lightly tap a head, a buttock, and an offending arm. Soon there is order, and she bows slightly, saying, "Good morning, students." The children respond with, "Good morning, teacher," the boys exaggerating the politeness with deep bows and shouting voices. The teacher smiles, then instructs all to stand up straight to sing the kindergarten song. Roughly translated it goes, "We are kindergarteners. . . . We play together well. . . ." There are motions to go with the song, and the girls, with their serious concentration to be perfect in their performance, contrast sharply with the improvisations of the boys. The teacher ignores this and interrupts her singing occasionally to laugh and reach over with the drumstick to restrain a particularly disturbing boy.

863 When the song is completed, she comments on the excellent singing
872 performance and then goes on to ask how many children remembered
876 to wash their faces and hands before coming to kindergarten. There is an embarrassed twitter among the girls and a few downcast eyes, but the majority proudly raise their hands. As she examines the children, she comments that those who are negligent should be ashamed. From among their ranks a voice calls out, "Teacher, teacher! I didn't wash my face and hands, and I am not ashamed!" A little girl comments, "Fool thing!" The teacher finally hears his insistent cries and has him repeat his information. She tries hard to look disapproving, but laughs spontaneously instead as she lightly whacks his buttocks with the drumstick, saying, "What do you mean, you have not washed your hands and face and you are not ashamed!" She turns to inspect the children one by one, still smiling and commenting on a dirty ear and unkempt finger-

872 express one's creativeness except in perfecting and improvising song-
876 dance performances. Lacking paper and crayons or paint, children crouch to the ground with the teacher to trace "pictures" in the sandy ground with their fingers or small sticks. The beach provides a rich playground on days when the teacher suffers laryngitis as a result of a cold and is unable to lead songs and direct the play verbally. Collecting shells, learning their names, examining washed up bits of seaweed and fish, exploring exposed stretches of rivers at low tide are real lessons in nature for the kindergarten child as he discovers these things himself and experiments without the direction of formal lessons. If he desires more information about things, he is free to ask the teacher; if he does not, no pressure is put on him to learn and know.

872 The kindergarten phase is a happy one for the child. Under the
● 857 direction of the teacher, who may be the mother or sister of one of his
[875] peers, he passes the two hours, from 9:30 to 11:30, of the morning, then goes on to play in and around the village for the rest of the day. He runs home only when he is hungry or when it is mealtime. And he hurries back to rejoin his peers for free play for the rest of the day.

857 Adults put little restriction on children's movement. They are free
[576] to occupy any part of the home and run around at will. Before enter-
[515] ing the house, everyone takes off his shoes; a rag lies on the ground to
[291] wipe dirty feet. Few children spend any length of time indoors, however, during daylight hours. If weather forces them to stay inside, they are found either in one of the front rooms or in the cooking area to the back.

855 Despite the occasional motor vehicle traffic through the village,
867 adults show little concern, for the kindergarten child has been well exposed to rules of safety in this respect. At the sound of warning horns, children run to the side of the main road and into the yards. The few brazen little boys who dare to chase vehicles and attempt to hang on to the rear bumper are severely reprimanded by those nearby.

A 4-year-old boy who had run out of the way of a lumbering truck stood watching as it rounded the curve and entered the village. Adults waiting for the vehicle to pass chatted idly and scanned the passengers to see if there were any familiar faces. Suddenly the 4-year-old leaned forward and threw a small branch he had in his hand under the tires of the passing truck. At once the driver, passengers, and by-standers screamed, "Fool one!" The passengers waved a warning finger at him, and he was berated by the village adults standing with him. "That was a dangerous thing to do. If you do that another time, you will be taken to the police station!" they threatened. The boy looked down at the ground and nodded to acknowledge his wrongdoing.

On the whole it can be said that children seem to decide for themselves how far they can move around. Underlying the action of most is a dislike of venturing into unfamiliar grounds, and this largely restricts the territory commonly covered. Most children travel in groups of more than two, an aspect of Taira children's behavior to which reference will often be made. 857 855 156

The area of tombs is generally avoided by children, except by those who pass there to walk to the mouth of the Udenaha River or over the narrow, fragile bridge across it. While children do not fear the bodies of the dead, they express a fear of spirits. But during ceremonies for the dead, children accompany adults and participate in the social gatherings in front of tombs following the prayer. When the body of a fisherman was brought up on the shores of Taira after a typhoon, scores of children of kindergarten age roamed to the beach to take a peek beneath the canvas which covered the corpse. The policeman who officiated on the occasion impatiently waved away the kindergarteners, and when the schoolchildren returned in the afternoon, they also had to be warned to stay away. 857 769 775 [852]

In the central village itself, few places are closed to children. The village office building, of which only a section is reserved for office space, quite often attracts children. It is a convenient temporary shelter during rain squalls and a cool spot during hot weather. The village headman or his clerk may complain about too much noise and chase a group out, but this does not discourage them from returning soon afterward. The open prayer house, too, is a place for play, and no objections are voiced by adults, including the priestess and her assistants. These buildings are village gathering places, and children, as essential members of the community, have free access to them. The situation is different with regard to the township office and the post office, which children never enter except on special errands. 857 858

Children are familiar with dangerous spots, such as steep hills, and show amazing skill in maintaining balance, even when the ground is wet and the dirt is loose. On a picnic hike of a little under 4 miles, kindergarteners ranging from 3 to 6 years scampered across a frail, wide-slatted bridge, up and down over slippery clay paths and over rocky terrain with only a 30 minute stop to eat their lunches. In a group of about 15 children only two 3-year-olds slipped and cried to be carried down unusually steep inclines and over the rickety bridge. None seemed exhausted although many roamed off the paths to forage in the bushes for berries and laurellike flowers from which they sucked nectar. 855 857

Journeys outside the village are rare for most children. It is usually 857

857 the infant still at the breast who is taken on shopping trips to Nago, the nearest town, or to neighboring townships to visit maternal relatives. When whale meat was marketed from the village on weekends, a school age child was taken along to carry the infant because the mother was burdened with her basket of meat, but this was infrequent. Few children have explored their township beyond Miyagi, a village 5 miles to the east of Taira or Gesashi, 4 miles to the southwest.

[364] Children also rummage through the garbage heaps, where they find useful things like tin cans, bottles, and discarded bits of vegetable with which to play house or store.

857 241 During the harvest and planting seasons, children accompany adults to the rice paddies and potato fields near the village. Mats are spread out on the dikes and kindergarten children gaily dangle their feet in the oozy mud while "keeping watch over the sleeping infants." Those who whimper to help are given small sheaves of rice to carry to their fathers and older brothers, who thresh them in the dry fields or on the flat grounds bordering the paddies.

855 [412] Many 4-year-olds are adept at handling knives. As implements like knives, hatchets, pronged hoes, sickles, rakes, and saws were often left within reach of children, it was not unusual for them to use them. Although many cut themselves, adults do not seem to take special care to put them out of reach. Children of kindergarten age are frequently scolded for playing with sharp instruments, but with persistent crying or begging they usually gain reluctant consent.

852 855 527 During all holiday events, children participate without much control from adults. Young children are carried by their mothers as they make the visiting rounds or sit on the floor in the building where the whole village congregates. Toddlers explore the surroundings and, finding themselves in the middle of the dance floor, are gently pushed aside and handed back to their mother. Older children hang around while food is served; then they disappear to play games of their own. During sport events, track meets, wrestling, and at dance performances, children are as interested spectators as their parents. Nobody would think of leaving a child at home on a holiday, and nobody would demand that the child sit quietly through lengthy speeches or ceremonies.

868 535 [872] Children learn dances from kindergarten days on, either by watching or by coaching from an older person, a friend, one's older sister, or mother. Sometimes they are called on to perform for adults, or a special children's performance is given under the direction of the kindergarten teacher. Adults enjoy these dances as much as if they were done by grownups. They are amused and delighted if a little girl

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wiggles her hips and otherwise makes movements that are not per- 535
mitted in the classical Okinawan dance.

Kindergarten children are usually asleep by 8:30 in the winter and 857
9:00 in the summer. They sleep an average 8 hours. Ten o'clock is 513
considered to be proper bedtime for all people. The village bell is rung to remind everyone that the day has ended. The entire family sleeps on the mattresses spread on the floor with wooden pillows. In winter the heavy quilts are taken down. Children vary in their bedtime. Those who feel tired fall asleep soon after the evening meal. Often the grandparents lie down with the small children. If children accompany parents on a visit, they lie down in their father's or mother's lap, or on the floor to sleep. Since not all adults go to sleep at 10:00, older children may stay up longer, particularly during moonlight nights. Few children take naps except during the summer, when the heat makes everyone drowsy and slows down work during midday. Once in a while a young child goes home to lie down for a nap.

The kindergarten child's day has been an active and carefree one. 857
He is seldom alone. "Do not play alone, go and play with others. If you 155
play alone, people might think that others dislike you," instruct par- 156
ents in Taira. Anyone passing a child playing alone would remark, "How lonely he seems." Furthermore, mothers worry about a child being alone "because he is more apt to do naughty things or get into dangerous play."

A 4- or 5-year-old may sometimes find himself being a caretaker, but 857
generally he is not considered very reliable, and being a "senseless" 855
individual, he is not held responsible by the village for anything that 861
might happen to his charges. It is the mother who is held culpable and is censured in this case.

One mother was severely criticized by her neighbors when she punished her 4-year-old boy for abandoning his 2-year-old sibling. The children had been sent out to play. When the older boy came home for supper, he faced an angry mother who berated him for thinking only of his own pleasure and leaving his little brother on the main road and to the dangers of passing trucks. She spanked the boy, tied his hands and legs briefly, and left the crying child behind when she went to the village store with his younger sibling.

In another case, a grandmother grumbled about the "laxity" and 857
irresponsibility of the mother. A 5-year-old was carrying her month- 854
old sibling who was sleeping on the back in a twisted position due to loose strappings. "Come here! Your mother, where is she . . . how could she leave this child with you! Almost falling . . . ," the old woman mumbled as she unstrapped the peacefully sleeping baby and

857 cuddled it in her arms. The 5-year-old in this case was disappointed
854 at being relieved of his charge, but no doubt would have been happy to be absolved of any blame in the event that the baby had fallen and hurt itself.

857 Most 4- and 5-year-olds, therefore, find their nurturant efforts frus-
866 trated, for they are considered too young to carry their younger siblings. They are told that their necks will hurt, they are not strong enough,
[593] and that they will be dwarfs if they started to carry such a heavy bur-
[155] den from such an early age. A sturdy 5-year-old, nevertheless, finds that if he is persistent enough, his mother will allow him to carry his infant sibling for short periods of time with close supervision. It is on these short jaunts that the child basks in the shower of praise and is richly rewarded for his nurturant behavior. Several mothers reported how their 4- and 5-year-olds take pride periodically in mopping up floors, setting tables, and clearing up after a meal. "They don't really do these chores, they help at it, but we let them do it because they like to. And if they don't feel like doing it, we don't say anything," report these mothers.

857 Frequently kindergarten children accompany their mothers to the
241 potato fields in the afternoons. There they play in and around the
866 plants or "help" their mothers. One 4-year-old girl pointed out with pride that she goes with her mother to their fields to "clean dirt off the potatoes" which her mother has dug before placing them in the basket. Boys of 3 and 5 were observed "assisting" by following adults' instructions to drop the seed potato into the hole at planting time. Generally adults dislike taking children to distant fields, for they beg to be carried near the half-way point. Occasionally a young child who has been on such a trip is toted back in the grandmother's empty carrying basket or in one of the suspended shoulder-yoke baskets of his grandfather.

863 During the kindergarten period, constant pressure is put on the
514 child to learn sphincter control. The child goes pantless until he attains this goal, which is usually achieved by the age of 4. There is little formal bowel training. Children simply crouch and defecate. Grandmothers or mothers clean up the feces as soon as they see them. Younger children eliminate all over the village, but by 3 they usually
[887] restrict themselves to their own yards. When there are grandmothers in the family, bowel training seems to be taken over by them. Not infrequently the old woman can be seen standing over a child in the yard or cleaning up both the child and the yard. She is generally the one who gently coaxes the child to use the outhouse when he is old enough and physically able to straddle the opening over the pit. The

863 good grooming but was at present always a mess. One of us was pres-
515 ent at the home one day when a group of younger girls came by to call the 8-year-old to accompany them to the river to wash their heads. The girl dashed around the house and yard searching for a nonexistent bar of soap and finally was crossly told by her mother that there was none and that she really did not need washing. Nevertheless, the girl gathered some hibiscus leaves, which she tore and mashed to extract a slimy, soapylike substance, and left with the other girls to wash her hair. Regular bathing between the age of 1 and 5 is sporadic. During
[857] the summer it is more frequent, for the older children take their younger siblings to the rivers for bathing and swimming.

At irregular intervals during the winter young children are bathed behind the house, near the kitchen doorway, by their mothers or older sisters. A little hot water added to the cold eases their discomfort. During the holiday season mothers and older girls were observed dragging and carrying screaming 2- to 4-year-olds to the bath.

864 As children get older, exposure of genitals is much less serious in the case of a boy than in the case of a girl. Little girls are told to sit like their mothers with their legs together and are never permitted to expose their genitals. This is true even for those young girls who are still without pants. Occasionally boys tease a little girl by shouting, "Your vagina is showing." Sexual manipulation between children, either homosexually or heterosexually, was never observed. The following observation illustrates the response of an older sibling to her 1-year-old sister, who attempts to imitate a urinating boy.

> A group of girls were playing with a ball and K. (4-year-old boy) came along. The girls objected to his presence and began to chase him away. K. then reached in his fly and brought out his penis. He began to urinate, pointing his penis up at the girls. The girls screamed and scattered to get out of reach of the urine. K. chased them briefly, urinating all the while, then stopped to finish. Just as he finished, M. (4-year-old girl), lifting the front of her dress, started to urinate in a standing position. Halfway done, she started to squat, but before she started to squat, her sister saw what was happening and yelled out in an angry voice, "M!" . . . then she went over to give the little girl a slap on the head.

Exhibitionism between boys occurs, and a urinating demonstration among boys with an erection is occasionally seen. Such behavior is not condoned by adults. Girls, however, almost always urinate alone at a short distance from the group. Children are shamed if one refers to their genitals as they approach school age. The separation between boys and girls, which increases with greater age, also discourages mutual play or sex experimentation.

855 There are few other demands made of the kindergarten child. He
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can still try to get his way by crying, and his mother willingly continues to give him food when he asks. One parent remarked that it was much easier to meet the child's demands. Observations confirmed this statement. Many adults simply say "Yes" and promise things to children which they promptly forget. Obedience is not expected except for conformity with safety rules. Until shortly before he starts off to school, the child's disobedience tends to be excused. "No, no!" says a mother to her year-old child who may be waving a piece of sugar cane around her head from his perch on her back. The child continues, and the mother pushes the stalk aside each time she is hit. "Know nothing," she says as she rearranges the stalk, to avoid being hit. "Don't mess the yard," screams a grandmother. "Stop puddling in that mud," shouts a father. "Go and bring me the hoe," commands a mother. To all these requests the child may turn a deaf ear, and chances are that he will escape being punished for not complying. Mothers admitted that they allow their children a great deal of leeway concerning obedience. 855 861

By instilling fear into the child about the dangers of the well, river and beach, the main road and paddies, adults attempt to enforce the rules of safety. Their attempts are negated, however, when they allow children of this age to play in these areas in the company of older siblings. No one coming across schoolchildren trailed by kindergarteners censures or points out the danger of these places; however, should an adult or older child come upon a group of kindergarten children playing alone at the river or beach, a word of caution or reprimand is sure to be offered. 857 855 861

In a village such as Taira with its closely situated houses, dry thatched roofs, and light wood walls, the danger of fire is very real; therefore the rule with respect to playing with fire and matches is stringently enforced regardless of the age of the child. One mother of a 4-year-old boy found smoke rising from the backyard one day. She went to the source of the smoke and found her 4-year-old busily striking matches and trying to whip up a fire. His 4-year-old companion was scurrying about for pieces of brush and paper with which to feed the fire. "I scolded him roundly, spanked him and tied his hands. I threatened to put him in a basket, then suspend the basket from the rafter posts the next time he played with matches. He was so frightened that I doubt whether he will ever play with matches again."

Aggression in children up to school age is generally tolerated although adults do not approve of such behavior. Because they feel that preschool children change their minds and moods so rapidly, adults do not interfere with their altercations. Parents laughingly explain, 865 857 861

865 "Play and fight are children's work." As one mother reported, "It is no
●857 use. They fight and then before you know it, they are friends again.
[861] In Japan, parents often interfere with children's fights, but we here in Okinawa don't believe in doing so. It is much better to let them alone unless they injure one another. The way it is, it would make an adult look like a fool to interfere." Some parents attempt to channel aggression by calling a wrestling match between boys who start arguing. In this way, rock throwing and fighting with sticks are avoided, and the boys can work off their anger, but hitting, biting, and pushing, as well as rock throwing, were observed among children of this age. As the children approach school age and gain facility in language, they resort more and more to verbal aggression; however, as will be discussed later, some physical aggression is carried over in the behavior of boys toward girls. At no time is aggression toward younger children tolerated.

[124] Only after exhaustive questioning can one get parents to admit that they train their children to retaliate. "Never fight; if someone hits you, just walk away, for you (in thus showing your strength to resist) will win the fight; fighting is bad," instruct mothers, according to the mother interview. Informal talks nevertheless revealed that parents disliked it if their children are underdogs all the time.

865 Boys are expected to be more aggressive than girls, who are, ideally,
858 docile, gentle mannered, kind, reserved, and considerate. In some ways adults seem to train little boys to be aggressive. Beginning in infancy they tease and bully them, holding their arms and restricting them bodily, withdrawing desired objects and pretending to scold and hit. They glean great amusement at the expense of the child if he screams and strikes out in anger. The adult expresses surprise and mock anger. Finally, when he cries, everyone will laugh while the mother retaliates by playfully slapping the aggressor. While most of this kind of teasing is restricted to male infants and young boys, female children are not exempt.

865 Irritable, pushy children do not exist in Taira. Those who try to get
155 things by "walking over others" do not get far, for children ostracize and avoid them. One 4-year-old, observed over a period of months, altered his methods of acquiring goals from pushing and bullying to socially sanctioned techniques, such as asking, waiting his turn, and sharing. The change was startling. Adults passing on a group of children that included this former bully no longer had to scream warnings at him, and his mother felt she did not have to "look after him" any more. During the time of this study, only the children of a recently arrived fisherman and his wife were ostracized by parents as being far

too aggressive and ill behaved. The children played with them but never sought them out and often deserted them en masse when disagreements arose. Taira villagers blamed the parents in this case for being too lax and quarrelsome with each other. 865 155

Peer groups are another of the major agents of socialization for the young child. Child interview data intimate that censure by peers arouses much more anxiety than censure by parents. Refusal to comply with the demands of his peers in the face of punishment from his parents for complying raises in the mind of the child, the question, "Will he hate me for not doing what he asks?" Consequently the child chooses the support that is available to him the greater part of his day and calculates the risk of adult censure quite logically. 857 861

In despair, one mother described how her 5-year-old boy rushes into the kitchen daily and demands to be given his lunch standing on the dirt floor. Despite his parents' instructions to wash his feet and sit properly on the raised portion of the room to eat, the boy scrambled on all fours and hung his unwashed feet over the edge and shoveled his rice down his throat because "his friends were waiting for him."

As mentioned above, the village as a whole acts as another socialization agent. However, although various members shout warnings in attempts to stop children from disapproved behavior, they do not punish them. Their function seems to be one of casual reminding.

When a child turns 5, he is faced with a dramatic change. Parents now begin to treat him like a school child. New independence and responsibility are expected, and an attempt is made to prepare him for first grade. 858 866

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Chapter 16

First Grade

Entry into first grade constitutes a change of status for the child in Taira. It means more than just less play time and adjustment to strict routines, for now he is considered capable of knowing what he is [872]

858 doing. He is made to feel and understand that all the things he did as
866 a kindergarten child are reprehensible. His long walks to and from
872 school give him a sense of independence in spite of the fact that classmates and siblings accompany him. The adulation of kindergarteners, who hang on to everything he reports about his new experience, creates in him a sense of superiority which he never fails to emphasize. "You don't know how to write your name . . . see, this is how you write . . ." he fairly sneers at the wondering, admiring 3- to 5-year-olds and scratches the syllabary in the sand with his fingers.

MORNING ROUTINE

512 The first grader rises early the morning of his first day of school,
872 rushes out to the pot of water standing in the yard just outside the
857 kitchen door, splashes the cold water over his face, brushes his teeth, and re-enters the house. He shivers a bit in the cold, damp morning air
[291] as he struggles to wiggle out of the clothing he wore the day before and into an outfit specially designated for school. He remembers that he has a new pair of canvas shoes and runs out to wash his feet. Clothed and shod he peers into the darkness of the house, waiting impatiently for signs of stirring. From around the corner of the house his grandmother mutters as she goes about her task of starting the fire under the soup pot.

While his mother and grandmother prepare breakfast, he sits looking through his new books; a reader, penmanship notebook, an art book, a music book, and a nature science book. His father is the last to rise, and as he goes stumbling out to wash, his mother calls for someone to amuse the baby who has meanwhile awakened. His older siblings, who are still preparing themselves for school, feign surprise as the new first grader moves to the baby. "Yah! Look, the first grader is all ready!" they laugh.

As the morning meal of rice and soup is hurriedly eaten, the adults instruct the first grader not to disgrace himself and to listen to the teacher. Already the cries of other first graders are urging him to be off to school. The older siblings leisurely gather books and lunches together, but the first grader runs out to join his classmates. All question each other excitedly for "forgotten things." Their mothers stand admiringly, but a few are disgruntled. "It is still too early to start. You are not to be in school until a half hour before the beginning bell," they warn. A sympathetic old woman volunteers, "Go, it is a long way and you will take longer to walk," she advises as the little group starts

off. One or two anxious mothers accompany the group "to see that they will be all right on their first day of school." 512

Walking down the road to school, the child smiles proudly as adults comment, "Hah! See how he struts, that big first grader!" He moves to the side of the road as a big lumber truck comes rumbling along and remembers the warnings about the steep bank near the river. The older schoolchildren, walking more leisurely, lag behind and keep a close watch on their younger schoolmates. 872 857

SCHOOL ROUTINE

When they reach the schoolyard, the older children run to their rooms to drop their books so that they can play unencumbered, but the first graders cling to their books and lunches. Gathering into little groups according to their villages, they inspect each other at a discreet distance. As the elementary school is situated in the neighboring village of Kawata, which is visited frequently by Taira villagers, the children exchange notes on the extent of their acquaintance with this bigger, older place. 872

At last the bell is sounded by one of the teachers. Immediately there is a cry to gather. Each class forms two lines in front of their respective teachers. There is bedlam in the first-grade lines as the only boy from one village is directed into the boy's line and separated from the three girls with whom he had walked to school. The principal calls out impatiently for all to straighten the lines. He calls out signals, "Extend arms forward, palms down, fingers barely touching shoulders ahead." Teachers survey the lines and call out to those who mar them. Arms are dropped. Girls are instructed to stand with their arms to their sides and boys with their hands folded behind them, their feet slightly separated. [516]

From his perch on a 3-foot-high concrete block, the principal calls out the signals again, and the whole procedure of lining up is repeated; this time, however, he holds them at attention in a formal position. In crisp tones he calls out, "Pupils, good morning!" Instantly the children respond, "Teacher, good morning," bowing gravely. There is some confusion in the first grade lines, but the teachers quickly attend to it. [516]

Standing once more in a relaxed position, the students listen thoughtfully to the principal's message. He welcomes the first graders and commends them for their orderliness but warns them to behave like first graders and not kindergarteners. There is an amused ripple [876]

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dangers of vehicular traffic, steep banks, snakes, the beach, and the 855
river.

RETURNING HOME

The first graders leave the schoolyard reluctantly, but once they 857
reach the road their footsteps quicken. The boys shuffle along to see 291
how much dust they can raise, for they are not so concerned about their new canvas shoes with rubber soles. The girls stop to dust off theirs at regular intervals with such comments as: "When they get very dirty, we can take them to Yamagawa well and wash them," or, "My mother says I cannot have another pair for a long time because they are so expensive," or, "On rainy days I will walk barefoot to save my shoes."

"Ai! Fool one!" suddenly exclaims one of the girls. The others turn 857
to look at her, then follow her gaze. The boys, who have left the road, 855
thus disregarding one of the cardinal rules of safety, are scurrying about in the bush in search of wild berries. They stand above the road eating their finds on the spot and exaggeratedly mimic the girls' censure on their behavior. There is a rumbling noise, and the girls stop on the side of the road to let the lumber truck pass before continuing their walk. An adult sitting on top of the wood in the back of the truck shouts, "Eh, get out of the bush before the snake strikes!" The girls giggle and watch the shamefaced boys scramble down the embankment to the road. They carry on a lively exchange of stories of snake victims, turning occasionally toward the boys with meaningful glances.

The midday sun is hot. The dry sandy dirt of the road reflects the 857
heat of the sun, and little beads of perspiration run down the flushed faces of the first graders as they plod wearily homeward. Suddenly one [291]
of the girls lifts her wide-brimmed straw hat, "Oh, how cool it feels when the wind blows through the hair!" she exclaims. With a sudden burst of enthusiasm, the other girls lift their hats. Surreptitiously the boys imitate the girls.

The junior high school comes into view and with it the bridge over the Fukuji River, and beyond it the land bridge leading directly into the village of Taira. Spirits immediately lift, and the children's pace quickens. As they enter the village, they assume an assured appearance. Their posture is upright and proud. They parade past the main street where mothers, grandmothers, and siblings wait. Each one is greeted

857 by bystanders. Hurrying home, they put their books away carefully,
[291] change their clothing to that designated for play. The girls, eager to assume their new status and the responsibilities that go with it, hurriedly sweep and mop the floors of the house. The boys, who are less interested, rush out to play. Those with younger siblings are promptly
857 entrusted with caretaking duties, and mothers and grandmothers go
512 off to the fields.

At 8 o'clock each evening, even before the village bell is sounded for schoolchildren to start studying, the first graders are on their way home from their after-supper play time. On a quiet, still night their voices are loud and clear and their recitations spirited in comparison with those of the older children.

OBEDIENCE TRAINING

861 Not only in school is new behavior expected of the first grader. He
865 must now be more obedient toward his elders. Adults, however, differentiate between commands for the performance of tasks and rules of safety. The standard, or more specifically the ideal, would be to command unquestioned obedience in both cases. The practice falls far from this mark, for adults lack persistence and consistency in the
[855] treatment of task performance. Obedience to rules of safety, however, is enforced with greater consistency.

There is, of course, the disposition of the adult at the time when obedience is expected, which the child learns to discriminate very early. Children are more apt to obey their elders when the latter are tired and irritable after a hard day's work than when they are relaxed. It was interesting to observe children teasing parents and escaping obedience when the adults were relatively relaxed. "Bring me those things there," a parent would command a child. The child would laughingly shout "No," and run away without punishment. For this disobedient act a child would be spanked if the parent were tired and harassed. "If you do not listen well to adults, you will grow up to be a good for nothing, a criminal," warns a mother. But adults in their inconsistent handling fail to impress on children the virtue of obedience.

861 It is interesting that, in their relationship with adults other than
865 their parents, children are often more obedient. People of special status and authority enjoy greater obedience from children. Teachers
554 and village officials usually find their orders fulfilled. Shortly after the new water faucets were installed throughout the village, children be-

861 Physical punishment is much more frequent than the mothers' [124] interview answers would lead one to believe. In parent-child or sib- [593] ling interactions observed by us, the scolding or talking was usually simultaneous with a sharp crack on the head with the knuckles or a slap on the buttocks. It is true that a great deal of leeway is generally given the child, but mothers home from a strenuous day in the fields are more apt to scream and spank at the same time.

Tying of hands or feet for several minutes, or as much as an hour, is considered appropriate punishment for those who trespass into forbidden areas or play with taboo things like matches. Sometimes the child's wrists are tied with a piece of rice-straw rope to the front house posts. One 1-year-old boy wandered down to the beach to play with his 3-year-old cousin despite repeated warnings from his mother to the effect that this area was dangerous. Because he disobeyed this rule, he was tied hand and foot. In addition, he was spanked because at the same time he had abandoned his younger brother in the village to go to the beach with his cousin.

861 Another type of physical punishment, which is often threatened but • 857 rarely used, is cauterizing a piece of skin on the neck, back, or hands with moxa. Children in play situations frequently act out giving moxa to a naughty child with a lot of teasing and mock anger. "Come here, you naughty one, we will give you moxa," they scream to each other. A 1-year old girl was cauterized by her father when she threw her chop- [261] sticks on the floor in a fit of anger. Because he believed that food was not only the product of hard labor but also a sort of blessing from the gods, he felt that this very painful enforcement was just.

861 Grandmothers, in particular, use pinching to enforce some rules of 867 etiquette. If a child forgets and extends his foot toward another person, she will take the flesh of the leg between her thumb and index finger, lift it and with a quick twist administer a punishment which is very painful. After the initial experience, all she has to do is to put her hand in position for pinching to her lips and breathe out audibly as if to say, "I'm warming up!" and the child will correct himself.

861 Older brothers and sisters are apt to be "quicker with the hand," ac- 593 cording to mothers. Generally they agreed that this may be the reason [857] for their effectiveness in handling their younger charges. Frequently all an older sibling needs to do is to raise a warning hand, look disapprovingly, or call with a stern voice when his charge is about to misbehave.

Although mothers do most of the spanking, scolding, and talking, children fear their fathers a great deal more than they do their mothers. Mothers claim that this is true in most cases and offer an ex-

planation: "Maybe this is because the children know well our strength. They don't know their father's strength but believe somehow that it could be much more painful." One could, of course, relate this to the cultural concept of maleness as opposed to femaleness as discussed previously. 861 593

Praising and rewarding are techniques that are administered in a very haphazard fashion in Taira. While the child is still very young, up until he is about 2, praise and rewards are lavished on him for almost anything. If he responds to his mother's entreaties to hand over a stick with which he might hurt himself or to bow when meeting someone, he is hugged, kissed, and told over and over, "Good child, good child." 861 [867]

As the child grows older, these extravagant displays of praise and reward lessen. Instead the child may receive promises of something good to eat or a coveted article of clothing in return for some good deed or commendable behavior. Generally the child has to remind his mother many times before he is actually rewarded. By the time the child is of school age he takes these promises with a grain of salt and usually forgets them himself. Only when the children were questioned by us on rewards did it become obvious that parents promised a great deal more than they could ever hope to produce. For, from the plain view of economics, no family could purchase all the goodies pledged for good behavior. Nevertheless, for younger children these promises mean something, and they always look forward to the day when their mothers will color their evening rice red or make them some fried dumplings. Rewarding a child with food proves to be as effective a technique of socialization as threatening to deprive him of food. [124] [261]

Occasionally, in a rare burst of enthusiasm, parents may reward a child to make up for all the empty promises. During one of the rice harvests, a 10-year-old boy worked alongside his parents with as much concentrated effort as any adult. All day he stayed in the fields without running away to join his playmates, as some other boys his age did. At the end of the day his mother prepared some festive food. She colored the rice, and the dinner was a merry one. The man from next door who had helped out that day sat drinking sake with the boy's father. "Here, why don't you have some sake, you did as much work as any of us," offered the father. Neighbor and mother urged the boy on and laughed merrily as the boy sipped a bit of the sake. 857 861

Even before he is able to understand the significance of the words, a child in Taira is praised and censured with "good child," and "naughty child." Especially during infancy, mothers will tease babies by gently slapping them and saying over and over with mock anger, 861

TRAINING IN SKILLS

868 There are no complex systems of training in skills. Adults rely heavily on observation and imitation on the part of children; they seldom "teach" them to do things systematically. Parents were surprised and amused when questions such as "How do you teach children to transplant rice, harvest rice, or otherwise help in the fields?" were put to them. "We don't teach them; why they just learn by themselves," was the usual answer.

Children learn by observing and experimenting. Whatever adults are doing, children are present to watch their activities and overhear their conversations. Although parents do not seem to make any special [852] efforts to have a child attend a function so that he might learn adult ways, they take their children to the fields, parties, public meetings, and rituals long before they consider them ready to absorb any learning.

868 In the fields, children play among rows of vegetables. When a parent, grandparent, or older sibling stops for a rest to have a cup of tea, ● 857 the little ones pick up a hoe and attempt to imitate their elders. While 243 rice is being transplanted, throngs of children sit on the dikes in the [264] paddies, dangling their legs in the mud. They intently watch adults transplanting and weeding the paddies. Gradually they edge down into the mud to stamp with their bare feet in the ooze as they have seen adults do, until a warning shout arrests their educational water play. During the harvest season, groups of children carry mats out to the paddies and watch infants who need to be near their mothers for their feedings. While the infants sleep, the older children walk along the dikes, watching the work that is going on and clamoring to be of some help. Even a little child of kindergarten age stands by gloomily until an adult laughingly hands him a small bundle of rice sheaves to carry over to the threshing machine. By the time the child is 8, he has learned enough by watching to attempt cutting and tying small bundles of rice sheaves.

868 After the harvest, rice straw can be found in great quantities around the village. Some of the best straw is preserved to be made into rope. 283 If there are rainy days, men will sit and twist the rice straw into rope, [526] while 8- and 9-year-olds sit and watch. In a few days rope games and swings are in evidence everywhere. Little 4- and 5-year-olds stand by watching the older children, and soon they pick up stray bits of straw and twist them to no avail. A younger sibling whines as her move-

868 crouch with their mothers, who are busy with the laundry. It is not
296 long before they pick up a small article of clothing and start soaping, rubbing, and rinsing just as their mothers do.

IMITATIVE PLAY

857 What children observe in adult life is frequently acted out in play
524 situations. Before a girl is old enough to do all the household work alone, she can always find satisfaction for her desire to learn an adult role by imitating it in play. Playing "house" is an activity which all girls from the age of 4 to 9 or 10 indulge in constantly at all times of the year. The beach, yard, empty lots of uninhabited houses serve as locales for this play. Girls "act out" the role of the mother in the household in crude but painstakingly constructed "houses." Boys rarely join in this kind of play, which is not surprising, since males have very little to do with the day-to-day happenings in the house. Invariably there is a play store at which all the "mothers" converge to buy their daily supply of bean paste, noodles, or dried seaweed, but the most concentrated locale of activity is in the "kitchen of the houses." Here elaborate meals are prepared with sand for rice, grass roots for noodles, chopped up pandanus leaves for greens, and hibiscus for red coloring. Frequently during the vegatable season discarded carrots, cabbage, and turnips are used in make-believe dishes. Shells of all kinds serve as plates and bowls and sticks, into which cockle shells are wedged, as spoons. Bamboo pieces serve as chopsticks. An 8-year-old may spirit the real kitchen knife to chop up the "vegetables" if the house-playing takes place near the home. Deftly she slices the carrots and turnips and mixes them into water. If she is fortunate, she and her playmates can use a temporarily uninhabited house in which the hearth stones and wire hung pot still remain, in which case she need not construct one out of small rocks. As she orders her "children" to go to the store for rice or salt, she jogs up and down to quiet the infant that fusses on her back. Finally the meal is ready to serve. The "family" without "father" all sit in the kitchen on their knees as she busily serves the various concoctions. There is a disturbance "outside," and she turns to look as one of her children shouts. "Oh, look what the boys have done!" "Fools! Go away!" she shouts as she runs after the laughing boys who have taken a few of the bamboo sticks that delineate the house walls. "We are robbers, robbers come to rob you!" shout the boys as they run away. After the "meal" is finished and while she is washing dishes, she hears someone

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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calling, "Good day." She hurries forward and finds a 5-year-old boy standing at her door. "Want anything today?" asks the boy, unloading a bunch of grass. The "mother" smiles, amused, then she sorts through the grass and hands over some "money" and thanks the "peddler" as he goes on his way to the next house. The peddler turns out to be the same boy who was the robber. When his peddling bores him, he returns to robbing and finally leaves the scene entirely. As the "mother" returns to her kitchen to work toward her next meal, one of the "children" returns "home" with a bunch of flowers. As it is the fifteenth day of the lunar calendar, she hurries to put them into a small empty bottle. She places the flowers on the family shrine shelf along with "incense sticks." This done, she goes out to the "store." 857 524

After "marketing," preparations for the next meal begin; but as she works intently, there is a call. "Good day, excuse me . . ." calls a voice in high-pitched tones which are the essence of politeness and femininity. As visitor greets hostess, the etiquette of adult life is enacted with much finesse. "Tea" is brought in by an "older daughter," and polite talk is exchanged over it. Sitting quite properly on her knees, the hostess "bows her guest" out of the house as she has seen her own mother do countless times. And so it goes, day after day, little girls who never seem to tire of imitating their mothers until they approach the age of 10, when unmistakable signs of self-consciousness affect their behavior.

In other respects, too, the play situation is often turned into a valuable learning experience. These are play activities which are in reality beginnings of assuming responsibility toward economic contributions for the home. A kindergarten child follows his older sibling or mother down to the beach. The trip is made to collect seaweed for the pigs, but the young child just goes along for recreation. The young child, unable to discriminate between the different kinds of seaweed, drops into the basket whatever she picks up. She "plays at collecting seaweed." The older sibling silently picks out the undesirable variety and discards it. Many times the portion the younger child has collected is rejected, but before long, through observation and imitation, he learns to pick the particular kind of seaweed which is desired. The older sibling in many cases does not attempt to instruct by saying, "Pick the green, smooth kind that grows thick on the rocks." Instead, he may just nod or shake his head if the younger brings forward some for approval or disapproval. 857 868

On one gathering trip in the fields, a 10-year-old boy devised a game which actually was instructive in nature. He was accompanied by his two male cousins, 3 and 4 years old. They were hunting for

857 a type of milkweed which was to be fed to the chickens. The older boy
868 would walk on a way, carefully searching the ground, stop when he spotted some milkweed, and call to the younger ones, "There are some near the spot on which I am standing!" The two little boys would rush over and start examining the area carefully. With a shout one of them would drop to the ground, uproot the plant, and bear it triumphantly to his older cousin. Then the game would continue with the older boy saying, "Good child."

861 The relatively few restrictions placed on the young child are an important basis for learning. By being able to participate freely, children learn what is going on in their village from day to day. Since adults feel that children do not really understand what they are talking about, conversations are free and not couched in mysterious terms. The 10-year-old who is fully aware of the subject under discussion may giggle uncontrollably, but none of the adults pays attention to this. An adult giving a blow-by-blow description of the latest quarrel may even turn to a 10- or 12-year-old child for aid when he forgets a detail.

SOCIALIZING AGENTS

855 In general mothers continue to be the chief socializers, with the
593 grandmother and older siblings second in importance. From the
861 child's point of view, the mother retains the closest bond with him throughout childhood, regardless of the grandmother's prominent role in his early life, and even though, in terms of time which the child spends with others, the mother gradually assumes less importance. It is to the mother that children turn for ultimate support, and to her is delegated the responsibility of child rearing in Taira. Although much of the responsibility for caring for children is given to siblings; the villagers hold the mother alone culpable, should a child deviate in his behavior.

855 The mother's ultimate responsibility for the child is not reduced
857 by the fact that she may spend a great part of the day away from her
593 offspring. Mothers frequently ask other children for the whereabouts of a son or a daughter. Just as the fieldworkers soon learned in what places they would be most likely to find a particular child, so mothers on the whole are aware of their children's favorite play areas. A
[152] mother occasionally inquires about her children's whereabouts without showing anxiety. The fieldworkers were once asked by a mother if they knew where her daughter, who carried an infant sister, was

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playing. They had not come home for the noon meal, which was 855
unusual. The mother, however, did not search extensively, for the [857]
fieldworkers, a little later, noticed the two girls peacefully playing "house" in someone's backyard. They stayed for a good part of the afternoon, and the mother probably continued her usual activities.

The relationship between child and mother remains warm and intimate throughout childhood. A mother may be scolding, impatient, angry, or punishing, but to the child she is the center of the family.

In households lucky enough to have a grandmother, she becomes 603
recognized as the person who is at home if something is wanted or 855
if help and comfort are needed. It is interesting to note, however, that the relationship between children and their grandmothers changes decidedly as the child starts off to school. As if to assert his independence, the 6-year-old begins teasing his grandmother unmercifully. In response to her suggestions, the child laughingly refuses and pretends to run away or often pretends not to hear her. As she screams all kinds of invectives at the child, he giggles hilariously while running ahead. But he does not run as fast as he could. He allows grandmother to catch him, and there is much laughter from both of them. Actually the child rarely fails to comply with her wishes. Two girls, aged 8 and 10, and a young female adult aged 23 often saved a part of their share of goodies, given them by the fieldworker, for their grandmothers. The 10-year-old lavished further indulgence by taking her grandmother's clothing along with her own to launder on washdays.

Boys seem to differ somewhat in this respect. Although there is a very affectionate bond between them and their grandmothers, there is less of this kind of indulgent pattern. They will, however, at the time they start off to school, meet with the old women's demands to run errands, carry tools, and share with her the care of their younger siblings.

Because the society feels that child rearing is "women's work," 855
males have little or nothing to do with the handling of children 593
until the time when decisions as to their future have to be made. 861
There need be only one qualification made with reference to the above statement and it is that fathers may serve as "last resort" disciplinary figures in the case of male children. For many mothers the most effective threat is to "report to father."

The father is not so forbidding a figure for the child of preschool age. Many observations show that fathers tolerate the kindergarten child who begs to be taken to parties or on laps while visiting with neighbors; however, an older sibling or mother was called as soon

855 as the child began to fuss or show signs of fatigue. The kindergarten
593 child often directs his succorant appeals to his father, particularly in a nuclear family, but the father in turn directs the child to his
861 mother. Should there be any discrepancy in thought as to the way a child should be handled in specific problematic situations, the mother will defer out of custom to the father. Such cases, however, are rare, for men, in informal interviews, generally felt that "women knew better" where children's affairs were concerned. Only one out
[124] of 24 fathers believed that he should "train and discipline" the male child and his wife should confine herself to the female children.

The school age child seems to have more fear of his father. "If father is at home," reports one mother, "the children returning from school go about quietly putting their books away, clean the yard, study, then take the younger siblings out with them to play." She added, "If father is not at home, they drop their books on the porch and run out to play, leaving the house and yard in a mess and me with the babies!"

593 It should be noted that fathers spend less time at home than any other member of the household. Men who work in the mountains
512 go out after the morning meal and often do not return until dark. A man returning at noon seldom sees the children, who are out playing or at school. Since there are no weekly rest days, children see their fathers mainly in the evening after dark or on holidays. But even then fathers spend their time visiting around or entertaining neighbors and relatives in their own homes. Contact with father is, there-
593 fore, only sporadic and is not affected by a special desire on the part
855 of fathers to spend time with children. It should be noted, however, that the mere presence of the father in the house has an effect on the child's behavior.

Next to mother and grandmother, older children in the household are very important child-rearing agents. These are mostly the older siblings, but occasionally a young unmarried aunt or uncle who lives with the family looks after a child. Children between the ages
[857] of 5 and 12 take care of younger children; adolescent siblings or aunts do so to a much lesser extent. The obvious reason for this is that in the distribution of duties in the home, the care of a younger child falls to those who are not otherwise burdened with such responsibilities as exacting studies during junior high school or economic activities in fields and mountains, which begin after graduation from school. While adults, except for the old folks, are in fields and mountains, a young child spends much of his time on the back of the older kindergarten or school age sibling or as a toddler in tow of an older one.

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Both boys and girls are charged with taking care of a younger child, but when possible, boys try to escape this duty by "making a deal" with their sisters. Girls are therefore more frequently seen caring for younger siblings, but when there are no older girls in the family, a boy must assume this responsibility. Often the novelty of having a tiny infant in the home, for instance, the first girl among several boys, causes older boys to volunteer carrying the infant. On the whole, boys are as reliable caretakers as girls. 855 857

The child on the back finds his child caretaker far less sympathetic and indulgent than mother and grandmother and more literal in applying rules of behavior. Young caretakers, under threat of severe punishment, tend to enforce stringently the rules of safety and permit a much narrower latitude with respect to obedience. Boys are inclined to give expression to their impatience with a younger one more easily than girls; nevertheless, a child taking care of a younger one knows that nurturant behavior toward his charge is a virtue, and failure to show indulgence and sympathy toward the little one is subject to severe reprimands by adults. Although a small child may be left with an older sibling for several hours, the older one knows where to find his mother or grandmother in case of a crisis. When the child on the back cannot be put to sleep by the rocking of his carrier, and indicates persistent discomfort by continued crying, the child caretaker knows that the limits of his competence have been reached.

There is some evidence that the young child-rearing agent follows the example of adults in deferring and giving preferential treatment to males. A young caretaker often seems to show more tolerance toward a little boy charge than toward a girl. [858] [562]

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Chapter 17

Latency

By the time a child finishes first grade, he has achieved full membership in the elementary schoolchildren group (age 8 to 12). His associations with kindergarten children are no longer as prevailing or 857 561

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857 intimate as they used to be. He has little in common with them, but
561 since he still takes care of a younger sibling or plays games to which younger children are attracted, there remain frequent contacts between the age groups. The transition between first grade and second grade is in no way as pronounced as the drastic status change from
[866] kindergarten to first grade. Children feel it mostly as a gradually increasing pressure toward assuming more responsibility. The transition which takes place at a ritual level * during the early latency period, however, is not reflected in their daily life.

CHORES AND RESPONSIBILITY TRAINING

857 Although adults say that the elementary school student is still very
868 much of a child who only toward the latter part of this stage can seriously be expected to contribute much to the tasks and duties in home and village; the children, in fact, do some work daily. Already in first grade, responsibility is approached with seriousness, girls exceeding boys in this respect. Children beg tasks, and obeying the school's directive to "help one's parents" seems to become the prime objective of first graders who have just proudly attained their new
857 status. They plead to accompany their older siblings who, with much less zeal than the younger ones, gather giant African snails after
868 a heavy rainfall, hunt frogs, dragon flies, and grasshoppers, or wash
231 potatoes for the pigs. Adults consider some of these chores play.
[866] Although frogs and grasshoppers are fed to the chickens, and minnows and seaweed are added to the pig swill, nevertheless, adults would not seriously label expeditions to collect these responsible. On the other hand, if there is no available feed, as occasionally happens, the child will be scolded and berated for "thinking only of play and not of the hungry chickens." Four- to 6-year-olds are discouraged from these foraging trips, for the danger of snake bites and accidents in the paddies and on the beach is very real. Accompanied by older siblings, however, they, too, may participate.

Some tasks, such as fetching water and feeding the pigs, cutting grass for the horse and goats, washing down the horse, and gathering faggots for the hearth, are still too difficult for the first grade child. But some of them are attempted, at least by assisting older children.
866 Once the child starts off to school, he is made aware that he is

[764] * In case of death, the child who has reached the age of 8 must be given a full
[775] fledged burial since in afterlife he becomes a buddha from now on. We had no indication that children were aware of this.

no longer one of the "senseless" by praise for responsible behavior. 866
After a relatively brief period of fairly consistent verbal reward, however, parents assume the attitude that chores are not voluntary but compulsory, and they begin to pay more attention to omissions—reminding, threatening, and checking up on the children. Although punishment is rather inconsistent, a child of 9 or 10 finds his chances of escape very slim if he fails to be responsible. But if he carries out some task spontaneously, he may find himself amply rewarded. Children generally seem to react more responsibly to school duties than home duties. This may be because teachers utilize peer group [861] control to elicit responsible behavior by rewarding and punishing in the presence of the whole class.

Girls assume caretaking of younger siblings earlier and more seriously than boys. A 6-year-old girl may be entrusted with a younger 857 ● sibling during a whole afternoon. A boy, looking after a younger 866 child, is more likely to abandon or neglect his charge than a girl. 855 In families where there are several children of caretaking age, each is assigned a specific share of time. Inevitably the girls find themselves with the greater or entire portion of this duty, for the boys either simply refuse or evade assuming their share. This shirking of duty is partly supported by the mother, who, by her failure to enforce assignments, displays passive acceptance or approval of the boys' actions. A girl, however, invites censure not only from her mother but also from other girls for similar actions.

The most important factor in differential treatment of boys and 857 girls is a cultural one. Most of the tasks or chores assigned to both 858 are, on the adult level, performed by women. Cutting and gathering 462 grass for horses and goats is men's work, but mopping floors, tidying and sweeping yards, fetching water, cleaning lamps, caring for chickens and pigs, and looking after children are all tasks that are "women's work" in Taira village. It is therefore evident that girls derive some intrinsic reward from them, whereas they may be intrinsically punishing for boys.

The difference in parental expectation with regard to children's 857 increasing responsibility with age is reflected in these selected answers 866 from interviews with mothers to the question: "What chores do you expect your child to do?" The mother of a 5-year-old boy said: "His work is to play down at the beach. But his older brother (11 years) is such a big help. . . . If I am busy, I may ask him to feed the pig, watch H. (baby sister) or clean the house, fetch water or wood, and Y. will do it without saying anything." The mother of another 11-year-old boy put it this way: "His job is to see to it that the chickens are

857 fed every day. This is a job for him, and if he does not do it he gets
866 a scolding. . . . My husband does not believe in letting him play too much, and so K. has to take his job seriously—otherwise he will get scolded by his father."

The mother of a 5-year-old girl, after mentioning that she washes her own hair and shoes, said, "The day before yesterday she helped me clean up the place after eating, and so I told her that if she would do this two times a day for me, she would get one yen. She said she would do it, but I don't expect much because she is still
[861] too young." The girl's father is a township employee, but giving one yen as reward is also done by other mothers when they feel that a child has done more than can be expected at that age. Of her 8-year-old daughter, a mother says that "she can mop the floor, fetch water, watch the baby, and serve rice into the bowls at dinner time. But she does not really have to do these chores regularly. Whenever I am busy I ask her to do these things for me," and she adds that her girl very seldom refuses, but "if she should not do what I ask her to, I scold her." And the mother of another girl, 7 years old, tells that her daughter's job is "to mop the floor every day. She knows that it is her responsibility and she has to do it. When she does not do it,
[861] she gets a scolding until she does it. She usually does it, though, without too much difficulty." Only a few mothers point to care of younger
[855] siblings as one of the duties. It simply seems to be taken for granted so much that it is not even mentioned.

857 An enthusiastic 6-year-old girl surprised her mother one day, not
866 long after starting school, by taking the family laundry to the well
296 and washing it. When she returned, she hung out the wash carefully to dry, then went out to join her playmates. The mother came home, examined the wash, and found that it still needed a good scrubbing. Quickly gathering the once-washed clothing, she hurried down to the well. She chose a path around the back of the house to avoid being seen by her daughter. That night she thanked the girl for doing the wash and helping her so much. "I did not want to hurt her feelings by telling her that the washing was still dirty. It was fortunate that she did not see me going down to wash it the second time, for if she did, she would have been discouraged and might never have done it again," reported the mother.

857 The community as a whole also makes some demands on these
866 children of school age. Several times a year they sweep the streets
[653] and adjoining public areas in the morning, before they leave for school.

Children seem to have an ambivalent attitude toward greater pres-

sures in responsibility training. When tasks are mere routine, interfering with playing and other favorite activities, they are not always discharged with enthusiasm. We have already referred to this in the discussion of child care. On the other hand, there are many expressions, starting actually at kindergarten level, which reveal identification with adolescents and adults. 857 866 [156]

To the question, "What would you like to do best?" there were such answers from boys as: "I would like to go to the mountains and earn money" (7 years), and "I would like to plant rice" (8 years); and from girls: "I would like to cook, and I would like to transplant rice" (7 years), "I would like to cook rice and soup" (7 years with a wide grin), and "I would like to teach other children calculation if they need help, and take the place of the teacher" (10 years), adding, "Then I can punish boys who bully girls, too." [124]

We learned something more about the identification with older children and young adults, and perhaps a feeling of envy of their status, from answers to questions such as, "Who would you like to be most if you could be changed into anybody by magic?" and "What age would you be if you could be any age?" And, in answering, children also revealed something of their needs, motivations, and goals. A 7-year-old boy stated that, "I would like to be 15 years old, then I can go deep places to swim . . . and then I can go to the mountains and earn money and buy rice, noodles, and help father and mother." He then expressed achievement motivation in his answer: "I would like to become a scholar on plant roots. Then I will know why trees wither and die. I want to save them because otherwise people cannot make money. Then I will be happy and feel good." Although this boy's father is not one of the prominent village leaders, he seems here to express the feeling which, we believe, explains much of the responsible behavior in village leaders. We also see a desire for independence in the answer of a 10-year-old boy, "I would like to be 20 years, then I can go and do work on my own," and nurturance with an almost sanctimonious overtone, perhaps linked to hidden anxiety about aggression, in this response to the magic man query, "I would have him change me into a big, big person. Then I can go and hit anyone who bullies little persons . . . I can look all over the whole village and catch all bad persons and talk to them . . . I can make them all good." This answer, which expresses, again, achievement desires was given by an 8-year-old boy, "I would like to be 16 years old because then studies will be easier and I can wrestle like the *seinen* (young adults)," followed by "Make me into a township official because they have 'good heads' (are intelligent) and they [124]

857 866 help the people. Then I can buy food with the money I earn and save some for a new house." Other boys, too, revealed a combination of achievement-oriented and nurturant needs and over-all qualities of responsibilities which characterize leading adults in the community. But there are also dependence needs in boys, such as expressed by [124] this 10-year-old, "I would like to be the youngest baby . . . because everyone loves that one" (in response to the question "If you could be anybody in the family, would you like to be a father, mother, or a baby?") But the answer of a 7-year-old boy: "I want to become father, then I can raise potatoes, rice, and other things" is more typical of the Taira boys in this age group than the previous one.

Girls were quite explicit in their nurturance motivation, but they, too, used answers to reveal other desires. "I'd like to be mother so that I can cook and go to the mountains" (6 years); "I'd like to be 14, then I can fetch water and go on real errands and get money," and by the same girl (7 years), "I would like to be like K. (a girl of about 20 years) because she is an employee of the *yakuba*" (the servant and general helper at the township office). Several girls wanted to be the age of their older sisters, because, as one (6 years) said, "She buys things for me and she can buy all kinds of things for me." A real strong dependence need and a reflection of economic privations in her family, one of the poorest in Taira, was revealed by a 6-year-old girl: "I would like to become someone else's big sister . . . like the Kawata (village) rice miller's . . . because then I can eat a lot of rice," followed by, "I'd like to be Y. (baby sister) because she is small . . . because she is not even in kindergarten and father and mother will take me around with them."

Taira female adults' roles are apparently well recognized and correctly interpreted by these girls, and identifications are appropriate. Only one girl referred to a professional career, open to women, but her answer reveals very practical reasons for achievement striving: "I'd like to be a teacher, then I can do well in studies and do all kinds of studying . . . can earn money. With that money I can buy clothes and hats. And when anyone speaks *högen* (dialect), I can hit them with a stick and give them all failing grades. . . . Then I'll feel good!"

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SCHOOL ROUTINE

The school, like the parents, expects more of the 8- to 12-year-olds. The session is longer, lasting until 4:00 in the afternoon and reducing

the time for play, tasks, and homework. A child now spends eight hours in the school setting. Children are more matter of fact about school. They are slower to start in the morning, often playing a quick game before leaving the village.

The school schedule is more routine but still flexible. Some of the students do homework and prepare for classes while others play until the morning school assembly. From their arrival at school until they leave in the afternoon, children are under moderate supervision but by no means subject to severe discipline from teachers. The atmosphere at school is friendly, almost intimate at times. There is nothing to frighten children, and none shows signs of unhappiness or anxiety as a result of being away from home and in another village. Most of the boys behave with little restraint, while girls are much quieter and more responsive to occasional reprimands from teachers seeking order. The classroom atmosphere remains informal through all grades. Children call out answers spontaneously or make loud comments. Some move freely in the room during lessons or leave for the toilet.

The informality in the classroom is also illustrated by the occasional presence of a teacher's young child, who is taken along by his parent if no one else can take care of him at home. Off and on, a student's younger sibling also sneaks in and sits quietly through a lesson. Physical privations are not considered conducive to learning. A child who was not able to sleep adequately during the previous night will not be disturbed if he falls asleep in the middle of a lesson. If on a hot, sultry summer day children are sluggish and fail to respond, teachers ease up on their demands accordingly.

The classroom situation may best be described by an excerpt from field notes, taken in the fifth grade.

The male teacher is going through some new expressions from their reading material with the class. Children have their notebooks open and, as the teacher explains, take notes. Boys interrupt by shouting something, a suggestion, an answer, a question. The teacher hardly disciplines at all. He does not object to interruptions. K. (10-year-old boy), who apparently tries to show off as observers enter, shouts as "crowded streetcars" are discussed by teacher. "What would happen if somebody beats you in a streetcar?" Teacher seems to disregard this question. A little later K. interrupts two more times. Boys and girls sit apart; about one third of the students are girls. The girls hardly speak up during the session. In discussing the word "insensitive" one boy shouts as example, "I am insensitve to teacher's scolding." This is accepted as an example. There are three boys who have taken their shirts off on this warm morning. Two put them on as observers enter. After a while the teacher says, "Let's close this now." Somebody shouts, "Arithmetic," and the teacher concurs. He then gives addition problems by rapidly calling for sum-

872 ment. But how should a Taira child grasp, for instance, the meaning
876 of a large hotel in the city, where travelers can stop, engage one or several rooms, have meals served either individually in the room or
[485] at the restaurant? The little Taira guesthouse, run by the doctor and to all extent and purposes a private home, is hardly an adequate model.

876 Learning by doing is, on the whole, an innovation in the school
872 program. To find out what fifth- and sixth-grade students might have learned in the home by actually doing things, the school circulated
857 a questionnaire which covered such items as: "Have you ever tried to make a simple telescope? Did you ever watch a plant grow from the time of seeding and make a scientific description of its progress? Did you ever build a small toolshed or other small structure by yourself? Did you ever make regular observations of weather phenomena and keep a record?" From our previous description of typical activities of Taira children, it is not surprising to learn that very few of these or similar experiences appeared on the answers in the affirmative.

876 At school, participation and learning by doing are found at least
868 in a few instances. The basic skills of cleaning rooms by using rag and mop, as well as maintaining school grounds by cutting grass with
[358] a sickle and weeding with a hoe, may not have high educational value, but they carry over to the home and village situation. In the upper grades, students begin to do some gardening at school. Later in junior high school they work in their own small garden plots on
[241] the school grounds and in school rice paddies under teachers' supervision. Unlike the home situation, where learning also takes place by observation and doing, the teacher lays a foundation for solid knowledge by instruction and demonstration of proper techniques and by criticism of errors. The large number of students who work under guidance of a single teacher limits the practical value of such learning situations. It is evident, however, that there is an important qualitative difference between learning in the home situation and at school. Where the child does a chore in the village without trying to meet standards set by parents, the school child finds that the teacher scrutinizes his work carefully, judges, compares, picks and chooses the best performers from the poorer ones, and imposes standards for all to meet or excel. If a standard is set at all in the village, adults tend to either overlook it or simply fail to enforce it.

his chair, doesn't seem to mind boy's slapping. He is not really angry, smiles. Looking at observer, he stops slapping, pinches K. under desk. 858

In none of the observations on schoolchildren's behavior were there examples of Taira boys protecting Taira girls from the teasing of other village boys. Instead, during school hours boys tend to team up with boys, girls with girls, although among each sex there is a tendency to associate more with those from one's own community. 876 865

PLAY GROUPS

By midafternoon all schoolchildren have returned to the village, and play groups can be found in various locations. The more stringent requirements of school seem to have been forgotten. Hardly any students of the elementary grades study immediately after returning from school. For two hours or more they spend their time with peers and younger siblings. 857

A play group comes into existence when two or three children meet in the street, in the corner of a garden, or in one of the many open lots and village places. All Taira children are intimate with each other because since early childhood they have been together during the greater part of the day. There is always a slight preference for one another among some children, either because they are close neighbors of the same age and sex, or cousins, or otherwise congenial. Although these special friends associate more often with each other, they do not exclude other children who want to join their play. Once children attend school, association on the basis of sex and age becomes more distinct. The total composition of a play group, however, shifts from day to day and from locality to locality. If one group starts a game, other children in the vicinity soon join to form a new group to play a similar game nearby. Such a play group numbers from two to ten or more children. Most frequently, however, groups are composed of children of the same sex and similar age.

There are several factors, however, which lead to variations in this general pattern. If a school age girl is the oldest in the family and has several younger siblings to care for in the afternoons, she will frequently be found in the company of younger girls and hence younger boys, the play groups being more mixed at the younger ages.

M., a 7-year-old girl with three younger sisters (ages 4, 3, and 1) was usually found in a large play group composed primarily of younger children. In contrast, S, a girl of 10, was found in smaller groups. Although she has no younger siblings to tend, she frequently cares for a

857 neighbor's child. Her charge, however is an infant who is still carried and does not yet seek the companionship of other young children. S. interacts less frequently with other children not only because of the age of her charge but also because she is older and hence has more duties at home and in the fields. Furthermore, she was born in 1945, a [163] year when few other children were born in Taira.

K., a boy of 10, is similar to S. in that he has no siblings who need care, the youngest being a 4-year-old girl who can travel with her 7-year-old sisters. In contrast to S., however, he interacts more frequently with children of the same sex and same age or older.

AGGRESSION BETWEEN BOYS AND GIRLS

865 We have touched on the relationship between latency boys and girls
857 in school, implying that the bullying which occurs frequently there is
858 less frequent in the community. Boys sometimes tease girls but less persistently and less often than in school. Since boys associate mostly with boys, and girls with girls, and since contact between sexes of the same age takes place mostly in group names, it is seldom unfriendly. Teasing among boys, and teasing among girls, is common, so that it would be hard to maintain that between the sexes it is more frequent. Once in a while, boys will keep girls out of their game, or girls will be annoyed when boys join them. Some of the kindergarten boys, as we have mentioned, like to be the disruptive agents in peaceful housekeeping games by assuming the role of a robber or wild animal. Two 5-year-old boys who generally enjoy teasing others select girls as their target now and then. Sometimes girls are just the objects of generalized aggression, as in the case presented below. M., a 5-year-old boy, first interacts aggressively with another 5-year-old boy, F., and then turns on a girl.

F. has picked up a piece of pink paper and comes carrying it up to M. He holds it against his chest, stands in front of M. and smiles. "Give it to me," says M., and F. just stands smiling, mumbling, "Hmmm, maybe," but does not hand it over. M. rushes him and attacks him with his fist and takes it away from F. who stands laughing. M. rolls the paper around the end of his stick and walks down the lane toward a group of kindergarten-age girls.

Y. (4-year-old girl) comes walking up from behind M. M. turns around and raises his stick menacingly at her. Y. looks anxious, maneuvers quickly around him to join the girls, and laughs nervously. M. smiles smugly, walks back to boys.

When provoked, the girls will often fight back, and they score equally well, especially in verbal aggression. At other times they accept

the teasing good humoredly, as seen in the incident of a 10-year-old girl, S., who is teased by a 7-year-old boy, A., described in the following protocol. 865 857 858

S. is guarding the can in a can-kicking game. A. (who has been playing a rubber band game with another boy nearby) looks up, smiles, goes running over to the can and kicks it with his foot, yelling, "Safe!" S., whose back is turned to him, jumps, turns around and sees him. "You're not playing this game," she laughs and A. laughs and goes back to his own game. [526]

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SIBLINGS

As mentioned above, the caretaking responsibility and the tendency of younger siblings who are beyond the carrying stage to follow an older brother or sister keep siblings together a great deal during play. When an older brother has to mind a younger sister, he is usually not overly protective. He seldom defends his sister from teasing and sometimes is more aggressive to her than he would be to others if she interferes with his activities. There is, of course, a great deal of variation due to personality. A 5-year-old boy (one of the teasers described above) sometimes pushes his younger sister, and she runs home crying. An 11-year-old boy, on the other hand, when he takes care of his four younger sisters, or some of them, is usually quite protective and nurturant. 593 857 [865]

A record of the behavior of T. (7 years), his younger sister H. (4 years), and other boys illustrates a brother-sister interaction. T. and other boys have made a swing and T. is sitting on it while A. (5-year-old boy) and H. try to get turns:

A. tries to get him off the swing. H., who expected that her turn would come next, whines "nisan (older brother)" and while A. tries to get T. off, she keeps on whining, "This should be enough." T. replies, "This is A.'s turn"; while A. is trying to get on the swing, H. starts crying and goes into the house. Apparently an adult is in the house. T. follows, voices are heard, but not understood. T. returns after a moment and helps F. (another boy) push A. on the swing. H. seems to have stopped crying. We heard no adult scolding T. or talking to H. H. returns, no longer crying. She stands behind T. whose body swings back and forth while pushing A. H. pushes T.'s swinging body to help him. A., F., and H. sing in rhythm, "one, two, three," etc. After song is finished, H. says, "Brother, it is my turn next." T. ignores her, but A. gets off the swing and H. sits on it. H. swings by herself. T. orders A. to help him push the door next to the swing open. A. complies. T.'s mother passes, does not say anything. After the door has been opened (and more room gained), T. and A. push H.

593 The presence in the background of T.'s mother may have something to do with his change in behavior toward H., or it may be that he wants her to wait her turn and do it his way. T. is very much in control of this situation, even among the boys. The swing is constructed on the edge of his parents' house. But T., on another occasion, when his aunt asked him to wash her daughter's (T.'s 4-year-old cousin) feet after she had waded in the muddy paddies, complied agreeably and was quite nurturant and indulgent with the younger girl. With [865] H., too, he is more cordial at other times. Perhaps what bothers him, and other boys of his age, is the interference of younger sisters with boys' play.

● 857 To sum up, between boys and girls of school age there is not a very close relationship, each sex being quite strongly oriented toward mem-
593 bers of its own group. Brothers and sisters, on the whole, fall into this
858 pattern, except that the succorance-nurturance relationship between younger and older continues, though moderately. Although separation of sexes is found in the kindergarten pattern, it is more pronounced in latency, since the activities of peers are more and more differentiated by sex.

RELATIONSHIP TO PEERS

857 We asked the children a question in an attempt to measure how they would resolve the conflict between having to do a chore and the
866 call of friends to join in play. All boys (in the group of six) agreed
156 that they would do their work first, four mentioning fear of being scolded. One boy worried about what his friends might think if he does not join them soon: "Will they not think badly of me?" adding, "Sometimes I have gone out without finishing my work and then I would worry about getting scolded. It's 'bad,' but if my friend persists, I would go and join him without doing my work." And another admitted, "If mother and father are not at home, I would go and play without finishing my work, but then I would worry about getting scolded."

Strangely enough, five of the girls answered that they would do their work first, but if their father and mother are not home, they would go out and play; at least four say so, while the fifth boldly says, "If friends come and call me when I am doing my chores, I will go and play without finishing," but this girl, coming from a poor family, is less secure than others and more anxious to be a part of the group. Several girls mentioned the fear of being scolded. Only one, the sixth, replied,

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"I would do my work first and then go out to play, whether my parents are home or not."

The mother of a younger boy reported that he is so anxious to rejoin his playmates that he barely gives himself time enough at home to eat his meal. It is our feeling that it is not just the desire to play which pulls children away from assigned tasks, but the urge to be with peers. The attitude of mothers encourages play groups. They tell their children: "Do not play alone; go and play with others. If you play alone, people might think that others dislike you." As one mother put it: "It looks so lonely when (my child) is playing alone." Only one mother, whose child-rearing methods in general deviate from those of others because she and her husband set high achievement goals and standards for their child, said that she would like to have her son play alone occasionally. In this way she hoped he would devote some time to educational activities. It is interesting, however, that several mothers mentioned the names of other children whom they considered unsuitable playmates for their child, either because they were too bossy, or too aggressive, or had otherwise undesirable qualities in their judgment. If, however, there is selectivity among children on the basis of their parents' desires, we were not aware of it.

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Peers assume increasing importance as socializing agents as they grow older. Schoolchildren of the same age watch and control each other so that there is hardly need for interference by adults. Older children remind younger ones who neglect a crying young sibling to attend to his needs. Failure to respond to the succorant pleas of a younger sibling meets with disapproval. Peers rarely interfere directly with the activities of others, but do so by remarks to each other, and by other indirect means through which they achieve compliance or conformity. There are some obvious situations when outright commands by an older child are needed. For example, when a 3-year-old girl pulled the plug from the concrete water tank and was immediately frightened by the stream of water pouring out, a 6-year-old girl nearby called, "Close it," and watched as the little one hurriedly put the plug into place. Hardly ever does one hear children taking the role of an adult in trying to demand conformity from peers with rules set by adults. Only the boy mentioned earlier, whose parents make determined efforts to train him toward responsibility and achievement, occasionally attempts to correct the behavior of peers by talking like an adult. He always does it in a quasi-nurturant, responsible manner, perhaps because he strongly identifies with his father, one of the village leaders.

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Parents do not like their children to become "leaders." Almost all

857 of them disapprove of dominance in their children: "It would be terrible if my child would tell this child and that child to do one thing or
866 another and they would get into trouble." The fear expressed here, and in similar statements, is obviously that leadership entails responsibility in case anything goes wrong, and parents do not like to be put in a position where they or their children could be blamed.

865 The Western observer, perhaps, is most impressed with the ability of children to manage their own affairs. Fights occur, and disagree-
857 ments crop up frequently, but almost without exception these matters
156 are settled within the group and without dramatic scenes in which adults become involved. There are no violent fights or quarrels which break up groups and cause prolonged hostile feelings among children. Least of all did we find bullying and harassing of younger children by the older ones, although younger ones are often assigned inferior roles in play by the older children.

ACTIVITIES AND GAMES

857 In part, at least, the tone among these play groups is set by the sur-
524 prising variety of activities that children engage in during the year, innumerable games which come and go in cycles, but which have a village-wide appeal while they last. All of them are played with a minimum of equipment and a maximum of inventiveness and enthusiasm. There are few toys which parents can buy their children, and fewer still which they make for them. This situation is met with great ingenuity. Children use any objects available to them—discarded household equipment, empty cans, boxes, or whatever they pick and gather from trees, bushes, and the ground. Round stones, peas, and seeds serve as marbles; an empty carton becomes a truck or boat. Wooden sticks, bamboo, an old bicycle wheel without a tire find some use. Suddenly one day children run about with helmets made of cabbage leaves, swinging little pistols made of a piece of bamboo, or a stick as a dagger. Girls gather shells and gravel on the beach and carry pieces in their dress pockets. In the absence of dolls, girls have a younger sibling to act the part of "child" in realistic play. Babies, however, are never used in such games.

Boys and girls like to play games of skill. Girls often pull out five stones from their pockets and play a kind of jacks. There are also many versions of ball games in which one girl performs several stunts with a ball while she sings a song. If she makes a mistake, another one

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gets a turn. Teams of two girls at a time play hopscotch, which they 52
call "parent and child game."

An old Okinawan game of skill on which early Western visitors have 857
frequently commented is still a favorite of Taira boys, 5 years and 526
older. This is a kind of stick-ball game. A wedge-shaped piece of wood 157
3 to 4 inches long and pointed at both ends and a striking club are used. Children whittle both with a knife. This game is played by two or more players, and the purpose of the game is to get the wedge into a hole. The game requires a series of skillful manipulations of the wedge with the club. It is an exciting and competitive game. Each player is awarded a number of points for certain accomplished acts. Although boys are quite absorbed in this play, there are rarely any arguments and the winner hardly ever shows any pride. Winners seldom boast after a game, and the observers felt that the satisfaction is really gained from the performance, not from having outdone others. Girls sometimes join the boys in this game.

Boys and girls, separately or together, play other games of skill, such 857
as marbles. A challenge by another starts a game, sometimes of two, 524
sometimes of four or six players. There is usually a kibitzer around who becomes involved. Two games in the same play area are not uncommon while spectators wait for their turns later.

Equally common, but frowned on by the school because of its gambling character, is a rubber band game. The store uses rubber bands to tie packages. Children carry a number on their arms. Each player chips in a number of bands, two or more, depending on agreement. The person who starts the game is decided on by tossing. The rubber bands are put on a cement or wooden surface, a step or block with a ledge from which the rubber can drop down. They are placed at some distance from the ledge. Then they are moved toward it, either by hitting the ground with the palm of the hand, slightly cupped so that air escapes, or by blowing. The rubber bands drop over the ledge, and the person whose rubber band first overlaps with another wins the stake. This game continues until one player has won all the rubber bands. Parents object to the game only if the children buy rubber bands instead of collecting them.

Boys like to practice skill in sports. Wrestling, a national sport in 857
Japan and the Ryukyus during spring and early summer, is taken up 526
by boys who copy young men and older students, and for several weeks wrestling matches get spontaneously under way. Prior to the annual island-wide athletic meets in September, boys practice high jump, broad jump, and relay running. There is much practice for the mere [157]

857 fun of it, but few signs of involvement with attaining outstanding per-
526 formance. Losers are not teased or ridiculed, although a good per-
[157] former is occassionally given an encouraging remark by others who practice.

Group games are usually played after the schoolchildren have returned to the village. One of the popular games is a version of prisoner's base similar to that played in the United States. This game is played with much yelling, laughing, and noisy challenging. Equally popular is a version of "kick the can." This game is exciting and fast moving. It is a game which can lead to arguments, since one must trust the honesty of the person who is "it" and claims to have seen another player. Brief arguments arise and are quickly settled. Part of the fun seems to be teasing and challenging the tagger.

535 These are games that children may play on any day in the year.
857 During holidays they are sometimes asked to entertain adults with
[527] dances. Little girls learn the traditional Okinawan dances from kinder-
[871] garten days on, either by watching or by coaching of an older person, a friend, one's older sister, or mother. Neither kindergarten nor school programs include the teaching of such rich Okinawan heritage as classical dances. Boys do not begin to imitate the burlesque dances of their male elders until adolescence. But they are sometimes invited, together with girls, to present group dances or little plays for the adults. Adults seem to enjoy most the performances of Okinawan dances by little girls who may have learned the rhythm and movements but not the restraint of serious adult presentations. They are delighted if a 6-year-old, dressed in bright-colored costume, innocently wiggles her hips in a rather suggestive way.

857 Children who perform for adults show no stage fright. At school,
[156] where little sketches are presented on the stage, there is a complete ease in improvising. Nobody is embarrassed if he forgets a line, a song, or a cue, and the recitation contests which we have already mentioned are carried out with much zest.

[512] Schoolchildren are supposed to remain at home after 8 o'clock in the evening to do their studies. This rule is encouraged by the school but rarely enforced by parents. Many children, boys and girls, appear outside after dark, and on moonlight nights they often resume their playing. Off and on, a couple of elementary schoolboys are attracted to the store where the village truck arrives with goods from the city after nightfall. There they stand in the dim yellow light of the kerosene lamp, watching, helping, or just listening to some of the men who
[515] come to have their sake bottles filled. If a bath has been prepared for
[512] their families, their turn will come sometime after the older males in

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

the household have had theirs. By 10 o'clock children have finally disappeared from the street and paths.

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262 Sea food eaten differs by the season. Most available in summer are bonito and the sea turtle. Common in October and later are seabream, whitefish, and globefish. Canned mackerel is by far the most common fish food eaten, and seaweed is a staple in all but the poorest homes. Though every [325] adult in the village speaks Okinawan by preference in everyday life, even the old people rarely know the dialect names for various fish, "because we are so far from the sea." The nearest coast is less than three airline miles away. Before the war most of the fish consumed was bought in Itoman, but with the removal of the railroad and the orientation of bus traffic toward Naha, very little is purchased in Itoman.

252 The entire day's supply of sweet potatoes, for man and beast, is prepared by boiling in early morning in a large pot. It takes about an hour to boil fifty pounds. Those for human consumption are placed on top, with those for the animals underlying them. Naturally those eaten by the pigs and other [231] animals are the less beautiful, and often slightly rotten ones. When the family eats 'imo', they peel off both the outer and inner skins and give them to the animals. They realize that the inner skin contains vitamins, but it is too much trouble to peel separately. People regard baked 'imo' as more delicious than boiled, but do not make them in Nanahan as a rule due to shortage of fuel. The children often stick 'imo' right into the fire while their mothers are boiling 'imo' for the day. Sometimes children under ten [357] years of age make baked 'imo' when they collect trash and burn it. When they do this is not determined, but occurs as the children suddenly decide there is enough trash to burn.

262 252 'O-kazu' (Okinawan: katimun) refers in Nanahan to any dish whose basic ingredients are lard, soy sauce, and 'aji-no-moto' (monosodium glutamate). It is generally made about two times a week. First lard is put in a pan. Then either raw 'daikon' or 'sengei' (dried and shredded 'daikon') is added, together with globe onions. Soy sauce is then added, and the mixture salted to taste. If meat is available, it is put in as soon as the lard is melted. 'Aji-no-moto' is added just before serving.

252 The making of 'miso' paste is a home task for the women and girls. The amount made depends on the weather. Good weather for proper mildewing is generally found in the spring and autumn. At the equinoxes, when most of the 'miso' is made if people have a choice in the matter, mildewing takes two or three days. The process involves two steps---the making of malt ('kōji') and the making of soybean flour or paste. For malt one must use broad beans, wheat or barley, kidney beans or, infrequently, soybeans. The malt materials are boiled until the skins come off. Then they are drained, spread out on a straw mat inside the house, and dusted with wheat flour. Rice straw is spread over the mixture to form a hotbed. When the mildew starts the mixture turns yellow, and is then spread out to dry in the sun. When dry it is stored in a box, to be mixed with soybean flour or paste later. The latter is very easily made. Boiled soybeans are ground up in a meat grinder, and dried. The flour may be stored separately, but it is most often mixed immediately with an equal amount of malt. To prevent spoiling, about three parts salt are added [251] to ten of the mixture, now called 'miso'. It is put into a pot for "ripening" during the next six months, and then is used gradually. If stored longer than one year it loses its taste.

855 861 Two facts that have been introduced into this discussion should be restated and made more explicit. The first is that Okinawan child-training methods include the use of both verbal appeals and physical punishment. As a result of observations made during and shortly after the battle in 1945, Dr. J. C. Maloney reported[1] that Okinawans were very permissive with their children and did not use corporal punishment. It will be seen from the data just presented that while Okinawans are more permissive in many situations than Americans would be, they do in fact use severe physical punishment on occasion.

152 181 171 861 The second fact has to do with the contrast of "shame" versus "guilt" that has been presented by several writers on the character of the Japanese. Both Gorer and Benedict have asserted that the Japanese conform because they fear the ridicule of others whereas Westerners conform because they fear their own consciences; Japanese culture is a "shame culture" while ours is a "guilt culture".[2] Okinawan culture also seems to be primarily a shame culture. Okinawans clearly fear ridicule greatly, and this fear seems traceable to their early training. But there are also elements in Okinawan child training that would tend to produce something of the Western sort of fear that one may suffer for his wrong-doing regardless of whether he is found out or not. These are to be seen in the phrases "retribution will strike" (Okinawan bachi nu atsaing, Japanese 'bachi ga ataru') and "the gods saw you". Shame and guilt are doubtless not mutually exclusive. Both sanctions exist in Okinawan culture, shame being much the stronger.

857 524 [203] [177] Play. Boys play with kites and tops. Girls play hop-scotch. Both, if they can afford it, get one or more of the numerous Japanese children's magazines that are filled with stories, comics, and a variety of make-it-yourself paper toys.

857 Boys catch insects and birds and fasten strings to them in order to jerk them back as they try to fly away, or in order simply to drag them around. They do so quite unconscious of any cruelty in the act. Adults appear to regard living things as proper playthings.

[546] There may be less age-grading among smaller children than among older people or among children in present-day American society. Several boys of different ages were observed playing together on many occasions, mainly, it seemed, because they were related and lived in adjacent houses. The girls who occasionally joined them were also of the same group of related families.

882 178 Youth. Traditionally, entering one's thirteenth year, for a girl, and fifteenth, for a boy, marks a change in status from that of child to that of youth (niisee, in J. 'seinen', literally "green years"). There was [888] also a later ceremony at which the young man's hair was done in a knot; and the tattooing undergone by a young woman may have been part of a puberty rite. [877] But at present, finishing one's schooling marks the greatest change in the life of a young person. At this time the treatment he receives and the be- 877 882 havior expected of him change markedly. As long as he is in school he is

1 Maloney, 1945, p. 394.

2 Gorer, 1943; Benedict, 1946, p. 223.

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542 Adult Responsibility For women responsibilities come early. Mothers
give their daughters tasks while their sons play. At marriage a woman enters
her husband's household and immediately assumes adult burdens that she may
not put down until old age. As a grandmother she may still care for grand-
children while her husband has left most of his responsibilities to his sons.
She may acquire ritual responsibilities toward her husband's family which can
only increase with time.

For a man responsibilities come gradually. Childhood is a time for
play---except for the future scholar, or in cases of extreme poverty. Youth
is a time when responsibilities may be postponed---except where an oldest
son has been orphaned. Even after marriage a young man, though he may have
to work hard, is not expected to remain sober and stay home nights. The peak
of a man's responsibility comes with full maturity, when he has sons himself
and when his father is beginning to age. This peak may rise to greater heights
than that of his wife and his labor may be harder and make greater demands on
his strength and health. But again in old age he may put his burden down and
he is expected to seek those pleasures that he can still enjoy.

542 Women's lives may be duller but they are generally longer. And in old
888 age a woman has the compensation of greater freedom than she has ever had be-
fore. Old women often speak with a frankness that is embarrassing to young
people of either sex. Old women are also the repositories of knowledge of
the ancestors and of the supernatural and thus become greatly respected and
influential. Both the religious functionaries (kaminchu) of the kinship group
and the seeresses or mediums (yuta) consulted on numerous occasions are usually
women. An old man, unless he is a scholar or a diviner (sanjinsoo) has less
chance of attaining fame.

But old men, as well as old women, may become tyrants. One Yamada
family consisted of an old couple and their three grandchildren, the oldest
a boy of twenty. This boy was registered as the head of the family, while
the old man, according to the register, had retired; but when the boy had the
opportunity to make a little money, which he needed for clothes, the old man
took it for tobacco. On the other hand he permitted the youths of the neigh-
borhood to hold parties in his house---hoping, one suspects, to help consume
the refreshments---something a middle-aged parent might not have tolerated.

888 Formal Recognition of Old Age A man may officially retire , that is,
he may transfer house headship in the register to a son or grandson, but as
I have just indicated this may not prevent him from actually holding the family
888 purse strings. For the community formal recognition of old age comes with the
527 celebration of "year days" (tushibii). These are held on the anniversaries of
the "birth year" of an old person. A person's birth year is the year, in the
cycle of twelve, in which he was born. Since the reckoning of age is a matter
of counting the years during which one has lived, the year of birth counts as
one and so when the cycle of twelve has passed once and the year is again the
birth year, a person's years are thirteen. Each time a person's birth year
recurs it marks a significant point in his life. These recurrences are cele-
brated not on the anniversary of the day of birth but on the first day of the
cycle that corresponds to the year, after Lunar New Year's. Thus 1954 was

[Kanegusuku]

621 The group most dissatisfied with its lot today are the repatriates
423 from the former Japanese possessions. A few of these families were able upon
727 return to take up the lands left by relatives killed in the war or were given land by prosperous relatives, and four repatriate families are virtually landless. All of them, regardless of the size of their present holdings, chafe at their circumstances. One repatriate told the author that he had farmed nearly twenty-five acres in a single plot of sugar on Saipan and that he could never be satisfied with Kanegusuku after this. He is hoping that he will eventually be permitted to return to Saipan.

Before the war that segment of the village which possessed the least amount of land consisted almost exclusively of younger sons who had established branch families. Today this group has been augmented by repatriates from the former Japanese possessions and by emigrants from other Okinawan communities.

621 Farm Laborers During the course of the author's stay in Kanegusuku
241 there was only one full-time farm laborer in the village. This man came from
[463] one of the southern islands in the Ryukyus and was employed for less than a month. After his discharge, the former employer remarked that no outsider has enough interest in the lands of another family to make his employment worthwhile. Transplanting and harvesting rice place the heaviest labor de-
[857] mands upon the family; at these times virtually every member of the family
[476] works in the fields; even the grade-school children are given minor tasks, and the family labor force is supplemented by close relatives or neighbors in a reciprocal labor exchange.

829 Attitudes toward the Land One does not hear or see evidence of
554 any great love or attachment for the soil on the part of the Okinawan farmer.
463 In fact, quite the contrary seems true. Most regard their occupation as a
241 lowly one and feel that they are farmers because they know no other occupation. Land is of value because it provides a livelihood, nothing more, though some exception might be made for house land. Nearly all of the younger generation reflect the thinking of their fathers, and they are eager to get a good education (the diligence of even the average Okinawan student would strike the American teacher as amazing), secure a job in the town or city, and leave the drudgery of the farm village forever. Most
[433] farms are so small that they provide no more than mere subsistence for their cultivators; consequently, the young men see no sense in attending agricultural school when they will have little more than an acre to work. One young man from a fairly prosperous family in the village recently secured a job as a stevedore in Naha, and both he and his wife expressed their pleasure over what they regard as a definite improvement in their status. Though they have not sold the land which they own, they hope that it will never be necessary to return and farm it.

To a large extent this attitude toward the land and farming as an
[178] occupation is directly related to the economic and cultural changes taking place on Okinawa today; the city is an exciting place to live in and employment there is economically more advantageous than farming. Nevertheless, this seems in part the product of the old land system and the low, serf-like status accorded farmers under it. Some of the earlier visitors and officials

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858. STATUS OF CHILDREN--cultural definition of status periods and progression of statuses during infancy and childhood; rights, privileges, and powers of children (e.g., special exemptions); restrictions and disabilities of infants and children (e.g., special taboos); conception of legal minority; extent to which children are treated as inherently inferior or merely as inexperienced adults; stereotyped ideas about children (e.g., concepts of the good and the naughty child); differential expectations and treatment of children (e.g., according to age, sex), etc; See also:

Kin relationships	60	Family relationships	893
Guardianship	429	Legal liability	672
Age stratification	561	Juvenile courts	698
Marriageability of children	582	Special mortuary rites	768
		Concept of legal majority	884

women in Taira. Three young mothers, who continued to work despite the discomfort and pain of swollen extremities, consulted with the doctor in the nearby town, and a fourth described this condition, which had prohibited her from any but the most simple and undemanding work. The old people look upon unusual pregnancies in askance. "Work, good, hard physical labor is what we did and we never had any difficulties. Young people pamper themselves." 843 164 [461]

Special foods and advice are proffered the expectant mother for the benefit of the baby. "Eat this so that you will have lots of milk for the baby. Remember that spicy things are bad for the baby. Do you recall the one who was born with a great patch of hair on its arms? Its mother was frightened by a great big cat while she was carrying that child," comment villagers to the mother. Some husbands indulge their wives' cravings for special delicacies like expensive imported fruits. 843 [262]

To keep the baby in position, a sash is wound several times about the pregnant woman's abdomen by a midwife or some old woman. [292]

In the "old days" it was not unusual for a woman to return from the mountains or fields carrying her newborn. Grandmothers recall with relish the days when "Women paid little heed to their condition, did hard work, and had their babies without a whimper." "The women today pamper themselves," snap the wizened grandmothers watching an expectant mother resting between trips to the mountains. 844 843

As the day of parturition approaches, the expectant mother schedules her work to remain as close to the house as possible. When labor starts, she retires to the back room of the house, which is situated next to the kitchen. The medical practitioner, or in his absence a midwife,* is called to assist in the delivery. The husband's mother, if she lives in the house, or other older related women attend. A man may be present during his wife's first delivery but at subsequent births will wait with some of the women in the front room. In the old days a woman was supported by her husband or someone else in a half-sitting position. Nowadays, however, women give birth lying down. Only rarely does a woman in labor cry out in pain. Soft crying is permissible, but any loud demonstration would elicit contemptuous comments from the older women. "If you had worked hard, the baby would not be so big, then labor would not be difficult," is an often heard retort. 844 [759] [152]

Informal interviewing revealed that birth takes place in a large number of cases during late evening or early morning hours. Usually children of the house sleep on undisturbed. Should they awake, they are kept out of the delivery room, although the youngest may be allowed to enter to visit with his mother shortly after delivery. [858] [593]

The newborn is bathed in tepid water then bundled in blankets,

* At present there is no midwife in Taira.

853 There are no food taboos during pregnancy, and after birth mothers
262 can continue to eat what they wish except for certain "hard" foods,
such as octopus, whale meat, and certain kinds of fish which are be-
[843] lieved to stop the flow of milk. To stimulate lactation, the mother is given papaya boiled with flour and noodles or a medicine made from herbs.

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Chapter 13

Infancy

● 858 The infant is considered a helpless, pitiable treasure who is incapable
155 of knowing, understanding, or learning until he is around 6 years old.
855 If this senseless child is treated affectionately and indulgently, he will
177 grow to be a healthy, happy adult.

With the spread of Japanese influence throughout Okinawa, accord-
[861] ing to informants, there evolved another belief, which in Taira is complementary to the idea of the senseless child. This new belief is vaguely conceptualized by most young parents but was verbalized concretely by at least two sets of parents. "Children are the gift of gods.* They are godly until they are 7 years old." Exoneration of misbehavior on the part of the child under 7 (6 years according to Western count) conjures up in the mind of the observer a picture of willful capricious gods who are totally unpredictable. A shrug of the shoulder and a phrase which completely defines both attitude and resignation in Japanese is, "helpless, against one's will." Because children are godlike in nature, they do not know any better; because they do not know any better they are godlike in nature. Just why and how a child outgrows this temperament could not be explained by the parents. These beliefs foster the extreme indulgence, protection, and nurturance of young babies. Their physical and emotional needs are attended to constantly, with a great deal of affection.

* This notion may well have been influenced by Christian as much as by Japanese ideas.

In addition to meeting with physical and emotional needs, the child must be protected from the nurtured by the numerous supernatural forces in the form of malevolent and benevolent spirits which operate to influence the course of an individual's life. There are lucky and unlucky days, years, and tides, which are believed to determine the fate of a person. Females born in the year of the monkey are considered unlucky, for they are thought to outlive their male contemporaries. Men dislike marrying them. Supplications are made and precautionary measures taken by adults to secure the newborn's life, happiness, and health. 776 777 854 [581]

Ancestral spirits influence the development and fate of the child. Occasionally a child who is the victim of ill health during his early years is adopted by a couple whose ancestral spirits are thought to be more favorable than his own on the dictate of the fortune teller. By mysterious calculations involving birth dates of the principals, the fortune teller uncovers some incompatibility and advises adoption. The child remains with his parents but worships the ancestral spirits of his adoptive parents. In this way parents seek to ensure the well-being of the child. 597 769 755

Mother interview data indicate the awareness of Taira people of the variations in personality among children of one family. Adults do in a large measure adapt their actions in accord with these differences. They recognize hereditary influences, but although a mother may comment on the similarity of temperament with regard to her child and other members in the family or kin group, there are no ideas or beliefs that the souls of deceased are inherited. Usually the mother, in describing the characteristics of the child, rarely goes beyond likenesses which can be attributed to herself or her husband. She is at a loss to explain the "very different child." "My eldest son has my nasty temper whereas my second daughter is not like either of us, very strange. All the others have a little of myself and my husband in them. We often wonder how it is that she is so unlike either of us." 155 828 858 [124]

A child born with two cowlicks predicates a "problem" to his parents. Parents often explain, "Oh, this child is very naughty, for as you can see, he has two cowlicks." Children often search each other's heads, and on discovering two instead of the single whorl, they shout in glee, "Naughty, naughty." One 4-year-old cuddled and hugged his newborn sister after searching her head. "You have two cowlicks just like me! You and I are 'naughty,'" he whispered to her. Turning to the adults in the room, he snapped his small bright eyes and grinned impishly as he reported his discovery joyfully. [826]

Twin births are disliked only because they place a burden on the 845

went home and hysterically reported the incident to her family. The mother, meanwhile, laughed and told her boy, "Just like your grandmother, can't stand to hear you cry even when you are not hurt!" She then went on to say that both she and her husband ignore the boy's crying in situations where he could help himself, but the boy's grandmother immediately runs to soothe and aid him. Generally it may be said that in extended households, grandmothers tend to prolong the dependence period and discourage independence and responsibility. 866 603 855 [596]

The relationship between grandfather and grandchild is more restrained. Although grandfathers may be seen carrying children or doing things for them, there is always a discreet distance between them, the result of early training in respect and deference to male elders. Children do not tease their grandfathers as they do their grandmothers. Older boys, in their late teens, may carry on a superficial joking relationship with their grandfathers, but they must be careful not to show disrespect. The male elders in turn show greater affection for the male child than for the female. When both grandparents are living in the house, the child, whether male or female, is more likely to direct his succorant appeals to grandmother rather than grandfather.* 603 858 866

Mothers, themselves, are often not too consistent in their training for independence. They will feel sorry for the child when he is first weaned and allow him to stay close to them until the birth of the next sibling. On the other hand, they will encourage the little 2-year-olds to imitate older girls and boys, particularly in their baby-tending role. A mother will strap a "doll" on her daughter or son's back. The "dolls" are usually rolled blankets or jackets, for real dolls are expensive and rarely bought in the village. Older children and adults do not fail to comment to a child carrying such a burden. They praise him for being such a good caretaker; they pretend to see the "baby" sleeping and report this to him. If the strapping becomes loose, they call to him and reassemble the "baby" and the pinning. The doll is never played with or manipulated. Thus the 2-year-old gets praised for emulation of the responsible and nurturant behavior expected of older siblings. 866 857 [862] [524] [155]

Perhaps it is this role training that explains in part the absence of aggression toward the newborn sibling, which might well be expected with such a short interval between weaning from the breast and back and the birth of the next child. The fieldworker did not observe one instance of such hostility. If there is any hostility expressed, it is against the mother in outbursts of temper and against those who ridicule or try to comfort the displaced child. The grandmother's aggressive actions against the mother may encourage the child in this behavior 867 593

* Only 4 out of 24 sample children lived in the same house with a grandfather.

867 as well as comfort him. The support and the nurturance of his older
593 brothers and sisters help in softening the blow and may also function as role model behavior. Even children who had shortly been weaned were observed responding very nurturantly and affectionately toward their newborn siblings. It is difficult to rely wholely on the premise that the greater emphasis placed on the child by his grandmother and the constant attention paid to his status as an older sibling would nullify any aggressive intents. The wistful statement made by a 10-year-old in the form of a wish to be his baby sister because she is loved and indulged by everyone certainly indicates envy as well as the child's clear view of the protection and nurturance given to young infants.

866 In summary, this period is an unhappy interlude for the Taira child. He is forced to give up the indulgencies of infancy. He is punished for demanding behavior and must now confine dominating behavior to his grandmother. He must shift his dependence from his mother to his grandparents and siblings and finally to his peers. He does this only after a period of stormy protests.

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Chapter 15

Kindergarten

872 It is necessary to define the term "kindergarten child" as it is used in
858 Taira. The group includes all children from weaning until the age of 6. The younger ones are carried to the morning sessions, whereas the older ones go on their own. Kindergarten may thus be likened to a mass baby-sitting session. An adult, scolding an 8-year-old who smears mud all over concrete walls, by calling him a kindergarten child is belittling his intellectual maturity. Finding a newly planted field trampled, an adult will quickly volunteer: "Oh, it must have been the kindergarten children; they don't know any better."

[861] Taira adults feel that children under 6 years "do not have sense." Because of this belief, they are considered uneducable. Serious training and instruction pertinent to the standards and values of Taira society

are therefore generally postponed until the child is believed to be endowed with this mysterious capacity to "understand and know." Kindergarten children pilfer from gardens, have temper tantrums, and attack each other physically, but very little enforcement takes place. "They are only children, we can't expect them to know any better," say adults. 858 861 [872]

In spite of this distinction, there is not a complete laissez-faire handling of the still "senseless" child. On the contrary, the child is subject to a number of restrictions. Adults assiduously attempt to train him to say "Please" and "Thank you," "Good morning," "Good day," and "Good-bye." One mother and her eldest daughter were observed trying to teach the youngest child, an 8-month-old girl, to say "Thank you." A piece of brown sugar was extended, withdrawn, given and taken from the baby until she had twice performed the act indicating "Thank you." Mother and daughter took the baby's hands, folded one over the other, palm side up and raised it, saying at the same time, "Ah-ah," baby talk for "Thank you." The situation was not without fussing and screaming on the part of the young child. 861 867

Adults often push the young child's head down to say "Hello," and, if he lets out screams of protest, all laugh hilariously. The child inevitably joins in the laughter and the adults taunt, "Know-nothing." Three and 4-year-olds playing in the dirt along the lanes are picked up and taken to the faucets for a wash down and a scolding, "Dirty! Cat!" Although such enforcement occurs, it is negated when the child starts crying. "Here, here, don't cry; mother was bad" (for scolding you) placates the adult, hugging and cradling the child. [855]

One mother complained that her tomato patch was constantly being raided. When asked whether she knew who was doing it, she said, "Yes, they are kindergarten children." Questioned further as to why she did not scold them or talk to their parents, she said, "It's no use, they are too young to talk to, and besides, I would not like to talk to their mothers because, who knows, my own girls who are under 6 years old may be doing something like that too."

Playing with water is the favorite pastime of young children. During all times of the day a group of them gather at the water tank or at faucets to puddle and "wash." When the water supply was limited, adults would pause in passing by to scream, "Eeyah!" once, then go on, shaking their heads while the children paused only momentarily to look up and then continued with their play. [857]

In the morning, after adults have departed for the fields and mountains and older children have left the village for school, the kindergarten child leaves home with two or three sweet potatoes in his hand 857 872

872 attempts to hold his hand over hers and he continues to beat out the
526 rhythm of the songs. While finishing the last song, she traces lines for the snail game on the sandy ground. A 5-year-old girl, singing the final words of the song, impatiently tugs at her hand. Taking the stick from her hand, the girl erases the teacher's lines and painstakingly tries to make a perfectly round spiral. She stands back to look at the finished "snail," hands the stick back to the teacher, and returns to her place.

The snail game involves teams of two groups of children. One member of a group takes his position in the inner end of the spiral, while the other stands at the outer end. At a signal from the teacher, both run toward each other as fast as possible to cover as much of the length of the line as possible. When they meet, they play a game
[524] similar to the American "rock, paper, and scissors." The loser gives up his turn to another member of his group who has to start at the beginning of the opposite end while the winner runs from the point at which the "toss" took place. At the point of meeting, another toss takes place, and the first contestant to reach the opposite end of the spiral wins a point for his team.

Another favorite game of the kindergarten children is "choosing sides." Two mixed groups stand opposite each other and at the signal one group, hand in hand, moves forward, gaily kicking their feet toward the other members of their group. "We will take, Yoshiko," they sing as they swoop in a semicircle to encircle the chosen one, who attempts to run away while her group tries to run interference. Then the next group has a turn. There is no real "winning" in this game, but the children enjoy the united chasing and united defense.

872 After playing organized games from about 9:30 until 11:15, the
262 children are temporarily disbanded while the teacher goes to prepare the powdered milk, which the children look forward to eagerly. Often the promise of milk serves as a powerful incentive to attend kindergarten for even the most incorrigible renegade. The children all scatter to run home for their small tea cups in which the coveted drink is served. As the teacher approaches the banyan tree from her home, bucket of milk and dipper in hand, she smiles to see the two lines
872 already formed. "Today, we will serve the girls first because the boys
876 were first yesterday," she announces, and immediately there is a shout of disapproval from the boys and a few menacing scowls and upraised
258 arms with clenched fists directed toward the girls. The little girls smile smugly back at the boys, and a few return the hostile threats. The most aggressive boys and girls soon become involved in a tussle, and the teacher serves notice that milk will be withdrawn for the day if order is not restored. The observer feels that in her reprimand to the

guilty parties there is slightly more emphasis in the censure of the female child, whether she is really more responsible for the disturbance or not. There is a tone in her voice which implies that "females do not fight; boys, well, boys can't be helped." The children are quick to sense this, particularly the guilty boys, who strut about brashly when the teacher turns her back to start serving the milk. 872 876 858

When all the milk has been served and drunk, the teacher starts the farewell song for the day. Again the song is fairly shouted out, but for a brief moment serenity reigns when the teacher bows her head slightly to say, "Students, good-bye, until tomorrow," to which the students respond, "Teacher, good-bye until tomorrow." 872 533

In spite of the competitive content of the games and lessons which the teacher presents to the kindergarten, the observer finds few expressions of achievement motivation and competitive spirit. There is little to indicate that children at this age are interested in winning or excelling. Perhaps the remarks of a 4-year-old boy who reported to his mother on the activities of kindergarten are adequate to summarize the attitude of most kindergarten children. "Mother," he said, "Saburo is first in the races, Tetsuo is second and I am third, always third." To which the mother replied, "If you would try a little harder tomorrow, you may be first." The child looked at the mother questioningly, and the next day he reported that while he thought he tried harder he was again third. The mother again encouraged him, but with a broad smile the child said, "But mother (and the mother explains the expression on the child's face as one of 'You don't understand') I am third! Saburo is first, Tetsuo is second . . . and I am third!" The mother went on to explain to the fieldworker that the whole idea was hilariously funny to the child and the fact that the mother would take the subject so seriously was even funnier. 866 872 876

Furthermore, once the winners are determined, the game is concluded *in toto* as far as the teacher and the children are concerned. There are no congratulatory remarks beyond the clapping of the appreciative audience. No references are made to yesterday's winners or today's possible winners. During performances the teacher may encourage a child here with a positive comment, censure an unruly child there with the stick, but the whole atmosphere of child-teacher interactions is affectionate, indulgent, and relaxed. When a child is being reprimanded, the teacher takes no great pains to conceal her appreciation of the humor involved in the situation, and her affection for the "senselessness" of children at this age is expressed while she is making a token effort. [201] [858]

There are no toys to play with in kindergarten, no way in which to 872 876

[i.e. the Kindergarten teacher - ANALYST]

On the whole it can be said that children seem to decide for themselves how far they can move around. Underlying the action of most is a dislike of venturing into unfamiliar grounds, and this largely restricts the territory commonly covered. Most children travel in groups of more than two, an aspect of Taira children's behavior to which reference will often be made. 857 855 156

The area of tombs is generally avoided by children, except by those who pass there to walk to the mouth of the Udenaha River or over the narrow, fragile bridge across it. While children do not fear the bodies of the dead, they express a fear of spirits. But during ceremonies for the dead, children accompany adults and participate in the social gatherings in front of tombs following the prayer. When the body of a fisherman was brought up on the shores of Taira after a typhoon, scores of children of kindergarten age roamed to the beach to take a peek beneath the canvas which covered the corpse. The policeman who officiated on the occasion impatiently waved away the kindergarteners, and when the schoolchildren returned in the afternoon, they also had to be warned to stay away. 857 769 775 [852]

In the central village itself, few places are closed to children. The village office building, of which only a section is reserved for office space, quite often attracts children. It is a convenient temporary shelter during rain squalls and a cool spot during hot weather. The village headman or his clerk may complain about too much noise and chase a group out, but this does not discourage them from returning soon afterward. The open prayer house, too, is a place for play, and no objections are voiced by adults, including the priestess and her assistants. These buildings are village gathering places, and children, as essential members of the community, have free access to them. The situation is different with regard to the township office and the post office, which children never enter except on special errands. 857 858

Children are familiar with dangerous spots, such as steep hills, and show amazing skill in maintaining balance, even when the ground is wet and the dirt is loose. On a picnic hike of a little under 4 miles, kindergarteners ranging from 3 to 6 years scampered across a frail, wide-slatted bridge, up and down over slippery clay paths and over rocky terrain with only a 30 minute stop to eat their lunches. In a group of about 15 children only two 3-year-olds slipped and cried to be carried down unusually steep inclines and over the rickety bridge. None seemed exhausted although many roamed off the paths to forage in the bushes for berries and laurellike flowers from which they sucked nectar. 855 857

Journeys outside the village are rare for most children. It is usually 857

865 "Play and fight are children's work." As one mother reported, "It is no
857 use. They fight and then before you know it, they are friends again.
[861] In Japan, parents often interfere with children's fights, but we here in Okinawa don't believe in doing so. It is much better to let them alone unless they injure one another. The way it is, it would make an adult look like a fool to interfere." Some parents attempt to channel aggression by calling a wrestling match between boys who start arguing. In this way, rock throwing and fighting with sticks are avoided, and the boys can work off their anger, but hitting, biting, and pushing, as well as rock throwing, were observed among children of this age. As the children approach school age and gain facility in language, they resort more and more to verbal aggression; however, as will be discussed later, some physical aggression is carried over in the behavior of boys toward girls. At no time is aggression toward younger children tolerated.

[124] Only after exhaustive questioning can one get parents to admit that they train their children to retaliate. "Never fight; if someone hits you, just walk away, for you (in thus showing your strength to resist) will win the fight; fighting is bad," instruct mothers, according to the mother interview. Informal talks nevertheless revealed that parents disliked it if their children are underdogs all the time.

865 Boys are expected to be more aggressive than girls, who are, ideally,
858 docile, gentle mannered, kind, reserved, and considerate. In some ways adults seem to train little boys to be aggressive. Beginning in infancy they tease and bully them, holding their arms and restricting them bodily, withdrawing desired objects and pretending to scold and hit. They glean great amusement at the expense of the child if he screams and strikes out in anger. The adult expresses surprise and mock anger. Finally, when he cries, everyone will laugh while the mother retaliates by playfully slapping the aggressor. While most of this kind of teasing is restricted to male infants and young boys, female children are not exempt.

865 Irritable, pushy children do not exist in Taira. Those who try to get
155 things by "walking over others" do not get far, for children ostracize and avoid them. One 4-year-old, observed over a period of months, altered his methods of acquiring goals from pushing and bullying to socially sanctioned techniques, such as asking, waiting his turn, and sharing. The change was startling. Adults passing on a group of children that included this former bully no longer had to scream warnings at him, and his mother felt she did not have to "look after him" any more. During the time of this study, only the children of a recently arrived fisherman and his wife were ostracized by parents as being far

too aggressive and ill behaved. The children played with them but never sought them out and often deserted them en masse when disagreements arose. Taira villagers blamed the parents in this case for being too lax and quarrelsome with each other. 865 155

Peer groups are another of the major agents of socialization for the young child. Child interview data intimate that censure by peers arouses much more anxiety than censure by parents. Refusal to comply with the demands of his peers in the face of punishment from his parents for complying raises in the mind of the child, the question, "Will he hate me for not doing what he asks?" Consequently the child chooses the support that is available to him the greater part of his day and calculates the risk of adult censure quite logically. 857 861

In despair, one mother described how her 5-year-old boy rushes into the kitchen daily and demands to be given his lunch standing on the dirt floor. Despite his parents' instructions to wash his feet and sit properly on the raised portion of the room to eat, the boy scrambled on all fours and hung his unwashed feet over the edge and shoveled his rice down his throat because "his friends were waiting for him."

As mentioned above, the village as a whole acts as another socialization agent. However, although various members shout warnings in attempts to stop children from disapproved behavior, they do not punish them. Their function seems to be one of casual reminding.

When a child turns 5, he is faced with a dramatic change. Parents now begin to treat him like a school child. New independence and responsibility are expected, and an attempt is made to prepare him for first grade. 858 ● 866

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Chapter 16

First Grade

Entry into first grade constitutes a change of status for the child in Taira. It means more than just less play time and adjustment to strict routines, for now he is considered capable of knowing what he is [872]

858 doing. He is made to feel and understand that all the things he did as
866 a kindergarten child are reprehensible. His long walks to and from
872 school give him a sense of independence in spite of the fact that classmates and siblings accompany him. The adulation of kindergarteners, who hang on to everything he reports about his new experience, creates in him a sense of superiority which he never fails to emphasize. "You don't know how to write your name . . . see, this is how you write . . ." he fairly sneers at the wondering, admiring 3- to 5-year-olds and scratches the syllabary in the sand with his fingers.

MORNING ROUTINE

512 The first grader rises early the morning of his first day of school,
872 rushes out to the pot of water standing in the yard just outside the
857 kitchen door, splashes the cold water over his face, brushes his teeth, and re-enters the house. He shivers a bit in the cold, damp morning air
[291] as he struggles to wiggle out of the clothing he wore the day before and into an outfit specially designated for school. He remembers that he has a new pair of canvas shoes and runs out to wash his feet. Clothed and shod he peers into the darkness of the house, waiting impatiently for signs of stirring. From around the corner of the house his grandmother mutters as she goes about her task of starting the fire under the soup pot.

While his mother and grandmother prepare breakfast, he sits looking through his new books; a reader, penmanship notebook, an art book, a music book, and a nature science book. His father is the last to rise, and as he goes stumbling out to wash, his mother calls for someone to amuse the baby who has meanwhile awakened. His older siblings, who are still preparing themselves for school, feign surprise as the new first grader moves to the baby. "Yah! Look, the first grader is all ready!" they laugh.

As the morning meal of rice and soup is hurriedly eaten, the adults instruct the first grader not to disgrace himself and to listen to the teacher. Already the cries of other first graders are urging him to be off to school. The older siblings leisurely gather books and lunches together, but the first grader runs out to join his classmates. All question each other excitedly for "forgotten things." Their mothers stand admiringly, but a few are disgruntled. "It is still too early to start. You are not to be in school until a half hour before the beginning bell," they warn. A sympathetic old woman volunteers, "Go, it is a long way and you will take longer to walk," she advises as the little group starts

Both boys and girls are charged with taking care of a younger child, but when possible, boys try to escape this duty by "making a deal" with their sisters. Girls are therefore more frequently seen caring for younger siblings, but when there are no older girls in the family, a boy must assume this responsibility. Often the novelty of having a tiny infant in the home, for instance, the first girl among several boys, causes older boys to volunteer carrying the infant. On the whole, boys are as reliable caretakers as girls. 855 857

The child on the back finds his child caretaker far less sympathetic and indulgent than mother and grandmother and more literal in applying rules of behavior. Young caretakers, under threat of severe punishment, tend to enforce stringently the rules of safety and permit a much narrower latitude with respect to obedience. Boys are inclined to give expression to their impatience with a younger one more easily than girls; nevertheless, a child taking care of a younger one knows that nurturant behavior toward his charge is a virtue, and failure to show indulgence and sympathy toward the little one is subject to severe reprimands by adults. Although a small child may be left with an older sibling for several hours, the older one knows where to find his mother or grandmother in case of a crisis. When the child on the back cannot be put to sleep by the rocking of his carrier, and indicates persistent discomfort by continued crying, the child caretaker knows that the limits of his competence have been reached.

There is some evidence that the young child-rearing agent follows the example of adults in deferring and giving preferential treatment to males A young caretaker often seems to show more tolerance toward a little boy charge than toward a girl. [858] [562]

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Chapter 17

Latency

By the time a child finishes first grade, he has achieved full membership in the elementary schoolchildren group (age 8 to 12). His associations with kindergarten children are no longer as prevailing or 857 561

no longer one of the "senseless" by praise for responsible behavior. 866
After a relatively brief period of fairly consistent verbal reward, however, parents assume the attitude that chores are not voluntary but compulsory, and they begin to pay more attention to omissions—reminding, threatening, and checking up on the children. Although punishment is rather inconsistent, a child of 9 or 10 finds his chances of escape very slim if he fails to be responsible. But if he carries out some task spontaneously, he may find himself amply rewarded. Children generally seem to react more responsibly to school duties than home duties. This may be because teachers utilize peer group [861] control to elicit responsible behavior by rewarding and punishing in the presence of the whole class.

Girls assume caretaking of younger siblings earlier and more seriously than boys. A 6-year-old girl may be entrusted with a younger 857 sibling during a whole afternoon. A boy, looking after a younger 866 child, is more likely to abandon or neglect his charge than a girl. 855 In families where there are several children of caretaking age, each is assigned a specific share of time. Inevitably the girls find themselves with the greater or entire portion of this duty, for the boys either simply refuse or evade assuming their share. This shirking of duty is partly supported by the mother, who, by her failure to enforce assignments, displays passive acceptance or approval of the boys' actions. A girl, however, invites censure not only from her mother but also from other girls for similar actions.

The most important factor in differential treatment of boys and 857 girls is a cultural one. Most of the tasks or chores assigned to both 858 are, on the adult level, performed by women. Cutting and gathering 462 grass for horses and goats is men's work, but mopping floors, tidying and sweeping yards, fetching water, cleaning lamps, caring for chickens and pigs, and looking after children are all tasks that are "women's work" in Taira village. It is therefore evident that girls derive some intrinsic reward from them, whereas they may be intrinsically punishing for boys.

The difference in parental expectation with regard to children's 857 increasing responsibility with age is reflected in these selected answers 866 from interviews with mothers to the question: "What chores do you expect your child to do?" The mother of a 5-year-old boy said: "His work is to play down at the beach. But his older brother (11 years) is such a big help. . . . If I am busy, I may ask him to feed the pig, watch H. (baby sister) or clean the house, fetch water or wood, and Y. will do it without saying anything." The mother of another 11-year-old boy put it this way: "His job is to see to it that the chickens are

857 help the people. Then I can buy food with the money I earn and
866 save some for a new house." Other boys, too, revealed a combination of achievement-oriented and nurturant needs and over-all qualities of responsibilities which characterize leading adults in the community. But there are also dependence needs in boys, such as expressed by
[124] this 10-year-old, "I would like to be the youngest baby . . . because everyone loves that one" (in response to the question "If you could be anybody in the family, would you like to be a father, mother, or a baby?") But the answer of a 7-year-old boy: "I want to become father, then I can raise potatoes, rice, and other things" is more typical of the Taira boys in this age group than the previous one.

Girls were quite explicit in their nurturance motivation, but they, too, used answers to reveal other desires. "I'd like to be mother so that I can cook and go to the mountains" (6 years); "I'd like to be 14, then I can fetch water and go on real errands and get money," and by the same girl (7 years), "I would like to be like K. (a girl of about 20 years) because she is an employee of the *yakuba*" (the servant and general helper at the township office). Several girls wanted to be the age of their older sisters, because, as one (6 years) said, "She buys things for me and she can buy all kinds of things for me." A real strong dependence need and a reflection of economic privations in her family, one of the poorest in Taira, was revealed by a 6-year-old girl: "I would like to become someone else's big sister . . . like the Kawata (village) rice miller's . . . because then I can eat a lot of rice," followed by, "I'd like to be Y. (baby sister) because she is small . . . because she is not even in kindergarten and father and mother will take me around with them."

Taira female adults' roles are apparently well recognized and correctly interpreted by these girls, and identifications are appropriate. Only one girl referred to a professional career, open to women, but her answer reveals very practical reasons for achievement striving: "I'd like to be a teacher, then I can do well in studies and do all kinds of studying . . . can earn money. With that money I can buy clothes and hats. And when anyone speaks *hōgen* (dialect), I can hit them with a stick and give them all failing grades. . . . Then I'll feel good!"

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857
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[858]

SCHOOL ROUTINE

The school, like the parents, expects more of the 8- to 12-year-olds. The session is longer, lasting until 4:00 in the afternoon and reducing

the time for play, tasks, and homework. A child now spends eight hours in the school setting. Children are more matter of fact about school. They are slower to start in the morning, often playing a quick game before leaving the village. 872 857 512

The school schedule is more routine but still flexible. Some of the students do homework and prepare for classes while others play until the morning school assembly. From their arrival at school until they leave in the afternoon, children are under moderate supervision but by no means subject to severe discipline from teachers. The atmosphere at school is friendly, almost intimate at times. There is nothing to frighten children, and none shows signs of unhappiness or anxiety as a result of being away from home and in another village. Most of the boys behave with little restraint, while girls are much quieter and more responsive to occasional reprimands from teachers seeking order. The classroom atmosphere remains informal through all grades. Children call out answers spontaneously or make loud comments. Some move freely in the room during lessons or leave for the toilet. 872 876 [858]

The informality in the classroom is also illustrated by the occasional presence of a teacher's young child, who is taken along by his parent if no one else can take care of him at home. Off and on, a student's younger sibling also sneaks in and sits quietly through a lesson. Physical privations are not considered conducive to learning. A child who was not able to sleep adequately during the previous night will not be disturbed if he falls asleep in the middle of a lesson. If on a hot, sultry summer day children are sluggish and fail to respond, teachers ease up on their demands accordingly. [875] [857]

The classroom situation may best be described by an excerpt from field notes, taken in the fifth grade.

The male teacher is going through some new expressions from their reading material with the class. Children have their notebooks open and, as the teacher explains, take notes. Boys interrupt by shouting something, a suggestion, an answer, a question. The teacher hardly disciplines at all. He does not object to interruptions. K. (10-year-old boy), who apparently tries to show off as observers enter, shouts as "crowded streetcars" are discussed by teacher, "What would happen if somebody beats you in a streetcar?" Teacher seems to disregard this question. A little later K. interrupts two more times. Boys and girls sit apart; about one third of the students are girls. The girls hardly speak up during the session. In discussing the word "insensitive" one boy shouts as example, "I am insensitve to teacher's scolding." This is accepted as an example. There are three boys who have taken their shirts off on this warm morning. Two put them on as observers enter. After a while the teacher says, "Let's close this now." Somebody shouts, "Arithmetic," and the teacher concurs. He then gives addition problems by rapidly calling for sum-

866 last," was essentially echoed by the five other school girls in the sample
876 of six. Three, however, thought they would not mind too much being in the middle, though they would prefer to be first, and all seemed to agree with the statement of one that "it is no fun to be the last," and as one said (and the five others put it in similar words): "If I am last, then I would work very hard. . . ." Wanting to be first and doing something about it are, of course, two different things. But the intentions of girls to work hard are stated more strongly than those of boys. And, significantly, none of the girls mentioned fear of scolding or shame.

Does this mean, then, that girls have a higher achievement motivation than boys or are they just more responsible and obedient? At
[858] home girls have been trained to assume responsibilities at a slightly earlier age than boys and have, therefore, been exposed to more rewards for doing their tasks than boys—and also more scolding for doing them only in part or not at all, although the fear of being scolded is not verbalized. It may be that the desire to do well becomes an end in itself for these girls because of previous satisfactions and, possibly, fears. And to some extent, observations of classroom behavior and participation in studies by girls would bear out that they make more determined efforts to perform well in class.

Mothers' replies to the questions "How satisfied do you feel about how well your child does things?" and more specifically, "What do you do if he does poorly?" were uniformly positive expressions. All mothers said that they were not only happy with good performances but also actually encouraged good work at school by giving praise and often special food. Only three mothers of the boys who expected scolding said that they would do so if their child did poorly; two others suggested that they would talk to the child to make him perform better. The mother of one boy who stated that he would feel ashamed to be placed at the bottom said that if her boy "should do something poorly I would tell him that he has become 'useless, hopeless.'" None of the girls' mothers, on the other hand, indicated that she would scold their daughter for poor performance.

Mothers, then, though purporting to be interested in their children's performance in school, are actually using, at best, mild pressures toward satisfactory accomplishments. Although they genuinely feel a pleasure over good performance, we wonder if they express and enforce their sentiments toward children consistently enough, emphatically enough, and frequently enough to make an impact. We rather think that mothers who work in fields and mountains all day

866 Girls could theoretically become monitors, and several votes were cast
872 for them, but it is doubtful whether a girl could be effective among
876 boys, who might be unwilling to follow her lead.

The student Red Cross chapter has a chairman in each class who
[858 makes collections under the teacher's supervision. Somebody may
231] volunteer for such jobs as pouring milk during lunch hour. Other assignments have to do with the upkeep of a few school-owned goats, which must be fed during vacations too.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BOYS AND GIRLS

858 Differential status of boys and girls, emphasized in child rearing
876 from the time of birth, is clearly defined in many details of school routine. Boys are sent out first when it is time to leave the classroom; they head the lines; and they are given first turn at the equipment.
[177] The promotion of sex equality under American supervision of the educational program has met with only mild acceptance in the classes we observed. Although separate seating is avoided under post-World War II rules, a separation continues in fact.

858 Girls remain on the receiving end of much teasing and horseplay,
876 more, it seems than one observes during associations of boys and girls in the village, which we will describe later. Teachers, like parents,
865 expect the boys to bully girls. In one classroom, for instance, we heard girls complaining that the (male) teacher favors boys by calling on them all the time. This may encourage the dominant, aggressive behavior of boys toward girls. Hardly a day passes in school without several girls crying as a result of assertive boy tyrants. Occasionally a boy is punished, but usually he escapes with distinct pride showing on his face. Recently teachers have resorted to ridiculing those who intimidate girls, but the tradition is so strong that even if bullying on the school ground is curbed, there is a great deal on the road to and from school. Only the most vociferous girls do not seem to be cowed by such boisterous demonstrations and may adequately match in verbal repartee those boys who try to put them into place as well as provoking more teasing and aggression. To illustrate attempts at bullying in the classroom, we quote from an observation record (second grade).

> . . . Whenever one of the girls gives a wrong answer, S. (Taira boy) shouts loudly; he is one of the most vociferous in class . . . Class then starts reading aloud, each pupil for himself . . . A boy in front of K. (Taira girl) turns around, hits her for putting her feet against his chair. K. continues kicking

his chair, doesn't seem to mind boy's slapping. He is not really angry, smiles. Looking at observer, he stops slapping, pinches K. under desk. 858

In none of the observations on schoolchildren's behavior were there examples of Taira boys protecting Taira girls from the teasing of other village boys. Instead, during school hours boys tend to team up with boys, girls with girls, although among each sex there is a tendency to associate more with those from one's own community. 876 865

PLAY GROUPS

By midafternoon all schoolchildren have returned to the village, and play groups can be found in various locations. The more stringent requirements of school seem to have been forgotten. Hardly any students of the elementary grades study immediately after returning from school. For two hours or more they spend their time with peers and younger siblings. 857

A play group comes into existence when two or three children meet in the street, in the corner of a garden, or in one of the many open lots and village places. All Taira children are intimate with each other because since early childhood they have been together during the greater part of the day. There is always a slight preference for one another among some children, either because they are close neighbors of the same age and sex, or cousins, or otherwise congenial. Although these special friends associate more often with each other, they do not exclude other children who want to join their play. Once children attend school, association on the basis of sex and age becomes more distinct. The total composition of a play group, however, shifts from day to day and from locality to locality. If one group starts a game, other children in the vicinity soon join to form a new group to play a similar game nearby. Such a play group numbers from two to ten or more children. Most frequently, however, groups are composed of children of the same sex and similar age.

There are several factors, however, which lead to variations in this general pattern. If a school age girl is the oldest in the family and has several younger siblings to care for in the afternoons, she will frequently be found in the company of younger girls and hence younger boys, the play groups being more mixed at the younger ages.

M., a 7-year-old girl with three younger sisters (ages 4, 3, and 1) was usually found in a large play group composed primarily of younger children. In contrast, S, a girl of 10, was found in smaller groups. Although she has no younger siblings to tend, she frequently cares for a

857 neighbor's child. Her charge, however is an infant who is still carried and does not yet seek the companionship of other young children. S. interacts less frequently with other children not only because of the age of her charge but also because she is older and hence has more duties at home and in the fields. Furthermore, she was born in 1945, a [163] year when few other children were born in Taira.

K., a boy of 10, is similar to S. in that he has no siblings who need care, the youngest being a 4-year-old girl who can travel with her 7-year-old sisters. In contrast to S., however, he interacts more frequently with children of the same sex and same age or older.

AGGRESSION BETWEEN BOYS AND GIRLS

865 We have touched on the relationship between latency boys and girls
857 in school, implying that the bullying which occurs frequently there is
858 less frequent in the community. Boys sometimes tease girls but less persistently and less often than in school. Since boys associate mostly with boys, and girls with girls, and since contact between sexes of the same age takes place mostly in group names, it is seldom unfriendly. Teasing among boys, and teasing among girls, is common, so that it would be hard to maintain that between the sexes it is more frequent. Once in a while, boys will keep girls out of their game, or girls will be annoyed when boys join them. Some of the kindergarten boys, as we have mentioned, like to be the disruptive agents in peaceful housekeeping games by assuming the role of a robber or wild animal. Two 5-year-old boys who generally enjoy teasing others select girls as their target now and then. Sometimes girls are just the objects of generalized aggression, as in the case presented below. M., a 5-year-old boy, first interacts aggressively with another 5-year-old boy, F., and then turns on a girl.

F. has picked up a piece of pink paper and comes carrying it up to M. He holds it against his chest, stands in front of M. and smiles. "Give it to me," says M., and F. just stands smiling, mumbling, "Hmmm, maybe," but does not hand it over. M. rushes him and attacks him with his fist and takes it away from F. who stands laughing. M. rolls the paper around the end of his stick and walks down the lane toward a group of kindergarten-age girls.

Y. (4-year-old girl) comes walking up from behind M. M. turns around and raises his stick menacingly at her. Y. looks anxious, maneuvers quickly around him to join the girls, and laughs nervously. M. smiles smugly, walks back to boys.

When provoked, the girls will often fight back, and they score equally well, especially in verbal aggression. At other times they accept

the teasing good humoredly, as seen in the incident of a 10-year-old girl, S., who is teased by a 7-year-old boy, A., described in the following protocol. 865 857 858

S. is guarding the can in a can-kicking game. A. (who has been playing a rubber band game with another boy nearby) looks up, smiles, goes running over to the can and kicks it with his foot, yelling, "Safe!" S., whose back is turned to him, jumps, turns around and sees him. "You're not playing this game," she laughs and A. laughs and goes back to his own game. [526]

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SIBLINGS

As mentioned above, the caretaking responsibility and the tendency of younger siblings who are beyond the carrying stage to follow an older brother or sister keep siblings together a great deal during play. When an older brother has to mind a younger sister, he is usually not overly protective. He seldom defends his sister from teasing and sometimes is more aggressive to her than he would be to others if she interferes with his activities. There is, of course, a great deal of variation due to personality. A 5-year-old boy (one of the teasers described above) sometimes pushes his younger sister, and she runs home crying. An 11-year-old boy, on the other hand, when he takes care of his four younger sisters, or some of them, is usually quite protective and nurturant. 593 857 [865]

A record of the behavior of T. (7 years), his younger sister H. (4 years), and other boys illustrates a brother-sister interaction. T. and other boys have made a swing and T. is sitting on it while A. (5-year-old boy) and H. try to get turns:

A. tries to get him off the swing. H., who expected that her turn would come next, whines "nisan (older brother)" and while A. tries to get T. off, she keeps on whining, "This should be enough." T. replies, "This is A.'s turn"; while A. is trying to get on the swing, H. starts crying and goes into the house. Apparently an adult is in the house. T. follows, voices are heard, but not understood. T. returns after a moment and helps F. (another boy) push A. on the swing. H. seems to have stopped crying. We heard no adult scolding T. or talking to H. H. returns, no longer crying. She stands behind T. whose body swings back and forth while pushing A. H. pushes T.'s swinging body to help him. A., F., and H. sing in rhythm, "one, two, three," etc. After song is finished, H. says, "Brother, it is my turn next." T. ignores her, but A. gets off the swing and H. sits on it. H. swings by herself. T. orders A. to help him push the door next to the swing open. A. complies. T.'s mother passes, does not say anything. After the door has been opened (and more room gained), T. and A. push H.

593 The presence in the background of T.'s mother may have something to do with his change in behavior toward H., or it may be that he wants her to wait her turn and do it his way. T. is very much in control of this situation, even among the boys. The swing is constructed on the edge of his parents' house. But T., on another occasion, when his aunt asked him to wash her daughter's (T.'s 4-year-old cousin) feet after she had waded in the muddy paddies, complied agreeably and was quite nurturant and indulgent with the younger girl. With H., too, he is more cordial at other times. Perhaps what bothers him, [865] and other boys of his age, is the interference of younger sisters with boys' play.

857 To sum up, between boys and girls of school age there is not a very close relationship, each sex being quite strongly oriented toward mem-
593 bers of its own group. Brothers and sisters, on the whole, fall into this
858 pattern, except that the succorance-nurturance relationship between younger and older continues, though moderately. Although separation of sexes is found in the kindergarten pattern, it is more pronounced in latency, since the activities of peers are more and more differentiated by sex.

RELATIONSHIP TO PEERS

857 We asked the children a question in an attempt to measure how they would resolve the conflict between having to do a chore and the
866 call of friends to join in play. All boys (in the group of six) agreed
156 that they would do their work first, four mentioning fear of being scolded. One boy worried about what his friends might think if he does not join them soon: "Will they not think badly of me?" adding, "Sometimes I have gone out without finishing my work and then I would worry about getting scolded. It's 'bad,' but if my friend persists, I would go and join him without doing my work." And another admitted, "If mother and father are not at home, I would go and play without finishing my work, but then I would worry about getting scolded."

Strangely enough, five of the girls answered that they would do their work first, but if their father and mother are not home, they would go out and play; at least four say so, while the fifth boldly says, "If friends come and call me when I am doing my chores, I will go and play without finishing," but this girl, coming from a poor family, is less secure than others and more anxious to be a part of the group. Several girls mentioned the fear of being scolded. Only one, the sixth, replied,

Others include levies upon
651 organizations and families to support the athletic meets, or 'undōkwai',
[526] which are such a popular part of life in Okinawa.

575 Before the war the women's group ('fujinkai') and the young people's
178 group ('seinendan') levied a certain amount of soybeans against each member, and when they were delivered the sale brought in money to finance their activities. These organizations also made up special meals for local athletic
[526] favorites while they were in training, and provided a feast for them at the
526 end of the contests. Today the 'undōkwai' is on more of a monetary basis,
651 and there is a levy called the 'undōkwai no keihi'. In October of 1953, the
632 cost of the grand athletic meeting held in Naha was divided among the 'son' according to the number of champions sent to the contest. Kochinda-son was top grade in Shimajiri, and Tomoyose was a middle-grade village within Kochinda-son. This grade was judged by the amount of arable land, its yield, and the population. Within the village, households in turn are assessed by three grades, according to their income tax records. These three grades were "minimum," under ¥20; "middle", ¥20-50; and "maximum", ¥50-54.

62 Local Philanthropy From time to time the leading household heads are called
741 upon to donate money for improvement of village facilities. Names of contributors and amounts given are written upon a wooden plaque and hung in the village meeting house. The building of this meeting house itself involved the gathering of such a fund, to which Nanahan people gave a total of ¥1,450. Later a request for funds to buy a funeral stretcher brought ¥350 from the household heads, and a road repair campaign netted ¥1,550 from Nanahan.

Somewhat the reverse of the above occurred after the Russo-Japanese war when a particularly handsome soldier from the neighboring village came back from the front. All the leading 'geisha' in Naha had long had the habit of asking him to come to their establishments without charge. His return brought such joy to their hearts that they got together a sum of money and bought him a large plot of land near Nanahan.

52 Prizes at Contests From the time a youngster enters school and participates in his first contest to the time when he shows an animal at his last village or 'son' festival before retiring, all winners look forward to some sort of prize to mark the occasion. In school the prizes are generally beautifully handwritten scrolls, but as one gets older the prizes assume the form of wooden trays and articles of practical use in the home.

● 858 Sale of Children When the SIRI team first arrived on Okinawa and mentioned
432 that we were interested in finding if the Okinawans still
[183] practiced the sale of children, sophisticated respondents feigned indignation. Later on, as we were able to gain rapport in the countryside, a number of such instances were forthcoming.

In Tomoyose a man got into debt over an effort to make a fortune in sugar along about 1910. He was so heavily in debt to village people that he was socially unable to live in the community, and moved to Itoman. There he sold his son to a fisherman. The son is now a grown man with an Okinawan wife and a mistress from Amami. His business is still fishing, although he also owns a truck.

One of the most respected household heads in Nanahan was sold when a boy. His poor Shuri parents sold him to rich Nanahan relatives, even though he was a first son. His relative, a woman who still lives there, had him work her fields for his support. However, she allowed him to work off-season as a day laborer, and he was permitted to keep his earned money. People commented: "He was and still is honest." 858 ● 432

One of the consistent themes of Okinawan literature is the sale of children to Itoman. The practice continues today, perhaps in less intensive form. A grown man who now lives in Yamada was sold from Yamada to Itoman people when he was a boy. He returned to Yamada when the village was resettled after the war, considering that his time was up. He is one of the men who fish part-time, having learned something of fishing from the Itoman people.

Three boys at least were being held during our stay by an Itoman man. He and the boys move about quite a bit, but he has his home in Itoman. The boys, at least one of whom is from Ie Shima, call him "uncle". The boys are about junior high school age but are not in school. When a woman who knew about the situation was asked why this was not reported to the police, she expressed surprise at the idea. She did not know if the practice were illegal or not, and more or less defended the man---a relative by marriage---by saying that Itoman people had always done this. She added that the man treated the boys well, though she knows the stories about how badly the Itoman people treated the boys they bought in the past. One has run away several times but he always comes back.

One respondent, whose knowledge and intelligence command respect, says that both boys and girls are still being bought regularly from the off-shore islands. The boys are sold to fishermen, and the girls to brothel-keepers. He believes the treatment of the boys may be no better than it ever was but commented that at least they are learning a trade that they can follow when they are freed; the girls are more to be pitied. [548]

It is evident that the child of a very poor family cannot yet regard the traditional disciplinary threat---"If you don't be good, I'll sell you to Itoman"---as an idle one.

possibly have lowered standards of sanitation. Morale may also be a factor; 863
in the instance just mentioned the morale of the grandmother was undoubtedly 178
better than that of her daughter and daughter-in-law whom she criticized.

A very small baby may be carried in the arms, but usually it is car- 854
ried on the back. The mother places it with its belly to her back, its legs spread apart, and its head about at a level with the top of her shoulder. She secures it there with a long sash that runs once under its bottom, makes an X across her chest, passes around its shoulders, and ties in front. A baby is carried most frequently by its mother, but may also be carried a good deal by others, of either sex and any age, grandparents and older siblings being most frequent. The baby may look over the shoulder of its carrier or it may simply sleep, often with its head back and rolling. If it is fretful its carrier may lean forward a bit and jog it to sleep. Larger children may be carried without the sash, by just letting them hang on. Babies are carried about while all sorts of tasks are being performed.

Mothers often carry their babies into the fields when they go out to work, but when they are working in the house they may put their babies to sleep on the floor of the house. If a baby is put to sleep on the floor it is made to sleep on its back. Often the hard floor, which may or may not be covered with a thin mat, will cause the back of the baby's head to become flattened, or if the baby constantly turns its head to one side, the head may become assymetrical, but later fills out to assume its normal shape. Some mothers use a small mosquito net on a frame to protect the sleeping baby from insects, but frequently it is uncovered and flies may alight on it. A few mothers use a hammock-like device called 'burank', as a cradle; these are said to be becoming more popular. At night children, especially smaller children, [513]
sleep with their parents on quilts on the floor, under the one large net.

Children are expected to learn to walk at about 12 to 14 months. 856
Early walking is a sign of good health so that if a child is late to walk, 866
the parents may worry about it. As Glacken points out, there is an important change in the life of the child at this time. Instead of being carried everywhere on his mother's or older sibling's back, the child is now put down and expected to toddle along behind his mother, who is not always sympathetic when he fails to keep up. This change may be a greater trauma to the child than weaning or toilet-training.[1]

Children are said to begin talking at about a year and a half. The 856
first words are usually, nowadays, 'o-kaa', o-tō', 'o-baa', the Japanese equivalents of "daddy", "mommy", and "grandma". Parents do not worry if a child is a little late in talking.

<u>Childhood: Adult Attitudes</u> Okinawans recognize clearly that children are 858
not capable of participating in most adult activities and indeed appear to regard it as undesirable that they do so. Oki- [171]
nawan attitude contrasts sharply with the "modern" American one that takes

[1] Glacken, 1953, p. 264.

858 children to be "little people". From this viewpoint the Okinawans appear to
171 regard children as being not yet quite human. Okinawan children can observe, overtly or covertly, probably a good deal more of adult life than American children can observe and Okinawan adults discuss matters in front of children that American adults would not discuss before children, yet the Okinawan adult appears to expect his children to understand far less of what is done or said than the American does. To illustrate, an Okinawan grandmother may discuss a three-year old's illegitimate origin in its presence, tease it to the point of tears by offering to give it away to the passing American, and then say nothing when it wantonly snatches and breaks something of value. The American is likely to regard the talking as a possible cause of complexes, the teasing as downright cruel, and the tolerance as intolerable lack of discipline.

Small children are free to observe all that goes on in the house and yard during their waking hours. They are not subject to any rules determining when they are to go to bed. There is hardly a formal gathering into which they cannot insinuate themselves for hand-outs. They are taken to the theatre, where they may have to be shooed off the stage by the actors themselves.
864 The only aspect of life that seems to be deliberately withheld from them is
858 sex. They are told that babies come out of their mothers' knees, and although they may overhear a good deal about the sexual relationships of different people and the difficulties that result from them, they are given no notion of the nature of sex. I will discuss this in more detail under attitudes toward sex.

858 Although children seem bold in actions, they are not bold in speech.
856 As a matter of fact they often do not respond when spoken to and seem unwilling to venture to speak at all. I make this statement not merely on the
[184] basis of my own experience as an outsider attempting to talk to them; an Okinawan friend also pointed out how different the children in the north were from those of Central and Southern Okinawa---the Northern children answered his questions when he spoke to them. Some of the children's shyness about speaking may be due to the fact that they usually speak Okinawan in the home and then have to learn Japanese in school. Moreover, they soon learn to feel
[152] that Okinawan is inferior to Japanese as a medium of polite or intellectual expression; they may be shy because they fear to speak Okinawan since it is inferior and because they fear to speak Japanese since they cannot speak it well. But I have the impression that children are also often unresponsive when an adult speaks to them in Okinawan and when the language of the answer
868 is not a factor. I believe that there is another factor that is almost in-
171 herent in the nature of both the Japanese and the Okinawan languages. When
198 speaking to children in Japanese, and also very likely when speaking in Okinawan, adults use a different form of speech than the form they use when addressing adults. Somewhat different forms of speech for children are probably used in every society; they do exist in the United States, but never to such a striking extent as in Japanese. Japanese and Okinawan both have a range of verb forms expressing several degrees of politeness or formality, and to some extent there are also levels of vocabulary corresponding to them. In speaking to a child, the adult uses the simplest verb forms, the simplest words, and then speaks not in whole sentences but rather in a series of phrases each

followed by "nee?", "isn't it so?" In this manner the adult communicates what 858
little that must be communicated to these sub-human beings that are constantly 171
underfoot. To other adults he uses other verb forms, other words, longer and 198
more tightly integrated sentences. He does so, I believe, confident that he is speaking over the heads of the children, though he would deny that this was his motive; his use of different forms in addressing adults would be more likely explained as motivated by respect for the adults. I believe that in this manner Okinawan children are mentally more isolated from adults than are American children, though physically they are in greater contact with them. In time, of course, children learn to understand the conversation of their elders, but they do so without asking questions or overtly showing much interest. Thus very gradually they come into the adult world.

The interpretation just presented is more an hypothesis that seeks to 858
explain some features of Okinawan behavior than a fact that can be indisputably 197
demonstrated. But it suggests a reason, though probably not the only one, for 198
the strong tendency to retain Okinawan as the language of the home, even in families where the adults speak Japanese fairly well, regard it as superior, and use it on formal occasions. Okinawan is suitable for addressing children. Adults unconsciously prefer it because it makes it that much easier for them to differentiate between the speech used in addressing children and that used in addressing adults. Moreover, I believe this interpretation agrees [186]
with what appears to be a marked tendency in Okinawan society for the educated deliberately to talk over the heads of the uneducated. I will discuss this again under the heading education.

Discipline Parents appear to want their children to be agreeable in 867
their relations with others and industrious at school. They praise the gentle (J. 'otonashii') child and the good student. Yet they seem to tolerate noisiness, disregard for property, and to some extent disregard for person, though they may be more tolerant of this sort of behavior in boys than in girls. On one occasion Pitts and Lebra presented an old man with several photographs that they had taken of him and his grandson. As they handed the photographs to the old man, the boy snatched one and in doing so tore it. The old man was visibly hurt at the loss of the photograph, but said nothing to the child at all. On the other hand one of us also once saw a grandmother reach over and pinch a somewhat older girl quite severely because she was lying with her legs apart.

Where behavior thought to be of a more serious nature is concerned, 861
parents do attempt to control their children. They do so by coaxing, bribing, threatening, teasing, scolding, and, for most as a last resort, by corporal punishment. Scolding takes such forms as "dirty!", "shameful!", "You will be laughed at", etc. While being scolded the child need not answer; he may simply look at the ground and remain silent. Since he is not expected to answer he may be less inclined to construct elaborate excuses in the manner of the American child. The threats include such things as "we'll send you away", "we'll sell you to the Itoman people" (to a boy), "we'll sell you to the juri" (to a girl), "we'll give you to the Americans", "we'll call the police", "we'll call a cat (or some kind of bogey) to scare you," "you'll receive divine retribution." Since children are sometimes put out of the house as

had complained to the police about this but the police had said that this 838
was a mental disorder and therefore not their affair. The disregard shown
the young boys in this case accords with Okinawan attitudes toward children [858]
discussed elsewhere; they are not developed enough, perhaps, to be corrupt-
ible. Another example is that of a male employee of a 'ryōtei' in another
city who is in the habit of putting on a woman's kimono and wig and singing
in a falsetto voice for the amusement of male guests. He is not known to
"take guests" but is very effeminate in his ordinary manner. School girls
are said to form strong attachments to one another, but there is no in-
dication of the persistence of such relationships.

The terms for the sex organs, tani, "penis", and hoo, "vulva", are 834
used rather freely by older persons, but children are expected to use them 864
only for serious purposes. It is said that if children used the terms re-
peatedly in joking they might be scolded for "dirty talk". An old woman
once told me, in the presence of several younger women and a twelve-year-
old girl, an amusing story about an old woman who always sat with her kimono
pulled up and was therefore called "Hoo-Hai Ayaa", "Mother Vulva-Visible".
Everyone laughed but the girl, who looked rather embarrassed. After the
battle in 1945 when American food was issued in quantities, Okinawans be-
came familiar with wiener sausages, which they still remember with relish
as tani-gwaa, "little penises". As in Japanese, the word for sexual re-
lations is formed by adding the verb "to do" to the word for vulva. This
term would not be used before children or in polite conversation.

2. Sanitation

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An American, watching the habits of daily living of an Okinawan 512
family, may find his first impression to be one of shock. In the morning
the sliding doors that kept out any fresh air all night are pushed open and [514]
the children, dressed in the underclothes they have slept in, walk sleepily
to the step and urinate off it. Father steps down and walks a few feet
around the side of the house and does the same. Grandmother is already in
the kitchen preparing breakfast and smoke soon fills the upper air in the
main part of the house, looking for a way out in the absence of a chimney.
Father goes to the well with a small towel around his neck, throws cold [515]
water over his face, and washes it with a little soap. He then brushes his
teeth long and hard and puts the family toothbrush back on the hook for
Mother to use later. Mother takes down the great mosquito net the family [264]
has slept under, folds up the quilts, and brings out breakfast---tea, a
thin soup, and sweet potatoes. Soon tea grounds and potato peels come fly- [351]
ing out onto the ground in rapid succession. A chicken walks in from a
neighbor's yard, pecks diffidently at a potato peel, and walks on, leaving
a token of gratitude behind. The sun begins to warm the air and the flies
to swarm around the toilet behind the house, into the kitchen, across the
remains of the family's meal in the main rooms, and around the scraps in
front. Father goes to work and the older children go to school. Mother [264]
washes the dishes at the well, in cold water without soap, and leaves them
to dry in the sun. Flies light on them.

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The visitor looks into the toilet. It is an oil drum with a plat- 514
form over it and a wood and canvas shelter over that. The cover is off. 343

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a harsh, often rasping voice. Only men play the Okinawan samisen, a stringed instrument slightly different from its Japanese counterpart. Men also join in the dancing.

In a village parties on the fifth or sixth day after the birth of a child and on his first birthday happen frequently. They are an important part of social life. A relative or a friend is always celebrating one or the other occasion, either in the village or in a neighboring one. These celebrations increase, especially for the men, the number of social occasions and recreational opportunities during the year in a culture where holidays and rest days are comparatively few. (There are no weekly rest days or week ends).

After the first birthday, little attention is paid to the succeeding ones until the thirteenth. The child's experience from the
861 time he begins to walk until he reaches school comes from family life and neighborhood play. In my observation, there is no rigid, customary way of bringing up the child. It is toilet trained around one year of age. This does not seem to be forced. Training comes
863 through imitation. Parents do not punish the child for indiscretions, though they are quick to lift him off the mat if he begins wetting. With young boys, the father may make a hissing sound while the child's penis is out. One has the impression that it is a gradual transition, mostly effected by imitation or gentle suasion.

304 Male children are not circumcised. Circumcision is known only to those who have learned of it through books, foreign residence, or from others who have this information.[9]

867 In early training, boys are not taught that they are superior to girls. But when she reaches school age, the girl is likely to be kept
562 busier around the house. Before the war, there may have been a greater subordination of girls to boys. But any conscious training of girls to subordinate themselves to boys is unnecessary. The child grows up in a culture in which the father is waited on, the sons favored in inheritance, and in which the men have a richer social life.

855 Parents are kind to their children. They seldom spank a child,
593 though an exasperated parent may give the child a sharp slap. There is little nagging or shouting at children in anger. In my opinion,

9 Two young men, school teachers about 23 years old, expressed great astonishment when asked about circumcision. They did not know it existed.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

there is little forcing of children,[10] In my opinion and this might be just as significant in accounting for the easy going security of Okinawans as that coming from breast feeding and carrying on the back. But a single element explanation is not a fruitful approach to this complex subject. 861 155

The chief factors in child development, in my observation, are the child's early and continuous contact with the mother, and the "public" life of the child[11] and its early exposure to the activities, the admonishments, the corrections, the admiration, and the fondling of others. Older women of the village have a major part in this, but young men and women look after a child, advise it, correct it, perhaps feed it. This "public" life is made easier because a child carried on the back, or toddling, or, later, in walking is seldom out of the view of a relative. It is common to talk with a villager in a public place and to discover that two or three of the children playing there are cousins, nieces, nephews, or more distant relatives. It is this combination of impressions and pressures, in my opinion, rather than planned training, which induces conformity and makes a child part of the village life. Certainly the standards of public and private behavior, transmitted from the parent, is reinforced at a much earlier age than in American society, by community approval, disapproval, and assistance. Part of this is due to the fact that a village, even its government, takes on some of the attributes of a large family. 861 [867]

Okinawan rural children grow up speaking Okinawan (Okinawago). There is no standard Okinawan and local dialectical differences are very marked. The chief distinctions seem to be in accent and 197

[text continues top of p. 268 -- analyst]

10 There is an interesting passage in Captain Hall's voyage. Hall's party observed a boy tumbling. He stopped when he saw he was observed and could not be induced to continue. Hall's company asked an Okinawan friend to get the boy to continue. This he did without success, and feigned anger when the boy would not go on. Thereupon the persuasion stopped, the Okinawan observing, "It was for his own amusement that he began, and probably for his own amusement he will do so again." The boy resumed his tumbling when he was ignored. Hall wrote that the Okinawan showed good sense in not compelling the boy to continue "that as a task, which he had begun as an amusement, and which he had discernment enough to know would be unpleasant for us to witness in any other way. By this treatment of their children, mutual cordiality and freedom of intercourse are encouraged. It was probably owing to this mode of education that the children became at once familiar with us." Account of a voyage to west Corea and the Great Loochoo, as cited, 211. [861] [155]

11 This happy phrase, I believe, was first used by Miss A. H. Bacon in her still excellent book, Japanese girls and women, New York, 1907.

can at least check all transients. Another important duty is to prevent the use of explosives by fishermen, a difficult if not impossible assignment, for he must catch the fisherman *flagrante delicto* when he lands with fish killed in this way. There is no indication that villagers assist the policeman in detecting offenders. 625 [226]

Policing the village itself is not a difficult job. The absence of crime and the low incidence of quarrels, disputes, and brawls would seem to make policing unnecessary. Nevertheless, the policeman interferes at times in disputes. He considers it his duty when actual blows are exchanged and somebody is hurt. In such a case he "investigates," takes notes, and makes a report to the police department. During the entire field work, reportable incidents occurred at about the rate of one a month; in the two or three cases where violence occurred, the matter was settled peacefully later, although the policeman kept a record of it. The rare quarrels which do occur are usually the result of drinking or domestic disagreements, generated by financial problems. 625 578 [674] [273]

The policeman plays the role of judge and jury. In one case a young man hit a woman and was temporarily detained by the policeman until he made apologies to the victim. In disputes over business transactions, the policeman often arbitrates. In a dispute in which a Taira woman was accused of cheating a trader from another village, the policeman heard the case and ordered the Taira woman to make refunds over a period of time. The villagers seem to accept such arbitration. Serious disagreements seem to be unthinkable, and everyone fears public censure and ostracism. Court action is extremely rare and is referred to the provincial courts in the town of Nago. 625 627 [692]

The policeman is given high status by the villagers and commands respect. He remains, probably by his own choice, a neutral person in village affairs. He attends village functions, where he is given a place among village leaders. Being friendly with many families, he visits and is visited by other men. It was noted that fishermen sometimes send a special catch to the policeman. But since this is a courtesy which is also common among farmers with regard to nonfarming people, such as teachers, one should not think of such actions as bribery. Mothers use the policeman as a threat in disciplining children. "If you do such a bad thing again, I'll take you to the police station." This, however, does not seem to instill any fear of his person, but rather a respect towards the general area in which the policeman lives. Village children play freely with the policeman's children, but his courtyard is entered less frequently by children than that of other villagers. 625 [554] [662] [861]

The head of the General Affairs Department at the township office is charged with supervision of public order. It is not clear how much this is a self-assigned task. During several occasions, when an alarm 632 647 625

853 There are no food taboos during pregnancy, and after birth mothers
262 can continue to eat what they wish except for certain "hard" foods,
[843] such as octopus, whale meat, and certain kinds of fish which are believed to stop the flow of milk. To stimulate lactation, the mother is given papaya boiled with flour and noodles or a medicine made from herbs.

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Chapter 13

Infancy

858 The infant is considered a helpless, pitiable treasure who is incapable
155 of knowing, understanding, or learning until he is around 6 years old.
855 If this senseless child is treated affectionately and indulgently, he will
177 grow to be a healthy, happy adult.

With the spread of Japanese influence throughout Okinawa, accord-
[861] ing to informants, there evolved another belief, which in Taira is complementary to the idea of the senseless child. This new belief is vaguely conceptualized by most young parents but was verbalized concretely by at least two sets of parents. "Children are the gift of gods.* They are godly until they are 7 years old." Exoneration of misbehavior on the part of the child under 7 (6 years according to Western count) conjures up in the mind of the observer a picture of willful capricious gods who are totally unpredictable. A shrug of the shoulder and a phrase which completely defines both attitude and resignation in Japanese is, "helpless, against one's will." Because children are godlike in nature, they do not know any better; because they do not know any better they are godlike in nature. Just why and how a child outgrows this temperament could not be explained by the parents. These beliefs foster the extreme indulgence, protection, and nurturance of young babies. Their physical and emotional needs are attended to constantly, with a great deal of affection.

* This notion may well have been influenced by Christian as much as by Japanese ideas.

herself from head to toe when she had left her diaperless on the floor for a few minutes. She had assumed that the child had completed elimination and had gone out to rinse the soiled diaper. 863

When the infant is anywhere from 22 days to 10 months old, the mothers start trying to anticipate urination before the baby wets his diapers. Each mother trains herself to her child's particular cues, squirming, peculiar facial expressions, and so on, or keeps a kind of mental time check. Holding the infant in a semisitting position out over the edge of the porch, and supporting him under his knees with her hands and at his back with her chest, she coaxes gently, repeating "shi-shi" until he urinates onto the ground outside. If the mother is successful in her efforts, she hugs, kisses, and praises the infant. On the other hand, if she does not reach him in time and he is already wet, she will hold the child over the wet diaper and say "shi-shi." This is to ensure that he has fully eliminated, or if the interval between diaper checks has been long, to make certain that he does not need to urinate again before putting on a fresh change. In these instances she does not praise unless the infant does urinate or eliminate at her coaxing, but she does not punish him for urinating in his diapers. [861]

Although mothers may desire bladder control to develop, their statements do not indicate that they conceive of holding the child out as training. In discussing the practice, mothers seemed more concerned about the number of diapers they had to wash or buy. With a great deal of pride one mother reported that she never had to wash a diaper except when it was soiled with feces. Another bragged that she had only had to buy diapers once, and this was for her first child. Treatment of bladder control at a later period raises further doubt that this practice is meant for training purposes. Pertinent here, too, is the belief that children are incapable of learning at this early date. [861]

While a few mothers who have the time to look after their babies continue to avoid wet diapers, most of them eventually abandon the routine and leave it to the child to train himself. When they resume normal activities following childbirth, an older sibling takes over the care of the infant, and the mother does not instruct the older child to continue the practice. Fear for the safety of the baby keeps her from doing so. Once she straps the baby onto the young caretaker's back, she expects him to remain there until she or another adult unstraps him. Teen-age caretakers seldom bother to change wet diapers until it becomes unbearable. If the grandmother is the chief caretaker, however, she will continue the practice. For the greater part of the first year, the infant urinates in his diaper, frequently wetting his caretaker. Just before the child turns one, most mothers will reduce the amount of 863 854 855 863

862 into their term, but one mother reported that she nursed her first son until the day before the second was born. Curiously, the determination [853] with which mothers wean contrasts sharply with their very indulgent [861] nurturant handling of the young child, who now encounters a period of withdrawal.

There is a month-long period of what seems, to the observer, indecision and vacillation on the part of the mother. The child is refused the breast, but, if he persists and becomes vociferous in his protests, the mother nurses him. She and others present, however, are no longer solicitous and protective. Derisive comments are directed against him, and, finally, at the end of the month drastic steps are taken. When mothers stated in their interviews that it took four or five days to wean, it usually meant after the final drastic measures were taken.

[513] The child who has slept beside his mother from birth is simply put to sleep with an aunt, grandmother, grandfather, father, or older sibling. In some instances an overnight trip to the city proves extremely convenient for the mother, who leaves the child behind instead of taking him with her as usual. If merely denying the breast does not work, big patches of black paper used for toothaches, backaches, and bruises are pasted on the chest, and the baby is told that the mother is suffering from pain there. "The black paper frightens them and we pretend to wince with pain if the child tries to nurse," report mothers. The black paper proves to be very effective. When this device is not used, another similarly drastic in nature is resorted to. Red pepper or bitter medicine is rubbed into the breast so that the child attempting to suckle is promptly punished with a very unpleasant burning sensation. Frequently a combination of these techniques is applied to wean what a mother terms a very difficult child.

[861] Shaming is a technique that is directed not only to the child but also to the mother. "Ah, shame! Hide the breast," says the mother to the child, or, "Hide, hide, drinking mother's milk!" says she, pulling one end of her blouse flap over the suckling child's head.

On one occasion an old man approached a mother who was nursing her 1-year-old. Immediately the mother pushed the child's head down to acknowledge the elder's presence. The old man, on the other hand, pulled the breast, taking the nipple from the child's mouth. "A big baby! You should not be drinking your mother's milk!" he scolded in a growling voice. As the little girl started to scream and cry, he laughed and, squeezing the breast, squirted milk into her face. The mother laughed with him, then mocked an attack on the old man to pacify the crying child.

Another technique which uses threat to the mother was applied very

867 as well as comfort him. The support and the nurturance of his older
593 brothers and sisters help in softening the blow and may also function as role model behavior. Even children who had shortly been weaned were observed responding very nurturantly and affectionately toward their newborn siblings. It is difficult to rely wholely on the premise that the greater emphasis placed on the child by his grandmother and the constant attention paid to his status as an older sibling would nullify any aggressive intents. The wistful statement made by a 10-year-old in the form of a wish to be his baby sister because she is loved and indulged by everyone certainly indicates envy as well as the child's clear view of the protection and nurturance given to young infants.

866 In summary, this period is an unhappy interlude for the Taira child. He is forced to give up the indulgencies of infancy. He is punished for demanding behavior and must now confine dominating behavior to his grandmother. He must shift his dependence from his mother to his grandparents and siblings and finally to his peers. He does this only after a period of stormy protests.

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Chapter 15

Kindergarten

872 It is necessary to define the term "kindergarten child" as it is used in
858 Taira. The group includes all children from weaning until the age of 6. The younger ones are carried to the morning sessions, whereas the older ones go on their own. Kindergarten may thus be likened to a mass baby-sitting session. An adult, scolding an 8-year-old who smears mud all over concrete walls, by calling him a kindergarten child is belittling his intellectual maturity. Finding a newly planted field trampled, an adult will quickly volunteer: "Oh, it must have been the kindergarten children; they don't know any better."

[861] Taira adults feel that children under 6 years "do not have sense." Because of this belief, they are considered uneducable. Serious training and instruction pertinent to the standards and values of Taira society

are therefore generally postponed until the child is believed to be endowed with this mysterious capacity to "understand and know." Kindergarten children pilfer from gardens, have temper tantrums, and attack each other physically, but very little enforcement takes place. "They are only children, we can't expect them to know any better," say adults. 858 861 [872]

In spite of this distinction, there is not a complete laissez-faire handling of the still "senseless" child. On the contrary, the child is subject to a number of restrictions. Adults assiduously attempt to train him to say "Please" and "Thank you," "Good morning," "Good day," and "Good-bye." One mother and her eldest daughter were observed trying to teach the youngest child, an 8-month-old girl, to say "Thank you." A piece of brown sugar was extended, withdrawn, given and taken from the baby until she had twice performed the act indicating "Thank you." Mother and daughter took the baby's hands, folded one over the other, palm side up and raised it, saying at the same time, "Ah-ah," baby talk for "Thank you." The situation was not without fussing and screaming on the part of the young child. 861 867

Adults often push the young child's head down to say "Hello," and, if he lets out screams of protest, all laugh hilariously. The child inevitably joins in the laughter and the adults taunt, "Know-nothing." Three and 4-year-olds playing in the dirt along the lanes are picked up and taken to the faucets for a wash down and a scolding, "Dirty! Cat!" Although such enforcement occurs, it is negated when the child starts crying. "Here, here, don't cry; mother was bad" (for scolding you) placates the adult, hugging and cradling the child. [855]

One mother complained that her tomato patch was constantly being raided. When asked whether she knew who was doing it, she said, "Yes, they are kindergarten children." Questioned further as to why she did not scold them or talk to their parents, she said, "It's no use, they are too young to talk to, and besides, I would not like to talk to their mothers because, who knows, my own girls who are under 6 years old may be doing something like that too."

Playing with water is the favorite pastime of young children. During all times of the day a group of them gather at the water tank or at faucets to puddle and "wash." When the water supply was limited, adults would pause in passing by to scream, "Eeyah!" once, then go on, shaking their heads while the children paused only momentarily to look up and then continued with their play. [857]

In the morning, after adults have departed for the fields and mountains and older children have left the village for school, the kindergarten child leaves home with two or three sweet potatoes in his hand 857 872

wiggles her hips and otherwise makes movements that are not permitted in the classical Okinawan dance. 868 535

Kindergarten children are usually asleep by 8:30 in the winter and 9:00 in the summer. They sleep an average 8 hours. Ten o'clock is considered to be proper bedtime for all people. The village bell is rung to remind everyone that the day has ended. The entire family sleeps on the mattresses spread on the floor with wooden pillows. In winter the heavy quilts are taken down. Children vary in their bedtime. Those who feel tired fall asleep soon after the evening meal. Often the grandparents lie down with the small children. If children accompany parents on a visit, they lie down in their father's or mother's lap, or on the floor to sleep. Since not all adults go to sleep at 10:00, older children may stay up longer, particularly during moonlight nights. Few children take naps except during the summer, when the heat makes everyone drowsy and slows down work during midday. Once in a while a young child goes home to lie down for a nap. 857 513

The kindergarten child's day has been an active and carefree one. He is seldom alone. "Do not play alone, go and play with others. If you play alone, people might think that others dislike you," instruct parents in Taira. Anyone passing a child playing alone would remark, "How lonely he seems." Furthermore, mothers worry about a child being alone "because he is more apt to do naughty things or get into dangerous play." 857 155 156

A 4- or 5-year-old may sometimes find himself being a caretaker, but generally he is not considered very reliable, and being a "senseless" individual, he is not held responsible by the village for anything that might happen to his charges. It is the mother who is held culpable and is censured in this case. 857 855 861

One mother was severely criticized by her neighbors when she punished her 4-year-old boy for abandoning his 2-year-old sibling. The children had been sent out to play. When the older boy came home for supper, he faced an angry mother who berated him for thinking only of his own pleasure and leaving his little brother on the main road and to the dangers of passing trucks. She spanked the boy, tied his hands and legs briefly, and left the crying child behind when she went to the village store with his younger sibling.

In another case, a grandmother grumbled about the "laxity" and irresponsibility of the mother. A 5-year-old was carrying her month-old sibling who was sleeping on the back in a twisted position due to loose strappings. "Come here! Your mother, where is she . . . how could she leave this child with you! Almost falling . . . ," the old woman mumbled as she unstrapped the peacefully sleeping baby and 857 854

863 good grooming but was at present always a mess. One of us was pres-
ent at the home one day when a group of younger girls came by to
515 call the 8-year-old to accompany them to the river to wash their heads. The girl dashed around the house and yard searching for a nonexistent bar of soap and finally was crossly told by her mother that there was none and that she really did not need washing. Nevertheless, the girl gathered some hibiscus leaves, which she tore and mashed to extract a slimy, soapylike substance, and left with the other girls to wash her hair. Regular bathing between the age of 1 and 5 is sporadic. During
[857] the summer it is more frequent, for the older children take their younger siblings to the rivers for bathing and swimming.

At irregular intervals during the winter young children are bathed behind the house, near the kitchen doorway, by their mothers or older sisters. A little hot water added to the cold eases their discomfort. During the holiday season mothers and older girls were observed dragging and carrying screaming 2- to 4-year-olds to the bath.

864 As children get older, exposure of genitals is much less serious in the case of a boy than in the case of a girl. Little girls are told to sit like their mothers with their legs together and are never permitted to expose their genitals. This is true even for those young girls who are still without pants. Occasionally boys tease a little girl by shouting, "Your vagina is showing." Sexual manipulation between children, either homosexually or heterosexually, was never observed. The following observation illustrates the response of an older sibling to her 1-year-old sister, who attempts to imitate a urinating boy.

> A group of girls were playing with a ball and K. (4-year-old boy) came along. The girls objected to his presence and began to chase him away. K. then reached in his fly and brought out his penis. He began to urinate, pointing his penis up at the girls. The girls screamed and scattered to get out of reach of the urine. K. chased them briefly, urinating all the while, then stopped to finish. Just as he finished, M. (4-year-old girl), lifting the front of her dress, started to urinate in a standing position. Halfway done, she started to squat, but before she started to squat, her sister saw what was happening and yelled out in an angry voice, "M!" . . . then she went over to give the little girl a slap on the head.

Exhibitionism between boys occurs, and a urinating demonstration among boys with an erection is occasionally seen. Such behavior is not condoned by adults. Girls, however, almost always urinate alone at a short distance from the group. Children are shamed if one refers to their genitals as they approach school age. The separation between boys and girls, which increases with greater age, also discourages mutual play or sex experimentation.

855 There are few other demands made of the kindergarten child. He
● 861

can still try to get his way by crying, and his mother willingly continues to give him food when he asks. One parent remarked that it was much easier to meet the child's demands. Observations confirmed this statement. Many adults simply say "Yes" and promise things to children which they promptly forget. Obedience is not expected except for conformity with safety rules. Until shortly before he starts off to school, the child's disobedience tends to be excused. "No, no!" says a mother to her year-old child who may be waving a piece of sugar cane around her head from his perch on her back. The child continues, and the mother pushes the stalk aside each time she is hit. "Know nothing," she says as she rearranges the stalk, to avoid being hit. "Don't mess the yard," screams a grandmother. "Stop puddling in that mud," shouts a father. "Go and bring me the hoe," commands a mother. To all these requests the child may turn a deaf ear, and chances are that he will escape being punished for not complying. Mothers admitted that they allow their children a great deal of leeway concerning obedience. 855 861

By instilling fear into the child about the dangers of the well, river and beach, the main road and paddies, adults attempt to enforce the rules of safety. Their attempts are negated, however, when they allow children of this age to play in these areas in the company of older siblings. No one coming across schoolchildren trailed by kindergarteners censures or points out the danger of these places; however, should an adult or older child come upon a group of kindergarten children playing alone at the river or beach, a word of caution or reprimand is sure to be offered. 857 855 861

In a village such as Taira with its closely situated houses, dry thatched roofs, and light wood walls, the danger of fire is very real; therefore the rule with respect to playing with fire and matches is stringently enforced regardless of the age of the child. One mother of a 4-year-old boy found smoke rising from the backyard one day. She went to the source of the smoke and found her 4-year-old busily striking matches and trying to whip up a fire. His 4-year-old companion was scurrying about for pieces of brush and paper with which to feed the fire. "I scolded him roundly, spanked him and tied his hands. I threatened to put him in a basket, then suspend the basket from the rafter posts the next time he played with matches. He was so frightened that I doubt whether he will ever play with matches again."

Aggression in children up to school age is generally tolerated although adults do not approve of such behavior. Because they feel that preschool children change their minds and moods so rapidly, adults do not interfere with their altercations. Parents laughingly explain, 865 857 861

865 "Play and fight are children's work." As one mother reported, "It is no
857 use. They fight and then before you know it, they are friends again.
[861] In Japan, parents often interfere with children's fights, but we here in Okinawa don't believe in doing so. It is much better to let them alone unless they injure one another. The way it is, it would make an adult look like a fool to interfere." Some parents attempt to channel aggression by calling a wrestling match between boys who start arguing. In this way, rock throwing and fighting with sticks are avoided, and the boys can work off their anger, but hitting, biting, and pushing, as well as rock throwing, were observed among children of this age. As the children approach school age and gain facility in language, they resort more and more to verbal aggression; however, as will be discussed later, some physical aggression is carried over in the behavior of boys toward girls. At no time is aggression toward younger children tolerated.

[124] Only after exhaustive questioning can one get parents to admit that they train their children to retaliate. "Never fight; if someone hits you, just walk away, for you (in thus showing your strength to resist) will win the fight; fighting is bad," instruct mothers, according to the mother interview. Informal talks nevertheless revealed that parents disliked it if their children are underdogs all the time.

865 Boys are expected to be more aggressive than girls, who are, ideally,
858 docile, gentle mannered, kind, reserved, and considerate. In some ways adults seem to train little boys to be aggressive. Beginning in infancy they tease and bully them, holding their arms and restricting them bodily, withdrawing desired objects and pretending to scold and hit. They glean great amusement at the expense of the child if he screams and strikes out in anger. The adult expresses surprise and mock anger. Finally, when he cries, everyone will laugh while the mother retaliates by playfully slapping the aggressor. While most of this kind of teasing is restricted to male infants and young boys, female children are not exempt.

865 Irritable, pushy children do not exist in Taira. Those who try to get
155 things by "walking over others" do not get far, for children ostracize and avoid them. One 4-year-old, observed over a period of months, altered his methods of acquiring goals from pushing and bullying to socially sanctioned techniques, such as asking, waiting his turn, and sharing. The change was startling. Adults passing on a group of children that included this former bully no longer had to scream warnings at him, and his mother felt she did not have to "look after him" any more. During the time of this study, only the children of a recently arrived fisherman and his wife were ostracized by parents as being far

too aggressive and ill behaved. The children played with them but never sought them out and often deserted them en masse when disagreements arose. Taira villagers blamed the parents in this case for being too lax and quarrelsome with each other. 865 155

Peer groups are another of the major agents of socialization for the young child. Child interview data intimate that censure by peers arouses much more anxiety than censure by parents. Refusal to comply with the demands of his peers in the face of punishment from his parents for complying raises in the mind of the child, the question, "Will he hate me for not doing what he asks?" Consequently the child chooses the support that is available to him the greater part of his day and calculates the risk of adult censure quite logically. 857 861

In despair, one mother described how her 5-year-old boy rushes into the kitchen daily and demands to be given his lunch standing on the dirt floor. Despite his parents' instructions to wash his feet and sit properly on the raised portion of the room to eat, the boy scrambled on all fours and hung his unwashed feet over the edge and shoveled his rice down his throat because "his friends were waiting for him."

As mentioned above, the village as a whole acts as another socialization agent. However, although various members shout warnings in attempts to stop children from disapproved behavior, they do not punish them. Their function seems to be one of casual reminding.

When a child turns 5, he is faced with a dramatic change. Parents now begin to treat him like a school child. New independence and responsibility are expected, and an attempt is made to prepare him for first grade. 858 866

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Chapter 16

First Grade

Entry into first grade constitutes a change of status for the child in Taira. It means more than just less play time and adjustment to strict routines, for now he is considered capable of knowing what he is [872]

857 by bystanders. Hurrying home, they put their books away carefully,
[291] change their clothing to that designated for play. The girls, eager to assume their new status and the responsibilities that go with it, hurriedly sweep and mop the floors of the house. The boys, who are less interested, rush out to play. Those with younger siblings are promptly
857 entrusted with caretaking duties, and mothers and grandmothers go
512 off to the fields.

At 8 o'clock each evening, even before the village bell is sounded for schoolchildren to start studying, the first graders are on their way home from their after-supper play time. On a quiet, still night their voices are loud and clear and their recitations spirited in comparison with those of the older children.

OBEDIENCE TRAINING

● 861 Not only in school is new behavior expected of the first grader. He
865 must now be more obedient toward his elders. Adults, however, differentiate between commands for the performance of tasks and rules of safety. The standard, or more specifically the ideal, would be to command unquestioned obedience in both cases. The practice falls far from this mark, for adults lack persistence and consistency in the
[855] treatment of task performance. Obedience to rules of safety, however, is enforced with greater consistency.

There is, of course, the disposition of the adult at the time when obedience is expected, which the child learns to discriminate very early. Children are more apt to obey their elders when the latter are tired and irritable after a hard day's work than when they are relaxed. It was interesting to observe children teasing parents and escaping obedience when the adults were relatively relaxed. "Bring me those things there," a parent would command a child. The child would laughingly shout "No," and run away without punishment. For this disobedient act a child would be spanked if the parent were tired and harassed. "If you do not listen well to adults, you will grow up to be a good for nothing, a criminal," warns a mother. But adults in their inconsistent handling fail to impress on children the virtue of obedience.

861 It is interesting that, in their relationship with adults other than
865 their parents, children are often more obedient. People of special status and authority enjoy greater obedience from children. Teachers
554 and village officials usually find their orders fulfilled. Shortly after the new water faucets were installed throughout the village, children be-

gan playing with them excessively. Parents scolded, shooed, and threatened the children to no avail. Finally the village headman took steps to enforce the rule forbidding children to play with the faucets. Passing a faucet one day, he came upon a 9-year-old turning the water on and off. "You come to the office later. You know you are not supposed to play there," he said sternly to the boy. Later the boy reported to the office. The clerk, in the absence of the headman, instructed the boy to bring 10 yen and his father to the office. The boy ran home and returned to the office with 10 yen and told the headman, who had returned meanwhile, that his father was not back from the fields, so he was unable to accompany him. The headman's wife, in relating the story to the fieldworker, described how surprised and amused her husband was to find the boy so obedient. Because he had just assumed office a week earlier, he had not expected compliance with his orders. 861 865 554

An obedient child is rewarded with verbal praise and admiration by adults. He is told that he is a good child and that he has "a good head." If he is capable of anticipating commands and quick to comply with hints, parents of other children urge their children to play with him. 865 861 155

TECHNIQUES OF SOCIALIZATION

Although the child has learned many types of preferred behavior by the time he is 6 and has been rewarded and punished for many acts, his entry into first grade is a time of increased discipline and a suitable time to discuss the techniques used by Tairans in socializing their children. 861

Examination of the different techniques reveals that the most important and reliable of these is the denial or withdrawal of love. There is a good share of physical punishment, threatened food deprivation, and shaming. Praise and rewards are inconsistent and haphazard. Reference to a "God" is common, but there exists no complex system of instructive myths, stories, or prayers. Training in skills is highly informal.

The technique of withdrawal of love or support is a curious double-edged one. If we take the position of the child, we would conclude that he shows a deep sense of confidence in the bond between himself and his mother when he "runs away from the house" after a severe scolding or spanking. He runs away in the belief that he will arouse the anxiety of his mother and recover a love or support, which he has temporarily lost as a result of some transgression. This belief is rein-

861 forced when his mother does search for him and takes him home. Furthermore, she serves him the dinner which he was to have been deprived of as punishment. This theme apprears not only in reality [125] but also in the children's projections in the verbal TAT's.

There are, however, threats of withdrawal of love by the mother which evoke great fear of actual loss of love among children. These fears are based on the fact that, in contrast with the foregoing examples, no happy ending can be expected from this threatened punishment. The child is no longer confident that his mother's feelings will soften in the long run when she says to a disobedient son: "We will sell you to the Itoman fisherman." The boy has undoubtedly heard stories of little boys being sold to southern Okinawan fishermen. Such words make him quake with fear, and he promises to obey. Girls, on the other hand, are told they will be "changed for money" and made to live a life of virtual slavery in the house of strangers. These threats [466] have a realistic basis; children know that until recent times boys were [548] sold to fishermen and that girls paid off their parents' debts by working in a house of prostitution or for a farmer who accepted the extra hand instead of money for his debt. At least two persons still live in the village who had such experiences when they were young. One woman can testify to the mistreatment which she received from her masters during indentured labor, and such stories of many cases which are widely known are passed on to children.

At present a new twist has been added to the old theme. Mothers [648] silence a crying child with, "If you don't stop crying, we will give you to the Negroes." Now and then a grandmother will point to a jeep full of soldiers passing by and warn, "Eh! Come home now or we give you to the Americans." The response is usually immediate. The frightened child runs home, clutching onto his grandmother's kimono while the old woman cackles with amusement.

Some mothers threaten their children with running away themselves and leaving them with their fathers. This technique proves just as effective as the former, for a child's concept of support or love with respect to his father is never clearly defined.

One mother, after a particularly exasperating day, thought she would make good her threat to run away from the house. She packed some clothes in a bundle and started off in the direction of the main road. Quickly ducking around houses, she ended up a couple of houses away from her own and sat sipping tea with her neighbor in the back room. Meanwhile, the child, who had been hiding from her mother all day to avoid chores, discovered that her mother was missing. She started to search the village and was told by cooperating adults that

they had seen her mother leaving the village with a bundle of her clothes. The child became frantic and ran around the houses. When she finally found her mother, she was crying hysterically. After this, the mother reported that all she had to do was to threaten to run away and her children would obey. 861

Young children between the ages of 3 and 6 who have frequent temper tantrums are subjected to an experience which is apt to have lasting effects. Since Taira adults like teasing play, when a mother needs the aid of a neighbor to teach the naughty child a lesson, she has no difficulty. A mother who was having trouble keeping her youngest son, aged 4, from whining and crying all the time talked it over with her next-door neighbor. The neighbor, an old grandmother, suggested a plan to put a stop to this nonsense. That night, as the child whimpered and whined to attract his mother's attention, the mother warned, "If you don't stop that, the ghost will come." The boy wailed louder. From between the hedges down the lane, there suddenly came the sound of slow, shuffling footsteps. "There, there! Listen! Here it comes to get you!" called the mother to the boy, who had stopped his whimpering to listen. The boy sat round-eyed watching the clearing in the hedge until suddenly there appeared the apparition. He screamed and ran to his mother, who stifled his cries with, "Eh, now, if you cry, it will take you away, shush!" The fear-paralyzed boy could only nod his head. The next day the old grandmother screamed with laughter as she reported the incident to others in the village. She had worn an old straw hat, a large black coat, and wooden clogs. In the dark she could be distinguished only as a dark, formless "blob" scuffling along. Warnings thereafter to the boy took the form of, "If you cry, we will give you to the ghost." 861 865

A heavily bearded, jolly and well-liked octopus fisherman who carries a large bag and talks with a booming voice was requested to walk past another mother's house when her boy became too demanding. "There, see now, here comes the man with the big bag to carry you away because you are so naughty." As the boy huddled up to his mother, she chose that moment to extract from him a promise to be a good child.

All mothers reported that they talk or scold first, and if the child does not respond, they spank. Only two out of the 24 mothers interviewed disclaimed spanking at all. Usually mothers spanked the child with their hand but seven mothers said they use a piece of firewood or bamboo. One mother laughingly reported that she uses "anything she can lay her hands on at that moment" to punish her 10-year-old boy, because if she did not, he would disappear. 861

861 Physical punishment is much more frequent than the mothers' [124] interview answers would lead one to believe. In parent-child or sib- [593] ling interactions observed by us, the scolding or talking was usually simultaneous with a sharp crack on the head with the knuckles or a slap on the buttocks. It is true that a great deal of leeway is generally given the child, but mothers home from a strenuous day in the fields are more apt to scream and spank at the same time.

Tying of hands or feet for several minutes, or as much as an hour, is considered appropriate punishment for those who trespass into forbidden areas or play with taboo things like matches. Sometimes the child's wrists are tied with a piece of rice-straw rope to the front house posts. One 1-year-old boy wandered down to the beach to play with his 3-year-old cousin despite repeated warnings from his mother to the effect that this area was dangerous. Because he disobeyed this rule, he was tied hand and foot. In addition, he was spanked because at the same time he had abandoned his younger brother in the village to go to the beach with his cousin.

861 Another type of physical punishment, which is often threatened but 857 rarely used, is cauterizing a piece of skin on the neck, back, or hands with moxa. Children in play situations frequently act out giving moxa to a naughty child with a lot of teasing and mock anger. "Come here, you naughty one, we will give you moxa," they scream to each other. A 1-year old girl was cauterized by her father when she threw her chop- [261] sticks on the floor in a fit of anger. Because he believed that food was not only the product of hard labor but also a sort of blessing from the gods, he felt that this very painful enforcement was just.

861 Grandmothers, in particular, use pinching to enforce some rules of 867 etiquette. If a child forgets and extends his foot toward another person, she will take the flesh of the leg between her thumb and index finger, lift it and with a quick twist administer a punishment which is very painful. After the initial experience, all she has to do is to put her hand in position for pinching to her lips and breathe out audibly as if to say, "I'm warming up!" and the child will correct himself.

861 Older brothers and sisters are apt to be "quicker with the hand," ac- 593 cording to mothers. Generally they agreed that this may be the reason [857] for their effectiveness in handling their younger charges. Frequently all an older sibling needs to do is to raise a warning hand, look disapprovingly, or call with a stern voice when his charge is about to misbehave.

Although mothers do most of the spanking, scolding, and talking, children fear their fathers a great deal more than they do their mothers. Mothers claim that this is true in most cases and offer an ex-

planation: "Maybe this is because the children know well our strength. They don't know their father's strength but believe somehow that it could be much more painful." One could, of course, relate this to the cultural concept of maleness as opposed to femaleness as discussed previously. 861 593

Praising and rewarding are techniques that are administered in a very haphazard fashion in Taira. While the child is still very young, up until he is about 2, praise and rewards are lavished on him for almost anything. If he responds to his mother's entreaties to hand over a stick with which he might hurt himself or to bow when meeting someone, he is hugged, kissed, and told over and over, "Good child, good child." 861 [867]

As the child grows older, these extravagant displays of praise and reward lessen. Instead the child may receive promises of something good to eat or a coveted article of clothing in return for some good deed or commendable behavior. Generally the child has to remind his mother many times before he is actually rewarded. By the time the child is of school age he takes these promises with a grain of salt and usually forgets them himself. Only when the children were questioned by us on rewards did it become obvious that parents promised a great deal more than they could ever hope to produce. For, from the plain view of economics, no family could purchase all the goodies pledged for good behavior. Nevertheless, for younger children these promises mean something, and they always look forward to the day when their mothers will color their evening rice red or make them some fried dumplings. Rewarding a child with food proves to be as effective a technique of socialization as threatening to deprive him of food. [124] [261]

Occasionally, in a rare burst of enthusiasm, parents may reward a child to make up for all the empty promises. During one of the rice harvests, a 10-year-old boy worked alongside his parents with as much concentrated effort as any adult. All day he stayed in the fields without running away to join his playmates, as some other boys his age did. At the end of the day his mother prepared some festive food. She colored the rice, and the dinner was a merry one. The man from next door who had helped out that day sat drinking sake with the boy's father. "Here, why don't you have some sake, you did as much work as any of us," offered the father. Neighbor and mother urged the boy on and laughed merrily as the boy sipped a bit of the sake. 857 861

Even before he is able to understand the significance of the words, a child in Taira is praised and censured with "good child," and "naughty child." Especially during infancy, mothers will tease babies by gently slapping them and saying over and over with mock anger, 861

861 "naughty child." When the child is about 5 months and capable of responding to smiles and a disapproving eye, his mother will murmur affectionately, "good child," to encourage and praise. She will open her eyes wide, assume a disapproving look, and scold, "naughty child, naughty child," to discourage and censure him.

A 7-year-old girl was carrying a large winnowing basket filled with potato peelings from her uncle's house to her own. Behind her trailed her 3-year-old brother who was well known for his crying. Suddenly, for no apparent reason, the little boy started to scream and cry for his sister to carry him. The 7-year-old tried to no avail to get the boy to follow her. She shifted the basket to her head, stooped down, and the boy scrambled onto her back. With some effort she stood up, one hand on the basket and the other around the boy's buttocks. The boy clung to his sister's neck and grinned. "Naughty child," murmured the field-worker's companion, a 23-year-old girl. To the 7-year-old girl she then turned and said admiringly, "Good child that you are!"

'Be a good child and do this . . ." instructs an adult to a child. "Naughty child that you are, making your sister cry," one child is chided by another. Praising and punishing by referring to the person of the child as the locus of evaluation are most frequent. The child's action itself, or his response to a particular situation, is usually not evaluated. Very few adults set a standard which is intended as a guide to the child's performance of a task. Therefore children who have completed a task do not ask themselves: "Did I do it well?" or "Did I do it poorly?" If scolded for inadequate performance, the child may echo reprimands by saying to himself: "I was bad to do it that way," or "I was bad to do that" and not: "That was a bad thing to do."

Words which evaluate the person rather than the action are generally applied only to children under 12, although occasionally one hears a young adult say to another teasingly, "Ah, good child," in praise or "naughty child" in response to being tricked.

861 776 [124] Of the 24 mothers interviewed, only three reported they did not refer to a deity to control their children's behavior. This deity is always present, always watching and can be depended on to punish the erring child. To the child, this god is a being to be feared, although he is told that not only his misbehavior is observed but also his good behavior. "The divine being is everywhere. When you are alone and do something bad, you might think that no one knows about it, but the god knows and he will punish you," warn mothers. This technique of control is very useful in Taira, where the children spend a great deal of time without adult supervision.

In the houses of first sons there are family altars upon which memorial tablets of family ancestors are placed. Children from these homes are told that their deceased grandfathers are now divine beings and are watching them. In one such family a 4-year-old boy was told by his mother that, since he was naughty, the divine ancestor would punish him. She pointed to the picture of his deceased grandfather and the memorial tablets on the altar. The little boy looked up to the shelf and then to his mother. "That's only a memorial tablet," he said sneeringly. 861 778 769

Not many children are as skeptical as this 4-year-old. A hunchbacked storyteller sometimes comes to Taira. This man is a preacher for a Japanese sect which combines Japanese nationalistic teachings and concepts of proper conduct and healthful living with a belief in a supreme being. He appeals to children and reinforces the belief in the sanctioning power of God. Occasionally a Christian missionary visits the village, and the children look forward to his bible readings, which also reinforce the belief. In addition, the children of the two Christian families help to caution others, warning of divine omnipresence and knowledge. 861 776 177

Shaming and ridicule as techniques of socialization are used to a fair extent. An older child's shortcomings may frequently be compared with a younger's achievements. However, some form of verbal lashing is usually accompanied by direct physical punishment, whether it be merely a slap on the buttocks, a crack on the head, or a whipping. 861

Several mothers summed up their flexibility in handling their children by saying, "I have so many children and it seems that each one is different in some way. For some children one thing works and for others you have to think of other ways. You cannot scold this one because she is so sensitive. The boy you cannot scold because he would get so angry he would not be able to understand the wrong he did."

Nevertheless, it is important to point out that mothers in Taira, for the most part, do not spend as much time with their children as do their counterparts in a more wealthy village. Their work day is long and strenuous. They return home exhausted and impatient. During the long rainy spells, when work in the fields and mountains is impossible, mothers have to stay home more often than usual. At such times they manifest an irritability with respect to the numerous demands children make upon them that can be attributed partly to the fact that their long absence from home during a normal work day makes them forget children's cravings for attention; the loss of income during bad weather just increases their impatience. 861 462 [184] [152]

857 a type of milkweed which was to be fed to the chickens. The older boy
868 would walk on a way, carefully searching the ground, stop when he spotted some milkweed, and call to the younger ones, "There are some near the spot on which I am standing!" The two little boys would rush over and start examining the area carefully. With a shout one of them would drop to the ground, uproot the plant, and bear it triumphantly to his older cousin. Then the game would continue with the older boy saying, "Good child."

861 The relatively few restrictions placed on the young child are an important basis for learning. By being able to participate freely, children learn what is going on in their village from day to day. Since adults feel that children do not really understand what they are talking about, conversations are free and not couched in mysterious terms. The 10-year-old who is fully aware of the subject under discussion may giggle uncontrollably, but none of the adults pays attention to this. An adult giving a blow-by-blow description of the latest quarrel may even turn to a 10- or 12-year-old child for aid when he forgets a detail.

SOCIALIZING AGENTS

855 In general mothers continue to be the chief socializers, with the
593 grandmother and older siblings second in importance. From the child's point of view, the mother retains the closest bond with him
861 throughout childhood, regardless of the grandmother's prominent role in his early life, and even though, in terms of time which the child spends with others, the mother gradually assumes less importance. It is to the mother that children turn for ultimate support, and to her is delegated the responsibility of child rearing in Taira. Although much of the responsibility for caring for children is given to siblings, the villagers hold the mother alone culpable, should a child deviate in his behavior.

855 The mother's ultimate responsibility for the child is not reduced
857 by the fact that she may spend a great part of the day away from her offspring. Mothers frequently ask other children for the whereabouts
593 of a son or a daughter. Just as the fieldworkers soon learned in what places they would be most likely to find a particular child, so mothers on the whole are aware of their children's favorite play areas. A
[152] mother occasionally inquires about her children's whereabouts without showing anxiety. The fieldworkers were once asked by a mother if they knew where her daughter, who carried an infant sister, was

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playing. They had not come home for the noon meal, which was 855
unusual. The mother, however, did not search extensively, for the [857]
fieldworkers, a little later, noticed the two girls peacefully playing "house" in someone's backyard. They stayed for a good part of the afternoon, and the mother probably continued her usual activities.

The relationship between child and mother remains warm and intimate throughout childhood. A mother may be scolding, impatient, angry, or punishing, but to the child she is the center of the family.

In households lucky enough to have a grandmother, she becomes 603
recognized as the person who is at home if something is wanted or 855
if help and comfort are needed. It is interesting to note, however, that the relationship between children and their grandmothers changes decidedly as the child starts off to school. As if to assert his independence, the 6-year-old begins teasing his grandmother unmercifully. In response to her suggestions, the child laughingly refuses and pretends to run away or often pretends not to hear her. As she screams all kinds of invectives at the child, he giggles hilariously while running ahead. But he does not run as fast as he could. He allows grandmother to catch him, and there is much laughter from both of them. Actually the child rarely fails to comply with her wishes. Two girls, aged 8 and 10, and a young female adult aged 23 often saved a part of their share of goodies, given them by the fieldworker, for their grandmothers. The 10-year-old lavished further indulgence by taking her grandmother's clothing along with her own to launder on washdays.

Boys seem to differ somewhat in this respect. Although there is a very affectionate bond between them and their grandmothers, there is less of this kind of indulgent pattern. They will, however, at the time they start off to school, meet with the old women's demands to run errands, carry tools, and share with her the care of their younger siblings.

Because the society feels that child rearing is "women's work," 855
males have little or nothing to do with the handling of children 593
until the time when decisions as to their future have to be made. 861
There need be only one qualification made with reference to the above statement and it is that fathers may serve as "last resort" disciplinary figures in the case of male children. For many mothers the most effective threat is to "report to father."

The father is not so forbidding a figure for the child of preschool age. Many observations show that fathers tolerate the kindergarten child who begs to be taken to parties or on laps while visiting with neighbors; however, an older sibling or mother was called as soon

855 as the child began to fuss or show signs of fatigue. The kindergarten
593 child often directs his succorant appeals to his father, particularly in a nuclear family, but the father in turn directs the child to his
●861 mother. Should there be any discrepancy in thought as to the way a child should be handled in specific problematic situations, the mother will defer out of custom to the father. Such cases, however, are rare, for men, in informal interviews, generally felt that "women
[124] knew better" where children's affairs were concerned. Only one out of 24 fathers believed that he should "train and discipline" the male child and his wife should confine herself to the female children.

The school age child seems to have more fear of his father. "If father is at home," reports one mother, "the children returning from school go about quietly putting their books away, clean the yard, study, then take the younger siblings out with them to play." She added, "If father is not at home, they drop their books on the porch and run out to play, leaving the house and yard in a mess and me with the babies!"

593 It should be noted that fathers spend less time at home than any other member of the household. Men who work in the mountains
512 go out after the morning meal and often do not return until dark. A man returning at noon seldom sees the children, who are out playing or at school. Since there are no weekly rest days, children see their fathers mainly in the evening after dark or on holidays. But even then fathers spend their time visiting around or entertaining neighbors and relatives in their own homes. Contact with father is, there-
593 fore, only sporadic and is not affected by a special desire on the part
855 of fathers to spend time with children. It should be noted, however, that the mere presence of the father in the house has an effect on the child's behavior.

Next to mother and grandmother, older children in the household are very important child-rearing agents. These are mostly the older siblings, but occasionally a young unmarried aunt or uncle who lives with the family looks after a child. Children between the ages
[857] of 5 and 12 take care of younger children; adolescent siblings or aunts do so to a much lesser extent. The obvious reason for this is that in the distribution of duties in the home, the care of a younger child falls to those who are not otherwise burdened with such responsibilities as exacting studies during junior high school or economic activities in fields and mountains, which begin after graduation from school. While adults, except for the old folks, are in fields and mountains, a young child spends much of his time on the back of the older kindergarten or school age sibling or as a toddler in tow of an older one.

no longer one of the "senseless" by praise for responsible behavior. 866
After a relatively brief period of fairly consistent verbal reward, however, parents assume the attitude that chores are not voluntary but compulsory, and they begin to pay more attention to omissions—reminding, threatening, and checking up on the children. Although punishment is rather inconsistent, a child of 9 or 10 finds his chances of escape very slim if he fails to be responsible. But if he carries out some task spontaneously, he may find himself amply rewarded. Children generally seem to react more responsibly to school duties than home duties. This may be because teachers utilize peer group [861] control to elicit responsible behavior by rewarding and punishing in the presence of the whole class.

Girls assume caretaking of younger siblings earlier and more seriously than boys. A 6-year-old girl may be entrusted with a younger 857 sibling during a whole afternoon. A boy, looking after a younger 866 child, is more likely to abandon or neglect his charge than a girl. 855 In families where there are several children of caretaking age, each is assigned a specific share of time. Inevitably the girls find themselves with the greater or entire portion of this duty, for the boys either simply refuse or evade assuming their share. This shirking of duty is partly supported by the mother, who, by her failure to enforce assignments, displays passive acceptance or approval of the boys' actions. A girl, however, invites censure not only from her mother but also from other girls for similar actions.

The most important factor in differential treatment of boys and 857 girls is a cultural one. Most of the tasks or chores assigned to both 858 are, on the adult level, performed by women. Cutting and gathering 462 grass for horses and goats is men's work, but mopping floors, tidying and sweeping yards, fetching water, cleaning lamps, caring for chickens and pigs, and looking after children are all tasks that are "women's work" in Taira village. It is therefore evident that girls derive some intrinsic reward from them, whereas they may be intrinsically punishing for boys.

The difference in parental expectation with regard to children's 857 increasing responsibility with age is reflected in these selected answers 866 from interviews with mothers to the question: "What chores do you expect your child to do?" The mother of a 5-year-old boy said: "His work is to play down at the beach. But his older brother (11 years) is such a big help. . . . If I am busy, I may ask him to feed the pig, watch H. (baby sister) or clean the house, fetch water or wood, and Y. will do it without saying anything." The mother of another 11-year-old boy put it this way: "His job is to see to it that the chickens are

857 fed every day. This is a job for him, and if he does not do it he gets
866 a scolding. . . . My husband does not believe in letting him play too much, and so K. has to take his job seriously—otherwise he will get scolded by his father."

The mother of a 5-year-old girl, after mentioning that she washes her own hair and shoes, said, "The day before yesterday she helped me clean up the place after eating, and so I told her that if she would do this two times a day for me, she would get one yen. She said she would do it, but I don't expect much because she is still
[861] too young." The girl's father is a township employee, but giving one yen as reward is also done by other mothers when they feel that a child has done more than can be expected at that age. Of her 8-year-old daughter, a mother says that "she can mop the floor, fetch water, watch the baby, and serve rice into the bowls at dinner time. But she does not really have to do these chores regularly. Whenever I am busy I ask her to do these things for me," and she adds that her girl very seldom refuses, but "if she should not do what I ask her to, I scold her." And the mother of another girl, 7 years old, tells that her daughter's job is "to mop the floor every day. She knows that it
[861] is her responsibility and she has to do it. When she does not do it, she gets a scolding until she does it. She usually does it, though, with-
[855] out too much difficulty." Only a few mothers point to care of younger siblings as one of the duties. It simply seems to be taken for granted so much that it is not even mentioned.

857 An enthusiastic 6-year-old girl surprised her mother one day, not
866 long after starting school, by taking the family laundry to the well
296 and washing it. When she returned, she hung out the wash carefully to dry, then went out to join her playmates. The mother came home, examined the wash, and found that it still needed a good scrubbing. Quickly gathering the once-washed clothing, she hurried down to the well. She chose a path around the back of the house to avoid being seen by her daughter. That night she thanked the girl for doing the wash and helping her so much. "I did not want to hurt her feelings by telling her that the washing was still dirty. It was fortunate that she did not see me going down to wash it the second time, for if she did, she would have been discouraged and might never have done it again," reported the mother.

857 The community as a whole also makes some demands on these
866 children of school age. Several times a year they sweep the streets
653 and adjoining public areas in the morning, before they leave for school.

Children seem to have an ambivalent attitude toward greater pres-

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"I would do my work first and then go out to play, whether my parents are home or not."

The mother of a younger boy reported that he is so anxious to rejoin his playmates that he barely gives himself time enough at home to eat his meal. It is our feeling that it is not just the desire to play which pulls children away from assigned tasks, but the urge to be with peers. The attitude of mothers encourages play groups. They tell their children: "Do not play alone; go and play with others. If you play alone, people might think that others dislike you." As one mother put it: "It looks so lonely when (my child) is playing alone." Only one mother, whose child-rearing methods in general deviate from those of others because she and her husband set high achievement goals and standards for their child, said that she would like to have her son play alone occasionally. In this way she hoped he would devote some time to educational activities. It is interesting, however, that several mothers mentioned the names of other children whom they considered unsuitable playmates for their child, either because they were too bossy, or too aggressive, or had otherwise undesirable qualities in their judgment. If, however, there is selectivity among children on the basis of their parents' desires, we were not aware of it.

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Peers assume increasing importance as socializing agents as they grow older. Schoolchildren of the same age watch and control each other so that there is hardly need for interference by adults. Older children remind younger ones who neglect a crying young sibling to attend to his needs. Failure to respond to the succorant pleas of a younger sibling meets with disapproval. Peers rarely interfere directly with the activities of others, but do so by remarks to each other, and by other indirect means through which they achieve compliance or conformity. There are some obvious situations when outright commands by an older child are needed. For example, when a 3-year-old girl pulled the plug from the concrete water tank and was immediately frightened by the stream of water pouring out, a 6-year-old girl nearby called, "Close it," and watched as the little one hurriedly put the plug into place. Hardly ever does one hear children taking the role of an adult in trying to demand conformity from peers with rules set by adults. Only the boy mentioned earlier, whose parents make determined efforts to train him toward responsibility and achievement, occasionally attempts to correct the behavior of peers by talking like an adult. He always does it in a quasi-nurturant, responsible manner, perhaps because he strongly identifies with his father, one of the village leaders.

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Parents do not like their children to become "leaders." Almost all

followed by "nee?", "isn't it so?" In this manner the adult communicates what 858
little that must be communicated to these sub-human beings that are constantly 171
underfoot. To other adults he uses other verb forms, other words, longer and 198
more tightly integrated sentences. He does so, I believe, confident that he is speaking over the heads of the children, though he would deny that this was his motive; his use of different forms in addressing adults would be more likely explained as motivated by respect for the adults. I believe that in this manner Okinawan children are mentally more isolated from adults than are American children, though physically they are in greater contact with them. In time, of course, children learn to understand the conversation of their elders, but they do so without asking questions or overtly showing much interest. Thus very gradually they come into the adult world.

The interpretation just presented is more an hypothesis that seeks to 858
explain some features of Okinawan behavior than a fact that can be indisputably 197
demonstrated. But it suggests a reason, though probably not the only one, for 198
the strong tendency to retain Okinawan as the language of the home, even in families where the adults speak Japanese fairly well, regard it as superior, and use it on formal occasions. Okinawan is suitable for addressing children. Adults unconsciously prefer it because it makes it that much easier for them to differentiate between the speech used in addressing children and that used in addressing adults. Moreover, I believe this interpretation agrees [196]
with what appears to be a marked tendency in Okinawan society for the educated deliberately to talk over the heads of the uneducated. I will discuss this again under the heading education.

Discipline Parents appear to want their children to be agreeable in 867
their relations with others and industrious at school. They praise the gentle (J. 'otonashii') child and the good student. Yet they seem to tolerate noisiness, disregard for property, and to some extent disregard for person, though they may be more tolerant of this sort of behavior in boys than in girls. On one occasion Pitts and Lebra presented an old man with several photographs that they had taken of him and his grandson. As they handed the photographs to the old man, the boy snatched one and in doing so tore it. The old man was visibly hurt at the loss of the photograph, but said nothing to the child at all. On the other hand one of us also once saw a grandmother reach over and pinch a somewhat older girl quite severely because she was lying with her legs apart.

Where behavior thought to be of a more serious nature is concerned, 861
parents do attempt to control their children. They do so by coaxing, bribing, threatening, teasing, scolding, and, for most as a last resort, by corporal punishment. Scolding takes such forms as "dirty!", "shameful!", "You will be laughed at", etc. While being scolded the child need not answer; he may simply look at the ground and remain silent. Since he is not expected to answer he may be less inclined to construct elaborate excuses in the manner of the American child. The threats include such things as "we'll send you away", "we'll sell you to the Itoman people" (to a boy), "we'll sell you to the juri" (to a girl), "we'll give you to the Americans", "we'll call the police", "we'll call a cat (or some kind of bogey) to scare you," "you'll receive divine retribution." Since children are sometimes put out of the house as

[56] punishment, the threat to send a child away is not an idle one. Nor is the threat to sell a child. Children are still sold, though poverty is doubtless the principal reason. The use of the threat to sell in dealing with a recalcitrant child undoubtedly has an effect both on the outlook of the child who because of poverty is actually sold and on the attitudes of others toward him.

Physical punishments include such measures as a slap on the buttocks, a sharp blow on the head with the knuckles---especially with the joint of the middle finger protruding from the clenched fist, a pinch on the fleshy part of the thigh. These last two are particularly used by older women and are rather severe so that after a few experiences the child is likely to be impressed by the threat. Instead of putting the child out of the house, a parent or grandparent may confine the child by tying him to a post of the house or tying him and putting him into a box up on the storage shelf on the rafters. [57] Another treatment is to have moxa burned on the skin. This is a recognized medical practice and its use is interpreted as curative rather than punitive.

The following occurred in a family that occupied a quarter of a city house. The mother was told by one neighbor that another neighbor was telling people that she had observed, through a crack in the wall between their sections of the house, the seven-year old son of the first woman kissing his twelve-year-old sister and displaying his genitals to her. The mother was nearly frantic with worry about the story. She confronted her son and asked him what had happened. He said he didn't know. The mother then said, "Mother saw it, so tell me about it." The boy repeated that he did not know what she was talking about. Then she said, "The kami-sama (gods) saw it, so you can't hide it." He remained silent. Then she said, "Tomorrow we'll go to the police station and then maybe we'll find out what happened." The boy continued to remain silent. Nothing at all came of the matter. The mother later concluded that the gossipy neighbor, with whom she was not on speaking terms anyway, may have made the story up. The mother's statement that she had seen what happened was an outright lie and if the story was false the boy must have known it was a lie, or he could easily have concluded that it was a lie from the very manner in which it was said. The threat to take him to the police of course never materialized; it may have been an old one and therefore also recognized as an empty threat. It is possibly significant that the mother questioned the boy rather than his older sister.

A good example of punishment devised to fit the crime is provided by the following incident reported by Lebra. An old woman lived alone with her grandson, a boy of seven or so. The boy was rather mischievous and on several occasions started fires in the house. The grandmother scolded him for it at first but the last time he did it she used more drastic measures. She caught him, tied him to a house-post, tore two long strips of paper, stuffed an end of each up one of his nostrils, and lit a match to the free ends that dangled down at his waist. As the smoke curled up into his nose and the flames licked nearer, he screamed and promised never to play with matches again. Before he was burned the grandmother removed the burning strips of paper. When she was satisfied that he would reform, she untied him. She

later told the story to Lebra in the child's presence with a good deal of relish, while the boy merely looked sheepish and said nothing. 861

Punishment may be by either parent or by a grandparent. Other relatives may scold. I once observed a four-year-old being scolded long and shrilly by her father's sister. I asked why the mother, who was just inside the house, did not do the scolding and I was told that the child would not mind her mother and so the aunt had had to step in. I was also given the impression that the child's mother would hardly have dared defend her. It seems likely that mothers and grandmothers punish most frequently but that fathers, though they punish less frequently, are more severe; they are certainly more feared. It is said that after a child is punished it is usually comforted by the adult who punished it. There are, of course, individual differences. One man at Nanahan was known to be particularly harsh with his children. Pitts observed him on one occasion chasing one of his children around the village with a strap.

Okinawan adults, especially women, frequently tease children. On two occasions I saw a particularly cocky little boy of three or four teased in a deliberate attempt to make him angry or to make him cry. On the first occasion one of his aunts, his mother's oldest sister, struck the boy's baby sister, pretending to hurt her. He was very fond of the baby and the object of the teasing seemed to be to arouse his sympathy to the point where he would have showed his emotions, at which point, I assume, the crowd of women would have laughed. This time the teasing was unsuccessful. On the second occasion his mother and her sisters told him first that I was going to take him away, then that I was going to take his little sister away, and produced other variations on this theme. After several minutes of this he went grimly over to his mother and began hitting her with his fists. The women all regarded this as great sport. No effort was made to stop him from hitting his mother. This sort of teasing seems to have amusement as its main object, but probably has other functions as well. It may possibly provide women a necessary outlet for feelings of hostility, especially against males. But it may also have the more important functions of producing in the child the desirable emotional responses---sympathy for the little sister, fear of losing her, fear of being separated from home---while at the same time conditioning the child to inhibit the expression of these emotions. 855 [154] [867] [152]

On another occasion I saw the mother of the children just mentioned hold out a lighted match in front of the baby until the baby, after regarding it in wonderment, reached out and was burned. The women watched expectantly and laughed when the baby cried, but in this case the act seemed more like deliberate instruction in the properties of fire than merely teasing. But as in teasing, the discomfort to the child is something not to be avoided but rather to be enjoyed. And as in teasing, the child learns to associate laughter with his own discomfort, or perhaps with his expression of his discomfort. He may thereby learn to avoid being laughed at because it is associated with discomfort, and to avoid the expression of discomfort because it brings laughter. [861] [155]

855 Two facts that have been introduced into this discussion should be re-
861 stated and made more explicit. The first is that Okinawan child-training methods include the use of both verbal appeals and physical punishment. As a result of observations made during and shortly after the battle in 1945, Dr. J. C. Maloney reported[1] that Okinawans were very permissive with their children and did not use corporal punishment. It will be seen from the data just presented that while Okinawans are more permissive in many situations than Americans would be, they do in fact use severe physical punishment on occasion.

152 The second fact has to do with the contrast of "shame" versus "guilt"
181 that has been presented by several writers on the character of the Japanese.
171 Both Gorer and Benedict have asserted that the Japanese conform because they
861 fear the ridicule of others whereas Westerners conform because they fear their own consciences; Japanese culture is a "shame culture" while ours is a "guilt culture".[2] Okinawan culture also seems to be primarily a shame culture. Okinawans clearly fear ridicule greatly, and this fear seems traceable to their early training. But there are also elements in Okinawan child training that would tend to produce something of the Western sort of fear that one may suffer for his wrong-doing regardless of whether he is found out or not. These are to be seen in the phrases "retribution will strike" (Okinawan bachi nu ataaing, Japanese 'bachi ga ataru') and "the gods saw you". Shame and guilt are doubtless not mutually exclusive. Both sanctions exist in Okinawan culture, shame being much the stronger.

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524 Play Boys play with kites and tops. Girls play hop-scotch. Both,
[204] if they can afford it, get one or more of the numerous Japanese children's
[177] magazines that are filled with stories, comics, and a variety of make-it-yourself paper toys.

857 Boys catch insects and birds and fasten strings to them in order to jerk them back as they try to fly away, or in order simply to drag them around. They do so quite unconscious of any cruelty in the act. Adults appear to regard living things as proper playthings.

[56] There may be less age-grading among smaller children than among older people or among children in present-day American society. Several boys of different ages were observed playing together on many occasions, mainly, it seemed, because they were related and lived in adjacent houses. The girls who occasionally joined them were also of the same group of related families.

882 Youth Traditionally, entering one's thirteenth year, for a girl, and fif-
178 teenth, for a boy, marks a change in status from that of child to that of youth (niisee, in J. 'seinen', literally "green years"). There was
[881] also a later ceremony at which the young man's hair was done in a knot; and the tattooing undergone by a young woman may have been part of a puberty rite.
[877] But at present, finishing one's schooling marks the greatest change in the
877 life of a young person. At this time the treatment he receives and the be-
882 havior expected of him change markedly. As long as he is in school he is

[1] Maloney, 1945, p. 394.

[2] Gorer, 1943; Benedict, 1946, p. 223.

843 pregnancy are also said to be rare, although miscarriages in later pregnancy up to two or three months before the birth are more numerous because of the continuing heavy work of the mother in the fields. The mother in the agricultural village normally works up to the time for
844 the birth. She eats her normal diet. After birth, the child is placed on a large comforter (futon) beside the mother.

The midwife, after delivery, goes once a day for a week to the mother's home. Her fee is not decided upon before hand, but according
[84L] to custom, averages Y350 for a normal and Y500 for a difficult birth,
[965] a low fee probably enforced by the poverty and lack of cash of farm families. (In Naha corresponding fees are said to be Y1-2000).

853 There is no uniform way of feeding the child after birth. In most cases the child is not breast fed until after the third day due to the fact that mothers have little milk at this time. The first, second, and the third days it is fed warm water with small amounts of white sugar, but this is by no means universal. Some mothers have said that they give the child the breast 4 or 5 hours after birth. In any case, the child very quickly becomes accustomed to feeding at the breast, and this continues for an indeterminate period, depending on the mother and the child. It may be for two years, or until the next
[862] child comes. In all communities studied, other arrangements are made in the unlikely event that the mother does not have milk of her own. The child may be given evaporated cow's milk or friends or relatives nurse the child. In Minatogawa, if a woman has special duties or takes a trip out of town and cannot take her child with her, she can pay to have it nursed.

843 One belief regarding pregnancy still exists among the old in the Ginoza area. If a new house is being built during the pregnancy of the woman of the house, the cap of the roof is not put on until after the birth has taken place.

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Birth Customs and Convalescence

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[184] In Minatogawa, and to a much lesser extent in Hanashiro, birth customs are related to certain beliefs about the pig pen. These were not known in Hateuda. In the two southern villages they have virtually disappeared, except among the old. According to a Hanashiro farmer's
[189] wife, the child on the day of its birth is washed, dressed in new clothes, and carried to the pig pen, which is supposed to frighten away evil spirits (bakemono).
[See footnote 1, bottom of p. 257--analyst]

frowned and tugged at the straps that were straining at her neck muscles. 593

At a still later date, Hanako, with her baby sister strapped to her back, played on the beach. At one point, when all the children were scattered over the beach and no one else was nearby, Hanako edged up to the fieldworker and asked, "Would you like this baby, teacher? Here, take her," she said wearily. Asked why she had changed her mind, the little girl smiled shyly, squirmed uncomfortably for a moment, then whispered, "She's too heavy." Her 3-year-old sister, off in the distance at that point, began to scream and cry at being left so far behind. Hanako turned to look back once, then walked on as the 3-year-old squatted on the sand and screamed to be carried. At that moment her mother appeared to nurse the infant, and Hanako ran to her. She bounded swiftly away to the 3-year-old as the mother started to nurse the baby. Returning a few minutes later with the 3-year-old on her back, Hanako deposited her disgustedly, panting heavily from the weight. "Shall we give baby to teacher, Hanako?" asked the mother, and without any hesitation Hanako this time nodded "Yes." The mother laughed and said, "Hah, she has had enough of her already. When the baby was tiny and cute, she was so eager to carry her and wouldn't give her to you, but they all get tired of babies in time." And with that the mother began to rock the baby back and forth in her arms. Smiling affectionately, she kissed and hugged the cooing infant and murmured, "Nobody wants you, eh?" Because she was an unusually outspoken mother she confided, "I think I have had enough too, here, I give her to you!" She laughed as she continued, "How can I make money, feed and clothe the children when I have to rush back from the mountains to nurse this baby." 857 854 [594]

When the child is about 6 months old, he is subjected to a painful operation which prepares him for the introduction to solid foods. The area around the navel is moxa-cauterized. Nine little brown dots in three rows of three attest to the practice of burning a special kind of grass on the skin in this area to protect the infant from various digestive complications. The child thus treated, the mother will begin to supplement breast feedings with rice water, milky white in appearance, that is spooned out of the boiling pot of rice. Sometime later, before the child is about one, bits of sweet potato and special kinds of fish mashed between the fingers are thrust into the mouth of the infant as he sits on his mother's lap at mealtime. Gradually he is given more and more solid foods until, finally, at the age of 2 he is eating rice, unmashed fish, potatoes and vegetables, but nursing is continued until 853 [751] [262] 862 855 262

855 the mother becomes pregnant. Usually, however, weaning is not
[262] started in earnest until the mother is three months pregnant.

If the infant has a fever or "bad color," he may be subjected to an-
854 other painful experience, blood letting. Incisions are made on those
757 parts of the body which are thought to be affected, and blood is drawn and caught in a cup. The area is washed with sake. The mother often suckles the baby and holds him while the grandmother or some other older person performs the operation.

854 Babies are diapered and swaddled until they are about a year old. For the first two months their wet and soiled diapers are changed frequently; however, as time goes on, less attention is paid to wet diapers, although those soiled from excreta are promptly changed. Infants are checked often during the raw winter days, but because they are bundled so heavily, there is hardly any danger of their contracting colds as their
[164] mothers fear. Severe urine burns and annoying diaper rash are more common than colds among young babies.

[855] Although care is taken to keep the infant as clean as possible during the first year of his life, this attitude changes as the child grows older.
[594] This is in large part due to the mother's inability to devote much time to her offspring once she has resumed full participation in economics activities. Depending on the season of the year, babies are bathed from every third or fourth day to once a week. They are bathed almost daily
[744] during the first two months of their lives as a result of the insistence of the village nurse. Water is heated on the kitchen hearth and poured into a small washpan. Mothers test the warmth of the water by immersing their arms up to the elbows and adding cold or hot water as they see fit. Soap is gently applied either with a soft washcloth or with the hands and rinsed off by splashing. On chilly winter days the bath takes place indoors, but on the hot sunny days it takes place right outside the kitchen door. In drying the baby, the mother places him in a large towel and pats the dampness from his body. She is careful to dry the skin at the joints where rash is likely to erupt. Except for the very poor, all families keep a bottle of talcum powder, which is applied right after the bath. Throughout the bath, the mother talks softly to the baby, smiling and tickling him. The atmosphere of the bath at this
[855] time contrasts sharply with that of a later time when the child is 2 and 3 years old.

863 Although there is hardly any possibility that the infant at this time would be able to smear himself with excreta, the opportunity for doing so is present later when he no longer wears diapers but is still untrained. It rarely happens, as the child is almost constantly watched by a caretaker. One mother reported disgustedly that her infant smeared

copy their behavior. When several mothers and their children are gathered, a mother of a year-old child will coo, "Cute baby" as she strokes a friend's infant's head. She smiles at her child, takes his hand, and repeats the action. A spontaneous response such as this on the part of a year-old child would evoke admiration and voluble praise from the audience. A year and a half old boy became the pride of his mother when he approached all little children with a highly nurturant attitude. He had learned his lesson so well that he considered children of his own age babies because they were smaller than himself. Walking up to them, he would bend down, pat their heads patronizingly, and take their hands to guide them along. 854 155

Equally important to the Okinawan parent is a friendly child who is well liked by everyone in the village. A happy, smiling personality is ideal, and it is this wish for the child which leads grandmothers and mothers to perpetuate the custom of burying the afterbirth of a newborn to the accompaniment of laughter and appeals to the spirits to ensure this characteristic. Adults constantly try to get infants to smile by talking and making funny sounds and faces. Even young children approach infants clapping their hands together in an attempt to elicit smiles. [156]

Treatment of children during this initial period discourages expression of self-reliant behavior. As described above, except for rare and very brief intervals during the day, a child is strapped onto someone's back from the time he wakes up in the morning to the time he is put to bed at night. The child is carried about in this fashion from the age of one month until he is almost 2 years old. [866]

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Chapter 14

Weaning

When a mother discovers that she is pregnant again, usually about two years after her last delivery, she begins to think of weaning her child. Most mothers nurse the last child until they are about three months 862 853 [843]

862 into their term, but one mother reported that she nursed her first son until the day before the second was born. Curiously, the determination with which mothers wean contrasts sharply with their very indulgent nurturant handling of the young child, who now encounters a period of withdrawal.

[853] [861]

There is a month-long period of what seems, to the observer, indecision and vacillation on the part of the mother. The child is refused the breast, but, if he persists and becomes vociferous in his protests, the mother nurses him. She and others present, however, are no longer solicitous and protective. Derisive comments are directed against him, and, finally, at the end of the month drastic steps are taken. When mothers stated in their interviews that it took four or five days to wean, it usually meant after the final drastic measures were taken.

[513] The child who has slept beside his mother from birth is simply put to sleep with an aunt, grandmother, grandfather, father, or older sibling. In some instances an overnight trip to the city proves extremely convenient for the mother, who leaves the child behind instead of taking him with her as usual. If merely denying the breast does not work, big patches of black paper used for toothaches, backaches, and bruises are pasted on the chest, and the baby is told that the mother is suffering from pain there. "The black paper frightens them and we pretend to wince with pain if the child tries to nurse," report mothers. The black paper proves to be very effective. When this device is not used, another similarly drastic in nature is resorted to. Red pepper or bitter medicine is rubbed into the breast so that the child attempting to suckle is promptly punished with a very unpleasant burning sensation. Frequently a combination of these techniques is applied to wean what a mother terms a very difficult child.

[861] Shaming is a technique that is directed not only to the child but also to the mother. "Ah, shame! Hide the breast," says the mother to the child, or, "Hide, hide, drinking mother's milk!" says she, pulling one end of her blouse flap over the suckling child's head.

On one occasion an old man approached a mother who was nursing her 1-year-old. Immediately the mother pushed the child's head down to acknowledge the elder's presence. The old man, on the other hand, pulled the breast, taking the nipple from the child's mouth. "A big baby! You should not be drinking your mother's milk!" he scolded in a growling voice. As the little girl started to scream and cry, he laughed and, squeezing the breast, squirted milk into her face. The mother laughed with him, then mocked an attack on the old man to pacify the crying child.

Another technique which uses threat to the mother was applied very

effectively in the case of a boy who did not respond to red pepper or black paper. The mother described how she tried to fend off the boy one day by simply refusing. As he fussed and cried there was a loud clanging of the pots in the kitchen. The boy stopped crying and looked at the mother who pretended to be very frightened. "Look now! There! It's a big rat coming for your mother's breast, let's hide it, quick, quick!" And with that she buttoned her blouse hurriedly and took the boy in her arms. She laughed as she described how she reminded him thereafter about the rat and how he ran to her and held onto her breasts protectively. 862

For the child, this whole interim period is a stormy one filled with tantrums, whining, and obstinancy. At no time, however, does the child resort to thumbsucking or other breast substitutes. For older siblings who are his caretakers, this period is a very unpleasant one. Many things displease the child. If his caretaker squats, he screams to have him stand; if he stands, he whines to have him walk. Frequently the sibling caring for him reflects the changing attitude toward the child, and, jiggles him up and down impatiently with a frown and curt comment, "What is it!" [856] [857]

As far as actual nourishment is concerned, weaning should not be so traumatic. Long before weaning commences, when the child is about one, he is given a spoon with which he can learn to feed himself. If families can afford it, they purchase new spoons and special small-sized rice bowls as well as chopsticks for these novices. When the budget is so limited that purchases of new implements are impossible, adult-sized ones are used, and often as not the tablespoon used for cooking and serving proves useful. [853] [412] [415]

At mealtime the entire household sits in the back room, which is next to the kitchen. The head of the family sits nearest to the raised hearth, and the rest of the members form a circle to the left and right of him at a low round or rectangular table. The baby sits on his mother's or grandmother's lap. Usually the mess resulting from this early training period in self-feeding is ignored. The adult holding the novice in his lap occasionally picks up the dropped rice and thrusts small pieces of fish or vegetable into his mouth. Only when he bangs the table excessively with his spoon do his elders mildly chide him. At first the adult holding him will absently reach for the offending arm and slip some food into his mouth. Later they will begin reprimanding him by scowling and glaring at him saying, "Me-me!" (child talk for "eye," meaning "I look at you disapprovingly.") But all this is done in a very gentle way, and often when the novice bursts into tears from fright of the disapproving response, he will be hugged, laughed at, and 853 264 862

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[853] told, "No, no, no." In this manner the child is taught his early table manners.

As the child approaches the age of 2, the mother begins to praise him for eating without messing but still does not scold him if he fails to do so. He is the center of interest at the table, and his grandparents as well as older siblings encourage him with smiles and expressions of approval. At this time he loses interest in the spoon and is attracted to [412] the chopsticks, which everyone else at the table uses. As he struggles to handle the sticks, the adult holding him sets them in his hand. Holding his hand, with the chopsticks held in the proper position, they guide him a few times; then, as he protests and indicates annoyance at being restrained, they leave him to experiment for himself. This ritual is repeated at each meal, but the child is fed from the adult's chopsticks until he has mastered the technique for himself. The child is not hurried along in his experimentations or learning attempts. The adult praises each fortunate action and quickly slips food into the smiling, open mouth, and the child continues without protest.

Before each meal, people in the village raise their bowls and chopsticks slightly and bow their heads momentarily, murmuring, "Itadakimasu" (a polite signal that the meal is about to be partaken). Similarly, at the conclusion of the meal, the bowl is raised with a brief nod of the head, but this time the expression offered is "Gochiso-sama" (to indicate it was a treat . . . feast). Two very outspoken and good-humored mothers would nurse their young babies, then take the little hands, fold them over each other, palm sides up, gently push the bodies forward, and say, "Gochiso-sama!" Serious training in this aspect of eating etiquette, however, is left until the child is learning to feed himself.

862 Weaning, then, does not involve a dramatic change in all aspects of
866 the diet of a child, and in many ways may be most traumatic as a withdrawal of the indulgent nurturance of the mother. With the arrival of the new baby, a further step in the emotional weaning takes place. The child is denied his mother's back, for she now has a new baby to tend and eventually to carry.

Treatment of succorance during weaning contrasts sharply with that of the infancy and early childhood period. Unless there is a grandmother or older siblings in the family, this is the time of real deprivation for the child. He is ridiculed, shamed, and punished for demanding to be carried. It is a time marked with temper tantrums, extended periods of crying, and sullenness. Without doubt, this is the most trying stage in the life of a Taira child. Until the words, "You are a big

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brother or big sister" take effect, he is the most miserable creature alive in the village. 866 862

Weaning from the back often occurs at the same time as weaning from the breast; if not it occurs within six months. While this study was being done, eight children between 18 months and 2 years were weaned from the back as well as from the breast. Temper tantrums in which the child would sit down and scream his head off, hurl dirt and stones at his mother, older siblings, or adults who stopped to have a kind word with him or to ridicule him, and incessant whining were symptomatic of the repercussions of abrupt withdrawal. Sulkiness, stubbornness, and tyrannical behavior, however, are short lived. The child finds that although this kind of behavior brought immediate and rewarding responses in the past, he now faces further withdrawal or punishment as a result. The mother impatiently screams back at him to stop crying, and siblings simply leave him behind to keep up with his own pace or drag him along forcibly and uncomfortably, with threats of punishment if he refuses to cooperate. As if to heap more abuse on deprivation, he finds the newly arrived baby the center of the household and taking his place at his mother's breast. He is encouraged and discouraged by turns. "You are an older brother or an older sister. You do not drink your mother's milk now. And see how big you are and such a good child," now encourage visitors. "Come here, hurry!" scream older siblings or mother when he fails to keep in step with them on walks. For about three months the child's bleary eyes, tear-streaked face, and woebegone expression are unquestionable evidences of the most unhappy interval of his childhood.

In an attempt to continue "ruling" the family, he goes into frequent rages. He demands anything and everything in sight, concentrating on the breast and on being carried. Desperately he screams and cries. Finally he sits on the ground and refuses to move. If his caretaker does not pick him up at that point, he will simply lie prone and cry hysterically. Usually adults scream back at him and start walking away, whereupon the child quickly picks himself off the ground and runs after the retreating caretaker. In this way the child's control is broken. Furthermore, he is ridiculed, shamed and scolded for his "babyish" behavior. Only the grandmother, with whom he sleeps at night, responds to his dominating behavior. During the day, he whines, wheedles, and makes numerous demands on her. [513]

Obviously family structure determines in part the severity of the deprivation. The child who lives in a household with a grandmother and perhaps older siblings will have someone to indulge him. The 866 887 603

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went home and hysterically reported the incident to her family. The mother, meanwhile, laughed and told her boy, "Just like your grandmother, can't stand to hear you cry even when you are not hurt!" She then went on to say that both she and her husband ignore the boy's crying in situations where he could help himself, but the boy's grandmother immediately runs to soothe and aid him. Generally it may be said that in extended households, grandmothers tend to prolong the dependence period and discourage independence and responsibility. 866 603 855 [596]

The relationship between grandfather and grandchild is more restrained. Although grandfathers may be seen carrying children or doing things for them, there is always a discreet distance between them, the result of early training in respect and deference to male elders. Children do not tease their grandfathers as they do their grandmothers. Older boys, in their late teens, may carry on a superficial joking relationship with their grandfathers, but they must be careful not to show disrespect. The male elders in turn show greater affection for the male child than for the female. When both grandparents are living in the house, the child, whether male or female, is more likely to direct his succorant appeals to grandmother rather than grandfather.* 603 858 866

Mothers, themselves, are often not too consistent in their training for independence. They will feel sorry for the child when he is first weaned and allow him to stay close to them until the birth of the next sibling. On the other hand, they will encourage the little 2-year-olds to imitate older girls and boys, particularly in their baby-tending role. A mother will strap a "doll" on her daughter or son's back. The "dolls" are usually rolled blankets or jackets, for real dolls are expensive and rarely bought in the village. Older children and adults do not fail to comment to a child carrying such a burden. They praise him for being such a good caretaker; they pretend to see the "baby" sleeping and report this to him. If the strapping becomes loose, they call to him and reassemble the "baby" and the pinning. The doll is never played with or manipulated. Thus the 2-year-old gets praised for emulation of the responsible and nurturant behavior expected of older siblings. 866 857 [862] [524] [155]

Perhaps it is this role training that explains in part the absence of aggression toward the newborn sibling, which might well be expected with such a short interval between weaning from the breast and back and the birth of the next child. The fieldworker did not observe one instance of such hostility. If there is any hostility expressed, it is against the mother in outbursts of temper and against those who ridicule or try to comfort the displaced child. The grandmother's aggressive actions against the mother may encourage the child in this behavior 867 593

* Only 4 out of 24 sample children lived in the same house with a grandfather.

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a harsh, often rasping voice. Only men play the Okinawan samisen, a stringed instrument slightly different from its Japanese counterpart. Men also join in the dancing.

In a village parties on the fifth or sixth day after the birth of a child and on his first birthday happen frequently. They are an important part of social life. A relative or a friend is always celebrating one or the other occasion, either in the village or in a neighboring one. These celebrations increase, especially for the men, the number of social occasions and recreational opportunities during the year in a culture where holidays and rest days are comparatively few. (There are no weekly rest days or week ends).

After the first birthday, little attention is paid to the succeeding ones until the thirteenth. The child's experience from the
861 time he begins to walk until he reaches school comes from family life and neighborhood play. In my observation, there is no rigid, customary way of bringing up the child. It is toilet trained around
863 one year of age. This does not seem to be forced. Training comes through imitation. Parents do not punish the child for indiscretions, though they are quick to lift him off the mat if he begins wetting. With young boys, the father may make a hissing sound while the child's penis is out. One has the impression that it is a gradual transition, mostly effected by imitation or gentle suasion.

304 Male children are not circumcised. Circumcision is known only to those who have learned of it through books, foreign residence, or from others who have this information.[9]

867 In early training, boys are not taught that they are superior to girls. But when she reaches school age, the girl is likely to be kept
562 busier around the house. Before the war, there may have been a greater subordination of girls to boys. But any conscious training of girls to subordinate themselves to boys is unnecessary. The child grows up in a culture in which the father is waited on, the sons favored in inheritance, and in which the men have a richer social life.

855 Parents are kind to their children. They seldom spank a child,
593 though an exasperated parent may give the child a sharp slap. There is little nagging or shouting at children in anger. In my opinion,

9 Two young men, school teachers about 23 years old, expressed great astonishment when asked about circumcision. They did not know it existed.

855 the mother becomes pregnant. Usually, however, weaning is not
[262] started in earnest until the mother is three months pregnant.

If the infant has a fever or "bad color," he may be subjected to an-
854 other painful experience, blood letting. Incisions are made on those
757 parts of the body which are thought to be affected, and blood is drawn and caught in a cup. The area is washed with sake. The mother often suckles the baby and holds him while the grandmother or some other older person performs the operation.

854 Babies are diapered and swaddled until they are about a year old. For the first two months their wet and soiled diapers are changed frequently; however, as time goes on, less attention is paid to wet diapers, although those soiled from excreta are promptly changed. Infants are checked often during the raw winter days, but because they are bundled so heavily, there is hardly any danger of their contracting colds as their
[164] mothers fear. Severe urine burns and annoying diaper rash are more common than colds among young babies.

[855] Although care is taken to keep the infant as clean as possible during the first year of his life, this attitude changes as the child grows older.
[594] This is in large part due to the mother's inability to devote much time to her offspring once she has resumed full participation in economics activities. Depending on the season of the year, babies are bathed from every third or fourth day to once a week. They are bathed almost daily
[744] during the first two months of their lives as a result of the insistence of the village nurse. Water is heated on the kitchen hearth and poured into a small washpan. Mothers test the warmth of the water by immersing their arms up to the elbows and adding cold or hot water as they see fit. Soap is gently applied either with a soft washcloth or with the hands and rinsed off by splashing. On chilly winter days the bath takes place indoors, but on the hot sunny days it takes place right outside the kitchen door. In drying the baby, the mother places him in a large towel and pats the dampness from his body. She is careful to dry the skin at the joints where rash is likely to erupt. Except for the very poor, all families keep a bottle of talcum powder, which is applied right after the bath. Throughout the bath, the mother talks softly to the baby, smiling and tickling him. The atmosphere of the bath at this
[855] time contrasts sharply with that of a later time when the child is 2 and 3 years old.

●863 Although there is hardly any possibility that the infant at this time would be able to smear himself with excreta, the opportunity for doing so is present later when he no longer wears diapers but is still untrained. It rarely happens, as the child is almost constantly watched by a caretaker. One mother reported disgustedly that her infant smeared

herself from head to toe when she had left her diaperless on the floor 863 for a few minutes. She had assumed that the child had completed elimination and had gone out to rinse the soiled diaper.

When the infant is anywhere from 22 days to 10 months old, the mothers start trying to anticipate urination before the baby wets his diapers. Each mother trains herself to her child's particular cues, squirming, peculiar facial expressions, and so on, or keeps a kind of mental time check. Holding the infant in a semisitting position out over the edge of the porch, and supporting him under his knees with her hands and at his back with her chest, she coaxes gently, repeating "shi-shi" until he urinates onto the ground outside. If the mother is successful in her efforts, she hugs, kisses, and praises the infant. On the other hand, if she does not reach him in time and he is already wet, she will hold the child over the wet diaper and say "shi-shi." This is to ensure that he has fully eliminated, or if the interval between diaper checks has been long, to make certain that he does not need to urinate again before putting on a fresh change. In these instances she does not [861] praise unless the infant does urinate or eliminate at her coaxing, but she does not punish him for urinating in his diapers.

Although mothers may desire bladder control to develop, their statements do not indicate that they conceive of holding the child out as training. In discussing the practice, mothers seemed more concerned about the number of diapers they had to wash or buy. With a great deal of pride one mother reported that she never had to wash a diaper except when it was soiled with feces. Another bragged that she had only had to buy diapers once, and this was for her first child. Treatment of bladder control at a later period raises further doubt that this practice is meant for training purposes. Pertinent here, too, is the belief that children are incapable of learning at this early date. [861]

While a few mothers who have the time to look after their babies 863 continue to avoid wet diapers, most of them eventually abandon the 854 routine and leave it to the child to train himself. When they resume normal activities following childbirth, an older sibling takes over the care of the infant, and the mother does not instruct the older child to continue the practice. Fear for the safety of the baby keeps her from doing so. Once she straps the baby onto the young caretaker's back, she expects him to remain there until she or another adult unstraps him. Teen-age caretakers seldom bother to change wet diapers until it becomes unbearable. If the grandmother is the chief caretaker, however, she will continue the practice. For the greater part of the first year, the infant urinates in his diaper, frequently wetting his caretaker. Just 855 before the child turns one, most mothers will reduce the amount of 863

855 swaddling and diapers. Almost immediately after he has passed his first
863 birthday, she will stop diapering him and substitute a short shirt or a dress during the summer and kimonos during the cold weather. This is the period which proves most trying to the young caretaker. Unless the baby is filthy and evokes much comment from others, however, they ignore the condition. The following examples illustrate common occurrences during this period:

H. (an 8-year-old girl) carrying her baby sister on the back is playing on the beach. She straightens up suddenly with a wry expression on her face. "She urinated, wet," she exclaims, standing up and spreading her dress at the back which is completely soaked. The baby is bare-bottomed and crowing happily at the older children playing around her. The older sister waves her dress briefly in the wind, then squats to continue her play. When asked if she was not going home to change, she exclaims that she would dry soon enough, and, as for the baby, she was dry. The day is warm and windy and the dress dries off rapidly.

K. (a 7-year-old girl), baby sister on her back, is squatting with other girls, drawing in the sand. As they draw figures in the sand, the baby breaks wind and defecates. It is a rather noisy operation, and the other girls watch fascinated and somewhat amused while K. keeps on sitting unconcerned. (The baby's bottom is bare so that the feces drops on the sand.) One of the girls laughs and comments on the feces dropping. K. says, "I will let my mother clean the ground." The other children walk away, spitting,* showing some disgust. All through this K. squats calmly, letting the baby eliminate undisturbed. She tells the baby "Finish defecating quickly," but she is not impatient, rather absent-minded.

863 Probably the earliest cleanliness training is the gentle withdrawal of unclean objects from the child, with statements of "Dirty, dirty." As he begins to respond to facial expression, the mother will show her disgust, shake her head and say, "Dirty!"

864 Infants may be patted or manipulated around the genital area by
854 an adult. Old women like to tweak a little boy's penis and jokingly say, "What is that, what is that?" Female infants are quickly covered with exaggerated expressions of shame whenever they are exposed for diaper changes. Petting of genitals by an adult is used mostly to soothe the child. It would be severely rebuked, however, if attempted by a child caretaker.

852 When the child is a year old, a simple ceremony is held. After a short birthday prayer, the child is offered a tray with food, an abacus counter, pencil, book, and money. The audience waits expectantly to see what the infant will choose. The pencil portends a writer, the money a

[514] * Expectoration at the sight of unpleasant things, such as dead animals or a pile of feces, is common among children and adults. Children pass a pile of dirt, spit at it, and cover it with dirt by a careless kick before continuing on.

855 ends swinging in the air, and dropping the huge knife in a careless
857 fashion on the floor near her. Suddenly there was the sound of a crying
[285] baby and her eldest girl appeared with the 8-month-old on her back. Unstrapping the baby, the girl plopped her onto her mother's lap. Instinctively the mother pushed the basket, bamboo slats, and knife away as she unbuttoned her blouse to nurse the baby. When the baby had had its fill, the mother called to the little caretaker to come and carry her. The older child called out that she was going to get a drink of water and disappeared around the house. She entered through the back and called to the baby to come. The baby crawled over but was attracted on the way by the big knife. Instantly the mother snatched it away, and the baby started to move toward the sharp pieces of bamboo. In desperation the mother picked up the baby and called crossly to the girl to come immediately. The older child obeyed, and the baby was strapped onto her back. "Now go and play somewhere," instructed the annoyed mother.

855 Another instance of similar nature took place in the frontyard of a
●863 place which that day was the scene of "house playing." A grandmother watching the activity decided to let the year-old baby on her back down to join in the play. "Eh, go and play with your older sisters," she smiled and said to the child as she put her gently down on the ground. The child started to crawl over to the group but stopped and sat very quietly staring ahead for a minute. The grandmother, who had disappeared into the house, reappeared. "A-yah!" she exclaimed as she looked down to see the baby scratching the damp earth about her. The baby had urinated and was puddling about so that in that brief instant she had thoroughly soiled herself as well as her clothing. Grumbling and scolding, "Dirty, dirty!" she picked up and carried at arm's length the baby, who was smiling and gurgling. The old woman cleaned the baby at the water barrel and, dressing her in clean clothes, promptly put her on her back again.

855 The only children who were allowed to crawl about were the sons
184 of two fishermen. Fishermen's wives, compared to the farmer-woods-
462 men's wives, have a great deal more leisure time. They buy their potatoes and rice with money from the sale of fish. The men send their catch to the market via the bus, so their wives, except when they accompany a catch to the city, have only to care for the house and a pig and are free to watch their children as they crawl about.

854 In summary, the infancy period is characterized by consistent nur-
155 turance. Mothers, grandmothers, and child baby-tenders are helpful and demonstrative in their affection. That they value such behavior is further evidenced by their conscious teaching of young children to

857 to gather with others his age under the great banyan tree at the lower
872 water tank. On rainy days he proceeds to the empty warehouse. There is no compulsion to go; he can join another renegade at the upper tank or on the beach, if he feels inclined to. As the group grows, games of tag, marbles, and rope jumping are started. By the time the kindergarten teacher arrives on the scene, the children have organized themselves into numbers of little groups and games. She carries the big drum
872 from the village office to the banyan tree, and, even before she drums
876 to signal the start of the session, little girls are lining up in front of her. The boys, as if to assert their maleness, play on, disregarding her until she calls sternly to them. Soon a line of boys forms next to the line of girls. As the teacher instructs all to straighten the formations by putting hands onto the shoulders of those in front, boys begin tickling each other and slapping in time to the song of the kindergarteners. The teacher frowns at the boys and tries hard to suppress an amused smile, for the sounds of the childish voices are so incongruent with the brazen attitude. With her drumsticks she reaches over to lightly tap a head, a buttock, and an offending arm. Soon there is order, and she bows slightly, saying, "Good morning, students." The children respond with, "Good morning, teacher," the boys exaggerating the politeness with deep bows and shouting voices. The teacher smiles, then instructs all to stand up straight to sing the kindergarten song. Roughly translated it goes, "We are kindergarteners. . . . We play together well. . . ." There are motions to go with the song, and the girls, with their serious concentration to be perfect in their performance, contrast sharply with the improvisations of the boys. The teacher ignores this and interrupts her singing occasionally to laugh and reach over with the drumstick to restrain a particularly disturbing boy.

● 863 When the song is completed, she comments on the excellent singing
872 performance and then goes on to ask how many children remembered
876 to wash their faces and hands before coming to kindergarten. There is an embarrassed twitter among the girls and a few downcast eyes, but the majority proudly raise their hands. As she examines the children, she comments that those who are negligent should be ashamed. From among their ranks a voice calls out, "Teacher, teacher! I didn't wash my face and hands, and I am not ashamed!" A little girl comments, "Fool thing!" The teacher finally hears his insistent cries and has him repeat his information. She tries hard to look disapproving, but laughs spontaneously instead as she lightly whacks his buttocks with the drumstick, saying, "What do you mean, you have not washed your hands and face and you are not ashamed!" She turns to inspect the children one by one, still smiling and commenting on a dirty ear and unkempt finger-

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nails. One or two girls stand fearfully, almost in tears, while others subject themselves to inspection with aplomb. The boys by now are mocking the teacher by inspecting each other and commenting on the failure to meet the test. A few little girls disgustedly say, "These boys, wish we did not have to have them!" 863 872 876

After a brief lecture on cleanliness and orderliness, the teacher asks all to count the number of children present. Immediately there is bedlam as all start to count aloud. She quickly takes a count herself and waits for the first child to answer. As she listens to the shouts, she points out the child who has the right answer and says, "That is right, now let us count together. You, Sachiko, at the head of the line, one, next, Nariko, two. . . ."

Following this counting, the teacher may present a simple lesson in manners. She tells each child down the line to answer with a crisp "hai," then to state his name in full. The oldest girls respond obediently and help their 3- and 4-year-old siblings. As she approaches the line of boys, she frowns and nods. Each boy shouts his answer and name in spite of her protests to the effect that she is not hard of hearing. From somewhere near the end of the line comes a loud voice, "Hai, Taira, Saburo-san!" She quickly moves over to the possessor of the voice and taps the boy on his cleanly shaven head. The noise of the tap is sharp and clear. It induces a hearty round of laughs from all the children. The censured boy stands rubbing his head and smiling at the teacher as she tells him that he knows well one does not use the honorific suffix with one's own name. 872 867 876

The teacher does not attempt to present further lessons. Instead, she asks what kind of games the children would like to play. Shouts of "Race, race!" drown out her instruction to organize into teams. From the back of one 6-year-old girl she unstraps a screaming infant. With one arm cradling the infant, she drums to spur on the runners. From the direction of the village store, a grandmother comes slowly shuffling to join the group. She points out the 2-year-old on the back of his 5-year-old sibling who is starting off on his share of the run. The mother of the screaming infant comes running down the path to relieve the teacher of her burden. She sits nearby on a fence stone to nurse the baby and spur the runners on. Other adult passersby stop briefly to watch the runners, encourage them with shouts to run a little faster, clap their hands to congratulate a winner, and console a loser with advice to try harder the next time. 872 526

After the races the children sit and sing songs with the teacher. In their sitting positions they "act out" the songs with motions of their arms. The teacher releases her hold on the drumsticks as a 4-year-old

857 cuddled it in her arms. The 5-year-old in this case was disappointed
854 at being relieved of his charge, but no doubt would have been happy to be absolved of any blame in the event that the baby had fallen and hurt itself.

857 Most 4- and 5-year-olds, therefore, find their nurturant efforts frus-
866 trated, for they are considered too young to carry their younger siblings. They are told that their necks will hurt, they are not strong enough,
[593] and that they will be dwarfs if they started to carry such a heavy bur-
[155] den from such an early age. A sturdy 5-year-old, nevertheless, finds that if he is persistent enough, his mother will allow him to carry his infant sibling for short periods of time with close supervision. It is on these short jaunts that the child basks in the shower of praise and is richly rewarded for his nurturant behavior. Several mothers reported how their 4- and 5-year-olds take pride periodically in mopping up floors, setting tables, and clearing up after a meal. "They don't really do these chores, they help at it, but we let them do it because they like to. And if they don't feel like doing it, we don't say anything," report these mothers.

857 Frequently kindergarten children accompany their mothers to the
241 potato fields in the afternoons. There they play in and around the plants or "help" their mothers. One 4-year-old girl pointed out with
866 pride that she goes with her mother to their fields to "clean dirt off the potatoes" which her mother has dug before placing them in the basket. Boys of 3 and 5 were observed "assisting" by following adults' instructions to drop the seed potato into the hole at planting time. Generally adults dislike taking children to distant fields, for they beg to be carried near the half-way point. Occasionally a young child who has been on such a trip is toted back in the grandmother's empty carrying basket or in one of the suspended shoulder-yoke baskets of his grandfather.

● 863 During the kindergarten period, constant pressure is put on the
child to learn sphincter control. The child goes pantless until he at-
514 tains this goal, which is usually achieved by the age of 4. There is little formal bowel training. Children simply crouch and defecate. Grandmothers or mothers clean up the feces as soon as they see them. Younger children eliminate all over the village, but by 3 they usually restrict themselves to their own yards. When there are grandmothers
[887] in the family, bowel training seems to be taken over by them. Not infrequently the old woman can be seen standing over a child in the yard or cleaning up both the child and the yard. She is generally the one who gently coaxes the child to use the outhouse when he is old enough and physically able to straddle the opening over the pit. The

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

practice of allowing the child to eliminate wherever he chooses is necessitated by the structure of the outhouse, a concrete tank covered with a slotted wooden board or loose planks. 863 [514]

Girls may go pantless until they are completely toilet trained but must wear dresses. Since clothing distinguishes those who have been toilet trained, girls proudly compare bright printed panties while boys sport nondescript short pants. Untrained boys wear short shirts or cotton kimonos in summer or flannel ones in the winter. [291]

Accidental wetting of pants and bedwetting do not present much of a problem to parents. Children, however, appear to be embarrassed in such situations. Mothers claim they do not scold or shame the children. It seems to be more of a threat to the child, who realizes his newly gained status and recognizes the accident as infantile behavior. A few children, ranging from 4 to 11, suffer from eneuresis. An 11-year-old, according to the mother, wakes himself and rinses out his wet clothing without waking anyone else. She felt that he was suffering enough and so refrained from saying anything about it.

As seen in the description of the kindergarten session, constant pressure is placed on the child to keep himself clean. A mother seeing a dirty child will laughingly tell him to go sleep with the rats. There is a nasal affliction which is common among children up until the age of 8. Whereas the mother or grandmother tends the infant, sucking the mucus out of his nose, they do not aid the weaned child. During the preschool years, the child, with a well-practiced movement of the arm, smears the discharge over half his face, onto his kimono or shirt sleeves, or wipes it impatiently with his grimy hands. The resulting appearance prompts others to tease, "Dirty faced cat," or to question sneeringly, "Did the rat walk over your face?" It seems, however, that boys are less interested in cleanliness and tolerate dirty and unkemptness for a longer period of time than girls. By the time they are 3 years old, girls are conscious of their appearance, but this may be because they frequently accompany older girls to the wells and rivers when laundering is being done. As it was the usual procedure to end the task with washing heads and delousing, the girls were less soiled than the boys at this age. Five- and 6-year-old girls are praised for going to the well or river to wash their own clothing and heads if they go with older children. If they go alone, they are severely scolded and punished. When the faucets were installed in the village, 4-year-old girls assiduously tended to their grooming, spurred on by the praise and admiration of adults. Girls may be punished, on the other hand, for using too much soap or washing too often. One mother complained that her 8-year-old girl used to be such a stickler for cleanliness and

863 515 [854] [296]

863 515 good grooming but was at present always a mess. One of us was present at the home one day when a group of younger girls came by to call the 8-year-old to accompany them to the river to wash their heads. The girl dashed around the house and yard searching for a nonexistent bar of soap and finally was crossly told by her mother that there was none and that she really did not need washing. Nevertheless, the girl gathered some hibiscus leaves, which she tore and mashed to extract a slimy, soapylike substance, and left with the other girls to wash her hair. Regular bathing between the age of 1 and 5 is sporadic. During [857] the summer it is more frequent, for the older children take their younger siblings to the rivers for bathing and swimming.

At irregular intervals during the winter young children are bathed behind the house, near the kitchen doorway, by their mothers or older sisters. A little hot water added to the cold eases their discomfort. During the holiday season mothers and older girls were observed dragging and carrying screaming 2- to 4-year-olds to the bath.

864 As children get older, exposure of genitals is much less serious in the case of a boy than in the case of a girl. Little girls are told to sit like their mothers with their legs together and are never permitted to expose their genitals. This is true even for those young girls who are still without pants. Occasionally boys tease a little girl by shouting, "Your vagina is showing." Sexual manipulation between children, either homosexually or heterosexually, was never observed. The following observation illustrates the response of an older sibling to her 1 year-old sister, who attempts to imitate a urinating boy.

> A group of girls were playing with a ball and K. (4-year-old boy) came along. The girls objected to his presence and began to chase him away. K. then reached in his fly and brought out his penis. He began to urinate, pointing his penis up at the girls. The girls screamed and scattered to get out of reach of the urine. K. chased them briefly, urinating all the while, then stopped to finish. Just as he finished, M. (4-year-old girl), lifting the front of her dress, started to urinate in a standing position. Halfway done, she started to squat, but before she started to squat, her sister saw what was happening and yelled out in an angry voice, "M!" . . . then she went over to give the little girl a slap on the head.

Exhibitionism between boys occurs, and a urinating demonstration among boys with an erection is occasionally seen. Such behavior is not condoned by adults. Girls, however, almost always urinate alone at a short distance from the group. Children are shamed if one refers to their genitals as they approach school age. The separation between boys and girls, which increases with greater age, also discourages mutual play or sex experimentation.

855 861 There are few other demands made of the kindergarten child. He

872 from the ranks of the older children. Instantly the principal turns a
[876] disapproving eye on them. He continues with a long list of rules concerning classroom behavior as well as safety. Finally the students are dismissed to march to their classrooms. In their eagerness the first graders break ranks and are sternly commanded to stay in line.

[346] The first-grade rooms are located in a temporary, wooden, thatched structure. The sides are open, and the dirt floor is hard and swept clean. As the group enters the room, a wild confusion develops as each child searches for his desk. The children with new desks have little difficulty, as they had played with them for days at home until they were brought to school earlier, but those who have inherited outgrown older siblings' desks and chairs are in sad disarray. Amid the screams and shouts of two roomsful of first graders, two high pitched female adult voices call for attention. Gradually the voices diminish on both sides of the thin wall until only the two teachers' voices are audible.

872 Roll call is taken after instructions are given as to how one is to answer, ask to be excused, and to sit. After a brief consultation just
863 outside the door, the two teachers organize their groups into two lines, males in one and females in the other. The observer standing just outside the windows of both rooms hears identical speeches on the merits of using the toilets before school starts. Continuing, the teachers locate facilities for the boys and those for the girls. The boys are allowed to go first, then the girls.

872 Back from the toilets, the little girls obediently march to their places and sit quietly at attention with their hands folded on their desk tops. The boys are noisily making their way to their places. Giggling and
[365] pushing each other, they knock into chairs and tables, annoying the girls.

872 During the first week of school, the teacher's chief task is to make
876 the first graders stop talking and playing in class. On one occasion when numerous appeals, threats, and commands had failed, one exasperated teacher remarked to the fieldworker, "Just like kindergarteners." Then she turned back to the children and called out loudly, "First graders!" "Yes!" shouted the children. "You are first graders, remember that. You are not kindergarten children who don't know anything or don't understand what teacher is saying. For those who cannot understand and do not listen, I will arrange for demotion to kindergarten, understand?" "Yes," replied the children sheepishly.

"Because so much time is taken in orienting the child the first day of school, we can only have a short lesson," explains the teacher apologetically to the observers. The parents nod appreciatively. A printed syllabary hanging to one side of the blackboard becomes the focus of

attention as the teacher raps loudly at it with her pointer. She taps at the first figure and reproduces it on the black board, verbalizing it at the same time. She asks the children to imitate her, using their index fingers to follow the order of strokes. With their arms raised, the children reproduce the figure in the air. Five figures of the syllabary are reproduced in this way, and after reading it off several times, time is called. Just before the children are excused, they are told to learn the five figures. This is their first homework assignment. 872 876

It is 10:35, and from the direction of the principal's office, the recess bell can be heard. The teacher explains that after 20 minutes of play, the class will again convene for 1 hour and 20 minutes. The boys are allowed outdoors first and the girls follow. There is a flurry of excitement as older siblings appear to question the first graders on the activities of the morning. The children are reminded that this is also the time to go to the toilets. 872 [863]

The older boys and girls are already organized, and games of sham battle, volley ball, hopscotch, and marbles are in progress. The first graders wander in and out of other classrooms, then around the playground, where the various games are being played, until the bell signals them to return to their rooms. They return with a newly gained sense of confidence. The boys, who had been surreptitiously turning their heels in the well-worn marble holes on the dirt floor all morning, move the last row of desks and chairs just a few inches to clear the field for the game. The last few returning girls are given a rude shove to hurry along to their seats, for the boys are eager to start the game. With a great deal of shouting, magnified from the first-grade class next door, the boys begin their game of marbles. [526] [524]

While the teacher checks her records and consults numerous slips of paper on her table, the girls call to each other to check on books, contents of their lunch boxes, and plans for the afternoon. Finally the teacher raps for attention. The boys continue their game of marbles unconcernedly, and the girls scurry back to their seats. There is a wave of giggles as the raps reflect exasperation. "Where are the boys?" questions the annoyed teacher. There is no answer, but the few remaining boys and girls who have heeded their parents' and older siblings' advice to behave all turn their heads toward the back of the room. The teacher carefully picks her way through the closely lined and crowded room. The marble players are so engrossed in their games that they do not see her until she taps one head, then two, saying, "I have called you. Don't you know that recess is over?" Sheepishly a few walk off to their seats. A few smile broadly and run off to evade the pointers. Suddenly a high voice calls out, "The principal! The principal!" [876]

872 [876] The principal smiles as he approaches the classroom but soon begins to frown. He sees that the boys have been misbehaving. Returning the slight bow of the first-grade teacher, he stands just inside the door, looking over the boys with a disapproving eye. Immediately order and quiet reign.

After a short review of the morning's lesson, the teacher picks up each of the books which has been issued to the children. As she explains the contents of each, she names them and lectures on the care and use of books. She interrupts her talk when she notices two children without books. Because they had no older siblings and their parents had failed to appear two days before to pay for and receive their textbooks, these children had none. She quickly jots down their names and the name of the village from which they came and assures them that they will receive their books the next day.

872 264 [863] At 12:15 the children are sent out to wash their hands and told to eat their lunches. It seems that the most wanted, long awaited event of the school day has finally arrived, for even the best behaved children break into a run before they reach the door. The teacher's plea to walk out of the room goes unheeded.

Those children with elaborate lunches and containers proudly spread their meals out on the desk. Rice balls, a fried egg seasoned with soy sauce and bits of scallion, a touch of soybean paste, and a sliver of fish, packed by the proud mother of a family of some means, are exhibited freely. With some reluctance another lunch, consisting of rice balls, pickled vegetable, and a bit of bean paste, is shown. Those with three or four sweet potatoes and a small handful of vegetable mixed with soybean paste or with sweet potatoes alone slip out bits of food from their closed containers in quick, shy movements. When the girls have satisfied their curiosity as to the contents of each other's lunch boxes, they begin to exchange bits of egg for pickled vegetables, soybean paste with scallion for a sweet potato or some fish. The boys do not exchange portions of their meal but instead eat silently and swiftly.

872 855 Standing beside their desks on which lie books and empty lunch boxes, the children face the teacher. "Students, good-bye!" "Teacher, good-bye!" answer the children in unison. Older siblings and the few mothers who accompanied the first graders to school gather. The questioning is rapid and amusing. "What did you do, did you behave, did you eat all of your lunch, did you learn anything?" Without waiting for answers, the older siblings, who have to remain in school until 2:35, begin to recite the rules on walking home and to reiterate the

847 783 Finally one of her brothers told them the reason. When she had been a young woman her husband had been awa for a long period during which she had had relations with other men and had had a baby by one of them. To avoid the disgrace and the anger of her husband, the woman's mother had buried the child alive in the back yard. The story was known to other older members of the family because some time later the bones had been discovered. When the story was told to the children, they told their dying mother that she could now go peacefully. She died soon after. All agreed that if a tablet had been made for the dead infant and incense had been burned, even in secret, the mother would not have suffered when she died. Infanticide thus may be punished by the supernatural, but then the punishment may also be avoided by the proper offerings.

847 Lebra reports that birth statistics from the village of Kitazato suggest that female infanticide has been practiced there recently. Statistics from other communities studied do not give the same skewed sex ration.

853 854 Infant Care Okinawan mothers nurse their babies for a year to a year and a half, though some are said to continue even until the child is three. They keep no schedules but give their babies the breast whenever they seem to want it. They deliberately offer a fretful baby the breast not only to appease its hunger but also to comfort it and it is not unusual to see a grandmother offer her dry breast to a child as a pacifier. I once commented to two Okinawan women that a certain American doctor has argued that Okinawans are happier than Americans because they are breast-fed as infants rather than bottle-fed; the women answered immediately, "But it's not the milk; it's the love ('aijō')."

853 Infants receive no food other than milk for the first nine months. Then they are given a little gruel made by skimming off the top of a mixture of cooked rice and water. This is not given earlier because it is believed that milk and rice do not mix well in the infant's stomach. After the child's first birthday it is given most adult foods, unless it is especially weak. Most children will not eat everything, however, but, it is said, will prefer sweet foods and avoid highly seasoned foods. Mothers do not prechew food for small children as a rule but may do so in some cases, to take the bones out of fish, for example.

863 [514] Toilet training is neither early nor strict. Adults as a rule defecate only in the toilet but are likely to urinate almost anywhere. They do not expect small children to be very careful. A baby wears a diaper until it is a year or a year and a half; then it may wear only a dress or shirt with no pants. At first the mother holds it over the toilet or merely off the edge of the house. In time it is expected to go to the toilet itself to defecate. Children are said to go by themselves when they are three. I have seen children of four still defecating beside the house, too busy playing to go to the toilet. They were scolded for it but received no more severe punishment. [178] This was in the city, however, and I was told that while their mothers did not object much to this behavior, their grandmother objected more strongly and scolded their mothers for permitting it. The change in type of toilet may

possibly have lowered standards of sanitation. Morale may also be a factor; 863
in the instance just mentioned the morale of the grandmother was undoubtedly 178
better than that of her daughter and daughter-in-law whom she criticized.

A very small baby may be carried in the arms, but usually it is car- 854
ried on the back. The mother places it with its belly to her back, its legs spread apart, and its head about at a level with the top of her shoulder. She secures it there with a long sash that runs once under its bottom, makes an X across her chest, passes around its shoulders, and ties in front. A baby is carried most frequently by its mother, but may also be carried a good deal by others, of either sex and any age, grandparents and older siblings being most frequent. The baby may look over the shoulder of its carrier or it may simply sleep, often with its head back and rolling. If it is fretful its carrier may lean forward a bit and jog it to sleep. Larger children may be carried without the sash, by just letting them hang on. Babies are carried about while all sorts of tasks are being performed.

Mothers often carry their babies into the fields when they go out to work, but when they are working in the house they may put their babies to sleep on the floor of the house. If a baby is put to sleep on the floor it is made to sleep on its back. Often the hard floor, which may or may not be covered with a thin mat, will cause the back of the baby's head to become flattened, or if the baby constantly turns its head to one side, the head may become assymetrical, but later fills out to assume its normal shape. Some mothers use a small mosquito net on a frame to protect the sleeping baby from insects, but frequently it is uncovered and flies may alight on it. A few mothers use a hammock-like device called 'burank', as a cradle; these are said to be becoming more popular. At night children, especially smaller children, [513]
sleep with their parents on quilts on the floor, under the one large net.

Children are expected to learn to walk at about 12 to 14 months. 856
Early walking is a sign of good health so that if a child is late to walk, 866
the parents may worry about it. As Glacken points out, there is an important change in the life of the child at this time. Instead of being carried everywhere on his mother's or older sibling's back, the child is now put down and expected to toddle along behind his mother, who is not always sympathetic when he fails to keep up. This change may be a greater trauma to the child than weaning or toilet-training.[1]

Children are said to begin talking at about a year and a half. The 856
first words are usually, nowadays, 'o-kaa', o-tō', 'o-baa', the Japanese equivalents of "daddy', "mommy", and "grandma". Parents do not worry if a child is a little late in talking.

<u>Childhood: Adult Attitudes</u> Okinawans recognize clearly that children are 858
not capable of participating in most adult activities and indeed appear to regard it as undesirable that they do so. Oki- [171]
nawan attitude contrasts sharply with the "modern" American one that takes

[1] Glacken, 1953, p. 264.

and women. Two informants who had lived in Japan denied having ever heard of 291
public baths with mixed bathing. Okinawans have occasionally been shocked by 834
seeing Americans nude. Okinawans feel that not only should the lower part of [515]
the torso be covered for the sake of modesty but the upper part also should be covered, if one is out of doors, for reasons of health; the sun's rays are harmful if too strong. Modesty may even reach proportions uncommon in the [826]
West; one young man told Lebra that he does not enjoy going swimming because he believes he is too hairy. The same young man told how he and other boys, when in high school, used to peep through a crack in the bathhouse wall in order to see the women bathing on the other side, until they were chased away by the proprietor. This hardly suggests the casual attitude toward nudity reported for the Japanese.

Body Ornamentation. The Okinawans seem never to have practiced any sort of 178
body mutilation---such as the Chinese foot-binding. 304
However, women were tattooed on the wrists and backs of the hands until early in this century. Most women over 50 have tattooed hands. There are several stories told that purport to explain the origin of the practice---that it was to prevent Okinawan women from being kidnapped, for example---but these stories are of doubtful value. The designs have names but evidently no meaning; one old woman said that they varied with the tattoo artist, who put on whatever he wanted. Tattooing was done before puberty and marriage. It may have originally been part of a puberty rite.

Many people of both sexes between the ages of 20 and 40 have elab- 301
orate gold and silver work on their teeth. In many cases the work does not consist of fillings or bridges but of thin caps put over sound teeth for purely ornamental reasons. These can be removed without harming the teeth. People are said to be having this sort of work done today, but in time the [172]
value Americans and present-day Japanese put on "natural-looking" teeth may win out over the urge to ornament the mouth. Of course there is also a great deal genuine dental work done because of tooth decay.

At present American values and modern Japanese values in feminine 177
beauty are being spread by the beauty parlor. For several years the perma- 832
nent wave has been popular though perhaps not well suited to Mongoloid hair. [305]
And recently a number of young women are said to have added padded brassieres [302]
to their equipment. [294]

Elimination. Urination and defecation are regarded differently. Urination 514
in public is permissible for males, if they turn away. I have seen a dignified old gentleman talking over his shoulder to a young woman while he urinated into the ditch. Women may also urinate in public, though they do so less frequently. Defecation in public is not usual; even children [863]
are scolded for it though they may occasionally do it. Feces ought to go [241]
in the proper place; one reason for using the toilet may be that the "night-soil" is used as fertilizer.

The Okinawan term kusu is used rather more freely than its Japanese 192
cognate, though the uses are parallel. Alone it means "feces", human or animal. It is the usual word for animal manure. In compounds it may mean

855 swaddling and diapers. Almost immediately after he has passed his first
863 birthday, she will stop diapering him and substitute a short shirt or a dress during the summer and kimonos during the cold weather. This is the period which proves most trying to the young caretaker. Unless the baby is filthy and evokes much comment from others, however, they ignore the condition. The following examples illustrate common occurrences during this period:

H. (an 8-year-old girl) carrying her baby sister on the back is playing on the beach. She straightens up suddenly with a wry expression on her face. "She urinated, wet," she exclaims, standing up and spreading her dress at the back which is completely soaked. The baby is bare-bottomed and crowing happily at the older children playing around her. The older sister waves her dress briefly in the wind, then squats to continue her play. When asked if she was not going home to change, she exclaims that she would dry soon enough, and, as for the baby, she was dry. The day is warm and windy and the dress dries off rapidly.

K. (a 7-year-old girl), baby sister on her back, is squatting with other girls, drawing in the sand. As they draw figures in the sand, the baby breaks wind and defecates. It is a rather noisy operation, and the other girls watch fascinated and somewhat amused while K. keeps on sitting unconcerned. (The baby's bottom is bare so that the feces drops on the sand.) One of the girls laughs and comments on the feces dropping. K. says, "I will let my mother clean the ground." The other children walk away, spitting,* showing some disgust. All through this K. squats calmly, letting the baby eliminate undisturbed. She tells the baby "Finish defecating quickly," but she is not impatient, rather absent-minded.

863 Probably the earliest cleanliness training is the gentle withdrawal of unclean objects from the child, with statements of "Dirty, dirty." As he begins to respond to facial expression, the mother will show her disgust, shake her head and say, "Dirty!"

● 864 Infants may be patted or manipulated around the genital area by
854 an adult. Old women like to tweak a little boy's penis and jokingly say, "What is that, what is that?" Female infants are quickly covered with exaggerated expressions of shame whenever they are exposed for diaper changes. Petting of genitals by an adult is used mostly to soothe the child. It would be severely rebuked, however, if attempted by a child caretaker.

852 When the child is a year old, a simple ceremony is held. After a short birthday prayer, the child is offered a tray with food, an abacus counter, pencil, book, and money. The audience waits expectantly to see what the infant will choose. The pencil portends a writer, the money a

[514] * Expectoration at the sight of unpleasant things, such as dead animals or a pile of feces, is common among children and adults. Children pass a pile of dirt, spit at it, and cover it with dirt by a careless kick before continuing on.

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515 ent at the home one day when a group of younger girls came by to call the 8-year-old to accompany them to the river to wash their heads. The girl dashed around the house and yard searching for a nonexistent bar of soap and finally was crossly told by her mother that there was none and that she really did not need washing. Nevertheless, the girl gathered some hibiscus leaves, which she tore and mashed to extract a slimy, soapylike substance, and left with the other girls to wash her hair. Regular bathing between the age of 1 and 5 is sporadic. During
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861

858 children to be "little people". From this viewpoint the Okinawans appear to
171 regard children as being not yet quite human. Okinawan children can observe, overtly or covertly, probably a good deal more of adult life than American children can observe and Okinawan adults discuss matters in front of children that American adults would not discuss before children, yet the Okinawan adult appears to expect his children to understand far less of what is done or said than the American does. To illustrate, an Okinawan grandmother may discuss a three-year old's illegitimate origin in its presence, tease it to the point of tears by offering to give it away to the passing American, and then say nothing when it wantonly snatches and breaks something of value. The American is likely to regard the talking as a possible cause of complexes, the teasing as downright cruel, and the tolerance as intolerable lack of discipline.

Small children are free to observe all that goes on in the house and yard during their waking hours. They are not subject to any rules determining when they are to go to bed. There is hardly a formal gathering into which they cannot insinuate themselves for hand-outs. They are taken to the theatre, where they may have to be shooed off the stage by the actors themselves.
• 864 The only aspect of life that seems to be deliberately withheld from them is
858 sex. They are told that babies come out of their mothers' knees, and although they may overhear a good deal about the sexual relationships of different people and the difficulties that result from them, they are given no notion of the nature of sex. I will discuss this in more detail under attitudes toward sex.

858 Although children seem bold in actions, they are not bold in speech.
856 As a matter of fact they often do not respond when spoken to and seem unwilling to venture to speak at all. I make this statement not merely on the
[184] basis of my own experience as an outsider attempting to talk to them; an Okinawan friend also pointed out how different the children in the north were from those of Central and Southern Okinawa---the Northern children answered his questions when he spoke to them. Some of the children's shyness about speaking may be due to the fact that they usually speak Okinawan in the home and then have to learn Japanese in school. Moreover, they soon learn to feel
[152] that Okinawan is inferior to Japanese as a medium of polite or intellectual expression; they may be shy because they fear to speak Okinawan since it is inferior and because they fear to speak Japanese since they cannot speak it well. But I have the impression that children are also often unresponsive when an adult speaks to them in Okinawan and when the language of the answer
868 is not a factor. I believe that there is another factor that is almost in-
171 herent in the nature of both the Japanese and the Okinawan languages. When
198 speaking to children in Japanese, and also very likely when speaking in Okinawan, adults use a different form of speech than the form they use when addressing adults. Somewhat different forms of speech for children are probably used in every society; they do exist in the United States, but never to such a striking extent as in Japanese. Japanese and Okinawan both have a range of verb forms expressing several degrees of politeness or formality, and to some extent there are also levels of vocabulary corresponding to them. In speaking to a child, the adult uses the simplest verb forms, the simplest words, and then speaks not in whole sentences but rather in a series of phrases each

192 any kind of body dirt or excretion, as mii-kusu, "sleep" in the eyes, haa-
[578] kusu, "stains on the teeth". As in Japanese it is used also in cursing; in
anger an Okinawan may say, "I'll make you eat feces." A similar phrase,
[774] kusu takkwee, "eat feces", is often spoken after someone, especially a baby,
[775] sneezes. It is explained that the custom arose when a person once overheard
two ghosts plotting to steal a baby's soul (mabui), which may be easily de-
tached by a sneeze; one of the ghosts revealed that if a living person spoke
the phrase it would be sufficient to drive him away. The fact that the
phrase is used in anger suggests that it is an undesirable one; that it is
used in the case of sneezing probably demonstrates the greater fear of ghosts.

831 Sex Practices and attitudes related to marriage have been discussed under
that heading in Chapter V. The sex drive seems to be regarded as
● 864 natural and not sinful. Adults playfully tweak the penises of little boys
and may put little children of both sexes to sleep by prolonged patting of
the buttocks. They do not tell their children about the nature of sex and
expect them not to know, yet the children hear much thinly-disguised dis-
cussion of sexual relationships and, sleeping with their parents as they do,
may be vaguely aware of their parents' relations. Parents expect their
children to learn of sex "naturally" as they grow older. As Maloney reports[1],
[839] there is little masturbation among small children, but two of Pitts' inform-
ants reported that adolescent boys sometimes hold masturbation contests to
see who can ejaculate the fastest. This practice is said to stop with the
beginning of heterosexual activity.

836 Formerly adolescents, except for girls of the gentry class, seem
883 to have had some sexual freedom. The practice of meeting in the fields at
178 night for parties, moo-ashibii, often led to sexual relations. According to
informants in one community syphilis was brought in late in the last century
through moo-ashibii with the youths of a neighboring village. Pre-marital
sexual relations are probably frequent today, though the conditions under
which young people meet are changing.

837 Married women are expected to have relations with only their hus-
548 bands, but married men are, in theory, limited only by their finances.
There exists in the larger towns a relatively large class of women called
juri, who function as both entertainers and prostitutes. (There is no dis-
tinction, like the Japanese distinction between 'geisha' and 'jorō'.) The
[178] jurinuyaa, "juri houses", were formerly centers of social life for the men
of the city. The present 'ryōtei' have much the same function. A group of
men may spend an evening there eating and drinking and being entertained by
dancing and singing. If one chooses to remain and "buy a woman" his wife's
only objection to it can be that it costs more money.

838 Homosexuality is evidently rare, but not unknown. A Naha woman
reported that a Japanese who lived in a room next to hers was in the habit
of luring young boys into his room with good food and then seducing them,
sometimes to their physical discomfort. She said that some of the neighbors

1 Maloney, 1945, p. 392.

had complained to the police about this but the police had said that this 838
was a mental disorder and therefore not their affair. The disregard shown
the young boys in this case accords with Okinawan attitudes toward children [858]
discussed elsewhere; they are not developed enough, perhaps, to be corrupt-
ible. Another example is that of a male employee of a 'ryōtei' in another
city who is in the habit of putting on a woman's kimono and wig and singing
in a falsetto voice for the amusement of male guests. He is not known to
"take guests" but is very effeminate in his ordinary manner. School girls
are said to form strong attachments to one another, but there is no in-
dication of the persistence of such relationships.

The terms for the sex organs, tani, "penis", and hoo, "vulva", are 834
used rather freely by older persons, but children are expected to use them 864
only for serious purposes. It is said that if children used the terms re-
peatedly in joking they might be scolded for "dirty talk". An old woman
once told me, in the presence of several younger women and a twelve-year-
old girl, an amusing story about an old woman who always sat with her kimono
pulled up and was therefore called "Hoo-Hai Ayaa", "Mother Vulva-Visible".
Everyone laughed but the girl, who looked rather embarrassed. After the
battle in 1945 when American food was issued in quantities, Okinawans be-
came familiar with wiener sausages, which they still remember with relish
as tani-gwaa, "little penises". As in Japanese, the word for sexual re-
lations is formed by adding the verb "to do" to the word for vulva. This
term would not be used before children or in polite conversation.

2. Sanitation

751
An American, watching the habits of daily living of an Okinawan 512
family, may find his first impression to be one of shock. In the morning
the sliding doors that kept out any fresh air all night are pushed open and [514]
the children, dressed in the underclothes they have slept in, walk sleepily
to the step and urinate off it. Father steps down and walks a few feet
around the side of the house and does the same. Grandmother is already in
the kitchen preparing breakfast and smoke soon fills the upper air in the
main part of the house, looking for a way out in the absence of a chimney.
Father goes to the well with a small towel around his neck, throws cold [515]
water over his face, and washes it with a little soap. He then brushes his
teeth long and hard and puts the family toothbrush back on the hook for
Mother to use later. Mother takes down the great mosquito net the family [264]
has slept under, folds up the quilts, and brings out breakfast---tea, a
thin soup, and sweet potatoes. Soon tea grounds and potato peels come fly- [351]
ing out onto the ground in rapid succession. A chicken walks in from a
neighbor's yard, pecks diffidently at a potato peel, and walks on, leaving
a token of gratitude behind. The sun begins to warm the air and the flies
to swarm around the toilet behind the house, into the kitchen, across the
remains of the family's meal in the main rooms, and around the scraps in
front. Father goes to work and the older children go to school. Mother [264]
washes the dishes at the well, in cold water without soap, and leaves them
to dry in the sun. Flies light on them.

751
The visitor looks into the toilet. It is an oil drum with a plat- 514
form over it and a wood and canvas shelter over that. The cover is off. 343

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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can still try to get his way by crying, and his mother willingly continues to give him food when he asks. One parent remarked that it was much easier to meet the child's demands. Observations confirmed this statement. Many adults simply say "Yes" and promise things to children which they promptly forget. Obedience is not expected except for conformity with safety rules. Until shortly before he starts off to school, the child's disobedience tends to be excused. "No, no!" says a mother to her year-old child who may be waving a piece of sugar cane around her head from his perch on her back. The child continues, and the mother pushes the stalk aside each time she is hit. "Know nothing," she says as she rearranges the stalk, to avoid being hit. "Don't mess the yard," screams a grandmother. "Stop puddling in that mud," shouts a father. "Go and bring me the hoe," commands a mother. To all these requests the child may turn a deaf ear, and chances are that he will escape being punished for not complying. Mothers admitted that they allow their children a great deal of leeway concerning obedience. 855 861

By instilling fear into the child about the dangers of the well, river and beach, the main road and paddies, adults attempt to enforce the rules of safety. Their attempts are negated, however, when they allow children of this age to play in these areas in the company of older siblings. No one coming across schoolchildren trailed by kindergarteners censures or points out the danger of these places; however, should an adult or older child come upon a group of kindergarten children playing alone at the river or beach, a word of caution or reprimand is sure to be offered. 857 855 861

In a village such as Taira with its closely situated houses, dry thatched roofs, and light wood walls, the danger of fire is very real; therefore the rule with respect to playing with fire and matches is stringently enforced regardless of the age of the child. One mother of a 4-year-old boy found smoke rising from the backyard one day. She went to the source of the smoke and found her 4-year-old busily striking matches and trying to whip up a fire. His 4-year-old companion was scurrying about for pieces of brush and paper with which to feed the fire. "I scolded him roundly, spanked him and tied his hands. I threatened to put him in a basket, then suspend the basket from the rafter posts the next time he played with matches. He was so frightened that I doubt whether he will ever play with matches again."

Aggression in children up to school age is generally tolerated although adults do not approve of such behavior. Because they feel that preschool children change their minds and moods so rapidly, adults do not interfere with their altercations. Parents laughingly explain, 865 857 861

865 "Play and fight are children's work." As one mother reported, "It is no
857 use. They fight and then before you know it, they are friends again.
[861] In Japan, parents often interfere with children's fights, but we here in Okinawa don't believe in doing so. It is much better to let them alone unless they injure one another. The way it is, it would make an adult look like a fool to interfere." Some parents attempt to channel aggression by calling a wrestling match between boys who start arguing. In this way, rock throwing and fighting with sticks are avoided, and the boys can work off their anger, but hitting, biting, and pushing, as well as rock throwing, were observed among children of this age. As the children approach school age and gain facility in language, they resort more and more to verbal aggression; however, as will be discussed later, some physical aggression is carried over in the behavior of boys toward girls. At no time is aggression toward younger children tolerated.

[124] Only after exhaustive questioning can one get parents to admit that they train their children to retaliate. "Never fight; if someone hits you, just walk away, for you (in thus showing your strength to resist) will win the fight; fighting is bad," instruct mothers, according to the mother interview. Informal talks nevertheless revealed that parents disliked it if their children are underdogs all the time.

865 Boys are expected to be more aggressive than girls, who are, ideally,
858 docile, gentle mannered, kind, reserved, and considerate. In some ways adults seem to train little boys to be aggressive. Beginning in infancy they tease and bully them, holding their arms and restricting them bodily, withdrawing desired objects and pretending to scold and hit. They glean great amusement at the expense of the child if he screams and strikes out in anger. The adult expresses surprise and mock anger. Finally, when he cries, everyone will laugh while the mother retaliates by playfully slapping the aggressor. While most of this kind of teasing is restricted to male infants and young boys, female children are not exempt.

865 Irritable, pushy children do not exist in Taira. Those who try to get
155 things by "walking over others" do not get far, for children ostracize and avoid them. One 4-year-old, observed over a period of months, altered his methods of acquiring goals from pushing and bullying to socially sanctioned techniques, such as asking, waiting his turn, and sharing. The change was startling. Adults passing on a group of children that included this former bully no longer had to scream warnings at him, and his mother felt she did not have to "look after him" any more. During the time of this study, only the children of a recently arrived fisherman and his wife were ostracized by parents as being far

too aggressive and ill behaved. The children played with them but never sought them out and often deserted them en masse when disagreements arose. Taira villagers blamed the parents in this case for being too lax and quarrelsome with each other. 865 155

Peer groups are another of the major agents of socialization for the young child. Child interview data intimate that censure by peers arouses much more anxiety than censure by parents. Refusal to comply with the demands of his peers in the face of punishment from his parents for complying raises in the mind of the child, the question, "Will he hate me for not doing what he asks?" Consequently the child chooses the support that is available to him the greater part of his day and calculates the risk of adult censure quite logically. 857 861

In despair, one mother described how her 5-year-old boy rushes into the kitchen daily and demands to be given his lunch standing on the dirt floor. Despite his parents' instructions to wash his feet and sit properly on the raised portion of the room to eat, the boy scrambled on all fours and hung his unwashed feet over the edge and shoveled his rice down his throat because "his friends were waiting for him."

As mentioned above, the village as a whole acts as another socialization agent. However, although various members shout warnings in attempts to stop children from disapproved behavior, they do not punish them. Their function seems to be one of casual reminding.

When a child turns 5, he is faced with a dramatic change. Parents now begin to treat him like a school child. New independence and responsibility are expected, and an attempt is made to prepare him for first grade. 858 866

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Chapter 16

First Grade

Entry into first grade constitutes a change of status for the child in Taira. It means more than just less play time and adjustment to strict routines, for now he is considered capable of knowing what he is [872]

872 from the ranks of the older children. Instantly the principal turns a
[876] disapproving eye on them. He continues with a long list of rules concerning classroom behavior as well as safety. Finally the students are dismissed to march to their classrooms. In their eagerness the first graders break ranks and are sternly commanded to stay in line.

[346] The first-grade rooms are located in a temporary, wooden, thatched structure. The sides are open, and the dirt floor is hard and swept clean. As the group enters the room, a wild confusion develops as each child searches for his desk. The children with new desks have little difficulty, as they had played with them for days at home until they were brought to school earlier, but those who have inherited outgrown older siblings' desks and chairs are in sad disarray. Amid the screams and shouts of two roomsful of first graders, two high pitched female adult voices call for attention. Gradually the voices diminish on both sides of the thin wall until only the two teachers' voices are audible.

872 Roll call is taken after instructions are given as to how one is to
863 answer, ask to be excused, and to sit. After a brief consultation just outside the door, the two teachers organize their groups into two lines, males in one and females in the other. The observer standing just outside the windows of both rooms hears identical speeches on the merits of using the toilets before school starts. Continuing, the teachers locate facilities for the boys and those for the girls. The boys are allowed to go first, then the girls.

872 Back from the toilets, the little girls obediently march to their places and sit quietly at attention with their hands folded on their desk tops. The boys are noisily making their way to their places. Giggling and
[365] pushing each other, they knock into chairs and tables, annoying the girls.

872 During the first week of school, the teacher's chief task is to make
876 the first graders stop talking and playing in class. On one occasion when numerous appeals, threats, and commands had failed, one exasperated teacher remarked to the fieldworker, "Just like kindergarteners." Then she turned back to the children and called out loudly, "First graders!" "Yes!" shouted the children. "You are first graders, remember that. You are not kindergarten children who don't know anything or don't understand what teacher is saying. For those who cannot understand and do not listen, I will arrange for demotion to kindergarten, understand?" "Yes," replied the children sheepishly.

"Because so much time is taken in orienting the child the first day of school, we can only have a short lesson," explains the teacher apologetically to the observers. The parents nod appreciatively. A printed syllabary hanging to one side of the blackboard becomes the focus of

857 by bystanders. Hurrying home, they put their books away carefully,
[291] change their clothing to that designated for play. The girls, eager to assume their new status and the responsibilities that go with it, hurriedly sweep and mop the floors of the house. The boys, who are less interested, rush out to play. Those with younger siblings are promptly
857 entrusted with caretaking duties, and mothers and grandmothers go
512 off to the fields.

At 8 o'clock each evening, even before the village bell is sounded for schoolchildren to start studying, the first graders are on their way home from their after-supper play time. On a quiet, still night their voices are loud and clear and their recitations spirited in comparison with those of the older children.

OBEDIENCE TRAINING

861 Not only in school is new behavior expected of the first grader. He
865 must now be more obedient toward his elders. Adults, however, differentiate between commands for the performance of tasks and rules of safety. The standard, or more specifically the ideal, would be to command unquestioned obedience in both cases. The practice falls far from this mark, for adults lack persistence and consistency in the
[855] treatment of task performance. Obedience to rules of safety, however, is enforced with greater consistency.

There is, of course, the disposition of the adult at the time when obedience is expected, which the child learns to discriminate very early. Children are more apt to obey their elders when the latter are tired and irritable after a hard day's work than when they are relaxed. It was interesting to observe children teasing parents and escaping obedience when the adults were relatively relaxed. "Bring me those things there," a parent would command a child. The child would laughingly shout "No," and run away without punishment. For this disobedient act a child would be spanked if the parent were tired and harassed. "If you do not listen well to adults, you will grow up to be a good for nothing, a criminal," warns a mother. But adults in their inconsistent handling fail to impress on children the virtue of obedience.

861 It is interesting that, in their relationship with adults other than
865 their parents, children are often more obedient. People of special status and authority enjoy greater obedience from children. Teachers
554 and village officials usually find their orders fulfilled. Shortly after the new water faucets were installed throughout the village, children be-

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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gan playing with them excessively. Parents scolded, shooed, and threatened the children to no avail. Finally the village headman took steps to enforce the rule forbidding children to play with the faucets. Passing a faucet one day, he came upon a 9-year-old turning the water on and off. "You come to the office later. You know you are not supposed to play there," he said sternly to the boy. Later the boy reported to the office. The clerk, in the absence of the headman, instructed the boy to bring 10 yen and his father to the office. The boy ran home and returned to the office with 10 yen and told the headman, who had returned meanwhile, that his father was not back from the fields, so he was unable to accompany him. The headman's wife, in relating the story to the fieldworker, described how surprised and amused her husband was to find the boy so obedient. Because he had just assumed office a week earlier, he had not expected compliance with his orders.

An obedient child is rewarded with verbal praise and admiration by adults. He is told that he is a good child and that he has "a good head." If he is capable of anticipating commands and quick to comply with hints, parents of other children urge their children to play with him.

TECHNIQUES OF SOCIALIZATION

Although the child has learned many types of preferred behavior by the time he is 6 and has been rewarded and punished for many acts, his entry into first grade is a time of increased discipline and a suitable time to discuss the techniques used by Tairans in socializing their children.

Examination of the different techniques reveals that the most important and reliable of these is the denial or withdrawal of love. There is a good share of physical punishment, threatened food deprivation, and shaming. Praise and rewards are inconsistent and haphazard. Reference to a "God" is common, but there exists no complex system of instructive myths, stories, or prayers. Training in skills is highly informal.

The technique of withdrawal of love or support is a curious double-edged one. If we take the position of the child, we would conclude that he shows a deep sense of confidence in the bond between himself and his mother when he "runs away from the house" after a severe scolding or spanking. He runs away in the belief that he will arouse the anxiety of his mother and recover a love or support, which he has temporarily lost as a result of some transgression. This belief is rein-

they had seen her mother leaving the village with a bundle of her clothes. The child became frantic and ran around the houses. When she finally found her mother, she was crying hysterically. After this, the mother reported that all she had to do was to threaten to run away and her children would obey. 861

Young children between the ages of 3 and 6 who have frequent temper tantrums are subjected to an experience which is apt to have lasting effects. Since Taira adults like teasing play, when a mother needs the aid of a neighbor to teach the naughty child a lesson, she has no difficulty. A mother who was having trouble keeping her youngest son, aged 4, from whining and crying all the time talked it over with her next-door neighbor. The neighbor, an old grandmother, suggested a plan to put a stop to this nonsense. That night, as the child whimpered and whined to attract his mother's attention, the mother warned, "If you don't stop that, the ghost will come." The boy wailed louder. From between the hedges down the lane, there suddenly came the sound of slow, shuffling footsteps. "There, there! Listen! Here it comes to get you!" called the mother to the boy, who had stopped his whimpering to listen. The boy sat round-eyed watching the clearing in the hedge until suddenly there appeared the apparition. He screamed and ran to his mother, who stifled his cries with, "Eh, now, if you cry, it will take you away, shush!" The fear-paralyzed boy could only nod his head. The next day the old grandmother screamed with laughter as she reported the incident to others in the village. She had worn an old straw hat, a large black coat, and wooden clogs. In the dark she could be distinguished only as a dark, formless "blob" scuffling along. Warnings thereafter to the boy took the form of, "If you cry, we will give you to the ghost." 861 865

A heavily bearded, jolly and well-liked octopus fisherman who carries a large bag and talks with a booming voice was requested to walk past another mother's house when her boy became too demanding. "There, see now, here comes the man with the big bag to carry you away because you are so naughty." As the boy huddled up to his mother, she chose that moment to extract from him a promise to be a good child.

All mothers reported that they talk or scold first, and if the child does not respond, they spank. Only two out of the 24 mothers interviewed disclaimed spanking at all. Usually mothers spanked the child with their hand but seven mothers said they use a piece of firewood or bamboo. One mother laughingly reported that she uses "anything she can lay her hands on at that moment" to punish her 10-year-old boy, because if she did not, he would disappear. 861

866 Girls could theoretically become monitors, and several votes were cast
872 for them, but it is doubtful whether a girl could be effective among boys, who might be unwilling to follow her lead.
876 The student Red Cross chapter has a chairman in each class who
[858] makes collections under the teacher's supervision. Somebody may volunteer for such jobs as pouring milk during lunch hour. Other
[231] assignments have to do with the upkeep of a few school-owned goats, which must be fed during vacations too.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BOYS AND GIRLS

858 Differential status of boys and girls, emphasized in child rearing
876 from the time of birth, is clearly defined in many details of school routine. Boys are sent out first when it is time to leave the classroom; they head the lines; and they are given first turn at the equipment.
[177] The promotion of sex equality under American supervision of the educational program has met with only mild acceptance in the classes we observed. Although separate seating is avoided under post-World War II rules, a separation continues in fact.

858 Girls remain on the receiving end of much teasing and horseplay,
876 more, it seems than one observes during associations of boys and girls in the village, which we will describe later. Teachers, like parents,
865 expect the boys to bully girls. In one classroom, for instance, we heard girls complaining that the (male) teacher favors boys by calling on them all the time. This may encourage the dominant, aggressive behavior of boys toward girls. Hardly a day passes in school without several girls crying as a result of assertive boy tyrants. Occasionally a boy is punished, but usually he escapes with distinct pride showing on his face. Recently teachers have resorted to ridiculing those who intimidate girls, but the tradition is so strong that even if bullying on the school ground is curbed, there is a great deal on the road to and from school. Only the most vociferous girls do not seem to be cowed by such boisterous demonstrations and may adequately match in verbal repartee those boys who try to put them into place as well as provoking more teasing and aggression. To illustrate attempts at bullying in the classroom, we quote from an observation record (second grade).

. . . Whenever one of the girls gives a wrong answer, S. (Taira boy) shouts loudly; he is one of the most vociferous in class . . . Class then starts reading aloud, each pupil for himself . . . A boy in front of K. (Taira girl) turns around, hits her for putting her feet against his chair. K. continues kicking

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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his chair, doesn't seem to mind boy's slapping. He is not really angry, smiles. Looking at observer, he stops slapping, pinches K. under desk. 858

In none of the observations on schoolchildren's behavior were there examples of Taira boys protecting Taira girls from the teasing of other village boys. Instead, during school hours boys tend to team up with boys, girls with girls, although among each sex there is a tendency to associate more with those from one's own community. 876 865

PLAY GROUPS

By midafternoon all schoolchildren have returned to the village, and play groups can be found in various locations. The more stringent requirements of school seem to have been forgotten. Hardly any students of the elementary grades study immediately after returning from school. For two hours or more they spend their time with peers and younger siblings. 857

A play group comes into existence when two or three children meet in the street, in the corner of a garden, or in one of the many open lots and village places. All Taira children are intimate with each other because since early childhood they have been together during the greater part of the day. There is always a slight preference for one another among some children, either because they are close neighbors of the same age and sex, or cousins, or otherwise congenial. Although these special friends associate more often with each other, they do not exclude other children who want to join their play. Once children attend school, association on the basis of sex and age becomes more distinct. The total composition of a play group, however, shifts from day to day and from locality to locality. If one group starts a game, other children in the vicinity soon join to form a new group to play a similar game nearby. Such a play group numbers from two to ten or more children. Most frequently, however, groups are composed of children of the same sex and similar age.

There are several factors, however, which lead to variations in this general pattern. If a school age girl is the oldest in the family and has several younger siblings to care for in the afternoons, she will frequently be found in the company of younger girls and hence younger boys, the play groups being more mixed at the younger ages.

M., a 7-year-old girl with three younger sisters (ages 4, 3, and 1) was usually found in a large play group composed primarily of younger children. In contrast, S, a girl of 10, was found in smaller groups. Although she has no younger siblings to tend, she frequently cares for a

857 neighbor's child. Her charge, however is an infant who is still carried and does not yet seek the companionship of other young children. S. interacts less frequently with other children not only because of the age of her charge but also because she is older and hence has more duties at home and in the fields. Furthermore, she was born in 1945, a [163] year when few other children were born in Taira.

K., a boy of 10, is similar to S. in that he has no siblings who need care, the youngest being a 4-year-old girl who can travel with her 7-year-old sisters. In contrast to S., however, he interacts more frequently with children of the same sex and same age or older.

AGGRESSION BETWEEN BOYS AND GIRLS

865 We have touched on the relationship between latency boys and girls
857 in school, implying that the bullying which occurs frequently there is
858 less frequent in the community. Boys sometimes tease girls but less persistently and less often than in school. Since boys associate mostly with boys, and girls with girls, and since contact between sexes of the same age takes place mostly in group names, it is seldom unfriendly. Teasing among boys, and teasing among girls, is common, so that it would be hard to maintain that between the sexes it is more frequent. Once in a while, boys will keep girls out of their game, or girls will be annoyed when boys join them. Some of the kindergarten boys, as we have mentioned, like to be the disruptive agents in peaceful housekeeping games by assuming the role of a robber or wild animal. Two 5-year-old boys who generally enjoy teasing others select girls as their target now and then. Sometimes girls are just the objects of generalized aggression, as in the case presented below. M., a 5-year-old boy, first interacts aggressively with another 5-year-old boy, F., and then turns on a girl.

F. has picked up a piece of pink paper and comes carrying it up to M. He holds it against his chest, stands in front of M. and smiles. "Give it to me," says M., and F. just stands smiling, mumbling, "Hmmm, maybe," but does not hand it over. M. rushes him and attacks him with his fist and takes it away from F. who stands laughing. M. rolls the paper around the end of his stick and walks down the lane toward a group of kindergarten-age girls.

Y. (4-year-old girl) comes walking up from behind M. M. turns around and raises his stick menacingly at her. Y. looks anxious, maneuvers quickly around him to join the girls, and laughs nervously. M. smiles smugly, walks back to boys.

When provoked, the girls will often fight back, and they score equally well, especially in verbal aggression. At other times they accept

the teasing good humoredly, as seen in the incident of a 10-year-old girl, S., who is teased by a 7-year-old boy, A., described in the following protocol. 865 857 858

S. is guarding the can in a can-kicking game. A. (who has been playing a rubber band game with another boy nearby) looks up, smiles, goes running over to the can and kicks it with his foot, yelling, "Safe!" S., whose back is turned to him, jumps, turns around and sees him. "You're not playing this game," she laughs and A. laughs and goes back to his own game. [526]

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SIBLINGS

As mentioned above, the caretaking responsibility and the tendency of younger siblings who are beyond the carrying stage to follow an older brother or sister keep siblings together a great deal during play. When an older brother has to mind a younger sister, he is usually not overly protective. He seldom defends his sister from teasing and sometimes is more aggressive to her than he would be to others if she interferes with his activities. There is, of course, a great deal of variation due to personality. A 5-year-old boy (one of the teasers described above) sometimes pushes his younger sister, and she runs home crying. An 11-year-old boy, on the other hand, when he takes care of his four younger sisters, or some of them, is usually quite protective and nurturant. 593 857 [865]

A record of the behavior of T. (7 years), his younger sister H. (4 years), and other boys illustrates a brother-sister interaction. T. and other boys have made a swing and T. is sitting on it while A. (5-year-old boy) and H. try to get turns:

A. tries to get him off the swing. H., who expected that her turn would come next, whines "nisan (older brother)" and while A. tries to get T. off, she keeps on whining, "This should be enough." T. replies, "This is A.'s turn"; while A. is trying to get on the swing, H. starts crying and goes into the house. Apparently an adult is in the house. T. follows, voices are heard, but not understood. T. returns after a moment and helps F. (another boy) push A. on the swing. H. seems to have stopped crying. We heard no adult scolding T. or talking to H. H. returns, no longer crying. She stands behind T. whose body swings back and forth while pushing A. H. pushes T.'s swinging body to help him. A., F., and H. sing in rhythm, "one, two, three," etc. After song is finished, H. says, "Brother, it is my turn next." T. ignores her, but A. gets off the swing and H. sits on it. H. swings by herself. T. orders A. to help him push the door next to the swing open. A. complies. T.'s mother passes, does not say anything. After the door has been opened (and more room gained), T. and A. push H.

593 The presence in the background of T.'s mother may have something to do with his change in behavior toward H., or it may be that he wants her to wait her turn and do it his way. T. is very much in control of this situation, even among the boys. The swing is constructed on the edge of his parents' house. But T., on another occasion, when his aunt asked him to wash her daughter's (T.'s 4-year-old cousin) feet after she had waded in the muddy paddies, complied agreeably and was quite nurturant and indulgent with the younger girl. With H., too, he is more cordial at other times. Perhaps what bothers him, [865] and other boys of his age, is the interference of younger sisters with boys' play.

857 To sum up, between boys and girls of school age there is not a very close relationship, each sex being quite strongly oriented toward mem-
593 bers of its own group. Brothers and sisters, on the whole, fall into this
858 pattern, except that the succorance-nurturance relationship between younger and older continues, though moderately. Although separation of sexes is found in the kindergarten pattern, it is more pronounced in latency, since the activities of peers are more and more differentiated by sex.

RELATIONSHIP TO PEERS

857 We asked the children a question in an attempt to measure how they would resolve the conflict between having to do a chore and the
866 call of friends to join in play. All boys (in the group of six) agreed
156 that they would do their work first, four mentioning fear of being scolded. One boy worried about what his friends might think if he does not join them soon: "Will they not think badly of me?" adding, "Sometimes I have gone out without finishing my work and then I would worry about getting scolded. It's 'bad,' but if my friend persists, I would go and join him without doing my work." And another admitted, "If mother and father are not at home, I would go and play without finishing my work, but then I would worry about getting scolded."

Strangely enough, five of the girls answered that they would do their work first, but if their father and mother are not home, they would go out and play; at least four say so, while the fifth boldly says, "If friends come and call me when I am doing my chores, I will go and play without finishing," but this girl, coming from a poor family, is less secure than others and more anxious to be a part of the group. Several girls mentioned the fear of being scolded. Only one, the sixth, replied,

857 of them disapprove of dominance in their children: "It would be terri-
866 ble if my child would tell this child and that child to do one thing or another and they would get into trouble." The fear expressed here, and in similar statements, is obviously that leadership entails responsibility in case anything goes wrong, and parents do not like to be put in a position where they or their children could be blamed.

865 The Western observer, perhaps, is most impressed with the ability
857 of children to manage their own affairs. Fights occur, and disagree-
156 ments crop up frequently, but almost without exception these matters are settled within the group and without dramatic scenes in which adults become involved. There are no violent fights or quarrels which break up groups and cause prolonged hostile feelings among children. Least of all did we find bullying and harassing of younger children by the older ones, although younger ones are often assigned inferior roles in play by the older children.

ACTIVITIES AND GAMES

857 In part, at least, the tone among these play groups is set by the sur-
524 prising variety of activities that children engage in during the year, innumerable games which come and go in cycles, but which have a village-wide appeal while they last. All of them are played with a minimum of equipment and a maximum of inventiveness and enthusiasm. There are few toys which parents can buy their children, and fewer still which they make for them. This situation is met with great ingenuity. Children use any objects available to them—discarded household equipment, empty cans, boxes, or whatever they pick and gather from trees, bushes, and the ground. Round stones, peas, and seeds serve as marbles; an empty carton becomes a truck or boat. Wooden sticks, bamboo, an old bicycle wheel without a tire find some use. Suddenly one day children run about with helmets made of cabbage leaves, swinging little pistols made of a piece of bamboo, or a stick as a dagger. Girls gather shells and gravel on the beach and carry pieces in their dress pockets. In the absence of dolls, girls have a younger sibling to act the part of "child" in realistic play. Babies, however, are never used in such games.

Boys and girls like to play games of skill. Girls often pull out five stones from their pockets and play a kind of jacks. There are also many versions of ball games in which one girl performs several stunts with a ball while she sings a song. If she makes a mistake, another one

copy their behavior. When several mothers and their children are gathered, a mother of a year-old child will coo, "Cute baby" as she strokes a friend's infant's head. She smiles at her child, takes his hand, and repeats the action. A spontaneous response such as this on the part of a year-old child would evoke admiration and voluble praise from the audience. A year and a half old boy became the pride of his mother when he approached all little children with a highly nurturant attitude. He had learned his lesson so well that he considered children of his own age babies because they were smaller than himself. Walking up to them, he would bend down, pat their heads patronizingly, and take their hands to guide them along. 854 155

Equally important to the Okinawan parent is a friendly child who is well liked by everyone in the village. A happy, smiling personality is ideal, and it is this wish for the child which leads grandmothers and mothers to perpetuate the custom of burying the afterbirth of a newborn to the accompaniment of laughter and appeals to the spirits to ensure this characteristic. Adults constantly try to get infants to smile by talking and making funny sounds and faces. Even young children approach infants clapping their hands together in an attempt to elicit smiles. [156]

Treatment of children during this initial period discourages expression of self-reliant behavior. As described above, except for rare and very brief intervals during the day, a child is strapped onto someone's back from the time he wakes up in the morning to the time he is put to bed at night. The child is carried about in this fashion from the age of one month until he is almost 2 years old. [866]

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Chapter 14

Weaning

When a mother discovers that she is pregnant again, usually about two years after her last delivery, she begins to think of weaning her child. Most mothers nurse the last child until they are about three months 862 853 [843]

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[853] told, "No, no, no." In this manner the child is taught his early table manners.

As the child approaches the age of 2, the mother begins to praise him for eating without messing but still does not scold him if he fails to do so. He is the center of interest at the table, and his grandparents as well as older siblings encourage him with smiles and expressions of approval. At this time he loses interest in the spoon and is attracted to [412] the chopsticks, which everyone else at the table uses. As he struggles to handle the sticks, the adult holding him sets them in his hand. Holding his hand, with the chopsticks held in the proper position, they guide him a few times; then, as he protests and indicates annoyance at being restrained, they leave him to experiment for himself. This ritual is repeated at each meal, but the child is fed from the adult's chopsticks until he has mastered the technique for himself. The child is not hurried along in his experimentations or learning attempts. The adult praises each fortunate action and quickly slips food into the smiling, open mouth, and the child continues without protest.

Before each meal, people in the village raise their bowls and chopsticks slightly and bow their heads momentarily, murmuring, "Itadakimasu" (a polite signal that the meal is about to be partaken). Similarly, at the conclusion of the meal, the bowl is raised with a brief nod of the head, but this time the expression offered is "Gochiso-sama" (to indicate it was a treat . . . feast). Two very outspoken and good-humored mothers would nurse their young babies, then take the little hands, fold them over each other, palm sides up, gently push the bodies forward, and say, "Gochiso-sama!" Serious training in this aspect of eating etiquette, however, is left until the child is learning to feed himself.

862 Weaning, then, does not involve a dramatic change in all aspects of the diet of a child, and in many ways may be most traumatic as a with-
● 866 drawal of the indulgent nurturance of the mother. With the arrival of the new baby, a further step in the emotional weaning takes place. The child is denied his mother's back, for she now has a new baby to tend and eventually to carry.

Treatment of succorance during weaning contrasts sharply with that of the infancy and early childhood period. Unless there is a grandmother or older siblings in the family, this is the time of real deprivation for the child. He is ridiculed, shamed, and punished for demanding to be carried. It is a time marked with temper tantrums, extended periods of crying, and sullenness. Without doubt, this is the most trying stage in the life of a Taira child. Until the words, "You are a big

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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brother or big sister" take effect, he is the most miserable creature alive in the village. 866 862

Weaning from the back often occurs at the same time as weaning from the breast; if not it occurs within six months. While this study was being done, eight children between 18 months and 2 years were weaned from the back as well as from the breast. Temper tantrums in which the child would sit down and scream his head off, hurl dirt and stones at his mother, older siblings, or adults who stopped to have a kind word with him or to ridicule him, and incessant whining were symptomatic of the repercussions of abrupt withdrawal. Sulkiness, stubbornness, and tyrannical behavior, however, are short lived. The child finds that although this kind of behavior brought immediate and rewarding responses in the past, he now faces further withdrawal or punishment as a result. The mother impatiently screams back at him to stop crying, and siblings simply leave him behind to keep up with his own pace or drag him along forcibly and uncomfortably, with threats of punishment if he refuses to cooperate. As if to heap more abuse on deprivation, he finds the newly arrived baby the center of the household and taking his place at his mother's breast. He is encouraged and discouraged by turns. "You are an older brother or an older sister. You do not drink your mother's milk now. And see how big you are and such a good child," now encourage visitors. "Come here, hurry!" scream older siblings or mother when he fails to keep in step with them on walks. For about three months the child's bleary eyes, tear-streaked face, and woebegone expression are unquestionable evidences of the most unhappy interval of his childhood.

In an attempt to continue "ruling" the family, he goes into frequent rages. He demands anything and everything in sight, concentrating on the breast and on being carried. Desperately he screams and cries. Finally he sits on the ground and refuses to move. If his caretaker does not pick him up at that point, he will simply lie prone and cry hysterically. Usually adults scream back at him and start walking away, whereupon the child quickly picks himself off the ground and runs after the retreating caretaker. In this way the child's control is broken. Furthermore, he is ridiculed, shamed and scolded for his "babyish" behavior. Only the grandmother, with whom he sleeps at night, responds to his dominating behavior. During the day, he whines, wheedles, and makes numerous demands on her. [513]

Obviously family structure determines in part the severity of the deprivation. The child who lives in a household with a grandmother and perhaps older siblings will have someone to indulge him. The 866 887 603

866 887 603 first child of a nuclear family, on the other hand, will not have these supports and thus finds this time severely depriving. The child in a nuclear family with a number of older siblings to support and meet his dependency needs will find the transition difficult but will suffer less deprivation. If there is a grandmother or older siblings in the house, he can still claim some infantile support until he is about 4 or 5 years old. They continue to comfort him when he cries, help him in dressing, bathing, and eating. "Go ask your grandmother or older sibling," instructs the mother when the child requests aid. Or, if she happens not to be busy, she will help him herself.

[596] Mothers in extended households complained that grandparents often intervened on behalf of the child and made disciplining very difficult. The kindergarten teacher remarked on the differences between children who have grandparents and those who do not. "Those who do not have grandparents are much easier to handle, they don't cry so easily and do many things for themselves. My child always runs to grandfather whenever I scold her (there is no grandmother in the house) . . . and we mothers end up by being scolded by the old folks," she remarked.

It is not an uncommon sight to see a child crying and running to his grandmother on being reprimanded by his mother. With carrying, hugging, and venting anger against the mother, the old woman comforts the child. Children soon learn that if no one else complies with their demands, grandmother or grandfather will grant them satisfaction.

866 603 855 Grandmothers often will protect and indulge children of the village other than their own grandchildren. One day as the fieldworker sat talking with two mothers and watching their children play, the question of Okinawans' dislike of children's crying, and of overindulgence of grandmothers arose. The year and a half old boy of one of the women at that instant got one foot over the lower rail of a fence. As the child watched others climbing the fence, he tried to lift the other foot. He howled as he discovered the feat too difficult. The mother made no move to go to the boy's aid but instead sat laughing at the "foolish predicament he got himself into." Suddenly from the house across the way rushed a grandmother. She picked the screaming boy up and examined him for bruises. When she spotted the mother sitting within eye and earshot, she rushed over with the boy and started to scold her. "What are you doing sitting there! Just looking at your crying child! Why didn't you go over and help him . . . see what the matter was anyway?" And with this she put the child in the mother's lap and gave her a slap on the back. The old woman then

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

went home and hysterically reported the incident to her family. The mother, meanwhile, laughed and told her boy, "Just like your grandmother, can't stand to hear you cry even when you are not hurt!" She then went on to say that both she and her husband ignore the boy's crying in situations where he could help himself, but the boy's grandmother immediately runs to soothe and aid him. Generally it may be said that in extended households, grandmothers tend to prolong the dependence period and discourage independence and responsibility. 866 603 855 [596]

The relationship between grandfather and grandchild is more restrained. Although grandfathers may be seen carrying children or doing things for them, there is always a discreet distance between them, the result of early training in respect and deference to male elders. Children do not tease their grandfathers as they do their grandmothers. Older boys, in their late teens, may carry on a superficial joking relationship with their grandfathers, but they must be careful not to show disrespect. The male elders in turn show greater affection for the male child than for the female. When both grandparents are living in the house, the child, whether male or female, is more likely to direct his succorant appeals to grandmother rather than grandfather.* 603 858 866

Mothers, themselves, are often not too consistent in their training for independence. They will feel sorry for the child when he is first weaned and allow him to stay close to them until the birth of the next sibling. On the other hand, they will encourage the little 2-year-olds to imitate older girls and boys, particularly in their baby-tending role. A mother will strap a "doll" on her daughter or son's back. The "dolls" are usually rolled blankets or jackets, for real dolls are expensive and rarely bought in the village. Older children and adults do not fail to comment to a child carrying such a burden. They praise him for being such a good caretaker; they pretend to see the "baby" sleeping and report this to him. If the strapping becomes loose, they call to him and reassemble the "baby" and the pinning. The doll is never played with or manipulated. Thus the 2-year-old gets praised for emulation of the responsible and nurturant behavior expected of older siblings. 866 857 [862] [524] [155]

Perhaps it is this role training that explains in part the absence of aggression toward the newborn sibling, which might well be expected with such a short interval between weaning from the breast and back and the birth of the next child. The fieldworker did not observe one instance of such hostility. If there is any hostility expressed, it is against the mother in outbursts of temper and against those who ridicule or try to comfort the displaced child. The grandmother's aggressive actions against the mother may encourage the child in this behavior 867 593

* Only 4 out of 24 sample children lived in the same house with a grandfather.

867 as well as comfort him. The support and the nurturance of his older
593 brothers and sisters help in softening the blow and may also function as role model behavior. Even children who had shortly been weaned were observed responding very nurturantly and affectionately toward their newborn siblings. It is difficult to rely wholely on the premise that the greater emphasis placed on the child by his grandmother and the constant attention paid to his status as an older sibling would nullify any aggressive intents. The wistful statement made by a 10-year-old in the form of a wish to be his baby sister because she is loved and indulged by everyone certainly indicates envy as well as the child's clear view of the protection and nurturance given to young infants.

● 866 In summary, this period is an unhappy interlude for the Taira child. He is forced to give up the indulgencies of infancy. He is punished for demanding behavior and must now confine dominating behavior to his grandmother. He must shift his dependence from his mother to his grandparents and siblings and finally to his peers. He does this only after a period of stormy protests.

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Chapter 15

Kindergarten

872 It is necessary to define the term "kindergarten child" as it is used in
858 Taira. The group includes all children from weaning until the age of 6. The younger ones are carried to the morning sessions, whereas the older ones go on their own. Kindergarten may thus be likened to a mass baby-sitting session. An adult, scolding an 8-year-old who smears mud all over concrete walls, by calling him a kindergarten child is belittling his intellectual maturity. Finding a newly planted field trampled, an adult will quickly volunteer: "Oh, it must have been the kindergarten children; they don't know any better."

[861] Taira adults feel that children under 6 years "do not have sense." Because of this belief, they are considered uneducable. Serious training and instruction pertinent to the standards and values of Taira society

guilty parties there is slightly more emphasis in the censure of the female child, whether she is really more responsible for the disturbance or not. There is a tone in her voice which implies that "females do not fight; boys, well, boys can't be helped." The children are quick to sense this, particularly the guilty boys, who strut about brashly when the teacher turns her back to start serving the milk. 872 876 858

When all the milk has been served and drunk, the teacher starts the farewell song for the day. Again the song is fairly shouted out, but for a brief moment serenity reigns when the teacher bows her head slightly to say, "Students, good-bye, until tomorrow," to which the students respond, "Teacher, good-bye until tomorrow." 872 533

In spite of the competitive content of the games and lessons which the teacher presents to the kindergarten, the observer finds few expressions of achievement motivation and competitive spirit. There is little to indicate that children at this age are interested in winning or excelling. Perhaps the remarks of a 4-year-old boy who reported to his mother on the activities of kindergarten are adequate to summarize the attitude of most kindergarten children. "Mother," he said, "Saburo is first in the races, Tetsuo is second and I am third, always third." To which the mother replied, "If you would try a little harder tomorrow, you may be first." The child looked at the mother questioningly, and the next day he reported that while he thought he tried harder he was again third. The mother again encouraged him, but with a broad smile the child said, "But mother (and the mother explains the expression on the child's face as one of 'You don't understand') I am third! Saburo is first, Tetsuo is second . . . and I am third!" The mother went on to explain to the fieldworker that the whole idea was hilariously funny to the child and the fact that the mother would take the subject so seriously was even funnier. 866 872 876

Furthermore, once the winners are determined, the game is concluded *in toto* as far as the teacher and the children are concerned. There are no congratulatory remarks beyond the clapping of the appreciative audience. No references are made to yesterday's winners or today's possible winners. During performances the teacher may encourage a child here with a positive comment, censure an unruly child there with the stick, but the whole atmosphere of child-teacher interactions is affectionate, indulgent, and relaxed. When a child is being reprimanded, the teacher takes no great pains to conceal her appreciation of the humor involved in the situation, and her affection for the "senselessness" of children at this age is expressed while she is making a token effort. [201] [858]

There are no toys to play with in kindergarten, no way in which to 872
[i.e. the Kindergarten teacher - ANALYST] 876

857 cuddled it in her arms. The 5-year-old in this case was disappointed
854 at being relieved of his charge, but no doubt would have been happy to be absolved of any blame in the event that the baby had fallen and hurt itself.

857 Most 4- and 5-year-olds, therefore, find their nurturant efforts frus-
● 866 trated, for they are considered too young to carry their younger siblings. They are told that their necks will hurt, they are not strong enough,
[593] and that they will be dwarfs if they started to carry such a heavy bur-
[155] den from such an early age. A sturdy 5-year-old, nevertheless, finds that if he is persistent enough, his mother will allow him to carry his infant sibling for short periods of time with close supervision. It is on these short jaunts that the child basks in the shower of praise and is richly rewarded for his nurturant behavior. Several mothers reported how their 4- and 5-year-olds take pride periodically in mopping up floors, setting tables, and clearing up after a meal. "They don't really do these chores, they help at it, but we let them do it because they like to. And if they don't feel like doing it, we don't say anything," report these mothers.

857 Frequently kindergarten children accompany their mothers to the
241 potato fields in the afternoons. There they play in and around the plants or "help" their mothers. One 4-year-old girl pointed out with
866 pride that she goes with her mother to their fields to "clean dirt off the potatoes" which her mother has dug before placing them in the basket. Boys of 3 and 5 were observed "assisting" by following adults' instructions to drop the seed potato into the hole at planting time. Generally adults dislike taking children to distant fields, for they beg to be carried near the half-way point. Occasionally a young child who has been on such a trip is toted back in the grandmother's empty carrying basket or in one of the suspended shoulder-yoke baskets of his grandfather.

863 During the kindergarten period, constant pressure is put on the
514 child to learn sphincter control. The child goes pantless until he attains this goal, which is usually achieved by the age of 4. There is little formal bowel training. Children simply crouch and defecate. Grandmothers or mothers clean up the feces as soon as they see them. Younger children eliminate all over the village, but by 3 they usually restrict themselves to their own yards. When there are grandmothers
[887] in the family, bowel training seems to be taken over by them. Not infrequently the old woman can be seen standing over a child in the yard or cleaning up both the child and the yard. She is generally the one who gently coaxes the child to use the outhouse when he is old enough and physically able to straddle the opening over the pit. The

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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too aggressive and ill behaved. The children played with them but never sought them out and often deserted them en masse when disagreements arose. Taira villagers blamed the parents in this case for being too lax and quarrelsome with each other. 865 155

Peer groups are another of the major agents of socialization for the young child. Child interview data intimate that censure by peers arouses much more anxiety than censure by parents. Refusal to comply with the demands of his peers in the face of punishment from his parents for complying raises in the mind of the child, the question, "Will he hate me for not doing what he asks?" Consequently the child chooses the support that is available to him the greater part of his day and calculates the risk of adult censure quite logically. 857 861

In despair, one mother described how her 5-year-old boy rushes into the kitchen daily and demands to be given his lunch standing on the dirt floor. Despite his parents' instructions to wash his feet and sit properly on the raised portion of the room to eat, the boy scrambled on all fours and hung his unwashed feet over the edge and shoveled his rice down his throat because "his friends were waiting for him."

As mentioned above, the village as a whole acts as another socialization agent. However, although various members shout warnings in attempts to stop children from disapproved behavior, they do not punish them. Their function seems to be one of casual reminding.

When a child turns 5, he is faced with a dramatic change. Parents now begin to treat him like a school child. New independence and responsibility are expected, and an attempt is made to prepare him for first grade. 858 866

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Chapter 16

First Grade

Entry into first grade constitutes a change of status for the child in Taira. It means more than just less play time and adjustment to strict routines, for now he is considered capable of knowing what he is [872]

858 doing. He is made to feel and understand that all the things he did as
●866 a kindergarten child are reprehensible. His long walks to and from
872 school give him a sense of independence in spite of the fact that classmates and siblings accompany him. The adulation of kindergarteners, who hang on to everything he reports about his new experience, creates in him a sense of superiority which he never fails to emphasize. "You don't know how to write your name . . . see, this is how you write . . ." he fairly sneers at the wondering, admiring 3- to 5-year-olds and scratches the syllabary in the sand with his fingers.

MORNING ROUTINE

512 The first grader rises early the morning of his first day of school,
872 rushes out to the pot of water standing in the yard just outside the
857 kitchen door, splashes the cold water over his face, brushes his teeth, and re-enters the house. He shivers a bit in the cold, damp morning air
[291] as he struggles to wiggle out of the clothing he wore the day before and into an outfit specially designated for school. He remembers that he has a new pair of canvas shoes and runs out to wash his feet. Clothed and shod he peers into the darkness of the house, waiting impatiently for signs of stirring. From around the corner of the house his grandmother mutters as she goes about her task of starting the fire under the soup pot.

While his mother and grandmother prepare breakfast, he sits looking through his new books; a reader, penmanship notebook, an art book, a music book, and a nature science book. His father is the last to rise, and as he goes stumbling out to wash, his mother calls for someone to amuse the baby who has meanwhile awakened. His older siblings, who are still preparing themselves for school, feign surprise as the new first grader moves to the baby. "Yah! Look, the first grader is all ready!" they laugh.

As the morning meal of rice and soup is hurriedly eaten, the adults instruct the first grader not to disgrace himself and to listen to the teacher. Already the cries of other first graders are urging him to be off to school. The older siblings leisurely gather books and lunches together, but the first grader runs out to join his classmates. All question each other excitedly for "forgotten things." Their mothers stand admiringly, but a few are disgruntled. "It is still too early to start. You are not to be in school until a half hour before the beginning bell," they warn. A sympathetic old woman volunteers, "Go, it is a long way and you will take longer to walk," she advises as the little group starts

857 intimate as they used to be. He has little in common with them, but
561 since he still takes care of a younger sibling or plays games to which younger children are attracted, there remain frequent contacts between the age groups. The transition between first grade and second grade is in no way as pronounced as the drastic status change from
[866] kindergarten to first grade. Children feel it mostly as a gradually increasing pressure toward assuming more responsibility. The transition which takes place at a ritual level * during the early latency period, however, is not reflected in their daily life.

CHORES AND RESPONSIBILITY TRAINING

857 Although adults say that the elementary school student is still very
868 much of a child who only toward the latter part of this stage can seriously be expected to contribute much to the tasks and duties in home and village; the children, in fact, do some work daily. Already in first grade, responsibility is approached with seriousness, girls exceeding boys in this respect. Children beg tasks, and obeying the school's directive to "help one's parents" seems to become the prime objective of first graders who have just proudly attained their new
857 status. They plead to accompany their older siblings who, with much less zeal than the younger ones, gather giant African snails after
868 a heavy rainfall, hunt frogs, dragon flies, and grasshoppers, or wash
231 potatoes for the pigs. Adults consider some of these chores play.
[866] Although frogs and grasshoppers are fed to the chickens, and minnows and seaweed are added to the pig swill, nevertheless, adults would not seriously label expeditions to collect these responsible. On the other hand, if there is no available feed, as occasionally happens, the child will be scolded and berated for "thinking only of play and not of the hungry chickens." Four- to 6-year-olds are discouraged from these foraging trips, for the danger of snake bites and accidents in the paddies and on the beach is very real. Accompanied by older siblings, however, they, too, may participate.

Some tasks, such as fetching water and feeding the pigs, cutting grass for the horse and goats, washing down the horse, and gathering faggots for the hearth, are still too difficult for the first grade child. But some of them are attempted, at least by assisting older children.
866 Once the child starts off to school, he is made aware that he is

[764 775] * In case of death, the child who has reached the age of 8 must be given a full-fledged burial since in afterlife he becomes a buddha from now on. We had no indication that children were aware of this.

no longer one of the "senseless" by praise for responsible behavior. 866
After a relatively brief period of fairly consistent verbal reward, however, parents assume the attitude that chores are not voluntary but compulsory, and they begin to pay more attention to omissions—reminding, threatening, and checking up on the children. Although punishment is rather inconsistent, a child of 9 or 10 finds his chances of escape very slim if he fails to be responsible. But if he carries out some task spontaneously, he may find himself amply rewarded. Children generally seem to react more responsibly to school duties than home duties. This may be because teachers utilize peer group control to elicit responsible behavior by rewarding and punishing in the presence of the whole class. [864]

Girls assume caretaking of younger siblings earlier and more seriously than boys. A 6-year-old girl may be entrusted with a younger sibling during a whole afternoon. A boy, looking after a younger child, is more likely to abandon or neglect his charge than a girl. In families where there are several children of caretaking age, each is assigned a specific share of time. Inevitably the girls find themselves with the greater or entire portion of this duty, for the boys either simply refuse or evade assuming their share. This shirking of duty is partly supported by the mother, who, by her failure to enforce assignments, displays passive acceptance or approval of the boys' actions. A girl, however, invites censure not only from her mother but also from other girls for similar actions. 857 866 855

The most important factor in differential treatment of boys and girls is a cultural one. Most of the tasks or chores assigned to both are, on the adult level, performed by women. Cutting and gathering grass for horses and goats is men's work, but mopping floors, tidying and sweeping yards, fetching water, cleaning lamps, caring for chickens and pigs, and looking after children are all tasks that are "women's work" in Taira village. It is therefore evident that girls derive some intrinsic reward from them, whereas they may be intrinsically punishing for boys. 857 858 462

The difference in parental expectation with regard to children's increasing responsibility with age is reflected in these selected answers from interviews with mothers to the question: "What chores do you expect your child to do?" The mothe of a 5-year-old boy said: "His work is to play down at the beach. But his older brother (11 years) is such a big help. . . . If I am busy, I may ask him to feed the pig, watch H. (baby sister) or clean the house, fetch water or wood, and Y. will do it without saying anything." The mother of another 11-year-old boy put it this way: "His job is to see to it that the chickens are 857 866

857 fed every day. This is a job for him, and if he does not do it he gets
866 a scolding. . . . My husband does not believe in letting him play too much, and so K. has to take his job seriously—otherwise he will get scolded by his father."

The mother of a 5-year-old girl, after mentioning that she washes her own hair and shoes, said, "The day before yesterday she helped me clean up the place after eating, and so I told her that if she would do this two times a day for me, she would get one yen. She said she would do it, but I don't expect much because she is still
[861] too young." The girl's father is a township employee, but giving one yen as reward is also done by other mothers when they feel that a child has done more than can be expected at that age. Of her 8-year-old daughter, a mother says that "she can mop the floor, fetch water, watch the baby, and serve rice into the bowls at dinner time. But she does not really have to do these chores regularly. Whenever I am busy I ask her to do these things for me," and she adds that her girl very seldom refuses, but "if she should not do what I ask her to, I scold her." And the mother of another girl, 7 years old, tells that her daughter's job is "to mop the floor every day. She knows that it is her responsibility and she has to do it. When she does not do it,
[861] she gets a scolding until she does it. She usually does it, though, without too much difficulty." Only a few mothers point to care of younger
[855] siblings as one of the duties. It simply seems to be taken for granted so much that it is not even mentioned.

857 An enthusiastic 6-year-old girl surprised her mother one day, not
866 long after starting school, by taking the family laundry to the well
296 and washing it. When she returned, she hung out the wash carefully to dry, then went out to join her playmates. The mother came home, examined the wash, and found that it still needed a good scrubbing. Quickly gathering the once-washed clothing, she hurried down to the well. She chose a path around the back of the house to avoid being seen by her daughter. That night she thanked the girl for doing the wash and helping her so much. "I did not want to hurt her feelings by telling her that the washing was still dirty. It was fortunate that she did not see me going down to wash it the second time, for if she did, she would have been discouraged and might never have done it again," reported the mother.

857 The community as a whole also makes some demands on these
866 children of school age. Several times a year they sweep the streets
653 and adjoining public areas in the morning, before they leave for school.

Children seem to have an ambivalent attitude toward greater pres-

sures in responsibility training. When tasks are mere routine, interfering with playing and other favorite activities, they are not always discharged with enthusiasm. We have already referred to this in the discussion of child care. On the other hand, there are many expressions, starting actually at kindergarten level, which reveal identification with adolescents and adults. 857 866 [156]

To the question, "What would you like to do best?" there were such answers from boys as: "I would like to go to the mountains and earn money" (7 years), and "I would like to plant rice" (8 years); and from girls: "I would like to cook, and I would like to transplant rice" (7 years), "I would like to cook rice and soup" (7 years with a wide grin), and "I would like to teach other children calculation if they need help, and take the place of the teacher" (10 years), adding, "Then I can punish boys who bully girls, too." [124]

We learned something more about the identification with older children and young adults, and perhaps a feeling of envy of their status, from answers to questions such as, "Who would you like to be most if you could be changed into anybody by magic?" and "What age would you be if you could be any age?" And, in answering, children also revealed something of their needs, motivations, and goals. A 7-year-old boy stated that, "I would like to be 15 years old, then I can go deep places to swim . . . and then I can go to the mountains and earn money and buy rice, noodles, and help father and mother." He then expressed achievement motivation in his answer: "I would like to become a scholar on plant roots. Then I will know why trees wither and die. I want to save them because otherwise people cannot make money. Then I will be happy and feel good." Although this boy's father is not one of the prominent village leaders, he seems here to express the feeling which, we believe, explains much of the responsible behavior in village leaders. We also see a desire for independence in the answer of a 10-year-old boy, "I would like to be 20 years, then I can go and do work on my own," and nurturance with an almost sanctimonious overtone, perhaps linked to hidden anxiety about aggression, in this response to the magic man query, "I would have him change me into a big, big person. Then I can go and hit anyone who bullies little persons . . . I can look all over the whole village and catch all bad persons and talk to them . . . I can make them all good." This answer, which expresses, again, achievement desires was given by an 8-year-old boy, "I would like to be 16 years old because then studies will be easier and I can wrestle like the *seinen* (young adults)," followed by "Make me into a township official because they have 'good heads' (are intelligent) and they [124]

857 help the people. Then I can buy food with the money I earn and
● 866 save some for a new house." Other boys, too, revealed a combination of achievement-oriented and nurturant needs and over-all qualities of responsibilities which characterize leading adults in the community. But there are also dependence needs in boys, such as expressed by
[124] this 10-year-old, "I would like to be the youngest baby . . . because everyone loves that one" (in response to the question "If you could be anybody in the family, would you like to be a father, mother, or a baby?") But the answer of a 7-year-old boy: "I want to become father, then I can raise potatoes, rice, and other things" is more typical of the Taira boys in this age group than the previous one.

Girls were quite explicit in their nurturance motivation, but they, too, used answers to reveal other desires. "I'd like to be mother so that I can cook and go to the mountains" (6 years); "I'd like to be 14, then I can fetch water and go on real errands and get money," and by the same girl (7 years), "I would like to be like K. (a girl of about 20 years) because she is an employee of the *yakuba*" (the servant and general helper at the township office). Several girls wanted to be the age of their older sisters, because, as one (6 years) said, "She buys things for me and she can buy all kinds of things for me." A real strong dependence need and a reflection of economic privations in her family, one of the poorest in Taira, was revealed by a 6-year-old girl: "I would like to become someone else's big sister . . . like the Kawata (village) rice miller's . . . because then I can eat a lot of rice," followed by, "I'd like to be Y. (baby sister) because she is small . . . because she is not even in kindergarten and father and mother will take me around with them."

Taira female adults' roles are apparently well recognized and correctly interpreted by these girls, and identifications are appropriate. Only one girl referred to a professional career, open to women, but her answer reveals very practical reasons for achievement striving: "I'd like to be a teacher, then I can do well in studies and do all kinds of studying . . . can earn money. With that money I can buy clothes and hats. And when anyone speaks *hōgen* (dialect), I can hit them with a stick and give them all failing grades. . . . Then I'll feel good!"

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[858]

SCHOOL ROUTINE

The school, like the parents, expects more of the 8- to 12-year-olds. The session is longer, lasting until 4:00 in the afternoon and reducing

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

ATTITUDES TOWARD ACHIEVEMENT

Observations revealed there is a contrast between home and school setting in attitudes and treatment of achievement-oriented and competitive behavior. The classroom situation tends to breed competition. Eager attempts to answer questions and to get the teacher's attention by raising a hand and calling out suggest competitive spirit. There was little we observed in the village which seemed to bolster competitive behavior, except for some games and occasional wrestling and athletic practice. Parents discourage boasting in children and in our presence gave little evidence of fostering achievement. However, if we now let the children speak, and then mothers (unfortunately fathers were not interviewed), one might get a different impression of the parental role in achievement training.

In answer to the questions "How do you feel about doing something better than anybody else your age? When you're not the best, do you ever practice so you can do better?" the six boys in our sample agreed that they would like to be first. One 8-year-old answered: "Yes, I would like to be better than my classmates." "But," he adds, "no, I don't practice or study when I am not first . . . only sometimes. If I am last I would practice and study because I would get scolded by the teacher and my parents. . . . I would be ashamed because others would laugh at me. But if I am average, I won't do anything, I don't care." Two other boys implied that they would do little to improve their position if they were in the middle, or as one put it, "I do want to be first, but I don't do anything about it . . . not much anyway."

The fear of being scolded by parents is also expressed in the answer of four others in this group. Shame was mentioned only by one other boy, but among those who fear scolding at home were two whose parents are exceptional in stressing good performance at home and driving their children toward higher standards. They responded, as one might expect, with expressions such as: "Yes, I would rather be better than all others. . . . In the middle? No, I would rather be first." Only one of these two mentioned fear of scolding as an incentive.

Girls' answers differed slightly in the somewhat greater emphasis on performing well and making determined efforts in this direction. One reply, "Yes, I will study hard to become first. Even if I am in the middle, I will try hard so I can be first. I don't feel good being

866 876 last," was essentially echoed by the five other school girls in the sample of six. Three, however, thought they would not mind too much being in the middle, though they would prefer to be first, and all seemed to agree with the statement of one that "it is no fun to be the last," and as one said (and the five others put it in similar words): "If I am last, then I would work very hard. . . ." Wanting to be first and doing something about it are, of course, two different things. But the intentions of girls to work hard are stated more strongly than those of boys. And, significantly, none of the girls mentioned fear of scolding or shame.

Does this mean, then, that girls have a higher achievement motivation than boys or are they just more responsible and obedient? At [858] home girls have been trained to assume responsibilities at a slightly earlier age than boys and have, therefore, been exposed to more rewards for doing their tasks than boys—and also more scolding for doing them only in part or not at all, although the fear of being scolded is not verbalized. It may be that the desire to do well becomes an end in itself for these girls because of previous satisfactions and, possibly, fears. And to some extent, observations of classroom behavior and participation in studies by girls would bear out that they make more determined efforts to perform well in class.

Mothers' replies to the questions "How satisfied do you feel about how well your child does things?" and more specifically, "What do you do if he does poorly?" were uniformly positive expressions. All mothers said that they were not only happy with good performances but also actually encouraged good work at school by giving praise and often special food. Only three mothers of the boys who expected scolding said that they would do so if their child did poorly; two others suggested that they would talk to the child to make him perform better. The mother of one boy who stated that he would feel ashamed to be placed at the bottom said that if her boy "should do something poorly I would tell him that he has become 'useless, hopeless.'" None of the girls' mothers, on the other hand, indicated that she would scold their daughter for poor performance.

Mothers, then, though purporting to be interested in their children's performance in school, are actually using, at best, mild pressures toward satisfactory accomplishments. Although they genuinely feel a pleasure over good performance, we wonder if they express and enforce their sentiments toward children consistently enough, emphatically enough, and frequently enough to make an impact. We rather think that mothers who work in fields and mountains all day

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

have little time and patience to concern themselves seriously with their children's schoolwork; and since their daily work is hardly an inspiration to the child to improve his scholastic activities, there is some question in how much parental influence is relevant here. Moreover, mothers are always under pressure from the teachers to urge their children to work hard and would respond to such an obviously weighted question in this fashion to a person to whom they accorded the same polite title in address, which they use toward their children's teacher, *sensei* (i.e., the interviewer). It is also a fact that teachers have had difficulty getting parents to cooperate in training their children to establish regular home-study habits. Fathers, on the whole, seem even less consistent than mothers in supervising schoolwork. The fact that most boys would like to be first but make concentrated efforts to improve their work only if they perform poorly suggests that parental discipline usually does not function effectively until the child has become severely delinquent in his studies.

If the desire to cheat in school is a measure of competitive pressures, it is interesting to note that there are few such attempts made during the examinations which are held several times a year. Nothing is done to separate the students whose tables are close together. Although the teacher remains in the classroom, he hardly proctors. However, the teacher commented that if a student is suspected of unfair practices, others will report his activities to the teacher.

An impetus for the development of competitive spirit has been the introduction by the Japanese of athletic sports into the schools. The communities participate annually in athletic competitions sponsored by the schools and other agencies outside the community. One is impressed, however, that these events have taken on the Okinawan pattern of a pleasant gathering where the older people can enjoy being sociable while the young men and women engage in various sports.

A few students have regularly assigned tasks and offices. Each class selects a monitor. The method of selection varies, depending on the teacher. In one class, candidates were taken at large, and the student who received the largest number of votes took the office. The monitor is responsible for the class during the morning assembly and during athletics. He sees to it that students line up and remain orderly. In the classroom he has the same responsibility, but we observed nobody discharging his duties in an authoritarian way, although some older boys liked to show their strength in a playful manner of bullying.

866 Girls could theoretically become monitors, and several votes were cast
872 for them, but it is doubtful whether a girl could be effective among boys, who might be unwilling to follow her lead.
876 The student Red Cross chapter has a chairman in each class who
[858] makes collections under the teacher's supervision. Somebody may volunteer for such jobs as pouring milk during lunch hour. Other
[231] assignments have to do with the upkeep of a few school-owned goats, which must be fed during vacations too.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BOYS AND GIRLS

858 Differential status of boys and girls, emphasized in child rearing
876 from the time of birth, is clearly defined in many details of school routine. Boys are sent out first when it is time to leave the classroom; they head the lines; and they are given first turn at the equipment.
[177] The promotion of sex equality under American supervision of the educational program has met with only mild acceptance in the classes we observed. Although separate seating is avoided under post-World War II rules, a separation continues in fact.

858 Girls remain on the receiving end of much teasing and horseplay,
876 more, it seems than one observes during associations of boys and girls in the village, which we will describe later. Teachers, like parents,
865 expect the boys to bully girls. In one classroom, for instance, we heard girls complaining that the (male) teacher favors boys by calling on them all the time. This may encourage the dominant, aggressive behavior of boys toward girls. Hardly a day passes in school without several girls crying as a result of assertive boy tyrants. Occasionally a boy is punished, but usually he escapes with distinct pride showing on his face. Recently teachers have resorted to ridiculing those who intimidate girls, but the tradition is so strong that even if bullying on the school ground is curbed, there is a great deal on the road to and from school. Only the most vociferous girls do not seem to be cowed by such boisterous demonstrations and may adequately match in verbal repartee those boys who try to put them into place as well as provoking more teasing and aggression. To illustrate attempts at bullying in the classroom, we quote from an observation record (second grade).

> . . . Whenever one of the girls gives a wrong answer, S. (Taira boy) shouts loudly; he is one of the most vociferous in class . . . Class then starts reading aloud, each pupil for himself . . . A boy in front of K. (Taira girl) turns around, hits her for putting her feet against his chair. K. continues kicking

593 The presence in the background of T.'s mother may have something to do with his change in behavior toward H., or it may be that he wants her to wait her turn and do it his way. T. is very much in control of this situation, even among the boys. The swing is constructed on the edge of his parents' house. But T., on another occasion, when his aunt asked him to wash her daughter's (T.'s 4-year-old cousin) feet after she had waded in the muddy paddies, complied agreeably and was quite nurturant and indulgent with the younger girl. With [865] H., too, he is more cordial at other times. Perhaps what bothers him, and other boys of his age, is the interference of younger sisters with boys' play.

857 To sum up, between boys and girls of school age there is not a very 593 close relationship, each sex being quite strongly oriented toward mem- 858 bers of its own group. Brothers and sisters, on the whole, fall into this pattern, except that the succorance-nurturance relationship between younger and older continues, though moderately. Although separation of sexes is found in the kindergarten pattern, it is more pronounced in latency, since the activities of peers are more and more differentiated by sex.

RELATIONSHIP TO PEERS

857 We asked the children a question in an attempt to measure how they would resolve the conflict between having to do a chore and the ● 866 call of friends to join in play. All boys (in the group of six) agreed 156 that they would do their work first, four mentioning fear of being scolded. One boy worried about what his friends might think if he does not join them soon: "Will they not think badly of me?" adding, "Sometimes I have gone out without finishing my work and then I would worry about getting scolded. It's 'bad,' but if my friend persists, I would go and join him without doing my work." And another admitted, "If mother and father are not at home, I would go and play without finishing my work, but then I would worry about getting scolded."

Strangely enough, five of the girls answered that they would do their work first, but if their father and mother are not home, they would go out and play; at least four say so, while the fifth boldly says, "If friends come and call me when I am doing my chores, I will go and play without finishing," but this girl, coming from a poor family, is less secure than others and more anxious to be a part of the group. Several girls mentioned the fear of being scolded. Only one, the sixth, replied,

"I would do my work first and then go out to play, whether my parents are home or not." 857 866 156

The mother of a younger boy reported that he is so anxious to rejoin his playmates that he barely gives himself time enough at home to eat his meal. It is our feeling that it is not just the desire to play which pulls children away from assigned tasks, but the urge to be with peers. The attitude of mothers encourages play groups. They tell their children: "Do not play alone; go and play with others. If you play alone, people might think that others dislike you." As one mother put it: "It looks so lonely when (my child) is playing alone." Only one mother, whose child-rearing methods in general deviate from those of others because she and her husband set high achievement goals and standards for their child, said that she would like to have her son play alone occasionally. In this way she hoped he would devote some time to educational activities. It is interesting, however, that several mothers mentioned the names of other children whom they considered unsuitable playmates for their child, either because they were too bossy, or too aggressive, or had otherwise undesirable qualities in their judgment. If, however, there is selectivity among children on the basis of their parents' desires, we were not aware of it.

Peers assume increasing importance as socializing agents as they grow older. Schoolchildren of the same age watch and control each other so that there is hardly need for interference by adults. Older children remind younger ones who neglect a crying young sibling to attend to his needs. Failure to respond to the succorant pleas of a younger sibling meets with disapproval. Peers rarely interfere directly with the activities of others, but do so by remarks to each other, and by other indirect means through which they achieve compliance or conformity. There are some obvious situations when outright commands by an older child are needed. For example, when a 3-year-old girl pulled the plug from the concrete water tank and was immediately frightened by the stream of water pouring out, a 6-year-old girl nearby called, "Close it," and watched as the little one hurriedly put the plug into place. Hardly ever does one hear children taking the role of an adult in trying to demand conformity from peers with rules set by adults. Only the boy mentioned earlier, whose parents make determined efforts to train him toward responsibility and achievement, occasionally attempts to correct the behavior of peers by talking like an adult. He always does it in a quasi-nurturant, responsible manner, perhaps because he strongly identifies with his father, one of the village leaders. 857 156 861

Parents do not like their children to become "leaders." Almost all 857 866

857 of them disapprove of dominance in their children: "It would be terrible if my child would tell this child and that child to do one thing or
866 another and they would get into trouble." The fear expressed here, and in similar statements, is obviously that leadership entails responsibility in case anything goes wrong, and parents do not like to be put in a position where they or their children could be blamed.

865 The Western observer, perhaps, is most impressed with the ability of children to manage their own affairs. Fights occur, and disagree-
857 ments crop up frequently, but almost without exception these matters
156 are settled within the group and without dramatic scenes in which adults become involved. There are no violent fights or quarrels which break up groups and cause prolonged hostile feelings among children. Least of all did we find bullying and harassing of younger children by the older ones, although younger ones are often assigned inferior roles in play by the older children.

ACTIVITIES AND GAMES

857 In part, at least, the tone among these play groups is set by the sur-
524 prising variety of activities that children engage in during the year, innumerable games which come and go in cycles, but which have a village-wide appeal while they last. All of them are played with a minimum of equipment and a maximum of inventiveness and enthusiasm. There are few toys which parents can buy their children, and fewer still which they make for them. This situation is met with great ingenuity. Children use any objects available to them—discarded household equipment, empty cans, boxes, or whatever they pick and gather from trees, bushes, and the ground. Round stones, peas, and seeds serve as marbles; an empty carton becomes a truck or boat. Wooden sticks, bamboo, an old bicycle wheel without a tire find some use. Suddenly one day children run about with helmets made of cabbage leaves, swinging little pistols made of a piece of bamboo, or a stick as a dagger. Girls gather shells and gravel on the beach and carry pieces in their dress pockets. In the absence of dolls, girls have a younger sibling to act the part of "child" in realistic play. Babies, however, are never used in such games.

Boys and girls like to play games of skill. Girls often pull out five stones from their pockets and play a kind of jacks. There are also many versions of ball games in which one girl performs several stunts with a ball while she sings a song. If she makes a mistake, another one

possibly have lowered standards of sanitation. Morale may also be a factor; 863
in the instance just mentioned the morale of the grandmother was undoubtedly 178
better than that of her daughter and daughter-in-law whom she criticized.

A very small baby may be carried in the arms, but usually it is car- 854
ried on the back. The mother places it with its belly to her back, its legs spread apart, and its head about at a level with the top of her shoulder. She secures it there with a long sash that runs once under its bottom, makes an X across her chest, passes around its shoulders, and ties in front. A baby is carried most frequently by its mother, but may also be carried a good deal by others, of either sex and any age, grandparents and older siblings being most frequent. The baby may look over the shoulder of its carrier or it may simply sleep, often with its head back and rolling. If it is fretful its carrier may lean forward a bit and jog it to sleep. Larger children may be carried without the sash, by just letting them hang on. Babies are carried about while all sorts of tasks are being performed.

Mothers often carry their babies into the fields when they go out to work, [illegible] when they are working in the house they may put their babies to sleep [illegible] the floor of the house. If a baby is put to sleep on the floor it is made to sleep on its back. Often the hard floor, which may or may not be covered with a thin mat, will cause the back of the baby's head to become flattened, or if the baby constantly turns its head to one side, the head may become assymetrical, but later fills out to assume its normal shape. Some mothers use a small mosquito net on a frame to protect the sleeping baby from insects, but frequently it is uncovered and flies may alight on it. A few mothers use a hammock-like device called 'burank', as a cradle; these are said to be becoming more popular. At night children, especially smaller children, [513]
sleep with their parents on quilts on the floor, under the one large net.

Children are expected to learn to walk at about 12 to 14 months. 856
Early walking is a sign of good health so that if a child is late to walk, 866
the parents may worry about it. As Glacken points out, there is an important change in the life of the child at this time. Instead of being carried everywhere on his mother's or older sibling's back, the child is now put down and expected to toddle along behind his mother, who is not always sympathetic when he fails to keep up. This change may be a greater trauma to the child than weaning or toilet-training.[1]

Children are said to begin talking at about a year and a half. The 856
first words are usually, nowadays, 'o-kaa', o-tō', 'o-baa', the Japanese equivalents of "daddy", "mommy", and "grandma". Parents do not worry if a child is a little late in talking.

<u>Childhood: Adult Attitudes</u> Okinawans recognize clearly that children are 858
not capable of participating in most adult activities and indeed appear to regard it as undesirable that they do so. Oki- [171]
nawan attitude contrasts sharply with the "modern" American one that takes

[1] Glacken, 1953, p. 264.

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a harsh, often rasping voice. Only men play the Okinawan samisen, a stringed instrument slightly different from its Japanese counterpart. Men also join in the dancing.

In a village parties on the fifth or sixth day after the birth of a child and on his first birthday happen frequently. They are an important part of social life. A relative or a friend is always celebrating one or the other occasion, either in the village or in a neighboring one. These celebrations increase, especially for the men, the number of social occasions and recreational opportunities during the year in a culture where holidays and rest days are comparatively few. (There are no weekly rest days or week ends).

After the first birthday, little attention is paid to the succeeding ones until the thirteenth. The child's experience from the time he begins to walk until he reaches school comes from family
861 life and neighborhood play. In my observation, there is no rigid, customary way of bringing up the child. It is toilet trained around one year of age. This does not seem to be forced. Training comes
863 through imitation. Parents do not punish the child for indiscretions, though they are quick to lift him off the mat if he begins wetting. With young boys, the father may make a hissing sound while the child's penis is out. One has the impression that it is a gradual transition, mostly effected by imitation or gentle suasion.

304 Male children are not circumcised. Circumcision is known only to those who have learned of it through books, foreign residence, or from others who have this information.[9]

867 In early training, boys are not taught that they are superior to girls. But when she reaches school age, the girl is likely to be kept
562 busier around the house. Before the war, there may have been a greater subordination of girls to boys. But any conscious training of girls to subordinate themselves to boys is unnecessary. The child grows up in a culture in which the father is waited on, the sons favored in inheritance, and in which the men have a richer social life.

855 Parents are kind to their children. They seldom spank a child,
593 though an exasperated parent may give the child a sharp slap. There is little nagging or shouting at children in anger. In my opinion,

9 Two young men, school teachers about 23 years old, expressed great astonishment when asked about circumcision. They did not know it existed.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

there is little forcing of children,[10] In my opinion and this might be just as significant in accounting for the easy going security of Okinawans as that coming from breast feeding and carrying on the back, but a single element explanation is not a fruitful approach to this complex subject. 861 155

The chief factors in child development, in my observation, are the child's early and continuous contact with the mother, and the "public" life of the child[11] and its early exposure to the activities, the admonishments, the corrections, the admiration, and the fondling of others. Older women of the village have a major part in this, but young men and women look after a child, advise it, correct it, perhaps feed it. This "public" life is made easier because a child carried on the back, or toddling, or, later, in walking is seldom out of the view of a relative. It is common to talk with a villager in a public place and to discover that two or three of the children playing there are cousins, nieces, nephews, or more distant relatives. It is this combination of impressions and pressures, in my opinion, rather than planned training, which induces conformity and makes a child part of the village life. Certainly the standards of public and private behavior, transmitted from the parent, is reinforced at a much earlier age than in American society, by community approval, disapproval, and assistance. Part of this is due to the fact that a village, even its government, takes on some of the attributes of a large family. 861 [867]

Okinawan rural children grow up speaking Okinawan (Okinawago). There is no standard Okinawan and local dialectical differences are very marked. The chief distinctions seem to be in accent and 197

[text continues top of p. 268 -- analyst]

10 There is an interesting passage in Captain Hall's voyage. Hall's party observed a boy tumbling. He stopped when he saw he was observed and could not be induced to continue. Hall's company asked an Okinawan friend to get the boy to continue. This he did without success, and feigned anger when the boy would not go on. Thereupon the persuasion stopped, the Okinawan observing, "It was for his own amusement that he began, and probably for his own amusement he will do so again." The boy resumed his tumbling when he was ignored. Hall wrote that the Okinawan showed good sense in not compelling the boy to continue "that as a task, which he had begun as an amusement, and which he had discernment enough to know would be unpleasant for us to witness in any other way. By this treatment of their children, mutual cordiality and freedom of intercourse are encouraged. It was probably owing to this mode of education that the children became at once familiar with us." Account of a voyage to west Corea and the Great Loochoo, as cited, 211. [861] [155]

11 This happy phrase, I believe, was first used by Miss A. M. Bacon in her still excellent book, Japanese girls and women, New York, 1907.

system and by the public life which they lead. There is a blending and shading of the private life of the home with the public life of the lanes, the shops, and the homes of others. The process is so subtle that one can live among them and be unaware of it. But children do more than grow up. They grow and reach maturity impressed with their duties and obligations. It is this cultural environment, rather than single element explanations such as breast feeding, which in my opinion accounts for the politeness, the essential gentleness, and the sense of security of the people. These characteristics can best be understood by knowing history, by knowing how people live within a family, how families live together, what these groups of families do to their arable land, their plants, their stones, their trees, and their forested and wild land, and how the private life of an individual or a family blends in with the wider public experience of the community. 156 [155]

The recent war has been a powerful agent of cultural change in Okinawa. The destruction of the south, the comparative well-being of the north have equalized the roles of the two great divisions of the island, and the north is no longer a rustic hinterland. The years of military service in the Japanese army interfered with the transmission of the traditional culture from the old to the young. One of the striking aspects is the differences in types of information possessed by the old and the young. Men fifty years or over speak of things of which younger men and women have never heard. What is part of one man's culture is foreign to the other. 727 178 184

Before the war success in transmitting the traditional culture to the young depended to a great extent on the hierarchy of the family system and its scale of values. Women were subordinated to men and the younger deferred to the elder. Obedience of children and acknowledgment of parental leadership were said to characterize the pre-war society. In many ways, all these things still do. But there are indications of a growing dependence of the older on the advice and knowledge of the young. [867] [593]

The war and its aftermath produced conditions favorable to the leadership of younger people, especially younger men. It was easy for them to drive trucks. It was no chore to become acquainted with Americans and adapt themselves to their ways. They could learn, and comprehend more easily, some of the Western concepts implicit in governmental change. A twenty year old is not impressed with skill at typing. A sixty year old person looks upon this skill with a certain wonder. [177]

The destruction of pre-war housing and its replacement by inferior makeshift housing have had an unsettling effect on village life. Sleeping habits and living arrangements were disrupted. The destruction even affected the use of rainwater coming from the drains on the tile roofs. It converted villages with their houses and an occasional garden into a camp-like atmosphere. [362]

The post-war repatriation often brought to villagers a more personal awareness of the outside world. Those who returned, especially from the non-Oriental countries, created an atmosphere congenial to change. [167] [177]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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quire room and board are sometimes put up without compensation, and they agree, perhaps, to give some help with studies of the landlord's children. Only the village "doctor" takes transient guests, mostly visiting officials from the city, who pay for lodgings. 427 [875] [485]

Although the household head is a legal owner of the family property, there is a feeling that it belongs to the family and everyone in the household identifies himself with his land and house. This is expressed in the language. A person who is asked, "Whose rice paddy is this?" would answer that it is the household's or "ours." 423 592

In addition to the communal land holdings and the property of the cooperative described earlier, the following items are shared. The government supplies a breeding boar to each village; it is then left in the care of one farmer. This animal is available to pig owners for studding on request, and a small charge is made for the upkeep of the boar. A few tools are jointly owned by several households. Threshing machines were bought jointly after the war by two or more families to defray the high cost of such equipment. These families could be neighbors or relatives. Today many are complaining that joint ownership works hardships during the busy harvest season when there is heavy demand for the machines. As a result, everybody wishes to own his own machine as soon as he can afford to. For tea harvesting, special clippers are owned by the village cooperative and loaned to people as they need them. Since tea harvesting, though seasonal, is not done by all families during the same day, sharing of these tools presents no difficulties. 422 [231] [654] [476] [474]

Property of others is very much respected. Stealing among villagers is almost unheard of, except for some pilfering of green vegetables and fruits by children. Only one case was reported during the field-work period—a person tried to take some goods without payment from the community store. When a village meeting was called, and it was announced that the person's identity was known to the store manager, the merchandise was later replaced. Willful damage to fields is similarly strictly forbidden. No child would really think of doing such damage. But there are no formal rules about trespassing. Movement across other people's property is completely free and unchallenged. 421 685 [627] [867]

625 went out for fugitives from the south, he would accompany the police-
[632] man or investigate himself. In cases of death, both he and the police-
[647] man have to make a report.

The Young People's Association may serve as a vigilante in emer-
[575] gencies such as fires, floods, tornadoes, and other disasters. When a
[731] military jeep was reported to have been stolen near Naha and driven on the dead-end road running north, the young people in all villages on the way erected road blocks and were ready to help catch the thief. The group would act together in a similar fashion at any threat from outsiders.

622 The headman can only enforce local ordinances insofar as he is
681 able to persuade people to comply. He is not concerned directly with
[625] crime or disturbance of the peace. Exceptions are such matters as stealing sugar cane or letting chickens run loose so that they enter every yard. For such acts, money fines can be imposed. One warden still has a tag which used to be given to the man whose chickens ran around freely. The offender had to pay the fine and keep the tag until he detected someone else's chicken running loose. Then he could pass the
[626] tag on to that person. Such measures are no longer used. But the underlying principle of public censure and fear of ridicule continues to operate in village social control.

623 Public censure is used along with fines to ensure attendance at vil-
626 lage meetings. Roll call is taken before each meeting so that the ab-
[681] sence of individuals is made known to the whole group. Similarly, when tax collections became more and more delinquent, it was decided to have ward meetings in which everybody would be reminded in public to pay his share. Those who were unable to do so would have to state their reasons. As soon as this new plan was announced, several people got up during the meeting to pay outstanding amounts to the head-
872 man. The school uses similar devices to achieve better attendance and scholarship. During home visit week, about once a year, a meeting is held for all parents and the statistics for attendance for each village are read as well as scholastic performances for each community.

INFORMAL CONTROL

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626 What other people might think is uppermost on everybody's mind.
[867] Children are reminded by their mothers not to play alone lest people would think they are unpopular. They are told not to fight lest others think badly of them or make them responsible for the consequences. Censure by gossip is common, but criticism is seldom made directly to a person's face, and the target of extensive gossip is often unaware of it.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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An exception to this was the case of a junior high school girl who left her mother and stepfather and went to live in the city. The incident was known to all villagers within a short time, and gossip was rife, but referring to the case directly in the presence of the mother was avoided. When the mother finally heard the gossip, she contended that the story had been circulated by a certain family, singled out the woman of that house (who happens to be one of the few Christians in Taira) and told her in no uncertain words that she, as a Christian who wants to do good and others to be good, should know better than to spread evil gossip. 626 156

Concern with the affairs of other villagers is, of course, a result of the general intimacy between people. Not only one's immediate family but also anyone in Taira is aware of what happens to others in the community, and the right to such knowledge of private and family matters does not seem to be denied by anybody. People ask and receive answers, and news travels rapidly from one house to another. In considering the fear of censure and its effectiveness in social control, however, one should not forget that, conversely, the concern of others for one's life leads to a feeling of belonging and the expectation of help and affection.

Children are part of the gossip channel in that they are talkative and report news. They do not seem to invent malicious stories but do join in fun making at other people's expense. [867]

Being too malicious is censured. Older people still remember that they heard in their youth about old wicked women who could bring a curse on others. The term for curse still connotes a person who is disliked or who snoops excessively in other people's affairs. [754]

If possible, nobody is deliberately made subject to public exposure in case of wrongdoing. A township official, who by virtue of his office was also a member of the village council, showed little interest and responsibility toward the community. When the village meeting deliberated whether township officials should continue to be made members of the village council, his name was not mentioned, although the case was discussed at length in public. The final decision was to give him another chance. This, too, is characteristic of community behavior. Ostracism and complete rejection of serious offenders against the community would be a most serious punishment. This in itself would give the community a bad standing. A common front toward the outside is preferred, so that all drastic actions are left only for extreme cases. Rather, one tries to get along, even with a deviant person. Individuals between whom disagreement exists act friendly toward each other in public. 626 627 156

A deep sense of mutual obligation and duty not only toward imme- 626 156

626 diate relatives but also toward members of the entire community, and
156 even certain strangers, appears in many contexts. Any villager feels
[479] a sense of obligation to participate in mutual assistance, and someone who fails to live up to this obligation is severely criticized. A person who commits a crime is said to have no feeling of obligation, and it seems clear that the infrequency of transgression, either the violation of mutual help codes or more serious infractions, is held in check by fear of censure.

626 The Japanese moral code, which stresses obligations and feelings of
577 indebtedness and gratitude toward those from whom favors have been received, is obviously related to such social control forces or is in fact
●867 identical with them. Japanese ethical training was part of school train-
[177] ing before World War II, and it is still deeply valued and followed. That any close-knit community tends to foster such forces of control is
[571] common knowledge. Yet the positive attitude toward obligations and their elaboration in interpersonal relationships is noteworthy and characterizes an important aspect of Taira life. It is learned early, as we found out when one mother said about her 4-year-old daughter: "She understands the idea (of obligations and indebtedness), although she does not know the concepts." When the family receives a gift, the little girl asks, "Shall we take some fish (a counter present) to them?" In spite of the positive value mentioned, there seem to be few compulsions connected with obligations. Actions appear spontaneous rather than forced. Of course, these obligations are of importance in determining contributions of individual households at weddings, funerals, and other occasions where interpersonal ties are cemented.

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Chapter 6

Social Organization

571 In every society an individual belongs to a number of groups, overlapping in membership and differentiated by function. A resident of Taira is no exception. Some groups are open, that is to say, new mem-

went home and hysterically reported the incident to her family. The mother, meanwhile, laughed and told her boy, "Just like your grandmother, can't stand to hear you cry even when you are not hurt!" She then went on to say that both she and her husband ignore the boy's crying in situations where he could help himself, but the boy's grandmother immediately runs to soothe and aid him. Generally it may be said that in extended households, grandmothers tend to prolong the dependence period and discourage independence and responsibility. 866 603 855 [596]

The relationship between grandfather and grandchild is more restrained. Although grandfathers may be seen carrying children or doing things for them, there is always a discreet distance between them, the result of early training in respect and deference to male elders. Children do not tease their grandfathers as they do their grandmothers. Older boys, in their late teens, may carry on a superficial joking relationship with their grandfathers, but they must be careful not to show disrespect. The male elders in turn show greater affection for the male child than for the female. When both grandparents are living in the house, the child, whether male or female, is more likely to direct his succorant appeals to grandmother rather than grandfather.* 603 858 866

Mothers, themselves, are often not too consistent in their training for independence. They will feel sorry for the child when he is first weaned and allow him to stay close to them until the birth of the next sibling. On the other hand, they will encourage the little 2-year-olds to imitate older girls and boys, particularly in their baby-tending role. A mother will strap a "doll" on her daughter or son's back. The "dolls" are usually rolled blankets or jackets, for real dolls are expensive and rarely bought in the village. Older children and adults do not fail to comment to a child carrying such a burden. They praise him for being such a good caretaker; they pretend to see the "baby" sleeping and report this to him. If the strapping becomes loose, they call to him and reassemble the "baby" and the pinning. The doll is never played with or manipulated. Thus the 2-year-old gets praised for emulation of the responsible and nurturant behavior expected of older siblings. 866 857 [862] [524] [155]

Perhaps it is this role training that explains in part the absence of aggression toward the newborn sibling, which might well be expected with such a short interval between weaning from the breast and back and the birth of the next child. The fieldworker did not observe one instance of such hostility. If there is any hostility expressed, it is against the mother in outbursts of temper and against those who ridicule or try to comfort the displaced child. The grandmother's aggressive actions against the mother may encourage the child in this behavior 867 593

* Only 4 out of 24 sample children lived in the same house with a grandfather.

867 593 as well as comfort him. The support and the nurturance of his older brothers and sisters help in softening the blow and may also function as role model behavior. Even children who had shortly been weaned were observed responding very nurturantly and affectionately toward their newborn siblings. It is difficult to rely wholely on the premise that the greater emphasis placed on the child by his grandmother and the constant attention paid to his status as an older sibling would nullify any aggressive intents. The wistful statement made by a 10-year-old in the form of a wish to be his baby sister because she is loved and indulged by everyone certainly indicates envy as well as the child's clear view of the protection and nurturance given to young infants.

866 In summary, this period is an unhappy interlude for the Taira child. He is forced to give up the indulgencies of infancy. He is punished for demanding behavior and must now confine dominating behavior to his grandmother. He must shift his dependence from his mother to his grandparents and siblings and finally to his peers. He does this only after a period of stormy protests.

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Chapter 15

Kindergarten

872 858 It is necessary to define the term "kindergarten child" as it is used in Taira. The group includes all children from weaning until the age of 6. The younger ones are carried to the morning sessions, whereas the older ones go on their own. Kindergarten may thus be likened to a mass baby-sitting session. An adult, scolding an 8-year-old who smears mud all over concrete walls, by calling him a kindergarten child is belittling his intellectual maturity. Finding a newly planted field trampled, an adult will quickly volunteer: "Oh, it must have been the kindergarten children; they don't know any better."

[861] Taira adults feel that children under 6 years "do not have sense." Because of this belief, they are considered uneducable. Serious training and instruction pertinent to the standards and values of Taira society

are therefore generally postponed until the child is believed to be endowed with this mysterious capacity to "understand and know." Kindergarten children pilfer from gardens, have temper tantrums, and attack each other physically, but very little enforcement takes place. "They are only children, we can't expect them to know any better," say adults. 858 861 [872]

In spite of this distinction, there is not a complete laissez-faire handling of the still "senseless" child. On the contrary, the child is subject to a number of restrictions. Adults assiduously attempt to train him to say "Please" and "Thank you," "Good morning," "Good day," and "Good-bye." One mother and her eldest daughter were observed trying to teach the youngest child, an 8-month-old girl, to say "Thank you." A piece of brown sugar was extended, withdrawn, given and taken from the baby until she had twice performed the act indicating "Thank you." Mother and daughter took the baby's hands, folded one over the other, palm side up and raised it, saying at the same time, "Ah-ah," baby talk for "Thank you." The situation was not without fussing and screaming on the part of the young child. 861 867

Adults often push the young child's head down to say "Hello," and, if he lets out screams of protest, all laugh hilariously. The child inevitably joins in the laughter and the adults taunt, "Know-nothing." Three and 4-year-olds playing in the dirt along the lanes are picked up and taken to the faucets for a wash down and a scolding, "Dirty! Cat!" Although such enforcement occurs, it is negated when the child starts crying. "Here, here, don't cry; mother was bad" (for scolding you) placates the adult, hugging and cradling the child. [855]

One mother complained that her tomato patch was constantly being raided. When asked whether she knew who was doing it, she said, "Yes, they are kindergarten children." Questioned further as to why she did not scold them or talk to their parents, she said, "It's no use, they are too young to talk to, and besides, I would not like to talk to their mothers because, who knows, my own girls who are under 6 years old may be doing something like that too."

Playing with water is the favorite pastime of young children. During all times of the day a group of them gather at the water tank or at faucets to puddle and "wash." When the water supply was limited, adults would pause in passing by to scream, "Eeyah!" once, then go on, shaking their heads while the children paused only momentarily to look up and then continued with their play. [857]

In the morning, after adults have departed for the fields and mountains and older children have left the village for school, the kindergarten child leaves home with two or three sweet potatoes in his hand 857 872

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nails. One or two girls stand fearfully, almost in tears, while others subject themselves to inspection with aplomb. The boys by now are mocking the teacher by inspecting each other and commenting on the failure to meet the test. A few little girls disgustedly say, "These boys, wish we did not have to have them!" 863 872 876

After a brief lecture on cleanliness and orderliness, the teacher asks all to count the number of children present. Immediately there is bedlam as all start to count aloud. She quickly takes a count herself and waits for the first child to answer. As she listens to the shouts, she points out the child who has the right answer and says, "That is right, now let us count together. You, Sachiko, at the head of the line, one, next, Nariko, two. . . ."

Following this counting, the teacher may present a simple lesson in manners. She tells each child down the line to answer with a crisp "hai," then to state his name in full. The oldest girls respond obediently and help their 3- and 4-year-old siblings. As she approaches the line of boys, she frowns and nods. Each boy shouts his answer and name in spite of her protests to the effect that she is not hard of hearing. From somewhere near the end of the line comes a loud voice, "Hai, Taira, Saburo-san!" She quickly moves over to the possessor of the voice and taps the boy on his cleanly shaven head. The noise of the tap is sharp and clear. It induces a hearty round of laughs from all the children. The censured boy stands rubbing his head and smiling at the teacher as she tells him that he knows well one does not use the honorific suffix with one's own name. 872 867 876

The teacher does not attempt to present further lessons. Instead, she asks what kind of games the children would like to play. Shouts of "Race, race!" drown out her instruction to organize into teams. From the back of one 6-year-old girl she unstraps a screaming infant. With one arm cradling the infant, she drums to spur on the runners. From the direction of the village store, a grandmother comes slowly shuffling to join the group. She points out the 2-year-old on the back of his 5-year-old sibling who is starting off on his share of the run. The mother of the screaming infant comes running down the path to relieve the teacher of her burden. She sits nearby on a fence stone to nurse the baby and spur the runners on. Other adult passersby stop briefly to watch the runners, encourage them with shouts to run a little faster, clap their hands to congratulate a winner, and console a loser with advice to try harder the next time. 872 526

After the races the children sit and sing songs with the teacher. In their sitting positions they "act out" the songs with motions of their arms. The teacher releases her hold on the drumsticks as a 4-year-old

872 express one's creativeness except in perfecting and improvising song-
876 dance performances. Lacking paper and crayons or paint, children crouch to the ground with the teacher to trace "pictures" in the sandy ground with their fingers or small sticks. The beach provides a rich playground on days when the teacher suffers laryngitis as a result of a cold and is unable to lead songs and direct the play verbally. Collecting shells, learning their names, examining washed up bits of seaweed and fish, exploring exposed stretches of rivers at low tide are real lessons in nature for the kindergarten child as he discovers these things himself and experiments without the direction of formal lessons. If he desires more information about things, he is free to ask the teacher; if he does not, no pressure is put on him to learn and know.

872 The kindergarten phase is a happy one for the child. Under the
857 direction of the teacher, who may be the mother or sister of one of his
[875] peers, he passes the two hours, from 9:30 to 11:30, of the morning, then goes on to play in and around the village for the rest of the day. He runs home only when he is hungry or when it is mealtime. And he hurries back to rejoin his peers for free play for the rest of the day.

857 Adults put little restriction on children's movement. They are free
[576] to occupy any part of the home and run around at will. Before enter-
[515] ing the house, everyone takes off his shoes; a rag lies on the ground to
[291] wipe dirty feet. Few children spend any length of time indoors, however, during daylight hours. If weather forces them to stay inside, they are found either in one of the front rooms or in the cooking area to the back.

855 Despite the occasional motor vehicle traffic through the village,
867 adults show little concern, for the kindergarten child has been well exposed to rules of safety in this respect. At the sound of warning horns, children run to the side of the main road and into the yards. The few brazen little boys who dare to chase vehicles and attempt to hang on to the rear bumper are severely reprimanded by those nearby.

A 4-year-old boy who had run out of the way of a lumbering truck stood watching as it rounded the curve and entered the village. Adults waiting for the vehicle to pass chatted idly and scanned the passengers to see if there were any familiar faces. Suddenly the 4-year-old leaned forward and threw a small branch he had in his hand under the tires of the passing truck. At once the driver, passengers, and by-standers screamed, "Fool one!" The passengers waved a warning finger at him, and he was berated by the village adults standing with him. "That was a dangerous thing to do. If you do that another time, you will be taken to the police station!" they threatened. The boy looked down at the ground and nodded to acknowledge his wrongdoing.

861 Physical punishment is much more frequent than the mothers' [124] interview answers would lead one to believe. In parent-child or sib- [593] ling interactions observed by us, the scolding or talking was usually simultaneous with a sharp crack on the head with the knuckles or a slap on the buttocks. It is true that a great deal of leeway is generally given the child, but mothers home from a strenuous day in the fields are more apt to scream and spank at the same time.

Tying of hands or feet for several minutes, or as much as an hour, is considered appropriate punishment for those who trespass into forbidden areas or play with taboo things like matches. Sometimes the child's wrists are tied with a piece of rice-straw rope to the front house posts. One 1-year-old boy wandered down to the beach to play with his 3-year-old cousin despite repeated warnings from his mother to the effect that this area was dangerous. Because he disobeyed this rule, he was tied hand and foot. In addition, he was spanked because at the same time he had abandoned his younger brother in the village to go to the beach with his cousin.

861 Another type of physical punishment, which is often threatened but 857 rarely used, is cauterizing a piece of skin on the neck, back, or hands with moxa. Children in play situations frequently act out giving moxa to a naughty child with a lot of teasing and mock anger. "Come here, you naughty one, we will give you moxa," they scream to each other. A 1-year old girl was cauterized by her father when she threw her chop- [261] sticks on the floor in a fit of anger. Because he believed that food was not only the product of hard labor but also a sort of blessing from the gods, he felt that this very painful enforcement was just.

861 Grandmothers, in particular, use pinching to enforce some rules of 867 etiquette. If a child forgets and extends his foot toward another person, she will take the flesh of the leg between her thumb and index finger, lift it and with a quick twist administer a punishment which is very painful. After the initial experience, all she has to do is to put her hand in position for pinching to her lips and breathe out audibly as if to say, "I'm warming up!" and the child will correct himself.

861 Older brothers and sisters are apt to be "quicker with the hand," ac- 593 cording to mothers. Generally they agreed that this may be the reason [857] for their effectiveness in handling their younger charges. Frequently all an older sibling needs to do is to raise a warning hand, look disapprovingly, or call with a stern voice when his charge is about to misbehave.

Although mothers do most of the spanking, scolding, and talking, children fear their fathers a great deal more than they do their mothers. Mothers claim that this is true in most cases and offer an ex-

planation: "Maybe this is because the children know well our strength. They don't know their father's strength but believe somehow that it could be much more painful." One could, of course, relate this to the cultural concept of maleness as opposed to femaleness as discussed previously. 861 593

Praising and rewarding are techniques that are administered in a very haphazard fashion in Taira. While the child is still very young, up until he is about 2, praise and rewards are lavished on him for almost anything. If he responds to his mother's entreaties to hand over a stick with which he might hurt himself or to bow when meeting someone, he is hugged, kissed, and told over and over, "Good child, good child." 861 [867]

As the child grows older, these extravagant displays of praise and reward lessen. Instead the child may receive promises of something good to eat or a coveted article of clothing in return for some good deed or commendable behavior. Generally the child has to remind his mother many times before he is actually rewarded. By the time the child is of school age he takes these promises with a grain of salt and usually forgets them himself. Only when the children were questioned by us on rewards did it become obvious that parents promised a great deal more than they could ever hope to produce. For, from the plain view of economics, no family could purchase all the goodies pledged for good behavior. Nevertheless, for younger children these promises mean something, and they always look forward to the day when their mothers will color their evening rice red or make them some fried dumplings. Rewarding a child with food proves to be as effective a technique of socialization as threatening to deprive him of food. [124] [261]

Occasionally, in a rare burst of enthusiasm, parents may reward a child to make up for all the empty promises. During one of the rice harvests, a 10-year-old boy worked alongside his parents with as much concentrated effort as any adult. All day he stayed in the fields without running away to join his playmates, as some other boys his age did. At the end of the day his mother prepared some festive food. She colored the rice, and the dinner was a merry one. The man from next door who had helped out that day sat drinking sake with the boy's father. "Here, why don't you have some sake, you did as much work as any of us," offered the father. Neighbor and mother urged the boy on and laughed merrily as the boy sipped a bit of the sake. 857 861

Even before he is able to understand the significance of the words, a child in Taira is praised and censured with "good child," and "naughty child." Especially during infancy, mothers will tease babies by gently slapping them and saying over and over with mock anger, 861

followed by "nee?", "isn't it so?" In this manner the adult communicates what 858
little that must be communicated to these sub-human beings that are constantly 171
underfoot. To other adults he uses other verb forms, other words, longer and 198
more tightly integrated sentences. He does so, I believe, confident that he is speaking over the heads of the children, though he would deny that this was his motive; his use of different forms in addressing adults would be more likely explained as motivated by respect for the adults. I believe that in this manner Okinawan children are mentally more isolated from adults than are American children, though physically they are in greater contact with them. In time, of course, children learn to understand the conversation of their elders, but they do so without asking questions or overtly showing much interest. Thus very gradually they come into the adult world.

The interpretation just presented is more an hypothesis that seeks to 858
explain some features of Okinawan behavior than a fact that can be indisputably 197
demonstrated. But it suggests a reason, though probably not the only one, for 198
the strong tendency to retain Okinawan as the language of the home, even in families where the adults speak Japanese fairly well, regard it as superior, and use it on formal occasions. Okinawan is suitable for addressing children. Adults unconsciously prefer it because it makes it that much easier for them to differentiate between the speech used in addressing children and that used in addressing adults. Moreover, I believe this interpretation agrees [186]
with what appears to be a marked tendency in Okinawan society for the educated deliberately to talk over the heads of the uneducated. I will discuss this again under the heading education.

Discipline Parents appear to want their children to be agreeable in 860
their relations with others and industrious at school. They praise the gentle (J. 'otonashii') child and the good student. Yet they seem to tolerate noisiness, disregard for property, and to some extent disregard for person, though they may be more tolerant of this sort of behavior in boys than in girls. On one occasion Pitts and Lebra presented an old man with several photographs that they had taken of him and his grandson. As they handed the photographs to the old man, the boy snatched one and in doing so tore it. The old man was visibly hurt at the loss of the photograph, but said nothing to the child at all. On the other hand one of us also once saw a grandmother reach over and pinch a somewhat older girl quite severely because she was lying with her legs apart.

Where behavior thought to be of a more serious nature is concerned, 861
parents do attempt to control their children. They do so by coaxing, bribing, threatening, teasing, scolding, and, for most as a last resort, by corporal punishment. Scolding takes such forms as "dirty!", "shameful!", "You will be laughed at", etc. While being scolded the child need not answer; he may simply look at the ground and remain silent. Since he is not expected to answer he may be less inclined to construct elaborate excuses in the manner of the American child. The threats include such things as "we'll send you away", "we'll sell you to the Itoman people" (to a boy), "we'll sell you to the juri" (to a girl), "we'll give you to the Americans", "we'll call the police", "we'll call a cat (or some kind of bogey) to scare you," "you'll receive divine retribution." Since children are sometimes put out of the house as

later told the story to Lebra in the child's presence with a good deal of relish, while the boy merely looked sheepish and said nothing. 861

Punishment may be by either parent or by a grandparent. Other relatives may scold. I once observed a four-year-old being scolded long and shrilly by her father's sister. I asked why the mother, who was just inside the house, did not do the scolding and I was told that the child would not mind her mother and so the aunt had had to step in. I was also given the impression that the child's mother would hardly have dared defend her. It seems likely that mothers and grandmothers punish most frequently but that fathers, though they punish less frequently, are more severe; they are certainly more feared. It is said that after a child is punished it is usually comforted by the adult who punished it. There are, of course, individual differences. One man at Nanahan was known to be particularly harsh with his children. Pitts observed him on one occasion chasing one of his children around the village with a strap.

Okinawan adults, especially women, frequently tease children. On two 855
occasions I saw a particularly cocky little boy of three or four teased in a deliberate attempt to make him angry or to make him cry. On the first occasion one of his aunts, his mother's oldest sister, struck the boy's baby sister, pretending to hurt her. He was very fond of the baby and the object of the teasing seemed to be to arouse his sympathy to the point where he would have showed his emotions, at which point, I assume, the crowd of women would have laughed. This time the teasing was unsuccessful. On the second occasion his mother and her sisters told him first that I was going to take him away, then that I was going to take his little sister away, and produced other variations on this theme. After several minutes of this he went grimly over to his mother and began hitting her with his fists. The women all regarded this as great sport. No effort was made to stop him from hitting his mother. This sort of teasing seems to have amusement as its main object, but probably has other functions as well. It may possibly provide women a necessary outlet for feelings of hostility, especially against males. But it may also have the more important functions of producing in the child the desirable emotional responses---sympathy for the little sister, fear of losing her, fear of being separated from home---while at the same time conditioning the child to inhibit the expression of these emotions. [154] [867] [52]

On another occasion I saw the mother of the children just mentioned hold out a lighted match in front of the baby until the baby, after regarding it in wonderment, reached out and was burned. The women watched expectantly and laughed when the baby cried, but in this case the act seemed more like deliberate instruction in the properties of fire than merely teasing. But as in teasing, the discomfort to the child is something not to be avoided but rather to be enjoyed. And as in teasing, the child learns to associate laughter with his own discomfort, or perhaps with his expression of his discomfort. He may thereby learn to avoid being laughed at because it is associated with discomfort, and to avoid the expression of discomfort because it brings laughter. [861] [155]

up; he is made to find most of his needs satisfied by his mother and then he 152
is told that he may be given away if he is not obedient; later he is made to 593
believe that the spirits of his ancestors are protecting him, but when he
becomes ill he is told that it is because he has not given them enough offer-
ings. The threat in each of these instances is abandonment, being cut off
from his family, because of insufficiency---disobedience or unfiliality.
The fear that this threat creates does much to maintain the family system.
It probably also accounts for the fear Okinawans seem to have of being alone,
and their frequent use, remarked upon by several observers, of the word
'sabishii', "lonely". It may also account for their frequently expressed [829]
view of Okinawa itself as a lonely, remote, and neglected island.

Family life also provides the individual with a pattern for human re- 593
lationships. In the family he learns what behavior is appropriate to the 867
status of older sibling and younger sibling, parent and child, male and fe-
male; he learns about authority, responsibility, and mutual obligation. This
pattern of relationships learned in the family he reads into the larger so-
ciety, and, entering the larger society he assumes the roles learned in the
family. He defers to seniors; he expects juniors and females to defer to him.
If he is a farmer he may expect instruction and support from the government,
as a child expects it from his parents. If he is an official or a teacher he
may at times deliberately speak down to the less educated and at other times
deliberately speak over their heads, as a parent does with his children.

It seems that several phenomena of recent years should have weakened 593
the old family system. The war destroyed much of the physical reminders of 178
the past and nearly every family lost one or more of its members. The subse- 177
quent shift in population further uprooted many. The repatriation brought
back people who had long been away, and with them, new ideas. The American
occupation has given rural Okinawans a mobility they could not have imagined
before. It has provided jobs for many of the younger people, which could
mean a degree of economic independence that they could never have had other-
wise. The schools have given young people of the opposite sexes more oppor-
tunity to meet on a respectable basis than they had ever had before. Yet we
find families carrying on in spite of the shift in residence and the loss of
important members, repatriates being reintegrated into the larger kin groups,
and young people who might be independent turning their earnings over to
their elders and asking their elders' permission to marry. Obviously family
ties are still strong.

But the structure of the family may still be changing. The relation-
ship between the behavior of individuals in the family and in the larger so-
ciety is a reciprocal one. It is quite likely that the individual takes the
roles that he has learned as a child in the family and plays them as an adult
in the larger society, as he interprets its structure. But it is also likely
that if the larger society is in a process of change, the individual may re-
interpret his roles or even learn new ones to conform to the new structure.
He may then go back to his family as a parent and reinterpret its structure
on the basis of what he has learned. His behavior as a parent then becomes
different from his father's before him. One of the professed aims of the
Civil Administration on Okinawa is the democratization of Okinawan society. [185]

226 461 month. The decline in opportunity is due, not to the weather, but to the scarcity of fish, which are said to move from these coastal waters during the winter season.

226 221 The fishermen follow the lunar calendar. The type of fish caught is determined by the season. There is some specialization based on age and experience. Only the skilled and relatively young can successfully make a living diving for the lobster and disengaging him from the rocks below. The most intense activity is during the summer months, and the [434] cash earnings of the fishermen are greatest at this time.

226 821 Fishermen pay attention to the weather and to the moon. Part of their weather knowledge comes from traditional lore, part from observation, part from the modern storm warning systems. Fishermen do not go out if there are storm clouds overhead, especially if they are moving fast. The worst sign is an increase in the height of the waves, even if the weather is good. The phases of the moon are also considered. The half moon is the best, the quarter moon is good, but neither a full moon nor a moonless night is considered favorable. The exception is fishing for white cuttle fish, caught on winter moonlit nights. At present, official storm warning signals are universally observed. The red flag flying from a pole on the main street near the breakwater is enough to keep every fisherman at home. This faith in meteorology has not always existed. Even in recent years, fishermen have disregarded the warnings because of disbelief, or ignored them when storms did not appear following a previous warning.

226 Fishing in the Hinatogawa area is coastal (if we include distances up to twelve miles out) and is on a small scale. Much of the gear is improvised by the fishermen themselves. The methods are simple and effective, and the boats are small. This is not one of the most important fishing areas in Ryukyuan waters.[1]

226 868 Men become fishermen by imitating their skilled elders. Knowledge of the fish and of the waters is imparted by word of mouth. The old men are the sources of the detailed knowledge of the currents and of the main fishing grounds, and this knowledge, held in the memory, is also [813] transmitted orally. There are no maps or charts. Usually it takes a beginner about two years to become acquainted with the fishing areas, and about three years to have a working knowledge of the currents.

1 For a general discussion, see Aquatic resources of the Ryukyu Area. (U.S. Dept. of the Interior. Fish and Wildlife Service. Fishing Leaflet 333), Washington, 1949. This work has an interesting collection of maps and drawings of various types of nets. It is not concerned with particular areas in Okinawa, nor with customs connected with fishing.

The time at which a young man becomes a full fledged fisherman depends on his own ability and progress. Age is not a criterion of skill after a young man has had experience. Perhaps when he is 24, a young man can handle every phase of the work, including catching the swordfish. It is common for a young and an old man to work together, the one as master, the other as novice. There is no stated apprenticeship period. In bad weather, or in rough seas, only the unusually apt young fisherman is allowed to bring in a large fish by himself because of the danger of capsizing. 276 868

2

Types of Boats

All boats are now motor driven. There are 42 in the village, 41 of which are small skiffs. Three types of boats are distinguished: (1) the hatsudoki. This is little more than a good sized motorboat with a cabin. It carries about 8 men. There is one in the village. The small scale individualized character of fishing here is indicated by the smallness of the remaining craft. (2) the kuribune (literally, "hollowed out boat," from the verb kuru, to carve or to hollow out). Properly speaking, it is a boat carved out of a log, usually of the Japanese redwood (sugi) imported from Japan, but the term is extended to mean any small boat. This type has largely disappeared, and only one remains in the village. The hollowed out boat seems, in this area at least, to have become a lost art. It has been displaced by (3) the hagibune (jointed, pieced together boat). This is also made from the Japanese redwood and is constructed, often by the fishermen themselves, out of planks about 2 1/2 inches thick. There were 40 of these hagibune in January 1952. The number is never constant due to new building, losses at sea, or on shore from typhoon destruction. 501

These small boats do not require much maintenance. At typhoon times, they are lifted from the shore up over the breakwater and lashed down on the side of the road. This may not avoid destruction. If the breaking waves are high and strong, they crush the breakwater, hurling its stones against the boats. Every two months, the boats are thoroughly treated by rubbing with shark oil. Cracks and small holes are repaired with small wooden plugs, called fundu in Okinawan. These are shaped like a stylized butterfly. They are inserted in the bottom of the sides of the boats across the running planks, that is, against the grain. 504 [731] 501 322

3

Common Fish and How They Are Caught

In this area, many different kinds of fish are caught, but the following discussion is limited to the most plentiful and economically 226

During the primary and junior high school years, no exacting demands are made at home. Young girls after school strap the baby on their back and go out to play, or they may fetch water from the well, pond, or faucet, carrying it home in buckets hanging from a pole resting on their shoulders, or they may help in preparing the evening meal. Younger boys, 12 and over, help with feeding the pigs or run errands, but they have more leisure than the girls. There is night study at home, including practice on the abacus and reading to which the parents listen, correcting the errors. Formal education, for a large majority, ends with the completion of junior high school. 857 883 [482] [871]

As children grow older, they continue in off hours to help around the home, help which follows the lines of the male and female division of labor of adulthood. This is not a strict division, as there are many areas in which both sexes do common chores. In the agricultural villages, girls continue to help around the home, carry water, and hoe in the sweet potato patches. In the fishing village, they also carry water, help with the laundry, and start helping the older women in selling and distributing fish. The boys work more in the paddies. In the fishing village, they may make trips to the sea, but as a rule, this does not begin until later. [462]

For those who go to senior high school, there is a noticeable change from the earlier school experience. They enter at about 14 or 15 and remain in high school 3 years. It is a period of growing maturity, and the older they get the shyer they seem to become. Girl's hair is allowed to grow longer, perhaps to neck or shoulder length, less often in long braids, and the bangs remain. A big change takes place in the hair styles of the boys. The close clipped haircut is abandoned and the hair is allowed to grow long. Often it is not cut at all on the top, so that in two or three years, it has acquired considerable length. 873 856 302

The child who leaves school at the end of primary or junior high school is more quickly absorbed in the daily work life and traditional occupations of the family. The senior high school student has teaching, clerking, translating, or other white collar work in mind. The boy who leaves school earlier might drive a truck or a horse cart, or adopt the occupation of his father. This is likely to be a time killing period for those young men who live in the fishing village or whose families lack land. 463

6

Early Adulthood and the Engagement

In early adulthood and before marriage, a son of the house might be given a separate room or a small outlying shed which he fixes up for himself. The young girls, more and more, assume full time duties in the home, relieving the mother. Often the mother and her young daughter work together in the fields. These mature young girls also may take over the care of younger children. Young men from 17 on are 885 868

885 well accustomed to the routine of the occupation they will follow. The young fisherman has gone to sea for his beginning lessons. The 888 young farmer knows most of the skills of planting and cultivating. The young stone worker, requiring little training to begin, is already at work.

885 Young men maintain close relationships with their families prior 593 to marriage. In the villages studied, there is little movement to the larger towns. Since the war young men or women have found employ- [A64] ment, at various times, in government and military government offices as account clerks, maids, translators, clerks at post exchanges, officer's clubs, restaurants, bars, and the like. But there were few instances in these villages.

A young man does not leave the village ordinarily, nor does he rent separate living quarters. These continuing family ties up to marriage may account for the boyishness and lack of maturity noticeable in so many young men in the age group from 17 to 25. The young school teacher, the truck driver, fisherman, or farmer may turn over part of his earnings to the parents. In rural Okinawa, residence in the home and attachment to the family last well into the years of younger maturity. This does not mean that there are no personal dissatisfactions with their situation.

834 There are few outward signs of personal attraction among young men and women during the teens and the years before marriage. In public, boys and young men of the same age group usually are seen together. This is true of the girls. Clandestine meetings among young men and young women take place. A mutual attraction is often communicated by a young go-between trusted by both. This secrecy does not come about from a desire to conceal the attraction, but because both parties are shy (hasukashii). This public reticence, so old in [178] Oriental cultures, is gradually breaking down. It is a convention, based on public repression of one's feelings. This does not mean that people dislike personal and physical contact and lack demonstrativeness. [159] Okinawans are emotional and demonstrative, and do not avoid physical contact, as anyone who has seen them at their parties has discovered.[16]

But young men and young women may meet quite openly. A young man in his early twenties may visit a girl's house, stay all day with her and her parents, and part of the time be alone with her. The young,

16 It is too early to tell the effect of ideas of sex equality on rural Okinawan society. That the supposed high position of the American woman has made an impression on many rural Okinawan women there can be no doubt. The influence of young American soldiers and sailors, their catering and thoughtfulness toward Okinawan girls to whom they [410] are deeply attracted has spread beyond the range of those with the immediate experience. The soldiers are responsible for the adoption [834] of the word, "honey." Okinawan boys use it in the same sense as Americans: as any very attractive girl, or as a girl deeply loved personally.

543 these matters. In township exhibits of arts and crafts, there are evidences of these skills, such as the training of a chrysanthemum, a favorite choice, but these are not part of daily life.

532 Yet there is evidence of artistic talent and interest which teachers and parents encourage in the young. Okinawan children draw
[353] and copy well. It is not unusual to see an otherwise bare room of a poor farmer's home decorated with the paintings or drawings of a son or daughter. While clearly the work of novices, they often show feeling for line and color. School buildings, houses, and landscapes are the favorite subjects. Drawing skills come as no surprise because of the close relationship, in countries using the Chinese character,
875 of calligraphy and art. Teachers of drawing and art in the schools are skillful in rapid sketching, and part of this skill must be the re-
212 sult of early training in the sequence of strokes and in writing the Chinese character with confidence and boldness.

535 Dancing and samisen playing are learned by imitation and self-instruction. Music is learned by ear, the dancing by observing the old
533 and skilled. Parents do not instruct their children in these arts; they pick up the skill themselves. There are no village teachers nor
868 do the schools teach native dances, songs, or samisen playing. (In recent years instruction books have been furnished when a samisen is
[562] purchased). Samisen playing is a monopoly of the men, many of whom also have a repertoire of traditional dances. These performers are always in demand on social occasions. Both old and young men dance, but only the old woman feel free to do so. Seeing a seventy or eighty year old grandmother dancing at a party is commonplace, but I have never seen a young girl or a young woman in her thirties doing this. (Young girls and young women may participate in formal dances in processions and on holidays). Among the younger people, there is considerable interest, but little facility in American dancing.

532 Hanging scrolls (kakemono) are often purchased by the villagers. But these are dashed off affairs, following Japanese art conventions, such as the jolly Japanese patron saint, tigers, the bamboo-plum blossom-cherry triad, and the turtle and the cormorant, etc.

181 One has the impression of latent talent in music, dancing, and drawing but that the cultural conditions have not been favorable to
[533] their development. Social events and parties are unthinkable without
[535] singing, dancing, and samisen playing. Good drawing and calligraphy are admired. But none of these seem to be highly developed folk arts.
[532] Possibly one reason is that the transmission of the skills has been purely imitative, and that a body of knowledge has not accumulated in
[868] books, organised teaching, or through apprenticeship and hereditary occupations by which ideas can be improved upon by wider dissemination.
[369] The cultural isolation of rural villages may have prevented the building up of a tradition in art and handicraft. Naha and Shuri, the historical cultural centers, have produced the fine examples of lacquer ware,
[636] ceramics, and paintings. Possibly also Japanese repression of the native culture has been the main reason. Whatever they are, the lack of advance-

857 the infant still at the breast who is taken on shopping trips to Nago, the nearest town, or to neighboring townships to visit maternal relatives. When whale meat was marketed from the village on weekends, a school age child was taken along to carry the infant because the mother was burdened with her basket of meat, but this was infrequent. Few children have explored their township beyond Miyagi, a village 5 miles to the east of Taira or Gesashi, 4 miles to the southwest.

[364] Children also rummage through the garbage heaps, where they find useful things like tin cans, bottles, and discarded bits of vegetable with which to play house or store.

857 241 During the harvest and planting seasons, children accompany adults to the rice paddies and potato fields near the village. Mats are spread out on the dikes and kindergarten children gaily dangle their feet in the oozy mud while "keeping watch over the sleeping infants." Those who whimper to help are given small sheaves of rice to carry to their fathers and older brothers, who thresh them in the dry fields or on the flat grounds bordering the paddies.

855 [412] Many 4-year-olds are adept at handling knives. As implements like knives, hatchets, pronged hoes, sickles, rakes, and saws were often left within reach of children, it was not unusual for them to use them. Although many cut themselves, adults do not seem to take special care to put them out of reach. Children of kindergarten age are frequently scolded for playing with sharp instruments, but with persistent crying or begging they usually gain reluctant consent.

852 855 527 During all holiday events, children participate without much control from adults. Young children are carried by their mothers as they make the visiting rounds or sit on the floor in the building where the whole village congregates. Toddlers explore the surroundings and, finding themselves in the middle of the dance floor, are gently pushed aside and handed back to their mother. Older children hang around while food is served; then they disappear to play games of their own. During sport events, track meets, wrestling, and at dance performances, children are as interested spectators as their parents. Nobody would think of leaving a child at home on a holiday, and nobody would demand that the child sit quietly through lengthy speeches or ceremonies.

● 868 535 [872] Children learn dances from kindergarten days on, either by watching or by coaching from an older person, a friend, one's older sister, or mother. Sometimes they are called on to perform for adults, or a special children's performance is given under the direction of the kindergarten teacher. Adults enjoy these dances as much as if they were done by grownups. They are amused and delighted if a little girl

 868

wiggles her hips and otherwise makes movements that are not permitted in the classical Okinawan dance. 535

Kindergarten children are usually asleep by 8:30 in the winter and 9:00 in the summer. They sleep an average 8 hours. Ten o'clock is considered to be proper bedtime for all people. The village bell is rung to remind everyone that the day has ended. The entire family sleeps on the mattresses spread on the floor with wooden pillows. In winter the heavy quilts are taken down. Children vary in their bedtime. Those who feel tired fall asleep soon after the evening meal. Often the grandparents lie down with the small children. If children accompany parents on a visit, they lie down in their father's or mother's lap, or on the floor to sleep. Since not all adults go to sleep at 10:00, older children may stay up longer, particularly during moonlight nights. Few children take naps except during the summer, when the heat makes everyone drowsy and slows down work during midday. Once in a while a young child goes home to lie down for a nap. 857 513

The kindergarten child's day has been an active and carefree one. He is seldom alone. "Do not play alone, go and play with others. If you play alone, people might think that others dislike you," instruct parents in Taira. Anyone passing a child playing alone would remark, "How lonely he seems." Furthermore, mothers worry about a child being alone "because he is more apt to do naughty things or get into dangerous play." 857 155 156

A 4- or 5-year-old may sometimes find himself being a caretaker, but generally he is not considered very reliable, and being a "senseless" individual, he is not held responsible by the village for anything that might happen to his charges. It is the mother who is held culpable and is censured in this case. 857 855 861

One mother was severely criticized by her neighbors when she punished her 4-year-old boy for abandoning his 2-year-old sibling. The children had been sent out to play. When the older boy came home for supper, he faced an angry mother who berated him for thinking only of his own pleasure and leaving his little brother on the main road and to the dangers of passing trucks. She spanked the boy, tied his hands and legs briefly, and left the crying child behind when she went to the village store with his younger sibling.

In another case, a grandmother grumbled about the "laxity" and irresponsibility of the mother. A 5-year-old was carrying her month-old sibling who was sleeping on the back in a twisted position due to loose strappings. "Come here! Your mother, where is she . . . how could she leave this child with you! Almost falling . . . ," the old woman mumbled as she unstrapped the peacefully sleeping baby and 857 854

TRAINING IN SKILLS

868 There are no complex systems of training in skills. Adults rely heavily on observation and imitation on the part of children; they seldom "teach" them to do things systematically. Parents were surprised and amused when questions such as "How do you teach children to transplant rice, harvest rice, or otherwise help in the fields?" were put to them. "We don't teach them; why they just learn by themselves," was the usual answer.

Children learn by observing and experimenting. Whatever adults are doing, children are present to watch their activities and overhear their conversations. Although parents do not seem to make any special [852] efforts to have a child attend a function so that he might learn adult ways, they take their children to the fields, parties, public meetings, and rituals long before they consider them ready to absorb any learning.

868 In the fields, children play among rows of vegetables. When a parent, grandparent, or older sibling stops for a rest to have a cup of tea, 857 the little ones pick up a hoe and attempt to imitate their elders. While 243 rice is being transplanted, throngs of children sit on the dikes in the [264] paddies, dangling their legs in the mud. They intently watch adults transplanting and weeding the paddies. Gradually they edge down into the mud to stamp with their bare feet in the ooze as they have seen adults do, until a warning shout arrests their educational water play. During the harvest season, groups of children carry mats out to the paddies and watch infants who need to be near their mothers for their feedings. While the infants sleep, the older children walk along the dikes, watching the work that is going on and clamoring to be of some help. Even a little child of kindergarten age stands by gloomily until an adult laughingly hands him a small bundle of rice sheaves to carry over to the threshing machine. By the time the child is 8, he has learned enough by watching to attempt cutting and tying small bundles of rice sheaves.

868 After the harvest, rice straw can be found in great quantities around the village. Some of the best straw is preserved to be made into rope. 283 If there are rainy days, men will sit and twist the rice straw into rope, [526] while 8- and 9-year-olds sit and watch. In a few days rope games and swings are in evidence everywhere. Little 4- and 5-year-olds stand by watching the older children, and soon they pick up stray bits of straw and twist them to no avail. A younger sibling whines as her move-

ments fail to form rope. Her brother quietly takes the straw and without a word demonstrates the deft movement. She watches and tries again when her brother hands it back to her. She is unsuccessful. As she starts to whine again, her brother picks up a length of finished rope and gives it to her. She runs happily toward the playground, waving her rope in the air. 868 [283]

Although young children are not taken to the mountains, they can sit in the village afternoons and watch adults sawing, splitting, and working the bamboo rings used in tying faggots. Boys do not go into the mountains to cut firewood until they are about 10 years old, girls until they are 12, although they may have begged their parents for several years to let them help with cutting and hauling of firewood. But as long as they are still too young for mountain work, they try to use the cutting tools. Tools are left within reach of children so that opportunities for experimentation are almost unlimited. Only their size and weight deter the youngest children. A 2-year-old girl was seen imitating her mother by attempting to whittle off pieces of bamboo with a large 12-inch blade bushknife. A teen-age girl working nearby passed the little girl several times without saying anything. The little girl's father also worked nearby but, like everyone else, was too absorbed in his work to notice his daughter. Finally her mother looked up from where she worked, noticed the huge knife in the girl's hand, and saying in a loud, angry voice, "Why do you carry this, fool?" took the knife away. [313] [412]

Other small children pick up hoes and forks to try them in the yard or in the pigsty. Sickles and knives are used expertly by many 6-year-olds. Bandaged fingers and numerous little scars are evidences of learning and experimentation. Occasionally an adult will say to a 9- or 10-year-old, "Hold the sickle this way so you won't get hurt," but more often than not the child has already learned by himself. One 4½-year-old boy shinnied up the side of a feed box to get a sickle. There was no adult around to peel the long stalk of sugar cane he had been given, so, with expert strokes and handling of the razor-sharp tool, he shaved off the thick, hard skin. By the time his mother arrived on the scene, the child was busily chewing and sucking on a considerable length of the peeled cane. The mother was asked who had taught him to use the sickle, and she was at a loss for a reply. "I don't know! He must have watched us and learned by himself by trying it out!" she said. [412] [264]

Little girls watch their mothers cooking and doing other household work. By watching and asking questions they learn how to light a fire and when to extinguish it to cook a perfect pot of rice. They [252] [296]

868 crouch with their mothers, who are busy with the laundry. It is not
296 long before they pick up a small article of clothing and start soaping, rubbing, and rinsing just as their mothers do.

IMITATIVE PLAY

857 What children observe in adult life is frequently acted out in play
524 situations. Before a girl is old enough to do all the household work alone, she can always find satisfaction for her desire to learn an adult role by imitating it in play. Playing "house" is an activity which all girls from the age of 4 to 9 or 10 indulge in constantly at all times of the year. The beach, yard, empty lots of uninhabited houses serve as locales for this play. Girls "act out" the role of the mother in the household in crude but painstakingly constructed "houses." Boys rarely join in this kind of play, which is not surprising, since males have very little to do with the day-to-day happenings in the house. Invariably there is a play store at which all the "mothers" converge to buy their daily supply of bean paste, noodles, or dried seaweed, but the most concentrated locale of activity is in the "kitchen of the houses." Here elaborate meals are prepared with sand for rice, grass roots for noodles, chopped up pandanus leaves for greens, and hibiscus for red coloring. Frequently during the vegatable season discarded carrots, cabbage, and turnips are used in make-believe dishes. Shells of all kinds serve as plates and bowls and sticks, into which cockle shells are wedged, as spoons. Bamboo pieces serve as chopsticks. An 8 year-old may spirit the real kitchen knife to chop up the "vegetables" if the house-playing takes place near the home. Deftly she slices the carrots and turnips and mixes them into water. If she is fortunate, she and her playmates can use a temporarily uninhabited house in which the hearth stones and wire hung pot still remain, in which case she need not construct one out of small rocks. As she orders her "children" to go to the store for rice or salt, she jogs up and down to quiet the infant that fusses on her back. Finally the meal is ready to serve. The "family" without "father" all sit in the kitchen on their knees as she busily serves the various concoctions. There is a disturbance "outside," and she turns to look as one of her children shouts, "Oh, look what the boys have done!" "Fools! Go away!" she shouts as she runs after the laughing boys who have taken a few of the bamboo sticks that delineate the house walls. "We are robbers, robbers come to rob you!" shout the boys as they run away. After the "meal" is finished and while she is washing dishes, she hears someone

calling, "Good day." She hurries forward and finds a 5-year-old boy standing at her door. "Want anything today?" asks the boy, unloading a bunch of grass. The "mother" smiles, amused, then she sorts through the grass and hands over some "money" and thanks the "peddler" as he goes on his way to the next house. The peddler turns out to be the same boy who was the robber. When his peddling bores him, he returns to robbing and finally leaves the scene entirely. As the "mother" returns to her kitchen to work toward her next meal, one of the "children" returns "home" with a bunch of flowers. As it is the fifteenth day of the lunar calendar, she hurries to put them into a small empty bottle. She places the flowers on the family shrine shelf along with "incense sticks." This done, she goes out to the "store." 857 524

After "marketing," preparations for the next meal begin; but as she works intently, there is a call. "Good day, excuse me . . ." calls a voice in high-pitched tones which are the essence of politeness and femininity. As visitor greets hostess, the etiquette of adult life is enacted with much finesse. "Tea" is brought in by an "older daughter," and polite talk is exchanged over it. Sitting quite properly on her knees, the hostess "bows her guest" out of the house as she has seen her own mother do countless times. And so it goes, day after day, little girls who never seem to tire of imitating their mothers until they approach the age of 10, when unmistakable signs of self-consciousness affect their behavior.

In other respects, too, the play situation is often turned into a valuable learning experience. These are play activities which are in reality beginnings of assuming responsibility toward economic contributions for the home. A kindergarten child follows his older sibling or mother down to the beach. The trip is made to collect seaweed for the pigs, but the young child just goes along for recreation. The young child, unable to discriminate between the different kinds of seaweed, drops into the basket whatever she picks up. She "plays at collecting seaweed." The older sibling silently picks out the undesirable variety and discards it. Many times the portion the younger child has collected is rejected, but before long, through observation and imitation, he learns to pick the particular kind of seaweed which is desired. The older sibling in many cases does not attempt to instruct by saying, "Pick the green, smooth kind that grows thick on the rocks." Instead, he may just nod or shake his head if the younger brings forward some for approval or disapproval. 857 868

On one gathering trip in the fields, a 10-year-old boy devised a game which actually was instructive in nature. He was accompanied by his two male cousins, 3 and 4 years old. They were hunting for

857 a type of milkweed which was to be fed to the chickens. The older boy
• 868 would walk on a way, carefully searching the ground, stop when he spotted some milkweed, and call to the younger ones, "There are some near the spot on which I am standing!" The two little boys would rush over and start examining the area carefully. With a shout one of them would drop to the ground, uproot the plant, and bear it triumphantly to his older cousin. Then the game would continue with the older boy saying, "Good child."

861 The relatively few restrictions placed on the young child are an important basis for learning. By being able to participate freely, children learn what is going on in their village from day to day. Since adults feel that children do not really understand what they are talking about, conversations are free and not couched in mysterious terms. The 10-year-old who is fully aware of the subject under discussion may giggle uncontrollably, but none of the adults pays attention to this. An adult giving a blow-by-blow description of the latest quarrel may even turn to a 10- or 12-year-old child for aid when he forgets a detail.

SOCIALIZING AGENTS

855 In general mothers continue to be the chief socializers, with the
593 grandmother and older siblings second in importance. From the child's point of view, the mother retains the closest bond with him
861 throughout childhood, regardless of the grandmother's prominent role in his early life, and even though, in terms of time which the child spends with others, the mother gradually assumes less importance. It is to the mother that children turn for ultimate support, and to her is delegated the responsibility of child rearing in Taira. Although much of the responsibility for caring for children is given to siblings, the villagers hold the mother alone culpable, should a child deviate in his behavior.

855 The mother's ultimate responsibility for the child is not reduced
857 by the fact that she may spend a great part of the day away from her offspring. Mothers frequently ask other children for the whereabouts
593 of a son or a daughter. Just as the fieldworkers soon learned in what places they would be most likely to find a particular child, so mothers on the whole are aware of their children's favorite play areas. A
[152] mother occasionally inquires about her children's whereabouts without showing anxiety. The fieldworkers were once asked by a mother if they knew where her daughter, who carried an infant sister, was

857 intimate as they used to be. He has little in common with them, but
561 since he still takes care of a younger sibling or plays games to which younger children are attracted, there remain frequent contacts between the age groups. The transition between first grade and second grade is in no way as pronounced as the drastic status change from
[866] kindergarten to first grade. Children feel it mostly as a gradually increasing pressure toward assuming more responsibility. The transition which takes place at a ritual level * during the early latency period, however, is not reflected in their daily life.

CHORES AND RESPONSIBILITY TRAINING

857 Although adults say that the elementary school student is still very
868 much of a child who only toward the latter part of this stage can seriously be expected to contribute much to the tasks and duties in home and village; the children, in fact, do some work daily. Already in first grade, responsibility is approached with seriousness, girls exceeding boys in this respect. Children beg tasks, and obeying the school's directive to "help one's parents" seems to become the prime objective of first graders who have just proudly attained their new
357 status. They plead to accompany their older siblings who, with much
868 less zeal than the younger ones, gather giant African snails after a heavy rainfall, hunt frogs, dragon flies, and grasshoppers, or wash
231 potatoes for the pigs. Adults consider some of these chores play.
[866] Although frogs and grasshoppers are fed to the chickens, and minnows and seaweed are added to the pig swill, nevertheless, adults would not seriously label expeditions to collect these responsible. On the other hand, if there is no available feed, as occasionally happens, the child will be scolded and berated for "thinking only of play and not of the hungry chickens." Four- to 6-year-olds are discouraged from these foraging trips, for the danger of snake bites and accidents in the paddies and on the beach is very real. Accompanied by older siblings, however, they, too, may participate.

Some tasks, such as fetching water and feeding the pigs, cutting grass for the horse and goats, washing down the horse, and gathering faggots for the hearth, are still too difficult for the first grade child. But some of them are attempted, at least by assisting older children.

866 Once the child starts off to school, he is made aware that he is

[764] * In case of death the child who has reached the age of 8 must be given a full
[775] fledged burial since in afterlife he becomes a buddha from now on. We had no indication that children were aware of this.

872 ment. But how should a Taira child grasp, for instance, the meaning
876 of a large hotel in the city, where travelers can stop, engage one or
several rooms, have meals served either individually in the room or
[485] at the restaurant? The little Taira guesthouse, run by the doctor
and to all extent and purposes a private home, is hardly an adequate
model.

876 Learning by doing is, on the whole, an innovation in the school
program. To find out what fifth- and sixth-grade students might have
872 learned in the home by actually doing things, the school circulated
857 a questionnaire which covered such items as: "Have you ever tried
to make a simple telescope? Did you ever watch a plant grow from
the time of seeding and make a scientific description of its progress?
Did you ever build a small toolshed or other small structure by yourself? Did you ever make regular observations of weather phenomena
and keep a record?" From our previous description of typical activities of Taira children, it is not surprising to learn that very few
of these or similar experiences appeared on the answers in the
affirmative.

876 At school, participation and learning by doing are found at least
in a few instances. The basic skills of cleaning rooms by using rag
● 868 and mop, as well as maintaining school grounds by cutting grass with
[358] a sickle and weeding with a hoe, may not have high educational
value, but they carry over to the home and village situation. In the
upper grades, students begin to do some gardening at school. Later
in junior high school they work in their own small garden plots on
[241] the school grounds and in school rice paddies under teachers'
supervision. Unlike the home situation, where learning also takes
place by observation and doing, the teacher lays a foundation for
solid knowledge by instruction and demonstration of proper techniques and by criticism of errors. The large number of students who
work under guidance of a single teacher limits the practical value
of such learning situations. It is evident, however, that there is an
important qualitative difference between learning in the home situation and at school. Where the child does a chore in the village without trying to meet standards set by parents, the school child finds
that the teacher scrutinizes his work carefully, judges, compares, picks
and chooses the best performers from the poorer ones, and imposes
standards for all to meet or excel. If a standard is set at all in the
village, adults tend to either overlook it or simply fail to enforce it.

During the primary and junior high school years, no exacting demands are made at home. Young girls after school strap the baby on their back and go out to play, or they may fetch water from the well, pond, or faucet, carrying it home in buckets hanging from a pole resting on their shoulders, or they may help in preparing the evening meal. Younger boys, 12 and over, help with feeding the pigs or run errands, but they have more leisure than the girls. There is night study at home, including practice on the abacus and reading to which the parents listen, correcting the errors. Formal education, for a large majority, ends with the completion of junior high school. 859 883 [482] [871]

As children grow older, they continue in off hours to help around the home, help which follows the lines of the male and female division of labor of adulthood. This is not a strict division, as there are many areas in which both sexes do common chores. In the agricultural villages, girls continue to help around the home, carry water, and hoe in the sweet potato patches. In the fishing village, they also carry water, help with the laundry, and start helping the older women in selling and distributing fish. The boys work more in the paddies. In the fishing village, they may make trips to the sea, but as a rule, this does not begin until later. [462]

For those who go to senior high school, there is a noticeable change from the earlier school experience. They enter at about 14 or 15 and remain in high school 3 years. It is a period of growing maturity, and the older they get the shyer they seem to become. Girl's hair is allowed to grow longer, perhaps to neck or shoulder length, less often in long braids, and the bangs remain. A big change takes place in the hair styles of the boys. The close clipped haircut is abandoned and the hair is allowed to grow long. Often it is not cut at all on the top, so that in two or three years, it has acquired considerable length. 873 856 302

The child who leaves school at the end of primary or junior high school is more quickly absorbed in the daily work life and traditional occupations of the family. The senior high school student has teaching, clerking, translating, or other white collar work in mind. The boy who leaves school earlier might drive a truck or a horse cart, or adopt the occupation of his father. This is likely to be a time killing period for those young men who live in the fishing village or whose families lack land. 463

6

Early Adulthood and the Engagement

In early adulthood and before marriage, a son of the house might be given a separate room or a small outlying shed which he fixes up for himself. The young girls, more and more, assume full time duties in the home, relieving the mother. Often the mother and her young daughter work together in the fields. These mature young girls also may take over the care of younger children. Young men from 17 on are 885 868

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

1

Introduction

The modern history of Okinawan education falls into three periods, which correspond with the cultural influences of three different nations: (1) the traditional education borrowed from China, (2) the Japanese system of education, and (3) the introduction of American concepts of education following the war.[1] 871 177

The Chinese influences ended in the latter part of the 19th century. Education was confined to the upper classes. "Aping China in everything, Lew Chew has also its three yearly examinations, which, for the time being, make quite a stir in the learned world, but hold out no prospect for high station, as in China. At most, the fortunate candidate gets, beside a good fill of honor, a rice pension or a schoolmastership."[2] [565]

The new Japanese education also introduced western ideas into Okinawa through a Japanese sieve. The Meiji Rescript on Education (1890) codified the principles of this new pedagogy. It was a method of inducing conformity to the ideals of the new Japan. The most important point was that education became a mass program.[3] This new education, according to Chamberlain (1895), took hold gradually.

Before the war there were two policies in public education. Up to 1940, primary school (shōgakko) was an eight year course. In addition to the usual studies, the curriculum from grades one through six emphasized duties and obligations (gimu) to one's parents, relatives, friends, and to the emperor. The national school (kokumingakko) system, which lasted until the end of the war, replaced the old primary school. Instruction in duties and obligations extended over eight years with intensified emphasis on nationalism and emperor worship.

1 Education is a large, complex, and technical subject. Time did not permit spending a large amount of time in classrooms. My purpose here is to show how education is related to village and family life and to explain the general nature of the problems as I observed them. [121]

2 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, as cited, I, 223-24. The words are those of Dr. Bettelheim.

3 The modern school system in Japan dates from 1872. Many of the Okinawan schools seem to have been started in the eighties and nineties. The first school in Okinawa is said to have been started in Shuri in 1798.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

873 [368]

Hanashiro the children take the short walk to primary and junior high school at Gushichan village; for senior high school they go to Chinen, 5 or 6 miles away. Most of them walk. Matsuda has an elementary school with the junior and senior high schools at Ginoza village, about 1 1/2 miles away. In senior high school, there is more specialization. The general science course is divided into physics (butsuri), chemistry (kagaku), and biology (seibutsu). Mathematics is split up into geometry (kika) and algebra (daitsu). There is further instruction in agriculture for the boys, some for the girls. The girls continue with domestic science, including sewing.

In the secondary schools, vocational education is well represented in the curriculum. The courses are planned as a preparation for the type of work students will do as adults in a village. The instructors seem competent although the subject matter does not include modern advances. There should not, in my opinion, be a further growth in vocational at the expense of general education, except after careful study of long term requirements. The great masses of people will continue to depend on agriculture, forestry, and to some extent on fishing for their existence, and vocational education should be built around a recognition of these facts. It should concentrate on supplying new knowledge related to these main fields. [875] 114

New technical skills that we desire to develop should be governed by these considerations: (1) the improvement of agriculture, forestry, and fishing. (2) The long range plans of the military and civil administration and the skills they will require. (3) New skills that will be needed with any development of foreign trade or of local industrialization.

Vocational education also should be developed along lines consistent with the type of professional training we are prepared to encourage. If biologists, botanists, agriculturalists, soil scientists, foresters, statisticians, social scientists are being trained, vocational and technical education should also follow along these general lines to create a source both of initial interest and of possible technicians to assist the professional workers. This would also apply to the public health fields, such as nurses' aides, midwives, laboratory technicians.

The distinguishing feature of the new education (shinkyoiku) is the introduction of democratic ideas (minshushugi). The status of girl students and of women teachers has also changed. Before the war, the children were taught in the same room, but the boys and girls were separated. Now there is no segregation. Women teachers' salaries, formerly about 20% less than the mens', are now the same. 871 [562] [875]

3

Schools and the Teacher

358

There is much more to a school day than actual instruction. The

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

This desire to learn English is more than a wish to communicate with Americans. Opportunities are open for those who know English, and people of all ages realize that theoretical and applied science and improved techniques come from the West, and that English is a means of understanding and applying this knowledge. Channelling this desire, through competent instruction in the schools, which will result in efficient self-guidance afterwards, is one of the significant problems of Okinawan education. But the techniques to be used on a permanent basis should be left to the professional linguist.

Should for example the methods of Basic English be adopted as a matter of policy and be encouraged in private study? Or should language study be based on the principles set forth by the rapidly advancing field of linguistics? Or should we accept the guidance of doctors of education who are specialists in curriculum construction and language training? My own bias is toward the manuals developed by the linguists, such as Spoken Japanese (EI 561-62). This approach, with its pattern sentences, is based on an analysis of the structure of the language itself. Basic English poses the problem whether the English taught is really basic. In my opinion, the crux of the matter is to study the presuppositions underlying these approaches and not the subject matter they produce. American learned societies, with the co-operation of the Army and the Navy, and the subsequent university programs in language study, have made great strides in these fields, both theoretical and applied. They represent the most advanced thinking in the world on these subjects, and the body of knowledge which they have should be most useful.[4]

5

Home, School, and Village

There are strong bonds between the home, the village, and the school. Parents help their children with their elementary readers. There is homework and classmates may stay at one another's houses overnight. Parents are interested in children's school problems, but they do not visit the schools often, except at times arranged by the officials. PTA's have been organized, but it is still too early to tell how successful they will be. Since the PTA, like the Women's Association and the Young Men's Association, fits in the culture, it probably will thrive.

On entering school, the child is introduced to a new language which he has not spoken to any extent in childhood. Okinawan is the language of the pre-school child. Beginning school, therefore, is a bigger break than it is with most cultures.

The schools usually draw on several villages for their student body

4 It is only fair to say that my own bias in favor of the approach developed by the technical linguists grows out of instruction I received in Japanese in the Army's Civil Affairs Training School Program in 1943-44.

871 and the more advanced the school, the truer this is. Friendships are made early with children of nearby villages. Marriage may be
572 the result of early school acquaintance, encouraged by the acceptance of free choice in marriage. A young adult has a scattering of friendships in the villages of his township. These class friendships are strong in school, in the teens, and early twenties. By the late twenties, the circle of friendships has broadened.

182 One of the most significant links between the family, village,
526 and school is the annual athletic meet (undōkai). It is held in the fall. Preparations for this event are long and involve almost everybody.5

526 About a month before it is held, the meet is the topic of innumerable conversations. School children practice singing and
[875] athletic dancing drills at home. School teachers, who do most of the organizational work, practice with painful cacophony on their trumpets and
[534] clarinets. On the streets and lanes of Minatogawa, young men from 17 to 23 practice broad jumping late into the night. Shortly before the meet, all normal school activities stop. The teachers paint signs, mimeograph programs, and plan the order of the various events. The school officials have interminable committee meetings.

There is much bustle, laundering, hair washing, and cooking in a village the day before the meet. Special lunches including rice dyed
[262] red, bean curd, slices of fish paste, beef or pork are prepared. This field day is the closest approach to a picnic the Okinawans experience.

In good weather, the meet has a large attendance. A reserved area, with school desks and chairs is set aside for special guests. A person entering the reserved section to take his seat bows to the mayor and the
[576] group, steps forward a few paces, bows again, and takes his seat.

The mayor of the township presides over the meeting relieved by the vice-mayor or other school or village or township officials. On one day of the autumn meet, the mayor remained seated throughout the morning and afternoon in a drizzling rain. It was his duty, assisted by the principal and the teachers of the school, to give out the prizes.

Relay races, girls' dances, races and dashes for various age groups are endless. At present, the meeting is not confined to school children, but the younger men and women are included as well. The Young Men's Association is very active. Special events are included. In the Women's Association event, there was a mother and child race. In one case, a mother who entered the race with a child on her back and her young son as

[119] 5 These remarks are based on observations in Minatogawa, Oushichan, and Hanashiro villages, and on attendance at the Oushichan meet in November 1951. From discussions, I am certain they are very similar in Mateuda, in fact all over the island.

who have accepted them cannot afford to buy the recommended drugs. 758
Furthermore, the choice between the bush doctor and the trained medical men in town is sometimes determined by lack of money to pay for the more expensive services.

Cleanliness of the village and general sanitation are theoretically 744
under township control. Except for superficial biannual inspections, 575
nothing much is done about them. Perhaps the Women's Association, once they carry out plans to take over this function, will be more effective.

There are several cases of physically deformed, mentally deficient, 158
and mentally ill persons. A young man of about 20 years, born as an 734
idiot or imbecile, lives in the back of his parents' house, protected from 757
the gaze of outsiders. His family provides well for him, and when no stranger is around to embarrass the family, the grandfather may take him out to attend a village event. Another young man, who was normal, one day began to frighten his family and eventually the whole village by outbursts of violence. He attacked other persons and property. Nobody really knew how to cope with the situation, since the single mental hospital in Okinawa could not keep him longer than six months, and everybody realized that he was sick, not evil minded, when he broke bottles and other glassware in the village store. The [755]
family tried religious treatment and locked the man up but never for long, for he had intermittent periods of calm and seemingly rational behavior. Another man, during a busy day, complained of sudden headaches. Soon afterward he became severely depressed and attempted [762]
to commit suicide, quite an infrequent phenomenon in the Okinawan village.

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Chapter 10

Formal Education

The Japanese school system, which was introduced to Okinawa in the 871
1880's, reached Taira by 1891. At that time a small school was established in the village. Some of its early graduates are still alive and re- 177

871 177 call that in their quest for education, adolescents and even adults attended the elementary grades. The introduction of a formal school system in the village marked the beginning of changes in the culture; the Japanese language was introduced, and teachers transmitted Japanese culture as part of the curriculum (Kerr, 1958). It is found today [191] that people too old to have attended school—which in the early years was not compulsory—are the only ones who do not speak Japanese and who are illiterate. Their number is small, probably less than 5% 872 of Taira's population.

346 The school was moved about 40 years ago to nearby Kawata village, [871] where a substantial schoolhouse was built. Today the elementary school is located there, about a one-mile walk from central Taira, but 3 miles from the outlying subvillage of Izena. The junior high school lies halfway between Taira and Kawata. During the war all school buildings were destroyed, but two new permanent structures for the elementary school were finished in 1954; one of these is a wooden building with a tile roof, the other an all-concrete, flat-roof structure of simple, modern design. Four classrooms and a teacher's room are located in these buildings. The remaining temporary, thatched-roof huts with three more classrooms will disappear as soon as the school rebuilding program is completed.

Built against a hill, the school has spacious grounds in front for sports and play. Classrooms for 30 to 35 students are fairly adequate in size and, in the new buildings, are well lighted by glass windows on sunny days but dark when skies are overcast because of the overhanging roof, which protects the hallway outside the classrooms from frequent showers, and the lack of artificial lighting. A building immediately be- [514] hind the classrooms houses latrines, separated for boys and girls, although both pass through the same passageway where boys use the urinals. Equipment is extremely poor and a great problem for principal and teachers. Simple, rickety desks and chairs of unfinished wood are bought or made by parents for their children. They are standard in design but differ in height according to the size of the child. Many first graders' furniture is made with future growth in mind, while some older students have outgrown their desks and chairs. An older sibling may pass on his table to a younger one if it is still serviceable after several years of nonchalant treatment.

876 Teaching aids are few. A small organ is available for music lessons [533] and is carried by several boys on the shoulders to the classroom where it is needed. Sometimes a teacher accompanies a singing class on a mouth organ. Visual aid material, maps, pictures, and charts are displayed in school rooms along with students' physical measurement tables and

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

sometimes a chart indicating their birthdays. There are also exhibits of students' drawings, which enliven the simple rooms. Each classroom has at least one blackboard built into the wall. By withdrawing removable walls in the new building, individual rooms can be converted into one large auditorium with a small stage for special occasions. 876 [346]

The personal equipment carried by students, other than books, consists of notebooks, pencils, a ruler, abacus, and, for those who can afford it, crayons and drawing paper. Sports equipment is also scanty, and replacement budgets are too low to remedy the situation. Students bring their own tools for garden and agricultural work as well as for work on the school grounds. 872

The teachers' room has desks for each teacher and the principal and a large table in the center for meetings. A small corner is reserved for a kerosene stove to prepare tea. There are also two cots for the teacher who remains on duty as night watchmen or for a child who feels ill during school hours. No privacy is provided for teachers, since students enter the room on any pretext or crowd around the windows if something attracts their curiosity. 875 346

Upkeep of the school is the responsibility of teachers and students; the only paid help is a girl who acts as janitor, nurse, and servant. The students, supervised by their teachers, tidy up classrooms after school, scrub walls and floors at regular intervals, take care of the hallway, cut grass, and weeds, and clear ditches on the school grounds. When school repairs are needed, teachers and parents help if no specialist's work is needed, as in repairing the thatch roof of temporary buildings. 872 358

The present school system, although under American supervision, follows the Japanese pattern. A six-year elementary school education and three years of junior high school are compulsory. After graduation at about the age of 15, students can enter high school if they choose and can qualify by passing the extremely rigid entrance examinations, which eliminate a considerable number of applicants. High school students have to move to Ogimi in a nearby township where they room and board while attending school. 871 [177] [873]

The curriculum in the Okinawan schools is on the whole similar to that in Japan. Japanese language continues to be the medium, and textbooks, as well as other school materials, are purchased from Japan. Children therefore continue to be familiarized with the culture of Japan as were their parents in the days before American administration. A number of changes have taken place since that time, however. Since the Ryukyus are at present under an independent administration, all symbols and paraphernalia pertaining to the Japanese Imperial House and to the Japanese nation have been removed from the schools. 871 177 [191]

871 177 Nevertheless, the school remains, in the eyes of the villagers, as a rallying point for ties with Japan.

No attempts have been made until the present to introduce Okinawan culture other than by a few occasional references to Okinawan history or folklore. Teachers, during discussion of reading material, refer to home life, farm work and mountain work to illustrate points made in the books.* School is the first opportunity for Taira children to become acquainted with the world outside their own village and to relate their own experiences to the rest of the island, Japan, and other parts of the world. Since Japan is the dominant subject of reading [186] material, however, it is clear that no awareness of being "Okinawan" is developed.

875 Teachers, many of whom are young, are devoted to their work and to the children, even though their pay is hardly commensurate with their [554] high status in the community and does not represent adequate compensation for the long hours of teaching and administrative work that demand most of their time. In addition, the community in which the teacher lives makes demands on him as one of the educated, able leaders. Both men and women teach. Some of the younger ones who follow the urgent call for teaching positions do not have much training beyond a high school diploma. During the summer, special teacher [874] training courses are now conducted by university professors from Japan and the University of the Ryukyus. Graduates from the University of the Ryukyus Education Department are still too few in number to reach a remote country school, such as the one in Kawata. Most teachers come from one of the surrounding communities; others, mostly bachelors, are from other parts of the island. Children are therefore well acquainted with many of the school teachers, some of whom are neighbors, relatives, or friends of the family.

[554] The extremely modest appearance of teachers does not detract from their status and authority. The relationship between students and teachers is a mixture of respect, as dictated by custom, and intimacy, as a result of mutual affection. A conscientious teacher comes to know his students well during the school year and takes an active interest in them. Children can tell if a teacher is enthusiastic about his work and often establish a warm relationship with him. During our stay, the 872 first two grades were divided into two sections, taught by women, while male teachers taught the upper four grades.

The school day starts at 8:30 with a study period before the formal meeting of the teacher and students on the open grounds in front of

* Some practical work in gardening begins in the upper elementary school classes. Only Junior High School students work in the fields as part of their curriculum.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

the school. Classes are held from 9 o'clock until noon with one recess. After an hour for lunch, lessons resume for all grades above first. Classes, sports, and cleanup end between 2 and 3:30 in the afternoon, the highest grades staying the longest. 872

All grades receive instruction in Japanese writing and reading, arithmetic, science, music, and drawing. Social science is introduced in the second grade. Since each class has one teacher for all subjects, shifts from one to the next subject may come in the middle of an hour. The greatest amount of time is spent in teaching Japanese reading and writing. At first grade level the simplified syllabary is taught, followed in the second grade by another syllabary and the first Chinese characters. [871 177 191]

Parents maintain contact with the school through a Parent-Teachers Association, called by the American abbreviation, PTA. Every household is a member. Those with children of school age are regular members who pay 15 yen (12 cents) a month; others are supposed to pay 5 yen but have become so delinquent that their fees have been dropped. The actual PTA work is done by a committee from each village, including the headman and the heads of the Women's and Young People's Associations. The main purpose of the PTA is to support the school in some of its maintenance problems. Attendance of all parents at a general meeting occurs only once a year when elections of officers take place and the PTA budget is discussed and approved. 875 575

The principals of both schools are represented in township affairs and in the associations of their own community. Contact between village leaders and school representatives is therefore frequent. Since education taxes are the single largest tax item which villagers pay (80% of the total tax), this representation of the principals is a necessary but burdensome duty for them. 875 621 [651]

Township education taxes are supplemented by government subsidies. School taxes are paid by all households according to their income and average about 515 yen ($4.30) yearly. Since 1952, government orders require education taxes to be levied separately from other taxes so that people are aware of the amount destined for education; tax collection is one of the main problems in village administration, and school principals are sometimes called on to explain the need for such taxation and the obligations of individuals to carry their share of the burden. 871 658 651

The administration of funds and general school matters are the responsibility of an official in the township finance department. During 1954–1955, 310,344 yen ($2586) were collected by the township in education taxes. The government subsidy amounted to 3,716,397 yen [632]

●871 ($50,970) for the four schools in the township. The largest expenses
658 are salaries, construction, and maintenance. Money is also provided for
[651] conferences, supplies, and other items on the school budget. The PTA budget serves to supplement the regular school appropriations, which are always insufficient to cover all expenses.

The concern with educational matters is carried into the community in another way. Taira has established a so-called scholarship incentive fund for which money is contributed by the village store and some prominent Taira businessmen from the city, such as the former mayor. This fund is used to give awards, usually notebooks or pencils, to all students, double amounts to those with outstanding attendance records. Honor students are not singled out. The largest part of the fund is used as financial help to families with one or more high school students and to widows with schoolchildren who have no other breadwinner in their family. This is another example of direct support of education by the community.

871 As with all matters concerning village life, participation of parents in school affairs and an interest in the school's goals and problems depend greatly on the educational and economic background of individual families. For this reason, scholastic standing of children is frequently a reflection of the interest and encouragement they receive at home. Incentive is therefore to some extent passed on from successful parents to their children, and if one can speak of a succession in leadership, it is partly determined by this instruction.

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Chapter 11

Recreation

517 No one can remain in the village of Taira for long without recognizing that its people have a happy faculty for enjoying themselves during those periods which they can spare from their work. The daily routine is broken by a good number of rests and holidays, and the full and unburdened indulgence in social activities at such times, without any ap-

857 fun of it, but few signs of involvement with attaining outstanding per-
526 formance. Losers are not teased or ridiculed, although a good per-
[157] former is occasionally given an encouraging remark by others who practice.

Group games are usually played after the schoolchildren have returned to the village. One of the popular games is a version of prisoner's base similar to that played in the United States. This game is played with much yelling, laughing, and noisy challenging. Equally popular is a version of "kick the can." This game is exciting and fast moving. It is a game which can lead to arguments, since one must trust the honesty of the person who is "it" and claims to have seen another player. Brief arguments arise and are quickly settled. Part of the fun seems to be teasing and challenging the tagger.

535 These are games that children may play on any day in the year.
857 During holidays they are sometimes asked to entertain adults with
[527] dances. Little girls learn the traditional Okinawan dances from kinder-
[871] garten days on, either by watching or by coaching of an older person, a friend, one's older sister, or mother. Neither kindergarten nor school programs include the teaching of such rich Okinawan heritage as classical dances. Boys do not begin to imitate the burlesque dances of their male elders until adolescence. But they are sometimes invited, together with girls, to present group dances or little plays for the adults. Adults seem to enjoy most the performances of Okinawan dances by little girls who may have learned the rhythm and movements but not the restraint of serious adult presentations. They are delighted if a 6-year-old, dressed in bright-colored costume, innocently wiggles her hips in a rather suggestive way.

857 Children who perform for adults show no stage fright. At school,
[156] where little sketches are presented on the stage, there is a complete ease in improvising. Nobody is embarrassed if he forgets a line, a song, or a cue, and the recitation contests which we have already mentioned are carried out with much zest.

[512] Schoolchildren are supposed to remain at home after 8 o'clock in the evening to do their studies. This rule is encouraged by the school but rarely enforced by parents. Many children, boys and girls, appear outside after dark, and on moonlight nights they often resume their playing. Off and on, a couple of elementary schoolboys are attracted to the store where the village truck arrives with goods from the city after nightfall. There they stand in the dim yellow light of the kerosene lamp, watching, helping, or just listening to some of the men who
[515] come to have their sake bottles filled. If a bath has been prepared for
[512] their families, their turn will come sometime after the older males in

Intimate contact with Japanese coupled with this word borrowing has resulted in a tendency toward slight sound shifts in the direction of Japanese 194
phonology; this is particularly true among the bilingual speakers. The same 177
process is operative in the Japanese of these Okinawan speakers in that there is a tendency toward Okinawan phonology.

The real strongholds of Okinawan speech today are the family and the 191
rural areas. In an old and relatively unchanged village like Kanegusuku little 178
Japanese is heard despite the fact that most of the villagers are bilingual. 177
That Okinawan is the language of the family is best demonstrated by the pre- 621
school-age children who do not speak or understand any Japanese aside from a few greetings and polite phrases. Likewise men over sixty and women over fifty-five usually cannot speak Japanese. The remainder of the village, approximately seventy percent of the total, is bilingual; however, this figure is somewhat misleading in so far as actual usage is concerned. A majority of the married women use Japanese infrequently since Okinawan is the language of their daily lives, which are largely confined to the village and home. For the men, a number of whom have seen service abroad in the Japanese forces, there is a greater freedom of movement and a wider range of contacts providing more occasion for the use of Japanese. Yet within the village many of them preferred to use Okinawan, and even the high school students were inclined to shed their Japanese on returning to the village. A number of bilingual informants ascribed this preference for Okinawan to the influence of the old people who understood Japanese imperfectly or not at all. As one informant put it, "The old people in this village just don't like being spoken to in Japanese, and if some person does this, they say he is trying to be big." Undoubtedly their influence is a strong factor, but this preference is also likely attributable to a low degree of proficiency in Japanese. Prior to the postwar period few villagers ob- [871]
tained more than a sixth grade education; consequently, many are not as articulate in Japanese as they are in Okinawan. It should also be noted that within the village a selective factor operates so as to perpetuate the use of Okinawan. Mention is made in another section of this report of a mayor's comment to the [166]
effect that all those who receive a good education, high school or university, soon leave the village. Thus, the very group most likely to further the spread of Japanese leaves before its influence is felt.

The resentment of the oldest generation toward the use of Japanese re- 191
solves itself among the younger, bilingual generations into an attitude that 829
Japanese imparts a certain formality to an occasion, and hence situations call- 177
ing for the use of Okinawan or Japanese tend to be rather compartmentalized in their minds. Formal occasions prescribe the use of Japanese and informal ones Okinawan. Village political meetings and elections were always conducted in Japanese, and when the 'son' officials made one of their periodic inspections of the village, only Japanese was used in addressing them. On the other hand the use of Japanese at a party would be regarded as too formal and a bit unfriendly, and, of course, with old people and children only Okinawan is used. Besides the formal-informal dichotomy there exists the feeling among the better-educated bilinguals that Japanese is a modern and sophisticated language whereas Okinawan is backward and rustic.

There are several aspects of Okinawan culture wherein the local lan- 191
guage is used to the exclusion of Japanese; chief among these are the theater 178

(mentioned previously), song, and the indigenous religion. Okinawan song and music undoubtedly exceed both Japanese and Western in popularity; in fact, no other facet of Okinawan culture has so successfully withstood the changes of the past seventy-five years. Songs such as the Kagiyadefu (which some Okinawans liken to a national anthem), Nubui Kuduchi, Hamachidori, Tanchame are known and loved by all. Some of the phonograph record stores in Naha carry as many as several hundred different recordings of Okinawan songs, and virtually all of these are recorded in Okinawan. All priestesses of the indigenous religion interviewed by the author stated that Okinawan was the language of prayer and ceremony; to some this was a burden, as in the case of one priestess who had spent most of her life in Japan. A few admitted that the language of the ceremonies and particularly that of the old songs or umui (somestime rendered omoro) was rather obscure and not fully understood; these are transmitted orally from the older priestess to her successor and undoubtedly contain many archaic words. Outside the formal religious structure yet inextricably linked to it are shamans (yuta) and fortune tellers ('ekisha'). The former, most often a woman, uses Okinawan almost exclusively in rites concerned with divining, exorcism, and curing. The latter, nearly always a male, is usually a fairly well-educated person, as the profession is based on interpretations of certain books used in conjunction with the ancient Chinese Book of Changes (I Ching), and either Japanese or Okinawan, depending on the customer, may be used in giving the reading. Both practitioners are extremely popular, but the fortune teller is usually found in the cities and towns whereas the shaman may be found in Naha or the smallest hamlet.

Japanese With the abdication of Shō Tai in 1879 the Japanese government initiated a program designed for integrating Okinawa into the national state as rapidly as possible. An effort was made to stamp out all vestiges of Okinawan culture, utilizing techniques ranging from education and indoctrination to repressive laws and police measures. Greatest emphasis was given to making Japanese speakers out of Okinawans. Leavenworth quotes Governor Narahara as stating that the creation of Japanese speakers was of more value than all the repressive laws prohibiting certain customs.[1] At the start the Japanese were hindered by a lack of schools and teachers, and so the program moved ahead slowly. An effective national school system covering the rural areas where the bulk of the population was located and taking in both sexes was not fully operative until about the time of World War I. The failure of Japanese to displace Okinawan can be attributed largely to a lack of time and a lack of facilities for education beyond the elementary level. By the time of World War II but two generations were schooled in Japanese, and the majority of these had received no more than six years of education.

Though Japanese failed to displace Okinawan, it did succeed in becoming a necessity in the lives of most people and in establishing itself as the prestige language. With the government, press, schools, cinema, radio, and high-level commerce utilizing Japanese exclusively, participation in modern life without a knowledge of Japanese became impossible. The incentives towards competence in Japanese were many, whereas there appeared to be little gained

[1] Leavenworth, 1905, p. 37.

by clinging to the native speech. Naturally it became impossible for a student 191
to obtain a higher education or for any Okinawan to secure a government position 177
without an adequate mastery of Japanese. A good knowledge of Japanese became 554
the first prerequisite for those who wished to improve their status.

Nearly all children in the rural areas and perhaps a majority of those 191
in the urban areas first learn to speak Japanese when they enter school. It 177
would seem that the main task of the elementary schools is to provide the students with an adequate knowledge of Japanese. On Okinawa as in all schools 871
throughout the areas occupied by the Japanese, a standard language is taught; for the Okinawan child this means learning a new language, while for the child in Japan it means learning at the most a new dialect. Obviously a sixth-grade child on Okinawa will not have a proficiency in Japanese comparable to a sixth-grader in Japan. A recent testing of Naha and Tokyo school children indicated that the Okinawan children were far behind in nearly every subject. One informant, an urbanite who had lived for a time in Japan and rather prided himself on his Japanese, remarked that this clearly indicated the deterioration of the schools in the post-war period. When it was pointed out that this more likely reflected a lower educational attainment due to a language handicap, he readily agreed, and subsequent discussion revealed that a "mixture" of Japanese and Okinawan was spoken in his home. In this case the siblings, who had received high-school educations, used Japanese to one another but spoke only Okinawan to their mother, and the child of the house heard mostly Okinawan from her elders! A Ryukyuan scholar now holding a position in a large Japanese university informed the author that most high-school students are very hesitant about their Japanese and fear making a mistake. When this person first came to Japan after winning a scholarship to a higher school, he was startled by the fluency of the Japanese children! It should be noted that the post-war addition of English to the elementary school curriculum (from the 4th year on) serves only to impose another linguistic burden on the Okinawan child. Grade-school children who had studied English were completely unable to understand the simplest printed phrases; mastery was usually limited to counting from one to ten and reciting the alphabet as far as H without error, though the children can hardly be blamed, considering the texts and teaching level. The chief drawback to the texts is the transcription of English sounds in the Japanese syllabary; thus, a child is taught to pronounce ball as "booru", Smith as "sumisu", here as "hiya", etc. A friend who sat in on a class in English related that had he not been forearmed with a copy of the text and the knowledge that the class was studying English he would never have recognized the subject matter.

In the greater Naha area, which serves as the cultural as well as the 191
administrative and commercial center of the island, the use of Japanese is far 177
more common than elsewhere. Prior to the war there was a sizeable Japanese community here, and from Naha things Japanese have diffused into the countryside. However, the Naha informant's home where a "mixture" of Japanese and Okinawan was spoken was not an atypical one, and this can readily be attested to by visiting the playground of any elementary school in Naha and listening [871]
to the speech of children. It may be expected that the post-war addition of three years of junior high school to the compulsory education period will do much to further the advance of Japanese.

expected to keep to his studies and not merely to avoid the distractions of 877
adult pleasures but actually not to be interested in them. He is given spe- 882
cial considerations as a student, a place to study, quiet, and freedom from
irksome tasks. This consideration probably varies with the position of the
student in the family and with his success as a student. Boys undoubtedly [562]
get more consideration than girls, older sons than younger sons---though if
an older son has been unable to go on to school and is helping a younger
brother go on, the younger brother may get greater consideration and feel
greater responsibility. This special treatment lasts as long as the young
person is in school or as long as the family can afford not to rely on him
for economic assistance. But even the young man in university who is working
part time to keep himself in school is expected not to be interested in the
sorts of pleasures sought by younger boys who stopped their schooling much
earlier.

Today junior high school is compulsory, but the majority of students 871
go no farther. The high schools strictly limit the number of students that
they can enroll, so that many junior high graduates who would like to go on
to high school are unable to. But whether a youth stops his schooling at 884
junior high school, high school, or later, the change in treatment and atti-
tudes is the same. He "enters society". He is now expected to do an adult's
work and contribute to the family's support. At the same time he is expected
to spend his evenings with the other young men, drinking, teasing the girls,
and staying out half the night---behavior a student would have no interest
in, at least in theory.

While a youth is in school he belongs to a students' organization 877
('gakuseikai'). After he leaves school he is expected to join the youth or- 575
ganization ('Seinenkai'). The present Youth Organization is the successor 883
of the pre-war, Japan-wide organization, less the militarism and jingoism. [178]
It is organized on a Ryukyu-wide basis, but local chapters make their own
constitutions, statements of aims, and so forth---probably with no great var-
iation. The aims expressed in the constitutions seen could mainly be put
under the headings intellectual and moral self-improvement and community up-
lift. Meetings are held perhaps twice a month, one being for business and
serious discussion, the other for purely social purposes. The social meet-
ings feature music played on the 'shamisen', dancing, and 'awamori'. Among
other serious business, in some communities the Youth Organization engages
in clean-up or repair projects and hires itself out for farm labor. Where
it receives pay, the funds probably generally go toward the expense of the
social meetings.

The Youth Organization takes young people of both sexes, but there
are usually more men, since women drop out at marriage while men may remain
in after marriage if they choose to, until 30, according to one rule. In [184]
the country, membership after finishing school is represented as compulsory.
In the city, however, the compulsion is lacking and many who are not inter-
ested in joining manage to stay out. But in the country few would suggest
that anyone had the right not to join. When I asked a past president of the
organization in Yamada if everyone joined, he replied to the effect, "Oh yes,
all must join, we have a rule." And he proceeded to point out the regulation

kōgyō-zei	Industry Tax.	632
gyūbasha-zei	Horsecart or Oxcart Tax.	651
jidōsha-zei	Automotive Vehicle Tax (all types).	
rajio-zei	Radio Tax.	
denchū-zei	Electric Pole Tax.	
tochiku-zei	Slaughter Tax.	
chikken-zei	Dog Tax.	
senpaku-zei	Boat Tax.	
jitensha-zei	Bicycle Tax.	
denwa-zei	Telephone Tax.	
jigyō-zei	Business Tax	
kenkyu-hi	Study Fee. This is assessed on the basis of land holding, and it is used to provide a yearly bonus, 50% of one month's salary, to all the school teachers of Kanegusuku-son. The 'son' feels that the salaries paid by the central government are too low and uses this tax as a means of supplementing them.	[871]

The following work schedule was copied from the blackboard in the township offices of Kanegusuku-son in May, 1954. All of the listed activities are those which must be handled in addition to the regular work load. Virtually all of the scheduled meetings required the presence of the mayor (sonchō); a number of these were held outside of his district (son). At the present time American work schedules are followed. Saturday afternoon and Sunday are regarded as holidays for the office staff, though oftentimes the mayor and department heads may work on those days if there is pressing business. 632 [527]

Schedule of Activities for Kanegusuku-son Office
for May 1954

May
1st -
2nd - Sunday
3rd - Industrial Conference at Ryukyu-American Cultural Center, Naha.
4th - Welfare Week, May 4th through 10th.
5th - 'Kochōkai'. Meeting of all village mayors at 2 p.m.
6th -
7th -
8th -
9th - Sunday
10th - Meeting of all mayors of municipalities at Okinawa Kaikan, Naha, 10 a.m. Proclamation of law for welfare of children at Sekai Theater, Naha, 2 p.m.
11th -
12th - Injections for pigs for prevention of infectious diseases.
13th - Meeting of Assembly Chairmen's Association of Southern Okinawa at Agricultural Cooperative Club.
Injections for pigs.
14th - Industrial inspection of Southern Okinawa.
Injections for pigs.

3. Police

Local governments of the municipalities ('shi-chō-son') and the various 'ku' (villages and wards) exercise no control over the police stationed in their areas. Central police headquarters are located in Naha, and the organization of the police command is outside the regular civil structure except at the top national level. The police officer located in Kanegusuku-son reports directly to the district police headquarters in Itoman which in turn reports to Naha. In addition to maintaining law and order the police are charged with certain responsibilities in the fields of sanitation, health, and public welfare. Crime rates on Okinawa are low, particularly in the rural areas, and policemen stationed there rarely face serious problems of law violation. A 'son' policeman has a "beat" which he is supposed to patrol each day unless other business is pressing. Actually his visits to some of the villages are rather infrequent, since there is little need for his presence. When a villager dies, it is usually the policeman who checks and certifies the cause of death. Certain dangerous or highly contagious diseases such as leprosy or smallpox must by law be reported, and any infractions of this are usually investigated by the police. If a restaurant or food store is reported as unsanitary, it is the police who take steps to see that the situation is corrected. 625 [674] [744]

Not infrequently the policeman is called upon to function informally as a judge in settling minor disputes which in the United States would be taken to court. One man rented out a room in his home to a former schoolmate; after living and eating there for several months, the roomer disappeared without making any payment for his room and board. A few months later the owner located this person's place of employment, collared him as he left work, and dragged him to the nearest policeman. The policeman listened patiently to both sides of the argument and then ruled that the roomer must pay the entire amount due the owner, ¥6000 ($50.00), at the rate of ¥2000 per month. The two disputants signed an agreement to this effect, and the policeman also signed it "to make it official". An American would regard this action as an abuse of police power; yet, an Okinawan would see nothing untoward in it. In light of this it is worth noting that the jiturei who headed the rural district (majiri) under the old kingdom functioned as policeman, judge, and administrator. 625 627 [178]

In the matter of juvenile delinquency the school and police are reported to work closely together. One police officer stated that when juveniles commit misdemeanors in his area they are usually turned over to their schools for special "education". That an errant child should be released to the custody of his school rather than to his family would seem an inconsistency in a society which places so much emphasis on family. In America and perhaps in all of Western society the teaching of ethics is largely a function of the home, but in Japan and Okinawa this is considered a task for the school. 871 625 674 [171]

To an outsider Okinawan police appear to be efficient in the performance of their duty and possessed of a pride in their job and a fairly 625

CHAPTER X: EDUCATION

W. P. Suttles

121 None of the SIRI team worked on education as such. We have no basis
•871 for a discussion of the physical condition of the schools, number of teachers per pupil, texts, etc., other than the data readily available in USCAR publications. However, it may be useful to include in this report a brief chapter on attitudes toward education, the role of the teacher, and evidence of the results of education, as we have seen them in the course of our research. As I shall try to point out, there are indications that education on Okinawa may not be doing all that it professes to do. Yet it is a remarkable and praiseworthy fact that education has progressed as well as it has, considering the truly terrible destruction of the war and the long and trying process of rebuilding the material facilities and the morale of teachers and students.

1. Respect for Education

871
554 Respect for education and the educated is deeply rooted in Okinawan
565 culture. For several centuries administrative posts in the Ryukyuan kingdom
[647] were filled by officials drawn from the gentry class and appointed, it is said, on the basis of an examination. The gentry class held a virtual monopoly of education, which was thus one of the bases of their superior status. It is not surprising that the gentry class of the past is identified with learning. An illiterate old man of gentry descent once explained to me that the gentry were originally teachers appointed to various villages, thus misinterpreting the former bureaucracy as a school system.

871 Another profession open to the educated man in the past, and in the
554 present, is that of the diviner. One of the native terms for this person is
791 suumuchi, the "person with books", his books being the ones with which he reads a person's fate. This is a profession that commands respect. It is quite likely that at one time the diviner was the only person who possessed books with whom the ordinary peasant ever had contact. Books were thus associated with status and with nearly supernatural power.

554 Education is still regarded as a means of rising in status. As indi-
871 cated in Chapter V, the potential scholar is given special treatment by his family because all may participate in the rise in status that his education may bring. But times have changed. In the days of the Ryukyuan kingdom the rewards for education may have come automatically, but under the Japanese administration this was less true, and perhaps least of all today. Education is indeed still valued for its own sake, but it is expected to bring material rewards; if it does not, its authenticity may be questioned.

554 Still, the prestige of learning probably accounts for a type of pseudo-scholar who may be found both in the rural and in the urban scene. In several villages we encountered such individuals, elderly men who were regarded as local sages, who discoursed learnedly and uncritically on local traditions, who revealed information derived from one or two carefully guarded books

(their 'tane-hon', "seed books"), and who seemed to have little contact with others of their own interests. (I must hasten to add that there are also genuine local historians and folklorists who are critical, open to new ideas, and in contact with reputable men in their field; but these are clearly in the minority.) In the city the pseudo-scholar may be a man teaching a subject that he is totally incompetent to teach or he may be one of the numerous diviners and medical practitioners described in Chapter IX. Some of the diviners (sanjinsoo), however, could be better described as genuinely serious scholars working in a pseudo-science. 554

2. The Role of the Teacher

Despite the great importance attached to the family in East Asian societies and which the Japanese government has always professed to attach to it, the Japanese education system of pre-war times actually took more authority away from the family than does the American system. Incidents related by informants indicate that both before the war and since a teacher may reprimand a student for breaking school regulations outside of school hours and even in the student's own home. The police also may report the misdeeds of a student to the student's teacher rather than to his parents.[1] Partly this authority must have come from the teacher's position in a nationalized system of education and his role as the local spokesman for Japanese nationalism. And on Okinawa teachers had the additional task of creating good Japanese out of little Okinawans. This meant teaching the Japanese language as well as the Japanese ideology.[2] 871 177 875

Since the war the status of the teacher has deteriorated. Partly this may be due to the fact that he is no longer the local representative of a powerful government, and partly it may be due to poor morale resulting from the tragedy of war, but it is also undoubtedly due to a lower economic status. Teachers were formerly relatively well-paid. In 1954 Okinawan teachers were receiving a basic average salary of ¥3400 per month, principals, ¥6110. A police chief, by contrast, receives ¥6470. An elementary teacher, who must have 12 years of schooling and six months of professional training, at present receives 75% of the salary of a policeman on the beat, who must have 9 years of schooling and three months of training; in the prewar period the teacher received 155% of the salary of the policeman. 875 178 554 875 465 178 625 554

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1 See also "Police" in Chapter VI.

2 That in this effort they were not always successful is revealed by a few anecdotes: Someone is said to have encouraged a child to interrupt his teacher's lecture on the virtues of the semidivine monarch with the question, "Does the Emperor produce night soil?" Students are said to have referred to him secretly as 'Ten-chan', "Empy-Boy", rather than 'Tennō Heika', "His Imperial Majesty the Emperor". And the very old and the very young are said to have parodied 'Amaterasu Ōmikami', the name of the Sun Goddess, with "Aman-tarashi kuman-tarashi 'waa nu kami", "dropping it there, dropping it here, the pig god."

875 554 178 As indicated above, education is highly regarded as a key to success, but it still must produce financial rewards. Education earns for one the esteem of his fellows, but not as much as does money. This decline in status seems to have produced considerable dissatisfaction among teachers. This is probably true at all levels. The best-known Okinawan scholars, for example, have mainly chosen to remain in Japan.

3. Classroom Atmosphere

876 [871] Informants gave the impression that the pre-war classroom atmosphere was decidedly more authoritarian than at present. Most of what was taught was rather rigidly prescribed by the Ministry of Education and questions were not encouraged. Students rarely spoke up, partly because of the attitudes of the teachers and partly at embarrassment at having to speak in Japanese. Free discussion was probably less common even than in Japan.

In their attempt to make their students learn Japanese some schools adopted the tag system that has been mentioned elsewhere in connection with the prevention of the misuse or theft of crops. In the Yamada school before the war there was for each class a 'hōgen fuda', "dialect tag", which was hung around the neck of the first child heard speaking "the dialect", that is, the Okinawan language. This child wore the tag in disgrace until he heard another child slip into Okinawan, whereupon he hung the tag around that child's neck. And so it went from child to child. The difference between such a system of control and those regarded as appropriate by modern Western educators can hardly be exaggerated. It is true that the tag does resemble the old dunce cap, known to us from cartoons of the last century, in that it uses ridicule as the form of punishment. But in other respects it is different. First, it means that one child is singled out to function as an unwilling policeman, his functioning as policeman being part of his disgrace; that is, as long as he is in disgrace with the tag he is forced to watch for another culprit. Second, the system does not provide equal punishment for the same crime; one child may wear the tag a day while another wears it a week or more, both for the same offense. And third, the theory behind the system does not assume that the offense can be eliminated altogether; on the contrary there must always be some child to make the mistake of speaking Okinawan for the system to work.

[685] As used in the village as a whole the tag system sometimes worked considerable hardship. A person who received the tag for cutting someone else's crop or his own cane out of season had to pay two sen a day to the village. It is said that there is an old woman in Naha who was sold when a girl into prostitution by her father because he could not get rid of the tag and could no longer make the payments. Here is a concept of justice that is indeed remote from ours.

876 178 875 [179] No doubt the tag system is no longer in use anywhere on Okinawa. Students say that the schools are less authoritarian and that there is considerably more freedom of discussion. Yet many of the teachers are the same persons who imposed such controls as the tag system a few years ago. Some may have opposed the former rigidity and some may have changed their views since, but it would be surprising indeed if all have taken over American ideas.

4. Present Problems

● 871 If one asks the question, "Is the present education system giving Okinawa what it needs?", even a casual glance suggests a negative answer. It should be obvious from some of the material of this report that the ordinary Okinawan is disastrously ignorant of many things that concern him---in economics, politics, and particularly in matters of health and sanitation. Yet this ignorance does not seem to be confined to the less educated. It was a college student who gave some of the folk beliefs about disease. Another young man indicated that the schools themselves by attempted rationalization may be perpetuating an uncritical attitude; his high school teacher had explained that crows do not really know when someone is going to die because they possess supernatural power; they know it because they can smell death.

ooo The difficulty lies partly in the unwillingness of most Okinawans, one might say most human beings, to re-examine cherished beliefs. Ignorance of the true nature of disease, as discussed in Chapter IX, is not merely due to the absence of knowledge, but rather to the presence of a set of traditional beliefs that form a body of "knowledge", incorrect though it may be, that provides the individual with the explanations he needs. In order to teach modern scientific explanations, educators must determine what the body of folk belief consists of, re-evaluate it, and devise methods whereby its falsity can be demonstrated. Doing this would not be easy; it would be doubly hard because of the greater importance given to the opinions of older people in Okinawan society.

871 564 Ignorance may also be due to lack of interest. Education is a source of prestige to the educated individual. But education as defined by Okinawan culture perhaps does not include such subjects as botany and entomology. At any rate certain fields of study, English literature for example, seem to have enormous attraction, while others, applied sciences such as agriculture, have little. Moreover, other observers have reported that among those Okinawans who are engaged in work in applied sciences there seems to be a distaste for field work and a preference for office work. This too may reflect a higher value placed on sedentary "paper work" and a lower one on work with the hands.

876 177 As Lebra has pointed out in Chapter II, most Okinawans suffer from a linguistic handicap. Most children learn Okinawan in the home and then have to learn a second language, Japanese, in the school. This immediately gives them less time for learning other things. But their troubles do not end with the acquisition of a speaking knowledge of Japanese. This is not so very difficult since the two languages are closely related. But the Japanese system [212] of writing, with its two native syllabaries plus the Chinese characters, is incredibly complicated and requires an enormous expenditure of time and effort. A student learning the geography of Okinawa, for example, must spend a great part of his time learning the characters for Okinawan place names and thus, as in one instance observed, he may not get around to learning where all of them are.

The opinion of a former teacher is worth noting. When I worked with him in 1945 he told me that he and other teachers who privately believed that

876 Japanese nationalism had been perverting education had felt that their only
177 means of creating more open minds was to teach as many characters as possible
212 so that the students might later read a wider range of material. In 1954 he said that he was now convinced that the Japanese, and the Okinawans, would be better off if SCAP had forced them to discard characters and adopt a system of romanization. This man is now a printer and publisher; the characters are his own stock-in-trade.

000 The difficulties facing any sort of language reform in Japan are great. If romanized Japanese only were taught in Japanese schools, the whole of Japanese literature would soon have to be republished in romanized form and most modern scientific works would have to be not only republished but rewritten as well. The great number of homophones in the technical vocabulary of Japanese are distinguishable to the eye because of the different characters with which they are written, but they are not distinguishable to the ear nor would they be distinguishable written in romanized form. Romanization would require the introduction of many new terms. Moreover, because of the esthetic appeal of the characters and the high prestige derived from a knowledge of them, many educated Japanese would have a strong emotional resistance to discarding them. During the occupation certain reforms were instituted but in some respects they only increased the complexity of the system by introducing for some characters simplified forms which now must be learned in addition to the older, more complex forms. It is quite likely that any attempt to reform the Japanese system of writing on Okinawa would meet with even greater resistance than it would meet with in Japan.

212 In addition to the difficulties of the writing system, the literary
177 forms of Japanese present some differences in style which make them difficult for the less educated to read. I was once present in an Okinawan home when a child in the second grade brought home a mimeographed request from the school for a certain fee. I looked at the notice and found that I could not be sure of the readings of all of the characters or of the meaning of the construction of the first paragraph, although I can read technical material in my own field. I asked the mother, who had had six years of schooling, to read it to me. She admitted that she could not read it either, except for the place where it said how much and what for. Later I showed it to a University student, who, after some stumbling, read the first paragraph and put it into colloquial Japanese. It was of course merely a formal salutation. It did not contribute to the meaning of the notice and it did not matter that the average parent could not read it. Yet if it had been omitted, the few educated parents---perhaps those from whom larger contributions were expected---might have shaken their heads and asked what education is coming to that teachers are no longer capable of writing proper Japanese.

876 As if there were not enough linguistic problems, recently the
177 English language has been introduced into the Primary School curriculum begin-
[871] ning at the Fifth Grade. It appears to be taught in most cases by persons who do not themselves speak English or even read it with any fluency. Moreover, it appears to be taught by the 'katakana' method; that is, the texts or the teachers attempt to teach the pronunciation of English words by spelling them out in the Japanese syllabary. The Japanese syllabary is admirably well-adapted to the representation of Japanese sounds, but woefully deficient for

CHAPTER XI: CULTURE CHANGE IN RURAL OKINAWA

W. P. Lebra

175 Within a span of less than fifty years Okinawa has been twice sub-
177 jected to periods of accelerated culture change. The first began in 1899 when the Japanese administration abolished the system of communal land ownership and taxation then extant in the rural areas and introduced private ownership. Land reform was followed by modernization of the government and the establishment of compulsory education. A second period of rapid change began in World War II with the American invasion and the establishment of military government.

175 The Japanese Impact (1879-1945) During the first twenty years of Japanese
423 administration relatively few changes were
177 introduced, but beginning with the land reform of 1899-1903 there followed a series of changes which completely altered the fabric of Okinawan society. The policies of the Japanese administration and the results of the long period of close contact with Japanese culture effected the conversion of Okinawans into Japanese nationals, destruction of the self-sufficiency of the rural village, modernization of government, weakening of the kin group, and greater participation in national life.

177 The transformation of Okinawans into Japanese nationals was accom-
●871 plished through the establishment of a national school system which indoctrinated the students with the language and culture of Japan. Official Japanese policy aimed at the eradication of Okinawan culture; this was carried out through the schools and by means of repressive laws, police measures, and the
177 practice of discrediting things Okinawan. Although there was some Okinawan
829 reaction to this discrimination, the government was ultimately successful in creating a favorable response to Japanese culture. Its accomplishment was largely due to the close affinity of the Japanese and Okinawans. The linguistic and cultural resemblances between the two are so close as to make their differences bridgeable. A wider gulf might have produced antipathy, but instead the superior civilization of the Japanese came to be regarded as worthy of emulation.

177 The Japanese did discriminate against Okinawan culture, but as an alternative they offered, in theory at least, equal participation in their own culture. The process of assimilation was greatly facilitated by the cultural indoctrination of the schools; each successive generation came to feel and act more Japanese than the previous one. Okinawan culture was not eradicated, as the space of time was too short, but its creativity was reduced. An important factor in aiding the acceptance of Japanese culture was that the ideas and technology of the modern world came to Okinawa through Japan; hence, much of what was of foreign origin was accepted by the Okinawans as Japanese.

An important aspect of the change which came about under the Japanese
177 administration was the realization for the average individual of a greater
619 participation in the social and political life of the country. The mental

Education The Japanese established the first schools in the rural areas some time before World War I. Great emphasis was placed on making Japanese speakers and nationals out of Okinawans. Today most of the population is bilingual; those who speak only a dialect of the Ryukyuan language are persons over sixty and pre-school children. Most Okinawans have come to regard themselves as Japanese. 871 177 [91] [829]

A major change in the postwar educational system has been the addition of three years to the period of compulsory schooling, making a total of nine years. Since the schools continue to provide a Japanese education, the effect will be to increase the Japanization of Okinawa, raise literacy, and ultimately make all speakers bilingual. As a student is usually excused from all work by the family, this measure has served to withhold a large number of teenagers from the labor market.

In the rural areas the author heard frequent praise for the extension of the schooling period and the new school construction program initiated by the military government. Most rural peoples stated that educational opportunities were poor for them in the prewar period; high school education was said to be particularly difficult for a village child to achieve. Now they feel that they are realizing equality with the urban areas. The urbanite is more likely to suggest that the quality of education has deteriorated in the postwar period. Both rural and urban people were agreed that one decided improvement has been that students no longer fight among themselves. Before and during the war all students were organized into small groups based on area of residence; each group was headed by a student leader who shepherded his charges to and from school in semi-military formation. Rivalry between these organized groups frequently led to gang fighting so severe that the intervention of teachers or police was often necessary to restore order. 871 369 178 877 178

Rural people regard education as providing one of the best opportunities for improving one's status; consequently, the improvement of educational opportunities will have far-reaching effects on social mobility. Those who acquire a high school or university education rarely remain in the village, and the few who do remain adopt an occupation other than farming. 871 554

Economy Money was virtually non-existent in the old Okinawan village; barter was the chief means of exchange. Taxes under the communal land holding system were paid in grain and cloth. The land reforms initiated by the Japanese brought the introduction of tax payments in cash. Increasing emphasis on sugar production due to governmental encouragement and subsidy did much to destroy the self-sufficiency of the village and brought dependence on a cash crop. The period of Japanese administration was marked by a gradual adoption of a money economy in the rural areas. 437 436 178 177

Okinawans state that there is a far greater amount of money in the village today than in the prewar period. Some assert that due to governmental price controls they were never able to realize a fair return for their products (chiefly sugar) in the prewar era, but the great increase in money in recent years seems largely attributable to factors relating to the military occupation. Today over twenty-five percent of the total labor force is employed by the military and in subsidiary occupations such as construction; this steep rise in 434 178 [435] [464]

fads of Western inspiration. Vaccination, the calendar, European dress for officials, photography, edicts against long hair belong to the late 1870's. Chamberlain has spoken of the years 1885-87 as the "years of the great foreign fever."[24] Japan was the medium through which Western ideas were brought to bear on the old Okinawan culture. This new intrusion, indirectly set off both by the Perry expedition and the determination of the Japanese to change their own country, was modern Japan, compounded of traditional and Western ideas. When we speak of the "Japanization" of the islands, we must remember that some of this is also Westernization. 175 177

Foremost among these changes was the introduction of the new Japanese education. Education came to the rural areas and provided the basis, as in Japan, for mass literacy. This was not an easy task. Nor was it accomplished at once. Chamberlain in 1895 tells of the signs at the entrance to each village, giving the population, the number of children of school age and the number of children actually attending school, a "device not used in Japan itself, but resorted to here with the object of shaming parents into sending their children to school. To get the girls sent there has been found very difficult--the Further Isles almost impossible." The extent of this change can be appreciated by Chamberlain's further remark that few outside of Naha understood Japanese, and that the language was taught the first year so that it could be used later in instruction in other subjects.[25] Before World War II, as now, Japanese was spoken and understood by all, except the very old, the Japanese language existing side by side with Okinawan which remained the language of children, intimates, and of the village. The adoption of Japanese dress, the cutting of the hair, the learning of the Japanese language were the avenues to official employment. 175 177 872 [191] [964]

Another great change was the abolition of the old system of land tenure, something we shall dwell upon at length later. By a series of laws over the period 1899-1903, the old system of village communal ownership with a periodic distribution of the rice lands and the dry crop land was abolished and private ownership and inheritance of land were instituted. The abolition of the old land allotment system must have changed the aspect of the villages, for village-owned granaries, were part of the central area of a village.[26] This change in land tenure, as Spencer has suggested, contributed to the further economic decline of the native religion of the noro priestesses whose lands, still retained, were now subject to different laws of inheritance.[27] 175 177 423 [343] [593]

[TEXT CONTINUES ON TOP OF P. 40 — Analyst]

24 Basil Hall Chamberlain. Things Japanese, 238. See his comments on "fashionable crazes," 155-57.

25 The Luchu islands and their inhabitants, as cited, 457-58. Chamberlain adds, page 457, an interesting table showing school attendance by district which indicated that eligibles going to school were in a distinct minority.

26 Hawks, Perry's Expedition to Japan, as cited, I, 314; II, 34.

27 The Noro, or priestesses of Loo-choo, as cited, 109. This is an interesting example of the relation of an old religion to economic changes brought about by a revolution in land tenure induced from above.

436 175 no native money and used the Japanese cash, and that the Japanese did not permit a native coinage.[2]

436 Up to the war, only bills of low denominations circulated in the villages. In Minatogawa, an old lady, now about 73, said that before the war she had never seen a Y100 note, which at that time was worth slightly over US$25. But since the 19th century, new conditions have pried the farmer loose from barter and self-sufficiency. 434 511 There is little to warrant a belief that rural villages are self-sufficient. The most elementary obligations, such as sending one's children to school, require cash. An average rural family of five may require from Y40-60,000 a year.

[574] Cash outlays include: (1) Entertainment, including the purchase of sake. Entertainment is an integral part of the culture and cannot be dismissed as a luxury. (2) Clothing. (3) Fertilizer. (4) Tobacco. [388] (5) Soap. No soap is made in the home. American soap flakes are highly prized, but generally are not purchased because of the cost. (6) Hair cutting. (7) Food and food supplements, such as noodles [262] and vermicelli types of paste, cooking oils, salt, soy sauce, meat, fish, seaweed (kombu), rice, if not grown and purchases from the import store. (8) Fuel, charcoal, charcoal sticks. (9) Transportation for business or pleasure. (10) Newspapers. Many subscriptions are can- [204] celled when the price goes up. (11) Tools and tool repairs, but maintenance is small after the original investment. (12) School books and [872] contributions to schools for purchasing special items. (13) Medicines and mid-wives' fees. (14) Occasional purchases of lumber, stone, or [651] tile. (15) Taxes.

434 In the farming areas, sugar and pigs are the only significant sources of cash income. Sweet potatoes, rice, eggs, and soy beans may be sold, but the amounts are either too small or the selling price too low to provide substantial amounts of cash. Occasionally younger sons may have jobs which bring in money, and a farmer or his sons may have a horse cart for hire.

In Minatogawa, cash outlays, in addition to the items already mentioned, are required for nets, gasoline, and oil. Cash comes from sales of fish, pigs, and stone. The lack of rice, an insufficient [511] sweet potato crop for year round needs, imports of firewood from the north and the occasional need to purchase grasses for thatch make this community more dependent on cash than the agricultural community.

434 511 184 The economic problem of the fisherman is also different from that of the farmer. Both the farmer and the fisherman must pay cash for medicines, fertilizer, alcoholic drinks, clothing, various special but traditional articles of the diet, taxes, tools, and supplies. The farmer, however, can produce much of his food. He can exist on sweet potatoes, bean curd, and bean paste soup, and if need be may spend little money on food. The fisherman cannot exist on fish alone. Fishermen without fields must depend on cash earnings to buy the

2 Hawks, Perry's expedition to Japan, Vol. I, 160, 220-21. Chamberlain, The Luchu islands and their inhabitants, Geo. Journal 5 (1895), 313.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

The custom of a whole family sleeping together was common, if not universal, before the war. It is the mother or the grandmother, rather than the father or a male relative, whose company is sought after. This does not imply strained relationships with the father. Fathers are not stern. They often take care of infant children, or hold them while the mother tends to household tasks.[13]

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In western industrialized nations, we are so accustomed to the division of labor between the father and the mother, in which the father's work is away from home and the mother takes care of the home and has continuous daily contact with the children, that we might overlook the fact that similar conditions exist in less complex cultures as well. In these rural villages, the father is absent a great deal of the time. He may be in and out of the house several times during the day, he may eat his noon meal at home, or he may stay home several hours at a time doing chores in the courtyard. But the greater part of his time is spent away from home, in the paddy field, the sweet potato patch, at the quarry, or at sea, as the case may be. The father frequently is absent in the evenings, for he has the evening social life. Except for infrequent bus trips to shop in a larger town, a mother's absences from the home are of very short duration. The Okinawan wife and mother is almost always at home, or in a nearby field where here children can find her. A child's chief attachments seem to be to the mother. Though this is an impression, there seems also to be a long period of dependence on the parent. This does not mean dependence for food and shelter, for young men and women soon acquire skills which make them self-reliant. It is a more subtle dependence, but the post-war period may be changing this to some extent because of newer opportunities for leadership among the young.[14]

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The School Child

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The child enters primary school when he is around 6 years old. His teacher, more likely than not, will be a young man. The child now begins learning the required basic knowledge: the use of the brush or the pen in writing the Chinese character, elementary arithmetic,

13 In Matsuda, in a conversation with six boys ranging in age from 13-15, one of them asked if boys their age in America had separate rooms for sleeping. When told that they did, if this were possible, their response was unfavorable. They said they would be too far away from their mother. All of them wanted to sleep in the same room with their mother.

14 A 70 year old retired school teacher in one village complained that Okinawan children and young people have no independence and are not always relying on their parents for decisions. Age had not brought Confucian orthodoxy to this old man. He could not be accused of blindly insisting on filial obedience.

872 calculating on the abacus, and a variety of other subjects. (These topics will be discussed in the chapter on education.

292 291 302 The pre-war school childrens' uniform is no longer obligatory. Children wear what they have and what their parents can afford. The girl frequently wears the familiar blue serge smock but more often her clothing is varied. Her hair has bangs in front and is cut straight, about on the level with the ear lobe. Neither do the boys wear prescribed clothing. With them too, it is a matter of what they have. A boy's hair is closely clipped to his head and will remain cut this way until he leaves junior high school, although this style also is no longer compulsory. He may have a school boy's cap, but this is not officially designated. It may be tan, white, blue, or olive drab, resembling either a military or a baseball type cap. Above the brim there is a metal tag with an abbreviation of the school name written in a Chinese character.

857 883 Three important new experiences come to him as a result of his school life. The first of these is participation in school maintenance and upkeep. One of the commonest sights in any Okinawan primary, junior high, or high school is to see children working around the buildings and grounds under the supervision of their teachers. After typhoons, which destroy many of the rude, temporary, and rebuilt buildings, they 15 straighten out the debris, and help in putting on a new thatched roof. The tasks done by school children and their teachers are those customarily performed by janitors and custodians in our school system. In junior or senior high school, if the child lives far away from the school, he may board there as well.

526 [177] His second experience is with organized athletics. Much of this instruction is pointed to the annual athletic meets (undōkai) which have a remarkable hold in Okinawa on students, teachers, parents, and the rest of the villagers alike. This organized athletic training is a Japanese introduction, but earlier accounts of a period when Japanese cultural influence was more nominal point to a love of games, races, and ball among the people.

572 The third of these new experiences is the formation of attachments with children in his own class. These friendships exist throughout life. The words, dōnen or dōsei, meaning the same year or the same age, are used by mature men and women to describe these early friendships. Close friendships almost invariably have had their origins in early close association in the same grade at school.

15 As is true of school boys the world over, truancy is not unheard of. Every once in a while, especially in junior high school, three or four boys report to the principal or his assistant because of absence from this work--but not from classes.

conduct of a local business of any size, employment in official and 555
semi-official organizations, and teaching require facility in reading 212
and writing Japanese, that is, the use of the Chinese character and
the two Japanese syllabaries, katakana and hiragana. It is true
that under the Japanese and the present system of education, everyone [872]
learns the characters. But after school is left behind, there must
be continued practice in reading and writing, or one's fund of
knowledge gradually disappears and he remembers only a few of the
simpler or more common characters. For responsible leadership, this
school vocabulary must at least be maintained. A village headman [622]
today must hold his own in reading and writing. Reports have to be
made to the township office. The frequent conferences and meetings
require note taking. Storm warnings may be received, correspondence
and simple record keeping are continual tasks. In one village, the
criticism made of the headman was that his knowledge of characters
was too elementary.

If a person has leisure, this makes him available for positions of 556
leadership. A poor farmer could not ordinarily accept the position 622
of village headman except at a great sacrifice. Public duties, even
in a small village like Hanashiro, require that a headman be on call
most of the time for meetings, or to hear personal problems and com-
plaints of the villagers. It is significant that the former village
headman of Hanashiro and the current headman of Hatsuda both are
operators of rice mills and do not have the exacting dawn to dusk
duties of a farmer. In Hanashiro and Nagamo, the present headmen
are operating farmers who are able to combine their private and public
duties, but both places are small. The headman of Minatogawa, a
fisherman, has had to forego many fishing trips because his duties
kept him in the village.

Leadership is also assumed by those who have had foreign experience, 554
either in the Japanese administrative hierarchy abroad or simply through 484
foreign residence. These people generally have a broader point of view
and know more.

The last factor is age. It is often thought that village life in 554
Oriental countries under the family system is dominated by the older 561
and respected males. It is true that the opinion of retired elders is
sought for and respected, but not merely because of age. In addition,
there may be a life of successful farming, teaching, office holding,
possibly a combination of these, behind them. Leadership comes from
young men too, usually the result of experience in the young men's
association. Energetic leadership, often accompanied by organisational
ability, is noticeable in the age group from about 24 to 27. Women [562]
have fewer opportunities but can show their abilities in their work in
the Women's Association.

Village leadership rests both on the respected elders and the 554
promising young men, on those who have kept and increased their skill
in language, who have occupations that relieve them from the unremitting

Courses of Study

872 During 1946 and 1947, primary schools (shotogakko) were established along lines of the old primary school, but with the Japanese nationalism and the emperor worship deleted. Beginning about April 1948, a new primary school system with six grades was instituted. Ideas of democracy were introduced to displace the Japanese ideal of the state.

The subjects (gakka) in this new primary school curriculum are: (1) Japanese, referred to as the "mother tongue (kokugo) or the "standard language" (futsu no go). This instruction includes the two Japanese syllabaries, hiragana and katakana and beginning instruction in Chinese characters (kanji). (2) Beginning English, (3) arithmetic and computation on the abacus, (4) a general introductory science course (rika), (5) an introductory social science course (shakkaika), including geography (chiri), history (rekishi), political science (seiji), and economics (keizai). The old ethics, duties, and obligations courses have been absorbed into the new social science course which also includes duties and obligations to one's family, friends, and associates, and the need for international friendship. During primary school, the subjects remain essentially the same with each year's courses increasing in difficulty.

In 1948, the three year junior high school (chūtogakko) was started. Two years were taken off the old primary course and one year added. In junior high school, some of the subjects become more specialized. Instruction in literature (bungaku) replaces the formal grammar of primary school. This course, which formerly emphasised Japanese literature, now includes selections from English, American, and world literature. A course in Ryukyuan history, hitherto untaught in the schools, has been added. All teaching is conducted in Japanese. There is no instruction in the Okinawan language, though it is still the language of the pre-school child and of social life and daily talk. In adult speech, there is an effortless switch from the one language to the other. Instruction in English 5 or 6 hours a week continues.

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The present junior high school curriculum includes literature, social science, English, Okinawan history (in the 3rd year), algebra and geometry combined, music, general science, manual training, drawing, agriculture for the boys, and domestic science and sewing for the girls. There may be some instruction in carpentry and pottery making. Boys specialize in agriculture, girls in domestic science. Girls however receive some training in agriculture and boys in domestic science, mainly in cooking and mending.

873 There is a break between junior and senior high school (kōtōgakko). Entrance in senior high school is by examination, the severity of which seems to be governed by vacancies available. Senior high school is also a greater break from home life. The schools are fewer. In

This desire to learn English is more than a wish to communicate with Americans. Opportunities are open for those who know English, and people of all ages realize that theoretical and applied science and improved techniques come from the West, and that English is a means of understanding and applying this knowledge. Channelling this desire, through competent instruction in the schools, which will result in efficient self-guidance afterwards, is one of the significant problems of Okinawan education. But the techniques to be used on a permanent basis should be left to the professional linguist. 191 555 177 114

Should for example the methods of Basic English be adopted as a matter of policy and be encouraged in private study? Or should language study be based on the principles set forth by the rapidly advancing field of linguistics? Or should we accept the guidance of doctors of education who are specialists in curriculum construction and language training? My own bias is toward the manuals developed by the linguists, such as Spoken Japanese (EH 561-62). This approach, with its pattern sentences, is based on an analysis of the structure of the language itself. Basic English poses the problem whether the English taught is really basic. In my opinion, the crux of the matter is to study the presuppositions underlying these approaches and not the subject matter they produce. American learned societies, with the co-operation of the Army and the Navy, and the subsequent university programs in language study, have made great strides in these fields, both theoretical and applied. They represent the most advanced thinking in the world on these subjects, and the body of knowledge which they have should be most useful.[4]

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Home, School, and Village

There are strong bonds between the home, the village, and the school. Parents help their children with their elementary readers. There is homework and classmates may stay at one another's houses over night. Parents are interested in children's school problems, but they do not visit the schools often, except at times arranged by the officials. PTA's have been organized, but it is still too early to tell how successful they will be. Since the PTA, like the Women's Association and the Young Men's Association, fits in the culture, it probably will thrive. 182 876 641 575

On entering school, the child is introduced to a new language which he has not spoken to any extent in childhood. Okinawan is the language of the pre-school child. Beginning school, therefore, is a bigger break than it is with most cultures. 872 191

The schools usually draw on several villages for their student body 871

4 It is only fair to say that my own bias in favor of the approach developed by the technical linguists grows out of instruction I received in Japanese in the Army's Civil Affairs Training School Program in 1943-44.

197 mutually intelligible. The speech differences are so great that even
191 two neighboring villages have noticeable dialectical variations. Japanese is the second language.

Okinawan is spoken in almost all households. The first words learned by the child from his mother or others around him are Okinawan. The child is praised or scolded in Okinawan; he learns Okinawan terms for numbers, names for plants, tools, and other implements used around the house. A curious exception in this pattern is the use of
[601] kinship terms. Taira children start using Japanese kinship terms in
[177] infancy with one exception—in some families the grandmother is addressed by the Okinawan term.

[648] Knowledge of the Okinawan language is said to have been helpful to Americans during the war in distinguishing the local people from Japanese. Japanese has been the official language in Okinawa for over 60 years. It is taught and used in schools exclusively until the upper grades, when foreign languages are introduced. Everybody who has gone to school learns Japanese, and only the oldest persons in Taira speak Okinawan exclusively.

197 Young children, even though they learn to speak Okinawan first,
● 872 soon pick up Japanese words and phrases. While their Okinawan
191 vocabulary is limited to everyday experiences, the child's horizon is widened gradually by the use of Japanese terms. First formal efforts to teach Japanese are made in kindergarten, and teachers quickly succeed in eliminating the use of Okinawan in class. Even in play groups of
[626] school-age children, Japanese is usual. Children frequently censure each other for occasional slips or shifts to Okinawan.

191 Taira adults vary in the use of language. Simple, routine matters in
197 daily living are mostly discussed in Okinawan. This language is also predominant in small, informal social gatherings and in emotionally tense situations, such as domestic quarrels. Furthermore, the priestess and her assistants conduct all religious ceremonies in Okinawan. People resorted to Okinawan in our presence when they did not want to be understood. On the other hand, village meetings and gatherings of village leaders or visits of teachers and other officials are conducted in Japanese.

THE PEOPLE

142 The majority of the Taira people are of short, stocky build, with heavy bones. Their hair growth is strong, their skin dark. A light skin

an empty oxygen bottle with a wooden mallet to mark the time. The noon bell tells people in the fields and mountains that it is time for the midday meal and helps those who have a clock to compare the time. The evening bell indicates that it is time to end the day. Schoolchildren do not need a clock, since they get up early in the morning and go to school soon after, knowing that they are probably early. For most adults, daylight and sun position are enough to tell the approximate hour of the day. Some take arrival and departure of the bus, four times a day, as a point of orientation.

Old women are the first to rise in the morning. Long before dawn during the winter, or with the first light of the summer day, they get up and start a fire to boil sweet potatoes and heat the soybean soup. Blue smoke rising through the thatched roof into the early morning sky indicates that life in the village has begun. Children soon awake. The door is pushed open and a sleepy child appears to urinate off the edge of the house. Men are the last to rise. Considering the effect of the sake which they may have consumed on the preceding evening, it is remarkable that they are able to wake up so soon. By 6:30 the sleepiest person has risen.

The addition of outer clothes to the underclothing in which most people sleep is simple. Cold water splashed over the face and a quick turn at the toothbrush is all the toilet needed to begin a new day.

The task of folding comforters and taking down the mosquito net falls to one of the older children or to the mother. Older children and young girls help to carry water from the tank, the first task that has to be done after getting up. After breakfast, women feed the pigs. By about 7 o'clock everybody is ready for work. On a good day people leave for the mountains or start toward their fields—schoolchildren are on their way, too.

By 8 o'clock, except during very poor weather, the village is left to the old people and young children. Little boys and girls hang around, waiting for kindergarten to start at 9 o'clock. Play begins for them after they leave the house in the morning and does not end until evening.

For men and women, the routine of work in fields and forests is prescribed by seasonal activities which demand their special attention, but there are daily chores, such as digging potatoes, picking vegetables, and collecting feed for the animals and firewood for cooking. Only a few men who go to the mountains, taking their midday meal along, are away all day. The rest come and go during the day from the rice paddies, potato fields, or forests, so that there is repeated contact between children and their parents. A young child, even if left in the

625 went out for fugitives from the south, he would accompany the police-
[632] mar or investigate himself. In cases of death, both he and the police-
[647] ma-- have to make a report.

The Young People's Association may serve as a vigilante in emer-
[575] gencies such as fires, floods, tornadoes, and other disasters. When a
[731] military jeep was reported to have been stolen near Naha and driven on the dead-end road running north, the young people in all villages on the way erected road blocks and were ready to help catch the thief. The group would act together in a similar fashion at any threat from outsiders.

622 The headman can only enforce local ordinances insofar as he is
681 able to persuade people to comply. He is not concerned directly with crime or disturbance of the peace. Exceptions are such matters as steal-
[625] ing sugar cane or letting chickens run loose so that they enter every yard. For such acts, money fines can be imposed. One warden still has a tag which used to be given to the man whose chickens ran around freely. The offender had to pay the fine and keep the tag until he detected someone else's chicken running loose. Then he could pass the tag on to that person. Such measures are no longer used. But the un-
[626] derlying principle of public censure and fear of ridicule continues to operate in village social control.

623 Public censure is used along with fines to ensure attendance at vil-
626 lage meetings. Roll call is taken before each meeting so that the ab-
[681] sence of individuals is made known to the whole group. Similarly, when tax collections became more and more delinquent, it was decided to have ward meetings in which everybody would be reminded in public to pay his share. Those who were unable to do so would have to state their reasons. As soon as this new plan was announced, several people got up during the meeting to pay outstanding amounts to the head-
● 872 man. The school uses similar devices to achieve better attendance and scholarship. During home visit week, about once a year, a meeting is held for all parents and the statistics for attendance for each village are read as well as scholastic performances for each community.

INFORMAL CONTROL

156
626 What other people might think is uppermost on everybody's mind.
[867] Children are reminded by their mothers not to play alone lest people would think they are unpopular. They are told not to fight lest others think badly of them or make them responsible for the consequences. Censure by gossip is common, but criticism is seldom made directly to a person's face, and the target of extensive gossip is often unaware of it.

year. On these occasions his parents take gifts of tea, noodles, and whatever else they can spare to the foster parents. During their visit the foster parents present the gift as an offering on the ancestral shrine and pray to their own ancestors, the guardians of the foster child. It is believed that this may help to offset the adverse effects of the child's own ancestors. 597 755 769

In spite of some treatments, such as blood letting and moxa cautery, which seem harsh to the unaccustomed observer, Taira people are extremely concerned about their sick. Illness, and most of all the need to remove the patient to the local dispensary or to a hospital in town, involves the whole family. No one likes to leave a sick person alone. His family and friends attend to him in such numbers that the small rooms are never large enough to hold all. The security given in everyday life by the presence of relatives and neighbors in the village continues during the critical period of illness. In the case of a fisherman from the south who was washed ashore in his boat after a storm, township officials kept the man continuous company in his dispensary room even though he was close to death. Female relatives cook meals and look after the comfort of a hospitalized person. This means that a young girl or an older woman will leave her usual work for days or weeks to attend the patient. 758 [156]

Because of intimacy in the home and visits to the sick, children are quite familiar with illness. A mother who has to go to the hospital takes her youngest child with her. After burning moxa weeds on her skin for two weeks had failed to cure a nephritic condition, one woman went to the hospital in town, taking her 8-months-old daughter although she did not have enough milk to nurse. The infant had to be given bottled milk prepared from cans. Meanwhile the older children remained under the care of their father. [757]

There is, however, little concern with children who have minor ailments. A school child may be excused from attending classes. In one case a boy stayed home from school with stomach pains. He was happily playing with younger children in the street. One of the adult villagers walked past, stopped after seeing him, and inquired: "Why aren't you in school today?" When told by the boy that he had an upset stomach, the man ordered him to go home right away and stay inside or go to school. The boy's mother, although aware of her son's discomfort, did not pay any special attention to it. 757 855 872

Preventive medicine is officially the responsibility of the public health nurse. She advises people on proper preventive care, inocculates children against whooping cough, diphtheria, and other diseases. She also acts as an advisor to mothers on child care and occasionally helps with a birth if the doctor is unavailable. If a case is diagnosed as 744 [751] [759 844]

871 call that in their quest for education, adolescents and even adults at-
177 tended the elementary grades. The introduction of a formal school system in the village marked the beginning of changes in the culture; the Japanese language was introduced, and teachers transmitted Japanese culture as part of the curriculum (Kerr, 1958). It is found today
[191] that people too old to have attended school—which in the early years was not compulsory—are the only ones who do not speak Japanese and who are illiterate. Their number is small, probably less than 3%
● 872 of Taira's population.

346 The school was moved about 40 years ago to nearby Kawata village,
[871] where a substantial schoolhouse was built. Today the elementary school is located there, about a one-mile walk from central Taira, but 3 miles from the outlying subvillage of Izena. The junior high school lies halfway between Taira and Kawata. During the war all school buildings were destroyed, but two new permanent structures for the elementary school were finished in 1954; one of these is a wooden building with a tile roof, the other an all-concrete, flat-roof structure of simple, modern design. Four classrooms and a teacher's room are located in these buildings. The remaining temporary, thatched-roof huts with three more classrooms will disappear as soon as the school rebuilding program is completed.

Built against a hill, the school has spacious grounds in front for sports and play. Classrooms for 30 to 35 students are fairly adequate in size and, in the new buildings, are well lighted by glass windows on sunny days but dark when skies are overcast because of the overhanging roof, which protects the hallway outside the classrooms from frequent showers, and the lack of artificial lighting. A building immediately be-
[514] hind the classrooms houses latrines, separated for boys and girls, although both pass through the same passageway where boys use the urinals. Equipment is extremely poor and a great problem for principal and teachers. Simple, rickety desks and chairs of unfinished wood are bought or made by parents for their children. They are standard in design but differ in height according to the size of the child. Many first graders' furniture is made with future growth in mind, while some older students have outgrown their desks and chairs. An older sibling may pass on his table to a younger one if it is still serviceable after several years of nonchalant treatment.

876 Teaching aids are few. A small organ is available for music lessons
[533] and is carried by several boys on the shoulders to the classroom where it is needed. Sometimes a teacher accompanies a singing class on a mouth organ. Visual aid material, maps, pictures, and charts are displayed in school rooms along with students' physical measurement tables and

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

sometimes a chart indicating their birthdays. There are also exhibits 876
of students' drawings, which enliven the simple rooms. Each classroom
has at least one blackboard built into the wall. By withdrawing re-
movable walls in the new building, individual rooms can be converted [346]
into one large auditorium with a small stage for special occasions.

The personal equipment carried by students, other than books, con- 872
sists of notebooks, pencils, a ruler, abacus, and, for those who can af-
ford it, crayons and drawing paper. Sports equipment is also scanty,
and replacement budgets are too low to remedy the situation. Students
bring their own tools for garden and agricultural work as well as for
work on the school grounds.

The teachers' room has desks for each teacher and the principal and 875
a large table in the center for meetings. A small corner is reserved for
a kerosene stove to prepare tea. There are also two cots for the teacher 346
who remains on duty as night watchmen or for a child who feels ill
during school hours. No privacy is provided for teachers, since students
enter the room on any pretext or crowd around the windows if some-
thing attracts their curiosity.

Upkeep of the school is the responsibility of teachers and students; 872
the only paid help is a girl who acts as janitor, nurse, and servant. The
students, supervised by their teachers, tidy up classrooms after school, 358
scrub walls and floors at regular intervals, take care of the hallway, cut
grass, and weeds, and clear ditches on the school grounds. When school
repairs are needed, teachers and parents help if no specialist's work is
needed, as in repairing the thatch roof of temporary buildings.

The present school system, although under American supervision, 871
follows the Japanese pattern. A six-year elementary school education
and three years of junior high school are compulsory. After graduation [177]
at about the age of 15, students can enter high school if they choose and
can qualify by passing the extremely rigid entrance examinations,
which eliminate a considerable number of applicants. High school [873]
students have to move to Ogimi in a nearby township where they room
and board while attending school.

The curriculum in the Okinawan schools is on the whole similar 871
to that in Japan. Japanese language continues to be the medium, and 177
textbooks, as well as other school materials, are purchased from Japan.
Children therefore continue to be familiarized with the culture of [191]
Japan as were their parents in the days before American administra-
tion. A number of changes have taken place since that time, however.
Since the Ryukyus are at present under an independent administration,
all symbols and paraphernalia pertaining to the Japanese Imperial
House and to the Japanese nation have been removed from the schools.

871 Nevertheless, the school remains, in the eyes of the villagers, as a rally-
177 ing point for ties with Japan.

No attempts have been made until the present to introduce Okinawan culture other than by a few occasional references to Okinawan history or folklore. Teachers, during discussion of reading material, refer to home life, farm work and mountain work to illustrate points made in the books.* School is the first opportunity for Taira children to become acquainted with the world outside their own village and to relate their own experiences to the rest of the island, Japan, and other parts of the world. Since Japan is the dominant subject of reading [186] material, however, it is clear that no awareness of being "Okinawan" is developed.

875 Teachers, many of whom are young, are devoted to their work and to the children, even though their pay is hardly commensurate with their [554] high status in the community and does not represent adequate compensation for the long hours of teaching and administrative work that demand most of their time. In addition, the community in which the teacher lives makes demands on him as one of the educated, able leaders. Both men and women teach. Some of the younger ones who follow the urgent call for teaching positions do not have much training beyond a high school diploma. During the summer, special teacher [874] training courses are now conducted by university professors from Japan and the University of the Ryukyus. Graduates from the University of the Ryukyus Education Department are still too few in number to reach a remote country school, such as the one in Kawata. Most teachers come from one of the surrounding communities; others, mostly bachelors, are from other parts of the island. Children are therefore well acquainted with many of the school teachers, some of whom are neighbors, relatives, or friends of the family.

[554] The extremely modest appearance of teachers does not detract from their status and authority. The relationship between students and teachers is a mixture of respect, as dictated by custom, and intimacy, as a result of mutual affection. A conscientious teacher comes to know his students well during the school year and takes an active interest in them. Children can tell if a teacher is enthusiastic about his work and often establish a warm relationship with him. During our stay, the ●872 first two grades were divided into two sections, taught by women, while male teachers taught the upper four grades.

The school day starts at 8:30 with a study period before the formal meeting of the teacher and students on the open grounds in front of

* Some practical work in gardening begins in the upper elementary school classes. Only Junior High School students work in the fields as part of their curriculum.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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the school. Classes are held from 9 o'clock until noon with one recess. After an hour for lunch, lessons resume for all grades above first. Classes, sports, and cleanup end between 2 and 3:30 in the afternoon, the highest grades staying the longest. 872

All grades receive instruction in Japanese writing and reading, arithmetic, science, music, and drawing. Social science is introduced in the second grade. Since each class has one teacher for all subjects, shifts from one to the next subject may come in the middle of an hour. The greatest amount of time is spent in teaching Japanese reading and writing. At first grade level the simplified syllabary is taught, followed in the second grade by another syllabary and the first Chinese characters. [871 177 191]

Parents maintain contact with the school through a Parent-Teachers Association, called by the American abbreviation, PTA. Every household is a member. Those with children of school age are regular members who pay 15 yen (12 cents) a month; others are supposed to pay 5 yen but have become so delinquent that their fees have been dropped. The actual PTA work is done by a committee from each village, including the headman and the heads of the Women's and Young People's Associations. The main purpose of the PTA is to support the school in some of its maintenance problems. Attendance of all parents at a general meeting occurs only once a year when elections of officers take place and the PTA budget is discussed and approved. 875 575

The principals of both schools are represented in township affairs and in the associations of their own community. Contact between village leaders and school representatives is therefore frequent. Since education taxes are the single largest tax item which villagers pay (80% of the total tax), this representation of the principals is a necessary but burdensome duty for them. 875 621 [651]

Township education taxes are supplemented by government subsidies. School taxes are paid by all households according to their income and average about 515 yen ($4.30) yearly. Since 1952, government orders require education taxes to be levied separately from other taxes so that people are aware of the amount destined for education; tax collection is one of the main problems in village administration, and school principals are sometimes called on to explain the need for such taxation and the obligations of individuals to carry their share of the burden. 871 658 651

The administration of funds and general school matters are the responsibility of an official in the township finance department. During 1954–1955, 310,344 yen ($2586) were collected by the township in education taxes. The government subsidy amounted to 3,716,897 yen [632]

867 as well as comfort him. The support and the nurturance of his older
593 brothers and sisters help in softening the blow and may also function as role model behavior. Even children who had shortly been weaned were observed responding very nurturantly and affectionately toward their newborn siblings. It is difficult to rely wholely on the premise that the greater emphasis placed on the child by his grandmother and the constant attention paid to his status as an older sibling would nullify any aggressive intents. The wistful statement made by a 10-year-old in the form of a wish to be his baby sister because she is loved and indulged by everyone certainly indicates envy as well as the child's clear view of the protection and nurturance given to young infants.

866 In summary, this period is an unhappy interlude for the Taira child. He is forced to give up the indulgencies of infancy. He is punished for demanding behavior and must now confine dominating behavior to his grandmother. He must shift his dependence from his mother to his grandparents and siblings and finally to his peers. He does this only after a period of stormy protests.

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Chapter 15

Kindergarten

872 It is necessary to define the term "kindergarten child" as it is used in
858 Taira. The group includes all children from weaning until the age of 6. The younger ones are carried to the morning sessions, whereas the older ones go on their own. Kindergarten may thus be likened to a mass baby-sitting session. An adult, scolding an 8-year-old who smears mud all over concrete walls, by calling him a kindergarten child is belittling his intellectual maturity. Finding a newly planted field trampled, an adult will quickly volunteer: "Oh, it must have been the kindergarten children; they don't know any better."

[861] Taira adults feel that children under 6 years "do not have sense." Because of this belief, they are considered uneducable. Serious training and instruction pertinent to the standards and values of Taira society

are therefore generally postponed until the child is believed to be endowed with this mysterious capacity to "understand and know." Kindergarten children pilfer from gardens, have temper tantrums, and attack each other physically, but very little enforcement takes place. "They are only children, we can't expect them to know any better," say adults. 858 861 [872]

In spite of this distinction, there is not a complete laissez-faire handling of the still "senseless" child. On the contrary, the child is subject to a number of restrictions. Adults assiduously attempt to train him to say "Please" and "Thank you," "Good morning," "Good day," and "Good-bye." One mother and her eldest daughter were observed trying to teach the youngest child, an 8-month-old girl, to say "Thank you." A piece of brown sugar was extended, withdrawn, given and taken from the baby until she had twice performed the act indicating "Thank you." Mother and daughter took the baby's hands, folded one over the other, palm side up and raised it, saying at the same time, "Ah-ah," baby talk for "Thank you." The situation was not without fussing and screaming on the part of the young child. 861 867

Adults often push the young child's head down to say "Hello," and, if he lets out screams of protest, all laugh hilariously. The child inevitably joins in the laughter and the adults taunt, "Know-nothing." Three and 4-year-olds playing in the dirt along the lanes are picked up and taken to the faucets for a wash down and a scolding, "Dirty! Cat!" Although such enforcement occurs, it is negated when the child starts crying. "Here, here, don't cry; mother was bad" (for scolding you) placates the adult, hugging and cradling the child. [855]

One mother complained that her tomato patch was constantly being raided. When asked whether she knew who was doing it, she said, "Yes, they are kindergarten children." Questioned further as to why she did not scold them or talk to their parents, she said, "It's no use, they are too young to talk to, and besides, I would not like to talk to their mothers because, who knows, my own girls who are under 6 years old may be doing something like that too."

Playing with water is the favorite pastime of young children. During all times of the day a group of them gather at the water tank or at faucets to puddle and "wash." When the water supply was limited, adults would pause in passing by to scream, "Eeyah!" once, then go on, shaking their heads while the children paused only momentarily to look up and then continued with their play. [857]

In the morning, after adults have departed for the fields and mountains and older children have left the village for school, the kindergarten child leaves home with two or three sweet potatoes in his hand 857 872

857 to gather with others his age under the great banyan tree at the lower
872 water tank. On rainy days he proceeds to the empty warehouse. There is no compulsion to go; he can join another renegade at the upper tank or on the beach, if he feels inclined to. As the group grows, games of tag, marbles, and rope jumping are started. By the time the kindergarten teacher arrives on the scene, the children have organized themselves into numbers of little groups and games. She carries the big drum
872 from the village office to the banyan tree, and, even before she drums
876 to signal the start of the session, little girls are lining up in front of her. The boys, as if to assert their maleness, play on, disregarding her until she calls sternly to them. Soon a line of boys forms next to the line of girls. As the teacher instructs all to straighten the formations by putting hands onto the shoulders of those in front, boys begin tickling each other and slapping in time to the song of the kindergarteners. The teacher frowns at the boys and tries hard to suppress an amused smile, for the sounds of the childish voices are so incongruent with the brazen attitude. With her drumsticks she reaches over to lightly tap a head, a buttock, and an offending arm. Soon there is order, and she bows slightly, saying, "Good morning, students." The children respond with, "Good morning, teacher," the boys exaggerating the politeness with deep bows and shouting voices. The teacher smiles, then instructs all to stand up straight to sing the kindergarten song. Roughly translated it goes, "We are kindergarteners. . . . We play together well. . . ." There are motions to go with the song, and the girls, with their serious concentration to be perfect in their performance, contrast sharply with the improvisations of the boys. The teacher ignores this and interrupts her singing occasionally to laugh and reach over with the drumstick to restrain a particularly disturbing boy.

863 When the song is completed, she comments on the excellent singing
872 performance and then goes on to ask how many children remembered to wash their faces and hands before coming to kindergarten. There is
876 an embarrassed twitter among the girls and a few downcast eyes, but the majority proudly raise their hands. As she examines the children, she comments that those who are negligent should be ashamed. From among their ranks a voice calls out, "Teacher, teacher! I didn't wash my face and hands, and I am not ashamed!" A little girl comments, "Fool thing!" The teacher finally hears his insistent cries and has him repeat his information. She tries hard to look disapproving, but laughs spontaneously instead as she lightly whacks his buttocks with the drumstick, saying, "What do you mean, you have not washed your hands and face and you are not ashamed!" She turns to inspect the children one by one, still smiling and commenting on a dirty ear and unkempt finger-

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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nails. One or two girls stand fearfully, almost in tears, while others subject themselves to inspection with aplomb. The boys by now are mocking the teacher by inspecting each other and commenting on the failure to meet the test. A few little girls disgustedly say, "These boys, wish we did not have to have them!" 863 872 876

After a brief lecture on cleanliness and orderliness, the teacher asks all to count the number of children present. Immediately there is bedlam as all start to count aloud. She quickly takes a count herself and waits for the first child to answer. As she listens to the shouts, she points out the child who has the right answer and says, "That is right, now let us count together. You, Sachiko, at the head of the line, one, next, Nariko, two. . . ."

Following this counting, the teacher may present a simple lesson in manners. She tells each child down the line to answer with a crisp "hai," then to state his name in full. The oldest girls respond obediently and help their 3- and 4-year-old siblings. As she approaches the line of boys, she frowns and nods. Each boy shouts his answer and name in spite of her protests to the effect that she is not hard of hearing. From somewhere near the end of the line comes a loud voice, "Hai, Taira, Saburo-san!" She quickly moves over to the possessor of the voice and taps the boy on his cleanly shaven head. The noise of the tap is sharp and clear. It induces a hearty round of laughs from all the children. The censured boy stands rubbing his head and smiling at the teacher as she tells him that he knows well one does not use the honorific suffix with one's own name. 872 867 876

The teacher does not attempt to present further lessons. Instead, she asks what kind of games the children would like to play. Shouts of "Race, race!" drown out her instruction to organize into teams. From the back of one 6-year-old girl she unstraps a screaming infant. With one arm cradling the infant, she drums to spur on the runners. From the direction of the village store, a grandmother comes slowly shuffling to join the group. She points out the 2-year-old on the back of his 5-year-old sibling who is starting off on his share of the run. The mother of the screaming infant comes running down the path to relieve the teacher of her burden. She sits nearby on a fence stone to nurse the baby and spur the runners on. Other adult passersby stop briefly to watch the runners, encourage them with shouts to run a little faster, clap their hands to congratulate a winner, and console a loser with advice to try harder the next time. 872 526

After the races the children sit and sing songs with the teacher. In their sitting positions they "act out" the songs with motions of their arms. The teacher releases her hold on the drumsticks as a 4-year-old

872 attempts to hold his hand over hers and he continues to beat out the
526 rhythm of the songs. While finishing the last song, she traces lines for the snail game on the sandy ground. A 5-year-old girl, singing the final words of the song, impatiently tugs at her hand. Taking the stick from her hand, the girl erases the teacher's lines and painstakingly tries to make a perfectly round spiral. She stands back to look at the finished "snail," hands the stick back to the teacher, and returns to her place.

The snail game involves teams of two groups of children. One member of a group takes his position in the inner end of the spiral, while the other stands at the outer end. At a signal from the teacher, both run toward each other as fast as possible to cover as much of the length of the line as possible. When they meet, they play a game
[524] similar to the American "rock, paper, and scissors." The loser gives up his turn to another member of his group who has to start at the beginning of the opposite end while the winner runs from the point at which the "toss" took place. At the point of meeting, another toss takes place, and the first contestant to reach the opposite end of the spiral wins a point for his team.

Another favorite game of the kindergarten children is "choosing sides." Two mixed groups stand opposite each other and at the signal one group, hand in hand, moves forward, gaily kicking their feet toward the other members of their group. "We will take, Yoshiko," they sing as they swoop in a semicircle to encircle the chosen one, who attempts to run away while her group tries to run interference. Then the next group has a turn. There is no real "winning" in this game, but the children enjoy the united chasing and united defense.

872 After playing organized games from about 9:30 until 11:15, the
262 children are temporarily disbanded while the teacher goes to prepare the powdered milk, which the children look forward to eagerly. Often the promise of milk serves as a powerful incentive to attend kindergarten for even the most incorrigible renegade. The children all scatter to run home for their small tea cups in which the coveted drink is served. As the teacher approaches the banyan tree from her home, bucket of milk and dipper in hand, she smiles to see the two lines
872 already formed. "Today, we will serve the girls first because the boys
876 were first yesterday," she announces, and immediately there is a shout of disapproval from the boys and a few menacing scowls and upraised
858 arms with clenched fists directed toward the girls. The little girls smile smugly back at the boys, and a few return the hostile threats. The most aggressive boys and girls soon become involved in a tussle, and the teacher serves notice that milk will be withdrawn for the day if order is not restored. The observer feels that in her reprimand to the

guilty parties there is slightly more emphasis in the censure of the female child, whether she is really more responsible for the disturbance or not. There is a tone in her voice which implies that "females do not fight; boys, well, boys can't be helped." The children are quick to sense this, particularly the guilty boys, who strut about brashly when the teacher turns her back to start serving the milk. 872 876 858

When all the milk has been served and drunk, the teacher starts the farewell song for the day. Again the song is fairly shouted out, but for a brief moment serenity reigns when the teacher bows her head slightly to say, "Students, good-bye, until tomorrow," to which the students respond, "Teacher, good-bye until tomorrow." 872 533

In spite of the competitive content of the games and lessons which the teacher presents to the kindergarten, the observer finds few expressions of achievement motivation and competitive spirit. There is little to indicate that children at this age are interested in winning or excelling. Perhaps the remarks of a 4-year-old boy who reported to his mother on the activities of kindergarten are adequate to summarize the attitude of most kindergarten children. "Mother," he said, "Saburo is first in the races, Tetsuo is second and I am third, always third." To which the mother replied, "If you would try a little harder tomorrow, you may be first." The child looked at the mother questioningly, and the next day he reported that while he thought he tried harder he was again third. The mother again encouraged him, but with a broad smile the child said, "But mother (and the mother explains the expression on the child's face as one of 'You don't understand') I am third! Saburo is first, Tetsuo is second . . . and I am third!" The mother went on to explain to the fieldworker that the whole idea was hilariously funny to the child and the fact that the mother would take the subject so seriously was even funnier. 866 872 876

Furthermore, once the winners are determined, the game is concluded *in toto* as far as the teacher and the children are concerned. There are no congratulatory remarks beyond the clapping of the appreciative audience. No references are made to yesterday's winners or today's possible winners. During performances the teacher may encourage a child here with a positive comment, censure an unruly child there with the stick, but the whole atmosphere of child-teacher interactions is affectionate, indulgent, and relaxed. When a child is being reprimanded, the teacher takes no great pains to conceal her appreciation of the humor involved in the situation, and her affection for the "senselessness" of children at this age is expressed while she is making a token effort. [201] [858]

There are no toys to play with in kindergarten, no way in which to 872 876

[i.e. the Kindergarten teacher - ANALYST]

872 876 express one's creativeness except in perfecting and improvising song-dance performances. Lacking paper and crayons or paint, children crouch to the ground with the teacher to trace "pictures" in the sandy ground with their fingers or small sticks. The beach provides a rich playground on days when the teacher suffers laryngitis as a result of a cold and is unable to lead songs and direct the play verbally. Collecting shells, learning their names, examining washed up bits of seaweed and fish, exploring exposed stretches of rivers at low tide are real lessons in nature for the kindergarten child as he discovers these things himself and experiments without the direction of formal lessons. If he desires more information about things, he is free to ask the teacher; if he does not, no pressure is put on him to learn and know.

872 857 [875] The kindergarten phase is a happy one for the child. Under the direction of the teacher, who may be the mother or sister of one of his peers, he passes the two hours, from 9:30 to 11:30, of the morning, then goes on to play in and around the village for the rest of the day. He runs home only when he is hungry or when it is mealtime. And he hurries back to rejoin his peers for free play for the rest of the day.

857 [576] [515] [291] Adults put little restriction on children's movement. They are free to occupy any part of the home and run around at will. Before entering the house, everyone takes off his shoes; a rag lies on the ground to wipe dirty feet. Few children spend any length of time indoors, however, during daylight hours. If weather forces them to stay inside, they are found either in one of the front rooms or in the cooking area to the back.

855 867 Despite the occasional motor vehicle traffic through the village, adults show little concern, for the kindergarten child has been well exposed to rules of safety in this respect. At the sound of warning horns, children run to the side of the main road and into the yards. The few brazen little boys who dare to chase vehicles and attempt to hang on to the rear bumper are severely reprimanded by those nearby.

A 4-year-old boy who had run out of the way of a lumbering truck stood watching as it rounded the curve and entered the village. Adults waiting for the vehicle to pass chatted idly and scanned the passengers to see if there were any familiar faces. Suddenly the 4-year-old leaned forward and threw a small branch he had in his hand under the tires of the passing truck. At once the driver, passengers, and by-standers screamed. "Fool one!" The passengers waved a warning finger at him, and he was berated by the village adults standing with him. "That was a dangerous thing to do. If you do that another time, you will be taken to the police station!" they threatened. The boy looked down at the ground and nodded to acknowledge his wrongdoing.

857 the infant still at the breast who is taken on shopping trips to Nago, the nearest town, or to neighboring townships to visit maternal relatives. When whale meat was marketed from the village on weekends, a school age child was taken along to carry the infant because the mother was burdened with her basket of meat, but this was infrequent. Few children have explored their township beyond Miyagi, a village 5 miles to the east of Taira or Gesashi, 4 miles to the southwest.

[364] Children also rummage through the garbage heaps, where they find useful things like tin cans, bottles, and discarded bits of vegetable with which to play house or store.

857 241 During the harvest and planting seasons, children accompany adults to the rice paddies and potato fields near the village. Mats are spread out on the dikes and kindergarten children gaily dangle their feet in the oozy mud while "keeping watch over the sleeping infants." Those who whimper to help are given small sheaves of rice to carry to their fathers and older brothers, who thresh them in the dry fields or on the flat grounds bordering the paddies.

855 [412] Many 4-year-olds are adept at handling knives. As implements like knives, hatchets, pronged hoes, sickles, rakes, and saws were often left within reach of children, it was not unusual for them to use them. Although many cut themselves, adults do not seem to take special care to put them out of reach. Children of kindergarten age are frequently scolded for playing with sharp instruments, but with persistent crying or begging they usually gain reluctant consent.

852 855 527 During all holiday events, children participate without much control from adults. Young children are carried by their mothers as they make the visiting rounds or sit on the floor in the building where the whole village congregates. Toddlers explore the surroundings and, finding themselves in the middle of the dance floor, are gently pushed aside and handed back to their mother. Older children hang around while food is served; then they disappear to play games of their own. During sport events, track meets, wrestling, and at dance performances, children are as interested spectators as their parents. Nobody would think of leaving a child at home on a holiday, and nobody would demand that the child sit quietly through lengthy speeches or ceremonies.

868 535 [872] Children learn dances from kindergarten days on, either by watching or by coaching from an older person, a friend, one's older sister, or mother. Sometimes they are called on to perform for adults, or a special children's performance is given under the direction of the kindergarten teacher. Adults enjoy these dances as much as if they were done by grownups. They are amused and delighted if a little girl

too aggressive and ill behaved. The children played with them but never sought them out and often deserted them en masse when disagreements arose. Taira villagers blamed the parents in this case for being too lax and quarrelsome with each other. 865 155

Peer groups are another of the major agents of socialization for the young child. Child interview data intimate that censure by peers arouses much more anxiety than censure by parents. Refusal to comply with the demands of his peers in the face of punishment from his parents for complying raises in the mind of the child, the question, "Will he hate me for not doing what he asks?" Consequently the child chooses the support that is available to him the greater part of his day and calculates the risk of adult censure quite logically. 857 861

In despair, one mother described how her 5-year-old boy rushes into the kitchen daily and demands to be given his lunch standing on the dirt floor. Despite his parents' instructions to wash his feet and sit properly on the raised portion of the room to eat, the boy scrambled on all fours and hung his unwashed feet over the edge and shoveled his rice down his throat because "his friends were waiting for him."

As mentioned above, the village as a whole acts as another socialization agent. However, although various members shout warnings in attempts to stop children from disapproved behavior, they do not punish them. Their function seems to be one of casual reminding.

When a child turns 5, he is faced with a dramatic change. Parents now begin to treat him like a school child. New independence and responsibility are expected, and an attempt is made to prepare him for first grade. 858 866

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Chapter 16

First Grade

Entry into first grade constitutes a change of status for the child in Taira. It means more than just less play time and adjustment to strict routines, for now he is considered capable of knowing what he is [872]

858 doing. He is made to feel and understand that all the things he did as
866 a kindergarten child are reprehensible. His long walks to and from
872 school give him a sense of independence in spite of the fact that class-
mates and siblings accompany him. The adulation of kindergarteners, who hang on to everything he reports about his new experience, creates in him a sense of superiority which he never fails to emphasize. "You don't know how to write your name . . . see, this is how you write . . ." he fairly sneers at the wondering, admiring 3- to 5-year-olds and scratches the syllabary in the sand with his fingers.

MORNING ROUTINE

512 The first grader rises early the morning of his first day of school,
872 rushes out to the pot of water standing in the yard just outside the
857 kitchen door, splashes the cold water over his face, brushes his teeth,
and re-enters the house. He shivers a bit in the cold, damp morning air
[291] as he struggles to wiggle out of the clothing he wore the day before and into an outfit specially designated for school. He remembers that he has a new pair of canvas shoes and runs out to wash his feet. Clothed and shod he peers into the darkness of the house, waiting impatiently for signs of stirring. From around the corner of the house his grandmother mutters as she goes about her task of starting the fire under the soup pot.

While his mother and grandmother prepare breakfast, he sits looking through his new books; a reader, penmanship notebook, an art book, a music book, and a nature science book. His father is the last to rise, and as he goes stumbling out to wash, his mother calls for someone to amuse the baby who has meanwhile awakened. His older siblings, who are still preparing themselves for school, feign surprise as the new first grader moves to the baby. "Yah! Look, the first grader is all ready!" they laugh.

As the morning meal of rice and soup is hurriedly eaten, the adults instruct the first grader not to disgrace himself and to listen to the teacher. Already the cries of other first graders are urging him to be off to school. The older siblings leisurely gather books and lunches together, but the first grader runs out to join his classmates. All question each other excitedly for "forgotten things." Their mothers stand admiringly, but a few are disgruntled. "It is still too early to start. You are not to be in school until a half hour before the beginning bell," they warn. A sympathetic old woman volunteers, "Go, it is a long way and you will take longer to walk," she advises as the little group starts

off. One or two anxious mothers accompany the group "to see that they will be all right on their first day of school." 512

Walking down the road to school, the child smiles proudly as adults comment, "Hah! See how he struts, that big first grader!" He moves to the side of the road as a big lumber truck comes rumbling along and remembers the warnings about the steep bank near the river. The older schoolchildren, walking more leisurely, lag behind and keep a close watch on their younger schoolmates. 872 857

SCHOOL ROUTINE

When they reach the schoolyard, the older children run to their rooms to drop their books so that they can play unencumbered, but the first graders cling to their books and lunches. Gathering into little groups according to their villages, they inspect each other at a discreet distance. As the elementary school is situated in the neighboring village of Kawata, which is visited frequently by Taira villagers, the children exchange notes on the extent of their acquaintance with this bigger, older place. 872

At last the bell is sounded by one of the teachers. Immediately there is a cry to gather. Each class forms two lines in front of their respective teachers. There is bedlam in the first-grade lines as the only boy from one village is directed into the boy's line and separated from the three girls with whom he had walked to school. The principal calls out impatiently for all to straighten the lines. He calls out signals, "Extend arms forward, palms down, fingers barely touching shoulders ahead." Teachers survey the lines and call out to those who mar them. Arms are dropped. Girls are instructed to stand with their arms to their sides and boys with their hands folded behind them, their feet slightly separated. [516]

From his perch on a 3-foot-high concrete block, the principal calls out the signals again, and the whole procedure of lining up is repeated; this time, however, he holds them at attention in a formal position. In crisp tones he calls out, "Pupils, good morning!" Instantly the children respond, "Teacher, good morning," bowing gravely. There is some confusion in the first grade lines, but the teachers quickly attend to it. [516]

Standing once more in a relaxed position, the students listen thoughtfully to the principal's message. He welcomes the first graders and commends them for their orderliness but warns them to behave like first graders and not kindergarteners. There is an amused ripple [876]

872 from the ranks of the older children. Instantly the principal turns a
[876] disapproving eye on them. He continues with a long list of rules concerning classroom behavior as well as safety. Finally the students are dismissed to march to their classrooms. In their eagerness the first graders break ranks and are sternly commanded to stay in line.

[346] The first-grade rooms are located in a temporary, wooden, thatched structure. The sides are open, and the dirt floor is hard and swept clean. As the group enters the room, a wild confusion develops as each child searches for his desk. The children with new desks have little difficulty, as they had played with them for days at home until they were brought to school earlier, but those who have inherited outgrown older siblings' desks and chairs are in sad disarray. Amid the screams and shouts of two roomsful of first graders, two high pitched female adult voices call for attention. Gradually the voices diminish on both sides of the thin wall until only the two teachers' voices are audible.

872 Roll call is taken after instructions are given as to how one is to
863 answer, ask to be excused, and to sit. After a brief consultation just outside the door, the two teachers organize their groups into two lines, males in one and females in the other. The observer standing just outside the windows of both rooms hears identical speeches on the merits of using the toilets before school starts. Continuing, the teachers locate facilities for the boys and those for the girls. The boys are allowed to go first, then the girls.

872 Back from the toilets, the little girls obediently march to their places and sit quietly at attention with their hands folded on their desk tops. The boys are noisily making their way to their places. Giggling and
[865] pushing each other, they knock into chairs and tables, annoying the girls.

872 During the first week of school, the teacher's chief task is to make
876 the first graders stop talking and playing in class. On one occasion when numerous appeals, threats, and commands had failed, one exasperated teacher remarked to the fieldworker, "Just like kindergarteners." Then she turned back to the children and called out loudly, "First graders!" "Yes!" shouted the children. "You are first graders, remember that. You are not kindergarten children who don't know anything or don't understand what teacher is saying. For those who cannot understand and do not listen, I will arrange for demotion to kindergarten, understand?" "Yes," replied the children sheepishly.

"Because so much time is taken in orienting the child the first day of school, we can only have a short lesson," explains the teacher apologetically to the observers. The parents nod appreciatively. A printed syllabary hanging to one side of the blackboard becomes the focus of

attention as the teacher raps loudly at it with her pointer. She taps at the first figure and reproduces it on the black board, verbalizing it at the same time. She asks the children to imitate her, using their index fingers to follow the order of strokes. With their arms raised, the children reproduce the figure in the air. Five figures of the syllabary are reproduced in this way, and after reading it off several times, time is called. Just before the children are excused, they are told to learn the five figures. This is their first homework assignment. 872 876

It is 10:35, and from the direction of the principal's office, the recess bell can be heard. The teacher explains that after 20 minutes of play, the class will again convene for 1 hour and 20 minutes. The boys are allowed outdoors first and the girls follow. There is a flurry of excitement as older siblings appear to question the first graders on the activities of the morning. The children are reminded that this is also the time to go to the toilets. 872 [863]

The older boys and girls are already organized, and games of sham battle, volley ball, hopscotch, and marbles are in progress. The first graders wander in and out of other classrooms, then around the playground, where the various games are being played, until the bell signals them to return to their rooms. They return with a newly gained sense of confidence. The boys, who had been surreptitiously turning their heels in the well-worn marble holes on the dirt floor all morning, move the last row of desks and chairs just a few inches to clear the field for the game. The last few returning girls are given a rude shove to hurry along to their seats, for the boys are eager to start the game. With a great deal of shouting, magnified from the first-grade class next door, the boys begin their game of marbles. [526] [524]

While the teacher checks her records and consults numerous slips of paper on her table, the girls call to each other to check on books, contents of their lunch boxes, and plans for the afternoon. Finally the teacher raps for attention. The boys continue their game of marbles unconcernedly, and the girls scurry back to their seats. There is a wave of giggles as the raps reflect exasperation. "Where are the boys?" questions the annoyed teacher. There is no answer, but the few remaining boys and girls who have heeded their parents' and older siblings' advice to behave all turn their heads toward the back of the room. The teacher carefully picks her way through the closely lined and crowded room. The marble players are so engrossed in their games that they do not see her until she taps one head, then two, saying, "I have called you. Don't you know that recess is over?" Sheepishly a few walk off to their seats. A few smile broadly and run off to evade the pointers. Suddenly a high voice calls out, "The principal! The principal!" [876]

872 [876] The principal smiles as he approaches the classroom but soon begins to frown. He sees that the boys have been misbehaving. Returning the slight bow of the first-grade teacher, he stands just inside the door, looking over the boys with a disapproving eye. Immediately order and quiet reign.

After a short review of the morning's lesson, the teacher picks up each of the books which has been issued to the children. As she explains the contents of each, she names them and lectures on the care and use of books. She interrupts her talk when she notices two children without books. Because they had no older siblings and their parents had failed to appear two days before to pay for and receive their textbooks, these children had none. She quickly jots down their names and the name of the village from which they came and assures them that they will receive their books the next day.

872 264 [863] At 12:15 the children are sent out to wash their hands and told to eat their lunches. It seems that the most wanted, long awaited event of the school day has finally arrived, for even the best behaved children break into a run before they reach the door. The teacher's plea to walk out of the room goes unheeded.

Those children with elaborate lunches and containers proudly spread their meals out on the desk. Rice balls, a fried egg seasoned with soy sauce and bits of scallion, a touch of soybean paste, and a sliver of fish, packed by the proud mother of a family of some means, are exhibited freely. With some reluctance another lunch, consisting of rice balls, pickled vegetable, and a bit of bean paste, is shown. Those with three or four sweet potatoes and a small handful of vegetable mixed with soybean paste or with sweet potatoes alone slip out bits of food from their closed containers in quick, shy movements. When the girls have satisfied their curiosity as to the contents of each other's lunch boxes, they begin to exchange bits of egg for pickled vegetables, soybean paste with scallion for a sweet potato or some fish. The boys do not exchange portions of their meal but instead eat silently and swiftly.

872 855 Standing beside their desks on which lie books and empty lunch boxes, the children face the teacher. "Students, good-bye!" "Teacher, good-bye!" answer the children in unison. Older siblings and the few mothers who accompanied the first graders to school gather. The questioning is rapid and amusing. "What did you do, did you behave, did you eat all of your lunch, did you learn anything?" Without waiting for answers, the older siblings, who have to remain in school until 2:35, begin to recite the rules on walking home and to reiterate the

dangers of vehicular traffic, steep banks, snakes, the beach, and the river.

RETURNING HOME

The first graders leave the schoolyard reluctantly, but once they reach the road their footsteps quicken. The boys shuffle along to see how much dust they can raise, for they are not so concerned about their new canvas shoes with rubber soles. The girls stop to dust off theirs at regular intervals with such comments as: "When they get very dirty, we can take them to Yamagawa well and wash them," or, "My mother says I cannot have another pair for a long time because they are so expensive," or, "On rainy days I will walk barefoot to save my shoes."

"All Fool one!" suddenly exclaims one of the girls. The others turn to look at her, then follow her gaze. The boys, who have left the road, thus disregarding one of the cardinal rules of safety, are scurrying about in the bush in search of wild berries. They stand above the road eating their finds on the spot and exaggeratedly mimic the girls' censure on their behavior. There is a rumbling noise, and the girls stop on the side of the road to let the lumber truck pass before continuing their walk. An adult sitting on top of the wood in the back of the truck shouts, "Eh, get out of the bush before the snake strikes!" The girls giggle and watch the shamefaced boys scramble down the embankment to the road. They carry on a lively exchange of stories of snake victims, turning occasionally toward the boys with meaningful glances.

The midday sun is hot. The dry sandy dirt of the road reflects the heat of the sun, and little beads of perspiration run down the flushed faces of the first graders as they plod wearily homeward. Suddenly one of the girls lifts her wide-brimmed straw hat, "Oh, how cool it feels when the wind blows through the hair!" she exclaims. With a sudden burst of enthusiasm, the other girls lift their hats. Surreptitiously the boys imitate the girls.

The junior high school comes into view and with it the bridge over the Fukuji River, and beyond it the land bridge leading directly into the village of Taira. Spirits immediately lift, and the children's pace quickens. As they enter the village, they assume an assured appearance. Their posture is upright and proud. They parade past the main street where mothers, grandmothers, and siblings wait. Each one is greeted

857 help the people. Then I can buy food with the money I earn and
86 save some for a new house." Other boys, too, revealed a combination of achievement-oriented and nurturant needs and over-all qualities of responsibilities which characterize leading adults in the community. But there are also dependence needs in boys, such as expressed by
[124] this 10-year-old, "I would like to be the youngest baby . . . because everyone loves that one" (in response to the question "If you could be anybody in the family, would you like to be a father, mother, or a baby?") But the answer of a 7-year-old boy: "I want to become father, then I can raise potatoes, rice, and other things" is more typical of the Taira boys in this age group than the previous one.

Girls were quite explicit in their nurturance motivation, but they, too, used answers to reveal other desires. "I'd like to be mother so that I can cook and go to the mountains" (6 years); "I'd like to be 14, then I can fetch water and go on real errands and get money," and by the same girl (7 years), "I would like to be like K. (a girl of about 20 years) because she is an employee of the *yakuba*" (the servant and general helper at the township office). Several girls wanted to be the age of their older sisters, because, as one (6 years) said, "She buys things for me and she can buy all kinds of things for me." A real strong dependence need and a reflection of economic privations in her family, one of the poorest in Taira, was revealed by a 6-year-old girl: "I would like to become someone else's big sister . . . like the Kawata (village) rice miller's . . . because then I can eat a lot of rice," followed by, "I'd like to be Y. (baby sister) because she is small . . . because she is not even in kindergarten and father and mother will take me around with them."

Taira female adults' roles are apparently well recognized and correctly interpreted by these girls, and identifications are appropriate. Only one girl referred to a professional career, open to women, but her answer reveals very practical reasons for achievement striving: "I'd like to be a teacher, then I can do well in studies and do all kinds of studying . . . can earn money. With that money I can buy clothes and hats. And when anyone speaks *hōgen* (dialect), I can hit them with a stick and give them all failing grades. . . . Then I'll feel good!"

SCHOOL ROUTINE

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[858] The school, like the parents, expects more of the 8- to 12-year-olds. The session is longer, lasting until 4:00 in the afternoon and reducing

the time for play, tasks, and homework. A child now spends eight hours in the school setting. Children are more matter of fact about school. They are slower to start in the morning, often playing a quick game before leaving the village. 872 857 512

The school schedule is more routine but still flexible. Some of the students do homework and prepare for classes while others play until the morning school assembly. From their arrival at school until they leave in the afternoon, children are under moderate supervision but [redacted] means subject to severe discipline from teachers. The atmosphere at school is friendly, almost intimate at times. There is nothing to frighten children, and none shows signs of unhappiness or anxiety as a result of being away from home and in another village. Most of the boys behave with little restraint, while girls are much quieter and more responsive to occasional reprimands from teachers seeking order. The classroom atmosphere remains informal through all grades. Children call out answers spontaneously or make loud comments. Some move freely in the room during lessons or leave for the toilet. 872 876 [858]

The informality in the classroom is also illustrated by the occasional presence of a teacher's young child, who is taken along by his parent if no one else can take care of him at home. Off and on, a student's younger sibling also sneaks in and sits quietly through a lesson. Physical privations are not considered conducive to learning. A child who was not able to sleep adequately during the previous night will not be disturbed if he falls asleep in the middle of a lesson. If on a hot, sultry summer day children are sluggish and fail to respond, teachers ease up on their demands accordingly. [875] [857]

The classroom situation may best be described by an excerpt from field notes, taken in the fifth grade.

The male teacher is going through some new expressions from their reading material with the class. Children have their notebooks open and, as the teacher explains, take notes. Boys interrupt by shouting something, a suggestion, an answer, a question. The teacher hardly disciplines at all. He does not object to interruptions. K. (10-year-old boy), who apparently tries to show off as observers enter, shouts as "crowded streetcars" are discussed by teacher, "What would happen if somebody beats you in a streetcar?" Teacher seems to disregard this question. A little later K. interrupts two more times. Boys and girls sit apart; about one third of the students are girls. The girls hardly speak up during the session. In discussing the word "insensitive" one boy shouts as example, "I am insensitve to teacher's scolding." This is accepted as an example. There are three boys who have taken their shirts off on this warm morning. Two put them on as observers enter. After a while the teacher says, "Let's close this now." Somebody shouts, "Arithmetic," and the teacher concurs. He then gives addition problems by rapidly calling for sum-

872 mations, 6 plus 13 plus 8, etc., about six to eight numbers. The difficulty
876 lies in the speed. Boys raise their arms quickly, shout "*Hai* (yes)," and when called on give the answer. If it is wrong, as the first ones usually are, the teacher just points to somebody else and says, "*Hai*," until someone gives the right answers, sometimes not until six students have tried or until he has finally supplied the answer himself. Girls participate less than boys. K. raises his hand twice and twice has the wrong answer. The class then works at problems from the arithmetic book. One problem is read out loud by a girl. Students get up only when called on by the teacher to read from the book or from the blackboard. While listening to the problem which the girl reads in the customary high sing-song reading voice, the class is quiet although not everyone concentrates. The girls seem much more attentive. The teacher puts high numbers, ten million, etc., on the blackboard, which students have to read off. There is no embarrassment about giving the wrong answer. There is no kidding or teasing by others. If one can't do it, another student volunteers information, but there seems to be a lot of pressure provided by the constant raising of hands, which prompts even those who don't know to raise theirs and to make a blind guess.

876 Teachers, after the second grade, are always men. Their relation-
[875] ship with the students is informal, warm, and friendly. Living in the village, they are also a part of the social world in which the student lives. On the whole, they seem to have little difficulty in maintaining control over the class. Girls hardly ever present disciplinary problems. The disciplinary techniques used by the teachers are milder than parental ones. They rarely use physical punishments, limiting them to nose pulling or a light slap; they employ more commonly mild forms of ridicule and ostracism, such as standing a child in the corner. A child who continues to misbehave is scolded roundly in the presence of the class.

In interviews, teachers stressed the fact that they preferred reasoning and explaining to ridicule and shaming. They stated the belief that it was better to ask a child why he had done wrong or discuss his misbehavior with him. They also voiced a preference for positive measures, such as praise. Rewards, not unlike the silver and gold stars given in some American schools, are sometimes used.

872 Rote learning is one of the most important techniques of instruc-
876 tion, but teachers are striving to introduce new methods. A new lesson is first read by the teacher from beginning to end. Afterward the teacher discusses the topic and questions with students. Then various minor aspects of the reading are dealt with, and finally the teacher asks if there is anything that is not understood. After all points have been clarified, the new words used in that day's lesson are written on the blackboard. While writing, the teacher reads the characters aloud. The set sequence of strokes for each character is

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

left for later practice. When all the new words are presented in this fashion, the teacher takes the textbook and reads the passage once more to the class. This is a signal for all to pay close attention to their books. After this, everyone reads to himself. For about five minutes bedlam reigns as discordant voices fill the room. Then a child is called by the teacher to read aloud to the class. The teacher may call on several other students before instructing all to read to themselves once more, for the last time. Should a child make a mistake in reading, the teacher rereads the passage. The lesson is concluded with instructions to study it that night. In the evening, back in the village, one is apt to hear loud, sing-song recitations of the lesson being read and reread. Elementary school students delight in verbal presentations of whole lessons on the spur of the moment during playtime. Talent programs are popular among 8-year-old girls, and at village or school celebrations in which students participate it would be unusual not to have at least two readings offered. The school also promotes oratorical contests in which long, memorized stories are recited. Rote memory, discussion with association of facts, familiar with the unfamiliar, and imitation, therefore, are utilized in these learning situations.

Although reading allows for a certain amount of creativity in timing and flexibility of inflection patterns, penmanship is a rigidly controlled practice. As the teacher writes the character on the board, strictest attention is required. There is precise order in the sequence of strokes, as well as unquestionable direction as to how to form them. The teacher counts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, while writing the strokes on the board. All children have to raise their right hand and with the index finger write the character in the air, following the teacher's example. The character is written in this fashion four or five times before the whole class is sent to the blackboard in small groups to demonstrate that they have understood the principles of writing the character. This process uses imitation, repetition, and memorization in learning.

In the area of physical science and social studies, teachers are working toward practical applications of concepts which were presented in the lessons. Resources are very limited and so is the potential of actual experiences which a northern Okinawan village child is likely to have during childhood. Applying concepts mostly remains in the realm of discussion in class and not as much has been done to widen the circle as educators wish. Excursions to the beach and mountains help somewhat to integrate and bring into association those facts, mentioned in textbooks, which have reference to the local environ-

872 ment. But how should a Taira child grasp, for instance, the meaning
876 of a large hotel in the city, where travelers can stop, engage one or
several rooms, have meals served either individually in the room or
[485] at the restaurant? The little Taira guesthouse, run by the doctor
and to all extent and purposes a private home, is hardly an adequate
model.

876 Learning by doing is, on the whole, an innovation in the school
872 program. To find out what fifth- and sixth-grade students might have
857 learned in the home by actually doing things, the school circulated
a questionnaire which covered such items as: "Have you ever tried
to make a simple telescope? Did you ever watch a plant grow from
the time of seeding and make a scientific description of its progress?
Did you ever build a small toolshed or other small structure by yourself? Did you ever make regular observations of weather phenomena
and keep a record?" From our previous description of typical activities of Taira children, it is not surprising to learn that very few
of these or similar experiences appeared on the answers in the
affirmative.

876 At school, participation and learning by doing are found at least
868 in a few instances. The basic skills of cleaning rooms by using rag
and mop, as well as maintaining school grounds by cutting grass with
[358] a sickle and weeding with a hoe, may not have high educational
value, but they carry over to the home and village situation. In the
upper grades, students begin to do some gardening at school. Later
in junior high school they work in their own small garden plots on
[241] the school grounds and in school rice paddies under teachers'
supervision. Unlike the home situation, where learning also takes
place by observation and doing, the teacher lays a foundation for
solid knowledge by instruction and demonstration of proper techniques and by criticism of errors. The large number of students who
work under guidance of a single teacher limits the practical value
of such learning situations. It is evident, however, that there is an
important qualitative difference between learning in the home situation and at school. Where the child does a chore in the village without trying to meet standards set by parents, the school child finds
that the teacher scrutinizes his work carefully, judges, compares, picks
and chooses the best performers from the poorer ones, and imposes
standards for all to meet or excel. If a standard is set at all in the
village, adults tend to either overlook it or simply fail to enforce it.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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have little time and patience to concern themselves seriously with 866
their children's schoolwork: and since their daily work is hardly an 876
inspiration to the child to improve his scholastic activities, there is
some question in how much parental influence is relevant here.
Moreover, mothers are always under pressure from the teachers to [124
urge their children to work hard and would respond to such an
obviously weighted question in this fashion to a person to whom they
accorded the same polite title in address, which they use toward
their children's teacher, *sensei* (i.e., the interviewer). It is also a fact
that teachers have had difficulty getting parents to cooperate in
training their children to establish regular home-study habits. Fathers,
on the whole, seem even less consistent than mothers in supervising
schoolwork. The fact that most boys would like to be first but make
concentrated efforts to improve their work only if they perform
poorly suggests that parental discipline usually does not function
effectively until the child has become severely delinquent in his
studies.

If the desire to cheat in school is a measure of competitive pressures, it is interesting to note that there are few such attempts made during the examinations which are held several times a year. Nothing is done to separate the students whose tables are close together. Although the teacher remains in the classroom, he hardly proctors. However, the teacher commented that if a student is suspected of unfair practices, others will report his activities to the teacher.

An impetus for the development of competitive spirit has been [177
the introduction by the Japanese of athletic sports into the schools. [526
The communities participate annually in athletic competitions spon- [527
sored by the schools and other agencies outside the community. One
is impressed, however, that these events have taken on the Okinawan
pattern of a pleasant gathering where the older people can enjoy
being sociable while the young men and women engage in various
sports.

A few students have regularly assigned tasks and offices. Each class 866
selects a monitor. The method of selection varies, depending on the 872
teacher. In one class, candidates were taken at large, and the student 876
who received the largest number of votes took the office. The monitor
is responsible for the class during the morning assembly and during
athletics. He sees to it that students line up and remain orderly. In
the classroom he has the same responsibility, but we observed nobody
discharging his duties in an authoritarian way, although some older
boys liked to show their strength in a playful manner of bullying.

866 Girls could theoretically become monitors, and several votes were cast
872 for them, but it is doubtful whether a girl could be effective among boys, who might be unwilling to follow her lead.
876 The student Red Cross chapter has a chairman in each class who
[858] makes collections under the teacher's supervision. Somebody may volunteer for such jobs as pouring milk during lunch hour. Other
[231] assignments have to do with the upkeep of a few school-owned goats, which must be fed during vacations too.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BOYS AND GIRLS

858 Differential status of boys and girls, emphasized in child rearing
876 from the time of birth, is clearly defined in many details of school routine. Boys are sent out first when it is time to leave the classroom; they head the lines; and they are given first turn at the equipment.
[177] The promotion of sex equality under American supervision of the educational program has met with only mild acceptance in the classes we observed. Although separate seating is avoided under post-World War II rules, a separation continues in fact.

858 Girls remain on the receiving end of much teasing and horseplay,
876 more, it seems than one observes during associations of boys and girls in the village, which we will describe later. Teachers, like parents,
865 expect the boys to bully girls. In one classroom, for instance, we heard girls complaining that the (male) teacher favors boys by calling on them all the time. This may encourage the dominant, aggressive behavior of boys toward girls. Hardly a day passes in school without several girls crying as a result of assertive boy tyrants. Occasionally a boy is punished, but usually he escapes with distinct pride showing on his face. Recently teachers have resorted to ridiculing those who intimidate girls, but the tradition is so strong that even if bullying on the school ground is curbed, there is a great deal on the road to and from school. Only the most vociferous girls do not seem to be cowed by such boisterous demonstrations and may adequately match in verbal repartee those boys who try to put them into place as well as provoking more teasing and aggression. To illustrate attempts at bullying in the classroom, we quote from an observation record (second grade).

. . . Whenever one of the girls gives a wrong answer, S. (Taira boy) shouts loudly; he is one of the most vociferous in class . . . Class then starts reading aloud, each pupil for himself . . . A boy in front of K. (Taira girl) turns around, hits her for putting her feet against his chair. K. continues kicking

361 [167] After the war, this cleared land was further settled, with American encouragement, by families returning from abroad. This subdivision of Matsuda, a here-and-there settlement, is called "the clearing" (kaikon). Its houses are few and far apart, and with its isolated farmsteads is in contrast with the thickly settled cluster of a typical agricultural village.

5

Conservation

313 [647] In Matsuda, the preservation of the forest is constantly encouraged. This awareness, inspired by officials of the Ryukyuan Forestry Agency and its American advisors, reaches down to the school children. Before any burning is done, a permit must be secured. Fire lanes (bōkasen) are cut to prevent the spread of fire. These lanes are circular, and an area on the lee side is burned to prevent spread of the fire in the direction of the wind.

Fire Lane (bōkasen)

In addition to the fire protection, officials of the Ryukyu Forestry Agency and specialists in the American Civil Administration are trying to discourage overcutting (kanbatsu) which in this area has affected the most numerous species, the pine, the shii, and the Japanese redwood. Since clearcutting (kaibatsu) so easily leads to overcutting, the former practice is also being discouraged. The newer emphasis is on selective cutting (takubatsu).

[813] School children participate in forest conservation. The children attending high school at nearby Ginoza village take part in forest improvement. An active campaign for conservation and forest fire prevention could not begin immediately after the war. In the post-war confusion, it was not until about 1950, with the establishment of [647] the Ryukyuan Forestry Agency, that active supervision on a central government level could be seriously instituted. On an island wide basis, posters and literature pointing to the dangers of forest fires [208] have tried to bring this message to the Okinawans as well as to the Americans. The name of Saion has been used to tie the preservation of the Okinawan forests in with the history and traditions of the people. The famous "Smoky" appears on posters as well.

[727] In the Matsuda area, the recent periods of relaxation or loss of control, according to local residents, were (1) about 1940 when

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

During the primary and junior high school years, no exacting demands are made at home. Young girls after school strap the baby on their back and go out to play, or they may fetch water from the well, pond, or faucet, carrying it home in buckets hanging from a pole resting on their shoulders, or they may help in preparing the evening meal. Younger boys, 12 and over, help with feeding the pigs or run errands, but they have more leisure than the girls. There is night study at home, including practice on the abacus and reading to which the parents listen, correcting the errors. Formal education, for a large majority, ends with the completion of junior high school. 859 883 [482] [871]

As children grow older, they continue in off hours to help around the home, help which follows the lines of the male and female division of labor of adulthood. This is not a strict division, as there are many areas in which both sexes do common chores. In the agricultural villages, girls continue to help around the home, carry water, and hoe in the sweet potato patches. In the fishing village, they also carry water, help with the laundry, and start helping the older women in selling and distributing fish. The boys work more in the paddies. In the fishing village, they may make trips to the sea, but as a rule, this does not begin until later. [962]

For those who go to senior high school, there is a noticeable change from the earlier school experience. They enter at about 14 or 15 and remain in high school 3 years. It is a period of growing maturity, and the older they get the shyer they seem to become. Girl's hair is allowed to grow longer, perhaps to neck or shoulder length, less often in long braids, and the bangs remain. A big change takes place in the hair styles of the boys. The close clipped haircut is abandoned and the hair is allowed to grow long. Often it is not cut at all on the top, so that in two or three years, it has acquired considerable length. 873 856 302

The child who leaves school at the end of primary or junior high school is more quickly absorbed in the daily work life and traditional occupations of the family. The senior high school student has teaching, clerking, translating, or other white collar work in mind. The boy who leaves school earlier might drive a truck or a horse cart, or adopt the occupation of his father. This is likely to be a time killing period for those young men who live in the fishing village or whose families lack land. 463

6

Early Adulthood and the Engagement

In early adulthood and before marriage, a son of the house might be given a separate room or a small outlying shed which he fixes up for himself. The young girls, more and more, assume full time duties in the home, relieving the mother. Often the mother and her young daughter work together in the fields. These mature young girls also may take over the care of younger children. Young men from 17 on are 885 868

Courses of Study

872 During 1946 and 1947, primary schools (shotogakko) were established along lines of the old primary school, but with the Japanese nationalism and the emperor worship deleted. Beginning about April 1948, a new primary school system with six grades was instituted. Ideas of democracy were introduced to displace the Japanese ideal of the state.

The subjects (gakka) in this new primary school curriculum are: (1) Japanese, referred to as the "mother tongue (kokugo) or the "standard language" (futsu no go). This instruction includes the two Japanese syllabaries, hiragana and katakana and beginning instruction in Chinese characters (kanji). (2) Beginning English, (3) arithmetic and computation on the abacus, (4) a general introductory science course (rika), (5) an introductory social science course (shakkaika), including geography (chiri), history (rekishi), political science (seiji), and economics (keizai). The old ethics, duties, and obligations courses have been absorbed into the new social science course which also includes duties and obligations to one's family, friends, and associates, and the need for international friendship. During primary school, the subjects remain essentially the same with each year's courses increasing in difficulty.

In 1948, the three year junior high school (chūtogakko) was started. Two years were taken off the old primary course and one year added. In junior high school, some of the subjects become more specialized. Instruction in literature (bungaku) replaces the formal grammar of primary school. This course, which formerly emphasized Japanese literature, now includes selections from English, American, and world literature. A course in Ryukyuan history, hitherto untaught in the schools, has been added. All teaching is conducted in Japanese. There is no instruction in the Okinawan language, though it is still the language of the pre-school child and of social life and daily talk. In adult speech, there is an effortless switch from the one language to the other. Instruction in English 5 or 6 hours a week continues.

[191]

The present junior high school curriculum includes literature, social science, English, Okinawan history (in the 3rd year), algebra and geometry combined, music, general science, manual training, drawing, agriculture for the boys, and domestic science and sewing for the girls. There may be some instruction in carpentry and pottery making. Boys specialize in agriculture, girls in domestic science. Girls however receive some training in agriculture and boys in domestic science, mainly in cooking and mending.

873 There is a break between junior and senior high school (kōtōgakko). Entrance in senior high school is by examination, the severity of which seems to be governed by vacancies available. Senior high school is also a greater break from home life. The schools are fewer. In

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

873 [368]

Hanashiro the children take the short walk to primary and junior high school at Gushichan village; for senior high school they go to Chinen, 5 or 6 miles away. Most of them walk. Matsuda has an elementary school with the junior and senior high schools at Ginoza village, about 1 1/2 miles away. In senior high school, there is more specialization. The general science course is divided into physics (butsuri), chemistry (kagaku), and biology (seibutsu). Mathematics is split up into geometry (kika) and algebra (daitsu). There is further instruction in agriculture for the boys, some for the girls. The girls continue with domestic science, including sewing.

In the secondary schools, vocational education is well represented in the curriculum. The courses are planned as a preparation for the type of work students will do as adults in a village. The instructors seem competent although the subject matter does not include modern advances. There should not, in my opinion, be a further growth in vocational at the expense of general education, except after careful study of long term requirements. The great masses of people will continue to depend on agriculture, forestry, and to some extent on fishing for their existence, and vocational education should be built around a recognition of these facts. It should concentrate on supplying new knowledge related to these main fields. [875] 114

New technical skills that we desire to develop should be governed by these considerations: (1) the improvement of agriculture, forestry, and fishing. (2) The long range plans of the military and civil administration and the skills they will require. (3) New skills that will be needed with any development of foreign trade or of local industrialization.

Vocational education also should be developed along lines consistent with the type of professional training we are prepared to encourage. If biologists, botanists, agriculturalists, soil scientists, foresters, statisticians, social scientists are being trained, vocational and technical education should also follow along these general lines to create a source both of initial interest and of possible technicians to assist the professional workers. This would also apply to the public health fields, such as nurses' aides, midwives, laboratory technicians.

The distinguishing feature of the new education (shinkyoiku) is the introduction of democratic ideas (minshushugi). The status of girl students and of women teachers has also changed. Before the war, the children were taught in the same room, but the boys and girls were separated. Now there is no segregation. Women teachers' salaries, formerly about 20% less than the mens', are now the same. 871 [562] [875]

3

Schools and the Teacher

There is much more to a school day than actual instruction. The 358

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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sometimes a chart indicating their birthdays. There are also exhibits of students' drawings, which enliven the simple rooms. Each classroom has at least one blackboard built into the wall. By withdrawing removable walls in the new building, individual rooms can be converted into one large auditorium with a small stage for special occasions. 876 [346]

The personal equipment carried by students, other than books, consists of notebooks, pencils, a ruler, abacus, and, for those who can afford it, crayons and drawing paper. Sports equipment is also scanty, and replacement budgets are too low to remedy the situation. Students bring their own tools for garden and agricultural work as well as for work on the school grounds. 872

The teachers' room has desks for each teacher and the principal and a large table in the center for meetings. A small corner is reserved for a kerosene stove to prepare tea. There are also two cots for the teacher who remains on duty as night watchmen or for a child who feels ill during school hours. No privacy is provided for teachers, since students enter the room on any pretext or crowd around the windows if something attracts their curiosity. 875 346

Upkeep of the school is the responsibility of teachers and students; the only paid help is a girl who acts as janitor, nurse, and servant. The students, supervised by their teachers, tidy up classrooms after school, scrub walls and floors at regular intervals, take care of the hallway, cut grass, and weeds, and clear ditches on the school grounds. When school repairs are needed, teachers and parents help if no specialist's work is needed, as in repairing the thatch roof of temporary buildings. 872 358

The present school system, although under American supervision, follows the Japanese pattern. A six-year elementary school education and three years of junior high school are compulsory. After graduation at about the age of 15, students can enter high school if they choose and can qualify by passing the extremely rigid entrance examinations, which eliminate a considerable number of applicants. High school students have to move to Ogimi in a nearby township where they room and board while attending school. 871 [177] [873]

The curriculum in the Okinawan schools is on the whole similar to that in Japan. Japanese language continues to be the medium, and textbooks, as well as other school materials, are purchased from Japan. Children therefore continue to be familiarized with the culture of Japan as were their parents in the days before American administration. A number of changes have taken place since that time, however. Since the Ryukyus are at present under an independent administration, all symbols and paraphernalia pertaining to the Japanese Imperial House and to the Japanese nation have been removed from the schools. 871 177 [191]

871 Nevertheless, the school remains, in the eyes of the villagers, as a rally-
177 ing point for ties with Japan.

No attempts have been made until the present to introduce Okinawan culture other than by a few occasional references to Okinawan history or folklore. Teachers, during discussion of reading material, refer to home life, farm work and mountain work to illustrate points made in the books.* School is the first opportunity for Taira children to become acquainted with the world outside their own village and to relate their own experiences to the rest of the island, Japan, and other parts of the world. Since Japan is the dominant subject of reading [186] material, however, it is clear that no awareness of being "Okinawan" is developed.

875 Teachers, many of whom are young, are devoted to their work and to the children, even though their pay is hardly commensurate with their [554] high status in the community and does not represent adequate compensation for the long hours of teaching and administrative work that demand most of their time. In addition, the community in which the teacher lives makes demands on him as one of the educated, able leaders. Both men and women teach. Some of the younger ones who follow the urgent call for teaching positions do not have much training beyond a high school diploma. During the summer, special teacher [874] training courses are now conducted by university professors from Japan and the University of the Ryukyus. Graduates from the University of the Ryukyus Education Department are still too few in number to reach a remote country school, such as the one in Kawata. Most teachers come from one of the surrounding communities; others, mostly bachelors, are from other parts of the island. Children are therefore well acquainted with many of the school teachers, some of whom are neighbors, relatives, or friends of the family.

[554] The extremely modest appearance of teachers does not detract from their status and authority. The relationship between students and teachers is a mixture of respect, as dictated by custom, and intimacy, as a result of mutual affection. A conscientious teacher comes to know his students well during the school year and takes an active interest in them. Children can tell if a teacher is enthusiastic about his work and often establish a warm relationship with him. During our stay, the
872 first two grades were divided into two sections, taught by women, while male teachers taught the upper four grades.

The school day starts at 8:30 with a study period before the formal meeting of the teacher and students on the open grounds in front of

* Some practical work in gardening begins in the upper elementary school classes. Only Junior High School students work in the fields as part of their curriculum.

543 these matters. In township exhibits of arts and crafts, there are evidences of these skills, such as the training of a chrysanthemum, a favorite choice, but these are not part of daily life.

532 Yet there is evidence of artistic talent and interest which teachers and parents encourage in the young. Okinawan children draw and copy well. It is not unusual to see an otherwise bare room of a [353] poor farmer's home decorated with the paintings or drawings of a son or daughter. While clearly the work of novices, they often show feeling for line and color. School buildings, houses, and landscapes are the favorite subjects. Drawing skills come as no surprise because of the close relationship, in countries using the Chinese character, 815 of calligraphy and art. Teachers of drawing and art in the schools 212 are skillful in rapid sketching, and part of this skill must be the result of early training in the sequence of strokes and in writing the Chinese character with confidence and boldness.

535 Dancing and samisen playing are learned by imitation and self-533 instruction. Music is learned by ear, the dancing by observing the old 868 and skilled. Parents do not instruct their children in these arts; they pick up the skill themselves. There are no village teachers nor do the schools teach native dances, songs, or samisen playing. (In [562] recent years instruction books have been furnished when a samisen is purchased). Samisen playing is a monopoly of the men, many of whom also have a repertoire of traditional dances. These performers are always in demand on social occasions. Both old and young men dance, but only the old women feel free to do so. Seeing a seventy or eighty year old grandmother dancing at a party is commonplace, but I have never seen a young girl or a young woman in her thirties doing this. (Young girls and young women may participate in formal dances in processions and on holidays). Among the younger people, there is considerable interest, but little facility in American dancing.

532 Hanging scrolls (kakomono) are often purchased by the villagers. But these are dashed off affairs, following Japanese art conventions, such as the jolly Japanese patron saint, tigers, the bamboo-plum blossom-cherry triad, and the turtle and the cormorant, etc.

181 One has the impression of latent talent in music, dancing, and drawing but that the cultural conditions have not been favorable to [533] their development. Social events and parties are unthinkable without [535] singing, dancing, and samisen playing. Good drawing and calligraphy [532] are admired. But none of these seem to be highly developed folk arts. [868] Possibly one reason is that the transmission of the skills has been purely imitative, and that a body of knowledge has not accumulated in books, organised teaching, or through apprenticeship and hereditary occupations by which ideas can be improved upon by wider dissemination. [369] The cultural isolation of rural villages may have prevented the building up of a tradition in art and handicraft. Naha and Shuri, the historical cultural centers, have produced the fine examples of lacquer ware, [636] ceramics, and paintings. Possibly also Japanese repression of the native culture has been the main reason. Whatever they are, the lack of advance-

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Community Recreation

Were it not for the public holidays and festivals, the family 529
celebrations and informal social gatherings, opportunities for
recreation would be very limited. Seeing a Japanese motion picture
usually involves going to another village. Young people, especially [368]
those studying English, go to American movies in Naha when they can [177]
afford it. Many went to see Hamlet when it played there.

A Naha troupe presents plays in the rural villages. These ap- 595
pearances are advertised by a sound truck travelling throughout the
countryside. Plays are of two main types: the historical drama and 536
those of domestic life and manners. The historical plays are usually
based on the heroic age in Okinawa, and are so filled with episodes
and sword play that it is difficult, even for an Okinawan, to follow
the plot. All plays are given in Okinawan.

The plot of a play of manners is of more interest, since it is
concerned with the conflicts of obligations, duties, and personal
desires. One such play, The Chaste Woman and the Dutiful Son, con-
cerns a married couple who have one son. The husband drank too much and
went with another woman. The wife objected, the husband tells her he no
longer wants her and desires a divorce. The divorce attained, he takes
the other woman as a second wife and moves with her to Nago, where he
lives. Twenty years after, the second wife becomes ill, and dies, and
the husband finds it increasingly difficult to earn a livelihood. The
first wife, in the meantime, anxious to bring up her child well, has
sent him to school. At the age of 20 he has become a school teacher. [875]
The successful young man--becoming a teacher is a great success--marries.
The young couple have a child and everyone is happy.

The father in Nago earns a precarious living selling firewood. One
day he reads of the success of his son in a newspaper. (This provides
the actor with an opportunity for exaggerated astonishment and much
staggering around). More soberly, the father decides to visit the
first wife and their son. Lack of pride and poverty permits him to
do this.

The first wife gives him an angry reception. When he has forced
his way into the house, there is a loud quarrel. The successful young
school teacher returns home, sees the quarrel, and asks his mother the
identity of the man. The mother replies that she does not know him.
The son inquires the reason for such a violent quarrel between his mother
and a stranger. The mother had previously told her son his father had
died. She now says she lied, and in the ensuing revelations, the son
weeps a little. The father implores his son to intervene in obtaining
the forgiveness of his former wife. But she will not forgive--neither
will she forget--and does not want the old man around at all. The son

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

873 [368]

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Schools and the Teacher

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There is much more to a school day than actual instruction. The

358 children, whether in primary, junior, or senior high school, clean up the grounds and do repair and upkeep work. Young teachers, many
[875] of whom are single, supervise the work, and often stay during the evening hours to plan the day's work or to study. Male teachers are night watchmen at the school, sleeping there in rotation.

346 The main problems of education are (1) adequate school buildings. Their condition reflects the haphazard tragedies of war. Schools vary in quality from place to place. The high school at Ginoza and the elementary school at Matsuda, for example, are excellent buildings; in other places, such as Gushichan village, the classroom buildings are little more than shanties with thatched roofs, and a siding of boards,
[358] corrugated iron, or other materials at hand. At typhoon times, some of these are flattened, and it is normal to see school children helping to clear the grounds and putting on new thatch. It is my impression
[727] generally that conditions are worse in southern Okinawa than in the northern area where war destruction was much less. The Civil Administration is well aware of these problems and the school construction program is, to all appearances, progressing. (2) Much the same situation and for the same reasons, exists with regard to school equipment. Rickety
[352] chairs, old benches, bad blackboards contrast with the equipment of the new schools or of the old which escaped destruction.

875 (3) The post-war period has made a difference in the status of the school teacher (sensei). The destruction and disruption of the war, scarcity, high prices and low salaries have made his position in most
[727] cases a precarious one. Before the war, the school teacher had prestige and money. Only the prestige remains. One high school principal estimated that the post-war prices have increased 100 times, the teachers'
[465] salaries about fifty times. Immediately before the war, the starting salary of a beginning teacher was Y45 a month. (The value of the pre-
[435] war Japanese yen was about US $0.27). A school principal received Y100 a month. Now the beginning salary for school teachers is about Y2200 and for principals Y5000. (The present value of the Okinawan yen is officially pegged at 120 to the dollar). Increases averaging about 30% went into effect in October 1951.

The school teacher has little or no money for clothing; his dress is the same nondescript combination of old civilian and army clothing that one sees on everyone else. This situation, serious in any country, is particularly so in a culture that has always regarded the teacher with such honor. The teaching profession is the source of many careers
[555] in public office. Even in casual observation, one frequently finds that mayors, vice-mayors, former members of the Japanese civil service, started life as teachers.

The Okinawan teacher works hard and enthusiastically, but new attitudes are appearing which must be recognized. There is a desire to leave the profession, particularly noticeable in the male teachers under 30. Economic difficulties are reflected in frustration and discouragement. Okinawan school teachers, if the ones I knew are representative, have enthusiasm for ideas of democracy and freedom and for reforms that have

been made in their school system, but this enthusiasm would be more permanent if it were based on a solid foundation of economic well-being. 875

Though this may not be representative, teachers in these townships were in two main age groups: those under thirty, and those forty and over. There are few in the 30-40 age group. In one school, 6 teachers were under 30, one a woman was 35, and the principal was over 40. In a group of 15 teachers in the Oushichan school, 7 were 25 or under, one 32, 3 from 32-40, and 5 in the 40 and over group.

The dependence of the Okinawan school teacher on Japanese culture is still strong, and understandably so, since he must rely on Japanese books and magazines for intellectual stimulation and knowledge. Japanese continues to be taught, as indeed it must, if the culture is to function. Those who have studied English do not know it well enough to comprehend discussions involving ideas of any sophistication or complexity. [177]

In these schools, the majority of teachers were young men. Teaching in the primary school is a combination of class and individual recitation. Children are not pressed and are corrected gently, treatment, I was told, which was also true of the pre-war primary school instruction. The improved status of women teachers may attract more to the profession, but now masculine influence is dominant in the schools observed. [876]

It is my impression that Okinawa is in a transition period with regard to the technical qualifications of its teachers and to the improvement of teaching methods. The younger teachers are high school graduates, some with further teacher training. The older ones, who served under the Japanese, seem to have considerable flexibility and to have adapted themselves to the new conditions. There is a fine relationship among teachers and students, with none of the barking, authoritarian approach. Teachers, who in the emergency are working in a grade for which they are not certified, seem anxious to get the proper certificate. Because of the low salaries, the possibilities of turnover among the younger teachers who might take other opportunities should be watched. [876]

From personal experience in attending classes, I would say that teachers are generally competent; they certainly have native intelligence and interest in their work. Teaching methods are conventional, but there is a lot of informal instruction connected with the many outside tasks around a school, performed by teachers and students alike. (One however should not be blind to the disadvantages of teachers and pupils participating in so much outdoor maintenance work). 876

4

Learning English

The desire to study and to learn English is practically universal. This respect for knowledge frequently is not matched by a realization 191 555

191 555 of the difficulties involved. Ambition is directed toward practical ends, such as a business or government clerkship or becoming a teacher.

876 194 It is probably too early to judge the effects of post-war instruction in English. The question is whether students will acquire working knowledge beyond the stage of conventional expressions and simple constructions. Pronouncing English is difficult for Okinawans, partly because the Oriental tradition in education has been so largely visual rather than oral, partly because students, consciously or unconsciously, convert English sounds into their rough Japanese equivalents, and proceed from there.

●875 In the primary and high schools, English, with few exceptions, is taught by teachers who themselves have learned English from Japanese teachers. They have added to this knowledge, by private study, often [214] far into the night, of the dreadful English-Japanese phrase books, grammars, and other compendia which the Japanese love to publish. English still reaches the student through this Japanese sieve. So many teachers have learned English this way that the ordinary English of a native speaker baffles them, and they are easily thrown off by "intonation." Correction of this will have to be very gradual. The best teacher of English I saw was a young man who had been taught by an older Okinawan teacher who had in turn been taught by an Englishman. These teachers are devoted to their subject. But it is distressing to see them at study: trying to learn the language by mastering the uses of "nothing but," or "in order to," or "so that," or poring over those phrase books with their headings, "At the postoffice," "At the purser's office on the boat," etc., etc. Much of this is due to the fact that until recent times they have had little or no contact with native [177] English speakers. In the rural areas this contact is still rare. A young man in one of the villages, an addict of the phrase books, 876 one afternoon was studying hard to master the courtesies of a newly appointed ambassador calling on the Japanese foreign minister in his garden! He had been studying English for years, and finally one day got a job as a clerk in a military installation. But he was not a clerk; as he told it, he was a clarku. It is undeniable that these students learn an English that can be understood. Many of them would be able to use the language, and improve rapidly, if chosen as exchange students or national leaders. But the misdirected effort and the wasted eyesight are pitiful.

In the primary schools, English is taught in a conventional way. The teacher reads a sentence or a passage. The class reads after him, and the individual pupils recite. Much the same procedure is followed in the high schools, but there is more conversation. This system turns out many who know some English, but are very hesitant about using it, and a few who have some real understanding. The failures should not be emphasised too much; the point is that as soon as possible English should be taught by teachers who have learned the language from native speakers.

871 and the more advanced the school, the truer this is. Friendships are made early with children of nearby villages. Marriage may be
572 the result of early school acquaintance, encouraged by the acceptance of free choice in marriage. A young adult has a scattering of friendships in the villages of his township. These class friendships are strong in school, in the teens, and early twenties. By the late twenties, the circle of friendships has broadened.

182 One of the most significant links between the family, village,
526 and school is the annual athletic meet (undōkai). It is held in the fall. Preparations for this event are long and involve almost everybody.5

About a month before it is held, the meet is the topic of
526 innumerable conversations. School children practice singing and athletic dancing drills at home. School teachers, who do most of the
[875] organizational work, practice with painful cacophony on their trumpets and
[534] clarinets. On the streets and lanes of Hinatogawa, young men from 17 to 23 practice broad jumping late into the night. Shortly before the meet, all normal school activities stop. The teachers paint signs, mimeograph programs, and plan the order of the various events. The school officials have interminable committee meetings.

There is much bustle, laundering, hair washing, and cooking in a village the day before the meet. Special lunches including rice dyed
[262] red, bean curd, slices of fish paste, beef or pork are prepared. This field day is the closest approach to a picnic the Okinawans experience.

In good weather, the meet has a large attendance. A reserved area, with school desks and chairs is set aside for special guests. A person entering the reserved section to take his seat bows to the mayor and the
[576] group, steps forward a few paces, bows again, and takes his seat.

The mayor of the township presides over the meeting relieved by the vice-mayor or other school or village or township officials. On one day of the autumn meet, the mayor remained seated throughout the morning and afternoon in a drizzling rain. It was his duty, assisted by the principal and the teachers of the school, to give out the prizes.

Relay races, girls' dances, races and dashes for various age groups are endless. At present, the meeting is not confined to school children, but the younger men and women are included as well. The Young Men's Association is very active. Special events are included. In the Women's Association event, there was a mother and child race. In one case, a mother who entered the race with a child on her back and her young son as

[119] 5 These remarks are based on observations in Hinatogawa, Oushichan, and Hanashiro villages, and on attendance at the Oushichan meet in November 1951. From discussions, I am certain they are very similar in Mateuda, in fact all over the island.

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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director with assistants and clerks. The clerks are always young people 463
just out of school who receive nominal wages in return for a seven-day 466
work week. The township office employs as janitor a girl who keeps
the office in order, serves tea at any time during the day, washes dishes, [647]
and helps to cook meals for entertaining. Her family owns one of the largest houses in the central village and more land than most others. No social stigma is attached to her job; in fact, most Taira girls would consider it a privilege to exchange their mountain work for her kind of employment even though they would earn no more. Another girl, employed by the local "doctor" as nurse and maid, lives with the family, eats with them, and sleeps with their children. Only one farmer employs a hired hand, a man from another township.

Among others living on a salary is the postmaster. His father held 463
the same office, and his son is now trained to succeed him as the third [205]
in line. The rice miller, a man from outside the village and married to
a Taira woman, and the "doctor" also depend for most of their in- [759]
comes on specialized services. The latter owns his dispensary and small [657]
hospital. He receives some financial support from the township government. His services to people are compensated for either in cash or [465]
kind. Patients who are unable to pay at once will bring rice to his
house after the harvest. These remunerations, pig raising, and other [556]
side activities make him, along with the rice miller and the postmaster, the wealthiest person in Taira. Local male school teachers also own [875]
fields, to which they give time in the afternoons and Sundays to help their wives.

The priestess and her assistants, although they are religious spe- 463
cialists, are not paid in money for their services. They participate in 793
daily work like the rest of the village. Only when performing services
outside the community is the priestess paid a small fee. Within the 465
village she receives the food and sake which are offered in the cere- [782]
mony, whether she is called by a family or prays at the village shrine on a general holiday.

DIVISION OF LABOR BY SEX AND AGE

Men and women are equal partners in everyday economic activities, 462
both in agricultural and forest work. Only a few occupations are clearly differentiated by sex: fishing, the handling of horses, and the carrying of night soil are done exclusively by males; housework and the care and feeding of pigs predominantly by women. Some agricultural work [241]
is considered too heavy for women, for example, the turning of the

423 community is entitled to the use of one of the equal-sized lots. A small
[621] yearly payment is made to the cooperative, which passes these proceeds
[474] on to the village to pay salaries for officials and other expenses.

[427] Tenancy was never a problem in the Taira area. Under the old system everyone was entitled to land. The final distribution in the change to individual ownership gave everyone sufficient land. Although many new landowners sold and mortgaged their property in other parts of Okinawa, one source states that "in the villages of Kawata, Taira and Miyagushiku . . . none of 348 families was found landless . . ." (Tamura 1927:292 translation). Today several families hold mortgages
[426] on their land, usually for loans to put up new buildings or some other capital investment. Nevertheless, a shortage of rice paddies is obvious, since a part of the land around Taira is owned by people from the neighboring village, and an extension of paddy land in this mountainous district would be feasible only with the aid of irrigation projects.

427 The renting of property from persons who have moved to the city is not uncommon and is a means of bolstering one's own rice or farm land. People who move out of the community, either temporarily or for longer periods, may rent their land or let relatives and even nonrelatives use it. In most cases no compensation is paid for the use of farm land, although in rare cases where the owner continues to live in the village, some agreement is made to share the harvested crop. Rice paddies, however, are rented for half the crop. The owner returns from the city during harvesting time to help in cutting and threshing the rice. If unable to return, he may hire a person to help or to make adjustments in the division of the yield. Taira people do not rent their paddies or farm lands for money. An exception may be made in the case of outside fishermen who move into the village and who may rent a small area of land from a villager. In a few cases land has been left in the care of a family member by a relative who went overseas. One of the most substantial farmers in Taira holds several such properties, part of which he owns and part of which he holds in custodianship for a relative overseas. In such a case he is entitled to exploit the land without any compensation for the departed family member.

[423] Almost all local families own their houses and house lots. The
[122] thought of renting a room or house for money is somewhat foreign to the village, and in the case of the authors, "rent" for two rooms, as originally suggested by the owner of the house, was nominal. Fishermen, however, have to rent a room or a whole house. Their rent is an informal arrangement of payment in kind, fish, or other sea products.
● [875] In addition, bachelor teachers from outside the community who re-

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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quire room and board are sometimes put up without compensation, and they agree, perhaps, to give some help with studies of the landlord's children. Only the village "doctor" takes transient guests, mostly visiting officials from the city, who pay for lodgings. 427 [875] [485]

Although the household head is a legal owner of the family property, there is a feeling that it belongs to the family and everyone in the household identifies himself with his land and house. This is expressed in the language. A person who is asked, "Whose rice paddy is this?" would answer that it is the household's or "ours." 423 592

In addition to the communal land holdings and the property of the cooperative described earlier, the following items are shared. The government supplies a breeding boar to each village; it is then left in the care of one farmer. This animal is available to pig owners for studding on request, and a small charge is made for the upkeep of the boar. A few tools are jointly owned by several households. Threshing machines were bought jointly after the war by two or more families to defray the high cost of such equipment. These families could be neighbors or relatives. Today many are complaining that joint ownership works hardships during the busy harvest season when there is heavy demand for the machines. As a result, everybody wishes to own his own machine as soon as he can afford to. For tea harvesting, special clippers are owned by the village cooperative and loaned to people as they need them. Since tea harvesting, though seasonal, is not done by all families during the same day, sharing of these tools presents no difficulties. 422 [231] [654] [476] [474]

Property of others is very much respected. Stealing among villagers is almost unheard of, except for some pilfering of green vegetables and fruits by children. Only one case was reported during the field-work period—a person tried to take some goods without payment from the community store. When a village meeting was called, and it was announced that the person's identity was known to the store manager, the merchandise was later replaced. Willful damage to fields is similarly strictly forbidden. No child would really think of doing such damage. But there are no formal rules about trespassing. Movement across other people's property is completely free and unchallenged. 421 685 [627] [867]

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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sometimes a chart indicating their birthdays. There are also exhibits 876
of students' drawings, which enliven the simple rooms. Each classroom
has at least one blackboard built into the wall. By withdrawing re-[346]
movable walls in the new building, individual rooms can be converted
into one large auditorium with a small stage for special occasions.

The personal equipment carried by students, other than books, con- 872
sists of notebooks, pencils, a ruler, abacus, and, for those who can af-
ford it, crayons and drawing paper. Sports equipment is also scanty,
and replacement budgets are too low to remedy the situation. Students
bring their own tools for garden and agricultural work as well as for
work on the school grounds.

The teachers' room has desks for each teacher and the principal and 875
a large table in the center for meetings. A small corner is reserved for 346
a kerosene stove to prepare tea. There are also two cots for the teacher
who remains on duty as night watchmen or for a child who feels ill
during school hours. No privacy is provided for teachers, since students
enter the room on any pretext or crowd around the windows if some-
thing attracts their curiosity.

Upkeep of the school is the responsibility of teachers and students; 872
the only paid help is a girl who acts as janitor, nurse, and servant. The 358
students, supervised by their teachers, tidy up classrooms after school,
scrub walls and floors at regular intervals, take care of the hallway, cut
grass, and weeds, and clear ditches on the school grounds. When school
repairs are needed, teachers and parents help if no specialist's work is
needed, as in repairing the thatch roof of temporary buildings.

The present school system, although under American supervision, 871
follows the Japanese pattern. A six-year elementary school education [177]
and three years of junior high school are compulsory. After graduation
at about the age of 15, students can enter high school if they choose and
can qualify by passing the extremely rigid entrance examinations,
which eliminate a considerable number of applicants. High school
students have to move to Ogimi in a nearby township where they room [873]
and board while attending school.

The curriculum in the Okinawan schools is on the whole similar 871
to that in Japan. Japanese language continues to be the medium, and 177
textbooks, as well as other school materials, are purchased from Japan.
Children therefore continue to be familiarized with the culture of [191]
Japan as were their parents in the days before American administra-
tion. A number of changes have taken place since that time, however.
Since the Ryukyus are at present under an independent administration,
all symbols and paraphernalia pertaining to the Japanese Imperial
House and to the Japanese nation have been removed from the schools.

871 Nevertheless, the school remains, in the eyes of the villagers, as a rallying point for ties with Japan.
177

No attempts have been made until the present to introduce Okinawan culture other than by a few occasional references to Okinawan history or folklore. Teachers, during discussion of reading material, refer to home life, farm work and mountain work to illustrate points made in the books.* School is the first opportunity for Taira children to become acquainted with the world outside their own village and to relate their own experiences to the rest of the island, Japan, and other parts of the world. Since Japan is the dominant subject of reading [186] material, however, it is clear that no awareness of being "Okinawan" is developed.

●875 Teachers, many of whom are young, are devoted to their work and to the children, even though their pay is hardly commensurate with their [554] high status in the community and does not represent adequate compensation for the long hours of teaching and administrative work that demand most of their time. In addition, the community in which the teacher lives makes demands on him as one of the educated, able leaders. Both men and women teach. Some of the younger ones who follow the urgent call for teaching positions do not have much training beyond a high school diploma. During the summer, special teacher [874] training courses are now conducted by university professors from Japan and the University of the Ryukyus. Graduates from the University of the Ryukyus Education Department are still too few in number to reach a remote country school, such as the one in Kawata. Most teachers come from one of the surrounding communities; others, mostly bachelors, are from other parts of the island. Children are therefore well acquainted with many of the school teachers, some of whom are neighbors, relatives, or friends of the family.

[554] The extremely modest appearance of teachers does not detract from their status and authority. The relationship between students and teachers is a mixture of respect, as dictated by custom, and intimacy, as a result of mutual affection. A conscientious teacher comes to know his students well during the school year and takes an active interest in them. Children can tell if a teacher is enthusiastic about his work and often establish a warm relationship with him. During our stay, the 872 first two grades were divided into two sections, taught by women, while male teachers taught the upper four grades.

The school day starts at 8:30 with a study period before the formal meeting of the teacher and students on the open grounds in front of

* Some practical work in gardening begins in the upper elementary school classes. Only Junior High School students work in the fields as part of their curriculum.

the school. Classes are held from 9 o'clock until noon with one recess. After an hour for lunch, lessons resume for all grades above first. Classes, sports, and cleanup end between 2 and 3:30 in the afternoon, the highest grades staying the longest. 872

All grades receive instruction in Japanese writing and reading, arithmetic, science, music, and drawing. Social science is introduced in the second grade. Since each class has one teacher for all subjects, shifts from one to the next subject may come in the middle of an hour. The greatest amount of time is spent in teaching Japanese reading and writing. At first grade level the simplified syllabary is taught, followed in the second grade by another syllabary and the first Chinese characters. [871 177 191]

Parents maintain contact with the school through a Parent-Teachers Association, called by the American abbreviation, PTA. Every household is a member. Those with children of school age are regular members who pay 15 yen (12 cents) a month; others are supposed to pay 5 yen but have become so delinquent that their fees have been dropped. The actual PTA work is done by a committee from each village, including the headman and the heads of the Women's and Young People's Associations. The main purpose of the PTA is to support the school in some of its maintenance problems. Attendance of all parents at a general meeting occurs only once a year when elections of officers take place and the PTA budget is discussed and approved. 875 575

The principals of both schools are represented in township affairs and in the associations of their own community. Contact between village leaders and school representatives is therefore frequent. Since education taxes are the single largest tax item which villagers pay (80% of the total tax), this representation of the principals is a necessary but burdensome duty for them. 875 621 [651]

Township education taxes are supplemented by government subsidies. School taxes are paid by all households according to their income and average about 515 yen ($4.30) yearly. Since 1952, government orders require education taxes to be levied separately from other taxes so that people are aware of the amount destined for education; tax collection is one of the main problems in village administration, and school principals are sometimes called on to explain the need for such taxation and the obligations of individuals to carry their share of the burden. 871 658 651

The administration of funds and general school matters are the responsibility of an official in the township finance department. During 1954–1955, 310,344 yen ($2586) were collected by the township in education taxes. The government subsidy amounted to 3,716,397 yen [632]

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Today the *yukajiru* ceremony held on the fourth day ends the seclusion. A group of close relatives gather to ask for the good health of the child and to make food offerings to the ancestors.

On the fourth or fifth day a name is selected for the newborn. In the old days rice oracles presided over by an old woman were consulted to ensure that the name consist of the proper combination of Japanese writing characters, an essential for the well-being of the child's personality. Today family elders and the local teacher are consulted. In the pre-Japanese periods, temporary names were used until a permanent name was given. This practice was intended to fool the spirits during the early years when the child was thought to be particularly susceptible to spirits.*

On the sixth day after birth the mother is allowed to take her first postdelivery bath; the room which she has occupied with her baby is cleaned and aired, and preparations begin for the *mansang* celebrations. For this event the mother's parents try to be present, especially if it is a first child. Friends and relatives in the village attend. A female elder of the patrilineal kin group or the priestess prays behind a tray of rice, rice wine, and incense so that the child will sleep peacefully and not cry at night. Thanksgiving prayers are offered to the ancestors and the nature deities for the health of both mother and child.

When the prayers are completed, a man sings the *mansang* song to the accompaniment of a samisen. The father of the baby then rises to dance briefly, sits down, and writes with brush and ink on a white sheet of paper the name and birth date of his child. The paper is then hung on the wall near the alcove. Meanwhile the special song is being concluded:

> Coming from the darkness to light,
> This baby was received as a treasure
> And the mother is being celebrated.

Food is then served, and the guests discuss the name and admire the newborn. Like all parties, the celebration ends with song, dance, and wine drinking.

The *mansang* celebrations mark the end of the most critical period for the infant. From now on he may be taken outdoors. At the month's end, his parents may take him to see his maternal grandparents in their village, to offer food at the ancestral shrine of the mother. This is called the first walk. Sons who have left the paternal village for the city return with their infant to observe this day.

* Hanging an irregularly left-woven rope in the delivery room to keep out evil spirits which might harm the newborn, is no longer done in Taira.

872 express one's creativeness except in perfecting and improvising song-
876 dance performances. Lacking paper and crayons or paint, children crouch to the ground with the teacher to trace "pictures" in the sandy ground with their fingers or small sticks. The beach provides a rich playground on days when the teacher suffers laryngitis as a result of a cold and is unable to lead songs and direct the play verbally. Collecting shells, learning their names, examining washed up bits of seaweed and fish, exploring exposed stretches of rivers at low tide are real lessons in nature for the kindergarten child as he discovers these things himself and experiments without the direction of formal lessons. If he desires more information about things, he is free to ask the teacher; if he does not, no pressure is put on him to learn and know.

872 The kindergarten phase is a happy one for the child. Under the
857 direction of the teacher, who may be the mother or sister of one of his peers, he passes the two hours, from 9:30 to 11:30, of the morning, then
[875] goes on to play in and around the village for the rest of the day. He runs home only when he is hungry or when it is mealtime. And he hurries back to rejoin his peers for free play for the rest of the day.

857 Adults put little restriction on children's movement. They are free
[576] to occupy any part of the home and run around at will. Before enter-
[515] ing the house, everyone takes off his shoes; a rag lies on the ground to
[291] wipe dirty feet. Few children spend any length of time indoors, however, during daylight hours. If weather forces them to stay inside, they are found either in one of the front rooms or in the cooking area to the back.

855 Despite the occasional motor vehicle traffic through the village,
867 adults show little concern, for the kindergarten child has been well exposed to rules of safety in this respect. At the sound of warning horns, children run to the side of the main road and into the yards. The few brazen little boys who dare to chase vehicles and attempt to hang on to the rear bumper are severely reprimanded by those nearby.

A 4-year-old boy who had run out of the way of a lumbering truck stood watching as it rounded the curve and entered the village. Adults waiting for the vehicle to pass chatted idly and scanned the passengers to see if there were any familiar faces. Suddenly the 4-year-old leaned forward and threw a small branch he had in his hand under the tires of the passing truck. At once the driver, passengers, and by-standers screamed, "Fool one!" The passengers waved a warning finger at him, and he was berated by the village adults standing with him. "That was a dangerous thing to do. If you do that another time, you will be taken to the police station!" they threatened. The boy looked down at the ground and nodded to acknowledge his wrongdoing.

the time for play, tasks, and homework. A child now spends eight hours in the school setting. Children are more matter of fact about school. They are slower to start in the morning, often playing a quick game before leaving the village. 872 857 512

The school schedule is more routine but still flexible. Some of the students do homework and prepare for classes while others play until the morning school assembly. From their arrival at school until they leave in the afternoon, children are under moderate supervision but by no means subject to severe discipline from teachers. The atmosphere at school is friendly, almost intimate at times. There is nothing to frighten children, and none shows signs of unhappiness or anxiety as a result of being away from home and in another village. Most of the boys behave with little restraint, while girls are much quieter and more responsive to occasional reprimands from teachers seeking order. The classroom atmosphere remains informal through all grades. Children call out answers spontaneously or make loud comments. Some move freely in the room during lessons or leave for the toilet. 872 876 [858]

The informality in the classroom is also illustrated by the occasional presence of a teacher's young child, who is taken along by his parent if no one else can take care of him at home. Off and on, a student's younger sibling also sneaks in and sits quietly through a lesson. Physical privations are not considered conducive to learning. A child who was not able to sleep adequately during the previous night will not be disturbed if he falls asleep in the middle of a lesson. If on a hot, sultry summer day children are sluggish and fail to respond, teachers ease up on their demands accordingly. [875] [857]

The classroom situation may best be described by an excerpt from field notes, taken in the fifth grade.

The male teacher is going through some new expressions from their reading material with the class. Children have their notebooks open and, as the teacher explains, take notes. Boys interrupt by shouting something, a suggestion, an answer, a question. The teacher hardly disciplines at all. He does not object to interruptions. K. (10-year-old boy), who apparently tries to show off as observers enter, shouts as "crowded streetcars" are discussed by teacher, "What would happen if somebody beats you in a streetcar?" Teacher seems to disregard this question. A little later K. interrupts two more times. Boys and girls sit apart; about one third of the students are girls. The girls hardly speak up during the session. In discussing the word "insensitive" one boy shouts as example, "I am insensitve to teacher's scolding." This is accepted as an example. There are three boys who have taken their shirts off on this warm morning. Two put them on as observers enter. After a while the teacher says, "Let's close this now." Somebody shouts, "Arithmetic," and the teacher concurs. He then gives addition problems by rapidly calling for sum-

872 mations, 6 plus 13 plus 8, etc., about six to eight numbers. The difficulty
876 lies in the speed. Boys raise their arms quickly, shout "*Hai* (yes)," and when called on give the answer. If it is wrong, as the first ones usually are, the teacher just points to somebody else and says, "*Hai*," until someone gives the right answers, sometimes not until six students have tried or until he has finally supplied the answer himself. Girls participate less than boys. K. raises his hand twice and twice has the wrong answer. The class then works at problems from the arithmetic book. One problem is read out loud by a girl. Students get up only when called on by the teacher to read from the book or from the blackboard. While listening to the problem which the girl reads in the customary high sing-song reading voice, the class is quiet although not everyone concentrates. The girls seem much more attentive. The teacher puts high numbers, ten million, etc., on the blackboard, which students have to read out. There is no embarrassment about giving the wrong answer. There is no kidding or teasing by others. If one can't do it, another student volunteers information, but there seems to be a lot of pressure provided by the constant raising of hands, which prompts even those who don't know to raise theirs and to make a blind guess.

876 Teachers, after the second grade, are always men. Their relation-
[875] ship with the students is informal, warm, and friendly. Living in the village, they are also a part of the social world in which the student lives. On the whole, they seem to have little difficulty in maintaining control over the class. Girls hardly ever present disciplinary problems. The disciplinary techniques used by the teachers are milder than parental ones. They rarely use physical punishments, limiting them to nose pulling or a light slap; they employ more commonly mild forms of ridicule and ostracism, such as standing a child in the corner. A child who continues to misbehave is scolded roundly in the presence of the class.

In interviews, teachers stressed the fact that they preferred reasoning and explaining to ridicule and shaming. They stated the belief that it was better to ask a child why he had done wrong or discuss his misbehavior with him. They also voiced a preference for positive measures, such as praise. Rewards, not unlike the silver and gold stars given in some American schools, are sometimes used.

872 Rote learning is one of the most important techniques of instruc-
876 tion, but teachers are striving to introduce new methods. A new lesson is first read by the teacher from beginning to end. Afterward the teacher discusses the topic and questions with students. Then various minor aspects of the reading are dealt with, and finally the teacher asks if there is anything that is not understood. After all points have been clarified, the new words used in that day's lesson are written on the blackboard. While writing, the teacher reads the characters aloud. The set sequence of strokes for each character is

625 high esprit. A policeman's salary is high when compared to that of other government workers and the general public; in addition the job has other advantages such as a uniform and free transportation on public conveyances.

621 625 In rural areas there seems to be some resentment over what is considered to be high pay and special privileges for policemen; this was particularly true where the local policeman was not a native son. In one of the more isolated villages of northern Okinawa, a community which is noted for and prides itself on its strong community spirit, there was some irritation with what they felt to be an unnecessary presence of a policeman (not native to the village) in their midst. The village 'kuchō' and several villagers assured the author that the village was a most peaceful one, everyone cooperated well together, and there was never any stealing or violence. They were also resentful of the fact that the village supplied the policeman with free food and charcoal and that his pay, nevertheless, was about equal to that of their highly respected school principal.

• 875 625 554 It should be noted that whenever the low pay of teachers was mentioned the correspondingly high pay of the police was cited. The teacher traditionally has been venerated in this culture, and it is held that the teacher is a better-educated person and should, therefore, receive a higher salary, as was the case before the war. In the past the higher positions in the bureaucracy were accorded or ideally should be accorded those with better educations, and since both the policeman and the teacher are civil government employees, the present situation with regard to their respective salaries seems unjust.

625 829 Most people express the belief that the police are honest and conscientious though their high pay may be resented. A number of people observed that the police are much better under the American military administration than they were under the Japanese government before the war, in that they are more polite and less officious today. Under present laws the powers of the police have been clearly defined to insure that they will not violate the rights of individuals as was frequently done in the past. Not a few Okinawans will contend that this curbing of police power while probably democratic has encouraged an increase in crime in recent years. The traditional attitude toward the policeman seems to be a mixture of fear and respect, and mothers frequently use the threat to call a policeman as a means of disciplining a child who misbehaves.

4. Political Participation by Women

562 [666] Since the end of the war universal suffrage has been introduced into Okinawan political life. The enfranchisement of women has not brought with it a surge of political activity on their part. It is now theoretically possible for a woman to hold public office, but in actuality none to date has been elected to a national or municipal office. One woman declared herself a candidate for the Ryūkyuan legislature in 1954 but later withdrew from the campaign shortly before election time. In the rural areas political participation by women is even more limited. The men in the village of Kanegusuku laugh when the subject of women in politics is mentioned; they say

(their 'tane-hon', "seed books"), and who seemed to have little contact with others of their own interests. (I must hasten to add that there are also genuine local historians and folklorists who are critical, open to new ideas, and in contact with reputable men in their field; but these are clearly in the mincrity.) In the city the pseudo-scholar may be a man teaching a subject that he is totally incompetent to teach or he may be one of the numerous diviners and medical practitioners described in Chapter IX. Some of the diviners (sanjinsoo), however, could be better described as genuinely serious scholars working in a pseudo-science. 554

2. The Role of the Teacher

Despite the great importance attached to the family in East Asian societies and which the Japanese government has always professed to attach to it, the Japanese education system of pre-war times actually took more authority away from the family than does the American system. Incidents related by informants indicate that both before the war and since a teacher may reprimand a student for breaking school regulations outside of school hours and even in the student's own home. The police also may report the misdeeds of a student to the student's teacher rather than to his parents.[1] Partly this authority must have come from the teacher's position in a nationalized system of education and his role as the local spokesman for Japanese nationalism. And on Okinawa teachers had the additional task of creating good Japanese out of little Okinawans. This meant teaching the Japanese language as well as the Japanese ideology.[2] 891 177 875

Since the war the status of the teacher has deteriorated. Partly this may be due to the fact that he is no longer the local representative of a powerful government, and partly it may be due to poor morale resulting from the tragedy of war, but it is also undoubtedly due to a lower economic status. Teachers were formerly relatively well-paid. In 1954 Okinawan teachers were receiving a basic average salary of ¥3400 per month, principals, ¥6110. A police chief, by contrast, receives ¥6470. An elementary teacher, who must have 12 years of schooling and six months of professional training, at present receives 75% of the salary of a policeman on the beat, who must have 9 years of schooling and three months of training; in the prewar period the teacher received 155% of the salary of the policeman. 875 178 554 875 465 178 625 554

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1 See also "Police" in Chapter VI.

2 That in this effort they were not always successful is revealed by a few anecdotes: Someone is said to have encouraged a child to interrupt his teacher's lecture on the virtues of the semidivine monarch with the question, "Does the Emperor produce night soil?" Students are said to have referred to him secretly as 'Ten-chan', "Empy-Boy", rather than 'Tennō Heika', "His Imperial Majesty the Emperor". And the very old and the very young are said to have parodied 'Amaterasu Ōmikami', the name of the Sun Goddess, with "Aman-tarashi kuman-tarashi 'waa nu kami", "dropping it there, dropping it here, the pig god."

875 554 178 As indicated above, education is highly regarded as a key to success, but it still must produce financial rewards. Education earns for one the esteem of his fellows, but not as much as does money. This decline in status seems to have produced considerable dissatisfaction among teachers. This is probably true at all levels. The best-known Okinawan scholars, for example, have mainly chosen to remain in Japan.

3. Classroom Atmosphere

876 [871] Informants gave the impression that the pre-war classroom atmosphere was decidedly more authoritarian than at present. Most of what was taught was rather rigidly prescribed by the Ministry of Education and questions were not encouraged. Students rarely spoke up, partly because of the attitudes of the teachers and partly at embarrassment at having to speak in Japanese. Free discussion was probably less common even than in Japan.

In their attempt to make their students learn Japanese some schools adopted the tag system that has been mentioned elsewhere in connection with the prevention of the misuse or theft of crops. In the Yamada school before the war there was for each class a 'hōgen fuda', "dialect tag", which was hung around the neck of the first child heard speaking "the dialect", that is, the Okinawan language. This child wore the tag in disgrace until he heard another child slip into Okinawan, whereupon he hung the tag around that child's neck. And so it went from child to child. The difference between such a system of control and those regarded as appropriate by modern Western educators can hardly be exaggerated. It is true that the tag does resemble the old dunce cap, known to us from cartoons of the last century, in that it uses ridicule as the form of punishment. But in other respects it is different. First, it means that one child is singled out to function as an unwilling policeman, his functioning as policeman being part of his disgrace; that is, as long as he is in disgrace with the tag he is forced to watch for another culprit. Second, the system does not provide equal punishment for the same crime; one child may wear the tag a day while another wears it a week or more, both for the same offense. And third, the theory behind the system does not assume that the offense can be eliminated altogether; on the contrary there must always be some child to make the mistake of speaking Okinawan for the system to work.

[685] As used in the village as a whole the tag system sometimes worked considerable hardship. A person who received the tag for cutting someone else's crop or his own cane out of season had to pay two sen a day to the village. It is said that there is an old woman in Naha who was sold when a girl into prostitution by her father because he could not get rid of the tag and could no longer make the payments. Here is a concept of justice that is indeed remote from ours.

876 178 875 [179] No doubt the tag system is no longer in use anywhere on Okinawa. Students say that the schools are less authoritarian and that there is considerably more freedom of discussion. Yet many of the teachers are the same persons who imposed such controls as the tag system a few years ago. Some may have opposed the former rigidity and some may have changed their views since, but it would be surprising indeed if all have taken over American ideas.

been made in their school system, but this enthusiasm would be more permanent if it were based on a solid foundation of economic well-being. 875

Though this may not be representative, teachers in these townships were in two main age groups: those under thirty, and those forty and over. There are few in the 30-40 age group. In one school, 6 teachers were under 30, one a woman was 35, and the principal was over 40. In a group of 15 teachers in the Oushichan school, 7 were 25 or under, one 32, 3 from 32-40, and 5 in the 40 and over group.

The dependence of the Okinawan school teacher on Japanese culture is still strong, and understandably so, since he must rely on Japanese books and magazines for intellectual stimulation and knowledge. Japanese continues to be taught, as indeed it must, if the culture is to function. Those who have studied English do not know it well enough to comprehend discussions involving ideas of any sophistication or complexity. [177]

In these schools, the majority of teachers were young men. Teaching in the primary school is a combination of class and individual recitation. Children are not pressed and are corrected gently, treatment, I was told, which was also true of the pre-war primary school instruction. The improved status of women teachers may attract more to the profession, but now masculine influence is dominant in the schools observed. [876]

It is my impression that Okinawa is in a transition period with regard to the technical qualifications of its teachers and to the improvement of teaching methods. The younger teachers are high school graduates, some with further teacher training. The older ones, who served under the Japanese, seem to have considerable flexibility and to have adapted themselves to the new conditions. There is a fine relationship among teachers and students, with none of the barking, authoritarian approach. Teachers, who in the emergency are working in a grade for which they are not certified, seem anxious to get the proper certificate. Because of the low salaries, the possibilities of turnover among the younger teachers who might take other opportunities should be watched. [876]

From personal experience in attending classes, I would say that teachers are generally competent; they certainly have native intelligence and interest in their work. Teaching methods are conventional, but there is a lot of informal instruction connected with the many outside tasks around a school, performed by teachers and students alike. (One however should not be blind to the disadvantages of teachers and pupils participating in so much outdoor maintenance work). 876

4

Learning English

The desire to study and to learn English is practically universal. This respect for knowledge frequently is not matched by a realization 191 555

191 555 of the difficulties involved. Ambition is directed toward practical ends, such as a business or government clerkship or becoming a teacher.

876 194 It is probably too early to judge the effects of post-war instruction in English. The question is whether students will acquire working knowledge beyond the stage of conventional expressions and simple constructions. Pronouncing English is difficult for Okinawans, partly because the Oriental tradition in education has been so largely visual rather than oral, partly because students, consciously or unconsciously, convert English sounds into their rough Japanese equivalents, and proceed from there.

875 [214] In the primary and high schools, English, with few exceptions, is taught by teachers who themselves have learned English from Japanese teachers. They have added to this knowledge, by private study, often far into the night, of the dreadful English-Japanese phrase books, grammars, and other compendia which the Japanese love to publish. English still reaches the student through this Japanese sieve. So many teachers have learned English this way that the ordinary English of a native speaker baffles them, and they are easily thrown off by "intonation." Correction of this will have to be very gradual. The best teacher of English I saw was a young man who had been taught by an older Okinawan teacher who had in turn been taught by an Englishman. These teachers are devoted to their subject. But it is distressing to see them at study: trying to learn the language by mastering the uses of "nothing but," or "in order to," or "so that," or poring over those phrase books with their headings, "At the postoffice," "At the purser's office on the boat," etc., etc. Much of this is due to the fact that until recent times they have had little or no contact with native English speakers. In the rural areas this contact is still rare. [177] A young man in one of the villages, an addict of the phrase books, one afternoon was studying hard to master the courtesies of a newly 876 appointed ambassador calling on the Japanese foreign minister in his garden! He had been studying English for years, and finally one day got a job as a clerk in a military installation. But he was not a clerk; as he told it, he was a clarku. It is undeniable that these students learn an English that can be understood. Many of them would be able to use the language, and improve rapidly, if chosen as exchange students or national leaders. But the misdirected effort and the wasted eyesight are pitiful.

In the primary schools, English is taught in a conventional way. The teacher reads a sentence or a passage. The class reads after him, and the individual pupils recite. Much the same procedure is followed in the high schools, but there is more conversation. This system turns out many who know some English, but are very hesitant about using it, and a few who have some real understanding. The failures should not be emphasised too much; the point is that as soon as possible English should be taught by teachers who have learned the language from native speakers.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

This desire to learn English is more than a wish to communicate with Americans. Opportunities are open for those who know English, and people of all ages realize that theoretical and applied science and improved techniques come from the West, and that English is a means of understanding and applying this knowledge. Channelling this desire, through competent instruction in the schools, which will result in efficient self-guidance afterwards, is one of the significant problems of Okinawan education. But the techniques to be used on a permanent basis should be left to the professional linguist.

Should for example the methods of Basic English be adopted as a matter of policy and be encouraged in private study? Or should language study be based on the principles set forth by the rapidly advancing field of linguistics? Or should we accept the guidance of doctors of education who are specialists in curriculum construction and language training? My own bias is toward the manuals developed by the linguists, such as Spoken Japanese (EH 561-62). This approach, with its pattern sentences, is based on an analysis of the structure of the language itself. Basic English poses the problem whether the English taught is really basic. In my opinion, the crux of the matter is to study the presuppositions underlying these approaches and not the subject matter they produce. American learned societies, with the co-operation of the Army and the Navy, and the subsequent university programs in language study, have made great strides in these fields, both theoretical and applied. They represent the most advanced thinking in the world on these subjects, and the body of knowledge which they have should be most useful.[4]

5

Home, School, and Village

There are strong bonds between the home, the village, and the school. Parents help their children with their elementary readers. There is homework and classmates may stay at one another's houses over night. Parents are interested in children's school problems, but they do not visit the schools often, except at times arranged by the officials. PTA's have been organized, but it is still too early to tell how successful they will be. Since the PTA, like the Women's Association and the Young Men's Association, fits in the culture, it probably will thrive.

On entering school, the child is introduced to a new language which he has not spoken to any extent in childhood. Okinawan is the language of the pre-school child. Beginning school, therefore, is a bigger break than it is with most cultures.

The schools usually draw on several villages for their student body

4 It is only fair to say that my own bias in favor of the approach developed by the technical linguists grows out of instruction I received in Japanese in the Army's Civil Affairs Training School Program in 1943-44.

871 call that in their quest for education, adolescents and even adults at-
177 tended the elementary grades. The introduction of a formal school system in the village marked the beginning of changes in the culture; the Japanese language was introduced, and teachers transmitted Japanese culture as part of the curriculum (Kerr, 1958). It is found today
[191] that people too old to have attended school—which in the early years was not compulsory—are the only ones who do not speak Japanese and who are illiterate. Their number is small, probably less than 3%
872 of Taira's population.

346 The school was moved about 40 years ago to nearby Kawata village,
[871] where a substantial schoolhouse was built. Today the elementary school is located there, about a one-mile walk from central Taira, but 3 miles from the outlying subvillage of Izena. The junior high school lies halfway between Taira and Kawata. During the war all school buildings were destroyed, but two new permanent structures for the elementary school were finished in 1954; one of these is a wooden building with a tile roof, the other an all-concrete, flat-roof structure of simple, modern design. Four classrooms and a teacher's room are located in these buildings. The remaining temporary, thatched-roof huts with three more classrooms will disappear as soon as the school rebuilding program is completed.

Built against a hill, the school has spacious grounds in front for sports and play. Classrooms for 30 to 35 students are fairly adequate in size and, in the new buildings, are well lighted by glass windows on sunny days but dark when skies are overcast because of the overhanging roof, which protects the hallway outside the classrooms from frequent showers, and the lack of artificial lighting. A building immediately be-
[514] hind the classrooms houses latrines, separated for boys and girls, although both pass through the same passageway where boys use the urinals. Equipment is extremely poor and a great problem for principal and teachers. Simple, rickety desks and chairs of unfinished wood are bought or made by parents for their children. They are standard in design but differ in height according to the size of the child. Many first graders' furniture is made with future growth in mind, while some older students have outgrown their desks and chairs. An older sibling may pass on his table to a younger one if it is still serviceable after several years of nonchalant treatment.

● 876 Teaching aids are few. A small organ is available for music lessons
[533] and is carried by several boys on the shoulders to the classroom where it is needed. Sometimes a teacher accompanies a singing class on a mouth organ. Visual aid material, maps, pictures, and charts are displayed in school rooms along with students' physical measurement tables and

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

sometimes a chart indicating their birthdays. There are also exhibits of students' drawings, which enliven the simple rooms. Each classroom has at least one blackboard built into the wall. By withdrawing removable walls in the new building, individual rooms can be converted into one large auditorium with a small stage for special occasions. 876 [346]

The personal equipment carried by students, other than books, consists of notebooks, pencils, a ruler, abacus, and, for those who can afford it, crayons and drawing paper. Sports equipment is also scanty, and replacement budgets are too low to remedy the situation. Students bring their own tools for garden and agricultural work as well as for work on the school grounds. 872

The teachers' room has desks for each teacher and the principal and a large table in the center for meetings. A small corner is reserved for a kerosene stove to prepare tea. There are also two cots for the teacher who remains on duty as night watchmen or for a child who feels ill during school hours. No privacy is provided for teachers, since students enter the room on any pretext or crowd around the windows if something attracts their curiosity. 875 346

Upkeep of the school is the responsibility of teachers and students; the only paid help is a girl who acts as janitor, nurse, and servant. The students, supervised by their teachers, tidy up classrooms after school, scrub walls and floors at regular intervals, take care of the hallway, cut grass, and weeds, and clear ditches on the school grounds. When school repairs are needed, teachers and parents help if no specialist's work is needed, as in repairing the thatch roof of temporary buildings. 872 358

The present school system, although under American supervision, follows the Japanese pattern. A six-year elementary school education and three years of junior high school are compulsory. After graduation at about the age of 15, students can enter high school if they choose and can qualify by passing the extremely rigid entrance examinations, which eliminate a considerable number of applicants. High school students have to move to Ogimi in a nearby township where they room and board while attending school. 871 [177] [873]

The curriculum in the Okinawan schools is on the whole similar to that in Japan. Japanese language continues to be the medium, and textbooks, as well as other school materials, are purchased from Japan. Children therefore continue to be familiarized with the culture of Japan as were their parents in the days before American administration. A number of changes have taken place since that time, however. Since the Ryukyus are at present under an independent administration, all symbols and paraphernalia pertaining to the Japanese Imperial House and to the Japanese nation have been removed from the schools. 871 177 [191]

857 to gather with others his age under the great banyan tree at the lower
872 water tank. On rainy days he proceeds to the empty warehouse. There is no compulsion to go; he can join another renegade at the upper tank or on the beach, if he feels inclined to. As the group grows, games of tag, marbles, and rope jumping are started. By the time the kindergarten teacher arrives on the scene, the children have organized themselves into numbers of little groups and games. She carries the big drum
872 from the village office to the banyan tree, and, even before she drums
● 876 to signal the start of the session, little girls are lining up in front of her. The boys, as if to assert their maleness, play on, disregarding her until she calls sternly to them. Soon a line of boys forms next to the line of girls. As the teacher instructs all to straighten the formations by putting hands onto the shoulders of those in front, boys begin tickling each other and slapping in time to the song of the kindergarteners. The teacher frowns at the boys and tries hard to suppress an amused smile, for the sounds of the childish voices are so incongruent with the brazen attitude. With her drumsticks she reaches over to lightly tap a head, a buttock, and an offending arm. Soon there is order, and she bows slightly, saying, "Good morning, students." The children respond with, "Good morning, teacher," the boys exaggerating the politeness with deep bows and shouting voices. The teacher smiles, then instructs all to stand up straight to sing the kindergarten song. Roughly translated it goes, "We are kindergarteners. . . . We play together well. . . ." There are motions to go with the song, and the girls, with their serious concentration to be perfect in their performance, contrast sharply with the improvisations of the boys. The teacher ignores this and interrupts her singing occasionally to laugh and reach over with the drumstick to restrain a particularly disturbing boy.

863 When the song is completed, she comments on the excellent singing
872 performance and then goes on to ask how many children remembered
876 to wash their faces and hands before coming to kindergarten. There is an embarrassed twitter among the girls and a few downcast eyes, but the majority proudly raise their hands. As she examines the children, she comments that those who are negligent should be ashamed. From among their ranks a voice calls out, "Teacher, teacher! I didn't wash my face and hands, and I am not ashamed!" A little girl comments, "Fool thing!" The teacher finally hears his insistent cries and has him repeat his information. She tries hard to look disapproving, but laughs spontaneously instead as she lightly whacks his buttocks with the drumstick, saying, "What do you mean, you have not washed your hands and face and you are not ashamed!" She turns to inspect the children one by one, still smiling and commenting on a dirty ear and unkempt finger-

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

nails. One or two girls stand fearfully, almost in tears, while others subject themselves to inspection with aplomb. The boys by now are mocking the teacher by inspecting each other and commenting on the failure to meet the test. A few little girls disgustedly say, "These boys, wish we did not have to have them!" 863 872 876

After a brief lecture on cleanliness and orderliness, the teacher asks all to count the number of children present. Immediately there is bedlam as all start to count aloud. She quickly takes a count herself and waits for the first child to answer. As she listens to the shouts, she points out the child who has the right answer and says, "That is right, now let us count together. You, Sachiko, at the head of the line, one, next, Nariko, two. . . ."

Following this counting, the teacher may present a simple lesson in manners. She tells each child down the line to answer with a crisp "hai," then to state his name in full. The oldest girls respond obediently and help their 3- and 4-year-old siblings. As she approaches the line of boys, she frowns and nods. Each boy shouts his answer and name in spite of her protests to the effect that she is not hard of hearing. From somewhere near the end of the line comes a loud voice, "Hai, Taira, Saburo-san!" She quickly moves over to the possessor of the voice and taps the boy on his cleanly shaven head. The noise of the tap is sharp and clear. It induces a hearty round of laughs from all the children. The censured boy stands rubbing his head and smiling at the teacher as she tells him that he knows well one does not use the honorific suffix with one's own name. 872 867 876

The teacher does not attempt to present further lessons. Instead, she asks what kind of games the children would like to play. Shouts of "Race, race!" drown out her instruction to organize into teams. From the back of one 6-year-old girl she unstraps a screaming infant. With one arm cradling the infant, she drums to spur on the runners. From the direction of the village store, a grandmother comes slowly shuffling to join the group. She points out the 2-year-old on the back of his 5-year-old sibling who is starting off on his share of the run. The mother of the screaming infant comes running down the path to relieve the teacher of her burden. She sits nearby on a fence stone to nurse the baby and spur the runners on. Other adult passersby stop briefly to watch the runners, encourage them with shouts to run a little faster, clap their hands to congratulate a winner, and console a loser with advice to try harder the next time. 872 526

After the races the children sit and sing songs with the teacher. In their sitting positions they "act out" the songs with motions of their arms. The teacher releases her hold on the drumsticks as a 4-year-old

872 attempts to hold his hand over hers and he continues to beat out the
526 rhythm of the songs. While finishing the last song, she traces lines for the snail game on the sandy ground. A 5-year-old girl, singing the final words of the song, impatiently tugs at her hand. Taking the stick from her hand, the girl erases the teacher's lines and painstakingly tries to make a perfectly round spiral. She stands back to look at the finished "snail," hands the stick back to the teacher, and returns to her place.

The snail game involves teams of two groups of children. One member of a group takes his position in the inner end of the spiral, while the other stands at the outer end. At a signal from the teacher, both run toward each other as fast as possible to cover as much of the length of the line as possible. When they meet, they play a game
[524] similar to the American "rock, paper, and scissors." The loser gives up his turn to another member of his group who has to start at the beginning of the opposite end while the winner runs from the point at which the "toss" took place. At the point of meeting, another toss takes place, and the first contestant to reach the opposite end of the spiral wins a point for his team.

Another favorite game of the kindergarten children is "choosing sides." Two mixed groups stand opposite each other and at the signal one group, hand in hand, moves forward, gaily kicking their feet toward the other members of their group. "We will take, Yoshiko," they sing as they swoop in a semicircle to encircle the chosen one, who attempts to run away while her group tries to run interference. Then the next group has a turn. There is no real "winning" in this game, but the children enjoy the united chasing and united defense.

872 After playing organized games from about 9:30 until 11:15, the
262 children are temporarily disbanded while the teacher goes to prepare the powdered milk, which the children look forward to eagerly. Often the promise of milk serves as a powerful incentive to attend kindergarten for even the most incorrigible renegade. The children all scatter to run home for their small tea cups in which the coveted drink is served. As the teacher approaches the banyan tree from her home, bucket of milk and dipper in hand, she smiles to see the two lines
872 already formed. "Today, we will serve the girls first because the boys were first yesterday," she announces, and immediately there is a shout
● 876 of disapproval from the boys and a few menacing scowls and upraised
858 arms with clenched fists directed toward the girls. The little girls smile smugly back at the boys, and a few return the hostile threats. The most aggressive boys and girls soon become involved in a tussle, and the teacher serves notice that milk will be withdrawn for the day if order is not restored. The observer feels that in her reprimand to the

guilty parties there is slightly more emphasis in the censure of the female child, whether she is really more responsible for the disturbance or not. There is a tone in her voice which implies that "females do not fight; boys, well, boys can't be helped." The children are quick to sense this, particularly the guilty boys, who strut about brashly when the teacher turns her back to start serving the milk. 872 876 858

When all the milk has been served and drunk, the teacher starts the farewell song for the day. Again the song is fairly shouted out, but for a brief moment serenity reigns when the teacher bows her head slightly to say, "Students, good-bye, until tomorrow," to which the students respond, "Teacher, good-bye until tomorrow." 872 533

In spite of the competitive content of the games and lessons which the teacher presents to the kindergarten, the observer finds few expressions of achievement motivation and competitive spirit. There is little to indicate that children at this age are interested in winning or excelling. Perhaps the remarks of a 4-year-old boy who reported to his mother on the activities of kindergarten are adequate to summarize the attitude of most kindergarten children. "Mother," he said, "Saburo is first in the races, Tetsuo is second and I am third, always third." To which the mother replied, "If you would try a little harder tomorrow, you may be first." The child looked at the mother questioningly, and the next day he reported that while he thought he tried harder he was again third. The mother again encouraged him, but with a broad smile the child said, "But mother (and the mother explains the expression on the child's face as one of 'You don't understand') I am third! Saburo is first, Tetsuo is second . . . and I am third!" The mother went on to explain to the fieldworker that the whole idea was hilariously funny to the child and the fact that the mother would take the subject so seriously was even funnier. 866 872 876

Furthermore, once the winners are determined, the game is concluded *in toto* as far as the teacher and the children are concerned. There are no congratulatory remarks beyond the clapping of the appreciative audience. No references are made to yesterday's winners or today's possible winners. During performances the teacher may encourage a child here with a positive comment, censure an unruly child there with the stick, but the whole atmosphere of child-teacher interactions is affectionate, indulgent, and relaxed. When a child is being reprimanded, the teacher takes no great pains to conceal her appreciation of the humor involved in the situation, and her affection for the "senselessness" of children at this age is expressed while she is making a token effort. [201] [858]

There are no toys to play with in kindergarten, no way in which to 872
[i.e. the Kindergarten teacher - ANALYST] 876

872 express one's creativeness except in perfecting and improvising song-
876 dance performances. Lacking paper and crayons or paint, children crouch to the ground with the teacher to trace "pictures" in the sandy ground with their fingers or small sticks. The beach provides a rich playground on days when the teacher suffers laryngitis as a result of a cold and is unable to lead songs and direct the play verbally. Collecting shells, learning their names, examining washed up bits of seaweed and fish, exploring exposed stretches of rivers at low tide are real lessons in nature for the kindergarten child as he discovers these things himself and experiments without the direction of formal lessons. If he desires more information about things, he is free to ask the teacher; if he does not, no pressure is put on him to learn and know.

872 The kindergarten phase is a happy one for the child. Under the
857 direction of the teacher, who may be the mother or sister of one of his
[875] peers, he passes the two hours, from 9:30 to 11:30, of the morning, then goes on to play in and around the village for the rest of the day. He runs home only when he is hungry or when it is mealtime. And he hurries back to rejoin his peers for free play for the rest of the day.

857 Adults put little restriction on children's movement. They are free
[576] to occupy any part of the home and run around at will. Before enter-
[515] ing the house, everyone takes off his shoes; a rag lies on the ground to
[291] wipe dirty feet. Few children spend any length of time indoors, however, during daylight hours. If weather forces them to stay inside, they are found either in one of the front rooms or in the cooking area to the back.

855 Despite the occasional motor vehicle traffic through the village,
867 adults show little concern, for the kindergarten child has been well exposed to rules of safety in this respect. At the sound of warning horns, children run to the side of the main road and into the yards. The few brazen little boys who dare to chase vehicles and attempt to hang on to the rear bumper are severely reprimanded by those nearby.

A 4-year-old boy who had run out of the way of a lumbering truck stood watching as it rounded the curve and entered the village. Adults waiting for the vehicle to pass chatted idly and scanned the passengers to see if there were any familiar faces. Suddenly the 4-year-old leaned forward and threw a small branch he had in his hand under the tires of the passing truck. At once the driver, passengers, and by-standers screamed. "Fool one!" The passengers waved a warning finger at him, and he was berated by the village adults standing with him. "That was a dangerous thing to do. If you do that another time, you will be taken to the police station!" they threatened. The boy looked down at the ground and nodded to acknowledge his wrongdoing.

off. One or two anxious mothers accompany the group "to see that they will be all right on their first day of school." 512

Walking down the road to school, the child smiles proudly as adults comment, "Hah! See how he struts, that big first grader!" He moves to the side of the road as a big lumber truck comes rumbling along and remembers the warnings about the steep bank near the river. The older schoolchildren, walking more leisurely, lag behind and keep a close watch on their younger schoolmates. 872 857

SCHOOL ROUTINE

When they reach the schoolyard, the older children run to their rooms to drop their books so that they can play unencumbered, but the first graders cling to their books and lunches. Gathering into little groups according to their villages, they inspect each other at a discreet distance. As the elementary school is situated in the neighboring village of Kawata, which is visited frequently by Taira villagers, the children exchange notes on the extent of their acquaintance with this bigger, older place. 872

At last the bell is sounded by one of the teachers. Immediately there is a cry to gather. Each class forms two lines in front of their respective teachers. There is bedlam in the first-grade lines as the only boy from one village is directed into the boy's line and separated from the three girls with whom he had walked to school. The principal calls out impatiently for all to straighten the lines. He calls out signals, "Extend arms forward, palms down, fingers barely touching shoulders ahead." Teachers survey the lines and call out to those who mar them. Arms are dropped. Girls are instructed to stand with their arms to their sides and boys with their hands folded behind them, their feet slightly separated. [516]

From his perch on a 3-foot-high concrete block, the principal calls out the signals again, and the whole procedure of lining up is repeated; this time, however, he holds them at attention in a formal position. In crisp tones he calls out, "Pupils, good morning!" Instantly the children respond, "Teacher, good morning," bowing gravely. There is some confusion in the first grade lines, but the teachers quickly attend to it. [516]

Standing once more in a relaxed position, the students listen thoughtfully to the principal's message. He welcomes the first graders and commends them for their orderliness but warns them to behave like first graders and not kindergarteners. There is an amused ripple [876]

872 from the ranks of the older children. Instantly the principal turns a
[876] disapproving eye on them. He continues with a long list of rules concerning classroom behavior as well as safety. Finally the students are dismissed to march to their classrooms. In their eagerness the first graders break ranks and are sternly commanded to stay in line.

[346] The first-grade rooms are located in a temporary, wooden, thatched structure. The sides are open, and the dirt floor is hard and swept clean. As the group enters the room, a wild confusion develops as each child searches for his desk. The children with new desks have little difficulty, as they had played with them for days at home until they were brought to school earlier, but those who have inherited outgrown older siblings' desks and chairs are in sad disarray. Amid the screams and shouts of two roomsful of first graders, two high pitched female adult voices call for attention. Gradually the voices diminish on both sides of the thin wall until only the two teachers' voices are audible.

872 Roll call is taken after instructions are given as to how one is to
863 answer, ask to be excused, and to sit. After a brief consultation just outside the door, the two teachers organize their groups into two lines, males in one and females in the other. The observer standing just outside the windows of both rooms hears identical speeches on the merits of using the toilets before school starts. Continuing, the teachers locate facilities for the boys and those for the girls. The boys are allowed to go first, then the girls.

872 Back from the toilets, the little girls obediently march to their places and sit quietly at attention with their hands folded on their desk tops. The boys are noisily making their way to their places. Giggling and
[365] pushing each other, they knock into chairs and tables, annoying the girls.

872 During the first week of school, the teacher's chief task is to make
876 the first graders stop talking and playing in class. On one occasion when numerous appeals, threats, and commands had failed, one exasperated teacher remarked to the fieldworker, "Just like kindergarteners." Then she turned back to the children and called out loudly, "First graders!" "Yes!" shouted the children. "You are first graders, remember that. You are not kindergarten children who don't know anything or don't understand what teacher is saying. For those who cannot understand and do not listen, I will arrange for demotion to kindergarten, understand?" "Yes," replied the children sheepishly.

"Because so much time is taken in orienting the child the first day of school, we can only have a short lesson," explains the teacher apologetically to the observers. The parents nod appreciatively. A printed syllabary hanging to one side of the blackboard becomes the focus of

attention as the teacher raps loudly at it with her pointer. She taps at the first figure and reproduces it on the black board, verbalizing it at the same time. She asks the children to imitate her, using their index fingers to follow the order of strokes. With their arms raised, the children reproduce the figure in the air. Five figures of the syllabary are reproduced in this way, and after reading it off several times, time is called. Just before the children are excused, they are told to learn the five figures. This is their first homework assignment. 872 876

It is 10:35, and from the direction of the principal's office, the recess bell can be heard. The teacher explains that after 20 minutes of play, the class will again convene for 1 hour and 20 minutes. The boys are allowed outdoors first and the girls follow. There is a flurry of excitement as older siblings appear to question the first graders on the activities of the morning. The children are reminded that this is also the time to go to the toilets. 872 [863]

The older boys and girls are already organized, and games of sham battle, volley ball, hopscotch, and marbles are in progress. The first graders wander in and out of other classrooms, then around the playground, where the various games are being played, until the bell signals them to return to their rooms. They return with a newly gained sense of confidence. The boys, who had been surreptitiously turning their heels in the well-worn marble holes on the dirt floor all morning, move the last row of desks and chairs just a few inches to clear the field for the game. The last few returning girls are given a rude shove to hurry along to their seats, for the boys are eager to start the game. With a great deal of shouting, magnified from the first-grade class next door, the boys begin their game of marbles. [526] [524]

While the teacher checks her records and consults numerous slips of paper on her table, the girls call to each other to check on books, contents of their lunch boxes, and plans for the afternoon. Finally the teacher raps for attention. The boys continue their game of marbles unconcernedly, and the girls scurry back to their seats. There is a wave of giggles as the raps reflect exasperation. "Where are the boys?" questions the annoyed teacher. There is no answer, but the few remaining boys and girls who have heeded their parents' and older siblings' advice to behave all turn their heads toward the back of the room. The teacher carefully picks her way through the closely lined and crowded room. The marble players are so engrossed in their games that they do not see her until she taps one head, then two, saying, "I have called you. Don't you know that recess is over?" Sheepishly a few walk off to their seats. A few smile broadly and run off to evade the pointers. Suddenly a high voice calls out, "The principal! The principal!" [876]

872 The principal smiles as he approaches the classroom but soon begins
[876] to frown. He sees that the boys have been misbehaving. Returning the slight bow of the first-grade teacher, he stands just inside the door, looking over the boys with a disapproving eye. Immediately order and quiet reign.

After a short review of the morning's lesson, the teacher picks up each of the books which has been issued to the children. As she explains the contents of each, she names them and lectures on the care and use of books. She interrupts her talk when she notices two children without books. Because they had no older siblings and their parents had failed to appear two days before to pay for and receive their textbooks, these children had none. She quickly jots down their names and the name of the village from which they came and assures them that they will receive their books the next day.

872 At 12:15 the children are sent out to wash their hands and told to
264 eat their lunches. It seems that the most wanted, long awaited event
[863] of the school day has finally arrived, for even the best behaved children break into a run before they reach the door. The teacher's plea to walk out of the room goes unheeded.

Those children with elaborate lunches and containers proudly spread their meals out on the desk. Rice balls, a fried egg seasoned with soy sauce and bits of scallion, a touch of soybean paste, and a sliver of fish, packed by the proud mother of a family of some means, are exhibited freely. With some reluctance another lunch, consisting of rice balls, pickled vegetable, and a bit of bean paste, is shown. Those with three or four sweet potatoes and a small handful of vegetable mixed with soybean paste or with sweet potatoes alone slip out bits of food from their closed containers in quick, shy movements. When the girls have satisfied their curiosity as to the contents of each other's lunch boxes, they begin to exchange bits of egg for pickled vegetables, soybean paste with scallion for a sweet potato or some fish. The boys do not exchange portions of their meal but instead eat silently and swiftly.

872 Standing beside their desks on which lie books and empty lunch
855 boxes, the children face the teacher. "Students, good-bye!" "Teacher, good-bye!" answer the children in unison. Older siblings and the few mothers who accompanied the first graders to school gather. The questioning is rapid and amusing. "What did you do, did you behave, did you eat all of your lunch, did you learn anything?" Without waiting for answers, the older siblings, who have to remain in school until 2:35, begin to recite the rules on walking home and to reiterate the

the time for play, tasks, and homework. A child now spends eight hours in the school setting. Children are more matter of fact about school. They are slower to start in the morning, often playing a quick game before leaving the village. 872 857 512

The school schedule is more routine but still flexible. Some of the students do homework and prepare for classes while others play until the morning school assembly. From their arrival at school until they leave in the afternoon, children are under moderate supervision but by no means subject to severe discipline from teachers. The atmosphere at school is friendly, almost intimate at times. There is nothing to frighten children, and none shows signs of unhappiness or anxiety as a result of being away from home and in another village. Most of the boys behave with little restraint, while girls are much quieter and more responsive to occasional reprimands from teachers seeking order. The classroom atmosphere remains informal through all grades. Children call out answers spontaneously or make loud comments. Some move freely in the room during lessons or leave for the toilet. 872 876 [858]

The informality in the classroom is also illustrated by the occasional presence of a teacher's young child, who is taken along by his parent if no one else can take care of him at home. Off and on, a student's younger sibling also sneaks in and sits quietly through a lesson. Physical privations are not considered conducive to learning. A child who was not able to sleep adequately during the previous night will not be disturbed if he falls asleep in the middle of a lesson. If on a hot, sultry summer day children are sluggish and fail to respond, teachers ease up on their demands accordingly. [875] [857]

The classroom situation may best be described by an excerpt from field notes, taken in the fifth grade.

The male teacher is going through some new expressions from their reading material with the class. Children have their notebooks open and, as the teacher explains, take notes. Boys interrupt by shouting something, a suggestion, an answer, a question. The teacher hardly disciplines at all. He does not object to interruptions. K. (10-year-old boy), who apparently tries to show off as observers enter, shouts as "crowded streetcars" are discussed by teacher, "What would happen if somebody beats you in a streetcar?" Teacher seems to disregard this question. A little later K. interrupts two more times. Boys and girls sit apart; about one third of the students are girls. The girls hardly speak up during the session. In discussing the word "insensitive" one boy shouts as example, "I am insensitve to teacher's scolding." This is accepted as an example. There are three boys who have taken their shirts off on this warm morning. Two put them on as observers enter. After a while the teacher says, "Let's close this now." Somebody shouts, "Arithmetic," and the teacher concurs. He then gives addition problems by rapidly calling for sum-

872 mations, 6 plus 13 plus 8, etc., about six to eight numbers. The difficulty lies in the speed. Boys raise their arms quickly, shout "*Hai* (yes)," and when 876 called on give the answer. If it is wrong, as the first ones usually are, the teacher just points to somebody else and says, "*Hai*," until someone gives the right answers, sometimes not until six students have tried or until he has finally supplied the answer himself. Girls participate less than boys. K. raises his hand twice and twice has the wrong answer. The class then works at problems from the arithmetic book. One problem is read out loud by a girl. Students get up only when called on by the teacher to read from the book or from the blackboard. While listening to the problem which the girl reads in the customary high sing-song reading voice, the class is quiet although not everyone concentrates. The girls seem much more attentive. The teacher puts high numbers, ten million, etc., on the blackboard, which students have to read off. There is no embarrassment about giving the wrong answer. There is no kidding or teasing by others. If one can't do it, another student volunteers information, but there seems to be a lot of pressure provided by the constant raising of hands, which prompts even those who don't know to raise theirs and to make a blind guess.

876 Teachers, after the second grade, are always men. Their relation-
[875] ship with the students is informal, warm, and friendly. Living in the village, they are also a part of the social world in which the student lives. On the whole, they seem to have little difficulty in maintaining control over the class. Girls hardly ever present disciplinary problems. The disciplinary techniques used by the teachers are milder than parental ones. They rarely use physical punishments, limiting them to nose pulling or a light slap; they employ more commonly mild forms of ridicule and ostracism, such as standing a child in the corner. A child who continues to misbehave is scolded roundly in the presence of the class.

In interviews, teachers stressed the fact that they preferred reasoning and explaining to ridicule and shaming. They stated the belief that it was better to ask a child why he had done wrong or discuss his misbehavior with him. They also voiced a preference for positive measures, such as praise. Rewards, not unlike the silver and gold stars given in some American schools, are sometimes used.

872 Rote learning is one of the most important techniques of instruc-
876 tion, but teachers are striving to introduce new methods. A new lesson is first read by the teacher from beginning to end. Afterward the teacher discusses the topic and questions with students. Then various minor aspects of the reading are dealt with, and finally the teacher asks if there is anything that is not understood. After all points have been clarified, the new words used in that day's lesson are written on the blackboard. While writing, the teacher reads the characters aloud. The set sequence of strokes for each character is

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
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left for later practice. When all the new words are presented in this fashion, the teacher takes the textbook and reads the passage once more to the class. This is a signal for all to pay close attention to their books. After this, everyone reads to himself. For about five minutes bedlam reigns as discordant voices fill the room. Then a child is called by the teacher to read aloud to the class. The teacher may call on several other students before instructing all to read to themselves once more, for the last time. Should a child make a mistake in reading, the teacher rereads the passage. The lesson is concluded with instructions to study it that night. In the evening, back in the village, one is apt to hear loud, sing-song recitations of the lesson being read and reread. Elementary school students delight in verbal presentations of whole lessons on the spur of the moment during playtime. Talent programs are popular among 8-year-old girls, and at village or school celebrations in which students participate it would be unusual not to have at least two readings offered. The school also promotes oratorical contests in which long, memorized stories are recited. Rote memory, discussion with association of facts, familiar with the unfamiliar, and imitation, therefore, are utilized in these learning situations. 872 876 [537]

Although reading allows for a certain amount of creativity in timing and flexibility of inflection patterns, penmanship is a rigidly controlled practice. As the teacher writes the character on the board, strictest attention is required. There is precise order in the sequence of strokes, as well as unquestionable direction as to how to form them. The teacher counts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, while writing the strokes on the board. All children have to raise their right hand and with the index finger write the character in the air, following the teacher's example. The character is written in this fashion four or five times before the whole class is sent to the blackboard in small groups to demonstrate that they have understood the principles of writing the character. This process uses imitation, repetition, and memorization in learning. 872 876 212

In the area of physical science and social studies, teachers are working toward practical applications of concepts which were presented in the lessons. Resources are very limited and so is the potential of actual experiences which a northern Okinawan village child is likely to have during childhood. Applying concepts mostly remains in the realm of discussion in class and not as much has been done to widen the circle as educators wish. Excursions to the beach and mountains help somewhat to integrate and bring into association those facts, mentioned in textbooks, which have reference to the local environ- 872 876

872 ment. But how should a Taira child grasp, for instance, the meaning
876 of a large hotel in the city, where travelers can stop, engage one or
several rooms, have meals served either individually in the room or
[485] at the restaurant? The little Taira guesthouse, run by the doctor
and to all extent and purposes a private home, is hardly an adequate
model.

876 Learning by doing is, on the whole, an innovation in the school
872 program. To find out what fifth- and sixth-grade students might have
857 learned in the home by actually doing things, the school circulated
a questionnaire which covered such items as: "Have you ever tried
to make a simple telescope? Did you ever watch a plant grow from
the time of seeding and make a scientific description of its progress?
Did you ever build a small toolshed or other small structure by yourself? Did you ever make regular observations of weather phenomena
and keep a record?" From our previous description of typical activities of Taira children, it is not surprising to learn that very few
of these or similar experiences appeared on the answers in the
affirmative.

876 At school, participation and learning by doing are found at least
in a few instances. The basic skills of cleaning rooms by using rag
868 and mop, as well as maintaining school grounds by cutting grass with
[358] a sickle and weeding with a hoe, may not have high educational
value, but they carry over to the home and village situation. In the
upper grades, students begin to do some gardening at school. Later
in junior high school they work in their own small garden plots on
[241] the school grounds and in school rice paddies under teachers'
supervision. Unlike the home situation, where learning also takes
place by observation and doing, the teacher lays a foundation for
solid knowledge by instruction and demonstration of proper techniques and by criticism of errors. The large number of students who
work under guidance of a single teacher limits the practical value
of such learning situations. It is evident, however, that there is an
important qualitative difference between learning in the home situation and at school. Where the child does a chore in the village without trying to meet standards set by parents, the school child finds
that the teacher scrutinizes his work carefully, judges, compares, picks
and chooses the best performers from the poorer ones, and imposes
standards for all to meet or excel. If a standard is set at all in the
village, adults tend to either overlook it or simply fail to enforce it.

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ATTITUDES TOWARD ACHIEVEMENT

Observations revealed there is a contrast between home and school setting in attitudes and treatment of achievement-oriented and competitive behavior. The classroom situation tends to breed competition. Eager attempts to answer questions and to get the teacher's attention by raising a hand and calling out suggest competitive spirit. There was little we observed in the village which seemed to bolster competitive behavior, except for some games and occasional wrestling and athletic practice. Parents discourage boasting in children and in our presence gave little evidence of fostering achievement. However, if we now let the children speak, and then mothers (unfortunately fathers were not interviewed), one might get a different impression of the parental role in achievement training.

In answer to the questions "How do you feel about doing something better than anybody else your age? When you're not the best, do you ever practice so you can do better?" the six boys in our sample agreed that they would like to be first. One 8-year-old answered: "Yes, I would like to be better than my classmates." "But," he adds, "no, I don't practice or study when I am not first . . . only sometimes. If I am last I would practice and study because I would get scolded by the teacher and my parents. . . . I would be ashamed because others would laugh at me. But if I am average, I won't do anything, I don't care." Two other boys implied that they would do little to improve their position if they were in the middle, or as one put it, "I do want to be first, but I don't do anything about it . . . not much anyway."

The fear of being scolded by parents is also expressed in the answer of four others in this group. Shame was mentioned only by one other boy, but among those who fear scolding at home were two whose parents are exceptional in stressing good performance at home and driving their children toward higher standards. They responded, as one might expect, with expressions such as: "Yes, I would rather be better than all others. . . . In the middle? No, I would rather be first." Only one of these two mentioned fear of scolding as an incentive.

Girls' answers differed slightly in the somewhat greater emphasis on performing well and making determined efforts in this direction. One reply, "Yes, I will study hard to become first. Even if I am in the middle, I will try hard so I can be first. I don't feel good being

866 last," was essentially echoed by the five other school girls in the sample
876 of six. Three, however, thought they would not mind too much being in the middle, though they would prefer to be first, and all seemed to agree with the statement of one that "it is no fun to be the last," and as one said (and the five others put it in similar words): "If I am last, then I would work very hard. . . ." Wanting to be first and doing something about it are, of course, two different things. But the intentions of girls to work hard are stated more strongly than those of boys. And, significantly, none of the girls mentioned fear of scolding or shame.

Does this mean, then, that girls have a higher achievement motivation than boys or are they just more responsible and obedient? At
[858] home girls have been trained to assume responsibilities at a slightly earlier age than boys and have, therefore, been exposed to more rewards for doing their tasks than boys—and also more scolding for doing them only in part or not at all, although the fear of being scolded is not verbalized. It may be that the desire to do well becomes an end in itself for these girls because of previous satisfactions and, possibly, fears. And to some extent, observations of classroom behavior and participation in studies by girls would bear out that they make more determined efforts to perform well in class.

Mothers' replies to the questions "How satisfied do you feel about how well your child does things?" and more specifically, "What do you do if he does poorly?" were uniformly positive expressions. All mothers said that they were not only happy with good performances but also actually encouraged good work at school by giving praise and often special food. Only three mothers of the boys who expected scolding said that they would do so if their child did poorly; two others suggested that they would talk to the child to make him perform better. The mother of one boy who stated that he would feel ashamed to be placed at the bottom said that if her boy "should do something poorly I would tell him that he has become 'useless, hopeless.' " None of the girls' mothers, on the other hand, indicated that she would scold their daughter for poor performance.

Mothers, then, though purporting to be interested in their children's performance in school, are actually using, at best, mild pressures toward satisfactory accomplishments. Although they genuinely feel a pleasure over good performance, we wonder if they express and enforce their sentiments toward children consistently enough, emphatically enough, and frequently enough to make an impact. We rather think that mothers who work in fields and mountains all day

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have little time and patience to concern themselves seriously with 866
their children's schoolwork; and since their daily work is hardly an 876
inspiration to the child to improve his scholastic activities, there is
some question in how much parental influence is relevant here.
Moreover, mothers are always under pressure from the teachers to [124
urge their children to work hard and would respond to such an
obviously weighted question in this fashion to a person to whom they
accorded the same polite title in address, which they use toward
their children's teacher, *sensei* (i.e., the interviewer). It is also a fact
that teachers have had difficulty getting parents to cooperate in
training their children to establish regular home-study habits. Fathers,
on the whole, seem even less consistent than mothers in supervising
schoolwork. The fact that most boys would like to be first but make
concentrated efforts to improve their work only if they perform
poorly suggests that parental discipline usually does not function
effectively until the child has become severely delinquent in his
studies.

If the desire to cheat in school is a measure of competitive pressures, it is interesting to note that there are few such attempts made during the examinations which are held several times a year. Nothing is done to separate the students whose tables are close together. Although the teacher remains in the classroom, he hardly proctors. However, the teacher commented that if a student is suspected of unfair practices, others will report his activities to the teacher.

An impetus for the development of competitive spirit has been [177
the introduction by the Japanese of athletic sports into the schools. [526
The communities participate annually in athletic competitions spon- [527
sored by the schools and other agencies outside the community. One
is impressed, however, that these events have taken on the Okinawan
pattern of a pleasant gathering where the older people can enjoy
being sociable while the young men and women engage in various
sports.

A few students have regularly assigned tasks and offices. Each class 866
selects a monitor. The method of selection varies, depending on the 872
teacher. In one class, candidates were taken at large, and the student 876
who received the largest number of votes took the office. The monitor
is responsible for the class during the morning assembly and during
athletics. He sees to it that students line up and remain orderly. In
the classroom he has the same responsibility, but we observed nobody
discharging his duties in an authoritarian way, although some older
boys liked to show their strength in a playful manner of bullying.

866 Girls could theoretically become monitors, and several votes were cast
872 for them, but it is doubtful whether a girl could be effective among
876 boys, who might be unwilling to follow her lead.

The student Red Cross chapter has a chairman in each class who
[858] makes collections under the teacher's supervision. Somebody may
[231] volunteer for such jobs as pouring milk during lunch hour. Other assignments have to do with the upkeep of a few school-owned goats, which must be fed during vacations too.

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN BOYS AND GIRLS

858 Differential status of boys and girls, emphasized in child rearing
876 from the time of birth, is clearly defined in many details of school routine. Boys are sent out first when it is time to leave the classroom; they head the lines; and they are given first turn at the equipment.
[177] The promotion of sex equality under American supervision of the educational program has met with only mild acceptance in the classes we observed. Although separate seating is avoided under post-World War II rules, a separation continues in fact.

858 Girls remain on the receiving end of much teasing and horseplay,
876 more, it seems than one observes during associations of boys and girls in the village, which we will describe later. Teachers, like parents,
865 expect the boys to bully girls. In one classroom, for instance, we heard girls complaining that the (male) teacher favors boys by calling on them all the time. This may encourage the dominant, aggressive behavior of boys toward girls. Hardly a day passes in school without several girls crying as a result of assertive boy tyrants. Occasionally a boy is punished, but usually he escapes with distinct pride showing on his face. Recently teachers have resorted to ridiculing those who intimidate girls, but the tradition is so strong that even if bullying on the school ground is curbed, there is a great deal on the road to and from school. Only the most vociferous girls do not seem to be cowed by such boisterous demonstrations and may adequately match in verbal repartee those boys who try to put them into place as well as provoking more teasing and aggression. To illustrate attempts at bullying in the classroom, we quote from an observation record (second grade).

> . . . Whenever one of the girls gives a wrong answer, S. (Taira boy) shouts loudly; he is one of the most vociferous in class . . . Class then starts reading aloud, each pupil for himself . . . A boy in front of K. (Taira girl) turns around, hits her for putting her feet against his chair. K. continues kicking

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

his chair, doesn't seem to mind boy's slapping. He is not really angry, smiles. Looking at observer, he stops slapping, pinches K. under desk. 858

In none of the observations on schoolchildren's behavior were there examples of Taira boys protecting Taira girls from the teasing of other village boys. Instead, during school hours boys tend to team up with boys, girls with girls, although among each sex there is a tendency to associate more with those from one's own community. 876 865

PLAY GROUPS

By midafternoon all schoolchildren have returned to the village, and play groups can be found in various locations. The more stringent requirements of school seem to have been forgotten. Hardly any students of the elementary grades study immediately after returning from school. For two hours or more they spend their time with peers and younger siblings. 857

A play group comes into existence when two or three children meet in the street, in the corner of a garden, or in one of the many open lots and village places. All Taira children are intimate with each other because since early childhood they have been together during the greater part of the day. There is always a slight preference for one another among some children, either because they are close neighbors of the same age and sex, or cousins, or otherwise congenial. Although these special friends associate more often with each other, they do not exclude other children who want to join their play. Once children attend school, association on the basis of sex and age becomes more distinct. The total composition of a play group, however, shifts from day to day and from locality to locality. If one group starts a game, other children in the vicinity soon join to form a new group to play a similar game nearby. Such a play group numbers from two to ten or more children. Most frequently, however, groups are composed of children of the same sex and similar age.

There are several factors, however, which lead to variations in this general pattern. If a school age girl is the oldest in the family and has several younger siblings to care for in the afternoons, she will frequently be found in the company of younger girls and hence younger boys, the play groups being more mixed at the younger ages.

M., a 7-year-old girl with three younger sisters (ages 4, 3, and 1) was usually found in a large play group composed primarily of younger children. In contrast, S, a girl of 10, was found in smaller groups. Although she has no younger siblings to tend, she frequently cares for a

875 As indicated above, education is highly regarded as a key to success,
554 but it still must produce financial rewards. Education earns for one the
178 esteem of his fellows, but not as much as does money. This decline in status seems to have produced considerable dissatisfaction among teachers. This is probably true at all levels. The best-known Okinawan scholars, for example, have mainly chosen to remain in Japan.

3. Classroom Atmosphere

• 876 Informants gave the impression that the pre-war classroom atmosphere
[871] was decidedly more authoritarian than at present. Most of what was taught was rather rigidly prescribed by the Ministry of Education and questions were not encouraged. Students rarely spoke up, partly because of the attitudes of the teachers and partly at embarrassment at having to speak in Japanese. Free discussion was probably less common even than in Japan.

In their attempt to make their students learn Japanese some schools adopted the tag system that has been mentioned elsewhere in connection with the prevention of the misuse or theft of crops. In the Yamada school before the war there was for each class a 'hōgen fuda', "dialect tag", which was hung around the neck of the first child heard speaking "the dialect", that is, the Okinawan language. This child wore the tag in disgrace until he heard another child slip into Okinawan, whereupon he hung the tag around that child's neck. And so it went from child to child. The difference between such a system of control and those regarded as appropriate by modern Western educators can hardly be exaggerated. It is true that the tag does resemble the old dunce cap, known to us from cartoons of the last century, in that it uses ridicule as the form of punishment. But in other respects it is different. First, it means that one child is singled out to function as an unwilling policeman, his functioning as policeman being part of his disgrace; that is, as long as he is in disgrace with the tag he is forced to watch for another culprit. Second, the system does not provide equal punishment for the same crime; one child may wear the tag a day while another wears it a week or more, both for the same offense. And third, the theory behind the system does not assume that the offense can be eliminated altogether; on the contrary there must always be some child to make the mistake of speaking Okinawan for the system to work.

[685] As used in the village as a whole the tag system sometimes worked considerable hardship. A person who received the tag for cutting someone else's crop or his own cane out of season had to pay two sen a day to the village. It is said that there is an old woman in Naha who was sold when a girl into prostitution by her father because he could not get rid of the tag and could no longer make the payments. Here is a concept of justice that is indeed remote from ours.

876 No doubt the tag system is no longer in use anywhere on Okinawa.
178 Students say that the schools are less authoritarian and that there is con-
875 siderably more freedom of discussion. Yet many of the teachers are the same persons who imposed such controls as the tag system a few years ago. Some
[177] may have opposed the former rigidity and some may have changed their views since, but it would be surprising indeed if all have taken over American ideas.

4. Present Problems

871 If one asks the question, "Is the present education system giving Okinawa what it needs?", even a casual glance suggests a negative answer. It should be obvious from some of the material of this report that the ordinary Okinawan is disastrously ignorant of many things that concern him---in economics, politics, and particularly in matters of health and sanitation. Yet this ignorance does not seem to be confined to the less educated. It was a college student who gave some of the folk beliefs about disease. Another young man indicated that the schools themselves by attempted rationalization may be perpetuating an uncritical attitude; his high school teacher had explained that crows do not really know when someone is going to die because they possess supernatural power; they know it because they can smell death.

000 The difficulty lies partly in the unwillingness of most Okinawans, one might say most human beings, to re-examine cherished beliefs. Ignorance of the true nature of disease, as discussed in Chapter IX, is not merely due to the absence of knowledge, but rather to the presence of a set of traditional beliefs that form a body of "knowledge", incorrect though it may be, that provides the individual with the explanations he needs. In order to teach modern scientific explanations, educators must determine what the body of folk belief consists of, re-evaluate it, and devise methods whereby its falsity can be demonstrated. Doing this would not be easy; it would be doubly hard because of the greater importance given to the opinions of older people in Okinawan society.

871 554 Ignorance may also be due to lack of interest. Education is a source of prestige to the educated individual. But education as defined by Okinawan culture perhaps does not include such subjects as botany and entomology. At any rate certain fields of study, English literature for example, seem to have enormous attraction, while others, applied sciences such as agriculture, have little. Moreover, other observers have reported that among those Okinawans who are engaged in work in applied sciences there seems to be a distaste for field work and a preference for office work. This too may reflect a higher value placed on sedentary "paper work" and a lower one on work with the hands.

● 876 177 As Lebra has pointed out in Chapter II, most Okinawans suffer from a linguistic handicap. Most children learn Okinawan in the home and then have to learn a second language, Japanese, in the school. This immediately gives them less time for learning other things. But their troubles do not end with the acquisition of a speaking knowledge of Japanese. This is not so very difficult since the two languages are closely related. But the Japanese system [212] of writing, with its two native syllabaries plus the Chinese characters, is incredibly complicated and requires an enormous expenditure of time and effort. A student learning the geography of Okinawa, for example, must spend a great part of his time learning the characters for Okinawan place names and thus, as in one instance observed, he may not get around to learning where all of them are.

The opinion of a former teacher is worth noting. When I worked with him in 1945 he told me that he and other teachers who privately believed that

876 177 212 Japanese nationalism had been perverting education had felt that their only means of creating more open minds was to teach as many characters as possible so that the students might later read a wider range of material. In 1954 he said that he was now convinced that the Japanese, and the Okinawans, would be better off if SCAP had forced them to discard characters and adopt a system of romanization. This man is now a printer and publisher; the characters are his own stock-in-trade.

000 The difficulties facing any sort of language reform in Japan are great. If romanized Japanese only were taught in Japanese schools, the whole of Japanese literature would soon have to be republished in romanized form and most modern scientific works would have to be not only republished but rewritten as well. The great number of homophones in the technical vocabulary of Japanese are distinguishable to the eye because of the different characters with which they are written, but they are not distinguishable to the ear nor would they be distinguishable written in romanized form. Romanization would require the introduction of many new terms. Moreover, because of the esthetic appeal of the characters and the high prestige derived from a knowledge of them, many educated Japanese would have a strong emotional resistance to discarding them. During the occupation certain reforms were instituted but in some respects they only increased the complexity of the system by introducing for some characters simplified forms which now must be learned in addition to the older, more complex forms. It is quite likely that any attempt to reform the Japanese system of writing on Okinawa would meet with even greater resistance than it would meet with in Japan.

212 177 In addition to the difficulties of the writing system, the literary forms of Japanese present some differences in style which make them difficult for the less educated to read. I was once present in an Okinawan home when a child in the second grade brought home a mimeographed request from the school for a certain fee. I looked at the notice and found that I could not be sure of the readings of all of the characters or of the meaning of the construction of the first paragraph, although I can read technical material in my own field. I asked the mother, who had had six years of schooling, to read it to me. She admitted that she could not read it either, except for the place where it said how much and what for. Later I showed it to a University student, who, after some stumbling, read the first paragraph and put it into colloquial Japanese. It was of course merely a formal salutation. It did not contribute to the meaning of the notice and it did not matter that the average parent could not read it. Yet if it had been omitted, the few educated parents--- perhaps those from whom larger contributions were expected---might have shaken their heads and asked what education is coming to that teachers are no longer capable of writing proper Japanese.

876 177 [87] As if there were not enough linguistic problems, recently the English language has been introduced into the Primary School curriculum beginning at the Fifth Grade. It appears to be taught in most cases by persons who do not themselves speak English or even read it with any fluency. Moreover, it appears to be taught by the 'katakana' method; that is, the texts or the teachers attempt to teach the pronunciation of English words by spelling them out in the Japanese syllabary. The Japanese syllabary is admirably well-adapted to the representation of Japanese sounds, but woefully deficient for

the representation of the sounds of any other language. Its open syllables 876
and lack of distinction between "l" and "r", "si" and "shi", etc., result in 177
such horrors as "ri-to-ru" for "little" and "shi-ku-su" for "six". And these are the pronunciations learned by the unsuspecting children, pronunciations that are unintelligible to a native speaker of English and which must be later unlearned if the student is to acquire a usable knowledge of English.

But even though the teaching of English in this manner is pretty clearly a waste of time, there is great resistance to abandoning it. A USCAR official who has visited many schools told us that he had frequently had the painful experience of having to meet the English teacher. This usually meant pretending to communicate in order to save the face of the man and the school. Yet even school officials who realize how poor the instruction is are are unwilling to discontinue it. The prestige of English is too great and too many persons are depending upon it. Perhaps again we have the Okinawan theme--- One must not interfere with the livelihood of another.

No doubt there is a need for instruction in English to students on the high school and college level, but like any language English can be taught most effectively and with the least waste of effort by persons who have had the linguistic training. Americans who have had no special training in this field are also likely to be less effective teachers.

It has been suggested several times that the Okinawan language, or one 212
of the several varieties of it, might be reduced to an alphabetical system of 177
writing and that this might make possible the development of an Okinawan literature. The suggestion has evidently not met with much enthusiasm. Two obstacles stand in the way of such an endeavor. First, the creation of a good phonemic transcription for Okinawan would require considerable work by a trained linguist. Second, to produce a literature requires incentive in persons of talent. At the present time the high prestige of Japanese and English [554]
and the low value placed on Okinawan provide little basis for such incentive. If such an endeavor were successful, however, it could well provide Okinawa 000
with a greater cultural self-sufficiency than it has known for several generations. But the question might also be asked, is the creation of greater linguistic fragmentation and of national feelings in small groups desirable in a world that is growing smaller by the day?

I have discussed linguistic factors in education in some detail not only because they present problems in themselves but also because they illustrate the operation of a factor that may create even greater problems, the factor of values existing among educators and those receiving education alike. The high value placed on literary Japanese and now on English are merely two elements of a value system that often is not in accord with the urgent needs of Okinawan society. Of more immediate concern to education, of course, are the continuation of the program of rebuilding Okinawa's schools and the provision of more incentive for persons to enter and stay in the teaching profession. But ultimately the problem of values is likely to become a crucial one, if Okinawa is to have a healthier and more democratic society. The task facing the educators of Okinawa's youth and the educators of the educators is a difficult one: it requires a fine balance between authority and freedom.

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861 stated and made more explicit. The first is that Okinawan child-training methods include the use of both verbal appeals and physical punishment. As a result of observations made during and shortly after the battle in 1945, Dr. J. C. Maloney reported[1] that Okinawans were very permissive with their children and did not use corporal punishment. It will be seen from the data just presented that while Okinawans are more permissive in many situations than Americans would be, they do in fact use severe physical punishment on occasion.

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861 own consciences; Japanese culture is a "shame culture" while ours is a "guilt culture".[2] Okinawan culture also seems to be primarily a shame culture. Okinawans clearly fear ridicule greatly, and this fear seems traceable to their early training. But there are also elements in Okinawan child training that would tend to produce something of the Western sort of fear that one may suffer for his wrong-doing regardless of whether he is found out or not. These are to be seen in the phrases "retribution will strike" (Okinawan bachi nu ataaing, Japanese 'bachi ga ataru') and "the gods saw you". Shame and guilt are doubtless not mutually exclusive. Both sanctions exist in Okinawan culture, shame being much the stronger.

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It is organized on a Ryukyu-wide basis, but local chapters make their own
constitutions, statements of aims, and so forth---probably with no great var-
iation. The aims expressed in the constitutions seen could mainly be put
under the headings intellectual and moral self-improvement and community up-
lift. Meetings are held perhaps twice a month, one being for business and
serious discussion, the other for purely social purposes. The social meet-
ings feature music played on the 'shamisen', dancing, and 'awamori'. Among
other serious business, in some communities the Youth Organization engages
in clean-up or repair projects and hires itself out for farm labor. Where
it receives pay, the funds probably generally go toward the expense of the
social meetings.

The Youth Organization takes young people of both sexes, but there
are usually more men, since women drop out at marriage while men may remain
in after marriage if they choose to, until 30, according to one rule. In
the country, membership after finishing school is represented as compulsory. [184]
In the city, however, the compulsion is lacking and many who are not inter-
ested in joining manage to stay out. But in the country few would suggest
that anyone had the right not to join. When I asked a past president of the
organization in Yamada if everyone joined, he replied to the effect, "Oh yes,
all must join, we have a rule." And he proceeded to point out the regulation

Education The Japanese established the first schools in the rural areas some time before World War I. Great emphasis was placed on making Japanese speakers and nationals out of Okinawans. Today most of the population is bilingual; those who speak only a dialect of the Ryukyuan language are persons over sixty and pre-school children. Most Okinawans have come to regard themselves as Japanese. 871 177 [191] [829]

A major change in the postwar educational system has been the addition of three years to the period of compulsory schooling, making a total of nine years. Since the schools continue to provide a Japanese education, the effect will be to increase the Japanization of Okinawa, raise literacy, and ultimately make all speakers bilingual. As a student is usually excused from all work by the family, this measure has served to withhold a large number of teenagers from the labor market.

In the rural areas the author heard frequent praise for the extension of the schooling period and the new school construction program initiated by the military government. Most rural peoples stated that educational opportunities were poor for them in the prewar period; high school education was said to be particularly difficult for a village child to achieve. Now they feel that they are realizing equality with the urban areas. The urbanite is more likely to suggest that the quality of education has deteriorated in the postwar period. Both rural and urban people were agreed that one decided improvement has been that students no longer fight among themselves. Before and during the war all students were organized into small groups based on area of residence; each group was headed by a student leader who shepherded his charges to and from school in semi-military formation. Rivalry between these organized groups frequently led to gang fighting so severe that the intervention of teachers or police was often necessary to restore order. 871 369 178 877 178

Rural people regard education as providing one of the best opportunities for improving one's status; consequently, the improvement of educational opportunities will have far-reaching effects on social mobility. Those who acquire a high school or university education rarely remain in the village, and the few who do remain adopt an occupation other than farming. 871 554

Economy Money was virtually non-existent in the old Okinawan village; barter was the chief means of exchange. Taxes under the communal land holding system were paid in grain and cloth. The land reforms initiated by the Japanese brought the introduction of tax payments in cash. Increasing emphasis on sugar production due to governmental encouragement and subsidy did much to destroy the self-sufficiency of the village and brought dependence on a cash crop. The period of Japanese administration was marked by a gradual adoption of a money economy in the rural areas. 437 436 178 177

Okinawans state that there is a far greater amount of money in the village today than in the prewar period. Some assert that due to governmental price controls they were never able to realize a fair return for their products (chiefly sugar) in the prewar era, but the great increase in money in recent years seems largely attributable to factors relating to the military occupation. Today over twenty-five percent of the total labor force is employed by the military and in subsidiary occupations such as construction; this steep rise in 434 178 [435] [464]

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organization in Yamada if everyone joined, he replied to the effect, "Oh yes,
all must join, we have a rule." And he proceeded to point out the regulation

872 calculating on the abacus, and a variety of other subjects. (These topics will be discussed in the chapter on education.

292 291 302 The pre-war school childrens' uniform is no longer obligatory. Children wear what they have and what their parents can afford. The girl frequently wears the familiar blue serge smock but more often her clothing is varied. Her hair has bangs in front and is cut straight, about on the level with the ear lobe. Neither do the boys wear prescribed clothing. With them too, it is a matter of what they have. A boy's hair is closely clipped to his head and will remain cut this way until he leaves junior high school, although this style also is no longer compulsory. He may have a school boy's cap, but this is not officially designated. It may be tan, white, blue, or olive drab, resembling either a military or a baseball type cap. Above the brim there is a metal tag with an abbreviation of the school name written in a Chinese character.

857 883 Three important new experiences come to him as a result of his school life. The first of these is participation in school maintenance and upkeep. One of the commonest sights in any Okinawan primary, junior high, or high school is to see children working around the buildings and grounds under the supervision of their teachers. After typhoons, which destroy many of the rude, temporary, and rebuilt buildings, they 15 straighten out the debris, and help in putting on a new thatched roof. The tasks done by school children and their teachers are those customarily performed by janitors and custodians in our school system. In junior or senior high school, if the child lives far away from the school, he may board there as well.

526 His second experience is with organized athletics. Much of this instruction is pointed to the annual athletic meets (undōkai) which have a remarkable hold in Okinawa on students, teachers, parents, and the rest of the villagers alike. This organized athletic training is a [177] Japanese introduction, but earlier accounts of a period when Japanese cultural influence was more nominal point to a love of games, races, and ball among the people.

572 The third of these new experiences is the formation of attachments with children in his own class. These friendships exist throughout life. The words, dōnen or dōsei, meaning the same year or the same age, are used by mature men and women to describe these early friendships. Close friendships almost invariably have had their origins in early close association in the same grade at school.

15 As is true of school boys the world over, truancy is not unheard of. Every once in a while, especially in junior high school, three or four boys report to the principal or his assistant because of absence from this work--but not from classes.

During the primary and junior high school years, no exacting demands are made at home. Young girls after school strap the baby on their back and go out to play, or they may fetch water from the well, pond, or faucet, carrying it home in buckets hanging from a pole resting on their shoulders, or they may help in preparing the evening meal. Younger boys, 12 and over, help with feeding the pigs or run errands, but they have more leisure than the girls. There is night study at home, including practice on the abacus and reading to which the parents listen, correcting the errors. Formal education, for a large majority, ends with the completion of junior high school. 859 883 [482] [871]

As children grow older, they continue in off hours to help around the home, help which follows the lines of the male and female division of labor of adulthood. This is not a strict division, as there are many areas in which both sexes do common chores. In the agricultural villages, girls continue to help around the home, carry water, and hoe in the sweet potato patches. In the fishing village, they also carry water, help with the laundry, and start helping the older women in selling and distributing fish. The boys work more in the paddies. In the fishing village, they may make trips to the sea, but as a rule, this does not begin until later. [962]

For those who go to senior high school, there is a noticeable change from the earlier school experience. They enter at about 14 or 15 and remain in high school 3 years. It is a period of growing maturity, and the older they get the shyer they seem to become. Girl's hair is allowed to grow longer, perhaps to neck or shoulder length, less often in long braids, and the bangs remain. A big change takes place in the hair styles of the boys. The close clipped haircut is abandoned and the hair is allowed to grow long. Often it is not cut at all on the top, so that in two or three years, it has acquired considerable length. 873 856 302

The child who leaves school at the end of primary or junior high school is more quickly absorbed in the daily work life and traditional occupations of the family. The senior high school student has teaching, clerking, translating, or other white collar work in mind. The boy who leaves school earlier might drive a truck or a horse cart, or adopt the occupation of his father. This is likely to be a time killing period for those young men who live in the fishing village or whose families lack land. 463

6

Early Adulthood and the Engagement

In early adulthood and before marriage, a son of the house might be given a separate room or a small outlying shed which he fixes up for himself. The young girls, more and more, assume full time duties in the home, relieving the mother. Often the mother and her young daughter work together in the fields. These mature young girls also may take over the care of younger children. Young men from 17 on are 885 868

512 care of an older sibling or the kindergarten teacher, therefore has a
461 chance to see the mother. Men and women who have gone to the
[855] mountains return with their first load of wood around 10 o'clock. The
mother will return again around noon and prepare the midday meal:
[262] noodle soup, fried cabbage with dried shrimps, perhaps rice, and always sweet potatoes. After lunch there is a short rest period. During the hot summer months this rest extends to an hour or more, and on the hottest days people lie in their houses sleeping during the noon hours. Midday is also a time for social interaction. There is some visit-
[574] ing back and forth. Old people always seek each other's company, and younger ones back from the fields or forest may join them for a while.

512 Toward evening blue smoke indicates again that food is being pre-
[231] pared. Pigs are fed by the women in late afternoon. Then women,
512 young girls, or boys fill water buckets and carry them home. After 5
515 there is a heavy run on the tank or faucets, and this is often the time when families start preparing a bath. It takes until dark to warm up an oil drum filled with water and heated underneath by scraps of wood and twigs. People take their bath after dark. Since the bath house was destroyed during the war, ablutions take place outside near the tank under a faucet or in an old oil drum in one's backyard.

512 Young men who return from the mountains wash their horses in the
[231] sea. The women who sell fish call on each house at this hour to peddle
[438] their wares. The village store, which has only seen a few customers in the morning and during noon, now has its busiest hour. Mothers send their children to buy noodles, kerosene, rice, or seaweed or else they come themselves, a baby on their back or the toddlers following them.

[889] This is also the hour when the young men and women gather to do joint work in the fields of their association or to play volleyball on the playground. Meanwhile, all forest workers have returned and busily cut the last pieces of firewood, bundling them before the store clerk comes along to buy the load. Some adults sit near the playground and watch the children.

512 Work goes on until dark. Only then do families gather for the eve-
264 ning meal. During the summer this may be as late as 8 o'clock. For many families this is the only time during the day when everybody gathers in the family circle. At this time family affairs may be discussed and plans made for the next day's work or other pending matters.

512 The evening meal consists of rice, a bean paste or noodle soup, and
262 some fish. Meat is served occasionally if a goat is killed or on holidays
264 when someone has slaughtered a pig. Most families cannot afford to buy more than small portions of meat, which are fried or made into

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

soup. Nothing is wasted and leftovers are kept for the next meal. The majority of people are fast eaters, and chopsticks move from bowl to mouth quickly and deftly. Some families eat silently, others enjoy talking during the meal. 512 [262] [269] [521]

Before and after full moon, people like to go out after supper and gather in small groups by the store to talk and smoke or to visit each other. Less running back and forth is observed during dark nights. There is also a seasonal variation in that respect. On cold winter nights, or when it rains, doors are closed early, and visitors slip into the house by the side kitchen door. On warm nights all houses are open, and one can see people sitting in their living room by the light of a kerosene lamp; passers-by just call over and then go in for a chat. Guests are served tea, bits of brown sugar, and other sweets. Men get together at this time and start talking over a cup of sake. A relative or neighbor, bottle in hand, walks in and joins the party. Here and there somebody pulls a samisen out of the corner and starts singing. 512 [574] [521] [262]

Evenings are also the time for village meetings, finance group meetings, family gatherings, and other formal get-togethers. Several times during the week a light shines from the village office or the store office, where some of the village leaders meet to discuss community affairs. In the winter, household-head meetings or other general meetings are called for 8 o'clock; in the summer they do not start until 9 o'clock. In the absence of clocks, few meetings ever start on time. 512 623

The young men and women have their get-togethers at the clubhouse in Udenaha. Both sexes attend, sometimes for lectures by a village official on village affairs, sometimes for lessons in bookkeeping and the use of the abacus in business, for which one village leader dedicates his time, or for other educational purposes. Once a week they have a social evening with discussion and sometimes folk dances. On nights when no meetings are scheduled, young men gather at someone's house to smoke, drink, or sing together. If enough sake is available, parties can become noisy. Occasionally a fight or quarrel starts later in the evening after everybody has drunk steadily. Such interruptions on quiet evenings are rare and seldom occur more than once or twice a month. Loud singing at midnight or later, a group of gay men knocking on somebody's door, these are the only disturbances an early sleeper may experience if a party is held somewhere. 512 883 57 [544] [578]

By 11 o'clock mosquito nets are hung in the rooms and comforters spread on the floor. Except in the house where men gather to drink, quiet descends over the village around that time. Individuals, however, may be seen until long after midnight. Taira goes to sleep late, and although people claim that everyone gets eight hours of sleep, it 512 513

'nuka'. The latter is fed to pigs, cows, and chickens. The rice polisher keeps 445
the hulls (mumigara), but the farmers have free access to the hull pile should
they want to use it for stuffing pillows. People in Kanegusuku do not usually
pay in cash, but allow the miller to keep about six percent of the polished rice [437]
as multure.

Exchange of Services In order to lessen the amount of money used in trans- 476
actions, rural folk resort to exchange of labor as [437]
much as possible. However, the exchange is based upon fairly rigorous ideas
of reciprocity, and a person who has been helped is expected fully to return
the favor. A Nanahan man built a house with a tin roof---the only one in the
village---with the aid of his wife's brother, who was a carpenter. In return
he spent a greater number of days aiding his brother-in-law in construction
of a new house---paying back more days because of his comparative lack of
skill. People envy the carpenter, who did not finish high school, but at- [463]
tended a four-month carpentry school instead. "He now makes more than a high-
school graduate, and has four apprentices working for him."

Okinawan youths very early learn the patterns expected in cooperative [383]
labor. The custom of iimarū is one of teen-aged boys' going around in a group
to work the fields of the father of one of the boys, and moving on in turn to
the fields of the other fathers.

Some loosening of patterns of use of horse-drawn sugar mills was re- [178]
corded. For instance, during the prewar period the dominant family in Nanahan [249]
had monopolized one particularly well-located press and boiling shed. Now
they share its use with all the families living in the valley where the dom-
inant family's 'honke' is located.

In Yamada mutual assistance through exchange of labor is called yiisē.
For example, a farmer who wants to transplant rice gets help from among his
relatives. One person comes from each family that can spare one, with the
assurance that it will receive one person in return. If the labor cannot be
returned for transplanting, the people owing a day may fill in with work on a
dry field or aid in building a new house, and so forth. Thatching a roof with [452]
kaya grass is also yiisē, but it partakes somewhat of the nature of a 'moai',
or mutual loan group. People from the whole village may come for this. They
bring bundles of grass---one, two or three---and the amount is written down so
that the same amount may be returned when that person's turn comes. The sim-
ilarity to 'moai' may be only in the fact that there is a written record.

The probationary adoption of a 'yōshi' may be considered a form of [597]
exchange of services. A man without an heir may take into his house a nephew,
say the third son of his brother, with the intention of adopting him should
the boy be serious and hard-working. If the boy should not prove amenable to
the arrangement---one boy said, "I stayed with my uncle two years, but left
because I wanted to get an education"---his labor is considered to have paid
for the expense of keeping him.

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adult pleasures but actually not to be interested in them. He is given spe- 882
cial considerations as a student, a place to study, quiet, and freedom from
irksome tasks. This consideration probably varies with the position of the
student in the family and with his success as a student. Boys undoubtedly [562]
get more consideration than girls, older sons than younger sons---though if
an older son has been unable to go on to school and is helping a younger
brother go on, the younger brother may get greater consideration and feel
greater responsibility. This special treatment lasts as long as the young
person is in school or as long as the family can afford not to rely on him
for economic assistance. But even the young man in university who is working
part time to keep himself in school is expected not to be interested in the
sorts of pleasures sought by younger boys who stopped their schooling much
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Today junior high school is compulsory, but the majority of students 871
go no farther. The high schools strictly limit the number of students that
they can enroll, so that many junior high graduates who would like to go on
to high school are unable to. But whether a youth stops his schooling at 884
junior high school, high school, or later, the change in treatment and atti-
tudes is the same. He "enters society". He is now expected to do an adult's
work and contribute to the family's support. At the same time he is expected
to spend his evenings with the other young men, drinking, teasing the girls,
and staying out half the night---behavior a student would have no interest
in, at least in theory.

While a youth is in school he belongs to a students' organization 877
('gakuseikai'). After he leaves school he is expected to join the youth or- 575
ganization ('Seinenkai'). The present Youth Organization is the successor 883
of the pre-war, Japan-wide organization, less the militarism and jingoism. [178]
It is organized on a Ryukyu-wide basis, but local chapters make their own
constitutions, statements of aims, and so forth---probably with no great var-
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that anyone had the right not to join. When I asked a past president of the
organization in Yamada if everyone joined, he replied to the effect, "Oh yes,
all must join, we have a rule." And he proceeded to point out the regulation

575 in the constitution that said so. That the rules of an organization should
883 be binding on non-members as well as members evidently seemed perfectly logical to him. The aims expressed in this constitution included the fostering of morality, the industrial spirit, health, sanitation, and the use of English, supporting religion and discarding superstition. As an example of "superstition", the past president gave the belief that rats will inevitably destroy the rice plants in a field in the village unless offerings are made there. But though this man is a school teacher I doubt if he would have labelled as "superstition" any of the beliefs that actually stand in the way of some of the other aims of the organization.

Besides the Youth Organization there are other smaller local groups organized primarily for intellectual pruposes, study clubs, etc., among both students and young people out of school. Then there are also informal groups, gangs of a sort, among students as well as non-students. A young man told Lebra of the activities of a gang that he had been the ringleader of while in high school in a large town. The gang consisted of four to ten boys the same age who studied together and travelled around together. They occasionally went out into the country to talk to village girls, to be chased out by the country boys. They played jokes on other young people and even on their teachers. But the young man looks back with pride on the fact that they helped reform a fellow student who drank and gambled but has now become sober and industrious.

883 In the country the pleasure-seeking activities of the young people were formerly institutionalized in a practice known as moo-ashibii ("playing in the fields"). On pleasant evenings young unmarried men and women would semi-surreptitiously leave their parents' homes with food and drink and a 'shamisen' or two for music, and meet at some spot outside the village where they ate and drank, sang and danced. Although there was an element of secrecy to the practice, some parents evidently encouraged the young people to
[362] go and enjoy themselves. Probably young men were given more encouragement
[365] than young women. There were class differences, too; gentry families in the village of Yamada took pains to keep their daughters home, probably mainly to prevent them from forming alliances with young men. The objections that some parents had were perhaps more to the young people's appropriating food and drink for the purpose than to anything else. Young men sometimes continued to go to the moo-ashibii after marriage.

A similar institution was the yagamayaa ("rowdy house", cognate with Japanese 'yakamashii', "noisy"). It is possible that in some communities yagamayaa were once built solely for that purpose. But in two communities where information was obtained on the practice, Yamada and Henza, a yagamayaa was simply a house where the young people were able to take over a room or two for their pleasure. In Yamada it was said to be usually a house with no adult males at home; the house of a woman whose husband was working overseas functioned as a yagamayaa for a time. The young people may simply force their way in, but in this case the woman welcomed the food they brought and shared with her, so she simply moved with her children into the back room and turned the front rooms over to them. On Henza several houses where girls occupy rooms of their own are yagamayaa.

The activities at the moo-ashibii and the yagamayaa undoubtedly led 883
in many cases to secret sexual relations. Probably most young men in the 836
country first experienced sex as a result of intrigues developing through
these activities. Young women differed more in their experience. Daughters
of the gentry may have had little or none. Some girls who did go to the moo-
ashibii, it is said, went merely to hear the singing. Those who behaved
promiscuously were talked about and the reputation they gained lasted. Yet
it seems unlikely that chastity was valued very highly or that virginity was
expected at marriage. One young woman had heard in Japan how husbands some- [171]
times divorced their wives upon finding after marriage that they were not
virgins. She had never heard of this having been done on Okinawa and neither
she nor her mother could even give an Okinawan equivalent of the Japanese
word 'shojo', "virgin".

Formerly among the gentry class in Naha and Shuri it was customary 833
for a father to take his son, or have a relative or friend take him, to a 565
jurimuyaa to let him have his first sexual experience. According to Yanagida, 178
until the last decades of the last century this was part of a young man's 548
coming-of-age celebration held at the beginning of his 13th (15th?) year;
the juri who functioned in this capacity were called niisee-chuurasaa, "those
who make youths into men".[1]

At the present time the rural moo-ashibii and yagamayaa are probably 178
less important institutions than they formerly were, but they undoubtedly do 883
still exist. At present there are more occasions when young people of the
opposite sex can meet and feel that it is proper to do so. In the pre-war
counterparts of the Youth Organization and in the schools the sexes were
separate. Now they mingle more freely. The need to meet in groups in a half-
clandestine manner is not so great. Now as before real intrigues are con- [584]
ducted in secret, but something approaching an open courtship is now possible.

Marriage: Preliminaries Until recently marriages were nearly always ar- 584
ranged by the family for the good of the family. 178
The object in arranging a match was to acquire a daughter-in-law to produce [581]
heirs for and to keep house for the son. The couple themselves were con-
sulted and one of them could refuse the match if it were really disagreeable,
but more often they agreed to it. At present young people often choose for
themselves, but even so they may abandon a desired marriage if it is strongly
opposed by one or more of the parents.

In the past moo-ashibii may have led to marriage in some cases but
more often it did not, even when liaisons resulted in children. At present
young unmarried men and women associate more freely in public, and mutual at-
traction may lead to a relationship more like the Western courtship leading
to marriage. This had been especially true since the war.

Formal Ceremonies As in many societies there are more formal and 584
less formal ways of marrying. The preliminaries to the older family-arranged
marriage usually begin with a proposal by the young man's family. If the

[1] Yanagida, 1951, p. 309.

192 any kind of body dirt or excretion, as mii-kusu, "sleep" in the eyes, haa-
[578] kusu, "stains on the teeth". As in Japanese it is used also in cursing; in
[777] anger an Okinawan may say, "I'll make you eat feces." A similar phrase,
[775] kusu takkwee, "eat feces", is often spoken after someone, especially a baby, sneezes. It is explained that the custom arose when a person once overheard two ghosts plotting to steal a baby's soul (mabui), which may be easily detached by a sneeze; one of the ghosts revealed that if a living person spoke the phrase it would be sufficient to drive him away. The fact that the phrase is used in anger suggests that it is an undesirable one; that it is used in the case of sneezing probably demonstrates the greater fear of ghosts.

831 Sex Practices and attitudes related to marriage have been discussed under that heading in Chapter V. The sex drive seems to be regarded as
864 natural and not sinful. Adults playfully tweak the penises of little boys and may put little children of both sexes to sleep by prolonged patting of the buttocks. They do not tell their children about the nature of sex and expect them not to know, yet the children hear much thinly-disguised discussion of sexual relationships and, sleeping with their parents as they do, may be vaguely aware of their parents' relations. Parents expect their children to learn of sex "naturally" as they grow older. As Maloney reports[1],
[839] there is little masturbation among small children, but two of Pitts' informants reported that adolescent boys sometimes hold masturbation contests to see who can ejaculate the fastest. This practice is said to stop with the beginning of heterosexual activity.

836 Formerly adolescents, except for girls of the gentry class, seem
883 to have had some sexual freedom. The practice of meeting in the fields at
178 night for parties, moo-ashibii, often led to sexual relations. According to informants in one community syphilis was brought in late in the last century through moo-ashibii with the youths of a neighboring village. Pre-marital sexual relations are probably frequent today, though the conditions under which young people meet are changing.

837 Married women are expected to have relations with only their hus-
548 bands, but married men are, in theory, limited only by their finances. There exists in the larger towns a relatively large class of women called juri, who function as both entertainers and prostitutes. (There is no distinction, like the Japanese distinction between 'geisha' and 'jorō'.) The
[178] jurinuyaa, "juri houses", were formerly centers of social life for the men of the city. The present 'ryōtei' have much the same function. A group of men may spend an evening there eating and drinking and being entertained by dancing and singing. If one chooses to remain and "buy a woman" his wife's only objection to it can be that it costs more money.

838 Homosexuality is evidently rare, but not unknown. A Naha woman reported that a Japanese who lived in a room next to hers was in the habit of luring young boys into his room with good food and then seducing them, sometimes to their physical discomfort. She said that some of the neighbors

[1] Maloney, 1945, p. 392.

582 average age at the time of marriage, investigation into the registries re-
178 veals that the range has narrowed somewhat. Formerly some girls married at thirteen and fourteen; today this would be considered rather unusual.

[177] The Japanese administration attempted to discourage endogamous marriage practices, particularly kin-group endogamy. All agreed that the practice has declined; yet in Kanegusuku nearly 50% of all marriages were within the kin group and 66% of all marriages were within the village. An analysis of these figures on an age basis indicates the practice is declining there.

833 Sex It is said that sexual standards have changed in that there is
178 less sexual license among the young people and that they tend to have their
● 833 first relations at a later age than formerly. This is attributed in part to the moral training of the schools. Another factor seems to be the general decline of several informal village institutions which permitted young people considerable sexual freedom. One informant stated that those who continue on to high school and university generally have their first experience at a later age than those who attend only junior high school.

642 Government The Japanese introduced a modern system of government,
177 abolished the Okinawan aristocracy, and granted suffrage to all males of
641 twenty-five or more years. The American Civil Administration has attempted to liberalize laws and to make possible a greater degree of self-government.
[625] Police powers have been limited, universal suffrage has been introduced, and
[666] the number of elected officials has been increased.

To date there has been little change within the village, where
621 suffrage and office-holding remain limited to household heads. Villagers
178 acknowledge that there is greater freedom for action at the local level today; yet they are not desirous of obtaining greater self-government. They feel that it would require too much of their time and that there is too little money available to finance its operation. Village leadership is virtually unchanged. Change where it has occurred has been initiated at a higher level.

632 At the township level the electorate has been broadened to include
178 all persons, male and female, over twenty years of age. The mayor who was formerly appointed is now elected to office.

771 Religion There has been a general decline in the indigenous Okinawan
177 religion, effected by Japanese policy, wartime attrition, and the spread of
178 education. Formerly a hierarchy of priestesses extended from the kin group
793 through the community and region to the person of the king's sister, the chief priestess. The Japanese removed the top echelons of this hierarchy, but the kin group and community priestesses continued to function. World War II resulted in the death of many religious functionaries, and as the office is usually hereditary within a specific family and often limited to a particular member of that family, there has often been no replacement for the office. Lastly there is an increasing tendency among the young people, due to the influence of the school, to regard religion as superstition.

796 Many villages, especially those without religious functionaries, have
178 discontinued all village ceremonies, and in those few remarkable exceptions

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serious discussion, the other for purely social purposes. The social meet-
ings feature music played on the 'shamisen', dancing, and 'awamori'. Among
other serious business, in some communities the Youth Organization engages
in clean-up or repair projects and hires itself out for farm labor. Where
it receives pay, the funds probably generally go toward the expense of the
social meetings.

The Youth Organization takes young people of both sexes, but there
are usually more men, since women drop out at marriage while men may remain
in after marriage if they choose to, until 30, according to one rule. In
the country, membership after finishing school is represented as compulsory. [184]
In the city, however, the compulsion is lacking and many who are not inter-
ested in joining manage to stay out. But in the country few would suggest
that anyone had the right not to join. When I asked a past president of the
organization in Yamada if everyone joined, he replied to the effect, "Oh yes,
all must join, we have a rule." And he proceeded to point out the regulation

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

During the primary and junior high school years, no exacting demands are made at home. Young girls after school strap the baby on their back and go out to play, or they may fetch water from the well, pond, or faucet, carrying it home in buckets hanging from a pole resting on their shoulders, or they may help in preparing the evening meal. Younger boys, 12 and over, help with feeding the pigs or run errands; but they have more leisure than the girls. There is night study at home, including practice on the abacus and reading to which the parents listen, correcting the errors. Formal education, for a large majority, ends with the completion of junior high school. 857 883 [482] [871]

As children grow older, they continue in off hours to help around the home, help which follows the lines of the male and female division of labor of adulthood. This is not a strict division, as there are many areas in which both sexes do common chores. In the agricultural villages, girls continue to help around the home, carry water, and hoe in the sweet potato patches. In the fishing village, they also carry water, help with the laundry, and start helping the older women in selling and distributing fish. The boys work more in the paddies. In the fishing village, they may make trips to the sea, but as a rule, this does not begin until later. [462]

For those who go to senior high school, there is a noticeable change from the earlier school experience. They enter at about 14 or 15 and remain in high school 3 years. It is a period of growing maturity, and the older they get the shyer they seem to become. Girl's hair is allowed to grow longer, perhaps to neck or shoulder length, less often in long braids, and the bangs remain. A big change takes place in the hair styles of the boys. The close clipped haircut is abandoned and the hair is allowed to grow long. Often it is not cut at all on the top, so that in two or three years, it has acquired considerable length. 873 856 302

The child who leaves school at the end of primary or junior high school is more quickly absorbed in the daily work life and traditional occupations of the family. The senior high school student has teaching, clerking, translating, or other white collar work in mind. The boy who leaves school earlier might drive a truck or a horse cart, or adopt the occupation of his father. This is likely to be a time killing period for those young men who live in the fishing village or whose families lack land. 463

6

Early Adulthood and the Engagement

In early adulthood and before marriage, a son of the house might be given a separate room or a small outlying shed which he fixes up for himself. The young girls, more and more, assume full time duties in the home, relieving the mother. Often the mother and her young daughter work together in the fields. These mature young girls also may take over the care of younger children. Young men from 17 on are 885 868

885 well accustomed to the routine of the occupation they will follow.
868 The young fisherman has gone to sea for his beginning lessons. The young farmer knows most of the skills of planting and cultivating. The young stone worker, requiring little training to begin, is already at work.

885 Young men maintain close relationships with their families prior
593 to marriage. In the villages studied, there is little movement to the larger towns. Since the war young men or women have found employ-
[864] ment, at various times, in government and military government offices as account clerks, maids, translators, clerks at post exchanges, officer's clubs, restaurants, bars, and the like. But there were few instances in these villages.

A young man does not leave the village ordinarily, nor does he rent separate living quarters. These continuing family ties up to marriage may account for the boyishness and lack of maturity noticeable in so many young men in the age group from 17 to 25. The young school teacher, the truck driver, fisherman, or farmer may turn over part of his earnings to the parents. In rural Okinawa, residence in the home and attachment to the family last well into the years of younger maturity. This does not mean that there are no personal dissatisfactions with their situation.

834 There are few outward signs of personal attraction among young men and women during the teens and the years before marriage. In public, boys and young men of the same age group usually are seen together. This is true of the girls. Clandestine meetings among young men and young women take place. A mutual attraction is often communicated by a young go-between trusted by both. This secrecy does not come about from a desire to conceal the attraction, but because both parties are shy (hazukashii). This public reticence, so old in
[178] Oriental cultures, is gradually breaking down. It is a convention, based on public repression of one's feelings. This does not mean that people dislike personal and physical contact and lack demonstrativeness.
[150] Okinawans are emotional and demonstrative, and do not avoid physical contact, as anyone who has seen them at their parties has discovered.[16]

But young men and young women may meet quite openly. A young man in his early twenties may visit a girl's house, stay all day with her and her parents, and part of the time be alone with her. The young,

16 It is too early to tell the effect of ideas of sex equality on rural Okinawan society. That the supposed high position of the American woman has made an impression on many rural Okinawan women there can be no doubt. The influence of young American soldiers and sailors, their catering and thoughtfulness toward Okinawan girls to whom they
[177] are deeply attracted has spread beyond the range of those with the immediate experience. The soldiers are responsible for the adoption
[832] of the word, "honey." Okinawan boys use it in the same sense as Americans: as any very attractive girl, or as a girl deeply loved personally.

worthy that so few women marry before they are twenty and that many marry in their middle and later twenties. For those whose formal education ends at the age of 15 there may, therefore, be an interval of five to ten years until matrimony.* 582

One might ask whether sibling position affects marriage age, either because first-born must marry first or because of the inheritance pattern, young sons seldom inheriting either a house or land. The record of 59 marriages in central Taira shows no clear pattern in this respect; oldest sons and daughters do not seem to marry earlier more frequently than those in lower ordinal positions. A more plausible explanation for late marriage is that young men tend to spend some time after school outside the community and, prior to the war, even outside the country. The rationale for a period abroad is in part economic, but "wanderlust" or curiosity undoubtedly contribute. Furthermore, there is no doubt that the period between the end of school and marriage is an extremely enjoyable one, for now work and duties are mixed with comradeship and amusements in contrast to the new duties and responsibilities one assumes with marriage and children. This is especially true for women. [428] 582 885

The most striking fact concerning Taira marriages is that among the total of 59 unions, 18 wives were older than their husbands. Marriage records from the other parts of Taira reveal the same age discrepancy. In comparison with Western countries, and what we know of most other societies, this discrepancy is unusual. Similar findings were suggested from studies in Japan. Here, however, the explanation seems to be that such marriages tend to occur between a first son and a woman who is older than he because a mature woman is desired to take over responsibilities as an oldest son's wife. In Taira only nine (one half) of the age reversals involve marriages of oldest sons. Since there are 29 first-born males included in the sample of 59, the proportion of age reversal marriages of oldest sons is no greater 582 593

* There were no dependable data to indicate whether the present trend toward a relatively late marriage represents a change from a previous pattern. Informants' statements suggest that marriages took place at an earlier age in past times, perhaps prior to the turn of the century. Other references to marriage in Okinawa would support this information. The *Civil Affairs Handbook, Ryukyu Islands*, Office of the Chief of Naval Operations, 1944, states that: "The usual age of marriage as reported in 1925 was 18 or 19 for men, 17 or 18 for women. An analysis of the marriage statistics for 1934, however, indicates that the average age at marriage was about four years older. In 1937, the average was reported as 27 years for men and 24 for women" (page 64). The rapid increase in age between 1925 and 1937 suggested by this source can only be accepted with reservations. 582 178 [113]

• 885
562 Adult Responsibility For women responsibilities come early. Mothers
[355] give their daughters tasks while their sons play. At marriage a woman enters her husband's household and immediately assumes adult burdens that she may
[887] not put down until old age. As a grandmother she may still care for grandchildren while her husband has left most of his responsibilities to his sons. She may acquire ritual responsibilities toward her husband's family which can only increase with time.

For a man responsibilities come gradually. Childhood is a time for
[355] play---except for the future scholar, or in cases of extreme poverty. Youth is a time when responsibilities may be postponed---except where an oldest son has been orphaned. Even after marriage a young man, though he may have to work hard, is not expected to remain sober and stay home nights. The peak of a man's responsibility comes with full maturity, when he has sons himself and when his father is beginning to age. This peak may rise to greater heights than that of his wife and his labor may be harder and make greater demands on
[887] his strength and health. But again in old age he may put his burden down and he is expected to seek those pleasures that he can still enjoy.

562 Women's lives may be duller but they are generally longer. And in old
888 age a woman has the compensation of greater freedom than she has ever had before. Old women often speak with a frankness that is embarrassing to young people of either sex. Old women are also the repositories of knowledge of the ancestors and of the supernatural and thus become greatly respected and
[74] influential. Both the religious functionaries (kaminchu) of the kinship group
[156] and the seeresses or mediums (yute) consulted on numerous occasions are usually women. An old man, unless he is a scholar or a diviner (sanjinsoo) has less chance of attaining fame.

But old men, as well as old women, may become tyrants. One Yamada family consisted of an old couple and their three grandchildren, the oldest a boy of twenty. This boy was registered as the head of the family, while the old man, according to the register, had retired; but when the boy had the opportunity to make a little money, which he needed for clothes, the old man took it for tobacco. On the other hand he permitted the youths of the neighborhood to hold parties in his house---hoping, one suspects, to help consume the refreshments---something a middle-aged parent might not have tolerated.

888 Formal Recognition of Old Age A man may officially retire , that is,
he may transfer house headship in the register to a son or grandson, but as I have just indicated this may not prevent him from actually holding the family
888 purse strings. For the community formal recognition of old age comes with the
527 celebration of "year days" (tushibii). These are held on the anniversaries of the "birth year" of an old person. A person's birth year is the year, in the cycle of twelve, in which he was born. Since the reckoning of age is a matter of counting the years during which one has lived, the year of birth counts as one and so when the cycle of twelve has passed once and the year is again the birth year, a person's years are thirteen. Each time a person's birth year recurs it marks a significant point in his life. These recurrences are celebrated not on the anniversary of the day of birth but on the first day of the cycle that corresponds to the year, after Lunar New Year's. Thus 1954 was

[Kochinda-son]

162 This is true in 32 cases, or 9.54% of the households in this category con-
592 taining more than one person. Another reason is that of the illegitimate children born to women household heads, more boy babies are registered as
[841] legal children by their fathers than is the case with girl babies. Of the illegitimates living in households headed by women, 19 were female, 11 were male, and an additional seven were in the class "sex unrecorded". If the same proportion are girls as is true of "common law children", this would indicate a surplus of illegitimate females.[1]

Additional Three other categories relating to household head status were analyzed. The data were cross-filed from the above categories. There were sixty-seven cases of father or grandfather not functioning as household head, but living. Or in other words, retirement of males. Persons under twenty-one years of age functioning as household heads were counted, as were household heads living alone.

162 1. Retirement: In the category of retired fathers or grandfathers,
592 we find that in 59 of the 67 cases retirement was in favor of a first son. In seven cases retirement was in favor of a grandchild first son, and in
886 one instance in favor of a son's wife. The ages of the retired oldsters ran from 51 to 87, with 33 of the 67 instances being between the ages of 60 to 70 inclusive. The median age was 65, and the average age was roughly 66.5.

162 2. Living Alone: In the second additional category, household heads
592 living alone, we find 166 cases. Thirty of these cases, or 16%, were orphans
597 under twenty-one years of age. Twenty-two of these were male and eight female, thus showing a greater tendency for female orphans to be adopted. Male orphans are not often adopted, because relatives want them to grow up to be the heads of their deceased fathers' households.

162 With regard to division by sex, 89 were males. Of these, 21, or
592 26%, were born before 1900. Of the 77 females, 39 (51%) were born before 1900, thus giving another instance of the longevity of women.

3. Minors: In the third supplementary category of minor household heads, the mother was living in 79 instances and deceased in 59 instances. One father and four grandfathers were still living, but retired. In all these five cases the mother was also still living. There was an overwhelming tendency for the first son to be household head, followed by second sons and first daughters equally. The full range is shown below:

Table VI

First Sons	110	Fifth Sons	1
Second Sons	11	Second Daughters	1
First Daughters	11	Common Law (boy)	1
Third Sons	5	Illegitimate (girl)	1
Fourth Sons	[illegible]	Adopted Son[2]	1
Sons, Unknown Birth Order	2		
Total			148

1 Refer to "Common Law Children---Numbers", p. 112.

2 This boy's birth order was second son in his family of orientation.

the thatch is old and the pine siding obviously has replaced the diagonal wattle, but in other essentials it is a simple peasant hut built in rural Okinawa for generations. 342

(1) The upright supporting poles for the frame of the rectangular house are set on flat stones. In Minatogawa, where they are quarried, they are especially cut for this purpose. The uprights are set about six feet long, and 3 1/2 inches in diameter. The poles are set so that there are four on the sides, six in front and rear, the end poles serving a dual purpose. (Fig. 1) 342 335

(2) On the front and back, cross poles, or tie beams to support the roof are nailed on to the cut end of the upright. The poles on the sides are fastened by making a simple groove the diameter of the pole. (Fig. 2)

(3) With the frame completed, the box like structure is ready for the ridge pole and its supports. These uprights are longer, perhaps 9 or 10 feet, and provide the slant of the simple gabled roof. They are also set on stones, but inside the area inclosed by the upright supporting poles. The ridgepole is now nailed to the ends of the center posts.

(4) The problem now is to provide a frame on the slanting roof for rods of miscanthus which in turn support the thatch. For this purpose, smaller poles, like rafters, run from the peak of the roof to project over the eaves. (Fig. 3)

(5) These rafter poles, set about one foot apart, jut out over the eaves on the front and back of the house about 1 1/2 feet. The ends of these small rafter poles are joined together with a longer horizontal pole. This horizontal pole is nailed on top of the ends. (Fig. 4) These poles may not be long enough for a whole side. They are rough, often crooked. If they are not long enough, the ends of two poles may be lashed together with rope.

(6) These rafter poles are not fitted or grooved into the ridge pole. Neither are the ends mitred. Instead the poles' ends alternate with one another. (Fig. 5)

(7) Horizontal poles are then laid across the rafter poles and nailed down. These brace the structure and divide the roof into a series of rectangles.

(8) The frame of the house is now completed and it is ready for the roofing and the siding. To help in nailing the rafter poles, women prepare a braid of rice straw or miscanthus and nails are inserted into the loops of the braids. The braid is handed up to the workman who puts it between his teeth, providing a continuing source of nails, as he tacks down the poles of the roof. Old men and old women prepare the nail braid. [283] [887]

596 live with his wife at the home of his parents, that the father will
[887] formally retire from active management of his property--but not from physical labor--at the age of 60, that both parents will continue living with their eldest son, the daughter-in-law, and the grandchildren, and that the second and any succeeding sons, when they reach marriageable age, will marry, and at this time--if it has not been done before--the father or the eldest son will provide a house site and some land, permitting the establishment of a branch family. The
[591] first and succeeding daughters will marry first or other sons of other families, leave their parents' home and accept a position in the main or in a branch family of the husband's house.

613 596 The parallelism in structure between the extended family and its member families and the individual family with its branch families established by sons other than the first can be seen in the following diagram:

All of the families, except those designated with the numeral 1, are branch families of the extended family. Family #7, is a branch family of a branch family. Family #5 (itself a branch) is the main family of Family #7 as far as the immediate descendants in Family #7 are concerned.

In the following illustration, the second son has established a branch family of Family #7, while the head's own son will inherit the main house, leaving his second son to establish a branch. Family #7 is a branch of a branch, but with relation to succeeding houses in the direct line, it is a main family.

fortune teller. The purpose of this visit is to discover who would be a good adopting parent. The fortune teller advises the parents to select a person born under the same year sign as the child. These year signs roughly correspond to the signs of the zodiac. The twelve signs with their Japanese equivalents are: rat (ne), ox (ushi), tiger (tora), hare or rabbit (u), dragon (tatsu), snake (mi), horse (uma), sheep hitsuji), monkey (saru), bird (tori), dog (inu), and hog or boar (i). The year 1951 was the year of the hare; 1952 is the year of the dragon (tatsudoki).

The adopting or "growing up" parent is older, in multiples of 12, than the child. After consulting almanacs and other materials, the fortune teller advises the parents to find a person in the village born under the same year sign as the child. Prospective adopting parents are then sought out and the matter is discussed with them. Both parents may do this, but most often the discussions are carried on by the mother. When the selection is made, the child is "given" to the adopting parent, and there are prayers before the Buddhist god shelf in the home of the adopting parent.

Actually the child continues to live with its own parents, but makes frequent visits to the home of the adopting parent. There are no stated intervals at which these visits are made, except for New Years and O-Bon. The adopting parent may on these visits give food and presents to the child.

The arrangement thus seems to be a form of sponsorship and guardianship without special responsibilities on the part of the adopting parent, to bring good health and long life to the child. It has only slight resemblances to the godfather and godmother in Christian countries who sponsor a child at his baptism and theoretically at least undertake to be responsible for his Christian training. But the sponsorship and guardianship features are somewhat similar.

Adoption of this type may be done in Okinawa by either sex. Generally old women are the favorites and they may have many such adopted children. But old or older men may also assume this obligation. This form of "growing up" adoption existed in all the villages studied in substantially the same form.

8

The Household Order Naming System

Families in a village have, in addition to their own surnames, secondary names by which individual families are known. This secondary naming system is a device to distinguish related families with the same surname from one another.

The secondary naming system is known as "the household order," or yagō in Japanese. To introduce this discussion, it might be well to

311 243 be lowered. If the rainfall is unusually low, the estimated yields may even be cut in half. Grade differences are also shown by the Oushichan tax table on rice land:

[651]

Class	Rate in Yen (per tsubo)
1	37
2	34
3	31
4	28
5	25
6	22
7	19

311 The grading of dry crop land is not so simple because various crops can be grown and there are difficulties in making equivalences of yields. The grading is more subjective and vague, with gradations based on the judgment of the land committee. It might seem that the grades of dry crop land based on subjective judgment would be difficult to agree upon. This is not the case. Farmers who have lived in the village all their lives, and who as children remembered the experience of their fathers, know their own and their neighbors' land well. Representatives from the village who suggest the grades are chosen by the farmers for their honesty, skill in agriculture, and knowledge of the land.

311 134 133 Depth of the soil, flatness, degree of stoniness and accessibility are the most important criteria. The first three of these follow naturally from conditions widespread in Okinawa. There often is very little topsoil. One can observe cuts in roads or sharp declivities which show soils only an inch or two deep before meeting the consolidated or unconsolidated rock below. The hilly and mountainous nature of the island enforces cultivation on slopes, summits, and rolling hills. Stoniness, whether large boulders or small pebbles or both is common. One of the occupations of the old in Minatogawa and Nagamo is to convert stony to arable land by tediously picking up the stones and throwing them into piles for subsequent sale in road building. But often the boulders are so large that cultivation must curve around them. These conditions can be seen to good advantage in Nagamo. In Hanashiro, the soils are flatter, less stony, and deeper. Matsuda has wide areas of poor shallow and stony soils. First class hatake land, then, is flat, deep, with few or no stones, and suitable either for sugar or the sweet potato and the various common vegetables.

[887] [241]

311 With this standard of first class hatake land, the other grades are judged, mostly by inspection and through consultation and agreement by the committee. In the Oushichan township, there are ten such grades of hatake land, the tenth grade being so poor that it is virtually genya land. In dry crop land, probably the most important

One of these, the shimba (nnihija in Okinawan) is essentially a concave forked piece of metal set on a frame, which in turn rests on four props set up in sawbuck fashion. The rice sheaves are drawn through the teeth, causing the kernels to drop below. The sawbuck may be any desired height. Usually the top of the fork is waist level. The only significance of the shimba today is that it provides diversion and occupation for the old women, many of whom are too weak or too unsteady to operate the treadle thresher. The same is true of an even simpler device for threshing. Two short pieces of bamboo, or any piece of round wood, a little longer and with a slightly greater diameter than a pair of chopsticks, are loosely tied together on one end with straw or a strong blade of grass. The tied ends of the two sticks are held in the right hand, leaving the free ends to strip off the rice kernels from the straw. This labor is done by very old women. Age is no deterrent to work as long as people are able to get around. But, as in the south, the treadle thresher is universally used. This device was widely distributed by the Japanese agricultural specialists of the government throughout the empire in the years immediately before the war. In Matsuda, it is also thought to be about 15 years since its introduction.

243 407 [887] [177]

As in Japan, from which the terms were borrowed, rice in various stages of cultivation and processing is known by different names. Rice in the hull is momei; unpolished rice is genmai, and polished rice is hakumai. Rice stalks are known as wara.

824 192

Hulling and polishing rice by machinery are also new in Okinawan villages. In Hanashiro, those machines driven by an open belt are about ten years old. A hand mill, the shiriushi, to be described shortly, was in general use for polishing rice up to 1940.

256

At present everyone, no matter how poor, pays for hulling and polishing of his rice. The mill owner in Hanashiro estimated that the machinery processed in ten minutes the amount of rice that formerly took a day to hull and polish by hand. Poor families do not try to effect savings by hand work. They pay the fee, sell the polished rice, and eat sweet potatoes.

[511] [262]

Unpolished rice is disliked and is never eaten. It is described as hard and bitter in taste. The machinery in a rice mill varies from place to place in quality and modernity. The mill (seimaisho) has two machines: a hulling machine (momitsuriki) and a polishing machine (seimaiki). One simple type of a hulling machine is an endless chain type of mechanism. The rice is put in little buckets on the chain which carry it to rubber layers. As the rice is forced through the layers, the hulls are cracked and pinched off, and are then blown out on a pile in back. After being hulled, the rice goes through the shaft of the milling machine. The shaft housing is grooved. As the shaft revolves, it polishes the rice which is going through it. The shaft also gets heated, and this makes the polishing easier. In the older machine in Hanashiro, the rice was put through the shaft ten times

824 The most common of the Hanashiro trees are (1) the banyan or gajimaru, or yōsu. This tree is a common sight with its long roots growing around and through the stone fences. The tree with [731] its roots bracing the stone fences is excellent typhoon protection for the village. (2) The usuku (Japanese scientific name, the akou) resembles the gajimaru in appearance and serves the same purpose. The fukugi (Garcinia spicata Hook) and an occasional cycad are common windbreaks. These trees are almost invariably in combina- [417] tion with stone fences, made of blocks, or with fences made of loose stones which have settled and been bound together by small plant roots. Village typhoon protection is a simple but effective combination of stone, shrubs, and trees. There is also an occasional kuroki [534] (kurchi in Okinawan), from whose trunk the samisen, the stringed musical instrument, is made, and the palm (shuro).

There are wild plants in each of the areas but their importance has also declined. Among these is the pandanus (the adan, Japanese scientific name, the takonoki). This plant was plentiful before the war, but is now scarce except in the mountain area. It can occasionally be seen in genya land or in small clumps on an outcrop. The blades of the pandanus are long and hard, with a row of spines down both sides of the blade. It has had several uses. Formerly it was the common material for making slippers (zori), hats, cigarette cases, and hand- [463] bags. These home industries have all but disappeared, but old people [887] occasionally do a little. In preparing the pandanus blades for use, the thorns are removed and several strips are made. These are then boiled, dried, and smoothed out. Then they are woven into the desired pattern. A first class pandanus blade is about 5 feet long. In the [782] celebration of O-Bon, the fruit of the pandanus may be offered as food to the ancestors.

Another plant occasionally used is the getto, known also in Okinawa as sannin or muchigasa. Its chief use is in the festival of the 8th day of the 12th lunar month. At this time, rice cakes (mochi) are wrapped up in its long and wide and flexible fibres. These wrappings, often made by children, are hung from the ceiling or from the wall. The stem of this plant was much used in the past for rope.

874 The nigana (njana in Okinawan, Ixeris dentata Nakai) is still 262 used in this area as a food and medicine. It has an exceedingly bitter 757 root, about 1/8 of an inch in diameter in a mature plant. The root is put in hot water, and the liquid drunk as a stomach medicine. The leaves, not so bitter as the root, have a sour, slightly bitter taste. They are often served with the white cuttlefish (shiroi-ikka).

The Ōbako (known in Okinawan as the hirawakusa or hirawagusa, Plantago Asiatica L, "Japanese ribwort") is used as a medicine and as a food. When vegetables are scarce, it is eaten as a green. As a medicine, the leaf is heated over a fire and the hot leaf is then pressed over a swelling.

for eggs, which are reserved more for sale than as a food, though this varies with the well-being of the family. 235 262

10

Conclusion

The agricultural village, with its sweet potatoes, rice, soybeans and cane, its domestic animals, and its dependence on wild grasses illustrates the complex relationships between man and the land, bound together by the family system. The pattern of land ownership, a product of past land tenure, and inheritance, has been created by the family system. The land everywhere bears these traces of the work of man. Not even the barren mountain tops are exempt from his activities, for these supply the fresh grasses for his animals, grass for his roofs and for fertilizer, odd brush for his fires, stones for his fences and boundary ridges. The scarcity of land, the ownership of small scattered plots have induced a local care, through traditional conservation practices and fertilization and crop rotation to maintain a continued economic base for the future of the main and the branch families. 182

Within the family system, there is a tendency toward the persistence of the same occupation from generation to generation. Agriculture has the widest range of possibilities. The extremely old and the extremely young can engage in it. There is a place for the 80 year old grandmother cutting sweet potato tops, and for the nine year old boy to help in weeding the rice paddy. Agriculture demands no retirement from work as long as one has physical strength. Agriculture may readily become a secondary occupation. A stonecutter or a fisherman can tend his land in leisure hours or in off season. The reverse is not nearly so common. Only with difficulty can the farmer acquire the skills and tolerances demanded of a fisherman. It is an occupation known to all, for by maturity a storehouse of information has already been filled, almost unconsciously, by watching and doing. [463] [887] [857]

60% of the proceeds. The trees thus sold are all cut down. After clearcutting, the area is left to natural reseeding. About twenty years hence, the clearing will again be sufficiently forested to permit repetition of the same procedure. This follows an established Japanese pre-war practice. This was known as the five year period share (gonenkanbun). The forest is divided into subdivisions, each 110 chō in area. (A chō is 2.45 acres). These 110 chō plots are in turn subdivided into five parcels of twenty-two chō each. Each year one of these five subdivisions may be cleared. 313 [804]

Throughout the forest, divided up into these plots, there may be a five year cycle of cutting, but not all the plots are available every year. If this were so, the forest could be cut over in five years. The system is planned so that there will always be parcels being cleared, those in various stages of regrowth, and mature stands. During and after the war, this practice broke down in favor of uncontrolled cutting.

If a family has little cash, a villager may pay his taxes in part by cutting wood. The village office pays Y4 for a bundle of firewood (late 1951), Y2 going to the villager as a cash payment, and Y2 being applied to his taxes for the year. [651]

The farmer makes frequent excursions to the mountains to obtain firewood or poles to make improvements in the compound, such as repairing a tool or food shed. Men do this work, especially when the distances are far, but the participation of women is by no means exceptional. Along the roads of northern Okinawa, one can frequently see old women walking down from the mountains carrying bundles of firewood on heavy poles. Much of the wood is hand carried from the mountains; if the farmer has a horse and cart or a truck, the wood is carried to a convenient road for loading and transport. [462] [482] [887] [494]

Charcoal is manufactured in the forest area. In Okinawa charcoal has many uses, mainly for heating and cooking, and for charcoal sticks (senko). Lumps of charcoal are placed in braziers and the sticks are used as touchwood in place of matches and in ceremonial and religious observances. Charcoal containers (tangu) are often constructed on the spot. These are round or box-shaped and made out of the dwarf bamboo. 314 [372] [796] [415]

Charcoal kilns are privately owned. They are of the simplest sort. The kiln may be covered with a rude housing, built up by poles and a thatch roof. A mound of large boulders and dirt is built with an opening on the dirt floor running the length of the firing area. Poles which have been stripped and cut in various lengths, from five to nine feet, are shoved in the opening and moved forward as they burn. The smoke comes out the back.

Forest maintenance and improvement is, in part, a result of community endeavor. With some exceptions, each person in the village from 16 to 60 participates one day a year in forest improvement (sōrin).[8] The participants are boys past school age, unmarried girls, and all men up to the age of 60. These people work without personal remunera- 313 496

[8] The usual meaning of sōrin is afforestation or reforestation. In Matsuda it is used in the sense of care and improvement of the forest.

mother, for example, fed her child rice gruel (okayū) at eight months and at the age of one year the child began eating sweet potatoes. By the time the child is ready to walk and play, he often carries with him a piece of sweet potato, and, in season, a piece of sugar cane. 853 262

A party is held on the first birthday anniversary of the child. This is more elaborate than the one which honored his birth. Birthdays are not celebrated each year. After the first anniversary, the next are on the 13th, 25th, 37th, 49th, and 61st birthdays, that is, at twelve year intervals. 852 527

The party for the first birthday of a child is particularly tender and affectionate. At one year, he can walk or stumble, and answer or smile to the calls of his parents and grandparents. He can pick up things, throw them, and make his presence felt. The exhibition of these skills becomes part of the celebration. It is customary to invite both relatives and friends, who bring a small money present, from ¥20 which is usual to ¥100 which is uncommon. [856]

During the party, the child is given several symbolic gifts. These are placed on a low table in the middle of the room which the child can easily walk to and reach. Usually the gifts are a book, a fountain pen (or a writing brush, fude), an abacus (soroban), and a stack of paper money. These symbolize the wish that the child will become proficient in learning, writing, counting and mathematics, and will become rich. The child is eagerly watched as he unsteadily toddles to the table to see which article he picks up first. While the act is not taken seriously, the article which the child picks up first is supposed to indicate the field of endeavor in which he will be most fortunate. 527 852 431 [212] [802] [554]

These parties, small or large, include men, women, and children, but the majority of the guests usually are men. After the child has gone to bed, the party continues. In more formal and larger parties, the guests first come up to the father, go on their knees, bow, and make a short speech of congratulation. Sometimes these speeches sound as if they are prepared beforehand, other times as if they are spoken spontaneously. There is an exchange of sake between the father and his guest, both sipping from the same cup, the usual custom. The mother and the female relatives during this time are in the kitchen preparing the food. 852 527 [576] [537]

Women sit by themselves. This is true of all celebrations when the sexes are together. Women do not drink. (In a similar party near Hatsuda, the old women--usually over 60--drank a little). The jolly old women also love to dance solos in the traditional style. They dance with grace and vigor. The evening progresses without any planned entertainment. There is talking and drinking, singing, and samisen playing. Men, with a repertoire of Okinawan songs, sing in [562] [535] [887] [533]

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

The Division of Labor

In all the villages there is a division of labor between the sexes. There are, however, wide areas in which men and women do the same work. In Matsuda and Hanashiro, the usual tasks of the women were the care of the children, maintaining the house and its surroundings, excluding heavy work or repairs, laundering, making foods like bean curd and bean paste, taking rice to the mill, hoeing sweet potatoes and gathering tops for the pigs. 462

Men, in the main, plant and transplant rice, hoe, plow, and harrow the rice field, cut the rice, make house and compound repairs, and help others in housebuilding. Men carry the main burden of agriculture, though women frequently give a great deal of help. In Matsuda, men get firewood from the mountains. Wood and other fuel from nearby spots are gathered by women. Both men and women may take care of pigs, or operate the rice treadle thresher. Daily feeding of the pigs and the smashing of sweet potatoes in a stone mortar with a long wooden pestle is usually the work of women.

The small shops are generally operated by women. Men who do so are likely to be in poor health or disabled for heavy work. Weaving grasses and rushes for rugs or baskets is done by men. If the former has a surplus, the wife generally sells it. The produce for sale is carried in baskets on the head. (Head carrying is more common in the southern villages than in Matsuda). [482]

This division of labor between the sexes becomes indistinct among the old. Old men and women, if able, work at some task until they die. In the south, they may often be seen gathering grass on the mountain sides. The very old do many of the tasks of their prime, but they neither work so long or so hard. This is especially true in agriculture. 887

In the fishing village, a division of labor also takes place. The men are responsible for catching fish and for maintaining the boats and the gear, the women for the sale and distribution of the fish. The old fisherman contents himself with repairs and general maintenance; the old stonecutter does the chipping and the bevelling. 462

Grandmothers assume the care and supervision of older children, while the mother is preoccupied with the baby. The old women may also do cooking, house cleaning, laundering and feed the pigs. Care of pigs is often an incidental chore in a woman's daily routine. [887]

ment in these arts, in my opinion, is not due to absence of feeling and talent, but to conditions unfavorable to the development of ability beyond the stage of extemporaneous entertainment or for simple practical ends. 181

14

Activities of Old Age

In old age there is no distinct break with the activities experienced from childhood. Around the age of 55 a man or a woman is considered old. He or she has left the middle age, and henceforth may be called grandfather or grandmother. 888

A man legally retires at sixty. But this is retirement from house headship not from active work. The retired father remains in the background but he is respected and consulted. Men and women in their fifties, sixties, and seventies work much more leisurely and sporadically at their tasks, if they can. In the eighties, if they are still able, they confine themselves to strolls throughout the village. There are afternoon naps. The old go to bed very early. But they do not, if physically able, lose contact with the life around them. 887

This lack of retirement from active life, among the old, is most pronounced in agricultural villages because there are so many simple and easy chores to be done. In non-agricultural occupations, the opportunities for continuing work in old age are not so great. But there are compromises. In Hinatogawa, the old men often repair the fishing nets, help take care of the boats, dry fish, and cut grasses. The old stonecutter does light chipping and bevelling. The old women may gather rocks.

There is no formal legal retirement for a woman, unless she is the head of a house. One of the striking activities of old women is their frequent travelling on buses. They may be merely visiting a nearby village, or they may have a basket of fish, vegetables, eggs, or perhaps a chicken to sell. They add humor and gayety to a bus journey. An old woman does not hesitate to tell a young person politely but authoritatively to give her a seat or to ask the passengers to make way for her. Old women make humorous comments, and talk freely to total strangers. Okinawans of all ages are courteous to the old and to women with children and readily give up their seats, even on a long bus journey. 888 887

In these villages, one cannot fail to notice the good humor, the interest in life, and the honored place of the old. It is not uncommon for a young man or a young woman from another village, in leisure hours, to visit an old person: a grandparent, an uncle or an aunt, the midwife who attended at his birth, his "growing up" parent, or the elderly relative of one of his friends. These visits are not mere formalities, and they may sit talking an hour or two over tea. Old men and women 888

an empty oxygen bottle with a wooden mallet to mark the time. The noon bell tells people in the fields and mountains that it is time for the midday meal and helps those who have a clock to compare the time. The evening bell indicates that it is time to end the day. Schoolchildren do not need a clock, since they get up early in the morning and go to school soon after, knowing that they are probably early. For most adults, daylight and sun position are enough to tell the approximate hour of the day. Some take arrival and departure of the bus, four times a day, as a point of orientation. 805 512 [464]

Old women are the first to rise in the morning. Long before dawn during the winter, or with the first light of the summer day, they get up and start a fire to boil sweet potatoes and heat the soybean soup. Blue smoke rising through the thatched roof into the early morning sky indicates that life in the village has begun. Children soon awake. The door is pushed open and a sleepy child appears to urinate off the edge of the house. Men are the last to rise. Considering the effect of the sake which they may have consumed on the preceding evening, it is remarkable that they are able to wake up so soon. By 6:30 the sleepiest person has risen. 512 [887] [252] [514]

The addition of outer clothes to the underclothing in which most people sleep is simple. Cold water splashed over the face and a quick turn at the toothbrush is all the toilet needed to begin a new day. [513] [515]

The task of folding comforters and taking down the mosquito net falls to one of the older children or to the mother. Older children and young girls help to carry water from the tank, the first task that has to be done after getting up. After breakfast, women feed the pigs. By about 7 o'clock everybody is ready for work. On a good day people leave for the mountains or start toward their fields—schoolchildren are on their way, too. [857] [462]

By 8 o'clock, except during very poor weather, the village is left to the old people and young children. Little boys and girls hang around, waiting for kindergarten to start at 9 o'clock. Play begins for them after they leave the house in the morning and does not end until evening. [855] [872]

For men and women, the routine of work in fields and forests is prescribed by seasonal activities which demand their special attention, but there are daily chores, such as digging potatoes, picking vegetables, and collecting feed for the animals and firewood for cooking. Only a few men who go to the mountains, taking their midday meal along, are away all day. The rest come and go during the day from the rice paddies, potato fields, or forests, so that there is repeated contact between children and their parents. A young child, even if left in the 512 461 [855]

462 heavy sods in the rice paddy; nevertheless, women and younger girls
[241] often do this work along with the men and boys if time runs short. There are some women who prepare their farm land without the help of their husbands.

[313] In mountain work, women produce almost as much as men except that they do not handle the large logs. Even pregnant women make
[843] three or four daily mountain trips, sometimes up until the day of childbirth. Only the mode of carrying wood, like any load, differs for
[482] the sexes: a man uses a carrying stick supported on his shoulder, with two bundles attached to each end; a woman carries bundles on her back, tied and held in place by a tump line tied over her forehead. Women can carry loads of 100 to 120 pounds in this manner.

[312] Men seldom carry water from the tank or faucet to the house; this is considered women's work, although younger boys are expected to
241 help at times. Work in the potato fields is mainly women's respon-
462 sibility. Their hands are also preferred in rice transplanting, where dexterity is needed in pulling out the tender shoots from the seed bed and replanting them in straight rows at measured intervals. Occasionally a young man helps, and boys sometimes try to work along with their sisters when they learn transplanting. Both men and women sow
462 the seed beds. In special activities, such as house building, a more dis-
[342] tinct division of labor can be observed. In any building activity, men do the structural work and women carry materials and cook for the
[653] men. The same division of labor is found on community projects, road building, fencing against wild pigs, or repairing the water pipes. In general, however, no special comment is made if either a man or woman performs work usually done by the opposite sex.

● 887 Men and women work in the fields and forests from ages 15 to 60.
462 When they approach 60, men like to "retire." If possible, they turn over their responsibilities as household heads to their eldest sons. From
[464] then on, they tend to stay home more and more. They can still help with less demanding work, making bamboo rings for firewood bundles, sawing wood, or doing odd jobs around the house. Approaching old age, most men become economically useless and in other ways contribute little to society. For old women, quite the contrary is true. Even grandmothers who are well over 60 seem strong and active. Most of
[241] them go to the fields to plant or harvest potatoes or other vegetables. One woman, well into her sixties and bent over from arthritis, took long walks to distant potato fields, with a heavy load of slips or potatoes in a basket on her back, a hoe on top of it, supporting herself on a
[855] stick. Other grandmothers look after the youngest children, thus freeing the mother for work. Old women also cook, help bundle firewood,

and look after the sick. Even if they are too old for any work, like two oldsters over 80 years, they can still hold the youngest grandchild. Two exceptional old men, brothers of almost the same age, pass their time by making rope bags and mats from the fiber of the fan palm. Both are active as financial experts, investing money here and there and lending it for high interests in various shrewd transactions.

INFORMAL AND FORMAL COOPERATION

Cooperation plays a prominent part in Taira economy. Assistance is always given for major tasks, such as preparing grass land for farm use or house building, or for work which must be done quickly, such as transplanting rice or harvesting and milling sugar. In fact, since wet rice cultivation depends on assistance in any culture that works its paddies by hand, it is noteworthy that the term *iimarû*, used in Taira for labor exchange in planting and harvesting, is also extended to other mutual assistance. The term, literally translated, means "gathering by rotation." A family who plans a project that needs the help of others makes an informal arrangement with relatives or neighbors to help for one or more days. This is simply done by notifying individuals that such help is needed. No one, unless he has urgent reasons, would refuse to comply with a call for assistance. If it is a small task, a few close relatives are asked. In most larger undertakings, it is the neighborhood group that lends a hand. These mutual-assistance groups usually form within the central village and within each of the geographical clusters of the outlying village, although close relatives from other parts of the community may be called. However, the most recent arrivals in Taira, all present members of one family line who have the same surname, act jointly in reclamation of neglected fields to strengthen their economic position.

Return services are expected, but nobody would admit that there is any thought of equal compensation and would not even joke about the matter. There is a strong feeling that calculated thinking is unseemly not only among relatives but also among unrelated neighbors. One man, when asked what would happen if a person refused to comply to a request for help, answered, "There is no such dirty person, and if there were one, he would be an outcast." During the rice planting season, persons helping in another's fields will shortly be helped themselves. In housebuilding, a long time may pass until those who aided will need aid in return.

Except for people over 56, pregnant women, and mothers of chil-

602 on one's mother's side and, after marriage, the wife's family. In seek-
476 ing mutual assistance for rice planting, house building and other undertakings, such relatives may be approached. In other words, kin, neighbors, and members of the same geographical section of the village participate almost equally in mutual assistance groups. Maternal relatives join in family celebrations and in the discussion of family matters. Since many decisions are made jointly with the help of relatives, there are frequent occasions for the kindred to gather in the evening at one house or another.

561 Each Okinawan also belongs to an age group. As will be described in the section on socialization, beginning at kindergarten an Okinawan becomes associated with a group of boys and girls who will remain his
575 companions through school. As a member of junior high school he
653 will join the formal Student's Association, which is responsible for certain community projects. High school students and all unmarried young adults belong to the Young People's Association, which is both a social group and a cooperative work group.

575 After marriage there are several associations which one may join.
185 Adult married women who are under 57 belong to the Women's Asso-
[562] ciation, which is affiliated with an island organization dedicated to "modernizing" women's lives. The organization is lead by a few women who are in contact with the district and island organization. They attempt at semisocial gatherings to introduce changes aimed at easing
[262] the burdens of daily life and the pressure of poverty. For example, they are trying to influence the women to return to making their own bean paste rather than spending precious cash. The leaders show the women how to make bean paste and encourage them to set aside one work-free day a month to catch up with neglected housework. Many of the efforts of the organization, however, are not too successful. Most women go back to their homes and find that the accustomed ways are easier to follow. One has learned to live with economic pressures and tradition and established custom is a strong force. So the few forward-looking women have a difficult task in rallying others.

Both adult married males and females may also join an organization similar in objective—the Home Improvement group. Although the men who are village leaders belong to this association, the majority of the members are the same women who are leaders in the Women's Association.

575 Before World War II there was an association of older men.* Al-
● 887 though this group seldom, if ever, meets, it still sends a representative
623 to the village council and to a few village functions.

* Apparently of relatively recent origin.

527 as usual. It was an affair organized by the women leaders, which, though 562 a little slow in starting, turned into a gay carousing for the older 575 women, who were less inhibited than the younger ones and needed [888] little encouragement to drink and dance.

The daily life of a woman is more monotonous than her husband's 562 and she has less leisure and recreation. After a day of hard work, men 512 sit down alone or in groups to spend the evening in relaxation with a [273] bottle of sake. After a short time they show signs of pleasant intoxication and all burdens of life seem to disappear. Such recourse to carefree diversion is generally denied women. Instead, they are loaded down with household chores and care of infants and guests after a day of work in fields and forests. They spend their little free time exchanging news with other women or talking with other family members or visitors who assemble around the charcoal fire in the back room during [273] winter evenings. Only women of advanced age feel free to join the men [888] in drinking at home.

Men have greater sexual freedom. They are at liberty to have affairs 562 with other women outside the village and on trips to the city may 837 visit tea houses and afterwards enjoy the favors of a prostitute if their pocket books allow.

Status differences based on age are reflected in the social structure 561 and clearly denoted in the kinship terms. There is a special term of 554 reference and address for "first son" and "first daughter" and for 593 "older brother" and "older sister." As mentioned, ideally the oldest son assumes responsibility for the household, for his parents, and for the ancestral tablets. Even if he leaves his parental home temporarily or permanently for the city, where economic prospects are better, he remains the nominal household head and sends money back to his family. Theoretically the oldest male may retain authority until death, 887 although in practice most men retire from this position at the age of 561 61. Their retirement is made official by an entry in the population 554 registry. They continue to live with their oldest son and act as advisors [596] and critics. A man's loss of authority with age occurs around his late fifties and early sixties and is evidenced not only by his retirement but also by his loss of the right to vote in village meetings. Veneration for age itself therefore, does not exist. Actual behavior toward the grand- [576] parental generation, all the members of which are addressed as "grandmother" or "grandfather" regardless of actual kinship, is warm, mildly playful, and indulgent. Disrespect, however, is absent.

It is characteristic of the relationship between children and grand- 603 mothers that in addressing nonrelated old women, the suffix *-san*, 601 which denotes respect, is most often dropped for the "grandmother"

before noon but for the fact that she had to return to attend to the infant.

If a grandmother is available, the mother straps the 3-to-4 months old baby onto the grandmother's back in the morning and goes off to the mountains with her husband to haul firewood or to the fields to cultivate sweet potatoes. For the first six months she returns to the house frequently during the day to nurse the infant. It is likely that while the infant demands feeding at short intervals, a mother will work in or around the village. At one of the locations for firewood bundling she can make the bamboo rings, fit the cut wood into them, and stack the bundles.

Throughout the morning hours grandmother, with the infant on her back, wanders about the village. Occasionally she offers her dry breast to the bawling infant who cannot seem to wait until its mother returns from the fields or mountains. If the mother is nearby, she hurries so that the infant does not cry for long. When the hour for lunch approaches, the grandmother hurries home to begin preparations for the noonday meal. As she walks, the infant's head bobs up and down, forward and back precariously, but it continues to sleep undisturbed.

After lunch has been eaten and the infant nursed, the adults in the household sip their tea and rest for an hour or so. Within that hour the mother may play with the infant or nap with it nestled in her arms. Rousing themselves from the noon nap, the adults return to the mountains and fields. The infant is again strapped to the grandmother's back, but this time as she slowly wends her way to the main thoroughfare, she calls out to someone in a house which boasts one of the few clocks in the village. "Hey, what is the time there?" The answer will quicken her pace, for it is near the time for an older sibling to return from school. As she reaches the main street, she joins other grandmothers as well as mothers who are anxiously scanning the direction from which the schoolchildren return. Each admires the infants on the other's back and exchanges timely topics of the day, but as the minutes pass and no children appear, they begin to grumble about the "irresponsible siblings who *must* be playing on their way home." At last the older child returns, and the grandmother hurries home with her charges, promptly transfering the infant onto the back of the older sibling. The old woman rushes to get her hoe and basket, mumbling to herself about the quantity of potatoes she should harvest for the next day's use.

An older child who ignores the crying of his infant charge will be criticized severely by his peers. If the mother happens to be in the

2:Maretzki & Maretzki E-5 (1954-1955) 1963 AC7 Okinawa AC7
Taira

brother or big sister" take effect, he is the most miserable creature alive in the village. 866 867

Weaning from the back often occurs at the same time as weaning from the breast; if not it occurs within six months. While this study was being done, eight children between 18 months and 2 years were weaned from the back as well as from the breast. Temper tantrums in which the child would sit down and scream his head off, hurl dirt and stones at his mother, older siblings, or adults who stopped to have a kind word with him or to ridicule him, and incessant whining were symptomatic of the repercussions of abrupt withdrawal. Sulkiness, stubbornness, and tyrannical behavior, however, are short lived. The child finds that although this kind of behavior brought immediate and rewarding responses in the past, he now faces further withdrawal or punishment as a result. The mother impatiently screams back at him to stop crying, and siblings simply leave him behind to keep up with his own pace or drag him along forcibly and uncomfortably, with threats of punishment if he refuses to cooperate. As if to heap more abuse on deprivation, he finds the newly arrived baby the center of the household and taking his place at his mother's breast. He is encouraged and discouraged by turns. "You are an older brother or an older sister. You do not drink your mother's milk now. And see how big you are and such a good child," now encourage visitors. "Come here, hurry!" scream older siblings or mother when he fails to keep in step with them on walks. For about three months the child's bleary eyes, tear-streaked face, and woebegone expression are unquestionable evidences of the most unhappy interval of his childhood.

In an attempt to continue "ruling" the family, he goes into frequent rages. He demands anything and everything in sight, concentrating on the breast and on being carried. Desperately he screams and cries. Finally he sits on the ground and refuses to move. If his caretaker does not pick him up at that point, he will simply lie prone and cry hysterically. Usually adults scream back at him and start walking away, whereupon the child quickly picks himself off the ground and runs after the retreating caretaker. In this way the child's control is broken. Furthermore, he is ridiculed, shamed and scolded for his "babyish" behavior. Only the grandmother, with whom he sleeps at night, responds to his dominating behavior. During the day, he whines, wheedles, and makes numerous demands on her. [513]

Obviously family structure determines in part the severity of the deprivation. The child who lives in a household with a grandmother and perhaps older siblings will have someone to indulge him. The 866 887 603

866 first child of a nuclear family, on the other hand, will not have these
887 supports and thus finds this time severely depriving. The child in a
603 nuclear family with a number of older siblings to support and meet his dependency needs will find the transition difficult but will suffer less deprivation. If there is a grandmother or older siblings in the house, he can still claim some infantile support until he is about 4 or 5 years old. They continue to comfort him when he cries, help him in dressing, bathing, and eating. "Go ask your grandmother or older sibling," instructs the mother when the child requests aid. Or, if she happens not to be busy, she will help him herself.

[596] Mothers in extended households complained that grandparents often intervened on behalf of the child and made disciplining very difficult. The kindergarten teacher remarked on the differences between children who have grandparents and those who do not. "Those who do not have grandparents are much easier to handle, they don't cry so easily and do many things for themselves. My child always runs to grandfather whenever I scold her (there is no grandmother in the house) . . . and we mothers end up by being scolded by the old folks," she remarked.

It is not an uncommon sight to see a child crying and running to his grandmother on being reprimanded by his mother. With carrying, hugging, and venting anger against the mother, the old woman comforts the child. Children soon learn that if no one else complies with their demands, grandmother or grandfather will grant them satisfaction.

866 Grandmothers often will protect and indulge children of the vil-
603 lage other than their own grandchildren. One day as the fieldworker
855 sat talking with two mothers and watching their children play, the question of Okinawans' dislike of children's crying, and of overindulgence of grandmothers arose. The year and a half old boy of one of the women at that instant got one foot over the lower rail of a fence. As the child watched others climbing the fence, he tried to lift the other foot. He howled as he discovered the feat too difficult. The mother made no move to go to the boy's aid but instead sat laughing at the "foolish predicament he got himself into." Suddenly from the house across the way rushed a grandmother. She picked the screaming boy up and examined him for bruises. When she spotted the mother sitting within eye and earshot, she rushed over with the boy and started to scold her. "What are you doing sitting there! Just looking at your crying child! Why didn't you go over and help him . . . see what the matter was anyway?" And with this she put the child in the mother's lap and gave her a slap on the back. The old woman then

857 cuddled it in her arms. The 5-year-old in this case was disappointed
854 at being relieved of his charge, but no doubt would have been happy to be absolved of any blame in the event that the baby had fallen and hurt itself.

857 Most 4- and 5-year-olds, therefore, find their nurturant efforts frus-
866 trated, for they are considered too young to carry their younger siblings. They are told that their necks will hurt, they are not strong enough,
[593] and that they will be dwarfs if they started to carry such a heavy bur-
[155] den from such an early age. A sturdy 5-year-old, nevertheless, finds that if he is persistent enough, his mother will allow him to carry his infant sibling for short periods of time with close supervision. It is on these short jaunts that the child basks in the shower of praise and is richly rewarded for his nurturant behavior. Several mothers reported how their 4- and 5-year-olds take pride periodically in mopping up floors, setting tables, and clearing up after a meal. "They don't really do these chores, they help at it, but we let them do it because they like to. And if they don't feel like doing it, we don't say anything," report these mothers.

857 Frequently kindergarten children accompany their mothers to the
241 potato fields in the afternoons. There they play in and around the plants or "help" their mothers. One 4-year-old girl pointed out with
866 pride that she goes with her mother to their fields to "clean dirt off the potatoes" which her mother has dug before placing them in the basket. Boys of 3 and 5 were observed "assisting" by following adults' instructions to drop the seed potato into the hole at planting time. Generally adults dislike taking children to distant fields, for they beg to be carried near the half-way point. Occasionally a young child who has been on such a trip is toted back in the grandmother's empty carrying basket or in one of the suspended shoulder-yoke baskets of his grandfather.

863 During the kindergarten period, constant pressure is put on the child to learn sphincter control. The child goes pantless until he at-
514 tains this goal, which is usually achieved by the age of 4. There is little formal bowel training. Children simply crouch and defecate. Grandmothers or mothers clean up the feces as soon as they see them. Younger children eliminate all over the village, but by 3 they usually restrict themselves to their own yards. When there are grandmothers
[887] in the family, bowel training seems to be taken over by them. Not infrequently the old woman can be seen standing over a child in the yard or cleaning up both the child and the yard. She is generally the one who gently coaxes the child to use the outhouse when he is old enough and physically able to straddle the opening over the pit. The

885
562 Adult Responsibility For women responsibilities come early. Mothers
[885] give their daughters tasks while their sons play. At marriage a woman enters
her husband's household and immediately assumes adult burdens that she may
not put down until old age. As a grandmother she may still care for grand-
[887] children while her husband has left most of his responsibilities to his sons.
She may acquire ritual responsibilities toward her husband's family which can
only increase with time.

For a man responsibilities come gradually. Childhood is a time for
[885] play---except for the future scholar, or in cases of extreme poverty. Youth
is a time when responsibilities may be postponed---except where an oldest
son has been orphaned. Even after marriage a young man, though he may have
to work hard, is not expected to remain sober and stay home nights. The peak
of a man's responsibility comes with full maturity, when he has sons himself
and when his father is beginning to age. This peak may rise to greater heights
than that of his wife and his labor may be harder and make greater demands on
[887] his strength and health. But again in old age he may put his burden down and
he is expected to seek those pleasures that he can still enjoy.

562 Women's lives may be duller but they are generally longer. And in old
888 age a woman has the compensation of greater freedom than she has ever had be-
fore. Old women often speak with a frankness that is embarrassing to young
people of either sex. Old women are also the repositories of knowledge of
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brated not on the anniversary of the day of birth but on the first day of the
cycle that corresponds to the year, after Lunar New Year's. Thus 1954 was

Every parcel of land with its grade and type is mapped, a thoroughness in land classification which has not yet been approached in the United States. While the mapping is recent, the information was always available in the village records. Village owned lands are also a survival of this system, especially the forests in the north. Community owned property is much more modest in area in the south and confined to small parcels of forest or pre-war forest, school and public building sites, community ponds, and the like. 178 423 311 [217]

2

Present Land Tenure and Land Classification

The present method of land holding based on Japanese law went into effect at the end of the old land allotment system. The head of the family registered all lands, previously held as shares, in his own name. Apparently in the last distribution before the abandonment of the old system, men and women over 52 years of age received their property for life with the right to pass it on to their children. At the beginning of the new system, also, the wild land was still publicly held, but further clearing and reclamation got under way, and the genya land also began to be divided up and became part of private holdings about ten years after the new land law went into effect. 423 [888]

The new system of private ownership of land introduced buying and selling (baibai), tenancy (kosaku), and land speculation. There had been some tenancy under the old system apparently however it was on a village basis with one community renting from another. There has therefore been insufficient time to develop in Okinawa the widespread abuses associated with the Japanese land tenure system prior to the land reform of 1946.[7] 423 427

In all the villages studied, individual ownership is the rule with some informal tenancy. Now an owner is not paid for the use of his land, the result of a Civil Administration measure to encourage maximum food production. Tenancy, as it was observed in the villages was usually an informal lending of the land: the use by a friend, relative, or neighbor of an unused plot.

The present system of land use and land tenure is a result of practices and customs developed under the old allotment system, combined with the introduced Japanese system of inheritance. The family system plus these two influences have brought about the modern customs of land inheritance, the distinctions in types of land, and the fragmentation and lack of contiguity in holdings. 178 423 311 428

7 Based on conversations with villagers in Hatsuda. Uyehara, Yukuo made the same point in accounting for the low percentage of tenancy and the high percentage of independent farmers in Okinawa-ken, Ryukyu Islands, Japan. Economic Geography 9 (1933), 395-405. Reference on 399. [115]

273 the greater part of the following day until the effects are worn off.[4]

There is tolerance of drinking and of behavior while under the influence of alcohol—with the exceptions to be discussed below. This nonchalance extends to children and young people. When an elder and highly respected friend or neighbor, perhaps their own grandfather, is drunk, they laugh indulgently at him, passing off his behavior as foolish because he is drunk.

[576] The custom of drink exchange (kempai) certainly does not keep drinking to a minimum. Drink exchange is perpetual at parties. A small cup of sake is offered to a friend. He drinks, gives the cup back to his friend who holds it while the other refills the cup. The exchange goes on again. Often three or four men are involved in this reciprocity.

[217] Drinking, like an aperitif or cocktail before a meal, is not common. Sake may be drunk with or after the meal. Often it is served along with tea. Throughout the evening the two may be drunk alternatively. In this case, the tea is served first. Unless there are special occasions, there is very little day time drinking.

273 567 In this drinking, the Okinawan woman has no part. There are a few minor exceptions. But in all the villages these exceptions were older or very elderly women. The young wife or girl in rural Okinawan villages simply does not drink. Furthermore, she seems to have no desire to. Occasionally a woman in her late forties or early fifties takes a few sips. In the southern villages, an old woman may drink a small amount with a little added sugar at a celebration. In Matsuda, shortly before New Years it is customary to give a party at village expense to all people in the village over 70 years of age. On this occasion, both the old men and old women are liberally [888] supplied with and liberally drink the sake.

These distinctions in drinking between the sexes, in my opinion, are closely tied in with the responsibilities of men and women, as they have grown up historically under the family system. The distinctions certainly cannot be explained in terms of contemporary attitudes. If [154] drinking is an outlet for the tensions of the man, a way of relieving the boredom and monotony of every day life, how can one explain the

4 There is little real violence or fighting, but there may be noisy quarrels and some shoving about. Some mild men become very quarrelsome. The only instance of violence I observed was the case of a [578] young man about 25 who drank quite a lot, became angry with some girls in the Young Women's Association for not doing chores he thought they were responsible for. He slapped one severely. The following day he was very remorseful. His mother went to the girl's house and personally apologised for the boy's behavior.

1: Glacken E-5 (1951-1952) 1953 AC7 Okinawa AC7

ment in these arts, in my opinion, is not due to absence of feeling and talent, but to conditions unfavorable to the development of ability beyond the stage of extemporaneous entertainment or for simple practical ends. 181

14

Activities of Old Age

In old age there is no distinct break with the activities experienced from childhood. Around the age of 55 a man or a woman is considered old. He or she has left the middle age, and henceforth may be called grandfather or grandmother. 888

A man legally retires at sixty. But this is retirement from house headship not from active work. The retired father remains in the background but he is respected and consulted. Men and women in their fifties, sixties, and seventies work much more leisurely and sporadically at their tasks, if they can. In the eighties, if they are still able, they confine themselves to strolls throughout the village. There are afternoon naps. The old go to bed very early. But they do not, if physically able, lose contact with the life around them. 887

This lack of retirement from active life, among the old, is most pronounced in agricultural villages because there are so many simple and easy chores to be done. In non-agricultural occupations, the opportunities for continuing work in old age are not so great. But there are compromises. In Hinatogawa, the old men often repair the fishing nets, help take care of the boats, dry fish, and cut grasses. The old stonecutter does light chipping and bevelling. The old women may gather rocks.

There is no formal legal retirement for a woman, unless she is the head of a house. One of the striking activities of old women is their frequent travelling on buses. They may be merely visiting a nearby village, or they may have a basket of fish, vegetables, eggs, or perhaps a chicken to sell. They add humor and gayety to a bus journey. An old woman does not hesitate to tell a young person politely but authoritatively to give her a seat or to ask the passengers to make way for her. Old women make humorous comments, and talk freely to total strangers. Okinawans of all ages are courteous to the old and to women with children and readily give up their seats, even on a long bus journey. 888 887

In these villages, one cannot fail to notice the good humor, the interest in life, and the honored place of the old. It is not uncommon for a young man or a young woman from another village, in leisure hours, to visit an old person: a grandparent, an uncle or an aunt, the midwife who attended at his birth, his "growing up" parent, or the elderly relative of one of his friends. These visits are not mere formalities, and they may sit talking an hour or two over tea. Old men and women 888

888 alike take part in conversations, discussing such topics as the price of rice, fish, or the market for village products, and other current happenings in the village.

One of the most pleasing, one might even say touching, aspects of the life of the old is the mutual respect between the elderly and the young. A young man in his late teens or early twenties talks to a retired village elder with respect, but not exaggerated deference, nor does he hesitate to express his own opinion. The elder man or woman listens as if the opinion of the young were worth hearing and there is no condescension in his reply.

The reasons for these fine relationships, I am convinced, are that both the old and the young meet one another as active participants in the culture in which they both live. The old, whether in poverty or affluence, are not shoved aside or ignored as persons no longer directly concerned with the questions, even the decisions, of an active life.

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Near the end of the lunar year, Matsuda gives a party (keirokai) for all persons over 70 years of age. In 1951, the party began in the middle afternoon and ended at dusk. In the early or speech making phase, the mayor, introduced by the village headman, congratulated the old people on attaining their age. The headman, bowing low before the elders, then thanked the mayor. The primary school principal told them how American old people were able to drive automobiles, basing his remarks on a Japanese magazine article, and needlessly told his elders how to live a long life. His audience was much amused at the talents of the American old people. The men and women sat separately. A few children accompanied the old ladies. This is also an occasion for giving children born during the year a little money. After the speeches, both the old men and women drank sake in liberal quantities. The dances of the old were done with grace and agility. This custom is followed in the Oushichan area and may be widespread in Okinawa, though the dates for the occasions may vary.

as usual. It was an affair organized by the women leaders, which, though a little slow in starting, turned into a gay carousing for the older women, who were less inhibited than the younger ones and needed little encouragement to drink and dance.

The daily life of a woman is more monotonous than her husband's and she has less leisure and recreation. After a day of hard work, men sit down alone or in groups to spend the evening in relaxation with a bottle of sake. After a short time they show signs of pleasant intoxication and all burdens of life seem to disappear. Such recourse to carefree diversion is generally denied women. Instead, they are loaded down with household chores and care of infants and guests after a day of work in fields and forests. They spend their little free time exchanging news with other women or talking with other family members or visitors who assemble around the charcoal fire in the back room during winter evenings. Only women of advanced age feel free to join the men in drinking at home.

Men have greater sexual freedom. They are at liberty to have affairs with other women outside the village and on trips to the city may visit tea houses and afterwards enjoy the favors of a prostitute if their pocket books allow.

Status differences based on age are reflected in the social structure and clearly denoted in the kinship terms. There is a special term of reference and address for "first son" and "first daughter" and for "older brother" and "older sister." As mentioned, ideally the oldest son assumes responsibility for the household, for his parents, and for the ancestral tablets. Even if he leaves his parental home temporarily or permanently for the city, where economic prospects are better, he remains the nominal household head and sends money back to his family. Theoretically the oldest male may retain authority until death, although in practice most men retire from this position at the age of 61. Their retirement is made official by an entry in the population registry. They continue to live with their oldest son and act as advisors and critics. A man's loss of authority with age occurs around his late fifties and early sixties and is evidenced not only by his retirement but also by his loss of the right to vote in village meetings. Veneration for age itself therefore, does not exist. Actual behavior toward the grandparental generation, all the members of which are addressed as "grandmother" or "grandfather" regardless of actual kinship, is warm, mildly playful, and indulgent. Disrespect, however, is absent.

It is characteristic of the relationship between children and grandmothers that in addressing nonrelated old women, the suffix *-san*, which denotes respect, is most often dropped for the "grandmother"

885
562 Adult Responsibility For women responsibilities come early. Mothers
[353] give their daughters tasks while their sons play. At marriage a woman enters her husband's household and immediately assumes adult burdens that she may
[887] not put down until old age. As a grandmother she may still care for grandchildren while her husband has left most of his responsibilities to his sons. She may acquire ritual responsibilities toward her husband's family which can only increase with time.

For a man responsibilities come gradually. Childhood is a time for
[857] play---except for the future scholar, or in cases of extreme poverty. Youth is a time when responsibilities may be postponed---except where an oldest son has been orphaned. Even after marriage a young man, though he may have to work hard, is not expected to remain sober and stay home nights. The peak of a man's responsibility comes with full maturity, when he has sons himself and when his father is beginning to age. This peak may rise to greater heights than that of his wife and his labor may be harder and make greater demands on
[887] his strength and health. But again in old age he may put his burden down and he is expected to seek those pleasures that he can still enjoy.

562 Women's lives may be duller but they are generally longer. And in old
888 age a woman has the compensation of greater freedom than she has ever had before. Old women often speak with a frankness that is embarrassing to young people of either sex. Old women are also the repositories of knowledge of the ancestors and of the supernatural and thus become greatly respected and
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the Year of the Horse, and so all persons born during any year of the Horse---1942, 1930, etc.---celebrated their "year day" on the first Day of the Horse of the new year. Although theoretically all year days are important, in practice only those of old age are given much attention. These are the celebrations of the 61st, 73rd, 85th, and 97th years. The 88th and 90th may also be celebrated. The celebration of the year day of an old person is a matter of pride for the whole family; formal invitations are sent, and the guests are served food and drink requiring considerable expense on the part of the family. 888 527

Death After his death a person does not cease to be of any importance to the family. On the contrary he takes on a new importance as a focal point for ceremonies and perhaps for feelings of anxiety. 769

Death is attributed to both natural and supernatural causes[1] with natural causes probably barely in the majority. But there is also the vague notion that one's life span is predetermined. 761

Almost immediately after the death of a person, members of his family usually consult a yuta to learn if there was any last request or information that the deceased had wished to impart to his family. This might consist of an explanation of his death, a confession of some early misdeed, or last instructions to his heirs. While I was working at Yamada an informant, an energetic, thoroughly likeable old lady, died suddenly. I learned later that her family immediately went to Yakena, some twelve miles away, a place famous for its many yuta. There they consulted a yuta and asked if there had been any message the old woman wanted to communicate. They were told that the old woman had been destined to die a year before but because she was such a good woman she had lived an extra year, during which she had accomplished everything she had intended to do---there was nothing to reveal. The family was relieved and comforted. 756 763

The Funeral Women may cry out immediately upon learning that a member of the family has died. The body is laid in the second room of the house and flexed so that it may be more easily put into the coffin. If the death occurs in the morning the funeral may be held the afternoon of that day; if later in the day, the next afternoon. Offerings are placed before the body and when the funeral is not until the next day, relatives keep a wake over it. 764

The funeral itself consists of a ceremony at the home of the deceased, a procession to the tomb, and the placing of the coffin in the tomb. These steps may be more or less elaborate depending upon the means of the family. However, the local unit, the 'han' or the chinju, takes responsibility for some activities, making for uniformity. Member of the 'han' or chinju make two paper tablets with the name of the deceased written on them and make a large square wooden box for a coffin. On the afternoon of the funeral, the body is put into the coffin and a tray containing one of the paper tablets, offerings of fruit, and an incense burner is placed before it. If the deceased has requested it, a Buddhist priest may be called from one of the larger towns, but many country people do not call a priest, and indeed may never [793]

[1] See Chapter IX.